# MARX & ENGELS
# COLLECTED WORKS

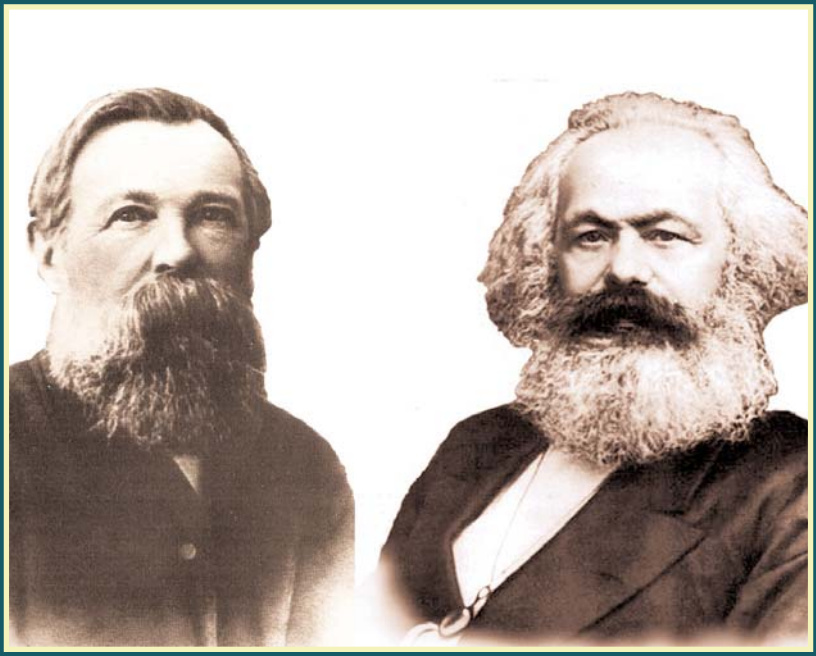

## VOLUME 1

Karl Marx 1835-43

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 1

Karl Marx 1835-43

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TRANSLATORS:

RICHARD DIXON: *Notebooks on Epicurean Philosophy*

CLEMENS DUTT: Articles, Letters and Appendices

JACK LINDSAY and the late ALICK WEST: *Oulanem*

ALEX MILLER: Poems

DIRK J. and SALLY R. STRUIK: *Doctoral Dissertation*

ALICK WEST: *Scorpion and Felix*

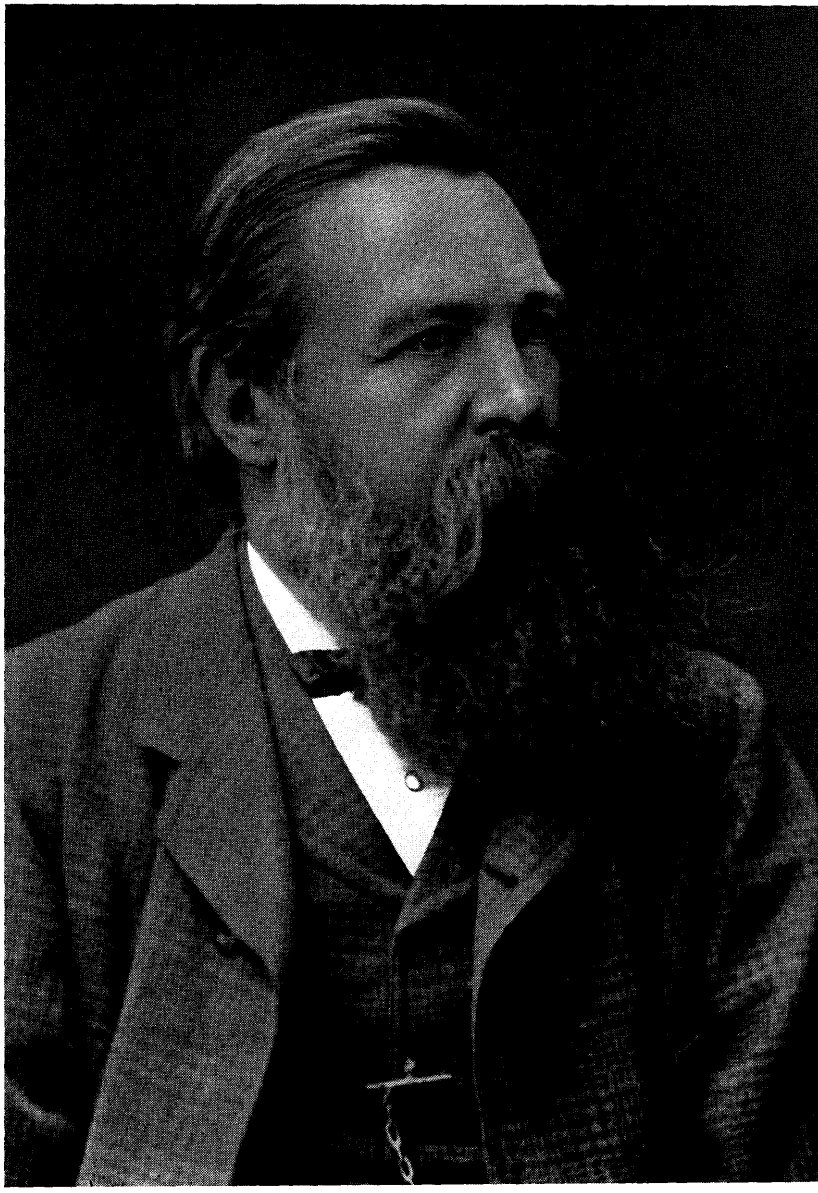

F. Engels

# General Introduction

KARL MARX and FREDERICK ENGELS were the authors of an integrated body of philosophical, economic and social-political views, the ideology of communism, which in our time has spread more widely and exercised a greater influence on the course of world history than any other.

Theirs was a unique collaboration in theoretical work and in revolutionary leadership. While the leading role in it certainly belongs to Marx, the partnership was so close, many important writings having been undertaken under their joint authorship and the greater part of the work of each from the beginning of their friendship in 1844 to Marx's death in 1883 having been discussed with the other, that their works must of necessity be collected together.

Both Marx and Engels began their adult lives as free-thinkers and revolutionary democrats in the Germany of the late 1830s and early 1840s. By the time they met and began their lifelong friendship and collaboration each had independently come to recognise in the emergent industrial working class the force that could reshape the future. As convinced materialists and Communists, they decided to collaborate in working out the fundamentals of a new revolutionary outlook. From that time their joint efforts were devoted to the aim of equipping the working-class movement with the scientific ideology and political organisation necessary for the realisation of what they saw as its historical mission, the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the creation of communism.

They were revolutionary thinkers who assailed old ideas and replaced them by new theoretical constructions, forging new

means for scientifically understanding the world and human life. And they were practical revolutionaries who fought for socialism and communism against the established order of society based on capitalist property. Their revolutionary standpoint was summed up in Marx's famous aphorism: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it." This became the point of all their practical activity and theoretical labours.

Marx and Engels were never merely theoreticians, and their work can never be understood simply as productive of a theory. Indeed, the distinctive feature of Marxism, and its strength, lies above all in the combination of a theoretical approach which seeks to be governed by strictly scientific considerations with the will to revolutionary action—its unity of theory and practice. They themselves played an active part in the working-class movement, both as advisers and as active participants. In their theoretical work they drew on the movement's practical experience. And much of it is devoted to accurate and often very lively analysis of particular events and particular problems, both great and small, immediately affecting the movement at various times. From beginning to end their works show that Marxism arose and developed out of practical revolutionary activity. Both Marx and Engels were essentially fighters. And they hammered out their standpoint in the course of often bitter struggle against bourgeois ideology, petit-bourgeois and other kinds of non-proletarian socialism, anarchism, and opportunism of both the Right- and Left-wing varieties within the working-class movement.

The sum total of achievement of Marx and Engels was truly immense.

Marxism offers to the revolutionary movement of all lands a scientifically-based theory of social life and of the individual, of the laws of development of social-economic formations, of history and human activity, and of the concepts and methods man can employ for comprehending both his own existence and that of the world about him so as to frame and realise human purposes in the world.

In the light of this the character and consequences of the alienation and exploitation of labour in modern capitalist society are made clear and it becomes possible to formulate a practical aim for ending it, and in a comprehensive theory of class struggle to work out principles for deciding practical policies to realise this aim.

In their studies of the past history and present predicament of society Marx and Engels came to grips with the problems of political and state power. In their theory of the state they concluded that state power has always been the product of the development of class contradictions, and exposed the whole character of the repressive apparatus and ideology of the bourgeois state in particular.

The penetrating Marxist analysis of bourgeois society, which was the crowning achievement of Marx and Engels, set out, in Marx's words, to disclose its "law of motion", the economic laws of its development and their reflection in class and political struggle. It is from this that Marxism demonstrates the historical necessity for the revolutionary transformation of capitalism into socialism, and of the subsequent building of communist society, the realisation of human aspirations for genuine freedom and social equality. This demonstration is at once a prediction of the future course of human development and an action programme for the social forces capable of realising it.

The revolutionary programme of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the conquest of political power by the working class in alliance with the non-proletarian sections of the working people, was the culminating point of Marxism. The Marxist theory of the socialist revolution gave to the movement practical principles of the strategy and tactics of working-class struggle, demonstrated the need for well-organised independent proletarian parties and for proletarian internationalism, and forecast the basic laws of construction of the new society.

* * *

Many decades have now passed since the deaths of Marx and Engels. And from that distance in time we now have to assess the continuing validity of the teachings of Marx and Engels and the progress of the world revolutionary movement they inspired.

During their lifetime the ideas of Marx and Engels became the organising and guiding force in the struggle to overthrow capitalism. The efforts of Marx and Engels themselves made Marxism into the theoretical foundation of the programmes and activity of the first international organisations of the proletariat—the Communist League, and subsequently the First International (the International Working Men's Association) embracing socialist groups and working-class associations and trade unions of various

countries. As the contradictions of the bourgeois system deepened and the working-class movement spread and grew in strength, Marxism won increasingly strong positions and more and more supporters.

The further development of Marxism on a world scale from the close of the nineteenth century is inseparably bound up with the personality, ideas and work of V. I. Lenin. Of all the political leaders and theoreticians of that time who became influential as Marxists, it was Lenin who based himself most consistently on the content and methods of the work of Marx and Engels in philosophy, political economy and the theory and practice of scientific socialism, and achieved the most creative development of their teachings. In so doing he established the organisational and political principles of a party able to lead the working class and the whole working people to the conquest of political power and the construction of socialism.

"Without revolutionary theory," Lenin said, "there can be no revolutionary movement." True to this principle, Lenin maintained that revolutionary theory must always keep pace with the march of world events and in doing so remain true to and consolidate the original theoretical positions of Marxism. To him the movement owes an analysis of imperialism, of monopoly and state-monopoly capitalism, which continued that made by Marx and Engels of capitalism in the earlier phases of its development. His immense contributions to the creative theoretical and practical development of Marxism cover the theory and practice of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the agrarian, nationalities and colonial problems, the transition period from capitalism to socialism and the ways and means of building communist society, the principles of organisation and leading role of revolutionary working-class parties and, in general, the motive forces and prospects of the world revolutionary process in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. Marxism organically absorbs the new features that were introduced by Lenin and represents in the modern epoch the integrated international doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, constituting the foundation of the international communist movement.

The October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia carried out, in the conditions obtaining at the time, Marx's, Engels' and Lenin's conception of the revolutionary conquest of power by the working class. It began a new epoch in world history, in which to the power of the old possessing classes are opposed not only the struggle against it of the working-class movement in capitalist countries and

of the peoples dominated by imperialism, but the rule of socialism which is becoming ever more consolidated throughout a large territory of the world.

In the years that have followed, the working people of socialist countries have faced and continue to face immense problems of socialist planning and administration, of overcoming objective difficulties of development and, in a number of cases, errors, of resolving new contradictions and of organising creative labour to strengthen the socialist system and move towards the goal of communism. Marxism-Leninism has been and continues to be the basis of all the achievement of socialist countries. The same is true of the working-class movement in the capitalist countries, where a struggle is spreading for profound economic and social-political changes, for true democracy, for a transition to the road to socialism; one of the vital conditions of victory in this struggle is to eliminate the consequences of opportunism and division in the working-class movement. In the countries that have freed themselves from colonialism and are developing on new lines, leading forces of the national liberation movements are turning more and more to the guidance of this teaching in the struggle to eliminate the results of colonial slavery, neo-colonialism and racialism, and to achieve economic and cultural renaissance.

At the present time, moreover, with growing social tensions set up by the deepening of the contradictions of capitalism and the advent of the new scientific-technological revolution, Marxism attracts many people beyond the working-class movement itself. More and more do perceptive minds come to realise that in the theory of Marxism they can find the thread to lead the way out of the labyrinth of the social and political problems of modern times. The appeal of Marxism to progressive-minded people lies in its scientific approach and revolutionary spirit, its genuine humanism, its combination of a sober realistic attitude to facts with confidence in the creative abilities of working men and women the world over. The breadth and consistency of Marxism affords hope for the solution not only of economic and sociological problems but of problems of philosophy, law and ethics, including various aspects of the future of human personality, which are of particular concern to the present generation. Thus it is that despite the efforts to discredit and refute Marxism, which have been going on for well over a century and are continually stepped up, the interest in Marxism, and its influence, grow unceasingly.

* * *

The undertaking of collecting together and publishing the complete works of Marx and Engels was begun on a broad scale in the twenties of this century in the Soviet Union. In 1927, the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow launched the publication in the original languages of Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe,* initially under the general editorship of D. Ryazanov and later under the editorship of V. Adoratsky, a project that was never completed. A Russian edition was commenced and published between the years 1928 and 1947. A second Russian edition was launched in 1955, embodying an all-round study by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of everything by then discovered written by Marx and Engels, of all the documents having any bearing on their work, and also of newspapers and periodicals in which their works were published in their lifetime. This edition at present consists of 39 basic and 4 supplementary volumes (47 books in all, since some of the volumes are published in two or more parts). Following this, the further labours of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in Berlin led to the publication, beginning in 1956, of Marx/Engels, *Werke.* It also comprises 39 basic and 2 supplementary volumes (44 books in all).

Both in the USSR and in the German Democratic Republic new supplementary volumes continue to be prepared, containing early writings of Marx and Engels, their legacy of manuscripts, and works and letters recently discovered.

A complete edition of the works of Marx and Engels in the original languages (Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*—MEGA) has been projected jointly by the Moscow and Berlin Institutes of Marxism-Leninism. Besides containing all the works and letters of Marx and Engels, this edition will include all the extant manuscript preparatory materials for various of their published works—synopses, excerpts, marginal notes, etc.—as well as all the available letters written to them.

Many of the works of Marx and Engels, particularly their major works, are available to readers in the English-speaking countries, particularly in Great Britain and the USA, where some were translated and published while their authors were still alive (not to mention numerous articles, reports and pamphlets they themselves wrote in English and which were published in the British or

American press), and many more have been translated and published since.

A whole series of major works, particularly the economic manuscripts, remain, however, largely or even completely unknown to English readers. Many of Marx's early writings, nearly all the writings of the young Engels, the bulk of Marx and Engels' numerous contributions to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49), and most of their letters, have never yet appeared in English. Many of their articles which were published in the British and American press of their day have not been republished in English and are now bibliographical rarities. From the available scattered publications in English it is difficult to gain any clear conception of the formative process of Marxist ideas, to study them in their historical development. Some of the existing translations, moreover, do not meet present-day requirements, and notes and commentaries are not always up to the standard now demanded in studies of the history of Marxism and of the international working-class movement.

In preparing this first English-language edition of the collected works of Marx and Engels these circumstances have been kept in mind. It is intended that the composition and character of this edition should reflect the present level of development of Marxist studies and be guided by both English and international experience in the publication of social-economic and political literature. The task is to take into account and use to the fullest advantage the best traditions established in this field in Great Britain, the USA, the USSR, the German Democratic Republic, and other countries, as well as the results achieved by world science in investigating the literary legacy of Marx and Engels and the history of Marxism. Thus this edition will provide for the first time to the English-speaking world a practically complete, organised and annotated collection of the works of the founders and first teachers of the international communist movement.

* * *

This English edition will include the works and letters already contained in the main volumes of the above-mentioned second Russian and German editions as well as in the supplementary volumes of these editions already published or in preparation. It will embrace all the extant works of Marx and Engels published in their lifetime and a considerable part of their legacy of manu-

scripts—manuscripts not published in their lifetime and unfinished works, outlines, rough drafts and fragments. The contents of the main sections of the volumes will include authorised publications of speeches by Marx and Engels or reports of their speeches which they themselves verified. Author's revisions of various works are regarded as works in their own right and will be included alongside the original texts. Of the available preliminary manuscript versions, however, only those that differ essentially from the final text will be published in this edition. Nor will versions of printed works (the texts of articles published simultaneously in various organs of the press, and various lifetime editions of one and the same work) be duplicated. Any important changes in these texts made by the authors themselves will be brought to the reader's attention, usually in footnotes.

The edition will include all the letters of Marx and Engels that have been discovered by the time the volumes appear.

Synopses and excerpts made by Marx and Engels are considered selectively and will appear in this edition only if they contain considerable author's digressions and commentaries. Such works, and also the rough versions and drafts of individual works the final texts of which are published in the body of a given volume, will usually be grouped together in a special section under the heading "From the Preparatory Materials".

Several of the volumes of this edition will be supplied with appendices containing documents and materials of a biographical nature, such as official applications and other legal documents written by Marx or Engels, newspaper reports and minutes, reports of speeches and lectures never verified by the authors, interviews which they gave to various correspondents, documents which they helped to draw up for various organisations and letters written on their instructions.

The whole edition will comprise fifty volumes, organised into three main groups: (1) philosophical, historical, political, economic and other works; (2) Marx's *Capital,* with his preliminary versions and works directly connected with it, particularly the *Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1858* better known under the editorial heading *Grundrisse der Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie;* (3) the letters, beginning from August 1844. According to the preliminary plan of the edition, the first group will run from volumes 1 to 28, the second from 29 to 37, and the third from 38 to 50.

The first three volumes will have certain specific structural features. Before the beginning of their close friendship and co-operation in August 1844, Marx and Engels each developed

independently as thinker, writer and revolutionary, and in these volumes their works and letters will be published separately. The first volume will contain works and letters of the young Marx up to March 1843, and the second works and letters of Engels over approximately the same period. The third volume will be divided on the same principle, giving works and letters of Marx and Engels from the spring of 1843 up to August 1844 in two separate sections. In the subsequent volumes the literary legacy of the founders of Marxism, an important feature of whose creative work from August 1844 onwards was constant collaboration, will be published together.

Within each group of volumes the material will be arranged, as a rule, chronologically according to the date when a particular work or letter was written. When the writing was spread over a long period, the date of the first publication will be used. Departures from this chronological principle will be made only when individual works or series of works of similar type are grouped in special volumes.

The distribution of material over the volumes will be determined on current principles of periodisation of the history of Marxism, so that the contents of individual volumes or several consecutive volumes correspond to specific stages in the authors' work. Provision has been made for including works referring to a particular group of subjects in one or another volume. Within any given volume, articles of a particular series will be published in chronological order. Only series of articles conceived as such by the authors and serialised during their lifetime in newspapers or periodicals will be presented as unified works.

A number of works by Marx and Engels were republished, sometimes more than once, during their lifetime, and the authors usually provided each new edition with a new introduction, preface or afterword. Sometimes these additions were separated from the works for which they were written by decades, and naturally reflect a fresh departure in Marxist thought. These prefaces and the like were essentially independent contributions containing new material and referring to a historical period that differed from that in which the main work was written. Writings of this type will be published according to the date of writing, along with other materials of the given period. Cross-references will be provided to all works that have later author's prefaces, introductions or afterwords.

All letters, irrespective of addressee, will be published in chronological order.

The editions of the works of Marx and Engels published in their lifetime and, failing these, the author's manuscripts, will provide the source of the texts used for publication. If several editions authorised by the authors themselves are available, the last of them will, as a rule, be taken as the basic one and any significant variant readings from other authorised editions will be given in footnotes. In cases where such readings are numerous they may be brought together in the form of appendices.

Any extraneous editorial additions to the texts of publications made during the authors' lifetime will be removed and information concerning them, if necessary with reproduction of the corrupted text, will be provided in the notes.

English translations that appeared during the lifetime of Marx and Engels and under their supervision and editorship are regarded as authorised by them. These texts will generally be reproduced without changes, but only after checking against the texts in the original languages and removal of any obvious mistranslations or misprints that passed unnoticed by the authors. Textual revisions introduced by a translator with the consent of the authors or on their instructions will be preserved, the translation of the text as in the original language being given in a footnote as a variant reading.

All texts will be checked for misprints, inaccuracies in the quoting of proper names, place names, numerical errors, and so on. Obvious misprints or slips of the pen in the original will be corrected without comment, while any assumed errors will be discussed in footnotes. Comments in footnotes or general notes will also be made whenever the correction of a misprint influences the reading of the subsequent text or calls for further correction (for example, in tables, arithmetical calculations, etc.).

Citations by the authors will be checked and obvious mistakes corrected. The author's deliberate condensation or revision of quoted texts will be preserved and, where this seems necessary, the exact text of the passage cited will be noted. Citations from works in languages other than English will, as a rule, appear in English translation. Deliberate uses of foreign expressions, terms, aphorisms, proverbs in the ancient language or in local dialect, etc., will be reproduced, however, as in the original, an English translation being appended in a footnote when this seems necessary.

The edition will include a detailed reference apparatus for each volume, containing information on texts, sources, bibliography and history, references to theoretical and literary sources, commentaries on obscure passages, and brief notes on persons, newspapers

and periodicals referred to in the texts. Each volume will be provided with a subject index. In general, the reference apparatus, more or less uniform for all volumes, will be arranged as follows: an editorial preface for each volume, or group of volumes embracing a single work; notes; a name index; an index of quoted and mentioned literature; an index of periodicals, and a subject index.

Editorial commentary will be found in the form of footnotes and notes at the end of each volume. The footnotes will be concerned mainly with textual criticism. They will seek to explain obscurities in the texts, including oblique references to names, literary works and events. And they will cite variant readings from other authorised editions or from manuscripts and printed versions, provide cross-references, indicate possible misprints, and so on. Explanations concerning books and literary works mentioned will be given in footnotes only where the reader may have difficulty in tracing these works in the index of quoted and mentioned literature.

The notes at the end of each volume will provide more detailed information. They will deal with the history of various works and projects, including those that remained in the form of unfinished manuscripts (brief information on the first publication will also be given at the end of each work). The work of Marx and Engels on various newspapers, and their activities in various organisations, will be one of the main subjects of the notes. Historical commentary will bear mainly on the history of the working-class movement and Marx and Engels' participation in it. Notes on general historical events will be provided only when circumstances essential to an understanding of the text do not emerge clearly from the authors' own accounts.

The name index will be provided with brief annotations. A special section will list alphabetically the literary and mythological characters mentioned in the text. The index of periodicals, which includes all the newspapers, magazines, annuals, etc., referred to in the text, will also be annotated. Wherever possible the index of quoted and mentioned literature will indicate the editions used by Marx and Engels. Where this cannot be firmly established, the first edition will be indicated and, in the case of fiction, only the title and the author's name.

The volumes will include documentary illustrations, with maps and diagrams for articles dealing with military and historical subjects. Original drawings by Engels included in his letters will be reproduced.

* * *

This complete edition of the works of Marx and Engels is the product of agreement and collaboration of British, American and Soviet scholars, translators and editors. It is published by Lawrence & Wishart Ltd., London, International Publishers Co. Inc., New York, in consultation respectively with the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain and the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America, and by Progress Publishers and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Moscow.

The entire work of preparation and publication is supervised by editorial commissions appointed by the publishers in Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. Together they form a team responsible for the edition as a whole.

Considerable help is being afforded, too, by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, in Berlin.

All the work of arrangement, preparation and final editing of the texts and of the reference apparatus of each volume is based on agreement in the sharing of obligations between the participating publishers, the key principle being co-ordination of all major decisions and mutual cross-checking of the work. The edition is being printed in Moscow at the First Model Printers.

The general principles governing its preparation and publication were first agreed at a general conference of representatives of the three publishers in Moscow at the beginning of December 1969, and subsequently elaborated further by the agreement of the three editorial commissions. Those who took part personally in the elaboration of these principles are listed alphabetically below:

GREAT BRITAIN: Jack Cohen, Maurice Cornforth, Maurice Dobb, E. J. Hobsbawm, James Klugmann, Margaret Mynatt.

USA: James S. Allen, Philip S. Foner, the late Howard Selsam, Dirk J. Struik, William W. Weinstone.

USSR: for Progress Publishers—N. P. Karmanova, V. N. Pavlov, M. K. Shcheglova, T. Y. Solovyova; for the Institute of Marxism-Leninism—P. N. Fedoseyev, L. I. Golman, A. I. Malysh, A. G. Yegorov, V. Y. Zevin.

The publication of the first volume and preparation of subsequent volumes is being conducted under the supervision of the above-mentioned editorial commissions.

# Preface

The first volume of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels contains works and letters written by Marx between August 1835 and March 1843. The volume is divided into four sections—works, letters, preparatory material and youthful literary experiments in prose and verse, the material in each section being arranged chronologically. Relevant biographical documents are supplied in the appendices.

These writings reflect Marx's early, formative period, the path of intellectual development that led an inquiring young man, inspired while still at the gymnasium by the idea of serving the common good, to the forefront of the philosophical and political thought of his day. This was the time when Marx, as a student first at Bonn and then at Berlin University, was deeply engaged in the study of law, history and philosophy, which he combined with trying his strength in the sphere of creative writing. In these years Marx evolved his atheistic and revolutionary-democratic beliefs and began his activities as a contributor to and, later, editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. His work on this newspaper initiated a new stage in the formation of his ideas which was to result in his final and complete adoption of materialist and communist positions.

The first section of the volume opens with the school essay "Reflections of a Young Man on the Choice of a Profession", which Marx wrote in 1835, and which may be regarded as the starting point of his intellectual development. Unlike his other school essays (they appear in the appendices), which as a whole do not reach beyond the usual framework of ideas current among gymnasium students and in gymnasium textbooks of those days,

this composition reveals his resolve not to withdraw into the narrow circle of personal interests but to devote his activities to the interests of humanity. At the same time the young Marx, swayed by the ideas of the French Enlightenment concerning the influence of the social environment on man, had begun to think also about the objective conditions determining human activity. "Our relations in society have to some extent already begun to be established before we are in a position to determine them," he wrote in this essay (see p. 4).

The "Letter from Marx to His Father", written in 1837, vividly illustrates Marx's hard thinking as a student and shows the versatility of his intellectual interests and the variety of problems that stirred his imagination. The letter records an important stage in the evolution of his ideas—his recognition of Hegelian philosophy as a key to the understanding of reality, in contrast to the subjective idealism of Fichte and other subjectivist philosophical systems. In his intensive search for a truly scientific conception of the world Marx did not confine himself to becoming an advocate of Hegel's teaching and joining the Young Hegelian movement, whose representatives were attempting to draw atheistic and radical political conclusions from Hegel's philosophy. Armed with Hegelian dialectics, he set about blazing his own trail in philosophy.

An important feature of the intellectual development of the young Marx was his study of ancient classical philosophy, which resulted in the *Notebooks on Epicurean Philosophy* (1839) (published in the third section) and, based on this preparatory material, the Doctoral dissertation on the *Difference Between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature* (1840-41). This work of investigation into the major trends in classical philosophy testifies to the young Marx's erudition and the revolutionary nature, the radicalism, of his views. The very choice of subject, his recourse to the great materialist philosophers of classical times, Democritus, Epicurus and Lucretius, whom Hegel had treated with a certain degree of scorn, indicates Marx's considerable power of independent thought, his desire to gain his own understanding of the salient problems of philosophy and to determine his own attitude to the philosophical legacy of the past.

While studying the ancients, Marx kept constantly in view the issues that stirred the minds of his contemporaries and formed the hub of the current ideological struggle. In his comments on excerpts from works of the classical philosophers contained in his notebooks he is already voicing a protest against agnosticism,

against attempts to belittle the cognitive power of philosophy. He is full of faith in the power of human reason, in the power of progressive philosophy to influence life. His high estimation of Epicurus' struggle against superstition reads as a passionate defence of freedom of thought, an appeal for resolute protest against the shackling authority of religion.

In his dissertation, Marx went even further in pursuing his atheist views. He declared his profound conviction that it is necessary to know the origin and nature of religion in order to overcome it. This work also contains, in embryo, the idea of the dialectical unity of philosophy and life. "... as the world becomes philosophical, philosophy also becomes worldly" (see p. 85). Demonstrating the fertility of the dialectical method in philosophy, Marx strove to discover the elements of dialectics that were already implicit in the beliefs of the ancient philosophers. He did, in fact, reveal the dialectical nature of Epicurus' teaching on the declination of the atoms as the embodiment of the principle of self-movement.

Thus, in his Doctoral dissertation Marx faced up squarely to problems that were to play a major part in the subsequent formation of his view of the world. He became clearly aware of the need to solve the problem of the relationship between philosophy and reality. The strong atheist views that he had already adopted facilitated his subsequent transition to materialism.

Collected in this volume are all the known journalistic writings of the young Marx in the early forties. They illustrate his development as a political tribune, a revolutionary democrat and a resolute critic of the existing social and political system. It was in active journalistic work, in political struggle against the whole conservative and obsolete Establishment that the young Marx saw the way to integrating advanced philosophy with life. In the very first article "Comments on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction", exposing Prussian legislation on the press, Marx launched what amounted to a militant campaign against feudal monarchist reaction in Germany. Here for the first time he passed from the discussion of general philosophical problems to an analysis of specific political phenomena. By linking his criticism of existing conditions of censorship to an exposure of the Prussian political system he not only demonstrated its irrationality from the standpoint of advanced philosophy but also came near to understanding the essential hostility of the Prussian state to the people.

Marx's political convictions became even more clearly defined while he was with the *Rheinische Zeitung* (May 1842 to March 1843). Journalistic work on this paper provided him with an outlet for his enormous revolutionary energy, for publicising his revolutionary-democratic views. As its editor, Marx displayed great skill and flexibility in overcoming censorship difficulties and the opposition of the moderates on the editorial board and among the shareholders, and set about converting the paper from an organ of the liberal opposition into a tribune of revolutionary-democratic ideas. He set the tone in his own articles, which hit out against the social, political and spiritual oppression that reigned in Prussia and other German states. The revolutionary-democratic direction that Marx had given the paper led to attacks upon it from almost the whole monarchist press and also persecution by the authorities, who succeeded in having the paper closed. In the history not only of the German but also of the whole European press and social thought the *Rheinische Zeitung* occupies a distinguished place for having several years before the revolution of 1848 heralded the approaching revolutionary storm in Germany.

Marx's work on the newspaper represents an important phase in the development of his world outlook. In his articles one can trace what Lenin called "Marx's transition from idealism to materialism and from revolutionary democracy to communism" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 80). The forming of his political views had a considerable reciprocal effect on his philosophical position, leading him further and further beyond the bounds of Hegelian idealism. Newspaper work revealed to Marx his lack of knowledge of political economy and prompted him to undertake a serious study of economic problems, of man's material interests.

Marx's articles — some of them were never published because of the censorship and have not been preserved — ranged widely over the social problems of the Germany of his day.

In his article "Debates on Freedom of the Press and Publication of the Proceedings of the Assembly of the Estates" Marx, though he had not yet abandoned the abstract-idealist view of freedom as the "essence" of human nature, nevertheless linked his presentation of the problem with the attitudes adopted by various sections of society towards freedom of the press. His conclusion strikes a revolutionary note; only a people's press can be truly free and its main purpose is to rouse the people to defend freedom with arms in hand.

In this and a number of other articles ("The Supplement to Nos. 335 and 336 of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* on the

Commissions of the Estates in Prussia", "The Local Election of Deputies to the Provincial Assembly", "The Divorce Bill", etc.) Marx strongly criticises the hierarchical principle on which Prussian political institutions were based and which led to the political domination of the nobility. He exposed the wretched inadequacy of the Provincial Assemblies, which were mere caricatures of representative institutions, the retrograde ideas permeating Prussian legislation, and the absolutist political system of the Prussian monarchy.

The group of articles that includes "The Philosophical Manifesto of the Historical School of Law", "The Leading Article in No. 179 of the *Kölnische Zeitung*", "Communal Reform and the *Kölnische Zeitung*", "The Polemical Tactics of the Augsburg Newspaper", and "The *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* as Grand Inquisitor", was aimed against various aspects of ideological reaction in Germany. Marx spoke in defence of opposition newspapers that were being persecuted by the government and exposed the stand of the anti-democratic and reactionary press on the country's domestic affairs. He angrily exposed the preachers of religious obscurantism. He branded the representatives of the historical school of law and reactionary romanticism for attempting to justify feudal aristocratic institutions on the grounds of historical tradition. He also condemned the half-heartedness and inconsistency of the liberal opposition towards the existing regimes of the German states. Characteristic in this respect is his editorial note "In Connection with the Article 'Failures of the Liberal Opposition in Hanover'".

Marx defended the representatives of progressive philosophy of the time, particularly the Left Hegelians, from the attacks of the reactionaries in other papers as well. This can be seen from his article in the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* against Doctor Gruppe's criticism of the views of Bruno Bauer, the leader of the Young Hegelians. At the same time he took a sharply critical attitude towards anarchistic individualism, superficial and loud-mouthed criticism, addiction to the ultra-radical phrase without any clearly defined positive programme, all of which were distinctive features of the Berlin Young Hegelian circle of "The Free". In a short article on "The Attitude of Herwegh and Ruge to 'The Free'" Marx hinted that such behaviour would compromise the freedom party's cause. These disagreements with "The Free" marked the beginning of the rift that was to develop between Marx and the Young Hegelians.

Some of the material and documents published in this volume ("Renard's Letter to Oberpräsident von Schaper", "Marginal

Notes to the Accusations of the Ministerial Rescript", etc.) reflect Marx's struggle to keep up publication of the *Rheinische Zeitung,* his attempts to deflect the onslaught of the ruling circles, which in the end succeeded in having it banned.

In his articles in the *Rheinische Zeitung* Marx generally maintained idealist positions in his understanding of the state and the interrelation between material and spiritual activity, treating the Prussian state merely as a deviation from the state's essential nature. At the same time the urge to achieve a critical understanding of reality, to put the ideal of freedom into practice, the desire to comprehend and express the true interests of the people, drove Marx to probe more deeply into the life around him. He began to understand the role of social contradictions in the development of society, took the first steps towards defining the class structure of German society, and the role of the nobility as the social mainstay of the Prussian state. Outstanding in this respect are the "Debates on the Law on Thefts of Wood" and "Justification of the Correspondent from the Mosel", in which Marx came out openly in defence of the "poor, politically and socially propertyless many" (see p. 230).

Work on these articles with their analysis of the destitute condition of the working masses and its causes was of great significance in shaping Marx's beliefs. As Engels wrote, Marx told him on more than one occasion later that it was his study of the law on thefts of wood and of the condition of the Mosel peasants that prompted him to turn from pure politics to the study of economic relations and, thus, to socialism (see F. Engels to R. Fischer, April 15, 1895).

In his article "Communism and the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*" Marx touched for the first time on communism, which he regarded as a contemporary issue raised by life itself, by the struggle of a section of society "that today owns nothing" (see p. 216). Though critical in his attitude to the various utopian theories of the time and also to the practical experiments in setting up communist communities, Marx felt that his knowledge was not yet sufficient for him to express a definite opinion on these subjects. Even then, however, he saw in communism a subject worthy of profound theoretical analysis.

The second section contains letters written by Marx between 1841 and 1843, most of which are addressed to the German radical Arnold Ruge, editor of the Young Hegelian *Deutsche Jahrbücher.* The letters provide a supplement to Marx's published works of the time. Here he often expresses his views in

a much sharper form, since in private correspondence he was able to write with a frankness impossible under press censorship of his critical attitude towards Prussian life and towards various trends in philosophy and literature. This part of the young Marx's literary legacy is also permeated with revolutionary-democratic ideas. The letters vividly reproduce the political atmosphere in which Marx, as a revolutionary journalist and editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung,* had to work, his struggle with the censorship and the obstacles which beset publication of the paper at every turn.

The position Marx adopted in the fierce political and philosophical arguments that had flared up in Germany can be clearly traced in his correspondence. Marx did not share the illusions of the German liberals concerning the prospects of introducing a constitutional monarchy by peaceful means and stood for revolutionary methods of struggle against absolutism. More fully than his articles in the *Rheinische Zeitung* the letters reveal Marx's conflict with the Berlin Young Hegelian circle of "The Free". Marx's letter to Ruge of November 30, 1842 (see pp. 393-95) is particularly important in this respect. Marx hailed *The Essence of Christianity* and other works of Ludwig Feuerbach as a major event in philosophical life. Indeed, this is shown not only by Marx's letters but by a number of articles in the *Rheinische Zeitung,* particularly "the Leading Article in No. 179 of the *Kölnische Zeitung*" where he ranks Feuerbach among the representatives of true philosophy, which was "the intellectual quintessence of its time" (see p. 195). Feuerbach's materialist views exercised a considerable influence on Marx. Though he had a high opinion of them, Marx nevertheless perceived some of the deficiencies in Feuerbach's contemplative materialism. He pointed out that Feuerbach "refers too much to nature and too little to politics. That, however, is the only alliance by which present-day philosophy can become truth" (see p. 400). This remark on the inseparable connection between philosophy and political struggle anticipates his thoughts in later works on the unity of revolutionary theory and practice.

The third section, "From the Preparatory Materials", includes the above-mentioned *Notebooks on Epicurean Philosophy.* These notebooks consist of lengthy excerpts from Diogenes Laertius, Sextus Empiricus, Lucretius, Cicero, Plutarch, Seneca, Clement of Alexandria and Stobaeus, accompanied by Marx's own comments on the problems of both ancient philosophical thought and the social significance of philosophy. The section also includes the *Plan of Hegel's Philosophy of Nature,* which Marx devised in his

undergraduate years under the influence of Hegel's *Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences.*

The fourth section offers the reader a considerable portion of the verse and prose which Marx wrote as a young man. It does not embrace all the poems that have been preserved, but what has been included gives a clear idea of the nature of Marx's youthful contribution to *belles-lettres,* sufficient to judge the part played by these endeavours in his intellectual development.

The section includes some of the poems from the three albums that Marx wrote for his fiancée—Jenny von Westphalen. The poetical works that Marx himself selected in 1837 for a book of verse dedicated to his father are given in full. It contained ballads, romances, sonnets, epigrams, humorous verse and scenes from the unfinished tragedy *Oulanem.* A supplement to this book consisted of chapters from a humoristic novel *Scorpion and Felix,* which are also reproduced in the present volume. Marx himself evidently regarded this collection as the best of what he had written in this field and later actually decided to publish two of the poems from it. These poems, combined under the title *Wild Songs,* were published in the magazine *Athenäum* in 1841 (they appear in the first section of the present volume).

Many of these literary endeavours are, of course, somewhat imitative in character. Marx himself did not place much value on their artistic merits and later treated them with a great deal of scepticism, though he found that there was genuine warmth and sincerity of feeling in his youthful poems, particularly the ones dedicated to Jenny. But the main value of these youthful writings is that they reflect—particularly the sonnets, epigrams and jests—certain aspects of the view that the young Marx had of the world in general, his attitude to the life around him, the traits that were forming in his character. The themes of high endeavour, of dedicated effort, of contempt for philistine sluggishness, of readiness to throw oneself into battle for lofty aims stand out clearly. Regarded from this angle, the poems included here offer an important insight into the mind of the young Marx.

The appendices supply biographical documents concerning the major landmarks in Marx's life, his gymnasium essays on set subjects, papers concerned with his undergraduate years, and so on. Of great biographical interest are the letters of Heinrich Marx to his son. These letters are full of parental anxiety over a beloved child's irresistible craving for knowledge, tempestuous character and fearless free-thinking, particularly in matters of religion.

They convey a picture of the intense intellectual life Marx led as a student. The few extant letters from Jenny von Westphalen to Marx reveal the strength of the feelings that bound them together.

A special group is formed by the documents concerning the banning of the *Rheinische Zeitung* by the Prussian Government—a petition from the citizens of Cologne requesting withdrawal of the ban, and the minutes of the general meeting of the shareholders held on February 12, 1843.

* * *

Most of the items included in this volume had not previously been translated into English. Many of the articles from the *Rheinische Zeitung*, including the "Proceedings of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly" (articles 1 and 3), "Justification of the Correspondent from the Mosel", all the letters given in the volume, the bulk of the youthful literary endeavours, and also the *Notebooks on Epicurean Philosophy* and the *Plan of Hegel's Philosophy of Nature*, appear in English for the first time. The appendices also consist entirely of material and documents not previously published in English.

The article "Luther as Arbiter Between Strauss and Feuerbach" published in previous editions of Marx's early works is not included in the present edition, for recent research has proved that it was not written by Marx.

The works that have previously appeared in English are given here in new, carefully checked translations.

The author's underlining is reproduced by italics; marks of emphasis in the margins are shown by vertical lines. Headings supplied by the editors where none existed in the original are given in square brackets. The asterisks indicate footnotes by the author; the editors' footnotes are indicated by index letters, and reference notes by superior numbers.

The compiling of the volume, the writing of the preface and notes, and the making of the subject index were the work of Tatyana Vasilyeva. The name index and the indexes of quoted literature and periodicals were prepared by Dmitry Belyaev, Tatyana Chikileva and Galina Kostryukova (CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism).

All the articles, letters, etc., in this volume have been translated from the German unless otherwise stated.

The prose translations were made by Richard Dixon, Clemens Dutt, Dirk J. and Sally R. Struik and Alick West, and edited by

Robert Browning, Maurice Cornforth, Richard Dixon, Catherine Judelson, David McLellan and Margaret Mynatt.

The poems were translated by Alex Miller in consultation with Diana Miller and Victor Schnittke except for the verse tragedy *Oulanem* translated by Jack Lindsay and Alick West and edited by Alex Miller.

The English translations of the excerpts from Cicero, Athenaeus, Diogenes Laertius, Plutarch, Seneca, Sextus Empiricus and Clement of Alexandria in Marx's *Doctoral Dissertation* and *Notebooks on Epicurean Philosophy* are based on the translations published in the Loeb Classics; those from Epicurus on *The Extant Remains*, translated by Cyril Bailey; those from Lucretius on Lucretius, *The Nature of the Universe*, translated by R. E. Latham and published by Penguin Books, London; and those from Aristotle on *The Works of Aristotle translated into English*, published by Oxford University Press. The publishers express their gratitude to Harvard University Press and the Loeb Classical Library, Penguin Books, and the Clarendon Press, Oxford, for their kind permission to use these translations.

The volume was prepared for the press by the editors Natalia Karmanova, Margarita Lopukhina, Victor Schnittke, Lyudgarda Zubrilova, and the assistant-editor Natina Perova, for Progress Publishers, and Vladimir Mosolov, scientific editor, for the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow.

# KARL MARX

## WORKS

## August 1835-March 1843

# REFLECTIONS OF A YOUNG MAN ON THE CHOICE OF A PROFESSION[1]

Nature herself has determined the sphere of activity in which the animal should move, and it peacefully moves within that sphere, without attempting to go beyond it, without even an inkling of any other. To man, too, the Deity gave a general aim, that of ennobling mankind and himself, but he left it to man to seek the means by which this aim can be achieved; he left it to him to choose the position in society most suited to him, from which he can best uplift himself and society.

This choice is a great privilege of man over the rest of creation, but at the same time it is an act which can destroy his whole life, frustrate all his plans, and make him unhappy. Serious consideration of this choice, therefore, is certainly the first duty of a young man who is beginning his career and does not want to leave his most important affairs to chance.

Everyone has an aim in view, which to him at least seems great, and actually is so if the deepest conviction, the innermost voice of the heart declares it so, for the Deity never leaves mortal man wholly without a guide; he speaks softly but with certainty.

But this voice can easily be drowned, and what we took for inspiration can be the product of the moment, which another moment can perhaps also destroy. Our imagination, perhaps, is set on fire, our emotions excited, phantoms flit before our eyes, and we plunge headlong into what impetuous instinct suggests, which we imagine the Deity himself has pointed out to us. But what we ardently embrace soon repels us and we see our whole existence in ruins.

We must therefore seriously examine whether we have really been inspired in our choice of a profession, whether an inner

voice approves it, or whether this inspiration is a delusion, and what we took to be a call from the Deity was self-deception. But how can we recognise this except by tracing the source of the inspiration itself?

What is great glitters, its glitter arouses ambition, and ambition can easily have produced the inspiration, or what we took for inspiration; but reason can no longer restrain the man who is tempted by the demon of ambition, and he plunges headlong into what impetuous instinct suggests: he no longer chooses his position in life, instead it is determined by chance and illusion.

Nor are we called upon to adopt the position which offers us the most brilliant opportunities; that is not the one which, in the long series of years in which we may perhaps hold it, will never tire us, never dampen our zeal, never let our enthusiasm grow cold, but one in which we shall soon see our wishes unfulfilled, our ideas unsatisfied, and we shall inveigh against the Deity and curse mankind.

But it is not only ambition which can arouse sudden enthusiasm for a particular profession; we may perhaps have embellished it in our imagination, and embellished it so that it appears the highest that life can offer. We have not analysed it, not considered the whole burden, the great responsibility it imposes on us; we have seen it only from a distance, and distance is deceptive.

Our own reason cannot be counsellor here; for it is supported neither by experience nor by profound observation, being deceived by emotion and blinded by fantasy. To whom then should we turn our eyes? Who should support us where our reason forsakes us?

Our parents, who have already travelled life's road and experienced the severity of fate—our heart tells us.

And if then our enthusiasm still persists, if we still continue to love a profession and believe ourselves called to it after we have examined it in cold blood, after we have perceived its burdens and become acquainted with its difficulties, then we ought to adopt it, then neither does our enthusiasm deceive us nor does overhastiness carry us away.

But we cannot always attain the position to which we believe we are called; our relations in society have to some extent already begun to be established before we are in a position to determine them.

Our physical constitution itself is often a threatening obstacle, and let no one scoff at its rights.

Page from the gymnasium examination composition "Reflections of a Young Man on the Choice of a Profession"

It is true that we can rise above it; but then our downfall is all the more rapid, for then we are venturing to build on crumbling ruins, then our whole life is an unhappy struggle between the mental and the bodily principle. But he who is unable to reconcile the warring elements within himself, how can he resist life's tempestuous stress, how can he act calmly? And it is from calm alone that great and fine deeds can arise; it is the only soil in which ripe fruits successfully develop.

Although we cannot work for long and seldom happily with a physical constitution which is not suited to our profession, the thought nevertheless continually arises of sacrificing our well-being to duty, of acting vigorously although we are weak. But if we have chosen a profession for which we do not possess the talent, we can never exercise it worthily, we shall soon realise with shame our own incapacity and tell ourselves that we are useless created beings, members of society who are incapable of fulfilling their vocation. Then the most natural consequence is self-contempt, and what feeling is more painful and less capable of being made up for by all that the outside world has to offer? Self-contempt is a serpent that ever gnaws at one's breast, sucking the life-blood from one's heart and mixing it with the poison of misanthropy and despair.

An illusion about our talents for a profession which we have closely examined is a fault which takes its revenge on us ourselves, and even if it does not meet with the censure of the outside world it gives rise to more terrible pain in our hearts than such censure could inflict.

If we have considered all this, and if the conditions of our life permit us to choose any profession we like, we may adopt the one that assures us the greatest worth, one which is based on ideas of whose truth we are thoroughly convinced, which offers us the widest scope to work for mankind, and for ourselves to approach closer to the general aim for which every profession is but a means — perfection.

Worth is that which most of all uplifts a man, which imparts a higher nobility to his actions and all his endeavours, which makes him invulnerable, admired by the crowd and raised above it.

But worth can be assured only by a profession in which we are not servile tools, but in which we act independently in our own sphere. It can be assured only by a profession that does not demand reprehensible acts, even if reprehensible only in outward appearance, a profession which the best can follow with noble pride. A profession which assures this in the greatest de-

gree is not always the highest, but is always the most to be preferred.

But just as a profession which gives us no assurance of worth degrades us, we shall as surely succumb under the burdens of one which is based on ideas that we later recognise to be false.

There we have no recourse but to self-deception, and what a desperate salvation is that which is obtained by self-betrayal!

Those professions which are not so much involved in life itself as concerned with abstract truths are the most dangerous for the young man whose principles are not yet firm and whose convictions are not yet strong and unshakeable. At the same time these professions may seem to be the most exalted if they have taken deep root in our hearts and if we are capable of sacrificing our lives and all endeavours for the ideas which prevail in them.

They can bestow happiness on the man who has a vocation for them, but they destroy him who adopts them rashly, without reflection, yielding to the impulse of the moment.

On the other hand, the high regard we have for the ideas on which our profession is based gives us a higher standing in society, enhances our own worth, and makes our actions unchallengeable.

One who chooses a profession he values highly will shudder at the idea of being unworthy of it; he will act nobly if only because his position in society is a noble one.

But the chief guide which must direct us in the choice of a profession is the welfare of mankind and our own perfection. It should not be thought that these two interests could be in conflict, that one would have to destroy the other; on the contrary, man's nature is so constituted that he can attain his own perfection only by working for the perfection, for the good, of his fellow men.

If he works only for himself, he may perhaps become a famous man of learning, a great sage, an excellent poet, but he can never be a perfect, truly great man.

History calls those men the greatest who have ennobled themselves by working for the common good; experience acclaims as happiest the man who has made the greatest number of people happy; religion itself teaches us that the ideal being whom all strive to copy sacrificed himself for the sake of mankind, and who would dare to set at nought such judgments?

If we have chosen the position in life in which we can most of all work for mankind, no burdens can bow us down, because they are sacrifices for the benefit of all; then we shall experience no

petty, limited, selfish joy, but our happiness will belong to millions, our deeds will live on quietly but perpetually at work, and over our ashes will be shed the hot tears of noble people.

Written between August 10 and 16, 1835

Printed according to the manuscript

First published in the yearly *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, Ed. K. Grünberg, Leipzig, 1925

Signed: *Marx*

# [LETTER FROM MARX TO HIS FATHER IN TRIER][2]

Berlin, November 10[-11, 1837]

Dear Father,

There are moments in one's life which are like frontier posts marking the completion of a period but at the same time clearly indicating a new direction.

At such a moment of transition we feel compelled to view the past and the present with the eagle eye of thought in order to become conscious of our real position. Indeed, world history itself likes to look back in this way and take stock, which often gives it the appearance of retrogression or stagnation, whereas it is merely, as it were, sitting back in an armchair in order to understand itself and mentally grasp its own activity, that of the mind.

At such moments, however, a person becomes lyrical, for every metamorphosis is partly a swan song, partly the overture to a great new poem, which endeavours to achieve a stable form in brilliant colours that still merge into one another. Nevertheless, we should like to erect a memorial to what we have once lived through in order that this experience may regain in our emotions the place it has lost in our actions. And where could a more sacred dwelling place be found for it than in the heart of a parent, the most merciful judge, the most intimate sympathiser, the sun of love whose warming fire is felt at the innermost centre of our endeavours! What better amends and forgiveness could there be for much that is objectionable and blameworthy than to be seen as the manifestation of an essentially necessary state of things? How, at least, could the often ill-fated play of chance and intellectual error better escape the reproach of being due to a perverse heart?

When, therefore, now at the end of a year spent here I cast a glance back on the course of events during that time, in order, my dear father, to answer your infinitely dear letter from Ems,[a] allow me to review my affairs in the way I regard life in general, as the expression of an intellectual activity which develops in all directions, in science, art and private matters.

When I left you, a new world had come into existence for me, that of love, which in fact at the beginning was a passionately yearning and hopeless love. Even the journey to Berlin, which otherwise would have delighted me in the highest degree, would have inspired me to contemplate nature and fired my zest for life, left me cold. Indeed, it put me strikingly out of humour, for the rocks which I saw were not more rugged, more indomitable, than the emotions of my soul, the big towns not more lively than my blood, the inn meals not more extravagant, more indigestible, than the store of fantasies I carried with me, and, finally, no work of art was as beautiful as Jenny.

After my arrival in Berlin, I broke off all hitherto existing connections, made visits rarely and unwillingly, and tried to immerse myself in science and art.

In accordance with my state of mind at the time, lyrical poetry was bound to be my first subject, at least the most pleasant and immediate one. But owing to my attitude and whole previous development it was purely idealistic. My heaven, my art, became a world beyond, as remote as my love. Everything real became hazy and what is hazy has no definite outlines. All the poems of the first three volumes I sent to Jenny are marked by attacks on our times, diffuse and inchoate expressions of feeling, nothing natural, everything built out of moonshine, complete opposition between what is and what ought to be, rhetorical reflections instead of poetic thoughts, but perhaps also a certain warmth of feeling and striving for poetic fire. The whole extent of a longing that has no bounds finds expression there in many different forms and makes the poetic "composition" into "diffusion".[b]

Poetry, however, could be and had to be only an accompaniment; I had to study law and above all felt the urge to wrestle with philosophy. The two were so closely linked that, on the one hand,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 677-78.— *Ed.*

[b] A pun on the German words *Dichten* (poetic composition or also something compact) and *Breiten* (something broad or diffuse).— *Ed.*

I read through Heineccius, Thibaut[a] and the sources quite uncritically, in a mere schoolboy fashion; thus, for instance, I translated the first two books of the Pandect[3] into German, and, on the other hand, tried to elaborate a philosophy of law covering the whole field of law. I prefaced this with some metaphysical propositions by way of introduction and continued this unhappy opus as far as public law, a work of almost 300 pages.[4]

Here, above all, the same opposition between what is and what ought to be, which is characteristic of idealism, stood out as a serious defect and was the source of the hopelessly incorrect division of the subject-matter. First of all came what I was pleased to call the metaphysics of law, i. e., basic principles, reflections, definitions of concepts, divorced from all actual law and every actual form of law, as occurs in Fichte,[b] only in my case it was more modern and shallower. From the outset an obstacle to grasping the truth here was the unscientific form of mathematical dogmatism, in which the author argues hither and thither, going round and round the subject dealt with, without the latter taking shape as something living and developing in a many-sided way. A triangle gives the mathematician scope for construction and proof, it remains a mere abstract conception in space and does not develop into anything further. It has to be put alongside something else, then it assumes other positions, and this diversity added to it gives it different relationships and truths. On the other hand, in the concrete expression of a living world of ideas, as exemplified by law, the state, nature, and philosophy as a whole, the object itself must be studied in its development; arbitrary divisions must not be introduced, the rational character of the object itself must develop as something imbued with contradictions in itself and find its unity in itself.

Next, as the second part, came the philosophy of law, that is to say, according to my views at the time, an examination of the development of ideas in positive Roman law, as if positive law in its conceptual development (I do not mean in its purely finite provisions) could ever be something different from the formation of the concept of law, which the first part, however, should have dealt with.

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[a] J. G. Heineccius, *Elementa iuris civilis secundum ordinem Pandectarum, commoda auditoribus methodo adornata*; A. F. J. Thibaut, *System des Pandekten-Rechts*, Bd. 1-2.— *Ed.*

[b] J. G. Fichte, *Grundlage des Naturrechts nach Prinzipien der Wissenschaftslehre*, 2 Teile.— *Ed.*

Letter from Karl Marx to his father, November 10-11, 1837

Portrait of Karl Marx
in his student years

Moreover, I had further divided this part into the theory of formal law and the theory of material law, the first being the pure form of the system in its sequence and interconnections, its subdivisions and scope, whereas the second, on the other hand, was intended to describe the content, showing how the form becomes embodied in its content. This was an error I shared with Herr v. Savigny, as I discovered later in his learned work on ownership,[a] the only difference being that he applies the term formal definition of the concept to "finding the place which this or that theory occupies in the (fictitious) Roman system", the material definition being "the theory of positive content which the Romans attributed to a concept defined in this way",[5] whereas I understood by form the necessary architectonics of conceptual formulations, and by matter the necessary quality of these formulations. The mistake lay in my belief that matter and form can and must develop separately from each other, and so I obtained not a real form, but something like a desk with drawers into which I then poured sand.

The concept is indeed the mediating link between form and content. In a philosophical treatment of law, therefore, the one must arise in the other; indeed, the form should only be the continuation of the content. Thus I arrived at a division of the material such as could be devised by its author for at most an easy and shallow classification, but in which the spirit and truth of law disappeared. All law was divided into contractual and non-contractual. In order to make this clearer, I take the liberty to set out the plan up to the division of *jus publicum,*[b] which is also treated in the formal part.

| I | II |
|---|---|
| *jus privatum*[c] | *jus publicum* |

I. *jus privatum*

a) Conditional contractual private law.
b) Unconditional non-contractual private law.

A. *Conditional contractual private law*

a) Law of persons; b) Law of things; c) Law of persons in relation to property.

a) Law of persons

I. Commercial contracts; II. Warranties; III. Contracts of bailment.

[a] F. C. Savigny, *Das Recht des Besitzes.*— *Ed.*

[b] Public law.— *Ed.*

[c] Private law.— *Ed.*

I. *Commercial contracts*

2. Contracts of legal entities (*societas*). 3. *Contracts of casements* (*locatio conductio*).

3. *Locatio conductio*

1. Insofar as it relates to *operae.*[a]
   a) *locatio conductio* proper (excluding Roman letting or leasing);
   b) *mandatum.*[b]
2. Insofar as it relates to *usus rei.*[c]
   a) On land: *usus fructus*[d] (also not in the purely Roman sense);
   b) On houses: *habitatio.*[e]

II. *Warranties*

1. Arbitration or conciliation contract; 2. Insurance contract.

III. *Contracts of bailment*

2. *Promissory contract*

1. *fide jussio*[f]; 2. *negotiorum gestio.*[g]

3. *Contract of gift*

1. *donatio*[h]; 2. *gratiae promissum.*[i]

b) *Law of things*

I. *Commercial contracts*

2. *permutatio stricte sic dicta.*[j]

1. *permutatio* proper; 2. *mutuum* (*usurae*)[k]; 3. *emptio venditio.*[l]

II. *Warranties*

*pignus.*[m]

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[a] Services.— *Ed.*
[b] Commission.— *Ed.*
[c] Right to use of something.— *Ed.*
[d] Usufruct.— *Ed.*
[e] Right to habitation (first of all in one's own house, later in the house of another person).— *Ed.*
[f] Pledge.— *Ed.*
[g] Management without commission.— *Ed.*
[h] Gift.— *Ed.*
[i] Promise of a favour.— *Ed.*
[j] Exchange in the original sense.— *Ed.*
[k] Loan (interest).— *Ed.*
[l] Purchase and sale.— *Ed.*
[m] Pledge.— *Ed.*

### III. *Contracts of bailment*

2. *commodatum*[a]; 3. *depositum.*[b]

But why should I go on filling up pages with things I myself have rejected? The whole thing is replete with tripartite divisions, it is written with tedious prolixity, and the Roman concepts are misused in the most barbaric fashion in order to force them into my system. On the other hand, in this way I did gain a general view of the material and a liking for it, at least along certain lines.

At the end of the section on material private law, I saw the falsity of the whole thing, the basic plan of which borders on that of Kant,[6] but deviates wholly from it in the execution, and again it became clear to me that there could be no headway without philosophy. So with a good conscience I was able once more to throw myself into her embrace, and I drafted a new system of metaphysical principles, but at the conclusion of it I was once more compelled to recognise that it was wrong, like all my previous efforts.

In the course of this work I adopted the habit of making extracts from all the books I read, for instance from Lessing's *Laokoon*, Solger's *Erwin*, Winckelmann's history of art, Luden's German history, and incidentally scribbled down my reflections. At the same time I translated Tacitus' *Germania*, and Ovid's *Tristia*, and began to learn English and Italian by myself, i. e., out of grammars, but I have not yet got anywhere with this. I also read Klein's criminal law and his annals, and all the most recent literature, but this last only by the way.

At the end of the term, I again sought the dances of the Muses and the music of the Satyrs. Already in the last exercise book that I sent you[c] idealism pervades forced humour (*Scorpion and Felix*) and an unsuccessful, fantastic drama (*Oulanem*), until it finally undergoes a complete transformation and becomes mere formal art, mostly without objects that inspire it and without any impassioned train of thought.

And yet these last poems are the only ones in which suddenly, as if by a magic touch—oh, the touch was at first a shattering blow—I caught sight of the glittering realm of true poetry like a distant fairy palace, and all my creations crumbled into nothing.

Busy with these various occupations, during my first term I

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[a] Loan, loan contract.—*Ed.*

[b] Safe keeping of goods deposited.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 616-32.—*Ed.*

spent many a sleepless night, fought many a battle, and endured much internal and external excitement. Yet at the end I emerged not much enriched, and moreover I had neglected nature, art and the world, and shut the door on my friends. The above observations seem to have been made by my body. I was advised by a doctor to go to the country, and so it was that for the first time I traversed the whole length of the city to the gate and went to Stralow. I had no inkling that I would mature there from an anaemic weakling into a man of robust bodily strength.

A curtain had fallen, my holy of holies was rent asunder, and new gods had to be installed.

From the idealism which, by the way, I had compared and nourished with the idealism of Kant and Fichte, I arrived at the point of seeking the idea in reality itself. If previously the gods had dwelt above the earth, now they became its centre.

I had read fragments of Hegel's philosophy, the grotesque craggy melody of which did not appeal to me. Once more I wanted to dive into the sea, but with the definite intention of establishing that the nature of the mind is just as necessary, concrete and firmly based as the nature of the body. My aim was no longer to practise tricks of swordsmanship, but to bring genuine pearls into the light of day.

I wrote a dialogue of about 24 pages: "Cleanthes, or the Starting Point and Necessary Continuation of Philosophy".[7] Here art and science, which had become completely divorced from each other, were to some extent united, and like a vigorous traveller I set about the task itself, a philosophical-dialectical account of divinity, as it manifests itself as the idea-in-itself, as religion, as nature, and as history. My last proposition was the beginning of the Hegelian system. And this work, for which I had acquainted myself to some extent with natural science, Schelling, and history, which had caused me to rack my brains endlessly, and which is so [...] written (since it was actually intended to be a new logic) that now even I myself can hardly recapture my thinking about it, this work, my dearest child, reared by moonlight, like a false siren delivers me into the arms of the enemy.

For some days my vexation made me quite incapable of thinking; I ran about madly in the garden by the dirty water of the Spree, which "washes souls and dilutes the tea".[a] I even joined my landlord in a hunting excursion, rushed off to Berlin and wanted to embrace every street-corner loafer.

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[a] H. Heine, *Die Nordsee*, 1. Zyklus, "Frieden".—*Ed.*

Shortly after that I pursued only positive studies: the study of Savigny's *Ownership,* Feuerbach's and Grolmann's criminal law, Cramer's *de verborum significatione,* Wenning-Ingenheim's Pandect system, and Mühlenbruch's *Doctrina pandectarum,* which I am still working through, and finally a few titles from Lauterbach, on civil procedure and above all canon law, the first part of which, Gratian's *Concordia discordantium canonum,* I have almost entirely read through in the *corpus* and made extracts from, as also the supplement, Lancelotti's *Institutiones.* Then I translated in part Aristotle's *Rhetoric,* read *de augmentis scientiarum* of the famous Bacon of Verulam, spent a good deal of time on Reimarus, to whose book on the artistic instincts of animals I applied my mind with delight, and also tackled German law, but chiefly only to the extent of going through the capitularies of the Franconian kings and the letters of the Popes to them.

Owing to being upset over Jenny's illness and my vain, fruitless intellectual labours, and as the result of nagging annoyance at having had to make an idol of a view that I hated, I became ill, as I have already written to you, dear Father. When I got better I burnt all the poems and outlines of stories, etc., imagining that I could give them up completely, of which so far at any rate I have not given any proofs to the contrary.

While I was ill I got to know Hegel from beginning to end, together with most of his disciples. Through a number of meetings with friends in Stralow I came across a Doctors' Club,[8] which includes some university lecturers and my most intimate Berlin friend, Dr. Rutenberg. In controversy here, many conflicting views were expressed, and I became ever more firmly bound to the modern world philosophy from which I had thought to escape, but all rich chords were silenced and I was seized with a veritable fury of irony, as could easily happen after so much had been negated. In addition, there was Jenny's silence, and I could not rest until I had acquired modernity and the outlook of contemporary science through a few bad productions such as *The Visit,*[9] etc.

If perhaps I have here neither clearly described the whole of this last term nor gone into all details, and slurred over all the nuances, excuse me, dear Father, because of my desire to speak of the present time.

Herr v. Chamisso sent me a very insignificant note in which he informed me "he regrets that the *Almanac* cannot use my contributions because it has already been printed a long time ago".[10] I swallowed this with vexation. The bookseller Wigand has sent my plan to Dr. Schmidt, publisher of Wunder's firm that

trades in good cheese and bad literature. I enclose his letter; Dr. Schmidt has not yet replied. However, I am by no means abandoning this plan, especially since all the aesthetic celebrities of the Hegelian school have promised their collaboration through the help of university lecturer Bauer, who plays a big role among them, and of my colleague Dr. Rutenberg.[11]

Now, as regards the question of a career in cameralistics, my dear father, I recently made the acquaintance of an assessor, Schmidthänner, who advised me after the third law examination to transfer to it as a justiciary, which would be the more to my taste, since I really prefer jurisprudence to all administrative science. This gentleman told me that in three years he himself and many others from the Münster high provincial court in Westphalia had succeeded in reaching the position of assessor, which was not difficult, with hard work of course, since the stages there are not rigidly fixed as they are in Berlin and elsewhere. If later, as an assessor, one is awarded a doctor's degree, there are also much better prospects of obtaining a post as professor extraordinary, as happened in the case of Herr Gärtner in Bonn, who wrote a mediocre work on provincial legislation [a] and is otherwise only known as belonging to the Hegelian school of jurists. But, my dear, very good father, would it not be possible to discuss all this with you personally? Eduard's [b] condition, dear Mama's illness, your own ill health, although I hope it is not serious, all this makes me want to hurry to you, indeed it makes it almost a necessity. I would be there already if I was not definitely in doubt about your permission and consent.

Believe me, my dear, dear father, I am actuated by no selfish intention (although it would be bliss for me to see Jenny again), but there is a thought which moves me, and it is one I have no right to express. In many respects it would even be a hard step for me to take but, as my only sweet Jenny writes, these considerations are all of no account when faced with the fulfilment of duties that are sacred.

I beg you, dear Father, however you may decide, not to show this letter, at least not this page, to my angel of a mother. My sudden arrival could perhaps help this grand and wonderful woman to recover.

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[a] G. F. Gaertner, *Ueber die Provinzial-Rechte. Sendschreiben an den Königl. Geheimen Justiz- und vortragenden Rath im hohen Justiz-Ministerium zu Berlin, Herrn A. W. Goetze.—Ed.*

[b] Karl Marx's brother.—*Ed.*

My letter to Mama was written long before the arrival of Jenny's dear letter, so perhaps I unwittingly wrote too much about matters which are not quite or even very little suitable.[12]

In the hope that gradually the clouds that have gathered about our family will pass away, that it will be granted to me to suffer and weep with you and, perhaps, when with you to give proof of my profound, heartfelt sympathy and immeasurable love, which often I can only express very badly; in the hope that you also, dear, ever beloved Father, taking into account my much agitated state of mind, will forgive me where often my heart seems to have erred, overwhelmed by my militant spirit, and that you will soon be wholly restored to health so that I can clasp you to my heart and tell you all my thoughts,

Your ever loving son,

*Karl*

Please, dear Father, excuse my illegible handwriting and bad style; it is almost 4 o'clock, the candle has burnt itself out, and my eyes are dim; a real unrest has taken possession of me, I shall not be able to calm the turbulent spectres until I am with you who are dear to me.

Please give greetings from me to my sweet, wonderful Jenny. I have read her letter twelve times already, and always discover new delights in it. It is in every respect, including that of style, the most beautiful letter I can imagine being written by a woman.

First published in *Die Neue Zeit* No. 1, 1897

Printed according to the original

# WILD SONGS[13]

## I

### THE FIDDLER

The Fiddler saws the strings,
His light brown hair he tosses and flings.
    He carries a sabre at his side,
    He wears a pleated habit wide.

"Fiddler, why that frantic sound?
Why do you gaze so wildly round?
    Why leaps your blood, like the surging sea?
    What drives your bow so desperately?"

"Why do I fiddle? Or the wild waves roar?
That they might pound the rocky shore,
    That eye be blinded, that bosom swell,
    That Soul's cry carry down to Hell."

"Fiddler, with scorn you rend your heart.
A radiant God lent you your art,
    To dazzle with waves of melody,
    To soar to the star-dance in the sky."

"How so! I plunge, plunge without fail
My blood-black sabre into your soul.
    That art God neither wants nor wists,
    It leaps to the brain from Hell's black mists.

"Till heart's bewitched, till senses reel:
With Satan I have struck my deal.
    He chalks the signs, beats time for me,
    I play the death march fast and free.

"I must play dark, I must play light,
Till bowstrings break my heart outright."

The Fiddler saws the strings,
His light brown hair he tosses and flings.
    He carries a sabre at his side,
    He wears a pleated habit wide.

## II

## NOCTURNAL LOVE

Frantic, he holds her near,
    Darkly looks in her eye.
"Pain so burns you, Dear,
    And at my breath you sigh.

"Oh, you have drunk my soul.
    Mine is your glow, in truth.
My jewel, shine your fill.
    Glow, blood of youth."

"Sweetest, so pale your face,
    So wondrous strange your words.
See, rich in music's grace
    The lofty gliding worlds."

"Gliding, dearest, gliding,
    Glowing, stars, glowing.
Let us go heavenwards riding,
    Our souls together flowing."

His voice is muffled, low.
    Desperate, he looks about.
Glances of crackling flame
    His hollow eyes shoot out.

"You have drunk poison, Love.
    With me you must away.
The sky is dark above,
    No more I see the day."

Shuddering, he pulls her close to him.
Death in the breast doth hover.
Pain stabs her, piercing deep within,
And eyes are closed forever.

Written in 1837

Printed according to the journal

First published in the *Athenäum. Zeitschrift für das gebildete Deutschland*, January 23, 1841

# DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE DEMOCRITEAN AND EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY OF NATURE

With an Appendix [14]

Written between 1840 and March 1841

First published in the book:
Marx und Engels, *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass*, Stuttgart, 1902

Signed: *Karl Heinrich Marx, Ph. D.*

Printed according to the copy of the manuscript corrected by Marx

To his dear fatherly friend,
LUDWIG VON WESTPHALEN,
Geheimer Regierungsrat
at Trier,
the author dedicates these
lines as a token
of filial love

*You* will forgive me, *my dear fatherly friend,* if I set *your* name, so dear to me, at the head of an insignificant brochure. I am too impatient to await another opportunity of giving *you* a small proof of my love.

May everyone who doubts of the Idea be so fortunate as I, to be able to admire an old man who has the strength of youth, who greets every forward step of the times with the enthusiasm and the prudence of truth and who, with that profoundly convincing sun-bright idealism which alone knows the true word at whose call all the spirits of the world appear, never recoiled before the deep shadows of retrograde ghosts, before the often dark clouds of the times, but rather with godly energy and manly confident gaze saw through all veils the empyreum which burns at the heart of the world. *You, my fatherly friend,* were always a living *argumentum ad oculos*[a] to me, that idealism is no figment of the imagination, but a truth.

I need not pray for *your* physical well-being. The spirit is the great physician versed in magic, to whom *you* have entrusted yourself.[b]

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[a] Visible proof.— *Ed.*

[b] This paragraph was originally: "I hope to follow soon in person this messenger of love which I send *you,* and to roam again at *your* side through our wonderfully picturesque mountains and forests. I need not pray for *your* physical well-being. The spirit and nature are the great physicians versed in magic, to whom *you* have entrusted *yourself.*" — On the left-hand margin of this page are the words, "This dedication should be printed in larger type." — *Ed.*

## FOREWORD

The form of this treatise would have been on the one hand more strictly scientific, on the other hand in many of its arguments less pedantic, if its primary purpose had not been that of a doctor's dissertation. I am nevertheless constrained by external reasons to send it to the press in this form. Moreover I believe that I have solved in it a heretofore unsolved problem in the history of Greek philosophy.

The experts know that no preliminary studies that are even of the slightest use exist for the subject of this treatise. What Cicero and Plutarch have babbled has been babbled after them up to the present day. Gassendi, who freed Epicurus from the interdict which the Fathers of the Church and the whole Middle Ages, the period of realised unreason, had placed upon him, presents in his expositions[15] only one interesting element. He seeks to accommodate his Catholic conscience to his pagan knowledge and Epicurus to the Church, which certainly was wasted effort. It is as though one wanted to throw the habit of a Christian nun over the bright and flourishing body of the Greek Lais. It is rather that Gassendi learns philosophy from Epicurus than that he could teach us about Epicurus' philosophy.

This treatise is to be regarded only as the preliminary to a larger work in which I shall present in detail the cycle of Epicurean, Stoic and Sceptic philosophy in their relation to the whole of Greek speculation.[16] The shortcomings of this treatise, in form and the like, will be eliminated in that later work.

To be sure, *Hegel* has on the whole correctly defined the general aspects of the above-mentioned systems. But in the admirably great and bold plan of his history of philosophy, from which alone

the history of philosophy can in general be dated, it was impossible, on the one hand, to go into detail, and on the other hand, the giant thinker was hindered by his view of what he called speculative thought *par excellence* from recognising in these systems their great importance for the history of Greek philosophy and for the Greek mind in general. These systems are the key to the true history of Greek philosophy. A more profound indication of their connection with Greek life can be found in the essay of my friend Köppen, *Friedrich der Grosse und seine Widersacher.*[17]

If a critique of Plutarch's polemic against Epicurus' theology has been added as an appendix, this is because this polemic is by no means isolated, but rather representative of an *espèce,*[a] in that it most strikingly presents in itself the relation of the theologising intellect to philosophy.

The[b] critique does not touch, among other things, on the general falsity of Plutarch's standpoint when he brings philosophy before the forum of religion. In this respect it will be enough to cite, in place of all argument, a passage from David Hume:

"... 'Tis certainly a kind of indignity to philosophy, whose *sovereign authority* ought everywhere to be acknowledged, to oblige her on every occasion to make apologies for her conclusions and justify herself to every particular art and science which may be offended at her. *This puts one in mind of a king arraign'd for high treason against his subjects.*"[18]

Philosophy, as long as a drop of blood shall pulse in its world-subduing and absolutely free heart, will never grow tired of answering its adversaries with the cry of Epicurus:

'Ασεβής δὲ, οὐχ ὁ τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν θεοὺς ἀναιρῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας θεοῖς προςάπτων.[c 19]

Philosophy makes no secret of it. The confession of Prometheus:

ἁπλῷ λόγῳ, τοὺς πάντας ἐχθαίρω θεούς,[d]

is its own confession, its own aphorism against all heavenly and earthly gods who do not acknowledge human self-consciousness as the highest divinity. It will have none other beside.

But to those poor March hares who rejoice over the apparently

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[a] Species, type.— *Ed.*

[b] "The" corrected by Marx from "this".— *Ed.*

[c] Not the man who denies the gods worshipped by the multitude, but he who affirms of the gods what the multitude believes about them, is truly impious.— *Ed.*

[d] In simple words, I hate the pack of gods (Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*).— *Ed.*

worsened civil position of philosophy, it responds again, as Prometheus replied to the servant of the gods, Hermes:

τῆς σῆς λατρείας τὴν ἐμὴν δυςπραξίαν,
σαφῶς ἐπίστασ', οὐκ ἂν ἀλλάξαιμ' ἐγώ.
κρεῖσσον γάρ οἶμαι τῆδε λατρεύειν πέτρᾳ
ἢ πατρὶ φῦναι Ζηνὶ πιστὸν ἄγγελον.[a]

Prometheus is the most eminent saint and martyr in the philosophical calendar.

Berlin, March 1841

[a] Be sure of this, I would not change my state
Of evil fortune for your servitude.
Better to be the servant of this rock
Than to be faithful boy to Father Zeus.
(Ibid.)— *Ed.*

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# Part One

## DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE DEMOCRITEAN AND EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY OF NATURE IN GENERAL

### I. THE SUBJECT OF THE TREATISE

Greek philosophy seems to have met with something with which a good tragedy is not supposed to meet, namely, a dull ending.[a] The objective history of philosophy in Greece seems to come to an end with[b] Aristotle, Greek philosophy's Alexander of Macedon, and even the manly-strong Stoics did not succeed[c] in what the Spartans did accomplish in their temples, the chaining of Athena[d] to Heracles so that she could not flee.

Epicureans, Stoics and Sceptics are regarded as an almost improper addition bearing no relation to its powerful premises.[e] Epicurean philosophy is taken as a syncretic combination of Democritean physics and Cyrenaic morality; Stoicism as a compound of Heraclitean speculation on nature and the Cynical-ethical view of the world, together with some Aristotelean logic; and finally Scepticism as the necessary evil confronting these dogmatisms. These philosophies are thus unconsciously linked to the Alexandrian philosophy by being made into a one-sided and tendentious eclecticism. The Alexandrian philosophy is finally regarded entirely as exaltation and derangement—a confusion in which at most the universality of the intention can be recognised.

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[a] After "ending", Marx erased "an incoherent finale".— *Ed.*

[b] Corrected by Marx from "after".— *Ed.*

[c] The sentence "The objective history ... succeed" was originally: "With Aristotle, Greek philosophy's Alexander of Macedon, the owl of Minerva seems to lower its wings, and even the manly-strong Stoics seem not to have succeeded...." — *Ed.*

[d] Corrected by Marx from "Minerva".— *Ed.*

[e] *Prämissen* (premises) corrected by Marx from *Antezedentien* (predecessors).— *Ed.*

To be sure, it is a commonplace[a] that birth, flowering and decline constitute the iron circle in which everything human is enclosed, through which it must pass. Thus it would not have been surprising if Greek philosophy, after having reached its zenith in Aristotle, should then have withered. But the death of the hero resembles the setting of the sun, not the bursting of an inflated frog.

And then: birth, flowering and decline are very general, very vague notions under which, to be sure, everything can be arranged, but through which nothing can be understood. Decay itself is prefigured in the living; its shape should therefore be just as much grasped in its specific characteristic as the shape of life.

Finally, when we glance at history, are Epicureanism, Stoicism and Scepticism particular phenomena? Are they not the prototypes of the Roman mind, the shape in which Greece wandered to Rome? Is not their essence so full of character, so intense and eternal that the modern world itself has to admit them to full spiritual citizenship?

I lay stress on this only in order to call to mind the historical importance of these systems. Here, however, we are not at all concerned with their significance for culture in general, but with their connection with the older Greek philosophy.

Should not this relationship urge us at least to an inquiry, to see Greek philosophy ending up with two different groups of eclectic systems, one of them the cycle of Epicurean, Stoic and Sceptic philosophy, the other being classified under the collective name of Alexandrian speculation? Furthermore, is it not remarkable that after the Platonic and Aristotelean philosophies, which are universal in range, there appear new systems which do not lean on these rich intellectual forms, but look farther back and have recourse to the simplest schools—to the philosophers of nature in regard to physics, to the Socratic school in regard to ethics? Moreover, what is the reason why the systems that follow after Aristotle find their foundations as it were ready made in the past, why Democritus is linked to the Cyrenaics and Heraclitus to the Cynics? Is it an accident that with the Epicureans, Stoics and Sceptics all moments of self-consciousness are represented completely, but every moment as a particular existence? Is it an accident that these systems in their totality[b] form the complete structure of self-consciousness? And finally, the character with which Greek philosophy mythically

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[a] Corrected by Marx from "not to be denied".—*Ed.*

[b] Marx erased after "totality" the word *gleichsam,* "so to say", or "as it were".—*Ed.*

begins in the seven wise men, and which is, so to say as its central point, embodied in Socrates as its demiurge — I mean the character of the wise man, of the *sophos* ( σοφός ) — is it an accident that it is asserted in those systems as the reality of true science?

It seems to me that though the earlier systems are more significant and interesting for the content, the post-Aristotelean ones, and primarily the cycle of the Epicurean, Stoic and Sceptic schools, are more significant and interesting for the subjective form, the character of Greek philosophy. But it is precisely the subjective form, the spiritual carrier of the philosophical systems, which has until now been almost entirely ignored in favour of their metaphysical characteristics.

I shall save for a more extensive discussion the presentation of the Epicurean, Stoic and Sceptic philosophies as a whole and in their total relationship to earlier and later Greek speculation.

Let it suffice here to develop this relationship as it were by an example, and only in one aspect, namely, their relationship to earlier speculation.

As such an example I select the relationship between the Epicurean and the Democritean philosophy of nature. I do not believe that it is the most convenient point of contact. Indeed, on the one hand it is an old and entrenched prejudice to identify Democritean and Epicurean physics, so that Epicurus' modifications are seen as only arbitrary vagaries. On the other hand I am forced to go into what seem to be microscopic examinations as far as details are concerned. But precisely because this prejudice is as old as the history of philosophy, because the differences are so concealed that they can be discovered as it were only with a microscope, it will be all the more important if, despite the interdependence of Democritean and Epicurean physics, an essential difference extending to the smallest details can be demonstrated. What can be demonstrated in the small can even more easily be shown where the relations are considered in larger dimensions, while conversely very general considerations leave doubt whether the result will hold when applied to details.

## II. OPINIONS ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEMOCRITEAN AND EPICUREAN PHYSICS

The way in which my general outlook is related to earlier points of view will become quite obvious if a brief review is made of the opinions held by the ancient authors concerning the relationship between Democritean and Epicurean physics.

*Posidonius the Stoic, Nicolaus* and *Sotion* reproach Epicurus for having presented the Democritean doctrine of atoms and Aristippus' teaching on pleasure as his own.[1] *Cotta* the Academician asks in Cicero: "What is there in Epicurus' physics which does not belong to Democritus? True, he modifies some details, but most of it he repeats after him."[2] *Cicero* himself says similarly:

"In physics, where he is the most pretentious, Epicurus is a perfect stranger. Most of it belongs to Democritus; where he deviates from him, where he endeavours to improve, he spoils and worsens it."[3]

Although many authors reproach Epicurus for aspersions against Democritus, Leonteus, according to Plutarch, affirms on the contrary that Epicurus honoured Democritus because the latter had adhered to the true doctrine before him, because he had discovered the principles of nature earlier.[4] In the essay *De placitis philosophorum* Epicurus is called one who philosophises after the manner of Democritus.[5] Plutarch in his *Colotes* goes further. Successively comparing Epicurus with Democritus, Empedocles, Parmenides, Plato, Socrates, Stilpo, the Cyrenaics and the Academicians, he seeks to prove that "Epicurus appropriated from the whole of Greek philosophy the false and did not understand the true".[6] Likewise the treatise *De eo, quod secundum Epicurum non beate vivi possit* teems with inimical insinuations of a similar kind.

In the Fathers of the Church we find this unfavourable opinion, held by the more ancient authors, maintained. In the note I quote only one passage from Clement of Alexandria,[7] a Father of the Church who deserves to be prominently mentioned with regard to Epicurus, since he reinterprets the warning of the apostle Paul against philosophy in general into a warning against Epicurean philosophy, as one which did not even once spin fantasies concerning providence and the like.[8] But how common was the tendency to accuse Epicurus of plagiarism is shown most strikingly by *Sextus Empiricus,* who wishes to turn some quite inappropriate passages from Homer and Epicharmus into principal sources of Epicurean philosophy.[9]

It is well known that the more recent writers by and large make Epicurus, insofar as he was a philosopher of nature, a mere plagiarist of Democritus. The following statement of *Leibniz* may here represent their opinion in general:

"Nous ne savons presque de ce grand homme" (Démocrite) "que ce qu'Epicure en a emprunté, qui n'était pas capable d'en prendre toujours le meilleur."[a10]

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[a] "Of this great man" (Democritus) "we scarcely know anything but what Epicurus borrowed from him, and Epicurus was not capable of always taking the best."—*Ed.*

Thus while Cicero says that Epicurus worsened the Democritean doctrine, at the same time crediting him at least with the will to improve it and with having an eye for its defects, while Plutarch ascribes to him inconsistency[11] and a predisposition toward the inferior, hence also casts suspicion on his intentions, Leibniz denies him even the ability to make excerpts from Democritus skilfully.

But all agree that Epicurus borrowed his physics from Democritus.

## III. DIFFICULTIES CONCERNING THE IDENTITY OF THE DEMOCRITEAN AND EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY OF NATURE

Apart from historical testimony, there is much other evidence for the identity of Democritean and Epicurean physics. The principles—atoms and the void—are indisputably the same. Only in isolated cases does there seem to be arbitrary, hence unessential, difference.

However, a curious and insoluble riddle remains. Two philosophers teach exactly the same science, in exactly the same way, but—how inconsistent!—they stand diametrically opposed in all that concerns truth, certainty, application of this science, and all that refers to the relationship between thought and reality in general. I say that they stand diametrically opposed, and I shall now try to prove it.

A. The opinion of Democritus *concerning the truth and certainty of human knowledge* seems hard to ascertain. Contradictory passages are to be found, or rather it is not the passages, but Democritus' views that contradict each other. For Trendelenburg's assertion in his commentary to Aristotelean psychology, that only later authors, but not Aristotle, knew of such contradictions, is factually incorrect. Indeed, in Aristotle's *Psychology*[a] it is stated: "Democritus posits soul and mind [*Verstand*] as one and the same, since the phenomenon is the true thing."[1] But in his *Metaphysics* he writes: "Democritus asserts that nothing is true or it is concealed from us."[2] Are not these passages of Aristotle contradictory? If the phenomenon is the true thing, how can the true thing be concealed? The concealment begins only when phenomenon and truth separate.[b] But *Diogenes Laertius* reports that Democritus was

[a] Corrected by Marx from "Physiology".—*Ed.*
[b] This sentence and the one before were inserted by Marx.—*Ed.*

counted among the Sceptics. His saying is quoted: "In reality we know nothing, for truth lies at the deep bottom of the well." [3] Similar statements are found in *Sextus Empiricus.* [4]

This sceptical, uncertain and internally self-contradictory view held by Democritus is only further developed in *the way* in which *the relationship between the atom and the world which is apparent to the senses is determined.*

Sensuous appearance, on the one hand, does not belong to the atoms themselves. It is not *objective appearance,* but *subjective semblance* [*Schein*]. "The *true* principles are the atoms and the void, *everything else is opinion, semblance.*" [5] "Cold exists only according to opinion, heat exists only according to opinion, but in reality there are only the atoms and the void." [6] *Unity* therefore does not truly result from the many atoms, but rather "through the combination of atoms each thing *appears* to become a unity". [7] The principles can therefore be perceived only through reason, since they are inaccessible to the sensuous eye if only because of their smallness. For this reason they are even called *ideas.* [8] The sensuous appearance is, on the other hand, the only true object, and the *aisthesis* (αἴσθησις) *is the phronesis* (φρόνησις) [a]; this true thing however is the changing, the unstable, the phenomenon. But to say that the phenomenon is the true thing is contradictory. [9] Thus now the one, now the other side is made the subjective and the objective. The contradiction therefore seems to be held apart, being divided between two worlds. Consequently, Democritus makes sensuous reality into subjective semblance; but the antinomy, banned from the world of objects, now exists in his own self-consciousness, where the concept of the atom and sensuous perception face each other as enemies.

Thus Democritus does not escape the antinomy. This is not yet the place to explain it. It is enough that we cannot deny its existence.

Now let us listen to Epicurus.

*The wise man,* he says, takes a *dogmatic, not* a *sceptical* position. [10] Yes, exactly this makes him superior to all the others, that he knows with conviction. [11] "All senses are heralds of the true." [12] "*Nor is there anything which can refute sensations,* neither like can refute like, because of their equal validity, nor can unlike refute unlike, because they do not pass judgment on the same thing, nor the concept, because the concept depends on the sensuous

[a] *Aisthesis*—sensuous perception, *phronesis*—reason, that which is rational.— *Ed.*

perceptions," [13] as it says in the *Canon.* But while *Democritus* turns the *sensuous world* into *subjective semblance, Epicurus* turns it into *objective appearance.* And here he differs quite consciously, since he claims that he shares *the same principles but* that he does *not* reduce the sensuous qualities to things *of mere opinion.* [14]

Since therefore sensation was in fact Epicurus' standard, since objective appearance corresponds to it: then we can only regard as a correct conclusion that at which Cicero shrugs his shoulder:

"The sun seems large to Democritus, because he is a man of science well versed in geometry; to Epicurus it seems to be about two feet large, for he pronounces it *to be* as large as it *seems.*" [15]

B. *This difference* in the *theoretical judgments* of Democritus and Epicurus concerning the certainty of science and the truth of its objects *manifests* itself in the *disparate scientific energy* and *practice* of these men.

Democritus, for whom the principle does not enter into the appearance, remains without reality and existence, is faced on the other hand with the *world of sensation* as the real world, full of content. True, this world is subjective semblance, but just because of this it is torn away from the principle, left in its own independent reality. At the same time it is the unique real object and *as such* has value and significance. Democritus is therefore driven into *empirical observation.* Dissatisfied with philosophy, he throws himself into the arms of *positive knowledge.* We have already seen that Cicero calls him a *vir eruditus.*[a] He is versed in physics, ethics, mathematics, in the encyclopedic disciplines, in every art.[16] The catalogue alone of his books given by Diogenes Laertius bears witness to his erudition.[17] But since it is the characteristic trait of erudition to expand in breadth and to collect and to search on the outside, we see Democritus *wandering through half the world* in order to acquire experiences, knowledge and observations.

"I have among my contemporaries," he prides himself, "wandered through the largest part of the earth, investigating the remotest things. I have seen most climates and lands, and I have heard most learned men, and in linear composition with demonstration no one surpassed me, not even the so-called Arsipedonapts of the Egyptians." [18]

*Demetrius* in the *Homonymois* (ὁμωνύμοις)[b] and *Antisthenes* in the *Diadochais* (διαδοχαῖς)[c] report that he travelled to Egypt to the priests in order to learn geometry, and to the Chaldeans in Persia, and

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[a] Man of science.— *Ed.*

[b] *Men of the Same Name.— Ed.*

[c] *Successions of Philosophers.— Ed.*

that he reached the Red Sea. Some maintain that he also met the gymnosophists[20] in India and set foot in Ethiopia.[19] On the one hand it is the *lust for knowledge* that leaves him no rest; but it is at the same time *dissatisfaction with true, i. e., philosophical, knowledge* that drives him far abroad. The knowledge which he considers true is without content, the knowledge that gives him content is without truth. It could be a fable, but a true fable, that anecdote of the ancients, since it gives a picture of the contradictory elements in his being. Democritus is supposed to have blinded himself so that the *sensuous light of the eye* would not darken the *sharpness of intellect.*[20] This is the same man who, according to Cicero, wandered through half the world.[a] But he did not find what he was looking for.

An opposite figure appears to us in Epicurus.

Epicurus is *satisfied* and *blissful in philosophy.*

"You must," he says, "serve philosophy so that true freedom will be your lot. He who has subordinated and surrendered himself to it does not need to wait, he is emancipated at once. For to serve philosophy is freedom itself."[21] Consequently he teaches: "Let no one when young delay to study philosophy, nor when he is old grow weary of his study. For no one can come too early or too late to secure the health of his soul. And the man who says that the age for philosophy has either not yet come or has gone by is like the man who says that the age for happiness is not yet come to him, or has passed away."[22]

While Democritus, dissatisfied with philosophy, throws himself into the arms of empirical knowledge, *Epicurus has nothing but contempt for the positive sciences,* since in his opinion they contribute nothing to *true perfection.*[23] He is called an *enemy of science,* a scorner of grammar.[24] He is even accused of ignorance. "But," says an Epicurean in Cicero, "it was not Epicurus who was without erudition, but those are ignorant who believe that what is shameful for a boy not to know ought still to be recited by the old man."[25]

But while *Democritus* seeks to learn from *Egyptian priests, Persian Chaldeans* and *Indian gymnosophists, Epicurus prides* himself on *not* having had a *teacher,* on being *self-taught.*[26] There are some people, he says according to Seneca, who struggle for truth without any assistance. Among these people he has himself traced out his path. And it is they, the self-taught, whom he praises most. The others, according to him, are second-rate minds.[27] While Democritus is driven into all parts of the world, Epicurus leaves his garden in Athens scarcely two or three times and travels to

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[a] "Half the world" corrected from "the whole of infinity".—*Ed.*

Ionia, not to engage in studies, but to visit friends.[28] Finally, while Democritus,[a] despairing of acquiring knowledge, blinds himself, Epicurus, feeling the hour of death approaching, takes a warm bath, calls for pure wine and recommends to his friends that they be faithful to philosophy.[29]

C. The differences that we have just set forth should not be attributed to the accidental individuality of the two philosophers; they embody two opposite tendencies. We see as a difference of practical energy that which is expressed in the passages above as a difference of theoretical consciousness.

We consider finally the *form of reflection* which *expresses the relation of thought to being, their mutual relationship.* In the general relationship which the philosopher sees between the world and thought, he merely makes objective for himself the relation of his own particular consciousness to the real world.

Now Democritus uses *necessity* as a form of reflection of reality.[30] Aristotle says of him that he traces everything back to necessity.[31] Diogenes Laertius reports that the vortex of atoms, the origin of all, is the Democritean necessity.[32] More satisfactory explanations are given by the author of *De placitis philosophorum*:

> Necessity is, according to Democritus, fate and law, providence and the creator of the world. But the substance of this necessity is the antitype and the movement and impulse of matter.[33]

A similar passage is to be found in the *Physical Selections* of *Stobaeus*[34] and in the sixth book of the *Praeparatio evangelica* of *Eusebius.*[35] In the *Ethical Selections* of Stobaeus the following aphorism of Democritus is preserved[36]—it is almost exactly repeated in the 14th book of Eusebius[37]: human beings like to create for themselves the illusion of chance—a manifestation of their own perplexity, since *chance* [*Zufall*] *is incompatible with sound thinking. Simplicius* similarly attributes to Democritus a passage in which Aristotle speaks of the ancient doctrine that does away with chance.[38]

Contrast this with Epicurus:

> "*Necessity,* introduced[b] by some as the absolute ruler, *does not exist,* but some things are *accidental,* others depend on our *arbitrary will.* Necessity cannot be persuaded, but chance is unstable. It would be better to follow the myth about the gods

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[a] Before "Democritus" Marx erased "the widely travelled".— *Ed.*

[b] "Introduced" (*eingeführt*) corrected by Marx from "played up" (*aufgeführt*).— *Ed.*

than to be a slave to the *heimarmene* (εἱμαρμενη)[a] of the physicists. For the former leaves hope for mercy if we do honour to the gods, while the latter is inexorable necessity. But it is *chance*, which must be accepted, *not God*, as the multitude believe."[39] "It is a misfortune to live in necessity, but to live in necessity is not a necessity. On all sides many short and easy paths to freedom are open. Let us therefore thank God that no man can be kept in life. It is permitted to subdue necessity itself."[40]

The Epicurean Velleius in Cicero says something similar about Stoic philosophy:

"What are we to think of a philosophy in which, as to ignorant old women, everything seems to occur through fate? ... by Epicurus we have been redeemed, set free."[41]

Thus Epicurus even *denies disjunctive judgment* so as not to have to acknowledge any concept of necessity.[42]

True, it is claimed that Democritus also used the concept of chance, but of the two passages on this matter which can be found in Simplicius[43] the one renders the other suspect, because it shows clearly that it was not Democritus who used the category of chance, but Simplicius who ascribed it to him as a consequence. For he says: Democritus assigns, generally speaking, no cause for the creation of the world, he *seems* therefore to make chance the cause. Here, however, we are concerned not with the *determination of the content*, but with the *form* used *consciously* by Democritus. The situation is similar in regard to the report by Eusebius that Democritus made chance the ruler of the universal and divine and claimed that here it is through chance that everything happens, whereas he excluded chance from human life and empirical nature and called its supporters foolish.[44]

In part, we see in these statements only a desire of the Christian bishop *Dionysius* for conclusion-forcing. In part, where the universal and divine begin, the Democritean concept of necessity ceases to differ from chance.

Hence, this much is historically certain: *Democritus* makes use of *necessity*, *Epicurus* of *chance*. And each of them rejects the opposite view with polemical irritation.

*The principal consequence of this difference appears in the way individual physical phenomena are explained.*

Necessity appears in finite nature as *relative necessity*, as *determinism*. Relative necessity can only be deduced from *real possibility*, i.e., it is a network of conditions, reasons, causes, etc., by means of which this necessity reveals itself. Real possibility is[b] the explica-

[a] What has been decreed, destiny.— *Ed.*

[b] After "is" Marx erased *gleichsam*, "as it were".— *Ed.*

tion of relative necessity. And we find it used by Democritus. We cite some passages from Simplicius.

If somebody is thirsty and drinks and feels better, Democritus will not assign chance as the cause, but thirst. For, even though he seems to use chance in regard to the creation of the world, yet he maintains that chance is not the cause of any particular event, but on the contrary leads back to other causes. Thus, for example, digging is the cause of a treasure being found, or growing the cause of the olive tree.[45)]

The enthusiasm and the seriousness with which Democritus introduces this manner of explanation into the observation of nature, the importance he attaches to the striving to ascertain causes, are naively[a] expressed in his avowal:

"I would rather discover a new aetiology than acquire the Persian crown."[46)]

Once again Epicurus stands directly opposed to Democritus. Chance, for him, is a reality which has only the value of possibility. *Abstract possibility,* however, is the direct *antipode of real possibility.* The latter is restricted within sharp boundaries, as is the intellect; the former is unbounded, as is the imagination. Real possibility seeks to explain the necessity and reality of its object; abstract possibility is not interested in the object which is explained, but in the subject which does the explaining. The object need only be possible, conceivable. That which is abstractly possible, which can be conceived, constitutes no obstacle to the thinking subject, no limit, no stumbling-block. Whether this possibility is also real is irrelevant, since here the interest does not extend to the object as object.

Epicurus therefore proceeds with a boundless nonchalance in the explanation of separate physical phenomena.

More light will be thrown upon this fact by the letter to Pythocles, later to be considered. Suffice it here to draw attention to Epicurus' attitude to the opinions of earlier physicists. Where the author of *De placitis philosophorum* and Stobaeus quote the different views of the philosophers concerning the substance of the stars, the size and shape of the sun and similar matters, it is always said of Epicurus: He rejects none of these opinions, *all could* be right, he adheres to the *possible.*[47)] Yes, Epicurus *polemicises* even against the rationally determining, and for precisely this reason one-sided, method of explanation by real possibility.

Thus *Seneca* says in his *Quaestiones naturales*: Epicurus maintains

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[a] After "naively" Marx erased "also".—*Ed.*

that all these causes are possible, and then attempts in addition still other explanations. He *blames* those who claim that any particular one of them occurs, because it is rash to judge apodictically about that which can only be deduced from conjectures.[48)]

One can see that there is no interest in investigating the real causes of objects. All that matters is the tranquillity of the explaining subject. Since everything possible is admitted as possible, which corresponds to the character of abstract possibility, the *chance of being* is clearly transferred only into the *chance of thought.* The only rule which Epicurus prescribes, namely, that "the explanation should *not contradict* sensation", is self-evident; for to be abstractly possible consists precisely in being free from contradiction, which therefore must be avoided.[49)] And Epicurus confesses finally that his method of explaining aims only at the *ataraxy*[21] *of self-consciousness, not* at *knowledge of nature in and for itself.*[50)]

It requires no further clarification to show how in this matter, too, Epicurus differs from Democritus.

We thus see that the two men are opposed to each other at every single step. The one is a sceptic, the other a dogmatist; the one considers the sensuous world as subjective semblance, the other as objective appearance. He who considers the sensuous world as subjective semblance applies himself to empirical natural science and to positive knowledge, and represents the unrest of observation, experimenting, learning everywhere, ranging over the wide, wide world. The other, who considers the phenomenal world to be real, scorns empiricism; embodied in him are the serenity of thought satisfied in itself, the self-sufficiency that draws its knowledge *ex principio interno.*[a] But the contradiction goes still farther. The *sceptic* and *empiricist,* who holds sensuous nature to be subjective semblance, considers it from the point of view of *necessity* and endeavours to explain and to understand the real existence of things. The *philosopher* and *dogmatist,* on the other hand, who considers appearance to be real, sees everywhere only *chance,* and his method of explanation tends rather to negate all objective reality of nature. There seems to be a certain absurdity in these contradictions.

It hardly seems still possible to presume that these men, who contradict each other on all points, will adhere to one and the same doctrine. And yet they seem to be chained to each other.

The task of the next section is to comprehend their relationship in general.[22]

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[a] From an inner principle.— *Ed.*

# Part Two

# ON THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DEMOCRITEAN AND EPICUREAN PHYSICS IN DETAIL

## Chapter One

### THE DECLINATION OF THE ATOM FROM THE STRAIGHT LINE

Epicurus assumes a *threefold* motion of the atoms in the void.[1] One motion is the *fall in a straight line*, the second originates in the *deviation* of the atom *from the straight line*, and the third is established through the *repulsion of the many atoms*. Both Democritus and Epicurus accept the first and the third motion. The *declination of the atom* from the straight line differentiates the one from the other.[2]

This motion of declination[a] has often been made the subject of a joke. *Cicero* more than any other is inexhaustible when he touches on this theme. Thus we read in him, among other things:

"Epicurus maintains that the atoms are thrust downwards in a straight line by their weight; this motion is said to be the natural motion of bodies. But then it occurred to him that if all atoms were thrust downwards, no atom could ever meet another one. Epicurus therefore resorted to a lie. He said that the atom makes a very tiny swerve, which is, of course, entirely impossible. From this arose complexities, combinations and adhesions of the atoms with one another, and out of this came the world, all parts of it and its contents. Besides all this being a puerile invention, he does not even achieve what he desires."[3]

We find another version in the first book of Cicero's treatise *On the Nature of the Gods*:

"Since Epicurus saw that, if the atoms travelled downwards by their own weight, nothing would be within our control, for their motion would be determined and necessary, he invented a means for escaping this necessity, a means which had escaped the notice of Democritus. He says that the atom, although thrust downwards by its weight and gravity, makes a very slight swerve. To assert this is more disgraceful than to be incapable of defending what he wants."[4]

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[a] Corrected by Marx from "last motion".—*Ed.*

*Pierre Bayle* expresses a similar opinion:

"Avant lui" (c.-à-d. Epicure) "on n'avait admis dans les atomes que le mouvement de pesanteur, et celui de réflexion. [...] Epicure supposa que même au milieu du vide, les atomes déclinaient un peu de la ligne droite, et de là venait la liberté, disait-il... Remarquons en passant que ce ne fut [pas] le seul motif qui le porta à inventer ce mouvement de déclinaison, il le fit servir aussi à expliquer la rencontre des atomes; car il vit bien qu'en supposant qu'ils se mouvaient [tous] avec une égale vitesse par des lignes droites qui tendaient toutes de haut en bas, il ne ferait jamais comprendre qu'ils eussent pu se rencontrer, et qu'ainsi la production du monde aurait été impossible. Il fallut donc [...] qu'ils s'écartaient de la ligne droite." [a5)]

For the present I leave the validity of these reflections an open question. This much everyone will notice in passing, that the most recent critic of Epicurus, *Schaubach,* has misunderstood Cicero when he says:

"The atoms are all thrust downwards by gravity, hence parallel, owing to physical causes, but through mutual repulsion they acquire another motion, according to Cicero (*De natura deorum,* I, xxv [, 69]) an oblique motion due to accidental causes, and indeed from all eternity." [6)]

In the first place, Cicero in the quoted passage does not make the repulsion the reason for the oblique direction, but rather the oblique direction the reason for the repulsion. In the second place, he does not speak of accidental causes, but rather criticises the fact that no causes at all are mentioned, as it would be in and for itself contradictory to assume repulsion and at the same time accidental causes as the reason for the oblique direction. At best one could then still speak of accidental causes of the repulsion, but not of accidental causes of the oblique direction.

For the rest, one peculiarity in Cicero's and Bayle's reflections is too obvious not to be stressed immediately. They foist upon Epicurus motives of which the one nullifies the other. Epicurus is supposed to have assumed a declination of the atoms in order to explain the repulsion on one occasion, and on another freedom. But if the atoms do *not* meet without declination, then declination as an explanation of freedom is superfluous; for the opposite of

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[a] "Before him" (i.e., Epicurus) "only the motion of weight and that of reflection were conceded to the atom.... Epicurus supposed that even in the midst of the void the atoms declined slightly from the straight line, and from this, he said, arose freedom.... It must be noted, in passing, that this was not the only motive that led him to invent this motion of declination. He also used it to explain the meeting of atoms; for he saw clearly that supposing they [all] move with equal speed downwards along straight lines, he would never be able to explain that they could meet, and that thus the creation of the world would have been impossible. It was necessary, then, that they should deviate from the straight line." — *Ed.*

freedom begins, as we see in *Lucretius,*[7] only with the deterministic and forced meeting of atoms. But if the atoms meet *without* declination, then this is superfluous for explaining repulsion. I maintain that this contradiction arises when the causes for the declination of the atom from the straight line are understood so superficially and disconnectedly as they are by Cicero and Bayle. We shall find in Lucretius, the only one in general of all the ancients who has understood Epicurean physics, a more profound exposition.

We now shall consider the declination itself.

Just as the point is negated [*aufgehoben*] in the line, so is every falling body negated in the straight line it describes. Its specific quality does not matter here at all. A falling apple describes a perpendicular line just as a piece of iron does. Every body, insofar as we are concerned with the motion of falling, is therefore nothing but a moving point, and indeed a point without independence, which in a certain mode of being—the straight line which it describes—surrenders its individuality [*Einzelheit*]. Aristotle therefore is correct when he objects against the Pythagoreans: "You say that the motion of the line is the surface, that of the point the line; then the motions of the monads will also be lines."[8] The consequence of this for the monads as well as for the atoms would therefore be—since they are in constant motion[9]—that neither monads nor atoms exist, but rather disappear in the straight line; for the solidity of the atom does not even enter into the picture, insofar as it is only considered as something falling in a straight line. To begin with, if the void is imagined as spatial void, then the *atom* is the *immediate negation of abstract space,* hence *a spatial point.* The solidity, the intensity, which maintains itself in itself against the incohesion of space, can only be added by virtue of a principle which negates space in its entire domain, a principle such as time is in real nature. Moreover, if this itself is not admitted, the atom, insofar as its motion is a straight line, is determined only by space and is prescribed a relative being and a purely material existence. But we have seen that one moment in the concept of the atom is that of being pure form, negation of all relativity, of all relation to another mode of being. We have noted at the same time that Epicurus objectifies for himself both moments which, although they contradict one another, are nevertheless inherent in the concept of the atom.

How then can Epicurus give reality to the pure form-determination of the atom, the concept of pure individuality, negating any mode of being determined by another being?

Since he is moving in the domain of immediate being, all determinations are immediate. Opposite determinations are therefore opposed to one another as immediate realities.

But the *relative existence* which confronts the atom, *the mode of being which it has to negate,* is *the straight line.* The immediate negation of this motion is *another motion,* which, therefore, spatially conceived, is the *declination from the straight line.*

The atoms are purely self-sufficient bodies or rather bodies conceived in absolute self-sufficiency, like the heavenly bodies. Hence, again like the heavenly bodies, they move not in straight, but in oblique lines. *The motion of falling is the motion of non-self-sufficiency.*

If Epicurus therefore represents the materiality of the atom in terms of its motion along a straight line, he has given reality to its form-determination in the declination from the straight line, and these opposed determinations are represented as directly opposed motions.

*Lucretius* therefore is correct when he maintains that the declination breaks the *fati foedera,*[a10] and, since he applies this immediately to consciousness,[11] it can be said of the atom that the declination is that something in its breast that can fight back and resist.

But when Cicero reproaches Epicurus that

> "he does not even attain the goal for which he made all this up — for if all atoms declined, none of them would ever combine, or some would deviate, others would be driven straight ahead by their motion. So it would be necessary as it were to give the atoms definite assignments beforehand: which had to move straight ahead and which obliquely",[12]

this objection has the justification that the two moments inherent in the concept of the atom are represented as directly different motions, and therefore must be allotted to different individuals: an inconsistency, but a consistent one, since the domain of the atom is immediacy.

Epicurus feels this inherent contradiction quite well. He therefore endeavours to represent the declination as being as *imperceptible* as possible *to the senses*; it takes place

> Nec regione loci certa, nec tempore certo,[b13]

it occurs in the smallest possible space.[14]

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[a] The bonds of fate.— *Ed.*

[b] In time, in place unfixt (Lucretius, *De rerum natura,* II, 294).— *Ed.*

Moreover *Cicero,*[15] and, according to Plutarch, several ancient authors,[16] reproach Epicurus for saying that the declination of the atom occurs *without cause.* Nothing more disgraceful, says Cicero, can happen to a physicist.[17] But, in the first place, a physical cause such as Cicero wants would throw the declination of the atom back into the domain of determinism, out of which it was precisely to be lifted. *And then, the atom is by no means complete before it has been submitted to the determination of declination.* To inquire after the cause of this determination means therefore to inquire after the cause that makes the atom a principle—a clearly meaningless inquiry to anyone for whom the atom is the cause of everything, hence without cause itself.

Finally, *Bayle,*[18] supported by the authority of *Augustine,*[19] who states that Democritus ascribed to the atom a spiritual principle—an authority, by the way, who in contrast to Aristotle and the other ancients is without any importance—reproaches Epicurus for having thought out the concept of declination instead of this spiritual principle. But, on the contrary, merely a word would have been gained with this "soul of the atom", whereas the declination represents the real soul of the atom, the concept of abstract individuality.

Before we consider the consequence of the declination of the atom from the straight line, we must draw attention to another, most important element, which up to now has been entirely overlooked.

*The declination of the atom from the straight line is, namely, not a particular determination which appears accidentally in Epicurean physics. On the contrary, the law which it expresses goes through the whole Epicurean philosophy, in such a way, however, that, as goes without saying, the determination of its appearance depends on the domain in which it is applied.*

As a matter of fact, abstract individuality can make its concept, its form-determination, the pure being-for-itself, the independence from immediate being, the negation of all relativity, effective only by *abstracting from the being that confronts it*; for in order truly to overcome it, abstract individuality had to idealise it, a thing only generality can accomplish.

Thus, while the atom frees itself from its relative existence, the straight line, by abstracting from it, by swerving away from it; so the entire Epicurean philosophy swerves away from the restrictive mode of being wherever the concept of abstract individuality, self-sufficiency and negation of all relation to other things must be represented in its existence.

The purpose of action is to be found therefore in abstracting, swerving away from pain and confusion, in ataraxy.[20] Hence the good is the flight from evil,[21] pleasure the swerving away from suffering.[22] Finally, where abstract individuality appears in its highest freedom and independence, in its totality, there it follows that the being which is swerved away from, is *all being; for this reason, the gods swerve away from the world,* do not bother with it and live outside it.[23]

These gods of Epicurus have often been ridiculed, these gods who, like human beings, dwell in the intermundia[a] of the real world, have no body but a quasi-body, no blood but quasi-blood,[24] and, content to abide in blissful peace, lend no ear to any supplication, are unconcerned with us and the world, are honoured because of their beauty, their majesty and their superior nature, and not for any gain.

And yet these gods are no fiction of Epicurus. They did exist. *They are the plastic gods of Greek art.*[23] *Cicero,* the *Roman,* rightly scoffs at them,[25] but *Plutarch,* the *Greek,* has forgotten the whole Greek outlook when he claims that although this doctrine of the gods does away with fear and superstition, it produces no joy or favour in the gods, but instead bestows on us that relation to them that we have to the Hyrcanian[24] fish, from which we expect neither harm nor advantage.[26] Theoretical calm is one of the chief characteristics of the Greek gods. As *Aristotle* says:

"What is best has no need of action, for it is its own end."[27]

We now consider the *consequence* that follows directly from the declination of the atom. In it is expressed the atom's negation of all motion and relation by which it is determined as a particular mode of being by another being. This is represented in such a way that the atom abstracts from the opposing being and withdraws itself from it. But what is contained herein, namely, *its negation of all relation to something else,* must be *realised, positively established.* This can only be done if *the being to which it relates itself* is *none other than itself,* hence equally *an atom,* and, since it itself is directly determined, *many atoms. The repulsion of the many atoms is therefore the necessary realisation of the lex atomi,*[b] as *Lucretius* calls the declination. But since here every determination is established as a particular being, repulsion is added as a third motion to the former ones. Lucretius is therefore correct when he says that, if

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[a] The spaces between the worlds (literally: inter-worlds).— *Ed.*

[b] Law of the atom.— *Ed.*

the atoms were not to decline, neither their repulsion nor their meeting would have taken place, and the world would never have been created.[28] For atoms are *their own sole object and can only be related to themselves,* hence speaking in spatial terms, they can only *meet,* because every relative existence of these atoms by which they would be related to other beings is negated. And this relative existence is, as we have seen, their original motion, that of falling in a straight line. Hence they meet only by virtue of their declination from the straight line. It has nothing to do with merely material fragmentation.[29]

And in truth: the immediately existing individuality is only realised conceptually, inasmuch as it relates to something else which actually is itself—even when the other thing confronts it in the form of immediate existence. Thus man ceases to be a product of nature only when the other being to which he relates himself is not a different existence but is itself an individual human being, even if it is not yet the mind [*Geist*]. But for man as man to become his own real object, he must have crushed within himself his relative being, the power of desire and of mere nature. *Repulsion is the first form of self-consciousness,* it corresponds therefore to that self-consciousness which conceives itself as immediate-being, as abstractly individual.

The concept of the atom is therefore realised in repulsion, inasmuch as it is abstract form, but no less also the opposite, inasmuch as it is abstract matter; for that to which it relates itself consists, to be true, of atoms, but *other* atoms. *But when I relate myself to myself as to something which is directly another, then my relationship is a material one.* This is the most extreme degree of externality that can be conceived. In the repulsion of the atoms, therefore, their materiality, which was posited in the fall in a straight line, and the form-determination, which was established in the declination, are united synthetically.

*Democritus,* in contrast to Epicurus, transforms into an enforced motion, into an act of blind necessity, that which to Epicurus is the realisation of the concept of the atom. We have already seen above that he considers the vortex (δίνη) resulting from the repulsion and collision of the atoms to be the substance of necessity. He therefore sees in the repulsion only the material side, the fragmentation, the change, and not the ideal side, according to which all relation to something else is negated and motion is established as self-determination. This can be clearly seen from the fact that he conceives one and the same body divided through empty space into many parts quite sensuously, like gold broken

up into pieces.[30] Thus he scarcely conceived of the One as the concept of the atom.

*Aristotle* correctly argues against him:

"Hence Leucippus and Democritus, who assert that the primary bodies always moved in the void and in the infinite, should say what kind of motion this is, and what is the motion natural to them. For if each of the elements is forcibly moved by the other, then it is still necessary that each should have also a natural motion, outside which is the enforced one. And this first motion must not be enforced but natural. Otherwise the procedure goes on to infinity."[31]

The Epicurean declination of the atom thus changed the whole inner structure of the domain of the atoms, since through it the form-determination is validated and the contradiction inherent in the concept of the atom is realised. Epicurus was therefore the first to grasp the essence of the repulsion—even if only in sensuous form, whereas Democritus only knew of its material existence.

Hence we find also more concrete forms of the repulsion applied by Epicurus. In the political domain there is the *covenant,*[32] in the social domain *friendship,*[33] which is praised as the highest good.[a]

## Chapter Two

### THE QUALITIES OF THE ATOM

It contradicts the concept of the atom that the atom should have properties, because, as Epicurus says, every property is variable but the atoms do not change.[1] Nevertheless it is a *necessary consequence* to attribute properties to atoms. Indeed, the many atoms of repulsion separated by sensuous space must necessarily be *immediately different from one another* and *from their pure essence,* i.e., they must possess *qualities.*

In the following analysis I therefore take no account of the assertion made by *Schneider* and *Nürnberger* that "Epicurus attributed no qualities to the atoms, paragraphs 44 and 54 of the letter to Herodotus in Diogenes Laertius have been interpolated". If this were truly so, how is one to invalidate the evidence of Lucretius, Plutarch, and indeed of all other authors who speak of Epicurus? Moreover, Diogenes Laertius mentions the qualities of the atom not in two, but in ten paragraphs: Nos. 42, 43, 44, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59 and 61. The grounds these critics give for their conten-

[a] This paragraph was added by Marx in the manuscript.— *Ed.*

tion—that "they did not know how to reconcile the qualities of the atom with its concept"—are very shallow.[25] *Spinoza* says that ignorance is no argument.[a] If one was to delete the passages in the ancients which he does not understand, how quickly would we have a *tabula rasa*[b]!

Through the qualities the atom acquires an existence which contradicts its concept; it is assumed as an *externalised being different* from *its essence.* It is this contradiction which mainly interests Epicurus. Hence, as soon as he posits a property and thus draws the consequence of the material nature of the atom, he counterposits at the same time determinations which again destroy this property in its own sphere and validate instead the concept of the atom. *He therefore determines all properties in such a way that they contradict themselves.* Democritus, on the other hand, nowhere considers the properties in relation to the atom itself, nor does he objectify the contradiction between concept and existence which is inherent in them. His whole interest lies rather in representing the qualities in relation to concrete nature, which is to be formed out of them. To him they are merely hypotheses to explain the plurality which makes its appearance. It follows that the concept of the atom has nothing to do with them.

In order to prove our assertion it is first of all necessary to elucidate the sources which here seem to contradict one another.

In the treatise *De placitis philosophorum* we read:

"*Epicurus* asserts that the atoms have three qualities: size, shape, weight. Democritus only assumed two: size and shape. Epicurus added weight as the third."[2)]

The same passage is repeated word for word in the *Praeparatio evangelica* of *Eusebius.*[3)]

It is confirmed by the testimony of *Simplicius*[4)] and *Philoponus,*[5)] according to whom Democritus attributed to the atoms only difference in size and shape. Directly contrary stands *Aristotle* who, in the book *De generatione et corruptione,* attributes to the atoms of Democritus difference in weight.[6)] In another passage (in the first book of *De caelo*) *Aristotle* leaves undecided the question of whether or not Democritus ascribed weight to the atoms, for he says:

"Thus none of the bodies will be absolutely light if they all have weight; but if all have lightness, none will be heavy."[7)]

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[a] B. Spinoza, *Ethics,* Part I, Prop. 36, Appendix.—*Ed.*
[b] An empty slate.—*Ed.*

In his *Geschichte der alten Philosophie, Ritter,* basing himself on the authority of Aristotle, rejects the assertions of Plutarch, Eusebius and Stobaeus.[8)] He does not consider the testimony of Simplicius and Philoponus.

Let us see whether these passages are really so contradictory. In the passage cited, Aristotle does not speak of the qualities of the atom *ex professo.*[a] On the other hand, we read in the eighth book of the *Metaphysics*:

"Democritus assumes three differences between atoms. For the underlying body is one and the same with respect to matter, but it differs in *rhysmos* (ῥυσμός), meaning shape, in *trope* (τροπή), meaning position, or in *diathige* (διαθιγή), meaning arrangement."[9)]

This much can be immediately concluded from this passage.[b] Weight is not mentioned as a property of the Democritean atoms. The fragmented pieces of matter, kept apart by the void, must have special forms, and these are quite externally perceived from the observation of space. This emerges even more clearly from the following passage of Aristotle:

"Leucippus and his companion Democritus hold that the elements are the full and the void.... These are the basis of being as matter. Just as those who assume only one fundamental substance generate all other things by its affections, assuming rarity and density as the principles of qualities—in the same way Leucippus and Democritus also teach that the differences between the atoms are the causes of the other things, for the underlying being differs only by *rhysmos, diathige* and *trope*.... That is, A differs from N in shape, AN from NA in arrangement, Z from N in position."[10)]

It is evident from this quotation that Democritus considers the properties of the atom only in relation to the formation of the differences in the world of appearances, and not in relation to the atom itself. It follows further that Democritus does not single out weight as an essential property of the atoms. For him weight is taken for granted, since everything corporeal has weight. In the same way, according to him, even size is not a basic quality. It is an accidental determination which is already given to the atoms together with figure. Only the diversity of the figures is of interest to Democritus, since nothing more is contained in shape, position and arrangement. Size, shape and weight, by being combined as they are by Epicurus, are differences which the atom in itself possesses. Shape, position and arrangement are differences which the atom possesses in relation to something else. Whereas we find

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[a] Professionally, as a man who knows his field of study.— *Ed.*

[b] The following sentence was erased by Marx: "Democritus does not posit the ‹difference› contradiction between the quality of the atom and its concept."—*Ed.*

in Democritus mere hypothetical determinations to explain the world of appearances, in Epicurus the consequence of the principle itself will be presented to us. We shall therefore discuss in detail his determinations of the properties of the atom.

*First of all,* the atoms have *size.*[11] And then again, size is also negated. That is to say, they do not have *every* size;[12] but only *some* differences in size among them must be admitted.[13] Indeed, only the negation of the large can be ascribed to them, the small,[14]—also not the minimum, for this would be merely a spatial determination, but the infinitely small, which expresses the contradiction.[15] *Rosinius,* in his notes on the fragments of Epicurus, therefore translates one passage incorrectly and completely ignores the other, when he says:

"Hujusmodi autem tenuitatem atomorum incredibili parvitate arguebat Epicurus, utpote quas nulla magnitudine praeditas ajebat, teste Laertio, X, 44."[a16]

Now I shall not concern myself with the fact that, according to *Eusebius,* Epicurus was the first to ascribe infinite smallness to the atoms,[17] whereas Democritus also assumed atoms of the largest size—*Stobaeus* says even as large as the world.[18]

This, on the one hand, contradicts the testimony of *Aristotle.*[19] On the other hand, Eusebius, or rather the Alexandrian bishop *Dionysius,* from whom he takes excerpts, contradicts himself; for in the same book we read that Democritus assumed as the principles of nature indivisible bodies perceptible through reason.[20] This much at least is clear: Democritus was not aware of the contradiction; he did not pay attention to it, whereas it was the chief interest of Epicurus.

The *second* property of the Epicurean atoms is *shape.*[21] But this determination also contradicts the concept of the atom, and its opposite must be assumed. Abstract individuality is abstract identity-to-itself and therefore without shape. The differences in the shape of the atoms cannot, therefore, be determined,[22] although they are not absolutely infinite.[23] It is rather by a definite and finite number of shapes that the atoms are differentiated from one another.[24] From this it is obvious that there are not as many different figures as there are atoms,[25] while Democritus assumes an infinite number of figures.[26] If every atom had a particular shape, then there would have to be atoms of infinite size[27]; for they would have an infinite difference, the difference from all the others,

[a] "In this way Epicurus tried to make plausible the tenuity of the atoms of incredible smallness, by saying, according to Laertius, X, 44, that they have no size."—*Ed.*

in themselves [*an sich*], like the monads of Leibniz. This leads to the inversion of Leibniz's assertion that no two things are identical, and there are infinitely many atoms of the same shape.[28] This obviously negates again the determination of the shape, because a shape which no longer differs from another is not shape.[a]

Finally,[b] it is highly important that Epicurus makes *weight* the *third* quality,[29] for in the centre of gravity matter possesses the ideal individuality which forms a principal determination of the atom. Hence, once the atoms are brought into the realm of presentation, they must also have weight.

But weight also directly contradicts the concept of the atom, because it is the individuality of matter as an ideal point which lies outside matter. But the atom is itself this individuality, as it were the centre of gravity presented as an individual existence. Weight therefore exists for Epicurus only as *different weight,* and the atoms are themselves *substantial centres of gravity* like the heavenly bodies. If this is applied to the concrete, then the obvious result is the fact which old *Brucker* finds so amazing[30] and of which *Lucretius* assures us,[31] namely, that the earth has no centre towards which everything strives, and that there are no antipodes. Furthermore since weight belongs only to that atom which is different from the other, hence externalised and endowed with properties, then it is clear that where the atoms are not thought of as many in their differentiation from one another, but only in relation to the void, the determination of weight ceases to exist. The atoms, as different as they may be in mass and shape, move therefore with equal speed in empty space.[32] Epicurus thus applies weight only in regard to repulsion and the resulting compositions. This has led to the assertion[c] that only the conglomerations of the atoms are endowed with weight, but not the atoms themselves.[33]

*Gassendi* already[d] praises Epicurus because, led purely by reason, he anticipated the experimentally demonstrated fact that all bodies, although very different in weight and mass, have the same velocity when they fall from above to below.[e34]

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[a] Marx erased the following paragraph: "Epicurus therefore has here also objectified the contradiction, while Democritus, only considering the material side, does not show in the further determination any consequence of the principle."— *Ed.*

[b] "Finally" added by Marx.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx erased the words "that they can be considered as cause of it and".— *Ed.*

[d] "Already" added by Marx.— *Ed.*

[e] Marx erased the sentence: "We have added to this praise the explanation of the principle of Epicurus."— *Ed.*

The consideration of the properties of the atoms leads us therefore to the same result as the consideration of the declination, namely, that Epicurus objectifies the contradiction in the concept of the atom between essence and existence. He thus gave us the science of atomistics. In Democritus, on the other hand, there is no realisation of the principle itself. He only maintains the material side and offers hypotheses for the benefit of empirical observation.

## Chapter Three

### Ἄτομοι ἀρχαί AND ἄτομα στοιχεῖα[a]

*Schaubach,* in his treatise on the astronomical concepts of Epicurus, to which we have already referred, makes the following assertion:

"*Epicurus,* as well as *Aristotle,* has made a distinction between *principles* [*Anfänge*] (*atomoi archai,* Diogenes Laertius, X, 41) and *elements* (*atoma stoicheia,* Diogenes Laertius, X, 86). The former are the atoms recognisable only through reason and do not occupy space.[1] These are called *atoms* not because they are the smallest bodies, but because they are indivisible in space. Açcording to these conceptions one might think that Epicurus did not attribute any spatial properties to the atom.[2] But in the letter to Herodotus (Diogenes Laertius, X, 44, 54) he gives the atoms not only weight but also size and shape.... I therefore consider these atoms as belonging to the second species, those that have developed out of the former but can still be regarded again as elementary particles of the bodies."[3]

Let us look more closely at the passage which *Schaubach* cites from Diogenes Laertius. It reads: Οἷον, ὅτι τὸ πᾶν, σῶμα καὶ ἀναφὴς φύσις ἐστίν· ἢ ὅτι ἄτομα στοιχεῖα, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα.[b]

Epicurus here teaches Pythocles, to whom he is writing, that the teaching about meteors differs from all other doctrines in physics, for example, that everything is either body or void, that there are indivisible basic elements. It is obvious that there is here no reason to assume that it is a question of a second species of atoms.[c] It may perhaps seem that the disjunction between τὸ πᾶν, σῶμα καὶ ἀναφὴς

[a] *Atomoi archai*—indivisible principles (or beginnings), and *atoma stoicheia*—indivisible elements.—*Ed.*

[b] For instance such propositions that the All consists of bodies and non-corporeal nature, or that there are indivisible elements and other such statements.—*Ed.*

[c] Here Marx erased the sentence: "We can equally conclude (justly or unjustly) from the passage ἀρχὴ δέ τούτων οὐκ ἔστιν, αἰτίων τῶν ἀτόμων οὐσῶν [for this there is no beginning, the atoms being the cause],[4] that Epicurus has assumed a *third* kind, the *atoma aitia* (ἄτομα αἴτια) [atoms as cause]."—*Ed.*

φύσις and ὅτι τὰ ἄτομα στοιχεῖα[a] establishes a difference between *soma* (σῶμα)[b] and *atoma stoicheia* (ἄτομα στοιχεῖα), so that we might say that *soma* stands for atoms of the first kind in contrast to the *atoma stoicheia*. But this is quite out of the question. *Soma* means the *corporeal* in contrast to the *void*, which for this reason is called *asomaton* (ἀσώματον)[c5)]. The term *soma* therefore includes the atoms as well as compound bodies. For example, in the letter to Herodotus we read: Τὸ πᾶν ἐστι τὸ σῶμα.... εἰ μὴ ἦν, ὃ κενὸν καὶ χώραν καὶ ἀναφῆ φύσιν ὀνομάζομεν..... Τῶν σωμάτων τὰ μέν ἐστι συγκρίσεις, τὰ δ' ἐξ ὧν αἱ συγκρίσεις πεποίηνται. Ταῦτα δέ ἐστιν ἄτομα καὶ ἀμετάβλητα..... Ὥςτε τὰς ἀρχὰς, ἀτόμους ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι σωμάτων φύσεις.[d6)]

Epicurus is thus speaking in the passage cited first of the *corporeal* in general, in contrast to the *void*, and then of the corporeal in particular, the atoms.[e]

*Schaubach*'s reference to Aristotle proves just as little. True the difference between *arche* (ἀρχή) and *stoicheion* (στοιχεῖον),[f] which the Stoics particularly insist upon,[7)] can indeed also be found in Aristotle,[8)] but he nonetheless assumes the identity of the two expressions.[9)] He even teaches explicitly that *stoicheion* (στοιχεῖον) denotes primarily the atom.[10)] Leucippus and Democritus likewise call the πλῆρες καὶ κενὸν[g]: "στοιχεῖον".[11)]

In Lucretius, in Epicurus' letters as quoted by Diogenes Laertius, in the *Colotes* of Plutarch,[12)] in Sextus Empiricus,[13)] the properties are ascribed to the atoms themselves, and for this reason they were determined as transcending themselves [*sich selbst aufhebend*].

However, if it is thought an antinomy that bodies perceptible only to reason should be endowed with spatial qualities, then it is

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[a] "The All consisting of bodies and non-corporeal bodies" and "that there are indivisible elements".— *Ed.*

[b] Body, matter.— *Ed.*

[c] Non-corporeal, immaterial.— *Ed.*

[d] The All is *body* ... if there were not that which we call *void*, space and non-corporeal nature.... Among bodies some are *corpound*, others the things out of which the compounds are made, and *these latter* are *indivisible* and unchangeable.... Consequently these first principles are necessarily of indivisible corporeal nature.— *Ed.*

[e] Here Marx erased the sentence: "'*Atoma stoicheia* here has no other meaning than *atomoi physeis* (ἄτομοι φύσεις) [indivisible natures], of which it is said in the last quoted passage that they are *archai* (ἀρχαί) [beginnings, first principles]." — *Ed.*

[f] "Beginning (first principle)" and "element".— *Ed.*

[g] Fullness and void.— *Ed.*

an even greater antinomy that the spatial qualities themselves can be perceived only through the intellect.[14)]

Finally, *Schaubach*, in further support of his view, cites the following passage from Stobaeus: 'Επίκουρος ..... τὰ [...] πρῶτα (sc.σώματα) δὲ ἁπλᾶ, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνων συγκρίματα πάντα βάρος ἔχειν.[a]

To this passage from Stobaeus could be added the following, in which *atoma stoicheia* are mentioned as a particular kind of atom: (Plutarch.) *De placit. philosoph.*, I, 246 and 249, and Stob., *Physical Selections*, I, p. 5.[15)] For the rest it is by no means claimed in these passages that the original atoms are without size, shape and weight. On the contrary, weight alone is mentioned as a distinctive characteristic of the *atomoi archai* ( ἄτομοι ἀρχαί ) and *atoma stoicheia* ( ἄτομα στοιχεῖα ). But we observed already in the preceding chapter that weight is applied only in regard to repulsion and the conglomerations arising therefrom.

With the invention of the *atoma stoicheia* we also gain nothing. It is just as difficult to pass from the *atomoi archai* to the *atoma stoicheia* as it is to ascribe properties directly to them. Nevertheless I do not deny such a differentiation entirely. I only deny that there are two different and fixed kinds of atoms. They are rather different determinations of one and the same kind.

Before discussing this difference I would like to call attention to a procedure typical of Epicurus. He likes to assume the different determinations of a concept as different independent existences. Just as his principle is the atom, so is the manner of his cognition itself atomistic. Every moment of the development is at once transformed in his hands into a fixed reality which, so to say, is separated from its relations to other things by empty space; every determination assumes the form of isolated individuality.

This procedure may be made clear by the following example.

The infinite, *to apeiron* (τὸ ἄπειρον), or the *infinitio*, as Cicero translates it, is occasionally used by Epicurus as a particular nature; and precisely in the same passages in which we find the *stoicheia* described as a fixed fundamental substance, we also find the *apeiron* turned into something independent.[16)]

However, according to Epicurus' own definitions, the infinite is neither a particular substance nor something outside of the atoms and the void, but rather an accidental determination of the void. We find in fact three meanings of *apeiron*.

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[a] Epicurus [states] that the primary (bodies) should be simple, those bodies compounded from them however should have weight.— *Ed.*

First, *apeiron* expresses for Epicurus a quality common to the atoms and the void. It means in this sense the infinitude of the All, which is infinite by virtue of the infinite multiplicity of the atoms, by virtue of the infinite size of the void.[17)]

Secondly, *apeiria* (ἀπειρία) is the multiplicity of the atoms, so that not the atom, but the infinitely many atoms are placed in opposition to the void.[18)]

Finally, if we may draw from Democritus a conclusion about Epicurus, *apeiron* also means exactly the opposite, the unlimited void, which is placed in opposition to the atom determined in itself and limited by itself.[19)]

In all these meanings—and they are the only ones, even the only possible ones for atomistics—the infinite is a mere determination of the atoms and of the void. Nevertheless, it is singled out as a particular existence, even set up as a specific nature alongside the principles whose determination it expresses.[a]

Therefore, even if Epicurus himself thus fixed the determination by which the atom becomes *stoicheion* as an independent original kind of atom—which, by the way, is not the case judging by the historical superiority of one source over the other, even if Metrodorus,[26] the disciple of Epicurus—as it seems more probable to us—was the first to change the differentiated determination into a differentiated existence[20)]; we must ascribe to the subjective mode of atomistic consciousness the changing of separate moments into something independently existing. The granting of the form of existence to different determinations has not resulted in understanding of their difference.

For Democritus the atom means only *stoicheion*, a material substrate. The distinction between the atom as *arche* and *stoicheion*, as principle and foundation, belongs to Epicurus. Its importance will be clear from what follows.

The contradiction between existence and essence, between matter and form, which is inherent in the concept of the atom, emerges in the individual atom itself once it is endowed with qualities. Through the quality the atom is alienated from its concept, but at the same time is perfected in its construction. It is from repulsion and the ensuing conglomerations of the qualified atoms that the world of appearance now emerges.

In this transition from the world of essence to the world of appearance, the contradiction in the concept of the atom clearly

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[a] Marx erased the sentence: "This example is convincing."—*Ed.*

reaches its harshest realisation. For the atom is conceptually the absolute, essential form of nature. *This absolute form has now been degraded to absolute matter, to the formless substrate of the world of appearance.*

The atoms are, it is true, the substance of nature,[21] out of which everything emerges, into which everything dissolves[22]; but the continuous annihilation of the world of appearance comes to no result. New appearances are formed; but the atom itself always remains at the bottom as the foundation.[23] Thus insofar as the atom is considered as pure concept, its existence is empty space, annihilated nature. Insofar as it proceeds to reality, it sinks down to the material basis which, as the bearer of a world of manifold relations, never exists but in forms which are indifferent and external to it. This is a necessary consequence, since the atom, presupposed as abstractly individual and complete, cannot actualise itself as the idealising and pervading power of this manifold.

Abstract individuality is freedom from being, not freedom in being. It cannot shine in the light of being. This is an element in which this individuality loses its character and becomes material. For this reason the atom does not enter into the daylight of appearance,[24] or it sinks down to the material basis when it does enter it. The atom as such only exists in the void. The death of nature has thus become its immortal substance; and Lucretius correctly exclaims:

> Mortalem vitam mors [...] immortalis ademit.[a]

But the fact that Epicurus grasps the contradiction at this its highest peak and objectifies it, and therefore distinguishes the atom where it becomes the basis of appearance as *stoicheion* from the atom as it exists in the void as *arche*—this constitutes his philosophical difference from Democritus, who only objectifies the one moment. This is the same distinction which in the world of essence, in the realm of the atoms and of the void, separates Epicurus from Democritus. However, since only the atom with qualities is the complete one, since the world of appearance can only emerge from the atom which is complete and alienated from its concept, Epicurus expresses this by stating that only the qualified atom becomes *stoicheion* or only the *atomon stoicheion* is endowed with qualities.

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[a] When death immortal claims his mortal life (*De rerum natura*, III, 869).—*Ed.*

## Chapter Four

### TIME

Since in the atom matter, as pure relationship to itself, is exempted from all relativity and changeability, it follows immediately that time has to be excluded from the concept of the atom, the world of essence. For matter is eternal and independent only insofar as in it abstraction is made of the time moment. On this Democritus and Epicurus agree. But they differ in regard to the manner in which time, removed from the world of atoms, is now determined, whither it is transferred.

For Democritus time has neither significance nor necessity for the system. He explains time in order to negate it [*aufzuheben*]. It is determined as eternal, in order that—as *Aristotle*[1] and Simplicius[2] state—the emergence and passing away, hence the temporal, is removed from the atoms. Time itself offers proof that not everything need have an origin, a moment of beginning.

There is something more profound to be recognised in this notion. The imagining intellect that does not grasp the independence of substance inquires into its becoming in time. It fails to grasp that by making substance temporal it also makes time substantial and thus negates its concept, because time made absolute is no longer temporal.

But this solution is unsatisfactory from another point of view. Time excluded from the world of essence is transferred into the self-consciousness of the philosophising subject but does not make any contact with the world itself.

Quite otherwise with Epicurus. *Time,* excluded from the world of essence, becomes for him *the absolute form of appearance.* That is to say, time is determined as accidens of the accidens. The accidens is the change of substance in general. The accidens of the accidens is the change as reflecting in itself, the change as change. This pure form of the world of appearance is time.[3]

Composition is the merely passive form of concrete nature, time its active form. If I consider composition in terms of its being, then the atom exists beyond it, in the void, in the imagination. If I consider the atom in terms of its concept, then composition either does not exist at all or exists only in the subjective imagination. For composition is a relationship in which the atoms, independent, self-enclosed, as it were uninterested in one another, have likewise no relationship to one another. Time, in contrast, the change of the finite to the extent that change is posited as change, is just as much the real form which separates appearance from essence, and

posits it as appearance, while leading it back into essence. Composition expresses merely the materiality of the atoms as well as of nature emerging from them. Time, in contrast, is in the world of appearance what the concept of the atom is in the world of essence, namely, the abstraction, destruction and reduction of all determined being into being-for-itself.

The following consequences can be drawn from these observations. *First,* Epicurus makes the contradiction between matter and form the characteristic of the nature of appearance, which thus becomes the counter-image of the nature of essence, the atom. This is done by time being opposed to space, the active form of appearance to the passive form. *Second,* Epicurus was the first to grasp appearance as appearance, that is, as alienation of the essence, activating itself in its reality as such an alienation. On the other hand, for Democritus, who considers composition as the only form of the nature of appearance, appearance does not by itself show that it is appearance, something different from essence. Thus when appearance is considered in terms of its existence, essence becomes totally blended [*konfundiert*] with it; when considered in terms of its concept, essence is totally separated from existence, so that it descends to the level of subjective semblance. The composition behaves indifferently and materially towards its essential foundations. Time, on the other hand, is the fire of essence, eternally consuming appearance, and stamping it with dependence and non-essence. *Finally,* since according to Epicurus time is change as change, the reflection of appearance in itself, the nature of appearance is justly posited as objective, sensation is justly made the real criterion of concrete nature, although the atom, its foundation, is only perceived through reason.

Indeed, time being the abstract form of sensation, according to the atomism of Epicurean consciousness the necessity arises for it to be fixed as a nature having a separate existence within nature. The changeability of the sensuous world, its change as change, this reflection of appearance in itself which constitutes the concept of time, has its separate existence in conscious sensuousness. *Human sensuousness is therefore embodied time, the existing reflection of the sensuous world in itself.*

Just as this follows immediately from the definition of the concept of time in *Epicurus,* so it can also be quite definitely demonstrated in detail. In the letter from Epicurus to Herodotus[4)] time is so defined that it emerges when the accidentals of bodies, perceived by the senses, are thought of as accidentals. Sensuous

perception reflected in itself is thus here the source of time and time itself. Hence time cannot be defined by analogy nor can anything else be said about it, but it is necessary to keep firmly to the *Enargie* itself; for sensuous perception reflected in itself is time itself, and there is no going beyond it.

On the other hand, in *Lucretius, Sextus Empiricus* and *Stobaeus,*[5] the accidens of the accidens, change reflected in itself, is defined as time. The reflection of the accidentals in sensuous perception and their reflection in themselves are hence posited as one and the same.

Because of this interconnection between time and sensuousness, the *eidola* (εἴδωλα),[a] equally found in Democritus, also acquire a more consistent status.

The *eidola* are the forms of natural bodies which, as surfaces, as it were detach themselves like skins and transfer these bodies into appearance.[6] These forms of the things stream constantly forth from them and penetrate into the senses and in precisely this way allow the objects to appear. Thus in hearing nature hears itself, in smelling it smells itself, in seeing it sees itself.[7] Human sensuousness is therefore the medium in which natural processes are reflected as in a focus and ignited into the light of appearance.

In *Democritus* this is an inconsistency, since appearance is only subjective; in Epicurus it is a necessary consequence, since sensuousness is the reflection of the world of appearance in itself, its embodied time.

Finally, the interconnection between sensuousness and time is revealed in such a way *that the temporal character of things and their appearance to the senses are posited as intrinsically one.* For it is precisely because bodies appear to the senses that they pass away.[8] Indeed, the *eidola,* by constantly separating themselves from the bodies and flowing into the senses, by having their sensuous existence outside themselves as another nature, by not returning into themselves, that is, out of the diremption, dissolve and pass away.

*Therefore: just as the atom is nothing but the natural form of abstract, individual self-consciousness, so sensuous nature is only the objectified, empirical, individual self-consciousness, and this is the sensuous. Hence the senses are the only criteria in concrete nature, just as abstract reason is the only criterion in the world of the atoms.*

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[a] Images.— *Ed.*

## Chapter Five

### THE METEORS

Ingenious as *Democritus'* astronomical opinions may be for his time, they present no philosophical interest. They neither go beyond the domain of empirical reflection, nor have they any more definite intrinsic connection with the atomic doctrine.

By contrast, *Epicurus'* theory of the celestial bodies and the processes connected with them, or his theory of *meteors* (in this one term he includes it all), stands in opposition not only to Democritus, but to the opinion of Greek philosophy as a whole. Worship of the celestial bodies is a cult practised by all Greek philosophers. The system of the celestial bodies is the first naive and nature-determined existence of true reason [*Vernunft*]. The same position is taken by Greek self-consciousness in the domain of the mind [*Geist*]. It is the solar system of the mind. The Greek philosophers therefore worshipped their own mind in the celestial bodies.

*Anaxagoras* himself, who first gave a physical explanation of heaven and in this way brought it down to earth in a sense different from that of Socrates, answered, when asked for what purpose he was born: εἰς θεωρίαν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ οὐρανοῦ.[a1] *Xenophanes*, however, looked up at heaven and said: The One is God.[2] The religious attitude of the *Pythagoreans, Plato* and *Aristotle* to the heavenly bodies is well known.

Indeed, Epicurus opposes the outlook of the whole Greek people.

*Aristotle* says it often seems that the concept provides evidence for the phenomena and the phenomena for the concept. Thus all men have an idea of the gods and assign the highest region to the divine, barbarians as well as Hellenes, and in general all who believe in the existence of the gods, evidently connecting the immortal with the immortal, for otherwise it is impossible. Thus if the divine exists — as it actually does — then what we say about the substance of the celestial bodies is also correct. But this corresponds also to sensuous perception, insofar as human conviction is concerned. For throughout the time that has passed, according to the memories handed down from people to people, nothing seems to have changed, either in heaven as a whole, or in any part of it. Even the name seems to have been handed down from the ancients to the present time, and they assumed that which we also

[a] For the observation of the sun, the moon and the heaven.— *Ed.*

say. For not once, not twice, but an infinite number of times have the same views come down to us. For since the primary body is something different, apart from the earth and the fire and the air and the water, they called the highest region "ether", from *thein aei* (θεῖν ἀεί),[a] giving it the by-name: eternal time.[3] But the ancients assigned heaven and the highest region to the gods, because it alone is immortal. But the present teaching testifies that it is indestructible, ungenerated and not subject to any mortal ills. In this way our concepts correspond at the same time to intimations about God.[4] But that there is *one* heaven is evident. It is a tradition handed down from our ancestors and the ancients and surviving in the form of the myths of later generations, that the heavenly bodies are gods and that the divine encompasses all nature. The rest was added in mythical form for the belief of the masses, as useful for the laws and for life. Thus the myths make the gods resemble man and some of the other living creatures, and invent similar things connected with and related to this. If we discard the additions and hold fast only to the first, namely, the belief that the primary substances are gods, then we must consider this as having been divinely revealed, and we must hold that after all sorts of art and philosophy had, in one way or another, been invented and lost again, these opinions came down to us like relics.[5]

*Epicurus,* on the contrary, says:

To all this we must add that the greatest confusion of the human soul arises from the fact that men hold that the heavenly bodies are blessed and indestructible and have conflicting desires and actions, and conceive suspicion according to the myths.[6] As to the meteors, we must believe that motion and position and eclipse and rising and setting and related phenomena do not originate in them owing to One ruling and ordering or having ordered, One who at the same time is supposed to possess all bliss and indestructibility. For actions do not accord with bliss, but they occur due to causes most closely related to weakness, fear and need. Nor is it to be supposed that some fire-like bodies endowed with bliss arbitrarily submit to these motions. If one does not agree with this, then this contradiction itself produces the greatest confusion in men's souls.[7]

*Aristotle* reproached[b] the ancients for their belief that heaven required the support of Atlas[8] who: πρὸς ἑσπέρους τόπους ἔστηκε

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[a] To run always.— *Ed.*

[b] Corrected by Marx from "blamed".— *Ed.*

κίον' οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ χθονὸς ὤμοιν ἐρείδων.[a] Epicurus, on the other hand, blames those who believe that man needs heaven. He finds the Atlas by whom heaven is supported in human stupidity and superstition. Stupidity and superstition also are Titans.

The letter of Epicurus to Pythocles deals entirely with the theory of the heavenly bodies, with the exception of the last section, which closes the letter with ethical precepts. And appropriately,[b] ethical precepts are appended to the teaching on the meteors. For Epicurus this theory is a matter of conscience. Our study will therefore be based mainly on this letter to Pythocles. We shall supplement it from the letter to Herodotus, to which Epicurus himself refers in writing to Pythocles.[9)]

*First*, it must not be supposed that any other goal but ataraxy and firm assurance can be attained from knowledge of the meteors, either taken as a whole or in part, just as from the other natural sciences.[10)] Our life does not need speculation and empty hypotheses, but that we should live without confusion. Just as it is the business of the study of nature in general to investigate the foundations of what is most important: so happiness lies also in knowledge of the meteors. In and for itself the theory of setting and rising, of position and eclipse, contains no particular grounds for happiness; only terror possesses those who see these things without understanding their nature and their principal causes.[11)] So far, only the *precedence* which the theory of the meteors is supposed to have over other sciences has been denied; and this theory has been placed on the same level as others.

But the theory of the meteors is *also specifically different* in comparison both with the method of ethics and with other physical problems, for example, the existence of indivisible elements and the like, where only one explanation corresponds to the phenomena. For this is not the case with the meteors.[12)] Their origin has no simple cause, and they have more than one category of essence corresponding to the phenomena. For the study of nature cannot be pursued in accordance with empty axioms and laws.[13)] It is constantly repeated that the meteors are not to be explained *haplos* (ἁπλῶς) (simply, absolutely), but *pollachos* (πολλαχῶς) (in many ways).

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[a] In the places of the West stands, supporting with his shoulders the pillar of heaven and earth (Aeschylus, *Prometh.*, 348 ff.). The quotation was inserted by Marx in Greek in place of the Latin translation, which he struck out.— *Ed.*

[b] "Appropriately" corrected by Marx from "not accidentally".— *Ed.*

This also holds for the rising and setting of the sun and the moon,[14] the waxing and waning of the moon,[15] the semblance of a face on the moon,[16] the changes of duration of day and night,[17] and other celestial phenomena.

How then is it to be explained?

Every explanation is sufficient. Only the myth must be removed. It will be removed when we observe the phenomena and draw conclusions from them concerning the invisible.[18] We must hold fast to the appearance, the sensation. Hence analogy must be applied. In this way we can explain fear away and free ourselves from it, by showing the causes of meteors and other things that are always happening and causing the utmost alarm to other people.[19]

The great number of explanations, the multitude of possibilities, should not only tranquillise our minds and remove causes for fear, but also at the same time negate in the heavenly bodies their very unity, the absolute law that is always equal to itself. These heavenly bodies may behave sometimes in one way, sometimes in another; this possibility conforming to no law is the characteristic of their reality; everything in them is declared to be impermanent and unstable.[20] *The multitude of the explanations should at the same time remove [aufheben] the unity of the object.*

Thus while *Aristotle,* in agreement with other Greek philosophers, considers the heavenly bodies to be eternal and immortal, because they always behave in the same way; while he even ascribes to them an element of their own, higher and not subjected to the force of gravity; *Epicurus* in contrast claims the direct opposite. He reasons that the theory of the meteors is specifically distinguished from all other physical doctrine in this respect, that in the meteors everything occurs in a multiple and unregulated way, that everything in them is to be explained by a manifold of indefinitely many causes. Yes, in wrath and passionate violence he rejects the opposite opinion, and declares that those who adhere to only one method of explanation to the exclusion of all others, those who accept something Unique, hence Eternal and Divine in the meteors, fall victim to idle explanation-making and to the slavish artifices of the astrologers; they overstep the bounds of the study of nature and throw themselves into the arms of myth; they try to achieve the impossible, and exert themselves over absurdities; they do not even realise where ataraxy itself becomes endangered. Their chatter is to be despised.[21] We must avoid the prejudice that investigation into these subjects cannot be sufficiently thorough and subtle if it aims only at our own ataraxy

and bliss.[22] On the contrary, it is an absolute law that nothing that can disturb ataraxy, that can cause danger, can belong to an indestructible and eternal nature. Consciousness must understand that this is an absolute law.[23]

Hence Epicurus concludes: *Since eternity of the heavenly bodies would disturb the ataraxy of self-consciousness, it is a necessary, a stringent consequence that they are not eternal.*

But how can we understand this peculiar view of Epicurus?

All authors who have written on Epicurean philosophy have presented this teaching as incompatible with all the rest of physics, with the atomic doctrine. The fight against the Stoics, against superstition, against astrology is taken as sufficient grounds.

And we have seen that Epicurus himself distinguishes the *method* applied in the theory of the meteors from the method of the rest of physics. But in which definition of his principle can the necessity of this distinction be found? How does the idea occur to him?

And he fights not only against astrology, but also against astronomy itself, against eternal law and rationality in the heavenly system. Finally, opposition to the Stoics explains nothing. Their superstition and their whole point of view had already been refuted when the heavenly bodies were declared to be accidental complexes of atoms and their processes accidental motions of the atoms. Thereby their eternal nature was destroyed, a consequence which Democritus was content to draw from these premises.[24] In fact, their very being was disposed of [*aufgehoben*].[25] The atomist therefore was in no need of a new method.

But this is not yet the full difficulty. An even more perplexing antinomy appears.

The atom is matter in the form of independence, of individuality, as it were the representative of weight. But the heavenly bodies are the supreme realisation of weight. In them all antinomies between form and matter, between concept and existence, which constituted the development of the atom, are resolved; in them all required determinations are realised. The heavenly bodies are eternal and unchangeable; they have their centre of gravity in, not outside, themselves. Their only action is motion, and, separated by empty space, they swerve from the straight line, and form a system of repulsion and attraction while at the same time preserving their own independence and also, finally, generating time out of themselves as the form of their appearance. *The heavenly bodies are therefore the atoms become real.* In them matter has received in itself individuality. Here Epicurus must therefore have glimpsed

the highest existence of his principle, the peak and culminating point of his system. He asserted that he assumed the atom so that nature would be provided with immortal foundations. He alleged that he was concerned with the substantial individuality of matter. But when he comes upon the reality of his nature (and he knows no other nature but the mechanical), when he comes upon independent, indestructible matter in the heavenly bodies whose eternity and unchangeability were proved by the belief of the people, the judgment of philosophy, the evidence of the senses: then his one and only desire is to pull it down into earthly transience. He turns vehemently against those who worship an independent nature containing in itself the quality of individuality. This is his most glaring contradiction.

Hence Epicurus feels that here his previous categories break down, that the method of his theory[a] becomes different. And the *profoundest knowledge* achieved by his system, its most thorough consistency, is that he is aware of this and expresses it consciously.

Indeed, we have seen how the whole Epicurean philosophy of nature is pervaded with the contradiction between essence and existence, between form and matter. *But this contradiction is resolved in the heavenly bodies,* the conflicting moments are reconciled. In the celestial svstem matter has received form into itself, has taken up the individuality into itself and has thus achieved its independence. *But at this point it ceases to be affirmation of abstract self-consciousness.* In the world of the atoms, as in the world of appearance, form struggled against matter; the one determination transcended the other and precisely *in this contradiction abstract-individual self-consciousness felt its nature objectified.* The abstract form, which, in the shape of matter, fought against abstract matter, was *this self-consciousness itself.* But now, when matter has reconciled itself with the form and has been rendered self-sufficient, individual self-consciousness emerges from its pupation, proclaims itself the true principle and opposes nature, which has become independent.

All this can also be expressed from another point of view in the following way: *Matter,* having received into itself individuality, form, as is the case with the heavenly bodies, *has ceased to be abstract individuality; it has become concrete individuality, universality.* In the meteors, therefore, abstract-individual self-consciousness is met by

[a] "Method of his theory" was corrected by Marx from "theory of his method."—*Ed.*

its contradiction, shining in its materialised form, the universal which has become existence and nature. Hence it recognises in the meteors its deadly enemy, and it ascribes to them, as Epicurus does, all the anxiety and confusion of men. Indeed, the anxiety and dissolution of the abstract-individual is precisely the universal. Here therefore Epicurus' true principle, abstract-individual self-consciousness, can no longer be concealed. It steps out from its hiding place and, freed from material mummery, it seeks to destroy the reality of nature which has become independent by an explanation according to abstract possibility: what is possible may also be otherwise, the opposite of what is possible is also possible. Hence the polemic against those who explain the heavenly bodies *haplos* (ἁπλῶς),[a] that is, in one particular way, for the One is the Necessary and that which is Independent-in-itself.

*Thus as long as nature as atom and appearance expresses individual self-consciousness and its contradiction, the subjectivity of self-consciousness appears only in the form of matter itself. Where, on the other hand, it becomes independent, it reflects itself in itself, confronts matter in its own shape as independent form.*

It could have been said from the beginning that where Epicurus' principle becomes reality it will cease to have reality for him. For if individual self-consciousness were posited in reality under the determination of nature, or nature under the determination of individual consciousness, then its determination, that is, its existence, would have ceased, because only the universal in free distinction from itself can know at the same time its own affirmation.

*In the theory of meteors therefore appears the soul of the Epicurean philosophy of nature.* Nothing is eternal which destroys the ataraxy of individual self-consciousness. The heavenly bodies disturb its ataraxy, its equanimity with itself, because they are the existing universality, because in them nature has become independent.

Thus the principle of Epicurean philosophy is not the *gastrology* of *Archestratus* as *Chrysippus* believes,[26] but the absoluteness and freedom of self-consciousness — even if self-consciousness is only conceived in the form of individuality.

If abstract-individual self-consciousness is posited as an absolute principle, then, indeed, all true and real science is done away with [*aufgehoben*] inasmuch as individuality does not rule within the nature of things themselves. But then, too, everything collapses

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[a] Simply, absolutely.— *Ed.*

that is transcendentally related to human consciousness and therefore belongs to the imagining mind. On the other hand, if that self-consciousness which knows itself only in the form of abstract universality is raised to an absolute principle, then the door is opened wide to superstitious and unfree mysticism. Stoic philosophy provides the historic proof of this. Abstract-universal self-consciousness has, indeed, the intrinsic urge to affirm itself in the things themselves in which it can only affirm itself by negating them.

Epicurus is therefore the greatest representative of Greek Enlightenment, and he deserves the praise of Lucretius[27]:

> Humana ante oculos foede cum vita iaceret
> In terris oppressa gravi sub religione
> Quae caput a caeli regionibus ostendebat
> Horribili super aspectu mortalibus instans,
> Primum Graius homo mortalis tollere contra.
> Est oculos ausus primusque obsistere contra,
> Quem neque fama deum nec fulmina nec minitanti
> Murmure compressit caelum.....
> Quare religio pedibus subiecta vicissim
> Obteritur, nos exaequat victoria caelo.[a]

The difference between Democritean and Epicurean philosophy of nature which we established at the end of the general section has been elaborated and confirmed in all domains of nature. In *Epicurus*, therefore, *atomistics* with all its contradictions has been carried through and completed *as the natural science of self-consciousness*. This self-consciousness under the form of abstract individuality is an absolute principle. Epicurus has thus carried atomistics to its final conclusion, which is its dissolution and conscious opposition to the universal. For *Democritus*, on the other hand, the *atom* is only the *general objective expression of the empirical investigation of nature as a whole*. Hence the atom remains for him a pure and abstract category, a hypothesis, the result of experience, not its active [*energisches*] principle. This hypothesis remains therefore without realisation, just as it plays no further part in determining the real investigation of nature.

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[a] When human life lay grovelling in all men's sight, crushed to the earth under the dead weight of religion whose grim features loured menacingly upon mortals from the four quarters of the sky, a man of Greece was first to raise mortal eyes in defiance, first to stand erect and brave the challenge. Fables of the gods did not crush him, nor the lightning flash and growling menace of the sky.... Therefore religion in its turn lies crushed beneath his feet, and we by his triumph are lifted level with the skies.— *Ed.*

# [Fragment from the Appendix]

## [CRITIQUE OF PLUTARCH'S POLEMIC AGAINST THE THEOLOGY OF EPICURUS][27]

### [II. INDIVIDUAL IMMORTALITY]

#### [1. On Religious Feudalism. The Hell of the Populace]

The study is again divided into the relation *ton adikon kai poneron* (τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ πονήρων),[a] then of the *pollon kai idioton* (πολλῶν καὶ ἰδιωτῶν),[b] and finally of the *epieikon kai noun echonton* (ἐπιεικῶν καὶ νοῦν ἐχόντων)[c] (l. c. 1104)[28] to the doctrine of the continued existence of the soul. Already this division into fixed qualitative distinctions shows how little Plutarch understands Epicurus, who, as a philosopher, investigates the essential relationship of the human soul in general.

Then he brings fear up again as the means to reform the evil-doers and thus justifies the terrors of the underworld for the sensuous consciousness. We have already considered this objection of his. Since in fear, and specifically in an inner fear that cannot be extinguished, man is determined as an animal, we do not care at all how an animal is kept in restraint.

Now we proceed to the view of the *polloi* (πολλοὶ),[d] although it turns out at the end that few people are not included in this term; although, to tell the truth, all people, *deo legein pantas* (δέω λέγειν πάντας),[e] vow allegiance to this banner.

τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς καὶ ἄνευ φόβου περὶ τῶν ἐν ἅ δου ἡ περὶ τὸ μυθῶδες τῆς ἀϊδιότητος ἐλπὶς, καὶ ο πόθος τοῦ εἶναι, πάντων ἐρώτων πρεσβύτατος ὢν καὶ μέγιστος, ἡδονῆς ὑπερβάλλει καὶ γλυκυθυμίας τὸ παιδικὸν ἐκεῖνο δέος. P.1104, l.c. ἢ καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ φίλους ἀποβάλλοντες, εἶναί που μᾶλλον ἐθέλουσι καὶ διαμένειν κακοπαθοῦντες, ἢ παντάπασιν ἐξη-

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[a] Of the evil-doers and rascals.— *Ed.*
[b] Masses and uncivilised.— *Ed.*
[c] Decent and intelligent ones.— *Ed.*
[d] Multitude.— *Ed.*
[e] I had almost said all men.— *Ed.*

ρῆσθαι καὶ διεφθάρθαι καὶ γεγονέναι τὸ μηθέν. ἡδέως δὲ τῶν ὀνομάτων τοῦ μεθιστάσθαι τὸν θνήσκοντα καὶ μεταλλάττειν, καὶ ὅσα δηλοῖ μεταβολὴν ὄντα τῆς ψυχῆς, οὐ φθοράν, τὸν θάνατον ἀκροῶνται...P.1104, 1.c. [...] καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀπόλωλε, καὶ τὸ ἀνήρηται, καὶ τὸ οὐκέστι, ταράσσονται... ἢ καὶ προςεπισφάττουσιν οἱ ταυτὶ λέγουτες, ἅπαξ ἄνθρωποι γεγόναμεν, δὶς δὲ οὐκ ἔστι γενέσθαι... [P. 1104, 1.c.] καὶ γὰρ τὸ παρὸν ὡς μικρὸν, μᾶλλον δὲ μηδοτιοῦν πρὸς τὸ σύμπαντα ἀτιμήσαντες ἀναπόλαυστα προῖενται, καὶ ὀλιγωροῦσιν ἀρετῆς καὶ πράξεως, οἷον ἐξαθυμοῦντες, καὶ καταφρονοῦντες ἑαυτῶν ὡς ἐφημέρων καὶ ἀβεβαίων καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον γεγονότων. τὸ γὰρ ἀναίσθητον καὶ λυθὲν καὶ μηδὲν εἶναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸ ἀναισθητοῦν, οὐκ ἀναιρεῖ τὸ τοῦ θανάτου δέος, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀπόδειξιν αὐτοῦ προςτίθησιν. αὐτὸ γάρ τοῦτό ἐστιν ὃ δέδοικεν ἡ φύσις... τὴν εἰς τὸ μὴ φρονοῦν μηδὲ αἰσθανόμενον διάλυσιν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἣν Ἐπίκουρος εἰς κενὸν καὶ ἀτόμους διασποραν ποιῶν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκκόπτει τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ἀφθαρσίας· δι' ἣν ὀλίγου δέω λέγειν πάντας εἶναι καὶ πάσας προθύμους τῷ Κερβέρῳ διαδάκνεσθαι, καὶ φορεῖν εἰς τὸν ἄτρητον, ὅπως ἐν τῷ εἶναι [μόνον] διαμένωσι, μηδὲ ἀναιρεθῶσι. P. [1104—]1105, l.c.[a]

There is really no qualitative difference between this and the previous category. What in the first case appeared in the shape of animal fear, appears here in the shape of human fear, the form of sentiment. The content remains the same.

We are told that the desire of being is the oldest love; to be sure, the most abstract and hence oldest love is the love of self, the

[a] In the masses, who have no fear of what comes after death, the myth-inspired hope of eternal life and the desire of being, the oldest and most powerful of all passions, produces joy and a feeling of happiness and overcomes that childish terror. Hence, whoever has lost children, a wife, and friends would rather have them continue to be somewhere and continue to exist, even if in hardship, than be utterly taken away and destroyed and reduced to nothing. On the other hand, they willingly hear such expressions as "the dying person goes somewhere else and changes his dwelling", and whatever else intimates that death is a change of the soul's dwelling, and not destruction ... and such expressions as "he is lost" and "he has perished" and "he is no more" disturb them.... They hold in store for them utter death who say: "We men are born only once; one cannot be born a second time".... For the present is of little account to them, or rather of none at all, in comparison with eternity, and they let it pass without enjoying it and neglect virtue and action, spiritless and despising themselves as creatures of a day, impermanent, and beings worth nothing to speak of. For the doctrine that "being-without-sensation and being-dissolved and what has no sensation is nothing to us" does not remove the terror of death, but rather confirms it. For this is the very thing nature dreads ... the dissolution of the soul into what has neither thought nor sensation; Epicurus, by making this a scattering into emptiness and atoms, does still more destroy our hope of immortality, a hope for which (I would almost say) all men and all women are ready to be torn asunder by Cerberus and to carry constantly [water] into the barrel [of the Danaides], so that they may [only] stay in being and not be extinguished.— *Ed.*

love of one's particular being. But that was expressing this fact too bluntly, and so it is retracted and an ennobling halo is cast around it by the semblance of sentiment.

Thus he who loses wife and children would rather that they were somewhere, even under bad conditions, than that they had totally ceased to exist. If the issue were only love, then the wife and the child of the individual would be preserved in the greatest purity in his heart, a state of being far superior to that of empirical existence. But the facts are otherwise. Wife and child as such are only in empirical existence insofar as the individual to whom they belong exists empirically himself. That the individual therefore prefers to know that they are somewhere in sensuous space, even under bad conditions, rather than nowhere, only means that he wants to preserve the consciousness of his own empirical existence. The mantle of love was only a shadow. The naked empirical Ego, the love of self, the oldest love, is the core and has not rejuvenated itself into a more concrete, more ideal shape.

Plutarch believes that the word "change" has a more pleasing sound than "total cessation". But the change is not supposed to be a qualitative one, the individual Ego in its individual being is supposed to persist, the word therefore is only the sensuous image of what the word stands for and has to stand for its opposite. The thing is not supposed to be changed, only placed in a dark spot. The qualitative leap—and every qualitative distinction is a leap, without such leaping no ideality—is then obscured by the interposition of a fantastic distance.

Plutarch also thinks that this consciousness....[a]

[a] Here the manuscript breaks off.— *Ed.*

# [Notes][29]

## Part One

### DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE DEMOCRITEAN AND EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY OF NATURE IN GENERAL

#### II. OPINIONS ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEMOCRITEAN AND EPICUREAN PHYSICS

1) **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 4. They are followed by Posidonius the Stoic and his school, and Nicolaus and Sotion ... [allege that] he (Epicurus) put forward as his own the doctrines of Democritus about atoms and of Aristippus about pleasure.[a]

2) **Cicero,** *On the Nature of the Gods,* I, xxvi [73]. What is there in Epicurus' natural philosophy that does not come from Democritus? Since even if he *introduced some alterations* ... yet most of his system is the same....

3) **Id.,** *On the Highest Goods and Evils,* I, vi [21]. Thus where Epicurus alters the doctrines of Democritus, he alters them for the worse; while for those ideas which he adopts, the credit belongs entirely to Democritus....

**Ibid.** [17, 18] ... the subject of Natural Philosophy, which is Epicurus' particular boast. Here, in the first place, *he is entirely second-hand.* His doctrines are those of Democritus, with a very few modifications. And as for the latter, where he attempts to *improve* upon his original, in my opinion he only succeeds in making things *worse....* Epicurus for his part, where he follows Democritus, does not generally blunder.

4) **Plutarch,** *Reply to Colotes* (published by Xylander), 1108. Leonteus ... writes ... that Democritus was honoured by Epicurus for having reached the correct approach to knowledge before him ... because Democritus had first hit upon the first principles of natural philosophy. Comp. *ibid.,* 1111.

5) (**Id.,**) *On the Sentiments of the Philosophers,* V, 235, published by Tauchnitz. Epicurus, the son of Neocles, from Athens, who philosophised according to Democritus....

6) **Id.,** *Reply to Colotes,* 1111, 1112, 1114, 1115, 1117, 1119, 1120 seqq.

7) **Clement of Alexandria,** *The Miscellanies,* VI, p. 629, Cologne edition [2]. Epicurus also has pilfered his leading dogmas from Democritus.

8) **Ibid.,** p. 295 [I, 11]. "Beware lest any man despoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the elements of the world and

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[a] The translation of Latin and Greek texts follows, when possible, that of the Loeb Classical Library. The translation differs in details from the text in the dissertation, which is the English translation of Marx's text, and therefore also of Marx's German translation of the Latin and Greek texts.— *Ed.*

not after Christ" [Col. ii, 8], branding not all philosophy, but the Epicurean, which Paul mentions in the Acts of the Apostles [Acts xvii, 18], which abolishes providence ... and whatever other philosophy honours the elements, but places not over them the efficient cause, nor apprehends the Creator.

9) **Sextus Empiricus,** *Against the Professors* (Geneva edition) [I, 273]. Epicurus has been detected as guilty of having filched the best of his dogmas from the poets. For he has been shown to have taken his definition of the intensity of pleasures,—that it is "the removal of everything painful"—from this one verse:

"When they had now put aside all longing for drinking and eating."[a]

And as to death, that "it is nothing to us", Epicharmus had already pointed this out to him when he said,

"To die or to be dead concerns me not."

So, too, he stole the notion that dead bodies have no feeling from Homer, where he writes,

"'Tis dumb clay that he beats with abuse in his violent fury."[b]

10) *Letter of* **Leibniz** *to Mr. Des Maizeaux, containing* [*some*] *clarifications....* [*Opera omnia,*] ed. L. Dutens, Vol. 2, p[p]. 66[-67].

11) **Plutarch,** *Reply to Colotes,* 1111. Democritus is therefore to be censured not for admitting the consequences that flow from his principles, but for setting up principles that lead to these consequences.... If "does not say" means "does not admit it is so", he is following his familiar practice; thus he (Epicurus) does away with providence but says he has left us with piety; he chooses friends for the pleasure he gets, but says that he assumes the greatest pains on their behalf; and he says that while he posits an infinite universe he does not eliminate "up" and "down".

## III. DIFFICULTIES CONCERNING THE IDENTITY OF THE DEMOCRITEAN AND EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY OF NATURE

1) **Aristotle,** *On the Soul,* I, p. 8 (published by Trendelenburg) [2, 404$^a$, 27-29]. Democritus roundly identifies soul and mind, for he identifies what appears with what is true.

2) **Id.,** *Metaphysics,* IV, 5 [1009$^b$, 11-18]. And this is why Democritus, at any rate, says that either there is no truth or to us at least it is not evident. And in general it is because they [i.e., these thinkers] suppose knowledge to be sensation, and this to be a physical alteration, that they say that what appears to our senses must be true; for it is for these reasons that both Empedocles and Democritus and, one may almost say, all the others have fallen victims to opinions of this sort. For Empedocles says that when men change their condition they change their knowledge.

By the way, the contradiction is expressed in this passage of the *Metaphysics* itself.[c]

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[a] Homer, *Iliad,* I, 469.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., XXIV, 54.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx wrote this sentence with a corresponding reference in the left margin of the page.—*Ed.*

[3] **Diogenes Laertius,** IX, 72. Furthermore, they find Xenophanes, Zeno of Elea, and Democritus to be sceptics.... Democritus [says:] "Of a truth we know nothing, for truth is in a well."

[4] Comp. **Ritter,** *History of Ancient Philosophy* [in German], Part I, pp. 579 seqq. [2d improved edition, 1836, pp. 619 seqq.]

[5] **Diogenes Laertius,** IX, 44. His (Democritus') opinions are these: The first principles of the universe are atoms and empty space; everything else is merely thought to exist.

[6] **Ibid.,** IX, 72. Democritus rejects qualities, saying: "Opinion says hot or cold, but the reality is atoms and empty space."

[7] **Simplicius,** *Scholia to Aristotle* (collected by Brandis), p. 488. ... yet he (Democritus) does not really allow one being to be formed out of them, for it is quite foolish, he says, that two or more become one.

P. 514. [...] and therefore they (Democritus and Leucippus) said that neither the one becomes many nor do the many become the truly inseparable one but through the combination of atoms each thing appears to become a unity.

[8] **Plutarch,** *Reply to Colotes,* 1111. The atoms, which he (Democritus) calls "*ideas*".

[9] Comp. **Aristotle,** l. c.

[10] **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 121. He [the wise man] will be a dogmatist but not a mere sceptic.

[11] **Plutarch,** *Reply to Colotes,* 1117. For it is one of Epicurus' tenets that none but the sage is unalterably convinced of anything.

[12] **Cicero,** *One the Nature of the Gods,* I, xxv [70]. He (Epicurus) therefore said that *all the senses* give *a true report.*

Comp. **id.,** *On the Highest Goods and Evils,* I, vii.

**(Plutarch,)** *On the Sentiments of the Philosophers,* IV, p. 287 [8]. Epicurus holds that every impression and every phantasy is true.

[13] **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 31. Now in *The Canon* Epicurus affirms that our sensations and preconceptions and our feelings are the standards of truth.... 32. Nor is there anything which can refute sensations or convict them of error: one sensation cannot convict another and kindred sensation, for they are equally valid; nor can one sensation refute another which is not kindred but heterogeneous, for the objects which the two senses judge are not the same; nor again can reason refute them, for reason is wholly dependent on sensation.

[14] **Plutarch,** *Reply to Colotes,* l. c. [1110-1111]. He [Colotes] says that Democritus' words "colour is by convention, sweet by convention, a compound by convention", and so the rest, "what is real are the void and the atoms", are an attack on the senses.... I cannot deny the truth of this, but I can affirm that this view is as inseparable from Epicurus' theories as shape and weight are by their own assertion inseparable from the atom. For what does Democritus say? That entities infinite in number, indivisible and indestructible, destitute moreover of quality, and incapable of modification, move scattered about in the void; that when they draw near one another or collide or become entangled the resulting aggregate appears in the one case to be water, in others fire, a plant, or a man, but that everything really is the indivisible "forms", as he calls them [or: atoms, "ideas", as he calls them], and nothing else. For there is no generation from the non-existent, and again nothing can be generated from the existent, as the atoms are too solid to be affected and changed. From this it follows that there is no colour, since it would have to come from things colourless, and no natural entity or mind, since they

would have to come from things without qualities.... Democritus is therefore to be censured, not for admitting the consequences that flow from his principles, but for setting up principles that lead to these consequences.... *Epicurus claims to lay down the same first principles, but nevertheless does not say that "colour is by convention", and so with the qualities [sweet, bitter] and the rest.*

[15] **Cicero,** *On the Highest Goods and Evils,* I, vi. Democritus, being an educated man and well versed in geometry, thinks the sun is of vast size; Epicurus considers it perhaps two feet in diameter, for he pronounces it *to be* exactly as large as it *appears.* Comp. **(Plutarch,)** *On the Sentiments of the Philosophers,* II, p. 265.

[16] **Diogenes Laertius,** IX, 37. [And truly Democritus] had trained himself both in physics and in ethics, nay more, in mathematics and the routine subjects of education, and was quite an expert in the arts.

[17] Comp. **Diogenes Laertius,** [IX,] 46[-49].

[18] **Eusebius,** *Preparation for the Gospel,* X, p. 472. And somewhere he (Democritus) says proudly about himself: "I have wandered through a larger part of the earth than any of my contemporaries, investigating the remotest things, and I have seen most climates and lands, and I have heard the most learned men, and in linear composition with demonstration no one surpassed me, not even the so-called Arsipedonapts of the Egyptians, whose guest I was when already turning eighty." For he went as far as Babylon and Persia and Egypt, where he also studied with the Egyptian priests.

[19] **Diogenes Laertius,** IX, 35. According to Demetrius in his book on *Men of the Same Name* and Antisthenes in his *Successions of Philosophers* he (Democritus) travelled into Egypt to learn geometry from the priests, and he also went into Persia to visit the Chaldaeans as well as to the Red Sea. Some say that he associated with the gymnosophists in India and went to Aethiopia.

[20] **Cicero,** *Tusculan Disputations,* V, 39. When Democritus lost his sight.... And this man believed that the sight of the eyes was an obstacle to the piercing vision of the soul, and whilst others often failed to see what lay at their feet, he ranged freely into the infinite without finding any boundary that brought him to a halt.

**Id.,** *On the Highest Goods and Evils,* V, xxix [87]. It is related of Democritus that he deprived himself of eyesight; and it is certain that [he did so] *in order that his mind should be distracted as little as possible from reflection.*

[21] **Luc. Ann. Seneca,** *Works,* II, p. 24, Amsterdam, 1672, Epistle VIII. I am still conning Epicurus.... "If you would enjoy real freedom, you must be the slave of Philosophy." The man who submits and surrenders himself to her is not kept waiting; he is emancipated on the spot. For the very service of Philosophy is freedom.

[22] **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 122. Let no one be slow to seek wisdom when he is young nor weary in the search thereof when he is grown old. For no age is too early or too late for the health of the soul. And to say that the season for studying philosophy has not yet come, or that it is past and gone, is like saying that the season for happiness is not yet or that it is now no more. Therefore, both old and young ought to seek wisdom, the former in order that, as age comes over him, he may be young in good things because of the grace of what has been, and the latter in order that, while he is young, he may at the same time be old, because he has no fear of the things which are to come. Comp. **Clement of Alexandria,** IV, 501.

[23] **Sextus Empiricus,** *Against the Professors,* I, 1. The case against the mathematici [or: Professors of Arts and Sciences] has been set forth in a general way, it would seem, both by Epicurus and by the School of Pyrrho, although the

standpoints they adopt are different. Epicurus took the ground that the subjects taught are of no help in perfecting wisdom....

[24] **Ibid.,** p. 11 [I, 49]. And amongst them we must place Epicurus, although he seems to be bitterly hostile to the Professors of Arts and Sciences.

**Ibid.,** p. 54 [I, 272]. ... those accusers of grammar, Pyrrho, and Epicurus.... Comp. **Plutarch,** *That Epicurus Actually Makes a Pleasant Life Impossible,* 1094.

[25] **Cicero,** *On the Highest Goods and Evils,* I, xxi [72]. No! Epicurus was not uneducated: the real ignoramuses are those who ask us to go on studying till old age the subjects that we ought to be ashamed not to have learnt in boyhood.

[26] **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 13. Apollodorus in his *Chronology* tells us that our philosopher (i.e., Epicurus) was a pupil of Nausiphanes and Praxiphanes; but in his letter to Eurydicus, Epicurus himself denies it and says that he was self-taught.

**Cicero,** *On the Nature of the Gods,* I, xxvi [72]. For he (Epicurus) boasted that he had never had a teacher. This I for my part could well believe, even if he did not proclaim it....

[27] **Seneca,** *Epistle LII,* p. 177. Epicurus remarks that certain men have worked their way to the truth without any one's assistance, carving out their own passage. And he gives special praise to these, for their impulse has come from within, and they have forged to the front by themselves. Again, he says, there are others who need outside help, who will not proceed unless someone leads the way, but who will follow faithfully. Of these, he says, Metrodorus was one; this type of man is also excellent, but belongs to the second grade.

[28] **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 10. He spent all his life in Greece, notwithstanding the calamities which had befallen her in that age; when he did once or twice take a trip to Ionia, it was to visit his friends there. Friends indeed came to him from all parts and lived with him in his garden. This is stated by Apollodorus, who also says that he purchased the garden for eighty minae.

[29] **Ibid.,** X, 15, 16. Hermippus relates that he entered a bronze bath of lukewarm water and asked for unmixed wine, which he swallowed, and then, having bidden his friends remember his doctrines, breathed his last.

[30] **Cicero,** *On Fate,* x [22, 23]. Epicurus [thinks] that the necessity of fate can be avoided.... Democritus preferred to accept the view that all events are caused by necessity.

**Id.,** *On the Nature of the Gods,* I, xxv [69]. He [Epicurus] therefore invented a device to escape from determinism (the point had apparently escaped the notice of Democritus)....

**Eusebius,** *Preparation for the Gospel,* I, pp. 23 seqq. Democritus of Abdera [assumed] ... that all, the past as well as the present and the future, has been determined always, since time immemorial, by necessity.

[31] **Aristotle,** *On the Generation of Animals,* V, 8 [789$^{b}$, 2-3]. Democritus ... reduces to *necessity* all the operations of Nature.

[32] **Diogenes Laertius,** IX, 45. All things happen by virtue of necessity, the vortex being the cause of the creation of all things, and this he (Democritus) calls *necessity.*

[33] **(Plutarch,)** *On the Sentiments of the Philosophers,* p. 252 [I, 25]. Parmenides and Democritus [say] that there is nothing in the world but what is *necessary,* and that this same necessity is otherwise called *fate, right, providence* and the *creator of the world.*

[34] **Stobaeus,** *Physical Selections,* I, 8. Parmenides and Democritus [say] that everything occurs by *necessity,* this being *fate, justice, providence* [and the architect of the world]. Leucippus [says] that everything [occurs] by *necessity,* this being *fate.* For he says ... nothing originates without cause, but everything because of a cause and of *necessity.*

[35] **Eusebius,** *Preparation for the Gospel,* VI, p. 257. ... *fate,* that ... for the others (i.e., Democritus) depends on these small bodies, which are carried downward and then ascend again, that conglomerate and again dissipate, that run away from each other and then come together again by *necessity.*

[36] **Stobaeus,** *Ethical Selections,* II [4]. Men like to create for themselves the illusion of chance—an excuse for their own perplexity; since chance is incompatible with sound thinking.

[37] **Eusebius,** *Preparation for the Gospel,* XIV, p. 782. ... and he (i.e., Democritus) has made chance the master and ruler of the universal and divine, and has claimed that everything happens through chance. At the same time he keeps it away from human life and has decried as stupid those who proclaim it. Indeed, at the beginning of his teachings he says: "Men like to create for themselves the illusion of chance—an excuse for their own folly; since it is natural that sound thinking is incompatible with chance; and they have said that this worst enemy of thinking rules; or rather, they accept chance instead of thinking by totally removing and abolishing sound thinking. For they do not appreciate thinking as blissful, but chance as the most reasonable."

[38] **Simplicius,** l. c., p. 351. The expression "like the ancient doctrine that removes chance" seems to refer to Democritus....

[39] **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 133, 134. ... Destiny,[a] which some introduce as sovereign over all things, he laughs to scorn, affirming rather that some things happen of necessity, others by chance, others through our own agency. For he sees that necessity destroys responsibility and that chance or fortune is inconstant; whereas our own actions are free, and it is to them that praise and blame naturally attach. It were better, indeed, to accept the legends of the gods than to bow beneath the yoke of destiny which the natural philosophers have imposed. The one holds out some faint hope that we may escape if we honour the gods, while the necessity of the naturalists is deaf to all entreaties. But he holds to chance, not to a god, as the world in general [*hoi polloi*] does....

[40] **Seneca,** *Epistle XII,* p. 42. "It is wrong to live under necessity; but no man is constrained to live under necessity.... On all sides lie many short and simple paths to freedom; and let us thank God that no man can be kept in life. We may spurn the very constraints that hold us." Epicurus ... uttered these words....

[41] **Cicero,** *On the Nature of the Gods,* I, xx [55-56]. But what value can be assigned to a philosophy (i. e., the Stoic) which thinks that everything happens by fate? It is a belief for old women, and ignorant old women at that.... But Epicurus has set us free [from superstitious terrors] and delivered us out of captivity....

[42] **Ibid.,** I, xxv [70]. He (i. e., Epicurus) does the same in his battle with the logicians. Their accepted doctrine is that in every disjunctive proposition of the form "*so-and-so either is or not*" one of the two alternatives must be true. Epicurus took alarm; if such a proposition as "*Epicurus either will or will not be alive tomorrow*"

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[a] Translated by "necessity" in the text of the dissertation.—*Ed.*

were granted, one or the other alternative would be necessary. Accordingly he denied the necessity of a disjunctive proposition altogether.

43) **Simplicius,** l. c., p. 351. But also Democritus states, where he brings it up, that the different kinds must separate themselves from the totality, but not how and because of what reason, and seems to let them originate automatically and by chance.

**Ibid.,** p. 351. ... and since this man (i. e., Democritus) has apparently applied chance in the creation of the world....

44) Comp. **Eusebius,** l. c., XIV, [p]p. [781-]782. ... and this [said] one (i. e., Democritus), who had sought vainly and without reason for a cause, since he started from an empty principle and a faulty hypothesis, and has taken as the greatest wisdom the understanding of unreasonable [and foolish] happenings, without seeing the root and general necessity of things....

45) **Simplicius,** l. c., p. 351. ... indeed, when somebody is thirsty, he drinks cold water and feels fine again; but Democritus will probably not accept chance as the cause, but the thirst.

**Ibid.,** p. 351. ... for, even though he (Democritus) seems to use chance in regard to the creation of the world, yet he maintains that in individual cases chance is not the cause of anything, but refers us back to other causes. For instance: the cause of treasure trove is the digging or the planting of the olive tree....

Comp. **ibid,** p. 351. ... but in individual cases, he (Democritus) says, [chance] is not the cause.

46) **Eusebius,** l. c., XIV, 781. Indeed, Democritus himself is supposed to have said that he would rather discover a new causal explanation than acquire the Persian crown.

47) **(Plutarch,)** *On the Sentiments of the Philosophers,* II, p. 261 [13]. Epicurus rejects none of these opinions,[a] [for he keeps to] what is possible.

**Ibid.,** II, p. 265 [21]. Epicurus says again that all the foregoing is possible.

**Ibid.** [II, 22] Epicurus believes that all the foregoing is possible.

**Stobaeus,** *Physical Selections,* I, p. 54. Epicurus rejects none of these opinions, for he keeps to what is possible.

48) **Seneca,** *Questions of Nature,* [VI,] XX, [5,] p. 802. Epicurus asserts that all the foregoing may be causes, but he tries to introduce some additional ones. He criticises other authors for affirming too positively that some particular one of the causes is responsible, as it is difficult to pronounce anything as certain in matters in which conjecture must be resorted to.

49) Comp. Part II, Chapter 5.

**Diogenes Laertius,** X, 88. However, we must observe each fact as presented, and further separate from it all the facts presented along with it, the occurrence of which from various causes is not contradicted by facts within our experience.... All these alternatives are possible; they are contradicted by none of the facts....

50) **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 80. We must not suppose that our treatment of these matters fails of accuracy, so far as it is needful to ensure our tranquillity [ataraxy] and happiness.

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[a] Marx added here: "(i.e., opinions of the philosophers on the substance of the stars)".— *Ed.*

## IV. GENERAL DIFFERENCE IN PRINCIPLE BETWEEN THE DEMOCRITEAN AND EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY OF NATURE

1) Plutarch, in his biography of Marius, provides us with an appalling historical example of the way in which this type of morality destroys all theoretical and practical unselfishness. After describing the terrible downfall of the Cimbri, he relates that the number of corpses was so great that the Massilians[30] were able to manure their orchards with them. Then it rained and that year was the best for wine and fruit. Now, what kind of reflections occur to our noble historian in connection with the tragical ruin of those people? Plutarch considers it a moral act of God, that he allowed a whole, great, noble people to perish and rot away in order to provide the philistines of Massilia with a bumper fruit harvest. Thus even the transformation of a people into a heap of manure offers a desirable occasion for a happy revelling in morality!

2) Also in relation to Hegel it is mere ignorance on the part of his pupils, when they explain one or the other determination of his system by his desire for accommodation and the like, hence, in one word, explain it in terms of *morality*. They forget that only a short time ago they were enthusiastic about all his idiosyncrasies [*Einseitigkeiten*], as can be clearly demonstrated from their writings.

If they were really so affected by the ready-made science they acquired that they gave themselves up to it in naive uncritical trust, then how unscrupulous is their attempt to reproach the Master for a hidden intention behind his insight! The Master, to whom the science was not something received, but something in the process of becoming, to whose uttermost periphery his own intellectual heart's blood was pulsating! On the contrary, they rendered themselves suspect of not having been serious before. And now they oppose their own former condition, and ascribe it to Hegel, forgetting however that his relation to his system was immediate, substantial, while theirs is only a reflected one.

It is quite thinkable for a philosopher to fall into one or another apparent inconsistency through some sort of accommodation; he himself may be conscious of it. But what he is not conscious of, is the possibility that this apparent accommodation has its deepest roots in an inadequacy or in an inadequate formulation of his principle itself. Suppose therefore that a philosopher has really accommodated himself, then his pupils must explain *from his inner essential consciousness* that which *for him himself* had the form of *an exoteric consciousness*. In this way, that which appears as progress of conscience is at the same time progress of knowledge. No

suspicion is cast upon the particular conscience of the philosopher, but his essential form of consciousness is construed, raised to a definite shape and meaning and in this way also transcended.

By the way, I consider this unphilosophical trend in a large section of Hegel's school as a phenomenon which will always accompany the transition from discipline to freedom.

It is a psychological law that the theoretical mind, once liberated in itself, turns into practical energy, and, leaving the shadowy empire of Amenthes as *will*, turns itself against the reality of the world existing without it. (From a philosophical point of view, however, it is important to specify these aspects better, since from the specific manner of this turn we can reason back towards the immanent determination and the universal historic character of a philosophy. We see here, as it were, its *curriculum vitae*[a] narrowed down to its subjective point.) But the *practice* of philosophy is itself *theoretical.* It is the *critique* that measures the individual existence by the essence, the particular reality by the Idea. But this *immediate realisation* of philosophy is in its deepest essence afflicted with contradictions, and this its essence takes form in the appearance and imprints its seal upon it.

When philosophy turns itself as will against the world of appearance, then the system is lowered to an abstract totality, that is, it has become one aspect of the world which opposes another one. Its relationship to the world is that of reflection. Inspired by the urge to realise itself, it enters into tension against the other. The inner self-contentment and completeness has been broken. What was inner light has become consuming flame turning outwards. The result is that as the world becomes philosophical, philosophy also becomes worldly, that its realisation is also its loss, that what it struggles against on the outside is its own inner deficiency, that in the very struggle it falls precisely into those defects which it fights as defects in the opposite camp, and that it can only overcome these defects by falling into them. That which opposes it and that which it fights is always the same as itself, only with factors inverted.

This is the one side, when we consider this matter *purely objectively* as immediate realisation of philosophy. However, it has also a *subjective* aspect, which is merely another form of it. This is *the relationship of the philosophical system* which is realised *to its intellectual carriers,* to the individual self-consciousnesses in which its progress appears. This relationship results in what confronts

[a] Course of life.— *Ed.*

the world in the realisation of philosophy itself, namely, in the fact that these individual self-consciousnesses always carry *a double-edged demand,* one edge turned against the world, the other against philosophy itself. Indeed, what in the thing itself appears as a relationship inverted in itself, appears in these self-consciousnesses as a double one, a demand and an action contradicting each other. Their liberation of the world from un-philosophy is at the same time their own liberation from the philosophy that held them in fetters as a particular system. Since they are themselves engaged merely in the act and immediate energy of development—and hence have not yet theoretically emerged from that system—they perceive only the contradiction with the plastic equality-with-self [*Sich-selbst-Gleichheit*] of the system and do not know that by turning against it they only realise its individual moments.

This duality of philosophical self-consciousness appears finally as a double trend, each side utterly opposed to the other. One side, the *liberal* party, as we may call it in general, maintains as its main determination the concept and the principle of philosophy; the other side, its *non-concept,* the moment of reality. This second side is *positive philosophy.*[31] The act of the first side is critique, hence precisely that turning-towards-the-outside of philosophy; the act of the second is the attempt to philosophise, hence the turning-in-towards-itself of philosophy. This second side knows that the inadequacy is immanent in philosophy, while the first understands it as inadequacy of the world which has to be made philosophical. Each of these parties does exactly what the other one wants to do and what it itself does not want to do. The first, however, is, despite its inner contradiction, conscious of both its principle in general and its goal. In the second party the inversion [*Verkehrtheit*], we may well say the madness [*Verrücktheit*], appears as such. As to the content: only the liberal party achieves real progress, because it is the party of the concept, while positive philosophy is only able to produce demands and tendencies whose form contradicts their meaning.

That which in the first place appears as an inverted [*verkehrtes*] relationship and inimical trend of philosophy with respect to the world, becomes in the second place a diremption of individual self-consciousness in itself and appears finally as an external separation and duality of philosophy, as two opposed philosophical trends.

It is obvious that apart from this there also emerge a number of subordinate, querulous formations without individuality. Some of

them place themselves behind a philosophical giant of the past—but the ass is soon detected under the lion's skin; the whimpering voice of a manikin of today or yesterday blubbers in comical contrast to the majestic voice resounding through the ages—say of Aristotle, whose unwelcome organ it has appointed itself. It is as if a mute would help himself to a voice by means of a speaking-trumpet of enormous size. Or as if some Lilliputian armed with double spectacles stands on a tiny spot of the posterior of the giant and announces full of amazement to the world the astonishingly novel vista his *punctum visus*[a] offers and makes himself ridiculous explaining that not in a flowing heart, but in the solid substantial ground on which he stands, has been found the point of Archimedes, *pou sto* (ποῦ στῶ), on which the world hinges. Thus we obtain hair-, nail-, toe-, excrement-philosophers and others, who have to represent an even worse function in the mystical world man [*Weltmensch*] of Swedenborg. However, all these slugs belong essentially to the two above-mentioned sides as to their element. As to these sides themselves: in another place I shall completely explain their relation, in part to each other, in part to Hegel's philosophy, as well as the particular historical moments in which this development reveals itself.

3) **Diogenes Laertius,** IX, 44. Nothing can come into being from that which is not, nor pass away into that which is not (Democritus).

**Ibid.,** X, 38. To begin with, nothing comes into being out of what is non-existent. For in that case anything would have arisen out of anything.... 39. And if that which disappears had been destroyed and become non-existent, everything would have perished, that into which the things were dissolved being non-existent. Moreover, the sum total of things was always as it is now, and such it will ever remain. For there is nothing into which it can change (Epicurus).

4) **Aristotle,** *Physics,* I, 4 [187[a], 32-35]. ...for since everything that comes into being must arise either from what is or from what is not, and it is impossible for it to arise from what is not (on this point all the physicists agree)....

5) **Themistius,** *Scholia to Aristotle* (collected by Brandis), folio 42, p. 383. Just as there is no distinction in the nothing, so there is none in the void, for the void is *something non-existent* and *privation,* says [Democritus], etc.

6) **Aristotle,** *Metaphysics,* I, 4 [985[b], 4-9]. Leucippus and his associate Democritus say that the full and the empty are the elements, calling the one being and the other non-being—the full and solid being being, the empty non-being (whence they say being no more is than non-being, because the solid no more is than the empty).

7) **Simplicius,** l.c., p. 326. Democritus also [says that there are] the Full and the Void, of which he says that the first is "what is" and the second "what is not" [...].

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[a] Point of view.—*Ed.*

**Themistius,** l.c., p. 383. For the void is something non-existent and privation, says Democritus.

[8] **Simplicius,** l.c., p. 488. Democritus believes that the nature of the Eternal consists of small beings, infinite in number; he assigns to them a dwelling-place of infinite magnitude; this place he calls by the terms the Void, the Nothing, the Infinite, and each being by: that there, the solid, the being.

[9] Comp. **Simplicius,** l.c., p. 514. The One and the Many.

[10] **Diogenes Laertius,** l.c., 40. ... and if there were no space (which we call also *Void* and place and intangible nature)....

**Stobaeus,** *Physical Selections,* I, p. 39. Epicurus uses all names: void, place, space, one beside the other.

[11] **Stobaeus,** *Physical Selections,* I, p. 27. It is called atom, not because it is the smallest....

[12] **Simplicius,** l.c., p. 405. ... it was said by those who denied infinite divisibility—since it would be impossible for us to divide infinitely and thus convince ourselves that such division is unattainable—that bodies consist of indivisibles and can be divided as far as the indivisibles. Apart from the fact that Leucippus and Democritus consider not only impassibility[a] as cause of the indivisibility of the primary bodies, but also their smallness and the lack of parts, Epicurus later did not suppose them to be without parts but says that they are indivisible because of impassibility. Aristotle has repeatedly examined critically the opinion of Democritus and Leucippus, and it probably was because of these criticisms, unfavourable to being-without-parts, that Epicurus (who lived later), who sympathised with the opinion of Democritus and Leucippus concerning the primary bodies, maintained that they were impassible.

[13] **Aristotle,** *On Becoming and Decaying,* I, 2 [316[a], 5-14]. Lack of experience diminishes our power of taking a comprehensive view of the admitted facts. Hence those who dwell in intimate association with nature and its phenomena grow more and more able to formulate, as the foundations of their theories, principles such as to admit of a wide and coherent development: while those whom devotion to abstract discussions has rendered unobservant of the facts are too ready to dogmatise on the basis of a few observations. The rival treatments of the subject now before us will serve to illustrate how great is the difference between a "scientific" and a "dialectical" method of inquiry. For, whereas the Platonists argue that there must be atomic magnitudes "because otherwise 'The Triangle' will be more than one", Democritus would appear to have been convinced by arguments appropriate to the subject, i.e., drawn from the science of nature.

[14] **Diogenes Laertius,** IX, [40,] 7,8. Aristoxenus in his *Historical Notes* affirms that Plato wished to burn all the writings of Democritus that he could collect, but that Amyclas and Clinias the Pythagoreans prevented him, saying that there was no advantage in doing so, for already the books were widely circulated. And there is clear evidence for this in the fact that Plato, who mentions almost all the early philosophers, never once alludes to Democritus, not even where it would be necessary to controvert him, obviously because he knew that he would have to match himself against the prince of philosophers....

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[a] Ἀπάθειαν—i.e., the atom is not affected by anything outside itself.—*Ed.*

# Part Two

## ON THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DEMOCRITEAN AND EPICUREAN PHYSICS IN DETAIL

## Chapter One

### THE DECLINATION OF THE ATOM FROM THE STRAIGHT LINE

1) **Stobaeus,** *Physical Selections,* I, p. 33. Epicurus says ... that the atoms move sometimes vertically downwards, at other times by deviating from a straight line, but the motion upward is due to collision and recoil.

Comp. **Cicero,** *On the Highest Goods and Evils,* I, vi. **(Plutarch,)** *On the Sentiments of the Philosophers,* p. 249 [I, 12]. **Stobaeus,** l.c., p. 40.

2) **Cicero,** *On the Nature of the Gods,* I, xxvi [73]. What is there in Epicurus' natural philosophy that does not come from Democritus? Since even if he *introduced some alterations,* for instance the *swerve of the atoms* of which I spoke just now....

3) **Cicero,** *On the Highest Goods and Evils,* I, vi [18-19]. He (Epicurus) believes that these same indivisible solid bodies are borne by their own weight perpendicularly downward, which he holds is the natural motion of all bodies; but thereupon this *clever fellow,* encountering the difficulty that if they all travelled downwards in a straight line, and, as I said, perpendicularly, no one atom would ever be able to overtake any other atom, accordingly introduced an idea of his own invention: he said that the atom makes a very tiny swerve,—the smallest divergence possible; and so are produced entanglements and combinations and cohesions of atoms with atoms, which result in the creation of the world and all its parts, and of all that is in them.

4) **Cicero,** *On the Nature of the Gods,* I, xxv [69-70]. Epicurus saw that if the atoms travelled downwards by their own weight, we should have no freedom of the will, since the motion of the atoms would be determined by necessity. He therefore invented a device to escape from determinism (the point had apparently escaped the notice of Democritus): he said that the atom while travelling vertically downward by the force of gravity makes a very slight swerve to one side. This defence discredits him more than if he had had to abandon his original position. Comp. **Cicero,** *On Fate,* x [22-23].

5) **Bayle,** *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (Historical and Critical Dictionary), art. Epicurus.

6) **Schaubach,** *On Epicurus' Astronomical Concepts* [in German], in *Archiv für Philologie und Pädagogik,* V, 4, [1839,] p. 549.

[7] **Lucretius,** *On the Nature of Things,* II, 251 ff. Again, if all movement is always interconnected, the new rising from the old in a determinate order ... what is the source of the free will?

[8] **Aristotle,** *On the Soul,* I, 4 [409[a], 1-5]. How are we to imagine a unit [monad] being moved? By what agency? What sort of movement can be attributed to what is without parts or internal differences? If the unit is both originative of movement and itself capable of being moved, it must contain differences. *Further, since they say a moving line generates a surface and a moving point a line, the movements of the psychic units must be lines.*

[9] **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 43. The atoms are in *continual* motion.

**Simplicius,** l.c., p. 424. ... the followers of Epicurus ... [taught] *eternal* motion.

[10] **Lucretius,** *On the Nature of Things,* II, 251, 253-255. ... if the atoms never swerve so as to originate some new movement that will snap the bonds of fate, the everlasting sequence of cause and effect....

[11] **Ibid.,** II, 279-280. ... there is within the human breast something that can fight against this force and resist it.

[12] **Cicero,** *On the Highest Goods and Evils,* I, vi [19-20]. ... yet he does not attain the object for the sake of which this fiction was devised. For, if all the atoms swerve, none will ever come to cohere together; or if some swerve while others travel in a straight line, by their own natural tendency, in the first place this will be tantamount to assigning to the atoms their different spheres of action, some to travel straight and some sideways....

[13] **Lucretius,** l.c., 293.

[14] **Cicero,** *On Fate,* x [22]. ... when the atom swerves sideways a minimal space, termed [by Epicurus] *elachiston* [the smallest].

[15] **Ibid.** Also he is compelled to profess in reality, if not quite explicitly, that this swerve takes place without cause....

[16] **Plutarch,** *On the Creation of the Soul,* VI (VI, p. 8, stereotyped edition). For they do not agree with Epicurus that the atom swerves somewhat, since he introduces a motion without cause out of the non-being.

[17] **Cicero,** *On the Highest Goods and Evils,* I, vi [19]. The swerving is itself an arbitrary fiction (for Epicurus says *the atoms swerve without a cause, yet this is a capital offence in a natural philosopher, to speak of something taking place uncaused*). Then also he gratuitously deprives the atoms of what he himself declared to be the natural motion of all heavy bodies, namely, movement in a straight line downwards....

[18] **Bayle,** l.c.

[19] **Augustine,** Letter 56.

[20] **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 128. For the end of all our actions is to be free from pain and fear.

[21] **Plutarch,** *That Epicurus Actually Makes a Pleasant Life Impossible,* 1091. Epicurus too makes a similar statement to the effect that the Good is a thing that arises out of your very escape from evil....

[22] **Clement of Alexandria,** *The Miscellanies,* II, p. 415 [21]. ...Epicurus also says that the removal of pain is pleasure....

[23] **Seneca,** *On Benefits,* IV [,4, 1], p. 699. Yes, and therefore God does not give benefits, but, free from all care and unconcerned about us, he turns his back on the world... and benefits no more concern him than injuries....

[24] **Cicero,** *On the Nature of the Gods,* I, xxiv [68]. ... you gave us the formula just now—God has not body but a semblance of body, not blood but a kind of blood.

[25] **Ibid.,** xl [112, 115-116]. Well then, what meat and drink, what harmonies of music and flowers of various colours, what delights of touch and smell will you assign to the gods, so as to keep them steeped in pleasure?... Why, what reason have you for maintaining that men owe worship to the gods, if the gods not only pay no regard to men, but care for nothing and do nothing at all? "But deity possesses an excellence and pre-eminence which must of its own nature attract the worship of the wise." Now how can there be any excellence in a being so engrossed in the delights of his own pleasure that he always has been, is, and will continue to be entirely idle and inactive?

[26] **Plutarch,** *That Epicurus Actually Makes a Pleasant Life Impossible,* [1100-]1101. ...their theory ... does remove a certain superstitious fear; but it allows no joy and delight to come to us from the gods. Instead, it puts us in the same state of mind with regard to the gods, of neither being alarmed nor rejoicing, that we have regarding the Hyrcanian fish. We expect nothing from them either good or evil.

[27] **Aristotle,** *On the Heavens,* II, 12 [292$^b$, 4-6]. ...while the perfectly conditioned has no need of action, since it is itself the end....

[28] **Lucretius,** *On the Nature of Things,* II, 221, 223-224. If it were not for this swerve, everything would fall downwards like rain-drops through the abyss of space. No collision would take place and no impact of atom on atom would be created. Thus nature would never have created anything.

[29] **Ibid.,** II, 284-292. So also in the atoms ... besides weight and impact there must be a third cause of movement, the source of this inborn power of ours....

But the fact that the mind itself has no internal necessity to determine its every act and compel it to suffer in helpless passivity—this is due to the slight swerve of the atoms....

[30] **Aristotle,** *On the Heavens,* I, 7 [275$^b$, 30-276$^a$, 1]. If the whole is not continuous, but exists, as Democritus and Leucippus think, in the form of parts separated by void, there must necessarily be one movement of all the multitude. ... but their nature is one, like many pieces of gold separated from one another.

[31] **Ibid.,** III, 2 [300$^b$, 9-17]. Hence Leucippus and Democritus, who say that the primary bodies are in perpetual movement in the void or infinite, may be asked to explain the manner of their motion and the kind of movement which is natural to them. For if the various elements are constrained by one another to move as they do, each must still have a natural movement which the constrained contravenes, and the prime mover must cause motion not by constraint but naturally. If there is no ultimate natural cause of movement and each preceding term in the series is always moved by constraint, we shall have an infinite process.

[32] **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 150. Those animals which are incapable of making *covenants* with one another, to the end that they may neither inflict nor suffer harm, *are without either justice or injustice.* And those tribes which either could not or would not form mutual covenants to the same end are in like case. There never was an absolute justice, but only an agreement made in reciprocal intercourse, in whatever localities, now and again, from time to time, providing against the infliction or suffering of harm.

[33][a]

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[a] Notes 32) and 33) were later added to the text by Marx. The text of Note 33) was not inserted.—*Ed.*

## Chapter Two

### THE QUALITIES OF THE ATOM

[1] **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 54. For every quality changes, but the atoms do not change.

**Lucretius,** *On the Nature of Things,* II, 861-863. They must be kept far apart from the atoms, if we wish to provide the universe with imperishable foundations on which it may rest secure....

[2] **(Plutarch,)** *On the Sentiments of the Philosophers* [I, 3]. Epicurus ... affirms that ... bodies are subject to these three accidents, shape, size and weight. Democritus [acknowledged] but two: size and shape. Epicurus added the third, to wit, weight, for he pronounced that it is necessary ... that bodies receive their motion from that impulsion which springs from weight.... Comp. **Sextus Empiricus,** *Against the Professors,* p. 421 [X, 240].

[3] **Eusebius,** *Preparation for the Gospel,* XIV, p. 749 [14].

[4] **Simplicius,** l.c., p. 362. ...giving (i.e., Democritus) them (i.e., the atoms) the difference with regard to size and shape....

[5] **Philoponus,** ibid. He (Democritus) assigns a unique common nature of the body to all shapes; its parts are the atoms, which differ from each other in size and shape; for they have not only different shape but some of them are bigger, the others smaller.

[6] **Aristotle,** *On Becoming and Decaying,* I, 8 [$326^a$, 10]. ...and yet he [Democritus] says "the more any indivisible exceeds, the heavier it is".

[7] **Aristotle,** *On the Heavens,* I, 7 [$276^a$, 1-2, 4-7]. But each piece must, as we assert, have the same motion.... So that if it be weight that all possess, no body is, strictly speaking, light; and if lightness be universal, none is heavy. Moreover, whatever possesses weight or lightness will have its place either at one of the extremes or in the middle region.

[8] **Ritter,** *History of Ancient Philosophy* [in German], I, p. 568, Note 2 [$2^d$ improved edition, 1836, p. 602, Note 2].

[9] **Aristotle,** *Metaphysics,* VIII, 2 [$1042^b$, 11-14]. Democritus seems to think there are three kinds of difference between things [atoms]; the underlying body, the matter, is one and the same, but they differ either in rhythm, i. e. shape, or in turning, i. e. position, or in inter-contact, i. e. order.

[10] **Ibid.,** I, 4 [$985^b$, 4-19]. Leucippus and his associate Democritus say that the full and the empty are the elements, calling the one being and the other non-being—the full and solid being being, the empty non-being (whence they say being no more is than non-being, because the solid no more is than the empty); and they make these the material causes of things. And as those who make the underlying substance one generate all other things by its modifications, supposing the rare and the dense to be the sources of modifications, in the same way these philosophers say the differences in the elements are the causes of all other qualities. These differences, they say, are three—shape and order and position. For they say the real is differentiated only by "rhythm" and "inter-contact" and "turning"; and of these rhythm is shape, inter-contact is order, and turning is position; for A differs from N in shape, AN from NA in order, and Z from N in position.

[11] **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 44. ...atoms have no quality at all except shape, *size* and weight. ... further, that they are not of any and every *size*; at any rate no atom has ever been seen by our senses.

[12] **Ibid.,** X, 56. But to attribute *any* and every size to the atoms does not help to explain the differences of quality in things; moreover, in that case atoms would exist large enough to be perceived by us, which is never observed to occur; nor can we conceive how such an occurrence should be possible, i. e., that an atom should become visible.

[13] **Ibid.,** X, 55. Again, you should not suppose that the atoms have any and every size ... but *some* differences of size must be admitted.

[14] **Ibid.,** X, 59. On the analogy of things within our experience we have declared that the atom has size; and this, small as it is, we have merely reproduced on a larger scale.

[15] Comp. **ibid.,** X, 58. **Stobaeus,** *Physical Selections,* I, p. 27.

[16] **Epicurus,** *Fragments* (On Nature, II and XI), collected by Rosinius, ed. by Orelli, p. 26.

[17] **Eusebius,** *Preparation for the Gospel,* XIV, p. 773 (Paris ed.). But they differed in that one of them (i.e., Epicurus) assumed that all atoms were infinitely small and could therefore not be perceived, while Democritus assumed that some large atoms existed too.

[18] **Stobaeus,** *Physical Selections,* I, 17. Democritus even says ... that an atom is possible as large as the world. Comp. **(Plutarch,)** *On the Sentiments of the Philosophers,* I, p. 235 [I, 3].

[19] **Aristotle,** *On Becoming and Decaying,* I, 8 [324$^{b}$, 30]. ... invisible ... owing to their minuteness....

[20] **Eusebius,** *Preparation for the Gospel,* XIV, p. 749. Democritus ... [assumed] as the principles of the things indivisible ... bodies perceptible through reason.... Comp. **(Plutarch,)** *On the Sentiments of the Philosophers,* I, p. 235 [3].

[21] **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 54. Moreover, we must hold that the atoms in fact possess none of the qualities belonging to the world which come under our observation, except *shape,* weight, and size, and the properties necessarily conjoined with *shape.* Comp. § 44.

[22] **Ibid.,** X, 42. Furthermore, the atoms ... vary indefinitely in their shapes.

[23] **Ibid.,** X, 42. ... but the variety of shapes, though indefinitely larger, is not absolutely infinite.

[24] **Lucretius,** *On the Nature of Things,* II, 513-514. ...you must acknowledge a corresponding limit to the different forms of matter.

**Eusebius,** *Preparation for the Gospel,* XIV, p. 749. Epicurus ... [says] ... that the shapes of the atoms themselves are limited, and not infinite.... Comp. **(Plutarch,)** *On the Sentiments of the Philosophers,* l.c.

[25] **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 42. The like atoms of each shape are absolutely infinite.

**Lucretius,** *On the Nature of Things,* II, 525-528. Since the varieties of form are limited, the number of uniform atoms must be unlimited. Otherwise the totality of matter would be finite, which I have proved in my verses is not so.

[26] **Aristotle,** *On the Heavens,* III, 4 [303$^{a}$, 3-5, 10-15]. There is, further, another view — that of Leucippus and Democritus of Abdera — the implications of which

are also unacceptable.... and further, they say that since the atomic bodies differ in shape, and there is an infinity of shapes, there is an infinity of simple bodies. But they have never explained in detail the shapes of the various elements, except so far as to allot the sphere to fire. Air, water and the rest....

**Philoponus,** l.c. They have ... not only entirely different shapes....

27) **Lucretius,** *On the Nature of Things,* II, 474-484, 491-492, 495-497. ...the number of different forms of atoms is finite. If it were not so, some of the atoms would have to be of infinite magnitude. Within the narrow limits of any single particle, there can be only a limited range of forms....

... if you wish to vary its form still further ... the arrangement will demand still other parts.... Variation in shape goes with increase in size. You cannot believe, therefore, that the atoms are distinguished by an infinity of forms....

28) Comp. Note 25).

29) **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 44 and 54.

30) **Brucker,** *Institutions of the History of Philosophy* [Latin, 1747], p. 224.

31) **Lucretius,** *On the Nature of Things,* I, 1051-1052. 0, Memmius, here you must give up fully the belief that all things strive—as they say—to the middle of the world.

32) **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 43. The atoms move with equal speed, since the void makes way for the lightest and heaviest alike through all eternity.... 61. When they are travelling through the void and meet with no resistance, the atoms must move with equal speed. Neither will heavy atoms travel more quickly than small and light ones, so long as nothing meets them, nor will small atoms travel more quickly than large ones, provided they always find a passage suitable to their size; and provided that they meet with no obstruction.

**Lucretius,** *On the Nature of Things,* II, 235-239. But empty space can offer no resistance to any object in any quarter at any time, so as not to yield free passage as its own nature demands. Therefore, through undisturbed vacuum all bodies must travel at equal speed though impelled by unequal weights.

33) Comp. Ch. 3.

34) **Feuerbach,** *History of the Newer Philosophy.* [1833, quotations from] **Gassendi,** l. c., XXXIII, No. 7. Although Epicurus had perhaps never thought about this experiment, he [still] reached, led by reason, the same opinion about atoms that experiment has recently taught us. This opinion is that all bodies..., although very different in weight and bulk, have the same velocity when they fall from above to below. Thus he was of opinion that all atoms, however much they may differ in size and weight, move with an equal velocity.

## Chapter Three

### ''Ατομοι ἀρχαί AND ἄτομα στοιχεῖα

1) *Ametocha kenou* (ἀμέτοχα κενοῦ) [**Stobaeus,** *Physical Selections,* I, p. 306] does not at all mean "*do not fill space*", but "*have no part of the void*", it is the same as what at another place *Diogenes Laertius* says: "though they are without distinction of parts". In the same way we must explain this expression in **(Plutarch,)** *On the Sentiments of the Philosophers,* I, p. 236, and **Simplicius,** p. 405.

[2] This also is a wrong consequence. That which cannot be divided in space is not therefore outside of space or without spatial relation.

[3] **Schaubach,** l.c., [p]p. [549-]550.

[4] **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 44.

[5] **Ibid.,** X, 67. But it is impossible to conceive anything that is *incorporeal* as self-existent, except *empty space.*

[6] **Ibid.,** X, 39, 40 and 41.

[7] **Ibid.,** VII, [Ch.] 1 [134]. There is a difference, according to them (i. e., the Stoics), between principles and elements; the former being without generation or destruction, whereas the elements are destroyed when all things are resolved into fire.

[8] **Aristotle,** *Metaphysics,* IV, 1 and 3.

[9] Comp. l. c.

[10] **Ibid.,** V, 3[1014$^{a}$, 31-34; 1014$^{b}$, 5-6]. Similarly those who speak of the elements of bodies mean the things into which bodies are ultimately divided, while they are no longer divided into other things differing in kind; ... for which reason what is small and simple and indivisible is called an element.

[11] **Ibid.,** I, 4.

[12] **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 54.

**Plutarch,** *Reply to Colotes,* 1110. ... that this view is as inseparable from Epicurus' theories as shape and weight are by their (i.e., the Epicureans) own assertion inseparable from the atom.

[13] **Sextus Empiricus,** *Against the Professors,* p. 420.

[14] **Eusebius,** *Preparation for the Gospel,* XIV, p. 773. ... Epicurus ... [assumed that] they [i.e., the atoms] cannot be perceived.... P. 749. ... but they [i.e., the atoms] have their own shape perceivable by reason.

[15] **(Plutarch,)** *On the Sentiments of the Philosophers,* I, p. 246 [7]. The same (Epicurus) asserts that there are four other natural beings which are immortal—of this sort are atoms, the vacuum, the infinite and the similar parts; and these last are [called] homoeomerias and likewise elements. 12. Epicurus [thinks that] bodies are not to be limited, but the first bodies are simple bodies, and all those composed of them possess weight....

**Stobaeus,** *Physical Selections,* I, p. 52. Metrodorus, the teacher of Epicurus, [says] ... that the causes, however, are the atoms and elements. P. 5. Epicurus [assumes] ... four substances essentially indestructible: the atoms, the void, the infinite and the similar parts, and these are called homoeomerias and elements.

[16] Comp. l.c.

[17] **Cicero,** *On the Highest Goods and Evils,* I, vi. ...that which he follows ... the atoms, the void ... infinity itself, that they [i.e., the Epicureans] call *apeiria....*

**Diogenes Laertius,** X, 41. Again, the sum of things is infinite.... Moreover, the sum of things is unlimited both by reason of the multitude of the atoms and the extent of the void.

[18] **Plutarch,** *Reply to Colotes,* 1114. Now look at the sort of first principles [you people adopt] to account for generation: infinity and the void—the void incapable of action, incapable of being acted upon, bodiless; the infinite disordered, irrational, incapable of formulation, disrupting and confounding itself because of a multiplicity that defies control or limitation.

[19] **Simplicius,** l.c., p. 488.

[20] **(Plutarch,)** *On the Sentiments of the Philosophers,* p. 239 [I, 5]. But Metrodorus says ... that the number of worlds is infinite, and this can be seen from the fact that the number of causes is infinite.... But the causes are the atoms or the elements.

**Stobaeus,** *Physical Selections,* I, p. 52. Metrodorus, the teacher of Epicurus, [says] ... that the causes, however, are the atoms and elements.

[21] **Lucretius,** *On the Nature of Things,* I, 820-821. For the same elements compose sky, sea and lands, rivers and sun, crops, trees and animals....

**Diogenes Laertius,** X, 39. Moreover, the sum total of things was always such as it is now, and such it will ever remain. For there is nothing into which it can change. For outside the sum of things there is nothing which could enter into it and bring about the change.... The whole of being consists of bodies.... 41. These elements are indivisible and unchangeable, and necessarily so, if things are not all to be destroyed and pass into non-existence, but are to be strong enough to endure when the composite bodies are broken up, because they possess a solid nature and are incapable of being anywhere or anyhow dissolved.

[22] **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 73. ... and all things are again dissolved, some faster, some slower, some through the action of one set of causes, others through the action of others. 74. It is clear, then, that he [Epicurus] also makes the worlds perishable, as their parts are subject to change.

**Lucretius,** V, 109-110. May reason rather than the event itself convince you that the whole world can collapse with one ear-splitting crack!

**Ibid.,** V, 373-375. It follows, then, that the doorway of death is not barred to sky and sun and earth and the sea's unfathomed floods. It lies tremendously open and confronts them with a yawning chasm.

[23] **Simplicius,** l.c., p. 425.

[24] **Lucretius,** II, 796. ...and the atoms do not emerge into the light....

## Chapter Four

### TIME

[1] **Aristotle,** *Physics,* VIII, 1 [251$^b$, 15-17]. ...in fact, it is just this that enables Democritus to show that all things cannot have had a becoming; for time, he says, is uncreated.

[2] **Simplicius,** l.c., p. 426. Democritus was so strongly convinced that time is eternal, that, in order to show that not all things have an origin, he considered it evident that time has no origin.

[3] **Lucretius,** I, 459, 462-463. Similarly, time by itself does not exist.... It must not be claimed that anyone can sense time by itself apart from the movement of things or their restful immobility.

**Ibid.,** I, 479-482. So you may see that events cannot be said to be by themselves like matter or in the same sense as space. Rather, you should describe them as accidents of matter, or of the place in which things happen.

**Sextus Empiricus,** *Against the Professors,* p. 420. Here Epicurus calls time accident of accidents (*symptoma symptomaton*).

**Stobaeus,** *Physical Selections,* I, 8. Epicurus [calls time] an accident, i.e., something that accompanies motions.

4) **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 72. There is another thing which we must consider carefully. We must not investigate time as we do the other accidents which we investigate in a subject, namely, by referring them to the preconceptions envisaged in our minds; but we must take into account the plain fact itself, in virtue of which we speak of time as long or short, linking to it in intimate connection this attribute of duration. We need not adopt any fresh terms as preferable, but should employ the usual expression about it. Nor need we predicate anything else of time, as if this something else contained the same essence as is contained in the proper meaning of the word "time" (for this also is done by some). We must chiefly reflect upon that to which we attach this peculiar character of time, and by which we measure it. 73. No further proof is required: we have only to reflect that we attach the attribute of time to days and nights and their parts, and likewise to feelings of pleasure and pain and to neutral states, to states of movement and states of rest, conceiving a peculiar accident of these to be this very characteristic which we express by the word "time". He [i.e., Epicurus] says this both in the second book *On Nature* and in the *Larger Epitome.*

5) **Lucretius,** *On the Nature of Things,* l.c.

**Sextus Empiricus,** *Against the Professors,* p. 420 [X, 238, 240, 241, 244]. ... accident of accidents.... For this reason Epicurus compels us to think that an existing body consists of non-existing bodies, since he says that we have to think of the body as a composition of size and shape, resistance and weight.... Hence there must be accidents for time to exist, but for accidents to be present themselves there must be an underlying circumstance. However, if no underlying circumstance exists, then there can be no time.... When this therefore is time, and Epicurus says that accidents are the nature [of time], then time, according to Epicurus, must be its own accident. Comp. **Stobaeus,** l.c.

6) **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 46. Again, there are outlines or films, which are of the same shape as solid bodies, but of a thinness far exceeding that of any object that we see.... To these films we give the name of "images" or "idols".... 48. ... the production of the images is as quick as thought ... though no diminution of the bodies is observed, because other particles take their place. And those given off retain the position and arrangement which their atoms had when they formed part of the solid bodies....

**Lucretius,** IV, 30-32. ..."images" of things, a sort of outer skin perpetually peeled off the surface of objects and flying about this way and that through the air.

**Ibid.,** IV, 51-52. ... because each particular floating image wears the aspect and form of the object from whose body it has emanated.

7) **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 49. We must also consider that it is by the entrance of something coming from external objects that we see their shapes and think of them. For external things would not stamp on us their own nature ... so well as by *the entrance into our eyes* or minds, to whichever their size is suitable, of certain films coming from the things themselves, these films or outlines being of the same colour and shape as the external things themselves.... 50. [...] and this again explains why they present the appearance of a single continuous object and retain the mutual interconnection which they had with the object.... 52. Again, *hearing* takes place when a current passes from the object, whether person or thing, which emits voice or sound or noise, or produces the sensation of hearing in any way whatever. This

current is broken up into homogeneous particles, which at the same time preserve a certain mutual connection.... 53. ... Again, we must believe that *smelling*, like hearing, would produce no sensation, were there not particles conveyed from the object which are of the proper sort for exciting the organ of smelling.

8) **Lucretius,** *On the Nature of Things,* II, 1145-1146. It is natural, therefore, that everything should perish when it is thinned out....

## Chapter Five

### THE METEORS

1) **Diogenes Laertius,** II, 3, 10.

2) **Aristotle,** *Metaphysics,* I, 5 [986$^b$, 25]. The One is God.

3) **Aristotle,** *On the Heavens,* I, 3 [270$^b$, 4-24]. Our theory seems to confirm experience and to be confirmed by it. For all men have some conception of the nature of gods, and all who believe in the existence of gods at all, whether barbarian or Greek, agree in allotting the highest place to the deity, surely because they suppose that immortal is linked with immortal and regard any other supposition as inconceivable. If then there is, as there certainly is, anything divine, what we have just said about the primary bodily substance was well said. The mere evidence of the senses is enough to convince us of this at least with human certainty. For in the whole range of time past, so far as our inherited records reach, no change appears to have taken place either in the whole scheme of the outermost heaven or in any of its proper parts. The common name, too, which has been handed down from our distant ancestors even to our own day, seems to show that they conceived of it in the fashion which we have been expressing. The same ideas, one must believe, recur to men's minds not once or twice but again and again. And so, implying that the primary body is something else beyond earth, fire, air and water, they gave to the highest place a name of its own, *aither,* derived from the fact that it "runs always" (*thein aei,* θεῖν ἀεί) for an eternity of time.

4) **Ibid.,** II, 1 [284$^a$, 11-15, 284$^b$, 2-5]. The ancients gave the Gods the heaven or upper place, as being alone immortal; and our present argument testifies that it is indestructible and ungenerated. Further, it is unaffected by any mortal discomfort ...it is not only more appropriate so to conceive of its eternity, but also on this hypothesis alone are we able to advance a theory consistent with popular divinations of the divine nature.

5) **Aristotle,** *Metaphysics,* XI (XII), 8 [1074$^a$, 31, 38-1074$^b$, 3]. Evidently there is but one heaven.... Our forefathers in the most remote ages have handed down to their posterity a tradition, in the form of a myth, that these bodies are gods and that the divine encloses the whole of nature. The rest of the tradition has been added later in a mythical form with a view to the persuasion of the multitude and to its legal and utilitarian expediency; they say these gods are in the form of men or like some of the other animals, and they say other things consequent on and similar to those which we have mentioned. But if one were to separate the first point from these additions and take it alone that they thought the first substances to be gods, one must regard this as an inspired utterance; and reflect that, while probably each art and each science has often been developed as far as possible and has again perished, these opinions, with others, have been preserved until the present like relics of the ancient treasure.

[6] **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 81. There is yet one more point to seize, namely, that the greatest anxiety of the human mind arises through the belief that the heavenly bodies are blessed and indestructible, and that at the same time they have volitions and actions ... inconsistent with this belief ... apprehending some evil because of the myths....

[7] **Ibid.,** X, 76. Nay more, we are bound to believe that in the sky revolution, solstices, eclipses, risings and settings, and the like, take place without the ministration or command, either now or in the future, of any being who at the same time enjoys perfect bliss along with immortality. 77. For troubles and anxieties ... do not accord with bliss, but always imply weakness and fear and dependence upon one's neighbours. Nor, again, must we hold that things which are no more than globular masses of fire, being at the same time endowed with bliss, assume these motions at will.... Otherwise such inconsistency will of itself suffice to produce the worst disturbance in our minds.

[8] **Aristotle,** *On the Heavens,* II, 1 [284[a], 18-20]. Hence we must not believe the old tale which says that the world needs some Atlas to keep it safe.

[9] **Diogenes Laertius,** X, 85. So you (i.e., Pythocles) will do well to take and learn them and get them up quickly along with the short epitome in my letter to Herodotus.

[10] **Ibid.,** X, 85. In the first place, remember that, like everything else, knowledge of celestial phenomena, whether taken along with other things or in isolation, as well as of the other sciences, has no other end in view than peace of mind and firm conviction.

**Ibid.,** X, 82. But mental tranquillity means being released from all these troubles and cherishing a continual remembrance of the highest and most important truths.

[11] **Ibid.,** X, 87. For our life has no need now of ideologies and false opinions; our one need is untroubled existence.

**Ibid.,** X, 78. Further, we must hold that to arrive at accurate knowledge of the cause of things of most moment is the business of natural science, and that happiness depends on this (viz. on the knowledge of celestial phenomena).

**Ibid.,** X, 79. There is nothing in the knowledge of risings and settings and solstices and eclipses and all kindred subjects that contributes to our happiness; but those who are well informed about such matters and yet are ignorant what the heavenly bodies really are, and what are the most important causes of phenomena, feel quite as much fear as those who have no such special information—nay, perhaps even greater fear.

[12] **Ibid.,** X, 86. We do not seek to wrest by force what is impossible, nor to understand all matters equally well, nor make our treatment always as clear as when we discuss human life or explain the principles of ethics in general ... for instance, that the whole of being consists of bodies and intangible nature, or that the ultimate elements of things are indivisible, or any other proposition which admits only one explanation of the phenomena to be possible. But this is not the case with celestial phenomena.

[13] **Ibid.,** X, 86. These at any rate admit of manifold causes for their occurrence and manifold accounts, none of them contradictory of sensation, of their nature.

For in the study of nature [physiology] we must not conform to empty assumptions and arbitrary laws, but follow the promptings of the facts.

[14] **Ibid.**, X, 92.

[15] **Ibid.**, X, 94.

[16] **Ibid.**, X, 95 and 96.

[17] **Ibid.**, X, 98.

[18] **Ibid.**, X, 104. And [says Epicurus] there are several other ways in which thunderbolts may possibly be produced. Exclusion of myth is the sole condition necessary; and it will be excluded, if one properly attends to the facts and hence draws inferences to interpret what is obscure.

[19] **Ibid.**, X, 80. When, therefore, we investigate the causes of celestial phenomena, as of all that is unknown, we must take into account the variety of ways in which analogous occurrences happen within our experience.

**Ibid.**, X, 82. But mental tranquillity means being released from all these troubles.... Hence we must attend to present feelings and sense perceptions, whether those of mankind in general or those peculiar to the individual, and also attend to all the clear evidence available, as given by each of the standards of truth. For by studying them we shall rightly trace to its cause and banish the source of disturbance and dread, accounting for celestial phenomena and for all other things which from time to time befall us and cause the utmost alarm to the rest of mankind.

**Ibid.**, X, 87. Some phenomena within our experience afford evidence by which we may interpret what goes on in the heavens. We see how the former really take place, but not how the celestial phenomena take place, for their occurrence may possibly be due to a variety of causes. [88.] However, we must observe each fact as presented, and further separate from it all the facts presented along with it, the occurrence of which from various causes is not contradicted by facts within our experience.

[20] **Ibid.**, X, 78. Further, we must recognise on such points as this plurality of causes or contingency....

**Ibid.**, X, 86. These [celestial phenomena] at any rate admit of manifold causes for their occurrence....

**Ibid.**, X, 87. All things go on uninterruptedly, if all be explained by the method of plurality of causes ... so soon as we duly understand what may be plausibly alleged respecting them....

[21] **Ibid.**, X, 98. Whereas those who adopt only one explanation are in conflict with the facts and are utterly mistaken as to the way in which man can attain knowledge.

**Ibid.**, X, 113. To assign a single cause for these effects when the facts suggest several causes is madness and a strange inconsistency; yet it is done by adherents of rash astrology, who assign meaningless causes for the stars whenever they persist in saddling the divinity with burdensome tasks.

**Ibid.**, X, 97. And further, let the regularity of their orbits be explained in the same way as certain ordinary incidents within our own experience; the divine nature must not on any account be adduced to explain this, but must be kept free from the task and in perfect bliss. Unless this be done, the whole study of celestial phenomena will be in vain, as indeed it has proved to be with some who did not lay

hold of a possible method, but fell into the folly of supposing that these events happen in one single way only and of rejecting all the others which are possible, suffering themselves to be carried into the realm of the unintelligible, and being unable to take a comprehensive view of the facts which must be taken as clues to the rest.

**Ibid.,** X, 93. ...unmoved by the servile artifices of the astrologers.

**Ibid.,** X, 87. ...we clearly fall away from the study of nature altogether and tumble into myth.

**Ibid.,** X, 80. Therefore we must ... investigate the causes of celestial phenomena, as of all that is unknown, [...] while as for those who do not recognise the difference between what is or comes about from a single cause and that which may be the effect of any one of several causes, overlooking the fact that the objects are only seen at a distance, and are moreover ignorant of the conditions that render, or do not render, peace of mind impossible—all such persons we must treat with contempt.

22) **Ibid.,** X, 80. We must not suppose that our treatment of these matters fails of accuracy, so far as it is needful to ensure our tranquillity and happiness.

23) **Ibid.,** X, 78. ... but we must hold that nothing suggestive of conflict or disquiet is compatible with an immortal and blessed nature. And the mind can grasp the absolute truth of this.

24) Comp. **Aristotle,** *On the Heavens,* I, 10.

25) **Ibid.,** I, 10 [$279^b$, 25-26]. Suppose that the world was formed out of elements which were formerly otherwise conditioned than as they are now. Then ... if their condition was always so and could not have been otherwise, the world could never have come into being.

26) **Athenaeus,** *Banquet of the Learned,* III, 104. ... One ... must with good reason approve the noble Chrysippus for his shrewd comprehension of Epicurus' "Nature", and his remark that the very centre of the Epicurean philosophy is the *Gastrology* of Archestratus....

27) **Lucretius,** *On the Nature of Things,* I, 63-70, 79-80.

# Appendix

## CRITIQUE OF PLUTARCH'S POLEMIC AGAINST THE THEOLOGY OF EPICURUS

### I. THE RELATIONSHIP OF MAN TO GOD

#### *1. Fear and the Being Beyond*

1) **Plutarch,** *That Epicurus Actually Makes a Pleasant Life Impossible* (published by Xylander), II, 1100. ...one point, that of pleasure they derive from these views, has, I should say, been dealt with (i.e., from Epicurus): ... their theory ... does remove a certain superstitious fear; but it allows no joy and delight to come to us from the gods.

2) **[Holbach,]** *System of Nature* (London, 1770), II, p. 9.[32] The idea of such powerful agencies has always been associated with that of terror; their name always reminded man of his own calamities or those of his fathers; we tremble today because our ancestors have trembled for thousands of years. The idea of Divinity always awakens in us distressing ideas ... our present fears and lugubrious thoughts ... rise every time before our mind when we hear his name. Comp. p. 79. When man bases morality on the not too moral character of a God who changes his behaviour, then he can never know what he owes to God nor what he owes to himself or to others. Nothing therefore could be more dangerous than to persuade man that a being superior to nature exists, a being before whom reason must be silent and to whom man must sacrifice all to receive happiness.

3) **Plutarch,** l.c., 1101. For since they fear him [God] as a ruler mild to the good and hating the wicked, by this one fear, which keeps them from doing wrong, they are freed from the many that attend on crime, and since they keep their viciousness within themselves, where it gradually as it were dies down, they are less tormented than those who make free with it and venture on overt acts, only to be filled at once with terror and regret.

#### *2. Cult and the Individual*

4) **Plutarch,** l.c., 1101. No, wherever it [i.e., the soul] believes and conceives most firmly that the god is present, there more than anywhere else it puts away all feelings of pain, of fear and of worry, and gives itself up so far to pleasure that it indulges in a playful and merry inebriation, in amatory matters....

5) **Ibid.,** l.c.

6) **Ibid.,** l.c., 1102. For it is not the abundance of wine or the roast meats that cheer the heart at festivals, but good hope and the belief in the benign presence of the god and his gracious acceptance of what is done.

### 3. *Providence and the Degraded God*

7) **Plutarch,** l.c., 1102. ... how great their pleasures are, since their beliefs about God are purified from error: that he is our guide to all blessings, the father of everything honourable, and that he may no more do than suffer anything base. For he is good, and in none that is good arises envy about aught or fear or anger or hatred; for it is as much the function of heat to chill instead of warm as it is of good to harm. By its nature anger is farthest removed from favour, wrath from goodwill, and from love of man and kindliness, hostility and the spreading of terror; for the one set belong to virtue and power, the other to weakness and vice. Consequently it is not true that Heaven is prey to feelings of anger and favour; rather, because it is God's nature to bestow favour and lend aid, it is not his nature to be angry and do harm....

8) **Ibid.** Do you think that deniers of providence require any other punishment, and are not adequately punished when they extirpate from themselves so great a pleasure and delight?

9)[a] "But he is not a *weak* intellect who does not know an objective God, but he who *wants* to know one." *Schelling,* "Philosophical Letters on Dogmatism and Criticism" [in German] in *Philosophische Schriften,* Vol. I, Landshut, 1809, p. 127, Letter II.

Herr Schelling should at any rate be advised to give again some thought to his first writings. For example, we read in his essay "on the Ego as principle of philosophy":

For example, let us assume *God,* insofar as he is determined as object, "as the *real foundation* of our cognition, then he belongs *himself,* insofar as he is object, in the *sphere of our cognition,* and therefore cannot be for us the ultimate point on which this entire sphere is suspended" (l.c., p. 5).

Finally, we remind Herr Schelling of the last words of the letter from which we have just quoted:

"*The time has come* to proclaim to the *better part* of humanity the *freedom of minds,* and *not to tolerate any longer that they deplore the loss of their fetters*". P. 129, l.c.

When the time already had come in 1795, how about the year 1841?[33]

We might bring up for this occasion a theme that has well-nigh become notorious, namely, the *proofs of the existence of God. Hegel* has turned all these theological demonstrations upside-down, that is, he has rejected them in order to justify them. What kind of clients are those whom the defending lawyer can only save from conviction by killing them himself? For instance, Hegel interpreted the conclusion from the world to God as meaning: "Since the accidental does *not* exist, God or Absolute exists."[34] However, the theological demonstration is the opposite: "Since the accidental

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[a] This Note 9) was subsequently inserted by Marx; italics in quotations from Schelling are mostly by Marx.— *Ed.*

has true being, God exists." God is the guarantee for the world of the accidental. It is obvious that with this the opposite also has been stated.

The proofs of the existence of God are either mere *hollow tautologies.* Take for instance the ontological proof. This only means:

> "that which I conceive for myself in a real way (*realiter*), is a real concept for me",

something that works on me. In this sense *all gods,* the pagan as well as the Christian ones, have possessed a real existence.[a] Did not the ancient Moloch reign[b]? Was not the Delphic Apollo a real power in the life of the Greeks? Kant's critique[35] means nothing in this respect. If somebody imagines that he has a hundred talers, if this concept is not for him an arbitrary, subjective one, if he believes in it, then these hundred imagined talers have for him the same value as a hundred real ones. For instance, he will incur debts on the strength of his imagination, his imagination will *work, in the same way as all humanity has incurred debts on its gods.* The contrary is true. Kant's example might have enforced the ontological proof. Real talers have the same existence that the imagined gods have. Has a real taler any existence except in the imagination, if only in the general or rather common imagination of man?[36] Bring paper money into a country where this use of paper is unknown, and everyone will laugh at your subjective imagination. Come with your gods into a country where other gods are worshipped, and you will be shown to suffer from fantasies and abstractions. And justly so. He who would have brought a Wendic[37] god to the ancient Greeks would have found the proof of this god's non-existence. Indeed, for the Greeks he did not exist. *That which a particular country is for particular alien gods, the country of reason is for God in general, a region in which he ceases to exist.*[c]

As to the second alternative, that such proofs are *proofs of the existence of essential human self-consciousness, logical explanations of it,* take for example the ontological proof. Which being is immediate when made the subject of thought? Self-consciousness.

Taken in this sense all proofs of the existence of God are proofs

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[a] "Existence" corrected from "power".—*Ed.*

[b] After "reign" the words "to whom human sacrifices were offered" were crossed out.—*Ed.*

[c] "He ceases to exist" corrected from "his non-existence is demonstrated".—*Ed.*

of his *non-existence.* They are *refutations* of all concepts of a God. The true proofs should have the opposite character: "Since nature has been badly constructed, God exists", "Because the world is without reason, therefore God exists", "Because there is no thought, there is God". But what does that say, except that, *for whom the world appears without reason, hence who is without reason himself, for him God exists? Or lack of reason is the existence of God.*

"... when you presuppose the *idea* of an *objective God,* how can you talk of *laws* that *reason* produces *out of itself,* since *autonomy* can only belong to an *absolutely free being.*" Schelling, l.c., p. 198 [Letter X].

"It is a crime against humanity to hide principles that can be generally communicated." Ibid., p. 199.

# DRAFT OF NEW PREFACE[38]

The treatise that I herewith submit to the public is an old piece of work and was originally intended as part of a comprehensive exposition of Epicurean, Stoic, and Sceptic philosophy.[a] At present, however, political and philosophical arrangements of an entirely different kind prevent me from bringing such a task to completion.[b]

Only now the time has come in which the systems of the Epicureans, Stoics and Sceptics can be understood. They are the *philosophers of self-consciousness.* These lines will at any rate show how little has so far been achieved towards solving this problem.

Written in late 1841 and early 1842

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Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

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[a] The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: "Since in the meantime political as well as philosophical work of more immediate interest prevents for the time being my finishing a complete exposition of these philosophies — since I do not know when I shall again have the opportunity to return to this subject — I am content to...." — *Ed.*

[b] The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: "The Epicurean, Stoic, Sceptic philosophy, the *philosophies of self-consciousness* were just as much underestimated up to now by the philosophers as unspeculative and by the learned schoolmasters who *also* write history of philosophy as...." — *Ed.*

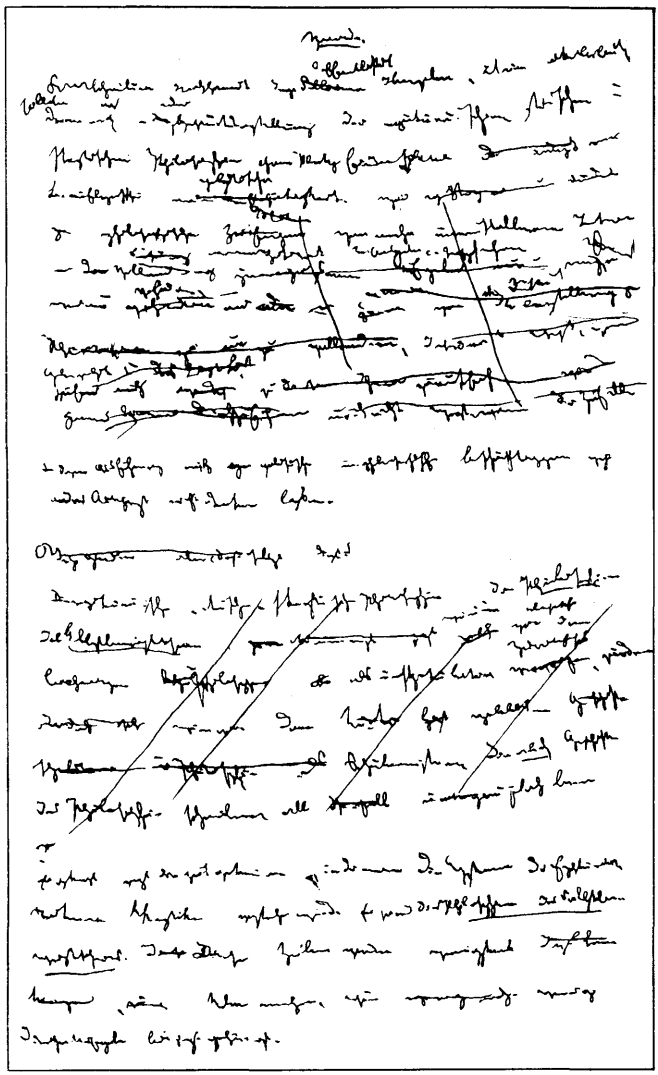

Draft of the preface to *Difference Between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature*

# COMMENTS ON THE LATEST PRUSSIAN CENSORSHIP INSTRUCTION[39]

We are not one of those malcontents who, even before the appearance of the new Prussian censorship decree, exclaim: *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*[a] On the contrary, since an examination of already promulgated laws is approved in the new instruction, even if it should prove not to agree with the government's views, we are making a start with this at once. *Censorship* is *official criticism*; its standards are critical standards, hence they least of all can be exempted from criticism, being on the same plane as the latter.

Certainly everyone can only approve of the *general trend* expressed in the introduction to the instruction:

"In order *already now* to free the press from improper restrictions, which are against the intentions of the All-Highest, His Majesty the King, by a supreme order issued to the royal state ministry on the 10th of this month, has been pleased to disapprove expressly of any undue constraint on the activity of writers and, recognising the value and need of frank and decent publicity, has empowered us to direct the censors anew to due observance of Article II of the censorship decree of October 18, 1819."

Certainly! If censorship is a necessity, frank liberal censorship is still more necessary.

What might immediately arouse some surprise is the *date* of the law cited; it is dated October 18, 1819. What? Is it perhaps a law which conditions of time made it necessary to repeal? Apparently not; for the censors are only directed "*anew*" to ensure observance of it. Hence the law has existed until 1842, but it has not been observed, for it has been called to mind "in order *already now*" to

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[a] I fear the Greeks, even when bringing gifts (Virgil, *Aeneid*, II, 49).—*Ed.*

free the press from improper restrictions, which are against the intentions of the All-Highest.

The press, *in spite of the law*, has until now been subjected to improper restrictions—that is the immediate conclusion to be drawn from this introduction.

Is this then an argument *against the law* or *against the censors*?

We *can* hardly assert the latter. For twenty-two years illegal actions have been committed by an authority which has in its charge the highest interest of the citizens, *their minds*, by an authority which regulates, even more than the Roman censors did, not only the behaviour of individual citizens, but even the behaviour of the public mind. Can such unscrupulous behaviour of the highest servants of the state, such a thoroughgoing lack of loyalty, be possible in the well-organised Prussian state, which is proud of its administration? Or has the state, in continual delusion, selected the most incapable persons for the most difficult posts? Or, finally, has the subject of the Prussian state no possibility of complaining against illegal actions? Are all Prussian writers so ignorant and foolish as to be unacquainted with the laws which concern their existence, or are they too cowardly to demand their observance?

If we put the blame on the *censors*, not only their own honour, but the honour of the Prussian state, and of the Prussian writers, is compromised.

Moreover, the more than twenty years of illegal behaviour of the censors in defiance of the law would provide *argumentum ad hominem*[a] that the press needs other guarantees than such general instructions for such irresponsible persons; it would provide the proof that there is a basic defect in the nature of the censorship which no law can remedy.

If, however, the censors were capable, and *the law was no good*, why appeal to it afresh for removal of the evil it has caused?

Or should, perhaps, the *objective defects* of an institution be ascribed to *individuals*, in order fraudulently to give the impression of an improvement without making any essential improvement? It is the habit of *pseudo-liberalism*, when compelled to make concessions, to sacrifice persons, the instruments, and to preserve the thing itself, the institution. In this way the attention of a superficial public is diverted.

Resentment against the thing itself becomes resentment against persons. It is believed that by a change of persons the thing itself

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[a] Convincing proof (literally: an argument to the man).—*Ed.*

has been changed. Attention is deflected from the censorship to individual censors, and those petty writers of progress by command allow themselves petty audacities against those who have fallen out of favour and perform just as many acts of homage towards the government.

Yet another difficulty confronts us.

Some newspaper correspondents take the censorship instruction for the new censorship decree itself. They are mistaken, but their mistake is pardonable. The censorship decree of October 18, 1819, was to continue only provisionally until 1824, and it would have remained a provisional law to the present day if we had not learnt from the instruction now before us that it has never been implemented.

The 1819 decree was also an *interim* measure, with the difference that in its case a definite period of expectation of five years was indicated, whereas in the new instruction it is of unlimited duration, and that *at that time laws on the freedom of the press* were the object of expectation whereas *now* it is *laws on censorship.*

Other newspaper correspondents regard the censorship instruction as a refurbishing of the old censorship decree. Their error will be refuted by the instruction itself.

We regard the censorship instruction as the *anticipated spirit* of the presumable censorship law. In so doing we adhere strictly to the spirit of the 1819 censorship decree, according to which *laws* and *ordinances* are of equal significance for the press. (See the above-mentioned decree, Article XVI, No. 2.)

Let us return to the instruction.

"According to this law," namely, Article II, "the censorship should not prevent serious and modest investigation of truth, nor impose undue constraint on writers, or hinder the book trade from operating freely."

The investigation of truth which should not be prevented by the censorship is more particularly defined as one which is *serious* and *modest.* Both these definitions concern not the content of the investigation, but rather something which lies outside its content. From the outset they draw the investigation away from truth and make it pay attention to an unknown third thing. An investigation which continually has its eyes fixed on this third element, to which the law gives a legitimate capriciousness, will it not lose sight of the truth? Is it not the first duty of the seeker after truth to aim directly at the truth, without looking to the right or left? Will I not forget the essence of the matter, if I am obliged not to forget to state it in the prescribed form?

Truth is as little modest as light, and towards whom should it be so? Towards itself? *Verum index sui et falsi.*[a] Therefore, *towards falsehood?*

If modesty is the characteristic feature of the investigation, then it is a sign that truth is feared rather than falsehood. It is a means of discouragement at every step forward I take. *It is the imposition on the investigation of a fear of reaching a result,* a means of guarding against the truth.

Further, truth is general, it does not belong to me alone, it belongs to all, it owns me, I do not own it. My property is the *form,* which is my spiritual individuality. *Le style c'est l'homme.*[b] Yes, indeed! The law permits me to write, only I must write in a style that is not *mine*! I may show my spiritual countenance, but I must first set it in the *prescribed folds*! What man of honour will not blush at this presumption and not prefer to hide his head under the toga? Under the toga at least one has an inkling of a Jupiter's head. The prescribed folds mean nothing but *bonne mine à mauvais jeu.*[c]

You admire the delightful variety, the inexhaustible riches of nature. You do not demand that the rose should smell like the violet, but must the greatest riches of all, the spirit, exist in only *one* variety? I am humorous, but the law bids me write seriously. I am audacious, but the law commands that my style be modest. *Grey, all grey,* is the sole, the rightful colour of freedom. Every drop of dew on which the sun shines glistens with an inexhaustible play of colours, but the spiritual sun, however many the persons and whatever the objects in which it is refracted, must produce only the *official colour*! The most essential form of the spirit is *cheerfulness, light,* but you make *shadow* the sole manifestation of the spirit; it must be clothed only in black, yet among flowers there are no black ones. The essence of the spirit is *always truth itself* but what do you make its essence? *Modesty.* Only the mean wretch is modest, says Goethe,[d] and you want to turn the spirit into such a mean wretch? Or if modesty is to be the modesty of genius of which Schiller[e] speaks, then first of all turn all your citizens and above all your censors into geniuses. But then the modesty of genius does not consist in what educated speech

[a] Truth is the touchstone of itself and of falsehood (Spinoza, *Ethics,* Part II, Prop. 43).— *Ed.*

[b] Style is the man.— *Ed.*

[c] To put a good face on a bad job.— *Ed.*

[d] J. Goethe, *Rechenschaft.*— *Ed.*

[e] F. Schiller, *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung.*— *Ed.*

consists in, the absence of accent and dialect, but rather in speaking with the accent of the matter and in the dialect of its essence. It consists in forgetting modesty and immodesty and getting to the heart of the matter. The universal modesty of the mind is reason, that universal liberality of thought which reacts to *each thing* according to *the latter's essential nature.*

Further, if seriousness is not to come under Tristram Shandy's [a] definition according to which it is a hypocritical behaviour of the body in order to conceal defects of the soul, but signifies seriousness *in substance,* then the entire prescription falls to the ground. For I treat the ludicrous seriously when I treat it ludicrously, and the most serious immodesty of the mind is to be modest in the face of immodesty.

Serious and modest! What fluctuating, relative concepts! Where does seriousness cease and jocularity begin? Where does modesty cease and immodesty begin? We are dependent on the *temperament* of the censor. It would be as wrong to prescribe temperament for the censor as to prescribe style for the writer. If you want to be consistent in your aesthetic criticism, then forbid also a *too serious* and *too modest* investigation of the truth, for too great seriousness is the most ludicrous thing of all, and too great modesty is the bitterest irony.

Finally, the starting point is a completely perverted and abstract view of *truth* itself. All objects of the writer's activity are comprehended in the one general concept "*truth*". Even if we leave the *subjective* side out of account, viz., that one and the same object is refracted differently as seen by different persons and its different aspects converted into as many different spiritual characters, ought the *character of the object* to have no influence, not even the slightest, on the investigation? Truth includes not only the result but also the path to it. The investigation of truth must itself be true; true investigation is developed truth, the dispersed elements of which are brought together in the result. And should not the manner of investigation alter according to the object? If the object is a matter for laughter, the manner has to seem serious, if the object is disagreeable, it has to be modest. Thus you violate the right of the object as you do that of the subject. You conceive truth abstractly and turn the spirit into an *examining magistrate,* who draws up a dry *protocol* of it.

Or is there no need of this metaphysical twisting? Is *truth* to be understood as being simply *what the government decrees,* so that *investigation* is added as a superfluous, intrusive element, but

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L. Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman,* Vol. I, Ch. XI.— *Ed.*

which for *etiquette's sake* is not to be entirely rejected? It almost seems so. For investigation is understood in advance as in *contradiction* to truth and therefore appears with the suspicious official accompaniment of seriousness and modesty, which of course is fitting for the layman in relation to the priest. The government's understanding is the only state reason. True, in certain circumstances of time, concessions have to be made to a different understanding and its chatter, but this understanding comes on the scene conscious of the concession and of its own lack of right, modest and submissive, serious and tedious. If Voltaire says: "*Tous les genres sont bons, excepté le genre ennuyeux*",[a] in the present case the genre *ennuyant*[b] becomes the exclusive one, as is already sufficiently proved by the reference to the "proceedings of the Rhine Province Assembly". Why not rather the good old German curialistic style? You may write freely, but at the same time every word must be a curtsey to the liberal censorship, which allows you to express your equally serious and modest opinions. Indeed, do not lose your feeling of reverence!

The *legal emphasis* is not on truth but on modesty and seriousness. Hence everything here arouses suspicion: seriousness, modesty and, above all, truth, the indefinite scope of which seems to conceal a very definite but very doubtful kind of truth.

"The censorship," the instruction states further, "should therefore by no means be implemented in a narrow-minded interpretation going beyond this law."

By *this law* is meant in the first place Article II of the 1819 decree, but later the instruction refers to the "*spirit*" of the censorship decree as a whole. The two provisions are easily combined. Article II is the *concentrated spirit* of the censorship decree, the further subdivision and more detailed specification of this spirit being found in the other articles. We believe the abovementioned spirit cannot be better characterised than by the *following expressions of it:*

Article VII. "*The freedom from censorship hitherto accorded the Academy of Sciences and the universities is hereby suspended for five years.*"

§10. "*The present temporary decision* shall remain in force for five years from today. Before the expiry of this term there shall be a thorough investigation in the Bundestag of how the kind of provisions regarding *freedom of the press proposed* in Article 18 of the Bundesakte *could* be put into effect, and thereby a definite decision reached on the legitimate *limits of freedom of the press* in Germany."

A law which suspends *freedom of the press* where it has hitherto

[a] "All kinds are good except the kind that bores you." F. Voltaire, *L'enfant prodigue.*— *Ed.*

[b] The annoying kind.— *Ed.*

existed, and makes it superfluous through *censorship* where it was to be brought into existence, can hardly be called one favourable to the press. Moreover, §10 directly admits that provisionally a *censorship law* will be introduced instead of the *freedom of the press*[40] proposed in Article 18 of the Bundesakte and perhaps intended to be put into effect at some time. This *quid pro quo*[a] at least reveals that the circumstances of the time called for restrictions on the press, and that the decree owes its origin to distrust of the press. This annoyance is even excused by being termed provisional, valid for only five years—unfortunately it has lasted for 22 years.

The very next line of the instruction shows how it becomes involved in a contradiction. On the one hand, it will not have the censorship implemented in any interpretation that goes beyond the decree, and at the same time it prescribes such excess:

"The censor can very well permit a frank discussion also of internal affairs."

The censor *can*, but he does not have to, there is no necessity. Even this cautious liberalism very definitely goes not only beyond the spirit but beyond the definite demands of the censorship decree. The old censorship decree, to be exact, Article II cited in the instruction, not only does not permit any *frank discussion* of Prussian affairs, but not even of *Chinese* affairs.

"Here," namely, among violations of the security of the Prussian state and the German Federated States, the instruction comments, "are included all attempts to present in a *favourable light* parties existing *in any country* which work for the overthrow of the state system."

Is this the way a *frank* discussion of Chinese or Turkish national affairs is permitted? And if even such remote relations endanger the precarious security of the German Federation, how can any word of disapproval about *internal* affairs fail to do so?

Thus, on the one hand, the instruction goes beyond the spirit of Article II of the censorship decree in the direction of liberalism—an *excess* whose *content* will become clear later, but which is already *formally* suspicious inasmuch as it claims to be the consequence of Article II, of which wisely only the *first half* is quoted, the censor however being referred at the same time to the *article itself*. On the other hand, the instruction just as much goes beyond *the censorship decree* in an *illiberal direction* and adds *new press restrictions* to the old ones.

In the above-quoted Article II of the censorship decree it is stated:

[a] The confusion of one thing with another.—*Ed.*

"Its aim" (that of the censorship) "is to check all that is contrary to the *general principles* of religion, *irrespective* of the opinions and doctrines of *individual* religious parties and sects permitted in the state."

In 1819, rationalism still prevailed, which understood by religion in general the so-called religion of reason. This *rationalist point of view* is also that of the censorship decree, which at any rate is so inconsistent as to adopt the irreligious point of view while its aim is to protect religion. For it is already contrary to the general principles of religion to separate them from the positive content and particular features of religion, since each religion believes itself distinguished from the various other *would-be* religions by its *special nature,* and that precisely its *particular features* make it the *true religion.* In quoting Article II, the new censorship instruction omits the *restrictive additional clause* by which individual religious parties and sects are excluded from inviolability, but it does not stop at this and makes the following comment:

"Anything aimed in a *frivolous, hostile* way against the *Christian* religion in general, or against a *particular article of faith,* must not be tolerated."

The old censorship decree does not mention the *Christian* religion at all; on the contrary, it distinguishes between religion and *all* individual religious parties and sects. The new censorship instruction does not only convert religion in general into the *Christian* religion, but adds *further* a *particular article of faith.* A delightful product of our Christianised science! Who will still deny that it has forged new fetters for the press? Religion, it is said, must not be attacked, *whether in general or in particular.* Or do you perhaps believe that the words frivolous and hostile have made the new fetters into chains of roses? How adroitly it is written: *frivolous, hostile*! The adjective frivolous appeals to the citizen's sense of decorum, it is the exoteric word for the world at large, but the adjective hostile is whispered into the censor's ear, it is the legal interpretation of frivolity. We shall find in this instruction more examples of this subtle tact, which offers the public a subjective word that makes it blush and offers the censor an objective word that makes the author grow pale. In this way even *lettres de cachet*[41] could be set to music.

And in what a remarkable contradiction the censorship instruction has entangled itself! It is only a half-hearted attack that is frivolous, one which keeps to individual aspects of a phenomenon, without being sufficiently profound and serious to touch the essence of the matter; it is precisely an attack on a *merely particular feature as such* that is frivolous. If, therefore, an attack on the

Christian religion in general is forbidden, it follows that only a frivolous attack on it is permitted. On the other hand, an attack on the general principles of religion, on its essence, on a particular feature *insofar as it is a manifestation* of the essence, is a hostile attack. Religion can only be attacked in *a hostile or a frivolous* way, there is no third way. This inconsistency in which the instruction entangles itself is, of course, only a *seeming* one, for it depends on the semblance that in general *some kind* of attack on religion is still permitted. But an unbiassed glance suffices to realise that this semblance is only a semblance. Religion must not be attacked, whether in a hostile or a frivolous way, whether in general or in particular, *therefore not at all.*

But if the instruction, in open contradiction to the 1819 censorship decree, imposes new fetters on the *philosophical press,* it should at least be sufficiently consistent as to free the *religious press* from the old fetters imposed on it by the former rationalist decree. For it declares that the aim of the censorship is also

> "to oppose fanatical transference of religious articles of faith into politics and the *confusion of ideas* resulting therefrom".

The new instruction, it is true, is clever enough not to mention this provision in its *commentary,* nevertheless it accepts it in *citing Article II.* What does fanatical transference of religious articles of faith into politics mean? It means making religious articles of faith, by their specific nature, a determining factor of the state; it means making the *particular nature of a religion the measuring-rod of the state.* The old censorship decree could rightly oppose this confusion of ideas, for it left a particular religion, its definite content, open to criticism. The old decree, however, was based on the shallow, superficial *rationalism* which you yourselves despised. But you, who base the state even in details on *faith* and *Christianity,* who want to have a *Christian state,* how can you still recommend the censorship to prevent this confusion of ideas?

The confusion of the political with the Christian-religious principle has indeed become *official doctrine.* We want to make this confusion clear in a few words. Speaking only of Christianity as the recognised religion, you have in your state Catholics and Protestants. Both make equal claims on the state, just as they have equal duties to it. They both leave their religious differences out of account and demand equally that the state should be the realisation of political and juridical reason. But you want a *Christian state.* If your state is only *Lutheran-Christian,* then for the *Catholic* it becomes a church to which he does not belong,

which he must reject as heretical, and whose innermost essence is contrary to him. It is just the same the other way round. If, however, you make the *general spirit of Christianity* the *particular* spirit of your state, you nevertheless decide on the basis of your Protestant views *what* the general spirit of Christianity is. You define *what* a *Christian state* is, although the recent period has taught you that some government officials are unable to draw the line between the religious and the secular, between state and church. In regard to this *confusion of ideas*, it was not *censors* but *diplomats* who had, not to *decide*, but to *negotiate*.[42] Finally, you are adopting a *heretical* point of view when you reject definite dogma as non-essential. If you call your state a *general Christian* state, you are admitting with a diplomatic turn of phrase that it is *un-Christian*. Hence either forbid religion to be introduced at all into politics—but you don't want that, for you want to base the state not on free reason, but on faith, religion being for you the *general sanction for what exists*—or allow also the *fanatical* introduction of religion into politics. Let religion concern itself with politics in *its own way*, but you don't want that either. Religion has to support the secular authority, without the latter subordinating itself to religion. Once you introduce religion into politics, it is intolerable, indeed *irreligious*, arrogance to want to determine *secularly how* religion has to act in political matters. He who wants to ally himself with religion owing to religious feelings must concede it the decisive voice in all questions, or do you perhaps understand by religion the *cult of your own unlimited authority and governmental wisdom?*

There is yet another way in which the *orthodox spirit* of the new censorship instruction comes into conflict with the *rationalism* of the old censorship decree. The latter includes under the aim of the censorship also suppression of "what offends against *morality* and good manners". The instruction reproduces this passage as a *quotation* from Article II. *Its commentary*, however, while making additions as regards religion, contains omissions as regards morality. Offending against *morality* and *good manners* becomes violation of "propriety and manners and external decorum". One sees: *morality as such*, as the *principle of a world* that obeys its own laws, *disappears*, and in place of the essence external manifestations make their appearance, *police respectability, conventional decorum*. Honour to whom honour is due, we recognise true consistency here. The specifically Christian legislator *cannot recognise morality* as an independent sphere that is sacrosanct in itself, for he claims that its inner general essence belongs to religion. Independent morality offends against the general principles of religion, but the

particular concepts of religion conflict with morality. Morality recognises only its own universal and rational religion, and religion recognises only its particular positive morality. Hence, according to this instruction, the censorship must reject the intellectual heroes of morality, such as Kant, Fichte and Spinoza, as irreligious, as violating propriety, manners, and external decorum. All these moralists start out from a contradiction in principle between morality and religion, for *morality* is based on the *autonomy* of the human mind, *religion* on its *heteronomy*. Let us turn from these undesirable innovations of the censorship—on the one hand, the weakening of its moral conscience, on the other hand, the rigorous heightening of its religious conscience—to what is more welcome, the *concessions*.

It "follows in particular that writings in which the state administration is assessed as a whole or in its individual branches, laws that have been or are still to be promulgated are examined for their inner value, mistakes and misconceptions revealed, improvements indicated or suggested, are not to be rejected because they are written in a spirit that does not agree with the government's views, as long as their formulation is decent and their *tendency well-meaning*".

Modesty and seriousness of investigation—both the new instruction and the censorship decree make this demand, but for the former *decorous* formulation is as little sufficient as truth of content. For it the *tendency* is the main criterion, indeed it is its all-pervading thought, whereas in the decree itself not even the *word* tendency is to be found. Nor does the new instruction say what constitutes tendency, but how important it is for it may be seen from the following extract:

"In this connection it is an *indispensable* premise that the *tendency* of remonstrances expressed against measures of the government should not be spiteful or malevolent, but well-intentioned, and goodwill and insight are required of the censor so that he knows how to distinguish between the one case and the other. Considering this, the censors must also pay special attention to the form and tone of writings for the press and insofar as, owing to passion, vehemence and arrogance, *their tendency* is found to be pernicious, must not allow them to be printed."

The writer, therefore, has fallen victim to the *most frightful terrorism*, and is subjected to the *jurisdiction of suspicion*. Laws against *tendency*, laws giving no objective standards, are laws of terrorism, such as were invented owing to the emergency needs of the state under Robespierre and the corruption of the state under the Roman emperors. Laws which make their main criterion not *actions as such*, but the *frame of mind* of the doer, are nothing but

*positive sanctions for lawlessness.* Better like that Russian Tsar[a] to have everyone's beard cut off by Cossacks in his service than to make the state of mind due to which I wear a beard the criterion for the cutting.

Only insofar as I *manifest* myself externally, enter the sphere of the actual, do I enter the sphere of the legislator. Apart from *my actions,* I have no existence for the law, am no object for it. My actions are the sole thing by which the law has a hold on me; for they are the sole thing for which I demand a right of existence, a *right of actuality,* owing to which therefore I come within the sphere of *actual law.* The law which punishes tendency, however, punishes me not only for what I do, but for what I think, *apart* from my actions. It is therefore an insult to the honour of the citizen, a vexatious law which threatens my existence.

I can turn and twist as I will, it is not a question of the facts. My existence is under suspicion, my innermost being, my individuality, is considered *bad,* and it is *for this opinion* of me that I am *punished.* The law punishes me not for any wrong I commit, but for the wrong I do not commit. I am really being punished because my action is *not against the law,* for only because of that do I compel the lenient, well-meaning judge to seize on my *bad frame of mind,* which is clever enough not to come out in the open.

The law against a frame of mind is *not a law of the state* promulgated for its *citizens,* but the *law of one party against another party.* The law which punishes tendency abolishes the equality of the citizens before the law. It is a law which divides, not one which unites, and all laws which divide are reactionary. It is not a law, but a *privilege.* One may do what another may not do, not because the latter lacks some objective quality, like a minor in regard to concluding contracts; no, because his good intentions and his frame of mind are under suspicion. The *moral state* assumes its members to have the *frame of mind of the state,* even if they act in *opposition to an organ of the state,* against the *government.* But in a society in which *one* organ imagines itself the sole, exclusive possessor of state reason and state morality, in a government which opposes the people in principle and hence regards *its anti-state frame of mind* as the general, normal frame of mind, the bad conscience of a faction invents laws against tendency, *laws of revenge,* laws against a frame of mind which has its seat only in the government members themselves. Laws against frame of mind are based on an unprincipled frame of mind, on an immoral, material view of the state.

[a] Peter the Great.— *Ed.*

They are the involuntary cry of a bad conscience. And how is a law of this kind to be implemented? By a means more revolting than the law itself: by *spies*, or by previous agreement to regard entire literary trends as suspicious, in which case, of course, the trend to which an individual belongs must also be inquired into. Just as in the law against tendency the *legal form contradicts* the *content*, just as the *government* which issues it lashes out against what it is itself, against the anti-state frame of mind, so also in each particular case it forms as it were the *reverse world* to its laws, for it applies a double measuring-rod. What for one side is right, for the other side is wrong. *The very laws issued by the government are the opposite of what they make into law.*

The *new censorship instruction*, too, becomes entangled in this dialectic. It contains the contradiction of itself doing, and making it the censor's duty to do, everything that it condemns as anti-state in the case of the press.

Thus the instruction forbids writers to cast suspicion on the frame of mind of individuals or whole classes, and in the same breath it bids the censor divide all citizens into suspicious and unsuspicious, into well-intentioned and evil-intentioned. The press is deprived of the right to criticise, but criticism becomes the daily duty of the governmental critic. This reversal, however, does not end the matter. Within the press what was anti-state as regards content appeared as something particular, but from the aspect of its form it was something universal, that is to say, subject to universal appraisal.

However, now the thing is turned upside-down: the particular now appears justified *in regard to its content*, what is anti-state appears as the view of the state, as state law; in regard to its form, however, what is anti-state appears as something particular, that cannot be brought to the general light of day, that is relegated from the open air of publicity to the office files of the governmental critic. Thus the instruction wants to protect religion, but it violates the most general principle of all religions, the sanctity and inviolability of the subjective frame of mind. It makes the censor instead of God the judge of the heart. Thus it prohibits offensive utterances and defamatory judgments on individuals, but it exposes you every day to the defamatory and offensive judgment of the censor. Thus the instruction wants the gossip of evil-minded or ill-informed persons suppressed, but it compels the censor to rely on such gossip, on spying by ill-informed and evil-minded persons, degrading judgment from the sphere of objective content to that of subjective opinion or arbitrary action.

Thus suspicion must not be cast on the intention of the state, but the instruction starts out from suspicion in respect of the state. Thus no bad frame of mind must be concealed under a good appearance, but the instruction itself is based on a false appearance. Thus the instruction wants to enhance national feeling, but it is based on a view that humiliates the nation. Lawful behaviour and respect for the law are demanded of us, but at the same time we have to honour institutions which put us outside the law and introduce arbitrariness in place of law. We are required to recognise the principle of personality to such an extent that we trust the censor despite the defects of the institution of censorship, and you violate the principle of personality to such an extent that you cause personality to be judged not according to its actions but according to an opinion of the opinion of its actions. You demand modesty and your starting point is the monstrous immodesty of appointing individual servants of the state to spy on people's hearts, to be omniscient, philosophers, theologians, politicians, Delphic Apollos. On the one hand, you make it our duty to respect immodesty and, on the other hand, you forbid us to be immodest. The real immodesty consists in ascribing perfection of the genus to particular individuals. The censor is a particular individual, but the press becomes the embodiment of the whole genus. You order us to have trust, and you give distrust the force of law. You repose so much trust in your state institutions that you think they will convert a weak mortal, an official, into a saint, and make the impossible possible for him. But you distrust your state organism so much that you are afraid of the isolated opinion of a private person; for you treat the press as a private person. You assume that the officials will act quite impersonally, without animosity, passion, narrow-mindedness or human weakness. But what is impersonal, *ideas*, you suspect of being full of personal intrigue and subjective vileness. The instruction demands unlimited trust in the estate of officials, and it proceeds from unlimited distrust in the estate of non-officials. Why should we not pay tit for tat? Why should we not look with suspicion on precisely this estate of officials? Equally as regards character. From the outset one who is impartial should have more respect for the character of the critic who acts publicly than for the character of the critic who acts in secret.

What is at all bad remains bad, whoever personifies this badness, whether a private critic or one appointed by the government, but in the latter case the badness is authorised and regarded from above as a necessity to realise goodness from below.

The *censorship of tendency* and the *tendency of censorship* are a *gift of the new liberal instruction.* No one will blame us if we turn to the further provisions of the instruction with a certain misgiving.

"Offensive utterances and defamatory judgments on individuals are not suitable for publication."

Not suitable for publication! Instead of this mildness we could wish that an objective definition of offensive and defamatory judgments had been given.

"The same holds good for suspicion of the frame of mind of individuals *or*" (a significant or) "whole classes, for the use of *party names* and other such personal attacks."

Inadmissible, therefore, also are classification by categories, attacks on whole classes, use of party names—and man, like Adam, has to give everything a name for it to exist for him; party names are essential categories for the political press,

"Because, as Dr. Sassafras supposes,
Every illness for its cure
Must first receive a name."[a]

All this is included in *personal attacks.* How then is one to make a start? One must not attack an individual, and just as little the class, the general, the juridical person. The state will—and here it is right—tolerate no insults, no personal attacks; but by a simple "or" the general is also included in the personal. By "or" the general comes into it, and by means of a little "and" we learn finally that the whole question has been only of personal attacks. But as a perfectly simple consequence it follows that the press is forbidden all control over officials as over such institutions that exist as a class of individuals.

"If censorship is exercised in accordance with these directives in the spirit of the censorship decree of October 18, 1819, adequate scope will be afforded for decorous and candid publicity, and it is to be expected that thereby greater sympathy for the interests of the Fatherland will be aroused and thus national feeling enhanced."

We are ready to admit that in accordance with these directives for *decorous* publicity, decorous in the sense understood by the censorship, a more than adequate field of play[b] is afforded—the term field of play is happily chosen, for the field is calculated for a sportive press that is satisfied with leaps in the air. Whether it is adequate for a *candid* publicity, and where its *candidness* lies,

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[a] C. M. Wieland, *Der Neue Amadis,* No. 36.—*Ed.*

[b] A pun on the German word *Spielraum,* which means "scope" and "field of play".—*Ed.*

we leave to the readers' perspicacity. As for *expectations* held out by the instruction, *national feeling* may, of course, be enhanced just as the sending of a bow-string enhances the feeling of Turkish nationality: but whether the press, as modest as it is serious, will arouse sympathy for the interests of the Fatherland we shall leave it to decide for itself; a meagre press cannot be fattened with quinine. Perhaps, however, we have taken too serious a view of the passage quoted. We shall, perhaps, get at the meaning better if we regard it as merely a thorn in the wreath of roses. Perhaps this liberal thorn holds a pearl of very ambiguous value. Let us see. It all depends on the context. The enhancement of national feeling and the arousing of sympathy for the interests of the Fatherland, which in the above-cited passage are spoken of as an *expectation,* secretly turn into an *order,* which imposes a *new constraint* on our poor, consumptive *daily press.*

"In this way it may be hoped that both political literature and the daily press will realise their function better, that with the acquirement of richer material they will also adopt a more dignified tone, and in future will scorn to speculate on the curiosity of their readers through communication of baseless reports taken from foreign newspapers and originating from evil-minded or badly informed correspondents, by gossip and personal attacks—a trend against which it is the undoubted duty of the censorship to take measures."

In the way indicated it is *hoped* that political literature and the daily press will realise their function better, etc. However, *better realisation* cannot be ordered, moreover it is a fruit still to be awaited, and hope remains hope. But the instruction is much too practical to be satisfied with hopes and pious wishes. While the press is granted the hope of its future improvement *as a new consolation,* the kindly instruction at the same time deprives it of a right it has at present. In the hope of its improvement it loses what it still has. It fares like poor Sancho Panza, from whom all the food was snatched away under his eyes by the court doctor in order that his stomach should not be upset and make him incapable of performing the duties imposed on him by the duke.[a]

At the same time we ought not to miss the opportunity of inviting the Prussian writer to adopt this kind of decorous style. In the first part of the sentence it is stated: "In this way it may be hoped *that*". This *that* governs a whole series of provisions, namely, that political literature and the daily press will realise their function better, that they will adopt a more dignified tone, etc.,

[a] Cervantes, *Don Quixote,* Part IV, Ch. 47.—*Ed.*

etc., that they will scorn communication of baseless reports, etc., taken from foreign newspapers. All these provisions are still matters for hope; but the conclusion, which is joined to the foregoing by a *dash*: "a trend against which it is the undoubted duty of the censorship to take measures", absolves the censor from the boring task of awaiting the hoped-for improvement of the daily press, and instead empowers him to delete what he finds undesirable without more ado. *Internal treatment* has been replaced by *amputation.*

"To approach this aim more closely, however, requires that great care be taken in agreeing to new publications and new editors, so that the daily press will be entrusted only to completely irreproachable persons, whose scientific ability, position and character guarantee the seriousness of their efforts and the loyalty of their mode of thought."

Before we go into details, let us make one general observation. The approval of new editors, hence of future editors in general, is entrusted wholly to the *"great care"*, naturally of the *state officials,* of the censorship, whereas at least the old censorship decree left the choice of editors, with certain guarantees, to the *discretion of the publisher:*

"Article IX. The supreme censorship authority is entitled to inform the publisher of a newspaper that a proposed editor is not such as to inspire the requisite trust, in which case the publisher is bound either to take another editor *or,* if he *wants to retain* the one designated, to furnish for him a *security to be determined* by our above-mentioned state ministries on the proposal of the above-mentioned supreme censorship authority."

The new censorship instruction expresses a quite different profundity, one could call it a *romanticism* of the spirit. Whereas the old censorship decree demands an external, prosaic, hence legally definable, security, on the guarantee of which even the objectionable editor is to be allowed, the instruction on the other hand takes away *all independent will* from the publisher of a newspaper. Moreover, it draws the attention of the preventive wisdom of the government, the great care and intellectual profundity of the authorities, to internal, subjective, externally indefinable, qualities. If, however, the indefiniteness, delicate sensitivity, and subjective extravagance of *romanticism* become *purely external,* merely in the sense that external chance no longer appears in its prosaic definiteness and limitation, but in a fantastic glory, in an imaginary profundity and splendour — then the instruction, too, can hardly avoid this *romantic fate.*

The editors of the daily press, a category which includes all journalistic activity, must be completely irreproachable men. "*Scien-*

*tific qualification*" is put forward in the first place as a guarantee of this complete irreproachability. Not the slightest doubt arises as to whether the censor can have the scientific qualification to pass judgment on scientific qualification of every kind. If such a crowd of universal geniuses known to the government are to be found in Prussia—every town has at least one censor—why do not these encyclopaedic minds come forward as writers? If these officials, overwhelming in their numbers and mighty owing to their scientific knowledge and genius, were all at once to rise up and smother by their weight those miserable writers, each of whom can write in only one genre, and even in that without officially attested ability, an end could be put to the irregularities of the press much better than through the censorship. Why do these experts who, like the Roman geese, could save the Capitol by their cackling remain silent? Their modesty is too great. The scientific public does not know them, but the government does.

And if these men are indeed such as no state has succeeded in discovering, for never has a state known whole classes composed solely of universal geniuses and encyclopaedic minds—how much greater must be the genius of the selectors of these men! What secret science must be theirs for them to be able to issue a certificate of universal scientific qualification to officials unknown in the republic of science! The higher we rise in this *bureaucracy of intelligence,* the more remarkable are the minds we encounter. For a state which possesses such pillars of a perfect press, is it worth the trouble, is it expedient to make these men the *guardians* of a defective press, to degrade the perfect into a means for dealing with the imperfect?

The more of these censors you appoint, the more you deprive the realm of the press of chances of improvement. You take away the healthy from your army in order to make them physicians of the unhealthy.

Merely stamp on the ground like Pompey and a Pallas Athena in complete armour will spring from every government building. Confronted by the *official press,* the shallow daily press will disintegrate into nothing. The existence of light suffices to expel darkness. Let your light shine, and hide it not under a bushel. Instead of a defective censorship whose full effectiveness you yourselves regard as problematic, give us a perfect press to whom you have only to give an order and a model of which has been in existence for centuries in the *Chinese* state.

But to make *scientific qualification* the sole, necessary condition for writers of the daily press, is that not a provision concerning

the mind, no favouring of privilege, no conventional demand? Is it not a stipulation as regards the matter, not a stipulation as regards the person?

Unfortunately the censorship instruction interrupts our panegyric. Alongside the guarantee of scientific qualification is the demand for that of *position and character.* Position and character!

Character, which follows so immediately after position, seems almost to be a mere outcome of the latter. Let us, therefore, take a look at *position* in the first place. It is so squeezed in between scientific qualification and character that one is almost tempted to doubt the good conscience that called for it.

The *general* demand for scientific qualification, how *liberal*! The *special* demand for position, how *illiberal*! Scientific qualification and position together, how *pseudo-liberal*! Since scientific qualification and character are very indefinite things, whereas position, on the other hand, is very definite, why should we not conclude that by a necessary law of logic the indefinite will be supported by the definite and obtain stability and content from it? Would it then be a great mistake on the part of the censor if he interpreted the instruction as meaning that *position* is the *external form* in which scientific qualification and character manifest themselves socially, the more so since his own position as censor is a guarantee for him that this view is the state's view? Without this interpretation it remains at least quite incomprehensible why scientific qualification and character are not adequate guarantees for a writer, why position is a necessary third. Now if the censor were to find himself in a quandary, if these guarantees were seldom or never present together, where should his choice fall? A choice has to be made, for someone has to edit newspapers and periodicals. Scientific qualification and character without position could present a problem for the censor on account of their indefiniteness, just as in general it must rightly be a surprise to him that such qualities could exist separately from position. On the other hand, ought the censor to have any doubts about character and science where position is present? In that case he would have less confidence in the judgment of the state than in his own, whereas in the opposite case he would have more confidence in the writer than in the state. Ought a censor to be so tactless, so ill-disposed? It is not to be expected and will certainly not be expected. *Position,* because it is the decisive criterion *in case of doubt,* is in general the *absolutely decisive criterion.*

Hence, just as earlier the instruction was in conflict with the *censorship decree* owing to its *orthodoxy,* now it is so owing to its

*romanticism,* which at the same time is always the poetry of *tendency.* The *cash security,* which is a prosaic, real guarantee, becomes an imaginary one, and this imaginary guarantee turns into the wholly *real* and *individual* position, which acquires a magical fictitious significance. In the same way the significance of the guarantee becomes transformed. The publisher no longer *chooses* an editor, for whom *he* gives a guarantee to the authorities, instead the authorities choose an editor *for him,* one for whom they give a guarantee to themselves. The old decree looked for the work of the editor, for which the publisher's cash security served as guarantee. The instruction, however, is not concerned with the *work* of the editor, but with his *person.* It demands a definite personal individuality, which the *publisher's money* should provide. The new instruction is just as superficial as the old decree. But whereas the latter by its nature expressed and delimited prosaically defined provisions, the instruction gives an imaginary significance to the purest chance and expresses what is merely individual with the fervour of generality.

Whereas, however, as regards the editor the romantic instruction expresses the extremely superficial definiteness in a tone of the most easy-going indefiniteness, as regards the censor it expresses the vaguest indefiniteness in a tone of legal definiteness.

"The same caution must be exercised in the appointment of censors, so that the post of censor shall be entrusted only to men of tested frame of mind and *ability,* who fully correspond to the honourable trust which that office presupposes; to men who are both right-thinking and keen-sighted, who are able to separate the form from the essence of the matter and with sure *tact* know how to set aside doubt where the meaning and *tendency* of a writing do not in themselves justify this doubt."

Instead of position and character as required of the writer, we have here the tested frame of mind, since position is already there. More significant is that whereas *scientific qualification* is demanded of the writer, what is demanded of the censor is *ability* without further definition. The old decree, which is drawn up in a rational spirit except in respect of politics, calls in Article III for "*scientifically-trained*" and even "*enlightened*" censors. In the instruction both attributes have been dropped, and instead of the *qualification* of the writer, which signifies a definite, well-developed ability that has become a reality, there appears in the case of the censor the *aptitude for qualification,* ability in general. Hence the *aptitude for ability* has to *act as censor* of *actual qualification,* however much in the nature of things the relationship should obviously be the

reverse. Finally, merely in passing, we note that the ability of the censor is not more closely defined as regards its *objective* content, and this, of course, makes its character *ambiguous.*

Further, the post of censor is to be entrusted to men "who *fully correspond* to the honourable trust which that office presupposes". This pleonastic pseudo-definition, to select for an office men in whom one has trust that they (*will?*) *fully correspond* to the honourable trust, certainly a very full trust, reposed in them, is not worth further discussion.

Finally, the censors must be men

> "who are both right-thinking and keen-sighted, who are able to *separate* the *form* from the *essence* of the matter and with *sure tact* know how to *set aside doubt* where the *meaning* and *tendency* of a writing do not *in themselves* justify this doubt".

Earlier, on the other hand, the instruction prescribes:

> "Considering this" (namely, the investigation of tendency), "the censors must also pay special attention to the *form* and *tone* of writings for the press and insofar as, owing to passion, vehemence and arrogance, their tendency is found to be pernicious, must not allow them to be printed."

On one occasion, therefore, the censor has to judge of the *tendency from the form,* on another occasion, of the *form from the tendency.* If previously *content* had already disappeared as a criterion for censorship, now *form* also disappears. As long as the tendency is good, *faults of form* do not matter. Even if the work cannot be regarded exactly as very serious and modest, even if it may appear to be vehement, passionate, arrogant, who would let himself be frightened by the *rough exterior*? One has to know how to distinguish between *form* and *essence.* All semblance of definitions had to be abandoned, the instruction had to end in a *complete contradiction with itself*; for everything by which tendency is supposed to be recognised is, on the contrary, determined by the tendency and must be recognised from the tendency. The vehemence of the patriot is holy zeal, his passionateness is the sensitiveness of the lover, his arrogance a devoted sympathy which is too immeasurable to be moderate.

*All objective standards* are abandoned, everything is finally reduced to the *personal* relation, and the censor's *tact has* to be called a guarantee. What then can the censor violate? Tact. But tactlessness is no crime. What is threatened as far as the writer is concerned? His existence. What state has ever made the existence of whole classes depend on the tact of individual officials?

I repeat, *all objective standards are abandoned.* As regards the writer, tendency is the ultimate content that is demanded from him and prescribed to him. Tendency as formless opinion appears

as object. Tendency as subject, as opinion of opinion, is the censor's tact and his sole criterion.

But whereas the arbitrariness of the censor—and to sanction the authority of mere opinion is to sanction arbitrariness—is a logical consequence which was concealed under a semblance of objective definitions, the instruction on the other hand quite consciously expresses the arbitrariness of the *Oberpräsidium*; trust is reposed in the latter without reserve, and *this trust reposed in the Oberpräsident* is the ultimate *guarantee of the press.* Thus the essence of the censorship in general is based on the arrogant imaginary idea that the police state has of its officials. There is no confidence in the intelligence and goodwill of the general public even in the simplest matter; but even the impossible is considered possible for the officials.

This fundamental defect is inherent in all our institutions. Thus, for example, in criminal proceedings judge, accuser and defender are combined in *a single person.* This combination contradicts all the laws of psychology. But the official is raised above the laws of psychology, while the general public remains under them. Nevertheless, one could excuse a defective principle of state; it becomes unpardonable, however, if it is not honest enough to be consistent. The *responsibility* of the officials ought to be as immeasurably above that of the general public as the officials are above the latter, and it is precisely here, where consistency alone could justify the principle and make it legitimate within its sphere, it is precisely here that it is abandoned and the opposite principle applied.

The censor, too, is accuser, defender and judge in a single person; *control of the mind* is entrusted to the censor; he is *irresponsible.*

The censorship could have only a *provisionally* loyal character if it was subordinated to the *regular courts,* which of course is impossible so long as there are no objective laws governing censorship. But the worst method of all is to subject the censorship to censorship again, as by an Oberpräsident or supreme college of censors.

Everything that holds good of the relation of the press to the censorship holds good also of the relation of the censorship to the supreme censorship and that of the writer to the supreme censor, although an *intermediate link* is interposed. It is the same relation placed on a higher plane, the remarkable error of leaving matters alone and wanting to give them another nature through other persons. If the *coercive state* wanted to be loyal, it would abolish

itself. Every point would require the same coercion and the same counter-pressure. The supreme censorship would have to be subjected to censorship in its turn. In order to escape from this vicious circle, it is decided to be disloyal; lawlessness now begins in the third or ninety-ninth stage. Because the bureaucratic state is vaguely conscious of this, it tries at least to place the sphere of lawlessness so high that it escapes the eye, and then believes that lawlessness has disappeared.

The real, *radical cure for the censorship* would be its *abolition*; for the institution itself is a bad one, and institutions are more powerful than people. Our view may be right or not, but in any case the Prussian writers stand to *gain through the new instruction*, either in *real freedom*, or in freedom of *ideas*, in *consciousness*.

*Rara temporum felicitas, ubi quae velis sentire et quae sentias dicere licet.*[a]

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[a] O rare happiness of the times, where it is permitted to think what you will and to say what you think (Tacitus, *Historiae*, 1, 1).—*Ed.*

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# PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTH RHINE PROVINCE ASSEMBLY[43]

## *First Article*[44]

### DEBATES ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND PUBLICATION OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE ESTATES[45]

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 125, May 5, 1842, Supplement]

To the amazement of all writing and reading Germany the *Preussische Staats-Zeitung* one fine Berlin spring morning published its *self-confession.*[46] Of course, it chose an elegant, diplomatic, not exactly amusing, form for its confession. It gave itself the appearance of wanting to hold up the mirror for its sisters to recognise themselves; it spoke mysteriously only about other Prussian newspapers, while it was really speaking about the Prussian newspaper *par excellence,* itself.

This fact allows of many different explanations. *Caesar* spoke about himself in the third person. Why should the *Preussische Staats-Zeitung,* in speaking about third persons, not mean itself? *Children,* when speaking about themselves, are in the habit of saying not "I", but "George", etc. Why should not the *Preussische Staats-Zeitung* be allowed to use for its "I" the *Vossische,*[47] *Spenersche,*[48] or some other saint's name?

The new censorship instruction had appeared. Our newspapers believed they had to adopt the outward appearance and conventional forms of freedom. The *Preussische Staats-Zeitung,* too, was compelled to awake and have some kind of liberal—or at least independent—ideas.

The first essential condition for freedom, however, is self-knowledge, and self-knowledge is an impossibility without self-confession.

Hence one should firmly keep in mind that the *Preussische Staats-Zeitung* has written *self-confessions*; one should never forget that we see here the first awakening to self-consciousness of a semi-official press-child, and then all riddles will be solved. One will

be convinced that the *Preussische Staats-Zeitung* "utters with composure many a great word", and will only remain undecided whether one should admire more the composure of its greatness or the greatness of its composure.

Hardly had the censorship instruction appeared, hardly had the *Staats-Zeitung* recovered from this blow, before it came out with the question: "What use has the greater freedom from censorship been to you Prussian newspapers?"

Obviously, what it means to say by this is: What use have the many years of strict observance of the censorship been to me? What have I become, in spite of the most scrupulous and thoroughgoing supervision and tutelage? And what should now become of me? I have not learnt to walk and a sensation-loving public is expecting *entrechats* from one who has a dislocated hip-joint! So will it be for you, too, my sisters! Let us confess our weaknesses to the Prussian people, but let us be diplomatic in our confession. We shall not tell them outright that we are uninteresting. We shall tell them that if the Prussian newspapers are uninteresting for the Prussian people, the Prussian state is uninteresting for the newspapers.

The bold question of the *Staats-Zeitung* and the still bolder answer are mere preludes to its awakening, dream-like allusions in the text to the role that it will perform. It is awakening to consciousness, it is speaking its mind. Listen to Epimenides!

It is well known that the first theoretical activity of the mind that still wavers between sensuous perception and thinking is *counting*. Counting is the first free theoretical mental act of the *child. Let us count,* the *Preussische Staats-Zeitung* calls to its sisters. *Statistics* is the premier political science! I know a man's head when I know how many hairs grow on it.

Do as you would be done by. And how could one better appreciate us and especially me, the *Preussische Staats-Zeitung,* than statistically! Statistics will not merely prove that I appear as often as any French or English newspaper, but also that I am less read than any newspaper in the civilised world. Discount the officials who half-heartedly have to be interested in me, subtract the public places which must have a semi-official organ, and who reads me, I ask, who? Calculate what I cost; calculate the income I receive, and you will admit that it is not a profitable business to utter great words with composure. See how cogent statistics are, how counting makes more far-reaching mental operations superfluous! Therefore count! Numerical tables instruct the public without exciting their emotions.

And the *Staats-Zeitung* with the importance it attaches to statistics not only puts itself on a par with the Chinese and with the universal statistician Pythagoras[49]! It shows that it has been influenced by the great natural philosopher of recent times[a], who wanted to represent the differences between animals, etc., by a series of numbers.

Thus the *Preussische Staats-Zeitung* is not without modern philosophical foundations, in spite of its apparent positivism.[50]

The *Staats-Zeitung* is many-sided. It does not stop at *number, temporal magnitude.* It carries the recognition of the quantitative principle further and proclaims the justification of *spatial magnitude.* Space is the first thing whose magnitude impresses the *child.* It is the first magnitude which the child encounters in the world. Hence the child holds a big man to be a great man, and in the same childish way the *Staats-Zeitung* informs us that *thick* books are incomparably better than *thin ones,* and much more so than single leaflets or *newspapers,* which produce only one printed sheet daily.

You Germans can only express yourselves at great length! Write really voluminous books on the organisation of the state, books of solid learning, which no one reads except the Herr Author and the Herr Reviewer, but bear in mind that your newspapers are not books. Think how many printed sheets go to make a solid work of three volumes! Therefore do not seek the spirit of our day or time in newspapers, which offer you statistical tables, but seek it in books, whose size guarantees their solidity.

Bear in mind, you good children, that it is a matter here of "learned" things. Study in the school of thick books and you will quickly get to love us newspapers on account of our flimsy format, our gentlemanly lightness, which is truly refreshing after the thick books.

Of course! Of course! Our time has no longer that real taste for size that we admire in the Middle Ages. Look at our paltry little pietistic tracts, look at our philosophical systems in small octavo, and then cast your eyes on the twenty gigantic folios of Duns Scotus. You do not need to read the books; their exciting aspect suffices to touch your heart and strike your senses, something like a Gothic cathedral. These primitive gigantic works materially affect the mind; it feels oppressed under their mass, and the feeling of oppression is the beginning of awe. You do not master the books, they master you. You are an unimportant appendage to

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[a] Lorenz Oken.— *Ed.*

them, and in the same way, in the view of the *Preussische Staats-Zeitung*, the people should be an unimportant appendage of their political literature.

Thus the *Staats-Zeitung*, although its language is quite modern, is not without historical foundations belonging to the sterling period of the Middle Ages.

If, however, the theoretical thinking of the *child* is quantitative, its judgment, like its practical thought, is primarily practical and sensuous. The sensuous quality of the child is the first link that connects it with the world. The *practical organs of senses*, primarily the nose and mouth, are the first organs by means of which it *judges* the world. Hence the childish *Preussische Staats-Zeitung* judges the value of newspapers, and therefore its own value, by means of its *nose*. If a Greek thinker[a] held that dry souls were the best,[51] the *Staats-Zeitung* holds that "*pleasant-smelling*" newspapers are "*good*" newspapers. It cannot praise too highly the "*literary fragrance*" of the Augsburg *Allgemeine* and the *Journal des Débats*. Rare, praiseworthy naivety! Great Pompey, greatest of all!

After allowing us, therefore, a deep insight into the state of its soul by means of a number of separate praiseworthy utterances, the *Staats-Zeitung* sums up its view of the state in a profound reflection, the crux of which is the great discovery:

> "that in Prussia the state administration and the whole organisation of the state are remote from the political spirit, and therefore cannot be of *political* interest either to the people or to the newspapers".

In the *opinion* of the *Preussische Staats-Zeitung*, therefore, in Prussia the state administration has no political spirit, or the political spirit has no state administration. How crude of the *Staats-Zeitung* to assert what the bitterest opponent could not express more brutally, namely, that the real life of the state is without any political spirit, and that the political spirit does not live in the real state!

But we ought not to forget the *childish-sensuous standpoint* of the *Preussische Staats-Zeitung*. It tells us that in regard to railways one should think only of rails and ways, in regard to trade contracts only of sugar and coffee, and in regard to leather factories only of leather. The child, of course, does not go beyond *sensuous perception*, it sees a thing only in isolation, and the invisible nerve threads which link the particular with the universal, which in the state as everywhere make the material parts into soul-possessing members of the spiritual whole, are for the child non-existent.

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[a] Heraclitus.— *Ed.*

The child believes that the sun revolves around the earth; that the universal revolves around the particular. Hence the child does not believe in the *spirit,* but it believes in *spectres.*

Thus the *Preussische Staats-Zeitung* regards the political spirit as a French spectre; and it thinks it exorcises the spectre if it throws leather, sugar, bayonets and numbers at it.

However, our reader will interrupt us, we wanted to discuss the "Rhine Province Assembly proceedings" and instead we are being presented with the *"innocent angel"*, that senile child of the press, the *Preussische Staats-Zeitung,* and a repetition of the old-time lullabies with which it again and again tries to lull itself and its sisters into wholesome hibernation.

But does not Schiller say:

> "But what the sage's reason fails to see
> A *childish* nature grasps in all *simplicity.*"[a]

The *Preussische Staats-Zeitung "in all simplicity"* has reminded us that we in Prussia, no less than in England, have *assemblies of the estates,* whose proceedings the daily press would indeed be *allowed* to discuss, if it *could;* for the *Staats-Zeitung* in its great, classical self-consciousness takes the view that what the Prussian newspapers lack is not *permission* but *ability.* We concede it the latter as its special privilege, while at the same time, without further explanation of its ability, we take the liberty of actually implementing the idea it had in all simplicity.

The *publication* of the Assembly proceedings will only become a reality when they are treated as "*public facts*", i.e., as subject-matter for the press. The last *Rhine* Province Assembly is the one with which we are most immediately concerned.

We begin with its "*Debates on Freedom of the Press*" and must remark as a preliminary that, while we sometimes give our own positive view of this question as a participant, in later articles we shall follow and present the course of the proceedings more as a historical spectator.

The nature of the proceedings themselves determines this difference in the method of presentation. For in all the other debates we find that the various opinions of the Assembly representatives are on about the same level. In the question of the press, on the other hand, the opponents of a free press have a considerable advantage. Apart from the catchwords and commonplaces which fill the air, we find among these opponents of press freedom

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[a] F. Schiller, *Die Worte des Glaubens.—Ed.*

a *pathological emotion*, a passionate partisanship, which gives them a *real*, not an imaginary, attitude to the press, whereas the *defenders* of the press in this Assembly have on the whole *no real relation* to what they are defending. They have never come to know freedom of the press as a *vital need*. For them it is a matter of the head, in which the heart plays no part. For them it is an "exotic" plant, to which they are attached by mere "sentiment". Hence it happens that all too general, vague arguments are put forward to counter the especially "weighty" grounds of the opponents, and the most narrow-minded idea is held to be important as long as it is not demolished.

Goethe once said that the painter succeeds only with a type of feminine beauty which he has loved in at least one living being.[a] Freedom of the press, too, has its beauty—if not exactly a feminine one—which one must have loved to be able to defend it. If I truly love something, I feel that its existence is essential, that it is something which I need, without which my nature can have no full, satisfied, complete existence. The above-mentioned defenders of freedom of the press seem to enjoy a complete existence even in the absence of any freedom of the press.

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 128, May 8, 1842, Supplement]

The *liberal opposition* shows us the level of a political assembly, just as the opposition in general shows the level of development that a society has reached. A time in which it is philosophical audacity to doubt the existence of ghosts, in which it is regarded as a paradox to oppose witch trials, is the time in which ghosts and witch trials are *legitimate*. A country which, like ancient Athens, regards lickspittles, parasites and flatterers as exceptions to the good sense of the people, as *fools among the people*, is a country of independence and self-reliance. But a people which, like all peoples of the good old times, claims the right to think and utter the truth only for *court-jesters*, can only be a people without independence or personality. An assembly of the estates in which the opposition assures us that freedom of the will is inherent in human nature, is at least not an assembly in which freedom of the will prevails. The exception proves the rule. The liberal opposition shows us what the liberal position has become, to what extent freedom is embodied in man.

Therefore, if we have remarked that the defenders of freedom of the press in the Assembly of the Estates are by no means equal

[a] J. Goethe, *Verschiedenes über Kunst*. Kapitel 2.—*Ed.*

to their task, this applies still more to the Provincial Assembly as a whole.

Nevertheless, we begin our account of the Assembly proceedings at this point, not merely out of a special interest in freedom of the press, but equally out of a general interest in the Assembly. For we find the *specific estate* spirit nowhere more clearly, decisively and fully expressed than in the debates on the press. This holds good especially of the *opposition to freedom of the press,* just as in general it is in opposition to a *general freedom* that the spirit of a definite sphere in society, the individual interest of a particular estate and its natural one-sidedness of character are expressed most bluntly and recklessly and, as it were, show their teeth.

The debates provide us with a polemic of the princely social estate against freedom of the press, a polemic of the knightly estate, and a polemic of the urban estate, so that it is not the *individual,* but the *social estate* that conducts the polemic. What mirror, therefore, could reflect the inner nature of the Assembly better than the debates on the press?

We begin with the *opponents of a free press,* and, as is only fair, with a *speaker from the princely estate.*

We shall not deal with the content of the first part of his speech, to the effect "that freedom of the press and censorship are both evils, etc.", for this theme is more thoroughly expounded by another speaker. But we must not pass over his *characteristic method of argument.*

> "Censorship," he said, "is a lesser evil than excesses on the part of the press." "*This conviction* has gradually so taken root in *our* Germany" (the question is: which part of Germany that is) "that the *Federation,* too, issued *laws* on the subject, which Prussia joined in approving and observing." [52]

The Assembly discusses liberation of the press from its bonds. These bonds themselves, proclaims the speaker, the fetters with which the press is shackled, prove that it is not destined for free activity. Its fettered existence testifies against its essential nature. The laws against freedom of the press are a refutation of freedom of the press.

This is a *diplomatic* argument against all reform, one which most decisively expresses the *classical theory* of a certain party.[53] Every restriction of freedom is a factual, irrefutable proof that at one time those who held power were convinced that freedom must be restricted, and this conviction then serves as a guiding principle for later views.

People were once ordered to believe that the earth did not go round the sun. Was Galileo refuted by this?

Similarly, in *our Germany* legal sanction was given to the conviction of the empire, which the individual princes shared, that serfdom was a quality inherent in certain human beings, that truth could be made most evident by surgical operation, we mean torture, and that the flames of hell could already be demonstrated to heretics by means of flames on earth.

Was not legal serfdom a factual proof against the rationalist fantasy that the human body was no object for handling and possession? Did not the primitive method of torture refute the false theory that truth could not be extracted by opening veins, that stretching limbs on the rack did not break down the victim's silence, that convulsions were not confessions?

Thus, in the speaker's opinion, the fact of censorship refutes freedom of the press, a statement which has its factual correctness, being a truth of such a factual character that its magnitude can be measured topographically, since beyond certain frontier barriers it ceases to be factual and true.

"Neither in speech nor in writing," we are further instructed, "neither in our Rhine Province nor in Germany as a whole, are any shackles to be seen on our true and nobler spiritual development."

The noble lustre of truth in our press is supposed to be a gift of the censorship.

We shall first of all turn the speaker's previous argument against himself; instead of a rational proof we shall give him an ordinance. In the recent Prussian censorship instruction it is officially made known that the press has hitherto been subjected to excessive restrictions, that it has still to achieve true national content. The speaker can see that convictions in *our Germany* are liable to change.

But what an illogical paradox to regard the censorship as a basis for improving our press!

The greatest orator of the French revolution, whose *voix toujours tonnante*[a] still echoes in our day; the lion whose roar one must have heard oneself in order to join with the people in calling out to him: "Well roared, lion!"[b]—*Mirabeau*—developed his talent in prison. Are prisons on that account schools of eloquence?

If, despite all spiritual toll systems, the German spirit has become capable of large-scale enterprise, it is a truly princely prejudice to think that it is the customs barriers and cordons that have made it

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[a] Ever thundering voice.—*Ed.*

[b] W. Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act V, Scene 1.—*Ed.*

so. The spiritual development of Germany has gone forward not *owing to,* but *in spite of,* the censorship. If the press under the censorship becomes stunted and wretched, this is put forward as an argument against a free press although it only testifies against an unfree press. If the press, in spite of censorship, retains its characteristic essence, this is put forward in support of censorship although it only testifies in favour of the spirit and not the fetters.

By the way, "*true and nobler development*" is another question.

In the period of strict observance of censorship from 1819 to 1830 (later, in a large part of Germany although not in "our Germany", the censorship itself came under censorship owing to the circumstances of the time and the unusual convictions which had been formed) our literature experienced its "*Abendblatt period*", which can be called "true and noble and spiritual and rich in development" with as much right as the editor of the *Abendzeitung,* named "*Winkler*", had in humorously adopting the pseudonym "*Bright*", although we cannot even credit him with the brightness of a bog at midnight. This "backwoodsman"[a] with the trade name "Bright" is the prototype of the literature of the time, and that Lenten period will convince posterity that if few saints could endure forty days without food, the whole of Germany, which was not even saint-like, managed to live over twenty years without producing or consuming spiritual nourishment. The press had become *vile,* and one could only hesitate to say whether the lack of understanding exceeded the lack of character, and whether the absence of form exceeded the absence of content, or the reverse. For Germany, criticism would reach its zenith if it could prove that that period never existed. The sole literary field in which at that time the pulse of a living spirit could still be felt, the *philosophical* field, ceased to speak German, for German had ceased to be the language of thought. The spirit spoke in incomprehensible mysterious words because comprehensible words were no longer allowed to be comprehended.

As far then as the example of *Rhenish literature* is concerned—and, of course, this example rather closely concerns the Rhine Province Assembly—one could wander through all five administrative districts with Diogenes' lantern and nowhere would one meet "this man". We do not regard this as a defect of the Rhine Province, but rather as a proof of its practical and political good sense. The Rhine Province can produce a "*free press*", but for an "*unfree*" one it lacks adroitness and illusions.

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[a] In German "Krähwinkler", a pun on the man's name.—*Ed.*

The literary period that has just ended, which we could call the "literary period of strict censorship", is therefore clear historical proof that the censorship has undoubtedly influenced the development of the German spirit in a disastrous, irresponsible way, and that therefore it is by no means destined, as the speaker imagined, to be *magister bonarum artium.*[a] Or should one understand by a "nobler and true press" one which bears its chains with decency?

If the speaker "took the liberty" of recalling "a well-known saying about the little finger and the whole hand", we take the liberty in return of asking whether it does not most befit the dignity of a government to give the spirit of the people not merely *one* whole hand but both hands whole?

As we have seen, our speaker disposes of the relation between censorship and spiritual development in a carelessly aristocratic, diplomatically sober way. He represents the negative aspect of his social estate still more resolutely in his attack on the *historical shaping of freedom of the press.*

As regards freedom of the press among other nations, he says:

"*England* cannot serve as a measuring-rod, because, it is claimed, centuries ago conditions were *historically* created there which could not be brought about in any other country by the application of theories, but which had their justification in *England's specific conditions.*" "In *Holland,* freedom of the press was unable to save the country from an *oppressive national debt* and to a very large extent it helped to *bring about a revolution* which resulted in the loss of half the country."

We shall pass over France, to come back to it later.

"Finally, should it not be possible to find in *Switzerland* an Eldorado blessed by freedom of the press? Does one not think with *disgust* of the savage party quarrels carried on in the newspapers there, in which the parties, with a correct sense of their small degree of human dignity, are named *after parts of an animal's body,* being divided into *horn-men* and *claw-men,* and have made themselves despised by all their neighbours on account of their boorish, abusive speeches!"

The *English* press, he says, is not an argument in favour of freedom of the press in general, *because* of its *historical foundations.* The press in England has merit *only* because it developed historically, not as a press in general, for then, he alleges, it would have had to develop *without* historical foundations. History therefore has the merit here, and not the press. As if the press, too, were not part of history, as if the English press under Henry VIII, the Catholic Mary, Elizabeth and James did not have to wage a hard and often savage struggle in order to win for the English nation its historical foundations!

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[a] Teacher of the fine arts.—*Ed.*

And would it not, on the contrary, testify in favour of freedom of the press if the English press, having the greatest freedom from restraint, did not destructively affect the historical foundations? However, the speaker is not consistent.

The English press is no proof *in favour of* the press in general, *because* it is English. The Dutch press testifies *against* the press in general, *although* it is only Dutch. In the one case all the merits of the press are ascribed to the historical foundations, in the other case all the defects of the historical foundations are ascribed to the press. In the one case the press is not supposed to have had its share also in historical progress, in the other case history is not supposed to have had its share also in the defects of the press. Just as the press in England is bound up with the latter's history and specific conditions, so also in Holland and Switzerland.

Is the press supposed to reflect, abolish or develop the historical foundations? The speaker makes each into a matter of reproach for the press.

He blames the *Dutch* press, *because of* its *historical* development. It ought to have *prevented* the course of *history*, it ought to have saved Holland from an *oppressive national debt*! What an unhistorical demand! The Dutch press could not prevent the period of Louis XIV; the Dutch press could not prevent the English navy under Cromwell from rising to the first place in Europe; it could not cast a spell on the ocean which would have saved Holland from the painful role of being the arena of the warring continental powers; it was as little able as all the censors in Germany put together to annul Napoleon's despotic decrees.

But has a *free* press ever increased national debts? When, under the regency of the Duke of Orleans, the whole of France plunged into Law's financial lunacies, who opposed this fantastic storm and stress period of money speculations except for a few satirists, who of course received not banknotes but notes sending them to the Bastille.

The demand that the press should be the saviour from the *national debt*, which can be extended to say that it should also pay the debts of individuals, reminds one of that writer who always grumbled at the doctor because, although the latter cured his bodily ailments, he did not at the same time correct the misprints in his writings. Freedom of the press is as little able to promise to make a human being or a nation perfect as the physician. It is itself no perfection.[a] What a trivial way of behaving it is to abuse

[a] According to the errata to the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 130, May 10, 1842, this should read: "It is itself perfection."— *Ed.*

what is good for being some specific good and not all good at once, for being *this* particular good and *not some other*. Of course, if freedom of the press were all in all it would make all other functions of a nation, and the nation itself, superfluous.

The speaker blames the Dutch press for the *Belgian revolution*

No one with any historical education will deny that the separation of Belgium from Holland was an incomparably *greater historical event* than their union.[54]

The press in Holland is said to have brought about the Belgian revolution. Which press? The progressive or the reactionary? It is a question which we can also raise in France; if the speaker blames the clerical Belgian press, which at the same time was democratic, he should also blame the clerical press in France, which at the same time was absolutist. Both helped to overthrow their governments. In France it was not freedom of the press but censorship that made for revolution.

But leaving this out of account, the Belgian revolution *appeared* at first as a spiritual revolution, as a revolution of the press. The assertion that the press caused the Belgian revolution has no sense beyond that. But is that a matter for blame? Must the revolution at once assume a *material form*? Strike instead of speaking? The government can materialise a spiritual revolution; a material revolution must first spiritualise the government.

The Belgian revolution is a product of the Belgian spirit. So the press, too, the freest manifestation of the spirit in our day, has its share in the Belgian revolution. The Belgian press would not have been the Belgian press if it had stood aloof from the revolution, but equally the Belgian revolution would not have been Belgian if it had not been at the same time a revolution of the press. The Revolution of a people is *total*; that is, each sphere carries it out in its own way; why not also the press as the press?

In blaming the Belgian press, therefore, the speaker is *blaming Belgium*, not the press. It is here that we find the starting point of his historical view of freedom of the press. The *popular* character of the free press—and it is well known that even the artist does not paint great historical pictures with water-colours—the historical individuality of the free press, which makes it the specific expression of its specific popular spirit, are repugnant to the speaker from the princely estate. He demands instead that the press of the various nations should always be a press holding *his* views, a press of *haute volée*,[a] and should revolve around certain individ-

[a] High society.—*Ed.*

uals instead of around the spiritual heavenly bodies, the nations. This demand stands out undisguised in his verdict on the *Swiss press.*

We permit ourselves a preliminary question. Why did the speaker not recall that the Swiss press through Albrecht von Haller opposed the Voltairean enlightenment? Why does he not bear in mind that even if Switzerland is not exactly an Eldorado, nevertheless it has produced the prophet of the future princely Eldorado, once again a certain Herr von Haller, who in his *Restauration der Staatswissenschaften* laid the foundation for the "nobler and true" press, for the *Berliner politisches Wochenblatt*? By their fruits ye shall know them. And what other country in the world could oppose to Switzerland a fruit of this luscious legitimacy?

The speaker finds fault with the *Swiss press* for adopting the "animal party names" of "horn-men and claw-men", in short because it speaks in the *Swiss language* and to *Swiss people,* who live in a certain patriarchal harmony with oxen and cows. *The press of this country is the press of precisely this country.* There is nothing more to be said about it. At the same time, however, a free press transcends the limitations of a country's particularism, as once again the Swiss press proves.

As regards *animal party names* in particular, let us remark that religion itself reveres the *animal* as a symbol of the spiritual. Our speaker, of course, will condemn the *Indian* press, which has revered with religious fervour Sabala the cow and Hanuman the monkey. He will reproach the Indian press for the Indian religion, just as he does the Swiss press for the Swiss character. But there is a press which he will hardly want to subject to censorship; we refer to the *holy press,* the *Bible.* Does this not divide all mankind into the two great parties of *sheep* and *goats*? Does not God Himself describe his attitude to the houses of Judah and Israel in the following terms: I shall be to the house of Judah as a *moth* and to the house of Israel as a *maggot.*[a] Or, what is more familiar to us laymen, is there not a *princely literature* which turns all *anthropology* into *zoology*? We mean the literature of *heraldry.* That contains things still more curious than horn-men and claw-men.

What, therefore, was the accusation the speaker levelled against freedom of the press? *That the defects of a nation are at the same time the defects of its press,* that the press is the ruthless language and manifest image of the historical spirit of the people. Did he prove

[a] Hosea 5:12, paraphrased.—*Ed.*

that the *spirit of the German people* is an exception to this great natural privilege? He showed that every nation expresses *its* spirit through *its* press. Ought not the philosophically educated spirit of the Germans to be entitled to what, according to the speaker's own assertion, is to be found among the animal-fettered Swiss?

Finally, does the speaker think that the *national* defects of a free press are not just as much *national defects of the censors*? Are the censors excluded from the historical whole? Are they unaffected by the spirit of a time? Unfortunately, it may be so, but what man of sound mind would not rather pardon sins of the nation and the time in the press than sins against the nation and the time in the censorship?

We remarked in the introduction that the various speakers voice the polemic of their *particular estate* against freedom of the press. The speaker from the princely estate put forward in the first place *diplomatic* grounds. He proved that freedom of the press was wrong on the basis of the *princely convictions* clearly enough expressed in the censorship laws. He considered that the nobler and true development of the German spirit has been *created* by the restrictions from above. Finally, he waged a polemic *against the peoples* and with noble dread repudiated freedom of the press as the tactless, indiscreet speech of the people addressed to itself.

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 130, May 10, 1842, Supplement]

*The speaker from the knightly estate,* to whom we now come, wages his polemic not against the peoples, but against persons. He questions *human freedom* in *freedom of the press,* and *law* in the *law on the press.* Before dealing with the actual question of freedom of the press, he takes up the question of *unabridged and daily publication of the Assembly debates.* We shall follow him step by step.

"The first of the proposals for *publication of our proceedings* suffices." "Let it be in the *hands of the Provincial Assembly* to make a *wise use* of the permission granted."

That is precisely the *punctum quaestionis.*[a] The province believes that the Provincial Assembly will be under its control only when the publication of the debates is no longer left to the arbitrary decision of the Assembly in its wisdom, but has become a legal necessity. We should have to call the new concession a new step backwards if it had to be interpreted in such a way that publication depends on an arbitrary decision by the Assembly of the Estates.

*Privileges of the estates are in no way rights of the province.* On the

[a] The crux of the question.—*Ed.*

contrary, the rights of the province cease when they become privileges of the estates. Thus the estates of the Middle Ages appropriated for themselves all the country's constitutional rights and turned them into privileges against the country.

The citizen does not want to have anything to do with right as a privilege. Can he regard it as a right if new privileged persons are added to the old ones?

In this way, the rights of the Provincial Assembly are no longer *rights of the province,* but *rights against the province,* and the Assembly itself would be the *greatest wrong against the province* but with the mystical significance of being supposed to embody its greatest right.

How greatly the *speaker from the knightly estate* is imbued with this *medieval* conception of the Assembly, how unreservedly he upholds the privilege of the estate against the rights of the province, will be seen from the continuation of his speech.

"The extension of this permission" (for publication of the debates) "could only result from *inner* conviction, but not from *external* influences."

A surprising turn of phrase! The influence of the province on *its* Assembly is characterised as something *external* to which the conviction of the Assembly of the Estates is contrasted as a *delicate inner feeling* whose highly sensitive nature calls out to the province: *Noli me tangere!*[a] This plaintive rhetoric about "*inner conviction*" in contrast to the rude, external, unauthorised north wind of "public conviction" is the more noteworthy since the purpose of the proposal was precisely to make the inner conviction of the Assembly of the Estates external. Here too, of course, there is an inconsistency. Where it seems to the speaker more convenient, in *church* controversies, he appeals to the province.

"We," continues the speaker, "would *let* it" (publication) "*take place* where *we* consider this expedient, and would *restrict* it where an extension would appear to *us* purposeless or *even* harmful."

*We* will do what *we* like. *Sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas.*[b] It is truly the language of a ruler, which naturally has a pathetic flavour when coming from a modern baron.

Who are *we*? The *estates.* The publication of the debates is intended for the province and not for the estates, but the speaker teaches us to know better. Publication of the debates also is a *privilege* of the Assembly of the Estates, which has the right, if it

[a] Touch me not! — *Ed.*

[b] Thus I wish it, thus I order it; the will takes the place of reason (Juvenal, *Satires,* vi, 223).— *Ed.*

thinks fit, to have its wisdom echoed by the many voices of the press.

The speaker knows only the province of the estates, not the estates of the province. The Assembly of the Estates has a province to which the privilege of its activity extends, but the province has no estates through which it could itself be active. Of course, the province has the right, under prescribed conditions, to create these gods for itself, but as soon as they are created, it must, like a fetish worshipper, forget that these gods are its own handiwork.

In this connection there is no telling, *inter alia,* why a *monarchy without a Provincial Assembly* is not of more value than a *monarchy with a Provincial Assembly,* for if the Assembly does not represent the will of the province, we have more confidence in the public intelligence of the government than in the private intelligence of landed property.

We are confronted here with the peculiar spectacle, due perhaps to the nature of the Provincial Assembly, of the province having to fight not so much through its representatives as against them. According to the speaker, the Assembly does not regard the general rights of the province as the Assembly's only privileges, for in that case the daily unabridged publication of the Assembly proceedings would be a new right of the Assembly, because it would be a new right of the province; on the contrary, according to the speaker, the province must regard the privileges of the Assembly of the Estates as the province's only rights; and why not also the privileges of some class of officials and of the nobility or the clergy!

Indeed, our speaker declares quite openly that the privileges of the Assembly of the Estates decrease in proportion as the rights of the province increase.

> "Just as it seems to *him* desirable that *here in the Assembly* there should be *freedom of discussion* and that an over-anxious weighing of words should be avoided, it seems to him equally necessary, *in order to maintain this freedom of expression* and *this frankness* of speech, that *our words* at the time should be judged only by *those for whom they are intended.*"

Precisely because freedom of discussion, the speaker concludes, is desirable in our Assembly—and what freedoms would we not find desirable where we are concerned?—precisely for that reason freedom of discussion is not desirable in the province. Because it is desirable that we speak *frankly,* it is still more desirable to keep the province *in thrall* to secrecy. *Our* words are not *intended* for the province.

One must acknowledge the tact with which the speaker has perceived that by unabridged publication of its debates the Assembly would become a right of the province instead of a privilege of the Assembly of the Estates, that the Assembly, having become an immediate object of the public spirit, would have to decide to be a personification of the latter, and that, having been put in the light of the general consciousness, it would have to renounce its particular nature in favour of the general one.

But whereas the knightly speaker mistakenly regards personal privileges and individual freedoms *vis-à-vis* the nation and the government as general rights, and thereby unquestionably and pertinently expresses the exclusive spirit of his *estate*, on the other hand he interprets the spirit of the province in an absolutely wrong way by likewise transforming its general demands into personal desires.

Thus the speaker seems to impute to the province a personally passionate curiosity as regards *our words* (i.e., those of prominent persons in the Assembly of the Estates).

We assure him that the province is by no means curious about "the words" of the representatives of the estates as individuals, and only "such" words can they rightly call "their" words. On the contrary, the province demands that the words of the representatives of the estates should be converted into the publicly audible voice of the country.

The question is whether the province should be *conscious of being represented* or not! Should a new mystery of representation be added to the mystery of government? In the government, too, the people is represented. Hence a new representation of the people through the estates is quite meaningless unless its specific character is precisely that in this case matters are not dealt with on behalf of the province but, on the contrary, the province itself deals with them; that the province is not represented in it but rather represents itself. A representation which is divorced from the consciousness of those whom it represents is no representation. What I do not know, I do not worry about. It is a senseless contradiction that the functioning of the state, which primarily expresses the *self-activity* of the individual provinces, takes place without their *formal* co-operation, without their joint *knowledge*; it is a senseless contradiction that my self-activity should consist of acts unknown to me and done by another.

A publication of the Assembly proceedings that depends on the arbitrary ruling of the Assembly of the Estates, however, is worse than none at all, for if the Assembly tells me not what it is in

reality, but what it wants to seem to be in my eyes, I shall take it for what it gives itself out to be, for mere semblance, and things are bad when semblance has a legal existence.

Indeed, can even daily, unabridged publication *by printing* be rightly called *unabridged* and *public*? Is there no abridgement in substituting the written for the spoken word, graphic systems for persons, action on paper for real action? Or does publicity consist only in a *real* matter being reported to the public, and not rather in its being reported to the *real public*, i.e., not to an imaginary reading public, but to the living and actually present public?

Nothing is more contradictory than that the *highest public* activity of the province is secret, that in private lawsuits the doors of the court are open to the province, but that in its own lawsuit the province has to remain outside.

In its true consistent meaning, therefore, unabridged publication of the Assembly proceedings can only be *full publicity for the activity of the Assembly.*

Our speaker, however, proceeds to regard the Assembly as a kind of club.

> "From *many years' acquaintance, a good personal understanding* has developed among most of us in spite of the most diverse views on various matters, a relationship which is *inherited by newcomers.*
>
> "Precisely for that reason we are most of all able to appreciate the *value of our words,* and do so the more frankly as we allow ourselves to be less subject to *external* influences, which could only be useful if they came to us in the form of *well-meaning* counsel, but not in the form of a *dogmatic judgment,* of praise or blame, seeking to influence *our personality* through *public opinion.*"

The Herr Speaker appeals to our feelings.

We are so intimate together, we discuss things so openly, we weigh the *value of our words* so exactly; are we to allow our attitude, which is so patriarchal, so distinguished, so convenient, to be changed by the judgment of the province, which perhaps attaches less value to our words?

God help us! The Assembly cannot bear the light of day. We feel more at ease in the darkness of private life. If the whole province has sufficient confidence to entrust its rights to single individuals, it is obvious that these individuals are condescending enough to accept the confidence of the province, but it would be really extravagant to demand that they should repay like for like and trustingly surrender themselves, their achievements, their personalities, to the judgment of the province, which has already pronounced a significant judgment on them. In any case, it is more important that the personality of the representatives of

the estates should not be endangered by the province than that the interests of the province should not be endangered by the representatives of the estates.

We want to be both fair and very gracious. It is true that we—and we are a sort of government—permit no dogmatic judgment, no praise or blame, no influence of public opinion on our *persona sacrosancta,* but we do allow *well-meaning counsel,* not in the abstract sense that it means well for the country, but in the fuller-sounding sense that it expresses a passionate tenderness for the members of the estates, a specially high opinion of their excellence.

True, one might think that if publicity is harmful to good understanding among us, then the latter must be harmful to publicity. However this sophistry forgets that the Provincial Assembly is the Assembly of the Estates and not the Assembly of the Province. And who could resist the most convincing of all arguments? If, in accordance with the constitution, the province appoints estates *to represent* its *general intelligence,* it thereby totally renounces *all its own judgment* and understanding, which are now solely incorporated in the chosen representatives. Just as the legend has it that great inventors were put to death or, what is no legend, that they were buried alive in fortresses as soon as they had imparted their secret to the ruler, so the political reason of the province always falls on its own sword as soon as it has made its great invention of the Assembly, but of course to rise again like the phoenix for the next elections.

After these obtrusively emotional descriptions of the dangers threatening the personalities of the estates from outside, i.e., from the province, through publication of the proceedings, the speaker closes this diatribe with the *guiding* thought that we have traced through his speech up to now.

> *"Parliamentary freedom,"* a very fine-sounding expression, "is in its first period of development. It must gain by *protection* and *care* that *internal* force and *independence* which are absolutely necessary before it can be exposed without detriment to *external* storms."

Once again the old fatal antithesis of the Assembly as something *internal* and the province as something *external.*

In any case, we have long been of the opinion that *parliamentary freedom* is at the beginning of its beginning, and the above speech has convinced us afresh that the *primitiae studiorum in politicis*[a] have still not been completed. But by that we by no means im-

[a] Primary studies in politics.—*Ed.*

ply—and the above speech once again confirms our opinion—that the Assembly should be given a still longer time in which to continue its independent ossification in *opposition* to the province. Perhaps by *parliamentary freedom* the speaker understands the freedom of the *old French* parliaments. According to his own admission, a *many years'* acquaintance prevails among the Assembly of the Estates, its spirit is even transmitted as a *hereditary disease* to the *homines novi*, yet the time has still not come for publicity? The Twelfth Assembly may give the same reply as the Sixth, only with the more emphatic expression that it is *too* independent to allow itself to be deprived of the *aristocratic privilege of secret proceedings.*

Of course, the development of *parliamentary* freedom in the old French sense, independence from public opinion, and the stagnation of the caste spirit, advance most thoroughly through isolation, but to warn against precisely this development cannot be premature. A truly political assembly flourishes only under the great protection of the *public spirit*, just as living things flourish only in the *open air*. Only "exotic" plants, which have been transferred to a climate that is foreign to them, require the protection and care of a *greenhouse*. Does the speaker regard the Assembly as an "exotic" plant in the free, serene climate of the Rhine Province?

In view of the fact that our speaker from the knightly estate expounded with almost comic seriousness, with almost melancholy dignity and almost religious pathos, the thesis of the *lofty wisdom* of the Assembly of the Estates, as also of its medieval *freedom* and *independence*, the uninitiated will be surprised to see him sink in the question of the *freedom of the press* from the lofty wisdom of the *Provincial Assembly* to the general *lack of wisdom of the human race*, from the independence and freedom of the privileged social estates he had extolled only just before to the *fundamental lack of freedom and independence of human nature.* We are not surprised to encounter here one of the present-day numerous champions of the Christian-knightly, modern feudal principle, in short the romantic principle.

These gentlemen, because they want to regard freedom not as the natural gift of the universal sunlight of reason, but as the supernatural gift of a specially favourable constellation of the stars, because they regard freedom as merely an *individual property* of certain persons and social estates, are in consequence compelled to include universal reason and universal freedom among the *bad ideas* and phantoms of "*logically constructed systems*". In order to save the special freedoms of privilege, they proscribe the universal

freedom of human nature. Since, however, the bad brood of the nineteenth century, and the very consciousness of the modern knights that has been infected by this century, cannot comprehend what is in itself incomprehensible, because devoid of idea, namely, how internal, essential, universal determinations prove to be linked with certain human individuals by external, fortuitous, particular features, without being connected with the human essence, with reason in general, and therefore common to all individuals—because of this they necessarily have recourse to the *miraculous* and the *mystical.* Further, because the *real* position of these gentlemen in the modern state does not at all correspond to the notion they have of that position, because they live in a world *beyond the real one,* and because therefore *imagination* is their head and heart, being dissatisfied with their practical activity, they necessarily have recourse to theory, but to the *theory of the other world,* to *religion,* which in their hands, however, is given a polemical bitterness impregnated with political tendencies and becomes more or less consciously only a holy cloak for very secular, but at the same time fantastic desires.

Thus we shall find that to practical demands our speaker counterposes a mystical religious theory of the imagination, to real theories—a pettily clever, pragmatically cunning wisdom of experience drawn from the most superficial practice, to the human understanding—superhuman holiness, and to the real holiness of ideas—the arbitrariness and disbelief characterising a base point of view. The more aristocratic, more nonchalant, and therefore more sober, language of the speaker from the princely estate is superseded here by emotional affectation and fantastically extravagant unction, which previously withdrew much more into the background before the feeling of privilege.

"The less it is possible to deny that the press nowadays is a political power, the more erroneous seems to him the equally widespread view that truth and light will emerge *from the struggle between the good and the bad press* and can be expected to become more widely and effectively disseminated. *Man, individually and in the mass, is always one and the same. He is by his nature imperfect* and *immature* and needs *education* as long as his *development* continues, and it ceases only with his *death.* The art of education, however, does not consist in punishing prohibited actions, but in furthering good influences and keeping away evil ones. It is, however, inseparable from this *human imperfection* that the *siren song of evil* has a powerful effect on the masses and opposes the simple and sober voice of truth as an obstacle which, even if not absolute, is in any case difficult to overcome. The *bad* press appeals only to men's passions; no means are too bad for it when it is a question of attaining *its aim* by arousing passions—that aim being the *greatest possible dissemination of bad principles* and the *greatest possible furtherance of bad frames of mind*; it has at its disposal all the advantages of that most dangerous of all *offensives,* for which there are

objectively no restrictions of right and subjectively no laws of morality or even of external decency. On the other hand, the *good press* is *always confined* to the *defensive.* For the most part its effect can only be that of *defending, restraining* and *consolidating,* without being able to boast of any significant progress in enemy territory. It is good fortune enough if external obstacles do not render this still more difficult".

We have given this passage in full in order not to weaken its possible emotional impression on the reader.

The speaker has put himself *à la hauteur des principes.*[a] In order to combat *freedom of the press,* the thesis of the *permanent immaturity* of the human race has to be defended. It is sheer tautology to assert that if absence of freedom is men's essence, freedom is contrary to his essence. Malicious sceptics could be daring enough not to take the speaker at his word.

If the immaturity of the human race is the mystical ground for opposing freedom of the press, then the censorship at any rate is a highly reasonable means against the maturity of the human race.

What undergoes development is imperfect. Development ends only with death. Hence it would be truly consistent to kill man in order to free him from this state of imperfection. That at least is what the speaker concludes in order to kill freedom of the press. In his view, true education consists in keeping a person wrapped up in a cradle throughout his life, for as soon as he learns to walk, he learns also to fall, and only by falling does he learn to walk. But if we all remain in swaddling-clothes, who is to wrap us in them? If we all remain in the cradle, who is to rock us? If we are all prisoners, who is to be prison warder?

Man, individually and in the mass, is imperfect by nature. *De principiis non est disputandum.*[b] Granted! What follows from that? The arguments of our speaker are imperfect, governments are imperfect, assemblies are imperfect, freedom of the press is imperfect, every sphere of human existence is imperfect. Hence if one of these spheres ought not to exist because of this imperfection, none of them has the right to exist, man in general has no right to exist.

Given man's fundamental imperfection—let us assume it is true—then we know in advance that all human institutions are imperfect. There is no need to touch on that further, it does not speak for them or against them, it is not their *specific character,* it is not their distinctive mark.

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[a] On the level of his principles.—*Ed.*

[b] There can be no dispute about principles.—*Ed.*

Amid all these imperfections, why should precisely the free press be perfect? Why does an imperfect provincial estate demand a perfect press?

The imperfect requires education. Is not education also human and therefore imperfect? Does not education itself also require education?

If then, by *its very existence*, everything human is imperfect, ought we therefore to lump everything together, have the same respect for everything, good and evil, truth and falsehood? The true conclusion must be that as in looking at a picture I have to leave the spot from which I see only blots of colour but not colours, irregularly intersecting lines but not a drawing, similarly I must abandon the point of view which shows me the world and human relations only in their most external appearance, and recognise that this point of view is unsuitable for judging the value of things; for how could I judge, distinguish things, from a point of view which admits only the one flat idea about the whole universe that everything in it is imperfect? This point of view itself is the most imperfect of all the imperfections it sees around it. We must therefore take the essence of the inner idea as the measure to evaluate the existence of things. Then we shall less allow ourselves to be led astray by a one-sided and trivial experience, since in such cases the result is indeed that all experience ceases, all judgment is abolished, all cows are black.

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From the standpoint of the idea, it is self-evident that freedom of the press has a justification quite different from that of censorship because it is itself an embodiment of the idea, an embodiment of freedom, a positive good, whereas censorship is an embodiment of unfreedom, the polemic of a world outlook of semblance against the world outlook of essence; it has a merely negative nature.

No! No! No! our speaker breaks in. I do not find fault with the semblance, but with the essence. Freedom is the wicked feature of freedom of the press. Freedom creates the possibility of evil. Therefore freedom is evil.

Evil freedom!

> "He has stabbed her in the dark forest
> And sunk the body in the depths of the Rhine!"[a]

[a] L. Uhland, *Die Rache* (paraphrased).—*Ed.*

But:

> "This time I must talk to you,
> Lord and master, hear me calmly!" [a]

*But does not freedom of the press exist in the land of censorship?* The press in general is a realisation of human freedom. Consequently, where is a press there is freedom of the press.

True, in the land of censorship the state has no freedom of the press, but one organ of the state has it, viz., the *government.* Apart from the fact that official government documents enjoy perfect freedom of the press, does not the censor exercise daily an unconditional freedom of the press, if not directly, then indirectly?

Writers are, as it were, his secretaries. When the secretary does not express the opinion of his chief, the latter strikes out the botch. Hence the censorship makes the press.

The censor's deletions are for the press what the straight lines—kus [55]—of the Chinese are for their thought. The censor's kus are the categories of literature, and it is well known that the categories are the typical souls of the whole content.

Freedom is so much the essence of man that even its opponents implement it while combating its reality; they want to appropriate for themselves as a most precious ornament what they have rejected as an ornament of human nature.

No man combats freedom; at most he combats the freedom of others. Hence every kind of freedom has always existed, only at one time as a special privilege, at another as a universal right.

The question has now for the first time been given a *consistent meaning.* It is not a question whether freedom of the press ought to exist, for it always exists. The question is whether freedom of the press is a privilege of particular individuals or whether it is a privilege of the human mind. The question is whether a right of one side ought to be a wrong for the other side. The question is whether "*freedom of the mind*" has more right than "*freedom against the mind*".

If, however, the "*free press*" and "*freedom of the press*" as the realisation of "*universal freedom*" are to be rejected, then this applies still more to *censorship* and the *censored press* as the realisation of a *special freedom,* for how can the *species* be good if the *genus* is bad? If the speaker were consistent he would have to reject not the free press, but the press as a whole. According to him, the press would only be good if it were not a product of freedom, i.e., not a *human* product. Hence in general only *animals* or *gods* would have the right to a press.

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[a] J. Goethe, *Der Zauberlehrling.—Ed.*

Or ought we perhaps—the speaker dare not say it outright—to suppose *divine inspiration* of the government and of the speaker himself?

If a private person boasts of divine inspiration, there is only one speaker in our society who can refute him officially, viz., the *psychiatrist.*

*English history,* however, has sufficiently well demonstrated how the assertion of divine inspiration from above gives rise to the counter-assertion of divine inspiration from below; Charles I went to the scaffold as the result of divine inspiration from below.

True, our speaker from the knightly estate proceeds, as we shall hear later, to describe censorship and freedom of the press, the censored press and the free press, as *two evils,* but he does not go so far as to admit that the press in general is *an evil.*

On the contrary! He divides the entire press into "*good*" and "*bad*".

About the *bad* press, we are told something incredible: that its aim is badness and the greatest possible dissemination of badness. We pass over the fact that the speaker has too much confidence in our credulity when he demands that we should take his word for it and believe in *badness as a profession.* We merely remind him of the axiom that everything human is imperfect. Will not, therefore, the bad press also be imperfectly bad, and therefore good, and the good press imperfectly good, and therefore bad?

The speaker, however, shows us the reverse side. He asserts that the bad press is better than the good press, for it is always on the *offensive,* whereas the good press is on the *defensive.* But he has himself told us that man's *development* ends only with his death. Of course, he has not told us much by that, he has said nothing but that life ends with death. But if human life is development and the good press is always on the defensive, acting only by "defending, restraining and consolidating" itself, does it not thereby continually oppose development, and therefore life? Hence either this good defensive press is bad, or development is the bad thing. In view of this, the speaker's previous assertion, too, that the aim of the "bad press is the greatest possible dissemination of bad principles and the greatest possible furtherance of bad frames of mind" loses its mystical incredibility in a rational interpretation: the bad feature of the bad press lies in the greatest possible dissemination of principles and the greatest possible furtherance of a frame of mind.

The relation of the good press to the bad press becomes still stranger when the speaker assures us that the good press is

*impotent* and the bad press *omnipotent*, for the former is without effect on the people, whereas the latter has an irresistible effect. For the speaker, the good press and the impotent press are identical. Does he want to say, therefore, that what is good is impotent or that what is impotent is good?

He contrasts the sober voice of the good press to the siren song of the bad press. But surely a sober voice allows of the best and most effective singing. The speaker seems to be acquainted only with the sensuous heat of passion, but not with the hot passion of truth, not with the victory-assured enthusiasm of reason, not the irresistible ardour of moral powers.

Under the frames of mind of the bad press he includes "pride, which recognises no authority in church and state", "envy", which preaches abolition of the aristocracy, and other things, which we shall deal with later. For the time being, let us be satisfied with the question: Whence does the speaker know that this isolated element is the good? If the universal powers of life are bad and we have heard that the bad is omnipotent, that it is what influences the masses, *what* or *who* has still any right to claim to be good? The arrogant assertion is this: my individuality is the good, those few individuals who are in accord with my individuality are the good, and the wicked, bad press refuses to recognise it. The bad press!

If at the beginning the speaker turned his attack on freedom of the press into an attack on freedom in general, here he turns it into an attack on the good. His fear of the bad is seen to be a fear of the good. Hence he founds censorship on a recognition of the bad and a refusal to recognise the good. Do I not despise a man to whom I say in advance: your opponent is bound to be victorious in the struggle, because, although you yourself are a very sober fellow and a very good neighbour, you are a very poor hero; because, although you bear consecrated arms, you do not know how to use them; because, although you and I, both of us, are perfectly convinced of your perfection, the world will never share this conviction; because, although things are all right as regards your intention, they are in a bad way as regards your energy?

Although the speaker's distinction between the good press and the bad press makes any further refutation superfluous, since this distinction becomes entangled in its own contradictions, nevertheless we must not lose sight of the main thing, namely, that the speaker has formulated the question quite incorrectly and has based himself on what he had to prove.

If one wants to speak of two kinds of press, the distinction between them must be drawn from the nature of the press itself,

not from considerations lying outside it. The censored press or the free press, one of these two must be the good or the bad press. The debate turns precisely on whether the censored press or the free press is good or bad, i.e., whether it is in the nature of the press to have a free or unfree existence. To make the bad press a refutation of the free press is to maintain that the free press is bad and the censored press good, which is precisely what had to be proved.

Base frames of mind, personal intrigues, infamies, occur alike in the censored and the free press. Therefore the generic difference between them is not that they produce individual products of this or that kind; flowers grow also in swamps. We are concerned here with the essence, the inner character, which distinguishes the censored from the free press.

A free press that is bad does not correspond to its essence. The censored press with its hypocrisy, its lack of character, its eunuch's language, its dog-like tail-wagging, merely realises the inner conditions of its essential nature.

The censored press remains bad even when it turns out good products, for these products are good only insofar as they represent the free press within the censored press, and insofar as it is not in their character to be products of the censored press. The free press remains good even when it produces bad products, for the latter are deviations from the essential nature of the free press. A eunuch remains a bad human being even when he has a good voice. Nature remains good even when she produces monstrosities.

The essence of the free press is the characterful, rational, moral essence of freedom. The character of the censored press is the characterless monster of unfreedom; it is a civilised monster, a perfumed abortion.

Or does it still need to be proved that freedom of the press is in accord with the essence of the press, whereas censorship contradicts it? Is it not self-evident that external barriers to a spiritual life are not part of the inner nature of this life, that they deny this life and do not affirm it?

In order really to justify censorship, the speaker would have had to prove that censorship is part of the essence of freedom of the press; instead he proves that freedom is not part of man's essence. He rejects the whole genus in order to obtain one good species, for is not freedom after all the generic essence of all spiritual existence, and therefore of the press as well? In order to abolish the possibility of evil, he abolishes the possibility of good

and realises evil, for only that which is a realisation of freedom can be humanly good.

We shall therefore continue to regard the censored press as a bad press so long as it has not been proved to us that censorship arises from the very essence of freedom of the press.

But even supposing that censorship and the nature of the press come into being together, although no animal, let alone an intelligent being, comes into the world in chains, what follows from that? That freedom of the press, as it exists from the official viewpoint, that is, the censorship, also needs censorship. And who is to censor the governmental press, if not the popular press?

True, another speaker thinks that the evil of censorship would be removed by being tripled, by the local censorship being put under provincial censorship, and the latter in its turn under Berlin censorship, freedom of the press being made one-sided, and the censorship many-sided. So many roundabout ways merely to live! Who is to censor the Berlin censorship? Let us therefore return to *our* speaker.

At the very beginning, he informed us that no light would emerge from the *struggle* between the good and the bad press. But, we may now ask, does he not want to make this *useless* struggle *permanent*? According to his own statement, is not the struggle itself between the censorship and the press a struggle between the good and the bad press?

Censorship does not abolish the struggle, it makes it one-sided, it converts an open struggle into a hidden one, it converts a struggle over principles into a struggle of principle without power against power without principle. The true censorship, based on the very essence of freedom of the press, is *criticism*. This is the tribunal which freedom of the press gives rise to of itself. Censorship is criticism as a monopoly of the government. But does not criticism lose its rational character if it is not open but secret, if it is not theoretical but practical, if it is not above parties but itself a party, if it operates not with the sharp knife of reason but with the blunt scissors of arbitrariness, if it only exersises criticism but will not submit to it, if it disavows itself during its realisation, and, finally, if it is so uncritical as to mistake an individual person for universal wisdom, peremptory orders for rational statements, ink spots for patches of sunlight, the crooked deletions of the censor for mathematical constructions, and crude force for decisive arguments?

During our exposal, we have shown how the fantastic, unctuous, soft-hearted mysticism of the speaker turns into the hard-hearted-

ness of pettifogging mental pragmatism and into the narrow-mindedness of an unprincipled empirical calculation. In his arguments *on the relation between the censorship law* and *the press law, between preventive* and *repressive measures,* he spares us this trouble by proceeding himself to make a *conscious application* of his mysticism.

"*Preventive* or *repressive measures,* censorship or press law, this *alone* is the question at issue, in which connection it would not be inexpedient to examine somewhat more closely the *dangers* which have to be removed on one side or the other. Whereas censorship seeks to *prevent* what is evil, the press law seeks by punishment to guard against its *repetition.* Like *all* human institutions, both are *imperfect,* but the question here is which is the *less* so. Since it is a matter of purely spiritual things, *one* problem—indeed the most important for both of them—can never be solved. That is the problem of finding a form which expresses the intention of the legislator so clearly and definitely that right and wrong seem to be sharply separated and *all arbitrariness* removed. But what is *arbitrariness* except acting according to *individual discretion?* And how are the effects of individual discretion to be removed where purely spiritual things are concerned? To find the guiding line, so sharply drawn that inherent in it is the necessity of *having to be applied* in every *single* case in the meaning intended by the legislator, that is the philosopher's stone, which has not been discovered so far and is hardly likely to be. Hence *arbitrariness,* if by that one understands acting according to individual discretion, is inseparable both from censorship and from the *press law.* Therefore we have to consider both in their necessary imperfection and its consequences. If the censorship suppresses much that is good, the press law will not be capable of preventing much that is bad. Truth, however, cannot be suppressed for long. The more obstacles are put in its way, the more keenly it pursues its goal, and the more resoundingly it achieves it. But the bad word, like *Greek fire,* cannot be stopped after it has left the ballista, and is incalculable in its effects, because for it nothing is holy, and it is inextinguishable because it finds nourishment and means of propagation in human hearts."

The speaker is not fortunate in his comparisons. He is overcome with a poetic exultation as soon as he begins to describe the omnipotence of the bad. We have already heard how the voice of the good has an impotent, because sober, sound when pitted against the *siren song of evil.* Now evil even becomes *Greek fire,* whereas the speaker has nothing at all with which to compare truth, and if we were to put his "sober" words into a comparison, truth would be at best a *flint,* which scatters sparks the more brightly the more it is struck. A fine argument for slave traders—to bring out the Negro's human nature by flogging, an excellent maxim for the legislator—to issue repressive laws against truth so that it will the more keenly pursue its goal. The speaker seems to have respect for truth only when it becomes *primitive and spontaneous* and is manifested *tangibly.* The more barriers you put in the way of truth, the more vigorous is the truth you obtain! Up with the barriers!

But let us allow the sirens to sing!

The speaker's mystical *"theory of imperfection"* has at last borne its earthly fruits; it has thrown its moonstones at us; let us examine the moonstones!

Everything is imperfect. The censorship is imperfect, the press law is imperfect. That determines their essence. There is nothing more to say about the *correctness of their idea,* nothing remains for us to do except, from the standpoint of the very lowest empiricism, to find out by calculating probabilities on which side the most dangers lie. It is purely a difference of time whether measures are taken to prevent the evil itself by means of censorship or repetition of the evil by means of the press law.

One sees how the speaker, by the empty phrase about "human imperfection", manages to evade the essential, internal, characteristic difference between censorship and press law and transforms the controversy from a question of principle into a fairground dispute as to whether more bruised noses result from the censorship or from the press law.

If, however, a contrast is drawn between the press law and the censorship law, it is, in the first place, not a question of their consequences, but of their basis, not of their individual application, but of their legitimacy in general. Montesquieu has already taught us that despotism is more convenient to apply than legality and Machiavelli asserts that for princes the bad has better consequences than the good. Therefore, if we do not want to confirm the old *Jesuitical* maxim that a good end—and we doubt even the goodness of the end—justifies bad means, we have above all to investigate whether censorship by its essence is a *good* means.

The speaker is right in calling the censorship law a preventive measure, it is a precautionary measure of the police against freedom, but he is wrong in calling the press law a repressive measure. It is the rule of freedom itself which makes itself the yardstick of its own exceptions. The censorship measure is not a law. The press law is not a measure.

In the press law, freedom punishes. In the censorship law, freedom is punished. The censorship law is a law of suspicion against freedom. The press law is a vote of confidence which freedom gives itself. The press law punishes the abuse of freedom. The censorship law punishes freedom as an abuse. It treats freedom as a criminal, or is it not regarded in every sphere as a degrading punishment to be under police supervision? The censorship law has only the *form* of a law. The press law is a *real* law.

The press law is a *real law* because it is the positive existence of freedom. It regards freedom as the *normal* state of the press, the press as the mode of existence of freedom, and hence only comes into conflict with a press offence as an exception that contravenes its own rules and therefore annuls itself. Freedom of the press asserts itself as a press law, against attacks on freedom of the press itself, i.e., against press offences. The press law declares freedom to be inherent in the nature of the criminal. Hence what he has done against freedom he has done against himself and this self-injury appears to him as a *punishment* in which he sees a recognition of his freedom.

The press law, therefore, is far from being a repressive measure against freedom of the press, a mere means of preventing the repetition of a crime through fear of punishment. On the contrary, the *absence of press legislation* must be regarded as an exclusion of freedom of the press from the sphere of legal freedom, for legally recognised freedom exists in the state as *law.* Laws are in no way repressive measures against freedom, any more than the law of gravity is a repressive measure against motion, because while, as the law of gravitation, it governs the eternal motions of the celestial bodies, as the law of falling it kills me if I violate it and want to dance in the air. Laws are rather the positive, clear, universal norms in which freedom has acquired an impersonal, theoretical existence independent of the arbitrariness of the individual. A statute-book is a people's bible of freedom.

Therefore the *press law* is the *legal recognition of freedom of the press.* It constitutes *right,* because it is the positive existence of freedom. It must therefore exist, even if it is never put into application, as in North America, whereas censorship, like slavery, can never become lawful, even if it exists a thousand times over as a law.

*There are no actual preventive laws.* Law prevents only as a *command.* It only becomes *effective* law when it is infringed, for it is *true* law only when in it the unconscious natural law of freedom has become conscious state law. Where the law is real law, i.e., a form of existence of freedom, it is the real existence of freedom for man. Laws therefore, cannot prevent a man's actions, for they are indeed the inner laws of life of his action itself, the conscious reflections of his life. Hence law withdraws into the background in the face of man's life as a life of freedom, and only when his actual behaviour has shown that he has ceased to obey the natural law of freedom does law in the form of state law compel him to be free, just as the laws of physics confront me as something alien only when my life has ceased to be the life of these laws, when it

has been *struck by illness.* Hence a *preventive law* is a *meaningless contradiction.*

A preventive law, therefore, has within it no *measure,* no *rational rule,* for a rational rule can only result from the nature of a thing, in this instance of freedom. It is *without measure,* for if prevention of freedom is to be effective, it must be as all-embracing as its object, i.e., unlimited. A preventive law is therefore the contradiction of an *unlimited limitation,* and the boundary where it ceases is fixed not by necessity, but by the fortuitousness of arbitrariness, as the censorship daily demonstrates *ad oculos.*[a]

The human body is mortal by nature. Hence illnesses are inevitable. Why does a man only go to the doctor when he is ill, and not when he is well? Because not only the illness, but even the doctor is an evil. Under constant medical tutelage, life would be regarded as an evil and the human body as an object for treatment by medical institutions. Is not death more desirable than life that is a mere preventive measure against death? Does not life involve also free movement? What is any illness except life that is hampered in its freedom? A perpetual physician would be an illness in which one would not even have the prospect of dying, but only of living. Let life die; death must not live. Has not the spirit more right than the body? Of course, this right has often been interpreted to mean that for minds capable of free motion physical freedom of movement is even harmful and therefore they are to be deprived of it. The starting point of the censorship is that illness is the normal state, or that the normal state, freedom, is to be regarded as an illness. The censorship continually assures the press that it, the press, is ill; and even if the latter furnishes the best proofs of its bodily health, it has to allow itself to be treated. But the censorship is not even a learned physician who applies different internal remedies according to the illness. It is a country surgeon who knows only a single mechanical panacea for everything, the scissors. It is not even a surgeon who aims at restoring my health, it is a surgical aesthete who considers superfluous everything about my body that displeases him, and removes whatever he finds repugnant; it is a quack who drives back a rash so that it is not seen, without caring in the least whether it then affects more sensitive internal parts.

You think it wrong to put birds in cages. Is not the cage a preventive measure against birds of prey, bullets and storms? You think it barbaric to blind nightingales, but it does not seem to you

[a] Before one's eyes.—*Ed.*

at all barbaric to put out the eyes of the press with the sharp pens of the censorship. You regard it as despotic to cut a free person's hair against his will, but the censorship daily cuts into the flesh of thinking people and allows only bodies without hearts, submissive bodies which show no reaction, to pass as healthy!

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 135, May 15, 1842, Supplement]

We have shown how the press law expresses a right and the censorship law a wrong. The censorship itself, however, admits that it is not an end in itself, that it is not something good in and for itself, that its basis therefore is the principle: "The end justifies the means." But an end which requires unjustified means is no justifiable end, and could not the press also adopt the principle and boast: "The end justifies the means"?

The censorship law, therefore, is not a law, it is a police measure; but it is a *bad police measure,* for it does not achieve what it intends, and it does not intend what it achieves.

If the censorship law wants to *prevent freedom* as something objectionable, the result is precisely the opposite. In a country of censorship, every forbidden piece of printed matter, i.e., printed without being censored, is an event. It is considered a martyr, and there is no martyr without a halo and without believers. It is regarded as an exception, and if freedom can never cease to be of value to mankind, so much the more valuable is an exception to the general lack of freedom. Every mystery has its attraction. Where public opinion is a mystery to itself, it is won over from the outset by every piece of writing that formally breaks through the mystical barriers. The censorship makes every forbidden work, whether good or bad, into an extraordinary document, whereas freedom of the press deprives every written work of an externally imposing effect.

If the censorship is *honest* in its intention, it would like to prevent arbitrariness, but it makes arbitrariness into a law. No danger that it can avert is greater than itself. The mortal danger for every being lies in losing itself. Hence lack of freedom is the real mortal danger for mankind. For the time being, leaving aside the moral consequences, bear in mind that you cannot enjoy the advantages of a free press without putting up with its inconveniences. You cannot pluck the rose without its thorns! And what do you lose with a free press?

The free press is the ubiquitous vigilant eye of a people's soul, the embodiment of a people's faith in itself, the eloquent link that connects the individual with the state and the world, the embodied

culture that transforms material struggles into intellectual struggles and idealises their crude material form. It is a people's frank confession to itself, and the redeeming power of confession is well known. It is the spiritual mirror in which a people can see itself, and self-examination is the first condition of wisdom. It is the spirit of the state, which can be delivered into every cottage, cheaper than coal gas. It is all-sided, ubiquitous, omniscient. It is the ideal world which always wells up out of the real world and flows back into it with ever greater spiritual riches and renews its soul.

In the course of our exposal we have shown that censorship and press law are as different as arbitrariness and freedom, as formal law and actual law. But what holds good of the essence, holds good also of the appearance. What rightly holds good of both, holds good also of *their application.* Just as a press law is different from a censorship law, so the *judge's* attitude to the press *differs* from the *attitude of the censor.*

Of course, our speaker, whose eyes are fixed on the heavens, sees the earth far below him as a contemptible heap of dust, so that he has nothing to say about any flowers except that they are dusty. Here too, therefore, he sees only two measures which are *equally arbitrary* in their application, for arbitrariness is acting according to individual discretion, and the latter, he says, is inseparable from spiritual things, etc., etc. If the understanding of spiritual things is *individual,* how can one spiritual view be more right than another, the opinion of the censor more right than the opinion of the author? But we understand the speaker. It is notable that he goes out of his way to describe both censorship and press law as being without right in their application, in order to prove the right of the censorship, for since he knows everything in the world is imperfect, the only question for him is whether arbitrariness should be on the side of the people or on the side of the government.

His *mysticism* turns into the *licence* of putting *law* and *arbitrariness* on the same level and seeing only a formal difference where moral and legal opposites are concerned, for his polemic is directed not against the *press law,* but against *law in general.* Or is there any law which is necessarily such that in *every single case* it *must* be applied as the legislator intended and all *arbitrariness absolutely* excluded? Incredible audacity is needed to call such a meaningless task the *philosopher's stone,* since it could only be put forward by the most extreme ignorance. The law is universal. The case which has to be settled in accordance with the law is a particular case. To include the particular in the universal involves a judgment. The judgment

is problematic. The law requires also a *judge.* If laws applied themselves, courts would be superfluous.

But everything human is imperfect! Therefore, *edite, bibite!* [a] Why do you want judges, since judges are human? Why do you want laws, since laws can only be executed by human beings, and all human operations are imperfect? Submit yourselves then to the goodwill of your superiors! Rhenish justice, like that of Turkey, is imperfect! Therefore, *edite, bibite!*

What a difference there is between a judge and a censor!

The censor has no law but his superiors. The judge has no superiors but the law. The judge, however, has the duty of interpreting the law, as *he understands* it after conscientious examination, in order to apply it in a particular case. The censor's duty is to understand the law as *officially interpreted* for him in a particular case. The independent judge belongs neither to me nor to the government. The dependent censor is himself a government organ. In the case of the judge, there is involved at most the unreliability of an individual intellect, in the case of the censor the unreliability of an individual character. The judge has a *definite* press offence put before him; confronting the censor is the spirit of the press. The judge judges my act according to a definite law; the censor not only punishes the crime, he *makes* it. If I am brought before the court, I am accused of disobeying an existing law, and for a law to be violated it must indeed exist. Where there is no press law there is no law which can be violated by the press. The censorship does not accuse me of violating an existing law. It condemns my opinion because it is not the opinion of the censor and his superiors. My openly performed act, which is willing to submit itself to the world and its judgment, to the state and its law, has sentence passed on it by a hidden, purely negative power, which cannot give itself the form of law, which shuns the light of day, and which is not bound by any general principles.

*A censorship law is an impossibility* because it seeks to punish not offences but opinions, because it cannot be anything but a *formula for the censor,* because no state has the courage to put in general legal terms what it can carry out in practice through the agency of the censor. For that reason, too, the operation of the censorship is entrusted not to the courts but to the police.

Even if censorship were in fact the same thing as justice, in the first place this would remain a fact without being a necessity. But, further, freedom includes not only *what* my life is, but equally *how*

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[a] Eat, drink! (Words from a German student song.) — *Ed.*

I live, not only that I do what is free, but also that I do it freely. Otherwise what difference would there be between an architect and a beaver except that the beaver would be an architect with fur and the architect a beaver without fur?

Our speaker returns superfluously once again to the effects of freedom of the press in the countries where it actually exists. Since we have already dwelt on this subject at length, we shall here only touch further on the *French* press. Apart from the fact that the defects of the French press are the defects of the French nation, we find that the evil is not where the speaker looks for it. The French press is not too free; it is not free enough. It is true that it is not subject to a spiritual censorship, but it is subject to a material censorship, in the shape of high money sureties. It operates materially precisely because it is taken out of its proper sphere and drawn into the sphere of large trade speculations. Moreover, large trade speculations are a matter for large towns. Hence the French press is concentrated at few points, and if a material force has a demoniac effect when concentrated at few points, why should this not apply to a spiritual force also?

If, however, you are bent on judging freedom of the press not by its idea, but by its historical existence, why do you not look for it where it historically exists? Naturalists seek by experiment to reproduce a natural phenomenon in its purest conditions. You do not need to make any experiments. You find the natural phenomenon of freedom of the press in *North America* in its purest, most natural form. But if there are great historical foundations for freedom of the press in North America, those foundations are still greater in Germany. The literature of a people, and the intellectual culture bound up with it, are indeed not only the direct historical foundations of the press, but are the latter's history itself. And what people in the world can boast of these most immediate historical foundations for freedom of the press more than the German people can?

But, our speaker again breaks in, woe to Germany's morals if its press were to become free, for freedom of the press produces "an inner *demoralisation,* which seeks to undermine faith in man's higher purpose and thereby the basis of true civilisation".

It is the *censored press* that has a *demoralising* effect. Inseparable from it is the most powerful vice, hypocrisy, and from this, its basic vice, come all its other defects, which lack even the rudiments of virtue, and its vice of passivity, loathsome even from the aesthetic point of view. The government hears only *its own voice,* it knows that it hears only its own voice, yet it harbours the

illusion that it hears the voice of the people, and it demands that the people, too, should itself harbour this illusion. For its part, therefore, the people sinks partly into political superstition, partly into political disbelief, or, completely turning away from political life, becomes a *rabble of private individuals.*

Since the press daily praises the government-inspired creations in the way that God spoke of His Creations only on the Sixth day: "And, behold, it was *very* good", and since, however, one day necessarily contradicts the other, the press lies continually and has to deny even any consciousness of lying, and must cast off all shame.

Since the nation is forced to regard free writings as unlawful, it becomes accustomed to regard what is unlawful as free, freedom as unlawful and what is lawful as unfree. In this way censorship kills the state spirit.

But our speaker is afraid of freedom of the press owing to his concern for "*private persons*". He overlooks that censorship is a permanent attack on the rights of private persons, and still more on ideas. He grows passionate about the danger to individual persons, and ought we not to grow passionate about the danger threatening society as a whole?

We cannot draw a sharper distinction between his view and ours than by contrasting his definitions of "bad frames of mind" to ours.

A bad frame of mind, he says, is "pride, which recognises no authority in church and state". And ought we not to regard as a bad frame of mind the refusal to recognise the authority of reason and law?

"It is envy which preaches abolition of everything that the rabble calls aristocracy."

But we say, it is envy which wants to abolish the eternal aristocracy of human nature, freedom, an aristocracy about which even the rabble can have no doubt.

"It is the malicious gloating which delights in personalities, whether lies or truth, and imperiously demands publicity so that no scandal of private life will remain hidden."

It is the malicious gloating which extracts tittle-tattle and personalities from the great life of the peoples, ignores historical reason and serves up to the public only the scandals of history; being quite incapable of judging the essence of a matter, it fastens on single aspects of a phenomenon and on individuals, and imperiously demands mystery so that every blot on public life will remain hidden.

"It is the impurity of the heart and imagination which is titillated by obscene pictures."

It is the impurity of the heart and imagination which is titillated by obscene pictures of the omnipotence of evil and the impotence of good, it is the imagination which takes pride in sin, it is the impure heart which conceals its secular arrogance in mystical images.

"It is despair of one's own salvation which seeks to stifle the voice of conscience by denial of God."

It is despair of one's own salvation which makes personal weaknesses into weaknesses of mankind, in order to rid one's own conscience of them; it is despair of the salvation of mankind which prevents mankind from obeying its innate natural laws and preaches the necessity of immaturity; it is hypocrisy which shelters behind God without believing in His reality and in the omnipotence of the good; it is self-seeking which puts personal salvation above the salvation of all.

These people doubt mankind in general but canonise individuals. They draw a horrifying picture of human nature and at the same time demand that we should bow down before the holy image of certain privileged individuals. We know that man singly is weak, but we know also that the whole is strong.

Finally, the speaker recalled the words proclaimed from the branches of the tree of knowledge for whose fruits *we* negotiate today as *then*:

"Ye shall not surely die, in the day that ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil."

Although we doubt that the speaker has eaten of the tree of knowledge, and that *we* (the Rhine Province Assembly of the Estates) *then* negotiated with the devil, about which at least Genesis tells us nothing, nevertheless we concur with the view of the speaker and merely remind him that the devil *did not lie to us then*, for God himself says: "Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil."

We can reasonably let the speaker's own words be the epilogue to this speech:

*"Writing and speaking are mechanical accomplishments."*

However much our readers may be tired of these "mechanical accomplishments", we must, for the sake of completeness, let the *urban estate,* after the princely and knightly estates, also give vent to its feelings *against* freedom of the press. We are faced here with the opposition of the *bourgeois,* not of the *citoyen.*

*The speaker from the urban estate* believes that he joins Sieyès in making the philistine remark:

"Freedom of the press is a *fine thing*, so long as *bad persons* do not meddle in it." "Against that no proven remedy has yet been found", etc., etc.

The point of view which calls freedom of the press *a thing* deserves praise at least on account of its naivety. This speaker can be reproached with anything at all, but not with lack of sobriety or excess of imagination.

So freedom of the press is a fine thing, and something which embellishes the sweet customary mode of life, a pleasant, worthy thing. But there are also bad persons, who misuse speech to tell lies, the brain to plot, the hands to steal, the feet to desert. Speech and thought, hands and feet would be fine things—good speech, pleasant thought, skilful hands, most excellent feet—if only there were no bad persons to misuse them! No remedy against that has yet been found.

"Sympathy for the constitution and freedom of the press must necessarily be weakened when it is seen that they are bound up with eternally changeable conditions in that country" (France) "and with an alarming uncertainty about the future."

When for the first time the discovery in the science of the universe was made that the earth is a *mobile perpetuum*, many a phlegmatic German must have taken a tight hold of his nightcap and sighed over the eternally changeable conditions of his Fatherland, and an alarming uncertainty about the future must have made him dislike a house that turned upside down at every moment.

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 139, May 19, 1842, Supplement]

Freedom of the press is as little *responsible* for the "changeable conditions" as the astronomer's telescope is for the unceasing motion of the universe. Evil astronomy! What a fine time that was when the earth, like a respectable townsman, still sat in the centre of the universe, calmly smoked its clay pipe, and did not even have to put on the light for itself, since the sun, moon and stars like so many obedient night lamps and "fine things" revolved around it.

"He who never destroys what he has built, ever stands
On this terrestrial world, which itself never stands still,"

says Hariri, who is no Frenchman by birth, but an Arab.[56]

The *estate* of the speaker finds expression very definitely in the thought:

"The true, honest patriot is unable to suppress his feeling that constitution and freedom of the press exist not for the welfare of the people, but to satisfy the ambition of individuals and for the domination of parties."

It is well known that a certain kind of psychology explains big things by means of small causes and, correctly sensing that everything for which man struggles is a matter of his interest, arrives at the incorrect opinion that there are only "petty" interests, only the interests of a stereotyped self-seeking. Further, it is well known that this kind of psychology and knowledge of mankind is to be found particularly in *towns*, where moreover it is considered the sign of a clever mind to see through the world and perceive that behind the passing clouds of ideas and facts there are quite small, envious, intriguing manikins, who pull the strings setting everything in motion. However, it is equally well known that if one looks too closely into a glass, one bumps *one's own head*, and hence these clever people's knowledge of mankind and the universe is primarily a mystified bump of their own heads.

Half-heartedness and indecision are also characteristic of the speaker's estate.

"His feeling of independence inclines him to favour freedom of the press" (in the sense of the mover of the motion), "but he must listen to the voice of reason and experience."

If the speaker had said in conclusion that while his reason disposed him in favour of freedom of the press his feeling of dependence set him against it, his speech would have been a perfect genre picture of urban reaction.

"He who has a tongue and does not speak,
Who has a sword and does not fight,
What is he indeed but a wretched wight?"

We come now to the *defenders of press freedom* and begin with the *main motion.* We pass over the more general material, which is aptly and well expressed in the introductory words of the motion, in order at once to stress the peculiar and characteristic standpoint of this speech.

The mover of the motion desires that *freedom of the press* should not be excluded from the *general freedom to carry on a trade*, a state of things that still prevails, and by which the inner contradiction appears as a classical example of inconsistency.

"The work of arms and legs is free, but that of the brain is under tutelage. Of cleverer brains no doubt? God forbid, that does not come into question as far as the censors are concerned. To him whom God gives an official post, He gives also understanding!"

The first thing that strikes one is to see *freedom of the press* included under *freedom of trade.* However, we cannot simply reject the speaker's view. *Rembrandt* painted the Madonna as a Dutch

peasant woman; why should our speaker not depict freedom in a form which is dear and familiar to him?

No more can we deny that the speaker's point of view has a certain *relative* truth. If the press *itself* is regarded *merely* as a trade, then, as a trade carried on by means of the brain, it deserves greater freedom than a trade carried on by means of arms and legs. The emancipation of arms and legs only becomes humanly significant through the emancipation of the brain, for it is well known that arms and legs become human arms and legs only because of the head which they serve.

Therefore, however peculiar the speaker's point of view may appear at first glance, we must absolutely prefer it to the empty, nebulous and blurry arguments of those German liberals who think freedom is honoured by being placed in the starry firmament of the imagination instead of on the solid ground of reality. It is in part to these exponents of the imagination, these sentimental enthusiasts, who shy away from any contact of their ideal with ordinary reality as a profanation, that we Germans owe the fact that freedom has remained until now a fantasy and sentimentality.

Germans are in general inclined to sentiment and high-flown extravagance, they have a weakness for music of the blue sky. It is therefore gratifying when the great problem of the idea is demonstrated to them from a tough, real standpoint derived from the immediate environment. Germans are by nature most devoted, servile and respectful. Out of sheer respect for ideas they fail to realise them. They make the worship of them into a cult, but they do not cultivate them. Hence the way adopted by the speaker seems suitable for *familiarising* Germans with his ideas, for showing them that it is not a question here of something inaccessible to them, but of their immediate interests, suitable for translating the language of the gods into that of man.

We know that the Greeks believed that in the Egyptian, Lydian and even Scythian gods they could recognise their Apollo, their Athena, their Zeus, and they disregarded the specific features of the foreign cults as subsidiary. It is no crime, therefore, if the German takes the goddess of freedom of the press, a goddess unknown to him, for one of his familiar goddesses, and accordingly calls it freedom of trade or freedom of property.

Precisely because we are able to acknowledge and appreciate the speaker's point of view, we *criticise* it the more severely.

"One could very well imagine the continued existence of crafts side by side with freedom of the press, because trade based on brain work could require a *higher*

*degree of skill,* putting it on the same level as the seven free arts of old; but the continued unfreedom of the press alongside freedom of trade is a sin against the Holy Ghost."

Of course! The lower form of freedom is obviously considered to be without rights if the higher form has no rights. The right of the individual citizen is a folly if the right of the state is not recognised. If freedom in general is rightful, it goes without saying that a particular form of freedom is the more rightful as freedom has achieved in it a finer and better-developed existence. If the *polyp* has a right to existence because the life of nature is at least dimly evident in it, how much more so the *lion,* in which life rages and roars?

However correct the conclusion that the existence of a higher form of right can be considered proved by the existence of a lower form, the *application* is wrong when it makes the lower sphere a *measure* of the higher and turns its laws, reasonable within their own limits, into caricatures by claiming that they are not laws of their own sphere, but of a higher one. It is as if I wanted to compel a giant to live in the house of a pigmy.

Freedom of trade, freedom of property, of conscience, of the press, of the courts, are all *species* of one and the same genus, of *freedom without any specific name.* But it is quite incorrect to forget the difference because of the unity and to go so far as to make a *particular species* the measure, the standard, the sphere of other species. This is an *intolerance* on the part of one species of freedom, which is only prepared to tolerate the existence of others if they renounce themselves and declare themselves to be its vassals.

Freedom of trade is precisely freedom of trade and no other freedom because within it the nature of the trade develops unhindered according to the inner rules of its life. Freedom of the courts is freedom of the courts if they follow their own inherent laws of right and not those of some other sphere, such as religion. Every particular sphere of freedom is the freedom of a particular sphere, just as every particular mode of life is the mode of life of a particular nature. How wrong it would be to demand that the lion should adapt himself to the laws of life of the polyp! How false would be my understanding of the interconnection and unity of the bodily organism if I were to conclude: since arms and legs function in their specific way, the eye and ear — organs which take man away from his individuality and make him the mirror and echo of the universe — must have a still greater right to activity, and consequently must be *intensified* arm-and-leg activity.

As in the universe each planet, while turning on its own axis, moves only around the sun, so in the system of freedom each of

its worlds, while turning on its own axis, revolves only around the central sun of freedom. To make freedom of the press a variety of freedom of trade is a defence that kills it before defending it, for do I not abolish the freedom of a particular character if I demand that it should be free in the manner of a different character? Your freedom is not my freedom, says the press to a trade. As you obey the laws of your sphere, so will I obey the laws of my sphere. To be free in your way is for me identical with being unfree, just as a cabinet-maker would hardly feel pleased if he demanded freedom for his craft and was given as equivalent the freedom of the philosopher.

Let us lay bare the thought of the speaker. What is freedom? He replies: *Freedom of trade,* which is as if a student, when asked what is freedom, were to reply: *It is freedom to be out at night.*

With as much right as freedom of the press, one could include every kind of freedom in freedom of trade. The judge practises the trade of law, the preacher that of religion, the father of a family that of bringing up children. But does that express the essence of legal, religious and moral freedom?

One could also put it the other way round and call freedom of trade merely *a variety of freedom of the press.* Do craftsmen work only with hands and legs and not with the brain as well? Is the language of words the only language of thought? Is not the language of the mechanic through the steam-engine easily perceptible to my ear, is not the language of the bed manufacturer very obvious to my back, that of the cook comprehensible to my stomach? Is it not a contradiction that all these varieties of freedom of the press are permitted, the sole exception being the one that speaks to my intellect through the medium of printer's ink?

In order to defend, and even to understand, the freedom of a particular sphere, I must proceed from its essential character and not its external relations. But is the press true to its character, does it act in accordance with the nobility of its nature, *is the press free* which degrades itself to the level of a *trade?* The writer, of course, must earn in order to be able to live and write, but he must by no means live and write to earn.

When *Béranger* sings:

> Je ne vis que pour faire des chansons,
> Si vous m'ôtez ma place Monseigneur,
> Je ferai des chansons pour vivre,[a]

[a] I live only to compose songs.
If you dismiss me, Monseigneur,
I shall compose songs in order to live.— *Ed.*

this threat contains the ironic admission that the poet deserts his proper sphere when for him poetry becomes a means.

The writer does not at all look on his work as a *means*. It is an *end in itself*; it is so little a means for him himself and for others that, if need be, he sacrifices *his* existence to *its* existence. He is, in another way, like the preacher of religion who adopts the principle: "Obey God rather than man", including under man himself with his human needs and desires. On the other hand, what if a tailor from whom I had ordered a Parisian frock-coat were to come and bring me a Roman toga on the ground that it was more in keeping with the eternal law of beauty!

*The primary freedom of the press lies in not being a trade.* The writer who degrades the press into being a material means deserves as punishment for this internal unfreedom the external unfreedom of censorship, or rather his very existence is his punishment.

Of course, the press exists also as a trade, but then it is not the affair of writers, but of printers and booksellers. However, we are concerned here not with the freedom of trade of printers and booksellers, but with freedom of the press.

Indeed, our speaker does not stop at regarding the right to freedom of the press proved because of freedom of trade; he demands that freedom of the press, instead of being subject to its own laws, should be subject to the laws of freedom of trade. He even joins issue with the spokesman of the commission, who defends a higher view of freedom of the press, and he puts forward demands which can only produce a comic effect, for it becomes comic when the laws of a lower sphere are applied to a higher one, just as, conversely, it has a comic effect when children become passionate.

"He speaks of *authorised* and *unauthorised* authors. He understands by this that even in the sphere of freedom of trade the exercise of a right that has been granted is always bound up with some condition which is more or less difficult to fulfil, depending on the occupation in question. Obviously, masons, carpenters and master builders have to fulfil conditions from which most other trades are exempt." "His motion concerns a right *in particular*, not *in general*."

First of all, *who* is to grant *authority*? Kant would not have admitted Fichte's authority as a philosopher, Ptolemy would not have admitted that Copernicus had authority as an astronomer, nor Bernard of Clairvaux Luther's authority as a theologian. Every man of learning regards his critics as "*unauthorised authors*". Or should the unlearned decide who should have the authority of a man of learning? Obviously the judgment would have to be left to the unauthorised authors, for the authorised cannot be judges in

their own case. Or should authority be linked with *estate*? The cobbler Jakob Böhme was a great philosopher.[a] Many a philosopher of repute is merely a great cobbler.

By the way, when speaking of authorised or unauthorised authors, to be consistent one must not rest content with distinguishing between individual *persons*, one must divide the press as a trade into *various trades* and draw up different trade certificates for the different spheres of literary activity. Or ought the authorised writer to be able to write about everything? From the outset, the cobbler has more authority than the lawyer to write about leather. The day-labourer has just as much authority as the theologian to write about whether one should work or not on holidays. If, therefore, authority is linked with special objective conditions, every citizen will be at one and the same time an authorised and an unauthorised writer, authorised in matters concerning his profession, and unauthorised in all others.

Apart from the fact that in this way the world of the press, instead of being a bond uniting the nation, would be a sure means of dividing it, that the difference between the estates would thus be fixed intellectually, and the history of literature would sink to the level of the natural history of the particular intelligent breeds of animals; apart from the disputes over the dividing lines between them and conflicts which could neither be settled nor avoided; apart from the fact that lack of talent and narrow-mindedness would become a law for the press, for the particular can be seen intellectually and freely only in connection with the whole and therefore not in separation from it—apart from all this, since *reading* is as important as writing, there would have to be *authorised* and *unauthorised readers*, a consequence which was drawn in Egypt, where the priests, the authorised authors, were at the same time the sole authorised readers. And it is highly expedient that only the authorised authors should be given authority to buy and read their own works.

What inconsistency! If privilege prevails, the government has every right to maintain that it is the *sole authorised author* as regards what it does or does not do. For if you consider yourself authorised as a citizen to write not only about your particular estate, but about what is most general, viz., the state, should not other mortals, whom you wish to exclude, be authorised as human beings to pass judgment on a very particular matter, viz., *your authority* and your writings?

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[a] Cf. H. Heine, *Die romantische Schule*, II, 3.—*Ed.*

*The result would be the comical contradiction that the authorised author might write without censorship about the state, but the unauthorised author might write about the authorised author only by permission of the censorship.*

Freedom of the press will certainly not be achieved by a crowd of official writers being recruited by you from your ranks. The authorised authors would be the *official* authors, *the struggle between censorship and freedom of the press would be converted into a struggle between authorised and unauthorised writers.*

Hence a member of the fourth estate correctly replies to this:

"If some restriction on the press must still exist, let it be equal for all parties, that is, that in this respect no one class of citizens is allowed more rights than another".

The censorship holds us all in subjection, just as under a despotic regime all are equal, if not in value, then in absence of value; that kind of freedom of the press seeks to introduce oligarchy in the sphere of intellectual life. The censorship declares that an author is at most inconvenient, unsuitable within the bounds of its realm. That kind of freedom of the press claims to anticipate world history, to know in advance the voice of the people, which hitherto has been the sole judge as to which writer has "authority" and which is "without authority". Whereas Solon did not venture to judge a man until *after* his life was over, *after his death,* this view presumes to judge a writer even *before his birth.*

The press is the most general way by which individuals can communicate their intellectual being. It knows no respect for persons, but only respect for intelligence. Do you want ability for intellectual communication to be determined officially by special external signs? What I cannot be for others, I am not and cannot be for myself. If I am not allowed to be a spiritual force for others, then I have no right to be a spiritual force for myself; and do you want to give certain individuals the privilege of being spiritual forces? Just as everyone learns to read and write, so everyone must *have the right* to read and write.

*For whom,* then, is the division of writers into "authorised" and "unauthorised" intended? Obviously not for the truly authorised, for they can make their influence felt without that. Is it therefore for the "unauthorised" who want to protect themselves and impress others by means of an external privilege?

Moreover, this palliative does not even make a *press law* unnecessary, for, as a speaker from the peasant estate remarks:

"Cannot a privileged person, too, exceed his authority and be liable to punishment? Therefore, in any case, a press law would be necessary, with the result that one would encounter the same difficulties as with a *general law on the press.*"

If the German looks back on his history, he will find *one* of the main reasons for his slow political development, as also for the wretched state of literature prior to *Lessing*, in the existence of "*authorised writers*". The learned men by profession, guild or privilege, the doctors and others, the colourless university writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with their stiff pigtails and their distinguished pedantry and their petty hair-splitting dissertations, interposed themselves between the people and the mind, between life and science, between freedom and mankind. It was the *unauthorised* writers who created our literature. *Gottsched* and *Lessing*—there you have the choice between an "authorised" and "unauthorised" writer!

In general, we have no liking for "freedom" that *only* holds good in the plural. England is a proof on a big historical scale how dangerous for *"freedom"* is the restricted horizon of *"freedoms"*.

"Ce mot des *libertés*," says Voltaire, "des *privilèges*, suppose l'assujettissement. Des libertés sont des *exemptions* de la *servitude générale*."[a]

Further, if our speaker wants to exclude *anonymous* and *pseudonymous* writers from freedom of the press and subject them to censorship, we would point out that in the press it is not the *name* that matters, but that, where a press law is in force, the publisher, and through him the anonymous and pseudonymous writer as well, is liable to prosecution in the courts. Moreover, when Adam gave names to all the animals in paradise, he forgot to give names to the German newspaper correspondents, and they will remain *nameless in saecula saeculorum.*[b]

Whereas the mover of the motion sought to impose restrictions on *persons*, the subjects of the press, other estates want to restrict the *objective material* of the press, the *scope of its operation and existence*. The result is a soulless bargaining and haggling as to *how much freedom freedom of the press ought to have.*

One estate wants to limit the press to discussing the material, intellectual and religious state of affairs in the Rhine Province; another wants the publication of "local newspapers", whose title indicates their restricted content; a third even wants free expression of opinion to be allowed *in one newspaper only* in each province!!!

All these attempts remind one of the gymnastics teacher who

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[a] "This word of the *liberties*, of the *privileges*, supposes subjection. Liberties are *exemptions* from the *general servitude*."—*Ed.*

[b] For ever and ever.—*Ed.*

suggested that the best way to teach how to jump was to take the pupil to a big ditch and show him by means of a cotton thread how far he ought to jump *across* the ditch. Of course, the pupil had first to practise jumping and would not be allowed to clear the whole ditch on the first day, but from time to time the thread would be moved farther away. Unfortunately, during his first lesson the pupil fell into the ditch, and he has been lying there ever since. The teacher was a German and the pupil's name was "freedom".

According to the average *normal type*, therefore, the *defenders of freedom of the press* in the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly differ from their *opponents* not as regards content, but in their trend. The narrow-mindedness of a *particular estate* opposes the press in one case, and defends it in another; some want the government alone to have privileges, others want them to be shared among more persons; some want a full censorship, others a half censorship; some want three-eighths freedom of the press, others none at all. God save me from my friends!

Completely at variance with the *general spirit* of the Assembly, however, are the speeches of the commission's *spokesman* and those of some members of the *peasant estate.*

Among other things, the spokesman declared:

"In the life of peoples, as in that of individuals, it happens that the fetters of a too long tutelage become intolerable, that there is an urge for independence, and that everyone wants to be responsible himself for his actions. Thereupon the censorship has outlived its time; where it still exists it will be regarded as a *hateful* constraint which prohibits what is openly said from being written."

Write as you speak, and speak as you write, our primary schoolteachers taught us. Later what we are told is: say what has been prescribed for you, and write what you repeat after others.

"Whenever the inevitable progress of time causes a new, important interest to develop and gives rise to a new need, for which no adequate provision is contained in the existing legislation, new laws are necessary to regulate this new state of society. Precisely such a case confronts us here."

That is the *truly historical* view in contrast to the illusory one which kills the reason of history in order subsequently to honour its bones as historical relics.

"Of course, the problem" (of a press code) "may not be quite easy to solve; the first attempt that is made will perhaps remain very incomplete! But all states will owe a debt of gratitude to the legislator who is the first to take up this matter, and under a king like ours, it is perhaps the Prussian government that is destined to have the *honour* to precede other countries along this path, which alone can lead to the goal."

Our whole exposal has shown how *isolated* this courageous, dignified and resolute view was in the Assembly. This was also abundantly pointed out to the spokesman of the commission by the chairman himself. Finally, it was expressed also by a member of the peasant estate in an ill-humoured but excellent speech:

> *"The speakers have gone round and round the question before us like a cat round hot porridge."* "The human spirit must develop freely *in accordance with its inherent laws* and be allowed to communicate its achievements, otherwise a clear, vitalising stream will become a pestiferous swamp. If any nation is suitable for freedom of the press it is surely the calm, good-natured German nation, which stands more in need of being roused from its torpor than of the strait jacket of censorship. For it not to be allowed freely to communicate its thoughts and feelings to its fellow men very much resembles the North American system of solitary confinement for criminals, which when rigidly enforced often leads to madness. From one who is not permitted to find fault, praise also is valueless; in absence of expression it is like a Chinese picture in which shade is lacking. Let us not find ourselves put in the same company as this enervated nation!"

If we now look back on the press debates as a whole, we cannot overcome the dreary and uneasy impression produced by an assembly of representatives of the *Rhine Province* who wavered only between the deliberate obduracy of privilege and the natural impotence of a half-hearted liberalism. Above all, we cannot help noting with displeasure the almost entire absence of general and broad points of view, as also the negligent superficiality with which the question of a free press was debated and disposed of. Once more, therefore, we ask ourselves whether the press was a matter too remote from the Assembly of the Estates, and with which they had too little real contact, for them to be able to defend freedom of the press with the thorough and serious interest that was required?

Freedom of the press presented its petition to the estates with the *most subtle captatio benevolentiae.*[a]

At the very beginning of the Assembly session, a debate arose in which the *chairman* pointed out that the *printing of the Assembly proceedings,* like all other writings, was subject to *censorship,* but that in this case *he* took the place of the censor.

On this *one* point, did not the question of *freedom of the press* coincide with that of *freedom of the Assembly*? The conflict here is the more interesting because the Assembly in its own person was given proof how the absence of freedom of the press makes all other freedoms illusory. One form of freedom governs another just as one limb of the body does another. Whenever a particular freedom is put in question, freedom in general is put in question.

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[a] Attempt to arouse goodwill.— *Ed.*

Whenever one form of freedom is rejected, freedom in general is rejected and henceforth can have only a semblance of existence, since the sphere in which absence of freedom is dominant becomes a matter of pure chance. Absence of freedom is the rule and freedom an exception, a fortuitous and arbitrary occurrence. There can, therefore, be nothing wronger than to think that when it is a question of a *particular* form of existence of freedom, it is a *particular question.* It is the general question within a particular sphere. Freedom remains freedom whether it finds expression in printer's ink, in property, in the conscience, or in a political assembly. But the loyal friend of freedom whose sense of honour would be offended by the mere fact that he had to vote on the question whether *freedom* was *to be or not to be*—this friend becomes perplexed when confronted with the peculiar material form in which freedom appears. He fails to recognise the genus in the species; because of the press, he forgets about freedom, he believes he is judging something whose essence is alien to him, and he condemns his own essence. Thus the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly condemned itself by passing sentence on freedom of the press.

The highly sage, practical bureaucrats who secretly and unjustifiably think of themselves in the way that *Pericles* openly and rightly boasted of himself: "I am a man who is the equal of anyone both in knowing the needs of the state and in the art of expounding them"[a]—these hereditary leaseholders of political intelligence will shrug their shoulders and remark with oracular good breeding that the defenders of freedom of the press are wasting their efforts, for a *mild* censorship is better than a *harsh* freedom of the press. We reply to them with the words of the Spartans *Sperthias* and *Bulis* to the *Persian satrap* Hydarnes:

"Hydarnes, you have not equally weighed each side in your advice to us. For you have tried the one which you advise, the other has remained untried by you. You know what it means to be a slave, but you have never yet tried freedom, to know whether it is sweet or not. For if you had tried it, you would have advised us to fight for it, not merely with spears, but also with axes."[b]

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Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

Signed: *By a Rhinelander*

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[a] Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, Vol. I, Book 2, 60.—*Ed.*

[b] Herodot, *Historiae*, Vol. II, Book 7, 135.—*Ed.*

# THE QUESTION OF CENTRALISATION IN ITSELF AND WITH REGARD TO THE SUPPLEMENT TO No. 137 OF THE *RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*, TUESDAY, MAY 17, 1842[57]

"Germany and France with regard to the question of centralisation" with the sign $\div$.

"Whether *state power* should *issue* from a single point or whether each province, each locality, should administer itself, and the central government, only acting as the power of the whole, should rule also the individual parts of the state when the state has to be represented externally—this is a question on which views are still very much divided."

The fate which a question of the time has in common with every question justified by its content, and therefore rational, is that the *question* and not the *answer* constitutes the main difficulty. True criticism, therefore, analyses the questions and not the answers. Just as the solution of an algebraic equation is given once the problem has been put in its simplest and sharpest form, so every question is answered as soon as it has become a *real* question. World history itself has no other method than that of answering and disposing of old questions by putting new ones. The riddles of each period are therefore easy to discover. They are questions of the time, and although the intention and insight of a single individual may play an important role in the answers, and a practised eye is needed to separate what belongs to the individual from what belongs to the time, the *questions*, on the other hand, are the frank, uncompromising voices of the time embracing all individuals; they are its mottoes, they are the supremely *practical* utterances proclaiming the state of its soul. In each period, therefore, reactionaries are as sure indicators of its spiritual condition as dogs are of the weather. To the public, it looks as if the reactionaries *make* the questions. Hence the public believes that if some obscurantist or other does not combat a modern trend, if he

does not subject something to question, then the question does not *exist*. The public itself, therefore, regards the reactionaries as the true men of progress.

"Whether state power should issue from a single point", i.e., whether a *single point* should rule, or whether each province, etc., should administer itself and the central government act only externally as the power of the whole "in relation to the exterior"—the question of centralisation cannot be formulated in this way. The author[a] assures us that

> "this question, considered from a higher standpoint, falls away of itself as being futile", for "if man is really what he should be by his essence, individual freedom is not separate from general freedom". "If, therefore, one assumes a nation to be made up of *righteous* people, the question under consideration cannot arise at all." "The central power would live in all members, etc., etc." "But just as in general every external law, every positive institution, etc., would be superfluous, so would any central state power, etc. Such a society would be not a *state*, but the *ideal* of mankind." "One can make it astonishingly easy to solve the most difficult state problems if one looks at our social life from a high philosophical standpoint. And *theoretically*, such a solution of the problems is quite correct, indeed the only correct one. But it is a question here not of a theoretical, etc., but of a practical, naturally merely empirical and relative, answer to the question of centralisation, etc."

The author of the article begins with a *self-criticism* of his question. Seen from a higher standpoint, it does not exist, but at the same time we are told that, seen from this high standpoint, all laws, positive institutions, the central state power and finally the state itself, disappear. The author rightly praises the "astonishing ease" with which this standpoint is able to orient itself, but he is not right in calling such a solution of the problems "quite correct, indeed the only correct one", he is not right in calling this standpoint a "philosophical" one. Philosophy must seriously protest at being confused with imagination. The fiction of a nation of "righteous" people is as alien to philosophy as the fiction of "praying hyenas" is to nature. The author substitutes "his abstractions" for philosophy.[b]

Written after May 17, 1842
First published in: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Bd. 1, Hb. 1, 1927

Printed according to the manuscript

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[a] Moses Hess.—*Ed.*

[b] The manuscript breaks off here.—*Ed.*

# THE LEADING ARTICLE IN No. 179 OF THE *KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG*[58]

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 191, July 10, 1842, Supplement]

Up to now we have respected the *Kölnische Zeitung*, if not as the *"organ of the Rhenish intelligentsia"* at any rate as the Rhenish *"information sheet"*.[a] We regarded above all its, "leading political articles" as a means, both wise and select, for making politics repugnant to the reader, so that he will the more eagerly turn to the vitally refreshing realm of the advertisements which reflects the pulsating life of industry and is often wittily piquant, so that here too the motto would be: *per aspera ad astra*, through politics to the oysters.[b] However, the finely even balance which the *Kölnische Zeitung* had hitherto succeeded in maintaining between politics and advertisements has recently been upset by a kind of advertisements which can be called "advertisements of political industry". In the initial uncertainty as to where this new genus should be placed, it happened that an advertisement was transformed into a leading article, and the leading article into an advertisement, and indeed into one which in the language of the political world is called a "denunciation",[c] but if paid for is called simply an "advertisement".

It is a custom in the North that before the meagre meals, the guests are given a drink of exquisitely fine spirits. In following this custom, we are the more pleased to offer some spirits to our

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[a] A pun on the German word *Intelligenz*, which can mean both "intelligentsia" and "information".—*Ed.*

[b] By rough paths to the stars. A pun based on the similarity of the Latin *astra*—stars, to the German *Auster*—oyster.—*Ed.*

[c] A pun on the German word *Anzeige*, which can mean both "advertisement" and "denunciation".—*Ed.*

Northern guest because in the meal itself, in the very "ailing"[a] article in No. 179 of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, we find no trace of spirit. Therefore we present first of all a scene from Lucian's *Dialogues of the Gods*, which we give here in a "generally comprehensible" translation,[59] because among our readers there is bound to be at least *one* who is no Hellene.

## Lucian's *Dialogues of the Gods*

### XXIV. HERMES' COMPLAINTS

*Hermes. Maia*

*Hermes.* Is there, dear Mother, in all heaven a god who is more tormented than I am?

*Maia.* Don't say such things, my son!

*Hermes.* Why shouldn't I? I, who have such a lot of things to attend to, who have to do everything myself, and have to submit to so many servile duties? In the morning I have to be among the very first to get up, sweep out the dining-room, and put the cushions straight in the council chamber. When everything is in order I have to wait on Jupiter and spend the whole day as his messenger, going to and fro on his errands. Hardly have I returned, and while still covered with dust, I have to serve ambrosia. Worst of all, I am the only one who is allowed no rest even at night, for I have to lead the souls of the dead to Pluto and perform the duties of attendant while the dead are being judged. For it is not enough that in my daytime labours I have to be present at *gymnastic exercises,* act as *herald* at meetings of the people, and help the people's orators to memorise their speeches. Nay, torn between so many duties, I must also look after *all matters concerning the dead.*

Since his expulsion from Olympus, Hermes, by force of habit, still performs "servile duties" and looks after all matters concerning the dead.

Whether Hermes himself, or his son, the goat-god Pan, wrote the ailing article of No. 179, let the reader decide, bearing in mind that the Greek Hermes was the god of eloquence and logic.

"To spread philosophical and religious views by means of the newspapers, or to combat them in the newspapers, we consider equally impermissible."

While the old man chattered on in this way, I became well aware that he intended to deliver a tedious litany of oracular pronouncements. However, I curbed my impatience, for ought I not to believe this discerning man who is so ingenuous as to express his opinion with the utmost candour in his own house, and I went on reading. But—lo and behold!—this article, which, it is true,

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[a] A pun on the German words *leitender,* which means "leading", and *leidender,* meaning "ailing".—*Ed.*

cannot be reproached for any philosophical views, at least has the tendency to combat philosophical views and spread religious views.

What are we to make of an article which disputes the right to its own existence, which prefaces itself with a declaration of its own incompetence? The loquacious author will reply to us. He explains how his pretentious articles are to be read. He confines himself to giving some fragments, the "arrangement and connection" of which he leaves to the "perspicacity of the reader"—the most convenient method for the kind of advertisements which he makes it his business to deal with. We should like to "arrange and connect" these fragments, and it is not our fault if the rosary does not become a string of pearls.

The author declares:

"A party which employs these means" (i. e., spreads philosophical and religious views in newspapers and combats such views) "shows thereby, in *our* opinion, that its intentions are *not honest,* and that it is less concerned with instructing and enlightening the people than with achieving *other external aims.*"

This being *his* opinion, the article can have no other intention than the achievement of external aims. These "external aims" will not fail to show themselves.

The state, he says, has not only the right but the duty to "put a stop to the activities of *unbidden* chatterers". The writer is obviously referring to *opponents* of his view, for he has long ago convinced himself that he is a *bidden* chatterer.

It is a question, therefore, of a new intensification of the censorship in religious matters, of new police measures against the press, which has hardly been able to draw breath as yet.

"In our opinion, the state is to be reproached, not for excessive severity, but for indulgence carried too far."

The leader writer, however, has second thoughts. It is dangerous to reproach the state. Therefore he addresses himself to the authorities, his accusation against freedom of the press turns into an accusation against the censors. He accuses them of exercising "too little censorship".

"Reprehensible indulgence has hitherto been shown also, *not by the state, it is true,* but by *'individual authorities',* in that the new philosophical school has been allowed to make most disgraceful attacks on Christianity in public papers and other publications intended for a readership that is not purely scientific."

Once again, however, the author comes to a halt; again he has second thoughts. Less than eight days ago he found that the freedom of the censorship allowed too little freedom of the press;

now he finds that the compulsion of the censors results in too little compulsion of the censorship.

That again has to be remedied.

"As long as the censorship exists it is its most urgent duty to excise such abhorrent offshoots of a childish presumption as have repeatedly offended our eyes in recent days."

Weak eyes! Weak eyes! And

"the weakest eye will be offended by an expression which can be intended only for the level of understanding of the broad masses".

If the relaxed censorship already allows abhorrent offshoots to appear, what would happen with freedom of the press? If our eyes are too weak to bear the "presumption" of the censored press, how would they be strong enough to bear the "audacity"[a] of a free press?

"As long as the censorship exists it is its most urgent duty." And when it ceases to exist? The phrase must be interpreted as meaning: it is the most urgent duty of the censorship to remain in existence as long as possible.

But again the author has second thoughts.

"It is not our function to act as *public* prosecutor, and therefore we refrain from any more detailed designation."

What heavenly goodness there is in this man! He refrains from any more detailed "designation", and yet it is only by quite detailed, quite definite signs that he could prove and show what *his* view aims at. He lets fall only vague, half audible words intended to arouse suspicions; it is not his function to be a *public* prosecutor, his function is to be a *hidden prosecutor.*

For the last time the unfortunate man has second thoughts, remembering that his function is to write liberal leading articles, and that he has to present himself as a "loyal friend of freedom of the press". Hence he quickly takes up his final position:

"We could not fail to protest against a course which, if it is not the consequence of accidental negligence, can have no other purpose than to discredit the freer movement of the press in the eyes of the public, to play into the hands of opponents who are afraid of failing to achieve their aim in an open way."

The censorship—we are told by this defender of freedom of the press, who is as bold as he is sharp-witted—if it is not the

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[a] A pun on the German words *Übermut*—presumption, and *Mut*—audacity.—*Ed.*

English leopard with the inscription: "I sleep, wake me not!"[a], has adopted this "disastrous" course in order to discredit the freer movement of the press in the eyes of the public.

Is there any further need to discredit a movement of the press which calls the attention of the censorship to "*accidental negligences*", and which expects to obtain its renown in public opinion through the "*penknife of the censor*"?

This movement can be called "free" insofar as the licence of shamelessness is also sometimes called "free", and is it not the shamelessness of stupidity and hypocrisy to claim to be a defender of the freer movement of the press while at the same time teaching that the press will at once fall into the gutter unless it is supported under the arms by two policemen?

And what need is there of censorship, what need is there of this leading article, if the philosophical press discredits itself in the eyes of the public? Of course, the author does not want to restrict in any way "*the freedom of scientific research*".

"In our day, *scientific research* is rightly allowed the widest, most unrestricted scope."

But how our author conceives scientific research can be seen from the following utterance:

"In this connection a sharp distinction must be drawn between the requirements of freedom of scientific research, through which Christianity can only gain, and what lies outside the limits of scientific research."

Who is to decide on the limits of scientific research if not scientific research itself? According to the leading article, limits should be prescribed to science. The leading article, therefore, knows of an "*official reason*" which does not learn from scientific research, but teaches it, which is a learned providence that establishes the length every hair should have to convert a scientist's beard into a beard of world importance. The leading article believes in the scientific inspiration of the censorship.

Before going further into these "silly" explanations of the leading article on the subject of "scientific research", let us sample for a moment the "*philosophy of religion*" of Herr H.,[b] his "own science"!

"Religion is the basis of the state and the most necessary condition for every social association which does not aim merely at achieving some external aim."

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[a] Marx wrote these words in English.— *Ed.*

[b] Hermes.— *Ed.*

*The proof*: "In its crudest form as *childish fetishism* it nevertheless to some extent raises man above his sensuous desires which, if he allowed himself to be ruled exclusively by them, could *degrade him to the level of an animal* and make him incapable of fulfilling any higher aim."

The author of the leading article calls fetishism the *"crudest* form" of religion. He concedes, therefore, what all "men of science" regard as established even without his agreement, that *"animal worship"* is a *higher* form of religion than fetishism. But does not animal worship degrade man below the animal, does it not make the animal man's god?

And now, indeed, "fetishism"! Truly, the erudition of a penny magazine! Fetishism is so far from raising man *above* his sensuous desires that, on the contrary, it is "the *religion of sensuous desire*". Fantasy arising from desire deceives the fetish-worshipper into believing that an "inanimate object" will give up its natural character in order to comply with his desires. Hence the crude desire of the fetish-worshipper *smashes* the fetish when it ceases to be its most obedient servant.

"In those nations which attained higher historical significance, the flowering of their national life coincides with the highest development of their religious consciousness, and the decline of their greatness and their power coincides with the decline of their religious culture."

To arrive at the truth, the author's assertion must be directly reversed; he has stood history on its head. Among the peoples of the ancient world, Greece and Rome are certainly countries of the highest "historical culture". Greece flourished at its best internally in the time of Pericles, externally in the time of Alexander. In the age of Pericles the Sophists, and Socrates, who could be called the embodiment of philosophy, art and rhetoric supplanted religion. The age of Alexander was the age of Aristotle, who rejected the eternity of the "individual" spirit and the God of positive religions. And as for Rome! Read Cicero! The Epicurean, Stoic or Sceptic philosophies were the religions of cultured Romans when Rome had reached the zenith of its development. That with the downfall of the ancient states their religions also disappeared requires no further explanation, for the "true religion" of the ancients was the cult of "their nationality", of their "state". It was not the downfall of the old religions that caused the downfall of the ancient states, but the downfall of the ancient states that caused the downfall of the old religions. And such ignorance as is found in this leading article proclaims itself the "legislator of scientific research" and writes "decrees" for philosophy.

"The entire ancient world had to collapse because the progress achieved by the peoples in their scientific development was necessarily bound up with a revelation of the errors on which their religious views were based."

According to the leading article, therefore, the entire ancient world collapsed because scientific research revealed the errors of the old religions. Would the ancient world not have perished if scientific research had kept silent about the errors of religion, if the Roman authorities had been recommended by the author of the leading article to excise the writings of Lucretius and Lucian?

For the rest, we shall permit ourselves to enlarge Herr H.'s erudition in another communication.

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 193, July 12, 1842, Supplement]

At the very time when the downfall of the ancient world was approaching, there arose the *Alexandrine school,* which strove to prove by force the "eternal truth" of Greek mythology and its complete agreement "with the results of scientific research". The Emperor Julian, too, belonged to this trend, which believed that it could make the newly developing spirit of the times disappear by keeping its eyes closed so as not to see it. However, let us continue with the conclusion arrived at by H.! In the old religions, "the feeble notion of the divine was shrouded in the blackest night of error", and therefore could not stand up to scientific research. Under Christianity, the opposite is the case, as any thinking machine will conclude. At all events, H. says:

"The greatest results of scientific research have so far only served to confirm the truths of the Christian religion."

We leave aside the fact that all the philosophies of the past without exception have been accused by the theologians of abandoning the Christian religion, even those of the pious Malebranche and the divinely inspired Jakob Böhme, and that Leibniz was accused of being a "Löwenix" (a believer in nothing) by the Brunswick peasants, and of being an atheist by the Englishman Clarke and other supporters of Newton. We leave aside, too, the fact that, as the most capable and consistent section of Protestant theologians has maintained, Christianity cannot be reconciled with reason because "secular" and "spiritual" reason contradict each other, which Tertullian classically expressed by saying: "*verum est, quia absurdum est.*"[a] Leaving aside all this, we ask: how is the agreement of scientific research with religion to be

[a] "It is true because it is absurd" (*Carne Christi,* II, 5).—*Ed.*

proved, except by allowing it to take its own course and so compelling it to resolve itself into religion? Any other compulsion is at least no proof.

Of course, if from the outset you recognise as the result of scientific research only that which agrees with your own view, it is easy to pose as a prophet. But in that case how are your assertions superior to those of the Indian Brahmin who proves the holiness of the Vedas[60] by reserving to himself alone the right to read them?

Yes, says H., it is a question of "scientific research". But every research that contradicts Christianity "stops halfway" or "takes a wrong road". Could there be a more convenient way of arguing?

Scientific research, once it has "*'made clear'* to itself the content of its results, will never conflict with the truths of Christianity". At the same time, however, the state must ensure that this *"clarification"* is impossible, for research must never adapt itself to the level of understanding of the broad mass, i. e., it must never become popular and clear *to itself*. Even when it is attacked by unscientific investigators in all newspapers of the monarchy, it must be modest and remain silent.

Christianity precludes the possibility of "any new decline", but the police must be on their guard to see that philosophising newspaper writers do not bring about such a decline; they must guard against this with the utmost strictness. In the struggle with truth, error will of itself be recognised as such, without the need of any suppression by external force; but the state must facilitate this struggle of the truth, not, indeed, by depriving the champions of "error" of inner freedom, which it cannot take away from them, but by depriving them of the possibility of this freedom, the possibility of existence.

Christianity is sure of its victory, but according to H. it is not so sure of it as to spurn the aid of the police.

If from the outset everything that contradicts your faith is error, and has to be treated as error, what distinguishes your claims from those of the Mohammedan or of any other religion? Should philosophy, in order not to contradict the basic tenets of dogma, adopt different principles in each country, in accordance with the saying "every country has its own customs"? Should it believe in one country that $3 \times 1 = 1$, in another that women have no souls, and in a third that beer is drunk in heaven? Is there no *universal human* nature, as there is a universal nature of plants and stars? Philosophy asks what is true, not what is held to be true. It asks what is true for all mankind, not what is true for some people. Its

metaphysical truths do not recognise the boundaries of political geography; its political truths know too well where the "bounds" begin for it to confuse the illusory horizon of a particular world or national outlook with the true horizon of the human mind. Of all the defenders of Christianity, H. is the weakest.

The *long existence* of Christianity is his sole proof in its favour. But has not philosophy also existed from Thales down to the present day, and indeed does not H. himself assert that it now puts forward greater claims and has a higher opinion of its importance than ever before?

Finally, how does H. prove that the state is a "Christian" state, that its aim is not a free association of moral human beings, but an association of believers, not the realisation of freedom, but the realisation of dogma?

> "All our European states have Christianity as their basis."

The *French* state too? The Charter, Article 3, does not say: "every Christian" or "only a Christian", but:

> "*tous les Français* sont également admissibles aux emplois civiles et militaires".[a61]

Prussian Law, too, Part II, Section XIII, says:

> "The *primary* duty of the head of state is to maintain tranquillity and security, both internally and externally, and to protect everyone from violence and interference in regard to what belongs to him."[62]

According to § 1, the head of state combines in his person all the "duties and rights of the state". It does not say that the primary duty of the state is to suppress heretical errors and to ensure citizens the bliss of the other world.

But if some European states are in fact based on Christianity, do these states correspond to their concept and is the "pure existence" of a condition the right of that condition to exist?

According to the view of our H., of course, this is the case, for he reminds adherents of Young Hegelianism

> "that, according to the laws which are in force in the greater part of the state, a *marriage without consecration by the church* is regarded as *concubinage* and as such is punishable under *police* regulations".

Therefore, if "marriage without consecration by the church" is regarded on the Rhine as "marriage" according to the Napoleonic Code,[63] but on the Spree as "concubinage" according to Prussian Law, then punishment "under police regulations" ought to be an

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[a] "*All Frenchmen* are equally eligible for civil and military posts."—*Ed.*

argument for philosophers that what is right in one place is wrong in another, that it is not the Napoleonic Code, but Prussian Law which has the scientific, moral and rational conception of marriage. This "philosophy of punishment under police regulations" may be convincing in some places, but it is not convincing in *Prussia.* Furthermore, how little the standpoint of "holy" marriage coincides with that of Prussian Law can be seen from § 12, Part II, Section I, which states:

"Nevertheless, a marriage which is permitted by the laws of the land loses none of its *civil* validity because the dispensation of the spiritual authorities has not been sought or has been refused."

Hence in Prussia, too, marriage is partially emancipated from the "spiritual authorities" and its "civil" validity is distinguished from its "ecclesiastical" validity.

That our great Christian philosopher of the state has no "high" opinion of the state goes without saying.

"Since our states are not merely *legal associations,* but at the same time true *educational institutions,* with the only difference that they extend their care to a *wider* circle than the institutions devoted to the education of youth", etc., "the whole of public education" rests "on the basis of Christianity".

The education of our school youth is based just as much on the ancient classics and the sciences in general as on the catechism.

According to H., the state differs from an institution for young children not in content, but in magnitude, its "care" is wider.

The true "public" education carried out by the state lies in the rational and public existence of the state; the state itself educates its members by making them its members, by converting the aims of the individual into general aims, crude instinct into moral inclination, natural independence into spiritual freedom, by the individual finding his good in the life of the whole, and the whole in the frame of mind of the individual.

The leading article, on the other hand, makes the state not an association of free human beings who educate one another, but a crowd of adults who are destined to be educated from above and to pass from a "narrow" schoolroom into a "wider" one.

This theory of education and tutelage is put forward here by a friend of freedom of the press, who, out of love for this beauty, points out the "negligences of the censorship", who knows how to describe in the appropriate place the "level of understanding of the broad masses" (perhaps the "level of understanding of the broad masses" has *recently* begun to appear so doubtful to the *Kölnische Zeitung* because this mass has ceased to appreciate the

superiority of the "unphilosophical newspaper"?) and who advises the learned to keep one view for the stage and another for the backstage!

In the same way that the leading article gives documentary evidence of its "*inferior*" opinion of the state, so it does now of its *low opinion of "Christianity."*

"All the newspaper articles in the world will never be able to convince a people which on the whole feels well and happy that it is in an unfortunate condition."

We should think so! The *Material* feeling of well-being and happiness is a more reliable bulwark against newspaper articles then the blissful and all-conquering trust in faith! H. does not sing: "A reliable fortress is our God." [a] According to him, the truly believing disposition of the "broad masses" is more exposed to the rust of doubt than the refined worldly culture of the "few"!

"Even incitements to revolt" are less feared by H. "in a *well-ordered* state" than in a "well-ordered church", which, moreover, is guided in all truth by the "spirit of God". A fine believer he is! And now for the reason for it! Namely, the masses can understand political articles but they find philosophical articles incomprehensible!

Finally, if the hint in the leading article that "the *half* measures adopted recently against Young Hegelianism have had the usual consequences of half measures" is put alongside the *ingenuous* wish that the latest efforts of the Hegelings may pass "without *altogether harmful* consequences", one can understand the words of Cornwall in *King Lear*:

He cannot flatter, he,—
An honest mind and plain,—he must speak truth:
And they will take it, so; if not, he's plain.
These kind of knaves I know, which in this plainness
Harbour more craft, and more corrupter ends,
Than twenty silly ducking observants,
That stretch their duties nicely.[b]

We believe we would be insulting the readers of the *Rheinische Zeitung* if we imagined that they would be satisfied with the spectacle, more comic than serious, of a *ci-devant* liberal, a "young man of days gone by",[64] cut down to his proper size. We should like to say a few words on "*the heart of the matter*". As long as we were occupied with the polemic against the ailing article, it would have been wrong to interrupt him in his work of self-destruction.

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[a] First lines of Martin Luther's choral, Ein Feste Burg.— *Ed.*

[b] W. Shakespeare, *King Lear*, Act II, Scene 2.— *Ed.*

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 195, July 14, 1842, Supplement]

First of all, the question is raised: "Ought philosophy to discuss religious matters also in newspaper articles?"

This question can be answered only by criticising it.

Philosophy, especially German philosophy, has an urge for isolation, for systematic seclusion, for dispassionate self-examination which from the start places it in estranged contrast to the quick-witted and alive-to-events newspapers, whose only delight is in information. Philosophy, taken in its systematic development, is unpopular; its secret life within itself seems to the layman a pursuit as extravagant as it is unpractical, it is regarded as a professor of magic arts, whose incantations sound awe-inspiring because no one understands them.

True to its nature, philosophy has never taken the first step towards exchanging the ascetic frock of the priest for the light, conventional garb of the newspapers. However, philosophers do not spring up like mushrooms out of the ground; they are products of their time, of their nation, whose most subtle, valuable and invisible juices flow in the ideas of philosophy. The same spirit that constructs railways with the hands of workers, constructs philosophical systems in the brains of philosophers. Philosophy does not exist outside the world, any more than the brain exists outside man because it is not situated in the stomach. But philosophy, of course, exists in the world through the brain before it stands with its feet on the ground, whereas many other spheres of human activity have long had their feet rooted in the ground and pluck with their hands the fruits of the world before they have any inkling that the "head" also belongs to this world, or that this world is the world of the head.

Since every true philosophy is the intellectual quintessence of its time, the time must come when philosophy not only internally by its content, but also externally through its form, comes into contact and interaction with the real world of its day. Philosophy then ceases to be a particular system in relation to other particular systems, it becomes philosophy in general in relation to the world, it becomes the philosophy of the contemporary world. The external forms which confirm that philosophy has attained this significance, that it is the living soul of culture, that philosophy has become worldly and the world has become philosophical, have been the same in all ages. One can consult any history book and find repeated with stereotyped fidelity the simplest rituals which unmistakably mark the penetration of philosophy into salons, priests' studies, editorial offices of newspapers and court antecham-

bers, into the love and the hate of contemporaries. Philosophy comes into the world amid the loud cries of its enemies, who betray their inner infection by wild shouts for help against the fiery ardour of ideas. This cry of its enemies has the same significance for philosophy as the first cry of the new-born babe has for the anxiously listening ear of the mother: it is the cry testifying to the life of its ideas, which have burst the orderly hieroglyphic husk of the system and become citizens of the world. The Corybantes and Cabiri,[65] whose loud fanfares announce to the world the birth of the infant Zeus, attack first of all the religious section of the philosophers, partly because the inquisitorial instinct is more certain to have an appeal for the sentimental side of the public, partly because the public, which includes also the opponents of philosophy, can feel the sphere of philosophical ideas only by means of its ideal antennae, and the only circle of ideas in the value of which the public believes almost as much as in the system of material needs is the circle of religious ideas; and finally because religion polemises not against a particular system of philosophy, but against the philosophy of all particular systems.

The true philosophy of the present day does not differ from the true philosophies of the past by this destiny. On the contrary, this destiny is a proof which history owed to its truth.

For six years German newspapers have been drumming against, calumniating, distorting and bowdlerising the religious trend in philosophy.[66] The Augsburg *Allgemeine* sang bravura arias, almost every overture played the leitmotif, to the effect that philosophy did not deserve to be discussed by this wise lady, that it was a rodomontade of youth, a fashion of blasé coteries. But, in spite of all this, it was impossible to get away from philosophy, and the drumming was continually renewed, for the Augsburg paper plays only one instrument in its anti-philosophical cat's concert, the monotonous kettle-drum. All German newspapers, from the *Berliner politisches Wochenblatt* and the *Hamburger Correspondent* down to the obscure local newspapers, down to the *Kölnische Zeitung*, reverberated with the names of Hegel and Schelling, Feuerbach and Bauer, the *Deutsche Jahrbücher*,[67] etc. Finally, the public became eager to see the Leviathan itself, the more so because semi-official articles threatened to have a legal syllabus officially prescribed for philosophy, and it was precisely then that philosophy made its appearance in the newspapers. For a long time philosophy had remained silent in the face of the self-satisfied superficiality which boasted that by means of a few hackneyed newspaper phrases it would blow away like soap-bubbles the long years of study by

genius, the hard-won fruits of self-sacrificing solitude, the results of the unseen but slowly exhausting struggles of contemplative thought. Philosophy had even *protested against the newspapers* as an unsuitable arena, but finally it had to break its silence; it became a newspaper correspondent, and then—unheard-of diversion!—it suddenly occurred to the loquacious purveyors of newspapers that philosophy was not a fitting pabulum for their readers. They could not fail to bring to the notice of the governments that it was dishonest to introduce philosophical and religious questions into the sphere of the newspapers not for the enlightenment of the public but to achieve external aims.

What could philosophy say about religion or about itself that would be worse than your newspaper hullabaloo had already long ago attributed to it in a worse and more frivolous form? It only has to repeat what you unphilosophical Capuchins preach about it in thousands and thousands of controversial speeches—and the worst will have been said.

But philosophy speaks about religious and philosophical matters in a different way than you have spoken about them. You speak without having studied them, philosophy speaks after studying them; you appeal to the emotions, it appeals to reason; you anathematise, it teaches; you promise heaven and earth, it promises nothing but the truth; you demand belief in your beliefs, it demands not belief in its results but the testing of doubts; you frighten, it calms. And, in truth, philosophy has enough knowledge of the world to realise that its results do not flatter the pleasure-seeking and egoism of either the heavenly or the earthly world. But the public, which loves truth and knowledge for their own sakes, will be well able to measure its judgment and morality against the judgment and morality of ignorant, servile, inconsistent and venal scribblers.

Of course, there may be some persons who misinterpret philosophy owing to the wretchedness of their understanding and attitude. But do not you Protestants believe that Catholics misinterpret Christianity, do you not reproach the Christian religion on account of the shameful times of the eighth and ninth centuries, or St. Bartholomew's night, or the Inquisition? There is clear proof that Protestant theology's hatred of philosophers arises largely from the tolerance shown by philosophy towards each particular creed as such. Feuerbach and Strauss have been more reproached for regarding Catholic dogmas as Christian than for declaring that the dogmas of Christianity are not dogmas of reason.

But if some individuals cannot digest modern philosophy and die of philosophical indigestion, that is no more evidence against philosophy than the occasional bursting of an engine boiler, with consequent injury to passengers, is evidence against the science of mechanics.

The question whether philosophical and religious matters ought to be discussed in the newspapers dissolves in its own lack of ideas.

When such questions begin to interest the public as *questions for newspapers,* they have become *questions of the time.* Then the problem is not whether they should be discussed, but where and how they should be discussed, whether in inner circles of the families and the salons, in schools and churches, but not by the press; by opponents of philosophy, but not by philosophers; in the obscure language of private opinion, but not in the clarifying language of public reason. Then the question is whether the sphere of the press should include what exists as a reality; it is no longer a matter of a particular content of the press, but of the general question whether the press ought to be a genuine press, i.e., a free press.

The second question we separate entirely from the first: "Should the newspapers treat politics philosophically in a so-called Christian state?"

When religion becomes a political factor, a subject-matter of politics, it hardly needs to be said that the newspapers not only may, but must discuss political questions. It seems obvious that philosophy, the wisdom of the world, has a greater right to concern itself with the realm of this world, with the state, than has the wisdom of the other world, religion. The question here is not whether there should be any philosophising about the state, but whether this should be done well or badly, philosophically or unphilosophically, with or without prejudice, with or without consciousness, consistently or inconsistently, quite rationally or semi-rationally. If you make religion into a theory of constitutional law, then you are making religion itself into a kind of philosophy.

Was it not Christianity above all that separated church and state?

Read St. Augustine's *De civitate Dei,* study the Fathers of the Church and the spirit of Christianity, and then come back and tell us whether the state or the church is the "Christian state"! Or does not every moment of your practical life brand your theory as a lie? Do you consider it wrong to appeal to the courts if you have been cheated? But the apostle writes that it is wrong. If you have been struck on one cheek, do you turn the other also, or do you

not rather start an action for assault? But the gospel forbids it. Do you not demand rational right in this world, do you not grumble at the slightest raising of taxes, are you not beside yourself at the least infringement of your personal liberty? But you have been told that suffering in this life is not to be compared with the bliss of the future, that passive sufferance and blissful hope are the cardinal virtues.

Are not most of your court cases and most of your civil laws concerned with property? But you have been told that your treasure is not of this world. Or if you plead that you render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's, then you should regard not only golden Mammon, but at least as much free reason, as the ruler of this world, and the "action of free reason" is what we call philosophising.

When it was proposed to form a quasi-religious union of states in the shape of the Holy Alliance and to make religion the state emblem of Europe, the *Pope*, with profound intelligence and perfect consistency, refused to join it, on the grounds that the universal Christian link between peoples is the church and not diplomacy, not a secular union of states.

The truly religious state is the theocratic state; the head of such states must be either the God of religion, Jehovah himself, as in the Jewish state, or God's representative, the Dalai Lama, as in Tibet, or finally, as Görres rightly demands in his recent book, all the Christian states must subordinate themselves to a church which is an "infallible church". For where, as under Protestantism, there is no supreme head of the church, the rule of religion is nothing but the religion of rule, the cult of the government's will.

Once a state includes several creeds having equal rights, it can no longer be a religious state without being a violation of the rights of the particular creeds, a church which condemns all adherents of a different creed as heretics, which makes every morsel of bread depend on one's faith, and which makes dogma the link between individuals and their existence as citizens of the state. Ask the Catholic inhabitants of "poor green Erin",[a] ask the Huguenots before the French revolution; they did not appeal to religion, for their religion was not the state religion; they appealed to the "Rights of Humanity", and philosophy interprets the rights of humanity and demands that the state should be a state of human nature.

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[a] Ireland.— *Ed.*

But, according to the assertions of half-hearted, narrow-minded rationalism, which is in equal measure unbelieving and theological, the general spirit of Christianity, irrespective of differences of creed, should be the spirit of the state! It is the greatest irreligion, it is the arrogance of secular reason, to divorce the general spirit of religion from actually existing religion. This separation of religion from its dogmas and institutions is tantamount to asserting that the general spirit of the law ought to prevail in the state irrespective of particular laws and positive legal institutions.

If you presume yourself raised so high above religion that you are entitled to separate its general spirit from its positive provisions, how can you reproach the philosophers if they carry out this separation completely and not halfway, if they call the general spirit of religion the human spirit, and not the Christian spirit?

Christians live in states with different political constitutions, some in a republic, others in an absolute monarchy, and others again in a constitutional monarchy. Christianity does not decide whether the constitutions are *good*, for it knows no distinction between them. It teaches, as religion is bound to teach: submit to authority, for *all authority* is from God. Therefore, you must judge the rightfulness of state constitutions not on the basis of Christianity, but on the basis of the state's own nature and essence, not on the basis of the nature of Christian society, but on the basis of the nature of human society.

The Byzantine state was the real religious state, for in it dogmas were questions of state, but the Byzantine state was the worst of states. The states of the *ancien régime* were the most Christian states of all; nevertheless, they were states dependent on the "will of the court".

There exists a dilemma in the face of which "common" sense is powerless.

Either the Christian state corresponds to the concept of the state as the realisation of rational freedom, and then the state only needs to be a rational state in order to be a Christian state and it suffices to derive the state from the rational character of human relations, a task which philosophy accomplishes; or the state of rational freedom cannot be derived from Christianity, and then you yourself will admit that this derivation is not intended by Christianity, since it does not want a bad state, and a state that is not the realisation of rational freedom is a bad state.

You may solve this dilemma in whatever way you like, you will have to admit that the state must be built on the basis of free reason, and not of religion. Only the crassest ignorance could

assert that this theory, the conversion of the concept of the state into an independent concept, is a passing whim of recent philosophers.

In the political sphere, philosophy has done nothing that physics, mathematics, medicine, and every science, have not done in their respective spheres. Bacon of Verulam said that theological physics was a virgin dedicated to God and barren,[a] he emancipated physics from theology and it became fertile. Just as you do not ask the physician whether he is a believer, you have no reason to ask the politician either. Immediately before and after the time of Copernicus' great discovery of the true solar system, the law of gravitation of the state was discovered, its own gravity was found in the state itself. The various European governments tried, in the superficial way of first practical attempts, to apply this result in order to establish a system of equilibrium of states. Earlier, however, Machiavelli and Campanella, and later Hobbes, Spinoza, Hugo Grotius, right down to Rousseau, Fichte and Hegel, began to regard the state through human eyes and to deduce its natural laws from reason and experience, and not from theology. In so doing, they were as little deterred as Copernicus was by the fact that Joshua bade the sun stand still over Gideon and the moon in the valley of Ajalon. Recent philosophy has only continued the work begun by Heraclitus and Aristotle. You wage a polemic, therefore, not against the rational character of recent philosophy, but against the ever new philosophy of reason. Of course, the ignorance which perhaps only yesterday or the day before yesterday discovered for the first time age-old ideas about the state in the *Rheinische* or the *Königsberger Zeitung,* regards these ideas of history as having suddenly occurred to certain individuals overnight, because they are new to it and reached it only overnight; it forgets that it itself is assuming the old role of the doctor of the Sorbonne who considered it his duty to accuse Montesquieu publicly of being so frivolous as to declare that the supreme merit of the state was political, not ecclesiastical, virtue. It forgets that it is assuming the role of Joachim Lange, who denounced Wolff on the ground that his doctrine of predestination would lead to desertion by the soldiers and thus the weakening of military discipline, and in the long run the collapse of the state. Finally, it forgets that Prussian Law was derived from the philosophical school of precisely "this Wolff", and that the French Napoleonic

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[a] F. Baconi Baronis de Verulamio, *De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum,* Liber I, 3.— *Ed.*

Code was derived not from the Old Testament, but from the school of ideas of Voltaire, Rousseau, Condorcet, Mirabeau, and Montesquieu, and from the French revolution. Ignorance is a demon, we fear that it will yet be the cause of many a tragedy; the greatest Greek poets rightly depicted it as tragic fate in the soul-shattering dramas of the royal houses of Mycenae and Thebes.

Whereas the earlier philosophers of constitutional law proceeded in their account of the formation of the state from the instincts, either of ambition or gregariousness, or even from reason, though not social reason, but the reason of the individual, the more ideal and profound view of recent philosophy proceeds from the idea of the whole. It looks on the state as the great organism, in which legal, moral, and political freedom must be realised, and in which the individual citizen in obeying the laws of the state only obeys the natural laws of his own reason, of human reason. *Sapienti sat.*[a]

In conclusion, we turn once more to the *Kölnische Zeitung* with a few philosophical words of farewell. It was very sensible of it to take a liberal "of a former day" into its service. One can very conveniently be both liberal and reactionary if only one is always adroit enough to address oneself to the liberals of the recent past who know no other dilemma than that of Vidocq: either "prisoner or gaoler". It was still more sensible for the liberals of the recent past to join issue with the liberals of the present time. Without parties there is no development, without demarcation there is no progress. We hope that the leading article in No. 179 has opened a new era for the *Kölnische Zeitung,* the era of character.

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Printed according to the newspaper

[a] It is enough for the wise.—*Ed.*

# THE PHILOSOPHICAL MANIFESTO OF THE HISTORICAL SCHOOL OF LAW[68]

It is commonly held that the *historical school* is a *reaction* against the *frivolous spirit* of the *eighteenth* century. The currency of this view is in inverse ratio to its truth. In fact, the eighteenth century had only *one* product, the *essential character* of which is frivolity, and this *sole frivolous* product is the *historical school.*

The historical school has taken the study of sources as its watchword, it has carried its love for sources to such an extreme that it calls on the boatman to ignore the river and row only on its source-head. Hence it will only find it right that we go back to *its sources,* to *Hugo's natural law. Its philosophy* is *ahead* of its development; therefore in its development one will search in vain for philosophy.

According to a fiction current in the eighteenth century, the natural state was considered the true state of human nature. People wanted to see the idea of man through the eyes of the body and created *men of nature, Papagenos,* the naivety of which idea extended even to covering the skin with feathers.[69] During the last decades of the eighteenth century, it was supposed that *peoples in a state of nature* possessed primeval wisdom and everywhere one could hear bird-catchers imitating the twittering method of singing of the Iroquois, the Indians, etc., in the belief that by these arts the birds themselves could be enticed into a trap. All these eccentricities were based on the correct idea that the *primitive* state was a naive Dutch picture of the *true* state.

The *man of nature of the historical school,* still without any of the trappings of romantic culture, is *Hugo.* His textbook of *natural law* is the *Old Testament* of the historical school. *Herder's* view that natural men are *poets,* and that the *sacred* books of natural peoples

are *poetic* works, presents no obstacle to us, although Hugo talks the most trivial and sober prose, for just as every century has its own peculiar nature, so too it gives birth to its own peculiar natural men. Hence, although Hugo does not *write poerty,* he does *write fiction,* and *fiction* is the *poerty of prose* corresponding to the prosaic nature of the eighteenth century.

By describing Herr Hugo as the forefather and creator of the historical school, however, we are acting in accord with the latter's *own view,* as is proved by the *gala programme* of the most famous historical jurist[a] in honour of Hugo's jubilee.[70] By regarding Herr Hugo as a child of the eighteenth century, we are acting even in the *spirit* of Herr Hugo himself, as he testifies by his claim that he is a *pupil* of Kant and that his natural law is an offshoot of *Kantian philosophy.* We shall begin with this item of his *manifesto.*

Hugo *misinterprets* his teacher *Kant* by supposing that because we cannot know what is *true,* we consequently allow the *untrue,* if it *exists* at all, to pass as *fully valid.* He is a *sceptic* as regards the *necessary essence* of things, so as to be a *courtier* as regards their *accidental appearance.* Therefore, he by no means tries to prove that the *positive* is *rational*; he tries to prove that the *positive* is *irrational.* With self-satisfied zeal he adduces arguments from everywhere to provide additional evidence that no rational necessity is inherent in the positive institutions, e.g., property, the state constitution, marriage, etc., that they are even *contrary* to reason, and at most allow of idle *chatter* for and against. One must not in any way blame this *method* on his accidental individuality; it is rather the *method of his principle,* it is the *frank, naive, reckless* method of the historical school. If the *positive* is supposed to be *valid because* it is *positive,* then I have to *prove* that the *positive* is *not* valid *because* it is *rational,* and how could I make this more evident than by proving that the unreasonable is positive and the positive unreasonable, that the positive exists not *owing to* reason, but *in spite of* reason? If *reason* were the *measure of the positive,* the *positive* would not be the *measure of reason.* "Though this be madness, yet there is method in't!"[b] Hugo, therefore, *profanes* all that the just, moral, political man regards as holy, but he smashes these holy things only to be able to honour them as *historical relics*; he desecrates them in the *eyes of reason* in order afterwards to make them honourable in the *eyes of history,* and at the same time to make the *eyes of the historical school* honourable.

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[a] F. C. Savigny.—*Ed.*
[b] W. Shakespeare, *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark,* Act II, Scene 2.—*Ed.*

Hugo's *reasoning*, like his *principle*, is *positive*, i.e., *uncritical*. He knows *no distinctions*. *Everything existing* serves him as an *authority*, every authority serves him as an *argument*. Thus, in a single paragraph he quotes *Moses* and *Voltaire*, *Richardson* and *Homer*, *Montaigne* and *Ammon*, *Rousseau*'s *Contrat social* and *Augustine*'s *De civitate Dei*. The same levelling procedure is applied to *peoples*. According to Hugo, the *Siamese*, who considers it an eternal law of nature that his king should have the mouths of chatterers sewn up and the mouth of a clumsy orator slit to the ears, is just as *positive* as the *Englishman*, who would consider it a political anomaly if his king were autocratically to impose even a penny tax. The shameless *Conci*, who runs about naked and at most covers himself with mud, is as positive as the *Frenchman*, who not only dresses, but dresses elegantly. The *German*, who brings up his daughter as the jewel of the family, is not more positive than the *Rajput*, who kills his daughter to save himself the trouble of feeding her. In short, *a rash is just as positive as the skin itself*.

In one place, one thing is positive, in another something else; the one is as irrational as the other. Submit yourself to what is positive in your own home.

*Hugo*, therefore, is the *complete sceptic*. With him, the *eighteenth-century scepticism* in regard to the *rationality of what exists* appears as *scepticism* in regard to the *existence of rationality*. He accepts the *Enlightenment, he no longer sees anything rational in the positive, but only in order no longer to see anything positive in the rational*. He thinks the appearance of reason has been expelled from the positive in order to recognise the positive *without* the appearance of reason. He thinks the *false flowers* have been plucked from the chains in order to wear *real chains* without any flowers.

*Hugo*'s relation to the *other Enlighteners* of the eighteenth century is about the same as that between the *dissolution of the French state* at the debauched *court of the Regent*[a] and the dissolution of the French state during the *National Assembly*. In both cases there is dissolution! In the former case it appears as *debauched frivolity*, which realises and ridicules the hollow lack of ideas of the existing state of things, but only in order, having got rid of all rational and moral ties, to *make sport* of the decaying ruins, and then itself to be made sport of by them and dissolved. It is the *corruption of the then existing world, which takes pleasure in itself*. In the *National Assembly*, on the other hand, the *dissolution* appears as the *liberation of the new spirit* from *old forms*, which were no longer of any *value*

[a] Philippe II of Orleans.—*Ed.*

or *capable* of containing it. It is the *new life's feeling of its own power,* which *shatters* what has been *shattered* and *rejects* what has been *rejected.* If, therefore, *Kant's philosophy* must be rightly regarded as the *German theory* of the French revolution, *Hugo's natural law* is the *German theory* of the French *ancien régime.* We find in it once more the whole *frivolity* of those *roues,*[a] the *base scepticism,* which, insolent towards ideas but most subservient towards what is palpably evident, begins to feel clever only where it has killed the *spirit* of the positive, in order to possess the purely positive as a residue and to feel comfortable in this *animal* state. Even when Hugo weighs up the force of the arguments, he finds with an unerring sure instinct that what is rational and moral in institutions is *doubtful* for reason. Only *what is animal* seems to *his reason* to be *indubitable.* But let us listen to our enlightener from the standpoint of the *ancien régime*! Hugo's views must be heard from Hugo himself. To all his combinations should be added: αὐτος ἔφα.[b]

## *Introduction*

"*The sole juristic distinguishing feature* of *man* is his *animal* nature."

## *The Chapter on Freedom*

"A *limitation of freedom*" (of a *rational* being) "lies even in the fact *that it cannot of its own accord cease to be a rational being,* i.e., a being which can and should act rationally."

"*Absence of freedom in no way* alters the animal and rational nature of the *unfree man* or of *other men. All the obligations of conscience* remain. *Slavery* is not only *physically* possible, but also possible *from a rational standpoint,* and any research which teaches us the contrary must be based on some kind of error. Of course, slavery is not *absolutely lawful,* i.e., it does not follow from man's animal nature, or from his rational nature, or from his nature as a citizen. But that it can be *provisionally lawful, just as much* as *anything* acknowledged by its opponents, is shown by comparison with *private law* and *public law.*" The proof is: "From the point of view of *animal* nature, he that is *owned* by a rich man, who suffers a loss without him and is heedful of his needs, is obviously more secure against want than the poor man whom his fellow men make use of so long as he has anything for them to use, etc." "The right to *maltreat* and *cripple servi*[c] is not essential, and *even when it occurs* it is *not much worse* than what the poor have to endure, and, as regards the *body,* it is not so bad as *war,* from participation in which slaves as such should everywhere be exempt. Even *beauty* is more likely to be found in a *Circassian slave girl* than in a *beggar girl.*" (Listen to the old man!)

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[a] Rogues.— *Ed.*

[b] He himself said.— *Ed.*

[c] Slaves.— *Ed.*

"As regards its *rational* nature, slavery has the advantage over poverty that the slave-owner, even from *well-understood economic considerations*, is much more likely to expend something on the education of a slave who shows ability than in the case of a beggar child. Under a *constitution*, the slave is spared very many kinds of oppression. Is the slave more unfortunate than the prisoner of war, whose guards' only concern is that they are temporarily responsible for him, or more unfortunate than the convict labourer over whom the government has placed an overseer?"

"Whether slavery as such is advantageous or disadvantageous for *reproduction* is a question still in dispute."

## *The Chapter on Marriage*

"Regarded from the *philosophical* standpoint of positive law, *marriage* is already often considered *much more essential* and *much more rational* than would appear from *a quite free examination.*"

It is precisely the *satisfaction of the sexual instinct* in marriage that suits Herr Hugo. He even draws a *wholesome moral* from this fact:

"From this, as from countless other circumstances, it *should have been clear* that to *treat the human body as a means to an end* is not always *immoral*, as people, including presumably *Kant himself*, have incorrectly understood this expression."

But the sanctification of the sexual instinct by *exclusiveness*, the bridling of this instinct through laws, the *moral beauty* which idealises the bidding of nature and makes it an element of spiritual union, the *spiritual essence* of marriage, that is precisely what Herr Hugo finds *dubious* in marriage. But before we go further into his *frivolous shamelessness*, let us listen for a moment to the French *philosopher* in contrast to the *historical* German.

"C'est en renonçant pour un seul homme à cette réserve mystérieuse, dont la règle divine est imprimée dans son cœur, que la femme se voue à cet homme, pour lequel elle suspend, dans un abandon momentané, cette pudeur, qui ne la quitte jamais; pour lequel seul elle écarte des voiles qui sont d'ailleurs son asile et sa parure. De là cette confiance intime dans son époux, résultat d'une relation exclusive, qui ne peut exister qu'entre elle et lui, sans qu'aussitôt elle se sente flétrie; de là dans cet époux la reconnaissance pour un sacrifice et ce mélange de désir et de respect pour un être qui, même en partageant ses plaisirs, ne semble encore que lui céder; de là tout ce qu'il y a de *régulier* dans notre *ordre social.*" [a]

So says the liberal philosophical *Frenchman Benjamin Constant*! [71] And now let us listen to the servile, historical German:

[a] "By renouncing for one man alone that mysterious reserve which divine law has implanted in her heart, the woman pledges herself to this man for whose sake she momentarily suspends the modesty which she never loses, for whom alone she lifts the veils which otherwise are her refuge and her adornment. Hence this intimate confidence in her husband, the result of an exclusive relation which can only exist between her and him, and without which she feels herself dishonoured. Hence her husband's thankfulness for the sacrifice and that mixture of desire and respect for a being who, even while sharing his pleasures, seems only to be submitting to him. Hence the source of all that is *orderly* in our *social system.*"—*Ed.*

"Much *more dubious* is the second circumstance, that *outside marriage the satisfaction of this instinct* is *not* permitted! *Animal nature is against this restriction. Rational* nature is still more so, because"... (guess!)... "because a man must be *almost omniscient* in order to foresee what result it will have, because it is therefore *tempting God* to pledge oneself to satisfy one of the most powerful natural instincts only when this can take place with one particular person!" "*The sense of the beautiful,* which is *free* by its very nature, has to be fettered and what depends on it has to be wholly divorced from it."

See *what kind* of schooling our *Young Germans* have received! [72]

"This institution conflicts with the nature of *civil society* insofar as... finally the *police* undertake an *almost insoluble task*!"

Clumsy philosophy, which has no such consideration for the *police*!

"Everything that follows as a consequence from a more precise definition of the marriage law, shows us that marriage, whatever principles are adopted in relation to it, is still a *very imperfect institution.*"

"This restriction of the sexual instinct to marriage has *nevertheless also important* advantages, namely, by its means *infectious diseases* are usually *avoided. Marriage* saves the government a lot of *trouble.* Finally, there is also the *consideration,* which is everywhere so important, that in regard to marriage *civil law* is the *customary one.*" "*Fichte says:* An unmarried man is only *half* a man. I" (i.e., Hugo) "am extremely sorry, however, to have to declare that such a beautiful utterance, putting me above Christ, Fénelon, Kant and Hume, is a *monstrous exaggeration.*"

"As regards monogamy and polygamy, this is *obviously* a matter of man's *animal* nature"!!

## *The Chapter on Education*

We learn at once that: "The art of education gives rise to no less objection against the juridical relation connected with it" (education in the family) "than the *art of loving* does against *marriage.*"

"The difficulty that education may only be carried out within such a relation, however, gives rise to far fewer doubts than is the case with the satisfaction of the sexual instinct if for no other reason than that it is permissible to entrust education by contract to a third person, so that he who feels a very strong urge in this respect can easily satisfy it, only not, of course, necessarily in regard to the *particular person* whom he would like to engage. It is, however, also irrational that, by virtue of *such a relationship,* someone to whom no one would entrust a child, may carry on education and exclude others from education." "Finally, here also there is *compulsion,* partly because the educator is often not permitted by positive law to *give up this relationship,* and partly because the one to be educated is compelled to let himself be educated by this particular teacher." "The reality of this relationship depends mostly on the *mere accident* of birth, which is connected with the *father* through *marriage.* This *way of originating* the relationship is obviously not very rational, if only because it usually opens the way to *preference,* which itself is already an obstacle to a good education. That it is not even absolutely necessary is evident from the fact that education is given also to children whose parents are already dead."

### *The Chapter on Civil Law*

§ 107 tells us that the *"necessity of civil law in general is imaginary"*

### *The Chapter on Constitutional Law*

"It is a *holy duty of conscience to obey the authorities in whose hands power lies.*" "As regards the *division of governmental powers,* it is true that *no* particular constitution is absolutely lawful, but *every* constitution is *provisionally lawful, whatever the division of governmental powers.*"

Has not Hugo proved that man can cast off even the *last fetter of freedom,* namely, that of being a *rational being*?

These few extracts from the *philosophical manifesto of the historical school* suffice, we think, for pronouncing a historical verdict on this school, instead of unhistorical fantasies, vague figments of the brain, and deliberate fictions; they suffice for deciding whether *Hugo's successors* are *fit* to be the *legislators of our time.*[73]

At all events, in the course of time and civilisation, this *crude genealogical tree* of the historical school has been shrouded in mist by the *smokescreen of mysticism,* fantastically wrought by *romanticism,* and inoculated with *speculation*; the many fruits of *erudition* have been shaken off the tree, dried and deposited with much boasting in the great storehouse of German erudition. Truly, however, little *criticism* is needed to recognise behind all these fragrant modern phrases the dirty old idea of our enlightener of the *ancien régime,* and his dissolute frivolity behind all the extravagant unctuosity.

If Hugo says: "*Animal* nature is the distinctive *juristic* feature of *man*", from which it follows: law is *animal* law, the educated *moderns* say, instead of the crude, frank "*animal*" law, something like *"organic"* law, for who on hearing the word *"organism"* thinks at once of the *animal organism*? If Hugo says that *marriage* and other *moral-legal* institutions are *irrational,* the *moderns* say that these institutions are indeed *not creations of human reason,* but are *representations* of a higher "*positive*" reason, and so on in regard to all the other articles. Only *one* conclusion is voiced by *all* with equal crudity: *the right of arbitrary power.*

The juridical and historical theories of *Haller, Stahl, Leo,* and their fellow thinkers should be regarded only as *codices rescripti*[a] of *Hugo's natural law,* which after some operations of *critical analysis* allow the old *original text* to be made legible again, as we shall show in more detail at a suitable time.

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[a] Palimpsest.— *Ed.*

All the *tricks of embellishment* are the more in vain as we still have the *old manifesto,* which, if not *intelligent,* is nevertheless *very easy to understand.*

Written between April and early August 1842

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# YET ANOTHER WORD ON *BRUNO BAUER UND DIE AKADEMISCHE LEHRFREIHEIT* BY Dr. O. F. GRUPPE, BERLIN, 1842[74]

If someone in Germany wanted to write a *comedy of dilettantism,* Herr *Dr. O. F. Gruppe* would be an indispensable character in it. Fate has equipped him with that iron tenacity which great men cannot do without, least of all the great men of dilettantism. Even if most of his adventures, like those of Sancho Panza, meet with ambiguous signs of acknowledgment, the monotony of this success is relieved and varied by the comic ingenuousness and touching naivety with which Herr Gruppe accepts his laurels. One cannot fail to perceive even a certain magnanimity in the consistency which has taught Herr Gruppe to conclude: Because I have been thrown out of the schoolroom of philology, it will be my mission to be thrown out also from the ball-room of aesthetics and the halls of philosophy. That is a lot, but it is not all. I shall not have played out my role until I have been thrown out of the temple of theology: and Herr Gruppe is conscientious enough to play out his role.

In his latest performance, however, Herr Gruppe has to some extent departed from the height of his standpoint. We do not doubt for a moment that his latest work *Bruno Bauer and Academic Freedom of Teaching* has been by no means written "in the service of a party or under an influence". Herr Gruppe felt the need to be thrown out of theology, but *worldly wisdom* here came to the aid of his comic instinct. As is fitting for comic characters, Herr Gruppe up to now has worked with most delightful seriousness and most unusual pomposity. Incompleteness, superficiality, and misunderstandings were his *fate,* but they were not his *tendency.* The great man acted according to his nature, but he acted for himself and not for others. He was a *buffoon by profession*: we have

no doubt that in his latest performance he is a *buffoon by order and for remuneration.* The evil intention, the unscrupulous distortion, the base perfidy, will leave the reader, too, in no doubt about it.

It would be contrary to our view of comic characters to waste an extensive critical apparatus on Herr Gruppe. Who wants a critical account of Eulenspiegel? *Anecdotes* are wanted, and we give an anecdote about Herr Gruppe which is *the anecdote of his pamphlet.* It concerns Bauer's exposition of St. Matthew 12: 38-42. The kind reader will have to put up with theological matters for an instant, but he will not forget that it is our purpose to deal with Herr Gruppe and not with theology. He will find it only fair that the characteristic features of Bauer's opponents should be brought to the notice of the newspaper public, since Bauer's character and teaching has been made a newspaper myth.

We shall quote the passage in question from St. Matthew in its entirety.

"Then certain of the scribes and of the Pharisees answered, saying, Master, we would see a sign from thee.

"But he answered and said unto them. An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall *no sign* be given to it, but the sign of the prophet *Jonas*: For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. The men of Nineveh shall rise in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: because they *repented* at the *preaching of Jonas; and, behold, a greater than Jonas is here.* The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: for she came from the uttermost parts of the earth to hear the *wisdom of Solomon; and, behold, a greater than Solomon is here.*"

The Protestant theologians were struck by the contradiction that Jesus here rejects miracles, whereas otherwise he performs miracles. They were struck by the even greater contradiction that at the very time when the Lord refuses the demand for a miracle, he promises a miracle, and indeed a great miracle, his three days' stay in the underworld.

Since the Protestant theologians are too ungodly to admit a contradiction of the scripture *with their* understanding, since they are too sanctimonious to admit a contradiction of their understanding *with the scripture,* they falsify, distort and twist the clear words and the simple meaning of the scripture. They maintain that Jesus here does not *counterpose* his *teaching* and his *spiritual personality* to the demand for a sign; they maintain that

"he is speaking of the whole of his manifestation, which is more than the manifestation of Solomon and of Jonas, and of which 'in particular' *his miracles* also were a part".[75]

By the most thoroughgoing exegesis, Bauer proves to them the absurdity of this explanation. He quotes for them St. Luke [11 : 29-30], in which the troublesome passage about the whale and the three days' stay under the earth is missing. It says:

"This is an evil generation: they seek a sign; and there shall no sign be given it, but the sign of Jonas the prophet. For as Jonas was a sign unto the Ninevites, so shall also the Son of man be to this generation",

upon which St. Luke makes the Lord relate how the men of Nineveh repented at the *preaching* of Jonas and the queen of the south came from the uttermost parts of the earth to hear the *wisdom* of Solomon. Bauer shows that the crux is given still more simply in St. Mark [8: 12-13].

"Why," says Jesus, "doth this generation seek after a sign? verily I say unto you, There shall no sign be given unto this generation. And he left them."

Bauer comes out against the theologians' false interpretation and arbitrary distortion of the texts, and he refers them to what is *actually written* by once more summing up the *meaning of Jesus' speech* in the following words:

"*Keep away from me, theologian*! For, *it is written: a greater than Jonas is here, a greater than Solomon*, that is to say, the men of Nineveh repented at the *preaching* of Jonas, the queen of the south came from the uttermost parts of the earth to hear the *wisdom* of Solomon. But you have given no credence to my words, to my speech, yet these words are the expression of *a personality, whose spiritual compass is infinite, whereas the personalities of Jonas and Solomon were still limited.* But so it shall be, only the sign of Jonas shall be given to you, you shall not see any other sign than this *my person* and its expression, even if infinite, in the word."

After presenting *Jesus' speech* in this way, Bauer adds:

"Where *then* in particular are the miracles?"[76]

And Herr Gruppe? Herr Gruppe says:

"The most unusual thing in this connection is that Bauer in his own baroque *manner presents himself as a prophet.* On p. 296 we read the emphatic passage: *keep away from me, theologian*!" etc. (p. 20).

Herr Gruppe is so shameless as to want to make the reader believe that Bauer is speaking *about himself,* that he is making himself out to be the *infinite personality,* whereas Bauer is *explaining Jesus' speech.* Much as we might like to, we cannot excuse this *qui pro quo,* this Eulenspiegel trick, as due to Herr Gruppe's notorious weakness of intellect and dilettantist ignorance. The *deception* is obvious. It is not merely that Herr Gruppe does not tell the reader what it is all about. We might still think that the dilettante had accidentally opened Bauer's work at p. 296 and in

the happy-go-lucky haste of compiling his book did not have time to read the preceding and following statements. But Herr Gruppe *suppresses* the conclusion of the "emphatic passage", the conclusion, which is beyond all possible misunderstanding: "But so it shall be, *only* the sign of Jonas shall be given to you, you shall not see any other sign than *this my person* and its expression, even if infinite, in the word. Where *then* 'in particular' are the miracles?"

Herr Gruppe was aware that even the biassed reader, the reader who was so foolish as to look for Bauer not in Bauer's writings, but in the writings of Herr Gruppe, could not fail to be convinced that Bauer was not speaking on his own account, but that he was saying *what is written.* Disregarding all other absurdities, what else could have been implied by the words "Where then in particular are the miracles?"

We doubt whether German literature has a similar specimen of shamelessness to offer.

Herr Gruppe says in his foreword:

> "During my work it has become increasingly evident to me that we are living in an age of rhetoricians and sophists" (p. iv).

If this is meant to be a *confession,* we must seriously protest against it. Herr Gruppe is neither a rhetorician nor a sophist. Until the period of his pamphlet on Bauer, he was a *comical character,* he was a rogue in the naive sense; since then he has lost nothing but his naivety, and hence he is now—but let his conscience tell him that. For the rest, Bauer can regard it an acknowledgment of his intellectual superiority that he could be opposed only by men so low in intelligence and so remote from any superiority that he could hit them only by allowing himself to *fall* to their level.

Written in early September 1842
First published in the journal *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst,* 5. Jg., No. 273, November 16, 1842

Signed: *K. M.*

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first time

# COMMUNISM AND THE AUGSBURG *ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG*[77]

*Cologne,* October 15. No. 284 of the *Augsburg newspaper* has been so clumsy as to claim it has discovered that the *Rheinische Zeitung* is a Prussian *woman Communist,* true not a real Communist, but nevertheless one who in her imagination coquettes with communism and ogles it in a platonic fashion.

Whether this naughty flight of fancy on the part of the lady of Augsburg is unselfish, or whether this idle illusion of her overheated imagination is bound up with speculation and diplomatic dealings, we leave the reader to judge—after we have presented the alleged *corpus delicti.*

The *Rheinische Zeitung,* we are told, published a communist article on the Berlin family houses,[78] and accompanied it with the following comment: This information "*should not be without interest for the history of this important question of the time*". It follows, therefore, according to the Augsburg newspaper's logic, that the *Rheinische Zeitung*

> "*served up this kind of unwashed stuff with a recommendation*".

So if I say, for instance, "the following information of the *Mefistofeles* on the domestic affairs of the Augsburg newspaper should be *not without interest* for the history of this pompous lady",[79] am I then recommending the *dirty "stuff"* from which the lady of Augsburg tailors her gay wardrobe? Or should communism not be considered an important question of the time simply because it is not one suitable for drawing-rooms and because it wears dirty linen and does not smell of rose-water?

However, the lady of Augsburg quite rightly resents our lack of understanding. The importance of communism is not that it is a

highly serious question of the time for France and England. Communism has the *European importance* of having been used as a phrase by the Augsburg newspaper. One of its Paris correspondents, a convert who treats history as a pastry-cook does botany, recently had a sudden idea: the monarchy ought to try to appropriate socialist and communist ideas in its own way. You understand now the annoyance of the lady of Augsburg, who will never forgive us for presenting communism to the public in all its *unwashed* nakedness; you understand the sullen *irony* which exclaims: that is how you *recommend* communism, which once had the fortunate elegance of serving as a phrase for the Augsburg newspaper!

The second reproach levelled against the *Rheinische Zeitung* is the conclusion of a report from Strasbourg on the communist speeches delivered at the Congress[80] there; the two stepsisters had divided the material between them in such a way that the *Rhineland* one took over the *proceedings* and the *Bavarian* one the *dinners* of the Strasbourg savants. The passage incriminated was literally as follows:

> "The position of the middle estate today resembles that of the nobility in 1789; at that time, the middle estate claimed for itself the privileges of the nobility and obtained them; *today the estate that owns nothing demands to share in the wealth of the middle classes, which are now at the helm.* Today the middle estate is better protected against a sudden onslaught than were the nobility in 1789, and it is to be expected that the problem will be solved in a peaceful way."

That the prophecy of Sieyès came true[81] and that the *tiers état* has become all, and wants to be all, is admitted with the most rueful indignation by Bülow-Cummerow, by the former *Berliner politisches Wochenblatt,*[a] by Dr. Kosegarten, and all the feudal-minded writers. That the estate that today owns nothing *demands* to share in the wealth of the middle classes is a fact which, without the talk at Strasbourg, and in spite of Augsburg's silence, is obvious to everyone in Manchester, Paris and Lyons.[82] Does the lady of Augsburg believe that her displeasure and her silence have refuted the facts of the time? She is *impertinent even when fleeing.* She shies away from insidious phenomena of the day and believes that the dust she raises behind her in doing so, as also the abuse which she nervously mutters between her teeth as she flees, will have blinded and confused both the uncomforting phenomena of the day and the comfortable reader.

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[a] Hint at Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

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# Rheinische Zeitung
für
## Politik, Handel und Gewerbe.

Insertions-Gebühren:
Die angespaltene Petitzeile 1 Sgr.
Briefe werden frankirt erbeten.

Nr. 289 — Köln, Sonntag den 16. Oktober — 1842

### Uebersicht des Inhalts.

**Amtliche Nachrichten.**
**Deutschland.** Köln, 15. Oktober. Die Communalstand und die Lands. Allgem. Zeitung. Mainz, 13. Oktober. Frankfurt a. M. Berlin, 10. Oktober. Bestrafung zu der Gutsbesitzer vom 18. Juni. Berlin. Breslau, 13. Oktober. Die Schlesische Provinzialblätter. Aus der Provinz, 8. Oktober. Mainz, 14. Oktober. Die deutsche Zeitschriftenstellung. Frankfurt a. M., 14. Oktober. Zeitungsschicksal der Mainzer und der Frankfurter Reformation. — Verhandlungen der Frank- und Tauschen Nationalzeitung. Aus Bayern, 11. Oktober. Die politischen Gefangenen und der Amnestie. Munchen, 10. Oktober. Erklärung bezüglich der bayerischen Presse. Karlsruhe, 12. Oktober. Erwartungen des Badischen von Baden.
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## Amtliche Nachrichten.

### Chronik des Tages.

Berlin, 12. Oktober. Der Prinzessin der Krone und Königsgemahl geruht: dem Kammerherrn Freiherrn von Stillfried zu Rommel bei Gestrig die Annahme des von den regierenden Fürsten zu Hohenzollern-Hechingen und Sigmaringen Durchlauchten ihm verliehenen Ehrenkreuzes 2ter Klasse des Fürstlich Hohenzollernschen Hausordens zu gestatten.

Den Gutsbesitzern Julius Wirth und Karl Boos zu Pressoltern bei Gelingen ist unter dem 9. Oktober 1842 ein Patent „auf eine Waschvorrichtung für Tuchfabrik, Wäscherei, Bäckerei und Brauchbadeliebern, in der durch eine Zeichnung und Beschreibung nachgewiesenen Zusammenfassung" auf sechs Jahre, von jenem Tage an gerechnet, und für den Umfang der Monarchie ertheilt worden.

### Deutschland.

*. Köln, 15. Oktober. Die Nr. 284 der Augsburger Zeitung ist angeschuldigt, in der Rheinischen Zeitung eine Preußische Communistin zu entdecken, gleich seine wirkliche Communistin, aber doch immer eine Preußen, die mit dem Communismus phantastisch kokettirt und platterwuth liebäugelt.

Da diese unartige Phantasterei der Augsburgerin unsinnmäßig, ob diese unsinnige Gaukelei ihres aufgeregten Gehirnlängsdrach und Spekulationen und tapfermüthigen Gedanken zusammenhängt, was der Leser einsehen, — machten wir das angeblich corpus delicti vorgeschickt haben.

Die Rheinische Zeitung, erzählt man, habe einen communistischen Aufsatz über die Berliner Kommunalsteuer in die Revolution aufgenommen und nur relativ die Bemühung begleitet: Zwei Mittheilungen „Karten für die Geschichte Preußens wichtigen Zeitungen nicht ohne Interesse lesen", folgt habe nach der Augsburger Logik, daß die Rheinische Zeitung „Zeitgeschichten unglaublich Zeug empfindend gut, erfindet". Wie wenn ich z. B. sage: „Geheimer Mittheilungen" 8 Medaillerbild über den innern Haushalt der Augsburger Zeitung hörten nicht aber Interesse für die Geschichte dieser wohlig thuenden Dame von", so empfehle ich die schmutzigen „Zeug", aus denen die Augsburgerin ihre bunte Gatteroche zusammenschmiert? Oder sehen wir den Communismus schon deshalb für keine wichtige Zeitfrage halten, weil er keine constitutive Zeitfrage ist, weil er schmutzige Wäsche trägt und nicht nach Rosenwasser duftet?

Allein mit Recht greift die Augsburgerin unserm Mitpartei-Bund. Die Richtungen des Communismus deßhalb nicht darum, weil er eine Zeitfrage von hochster Kraft für Frankreich und England bildet. Der Communismus hebt die europäische Wichtigkeit von der Augsburger Zeitung in einer Potenz hinauf, wie es sich. Einer reich Pariser Korrespondenz, ein Lamartine, der die Geschichte behandelt, wie ein Condorcet die Bonnet, hat jüngst erkannt, der Gerichtsgebäude die Menschheit muß die socialistisch-communistischen Ideen in ihrer Wirkung anzuerkennen suchen. Vielleicht Sie nun den Umfang der Kindergeistes, die uns nur bestehen mag, daß wir den Communismus in seiner ungewaschenen Nacktheit dem Publikum hinzugestellt; weilchen für ihr bestimmt Ironie, die uns zurufe: so empfiehl Ihr den Communismus, der schon einmal die göttliche Allgang hatte, eine Potenz der Augsburger Zeitung zu bilden!

Der innere Vorwurf, der die Rheinische Zeitung trifft, ist der Schluß eines Artikels und Schlußes, der aus den beiden vorigen Kongreß gebildeten communistischen Reden, denn die beiden Gesetzgebungen hatten sich in die Brust so gebeilt, daß der Aktenlaterin die Verhandlungen und der Bayern die Mahlgesetzen der Strafbarkeit Gelegenheit zuließen. Die unstimmige Gleichsamkeit verrieth dies:

Es ist heute mit dem Mitleisante so wie mit dem Adel im Jahre 1789; damals nahm der Adelsstand die Privilegien zu Gunsten des Volkes, heute, heute verlangt der Stand, der Rechte besitzt, Theil zu nehmen am Rechtsamme der Mittellosigen, die jetzt am Ruder sind. Die Mittelstand hat das nun heute gegen eine Uebertumpelung selber vorgenommen als der Adel im Jahre 89 und es wird zu erwarten, daß das Problem auf friedlichem Wege wird gelöst werden.

Daß Guizot Hoffnungen eingestoßen und daß der Herr Graf Alvensleben sie auch Ach-Ach sein wird; Polizei-Kammerherr, das ehemal. Herr, politische Wochenblatt, Ihr Kolegaten, sämmtliche socialistische Schriftsteller bekennen es mit mehmaligen Entsagung. Daß der Staat, der keine Rechte besitzt, am Rechtsamm der Mittellosigen Theil zu nehmen verlangt, das ist ein Faktum, welches ohne das Straßburger Reden und wohl den Augsburger Zeitungen in Rendsburg, Paris und Spon auf den Sinnen Jedem individuo anbetrifft. Glaubt etwa die Augsburgerin im Ernstlichen und im Schmerzen wirklegern die Tuerkischen bei Jena? Die Augsburgerin im impetiemen im Fleehen. Sie irrt sich und vertändigen Zeitschriftungen und glaubt, der Staat, der so hohe Kameraden hinter sich zurückließ, so wie die englischen Schwadronen, welche sie auf der Flucht zwischen den Hahnen hinmurmelt, bleiben und vermutten die unbeurne Zeitungsleitung wie den Regimen Gotz.

Statt gerät die Augsburgerin der Erwartung unserer Kritzeprofessoren, die unlängst geschrien wurde sich „auf ferrichem Wege" lehnen? Dies wird so nur sein, daß wir nicht wieder ein prebaner Mopse verschreiben und einen sonnenklaren Beweis über die unmögliche Lösung des Problems den übersaugen Leser in die Lande spielen? Wir bringen nicht die Kunst um einer Phrase Problems zu handeln, an deren Bewegung unser Leser arbeiten.

Aber bedenke, liebe Augsburgerin, Sie geben uns bei Gelegenheit der Communismus zu verstehen, daß Deutschland jetzt arm ist an unabhängigen Erfindungen, daß „in der gebildeterern Jugend den Staat anbeten um Beide für ihre Zukunft, daß unsere Gremien vorzüglichst, daß der Schriftsteller daumerstlings, daß unsere ehemals blühenden Handelsstädte zur aber Hier lebt, daß die ferien Instinnenen ein auf hanjamer Wege zu Geschen erkiert werden, daß der Verstand unserer Beobellung hülfloss umsteht, um in fremden Nationalitäten als Deutsche unterzugehen und für alle diese Phänomene kein einziges Mayrm, kein Versuch „Hinter über die Mittel zur Aufsätzung" der großen Lücke zu machen, die nun von all' diesen Stunden erfüllen soll? Oder erwarten Sie keine friedliche Lösung? Soll schon ein anderer Kritiker derselben Kummer, von Kartoffeln bauten, dabei zu denken, und wieder in Bezug auf den Jobberen die verfänglichste Frage an Preußen gerichtet werden: „Meinst man, eine solche Kritik wurde besonder geben wie eine Konferenz um das Tabaksrauchen im Tiergarten?" Der Grund, den Sie für ihren Unglauben behaupten, ist ein communistischer. „Man taste man eine Kritik über die Industrie lodtreiben, lasse Millionen an Kapital verloren gehen, Tausende von Arbeitern brodlos werden." Wie angelegen kam unser „friedliche Erwartung," da Sie einmal beschrieben haben, eine blutige Kritik lodtreiben zu lassen, wenbolt wohl in Wiem Kinkel Großbritannien auf den bemaßgnischen Ritz Ihr M'Donall, der nach Amerika auswandert, weil „mit diesem sonnischen Geschicht doch nichts anzufangen ist", nach Ihrer eigenen Logik empfehlend nachgewiesen wird.

Ich will mich von Ihnen trennen, möchten wir Sie noch vorüberziehend auf Ihre eigene Weisheit aufmerksam machen, da es bei jener Weisheit der Preußen nicht wohl zu empfehlen dürfte: Weile bei und zu einen Gedanken, zwar nicht zu haben, aber ebendeßhalb auszusprechen. Sie finden, daß die Preußen bei ihren Gedanken und Ideen nicht so ausgemacht barmisch

Or does the lady of Augsburg resent our correspondent's expectation that the undeniable collision will be settled "in a *peaceful* way"? Or does she reproach us for not having at once prescribed a proven remedy and supplied the astonished reader with a report as clear as the sun at noon on the solution of the problem which cannot be regarded as a standard one? We have not mastered the art of disposing by a *single* phrase of problems which *two* nations are working to solve.

But, dearest, most worthy lady of Augsburg, in connection with communism you have given us to understand that Germany at present is poor in people enjoying independence, that nine-tenths of the better-educated youth have to beg bread from the state to assure their future, that our rivers are neglected, that our shipping is at a standstill, that our once flourishing trading towns lack their former prosperity, that free institutions are achieved very slowly in Prussia, that our surplus population roams helplessly about, ceasing to exist as Germans among foreign nationalities; and for all these problems you offer not a single remedy, make no attempt to become "*clearer about the means for accomplishing*" the great deed that should absolve us from all these sins! Or do you expect no peaceful solution? There seems to be almost an indication of this in another article in the same issue, datelined from Karlsruhe,[83] which even in regard to the Customs Union addresses the following insidious question to Prussia:

> "*Can one believe that such a crisis will pass away like a row about smoking tobacco in the Zoological Gardens?*"

The reason you advance for your lack of belief is a *communist* one.

> "*Well, then, let a crisis break out in industry, let capital amounting to millions be lost, and thousands of workers find themselves without bread.*"

How inopportune you must have found our "*peaceful expectation*" once you had decided to *allow* a bloody crisis to *break out*, which is no doubt why in your article, in accordance with your own logic, you *recommend* Great Britain to take note of the demagogic physician, Dr. M'Douall, who emigrated to America because "*there was nothing to be done with this royal breed*".[84]

Before we take leave of you, we should like in passing to call your attention to your own wisdom, since by your method of phrase-making you can hardly avoid now and again, in a harmless way, *expressing* an idea, although it is not *your* idea. You find that the polemic of Herr Hennequin from Paris against the parcellation of landed property puts him in surprising harmony with the

autonomists[85]! Surprise, says Aristotle, is the beginning of philosophising.[a] You have come to an end at the beginning. Would otherwise the surprising fact have escaped you that communist principles are being disseminated in Germany not by liberals, but by your *reactionary* friends?

Who is it that talks of *artisans' corporations*? The reactionaries. The artisans' estate, they say, ought to form a state within the state. Do you find it remarkable that such ideas, expressed in modern language, therefore take the form: "The state ought to be turned into an estate of the artisans"? If for the artisan his estate ought to be the state, and if the modern artisan, like every modern person, understands, and can understand, by the state only the sphere common to all his fellow citizens, how can you combine these two ideas except in the idea of an *artisans' state*?

Who carries on a polemic against *parcellation of landed property*? The reactionaries. In a quite recent work (Kosegarten on parcellation[86]) written in a feudalistic spirit, the author goes so far as to call *private property* a *privilege*. That is *Fourier*'s basic principle. Once there is unity on basic principles, cannot there be any dispute over consequences and application?

The *Rheinische Zeitung*, which does not admit that communist ideas in their present form possess even *theoretical reality*, and therefore can still less desire their *practical realisation*, or even consider it possible, will subject these ideas to thoroughgoing criticism. But if the lady of Augsburg demanded more, and was capable of more, than smooth-sounding phrases, it would be obvious to her that such writings as those of Leroux, Considérant, and above all the sharp-witted work by Proudhon,[b] cannot be criticised on the basis of superficial flashes of thought, but only after long and profound study. We must take such *theoretical* works the more seriously because we do not agree with the Augsburg newspaper, which finds the "*reality*" of communist *ideas* not in *Plato*, but in its *obscure acquaintance*, who was not without merit in some fields of scientific research, but who gave up all he possessed at the time and washed plates and cleaned boots for his comrades in accordance with the wishes of Father Enfantin. We are firmly convinced that the real *danger* lies not in *practical attempts*, but in the *theoretical elaboration* of communist ideas, for practical attempts, even *mass attempts*, can be answered by *cannon* as soon as they become dangerous, whereas *ideas*, which have

[a] Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, Book I, Ch. 2 (982 b).— *Ed.*

[b] P. J. Proudhon, *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* — *Ed.*

conquered our intellect and taken possession of our minds, ideas to which reason has fettered our conscience, are chains from which one cannot free oneself without a broken heart; they are demons which human beings can vanquish only by submitting to them. But the Augsburg newspaper has never known the *pangs of conscience* called forth by the rebellion of man's subjective wishes against the objective views of his mind, *since it has neither a mind of its own, nor views of its own, nor even a conscience of its own.*

Written on October 15, 1842

First published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 289, October 16, 1842

Printed according to the newspaper

# COMMUNISM AND THE AUGSBURG *ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG*

## *Editorial Note*

*Cologne*, October 22. Following the reprint by the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 292[a] of an article from the *Mannheimer Abendzeitung* "from Pfalz, October 12", which begins with the words:

> "I was really surprised when I found yesterday that the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* had printed an article (on communism), taken from Aachen news-sheets, which truly did not deserve to be accepted by a newspaper which otherwise has such good material",

the *Aachener Zeitung* No. 293[b] has published a reply, extracts from which we certainly do not want to withhold from our readers, in view of a special wish expressed by the editorial board of this newspaper, and all the more since it affords us the opportunity we desire for a subsequent correction. The *Aachener Zeitung* rightly believes that the *Rheinische*

> "could have known that the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* had torn out only a few passages from its article on the Communists (in No. 277[c] of the *Aachener Zeitung*) and added comments of its own, which of course gave a different complexion to the article".

As stated, the *Rheinische Zeitung* was not only aware of this, but knew also that the *Aachener Zeitung* was quite innocent in regard to those fragments, insipidly and cunningly put together by the Augsburg newspaper No. 284, which were aimed solely at the *Rheinische Zeitung*. Therefore, in settling accounts with the Augsburg newspaper in No. 289, the *Rheinische Zeitung* very properly did not draw the *Aachener Zeitung* into the debate. But if someone

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[a] October 19, 1842.—*Ed.*
[b] October 22, 1842.—*Ed.*
[c] October 6, 1842.—*Ed.*

from Pfalz could be misled into a false assumption by the heading in spaced type of that Augsburg newspaper's article[87]: "*We Read Aachen News-sheets*", that is at any rate an indication that the *Aachener Zeitung* could have anticipated earlier such a misunderstanding in respect of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*. Having once undertaken to deal wholly on its own account with the Augsburg article, the *Rheinische Zeitung* could very well allow the incidental reprint of the note in the *Mannheimer Abendzeitung* to pass without any guide-mark since, of course, its readers already knew where that came from. The following passage from today's article in the *Aachener Zeitung* requires no further comment:

"It knows that we are not against any free research, that we shall not weaken the efforts of those who are concerned for the welfare of any class of people. We are liberal towards *all*, which is more than the majority of liberals of many varieties can so far say about themselves. What we said, however, is that communism cannot find any soil among us, but that, on the other hand, it is a natural phenomenon in France and England. We added, lastly, that we were not ourselves opposed to communist efforts in Germany, but were very definitely against any club-like brotherhoods of the kind that are said to have sprung up in Silesia. Liberal ideas are not yet so firmly rooted among us, and have not yet made such progress among us, that every endeavour does not need to be carefully fostered. As a rule, however, we see in our country far too little harmony between newspapers of the same colour. They do not bear in mind that an isolated undertaking cannot cover the whole field, and that a total effect can be produced only by each in turn becoming the bearer and disseminator of the ideas of the other."

The editorial board of the *Rheinische Zeitung*

Written on October 22, 1842

First published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 296, October 23, 1842

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# PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTH RHINE PROVINCE ASSEMBLY

*Third Article**

## DEBATES ON THE LAW ON THEFTS OF WOOD[88]

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 298, October 25, 1842, Supplement]

So far we have described two most important state acts of the Provincial Assembly, namely, its confusion over freedom of the press and its unfreedom in regard to the confusion.[89] We have now come down to ground level. Before we proceed to the really earthly question in all its life-size, the question of the parcellation of landed property, we shall give our readers some genre pictures which reflect in manifold ways the spirit and, we might say, even the actual physical nature of the Assembly.

It is true that the law on thefts of wood, like the law on offences in regard to hunting, forests and fields, deserves to be discussed not only in relation to the Assembly but equally on its own account. However, we do not have the draft of the law before us. Our material is limited to some vaguely indicated additions made by the Assembly and its commission to laws that figure only as paragraph numbers. The Assembly proceedings themselves are reported so extremely meagerly, incoherently and apocryphally that the report looks like an attempt at mystification. To judge from the truncated torso available to us, the Assembly wanted by this passive quietude to pay an act of respect to our province.

One is immediately struck by a fact which is characteristic of these debates. The Assembly acts as a *supplementary legislator* alongside the state legislator. It will prove most interesting to examine the legislative qualities of the Assembly by means of an example. In view of this, the reader will forgive us for demanding from him patience and endurance, two virtues which had to be

* We regret that we have not been able to publish the *second* article for our readers. Editorial board of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.

constantly exercised in analysing our barren subject-matter. In our account of the Assembly debates on the law on thefts we are directly describing the *Assembly's debates on its legislative function.*

At the very beginning of the debate, one of the urban deputies objected to the *title* of the law, which extends the category of "*theft*" to include simple offences against forest regulations.

A deputy of the knightly estate replied:

"It is precisely because the pilfering of wood is not regarded as theft that it occurs so often."

By analogy with this, the legislator would have to draw the conclusion: It is because a box on the ear is not regarded as murder that it has become so frequent. It should be decreed therefore that a box on the ear is murder.

Another deputy of the knightly estate finds it

"still more risky not to pronounce the word 'theft', because people who become acquainted with the discussion over this word could easily be led to believe that the Assembly does not regard the pilfering of wood also as theft".

The Assembly has to decide whether it considers pilfering of wood as theft; but if the Assembly does not declare it to be theft, people could believe that the Assembly really does not regard the pilfering of wood as theft. Hence it is best to leave this ticklish controversial question alone. It is a matter of a euphemism and euphemisms should be avoided. The forest owner prevents the legislator from speaking, for walls have ears.

The same deputy goes even further. He regards this whole examination of the expression "theft" as

"a dangerous preoccupation with *correcting formulations* on the part of the plenary assembly".

After these illuminating demonstrations, the Assembly voted the title of the law.

From the point of view recommended above, which mistakes the conversion of a citizen into a thief for a mere negligence in formulation and rejects all opposition to it as grammatical purism, it is obvious that even the *pilfering of fallen wood* or the gathering of dry wood is included under the heading of theft and punished as severely as the stealing of live growing timber.

It is true that the above-mentioned urban deputy remarks:

"Since the punishment could run to a long term of imprisonment, such severity would lead people who otherwise followed an honest path on to the path of crime. That would happen also because in prison they would be in the company of inveterate thieves; therefore he considered that the gathering or pilfering of dry fallen wood should be punished by a simple police penalty."

Another urban deputy, however, refuted him with the profound argument

"that in the forest areas of his region, at first only gashes were made in young trees, and later, when they were dead, they were treated as fallen wood".

It would be impossible to find a more elegant and at the same time more simple method of making the right of human beings give way to that of young trees. On the one hand, after the adoption of the paragraph, it is inevitable that many people not of a criminal disposition are cut off from the green tree of morality and cast like fallen wood into the hell of crime, infamy and misery. On the other hand, after rejection of the paragraph, there is the possibility that some young trees may be damaged, and it needs hardly be said that the wooden idols triumph and human beings are sacrificed!

The supreme penal code[90] includes under theft of wood only the pilfering of hewn wood and the cutting of wood for the purpose of theft. Indeed—our Provincial Assembly will not believe it—it states:

"If, however, in daytime someone takes fruit for eating and by its removal does no great damage, then, taking into account his personal position and the circumstances, he is to be punished by civil" (therefore, not criminal!) "proceedings."

The supreme penal code of the sixteenth century requests us to defend it against the charge of excessive humanity made by a Rhine Province Assembly of the nineteenth century, and we comply with this request.

The gathering of fallen wood and the most composite wood theft! They both have a common definition. The appropriation of wood from someone else. Therefore both are theft. That is the sum and substance of the far-sighted logic which has just issued laws.

First of all, therefore, we call attention to the *difference* between them, and if it must be admitted that the two actions are essentially different, it can hardly be maintained that they are identical from the legal standpoint.

In order to appropriate growing timber, it has to be forcibly separated from its organic association. Since this is an obvious outrage against the tree, it is therefore an obvious outrage against the owner of the tree.

Further, if felled wood is stolen from a third person, this felled wood is material that has been produced by the owner. Felled wood is wood that has been worked on. The natural connection

with property has been replaced by an artificial one. Therefore, anyone who takes away felled wood takes away property.

In the case of fallen wood, on the contrary, nothing has been separated from property. It is only what has already been separated from property that is being separated from it. The wood thief pronounces on his own authority a sentence on property. The gatherer of fallen wood only carries out a sentence already pronounced by the very nature of the property, for the owner possesses only the tree, but the tree no longer possesses the branches that have fallen from it.

The gathering of fallen wood and the theft of wood are therefore essentially different things. The objects concerned are different, the actions in regard to them are no less different; hence the frame of mind must also be different, for what objective standard can be applied to the frame of mind other than the content of the action and its form? But, in spite of this essential difference, you call both of them theft and punish both of them as theft. Indeed, you punish the gathering of fallen wood more severely than the theft of wood, for you punish it already by declaring it to be theft, a punishment which you obviously do not pronounce on the actual theft of wood. You should have called it murder of wood and punished it as murder. The law is not exempt from the general obligation to tell the truth. It is doubly obliged to do so, for it is the universal and authentic exponent of the legal nature of things. Hence the legal nature of things cannot be regulated according to the law; on the contrary, the law must be regulated according to the legal nature of things. But if the law applies the term theft to an action that is scarcely even a violation of forest regulations, then the law *lies*, and the poor are sacrificed to a legal lie.

"Il y a deux genres de corruption," says Montesquieu, "l'un lorsque le peuple n'observe point les lois; l'autre lorsqu'il est corrompu par les lois: mal incurable parce qu'il est dans le remède même."[a]

You will never succeed in making us believe that there is a crime where there is no crime, you will only succeed in converting crime itself into a legal act. You have wiped out the boundary between them, but you err if you believe that you have done so only to your advantage. The people sees the punishment, but it does not

[a] "There are two kinds of corruption," says Montesquieu, "one when the people do not observe the laws, the other when they are corrupted by the laws: an incurable evil because it is in the very remedy itself." Ch. Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des lois*, Tome premier, livre sixième, chapitre XII.—*Ed.*

see the crime, and because it sees punishment where there is no crime, it will see no crime where there is punishment. By applying the category of theft where it ought not to be applied, you have also exonerated it where this category ought to be applied.

And does not this crude view, which lays down a common definition for different kinds of action and leaves the difference out of account, itself bring about its own destruction? If every violation of property without distinction, without a more exact definition, is termed theft, will not all private property be theft? By my private ownership do I not exclude every other person from this ownership? Do I not thereby violate his right of ownership? If you deny the difference between essentially different kinds of the same crime, you are denying that crime itself is *different from right*, you are abolishing right itself, for every crime has an aspect in common with right. Hence it is a fact, attested equally by history and reason, that undifferentiated severity makes punishment wholly unsuccessful, for it does away with punishment as a success for right.

But what are we arguing about? The Assembly, it is true, repudiates the difference between gathering fallen wood, infringement of forest regulations, and theft of wood. It repudiates the difference between these actions, refusing to regard it as determining the character of the action, when it is a question of the *interests of the infringers of forest regulations*, but it recognises this difference when it is a question of the *interests of the forest owners*.

Thus the commission proposes the following *addition*:

"to regard it as an aggravating circumstance if growing timber is hewn or cut off with edged tools and if a saw is used instead of an axe".

The Assembly approves this distinction. The same keen-sightedness which so conscientiously distinguishes between an axe and a saw when it is a matter of its own interests, is so lacking in conscience as to refuse to distinguish between fallen wood and growing wood when it is a question of other people's interests. The difference was found to be important as an aggravating circumstance but without any significance as a mitigating circumstance, although the former cannot exist if the latter is impossible.

The same logic occurred repeatedly during the debate.

In regard to §65, an urban deputy desired

"that the *value* of the stolen wood also should be used as a measure for fixing the punishment", "which was opposed by the commission's spokesman as *unpractical*".

The same urban deputy remarked in connection with §66:

"in general there is missing from the whole law any statement of value, in accordance with which the punishment would be increased or diminished".

The importance of value in determining punishment for violations of property is self-evident.

If the concept of crime involves that of punishment, the actual crime calls for a measure of punishment. An actual crime has its limit. The punishment will therefore have to be limited in order to be actual, it must be limited in accordance with a principle of law in order to be just. The problem is to make the punishment the actual consequence of the crime. It must be seen by the criminal as the necessary result of his act, and therefore as *his own act.* Hence the limit of his punishment must be the limit of his act. The definite *content* of a violation of the law is the limit of a definite crime. The *measure* of this content is therefore the measure of the crime. In the case of property this measure is its *value.* Whereas personality, whatever its limits, is always a whole, property always exists only within a definite limit that is not only determinable but determined, not only measurable but measured. Value is the civil mode of existence of property, the logical expression through which it first becomes socially comprehensible and communicable. It is clear that this objective defining element provided by the nature of the object itself must likewise be the objective and essential defining element for the punishment. Even if legislation here, where it is a matter of figures, can only be guided by external features so as not to be lost in an infinitude of definitions, it must at least regulate. It is not a question of an exhaustive definition of differences, but of establishing differences. But the Assembly was not at all disposed to devote its distinguished attention to such trifles.

But do you consider then that you can conclude that the Assembly completely excluded value in determining punishment? That would be an ill-considered, unpractical conclusion! The forest owner—we shall deal with this later in more detail—does not merely demand to be compensated by the thief for the simple general value. He even gives this value an individual character and bases his demand for special compensation on this poetic individuality. We can now understand what the commission's spokesman understands by *practical.* The practical forest owner argues as follows: This legal definition is good insofar as it is useful to me, for what is useful to me is good. But this legal definition is superfluous, it is harmful, it is unpractical, insofar as it is intended

to be applied to the accused on the basis of a purely theoretical legal whim. Since the accused is harmful to me, it stands to reason that everything is harmful to me that lessens the harm coming to him. That is practical wisdom.

We unpractical people, however, demand for the poor, politically and socially propertyless many what the learned and would-be learned servility of so-called historians has discovered to be the true philosopher's stone for turning every sordid claim into the pure gold of right. We demand for the poor a *customary right*, and indeed one which is not of a local character but is a customary right of the poor in all countries. We go still further and maintain that a customary right by its very nature can *only* be a right of this lowest, propertyless and elemental mass.

The so-called customs of the privileged classes are understood to mean *customs contrary to the law*. Their origin dates to the period in which human history was part of *natural history*, and in which, according to Egyptian legend, all gods concealed themselves in the shape of animals. Mankind appeared to fall into definite species of animals which were connected not by equality, but by inequality, an inequality fixed by laws. The world condition of unfreedom required laws expressing this unfreedom, for whereas human law is the mode of existence of freedom, this animal law is the mode of existence of unfreedom. *Feudalism* in the broadest sense is the *spiritual animal kingdom*, the world of divided mankind, in contrast to the human world that creates its own distinctions and whose inequality is nothing but a refracted form of equality. In the countries of naive feudalism, in the countries of the caste system, where in the literal sense of the word people are put in separate boxes,[a] and the noble, freely interchanging members of the great sacred body, the holy Humanus, are sawn and cleft asunder, forcibly torn apart, we find therefore also the *worship of animals*, animal religion in its primitive form, for man always regards as his highest being that which is his true being. The sole equality to be found in the actual life of animals is the equality between one animal and other animals of the same species; it is the equality of the given species with itself, but not the equality of the genus. The animal genus itself is seen only in the hostile behaviour of the different animal species, which assert their particular *distinctive* characteristics one against another. In the *stomach of the beast of prey*, nature has provided the battlefield of union, the crucible of closest fusion, the organ connecting the various animal species.

[a] A pun on the German word *Kasten*, meaning both "castes" and "boxes".—*Ed.*

Similarly, under feudalism one species feeds at the expense of another, right down to the species which, like the polyp, grows on the ground and has only numerous arms with which to pluck the fruits of the earth for higher races while it itself eats dust; for whereas in the natural animal kingdom the worker bees kill the drones, in the spiritual animal kingdom the drones kill the worker bees, and precisely by labour. When the privileged classes appeal from *legal right* to their *customary rights*, they are demanding, instead of the human content of right, its animal form, which has now lost its reality and become a mere animal mask.

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 300, October 27, 1842, Supplement]

The customary rights of the aristocracy conflict by their *content* with the form of universal law. They cannot be given the form of law because they are formations of lawlessness. The fact that their content is contrary to the form of law—universality and necessity—proves that they are *customary wrongs* and cannot be asserted in opposition to the law, but as such opposition they must be abolished and even punished if the occasion arises, for no one's action ceases to be wrongful because it is his custom, just as the bandit son of a robber is not exonerated because banditry is a family idiosyncrasy. If someone intentionally acts contrary to law, he is punished for his intention; if he acts by custom, this custom of his is punished as being a bad custom. At a time when universal laws prevail, rational customary right is nothing but the *custom of legal right*, for right has not ceased to be custom because it has been embodied in law, although it has ceased to be *merely* custom. For one who acts in accordance with right, right becomes his own custom, but it is enforced against one who violates it, although it is not his custom. Right no longer depends on chance, on whether custom is rational or not, but custom becomes rational because right is legal, because custom has become the custom of the state.

Customary right as a *separate domain* alongside legal right is therefore rational only where it exists *alongside* and *in addition to law*, where custom is the *anticipation* of a legal right. Hence one cannot speak of the customary rights of the privileged estates. The law recognises not only their rational right but often even their irrational pretensions. The privileged estates have no right of anticipation in regard to law, for law has anticipated all possible consequences of their right. Hence, too, the customary rights are demanded only as a domain for *menus plaisirs*,[a] in order that the

[a] Little extras.—*Ed.*

same content which is dealt with in the law inside its rational limits should find in custom scope for whims and pretensions outside these rational limits.

But whereas these customary rights of the aristocracy are customs which are contrary to the conception of rational right, the customary rights of the poor are rights which are contrary to the customs of positive law. Their content does not conflict with legal form, but rather with its own lack of form. The form of law is not in contradiction to this content, on the contrary, the latter has not yet reached this form. Little thought is needed to perceive how *one-sidedly* enlightened legislation has treated and been compelled to treat the *customary rights of the poor*, of which the various *Germanic* rights[91] can be considered the most prolific source.

In regard to *civil law*, the most liberal legislations have been confined to formulating and raising to a universal level those rights which they found already in existence. Where they did not find any such rights, neither did they create any. They abolished particular customs, but in so doing forgot that whereas the wrong of the estates took the form of arbitrary pretensions, the right of those without social estate appeared in the form of accidental concessions. This course of action was correct in regard to those who, besides right, enjoyed custom, but it was incorrect in regard to those who had only customs without rights. Just as these legislations converted arbitrary pretensions into legal claims, insofar as some rational content of right was to be found in those pretensions, they ought also to have converted accidental concessions into necessary ones. We can make this clear by taking the monasteries as an example. The monasteries were abolished, their property was secularised, and it was right to do so. But the accidental support which the poor found in the monasteries was not replaced by any other positive source of income. When the property of the monasteries was converted into private property and the monasteries received some compensation, the poor who lived by the monasteries were not compensated. On the contrary, a new restriction was imposed on them, while they were deprived of an ancient right. This occurred in all transformations of privileges into rights. A positive aspect of these abuses—which was also an abuse because it turned a right of one side into something accidental—was abolished not by the accidental being converted into a necessity, but by its being left out of consideration.

These legislations were necessarily one-sided, for all customary rights of the poor were based on the fact that certain forms of property were indeterminate in character, for they were not

definitely private property, but neither were they definitely common property, being a mixture of private and public right, such as we find in all the institutions of the Middle Ages. For the purpose of legislation, such ambiguous forms could be grasped only by understanding, and understanding is not only one-sided, but has the essential function of making the world one-sided, a great and remarkable work, for only one-sidedness can extract the particular from the unorganised mass of the whole and give it shape. The character of a thing is a product of understanding. Each thing must isolate itself and become isolated in order to be something. By confining each of the contents of the world in a stable definiteness and as it were solidifying the fluid essence of this content, understanding brings out the manifold diversity of the world, for the world would not be many-sided without the many one-sidednesses.

Understanding therefore abolished the hybrid, indeterminate forms of property by applying to them the existing categories of abstract civil law, the model for which was available in Roman law. The legislative mind considered it was the more justified in abolishing the obligations of this indeterminate property towards the class of the very poor, because it also abolished the state privileges of property. It forgot, however, that even from the standpoint of civil law a twofold private right was present here: a private right of the owner and a private right of the non-owner; and this apart from the fact that no legislation abolishes the privileges of property under constitutional law, but merely divests them of their strange character and gives them a civil character. If, however, every medieval form of right, and therefore of property also, was in every respect hybrid, dualistic, split into two, and understanding rightly asserted its principle of unity in respect of this contradictory determination, it nevertheless overlooked the fact that there exist objects of property which, by their very nature, can never acquire the character of predetermined private property, objects which, by their elemental nature and their accidental mode of existence, belong to the sphere of occupation rights, and therefore of the occupation right of that class which, precisely because of these occupation rights, is excluded from all other property and which has the same position in civil society as these objects have in nature.

It will be found that the customs which are customs of the entire poor class are based with a sure instinct on the *indeterminate* aspect of property; it will be found not only that this class feels an urge to satisfy a natural need, but equally that it feels the need to satisfy

a rightful urge. Fallen wood provides an example of this. Such wood has as little organic connection with the growing tree as the cast-off skin has with the snake. Nature itself presents as it were a model of the antithesis between poverty and wealth in the shape of the dry, snapped twigs and branches separated from organic life in contrast to the trees and stems which are firmly rooted and full of sap, organically assimilating air, light, water and soil to develop their own proper form and individual life. It is a physical representation of poverty and wealth. Human poverty senses this kinship and deduces its right to property from this feeling of kinship. If, therefore, it claims physical organic wealth for the predetermined property owners, it claims physical poverty for need and its fortuity. In this play of elemental forces, poverty senses a beneficent power more humane than human power. The fortuitous arbitrary action of privileged individuals is replaced by the fortuitous operation of elemental forces, which take away from private property what the latter no longer voluntarily foregoes. Just as it is not fitting for the rich to lay claim to alms distributed in the street, so also in regard to these *alms of nature.* But it is by its *activity,* too, that poverty acquires its right. By its act of *gathering,* the elemental class of human society appoints itself to introduce order among the products of the elemental power of nature. The position is similar in regard to those products which, because of their wild growth, are a wholly accidental appendage of property and, if only because of their unimportance, are not an object for the activity of the actual owner. The same thing holds good also in regard to gleaning after the harvest and similar customary rights.

In these customs of the poor class, therefore, there is an instinctive sense of right; their roots are positive and legitimate, and the form of *customary right* here conforms all the more to nature because up to now the *existence of the poor class itself* has been a *mere custom* of civil society, a custom which has not found an appropriate place in the conscious organisation of the state.

The debate in question affords an example of the way in which these customary rights are treated, an example which exhaustively illustrates the method and spirit of the whole procedure.

An urban deputy opposed the provision by which the gathering of bilberries and cranberries is also treated as theft. He spoke primarily on behalf of the children of the poor, who pick these fruits to earn a trifling sum for their parents; an activity which has been permitted by the owners *since time immemorial* and has given rise to a *customary right* of the children. This fact was countered by another deputy, who remarked that

"in his area these berries have already become articles of commerce and are dispatched to Holland by the barrel".

In *one locality,* therefore, things have actually gone so far that a customary right of the poor has been turned into a *monopoly* of the rich. That is exhaustive proof that common property can be monopolised, from which it naturally follows that it must be monopolised. The nature of the object calls for monopoly because private property interests here have invented this monopoly. The modern idea conceived by some money-grabbing petty traders becomes irrefutable when it provides profit for the age-old Teutonic landed interest.

The wise legislator will prevent crime in order not to have to punish it, but he will do so not by obstructing the sphere of right, but by doing away with the negative aspect of every instinct of right, giving the latter a positive sphere of action. He will not confine himself to removing the *impossibility* for members of one class to belong to a higher sphere of right, but will raise their class itself to the *real possibility* of enjoying its rights. But if the state is not humane, rich and high-minded enough for this, it is at least the legislator's absolute duty not to convert into a *crime* what circumstances alone have caused to be an *offence.* He must exercise the utmost leniency in correcting as a social *irregularity* what it would be the height of injustice for him to punish as an anti-social crime. Otherwise he will be combating the social instinct while supposing that he is combating its anti-social form. In short, if popular customary rights are suppressed, the attempt to exercise them can only be treated as the simple *contravention of a police regulation,* but never punished as a crime. Punishment by police penalties is an expedient to be used against an act which circumstances characterise as a superficial irregularity not constituting any violation of the eternal rule of law. The punishment must not inspire more repugnance than the offence, the ignominy of crime must not be turned into the ignominy of law; the basis of the state is undermined if misfortune becomes a crime or crime becomes a misfortune. Far from upholding this point of view, the Provincial Assembly does not observe even the elementary rules of legislation.

The petty, wooden, mean and selfish soul of interest sees only one point, the point in which it is wounded, like a coarse person who regards a passer-by as the most infamous, vilest creature under the sun because this unfortunate creature has trodden on his corns. He makes his corns the basis for his views and judgment, he makes the one point where the passer-by comes into

contact with him into the only point where the very nature of this man comes into contact with the world. But a man may very well happen to tread on my corns without on that account ceasing to be an honest, indeed an excellent, man. Just as you must not judge people by your corns, you must not see them through the eyes of your private interest.[a] Private interest makes the one sphere in which a person comes into conflict with this interest into this person's whole sphere of life. It makes the law a *rat-catcher,* who wants only to destroy vermin, for he is not a naturalist and therefore regards rats only as vermin. But the state must regard the infringer of forest regulations as something more than a wood-pilferer, more than an *enemy to wood.* Is not the state linked with each of its citizens by a thousand vital nerves, and has it the right to sever all these nerves because this citizen has himself arbitrarily severed *one* of them? Therefore the state will regard even an infringer of forest regulations as a human being, a living member of the state, one in whom its heart's blood flows, a soldier who has to defend his Fatherland, a witness whose voice must be heard by the court, a member of the community with public duties to perform, the father of a family, whose existence is sacred, and, above all, a citizen of the state. The state will not light-heartedly exclude one of its members from all these functions, for the state amputates itself whenever it turns a citizen into a criminal. Above all, the *moral* legislator will consider it a most serious, most painful, and most dangerous matter if an action which previously was not regarded as blameworthy is classed among criminal acts.

Interest, however, is practical, and nothing in the world is more practical than to strike down one's enemy. "Hates any man the thing he would not kill?" we are already told by Shylock.[b] The true legislator should fear nothing but wrong, but the legislative interest knows only fear of the consequences of rights, fear of the evil-doers against whom the laws are made. Cruelty is a characteristic feature of laws dictated by cowardice, for cowardice can be energetic only by being cruel. Private interest, however, is always cowardly, for its heart, its soul, is an external object which can always be wrenched away and injured, and who has not trembled at the danger of losing heart and soul? How could the selfish legislator be human when something inhuman, an alien material essence, is his supreme essence? *"Quand il a peur, il est terrible,"*[c]

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[a] A pun on the German words *Hühneraugen*—corns, and *Augen*—eyes.—*Ed.*

[b] W. Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice,* Act IV, Scene 1.—*Ed.*

[c] "When he is afraid, he is terrible."—*Ed.*

says the *National* about Guizot. These words could be inscribed as a motto over all *legislation inspired by self-interest,* and therefore by *cowardice.*

When the Samoyeds kill an animal, before skinning it they assure it in the most serious tones that only Russians have done it this injury, that it is being dismembered with a Russian knife, and therefore it should revenge itself only on Russians. Even without any claim to be a Samoyed, it is possible to turn the law into *Russian knife.* Let us see how this is done.

In connection with § 4, the commission proposed:

"At distances greater than two miles, the *warden who makes the charge* determines the *value* according to the existing local price."

An urban deputy protested against this as follows:

"The proposal to allow the valuation of the stolen wood to be made by the forester who brings the charge evokes serious doubt. Of course, this official has our full confidence, but only as regards the fact, by no means as regards the value. The latter should be determined according to a valuation made by the local authorities and confirmed by the district president. It is true that it has been proposed that § 14, according to which the penalty imposed should accrue to the forest owner, should not be adopted", etc. "If § 14 were to be retained, the proposed provision would be doubly dangerous. For, in the nature of things, the forester who is employed by the forest owner and paid by him would certainly have to put the value of the stolen wood as high as possible."

The Provincial Assembly approved the proposal of the commission.

We see here the enactment of patrimonial jurisdiction. The patrimonial warden is at the same time in part a judge. The valuation is part of the sentence. Hence the sentence is already partly anticipated in the record of the charge. The warden who made the charge sits in the collegium of judges; he is the expert whose decision is binding for the court, he performs a function from which the other judges are excluded by him. It is foolish to oppose inquisitorial methods when there exist even patrimonial gendarmes and denouncers who at the same time act as judges.

Apart from this fundamental violation of our institutions, it is obvious from an examination of the qualifications of the warden who makes the charge how little he is objectively able to be at the same time the valuer of the stolen wood.

As warden, he personifies the protecting genius of the forest. Protection, especially personal, physical protection, calls for an effective, energetic and loving attitude to the object of his care, an

attitude in which he as it were coalesces with the growing forest. The forest must be everything to him, its value for him must be absolute. The valuer's attitude to the stolen wood, on the other hand, is one of sceptical distrust. He measures it with a keen prosaic eye by an ordinary standard and reckons how much it is worth in hellers and pfennigs. A warden and a valuer are as different as a mineralogist and a trader in minerals. The forest warden cannot estimate the value of the stolen wood, for in any record for the court giving his estimate of the value of the stolen material he is estimating *his own value*, because it is the value of his own activity, and do you believe that he would not protect the *value* of the object under his care as much as the *substance* of it?

The functions entrusted to one man, for whom severity is an official duty, are contradictory not only in relation to the object under protection, but also in relation to the *persons* concerned.

As guardian of the wood, the warden has to protect the interests of the private owner, but as valuer he has just as much to protect the interests of the infringer of forest regulations against the extravagant demands of the private owner. While he has, perhaps, to use his fists on behalf of the forest, he has immediately thereafter to use his brains on behalf of the forest's enemy. While embodying the interests of the forest owner, he has at the same time to be a guarantee against these same interests.

The warden, furthermore, is the denouncer. The charge he draws up is a denunciation. The value of the object, therefore, becomes the subject-matter of the denunciation. The warden loses his dignity as a judge, and the function of judge is most profoundly debased, because at that moment it is indistinguishable from the function of denouncer.

Finally, this denouncing warden, who cannot rank as an expert, whether in his capacity of denouncer or in that of warden, is in the pay and service of the forest owner. One might just as well leave the valuation, under oath, to the forest owner himself, since in the person of his warden he has actually only assumed the shape of a third person.

Instead, however, of finding this position of the denouncing warden even somewhat dubious, the Provincial Assembly, on the contrary, regarded as dubious the sole provision which constitutes the last semblance of the state's power in the realm of forest glory, namely, *life appointment* of the denouncing wardens. This proposal evoked the most vehement protest, and the storm seems hardly to have been allayed by the explanation of the spokesman

"that already previous Provincial Assemblies had called for life appointment of wardens to be abandoned, but that the government had not agreed to this and regarded life appointment as a protection for the state's subjects."

At an earlier date, therefore, the Provincial Assembly had already tried to bargain with the government so as to make it abandon protection for its subjects, but the Assembly did not go beyond bargaining. Let us examine the arguments, as generous as they are irrefutable, advanced *against* life appointment.

A deputy from the rural communities

"finds that life appointment of wardens as a condition for confidence in them is greatly to the detriment of the small forest owners; and another deputy insists that protection must be equally effective for small and big forest owners."

A member of the princely estate remarked

"that life appointment with private persons is very inadvisable, and in France it has not been found at all necessary for ensuring confidence in the records drawn up by the wardens, but that something must of necessity be done to prevent infringements from increasing".

An *urban deputy* said:

"Credence must be given to all testimony of properly appointed and sworn forest officials. Life appointment is, so to speak, an impossibility for many communities, and especially for owners of small estates. A decision that only forest officials who have been appointed for life should be trusted, would deprive these owners of all forest protection. In a large part of the province, communities and private owners would necessarily have to entrust the protection of their wooded areas to field wardens, because their forest area is not large enough to enable them to appoint special foresters for it. It would indeed be strange if these field wardens, who have also taken an oath to protect the forests, were not to enjoy complete confidence when they reported a theft of wood, but were trusted when they testified to the infringement of forest regulations."

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 303, October 30, 1842, *Supplement*]

Thus *town* and *countryside* and the *princely estate* have had their say. Instead of smoothing out the difference between the rights of the infringer of forest regulations and the claims of the forest owner, they found that this difference was not great enough. There was no attempt to afford equal protection to the forest owner and the infringer of forest regulations, it was only sought to make the protection of the small forest owner equal to that of the big forest owner. In this latter case, equality down to the minutest detail is imperative, whereas in the former case inequality is an axiom. Why does the small forest owner demand the same protection as the big forest owner? Because both are forest owners. But are not both the forest owners and the infringers of forest

regulations citizens of the state? If small and big forest owners have the same right to protection by the state, does this not apply even more to small and big citizens of the state?

When the member of the princely estate refers to France—for interest knows no political antipathies—he only forgets to add that in France the warden's charge concerns the fact but not the value. Similarly, the worthy urban spokesman forgets that it is inadmissible to rely on a field warden here because it is a matter not only of registering a theft of wood but also of establishing the value of the wood.

What is the gist of all the arguments we have just heard? It is that the small forest owner does not have the *means* for appointing a warden for life. What follows from this? It follows that the small forest owner is not entitled to undertake this task. But what conclusion is drawn by the small forest owner? That he is entitled to appoint a warden as a valuer who can be given notice of dismissal. His lack of means entitles him to a privilege.

Moreover, the small forest owner does not have the means to support an independent *collegium of judges.* Therefore let the state and the accused manage without an independent collegium of judges, let a manservant of the small forest owner have a seat on the tribunal, or if he has no manservant, let it be his maidservant; and if he has no maidservant, let him sit there himself. Has not the accused the same right in regard to the executive power, which is an organ of the state, as he has in regard to the judicial power? Why then should not the tribunal also be organised in accordance with the means of the small forest owner?

Can the relation between the state and the accused be altered because of the meagre resources of a private person, the forest owner? The state has a right in relation to the accused because it confronts him as the state. An immediate consequence of this is its duty to act towards the law-breaker as the state and in the manner of the state. The state has not only the means to act in a way which is as appropriate to its reason, its universality, and its dignity as it is to the right, the life and the property of the incriminated citizen; it is its absolute duty to possess and apply these means. No one will make this demand of the forest owner, whose forest is not the state and whose soul is not the soul of the state.—But what conclusion was drawn from that? It was concluded that since private property does not have means to raise itself to the standpoint of the state, the latter is obliged to lower itself to the irrational and illegal means of private property.

This claim on the part of private interest, the paltry soul of which was never illuminated and thrilled by thought of the state, is a serious and sound lesson for the latter. If the state, even in a single respect, stoops so low as to act in the manner of private property instead of in its own way, the immediate consequence is that it has to adapt itself in the form of its means to the narrow limits of private property. Private interest is sufficiently crafty to intensify this consequence to the point where private interest in its most restricted and paltry form makes itself the limit and rule for the action of the state. As a result of this, apart from the complete degradation of the state, we have the reverse effect that the most irrational and illegal means are put into operation against the accused; for supreme concern for the interests of limited private property necessarily turns into unlimited lack of concern for the interests of the accused. But if it becomes clearly evident here that private interest seeks to degrade, and is bound to degrade, the state into a means operating for the benefit of private interest, how can it fail to follow that a *body representing private interests*, the estates, will seek to degrade, and is bound to degrade, the state to the thoughts of private interest? Every modern state, however little it corresponds to its concept, will be compelled to exclaim at the first practical attempt at such legislative power: Your ways are not my ways, your thoughts are not my thoughts!

How completely unsound the temporary hiring of a denouncing warden is, cannot be more glaringly shown than by an argument advanced *against* life appointment, which cannot be attributed to a slip of the tongue, for it was read out. The following remark, namely, was read out by an urban deputy:

"Community forest wardens appointed for life are not, and cannot be, under such strict control as royal officials. Every *spur* to loyal fulfilment of duty is *paralysed* by life appointment. If the forest warden only half performs his duty and takes care that he cannot be charged with any real offence, he will always find sufficient advocacy in his favour to make a proposal for his dismissal under § 56 useless. In such circumstances the interested parties will not even dare to put forward such a proposal."

We recall that it was decreed that the warden making the charge should be given full confidence when it was a question of entrusting him with the task of valuation. We recall that § 4 was a *vote of confidence* in the warden.

We now learn for the first time that the denouncing warden needs to be controlled, and strictly controlled. For the first time he appears not merely as a man, but as a horse, since spurs and fodder are the only stimuli of his conscience, and the muscles for

performing his duty are not merely slackened but completely paralysed by life appointment. We see that selfishness has a double set of weights and measures for weighing and measuring people, and two world outlooks, two pairs of spectacles, one showing everything black and the other in rosy tints. When it is a matter of making other people the victim of its tools and giving a favourable appearance to dubious means, selfishness puts on its rose-coloured spectacles, which impart an imaginary glory to these tools and means, and deludes itself and others with the unpractical, delightful dreaming of a tender and trusting soul. Every wrinkle of its countenance expresses smiling bonhomie. It presses its opponent's hand until it hurts, but it does so as a sign of its trust in him. But suddenly it is a question of personal advantage, of carefully testing the usefulness of tools and means behind the scenes where stage illusions are absent. Being a strict judge of people, it cautiously and distrustfully puts on its world-wise dark spectacles of practice. Like an experienced horse-dealer it subjects people to a lengthy ocular inspection, overlooking no detail, and they seem to it to be as petty, as pitiful, and as dirty, as selfishness itself.

We do not intend to argue with the world outlook of selfishness, but we want to compel it to be consistent. We do not want it to reserve all worldly wisdom for itself and leave only fantasies for others. We want to make the sophistical spirit of private interest abide for a moment by its own conclusions.

If the warden making the charge is a man such as you describe, a man whom life appointment, far from giving him a feeling of independence, security and dignity in the performance of his duty, has, on the contrary, deprived of any incentive to do his duty, how can we expect this man to behave impartially towards the accused when he is the unconditional slave of your arbitrary power? If only spurs force this man to do his duty, and if you are the wearer of the spurs, what fate must we prophesy for the accused, who wears no spurs? If even you yourself cannot exercise sufficiently strict control over this warden, how can the state or the accused side in the case control him? Does not what you say of life appointment apply instead to an appointment that can be terminated: "if the forest warden only half performs his duty, he will always find sufficient advocacy in his favour to make a proposal for his dismissal under § 56 useless"? Would not all of you be advocates for him as long as he performed half his duty, namely, the protection of your interests?

The conversion of naive, excessive confidence in the forest warden into abusive, censorious distrust reveals the gist of the

matter. It is not in the forest warden but in *yourselves* that you place this tremendous confidence which you want the state and the infringer of forest regulations to accept as a dogma.

It is not the warden's official position, nor his oath, nor his conscience that should be the guarantee of the accused against you; on the contrary, your sense of justice, your humanity, your disinterestedness, your moderation should be the guarantee of the accused against the forest warden. Your control is his ultimate and only guarantee. Imbued with a vague notion of your personal excellence, wrapt in poetic self-delight, you offer the parties in the case your individual qualities as a means of protection against your laws. I confess that I do not share this romantic conception of the forest owners. I do not at all believe that persons can be a guarantee against laws; on the contrary, I believe that laws must be a guarantee against persons. And can even the most daring fantasy imagine that men who in the noble work of legislation cannot for a moment rise above the narrow, practically base standpoint of self-seeking to the theoretical height of a universal and objective point of view, men who tremble even at the thought of future disadvantages and seize on anything to defend their interests, can these men become philosophers in the face of real danger? But no one, not even the most excellent legislator, can be allowed to put himself above the law he has made. No one has the right to decree a vote of confidence in himself when it entails consequences for third persons.

But whether it is permissible for you even to demand that people should place special confidence in you, may be judged from the following facts.

"He must oppose § 87," stated an urban deputy, "since its provisions would give rise to extensive and fruitless investigations, as a result of which personal freedom and freedom of intercourse would be violated. It is not permissible beforehand to regard everyone as a criminal and to assume a crime before having proof that it has been committed."

Another urban deputy said that the paragraph ought to be deleted. The vexatious provision that "everyone has to prove where he obtained his wood", with the result that everyone could be under suspicion of stealing and concealing wood, was a gross and injurious intrusion into the life of the citizen. The paragraph was adopted.

In truth, you presume too much on people's inconsistency if you expect them to proclaim as a maxim that distrust is to

their detriment and confidence is to your advantage, and if you expect their confidence and distrust to see through the eyes of your private interest and feel through the heart of your private interest.

Yet another argument is advanced against life appointment, an argument of which it is impossible to say whether it is more calculated to evoke contempt or ridicule.

"It is also impermissible that the *free will of private persons* should be so greatly restricted in this way, for which reason *only* appointments that can be terminated should be allowed."

The news that man possesses free will which must not be restricted in all kinds of ways, is certainly as comforting as it is unexpected. The oracles which we have so far heard have resembled the ancient oracle at Dodona.[92] They are dispensed from wood. Free will, however, does not have the quality of an estate. How are we to understand this sudden rebellious emergence of ideology, for as far as ideas are concerned we have before us only followers of Napoleon?

The will of the forest owner requires freedom to deal with the infringer of forest regulations as it sees fit and in the way it finds most convenient and least costly. This will wants the state to hand over the evil-doer to it to deal with at its discretion. It demands *plein pouvoir*.[a] It does not oppose the restriction of free will, it opposes the *manner* of this restriction, which is so restrictive that it affects not only the infringer of forest regulations but also the owner of the wood. Does not this free will want to have numerous freedoms? Is it not a very free, an excellent, free will? And is it not scandalous in the nineteenth century to dare to restrict "so greatly in this way" the free will of those private persons who promulgate public laws? It is, indeed, scandalous.

Even that obstinate reformer, free will, must join the adherents of the good arguments headed by the sophistry of private interest. But this free will must have good manners, it must be a cautious, loyal free will, one which is able to arrange itself in such a way that its sphere coincides with the sphere of the arbitrary power of those same privileged private persons. Only once has there been mention of free will, and on this one occasion it appears in the shape of a squat private person who hurls blocks of wood at the

[a] Full powers.—*Ed.*

spirit of rational will. Indeed, what need is there for this spirit where the will is chained to the most petty and selfish interests like a galley-slave to his rowing bench?

The climax of this whole argument is summarised in the following remark, which turns the relationship in question upside-down:

"While the royal forest wardens and gamekeepers may be appointed for life, in the case of rural communities and private persons this evokes the most serious misgivings."

As if the sole source of misgivings were not in that private servants act here in the place of state officials! As if life appointment was not aimed precisely against private persons, who are the ones that *evoke misgivings*! *Rien n'est plus terrible que la logique dans l'absurdité*,[a] that is to say, nothing is more terrible than the logic of selfishness.

This logic, which turns the servant of the forest owner into a state authority, *turns the authority of the state into a servant of the forest owner.* The state structure, the purpose of the individual administrative authorities, everything must get out of hand so that everything is degraded into an instrument of the forest owner and his interest operates as the soul governing the entire mechanism. All the organs of the state become ears, eyes, arms, legs, by means of which the interest of the forest owner hears, observes, appraises, protects, reaches out, and runs.

The commission proposed the addition to §62 of a conclusion demanding that inability to pay be certified by the tax-collector, the burgomaster and two local officials of the community in which the infringer of forest regulations lives. A deputy from the rural communities considered that to make use of the *tax-collector* was contrary to existing legislation. Of course, no attention was paid to this contradiction.

In connection with §20, the commission proposed:

"In the Rhine Province the competent forest owner should be authorised to hand over convicted persons to the local authority to perform penal labour in such a way that their working days will be put to the account of the manual services on communal roads which the forest owner is obliged to render in the rural community, and accordingly subtracted from this obligation."

Against this, the objection was raised

"that burgomasters cannot be used as executors for individual members of the rural community and that the labour of convicts cannot be accepted as compensation for the work which has to be performed by paid day-labourers or servants".

[a] Nothing is more terrible than logic carried to absurdity.—*Ed.*

The spokesman commented:

"Even if it is a burdensome task for the burgomasters to see that unwilling and insubordinate prisoners convicted of infringing forest regulations are made to work, nevertheless it is one of the functions of these officials to induce disobedient and evil-minded persons in their charge to return to the path of duty, and is it not a *noble deed* to lead the convict away from the wrong road back to the right path? Who in the countryside has more means of doing this than the *burgomasters*?"

Reineke put on an anxious and sorrowful mien,
Which excited the pity of many a good-natured man,
Lampe, the hare, especially was sore distressed.[a]

The Provincial Assembly adopted the proposal.

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 305, November 1, 1842, Supplement]

The good burgomaster must undertake a burdensome task and perform a noble deed in order that the forest owner can fulfil his duty to the community without expense to himself. The forest owner could with equal right make use of the burgomaster as a chief cook or head waiter. Is it not a noble deed for the burgomaster to look after the kitchen or cellar of those in his charge? The convicted criminal is not in the charge of the burgomaster, but in the charge of the prison superintendent. Does not the burgomaster lose the strength and dignity of his position if, instead of representing the community, he is made an executor for individual members, if he is turned from a burgomaster into a taskmaster? Will not the other, free members of the community be insulted if their honest work for the general good is degraded to the level of penal labour for the benefit of particular individuals?

But it is superfluous to expose these sophistries. Let the spokesman be so good as to tell us himself how worldly-wise people judge humane phrases. He makes the *forest owner* address the following reply to the *farm owner* who displays humanity:

"If some ears of corn are pilfered from a landowner, the thief would say: 'I have no bread, so I take a few ears of corn from the large amount you possess', just as the wood thief says: 'I have no firewood, so I steal some wood.' The landowner is protected by Article 444 of the Criminal Code, which punishes the taking of ears of corn with 2-5 years' imprisonment. The forest owner has no such powerful protection."

This last envious exclamation of the forest owner contains a whole confession of faith. You farm owner, why are you so magnanimous where *my* interests are concerned? Because *your* interests are already looked after. So let there be no illusions! Magnanimity either costs nothing or brings something in. There-

[a] J. Goethe, *Reineke Fuchs*, Sechster Gesang.— *Ed.*

fore, farm owner, you cannot deceive the forest owner! Therefore, forest owner, do not deceive the burgomaster!

This intermezzo alone would suffice to prove what little meaning "noble deeds" can have in our debate, if the whole debate did not prove that moral and humane reasons occur here merely as phrases. But interest is miserly even with phrases. It invents them only in case of need, when the results are of considerable advantage. Then it becomes eloquent, its blood circulates faster, it is not sparing even with noble deeds that yield it profit at the expense of others, with flattering words and sugary endearments. And all that, all of it, is exploited only in order to convert the infringement of forest regulations into current coin for the forest owner, to make the infringer of forest regulations into a lucrative source of income, to be able to invest the capital more conveniently—for the wood thief has become a capital for the forest owner. It is not a question of misusing the burgomaster for the benefit of the infringer of forest regulations, but of misusing the burgomaster for the benefit of the forest owner. What a remarkable trick of fate it is, what a remarkable fact, that on the rare occasions when a problematic benefit for the infringer of forest regulations is given a passing mention, the forest owner is guaranteed an unquestionable benefit!

The following is yet another example of these humane sentiments!

*Spokesman*: "French law does not acknowledge the commutation of imprisonment into forest labour; he considers this commutation a wise and beneficial measure, for imprisonment does not always lead to reform but very often to corruption."

Previously, when innocent persons were turned into criminals, when in connection with the gathering of fallen wood a deputy remarked that in prison they were brought into contact with inveterate thieves, prisons were said to be *good*. Suddenly reformatories have been metamorphosed into institutions for corruption, for at this moment it is of advantage to the interests of the forest owner that prisons corrupt. By reform of the criminal is understood *improvement of the percentage of profit* which it is the criminal's noble function to provide for the forest owner.

Interest has no memory, for it thinks only of itself. And the *one* thing about which it is concerned, itself, it never forgets. But it is not concerned about contradictions, for it never comes into contradiction with itself. It is a constant improviser, for it has no system, only *expedients*.

Whereas humane and rightful motives have no part to play except

> Ce qu'au bal nous autres sots humains,
> Nous appelons faire tapisserie,[a]

expedients are the most active agents in the argumentative mechanism of private interest. Among these expedients, we note two that constantly recur in this debate and constitute the main categories, namely, "*good motives*" and "*harmful results*". We see sometimes the spokesman for the commission, sometimes another member of the Assembly, defending every ambiguous provision against hostile shafts of objections by means of the shield of shrewd, wise and good motives. We see every conclusion drawn from the standpoint of right rejected by referring to its harmful or dangerous results. Let us examine for a moment these extensive expedients, these expedients *par excellence*, these expedients covering everything and a little more.

Interest knows how to denigrate right by presenting a prospect of harmful results due to its effects in the external world; it knows how to whitewash what is wrong by ascribing good motives to it, that is, by retreating into the internal world of its thoughts. Law produces bad results in the external world among bad people, wrong springs from good motives in the breast of the honest man who decrees it; but both, the good motives and the harmful results, have in common the peculiar feature that they do not look at a thing in relation to itself, that they do not treat the law as an independent object, but direct attention away from the law either to the external world or to their own mind, that therefore they manoeuvre *behind the back of the law.*

What are harmful results? Our whole account has shown that they are not to be understood as harmful results for the state, the law, or the accused. Moreover, we should like to make quite clear in a few lines that they do not include harmful results for the *safety of citizens.*

We have already heard from members of the Assembly themselves that the provision by which "everyone has to prove where he obtained his wood" is a gross and injurious intrusion into the life of the citizen and makes every citizen the victim of vexatious bullying. Another provision declares that everyone in whose *keeping* stolen wood is found is to be regarded as a thief, although a deputy stated:

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[a] What, at a ball, we simple folk call being wallflowers.— *Ed.*

"This could be dangerous for many an honest man. Wood stolen by someone nearby might be thrown into his courtyard and the innocent man punished."

Under §66 any citizen who buys a broom that is not issued under monopoly is punishable by hard labour from four weeks to two years. On this, an urban deputy commented as follows:

"This paragraph threatens with hard labour each and every citizen of the Elberfeld, Lennep and Solingen districts."

Finally, supervision and management of the game and forest police have been made not only a right but a duty of the *military*, although Article 9 of the Criminal Code speaks only of officials who are under the supervision of state prosecutors and can therefore be the object of immediate proceedings on the part of the latter, which is not the case with the military. This is a threat both to the independence of the courts and to the freedom and security of citizens.

Hence, far from there being any talk of possible harmful results for the safety of citizens, their safety itself is treated as a *circumstance having harmful results.*

What then are harmful results? Harmful is that which is harmful to the interests of the forest owner. If, therefore, the law does not result in the furtherance of his interests, its results are harmful. And in this respect interest is keen-sighted. Whereas previously it did not see what was obvious to the naked eye, it now sees even what is only visible through a microscope. The whole world is a thorn in the side of private interest, a world full of dangers, precisely because it is the world not of a single interest but of many interests. Private interest considers itself the ultimate purpose of the world. Hence if the law does not realise this ultimate purpose, it becomes inexpedient law. *Law which is harmful to private interests* is therefore *law with harmful results.*

Are *good motives* considered to be better than harmful results?

Interest does not think, it calculates. Motives are its figures. Motive is an incentive for abolishing the basis of law, and who can doubt that private interest will have many incentives for doing so? The goodness of a motive lies in the casual flexibility with which it can set aside the objective facts of the case and lull itself and others into the illusion that it is not necessary to keep one's mind on what is good, but that it suffices to have good thoughts while doing a bad thing.

Resuming the thread of our argument, we mention first of all a side line to the noble deeds recommended to the Herr Burgomaster.

"The commission proposed an amended version of §34 along the following lines: if the accused demands that the warden who drew up the charge be summoned, then he must also deposit with the forestry court *in advance* all the costs thereby incurred."

The state and the court must not do anything gratis in the interests of the accused. They must demand payment in advance which obviously in advance makes difficult any confrontation of the warden making the charge and the accused.

A noble deed! Just one single noble deed! A kingdom for a noble deed![a] But the only noble deed proposed is that which the Herr Burgomaster has to perform for the benefit of the Herr Forest Owner. The burgomaster is the representative of noble deeds, their humanised expression, and the series of noble deeds is exhausted and ended for ever with the burden which was imposed with melancholy sacrifice on the burgomaster.

If, for the good of the state and the moral benefit of the criminal, the Herr Burgomaster must do more than his duty, should not the forest owners, for the sake of the same good, demand *less* than their *private interest* requires?

One might think that the reply to this question had been given in the part of the debate already dealt with, but that is a mistake. We come to the *penal provisions.*

"A deputy from the knightly estate considered that the forest owner would still be inadequately compensated even if he received (over and above the simple replacement of the value) the amount of the fine imposed, which would often not be obtainable."

An urban deputy remarked:

"The provisions of this paragraph (§ 15) could have the most serious consequences. The forest owner would receive in this way *threefold* compensation, namely: the value, then the four-, six-, or eightfold fine, and in addition a special sum as compensation for loss, which will often be assessed quite arbitrarily and will be the result of a fiction rather than of reality. In any case, it seemed necessary to him to direct that the special compensation in question should be claimed at once at the forestry court and awarded in the court's sentence. It was obvious from the nature of the case that proof of loss sustained should be supplied separately and could not be based merely on the warden's report."

Opposing this, the spokesman and another member explained how the *additional value* mentioned here could arise in various cases indicated by them. The paragraph was adopted.

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[a] These words are reminiscent of "A horse, a horse! My kingdom for a horse!" W. Shakespeare, *King Richard III,* Act V, Scene 4.—*Ed.*

Crime becomes a lottery in which the forest owner, if he is lucky, can even win a prize. There can be additional value, but the forest owner, who already receives the simple value, can also make a profitable business out of the four-, six-, or eightfold fine. But if, besides the simple value, he receives special compensation for loss, the four-, six-, or eightfold fine is also sheer profit. If a member of the knightly estate thinks the money accruing as a fine is an inadequate guarantee because it would often not be obtainable, it would certainly not become more obtainable by the value and the compensation for loss having to be recovered as well. We shall see presently how this difficulty of receiving money from the accused is overcome.

Could the forest owner have any better insurance for his wood than that instituted here, whereby crime has been turned into a source of income? Like a clever general he converts the attack against him into an infallible opportunity for a profitable victory, since even the additional value of the wood, an economic fantasy, is turned into a substance by theft. The forest owner has to be guaranteed not only his wood, but also his wood business, while the convenient homage he pays to his business manager, the state, consists in not paying for its services. It is a remarkable idea to turn the punishment of crime from a victory of the law over attacks on it into a victory of selfishness over attacks on selfishness.

In particular, however, we draw the attention of our readers to the provision of §14, which compels us to abandon the customary idea that *leges barbarorum* are laws of barbaric peoples. *Punishment* as such, the restoration of the law, which must certainly be distinguished from restitution of the value and compensation for loss, the restoration of private property, is transformed from a *public punishment* into a *private compensation*, the fines going not to the state treasury, but to the private coffers of the forest owner.

True, an urban deputy stated: "This is contrary to the dignity of the state and the principles of correct criminal jurisprudence", but a deputy from the knightly estate appealed to the Assembly's sense of right and fairness to protect the rights of the forest owner, that is to say, he appealed to a *special* sense of right and fairness.

Barbaric peoples order the payment of a definite monetary compensation (atonement money) to the injured person for a definite crime. The notion of public punishment arose only in opposition to this view, which regards a crime merely as an injury to the individual, but the people and the theory have yet to be

discovered which are so complacent as to allow an individual to claim for himself both the private punishment and that imposed by the state.

The Assembly of the Estates must have been led astray by a complete *qui pro quo.* The law-giving forest owner confused for a moment his two roles, that of legislator and that of forest owner. In one case as a forest owner he made the thief pay him for the wood, and in the other as a legislator he made the thief pay him for the thief's *criminal frame of mind,* and it quite accidentally happened that in both cases it was the forest owner who was paid. So we are no longer faced by the simple *droit du seigneur.*[a] We have passed through the era of public law to the era of double patrimonial right, patrimonial right raised to the second power. The patrimonial property owners have taken advantage of the progress of time, which is the refutation of their demands, to usurp not only the private punishment typical of the barbaric world outlook, but also the public punishment typical of the modern world outlook.

Owing to the refunding of the value and in addition a special compensation for loss, the relation between the wood thief and the forest owner has ceased to exist, for the infringement of forest regulations has been completely abolished. Both thief and property owner have returned to their former state in its entirety. The forest owner has suffered by the theft of wood only insofar as the wood has suffered, but not insofar as the law has been violated. Only the sensuously perceptible aspect of the crime affects him, but the criminal nature of the act does not consist in the attack on the wood as a material object, but in the attack on the wood as part of the state system, an attack on the right to property as such, the realisation of a wrongful frame of mind. Has the forest owner any private claims to a law-abiding frame of mind on the part of the thief? And what is the multiplication of the punishment for a repetition of the offence except a punishment for a criminal frame of mind? Can the forest owner present private demands where he has no private claims? Was the forest owner the state, prior to the theft of wood? He was not, but he becomes it after the theft. The wood possesses the remarkable property that as soon as it is stolen it bestows on its owner state qualities which previously he did not possess. But the forest owner can only get back what has been taken from him. If the state is given back to him—and it is actually given him when he is given not only a private right, but

[a] Right of the (feudal) lord.—*Ed.*

the state's right over the law-breaker—then he must have been robbed of the state, the state must have been his private property. Therefore the wood thief, like a second St. Christopher, bore the state itself on his back in the form of the stolen wood.

Public punishment is satisfaction for the crime to the reason of the state; it is therefore a right of the state, but it is a right which the state can no more transfer to private persons than one person can hand over his conscience to another. Every right of the state in relation to the criminal is at the same time a right of the criminal in relation to the state. No interposing of intermediate links can convert the relation of a criminal to the state into a relation between him and private persons. Even if it were desired to allow the state to give up its rights, i.e., to commit suicide, such an abandonment of its obligations on the part of the state would be not merely negligence, but a crime.

It is therefore as impossible for the forest owner to obtain from the state a private right to public punishment as it is for him to have any conceivable right, in and for himself, to impose public punishment. If, in the absence of a rightful claim to do so, I make the criminal act of a third person an independent source of income for myself, do I not thus become his accomplice? Or am I any the less his accomplice because to him falls the punishment and to me the fruit of the crime? The guilt is not attenuated by a private person abusing his status as a legislator to arrogate to himself rights belonging to the state because of a crime committed by a third person. The embezzling of public, state funds is a crime against the state, and is not the money from fines public money belonging to the state?

The wood thief has robbed the forest owner of wood, but the forest owner has made use of the wood thief to purloin the *state itself*. How literally true this is can be seen from § 19, the provisions of which do not stop at imposing a fine but also lay claim to the *body and life* of the accused. According to § 19, the infringer of forest regulations is handed over completely to the forest owner, for whom he has to perform *forest labour*. According to an urban deputy, this "could lead to great inconvenience. He wished merely to call attention to the danger of this procedure in the case of persons of the other sex".

A deputy from the knightly estate gave the following eternally memorable reply:

> "It is, indeed, as necessary as it is expedient when discussing a draft law to examine and firmly establish its principles in advance, but once this has been done, there can be no going back to them in discussing each separate paragraph."

After this, the paragraph was adopted *without opposition.*

Be clever enough to start out from bad principles, and you cannot fail to be rightfully entitled to the bad consequences. You might think, of course, that the worthlessness of the principle would be revealed in the abnormity of its consequences, but if you knew the world you would realise that the clever man takes full advantage of every consequence of what he has once succeeded in carrying through. We are only surprised that the forest owner is not allowed to heat his stove with the wood thieves. Since it is a question not of right, but of the principles which the Provincial Assembly has chosen to take as its starting point, there is not the slightest obstacle in the way of this consequence.

In direct contradiction to the dogma enunciated above, a brief retrospective glance shows us how necessary it would have been to discuss the principles afresh in respect of each paragraph; how, through the voting on paragraphs which were apparently unconnected and far remote from one another, one provision after another was surreptitiously *slipped through,* and once the first has been put through in this way, then in regard to the subsequent ones even the *semblance* of the condition under which alone the first could be accepted was discarded.

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 307, November 3, 1842, Supplement]

When in connection with §4 the question arose of entrusting valuation to the warden making the charge, an urban deputy remarked:

"If the proposal that fines should be paid into the state treasury is not approved, the provision under discussion will be doubly dangerous."

It is clear that the forest warden will not have the same motive for overestimating if his valuation is made for the state and not for his employer. Discussion of this point was skilfully avoided, the impression being given that §14, which awards the money from the fine to the forest owner, could be rejected. §4 was put through. After voting ten paragraphs, the Assembly arrived at §14, by which §4 was given an altered and dangerous meaning. But this connection was totally ignored; §14 was adopted, providing for fines to be paid into the private coffers of the forest owners. The main, indeed the only, reason adduced for this is that it is in the interests of the forest owner, who is not adequately compensated by the replacement of the simple value. But in §15 it has been forgotten that it was voted that the fine should be paid to

the forest owner and it is decreed that he should receive, besides the simple value, a special compensation for loss, because it was thought proper that he should have an additional value, as if he had not already received such an addition thanks to the fines flowing into his coffers. It was also pointed out that the fines were not always obtainable from the accused. Thus the *impression was given* that only in regard to the money was it intended to take the place of the state, but in §19 the mask is discarded and a claim advanced not only for the money, but for the criminal himself, not only for the man's purse, but for himself.

At this point the method of the deception stands out in sharp and undisguised relief, indeed in self-confessed clarity, for there is no longer any hesitation to proclaim it as a principle.

The right to replacement of the simple value and compensation for loss obviously gave the forest owner only a *private claim* against the wood thief, for the implementation of which the civil courts were available. If the wood thief is unable to pay, the forest owner is in the position of any private person faced with an impecunious debtor, and, of course, that does not give him any right to compulsory labour, corvée services, or in short, *temporary serfdom* of the debtor. What then is the basis of this claim of the forest owner? The *fine.* As we have seen, by appropriating the fine for himself, the forest owner claims not only his private right, but also the *state's right* to the wood thief, and so puts himself in the place of the state. In adjudging the fine to himself, however, the forest owner has cleverly concealed that he has adjudged himself the right of *punishment itself.* Whereas previously he spoke of the *fine* simply as a sum of *money,* he now refers to it as a *punishment* and triumphantly admits that by means of the fine he has converted a public right into his private property. Instead of recoiling in horror before this consequence, which is as criminal as it is revolting, people accept it precisely because it is a consequence. Common sense may maintain that it is contrary to our concept of right, to every kind of right, to hand over one citizen to another as a temporary serf, but shrugging their shoulders, people declare that the principle has been discussed, although there has been neither any principle nor any discussion. In this way, by means of the fine, the forest owner surreptitiously obtains control over the *person of the wood thief.* Only §19 reveals the double meaning of §14.

Thus we see that §4 should have been impossible because of §14, §14 because of §15, §15 because of §19, and §19 itself is simply impossible and should have made impossible the entire prin-

ciple of the punishment, precisely because in it all the viciousness of this principle is revealed.

The principle of *divide et impera*[a] could not be more adroitly exploited. In considering one paragraph, no attention is paid to the next one, and when the turn of that one comes, the previous one is forgotten. One paragraph has already been discussed, the other has not yet been discussed, so for opposite reasons both of them are raised to a position above all discussion. But the acknowledged principle is "the sense of right and fairness in protecting the interests of the forest owner", which is directly opposed to the sense of right and fairness in protecting the interests of those whose property consists of life, freedom, humanity, and citizenship of the state, who own nothing except themselves.

We have, however, reached a point where the forest owner, in exchange for his piece of wood, receives what was once a human being.

*Shylock.* Most learned judge! — A sentence! come, prepare!
*Portia.* Tarry a little; there is something else.
This bond doth give thee here no jot of blood;
The words expressly are "a pound of flesh":
Take then thy bond, take thou thy pound of flesh;
But, in the cutting it, if thou dost shed
One drop of Christian blood, thy lands and goods
Are, by the laws of Venice, confiscate
Unto the state of Venice.
*Gratiano.* O upright judge! Mark, Jew. O learned judge!
*Shylock.* Is that the law?
*Portia.* Thyself shaft see the act.[b]

You, too, should see the act!

What is the basis of your claim to make the wood thief into a serf? The fine. We have shown that you have no right to the fine money. Leaving this out of account, what is your basic principle? It is that the interests of the forest owner shall be safeguarded even if this results in destroying the world of law and freedom. You are unshakeably determined that *in some way or other* the wood thief must *compensate* you for the *loss* of your *wood.* This firm wooden foundation of your argument is so rotten that a single breath of sound common sense is sufficient to shatter it into a thousand fragments.

The state can and must say: I guarantee right against all

[a] Divide and rule. — *Ed.*
[b] W. Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice,* Act IV, Scene 1. — *Ed.*

contingencies. Right alone is immortal in me, and therefore I prove to you the mortality of crime by doing away with it. But the state cannot and must not say: a private interest, a particular existence of property, a wooded plot of land, a tree, a chip of wood (and compared to the state the greatest tree is hardly more than a chip of wood) is guaranteed against all contingencies, is immortal. The state cannot go against the nature of things, it cannot make the finite proof against the conditions of the finite, against accident. Just as your property cannot be guaranteed by the state against all contingencies *before* a crime, so also a crime cannot convert this uncertain nature of your property into its opposite. Of course, the state will safeguard your private interests insofar as these can be safeguarded by rational laws and rational measures of prevention, but the state cannot concede to your private demand in respect of the criminal any other right than the right of private demands, the protection given by civil jurisdiction. If you cannot obtain any compensation from the criminal in this way owing to his lack of means, the only consequence is that *all legal means* to secure this compensation have come to an end. The world will not be unhinged on that account, nor will the state forsake the sunlit path of justice, but you will have learned that everything earthly is transitory, which will hardly be a piquant novelty for you in view of your pure religiosity, or appear more astonishing than storms, conflagrations or fevers. If, however, the state wanted to make the criminal your temporary serf, it would be sacrificing the immortality of the law to your finite private interests. It would prove thereby to the criminal the mortality of the law, whereas by punishment it ought to prove to him its immortality.

When, during the reign of King Philip, Antwerp could easily have kept the Spaniards at bay by flooding its region, the butchers' guild would not agree to this because they had fat oxen in the pastures.[93] You demand that the state should abandon its spiritual region in order to avenge your pieces of wood.

Some subsidiary provisions of § 16 should also be mentioned. An urban deputy remarked:

> "According to existing legislation, eight days' imprisonment is reckoned as equivalent to a fine of 5 talers. There is no sufficient reason for departing from this." (Namely, for making it fourteen days instead of eight.)

The commission proposed the following addition to the same paragraph:

> "that in no case a prison sentence should be less than 24 hours".

When someone suggested that this minimum was too great, a deputy from the knightly estate retorted:

"The French forestry law does not have any punishment of less than three days."

In the same breath as it opposed the provision of the French law by making fourteen days' imprisonment instead of eight the equivalent of a fine of 5 talers, the Assembly, out of devotion to the French law, opposed the three days being altered to 24 hours.

The above-mentioned urban deputy remarked further:

"It would be very severe at least to impose fourteen days' imprisonment as an equivalent for a fine of 5 talers for pilfering wood, which after all cannot be regarded as a crime deserving heavy punishment. The result would be that one who has the means to buy his freedom would suffer simple punishment, whereas the punishment of a poor person would be doubled."

A deputy from the knightly estate mentioned that in the neighbourhood of Cleve many wood thefts took place merely in order to secure arrest and prison fare. Does not this deputy from the knightly estate prove precisely what he wants to refute, namely, that people are driven to steal wood by the sheer necessity of saving themselves from starvation and homelessness? Is this terrible need an aggravating circumstance?

The previously mentioned *urban deputy* said also:

"The cut in prison fare, which has already been condemned, must be regarded as too severe and, especially in the case of *penal labour*, quite impracticable."

A number of deputies denounced the reduction of food to *bread* and *water* as being too severe. But a deputy from a rural community remarked that in the Trier district the food cut had already been introduced and had proved to be very *effective*.

Why did the worthy speaker find that the beneficial effect in Trier was due precisely to bread and water and not, perhaps, to the *intensification of religious sentiment*, about which the Assembly was able to speak so much and so movingly? Who could have dreamed at that time that bread and water were the true means for salvation? During certain debates one could believe that the English Holy Parliament[94] had been revived. And now? Instead of prayer and trust and song, we have bread and water, prison and labour in the forest! How prodigal the Assembly is with words in order to procure the Rhinelanders a seat in heaven! How prodigal

it is too, with words, in order that a whole class of Rhinelanders should be fed on bread and water and driven with whips to labour in the forest—an idea which a Dutch planter would hardly dare to entertain in regard to his Negroes. What does all this prove? That it is easy to be holy if one is not willing to be human. That is the way in which the following passage can be understood:

"A member of the Assembly considered the provision in §23 *inhuman;* nevertheless it was adopted."

Apart from its *inhumanity,* no information was given about this paragraph.

Our whole account has shown how the Assembly degrades the executive power, the administrative authorities, the life of the accused, the idea of the state, crime itself, and punishment as well, to *material means of private interest.* It will be found consistent, therefore, that the *sentence of the court* also is treated as a mere means, and the *legal validity* of the sentence as a superfluous prolixity.

"In §6 the commission proposed to delete the words '*legally valid*;' since, in cases of judgment by default, their adoption would give the wood thief a ready means of avoiding an increased punishment for a repetition of the offence. Many deputies, however, protested against this, declaring that it was necessary to oppose the commission's proposed deletion of the expression '*legally valid sentence*' in §6 of the draft. This characterisation applied to sentences in this passage, as also in the paragraph, was certainly not made without juridical consideration. If every first sentence pronounced by the judge sufficed as grounds for imposing a severer punishment, then, of course, the intention of punishing repeated offenders more severely would be more easily and frequently achieved. It had to be considered, however, whether one was willing to sacrifice in this way an *essential legal principle* to the *interests of forest protection* stressed by the spokesman. One could not agree that the violation of an indisputable basic principle of judicial procedure could give such a result to a sentence which was still without legal validity. Another urban deputy also called for the rejection of the commission's amendment. He said the amendment violated the provisions of the criminal law by which there could be no increase of punishment until the first punishment had been established by a legally valid sentence. The spokesman for the commission retorted: 'The *whole forms an exceptional law,* and therefore also an *exceptional provision,* such as has been proposed, is permissible in it.' The commission's proposal to delete the words 'legally valid' was *approved.*"

The sentence exists merely to identify recidivism. The judicial forms seem to the greedy restlessness of private interest to be irksome and superfluous obstacles of a pedantic legal etiquette. The trial is merely a reliable escort for the adversary on his way to prison, a mere preliminary to execution, and if the trial seeks to be more than that it has to be silenced. The anxiety of self-interest

spies out, calculates and conjectures most carefully how the adversary could exploit the legal terrain on which, as a necessary evil, he has to be encountered, and the most circumspect counter-manoeuvres are undertaken to forestall him. In the unbridled pursuit of private interest you come up against the law itself as an obstacle and you treat it as such. You haggle and bargain with it to secure the abrogation of a basic principle here and there, you try to silence it by the most suppliant references to the right of private interest, you slap it on the shoulder and whisper in its ear: these are exceptions and there are no rules without an exception. You try, by permitting the law as it were terrorism and meticulousness in relation to the enemy, to compensate it for the slippery ease of conscience with which you treat it as a guarantee of the accused and as an independent object. The interest of the law is allowed to speak insofar as it is the law of private interest, but it has to be silent as soon as it comes into conflict with this holy of holies.

The forest owner, who himself *punishes,* is so consistent that he himself also *judges,* for he obviously acts as a judge by declaring a sentence legally binding although it has no legal validity. How altogether foolish and impractical an illusion is an impartial judge when the legislator is not impartial! What is the use of a disinterested sentence when the law favours self-interest! The judge can only puritanically formulate the self-interest of the law, only implement it without reservation. Impartiality is then only in the form, not in the content of the sentence. The content has been anticipated by the law. If the trial is nothing but an empty form, then such a trifling formality has no independent value. According to this view, Chinese law would become French law if it was forced into the French procedure, but *material law* has its own *necessary, native form of trial.* Just as the rod necessarily figures in Chinese law, and just as torture has a place in the medieval criminal code as a form of trial, so the public, free trial, in accordance with its own nature, necessarily has a public content dictated by freedom and not by private interest. Court trial and the law are no more indifferent to each other than, for instance, the forms of plants are indifferent to the plants themselves, and the forms of animals to their flesh and blood. There must be a *single* spirit animating the trial and the law, for the trial is only the *form of life of the law,* the manifestation of its inner life.

The pirates of Tidong[95] break the arms and legs of their prisoners to ensure control over them. To ensure control over wood thieves, the Provincial Assembly has not only broken the

arms and legs but has even pierced the heart of the law. We consider its merit in regard to re-establishing some categories of our trial procedure as absolutely nil; on the contrary, we must acknowledge the frankness and consistency with which it gives an unfree form to the unfree content. If private interest, which cannot bear the light of publicity, is introduced materially into our law, let it be given its appropriate form, that of secret procedure so that at least no dangerous, complacent illusions will be evoked and entertained. We consider that at the present moment it is the duty of all Rhinelanders, and especially of Rhenish jurists, to devote their main attention to the *content of the law*, so that we should not be left in the end with only an empty mask. The form is of no value if it is not the form of the content.

The commission's proposal which we have just examined and the Assembly's vote approving it are the climax to the whole debate, for here the Assembly itself becomes conscious of the *conflict between the interest of forest protection and the principles of law*, principles endorsed by our own laws. The Assembly therefore put it to the vote whether the principles of law should be sacrificed to the interest of forest protection or whether this interest should be sacrificed to the principles of law, and *interest outvoted law*. It was even realised that the whole law was an *exception to the law*, and therefore the conclusion was drawn that *every* exceptional provision it contained was permissible. The Assembly confined itself to drawing consequences that the legislator had neglected. Wherever the legislator had forgotten that it was a question of an exception to the law, and not of a law, wherever he put forward the legal point of view, our Assembly by its activity intervened with confident tactfulness to correct and supplement him, and to make private interest lay down laws to the law where the law had laid down laws to private interest.

The Provincial Assembly, therefore, *completely fulfilled its mission.* In accordance with its *function*, it represented a definite *particular interest* and treated it as the final goal. That in doing so it trampled the law under foot is a *simple consequence of its task*, for interest by its very nature is blind, immoderate, one-sided; in short, it is lawless natural instinct, and can lawlessness lay down laws? Private interest is no more made capable of legislating by being installed on the throne of the legislator than a mute is made capable of speech by being given an enormously long speaking-trumpet.

It is with reluctance that we have followed the course of this

tedious and uninspired debate, but we considered it our duty to show by means of an example what is to be expected from an *Assembly of the Estates of particular interests* if it were ever seriously called upon to make laws.

We repeat once again: our estates have fulfilled their function as such, but far be it from us to desire to justify them on that account. In them, the Rhinelander ought to have been victorious over the estate, the human being ought to have been victorious over the forest owner. They themselves are legally entrusted not only with the representation of particular interests but also with the representation of the interests of the province, and however contradictory these two tasks may be, in case of conflict there should not be a moment's delay in sacrificing representation of particular interest to representation of the interests of the province. The sense of right and legality is the *most important provincial characteristic* of the Rhinelander. But it goes without saying that a particular interest, caring no more for the province than it does for the Fatherland, has also no concern for local spirit, any more than for the general spirit. In direct contradiction to those writers of fantasy who profess to find in the representation of private interests ideal romanticism, immeasurable depths of feeling, and the most fruitful source of individual and specific forms of morality, such representation on the contrary abolishes all natural and spiritual distinctions by enthroning in their stead the immoral, irrational and soulless abstraction of a particular material object and a particular consciousness which is slavishly subordinated to this object.

Wood remains wood in Siberia as in France; forest owners remain forest owners in Kamchatka as in the Rhine Province. Hence, if wood and its owners as such make laws, these laws will differ from one another only by the place of origin and the language in which they are written. This *abject materialism,* this sin against the holy spirit of the people and humanity, is an immediate consequence of the doctrine which the *Preussische Staats-Zeitung* preaches to the legislator, namely, that in connection with the law concerning wood he should think only of wood and forest and should solve each material problem *in a non-political way,* i.e., without any connection with the whole of the reason and morality of the state.

The *savages of Cuba* regarded gold as a *fetish of the Spaniards.* They celebrated a feast in its honour, sang in a circle around it and then threw it into the sea. If the Cuban savages had been present at the sitting of the Rhine Province Assembly, would they

not have regarded *wood* as the *Rhinelanders' fetish?* But a subsequent sitting would have taught them that the worship of animals is connected with this fetishism, and they would have thrown the *hares* into the sea in order to save the *human beings.*[96]

Written in October 1842

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Signed: *By a Rhinelander*

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# IN CONNECTION WITH THE ARTICLE "FAILURES OF THE LIBERAL OPPOSITION IN HANOVER"

*Editorial Note*[97]

Since the expression "*liberal* opposition" in the title originated not with the author of the article in question, but with the editorial board, the latter takes this occasion to add something to explain this designation.

Two reasons are put forward against this expression. As regards its *form,* it is said that the opposition is not liberal, *because* it is conservative, because it aims at the continuance of an existing legal situation. According to this dialectic, the July revolution was a conservative and *therefore* illiberal revolution, for it aimed first of all at preserving the *Charte.*[98] Nevertheless, liberalism claimed the July revolution as its own. Liberalism, of course, is conservative, it conserves freedom and, in the face of the assaults of crude, material force, even the stunted *status quo* forms of freedom. It should be added that, if such an abstraction wishes to be consistent, from its own point of view the opposition of a legal situation dating from the year 1833 must be regarded as progressive and liberal compared with a reaction which is forcing the year 33 back to the year 19.[99]

As regards the *content,* it is further contended that the content of the opposition, the fundamental state law of 1833, is not a content of freedom. Granted! However little the fundamental state law of 1833 is an embodiment of freedom when measured by the idea of freedom, it is very much an embodiment of freedom when measured by the existence of the fundamental state law of 1819. Altogether, it is not a question primarily of the *particular* content of this law; it is a question of opposing *illegal* usurpation in favour of *legal* content.

The editorial board was the more entitled to call the Hanover opposition liberal since almost all German assemblies acclaimed it as a liberal opposition, as an opposition of legal freedom. Whether it deserves this predicate when looked at from the judgment seat of *criticism*, whether it has progressed beyond the mere opinion and pretension of being liberal to *real* liberalism, to examine this was precisely the task of the article in question.

Incidentally, we point out that in our view true liberalism in Hanover in the future has neither to champion the fundamental state law of 1833 nor to hark back to the law of 1819, but must strive for a completely new form of state corresponding to a more profound, more thoroughly educated and *freer* popular consciousness.

The editorial board of the *Rheinische Zeitung*

Written about November 8, 1842

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# COMMUNAL REFORM AND THE *KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG*[100]

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 312, November 8, 1842]

*Cologne,* November 7. We have not considered it appropriate when discussing the question of the Communal Reform to take into account what has appeared on the subject in the provincial papers, and in particular in the *Kölnische Zeitung.* We shall easily justify ourselves if we show by an example the approximate strength of the argument which has been advanced in defence of the separation of the urban and rural communities.

The Supplement to No. 309 of the *Kölnische Zeitung* adduces under the heading "Summing Up" the authorities for the affirmative and negative answers to the question of separation. Among other curiosities we find as grounds against the separation "some newspaper articles", and in favour of the separation "likewise newspaper articles", just as newspaper articles have "likewise" appeared in favour of censorship. In any case we must mention with the greatest praise a devotion which considers an article a ground for the mere reason that it is a newspaper article as indeed a very uncritical, but despite its comical tone, rare recognition of the periodical press. Credit for an equally praiseworthy ingenuousness by no means attaches to the juxtaposition of two other authorities for and against the separation of the urban and rural communities. Said to have been against this separation is the Provincial Assembly of 1833, which moreover was prevailed upon by a single energetic personality, and accordingly therefore only this personality was against the separation; in favour of the separation was the whole Provincial Assembly of 1827 with the exception of one vote; but, honourable Summing Up, if the 1833 Provincial Assembly is only worth as much as the single personality which it followed, then what rules out the possibility that the 1827

Provincial Assembly is worth less than the single vote which it opposed; and yet the Provincial Assembly, which is so hesitating, so unable to depend on itself, still remains an authority! If further the petitions from Cologne, Aachen and Koblenz are adduced as petitions for the separation of the urban and rural communities because these petitions are limited to Cologne, Aachen and Koblenz, in the best of cases this can prove only the limitation of these petitions, but by no means their reasonableness; besides, having in their initial haste grasped so little the generality of the question and considered the interest of the whole province, these cities have just as little conceived their particular reform in any kind of opposition to the general reform. They made a petition only for themselves, but by no means against the province. We admired immediately at the beginning the comical ingenuousness of the "Summing Up", and although it does not preserve this quality throughout but, as we have just heard, could not but occasionally lapse into small intentional subtleties, this comicality and ingenuousness nevertheless victoriously reasserts itself in the end. Said to be in favour of the separation of the city and the countryside are also

> "the remaining cities of the Rhine Province, whose petitions are unknown as far as their content is concerned, but which in making their requests could presumably only speak for themselves, since no single locality can be the organ of a whole province".

So not only a newspaper article in the abstract is an authority, but even the decided mediocrity of a "presumably only" can puzzle out the unknown content of the remaining cities' petitions. That this prophet who is called "presumably only" is a false prophet is proved by the petition of the city of Trier. At the end of the "Summing Up" emerges the inner ground which is the real ground for a separation of the city and the countryside. What is wanted is not only to separate the city from the countryside, but to separate the individual cities from one another and from the province, to separate the province from its own intelligence. A single locality could not be the organ of a whole province? Correct. The single locality must not be the whole organ, but it must be a part of this organ, and hence must be for its part the organ of the whole and general interest. And does not such a view remove all possibility of even a single city communal system? If a single locality cannot be the organ of the whole province, can a single citizen be the organ of a whole city? This citizen, as follows from the argument advanced above, can only request something for himself, and not for the whole city, and since the whole city

consists only of single citizens, nothing at all can be requested for the city as a whole. The "Summing Up" ends with what the separation of the city and the countryside must in general end with if it is to be consistent, with making not only the city, not only the province, but even the state itself impossible. Once the particular is to be asserted in hostile opposition to the general, in the end all political and social institutions must be made to disappear before the ultimate indivisible particular, the single individual in his physical appetites and aims. The troops that the "Summing Up" puts into the field on its side resemble, with few exceptions, Falstaff's recruits: all they are good for is to fill the breach with the corpses of thoughts.[a] Enough of the grave-digger business!

Finally, a well-intended recollection of the *Kölnische Zeitung*. For the first time a sense of modesty and mistrust of its own strength has crept into the leading article, although it is otherwise accustomed to behave as if it were the criterion *de omnibus rebus et de quibusdam aliis*.[b] Not for the first time, but indeed for all time can the *Kölnische Zeitung* become convinced on this occasion of the untenability of its editorial principle. Since all unpaid contributors are welcome, a few fingers with an itch to write and set in motion by a mediocre brain suffice to falsify the expression of public opinion. When one casts a glance at the columns of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, one would think the view favouring the separation of the city and the countryside is predominant in the Rhine Province. But if one casts a glance at the Rhine Province, one would think the Rhine Province is not predominant in the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 316, November 12, 1842]

*Cologne*, November 11. Our appeal to the Rhineland "provincial papers" regarding the communal reform question did not fail to produce results. The *Kölnische Zeitung* found itself moved to dip its issue of Nov. 11 into a false bright instead of the usual twilight colour and to recognise, though with unmistakable ill humour, hesitant reservations, suspicious side-glances, and deliberate ambiguity, the equal rights of town and countryside. Today once again we seize the opportunity to make the *Kölnische Zeitung* conscious of its state of mind and will not abandon the pleasant,

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[a] Paraphrase of Falstaff's words from Shakespeare's *King Henry IV*, Part One, Act IV, Scene 2.—*Ed.*

[b] Of all things and certain others.—*Ed.*

though fantastic hope that it will renounce its point of view as soon as it has gained consciousness of its point of view.

"Incidentally," the *Kölnische Zeitung* concludes its article today, "as regards the communal system question, which has such a high claim to the general interest, the editorial board of the *Kölnische Zeitung* considers it appropriate to state that in this respect also it pays allegiance to the principle of equality of rights but considers it its duty to give as free scope as possible to discussion of the *forms* in which an improvement of the present situation, which is thoroughly unfree and acknowledged by all parties to be no longer tolerable, is to be effected."

The *Kölnische Zeitung* has so far not carried a single article about the *forms* in which the communal reform is to be effected while maintaining the principle of equality of rights. It was therefore impossible for us to fight a non-existent opponent. Or does the *Kölnische Zeitung* consider that the "separation of town and countryside", a separation which a number of its articles suggested should be simulated legally by means of a separate communal system, is likewise one of the *forms* in which the principle of equality of rights is crystallised? Does it hold that the established inequality of rights is a form of equality of rights? The struggle in the *Kölnische Zeitung* centred not on the different forms of one and the same principle, but rather on the difference of the principle itself, and, indeed, in this struggle, if we consider the articles of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, according to that paper's own suggestion, as mere articles, i.e., according to their numerical mass, most of the troops belonged to the opponents of equality. We said to the *Kölnische Zeitung*: Be honest, do not falsify the expression of public opinion, fulfil the calling of a Rhineland paper, which is to represent the spirit of the Rhineland, disregard personal considerations, in a vital question for the province close your columns to all individual opinions which have the defect of wishing to assert a separate attitude in opposition to the will of the people. And how does the *Kölnische Zeitung* reply!

It finds it "appropriate" to pay allegiance to the principle of equality of rights in relation to the communal reform, a "finding appropriate" that will be considered very clever in respect of the Rhine Province, and not precisely as a proof of the inventiveness of the *Kölnische Zeitung*. Alongside this moderate allegiance to the spirit of the province, however, the *Kölnische Zeitung* considers it its "duty" to give as free scope as possible to discussion of the "forms" of the communal reform, among which forms it also includes the forms of "inequality". This "devotion to duty" will be found appropriate from the standpoint of its private interests and private considerations, however inappropriate this standpoint itself

is. To cut off all hiding places for the *Kölnische Zeitung*, which creeps into concealment behind the difference between form and content, we pose the categorical question whether it declares an inequality of town and countryside legally established by means of a separate communal system to be a "form" of equality of rights and believes it can continue to keep its columns open to pretences of such equality as a mere question of form. Tomorrow we shall return to the article of the *Kölnische Zeitung* in question.

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 317, November 13, 1842]

*Cologne*, November 12. The article in No. 314 of the *Rheinische Zeitung* on the question of the communal system, which has such a high claim to the general interest,[a] is nothing but an *avant-propos* to the detailed discussion of *communal equality for town and country* which is being carried on in our supplement.[b] The *Kölnische Zeitung* introduces its reference to this, that is, to the matter itself, with "*Incidentally*", just as the worker at the craftsmen's banquet begins his speech with "In general", but this must not at all diminish the merits of the *Kölnische Zeitung* in respect of originality, since we recognise it rather as a habit of the paper, a habit which is just as original as praiseworthy, that in dealing with a question of general interest it "*incidentally*" touches also on the "matter itself". This method of treatment, which is somewhat intentional, possesses a wonderful elasticity which makes the most curious misunderstandings possible and for a third party even probable as the proper understanding of the matter.

So the *Kölnische Zeitung* begins its article in question of November 4[c] with the anecdote that a "neighbouring paper", namely, the *Rheinische Zeitung*, has called on "all Rhine Province papers to join forces against the threat, allegedly coming from Berlin, to the equality before the law of urban and rural communities" and issued the common slogan: "Equality for all, for townspeople and for peasants." The *Kölnische Zeitung* declares itself prepared to take up this slogan

"insofar as by equality is understood not the *foolish dream of the Communists*, but, as we *presume*, the only possible equality, equality of rights".

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[a] Here Marx has an untranslatable pun on the German articles *der, die, das*, ridiculing the stilted style of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.— *Ed.*

[b] [H. Claessen,] "Die Reform der rheinischen Gemeinde-Ordnung." Zweiter Artikel. Ueber Unterschiedenheit der Gemeinde-Ordnung für Stadt und Land. *Rheinische Zeitung*, Beiblatt, Nr. 312, 314, 317, November 8, 10, 13, 1842.— *Ed.*

[c] Obviously a misprint. It should be: "November 11".— *Ed.*

This cunning side-glance at the communist dreams would have been just as impossible as the magnanimous presumption of our non-communist tendency would have been unnecessary had the *Kölnische Zeitung* begun its report with the *matter itself*, with the fact that the *Rheinische Zeitung* wants an *equal communal system* for town and countryside and even designates this equality expressly in the article quoted as "*equality of rights* of urban and rural communities". But if the *Kölnische Zeitung* were to see this equality itself as communist foolishness, then it would simply have to be referred to its own credo introduced by the Catonic "Caeterum".[a]

The ridiculous communist side-cut is not enough. The *Kölnische Zeitung* considers it necessary to associate another confession of faith with that of equality of rights.

"But," it says, "we must admit that we cannot at all *share the concern that the wise government of Frederick William IV is contemplating an infringement of equality of rights in the Rhineland.* Before we believe this we must be presented with facts and not with assertions, which, we hope, are without any foundation."

With this clumsy and perfidious insinuation imputing to us fears of and the spreading of rumours about an *intentional* infringement of equality of rights in the Rhineland by the wise government of Frederick William IV, the *Kölnische Zeitung* flees from the field of argument to the field of suspicion and denunciation and convinces us anew that the impotence of understanding seeks as a last resort to assert itself through impotence of character, through the vain recklessness of demoralisation. What is the insinuation of the *Kölnische Zeitung* based on? Basing ourselves on information from Berlin, we reported that the Rhineland deputies to the Central Commissions[b] had before them a draft of a communal system which did *not* recognise the equality of town and countryside; we recommended that in this case the Rhine press should adopt the attitude and energy of truth.[c]

If the government submits to the opinion of the *Rhineland deputies* a communal system which separates town and countryside, it follows from this simple fact that the government, far from having any concealed intention, rather entertains the complete *conviction* that by such a separation it will *not* infringe equality of rights in the Rhine Province. If the Rhine press, the organ of the Rhine Province, is convinced that the province is of

[a] The opening word of Cato's famous dictum: "Ceterum censeo Carthaginem esse delendam."—*Ed.*

[b] Joint Estates Commissions of the Provincial Assemblies.—*Ed.*

[c] Reference to the article headlined "Köln, 9. Nov." in the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 314, November 10, 1842.—*Ed.*

the opposite view, it follows just as simply that it must prove that a common communal system for town and countryside is a necessary consequence of equality of rights in the Rhine Province; or is it not even a *duty of the press to the government* not only to express the popular conviction without consideration for the exceptional opinion of single individuals, but also to prove the reasonable content of this conviction?

Finally, it is more than indecent on the part of the *Kölnische Zeitung* to bring the All-high person of His Majesty into controversies of this kind. It needs really a minimum of intelligence and a maximum of irresponsibility to make any political discussion impossible in a purely monarchical state by the simple and easy manoeuvre of disregarding the true content of the discussion, bringing in a personal relationship to the monarch and thereby turning every *objective debate* into a *debate on a question of confidence.* We expressed the hope that all Rhine Province papers would represent the view of the Rhine Province, because and insofar as we entertain the unshakeable conviction that His Majesty would not refuse to recognise the great significance of the general view of the Rhine Province, even if our Berlin information is grounded—which we have no occasion to doubt—even if the Rhine deputies approve a separation of town and countryside, which can appear to be all the less beyond all doubt[a] since just recently the articles of the *Kölnische Zeitung* proved that not all Rhinelanders are capable of understanding and sharing the conviction of the vastly overwhelming majority.

The *Rheinische Zeitung* advanced the slogan of equality of rights for town and countryside, and the *Kölnische Zeitung* accepted this slogan with the cautious condition that by "equality of rights" we understand equality of rights and no communist dream. The *Rheinische Zeitung* accompanied the Berlin information with an appeal to the feelings of the Rhine Province papers, and the *Kölnische Zeitung* denounces it for suspicions concerning His Majesty's intentions. The *Rheinische Zeitung* called on the various editorial boards of our provincial papers to sacrifice individual considerations and preconceived opinions to the Fatherland, and the *Kölnische Zeitung* comes out with a flat, entirely unexplained recognition of equality of rights for town and countryside, a recognition whose formal merit it itself nullifies, by declaring the "separation" of town and countryside to be a "form" of equality

[a] Marx obviously meant: of which there can be all the less doubt.—*Ed.*

of rights. Is it possible to write in a more illogical, unprincipled and wretched manner? Is it possible to proclaim more clearly freedom with the lips and unfreedom with the heart? But the *Kölnische Zeitung* knows the Shakespeare saying:

"... to be honest, as this world goes, is to be one man picked out of ten thousand",[a]

and the *Kölnische Zeitung* did not succumb to the temptation to be one out of ten thousand.

Finally, a word about the "separation of town and countryside". Even apart from general grounds, the *law* can only be the ideal, self-conscious image of reality, the *theoretical* expression, made independent, of the practical vital forces. In the *Rhine Province* town and countryside are not separated in reality. Therefore the law cannot decree this separation without decreeing its own nullity.

Written on November 7-12, 1842
Published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* Nos. 312, 316 and 317, November 8, 12 and 13, 1842

Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time

[a] W. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act II, Scene 2.—*Ed.*

# THE DIVORCE BILL[101]

## *Editorial Note*

### CRITICISM OF A CRITICISM

The criticism of the Divorce Bill given here has been outlined from the standpoint of *Rhenish* jurisprudence just as the criticism published earlier (see the Supplement to No. 310 of the *Rhein. Ztg.*[a]) was based on the standpoint and practice of old Prussian jurisprudence. A third criticism remains to be made, a criticism from a pre-eminently general point of view, that of the *philosophy of law*. It will no longer suffice to examine the individual reasons for divorce, *pro et contra*. It will be necessary to set forth the concept of marriage and the consequences of this concept. The two articles we have so far published agree in condemning the interference of religion in matters of law, without, however, expounding to what extent the essence of marriage in and for itself is or is not religious, and without, therefore, being able to explain how the consistent legislator must necessarily proceed if he is guided by the essence of things and cannot be at all satisfied with a mere abstraction of the definition of this essence. If the legislator considers that the essence of marriage is not human morality, but spiritual sanctity, and therefore puts determination from above in the place of self-determination, a supernatural sanction in the place of inner natural consecration, and in the place of loyal subordination to the nature of the relationship puts passive obedience to commandments that stand above the nature of this relationship, can then this religious legislator be blamed if he also subordinates marriage to the church, which has the mission of implementing the demands and claims of religion, and if he places secular marriage under the supervision of the ecclesiastical au-

[a] Of November 6, 1842.—*Ed.*

thorities? Is that not a simple and necessary consequence? It is self-deception to believe that the religious legislator can be refuted by proving that one or other of his rulings is contrary to the secular nature of marriage. The religious legislator does not engage in a polemic against the dissolution of secular marriage; his polemic is rather against the secular essence of marriage, and he seeks partly to purge it of this secularity and partly, where this is impossible, to bring home at all times to this secularity, as a merely tolerated party, its limits and to counteract the sinful defiance of its consequences. Wholly inadequate, however, is the point of view of *Rhenish* jurisprudence, which is shrewdly expounded in the criticism published above. It is inadequate to divide the nature of marriage into two parts, a spiritual essence and a secular one, in such a way that one is assigned to the church and the individual conscience, the other to the state and the citizens' sense of law. The contradiction is not abolished by being divided between two different spheres; on the contrary, the result is a contradiction and an unresolved conflict between these two spheres of life themselves. And can the legislator be obliged to adopt a dualism, a double world outlook? Is not the conscientious legislator who adheres to the religious point of view bound to elevate to the sole authority in the real world and in secular forms that which he recognises as truth itself in the spiritual world and in religious forms, and which he worships as the sole authority? This reveals the basic defect of Rhenish jurisprudence, its dual world outlook, which, by a superficial separation of conscience and the sense of law, does not solve but cuts in two the most difficult conflicts, which severs the world of law from the world of the spirit, therefore law from the spirit, and hence jurisprudence from philosophy. On the other hand, the opposition to the present Bill reveals even more glaringly the utter lack of foundation of the old Prussian jurisprudence. If it is true that no legislation can decree morality, it is still truer that no legislation can recognise it as binding in law. Prussian law [102] is based on an intellectual abstraction which, being in itself devoid of content, conceived the natural, legal, moral content as external matter which in itself knows no laws and then tried to model, organise and arrange this spiritless and lawless matter in accordance with an external aim. It treats the objective world not in accordance with the latter's inherent laws, but in accordance with arbitrary, subjective ideas and an intention that is extraneous to the matter itself. The old Prussian jurists have shown but little insight into this character of Prussian law. They have criticised not its essence, but only individual

external features of its existence. Hence, too, they have attacked not the nature and style of the new Divorce Bill, but its reforming tendency. They thought they could find in bad morals proof that the laws were bad. We demand from criticism above all that it should have a critical attitude to itself and not overlook the difficulty of its subject-matter.

The editorial board of the *Rhein. Ztg.*

Written in mid-November 1842
First published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 319, November 15, 1842

Printed according to the newspaper

# A CORRESPONDENT OF THE *KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG* VS. THE *RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

*Cologne,* November 16. The stoutest champion of the "separation of town and countryside" in the *Kölnische Zeitung* today again raises his rumbling voice, and today it is not the province but the *Rheinische Zeitung* which he selects for the honour of being the victim of his private intelligence and his private illusions. We believe the good man when he says that the reading of the articles on communal constitution in the *Rheinische Zeitung*[a] at breakfast numbed his head and hurled him back into "exceedingly confused dreams". We believe that it is very inconvenient for one who knows *Cologne* and *Bickendorf* well to be bustled through the Orient, through Greece, Rome, the German Empire, Gaul and France and even through *thoughts* which necessarily appear as "sophistries" and "dialectical tricks" to the *routine* of practical *intercourse* and narrowly limited outlook. We do not want to judge this cheerful self-complacency amiss for the by no means moderate courtesies which it is capable of bestowing on its own achievements, for it belongs to the character of narrow-mindedness to consider its own limitations as the limitations and the pillars of the world. And as our good and humorous friend adduces no new grounds but supports the view that a ground which has been rejected and refuted at its first presentation can, like an importunate petitioner, achieve its aim in the end if only it has the obstinacy to return again and again; as therefore our friend, true to the principles established in respect of newspaper articles, expects the effect of his well-worded and correctly ordered

[a] [H. Claessen,] "Die Reform der rheinischen Gemeinde-Ordnung". *Rheinische Zeitung,* Beiblatt, Nr. 307, 310, 312, 314, 317, November 3, 6, 8, 10, 13, 1842.—*Ed.*

grounds not from themselves, but from their repetition, nothing else remains for us but finally to banish from the real world a few phantasmagoria that may have come to him in "sleep" and in "confused dreams" and so to contribute as much as is in our power to eliminating the reappearing belief in ghosts, which is known to confuse its dreams of things with the things themselves. Our somnambulist saw in a dream how the peasants were alerted by the *Rheinische Zeitung* to march with spades and hoes on the towns because the latter harboured tyrannical intentions.

In his intervals of clear consciousness our somnambulist will have to agree with himself that the "towns" do not lie in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, that we have even rejected its arbitrary interpretation of the towns' intentions, and that finally a work[a] which even goes beyond the range of vision of "*one who knows Cologne and Bickendorf well*" is still less able to provoke the peasant to a demonstration with "spades and hoes"—which probably play their role as a sample of "unprejudiced views" drawn "from practical life and intercourse". On awakening, our somnambulist will further find it beyond all doubt that to *put right* an alleged "*correspondent*" of the *Kölnische Zeitung* is no "distortion of the truth", that provoking "dissatisfaction" with the *Kölnische Zeitung* and *taking sides* against its contemplative correspondent is *no* "arousing of dissatisfaction and frenzy of parties" against the state; or can it be that not only the "towns" lie in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, but the *state* itself is embodied in it and its contributors! Our friend will then also grasp that one may have the "*boundless arrogance*" to irritate the literary productions of the sign——[b] without "challenging by indecent sallies" "the highest state authorities", whom he makes responsible not only for his *opinions* but even for his *arguments* and who would like to disavow this self-styled ally.

With the present level of German science it will be more than an upheaval if the hollow theories which strain to conceive themselves as the result of *world history*, and the general range of vision of today's doctrine were to experience the bitter fate of finding their critical yardstick in the "unprejudiced" views, drawn from civil intercourse and practical life, of "*one who knows Cologne and Bickendorf well*". This gentleman will find it understandable that pending the epoch of this Reformation and of the conjectural

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[a] See previous footnote.—*Ed.*

[b] The sign occurring under a series of anonymous articles in the *Kölnische Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

literary magnitude of the sign—.—, we consider his present isolated endeavours too fragmentary, and, with his permission, too insignificant in every respect to nourish and cultivate the dream of their importance by any further assessment of them.

Written on November 16, 1842
Published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 321, November 17, 1842

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Published in English for the first time

# [CABINET ORDER ON THE DAILY PRESS[103]]

*Cologne,* November 15. Today's *Kölnische Zeitung* carries the following royal Cabinet Order, which was sent to all provincial ministries in the course of last month:

"I have already frequently pointed out that the tendency of the bad part of the daily press to mislead public opinion on matters of general concern by disseminating untruths or distorted facts should be countered by contrasting every such false report at once with the truth through a correction of the facts published in the same newspapers that were guilty of the falsifications. It does not suffice to leave counteraction against the evil tendencies of a daily newspaper, which have a pernicious effect on the public mind, to other papers that are imbued with a better spirit and to expect it only from them. The poison of corruption must be rendered harmless in the very place where it has been dispensed; that is not only the duty of the authorities to the circle of readers to whom the poison has been proffered, it is at the same time the most effective means for destroying tendencies to deception and lying as they manifest themselves, by compelling the editors themselves to publish the judgment passed on them. I have therefore noted with displeasure that little or no use has been made so far of this means, which is as legitimate as it is essential, for curbing manifestations of degeneration on the part of the press. Inasmuch as the present laws may not have sufficiently established the obligation of our domestic newspapers to publish without demur, and, moreover, without any comments or introductory remarks, all factual corrections officially sent them, I expect from the state ministry immediate proposals for the necessary supplementary legislation. If, however, they are already adequate for the purpose, it is My will that they should be vigorously implemented by My magistrates for the protection of law and truth, and I recommend this, not only to the ministries themselves, but in particular to the immediate attention of the Oberpräsidents, to whom the state ministry shall give directives to this end.

"The more deeply I have it at heart that the noble, loyal and commendably frank frame of mind, wherever it may be displayed, shall not find its freedom of speech curtailed, and that truth shall be as little as possible restricted in the sphere of public discussion, the more ruthlessly must the spirit that employs the weapons of lying and misleading be held under restraint so that freedom of speech cannot be cheated of its fruits and its blessings by being misused.

"Sanssouci, October 14, 1842

(signed) *Frederick William*"

We hasten the more urgently to communicate the above royal Cabinet Order to our readers, because we see in it *a guarantee* for the Prussian press. Every loyal newspaper can only regard it as significant support on the part of the government if *untruths* or *distorted facts*, the publication of which cannot always be avoided even with the greatest circumspection on the part of the editorial board, are corrected from an authoritative source. By these *official explanations* the government not only guarantees a certain *historical correctness* of the factual content of the daily press, but also, what is still more important, recognises the great significance of the press by positive participation, which will restrict within ever narrower bounds negative participation by *prohibition, suppression* and *censorship*. At the same time, the royal Cabinet Order presupposes a certain *independence* of the daily press, for if without such independence tendencies to deception, lying and pernicious tendencies are not likely to spring up and establish themselves in the daily press, still less is a noble, loyal and commendably frank frame of mind. This royal presupposition of a certain independence of the daily press should be welcomed by Prussian newspapers as the *most excellent guarantee of this independence* and as an *unambiguous expression of the royal will.*

Written in mid-November 1842

First published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 320, November 16, 1842

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

## [RENARD'S LETTER TO OBERPRÄSIDENT VON SCHAPER[104]]

Highly respected Herr Oberpräsident!

Your Excellency!

Through Regierungspräsident Herr von Gerlach in Cologne, on the 12th of this month, Your Excellency has put before me a rescript of the censorship ministry and, in addition, two decrees, and called for my observations on them to be minuted. Considering the importance of the explanations demanded of me, rather than making a statement to be minuted, I have preferred to address myself today to Your Excellency in writing.

1. As regards the rescript of the censorship ministry and in particular the demand that the *Rheinische Zeitung* should alter its tendency and adopt one agreeable to the government, I am able to interpret this demand only in relation to the *form*, a moderation of which, insofar as the content allows, can be conceded. Judging by the recently issued censorship instruction, and also by His Majesty's views frequently expressed elsewhere, it seems to us that the tendency of a newspaper which, like the *Rheinische*, is not a mere unprincipled amalgam of dry reports and fulsome praise, but throws light on state conditions and institutions through conscious[a] criticism inspired by a noble purpose, can only be a tendency acceptable to the government. Moreover, until now the responsible editor has never been informed of any disapproval of this tendency. Furthermore, since the *Rh. Ztg.* is subjected to the strictest censorship, how could its suppression be justified as a *first warning?*

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[a] The words "even if sharply expressed" have been deleted here.— *Ed.*

I can assure Your Excellency that in the future, too, the *Rh. Ztg.* will continue to the best of its ability to help in paving the path of progress, along which Prussia leads the rest of Germany. For that very reason, however, I must reject the reproach levelled at me in the rescript that the *Rh. Ztg.* has sought to spread French sympathies and ideas in the Rhineland. The *Rh. Ztg.* has, on the contrary,[a] made its main task to direct towards Germany the glances which so many people still fastened on France, and to evoke a German instead of a French liberalism, which can surely not be disagreeable to the government of Frederick William IV. In this connection, the *Rh. Ztg.* has always pointed to Prussia, on whose development that of the rest of Germany depends. Proof of this tendency is provided by the articles on "Prussian hegemony",[105] aimed polemically against the anti-Prussian[b] strivings of the Augsburg newspaper. Proof is provided by all the articles on the Prussian Customs Union aimed against the articles of the Hamburg *Correspondent* and other newspapers, in which the *Rh. Ztg.* depicted in the greatest detail the accession of Hanover, Mecklenburg and the Hanseatic towns as the only beneficial course. Proof is provided above all by the continual reference to North-German science in contrast to the superficiality not only of French, but also of South-German theories. The *Rh. Zeitung* was the first Rhenish, and in general the first South-German, newspaper to introduce the North-German spirit[c] in the Rhine Province and in South Germany, and how could the divided races be more inseparably linked than by spiritual unity, which is the soul of political unity and its only guarantee against all external storms?

As to the alleged *irreligious* tendency of the *Rh. Ztg.*, it cannot be unknown to the supreme authorities that in regard to the content of a certain positive creed—and it is a question only of this and not of religion, which we have never attacked and never will attack—the whole of Germany, and especially Prussia, is divided into two camps, both of which include among their champions men occupying high positions in science and the state. In an unresolved controversy, should a newspaper take neither side or only one that has been officially prescribed to

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[a] After "contrary", the words "contributed not a little" have been deleted.— *Ed.*

[b] After "anti-Prussian", the word "tendencies" has been deleted.— *Ed.*

[c] After "North-German spirit", the words "the Protestant spirit" have been deleted in pencil.— *Ed.*

it?[a] Moreover, we have never gone outside the terrain proper to a newspaper, but have touched on dogmas such as church doctrines and conditions in general only insofar as[b] other newspapers make religion into constitutional law and transfer it from its own sphere into that of politics. It will even be easy to cover each of our utterances with the similar and stronger utterances of a Prussian king, Frederick the Great, and we consider this authority to be one which Prussian publicists may very well invoke.

The *Rheinische Zeitung* is therefore entitled to believe that it has pre-eminently carried out the wish for an independent free-minded press which His Majesty formulated in the censorship instruction, and that it has thereby contributed not a little towards the benedictions which at the present time the whole of Germany conveys to His Majesty our King in his ascendant career.

The *Rh. Ztg.*, Your Excellency, was not founded as a commercial speculation or in expectation of any profit. A large number of the most esteemed men of Cologne and the Rhine Province, justly displeased with the pitiful state of the German press, believed that they could not better honour the will of His Majesty the King than by founding the *Rh. Ztg.* as a monument of the nation, a newspaper which voices the speech of free men in a principled and fearless way and, what is at all events a rare phenomenon, enables the King to hear the true voice of the people. The unprecedentedly rapid growth of this newspaper's circulation proves how well it has understood the wishes of the people. This was the aim for which those men contributed their capital, and for which they shrank from no sacrifice. Let Your Excellency now decide for yourself whether it is possible or permissible for me, as the spokesman of these men, to declare that the *Rheinische Zeitung* will alter its tendency, and whether its suppression would be not so much an act of violence against a private individual, but rather an act of violence against the Rhine Province and the German spirit in general.

In order, however, to prove to the government how very ready I am to comply with its wishes, insofar as they are compatible with

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[a] The following has been deleted in pencil: "If Luther is not blamed for having attacked, in defiance of emperor and realm, the sole mode of existence of Christianity at that time, the Catholic Church, in a form that was even unbridled and exceeded all bounds, should it be forbidden in a Protestant state to advocate a view opposed to current dogma, not by isolated frivolous invectives, but by the consistent exposition of serious and primarily German science?" — *Ed.*

[b] The words "they have been utilised for political theories, maxims and prescriptions" have been deleted.— *Ed.*

the function of an independent newspaper, I am willing, as has been the case for some time past, as far as possible to set aside all ecclesiastical or religious subjects, so long as other newspapers or political conditions themselves do not necessitate reference to them.[a]

2. Secondly, as regards Your Excellency's demand for the immediate dismissal of Dr. Rutenberg, I already told Regierungspräsident von Gerlach on February 14 that Dr. Rutenberg was in no way an editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung,* but only did the work of a translator. In response to the threat, conveyed to me through Regierungspräsident von Gerlach, of the immediate suppression of the newspaper if Rutenberg were not at once dismissed, I have yielded to force and have for the time being removed him from any participation in the newspaper. Since, however, I am not aware of any legal provision which would justify this point of the rescript, I request Your Excellency to specify any such provision, and, if necessary, to give a speedy ruling whether the decision reached is to remain in force or not, so that I can claim my legal rights through the appropriate channels.

3. As regards the third point, the submission of an editor for approval, according to the censorship law of October 18, 1819, § [IX], only the supreme censorship authorities are entitled to demand the submission of an editor for approval. I know of no provision which transfers this entitlement to the Oberpräsidents. Therefore I request specification of any such provision or, if necessary, of a censorship ministry decree which orders this. Very willingly, but only in that case, will I submit an editor for approval.

Written on November 17, 1842

First published in the book *Rheinische Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte der politischen Bewegung 1830-1850,* 1. Bd., Herausgegeben von Hansen, Essen, 1919

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[a] This paragraph was inserted subsequently. Its place was marked by ** and it is to be found at the end of the manuscript.— *Ed.*

# THE INDUSTRIALISTS OF HANOVER AND PROTECTIVE TARIFFS

*Editorial Note*[106]

We can acknowledge the historical basis of the author's reasoning, and we can further concede, as the facts testify, that during the last 400-500 years England, especially, has done a great deal to protect its industry and crafts, although we need not necessarily agree with the system of *protective tariffs*. England's example is its own refutation because it is precisely in England that the pernicious results come into prominence of a system which is no longer the system of our time, however much it might have corresponded to medieval conditions, based on division and not on unity, which, in the absense of general protection, a rational state and a rational system of individual states, had to provide *special* protection for each *particular* sphere. Trade and industry ought to be *protected*, but the debatable point is precisely whether *protective tariffs* do in reality protect *trade* and *industry*. We regard such a system much more as the *organisation of a state of war* in time of peace, a state of war which, aimed in the first place against foreign countries, necessarily turns in its implementation against the country which organises it. But in any case an *individual* country, however much it may recognise the principle of free trade, is dependent on the state of the world in general, and therefore the question can be decided only by a congress of nations, and not by an individual government.

The editorial board of the *Rheinische Zeitung*

Written in November 1842
First published in the Supplement to the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 326, November 22, 1842
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Published in English for the first time

# THE ATTITUDE OF HERWEGH AND RUGE TO "THE FREE" [107]

*Berlin*, November 25. The *Elberfelder Zeitung* and, from it, the *Didaskalia* contain the news that *Herwegh* has visited the society of "The *Free*", but found it beneath all criticism. Herwegh has *not* visited this society, and therefore could have found it neither beneath nor above criticism. *Herwegh* and *Ruge* found that "The Free" are compromising the cause and the party of freedom by their political romanticism, their mania for genius and boasting, and this moreover was frankly stated by them and perhaps may have given offence. Consequently, if Herwegh did not visit the society of "The Free", who as individuals are excellent people for the most part, it was not because he upholds some other cause, but solely because, as one who wants to be *free* from French authorities, he hates and finds ludicrous the frivolity, the typically Berlin style of behaviour, and the insipid aping of the French clubs. Rowdiness, blackguardism, must be loudly and resolutely[a] repudiated in a period which demands serious, manly and sober-minded persons for the achievement of its lofty aims.

Written in November 1842

First published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 333, November 29, 1842

Printed according to the newspaper

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[a] As the result of a misprint the *Rheinische Zeitung* had "irresolutely".— *Ed.*

# THE POLEMICAL TACTICS OF THE AUGSBURG NEWSPAPER

"It is merely a lust of the blood
and a permission of the will."[a]

*Cologne*, November 29. In its occasional polemic against the *Rheinische Zeitung*, the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* employs tactics which are as characteristic as they are laudable and which, if consistently pursued, cannot fail to impress the superficial section of the public. To every rebuff merited by its attacks on the principles and trend of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, to every essential subject of dispute, to every principled attack on the part of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, the response of the Augsburg newspaper has been to wrap itself in the ambiguous cloak of silence, so that it always remains impossible to decide whether this silence owes its inconspicuous existence to a consciousness of weakness which makes it *unable* to reply, or to a consciousness of superiority which makes it *unwilling* to reply. We have no special reproaches to make to the Augsburg newspaper on this account, since it merely treats us as it treats *Germany*, for which it believes it can most beneficially show its sympathy by a thoughtful silence, only rarely interrupted by travel notes, health bulletins and paraphrased nuptial poems. It may well be that the Augsburg newspaper is right to regard its silence as a contribution to the public welfare.

Besides tactics of silence, however, the lady of Augsburg employs another method of controversy, which by its verbose, complacent and arrogant loquacity is, as it were, the active complement to the previous passive and melancholy quietude. The lady of Augsburg is silent when it is a question of a fight over principles, over the essence of a matter, but she lies in wait, observes from afar, and seizes the opportunity when her opponent

[a] W. Shakespeare, *Othello*, Act I, Scene 3.— *Ed.*

neglects her dress, makes a *faux pas*[a] in the dance, or drops her handkerchief—and then she "minces virtue and does shake the head".[b] She blares into the air her long-suppressed, well-meant anger with imperturbable aplomb, with all the indignation of prudery in dress, and calls out to Germany: "There you see, that is the character, that is the frame of mind, that is the consistency of the *Rheinische Zeitung*!"

"There's hell, there's darkness, there is the sulphurous pit, burning, scalding stench, consumption; fie, fie, fie! pah; pah! Give me an ounce of civet; good apothecary!"[c]

By means of such noisy impromptus, the lady of Augsburg is able not only to remind the forgetful public of her vanished virtue, her honourable character and mature age, not only to adorn her sunken temples with outdated and faded recollections, but even to gain surreptitiously some other practical successes besides these petty, harmless successes of coquetry. She confronts the *Rheinische Zeitung* as a sturdy fighter, *quasi re bene gesta*,[d] blustering, upbraiding, provoking, and her petulant provocations make the world forget her senile silence and quite recent retreat. In addition, the appearance is created and diligently cultivated, that the fight between the Augsburg *A. Z.* and the *Rheinische Zeitung* turns on this kind of paltriness, scandalmongering and sartorial solecisms. The host of unintelligent and irresponsible people who fail to understand the essential fight in which we speak and the lady of Augsburg is silent, but who, on the other hand, recognise their own beautiful soul in the captious faultfinding and petty criticisms of the Augsburg *A. Z.*, applaud and pay homage to the honourable lady who castigates her unruly opponent with such skill and moderation, more to educate than to hurt her. In No. 329 of the Augsburg *A. Z.* there is another sample of this over-subtle, repellent, small-town polemic.

A correspondent reports from the Main that the Augsburg *Allg. Ztg.* praised Julius Mosen's political novel *The Congress of Verona* because it was put out by Cotta's publishing house. We confess that, owing to its worthlessness, we only occasionally glance at the literary criticism section of the Augsburg *A. Z.*, and are not acquainted with its criticism of Mosen. In this matter we put our trust *à discrétion* in the conscience of the correspondent. Assuming

[a] A false step.—*Ed.*

[b] W. Shakespeare, *King Lear*, Act IV, Scene 6.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid.—*Ed.*

[d] As if everything had been done well.—*Ed.*

the fact to be correct, the report is not in itself improbable for, according to recent explanations which have been met with a refutation based on trickery and not solid reasons, the independence of the critical conscience of the Augsburg *A. Z.* in respect of the place of printing in Stuttgart is at least open to doubt. Hence all that remains is that we did not know where the political novel was printed, and *enfin*, not to know that is not a mortal political sin.

Later, apprised of the misstatement about the place of printing, the editorial board stated in a note:

"We have just learnt that *The Congress of Verona*, by the poet Julius Mosen, was not published by Cotta and we therefore request our readers to make this correction to the report from the Main in No. 317 of this year."[108]

Since the chief reproach levelled by the Main correspondent against the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* was based solely on the premise that *The Congress of Verona* had been published by Cotta, since we have explained that this was not the case, and since every argument is invalidated if its premise is abolished, we were entitled at any rate to make the extravagant demand on our readers' intelligence that they should correct the report from the Main in the light of this statement, and we could believe that we had atoned for our injustice to the Augsburg *A. Z.* But look at the Augsburg's logic! The Augsburg's logic interprets out correction as follows:

"If Mosen's *Congress of Verona* had been published by Cotta, it would have to be regarded by all friends of right and freedom as a nasty and unsaleable book; since, however, we have subsequently learnt that it was publisned in Berlin, we request our respected readers to welcome it, in the poet's own words, as one of the spirits of eternal youth, which stride on along their radiant path and mercilessly trample on the old gang."[109]

"That fellow handles his bow like a crow-keeper: draw me a clothier's yard.—I' the clout, i' the clout, hewgh!"[a]

"That," exclaims the lady of Augsburg triumphantly, "that is what the *Rheinische Zeitung* calls its frame of mind, its consistency!"

Has the *Rheinische Zeitung* ever declared the consistencies of the Augsburg's logic to be its consistency or the frame of mind on which this logic is based to be *its* frame of mind? The lady of Augsburg was entitled only to conclude: "That is the way in which consistency and frame of mind are misunderstood in Augsburg!" Or does the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* seriously believe that by means of Mosen's toast we would have liked to provide a

[a] W. Shakespeare, *King Lear*, Act IV, Scene 6.—*Ed.*

corrective commentary to assess *The Congress of Verona*? We discussed the Schiller festival at rather great length in a feature article. We pointed to Schiller "as the prophet of the new movement of minds" (No. 326,[a] correspondence from Leipzig) and noted the resulting significance of the Schiller festival. Why had we to repudiate Mosen's toast, which emphasised this significance? Could it be because it contains a sally against the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which the latter had already deserved because of its condemnation of Herwegh? All that, however, had nothing to do with the report from the Main, for then we should have had to write, as the *lady of Augsburg imputes to us*, "The reader must judge the report from the Main in No. 317 in the light of Mosen's poem in No. 320." The Augsburg's logic deliberately invents this nonsense in order to be able to throw it at us. The verdict of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in the feature article of No. 317 on Mosen's "Bernhard von Weimar" proves, although it needs no proof, that in regard to Mosen it has not departed by a hair's breadth from its customary factual criticism.

For the rest, we admit to the lady of Augsburg that even the *Rheinische Zeitung* is scarcely able to ward off the literary *condottieri*, that importunate and disgusting rabble which has sprung up all over Germany in the newspaper era of which the Augsburg *A. Z.* is the embodiment.

Finally, the Augsburg newspaper reminds us of the ballista which

> "throws out big words and phrases that leave reality untouched".

The Augsburg *A. Z.*, of course, touches on every possible reality, Mexican reality, Brazilian reality, but not German reality, not even Bavarian reality, and if for once it does touch on something of the kind, it invariably takes appearance for reality and the reality for appearance. When it is a matter of spiritual and true reality, the *Rheinische Zeitung* could exclaim to the lady of Augsburg in the words of Lear: "Do thy worst, blind Cupid.... Read thou this challenge", and the lady of Augsburg would reply with Gloucester: "Were all thy letters suns, I could not see."[b]

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[a] Of November 22, 1842.— *Ed.*

[b] W. Shakespeare, *King Lear*, Act IV, Scene 6.— *Ed.*

# THE SUPPLEMENT TO Nos. 335 AND 336 OF THE AUGSBURG *ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG* ON THE COMMISSIONS OF THE ESTATES IN PRUSSIA[110]

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 345, December 11, 1842]

*Cologne,* December 10. In the Supplement to No. 335 of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* there is a not uninteresting essay on the commissions of the estates in Prussia. Since we wish to criticise it, we must preface our remarks by stressing a simple principle which, however, is often overlooked in a passionate party controversy. The presentation of a state institution is not the state institution itself. Hence a polemic against this presentation is not a polemic against the state institution. The conservative press, which continually reminds us that the view held by the critical press should be rejected as being merely an individual opinion and a distortion of reality, continually forgets that it itself is not the object in question, but only an opinion on that object, and that therefore to combat it is not always to combat that object. Every object that is made a matter for praise or blame in the press becomes a literary object, hence an object for literary discussion.

What makes the press the most powerful lever for promoting culture and the intellectual education of the people is precisely the fact that it transforms the material struggle into an ideological struggle, the struggle of flesh and blood into a struggle of minds, the struggle of need, desire, empiricism into a struggle of theory, of reason, of form.

The essay in question reduces the arguments against the institution of the commissions of the estates to two main heads, to arguments against their composition and arguments against their purpose.

At the outset we must condemn as a basic logical defect that the composition has been the first object of discussion, the examina-

tion of the purpose being reserved for a subsequent article. The composition cannot be anything but the external mechanism, the guiding and regulating soul of which lies in its purpose. But who would think of judging the expediency of a machine's composition before examining and ascertaining its purpose? It could be that the composition of the commissions is open to criticism because it corresponds to their purpose, inasmuch as this purpose itself cannot be recognised as a true purpose. It could also be that the composition of the commissions is worthy of recognition because it does not correspond to their purpose, going beyond the latter. Hence this order of the presentation is an initial mistake, but one which vitiates the whole presentation.

On almost all sides, the essay states, the complaint has been made with remarkable unanimity that

> "predominantly only landed property has been taken into account in connection with the right of representation in the estates".

In opposition to this, attention has been drawn, on the one hand, to the progress of industry and, on the other hand, "with still greater emphasis" to intelligence and "its right to participate in the representation of the estates".

By the basic law on the provincial assemblies of the estates, landed property is made the condition for estate membership, a provision which was logically continued in regard to the commissions of the estates formed of members of the provincial assemblies. Thus, although landed property is the general condition for participating in the right of estate representation, it is by no means the sole criterion. Confusion of those two essentially different principles, however, underlay

> "to a great extent the lively objections which have been raised against the composition of the commissions of the estates".

Landownership represents all estates. This fact the author admits. He adds, however, that it is not simply landownership as such, not abstract landownership, but landownership under certain secondary circumstances, landownership of a particular kind. Landownership is the general condition for estate representation, but it is not the sole condition.

We fully agree with the author when he asserts that the additional conditions essentially alter the general principle of representation through landownership. At the same time, however, we must declare that opponents who consider that the general principle is already too restricted cannot by any means be

refuted by proof that this principle, which is restricted in itself, has been regarded as still not restricted enough, but as necessarily requiring that further restrictions alien to its nature should be added to it. Apart from the very general requirements of an unblemished reputation and a minimum age of thirty years—the former being, on the one hand, self-evident and, on the other hand, open to indefinite interpretation—there are the following special conditions:

"1. Ten years' uninterrupted landownership; 2. membership of a Christian church; 3. possession of land formerly held directly under the emperor for the first estate; 4. possession of property entailing imperial knighthood for the second estate; 5. a magistracy or civil profession for the urban estate; 6. self-management of landed property as the main occupation for the fourth estate."[111]

These are not conditions which arise from the essence of landownership, but which, from considerations foreign to the latter, add limits that are foreign to it, *restrict* its essence instead of making it more general.

According to the general principle of representation through landownership, there would be no distinction between Jewish and Christian landownership, between landownership by a lawyer and by a merchant, between landownership that is ten years old and one that is one year old. According to this general principle, all these distinctions do not exist. Hence if we ask what the author has shown, we can only reply: the restriction of the general condition of landownership by special conditions which are not part of its nature, by considerations based on the *difference between the estates.*

And the author admits:

"Closely connected is the complaint heard from many sides that, in regard to these commissions of the estates too, the difference between estates which belongs only to the past has been brought in again and applied as a principle of estate organisation, in alleged contradiction with the present state of our social conditions, and with the demands of the spirit of the time."

The author does not examine whether the general condition of landownership is in contradiction with representation of the estates or even makes it impossible! Otherwise it could hardly have escaped him that, if the estate principle were consistently applied, a condition which forms an essential feature only of the peasant estate could not possibly be made a general condition for the representation of the other estates, whose existence in no way depends on landownership. For the representation of the estates can only be determined by the essential difference between them,

and hence not by anything which lies outside this essence. If, therefore, the principle of representation of landownership is annulled because of special estate considerations, then this principle of representation of the estates is annulled because of the general condition of landownership, and neither principle comes into its own. Furthermore, even if a difference between the estates is accepted, the author does not examine whether this difference which is presumed to exist in the institution in question characterises the estates of the past or those of the present. Instead he discusses the difference between the estates in general. It will be as little possible to eradicate it, he says,

> "as to destroy the difference existing in nature between the elements and to go back to a chaotic unity".

One could reply to the author: just as no one would think of destroying the difference between the natural elements and going back to a chaotic unity, no one would want to *eradicate* the difference between the estates. At the same time, however, one would have to demand of the author that he should make a more thorough study of nature and rise from the first sensuous perception of the various elements to a rational perception of the organic life of nature. Instead of the spectre of a chaotic unity, he would become aware of the spirit of a living unity. Even the elements do not persist in inert separation. They are continually being transformed into one another and this transforming alone forms the first stage of the physical life of the earth, the meteorological process. In the living organism, all trace of the different elements as such has disappeared. The difference no longer consists in the separate existence of the various elements, but in the living movement of distinct functions, which are all inspired by one and the same life, so that the very difference between them does not exist ready-made prior to this life but, on the contrary, continually arises out of this life itself and as continually vanishes within it and becomes paralysed. Just as nature does not confine itself to the elements already present, but even at the lowest stage of its life proves that this diversity is a mere sensuous phenomenon that has no spiritual truth, so also the state, this natural realm of the spirit, must not and cannot seek and find its true essence in a fact apparent to the senses. The author, therefore, has provided only a superficial basis for the "divine order of the world" by confining himself to the difference between the estates as its final and definitive result.

But, in the author's opinion,

"care must be taken that the people is not set in motion as a *crude, inorganic mass*".

Therefore, there can be

"no question as to whether in general *estates* ought to *exist*, but only the question of establishing to what extent and in what proportion the *existing estates* are called upon to take part in political activity".

The question that arises here, of course, is not to what extent the estates exist, but to what extent they ought to continue their existence right up to the highest sphere of state life. If it would be unfitting to set the people in motion as a crude, inorganic mass, it would be just as much impossible to achieve an organised movement of the people if it were resolved mechanically into rigid and abstract constituents, and an independent movement, which could only be a convulsive one, were demanded of these inorganic, forcibly established parts. The author starts out from the view that in the actual *state* the people exists as a crude, inorganic mass, apart from some arbitrarily seized on differences of estate. Hence he knows no organism of the state's life itself, but only a juxtaposition of heterogeneous parts which are encompassed superficially and mechanically by the state. But let us be frank. We do not demand that in the representation of the people actually existing differences should be left out of account. On the contrary, we demand that one should proceed from the actual differences created and conditioned by the internal structure of the state, and not fall back from the actual life of the state into imaginary spheres which that life has already robbed of their significance. And now take a look at the reality of the Prussian state as it is known and obvious to everyone. The true spheres, in accordance with which the state is ruled, judged, administered, taxed, trained and schooled, the spheres in which its entire movement takes place, are the districts, rural communities, governments, provincial administrations, and military departments, but not the four categories of the estates, which are intermingled in a diverse array among these higher units and owe the distinctions between them not to life itself, but only to dossiers and registers. And those distinctions, which owing to their very essence are dissolved at every moment in the unity of the whole, are free creations of the spirit of the Prussian state, but are by no means raw materials imposed on the present time by blind natural necessity and the dissolution process of a past period! They are members but not

parts, they are movements but not states,[a] they are differences of unity but not units of difference. Just as our author will not wish to assert that, for instance, the great movement by which the Prussian state changes daily into a standing army and a militia is the motion of a crude, inorganic mass, so must he not assert this of a representation of the people which is based on similar principles. We repeat once more: we demand only that the Prussian state should not break off its real state life at a sphere which should be the conscious flowering of this state life; we demand only the consistent and comprehensive implementation of the fundamental institutions of Prussia, we demand that the real organic life of the state should not be suddenly abandoned in order to sink back into unreal, mechanical, subordinated, non-state spheres of life. We demand that the state should not dissolve itself in carrying out the act that should be the supreme act of its internal unification. We shall give further criticism of the essay in question in a subsequent article.

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 354, December 20, 1842]

*Cologne*, December 19. The author wants to establish according to his point of view

"to what extent the existing estates are called upon to take part in political activity".

As already pointed out, our author does not examine to what extent the estates presupposed by the electoral law are the *existing estates*, to what extent estates exist at all; on the contrary, he takes as the basis of his examination something which it should have been the main task of his investigation to prove. Hence, he goes on to argue:

"The purpose of the commissions is so clearly laid down, both in the ordinances of June 21 of this year on their formation and in the royal Cabinet Order of August 19 on their convocation to form a central commission, that there can be absolutely no doubt on the subject. According to the wording of the above-mentioned Cabinet Order, the *estate advisory council* in the individual provinces should be supplemented by an element of *unity*. In accordance with this, therefore, first of all the general purpose of the commissions of the estates is the same as that of the provincial estates, insofar as it is likewise a matter of advisory co-operation in public affairs, and especially in the work of legislation. And, on the other hand, the characteristic feature of the activity assigned to them is its centralisation. Hence, concerning the doubts which have been raised as to the composition of the commissions of the estates, what would have to be done is to prove to what extent

[a] A pun on the German word *Stand*, which means "state" as well as "estate."—*Ed.*

their union in a central commission contains grounds why the *elements* from which they are formed cannot correspond to the purpose of their central activity. Instead of such a proof being attempted, it has merely been asserted that the composition of the commissions of the estates (which is based on the same principle as the composition of the provincial estates) may well suffice for advising on subordinate provincial interests, but not for an activity embracing the whole state. In contradiction to this were advanced the above-mentioned complaints, which, if they were well founded, would be applicable also to the provincial estates."

From the very beginning we have drawn attention to the illogicality of wanting to examine the expediency of the *composition* of the commissions of the estates before criticising their purpose. It was bound to happen that in an unguarded moment our author would presuppose the expediency of their "purpose" in order to be able to deduce the expediency of their "composition". He tells us that the purpose of the commissions is clear!

Granting this clarity, this formal correctness of the "purpose", does that even so much as touch on the content and the truth of this content? The *commissions*, according to our author, differ from the "provincial estates" only by their "centralisation". Hence it has to be proved, he says, "to what extent *their union* in a central commission contains grounds why the elements from which they are formed cannot correspond to the purpose of their central activity".

We must reject this demand as *illogical*. The question that arises is not to what extent the union of the provincial estates in a central commission contains grounds why the component elements cannot correspond to their central activity. On the contrary, the question is to what extent the component elements of the provincial estates contain grounds which paralyse a true union in a real central commission, and hence also real central activity. The union cannot make the component elements impossible, but the component elements can make the union impossible. If, however, a *real* union, a true centralisation is presupposed, then the question of the possibility of a central activity loses all meaning, for the central activity is *merely* the expression, the result, the vitality of a true centralisation. A central commission in itself involves a central activity. How then does the author prove that the component elements of the provincial estates are suitable for central commissions? How, therefore, does he prove the real and not illusory *existence* of a central commission?

He says:

"If they" (the complaints advanced against the composition of the commissions) "were well founded, they would be applicable also to the provincial estates."

Of course, for what is asserted is precisely that these elements are not suitable for a central whole. But can the author believe

that he has refuted his opponents merely by himself becoming aware of and formulating their objections?

Instead of confining himself to the statement that complaints against the composition of the commissions of the estates are complaints against the composition of the provincial estates, he ought to show to what extent objections against the provincial estates cease to be objections against the commissions of the estates. The author should not ask himself why the commissions of the estates are *not* in accord with a central activity, he should ask himself *by what means* they should be made capable of a central activity. It has been shown at some length and with concrete examples in these pages how little the provincial estates are called upon to participate in legislation (whether this participation is in the shape of *advice* or *joint action,* which can make a difference in the *power* but by no means in the *capability* of the provincial estates). Moreover, the commissions do not even arise from the provincial assemblies as moral persons; on the contrary, they arise from the provincial assemblies resolved into their mechanical component parts. It is not the Provincial Assembly which elects the commissions, but the diverse isolated parts of the Assembly, which each separately elect their deputies to the commission. This election is therefore based on a mechanical dissolution of the body of the Assembly into its individual component parts, on an *itio in partes.*[a] Hence it is possible that not the majority, but the minority of the Assembly is represented in the commissions, for a deputy from the knightly estate, for instance can have a majority in his estate although he has no majority in the Assembly, since such a majority may in fact arise by the minority representing the knightly estate combining with representatives of the urban or the peasant estate. Consequently, the objections raised against the composition of the Assembly are not just simply, but *doubly* applicable to the commissions, since in the latter the individual estate is withdrawn from the influence of the Assembly as a whole and kept within its own special limits. But let us leave even this out of account.

We take as our starting point a fact which the author will concede without argument. We assume that the composition of the provincial estates fully corresponds to their purpose, that is to say, the purpose of representing their *particular provincial interests* from the standpoint of their *particular estate interests.* This character of the provincial assemblies will be the character of all their activities.

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[a] Division into parts.— *Ed.*

It will therefore also be the *character of their elections* to the commissions and the character of the *commission deputies themselves,* for an assembly which corresponds to its purpose will certainly remain true to its purpose in regard to its most important activity, in regard to the representatives whom it *itself elects.* What *new* element then suddenly turns the representatives of provincial interests into representatives of state interests and gives their *particular* activity the nature of a *general* activity? Obviously, it cannot be any other element than the fact of a *common place* of assembly. But can mere abstract space give a man of character a new character and chemically decompose his spiritual essence? It would be paying homage to the most materialistic mechanism to ascribe such an organising soul to mere space, particularly in view of the fact that at the meeting of the commission the existing separateness is also *spatially* recognised and represented.

After what has been said above, we can only regard the further grounds by which our author seeks to justify the composition of the commissions as attempts to justify the *composition of the provincial estates.*

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 365, December 31, 1842]

*Cologne,* December 30. As we have shown in a previous article, what the eulogist of the commissions of the estates defends in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* is not their composition, but the *composition of the provincial assemblies.*

It seems to him

"*surprising* to find intelligence put forward as a *particular* element *requiring* representation as an *estate alongside* industry and landed property".

We are glad to agree for once with the author and to be able to restrict ourselves to explaining his statement instead of refuting it. What does this surprise at those claims of intelligence amount to? Does he consider that intelligence is *not at all* an element of estate representation, or are we to believe perhaps that the article in question merely asserts that it is not a *particular* element? Estate representation, however, recognises *only* particular elements, which exist side by side. Hence something that is not a *particular* element, is *not at all* an element for estate representation. The article in question quite rightly calls the way in which intelligence enters into the representation of estates "the *general property* of intelligent beings", hence not a *particular property* of estate representatives, for a property which I have in common with everyone else and to the same extent as everyone else, cannot constitute my character, my

superiority, my special nature. In an assembly of naturalists it is not sufficient to share in the "general property" of an intelligent being, but in an estate assembly it is sufficient to possess intelligence as a general property, to belong to the natural-historical genus[a] of "intelligent beings".

Intelligence should have a place in the provincial estate as a general human property, but intelligence should not belong to man as a particular property of a provincial estate; that is to say, intelligence does not make man a member of a provincial estate, it merely makes the member of a provincial estate a man. Our author will concede that, consequently, no special position is allotted to intelligence in the Assembly. Every newspaper advertisement is a fact of intelligence.[b] But who on that account would seek representatives of literature in advertisements? A field cannot speak, only the owner of the field can. Hence the field must appear in an intelligent *form* in order to make its voice heard. Wishes, interests, do not speak; only man speaks. But do field, interest, wish, lose their limitation because they assert themselves as something human, something intelligent? It is not a question of mere *form*, it is a question of the *content* of intelligence. If, as we readily concede to the author, intelligence not only does not need any representation as an estate, but even needs a non-estate representation, conversely, estate representation needs intelligence, but only a very limited intelligence, just as every man needs sufficient reason to realise his aims and interests, which still does not in any way make his aims and interests the aims and interests of "reason".

The *utilitarian* intelligence which fights for its hearth and home differs, of course, from the *free* intelligence which fights for what is right despite its hearth and home. There is a kind of intelligence which serves a particular purpose, a particular matter, and there is another kind of intelligence which masters every matter and serves only itself.

The author, therefore, desires only to say: intelligence is not a property of any estate; he does not ask whether estate is an intelligent property! He comforts himself with the idea that intelligence is a general property of the estate, but he refuses us the comfort of a proof that estate is a particular property of intelligence!

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[a] In the newspaper: "genius".— *Ed.*

[b] A pun on the German word *Intelligenzblatt*, which means "an advertising sheet", literally "an intelligence sheet".— *Ed.*

It is quite *consistent*, not only with our author's principles, but with those of *estate representation*, for him to convert the question of the right of representation of "intelligence" in the provincial assemblies into the question of the right of representation of the *learned estates*, of the estates which have made a *monopoly* of intelligence, of intelligence which has become an estate. Our author is right to the extent that, given estate representation, it can also only be a question of intelligence that has become an estate. But he is wrong in not acknowledging the right of the learned estates, for where the estate principle prevails all estates must be represented. Just as he errs in excluding clerics, teachers and private men of learning, and does not even mention lawyers, physicians, etc., as possible candidates, he completely misconceives the nature of estate representation when he puts "state servants" belonging to the government on the same footing as the above-mentioned estates of learned men. In a state based on estates, government officials are the representatives of state interests as such, and therefore are hostile towards the representatives of the private interests of the estates. Although government officials are not a contradiction under people's representation, they are very much so under estate representation.

The article in question seeks further to prove that in the French and English constitutions the representation of landed property is as great as, if not greater than, in the Prussian constitution based on estates. Even if this were really the case, would it cease to be a defect in Prussia because it occurs also in England and France? We do not need to explain that this comparison is quite inadmissible if only because the French and English deputies are elected not as *representatives of landownership* but as *representatives of the people*, and, as far as particular interests are concerned, a Fould, for instance, remains a representative of industry *although* he pays a comparatively insignificant land tax in some corner of France. We will not repeat what we pointed out in our first article, namely, that the principle of estate representation annuls the principle of landownership representation, and vice versa, and that hence there is neither real landownership representation nor real estate representation, but only an inconsistent amalgamation of the two principles. We do not intend to examine further the basic error of a comparison which seizes on the different *figures* for England, France and Prussia, without taking into account their necessary connection with the different *conditions* in these countries. We stress only one aspect, namely, that in France and England account is taken of the benefit the state derives from landed

property and of the burdens the owner has to bear, whereas in Prussia, on the contrary, what is taken into account, for instance, in connection with the majority of manorial estates and mediatised lands[112] is how *free* they are from state burdens and how independent their private use is. Not what someone possesses, but what he possesses of advantage to the state, not ownership, but, so to speak, the state activity of ownership, gives the right to representation in France and England, whose systems, by the way, we by no means agree with.

The author seeks further to prove that big landed property is not disproportionately represented compared with small landed property. On this point, as on that discussed above, we refer the reader to the work *Ueber ständische Verfassung in Preussen* (Cotta's publishing house, Stuttgart and Tübingen) and to Ludwig Buhl's book on the Prussian provincial estates. How incorrect the existing distribution is, quite apart from the difference between big and small landed property, can be shown from the following examples. The land value of the city of Berlin is 100 million talers, whereas that of the manorial estates in the Mark of Brandenburg is only 90 million talers. Yet the former sends only three deputies to the Assembly, whereas the owners of the latter elect 20 deputies from among themselves. Even among the towns, distribution according to the accepted scale of landownership is not consistently adhered to. Potsdam sends one deputy to the Assembly, although the value of its landed property is hardly one-tenth of that of Berlin. Potsdam has one deputy per 30,000 inhabitants, whereas Berlin has one per 100,000 inhabitants. The contrast is still more glaring if the smaller towns, which for historical reasons have been granted an individual vote [*Virilstimme*],[113] are compared with the capital.

For the rest, in order to establish the true relations between representation of intelligence and representation of landed property as an estate, let us return once more to the author's classical thesis, his above-mentioned justified surprise at finding "intelligence put forward as a *particular* element *requiring* representation as an estate *alongside* industry and landed property".

The author rightly does not seek the origin of the provincial assemblies in *state necessity,* and he regards them not as a *state need,* but as a *need of particular interests* against the state. It is not the basic rational mind of the state, but the pressing need of private interests that is the architect of the political system based on *estates,* and at all events intellect is no needy, egoistic interest, but the general interest. Hence representation of intelligence in an assem-

bly of the estates is a contradiction, a nonsensical demand. Moreover, we call the author's attention to the consequences which so inevitably follow if *need* is made the principle of people's representation that our author himself for a moment recoils from them in horror and rejects not merely particular demands coming from the representation of particular interests, but the demand for this representation itself.

Either the need is *real,* and then the state is unreal because it fosters particular elements which do not find their legitimate satisfaction in the state, and therefore become organised as special bodies alongside the state and have to enter into a contractual relation with the state. Or the need really receives satisfaction in the state, and hence its representation against the state is illusory or dangerous. For a moment the author comes down on the side of illusion. He remarks as regards *industry* that even if it were not adequately represented in the provincial assemblies, it would still have ways enough for giving effect to its interests in the state and in relation to the government. Hence he maintains that *estate representation,* representation based on the principle of *need,* is an *illusion,* because the need itself is illusory. For what holds good of industry as an estate holds good for all estates, but for the *estate of landed property* even to a higher degree than for industry, since the former is already represented through the district president [*Landrat*], the district estates, etc., that is to say, through fully constituted state bodies.

From what has been said, it is obvious that not only can we not agree with the complaints about the *restricted scope of the standing orders* of the commissions, but, on the contrary, we must seriously protest against any extension of them as being against state interests. The liberalism which wants representation of *intelligence* in the Provincial Assembly is equally wrong. Not only is intelligence not a *particular* element of representation, it is not an *element* at all; it is a *principle* which cannot take part in any *compound* of elements, but can only produce a *division into parts* based on itself. There can be no question of intelligence as an integrating part, but only as the organising soul. We are concerned here not with a *complement* but with an *antithesis.* The question is: "representation of intelligence" or "representation of estates". The question is whether a particular interest should represent political intelligence or whether the latter should represent particular interests. Political intelligence will, for example, regulate landed property according to state principles, but it will not regulate state principles according to landed property. Political intelligence will assert landed

property not in accordance with its private egoism, but in accordance with the state nature of landed property. It will not determine the essence of the whole in accordance with this particular essence, but will determine the latter in accordance with the essence of the whole. On the contrary, landed property with the right of representation does not adapt itself to intelligence but adapts intelligence to itself, like a watch-maker who does not want to set his watch by the sun, but wants to make the sun follow his watch. The question can be summed up in a few words: Should landed property criticise and be master over political intelligence or should it be the other way round?

For intelligence nothing is external, because it is the inner determining soul of everything, whereas, conversely, for a definite element like landed property everything is external that is not landed property itself. Hence not only the composition of the Provincial Assembly, but its activities also are *mechanical,* for it must treat all general interests and even particular interests different from itself as things extraneous and alien. All that is particular, such as landed property, is in itself limited. It must therefore be dealt with as something limited, that is to say, it must be dealt with by a general power superior to it, but it cannot deal with the general power according to its own needs.

The provincial assemblies, owing to their specific composition, are nothing but an association of particular interests which are privileged to assert their *particular limits* against the state. They are therefore a legitimised self-constituted body of non-state elements in the state. Hence by their very *essence* they are *hostile* towards the state, for the particular in its isolated activity is always the enemy of the whole, since precisely this whole makes it feel its *insignificance* by making it feel its limitations.

If this granting of political independence to particular interests were a necessity for the state, it would be merely the external sign of an internal sickness of the state, just as an unhealthy body must break out in boils according to natural laws. One would have to decide between two views: either that the particular interests, assuming the upper hand and becoming alien to the political spirit of the state, seek to impose limits on the state, or that the state becomes concentrated solely in *government* and as compensation concedes to the restricted spirit of the people merely a field for airing its particular interests. Finally, the two views could be combined. If, therefore, the demand for representation of intellect is to have any meaning, we must expound it as the demand for conscious representation of the intelligence of the people, a rep-

resentation which does not seek to assert individual needs against the state, but one whose supreme need is to assert the state itself, and indeed as its own achievement, as its own state. In general, to be represented is something passive; only what is material, spiritless, unable to rely on itself, imperilled, requires to be represented; but no element of the state should be material, spiritless, unable to rely on itself, imperilled. Representation must not be conceived as the representation of something that is not the people itself. It must be conceived only as the people's *self-representation*, as a state action which, not being its sole, exceptional state action, is distinguished from other expressions of its state life merely by the universality of its content. Representation must not be regarded as a concession to defenceless weakness, to impotence, but rather as the self-reliant vitality of the supreme force. In a true state there is no landed property, no industry, no material thing, which as a crude element of this kind could make a bargain with the state; in it there are only *spiritual forces*, and only in their state form of resurrection, in their political rebirth, are these natural forces entitled to a voice in the state. The state pervades the whole of nature with spiritual nerves, and at every point it must be apparent that what is dominant is not matter, but form, not nature without the state, but the nature of the state, not the *unfree object*, but the *free human being*.

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# THE DIVORCE BILL[114]

*Cologne,* December 18. In regard to the *Divorce Bill* the *Rheinische Zeitung* has adopted *quite a special* position, and so far no proof has been given anywhere that this position is untenable. The *Rheinische Zeitung* agrees with the Bill inasmuch as it considers the hitherto existing Prussian legislation on marriage immoral, the hitherto innumerable and frivolous grounds for divorce impermissible, and the existing procedure not in accord with the dignity of the matter concerned, which, incidentally, can be said of the old Prussian court procedure as a whole. On the other hand, the *Rheinische Zeitung* has put forward the following main objections to the new Bill: 1) Instead of *reform* there has been a mere *revision,* hence Prussian law was retained as the basic law, which has resulted in considerable half-heartedness and uncertainty; 2) the legislation treats marriage not as a *moral,* but as a *religious* and *church* institution, hence the *secular* essence of marriage is ignored; 3) the procedure is very defective and consists of a superficial combination of contradictory elements; 4) it cannot be ignored that there are, on the one hand, severities of a police nature which are contrary to the concept of marriage and, on the other, too great leniency in regard to what are called considerations of fairness; 5) the whole formulation of the Bill leaves much to be desired as regards logical consistency, precision, clarity and comprehensive points of view.

Insofar as opponents of the Bill condemn one or other of these defects, we agree with them; on the other hand, we can by no means approve of their unconditional apologia for the former system. We repeat once more the statement we made previously:

"If legislation cannot decree morality, it can still less pronounce immorality to be legally valid."[a] When we ask *these* opponents (who are not opponents of the church conception and of the other shortcomings we have indicated) on what they base their arguments, they always speak to us about the unfortunate position of the husband and wife tied together against their will. They adopt a eudemonic standpoint, they think only of the two individuals and forget about the *family.* They forget that almost every divorce is the break-up of a family and that even from the purely juridical standpoint the children and their property cannot be made to depend on arbitrary will and its whims. If marriage were not the basis of the family, it would no more be the subject of legislation than, for example, friendship is. Thus, the above-mentioned opponents take into account *only* the individual will or, more correctly, the *arbitrary desire* of the married couple, but pay no attention to the *will of marriage,* the moral substance of this relationship. The legislator, however, should regard himself as a naturalist. He does not *make* the laws, he does not invent them, he only formulates them, expressing in conscious, positive laws the inner laws of spiritual relations. Just as one would have to reproach the legislator for the most unbridled arbitrary behaviour if he replaced the essence of the matter by his own notions, so also the legislator is certainly no less entitled to regard it as the most unbridled arbitrariness if private persons seek to enforce their caprices in opposition to the essence of the matter. No one is forced to contract marriage, but everyone who has done so must be compelled to obey the laws of marriage. A person who contracts marriage does not *create* marriage, does not *invent* it, any more than a swimmer creates or invents the nature and laws of water and gravity. Hence marriage cannot be subordinated to his arbitrary wishes; on the contrary, his arbitrary wishes must be subordinated to marriage. Anyone who arbitrarily breaks a marriage thereby asserts that arbitrariness, *lawlessness, is the law of marriage,* for no rational person will have the presumption to consider his actions as privileged, as concerning *him alone*; on the contrary, he will maintain that his actions are legitimate, that they *concern everybody.* But what do you oppose? You oppose the legislation of arbitrariness, but surely you do not want to raise arbitrariness to the level of a law at the very moment when you are accusing the legislator of arbitrariness.

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[a] See this volume, p. 275.—*Ed.*

Hegel says: *In itself,* according to the concept, marriage is indissoluble, but *only* in itself, i.e., only according to the concept.[a] This says nothing *specific* about marriage. All moral relations are indissoluble according to *the concept,* as is easily realised if their *truth* is presupposed. A *true* state, a *true* marriage, a *true* friendship are indissoluble, but no state, no marriage, no friendship corresponds fully to its concept, and like real friendship, even in the family, like the real state in world history, so, too, real marriage in the state is *dissoluble.* No moral *existence* corresponds to its *essence* or, at least, it does not *have* to correspond to it. Just as in nature decay and death appear of themselves where an existence has totally ceased to correspond to its function, just as world history decides whether a state has so greatly departed from the idea of the state that it no longer deserves to exist, so, too, the state decides in what circumstances an *existing* marriage has ceased to be a marriage. Divorce is nothing but the statement of the fact that the marriage in question is a *dead* marriage, the existence of which is mere semblance and deception. It is obvious that neither the arbitrary decision of the legislator, nor the arbitrary desire of private persons, but only the *essence of the matter* can decide whether a marriage is dead or not, for it is well known that the *statement* that *death has occurred* depends on the facts, and not on the *desires* of the parties involved. But if, in the case of *physical* death, precise, irrefutable proof is required, is it not clear that the legislator should be allowed to register the fact of a *moral* death only on the basis of the most indubitable symptoms, since preserving the life of moral relationships is not only his right, but also his *duty,* the duty of his self-preservation!

*Certainty* that the *conditions* under which the *existence* of a moral relationship no longer corresponds to its *essence* are correctly registered, without preconceived opinions, in accordance with the level attained by science and with the generally accepted views—this certainty, of course, can only exist if the law is the conscious expression of the popular will, and therefore originates with it and is created by it. We will add a few words about making divorce easier or more difficult: Can you consider a natural object to be healthy, strong, truly organised, if every external impact, every injury, is capable of destroying it? Would you not feel insulted if someone put forward as an axiom that your friendship could not withstand the slightest accident and *must* be dissolved by

[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts.* Addendum to § 163.—*Ed.*

any caprice? In regard to marriage, the legislator can only establish when it is *permissible* to dissolve it, that is to say, when in its essence it is *already dissolved.* Juridical dissolution of marriage can only be the registering of its internal dissolution. The standpoint of the legislator is the standpoint of necessity. The legislator, consequently, *gives due honour* to marriage, acknowledges its profound moral essence, if he considers it strong enough to withstand a multitude of collisions without harm to itself. Indulgence of the wishes of individuals would turn into harshness towards the essence of the individuals, towards their moral reason, which is embodied in moral relationships.

Finally, we can only term it undue haste when from many quarters the accusation of *hypocrisy* is levelled against countries with *strict laws on divorce,* among which the Rhine Province is *proud* to be included. Only people whose field of vision does not go beyond the moral corruption around them can dare to make such accusations. In the Rhine Province, for example, these accusations are considered ridiculous and are regarded at most as proof that even the *idea* of moral relationships can be lost, and every moral fact regarded as a *fairy-tale* or a falsehood. This is the direct result of laws that are not dictated by respect for human beings; it is a mistake which is not done away with by contempt for the material nature of man becoming contempt for his ideal nature and blind obedience to a super-moral and supernatural authority being demanded instead of conscious subordination to moral and natural forces.

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Printed according to the newspaper

# [THE BAN ON THE *LEIPZIGER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG*[115]]

## THE BAN ON THE *LEIPZIGER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG* WITHIN THE PRUSSIAN STATE

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 1, January 1, 1843]

*Cologne,* December 31. The German press begins the New Year with *apparently* gloomy prospects. The ban that has just been imposed on the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* in the states of Prussia is surely a sufficiently convincing refutation of all the complacent dreams of gullible people about big *concessions* in the future. Since the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung,* which is published under *Saxon censorship,* is being banned for its discussion of Prussian affairs, this at the same time puts an end to the hope of an *uncensored* discussion of our own internal affairs. This is a factual consequence which no one will deny.

The main accusations levelled against the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* were approximately the following:

> "It continually reports rumours, at least half of which subsequently prove to be false. Moreover, it does not keep to the facts, but pries for hidden motives. And no matter how false its conclusions in this respect often are, it invariably voices them with all the ardour of infallibility and often with the most malicious passion. Its whole activity is unsteady, 'indiscreet' and 'immature'; in a word, it is bad activity."

Supposing all these accusations were well founded, are they accusations against the *arbitrary character* of the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung,* or are they not rather accusations against the *necessary character* of the young *popular press* that is only just coming into being? Is it a question only of the existence of a *certain kind* of press or is it a question of the non-existence of a *real* press, i.e., a *popular press?*

The French, English and every kind of press began in the same way as the German press, and the same reproaches have been deserved by and made against each of them. The press is, and should be, nothing but the *public,* admittedly often "passionate,

exaggerated and mistaken, expression of the daily thoughts and feelings of a people that really thinks as a people". Like life itself, therefore, it is always in a state of becoming, and never of maturity. It is rooted in the people and honestly sympathises with all the latter's hopes and fears, love and hatred, joys and sorrows. What it has learned by listening in hope and fear, it proclaims loudly, and it delivers its own judgment on it, vigorously, passionately, one-sidedly, as prompted by its feelings and thoughts at the given moment. What is erroneous in the facts or judgments it puts forward today, it will itself refute tomorrow. It represents the real "naturally arising" policy, which its opponents love so much in other cases.

The reproaches which in recent days have been continuously levelled against the young "press" cancel each other out. See, it is said, what a firm, steady, definite policy the *English* and *French* newspapers pursue. They are based on real life, their views are the views of an *existing, quite mature* force. They impose no doctrines on the people, but are themselves the real doctrines of the people and its parties. You, however, do not voice the thoughts and interests of the people, you only *manufacture* them or, rather, you foist them on the people. You create the party spirit, you are not created by it. Thus, on one occasion, the press is blamed because there are *no* political parties, on another occasion it is accused of wanting to *remedy* this defect and create political parties. But it is self-evident that where the press is *young,* the popular spirit also is *young,* and the *daily* public political thinking of an only just awakening popular spirit will be less mature, more shapeless and hasty than that of the popular spirit which has become great, strong and self-confident in the course of political struggles. Above all, a people which is only just awakening to political consciousness is less concerned about the *factual* correctness of an occurrence than about its *moral* soul, through which it has its effect. Whether fact or fiction, it remains an embodiment of the thoughts, fears and hopes of the people, a *truthful* fairy-tale. The people see this, their own nature, reflected in the nature of their press, and if they did not see this, they would regard the press as something *unessential* and not worthy of sympathy, for the people do not allow themselves to be deceived. Hence, although the young press may daily compromise itself, may allow evil passions to penetrate it, the people see in it their own condition and they know that, despite all the poison which malice or lack of understanding introduces, its essence always remains true and pure, and in its ever flowing, ever

swelling stream, the poison becomes truth and a healing medicine. The people know that their press has shouldered their sins, that it is prepared to suffer humiliation for the sake of the people and that for their glory, renouncing distinction, self-satisfaction and irrefutability, it represents the rose of the moral spirit amid the thorns of the present.

We must, therefore, regard all the reproaches levelled against the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* as reproaches against the young popular press, hence against the real press, for it stands to reason that the press cannot become real without passing through the necessary stages of its development which arise from its inherent nature. We must, however, declare that to condemn the popular press is to condemn the political spirit of the people. Nevertheless, at the beginning of this article we described the prospects for the German press as *apparently* gloomy. And that is so, for the struggle against something that exists is *the first form* of its recognition, its reality and its power. And only struggle can convince both the government and the people, as well as the press itself, that the press has a real and necessary right to existence. Only struggle can show whether this right to existence is a concession or a necessity, an illusion or a truth.

## THE *KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG* AND THE BAN ON THE *LEIPZIGER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG*

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 4, January 4, 1843]

*Cologne,* January 3. In its issue of December 31, the *Kölnische Zeitung* printed an article dated "Leipzig, 27th" by its correspondent, which reported the ban on the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* almost exultantly. Yet the Cabinet Order on the ban, contained in the issue of the *Staats-Zeitung* received here yesterday, is dated December 28. The riddle is solved by simply noting the fact that the news of the ban on the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* was received with the post here on December 31 and the *Kölnische Zeitung* considered it proper to *fabricate* not only the correspondence, but also the correspondent, and present its *own voice* as coming from the good city of Leipzig. The "mercantile" fantasy of the *Kölnische Zeitung* was so "adroit" as to confuse concepts. It transferred the residence of the *Kölnische Zeitung* to Leipzig, because it had become impossible for the residence of the *Leipziger Zeitung* to be in Cologne. If the editors of the *Kölnische Zeitung,* even after cooler reflection, had wanted to defend the exercise of

their fantasy as sober, factual truth, we should be compelled to report, in connection with the mysterious correspondence from Leipzig, yet another *fact,* which

> "goes beyond all bounds of decency and even in our country" would seem "to every moderate and reasonable person to be an incomprehensible indiscretion".

As for the ban on the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* itself, we have already expressed our view. We have not disputed, as if they were sheer inventions, the shortcomings for which the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* has been condemned. But we have maintained that they are shortcomings which arise from the very *nature* of the *popular press* itself and therefore must be tolerated as arising in the course of its development, if people are at all willing to tolerate its course of development.

The *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* is not the *entire* German popular press, but it is a necessary component part of it. In the natural development of the popular press, each of the different elements which determine the nature of this press must first of all discover for itself its *specific* form of development. Hence the whole body of the popular press will be divided into different newspapers with different complementary characteristics, and if, for example, the predominant interest of one is in political science, that of another will be in political practice, or if the predominant interest of one is in *new* ideas, that of another will be in *new* facts. Only if the elements of the popular press are given the opportunity of unhampered, independent and *one-sided* development and of achieving independent existence in separate organs, can a "good" popular press be formed, i.e., one which harmoniously combines all the *true* elements of the *popular spirit,* so that the true moral spirit will be entirely present in each newspaper, just as the fragrance and soul of the rose is present in each of its petals. But for the press to achieve its purpose it is above all necessary that it should not have any kind of purpose prescribed for it from outside, and that it should be accorded the recognition that is given even to a plant, namely, that it has its own *inherent laws,* which it cannot and should not arbitrarily evade.

## THE GOOD AND THE BAD PRESS

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 6, January 6, 1843]

*Cologne,* January 5. We have already had to hear *in abstracto* a great deal about the difference between the "*good*" and the "*bad*" press. Let us illustrate this difference now with an example.

The *Elberfelder Zeitung* of January 5, in an article dated from Elberfeld, describes itself as a "good press". The *Elberfelder Zeitung* of January 5 carries the following report:

"*Berlin,* December 30. The ban on the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* has on the whole made only a *slight* impression here."

On the other hand, the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung,* agreeing with the *Rheinische Zeitung,* reports:

"*Berlin,* January 1. The unconditional ban on the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* is causing a *very great* sensation here, since it was very eagerly read by the Berliners", etc.

Which press then, the "good" or the "bad", is the *"true"* press? Which expresses actual reality, and which expresses it as it *would like* it to be? Which expresses public opinion, and which distorts it? Which, therefore, deserves the *confidence of the state?*

The explanation given by the *Kölnische Zeitung*[116] does little to satisfy us. In its reply to our remark about its reporting "almost exultantly" the ban on the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung,* it confines itself not only to the part concerning *dates,* but to a misprint. The *Kölnische Zeitung* itself must know very well that the sentence: "The riddle is solved by simply noting the fact that the news of the ban on the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* was received with the post here on December 31", should have read "on December 30" and did not read so only because of a misprint. On December 30 at noon, as we can prove if necessary, the *Rheinische Zeitung,* and therefore probably also the *Kölnische Zeitung,* received this news through the local post-office.

## REPLY TO THE ATTACK OF A "MODERATE" NEWSPAPER[a]

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 8, January 8, 1843]

*Cologne,* January 7. A *moderate* Rhenish newspaper, as the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* in its diplomatic language calls it, i.e., a newspaper of moderate forces, of very moderate character and of the most moderate understanding, has distorted our assertion that "the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* is a necessary component part of the German popular press", into the assertion that *lying* is a necessary part of the press.[117] We will not take undue offence at

[a] The *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung.*—*Ed.*

this moderate newspaper extracting a single sentence from our argument and not considering that the ideas put forward in the article in question as well as in an earlier one are worthy of its lofty and honourable attention. Just as we cannot demand of someone that he should jump out of his own skin, so we must not demand that an individual or party should jump out of its spiritual skin, and venture on a *salto mortale* beyond the limits of its mental horizon; least of all can we demand this of a party which takes its narrow-mindedness for holiness. Therefore, we will not discuss what that inhabitant of the intellectual *realm of mediocrity* should have done in order to refute us, but will only discuss its actual deeds.

First of all, the old sins of the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* are enumerated: its attitude to the Hanover events,[118] its party polemic against Catholicism (*hinc illae lacrimae*![a] Would our lady friend regard the same behaviour, only in the opposite direction, as one of the mortal sins of the *Münchener politische Blätter*?), its bits of gossip, etc., etc. We recall, in this connection, some lines from Alphonse Karr's magazine *Les Guêpes*. M. Guizot, the story goes, calls M. Thiers a traitor, and M. Thiers calls M. Guizot a traitor, and, unfortunately, both are right. If all German newspapers of the old style wanted to reproach one another for their past, the examination of the case would be reduced to the formal question whether they sinned through what they did or through what they did *not* do. We are prepared to grant our lady friend the innocent advantage over the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* that she has not only not led a bad life, but that she has shown no signs of life at all.

Meanwhile, the article of ours which is incriminated spoke not of the past, but of the *present* character of the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*, although it stands to reason that we would have no less serious objections against a ban on the *Elberfelder Zeitung*, the *Hamburger Correspondent*, or the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* published in Koblenz, since the *legal position* is not altered by the moral character or even the political and religious opinions of individuals. On the contrary, the *lack of rights* of the press is beyond all doubt once its *existence* is made dependent on its *frame of mind*. Up to now, indeed, there has been no legal code or court of law for a frame of mind.

The "moderate" newspaper accuses the *last phase* of the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* of false information, distortions and lies,

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[a] Hence those tears! (Terence, *Andria*, Act I, Scene 1.) — *Ed.*

and accuses us with righteous indignation of regarding *lying* as a necessary element of the *popular* press. Suppose we actually admitted this frightful conclusion, suppose we actually maintained that *lying* is a necessary element of the popular press, in particular of the *German* popular press? We do not mean a *lying frame of mind,* lying in the spiritual sense, but *lying in regard to facts,* lying in the material sense. Stone him! Stone him! our Christian-minded newspaper would cry. Stone him! Stone him! the whole chorus would join in. But let us not be too hasty, let us take the world as it is, let us not be ideologists—and we can certify that our lady friend is no ideologist. Let our "moderate" newspaper cast a critical eye over its own columns. Does it not, like the *Preussische Staats-Zeitung,* like all the German newspapers and all the world's newspapers, daily report false information from *Paris,* gossip about imminent ministerial changes in France, fables that some Paris newspaper has concocted, which the following day, or even an hour later, will be refuted? Or perhaps the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* presumes that *lying in regard to facts* is a necessary element of columns headed England, France, Spain or Turkey, but a damnable crime, meriting the death penalty, in columns headed Germany or Prussia? Whence this double set of weights and measures? Whence this dual view of truth? Why should one and the same newspaper be allowed the frivolous light-heartedness of a gossip-monger in one column, and have to display the sober irrefutability of an official organ in another column? It is obviously because for German newspapers there should exist only a French, English, Turkish, Spanish time, but no German time, only a *German timelessness.* But should not rather those newspapers be praised, and praised *from the state point of view,* which wrest from *foreign countries* and win for the *Fatherland* the attention, the feverish interest and the dramatic tension which accompany every *coming into being,* and above all the *coming into being of contemporary history*! Suppose even that these newspapers have aroused dissatisfaction, ill humour! It is, after all, *German* dissatisfaction, *German* ill humour that they arouse; after all, they have given back to the state minds that had turned away from it, even though at first these minds are excited and ill-humoured! And they have aroused not only dissatisfaction and ill humour, they have also aroused fears and hopes, joy and sorrow, they have aroused, above all, real *sympathy* for the state, they have made the state *close to the heart,* a *domestic affair* of its members. Instead of St. Petersburg, London or Paris, they have made Berlin, Dresden, Hanover, etc., the capital cities on the map of the German political mind, a feat more

glorious than the transfer of the world capital from Rome to Byzantium.

And if the German and Prussian newspapers which have set themselves the task of making Germany and Prussia the main interest of the Germans and Prussians, the task of transforming the mysterious, priestly nature of the state into a clear-cut, secular nature accessible to all and belonging to all, and of making the state part of the flesh and blood of its citizens; if these newspapers are inferior to the French and English newspapers as regards factual truth, if their behaviour is often unskilful and fanciful, bear in mind that the German knows his state only from *hearsay*, that *closed doors* are not at all *transparent to the eye*, that a *secret* state organisation is not at all a *public* state organisation, and do not ascribe to the newspapers what is the defect of the state alone, a defect which precisely these newspapers are seeking to remedy.

Therefore, we repeat once more: *"The 'Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung' is a necessary component part of the German popular press."* It has primarily satisfied immediate interest in *political fact*, we have primarily satisfied interest in *political thought*. In this connection, it stands to reason that fact does not preclude thought any more than thought precludes fact; but it is a matter here of the *predominant* character, the *distinguishing feature*.

## REPLY TO THE *DENUNCIATION* BY A "NEIGHBOUR" NEWSPAPER

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 10, January 10, 1843]

*Cologne*, January 9. It would be quite contrary to the nature of things if the *"good"* press everywhere did not try now to win its knightly spurs by attacking us, headed by the Augsburg prophetess *Hulda*,[119] whom, in response to her repeated challenge, we shall presently take to task. Today we shall deal with our invalid neighbour, the most worthy *Kölnische Zeitung*! *Toujours perdrix!*[a]

First of all "something preliminary" or a "preliminary something", a reminder with which we wish to preface today's *denunciation* by this newspaper to make it intelligible, a most delightful little story of the way in which the *Kölnische Zeitung* tries to gain the *"respect"* of the government, how it asserts "true freedom" in contrast to "arbitrariness" and knows how to set itself "bounds"

[a] Always the same! — *Ed.*

from within. The kind reader will recall that No. 4 of the *Rheinische Zeitung* directly accused the *Kölnische Zeitung* of having *fabricated* its correspondence from Leipzig, which announced almost exultantly the much discussed ban. The reader will recall that at the same time the *Kölnische Zeitung* was given the friendly advice to refrain from any serious attempt to defend the genuineness of that document, with the definite warning that otherwise we should be compelled "in connection with the mysterious correspondence from Leipzig" to make public yet another unpleasant *fact.* The kind reader will also recall the timid, evasive reply of the *Kölnische Zeitung* of January 5, our corrective rejoinder in No. 6, and the "patient silence" which the *Kölnische Zeitung* thought best to observe in regard to this. The fact referred to is the following: the *Kölnische Zeitung* found that the ban on the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* was justified because that newspaper published a report which

> "goes beyond all bounds of decency and even in our country must seem to every moderate and reasonable person to be an incomprehensible *indiscretion*".

It is obvious that what was meant was the publication of *Herwegh*'s letter.[120] It might perhaps have been possible to agree with this opinion of the *Kölnische Zeitung* if only the *Kölnische Zeitung* a few days earlier had not itself *wanted* to publish *Herwegh*'s letter, and only failed to do so because it came up against "bounds" imposed from *"outside"*, which thwarted its good intention.

In saying this we by no means want to accuse the *Kölnische Zeitung* of a disloyal yearning, but we must leave it to the public to judge whether it is a *comprehensible discretion*, or whether it is not, on the contrary, a violation of all the bounds of *decency* and *public morals*, when one accuses one's neighbour, as if it were a crime deserving the death penalty, of the very action that one was oneself about to perform, and which only failed to be one's *own* action because of an *external* obstacle. After this explanation, it will be understandable why the bad conscience of the *Kölnische Zeitung* has led it to reply to us today with a *denunciation.*[121] It says:

> "It is asserted there" (in the *Rheinische Zeitung*) "that the exceptionally sharp, almost insulting, at any rate unpleasant, tone which the press adopts towards Prussia has *no other* basis than the desire to draw to oneself the attention of the government and to awaken it. For, according to the *Rheinische Zeitung*, the people has already far outgrown the existing state forms, which suffer from a peculiar hollowness; the people, like the press, has *no* faith in these institutions and still less in the possibility of their development from within."

The *Kölnische Zeitung* accompanies these words with the following exclamation:

"Is it not astounding that side by side with such statements complaints are still heard about inadequate freedom of the press? Can one demand more than the freedom to tell the government to its face that 'all state institutions are old rubbish, unsuitable even as a transition to something better'."

First of all we should come to an agreement about how to quote. The author of the article[122] in the *Rheinische Zeitung* raises the question: what is the explanation for this sharp tone of the press precisely in relation to Prussia? He replies: "*I think* that the reason is to be found chiefly in the following." He does not assert, as the *Kölnische Zeitung falsely attributes* to him, that there is *no other* reason; on the contrary, he gives his view merely as *his* own belief, as his *personal* opinion. The author further admits, about which the *Kölnische Zeitung* says nothing, that

"the upsurge in 1840 partially penetrated state forms, endeavouring to imbue them with a full content and life".

Nevertheless, it is felt

"that the popular spirit passes them by, hardly grazing them, and that it is almost *unable as yet to recognise* them or *take* them *into account* even as a transition to further development".

The author continues:

"We leave open the question whether these forms have a right to exist or not; it is enough that the people, like the press, has no *complete* faith in the state institutions, still less in the possibility of their *development from within and from below*."

The *Kölnische Zeitung* changes the words "has no *complete* faith" into "has *no* faith", and in the last part of the sentence quoted above it leaves out the words "and from below", thus substantially altering the meaning.

The press, our author continues, *therefore* constantly addressed itself to the *government,* because

"it seemed to be still a matter of the forms themselves, within which the government could be told freely, openly and weightily of the justified moral will of the people, its ardent desires, and its needs".

Summing up these quotations, does the article in question assert, as the *Kölnische Zeitung* alleges it tells "the government to its face", *"that all state institutions are old rubbish, unsuitable even as a transition to something better"* ?

Is it a question here of *all* state institutions? It is a question only of the state forms in which "the will of the people" could be "freely, openly and weightily" expressed. And what until recently

were these *state forms*? Obviously, only the *provincial estates*. Has the people had special faith in these provincial estates? Has the people expected a great popular development out of them? Did loyal Bülow-Cummerow consider them a *true* expression of the people's will? But not only the people and the press, the *government* as well has admitted that we still *lack* state forms themselves, or would it, without such an admission, have had any reason for setting up a *new* state form in the shape of the "commissions"[123]? That, however, the commissions, too, have not been satisfactory in their present form, is a thing that we have not been alone in asserting; the same opinion has been expressed in the *Kölnische Zeitung* by a *member of a commission*.

The further assertion that the *state forms*, precisely as *forms*, are still in contrast to their content, and that the spirit of the people does not feel "at home" in them as in *its own* forms, does not recognise them as the forms of its own life, this assertion only repeats what has been said by many Prussian and foreign newspapers, but chiefly by *conservative* writers, namely, that the *bureaucracy* is still too powerful, that not the whole state, but only part of it, the "government", leads a state life in the proper sense of the term. As to how far present state forms are suitable, partly for themselves becoming imbued with living content, partly for incorporating the supplementary state forms, the *Kölnische Zeitung* should have sought the answer to this question in the articles in which we examine the provincial estates and the provincial commissions in relation to the whole system of our state organisation. There it would have found information which even its wisdom could grasp.

"We do not demand that in the representation of the people actually existing differences should be left out of account. On the contrary, we demand that one should proceed from the actual differences created and conditioned by the internal structure of the state." "We demand only the *consistent and comprehensive development of the fundamental institutions of Prussia*, we demand that the real organic life of the state should not be suddenly abandoned in order to sink back into unreal, mechanical, subordinated, non-state spheres of life" (*Rheinische Zeitung*, 1842, No. 345)[a].

But what does the worthy *Kölnische Zeitung* put into our mouths?—"that all *state institutions* are *old rubbish*, unsuitable even as a transition to something better"! It almost seems as if the *Kölnische Zeitung* thinks it can make up for the deficiency of its *own courage* by ascribing to others the impudent creations of its cowardly but malicious fantasy.

[a] See this volume, pp. 296 and 297.—*Ed.*

## THE DENUNCIATION OF THE *KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG* AND THE POLEMIC OF THE *RHEIN- UND MOSEL-ZEITUNG*

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 13, January 13, 1843]

*Cologne*, January 11

"Votre front à mes yeux montre peu d'allégresse!
Serait-ce ma présence, Eraste, qui vous blesse?
Qu'est-ce donc? qu'avez-vous? et sur quels déplaisirs,
Lorsque vous me voyez, poussez-vous des soupirs?" [a]

These words apply in the first place to our "lady neighbour of *Cologne*"! The *Kölnische Zeitung* prefers not to expand on the theme of its "*alleged denunciation*"; it drops this *main point* and complains only that on this occasion the "editorial board" has been involved in the polemic not in the most pleasant manner. But, dear lady neighbour, if the *Kölnische Zeitung* correspondent identifies one of our Berlin reports with the *Rheinische Zeitung*, why should not the *Rheinische Zeitung* be allowed to identify with the *Kölnische Zeitung* the Rhine report published in reply by the *Kölnische Zeitung*? Now, *ad vocem* the *fact*:

"It" (the *Rheinische Zeitung*) "accuses *us* not of any *fact*, but of an *intention*!" [124]

We accuse the *Kölnische Zeitung* not merely of an intention, but of a *fact of that intention*. Owing to *accidental external circumstances*, a fact, the acceptance of Herwegh's letter for publication, was transformed for the *Kölnische Zeitung* into an intention, although its intention had already been transformed into a fact. Every fact which has been thwarted is reduced to a mere intention, but does this make it any less a fact in the eyes of the court? At any rate it would be a very peculiar virtue that found justification for its actions in accidental circumstances which prevented their realisation and made them *not* a deed, but the mere intention of a deed. But our loyal lady neighbour puts a question not, it is true, to the *Rheinische Zeitung*, which, it has an awkward suspicion, will not be so easily "at a loss" for a reply because of its "decency and conscientiousness", but to

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[a] "Uneasy your countenance seems to my eyes!
Because of my presence, Eraste, are you hurt?
What then is the matter? and what the distaste
That when you behold me you utter such sighs?"
(J. B. Molière, *Les Fâcheux*, Act I, Scene 5.) — *Ed.*

"that small section of the public which perhaps is not yet quite clear how far the *suspicions*" (it ought to say: defence against suspicions) "of this newspaper deserve to be believed".

The question the *Kölnische Zeitung* puts is: how does the *Rheinische Zeitung* know

"that we did not combine with this intention" (i.e., the intention to publish Herwegh's letter) "the other intention as well" (*signo haud probato*[a]), "namely, to add the rebuke which the childish petulance of the author deserved?"

But how does the *Kölnische Zeitung* know what was the *intention* of the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* in publishing Herwegh's letter? Why, for example, could it not have had the harmless intention of being the first to publish an item of news? Or why not, perhaps, the loyal intention of simply submitting the letter to the judgment of public opinion? We should like to relate an anecdote to our lady neighbour. In Rome, the publication of the Koran is prohibited. But a cunning Italian found a way out of the situation. He published a *refutation* of the Koran, i.e., a book, the title page of which bore the heading "Refutation of the Koran", but after the title page it contained a simple reprint of the Koran. Have not all heretics employed such a ruse? Was not Vanini burned at the stake in spite of the fact that in his *Theatrum mundi,*[b] while propagating atheism, he carefully and ostentatiously brought out all the arguments against it? Did not even Voltaire in his book *La Bible enfin expliquée* preach unbelief in the text and belief in the notes, and did anyone believe in the purifying power of these notes? But, our worthy lady neighbour concludes,

"if we had this intention, could our acceptance for publication of an already well-known document be put on a par with the original publication?"

But, dearest lady neighbour, the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung,* too, only published a letter that had already been circulated in many copies. "In faith, my lord, you are too wilful-blame."[c]

The papal encyclical *ex cathedra*[d] of August 15, 1832, the day of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, states:

"It is madness (*deliramentum*) to assert that every man is entitled to *freedom of conscience; freedom of the press* cannot be sufficiently abhorred."

This pronouncement transfers us from Cologne to Koblenz, to the "moderate" newspaper, the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung*. After the

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[a] In no way proved.—*Ed.*

[b] L. Vanini, *Amphitheatrum aeternae.*—*Ed.*

[c] W. Shakespeare, *King Henry IV,* Part One, Act III, Scene 1.—*Ed.*

[d] Encyclical issued from the throne of St. Peter, binding on the whole church as incontestable truth.—*Ed.*

quotation given above, that newspaper's woeful outcry against our defence of press freedom becomes understandable and justified, however strange it is after that to hear also that she would like to be included "among the very zealous friends of the press". From the paper's "moderate" columns today have sprung forth not, it is true, two lions but a lion's skin and a lion's cowl,[125] to which we shall pay due attention from the point of view of natural history. No. 1 expresses its feelings, *inter alia,* as follows:

"On its part" (i.e., of the *Rheinische Zeitung*) "the struggle is conducted in such a loyal way that from the outset it assures us that, for the sake of the *'legal position'* which is so dear to its heart, it would protest even against a ban on the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung*. This assurance would be in an equal degree flattering and soothing for us but for the fact that in the same breath there happened to escape from the mouth of the knight who champions *every* freedom of the press that has been violated a *vilification* of the *Münchener historisch-politische Blätter,* which is well known to have been *long ago actually banned here.*"

It is strange that at the very moment when the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* pronounces sentence on newspapers for lying in regard to *facts,* it itself lies in regard to facts. The passage referred to reads literally as follows:

"First of all, the old sins of the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* are enumerated: its attitude to the Hanover events, its party polemic against Catholicism (*hinc illae lacrimae*!). Would our lady friend regard the same behaviour, only in the opposite direction, as one of the mortal sins of the *Münchener politische Blätter*?"[a]

In these lines the *Münchener politische Blätter* declares a "party polemic" against Protestantism. Did we thereby justify the ban? Could we have wanted to justify it by finding again in the *Münchener politische Blätter*—"only in the opposite direction"—"*the same* behaviour" that in the case of the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* we said gave *no* grounds for a ban? On the contrary! We appealed to the conscience of the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung,* asking whether one and the same behaviour justified a ban when coming from one side, but did not justify a ban when coming from the other side! We asked it, therefore, whether it pronounced its sentence on the behaviour itself or rather only on the trend of the behaviour. And the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* has replied to our question, saying in effect that it does not, as *we* do, condemn religious party polemics, but *only the kind* of party polemic which has the temerity to be *Protestant.* If, at the very time when we were defending the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* against the ban "that had just been imposed" on it, we, *together* with the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung,* mentioned the party polemic of the *Leipziger All-*

[a] See this volume, p. 316.—*Ed.*

*gemeine Zeitung* against Catholicism, had we not the right *without* the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* to mention the party polemic of the *Münchener politische Blätter*, which had been "banned long ago"? To the "small degree of publicness of the state", the "immaturity" of a "daily", public and inexperienced "political thinking", the nature of "contemporary history that is coming into being", all grounds on which we excused the newspapers lying in respect of *facts*, No. 1 kindly added a *new* one, namely, the factual *intellectual weakness* of a large part of the German press. The *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* has proved by its own example that *incorrect* thinking inevitably and unintentionally produces *incorrect* facts, and therefore distortions and lies.

We come now to No. 2, to the lion's *cowl*, for the additional grounds of No. 1 undergo here a more extensive process of confusion. The lion's cowl first of all informs the public about the state of its feelings, which is of no great interest. It says that it had expected "an outburst of fury", but that we gave only "a *genteel rejoinder*, apparently lightly tossed off". Its thanks for this "unexpected leniency" are, however, alloyed with a vexatious doubt

> "whether this unexpected leniency is in fact a sign of generosity or, on the contrary, the result of spiritual discomfort and exhaustion".

We do not intend to explain to our pious gentleman how *clerical comfort* could, indeed, be a reason for *spiritual discomfort*; we will pass on at once to the "content of the rejoinder in question". The pious gentleman admits he "unfortunately cannot conceal" that, according to his "extremely moderate understanding", the *Rheinische Zeitung* "merely seeks to conceal its embarrassment behind empty wrangling over words". And so as not, for a moment, to allow any semblance of "*hypocritical* meekness or modesty", the pious gentleman demonstrates his "extremely moderate" understanding with the most convincing, most irrefutable proofs. He begins as follows:

> "'The old sins of the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*: its attitude to the Hanover events, its party polemic against Catholicism, its bits of gossip', etc., cannot, of course, be denied; but—our excellent pupil of the great philosopher Hegel supposes—*these offences are fully excused* by the fact that *other* newspapers *also* are guilty of similar transgressions (which is tantamount to saying that a scoundrel brought *before the court* could not justify himself better than by referring to the base tricks of his numerous comrades still at liberty)."

Where have we asserted that "the old sins of the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* are fully *excused* by the fact that *other* newspapers *also* are guilty of similar transgressions"? Where have we even merely *tried* to "excuse" these old sins? Our actual argument,

which is easily distinguished from its reflection in the mirror of the "extremely moderate understanding", was as follows: First of all the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* enumerates the "old sins" of the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*. We specify these sins, and then we continue:

"If *all* German newspapers of the old style wanted to reproach one another for their past, the examination of the case would be reduced to the formal question whether they sinned through what they did or through what they did *not* do. We are prepared to grant our lady friend, the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung*, the innocent advantage over the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* that she has not only not led a bad life, but that she has shown no signs of life at all." [a]

Thus, we do not say "*other newspapers also*", we say "*all* German newspapers of the older style", among which we expressly include the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung*, cannot excuse themselves *entirely* by references to one another but that they can *rightly* address the same reproaches to themselves. The *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* could lay claim only to the doubtful advantage of having sinned by what it did *not* do, thus contrasting its sins of *omission* to the sins of *commission* of the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*. We can explain to the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* its passive badness by a fresh example. It now vents its fanatic spleen on the defunct *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*, whereas during the lifetime of the latter it published extracts from it instead of refuting it. The comparison by which the "extremely moderate understanding" tries to clarify our argument requires a small, but essential correction. It should have spoken not about *one* scoundrel who excuses himself *before the court* by referring to the other scoundrels still at liberty, but about *two* scoundrels, of whom the one who has not reformed and has not been imprisoned, triumphs over the other, who has been put in prison, *although* he has reformed.

"In addition," the "extremely moderate understanding" continues, "in addition, 'the legal position is not altered by the moral character or even the political and religious opinions of individuals'; *consequently*, even a totally bad newspaper, precisely *because it is merely bad*, has a *right* to that *bad* existence (just as everything else which is bad in the world, precisely because of its bad existence, cannot be disputed its *right* to exist)."

It seems that the pious gentleman wants to convince us not only that he never studied any of the "great" philosophers, but that he did not even study any of the "lesser" ones.

The passage, which in the fantastic exposition of our friend acquired such wonderfully distorted and confused features,

[a] See this volume, p. 316.— *Ed.*

read—before it was refracted through the prism of the "extremely moderate understanding"—as follows:

"Meanwhile, the article of ours which is incriminated spoke not of the past, but of the *present* character of the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*, although it stands to reason that we would have no less serious objections against a ban, etc., etc., on the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* published in Koblenz, since the *legal position* is not altered by the moral character or even the political and religious opinions of individuals. On the contrary, the *lack of rights* of the press is beyond all doubt once its *existence* is made dependent on its *frame of mind. Up to now, indeed, there has been no legal code or court of law for a frame of mind.*"[a]

We merely assert, therefore, that a person cannot be imprisoned, or deprived of his property or any other *legal* right because of his moral character or because of his political or *religious* opinions. The latter assertion seems particularly to excite our religious-minded friend. We demand that the *legal position* of a bad being should be unassailable, not because it is bad, but insofar as its badness remains within a *frame of mind*, for which there is *no court of law* and *no legal code*. Thus we contrast a *bad frame of mind*, for which no *court of law* exists, to *bad deeds*, which, if they are *illegal*, come within the scope of the *court* and the *laws* punishing such deeds. We assert, therefore, that a bad being, despite its badness, has the right to exist, as long as it is not *illegal*. We do not assert, as our pseudo-echo reports, that a bad being, precisely "because it is merely bad", "cannot be disputed its right to exist". On the contrary, our worthy well-wisher must have realised that we dispute that he and the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* have the right to be *bad*, and therefore we are trying as far as possible to make them *good*, without considering we are entitled on that account to attack the "*legal position*" of the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* and its shield-bearer. Here is yet another example of the "measure of understanding" of our pious zealot:

"If, however, the organ 'of political thought' goes so far as to assert that newspapers such as the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* (and especially, it stands to reason, such as itself, the *Rheinische Zeitung*) 'should rather be praised, and praised *from the state point of view*', since even supposing they have aroused *dissatisfaction* and ill humour, it is, after all, German *dissatisfaction* and *German ill humour* that they have aroused, then we cannot fail to express our doubts about this strange 'service to the German Fatherland'."

In the original, the passage quoted reads:

"But should not rather those newspapers be praised, and praised *from the state point of view*, which wrest from *foreign countries* and win for the *Fatherland* the attention, the feverish interest and the dramatic tension which accompany every

[a] See this volume, p. 316.—*Ed.*

*coming into being*, and above all the *coming into being of contemporary history*! *Suppose even* that these newspapers have aroused dissatisfaction, ill humour! It is, after all, *German* dissatisfaction, *German* ill humour that they arouse; after all, they have given back to the state minds that had turned away from it, even though at first these minds are excited and ill-humoured! And they have aroused not only dissatisfaction and ill humour, etc., they have aroused, above all, real *sympathy* for the state, they have made the state *close to the heart*, a *domestic affair*, etc." [a]

Our worthy man, therefore, omits the connecting *intermediate links*. It is as if we said to him, "My dear fellow, be grateful to us: we are enlightening your understanding, and even if you are a little annoyed, nevertheless it is *your* understanding that gains by it", and as if our friend replied, "What! I have to be grateful to you *because* you annoy me!" After these samples of "extremely moderate understanding", no particularly deep psychological investigations are required to understand the *immoderate* fantasy of our author, which makes it appear to him that we are already "marching with fire and sword through the German regions" *in cohorts*. Finally our friend throws off the mask. "*Ulrich von Hutten* and his companions", who, as is well known, include *Luther*, will forgive the *lion's cowl* of the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* its impotent anger. We can only blush at an exaggeration which ranks us with such *great* men and, since one good turn deserves another, we wish to rank our friend with *chief pastor Goeze*. Therefore, with Lessing, we cry out to him:

"And here is my brief knightly *challenge*. Write, Herr Pastor, and inspire others to write as much as they possibly can. I, too, shall write. If I allow that you are right in regard to the slightest matter in which you are wrong, then I can never touch a pen again." [b]

## THE *RHEIN- UND MOSEL-ZEITUNG*

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 16, January 16, 1843]

*Cologne*, January 15. No. 1 of the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung*, dated January 11, which we touched upon a few days ago as an outrider of the lion's article, today tries to prove,[126] by an example, how little

"the one which overbalances in its dialectics" (the *Rheinische Zeitung*) is capable "of clearly grasping a simple, clearly formulated proposition".

No. 1 claims that in fact it did not at all say that the *Rheinische Zeitung* had tried to justify the ban on the *Münchener politische Blätter*,

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[a] See this volume, p. 317.— *Ed.*

[b] G. E. Lessing, *Eine Parabel. Nebst einer kleinen Bitte und einem eventualen Absageschreiben.*— *Ed.*

"but that, at the very moment when it puts itself forward as the champion of unconditional freedom of the press, it does not hesitate to vilify a newspaper which was actually banned, and therefore the chivalry with which it gave assurance of readiness to enter the lists against a ban on the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* is not worth much".

Outrider No. 1 overlooks that there could be two reasons for his disquiet about our chivalrous behaviour in the event of a ban on the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* and that both of them have already been answered. The worthy outrider, we must suppose, does not trust our assurance because in the alleged *vilification* of the *Münchener politische Blätter* he sees a hidden justification for banning it. We had the more right to presuppose such a train of thought in our worthy outrider because that mean man has the peculiar cunning to wish to detect the true opinion behind statements that seem to him to have unconsciously "slipped out". In that case we can calm the worthy outrider by proving to him how impossible it is for there to be any connection between our statement about the *Münchener politische Blätter* and a justification for banning it.

The second possibility is that No. 1 finds it altogether regrettable and unchivalrous of us to accuse a *newspaper which has actually been banned,* such as the *Münchener politische Blätter,* of a party polemic against Protestantism. He regards this as a vilification. In that case we asked the worthy outrider:

"If, at the very time when we were defending the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* against the ban 'that had just been imposed' on it, we, *together* with the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung,* mentioned the party polemic of the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* against Catholicism, had we not the right *without* the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* to mention the party polemic of the *Münchener politische Blätter,* which had been banned long ago'?"[a]

That is to say: we do not *vilify* the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* by mentioning with the *consent* of the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* its party polemic against Catholicism. Will our assertion about the pro-Catholic party polemic of the *Münchener politische Blätter* become *vilification* because it is so unfortunate as not to have the consent of the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung*?

No. 1 has done nothing beyond calling our assertion a vilification, and since when have we been obliged to take No. 1's word for anything? We said: The *Münchener politische Blätter* is a Catholic party newspaper, and in this respect it is a *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* in reverse. The outrider in the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* says: The *Münchener politische Blätter* is not a party

[a] See this volume, pp. 324-25.— *Ed.*

newspaper and is not a *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* in reverse. It is not, the outrider says,

"such a repository of untruths, stupid bits of gossip and mocking at non-Catholic creeds".

We are not theological polemicists for one side or the other, but it is enough to read the *Münchener politische Blätter's* psychological description of *Luther* based on vulgar tittle-tattle, it is enough to read what the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* says about "*Hutten* and his companions", to decide whether the "moderate" newspaper adopts a standpoint from which it could objectively judge what is *religious* party polemic and what is not.

Finally, the worthy outrider promises us a "more detailed characterisation of the *Rheinische Zeitung*". *Nous verrons.* The small party between Munich and Koblenz has already once given its opinion that the "*political*" sense of the Rhinelanders should either be exploited for certain non-state pursuits or suppressed as an "annoyance". Can this party fail to be annoyed when it sees the proof of its own complete unimportance in the rapid spread of the *Rheinische Zeitung* throughout the Rhine Province? Perhaps the present moment is unfavourable for showing annoyance? We think that all this is not badly conceived and only regret that this party, not having a more important organ, has to be satisfied with the worthy outrider and his insignificant "moderate" newspaper. One can judge the strength of the *party* from this *organ.*

Written on December 31, 1842, and January 3, 5, 7, 9, 11 and 15, 1843

First published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* Nos. 1, 4, 6, 8, 10, 13 and 16, January 1, 4, 6, 8, 10, 13 and 16, 1843

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# [ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE EDITORS OF THE *RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG* OF THEIR REPLY TO OBERPRÄSIDENT VON SCHAPER[127]]

*Cologne,* January 2. Since the "corrections" made by Herr Oberpräsident von Schaper and the explanations requested of the *Rheinische Zeitung* have been widely aired in the press, we take this occasion to state that our reply, which has been delayed only because a number of investigations have become necessary, will follow in the coming week.

Written on January 2, 1843

First published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 3, January 3, 1843

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# JUSTIFICATION OF THE CORRESPONDENT FROM THE MOSEL[128]

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 15, January 15, 1843]

*From the Mosel,* January. Nos. 346 and 348 of the *Rheinische Zeitung* contain two articles of mine, one of which deals with the distress due to lack of firewood in the Mosel region, and the other the *special* sympathy of the Mosel population for the royal Cabinet Order of December 24, 1841, and for the resulting greater freedom of the press.[129] The latter article is written in *coarse,* and, if you like, even *rude* tones. Anyone who often has to hear directly the *ruthless* voice of want among the surrounding population easily loses the aesthetic tact by which his thoughts can be expressed in the most elegant and modest images. He may perhaps even consider it his *political* duty for a time to speak in public in the popular language of distress which in his native land he had no chance of forgetting. If, however, it is a question of proving that he speaks the truth, this can hardly mean proving *literally every word,* for in that case every summary would be untrue and, in general, it would be impossible to reproduce the meaning of a speech without repeating it word for word. Thus, for example, if it was said: "the cry of distress of the vine-growers was regarded as an *insolent shrieking*", then to be fair one could demand only that this expressed an approximately correct *equation.* That is to say, it should be proved that there is an object which to a certain extent measures up to the summary description "insolent shrieking", and makes this a not inappropriate description. If such a proof is given, the question is no longer one of *truth* but only of *precision of language,* and it would be hard to give more than a problematic judgment on extremely subtle nuances of linguistic expression.

The occasion for the above remarks of mine was provided by two rescripts of Oberpräsident *von Schaper* in No. 352 of the

*Rheinische Zeitung,* dated "Koblenz, December 15", in which a number of questions are put to me concerning my two articles mentioned above. The *delay* in the publication of my reply is due primarily to the content of the questions themselves, since a newspaper correspondent, in transmitting *with the utmost conscientiousness* the voice of the people as he has heard it, is not at all obliged to be prepared to give an exhaustive and motivated account of the occasions and sources of his report. Apart from the fact that such work would require much time and resources, the newspaper correspondent can only consider himself as a small part of a complicated body, in which he freely chooses his particular function. While one is perhaps more concerned to depict his impression of the distressed state of the people obtained directly from their statements, another, who is a historian, will discuss the history of the situation which has arisen; the man of feeling will describe the distress itself; the economist will examine the means required for its abolition, this itself being *one* problem which can be treated from different aspects: sometimes more on a local scale, sometimes more in relation to the state as a whole, etc.

Thus, with a lively press movement, the *whole truth* will be revealed, for if the whole appears at first only as the emergence of a number of different, individual points of view which—sometimes intentionally, sometimes accidentally—develop side by side, in the end, however, this work of the press will have prepared for one of its participants the material out of which he will create a *single* whole. Thus, gradually, by means of a division of labour, the press arrives at the whole truth, not by one person doing everything, but by many doing a little.

Another reason for the delay in my reply is that the editorial board of the *Rheinische Zeitung* required further particulars after my first report. Similarly, after the second and third reports, it asked for additional data, and also the present concluding report. Finally, the editorial board, on the one hand, demanded that I myself indicate my sources, and, on the other hand, held up the publication of my reports until it had itself, by some other means, received confirmation of my data.*

Further, my reply appears *anonymously.* In this respect I am guided by the conviction that *anonymity* is an essential feature of the newspaper press, since it *transforms* the newspaper from an assemblage of many individual opinions into the organ of *one*

* While confirming the above statements, we point out at the same time that the various mutually explanatory letters made it necessary for us to present a combined account.—Editorial Board of the *Rheinische Zeitung.*

*mind.* The *name* of the author would separate one article from another as definitely as the body separates one person from another, and would thus completely suppress the function of being only a complementary part. Finally, anonymity ensures greater impartiality and freedom, not only of the author, but also of the public, since the latter sees not *who* is speaking, but *what* he is saying. Free from an empirical view of the author as a person, the public judges him solely by his intellectual personality.

Since I do not mention my own name, in all my detailed reports I shall give the names of officials and communities only when quoting printed documents that are available in bookshops, or when mentioning names will harm no one. The press is obliged to reveal and denounce *circumstances,* but I am convinced that it should not denounce *individuals,* unless there is no other way of preventing a public evil or unless publicity already prevails throughout political life so that the German concept of denunciation no longer exists.

In concluding these introductory remarks I think I am entitled to express the hope that the Herr Oberpräsident, after acquainting himself with my *whole* exposition, will be convinced of the purity of my intentions and will attribute even possible mistakes to an incorrect view of things, and not to an evil disposition. My exposition itself should show whether I have deserved the serious accusation of *slander* and of *intent* to excite *dissatisfaction and discontent,* even in the present case of continued anonymity, accusations which are the more painful coming from a man who is regarded with particularly great respect and affection in the Rhine Province.

To facilitate a survey of my reply, I have set it out under the following headings:

A. *The question of wood distribution.*
B. *The attitude of the Mosel region to the Cabinet Order of December 24, 1841, and to the resulting greater freedom of the press.*
C. *The cankers of the Mosel region.*
D. *The vampires of the Mosel region.*
E. *Proposals for a remedy.*

## A

## THE QUESTION OF WOOD DISTRIBUTION

In my article "From the Mosel, December 12" in No. 348 of the *Rheinische Zeitung,* I referred to the following circumstances:

"The community of several thousand souls to which I belong is the owner of most beautiful wooded areas, but I cannot *recollect* an occasion when members of

the community derived direct advantage from their property by sharing in the distribution of wood."

On this, the Herr Oberpräsident comments:

"Such *procedure, which does not accord with legal provisions,* can only be motivated by quite exceptional circumstances",

and at the same time he demands, in order to verify the facts of the case, that I *name* the community.

I frankly admit: On the one hand, I believe that a procedure which does *not* accord with the law, and *therefore* contradicts it, can hardly be motivated by circumstances, but must always remain illegal; on the other hand, I can*not* find that the procedure described by me is illegal.

The instruction (dated: "Koblenz, August 31, 1839") on the management of wooded areas belonging to communities and institutions in the Koblenz and Trier administrative districts, issued on the basis of the law of December 24, 1816, and the royal Cabinet Order of August 18, 1835, and published in the Supplement to No. 62 of the official organ of the royal administration in Koblenz—this instruction states literally the following in § 37:

"In regard to the utilisation of material in the wooded areas, as a rule as much *must* be sold as is required to cover forest costs (taxes and administrative expenses).

"For the rest, it depends on the decision of the communities themselves whether the material is *sold by auction* to cover other needs of the community, *or whether* it is *distributed* among the members of the community, wholly or in part, gratis or for a definite fee. However, as a rule, firewood and material for making household articles are distributed *in natura,* but building timber, if it is not used for communal buildings or to assist individual members of the community in cases of damage by fire, etc., is sold by auction."

This instruction, issued by one of the predecessors of the Herr Oberpräsident of the Rhine Province, seems to me to prove that the distribution of firewood among the members of the community is neither made obligatory by law nor prohibited by it, but is only a question of expediency. Hence in the article in question also, I discussed *only* the expediency of the procedure. Accordingly, the basis for the Herr Oberpräsident's demand to know the *name* of the community disappears, since it is no longer a question of investigating the administration of a particular community, but only of a modification to an instruction. However, I do not object to the editorial board of the *Rheinische Zeitung,* in the event of a special demand from the Herr Oberpräsident, being empowered to name the community in which, *to the best of my recollection,* there has been no wood distribution. Such information would not be a denunciation of the local authorities but could only promote the welfare of the community.

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 17, January 17, 1843]

B

## THE ATTITUDE OF THE MOSEL REGION TO THE CABINET ORDER OF DECEMBER 24, 1841, AND TO THE RESULTING GREATER FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

In regard to my article from Bernkastel dated December 10, in No. 346 of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, where I asserted that the Mosel population, in view of its particularly difficult situation, welcomed with exceptional enthusiasm the greater freedom of the press afforded by the royal Cabinet Order of December 24 last year, the Herr Oberpräsident makes the following comment:

"If this article has any meaning, it can only be that hitherto the Mosel population had been forbidden to discuss publicly and frankly its state of distress, the causes of it and the means to remedy it. I doubt that this is so, for in view of the efforts of the authorities to find a remedy for the admittedly distressed state of the vine-growers, nothing could be more desired by the authorities than a discussion, as public and frank as possible, of the conditions prevailing there." "I should, therefore, be greatly obliged if the author of the above article would be so good as to point out specially the cases where, even before the appearance of the royal Cabinet Order of December 24 last year, the authorities prevented a frank, public discussion of the distressed state of the inhabitants of the Mosel region."

The Herr Oberpräsident further remarks:

"In addition, I think that I can in advance certainly describe as untrue the assertion in the above-mentioned article that the cry of distress of the vine-growers was for a long time regarded in higher quarters as an *insolent shrieking*."

My reply to these questions will take the following course. I shall try to prove:

1) that, first of all, quite *apart* from the powers of the press prior to the royal Cabinet Order of December 24, 1841, the need for a free press *necessarily* arises from the specific character of the state of distress in the Mosel region;

2) that even if there were *no special* obstacles to a "frank and public discussion" before the appearance of the above-mentioned Cabinet Order, my assertion would be no less true, and the particular sympathy of the Mosel population for the royal Cabinet Order and the resulting greater freedom of the press would remain equally understandable;

3) *that in actual fact special* circumstances prevented a "frank and public" discussion.

From the whole context it will then be seen how far my assertion: "For a long time the *desperate* state of the vine-growers was doubted in higher quarters, and their cry of distress was regarded as an insolent shrieking", is true or untrue.

As regards 1. In investigating a situation *concerning the state* one is all too easily tempted to overlook the *objective nature of the circumstances* and to explain everything by the *will* of the persons concerned. However, there are *circumstances* which determine the actions of private persons and individual authorities, and which are as independent of them as the method of breathing. If from the outset we adopt this objective standpoint, we shall not assume good or evil will, exclusively on one side or on the other, but we shall see the effect of circumstances where at first glance only individuals seem to be acting. Once it is proved that a phenomenon is made *necessary* by circumstances, it will no longer be difficult to ascertain the *external* circumstances in which it must *actually* be produced and those in which it could not be produced, although the need for it already existed. This can be established with approximately the same certainty with which the chemist determines the *external* conditions under which substances having affinity are bound to form a compound. Hence we believe that by our proof "that the *necessity* for a free press follows from the *specific character* of the state of distress in the Mosel region" we give our exposition a basis that goes far beyond anything personal.

The *state of distress* in the Mosel region cannot be regarded as a *simple* state of affairs. At least *two* aspects of it have to be distinguished: the private aspect and the state aspect, for the state of distress in the Mosel region cannot be considered to lie outside the state administration any more than the Mosel region can be considered to lie outside the state. Only the *mutual relation* between these two aspects provides the *actual* state of the Mosel region. In order to show the nature of this mutual relation, we shall report an authentic exchange of opinion, certified by documents, between the respective *organs* of the two sides.

In the fourth issue of *Mitteilungen des Vereins zur Förderung der Weinkultur an der Mosel und Saar zu Trier* there is a report of negotiations between the Finance Ministry, the government at Trier and the board of the above-mentioned Society. A document presented by the Society to the Finance Ministry contains, among other things, a calculation of the income from the vineyards. The government at Trier, which also received a copy of this document, asked for an expert opinion on it from the chief of the Trier Cadastre Bureau, tax inspector *von Zuccalmaglio,* who, as the government itself says in one of its reports, seemed to be specially suitable because he

"took an active part at the time when the registers of incomes from vineyards in the Mosel region were compiled".

We shall now simply put side by side the most striking passages from the *official* opinion of Herr von Zuccalmaglio and the *reply* of the board of the Society for the Promotion of Viticulture.

*The official reporter:*

In the official report covering the past decade, 1829-38, the calculation of the gross income per morgen[a] of vineyards in communities belonging to the third class as regards payment of *wine tax* is based on:

1) the yield per morgen;

2) the price at which a fuder[b] of wine is sold *in the autumn.*

The calculation, however, is not based on any precisely verified data, for

"without *official* intervention and control it is impossible for either an individual or a society to collect privately trustworthy information on the quantity of wine obtained by all the individual property owners over a specified period in a large number of communities, *because many owners may be directly interested in concealing the truth as far as possible*".

*The reply of the board of the Society:*

"We are not surprised that the Cadastre Bureau does its utmost to defend the procedure practised by it; nevertheless, it is difficult to understand the argument which follows", etc.

"The chief of the Cadastre Bureau tries to prove by figures that the registered yields are everywhere correct; he says also that the ten-year period assumed by us cannot prove anything here", etc., etc. "We shall not argue about figures, for, as he very wisely says in the introduction to his remarks, we lack the requisite official information. Moreover, we do not regard it as necessary, since his entire calculation and argument based on *official* data can prove nothing against the facts we have presented." "Even if we admit that the registered yields were quite correct at the time of their compilation, or even that they were too low, it is impossible successfully to contest our statement that they can no longer serve as a *basis* under the present *lamentably* changed circumstances."

*The official reporter:*

"Hence not a fact appears anywhere justifying the assumption that the registered yields from vineyards, based on assessments in the recent period, are too high; but it would be quite easy to prove that the earlier assessments of vineyards of the rural and urban districts of Trier and of the Saarburg district are *too low,* both in themselves and compared with other crops."

*The reply of the board of the Society:*

"A man crying out for help finds it painful when in reply to his well-founded complaint he is told that during compilation the registered yields could have been put higher rather than lower."

"Moreover," the reply points out, "the Herr Reporter, despite all his efforts to reject our data, could hardly refute or correct anything in our figures of *income;* therefore he has tried only to quote different results as regards *expenditure.*"

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[a] *Morgen*—German measure of land equalling approximately $^1/_4$ hectare.—*Ed.*

[b] *Fuder*—large measure for wine, approximately 1,000 litres.—*Ed.*

We want now to indicate some of the most striking differences of opinion between the Herr Reporter and the board of the Society on the question of *calculating expenditure.*

*The official reporter:*

"In regard to point 8, it should be particularly noted that the *removal* of the usual lateral shoots, or what is called *Geitzen*, is an operation recently introduced by only a few owners of vineyards, but nowhere, neither in the Mosel nor the Saar region, can it be regarded as part of the customary method of cultivation."

*The reply of the board of the Society:*

"The *removal of lateral shoots* and the *loosening of soil*, according to the chief of the Cadastre Bureau, was only recently introduced by a few owners of vineyards", etc. That, however, is not the case. "The vine-grower has understood that, to save himself from going under completely, he must not fail to try anything that could in some degree improve the quality of the wine. For the prosperity of the region, this attitude should be carefully encouraged, instead of being repressed."

"And who would think of putting the cost of potato cultivation at a lower figure because there are some cultivators who leave the potatoes to their fate and God's goodness?"

*The official reporter:*

"The cost of the *barrel* indicated in point 14 cannot at all enter into the valuation here, since, as has already been pointed out, the cost of the barrel is *not* included in the quoted prices of wine. If then the barrel is sold together with the wine, as is usually the case, the cost of the barrel is added to the price of the wine and thus the value of the barrels is reimbursed."

*The reply of the board of the Society:*

"When wine is sold, the barrel is included, and there is not and even could not be the slightest question of its reimbursement. The rare cases when the innkeepers of our town buy wine without the barrel cannot be taken into account when viewing the situation as a whole." "It is not the same with wine as with other goods, which lie in a warehouse until they are sold and the packing and dispatch of which then take place at the expense of the purchaser. Since, therefore, the purchase of wine tacitly includes that of the barrel, it is clear that the price of the latter must be included in the production costs."

*The official reporter:*

"If the figures of yields given in the supplement are corrected to correspond to the official data on them, but the calculation of costs is accepted as correct even in all parts, and *only* the land and *wine* taxes and the cost of the *barrels* (or expenditures given in points 13, 14 and 17) are omitted from these costs, the result is as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gross income | 53 talers | 21 silver groschen | 6 pfennigs |
| Costs — not including 13, 14 and 17 | 39 " | 5 " " | 0 " |
| Net income | 14 talers | 16 silver groschen | 6 pfennigs |

*The reply of the board of the Society:*

"The calculation as such is correct, but the result is incorrect. We based our calculation not on supposed figures, but on figures which express the actual amounts involved, and we found that if from 53 talers of actual expenditure 48

talers representing the actual and only income are subtracted, there remains a loss of 5 talers."

*The official reporter*:

"If, nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the state of distress in the Mosel region has considerably worsened compared with the period before the inauguration of the Customs Union, and that in part even a *real impoverishment* is to be *feared*, the reason for it should be sought exclusively in the former too high yields."

"Owing to the previously existing quasi-monopoly of the wine trade in the Mosel region and the rapid succession of good wine years in 1819, 1822, 1825, 1826, 1827 and 1828, an *unprecedented luxury* developed there. The large sums of money in the hands of the vine-grower induced him to buy vineyards at enormous prices and to plant new vineyards at excessive cost in places that were no longer suitable for viticulture. Everyone wanted to become an owner, and debts were incurred which previously could easily be covered by the income from a good year, but which now, with the present unfavourable economic situation, are bound to ruin completely the vine-grower who has fallen into the hands of usurers."

"One consequence of this will be that viticulture will be confined to the better holdings and will again, as formerly, come more into the hands of the rich landowners, a purpose to which it is most suited owing to the large initial expenditure involved. The rich landowners, too, can more easily withstand unfavourable years and even at such times have adequate means to improve cultivation and to obtain a product which can stand up to competition with that from the now opened countries of the Customs Union. *Of course*, during the first years *this* cannot take place *without great hardships for the poorer class of vine-growers*, most of whom, however, had become owners of vineyards in the previous favourable period. However, it should always be borne in mind that the earlier state of affairs was an *unnatural* one *for which the imprudent are now paying. The state ... will be able to confine itself to making* the transition as *easy* as possible for the present population by appropriate measures."

*The reply of the board of the Society*:

"Truly, one who only fears possible poverty in the Mosel region has not yet *seen* that poverty which, in its most *ghastly* form, is already deep-rooted and daily spreading among the morally healthy, tirelessly industrious population of this region. Let no one say, as the chief of the Cadastre Bureau does, that it is the impoverished vine-growers' own fault. No, all of them have been struck down to a greater or lesser degree: the prudent and the imprudent, the industrious and the negligent, the well-to-do and the indigent; and if things have now gone so far that even the well-to-do, the industrious and the thrifty vine-growers are compelled to say that they can no longer provide themselves with food, then the cause is evidently not to be sought in them.

"It is true that in the favourable years the vine-growers bought new plots at prices higher than usual and that they incurred debts, calculating that their incomes, as they saw them, would suffice gradually to pay them off. But it is incomprehensible how this, which is proof of the enterprising and industrious spirit of these people, can be called *luxury*, and how it can be said that the present position of the vine-growers has arisen because the earlier state of affairs was an unnatural one, for which the imprudent are now paying.

"The chief of the Cadastre Bureau asserts that people who, according to him, were previously not even property owners (!!), tempted by the unusually good years, increased excessively the total of vineyards, and that the *only* remedy now lies in reducing the number of vineyards.

"But how insignificant is the number of vineyards which can be adapted for growing fruit or vegetables, compared with the majority which, apart from grapes, can produce only hedges and bushes! And can it be that this highly respectable population, which is crowded into such a relatively small area because of viticulture, and is so courageously struggling against misfortune, *does not even deserve an attempt* to alleviate its distress so that it can hold out until more favourable circumstances enable it to rise again and become for the state what it was before, namely, a source of income the equal of which is not to be found on any area of equal size apart from the towns."

*The official reporter:*

"It is, of course, quite understandable that the richer landowners, too, *take advantage* of this distress of the poorer vine-growers in order to obtain for themselves all possible alleviations and advantages by a *vivid* description of the former happy state of affairs in contrast to the present less favourable, but nevertheless still *profitable,* position."

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 18, January 18, 1843]

*The reply of the board of the Society:*

"We owe it to our honour and our inner conviction to protest against the *accusation* that we take advantage of the distress of the poorer vine-growers in order to obtain for ourselves all possible advantages and alleviations by means of *vivid descriptions.*

"No, we assert—and that, we hope, will suffice for our justification—that we were far from having any selfish intention, and that all our efforts were directed towards making the state aware, by a *frank and truthful description* of the conditions of the poor vine-growers, of a situation the further development of which is bound to be dangerous for the state itself! Anyone who knows the transformation which the present pitiful position of the vine-growers has already increasingly brought about in their domestic life and industrial activity, and even as regards morality, cannot but shudder at the future when he thinks of a continuance or even increase of such distress."

It has to be admitted, first of all, that the government could not come to a decision but must have vacillated between the view of its reporter and the opposing view of the vine-growers. Bearing in mind, further, that the report of Herr von Zuccalmaglio is dated December 12, 1839, and the answer of the Society is dated July 15, 1840, it follows that up to this time the view of the reporter must have been, if not the *sole,* at any rate the *prevailing* view of the government collegium. In 1839, at least, it was still counterposed to the Society's memorandum as the government's judgment and therefore, as it were, a résumé of the governmental view, for if a government is consistent its latest opinion can surely be regarded as the sum total of its earlier views and experience. In the report, however, not only is the state of distress not recognised as *general,* but there is no intention of *remedying* even the *admitted* state of distress, for it is stated: "The state will be able to confine itself *solely* to *making* the *transition* as *easy* as possible for the present population by appropriate measures." Under these cir-

cumstances, transition must be taken to mean gradual *ruin.*[a] The ruin of the poorer vine-growers is regarded as a kind of natural phenomenon, to which one must be resigned in advance, seeking only to mitigate the inevitable. "Of course," it is stated, "this cannot take place without great hardships." The Society, therefore, also raises the question whether the vine-growers of the Mosel do not even deserve "*an attempt*" to save them. If the government had held a decisively opposed view, it would have modified the report at the outset, since the report makes a definite statement on such an important question as the *task and decision* of the state in this matter. Hence it is evident that the *distressed state* of the vine-growers could be *admitted* without there being any effort to *remedy* it.

We cite now yet another example of the kind of information given to the authorities about conditions in the Mosel region. In 1838, a highly placed administrative official travelled through the Mosel region. At a conference in Piesport with two district presidents, he asked one of them what the vine-growers' situation was like as regards property and received the reply:

"The vine-growers live too luxuriously and if only for that reason things cannot be going badly with them."

Yet luxury had already become a story of former days. We only incidentally point out here that this view, which coincides with the official report, has by no means been generally abandoned. We recall the statement from Koblenz published in Supplement I of the *Frankfurter Journal* No. 349 (1842), which speaks of the *alleged* state of distress of the Mosel vine-growers.

The above-quoted official view is reflected, too, in the attitude of higher quarters, which throws doubt on the "desperate" state of the vine-growers and on the *general* nature of the distress, hence also on its *general causes.* The reports of the Society quoted above contain, *inter alia,* the following replies of the *Finance Ministry* to various petitions:

"Although, as the market prices for wine show, the owners of Mosel and Saar vineyards included in the first and second classes as regards taxation have *no* cause for *dissatisfaction,* nevertheless it is not denied that vine-growers whose products are of inferior quality are not in an *equally favourable* position."

In a reply to a petition for remission of taxation for 1838, it is stated:

"In reply to your representation sent here on October 10 of last year, we have to inform you that the petition for a general remission of the entire wine tax for

[a] A pun on the German words *Übergang,* which means "transition," and *Untergang,* which means "ruin."—*Ed.*

1838 cannot be entertained, since you do not belong to the class which is most in need of consideration and whose *state of distress*, etc., is *explicable* by *quite other* causes than *taxation*."

Since we wish to construct our exposition solely on *factual material*, endeavouring, as far as we can, to present only facts in a general form, we shall first of all make clear the general ideas underlying the dialogue between the Trier Society for the Promotion of Viticulture and the government's reporter.

The government has to appoint an official to give an expert opinion on the memorandum presented to it. It naturally appoints an official who has the greatest possible knowledge of the subject, preferably therefore an official who himself took part in regulating the situation in the Mosel region. This official is not averse to finding in the complaints contained in the document in question *attacks* on his official understanding and his previous official activity. He is aware of his conscientious performance of his duty and of the detailed official information at his disposal; he is suddenly faced with an opposing view, and what could be more natural than that he should *take sides* against the petitioner, and that the *intentions* of the latter, which could of course always be bound up with *private interests*, should seem to him suspicious, and that therefore he should suspect them. Instead of using the data in the memorandum, he tries to refute them. In addition, the obviously poor vine-grower has neither the time nor the education to describe his condition; hence the poor vine-grower is unable to speak, whereas the vine cultivator who is able to speak is not obviously poor, and therefore his complaints seem unfounded. But if even the educated vine-grower is rebuked for not having the official understanding, how could the uneducated vine-grower hold his own against this official understanding!

For their part, private persons who have observed the real poverty of others in the full extent of its development, who see it gradually coming closer even to themselves, and who, moreover, are aware that the private interest they defend is equally a state interest, and is defended by them as a state interest, these private persons are not only bound to feel that their own honour has been impugned, but consider also that *reality* itself has been distorted under the influence of a one-sided and arbitrarily established point of view. Hence they oppose the overweening presumption of officialdom; they point out the contradiction between the real nature of the world and that ascribed to it in government offices, contrasting the practical proofs to the official proofs. And, finally, they cannot avoid suspecting that behind total misconception of

their account of the actual state of affairs, which is based on well-founded convictions and clear facts, there is a selfish intention, namely, the intention to assert official judgment in opposition to the intelligence of the citizens. Consequently, they conclude also that the expert official who comes into contact with their conditions of life will not give an unprejudiced description of them, precisely because these conditions are partly the result of his activities, whereas the unprejudiced official, who could give a sufficiently impartial judgment, is not an expert. When, however, the official accuses private persons of elevating their private affairs to the level of a state interest, private persons accuse the official of degrading the state interest to the level of a private affair of his own, from which all others are excluded as being mere laymen. In this way even the most patent reality appears illusory compared with the reality depicted in the dossiers, which is official and therefore of a state character, and compared with the intelligence based on this official reality. Hence to the official only the sphere of activity of the authorities is the state, whereas the world outside this sphere of activity is merely an object of state activity, completely lacking the state *frame of mind* and state *understanding*. Finally, in the event of a notoriously bad situation, the official puts the main blame on private persons who, he alleges, are *themselves* responsible for their plight, while he refuses to allow any attack on the excellence of administrative principles or institutions, which are themselves official creations and no part of which he is willing to relinquish. The private person, on the other hand, conscious of his industriousness, his thrift, his hard struggle against nature and social conditions, demands that the official who is supposed to be the sole creative force of the state should put an end to his distress, and, since that official claims he can put everything right, that he should prove his ability to remedy the bad situation by his activity, or at least recognise that institutions which were suitable at a certain time have become unsuitable under completely changed circumstances.

The same standpoint of *superior* official knowledge and the same antithesis between the administration and the object administered are repeated within the world of officialdom itself. We see that the Cadastre Bureau, in its judgment on the Mosel region, is mainly concerned with asserting the infallibility of the Cadastre, and just as the Finance Ministry maintains that the evil is due to "quite other" causes than "taxation", so the administration will find that the basis of the distress lies not at all *in itself*, but *outside itself*. *Not intentionally*, but *necessarily*, the individual official who is in closest contact with the vine-grower sees the state of things as better

or other than it actually is. He thinks that the question whether things are all right in his region amounts to the question whether *he* administers the region correctly. Whether the administrative principles and institutions are good or not is a question that lies outside his sphere, for that can only be judged in *higher* quarters where a wider and deeper *knowledge* of the *official* nature of things, i.e., of their connection with the state as a whole, prevails. He may be most honestly convinced that *he himself* administers well. Hence either he will find the situation not so entirely desperate or, if he does find it to be so, he will look for the reason *outside* the administration, partly in nature, which is independent of man, partly in private life, which is independent of the administration, and partly in accidental circumstances, which depend on no one.

The higher administrative bodies are bound to have more confidence in *their* officials than in the persons administered, who cannot be presumed to possess the same official understanding. An administrative body, moreover, has its traditions. Thus, as regards the Mosel region too, it has its once and for all established principles, it has its official picture of the region in the Cadastre, it has official data on revenue and expenditure, it has everywhere, alongside the actual reality, a *bureaucratic* reality, which retains its authority however much the times may change. In addition, the two circumstances, namely, the law of the official hierarchy and the principle that there are two categories of citizens—the active, knowledgeable citizens in the administration, and the passive, uninformed citizens who are the object of administration—these two circumstances are mutually complementary. In accordance with the principle that the state possesses conscious and active existence in the administration, every government will regard the condition of a region—insofar as the state aspect of the matter is concerned—as the result of the work of its predecessor. According to the law of hierarchy, this predecessor will in most cases already occupy a higher position, often the one immediately above. Finally, every government is actuated, on the one hand, by the consciousness that the state has laws which it must enforce in the face of all private interests, and, on the other hand, as an individual administrative authority, its duty is not to make institutions or laws, but to apply them. Hence it can try to reform not the administration itself, but only the object administered. It cannot adapt its laws to the Mosel region, it can only try to promote the welfare of the Mosel region *within the limits* of its firmly established rules of administration. *The more zealously* and

*sincerely*, therefore, a government endeavours—within the limits of the already established administrative principles and institutions by which it is itself governed—to remove a *glaring state of distress* that embraces perhaps a whole *region*, and the *more stubbornly* the evil resists the measures taken against it and increases despite the *good* administration, *so much the more profound, sincere and decisive will be the conviction* that this is an incurable state of distress, which the administration, i.e., the state, can do nothing to alter, and which requires rather a change on the part of those administered.

Whereas, however, the lower administrative authorities trust the official understanding of those above them that the administrative principles are good, and are themselves ready to answer for their dutiful implementation in each separate case, the higher administrative authorities are fully convinced of the correctness of the general principles and trust the bodies subordinate to them to make the correct official judgment in each case, of which, moreover, they have official proofs.

In this way it is possible for a government *with the best intentions* to arrive at the principle expressed by the government's reporter in Trier in regard to the Mosel region: "*The state will be able to confine itself solely to making the transition as easy as possible for the present population by appropriate measures.*"

If we look now at some of the methods which have transpired and which the government has used to alleviate the distress in the Mosel region, we shall find our argument confirmed at least by the history of the administration which is accessible to all; on the secret history, of course, we cannot pass judgment. We include among these measures: *remission of taxes in bad wine years, the advice to go over to some other cultivation, such as sericulture*, and, finally, the proposal to limit *parcellation of landed property*. The *first* of these measures, obviously, can only alleviate, not remedy. It is a *temporary* measure, by which the state makes an *exception* to its rule, and an exception which does not cost it much. Moreover, it is not the *constant* state of distress which is alleviated, it is likewise an exceptional manifestation of it, not the chronic sickness to which people have become accustomed, but an acute form of it which comes as a surprise.

In regard to the other two measures, the administration goes outside the scope of its own activities. The positive activity which it undertakes here consists partly in instructing the Mosel inhabitants how they *themselves* can come to their own aid, and partly in proposing a *limitation* or even denial of a right they previously possessed. Here, therefore, we find confirmed the train of thought

we described above. The administration, which considers that the distressed state of the Mosel region is incurable and due to circumstances lying outside the scope of its principles and its activity, advises the Mosel inhabitants so to arrange their life that it is adapted to the present administrative institutions and that they are able to exist in a tolerable fashion within them. The vinegrower himself is deeply pained by such proposals, even if they only reach him by rumour. He would be thankful if the government carried out experiments at its own expense, but he feels that the advice that he should undertake experiments on himself means that the government is refusing to help him by its own activity. He wants help, not advice. However much he trusts the knowledge possessed by the *administration* in its own sphere, and however confidently he turns to it in such matters, he credits himself just as much with the necessary understanding in his own sphere. But limitation of the parcellation of landed property contradicts his inherited sense of right; he regards it as a proposal to add legal poverty to his physical poverty, for he regards every violation of equality before the law as the distress of right. He feels, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously, that the administration exists for the sake of the country and not the country for the sake of the administration, but that this relationship becomes reversed when the country has to transform its customs, its rights, its kind of work and its property ownership to suit the administration. The Mosel inhabitant, therefore, demands that, if he carries out the work which nature and custom have ordained for him, the state should create conditions for him in which he can grow, prosper, and live. Hence such negative devices come to nought when they encounter the reality not only of the existing conditions, but also of civic consciousness.

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 19, January 19, 1843]

What then is the relation of the administration to the distress in the Mosel region? The *distressed state of the Mosel region* is at the same time a *distressed state of the administration.* The *constant* state of distress of part of the country (and a state of distress, which, beginning almost unnoticed more than a decade ago, at first gradually and then irresistibly develops to a climax and assumes ever more threatening dimensions, can well be called *constant*) signifies a *contradiction between reality and administrative principles,* just as, on the other hand, not only the nation, but also the government regards the *well-being* of a region as a factual confirmation of good admi-

nistration. The administration, however, owing to its *bureaucratic* nature, is *capable* of perceiving the reasons for the distress not in the sphere *administered,* but only in the sphere of *nature* and the *private citizen,* which lies outside the sphere administered. The administrative authorities, even *with the best intentions,* the most zealous humanity and the most powerful intellect, *can* find no solution for a conflict that is more than momentary or transient, the constant conflict between reality and the principles of administration, for it is not their official task, nor would it be possible, despite the best intentions, to make a breach in an *essential relation* or, if you like, *fate.*[a] This *essential relation* is the *bureaucratic* one, both within the administrative body itself and in its *relations with the administered body.*

On the other hand, the private vine-grower can no more deny that *his* judgment may be affected, intentionally or unintentionally, by *private interest,* and therefore the correctness of his judgment cannot be assumed absolutely. Moreover, he will realise that there are in the state a multitude of private interests which suffer, and the general principles of administration cannot be abandoned or modified for their sake. Furthermore, if it is asserted that there is distress of a *general* character and that the general well-being is endangered in such a manner and to such an extent that private misfortune becomes a misfortune for the state and its removal a duty which the state owes to *itself,* the rulers regard this assertion of the ruled in relation to them as inappropriate; for the rulers consider they are in the best position to judge how far the welfare of the state is endangered and that they must be presumed to have a deeper insight into the relation between the whole and the parts than the parts themselves have. Furthermore, individuals, even a large number of them, cannot claim that their voice is the voice of the people; on the contrary, their description of the situation always retains the character of a *private* complaint. Finally, even if the conviction held by the complaining private persons were the conviction of the entire Mosel region, the latter, as an individual administrative unit, as an individual part of the country, would be, in relation to its own province as also in relation to the state, in the position of a private person whose convictions and desires should be judged only by their relation to the general conviction and the general desire.

In order to solve this difficulty, therefore, the rulers and the

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[a] A pun on the German words *Verhältnis,* which means "relation", and *Verhängnis,* which means "fate".— *Ed.*

ruled alike are in need of a *third* element, which would be *political* without being official, hence not based on bureaucratic premises, an element which would be of a *civil* nature without being bound up with private interests and their pressing need. This supplementary element with the *head of a citizen of the state* and the *heart of a citizen* is the *free press.* In the realm of the press, rulers and ruled alike have an opportunity of criticising their principles and demands, and no longer in a relation of subordination, but on terms of equality as *citizens of the state*; no longer as *individuals,* but as *intellectual forces,* as exponents of reason. The "free press", being the product of public opinion, is also the creator of public opinion. It alone can make a particular interest a general one, it alone can make the *distressed state* of the Mosel region an object of general attention and general sympathy on the part of the Fatherland, it alone can mitigate the distress by dividing the feeling of it among all.

The attitude of the press to the people's conditions of life is based on *reason,* but it is equally based on *feeling.* Hence it does not speak only in the clever language of judgment that soars above circumstances, but the passionate language of circumstances themselves, a language which cannot and should not be demanded of *official reports.* The free press, finally, brings the people's need in its real shape, not refracted through any bureaucratic medium, to the steps of the throne, to a power before which the difference between rulers and ruled vanishes and there remain only equally near and equally far removed *citizens of the state.*

If, therefore, a freer press became *essential* owing to the *specific* state of distress of the Mosel region, if it there became an urgent, because *actual,* need, it is obvious that no exceptional obstacles to the press were required to create such a need, but that, on the contrary, an exceptional freedom of the press was required to satisfy the existing need.

As regards 2. The press which deals with the affairs of the Mosel region is in any case only a *part of the Prussian political press.* Hence, in order to ascertain its state before the promulgation of the frequently cited Cabinet Order, it will be necessary to take a quick glance at the state of the whole Prussian press before 1841. Let us listen to a man whose loyal frame of mind is generally recognised:

"General ideas and matters," says David *Hansemann* in his book *Preussen und Frankreich,* second edition, Leipzig, 1834, p. 272, "develop quietly and tranquilly in Prussia, and do so the more unnoticed because the *censorship does not permit any thorough discussion* in Prussian newspapers of *political* and *even economic* questions concerning the state, *however decent and moderate their formulation.* A thorough discussion can only mean one in which arguments and counter-arguments can be

put forward. *Hardly any economic* question can be discussed *thoroughly unless* its connections, with *internal and external policy* are also examined, for there are few questions, perhaps *none at all in the case of economic questions,* in which such connections do not exist. Whether this exercise of the censorship is expedient, whether the censorship could be exercised in any other way in the present state of the government in Prussia, is not the question here, *suffice it that such is the case.*"

It should be recalled, further, that § 1 of the censorship decree of December 19, 1788, already stated:

"It is certainly not the intention of the censorship to hinder a decent, earnest and modest investigation of the truth or *otherwise* impose *any* unnecessary and burdensome constraint on writers."

In Article II of the censorship decree of October 18, 1819, it is stated again:

"The censorship will not prevent serious and modest investigation of truth nor impose undue constraint on writers."

Compare with this the introductory words of the censorship instruction of December 24, 1841 [130]:

"In order *already now* to free the press from *improper* restrictions, which are against the *intentions of the All-Highest,* His Majesty the King, by a supreme order issued to the royal state ministry [...] has been pleased to disapprove *expressly* of any undue constraint on the activity of writers and [...] empowered us to direct the censors *anew* to due observance of Article II of the censorship decree of October 18, 1819."

Finally, let us recall the following statement:

"The censor can very well permit a frank discussion also of *internal affairs.*— The undeniable difficulty of determining the correct limits in this matter should not deter the censor from endeavouring to comply with the *true intention of the law,* nor mislead him into the kind of *anxiety* which has *already only too often* given rise to *misinterpretations* of the *government's intention.*"

In view of all these official declarations, it is clear that the question why censorship obstacles have occurred despite the wish of the authorities that conditions in the Mosel region should be discussed as frankly and publicly as possible, becomes instead the *more general* question: why, *in spite of* the "*intention of the law*", the "*government's intention,*" and, finally, the "*intentions of the All-Highest*", should the press in 1841 admittedly still have to be freed "from *improper* restrictions", and the censorship in 1841 have to be *reminded* of Article II of the 1819 decree? As regards the *Mosel region* in particular, the former question should not ask what *special obstacles to the press* have occurred, but what *special measures in favour of the press* should be taken *by way of exception* to ensure that this partial discussion of *internal* conditions is as *frank and public as possible.*

The clearest indication of the inner content and character of *political literature* and the *daily press* prior to the above-mentioned Cabinet Order is contained in the following statement of the censorship instruction:

"In this way it may be *hoped* that both *political literature* and the *daily press* will realize their function *better*, adopt a *more dignified* tone, and *in future* will scorn to *speculate* on the *curiosity* of their readers through communication of baseless reports taken from foreign newspapers, etc., etc. ... It is to be *expected* that thereby *greater* sympathy for the interests of the *Fatherland* will be *aroused* and thus *national feeling* enhanced."

From this it seems to follow that, although no *special* measures prevented a frank and public discussion of conditions in the Mosel region, nevertheless the *general state* of the Prussian press itself was bound to be an insurmountable obstacle both to frankness and to publicity. If we sum up the above-quoted passages from the censorship instruction, they tell us that: the censorship was excessively anxious and an *external* barrier to a free press, that hand in hand with this went the *internal* narrowness of the press, which had lost courage and even abandoned the effort to rise above the horizon of novelty, and that, finally, in the nation itself *sympathy for the interests of the Fatherland* and *national feeling* had been lost, that is to say, precisely the elements which are not only the creative forces of a frank and public press, but also the conditions within which a frank and public press can operate and win popular recognition, recognition which is the breath of life of the press, and without which it hopelessly pines away.

Hence, although measures taken by the authorities can create an *unfree* press, it is *beyond the power of the authorities,* when the general state of the press is unfree, to ensure that special questions are discussed as frankly and publicly as possible. Under such conditions, even frank statements which might happen to be made on particular subjects in the columns of the newspaper would fail to evoke any *general* sympathy, and would therefore be unable to achieve any real publicity.

In addition, as *Hansemann* rightly remarks, there is *perhaps not a single question of the state economy in which connections with internal and external policy do not exist.* Hence the possibility of a frank and public discussion of *conditions in the Mosel region* presupposes the *possibility* of frank and public discussion of the whole of "*internal and external policy*". Individual administrative authorities were so powerless to ensure this possibility that *only* the direct and decisive expression of the will of the *King himself* could play a determining and lasting role here.

If public discussion was not frank, frank discussion was not public. Frank discussion was limited to *obscure* provincial sheets, whose horizon, of course, did not go beyond their area of circulation and, as shown above, could not do so. To characterise such local discussions, we shall quote a few extracts from the Bernkastel *Gemeinnütziges Wochenblatt* of different years. In 1835 it stated:

"In the autumn of 1833 in *Erden*, a person from another place made 5 ohms[a] of wine. In order to fill the barrel (fuder), this person bought an additional 2 ohms at a price of 30 talers. The barrel cost 9 talers, the grape-pressing tax amounted to 7 talers 5 silver groschen, the harvesting of the grapes 4 talers, cellar rent 1 taler 3 silver groschen, payment for the cooper 16 silver groschen. Therefore, without counting cultivation costs, the total expenditure was 51 talers 24 silver groschen. On May 10, the barrel of wine was sold for 41 talers. It should be noted also that this wine was of good quality and was not sold from sheer necessity, not did it fall into the hands of usurers" (p. 87). "On November 21 in the Bernkastel market, $^3/_4$ ohm of 1835 wine was sold for 14 silver groschen — *fourteen silver groschen* — and on the 27th of the same month 4 ohms *together with* the barrel were sold for 11 talers; moreover, it should be noted that on the previous Michaelmas the barrel had been bought for 11 talers" (p. 267, ibid.).

On April 12, 1836, there was a similar item.

We should like to quote also some extracts from 1837:

"On the first of this month in *Kinheim*, in the presence of a notary there was sold by public auction a young, four-year-old vineyard containing about 200 vine-stocks, correctly trained on stakes. It cost the buyer $1^1/_2$ *pfennigs* per stock, under the usual conditions of payment. In 1828, the same vine-stock there cost 5 silver groschen" (p. 47). "In *Graach*, a widow surrendered her ungathered grape harvest for half of the wine yield and she received for her share one ohm of wine, *which she exchanged for 2 lbs. of butter, 2 lbs. of bread and* $^1/_2$ *lb. of onions*" (No. 37, ibid.). "On the 20th of this month there was a forced sale by auction here of 8 fuders of 1836 wine from *Graach* and Bernkastel, part of it from the *best* sites, and 1 fuder of 1835 wine from Graach. The sale (barrels included) yielded a total sum of 135 talers 15 silver groschen, so that the wine cost the buyer about 15 talers per fuder. The barrel alone could have cost 10-12 talers. What is left for the poor vine-grower to pay for the cost of cultivation? Is it then impossible to remedy this terrible distress?!! (Letter to the Editor)" (No. 4, p. 30).

We have here, therefore, merely a *simple* relation of facts, sometimes accompanied by a brief elegiac epilogue. Precisely because of their artless simplicity they can produce a shattering effect, but they could hardly even claim to be a frank and public discussion of conditions in the Mosel region.

If then an individual or even a considerable part of a population falls victim to a striking and terrifying misfortune and no one discusses this calamity, if no one treats it as a phenomenon *worthy*

[a] One ohm is about 100-150 litres.— *Ed.*

*of being thought about and discussed,* the unfortunate victims are bound to conclude either that the others are not *allowed* to speak about it, or that they do not *want* to do so because they consider the importance attached to the matter illusory. Even for the most uneducated vine-grower, however, the recognition of his misfortune by others, this spiritual participation in it, is an urgent need, if only because he can conclude that when all give thought to it and many speak of it, soon some will do something about it. Even if a free and open discussion of the Mosel conditions had been permitted, no such discussion *took place,* and it is clear that people believe only in what *actually exists*; they do not believe in a free press which might exist, but only in a free press that actually exists. The Mosel inhabitants, of course, had felt their distress *before* the appearance of the royal Cabinet Order, and indeed had heard doubts expressed about this distress, only they did not see any discussion of it by a public and frank press. *After* the appearance of the Cabinet Order, on the other hand, they saw such a press spring up, as it were, out of nothing. Thus their conclusion that the royal Cabinet Order was the *sole* cause of this movement of the press, in which, for the reasons mentioned above, they took such an exceptional interest, owing directly to their *actual* need, this conclusion seems to have been at least a very popular one. Finally, it seems that, apart from the popularity of this opinion, a critical examination would lead also to the same result. The introduction to the censorship instruction of December 24, 1841, states:

"*His Majesty the King* has been pleased to *disapprove expressly* of any undue constraint on the activity of writers and, *recognising the value and need* of frank and decent publicity ... etc."

This introductory statement assures the press of a special *royal* recognition, hence a recognition of its *state significance.* That a *single* word from the King could have such an important effect and was welcomed by the Mosel inhabitants as a word of magical power, as a panacea against all their tribulations, seems only to testify to the genuinely royalist disposition of the Mosel population and to their thankfulness expressed in no niggardly fashion, but in overflowing measure.

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 20, January 20, 1843]

As regards 3. We have tried to show that the *need* for a free press *necessarily* arose from the *specific character* of the conditions in the Mosel region. We have shown further that prior to the appearance of the royal Cabinet Order this need could not be satisfied, if not because of *special* constraints imposed on the press,

at any rate owing to the *general state of the Prussian daily press.* Lastly we shall show that *as a matter of fact special* circumstances have been hostile to a frank and public discussion of conditions in the Mosel region. Here, too, we must in the first place stress the point of view by which we have been guided in our exposition and recognise the powerful influence of general *conditions* on the *will* of the acting persons. In the *special* circumstances which prevented a frank and public discussion of the state of affairs in the Mosel region we ought not to see anything but the *factual embodiment* and *obvious manifestation* of the above-mentioned *general* conditions, namely, the *specific* position of the administration in regard to the Mosel region, the general state of the daily press and of public opinion, and, finally, the prevailing political spirit and its system. If these conditions were, as seems to be the case, the *general, invisible* and *compelling* forces of that period, it hardly needs to be shown that they had to take effect as *such,* and were bound to be manifested in facts and *expressed* in separate actions which had the *semblance* of being arbitrary. Anyone who abandons this objective standpoint falls victim to one-sided, bitter feelings against individual personalities in whom he sees embodied all the harshness of the contemporary conditions confronting him.

Among the *special* obstacles to the press we must include not only individual *difficulties due to censorship,* but equally the *special circumstances* which made censorship itself superfluous because they did not allow the object of censorship to come into being at all, even tentatively. When the censorship comes into obvious, persistent and sharp conflict with the press, it can be concluded with a fair certainty that the press has achieved vitality, character and self-assurance, for only a perceptible action produces a perceptible reaction. When, on the other hand, there is no censorship because there is no press, although the need for a free and therefore *censurable* press exists, one must expect to find a *pre-censorship* in circumstances which have suppressed by fear the expression of thought even in its more unpretentious forms.

We cannot aim at giving a full description of these *special circumstances* even in an approximate form. It would mean describing the whole history of the period since 1830 insofar as it concerns the Mosel region. We believe we shall have fulfilled our task if we prove that the frank and public word *in all* its *forms*—in *spoken* form, in *written* form, and in *printed* form, print *not yet censored* as well as that already *censored*—has encountered *special* obstacles.

Depression and despondency, which in any case shatter the moral strength required by a distressed population for public and

frank discussion, were especially aroused by the court sentences imposed "*for insult to an official in the performance of his duty or in connection with his duty*", which necessarily followed numerous *denunciations*.

This kind of procedure is still fresh in the memory of many Mosel vine-growers. One citizen, particularly liked because of his good nature, jokingly remarked to the maidservant of a *district president*, who the evening before had busily applied himself to the bottle when celebrating the King's birthday in joyful company: "*Your master was a bit tiddly last night.*" For this innocent remark he was *publicly* brought before the police court at Trier, but, as might have been expected, he was *acquitted*.

We have chosen this particular example because a simple conclusion necessarily follows from it. Each *district president* is the *censor* in the chief town of his district. The district president's administration, however, together with that of the official bodies subordinated to him, will provide the principal subject-matter for the *local press*, because it is the latter's immediate concern. If in general it is difficult to be the judge in one's own case, incidents of the kind mentioned above, which testify to a pathologically sensitive notion of the inviolability attaching to an official position, make the mere existence of the *district president's censorship* a sufficient reason for the non-existence of a frank local press.

If, therefore, we see that an ingenuous and innocent *utterance* can lead to an appearance before the police court, a *written* form of free speech, a *petition*, which is still a long way from publicity by the press, has the same police-court result. In the former case, frank speaking is prevented by the inviolability attaching to an *official position*, in the latter case by the inviolability of the *laws of the land*.

Following a "Cabinet Order" of July 6, 1836, which stated, among other things, that the King[a] was sending his son to the Rhine Province to *acquaint himself with the conditions prevailing there*, some cultivators in the Trier administrative district were inspired to request their "deputy to the Provincial Assembly" to draw up a petition to the Crown Prince[b] on their behalf. At the same time they indicated the various items of their complaint. In order to increase the importance of the petition by a larger number of signatures, the deputy to the Provincial Assembly[c] sent to the environs a messenger who obtained the signatures of 160 peasants. The petition read as follows:

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[a] Frederick William III.— *Ed.*

[b] Who became Frederick William IV in 1840.— *Ed.*

[c] Valdenaire.— *Ed.*

"We, the undersigned inhabitants of the circuit ... of the Trier administrative district, being informed that our gracious King is sending us His Royal Highness the Crown Prince to acquaint himself with our position, and in order to spare His Royal Highness the trouble of hearing complaints from a number of separate persons, herewith authorise our deputy to the Provincial Assembly, Herr ..., most humbly to submit to His Royal Highness, His most gracious Majesty's son, the Crown Prince of Prussia, that:

"1. When we are unable to sell our surplus products, especially as regards cattle and *wine*, it is impossible for us to pay the taxes, which in all circumstances are too high; for which reason we desire a considerable reduction of the same, since otherwise we have to give the tax-collectors our goods and chattels, as shown by the attached (it contains an order from a tax-collector to pay 1 reichstaler 25 silver groschen 5 pfennigs).

"2. That His Royal Highness should not judge our situation from the evidence of innumerable, much too highly paid, officials, pensioners, persons with special remuneration, civilian and military personnel, rentiers and industrialists, who, owing to the fall in the price of our products, are able to live in the towns cheaply in a luxury such as is not to be found, on the other hand, in the poor hut of the cultivator, who is overwhelmed by debts, and this contrast arouses his indignation. Whereas previously there were 27 officials receiving 29,000 talers, there are now 63 officials, excluding those on pension, who are paid a total of 105,000 talers.

"3. That our communal officials should be elected, as was previously the case, directly by members of the community.

"4. That the tax offices should not be closed for hours on end during the day, but should be open at all times, so that the cultivator who, through no fault of his own, arrives a few minutes late, does not have to wait five to six hours, even having to freeze all night in the street or stand in the burning sun all day, since the official should always be ready to serve the people.

"5. That the provision in §12 of the law of April 28, 1828, renewed by the official gazette of His Majesty's Government of August 22 last, which makes it a punishable offence to plough within two feet of the ditch at the edge of roads going through cultivated land, should be annulled and the owners allowed to plough their whole land right up to the road ditch, so as to prevent this land from being stolen from them by the highway custodians.

"Your Royal Highness' most humble subjects."

(Signatures follow.)

This petition, which the deputy to the Provincial Assembly wanted to hand personally to the Crown Prince, was accepted by someone else with the express promise that it would be given to His Royal Highness. No reply to it was received, but court proceedings were instituted against the deputy to the Provincial Assembly as the initiator of a petition containing "*insolent, dishonourable accusations against the laws of the province*". As a result of this charge, the deputy to the Provincial Assembly was sentenced in Trier to *six months' imprisonment* with costs. This punishment, however, was amended by the appeal court so that only the part relating to costs was left in force, on the grounds that the conduct

of the accused was not quite free from indiscretion and therefore he was responsible for the case being brought against him. The *contents of the petition itself,* on the other hand, were acknowledged to be not at all *punishable.*

Partly because of the aim of the Crown Prince's journey, and partly because of the official position of the accused as a deputy to the Provincial Assembly, the petition in question was bound to be magnified in the eyes of the whole environs into a specially important and decisive event and to attract public attention in the highest degree. Taking this into account, the consequences cannot be said to have encouraged a public and frank discussion of the conditions in the Mosel region or to have made probable any wishes of the authorities on this subject.

We come now to the real obstacle to the press, to *prohibitions imposed by the censorship.* From what has been said above, it is evident that such prohibitions are bound to be rare, since attempts at a censurable discussion of the Mosel conditions have been a rarity.

The *minutes of a council of elders,* which, besides some eccentric statements, contained also some frank speaking, were not allowed to be printed owing to the censorship exercised by the *district president.* The discussion took place in the *council of elders,* but the *minutes of the council* were drawn up by the burgomaster. His introductory statement was as follows:

> "Gentlemen! The Mosel region between Trier and Koblenz, between the Eifel and the Hundsrücken, is outwardly very poor because it is entirely dependent on viticulture, which has been dealt the *death-blow* by the trade agreements with Germany. The above-mentioned region is also *spiritually* poor", etc.

Finally, yet another fact can be adduced to show that when a public and frank discussion did overcome all the above-mentioned obstacles and *by way of exception* managed to get into the columns of a newspaper, it was treated as an *exception* and subsequently suppressed. Several years ago an article by Herr *Kaufmann, professor of cameralistics* at Bonn University, "on the distressed state of the vine-growers in the Mosel region, etc." was printed in the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung.* After three months, during which it had been reprinted in various newspapers, it was *banned* by order of the government and the ban is still in force.

I think I have now sufficiently replied to the question of the attitude of the Mosel region to the Cabinet Order of December 10, to the *censorship instruction* of December 24 based on this order, and to the subsequent freer movement of the press. It only remains for me to substantiate my assertion: "For a long time the

desperate state of the vine-growers was doubted in higher quarters, and their cry of distress was regarded as an insolent shrieking." The statement in question can be divided into two parts: "For a long time the desperate state of the vine-growers was doubted in higher quarters" and "Their cry of distress was regarded as an insolent shrieking".

The first proposition, I think, requires no further proof. The second one: "Their cry of distress was regarded as an insolent shrieking", cannot be deduced directly from the first, as the Herr Oberpräsident does by giving it the form: "Their cry of distress was regarded in *higher quarters* as an isolent shrieking." Incidentally, this interpolation, too, holds good, insofar as "*higher* quarters" and "*official* quarters" can be taken as equivalent in meaning.

That one could speak of a "*cry of distress*" of the vine-growers, not in a *metaphorical* sense, but in the *strict* sense of the word, is evident from the information we have given above. That, on the one hand, this cry of distress was declared to be without justification and the description of the distress itself regarded as a glaring exaggeration prompted by bad, selfish motives; and that, on the other hand, the complaint and the petition of those suffering distress were regarded as "*insolent*, dishonourable accusations against the laws of the province"—these propositions have been proved by a *government report* and *criminal proceedings*. That, furthermore, an excessive outcry, which does not correspond to the true state of affairs and is exaggerated from bad motives, involving *insolent* accusations against the laws of the province—that such an *outcry* is identical with a "shrieking", and indeed an "insolent shrieking", cannot at least be regarded as a far-fetched or *dishonest* assertion. That finally, therefore, one side of the identity can be put in place of the other seems simply to follow as a logical consequence.

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Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time

# [POLEMICAL ARTICLES AGAINST THE *ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG*[131]]

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 3, January 3, 1843]

The *lady of Augsburg* has reached the stage when the fair sex itself no longer dares to *simulate youth*, and now has no more terrible accusation to make against her sisters than that of youth. In No. 360, however, the worthy Sibyl's means of estimating age has surprisingly misled her. She speaks about a *cooling* off of the "youthful ardour" of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in connection with a correspondent who happens to be a *sexagenarian* and could hardly have expected to find a testimonial to his youth in the columns of the Augsburg *Allg. Zeitung*. But that is what happens! Freedom is sometimes too old, sometimes too young; it is never on the order of the day, at any rate not on that of the Augsburg *Allg. Ztg.*, which is more and more emphatically rumoured to be published in *Augsburg*.

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 12, January 12, 1843]

If the editorial board of the *Rheinische Zeitung* desired to add to the above correspondence a postscript in the manner of the *Allg. A. Ztg.*, since she was so kind as to recognise the ensign *Pistol* in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, we could only give her a choice between *Doll Tearsheet* and *Mistress Quickly*. Her *manly* confession of faith, however, we would expect from the friend of those ladies, from *Falstaff*:

"Honour pricks me on. Yea, but how if honour pricks me off when I come on? how then? Can honour set to a leg? No. Or an arm? No. Or take away the grief of a wound? No. Honour hath no skill in surgery then? No. What is honour? A word. What is in that word honour? What is that honour? Air. A trim reckoning! Who hath it? He that died a Wednesday. Doth he feel it? No. Doth he hear it? No. Is it insensible then? Yea, to the dead. But will it not live with the living? No. Why? *Detraction* will not suffer it:—therefore I'll none of it. Honour is a mere scutcheon, and so ends my catechism."[a]

[a] W. Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, Part One, Act V, Scene 1.—*Ed.*

Thus, too, ends the political catechism of the Augsburg *A. Z.*; thus she reminds the press that one could lose arm and leg in *critical* times, thus she detracts from honour, because she has renounced any honour which could be detracted from.

The Augsburg *A. Z.* promised to engage us in a fight over principles and she has kept her promise. She has used *no* principles, hence *her* principles, against us in the struggle. Now and again she has assured us of her indignation, cast petty suspicions, attempted minor corrections, made a big show of small performance, and laid claim to superiority of age. In regard to this last point, to her title of *veteran*, we could say what M. Dézamy says to M. Cabet:

"Que monsieur Cabet ait bon courage: avec tant de titres, il ne peut manquer d'obtenir bientôt ses *invalides*!"[a]

Madame Augsburg survives because of a mistake in calculation, an anachronism. *Form*, the only thing she possessed in earlier days, even form, the *parfum littéraire*, she has lost. It has been replaced by a philistine, diffuse and arrogant formlessness, and no one is likely to regard the platitude of "Herr Puff" and the simile of "the bullfrog that tried to blow itself up into an ox" as elegant because he finds the same sort of thing in the Augsburg *A. Z.*

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[a] "Let Monsieur Cabet take heart; with so many titles, he cannot fail to obtain his *disability pension* soon!" Th. Dézamy, *Calomnies et politique de M. Cabet*, p. 7, note.— *Ed.*

# MARGINAL NOTES TO THE ACCUSATIONS OF THE MINISTERIAL RESCRIPT[132]

## I

"From the outset, it" (the *Rheinische Zeitung*)"pursued such a *reprehensible* course" etc. "Unmistakably," it is stated, "the intention continued to prevail in the newspaper to attack the basis of the state constitution, to develop theories which aim at undermining the monarchical principle, to maliciously cast suspicion on the actions of the government in the eyes of the public, to incite some estates of the nation against others, to arouse dissatisfaction with the existing legal conditions, and to promote very hostile trends against friendly powers. Its views on alleged defects of administration, apart from the fact that they were mostly without foundation and largely devoid of thoroughness and expert knowledge, were not couched in a serious, calm and dignified tone, but marked by malicious hostility towards the state and its administrative forms and organs."

It is obvious that a trend does not become *reprehensible* merely because the government declares it to be so. Even the *Copernican system of the universe* was not only found reprehensible by the supreme authority of the time, but was actually condemned. Furthermore, it is everywhere the law that the *accuser* should provide the proof. Finally, there is attributed to the *Rheinische Zeitung* the "*unmistakable* intention" of committing the crimes laid to its charge. But an intention only becomes *recognisable,* and the more so *unmistakable,* when it has been realised in *acts.*

But if even for a moment we were to concede (what, however, we expressly deny) that all the accusations of the ministerial rescript were well founded, the result nevertheless would be that in their present indefinite and ambiguous formulation they would provide just as much and just as little reason for a ban on *any* newspaper *whatever* as for a ban on the *Rheinische Zeitung.*

First of all, it is said that there prevailed in the *Rheinische Zeitung* "the unmistakable intention to attack the basis of the state constitution". It is well known, however, that there unmistakably prevails a great diversity of opinion on the Prussian constitution

and its basis. Some deny that the basis has any constitution, others that the constitution has any basis.

One view is held by Stein, Hardenberg, Schön, another one by Rochow, Arnim, and Eichhorn. Hegel in his day believed that he had laid the basis for the Prussian constitution in his philosophy of law, and the government and the German public concurred in this belief. One way by which the government proved this was the official dissemination of his writings; the public, however, did so by accusing him of being the philosopher of the Prussian state, as one can read in the old Leipzig conversational dictionary.[133] What Hegel believed at that time, Stahl believes today. In 1831, by a special order of the government, Hegel lectured on the philosophy of law.

In 1830, the *Staats-Zeitung* declared that Prussia was a monarchy surrounded by republican institutions. Today it says Prussia is a monarchy surrounded by Christian institutions.

In view of this great diversity of opinion on the Prussian constitution and its basis, it seems natural that the *Rh. Z.* also should have *its* opinion, which of course may differ from the current view of the government, but which nevertheless can quote in its favour both Prussian history and many elements of the present-day life of the state as definitively highly placed authorities.

Far from intending to attack the basis of the Prussian constitution, therefore, the *Rh. Z.*, on the contrary, was convinced that it was attacking only deviations from this basis.

In regard to the banning of the *Rh. Z.*, an official article in the *Allgemeine Königsberger Zeitung* described Prussia as a state of liberal sovereignty.[134] This is a definition which is not to be found in Prussian law and allows of all possible interpretations.

"Liberal sovereignty" can be understood in two ways: either that freedom is merely the *personal* frame of mind of the King, and therefore his personal quality, or that freedom is the spirit of sovereignty, and is therefore realised, or at least should be realised, also through free institutions and laws. In the former case we have a *despotisme éclairé*,[a] and the *person* of the prince is contrasted to the state as a whole as to a mindless and unfree material. In the latter case, and this was the view of the *Rh. Z.*, one does not confine the prince within the bounds of his personality, but regards the whole state as his body, so that the institutions are the organs in which he lives and acts, and the laws are the eyes by which he sees.

Further it is said to have been the intention of the *Rh. Z.* "to develop theories which aim at undermining the monarchical principle".

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[a] Enlightened despotism.— *Ed.*

Once again, the question arises: What is to be understood by the "monarchical principle"? The *Rh. Z.*, for instance, maintained that the predominance of distinctions between the estates, one-sided bureaucracy, censorship, etc., contradicted the monarchical principle, and it has always tried to *prove* its assertions, and has not put them forward as mere ideas. In general, however, the *Rh. Z.* has never given special preference to a *special form of state.* It was concerned for a *moral and rational commonweal*; it regarded the demands of such a commonweal as demands which would have to be realised and could be realised under *every* form of state. Hence it did not treat the *monarchical principle* as a principle *apart*; it treated monarchy rather as the realisation of the state principle in general. If this was an error, it was not an error of underestimation, but of overestimation.

Further, the *Rh. Z.* has never tried maliciously to cast suspicion on the actions of the government in the eyes of the public. On the contrary, it is out of goodwill that it has tried to cast suspicion on those measures of the government itself that are contrary to the spirit of the people. Furthermore, it has never abstractly counterposed the government to the people; on the contrary, it has considered defects of the state to be just as much defects of the people as of the government.

As far as thoroughness and expert knowledge are concerned, as also the tone of the *Rh. Z.*, at least not a single newspaper in Germany has shown more thoroughness or expert knowledge. As for its tone, it is truly serious, calm and dignified, compared with the rowdy tone of the servile (conservative)[a] journals. In this respect, the *Rh. Z.* has been accused, not unjustly, of *unpopularity*, of being too *scientific* in its form, which directly contradicts the ministry's accusation.

No more has the *Rh. Z.* tried to incite some estates of the nation against others; on the contrary, it has tried to incite every estate against its own egoism and limitations, it has everywhere brought civic reason to bear against estate unreason, and human love against estate hatred. Moreover, if it has sinned in this respect, it has only committed a sin that is sanctioned by the law and usage of the Rhine Province.

The reproach of having wanted to "arouse dissatisfaction with the existing legal conditions" cannot in this indefinite formulation even be regarded as a reproach.

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[a] "(conservative)" has been inserted above the word "servile" in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

Even the government has tried to arouse dissatisfaction with the existing legal conditions, for example with the old Prussian marriage situation. All reform and revision of the law, all progress, rests on such dissatisfaction.

Since legal development is not possible without development of the laws, and since development of the laws is impossible without criticism of them, and since every criticism of the laws sets the mind and therefore also the heart of the citizen at variance with the existing laws, and since this variance is experienced as dissatisfaction, it follows that a loyal participation of the press in the development of the state is impossible if it is not permitted to arouse dissatisfaction with the existing legal conditions.

The reproach that the *Rh. Z.* persecutes loyal organs by unworthy ridicule, which is obviously intended to refer to the newspaper controversy, cannot provide grounds for a ban. From all sides, the *Rh. Z.* has been denounced, has had mud cast at it, and been attacked. It was its duty to defend itself. Moreover, there is no *official* press.

The *Rh. Z.* has not insulted *foreign* powers,[135] but has only condemned their insults against Germany. In this respect it has merely pursued a *national* policy. As far as the states of the German Confederation are concerned, it has only expressed the view of the majority of the representatives of the people in these states.

As regards religion, the newspaper has treated it in accordance with Article II of the 1819 censorship decree, that is to say, it has opposed religious truths being fanatically transplanted into politics and the confusion of ideas[136] arising therefrom.

## II

If the *Rh. Z.* had wanted to promote systematic opposition to the government, it would have had to employ entirely *opposite tactics.*

It would have flattered the prejudices of the Rhine Province, instead of opposing them. Above all, it would have paid homage to its *religious prejudices* and have exploited the antithesis between North-German and South-German culture after the manner of the ultramontane,[137] instead of introducing North-German culture in the Rhine Province.

It would have based itself on French, and not German, theories.

It would have put forward the provincial spirit with its special limitations in opposition to the idea of state unity; hence, like Görres,[138] it would above all have taken the provincial assemblies under its protection.

It would have considered that all that was good came from the estates while all that was bad came from the government, as ordinary liberalism does. In its criticism of the Rhine estates it would not have laid stress on the general wisdom of the government in contrast to the private egoism of the estates,[139] as it has done in contrast to many Rhine[a] liberals. Lastly, it would have joined in the chorus of other newspapers and demanded extended rights for the commissions, instead of describing such a demand as contrary to the interests of the state.

## III

Finally, it is strangely exaggerating to speak of the *malice* of the *whole tendency*, since in that case

1. the fight for the Customs Union,
2. for Prussia in the matter of the Russian cartel,[140]
3. for Prussian hegemony,
4. the constant reference to Prussia as the progressive state,
5. the praise of Prussian popular institutions, such as the army, administration, etc.,

would likewise be ill-intentioned.

Neither has the *Rh. Z.* one-sidedly opposed the bureaucracy. On the contrary, it has brought the influence of the latter to bear:

1. against Bülow-Cummerow,
2. against the romantic trend.

On the contrary, it was the only *liberal* newspaper which recognised also the good aspect of the bureaucracy, as well as the good aspect of the old Prussian legislation.

Thus, the *Rh. Z.* alone has defended the main principle of the new divorce law, in contradiction to almost all other newspapers.

Thus, lastly, it was the first and almost the sole newspaper to welcome the Cabinet Order on *corrections*[b] as a progressive step.[141]

We cite these examples only to prove that the *Rh. Z.* has not conducted a *systematic*, abstract opposition, but has always asserted only what it was convinced was rational, from whatever side it proceeded.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 280-81.— *Ed.*

[b] Corrected by Marx from "Prussian".— *Ed.*

# THE LOCAL ELECTION OF DEPUTIES TO THE PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY

*Cologne,* March 9. The *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung*, which is so modest as to be neither "the most widely read newspaper of the Rhine Province" nor an "exponent of political thought", remarks in connection with the election of deputies from the city of Cologne,[142] *inter alia:*

"We are quite ready to regard Herr *Merkens* and Herr *Camphausen* as very *honourable* men" ("so are they all, all honourable men",[a] as it is said in the tragedy) "and even" (just think of it!) "*even* to bestow applause on the *Rheinische Zeitung*" (a most valuable gift!) "when it triumphantly counterposes these men to the opponents of the rights of our province. But we must all the more sharply and resolutely condemn the *reasons* for which an attempt has been made to exert an influence on the election of these men, not because these reasons are undeserving of *any* consideration, but because they deserve no such *exclusive* consideration, but *only* a secondary one."

The fact is that the following lithographed circular had been distributed to *various* electors of Cologne city:

"What the city of Cologne has to represent first and most importantly in the forthcoming Provincial Assembly is indisputably the conditions of its trade and industry. Hence the choice must fall on men who, besides being of an honourable disposition and occupying an independent civic position among us, are closely acquainted with the course of these relations in all respects and are able to grasp, illuminate and expound them from the correct standpoint."

Then follows the reference to the above-mentioned, certainly very honourable men. After which the circular states in conclusion:

"Our city already today occupies a powerful position in the commercial world. But a still greater extension of its trade and industry is in store for it, and the time for this development is not far distant. Shipping by sail, steam, towage, and the railways, will bring back to our city the period of the old Hansa, only its true interest must be represented with understanding and circumspection in the forthcoming Provincial Assembly.

"*Cologne,* Feb. 24.

*A number of electors*"

This circular elicited the following Capuchin's tirade from the extremely witty *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung*:

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[a] W. Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar,* Act 3, Scene 2.—*Ed.*

"If anywhere material local interests prevail to such an extent that there is not even a faint glimmering of spiritual and general needs, is it any wonder that those who hold the reins of government in their hands pay attention only to the former, and the latter are ordered only according to their discretion? O you great city of Cologne, you holy city of Cologne, you witty city of Cologne, what a low point the spiritual state and historical recollections of many of your children have reached! By the realisation of wishes and hopes that could at most make you into a big money-bag, they dream of bringing back the period of the old Hansa!!!"

The *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* does not find fault with the election of the deputies; it finds fault with the *reasons* which are said to have "exerted an influence" on the election. And what were these reasons? The newspaper quotes *one* circular addressed to *various* electors, in which the "conditions of trade and industry" are described as the most important objects of Cologne's representation in the forthcoming Provincial Assembly. How does the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* know that this circular, which incidentally, as the newspaper itself admits, reached only "various" electors, exerted such an effect on the minds of the electors that it primarily and exclusively decided the election of Herr Merkens and Herr Camphausen? Because the election of these gentlemen is recommended in a circular for quite *special* reasons, and because in fact these gentlemen were elected, does it in any way follow that their election is a result of that recommendation and its special motivation?

The *Rhein- und Mosel-Ztg.* bestows applause on the *Rheinische Zeitung* when it "triumphantly counterposes these men" (Herr Camphausen and Herr Merkens) "to the opponents of the rights of our province". What moves it to this "bestowal of applause"? Obviously the character of those elected. Is this character supposed to have been less well known in Cologne than in Koblenz? [143] Among the interests to be represented in the Provincial Assembly, the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* mentions *only* a "*freer political system of local government*" and an "*extension of the rights of the estates*". Does it think that it is not known in Cologne that Herr Merkens has distinguished himself in various provincial assemblies by his struggle for a "free political system of local government", and that in one Provincial Assembly he even defended this courageously and indefatigably in opposition to almost the entire Assembly? But in regard to "the extension of the interests of the estates" it is very well known in Cologne that Herr Merkens has primarily protested against the narrowing of these interests by autonomy, that nevertheless he stood just as resolutely for the interests of the estates being kept within their proper bounds when they opposed the general interest, general law and reason, as in the debates on the law on wood thefts and hunting.[a] If, therefore, the general

[a] See this volume, pp. 224-62.— *Ed.*

qualification of Herr Merkens to be a deputy to the Provincial Assembly is established beyond all doubt by his whole parliamentary career, if Herr Camphausen's exceptional, universal culture, high intelligence and serious honourable character are generally known and recognised, how does the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* know that the election of these gentlemen is due not to these obvious reasons, but rather to the above-quoted circular?

No! No! the honourable newspaper will reply to us, that is not what I maintain, not all! My delicate spiritual cast of mind is merely offended by the *originators* of that circular, by those materialists who have laid stress not on the spiritual and true interests of the people, but on other and much lower motives, and who for improper reasons have sought to exert an influence on the election of those men and on those "children of Cologne" whose "spiritual state and historical recollections" have sunk so low!

If the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* is only concerned about the *originators* of that anonymous document, why does it raise such an outcry? Why does it say:

> "If *anywhere* material local interests *prevail* to such an extent that *there is not even a faint glimmering of spiritual and general needs,* is it any wonder that those who hold the reins of government in their hands pay attention only to the former, and the latter are ordered only according to their discretion?"

Do then material local interests prevail exclusively in Cologne because they prevail exclusively in an anonymous circular? No more than *juristic* interests prevail exclusively in Cologne because these interests are exclusively asserted in another circular which likewise reached *various* electors! Are not *dull* children to be found in every town as in every family? Would it be fair to judge the character of a town or a family from these children?

Closer examination, however, shows that the circular is in fact not so bad as the honourable *Koblenz* newspaper wants to make us believe. It is even completely justified by the function of the provincial estates as fixed by law. Their legal function consists partly in asserting the *general interest of the province,* and partly in asserting *their special estate interests.* That Herr Camphausen and Herr Merkens are worthy representatives of *Rhenish provincial interests* is a general conviction that did not need to be confirmed or even so much as mentioned by the originators of the circular.

Since the *general* qualification of these gentlemen as deputies to the Provincial Assembly was above all discussion, the question therefore concerned only the special requirements of *a Cologne* deputy. The question was what *city interests* Cologne should "first and most importantly" represent in the "*forthcoming Provincial Assembly*"! Would anyone want to deny that these are the "conditions of trade and industry"? But neither would the simple denial suffice; *proof* would have to be given.

The *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* particularly objects to the passage:

"Shipping by sail, steam, towage, and the railways, will bring back to our city the *period of the old Hansa.*"

Oh, woe to the poor city of Cologne! How it is deceived! How it deceives itself! "By the realisation of wishes and hopes," moans the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung,* "that could at most make you into a big *money-bag,* they dream of bringing back the period of the old Hansa!"

Poor *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung*! It does not understand that the phrase "period of the old Hansa" is intended to mean only the period of the old flourishing of trade, that in reality the death-knell would have to sound for "all *spiritual* and *general* needs", that "spiritual state" would have to be totally *deranged,* and that all "historical recollections" would have to be quite blotted out if Cologne wanted to bring back the political, social and intellectual period of the Hansa towns, the period of the *Middle Ages*! Would the government not have to make "spiritual and general needs" exclusively its private domain if a town were to have so completely estranged itself from all rational and healthy awareness of the present time as to live only in a dream of the past! Would it not be even the duty of the government, its duty of self-preservation, to tighten its hold on the reins if the attempt was made in all seriousness to blow sky-high the whole present and future in order to bring back *obsolete and decayed conditions.*

We want to tell our readers the plain truth. There took place in Cologne—and that is the clearest testimony to its political vitality—a serious *election struggle,* a struggle between the men of the present and the men of the past. The men of the past, the men who would like to see the "period of the old Hansa towns" restored *in its entirety,* have been driven from the field despite all machinations. And now along come these fantastic materialists, for whom every steamship and every railway should have demonstrated *ad oculos* their utter lack of sense, and talk hypocritically of "spiritual state" and "historical recollections", and lament by the waters of Babylon over "the great city of Cologne, the holy city of Cologne, the witty city of Cologne"—and it is to be hoped that their tears will not dry up so soon!

Written in March 1843

First published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 68, March 9, 1843

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# THE *RHEIN- UND MOSEL-ZEITUNG* AS GRAND INQUISITOR

*Cologne,* March 11. A few days ago the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* published a bull of excommunication against the pious *Kölnische Zeitung*. Today the *Trier'sche Zeitung* stands before the court of inquisition in Koblenz, and rightly so.

For, in connection with Friedrich von Sallet, the *Trier'sche Zeitung* says among other things[144]:

"We have before us his book, the *Laien-Evangelium, which without falsification reveals for us the holy, eternal truths of the gospel.*" "He" (Sallet) "endeavoured to be a man in the highest sense, following the example given by Jesus, and, *as the true champion of the Lord, revealed eternal truth.*"

"Anyone who reads that," says the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung*, "and knows nothing more about this man who is given such high praise, would he not believe that Herr von Sallet must have been a faithful Christian and in his *Laien-Evangelium* must have preached the Lord's word with fiery zeal? But what in truth is the content of this gospel? It is that false and pernicious doctrine which a Strauss, a Feuerbach, a Bruno Bauer, and all the apostles of modern paganism, whatever their names are, expound in lecture-rooms and in their writings for a narrow circle of learned people and so on."

As an authentic proof of its assertion, the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* quotes

"*a* passage from this *Laien-Evangelium,* namely, that in which a parallel is drawn between the traitor Judas and the Christ of the gospels, i.e., Christ as depicted in the Bible".

The proofs cited strikingly demonstrate Sallet's attitude of deliberate opposition to *historical* Christianity.

A mistaken feeling of humanity may be offended by the ruthless polemic of the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* against a man who has only just died, but is not the apologia of the *Trier'sche Zeitung*

more inhuman, and equally offensive? Do I honour the deceased by giving a *false* account of his spiritual personality? Sallet indeed endeavoured to reveal truth, but by no means the truth of the gospel. Sallet certainly endeavoured to be a *true* human being, but by no means a champion of ecclesiastical truth.

On the contrary, Sallet believed that he could make rational truth effective only in opposition to holy truth, and that he could make the moral human being effective only in opposition to the Christian human being, and that is why he wrote his *Laien-Evangelium.* And what happened? Did the *Trier'sche Zeitung*'s apologist honour the man when he turned all his efforts upside down? Would it be an honour for Luther if one said he was a good Catholic, or for Pope Ganganelli if one called him a Maecenas for the Jesuits? What hypocrisy! What weakness! Sallet was a republican; can you be his friend if you make a great show of declaring his royalism? Sallet loved truth above all; do you believe there is no better way to pay homage to him than by an untruth? Or are Christianity and friendship at odds in your person? All right! Admit it then, and say: Sallet was a good man, etc., but a bad *Christian*! Deplore that, if you like, deplore it publicly, but do not pretend that his works are an illuminating testimony to his Christianity. If you *condemn* what your friend strove for, then condemn it *sans-gêne* as the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* does, but not in a hypocritical, devious way, not by praising him for being what he was *not*, and therefore rejecting precisely what he *really* was.

Even if we admit that the *Laien-Evangelium* itself could give rise to such a conception, that Sallet *here* has by no means got things clear in his own mind, that he himself *believes* he is teaching the true meaning of the gospel, and that it is easy to counterpose quite Christian-sounding contradictory excerpts to the quotation given by the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung*, that newspaper is still correct in claiming that he puts forward a *self-made* Christianity instead of *historical* Christianity.

Finally, a few words more on the passages quoted by the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung*! They suffer from a fundamental defect, that of being *unpoetical.* And what an altogether mistaken idea it is to want to treat theological controversies poetically! Has it ever occurred to a composer to set dogma to music?

Leaving aside this heresy against art, what is the content of the passage quoted? *Sallet* finds it *incompatible* with the divinity of Christ that Christ knows the treacherous intention of Judas and does not attempt to reform him or to frustrate the crime. Hence Sallet exclaims (as cited by the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung*):

Woe to whoever—in dazzled delusion!—
Contrived to invent such traits of the Lord,
And caricatured him to let him retain
This morsel of knowledge of man's human nature.[a]

Sallet's verdict testifies to the fact that he was neither a *theologian* nor a *philosopher*. As a *theologian* he could not have been disturbed by the contradiction with *human* reason and morality, for the theologian does not judge the gospel by human reason and morality; on the contrary, he judges these by the gospel. On the other hand, as a *philosopher* he would have regarded such contradictions in the *nature of religious thought* as well founded, and therefore he would have conceived the contradiction as a *necessary product* of the Christian outlook and would by no means have condemned it as a *falsification of the latter*.

May the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* vigorously continue its work of faith and clothe all and sundry Rhenish newspapers in the sanbenito.[145] We shall see whether the *half-and-half*, lukewarm ones, who are neither hot nor cold, will get on better with the *terrorism of faith* than with the *terrorism of reason*.

Written on March 11, 1843

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[a] F. von Sallet, *Laien-Evangelium*, S. 442.—*Ed.*

# STYLISTIC EXERCISES OF THE *RHEIN- UND MOSEL-ZEITUNG*

*Cologne,* March 13. The *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* has replied today [146] to our article of March 9 on the deputies to the Provincial Assembly.[a] We do not want to hold back from our readers some samples of this masterpiece of *style.* Among other delicacies is the following:

"Thus in far-reaching strokes, not it is true with a halberd, but with its *accustomed cudgel,* the *Rhein. Ztg.* has let fly at a spectre" (Just think! *An accustomed cudgel! To let fly in strokes with a cudgel!*) "which it believed it perceived in an article of the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung,* and as is self-evident" (what a luxury, to expend words on things that are self-evident!) "all its strokes fell wide" (*fell wide!* wide of the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung,* perhaps on its editor!), "and the *attacked*" (the spectre was indeed only attacked!) "newspaper finds itself quite unhurt and intact."

What generous logic, which does not leave to the sagacity of its readers even the conclusion that strokes which fell *wide* of the attacked newspaper did not fall *on* the attacked newspaper! What luxury of understanding, what a thoroughgoing narration! Only it should be mentioned how interesting it must have seemed to the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* to proclaim that its back was intact. How the imagination of the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* is preoccupied with its splendid idea of the "spectre" and the *Rhein. Ztg.* letting fly at it, and of the cudgel-blows that fell wide, can be demonstrated by the following variations, as ingenious as they are surprising, on this superlative theme. In enumerating them, we will not fail to call attention to their fine nuances and shades. Thus:

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[a] See this volume, pp. 366-69.— *Ed.*

1. "In far-reaching strokes with its accustomed cudgel, the *Rhein. Ztg.* of March 9 has thus let fly at a *spectre* which it believed it perceived in an article of the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung*, and as is self-evident all its strokes fell wide."

2. "But the article which made the *Rhein. Ztg.* a *spirit-seer* (previously the spirit was a spectre, and since when could the *Rhein. Ztg.* have detected any *spirit* in the obscure ultramontane paper?) "and consequently a heroine fighting a *shadow*."

So this time the shadow of the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* at least is said to have been hit!

3. "The *Rhein. Ztg.*, however, which is *certainly* aware *also* that in respect of everything *substantial*, true and *solid*" (the *back* of the *Rhein- und Mosel Zeitung*?) "its powers become a laughing-stock" (and what spiritual power would not become a laughing-stock in respect of a back?), "and which *nevertheless for once* wants to show that it has *horns*" (the "accustomed cudgel" has mysteriously turned into "horns") "and can butt" (previously, let fly in far-reaching strokes), "has *thought up*" (previously "seen" or *"believed it has seen"*) "a spectre which it would like to have regarded as the real spirit of our article" (a repetition to remind the reader of the facts of the matter!), "and against which it vents its anger to its heart's content and tests its strength" (a clever rhetorical performance), "just as in a bull-baiting the *baited beast*" (somewhat earlier the *Rh. Ztg.* was "the man with the cudgel", so surely the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* is the "beast") "vents its anger on a straw figure thrown to it, and *considers* itself the victor when it has torn it to pieces."

It is truly Homeric! Just think of its epic amplitude. And how Aesopian, too, this profound insight into animal psychology! This subtle interpretation of the mental state of a bull that *considers* itself the victor!

It would be "very childish and ingenuous" and no less "insipid and trivial" to want to discuss the subject itself with such an "eminent publicist". Therefore we shall only add the following for a characterisation of the man.

In its article which was so unfortunately attacked, the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung "merely"* expressed "doubt" "whether the attainment of their" (i.e., of the originators of the circular on the election of Herr Camphausen and Herr Merkens) "hopes *would really bring back the period of the old Hansa*", but there was in its "article *no* talk" of "a *return* to obsolete and decayed conditions". Let him who can, understand that!

Further:

The *Rhein. Ztg.* tried to "put forward an obvious *lie* in saying: 'Among the interests to be represented in the Provincial Assembly, the *Rhein- und Mosel-Ztg. mentions only* a freer political system of local government and an extension of the rights of the estates' whereas one can read in the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* the addition: *'the disclosure of so many other undecided questions in the development of the people's life'*."

Has then the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* formulated or even *mentioned* a single one of these "undecided questions"? Does it

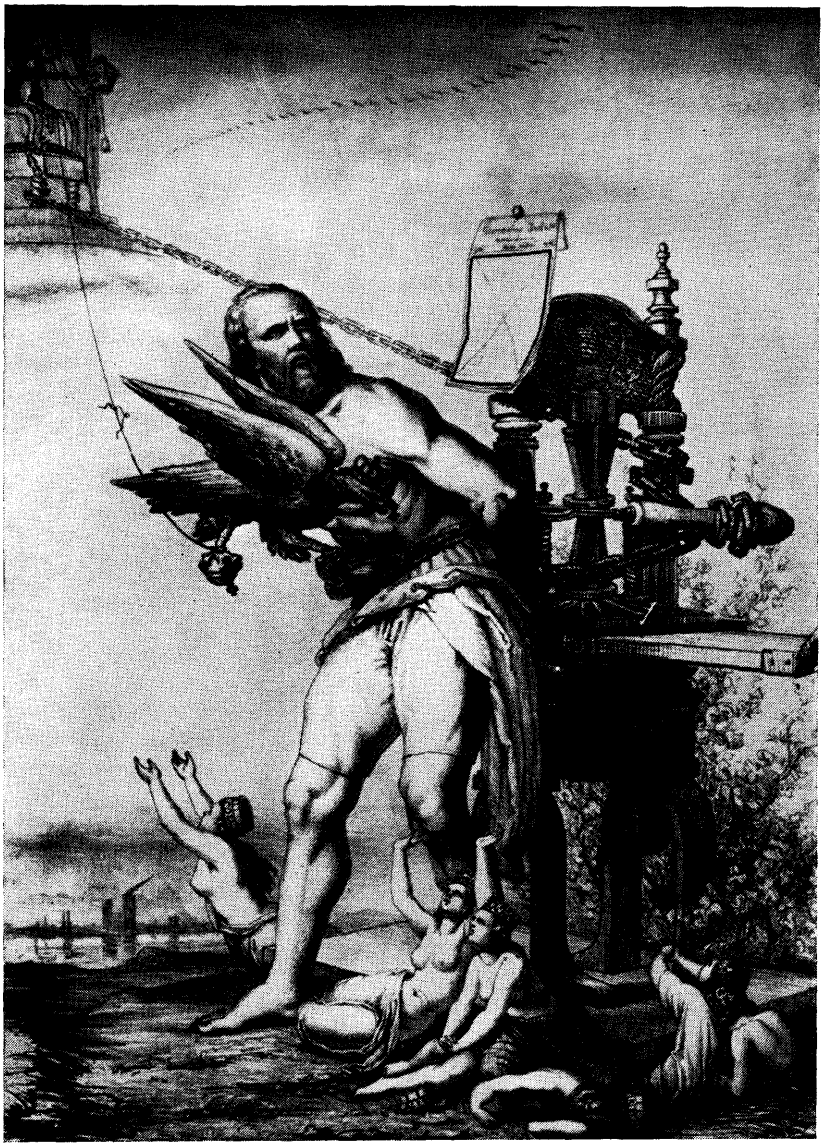

Prometheus Bound. Allegory on the prohibition of the *Rheinische Zeitung*

# ANNOUNCEMENT[147]

The undersigned declares that, owing to the *present conditions of censorship*, he has retired as from today from the editorial board of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.

Cologne, March 17, 1843

*Dr. Marx*

First published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 77, March 18, 1843

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# LETTERS

## April 1841-March 1843

# 1 8 4 1

## 1

## TO CARL FRIEDRICH BACHMANN

IN JENA

*Berlin, Schützenstrasse* 68
April 6, 1841

Dear Sir,

I send you herewith a dissertation for a doctor's degree on the difference between the natural philosophy of Democritus and the natural philosophy of Epicurus,[a] and enclose the *litterae petitoriae*,[b] *curriculum vitae*, my leaving certificates from the universities of Bonn and Berlin, and, finally, the legal fees of twelve friedrichsdors. At the same time, in the event of my work being found satisfactory by the faculty, I humbly beg you to hasten as much as possible the conferring of the doctor's degree[148] since, on the one hand, I can only remain a few weeks longer in Berlin and, on the other hand, external circumstances make it highly desirable for me to obtain the doctor's degree before my departure.

I should like the leaving certificates to be returned, as they are originals.

I remain, Sir, with great respect,

Your most devoted servant,

*Karl Heinrich Marx*

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[a] See this volume, pp. 25-105.— *Ed.*

[b] Application form.— *Ed.*

## 2

## TO OSCAR LUDWIG BERNHARD WOLFF

IN JENA

Berlin, April 7 [1841]
Schützenstrasse 68

Dear Herr Professor,

In expressing my most sincere thanks for your great kindness in fulfilling my request, I take the liberty of informing you that I have just sent my dissertation, together with the accompanying material, to the faculty of philosophy, and I beg you, in accordance with your kind offer, to be so good as to hasten the dispatch of the diploma. I thought that I had already made too great a claim on your kindness to dare to trouble you still further by sending my dissertation direct to you.

Assuring you of my most sincere gratitude and highest respect, I remain

Yours most devotedly,

*Karl Heinrich Marx*

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# 1842

## 3

## TO ARNOLD RUGE

IN DRESDEN[149]

Trier, February 10 [1842]

Dear Friend,

I take the liberty of sending you a small contribution for the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* in the form of the enclosed criticism of the censorship instruction.[a]

If the article is suitable for your journal, I ask you for the time being not to mention *my name to anyone except Wigand*, and also to send me *by post immediately* the issues of the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* containing my article; because *for the time being* here in Trier I am completely excluded from the literary world.

It is obvious that it is in the interest of the cause that the printing should be expedited, if the censorship does not censor my censure.

If you do not know of a critic for Vatke's super-clever book on sin[b]—were it not so devilishly clever, one would be tempted to call it stupid—my critical zeal is at your disposal.

It would perhaps be equally worth while to deal again with Bayer's work on the moral spirit.[c] Feuerbach's criticism was a friendly service.[150] Honourable as is Bayer's moral frame of mind, his work itself is just as weak and even immoral.

I should be very glad if you would let *Wigand* know that my manuscript will reach you in a few days' time. *Bauer's*[d] letter in

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[a] See this volume, pp. 109-31.—*Ed.*

[b] W. Vatke, *Die menschliche Freiheit in ihrem Verhältnis zur Sünde und zur göttlichen Gnade.*—*Ed.*

[c] K. Bayer, *Betrachtungen über den Begriff des sittlichen Geistes und über das Wesen der Tugend.*—*Ed.*

[d] Bruno Bauer.—*Ed.*

which he demands that it should be sent off *at last*, came when I was very ill in bed and therefore was handed to me only a few days ago. Being busy on the enclosed article, I was not able to make the necessary corrections.

As I have now come to the end of some voluminous works, it goes without saying that all my forces are at the disposal of the *Deutsche Jahrbücher*.

With sincere respect,

*Marx*

My address is: Dr. Marx, *Trier*; to be delivered to Geheimer Regierungsrat von Westphalen.

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## 4

## TO ARNOLD RUGE

IN DRESDEN

Trier, March 5 [1842]

Dear Friend,

I fully agree with the plan for the *Anekdota philosophica*[151] and also think it would be better to include *my name* among the others. A demonstration of this kind, by its very nature, *precludes* all anonymity. Those gentlemen must see that one's conscience is clear.

With the sudden revival of the Saxon censorship it is obvious from the outset that it will be quite impossible to print my "Treatise on *Christian Art*", which should have appeared as the second part of the *Posaune*.[152] But what about including it in a modified version in the *Anekdota*? The mass of material obnoxious to the censorship which now fills people's minds perhaps makes it possible also to publish the *Anekdota*, as material accumulates, in a number of separate instalments! Another article which I also intended for the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* is a criticism of Hegelian natural law, insofar as it concerns the *internal political system*. The central point is the struggle against *constitutional monarchy* as a hybrid which from beginning to end contradicts and abolishes

itself.[153] *Res publica* is quite untranslatable into German. I would send both these articles immediately for your examination if they did not require the rewriting of a fair copy and, in part, some corrections. The fact is that my future father-in-law, Herr von Westphalen, lay on his death-bed for three months and died the day before yesterday. During this period, therefore, it was impossible to do anything properly.

Regarding the other things, next time.

With sincerest respect,

Devotedly yours,
*Marx*

Apropos. Through an oversight, the manuscript on the censorship contains the phrase: "the censorship of tendency and the tendency censorship". It should be: "the censorship of tendency and the tendency of censorship".[a]

Be so kind as to send me the reply directly by post to Trier.

Bauer has been suspended from his post, as he writes in a letter just received, *par lit de justice*.[b] [154]

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## 5

## TO ARNOLD RUGE

IN DRESDEN

Trier, March 20 [1842]

Dear Friend,

Novices are the most pious people, as Saxony proves *ad oculos*.[c]

Bauer once had the same sort of scene with Eichhorn in Berlin as you had with the Minister of the Interior.[d] As orators, these gentlemen are as alike as two peas. On the other hand, what is exceptional is that philosophy speaks intelligibly with the state

[a] See this volume, p. 123.— *Ed.*

[b] Here—by a royal order.— *Ed.*

[c] By ocular demonstration.— *Ed.*

[d] Von Rochow.— *Ed.*

wisdom of these over-assured scoundrels, and even a little fanaticism does no harm. There is nothing more difficult than to make these earthly Providences believe that belief in truth and spiritual convictions exist. They are such sceptical state dandies, such experienced fops, that they no longer believe in true, disinterested love. How, then, is one to get at these *roués* except with the aid of what, in the highest circles, is called fanaticism? A guards lieutenant regards a lover whose intentions are honourable as a fanatic. Should people no longer marry because of that? It is a remarkable thing that the degradation of people to the level of animals has become for the government an article of faith and a principle. But this does not contradict religiosity, for the deification of animals is probably the most consistent form of religion, and perhaps it will soon be necessary to speak of religious zoology instead of religious anthropology.

When I was still young and good, I already knew at least that the eggs laid in Berlin were not the eggs of the swan Leda, but goose eggs. A little later I realised that they were crocodile eggs, like, for example, the very latest egg by which, allegedly, on the proposal of the Rhine Province Assembly, the illegal restrictions of French legislation concerning high treason, etc., and crimes of officials, have been abolished.[155] But this time, because it is a question of objective legal provisions, the hocus-pocus is so stupid that even the stupidest Rhenish lawyers have immediately seen through it. At the same time, Prussia has declared with complete naivety that publicity of court proceedings would jeopardise the prestige and credit of Prussian officials. That is an extremely frank admission. All our Rhenish scribblings about publicity and publicising suffer from a basic defect. Honest folk continually point out that these are by no means political, but merely legal, institutions, that they are a right, and not a wrong. As though that were the question! As though all the evil of these institutions did not consist precisely in the fact that they are a right! I should very much like to prove the opposite, namely, that Prussia cannot introduce publicity and publicising, for free courts and an unfree state are incompatible. Similarly, Prussia should be highly praised for its piety, for a transcendental state and a positive religion go together, just as a pocket icon does with a Russian swindler.

Bülow-Cummerow, as you will have seen from the Chinese newspapers,[156] makes his pen flirt with his plough.[a] Oh, this rustic

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[a] Bülow-Cummerow, *Preussen, seine Verfassung, seine Verwaltung, sein Verhältnis zu Deutschland*, Th. I.— *Ed.*

coquette, who adorns herself with artificial flowers! I think that writers with this earthly position—for, after all, a position on ploughland is surely earthly—would be desirable, and even more so if in the future the plough were to think and write instead of the pen, while the pen, on the other hand, were to perform serf labour in return. Perhaps, in view of the present uniformity of the German governments, this will come to pass, but the more uniform the governments, the more multiform nowadays are the philosophers, and it is to be hoped that the multiform army will conquer the uniform one.

*Ad rem*,[a] since among us, loyal, moral Germans, *politica* is included in *formalia*, whence Voltaire deduced that we have the profoundest textbooks on public law.

Therefore, as regards the matter, I found that the article "On Christian Art", which has now been transformed into "On Religion and Art, with Special Reference to Christian Art", must be entirely redone, because the tone of the *Posaune*, which I conscientiously followed:

> "*Thy word* is a lamp unto my feet, And light unto my path." "Thy commandments make me wiser than mine enemies, For they are ever with me," and "The Lord shall roar from Zion"[b]

—this tone of the *Posaune* and the irksome constraint of the Hegelian exposition should now be replaced by a freer, and therefore more thorough exposition. In a few days, I have to go to Cologne, where I set up my new residence,[157] for I find the proximity of the Bonn professors intolerable. Who would want to have to talk always with intellectual skunks, with people who study only for the purpose of finding new dead ends in every corner of the world!

Owing to these circumstances, therefore, I was not able, of course, to send herewith the criticism of the Hegelian philosophy of law for the next *Anekdota* (as it was also written for the *Posaune*); I promise to send the article on religious art by mid-April, if you are prepared to wait so long. This would be the more preferable for me, since I am examining the subject from a new *point de vue* and am giving also an epilogue *de romanticis*[c] as a supplement. Meanwhile I shall most actively, to use Goethe's language, continue to work on the subject and await your decision. Be so kind

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[a] To come to the matter.—*Ed.*
[b] Psalm 119: 105, 98; Amos 1:2 (paraphrased).—*Ed.*
[c] On the romantics.—*Ed.*

as to write to me on this to Cologne, where I shall be by the beginning of next month. As I have not yet any definite domicile there, please send me the letter to *Jung's* address.

In the article itself I necessarily had to speak about the general essence of religion; in doing so I come into conflict with Feuerbach to a certain extent, a conflict concerning not the principle, but the conception of it. In any case religion does not gain from it.

I have heard nothing about Köppen for a long time. Have you not yet approached Christiansen in Kiel? I know him only from his history of Roman law,[a] which, however, contains also something about religion and philosophy in general. He seems to have an excellent mind, although when he comes to actual philosophising, his writing is horribly incomprehensible and formal. Perhaps, he has now begun to write plain German. Otherwise he seems to be *à la hauteur des principes.*[b]

I shall be very pleased to see you here on the Rhine.

Yours,
*Marx*

I have just had a letter from Bauer in which he writes that he wants to travel northwards again, owing to the silly idea that there he will be better able to conduct his proceedings against the Prussian Government. Berlin is too close to Spandau.[158] At all events, it is good that Bauer is not allowing the matter to take its own course. As I have learned here from my future brother-in-law,[c] aristocrat *comme il faut,* people in Berlin are particularly vexed at Bauer's *bonne foi.*[d]

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[a] J. Christiansen, *Die Wissenschaft der römischen Rechtsgeschichte im Grundrisse,* Bd. 1.— *Ed.*

[b] Highly principled.— *Ed.*

[c] Ferdinand von Westphalen.— *Ed.*

[d] Good faith.— *Ed.*

6

## TO ARNOLD RUGE

IN DRESDEN

c/o engineer Krämer
Bonn, April 27 [1842]

Dear [...][a]

You must not become impatient if my contributions are delayed for a few days more—but *only for a few* days. Bauer will probably inform you orally that this month, owing to all kinds of external muddles, it has been almost impossible for me to work.

Nevertheless, I have almost finished. I shall send you four articles: 1) "On Religious Art", 2) "On the Romantics", 3) "The Philosophical Manifesto of the Historical School of Law",[b] 4) "The *Positivist Philosophers*", whom I have teased a little.[159] These articles, in content, are connected.

You will receive the article on religious art as a duodecimo extract, for the work has steadily grown into almost book dimensions, and I have been drawn into all kinds of investigations which will still take a rather long time.

I have abandoned my plan to settle in Cologne, since life there is too noisy for me, and an abundance of good friends does not lead to better philosophy.

I have sent the *Rheinische Zeitung* a long article on our last Rhine Province Assembly with a light introduction about the *Preussische Staats-Zeitung*.[c] In connection with the debates on the press I have returned again to the question of censorship and freedom of the press, examining it from other viewpoints.

Thus, Bonn remains my residence for the time being; after all, it would be a pity if no one remained here for the holy men to get angry with.

Yesterday *Hasse* came from Greifswald, in regard to whom the only thing I have admired is his enormous top-boots, like those of a village priest. He spoke, too, just like the top-boot of a village

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[a] In the original the name has been made illegible by someone unknown.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 203-10.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., pp. 132-81.—*Ed.*

priest, he knew nothing about anything, is preparing to publish a book in several volumes about the boring Anselm of Canterbury, on which he has been working for ten years.[160] He thinks that the present critical trend is a moment which must be overcome. He speaks of religiosity as a product of life experience, by which he probably means his successful rearing of children and his fat belly, for fat bellies undergo all sorts of experiences and, as Kant says: if it goes behind it becomes an F., if it goes upwards it becomes religious inspiration. What a man this pious Hasse is with his religious constipation!

We were very much amused with what you wrote in your letters about Vatke's lack of a "full heart". This super-clever, diplomatic Vatke, who would so much like to be the greatest critic and the greatest believer, who always knows everything better than anyone else, this Vatke has for one party no heart, and for the other no head. *Hic jacet*[a] Vatke—a notable example of what the passion for cards and religious music leads to.

Fichte, who has wrapped himself in the mantle of his unpopularity, has spread the half-ambiguous rumour that he has been invited to Tübingen. The faculty is not meeting his wish to be held fast by an increase in salary.

Sack has made a trip to Berlin with the most pious intentions to speculate on the insanity of his brother and to get himself appointed in his place.

Nothing but wars and debauchery, says Thersites,[b] and if the university here cannot be reproached with wars, at least there is no lack of debauchery.

Do you not want to carry out your plan of a trip to the Rhine?

Yours,
*Marx*

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[a] Here lies.—*Ed.*
[b] Homer, *Iliad*.—*Ed.*

7

## TO ARNOLD RUGE

IN DRESDEN

Trier, July 9 [1842]

Dear Friend,

If events had not apologised for me, I would have abandoned any attempt at an excuse. It stands to reason that I regard it as an honour to contribute to the *Anekdota* and only unpleasant extraneous circumstances prevented me from sending you my articles.

From April to the present day I have been able to work for a total of perhaps only four weeks at most, and that not without interruption. I had to spend six weeks in Trier in connection with another death. The rest of the time was split up and poisoned by the most unpleasant family controversies. My family laid obstacles in my way, which, despite the prosperity of the family, put me for the moment in very serious straits.[161] I cannot possibly burden you with the story of these private scandals; it is truly fortunate that scandals of a public nature make it impossible for a man of character to be irritated over private ones. During this time I was writing for the *Rheinische Zeitung*, to which I should long ago have sent my articles, etc., etc. I would have informed you long before about these intermezzos, had I not hoped from day to day to be able to complete my work. In a few day's time I am going to Bonn and shall not touch a thing until I have finished the contributions for the *Anekdota*. Of course, in this state of affairs I was not able to elaborate in particular the article "On Art and Religion" as thoroughly as the subject requires.

Incidentally, do not imagine that we on the Rhine live in a political Eldorado. The most unswerving persistence is required to push through a newspaper like the *Rheinische Zeitung*. My second article on the Provincial Assembly, dealing with the question of clerical discords, was deleted by the censor.[162] I showed in this article how the defenders of the state adopted a clerical standpoint, and the defenders of the church a state standpoint. This incident is all the more unpleasant for the *Rheinische Zeitung* because the stupid Cologne Catholics fell into the trap, and defence of the Archbishop[a] would have attracted subscribers. Incidentally, you can hardly imagine how contemptible are oppres-

[a] Von Droste-Vischering.— *Ed.*

sors and at the same time how stupidly they dealt with the orthodox blockhead.[a] But the matter has had a successful ending: before the entire world, Prussia has kissed the Pope's[b] mule, and our government automatons walk the streets without blushing. The *Rheinische Zeitung* has now put in an appeal about the article. In general, the fight for the *Rheinische Zeitung* is beginning. In the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the author of the leading articles, Hermes, ex-editor of the former political *Hannoverzeitung*, has taken the side of Christianity against the philosophical newspapers in Königsberg and Cologne. If the censor does not again play some trick, a reply from me will be published in the next Supplement.[c] The religious party is the most dangerous in the Rhine area. The opposition has of late become too accustomed to opposing within the church.

Do you know any details about the so-called "Free"? The article in the *Königsberger Zeitung*[163] was, to say the least, undiplomatic. It is one thing to declare for emancipation—that is honest; it is another thing to start off by shouting it out as propaganda; that sounds like bragging and irritates the philistine. And then, reflect on who are these "Free", a man like Meyen, etc. But, at any rate, if there is a suitable city for such ventures, it is Berlin.

I shall probably be drawn into a prolonged polemic with the Cologne Hermes. No matter how ignorant, shallow and trivial the man is, thanks precisely to these qualities he is the mouthpiece of philistinism and I intend not to let him go on chattering. Mediocrity should no longer enjoy the privilege of immunity. Hermes will also try to saddle me with "The Free", about whom, unfortunately, I do not know the slightest thing for sure. It is fortunate that Bauer is in Berlin. He, at least, will not allow any "stupidities" to be committed, and the only thing that disquiets me in this affair (if it is true and not merely a deliberate newspaper fabrication), is the probability that the insipidity of the Berliners will make their good cause ridiculous and that in a serious matter they will not be able to avoid various "stupidities". Anyone who has spent as much time among these people as I have will find that this anxiety is not without foundation.

How are you getting on with your *Jahrbücher*[d]?

As you are at the centre of philosophical and theological news, I should like nothing better than to learn something from you about

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[a] Frederick William III.—*Ed.*

[b] Gregory XVI.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 184-202.—*Ed.*

[d] *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst.*—*Ed.*

the present situation. True, the movement of the hour-hand is visible here, but not that of the minute-hand.

Old Marheineke seems to have considered it necessary to provide the whole world with documentary proof of the complete impotence of the old Hegelianism.[a] His vote is a disgraceful vote.

Will the Saxons in this Assembly not denounce the censorship? Fine constitutionalism!

Hoping to hear from you soon,

Yours,
*Marx*

Rutenberg is a weight on my conscience. I brought him on to the editorial board of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, but he is absolutely incapable. Sooner or later he will be shown the door.

What do you advise if the article on the Archbishop is not stamped for publication by the high police censorship? It must appear in print because of 1) our Provincial Assembly, 2) the government, 3) the Christian state. Should I, perhaps, send it to Hoffmann and Campe? It does not seem to me suitable for the *Anekdota*.

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## 8

## TO DAGOBERT OPPENHEIM

IN COLOGNE

[Bonn, approximately August 25, 1842]

Dear Oppenheim,

I enclose a manuscript from Ruge. No. 1 is not usable, but No. 2, on the state of affairs in Saxony, you will probably be able to use.[164]

Send me Mayer's article in the *Rheinische Zeitung* on the *system of local government* and, if possible, all Hermes' articles *against the Jews*.[165] I will then send you as soon as possible an article which,

[a] Ph. Marheineke, *Einleitung in die öffentlichen Vorlesungen über die Bedeutung der Hegelschen Philosophie in der christlichen Theologie.— Ed.*

even if it does not finally settle the latter question, will nevertheless make it take another course.

Will the article on Hanover[166] go through? At least try to make a small start with it soon. It is not so much a matter of this article itself as of a series of useful articles from that quarter which I can then promise you. The author of the article wrote to me yesterday:

> "I do not think my attacks on the opposition will do harm to sales of the newspaper in Hanover; on the contrary, people there are fairly generally so far advanced that the views I put forward will be accepted as correct."

If it is in accord with your views on the subject, send me also the Juste-Milieu article[167] for criticism. The subject must be discussed dispassionately. In the first place, quite general theoretical arguments about the state political system are more suitable for purely scientific organs than for newspapers. The correct theory must be made clear and developed within the concrete conditions and on the basis of the existing state of things.

However, since it has now happened, two things should be borne in mind. Every time we come into conflict with other newspapers, the matter can, sooner or later, be used against us. Such a clear demonstration against the foundations of the present state system can result in an intensification of the censorship and even the suppression of the newspaper. It was in this way that the South-German *Tribüne* came to an end. But in any case we arouse the resentment of many, indeed the majority, of the free-thinking practical people who have undertaken the laborious task of winning freedom step by step, within the constitutional framework, while we, from our comfortable arm-chair of abstractions, show them their contradictions. True, the author of the Juste-Milieu article invites criticism; but 1) we all know how governments respond to such challenges; 2) it is not enough for someone to express readiness to hear criticism, for which in any case his permission will not be asked; the question is whether he has selected the appropriate arena. Newspapers only begin to be the appropriate arena for such questions when these have become questions of the real state, practical questions.

I consider it essential that the *Rheinische Zeitung* should not be guided by its contributors, but that, on the contrary, it should guide them. Articles of the kind mentioned afford the best opportunity for indicating a definite plan of operations to the contributors. A single author cannot have a view of the whole in the way the newspaper can.

If my views do not coincide with yours, I would—if you do not find it inappropriate—give this criticism to the *Anekdota*, as a supplement to my article against Hegel's theory of constitutional monarchy.[a] But I think it is better when the newspaper is its own doctor.

Hoping for an early reply from you,

Yours,
*Marx*

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## 9

## TO ARNOLD RUGE

IN DRESDEN[168]

Cologne, November 30 [1842]

Dear Friend,

My letter today will be confined to the "confusion" with "The Free".

As you already know, every day the censorship mutilates us mercilessly, so that frequently the newspaper is hardly able to appear. Because of this, a mass of articles by "The Free" have perished. But I have allowed myself to throw out as many articles as the censor, for Meyen and Co. sent us heaps of scribblings, pregnant with revolutionising the world and empty of ideas, written in a slovenly style and seasoned with a little atheism and communism (which these gentlemen have never studied). Because of Rutenberg's complete lack of critical sense, independence and ability, Meyen and Co. had become accustomed to regard the *Rheinische Zeitung* as *their own*, docile organ, but I believed I could not any longer permit this watery torrent of words in the old manner. This loss of a few worthless creations of "freedom", a freedom which strives primarily "to be free from all thought", was therefore the first reason for a darkening of the Berlin sky.

Rutenberg, who had already been removed from the German department (where his work consisted mainly in inserting punctua-

[a] See this volume, pp. 382-83.—*Ed.*

tion marks) and to whom, only *on my application*, the French department was provisionally transferred—Rutenberg, thanks to the monstrous stupidity of our state providence, has had the luck to be regarded as dangerous, although he was not a danger to anyone but the *Rheinische Zeitung* and himself. A categorical demand was made for the removal of Rutenberg. Prussian providence, this *despotisme prussien, le plus hypocrite, le plus fourbe*,[a] spared the manager an unpleasant step, and the new martyr, who has already learned to display consciousness of martyrdom in facial expression, behaviour and speech with some virtuosity, is exploiting this turn of events. He writes to all the corners of the earth, he writes to Berlin that he is the *banished principle* of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, which is adopting a *different position* in relation to the government. It goes without saying that this also evoked demonstrations from the heroes of freedom on the banks of the Spree, "whose muddy water washes souls and dilutes tea".[b]

Finally, on top of this came your and Herwegh's attitude to "The Free" to cause the cup of the angry Olympians to overflow.[c]

A few days ago I received a letter from little Meyen, whose favourite category is, most appropriately, what *ought* to be. In this letter I am taken to task over my attitude 1) to you and Herwegh, 2) to "The Free", 3) to the new editorial principle and the position in relation to the government. I replied at once and frankly expressed my opinion about the defects of their writings, which find freedom in a licentious, sansculotte-like, and at the same time convenient, form, rather than in a *free*, i.e., independent and profound, content. I demanded of them less vague reasoning, magniloquent phrases and self-satisfied self-adoration, and more definiteness, more attention to the actual state of affairs, more expert knowledge. I stated that I regard it as inappropriate, indeed even immoral, to smuggle communist and socialist doctrines, hence a new world outlook, into incidental theatrical criticisms, etc., and that I demand a quite different and more thorough discussion of communism, if it should be discussed at all. I requested further that religion should be criticised in the framework of criticism of political conditions rather than that political conditions should be criticised in the framework of religion, since this is more in accord with the nature of a newspaper and the educational level of the reading public; for

[a] Prussian despotism, the most hypocritical, the most deceitful.—*Ed.*

[b] Paraphrase of a line from Heine's "Frieden" (*Die Nordsee*, 1. Zyklus).—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 287.—*Ed.*

religion in itself is without content, it owes its being not to heaven but to the earth, and with the abolition of distorted reality, of which it is the *theory*, it will collapse of itself. Finally, I desired that, if there is to be talk about philosophy, there should be less trifling with the *label* "atheism" (which reminds one of children, assuring everyone who is ready to listen to them that they are not afraid of the bogy man), and that instead the content of philosophy should be brought to the people. *Voilá tout.*

Yesterday I received an insolent letter from Meyen, who had not yet received this work and who now questions me on every possible thing: 1) I should state on whose side I am in their quarrel with Bauer, about which I know absolutely nothing; 2) why did I not allow this and that to go through; I am threatened with being accused of conservatism; 3) the newspaper should not temporise, it must act in the *most extreme fashion*, i.e., it should calmly yield to the police and the censorship instead of holding on to its positions in a struggle, imperceptible to the public but nevertheless stubborn and in accordance with its duty. Finally, an infamous report is given of Herwegh's betrothal, etc., etc.

All this is evidence of a terrible dose of the vanity which does not understand how, in order to save a political organ, one can sacrifice a few Berlin windbags, and thinks of nothing at all except the affairs of its clique. Moreover, this little man strutted like a peacock, solemnly laid his hand on his breast and on his dagger, let fall something about "his" party, threatened me with his displeasure, declaimed *à la* Marquis Posa, only somewhat worse, etc.

Since we now have to put up from morning to night with the most horrible torments of the censorship, ministerial communications, complaints of the Oberpräsident,[169] accusations in the Provincial Assembly, howls from shareholders, etc., etc., and I remain at my post only because I consider it my duty to prevent, to the best of my ability, those in power from carrying out their plans, you can imagine that I am somewhat irritated and that I replied rather sharply to Meyen. It is possible, therefore, that "The Free" will withdraw for a while. Therefore I earnestly beg that you yourself help us by contributing articles, and also ask your friends to do the same.

Yours,

*Marx*

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# 1843

## 10

## TO ARNOLD RUGE
IN DRESDEN

Cologne, January[a] 25 [1843]

Dear [...][b]

You probably already know that the *Rheinische Zeitung* has been banned, suspended, and is under sentence of death.[170] The termination of its life has been fixed for the end of March. During this period of grace before execution, the newspaper is being subjected to a double censorship. Our censor,[c] a decent fellow, is under the censorship of von Gerlach, Regierungspräsident here, a passively obedient blockhead. When ready, our newspaper has to be presented to the police to be sniffed at, and if the police nose smells anything un-Christian or un-Prussian, the newspaper is not allowed to appear.

The ban resulted from the coincidence of several special causes: its wide circulation; *my own* "Justification of the Correspondent from the Mosel",[d] in which very highly placed statesmen were thoroughly exposed; our stubborn refusal to name the person who sent us the text of the law on marriage[171]; the convocation of the provincial estates, which we could influence by our agitation; finally, our criticism of the ban on the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*,[e] and on the *Deutsche Jahrbücher*.

The ministerial rescript, which will appear in the newspapers in a day or so, is if possible more feeble than the previous ones. The following are given as motives:

1) The *lie* that we had *no* permission, as though in Prussia,

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[a] In the original by mistake: December.—*Ed.*
[b] In the original the name has been made illegible by someone unknown.—*Ed.*
[c] Wiethaus.—*Ed.*
[d] See this volume, pp. 332-58.—*Ed.*
[e] Ibid., pp. 311-30.—*Ed.*

where not even a dog can exist without its police number, the *Rheinische Zeitung* could have appeared even a single day without fulfilling the official conditions for existence.

2) The censorship instruction of December 24[172] aimed at establishing a censorship of *tendency*. By tendency it meant the *illusion*, the romantic belief in possessing a freedom which one would not allow oneself to possess *realiter*.[a] Whereas the rationalist Jesuitism which prevailed under the former government had a stern, rational physiognomy, this romantic Jesuitism demands *imagination* as its main requisite. The censored press should learn to live under the illusion of freedom, and of that magnificent man[b] who majestically permitted this illusion. But whereas the censorship instruction wanted censorship of tendency, now the ministerial rescript explains that in Frankfurt a *ban, suppression*, has been invented for a thoroughly bad tendency. It states that the censorship exists only in order to censor eccentricities of a good tendency, although the instruction said precisely the opposite—namely, that eccentricities of a good tendency are to be permitted.

3) The old balderdash about a bad frame of mind, empty theory, hey-diddle-diddle, etc.

Nothing has surprised me. You know what my opinion of the censorship instruction has been from the outset. I see here only a consequence; in the suppression of the *Rheinische Zeitung* I see a definite *advance* of political consciousness, and for that reason I am resigning.[173] Moreover, I had begun to be stifled in that atmosphere. It is a bad thing to have to perform menial duties even for the sake of freedom; to fight with pinpricks, instead of with clubs. I have become tired of hypocrisy, stupidity, gross arbitrariness, and of our bowing and scraping, dodging, and hair-splitting over words. Consequently, the government has given me back my freedom.

As I wrote to you once before, I have fallen out with my family[c] and, as long as my mother is alive, I have no right to my property. Moreover, I am engaged to be married and I cannot, must not, and will not, leave Germany without my fiancée.[d] If, therefore, the possibility arose that I could edit the *Deutscher Bote*[174] with Herwegh in Zurich, I should like to do so. I can do nothing more

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[a] In reality.—*Ed.*
[b] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, p. 389.—*Ed.*
[d] Jenny von Westphalen.—*Ed.*

in Germany. Here one makes a counterfeit of oneself. If, therefore, you will give me advice and information on this matter, I shall be very grateful.

I am working on several things, which here in Germany will find neither censor nor bookseller, nor, in general, any possible existence. I await an early reply from you.

Yours,
*Marx*

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## 11

## TO ARNOLD RUGE

IN DRESDEN

Cologne, March 13 [1843]

Dear Friend,

As soon as it is at all possible I shall set my course straight for Leipzig. I have just had a talk with Stucke, who seems to have been greatly impressed by most of the statesmen in Berlin. This Dr. Stucke is an extremely good-natured man.

As for our plan,[175] as a preliminary I will tell you of my own conviction. When Paris was taken, some people proposed Napoleon's son[a] with a regency, others Bernadotte, while yet others suggested that Louis Philippe should rule. But Talleyrand replied: "Louis XVIII or Napoleon. That is a principle, anything else is intrigue."

In the same way I could call almost anything else, other than Strasbourg (or at any rate Switzerland), not a principle, but an intrigue. Books of more than 20 printed sheets are not books for the people. The most that one can venture on there are monthly issues.

Even if the publication of the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* were again permitted, at the very best we could achieve a poor copy of the deceased publication, and nowadays that is no longer enough. On the other hand, *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*—that would be a

[a] The duke of Reichstadt.—*Ed.*

principle, an event of consequence, an undertaking over which one can be enthusiastic. It goes without saying that I am only expressing my own unauthoritative opinion, and for the rest submit myself to the eternal powers of fate.

Finally—newspaper affairs compel me to close—let me tell you also about my *personal plans.* As soon as we had concluded the contract, I would travel to Kreuznach, marry and spend a month or more there at the home of my wife's mother,[a] so that before starting work we should have at any rate a few articles ready. The more so since I could, if necessary, spend a few weeks in Dresden, for all the preliminaries, the announcement of the marriage, etc., take considerable time.

I can assure you, without the slightest romanticism, that I am head over heels in love, and indeed in the most serious way. I have been engaged for more than seven years, and for my sake my fiancée has fought the most violent battles, which almost undermined her health, partly against her pietistic aristocratic relatives, for whom "the Lord in heaven" and the "lord in Berlin" are equally objects of religious cult, and partly against my own family, in which some priests and other enemies of mine have ensconced themselves. For years, therefore, my fiancée and I have been engaged in more unnecessary and exhausting conflicts than many who are three times our age and continually talk of their "life experience" (the favourite phrase of our Juste-Milieu[b]).

Apropos, we have received an anonymous reply to Prutz's report against the new Tübingen *Jahrbücher.*[176] I recognised *Schwegler* by the handwriting. You are described as an over-excited agitator, Feuerbach as a frivolous mocker, and Bauer[c] as a man of wholly uncritical mind! The Swabians! The Swabians! That will be a fine concoction!

On the subject of your very fine, truly popular written complaint, we have inserted a superficial article by Pfützner—half of which, moreover, I have deleted—for lack of a better criticism and of time.[177] P. P. does not go sufficiently deep into the matter and the little capers he cuts tend to turn him into a laughing-stock instead of making his enemy ridiculous.

Yours,
*Marx*

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[a] Caroline von Westphalen.—*Ed.*
[b] Nickname of Edgar Bauer.—*Ed.*
[c] Bruno Bauer.—*Ed.*

I have arranged for the books for Fleischer. Your correspondence published at the beginning is interesting.[178] Bauer on Ammon is delightful.[a] The "Sorrows and Joys of the Theological Mind"[b] seems to me a not very successful rendering of the section of the *Phenomenology*: "The Unfortunate Consciousness".[c] Feuerbach's aphorisms[d] seem to me incorrect only in one respect, that he refers too much to nature and too little to politics. That, however, is the only alliance by which present-day philosophy can become truth. But things will probably go as they did in the sixteenth century, when the nature enthusiasts were accompanied by a corresponding number of state enthusiasts. I was most of all pleased by the criticism of the good *Literarische Zeitung*.[e]

You have probably already read Bauer's self-defence.[f] In my opinion, he has never before written so well.

As far as the *Rheinische Zeitung* is concerned I would not remain *under any conditions*; it is impossible for me to write under Prussian censorship or to live in the Prussian atmosphere.

I have just been visited by the chief of the Jewish community here, who has asked me for a petition for the Jews to the Provincial Assembly, and I am willing to do it. However much I dislike the Jewish faith, Bauer's view seems to me too abstract. The thing is to make as many breaches as possible in the Christian state and to smuggle in as much as we can of what is rational. At least, it must be attempted—and the *embitterment* grows with every petition that is rejected with protestations.

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[a] B. Bauer's review on the book: Ammon, *Die Geschichte des Lebens Jesu*, *Anekdota*, Bd. II.—*Ed.*

[b] By B. Bauer.—*Ed.*

[c] G. W. F. Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, Ch. IV.—*Ed.*

[d] L. Feuerbach, "Vorläufige Thesen zur Reformation der Philosophie", *Anekdota*, Bd. II.—*Ed.*

[e] A. Ruge, "Das 'christlich-germanische' Justemilieu. Die Berliner *Literarische Zeitung*", *Anekdota*, Bd. II.—*Ed.*

[f] B. Bauer, *Die gute Sache der Freiheit und meine eigene Angelegenheit*.—*Ed.*

# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

# NOTEBOOKS
# ON EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY[179]

Written in 1839

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Signed: *Karl Heinrich Marx*

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# EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY

## *First Notebook*

### I. DIOGENES LAERTIUS, BOOK TEN
### EXCERPTS FROM BOOK TEN OF DIOGENES LAERTIUS CONTAINED IN P. GASSENDI: *NOTES ON BOOK TEN OF DIOGENES LAERTIUS,* LYONS, 1649, VOL. I

## I. DIOGENES LAERTIUS, BOOK TEN

### *Epicurus*

[2] "... but on coming across the works of Democritus [Epicurus] turned to philosophy." p. 10.

[4] (Posidonius the Stoic and Nicolaus and Sotion in the twelfth book of the work entitled *Dioclean Refutations* allege)[a] "... that he put forward as his own the doctrines of Democritus about atoms and of Aristippus about pleasure." p. 11.

[6] "I [Epicurus] know not how to conceive the good, apart from the pleasures of taste, [sexual pleasures,] the pleasures of sound and the pleasures of beautiful form." p. 12.

[12] "Among the early philosophers ... his favourite was Anaxagoras, although he occasionally disagreed with him...." p. 16.

[29] "It [Epicurean philosophy] is divided into three parts—The Canon, Physics, Ethics" [p. 25.]

### I. *The Canon*

[31] "Now in *The Canon* Epicurus affirms that *our sensations* and *preconceptions* (*prolepseis*) and our *feelings* are the *standards* of truth; the Epicureans generally make *perceptions of mental presentations* to be also standards." pp. 25-26. "His own statements are also to be found ... in the *Principal Doctrines.*" p. 26.

I. "...*the sensations are true.* Every sensation ... is devoid of reason and incapable of memory; for neither is it *self-caused* nor, regarded as having an *external cause,* can it *add* anything thereto or *take* anything therefrom, neither *judge* nor *deceive.*"

[31-32] "Nor is there anything which can refute sensations: one sensation cannot convict another and kindred sensation, for they are equally valid (*aequipollentiam*); nor can one sensation refute another which is not kindred, for the objects which the two judge are not the same; nor can one sensation refute another, since we pay equal heed to all; nor again can reason refute them, for reason is dependent on sensation.

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[a] Written in Latin in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

"And the *reality* of ... *perceptions* guarantees the truth of our senses. But *seeing and hearing are just as real as feeling pain. Between being true and being a reality, there is no difference.*" p. 26.

"Hence it is from phenomena that we must seek to obtain information about the unknown. For all our *notions are derived from perceptions, either by actual contact or by analogy, or resemblance, or composition,* with some slight aid from reasoning." p[p]. 26[-27].

"*And the objects presented to madmen as well as presentations in dreams are true, for they ... produce movements, which that which does not exist never does.*" p. 27.

II. [33] "By preconception they [the Epicureans] mean a *sort of apprehension* or a *right opinion* or *notion* or *universal idea stored in the mind*; that is, a *recollection of an external object often presented,* e. g., such and such a thing is a man; for *no sooner is the word man uttered than we think of his shape by an act of preconception* in which the senses take the lead. *Thus the object primarily denoted by every term is then evident.* And we could not *seek what we do seek,* unless we *knew it before. ... we could not name* anything at all, if *we did not previously know its form by way of preconception.* It follows, then, that *preconceptions are evident.* Mere *opinion* also *depends on a previous evident presentation,* by reference to which we *form a judgment* [...]. *Opinion* they also call ... *assumption.* They say *it* is sometimes *true,* sometimes *false* by something being *added* to it or *taken away* from it, or by its being *confirmed or contradicted as being evident or not.* For if it is *confirmed* or *not contradicted,* it is *true,* and if it is not *confirmed* or is *contradicted,* it is *false.* Hence the introduction of '*that which awaits*', for example, when one *waits* and then approaches the tower and establishes whether it looks from close quarters as it does from afar." [p]p. [27-]28.

"*They affirm that there are two feelings: pleasure and pain....* The first is *favourable* to nature, the second *hostile*; according to these is *determined* what we must *strive after* and what we must *avoid.*" [p]p. [28-]29.

"There are two kinds of *inquiry,* the one concerned *with things,* the other with the *mere word.*" p. 29.

## *Epicurus to Menoeceus*

[123] "*First believe* that *God is a ... being indestructible and blessed* according to the *universal notion of God,* and do not *ascribe* to him anything which is *incompatible with his immortality,* or that *agrees not with his blessedness....*" p. 82.

"*For gods verily there are. For the notion of them is evident*" (cf. "the universal notion of God", *consensus omnium, c [onsensus] gentium*[a]), "*but they are not such as the multitude believe,* seeing that men do not steadfastly *maintain the notions they form respecting them.*

"Not the man who *denies the gods worshipped by the multitude,* but *he who affirms of the gods what the multitude believe about them* is truly *impious.* [124] For the *utterances of the multitude about the gods* are not *true preconceptions,* but *false accumptions*; hence the multitude believe that the *greatest evils happen to the wicked* and the *greatest blessings happen to the good* from the *hand of the gods.* For *being entirely prejudiced in favour of their own virtues,* they *grant their favour to those who are like themselves* and *consider as alien whatever is not so.*" p. 83.

"*Accustom thyself to believe* that *death is nothing to us,* for all that is good or bad is based on *sentience,* and *death* is the *loss of sentience.*

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[a] The censensus of all, the consensus of the peoples.— *Ed.*

"Therefore a *right understanding* that *death* is *nothing* to us *makes transient life worth living,* not by *adding indefinite time to life,* but by *putting an end to the yearning after immortality.* [125] For *life has no terrors* for him who *has thoroughly apprehended* that *ceasing to live has no terrors. Foolish, therefore,* is the man who *says* that *he fears death* not because *it causes suffering when it comes,* but because *it causes suffering when it is yet to come.* For that which *causes* no *annoyance when it is present* causes only *imaginary suffering* when it *is expected. Death, which is indeed the most terrifying of all evils, is nothing to us since, as long as we are, death is not come, and as soon as death is come, we are no more. It is nothing then, either to the living or to the dead, since for the former it is not, and the latter are no longer.*" pp. 83-84.

[126] "*He who admonishes the young to live honourably* and *the old to die honourably, is foolish,* not merely because of the *desirableness* of life, but also because the *striving to live honourably* and the striving *to die honourably are one and the same thing.*" p. 84.

[127] "We *must* however *remember* that the *future* neither *depends on us* nor is altogether *independent of us,* so that we must *not expect it as something which will certainly be* nor *give up hope* of it as of something which *will* certainly *not be.*" p. 85.

"...*some* desires are *natural,* others are *vain,* and *among the natural ones* some are *necessary,* others *natural* only. And *among the necessary ones* some are *necessary for happiness* (as the desire *to free the body of uneasiness*), others *for very life.*" p. 85.

[128] "*An error-free consideration of these things can lead* ... to *health of body* and *ataraxy of soul,* for these are the *aim of a blessed life.* For the *end of all our actions is to be free from pain and not to live in confusion.* And when once we have attained this, *every tempest of the soul is laid,* for *man no longer needs to seek for something which he still lacks* or *for anything else* through which the *welfare of the soul and the body will be complete.* For *we need pleasure* when the *lack of pleasure causes us pain,* but when *we feel no pain, we no longer need pleasure.*" p. 85.

"*Wherefore we say that pleasure is the beginning* and *the end of the blessed life.* [129] We apprehend *pleasure* as the *first* and *innate good* and *we proceed from it* in all that we do or refrain from doing and to it we come back, inasmuch as *this feeling serves us* as the guide-line *by which we judge of everything good.*" [p]p. [85-]86.

"And *since* pleasure is our *first* and *innate good for that reason* we do not choose *every pleasure....*

"*All pleasure therefore, because it is suited to us by nature, is a good, yet not every pleasure is choiceworthy;* just as *all pain is an evil* and *yet not all pain is to be avoided under all circumstances.* [130] *All these matters must rather be decided by weighing one against another* and from the *standpoint* of *advantage* and *disadvantage,* for *what is good proves at certain times to be an evil for us,* and conversely *what is evil* proves to be a good." p. 86.

"Again we regard *independence of outward things* as a *great good,* not so as to be satisfied in every case with little, but in order to be contented with little when abundance is lacking, being honestly convinced that those who least need *luxury* enjoy it most and that *everything which is natural* is easy to obtain, while that which is vain and worthless is hard to procure." p. 86.

[131] "[...] By pleasure we mean the absence of pain in the body and of trouble in the soul..." p. 87.

[132] "Of all this the beginning and the *supreme good* is *reasonableness,* and hence *it is more precious even than philosophy,* from which all other virtues spring, and they teach us that one cannot live pleasantly unless one lives reasonably, honourably [and justly], [and that one cannot live reasonably, honourably] and justly without living pleasantly. For the *virtues are closely connected with pleasant living,* and *pleasant living is inseparable from them.*" p. 88.

[133] "Who, then, in your opinion, is superior to him who thinks piously of the gods and is quite fearless of death, who has reflected on the purpose of nature and understands that the greatest good is easy to reach and to attain whereas the worst of evils lasts only a short time or causes short pains? *Necessity, which has been introduced by some as the ruler over all things, is not the ruler,* he maintains, over that *some of which depends on chance and some on our arbitrary will. Necessity is not subject to persuasion; chance,* on the other hand, *is inconstant. But our will is free;* it can entail blame and also the opposite." p. 88.

[134] "It would be better to accept the myth about the gods than to bow beneath the yoke of fate imposed by the Physicists, for the former holds out hope of obtaining mercy by honouring the gods, and the latter, inexorable necessity. [135] *But he* [the wise man] *must accept chance, not god* as the multitude do ... and not an *uncertain cause....* He considers it better to be unhappy but reasonable than to be happy but unreasonable. It is, of course, better when in actions a good decision attains a good issue also through the favour of circumstances." [p]p. [88-]89.

"[...] you will never be disturbed, but will live as a god among men. For a man who lives in the midst of intransient blessings is not like a mortal being." p. 89.

"*Elsewhere he* [Epicurus] rejects the *whole of divination.... There is no divination,* and *even if there is, what happens does not rest with us....*" [p. 89].

[136] "He differs from the Cyrenaics in his teaching on pleasure. They *do not recognise pleasure in a state of rest, but only pleasure in motion.* But Epicurus *admits both,* the *pleasure of the mind* as well as the *pleasure of the body ... for one can conceive pleasure in a state of rest as well as in motion.* But Epicurus says ... the following: '*Ataraxy* and *freedom from pain are sensations of pleasure in a state of rest, joy* and *delight are seen to be effective only in motion.*'" p. 90.

[137] "He further differs from the Cyrenaics in this: they hold that *bodily pains are worse than mental pains* ... whereas he holds mental pains to be worse, since the flesh is tormented only by that which is present, the mind by that which is past as well as by that which is present and that which is coming. So also are the pleasures of the mind greater." p. 90.

"And as proof that pleasure is the end he adduces the fact that living beings, as soon as they are born, *naturally and unaccountably* to themselves *find satisfaction in pleasure* but *reject pain. Instinctively,* then, we *shun pain....*" [pp. 90-91.]

[138] "And the *virtues too are chosen on account of pleasure* and *not for themselves ... he says* also that *only virtue is inseparable from pleasure, all the rest is separable, for instance human things.*" p. 91.

## [*Principal Doctrines*]

[139] "A *blessed* and *immortal* being *has no trouble himself* nor *brings it on anybody else;* hence he *knows no anger* or *partiality,* for the *like exists only in the weak.*"

"*Elsewhere* he says that the *gods are discernible by reason alone,* not, indeed, being *numerically distinct,* yet *through resemblance* (as a *result of the continuous influx of similar images made pricisely for this purpose*) *human in appearance.*" pp. 91-92.

"*The highest peak of pleasure is the exclusion of all pain.* For *wherever pleasure reigns,* as long as it *continues,* there *is no pain or grief, nor both together.*" p. 92.

[140] "It is impossible to live pleasantly without living *reasonably, honourably* and *justly,* and it is impossible to live *reasonably, honourably* and *justly without living pleasantly.*" p. 92.

[141] "*No pleasure* is *in itself an evil,* but that which produces certain pleasures *causes manifold disturbances of pleasure.*" p. 93.

[142] "If *all pleasure were accumulated and with time* had become *compact*, this concentrate would be just as [perfect] as principal parts of nature, and the *sensations of pleasure would never differ one from another*." p. 93.

[143] "It is impossible to banish fear over matters of the greatest importance if one does not know the essence of the universe but is apprehensive on account of what the myths tell us. Hence without the study of nature one cannot attain pure pleasure." p[p]. 93[-94].

[142] "If we were not alarmed by the meteors and by death, as to how it might in some way or other affect us, and if we were moreover able to comprehend the limits of pain and desire, we should need no study of nature." p. 93.

[143] "It is useless to provide security against men so long as we are alarmed by things up above and things under the earth and in general things in the boundless universe. For security against men exists only for a definite time." p. 94.

"The same security which we attain by quiet and withdrawal from the multitude arises through the possibility of banishing [by moderation those desires which are not necessary] and through the very simple [and very easy] attainment of [the necessary things]." p. 94.

[144] "The wealth of nature is limited and easily obtainable, but that which arises from vain fancies extends into infinity." p. 94.

"Pleasure of the flesh does not increase any more once the pain of privation has been removed, it is then subject only to variation." p. 94.

"The peak of thought (as far as joy is concerned) in *fathoming* precisely those questions (and those related to them) which most alarm the mind." p. 94.

[145] "Unlimited time contains the same pleasure as the limited if its limits are measured with the necessary discernment." p. 95.

"Limits of pleasure are prescribed to the flesh, but the yearning for unlimited time has made them recede to infinity; but the mind, which has made clear to itself the aim and the limits of the flesh and has extinguished desires concerning eternity, has made a complete life possible for us and we no longer need infinite time. And it does not shun pleasure, even when circumstances cause a parting from life, accepting the end of the best life as a consummation." p. 95.

[146] "We must always have before our mind's eye the set aim to which we refer all our judgments; if not, everything will be full of disorder and unrest." p. 95.

"If you fight against all sensations, you will have nothing by which to be guided in judging those which you declare to be false." p. 95.

[148] "Unless on every occasion you refer all your actions to the end prescribed by nature, but swerve and (whether in shunning or in striving after something) turn to something else, your actions will not be in harmony with your words." p. 96.

[149] "Some desires are natural and necessary, others natural [but] not necessary, and others again neither natural nor necessary, but the offspring of vain fancy." p. 96.

[148] "The same knowledge which fills us with assurance that terrors are neither eternal nor of long duration enables us to see that in our limited lifetime the security of friendship is the most reliable." p. 97.

The following passages represent Epicurus' views on spiritual nature, the state. The contract (συνθήκη) he considers as the basis, and accordingly, only utility (συμφέρον) as the end.

[150] "Natural right is a mutual agreement, contracted for the purpose of utility, not to harm or allow to be harmed." p. 97.

"For all living beings which could not enter into mutual contracts not to harm each other or allow each other to be harmed, there is neither justice nor injustice. It is the same, too, with peoples who have been either unable or unwilling to enter into contracts not to harm each other or allow each other to be harmed." p. 98.

"*Justice is not something existing in itself*; it exists *in mutual relations*, wherever and whenever an agreement is concluded not to harm each other or allow each other to be harmed." p. 98.

[151] "*Injustice is not in itself an evil*, but the evil lies in the fearful anxiety over its remaining concealed from the guardians of the law appointed to deal with it.... For whether he [the transgressor of the law] will remain undiscovered until death, is uncertain." p. 98.

"*In general, the same justice is valid for all* (for it is something useful in mutual intercourse); *but the special conditions of the country* and the *totality* of *other possible grounds* bring it about that *the same justice is not valid for all.*" p. 98.

[152] "That which proves to be useful for the needs of mutual intercourse, that which is considered just, has the essence of right when the same is valid for everyone. If, however, somebody stipulates this, but it does not turn out to be to the advantage of mutual intercourse, then it no longer has the essence of justice." p. 99.

"And when the usefulness which is contained in right has ceased to exist but for a certain time continues to correspond to the conception of right, then it has nevertheless during that time remained right for those who do not let themselves be deluded by empty talk, but take many things into account." p. 99.

[153] "Where, without any new circumstances having arisen, that which is considered as right proves in practice not to correspond to the conception of right, then it is not right; but where, *new circumstances having arisen, the same valid right is no longer useful, it was indeed formerly right, when it was useful for the mutual intercourse of citizens, but later when it was no longer useful, it was no longer right.*" p. 99.

[154] "He who knew how best to gain self-assurance from the external circumstances *procured for himself that which was possible, as something not alien to himself*, and *considered that which was not possible as alien to himself.*" p. 99

## End of the tenth book of Diogenes Laertius[a]

### *Epicurus to Herodotus*

[37] "In the first place ... we must understand what it is that words denote, so that we have something to which we can refer opinions or inquiries or doubts, and by which we can test them, and so that everything does not slip from us into infinity without our having a judgment on it and that we are not left with mere empty words. [38] For it is necessary that the original meaning of every word should be perceived and need no proof, if we want to have something to which we can refer inquiries or doubts or opinions." pp. 30-31.

It is significant that Aristotle, in his *Metaphysics*, makes the same remark on the relation of language to philosophising. Since the ancient philosophers, not excluding the Sceptics, all begin by presupposing consciousness, a firm foothold is necessary. This is provided by the concepts presented in knowledge in general. Epicurus, being the philosopher of the concept, is most exact in

[a] In the manuscript this phrase is in Latin.—*Ed.*

this and therefore defines these fundamental conditions in greater detail. He is also the most consistent and, like the Sceptics, he completes ancient philosophy, but from the other side.

[38] "Further we must observe everything both on the basis of sensations and also simply of present impressions, whether of the mind or of any criterion whatever, and equally on the basis of actual feelings, so that we have something by which we can characterise what is to be expected and what is unknown. *Once this is done, one must begin reflections on the unknown.*" p. 31.

"[...] the common opinion of the physicists that nothing comes into being from not-being [...]." Aristotle, *Physics*, Book I, Chap. 4, Commentary of Coimbra [Jesuit] College, p[p]. 123[-125].

"[...] In one sense things come-to-be out of that which has no 'being' ... yet in another sense they come-to-be always out of 'what is'. For coming-to-be necessarily implies the pre-existence of something which potentially 'is', but actually 'is not'; and this something is spoken of both as 'being' and as 'not-being'." Aristotle, *De generatione et corruptione*, Book I, Chap. 3, Commentary of Coimbra College, p. 26.

[Diogenes Laertius, X, 39] "[...] the universe was always such as it is now, and such it will ever remain." p. 31.

"[...] the universe consists of bodies and space." [p. 32.]

[40] "[...] of bodies some are composite, others the elements of which these composite bodies are made." p. 32.

[41] "These [elements] are *indivisible* and unchangeable ... *if things are not all to be destroyed and pass into non-existence* [...]." [p]p. [32-]33. "[...] the universe is infinite. For what is finite has an extremity [...]." p. 33. "[...] the universe is unlimited by reason of the multitude of bodies and the extent of the void." p. 33. ("[...] the infinite body will obviously prevail over and annihilate the finite body...." Aristotle, *Physics*, Book III. Chap. 5, Commentary of Coimbra College, p. 487.)

[Diogenes Laertius, X, 42] "[...] they [the atoms] ... vary indefinitely in their shapes". p[p]. 33[-34].

[43] "The atoms are in continual motion through all eternity." p. 34.

[44] "Of all this there is no beginning, since both atoms and void exist from all eternity." p. 35.

"[...] atoms have no quality at all except shape, size and weight [...]." p. 35. "... they are not of any and every size; at any rate no atom has ever been seen by our senses." p. 35. [45] "[...] there is an infinite number of worlds [...]." p. 35. [46] "Again there are impressions which are of the same shape as the solid bodies but far thinner than what we can perceive." p. 36. "These impressions we call images." p. 36. [48] "Besides this, ... the production of the images is as quick as thought. For the continual streaming off from the surface of the bodies is *evidenced* by *no visible sign....*" p. 37.

"*And there are other modes in which these natural phenomena may be formed. For there is nothing in them which contradicts the sensations if we in some way take into account what is evident in order to refer the impressions produced on us from outside.*" p. 38.

[49] "*But it must also be assumed that when anything streams in from outside, we see and apprehend the shapes.*" p. 38.

[50] "Every presentation *received* either by the mind or through *sensation*, but *not judged (non judicata)*, is *true*. The illusion and *error*, whether it is *not confirmed* or is even *refuted*, always lies in what is *added by thought, following a motion in ourselves which, though connected with a certain effort of presentation, has its own perception, through which the error arises.*" p. 39.

[51] "For there would be no error if we did not experience also a certain other motion in ourselves which is connected [with the effort of presentation], but has its own perception." p. 39. "It is through this [inner movement which is connected with] the effort of presentation, but has its own perception, that, if it is not confirmed or is refuted, illusion arises; but if it is confirmed or not refuted, truth results." [p]p. [39-]40.

[52] "Again, hearing takes place when a current passes from the object which emits sounds, etc." p. 40.

[53] "Also concerning smell we must assume (as I have said about hearing) ...." p. 41.

[54] "*Every quality which is inherent in and proper to them* (the atoms), meaning those *named above (magnitudo, figura, pondus*[a]*)*, is *unchangeable* just as the *atoms also do not change.*" p. 41.

[55] "*Again one should not suppose that there are atoms of every size, lest this be contradicted by phenomena; but some changes in size must be admitted.* For if this is so, the processes in feelings and sensations will be more easily explained." [p]p. [42-]43.

[56] "Besides, one must not suppose that in a limited body there is an infinite number of atoms, and of every size [...]." p. 43.

[60] "[...] one motion must be assumed which must be thought of as directed upwards to infinity, and one directed downwards [...]." p. 45.

See end of page 44 and beginning of page 45, where, strictly speaking, the atomistic principle is violated, and an internal necessity is attributed to the atoms themselves. Since they have a certain size, there must be something smaller than they are. Such are the parts of which they are composed. But these are necessarily to be considered together as a κοινότης ἐνυπάρχουσα.[b] Thus ideality is transferred to the atoms themselves. The smallest thing in them is not the smallest imaginable, but is likened to it without anything definite being thought of. The necessity and ideality attributed to them is itself merely fictitious, accidental, external to them. The principle of Epicurean atomistics is not expressed until the ideal and necessary is made to have being only in an imaginary form external to itself, the form of the atom. Such is the extent of Epicurus' consistency.

[61] "When they are travelling through the void and meet with no resistance, the atoms must move with equal speed." p. 46.

Just as we have seen that necessity, connection, differentiation, within itself, is transferred to or rather expressed in the atom, that ideality is present here only in this form external to itself, so it is with *motion* too, the question of which necessarily arises once the motion of the atoms is compared with the motion of the κατά τάς

[a] Size, shape, weight.— *Ed.*

[b] Permanent community.— *Ed.*

συγκρίσεις[a] bodies, that is, of the concrete. In comparison with this motion, the motion of the atoms is in principle absolute, that is, all empirical conditions in it are disregarded, it is ideal. In general, in expounding Epicurean philosophy and its immanent dialectics, one has to bear in mind that, while the principle is an imagined one, assuming the form of being in relation to the concrete world, the dialectics, the inner essence of these ontological determinations, as a form, in itself void, of the absolute, can show itself only in such a way that they, being immediate, enter into a necessary confrontation with the concrete world and reveal, in their specific relation to it, that they are only the imagined form of its ideality, external to itself, and not as presupposed, but rather only as ideality of the concrete. Thus its determinations are in themselves untrue and self-negating. The only conception of the world that is expressed is that its basis is that which has no presuppositions, which is nothing. Epicurean philosophy is important because of the naiveness with which conclusions are expressed without the prejudice of our day.

[62] "And *not even when it is a question of composite bodies* can one be said to be *faster* than the other, etc." p. 46. "[...] it can only be said that *they often rebound until the continuity of their movement becomes perceptible to the senses.* For what we conjecture of the invisible, namely, that periods of time contemplated through speculation may also contain continuity of movement, is not true for things of this kind, since only all that which is *really perceived or is comprehended from an impression by thinking is true.*" p. 47.

The question must be considered, why the principle of the reliability of the senses is disregarded and what abstracting conception is set up as a criterion of truth.

[63] "[...] the soul is a corporeal thing, composed of fine particles, which is spread (*diffusum*) over the whole of the body (*corpus*) [...]." p. 47.

Interesting here again is the specific difference between fire and air, on the one hand, and the soul, on the other, showing that the soul is adequate to the body, analogy being used and nevertheless discarded, which is in general the method of imaginative consciousness; thus all concrete determinations collapse and a mere monotonous echo takes the place of development.

[63] "Further we must keep in mind that the *soul* is the *chief cause of sensation.*[64] It would not be, if it were not in a manner of speaking *enveloped by the rest of the mass of the body. The remaining mass of the body, which makes it possible for the soul to be* this *cause,* itself *shares* through the soul *in this quality* (yet not in all of what the soul possesses). *That is why* it has no longer any sentience when the soul has departed. For it did not *have this ability in itself,* but *served as an intermediary for it to another*

[a] Composite.—*Ed.*

*being which emerged simultaneously with it* and which, owing to the *ability it had achieved to produce immediately a sensation corresponding to the specific stimulation,* imparted sentience both to itself and to the remaining mass of the body by reason of neighbourhood (*vicinia*) and sympathy." p. 48.

We have seen that the atoms, taken abstractly among themselves, are nothing but entities, imagined in general, and that only in confrontation with the concrete do they develop their ideality, which is imagined and therefore entangled in contradictions. They also show, by becoming one side of the relation, that is, when it comes to dealing with objects which carry in themselves the principle and its concrete world (the living, the animate, the organic), that the realm of imagination is thought of now as free, now as the manifestation of something ideal. This freedom of the imagination is therefore but an assumed, immediate, imagined one, which in its true form is the atomistic. Either of the determinations can therefore be taken for the other, each considered in itself is the same as the other, but in respect of each other too the same determinations must be ascribed to them, from whichever viewpoint they are considered; the solution is therefore the return to the simplest, first determination, where the realm of the imagination is assumed as *free.* As this return takes place in regard to a totality, to what is imagined, which really has the ideal in itself, and is the ideal itself in its being, so here the atom is posited as it really is, in the totality of its contradictions; at the same time, the basis of these contradictions emerges, the desire to apprehend the thing imagined as the free ideal thing as well, while only imagining it. The principle of absolute arbitrariness appears here, therefore, with all its consequences. In its lowest form, this is already essentially the case with the atom. As there are many atoms, each one contains in itself a difference in respect of the many, and hence it is in itself many. But that is already contained in the definition of the atom, so that the plurality in it is necessarily and immanently a oneness; it is so because it is. But it still remains to be explained, with regard to the world, why it develops freely from a single principle into a plurality. Therefore what is to be proved is assumed, the atom itself is what is to be explained. Then the difference of the ideality could be introduced only by comparison; in themselves both sides come under the same definition, and ideality itself is again posited by the external combination of these many atoms, by their being the principles of these compositions. The principle of this composition is therefore that which initially was composite in itself without any cause, that is, what is explained is itself the explanation, and it is thrust into

the nebulous space of imaginative abstraction. As already said, this emerges in its totality only when the organic is considered.

It must be noted that the fact that the soul, etc., perishes, that it owes its existence only to an accidental mixture, expresses in general the *accidental nature of all these notions*, e. g., soul, etc., which, not being necessary in ordinary consciousness, are *accounted for* by Epicurus as *accidental conditions*, which are seen as something given, the necessity of which, the necessity of the existence of which, is not only not proved, but is even admitted to be not provable, only possible. What persists, on the other hand, is the free being of the imagination, which is firstly the free which itself exists in general, and secondly, as the thought of the freedom of what is imagined, a lie and a fiction, and hence in itself an inconsistency, an illusion, an imposture. It expresses rather the demand for a concrete definition of the soul, etc., as immanent thought. What is lasting and great in Epicurus is that he gives no preference to conditions over notions, and tries just as little to save them. For Epicurus the task of philosophy is to prove that the world and thought are thinkable and possible. His proof and the principle by which it proceeds and to which it is referred is again possibility existing for itself, whose natural expression is the atom and whose intellectual expression is chance and arbitrariness. Closer investigation is needed of how all determinations may be exchanged between soul and body and how either of them is the same as the other in the bad sense that neither one nor the other is at all conceptually defined. See end of page 48 and beginning of page 49: Epicurus stands higher than the Sceptics in that not only are conditions and presentations reduced to nothing, but their perception, the thinking of them and the reasoning about their existence, proceeding from something solid, is likewise only a possibility.

[67] "*It is impossible to conceive anything that is incorporeal as self-existent, except emply space.* (The incorporeal is not thought by the imagination, it pictures it as the void and as empty.[a]) And empty space can neither act nor be acted upon, but by virtue of its existence makes motion possible for the bodies." p. 49. "Hence those who say the soul is incorporeal talk nonsense." [p]p. [49-]50.

It is necessary to study the passage on page 50 and the beginning of page 51, where Epicurus speaks of the determinations of concrete bodies and seems to refute the atomistic principle by saying:

[69] "... that the whole body in general receives its specific being out of all that; not as though it were a composite of it, as, for instance, when out of conglomera-

[a] This sentence is in German in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

tions of atoms themselves a larger formation is made up ... but only that, as stated, it receives its specific being out of all that. And all these things demand specific consideration and judgment, in which the whole must constantly be considered and not in any way be separated, but, apprehended as a whole, receives the designation of body." pp. 50 and 51.

[70] "Again, the bodies often *encounter non-specific* accidentals, some of which, of course, are invisible and incorporeal. Thus, by using this word in the manner in which it is most frequently used, we make it clear that the accidentals neither possess the nature of the whole to which, as the composite whole, we give the name of body, nor that [of the] specific qualities without which a body is unthinkable." p. 51.

[71] "[...] we must regard them as that which they appear to be, namely, as accidental attributes of the body which, however, neither are in themselves concomitants of the body nor possess the function of an independent being; we see them such as sensation itself makes their individuality appear." p. 52.

It is a matter of certainty for Epicurus that repulsion is posited with the law of the atom, the declination from the straight line. That this is not to be taken in the superficial sense, as though the atoms in their movement could meet only in this way, is expressed at any rate by Lucretius. Soon after saying in the above-quoted passage:

Without this *clinamen atomi*[a] there would be neither "*offensus natus, nec plaga creata*"[b] [II, 223], he says:

"Again, if all movement is always interconnected, the new arising from the old in a determinate order—if the atoms never swerve so as to originate some new movement that will snap the bonds of fate, the everlasting sequence of cause and effect—what is the source of the free [will]...'' ([*On the Nature of Things,*] Book II, 251 ff.)

Here another motion by which the atoms can meet is posited, distinct from that caused by the *clinamen.* Further it is defined as absolutely deterministic, hence negation of self, so that every determination finds its being in its immediate being-otherwise, in the being-negated, which in respect of the atom is the straight line. Only from the *clinamen* does the individual motion emerge, the relation which has its determination as the determination of its self and no other.

Lucretius may or may not have derived this idea from Epicurus. That is immaterial. The conclusion from the consideration of repulsion, that the atom as the immediate form of the concept is objectified only in immediate absence of concept, this same is true also of the philosophical consciousness of which this principle is the essence.

This serves me at the same time as justification for giving a quite different account of the matter from that of Epicurus.

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[a] Declination of the atom.—*Ed.*

[b] "Meeting nor collision possible."—*Ed.*

# EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY

## *Second Notebook*

I. DIOGENES LAERTIUS, BOOK TEN
II. SEXTUS EMPIRICUS
III. PLUTARCH, *THAT EPICURUS ACTUALLY MAKES A PLEASANT LIFE IMPOSSIBLE*

## I. DIOGENES LAERTIUS, BOOK TEN, COMMENTARY BY GASSENDI

### *Epicurus to Herodotus. Continued*

[72] "We must not investigate time as we do the other accidents which we investigate in a subject, namely, *by referring them to the preconceptions envisaged in our minds*; but *we must take into account* the plain fact itself, in virtue of which we speak of time as *long* or *short*.... We must not adopt any new terms as preferable, but should employ the *already existing* ones; *nor must we predicate anything else of time, as if this something had the same essence* as the proper meaning of the word; ... but we must chiefly reflect upon how we associate and measure what is peculiar to it." [73] "*For this also requires no proof, but only reflection that we associate it with days and nights and their parts and likewise also with feelings and absence of feeling, with movement and rest,* conceiving a peculiar attribute of these to be precisely that which we call time." pp. 52-53 "[...] and all things are again dissolved [...]." p. 53.

"It is clear, then, that he [Epicurus] also makes the words perishable, since their parts are subject to change. He says this also elsewhere." p. 53.

[74] "And further, we *must not suppose that the worlds have necessarily one and the same shape, but that they differ* from one another." p. 53.

"*For neither are living things necessarily separated from the infinite,* nor have they fallen from heaven. [75] ... *we must grasp that nature too in many and very different respects follows the instruction and pressure of things, and thinking gives greater precision to that which it receives from nature and adds new discoveries,* in some cases more quickly and in others more slowly, requiring for this sometimes more and sometimes less time". [p]p. [53-]54.

See end of page 54 and beginning of page 55, where the ἀρχαὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων [a] is discussed.

[76] "*As for the meteors, we must believe that their motion, position, eclipse, [rising and] setting and the like do not take place because someone governs and orders or has ordered them, who at the same time enjoys perfect bliss*"

(we must compare with this what Simplicius attributes to Anaxagoras about the νοῦς [b] which orders the world)

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[a] Origin of designations.— *Ed.*
[b] Mind.— *Ed.*

"... *along with immortality* [77] (for actions and *anxieties, anger* and favour do not accord with *bliss*, but *result* from weakness, fear and *need*, with which they are most related). Nor must we believe that the being *which has acquired bliss willingly submits to these movements*, for this is an *annoyance* and *contradictory* [to bliss], but *we must rather maintain all its sublimity by using expressions which lead to such notions as do not give rise to any opinions contradictory to sublimity*. If we do not agree with this, *this contradiction will itself produce the greatest mental confusion. Hence we must assume that, with the appearance of the world, both the original interception of these conglomerations and the obligatory character and periodicity of these movements appeared.*" pp. 55 and 56.

Here we must observe the principle of the thinkable in order, on the one hand, to maintain the freedom of self-consciousness, and, on the other hand, to attribute to God freedom from any determination.

[78] "[...] that what makes one *blissful* in the *knowledge of the meteors* ... [lies] in *particular* in accurate *study* of what those *natural phenomena* are *which are observed in our meteors* and what is in some way kindred to them in principle: [Here we have that which can be 'in a plurality of ways'] that which can *possibly* be and that which is in *some other way*[a]: but it is rather an *absolute rule that nothing which threatens danger, which can disturb ataraxy, can ever happen to an indestructible* and *blissful nature. Consciousness must apprehend that this is an absolute law.*" p. 56.

Further, on pages 56 and 57, Epicurus denounces the senseless mere wondering contemplation of the celestial bodies as stultifying and fear-inspiring; he asserts the absolute freedom of mind.

[80] "... *We must beware of the prejudice that the study of those objects is not thorough or subtle enough because it is aimed only at our ataraxy and bliss. Hence we must investigate the meteors and all that is unknown, observing how often the same thing occurs within our experience.*" p. 57.

[81] "*Besides all this we must understand* that *the greatest confusion in men's minds arises* through the *belief* that there are *beings which are blissful* and *indestructible* and *that at the same time have desires, actions and feelings* which conflict with these attributes and that men somehow foresee eternal suffering and *entertain suspicions of the kind fostered by the myths* (and because in death there is no sensation they also fear to be at some time deprived of sensation) and that they are not guided by the correct notions ... so that, unless they set limits to their fears, they experience equal or still greater anxiety than they would were their imaginings true." [82] "*But ataraxy means to have freed oneself from all that....*" [p]p. [57-]58.

"*Therefore we must pay attention to all things that are present to us and to the sensations*, to general ones in relation to what is general, to particular ones in relation to what is particular, and *to all the evidence available for every single criterion.*" p. 58.

## *Epicurus to Pythocles*

Epicurus repeats at the beginning of his discussion on the meteors that the aim of this is γνώσεως ... ἀταραξία and πίστις

[a] In the manuscript here, after the semicolon, follows Gassendi's Latin translation of the preceding Greek phrase: (*esse* [...] *id, quod pluribus modis fieri dicitur, et non uno modo necesse contingere; et posse alio quoque modo se habere*).— *Ed.*

βεβαία, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν[a] [X, 85]. But the study of these celestial bodies also differs substantially from the rest of science:

[86] "...nor must we *apply to everything the same theory* as in Ethics or in clarifying the other problems of Physics, for example that the *universe consists of bodies and the incorporeal*" (*quod* τὸ κενὸν[b]) "or that there are *indivisible elements* and the like, where only a *single explanation* corresponds to the phenomena.[c] *For this is not the case with the meteors. These have no simple cause of their coming into being and have more than one essential category corresponding to the sensations.*" pp. 60 and 61.

It is important in the whole of Epicurus' view of things that the celestial bodies, as something beyond the senses, cannot command the same degree of evidence as the rest of the moral and sensuous world. To them Epicurus' theory of *disjunctio*[d] applies in practice, viz.: that there is no *aut aut*,[e] and hence that internal determinateness is denied and that the principle of the thinkable, the imaginable, of accident, of abstract identity and freedom manifests itself as what it is, as the indeterminate, which precisely for that reason is determined by a reflection external to it. It is seen here that the method of consciousness which imagines and represents, fights only its own shadow; what the shadow is depends on how it is seen, how that which reflects is reflected out of it back into itself. As in the case of the organic in itself, when it is substantialised, the contradiction of the atomistic outlook is revealed, so now, when the object itself assumes the *form* of sensuous certainty and of imagining reason, philosophising consciousness admits what it is doing. As there the *imagined principle and its application* are found *objectified as one*, and the contradictions are thereby called to arms as the antithesis of the concretised presentations themselves, so here, where the object hangs, as it were, over the heads of men, where through the self-sufficiency, through the sensuous independence and the mysterious remoteness of its existence, the object challenges consciousness, so here consciousness comes to acknowledge its own activity, it contemplates what it does, so as to make the presentations which pre-exist in it intelligible and to vindicate them as its own: just as the whole activity of consciousness is only struggle with remoteness, which, like a curse, shackles the whole of

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[a] Knowledge ... ataraxy and firm conviction as is also the case with everything else.— *Ed.*

[b] That is, void (note by Marx).— *Ed.*

[c] In the manuscript here follows in brackets the last phrase in Gassendi's Latin translation: (*quaecumque uno tantum modo rebus apparentibus congruunt*).— *Ed.*

[d] Disjunction.— *Ed.*

[e] Either — or.— *Ed.*

antiquity, just as it has only possibility, chance, as its principle, and seeks in some way to establish identity between itself and its object, so does it admit this, as soon as this remoteness confronts it in objective independence as heavenly bodies. Consciousness is indifferent as to just what explanation is offered: it affirms that there is not one explanation, but many, that is, that any explanation will suffice; thus it acknowledges that its activity is active fiction. For this reason, in antiquity in general, in whose philosophy premises are not lacking, the meteors and the doctrine concerning them are the image in which, even in the person of Aristotle, it contemplates its own defects. Epicurus expressed this, and this is the service he rendered, the iron logic of his views and conclusions. The meteors challenge sensuous understanding, but it overcomes their resistance and will listen to nothing but its own ideas of them.

[86] "For nature must be studied not according to empty axioms and laws, but as required by the phenomena.... [87] (life [requires]) us to live without confusion." p. 61.

Here, where the premise itself confronts actual consciousness, arousing fear in it, there is no longer any need for any principles or premises. The imagination is extinguished in fear.

Epicurus therefore again formulates the following proposition, as though finding himself in it:

[87] "Everything therefore happens, once it is explained consistently *in various ways*, in conformity with the phenomena, if that which has been *credibly* established in respect of them is maintained. But if we maintain one thing as valid and reject another, although it equally conforms to the phenomena, then we are openly overstepping the bounds of the study of nature and launching into the realm of myth." p. 61.

The question now is how the explanation is to be arranged:

[87] "Certain signs of the processes of the meteors can be taken from the processes going on in our experience which can be observed or are present in the same way as the phenomena of the meteors. For these can occur in a plurality of ways. [88] But one must observe the appearance of every single thing and also explain whatever is connected with it. This will not be inconsistent with the fact that it can take place in various ways, as happens in our experience." p. 61.

For Epicurus the sound of his own voice drowns the thunder and blots out the lightning of the heavens of his conception. We can gather from the monotonous repetition how important Epicurus considers his new method of explanation, how intent he is to eliminate the miraculous, how he always insists on applying

not one, but several explanations, giving us very frivolous examples of this in respect of everything, how he says almost outright that while he leaves nature free, he is concerned only with freedom of consciousness. The only proof required of an explanation is that it should not be ἀντιμαρτυρεῖσθαι[a] by the evidence of the senses and experience, by the phenomena, the appearance, for what matters is only how nature appears. These propositions are reiterated.

## On the origin of the sun and the moon:

[90] "For this also is suggested in this way by sensation." p. 63.

## On the size of the sun and the constellations:

[91] "[...] the phenomena *here* [on the earth] we see ... *as we perceive them by the senses.*" p. 63.

## On the rising and setting of the constellations:

[92] "For no phenomenon testifies against this." p. 64.

## On the turnings of the sun and the moon:

[93] "For all that and what is connected with it does not contradict any of the evident phenomena if in separate explanations we always hold fast to what is possible and can bring each of them into conformity with the phenomena, without fear of the slavish artifices of the astrologers." [p]p. [64-]65.

## On the waning and waxing of the moon:

[94] "[...] and in *any of the ways* by which also the phenomena within our experience suggest an explanation of this problem, *unless, being in love with some one means of explanation, we lightly reject the others or are unable to see what it is possible for a man to know* and *therefore seek to know what is impossible.*" p. 65.

## On the *species vultus*[b] in the moon:

[95] "[...] *in general in any way considered as being in conformity with the phenomena.*" [96] "*For, it must be added, this way must be used in respect of all the meteors. For if you fight against what is evident, you will never be able to enjoy genuine ataraxy.*" p. 66.

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[a] Disproved.— *Ed.*
[b] Face.— *Ed.*

Note particularly the exclusion of all divine, teleological influence in the passage on the *ordo periodicus*,[a] where it is clearly seen that the explanation is only a matter of consciousness listening to itself and the objective is a delusion simulated:

[97] "... *must be seen as something ordinary* which also occurs *within our own experience*; the *divinity must not on any account be adduced for this, but must be kept free from all tasks and in perfect bliss.* For unless this be done, the whole theory of origins of the meteors will be rendered senseless, as has already been the case with some theoreticians who did not apply a possible explanation, but *indulged in idle attempts at explanations, believing that it happens only in one way and excluding all other possible explanations,* and *thus* arrived at things which are impossible, and were unable to understand the *phenomena* as signs, which one *must* do, and were not disposed to rejoice with God." p. 67.

The same arguments are often repeated almost word for word: [98] On the varying lengths of nights and days: on the μήκη νυκτῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν παραλλάττοντα,[b] p. 67.

[98] On the ἐπισημασίαι,[c] p. 67.

[99] On the origin of the νέφη,[d] p. 68.

[100-101] of the βρονταί,[e] of the ἀστραπαί,[f] p. 69; [103] thus he says of the κεραυνός[g]:

[104] "And there are several other ways in which *thunderbolts* may occur. *Exclusion of myth is the sole condition necessary*; and it will be excluded if one *properly attends* to the *phenomena* and hence draws inferences concerning what is invisible." p. 70.

(After adducing many explanations of σεισμοί, *terrae motus*,[h] he adds as usual: [106] "But there are also *several other ways*", etc., p. 71.)

On the comets:

[112] "... there are many other ways by which this might be brought about if one is capable of finding out what accords with the phenomena." p. 75.

*De stellis fixis et errantibus*[i]:

[113] "To assign a *single cause* for these effects when the phenomena suggest several causes is *madness* and an enormity of those who are obsessed by senseless

[a] Periodical order.— *Ed.*
[b] This is the Greek original of the previous phrase.— *Ed.*
[c] Weather signs.— *Ed.*
[d] Clouds.— *Ed.*
[e] Thunder.— *Ed.*
[f] Lightning.— *Ed.*
[g] Thunderbolts.— *Ed.*
[h] Earthquake.— *Ed.*
[i] On fixed and wandering stars.— *Ed.*

astrology and assign at random causes for certain phenomena *when they by no means free the divinity from burdensome tasks.*" p. 76.

He even accuses those who *simpliciter,* ἁπλῶς[a] discuss such things,

[114] *portentosum quidpiam coram multitudine ostentare affectare*= "that applies to those who wish to do something to impress the crowd". p. 76.

He says in connection with ἐπισημασίαι,[b] the anticipation of *tempestas*[c] in animals, which some connected with God:

[116] "For such folly as this would not possess the *most ordinary being* if ever so little enlightened, *much less one who enjoys perfect felicity.*" p. 77.

From this we can see among other things how Pierre Gassendi, who wants to rescue divine intervention, assert the immortality of the soul, etc., and still be an Epicurean (see, for example, *esse animos immortales, contra Epicurum,* Pet. Gassendi animadvers. in 1. dec. Diog. Laert., pp. 549-602, or, *esse deum authorem mundi, contra Epicurum,* pp. 706-725, *gerere deum hominum curam, contra Epicurum,* pp. 738-751, etc. Compare: Feuerbach, *geschichte der neuern Philosophie,* "Pierre Gassendi", pp. 127-150), does not understand Epicurus at all and still less can teach us anything about him. Gassendi tries rather to teach us from Epicurus than to teach us about him. Where he violates Epicurus' iron logic, it is in order not to quarrel with his own religious premises. This struggle is significant in Gassendi, as is in general the fact that modern philosophy arises where the old finds its downfall: on the one hand from Descartes' universal doubt, whereas the Sceptics sounded the knell of Greek philosophy; on the other hand from the rational consideration of nature, whereas ancient philosophy is overcome in Epicurus even more thoroughly than in the Sceptics. Antiquity was rooted in nature, in materiality. Its degradation and profanation means in the main the defeat of materiality, of solid life; the modern world is rooted in the spirit and it can be free, can release the other, nature, out of itself. But equally, by contrast, what with the ancients was profanation of nature is with the moderns salvation from the shackles of servile faith, and the modern rational outlook on nature must first raise itself to the point from which the ancient Ionian philosophy, in principle at

[a] Simply, absolutely.— *Ed.*
[b] Weather signs.— *Ed.*
[c] Tempest.— *Ed.*

least, begins—the point of seeing the divine, the Idea, embodied in nature.

Who will not recall here the enthusiastic passage in Aristotle, the acme of ancient philosophy, in his treatise περί τῆς φύσεως ζωϊκῆς,[a] which sounds quite a different note from the dispassionate monotony of Epicurus.[180]

Characteristic of the method of the Epicurean outlook is the way it deals with the *creation of the world*, a topic in the treatment of which the standpoint of a philosophy will always be ascertainable, since it reveals how, according to this philosophy, the spirit creates the world, the attitude of a philosophy to the world, the creative power, the spirit of a philosophy.

Epicurus says (pp. 61 and 62)[181]:

> [88] "The world is a *celestial complex* (περιοχή τις οὐρανοῦ), which comprises stars and earth and all phenomena containing a cut-out segment (ἀποτομήν) of the *infinite*, and *terminating in a boundary* which may be either ethereal or solid (a boundary whose dissolution will bring about the wreck of all within it), which may be at rest, and may be round, triangular or of any other shape. *All these alternatives are possible* since none of them is contradicted by the *phenomena. Where* the world ends *cannot be discerned.* That there is an *infinite number* of such worlds is evident...."[b]

Anybody will at once be struck by the poverty of this world construction. That the world is a complex of the earth, stars, etc., means nothing, since the origin of the moon, etc., occurs and is explained only later.

In general every concrete body is a complex, or more precisely, according to Epicurus, a complex of atoms. The definition of a complex, its specific distinction, lies in its boundary, and for that reason, once the world is defined as having been cut out from the infinite, it is superfluous to add the boundary as a closer definition, for something which is cut out is separated from the remainder and is a concrete, distinct thing, and therefore bounded in regard to the remainder. But the boundary is what must be defined, since a bounded complex in general is not yet a world. Further on it is said that the boundary can be defined in any way one likes, παγταχῶς, and finally it is admitted that it is impossible to define its specific difference, but that it is conceivable that one exists.

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[a] *On the Nature of Animals.—Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript this quotation and the next one on p. 426 are written in German.—*Ed.*

Hence all that is said is that the notion of the return of a totality of differences to an indefinite unity, i.e., the notion of a "world", exists in consciousness, is present in everyday thinking. The boundary, the specific difference, and hence the immanence and necessity of this notion is declared to be not conceivable; that the notion exists can be conceived, tautologically, because it is there; so that what is to be explained, the creation, the origin and internal production of a world by thought, is declared inconceivable, and the existence of this notion in consciousness is passed off as the explanation.

It is the same as if one were to say that it can be proved that there is a God, but his *differentia specifica, quid sit,*[a] the what of this determination, cannot be investigated.

When Epicurus further says that the boundary can be conceived as of any kind, i.e., every determination which in general we distinguish in a spatial boundary can be applied to it, then the notion of the world is nothing but the return to sensuously perceptible unity, which is indefinite and therefore may be defined in any way one likes, or more generally, since the world is an indefinite notion of half sensuous, half reflecting consciousness, the world is present in this consciousness together with all other sensuous notions and bounded by them; its definition and boundary is therefore as multiple as these sensuous notions surrounding it, each of them can be regarded as its boundary and hence as its closer definition and explanation. That is the essence of all Epicurean explanations, and it is all the more important because it is the essence of all the explanations of reflecting consciousness which is the prisoner of preconceptions.

So it is also with the moderns in regard to God, when goodness, wisdom, etc., are ascribed to Him. Any one of these notions, which are definite, can be considered as the boundary of the indefinite notion of God which lies between them.

The substance of this kind of explanation is therefore that a notion which is to be explained is found in consciousness. The explanation or closer definition is then that notions in the same sphere and accepted as known stand in relation to it; hence that in general it lies in consciousness, in a definite sphere. Here Epicurus admits the weakness of his own and of all ancient philosophy, namely, that it knows that notions are in consciousness, but that it does not know their boundary, their principle, their necessity.

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[a] Specific distinction, what he is.— *Ed.*

However, Epicurus is not satisfied with having worked out his conception of the creation; he performs the drama himself, objectifies for himself what he has just done, and only then does his creation proper begin. For he says further:

[89] "Such a world may arise ... in one of the intermundia (by which term we mean the spaces between worlds), in a vast empty space ... in a great transparent void ... when certain suitable seeds rush in from a world or an intermundium or from several worlds, and gradually form compounds or divisions, or, as may happen, undergo changes of place, and receive into themselves waterings from without as far as the foundations laid can hold the compound. [90] For if a world arises in the void, it is not enough that there should be an aggregation or vortex or a multitude and that it should meet with another, as one of the physicists says. For this is in conflict with the phenomena." [p. 62.]

Here, first, worlds are presupposed for the creation of the world, and the place where this occurs is the void. Hence what was foreshadowed to begin with in the concept of creation, viz. that what was to be created is presupposed, is substantiated here. The notion without its closer definition and relation to the others, that is to say, as it is provisionally presupposed, is empty or disembodied,[a] an intermundium, an empty space. How this notion gets its determination is presented as follows: seeds appropriate for the creation of a world combine in the way necessary for the creation of a world, that is, no determination, no difference is given. In other words, we have nothing but the atom and the κενόν,[b] despite Epicurus himself striving against this, etc. Aristotle has already in a profound manner criticised the superficiality of the method which proceeds from an abstract principle without allowing this principle to negate itself in higher forms. After praising the Pythagoreans because they were the first to free the categories from their substrate, and did not consider them as attributes of the things of which they are predicated, but as the very substance itself:

"They [the Pythagoreans] thought that the finitude and infinity [...] were not *attributes of certain other things*, e.g. of fire or earth, etc., but *were the substance of the things of which they are predicated*",

he reproaches them because

"*they thought* that the *first subject of which a given definition was predicable* was the substance of the thing [...]". [Aristotle,] *Metaphysics*, Book I, Chap. V.

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[a] There must have been a slip of the pen here, for the manuscript has *verkörper* (embodied) instead of *enthörpert* (disembodied).— *Ed.*

[b] Void.— *Ed.*

## II. SEXTUS EMPIRICUS

We now go on to the attitude of the Epicurean philosophy to Scepticism, insofar as it can be gathered from Sextus Empiricus.

But first a basic definition given by Epicurus himself must be cited from Book Ten of Diogenes Laertius contained in the description of the wise man:

[121] "[the wise man] *will be a dogmatist but not a mere sceptic.*" p. 81.

What Epicurus says about his principle of thinkability, and about language and the origin of concepts, makes up an important part of his exposition of his system as a whole, defining its essential attitude towards ancient philosophy and containing *implicite*[a] his position in relation to the Sceptics. It is interesting to see what Sextus Empiricus says about why Epicurus took to philosophy.

[IX, 18] "If anybody asks ... *out of what chaos originated,* he will have nothing to answer. And according to *some, this was precisely the reason why Epicurus plunged into philosophising.* [19] For when he was a boy he asked his teacher, who was reading to him: [...] out of what chaos arose if it arose first. When the teacher said it was not his business to teach that, but the business of those who were called philosophers, Epicurus said: 'I must go to them if they know the truth of things,'" Sext. Empiricus, *Against the Professors,* Geneva, 1621, p. 383.

[II, 23] "For Democritus says that 'Man is that which we all know', etc. [24] For this thinker proceeds to say that *only the atoms and the void truly exist, and these, he says, form the substrate not only of living beings, but of all compound bodies, so that, as far as these are concerned, we shall not form a concept of the particular essence of Man, seeing that they are common to all things.* But besides these there is no existing substrate; so that we shall possess no means whereby we shall be able to distinguish Man from the other living beings and *form a clear conception* of him. [25] Again, Epicurus says that Man is *such and such a shape combined with a soul.* According to him, then, since *Man is shown by pointing out,* he that is *not pointed out is not a man,* and, if anyone points out a female, the male will not be Man, while if the female points out a male, she will not be Man." *Outlines of Pyrrhonism,* p. 56.

[VIII, 64] "For besides Pythagoras also Empedocles and the Ionians, besides Socrates also Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics, and perhaps also the Garden philosophers,[182] concede that God exists, *as the speeches made by Epicurus testify.*" *Against the Professors,* p. 320.

[VIII, 71] "For it cannot be assumed that the souls are carried down below.... [72] They are *not* dissolved, when *separated from the bodies, as Epicurus used to say,* like smoke. For before also it was not the body which held them fast, but they themselves were for the body the reason why it held together, but still more for themselves." *Against the Professors,* p. 321.

[VIII, 58] "And *Epicurus,* according to some, concedes the essence of God as far as the multitude is concerned, but *by no means as concerns the nature of things.*" *Against the Professors,* p. 319.

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[a] Implicitly.— *Ed.*

[VII, 267] "The Epicureans [...] did not know that if *that which is pointed out is Man*, that which is not pointed out is not Man. And further *such pointing out takes place* either in respect of a man ... flat-nosed or aquiline-nosed, long-haired or curly-haired, or in respect of *other distinctive features*." *Against the Professors*, p. 187.

[I, 49] "... amongst them we must place Epicurus, although he seems to be hostile to the professors of science." *Against the Professors*, p. 11.

[I, 57] "*Since, according to the sage Epicurus, it is not possible either to inquire or to doubt without a preconception*, it will be well first of all to consider what 'grammar' ... is...." *Against the Professors*, p. 12.

[I, 272] "... but we shall find even the *accusers of grammar*, Pyrrho and *Epicurus*, acknowledging its necessity. [...] [273] Epicurus has been detected as guilty of having filched the best of his dogmas from the poets. For he has been shown to have taken his proposition that the intensity of pleasure is 'the removal of everything painful'—from this one verse:

"'When they had now put aside all longing for drinking and eating.'

"And as to death, that 'it is nothing to us', Epicharmus had pointed this out to him when he said:

"'To die or to be dead concerns me not.'

"So too, he stole the notion that dead bodies have no feeling from Homer, where he writes:

"'"Tis dumb clay that he beats with abuse in his violent fury."' *Against the Professors*, p. 54.

[VII, 14] "Side by side with him,"

(Archelaus of Athens, who divides philosophy into τὸ φυσικὸν καὶ ἠθικόν [a])

"they place Epicurus as one who also rejects logical consideration. [15] But there were others who said that *he did not reject logic in general, but only that of the Stoics*." *Against the Professors*, p. 140.

[22] "But the Epicureans proceed from logic: for they investigate first the Canonics and create for themselves the doctrine of the visible and the concealed and the appearances which accompany them." *Against the Professors*, p. 142.

[I, 1] "*Opposition to the representatives of science seems to be common to the Epicureans* and the followers of Pyrrho, though *not from the same* standpoint; the Epicureans hold that the *sciences contribute nothing to the perfecting of wisdom*,"

(this means that the Epicureans consider the knowledge of things, as another form of existence of the spirit, to be powerless in raising the reality of the spirit; the Pyrrhonists consider the powerlessness of the spirit to comprehend things as its essential aspect, its real activity. There is a similar relation between the dogmatists and the Kantians in their attitude to philosophy, although both sides appear degenerate and deprived of the freshness of ancient philosophy. The former renounce knowledge out of godliness, that is, they believe with the Epicureans that the divine in man is ignorance, that this divine, which is laziness, is disturbed by understanding. The Kantians, on the contrary, are as

[a] Physics and ethics.— *Ed.*

it were the appointed priests of ignorance, their daily business is to tell their beads over their own powerlessness and the power of things. The Epicureans are more consistent: if ignorance is inherent in the spirit, then knowledge is no enhancement of the spiritual nature, but something indifferent to the spirit, and for an ignorant man the divine is not the motion of knowledge, but laziness);

[1-2] "Or, as some conjecture, because they see in this a way of covering up their ignorance. For in many matters Epicurus stands convicted of ignorance, and even in ordinary converse his speech was not always correct." *Against the Professors*, p. 1.

After quoting some more gossip which clearly proves his confusion, Sextus Empiricus defines the difference between the Sceptics' attitude to science and that of the Epicureans as follows:

[5] "The followers of Pyrrho [opposed the sciences] *neither because they did not contribute anything to wisdom, for that assertion would be dogmatic,* nor because they were uneducated.... [6] They had the same attitude to the *sciences* as to the whole of *philosophy.*"

(From this it is evident that one must distinguish between μαθήματα [a] and φιλοσοφία [b] and that Epicurus' contempt for μαθήματα extends to what we call knowledge, and how exactly this assertion *suo systemati omni consentit.* [c])

"For just as they approached philosophy with the desire of attaining truth, but, *when faced with an anomaly of things resembling contradiction, suspended judgment,* so also, when they set about mastering the sciences and tried also to attain the truth contained in them, they found equal difficulties, which they did not conceal." p. 6 [*Against the Professors*, Book I].

In the *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*, Book I, Chap. XVII, the aetiology which Epicurus in particular applied is aptly refuted, in such a way, however, that the Sceptics' own impotence is revealed.

[I, 185] "Possibly, too, the Five Modes of suspension of judgment may suffice as against the aetiologies. For either a person will suggest a cause which accords with all the trends of philosophy and of scepticism and with the phenomena, or he will not. And perhaps it is impossible to assign a cause which accords with all these."

(Of course, to assign such a cause which is nothing else at all but a phenomenon, is impossible because the cause is the ideality of the phenomenon, the transcended phenomenon. Just as little can [the assignment of] a cause accord with Scepticism, because Scepticism is professional opposition to all thought, the negation of

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[a] Science.— *Ed.*
[b] Philosophy.— *Ed.*
[c] Corresponds to his whole system.— *Ed.*

determination itself. It is naive to confine scepticism to φαινόμενα [a], for the phenomenon is the being-lost, the not-being of thought: scepticism is the same not-being of thought as reflected in itself, but the phenomenon has in itself disappeared, it is only a semblance; scepticism is the speaking phenomenon and disappears as the phenomenon disappears, it is also only a phenomenon.)

[185-186] "For all things, whether apparent or non-evident, are *matters of controversy*. But if *there is controversy*, the cause of this cause will also be asked for"

(that is, the Sceptic wants a cause which itself is only a semblance and therefore no cause).

"And if he assumes an apparent cause for an apparent, and a non-evident for a non-evident, he will be lost in the regress *ad infinitum*" [*Outlines of Pyrrhonism*, Book I],

(that is, because the Sceptic refuses to get away from the semblance and wants to hold on to it as such, he cannot get away from the semblance and this manoeuvre can be carried on into infinity; it is true that Epicurus wishes to go on from the atom to further determinations, but as he will not allow the atom as such to be dissolved, he cannot go beyond atomistics, determinations external to themselves and arbitrary; the Sceptic, on the other hand, accepts all determinations, but in the determinateness of semblance; his activity is therefore just as arbitrary and displays everywhere the same inadequacy. He swims, to be sure, in the whole wealth of the world, but remains in the same poverty and is himself an embodiment of the powerlessness which he sees in things; Epicurus makes the world empty from the start and so he ends up with the completely indeterminate, the void resting in itself, the otiose god).

[186] "And if at any point he makes a stand, either he will state that the cause is valid in respect of the previous admission, introducing the relating-to-something while he negates the relating-to-nature,"

(it is precisely in the semblance, in the appearance, that the πρός τι [b] is the πρός τὴν φύσιν [c]);

"or if he accepts something out of a presupposition, he will be stopped." p. 36 [*Outlines of Pyrrhonism*].

As the meteors, the *visible heaven*, are for the ancient philosophers the symbol and the visible confirmation of their pre-

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[a] Phenomena.— *Ed.*
[b] Relating-to-something.— *Ed.*
[c] Relating-to-nature.— *Ed.*

judice for the substantial, so that even Aristotle takes the stars for gods, or at least brings them into direct connection with the highest energy, so the *written heaven*, the *sealed word* of the god who has been revealed to himself in the course of world history, is the battle-cry of Christian philosophy. The premise of the ancients is the act of nature, that of the moderns the act of the spirit. The struggle of the ancients could only end by the visible heaven, the substantial nexus of life, the force of gravity of political and religious life being shattered, for nature must be split in two for the spirit to be one in itself. The Greeks broke it up with the Hephaestan hammer of art, broke it up in their statues; the Roman plunged his sword into its heart and the peoples died, but modern philosophy unseals the word, lets it pass away in smoke in the holy fire of the spirit, and as fighter of the spirit fighting the spirit, not as a solitary apostate fallen from the gravity of Nature, it is universally active and melts the forms which prevent the universal from breaking forth.

## III. PLUTARCH, PUBLISHED BY C. XYLANDER, *THAT EPICURUS ACTUALLY MAKES A PLEASANT LIFE IMPOSSIBLE*

It goes without saying that very little of this treatise by Plutarch is of any use. One need only read the introduction with its clumsy boastfulness and its crude interpretation of the Epicurean philosophy in order no longer to entertain any doubt about Plutarch's utter incompetence in philosophical criticism.

Although he may agree with the view of Metrodorus:

> [III, 2] "They [the Epicureans] believe that the supreme good is found in the belly and all other passages of the flesh through which pleasure and non-pain make their entrance, and that all the notable and brilliant inventions of civilisation were devised for this belly-centred pleasure and for the good expectation of this pleasure [....]" p. 1087,

this is *minime*[a] Epicurus' teaching. Even Sextus Empiricus sees the difference between Epicurus and the Cyrenaic school in that he asserts that *voluptas*[b] is *voluptas animi.*[c]

> [III, 9-10] "Epicurus asserts that in illness the sage often actually laughs at the paroxysms of the disease. Then how can men for whom the pains of the body are so slight and easy to bear find anything appreciable in its pleasures?" p. 1088.

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[a] Least of all.— *Ed.*
[b] Pleasure.— *Ed.*
[c] Pleasure of the soul.— *Ed.*

It is clear that Plutarch does not understand Epicurus' consistency. For Epicurus the highest pleasure is freedom from pain, from diversity, the absence of any dependence; the body which depends on no other for its sensation, which does not feel this diversity, is healthy, positive. This position, which achieves its highest form in Epicurus' otiose god, is of itself like a chronic sickness in which the disease, because of its duration, ceases to be a condition, becomes, as it were, familiar and normal. We have seen in Epicurus' philosophy of nature that he strives after this absence of dependence, this removal of diversity in theory as well as in practice. The greatest good for Epicurus is ἀταραξία ,[a] since the spirit, which is the thing in question, is empirically unique. Plutarch revels in commonplaces, he argues like an apprentice.

Incidentally we can speak of the conception of the σοφός,[b] who is a preoccupation equally of the Epicurean, Stoic and Sceptic philosophies. If we study him we shall find that he belongs most logically to the atomistic philosophy of Epicurus and that, viewed from this standpoint too, the downfall of ancient philosophy is presented in complete objectiveness in Epicurus.

Ancient philosophy seeks to comprehend the wise man, ὁ σοφός, in two ways, but both of them have the same root.

What appears theoretically in the account given of matter, appears practically in the definition of the σοφός. Greek philosophy begins with seven wise men, among whom is the Ionian philosopher of nature Thales, and it ends with the attempt to portray the wise man conceptually. The beginning and the end, but no less the centre, the middle, is one σοφός , namely Socrates. It is no more an accident that philosophy gravitates round these substantial individuals, than that the political downfall of Greece takes place at the time when Alexander loses his wisdom in Babylon.

Since the soul of Greek life and the Greek mind is substance, which first appears in them as free substance, the knowledge of this substance occurs in independent beings, individuals, who, being notable, on the one hand, each has his being in *external* contrast to the others, and whose knowledge, on the other hand, is the inward life of substance and thus something internal to the conditions of the reality surrounding them. The Greek philosopher is a demiurge, his world is a different one from that which flowers in the natural sun of the substantial.

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[a] Ataraxy.— *Ed.*
[b] Wise man.— *Ed.*

Page from *Notebooks on Epicurean Philosophy*

(Second Notebook)

The first wise men are only the vessels, the Pythia, from which the substance resounds in general, simple precepts; their language is as yet only that of the substance become vocal, the simple forces of moral life which are revealed. Hence they are in part also active leaders in political life, lawgivers.

The Ionian philosophers of nature are just as much isolated phenomena as the forms of the natural element appear under which they seek to apprehend the universe. The Pythagoreans organise an inner life for themselves within the state; the form in which they realise their knowledge of substance is halfway between a completely conscious isolation not observed among the Ionians, whose isolation is rather the undeliberate, naive isolation of elementary existences, and the trustful carrying on of life within a moral order. The form of their life is itself substantial, political, but maintained abstract, reduced to a minimum in extent and natural fundamentals, just as their principle, number, stands midway between colourful sensuousness and the ideal. The Eleatics, as the first discoverers of the ideal forms of substance, who themselves still apprehend the inwardness of substance in a purely internal and abstract, intensive manner, are the passionately enthusiastic prophetic heralds of the breaking dawn. Bathed in simple light, they turn away indignantly from the people and from the gods of antiquity. But in the case of Anaxagoras the people themselves turn to the gods of antiquity in opposition to the isolated wise man and declare him to be such, expelling him from their midst. In modern times (cf., for example, Ritter, *Geschichte der alten Philosophie,* Bd. I [1829, pp. 300 ff.]) Anaxagoras has been accused of dualism. Aristotle says in the first book of the *Metaphysics* that he uses the νοῦς[a] like a machine and only resorts to it when he runs out of natural explanations. But this apparent dualism is on the one hand that very same dualistic element which begins to split the heart of the state in the time of Anaxagoras, and on the other hand it must be understood more profoundly. The νοῦς is active and is resorted to where there is no natural determination. It is itself the *non ens*[b] of the natural, the ideality. And then the activity of this ideality intervenes only when physical sight fails the philosopher, that is, the νοῦς is the *philosopher*'s own νοῦς, and is resorted to when he is no longer able to objectify his activity. Thus the subjective νοῦς appeared as the essence of

[a] Reason.— *Ed.*
[b] Not-being.— *Ed.*

the wandering scholar,[a] and, in its power as ideality of real determination, it appears on the one hand in the Sophists and on the other in Socrates.

If the first Greek wise men are the real spirit, the embodied knowledge of substance, if their utterances preserve just as much genuine intensity as substance itself, if, as substance is increasingly idealised, the bearers of its progress assert an ideal life in their particular reality in opposition to the reality of manifested substance, of the real life of the people, then the ideality itself is only in the form of substance. There is no undermining of the living powers; the most ideal men of this period, the Pythagoreans and the Eleatics, extol state life as real reason; their principles are objective, a power which is superior to themselves, which they herald in a semi-mystical fashion, in poetic enthusiasm; that is, in a form which raises natural energy to ideality and does not consume it, but processes it and leaves it intact in the determination of the natural. This embodiment of the ideal substance occurs in the philosophers themselves who herald it; not only is its expression plastically poetic, its reality is this person, whose reality is its own appearance; they themselves are living images, living works of art which the people sees rising out of itself in plastic greatness; while their activity, as in the case of the first wise men, shapes the universal, their utterances are the really assertive substance, the laws.

Hence these wise men are just as little like ordinary people as the statues of the Olympic gods; ther motion is rest in self, their relation to the people is the same objectivity as their relation to substance. The oracles of the Delphic Apollo were divine truth for the people, veiled in the chiaroscuro of an unknown power, only as long as the genuine evident power of the Greek spirit sounded from the Pythian tripod; the people had a theoretical attitude towards them only as long as they were the resounding theory of the people itself, they were of the people only as long as they were unlike them. The same with these wise men. But with the Sophists and Socrates, and by virtue of δύναμις[b] in Anaxagoras, the situation was reversed. Now it is ideality itself which, in its immediate form, the *subjective spirit*, becomes the principle of philosophy. In the earlier Greek wise men there was revealed the ideal form of the substance, its identity, in distinction to the

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[a] Cf. Goethe, *Faust*, 1, 3.—*Ed.*
[b] Potentialities.—*Ed.*

many-coloured raiment woven from the individualities of various peoples that displayed its manifest reality. Consequently, these wise men on the one hand apprehend the absolute only in the most one-sided, most general ontological definitions, and on the other hand, themselves represent in reality the appearance of the substance enclosed in itself. While they hold themselves aloof from the πολλοί,[a] and express the mystery of the spirit, on the other hand, like the plastic gods in the market places, in their blissful self-contemplation, they are the genuine embellishment of the people, to which as individuals they return. It is now, on the contrary, ideality itself, pure abstraction which has come to be for itself, that faces the substance; subjectivity, which establishes itself as the principle of philosophy. Not of the people, this subjectivity, confronting the substantial powers of the people, is yet of the people, that is, it confronts reality externally, is in practice entangled in it, and its existence is motion. These mobile vessels of development are the Sophists. Their innermost form, cleansed from the immediate dross of appearance, is Socrates, whom the Delphic oracle called the σοφώτατον.[b]

Being confronted by its own ideality, substance is split up into a mass of accidental limited existences and institutions whose right—unity, and identity with it—has escaped into the subjective spirit. The subjective spirit itself is as such the vessel of substance, but because this ideality is opposed to reality, it is present in minds objectively as a "must", and subjectively as a striving. The expression of this subjective spirit, which knows that it has the ideality in itself, is the judgment of the concept, for which the criterion of the individual is that which is determined in itself, the purpose, the good, but which is still here a "must" of reality. This "must" of reality is likewise a "must" of the subject which has become conscious of this ideality, for it itself stands rooted in reality and the reality outside it is its own. Thus the position of this subject is just as much determined as its fate.

First, the fact that this ideality of substance has entered the subjective spirit, has fallen away from itself, is a leap, a falling away from the substantial life determined in the substantial life itself. Hence this determination of the subject is for it an accomplished fact, an alien force, the bearer of which it finds itself to be, the daemon of Socrates. The daemon is the immediate appearance of the fact that for Greek life philosophy is just as

[a] Multitude.—*Ed.*
[b] Wisest.—*Ed.*

much only internal as only external. The characteristics of the daemon determine the empirical singularity of the subject, because the subject naturally detaches itself from the substantial, and hence naturally determined, life in this [Greek] life, since the daemon appears as a natural determinant. The Sophists themselves are these daemons, not yet differentiated from their actions. Socrates is conscious that he carries the daemon in himself. Socrates is the substantial exemplar of substance losing itself in the subject. He is therefore just as much a substantial individual as the earlier philosophers, but after the manner of subjectivity, not enclosed in himself, not an image of the gods, but a human one, not mysterious, but clear and luminous, not a seer, but a sociable man.

The second determination is therefore that this subject pronounces a judgment on the "must", the purpose. Substance has lost its ideality in the subjective spirit, which thus has become in itself the determination of substance, its predicate, while substance itself has become in relation to the subjective spirit only the immediate, unjustified, merely existing composite of independent existences. The determination of the predicate, since it refers to something existing, is hence itself immediate, and since this something is the living spirit of the people, it is in practice the determination of the individual spirits, education and teaching. The "must" of substantiality is the subjective spirit's own determination expressed by it; the purpose of the world is therefore its [the spirit's] own purpose, to teach about it is its calling. It therefore embodies in itself the purpose and hence the good both in its life and in its teaching. It is the wise man as he has entered into practical motion.

Finally, inasmuch as this individual pronounces the judgment of the concept on the world, he is in himself divided and judged; for while he has his roots for one part in the substantial, he owes his right to exist only to the laws of the state to which he belongs, to its religion, in brief, to all the substantial conditions which appear to him as his own nature. On the other hand, he possesses in himself the purpose which is the judge of that substantiality. His own substantiality is therefore judged in this individual himself and thus he perishes precisely because he is born of the substantial, and not of the free spirit which endures and overcomes all contradictions and which need not recognise any natural conditions as such.

The reason why Socrates is so important is that the relation of Greek philosophy to the Greek spirit, and therefore its inner limit,

is expressed in him. It is self-evident how stupid was the comparison drawn in recent times between the relation of Hegelian philosophy to life and the case of Socrates, from which the justification for condemning the Hegelian philosophy was deduced. The specific failing of Greek philosophy is precisely that it stands related only to the substantial spirit; in our time both sides are spirit and both want to be acknowledged as such.

Subjecivity is manifested in its immediate bearer [Socrates] as his life and his practical activity, as a form by which he leads single individuals out of the determinations of substantiality to determination in themselves; apart from this practical activity, his philosophy has no other content than the abstract determination of the good. His philosophy is his transference from substantially existing notions, differences, etc., to determination-in-self, which, however, has no other content than to be the vessel of this dissolving reflection; his philosophy is therefore essentially his *own wisdom*, his own *goodness*; in relation to the world the only fulfilment of his teaching on the good is a quite different subjectivity from that of Kant when he establishes his categorical imperative. For Kant it is of no account what attitude he, as an empirical subject, adopts towards this imperative.

With Plato motion becomes ideal; as Socrates is the image and teacher of the world, so Plato's ideas, his philosophical abstraction, are its prototypes.

In Plato this abstract determination of the good, of the purpose, develops into a comprehensive, world-embracing philosophy. The purpose, as the determination in itself, the real will of the philosopher, is thinking, the real determinations of this good are the immanent thoughts. The real will of the philosopher, the ideality active in him, is the real "must" of the real world. Plato sees this his attitude to reality in such a way that an independent realm of ideas hovers over reality (and this "beyond" is the philosopher's own subjectivity) and is obscurely reflected in it. If Socrates discovered only the name of the ideality which has passed out of substance into the subject, and was himself consciously this motion, the substantial world of reality now enters really idealised into Plato's consciousness, but thereby this ideal world itself is just as simply organised in itself as is the really substantial world facing it, of which Aristotle most aptly remarked:

(*Metaphysics*, I, Chap. IX) "For the Forms are practically equal to—or not fewer than—the things, in trying to explain which these thinkers proceeded from them to the Form".

The determination of this world and its organisation in itself is therefore to the philosopher himself a beyond, the motion has been removed from this world.

"Yet when the Forms exist, still the things that share in them do not come into being, unless there is something to originate movement [...]." Aristotle, op. cit.

The philosopher as such, that is, as the wise man, not as the motion of the real spirit in general, is therefore the truth-beyond of the substantial world facing him. Plato expresses this most precisely when he says that either the philosophers must become kings or the kings philosophers for the state to achieve its purpose. In his attempts to educate a tyrant he also made a practical effort on these lines. His state has indeed as its special and highest estate that of the learned.[a]

I wish to mention here two other remarks made by Aristotle, because they provide the most important conclusions concerning the form of Platonic consciousness and link up with the aspect from which we consider it in relation to the σοφός.[b]

Aristotle says of Plato:

"In the *Phaedo* the case is stated in this way—that the Forms are causes both of being and of becoming; yet when the Forms exist, still the things that share in them do not come into being, unless there is something to originate movement [...]." Aristotle, op. cit.

It is not only that which is, it is the whole possibility of being that Plato wants to bring out into ideality: this ideality is a closed, specifically different realm in the philosophising consciousness itself: because it is this, it lacks motion.

This contradiction in the philosophising consciousness must objectify itself to the latter, the philosophising consciousness must eject this contradiction.

"Again the Forms are patterns not only of sensible things, but of Forms themselves also: e.g. the genus, as genus of Forms; so that the same thing could be both pattern and copy." [op. cit.]

Lucretius on the ancient Ionian philosophers:

"... have certainly made many excellent and divine discoveries and uttered oracles from the inner sanctuary of their hearts with more sanctity and far surer reason than those the Delphic prophetess pronounces, drugged by the laurel fumes from Apollo's tripod." Book I, ll. 736-740.

Important for the definition of the Epicurean philosophy of nature is the following:

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[a] Plato, *Res publica*, V, 473.—*Ed.*
[b] Wise man.—*Ed.*

1. The *eternity of matter,* which is connected with the fact that time is considered as an accident of accidents, as proper only to composites and their *eventis,* and hence is relegated to outside the material principle, outside the atom itself. It is further connected with the fact that the substance of the Epicurean philosophy is that which reflects only externally, which has no premises, which is arbitrariness and accident. Time is rather the fate of nature, of the finite. Negative unity with itself, its internal necessity.

2. The void, the negation, is not the negative of matter itself, but [space] where there is no matter. In this respect too, therefore, matter is in itself eternal.

The form which we see emerge at the conclusion from the workshop of Greek philosophical consciousness, out of the darkness of abstraction, and veiled in its dark garb, is the same form in which Greek philosophy walked, alive, the stage of the world, the same form which saw gods even in the burning hearth, the same which drank the poison cup, the same which, as the God of Aristotle, enjoys the greatest bliss, theory.

# EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY

## *Third Notebook*

### III. PLUTARCH, 1. *THAT EPICURUS ACTUALLY MAKES A PLEASANT LIFE IMPOSSIBLE.* 2. *COLOTES*

### [III.] PLUTARCH, 1. *THAT EPICURUS ACTUALLY MAKES A PLEASANT LIFE IMPOSSIBLE*

[III, 10-11] "[...] as a *common end for it* (pleasure) Epicurus has set the *removal of all pain.* For he believes that our nature adds to pleasure only up to the point where pain disappears and *does not allow it to increase any further* (although the pleasure, when the *state of painlessness is not reached,* admits of certain unessential variations). But to proceed to this point, accompanied by desire, is our stint of pleasure, and the journey is indeed short and quick. Hence it is that becoming aware of the poverty here they [the Epicureans] *transfer their final good from the body, as from an unproductive piece of land, to the soul.*" p. 1088.

[IV, 1] "[...] do you not hold that the gentlemen [the Epicureans] do well to begin with the body, where [pleasure] first appears, and then pass to the soul as having more stability and bring the whole to consummation in it?"

The answer to this is that the transition is correct, but

[IV, 3] "When you hear their loud protest that the soul is so constituted as to find joy and tranquillity in nothing in the world but pleasure of the body either present or anticipated, and that this is its good, do they not appear to you to be using the soul as a funnel of the body, through which they pour pleasure, like wine, from a worthless and leaky vessel into another and leave it to age there in the belief that they are turning it into something more respectable and precious?" p. 1088.

Here too, Plutarch fails to understand the logic of Epicurus; it is important to note anyhow that he does not see a specific transition from the *voluptas corporis ad voluptatem animi,*[a] and Epicurus' attitude in this respect should be more closely defined.

[IV, 4] "... the soul takes up the memory ... but retains nothing else ... and the memory of it [pleasure] is obscure...." p. 1088.

[IV, 5] "Observe the greater moderation of the Cyrenaics, though they have tippled from the same jug as Epicurus: they even think it wrong to indulge in sexual commerce when there is a light, and instead provide for a cover of darkness, so that the mind may not, by receiving the images of the act in full clarity through

[a] Pleasure of the body to pleasure of the soul.— *Ed.*

the sense of sight, too often rekindle the desire. [IV, 6] ... the other set ... hold that the superiority of the sage lies above all in this, in vividly remembering and keeping intact in himself the sights and feelings and movements associated with pleasure, ... thus recommending a practice unworthy of the name of wisdom by allowing the slops of pleasure to remain in the soul of the sage as in the house of a wastrel." p. 1089.

[IV, 9] "For it betrays a violent and brutish longing for present and anticipated enjoyments, when the soul revels with such bacchanalian attachment to recollection." p. 1089.

[IV, 10] "It is this, I believe, that has driven them, seeing for themselves the absurdities to which they were reduced, to take refuge in the 'painlessness' and the 'stable condition of the flesh'...; for the 'stable and settled condition of the flesh' and the 'trustworthy expectation' of this condition contain, they say, the highest and the most assured delight for men who are able to reflect. [V, 1] Now first observe their conduct here, how they keep decanting this 'pleasure' or 'painlessness' or 'stable condition' of theirs back and forth, from body to soul and then once more from soul to body, compelled, since they cannot retain volatile pleasure, to begin again from the beginning, and though they lay the pleasure of the body as he says at the base of the delight of the soul, they again let the delight pass through anticipation into pleasure." p. 1089.

This remark is of importance for the Epicurean dialectics of pleasure, although it is wrongly criticised by Plutarch. According to Epicurus, the wise man himself is in this vacillating condition which appears to be the determination of ἡδονή.[a] Only God is μακαριότης,[b] the pure rest of nothingness in itself, the complete absence of all determination; this is why he has his abode not inside the world like the wise man, but outside it.

[V, 5] "For whereas a 'stable condition of the flesh' occurs frequently enough, no certain and firm expectation where the flesh is concerned can arise in a reasonable mind." p. 1090.

Plutarch criticises Epicurus on the grounds that because of the possibility of pain there can be no freedom in a healthy present. But in the first place the Epicurean spirit is not one which concerns itself with such possibilities, but because absolute relativity, the accidental nature of [every] relationship, is in itself only unrelatedness, the Epicurean wise man takes his condition as unrelated, and as such it is for him a stable one. Time is for him only the accident of accidents; how could its shadow penetrate into the solid phalanx of ἀταραξία[c]? But if he postulates that the immediate premise of the individual spirit, namely the body, should be healthy, this is only [postulated] to bring back home to the spirit its own unrelatedness, its inborn nature, that is [by postulating] a healthy body not externally differentiated [from the

[a] Pleasure.— *Ed.*
[b] Bliss.— *Ed.*
[c] Ataraxy.— *Ed.*

individual spirit]. If, when one is suffering, this real nature of his hovers before him in the guise of fantasies and hopes of individual conditions in which that characteristic condition of his spirit would be realised, that only means that the individual as such contemplates his ideal subjectivity in an individual way—a completely correct observation. For Epicurus, Plutarch's objection means simply that the freedom of the spirit is not present in a healthy body because it is present; for it is superfluous to remove the possibility outside precisely because reality is determined only as a possibility, as chance. If on the other hand the matter is regarded in its universality, then it is precisely a renunciation of universality if the true positive condition is to be obscured by accidental details; this simply means that dwelling in the free ether one thinks of particular mixtures, of the exhalations of poisonous plants, of the inhalations of tiny living things, this means to renounce life because one is liable to die, etc.; it means not to allow oneself the enjoyment of the universal but to fall out of it into particularities. Such a frame of mind concerns itself only with the very smallest things, it is so meticulous that it fails to see anything. Finally, if Plutarch says one must take care to maintain the health of the body, Epicurus also repeats that same platitude, but with more genius: he who perceives the universal condition as the true one takes the best care to maintain it. That is human common sense. It believes it has the right to counterpose to the philosophers its most foolish trivialities and commonplaces as a *terra incognita*. It thinks itself a Columbus when it stands eggs on end. Apart from his system (for this is his right, *summum jus*[a]) Epicurus is on the whole correct when he says the wise man considers illness as a non-being, but the semblance disappears. If therefore he is ill, that is to him a disappearance which does not endure; if he is healthy, in his essential condition, the semblance does not exist for him and he has other things to do than to think that it could exist. If he is ill, he does not believe it the illness; if he is healthy, he acts as though this were the condition to which he is entitled, that is, he acts as a healthy person. How lamentable in comparison with this resolute, healthy individual is a Plutarch, who recalls Aeschylus, Euripides, and even Doctor Hippocrates merely in order not to rejoice in health!

Health, as the condition of being identical with oneself, is forgotten of itself, there is no reason to busy oneself with the body; this differentiation begins only with illness.

Epicurus desires no eternal life: how much less can it matter to him that the next instant may conceal some misfortune.

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[a] Supreme right.—*Ed.*

Just as wrong is the following criticism made by Plutarch:

[VI, 1] "Criminals and transgressors of the law, they say, pass their entire lives in misery and apprehension, since even though they may succeed in escaping detection, they can have no assurance of doing so; in consequence fear for the future lies heavy on them and precludes any delight or confidence in their present situation. [VI, 2] In these words, without knowing it, they have also spoken against themselves: we can often enjoy in the body a 'stable condition', that is, health, but there is no way to acquire any assurance that it will last. Hence they cannot but be constantly anxious and worried for the body in facing the future." p. 1090.

In actual fact it is just the contrary of what Plutarch says. Only when the individual violates them do the laws and general customs begin to be premises for him, he sets himself against them, and his escape from this state of tension would only lie in πίστις,[a] which, however, is not guaranteed by anything.

In general, the interesting thing in Epicurus is that in every sphere he eliminates the condition by which the premise as such is provoked to appear and he considers as normal the condition in which the premise is concealed. In general, it is nowhere a question of the mere σάρξ.[b] Punitive justice is a direct manifestation of inner connection, mute necessity, and Epicurus eliminates both its category from logic and the semblance of its reality from the wise man's life. The accidental fact, on the contrary, that the just man suffers, is an external relation and does not wrest him out of his unrelatedness.

Hence it can be seen how wrong is the following criticism made by Plutarch:

[VI, 3] "To do no wrong does nothing to bring assurance; it is not suffering deservedly, but suffering at all that is dreaded." p. 1090.

What Plutarch means is that Epicurus must reason in that way according to his principles. It does not occur to him that Epicurus may have other principles than those which he, Plutarch, attributes to him.

[VI, 4] "For the nature of the flesh possesses in itself the raw material of diseases, and as in the jesting proverb we speak of getting the whip from the ox's hide, so it gets the pains from the body, and suffices to make life precarious and full of fears for wicked and honest men alike, once they have been taught to let their delight and trust depend on the body and on expectation for the body and on nothing else, *as Epicurus teaches in his treatise 'On the Highest Goods' and in many other passages as well.*" pp. 1090-1091.

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[a] Trust.— *Ed.*

[b] Body, flesh.— *Ed.*

[VII, 1] "Inasmuch as their [the Epicureans'] good is an escape from ills, and they say that no other can be conceived, and indeed that nature has no place at all in which to put its good except the place left when evil is expelled [...]." p. 1091.

[VII, 2] "*Epicurus too* makes a similar *statement to the effect that the good is a thing that arises out of your very escape from evil* and from your memory and reflection and jubilation that this has happened to you. His words are these: 'For what produces a jubilation unsurpassed is the contrast of the *great* evil escaped; and this is the nature of good, if you apply your mind rightly and then stand firm and do not indulge in meaningless prating about good.'" p. 1091.

"Shame!" exclaims Plutarch here.

[VII, 4] "Therefore in this they are no whit inferior to swine or sheep.... Actually, for the cleverer and more graceful animals the escape from evil is not the end. ... since once they have escaped evil they instinctively seek out the good, or better, let us say that they reject everything painful or alien as an impediment to the pursuit of the real, better kernel of their nature." ([VIII, 1] For what is necessary is not good*, what is worth seeking and choosing lies beyond the escape from evil....)[a] p. 1091.

Plutarch thinks himself very wise when he says that besides the necessity of flying from evil, the animal seeks the good, the good that lies beyond the escape. Its animal nature lies precisely in the fact that the animal seeks something good over-beyond. According to Epicurus, no good for man lies outside himself; the only good which he has in relation to the world is the negative motion to be free of it.

That all this is understood individually in Epicurus follows from the principle of his philosophy, which he formulates with all its consequences; Plutarch's syncretic senseless argumentation cannot measure up to this.

[VIII, 3] "For even if an itching of the skin or a rheumy flux in the eye is unpleasant, it does not follow that scratching the skin and wiping the eye are anything special; nor does it follow that if pain, fear of the gods and anxiety about what awaits one in Hades are evil, escape from them is enviable bliss [...]." p. 1091. [VIII, 4] "No; these men coop up their *delight* in *quarters* that are *small* and cramped ... advancing beyond the usual stupid notions and taking as the final goal of wisdom that which, it would appear, is naturally present in irrational beasts. [VIII, 5] For if it makes no difference in the freedom of the body from pain whether it has got free by itself or through nature, so too in ataraxy it is of no importance whether the unperturbed condition is achieved by the soul or through nature.... [VIII, 6] For likewise these gentlemen will be seen to be no better off than the brutes in this matter of not being disturbed by what awaits them in Hades or by tales about the gods and of not anticipating endless anxiety or pain [...]." [pp. 1091-1092.]

* (on this point Aristotle has quite different views; he teaches in the *Metaphysics* that necessity rules free men more than it does slaves).— *Note by Marx.*

[a] The manuscript here gives in brackets the Latin translation of the last sentence of the citation.— *Ed.*

[VIII, 7] "...*Epicurus himself ... says, 'If we were not troubled with misgivings about metèors and again with fear of death and pain, we should never have stood in need of natural philosophy.'*" p. 1092.

[VIII, 8] "... since, however, the aim of their theology is to have no fear of God, but instead to be rid of anxieties, I should think that this condition is more securely in the possession of creatures that have no faintest notion of God than of those who have been taught to think of him as injuring no one. For they [the animals] have not been delivered from superstition, since they have never even been its victims; nor have they put aside the notion of the gods that is disturbing, but have never even adopted it. [VIII, 9] The same is to be said of things in Hades." p. 1092.

[VIII, 9-10] "[...] misgiving and dread of what comes after death is less the portion of those who have no preconception of death than of those who still have to conceive that death is no concern of ours. Death is a concern of these men to the extent that they reason about it and subject it to inquiry; but the brutes are relieved of any concern whatever for what is nothing to them, and when they avoid blows and wounds and being killed, they fear only that in death which the Epicureans fear as well." p. 1092.

That the Epicureans are said to demand that mathematics should be shunned. Plutarch, op. cit., p. 1094D.

[XII, 1] "... in admiration and most hearty commendation of one Apelles they write that from the beginning he held aloof from mathematics and thus kept himself unspotted." loc. cit.

Likewise history, etc., cf. Sext. Empiricus. Plutarch considers as a great fault of Metrodorus that the latter writes:

[XII, 2] "[...] so if you must admit that you do not even know on which side Hector fought, or the opening lines of Homer's poem, or again what comes between, do not be dismayed." loc. cit.

[XIII, 1] "[...] Epicurus ... says ... that the wise man is a lover of spectacles and yields to none in the enjoyment of musical and theatrical shows; but on the other hand he allows no place, even over the wine, for questions about music and the philological enquiries of critics", etc. p. 1095.

[XV, 4] "Why, the Epicureans themselves assert that it is more pleasant to confer a benefit than to receive one." p. 1097.

These αὐτοί [a] are precisely those *qui in haeresim Epicuri illapsi.*[b]

[XVIII, 5] "But Epicurus himself allowed that some pleasures come from fame." p. 1099.

[...] more worthy of consideration than the above-quoted shallow moral objections of Plutarch is his polemic against the Epicurean theology, not that polemic as such, but because it is revealed how ordinary consciousness, adopting, on the whole, the Epicurean standpoint, shies only before the obvious philosophical conclusion. Here one must always bear in mind that Epicurus is concerned

[a] Themselves.— *Ed.*

[b] Who have fallen into the heresy of Epicurus.— *Ed.*

neither with *voluptas*[a] nor with sensuous certainty, nor with anything else except the freedom of the mind and its freedom from determination. Therefore we shall go through Plutarch's considerations one by one.

[XX, 3] "One point, that of the pleasure they derive from these views, has, I should say, been dealt with [by Epicurus]: where their theory is fortunate and successful, it *does remove fear* and superstition in a way; but it *gives no joy or favour of the gods.* Instead it *puts us in the same state of mind in relation to the gods, of neither being alarmed nor rejoicing*" (i.e., being unrelated), "that we have in relation to Hyrcanian fishes, from which we expect neither good nor evil. [XX, 4] But if we are to add anything to what has already been said, I think we can take this from them themselves: first, they disagree with those who would do away with grief and tears and lamentations at the death of friends, and say that an absence of grief extending to complete insensibility stems from another, greater evil: callousness or unrestrained ambition and infatuation. Hence they say that it is better to be moved somewhat and to grieve and to melt into tears and fret and manifest other sentiments which make one appear soft-hearted and affectionate. [XX, 5] For this is what Epicurus said in many other passages...." [p.] p. [1100-]1101.

Plutarch does not understand the fear of God at all in the sense that Epicurus does; he does not grasp how philosophical consciousness wishes to free itself from it. The ordinary man is not aware of this. Plutarch therefore quotes trivial empirical examples showing how little terror this belief has for people at large.

In contrast to Epicurus, Plutarch first considers the belief of the πολλοί [b] in God and says that with the multitude this habit of mind indeed takes the form of fear; to be precise, sensuous fear is the only form in which he can grasp the anguish of the free spirit in face of a personal almighty being which absorbs freedom in itself and is, therefore, exclusive. He says:

1. [XXI, 3] Those who fear him (God): "If they fear him as a ruler gracious to the good and hostile to the wicked, they are freed by this one fear from doing wrong and do not need many redeemers, and since they let evil die down within themselves, in all calm, they are less tormented than those who make use of it and behave impudently but suddenly experience anxiety and regret." p. 1101.

And so by this sensuous fear they are protected against evil, as though this immanent fear were not evil. What is then the essence of the empirically evil? That the individual shuts himself off from his eternal nature in his empirical nature; but is that not the same as to shut his eternal nature out of himself, to apprehend it in the form of persistent isolation in self, in the form of the empirical, and hence to consider it as an empirical god outside self? Or must the stress be laid on the form of the relation? Then God is

[a] Pleasure.— *Ed.*
[b] Multitude.— *Ed.*

punitive in relation to the evil, lenient in relation to the good; and the evil here is what is evil to the empirical individual, and the good what is good to the empirical individual, for otherwise whence would this fear and this hope come, since the individual is concerned with what is evil and what is good for him? In this relation God is merely what is common to all the consequences that empirical evil actions can have. So does the empirical individual refrain from doing evil out of fear lest from the good which he achieves by evil actions a greater evil will result and a greater good will be forfeited, that is to say, in order that the continuity of his well-being will not be broken by the immanent possibility of being snatched out of that continuity?

Is that not the same thing as Epicurus teaches in plain words: do not act unjustly, so as not to go in continual fear of being punished? This immanent relation of the individual to his ἀταραξία [a] is therefore presented as a relationship to a god existing outside the individual, but again having no other content than this ἀταραξία, which is here continuity of well-being. Fear of the future, that condition of insecurity, is here inserted into the remote consciousness of God, considered as a condition which pre-exists in him, but also as a mere threat, and therefore precisely as in individual consciousness.

2. Plutarch says that this striving towards God also procures *voluptas.*[b]

[XXI, 6] "No, wherever it believes and conceives most firmly that God is present, there more than anywhere else it puts away all feelings of pain, fear, and worry, and gives itself up so far to pleasure that it indulges in a playful and merry inebriation in amatory matters...." p. 1101.

He goes on to say that old men, women, merchants, and kings rejoice in religious feast days....

[XXI, 8] "For it is not the abundance of wine or the attraction of the meats that cheer the heart at festivals, but good hope and the belief in the benign presence of God and his gracious acceptance of what is done." p. 1102.

There is need for closer study of how Plutarch describes this rejoicing, this *voluptas.*

First he says that the soul is most free from sorrow, fear and anxiety when God is present. So the presence of God is defined as freedom of the soul from fear, sorrow and anxiety. This freedom is manifested in exuberant rejoicing, for this is the individual soul's positive manifestation of this its condition.

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[a] Ataraxy.— *Ed.*
[b] Pleasure.— *Ed.*

Further: the accidental difference of the individual situation disappears where this pleasure exists. And thus the individual is freed from his other determinations and in this rejoicing the individual as such is determined, and this is a substantial determination. Finally, the pleasure is not in the separate enjoyment, but in the certainty that God is not something separate, but that his content is to rejoice over this pleasure of the individual, to look down benevolently on it, and hence to be himself in the determination of the rejoicing individual. Therefore what is deified and celebrated here is the deified individuality as such, freed from its customary bonds, therefore the σοφός[a] of Epicurus with his ἀταραξία.[b] God is worshipped not as non-present God, but as the present pleasure of the individual. This God has no further determination. Yes, the true form in which this freedom of the individual emerges here is enjoyment, and indeed individual, sensuous enjoyment, the enjoyment which is not disturbed. Ἀταραξία therefore hovers overhead as the general consciousness, but it manifests itself as the sensuous *voluptas* of Epicurus, except that what is here a living isolated condition is there total consciousness of life, and that for this reason the individual manifestation in Epicurus is more indifferent [to external conditions], more animated by its soul, by ἀταραξία, while in Plutarch this element is more lost in individuality and both are directly blended, and therefore are directly separate. Such is the pitiful outcome of the differentiation of the divine which Plutarch asserts in his polemic against Epicurus. And, to make another remark, if Plutarch says that kings do not enjoy their *publicis conviviis et viscerationibus*[c] so much as the sacrificial meals, this means nothing else than that in the first case enjoyment is considered as something human, accidental, and in the second as divine, that individual enjoyment is considered as divine, which is precisely Epicurean.

From this relation of the πονηροί[d] and the πολλοί[e] to God Plutarch distinguishes the relation of the βέλτιον ἀνθρώπων καί θεοφιλέστατον γένος.[f] We shall see what point he wins here against Epicurus.

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[a] Wise man.— *Ed.*
[b] Ataraxy.— *Ed.*
[c] Public feasts and entertainments.— *Ed.*
[d] Bad.— *Ed.*
[e] Multitude.— *Ed.*
[f] Best men and most agreeable to God.— *Ed.*

Plutarch says:

[XXII, 1-3] "... what great pleasures they have through their pure notions about God, who for them is the guide to all blessings, the father of everything honourable, and may no more do than suffer anything base. For he is good, and in none that is good arises envy about aught or fear or anger or hatred; for it is as much the function of heat to chill instead of warm as it is of good to harm. By its nature anger is infinitely far removed from favour, wrath from goodwill, and from love of man and kindness, hostility and a forbidding disposition; for the one set belong to virtue and power, the other to weakness and vice. Hence the deity cannot have in itself anger and favour together; rather, because it is God's nature to bestow favour and lend aid, it is not his nature to be angry and to do harm." p. 1102.

The philosophical meaning of the proposition that God is the ἡγεμών ἀγαθῶν [a] and the father πάντων καλῶν [b] is that this is not a predicate of God, but that the idea of good is the divine itself. But according to Plutarch a quite different result follows. Good is taken in the strictest opposition to evil, for the former is a manifestation of virtue and of power, the latter of weakness, privation and badness. Judgment, difference, is therefore removed out of God, and this is precisely a basic principle with Epicurus, who is therefore quite consistent when he finds this absence of difference in man theoretically as well as practically in his immediate identity, in sensuousness, whereas in God he finds it in pure *otium*. The God who is determined as good by removal of judgment is the void, for every determination carries in it an aspect which it receives in contrast to others and encloses in itself, and hence reveals in opposition and contradiction its ὀργή,[c] its μῖσος,[d] its φόβος [e] to renounce itself. Plutarch therefore gives the same determination as Epicurus, but only as an image, as imagination, which the latter calls by its conceptual name and does away with the human image.

There is therefore a false ring to the question:

[XXII, 5] "Do you think that those who deny providence require any further punishment, and are not adequately punished when they deprive themselves of so great a pleasure and delight?" [pp. 1102-1103.]

For it must be affirmed, on the contrary, that he experiences more pleasure in the contemplation of the divine who sees it as pure bliss in itself, without any notionless anthropomorphic relations, than he who does the opposite. It is already in itself bliss to have the thought of pure bliss, however abstractly it be

[a] Master-principle of all good.— *Ed.*
[b] Of all that is beautiful.— *Ed.*
[c] Wrath.— *Ed.*
[d] Hatred.— *Ed.*
[e] Fear.— *Ed.*

apprehended, as we can see from the Indian holy men. Besides, Plutarch has abolished πρόνοια[a] by opposing evil, difference, to God. His further descriptions are purely notionless and syncretic, and besides, he shows in everything that he is concerned only with the individual, not with God. That is why Epicurus is so honest as not to make God bother about the individual.

The internal dialectics of Plutarch's thinking thus necessarily leads him back to speak about the individual soul instead of about the divinity, and he arrives at the λόγος περί ψυχῆς.[b] Of Epicurus he says:

> [XXIII, 6] "Consequently it (the soul) is overjoyed at receiving this most sapient and godlike doctrine that for it the *end* of *suffering* means *ruin, destruction and being nothing*." p. 1103.

One must not let oneself be misled by Plutarch's unctuous words. We shall see how he negates each one of his determinations. Already the artificial means of escape τοῦ κακῶς πράττειν πέρας[c] and then in contrast ἀπολέσθαι[d] and φθαρῆναι[e] and μηδὲν εἶναι,[f] show where the centre of gravity is, how thin one side is and the other three times stronger.

The study is divided again into that of the attitudes of, first, the τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ πονηρῶν,[g] then the πολλῶν καὶ ἰδιωτῶν,[h] and finally the ἐπιεικῶν καὶ νοῦν ἐχόντων[i] (p. 1104) to the doctrine of the continued existence of the soul. Already this division into hard and fast qualitative differences shows how little Plutarch understands Epicurus, who, as a philosopher, considers the position of the human soul in general; and if, despite its determination as transient, he remains sure of ἡδονή,[j] Plutarch should have seen that every philosopher involuntarily extols a ἡδονή which is alien to him in his limitation. Fear is again adduced as a means of improvement for the unjust. We have already dealt with this point. For in fear, and indeed an inner, unextinguishable fear, man is determined as animal, and it is absolutely indifferent to the animal how

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[a] Providence.— *Ed.*
[b] Consideration on the soul.— *Ed.*
[c] The end of suffering.— *Ed.*
[d] Ruin.— *Ed.*
[e] Destruction.— *Ed.*
[f] Being nothing.— *Ed.*
[g] Unjust and the wicked.— *Ed.*
[h] Many and the uneducated.— *Ed.*
[i] Decent and the reasonable.— *Ed.*
[j] Pleasure.— *Ed.*

it is kept in check. If a philosopher does not find it outrageous to consider man as an animal, he cannot be made to understand anything.

[XXVI, 1-2] "The great majority, free from fear of what happens in Hades, have a myth-inspired expectation of eternal life; and the love of being, the oldest and most powerful of all our passions, provides pleasure and bliss overcoming that childish terror." p. 1104. "Indeed, when men have lost children, a wife, or friends, *they would rather have them exist somewhere in hardship and survive than be utterly taken away* and destroyed *and reduced to nothing*; and they like to hear such expressions used of the *dying* as 'he is *leaving* us' or '*going to dwell* elsewhere' and all that represent death as a *change of residence of the soul* but not as *destruction....*" p. 1104.

[XXVI, 5] "Such expressions as '*it is the end*' and '*he has perished*' and '*he is no more*' disturb them.... [XXVII, 1-3] ... but they are dealt the *finishing blow* by those who say: '*We men are born but once; there is no second time....*' Indeed, by discounting the present moment as a minute fraction, or rather as nothing at all, in comparison with all time, men let it pass without enjoying it. They neglect virtue and action and despise themselves as creatures of a day, impermanent and born for no high end." [p. 1104.] "For *being without sensation and dissolved* and the doctrine that *what has no sensation is nothing to us does not remove the terror of death, but rather confirms it by adding what amounts to proof. For this is the very thing our nature dreads: ... the dissolution* of the soul *into what has neither thought nor feeling; and Epicurus, by making the dissolution a scattering into emptiness and atoms,* does still more to root out our *hope of immortality,* for which, *I had almost said, all men and all women* are ready to be torn to pieces by Cerberus and carry water to the leaky urn, if only they may still continue to be and not to be blotted out." p. 1105.

We now come to the view of the πολλοί,[a] although it becomes apparent in the end that there are not many who do not share it and that, indeed, all, δέω λέγειν πάντας,[b] swear allegiance to this banner.

Actually there is no qualitative difference from the preceding stage, but what appeared in the form of animal fear appears here in the form of human fear, the form of feeling. The content remains the same.

We are told that the desire to be is the oldest love; of course, the most abstract and therefore the oldest love is love of self, love of one's own particular being. But actually that would be to formulate the matter too bluntly, it is taken back again and surrounded with an ennobling radiance by the appearance of feeling. So he who loses wife and children wishes that they should be *somewhere,* even if *things are bad* with them, rather than that they should have completely ceased to be. Simply as a matter of love, the wife and the child of the individual as such are cherished deeply and faithfully in his heart—a much higher form of being than empirical existence. But the matter stands in a different way.

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[a] Multitude.—*Ed.*

[b] Without any exaggeration, all.—*Ed.*

Wife and child in empirical existence are merely wife and child, insofar as the individual himself exists empirically. The fact that he wants to be assured that they are somewhere, in spatial sensuousness, even if things are bad with them, rather than that they do not exist at all, means nothing more than that the individual wishes to be conscious of his own empirical existence. The cloak of love was only a shadow; the naked empirical ego, self-love, the oldest love is the kernel, and it has not been rejuvenated into any more concrete, more ideal form. Plutarch is of the opinion that the name of change sounds more pleasant than that of completely ceasing to exist. But the change must not be a qualitative one; the individual ego in its individual being must persist; the name is therefore only the sensuous presentation of that which it is, and is meant to signify the opposite. It is therefore a lying fiction. The thing must not be changed, but only put in a dark place, the interposition of fantastic remoteness is only intended to conceal the qualitative leap—and every qualitative difference is a leap, without which there is no ideality.

Plutarch is further of the opinion that this consciousness of finiteness makes one weak and inactive, [generates] dissatisfaction with the present life; only it is not life that passes away, but merely this individual being. If this individual being considers itself as excluded from this persisting universal life, can it become richer and fuller by maintaining its tininess for an eternity? Does this relation change, or does it not rather remain ossified in its lifelessness? Is it not the same whether it finds itself in this indifferent relation to life today or whether this lasts hundreds of thousands of years?

Finally Plutarch says outright that it is not the content, the form, that matters, but the being of the individual. To be, even though torn to pieces by Cerberus. What is then the content of his teaching on immortality? That the individual, abstracted from the quality which gives him here his individual position, persists not as the being of a content, but as the atomistic form of being; is that not the same as what Epicurus says, namely, that the individual soul becomes dissolved and returns into the form of the atoms? To ascribe feeling to these atoms as such, even though it is granted that the content of this feeling is indifferent, is but an illogical fantasy. Plutarch therefore teaches the Epicurean doctrine in his polemic against Epicurus: but he does not forget always to present the μὴ εἶναι[a] as the most fearful thing. This pure

[a] Non-being.—*Ed.*

being-for-self is the atom. If in general the individual is assured of immortality not in his content, which, insofar as it is general, exists in itself in general, and, insofar as it is form, eternally individualises itself, if as individual being he is assured of immortality, then the concrete differentiation of the being-for-self ceases to exist, for the differentiation does not mean that the individual continues to exist, but that the eternal persists, unlike the transient, and all that this comes to is the assertion that the atom as such is eternal and that the animate returns to this its basic form.

Epicurus carries his teaching on immortality thus far, but he is philosophical and consistent enough to call it by its name, to say that the animate returns to the atomistic form. No compromise helps here. If some concrete differentiation of the individual must disappear, as is shown by life itself, then all those differentiations must disappear which are not in themselves universal and eternal. If the individual must nevertheless be indifferent to this μεταβολή,[a] then there remains only this atomistic husk of the former content; that is the teaching on the eternity of the atoms.

> To whom eternity is as time
> And time as eternity,
> He from all strife
> Is free,

says Jacobus Bohemus.[183]

[XXVIII, 1] "Hence in abolishing belief in immortality they [the Epicureans] also abolish the sweetest and greatest hopes of the multitude." p. 1105.

If therefore Plutarch says that with immortality Epicurus takes away the sweetest hopes of the multitude, he would have been far more correct if he had said what he says meaning something else,

[XXVII, 3] he "does not remove [the terror of death] but rather explains it." [p. 1105.]

Epicurus does not negate this view, he explains it, he expresses it as a concept.

We now come to the class of the ἐπιεικῶν and νοῦν ἐχόντων.[b] Needless to say, it by no means takes us any further than the preceding, but what at first appeared as animal fear, then as human fear, as anxious suspiration, as reluctance to give up atomistic being, now appears in the form of arrogance, of

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[a] Change.— *Ed.*
[b] Decent and reasonable.— *Ed.*

demand, of entitlement. Hence this class, as Plutarch describes it, departs most of all from reason. The lowest class puts forward no claims; the second weeps and will put up with anything to save the atomistic being; the third is the philistine who exclaims, "My God, that would be too much, that such a clever, honest fellow should have to go to the devil!"

[XXVIII, 1-4] "What then do we believe about the hopes of the good, whose lives have been pious and upright and who anticipate in the other world not evil, but the most beautiful and godly gifts? For in the first place, just as the athletes do not receive a wreath without a contest, but only when they have contested and won, so it is not to be wondered at, that those *believe that the reward for victory in life will be conferred on the good only after life* are intent on virtue; these hopes include also that of seeing at last the *deserved punishment of those who in their wealth and power are injurious and insolent now and in their folly laugh to scorn those who are better than they.* In the next place, no one longing for truth and the vision of reality has ever been able to find full satisfaction in this world.... Hence I regard death as a great and perfect blessing since only in that other world will the soul live its real life, whereas [here] it does not truly live, but is as in a dream." p. 1105.

So these good and clever men expect the reward for life after life; but how inconsistent it is, in that case, to expect life again as a reward for life, since for them the reward for life is something qualitatively different from life. This qualitative difference is again clothed in fiction, life is not raised to any higher sphere, but transferred to another place. They only pretend to despise life, they are not concerned with anything better, they only clothe their hope in a demand.

They despise life, but [for them] their atomistic existence is the good thing in that life and they covet the eternity of their atomistic being, which is the good. If to them the whole of life seemed a spectre, something bad, whence their consciousness of being good? Only from knowledge of themselves as atomistic being, and Plutarch goes so far as to say that they are not satisfied with that consciousness, that because the empirical individual exists only insofar as he is seen by another, these good men rejoice now because after death those who until then despised them will truly see them as good and will have to recognise them and be punished because they did not previously consider them to be good. What a demand! The bad must recognise them in life as good and they themselves do not recognise the universal powers of life as good! Is that not the pride of the atom screwed up to the highest pitch?

Is that not saying in plain language how arrogant and self-conceited the eternal is made and how eternal the arid being-for-self is made when it has content! It is of no avail to conceal this with phrases, to say that nobody can satisfy his curiosity in this respect.

This demand does not express anything else than that the general must exist in the form of the individual as [individual] consciousness, and that this demand is eternally fulfilled by the general. But inasmuch as it is demanded that it should be present in this empirical, exclusive being-for-self, it means nothing but that it is a question not of the general, but of the atom.

So we see how Plutarch, in his polemic against Epicurus, says the same thing as Epicurus at every step; but Epicurus develops the conclusions simply, abstractly, truly and plainly and knows what he is talking about, whereas Plutarch everywhere says something else than what he means to say and at bottom also means something else than what he says.

That is in general the relationship of common consciousness to philosophical consciousness.

### [III.] 2. PLUTARCH, *COLOTES*, XYLANDER EDITION

[I, 1] "Colotes, my dear Saturninus, whom Epicurus used to call affectionately his 'Colly' and 'Collikins', brought out a book entitled *On the Point that Conformity to the Doctrines of the Other Philosophers Actually Makes It Impossible to Live.*" p. 1107.

If in the preceding dialogue Plutarch tried to prove to Epicurus *quod non beate vivi possit*[a] according to his, Epicurus', philosophy, now he tries to vindicate the δόγματα[b] of the other philosophers against this objection on the part of the Epicureans. We shall see whether he succeeds better with this task than with the preceding one, in which the polemic can in effect be called a panegyric in favour of Epicurus. This dialogue has an important bearing on Epicurus' relationship to the other philosophers. Colotes makes a good joke when he offers Socrates hay instead of bread and asks him why he does not put his food in his ear, but in his mouth. Socrates occupied himself with very trivial matters, this being a necessary consequence of his historical position.

[III, 3] "Leonteus ... writes ... that *Democritus was honoured by Epicurus* for having embraced the true *teaching* before him, and ... because he had first *discovered the principles of nature.*" p. 1108.

[VI, 3] "... the man who asserts that the majority are deceived in supposing that what heats is heating and what cools is cooling [is himself deceived] if he does not believe that from what he asserts it follows that nothing is of one nature more than of another." p. 1110.

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[a] That it is not possible to live happily.—*Ed.*

[b] Doctrines.—*Ed.*

Plutarch feels an itch every time Epicurus' philosophical logic breaks through to the front. The philistine is of the opinion that whoever argues that the cold is not cold and the warm is not warm, relying on the way such things are judged by the multitude in accordance with their sensations, deceives himself when he fails to assert that neither the one nor the other exists. Our learned friend does not realise that the differentiation is thus merely transferred from the object to consciousness. If one wishes to solve this dialectic of sensuous certitude in itself, one must admit that the attribute is in the combination, in the relation of sensuous knowledge to the sensuous, and as this relation is directly differentiated, so must the attribute also be directly differentiated. Thus the error will not be ascribed either to the object or to knowledge, but the whole of sensuous certainty will be considered as this fluctuating process. He who has not the dialectical power to negate this sphere as a whole, he who wishes to let it remain, must also be satisfied with the truth as it is present within this sphere. Plutarch is too incompetent a gentleman to do the former, and too honest and clever to do the latter

[VII, 4] "... so that of every quality we can truly say, 'It no more is than is not'; for to those affected in a certain way the thing is, but to those not so affected it is not." p. 1110.

So, Plutarch says, one would have to say of every property that it no more is than is not, for it changes according to the way one is affected. His question alone suffices to show that he does not understand the matter. He speaks of a fixed being or non-being as a predicate. But the being of the sensuous consists rather in not being such a predicate, in not being a fixed being or non-being. When I separate these in this way, I separate precisely that which is not separated in sensuousness. Ordinary thinking always has ready abstract predicates which it separates from the subject. All philosophers have made the predicates themselves into subjects.

### a) *Epicurus and Democritus*

[VII, 2] "He [Colotes] says that Democritus' words '*colour is by convention*, sweet by convention, a compound by convention, ... [what is real is the void] and the atoms' are in conflict with our senses, and that anyone who abides by this reasoning and applies it *is not capable of reflecting whether he is* [dead] *or alive.*" [VIII, 3] "Against this proposition I have nothing to object, but I must say that this is as *inseparable from Epicurus' doctrine* as shape and weight are by their own [the Epicureans'] assertion inseparable from the atom. [VIII, 4-5] *For what does Democritus say? That entities infinite in number, indivisible and different,* destitute moreover of quality and of perception, move scattered about in the void; that when they draw near one another or collide or become entangled the *resulting aggregate appears in the one case*

to be water, *in others fire,* a plant, *or a man, but that everything really is atoms, 'ideas', as he calls them, and nothing else. For there is no generation from the non-existent,* and *again nothing can be generated from the existent,* as the atoms owing to their solidity can be neither affected nor changed. *From this* it follows that *no colour* comes from the colourless, and no nature or mind from things *without qualities....* [VIII, 6] *Democritus is therefore to be censured not for admitting the consequences which flow from his principles, but for setting up principles that lead to these consequences.* For he *should not have posited immutable first elements;* but having posited them, he should have *observed that the generation of any quality becomes impossible* and *denied* it although he had noted it. But Epicurus is quite unreasonable when *he says that he lays down the same first principles, but does not say that 'colour is by convention' and so the other qualities.* [VIII, 7] If this is the case with *'not-saying', does he not then admit that he is following his usual practice;* for *he does away with providence and says he has left piety;* he *entertains friendship for the sake of pleasure,* and says that *he* is ready to *assume the greatest pains for friends;* and *he posits an infinite universe* but *does not eliminate 'up' and 'down'."* [pp. 1110-1111.]

[IX, 1-2] "'*What then? Did not Plato too and Aristotle and Xenocrates find themselves producing gold from something not gold ... and everything else from four* simple and *primary* bodies?' ... *But in their view the first principles combine at the outset to generate every thing and bring with them their inherent qualities* as no inconsiderable provision; and *when they have combined,* and wet *has come together* with dry, cold with hot, and so on, *bodies which interact on each other and change throughout, then by another mixture they bring into being another product.* [IX, 3] *But the atom stands alone and is destitute of any generative power,* and *when it collides with another owing to its hardness and resistance it undergoes a shock,* but *it neither suffers nor causes any further effect.* Rather the *atoms receive and inflict blows for all time,* and *are unable to produce a living thing or mind or natural being or even to produce out of themselves a common mass or a single heap* in their constant colliding and scattering." p. 1111.

## b) *Epicurus and Empedocles*

[X, 1] "But Colotes ... fastens in turn on Empedocles, ... who writes:

This too I'll tell thee:
No nature is there of a mortal thing
Nor any curst fatality of death.
Mixture alone there is and dissolution
Of things commingled, and men call them nature." p. 1111.

[X, 2] "I for one do not see to what extent it is in conflict with life to *assume that there can be neither generation of the non-existent nor destruction of the existent, but that 'generation' is a name given to the conjunction of certain existents with one another,* and *'death' a name given to their separation.* That he used 'nature' in the sense of generation Empedocles has indicated by opposing death to it. [X, 3] But if those who say that generation is a mixing and death a dissolution do not and cannot live, what else do they [the Epicureans] do? Yet when Empedocles *cements and joins the elements together by the operation of heat,* softness, etc., he somehow *opens the way* for them to a 'mixture' that *coalesces into a natural unity; whereas those* [i.e., the Epicureans] *who herd together unchangeable and unresponsive atoms produce nothing out of them, but cause an uninterrupted series of collisions among the atoms.* For an entanglement that is supposed to prevent dissolution produces rather an intensification of the collisions, so that what they call generation is neither mixture nor

cohesion, *but confusion and conflict.* [X, 4] ... so that nothing, not even an inanimate body, is produced out of them; [X, 5] while perception, mind, intelligence and thought cannot so much as be conceived, even with the best of will, as arising among void and atoms, things which *taken separately have no quality* and which on meeting are not thereby affected or changed; indeed their meeting or fusion produces neither mixture nor coalescence, but only shocks and rebounds. [X, 6] *Thus by such doctrines life and the existence of living things are made impossible,* since they are based on principles which are void, impassive, godless, and moreover incapable of mixture or fusion." [XI, 1-2] "Then how can they claim to leave room for a thing's nature, for a soul, for a living being? As they do for an oath, for prayer, for sacrifice, for worship ... *in words, by affirmation, by pretending, by naming things while by their principles and their doctrines they do away with all this.* So *by 'nature' they merely mean a thing that naturally is, and by 'generation' a thing generated,* just as something wooden is commonly called 'wood' and what harmonises 'harmony'." [p]p. [1111-]1112.

[XI, 2] "Why (says Colotes, *scilicet adversus Empedoclem*[a]) do we wear ourselves out, toiling for ourselves and seeking certain things and avoiding others? For neither do we exist nor live in association with others. [XI, 3] 'Why never fear,' one might say, 'my dear little Colotes; no one keeps you from taking care of yourself when he teaches that Colotes' nature is nothing but Colotes himself or from attending to affairs (affairs for you and your company being pleasures) when he points out that there is no nature of cakes or odours or intercourse, but that there are cakes and perfumes and women.' [XI, 4] No more does the grammarian, who says that 'Heracles' strength' is Heracles himself [, deny the existence of Heracles]; nor do those who declare that accords and rafterings are mere forms of speech deny the existence of sounds and rafters...."

[XI, 5] "When Epicurus says, 'the nature of existing things is bodies and void', do we take him to mean that 'nature' is distinct from 'existing things', or simply to indicate 'existing things' and nothing more, just as it is his habit for instance to use the expression 'the nature of void' for 'void' and, by Zeus, 'the nature of the universe' for 'the universe'? p. 1112.

[XI, 6] "What else, then, has Empedocles done when he teaches that nature is not distinct from that which is generated nor death from what dies?" p. 1112.

## Empedocles is quoted:

[XI, 7-8] "'When what is mixed [comes] to the light of day
As man or as a beast or plant or bird,
[Men say] 'tis born; but call the parts disjoined
Unhappy fate.'

Though Colotes cites these lines himself, he fails to see that Empedocles did not abolish men, beasts, etc., by saying they are produced by the mixture of the elements—but rather, when he showed how wrong those are who call this combination and separation 'nature', 'unhappy fate' and 'lurid death', he did not wish to abolish the use of the current expressions for them." [p. 1113.]

[XII, 1-2] "'Fools! For they have no thoughts that range afar

Who look for birth of what was not before
Or for a thing to die and wholly perish.'

These are the words of one who says in ringing tones for all who have ears to hear that he does not abolish generation, but only generation from the non-existent; nor

[a] To wit, to Empedocles.—*Ed.*

abolish destruction, but only out and out destruction, that is, the destruction that reduces to non-existence." [p. 1113.]

[XII, 3] "'No sage in his prophetic soul would say
That, while men live (this thing they call their 'life'),
So long they are, and suffer good and ill;
But both before the joining of their frame,
And once it is disjoined, why, they are nothing.'
For these are not the words of one who denies the existence of men who have been born and are living, but rather of one who takes both the unborn and the already dead to exist." [p. 1113.]

[XII, 4-5] "[...] but [Colotes] says that in Empedocles' view we shall never so much as fall ill or receive a wound. But how can one who says that before life and after life each person suffers 'good and ill', leave no suffering to the living? Who is it, Colotes, that really find themselves impervious to wounds and disease? You yourselves, compacted of atom and void, neither of which has any sensation. Not this is objectionable, but that there is nothing to give you pleasure either, since your atom does not receive the causes of pleasure and your void does not respond to them." p. 1113.

## c) *Epicurus and Parmenides.*

[XIII, 2-3] "Yet I do not see how, by saying that 'the universe is one', he has made it impossible for us to live. So Epicurus too, when he says that 'the universe' is infinite, ungenerated and imperishable, and subject neither to increase nor diminution, speaks of the universe as of some one thing. When he premises at the beginning of his treatise that 'the nature of things is atoms and void', he treats that nature as one, dividing it into two parts, one of them actually nothing, but termed by you and your company 'intangible', 'empty', and 'bodiless'. So that for you too the universe is one.... [XIII, 5] Observe right here the sort of first principles you people premise for generation: infinity and the void—the void incapable of action, incapable of being acted upon, bodiless; the infinite disordered, irrational, elusive, disrupting and confounding itself because of a multiplicity that defies control or limitation. [XIII, 6] Parmenides, for one, has abolished neither 'fire' nor 'water' ... nor 'cities lying in Europe and Asia' (in Colotes' words).... [XIII, 8] But before all others and even before Socrates he saw that nature has in it something that we apprehend by opinion, and again something that we apprehend by the intellect...." [pp 1113-1114.]

"... what belongs to the world of the intellect ... is

'Entire, unmoving and unborn',

to quote his own words, and is always like itself and enduring in what it is...." [p. 1114.]

"Colotes says outright that Parmenides makes a clean sweep of all things by affirming that the universe is one." [p. 1114.]

[XIII, 9] "... the world of the intellect ... which he calls 'being' because it is eternal and imperishable, and 'one' because it is uniform with itself and admits of no variation; while he puts what belongs to the world of the senses under the head of disordered and moving nature." [p. 1114.]

[XIII, 10] "'Here most persuasive truth...'
which deals with what is thought and forever unalterably the same, and there
'... man's beliefs, that lack all true persuasion',

because they deal with objects admitting all manner of changes, accidents, and irregularities." p. 1114.

"Thus the contention that being is one was no denial of the plural and perceptible, but an indication of its distinction from what is thought." p. 1114.

### d) *Epicurus and Plato*

A proof of Plutarch's unphilosophical manner of thinking is provided by the following passage on Aristotle:

[XIV, 4] "As for the *ideas* for which he (Colotes[a]) denounces Plato, Aristotle, who everywhere assails them and brings up against them every sort of objection in his treatises on ethics and on physics and in his popular dialogues, *was held by some to be more contentious than philosophical in his attitude to this doctrine and bent on undermining Plato's philosophy....*" p. 1115.

[XV, 2] "[...] but he [Colotes], who has not a grain of wisdom, took 'man is not' to be one and the same as 'man is non-existent'. But in Plato's view there is a world of *difference between 'is not' and 'is non-existent'*, for *by the former is meant the denial of any kind of being*, by the latter *the otherness of the partaken and what it partakes in* [XV, 3] that later philosophers brought under the head of a mere difference of genus and species, and *went no higher* because they became involved in greater problems of logic."

(Yet another passage from which one can see the immanent, self-satisfied stupidity *beati Plutarchi.*[b])

[XV, 4] "The relation of the partaken in to the partaker is that of cause to matter, model to copy, power to effect." p. 1115.

If Plutarch says about Plato's doctrine of ideas,

[XV, 7] "... he does not deny the sensuous, but asserts that what is thought has being", p. 1116,

it is because the stupid eclectic does not see that this is precisely what Plato must be reproached with. He does not negate the sensuous, but he asserts that what is thought has being. Thus sensuous being is not expressed in thought, and what is thought too has a being, so that two realms of being exist one beside the other. Here one can see how easily Plato's pedantry finds a response among common men, and as for Plutarch's philosophical views, we can class him among the common men. It goes without saying that what in Plato appears original, necessary, at a certain stage of general philosophical development splendid, is in an individual witnessing the departure of the ancient world a shallow reminiscence of the ecstasy of a dead man, a lamp of antediluvian

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[a] Marx's manuscript has: Aristotle.— *Ed.*
[b] Of blessed Plutarch.— *Ed.*

times, the perverseness of an old man who has relapsed into childhood.

There can be no better criticism of Plato than Plutarch's praise.

[XV, 7] "He does not deny the effect produced on us and made perceptible in us, but points out to those who follow him that there are other things more stable and more enduring"

(notions abstracted from sensuous perception and hollow)

"in being because they neither begin nor come to an end nor are subject to any influence

(note μήτε — μήτε — μήτε[a] — 3 negative determinations),

"and teaches by formulating the difference more clearly in words"

(correct, the difference is a nominal one),

"to call the one things that are and the other things that come to be." p. 1116.

[XV, 8] "The more recent [philosophers] have also done the like; they refuse to many important realities the name of being—the void, time, place and, generally, the whole class of nameable things, which includes all real ones. For these, they say, though they are not 'being', are nevertheless 'something'; and they continue to make use of them in their lives and their philosophy as permanent and enduring magnitudes." p. 1116.

Plutarch now addresses Colotes and asks whether they themselves do not distinguish between stable and transient being, etc.

Now Plutarch becomes waggish and says:

[XVI, 2] "... but Epicurus is wiser than Plato in acknowledging that all alike have being.... He holds that the transient has the same being as the eternal ... and realities that can never divest themselves of their being the same as those whose being lies in the fact that they are acted upon and changed and which never remain the same. [XVI, 3] Yet if Plato was indeed greatly mistaken in this, he should be called to account for confusion of terms by those who speak better Greek." p. 1116.

It is amusing to listen to this swaggering respectability which thinks itself clever. He himself, that is, Plutarch, reduces the Platonic differentiation of being to two names, and yet on the other hand claims that the Epicureans are wrong when they ascribe a stable being to both sides (nevertheless they distinguish quite well the ἄφθαρτον[b] and the ἀγένητον[c] from that which exists by composition); does not Plato also do this if the εἶναι[d] stands stable on the one hand and the γενέσθαι[e] on the other?

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[a] Neither—nor—nor.—*Ed.*
[b] Indestructible.—*Ed.*
[c] Uncreated, having no beginning.—*Ed.*
[d] Being.—*Ed.*
[e] Becoming.—*Ed.*

# EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY

## *Fourth Notebook*

III. PLUTARCH. 2. *COLOTES*
IV. LUCRETIUS, *ON THE NATURE OF THINGS*
(THREE BOOKS, 1, 2, 3)

## III. PLUTARCH. 2. *COLOTES*

### e) *Epicurus and Socrates*

[XIX, 2] "For it is one of Epicurus' tenets that none but the sage is unalterably convinced of anything." p. 1117.

An important passage as regards Epicurus' attitude to Scepticism.

[XIX, 5] "[...] but the reflection by which we conclude that the senses are not accurate or trustworthy enough does not deny that every single object presents to us a certain appearance, but, though we make use of the perceptions as they appear to us in what we do, it does not allow us to trust them as absolutely and [infallibly] true. [For it is sufficient that they are necessary and that] they are useful, since there is nothing better available." p. 1118.

[XX, 1] "When he [Colotes] ridicules and scorns Socrates for seeking to discover what man is and flauntingly (as Colotes puts it) declaring that he did not know it, we can see that Colotes himself had never dealt with the problem." p. 1118.

### f) *Epicurus and Stilpo*

[XXII, 1-2] "... he [Colotes] says that *Stilpo makes life impossible by the assertion* that *nothing else can be predicated of one thing*. For how *shall we live if we cannot say* that *man is good*, etc., but only that *man is man ... good is good*", etc. p. 1119.

While it really must be admitted that Colotes knows how to feel out an opponent's weaknesses, Plutarch lacks philosophical bearings to such an extent that he does not even know what it is all about, especially when the proposition of abstract identity as the death of all life is formulated and censured. He makes the following foolish retort, worthy of the very stupidest village schoolmaster:

[XXII, 3] "What man's life was ever the worse because of it? Who that heard that assertion [i.e., Stilpo's] did not recognise it as coming from a witty mocker or from one who wished to offer it as a dialectical exercise for others? What is bad,

Colotes, is not to refuse to call a man good ... *but to refuse to call God God* and not to believe in him (and this is what you or your company do), who will not admit that a Zeus exists who presides over generation, or Demeter, the giver of laws, or Poseidon, the begetter. It is this disjoining of one word from another that works harm and fills your lives with contempt of the gods and shamelessness, when you tear away from the gods the appellations attached to them and also annihilate all sacrifices, mysteries, processions and festivals." p. 1119.

[XXIII, 1] "Stilpo's point, however, is this: if we predicate ... running of a horse, the predicate (he maintains) is not the same as that of which it is predicated, but the concept of what man is is one thing, and that of goodness is another [...], for when asked for a definition we do not give the same for both. Therefore they err who predicate one of the other...."

[XXIII, 2] "For if good is the same as man ... how comes it that [we can] also predicate good of food and of medicine...?" p. 1120.

A very good and important exposition of Stilpo.

## g) *Epicurus and the Cyrenaics*

[XXIV, 4-5] "For they [the Cyrenaics] say we are affected by sweetness and darkness, each of these influences possessing within itself a specific and unchangeable effect ... whereas the view that honey is sweet ... and night air dark, encounters evidence to the contrary from many witnesses,—animals, things, and men alike; for to some honey is disagreeable, while others feed on [it]. Accordingly opinion continues free from error only as long as it keeps to experience; but when it strays beyond and meddles with judgments and pronouncements about external appearances, it is forever getting embroiled with itself and falling into conflict with others in whom the same things give rise to contrary experiences and dissimilar impressions." p. 1120.

[XXV, 2, 4-5] "For the school that asserts that when a round image impinges on us, or in another case a bent one, the imprint is truly received by the senses, but refuses to allow us to affirm that the tower is round or that the oar is bent, *maintains the truth of its impressions as real manifestations, but will not admit that external objects correspond* ... for it is the image producing the effect in the eye that is bent.... Thus, since the impression produced on the senses differs from the external object, belief must stick to the impression or be proved if it claims being as well as appearance." p. 1121.

## h) *Epicurus and the Academics (Arcesilaus)*

What Plutarch says on this subject is confined to the fact that the Academics recognise three movements: φανταστικόν, ὁρμητικόν and συγκαταθετικόν[a] [p. 1122], and the error is in the last; so what is perceptible to the senses disappears neither in practice nor in theory, but opinion does.

He tries to prove to the Epicureans that they doubt much of what is evident.

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[a] Imaginative, impulsive and assentive.— *Ed.*

## IV. LUCRETIUS, *ON THE NATURE OF THINGS*
## Published by Eichstädt, 1801, Vol. 1

It goes without saying that but little use can be made of Lucretius.

### *Book I*

"When human life lay grovelling in all men's sight, crushed to the earth under the dead weight of religion, whose grim features loured menacingly upon mortals from the four quarters of the sky, a man of Greece was first to raise mortal eyes in defiance, first to stand erect and brave the challenge. Fables of the gods did not crush him, nor the lightning flash and the growling menace of the sky.... Therefore religion in its turn lies crushed beneath his feet, and we by his triumph are lifted level with the skies." ll. 63-80.

"Nothing can ever be created by divine power out of nothing." l. 151.

"... if things were made out of nothing, any species could spring from any source, and nothing would require seed." ll. 160 and 161.

"Be not, however, mistrustful of my words, because the primary principles of things are not visible to the eyes." ll. 268 and 269.

"Therefore nature works through the agency of invisible bodies." l. 329.

"Neither are things hemmed in by the pressure of solid bodies in a tight mass. This is because there is void in things." ll. 330 and 331.

"This" (*scilicet inanis cognitio*[a]) "will save you from ever brooding about the universe... For there is a space, untouched and void and vacant. If it did not exist, things could not move at all.... Nothing could proceed, because nothing would give it a starting point by receding.... And if there were no empty space ... things could not possibly have come into existence, hemmed in as they would have been in motionless matter." ll. 333-346.

"... mingled with the things is void, from whence things first receive the possibility of movement." ll. 383-384.

"All ... nature ... consists of two things, bodies and the void." ll. 420 and 421.

"Similarly, time by itself does not exist ... no one can sense time by itself apart from the movement of things and restful immobility." ll. 460-464.

"Neither bodies exist by themselves nor can [events] be said to be by themselves.

"Events cannot be said to be by themselves like matter or in the same sense as the void. Rather, they must be described as accidents of matter, or of the place in which things happen." ll. 480-483.

"... we have found that nature is twofold, consisting of two totally different things, matter and space.... Each of these must exist by itself, without admixture of the other. For, where there is empty space ... there matter is not, where matter exists, there cannot be a void." ll. 504-510.

"... matter ... everlasting...." l. 541.

"... *there must be an ultimate point in objects.... This point is without parts and is the smallest thing that can exist. It never has been and never will be able to exist by itself.*" ll. 600-604.

"... there are certain bodies ... they do not resemble fire or anything else that can bombard our senses with particles or impinge on our organs of touch." ll. 685-690.

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[a] To wit, the knowledge of the void (note by Marx).— *Ed.*

"Again, if everything is created from four things and resolved into them, why should we say that these are the elements of things rather than the reverse—that other things are the elements of these?" ll. 764-767.

"... then nothing can be created from them [the four elements], neither animate, nor, like a tree, with inanimate body. For each element in a composite assemblage will betray its own nature, air will appear mixed with earth, and fire will remain side by side with moisture. But in fact the elements, in giving birth to things, must contribute a nature that is hidden and viewless, so that nothing may show that conflicts with the thing created and prevents it from being distinctively itself." ll. 773-781.

"... they make ... things never cease to interchange, migrating (to be precise, fire rising into the air, hence is born rain, then earth, and from the earth all returns again[a]) from heaven to earth, from earth to the starry firmament. This is something elements ought never to do. For it is essential that something should remain immutable, or everything would be reduced to nothing. For, if ever anything is so transformed that it oversteps its own limits, this means the immediate death of what was before." ll. 783-793.

"... because there are in things many elements common to many things commingled in many ways, various things draw their food from various sources." ll. 814-816.

"For the same elements compose sky, sea and lands, rivers and sun, crops, trees and animals, but they are moving differently and in different combinations." ll. 820-822.

"Add to this that he" (Anaxagoras) "makes the elements too frail.... For which of these things will withstand violent assault, so as to escape extinction...? Will fire or water or air? Will blood or bones? Nothing, I maintain, will escape, where everything is as perishably as those objects that we see vanishing from before our eyes under stress of some force or other." ll. 847-856.

"If flame, smoke and ashes lurk unseen in wood, then wood must consist of unlike matter which rises out of it." ll. 872-873.

"Here is left some scanty cover for escaping detection, and Anaxagoras avails himself of it. He asserts that there is in everything a mixture of everything, but all the ingredients escape detection except the one whose particles are most numerous and conspicuous and lie nearest the surface. This is far removed from the truth. Otherwise it would naturally happen that corn, when it is crushed by the dire force of the grindstone, would often show some signs of blood.... When sticks are snapped, ashes and smoke ought to be revealed, and tiny hidden fires. But observation plainly shows that none of these things happens. It is clear therefore that one sort of thing is not intermingled with another in this way, but there must be in things a mixture of invisible seeds that are common to many sorts." ll. 874-895.

"Now do you see the point of my previous remark, that it makes a great difference in what combinations and positions the same elements occur, and what motions they mutually pass on and take over, so that with a little reshuffling the same ones may produce forests and fires? This is just how the words themselves are formed, by a little reshuffling of the elements, when we pronounce 'forests' and 'fires' as two distinct utterances." ll. 906-913.

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[a] The words in brackets are Marx's summary of ll. 784-786.—*Ed.*

"... the universe is not bounded in any direction. If it were, it would necessarily have a limit somewhere. But clearly a thing cannot have a limit unless there is something outside to limit it.... Since you must admit that there is nothing outside the universe, it can have no limit, and is accordingly without end or measure."
ll. 957-963.

"Further, if all the space in the universe were shut in and confined on every side by definite boundaries ... there would be no sky.... As it is, no rest is given to the atoms, because there is no bottom where they can accumulate and take up their abode. Things are happening all the time, through ceaseless motion in every direction; and atoms of matter bouncing up from below are supplied out of the infinite." ll. 983-996.

"Nature ... compels body to be bounded by void and void by body. Thus it makes both of them infinite in alternation, or else one of them, if it is not bounded by the other, must extend in a pure state, without limit." ll. 1008-1012.

"None of these results would be possible if there were not an ample supply of matter to rise up out of infinite space to replace in time all that is lost. Just as animals deprived of food waste away through loss of body, so everything must decay as soon as its supply of matter goes astray and is cut off." ll. 1034-1040.

As nature in spring lays herself bare and, as though conscious of victory, displays all her charm, whereas in winter she covers up her shame and nakedness with snow and ice, so Lucretius, fresh, keen, poetic master of the world, differs from Plutarch, who covers his paltry ego with the snow and ice of morality. When we see an individual anxiously buttoned-up and cringing into himself, we involuntarily clutch at coat and clasp, make sure that we are still there, as if afraid to lose ourselves. But at the sight of an intrepid acrobat we forget ourselves, feel ourselves raised out of our own skins like universal forces and breathe more fearlessly. Who is it that feels in the more moral and free state of mind—he who has just come out of Plutarch's classroom, reflecting on how unjust it is that the good should lose with life the fruit of their life, or he who sees eternity fulfilled, hears the bold thundering song of Lucretius:

"... high hope of fame has struck my heart with its sharp goad and in so doing has implanted in my breast the sweet love of the Muses. That is the spur that lends my spirit strength to pioneer through pathless tracts of their Pierian realm where no foot has ever trod before. What joy it is to light upon virgin springs and drink their waters. What joy to pluck new flowers and gather for my brow a glorious garland from fields whose blossoms were never yet wreathed by the Muses round any head. This was my reward for teaching on these lofty topics, for struggling to loose men's minds from the tight knots of religion and shedding on dark corners the bright beams of my song that irradiate everything with the sparkle of the Muses." ll. 921 ff.

He who would not prefer to build the whole world out of his own resources, to be a creator of the world, rather than to be eternally bothering about himself, has already been anathematised by the spirit, he is under an interdict, but in the opposite sense; he

is expelled from the temple and deprived of the eternal enjoyment of the spirit and left to sing lullabies about his own private bliss and to dream about himself at night.

"Blessedness is not the reward of virtue, but is virtue itself." [a]

We shall also see how infinitely more philosophically Lucretius grasps Epicurus than does Plutarch. The first necessity for philosophical investigation is a bold, free mind.

First we must appreciate the pertinent criticism of earlier natural philosophers from the Epicurean viewpoint. It is all the more worthy of consideration since it brings out in a masterly manner what is specific in the teaching of Epicurus.

We here consider in particular what is taught about Empedocles and Anaxagoras, since the same points are still more valid for the others.

1. No *definite* elements can be considered to be the substance, for if everything is included in them and everything arises out of them, what forbids us to assume, on the contrary, that in this alternating process the totality of other things is their principle, since they themselves possess only a determinate, limited mode of existence side by side with the others and are brought forth likewise by the process of these [other] existences? And the other way round (ll. 764-768).

2. If a number of definite elements are held to be the substance, then they reveal on the one hand their natural one-sidedness by maintaining themselves in conflict with each other, asserting their determinateness and so dissolving in their opposite; on the other hand they are subject to a natural process, mechanical or other, and reveal their formative ability as one confined to their individuality.

If we concede the Ionian natural philosophers the historical excuse that their fire, water, etc., were not the things perceptible to the senses but something general, then Lucretius as an opponent is completely right in criticising them on these grounds. If obvious elements, obvious to the daylight of the senses, are taken to be the basic substances, then these have as their criterion sensuous perception and the sensuous forms of their existence. If one says that what is in question is a determination of another kind, in which they are the principles of that which exists, then it is a determination which their sensuous individuality conceals;

[a] B. Spinoza, *Ethics*, Part V, Prop. 42.—*Ed.*

only in internal, therefore external, determination are they principles; that is, they are not principles as given definite elements, precisely not in that which distinguishes each element from the others as fire, water, etc. (ll. 773 ff.)

3. But thirdly the view that definite elements are basic principles is contradicted not only by their limited existence side by side with others, from which they are arbitrarily singled out, and in respect of which, therefore, they differ only according to the determination of number; but being limited far more by the plurality, the infinite number of the others, they seem not only to be determined as to their principle by their mutual relationship in their particularity, which reveals an exclusion just as much as a formative power enclosed in natural limits; but the process itself by which they are supposed to generate the world manifests their finiteness and changeability.

As they are elements enclosed in a particular natural form, their creativity can only be a particular one, that is, their own transformation, which again has the form of particularity, namely, natural particularity; that is, their creativity is the natural process of their transformation. So these natural philosophers have fire flicker in the air, so rain is produced and falls down, and so the earth is formed. What is shown here is the elements' own changeability and not their constancy, not their substantial being, which they [the natural philosophers] assert as principles; for their creativity is rather the death of their particular existence, and what proceeds out of them comes rather from their non-persistency (ll. 783 ff.).

The mutual necessity of the elements and natural things for each other's existence signifies only that their conditions are their own powers, outside them as well as inside them.

4. Lucretius now comes to the homoeomerias[a] of Anaxagoras. His objection to them is that

> "[he makes] the elements too frail" [ll. 847-848],

for since the homoeomerias have the same quality, are the same substance, as that of which they are homoeomerias, we must also attribute to them the same transience as is evident in their concrete manifestations. If wood conceals within itself fire and smoke, that means that it is a mixture *ex alienigeneis*[b] [l. 873]. If every body were made up of all the seeds perceptible to the senses, when it was broken up it would be seen to contain them.

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[a] Seeds.— *Ed.*

[b] Of unlike species.— *Ed.*

It may seem strange that a philosophy like that of Epicurus, which proceeds from the sphere of the sensuous and, at least in cognition, assesses it as the highest criterion, should posit as principle such an abstraction, such a *caeca potestas*[a] as the atom. Concerning this, see lines 773 ff. and 783 ff., where it is seen that the principle must have an independent existence without any particular sensuously perceptible, physical quality. It is substance:

"... the same elements compose sky, sea and lands, rivers and sun," etc.
ll. 820 f.

Universality is inherent in it.

An important remark on the relationship of the *atom and the void.* Lucretius says of this *duplex natura*[b]:

"... each of these must exist by itself, without admixture of the other."
ll. 504 ff.

Further, they are mutually exclusive:

"For, where there is empty space ... there matter is not." loc. cit.

Each one is itself the principle, so that the principle is neither the atom nor the void, but their basis, that which each of them manifests as an independent nature. This mean is enthroned at the consummation of Epicurean philosophy.

On the void as a principle of motion, see ll. 363 ff., notably as an immanent principle, see ll. 383 ff., τὸ κενὸν καὶ τὸ ἄτομον,[c] the objectivised antithesis of thinking and being.

## LUCRETIUS, *ON THE NATURE OF THINGS*

### *Book II*

"But nothing is sweeter than to stand in a quiet temple stoutly fortified by the teaching of the wise." ll. 7 f.

"O joyless hearts of men! O minds without vision! How dark and dangerous the life in which this tiny span is lived away!" ll. 14 ff.

"As children in blank darkness tremble and start at everything, so we in broad daylight fear.... This dread and darkness of the mind cannot be dispelled by the sunbeams, the shining shafts of day, but only by an understanding of the outward form and inner workings of nature." ll. 54 ff.

"Since the atoms are moving freely through the void, they must all be kept in motion either by their own weight or by the impact of another...." ll. 82 ff.

"Remember that the universe has nowhere a bottom: *there is no place where the*

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[a] Blind power.— *Ed.*

[b] Dual nature.— *Ed.*

[c] The void and the atom.— *Ed.*

*atoms could come to rest.* It has been variously proved that space is without end or limit and spreads out immeasurably in all directions alike...." ll. 89 ff.

"... no rest is given to the atoms in their course through the depths of space ... but [they are driven] in an incessant and variable movement", etc. ll. 94 ff.

The formation of combinations of atoms, their repulsion and attraction, is a noisy affair. An uproarious contest, a hostile tension, constitutes the workshop and the smithy of the world. The world in the depths of whose heart there is such tumult, is torn within.

Even the sunbeam, falling on shady places, is an image of this eternal war.

"A multitude of tiny particles ... within the light of the beam, as though contending in everlasting conflict, rushing into battle rank upon rank with never a moment's pause in a rapid sequence of unions and disunions. From this you may picture what it is for the atoms to be perpetually tossed about in the illimitable void." ll. 115 ff.

One sees how the blind, uncanny power of fate is transposed into the arbitrary will of the person, of the individual, and shatters the forms and substances.

"Besides, there is a further reason why you should give your mind to these particles that are seen dancing in a sunbeam: their dancing is an actual indication of underlying *movements of matter* that are *hidden from our sight.* There you will see many particles under the impact of invisible blows changing their course and driven back upon their tracks." ll. 124 ff.

"First the atoms are set in movement by themselves. Then those small compound bodies that are, as it were, least removed from the impetus of the atoms are set in motion by the impact of their invisible blows and in turn cannon against slightly larger bodies. So the movement mounts up from the atoms and gradually emerges to the level of our senses, so that at last those bodies are in motion that we see in sunbeams, moved by blows that remain invisible." ll. 132 ff.

"... when separate atoms are travelling, simple and solid, through empty space, they encounter no obstruction from without and move as single units on the course on which they have embarked. They must certainly have greater speed than anything else and move far faster than the light of the sun...." ll. 156 ff.

"Even if I knew nothing of the atoms, I would venture to assert on the evidence of the celestial phenomena themselves, supported by many other arguments, that the universe was certainly not created for us by divine power...." ll. 177 ff.

"... no material thing can be uplifted or travel upwards by its own power." ll. 185 f.

The *declinatio atomorum a via recta*[a] is one of the most profound conclusions, and it is based on the very essence of the Epicurean philosophy. Cicero might well laugh at it, he knew as little about philosophy as about the president of the United States of North America.

[a] Declination of the atoms from the straight line.—*Ed.*

The straight line, the simple direction, is the negation of immediate being-for-self, of the point; it is the negated point; the straight line is the being-otherwise of the point. The atom, the material point, which excludes from itself the being-otherwise and is absolute immediate being-for-self, excludes therefore the simple direction, the straight line, and swerves away from it. It shows that its nature is not spatiality, but being-for-self. The law which it follows is different from that of spatiality.

The straight line is not only the being-negated of the point, but also its existence. The atom is indifferent to the breadth of existence, it does not split up into differences which have being, but just as little is it mere being, the immediate, which is, as it were, indifferent to its being, but it exists rather precisely in being different from existence; it encloses itself in itself against that existence; in terms of the sensuous it swerves away from the straight line.

As the atom swerves away from its premise, divests itself of its qualitative nature and therein shows that this divestment, this premiseless, contentless being-enclosed-in-self exists for itself, that thus its proper quality appears, so also the whole of the Epicurean philosophy swerves away from the premises; so pleasure, for example, is the swerving away from pain, consequently from the condition in which the atom appears as differentiated, as existing, burdened with non-being and premises. But the fact that pain exists, etc., that these premises from which it swerves away exist for the individual—this is its finiteness, and therein it is accidental. True, we already find that in themselves these premises exist for the atom, for it would not swerve away from the straight line if the straight line did not exist for it. But this results from the position of the Epicurean philosophy, which seeks the premiseless in the world of the substantial premise, or, to express it in terms of logic, inasmuch as for it [the Epicurean philosophy] the being-for-self is the exclusive, the immediate principle, it has existence directly confronting it, has not logically overcome it.

Determinism is swerved away from by accident, [i.e.] necessity, and arbitrariness raised to the status of law; God swerves away from the world, it does not exist for him, and therein is he God.

It can therefore be said that the *declinatio atomi a recta via* is the law, the pulse, the specific quality of the atom; and this is why the teaching of Democritus was a quite different philosophy, not the philosophy of the age as the Epicurean philosophy was.

"If it were not for this swerve, everything would fall downwards ... through the abyss of space. No *collision would take place* and no *impact of atom on atom* would be created. Thus nature would never have created anything." ll. 221 ff.

Inasmuch as the world is created, as the atom refers itself to itself, that is, to another atom, so its [the atom's] motion is not one which presupposes a being-otherwise, the motion of the straight line, but one which swerves away from the latter, refers itself to itself. In sensuous imagination, the atom can refer itself only to the atom, each of the atoms swerving away from the straight line.

"For this reason also the atoms must swerve a little, but only a very little, so that we will not imagine slantwise movements, which the fact refutes." ll. 243 ff.

"Again, if all movement is always interconnected, the new arising from the old in a determinate order—if the atoms never swerve so as to originate some new movement that will snap the bonds of fate, the everlasting sequence of cause and effect—what is the source of the free will possessed by living things throughout the earth? What, I repeat, is the source of that will-power snatched from the fates, whereby we follow the path along which we are severally led by pleasure...?" ll. 251 ff.

"... on these occasions the will of the individual originates the movements that trickle through his limbs", etc. ll. 281 f.

The *declinatio a recta via* is the *arbitrium*,[a] the specific substance, the true quality of the atom.

"So also in the atoms you must recognise the same possibility: besides weight and impact there must be a third cause of movement, the source of this inborn power of ours, since we see that nothing can come out of nothing. For the weight of an atom prevents its movements from being completely determined by the impact of other atoms. But the fact that the mind itself has no internal necessity to determine its every act and compel it to suffer in helpless passivity—*this is due to the slight swerve of the atoms, not determined by place or time.*" ll. 284 ff.

This *declinatio*, this *clinamen*,[b] is neither *regione loci certa* nor *tempore certo*,[c] it is not a sensuous quality, it is the soul of the atom.

In the void the differentiation of weight disappears, that is, it is no external condition of motion, but being-for-self, immanent, absolute movement itself.

"But empty space can offer no resistance to any object in any quarter at any time, so as not to yield free passage as its own nature demands. Therefore, through undisturbed vacuum all bodies must travel at equal speed, although impelled by unequal weight." ll. 235 ff.

Lucretius asserts this in contrast to motion restricted through conditions perceptible to the senses:

"The reason why objects falling through water or thin air vary in speed according to their weight is simply that the matter composing water or air cannot obstruct all objects equally, but is forced to give way more speedily to heavier ones." ll. 230 ff.

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[a] Free will.—*Ed.*

[b] Declination, deviation.—*Ed.*

[c] Defined by place, determined by time.—*Ed.*

"Do you not see then, that although many men are driven by an external force and often constrained involuntarily to advance or to rush headlong, yet there is within the human breast something that can fight against this force and resist it", etc. ll. 277 ff.

See the lines quoted above.

This *potestas*, [a] this *declinare*[b] is the defiance, the headstrongness of the atom, the *quiddam in pectore*[c] of the atom; it does not characterise its relationship to the world as the relationship of the fragmented and mechanical world to the single individual.

As Zeus grew up to the tumultuous war dances of the Curetes, so here the world takes shape to the ringing war games of the atoms.

Lucretius is the genuine Roman epic poet, for he sings the substance of the Roman spirit; in place of Homer's cheerful, strong, integral characters we have here solid, impenetrable armed heroes possessed of no other qualities, we have the war *omnium contra omnes*,[d] the rigid shape of the being-for-self, a nature without god and a god aloof from the world.

We now come to the determination of the more immediate qualities of the atom; we have already clarified its inner, immanent specific quality, which, however, is rather its substance. These determinations are extremely unsatisfactory in Lucretius and on the whole they are among the most arbitrary, and therefore the most difficult parts of the whole Epicurean philosophy.

### 1. *The motion of the atoms*

"The supply of matter in the universe was never more tightly packed than it is now, or more widely spaced out.... The sum of things cannot be changed by any force." ll. 294 f.

"In this connection there is one fact that need occasion no surprise. Although all the atoms are in motion, their totality appears to stand totally motionless.... This is because the atoms all lie far below the range of our senses. Since they are themselves invisible, their movements also must elude observation. Indeed, even visible objects, when set at a distance, often disguise their movements." ll. 308 ff.

### 2. *Shape*

"And now perceive the characteristics of the atoms of all substances, the extent to which they differ in shape and the rich multiplicity of their forms.... *When the*

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[a] Power.— *Ed.*

[b] Declination.— *Ed.*

[c] Something in the breast.— *Ed.*

[d] Of all against all.— *Ed.*

*multitude of them,* as I have shown, *is such* that it is without limit or count, *it is not to be expected that they should all be identical in build and configuration.*" ll. 333 ff.

"There must, therefore, be great differences in the shapes of the atoms to provoke these different sensations." ll. 442 f.

"... the number of different forms of atoms is finite. If it were not so, *some of the atoms would have to be of infinite magnitude. Within the narrow limits of any single particle, there can be only a limited range of forms.* Suppose the atoms consist of three minimum parts, or enlarge them by a few more. When by fitting on parts at top or bottom and transposing left and right you have exhausted every shape that can be given to the whole body by all possible arrangements of the parts, you are obviously left with no means of varying its form further except by adding other parts. Thence it will follow, if you wish to vary its form still further, that the arrangement will demand still other parts in exactly the same way. *Variation in shape goes with increase in size.* You cannot believe, therefore, that the *atoms are distinguished by an infinity of forms*; or you will compel *some of them to be of enormous magnitude,* which I have already proved to be impossible." ll. 479 ff.

This *Epicurean dogma* that the *figurarum varietas* is not *infinita,*[a] but that the *corpuscula ejusdem figurae* are *infinita, e quorum perpetuo concursu mundus perfectus est resque gignuntur*[b] is the most important, most immanent consideration of the relationship of the atoms to their qualities, to themselves as principles of a world.

"For whatever might be would always be surpassed by something more excellent." l. 507

"And as all good things might yield to better, so might bad to worse. One thing would always be surpassed by another more offensive...." ll. 508 ff.

"Since this is not so, but things are bound by a set limit at either extreme, you must acknowledge a corresponding limit to the different forms of matter." ll. 512 ff.

"To the foregoing demonstration I will link on another fact, which will gain credence from this context: the number of atoms of any one form is infinite. Since the *varieties of form are limited,* the *number of uniform atoms must be unlimited.* Otherwise the *totality of matter would be finite,* which I have proved in my verses is not so." ll. 522 ff.

The distance, the differentiation of the atoms are finite; were they not assumed to be finite, the atoms in themselves would be mediate, would contain an ideal variety. The infinity of the atoms as repulsion, as a negative attitude to themselves, produces an infinity of similars, *quae similes sint, infinitas,* their infinity has nothing to do with their qualitative difference. If one assumed infinite

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[a] The variety of shapes is not infinite.— *Ed.*

[b] Particles with the same shape are infinite out of whose continual collision the world emerged and the bodies arose.— *Ed.*

variety in the shapes of the atoms, each atom would contain the other in itself negated, and then there would be atoms which presented the whole infinity of the world, like the monads of Leibniz.

"It is evident, therefore, that there are infinite atoms of every kind to keep up the supply of everything." ll. 568 f.

"So the war of the elements that has raged throughout eternity continues on equal terms. Now here, now there, the forces of life are victorious and in turn vanquished. With the voice of mourning mingles the cry that infants raise when their eyes open on the sunlit world. Never has day given place to night nor night to dawn that has not heard, blended with these infant wailings, the lamentation that attends on death and sombre obsequies." ll. 547 ff.

"The more qualities and powers a thing possesses, the greater variety it attests in the component atoms and their forms." ll. 587 ff.

"For it is essential to the very nature of deity that it should enjoy immortal existence in utter tranquillity, aloof and detached from our affairs. It is free from all pain and peril, strong in its own resources, exempt from any need of us, indifferent to our merits and immune from anger." ll. 646 ff.

"*... and the atoms do not emerge into the light.*" l. 796.

"Do not imagine that colour is the only quality that is denied to the atoms. They are wholly devoid of warmth and cold and scorching heat; they are barren of sound and starved of savour, and emit no inherent odour from their bodies." ll. 842 ff.

"All these must be kept far apart from the atoms, if we wish to provide the universe with imperishable foundations on which it may rest secure; or else you will find everything slipping back into nothing." ll. 861 ff.

"It follows that the atoms cannot be afflicted by any pain or experience any pleasure in themselves, since they are not composed of any primal particles, by some reversal of whose movements they might suffer anguish or reap some fruition of vitalising bliss. They cannot therefore be endowed with any power of sensation." ll. 967 ff.

"Again, *if we are to account for the power of sensation possessed by animate creatures in general by attributing sentience to their atoms* [, what of those atoms that specifically compose the human race?]" ll. 937 ff.

The answer to this is:

"If they [the principles] are to be likened to entire mortals, they must certainly consist of other elemental particles, and these again of others without end." ll. 980 ff.

## [*Book III*]

"First, I affirm that *it* [the mind] *is of very fine texture and is composed of exceptionally minute particles.*" ll. 180 f.

"But what is so mobile must consist of *exceptionally* minute and *spherical atoms....*" ll. 187 f.

"The stickier consistency is due to the closer coherence of the component matter, consisting of particles not so smooth or so fine or so round." ll. 194 ff.

"The greater their weight and roughness, the more firmly they are anchored...." ll. 202 f.

Negation of cohesion, of specific weight.

"... it may be inferred that mind and spirit are composed of exceptionally diminutive seeds, *since their departure is not accompanied by any loss of weight.* It must not be supposed that the stuff of mind or spirit is a single element. The body at death is abandoned by a sort of *rarefied wind* mixed with warmth, while the warmth carries with it also air. Indeed, *heat* never occurs without an intermixture of air."
ll. 229 ff.

"The *composition of the mind* is thus found to be *threefold.* But all these three components together are not enough to create sentience, since the mind does not admit that any of these can create the sensory motions.... We must accordingly add to these a fourth component, which is quite nameless. Than this there is nothing more mobile or more tenuous—nothing whose component atoms are smaller or smoother." ll. 238 ff.

"But usually a stop is put to these movements as near as may be to the surface of the body. Because of this we can retain life." ll. 257 f.

"One who no longer is cannot suffer, or differ in any way from one who has never been born, *when once this mortal life has been usurped by death the immortal.*"
ll. 880 ff.

*It can be said that in the Epicurean philosophy it is death that is immortal.* The atom, the void, accident, arbitrariness and composition are in themselves death.

"For if it is really a bad thing after death to be mauled and crunched by ravening jaws, I cannot see why it should not be disagreeable to roast in the scorching flames of a funeral pyre, or to lie embalmed in honey, stifled and stiff with cold, on the surface of a chilly slab, or to be squashed under a crushing weight of earth." ll. 901 ff.

"Men feel plainly enough within their minds a heavy burden, whose weight depresses them. If only they perceived with equal clearness the causes of this depression, the origin of this lump of evil within their breasts, they would not lead such a life as we now see all too commonly—no one knowing what he really wants and every one for ever trying to get away from where he is, as though mere change of place could throw off the load." ll. 1066 ff.

End of Book Three

Accident is known to be the dominating category with the Epicureans. A necessary consequence of this is that the idea is considered only as a *condition*; condition is existence accidental in itself. The innermost category of the world, the atom, its connection, etc., is for this reason relegated into the distance and considered as a past condition. We find the same thing with the Pietists and Supernaturalists. The creation of the world, original sin, the redemption, all this and all their godly determinations, such as paradise, etc., are not an eternal, timeless, immanent determination of the idea, but a condition. As Epicurus makes the ideality of his world, the void, into [the condition for] the creation of the world, so also the Supernaturalist gives embodiment to premiselessness, [namely] the idea of the world, in paradise.

## [*Fifth Notebook*[184]]

### LUC. ANNAEUS SENECA, *WORKS*, VOLS. [I-]III, AMSTERDAM, 1672

Epistle IX, [1,] Vol. II, p. 25. "You desire to know whether Epicurus is right when, in one of his letters, he rebukes those who hold that the wise man is self-sufficient and for that reason does not stand in need of friendships. This is the objection raised by Epicurus against Stilpo and those who believe that the Supreme Good is a dispassionate mind."

"Epicurus himself ... spoke similar language: 'Whoever does not regard what he has as most ample wealth, is unhappy, though he be master of the whole world.'" op. cit., p. 30.

"[...] he (Epicurus) added: 'So greatly blest were Metrodorus and I that it has been no harm to us to be unknown and almost unheard of, in this well-known land of Greece.'" Ep. LXXIX, [15,] p. 317.

"As Epicurus himself says, he will sometimes withdraw from pleasure and even seek pain if either remorse threatens to follow pleasure or a smaller pain is accepted to avoid a larger one." L. Seneca, *On the Leisure of the Wise Man*, p. 582, Vol. I.

"Epicurus also maintains that the wise man, though he is being burned in the bull of Phalaris, will cry out: ''Tis pleasant, and concerns me not at all.' Epicurus will say that it is pleasant to be tortured." Ep. LXVI, [18,] [Vol. II,] p. 235, also Ep. LXVII, [15,] p. 248.

"We find mentioned in the works of Epicurus two goods, of which his Supreme Good, or blessedness, is composed, namely, a body free from pain and a soul free from disturbance." Ep. LXVI, [45,] p. 241.

"For he [Epicurus] tells us that he had to endure excruciating agony from a diseased bladder and from an ulcerated stomach,—so acute that it permitted no increase of pain; 'and yet,' he says, 'that day was none the less happy.'" Ep. LXVI, [47,] p. 242.

"I ... remember the distinguished words of Epicurus ... 'This little garden ... does not whet your appetite; it quenches it. Nor does it make you more thirsty with every drink; it slakes the thirst by a natural cure,—a cure that demands no fee. This is the "pleasure" in which I have grown old.' In speaking to you, however, I refer to those desires which refuse alleviation, which must be bribed to cease. For in regard to the exceptional desires, which may be postponed, which may be chastened and checked, I have this one thought to share with you: a pleasure of that sort is according to our nature, but it is not according to our needs; you owe

nothing to it; whatever is expended upon it is a free gift. The belly does not listen to advice; it makes demands, it importunes. And yet it is not a troublesome creditor; you can send it away at small cost, provided only that you give it what you owe, not what you are able to give." Ep. XXI, [9, 10, 11,] pp. 80-81.

"[...] Epicurus, whom you accept as the patron of your indolence, and of whom you think that he teaches softness and idleness and things which lead to pleasure, says: 'Happiness seldom affects the wise man.'" Vol. I, p. 416, *On the Constancy of the Wise Man* [XV 4].

"Epicurus upbraids those who crave, as much as those who shrink from death: 'It is absurd,' he says, 'to run towards death because you are tired of life, when it is your manner of life that has made you run towards death.' And in another passage: 'What is so absurd as to seek death, when it is through fear of death that you have robbed your life of peace?' [To this can be added also] the following: 'Men are so thoughtless, nay, so mad, that some, through fear of death, force themselves to die.'" Ep. XXIV, [22-23,] p. 95.

"I am also of the opinion (and I say this in defiance of my colleagues) that Epicurus' teaching is pure and correct, and on closer consideration even severe: pleasure is confined to a small and insignificant role; and he prescribes for pleasure the law that we prescribe for virtue. He commands it to obey nature, but very little pleasure is sufficient for nature. What is it then? He who describes as pleasure idle leisure and a continual alternation of gluttony and sensuality, seeks a good advocate for a bad cause, and when he, attracted by a misleading name, attains it, he abandons himself to pleasure, yet not to that of which he has heard, but to that which he brought with him." *On the Happy Life*, Vol. I, p. 542.

"[...] *friends* ... the name which our Epicurus bestowed upon them (the *slaves*)." Ep. CVII, [1,] [Vol. II,] p. 526. "[...] Epicurus, Stilpo's critic." p. 30, Ep. IX [20].

"[...] let me tell you that Epicurus says the same thing. ... *that only the wise man knows how to return a favour.*" Ep. LXXXI, [11,] p. 326.

"Epicurus remarks that certain men have worked their way to the truth without any one's assistance, he, among them, made his own way. And he gives special praise to these, for their impulse has come from within, and they have forged to the front by themselves. Again, he says, there are others who need outside help, who will not proceed unless someone leads the way, but who will follow faithfully. Of these, he says, Metrodorus was one; this type of man is also excellent, but belongs to the second grade." Ep. LII, [3,] [p]p. [176-]177. "You will find still another class of man,—and a class not to be despised,—who can be forced and driven into righteousness, who do not need a guide so much as they need someone to encourage and, as it were, to force them along. This is the third class." ibid.

"Epicurus, the teacher of pleasure, used to observe stated days on which he satisfied his hunger in niggardly fashion; he wished to see whether he thereby fell short of full and complete happiness, and, if so, by what amount he fell short, and whether this amount was worth purchasing at the price of great effort. At any rate, he makes such a statement in the well-known letter written to Polyaenus in the archonship of Charinus. Indeed, he boasts that he himself lived on less than a penny, but that Metrodorus, whose progress was not yet so great, needed a whole penny. Do you think there can be fulness on such fare? Yes, and there is pleasure also,—not that shifty and fleeting pleasure which needs a fillip now and then, but a pleasure that is steadfast and sure. For though water, barley-meal, and crusts of barley-bread, are not a cheerful diet, yet it is the highest kind of pleasure to be able to derive pleasure from this sort of food, and to have reduced one's needs to that modicum which no unfairness of Fortune can snatch away." Ep. XVIII, [9-10,] p[p]. 67[-68].

"[It was to him (Idomeneus)] that Epicurus addressed his well-known saying, urging him to make Pythocles rich, but not rich in the vulgar and equivocal way. 'If you wish,' said he, 'to make Pythocles rich, do not add to his store of money, but subtract from his desires.'" Ep. XXI, [7,] p. 79.

Cf. Stobaeus, Sermon XVII [41-42]. "If you want to make somebody rich, do not give him more money, but free him of some of his desires."

"'It is bad to live under necessity, but there is no necessity to live under necessity.' Of course not. On all sides lie many short and simple paths to freedom; and *let us thank God that no man can be kept in life. We may spurn those very necessities,* said [Epicurus]...." Ep. XII, [10-11,] p. 42.

"The fool, with all his other faults, has this also,—*he is always getting ready to live....* And what is baser than getting ready to live when you are already old? I should not name the author of this motto, except that it is somewhat unknown to fame and is not one of those popular sayings of Epicurus...." Ep. XIII, [16-17,] p. 47.

"'He who needs riches least, enjoys riches most,' is a saying of Epicurus." Ep. XIV, [17,] p. 53.

"This is a saying of Epicurus: 'If you live according to nature, you will never be poor; if you live according to opinion, you will never be rich.' Nature's wants are slight; the demands of opinion are boundless." Ep. XVI, [7-8,] p. 60.

"The acquisition of riches has been for many men, not an end, but a change, of troubles." Ep. XVII, [11,] p. 64.

"Here is a draft on Epicurus.... 'Ungoverned anger begets madness.' You cannot help knowing the truth of these words, since you have had not only a slave, but an enemy. But indeed this emotion blazes out against all sorts of persons; it springs from love as much as from hate, and shows itself not less in serious matters than in jest and sport. And it makes no difference how important the provocation may be, but into what kind of soul it penetrates. Similarly with fire; it does not matter how great is the flame, but what it falls upon. For solid bodies have repelled the greatest fire; conversely, dry and easily inflammable stuff nourishes the slightest spark into a conflagration." Ep. XVIII, [14-15,] [p]p. [68-]69.

"... of Epicurus. He says: 'You must reflect carefully beforehand with whom you are to eat and drink, rather than what you are to eat and drink. For a dinner of meats without the company of a friend is like the life of a lion or a wolf.'" Ep. XIX, [10,] p. 72.

"'No one,' says he (Epicurus), 'leaves this world in a different manner than he was born into it'.... A man has caught the message of wisdom, if he can die as free from care as he was at birth." Ep. XXII, [15, 16,] p. 84.

"I can give you a saying of ... Epicurus: 'It is bothersome always to be beginning life.'" Ep. XXIII, [9,] p. 87.

"'When a man has limited his desires within these bounds [i.e., bread and water, which nature demands, cf. Epistle CX, [18,] p. 548], he can challenge the happiness of Jove himself,' as Epicurus says." Ep. XXV, [4,] p. 97.

"Epicurus, who says: 'Reflect which of the two is more convenient, that death should come to us or we go to it.'" Ep. XXVI, [8,] p. 101.

"Wealth is poverty adjusted to the law of nature." Ep. XXVII, [9,] p. 105.

"'The knowledge of sin is the beginning of salvation.' This saying of Epicurus seems to me to be an excellent one." Ep. XXVIII, [9,] p. 107.

"Writing to one of the partners of his studies, Epicurus said: 'I write this not for the many, but for you; indeed, each of us is enough of an audience for the other.'" Ep. VII, [11,] p. 21.

"I am still conning Epicurus: 'If you would enjoy real freedom, you must be the

slave of Philosophy.' The man who submits and surrenders himself to her is not kept waiting; he is emancipated on the spot. For the very service of Philosophy is freedom." Ep. VIII, [7,] p. 24.

"It was not the class-room of Epicurus, but association with him, that made [them] great men." Ep. VI, [6,] p. 16.

"Hence I hold Epicurus' saying to be most apt: 'That the guilty may haply remain hidden is possible, that he should be sure of remaining hidden is not possible.'" Ep. XCVII, [13,] p. 480.

"I have read the letter of Epicurus addressed to Idomeneus which bears on this matter. The writer asks him to hasten as fast as he can, and beat a retreat before some stronger influence comes between and takes from him the liberty to withdraw. But he also adds that one should attempt nothing except at the time when it can be attempted suitably and seasonably. Then, when the long-sought occasion comes, let him be up and doing. Epicurus forbids us to doze when we are meditating escape and hopes for a safe release from even the hardest trials, provided that we are not in too great a hurry before the time, nor too dilatory when the time arrives." Ep. XXII, [5, 6,] p. 82.

"No reasonable man fears the gods. For it is folly to fear that which is beneficent, and no one loves those whom he fears. In the end, you, Epicurus, disarm God. You have taken from him all weapons, all might, and so that no one should fear him, you have put him out of action. Therefore you have no reason to fear him who is surrounded by a huge and insuperable wall and is separated from the contact and the sight of mortals. He has not the possibility either to give or to harm. In the middle space between this and the other heaven, alone, without any living things, without any humans, without anything, he seeks to escape from the ruins of the worlds which are collapsing above him and around him, not heeding desires and without any concern for us. And yet you wish to appear as if you honour him as a father, with a grateful heart, as it seems to me; or if you do not wish to appear grateful, because you receive no mercy from him, but the atoms and these your particles have formed you accidentally and not according to any plan, why then do you honour him? Because of his majesty, you say, and his unique essence. If I concede you that, apparently you do this not induced by hope of any kind, by reward of any kind. Consequently there is something which is worth striving after for itself, whose worth itself attracts you: that is the moral Good." *On Benefits*, Book IV, Chap. 19, p. 719, Vol. I.

"'All these causes could exist,' says Epicurus, and tries several other explanations; and he rebukes those who have asserted that any definite one of these exists, because it is rash to judge apodictically of that which follows only from conjectures. Consequently an earthquake can be caused by water when it has eroded and carried away some parts of the earth, and these have been weakened; that which was borne by the parts when they were undamaged could no longer be held. Pressure of the air can set the earth in motion. For perhaps the air is set in vibration when other air streams in from outside. Perhaps it is shaken and set in motion when a part suddenly gives way. Perhaps it is held up by some part of the earth as by some kind of columns and pillars; if these are damaged and yield, the weight resting on them quakes. Perhaps hot masses of air are transformed into fire and rush down like lightning, doing great damage to what is in their path. Perhaps some blast of wind sets boggy and stagnant waters in motion and consequently the earth is shaken by an impulse or a vibration of the air, which increases with the motion itself, is carried above from below, however he says that no other cause is of greater importance in the case of an earthquake than motion of the air." *Questions of Nature*, Book VI, Chap. 20, p. 802. Vol. II.

"On this question, two schools above all are in disagreement, that of the Epicureans and that of the Stoics; but each of them points, though in different ways, to retirement. Epicurus says: 'The wise man shows no concern for the state, unless a special situation has arisen.' Zeno says: 'He must have concern for the state unless something hinders him.' The former wants leisure on principle, the latter according to circumstances." *On the Leisure of the Wise Man*, Chap. 30, p. 574, Vol. I.

"The pleasure of Epicurus is not estimated [...] because of how sober and dull it is, but they seize on the mere name, seeking some cover and veil for their lusts. Thus they lose the only good thing which they had in their badness, namely, shame of sinning. For they now praise that over which they blushed formerly, and they glory in vice, and for this reason even young people cannot regain their strength since shameful idleness has been covered with an honourable mantle." p. 541, Chap. 12, [4, 5,] *On the Happy Life*, Vol. I.

"For all these [Plato, Zeno, Epicurus] did not speak of how they themselves lived, but of how one should live." Chap. 18, [1,] p. 550, op. cit.

"Hence God does not dispense mercy, but, untroubled, unconcerned about us, and turned away from the world, he does something else or (and this for Epicurus is the greatest bliss) does nothing, and good deeds affect him no more than acts of injustice." *On Benefits*, Book IV, Chap. 4, [1,] p. 699, Vol. I.

"Here we must bear good testimony to Epicurus, who continually complains that we are ungrateful in respect of the past, that we do not bear in mind the good that we have received and do not include it in enjoyments, as no enjoyment is surer than that which cannot be taken away from us again." *On Benefits*, Book III, Chap. 4 [, 1, p. 666, Vol. I].

"We may dispute with Socrates, doubt with Carneades, repose with Epicurus, transcend human nature with the Stoics, defy it with the Cynics; Nature allows us to participate in any age." *On the Shortness of Life*, p. 512, Vol. I.

"In this respect we are in conflict with the self-indulgent and retiring crowd of the Epicureans who philosophise at their banquets and for whom virtue is the handmaid of pleasure. They obey pleasure, they serve it, they see it above themselves." *On Benefits*, Book IV, Chap. 2, p. 697, Vol. I.

"But how can virtue rule pleasure, which it follows, since to follow is proper to him who obeys, and to rule to him who commands?" *On the Happy Life*, Chap. 11, p. 538, Vol. I.

"For you [Epicureans] it is pleasure to abandon the body to idle leisure, to strive after freedom from care like people asleep, to conceal yourselves under a thick veil, to relax the sluggishness of the idle mind with emotional contemplation, which you call repose of the soul, and to strengthen with food and drink in the shade of gardens your bodies weakened by idleness; for us it is pleasure to accomplish good actions, even if they are wearying, provided only that through them the weariness of others is alleviated, or dangerous, provided that through them others are freed from danger, or burdensome for our fortune, provided only the distress and needs of others are attenuated." *On Benefits*, Book IV, Chap. 13, p. 713, Vol. I.

"For those who lack experience and training, there is no limit to the downhill course; such a one falls into the chaos of Epicurus—empty and boundless." Ep. LXXII, [9,] p. 274, Vol. II.

"The Epicureans held that philosophy consists of two parts, natural and moral, and they did away with logic. Then, when they were compelled by the facts to distinguish between equivocal ideas and to expose fallacies that lay hidden under the cloak of truth, they themselves also introduced a heading which they called 'on judgments and rules', which is another name for logic, but *which they consider an adjunct of natural philosophy*." Ep. LXXXIX, [11,] p. 397.

"The Epicurean god neither has anything to do himself, nor does he give others anything to do." *On the Death of the Emperor Claudius*, p. 851, Vol. II.

"Then you say: 'Is it retirement, Seneca, that you are recommending to me? You will soon be falling back upon the maxims of Epicurus'. I do recommend retirement to you, but only that you may use it for greater and more beautiful activities than those which you have resigned." Ep. LXVIII, [10,] p. 251.

"I am not so foolish as to go through at this juncture the arguments which Epicurus harps upon, and say that the terrors of the world below are idle,—that Ixion does not whirl round on his wheel, that Sisyphus does not shoulder his stone uphill, that a man's entrails cannot be restored and devoured every day; no one is so childish as to fear Cerberus, or the shadows, or the spectral garb of those who are held together by naught but their unfleshed bones. Death either annihilates us or frees us. If we are released, there remains the better part, after the burden has been withdrawn; if we are annihilated, nothing remains: good and bad are alike removed." Ep. XXIV, [18,] p. 93.

## End

### JOH. STOBAEI *SENTENTIAE ET ECLOGAE, ETC.* GENEVA, 1609

"Thanks be to bountiful nature for having made that which is necessary easy to obtain and that which is difficult to obtain not necessary.

"If you want to make somebody rich, do not give him more money, but free him of some of his desires.

"Temperance is the virtue of the appetitive part of the soul by which, with the help of reason, one represses longings for vulgar pleasure.

"It is the nature of temperance to be able to repress with the help of reason the longing for the vulgar enjoyment of pleasure and to endure and bear natural privations and suffering." *On Temperance*, Sermon XVII, p. 157.

"We are born once, it is not possible to be born twice, and it is of necessity that life is not longer *(necessarium est aetatem finiri)*. But you, who have no power over the morrow *(qui ne crastinum diem quidem in tua potestate habes)*, are putting off the moment *(tempus differs)*. Everybody's life is wasted through procrastination, and for that reason everyone of us dies without having any leisure." *On Economy*, Sermon XVI, p. 155.

"I have more than enough bodily pleasure when I have water and bread, and I do not care a straw for costly pleasures, not because of themselves, but because of all the unpleasantness that follows them.

"We feel the need for pleasure when we are sad because we do not have it. But when we do not experience this in our sensations, then we have no need for pleasure. For it is not the natural pleasure which causes external annoyance, but the striving for empty appearance." *On Temperance*, Sermon XVII [p. 159].

"The laws exist for the wise not so that they shall do no wrong, but so that no wrong shall happen to them." *On the State*, Sermon XLI, p. 270.

"Death is nothing to us. For that which is dissolved is without sensation. And that which is without sensation is nothing to us." *On Death*, Sermon CXVII, p. 600.

"Epicurus of Demos Gargettios proclaimed: 'To him for whom a little is not sufficient, nothing is sufficient.' He said he was prepared to dispute over bliss with anybody if he had only bread and water." *On Temperance*, Sermon XVII, p. 158.

"For this reason Epicurus also believes that those who are ambitious and seek after glory must not practise quietism, but must follow their nature taking part in

civic affairs and work for the common weal, for their nature is such that, if they do not attain that for which they strive, they will become restless and embittered through inactivity. And yet he is foolish who enlists in work for the common weal not those who are suitable for it, but those who cannot be inactive; inner tranquillity and inner unrest must not be measured (*securitatem animi anxietatemque metiri*) either by the amount, great or small, of what one has done, but by the good and the bad. For to omit to do good is no less painful and disquieting (*molestum est et turbulentum*) than to do evil." *On Steadfastness*, Sermon XXIX, p. 206.

"When somebody said: 'The wise man will not be affected by love. The evidence for this is ... Epicurus ...', he [Chrysippus] said: 'This I take as a proof. For if ... the unfeeling Epicurus ... was not affected by love (the wise man will certainly not be affected by it)' (*ne sapiens quidem eo capietur*)." [a] *On Sensual Pleasure and Love*, Sermon LXI, p. 393.

"But we will concentrate our attention on the tedious philosophers according to whom pleasure does not conform to nature, but follows that which does conform to nature—justice, self-control and generosity of mind. Why then does the soul rejoice and find peace (*tranquillatur*) in the smaller goods of the body, as Epicurus says [...?]" *On Intemperance*, Sermon VI, pp. 81, 82.

"Epicurus [assumes] that the gods indeed resemble man, but that one and all they can be perceived only by thought because of the fineness of the nature of their images. He himself however [assumes] four other substances to be indestructible by their nature: the atoms, the void, the infinite, and the *homogeneous particles*; and these are called *homoeomerias* and *elements*." *Physical Selections*, Book 1, p. 5.

"Epicurus [is guided] by necessity, by free decision, by fate. And on the subject of fate they [the Pythagoreans] used to say: 'To be sure there is also a divine part in it, for some men receive from the divinity an inspiration for better or for worse; and in accordance with this some are clearly happy and others unhappy. But it is quite obvious that those who act without previous deliberation and haphazardly are often successful, while others, who deliberate beforehand and consider beforehand how to do something correctly, are not successful. But fate manifests itself in another way, by virtue of which some are talented and purposeful, while others are talentless and, because they have a contrary nature, do harm; the former though hasty in judgment attain every object at which they aim, while the latter do not achieve their object, because their thinking is never purposeful, but confused. This misfortune, however, is innate, and not imposed from outside (*non externam*)." *Physical Selections*, Book 1, [p] p. [15-]16.

"[...] Epicurus (calls time) an accident, i.e., a concomitant of movements [...]." l.c., p. 19.

"Epicurus [says] that the fundamental principles of that which is are bodies perceptible through thinking, bodies having no part of void, uncreated, indestructible, which can be neither damaged nor changed. Such a body is called an atom, not because it is the smallest, but because it cannot be divided, can have nothing done to it and has no part of void." *Physical Selections*, Book 1, p. 27.

"Epicurus [says] that the bodies are imperceptible and that the primary ones are simple, and the bodies composed of them have weight; that the atoms move, sometimes falling in a straight line (*rectis lineis*), sometimes swerving from the straight line; and upward movement occurs through collision and repulsion." *Physical Selections*, Book 1, p. 33.

"Epicurus ... [says] that coloured bodies have no colour in the dark [...]." *Physical Selections*, Book 1, p. 35.

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[a] Here and below Marx inserts phrases from a Latin translation of Stobaeus where the Greek text is damaged.—*Ed.*

"[...] Epicurus [says] that the atoms are infinite in number and the void is infinite in extent." *Physical Selections*, Book 1, p. 38.

"Epicurus uses alternatively all the names: void, place, space." *Physical Selections*, Book 1, p. 39.

Cf. D[iogenes] L[aertius]. "'[...] if there did not exist that which we call void and space and intangible nature [...].'" p. 32. [Letter] to Herodotus.

"Epicurus [distinguishes] two kinds of motion, that in a straight line and that which swerves away from the straight line." *Physical Selections*, Book 1, p. 40.

"Epicurus [says] that the world perishes in many ways, namely, as animal, as plant and in many other ways." *Physical Selections*, Book 1, p. 44.

"All others [assumed] that the world is animated and guided by providence; Leucippus, Democritus and Epicurus, on the other hand, make neither of these [assumptions], but say that it arose out of the atoms through nature not endowed with reason." *Physical Selections*, Book 1, p. 47.

"Epicurus [says] that the extremity of some worlds is tenuous, that of others is dense, and of these some are mobile, others are immobile." *Physical Selections*, Book 1, p. 51.

The following passage from Stobaeus, which does not belong to Epicurus, is perhaps one of the most elevated.

"Is there, Father, anything beautiful besides these? Only God" (by τούτων χωρὶς one should understand σχῆμα, χρῶμα and σῶμα[a]), "my child, *rather that which is greater is the name of God.*" Stobaeus, *Physical Selections*, Book 1, p. 50.

"Metrodorus, the teacher of Epicurus, [says] that ... the causes, however, are the atoms and elements." l.c., p. 52.

"[...] Leucippus, Democritus and Epicurus [say] that an infinite number of worlds [exist] to infinity in every direction; of those who assert an infinite number of worlds Anaximander [says] that they are at equal distance from each other; Epicurus, that the distance between the worlds is unequal." l.c., p. 52.

"Epicurus does not reject any of them" (i.e., the views on the stars),[b] "he adheres to the possible." l.c., p. 54.

"Epicurus says that the sun is a big lump of earth similar to pumice-stone and sponge-like, which has been set on fire through its holes." l.c., p. 56.

The passage cited above from the *Physical Selections*, Book 1, p. 5[c] seems, more than the passage quoted by Schaubach, to confirm the view that there are two kinds of atoms. In this passage of the *Selections*, the ὁμοιότητες[d] are adduced as indestructible principles alongside the atoms and the void; they are not εἴδολα,[e] but are explained: αἱ δὲ λέγονται ὁμοιομερείαι καὶ στοιχεῖα.[f] Thus it follows from this passage that the atoms, which underlie appearance, as elements, have no homoeomerias, and possess the

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[a] Shape, colour and body.—*Ed.*

[b] The words in brackets were written by Marx in German in the original.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 485.—*Ed.*

[d] Homoeomerias.—*Ed.*

[e] Images.—*Ed.*

[f] Which are called homoeomerias and elements.—*Ed.*

qualities of the bodies of which they are the basis. This is in any case false. In the same way Metrodorus adduces as cause αἱ ἄτομοι καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα [a] (p. 52).

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *WORKS*, COLOGNE, 1688

"Epicurus also pilfered his leading dogmas from Democritus." *The Miscellanies*, Book VI, p. 629.

"[...] Homer, while representing the gods as subject to human passions, appears to know the Divine Being, whom Epicurus does not so revére." *The Miscellanies*, Book V, p. 604.

"Epicurus also says that the removal of pain is pleasure; and says that that is to be preferred, which first attracts from itself to itself, being, that is, wholly in motion.... Epicurus, indeed, and the Cyrenaics, say that pleasure is the first thing proper to us; for it was for the sake of pleasure, they say, that virtue was introduced, and produced pleasure." *The Miscellanies*, Book II, p. 415.

"...Epicurus thinks that all joy of the soul arises from previous sensations of the flesh. Metrodorus, in his book, *On the Happiness Which Has Its Source in Ourselves Being Greater Than That Which Arises from Circumstances*, says: What else is the good of the soul but the sound state of the flesh, and the sure hope of its continuance?" *The Miscellanies*, Book II, p. 417.

"Indeed Epicurus says that the man who in his estimation was wise, 'would not do wrong to anyone for the sake of gain; for he could not persuade himself that he would escape detection.' So that, if he knew he would not be detected, he would, according to him, do evil." *The Miscellanies*, Book IV, p. 532.

It does not escape Clement that hope in the future world is also not free from the principle of utility.

"If, too, one shall abstain from doing wrong from hope of the recompense promised by God for righteous deeds, he is not on this supposition spontaneously good (*ne hic quidem sua sponte bonus est*). ... For as fear makes that man just, so reward makes this one; or rather makes him appear to be just." op. cit.

"Epicurus, too, who very greatly preferred pleasure to truth, supposes faith to be a preconception of the mind (*anticipationem*); and defines preconception as a notion based on something evident, and on the obviously correct image; and asserts that, without preconception, no one can either inquire, or doubt, or judge, or even argue (*arguere*)." *The Miscellanies*, Book II, pp. 365 and 366.

Clement adds:

"If, then, faith is nothing else than a preconception of the mind in regard to what is the subject of discourse", etc.,

from which one can see what here by *fides intelligi debet*.[b]

"Democritus repudiates marriage and the procreation of children, on account of the many annoyances thence arising, and the abstraction (*abstractio*) from more

[a] The atoms and the elements.—*Ed.*
[b] Must be understood by faith.—*Ed.*

necessary things. Epicurus agrees, as do all who place good in pleasure, and in the absence of trouble and pain." *The Miscellanies*, Book II, p. 421.

"[...] but Epicurus, on the other hand (*contra*), supposes that only Greeks can philosophise [...]." *The Miscellanies*, Book I, p. 302.

"Well, then, Epicurus, writing to Menoeceus, says: 'Let not him who is young delay philosophising', etc." *The Miscellanies*, Book IV, p. 501. Cf. Diogenes Laertius, Letter to Menoeceus.[a]

"... but the Epicureans too say that they have things that may not be uttered (*arcana*), and do not allow all to peruse those writings." *The Miscellanies*, Book V, p. 575.

According to Clement of Alexandria, the apostle Paul had Epicurus in mind when he said:

"'Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, *after the rudiments of the world, and not after* Christ'; branding not all philosophy, but the *Epicurean*, which Paul mentions in the Acts of the Apostles, which *abolishes providence and deifies pleasure*, and whatever other philosophy honours the elements, but places not over them the efficient cause, nor apprehends the Creator." *The Miscellanies*, Book I, p. 295.

It is good that the philosophers who did not weave fantasies about God are rejected.

This passage is now better understood, and it is known that Paul had all philosophy in mind.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 406-07.— *Ed.*

## [*Sixth Notebook*]

### [LUCRETIUS, *ON THE NATURE OF THINGS*]

### *Book IV*

"[...] images of things, a sort of outer skin perpetually peeled off the surface of objects and flying about this way and that through the air." ll.34 ff.

"Because each particular floating image wears the aspect and form of the object from whose body it has emanated." ll.49 f.

"Similarly the films must be able to traverse an incalculable space in an instant of time, and that for two reasons. First, a very slight initial impetus far away to their rear sufficed to launch them and they continue on their course. Secondly, they are thrown off with such a loose-knit texture that they can readily penetrate any object and filter through the interspace of air." ll.192 ff.

"... it must be acknowledged that objects emit particles that strike upon the eyes and provoke sight. From certain objects there also flows a perpetual stream, as coolness flows from rivers, heat from the sun, and from the ocean waves a spray that eats away walls round the sea-shore. Sounds of every sort are surging incessantly through the air. When we walk by the seaside, a salty tang of brine enters our mouth; when we watch a draught of wormwood being mixed in our presence, a bitter effluence touches it. So from every object flows a stream of matter, spreading out in all directions. The stream flows without rest or intermission, since our senses are perpetually alert and everything is always liable to be seen or smelt or to provoke sensation by sound." ll.217 ff.

"Again, when some shape or other is handled in the dark, it is recognised as the same shape that in a clear and shining light is plain to see. It follows that touch and sight are provoked by the same stimulus." ll.231 ff.

"*This shows that the cause of seeing lies in these films* and without these nothing can be seen." ll.238 f.

"That is how we perceive the distance of each object; the more air is driven in front of the film and the longer the draught that brushes through our eyes, the more remote the object is seen to be. Of course this all happens so quickly that we perceive the nature of the object and its distance simultaneously." ll.251 ff.

"A similar thing happens when a mirrored image projects itself upon our sight. On its way to us the film shoves and drives before it all the air that intervenes between itself and the eyes, so that we feel all this before perceiving the mirror. When we have perceived the mirror itself, then the film that travels from us to it and is reflected comes back to our eyes, pushing another lot of air in front of it, so

that we perceive this before the image, which thus appears to lie at some distance from the mirror." ll. 280 ff.

## *Book V*

"The whole substance and structure of the world, upheld through many years, will crash." ll. 96 f.

"May reason rather than the event itself convince you that the whole world can collapse with one ear-splitting crack!" ll. 109 f.

"For naturally a whole whose members and parts we see to consist of created matter in mortal forms is by the same rule discerned to be likewise created and mortal. So ... it is a fair inference that sky and earth too had their birthday and will have their day of doom." ll. 241 ff.

"... you will see ... temples and images of the gods defaced, their destined span not lengthened by any sanctity that avails against the laws of nature." ll. 307 ff.

"Again, there can only be three kinds of everlasting objects. The first, owing to the absolute solidity of their substance, can repel blows and let nothing penetrate them so as to unknit their close texture from within. Such are the atoms of matter, whose nature I have already demonstrated. The second kind can last for ever because it is immune from blows. Such is empty space, which remains untouched and not subject to any impact. Last is that which has no available place surrounding it into which its matter can disperse and disintegrate. It is for this reason that the sum total of the universe is everlasting, having no space outside it into which the matter can escape and no matter that can enter and disintegrate it by the force of impact." ll. 352 ff.

"It follows that the doorway of death is not barred to sky and sun and earth and the sea's unfathomed floods. It lies tremendously open and confronts them with'a yawning chasm." ll. 374 ff.

"Already in those early days men had visions when their minds were awake, and more clearly in sleep, of divine figures, dignified in mien and impressive in stature. To these figures they attributed sentience, because they were seen to move their limbs and give voice to lordly utterances appropriate to their stately features and stalwart frames. They further credited them with eternal life, because their shape was perpetually renewed and their appearance unchanging and in general because they thought that beings of such strength could not lightly be subdued by any force. They pictured their lot as far superior to that of mortals, because none of them was tormented by the fear of death, and also because in dreams they saw them perform all sorts of miracles without the slightest effort." ll. 1168 ff.

## *Book VI*[185]

As the νοῦς [a] of Anaxagoras comes into motion in the Sophists (here the νοῦς becomes *realiter*[b] the not-being of the world) and this immediate *daemonic motion* as such becomes objective in the *daemon* of Socrates, so also the practical motion in Socrates becomes a general and ideal one in Plato, and the νοῦς expands itself into a realm of ideas. In Aristotle this process is apprehended again in individuality, but this is now true conceptual individuality.

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[a] Reason.—*Ed.*
[b] Really.—*Ed.*

As in the history of philosophy there are nodal points which raise philosophy in itself to concretion, apprehend abstract principles in a totality, and thus break off the rectilinear process, so also there are moments when philosophy turns its eyes to the external world, and no longer apprehends it, but, as a practical person, weaves, as it were, intrigues with the world, emerges from the transparent kingdom of Amenthes and throws itself on the breast of the worldly Siren. That is the carnival of philosophy, whether it disguises itself as a dog like the Cynic, in priestly vestments like the Alexandrian, or in fragrant spring array like the Epicurean. It is essential that philosophy should then wear character masks. As Deucalion, according to the legend, cast stones behind him in creating human beings, so philosophy casts its regard behind it (the bones of its mother are luminous eyes) when its heart is set on creating a world; but as Prometheus, having stolen fire from heaven, begins to build houses and to settle upon the earth, so philosophy, expanded to be the whole world, turns against the world of appearance. The same now with the philosophy of Hegel.

While philosophy has sealed itself off to form a consummate, total world, the determination of this totality is conditioned by the general development of philosophy, just as that development is the condition of the form in which philosophy turns into a practical relationship towards reality; thus the totality of the world in general is divided within itself, and this division is carried to the extreme, for spiritual existence has been freed, has been enriched to universality, the heart-beat has become in itself the differentiation in the concrete form which is the whole organism. The division of the world is total only when its aspects are totalities. The world confronting a philosophy total in itself is therefore a world torn apart. This philosophy's activity therefore also appears torn apart and contradictory; its objective universality is turned back into the subjective forms of individual consciousness in which it has life. But one must not let oneself be misled by this storm which follows a great philosophy, a world philosophy. Ordinary harps play under any fingers, Aeolian harps only when struck by the storm.

He who does not acknowledge this historical necessity must be consistent and deny that men can live at all after a total philosophy, or he must hold that the dialectic of measure as such is the highest category of the self-knowing spirit and assert, with some of the Hegelians who understand our master wrongly, that *mediocrity* is the normal manifestation of the absolute spirit; but a mediocrity which passes itself off as the regular manifestation of

the Absolute has itself fallen into the measureless, namely, into measureless pretension. Without this necessity it is impossible to grasp how after Aristotle a Zeno, an Epicurus, even a Sextus Empiricus could appear, and how after Hegel attempts, most of them abysmally indigent, could be made by more recent philosophers.

At such times half-hearted minds have opposite views to those of whole-minded generals. They believe that they can compensate losses by cutting the armed forces, by splitting them up, by a peace treaty with the real needs, whereas Themistocles, when Athens was threatened with destruction, tried to persuade the Athenians to abandon the city entirely and found a new Athens at sea, in another element.

Neither must we forget that the time following such catastrophes is an iron time, happy when characterised by titanic struggles, lamentable when it resembles centuries limping in the wake of great periods in art. These centuries set about moulding in wax, plaster and copper what sprang from Carrara marble like Pallas Athena out of the head of Zeus, the father of the gods. But titanic are the times which follow in the wake of a philosophy total in itself and of its subjective developmental forms, for gigantic is the discord that forms their unity. Thus Rome followed the Stoic, Sceptic and Epicurean philosophy. They are unhappy and iron epochs, for their gods have died and the new goddess still reveals the dark aspect of fate, of pure light or of pure darkness. She still lacks the colours of day.

The kernel of the misfortune, however, is that the spirit of the time, the spiritual monad, sated in itself, ideally formed in all aspects in itself, is not allowed to recognise any reality which has come to being without it. The fortunate thing in such misfortune is therefore the subjective form, the modality of the relation of philosophy, as subjective consciousness, towards reality.

Thus, for example, the Epicurean, [and the] Stoic philosophy was the boon of its time; thus, when the universal sun has gone down, the moth seeks the lamplight of the private individual.

The other aspect, which is the more important for the historian of philosophy, is that this turn-about of philosophy, its transubstantiation into flesh and blood, varies according to the determination which a philosophy total and concrete in itself bears as its birthmark. At the same time it is an objection to those who now conclude in their abstract one-sidedness that, because Hegel considered Socrates' condemnation just, i.e., necessary, because Giordano Bruno had to atone for his fiery spirit in the smoky

flame at the stake, therefore the philosophy of Hegel, for example, has pronounced sentence upon itself. But from the philosophical point of view it is important to bring out this aspect, because, reasoning back from the determinate character of this turn-about, we can form a conclusion concerning the immanent determination and the world-historical character of the process of development of a philosophv. What formerly appeared as growth is now determination, what was negativity existing in itself has now become negation. Here we see, as it were, the *curriculum vitae* of a philosophy in its most concentrated expression, epitomised in its subjective point, just as from the death of a hero one can infer his life's history.

Since I hold that the attitude of the Epicurean philosophy is such a form of Greek philosophy, may this also be my justification if, instead of presenting moments out of the preceding Greek philosophies as conditions of the life of the Epicurean philosophy, I reason back from the latter to draw conclusions about the former and thus let it itself formulate its own particular position.

To define the subjective form of Platonic philosophy still further in a few features, I shall examine more closely some views set forth by Professor Baur in his work *Das Christliche im Platonismus.* Thus we shall arrive at a result by simultaneously clarifying opposing views more precisely.

*Das Christliche des Platonismus oder Sokrates und Christus,* by D. F. C. Baur, Tübingen, 1837.

Baur says on page 24:

> "According to this, Socratic philosophy and Christianity, considered at their starting point, are related to each other as consciousness of self and consciousness of sin."

It seems to us that the comparison between Socrates and Christ, presented in this way, proves precisely the opposite of what is to be proved, namely, the opposite of an analogy between Socrates and Christ. Consciousness of self and consciousness of sin are, of course, related to each other as the general and the particular, that is to say, as philosophy and religion. This position is adopted by every philosopher, whether ancient or modern. This would be the eternal separation of the two fields rather than their unity, admittedly also a relationship, for every separation is separation of a unity. This means nothing more than that the philosopher Socrates is related to Christ as a philosopher to a teacher of religion. If now a similarity, an analogy is established between grace

and Socrates' midwifery, irony, this means carrying only the contradiction, not the analogy, to the extreme. Socratic irony, as understood by Baur and as it must be understood with Hegel, namely as the dialectic trap through which human common sense is precipitated out of its motley ossification, not into self-complacent knowing-better, but into the truth immanent in human common sense itself, this irony is nothing but the form of philosophy in its subjective attitude to common consciousness. The fact that in Socrates it has the form of an ironical, wise man follows from the basic character of Greek philosophy and its attitude to reality. With us irony as a general immanent form, so to speak, as philosophy was taught by Fr. v. Schlegel. But objectively, so far as content is concerned, Heraclitus, who also not only despised, but hated human common sense, is just as much an ironist, so is even Thales, who taught that everything is water, though every Greek knew that no one could live on water, so is Fichte with his world-creating *ego*, despite which even Nicolai realised that he could not create any world, and so is any philosopher who asserts immanence in opposition to the empirical person.

In grace, on the other hand, in consciousness of sin, not only the subject which receives grace, which is brought to consciousness of sin, but even that which bestows grace and that which arises out of the consciousness of sin are empirical persons.

If therefore there is any analogy here between Socrates and Christ, it must consist in the fact that Socrates is philosophy personified and Christ is religion personified. But here it is not a question of a general relation between philosophy and religion; the question is rather in what relation personified philosophy stands to personified religion. That they have some relation to each other is a very vague truth or rather the general condition of the question, not the particular basis of the answer. In this striving to prove the existence of a Christian element in Socrates, the relation between the two persons, namely Christ and Socrates, is defined no further than as the relation in general of a philosopher to a teacher of religion; the same vacuity is revealed when the general moral division of Socrates' Idea, Plato's Republic, is placed in relationship to the general division of the Idea, and Christ as a historical personality in relationship mainly to the church.[a]

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[a] After this the following is crossed out in the manuscript: Thereby the important fact is overlooked that Plato's Republic is his own product, whereas the church is something totally different from Christ.—*Ed.*

If Hegel's pronouncement, which Baur accepts, is correct,[a] that in his Republic Plato asserted Greek substantiality against the irrupting principle of subjectivity, then Plato is diametrically opposed to Christ, since Christ asserted this element of subjectivity against the existing state, which he characterised as only worldly, and therefore unholy. The fact that Plato's Republic remained an ideal, whereas the Christian church achieved reality, was not the real difference but was expressed reversed in Plato's Idea following reality, whereas that of Christ preceded it.

In general it is far more correct to say that there are Platonic elements in Christianity rather than Christian elements in Plato, particularly as the earliest Fathers of the Church proceeded historically in part from Platonic philosophy, e.g., Origen, Irenaeus. From the philosophical point of view it is important that in Plato's Republic the first estate is that of the learned or the wise. It is the same with the relationship of Platonic ideas to the Christian logos (p. 38), the relationship of the Platonic recollection to the Christian restoration of man to his original image (p. 40), and with Plato's fall of souls and the Christian falling into sin (p. 43), myth of the pre-existence of the soul.

Relation of the myth to Platonic consciousness.

Platonic transmigration of souls. Connection with the constellations.

Baur says on page 83:

"There is no other philosophy of antiquity in which philosophy bears so much of a religious character as in Platonism."

This must also follow from the fact that Plato defines the "task of philosophy" (p. 86) as a λύσις, ἀπαλλαγή, χωρισμός[b] of the soul from the body, as a dying and a μελετᾶν ἀποθνήσκειν.[c]

"That this saving force in the final resort is ascribed to philosophy is, to be sure, the one-sidedness of Platonism [...]." p. 89.

On the one hand, one could accept Baur's pronouncement that no philosophy of antiquity bears so much the character of religion as the Platonic. But it would only mean that no philosopher had taught philosophy with more religious inspiration, that to no one philosophy had to a greater extent the determination and the form, as it were, of a religious cult. With the more intensive

[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *System der Philosophie*. Dritter Teil. "Die Philosophie des Geistes". §552.—*Ed.*

[b] Saving, freeing, separation.—*Ed.*

[c] Striving for death.—*Ed.*

philosophers, such as Aristotle, Spinoza, Hegel, their attitude itself had a more general form, less steeped in empirical feeling; but for that reason Aristotle's inspiration, when he extols θεωρία[a] as the best thing, τὸ ἥδιστον καὶ ἄριστον,[b] or when he admires the rationality of nature in his treatise περὶ τῆς φύσεως ξωϊκῆς,[c] and Spinoza's inspiration when he speaks of contemplation *sub specie aeternitatis*,[d] of the love of God or of the *libertas mentis humanae*,[e] and Hegel's inspiration when he expounds the eternal realisation of the Idea, the magnificent organism of the universe of spirits, is more genuine, warmer, more beneficial to a mind with a more general education, for that reason the inspiration of Plato culminates in ecstasy while that of the others burns on as the pure ideal flame of science; that is why the former was only a hot-water bottle for individual minds, while the latter is the animating spirit of world-historical developments.

Hence even if it may be admitted, on the one hand, that in the Christian religion, as the peak of rel[igious] development, there must be more points of contact with the subjective form of Platonic philosophy than with that of other early philosophies, it must equally be asserted on the same grounds that in no philosophy the opposition between the religious and the philosophical could be expressed more clearly, for here philosophy appears in the character of religion, while there religion appears in the character of philosophy.

Further, Plato's pronouncements on the salvation of the soul, etc., prove nothing at all, for every philosopher desires to free the soul from its empirical limitation; to draw an analogy with religion only shows a lack of philosophy, namely, to consider this as the task of philosophy, whereas it is only the condition for fulfilling that task, only the beginning of the beginning.

Finally, it is no defect of Plato, no one-sidedness, that he ascribes this saving force in the last resort to philosophy; it is the one-sidedness which makes of him a philosopher and not the teacher of a faith. It is not the one-sidedness of Plato's philosophy, but that by which alone it is philosophy. It is that by which he negates again the formula—which has just been denounced—[namely, the formula] of a task of philosophy which would not be philosophy itself.

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[a] Theory.—*Ed.*
[b] The most pleasant and the best.—*Ed.*
[c] *On the Nature of Animals.*[186]—*Ed.*
[d] From the point of view of eternity.—*Ed.*
[e] Freedom of the human mind.—*Ed.*

"In this, therefore, in the striving to provide what has been cognised through philosophy with a basis independent of the subjectivity of the individual [i.e., an objective basis], lies the reason why Plato, precisely when he expounds truths which are of the greatest moral and religious interest, at the same time presents them in a mythical form." p. 94.

Is anything at all explained in this way? Does not this answer include as its kernel the question of the reason for this reason? The question that arises is: why is it that Plato felt the desire to provide a positive, above all mythical, basis for what is cognised by philosophy? Such a desire is the most astonishing thing that can be attributed to a philosopher, for it means that he does not find the objective force in his system itself, in the eternal power of the Idea. That is why Aristotle calls mythologising kenologising.[187]

On the surface of it, the answer to this can be found in the subjective, namely dialogic, form of the Platonic system and in irony. What is the pronouncement of an individual and is asserted as such in opposition to opinions or individuals, needs some support through which the subjective certainty becomes objective truth.

But then a further question arises: why is this mythologising to be found in those dialogues which mainly expound moral and religious truths, whereas the purely metaphysical *Parmenides* is free from it? The question is: why is the positive basis a mythical one and a reliance on myths?

And here we have the answer to this riddle. In expounding definite questions of morality, religion, or even natural philosophy, as in *Timaeus*, Plato sees that his negative interpretation of the Absolute is not sufficient; here it is not enough to sink everything in the one dark night in which, according to Hegel, all cows are black; at this point Plato has recourse to the positive interpretation of the Absolute, and its essential form, which has its basis in itself, is myth and allegory. Where the Absolute stands on one side, and limited positive reality on the other, and the positive must all the same be preserved, there this positive becomes the medium through which absolute light shines, the absolute light breaks up into a fabulous play of colours, and the finite, the positive, points to something other than itself, has in it a soul, to which this husk is an object of wonder; the whole world has become a world of myths. Every shape is a riddle. This has recurred in recent times, due to the operation of a similar law.

This positive interpretation of the Absolute and its mythical-allegorical attire is the fountain-head, the heartbeat of the philosophy of transcendence, a transcendence which at the same time has an essential relation to immanence, just as it essentially breaks through the latter. Here we have, of course, a kinship of

Platonic philosophy with every positive religion, and primarily with the Christian religion, which is the consummate philosophy of transcendence. Here we have therefore also one of the viewpoints from which a more profound relationship can be established between historical Christianity and the history of ancient philosophy. It is in connection with this positive interpretation of the Absolute that Plato saw in an individual as such, Socrates, the mirror, so to speak, the mythical expression of wisdom, and called him the philosopher of death and of love. That does not mean that Plato negated the historical Socrates; the positive interpretation of the Absolute is connected with the subjective character of Greek philosophy, with the definition of the wise man.

Death and love are the myth of negative dialectic, for dialectic is the inner, simple light, the piercing eye of love, the inner soul which is not crushed by the body of material division, the inner abode of the spirit. Thus the myth of it is love, but dialectic is also the torrent which smashes the many and their bounds, which tears down the independent forms, sinking everything in the one sea of eternity. The myth of it is therefore death.

Thus dialectic is death, but at the same time the vehicle of vitality, the efflorescence in the gardens of the spirit, the foaming in the bubbling goblet of the tiny seeds out of which the flower of the single flame of the spirit bursts forth. Plotinus therefore calls it the means of the soul's ἁπλωσις,[a] of its direct union with God,[188] an expression in which death and love and at the same time Aristotle's θεωρία,[b] are united with Plato's dialectic. But as these determinations in Plato and Aristotle are, as it were, presupposed, not developed out of immanent necessity, their submergence in the empirical individual consciousness in Plotinus appears as a condition, the condition of *ecstasy*.

Ritter (in his *Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit*, Part I, Hamburg, 1829) speaks with a certain repulsive moralising superiority about Democritus and Leucippus, in general about the atomistic doctrine (later also about Protagoras, Gorgias, etc.). There is nothing easier than to rejoice in one's own moral perfection on every occasion, easiest of all when dealing with the dead. Even Democritus' *learning* is made a subject of reproach (p. 563); mention is made of

"how sharply the higher flight of speech, *simulating* inspiration, must have

[a] Simplification.—*Ed.*
[b] Theory.—*Ed.*

contrasted with the *base attitude* which underlies his outlook on life and the world." p. 564.

Surely that is not supposed to be a historical remark! Why must precisely the attitude underlie the outlook and not rather the other way round, the definite outlook and discernment underlie his attitude? The latter principle is not only more historical, it is also the only one according to which a philosopher's attitude may be considered in the history of philosophy. We see in the shape of the spiritual personality what is expounded to us as a system, we see, as it were, the demiurge standing alive at the centre of his world.

"Of the same content is also the proposition of Democritus that something primary, which did not come into existence, must be assumed, for time and infinity did not come into existence, so that to inquire after their origin would mean to seek the beginning of the infinite. One can see in this only a sophistical denial of the question of the origin of all phenomena." p. 567.

I can see in that assertion of Ritter's only a moral denial of the question concerning the basis of this Democritean determination; the infinite is posited in the atom as a principle, it is contained in the definition of the atom. To inquire after the basis of the definition would, of course, be to negate his definition of the concept.

"Democritus ascribes to the atom only one physical property, *weight*.... One can again recognise here the mathematical interest which seeks to save the applicability of mathematics to the calculation of weight." p. 568.

"Hence the atomists deduced motion also from necessity, conceiving the latter as the causelessness of motion receding into the indeterminate." p. 570.

[IX, 19] "Democritus, however, holds that certain images approach (meet) men; some of these have a beneficial effect, others a harmful one[a]; for this reason also he prays that only images endowed with reason should meet him. But these are big and gigantic and indeed very *hard to destroy*, but not *indestructible*; he says they foretell men the future, are visible and emit sound. Proceeding from the notion of these images, the ancients conjectured that there is a god [....]" Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Professors*, p. 311.

[20-21] "Now Aristotle said that the notion of god arose in men from two factors, from the processes in the soul and from the heavenly phenomena. From the processes in the soul because of the divine inspiration of the soul in sleep and because of the prophecies. For, he says, when the soul in sleep becomes independent, it discards its own nature, has premonitions and foretells the future.... For this reason, he says, men have surmised that god is something which in itself resembles the soul and the most intelligent of all. But also from the heavenly phenomena." op. cit., pp. 311 f.

[25] "Epicurus believes that men derived the notion of god from the visions of fantasy which appear during sleep. For, he says, since in sleep big images

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[a] In the manuscript this part of the quotation is given in German, the rest in Greek.—*Ed.*

resembling human beings appear, they assume that in reality also there are some such gods resembling human beings." op. cit., p. 312.

[58] "[...] Epicurus, some say, admits the existence of God as far as the multitude is concerned, but not as far as the nature of things goes." op. cit., p. 319.

a) *Soul*, p. 321. *Against the Professors* [Book IX].

[218] "[...] Aristotle asserted that God is incorporeal and the limit of heaven, the Stoics that he is a breath which permeates even through things foul, Epicurus that he is anthropomorphic, Xenophanes that he is an impassive sphere.... [219] Epicurus declares that 'what is blessed and incorruptible neither feels trouble itself nor causes it to others'." *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*, Book III, p. 155.

[219-221] "But to Epicurus, who wishes to define time as the accidental of accidentals (συμπτωμα συμπτωάτων), can be objected, besides many other things, that everything which behaves as substance belongs to the substrates, to the underlying subjects; but what is called accidental possesses no consistency, since it is not separate from the substances. For there is no resistance (ἀντιτυπία) except the bodies which resist, no making way (εἶξις) (yielding) except that which yields and the void, etc." [*Against the Professors*, Book IX, p. 417.][a]

[240-241] "Hence Epicurus, who says that a *body* must be *thought of* as a *composition of size, and shape, resistance* and weight, forces us to think of an existing body as consisting of non-existing bodies.... Hence, in order that there may be time, there must be accidentals; but in order that there may be accidentals, there must be an underlying condition; and if there is no underlying condition, neither can there be time."

[244] "So if this is time,—and Epicurus says its accidentals are time"

(by this αὐτῶν[b] one must understand ἡμέρα, νύξ, ὥρα, κίνησις, μονή, πάθος, ἀπάθειά,[c] etc.),

"—then according to Epicurus, time will be its own accidental." *Against the Professors* [Book IX], pp. 420 and 421.

If, according to Hegel (see *Gesamtausgabe*, Vol. 14, p. 492), the Epicurean philosophy of nature deserves no great praise when judged by the criterion of objective gain, from the other point of view, according to which historical phenomena do not stand in need of such praise, the frank, truly philosophical consistency with which the whole range of the inconsistencies of his principle in itself is expounded, is admirable. The Greeks will for ever remain our teachers by virtue of this magnificent objective naïveté, which makes everything shine, as it were, naked, in the pure light of its nature, however dim that light may be.

Our time in particular has given rise even in philosophy to evil phenomena, guilty of the greatest sin, the sin against the spirit and against truth, inasmuch as a hidden intention lurks behind the judgement and a hidden judgment behind the intention.

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[a] In the manuscript this paragraph is given in German with the Greek words inserted in brackets.—*Ed.*

[b] Its.—*Ed.*

[c] Day, night, hour, motion, rest, sensibility, insensibility.—*Ed.*

# EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY

## *Seventh Notebook*

### CICERO

### I. *ON THE NATURE OF THE GODS*

### II. *TUSCULAN DISPUTATIONS,* FIVE BOOKS[189]

### CICERO, *ON THE NATURE OF THE GODS*

## *Book I*

*Chap. VIII* [,18]. "Hereupon, Velleius began, in the confident manner that is customary with them [the Epicureans], afraid of nothing so much as lest he should appear to have doubts about anything. One would have supposed he had just come down from the assembly of the gods and from the intermundane spaces of Epicurus", etc., etc.

*Chap. XIII* [,32]. Fine is the passage from Antisthenes:

"... in his book entitled *The Natural Philosopher,* he says that while there are many *gods of popular belief,* there is *one god in nature* [...]."

*Chap. XIV* [,36]. Of Zeno the Stoic it is said:

"... in his interpretation of Hesiod's *Theogony* he does away with the customary and received ideas of the gods altogether, for he does not reckon either Jupiter, Juno or Vesta as gods, or any being that is so called, but teaches that these names have been assigned with a certain meaning to dumb and lifeless things."

*Chap. XV* [,41]. Of Chrysippus the Stoic it is said:

"In Book II [of his *Nature of the Gods*] he aims at reconciling the myths of Orpheus, Musa, Hesiod and Homer with what he himself said in Book I of the immortal gods, and so makes out that even the earliest poets of antiquity, who had no notion of these doctrines, were really Stoics."

"In this he is followed by Diogenes of Babylon, who in his book entitled *Minerva* transfers the birth of the virgin goddess from Jove to physiology and dissociates it from myth."

*Chap. XVI* [,43]. "For he [Epicurus] alone perceived that, first there must be gods, because nature herself has imprinted a conception of them on the minds of all mankind. For what nation or what tribe of men is there but possesses untaught some preconception of the gods? Such notions Epicurus designates by the word πρόληψις,[a] that is, a sort of preconceived mental picture of a thing without which nothing can be understood or investigated or discussed. The significance and

[a] Prolepsis.—*Ed.*

usefulness of this argument we learn in that work of genius, Epicurus' *Rule or Standard of Judgment.*"

*Chap. XVII* [,44]. "... it must be understood that the gods exist, since we possess an instinctive, or rather innate, concept of them; but a belief which all men by nature share must necessarily be true.... [45] If this is so, the famous maxim of Epicurus truthfully enunciates that 'that which is eternal and blessed can neither know trouble itself nor cause trouble to another, and accordingly cannot feel either anger or favour, since all such things belong only to the weak'. [...] whatever is outstanding commands the reverence that is its due [...]."

*Chap. XVIII* [,46]. "From nature all men of all races derive the notion of gods as having human shape and none other... But not to make primary concepts the sole test of all things, reason itself delivers the same pronouncement. [47] ... what shape ... can be more beautiful than the human form? [48] ... it follows that the gods possess the form of man. [49] However, that form is not a body, but only a semblance of a body, it has no blood, but only the semblance of blood."

[*Chap. XVIII-XIX.*] "Epicurus ... teaches that the force and nature of the gods is such that, in the first place, it is perceived not by the senses but by the mind, not as solid things, or according to number, like that which Epicurus in virtue of their substantiality calls στερέμνία,[a] but as images, which are perceived by similitude and succession."

*Chap. XIX.* "Because an endless train of precisely similar images arises from the innumerable atoms and streams towards the gods, our mind with the keenest feelings of pleasure fixes its gaze on these images and so attains an understanding of the nature of a being both blessed and eternal. [50] Moreover there is the supremely potent principle of infinity, which claims the closest and most careful study; and we must understand that this nature is such that like always corresponds to like. This is termed by Epicurus ἰσονομία, or the principle of uniform distribution. From this principle it follows that if the *whole number of mortals be so many, there must exist no less a number of immortals,* and if the forces of destruction are beyond count, the forces of conservation must also be infinite. You Stoics are fond of asking us, Balbus, what is the mode of life of the gods and how they pass their days. [51] It is obvious that nothing happier is conceivable, nothing more abounding in all good things. For God does nothing, he is free from all ties of occupations, he toils not, neither does he labour, but he takes delight in his wisdom and virtue and he knows with absolute certainty that he will always enjoy the greatest and eternal pleasures."

*Chap.* XX [,52]. "This god we can rightly call happy, yours indeed most toilsome. For if the world itself is God, what can be less restful than to revolve at incredible speed round the axis of the heavens without a single moment of respite? But without rest there is no bliss. But if there is in the world some god who rules and governs it, maintaining the courses of the stars, the changes of the seasons and all the ordered process of things, and, watching over the land and the seas, guards the interests and the lives of men, is he not involved in irksome and laborious business! [53] We for our part deem happiness to consist in tranquillity of mind and entire exemption from all duties. For he who taught us all the rest has also taught us that the world was made by nature, without needing an artificer to construct it, and that which you say cannot be produced without divine skill is so easy that nature will produce, is producing and has produced worlds without number. Because you cannot see how nature can do all this without any intellect, you, like tragic poets, cannot bring your arguments to a denouement and

[a] *Steremnia*—solid objects.—*Ed.*

have recourse to a god. [54] His work you would certainly not require if you would but contemplate the immense and boundless extent of space that stretches out in every direction into which the mind projects itself and journeys onward far and wide without ever seeing any ultimate limit where it could stop. In this immense length and breadth and height there *flits an infinite quantity of atoms innumerable, which though separated by void yet cohere together* and *taking hold of each other form an unbroken series* out of which are created those shapes and forms of things which you think cannot be created without bellows and anvil and *so have saddled us with an eternal master whom we must fear day and night; for who would not fear a prying busybody of a god who foresees and thinks of and notices all things and deems that everything is his concern.* [55] *An outcome of this was first of all that fatal necessity which* you call εἱμαρμένη,[a] according to which whatever happens is the result of an eternal truth and an unbroken chain of causes. But what value can be assigned to a philosophy which holds like old women, and ignorant old women at that, that everything happens by fate? And next follows your μαντική,[b] in Latin *divinatio,* by which, if we listened to you, we should be so filled with superstition that we should be the devotees of soothsayers, augurs, oracle-mongers, seers and interpreters of dreams. [56] But Epicurus has set us free from these terrors and delivered us out of captivity, so that we have no fear of beings who, we know, create no trouble for themselves and seek to cause none to others, while we worship with pious reverence the transcendent majesty of nature."

*Chap. XXI.* Then follows Cotta's objection.

[58] "I ... pronounce that your exposition has been most illuminating, and not only rich in thought, but also *more graced with a charm of style than is customary in your school.*"

*Chap. XXIII* [,62]. "You said that a sufficient reason for our admitting that the gods exist was the fact that all the nations and races of mankind believe it. But that is at the same time a weak argument and a false one...."

(After relating that the books of Protagoras, in which he denied the existence of the gods, had been burnt in the assembly of the people and he himself driven out of the country, Cotta continued:)

[63] "From this I can well suppose that many people were caused to be more reserved in professing that opinion, since not even doubt could escape punishment."

*Chap. XXIV* [,66]. "... for the outrageous doctrines of Democritus, or of Leucippus before him, that there are certain minute particles, some smooth, others rough, some round, some angular, some curved or hook-shaped, and that heaven and earth were created from these, *not compelled by nature,* but *by some kind of accidental collision....* [67] Then is this the truth? For as to happiness I do not deny anything, of which you say that not even the divinity has it without being relaxed in idleness.... I will grant you therefore that everything is made out of indivisible bodies; but this takes us no further [68] for we are trying to discover the nature of

[a] Fate.— *Ed.*
[b] Divination.— *Ed.*

the gods. Suppose we allow that they are made of atoms, then they are not eternal. For what is made of atoms came into existence at some time; but if they came into existence, before they came into existence there were no gods. And if the gods had a beginning, they must also perish, as you were arguing a little while ago about the world conceived by Plato. Where then do we find your blessed and eternal, by which two words you mean God? When you wish to make this out, you take cover in a thicket of jargon. For you said just now that God has no body, but a semblance of a body, no blood, but a semblance of blood."

*Chap. XXV* [,69]. "This is a very common practice with your school. You advance a paradox, and then, when you want to escape censure, you adduce something which is absolutely impossible, so that it would have been better to abandon the point in dispute rather than to insist on it so shamelessly. For instance, Epicurus saw that if the atoms travelled downwards by their own weight, we should have no power to do anything, since the motion of the atoms would be determined by necessity. He therefore invented a device by which to *avoid necessity (a point which had apparently escaped the notice of Democritus)*: he said that the atom, while travelling vertically downward by weight and gravity, makes a very slight swerve. [70] To assert that is more shameful than not to be able to defend what he wants to defend."

It is of substantial significance that the cycle of the three Greek philosophical systems, which complete pure Greek philosophy, the Epicurean, the Stoic and the Sceptic, take over their main elements from the past as they were already there. Thus, the Stoic philosophy of nature is largely Heraclitean, its logic is similar to that of Aristotle, so that Cicero already noted:

"... the Stoics, while they seem to agree with the Peripatetics as to substance, disagree in words." *On the Nature of the Gods*, Book I, Chap. vii [,16].

Epicurus' philosophy of nature is basically Democritean, his ethics similar to that of the Cyrenaics. Finally, the Sceptics are the scientists among the philosophers, their work is to compare, and consequently to assemble together the various assertions already available. They cast an equalising, levelling learned glance back on the systems and thereby brought out the contradictions and oppositions. Their method also has its general prototype in the Eleatic, Sophistic, and pre-Academic dialectics. And yet these systems are original and form a whole.

But they not only found ready-made building elements for their science; the living spirits of their spiritual realms themselves preceded the latter, so to speak, as prophets. The personalities associated with their system were historical persons, system was, so to speak, incorporated in system. This was the case with Aristippus, Antisthenes, the Sophists and others.

How is this to be understood?

Aristotle's remark about the "nutritive soul":

"It is possible for this ... to exist apart from the others; but for the others to exist apart from it is impossible, at least in mortal beings" (Aristotle, *On the Soul*, Book II, chap. ii),

must be borne in mind also in regard to Epicurean philosophy in order to understand it itself on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to understand Epicurus' own apparent absurdities as well as the ineptitude of his later critics.

With him the most general form of the concept is the *atom*; for this is its most general form of being, which, however, is in itself concrete and a genus, itself a species as against higher particularisations and concretisations of the concept of his philosophy.

The atom, therefore, remains the abstract being-in-self, for example, of the person, of the wise man, of God. These are higher qualitative additional determinations of the same concept. Therefore, in the genetic exposition of this philosophy one must not raise the inept question raised by Bayle and Plutarch, among others, as to how can a person, a wise man, a god, arise from and be composed of atoms. On the other hand, this question seems to be justified by Epicurus himself, for of the higher forms of development, e.g., God, he says that the latter consists of finer and more subtle atoms. In this connection it must be noted that Epicurus' own consciousness is related to its further developments, to the further determinations of its principle imposed on him as the scientific consciousness[a] of later people regarding his system.

If, for example, in respect of God, etc., abstraction being made of the further determinations of form which he introduces as a necessary link in the system, the question is raised of his existence, his being-in-self, then the general form of existence is the atom and the plurality of atoms; but precisely in the concept of God, of the wise man, this existence has been submerged in a higher form. His specific being-in-self is precisely the further determination of his concept and his necessity in the totality of the system. If the question is raised of any other form of being outside this, that is a relapse into the lower stage and form of the principle.

But Epicurus is bound to fall back constantly in this way, for his consciousness is atomistic like his principle. The essence of his nature is also the essence of his actual self-consciousness. The instinct which drives him, and the further determinations of this

[a] The manuscript has "unwissenschaftliche Bewußtsein" (unscientific consciousness), probably a slip of the pen; it should read "wissenschaftliche Bewußtsein" (scientific consciousness).— *Ed.*

instinct-driven essence, are similarly again to him one phenomenon among others, and from the high sphere of his philosophising he sinks back again into the most general, mainly because existence, as being-for-self in general, is for him the form of all existence whatsoever.

The essential consciousness of the philosopher is separate from his own manifest knowledge, but this manifest knowledge itself, in its discourses with itself as it were about its real internal urge, about the thought which it thinks, is conditioned, and conditioned by the principle which is the essence of his consciousness.

Philosophical historiography is not concerned either with comprehending the personality, be it even the spiritual personality of the philosopher as, in a manner of speaking, the focus and the image of his system, or still less with indulging in psychological hair-splitting and point-scoring. Its concern is to distinguish in each system the determinations themselves, the actual crystallisations pervading the whole system, from the proofs, the justifications in argument, the self-presentation of the philosophers as they know themselves; to distinguish the silent, persevering mole of real philosophical knowledge from the voluble, exoteric, variously behaving phenomenological consciousness of the subject which is the vessel and motive force of those elaborations. It is in the division of this consciousness into aspects mutually giving each other the lie that precisely its unity is proved.[a] This *critical element* in the presentation of a philosophy which has its place in history is absolutely indispensable in order scientifically to expound a system in connection with its historical existence, a connection which must not be [over]looked precisely because the [system's] existence is historical, but which at the same time must be asserted as philosophical, and hence be developed according to its essence. Least of all must a philosophy be accepted as a philosophy by virtue of an authority or of good faith, be the authority even that of a people and the faith that of centuries. The proof can be provided only by expounding its essence. Anybody who writes the history of philosophy separates essential from unessential, exposition from content; otherwise he could only copy, hardly even translate, and still less would he be entitled to comment, cross out, etc. He would be merely a copying clerk.

The question to be asked is rather: How do the concepts of a person, of a wise man, of God, and the specific definitions of these concepts enter into the system, how are they developed out of it?

[a] In the manuscript two words of this sentence are not clearly legible.—*Ed.*

## CICERO, *ON THE HIGHEST GOODS AND EVILS*

### *Book I*

*Chap. VI* [,17] "Let me begin ... with physics, which is his [Epicurus'] particular boast. Here, in the first place, he is quite a stranger.... Democritus believes in ... atoms, that is, bodies so solid as to be indivisible, moving about in a vacuum of infinite extent, which has neither top, bottom, nor middle, neither beginning nor end. The motion of these atoms is such that they collide and so cohere together; and from this process result the whole of the things that exist and that we see. Moreover, this movement of the atoms must not be conceived as starting from a beginning, but as having gone on from all eternity. [18] He [Epicurus] believes that these same indivisible solid bodies are borne by their own weight perpendicularly downward, which he holds is the natural movement of all bodies; [19] but thereupon this clever fellow, encountering the difficulty that if they all travelled downward in a straight line, and, as I said, perpendicularly, no one atom would ever be able to overtake any other atom, accordingly introduced an idea of his own invention: he said that the atom makes a very tiny swerve,—the smallest divergence possible; and so are produced entanglements and combinations and cohesions of atoms with atoms, which result in the creation of the world and all its parts, and of all that is in them.... The swerving itself is an arbitrary fiction (for Epicurus says the atoms swerve *without a cause,* and nothing is more repugnant to the physicist than to speak of something taking place uncaused).... [20] Democritus, being an educated man and well versed in geometry, thinks the sun is of a vast size; Epicurus considers it perhaps *two feet* in diameter, for he pronounces it to be exactly as large as it appears, or a little larger or smaller. [21] Thus where Epicurus alters the doctrines of Democritus, he alters them for the worse; while for those ideas which he adopts, the credit belongs entirely to Democritus,—the atoms, the void, the *images, or as they call them, eidōla, whose impact* is the cause not only of vision but also of thought; the *very* conception of infinite space, ἀπειρία as they term it, is entirely derived from Democritus; and again the countless numbers of worlds that come into existence and pass out of existence every day", etc.

*Chap. VII* [,22]. "Turn next to the second division of philosophy ... which is termed λογική.[a] Of the whole armour of logic your founder ... is absolutely destitute. He does away with definition; he has no doctrine of division or partition; he gives no rules for deduction or syllogistic inference, and imparts no method for solving dilemmas or for detecting fallacies of equivocation. The criteria of reality he places in sensation; once let the senses accept as true something that is false, and every possible criterion of truth and falsehood seems to him to be immediately destroyed.... [23] He lays the very greatest stress upon that which, as he declares, nature herself decrees and rejects, that is, the feeling of pleasure and pain. These he maintains lie at the root of every act of choice and avoidance [...]."

*Chap. IX* [,29]. "[...] this Epicurus finds in pleasure; pleasure he holds to be the chief good, pain the chief evil. This he sets out to prove as follows: [30] Every animal, as soon as it is born, seeks for pleasure, and delights in it, as the chief good, while it recoils from pain as the chief evil, and so far as possible avoids it. This it does when it is not yet perverted, at the prompting of nature's own unbiased and honest verdict. Hence he refuses to admit any necessity for argument or discussion to prove that pleasure is desirable and pain to be avoided. ... it follows that nature herself is the judge of that which is in accordance with or contrary to nature...."

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[a] Logic.—*Ed.*

*Chap. XI* [,37]. "So generally, the removal of pain causes pleasure to take its place. Epicurus consequently maintained that there is not such thing as a neutral state of feeling intermediate between pleasure and pain."

*Chap. XII* [,40]. "One so situated must possess in the first place a strength of mind that is proof against all fear of death or of pain; he will know that death means complete unconsciousness, and that pain is generally light if long and short if strong, so that its intensity is compensated by brief duration and its continuance by diminishing severity. [41] Let such a man moreover have no dread of any supernatural power; let him never suffer the pleasures of the past to fade away, but constantly renew their enjoyment in recollection,—and his lot will be one which will not admit of further improvement. [42] But *that which is not itself a means to anything else, but to which all else is a means*, is what the Greeks term the τέλος,[a] the highest, ultimate or final good. *It must therefore be admitted that the chief good is to live agreeably.*"

*Chap. XIII* [,45] "Nothing could be more useful or more conducive to well-being than Epicurus' doctrine as to the different classes of the desires. One kind he classified as both natural and necessary, a second as natural without being necessary, and a third as neither natural nor necessary; the principle of classification being that the necessary desires are gratified with little trouble or expense; the natural desires also require but little, since nature's own riches, which suffice to content her, are both easily procured and limited in amount; but for vain desires no bound or limit can be discovered."

*Chap. XVIII* [,57]. "Epicurus, the man whom you denounce as a voluptuary, cries aloud that no one can live pleasantly without living wisely, honourably and justly, and no one wisely, honourably and justly, without living pleasantly. ... [58] much less then can a mind divided against itself and filled with inward discord taste any particle of pure and liberal pleasure [...]."

*Chap. XIX* [,62]. "For Epicurus thus presents his Wise Man who is always happy: his desires are kept within bounds; death he disregards; he has a true conception, untainted by fear, of the immortal gods; he does not hesitate to depart from life, if it would be better so. Thus equipped, he enjoys perpetual pleasure, for there is no moment when the pleasures he experiences do not outbalance the pains; since he remembers the past with gratitude, *grasps the present with a full realisation of how great and pleasant it is*, and does not depend upon the future; he looks forward to it, but *finds his true enjoyment in the present* ... and he derives no inconsiderable pleasure from comparing his own existence with the life of the foolish. Moreover, any pains that the Wise Man may encounter are never so severe but that he has more cause for gladness than for sorrow. [63] Again, it is a fine saying of Epicurus that 'the Wise Man is but little interfered with by fortune; the great concerns of life, the things that matter, are controlled by his own wisdom and reason'; and that 'no greater pleasure could be derived from a life of infinite duration that is actually afforded by this existence which we know to be finite'. Dialectics, on which your school lays such stress, he held to be of no effect either as a guide to a better life or as an aid to thought. Physics he deemed very important. ... a thorough knowledge of the facts of nature relieves us of the burden of superstition, frees us from the fear of death, and shields us against the disturbing effects of ignorance, which is often in itself a cause of terrifying apprehensions; lastly, to learn what nature's real requirements are improves the moral character also...."

By the fact that we acknowledge that nature is reasonable, our dependence on it ceases. Nature is no longer a sourse of terror to

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[a] Ultimate purpose.— *Ed.*

our consciousness, and it is precisely Epicurus who makes the form of consciousness in its directness, the being-for-self, the form of nature. Only when nature is acknowledged as absolutely free from conscious reason and is considered as reason in itself, does it become entirely the property of reason. Any reference to it as such is at the same time alienation of it.

[*Chap. XIX*, 64]. "On the other hand, without a full understanding of the world of nature it is impossible to maintain the truth of our sense-perceptions. Furthermore, every mental presentation has its origin in sensation: so that no certain knowledge will be possible unless all sensations are true, as the theory of Epicurus teaches that they are. Those who deny the validity of sensation and say that nothing can be perceived, are unable, having excluded the evidence of the senses, even to expound their own argument.... Thus physics supplies courage to face the fear of death resolution to resist the terrors of religion [...]."

*Chap. XX* [,65]. "Now Epicurus' pronouncement about friendship is that of all the means to happiness that wisdom has devised, none is greater, none more fruitful, none more delightful than this.... [68] Epicurus well said (I give almost his exact words): 'The same knowledge that has given us courage to overcome all fear of everlasting or long-enduring evil, has discerned that friendship is our strongest safeguard in this present term of life.

*Chap. XXI* [,71]. "If then the doctrine I have set forth ... is derived entirely from nature's source; if my whole discourse relies throughout for confirmation on the unbiased and unimpeachable evidence of the senses...."

[72] "No! Epicurus was not uneducated: the real ignoramuses are those who ask us to go on studying till old age the subjects that we ought to be ashamed not to have learnt in boyhood."

## *Book II*

*Chap. II* [4], op. cit. "For he says that he does not hold with giving a definition of the thing in question [...]."

*Chap. VII* [21]. (A passage out of the κύριαι δόξαι[a] of Epicurus.) "If the things in which sensualists find pleasure could deliver them from the fear of the gods and of death and pain, and could teach them to set bounds to their desires, we should have no reason to blame them, since on every hand they would be abundantly supplied with pleasures, and from nowhere would be exposed to any pain or grief, that is, to evil."

*Chap. XXVI* [,82]. "In one of your remarks I seemed to recognise a saying of Epicurus himself,—that friendship cannot be divorced from pleasure, and that it deserves to be cultivated for the reason that without it we cannot live secure and free from fear, and therefore cannot live agreeably."

*Chap. XXXI* [,100]. "For he [Epicurus] ... stated ... that 'death does not affect us at all; for a thing that has experienced dissolution must be devoid of sensation; and that which is devoid of sensation cannot affect us in any degree whatsoever' [...]."

## *Book III*

*Chap. I* [,3]. "In fact Epicurus himself declares that there is no occasion to argue about pleasure at all [...]."

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[a] *Principal Doctrines.— Ed.*

# PLAN OF HEGEL'S PHILOSOPHY OF NATURE[190]

[*First Version*]

A. *General divisions.* The Idea as nature is:

I) In the determination of *juxtaposition,* of *abstract singularisation,* outside which is the unity of form, *this* as merely an ideal being-in-self, *matter* and its *ideal system.*
*Mechanics. Universal nature.*

II) In the determination of *particularity,* so that reality is posited with immanent determinateness of form and the difference existing in it, a relation of reflexion the being-within-itself of which *is natural individuality.*

III) *Singular nature.* The determination of subjectivity, in which the real distinctions of the form are likewise brought back to ideal unity, which is self-found and for itself — *Organics.*

## I. *Mechanics*

### A) *Abstract Universal Mechanics*

a) *Space. Immediate continuity;* as external are:
   α) *The dimensions*: *height, length* and *breadth.*
   β) *Point, line* and *surface*: on the one hand, a determinateness in regard to line and point; on the other hand, as restoration of the spatial totality: an enclosing surface which separates off an individual whole space.

b) *Time. Immediate discreteness*: The seen becoming: *present, future and past* (Now, etc.)

c) The immediate unity of space and time, in the determination of space. *Place,* in the determination of time — *motion,* their unity — *matter.*

B) *Particular Mechanics. Matter, Motion*
*Repulsion — Attraction — Gravity*

1) *Inert matter, mass, ...* as *content* indifferent to the form of *space and time.*
External motion — *inert matter.*
2) *Impact. Communication of motion* — weight — *velocity — external centre, rest, centripetence — pressure.*
3) *Falling. Centrifugence.*

C) *Absolute Mechanics* or *Narrower Mechanics.*
*Gravitation. Motion as a System of Several Bodies.*
*Universal Centre — Centreless Singularity. Particular Centres.*

## II. *Physics*

a) *Universality in physics.*
1) *Universal bodies. Identity.*
α) *Light (sun,* stars). *Darkness (smooth) (spatial relation* — direct).
β) *Bodies of opposition.* Darkness
1) as *corporeal diversity, rigidity, material being-for-itself.*
2) *Opposition as such.* Dissolution and neutrality of lunar and cometary bodies.
γ) *Bodies of individuality. Earth or planet* in general.
2) *Particular bodies. Elements.*
1) *Air,* negative universality.
2) *Elements of opposition. Fire* and *water.*
3) *Individual element, terrestriality, earth.*
3) *Singularity.* The *elementary process.* The *meteorological process.*
1) *Diremption of individual identity* into the moments of independent opposition, into *rigidity* and into *selfless neutrality.*
2) *The consumption by spontaneous combustion of attempted differentiated existence.* Thus the *earth* became a *real* and *fruitful individuality.*
b) *Physics of particular individuality.*
α) *Specific gravity. Density of matter.* Ratio of *weight of mass* to *volume.*
β) *Cohesion,* seen as a *specific form* of *resistance* in mechanical behaviour towards other masses.

*Adhesion — cohesion,* etc.
*Elasticity.*
γ) *Sound.*
δ) *Heat.* (Specific heat-capacity.)

c) *Physics of singular individuality.*
a) *Form.*
α) Immediate form — the *extreme of pointedness of brittleness,* the extreme of *coagulating fluidity.*
ß) The *brittle* disclosed into difference of the notion. *Magnetism.*
γ) *Activity* which has passed *into its product,* the crystal.
b) *Particular form.*
α) *Relation to light.*
1) *Transparency.*
2) *Refraction.* (Internal *equalisation in the crystal.*)
3) *Brittleness* as *darkening,* metallity *(colour).*
β) *Relation to fire and water. Smell and taste.*
γ) *Totality in particular individuality. Electricity.*
c) Chemical process.
1) Combination.
α) *Galvanism. Metals, oxidation, deoxidation.*
β) *The fire process.*
γ) *Neutralisation. The water process.*
δ) *The process in its totality. Elective affinity.*
2) *Separation.*

[*Second Version*]

I

*Mechanics*

a) *Abstract Mechanics*

1) *Space.* Height, breadth, depth. Point, line, surface.
2) *Time.* Past, present, future.
3) *Place. Motion* and *matter (repulsion, attraction, gravity).*

b) *Finite Mechanics*

1) *Inert matter. Mass* as content. *Space and time as form, external motion.*

2) *Impact.* Communication of motion, weight. Velocity, external centre, rest, centripetence. Pressure.
3) Falling.

c) *Absolute Mechanics. Gravitation*

The various centres

II

*Physics*

a) *Physics of universal individuality*

α) *Free bodies*

1) *Light* (luminaries).
2) *Rigidity* (moon). Dissolution (comet).
3) Earth.

β) *Elements*

1) *Air.*
2) *Fire. Water.*
3) *Earth.*

γ) *Meteorological Physics*

b) *Physics of particular individuality*

1) *Specific weight.*
2) *Cohesion* (adhesion, cohesion, etc. Elasticity).
3) *Sound* and *heat.*

c) *Physics of total individuality*

α) *Form*

1) *Brittle pointedness, coagulating fluidity.*
2) *Magnetism.*
3) *Crystal.*

β) *Particular form*

1) Relation to *light.* Transparency, refraction, metallity, colour.
2) Relation to water and fire, smell, taste.
3) Electricity.

[*Third Version*]

I

a)

1) *Space,* 2) *time,* 3) *place,* 4) *motion,* 5) *matter, repulsion, attraction, gravity.*

b)

1) *Inert matter,* 2) *impact,* 3) *falling.*

c)

*Gravitation, real repulsion and attraction.*

II

a)

α) 1) *Luminaries.* 2) *Lunar and comet bodies.* 3) *Terrestriality.*
β) *Air, fire and water. Earth.*
γ) *The meteorological process.*

b)

1) *Specific weight.* 2) *Cohesion.* 3) *Sound and heat.*

c)

1) *Magnetism.* 2) *Electricity* and *chemism.*

III

a)

a) *Geological nature.*
b) *Vegetable nature.*

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# EARLY LITERARY EXPERIMENTS

## FROM THE ALBUMS OF POEMS DEDICATED TO JENNY VON WESTPHALEN[191]

### From the *Book of Love* (Part I)[192]

#### CONCLUDING SONNETS TO JENNY

I

Take all, take all these songs from me
That Love at your feet humbly lays,
Where, in the Lyre's full melody,
Soul freely nears in shining rays.
Oh! if Song's echo potent be
To stir to longing with sweet lays,
To make the pulse throb passionately
That your proud heart sublimely sways,
Then shall I witness from afar
How Victory bears you light along,
Then shall I fight, more bold by far,
Then shall my music soar the higher;
Transformed, more free shall ring my song,
And in sweet woe shall weep my Lyre.

II

To me, no Fame terrestrial
That travels far through land and nation
To hold them thrillingly in thrall
With its far-flung reverberation
Is worth your eyes, when shining full,
Your heart, when warm with exultation,
Or two deep-welling tears that fall,
Wrung from your eyes by song's emotion.
Gladly I'd breathe my Soul away
In the Lyre's deep melodious sighs,

And would a very Master die,
Could I the exalted goal attain,
Could I but win the fairest prize—
To soothe in you both joy and pain.

III

Ah! Now these pages forth may fly,
Approach you, trembling, once again,
My spirits lowered utterly
By foolish fears and parting's pain.
My self-deluding fancies stray
Along the boldest paths in vain;
I cannot win what is most High,
And soon no more hope shall remain.
When I return from distant places
To that dear home, filled with desire,
A spouse holds you in his embraces,
And clasps you proudly, Fairest One.
Then o'er me rolls the lightning's fire
Of misery and oblivion.

IV

Forgive that, boldly risking scorn
The Soul's deep yearning to confess,
The singer's lips must hotly burn
To waft the flames of his distress.
Can I against myself then turn
And lose myself, dumb, comfortless,
The very name of singer spurn,
Not love you, having seen your face?
So high the Soul's illusions aspire,
O'er me you stand magnificent;
'Tis but your tears that I desire,
And that my songs you only enjoyed
To lend them grace and ornament;
Then may they flee into the Void!

Written in the latter half of October 1836

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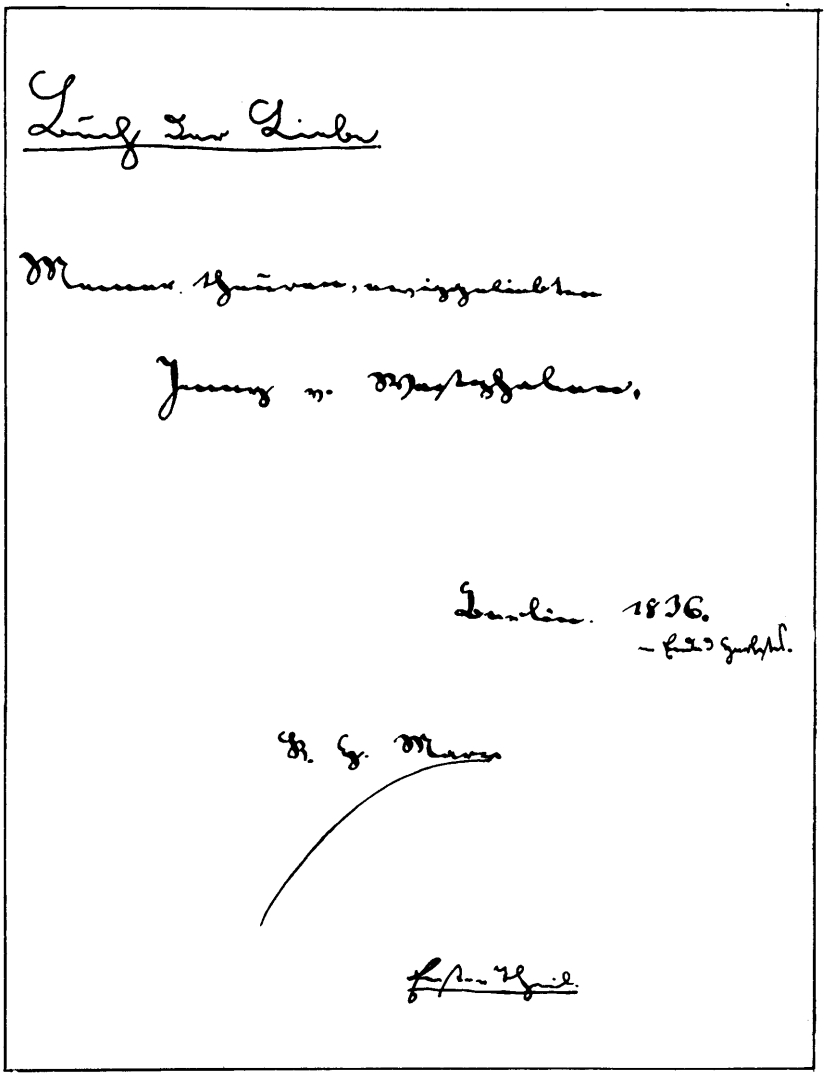

Title page of Marx's *Book of Love,*
with dedication to Jenny

## From the *Book of Songs*[193]

### TO JENNY

I

Words—lies, hollow shadows, nothing more,
Growding Life from all sides round!
In you, dead and tired, must I outpour
Spirits that in me abound?
Yet Earth's envious Gods have scanned before
Human fire with gaze profound;
And forever must the Earthling poor
Mate his bosom's glow with sound.
For, if passion leaped up, vibrant, bold,
In the Soul's sweet radiance,
Daringly it would your worlds enfold,
Would dethrone you, would bring you down low,
Would outsoar the Zephyr-dance.
Ripe a world above you then would grow.

### TO JENNY

I

Jenny! Teasingly you may inquire
Why my songs "To Jenny" I address,
When for you alone my pulse beats higher,
When my songs for you alone despair,
When you only can their heart inspire,
When your name each syllable must confess,
When you lend each note melodiousness,
When no breath would stray from the
Goddess?

'Tis because so sweet the dear name sounds,
And its cadence says so much to me,
And so full, so sonorous it resounds,
Like to vibrant Spirits in the distance,
Like the gold-stringed Cithern's harmony,
Like some wondrous, magical existence.

II

See! I could a thousand volumes fill,
Writing only "Jenny" in each line,
Still they would a world of thought conceal,
Deed eternal and unchanging Will,
Verses sweet that yearning gently still,
All the glow and all the Aether's shine,
Anguished sorrow's pain and joy divine,
All of Life and Knowledge that is mine.
I can read it in the stars up younder,
From the Zephyr it comes back to me,
From the being of the wild waves' thunder.
Truly, I would write it down as a refrain,
For the coming centuries to see—
LOVE IS JENNY, JENNY IS LOVE'S NAME.

Written in November 1836

First published in Russian, in the journal *Inostrannaya Literatura* No. 1, 1962

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

## From the *Book of Love* (Part II) [194]

### MY WORLD

Worlds my longing cannot ever still,
Nor yet Gods with magic blest;
Higher than them all is my own Will,
Stormily wakeful in my breast.

Drank I all the stars' bright radiance,
All the light by suns o'erspilled,
Still my pains would want for recompense,
And my dreams be unfulfilled.

Hence! To endless battle, to the striving
Like a Talisman out there,
Demon-wise into the far mists driving
Towards a goal I cannot near.

But it's only ruins and dead stones
That encompass all my yearning,
Where in shimmering Heavenly radiance
All my hopes flow, ever-burning.

They are nothing more than narrow rooms
Ringed by timid people round,
Where it stands, the frontier of my dreams,
Where my hopes reach journey's end.

Jenny, can you ask what my words say,
And what meaning hides within?
Ah! 'Twere useless to speak anyway,
Futile even to begin.

Look into those eyes of yours so bright,
Deeper than the floor of Heaven,
Clearer than the sun's own beaming light,
And the answer shall be given.

Dare to joy in life and being fair,
Only press your own white hand;
You yourself shall find the answer there,
Know my distant Heaven-land.

Ah! When your lips only breathed to me,
Only one warm word to say,
Then I dived into mad ecstasy,
Helpless I was swept away.

Ha! In nerve and spirit I was stricken,
To the bottom of my soul,
As a Demon, when the High Magician
Strikes with lightning bolt and spell.

Yet why should words try to force in vain,
Being sound and misty pall,
What is infinite, like yearning's pain,
Like yourself, and like the All.

Written in October-December 1836
Published in full for the first time

Printed according to the manuscript

## FEELINGS

Never can I do in peace
That with which my Soul's obsessed,
Never take things at my ease;
I must press on without rest.

Others only know elation
When things go their peaceful way,
Free with self-congratulation,
Giving thanks each time they pray.

I am caught in endless strife,
Endless ferment, endless dream;
I cannot conform to Life,
Will not travel with the stream.

Heaven I would comprehend,
I would draw the world to me;
Loving, hating, I intend
That my star shine brilliantly.

All things I would strive to win,
All the blessings Gods impart,
Grasp all knowledge deep within,
Plumb the depths of Song and Art.

Worlds I would destroy for ever,
Since I can create no world,
Since my call they notice never,
Coursing dumb in magic whirl.

Dead and dumb, they stare away
At our deeds with scorn up yonder;
We and all our works decay—
Heedless on their ways they wander.

Yet their lot I would share never—
Swept on by the flooding tide,
On through nothing rushing ever,
Fretful in their Pomp and Pride.

Swiftly fall and are destroyed
Halls and bastions in their turn;
As they fly into the Void,
Yet another Empire's born.

So it rolls from year to year,
From the Nothing to the All,
From the Cradle to the Bier,
Endless Rise and endless Fall.

So the spirits go their way
Till they are consumed outright,
Till their Lords and Masters they
Totally annihilate.

Then let us traverse with daring
That predestined God-drawn ring,
Joy and Sorrow fully sharing
As the scales of Fortune swing.

Therefore let us risk our all,
Never resting, never tiring;
Not in silence dismal, dull,
Without action or desiring;

Not in brooding introspection
Bowed beneath a yoke of pain,
So that yearning, dream and action
Unfulfilled to us remain.

Written in October-December 1836

Published in full for the first time

Printed according to the manuscript

## TRANSFORMATION

Mine eyes are so confused,
    My cheek it is so pale,
My head is so bemused,
    A realm of fairy-tale.

I wanted, boldly daring,
    Sea-going ways to follow,
Where a thousand crags rise soaring,
    And Floods flow bleak and hollow.

I clung to Thought high-soaring,
    On its two wings did ride,
And though storm winds were roaring,
    All danger I defied.

I did not falter there,
    But ever on did press
With the wild eagle's stare
    On journeys limitless.

And though the Siren spins
    Her music so endearing
Whereby the heart she wins—
    I gave that sound no hearing.

I turned away mine ear
    From the sweet sounds I heard,
My bosom did aspire
    To a loftier reward.

Alas, the waves sped on,
At rest they would not be;
There swept by many a one
Too swift for me to see.

With magic power and word
I cast what spells I knew,
But forth the waves still roared,
Till they were gone from view.

And by the Flood sore pressed,
And dizzy at the sight,
I tumbled from that host
Into the misty night.

And when I rose again
From fruitless toil at last,
My powers all were gone,
And all the heart's glow lost

And trembling, pale, I long
Gazed into my own breast;
By no uplifting song
Was my affliction blessed.

My songs were flown, alack;
The sweetest Art was gone—
No God would give it back
Nor Grace of Deathless One.

The Fortress had sunk down
That once so bold did stand;
The fiery glow was drowned,
Void was the Bosom's land.

Then shone your radiance,
The purest light of soul,
Where in a changing dance
Round Earth the Heavens roll.

Then was I captive bound,
Then was my vision clear,
For I had truly found
What my dark strivings were.

Soul rang more strong, more free,
Out of the deep-stirred breast
In triumph heavenly,
And in sheer happiness.

My spirits then and there
Soared, jubilant and gay,
And, like a sorcerer,
Their courses did I sway.

I left the waves that rush,
The floods that change and flow,
On the high cliff to crash,
But saved the inner glow.

And what my Soul, Fate-driven,
Never in flight o'ertook,
That to my heart was given,
Was granted by your look.

Written between November 1836 and February 1837

Published in full for the first time

Printed according to the manuscript

# A BOOK OF VERSE DEDICATED BY MARX TO HIS FATHER[195]

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# VERSE

of the year 1837
dedicated to my dear father
on the occasion of his birthday
as a feeble token of everlasting love

*K. H. Marx*, Berlin

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Supplement


Some chapters from *Scorpion and Felix*. A Humoristic Novel.


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[a] Published by Marx under the title of *Wild Songs*. See this volume, pp. 22-24.— *Ed.*

## TO MY FATHER

### I
### CREATION

Creator Spirit uncreated
Sails on fleet waves far away,
Worlds heave, Lives are generated,
His Eye spans Eternity.
All inspiriting reigns his Countenance,
In its burning magic, Forms condense.

Voids pulsate and Ages roll,
Deep in prayer before his Face;
Spheres resound and Sea-Floods swell,
Golden Stars ride on apace.
Fatherhead in blessing gives the sign,
And the All is bathed in Light divine.

In bounds self-perceived, the Eternal
Silent moves, reflectively,
Until holy Thought primordial
Dons Forms, Words of Poetry.
Then, like Thunder-lyres from far away,
Like prescient Creation's Jubilee:

"Gentler shine the floating stars,
Worlds in primal Rock now rest;
O my Spirit's images,
Be by Spirit new embraced;
When to you the heaving bosoms move,
Be revealed in piety and love.

"Be unlocked only to Love;
Eternity's eternal seat,
As to you I gently gave,
Hurl you my Soul's lightning out.
'Harmony alone its like may find,
Only Soul another Soul may bind.'

Out of me your Spirits burn
Into Forms of lofty meaning;
To the Maker you return,
Images no more remaining,
By Man's look of Love ringed burningly,
You in him dissolved, and he in me."

II

**POETRY**

Flames Creator-like once poured
Streaming to me from your breast,
Clashing up on high they soared,
And I nursed them in my breast.
Shone your form like Aeolus-strains above,
Shielded soft the fire with wings of Love.

I saw glow and I heard sound,
Heavens onward sweeping far,
Rising up and sinking down,
Sinking but to soar the higher.
Then, when inner strife at last was quelled,
Grief and Joy made music I beheld.

Nestling close to forms so soft
Stands the Soul, by spells enchained,
From me images sailed aloft.
By your very Love inflamed.
Limbs of Love, by Spirit once released,
Shine again within their Maker's breast.

THE FOREST SPRING

In flowery grove I lost my way
Where forest spring showers silver spray
In murmuring fall, o'erhead
The lofty bay trees spread.

They see it ever rushing fleet,
They see it flowing at their feet,
Burn in sweet shadows there
To mate with Sea and Air.

But when it flees the hard land's thrall,
Loud thundering smites the rocky wall.
Dizzy the flood spins round
In mist-rings with no sound.

Through flowery groves it roams again,
Swallowing deep draughts of Death's pain,
And then the tall bay trees
Waft down sweet reveries.

## THE MAGIC HARP

### A Ballad

So strangely in the ear it sings,
Like thrilling harp, like trembling strings,
It wakes the Minstrel sleeping.
"Why beats the heart so fearfully,
What are those sounds, like harmony
Of Stars and Spirits weeping?"

He rises, springs from off his bed,
Towards the shadows turns his head
And sees the cords of gold.
"Come, Minstrel, step you up and down,
High in the air, deep in the ground,
Those strings you cannot hold."

He sees it growing, branching wide,
His soul is troubled deep inside,
The sound swells in the air.
He follows, and it lures him on,
By ghostly stairways up and down,
Here, there and everywhere.

He stops. A gate swings open wide,
A burst of music from inside
Would carry him away.
A Lyre in golden splendour bright
Sounds forth in song all day and night,
But no one's there to play.

It grips him like desire, like pain,
His bosom swells, his heart within
Beats high beyond control.
"The Lyre plays from my own heart,
It is myself, its pangs—the Art
That gushes from my soul."

In ecstasy he plucks the strings,
The sound trills high as mountain springs,
Dives booming, like the abyss.
His blood leaps wild, far swells his song,
Was never yearning's pain so strong,
He saw the world no more.

## THE ABDUCTION

### A Ballad

The Knight, he stands at the iron gate,
The Maiden so sweet and fair looks out.
"Dear Knight, however can I come down?"
And silence and darkness reign all round.

"Catch this I throw, and it shall be
Your rescue's sweetest surety.
Up there you can firmly bind the end,
And by the rope you may descend."

"Ah, Knight, I fly like a thief to you,
Ah, Knight, for love what won't I do!"
"Dear love, you take but what's your own,
We'll flee like shadows that dance and are gone!"

"Ah, Knight, the darkness yawns below,
My senses reel, I dare not go!"
"Then you refuse; my life I'd stake,
And yet at empty terrors you quake!"

"Ah, Knight, ah, Knight, you play with fire,
Yet you alone are my heart's desire!
Farewell, ye Halls, forever and ay,
Where never again my feet shall stray.

"What lures me on I cannot fight;
Ye loved ones all, I bid good-night!"
No more she demurs and plays for time,
She clutches the rope for the downward climb.

No sooner has she slid halfway,
Than she takes fright, her glances stray.
Her arms grow weak, she must let go
To fall on the breast of Death below.

"Ah, Knight, warm me once more, and I
Blissfully in your arms may die,
Let me but breathe your every kiss,
And I'll fade into sweet nothingness."

The Knight embraces her trembling form,
And to his bosom he presses her, warm.
And as their souls together strain,
He too is pierced by mortal pain.

"Farewell, my Love, so true, so kind!"
"Stay, and I'll follow close behind!"
A flash, as of eternal fire,—
Their souls depart and they expire.

## YEARNING

### A Romance

"Why sighs your breast, why glows your gaze,
Why are your veins all burning,
As if Night weighs, as if Fate flays
Down into storm your yearning?"

"Show me the eyes, like ringing bells,
That glow in rainbows high,
Where brightness streams, where music swells,
Where stars go swimming by.

"I dreamed this dream, so troublesome,
Past all elucidating.
My head is void, my heart is numb,
My grave shall soon be waiting."

"What dream you here, what dream you there,
What lures to distant lands?
Here booms the Tide, here Hope rides fair,
Here's fire in True Love's bonds."

"Here naught rides fair, here is no fire,
But see what glimmers yonder,
I'm blinded, burning with desire,
And I would fain sink under."

He stares aloft, his eyes shine bright,
He shakes in every limb.
His sinews swell, his heart's alight,
His soul departs from him.

## THE VIENNESE APE THEATRE IN BERLIN

I

"The public's shoving, unafraid of bruises!
Some Talma there, perhaps, home of the Muses!"
Please, friend, sharp weapons don't attract.
It's comedy—by apes that act.

II

At ease, I watched the apes put on
Their show. And it was good clean fun.
So natural—just one thing missing,
Which was, to use the walls for p——.

Suddenly, somebody plucked my cloak.
"Really, that was a peculiar joke!
A young girl swooned at what she saw,
Flew on a monkey's breast and claws.
She batted her eyes, said timidly:
'O depths of exquisite agony!
O harmony! Delicious sorrow!
That monkey thrills me to the marrow!
I feel as if I were magnetised,
The ape played me; I loved him, hypnotised.
O monkey, speak, for I'm bewitched by you!
I just can't breathe, my head is spinning, too!'"

## SIR (G)LUCK'S *ARMIDE*[196]

I

I also sought amusement, so
I spared no money for a show,
Threw on my frock-coat by lamplight,
And entered the nearest box that night.
I got much worse than I'd bargained for;
Oh, how I cursed myself and swore.
A missie needs must make me hold
The libretto. I muttered, "My hand feels cold!"
"Well, then, wear gloves!" the lady cried.
"They get on my nerves, Miss!" I replied.
She bared her neck and bosom and all,
And asked me to keep an eye on her shawl.
Said I to her, "The fire burns low,
And raw flesh gives me vertigo!"
She shrieked, "Oh, wasn't the ballet divine!"
Said I, "O God, has the gazette got anything worth
reading about in the meantime?"

II

I sat, lost in the music's spell.
She sneered, "The man's a fool as well!"

## TERMS OF ENGAGEMENT

*Mistress*: Now then, just what d'you want of me?
*Maid*: The usual terms. But one more thing—
To avoid any family quarrelling,
I must have visitors once a month for tea.

## SENTIMENTAL SOULS

The butcher's slaughtering a calf. They cry.
The creature bellows till it's been bled dry.
They laugh. O Heaven, how very, very weird
The ways of Nature. A dog wears no beard.
Why all these ravings, as if from sunstroke?
We hear that even Balaam's Ass once spoke!

## ROMANTICISM À LA MODE

The child who, as you know, once wrote to Goethe,
Wanting to make him fancy that he loved her,
Went to the theatre one fine day.
A Uniform then stalked her way
And came towards her with a friendly smile.
"Kind Sir, Bettina wishes, for a while,
Smitten with sweet desire, to rest
Her curly head upon your breast."
The Uniform then answered rather drily,
"Bettina, that is up to you entirely!"
"Sweetie," she answered in a trice,
"Of course you're sure I have no lice?"

## TO THE SUN OF TRUTH (F. QUEDNOW)

Lamplight and star glimmer,
Depth of heart and beauty's shimmer,
Soul's grace and white skin's bloom—
You never show them openly,
Sun of Truth you claim to be.
Every bride has her groom,
Sun of Truth you well may call
Yourself—the Sun throws shadows, after all!

## ON A CERTAIN KNIGHT-HERO

Dig at him here, dig at him there, and ever
You'll find that Knight and Hero merge together.
His dance-talk's up-to-date all right,
But ancient bugs eat him at night.

## TO MY NEIGHBOUR ACROSS THE STREET

She stares at me from over yonder;
God, I can't stand it any longer.
A little man, a yellow house,
A woman lank and nauseous.
Since Inspiration could take flight,
I'd better pull the blind down—tight.

## SIREN SONG

### A Ballad

The wave, soft murmuring,
With the wind frolicking,
    Leaps up into the air.
You see it tremble, hover,
Tumble and topple over,
    It is the Sirens' lair.

They pluck the lyre to enthrall
In heavenly festival,
    In melody divine.
They draw both near and far,
Earth and distant star
    Into their song sublime.

Its charm is so profound
One cannot chide the sound
    That soars so radiantly.
As if great spirits there
Would lure the listener
    Into the dark blue sea.

As if there swells and grows
From waves a world that flows
    Loftily, secretly.
As if in waters deep
The Gods are all asleep
    Down in the dark blue sea.

A little boat draws near,
The waves are charmed to hear
    A gentle bard exalted,
His looks so frank and free,
Image and melody
    Like love and hope transfigured.

His lyre rules o'er the deep.
Naiads that were asleep
    Lend him their song-charmed ear.

And all the waves resound
With song and lyre's sweet sound
And dance high in the air.

But hear the sad refrains,
The Sirens' far-off strains
Of sweet melodiousness.
The poet to enthrall,
The Goddesses shine all
In sound and loveliness.

"O youth, soar up and play,
Rule o'er the listening sea;
The goal you seek is high,
Your breast swells rapturously.

"Here, sumptuous water-halls
Your song alone surprises,
And as the great tide falls,
Ev'n so your music rises.

"Sportive waves bear it up
And send it surging high.
The eye, bright, full of hope,
Encompasses the sky.

"Enter our Spirit-Ring;
Magic your heart shall gain,
Hear the waves dance and sing,
They sound like True Love's pain.

"Worlds came from the Ocean,
Spirits were borne on the tide
Which dared to cradle the High Ones,
While the All was void.

"As Heaven and star-glow
Look downwards, ever glancing
Into the waves below,
Into the blue waves' dancing—

"As droplets, shivering, shaking,
Enfold the Worlds in pride,
The spirits' life, awaking,
Emerges from the tide.

"Seeking the All inspires you?
You'd burn in song away?
The lyre's sweet music stirs you?
You'd blaze in Heaven's ray?—

"Then come down to us all,
And tender us your hand;
Your limbs shall Spirit be,
You'll see the deep, deep Land."

They rise up from the sea,
Hair weaving in roundelay,
Heads resting on the air.
Their eyes flash blazing fires,
And, shooting sparks, their lyres
Glow through the waters fair.

The Youth yields to Delusion,
His tears flow in profusion,
His heart pounds in his breast.
He cannot turn away,
Held captive in Love's sway,
To burning passion lost.

Deep thoughts stir in his soul,
It fights to gain control,
Soars higher, ever higher,
Looks up with prideful bearing,
In God's own image daring,
And this the Sirens hear:

"In your cold depths below
Nothing that's High can go,
Nor God burn deathlessly.
You glitter but to ensnare,
For me you have no care,
Your songs are mockery.

"You lack the bosom's beat,
The heart's life-giving heat,
The soul's high flight so free.
The Gods in my breast rule,
And I obey them all;
I mean no treachery.

"You shall not captivate
Me, nor my love, nor hate,
Nor yet my yearning's glow.
It shoots like lightning shafts
That gentle power uplifts
In melodies that flow."

The Sirens all sink down
Before his blazing frown
In weeping springs of light.
They seek to follow him,
But ah, the Flood so grim
Engulfs them all from sight.

## A PHILISTINE WONDERS

"I don't know how they quarrel with themselves the way they do.
Just button up your coat, good sir, and they won't steal from you."

## MATHEMATICAL WISDOM

I

We have boiled everything down to signs,
And Reasoning's done on strict mathematical lines.
If God's a point, as cylinder he just won't pass,
You can't stand on your head while sitting on your——.

II

If *a*'s the Beloved and *b* is the Lover,
My shirt I'll wager ten times over
That *a* and *b* when added up'll
Constitute one Loving Couple.

III

Measure the World with lines about,
You'll never drive its Spirit out.
If feuds were settled by *a* and *b*,
The Courts would be swindled out of their fee.

## THE LITTLE OLD MAN OF THE WATER

A Ballad

1

The waters rush with an eerie sound,
The waves are swirling round and round.
They seem to feel no pain at all,
As they break and fall,
Cold of heart, cold of mind,
Rushing, rushing all the time.

2

But down in the depths where the waters rage
Sits a mannikin, white with age.
He dances about when the Moon appears,
When little star through cloudlet peers.
Eerily hopping and skipping, he'd try
To drink the little streamlet dry.

3

Waves are his murderers, every one,
They gnaw his ancient skeleton,
It cuts through his marrow and limb like ice
To see them gambol in this wise;
His face is a grimace of sorrow and gloom
Till sunshine stops the dance of the Moon.

4

The waters then rush with an eerie sound,
The waves are swirling round and round.
They seem to feel no pain at all,
As they break and fall,
Cold of heart, cold of mind,
Rushing, rushing all the time.

## TO THE MEDICAL STUDENTS

Damned philistino-medico-student crew,
The whole world's just a bag of bones to you.
When once you've cooled the blood with Hydrogen,
And when you've felt the pulse's throbbing, then
You think, "I've done the most I'm able to.
Man could be very comfortable, too.
How clever of Almighty God to be
So very well versed in Anatomy!"
And flowers are all instruments to use,
When they've been boiled down into herbal brews.

## MEDICAL STUDENT PSYCHOLOGY

Who eats a supper of dumplings and noodles,
Will suffer from—nightmares, oodles and oodles.

## MEDICAL STUDENT METAPHYSICS

No Spirit ever has existed.
Oxen have lived and never missed it.
The Soul is idle fantasy;
In the stomach it certainly can't be found,
And if one were able to run it to ground,
Then almost any pill would set it free.
Then Spirits would be seen
Emerging in an endless stream.

## MEDICAL STUDENT ANTHROPOLOGY

He who would sickness foil
Must learn to rub his nether half with oil,
So that no wind or draught
Can chill him fore and aft.
Man also can achieve his ends
With dietary regimens;
And Culture thus emerges
As soon as Man starts using purges.

## MEDICAL STUDENT ETHICS

Lest perspiration harm, it's best
On journeys to wear more than just one vest.
Beware all passion that produces
Disorders of the gastric juices.
Do not let your glances wander
Where flames can burst your eyes asunder.
Mix water with your wine,
Take milk in coffee every time;
And don't forget to have us called
When leaving for the Afterworld.

## THE FIRST ELEGY
of
Ovid's *Tristia*
Freely Rendered

1

Go, little book, make haste away,
Go to the joyful victory seat.
I go not with you, I must stay,
For by Jove's lightning I was hit.

2

Go, poorly clad and indigent!
Put on your Master's mourning dress,
As is befitting banishment,
And as commands this time of stress.

3

On you must shine no purple veil
To make in violet's blood its show.
Longing and hope without avail
Cannot wear joy's exalted glow.

4

In shameful silence hide your name,
And let no scent of cedar waft,
Nor silver knob shine bright to shame
The blackness of your crooked staff.

5

To works by Fortune blessed is due
Such decoration, rare and bright.
Only my pain shall mate with you,
Only my sorrow's darkest night.

6

Shaggy and rough you may appear,
Like one whose hair unkempt hangs down,
Not rendered wondrous soft and fair
By smoothing block of pumice-stone.

7

If darker is your pallid face,
It is because by me 'twas stained.
Oh, how my tears have flown apace
And hotly down on you have rained.

8

Go, book, and greet those places, greet
The hallowed spot so dear to me.
Dreams take me there on pinions fleet
Of magic word and fantasy.

9

If someone, seeing you, at last
Should find his memory stirred, and pester
With questions flying thick and fast
Of him who sent you there, your Master;

10

I'm still alive—that you may say,
And that I hope for rescue soon,
And if my pulse still beats away,
It is a mercy, not a boon.

11

If someone asks you further questions,
Mind each and every spoken word.
Beware of thoughtless indiscretions,
In word and tone be on your guard.

12

Many will scold you and berate you,
Reminding you I was to blame.
As my accomplice they will rate you,
You will cast down your eyes in shame.

13

To insults and to condemnation
Listen, but keep your mouth closed tight.
Fire will not quench a conflagration,
Two wrongs will never make a right.

14

Yet some there'll be, as you will find,
Who speak to you with melting sighs.
A flow of gentle tears will blind
The light of longing in their eyes.

15

Then tender words will flow and mild
Forth from the bosom agitated.
"Could Caesar but be reconciled,
The punishment be mitigated...."

16

Who says with kind solicitude,
"May God be merciful on high,"
For him I pray with gratitude,
"May thunder ever pass him by!"

17

Would his desire might be fulfilled!
Oh, let me die there in that seat
Which the Gods in their keeping hold.
May Caesar's lightning lose its heat!

18

When thus my greetings you've conveyed,
They may lay charges at my door
That no sweet form has been displayed,
And that my spirit fails to soar.

19

But let the critic be aware
During what times the work was done,
And if his judgment's sound and fair,
You need not fear—the danger's gone.

20

For poetry's magic fullness flows
Out of a breast stirred with elation,
But oh, a pall of darkest woes
Covers the brow, kills inspiration.

21

And then his lyrics all bewail
The singer's exile, harsh and dread,
And storm, and sea, and winter flail
Around his all-unheeding head!

22

Fear must not clutch with icy grip
If splendid song is to be heard,
A lonely outcast here, I weep—
Look, yonder gleams the murder-sword!

23

Whatever I have so far done
Has won the fairer critic round,
And he will pass my message on,
Bearing my grievous plight in mind.

24

Give me Maeonides, for one, (Homer)
Plunge him in misery, like me,
His magic powers will be gone,
Danger is all his eyes will see.

25

Go, book, go forth upon your way,
Heed not the voice of evil fame.
If scornful folk cast you away,
Do not be overwhelmed by shame.

26

'Tis not that Fortune's gentle waves
Bear me so lovingly along
That praise or prize my spirit craves,
That I seek recompense for song.

27

When with desire I still was bedded,
Then inspiration welled in me,
To thirst for glory I was fettered,
The world's race for celebrity.

28

But if the Lyre sounds as before,
And if the urge still burns as strong,
Surely my heart need ask no more,
Seeing my downfall came from song?

29

Go—it is not prohibited
That you should see Rome's pomp for me.
If only I might go instead,
Watched by a God indulgently!

30

Do not imagine that you'll wend
Your way unrecognised through Rome,
That to the public you will bend
Your steps unheeded and unknown.

31

Though you lack title, witnesses,
Your colour will betray your name.
If you deny me nonetheless,
You'll show yourself up just the same.

32

Slip quietly through the gates and watch
My songs inflict on you no hurt.
No more they sing love's praises which
So much delight the drunken heart.

33

Who turns you cruelly away
    Because you were born of my labours,
And sternly says you lead astray
    Innocence with voluptuous dangers—

34

To him say, "Only read my name.
    No longer do I teach sweet love.
Alas, the Gods to council came
    And passed stern judgment from above."

35

Seek not to climb to that great hall
    Which proudly dares to Heaven aspire.
Approach not Caesar's pack at all
    There, where his column soars still higher.

36

Those sanctified and sacred spots
    Your Lord and Master now disown.
The lightning from the castle shoots,
    The Higher Judgment strikes me down!

37

Though Gods great, merciful and mild
    Abide within those halls up there,
When the Spring's image comes with wild
    And furious storms, we shrink with fear.

38

Alas, the dove with frightened sound
    Will tremble, though but Zephyr stir,
While she is kissing dry the wound
    Inflicted by the hawk on her.

39

The frightened lamb that gets away
    From the wolf's fangs, will not again
Ever feel safe, unless it lie
    Huddled inside the low-walled pen.

40

If Phaethon were alive today,
    To Aether's vaults he would not soar,
Nor would he drive so recklessly
    The coveted chariot team of four.

41

Jove's weapons I indeed do dread,
    And from his sea of flame I flee.
When Heaven thunders overhead,
    I think he hurls his spear at me.

42

No sailor of the Argive fleet
    Who fled the Capharean shore,
Will ever turn his sails to meet
    Euboea's surging flood once more.

43

My bark, tossed by the tempest's force,
    Dares not draw nearer to that ground;
It veers off on a different course,
    For much more distant places bound.

44

And so, my book, be wise and sane,
    Mind how you go and take good care.
No need to seek the Higher Fame
    When common people lend an ear.

45

Icarus dared to soar on high,
    Audaciously he spread his wings.
His name was destined not to die,
    In the swift ocean wave it sings.

46

Whether to pull hard on the oars,
    Or leave the sails gently to swell—
Postpone it for another hour—
    Time and the place will quickly tell.

47

And when his brow is clear at last,
    When kindness beams upon his face,
When all his rage is of the past,
    Quiescent, gone without a trace;

48

When you, that still in terror stand
    And dare not yet approach from fright,
Are proffered friendly word and hand,
    Then go—to day now yields the night.

49

More softly tolls the hour of Fate,
    Unlike your Master you rejoice.
The torments of your wound abate,
    And Mercy speaks with gentle voice.

50

The hurt can only be made less
    By him who caused it in his rage.
Achilles wounded Telephus;
    The pain he caused he then assuaged.

51

Be sure not to spread any poison
    When trying to set matters right.
Hope, ever bright and airy vision,
    Terror can turn you into night!

52

Take care lest from its quiet repose
    Wrath in a violent storm should rise,
Piling upon me yet more woes
    That you have caused by deeds unwise.

53

But if within the Muses' shrine
    A happy welcome should await,
Bright in that house then you may shine
    Where Literature and Glory mate.

54

And there you may be sure to see
    Drawn up in line the brothers, those
Whom I begot in ecstasy
    After the day had reached its close.

55

All bear with open pride their names,
    In consciousness of victory:
Like hope upon their brows it flames,
    And like the joy of poetry.

56

Three only form a group apart,
    On every side by darkness pressed.
They swell, luxurious with "Love's Art",
    (*ars amandi*)
    And gaiety bubbles in each breast.

57

Flee them, or bravely dare to call
    For counsel fraught with curse and doom;
Remember Oedipus' dread fall,
    Telegonus' appalling crime!

58

Songs lately granted their salvation
    From violent death by fire and flame,
Tell you their tales of Transformation
    (*Metamorphosis*)
    And of worlds under Spirit-reign.

59

Now tell the story of the change
    That's overcome my Fate at last,
How it's turned into something strange,
    And how the form has been recast.

60

Once it was different, when I sucked
    Warmth from the red lips of Success.
Where the Immortals sealed their pact,
    The tears now flow of deep distress.

61

That you would ask what more I need
    Is plainly written on your face.
Meanwhile, the graceful Horae speed
    Onward their rushing waves apace.

62

And if with you I were to send
    All that seethes in my bosom now,
Oh, I would never reach the end;
    The weight would make the bearer bow.

63

The road is long. No time to spare,
    O book. Remotest of all lands
Here with the Scythians I must share;
    Estranged from all the rest it stands.

CONCLUDING SONNET TO JENNY

One more thing to you, Child, I must tell:
    Gay this farewell poem, my singing's end;
These last waves of silver throb and swell
    That my Jenny's breath its music lend.
Swift as over gulf and looming fell,
    Through cascade and forest land,
Life's fleet hours shall hasten on until
    Pure perfection's end in you they find.

Bravely clad in flowing robes of fire,
    Proud uplifted heart transformed by light,
Master now, from bonds released entire,
Firmly do I tread through spaces free,
    Shatter pain before your visage bright,
While the dreams flash out towards Life's Tree.

## THE MADWOMAN

### A Ballad

There dances a woman by moonlight,
She glimmers far into the night,
Robe fluttering wild, eyes glittering clear,
Like diamonds set in rock-face sheer.

"Come hither, O blue sea,
I'll kiss you tenderly.
Wreathe me a willow crown,
Weave me a blue-green gown!

"I bring fine gold and rubies red
Wherein there beats my own heart's blood.
On warm breast 'twas by lover worn,
Into the ocean he was drawn.

"For you, my songs I'll sing,
That wind and wave must spring,
High in the dance I'll leap,
And wind and wave must weep!"

She grasps a willow with her hand
And binds it with a blue-green band.
She eyes it in the strangest way,
And bids it lightly step away.

"Now lend your wings to me
To echo down the sea:
Mother, have you not known
How fair I've wreathed your son?"

So nightly here and there went she,
Decked every willow by the sea.
Proudly she danced there up and down,
Until her magic course was run.

## TWO SONGS TO JENNY

### SOUGHT

A Song

I rose, broke free of all that bound me;
"Where would you go?" "A world I'd find me!"
"Are there not here lush meadows gay,
Below—the seas, above—star-play?"

"Know, fool, I seek not to cross over,
There to strike rock, or sound the Aether.
They bind so dumb the foot in pain,
Their words of love become a chain.

"The world must rise out of myself
And to my breast incline itself.
From my life's blood its well-springs come,
My soul's breath—its aethereal dome."

I wandered far as I could go,
Returned, held worlds above, below.
Within there leaped the stars and sun;
The lightning flashed, and they sank down.

### FOUND

A Song

Why do the bushes dance and swirl,
Why do the May-wreaths stray to heel,
Why arches Heaven forever higher,
And vales to cloudy peak aspire?

If I sail on my pinions there,
The echo falls from rock through air.
Do eye and starlight marry ever?
I look, my gaze is clouded over.

Roll forth, you waves of life, away,
Soar, smash those bridges in your way,
By golden liberty inspired
When you came soulless from the void.

Again the glance in recklessness
Stirs, sparks to bless'd forgetfulness.
Where should it have sought worlds? In you,
Into a very world it grew.

## FLOWER KING

### A Fantastic Ballad

1

"You in the sunshine, Mannikin,
Will you be the Flower King?
Ever runs your courage high,
Tinge us with your blood's red dye!"

2

"Flower bright and flower pale,
You've drunk my blood and drunk it deep.
Now my kingdom without fail!
In calyx, in calyx let me steep!"

3

"Sweet your blood was, Little Man,
Show your deep little heart, if you can.
If our King you would become,
Your heart must glisten in the sun."

4

"My heart, my heart beats high and true,
It shines forth fairly in my gaze.
If I gave up my heart to you,
Never again I'll feast my eyes."

5

"Mannikin, we'll jump and rest,
All of us, inside your breast.
Let your heart shine in the sun,
Flower King you shall become!"

6

He starts, he thinks, that Mannikin,
He tears his breast rose-red apart.
"Give me sceptre, give me crown,
Take, O take my deep little heart!"

7

"You in the sunshine, Mannikin,
Cannot be the Flower King.
No more your rose-red blood can spurt,
For us must glow your deep little heart."

8

The Mannikin plucks out his eyes,
Digs himself a hole deep down,
Digs his own deep grave, and lies
Buried, buried underground.

SEA ROCK

Marble pillar towers high,
Jagged summit saws the air,
Putrefaction, life's decay,
Moulders in the abyss down there.
Grim the cliff that upward climbs
Clamps the ground with iron limbs.

Round it spreads the radiance glowing
From its mad and fevered brain,
Sends the ocean surge a-flowing
Crazy, round and round again.
Weary moss shakes grey autumnal locks,
Blood seeps out from under laughing rocks.

Midnight comes, with voices roaring
Crazy from the marble womb,
Like a thousand years' life thawing,
Like remembrance howling doom.
Should the traveller dare to eavesdrop, he
Turns to stone and crashes in the sea.

## THE AWAKENING

I

When your beaming eye breaks
Enraptured and trembling,
Like straying string music
That brooded, that slumbered,
Bound to the lyre,
Up through the veil
Of holiest night,
Then from above glitter
Eternal stars
Lovingly inwards.

II

Trembling, you sink
With heaving breast,
You see unending
Eternal worlds
Above you, below you,
Unattainable, endless,
Floating in dance-trains
Of restless eternity;
An atom, you fall
Through the Universe.

III

Your awakening
Is an endless rising,
Your rising
An endless falling.

IV

When the rippling flame
Of your soul strikes
In its own depths,
Back into the breast,
There emerges unbounded,
Uplifted by spirits,
Borne by sweet-swelling
Magical tones,

The secret of soul
Rising out of the soul's
Daemonic abyss.

V

Your sinking down
Is an endless rising,
Your endless rising
Is with trembling lips—
The Aether-reddened,
Flaming, eternal
Lovekiss of the Godhead.

## NIGHT THOUGHTS

A Dithyramb

See overhead the cloud sails, lowering,
Around its flanks roar eagle-wings.
Stormwards it rushes, fire-sparks showering,
Night thoughts from morning's realm it brings.

Thought blazes up, so heavy-stupendous,
Curse-frenzy batters the vaults of Aether.
Blood spurts from eyeball, terror-enormous,
Sea-waves spit up at Heaven's rafters.

The silent Aether, tranquil-tremendous,
Girdles the brow with blazing brands.
Clash of arms. In its womb—Ur-darkness,
Cloud swoops, howling woe to the land.

## INVOCATION OF ONE IN DESPAIR

So a god has snatched from me my all
In the curse and rack of Destiny.
All his worlds are gone beyond recall!
Nothing but revenge is left to me!

On myself revenge I'll proudly wreak,
On that being, that enthroned Lord,
Make my strength a patchwork of what's weak,
Leave my better self without reward!

I shall build my throne high overhead,
Cold, tremendous shall its summit be.
For its bulwark—superstitious dread,
For its Marshall—blackest agony.

Who looks on it with a healthy eye,
Shall turn back, struck deathly pale and dumb;
Clutched by blind and chill Mortality,
May his happiness prepare its tomb.

And the Almighty's lightning shall rebound
From that massive iron giant.
If he bring my walls and towers down,
Eternity shall raise them up, defiant.

## THREE LITTLE LIGHTS

Three distant lights gleam quietly,
They shine like starry eyes to see.
The storm may rage, the wind may shout,
The little lights are not blown out.

One sweetly struggles ever higher,
Trembling to Heaven it would aspire.
It blinks its eye so trustingly,
As if the All-Father it could see.

The other looks down on Earth's halls,
And hears the echoing victory calls,
Turns to its sisters in the sky,
Inspired with silent prophecy.

The last one burns with golden fire,
The flames shoot forth, it sinks entire,
The waves plunge in its heart and—see!—
Swell up into a flowering tree.

Then three small lights gleam quietly
In turn, like starry eyes to see.
The storm may rage, the wind may blow,
Two souls in one are *happy* now.

## THE MAN IN THE MOON

See, breathed upon by starlight's glance,
Swift up and down a-hopping,
The Man in the Moon beats out his dance,
His lively limbs a-bobbing.

Soft weeping dew of Heaven shines
Tangled in curly hair,
Then trickles down on to the plains
Till blossoms tinkle there.

And now it sparkles, sprouts apace
In flakelets gold and pale.
The flowerbells tell the earthly place
The Moonman's grievous tale.

He waves in such a friendly way
But deep his sorrows smart.
He would be with the sinking ray,
Lean to the Sun's full heart.

He's tarried long, he's listened long
To hear the rising spheres.
He pines, he yearns to be a song,
To thaw in dancing flowers.

Earth's glade is covered with his pain
Till field and meadow ring;
Rapt with his own sweet shine, he then
Beats, reconciled, his wings.

## LUCINDA

### A Ballad

Life seems wed to gaiety
As the dancers tread the measure.
Each feels chosen specially
For the sacred vows to pleasure.

Rosy cheeks flush ever higher,
Faster still the heart's blood races,
And the longings of desire
Lift the soul to heavenly places.

Kiss fraternal and hearts' union
Close all in a circle round,
Gone the clash of rank, opinion,
Love is lord and in command.

But it is an idle dream
That enfolds warm hearts, and flies
From this dust and earthly scene,
Surging to aethereal skies.

Gods can never bear to see
Man, to his own folly blind,
Blissfully believing he
May span Heaven with an Earth-born mind.

Through the lines a sombre guest
Creeps with sword and knife, apart,
Envy's fire consumes his breast,
And disdain his wretched heart.

She, now in the bridal wreath,
Once was love and life to him;
Pledged him once her solemn troth,
And her heart she gave to him.

So, to battle for the Good,
Trusting her, he went away,
And his quest was crowned by Gods;
Deed and valour won the day.

Wreathed in glory, he returns
To the township, quiet and still,
Where his lovely jewel burns,
Where desire and bliss do call.

Now he sees the battlements,
And his heart beats violently,
Soon he shall win all he wants,
Dream shall turn reality.

To the threshold now he races
Of the house that he loves so.
Bright with many lamps it blazes,
Guests are streaming to and fro.

But the footman there, aloof,
Halts him with restraining hand.
"Stranger, would you climb the roof?
Whither leads this rush so blind?"

"Man, I seek Lucinda fair!"
Then the footman, open-eyed:
"Anyone may find her here,
For Lucinda is the bride!"

Stunned, the stranger stands and sways
In his full athletic height,
Stands with wide and staring eyes,
Staggers up towards the gate.

"You should look your festive best
For this gay and brilliant place,
If you want to be a guest!"
Calls the footman's uncouth voice.

Proud and grim, he turns in haste,
Takes the long-familiar way.
Heart with rage and grief obsessed,
Fury darting from his eye.

To the place of his abode
Flies he like the storm wind rushing,
And the door bursts open wide
At his kicking and his pushing.

Grabs the candle from the maid,
Stays his hand, lest tremor show;
With cold sweat the brow's bedewed
That he beats in silent woe.

On his shoulders lets unfold
Cape of purple, wondrous fair,
Decks himself with clasps of gold,
Loosens and lets fall his hair.

To his bosom's sanctuary
Presses he the gold-chased sword
That he wielded to the glory
Of the one whom he adored.

Back he flies on wings of wind
To the place of revelry,
Heart beyond all bridling,
Deadly lightning in his eye.

Trembling, steps he through the door
To the brilliant hall within.
Parcae name their victim, pour
Curses hissing after him.

Draws he nearer, sad and bowed,
Prideful in his stately cloak.
All the guests are frightened, cowed,
By his awe-inspiring look.

Like a ghost he seems to stride
Lonely through the crowded hall.
Onward still the partners glide,
Foams the festive goblet full.

Many dancers throng the rows,
But Lucinda shines the best.
From the filmy froth of gauze
Swells voluptuous her breast.

Each is filled with silent yearning,
Gripped by power all-pervading,
Longing, all their eyes are turning
On that form in beauty gliding.

And her eyes, full of caprice,
Laugh in undimmed radiance;
On she moves with body's grace
In the many-coloured dance.

Past the man she lightly dances,
Neither does he yield nor quail;
Clouded are her glowing glances,
And her rosy cheeks turn pale.

She would mingle with the crowd,
From the stranger turn away,
But a scornful hiss is heard
And a God holds her in sway.

Grim, he looks her up and down,
Ominously closes on her.
All the dancers, turned to stone,
Questioningly eye each other.

But Lucinda's throat and breathing
Seem as if by Gods pressed tight.
With her soul for respite striving,
Clutches she her maid in fright.

"Ha! So I must find you faithless,
Who once pledged yourself to me,
You, Lucinda, you a traitress,
You another's bride I see!"

Then the crowd would rush upon him
For his conduct in that place,
But he hurls the assailants from him,
And like thunder sounds his voice.

"Let no one dare interfere!"
Menace in his eyes is plain.
And all present, cowed, must hear,
Listen to the voice of pain.

"Never fear, I shall not harm her,
She shall not be hurt this night.
She need only watch the drama
That I stage for her delight.

"Let the dancing not be over,
Carry on your revelry.
Soon you shall embrace your lover,
Soon you shall be free of me.

"I, too, shall the nuptial bond
Celebrate this eventide.
But another way I've found—
Night and Blade shall be my bride.

"From your eyes but let me suck
Sensuous passion, sensuous glow.
Ah! Now I have seen your look,
You shall watch my life's blood flow!"

Swiftly through him go the blades
Long held ready in his hands,
Snapped are all life's quivering threads,
Darkness on his eyes descends.

With a heavy crash he falls,
Every muscle breaks in twain.
Death his prideful limbs enfolds,
And no God wakes him again.

Then without a word she seizes
Sword and dagger, quivering.
With the iron her skin she pierces,
And the purple life's blood springs.

In a trice, the watchful maid,
Shuddering at the bloody spray,
Wrests from her the deadly blade,
Pulls the fatal steel away.

Then in pain Lucinda sinks
On the corpse with grievous moan.
From his heart the blood she drinks,
To his heart lets flow her own.

And the drapes of gauzy white
That her slender body cover,
Redden now with bloodstains bright,
Frothing, bubbling all over.

Long she moans there, hanging, clinging
On to him who lies in death.
He might live, if only longing
Soul back into clay could breathe.

Pale and bloody then she rises
From the one she chose at last.
Slowly back the whole crowd presses,
Murmuring, horror-struck, aghast.

And a Goddess, tall, uprearing,
Her own doom's artificer,
Turns her gaze, destructive, searing,
On the man who married her.

And a smile, ice-cold and mocking,
    On the pale lips starts to play.
Anguished wailing tells its shocking
    Tale of madness on the way.

Broken up the merry revels,
    Fled the dancers, one and all,
Silent now the clashing cymbals,
    Desolate the empty hall.

## DIALOGUE WITH....

A Singer stands in festive attire,
Clasps to his bosom warm a lyre,
    And plucks the strings, enraptured.
"How play you my tunes, how sing my refrains,
How swell you, O Lyre, with soul that strains
    As if by your own fires captured?"

"Singer, think you that I am cold
To bosom's light, to yearning soul,
    To images upwards striving?
They shine as clear as the Land of Stars,
They surge, they soar like streaming fires,
    They lead to a Loftier Living.

"I knew with prescience profound
When called by your Word's sparkling sound,
    'Twas not your fingers touching.
It was a breath from sweeter lips
Uprising from the heart's own depths,
    A subtler music teaching.

"There shone a visage wondrous fair,
Haloed in song, in golden hair,
    That flashed forth rarest lays.
High beat her heart, eyes glowed sublime,
You were no more, you sank in dream,
    And I must honour and praise.

"Her image in me sank silently,
Like flower-shine rose out of me,
As melting into sound.
But say, it falls, it soars again,
And yet for you cloud-veiled remain
The sun and stars all round."

"O wondrous Lyre of magic skill,
Your joy's like bubbling founts that well,
Ringed round with May-wreaths fair.
Her breath inspires, her eyes invite,
Your tones vibrate, your light beams bright,
And rolls with the dancing spheres.

"One drinks, one sings of raptures blest,
Then Love flees echoing from the breast,
One's spirits no more sound.
Yours was the dream, yours was the life,
You shine in her, afar I strive,
You soar, I must bow down."

"Singer, though lulled by flower-dream,
I too reach out to Heaven's hem
With golden stars to bind it.
The music sounds, life is in tears,
The music sounds, the sun shines clear,
And distances are blended."

## THE LAST JUDGMENT

### A Jest

Ah! that life of all the dead,
Hallelujahs that I hear,
Make my hair stand on my head,
And my soul is sick with fear.

For, when everything is severed
And the play of forces done,
When our sufferings fade for ever,
And the final goal is won,

God Eternal we must praise,
    Endless hallelujahs whine,
Endless hymns of glory raise,
    Know no more delight or pain.

Ha! I shudder on the stair
    Leading to perfection's goal,
And I shudder when I hear,
    Urging me, that death-bed call.

There can only be one Heaven,
    That one's fully occupied,
We must share it with old women
    Whom the teeth of Time have gnawed.

While their flesh lies underground
    With decay and stones o'ershovelled,
Brightly hued, their souls hop round
    In a spider-dance enravelled.

All so skinny, all so thin,
    So aethereal, so chaste,
Never were their forms so lean,
    Even when most tightly laced.

But I ruin the proceedings
    As my hymns of praise I holler.
And the Lord God hears my screamings,
    And gets hot under the collar;

Calls the highest Angel out,
    Gabriel, the tall and skinny,
Who expels the noisy lout
    Without further ceremony.

I just dreamed it all, you see,
    Thought I faced the Court Supreme.
Good folk, don't be cross with me,
    It was never sin to dream.

## TWO SINGERS ACCOMPANYING THEMSELVES ON THE HARP

### A Ballad

"What brings you to this Castle here
To breathe Song's radiant aureole?
Seek you a loving comrade dear
For whom in longing yearns your soul?"

"Know you him who soulful dwells therein,
Ask you if he set my heart a-burning?
Can you tell me if the sight of him
Ever favoured mortals drawn by yearning?

"Never have I seen that shine of his,
Yet the gleam of precious stone
Burning on that splendid edifice
Surely needs must lure me on.

"Truly, it might be my place of birth,
Here might be my native land.
Ah! 'twas chosen by the gentle South,
Turned towards the glow it stands.

"Here my melody more free resounds,
And my breast the higher swells.
Sweet the golden Lyre's music sounds,
As in joy of grief it wells.

"And I do not know that High Master,
Him who strikes the heart-strings powerfully,
Nor the heavenly spirits that the Castle
Harbours in its womb so secretly.

"And in vain is my desire's hot burning,
Not for me the fair gates opening.
I lean on the columns, sadly yearning,
Here Love's tribute I must sing!"

In despair her jet black hair she shakes,
Bursts into a flood of tears,
And the other kisses dry her cheeks,
Clasps her to her bosom's warming fires.

"I too am drawn by secret bonds
    To this divine and holy fane.
I quested wandering through the lands,
    Was pierced, as if by lightning's flame.

"But why the burning dew so spill,
    The tears of bitter sorrow weep?
We may enjoy the view at will,
    On flowery meadow dance and leap!

"The heart may glow more full in us,
    And sorrow may more sweetly come.
The looks may shine more luminous,
    Here the Most Beautiful's soon won!

"A humble cottage let us find
    Where we our songs of praise may sing,
Where the sweet West may play around
    In spirits' secret struggling."

Full many a day they lingered there,
    At eventide the strings were heard
That held entranced with sad allure
    Full many a flower and many a bird.

Once, as they both lay fast asleep,
    Arms clasped the gentle bodies round
On bed of moss full soft and deep,
    A Demon wondrous tall was found.

He bore them up on wings of gold;
    They were as bound in magic bonds,
And where that cottage stood of old
    A wondrous melody resounds.

## EPIGRAMS

### I

    In its armchair, stupid and dumb,
    The German public watches it come.
Hither and thither rumbles the storm,
Heaven clouds over, more dark and forlorn.

Lightning hisses, snakes out of sight,
Feelings remain inviolate.
But when the sun comes out in greeting,
The winds soft sighing, the storm abating,
It stirs itself, makes a fuss at last,
And writes a book: *The Commotion Is Past;*
Is seized with an urge for fantasy,
Would plumb the whole thing thoroughly;
Believes it's extremely wrong of Heaven
To play such jokes, though brilliant even,
It should the All systematically treat;
First rub the head and then the feet;
Just like a baby it carries on
Looking for things which are dead and gone;
Should get the Present in proper perspective,
Let Heaven and Earth go their ways respective;
They've followed their courses as before,
And the wave laps quiet on the rocky shore.

## II

### ON HEGEL

#### 1

Since I have found the Highest of things and the Depths of them also,
Rude am I as a God, cloaked by the dark like a God.
Long have I searched and sailed on Thought's deep billowing ocean;
There I found me the Word: now I hold on to it fast.

#### 2

Words I teach all mixed up into a devilish muddle,
Thus, anyone may think just what he chooses to think;
Never, at least, is he hemmed in by strict limitations.
Bubbling out of the flood, plummeting down from the cliff,
So are his Beloved's words and thoughts that the Poet devises;
*He* understands what he thinks, freely invents what he feels.
Thus, each may for himself suck wisdom's nourishing nectar;
Now you know all, since I've said plenty of nothing to you!

3

Kant and Fichte soar to heavens blue
Seeking for some distant land,
I but seek to grasp profound and true
That which—in the street I find.

4

Forgive us epigrammatists
For singing songs with nasty twists.
In Hegel we're all so completely submerged,
But with his Aesthetics we've yet to be——
purged.

III

The Germans once actually stirred their stumps,
With a People's Victory turned up trumps.
And when all that was over and done,
On every corner, everyone
Read: "Wonderful things are in store for you—
Three legs for all instead of two!"
This shook them badly, and in due course
They were all smitten by deep remorse.
"Too much has happened at once, it's plain.
We'll have to behave ourselves again.
The rest it were better to print and bind,
And buyers will not be hard to find."

IV

Pull down the stars for them at night,
They burn too pale or far too bright.
The sun's rays either scorch the eye
Or shine from much too far away.

V

Of Schiller there's reason to complain,
Who couldn't more humanly entertain.
Endowed with an elevating mind,
He didn't stick to the daily grind.
He played with Thunder and Lightning much,
But totally lacked the common touch.

## VI

But Goethe's taste was too nicely ordered;
He'd rather see Venus than something sordid.
Although he grasped things, as one should, from below,
It was for the Highest he made us go.
He wanted to make things so sublime
That Soul-grip evaded him most of the time.
Schiller was surely nearer the mark,
You can read his ideas in letters stark.
His thoughts are there in black and white,
Though it's hard to fathom the meaning aright.

## VII

### ON A CERTAIN BALD-HEAD

As lightning born of radiancy
Sparkles from cloud-realms far away,
Pallas Athena victorious
Sprang from the thought-filled head of Zeus.
Even so, in sportiveness unbounded,
On to his head she's likewise bounded,
And what in depth he could never plumb
Visibly shines on his cranium.

## VIII

### PUSTKUCHEN (FALSE WANDERING YEARS)[a]

1

Schiller, thinks he, had been less of a bore
If only he'd read the Bible more.
One could have nothing but praise for *The Bell*
If it featured the Resurrection as well,
Or told how, on a little ass,
Christ into the town did pass;
While David's defeat of the Philistine
Would have added something to *Wallenstein.*

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[a] *Pustkuchen*—a punning reference to Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Pustkuchen, author of *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre,* based on *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* by Goethe. *Pustkuchen* also means "puff cake", hence "hot air" or "nonsense".—*Ed.*

2

Goethe can give the ladies a fright,
For elderly women he's not quite right.
He understood Nature, but this is the quarrel,
He wouldn't round Nature off with a moral.
He should have got Luther's doctrine off pat
And made up his poetry out of that.
He had beautiful thoughts, if sometimes odd,
But omitted to mention—"Made by God".

3

Extremely strange is this desire
To elevate Goethe higher and higher.
How low in actual fact his reach—
Did he ever give us a sermon to preach?
Show me in Goethe solid ground
For Peasant or Pedagogue to expound.
Such a genius marked with the stamp of the Lord
That a sum in arithmetic had him floored.

4

Hear Faust in the full authentic version;
The Poet's account is sheer perversion.
Faust was up to his ears in debts,
Was dissolute, played at cards for bets.
No offer of help from above was extended,
So he wanted it all ignominiously ended.
But was overwhelmed by a fearful sensation
Of Hell and the anguish of desperation.
He then devoted due reflection
To Knowledge, Deed, Life, Death, and Perdition;
And on these topics had much to say
In a darkly mystical sort of way.
Couldn't the Poet have managed to tell
How debts lead man to the Devil and Hell.
Who loses his credit may well conceivably
Forfeit redemption quite irretrievably.

5

Since Faust at Easter had the gall
To think, why trouble the Devil at all?
Who dares to think on Easter Day
Is doomed to Hell-fire anyway.

6

Credibility too is defied.
The Police would soon have had enough!
They'd surely have had him clapped inside
For running up debts and making off!

7

Vice alone could elevate Faust,
Who really loved himself the most.
God and the World he dared to doubt,
Though Moses thought they'd both worked out.
Silly young Gretchen had to adore him
Instead of getting his conscience to gnaw him,
Telling him he was the Devil's prey,
And the Day of Judgment was well on the way.

8

There's use for the "Beautiful Soul". It's simple:
Just trim it with specs and a nun's wimple.
"What God hath done is right well done,"
Thus the true Poet hath begun.

## CONCLUDING EPIGRAM ON THE PUFF-PASTRY COOK

So knead your cake as well as you can,
You'll never be more than a baker's man.
And, after all, whoever asked *you*
To emulate Goethe the way you do?
As he knew nothing of your profession,
Whence came his genius and perception?

## HARMONY

Know you that magic image sweet
When souls into each other go,
And then in one soft breath outflow,
Melodious, loving, mild, replete?
They flame up in one rose-bloom, blushing red,
And coyly hide deep in some mossy bed.

Roam far and wide throughout the land,
The magic image you'll not find
That talisman can never bind,
Nor sun's fierce rays portend.
The light of no sun ever gave it birth,
It never knew the nourishment of Earth.

Ever resplendent there it stays,
Though Time its rapid pinions beats,
Though bright Apollo guides his steeds,
Though worlds fade into nothingness.
Alone its own true power did it create
That neither world nor God can dominate.

Perhaps 'tis like the Cithern sounding,
As played on one eternal Lyre,
In endless glow, in endless fire,
In yearning's lofty urge resounding.
Once hear within yourself those strings that play
Your steps to wander shall not further stray.

## DISTRAUGHT

### A Ballad

### I

All decked with finery
She stands, in purple dressed;
A satin ribbon coy
Is hidden in her breast.

And playfully there glow
Sweet roses in her hair,
Some are like flakes of snow,
The others—blood and fire.

But never a rose is playing
Upon her pallid face.
She sinks, distressful, bowing,
As hart shot in the chase.

Tremulous, pale she looks
In diamonds' full display.
The blood drains from her cheeks
Into her heart away.

"I have been driven again
To gaiety's false allure,
My heart oppressed with pain,
My wavering steps unsure.

"O'er soul's high-billowing sea
Other desires have called.
Enough of this display,
So loveless and so cold.

"I cannot understand it,
Within my breast this flame;
Heaven alone can grant it,
No mortal speak its name.

"I would bear suffering even,
Willingly I would die,
That I might merit Heaven,
A better land might see."

She lifts her tearful gaze
To Heaven's radiance,
Her bosom's fantasies
In sighs give utterance.

Quietly she lays her down
And says a heartfelt prayer.
Sleep folds her gently round,
An angel watches her.

II

Years have flown swiftly by,
Hollow her cheeks have grown.
Quieter, sadder she,
More distant, more withdrawn.

She struggles, but in vain,
Fighting great agony,

Those mighty powers to tame;
    Her heart leaps violently.

Dreaming, one day she lies
    In bed, but not asleep,
Drowning in nothingness...
    The blow has struck full deep.

Her look becomes a stare,
    Hollow, and void, and numb.
She raves, all unaware,
    In wild delirium.

And from her eye there streams
    The blood that nothing stays.
The pain now quieter seems,
    Now flash the Spirit's rays.

"The gates of Heaven yield,
    And I am moved with awe.
My hopes shall be fulfilled,
    Nearer the stars I'll draw."

Trembling on lips so pale,
    The soul would seek to roam.
The gentle spirits sail
    To their aethereal home.

Striving profound has drawn her,
    Lured by a magic bond.
Too cold has life been for her,
    Too poor this earthly land.

## MAN AND DRUM

### A Fable

A Drum it is no Man, and a Man he is no Drum,
The Drum is very clever, and the Man is very dumb.

The Drum is tied with straps, but the Man is on his own,
And the Drum sits firm when the Man falls down.

The angry Man he beats it, and the Drum goes bippety-bop,
Yes, the merry Drum it rattles, and the Man goes hippety-hop.

And then the Man pulls faces, and the Drum it laughs at him,
And the Man shouts up and down the house and makes an
awful din.

"Hey, Drum, ho, Drum, why laugh so mockingly?
You take me for a fool and you stick out your tongue at me!

"Damn you, Drum, you shame me, you jeer and you deride!
Why d'you rattle when I beat, why d'you hang where you were
tied?

"You think I raised you from a tree into a Drum full-grown
To carry on like that as if you'd done it on your own?

"You shall dance when I beat, you shall beat when I sing,
You shall cry when I laugh, you shall laugh when I spring."

The Man scowls at the Drum all in a sudden furious bout,
He bangs and bangs and bangs it till its blood comes gushing
out.

So the Drum it has no Man, and the Man he has no Drum,
And the Man takes holy orders for a friar to become.

## HUMAN PRIDE

When these stately Halls I scan
And the giant burden of these Houses,
And the stormy pilgrimage of Man
And the frenzied race that never ceases,

Pulse's throbbing do I sense
And the giant flame of Soul so proud?
Shall the Waves then bear you hence
Into Life, into the Ocean's flood?

Shall I then revere these forms
Heavenward soaring, proud, inviolate?
Should I yield before the Life that storms
Towards the Indeterminate?

No! You pigmy-giants so wretched,
    And you ice-cold stone Monstrosity,
See how in these eyes averted
    Burns the Soul's impetuosity.

Swift eye scans the circles round,
    Hastens through them all exploringly,
Yearning, as on fire, resounds,
    Mocking through the vast Halls and away.

    When you all go down and sink,
    Fragment-world shall lie around,
Even though cold Splendour blink,
    Even though grim Ruin stand its ground.

There is drawn no boundary,
    No hard, wretched earth-clod bars our way,
And we sail across the sea,
    And we wander countries far away.

Nothing bids to stay our going,
    Nothing locks our hopes inside;
Swift away go fancies fleeing,
    And the bosom's joy and pain abide.

All those monstrous shapes so vast
    Tower aloft in fearfulness,
Feeling not love's fiery blast
    That creates them out of nothingness.

No giant column soars to Heaven
    In a single block, victorious;
One stone on the other meanly woven
Emulates the timid snail laborious.

But the Soul embraces all,
    Is a lofty giant flame that glows,
Even in its very Fall
    Dragging Suns in its destructive throes.

And out of itself it swells
    Up to Heaven's realms on high;
Gods within its depths it lulls,
    Thunderous lightning flashes in its eye.

And it wavers not a whit
Where the very God-Thought fares,
On its breast will cherish it;
Soul's own greatness is its lofty Prayer.

Soul its greatness must devour,
In its greatness must go down;
Then volcanoes seethe and roar,
And lamenting Demons gather round.

Soul, succumbing haughtily,
Raises up a throne to giant derision;
Downfall turns to Victory,
Hero's prize is proud renunciation.

But when two are bound together,
When two souls together flow,
Each one softly tells the other
No more need alone through space to go.

Then all Worlds hear melodies
Like the Aeolian harp full sighing,
In eternal Beauty's rays
Wish and Soul's desire together flowing.

Jenny! Do I dare avow
That in love we have exchanged our Souls,
That as one they throb and glow,
And that through their waves one current rolls?

Then the gauntlet do I fling
Scornful in the World's wide open face.
Down the giant She-Dwarf, whimpering,
Plunges, cannot crush my happiness.

Like unto a God I dare
Through that ruined realm in triumph roam.
Every word is Deed and Fire,
And my bosom like the Maker's own.

## EVENING STROLL

"Why gaze you towards the cliff-wall there,
What do you softly sigh?"
"The sun sinks glowing through the air,
Kissing the cliff good-bye."

"And this before you've never seen—
The sun's orb slowly scale
The morning sky, and then from noon
Sink down into the vale?"

"Indeed I have, indeed that glow
In crimson folds throbbed burning,
Until its Eye, being loth to go,
Dwelt on her in its yearning.

"We walked in peace. By her footfall
The echoing cliffs were captured.
The light wind gently kissed her shawl,
Soft spoke her eyes, enraptured.

"And sick with love, I lisped a-sighing;
She trembled, rosy red.
I pressed her heart, down sank the dying
Sun, star-cosseted.

"That draws me to the cliff-wall there,
That's what I softly sigh.
She waves far off as evening fire,
She bows as from on high."

# Scenes
# from
# OULANEM
# A Tragedy

Characters:

*Oulanem,* a German traveller

*Lucindo,* his companion

*Pertini,* a citizen of a mountain town in Italy

*Alwander,* a citizen of the same town

*Beatrice,* his foster-daughter

*Wierin*

*Perto,* a monk

*The action takes place inside or before Pertini's house, Alwander's house, and in the mountains.*

## ACT I

*A mountain town*

### Scene 1

*A street. Oulanem, Lucindo; Pertini before his house.*

*Pertini.* Sirs, the whole town is crowded out with strangers,
Attracted to the spot by fame, to see
The wonders of the neighbourhood. In short,
I offer you my home. For at no inn
Will you find room. So all I can provide
With my small means I shall be glad to place
At your disposal. Truly, I am drawn
To friendship with you. That's no flattery.

*Oulanem.* We thank you, stranger, and I only fear
Lest your opinion of us be too high.
*Pertini.* Good ... good.... Then let us leave the compliments.
*Oulanem.* But we intend to make a lengthy stay.
*Pertini.* Each day the less you spend in pleasure here
Will be my loss.
*Oulanem.* Once more we thank you warmly.
*Pertini* (*calling a servant*).
Boy! See the gentlemen up to their room.
They wish to take some rest after their journey;
They also want to be alone and change
Their heavy travelling clothes for lighter wear.
*Oulanem.* We take our leave, but we shall soon return.

(*Oulanem and Lucindo go out with the servant.*)

*Pertini* (*alone, cautiously looking round*).
It's he, by God, it's he; the day has come;
He, the old friend I never could forget,
Any more than my conscience gives me rest.
That's excellent! Now I'll exchange my conscience;
He shall be it henceforth, yes, he, Oulanem.
So, conscience, now may it go well with you.
For every night you stood before my bed,
You went to sleep when I did, rose with me—
We know each other, man, my eyes upon it!
What's more, I know that there are others here;
They are Oulanem also, also Oulanem!
There's death rings in that name. Well, let it ring
Till in its owner vile it rings its last.
But wait, I have it now! As clear as air,
Firm as my bones, it comes up from my soul.
His oath stands up in arms before my eyes!
I've found it, and I'll see he finds it too!
My plan is made—you are its very soul,
Yes, you, Oulanem, are its very life.
Would you work Destiny as 'twere a puppet?
Make Heaven a plaything for your calculations?
Fabricate Gods out of your old spent loins?
Now, play your part off pat, my little God;
But wait—wait for your cue—leave that to me!

(*Enter Lucindo.*)

## Scene 2

*Pertini, Lucindo.*

*Pertini.* Pray, why so much alone, my dear young sir?

*Lucindo.* Curiosity. The old find nothing new.

*Pertini.* Indeed! Your time of life!

*Lucindo.* No, but if ever
My soul cherished a strong desire, if ever
My heart was moved by a presentient yearning,
It was to call him Father, be his son,
That one's whose manly and impassioned spirit
Can drink in worlds entire; whose heart streams forth
The radiance of the Gods. Did you not know him,
Then you might not conceive that such a man
Could be.

*Pertini.* It sounds indeed most fine and tender,
When from the warm voluptuous lips of youth
The praise of Age streams forth like tongues of fire.
It sounds so moral, like a Bible sermon,
Just like the story of the Dame Susannah,
Or like that tale about the Prodigal Son.
But dare I ask you if you know this man
With whom your heart would seem so closely bound?

*Lucindo.* Seem? Only semblance—semblance and delusion?
You hate mankind?

*Pertini.* Well, at the very least
I am a man!

*Lucindo.* Forgive if I've offended.
You are full well disposed towards the Stranger,
And he who goes in friendship to the Wanderer,
His spirit is not locked within itself.
You seek an answer. Answer you shall have.
We are together bound in a strange union
Deep woven in the bottom of our hearts
Which, even as bright blazing brands of fire,
The spirits of his breast weave round with radiance,
As if well-wishing Demons of the Light
With thoughtful tenderness had matched us both.
Thus have I known him since long, long ago—
So long ago, that Memory scarcely whispers

Of our first meeting. How we found each other,
I know it not.

*Pertini.* It sounds indeed romantic.
And yet, my dear young sir, it is but sound
That sounds only to parry a request.

*Lucindo.* I swear to it.

*Pertini.* What do you swear to, sir?

*Lucindo.* I do not know him, yet indeed I know him.
He hides some mystery deep within his breast,
Which I may not yet know—not now ... not yet....
These words repeat themselves each day, each hour.
For see, I do not know myself!

*Pertini.* That's bad!

*Lucindo.* I stand here so cut off, so separate.
The poorest wretch takes pride in what he is
When, smiling, he tells of the line that bore him,
Cherishing in his heart each little detail.
I cannot do this. Men call me Lucindo,
But they could call me gallows too, or tree.

*Pertini.* What do you want, then? Friendship with the gallows?
Kinship, even? Well, I can help you there!

*Lucindo* (*earnestly*). Play not with empty syllables and sounds
When I rage inwardly.

*Pertini.* Rage on, my friend,
Till rage is spent.

*Lucindo* (*indignantly*). What do you mean?

*Pertini.* Mean? Nothing!
I am a dry house philistine, no more,
A man who simply calls each hour an hour,
Who goes to sleep at night-time, just to rise
When morning comes again; who counts the hours
Until he's counted out and the clock stops,
And worms become the hands that show the time;
And so on till the final Judgment Day
When Jesus, with the Angel Gabriel,
Pronouncing sentence on his wrathful trumpet,
Reads out the list of our recorded sins,
And stands us on the right or on the left,

And runs his God-fist over all our hides
To find out whether we are lambs or wolves.

*Lucindo.* He'll not name me, because I have no name.

*Pertini.* Well said! That's how I like to hear you speak!
But since I'm just a plain house philistine,
My thoughts are homely, and I handle thoughts
As you do stones and sand. So if a man
Cannot name his own family, but turns
Up with another, he's an off-shoot—born
On the wrong side of the blanket.

*Lucindo.* What was that?
Think sooner black the sun and flat the moon,
And neither sending forth one shaft of light,
But here a sound—a surmise—and Life weighs it.

*Pertini.* My friend, you must not improvise so wildly.
Believe me, I'm not prone to nervous fits!
But off-shoots are quite often green and mossy,
Yes, yes, they take their own luxuriant way
And shoot up shining towards the very Heavens,
As if they knew that they had sprung from joy,
Begotten by no dull and slavish union.
For look you, off-shoots of this kind are satires;
Nature's a Poet, Marriage sits in a chair,
Its cap on, and with all the accessories,
Its sullen face with grimacing distorted,
And, lying at its feet, a dusty parchment
Scrawled over with the parson's blasphemies,
The church's dismal halls to give perspective,
The churlish rabble gaping in the background—
Give me off-shoots!

*Lucindo* (*incensed*). For God's sake, that's enough!
What is it, man? What do you mean? Speak out;
But by the Eternal I shall speak with you.
What do I ask? Lies it not clear before me,
Grins not Hell out of it, does it not rise
Before my look like Death's own withered shape,
To glare at me and mutter threats of storm?
But, man, not easily, believe you me,
Have you hurled from your withered devil's fist
This blazing brand of fire into my breast:

For do not think you play dice with a boy,
Flinging the dice with shattering force straight at
His childish head. You've played too fast with me.
So now—and mark you this—we're gaming comrades.
You've quickly made yourself familiar. Out
With all that's heaving in your vile snake's bosom!
And be it mistrust only, or derision,
Then I shall throw it back into your throat,
And you yourself shall choke your poison down,
And then I'll play with you! But speak! I wish it!

*Pertini.* You do? You think of Faust and Mephistopheles.
You've brooded on them deeply, I dare say.
I tell you, no. Keep your wish to yourself,
And I'll throw dust into its silly eyes.

*Lucindo.* Take care. Don't blow upon the glowing embers
Until the flames blaze up and you yourself
Are burnt to cinders!

*Pertini.* A phrase! An empty phrase!
The only one they burn will be yourself!

*Lucindo.* Myself! So be it! To myself I'm nothing!
But you, oh, you my youthful arms enfold
And twine themselves in frenzy round your breast.
The abyss yawns gaping night to both of us,
If you sink down, smiling, I'll follow you,
And whisper to you, "Down! Come with me! Comrade!"

*Pertini.* It seems you're gifted with imagination.
You have dreamed much already in your life?

*Lucindo.* Just so. I am a dreamer, yes, a dreamer.
What knowledge do I want from you who have none?
You've only seen us, but you know us not,
Yet hurl against me scorn and blasphemy.
What am I waiting for? Still more of you?
You have no more ... but I have more for you.
For me—guilt, poison, shame—you must redeem it.
You've drawn the circle, and it leaves no room
For two of us. Now use your jumping skill.
As Fate draws, so it draws. So let it be.

*Pertini.* You must have read that ending out in class
From some dry, dusty book of tragedies.

*Lucindo.* True, this is tragedy that we are playing.
Come on, now. Where and how you want. You choose.

*Pertini.* And when, and everywhere, and any time,
And none!

*Lucindo.* Coward, don't make a mockery of my words,
Or I'll write coward across your very face,
And shout it out through each and every street
And thrash you publicly, if you'll not follow,
If you dare crack your feeble hackneyed jokes
When my heart's blood runs cold within my veins.
Not one word more; follow or do not follow,
Your sentence is pronounced, you coward, you knave!

*Pertini* (*incensed*). Say that again, boy! Say those words again!

*Lucindo.* Why, if it brings you joy—a thousand times;
If it stirs up your gall and sets it flowing
Until the blood starts furious from your eyeballs,
Then here it is again: you knave, you coward!

*Pertini.* We'll have this out. Write that upon your brain.
There's still one place to knit us two together,
And that is Hell—Hell not for me, but you!

*Lucindo.* Why count the syllables, if it can be settled
Here on the spot. Then fly away to Hell,
And tell the Devils it was I that sent you!

*Pertini.* Just one more word.

*Lucindo.* What is the use of words?
I hear them not. Blow bubbles in the wind,
Draw lineaments on your face to match your words,
I see them not. Bring weapons, let them speak,
I'll put my whole heart into them, and if
It breaks not, then—

*Pertini* (*interrupting him*).
Not quite so bold, my lad, and not so callow!
You, you have not a thing to lose, no, nothing!
You are a stone that's fallen from the moon,
That someone somewhere scratched one single word on.
You spelled the letters out: they read "Lucindo".
See! On that empty tablet I'll not dare
Wager myself, my life, my honour, all.
You want to use my blood for artist's colour?
Am I to be the brush that lends you tone?

We are too far removed in rank and station.
Am I to stand against you as you are?
I know what I am. Tell me, what are you?
You know not, are not, you have naught to lose!
Thief-like, you seek to pledge to me an honour
That never in your bastard's bosom glowed?
You seek to swindle, lay your empty ticket
Against my sterling worth, my friend?
Not so! First get you honour, name and life—
You are still nothing—then I'll gladly stake
My honour, name and life against your own!

*Lucindo.* So that's it, coward! You want to save your skin?
You've worked the sum out so ingeniously,
Oh, so ingeniously, in your dull brain?
Do not deceive yourself: I'll change your answer,
And I shall write down "coward" in its place.
I'll scorn you as I would a maddened beast;
I'll shame you, yes, shame you before the world,
And then you can explain, with all the details,
To aunts and uncles, children, everyone,
I call myself Lucindo, yes, Lucindo,
That is my name; it might have been some other;
I go by it, though it could have been different.
What men call being, I do not possess;
But you are what you are, and that's a coward!

*Pertini.* That's nice, that's very pretty. But supposing
I could give you a name—you hear, a name?

*Lucindo.* You have no name yourself, and yet you'd give one,
You who have never seen me, save this once;
And seeing's a lie, the eternal mockery
That hounds us down: we see, and that is all.

*Pertini.* Good. But who grasps more than is seen?

*Lucindo.* Not you.
You've seen in all things what you are: a scoundrel.

*Pertini.* True; I'm not easily fooled by the first glance.
But that man—he was not born yesterday!
Believe me, he has seen a thing or two.
What if we knew each other?

*Lucindo.* I don't believe it.

*Pertini.* But is there not a poet, wondrous strange,
A gloomy aesthete, butt of ridicule,
Who spends his hours in subtle meditation,
Who would make rhymes of Life, and would most gladly
Himself be author of the poem of Life?

*Lucindo.* Ha! It might well be chance. You don't deceive me!

*Pertini.* Chance! Such is the language of philosophers
When reason doesn't come to rescue them.
Chance—it's so easily said—one syllable,
A name is also chance. Anyone's name
Might be Oulanem if he had no other.
And so it is pure chance if I so call him.

*Lucindo.* You know him? Heavens! Speak! In Heaven's name!

*Pertini.* You know the boys' reward? Its name is—silence.

*Lucindo.* It sickens me to ask of you a favour,
But I beseech you, by all you hold dear!

*Pertini.* Dear? You think that I am going to bargain?
A coward, you know, is deaf to all entreaty.

*Lucindo.* You must, then, if you would wipe out the taunt
Of coward, you must speak without delay.

*Pertini.* Let's duel now, I'll fight you as you are.
You're good enough for me, so let us fight.

*Lucindo.* Don't drive me to the extreme, not to that verge
Where there are no more bounds, where all things end.

*Pertini.* Listen to him! We want to try extremes,
As Fate draws, so it draws. So let it be!

*Lucindo.* Ha! Is there no way out, no hope at all?
His breast as hard as iron, all feeling withered,
Cankered and dried with scorn, he mixes poison
And rubs it in for balsam. And he smiles.
This may be your last hour, man, yes, your last,
Seize it, absorb it, for in less than no time
You'll stand before your Judge; so break the chain
Of your life's vicious actions with one last,
One last good deed, one solitary word,
As lightly breathed as air!

*Pertini.* 'Twas chance, good friend.
Believe me, I believe in chance myself.

*Lucindo.* In vain! — all — all — But stop, you shallow fool,
It won't be settled that way, no, by God!
Your sharp eye has deceived you once again.
I'll call him here in person. Then you may stand,
Before him, face to face and eye to eye,
Just like a little boy caught doing wrong.
You cannot hold me, man! Out of my way!

(*He rushes off.*)

*Pertini.* A greater plan now rescues you, my lad;
Pertini can't forget, believe you me!

*Pertini* (*calls*). Lucindo, ho! In Heaven's name, come back!

(*Lucindo returns.*)

*Lucindo.* What would you? Off with you!

*Pertini.* There's honour for you!
Go, tell the worthy gentleman we quarrelled;
You challenged me, but being a good boy —
A good boy and a very pious child! —
Repented, begged forgiveness, were forgiven.
Then shed a pious tear, and kiss his hand,
And cut the rod for your repentant back!

*Lucindo.* You drive me to it.

*Pertini.* You let yourself be driven.
This sounds as moral as a children's primer.
Do you believe in God?

*Lucindo.* Confess to *you?*

*Pertini.* Don't you demand that I confess to you?
I shall. But say, do you believe in God?

*Lucindo.* What's that to you?

*Pertini.* It's hardly fashionable,
So I'd much like to hear you tell me plainly.

*Lucindo.* I don't believe with what is called belief,
And yet I know Him as I know myself.

*Pertini.* We'll talk of that when mood and moment suit;
How you believe is all the same to me,
At least you do believe. Good. Swear by Him.

*Lucindo.* What? Swear to you?

*Pertini.* Yes, swear you must that never
Will your tongue blab a single syllable.

*Lucindo.* By God, I swear it.

*Pertini.* Then swear you'll cherish only friendship for me.
See, I am not so bad—only outspoken.

*Lucindo.* By God, I would not swear it for a world
That I loved you or held you in esteem.
I cannot and I will not ever swear it,
But what is past, let that be all wiped out
As if it were a loathsome, evil dream.
I'll plunge it down where all dreams disappear to,
Deep in the rolling waves of oblivion.
That I will swear to you by Him that's holy,
From whom the worlds come whirling up through space,
Who with His glance brings forth Eternity,
I swear! But now the guerdon for my oath.

*Pertini.* Come! I will lead you to a quiet place,
And show you many a sight: rocky ravines,
Where lakes have welled up from volcanic Earth,
Cradling in quietude their rounded waters;
And where the years rush past in silent sequence,
Then will the storm indeed subside, and then—

*Lucindo.* What's this? You speak of stones, bays, worms and mud?
But rocks and crags tower upwards everywhere,
In every spot a spring comes bubbling forth:
Whether impetuous, low, high—what matter?
Mysterious places still are to be found
Where we are held enraptured and spellbound.
To see them wakes excitement in my breast,
And if it bursts, why, it is jest, no more.
So take me where you will, yes, to that goal!
Waver and falter not, but let's away!

*Pertini.* The rolling thunder first must cease its din
Ere the pure lightning cleanse your breast within.
So to a spot I'll make myself your guide
Where, I much fear, you'll wish too long to abide.

*Lucindo.* Oh, let our journey's goal lie where it may,
I'll follow you, if you will lead the way.

*Pertini.* Mistrustful! (*They both go out.*)

## Scene 3

*A room in Pertini's house.*
*Oulanem is alone, seated at a table, writing.*
*Papers lie about. Suddenly he springs up, walks up and down, then stops abruptly and stands with folded arms.*

*Oulanem.* All lost! The hour is now expired, and time
Stands still. This pigmy universe collapses.
Soon I shall clasp Eternity and howl
Humanity's giant curse into its ear.
Eternity! It is eternal pain,
Death inconceivable, immeasurable!
An evil artifice contrived to taunt us,
Who are but clockwork, blind machines wound up
To be the calendar-fools of Time; to be,
Only that something thus at least might happen;
And to decay, that there might be decay!
The worlds must have had need of one thing more—
Dumb, searing agony to send them whirling.
Death comes to life and puts on shoes and stockings;
The sorrowing plant, the stone's inert erosion,
The birds that find no song to tell the pain
Of their aethereal life, the general discord
And the blind striving of the All to shake
Itself out of itself, be crushed in quarrel—
This now stands up and has a pair of legs,
And has a breast to feel the curse of life!
Ha, I must twine me on the wheel of flame,
And in Eternity's ring I'll dance my frenzy!
If aught besides that frenzy could devour,
I'd leap therein, though I must smash a world
That towered high between myself and it!
It would be shattered by my long-drawn curse,
And I would fling my arms around cruel Being,
Embracing me, 'twould silent pass away.
Then silent would I sink into the void.
Wholly to sink, not be—oh, this were Life,
But swept along high on Eternity's current
To roar out threnodies for the Creator,
Scorn on the brow! Can Sun burn it away?
Bound in compulsion's sway, curse in defiance!

Let the envenomed eye flash forth destruction—
Does it hurl off the ponderous worlds that bind?
Bound in eternal fear, splintered and void,
Bound to the very marble block of Being,
Bound, bound forever, and forever bound!
The worlds, they see it and go rolling on
And howl the burial song of their own death.
And we, we Apes of a cold God, still cherish
With frenzied pain upon our loving breast
The viper so voluptuously warm,
That it as Universal Form rears up
And from its place on high grins down on us!
And in our ear, till loathing's all consumed,
The weary wave roars onward, ever onward!
Now quick, the die is cast, and all is ready;
Destroy what only poetry's lie contrived,
A curse shall finish what a curse conceived.
(*He sits down at the table and writes.*)

## Scene 4

*Alwander's house; first—before the house. Lucindo, Pertini.*

*Lucindo.* Why bring me here?

*Pertini.* For a succulent piece of woman,
That's all! See for yourself, and if she softly
Breathes a melodious peace into your soul,
Then forward!

*Lucindo.* What? You're taking me to whores?
And at the very time when all of Life
Comes down with crushing force upon my shoulders,
And when my breast swells irresistibly
In a mad frenzy craving self-destruction;
When each breath breathes a thousand deaths for me,—
And now a woman!

*Pertini.* Ha! Rave on, young man,
Breathe hellfire and destruction, breathe away!
What whores? Did I misunderstand your meaning?
See, there's the house. Does it look like a brothel?
You think I want to play the pimp for you,
And use the very daylight for a lantern?

That's rich. But enter first and there, perhaps,
You'll learn what you desire.

*Lucindo.* I see your trick.
The stuff you made it of is very cheap.
You really seek to slip the hand that holds you.
Be grateful that this moment I must hear you;
But temporising will cost you your life.

*(They go into the house. The curtain falls and another is raised.*
*A modern, elegant room.*
*Beatrice is sitting on the sofa, a guitar beside her.*
*Lucindo, Pertini, Beatrice.)*

*Pertini.* Beatrice, a young traveller I bring,
A pleasant gentleman, my distant kinsman.

*Beatrice (to Lucindo).* Welcome!

*Lucindo.* Forgive me if I find no words,
No speech to express my heart's astonishment.
Beauty so rare quite overwhelms the spirits;
The blood leaps high, but not a word will come.

*Beatrice.* Fair words, young sir. You are in a pleasant mood.
I thank your disposition, not the favour
That Nature has denied me so unkindly,
When 'tis your tongue that speaks, and not your heart.

*Lucindo.* Oh, if my heart might speak, if it might only
Pour forth what you have quickened in its depths,
The words would all be flames of melody,
And every breath a whole eternity,
A Heaven, an Empire infinitely vast,
In which all lives would sparkle bright with thoughts
Full of soft yearning, full of harmonies,
Locking the World so sweetly in its breast,
Streaming with radiance of pure loveliness,
Since every word would only bear your name!

*Pertini.* You will not take it in bad part, young lady,
If I explain to you that he is German
And always raves of Melody and Soul.

*Beatrice.* A German! But I like the Germans well,
And I am proud to be of that same stock.
Come, sit here, German sir.

*(She offers him a place on the sofa.)*

*Lucindo.* Thank you, my lady.

(*Aside to Pertini.*)

Away! There is still time; here I am lost!

*Beatrice* (*abashed*). Did I speak out of place?

(*Lucindo wants to speak, but Pertini cuts in.*)

*Pertini.* Spare us your flourishes and your flattery!
'Twas nothing, Beatrice; merely some business
That I must still arrange for him in haste.

*Lucindo* (*confused, in a low voice*).
By God, Pertini, you are playing with me!

*Pertini* (*aloud*).
Take it not so to heart, don't be so scared!
The lady trusts my word, is it not so?
Beatrice, he may stay, is it not so,
Till I am back. And please remember—prudence;
You are a stranger, so no foolishness.

*Beatrice.* Oh, come, young sir, was then my welcome such
That you could think I'd banish you, a stranger,
Friend of Pertini, an old friend of ours,
Unceremoniously from this house,
Whose hospitable doors are open to all?
You need not flatter, but you must be fair.

*Lucindo.* By God, your gracious kindness overwhelms me!
You speak as gently as the angels speak.
Forgive if overawed and overcome
By the wild stream of passion long forgotten,
The lips spoke what they ought to have concealed.
Yet see the sky all clear and luminous
Smile down upon us from the clouds' blue realm,
And see the colours throb so sweet and bright,
Now wrapped in shade and now in gentle light,
Mingling in harmonies so soft and full,
One lovely picture, one inspired soul.
See this, and then be silent if your lips
Obey. But no! your heart enchanted leaps,
Prudence and circumspection vanished all.
The lips must speak what holds your heart in thrall.
Even as the Aeolian lyre is stirred to sound
When Zephyr wraps his fluttering pinions round.

*Beatrice.* Reproof I cannot find within my heart,
You dress the poison, sir, with such sweet art.

*Lucindo* (*aside to Pertini*).
Confounded villain, yet good villain too,
What shall I do? Get out of here, by God!

*Pertini* (*aloud*).
It rankles in his mind, remembering how
I took the words out of his mouth just now.
In language beautiful he would have talked,
When by my interruption he was balked.
But never mind, 'tis Beatrice's belief
You kindly wished to afford her some relief
From your grand talk; like any German jest,
Once swallowed, it's not easy to digest.
I go.

*Lucindo* (*in a low voice*). But man!

*Pertini* (*aloud*). Think of the sympathies
That from the stomach to the heart soon rise;
I'll soon be back to fetch you swift away,
Or else in this sweet place too long you'll stay.
(*Aside.*) I must be gone. And while he pays his court,
I'll see the old man brings it all to naught.

(*Exit Pertini. Lucindo is in confusion.*)

*Beatrice.* And must I yet once more bid you be seated?

*Lucindo.* I'll gladly sit here if you truly wish it.

(*Sits down.*)

*Beatrice.* Our friend Pertini's often strangely moody.

*Lucindo.* Yes, strangely so! Most strangely! Very strangely!

(*Pause.*)

Forgive me, lady—you esteem this man?

*Beatrice.* He has long been a true friend of the household,
And always treated me most amiably.
And yet—I know not why—I cannot bear him.
He's often violent. Often from his breast—
Forgive me, he's your friend—some secret spirit
Calls strangely, in a voice I do not like.
It is as though some inner turbulent darkness
Shrank from the daylight's open look of love
And feared to make response, as if he harboured

An evil worse than his tongue speaks, worse even
Than his heart dares to think. This is but surmise,
And I do wrong, confiding it so soon;
It is suspicion; suspicion is a viper.

*Lucindo.* Do you regret confiding in me, then?

*Beatrice.* Were it a secret that concerned myself—
But oh, what am I saying? Have you won
My trust already? Yet it is not wrong
That I should tell you everything I know;
I could confide it all to anyone,
Since I know nothing that's not known to all.

*Lucindo.* To all? Well said! You would be kind to all?

*Beatrice.* Would you not too?

*Lucindo.* O angel, O sweet being!

*Beatrice.* You make me fearful, sir. What mean these words?
You jump so suddenly from theme to theme!

*Lucindo.* I must act quickly, for the hour is striking.
Why hesitate? Death is in every minute.
Can I conceal it? It's a miracle,
I have just met you; strange though it appears,
We might have known each other many years.
It is as if the music I heard sound
Within my own heart, living form had found,
And into vibrant, warm reality
The spirit-bond uniting us breaks free.

*Beatrice.* I won't deny it: you are not to me
A stranger, yet still strange you are, unknown.
But as dark spirits would not let us see
Each other till this hour, so we must own
There may be other spirits whose deceit
Binds us with treacherous bonds, however sweet.
Foresight and wisdom we must not despise;
The strongest lightning strikes not from dark skies.

*Lucindo.* O fair philosopher of the heart! O God,
I can resist no more, for you compel me!
Do not imagine that I do not hold
You in respect because my heart grows bold.
It throbs to bursting, all my nerves are tense.
I can resist no more. Soon I'll be gone,

Far, far away from here, from you divided.
Then, worlds, plunge down, plunge down into the abyss!
Forgive me, sweet my child, forgive the hour
That drives me onward with such violent power.
I love you, Beatrice, by God I swear it,
And Love and Beatrice make but one word
That I can utter only in one breath,
And in this thought I'd go to meet my death.

*Beatrice.* Since good can never come of it, I pray
Speak no more thus. If—but this cannot be—
You were to win my heart, now, straightaway,
Surely you would no longer honour me.
You'd say that I was just a common thing,
Ready, as thousands are, to have her fling.
If for a moment such a notion crossed
Your mind, then love and honour would be lost.
'Twould mean that you cared for me not a jot,
And self-reproach would have to be my lot.

*Lucindo.* Tender and lovely being, hear me plead!
If only in my bosom you could read,
I never loved till now, by God above,
And your reproaches make a mock of love.
Let the base merchant haggle over flaws,
By shrewd delays more profit still he draws.
Love brings the union of the worlds about,
Naught is beyond, and naught else to desire.
Let those who bind themselves in hatred doubt.
Love is a flashing spark from Life's own fire,
Magic that holds us in an open ring,
So yield to it—this is the only thing
That counts in love, not prudent carefulness;
For love is quick to kindle, quick to bless.

*Beatrice.* Shall I be modest? Coy? No, I must dare,
However high may leap the flames' fierce flare.
Yet my breast tightens under fearful strain
As if delight were mixed with searing pain,
As if between our union there came floating
A hissing sound mixed in by devils gloating.

*Lucindo.* It is the fire which you do not yet know,
And the old life, which now has turned to go
Away from us, is speaking its last word;

Then its reproaches will no more be heard.
But tell me, Beatrice, how will you be mine?

*Beatrice.* My father wants to tie me to a man
Whom I would hate if I could hate my fellows.
But be assured you soon will hear from me.
Where are you staying, sweet friend of my heart?

*Lucindo.* Why, at Pertini's house.

*Beatrice.* I'll send a courier.
But now your name? Most surely it must sound
As does the music of the circling spheres.

*Lucindo* (*in a serious voice*). Lucindo is my name.

*Beatrice.* Lucindo! Sweet,
Sweet rings that name to me. Ah, my Lucindo,
He is my world, my God, my heart, my all.

*Lucindo.* Beatrice, that's yourself, and you are more,
You are yet more than all, for you are Beatrice.

(*He presses her ardently to his breast. The door bursts open and Wierin enters.*)

*Wierin.* A pretty sight! O Beatrice! O snake!
Puppet of virtue, are you, cold as marble!

*Lucindo.* What do you mean by this? What do you seek?
By God, no ape could ever look so sleek.

*Wierin.* Damned boy, you'll soon enough learn what I mean.
We'll speak together, you and I, O rival
Fashioned in human form to make it loathsome,
Creature puffed up with impudent conceit,
A piece of blotting-paper to wipe pens on,
A comic hero of some wretched jape.

*Lucindo.* And as remarked, behold the complete ape!
Shame on you thus to bandy words with me!
Such courage is like barrel-organ music
Played to a painted picture of a battle.
Soon the real thing will count.

*Wierin.* Soon? Now boy, now we'll have this matter out!
B-b-by God—my very blood runs cold!
Beatrice, I'll finish off this paramour.

*Lucindo.* Silence, fellow, I'll follow you this instant.

(*Pertini enters.*)

*Pertini.* What's all this noise? You think you're on the street?

(*To Wierin.*)

Why do you screech, you crow? I'll stop your mouth!

(*Aside.*)

I've come just in the nick of time. The fellow
Has somewhat misinterpreted my meaning.

(*Beatrice falls in a faint.*)

*Lucindo.* Help! She swoons! O God!

(*He bends over her.*)

Come to yourself, angel, sweet spirit, speak!

(*He kisses her.*)

Feel you the warmth? Her eyelids flutter, she breathes!
Beatrice, why are you so? Oh, tell me, why?
You want to kill me? Can I see you thus?

(*He raises her up, embracing her. Wierin wants to rush upon him. Pertini holds him back.*)

*Pertini.* Come, friend Crow, just a few words in your ear.

*Beatrice* (*in a faint voice*). Lucindo, my Lucindo, ah, my lost one,
And lost to me, my heart, before I won you.

*Lucindo.* Be calm, my angel, nothing shall be lost,
And soon I'll see this fellow breathe his last.

(*He carries her to the sofa.*)

Lie there a while; we cannot long remain,
This holy place must bear no evil stain.

*Wierin.* Come, we shall speak together.

*Pertini.* I'll come too.
One second at a duel is something new.

*Lucindo.* Compose yourself, sweet child, be of good cheer.

*Beatrice.* Farewell.

*Lucindo.* Angel, farewell.

*Beatrice* (*with a deep sigh*). I'm full of fear.

(*Curtain. End of Act I.*)

## SONG TO THE STARS

You dance round and around
In shimmering rays of light,
Your soaring shapes abound
In number infinite.

Here breaks the noblest Soul,
The full heart bursts in twain,
And like a jewel in gold
Is clasped by mortal pain.

It turns on you its look
Darkly, compellingly,
From you, babe-like, would suck
Hope and Eternity.

Alas, your light is never
More than aethereally rare.
No divine being ever
Cast into you his fire.

You are false images,
Faces of radiant flame;
Heart's warmth and tenderness
And Soul you cannot claim.

A mockery is your shining
Of Action, Pain, Desire.
On you is dashed all yearning
And the heart's song of fire.

Grieving, we must turn grey,
End in despair and pain,
Then see the mockery
That Earth and Heaven remain;

That, as we tremble even,
And worlds within us drown,
No tree trunk's ever riven,
No star goes plunging down.

Dead you'd be otherwise,
Your grave the ocean blue,
All gone, the shining rays,
And all fire spent in you.

Truth you'd speak silently,
Not dazzle with dead light,
Nor shine in clarity;
And all round would be Night.

## DREAM VISION

### A Dithyramb

From my dreamings I would coax
Soft an image in scent-woven web;
I would weave rings passing fair
From the locks of my own hair;
Night-encompassed, heart's blood I would swell
That, from waves of dream, fire-image well,
Image, ebbing and a-flowing,
Fair in love, Aeolian music sighing.

It would soar, all golden shining,
And the little house would arch up higher,
And my locks would wander, curling,
Divinest girl in darkness furling,
Forth in pearly songs my blood would flow,
Streaming round the marble shoulders' glow,
And the lamp would flicker Suns,
My heart would flood Heaven's dome.

Down would shake the rooms all round,
  But for me, grown into Giant-Hero,
    In his mighty gaze high festal fire,
    World-great would be storm's lyre,
      Thunder-song my heart would beat amain
      Suns would be its love and rock its pain,
Proudly-humble, I'd sink down,
  Proud-audacious, rush unto the breast.

## THE SONG OF A SAILOR AT SEA

You may frolic and beat and roll
  Round my boat just as you will,
You must carry me to my goal;
  For you are my subjects still.

Blue waves beneath that flow,
  My little brother's there.
You dragged him down below,
  His bones became your fare.

I was a boy, no more;
  Once rashly he cast off,
He seized hold of the oar,
  Sank by a sandy reef.

I vowed a vow so true
  By the waves of the briny sea,
I'd be revenged on you,
  Lash you relentlessly.

Soul's oath and word I've kept,
  Them I have not betrayed.
I've whipped you and I've whipped,
  On land have seldom stayed.

When booms the stormy main,
  The bell rocks in the tower,
When blows the hurricane,
  When raging winds do roar,

I'm driven from my bed,
From seat secure and warm,
From cosy quiet homestead,
To sail through wind and storm.

With wind and wave I fight,
To the Lord God I pray,
And let the sails fill out;
A true star guides my way.

New strength comes, with the breath
Of joy and ecstasy,
And in the game of death
Song from the breast bursts free.

You may frolic and beat and roll
Round my boat just as you will,
You must carry me to my goal;
For you are my subjects still.

## THE MAGIC SHIP

### A Romance

Without sails or lights there flees
A ship round the world without rest.
The moon shines down on the seas,
And weathered stands the mast.

A sinister Helmsman steers,
No blood flows in his veins,
No light shines from his eyes,
No thought stirs in his brain.

The waves beat, wild and savage;
She strikes a cliff, to founder,
But rides aloft, undamaged,
As swift as she went under.

Till raging sea-flood swells
In blood-bath weltering.
Troubled, the Helmsman quails;
This proves an evil thing.

The Spirits scream vengeful doom
Below and up on high.
The Helmsman's plunged in gloom,
The ship goes shooting by.

To far-off lands she fares,
Where coasts and bays she sees,
Then flashes in mirror-fire,
Till kissed down by the seas.

## THE PALE MAIDEN

### A Ballad

The maiden stands so pale,
So silent, withdrawn,
Her sweet angelic soul
Is misery-torn.

Therein can shine no ray,
The waves tumble over;
There, love and pain both play,
Each cheating the other.

Gentle was she, demure,
Devoted to Heaven,
An image ever pure
The Graces had woven.

Then came a noble knight,
A grand charger he rode;
And in his eyes so bright
A sea of love flowed.

Love smote deep in her breast,
But he galloped away,
For battle-triumph athirst;
Naught made him stay.

All peace of mind is flown,
The Heavens have sunk.
The heart, now sorrow's throne,
Is yearning-drunk.

And when the day is past,
She kneels on the floor,
Before the holy Christ
A-praying once more.

But then upon that form
Another encroaches,
To take her heart by storm,
'Gainst her self-reproaches.

"To me your love is given
For Time unending.
To show your soul to Heaven
Is merely pretending."

She trembles in her terror
Icy and stark,
She rushes out in horror,
Into the dark.

She wrings her lily-white hands,
The tear-drops start.
"Thus fire the bosom brands
And longing, the heart.

"Thus Heaven I've forfeited,
I know it full well.
My soul, once true to God,
Is chosen for Hell.

"He was so tall, alas,
Of stature divine.
His eyes so fathomless,
So noble, so fine.

"He never bestowed on me
His glances at all;
Lets me pine hopelessly
Till the end of the Soul.

"Another his arm may press,
May share his pleasure;
Unwitting, he gives me distress
Beyond all measure.

"With my soul willingly,
With my hopes I'd part,
Would he but look towards me
And open his heart.

"How cold must the Heavens be
Where he doesn't shine,
A land full of misery
And burning with pain.

"But here the surging flood
May deliver me, cooling
The hot fire of heart's blood,
The bosom's feeling."

She leaps with all her might
Into the spray.
Into the cold dark night
She's carried away.

Her heart, that burning brand,
Is quenched forever;
Her look, that luminous land,
Is clouded over.

Her lips, so sweet and tender,
Are pale and colourless;
Her form, aethereal, slender,
Drifts into nothingness.

And not a withered leaf
Falls from the bough;
Heaven and Earth are deaf,
Won't wake her now.

By mountain, valley, on
    The quiet waves race,
To dash her skeleton
    On a rocky place.

The Knight so tall and proud
    Embraces his new love,
The cithern sings about
    The joys of True Love!

# Supplementary to Dedicated Verses

## Some Chapters
## from
## SCORPION AND FELIX

A Humoristic Novel

First Book

### Chapter 10

Now follows, as we promised in the previous chapter, the proof that the aforesaid sum of 25 talers is the personal property of the dear Lord.

They are without a master! Sublime thought, no mortal power owns them, yet the lofty power that sails above the clouds embraces the All, including therefore the aforesaid 25 talers; with its wings woven from day and night, from sun and stars, from towering mountains and endless sands, which resound as with harmonies and the rushing of the waterfall, it brushes where no mortal hand can reach, including therefore the aforesaid 25 talers, and—but I can say no more, my inmost being is stirred, I contemplate the All and myself and the aforesaid 25 talers, what substance in these three words, their standpoint is infinity, their tinkle is angelic music, they recall the Last Judgment and the state exchequer, for—it was Grethe, the cook, whom Scorpion, stirred by the tales of his friend Felix, carried away by his flame-winged melody, overpowered by his vigorous youthful emotion, presses to his heart, sensing a fairy within her.

I conclude therefore that fairies wear beards, for Magdalene Grethe, not the repentant Magdalene, was decked out like a warrior jealous of his honour with whiskers and mustachios, the curls on the soft cheeks caressed the finely moulded chin which like a rock in lonely seas—that men however behold from afar—jutted out of the flat skilly-plate of a face, enormous and proudly aware of its sublimity, cleaving the air, to stir the gods and overwhelm men.

The goddess of fantasy seemed to have dreamed of a bearded beauty and to have lost herself in the enchanted fields of her vast countenance; when she awoke, behold, it was Grethe herself who had dreamed, fearful dreams that she was the great whore of Babylon, the Revelation of St. John and the wrath of God, and that on the finely furrowed skin He had caused a prickly stubble-field to sprout, so that her beauty should not excite to sin, and that her youth should be protected, as the rose by its thorns, that the world should

to knowledge aspire
and not for her take fire.

## Chapter 12

"A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!" said Richard III.[a]
"A husband, a husband, myself for a husband," said Grethe.

## Chapter 16

"In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory."[b]

Innocent, beautiful thought! Yet these associations of ideas led Grethe onward to the thought that the Word dwells in the thighs, just as in Shakespeare Thersites believes that Ajax wears his wit in his belly and his guts in his head,[c] and being convinced—Grethe, not Ajax—and filled with understanding of how the Word had been made flesh, she saw in the thighs its symbolic expression, she beheld their glory and decided—to wash them.

## Chapter 19

But she had big blue eyes, and blue eyes are commonplace, like the water in the Spree.

There is a silly, sentimental innocence in their expression, an innocence which is sorry for itself, a watery innocence which evaporates at the approach of fire into grey steam, and nothing else lies behind these eyes, their entire world is blue and their soul a blue bag, but as for brown eyes—theirs is the realm of the ideal, and the infinite, stimulating world of night slumbers in

[a] W. Shakespeare, *King Richard III*, Act V, Scene 4.—*Ed.*
[b] John 1: 1, 14.—*Ed.*
[c] W. Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, Act II, Scene 1.—*Ed.*

their depths, lightnings of the soul flash out of them, and in their glance is music like the songs of Mignon, a distant, mellow land of radiance where there dwells a rich god who luxuriates in his own depths and, absorbed in the universality of his being, pours forth infinity and suffers infinity. We are held as by a spell, we would clasp to our breast the melodious, profound, soulful being and suck the spirit from its eyes and make songs from their glances.

We love the world of rich animation which opens before us, we see in the background great sun-thoughts, we sense a demonic suffering, and before us delicate figures tread the measures of the round dance and wave to us and, like the Graces, shyly retire as soon as they are recognised.

## Chapter 21

### Philological Broodings

Felix tore himself from the embraces of his friend far from gently, for he did not suspect the latter's profound and emotional nature, and at that moment was preoccupied with the continuation of his—digestion, to which we now address a final summons to set the coping-stone to its great work, since it is holding up our plot.

So Merten also thought to himself, for a strong blow, which Felix felt, had been delivered by his broad historic hand.

The name *Merten* recalls Charles Martel, and indeed Felix believed himself to have been caressed with a hammer, so agreeable was the electric shock which he received.

He opened his eyes wide, swayed on his feet and thought of his sins and the Last Judgment.

But I meditated upon electric matter, upon galvanism, upon Franklin's learned letters to his geometrical lady-friend, and upon *Merten*, for I am intensely curious to learn what lies behind this name.

It is beyond doubt that the man himself is a direct descendant of *Martel*: I was assured of this by the sexton, although this period lacks all harmony.

The *l* changes to an *n*, and since *Martel*, as everyone familiar with history knows, is an Englishman and in English *a* is often pronounced like the German "*eh*", which appears as "*e*" in Merten, *Merten* may well be another form of *Martel*.

Since among the Germans of old names serve to express the character of their bearer, as may be seen from such bywords as Krug the Knight, Raupach the Hofrat, Hegel the Dwarf, it may be

concluded that Merten is a rich and respectable man, although by trade he is a tailor and in this story the father of Scorpion.

This warrants a new hypothesis: partly because he is a tailor, partly because his son's name is Scorpion, it is highly probable that he is descended from *Mars*, the god of war, genitive *Martis*, Greek accusative *Martin*, *Mertin*, *Merten*, since the craft of the god of war, like that of the tailor, consists in cutting, for he cuts off arms and legs and hacks the happiness of the earth to pieces.

The scorpion, further, is a poisonous animal which kills with a glance, whose wounds are fatal, whose eyes discharge annihilating lightning, a fine allegory of war, whose gaze is lethal, whose consequences leave scars on the victim which bleed internally and are past healing.

As, however, *Merten* had in him little of the heathen, but was, on the contrary, of a most Christian turn of mind, it appears even more probable that he is a descendant of St. *Martin*. A slight displacement of the vowels gives us *Mirtan*; *i* in the speech of the common people is often pronounced *e*, as in "gib mer" instead of "gib mir", and in English, as has already been pointed out, *a* is often pronounced "*eh*", which with the passage of time can easily become *e*, especially with the growth of culture; and thus the name *Merten* evolves quite naturally and means a Christian tailor.

Although this derivation is quite probable and is grounded in profound reasoning, nevertheless we cannot refrain from mentioning another which does much to weaken our faith in St. *Martin*, whom it would only be possible to consider as a patron saint, since to the best of our knowledge he was never married and therefore could not have had any male descendant.

This doubt appears to be reinforced by the following fact. All members of the *Merten* family, like the Vicar of Wakefield, made a habit of marrying as early as possible, and so each generation adorned itself betimes in the *Myrthen* [myrtle] wreath, and this alone — unless one is to have recourse to miracles — explains *Merten*'s birth and his appearance in this story as Scorpion's father.

"*Myrthen*", of course, would have to lose the "*h*", as at the conclusion of a marriage the "*Eh*"[a] is accentuated and so the "*he*" is dropped, so that "*Myrthen*" becomes "*Myrten*".

"*y*" is a Greek "*v*", not a German letter at all. Since the *Merten* family, as we have established, was of sound German stock and at the same time a most Christian family of tailors, the foreign and heathen "*y*" of necessity changed into a German "*i*"; and because

[a] A pun on the German word *Ehe* (marriage).— *Ed.*

in this same family marriage is the dominant trait, while the vowel *"i"* is shrill and ascending in contrast to the mild gentleness of *Merten* marriages, it changed into an *"eh"* and later, in order that the bold alteration should not arouse remark, into *"e"*, which being a short sound serves to indicate the resoluteness of spirit displayed in the solemnisation of marriage, so that in the German *"Merten"*, open to diverse interpretations, *"Myrthen"* attains the summit of perfection.

In accordance with this deduction we should have St. *Martin*'s Christian tailor, the sterling courage of *Martel*, the quick resolution of the war god *Mars* linked with that marriage-proneness which reverberates in the two *e*'s in *"Merten"*, so that this hypothesis unites within itself all previous ones and at the same time invalidates them.

A different opinion is advanced by the scholiast who with great diligence and unremitting pains wrote commentaries on the ancient historian from whom we have gleaned our story.

Although we cannot accept it, his opinion nevertheless merits a critical appraisal, since it originated in the mind of a man who combined immense learning with a great proficiency in smoking, so that his parchments were enveloped with holy tobacco fumes and thus in a Pythian ecstasy of incense filled with oracles.

He believes that *"Merten"* must come from the German "Mehren" [to multiply], which in its turn comes from "Meer" [sea], because the *Merten* marriages multiplied like the sand of the sea, and because in the concept of a tailor there is concealed the concept of a "Mehrer" [multiplier], since he makes men out of apes. It is on investigations as thorough and profound as these that he has founded his hypothesis.

As I read this, I was as if dizzy with amazement, the tobacco oracle transported me, but soon cold, discriminating reason awakened and mustered the following counter-arguments.

I grant the aforesaid scholiast that the concept of a tailor can include that of a multiplier, but the concept of a multiplier should on no account be considered to embrace the concept of a diminisher since this would be a *contradictio in terminis*, which we may explain to the ladies as the equating of God with the Devil, tea-table talk with wit, and the ladies themselves with philosophers. But if *"Merten"* was derived from *"Mehrer"*, then clearly the word would have lost, hence not gained, an *"h"*, which has been shown to be in contradiction with the substance of its formal nature.

Thus "Merten" cannot possibly be derived from "Mehren", and its derivation from Meer is disproved by the fact that *Merten*

families have never fallen into the water nor have they ever wavered, but they have been a pious family of tailors, which is in contradiction to the concept of a wild and stormy sea, from which reasons it becomes manifest that the aforesaid author, despite his infallibility, was mistaken and that ours is the only true deduction.

After this victory I am too fatigued to continue further and will relish the bliss of self-satisfaction, one moment of which, as Winkelmann declares, is worth more than all posterity's praise, though of this I am as convinced as was Pliny the Younger.

## Chapter 22

"Quocumque adspicias, nihil est nisi pontus et aer,
Fluctibus hic tumidis, nubibus ille minax.
Inter utrumque fremunt immani turbine venti:
Nescit, cui domino pareat, unda maris.
Rector in incerto est: nec quid fugiatve petatve
Invenit: ambiguis ars stupet ipsa malis." [a]

"Look where you may, there is nought to be seen but Scorpion and Merten,
The former in torrents of tears, the latter beclouded with wrath.
Wild is the storm of words that rages between them unceasing,
Nor does the tossing sea know which of the two to obey.
I, the helmsman, can make no choice twixt writing and silence,
From the commotion art cowers in corners and holes."

Thus Ovid relates in his *libri tristium* the sad story which as the sequel comes after what went before. The task was clearly beyond him, but I continue the story as follows:——

## Chapter 23

Ovid sat in Tomi, whither the god Augustus had hurled him in his anger, because he had more genius than sense.

There among the wild barbarians wilted the tender poet of love, whose ruin love itself had brought about. Deep in thought, he rested his head upon his right hand, and his longing eyes wandered toward distant Latium. The singer's heart was broken, and yet he could not abandon hope and his lyre could not be silent and in sweet songs of passionate melody it spoke his longing and his pain.

Around the old man's frail limbs the north wind whistled, so

[a] Ovid, *Tristia*, II, 23 et seq.—*Ed.*

that he was seized with unfamiliar shudderings, for it was in the hot land of the South that his life had flowered, and it was there that his imagination had decked its rich hot-blooded frolics in robes of splendour, and when these children of genius became too bold, then about their shoulders Grace would gently cast her divine, enswathing garland of veils so that the gossamer folds spread wide and a rain of warm dew-drops fell.

"Soon to dust, poor poet!" and a tear rolled down the old man's cheek, when—Merten's powerful bass, incited against Scorpion, was heard——

## Chapter 27

"Ignorance, limitless ignorance."

"Because (refers to an earlier chapter) his knees bent too much to a certain side!", but definition is lacking, definition, and who shall define, who shall determine, which is the right side and which the left?

Tell me, thou mortal, whence cometh the wind, or has God a nose in his face, and I will tell you which is right and left.

Nothing but relative concepts, to drink of wisdom is to gain only folly and frenzy!

Oh, vain is all our striving, our yearning is folly, until we have determined which is right and left, for he will place the goats on the left hand, and the sheep on the right.

If he turns round, if he faces in another direction, because in the night he had a dream, then according to our pitiful ideas the goats will be standing on the right and the pious on the left.

So define for me which is right and left, and the whole riddle of creation is solved, *Acheronta movebo,* I shall deduce for you exactly on which side your soul will come to stand, from which I shall further infer which step you are standing on now; for that primal relation would appear to be measurable with the help of the Lord's definition of where you stand, but your present position can be judged by the thickness of your skull. I am dizzy—if a Mephistopheles appeared I should be Faust, for clearly each and every one of us is a Faust, as we do not know which is the right side and which the left; our life is therefore a circus, we run round, try to find sides, till we fall down on the sand and the gladiator, Life, slays us. We need a new saviour, for—you rob me of slumber, tormenting thought, you rob me of my health, you are killing me—we cannot distinguish the left side from the right, we do not know where they lie——

## Chapter 28

"Clearly on the moon, on the moon lie the moonstones, falseness in the breast of women, sand in the sea and mountains on the earth," answered a man who knocked on my door, without waiting for me to ask him in.

I quickly pushed my papers to one side, said that I was very glad not to have made his acquaintance before, since I thus had the pleasure of making it now, that in his teaching there was great wisdom, that all my doubts were stilled by his words; but the only thing was that however fast I spoke, he spoke still faster, hissing sounds poured forth from between his teeth, and the whole man, as I perceived with a shudder on closer perusal and inspection, appeared a shrivelled lizard, nothing but a lizard, that had crawled out of crumbling masonry.

He was of stocky build, and his stature had much in common with that of my stove. His eyes might be called green rather than red, pinpoints rather than flashes of lightning, and he himself more goblin than man.

A genius! I recognised that quickly and with certainty, for his nose had sprung out of his skull like Pallas Athena from the head of Father Zeus, to which fact I also attributed its delicate scarlet glow indicating aethereal origin, while the head itself might be described as hairless, unless one wished to apply the term of head-covering to a thick layer of pomade which together with diverse products of the air and elements richly encrusted the primeval mountain.

Everything in him bespoke height and depth, but his facial structure seemed to betray a man of papers, for the cheeks were hollowed out like smooth basins and so well protected against the rain by the gigantic prominences of the cheek-bones that they could serve as containers for documents and governmental decrees.

In short, everything reveals that he was the god of love himself, if only it had not been himself that he resembled, and that his name has a sweet ring to it like love, if it did not sooner remind one of a juniper bush.

I prayed him to calm himself, for he claimed to be a hero, whereat I humbly interposed that the heroes had been of a somewhat finer build, that the heralds for their part had had voices of simpler, less contrived, more harmonious tone, and Hero, lastly, was beauty transfigured, a truly beautiful nature in which form and soul vied with each other, each claiming to be the

sole source of her perfection, and that she was therefore unsuited for his love.

But he remonstrated that he had a p-p-powerful bone-str-r-r-ructure, that he had a sh-sh-shadow as good as anybody else's and even better, because he cast more sh-sh-shadow than light about him, and so his s-s-spouse could cool herself in his shadow, prosper and become a sh-sh-shadow herself, that I was a c-c-coarse man and a gutter-genius and a blockhead into the bargain, that he was c-c-called Engelbert, which was a n-name with a b-b-better ring to it than S-S-Scorpion, that I had been mistaken in Ch-Ch-Chapter 19 because blue eyes were more beautiful than brown, and d-d-dove's eyes were the most s-s-spiritual, and that even if he himself was no dove[a] he was at least deaf[b] to reason, and besides he championed the right of primogeniture and possessed a wash-closet.

"Sh-sh-she shall take my r-r-right hand in betrothal, and now let us have no more of your investigations into right and left, she lives directly opposite, neither to the right nor to the left."

The door slammed, from my soul there emanated a heavenly apparition, the sweet tones of converse ceased, but through the keyhole came a ghostly whisper: "Klingholz, Klingholz!"

## Chapter 29

I sat deep in thought, laid aside Locke, Fichte and Kant, and gave myself up to profound reflection to discover what a wash-closet could have to do with the right of primogeniture, and suddenly it came to me like a flash, and in a melodious succession of thoughts one upon the other my vision was illuminated and a radiant form appeared before my eyes.

The right of primogeniture is the wash-closet of the aristocracy, for a wash-closet only exists for the purpose of washing. But washing bleaches, and thus lends a pale sheen to that which is washed. So also does the right of primogeniture silver the eldest son of the house, it thus lends him a pale silvery sheen, while on the other members it stamps the pale romantic hue of penury.

He who bathes in rivers, hurls himself against the rushing element, fights its fury, and with strong arms wrestles against it; but he who sits in the wash-closet, remains in seclusion, contemplating the corners of the walls.

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[a] *Taube* in German.— *Ed.*

[b] *Tauber* in German.— *Ed.*

The ordinary mortal, i.e., he who has no right of primogeniture, fights the storms of life, throws himself into the billowing sea and seizes pearls of Promethean rights from its depths, and before his eyes the inner form of the Idea appears in glory, and he creates with greater boldness, but he who is entitled to primogenital inheritance lets only drops fall on him, for fear he might strain a limb, and so seats himself in a wash-closet.

Found, the philosopher's stone!

## Chapter 30

Thus in our day, as is apparent from the two considerations just set forth, no epic can be composed.

In the first place, by engaging in profound speculations on the subject of the right and left side, we strip these poetical expressions of their poetical drapery as Apollo flayed Marsyas and turn them into an embodiment of doubt, like the mis-shapen baboon, who has eyes in order not to see and is an Argus in reverse; for the latter had a hundred eyes to find what was lost, while he, the wretched stormer of heaven, doubt itself, possesses a hundred eyes to make what has been seen unseen.

But the side, the situation, is among the main prerequisites of epic poetry, and as soon as there are no more sides, which has been shown to be the case with regard to us, epic poetry can only arise from its slumber of death when the blast of trumpets wakes Jericho.

Further, we have discovered the philosopher's stone, everybody unfortunately points to the stone and they——

## Chapter 31

They were lying on the ground, Scorpion and Merten, for the supernatural apparition (refers to an earlier chapter) had so shattered their nerves that in the chaos of expansion, which, like the embryo, had not yet broken away from world relations to assume separate form, the cohesive power of their limbs had disintegrated, so that their noses hung down to their navels and their heads sank to the ground.

Merten shed thick blood containing much iron—how much, I am unable to determine, the general state of chemistry is still unsatisfactory.

Organic chemistry in particular is every day becoming more involute through simplification, inasmuch as every day new ele-

ments are being discovered which have this in common with bishops that they bear the names of countries which belong to the unfaithful and are situated *in partibus infidelium*, names, moreover, which are as lengthy as the title of a member of numerous learned societies and of the German imperial princes, names which are free-thinkers among names, because they do not let themselves be bound to any language.

In general organic chemistry is a heretic in seeking to explain life by a dead process! Sinning against life, as if I were to derive love from algebra.

The whole clearly rests on the theory of process, which has not yet been properly elaborated, nor ever can be, because it is based on the card game, a game of pure chance, in which the ace plays a leading part.

The ace is, however, the foundation of all recent jurisprudence, for one evening Irnerius lost at cards, came straight from a ladies' party, finely dressed in a blue tail-coat, new shoes with long buckles, and a waistcoat of crimson silk, and sat down and wrote a *dissertatio* on the *as*, which then led him on to start teaching Roman law.

Now Roman law embraces everything, including the theory of process and including chemistry — for it is the microcosm which has broken loose from the macrocosm, as Pacius has demonstrated.

The four books of the Institutions are the four elements, the seven books of the Pandects are the seven planets and the twelve books of the Codex are the twelve signs of the zodiac.

No spirit, however, penetrated the whole, it was merely Grethe, the cook, calling out that supper was ready.

In violent agitation Scorpion and Merten had kept their eyes closed and so had mistaken Grethe for a fairy. When they had recovered from their Spanish terror, which dated from the last defeat and the victory of Don Carlos, Merten flung himself upon Scorpion and rose up like an oak, for O! Moses will say, let man consider the stars and not look down upon the ground; meanwhile Scorpion seized his father's hand and placed his body in a dangerous position, by setting it up on its two feet.

## Chapter 35

"By God! Merten the tailor is good at helping out, but he also charges high prices!"

"*Vere! beatus Martinus bonus est in auxilio, sed carus in negotio!*"

exclaimed Clovis after the battle of Poitiers when the priests of Tours told him that it was *Merten* who had tailored the riding-breeches in which he had ridden the mettlesome jade that secured him the victory, and demanded two hundred gold gulden for Merten's services.

But the truth of the whole matter is——

## Chapter 36

They were sitting at table, Merten at the head, Scorpion on his right, on his left Felix the senior apprentice, and lower down the table, leaving a certain gap between the principes and the plebs, the subordinate members of the *Merten* body politic, usually termed apprentices.

The gap, which no human creature might occupy, was not filled by Banquo's ghost but by Merten's dog, which had every day to say grace at table, for *Merten*, who cultivated Humaniora, maintained that his Boniface—that was the dog's name—was one and the same person as St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, quoting in proof a passage in which the latter announces that he is a barking dog (see Epist. 105, p. 145, ed. Seraria). He therefore felt superstitious reverence for this dog, whose place at table was by far the most elegant; for his Boniface was seated upon a soft crimson rug of finest cassimere with a fringe of silken tassels, upholstered like a sumptuous couch, supported on cunningly interlocked springs, and as soon as the gathering broke up, the seat was carried to the seclusion of a remote alcove, which appears to be the same as that described by Boileau in his *patrie* as the provost's temple of repose.

Boniface was not in his place, the gap was not filled, and the colour drained from Merten's cheeks. "Where is Boniface?" he called from a deeply troubled heart, and the whole table was visibly moved. "Where is Boniface?" Merten asked again, and how he started in fear, how he trembled in every limb, how his hair stood on end, when he heard that Boniface was not there.

All leapt up to search for him, Merten's usual calm seemed to have completely deserted him, he rang the bell, Grethe entered, her heart fearing the worst, she thought——

"Hey, Grethe, where is Boniface?" and she was visibly relieved, and he then knocked over the lamp with his groping arms, so that all was veiled in darkness, and night fell, tempestuous and pregnant with disaster.

## Chapter 37

David Hume maintained that this chapter was the *locus communis* of the preceding, and indeed maintained so before I had written it. His proof was as follows: since this chapter exists, the earlier chapter does not exist, but this chapter has ousted the earlier, from which it sprang, though not through the operation of cause and effect, for this he questioned. Yet every giant, and thus also every chapter of twenty lines, presupposes a dwarf, every genius a hidebound philistine, and every storm at sea—mud, and as soon as the first disappear, the latter begin, sit down at the table, sprawling out their long legs arrogantly.

The first are too great for this world, and so they are thrown out. But the latter strike root in it and remain, as one may see from the facts, for champagne leaves a lingering repulsive aftertaste, Caesar the hero leaves behind him the play-acting Octavianus, Emperor Napoleon the bourgeois king Louis Philippe, the philosopher Kant the carpet-knight Krug, the poet Schiller the Hofrat Raupach, Leibniz's heaven Wolf's schoolroom, the dog Boniface this chapter.

Thus the bases are precipitated, while the spirit evaporates.

## Chapter 38

That last sentence about the bases was an abstract concept, and therefore not a woman, for, as Adelung exclaims, an abstract concept and a woman, how different they are! However, I maintain the contrary and will duly prove it, only not in this chapter but in a book without any chapters at all which I intend to write as soon as I have accepted the Holy Trinity.

## Chapter 39

If anyone desires to obtain a concrete, not abstract conception of the same—I do not mean the Greek Helen nor the Roman Lucretia, but the Holy Trinity—I can***not*** advise him better than to dream of **Nothing,** as long as he does **not** fall asleep, but on the contrary to watch in the Lord and to examine this sentence, for in it there lies the concrete conception. If we ascend to its height, whole flights above our present position and floating over it like a cloud, we are confronted by the gigantic ***"Not"***, if we descend to its middle, we behold in fear the enormous

**"Nothing"**, and if we sink down into its depth, then both are again harmoniously reconciled in the **"Not"** which in its upright, bold characters of flame springs to meet them.

***"Not"*—"Nothing"—"Not"**

that is the concrete conception of the Trinity, but as for the abstract—who shall fathom it, for

"Who hath ascended up into heaven, and descended? Who hath gathered the wind in his fists? Who hath bound the waters in a garment? Who hath established all the ends of the earth? What is his name, and what is his son's name, if thou canst tell?" says the wise Solomon.[a]

## Chapter 40

"I do not know where he is, but this much is certain, a skull is a skull!" exclaimed Merten. Anxiously he stooped down to discover whose head his hand was touching in the dark, and then he started back as if in mortal terror, for the eyes——

## Chapter 41

Yes, indeed! The eyes!

They are a magnet and attract iron, for which very reason we feel ourselves attracted to the ladies, but not to Heaven, for the ladies look at us out of two eyes, but Heaven out of only one.

## Chapter 42

"I'll prove to him the opposite!" said an invisible voice to me, and as I looked round to see who spoke, I saw—you will not believe it, but I assure you, I swear, that it is true—I saw—but you must not be angry, do not be afraid, for it is nothing to do either with your wife or with your digestion—I saw myself, for I had offered myself as proof of the contrary.

The thought—"Ha! I am a doppelgänger!"—came over me in a flash, and Hoffmann's Elixirs of the Devil——

## Chapter 43

— Lay on the table before me just as I was pondering why the Wandering Jew is a native of Berlin and not a Spaniard; but it

[a] Proverbs 30: 4.—*Ed.*

coincides, I see, with the counter-evidence I have to provide, therefore we will, for the sake of precision—do neither, but instead content ourselves with the remark that Heaven lies in the ladies' eyes but not the ladies' eyes in Heaven, whence it emerges that it is not so much the eyes that attract us but rather Heaven, for we do not see the eyes but only Heaven within them. If it were the eyes that attracted us and not Heaven, then we should feel ourselves attracted to Heaven and not to the ladies, for Heaven has not one eye, as stated above, but no eye at all, yet Heaven itself is nothing but a look of infinite love from the Godhead, indeed the mild, melodious eye of the spirit of light, and an eye cannot have an eye.

Thus the final result of our inquiry is that the reason why we feel ourselves attracted to the ladies and not to Heaven is that in Heaven we do not see the ladies' eyes, whereas in the ladies' eyes we do see Heaven; that we therefore feel ourselves attracted to the eyes so to speak because they are not eyes, and because wandering Ahasuerus is a native of Berlin, for he is old and ailing and has seen many lands and eyes, yet he still does not feel himself attracted to Heaven but very much so to the ladies, and there are only two magnets, a Heaven without eyes and an eye without Heaven.

The one lies above us and draws us aloft, the other beneath us and draws us down into the depths. And Ahasuerus is drawn mightily downwards, for would he otherwise wander eternally through the lands of the Earth? And would he wander eternally through the lands of the Earth if he were not a native of Berlin and used to sands?

## Chapter 44

### Second Fragment from Halto's Letter-Case

We came to a country-house, it was a beautiful, dark-blue night. Your arm was in mine and you wanted to break free, but I would not release you, my hand held you captive as you held my heart, and you let it be so.

I murmured words of longing, my utterance was the most sublime and the most beautiful that mortal man can speak, for I said nothing whatever, I was withdrawn into myself, I saw a realm rise up in which the air hung so light and yet so heavy, and in that ether there stood a divine image, beauty personified, as once in the deep dreams of fantasy I had sensed but not known her, she

was radiant with spiritual fire, she smiled, and you were the image.

I marvelled at myself, for I had become great through my love, as a giant; I beheld a boundless sea, but no tides swelled it any more, for it had attained depth and eternity, its surface was crystal and in its dark abyss were set quivering golden stars, they sang love-songs, they sent forth radiant fire and the sea itself was aglow!

If only this path had been life!

I kissed your sweet, soft hand, I spoke of love and of you. Above our heads floated a fine mist, its heart broke and it shed a great tear which fell between us, we felt the tear and were silent——

## Chapter 47

"It is either Boniface or a pair of trousers!" cried Merten. "Light, I say, light!" and there was light. "By God, it is no pair of trousers, but Boniface, stretched out here in this dark corner, and his eyes are burning with a sinister fire, but what do I see? He is bleeding!" and without another word he flung himself down. The apprentices looked first at the dog and then at their master. At length he leapt violently to his feet. "You asses, what are you gaping for? Do you not see that the holy Boniface is hurt? I will institute strict inquiries, and woe, thrice woe, to the guilty. But quick, carry him to his seat, summon the doctor, bring vinegar and lukewarm water, and do not forget to summon the schoolmaster Vitus! His words have powerful influence over Boniface!" Thus followed the curt commands. They rushed out of the door in all directions, Merten took a closer look at Boniface, in whose eyes a milder gleam had still not yet appeared, and shook his head many times.

"I fear misfortune, a great misfortune! Call a priest!"

## Chapter 48

As still not one of his helpers had appeared, Merten sprang to his feet several times in desperation.

"Poor Boniface! But wait! What if in the meantime I dared to administer the treatment myself? You are all in a fever, the blood is streaming from your mouth, you refuse your food, I see violent convulsions shake your belly, I understand you, Boniface, I

understand you!" and then Grethe came in with lukewarm water and vinegar.

"Grethe! How many days is it since Boniface last had a motion? Did I not instruct you to administer to him a lavement at least once every week? But I see that in future I shall have to take over such weighty matters myself! Bring oil, salt, bran, honey and a clyster!

"Poor Boniface! You are constipated with your holy thoughts and reflections, since you can no longer relieve yourself in speech and writing!

"O admirable victim of profundity! O pious *constipation*!"

# APPENDICES

# BIRTH CERTIFICATE

*No. 231 of the Register of Births*

In the year eighteen hundred and eighteen, on the *seventh day* of the month of *May*, at *four* o'clock in the *afternoon*, there appeared before me, registrar of births, marriages and deaths at *Trier* burgomaster's office in *Trier* district, *Herr Heinrich Marx*, domiciled in *Trier*, aged *thirty-seven*,[197] by profession *barrister of the Higher Court of Appeal*, who showed me a *male* child and stated that the said child had been born in *Trier*, on the *fifth day* of the month of *May* at *two* o'clock in the *morning*, to *Herr Heinrich Marx*, *barrister* by profession, domiciled in *Trier*, and his wife *Henriette Presborck*, and that they wished to give the name *Carl* to this their child. After the aforesaid showing of the child and the above statement made in the presence of two witnesses, namely: *Herr Carl Petrasch*, aged *thirty-two*, by profession *government secretary*, domiciled in *Trier*, and *Mathias Kropp*, aged *twenty-one*, by profession *office employee*, domiciled in *Trier*, had taken place, I drew up in writing in the presence of the exhibitor of the child and the witnesses the present *certificate* on all this in double original, which after being read aloud were signed by the exhibitor of the child, the witnesses and myself.

Done in *Trier* on the day, month and year as above.

*Carl Petrasch. Kropp. Marx. E. Grach.*

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# GYMNASIUM EXAMINATION PAPERS WRITTEN BY MARX

## THE UNION OF BELIEVERS WITH CHRIST ACCORDING TO JOHN 15: 1-14, SHOWING ITS BASIS AND ESSENCE, ITS ABSOLUTE NECESSITY, AND ITS EFFECTS[198]

Before examining the basis and essence and the effects of the union of Christ with believers, let us see whether this union is necessary, whether it is determined by the nature of man, whether man cannot by himself achieve the purpose for which God brought him into being out of nothing.

If we turn our attention to history, the great teacher of mankind, we shall find engraved there that every people, even when it had attained the highest level of civilisation, when the greatest men had sprung from its womb, when the arts had blossomed within it in their full radiance, when the sciences had solved the most difficult problems, was nevertheless unable to cast off the fetters of superstition, that it had not conceived worthy and true ideas either of itself or of the Deity, that even its morality and ethics were never seen to be free from foreign admixture, from ignoble limitations, and that even its virtues owed their origin more to a crude greatness, an unbridled egoism, a passion for fame and audacious deeds than to striving for true perfection.

And the ancient peoples, the savages, who have not yet heard the teaching of Christ, betray an inner unrest, a fear of the anger of their gods, an inner conviction of their own iniquity, by making sacrifices to their gods, imagining they can atone for their sins by sacrifices.

Indeed, the greatest sage of antiquity, the divine Plato, expresses in more than one passage a profound longing for a higher being, whose appearance would fulfil the unsatisfied striving for truth and light.

Thus the history of peoples teaches us the necessity of union with Christ.

When we consider also the history of individuals, when we consider the nature of man, it is true that we always see a spark of divinity in his breast, a passion for what is good, a striving for knowledge, a yearning for truth. But the sparks of the eternal are extinguished by the flames of desire; enthusiasm for virtue is drowned by the tempting voice of sin, it is scorned as soon as life has made us feel its full power; the striving for knowledge is supplanted by a base striving for worldly goods, the longing for truth is extinguished by the sweetly flattering power of lies; and so there stands man, the only being in nature which does not fulfil its purpose, the only member of the totality of creation which is not worthy of the God who created it. But that benign Creator could not hate His work; He wanted to raise it up to Him and He sent His Son, through whom He proclaimed to us:

"Now ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you" (John 15:3).

"Abide in me, and I in you" (John 15:4).

Having thus seen how the history of peoples and a consideration of individuals prove the necessity of union with Christ, let us examine the last and surest proof, the word of Christ Himself.

Nowhere does He express more clearly the necessity of union with Himself than in the beautiful parable of the vine and the branches, in which He calls Himself the vine and us the branches. The branch cannot bear fruit of itself, and so, Christ says, without me you can do nothing. He expresses this still more strongly by saying:

"If a man abide not in me", etc. (John 15: 4, 5, 6).

One must, however, understand this as applying only to those who have been able to learn the word of Christ; for we cannot judge of God's decision in regard to such peoples and individuals, since we are not capable even of grasping it.

Our hearts, reason, history, the word of Christ, therefore, tell us loudly and convincingly that union with Him is absolutely essential, that without Him we cannot fulfil our goal, that without Him we would be rejected by God, that only He can redeem us.

Thus, penetrated with the conviction that this union is absolutely essential, we are desirous of finding out in what this lofty gift consists, this ray of light which descends from higher worlds to animate our hearts, and bears us purified aloft to heaven, what its inner nature and basis is.

Once we have grasped the necessity of this union, the basis for it—our need for redemption, our sinfully inclined nature, our

wavering reason, our corrupted heart, our iniquity in the sight of God—is clearly visible to us and we have no need to investigate further what it is.

But who could express the nature of this union more beautifully than Christ did in the parable of the vine and the branches? Who in lengthy treatises could lay bare before our eyes in all its parts the innermost basis of this union as comprehensively as Christ did in the words:

> "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman" (John 15: 1).
> "I am the vine, ye are the branches" (John 15: 5).

If the branch could feel, how joyfully it would look at the husbandman who tends it, who carefully frees it from weeds and binds it firmly to the vine from which it draws the nourishment and sap to form more beautiful blossoms.

In union with Christ, therefore, we turn above all our loving eyes to God, feel the most ardent thankfulness towards Him, sink joyfully on our knees before Him.

Then, when by union with Christ a more beautiful sun has risen for us, when we feel all our iniquity but at the same time rejoice over our redemption, we can for the first time love God, who previously appeared to us as an offended ruler but now appears as a forgiving father, as a kindly teacher.

But, if it could feel, the branch would not only look upwards to the husbandman, it would fondly snuggle up to the vine, it would feel itself most closely linked with it and with the branches which have sprung from it; it would love the other branches if only because the husbandman tends them and the vine gives them strength.

Thus, union with Christ consists in the most intimate, most vital communion with Him, in having Him before our eyes and in our hearts, and being so imbued with the highest love for Him, at the same time we turn our hearts to our brothers whom He has closely bound to us, and for whom also He sacrificed Himself.

But this love for Christ is not barren, it not only fills us with the purest reverence and respect for Him, it also causes us to keep His commandments by sacrificing ourselves for one another, by being virtuous, but virtuous solely out of love for Him. (John 15: 9, 10, 12, 13, 14.)

This is the great abyss which separates Christian virtue from any other and raises it above any other: this is one of the greatest effects that union with Christ has on man.

Virtue is no longer a dark distorted image, as it was depicted by the philosophy of the Stoics; it is not the offspring of a harsh

theory of duty, as we find it among all heathen peoples, but what it achieves it accomplishes through love for Christ, through love for a divine Being, and when it springs from this pure source it is seen to be free from all that is earthly and to be truly divine. All repulsive aspects disappear, all that is earthly is suppressed, all coarseness is removed, and virtue is more brilliant by having become at once milder and more human.

Never could it have been depicted in this way by human reason, its virtue would always remain a limited, earthly virtue.

Once man has attained this virtue, this union with Christ, he will await the blows of fate with calm composure, courageously oppose the storms of passion, and endure undaunted the wrath of the iniquitous, for who can oppress him, who could rob him of his Redeemer?

What he asks, he knows will be fulfilled, for he asks only in union with Christ, hence only what is divine, and who could fail to be uplifted and comforted by this assurance which the Saviour Himself proclaims? (John 15: 7.)

Who would not bear suffering gladly, knowing that by his abiding in Christ, by his works, God Himself is glorified, that by his perfection the Lord of creation is exalted? (John 15: 8.)

Therefore union with Christ bestows inner exaltation, consolation in suffering, calm assurance, and a heart which is open to love of mankind, to all that is noble, to all that is great, not out of ambition, not through a desire for fame, but only because of Christ. Therefore union with Christ bestows a joy which the Epicurean strives vainly to derive from his frivolous philosophy or the deeper thinker from the most hidden depths of knowledge, a joy known only by the ingenuous, childlike mind which is linked with Christ and through Him with God, a joy which makes life higher and more beautiful. (John 15: 11.)

*Marx*

Written between August 10 and 16, 1835

Printed according to the original

First published in the yearly *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, 1925

## DOES THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS DESERVE TO BE COUNTED AMONG THE HAPPIER PERIODS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE?[199]

One who seeks to know what the Augustan age was like has many things by which he can judge it: in the first place, a comparison with other periods of Roman history; for if it is shown

that the Augustan age was similar to previous periods which are termed happy, but unlike those in which, according to contemporary and recent judgment, morals had changed and become worse, the state was split into factions, and even defeats were suffered in war, from them a conclusion can be drawn about the Augustan age; then it must be inquired what the ancients said about it, what view was held by foreign peoples about the empire, whether they feared or despised it, and, finally, what was the state of the arts and sciences.

In order not to be more prolix than necessary, I shall compare with the Augustan age the finest epoch before Augustus, which was made happy by the simplicity of its morals, the striving for excellence, and the unselfishness of officials and common people, and in which Lower Italy was subjugated, and also the epoch of Nero, which was worse than any other.

At no time were the Romans more disinclined to pursue the fine arts than in the period before the Punic wars; learning was least valued since the most important men of those times chiefly devoted their efforts and labours to agriculture; eloquence was superfluous since they used few words in speaking of what had to be done and did not seek elegance of speech but attached more importance to the content; history, indeed, had no need of eloquence since it was concerned only with things done and was confined to the compilation of annals.

But the whole epoch was filled with the conflict between patricians and plebs; because from the expulsion of the kings until the first Punic war there was strife over the right of each side and a large part of history is concerned only with the laws which were made by tribunes or consuls contending keenly with one another.

What in this period deserves to be praised we have already said.

If we wish to describe the period of Nero, we do not need many words; for who would have to ask what this age was like, since the best citizens were killed, shameful arbitrary rule prevailed, laws were violated, the city burnt down, and the generals preferred to seek renown through peace rather than war, because they were afraid lest they should excite suspicion by deeds well done and because there was nothing to inspire them to perform great deeds.

That the Augustan age was unlike this no one can deny, for his reign was marked by its mildness. Although all freedom, even all appearance of freedom, had disappeared, institutions and laws were altered by order of the sovereign, and all powers previously possessed by the people's tribunes, censors and consuls were now in the hands of one man, the Romans believed they themselves

ruled and that emperor was only another name for the powers which the tribunes and consuls previously possessed, and they did not see that they had been deprived of their freedom. It is, however, a telling proof of mildness if the citizens can doubt who is the sovereign and whether they themselves rule or are ruled over.

In war, however, the Romans were never more fortunate, for the Parthians were subjugated, the Cantabri conquered, the Raetians and Vindelicians laid prostrate; but the Germans, the worst enemies of the Romans, whom Caesar had fought against in vain, overcame the Romans in some isolated encounters through treachery, cunning and bravery, and owing to their forests; but on the whole the power of many of the Germanic tribes was broken by Augustus granting Roman citizenship to individuals, by the weapons of experienced generals, and by the hostility which broke out among the Germanic peoples themselves.

In peace and war, therefore, the Augustan age is not to be compared with the time of Nero and even worse rulers.

The parties and conflicts, however, which occurred in the period before the Punic wars, had ceased to exist, for we see that Augustus had combined all parties, all honorary titles and all power in his own person. Hence the sovereign power could not be disunited within itself, which brings the greatest danger to every state, because thereby its authority among foreign peoples is diminished and public affairs are administered more for the ambition of individuals than for the well-being of the people.

The Augustan age should not, however, be regarded in such a way as not to see that it was inferior to that earlier period in many respects, for if morals, freedom and worth are either diminished of definitely set aside, while avarice, prodigality and intemperance prevail, that age itself cannot be called happy. But the greatness of Augustus, the institutions and laws of the men he selected in order to put the troubled state in a better condition, did a great deal to end the disorder which had been evoked by the civil wars.

For example, we see that Augustus purged the senate, into which extremely corrupt men had penetrated, of remnants of crime, by expelling from it many men whose morals were hateful to him and by admitting many others who were distinguished for their ability and intelligence.

Under the rule of Augustus, men of outstanding worth and wisdom always served the state, for who can name greater men of that period than Maecenas and Agrippa? Although the sovereign occasionally resorted to dissimulation, he apparently did not abuse

his power and exercised odious force in a milder form. And if the state, as it existed before the Punic wars, was the most suitable for that time because it stimulated people to great deeds, struck terror into its enemies, and aroused a noble emulation between patricians and plebs, from which however envy was not always absent, the state, as Augustus instituted it, seems to us the most suitable for his time, for when people have grown soft and the simplicity of morals has disappeared, but the state has grown greater, a ruler is more capable than a free republic of giving freedom to the people.

We come now to the judgment of the ancients on the Augustan age.

He himself was called divine, and regarded not as a man, but rather as a god. This could not be said if one relied only on the testimony of Horace, but the distinguished historian Tacitus also speaks of Augustus and his age with the utmost respect, the greatest admiration and even love.

At no time did arts and letters flourish more, for in that age there lived a very large number of writers from whom as from a fountain-head all peoples drew learning.

Since, therefore, the state appears to have been well ordered, the ruler desirous of happiness for the people and by his authority official positions occupied by the best men, since, moreover, the Augustan age appears to be not inferior to the best periods of Roman history, but different from the worst, and since parties and dissensions are seen to have ceased, whereas arts and letters flourished, the Augustan age deserves to be counted among the better epochs and the man held in high esteem who, although everything was permitted to him, nevertheless after his accession to power had only one aim, to ensure the safety of the state.

*Marx*

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Translated from the Latin

# CERTIFICATE OF MATURITY[200] FOR PUPIL OF THE GYMNASIUM IN TRIER

*Karl Marx,*

from *Trier, 17* years of age, of *evangelical* faith, son of *barrister-at-law, Herr Justizrat Marx* in *Trier,* was *five* years at the gymnasium in Trier, and *two* years in the first class.

I. Moral behaviour towards superiors and fellow pupils *was good.*

II. Aptitudes and diligence. *He has good aptitudes, and in ancient languages, German, and history showed a very satisfactory diligence, in mathematics satisfactory, and in French only slight diligence.*

III. Knowledge and accomplishments

1. Languages:

a) In German, *his grammatical knowledge and composition are very good.*

b) In Latin, *even without preparation he translates and explains with facility and circumspection the easier passages of the classics read in the gymnasium; and after due preparation or with some assistance frequently also the more difficult passages, especially those where the difficulty consists not so much in the peculiarity of the language as in the subject-matter and train of thought. His composition shows, in regard to material, a wealth of thought and deep insight into the subject-matter, but is often overladen with irrelevancies; in regard to language, he gives evidence of much practice and striving for genuine latinity, although he is not yet free from grammatical errors. In speaking Latin, he has acquired a fairly satisfactory fluency.*

c) In Greek, *his knowledge and abilities, in regard to understanding the classics read in the gymnasium, are almost the same as in Latin.*

d) In French, *his knowledge of grammar is fairly good; with some assistance he reads also more difficult passages and has some facility in oral expression.*

e) In Hebrew,[a]

2. Sciences:

a) Religious knowledge. *His knowledge of the Christian faith and morals is fairly clear and well grounded; he knows also to some extent the history of the Christian Church.*

b) Mathematics. *He has a good knowledge of mathematics.*

c) In History and Geography *he is in general fairly proficient.*

d) Physics [and nature study]. *In physics his knowledge is moderate.*

3. Accomplishments.

a) .....

b) .....

The undersigned examining commission has accordingly, since he is now leaving this gymnasium in order to study *jurisprudence*, awarded him the certificate of *maturity* and discharges him, *cherishing the hope that he will fulfil the favourable expectations which his aptitudes justify.*

Trier, *September 24*, 1835.

Royal Examining Commission
*Brüggemann, Royal Commissioner*
*Wyttenbach, Director*
*Loers*
*Hamacher*
*Schwendler* *Küpper*
*Steininger*
*Schneemann*

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[a] Not filled in.—*Ed.*

# *Father's Letters*

(NOVEMBER 1835-JUNE 1836)[201]

## HEINRICH MARX TO KARL MARX

IN BONN

Trier, November 8, 1835

Dear Karl,

More than three weeks have passed since you went away, and there is no sign of you! You know your mother[a] and how anxious she is, and yet you show this boundless negligence! That, unfortunately, only too strongly confirms the opinion, which I hold in spite of your many good qualities, that in your heart egoism is predominant.

Your mother knows nothing of this letter. I do not want to increase her anxiety still more, but I repeat, it is irresponsible of you.

For my part, I can wait—but I expect you to set your mother's mind at rest by return of post.

Your father

*Marx*

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## HEINRICH MARX TO KARL MARX

IN BONN

[Trier, November 18-29, 1835]

Dear Karl,

First of all, a few words about my letter, which may possibly have annoyed you. You know I don't pedantically insist on my

[a] Henriette Marx.—*Ed.*

authority and also admit to my child if I am wrong. I did actually tell you to write only after you had had a somewhat closer look around you. However, since it took so long, you ought to have taken my words less literally, especially as you know how anxious and worried your good mother is. Well, that is enough on that subject.

Your letter, which was barely legible, gave me great joy. Of course, I have no doubt of your good intentions, your diligence, or of your firm resolve to achieve something worth while. However, I am glad that the beginning is pleasant and easy for you and that you are getting a liking for your professional studies.

Nine lecture courses seem to me rather a lot and I would not like you to do more than your body and mind can bear. If, however, you find no difficulty about it, it may be all right. The field of knowledge is immeasurable, and time is short. In your next letter you will surely give me a somewhat larger and more detailed report. You know how greatly I am interested in everything which concerns you closely.

In connection with the lectures on law, you must not demand [...] should be touching and poetic. The subject-matter does not allow [...] poetic composition, you will have to put up with it and [...] find worthy of deep thought. Excuse [...] subjects.

What more ought I to say to you? Give you a sermon? In order [...] to tell [...] what you do not know? Although enough of [...] nature has so endowed you that if you truly ... the [...] your clear mind, your pure feeling, your unspoilt [...] instruct, in order not to stray from the right path [...] and what I wish, you know very well. I want now [...] you make up for what I in less favourable circumstances [...] could not achieve. I should like to see in you what perhaps I could have become, if I had come into the world with equally favourable prospects. You can fulfil or destroy my best hopes. It is perhaps both unfair and unwise to build one's best hopes on someone and so perhaps undermine one's own tranquillity. But who else than nature is to blame if men who are otherwise not so weak are nevertheless weak fathers?

You have been granted a good fortune, dear Karl, that is given to few youths of your age. At the important initial stage of your career you have found a friend, and a very worthy friend, who is older and more experienced than you. Know how to value this good fortune. Friendship in the true classical sense is life's most beautiful jewel, and at this age for your whole life. It will be the best touchstone of your character, your mind and heart, indeed of

your morality, if you are able to retain your friend and be worthy of him.

That you will continue to be good morally, I really do not doubt. But a great support for morality is pure faith in God. You know that I am anything but a fanatic. But this faith is a real [require]ment of man sooner or later, and there are moments in life when even the atheist is [involun]tarily drawn to worship the Almighty. And it is common [...], for what Newton, Locke and Leibniz believed, everyone can [...] submit to.

[Herr] Loers has taken it ill that you did not pay him a farewell [visit]. You and Clemens were the only ones, he [...] Herr Schlick. I had to have recourse to a white lie and tell him [...] we were there while he was away. The society [...] association with Clemens was little to my liking.

Herr Loers has been appointed second director and Herr [Brügge]mann as Commissioner was here yesterday for the installation. It was a big [... ce]remony, since both Herr Brüggemann and Herr Loers spoke. Herr Loers gave a great luncheon, which I also attended. There I spoke with several persons who asked after you, and from many quarters I was congratulated on Herr Wienenbrügge being your friend. I am truly desirous of making his acquaintance, and I should be very glad if you would both visit us at Easter and, of course, stay with us together. I should regard that especially as a proof of his friendship for you.

And so, dear Karl, fare you very well, and in providing really vigorous and healthy nourishment for your mind, do not forget that in this miserable world it is always accompanied by the body, which determines the well-being of the whole machine. A sickly scholar is the most unfortunate being on earth. Therefore, do not study more than your health can bear. With that, daily exercise and abstemiousness, and I hope to find you stronger in mind and body every time I embrace you.

Trier, November 18, 1835

Your faithful father

*Marx*

Apropos! I have read your poem word by word. I quite frankly confess, dear Karl, that I do not understand it, neither its true meaning nor its tendency. In ordinary life it is an undisputed proposition that with the fulfilment of one's most ardent wishes the value of what one wished is very much diminished and often

disappears altogether. That is surely not what you wanted to say. That would be worth consideration at most as a moral principle, because guided by this idea one avoids immoral enjoyments and even puts off what is permissible, in order by the postponement to retain the desire or even secure a heightened enjoyment. Kant felicitously says something of this sort in his anthropology.[202]

Do you want to find happiness only in abstract idealising (somewhat analogous to fanciful reverie)? In short, give me the key, I admit that this is beyond me.

[In the left margin of the first page]

On the occasion of the celebration for Herr Loers I found the position of good Herr Wyttenbach extremely painful. I could have wept at the offence to this man, whose only failing is to be much too kind-hearted. I did my best to show the high regard I have for him and, among other things, I told him how devoted you are to him and that you would have liked to compose a poem in his honour but had no time. That made him very happy. Will you do me the favour of sending me a few verses for him?

[Postscript at the top of the first page on the right-hand side]

P.S. Your dear mother has been prevented from writing and so it has taken until today, November 29. It is remarkable that we do not even know your exact address.

[Postscript by Marx's mother on November 29 to the letter of November 18]

Much beloved, dear Carl,

With great pleasure I take up my pen to write to you; your dear father's letter has been ready a long time, but I have always been prevented. I should like to have another letter from you, which would prove that you are well, for you can well believe that I long for you very much. We are still all quite well, heaven be thanked, everybody is busy and industrious, and even Eduard[a] is working very hard so that we hope to make an able man of him yet. Now, you must not regard it as a weakness of our sex if I am curious to know how you arrange your little household, whether economy really plays the main role, which is an absolute necessity for both big and small households. Here allow me to note, dear Carl, that

[a] Karl Marx's brother.—*Ed.*

you must never regard cleanliness and order as something secondary, for health and cheerfulness depend on them. Insist strictly that your rooms are scrubbed frequently and fix a definite time for it—and you, my dear Carl, have a weekly scrub with sponge and soap. How do you get on about coffee, do you make it, or how is it? Please let me know everything about your household. Your amiable Muse will surely not feel insulted by your mother's prose, tell her that the higher and better is achieved through the lower. So good-bye now. If you have any wish to express for Christmas that I can satisfy, I am ready to do so with pleasure. Farewell, my dear beloved Carl, be upright and good and always keep God and your parents before your eyes. Adieu, your loving mother Henriette Marx.

All the children send you greetings and kisses, and as usual you are the kindest and best.

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## HEINRICH MARX TO KARL MARX

IN BONN

[Trier, beginning of 1836]

Dear [Karl,][a]

Unless the description of your condition was somewhat poetical—as I hope it was—it is well adapted to cause us disquiet. I hope at least that the sad experience will bring home to you the need to pay rather more attention to your health. Next to a clear conscience, this is man's greatest blessing, and youthful sins in any enjoyment that is immoderate or even harmful in itself meet with frightful punishment. We have a sad example here in Herr Günster. True, in his case there is no question of vice, but smoking and drinking have worked havoc with his already weak chest and he will hardly live until the summer. His life itself is a torture, and in him we shall have lost an excellent mind.

[a] The page is damaged here.—*Ed.*

Even excessive study is madness in such a case. On the other hand, moderate exer[cise],[a] such as walking, and sometimes even riding, but not madly, is very beneficial; cheerfulness and banishing all worries still better.

Your accounts, dear Karl, are *à la* Carl, disconnected and inconclusive. If only they had been shorter and more precise, and the figures properly set out in columns, the operation would have been very simple. One expects *order* even from a scholar, and especially from a practical lawyer.

On the whole, I find nothing to object to, only at the present moment I think it is inexpedient and burdensome to buy a lot of books, especially big historical works.

Your journey was appropriate if it was good for your health, only you ought to have sent a few words about it beforehand.

In spite of your *two* letters (you see, they can be counted), I still do not know your study plan, which of course is of great interest to me. This much I do see, that you are not going in for any branch of natural history, and if physics and chemistry are really so badly taught, you will indeed do better to attend these courses in Berlin. Only a general introduction into cameralistics, it seems to me, would be expedient, because it is always useful to have a general idea of what one will have to do some day.

Apropos! Herr Gratz here has sent me a recommendation for Herr Walter. I sent it to him with a letter—have you heard anything about it? I would be pleased at this, because it was precisely this professor you so particularly liked.

Your little circle appeals to me, as you may well believe, much more than ale-house gatherings. Young people who take pleasure in such meetings are necessarily educated people and are more aware of their value as future excellent citizens than those who find their outstanding value in outstanding coarseness.

You do well to wait before going into print. A poet, a writer, must nowadays have the calling to provide something sound if he wants to appear in public. Otherwise, let him, of course, pay homage to the Muses. That always remains one of the most noble acts of homage to women. But if everywhere the first appearance in the world is largely decisive, this is primarily the case for these demigods. Their superiority must show itself in the first verse, so that everyone immediately recognises their divine inspiration. I tell you frankly, I am profoundly pleased at your aptitudes and I expect much from them, but it would grieve me to see you

[a] The page is damaged here.—*Ed.*

make your appearance as an ordinary poetaster; it should still be enough for you to give delight to those immediately around you in the family circle. Only the excellent have the right to claim the attention of a pampered world which has a Schiller—poetic minds would probably say "gods".

I thank you, by the way, dear Karl, for your very filial remark that you would submit your first work to me for criticism before anybody else. That is all the more proof of your tender regard since you know how little nature has endowed me with poetry, so that throughout my life I was never capable of composing a merely tolerable poem, even in the sweet days of first love. However, I will bear it in mind and wait to see if it was merely a compliment.

How does it happen, dear Karl, that your journey does not figure in the expenses. You haven't eked out your existence by cadging, I hope.

I enclose a money order for 50 talers, and on this occasion can only say that your only concern should be your studies and, without using more than is necessary, you should save yourself any further anxiety. The hope that you might some day be a support for your brothers and sisters is an idea too beautiful and too attractive for a good-natured heart for me to want to deprive you of it.

For the time being, I have nothing more to add, and only repeat my advice to you to take care of your health. There is no more lamentable being than a sickly scholar, and no more unfortunate parents than those who see a son of great promise wasting away, for whose education they have made sacrifices. Take that to heart. I can only appeal to your heart, for I believe it good and noble.

Embracing you affectionately,

Your father
*Marx*

[Postscript by Marx's mother]

Dear beloved Carl,

Your being ill has worried us very much, but I hope and wish that you will have recovered, and although I am very anxious about the health of my dear children, I am sure that if you, dear Carl, behave sensibly you can reach a ripe old age. But for that you must avoid everything that could make things worse, you must not get over-heated, not drink a lot of wine or coffee, and not eat anything pungent, a lot of pepper or other spices. You must not

smoke any tobacco, not stay up too long in the evening, and rise early. Be careful also not to catch cold and, dear Carl, do not dance until you are quite well again. It will seem ridiculous to you, dear Carl, that I act the doctor in this way, but you do not know how parents take it to heart when they see that their children are not well, and how many anxious hours this has already caused us. You children see to it that you keep morally and physically healthy, and do not worry about anything else. Dear father has been well throughout the winter, thank God, and there has been no lack of work, and we are still all quite well. How do you like my native city—it is a really beautiful place and I hope that it may have so much inspired you as to give you material for poetry. Write soon, dear Carl, even if not a lot, but don't put it off too long. Adieu, dear Carl, I kiss you in my thoughts,

Your loving mother

*Henriette Marx*

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## HEINRICH MARX TO KARL MARX[a]

IN BONN

Trier, March 19, 1836

Dear [Karl,]

I have just received your letter, and I must confess that I am somewhat surprised at it.

As regards your letter containing the accounts, I already told you at the time that I could not make head or tail of them. This much I did see, that you need money, and therefore I sent you 50 talers. With what you took with you, that makes 160 talers. You have been away five months in all, and now you do not even say *what* you need. That, at all events, is strange. Dear Karl, I repeat that I do everything very willingly, but that as the father of many children—and you know quite well I am not rich—I am not willing to do more than is necessary for your well-being and progress.

[a] The envelope bears the address "Herrn Karl Marx, studiosus juris in Bonn."—*Ed.*

If therefore you have somewhat overstepped the bounds, let it be glossed over, since it must. But I assure you, what the *"nec plus ultra"* stands for is money *thrown away.* I am convinced that it is possible to manage with less, and Herr Müller, the notary here, gives less and can perhaps do better. But no more under any condition; I should have to have some special stroke of good fortune, but there is nothing of the kind at the present time; on the contrary, my income has decreased. I don't by any means say that to distress you, far from it, but to make my firm decision clear to you once and for all.

I enclose a draft on Herr Kaufmann, who, as Herr Hofmann tells me, is the keeper of the lottery office in the university building; you will get money there, as m[uch as] you need.

Well, may God take care of you, and come soon. We are all longing to see you.

Your faithful father

*Marx*

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## HEINRICH MARX TO KARL MARX
IN BONN[203]

[Trier, about May or June 1836]

Dear Karl,

Your letter, which I received only on the 7th, has strengthened my belief in the uprightness, frankness and loyalty of your character, which means more to me than the money, and therefore we will not say anything more about that. You are receiving 100 talers herewith and, if you ask for it, you will receive the rest. However, you will surely become somewhat wiser, and also will have to concern yourself with the smaller things, for, God knows, in spite of all philosophy, these smaller things give one many grey hairs.

And is duelling then so closely interwoven with philosophy? It is respect for, indeed fear of, opinion. And what kind of opinion?

Not exactly always of the better kind, and yet!!! Everywhere man has so little consistency.—Do not let this inclination, and if not inclination, this craze, take root. You could in the end deprive yourself and your parents of the finest hopes that life offers. I think a sensible man can easily and decently pay no heed to it, *tout en imposant.*

Dear Karl, if you can, arrange to be given good certificates by competent and well-known physicians there, you can do it with a good conscience. Your chest is weak, at least at present.—If you like, I will send you one from Herr Berncastel, who treats you. But to be consistent with your conscience, do not smoke much.

You have not kept your word to me—you remember your promise—and I rather prided myself on the recognition of my criticism. However, like political optimists, I take the actual state of things as it is, but I did wish to have some knowledge of my own of the matter, i.e., of the negotiations conducted, which perhaps I would have been able to check better than Schäfer—and if possible also knowledge of the matter in question—but if this last involves too much trouble, I shall wait till your arrival. Farewell, dear Karl, always remain frank and true, always look on your father and your good mother as your best friends. I could not keep anything secret from her, because otherwise she would have been anxious at your long silence. She is economical, but for her love of life is [...][a]—and everything is secondary to this. I embrace you affectionately.

Your faithful father

*Marx*

I must, however, inform you about something peculiar.

Your friend Kleinerz wrote to me that he is being badly persecuted (probably because he left) and has even had to take the school examination, which, however, to his astonishment he passed brilliantly. He fears very many difficulties. Of very effective assistance to him would be a recommendation from your bishop[b] to the Dean of the Medical Faculty, Herr Professor Müller, who in his youth received much kindness from this worthy man.

---

[a] The paper has been damaged, the sense is perhaps "the highest good".—*Ed.*

[b] J. L. A. Hommer.—*Ed.*

And lo and behold, good Herr Görgen undertook to speak to the bishop, and the latter at once agreed, and said I should draw up the paper myself (without, however, in the slightest wanting to admit his relation to Herr Müller). I sent the recommendation post-paid to Herr Müller and informed Herr Kleinerz about it.

The latter displayed great tact because at once, and in order to safeguard my position to some extent in relation to the friend who trusted my bare word, he sent me, without waiting for the result, his service testimonials, which are really splendid. Moreover, he seemed to have no doubt of success.

How chance plays with human beings!

Your dear mother greets and kisses you. It is too late to write any more—until next time.

[Added on the first page of the letter]

At the moment I could not send you any more. In the next few days you will probably receive 20 talers through Rabe.

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## FATHER'S CONSENT TO MARX'S TRANSFER FROM BONN TO BERLIN UNIVERSITY

I not only grant my son Karl Marx permission, but it is my will that he should enter the University of Berlin next term for the purpose of continuing there his studies of Law and Cameralistics, which he began in Bonn.

Trier, July 1, 1836

*Marx*
Justizrat, Barrister

[Postscript]

Please, dear Karl, write at once, but write frankly, without reserve and truthfully. Calm me and your dear, kind mother, and we will soon forget the little monetary sacrifice.

*Marx*

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# CERTIFICATE OF RELEASE FROM BONN UNIVERSITY[204]

To No. 26

*Copy*

We, the Rector and Senate of the Royal Prussian Rhenish Frederick William University in Bonn, testify by this certificate that Herr *Carl Heinrich Marx*, born in Trier, son of Herr Justizrat Marx of the same place, prepared for academic studies at the gymnasium in Trier, on the basis of the certificate of maturity of the above-mentioned gymnasium, was matriculated here on October 17, 1835, has since then resided here until now as a student, and has applied himself to the study of jurisprudence.

During this stay at our University, according to the certificates submitted to us, he has attended the lectures listed below:

I. In the winter term 1835/36

1) Encyclopaedia of jurisprudence with Professor *Puggé*, very diligent and attentive.
2) Institutions with Professor *Böcking*, very diligent and with constant attention.
3) History of Roman law with Professor *Walter*, ditto.
4) Mythology of the Greeks and Romans with Professor *Welcker*, with excellent diligence and attention.
5) Questions about Homer with Professor *von Schlegel*, diligent and attentive.
6) History of modern art with Professor *D'Alton*, diligent and attentive.

II. In the summer term 1836

7) History of German law with Professor *Walter*, diligent.

8) Elegiacs of Propertius with Professor *von Schlegel*, diligent and attentive.
9) European international law and
10) Natural right with Professor *Puggé*. Could not be testified owing to the sudden death of Professor Puggé on August 5.

---

In regard to his behaviour, it has to be noted that he has incurred a punishment of one day's detention for disturbing the peace by rowdiness and drunkenness at night; nothing else is known to his disadvantage in a moral or economic respect. Subsequently, he was accused of having carried prohibited weapons in Cologne. The investigation is still pending.

He has not been suspected of participation in any forbidden association among the students.

In witness thereof, this certificate has been drawn up under the seal of the University and signed with their own hand by the Rector pro tem and also by the present Deans of the Faculties of Law and Philosophy.

Bonn, August 22, 1836

Rector
*Freytag*

University judge
*von Salomon*

Dean of the Faculty of Law
*Walter*

Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy
*Loebell*

*Oppenhofen*, U.S.

Witnessed by the Extraordinary Governmental Plenipotentiary and Curator

*Von Rehfues*

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Wir Rector und Senat der Königlich Preußischen Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität zu Bonn beurkunden durch dieses Abgangs-Zeugniß, daß Herr Carl Heinrich Marx

geboren zu Trier

Sohn des Herrn Justizrathes Marx daselbst

zu den academischen Studien auf dem Gymnasium zu Trier

vorbereitet auf den Grund des Entlassungszeugnisses des dortigen Gymnasiums

am 17ten October 1835 bei uns immatriculirt worden ist, sich seitdem bis hieher

als Studirender hier aufgehalten und sich der Rechts-Wissenschaften

beflissen hat.

Während dieses Aufenthalts hat derselbe bei unserer Universität nach den vorgelegten Zeugnissen die nachstehend verzeichneten Vorlesungen gehört:

1. Im Wintersemester 1835–36.

1.) Encyclopädie der Rechtswissenschaft bei Prof. Puggé / sehr fleißig und aufmerksam. 2.)

Certificate of Release from Bonn University

# *Father's Letters*

(NOVEMBER 1836-FEBRUARY 1838)

## HEINRICH MARX TO KARL MARX

IN BERLIN

Trier, November 9, 1836

Dear Karl,

We had, it is true, already received news of you before getting your letter, because Herr Jaehnigen was kind enough to write to me. His letter is very courteous towards you and me. He even very kindly asks me to recommend that you should comply with his desire and visit him and his family quite often *sans gêne*; and as I play such a small part in the world, I have all the less reason to doubt his sincerity, since in general I have always seen him behaving as a man most worthy of respect and most noble. It does one good to enjoy the esteem of such a man, whose heart and mind rank him among the privileged.

That Herr Esser treated you with such respect, I found rather unexpected, and it does you honour, for this circumstance proves that, in spite of your strict principles, you are able to associate with the most diverse kinds of people on human terms. These principles remind me of my bygone youth, and the more so since they were all I possessed. I was not adroit, and that can easily be explained. Your mother says that you are a favourite of fortune. I have no objection to that. Please God that you believe it! At least, in this respect I do not for a moment doubt your heart, that you are serious in counting yourself lucky to have your parents. And surely a little exaggeration is nowhere more pardonable than on this point, and no harm is done if here the head is ruled by the heart.

Even if Herr Reinhard is ill, nevertheless he must have a clerk who should surely know something about my son.

Herr Sandt is not *von*, he is the brother of the Attorney General Sandt of Cologne and has a post at the Court of Appeal. Herr Meurin knows him well. If necessary, he can inform you about my case, in which he is probably the opponent.

That you like Herr Meurin so much gives me great pleasure, for I have a special liking for him. He is one of the rare people who retain goodness of heart along with polite manners. His practical mind certainly puts to shame many very learned persons.

I am particularly glad that you live with well-educated people and do not associate much with young people, at least those whom you don't know well enough. The only thing I ask of you is not to overdo your studying, but to keep physically fit and spare your badly impaired eyesight. You have been attending many and important courses — naturally, you have every reason to work a great deal, but do not exhaust yourself. You have still a long time to live, God willing, to the benefit of yourself and your family and, if my surmise is not mistaken, for the good of mankind.

For the moment, I have not yet settled on any commercial firm. I want to talk to Herr von Nell about it. For the time being I am sending you herewith 50 talers. You must at present be able to estimate approximately the amount you absolutely need each year, and that is what I should like to know.

I wrote to you from Frankfurt, where I was because of Hermann.[a] Herr Donner conveyed the letter to the Hofrat. It was sent on October 20.[205] You seem not to have received it yet. It contained rather a lot of sermonising, so I won't engage in that for a long time to come. But I should like a reply to that letter. Because of the one and, of course, extremely important item, I beg you even to enclose, besides the special letter for me, an extra-special one. True, as a rule I never keep anything secret from your good mother. But in this matter I am concerned at present about her all too great anxiety, which is not, as in the case of the husband, adequately countered by the more lively feeling of strict duty.

I am no angel, it is true, and I know that man does not live by bread alone. But in the face of a sacred duty to be fulfilled, subsidiary intentions must give way. And, I repeat, there is no more sacred duty for the husband than that which he undertakes towards his wife, who is weaker. Therefore, in this, as in every other respect, be quite frank with me as with a friend. But if, after self-examination, you really persist in your resolve, you must at

[a] Karl Marx's brother.— *Ed.*

once show yourself to be a man. That, all the same, does not prevent poetic ardour, the aspiration to fulfil one's duty is also very poetic.

Today Hermann has gone to Brussels, where he is entering a good house. But he has to pay 1,000 fr. immediately for the entrée. In return, the house is merely bound to introduce him to all the commercial transactions that occur, without stipulation of period, so that it depends on his diligence and understanding to put himself as quickly as possible in a position to become independent. I expect a good deal from his diligence, but all the less from his intelligence. Understandably, he is not living at the businessman's house, and for the present he has to keep himself entirely. It is a pity that this well-meaning youth has not got a better brain.

Menni[a] attends the gymnasium and, it seems, he does want to show rather more zeal.—The girls are good and diligent. My hair stands on end when I reflect that this commodity now is only sought after if gilded, and I understand so little of that art.

Why have you not told me any details about Kleinerz? I am very interested to know what has become of him.

Well, God take care of you, dear Karl, and always love your father as he loves you.

*Marx*

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## HEINRICH MARX TO KARL MARX

IN BERLIN

Trier, December 28, 1836

Dear Karl,

If I were less indulgent, if in general I could harbour resentment for a long time, and particularly against my dear ones, I would certainly be justified in not answering you at all. It is not in itself praiseworthy to be exaggeratedly touchy, least of all towards a father whose failing is certainly not that of severity.

---

[a] Karl Marx's brother Eduard.—*Ed.*

If you had reflected that at the time I sent you the last letter I had had no word from you apart from your first letter; that the interval was somewhat large, even counting from my second letter from here; that having once got mixed up in a matter — which in itself was not precisely pleasing to me — from a feeling of duty towards a really most worthy person, I was bound to be extremely sensitive to a silence that was inexplicable to me, and that, if I then used some expressions which might sound harsh, in the first place I did not think of weighing my words, but also was sensitive not entirely without cause; besides, I assure you I did not have any *animus calumniandi*.

If I did not have a high opinion of your kind heart, I would not in general be so attached to you and would suffer less at aberrations, for you know that high as I esteem your intellectual gifts, in the absence of a good heart they would be of no interest to me at all. But you yourself confess that you have previously given me some cause to harbour some doubts about your self-abnegation. And in view of all this, you could very well be somewhat less touchy towards your father.

It is now high time that you did away with the tension that ruins mind and body, and I can rightly demand that in this connection you should show some consideration for the well-being of your good mother and myself, for we certainly do not soar to Elysian fields, and consider it of some importance that you should remain healthy.

But I repeat, you have undertaken great duties and, dear Karl, at the risk of irritating your sensitivity, I express my opinion somewhat prosaically after my fashion: with all the exaggerations and exaltations of love in a poetic mind you cannot restore the tranquillity of a being to whom you have wholly devoted yourself; on the contrary, you run the risk of destroying it. Only by the most exemplary behaviour, by manly, firm efforts which, however, win people's goodwill and favour, can you ensure that the situation is straightened out and that she is exalted in her own eyes and the eyes of the world, and comforted.

I have spoken with Jenny[a] and I should have liked to be able to set her mind at rest completely. I did all I could but it is not possible to argue everything away. She still does not know how her parents will take the relationship. Nor is the judgment of relatives and the world a trifling matter. I am afraid of your not always just

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[a] Jenny von Westphalen.— *Ed.*

sensitivity and therefore leave it to you to appreciate this situation. If I were powerful enough to protect and soothe this noble being in some respect by vigorous intervention, no sacrifice would be too great for me. Unfortunately, however, I am weak in every respect.

She is making a priceless sacrifice for you. She is showing a self-denial which can only be fully appreciated in the light of cold reason. Woe to you, if ever in your life you could forget this! At present, however, only you yourself can effectively intervene. From you must come the certainty that, despite your youth, you are a man who deserves the respect of the world, and wins it in mighty strides, who gives assurance of his constancy and his serious efforts in the future, and compels evil tongues to be silent about past mistakes.

How you can best set about this, only you can be fully aware.

In this connection I must ask you whether you know how old one must be to hold an academic post. It is very important to know this, for your plan, I think, should aim at attaining such a position as soon as possible, even if in a lower grade, and you should try by writing to create prospects for a good situation and eventually to realise them.

Poetry must surely be the first lever; the poet, of course, should be competent here. However, the kind of poetry to bring about the magic effect might preferably be a matter for one who is wise and a man of the world.— In ordinary life that might well be too much to demand of a young man; but he who undertakes higher duties must be consistent, and here wisdom and policy will be sanctified in the eyes of the poet himself by high and creditable fulfilment of duty.

I beg and beseech you — since basically you have talent, only the form is not yet smooth — henceforth be calm, moderate these storms, do not arouse them either in the bosom of one who deserves and needs tranquillity. Your mother, I myself, Sophie,[a] the good child, who exercises self-denial in the highest degree, watch over you, as far as the situation allows, and in return for your efforts the future holds out for you a happiness to deserve which all hardships are easy to bear.

Your views on law are not without truth, but are very likely to arouse storms if made into a system, and are you not aware how violent storms are among the learned? If what gives offence in this matter itself cannot be entirely eliminated, at least the form must be conciliatory and agreeable.

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[a] Karl Marx's sister.— *Ed.*

You do not say anything about Meurin, nor whether you paid a visit to Herr Eichhorn.

I do not want to write to Herr Jaehnigen just now, and since the matter is not at all urgent, you can wait for an opportunity.

If you send bulky letters by ordinary post, they are very expensive. The last but one cost a taler. Parcels sent by express post are dear too, the last one also cost a taler.

If you want to write a great deal in future, then write on all possible sorts of subjects, so that what we hear is much and varied. Let it mount up to form a parcel and send this by the luggage van. Do not be offended at this little remark about economy.

I hope that you will have received the wine by now. Drink it and be cheerful, and give up all irrelevant ventures, all despair, and abandon poetry if it does not embellish your life and make it happy.

[Postscript by Marx's mother]

Dear Carl,

Your dear father is in such a hurry to send off this letter that all I can do is to send you heartiest greetings and kisses.

Your loving mother

*Henriette Marx*

[Continuation from Marx's father]

Enclosed a money order for 50 talers. If you prefer me to look for a firm there to make an arrangement with you, you must tell me approximately the monthly sum I should fix for you. By now you must be able to say what it amounts to with one thing and another.

*Marx*

[Postscript by Marx's sister Sophie]

Your last letter, dear Karl, made me weep bitter tears; how could you think that I would neglect to give you news of your Jenny!? I dream and think only of you two. Jenny loves you; if the difference in age worries her, that is because of her parents. She will now try gradually to prepare them; after that write to them yourself; they do indeed think highly of you. *Jenny* visits us frequently. She was with us yesterday and wept tears of delight and pain on receiving your poems. Our parents and your brothers and sisters love her very much, the latter beyond all measure. She

is *never* allowed to leave us before ten o'clock, how do you like that? Adieu, dear, good Karl, my most ardent wishes for the success of your heart's desire.

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## HEINRICH MARX TO KARL MARX

IN BERLIN

Trier, February 3, 1837

Dear Karl,

Your last letter made me particularly glad, for it proves that you have got rid of the little weaknesses which, by the way, disquieted me; you recognise your position and are endeavouring with energy and dignity to assure your future. But, dear Karl, do not fall into the opposite extreme.

Apart from the fact that to be sociable offers very great advantages for diversion, rest and development, especially to a young man, wisdom demands—and this is something you must not neglect, since you are no longer alone—that one should acquire some support, in an honourable and worthy way, of course. *Neglect*, especially as one is not always inclined to seek the most honourable reason for it, is not easily forgiven by distinguished persons, or those who think themselves such, and particularly if they have shown a certain degree of condescension.—Herr Jaehnigen and Herr Esser are not only excellent men, but are probably important for you, and it would be most unwise and really improper to neglect them, since they received you in a very decent way. At your age and in your position you cannot demand any reciprocity.

Nor must the body be neglected. Good health is the greatest boon for everyone, for scholars most of all.

Do not overdo things. With your natural gifts and your present diligence, you will reach your goal, and a single term does not matter.

However much experience I may have, I cannot draw up a complete plan for you with a clear survey of all nuances.

In any case, it seems to me beyond doubt that your intention of advancing yourself by academic studies is quite good and suitable for you, if, besides, you do not overlook the trifle of paying some attention to physical development.

But, of course, this may take rather a long time and given the state of things it would of course be desirable that something be done about it. In this respect, therefore, the only thing left is *authorship*. But how to make a start? This is a difficult question, but there is another that precedes it: will you succeed at once in winning the confidence of a good publisher? For that could well be the most difficult thing. If you succeed in that—and on the whole you are a favourite of fortune—then the second question arises. Something philosophical or legal, or both together, seems excellent for laying a basis. Good poetry might well take second place, and it never harms one's reputation, except perhaps in the eyes of a few pedants. Light polemical articles are the most useful, and with a few good titles, if they are original and have a new style, you can decently and safely await a professorship, etc., etc., etc. But you must come to a firm decision, if not at the present moment, at any rate this year, and when you have taken it, keep it firmly in view and pursue your course unswervingly. It is by no means so difficult for you as it was for your papa to become a lawyer.

You know, dear Karl, because of my love for you I have let myself in for something which is not quite in accord with my character, and indeed sometimes worries me. But no sacrifice is too great for me if the welfare of my children requires it. Moreover, I have won the full confidence of your Jenny. But the good, lovable girl torments herself incessantly—she is afraid of doing you harm, of making you over-exert yourself, etc., etc., etc. It weighs on her mind that her parents do not know or, as I believe, do not want to know. She cannot explain to herself how it is that she, who considers herself quite unsentimental, has let herself be so carried away. A certain shyness may have something to do with it.

A letter from you, which you may enclose sealed, but which should not be dictated by the fanciful poet, could comfort her. It must, of course, be full of delicate, devoted feeling and pure love, as I have no doubt it will be, but it must give a clear view of your relationship and elucidate and discuss the prospects. The hopes expressed must be set out without reserve, clearly and with firm conviction, so that they in their turn are convincing.

You must give a firm assurance that this relationship, far from

doing you any harm, has the happiest effect on you, and in certain respects I believe that myself. On the other hand, resolutely demand, with the manly audacity in the face of which the poor child was so defenceless, that now she must not waver, not look back, but calmly and confidently look to the future.

What have you to say to your father? Are you not astonished to find me in the role of intermediary? How wrongly I might be judged by many persons if my influence were to become known! What ignoble motives might perhaps be imputed to me! But I do not reproach myself—if only heaven bestows its blessing, I shall feel extremely happy.

It would be proper to pay a visit to Herr Eichhorn, but I leave that to you. I repeat, however, that I should like to see you going more often to Herr Jaehnigen and Herr Esser.

It would be just as well, too, if you were to make somewhat closer contact with at least one of the most influential professors.

Have you not seen any more of young Herr Schriever? Since we are on very good terms and Mlle. Schriever will probably marry your friend Karl von Westphalen, and since anyway he should be coming here soon, I should like you to visit him now and again.

Have you not heard any further news of Dr. Kleinerz? I should like to learn something about him.

I enclose herewith a letter of credit. It is for a higher amount than you yourself asked, but I did not want to have it altered, because now I trust you not to use more than is necessary.

Well, good-bye, dear Karl, write soon if you have not yet sent a letter such as I have requested. Write also what your landlord is doing, he interests me very much.

Herr von Notz told me that you would come here during the autumn vacation. I am not at all in favour of this, and if you bear in mind your circumstances and those of persons who are dear to you, you will have to agree with me. But it is possible that I may go to Berlin. What do you say to that?

Your faithful father

*Marx*

I send my best regards to my dear friend Meurin and his amiable wife. Tell him that he would do well to spare a moment for me.

P.S. It would not be a bad thing, dear Karl, if you would write more legibly.

I seldom see Jenny, she cannot do as she likes. You can be easy in your mind, her love is true.—When you have written in the way I would like, I will ask for a reply.

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## HEINRICH MARX TO KARL MARX

IN BERLIN

Trier, March 2, 1837

It is remarkable that I, who am by nature a lazy writer, become quite inexhaustible when I have to write to you. I will not and cannot conceal my weakness for you. At times my heart delights in thinking of you and your future. And yet at times I cannot rid myself of ideas which arouse in me sad forebodings and fear when I am struck as if by lightning by the thought: is your heart in accord with your head, your talents? Has it room for the earthly but gentler sentiments which in this vale of sorrow are so essentially consoling for a man of feeling? And since that heart is obviously animated and governed by a demon not granted to all men, is that demon heavenly or Faustian? Will you ever—and that is not the least painful doubt of my heart—will you ever be capable of truly human, domestic happiness? Will—and this doubt has no less tortured me recently since I have come to love a certain person like my own child—will you ever be capable of imparting happiness to those immediately around you?

What has evoked this train of ideas in me, you will ask? Often before, anxious thoughts of this kind have come into my mind, but I easily chased them away, for I always felt the need to surround you with all the love and care of which my heart is capable, and I always like to forget. But I note a striking phenomenon in Jenny. She, who is so wholly devoted to you with her childlike, pure disposition, betrays at times, involuntarily and against her will, a kind of fear, a fear laden with foreboding, which does not escape me, which I do not know how to explain,

and all trace of which she tried to erase from my heart, as soon as I pointed it out to her. What does that mean, what can it be? I cannot explain it to myself, but unfortunately my experience does not allow me to be easily led astray.

That you should rise high in the world, the flattering hope to see your name held one day in high repute, and also your earthly well-being, these are not the only things close to my heart, they are long-cherished illusions that have taken deep root in me. Basically, however, such feelings are largely characteristic of a weak man, and are not free from all dross, such as pride, vanity, egoism, etc., etc., etc. But I can assure you that the realisation of these illusions could not make me happy. Only if your heart remains pure and beats in a purely human way, and no demonic spirit is capable of estranging your heart from finer feelings—only then would I find the happiness that for many years past I have dreamed of finding through you; otherwise I would see the finest aim of my life in ruins. But why should I grow so soft and perhaps distress you? At bottom, I have no doubt of your filial love for me and your good, dear mother, and you know very well where we are most vulnerable.

I pass on to positive matters. Some days after receiving your letter, which Sophie brought her, Jenny visited us and spoke about your intention. She appears to approve your reasons, but fears the step itself, and that is easy to understand. For my part, I regard it as good and praiseworthy. As she intimates, she is writing to you that you should not send the letter direct—an opinion I cannot agree with. What you can do to put her mind at rest is to tell us eight days beforehand on what day you are posting the letter. The good girl deserves every consideration and, I repeat, only a lifetime full of tender love can compensate her for what she has already suffered, and even for what she will still suffer, for they are remarkable saints she has to deal with.

It is chiefly regard for her that makes me wish so much that you will soon take a fortunate step forward in the world, because it would give her peace of mind, at least that is what I believe. And I assure you, dear Karl, that were it not for this, I would at present endeavour to restrain you from coming forward publicly rather than spur you on. But you see, the bewitching girl has turned my old head too, and I wish above all to see her calm and happy. Only you can do that and the aim is worthy of your undivided attention, and it is perhaps very good and salutary that, immediately on your entry into the world, you are compelled to show human consideration, indeed wisdom, foresight and mature reflec-

tion, in spite of all demons. I thank heaven for this, for it is the human being in you that I will eternally love. You know that, a practical man though I am, I have not been ground down to such a degree as to be blunted to what is high and good. Nevertheless, I do not readily allow myself to be completely torn up from the earth, which is my solid basis, and wafted exclusively into airy spheres where I have no firm ground under my feet. All this naturally gives me greater cause than I would otherwise have had to reflect on the means which are at your disposal. You have taken up dramatic composition, and of course it contains much that is true. But closely bound up with its importance, its great publicity, is quite naturally the danger of coming to grief. Not always, especially in the big cities, is it necessarily the inner value which is decisive. Intrigues, cabals, jealousy, perhaps among those who have had the most experience of these, often outweigh what is good, especially if the latter is not yet raised to and maintained in high honour by a well-known name.

What, therefore, would be the wisest course? To look for a possible way by which this great test would be preceded by a smaller one involving less danger, but sufficiently important for you to emerge from it, in the event of success, with a not quite unimportant name. If, however, this has to be achieved by something small, then the material, the subject, the circumstances, must have some exceptional quality. I racked my brains for a long time in the search for such a subject and the following idea seemed to me suitable.

The subject should be a period taken from the history of Prussia, not one so prolonged as to call for an epic, but a crowded moment of time where, however, the future hung in the balance.

It should redound to the honour of Prussia and afford the opportunity of allotting a role to the genius of the monarchy—if need be, through the mind of the very noble Queen Louise.

Such a moment was the great battle at La Belle Alliance-Waterloo. The danger was enormous, not only for Prussia, for its monarch,[a] for the whole of Germany, etc., etc., etc. In fact, it was Prussia that decided the great issue here—hence, at all events this could be the subject of an ode in the heroic genre, or otherwise—you understand that better than I do.

The difficulty would not be too great in itself. The biggest difficulty, in any case, would be that of compressing a big picture

[a] Frederick William III.—*Ed.*

into a small frame and of giving a successful and skilful portrayal of the great moment. But if executed in a patriotic and German spirit with depth of feeling, such an ode would itself be sufficient to lay the foundation for a reputation, to establish a name.

But I can only propose, advise. You have outgrown me; in this matter you are in general superior to me, so I must leave it to you to decide as you will.

The subject I have spoken of would have the great advantage that it could very soon be presented apropos, since the anniversary is on June 18.[a] The cost would not be very considerable, and if necessary I will bear it.—I should so very much like to see good Jenny calm and able to hold up her head proudly. The good child must not wear herself out. And if you are successful in this project—and the demand is not beyond your powers—then you will be in a secure position and able to relax somewhat from the hothouse life.

In point of fact, too, it is impossible not to be enthusiastic over this moment of time, for its failure would have imposed eternal fetters on mankind and especially on the human mind. Only today's two-faced liberals can deify a Napoleon. And in truth under his rule not a single person would have dared to think aloud what is being written daily and without interference throughout Germany, and especially in Prussia. And anyone who has studied the history of Napoleon and what he understood by the absurd expression of ideology can rejoice greatly and with a clear conscience at his downfall and the victory of Prussia.

Give my cordial greetings to our friend Meurin. Tell him that until now I have not been able to carry out the commission with which I have been charged. I suffered from a cold for eight days and since then I have not ventured any farther than to attend the sitting.

Your faithful father

*Marx*

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[a] The date of the battle of Waterloo.—*Ed.*

## HEINRICH MARX TO KARL MARX
IN BERLIN[206]

Bad Ems, August 12, 1837

Dear Karl,

My letter, written when I was greatly excited, may have hit you rather hard, and I am sincerely sorry if this was actually the case. Not as though I would thus have committed an injustice; I leave it to you to judge for yourself whether I had a valid reason to lose my temper. You know, you must know, how much I love you. Your letters (so long as I do not find in them any traces of that sickly sensitivity and fantastic, gloomy thoughts) are a real need and would have been particularly so this summer for your deeply feeling mother and myself. Eduard has been ailing for the last six months, and has grown quite thin, his recovery is very doubtful, and, what is so rare among children and so exhausting, he suffers from the deepest melancholy, really fear of dying.— And you know what your mother is like — she won't go from his side, she torments herself day and night, and I am for ever afraid that she will be overcome by these exertions.

For the last 7-8 months, I myself have been afflicted by a painful cough, which has been continually irritated by the eternal necessity of speaking. Sophie, too, is never quite well and is always taking medicine without success. In this situation — what with your love affair, Jenny's prolonged indisposition, her profound worry, and the ambiguous position in which I, who have always known only the most straightforward course, find myself in relation to the Westphalens — all this has deeply affected me and at times depressed me so much that I no longer recognised myself, and so I ask you: have I been too hard under the influence of the most profound ill humour?

However much I love you above everything — except your mother — I am not blind and still less want to be so. I do you justice in many matters, but I cannot entirely rid myself of the thought that you are not free from a little more egoism than is necessary for self-preservation, and I cannot always dispel the thought that were I in your position I would show greater consideration for and more self-sacrificing love towards my parents. I received nothing from my parents apart from my existence — although not to be unjust, love from my mother — and how I have fought and suffered, in order not to distress them as long as possible.

Do not put forward your character as an excuse. Do not blame nature. It has certainly treated you like a mother. It has given you strength enough, the will is left to man. But to abandon oneself to grief at the slightest storm, to lay bare a shattered heart and break the heart of our beloved ones at every suffering, do you call that poetry? God protect us from the most beautiful of all nature's gifts if that is its immediate effect. No, it is only weakness, over-indulgence, self-love and conceit which reduce everything to their own measure in this way and force even those we love most into the background!

The first of all human virtues is the strength and will to sacrifice oneself, to set aside one's ego, if duty, if love calls for it, and indeed not those glamorous, romantic or hero-like sacrifices, the act of a moment of fanciful reverie or heroic feeling. Even the greatest egoist is capable of that, for it is precisely *the ego* which then has pride of place. No, it is those daily and hourly recurring sacrifices which arise from the pure heart of a good person, of a loving father, of a tender-hearted mother, of a loving spouse, of a thankful child, that give life its sole charm and make it beautiful despite all unpleasantness.

You yourself have described so beautifully the life of your excellent mother, so deeply felt that her whole life is a continual sacrifice of love and loyalty, and truly you have not exaggerated. But what is the good of beautiful examples if they do not inspire one to copy them? But can you, with your hand on your heart, pride yourself on having done this up to now?

I do not want to press you too hard, certainly I do not want to offend you, for as a matter of fact I am weak enough to regret having offended you. But it is not merely that I, and your good mother, suffer from it, perhaps I would let that pass. In no one's heart is there so little selfishness as in that of good parents. But for your own good I must not and will not ever abandon this text until I am convinced that this stain on your otherwise so noble character has disappeared. Quite soon you will and must be the father of a family. But neither honour nor wealth nor fame will make your wife and children happy; you alone can do that, your better self, your love, your tender behaviour, the putting behind you of stormy idiosyncrasies, of violent outbreaks of passion, of morbid sensitivity, etc., etc., etc. I am hardly speaking any longer on my own behalf, I am calling your attention to the bond that is to be tied.

You say yourself that good fortune has made you its pet child. May God in His infinite goodness make it ever attend you closely,

as much as frail humanity permits. But even the happiest man experiences gloomy hours, no mortal basks in eternal sunshine. But from him who is happy one has every right to demand that he meet the storm with manly courage, calm, resignation, cheerfulness. One can rightly demand that past happiness be an armour against temporary suffering. The heart of the happy man is full and wide and strong, it must not allow itself to be easily shattered.

Your dear mother has forwarded your letter to me here. The plan you have outlined is fine, and if properly executed, well fitted to become a lasting monument of literature. But great difficulties are piling up in the way, particularly because of the selfishness of those who are offended, and of the fact that there is no man of outstanding critical reputation to be at the head. On the other hand, the paper is suitable for creating a reputation. Here the question arises whether your name appears in this connection. For it is precisely to gain a reputation, a reputation as a critic, that is so essential for you, as helping towards a professorship. Nevertheless, I could not derive any certainty on that score from your letter. May God give you His blessing.

It seems that my trip to Berlin will not materialise. After the big expenses I have had this year it would make too great a demand on my funds. And then also I must confess that I have had some intention (although not very definite) to try if possible to transfer to the magistracy. However, I would have liked to know in advance the opinion of Herr Jaehnigen, whose co-operation could in any case be very useful. But since this did not come about, I see little hope for the matter. I did not want to ask anything of you that went against your feelings, but perhaps you could have acted more wisely.—I hear, by the way, that Herr Jaehnigen and his wife are making a trip to Paris and will pass through Trier. You have missed a lot, for this summer Frau Jaehnigen has written some really exceptionally tender letters to your Jenny.

I am looking forward with great desire to receiving a letter from you to hear more about your undertakings. But I ask you to go into rather more detail.

Today I have sacrificed my morning walk for you, but there is just time to make a smaller one and to write a few lines to your good mother, to whom I will send this letter. For it would irk me to write again at length, and in this way your mother has a big letter all the same.

Good-bye, my good Karl, and always hold me as dear as you say, but do not make me blush with your flattery. There is no

harm in having a high opinion of your father. In my position I have also achieved something, enough to have you, but not enough by far to satisfy me.

Your father
*Marx*[a]

P.S. The supposed funeral sermon which you asked me for is a work of about ten lines, which I no longer possess, but which I believe Sophie has, and which even in the last version has undergone some alterations.

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## HEINRICH MARX TO KARL MARX
IN BERLIN[b]

Bad Ems [approximately August 20, 1837][c]

Dear, good Karl,

I do not know whether on receipt of this letter you will already have received the letter which I [sent] to your dear mother. But I think so. Meanwhile, since I like talking to you, and since you may perhaps find it pleasant to see someone whose friendly company I have enjoyed for a number of days, I take advantage of the kind willingness of the bearer [to] send you a few lines.

The bearer is a fine young man, tutor to the son of Prince Karl.[d] I made his acquaintance here, where I, who do not easily mix, have mostly been isolated. I have spent many pleasant hours with Herr Heim, and insofar as one can get to know [someone] in a short time, I think I have found in him a very honest,

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[a] Heinrich Marx's letter to his son ends here and is followed by a few lines to his wife.— *Ed.*

[b] On the envelope is written: "Herrn H. Karl Marx, stud. juris et camer[alium], alte Leipziger Strasse Ia Berlin." — *Ed.*

[c] Here and in the following places marked by square brackets the paper has been damaged.— *Ed.*

[d] Friedrich Karl, Prince of Prussia.— *Ed.*

pleasant and upright man. He will look you up, he tells me, and I shall be [glad if] he finds that the picture sketched by a father's self-complacency is accurate.

In view of the approaching vacation, it may perhaps not be unpleasing for you to see some things that are remarkable and it is possible that owing to his position Herr Heim can easily help you in this respect.

If you have leisure and write to me, I shall be glad if you will draw up for me a concise plan of the positive legal studies that you have gone through this year. According to your project, it seems to me unnecessary for you to take lectures on cameralistics. Only do not neglect natural science, for there is no certainty of being able to make up for this later, and regret comes too late.

Perhaps in a few years' time it will be a favourable moment to obtain an [...] entry into law, if you are making Bonn your goal, since there is absolutely no man there who can do anything out of the ordinary. I know that in regard to science Berlin has advantages and great attraction. But apart from the fact that greater difficulties arise there, you must surely also have some regard for your parents, whose sanguine hopes would be largely shattered by your residing so far away. Of course that must not hinder your plan of life; parental love is probably the least selfish of all. But if this plan of life could be fraternally combined with these hopes, that would be for me the highest of all life's joys, the number of which decreases so considerably with the years.

My stay here has so far yielded very little success, and yet I shall have to prolong it in spite of the most painful boredom in order to comply with the wish of your dear mother, who most urgently begs me to do so.

I shall obviously have to abandon my beautiful, long-cherished desire to see you during this vacation. It costs me great effort, but it seems it cannot be helped. This fatal cough tortures me in every respect!

Well, God take care of you, dear Karl, be happy and — I cannot repeat it too often — do not neglect your health as you enrich your mind.

With all my heart and soul,

Your father
*Marx*

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## HEINRICH MARX TO KARL MARX

IN BERLIN[a]

Trier, September 16, 1837

Dear Karl,

Your last letter, which we received about eight days ago, leads me to expect a larger sequel, and that indeed soon, and I should have liked to wait until I have a general view of the whole. But it might have worried you to have to wait too long, especially as it concerns a plan which will perhaps determine the next steps.

You know me, dear Karl, I am neither obstinate nor prejudiced. Whether you make your career in one department of learning or in another [is] essentially all one to me. But it is dear to my heart, of course for your sake, that you choose the one that is most in accord with your natural talents. At the outset it was the ordinary thing that one had in mind. Such a career, however, seemed not to your liking and I confess that, infected by your precocious views, I applauded you when you took academic teaching as your goal, whether in law or philosophy, and in the final count I believed the latter to be more likely. I was sufficiently aware of the difficulty of this career, and I particularly learned about it recently in Ems, where I had the opportunity to see a good deal of a professor of Bonn University. On the other hand, one thing is undeniable, namely [that] someone who is sure of himself could play an important role as a professor of law in Bonn, and it is easier to be sent from Berlin to Bonn, provided of course one has some patronage. Poetry would have to procure this patronage for you. But whatever your good fortune in this respect, it will take several years and your special situation puts you under pressure[...].

Let us take a look at the other aspect (and an important point is that with good classical studies a professorship can always remain a final goal). Does a practical career advance one so rapidly? As a rule it does not, and experience proves this only too well. Here also patronage does a great deal. Without it you would not be able to complain at all if, a few years after having completed your studies, you became an unpaid assessor, and then [remained] an assessor for years after. However, even with the strictest moral standards and the most meticulous scruples, it may be permissible

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[a] On the envelope is written: "Herrn Karl Marx, stud. juris wohlgeboren in Stralow. N. 4 bei Berlin."—*Ed.*

to procure for oneself through one's own merits a patron who, convinced of the protégé's efficiency, conscientiously advances and promotes him. And in any case you have been endowed by nature with talents that are very suitable for this purpose. How to make the best use of them is a matter for you to decide, and can hardly be judged by a third person, the more so since here the individual character must be very much taken into consideration. And whatever you undertake you must necessarily look at the matter and make your estimate from *this* point of view, for you are in a hurry; you feel that and so do I.

In some respects, that is of course to be regretted, but the most beautiful picture has its shades, and here resignation has to come into play. This resignation, moreover, is based on parts so brilliantly lit, and owes its origin so entirely to one's own will, which is guided by the heart and mind, that it is to be considered a pleasure rather than a sacrifice.

But I return to the question: What should I advise? And, in the first place, as regards your plan for theatrical criticism, I must confess above all that, as far as the subject itself is concerned, I am not particularly competent. Dramatic criticism requires much time and great circumspection. As far as art is concerned, such work in our time may perhaps be most meritorious. As far as fame is concerned, it can lead to an academic diploma.

How will it be received? I think with more hostility than favour, and the good, learned Lessing pursued, as far as I know, no rose-strewn path, but lived and died a poor librarian.

Will it yield particular financial profit? The question merges with the preceding one, and I am not in a position to give a categorical reply. I still think that some outstanding single works, a really good poem, a sterling tragedy or comedy, are far more suitable for your purpose.—But you are carving out your own career and you want to go on doing so. I can only address one wish to heaven, that in one way or another you may as quickly as possible achieve your real aim.

I will say only one thing more. If, owing to the fact that after three years of study you ask nothing more from home, you expose yourself too much to the necessity of doing what could be harmful to you, then let fate have its way and at all events even if it involves sacrifice on my part, I will much rather make such sacrifice than harm your career. If you manage it sensibly and without holding up your career, you will certainly afford me great relief, because, in point of fact, since the separation of the law court and the hawking activities of the young men, my income has

diminished in proportion as my expenses have become heavier. But, as I have said, this consideration must not stand in the way.

In coming back to the question of a practical career, however, why do you say nothing of cameralistics? I do not know whether I am mistaken, but it seems to me that poetry and literature are more likely to find patrons in the administration than in the judiciary, and a singing government adviser seems to me more natural than a singing judge. And after all what more is there in cameralistics than you already need as a true lawyer, apart from natural science? This last you must by no means neglect, that would be irresponsible.

You are, however, at the fountain-head, from which you can derive instruction, and precisely that aspect of the whole structure which under normal conditions you would probably still be far from appreciating, viz., *the vital question in the proper sense*, is forced on your attention and hence you will reflect, check and act with due care. I feel no anxiety that these considerations, even though forced on you, will ever lead you to base, grovelling actions. Despite my grey hairs, somewhat depressed state of mind and all too many cares, I would still be defiant and despise what is base. To you with your unimpaired powers, on whom nature has showered blessings, anything of the sort must seem impossible. But proud youth with its abundance of vital energy may regard as humiliating much that wisdom and duty peremptorily dictate in regard to oneself and especially to those whose welfare one has made it one's duty to ensure. True, worldly wisdom is a good deal to ask of a 19-year-old, but one who at 19——

I have not shown your last letter to Westphalen. These very good people are of such a peculiar stamp; they discuss everything from so many aspects and at such length that it is as well to give them as little material as possible. Since your studies this year remain the same, I do not see why I should give them material for new fantasies.

Jenny is not yet here, but is to come soon; that she does not write to you is—I cannot call it anything else—childish, headstrong. For there can be no doubt at all that her attitude to you is one of the most self-sacrificing love, and she was not far from proving it by her death.

She has somehow got the idea that it is unnecessary to write, or some other obscure idea about it that she may hold, she has also a touch of genius, and what bearing does that too have on the matter? You can be certain, as I am (and you know that I am not credulous by nature), that no prince would be able to turn her

away from you. She is devoted to you body and soul, and you must never forget it, at her age she is making a sacrifice for you that ordinary girls would certainly not be capable of. So if she has the idea of not being willing or able to write, in God's name let it pass. For after all it is only a token, and one can dispense with that at least, if one is assured of the essential. I [shall] speak to her about it if the occasion offers, however unwilling I am to do so.

Throughout the year I was gladdened by the expectation of seeing you, and so one lives under an eternal illusion. The only thing that does not deceive is a good heart, the love that flows from the heart; and in this respect I can only count myself among the rich, for I enjoy the love of an incomparable wife and the love of good children.

Do not make us wait so long for letters. Your good mother needs to be cheered up and your letters have a wonderful effect on her spirits. She has suffered so much this summer that only one so entirely forgetful of self could keep going, and things are still the same. May God rescue us soon from this long struggle! Write now and again a few lines for Eduard[a] but act as if he were quite well again.

If, without too much inconvenience to yourself, you can make closer contact with Herr Jaehnigen, you will be doing me a favour, I very much desire it. For you especially, it would be very advantageous to associate with Herr Esser and, as I hear, he is on friendly terms with Meurin.

Further, I beg you to go to Herr Geh. Justizrat Reinhard and in my name ask him to take steps to get a move made at last in my affair. Win or lose, I have cares enough and should like to have this worry off my mind at least.

Well, my dear good Karl, I think I have written enough. I seldom divide things into portions and think that warmed-up portions are not as good as fresh ones. Good-bye, and in connection with your old father do not forget that your blood is young; and if you are lucky enough to safeguard it from tempestuous and ravaging passions, refresh it at least by youthful cheerfulness and a joyful spirit, and by youthful pleasures in which heart and mind agree. I embrace you with all my heart and soul.

Your faithful father

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[a] Karl Marx's brother.— *Ed.*

[Postscript by Marx's mother]

Dear beloved Carl,

That heaven may keep you in good health is indeed my most ardent wish, apart from that you be moderate in your way of life and as much as possible also in your wishes and hopes now that you have achieved what is most essential, you can act with more calm and discretion. Frau von Westphalen[a] spoke to the children today. [Jenny is to] come today or tomorrow. She writes that she wants so very much to return to Trier and is longing to hear from you. I think Jenny's silence towards you is due to maidenly modesty, which I have already often noted in her, and which is certainly not to her disadvantage, but only still more enhances her charms and good qualities.—Edgar will probably go to Heidelberg to continue his studies from [...] for the feared—that your welfare and your success in whatever you undertake is dear to our hearts, you can rest assured. May the Almighty and the All-good only show you the right path that is most beneficial for you, that is what we wish to ask for. Only be of good courage and [...] persists will be crowned. I kiss you with all my heart in my thoughts. [...] make you for the autumn woollen jackets which will protect you from catching cold. Write very soon, dear Carl.

Your ever loving mother

*Henriette Marx*

Write also a few lines sometime to Hermann,[b] and enclose them in a letter to us. He is doing very well and people are very satisfied with him.

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## HEINRICH MARX TO KARL MARX

IN BERLIN

Trier, November 17, 1837

Dear Karl,

Have you still your headquarters in Stralow? At this time of year and in the land where no lemon trees are in bloom, can this be thinkable? But where are you then? That is the question, and for a

[a] Caroline von Westphalen.—*Ed.*
[b] Karl Marx's brother.—*Ed.*

practical man the first requirement for correspondence is to know an address. Therefore, I have to take advantage of the kindness of others.

An address, however, is form, and precisely that seems to be your weak side. Things may well be different as regards material? At least, one should suppose so, if one bears in mind: 1) that you have no lack of subject-matter, 2) that your situation is serious enough to arouse great interest, 3) that your father is perhaps somewhat partial in his attachment to you, etc., etc., etc., and yet after an interval of two months, the second of which caused me some unpleasant hours full of anxiety, I received a letter without form or content, a torn fragment saying nothing, which stood in no relation to what went before it and had no connection with the future!

If a correspondence is to be of interest and value, it must have consistency, and the writer must necessarily have *his* last letter before his eyes, as also the last reply. Your last letter but one[a] contained much that excited my expectation. I had written a number of letters which asked for information on my points. And instead of all that, I received a letter of bits and fragments, and, what is much worse, an *embittered* letter.

Frankly speaking, my dear Karl, I do not like this modern word, which all weaklings use to cloak their feelings when they quarrel with the world because they do not possess, without labour or trouble, well-furnished palaces with vast sums of money and elegant carriages. This embitterment disgusts me and you are the last person from whom I would expect it. What grounds can you have for it? Has not everything smiled on you ever since your cradle? Has not nature endowed you with magnificent talents? Have not your parents lavished affection on you? Have you ever up to now been unable to satisfy your reasonable wishes? And have you not carried away in the most incomprehensible fashion the heart of a girl whom thousands envy you? Yet the first untoward event, the first disappointed wish, evokes embitterment! Is that strength? Is that a manly character?

You yourself had declared, in dry words, that you would be satisfied with assurances for the future, and because of them renounce all outward signs for the present. Did you not make that renunciation word for word in writing? And only children complain about the word they have given when they begin to feel pressure.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 10-21.— *Ed.*

Yet here too your luck holds. Your good mother, who has a softer heart than I have and to whom it still very often occurs that we too were once the plaything of the little blind rogue, sounded the alarm, and the all too good parents of your Jenny could hardly wait for the moment when the poor, wounded heart would be consoled, and the recipe is undoubtedly already in your hands, if a defective address has not caused the epistle to go astray.

Time is limited, for Sophie is to take the letter before the post to the von Westphalens, who now live far away, and this good opportunity also was announced to me only today, so that I must conclude. As a matter of fact, at present I would not know what to say, at most I could only put questions to you, and I do not like to be importunate. Only one thing more my Herr Son will still allow me, namely, to express my surprise that I have still not received any request for money! Or do you perhaps want already now to make up for it from the too great amount taken? It's a little too early for that.

Your dear mother refused to reconcile herself entirely to the fact that you did not come home in the autumn as the others did. If it is too long for you and dear mother until next autumn, you could come for the Easter vacation.

Your faithful father

*Marx*

[Postscript by Marx's sister Sophie]

Good-bye, dear Karl, let us have news soon that you are now satisfied and that your mind is at rest. Until Easter, Karl, the hours until then will seem to me an eternity!

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## HEINRICH MARX TO KARL MARX

IN BERLIN

Trier, December 9, 1837

Dear Karl,

If one knows one's weaknesses, one must take steps against them. If then I wanted as usual to write in a coherent way, in the end my love for you would mislead me into adopting a sentimen-

tal tone, and all that had gone before would be the more wasted since you—so it seems at least—never take a letter in your hand a second time, and indeed quite logically, for why read a letter a second time if the letter sent in return is never an answer.

I will therefore give vent to my complaints in the form of aphorisms, for they are really complaints that I am putting forward. So, in order to make them quite clear to myself and to make you swallow them like pills, I raise questions which I am inclined to settle quite *a posteriori.*

1. What is the task of a young man on whom nature has incontestably bestowed unusual talent, in particular

a) if he, as he asserts and moreover I willingly believe, reveres his father and idealises his mother;
b) if he, without regard to his age and situation, has bound one of the noblest of girls to his fate, and
c) has thereby put a very honourable family into the position of having to approve a relationship which apparently and according to the usual way of the world holds out great dangers and gloomy prospects for this beloved child?

2. Had your parents any right to demand that your conduct, your way of life, should bring them joy, at least moments of joy, and as far as possible banish causes of sorrow?

3. What have been so far the fruits of your magnificent natural gifts, as far as your parents are concerned?

4. What have been these fruits as far as you yourself are concerned?

Strictly speaking, I could and should perhaps end here and leave it to you to reply and give a complete explanation. But I am afraid of any vein of poetry in this connection. I will reply prosaically, from real life as it actually is, at the risk of appearing too prosaic even to my Herr Son.

The mood in which I find myself is in fact anything but poetic. With a cough which I have had for a year and which makes it hard for me to follow my profession, coupled with recent attacks of gout, I find myself to be more ill-humoured than is reasonable and become annoyed at my weakness of character, and so, of course, you can only expect the descriptions of an aging, ill-tempered man who is irritated by continual disappointments and especially by the fact that he has to hold up to his own idol a mirror full of distorted images.

*Replies and/or Complaints*

1. Gifts deserve, call for gratitude; and since magnificent natural gifts are certainly the most excellent of all, they call for a specially high degree of gratitude. But the only way nature allows gratitude to be shown her is by making proper use of these gifts and, if I may use an ordinary expression, making one's talent bear profit.

I am well aware how one should and must reply in a somewhat nobler style, namely, such gifts should be used for one's own ennoblement, and I do not dispute that this is true. Yes, indeed, they should be used for one's ennoblement. But how? One is a human being, a spiritual being, and a member of society, a citizen of the state. Hence physical, moral, intellectual and political ennoblement. Only if unison and harmony are introduced into the efforts to attain this great goal can a beautiful, attractive whole make its appearance, one which is well-pleasing to God, to men, to one's parents and to the girl one loves, and which deserves with greater truth and naturalness to be called a truly plastic picture than would a meeting with an old schoolfellow.

But, as I have said, only the endeavour to extend ennoblement in due, equal proportion to all parts is evidence of the will to prove oneself worthy of these gifts; only through the evenness of this distribution can a beautiful structure, true harmony, be found.

Indeed, if restricted to individual parts, the most honest endeavours not only do not lead to a good result, on the contrary, they produce caricatures: if restricted to the physical part—simpletons; if to the moral part—fanatical visionaries; if to the political part—intriguers, and if to the intellectual part—learned boors.

a) Yes, a young man must set himself this goal if he really wants to give joy to his parents, whose services to him it is for his heart to appreciate; especially if he knows that his parents put their finest hopes in him.

b) Yes, he must bear in mind that he has undertaken a duty, possibly exceeding his age, but all the more sacred on that account, to sacrifice himself for the benefit of a girl who has made a great sacrifice in view of her outstanding merits and her social position in abandoning her brilliant situation and prospects for an uncertain and duller future and chaining herself to the fate of a younger man. The simple and practical solution is to procure her a future worthy of her, in the real world, not in a smoke-filled room with a reeking oil-lamp at the side of a scholar grown wild.

c) Yes, he has a big debt to repay, and a noble family has the right to demand adequate compensation for the forfeiting of its great hopes so well justified by the excellent personality of the child. For, in truth, thousands of parents would have refused their consent. And in moments of gloom your own father almost wishes they had done so, for the welfare of this angelic girl is all too dear to my heart; truly I love her like a daughter, and it is for that very reason that I am so anxious for her happiness.

All these obligations together form such a closely woven bond that it alone should suffice to exorcise all evil spirits, dispel all errors, compensate for all defects and develop new and better instincts. It should suffice to turn an uncivilised stripling into an orderly human being, a negating genius into a genuine thinker, a wild ringleader of wild young fellows into a man fit for society, one who retains sufficient pride not to twist and turn like an eel, but has enough practical intelligence and tact to feel that it is only through intercourse with moral-minded people that he can learn the art of showing himself to the world in his most pleasant and most advantageous aspect, of winning respect, love and prestige as quickly as possible, and of making practical use of the talents which mother nature has in fact lavishly bestowed upon him.

That, in short, was the *problem.* How has it been solved?

God's grief!!! Disorderliness, musty excursions into all departments of knowledge, musty brooding under a gloomy oil-lamp; running wild in a scholar's dressing-gown and with unkempt hair instead of running wild over a glass of beer; unsociable withdrawal with neglect of all decorum and even of all consideration for the *father.*—The art of association with the world restricted to a dirty work-room, in the classic disorder of which perhaps the love-letters of a Jenny and the well-meant exhortations of a father, written perhaps with tears, are used for pipe-spills, which at any rate would be better than if they were to fall into the hands of third persons owing to even more irresponsible disorder.—And is it here, in this workshop of senseless and inexpedient erudition, that the fruits are to ripen which will refresh you and your beloved, and the harvest to be garnered which will serve to fulfil your sacred obligations!?

3. I am, of course, very deeply affected in spite of my resolution, I am almost overwhelmed by the feeling that I am hurting you, and already my weakness once again begins to come over me, but in order to help myself, quite literally, I take the real pills prescribed for me and swallow it all down, for I will be hard for

once and give vent to all my complaints. I will not become soft-hearted, for I feel that I have been too indulgent, given too little utterance to my grievances, and thus to a certain extent have become your accomplice. I must and will say that you have caused your parents much vexation and little or no joy.

Hardly were your wild goings-on in Bonn over, hardly were your old sins wiped out—and they were truly manifold—when, to our dismay, the pangs of love set in, and with the good nature of parents in a romantic novel we became their heralds and the bearers of their cross. But deeply conscious that your life's happiness was centred here, we tolerated what could not be altered and perhaps ourselves played unbecoming roles. While still so young, you became estranged from your family, but seeing with parents' eyes the beneficial influence on you, we hoped to see the good effects speedily developed, because in point of fact reflection and necessity equally testified in favour of this. But what were the fruits we harvested?

We have never had the pleasure of a rational correspondence, which as a rule is the consolation for absence. For correspondence presupposes consistent and continuous intercourse, carried on reciprocally and harmoniously by both sides. We never received a reply to our letters; never did your next letter have any connection with your previous one or with ours.

If one day we received the announcement that you had made some new acquaintance, afterwards this disappeared totally and for ever, like a still-born child.

As to what our only too beloved son was actually busy with, thinking about and doing, hardly was a rhapsodic phrase at times thrown in on this subject when the rich catalogue came to an end as if by magic.

On several occasions we were without a letter for months, and the last time was when you knew Eduard was ill, mother suffering and I myself not well, and moreover cholera was raging in Berlin; and as if that did not even call for an apology, your next letter contained not a single word about it, but merely some badly written lines and an extract from the diary entitled *The Visit*,[a] which I would quite frankly prefer to throw out rather than accept, a crazy botch-work which merely testifies how you squander your talents and spend your nights giving birth to monsters; that you follow in the footsteps of the new immoralists who twist their words until they themselves do not hear them; who christen

[a] See this volume, pp. 12 and 19.—*Ed.*

a flood of words a product of genius because it is devoid of ideas or contains only distorted ideas.

Yes, your letter did contain something—complaints that Jenny does not write, despite the fact that at bottom you were convinced that you were favoured on all sides—at least there was no reason for despair and embitterment—but that was not enough, your dear ego yearned for the pleasure of reading what you knew already (which, of course, in the present case is quite fair), and that was almost all that my Herr Son could say to his parents, whom he knew to be suffering, whom he had oppressed by a senseless silence.

As if we were men of wealth, my Herr Son disposed in one year of almost 700 talers contrary to all agreement, contrary to all usage, whereas the richest spend less than 500. And why? I do him the justice of saying that he is no rake, no squanderer. But how can a man who every week or two discovers a new system and has to tear up old works laboriously arrived at, how can he, I ask, worry about trifles? How can he submit to the pettiness of order? Everyone dips a hand in his pocket, and everyone cheats him, so long as he doesn't disturb him in his studies, and a new money order is soon written again, of course. Narrow-minded persons like G. R. and Evers may be worried about that, but they are common fellows. True, in their simplicity these men try to digest the lectures, even if only the words, and to procure themselves patrons and friends here and there, for the examinations are presided over by men, by professors, pedants and sometimes vindictive villains, who like to put to shame anyone who is independent; yet the greatness of man consists precisely in creating and destroying!!!

True, these poor young fellows sleep quite well, except when they sometimes devote half a night or a whole night to pleasure, whereas my hard-working talented Karl spends wretched nights awake, weakens his mind and body by serious study, denies himself all pleasure, in order in fact to pursue lofty abstract studies, but what he builds today he destroys tomorrow, and in the end he has destroyed his own work and not assimilated the work of others. In the end the body is ailing and the mind confused, whereas the ordinary little people continue to creep forward undisturbed and sometimes reach the goal better and at least more comfortably than those who despise the joys of youth and shatter their health to capture the shadow of erudition, which they would probably have achieved better in an hour's social intercourse with competent people, and with social enjoyment into the bargain!!!

I conclude, for I feel from my more strongly beating pulse that I am near to lapsing into a soft-hearted tone, and today I intend to be merciless.

I must add, too, the complaints of your brothers and sisters. From your letters, one can hardly see that you have any brothers or sisters; as for the good Sophie, who has suffered so much for you and Jenny and is so lavish in her devotion to you, you do not think of her when you do not need her.

I have paid your money order for *160* talers. I cannot, or can hardly, charge it to the old academic year, for that truly has its full due. And for the future I do not want to expect many of the same kind.

To come here at the present moment would be nonsense! True, I know you care little for lectures, though you probably pay for them, but I will at least observe the decencies. I am certainly no slave to public opinion, but neither do I like gossip at my expense. Come for the Easter vacation—or even two weeks earlier, I am not so pedantic—and in spite of my present epistle you can rest assured that I shall receive you with open arms and the welcoming beat of a father's heart, which is actually ailing only through excessive anxiety.

Your father
*Marx*

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## HEINRICH MARX TO KARL MARX

IN BERLIN

Trier, February 10, 1838

Dear Karl,

For already two months now I have had to keep to my room, and for one whole month to my bed, and so it has come about that I have not written to you. Today I intend to be up for a few hours and to see how far I can succeed in writing a letter. True, I manage rather shakily, but I do manage, only I shall of course

have to be somewhat shorter than I should be and would like to be.

When I wrote you a rather blunt letter, the mood in which I was had naturally to be taken into account, but that mood did not make me invent anything, although of course it could make me exaggerate.

To embark again on a discussion of each separate complaint is what I am now least capable of doing, and in general I do not want to engage with you in the art of abstract argument, because in that case I should first of all have to study the terminology before I could as much as penetrate into the sanctum, and I am too old for that.

All right, if your conscience modestly harmonises with your philosophy and is compatible with it.

Only on one point, of course, all transcendentalism is of no avail, and on that you have very wisely found fit to observe an aristocratic silence; I am referring to the paltry matter of money, the value of which for the father of a family you still do not seem to recognise, but I do all the more, and I do not deny that at times I reproach myself with having left you all too loose a rein in this respect. Thus we are now in the fourth month of the law year and you have already drawn 280 talers. I have not yet earned that much this winter.

But you are wrong in saying or imputing that I misjudge or misunderstand you. Neither the one nor the other. I give full credit to your heart, to your morality. Already in the first year of your legal career I gave you irrefutable proof of this by not even demanding an explanation in regard to a very obscure matter, even though it was very problematic.—Only real faith in your high morality could make this possible, and thank heaven I have not gone back on it.—But that does not make me blind, and it is only because I am tired that I lay down my arms. But always believe, and never doubt, that you have the innermost place in my heart and that you are one of the most powerful levers in my life.

Your latest decision is worthy of the highest praise and well considered, wise and commendable, and if you carry out what you have promised, it will probably bear the best fruits. And rest assured that it is not only you who are making a big sacrifice. The same applies to all of us, but reason must triumph.

I am exhausted, dear Karl, and must close. I regret that I have not been able to write as I wanted to. I would have liked to embrace you with all my heart, but my still poor condition makes it impossible.

Your last proposal concerning me has great difficulties. What rights can I bring to bear? What support have I?

Your faithful father

*Marx*

[Postscript by Marx's mother]

Dear beloved Carl,

For your sake your dear father has for the first time undertaken the effort of writing to you. Good father is very weak, God grant that he may soon regain his strength. I am still in good health, dear Carl, and I am resigned to my situation and calm. Dear Jenny behaves as a loving child towards her parents, takes an intimate part in everything and often cheers us up by her loving childlike disposition, which still manages to find a bright side to everything. Write to me, dear Carl, about what has been the matter with you and whether you are quite well again. I am the one most dissatisfied that you are not to come during Easter; I let feeling go before reason and I regret, dear Carl, that you are too reasonable. You must not take my letter as the measure of my profound love; there are times when one feels much and can say little. So good-bye, dear Carl, write soon to your good father, and that will certainly help towards his speedy recovery.

Your ever loving mother

*Henriette Marx*

[Postscript by Marx's sister Sophie]

You will be glad, dear Karl, to hear from Father; my long letter now appears to me so unimportant that I do not know whether I should enclose it, since I fear that it might not be worth the cost of carriage.

Dear Father is getting better; it is high time too. He will soon have been in bed for eight weeks, and he only got up for the first time a few days ago so that the bedroom could be aired. Today he made a great effort to write a few lines to you in a shaky hand. Poor Father is now very impatient, and no wonder: the whole winter he has been behindhand with business matters, and the need is now four times as great as before. I sing to him daily and also read to him. Do send me at last the romance you have so long promised me. Write at once, it will be a pleasant distraction for us

all. Karoline is not well, and Louise is also in bed; in all probability she has scarlet fever. Emilie keeps cheerful and in good spirits, and Jette[a] is not exactly in the most amiable humour.

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## POSTSCRIPT BY HEINRICH MARX TO HENRIETTE MARX'S LETTER TO KARL MARX IN BERLIN[207]

[February 15-16, 1838]

Dear Karl,

I send you a few words of greeting, I cannot do much yet.

Your father

*Marx*

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[a] Karoline, Louise, Emilie and Henriette are Marx's sisters.— *Ed.*

# JENNY VON WESTPHALEN TO KARL MARX

IN BERLIN[a] [208]

Trier [1839-40]

My dear and only beloved,

Sweetheart, are you no longer angry with me, and also not worried about me? I was so very upset when I last wrote, and in such moments I see everything still much blacker and more terrible than it actually is. Forgive me, one and only beloved, for causing you such anxiety, but I was shattered by your doubt of my love and faithfulness. Tell me, Karl, how could you do that, how could you set it down so dryly in writing to me, express a suspicion merely because I was silent somewhat longer than usual, kept longer to myself the sorrow I felt over your letter, over Edgar, indeed over so much that filled my soul with unspeakable misery. I did it only to spare you, and to save myself from becoming upset, a consideration which I owe indeed to you and to my family.

Oh, Karl, how little you know me, how little you appreciate my position, and how little you feel where my grief lies, where my heart bleeds. A girl's love is different from that of a man, it cannot but be different. A girl, of course, cannot give a man anything but love and herself and her person, just as she is, quite undivided and for ever. In ordinary circumstances, too, the girl must find her complete satisfaction in the man's love, she must forget everything in love. But, Karl, think of my position, you have no regard for me, you do not trust me. And that I am not capable of retaining your present romantic youthful love, I have known from

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[a] Note to Edgar von Westphalen: "My dear Edgar, please be so good as to take charge of this letter for me and I shall be ready to act as a messenger of love for you at any time."—*Ed.*

the beginning, and deeply felt, long before it was explained to me so coldly and wisely and reasonably. Oh, Karl, what makes me miserable is that what would fill any other girl with inexpressible delight—your beautiful, touching, passionate love, the indescribably beautiful things you say about it, the inspiring creations of your imagination—all this only causes me anxiety and often reduces me to despair. The more I were to surrender myself to happiness, the more frightful would my fate be if your ardent love were to cease and you became cold and withdrawn.

You see, Karl, concern over the permanence of your love robs me of all enjoyment. I cannot so fully rejoice at your love, because I no longer believe myself assured of it; nothing more terrible could happen to me than that. You see, Karl, that is why I am not so wholly thankful for, so wholly enchanted by your love, as it really deserves. That is why I often remind you of external matters, of life and reality, instead of clinging wholly, as you can do so well, to the world of love, to absorption in it and to a higher, dearer, spiritual unity with you, and in it forgetting everything else, finding solace and happiness in that alone. Karl, if you could only sense my misery you would be milder towards me and not see hideous prose and mediocrity everywhere, not perceive everywhere want of true love and depth of feeling.

Oh, Karl, if only I could rest safe in your love, my head would not burn so, my heart would not hurt and bleed so. If only I could rest safe for ever in your heart, Karl, God knows my soul would not think of life and cold prose. But, my angel, you have no regard for me, you do not trust me, and your love, for which I would sacrifice everything, everything, I cannot keep fresh and young. In that thought lies death; once you apprehend it in my soul, you will have greater consideration for me when I long for consolation that lies outside your love. I feel so completely how right you are in everything, but think also of my situation, my inclination to sad thoughts, just think properly over all that as it is, and you will no longer be so hard towards me. If only you could be a girl for a little while and, moreover, such a peculiar one as I am.

So, sweetheart, since your last letter I have tortured myself with the fear that for my sake you could become embroiled in a quarrel and then in a duel. Day and night I saw you wounded, bleeding and ill, and, Karl, to tell you the whole truth, I was not altogether unhappy in this thought: for I vividly imagined that you had lost your right hand, and, Karl, I was in a state of rapture, of bliss, because of that. You see, sweetheart, I thought that in that case I

could really become quite indispensable to you, you would then always keep me with you and love me. I also thought that then I could write down all your dear, heavenly ideas and be really useful to you. All this I imagined so naturally and vividly that in my thoughts I continually heard your dear voice, your dear words poured down on me and I listened to every one of them and carefully preserved them for other people. You see, I am always picturing such things to myself, but then I am happy, for then I am with you, yours, wholly yours. If I could only believe that to be possible, I would be quite satisfied. Dear and only beloved, write to me soon and tell me that you are well and that you love me always. But, dear Karl, I must once more talk to you a little seriously. Tell me, how could you doubt my faithfulness to you? Oh, Karl, to let you be eclipsed by someone else, not as if I failed to recognise the excellent qualities in other people and regarded you as unsurpassable, but, Karl, I love you indeed so inexpressibly, how could I find anything even at all worthy of love in someone else? Oh, dear Karl, I have never, never been wanting in any way towards you, yet all the same you do not trust me. But it is curious that precisely someone was mentioned to you who has hardly ever been seen in Trier, who cannot be known at all, whereas I have been often and much seen engaged in lively and cheerful conversation in society with all kinds of men. I can often be quite cheerful and teasing, I can often joke and carry on a lively conversation with absolute strangers, things that I cannot do with you. You see, Karl, I could chat and converse with anyone, but as soon as you merely look at me, I cannot say a word for nervousness, the blood stops flowing in my veins and my soul trembles.

Often when I thus suddenly think of you I am dumbstricken and overpowered with emotion so that not for anything in the world could I utter a word. Oh, I don't know how it happens, but I get such a queer feeling when I think of you, and I don't think of you on isolated and special occasions; no, my whole life and being are but one thought of you. Often things occur to me that you have said to me or asked me about, and then I am carried away by indescribably marvellous sensations. And, Karl, when you kissed me, and pressed me to you and held me fast, and I could no longer breathe for fear and trembling, and you looked at me so peculiarly, so softly, oh, sweetheart, you do not know the way you have often looked at me. If you only knew, dear Karl, what a peculiar feeling I have, I really cannot describe it to you. I sometimes think to myself, too, how nice it will be when at last I

am with you always and you call me your little wife. Surely, sweetheart, then I shall be able to tell you all that I think, then one would no longer feel so horribly shy as at present. Dear Karl, it is so lovely to have such a sweetheart. If you only knew what it is like, you would not believe that I could ever love anyone else. You, dear sweetheart, certainly do not remember all the many things you have said to me, when I come to think of it. Once you said something so nice to me that one can only say when one is totally in love and thinks one's beloved completely at one with oneself. You have often said something so lovely, dear Karl, do you remember? If I had to tell you exactly everything I have been thinking—and, my dear rogue, you certainly think I have told you everything already, but you are very much mistaken—when I am no longer your sweetheart, I shall tell you also what one only says when one belongs wholly to one's beloved. Surely, dear Karl, you will then also tell me everything and will again look at me so lovingly. That was the most beautiful thing in the world for me. Oh, my darling, how you looked at me the first time like that and then quickly looked away, and then looked at me again, and I did the same, until at last we looked at each other for quite a long time and very deeply, and could no longer look away. Dearest one, do not be angry with me any more and write to me also a little tenderly, I am so happy then. And do not be so much concerned about my health. I often imagine it to be worse than it is. I *really do feel better now than for a long time past.* I have also stopped taking medicine and my appetite, too, is again very good. I walk a lot in Wettendorf's garden and am quite industrious the whole day long. But, unfortunately, I can't read anything. If I only knew of a book which I could understand properly and which could divert me a little. I often take an hour to read one page and still do not understand anything. To be sure, sweetheart, I can catch up again even if I get a little behind at present, you will help me to go forward again, and I am quick in grasping things too. Perhaps you know of some book, but it must be quite a special kind, a bit learned so that I do not understand everything, but still manage to understand something as if through a fog, a bit such as not everyone likes to read; and also no fairy-tales, and no poetry, I can't bear it. I think it would do me a lot of good if I exercised my mind a bit. Working with one's hands leaves too much scope to the mind. Dear Karl, only keep well for my sake. The funny little dear is already living somewhere else. I am very glad at the change in your....

Published for the first time Printed according to the original

## RECORD SHEET FILLED IN BY MARX[209]

FREDERICK WILLIAM UNIVERSITY IN BERLIN

Record Sheet

Student of law K. H. Marx from Trier

| Has taken here the following lectures | with | No. of attendance list | Questor's remark regarding fee | Lecturer's testimony on attendance at lectures |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Winter term I. 1836/37* | | |
| *Private lectures* | | | | |
| 1) *Pandects* | Prof. Dr. v. Savigny | | 1. paid | diligent v. Savigny 14/3. 37 |
| 2) *Criminal Law* | Dr. Prof. Gans | | 2. ditto | exceptionally diligent. Gans 17/3. 37 |
| 3) *Anthropology* | Dr. Prof. Steffens | | 3. ditto | diligent. Steffens 18/3. 37 |
| | | | 9/11.36 | |
| | | | Wittenberg 24/1. 41 | Corresponds to the original. Wittenberg Berlin 9/3. 41 |
| | | *Summer term II. 1837* | | |
| *Private lectures* | | | | |
| 1) *Ecclesiastical law* with Dr. Prof. Heffter | Heffter | | 1. paid | |
| 2) *Civil procedure* with Dr. Prof. Heffter | Heffter | | 2. ditto | diligent 12/[...]37 |
| *Public lecture* | | | | |
| 3) *Prussian civil procedure* with Dr. Prof. Heffter | | | 3. public 2/5. 37 Wittenberg 24/1. 41 | |

| Has taken here the following lectures | with | No. of attendance list | Questor's remark regarding fee | Lecturer's testimony on attendance at lectures |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Winter term III. 1837/38* | | |
| *Criminal legal procedure* with Dr. Prof. Heffter | Heffter | | paid 10/11. 37 Wittenberg 24/1. 41 | diligent [...] [...] Heffter |
| | | *Summer term IV. 1838* | | |
| 1) *Logic* with Dr. Prof. Gabler | | | 1. paid | extremely diligent attendance 9/8. 38 Gabler |
| 2) *Geography* with Dr. Prof. Ritter | | | 2. ditto | |
| 3) *Prussian law* with Dr. Prof. Gans | | | 3. ditto Wittenberg 19/5. 38 | exceptionally diligent 7/8. 38 Gans p. j. copy Wittenberg 9/3. 41 |
| | | *Winter term V. 1838/39* | | |
| *Inheritance law* with Dr. Prof. Rudorff | Rudorff | | paid Wittenberg 10/12. 38 | diligent 8/3 Rudorff |
| | | *Summer term VI. 1839* | | |
| *Isaiah* with Licentiate Bauer | | | remitted by authorisation | attended as per appended certificate |
| | | *Term VII* | | |
| *Iphigenie in Aulis* by Euripides | | | public Wittenberg 28/1. 41 | diligent attendance attested Berlin, 23/3. 40 Geppert, Dr. Ph. |

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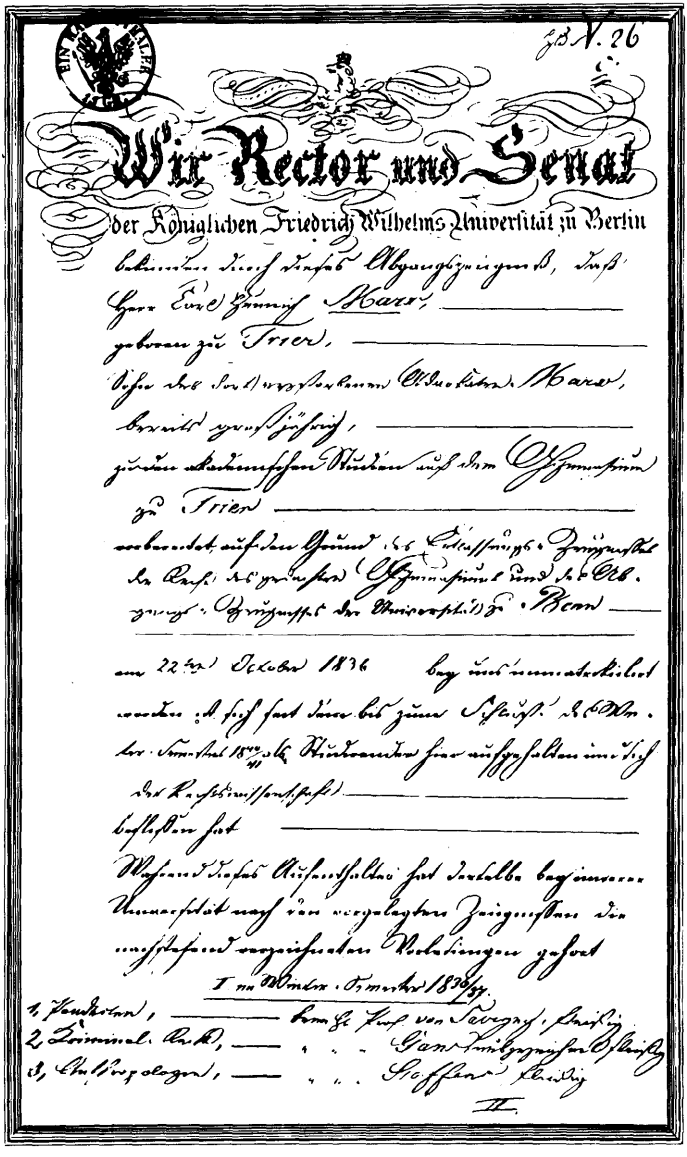

Gb. N. 26

Wir Rector und Senat

der Königlichen Friedrich Wilhelms Universität zu Berlin

bekennen hiermit, daß der Abiturient Karl Heinrich Marx, aus Trier gebürtig, Sohn des verstorbenen Advokaten Marx, zuletzt wohnhaft daselbst, auf dem Gymnasium zu Trier vorbereitet, auf den Grund des Abgangszeugnisses des Königl. Gymnasiums und des Ob.-Präsidiums der Rheinprovinz zu Bonn am 22sten October 1836 bei uns immatrikulirt worden ist, sich seit dem bis zum Schluß des Sommer-Semesters 1837/38 Kraft unserer Gesetze im Stande des Rechtswissenschaftlichen Studiums befunden hat.

Während dieses Aufenthalts hat derselbe bei immerwährender Immatrikulation nach den vorgelegten Zeugnissen die nachstehend verzeichneten Vorlesungen gehört

I. im Winter-Semester 1836/37.

1. Pandekten, — bei Hr. Prof. von Savigny, Freitag
2. Criminal-Recht, — " " " Gans, Montag, Mittwoch, Freitag
3. Staatsrecht, — " " " Hoffmann, Freitag

II.

Leaving Certificate from Berlin University

QUOD
FELIX FAUSTUMQUE ESSE IUBEAT
SUMMUM NUMEN
AUCTORITATE
HUIC LITTERARUM UNIVERSITATI
AB

# FERDINANDO I

IMPERATORE ROMANO GERMANICO
ANNO MDLVII CONCESSA
CLEMENTISSIMIS AUSPICIIS
SERENISSIMORUM
MAGNI DUCIS ET DUCUM SAXONIAE
NUTRITORUM ACADEMIAE IENENSIS
MUNIFICENTISSIMORUM
RECTORE ACADEMIAE MAGNIFICENTISSIMO
AUGUSTO ET POTENTISSIMO PRINCIPE AC DOMINO

# CAROLO FRIDERICO

MAGNO DUCE SAXONIAE VIMARIENSIUM ATQUE ISENACENSIUM PRINCIPE LANDGRAVIO THURINGIAE
MARCHIONE MISNIAE PRINCIPALI DIGNITATE COMITE HENNEBERGAE
DYNASTA BLANKENHAYNII MERSTADII AC TAUTENBURGI
PRORECTORE ACADEMIAE MAGNIFICO
VIRO PERILLUSTRI ATQUE AMPLISSIMO

# ERNESTO REINHOLDO

PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTORE ARTIUMQUE LIBERALIUM MAGISTRO
MAGNI DUCIS SAXONIAE VIMARIENSIS ET ISENACENSIS A CONSILIIS AULAE INTIMIS PHILOSOPHIAE PROFESSORE PUBLICO ORDINARIO
DECANO ORDINIS PHILOSOPHORUM ET BRABEUTA
MAXIME SPECTABILI
VIRO PERILLUSTRI ATQUE EXCELLENTISSIMO

# CAROLO FRIDERICO BACHMANNO

PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTORE
SERENISSIMI DUCIS SAX. ALTENBURGENSIS A CONSILIIS AULAE INTIMIS MORALIUM ET POLITICES PROFESSORE PUBLICO ORDINARIO INSTITUTORUM MAGNIDUCALIUM MINERALIUMQUE IN DIRECTORE INSTITUTI HISTORIAE PARISIENSIS SOCIETATUM CAESAREAE PETROPOLITANAE MINERALOGICAE REGIAE DRESDENSIS MINERALOGICAE POLYTECHNICAE PARISIENSIS ARTIUM ET SCIENTIARUM PUBLICAE APUD TRANSALPINOS ARTIUM ET LITTERARUM CANADAENSIS SCIENTIARUM ET ARTIUM ANTVERPIENSIS MEDICORUM ET PHYSICORUM BRUXELLENSIS INSTITUTORUM DE RERUM NATURA PHILADELPHIENSIS IN AMERICA SEPTENTRIONALI ET LATINAE IENENSIS ALIARUMQUE SOCIO
ORDO PHILOSOPHORUM
VIRO PRAENOBILISSIMO ATQUE DOCTISSIMO

# CAROLO HENRICO MARX

TREVIRENSI
DOCTORIS PHILOSOPHIAE HONORES
DIGNITATEM IURA ET PRIVILEGIA
INGENII DOCTRINAE ET VIRTUTIS SPECTATAE INSIGNIA ET ORNAMENTA
DETULIT
DELATA
PUBLICO HOC DIPLOMATE
CUI IMPRESSUM EST SIGNUM ORDINIS PHILOSOPHORUM
PROMULGAVIT
IENAE DIE XV M. APRILIS A. MDCCCXLI.

TYPIS SCHNEIL

Karl Marx's Doctor's Diploma

# LEAVING CERTIFICATE FROM BERLIN UNIVERSITY[210]

To No. 26

We, the *Rector* and *Senate*
of the Royal Frederick William University
in Berlin,

testify by this leaving certificate that Herr *Carl Heinrich Marx*, born in Trier, son of the barrister *Marx* there deceased, already of age, prepared for academic studies at the gymnasium in Trier, was matriculated here on October 22, 1836, on the basis of the certificate of maturity of the above-mentioned gymnasium and of the certificate of release of the University in Bonn, has been here since then as a student until the end of the winter term 1840/41, and has applied himself to the study of jurisprudence.

During this stay at our University, according to the certificates submitted to us, he has attended the lectures listed below:

I. *In the winter term 1836/37*

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Pandects | with | Herr | Professor | v. *Savigny*, | diligent. |
| 2. Criminal law | " | " | " | *Gans*, | exceptionally diligent. |
| 3. Anthropology | " | " | " | *Steffens*, | diligent. |

II. *In the summer term 1837*

1. Ecclesiastical law
2. Common German civil procedure
3. Prussian civil procedure

} with Herr Professor *Heffter*, diligent.

III. *In the winter term 1837/38*

1. Criminal legal procedure with Herr Professor *Heffter*, diligent.

IV. *In the summer term 1838*

1. Logic with Herr Professor *Gabler*, extremely diligent.
2. General geography with Herr Professor *Ritter*, attended.
3. Prussian law " " " *Gans*, exceptionally diligent.

V. *In the winter term 1838/39*

1. Inheritance law with Herr Professor *Rudorff*, diligent.

VI. *In the summer term 1839*

1. Isaiah with Herr Licentiate *Bauer*, attended.

VII and VIII. *In the winter term 1839/40 and summer term 1840*, none

IX. *In the winter term 1840/41*

1. Euripides with Herr Dr. *Geppert*, diligent.

v. Medem
23.3.41

In regard to his behaviour at the University here, there is nothing specially disadvantageous to note from the point of view of discipline, and from the economic point of view only that on several occasions he has been the object of proceedings for debt.

He has not hitherto been charged with participating in forbidden associations among students at this University.

In witness thereof, this certificate has been drawn up under the seal of the University and signed with their own hand by the Rector pro tem and by the Judge, and also by the present Deans of the Faculties of Law and Philosophy.

Berlin, March 30, 1841

*Lichtenstein.* *Krause.* *Lancizolle.* *Zumpt.*

Witnessed by the Deputy Royal Governmental Plenipotentiaries
*Lichtenstein.* *Krause.*

First published in the yearly *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, 1926

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Published in English for the first time

# RECOMMENDATORY REFERENCE ON THE DISSERTATION OF KARL MARX[211]

Senior Venerande,
Assessores Gravissimi,

I present to you hereby a very worthy candidate in Herr *Carl Heinrich Marx* from *Trier*. He has sent in 1) A *written request*. (sub. lit. *a*.) 2) Two university certificates on his academic studies in Bonn and Berlin. (lit. *b*. and *c*.) The disciplinary offences therein noted can be disregarded by us. 3) A written request in Latin, curriculum vitae, and specimen: *On the Difference Between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature*, together with a certificate on authorship written in Latin. (lit. *d*.) 4) 12 Friedr. d'or, the excess of which will be returned to the candidate. The specimen testifies to intelligence and perspicacity as much as to erudition, for which reason I regard the candidate as pre-eminently worthy. Since, according to his German letter, he desires to receive only the degree of Doctor, it is clear that it is merely an error due to lack of acquaintance with the statutes of the faculty that in the Latin letter he speaks of the degree of Magister. He probably thought that the two belong together. I am convinced that only a clarification of this point is needed in order to satisfy him.

Requesting your wise decision,
Most respectfully,

Dr. Carl Friedrich *Bachmann*
pro tem Dean

Jena, April 13, 1841

Ordinis philosophorum Decane maxime spectabilis
As Your Spectabilität

*Luden*
*F. Hand*
*E. Reinhold*
*Döbereiner*
*J. F. Fries*
*Goettling*
*Schulze*

First published in the yearly *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, 1926

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## JENNY VON WESTPHALEN TO KARL MARX

IN BONN

[Trier, August 10, 1841]

My little wild boar,

How glad I am that you are happy, and that my letter made you cheerful, and that you are longing for me, and that you are living in wallpapered rooms, and that you drank champagne in Cologne, and that there are Hegel clubs there, and that you have been dreaming, and that, in short, you are mine, my own sweetheart, my dear wild boar. But for all that there is one thing I miss: you could have praised me a little for my Greek, and you could have devoted a little laudatory article to my erudition. But that is just like you, you Hegeling gentlemen,[212] you don't recognise anything, be it the height of excellence, if it is not exactly according to your view, and so I must be modest and rest on my *own* laurels. Yes, sweetheart, I have still to rest, alas, and indeed on a feather bed and pillows, and even this little letter is being sent out into the world from my little bed.

On Sunday I ventured on a bold excursion into the front rooms—but it proved bad for me and now I have to do penance again for it. Schleicher told me just now that he has had a letter from a young revolutionary, but that the latter is greatly mistaken in his judgment of his countrymen. He does not think he can procure either shares or anything else. Ah, dear, dear sweetheart, now you get yourself involved in politics too. That is indeed the most risky thing of all. Dear little Karl, just remember always that here at home you have a sweetheart who is hoping and suffering and is wholly dependent on your fate. Dear, dear sweetheart, how I wish I could only see you again.

Unfortunately, I cannot and may not fix the day as yet. Before I feel quite well again, I shall not get permission to travel. But I am staying put this week. Otherwise our dear synopticist[a] may finally depart and I should not have seen the worthy man. This morning quite early I studied in the Augsburg newspaper three Hegelian articles and the announcement of Bruno's book![213]

Properly speaking, dear sweetheart, I ought now to say *vale faveque*[b] to you, for you only asked me for a couple of lines and the page is already filled almost to the end. But today I do not want to keep so strictly to the letter of the law and I intend to stretch the lines asked for to as many pages. And it is true, is it not, sweetheart, that you will not be angry with your little Jenny on that account, and as for the content itself, you should bear firmly in mind that only a knave gives more than he has. Today my buzzing, whirring little head is quite pitiably empty and it has hardly anything in it but wheels and clappers and mills. The thoughts have all gone, but on the other hand, my little heart is so full, so overflowing with love and yearning and ardent longing for you, my infinitely loved one.

In the meantime have you not received a letter written in pencil sent through Vauban? Perhaps, the intermediary is no longer any good, and in future I must address the letters directly to my lord and master.

Commodore Napier has just passed by in his white cloak. One's poor senses fail one at the sight. It strikes me as just like the wolves' ravine in the *Freischüz*, when suddenly the wild army and all the curious fantastic forms pass through it. Only on the miserable little stage of our theatre one always saw the wires to which the eagles and owls and crocodiles were fastened—in this case the mechanism is merely of a somewhat different kind.

Tomorrow, for the first time, Father[c] will be allowed out of his constrained position and seated on a chair. He is rather discouraged by the very slow progress of his recovery, but he vigorously issues his orders without pause, and it will not be long before he is awarded the grand cross of the order of commanders.

If I were not lying here so miserably, I would soon be packing my bag. Everything is ready. Frocks and collars and bonnets are in beautiful order and only the wearer is not in the right condition. Oh, dearest one, how I keep thinking of you and your love during

[a] Bruno Bauer.—*Ed.*

[b] Good-bye and be devoted to me.—*Ed.*

[c] Ludwig von Westphalen.—*Ed.*

my sleepless nights, how often have I prayed for you, blessed you and implored blessings for you, and how sweetly I have then often dreamed of all the bliss that has been and will be.—This evening Haizinger is acting in Bonn. Will you go there? I have seen her as Donna Diana.

Dearest Karl, I should like to say a lot more to you, all that remains to be said—but Mother[a] will not tolerate it any longer—she will take away my pen and I shall not be able even to express my most ardent, loving greetings. Just a kiss on each finger and then away into the distance. Fly away, fly to my Karl, and press as warmly on his lips as you were warm and tender when starting out towards them; and then cease to be dumb messengers of love and whisper to him all the tiny, sweet, secret expressions of love that love gives you—tell him everything—but, no, leave something *over* for your mistress.

Farewell, one and only beloved.

I cannot write any more, or my head will be all in a whirl [...][b] you know, and *quadrupedante putrem sonitu,*[c] etc., etc.—Adieu, you dear little man of the railways. Adieu, my dear little man.—It is certain, isn't it, that I can marry you?

Adieu, adieu, my sweetheart.

First published in: Marx/Engels, *Werke,* Ergänzungsband, Erster Teil, Berlin, 1968

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[a] Caroline von Westphalen.—*Ed.*

[b] Here there are three incorrectly written Latin words which do not make sense.—*Ed.*

[c] The four-footed clanging of hooves (Virgil, *Aeneid,* VIII, 596).—*Ed.*

# COLOGNE CITIZENS' PETITION FOR THE CONTINUANCE OF THE *RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*[a] [214]

Cologne, February 1843

Most excellent, most powerful King,
Most gracious King and Lord,

Scarcely a year has elapsed since Your Majesty by Your memorable, royal, free decision released the press from the oppressive shackles in which it had been laid by unfortunate circumstances. Every citizen inspired by a genuine feeling of freedom and patriotism looked with redoubled confidence to the present and the immediate future, in which public opinion with its manifold convictions and deep-seated contradictions has acquired appropriate organs of the press, and by means of ever more thorough development and ever-renewed justification of its own content will refine itself until it reaches that purity, clarity and resoluteness by which it offers the richest, surest and most vivifying source of national legislation. The Rhinelander in particular, Your Majesty, was filled with the most noble joy when he saw that free, public utterance—whose high value and inner worth he had come to appreciate so thoroughly in his judicial system—had at least been given an opening also in other areas of state life, where the need for it is greatest, in the sphere of political conviction, which is the most essential element of state life, and in which morality is of the highest significance.

That confidence and this joy were, we say frankly, most painfully affected by the news of the measures decided upon against the *Rheinische Zeitung*. Participating directly in the upsurge

[a] Added in a different handwriting at the top of the page: "To Minister of State, Count von Arnim. Berlin, March 5, 1843."—*Ed.*

of public life evoked by Your Majesty's accession to the throne, that newspaper developed its conception of state affairs at all events with uncompromising consistency, and indeed was not seldom bluntly outspoken. One may favour the political views of this newspaper, one may, like many of the undersigned, not share them, one may indeed be definitely hostile to them, in any case, the true friend of an efficient and free state life must sincerely regret the blow that has befallen this newspaper. By the suppression of this one newspaper alone, the entire press of the Fatherland is deprived of that independence which, as it is the foundation of all moral relationships, is also absolutely essential for a principled discussion of specific state affairs, and without which neither outstanding talent nor firm character can be applied to political literature.

The undersigned citizens of Cologne, in whose midst the threatened newspaper found its origin, feel themselves above all obliged and impelled to express frankly to Your Majesty, whom they have learnt to honour as the mightiest protector of free speech, their feeling of pain at the decreed suppression and to submit before the steps of the throne the most humble request:

That Your Majesty will most graciously order that the measures projected against the *Rheinische Zeitung* by the high censorship authorities on January 21 of this year shall be annulled and that this newspaper shall continue to exist without any restriction of the freedom hitherto accorded to our domestic press in general by Your Majesty yourself.

We remain most humble and obedient subjects of Your Majesty, loyal citizens of Cologne

[signatures follow][a]

First published in *Rheinische Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte der politischen Bewegung 1830-1850,* 1. Bd., Essen, 1919

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

[a] Among the signatures in Marx's hand: "K. Marx, Doctor."—*Ed.*

# MINUTES OF THE GENERAL MEETING OF SHAREHOLDERS OF THE *RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG* FEBRUARY 12, 1843[215]

*Proceedings of the Extraordinary General Meeting of February 12, 1843*

Present:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Herr | Renard, | responsible editor |
| " | G. Jung | managers |
| " | D. Oppenheim | managers |
| " | Dr. Fay, Chairman of the Board of Directors | |
| " | " Claessen | members of the Board of Directors |
| " | " Stucke | members of the Board of Directors |
| " | " Thomé | members of the Board of Directors |
| Assessor | Bürgers | members of the Board of Directors |
| Barrister | E. Mayer | members of the Board of Directors |
| Herr | Haan | members of the Board of Directors |
| Dr. | Marx | |
| Herr | H. Kamp | |
| Herr | Karl Stein | |
| " | Leist, Councillor of the Court of Appeal | |
| " | J. J. von Rath | |
| " | Dr. D'Ester | |
| " | Dr. Haass | |
| " | A. W. Esch | |
| " | A. Oppenheim | |
| " | G. Mallinckrodt | |
| " | F. G. Heuser | |
| " | J. Mülhens | |
| " | Plassmann | |
| " | Ph. Engels | |

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|---|---|
| Herr | K. Heinzen |
| " | L. Camphausen |
| " | Georg Heuser |
| " | Kaufmann |
| " | J. Herstatt |
| " | J. Boisserée |
| " | W. Boisserée |
| " | Boismard |
| " | S. B. Cohen |
| " | J. De Jonge |
| " | Christians von Overath |
| " | J. W. Dietz |
| " | Kühn |
| " | Karl Engels |
| " | Rüb |
| " | T. Göbbels |
| " | J. Horst |
| " | von Hontheim |
| " | J. Herrmanns |
| " | H. Hellwitz (represented by L. Herz) |
| " | F. Bloemer, lawyer (represented by Ref. Scherer) |
| " | W. Kühn |
| " | M. Morel |
| " | J. Müller |
| " | A. Ochse-Stern |
| " | B. Reichard |
| " | J. P. von Rath |
| " | J. Ritter |
| " | C. Reimbold |
| " | A. Rogge |
| " | J. B. Rick, on his own behalf and representing notary Bendermacher |
| " | Dr. Stucke, representing C. Baumdahl |
| " | J. F. Sehlmeyer |
| " | Seligmann, lawyer |
| " | V. Vill |
| " | E. Vahrenkamp |
| " | Ch. Welker |
| " | A. Zuntz-Bonn |

The Chairman of the Board of Directors, Herr Fay, opened the meeting with a speech in which he stated that the ministerial edict which was the occasion for the present meeting was an outcome of the conflict of principles between the bureaucratic state authorities and public opinion. The people demand to share in legislation, on the strength of laws and promises, on the strength of the past period from 1807 to 1815, and of the hopes and wishes newly awakened at the beginning of the rule of Frederick William IV. This friction between the people and the state authority is manifested in the press, and the ministerial edict is directed against this manifestation in general.

Herr Oppenheim stressed that the ban on the *Rheinische Zeitung* seemed completely unjustified, since prior to November 12 last year there had been no warning, indeed not the slightest indication of anything of the kind. Herr Oppenheim then read out the edict of Oberpräsident Herr Schaper of November 12, as well as the further notifications made through Präsident Herr Gerlach in accordance with the instruction of the Oberpräsidium and the subsequent reply of the responsible editor, Herr Renard,[a] and finally the petition of the last named to the Oberpräsidium with the subsequent reply of the Oberpräsident on November 19, 1842.[216]

The editorial board made no reply to the last edict because it has always been, and still is, most firmly convinced of the falsity and illegality of the premises advanced by the Oberpräsidium in connection with the permit granted to the *Rheinische Zeitung*.

Herr Oppenheim then read out the order of Präsident Herr Gerlach of January 24 of this year, pointed out the illegality of the measures taken by the ministries, and left it to the discretion of the general meeting to discuss and adopt appropriate measures against this illegality. This illegality itself was analysed in more detail in the memorandum next read by Herr Dr. Claessen, for which purpose he quoted and elucidated the Cologne government order of November 17.

Herr Fay invited the meeting to open the discussion and to adopt decisions, and he informed the meeting of a discussion which had taken place within the Board of Directors, as a result of which the Board as a whole "put on record" the declaration which follows.

Herr Dr. Haass opened the discussion with the following statement:

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[a] See this volume, pp. 282-85.—*Ed.*

Ten days ago a number of shareholders met at the Bomel Hof and drafted a petition; I signed that petition and wish to know the result.

Herr Oppenheim replied that the lists had not yet all been received.

Herr Hontheim. We all aim to ensure that the *Rheinische Zeitung* will be able to continue in existence. What measures should be adopted to ensure that the ministerial decision is retracted? The speaker does not wish to discuss the question of legality or illegality. Even if the edict of January 21 were rescinded, the *Rheinische Zeitung* would still continue to appear disagreeable to the ministries. According to the existing laws, the permit that has been granted can always be withdrawn, and the ministries would certainly decide on such a withdrawal. The question arises whether steps in a sense conforming to the wishes of the ministry would be compatible with the honour of the shareholders. In the first place, this purpose might be achieved by the resignation of certain members of the Board of Directors, by the appointment of a new editorial board. The speaker does not want to dwell on the subject of trend, but says: "We have to dispute with a government authority and must keep to the legal standpoint. Let a member of the Board of Directors state his opinion on how it would be possible to make to the ministry such concessions as would ensure a continuance."

Herr Jung. We cannot very well know what concessions the ministry will demand. The *Rheinische Zeitung* is a party which must be accepted freely and wholly. If we respond to the wishes of the ministry, we shall have to begin a new life in contradiction to the previous one, and only a few members of the Board would agree to that. A retraction of the ministerial edict could only be expected as a result of petitions from the whole province.

Herr Marx believed the question could be clarified by reading the official article which follows, and he expressed his view that the trend would have to be altered if one wished to come to an understanding with the prevailing liberal sovereignty.

Herr Claessen. I agree with the opinion of Herr Hontheim as regards the continuance of the newspaper, but do not believe that a change of editors would lead to the goal. Herr Hontheim has acknowledged that the ministerial rescript contains a formal defect. But he believes that it is possible for the minister to correct this defect at any time. The memorandum which I read out shows that the withdrawal of a permit which has been granted entirely contradicts the spirit of Prussian legislation and the intentions of

His Majesty. His Majesty has stated that a consistent opposition is permitted to exist. On behalf of the Board of Directors, gentlemen, I put the proposal to you that the memorandum which has just been read, supported by the petition which follows, should be submitted to the supreme decision of His Royal Majesty.

Herr Claessen then read the petition.

I believe that I can assume, gentlemen, that your views in regard to the point of law are in agreement with the motives of the memorandum. The only question, gentlemen, is whether other steps to preserve the *Rheinische Zeitung* ought to be decided upon.

Herr Leist asked why the memorandum had not been sent in November.

Herr Oppenheim replied that there had been no reason to believe that the censorship ministries would ever [require] such an assurance as a condition for discussing actually existing difficulties.

Herr *Bürgers*. I believe that I am expressing a general conviction when I say that the motive which guided us in founding the *Rheinische Zeitung* was to have an entirely independent newspaper.

In order to ensure that independence, managers and a Board of Directors were elected by the shareholders. The trend represented by the managers and the Board, as pondered in their minds and felt in their hearts, had to be given expression. We decided to express and represent clearly and freely the principles we hold to be most expedient for the welfare of the Fatherland. These principles have come into conflict with the principles of the present government. This trend has resulted in the suppression of the newspaper by *force*. I now ask, will the original independent frame of mind of the company be maintained? Even if the majority does not agree with the way in which the trend is carried out, there will surely be no conflict over the guiding principle.

Herr Kamp. If I have understood Herr Hontheim correctly, he believes that a discussion of legality or illegality could not yield any result. I share this view and am in favour of a petition to His Majesty. But I cannot say that I agree with the version which has just been proposed. It seems to me that the main question today is whether the shareholders approve the trend and principles, in regard to content and form, which the *Rheinische Zeitung* has followed up to now. Mention was made earlier of the opposition press. I can conceive of such a press only in a constitutional state, and not in our monarchical state. We owe our freedoms to an act of grace, and if we use this freedom with moderation, our views will often find gracious acceptance. In speaking to me, many high-placed officials have praised the trend of the *Rheinische*

*Zeitung*, but censured its tone, form, blunt mode of expression. If the shareholders now approve the tone, it will have to be maintained. If they do not approve the form and tone, this disapproval will easily lead to a change that will please the ministers.

We all desire a frank discussion of home and foreign affairs. Let the meeting only decide how this frank discussion should be understood.

Jung. The general meeting has no right to criticise the form of frank discussion. The managers are the business leaders of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. The newspaper has prospered in its present form, it has gained a surprising number of readers with astonishing rapidity. That is the result of the work of the present leaders; hence from the commercial standpoint we certainly stand justified. However, I do not want in any way to reject a discussion of the trend. I repeat, gentlemen, our newspaper was and had to be a partisan newspaper, from the point of view both of conviction and of commercial interest. The result that has been achieved was possible only along the lines that were adopted. The *Rheinische Zeitung* has become the citadel of the liberal tendency in Germany. But without passion there can be no struggle. Then no call, whether to go forward or back, is of any avail; in battle it is the moment that decides. Singly, gentlemen, you cannot reproach us with anything. Either you reject us entirely, or you accept us.

Herr Seligmann. The *Rheinische Zeitung* does not seek any financial gain, but only to represent a definite trend. Hence the meeting is entitled to ask the managers: Have you represented *our* trends?

The *Leipziger Zeitung*, gentlemen, has been suppressed by an order of His Majesty.[217] How much more is the suppression of the *Rheinische Zeitung* bound to have taken place with the agreement of His Majesty.

Under these circumstances, I do not expect any success from a petition.

I tell you frankly that it is my conviction that the *Rheinische Zeitung* has not been in accord with the just demands of the state authority. We must now retreat within the bounds marked out for us by the state. Proceeding from this standpoint we can then claim the right to further development. Since in fighting for principles we have failed to take account of the obtaining situation, the general meeting today must demand from the managers that they return to within the bounds set to free discussion by the authority. If the present managers do not want to do this, the general

meeting must elect new managers. We must promise here to return to the above-mentioned bounds in order to ensure the continuance of the newspaper.

Herr Oppenheim. We all want, if possible, to ward off the blow struck at the *Rheinische Zeitung*. According to the express wording of the Statute, we are not entitled today to criticise the trend of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. The shareholders have renounced the right to determine the trend. The general meeting is empowered only to renew the Board of Directors. Even the most zealous supporters of the *Rheinische Zeitung* will surely admit that at times the form has been somewhat blunt and has given offence in Berlin. The proposal of the last speaker would result in the dissolution of the company. It seems to me that we can and must modify the petition. If the sword of authority is directed against us, we must submit. Let us acknowledge on the steps of the throne that we shareholders do not approve the somewhat blunt character of the newspaper, but that we claim for ourselves the rights that exist, and on this basis request His Majesty to lift the ban.

It can surely be presumed that such a petition will secure the desired decision.

We can indeed safely expect that the managers and the Board will in future avoid bluntness.

Herr Mülhens. I must insist that the company should declare whether it agrees with the trend of the newspaper and the form in which it is carried out. Only then will it be possible to draft a petition in a particular spirit.

Herr Oppenheim. How can we decide on the trend by a majority vote? The managers and the Board of Directors can reject such a decision. But what would a disapproval of the present trend lead to? The present *Rheinische Zeitung* would perish and another newspaper quite alien to the present so successful one would take its place.

The question now is what wisdom dictates in order to ensure continuance.

Herr Mülhens. I am firmly convinced that the result of a vote will be unanimous approval of the trend. Only the form can be a matter for dispute.

Herr Leist. Is the editorial board still of the opinion that it is impossible to make any change in the form? If it is, then I oppose any petition to His Majesty as a completely useless step.

It must surely be possible for men who are confident of the truth of their convictions to express them in warm and persuasive

terms instead of caustic and sarcastic language. I do not fail to recognise the difficulty of modifying the language of certain personalities.

*Bürgers.* The view that the reason for the suppression of the *Rheinische Zeitung* is to be sought in its form seems to me erroneous. There is not a word of that in the ministerial edict. Quite different accusations are cast at us. One could presume that these principles were advanced merely as an excuse and that nevertheless the form was the real reason for the ban. But, unfortunately, everything that has taken place in the entire life of the state over the past year proves that the trend which has raised the *Rheinische Zeitung* as its standard is everywhere being consistently suppressed and reduced to silence. I am convinced that the ministerial edict must either meet with the complete disapproval of the King or the *Rheinische Zeitung* with its present principles must cease to exist.

*Bürgers.* Gentlemen, we are concerned for something higher than money. We have sought to assert a principle. This principle we cannot renounce.

Haan. Whatever the views, in any case *wisdom* requires that the shareholders should censure the bluntness of form.

Hontheim. Herr Bürgers has stated that it is not the form, but errors of trend, that the ministries condemn. We as shareholders have only two parties: the managers and Board of Directors and the ministries. Can these two parties unite without giving up something of their basic principles? The theme for this has been given by the proposal advanced by Dr. Claessen. Should the petition, as presented to us, be signed or should it perhaps be modified? I propose as an amendment that the shareholders intercede with the ministers to secure that the *Rheinische Zeitung* be allowed to continue to exist under the present double censorship for a further three months from April 1.

Herr Camphausen. It will be inevitable to have to bring personal influence to bear in the Residency. Only in this way can we learn the demands of the ministry.

Herr Mayer. The Board of Directors sees nothing offensive in adopting the wise course of disavowing the blunt tone of the *Rheinische Zeitung.* But how can we make an application for a further three months' existence to the ministers whose edict has attacked our honour, our rights, in the severest possible way? In its present shape, indeed, the *Rheinische Zeitung* is so crippled that its continued existence in this shape can only destroy the reputation it once won.

Herr Haass. I repeat the question of a previous speaker whether the managers and members of the Board of Directors will not allow their view to be modified in any way by the clearly expressed opinion of the general meeting. No sacrifice should be made that could threaten the honour of the leading persons. I am against any personal intervention in Berlin. Such a step would certainly be fruitless. The ministry will not accept instruction. The time is not yet ripe for that.

Herr Kaufmann. We all want to preserve the newspaper. To blame the trend will get us nowhere. I should like justificatory grounds to be inserted in the petition.

Herr Heinzen. I think that the company is in agreement on the following points: that the rights of the shareholders have been infringed by the ministerial edict, even if we do not approve the trend represented by the managers and the Board. The newspaper's trend can be discussed at the next general meeting, which has to renew the Board of Directors. If we assume that the Board has done wrong, it will be a matter of offering the ministries guarantees now, and the prospect of these guarantees can be held out by reference to the forthcoming new elections. This is the sole guarantee we can offer. I propose that the following be inserted in today's petition.

Herr Seligmann. Gentlemen, I propose that the plan of a petition to the King be dropped altogether, and that, instead of a direct petition to the King, a petition be made to the censorship ministries and submitted through Herr von Gerlach. The censorship ministries will certainly not decide without previous consultation. If we keep to the regular procedure through the chain of instances, loss of time is inevitable. A direct petition seems to me unconstitutional, because we would be bypassing the lower instances and applying at once to the highest instance. This unconstitutional step would offend the ministries. Therefore I propose that a petition be made to those ministries, all the more because there is no hope that His Majesty will disapprove of the steps taken by his ministries.

Herr Kamp. Let us consider first of all the competence and powers of the shareholders. We were told this morning that the shareholders have to decide only on the commercial circumstances of the company. Now the shareholders are being attributed further rights in accordance with the Statute. Let us first establish the rights of the shareholders. I move that a decision be taken whether the shareholders are authorised to adopt a decision on the trend of the newspaper.

Herr Oppenheim. The shareholders are entitled to draw up a petition in any sense they choose. If it is to be drawn up in a way that is incompatible with our honour, with our convictions, it cannot be demanded that we should sign it. It seems to me that from the standpoint of the shareholders' interests the moment for a disapproving statement has been badly chosen. Although one may condemn the blunt form, one should bear in mind that the freer development of the press is still new, and that mistakes are inevitable in every new institution.

Herr Haass. I should like to see no opposition between managers, Board of Directors and shareholders. Let us seek to bring about a development of all interests for the good of the institution.

Herr Oppenheim. We are quite prepared to put the composition of the petition in your hands, without thereby making you responsible for any action taken by the administration.

Herr Leist. The rights of the shareholders have been conceived too narrowly. In accordance with the Statute, the general meeting has the right to judge the Board of Directors, and indirectly the managers.

Herr Oppenheim. I did not want to deny the shareholders' right to criticise the administration, but I do deny their right to intervene in the measures of the administration.

Herr Jung. The general meeting can very easily say in the petition that it wishes to use its influence with the editorial board in order to bring about a change in the sense desired by the ministry.

Herr Kamp. For that very reason there must first be a decision on the powers of the general meeting.

Herr Jung. The general meeting cannot compel the managers to conform to a particular trend. The general meeting can only exert its influence indirectly, through the election of the Board of Directors.

Herr Claessen. The managers have stated that they are prepared to resign if the ministry demands concessions that are incompatible with their convictions, in the event of the general meeting approving these concessions. I permit myself to propose the following amendment to the petition submitted this morning.

Herr Haass. The general meeting is entitled to express approval or disapproval, and I must speak out most definitely for the maintenance of this right.

Herr Seligmann. Hitherto the *Rheinische Zeitung* has endeav-

oured to spread constitutional ideas and to achieve participation of the masses in legislation, and should the masses today have no right to exert influence? The administration is only a derivation of the will of the general meeting and this will can always be asserted.

Herr Camphausen. I, too, believe that the managers and the Board have not had a sufficiently clear conception of their powers and those of the general meeting. I am of the opinion that the competence of the general meeting is far more extensive than the managers believe, but I do not attach any practical importance to the question. If on some occasion a general meeting were to express disapproval, I believe the result would always be the same, whether its competence were disputed or not. The question will only be: Does the general meeting want to accept the petition with or without amendments?

Herr von Hontheim. The right of the general meeting to take decisions cannot, I think, be disputed. In the Statute, of course, nothing is laid down about the trend, nothing as to whether the trend of the shareholders should be realised by the management. But such a premise is provided by the matter itself. I consider Herr Heinzen's proposal the most suitable now for giving effect to the powers of the shareholders. Nevertheless that proposal seems to me impracticable because we shall hardly find new members for the Board of Directors. I repeat my proposal that the ministry should be asked to permit a three months' extension from April 1st. I think that the double censorship can be no obstacle whatever to the continued existence of the newspaper.

Herr Fay. We have not assembled here in order to interpret the Statute. We have gathered here in order to decide on definite steps and measures. First of all then, I put the question: Should a petition be addressed directly to the King?

The meeting unanimously replied to this question in the affirmative.

Herr Fay. Should the memorandum read out today be submitted along with the petition?

By a majority vote the general meeting resolved to adopt the memorandum.

Herr Fay. Should the petition be adopted in its present form, or should it be modified by amendments?

The general meeting decided first of all to put to the vote the amendments raised in the discussion.

In accordance with this decision, Herr Dr. Claessen proposed the following amendment.

By a majority vote, the general meeting approved the insertion of this amendment.

Dr. Marx, Jung and Bürgers opposed this amendment.

Herr Kamp moved that the passage referring to the company's considerable financial sacrifice be deleted. Herr Kamp abstained from voting on this amendment.

Herr Fay then moved that the petition be voted on, inclusive of the amendment put forward.

The general meeting decided by a majority vote to adopt the petition as thus modified.

Herr Fay. Will the general meeting now express its opinion whether the petition should be presented personally to His Majesty by a deputation, or whether it should be sent through the post? Herr Fay moves that, in the event of the general meeting declaring for presentation by a deputation, a commission be elected to negotiate with the members of the company delegated to form the deputation.

Herr Kamp has no hope of any success from the deputation.

Herr Jung. I entirely agree with Herr Kamp. The ministry will demand concessions to which we cannot agree, and put forward greater demands to a deputation than if the matter were handled in a different way.

Herr Claessen declares in favour of a deputation, since that would also settle the question of Herr Hontheim's amendment concerning the request for a three months' stay of execution.

Herr von Rath declared for the deputation in order thereby to achieve at any rate an extension of the period.

Herr Bürgers. The reputation of the newspaper in the eyes of the public will certainly be endangered by a deputation. Opinion on the step taken by Herr Brockhaus[a] in Berlin is already a sufficient criterion in this respect.

Herr von Hontheim moved that one of the friends of the *Rheinische Zeitung* be entrusted with the presentation of the petition in Berlin.

Herr Camphausen. I do not share Herr Bürgers' view. Moreover it does not seem to me necessary to endow the deputation with plenipotentiary powers.

Herr von Hontheim. Everything will depend on the selection of the persons.

Herr Fay. I put it to the vote whether the petition should be presented by a deputation.

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[a] The minutes book has here: (of the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*).—*Ed.*

Herr Haass supported the motion of Herr von Hontheim.

Herr Jung. I do not regard it as a misfortune if the *Rheinische Zeitung* ceases on April 1, even if the ban is lifted later. The *Rheinische Zeitung* as such would then arise anew in its true nature and would certainly at once regain its readership. But it will surely lose its readers if it continues a drab and impotent vegetative existence dependent on gracious permission and a double censorship.

Von Hontheim considered that it was a matter for the managers and the Board to decide whether to send a deputation or not, and also that the choice of the persons concerned should be left entirely to them.

In the voting on whether a deputation should be appointed or not, 61 votes were cast for the appointment of a deputation, and 53 votes against. Accordingly, it was decided by a majority vote to appoint a deputation.

In accordance with this decision, the general meeting commissioned the managers to send a deputation at the company's cost. The managers accepted this commission with the reservation that they would send the petition in writing if they were unable to find a suitable deputation within the next eight days.

Following this decision, the chairman, Herr Fay, declares today's meeting closed.

Cologne, February 12, 1843

G. Mevissen, in charge of the minutes
M. Kaufmann, K. Stucke, Wilhelm Boisserée, Heinzen, H. Haan, I. Bürgers, G. Fay, G. Mallinckrodt

First published in *Rheinische Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte der politischen Bewegung 1830-1850*, I. Bd., Essen, 1919

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

# HUMBLE PETITION FROM THE SHAREHOLDERS OF THE *RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG* COMPANY FOR THE CONTINUANCE OF THE *RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*[218]

Most excellent, most powerful King,
Most gracious King and Lord,

The High Royal Ministries in charge of censorship have ordered, by a rescript of January 21 of this year, the closure as from April 1 of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, published here in Cologne, and thereby threatened with ruin a concern which was founded by the undersigned, not without a considerable financial sacrifice, in order first of all to meet an urgent need of their native city, but was also meant, with Your Majesty's protection and trusting in Your Royal Majesty's noble-minded intentions, to act as a free and independent mouthpiece of public opinion fearlessly and unselfishly for the honour and interests of the Fatherland.

The undersigned believe that they have proved in a memorandum, which they lay in the most profound submission on the steps of Your Majesty's throne, that this decision of the high censorship authorities is impaired not only by a formal defect, but also that it is contrary both to the spirit of all previous legislation pertaining to the press and to Your Majesty's lofty intentions.

In order to meet the desires of the high censorship authorities, Your most humble subjects, the undersigned, will use the influence accorded to them by the stipulations of the Statute which they humbly enclose to ensure that the tone of the newspaper is moderate and dignified and that every possible offence is avoided, and therefore they all the more confidently express the following most respectful request:

May it please Your Royal Majesty, by rescinding the ministerial rescript issued by the High Ministries in charge of censorship on

January 21 of this year, to order the unhindered continuance of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.

We remain most humbly Your Majesty's loyal subjects, the shareholders of the *Rheinische Zeitung* Company.

Cologne
February 12, 1843

[Then follow the shareholders' signatures][a]

Published in full for the first time

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

[a] The following signatures are given in Marx's hand:
"Dr. Marx for himself and on behalf of:

| | |
|---|---|
| Dr. Schleicher, practising physician from Trier | |
| Dr. Vencelius, practising physician | ditto |
| Cetto, merchant | ditto |
| Clentgen, landowner | ditto |
| Mittweg, lawyer | ditto." — *Ed.* |

# JENNY VON WESTPHALEN TO KARL MARX

IN COLOGNE

[Kreuznach, March 1843]

Although at the last conference of the two great powers nothing was stipulated on a certain point, nor any treaty concluded on the obligation of initiating a correspondence, and consequently no external means of compulsion exist, nevertheless the little scribe with the pretty curls feels inwardly compelled to open the ball, and indeed with feelings of the deepest, sincerest love and gratitude towards you, my dear, good and only sweetheart. I think you had never been more lovable and sweet and charming, and yet every time after you had gone I was in a state of delight and would always have liked to have you back again to tell you once more how much, how wholly, I love you. But still, the last occasion was your victorious departure; I do not know at all how dear you were to me in the depths of my heart when I no longer saw you in the flesh and only the true image of you in all angelic mildness and goodness, sublimity of love and brilliance of mind was so vividly present to my mind. If you were here now, my dearest Karl, what a great capacity for happiness you would find in your brave little woman. And should you come out with ever so bad a leaning, and ever such *wicked* intentions, I would not resort to any reactionary measures. I would patiently bow my head and surrender it to the wicked knave. "What", how?—Light, what, how light. Do you still remember our twilight conversations, our guessing games, our hours of slumber? Heart's beloved, how good, how loving, how considerate, how joyful you were!

How brilliant, how triumphant, I see you before me, how my heart longs for your constant presence, how it quivers for you with

delight and enchantment, how anxiously it follows you on all the paths you take. To Paßschritier, to Merten in Gold, to Papa Ruge, to Pansa, everywhere I accompany you, I precede you and I follow you. If only I could level and make smooth all your paths, and sweep away everything that might be an obstacle to you. But then it does not fall to our lot that we also should be allowed to interfere actively in the workings of fate. We have been condemned to passivity by the fall of man, by Madame Eve's sin; our lot lies in waiting, hoping, enduring, suffering. At the most we are entrusted with knitting stockings, with needles, keys, and everything beyond that is evil; only when it is a question of deciding where the *Deutsche Jahrbücher*[a] is to be printed[219] does a feminine veto intervene and invisibly play something of a small main role. This evening I had a tiny little idea about Strasbourg. Would not a return to the homeland be forbidden you if you were to betray Germany to France in this way, and would it not be possible also that the liberal sovereign power would tell you definitely: "Emigrate then, or rather stay away if you do not like it in my states." But all that, as I have said, is only an idea, and our old friend Ruge will certainly know what has to be done, especially when a private little chick lurks like this in the background, and comes out with a separate petition. Let the matter rest, therefore, in Father Abraham's bosom.

This morning, when I was putting things in order, returning the draughtsmen to their proper place, collecting the cigar butts, sweeping up the ash, and trying to destroy the "Althäuschen" [?], I came across the enclosed page. You have dismembered our friend Ludwig[b] and left a crucial page here. If you are already past it in your reading, there is no hurry; but for the worthy bookbinder, in case it is to be bound, it is urgently needed. The whole work would be spoilt. You have certainly scattered some more pages. It would be a nuisance and a pity. Do look after the loose pages.

Now I must tell you about the distress and misfortune I had immediately after you went away. I saw at once that you had not paid any attention to your dear nose and left it at the mercy of wind and weather and air, and all the vicissitudes of fate, without taking a helpful handkerchief with you. That, in the first place, gave me grave concern. In the second place, the barber dropped in. I thought of putting it to great advantage and with rare

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[a] i.e., the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher.*—*Ed.*

[b] Feuerbach.—*Ed.*

amiability I asked him how much the Herr Doctor owed him. The answer was $7^1/_2$ silver groschen. I quickly did the sum in my head and $2^1/_2$ groschen were saved. I had no small change and I therefore gave him 8 silver groschen in good faith that he would give me change. But what did the scoundrel do? He thanked me, pocketed the whole sum, my six pfennigs were gone and I could whistle for them. I was still on the point of reproving him, but either he did not understand my glance of distress or Mother[a] tried to soothe me—in short, the six pfennigs were gone as all good things go. That was a disappointment!

Now I come to a matter of dress. I went out this morning and I saw many new pieces of lace at Wolf's shop. If you cannot get them cheap or get someone else to choose them, then I ask you, sweetheart, to leave the matter in my hands. In general, sweetheart, I would *really prefer at present* that you did not buy anything and saved your money for the journey. You see, sweetheart, I shall then be with you and we shall be buying together, and if someone cheats us, then at least it will happen in company. So, sweetheart, don't buy anything now. That applies also to the wreath of flowers. I am afraid you would have to pay too much, and to look for it together would indeed be very nice. If you won't give up the flowers, let them be rose-coloured. That goes best with my green dress. But I would prefer you to drop the whole business. Surely, sweetheart, that would be better. You can do that only when you are my dear lawful, church-wed husband. And one thing more, before I forget. Look for my last letter. I should be annoyed if it got into anyone else's hands. Its tendency is not exactly well-meaning, and its intentions are unfathomably malevolent. Were you barked at as a deserter when you jumped in? Or did they temper justice with mercy? Has Oppenheim come back and is Claessen still in a bit of a rage? I shall send Laffarge on as soon as I can.[220] Have you already delivered the letter of bad news to E[...][b]? Are the passport people willing? Dearest sweetheart, those are incidental questions, now I come to the heart of the matter. Did you behave well on the steamer, or was there again a Madame Hermann on board? You bad boy. I am going to drive it out of you. Always on the steamboats. I shall have an interdiction imposed immediately on wanderings of this kind in the *contrat social,* in our marriage papers, and such enormities will be severely punished. I shall have all the cases specified and punish-

[a] Caroline von Westphalen.—*Ed.*
[b] The name is indecipherable.—*Ed.*

ment imposed for them, and I shall make a second marriage law similar to the penal code. I shall show you alright. Yesterday evening I was dead tired again, but all the same I ate an egg. Food shares, therefore, are not doing so badly and are going up like the Düsseldorf shares. When you come, it is to be hoped they will be at par, and the state guarantees the interest. However, adieu now. Parting is painful. It pains the heart. Good-bye, my one and only beloved, black sweet, little'hubby. "What", how! Ah! you knavish face. Talatta, talatta, good-bye, write soon, talatta, talatta.

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# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] *Reflections of a Young Man on the Choice of a Profession*—an essay written by Marx at the school leaving examinations at the Royal Frederick William III gymnasium in Trier in August 1835. Only seven of Marx's examination papers have been preserved: the above-mentioned essay on a subject at the writer's choice, a Latin essay on the reign of Augustus and a religious essay (both are published in the appendices to this volume), a Latin unseen, a translation from the Greek, a translation into French, and a paper in mathematics (all of which are published in: Marx/Engels, *Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, Erste Abteilung, Band 1, Zweiter Halbband, Berlin, 1929, S. 164-82).

In the original there are numerous underscorings presumably made by the history and philosophy teacher, the then headmaster of the gymnasium, Johann Hugo Wyttenbach (they are not reproduced in the present edition). He also made the following comment: "Rather good. The essay is marked by a wealth of thought and a good systematised narration. But generally the author here too made a mistake peculiar to him—he constantly seeks for elaborate picturesque expressions. Therefore many passages which are underlined lack the necessary clarity and definiteness and often precision in separate expressions as well as in whole paragraphs."

In English this essay was published in 1961 in the United States, in the journal *The New Scholasticism*, Vol. XXXV, No. 2, Baltimore-Washington, pp. 197-201, and in *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, New York, 1967, pp. 35-39. p. 3

[2] *Letter from Marx to His Father*—this is the only letter written by Marx in his student years which has been preserved. Of all Marx's letters that are extant, this is the earliest. It was published in English in the collections: *The Young Marx*, London, 1967, pp. 135-47, *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, New York, 1967, pp. 40-50 and *Karl Marx. Early Texts*, translated and edited by David McLellan, University of Kent at Canterbury, Oxford, 1971, pp. 1-10. p. 10

[3] The *Pandect*—compendium of Roman civil law *(Corpus iuris civilis)* made by order of the Emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire Justinian I in 528-534. The Pandect or the Digest contained excerpts from works in civil and criminal law by prominent Roman jurists. p. 12

[4] The work mentioned is not extant. p. 12

[5] Marx quotes these passages from memory. p. 15

[6] This refers to the classification of contracts in Immanuel Kant's *Die Metaphysik der Sitten.* Theil I. Metaphysische Anfangsgründe der Rechtslehre, Königsberg, 1797-98. p. 17

[7] The philosophical dialogue mentioned here has not been preserved. p. 18

[8] The *Doctors' Club* was founded by representatives of the radical wing of the Hegelian school in Berlin in 1837. Among its members were lecturer on theology of Berlin University Bruno Bauer, gymnasium history teacher Karl Friedrich Köppen and geography teacher Adolf Rutenberg. The usual meeting place was the small Hippel café. The Club, of which Marx was also an active member, played an important part in the Young Hegelian movement. p. 19

[9] The work has not been preserved. p. 19

[10] Marx refers to the *Deutscher Musenalmanach,* a liberal annual published in Leipzig from 1829. p. 19

[11] As is seen from Heinrich Marx's letter of September 16, 1837, to his son (see this volume, p. 680), Karl Marx intended at that time to publish a journal of theatrical criticism. p. 20

[12] The letter has not survived. p. 21

[13] These two poems, written in 1837, were included in a book of verse dedicated to Karl Marx's father (see this volume, pp. 531-632).

The general title *Wild Songs* was introduced when the poems were published in the journal *Athenäum* in 1841. The text of both poems was reproduced with slight alterations. In *The Fiddler* two lines

"Fort aus dem Haus, fort aus dem Blick,
Willst Kindlein spielen um dein Genick?"
("Away from the house, away from the look,
O child, do you seek to risk your neck?")

coming in the original in the fifth stanza after the lines

"How so! I plunge, plunge without fail
My blood-black sabre into your soul"

were omitted.

A comment on the *Wild Songs* was published in the *Frankfurter Konversationsblatt* No. 62 of March 3, 1841. Though unfavourably commenting on the form, the paper admitted the author's "original talent".

In English the poems were published in the book: R. Payne, *Marx,* New York, 1968, pp. 62-64. p. 22

[14] Marx's work *Difference Between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature* is part of a general research on the history of ancient philosophy which he planned as far back as 1839.

During his research on ancient philosophy Marx compiled the preparatory *Notebooks on Epicurean Philosophy* (see this volume, pp. 401-509). In early April 1841 Marx submitted his work to the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Jena as a dissertation for a doctor's degree (see this volume, p. 379) and received the degree on April 15. He intended to have his work printed and for this purpose wrote the dedication and the foreword dated March 1841. However, he did not succeed in getting it published, although he thought of doing so again at the end of 1841 and beginning of 1842.

Marx's own manuscript of the thesis has been lost. What remains is an incomplete copy written by an unknown person. This copy has corrections and insertions in Marx's handwriting. Texts of the fourth and fifth chapters of Part One and the Appendix, except for one fragment, are missing. Each chapter of Part One and Part Two has its own numeration of the author's notes. These notes, in the form of citations from the sources and additional commentaries, are also incomplete. They are given, according to the copy of the manuscript which has survived, after the main text of the dissertation and marked in the text, in distinction to the editorial notes, by numbers and brackets. Obvious slips of the pen have been corrected. Changes made by Marx which affect the meaning are specified.

In the first publication of the thesis in *Aus dem Literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle*, Bd. I, Stuttgart, 1902, the fragments from the Appendix "Critique of Plutarch's Polemic Against the Theology of Epicurus", have been omitted as well as all the author's notes except for some excerpts. The first publication in full (according to the part of the manuscript that has been preserved) was carried out by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC CPSU, in 1927 in Volume One of MEGA (Marx/Engels, *Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, Erste Abteilung, Band 1, Erster Halbband, S. 3-81).

The first translation into English was done by Kurt Karl Merz in 1946 in Melbourne (a typewritten copy of it is kept in the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC CPSU, in Moscow). The foreword to the thesis was published in the collection: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Religion*, Moscow, 1957, pp. 13-15. In 1967 a translation by Norman D. Livergood was published in the book: *Activity in Marx's Philosophy*, Hague, 1967, pp. 55-109. Two excerpts from the dissertation (see this volume, pp. 84-87 and 103-05) were published in *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, New York, 1967, pp. 60-66, and *Karl Marx. Early Texts*, Oxford, 1971, pp. 11-22. p. 25

[15] Marx here refers to the book Petri Gassendi, *Animadversiones in decimum librum Diogenis Laertii, qui est De Vita, Moribus, Placitisque Epicuri*, Ludguni, 1649. p. 29

[16] Marx never realised his plan to write a larger work on the Epicurean, Stoic and Sceptic philosophies. p. 29

[17] This refers to the following passage from the book by Karl Friedrich Köppen, *Friedrich der Grosse und seine Widersacher*, Leipzig, 1840: "Epikureismus, Stoizismus und Skepsis sind die Nervenmuskel und Eingeweidesysteme des antiken Organismus, deren unmittelbare, natürliche Einheit die Schönheit und Sittlichkeit des Altertums bedingte, und die beim Absterben desselben auseinanderfielen" (S. 39) ("Epicureanism, Stoicism and Scepticism are the nerve muscles and intestinal system of the antique organism whose immediate, natural unity conditioned the beauty and morality of antiquity, and which disintegrated with the decay of the latter"). Köppen dedicated his book to Karl Marx. p. 30

[18] Marx quotes David Hume's *A Treatise of Human Nature* from the German translation: *David Hume über die menschliche Natur aus Englischen nebst kritischen Versuchen zur Beurtheilung dieses Werks von Ludwig Heinrich Jakob*, 1. Bd., Ueber den menschlichen Verstand, Halle, 1790, S. 485. p. 30

[19] Marx quotes from a letter by Epicurus to Menoeceus; see *Diogenes Laertii de clarorum philosophorum vitis, dogmatibus et apophthegmatibus libri decem* (X, 123). p. 30

[20] *Gymnosophists*—Greek name for Indian sages. p. 41

[21] *Ataraxy*—in ancient Greek ethics—tranquillity. In Epicurean ethics—the ideal of life; state of the sage who has attained inner freedom through knowledge of nature and deliverance from fear of death. p. 45

[22] The manuscripts of "General Difference in Principle Between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature" and "Result" have not been found. p. 45

[23] Characterising here the gods of Epicurus, Marx, obviously, had in mind the remark by Johann Joachim Winckelmann in his book *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*, 2 Teile, Dresden, 1767: "Die Schönheit der Gottheiten im männlichen Alter besteht in einem Inbegriff der Stärke gesetzter Jahre und der Fröhlichkeit der Jugend, und diese besteht hier in dem Mangel an Nerven und Sehnen, die sich in der Blüte der Jahre wenig äußern. Hierin aber liegt zugleich ein Ausdruck der göttlichen Genügsamkeit, welche die zur Nahrung unseres Körpers bestimmten Teile nicht vonnöten hat; und dieses erläutert des Epicurus Meinung von der Gestalt der Götter, denen er einen Körper, aber gleichsam einen Körper, und Blut, aber gleichsam Blut, gibt, welches Cicero dunkel und unbegreiflich findet" ("The beauty of the deities in their virile age consists in the combination of the strength of mature years and the joyfulness of youth, and this consists here in the lack of nerves and sinews, which are less apparent in the flowering of the years. But in this lies also an expression of divine self-containment which is not in need of the parts of our body which serve for its nourishment; and this illuminates Epicurus' opinion concerning the shape of the gods to which he gives a body, which looks like a body, and blood, but which looks like blood, something which Cicero considers obscure and inconceivable"). p. 51

[24] *Hyrcanian Sea*—ancient name of the Caspian Sea. p. 51

[25] The reference is probably to the commentaries by Johann Baptist Carl Nürnberger and Johann Gottlob Schneider on the following editions: *Diogenes Laertius. De vitis, dogmatibus et apophthegmatibus liber decimus graece et latine separatim editus* ... a Carolo Nürnbergero, Norimbergae, 1791 (the second edition appeared in 1808) and *Epicuri physica et meteorologica duabus epistolis eiusdem comprehensa.* Graeca ad fidem librorum scriptorum et editorum emandavit atque interpretatus est. Jo. Gottl. Schneider, Lipsiae, 1813. p. 54

[26] This is not Metrodorus of Lampsacus, the disciple of Epicurus, but Metrodorus of Chios, the disciple of Democritus, named incorrectly by Stobaeus (in the author's note) as the teacher of Epicurus. The same lines may be found in the fifth notebook on Epicurean philosophy (see this volume, pp. 96 and 486). p. 61

[27] Two fragments from the Appendix have been preserved: the beginning of the first paragraph of Section Two and the author's notes to Section One. The general title of the Appendix, which is missing in the first fragment, is reproduced here according to the contents (see this volume, p. 33). The text of this fragment corresponds almost word for word to the text of the third notebook on Epicurean philosophy (see this volume, pp. 452-54) and was written in an unknown hand on paper of the same kind as the text of the notebook. On this ground some scholars assume that this fragment does not belong to the Doctoral dissertation, but is part of a non-extant work on ancient philosophy. The content of the fragment, however, and the quotations from Plutarch in it are closely connected with the

author's notes to the Appendix (see this volume, pp. 102-05). As the available data do not yet permit a final decision as to where this fragment belongs, in this edition it is included in the Doctoral dissertation. p. 74

[28] The reference is to Plutarch's mystic conception of three eternally existing categories of men. p. 74

[29] In the manuscript of the author's notes all quotations are given in the original — Greek or Latin. While Marx, in the *Notebooks on Epicurean Philosophy*, quotes Diogenes Laertius according to Pierre Gassendi's edition (Lyons, 1649), in his notes to the dissertation he quotes from the Tauchnitz edition of Diogenes Laertius, *De vitis philosophorum libri...*, X, T. 1-2, Lipsiae, 1833.

Editorial explanatory insertions are given in square brackets when necessary. p. 77

[30] *Massilians* were the citizens of the city of Massilia, now Marseilles, founded circa 600 B. C. as a Greek colony by Ionic Phocaeans.

The battle of Marius with the German Cimbri tribes who invaded Gaul and Northern Italy took place in 101 B. C. near Vercelli. p. 84

[31] Marx refers here to the struggle between different trends in the German philosophy of the late thirties and early forties of the nineteenth century.

By the *"liberal party"* Marx means here the Young Hegelians. The most advanced of the Young Hegelians (Ludwig Feuerbach, Bruno Bauer, Arnold Ruge) took the stand of atheism and political radicalism. In answer to this evolution of the Left wing of the Hegelian school, the conservative German philosophers united under the banner of the so-called positive philosophy — a religious-mystical trend (Christian Hermann Weisse, Immanuel Hermann Fichte Junior, Franz Xaver von Baader, Anton Günther and others), which criticised Hegel's philosophy from the right. The "positive philosophers" tried to make philosophy subservient to religion by proclaiming divine revelation the only source of "positive" knowledge. They called negative every philosophy which recognised rational cognition as its source. p. 86

[32] Marx cites (in the manuscript in French) from the book *Système de la nature, ou des Loix du monde physique et du monde moral.* Par. M. Mirabaud, Secrétaire Perpétuel et l'un des Quarante de l'Académie Française, Londres, 1770. The real author of the book was the French philosopher Paul Holbach, who for the sake of secrecy put the name of J. Mirabaud, the secretary of the French Academy, on his book (J. Mirabaud died in 1760). p. 102

[33] Both Friedrich Schelling's works quoted by Marx (*Philosophische Briefe über Dogmatismus und Kriticismus* and *Vom Ich als Princip der Philosophie, oder über das Unbedingte im menschlichen Wissen*) appeared in 1795. Later Schelling renounced his progressive views and turned to religious mysticism. In 1841 Schelling was invited by the Prussian authorities to the University of Berlin to oppose the influence of the representatives of the Hegelian school, the Young Hegelians in particular. p. 103

[34] Marx probably refers to the 13th lecture on the history of religion delivered by Hegel at the University of Berlin during the summer term of 1829. p. 103

[35] The reference is to Kant's critique of different ways of proving God's existence in his *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (Critique of Pure Reason). p. 104

[36] Marx refers to the following remark made by Kant in his *Critique of Pure Reason* in

connection with the speculation on the logical meaning of the elements of reasoning (subject, predicate and the copula "is"): "... A hundred real talers do not contain the least coin more than a hundred possible talers. For as the latter signify the concept, and the former the object and the positing of the object, should the former contain more than the latter, my concept would not, in that case, express the whole object, and would not therefore be an adequate concept of it. My financial position is, however, affected very differently by a hundred real talers than it is by the mere concept of them (that is, of their possibility). For the object, as it actually exists, is not analytically contained in my concept, but is added to my concept (which is a determination of my state) synthetically; and yet the conceived hundred talers are not themselves in the least increased through thus acquiring existence outside my concept." p. 104

[37] *Wends*—old name of West Slavic tribes. p. 104

[38] At the end of 1841 and beginning of 1842 Marx made a new attempt to publish his dissertation. He drafted the beginning of a new preface in which many passages were altered or crossed out. It was probably at the same period that he wrote the note against Schelling (see this volume, p. 103) which was inserted in Marx's handwriting in the copy of the manuscript. p. 106

[39] *Comments on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction* was the first work written by Marx as a revolutionary journalist. It was occasioned by the censorship instruction of the Prussian Government of December 24, 1841. Though formulated in moderate liberal terms, the instruction actually not only retained but intensified the censorship of the press. Written between January 15 and February 10, 1842, just after the publication of the instruction in the press (it was published in the *Allgemeine Preussische Staats-Zeitung* No. 14, January 14, 1842; Marx cites from this publication), the article was originally intended for the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* under the editorship of Arnold Ruge (see this volume, p. 381) but because of the censorship restrictions it was published only in 1843 in Switzerland in *Anekdota* which contained works by oppositional authors, mostly Young Hegelians.

Excerpts from the article were reprinted in the *Mannheimer Abendzeitung* Nos. 71 and 72, March 26 and 28, 1843.

In 1851 Hermann Becker, a member of the Communist League, made an attempt to publish Marx's collected works in Cologne. On the author's initiative the first issue began with this article (see *Gesammelte Aufsätze von Karl Marx*, herausgegeben von Hermann Becker, 1. Heft, Köln, 1851). However, the publication was ceased because of the government repressions.

The first English translation of the article appeared in *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, New York, 1967, pp. 67-92, and an excerpt from it in *Karl Marx. Early Texts*, Oxford, 1971, pp. 26-30. p. 109

[40] The reference is to the *Bundesakte* adopted by the Congress of Vienna on June 8, 1815. The Act proclaimed the formation of a German Confederation consisting initially of 34 independent states and four free cities. The Act virtually sanctioned the political dismemberment of Germany and the maintaining of the monarchical-estate system in the German states.

Article 18 of the Act vaguely mentioned a forthcoming drafting of uniform instructions providing for "freedom of the press" in the states of the German Confederation. However, this article remained on paper. The Provisional Federal Act on the Press of September 20, 1819 (it remained provisional for ever), introduced preliminary censorship for all publications of not more than 20

signatures (actually all periodicals) throughout Germany as well as a series of other restrictions. p. 115

[41] *Lettre de cachet*—a secret royal order for the imprisonment or exile of any person without judge or jury. This method of reprisals against oppositional elements and undesirable persons was widely used in France in the period of absolutism, especially under Louis XIV and Louis XV. p. 116

[42] An allusion to the negotiations of Prussian diplomats with the Pope concerning the disagreements between the Prussian Government and the Catholic Church known as the "Cologne" or "church conflict". The conflict concerning the religious denomination of children of mixed marriages between Catholics and Protestants arose in 1837 with the arrest of C. A. Droste-Vischering, Archbishop of Cologne, who was accused of high treason for refusing to obey the orders of Frederick William III, the King of Prussia. It ended in 1841 under Frederick William IV with the Prussian Government yielding to the Catholic Church (see Marx's letter to Ruge of July 9, 1842, pp. 389-90 of this volume). p. 118

[43] The article *Proceedings of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly. First Article. Debates on Freedom of the Press and Publication of the Proceedings of the Assembly of the Estates* was Marx's first contribution to the *Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe.* Marx began his work as a contributor and in October 1842 became one of the editors of the newspaper. By its content and approach to vital political problems, the article helped the newspaper, founded by the oppositional Rhenish bourgeoisie as a liberal organ, to begin a transition to the revolutionary-democratic positions.

The appearance of Marx's article in the press raised a favourable response in progressive circles. Georg Jung, manager of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, wrote to Marx: "Your articles on freedom of the press are extremely good.... Meyen wrote that the *Rheinische Zeitung* had eclipsed the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* ... that in Berlin everybody was overjoyed with it" (MEGA, Abt. 1, Bd. 1, Hb. 2, S. 275). In his comments on the article published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* Arnold Ruge wrote: "Nothing more profound and more substantial has been said or could have been said on freedom of the press and in defence of it" (*Deutsche Jahrbücher*, 1842, S. 535-36).

In the early 1850s Marx included this article in his collected works then being prepared for publication by Hermann Becker (see Note 39). However only the beginning of the article was included in the first issue. The major part of the text which had been published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 139 was left unprinted. The end of the article was intended for the following issue, which was never published.

A copy of the *Rheinische Zeitung* which Marx sent from London to Becker in Cologne in February 1851 with the author's notes on the text of the articles (mostly in the form of abbreviations) intended for the edition Becker was preparing has recently been found in the archives of Cologne University library. This copy of the newspaper proves that Marx thought of publishing—partly in an abridged form—many of his articles written for the *Rheinische Zeitung*. However, his plan was not realised. Marginal notes show that the articles "Communal Reform and the *Kölnische Zeitung*" and "A Correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* vs. the *Rheinische Zeitung*" belong to Marx. These articles have never been published in any collection of Marx's works.

In English an excerpt from the *Proceedings* was published in *Karl Marx. Early Texts*, Oxford, 1971, pp. 35-36. p. 132

[44] Marx devoted three articles to the debates of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly, only two of which, the first and the third, were published. In the first article Marx

proceeded with his criticism of the Prussian censorship which he had begun in his as yet unpublished article "Comments on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction". The second article, devoted to the conflict between the Prussian Government and the Catholic Church, was banned by the censors. The manuscript of this article has not survived, but the general outline of it is given by Marx in his letter to Ruge of July 9, 1842 (see this volume, pp. 389-90). The third article is devoted to the debates of the Rhine Province Assembly on the law on wood thefts. p. 132

45 *Assemblies of the estates* were introduced in Prussia in 1823. They embraced the heads of princely families, representatives of the knightly estate, i.e., the nobility, of towns and rural communities. The election system based on the principle of landownership provided for a majority of the nobility in the assemblies. The competency of the assemblies was restricted to questions of local economy and administration. They also had the right to express their desires on government bills submitted for discussion.

The Sixth Rhine Province Assembly was in session from May 23 to July 25, 1841, in Düsseldorf. The debates dealt with in the article took place during the discussion on publication of the proceedings of the assemblies (this right had been granted by the Royal edict of April 30, 1841) and in connection with petitions of a number of towns on freedom of the press.

Citations in the text are given according to the *Sitzungs-Protokolle des sechsten Rheinischen Provinzial-Landtags*, Koblenz, 1841. p. 132

46 The reference is to the article "Die inlandische Presse u. die inlandische Statistik", published in the *Allgemeine Preussische Staats-Zeitung* No. 86, March 26, 1842. Marx cited mainly from this article, and also from two other articles, "Die Wirkung der Zensur-Verfügung vom 24. Dezember 1841" and "Die Besprechung inlandscher Angelegenheiten," published in the same newspaper in Nos. 75 and 78, March 16 and 19, 1842, respectively. p. 132

47 *Vossische Zeitung*—the name given after its owner to the daily *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen.* p. 132

48 *Spenersche Zeitung*—the name given after its publisher to the *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* which was a semi-official government organ at the beginning of the 1840s. p. 132

49 Marx ironically compares Prussian officialdom's enthusiasm for statistics with the ancient philosophical systems which assigned a special importance to signs and numbers. He hints in particular at the ancient Chinese "I Ching" writings, of which Confucius was considered in the nineteenth century to be one of the first commentators. According to the philosophical conception laid down in them, *ku* signs, which were formed from various combinations of three continuous or broken lines, symbolised things and natural phenomena.

When calling Pythagoras the "universal statistician" Marx had in mind the ancient Greek philosophers' conceptions of number as the essence of all things. p. 134

50 The reference is to positive philosophy. See Note 31. p. 134

51 By this Marx meant Heraclitus' maxim: The dry soul is the wisest and the best. p. 135

52 The reference is to the Provisional Federal Act on the Press for the German states adopted on September 20, 1819 (see Note 40). p. 138

[53] The reference is to the *historical school of law*—a trend in history and jurisprudence which originated in Germany at the end of the eighteenth century. Its representatives (Gustav Hugo and Friedrich Carl von Savigny) tried to justify the privileges enjoyed by the nobility and the existence of feudal institutions by eternal historical traditions. An assessment of this school is given by Marx in the article "The Philosophical Manifesto of the Historical School of Law" (see this volume, pp. 203-10). p. 138

[54] By the decision of the Vienna Congress of 1815, Belgium and Holland were incorporated in the single kingdom of the Netherlands, Belgium being actually subordinated to Holland. Belgium became an independent constitutional monarchy after the bourgeois revolution of 1830. p. 143

[55] *Ku*—see Note 49. p. 155

[56] Marx cites these and the following lines of Hariri's poem from Friedrich Rückert's *Die Verwandlungen des Abu Seid von Serug, oder die Makamen des Hariri*, Stuttgart, 1826. p. 170

[57] This work is the beginning of a critical article which Marx planned to write against the abstract, nihilist treatment of the problem of state centralisation in the article by Moses Hess, "Deutschland und Frankreich in bezug auf die Zentralisationsfrage," which was published in the Supplement to the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 137 of May 17, 1842.

Marx's article was evidently not finished. The part which was written has survived in manuscript form.

It was first published in English in *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, New York, 1967, pp. 106-08. p. 182

[58] This article was occasioned by attacks on the trend of the *Rheinische Zeitung* on the part of the influential *Kölnische Zeitung*, which defended the Catholic Church in the 1840s. In 1842 the *Kölnische Zeitung*, under the editorship of Karl Hermes, a secret agent of the Prussian Government, took an active part in the campaign against the progressive press and progressive philosophical trends, the Young Hegelians in particular.

The article was published in English in the collections: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Religion*, Moscow, 1957, pp. 16-40, and *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, New York, 1967, pp. 109-30. p. 184

[59] Marx cites Lucian from *Griechische Prosaiker in neuen Übersetzungen*. Fünftes Bändchen, Stuttgart, 1827, S. 176. p. 185

[60] *Vedas*—ancient Hindu religious and literary works in verse and prose written over several centuries, not later than the sixth century B. C. p. 191

[61] This wording is given in Article 3 of *la Charte octroyée*—the fundamental law of the Bourbon monarchy proclaimed in 1814, and in *la Charte bâclée* proclaimed on August 14, 1830, after the July bourgeois revolution in France. While introducing some changes into the constitution of the French monarchy (certain restrictions of royal power, lowering of age and property qualifications, the practice of open debates in the Chambers, etc.), the second charter retained essentially the main principles laid down in the charter of 1814 granted by the Bourbons after the restoration. p. 192

[62] Here and further Marx cites from *Allgemeines Landrecht für die Preussischen Staaten*, second edition, Berlin, 1794. p. 192

63 *Code Napoléon*—a civil code published in 1804; it was introduced also in West and South-West Germany conquered by Napoleon and continued in force in the Rhine Province after its union with Prussia in 1815. It was a classical code of bourgeois society. p. 192

64 An allusion to the participation of the editor of the *Kölnische Zeitung* Hermes in the oppositional movement of the German students in his youth. p. 194

65 *Corybantes*—priestesses of the goddess Cybele; *Cabiri* were priests of the ancient Greek divinities. The Corybantes and Cabiri were identified in Asia Minor with the Curetes, priests of Rhea, the mother of Zeus. According to mythology the Curetes clashed their weapons to drown the cries of the infant Zeus and thus saved him from his father, Cronus, who devoured his own children. p. 196

66 By this Marx means the attacks of the German press against the philosophical critique of religion which began with Strauss' book *Das Leben Jesu*, the first volume of which appeared in 1835. p. 196

67 *Deutsche Jahrbücher*—abbreviated title of the Left Hegelian literary-philosophical journal *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst*. The journal was published in Leipzig from July 1841 and edited by Arnold Ruge. Earlier (1838-41) it came out under the title *Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst*. Its name was changed and publication transferred from the Prussian town of Halle to Saxony because of the threat of suppression in the Prussian state. However, it did not last long under its new name. In January 1843 it was closed by the Government of Saxony and its further publication was prohibited throughout Germany by the Federal Diet (Bundestag). p. 196

68 When this article was published in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, one of the sections, "The Chapter on Marriage", was banned by the censors. It appeared in full only in 1927. In the present edition the article is reproduced, as in all previous complete publications, according to the manuscript, which is extant.

The article was published in English in *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, New York, 1967, pp. 96-105. p. 203

69 *Papageno*—a character in Mozart's opera *Die Zauberflöte*, a bird-catcher who clad himself in feathers. p. 203

70 The reference is to a pamphlet written by the German jurist Friedrich Carl von Savigny in 1838 on the occasion of Gustav Hugo's jubilee—the fiftieth anniversary of his being awarded a doctor's degree: *Der Zehente Mai 1788. Beytrag zur Geschichte der Rechtswissenschaft* (Berlin, 1838). p. 207

71 Marx cites the first volume of Benjamin Constant's *De la religion* (Book 2, Ch. 2, pp. 172-73, Paris edition, 1826). A detailed synopsis of this work written by Marx in Bonn in 1842 has survived. p. 207

72 Marx refers here to the preaching of "free love" in the works of some of the Young Germany writers.

*Young Germany*—a group of writers which emerged in the 1830s in Germany and was influenced by Heinrich Heine and Ludwig Börne. The Young Germany writers (Karl Gutzkow, Ludolf Wienbarg, Theodor Mundt and others) came out in defence of freedom of conscience and the press, their writings, fiction and journalistic, reflecting opposition sentiments of the petty-bourgeoisie and intellectuals. The views of the Young Germans were politically vague. Soon the majority of them turned into mere liberals. p. 208

[73] An allusion to Savigny's book *Vom Beruf unsrer Zeit für Gesetzgebung und Rechtswissenschaft*, Heidelberg, 1814, and to Savigny's appointment as Minister of Justice for the revision of the law in 1842. p. 209

[74] This article was written in connection with the attacks made by the German philosopher Otto Friedrich Gruppe on Bruno Bauer's book *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker*. Attacking the leader of the Young Hegelians in his pamphlet *Bruno Bauer und die akademische Lehrfreiheit*, Gruppe tried under the guise of non-partisanship and neutrality in philosophy to discredit Bauer as a critic of the gospel sources. In his article Marx cites and slightly paraphrases Gruppe's statement: "The writer of these lines has never served any party and has not been influenced by anybody." The Young Hegelian journal *Deutsche Jahrbücher* replied with a series of articles in defence of Bruno Bauer. p. 211

[75] Marx expounds the statement made by the Protestant theologian Joachim Neander in his book *Das Leben Jesu Christi in seinem geschichtlichen Zusammenhange und seiner geschichtlichen Entwickelung dargestellt*, Hamburg, 1837, S. 265, and quoted by Bruno Bauer in his *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker* (Bd. 2, S. 296). p. 212

[76] Citation from Bruno Bauer's *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker*. Citations from the New Testament are given according to this work (Bd. 2, S. 297, 299 and 296). p. 213

[77] This article is the first written by Marx for the *Rheinische Zeitung* after he became its editor. The article in No. 284 of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* against which Marx polemises was published on October 11, 1842, under the title "Die Kommunistenlehren".

In English the article was published in *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, New York, 1967, pp. 136-42, and in Vol. 1 of *On Revolution*, New York, 1971, pp. 3-6. p. 215

[78] The reference is to a report from Berlin on August 21, 1842, reprinted in the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 273, September 30, 1842, from Weitling's journal *Die junge Generation* under the title "Die Berliner Familienhäuser". p. 215

[79] Marx means the critical article "Die Augsburger *Allgemeine Zeitung* in ihrer tiefsten Erniedrigung" published in the journal *Mefistofeles. Revue der deutschen Gegenwart in Skizzen und Umrissen*, issues 1 and 2, 1842. p. 215

[80] The reference is to the tenth congress of scientists of France which took place in Strasbourg from September 28 to October 9, 1842. It was attended by scientists from Germany, Switzerland, Great Britain, Belgium, Russia and other countries. One of its sections discussed proposals made by the followers of Fourier for improving the social position of the non-propertied classes. The report cites Edouard de Pompery's speech in which he compared the proletariat's struggle against private property with the struggle of the bourgeoisie against feudalism.

This report, an excerpt from which Marx quotes below, was published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 280, October 7, 1842, with a note: "Strassburg, 30. Sept." p. 216

[81] This refers to the following proposition from Emmanuel Sieyès' *Qu'est-ce que le tiers état?* published in 1789 on the eve of the French revolution: "What is the third estate? Everything.—What was it until now in the political respect? Nothing.—What is it striving for? To be something." p. 216

[82] An allusion to the revolutionary actions of the proletariat in England and France. In August 1842 Manchester was one of the centres of Chartist agitation and a massive strike movement; in May 1839 a revolt organised by the secret revolutionary Society of the Seasons took place in Paris; the Lyons weavers rose in 1831 and 1834. p. 216

[83] The reference is to an article datelined: "Karlsruhe, 8. Oktober", published in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 284. Excerpts from this article are printed below. p. 219

[84] This refers to an article datelined: "London, 5. Oktober 1842", published in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 284. p. 219

[85] *Autonomists*—the name given to the members of former landowning families of princes and counts who, on the basis of the Federal Act of 1815, retained the right to dispose of their hereditary estates at their discretion irrespective of the general legislation on inheritance, trusteeship, etc. p. 220

[86] This apparently refers to the book by Wilhelm Kosegarten, *Betrachtungen über die Veräusserlichkeit und Theilbarkeit des Landbesitzes mit besonderer Rücksicht auf einige Provinzen der Preussischen Monarchie*, in which the author criticised the parcelling out of the landed estates and upheld the restoration of feudal landownership. p. 220

[87] This refers to the article "Die Kommunistenlehren" published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of October 11, 1842, and criticised by Marx in his article "Communism and the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*". p. 223

[88] *Proceedings of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly. Third Article. Debates on the Law on Thefts of Wood* is one of the series of articles by Marx on the proceedings of the Rhine Province Assembly from May 23 to July 25, 1841. Marx touched on the theme of the material interests of the popular masses for the first time, coming out in their defence. Work on this and subsequent articles inspired Marx to study political economy. He wrote about this in the preface to his *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859): "In the year 1842-43, as editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, I first found myself in the embarrassing position of having to discuss what is known as material interests. Debates of the Rhine Province Assembly on the theft of wood and the division of landed property; the official polemic started by Herr von Schaper, then Oberpräsident of the Rhine Province, against the *Rheinische Zeitung* about the condition of the Mosel peasantry, and finally the debates on free trade and protective tariffs caused me in the first instance to turn my attention to economic questions."

Excerpts from the speeches by the deputies to the Assembly are cited from *Sitzungs-Protokolle des sechsten Rheinischen Provinzial-Landtags*, Koblenz, 1841. p. 224

[89] The second article written by Marx on the proceedings of the Rhine Province Assembly, banned by the censors, was devoted to the conflict between the Prussian Government and the Catholic Church or the so-called church conflict (see Note 42). p. 224

[90] Marx refers to the Criminal Code of Karl V (*Die peinliche Halsgerichtsordnung Kaiser Karls V. Constitutio criminalis Carolina*), approved by the Reichstag in Regensburg in 1532; it was distinguished by its extremely cruel penalties. p. 226

[91] The reference is to the so-called barbaric laws (*leges barbarorum*) compiled in the fifth-ninth centuries which were records of the common law of various Germanic

tribes (Franks, Frisians, Burgundians, Langobards [Lombards], Anglo-Saxons and others). p. 232

92 *Dodona*—a town in Epirus, seat of a temple of Zeus. An ancient oak grew near the main entrance to the temple with a spring at its foot; oracles interpreted the will of the gods from the rustling of its leaves. p. 244

93 The fact mentioned took place during the siege of Antwerp in 1584-85 by the troops of King Philip II of Spain, who were suppressing the Netherland's revolt against absolutist Spain. p. 257

94 The reference is to the Barebone's, nominated, or Little Parliament summoned by Cromwell in July and dissolved in December 1653. It was composed mainly of representatives of the Congregational Churches who couched their criticism in religious mystic terms. p. 258

95 *Tidong*—a region in Kalimantan (Borneo). p. 260

96 An allusion to the debate of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly on a bill against violations of game regulations, which deprived the peasants of the right to hunt even hares. p. 263

97 This note was a footnote to an article marked "Vom Rhein" printed in the same issue. The article in its turn was a reply to a previous article printed in the Supplement to the *Rheinische Zeitung* Nos. 265, 268, 275 and 277, September 22 and 25 and October 2 and 4, 1842, under the title "Fehlgriffe der liberalen Opposition in Hannover". p. 264

98 The reference is to *la Charte bâclée*, proclaimed on August 14, 1830 (see Note 61). p. 264

99 In 1837 King Ernst Augustus and his supporters made a coup d'état in Hanover. They abolished the 1833 Constitution which was moderately liberal (according to it ministers were appointed by the king but were responsible to the provincial assembly) and revived the fundamental state law of 1819 which retained representation on the estate principle and drastically restricted the rights of the provincial assembly. Liberal circles in Hanover attempted to restore the 1833 law. Their demand was formulated in a protest by seven professors of the University of Göttingen (Dahlmann, Gervinus, the brothers Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm, Ewald, Albrecht and Weber) who were subsequently deprived of their chairs and some of them banished. The controversy on the constitutional questions in Hanover was transferred to the Bundestag, which by a decision of 1839 sanctioned restoration of the law of 1819. The new constitutional Act of the King of Hanover in 1840 re-asserted the principal clauses of the law. p. 264

100 This article and the article "A Correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* vs. the *Rheinische Zeitung*" which is closely linked with it (see this volume, pp. 277-79) were written on the occasion of a sharp polemic launched in the press on the proposed reform of local administration in towns and villages of the Prussian provinces. For the Rhine Province this reform meant the abolition of progressive elements in local government which had survived from the time of the French revolution and Napoleon I. The struggle for their preservation and development assumed the form of defending these principles against Prussian absolutism and monarchically orientated nobility.

The *Rheinische Zeitung* played a leading part in this struggle. Already in August 1842 its editorial board publicly stated its views on this matter. From November 3 to December 1 the paper published in its Supplement a series of articles

entitled "The Reform of the Rhenish Administration", written by Claessen, a member of the paper's Board of Directors. These articles contained demands for unification and equality of urban and rural local administration, publicity of local administration sessions, extension of their rights and reduction of bureaucratic control over them. Reflecting the Prussophilism and anti-democratic sentiments of a certain section of the Rhenish bourgeoisie the *Kölnische Zeitung* attacked the *Rheinische Zeitung* in its "Summing Up" published on November 1, 1842. On November 11 and 16 the *Kölnische Zeitung* continued the polemic by publishing short items containing attacks on Claessen's articles and insinuations against the *Rheinische Zeitung*. The two articles mentioned here were in answer to these attacks (see Note 43). p. 266

[101] In this note Marx laid down the principal lines for the criticism of the Divorce Bill which he later developed in the *Rheinische Zeitung* in a special article (see this volume, pp. 307-10). Preparation and discussion in government quarters of the Divorce Bill making the dissolution of marriage much more difficult was kept in great secrecy. However, on October 20, 1842, the *Rheinische Zeitung* published the Bill and thus initiated broad discussion on this subject in the progressive press. Prior to this article by Marx, the *Rheinische Zeitung* had published a brief article on the new Bill under the title "Bemerkungen über den Entwurf einer Verordnung über Ehescheidung, vorgelegt von dem Ministerium für Revision der Gesetze im Juli 1842" (*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 310, November 6, 1842, Supplement). Marx mentions the article in this item which was written in the form of an editorial note to another article devoted to the same subject, "Der Entwurf zu dem neuen Ehegesetz".

Owing to the general dissatisfaction with the government Bill, Frederick William IV was compelled to abandon his intention of carrying it through.

The publication of the Bill and the resolute refusal of the *Rheinische Zeitung* editorial board to name the person who had sent the text of it to the paper was one of the reasons for the banning of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.

In English this note was published in *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, New York, 1967, pp. 136-38. p. 274

[102] This refers to the law of the Kingdom of Prussia codified in 1794; it reflected backwardness of feudal Prussia in the sphere of law and justice. p. 275

[103] This note reflects Marx's desire as the editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* to use the liberal wording of the Cabinet Order on the press, to which Frederick William IV frequently resorted with demagogic aims, so as to provide juridical barriers against the persecution of the paper being prepared by the censorship and to repulse the harassing action on the part of governmental officials and the reactionary press. Marx resorted to similar tactics also on other occasions when forced to do so by the situation. p. 280

[104] The trend pursued by the *Rheinische Zeitung* after Marx became its editor was a source of apprehension for the Prussian authorities. Oberpräsident of the Rhine Province von Schaper wrote to Berlin stressing that the tone of the paper was "becoming more and more impudent and harsh". By his order Regierungspräsident of Cologne von Gerlach demanded on November 12, 1842, the dismissal from the editorial board of Rutenberg (whom the authorities considered to be the initiator of the radical trend) and conveyed the instructions of the censorship ministries on changes in the paper's trend. The editorial board replied with a letter by the publisher Engelbert Renard who was the official manager of the paper. As can be seen from the rough copy, the actual author of the letter was Marx.

The arguments put forward by Marx deprived the government representatives of grounds for banning the paper, although it is obvious from von Schaper's report to the censorship ministers on December 17, 1842, that they did not abandon the intention of bringing a suit against the editors of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, in particular the author of the article "Debates on the Law on Thefts of Wood", for "impudent and disrespectful criticism of the existing government institutions". However, having no formal grounds for prosecution, the authorities had temporarily to confine themselves to intensifying censorship measures (change of censors, etc.). p. 282

105 This refers to articles published in the Supplement to the *Rheinische Zeitung*: "Auch eine Stimme über 'eine Hegemonie in Deutschland'" (author, Friedrich Wilhelm Carové; signed 'Vom Main'), No. 135, May 15, 1842; "Hegemonie in Deutschland", No. 146, May 26, 1842; and "Weitere Verhandlungen über die Hegemonie Preussens", No. 172, June 21, 1842, when Marx was not yet editor of the newspaper. p. 283

106 This note was published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* as a footnote to the article "Die hannoverschen Industriellen und der Schutzzol". It has not yet been proved who the author of this item was. Some scholars doubt whether it was written by Marx. p. 286

107 "*The Free*" (*Die Freien*)—a Berlin group of Young Hegelians, which was formed early in 1842. Among its prominent members were Edgar Bauer, Eduard Meyen, Ludwig Buhl and Max Stirner (pseudonym of Kaspar Schmidt). Their criticism of the prevailing conditions was abstract and devoid of real revolutionary content and ultra-radical in form; it frequently discredited the democratic movement. Subsequently many representatives of "The Free" renounced radicalism.

When Marx had become editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, he took steps to prevent "The Free" from using the newspaper as a mouthpiece for their pseudo-revolutionary statements. On his conflict with "The Free" see his letter to Arnold Ruge, November 30, 1842 (this volume, pp. 393-95). The article quotes almost word for word from Herwegh's letter of November 22, 1842 to the *Rheinische Zeitung*. p. 287

108 This is an editor's note quoted from the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 322, November 18, 1842. The report referred to was published in issue No. 317 of the paper on November 13, 1842. p. 290

109 Here and elsewhere is quoted the article mentioned below, "Leipzig (Julius Mosen u. die *Rhein. Zeitung*)," which was published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 329, November 25, 1842. p. 290

110 Marx wrote this work in reply to an article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* which tried to justify the Prussian Government's attempts to substitute the establishment of the all-German Assembly of the Estates for the introduction of the constitution. The article criticised by Marx, "Berlin, im November. Über die Zusammensetzung der ständischen Ausschüsse in Preussen", was published in the Supplement to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* Nos. 335 and 336, December 1 and 2, 1842 (below are quoted passages from this article). For reasons of tactics Marx made the reservation that the polemics were directed against the opinion of the conservative press on the Prussian state institutions and not against these institutions themselves. This enabled him to criticise them severely and expose their spurious constitutionalism.

Commissions of the estates of the provincial assemblies were set up in Prussia

in June 1842. They were elected by the provincial assemblies out of their membership (on the estate principle) and formed a single advisory body—the United Commissions. With the help of this body which was but a sham representative assembly, Frederick William IV planned to introduce new taxes and obtain a loan.

An excerpt from this article was published in English in *Karl Marx. Early Texts*, Oxford, 1971, pp. 55-57. p. 292

111 This is an excerpt from the law of March 27, 1824, introducing an assembly of the estates in the Rhine Province and adopted on the basis of the law on the provincial assemblies of the estates promulgated in Prussia on June 5, 1823. p. 294

112 *Mediatised lands* were former imperial fiefs which were previously held directly from the Emperor but afterwards became dependent on princes, on the King of Prussia in the given case; their holders retained some of their privileges, including personal membership of the Assembly of the Estates. p. 303

113 *Virilstimme* was an individual vote enjoyed in the assemblies of the estates by persons of knightly (noble) descent and individual German cities by virtue of privileges granted them in the Middle Ages. p. 303

114 On the Divorce Bill and the stand of the *Rheinische Zeitung* on this question see Note 101. The article was published in English in *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, New York, 1967, pp. 138-42. p. 307

115 Late in 1842 the German governments intensified persecutions of the opposition press. The Cabinet Order of December 28, 1842, prohibited distribution of the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* in Prussia for the publication, in its issue of December 24, of a letter by Georg Herwegh, a democratic poet, to King Frederick William IV, accusing him of breaking the promise to introduce freedom of the press. The *Rheinische Zeitung* editor's defence of the persecuted press required particular courage because the paper was increasingly threatened with government repressions.

Each section of the article was published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* under its own title, the general title was given by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU. p. 311

116 This refers to the report marked "Köln, 4. Jan.", published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 5, January 5, 1843. p. 315

117 This refers to the report marked "Vom Rhein, den 4. Jan.", published in the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* No. 6, January 6, 1843. p. 315

118 The reference is to the events connected with the abolition of the Constitution by the King of Hanover in 1837 and the protest against this arbitrary act by seven liberal professors of Göttingen University who were subjected to repressions (see Note 99). The Hanover events evoked a wide response all over Germany. The *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* came out in defence of the Göttingen professors. p. 316

119 The allusion is to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*. At the end of 1842 and beginning of 1843 the newspaper again made a number of attacks against the *Rheinische Zeitung* (in particular, in No. 4, January 4, 1843), stating its intention to polemise on principles with the latter but failing to supply any weighty arguments. In reply, the *Rheinische Zeitung* of January 12, 1843, carried a polemical article by

Marx against the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which is published in this volume together with the reply to the paper's attacks which he made on January 3, 1843 (see this volume, pp. 359-60). p. 318

[120] See Note 115. p. 319

[121] This refers to the report marked "vom Niederrhein", which was published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 9, January 9, 1843. p. 319

[122] This refers to the article "Die preussische Presse" published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 6, January 6, 1843. p. 320

[123] See Note 110. p. 321

[124] Here and below Marx quotes the report marked "Köln, 10. Jan.", published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 11, January 11, 1843. p. 322

[125] This refers to two reports published in the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* No. 11, January 11, 1843, the first of which is marked "Koblenz, den 10. Jan." and the second "Vom Rhein, den 9. Jan." p. 324

[126] This refers to the report marked "Koblenz, den 13. Jan.", published in the Supplement to the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* No. 15, January 15, 1843. p. 328

[127] The *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 348, December 14, 1842, carried, on Marx's initiative, an unsigned article marked "Von der Mosel", written by the democratic lawyer P. I. Coblenz. The situation in the Mosel was also dealt with in another article marked "Bernkastel, 10. Dez.", published in issue No. 346. They were printed for the purpose of drawing public attention to the distress of the Mosel peasants and censuring the prejudiced and inattentive attitude of the government circles towards their complaints. The publication of these articles led to two rescripts from von Schaper, Oberpräsident of the Rhine Province, to the newspaper, accusing the Mosel correspondent of distorting the facts and slandering the government. Von Schaper demanded answers to a number of questions, in the hope of securing in effect a disavowal of the accusations levelled at the government. On December 18, issue No. 352 of the *Rheinische Zeitung* published the rescripts and asked the author to write a reply to them. However, as Coblenz was unable to produce sufficient grounds for his theses and disprove the accusations made against him, Marx took the task upon himself in order to use the polemics against von Schaper to expose the Prussian socio-political system. At the time the present announcement of the forthcoming reply to the Oberpräsident was published Marx was gathering material for his article "Justification of the Correspondent from the Mosel". p. 331

[128] This article was written by Marx instead of P. I. Coblenz, the author of the report "Von der Mosel", in reply to the charges levelled against the latter in the rescripts of von Schaper, Oberpräsident of the Rhine Province (see Note 127). Marx was unable to carry out his programme for a reply in full — out of five questions he managed to answer only two. Further publication was banned by the censor. The manuscript is not extant. Subsequently a report datelined "Von der Mosel in Januar 1843" entitled "Die Krebsschäden der Moselgegend", which coincided with the formulation of the third point of a reply Marx had planned to give, appeared in the book by K.Heinzen, a contributor to the *Rheinische Zeitung, Die Preussische Bureaukratie* (Darmstadt, 1845, S. 220-25). However, the content was strictly factual, and the style of this item differed from those parts of Marx's article which had been published. At present it is still difficult to tell for certain

who the author of this report was, but it may be assumed that what Heinzen published under this heading was one of the previously unpublished articles by Coblenz, whom Marx defended, rather than the continuation of Marx's article.

The publication of the article in defence of the Mosel correspondent provided the immediate pretext for the government, at the insistence of the king, to pass a decision on January 19, 1843, banning the *Rheinische Zeitung* as from April 1, 1843, and imposing a rigorous censorship for the remaining period. The decree was promulgated on January 21.

The article was published in part in English in *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, New York, 1967, pp. 143-48. p. 332

[129] This refers to the Prussian Government's new censorship instruction (see Note 39). p. 332

[130] See Note 39. p. 350

[131] The two items published here under a title supplied by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism were printed in the *Rheinische Zeitung* in reply to the attacks of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* (see Note 119). p. 359

[132] These notes are the draft reply written by Marx to disprove the accusations contained in the ministerial rescript of January 21, 1843, which ordered suppression of the *Rheinische Zeitung* as from April 1, 1843, and imposed a rigorous censorship for the remaining period. The manner in which Marx replied was determined by his purpose of shielding the *Rheinische Zeitung* against government repressions and securing a repeal of the ban, but not at the cost of a change in its political line. Hence the Aesopean language which he uses in elucidating the paper's stand on questions of principle in the social life of Germany. p. 361

[133] Marx apparently refers to *Das Neue eleganteste Conversations-Lexicon für Gebildete aus allen Ständen*, published in Leipzig in 1835. On p. 255 of this book it was stated that Hegel came to Berlin in 1818 so that "his doctrine might be turned into a state philosophy". p. 362

[134] This refers to the article "Eingesandt aus Preussen" published in the *Allgemeine Königsberger Zeitung* No. 30, February 4, 1843. p. 362

[135] This charge was provoked by the article "Die russische Note über die preussische Presse" published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 4, January 4, 1843. The article criticised Russian tsarism and the interference of its representatives in German affairs for the purpose of suppressing the opposition press. The publication of this article called forth a Note of protest from the tsarist government. p. 364

[136] Marx reproduces almost word for word the Prussian censorship instruction of October 18, 1819. p. 364

[137] *Ultramontanes*—supporters of ultramontanism, a trend in the Roman Catholic Church advocating greater papal authority. In the Rhine Province Catholics were in opposition to the Prussian Government, which supported the Protestants. p. 364

[138] This refers to the separatist ideas advocated by Johannes Joseph von Görres in 1838 in the *Historisch-politische Blätter für das Katholische Deutschland* published in Munich. p. 364

[139] This refers to Karl Marx's article "The Supplement to Nos. 335 and 336 of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* on the Commissions of the Estates in Prussia" (see this volume, pp. 292-306). p. 365

[140] This refers to the negotiations between Prussia and Russia which were held in the summer of 1842 on the questions of concluding a trade agreement and cancelling, under the pressure of German public opinion, the 1830 Convention with Russia concerning extradition of deserters, prisoners of war and criminals. p. 365

[141] The Cabinet Order of October 14, 1842, obliging the editorial boards of newspapers to publish government officials' refutations of incorrect data given in these newspapers, was published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 320, November 16, 1842.

The editorial note on this Order ironically remarks that whatever the author's intentions it constituted "a perfect guarantee of the independence" of the press and recognition of its social significance. p. 365

[142] The quotations which follow are from the article marked "Vom Rhein, den 6. März", published in the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* No. 67, March 8, 1843. p. 366

[143] The *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* was published in Koblenz. Further on in the text Marx refers to it as the "Koblenz newspaper". p. 367

[144] Marx further quotes from the article "Friedrich v. Sallet ist tot!" published in the *Trier'sche Zeitung* No. 63, March 6, 1843. This obituary to the German anti-clerical poet was attacked by the pro-Catholic editors of the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung*, which carried in issue No. 70, March 11, 1843, an article entitled "Friedrich v. Sallets *Laien-Evangelium*". Marx severely criticises both this article (excerpts from which are also quoted) and attempts of the *Trier'sche Zeitung* article to describe Sallet as an author with religious beliefs. p. 370

[145] *Sanbenito*—a yellow robe worn by heretics sentenced by the Inquisition when they were led to the place of execution. p. 372

[146] This refers to the article marked "Vom Rhein, den 11. März", published in the *Rhein- und Mosel-Zeitung* No. 72, March 13, 1843. Marx quotes from this article below. p. 373

[147] After the publication of the rescript of January 21, 1843, which suppressed the *Rheinische Zeitung* as from April 1, 1843, Marx directed his efforts to secure its repeal. Neither the refutation of the charges against the newspaper (see this volume, pp. 361-65), nor the petitions of the inhabitants of Cologne and other cities of the Rhine Province in defence of the paper succeeded in shaking the government's decision. At the end of January 1843 Marx was already thinking of resigning the editorship (see letter to Ruge of January 25, 1843, p. 397 of this volume), but he did not consider it possible to carry out his intention at the height of the campaign for the repeal of the ban. In March, however, he believed that changes in the editorial board could provide a chance of saving the newspaper, and made up his mind to resign officially from his post. He handed over his duties to Dagobert Oppenheim. Marx was probably prompted to do so also by his unwillingness to take upon himself the responsibility for a possible change of line of the newspaper by which the liberal shareholders wished to prolong its existence.

Notwithstanding Marx's resignation, the royal rescript was not repealed. The last issue of the newspaper appeared on March 31, 1843. p. 376

[148] Marx's thesis, together with his applications in German and Latin, was recorded under No. 26 on April 13, 1841, in the Jena University Register. On the same day Bachmann, the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, and a group of professors signed a highly commendatory review on it (see this volume, pp. 705-06). On

April 15 Marx was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and received his diploma (see illustration). p. 379

149 In mid-April 1841, after he had been awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Marx moved to Trier and in July of the same year to Bonn, because he had intended to enlist as Privat-Docent at Bonn University. In view of the government persecutions of progressive scientists (in the autumn of 1841 Bruno Bauer, a Young Hegelian, was banned from lecturing at Bonn University), Marx had to give up his plans for an academic career and become a publicist.

From January till March 1842 Marx stayed in Trier in the family of his fiancée, Jenny von Westphalen.

Marx's correspondence with Arnold Ruge was occasioned by his intention to contribute to the opposition periodicals of the time including the *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, edited by Ruge. p. 381

150 This refers to Ludwig Feuerbach's review of Karl Bayer's book *Betrachtungen über den Begriff des sittlichen Geistes und über das Wesen der Tugend* published in the *Hallische Jahrbücher* for 1840. p. 381

151 The full title is *Anekdota zur neuesten deutschen Philosophie und Publicistik* which Ruge planned to publish in Switzerland. The first issue of the almanac (1843) carried Marx's article "Comments on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction" and also articles by Ludwig Feuerbach, Karl Friedrich Köppen, Arnold Ruge and others. p. 382

152 The reference is to Bruno Bauer's book *Die Posaune des jungsten Gerichts über Hegel den Atheisten und Antichristen. Ein Ultimatum*, which was published anonymously in early November 1841. Bauer wrote it in August and September 1841 with some assistance from Marx. Bauer and Marx intended to publish the second part of the book as their joint work. However, their co-operation soon came to an end, chiefly because Marx, who wanted to link advanced philosophy more closely with politics, was dissatisfied with Bauer's tendency to confine himself to radical criticism of theology. After Marx had left Bonn for Trier in January 1842 to see the father of his fiancée, Ludwig von Westphalen, who was dying, Bauer published the second part of *Die Posaune* as a separate book entitled *Hegels Lehre von der Religion und der Kunst von dem Standpunkte des Glaubens aus beurteilt* (Leipzig, 1842) without the section which was to be written by Marx—a treatise on Christian art. p. 382

153 The article did not appear in the publication for which it was written. The manuscript is not extant. Later on Marx set forth his criticism of the constitutional monarchy in his *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law* written in the summer of 1843 (see present edition, Vol. 3). p. 383

154 In the autumn of 1841 Bruno Bauer was banned from lecturing by Eichhorn, Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine, and in March 1842 he was suspended from the post of Privat-Docent of Theology at Bonn University for his atheistic views and opposition statements. Bruno Bauer's letter mentioned by Marx has not been found.

*Lit de justice*—sitting of the old French Parliament which was held in the presence of the king, whose directions in that case acquired the force of law. p. 383

155 This refers to the Cabinet Order of February 18, 1842, concerning revision of the earlier decrees of the Prussian Government (the Cabinet orders of March 6, 1821, and of August 2, 1834) according to which, in respect of certain judicial proceedings, the French Penal Code and trial by jury, which had been applied so far

in the Rhine Province, were replaced by Prussian law and secret hearing. Under pressure from the discontented Rhenish bourgeoisie the Prussian Government revised these decrees. However the Cabinet Order of February 18, 1842, contained a number of reservations which in fact retained the Prussian law for cases of high treason, malfeasance, etc. p. 384

156 This is how Marx ironically calls the official newspapers published in Germany at the time. p. 384

157 Marx was unable to realise his intention to move to Cologne at the time (see this volume, p. 389). About April 10, 1842, he was to go to back to Bonn where he stayed with interruptions due to visits to Trier for family reasons till early October of the same year. p. 385

158 *Spandau*—a fortress in Brandenburg, later included in Great Berlin. It was used for a long time as a prison for state criminals. p. 386

159 Of the list of articles given by Marx only one was published, namely, "The Philosophical Manifesto of the Historical School of Law", in the *Rheinische Zeitung* (see this volume, pp. 203-10). p. 387

160 Friedrich Rudolf Hasse's *Anseln von Canterbury*, Part I, was published in 1843, Part II appeared in 1852. p. 388

161 Marx had to leave for Trier at the end of May 1842 because his younger brother Hermann had died. During his stay in Trier (till mid-July 1842, when he returned to Bonn) his conflict with his mother, which had begun earlier, grew more acute. Henriette Marx was displeased with her son's refusal to embrace an advantageous government or academic career. She stopped paying him allowance and prevented him from receiving his share of his father's estate. On account of this Marx had to postpone his marriage with Jenny von Westphalen and, moreover, found himself in very straitened circumstances. p. 389

162 See Note 89. p. 389

163 On "The Free" see Note 107.

Marx refers to the article in the *Königsberger Zeitung* No. 138, June 17, 1842, which announced the aims and tasks of "The Free". The article was reprinted in the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 176, June 25, 1842, and marked "Aus Berlin". p. 390

164 Ruge's article was published in the Supplement to the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 268 September 25, 1842, under the title "Sächsische Zustände". p. 391

165 This refers to an unsigned article published in the Supplement to the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 226, August 14, 1842, under the title "Ein Wort als Einleitung zur Frage: entspricht die Rheinische Kommunal-Verfassung den Anforderungen der Gegenwart?".

The above-mentioned articles by Karl Heinrich Hermes against Jewry were published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* (Nos. 187 and 211, and in the Supplement to No. 235, July 6 and 30, and August 23, 1842). p. 391

166 Apparently, Marx had in mind the unsigned article "Aus dem Hannoverschen" published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 241, August 29, 1842. p. 392

167 The unsigned article "Das Juste-Milieu" was published in the Supplement to the *Rheinische Zeitung* Nos. 156, 228, 230, 233 and 235 of June 5 and August 16, 18, 21

and 23, 1842. The author of this article was the Young Hegelian Edgar Bauer, a leader of "The Free". It was directed against the half-hearted attitude of the liberals. It criticised them from the positions characteristic of "The Free", that is, from the positions of complete rejection of any progressive role of the liberal opposition to the absolutist feudal system. The clamorous tone of the article served as a pretext for persecutions of the progressive press. p. 392

168 Marx moved to Cologne in the first half of October 1842, and on October 15 he became editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.

The first English translation of this letter appeared in *Karl Marx. Early Texts*, Oxford, 1971, pp. 52-54. p. 393

169 Concerning the conflict between the Prussian authorities and the editorial board of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, which began in November 1842, see Note 104. p. 395

170 This refers to the rescript of January 21, 1842. For a criticism of this rescript see Marx's article "Marginal Notes to the Accusations of the Ministerial Rescript" (pp. 361-65 of this volume). p. 396

171 Marx refers to the 1842 Divorce Bill. See Note 101. p. 396

172 See Note 39. p. 397

173 Marx published the announcement of his resignation from editorship of the *Rheinische Zeitung* on March 17, 1843. See Note 147. p. 397

174 This refers to the radical monthly *Der Deutsche Bote aus der Schweiz*, which Herwegh was planning to publish in Zurich in 1842 and to which Marx was invited to contribute. The plan of the publication did not materialise. Articles by various authors written for it were published in the summer of 1843 in a collection entitled *Einundzwanzig Bogen aus der Schweiz*. p. 397

175 Marx intended to enlist progressive German and French intellectuals to contribute to the prospective journal *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*.

The publication of the journal was started by Marx and Ruge only at the beginning of 1844, after Marx had moved to Paris in the autumn of 1843. Only one double issue appeared. Its publication was discontinued mainly due to disagreements between its editors.

The first English translation of Marx's letter appeared in *Karl Marx. Early Texts*, Oxford, 1971, pp. 58-60. p. 398

176 Robert Eduard Prutz's article entitled "Die Jahrbücher der Gegenwart und die deutschen Jahrbücher" was published in the Supplement to the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 43, February 12, 1843. The author's intention was to prove that the journal *Jahrbücher der Gegenwart* (editor Albert Schwegler, published in Stuttgart and Tübingen), the publication of which had been announced in the press, could not be regarded, judging by its ideological tendency, as a continuation of the *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, which had been suppressed by the Government of Saxony. p. 399

177 Marx refers to the pamphlet by Arnold Ruge and Otto Wigand entitled *An die Hohe Zweite Kammer der Sächsischen Ständversammlung. Beschwerde über die durch ein Hohes Ministerium des Innern angeordnete und 3. Januar 1843 ausgeführte Unterdrückung der Zeitschrift "Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst"*, published in early 1843 in Brunswick.

The review of this pamphlet by Pfützner was published in the Supplement to the *Rheinische Zeitung* Nos. 71 and 73, March 12 and 14, 1843. p. 399

178 Ruge's correspondence with the German censors was published in the first volume of *Anekdota zur neuesten deutschen Philosophie und Publicistik* under the title "Aktenmässige Darlegung der Cenzurverhältnisse der Hallischen und Deutschen Jahrbücher in den Jahren 1839, 1841, 1842". p. 400

179 The *Notebooks* written by Marx in 1839 served as preparatory material for his future work on ancient philosophy and were widely used in his doctor's thesis (see this volume, pp. 25-106). The *Notebooks* sum up the results of Marx's research into ancient philosophy and, besides his own views, contain lengthy excerpts in Latin and Greek from the works of ancient authors, chiefly of the Epicurean school of philosophy. The extant manuscript consists of seven notebooks of which five (notebooks 1-4 and 7) carry the heading "Epicurean Philosophy" on the cover. The covers of notebooks 2-4 bear the inscription "Winter Term, 1839." The covers of notebooks 5 and 6 are not extant. The fifth notebook has several pages missing. The last five pages of the sixth notebook contain excerpts from Hegel's *Encyclopaedia*, under the heading "Plan of Hegel's Philosophy of Nature"; as these are not connected with the main content of the *Notebooks* they are published separately (see this volume, pp. 510-14).

The *Notebooks* were first published in 1927 in Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Bd. I. That edition included mainly the text written by Marx himself without the excerpts or his commentaries on them. The full text was first published in Russian in the collection: Marx and Engels, *From Early Writings*, Moscow, 1956. In the language of the original (with parallel translations into German of the Latin and Greek quotations) the work was first published in Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Ergänzungsband, Erster Teil, Berlin, 1968.

An excerpt from the sixth notebook was published in English in *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, New York, 1967, pp. 51-60.

The present edition gives the quotations from Greek and Latin authors in English. Greek and Latin terms and expressions have been left untranslated only when they were used in the German text in the author's digressions and commentaries. Vertical lines made by Marx in the manuscript for emphasis are reproduced here in the margins. In quotations from the works of Diogenes Laertius (Book X), Sextus Empiricus and Plutarch, the editors give, in square brackets, Roman figures to denote chapters and Arabic figures to denote paragraphs in accordance with the division of the text accepted in publications of the works of these authors. In some cases there are editorial interpolations within quotations (also in square brackets) made on the basis of the sources used by Marx to reconstruct the meaning. The general title corresponds to the author's headings of individual notebooks and to his definition of the subject of the investigation (see foreword to the dissertation, this volume, p. 29). p. 403

180 This treatise of Aristotle is not extant. The passage referred to is to be found in Aristotle, *De partibus animalium* (I, 5). p. 424

181 In his translation Marx quotes Epicurus according to Petri Gassendi, *Animadversiones in decimum librum Diogenis Laertii, qui est De Vita, Moribus, Placitisque Epicuri*, Ludguni, 1649. p. 424

182 The followers of Epicurus received this name because the school of Epicurus in Athens founded in 307-06 B. C. was situated in a garden. The Garden became the main centre of materialism and atheism of Ancient Greece. p. 427

[183] Marx apparently quotes Jakob Böhme from Ludwig Feuerbach's book *Geschichte der neuern Philosophie von Bacon von Verulam bis Benedict Spinoza*, Ansbach, 1833, S. 161. p. 455

[184] The fifth notebook is not extant in full. The beginning, including the cover, has been lost and the extant part has some pages missing. Still extant are also some separate sheets containing the continuation of the excerpts from the works of Seneca and Stobaeus, the beginning of which is in the extant part of the notebook, and the relevant excerpts from the works of Clement of Alexandria. In the collection *From Early Writings* (Russ. ed., 1956), these sheets were included in the sixth notebook, which is extant also without its cover or the usual author's list of works quoted. There are good grounds, however, for including them in the fifth notebook as was done in Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Ergänzungsband, Erster Teil, Berlin, 1968. The arrangement of the material of notebooks 5 and 6 in this edition corresponds to that in the *Werke*. p. 479

[185] There are no excerpts from Book VI of Lucretius' poem *On the Nature of Things* in the extant manuscript of the *Notebooks*. p. 490

[186] See Note 180. p. 496

[187] Apparently Marx refers to Chapter IX of Book One of the *Metaphysics* in which Aristotle criticises Plato's teaching. p. 497

[188] The reference is to the *Enneads*, a work by Plotinus. p. 498

[189] There are no excerpts from Cicero's *Tusculanae quaestiones* in the extant manuscript though it is mentioned by Marx on the cover of the seventh notebook. But the seventh notebook contains excerpts from Cicero's work *De finibus bonorum et malorum*, which is not listed on the cover. p. 501

[190] The *Plan of Hegel's Philosophy of Nature* consists of brief notes on the content of those paragraphs of Hegel's work *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften in Grundrisse*, 3 Aufl., Heidelberg, 1830, which deal with the philosophy of nature. These notes were made by Marx in 1839 in three versions on five pages of the sixth notebook. The first version covers §§ 252-334 of Hegel's book and most closely reproduces the order in which Hegel sets forth his material. Marx departs from Hegel's terminology here only in separate cases. The second version covers fewer paragraphs dealing with the philosophy of nature but it is marked by greater independence in systematising the material and in terminology. Most original in this respect is the third version, which, though brief, expounds the contents of Hegel's philosophy of nature more fully than the previous ones. p. 510

[191] This section contains several poems from Marx's three albums of poems written in the late autumn of 1836 and in the winter of 1836-37. According to his daughter Laura Lafargue and his biographer Franz Mehring, who had access to his manuscripts after his death, two of these albums bore the title *Book of Love*, Part I and Part II, and the third, *Book of Songs*. Each had the following dedication: "To my dear, ever beloved Jenny von Westphalen." The covers of the albums with the titles and dedications are not extant. Some poems from these albums were later included by Marx in his book of verse dedicated to his father (published below in full). Recently a copybook and a notebook belonging to Karl Marx's eldest sister Sophie were discovered among the documents of Heinrich Marx's heirs in Trier. Alongside verses by different people they contain some by the young Marx. Most of them were taken from other copybooks, but some were new.

Marx was very critical of the literary qualities of his early poems but he believed that they conveyed his warm and sincere feelings (see this volume, p. 11). Later on, his view of them grew even more critical. Laura Lafargue, for example, wrote, "My father treated his verses very disrespectfully; whenever my parents mentioned them, they would laugh to their hearts' content." (*Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle*, Stuttgart, 1902, S. 25-26.) In 1954 the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU came into possession of the two albums of Marx's early verse from the inheritance of his grandson Edgar Longuet, and in 1960 Marcel Charles Longuet, Marx's great-grandson, presented the Institute with the third album. A number of poems from these albums drew the attention of Marx's biographers and translators and were published at various times, chiefly abridged, in different publications, in particular, in the books: *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle*, Stuttgart, 1902; J. Spargo, *Karl Marx*, New York,) 1910; M. Ollivier, *Marx et Engels poetes*, Paris, 1933; Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Ergänzungsband, Erster Teil, Berlin, 1968; and the magazines *Yunost* (Youth) No. 11, Moscow,1958, and *Inostrannaya Literatura* (Foreign Literature) No. 1, Moscow, 1968. p. 517

192 This album contains 12 poems of which the ballads *Lucinda, Distraught* and *The Pale Maiden*, and the poem *Human Pride* were later included by Marx in the book of verse dedicated to his father (see this volume, pp. 565-71, 581-83, 612-15, 584-86). p. 517

193 This album is the bulkiest of the three dedicated to Jenny von Westphalen. It contains 53 poems of which *Yearning, Siren Song, Two Singers Accompanying Themselves on the Harp* and *Harmony* were included by Marx in the book of verse dedicated to his father (see this volume, pp. 538-39, 542-45, 574-75, 580-81). p. 521

194 This album contains 22 poems of which *Song to the Stars* and *The Song of a Sailor at Sea* were included by Marx in the book of verse dedicated to his father (see this volume, pp. 608-09, 610-11). Passages from the poems *My World, Feelings* and *Transformation* published in this volume appeared in English in the translation by Meta L. Stern in the book: J. Spargo, *Karl Marx*, New York, 1910, pp. 42, 43 and 44. p. 523

195 In this book the young Marx collected samples of his early poetical writings, including ballads, sonnets, romances, songs, translations of Ovid's elegies, scenes from *Oulanem*, a tragedy in verse, epigrams and jokes. It had as a supplement chapters from his satirical novel *Scorpion and Felix*. Marx mentioned this book in his letter of November 10-11, 1837 (see this volume, p. 17). Two poems, *The Fiddler* and *Nocturnal Love* (published in the first section of this volume), were published by Marx in 1841 in the journal *Athenäum*. The order of the poems in the book differs slightly from the order in the contents drawn up by Marx.

The book was first published in full in German in 1929. Subsequently separate poems were reprinted in biographies and other publications.

The poem *To the Medical Students* and excerpts from *Epigrams* were published in English in R. Payne's book *Marx*, New York, 1968, *Oulanem* in *The Unknown Karl Marx* by the same author, New York, 1971, pp. 55-94. p. 531

196 The reference is to Christoph Gluck's opera *Armide*. p. 540

197 The age of Marx's father is stated in this document inaccurately. According to latest investigations, Heinrich Marx was born in 1777, not in 1782 (see H. Monz,

*Karl Marx und Trier, Verhältnisse-Beziehungen-Einflusse,* Trier, 1964, S. 130). p. 635

198 Concerning Marx's gymnasium examination papers see Note 1.

On August 17, 1835, his teacher Küpper wrote the following comment on the present composition: "It is profound in thought, brilliantly and forcefully written, deserving of praise, although the topic—the essence of union—is not elucidated, its cause is dealt with only one-sidedly, its necessity is not proved adequately."

This essay was first published in English in R. Payne's book, *The Unknown Karl Marx,* New York, 1971, pp. 39-43. p. 636

199 The manuscript of Marx's essay in Latin was underscored in many places by the examiner Johann Hugo Wyttenbach, headmaster of the gymnasium. In the margins there are a number of remarks in Latin, some of which deal with the content of the work. Thus, there is the following remark at the end of the first paragraph, "See what a broad, almost limitless task you set yourself when you intend to examine the question in this way." The words at the beginning of the seventh paragraph, "That the Augustan age was unlike this no one can deny", were commented as follows: "You should have avoided altogether any comparison of this kind and description of the period preceding the Carthaginian Wars as well as the epoch of Nero." There is a correction to the following words in one of the last paragraphs, "Tacitus also speaks of Augustus and his age with the utmost respect": "Not at all! See *Annali,* I, 1-10. But you could have refrained from such disquisitions".

The general remarks at the end of the manuscript signed by Wyttenbach and Loers, teacher of Latin and Greek, say, "With the exception of some passages, which called forth the above remark, and a few mistakes, particularly at the end, the composition reveals a profound knowledge of history and of Latin. But what atrocious handwriting!"

This essay was first published in English in R. Payne's book, *The Unknown Karl Marx,* New York, 1971, pp. 44-48. p. 639

200 In addition to the certificate of maturity issued to Karl Marx by the Trier gymnasium there are extant rough copies of the certificate, an excerpt from the record of the graduation examinations at the Trier gymnasium, an extract from the report, and a list of the pupils who took the examinations.

The first rough copy of the certificate, which is kept in the archives of the Trier gymnasium, gives a more detailed account of the graduate's knowledge of Greek: "His knowledge and ability in regard to understanding the classics are almost as good as in Latin, but his skill in translating the classics read at the gymnasium is less owing to lack of solid knowledge of grammar and because he is less sure than in Latin, although he often succeeds in explaining correctly even the more difficult passages; on the whole, he translates quite satisfactorily." p. 643

201 Some letters of Heinrich Marx to his son have reached us in a very bad condition. Undecipherable words or phrases are marked by dots in square brackets. Square brackets are also used to indicate tentative interpretation of illegible words or phrases.

Not a single one of Karl Marx's replies to his father's letters during his stay at Bonn University (October 1835-July 1836) has been preserved. Of his correspondence with his father during his subsequent stay in Berlin (he moved there late in October 1836 from Trier where he had spent his summer vacation and become

engaged to Jenny von Westphalen) only one letter dated November 10-11, 1837, remains (see this volume, pp. 10-21). p. 645

202 Apparently Heinrich Marx refers to §§ 7 and 60 of Immanuel Kant's *Anthropologie in pragmatischer Hinsicht*, Königsberg, 1798. p. 648

203 The letter bears mainly illegible markings and separate words apparently added later by Karl Marx. p. 653

204 The certificate of release is extant in the form of a copy written by an unknown person and submitted to Jena University together with the other documents sent there by Marx when he applied for a doctor's degree for his treatise on the history of ancient philosophy (see Note 148). p. 657

205 The letter has not been found. p. 662

206 The letter was addressed to his wife and son. Apparently, it was first sent to Henriette Marx in Trier, and from there to Karl in Berlin. p. 674

207 These lines are Heinrich Marx's last letter to his son. Heinrich died on May 10, 1838. p. 694

208 Passages from this letter were published for the first time in Russian in the book: P. Vinogradskaya, *Jenny Marx*, Moscow, 1964, pp. 20, 55-57.
The end of the letter is missing. p. 695

209 The original has a note written by Marx in the right-hand corner: "Permission to issue the leaving certificate to Herr Marx, student of [the Faculty of] Law, [...] 18.3.41."
Before the text filled in by the student the form has the following notification: "In accordance with the Ministry directives of September 26, 1829, every student must occupy at lectures during the whole term only that seat the number of which is stated by the respective tutor in the record sheet. If any student is prevented from attending lectures for several days or longer due to any circumstances, no one is allowed to take his seat under any pretext." p. 699

210 The certificate bears the remark "To No. 26" made in April 1841 at Jena University on registration of the application and other documents submitted by Marx for the award of a doctor's degree (see Note 148). p. 703

211 See Note 148. p. 705

212 Jenny von Westphalen uses ironically the expression "Hegeling gentlemen", a derogatory name given to the followers of Hegel by their rabid opponent Heinrich Leo, historian and publicist. Leo wrote against the Young Hegelians the pamphlet *Die Hegelingen. Actenstücke und Belege zu der s. g. Denunciation der ewigen Wahrheit*, Halle, 1838. p. 707

213 The announcement of the publication of Bruno Bauer's book *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker* and his three small articles were carried in the Supplement to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of August 1, 1841. p. 708

214 This petition was compiled on January 30, 1843, and illegally circulated among the inhabitants of Cologne. By February 18 it had been signed by 911 citizens. The petition was rejected on March 31, 1843.

Similar petitions requesting the lifting of the ban on the *Rheinische Zeitung* were addressed to the King of Prussia from Aachen, Barmen, Wesel, Düsseldorf and a number of other towns. However, all steps taken in defence of the newspaper were fruitless. p. 710

[215] The joint meeting of the shareholders of the *Rheinische Zeitung* and the editorial board was held in the Cologne casino and lasted for six hours—from 10 a. m. till 1 p. m. and from 5 p. m. till 8 p. m. The debates were so long because of a sharp struggle between the moderate-liberal majority of the meeting who were prepared to denounce the radical-democratic views expounded by the newspaper and to have the petition couched in a tone of loyalty, and those who stood for firm defence of the right of the opposition press to exist. The latter were headed by Marx and upheld his policy as editor. The record of Marx's statements was very brief. Marx and his followers, however, succeeded in persuading the meeting to refrain from officially denouncing the trend of the newspaper (the petition denounced only the sharp tone of its statements), and this gave the radicals grounds for signing it despite its extremely moderate form.

Brief reports of the meeting were carried in the *Aachener Zeitung* No. 46, February 15, and in the *Frankfurter Journal* No. 52, February 21, 1843.

The minutes of the general meeting of the shareholders were later published with insignificant changes in the book *Rheinische Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte der politischen Bewegung 1830-1850*, Essen, 1919, Bd. 1, S. 436-47. The present volume reproduces the minutes according to the book of minutes. p. 712

[216] For details concerning the conflict, see Note 104. This was followed by von Schaper's reply to Renard on November 19, 1842 (see *Rheinische Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte der politischen Bewegung 1830-1850*, Essen, 1919, Bd. 1, S. 380-82). p. 714

[217] The newspaper was suppressed within the borders of Prussia by the Cabinet Order of December 28, 1842 (see this volume, pp. 311-30 and Note 115). p. 717

[218] Part of this petition was published as a footnote in the book *Rheinische Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte der politischen Bewegung 1830-1850*, Essen, 1919, Bd. 1, S. 448. p. 725

[219] See Note 175. p. 728

[220] This apparently refers to the book: Marie Lafargue (Laffarge), *Memoires de Marie Cappelle, veuve Lafarge, écrits par elle-même.* In 1841 another book on the same subject was published in Leipzig: *Marie Lafarge, verurtheilt als Giftmischerin und angeklagt als Diamantendiebin. Criminalgeschichte der neuesten Zeit.* p. 729

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*Aesop* (6th century B.C.) — semi-legendary Greek author of fables.— 374

*Agrippa, Marcus Vipsanius* (c. 63-12 B.C.) — Roman general and statesman.— 641

*Alexander of Macedon* (*Alexander the Great*) (356-323 B.C.) — general and statesman of antiquity.— 34, 189, 432

*d'Alton, Eduard* (1772-1840) — professor, lectured on the history of art at Bonn University.— 657

*Ammon, Christoph Friedrich von* (1766-1850) — German Protestant theologian.— 205, 400

*Amyclas* (4th century B.C.) — Greek philosopher.— 88.

*Anaxagoras of Clazomenae* (Asia Minor) (c. 500-428 B.C.) — Greek philosopher.— 66, 405, 417, 435-36, 467, 469, 470, 490

*Anaximander of Miletus* (c. 610-546 B.C.) — Greek philosopher.— 486

*Anselm*, archbishop of Canterbury (1033-1109) — born in Italy, medieval theologian, representative of early scholasticism.— 388

*Antisthenes of Rhodes* (2nd century B.C.) — Greek historian and philosopher.— 40, 80, 501, 504

*Apelles* — Greek philosopher, contemporary and disciple of Epicurus.— 447

*Apollodorus of Athens* (2nd century B.C.) — Greek writer, compiled *Chronology* of historical events.— 81

*Apollodorus of Athens* (late 2nd century B.C.) — Epicurean philosopher, wrote a biography of Epicurus.— 81

*Arcesilaus* (c. 315-c. 240 B.C.) — Greek sceptic philosopher, founder of the New Academy.— 465

*Archelaus* (5th century B.C.) — Greek philosopher, disciple of Anaxagoras.— 428

*Archestratus* (4th century B.C.) — Greek poet, author of a satirical poem on gastrology.— 72, 101

*Archimedes* (c. 287-212 B.C.) — Greek mathematician famous for his discoveries in mechanics.— 87

*Aristippus* (c. 435-c. 360 B.C.)—Greek philosopher, founder of the Cyrenaic school.—37, 77, 404, 504

*Aristotle* (384-322 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—19, 34, 35, 38, 42, 48, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 63, 66, 67, 69, 78, 79, 81, 87, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 96, 98, 101, 189, 201, 220, 410, 420, 424, 426, 427, 435, 439, 440, 441, 446, 459, 462, 490, 492, 496-500, 504

*Aristoxenus of Tarentum* (born c. 354 B.C.)—Greek philosopher, disciple of Aristotle, author of *Historical Notes*; famous primarily for his works on the theory of music.—88

*Arnim-Boytzenburg, Adolf Heinrich von, Count* (1803-1868)—Prussian statesman, Junker, Minister of the Interior (1842-45) and Prime Minister (March 19-29, 1848).—362, 710

*Athenaeus* (late 2nd-early 3rd century)—Greek rhetorician and grammarian.—101

*Augustine, Saint* (*Sanctus Aurelius Augustinus*) (354-430)—Christian theologian and philosopher.—50, 90, 198, 205

*Augustus* (*Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus*) (63 B.C.-14 A.D.)—Roman Emperor (27 B.C.-14 A.D.).—639-42

B

*Bachmann, Carl Friedrich* (1785-1855)—German philosopher, professor at Jena University.—379, 705

*Bacon, Francis, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans* (1561-1626)—English philosopher, naturalist and historian.—19, 201

*Balbus* (*Lucius Cornelius Balbus*)—Roman consul (40 B.C.).—502

*Baumdahl, C.*—713

*Bauer, Bruno* (1809-1882)—German philosopher, Young Hegelian.—20, 196, 211-14, 370, 381, 383, 386, 390, 395, 399, 400, 708

*Bauer, Edgar* (1820-1886)—German publicist, philosopher, Young Hegelian; Bruno Bauer's brother.—392, 399

*Bauer, H. L.*—lecturer at Berlin University.—700, 704

*Baur, Ferdinand Christian* (1792-1860)—German theologian, leader of the Tübingen school, professor.—493-95

*Bayer, Karl* (1806-1883)—German philosopher.—381

*Bayle, Pierre* (1647-1706)—French sceptic philosopher.—47, 48, 50, 89, 90, 505

*Bendermacher*—notary in Cologne, a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—713

*Béranger, Pierre Jean de* (1780-1857)—French song-writer.—174

*Bernadotte, Jean Baptiste Jules* (1763-1844)—French marshal; later King Charles XIV (John) of Sweden and Norway (1818-44).—398

*Bernard of Clairvaux* (*Bernard, Saint*) (c. 1091-1153)—French Catholic theologian.—175

*Berncastel*—Trier physician.—654

*Bloemer, F.*—Cologne lawyer, a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—713

*Böcking, Eduard* (1802-1870)—German lawyer, lecturer at Bonn University.—657

*Böhme, Jakob* (*Bohemus, Jacobus*) (1575-1624)—German artisan, pantheist philosopher.—176, 190, 455

*Boileau-Despréaux, Nicolas* (1636-1711)—French poet of Classicism.—627

*Boismard*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—713

*Boisserée, J.*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—713

*Boisserée, Wilhelm*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—713, 724

*Brandis, Christian August* (1790-1867) —German historian of philosophy, participated in publishing the works of Aristotle.—79, 87

*Brockhaus, Johne Friedrich* (1800-1865) —German publisher.—723

*Brucker, Johann Jakob* (1696-1770)—German historian of philosophy.—57, 94

*Brüggemann, Theodor* (1796-1866)—Prussian Royal Commissioner, member of the examination commission at the Trier gymnasium.—644, 647

*Bruno, Giordano* (1548-1600)—Italian thinker, materialist and atheist, developed Copernicus' teaching on the structure of the universe. —492

*Buhl, Ludwig Heinrich Franz* (1814-c. 1882)—German publicist, Young Hegelian, author of pamphlets in the *Patriot* series.—303

*Bulis* (5th century B.C.)—Spartan.—181

*Bülow-Cummerow, Ernst Gottfried Georg von* (1775-1851)—German publicist and politician, expressed the views of the Prussian Junkers.—216, 321, 365, 384

*Bürgers, Ignaz* (c. 1815-1882)—Cologne assessor, a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—712, 716, 719, 723, 724

C

*Cabet, Étienne* (1788-1856)—French publicist, utopian communist, author of *Voyage en Icarie*.—360

*Caesar, Gaius Julius* (c. 100-44 B.C.) —Roman general and statesman. —132, 553, 628

*Campanella, Tommaso* (1568-1639)—Italian philosopher, one of the early utopian communists.—201

*Campe, Johann Julius Wilhelm* (1792-1867)—German publisher and bookseller, from 1823 onwards an owner of the Hoffmann & Campe Publishing House in Hamburg; in 1830s published works by authors of the Young Germany group.—391

*Camphausen, Ludolf* (1803-1890)—German banker, a leader of the Rhine liberal bourgeoisie; Prime Minister of Prussia from March to June 1848.—366-68, 374, 713, 719, 722

*Carneades of Cyrene* (c. 214-c. 129 B.C.)—Greek sceptic philosopher, founder of the New Academy.—483

*Cato, Marcus Porcius* (234-149 B.C.)—politician and writer in ancient Rome.—271

*Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de* (1547-1616)—Spanish writer.—124

*Cetto*—Trier merchant.—726

*Chamisso, Adelbert von* (1781-1838)—German romantic poet.—19

*Charinus*—Athenian archon in 308-307 B.C.—480

*Charles I* (1600-1649)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1625-49), beheaded during the revolution.—156

*Charles Martel* (c. 688-741)—actual ruler of the Frankish state (from 715) under the last Merovingians, mayor of the palace of the Carolingian dynasty.—618

*Christiansen, Johannes* (1809-1853)—German lawyer, historian of Roman law, professor at Kiel University.—386

*Chrysippus* (c. 280-c. 205 B.C.)—Greek stoic philosopher.—72, 101, 485, 501

*Cicero, Marcus Tullius* (106-43 B.C.) —Roman orator, statesman and philosopher.—29, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 46-49, 51, 60, 77, 79-82, 89, 90, 95, 189, 472, 501, 504, 507

*Claessen, Heinrich Joseph* (1813-1883)—German physician and politician; member of the Board

of Directors of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—270, 277, 712, 714, 715-18, 719, 721, 722, 723, 729

*Clarke, Samuel* (1675-1729)—English theologian and philosopher.—190

*Cleanthes* (331-232 B.C.)—Greek stoic philosopher.—18

*Clemens, Heinrich* (c. 1818-1852)—student at Bonn University, later lawyer.—647

*Clement of Alexandria* (*Titus Flavius Clemens Alexandrinus*) (c. 150-c.215)—Christian theologian, philosopher.—37, 77, 80, 90, 487, 488

*Clentgen*—Trier landowner.—726

*Clinias* (4th century B.C.)—Greek philosopher, Plato's friend.—88

*Clovis I* (c. 465-511)—Frankish king of the Merovingian dynasty (481-510).—627

*Cohen, S. B.*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—713

*Colotes of Lampsacus*—Greek philosopher, contemporary and disciple of Epicurus.—79, 457-63, 464

*Columbus, Christopher* (1451-1506)—Italian navigator, discoverer of America.—444

*Condorcet, Marie Jean Antoine Nicolas Caritat*, Marquis de (1743-1794)—French sociologist, Enlightener, was active in the French Revolution, Girondist.—202

*Considérant, Victor Prosper* (1808-1893)—French publicist, utopian socialist, disciple and follower of Fourier.—220

*Constant de Rebecque, Henri Benjamin* (1767-1830)—French liberal politician, publicist and writer.—207

*Copernicus, Nicolaus* (*Mikolaj Kopernik*) (1473-1543)—Polish astronomer, founder of the heliocentric theory.—175, 201, 361

*Cotta, Gaius Aurelius* (c. 120-c. 73 B.C.)—Roman orator, politician, consul in 74 B.C.—37, 503

*Cramer, Andreas Wilhelm* (1760-1833)—German lawyer and philologist, professor of Roman law at Kiel University.—19

*Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—one of the leaders of the English revolution, Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653 onwards.—142

## D

*De Jonge, J.*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—713

*Demetrius of Magnesia* (lst century B.C.)—Greek writer, compiler of works on ancient thinkers and philosophers.—40, 80

*Democritus* (c. 460-c. 370 B.C.)—Greek philosopher, a founder of the atomistic theory.—25, 32, 34, 35, 37-46, 50, 52-59, 61-66, 70, 73, 77-84, 87-89, 91-93, 96, 405, 427, 457, 459, 473, 486, 487, 498, 499, 503, 504, 507

*Descartes, René* (1596-1650)—French dualist philosopher, mathematician and natural scientist.—423

*Des Maizeaux, Pierre* (1666-1745)—French critic and historian, published the works of Leibniz, Bayle and other philosophers.—78

*D'Ester, Karl Ludwig Johann* (1811-1859)—German democrat and socialist, a physician by profession; a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, later member of the Cologne community of the Communist League.—712

*Dézamy, Théodore* (1803-1850)—French publicist, utopian communist.—360

*Dietz, Johann Wilhelm*—printer and publisher, a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—713

*Diogenes Laertius* (3rd century A.D.)—Greek historian of philosophy, compiler of a vast work on the ancient philosophers.—39, 40, 42, 53, 56,

58, 59, 77, 79-83, 87, 88, 90-100, 405, 410, 417, 423, 427, 486, 488

*Diogenes of Babylon* (c. 240-c. 150 B.C.) — Greek stoic philosopher.— 501

*Diogenes of Sinope* (c. 404-c. 323 B.C.) — Greek philosopher, one of the founders of the Cynic school.— 140

*Dionysius* (c. 200-c. 265) — bishop of Alexandria, author of a work against the atomistic philosophers. — 43, 56

*Döbereiner, Johann Wolfgang* (1780-1849) — lectured on chemistry at Jena University.— 706

*Donner.*— 662

*Duns Scotus, John* (c. 1265-c. 1308) — Scottish philosopher, scholastic, nominalist.— 134

E

*Eichhorn* — Chief Privy Councillor of Justice and Attorney General of the Rhine Court of Appeal in Berlin.— 666, 669

*Eichhorn, Johann Albrecht Friedrich* (1779-1856) — Prussian statesman, Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine (1840-48).— 362, 383

*Elizabeth I* (1533-1603) — Queen of England (1558-1603) — 141

*Empedocles* (c. 483-c. 423 B.C.) — Greek philosopher.— 37, 78, 428, 459-61, 469

*Enfantin, Barthélemy Prosper* (1796-1864) — French utopian socialist, one of the closest disciples of Saint-Simon.— 220

*Engels, Karl* — a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung.*— 713

*Engels, Ph.*— a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung.*— 712

*Epicharmus* (c. 540-c. 450 B.C.) — Greek dramatist.— 37, 78, 428

*Epicurus* (c. 341-c. 270 B.C.) — Greek materialist philosopher, atheist.— 25, 29, 30, 32-34, 36-73, 77-83, 88, 89-97, 99-101, 189, 405, 406, 408, 409, 410, 412, 415-34, 444, 454-63, 464-65, 469, 478-88, 492, 500-05, 507-09

*Esch, A. W.*— a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung.*— 712

*Esser* — Chief Privy Councillor of the Rhine Court of Appeal in Berlin.— 661, 667, 669, 682

*Euripides* (c. 480-c. 406 B.C.) — Greek dramatist.— 444

*Eurydicus* (correctly *Eurylochos*) (late 4th-3rd century B.C.) — Greek philosopher, disciple of Pyrrho the Sceptic.— 81

*Eusebius of Caesarea* (c. 264-c. 340) — Christian theologian, author of works on church history.— 42, 43, 54, 56, 80-83, 92-95

*Evers.*— 690

F

*Fay, Gerhard* (1809-1889) — German barrister, Councillor of Justice in Cologne, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the *Rheinische Zeitung.*— 712, 714, 722, 723, 724

*Fénelon, François de Salignac de La Mothe* (1651-1715) — French prelate and writer; became archbishop of Cambrai in 1695.— 208

*Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas von* (1804-1872) — German materialist philosopher.— 94, 196, 197, 370, 381, 386, 399, 400, 728

*Feuerbach, Paul Johann Anselm, Ritter von* (1775-1833) — German lawyer, specialised in criminal law; Ludwig Feuerbach's father.— 19

*Fichte, Immanuel Hermann von* (1796-1879) — German philosopher and theologian; son of Johann Gottlieb Fichte.— 388

*Fichte, Johann Gottlieb* (1762-1814) — German philosopher, representative of classical German philoso-

phy.—119, 175, 201, 208, 494, 577, 624

*Fleischer, Karl Moritz* (1809-1876)—German publicist, contributor to the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—400

*Fould, Achille* (1800-1867)—French banker and politician, Orleanist, later Bonapartist.—302

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—220

*Franklin, Benjamin* (1706-1790)—American politician, diplomat, took part in the War for Independence, scientist, physicist and economist.—618

*Frederick the Great* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—284

*Frederick William III* (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—355, 672

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—216, 271, 280, 283, 356, 357, 397, 710, 711, 714, 725

*Freytag, Georg Wilhelm* (1788-1861)—Orientalist, rector of Bonn University.—658

*Friedrich Karl Alexander* (1801-1883)—Prussian prince.—677

*Fries, Jakob Friedrich* (1773-1843)—German philosopher, lecturer at Jena University.—706

G

*Gabler, Georg Andreas* (1786-1853)—German Hegelian philosopher, professor at Berlin University.—700, 704

*Galileo Galilei* (1564-1642)—Italian physicist and astronomer, founder of mechanics.—138

*Ganganelli, Giovanni Vincenzo Antonio* (1705-1774)—Roman Pope Clement XIV (1769-74).—371

*Gans, Eduard* (c. 1798-1839)—German philosopher of law, Hegelian.—699, 700, 703, 704

*Gärtner, Gustav Friedrich* (died 1841)—German lawyer, professor at Bonn University.—20

*Gassendi, Pierre* (1592-1655)—French philosopher, adherent and advocate of Epicurus' atomistic theory; physicist and mathematician.—29, 57, 94, 405, 417, 418, 423

*Geppert, Karl Eduard* (1811-1881)—classical philologist, Privat-Docent in Berlin from 1836 onwards.—700, 704

*Gerlach, Karl Heinrich Eduard Friedrich von*—Prussian official, Regierungspräsident in Cologne (1839-44).—282, 285, 396, 714, 720

*Gluck, Christoph Willibald* (1714-1787)—German composer.—540

*Göbbels, T.*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—713

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—112, 137, 155, 246, 385, 436, 578, 579, 580

*Goettling, Karl Wilhelm* (1793-1869)—German philologist, lecturer at Jena University.—706

*Goeze, Johann Melchior* (1717-1786)—German theologian, Lutheran pastor.—328

*Görgen*.—655

*Gorgias of Leontini* (c. 483-c. 375 B.C.)—Greek sophist philosopher.—498

*Görres, Johannes Joseph von* (1776-1848)—German writer, philologist and historian, exponent of Catholicism.—199, 364

*Gottsched, Johann Christoph* (1700-1766)—German writer and critic, early Enlightener.—178

*Grach, E.*—635

*Gratianus, Franciscus* (approx. 12th century)—Italian monk, author of a treatise on canon law.—19

*Gratz, Peter Alois* (1769-1849)—professor at the Faculty of Catholic Theology, Bonn University (1819-25); inspector of schools in Trier (1825-39).—650

*Grolmann, Karl Ludwig Wilhelm von* (1775-1829)—German lawyer, author of works on criminal and civil law.—19

*Grotius, Hugo (Huig de Groot)* (1583-1645)—Dutch scientist, jurist, a founder of the natural law theory.—201

*Gruppe, Otto Friedrich* (1804-1876)—German publicist and philosopher; in 1842 and 1843 wrote two pamphlets against Bruno Bauer.—211-14

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman; virtually determined home and foreign policy of France from 1840 to the February 1848 revolution.—238, 316

*Günster*.—Trier lawyer.—649

H

*Haan, Johann Heinrich* (1804-1871)—Cologne businessman, member of the Board of Directors of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—712, 719, 724

*Haass*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—712, 714, 719, 721, 724

*Haizinger, Amalie* (1800-1884)—German actress.—709

*Haller, Albrecht von* (1708-1777)—Swiss naturalist, poet and publicist.—144

*Haller, Karl Ludwig von* (1768-1854)—Swiss lawyer and historian, supported restoration of feudal monarchist institutions.—144, 209

*Hamacher, Wilhelm* (1808-1875)—German teacher; from 1835 taught German at the Trier gymnasium.—644

*Hand, Ferdinand Gotthelf* (1786-1851)—German philologist, lecturer at Jena University.—706

*Hansemann, David Justus* (1790-1864)—German capitalist, a leader of the Rhine liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Minister of Finance from March to September 1848.—349, 351

*Hardenberg, Karl August von, Prince* (1750-1822)—Prussian statesman, Foreign Minister (1804-06 and 1807), Chancellor (1810-22).—362

*Hariri, Abu-Mahommed* (1054-1122)—Arab scholar and poet.—170

*Hasse, Friedrich Rudolf* (1808-1862)—German theologian, professor at Bonn University.—387

*Heffter, August Wilhelm* (1796-1880)—German lawyer.—699, 703

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—classical German philosopher.—18-20, 29, 84, 85, 87, 103, 196, 201, 309, 325, 362, 400, 439, 491-97, 500, 533, 576, 577, 707

*Heim*—preacher.—678

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—18, 394

*Heineccius, Johann Gottlieb* (1681-1741)—German lawyer, author of works on the history of Roman law.—12

*Heinzen, Karl* (1809-1880)—German publicist, radical, a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—713, 720, 722, 724

*Hellwitz, H.*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—713

*Hennequin, Victor Antoine* (1816-1854)—French lawyer and publicist, follower of Fourier.—219

*Henry VIII* (1491-1547)—King of England (1509-47)—141

*Heraclitus* (c. 540-c. 480 B.C.)—Greek philosopher, one of the founders of dialectics.—34, 35, 135, 201, 494

*Herder, Johann Gottfried von* (1744-1803)—German writer and literary theorist.—203

*Hermann*—729

*Hermes, Karl Heinrich* (1800-1856)—German publicist; in 1842 one of

the editors of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.—185-94, 390, 391

*Hermippus of Smyrna* (c. 200 B.C.)—Greek writer, biographer of ancient philosophers.—81

*Herodotus* (c. 484-c. 425 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—53, 58, 59, 64, 68, 181, 410, 417, 486

*Herrmanns, J.*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—713

*Herstatt, J.*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—713

*Herwegh, Georg* (1817-1875)—German democratic poet.—287, 291, 319, 322, 323, 394, 395, 397

*Herz, L.*—713

*Hesiod* (approx. 8th century B.C.)—Greek poet.—501

*Heuser, F. G.*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—712

*Heuser, Georg*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—713

*Hippocrates* (c. 460-c. 377 B.C.)—Greek physician, father of medicine.—444

*Hobbes, Thomas* (1588-1679)—English philosopher.—201

*Hoffmann, Ernst Theodor Amadeus* (1776-1822)—German writer.—629

*Hofmann*—Trier acquaintance of Marx's father.—653

*Holbach, Paul Henri, Baron d'* (1723-1789)—French philosopher, Enlightener.—102

*Homer*—semi-legendary ancient Greek epic poet.—37, 78, 205, 388, 428, 447, 475, 487, 501

*Hommer, Joseph Ludwig Aloys von* (1760-1836)—bishop of Trier.—654

*Hontheim, F. M. von*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—713, 715, 716, 719, 722, 723, 724

*Horace* (*Quintus Horatius Flaccus*) (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—642

*Horst, J.*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—713

*Hugo, Gustav* (1764-1844)—German lawyer, professor of law at Göttingen, founder of the historical school of law.—203-09

*Hume, David* (1711-1776)—British philosopher, historian and economist.—30, 208, 628

*Hutten, Ulrich von* (1488-1523)—German poet, supporter of the Reformation, participant in and ideologist of the knights' uprising of 1522-23.—328, 330

*Hydarnes* (5th century B.C.)—Persian satrap.—181

I

*Idomeneus of Lampsacus* (c. 325-270 B.C.)—Greek philosopher, disciple of Epicurus.—481, 482

*Irenaeus* (c. 130-c. 202)—Christian theologian; in 177 became bishop of Lyons, criticised the tenets of various heretical sects and vindicated the doctrines of Christianity.—497

*Irnerius* (c. 1050-1130)—founder of the Bologna school of glossators (Italy).—626

J

*Jaehnigen*—German lawyer.—661, 666, 667, 669, 676, 682

*James I* (1566-1625)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1603-25).—141

*Jenny*—see *Westphalen, Jenny von.*

*Julian, Flavius Claudius Julianus, the Apostate* (c. 331-363)—Roman Emperor (361-363)—190

*Jung, Georg Gottlob* (1814-1886)—German publicist, Young Hegelian, one of the managers of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—386, 712, 715, 717, 721, 723, 724

*Juvenal, Decimus Junius Juvenalis* (born in the 60s-died after 127)—Roman satirical poet.—146

K

*Kamp, Johann Heinrich*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, deputy of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly.—712, 716, 720, 721, 723

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804)—classical German philosopher.—17, 18, 104, 119, 175, 204, 206, 207, 208, 388, 577, 624, 628, 648

*Karr, Alphonse* (1808-1890)—French publicist and writer, author and publisher of *Les Guêpes*, a satirical monthly.—316

*Kaufmann*—lottery organiser in Bonn.—653

*Kaufmann, M.*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—713, 720, 724

*Kaufmann, Peter* (1804-1872)—German economist.—357

*Klein, Ernst Ferdinand* (c. 1744-1810)—German lawyer, author of works on criminal and civil law.—17

*Kleinerz*—acquaintance of Karl Marx.—655, 669

*Köppen, Karl Friedrich* (1808-1863)—German publicist and historian, Young Hegelian.—30, 386

*Kosegarten, Wilhelm* (1792-1868)—German publicist.—216, 220

*Krämer*—Bonn engineer.—387

*Krause*—judge at Berlin University.—704

*Kropp, Mathias*—office employee in Trier.—635

*Krug, Wilhelm Graugott* (1770-1842)—German philosopher.—628

*Kühn*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—713

*Kühn, W.*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—713

*Küpper* (died 1850)—teacher of religion at the Trier gymnasium.—644

L

*Laffarge, Marie* (née *Capelle*) (d. 1853)—was accused of poisoning her husband and sentenced to hard labour for life; released by Louis Napoleon Bonaparte; proved her not being guilty in *Memoires* (1841) and *Heures de prison* (1853).—729

*Lais* (5th-4th century B.C.)—name of several Athenian hetaerae or courtesans.—29

*Lancelotti, Giovanni Paolo* (1511-1591)—Italian lawyer, professor of canon law.—19

*Lancizolle, Karl Wilhelm von Deleuze de* (1796-1871)—German lawyer, author of works on the history of the German states.—704

*Lange, Joachim* (1670-1744)—German theologian, professor at Halle.—201

*Lauterbach, Wolfgang Adam* (1618-1678)—German lawyer, author of works on Roman law.—19

*Law, John* (1671-1729)—Scottish economist and financier, Minister of Finance of France (1719-20).—142

*Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm* (1646-1716)—German philosopher and mathematician.—37, 57, 78, 190, 477, 628, 647

*Leist*—Councillor of the Court of Appeal, a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—712, 716, 718, 721

*Leo, Heinrich* (1799-1878)—German historian and publicist, opponent of the Hegelian school.—209

*Leonteus of Lampsacus* (approx. 3rd century B.C.)—Greek philosopher, disciple of Epicurus.—37, 77, 457

*Leroux, Pierre* (1797-1871)—French publicist, utopian socialist.—220

*Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim* (1729-1781)—German writer, dramatist,

critic and philosopher, early Enlightener.—17, 178, 328, 680

*Leucippus* (5th century B.C.)—Greek philosopher, father of the atomistic theory.—53, 55, 59, 79, 82, 87, 91-93, 486, 498, 503

*Lichtenstein, Martin Heinrich Karl* (1780-1857)—Deputy Royal Governmental Plenipotentiary at Berlin University.—704

*Locke, John* (1632-1704)—English dualist philosopher and economist.—624, 647

*Loebell, Johann Wilhelm* (1786-1863)—German historian, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at Bonn University.—658

*Loers, Vitus* (died 1862)—German philologist, taught ancient languages at the Trier gymnasium, assistant director from 1835.—644, 647, 648

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—142

*Louis XVIII* (1755-1824)—King of France (1814-15 and 1815-24).—398

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—398, 628

*Louise* (*Auguste Wilhelmine Amalie Luise*) (1776-1810)—Queen of Prussia, wife of Frederick William III.—672

*Lucian* (c. 120-c. 180)—Greek satirist.—185, 190

*Lucretius* (*Titus Lucretius Carus*) (c. 99-c. 55 B.C.)—Roman philosopher and poet.—48, 49, 51, 53, 57, 59, 62, 65, 73, 89-91, 93-94, 96-98, 101, 190, 416, 440, 464, 466, 469-71, 474, 475, 489

*Luden, Heinrich* (1780-1847)—German historian, professor at Jena.—17, 706

*Luther, Martin* (1483-1546)—German theologian, writer, prominent figure in the Reformation, founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany.—175, 194, 284, 328, 330, 371, 579

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*Machiavelli, Niccolò* (1469-1527)—Italian politician, historian and writer.—161, 201

*Maecenas, Gaius* (*Cilnius*) (b. between 74 and 64-d. 8 B.C.)—Roman politician, associate of Emperor Augustus, patron of letters. His character as patron of literature and science has made his name a household word.—641

*Malebranche, Nicolas de* (1638-1715)—French philosopher.—190

*Mallinckrodt, G.*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—712, 724

*Marheineke, Philipp Konrad* (1780-1846)—German Protestant theologian, historian of Christianity.—391

*Marius, Gaius* (c. 156-86 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman, consul (107, 104-100, 86 B.C.).—84

*Martin, St.* (c. 316-400).—619

*Marx, Eduard* (1826-1837)—brother of Karl Marx.—20, 648, 663, 674, 682, 689

*Marx, Emilie* (1822-1888)—sister of Karl Marx.—694

*Marx, Heinrich* (1777-1838)—father of Karl Marx; lawyer, Councillor of Justice in Trier.—10, 11, 19-21, 531, 533, 534, 635, 643, 646-82, 683-94, 701

*Marx, Henriette* (née *Pressburg* or *Presborck*) (1787-1863)—mother of Karl Marx.—20, 635, 645, 648-49, 652, 654, 655, 661, 664. 665, 671, 674, 676, 677, 682, 683, 685, 686, 689, 693, 694

*Marx, Henriette* (1820-c. 1856)—sister of Karl Marx.—694

*Marx, Hermann* (1819-1842)—brother of Karl Marx.—662, 683.

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883).—10-15, 17-21, 27, 28, 29, 635, 643-709, 712, 715, 723, 727-30

*Marx, Karoline* (1824-1847)—sister of Karl Marx.—694

*Marx, Louise* (1821-1865)—sister of Karl Marx.—694

*Marx, Sophie* (1816-1883)—sister of Karl Marx.—666, 671, 674, 677, 685, 691, 693

*Mary I* (1516-1558)—Queen of England (1553-58).—141

*Mayer, Eduard*—Cologne lawyer member of the Board of Directors of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—391, 712, 719

*M'Douall, Peter Murray* (1814-1854)—Chartist leader.—219

*Medem*—secretary of Berlin University.—704

*Memmius, Gaius* (1st century B.C.)—Roman tribune, orator and poet.—94

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*Merkens, Heinrich* (1778-1854)—German merchant, Chairman of the Board of Trade in Cologne, liberal, deputy of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly.—366-68, 374

*Metrodorus of Chios* (approx. 4th century B.C.)—Greek philosopher, disciple of Democritus.—81, 95, 427, 479-80, 487

*Metrodorus of Lampsacus* (c. 331-c. 277 B.C.)—Greek philosopher, disciple of Epicurus.—447

*Meurin*—court councillor, senior Finance Department official.—662, 666, 669, 673, 682

*Mevissen, Gustav von*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*; in 1848 member of the Frankfurt National Assembly.—724

*Meyen, Eduard* (1812-1870)—German publicist, Young Hegelian, one of the leaders of the Berlin circle "The Free".—390, 393, 394, 395

*Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel Victor Riqueti, Comte de* (1749-1791)—prominent figure in the French Revolution.—139, 202

*Mittweg*—Trier lawyer.—726

*Molière* (pseudonym of *Jean Baptiste Poquelin*) (1622-1673)—French author of comedies.—322

*Montaigne, Michel Eyquem de* (1533-1592)—French sceptic philosopher.—205

*Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brède et de* (1689-1755)—French philosopher and sociologist, Enlightener.—161, 202, 227

*Morel, M.*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—713

*Mosen, Julius* (1803-1867)—German romantic writer.—289-91

*Mühlenbruch, Christian Friedrich* (1785-1843)—German jurist, specialist in Roman law.—19

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*Müller, Johannes* (1801-1858)—German anatomist and physiologist, Dean of the Medical Faculty at Berlin University.—654, 655

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*Napier, Sir Charles* (1786-1860)—British admiral.—708

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—142, 192, 201, 244, 398, 628, 673

*Nausiphanes* (4th century B.C.)—Greek philosopher, follower of Democritus.—81

*Nell, Georg Friedrich von*—owner of a timber business in Trier.—662

*Neocles* (4th century B.C.)—Epicurus' father.—77

*Nero* (*Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus*) (37-68)—Roman Emperor (54-68).—640, 641

*Newton, Sir Isaac* (1642-1727)—English physicist, astronomer and mathematician.—190, 647

*Nicolai, Christoph Friedrich* (1733-1811)—German writer, supporter of enlightened absolutism; opposed Kant and Fichte.—494

*Nicolaus of Damascenus* (born c. 64 B.C.)—Greek historian and philosopher, follower of Aristotle.—37, 77, 405

*Notz, von*—major of an infantry regiment in Trier, father of Heinrich von Notz, Karl Marx's schoolmate.—669

*Nürnberger, Johann Baptist Carl* (1762-1807)—professor of philosophy and mathematics at Dortmund.—54

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*Ochse-Stern, A.*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—713

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*Peter I* (*The Great*) (1672-1725)—Tsar of Russia from 1682, Emperor from 1721.—120

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*Phalaris* (c. 571-555 B.C.)—tyrant of Acragos (Agrigentum) in Sicily. He is said to have burnt prisoners alive in the brazen figure of a bull.—479

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*Renard, Joseph Engelbert* (1802-1863)—Cologne bookseller officially known as responsible editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—712, 714

*Richardson, Samuel* (1689-1761)—English novelist, representative of sentimentalism.—205

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revolutionary of the end of the eighteenth century, leader of the Jacobins, head of the revolutionary government (1793-94)—119

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*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical publicist and philosopher; Young Hegelian.—277, 381, 382, 383, 387, 389, 391, 393-400, 728

*Rutenberg, Adolf* (1808-1869)—German publicist, Young Hegelian; in 1842 member of the *Rheinische Zeitung* editorial board.—285, 391, 393, 394

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*Sack, Karl Heinrich* (1789-1875)—German Protestant theologian, professor in Bonn.—388

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*Sandt, Gottfried Alexander Maria Robert* (1786-1839)—advocate in Cologne, brother of the former.—662

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*Schaper, von*—Prussian official, Oberpräsident of the Rhine Province (1842-45).—282, 331, 332-36, 358, 714

*Schaubach, Johann Konrad* (1764-1849)—German astronomer, author of researches on the history of ancient astronomy.—47, 58-60, 89, 95, 486

*Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von* (1775-1854)—representative of classical German philosophy, opposed the Hegelian school.—18, 103, 105, 196

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*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet and dramatist.—112, 136, 291, 578, 628

*Schlegel, Friedrich von* (1772-1829)—German literary critic, philologist and poet, a theoretician of romanticism.—494, 657

*Schleicher, Robert*—Trier physician.—726

*Schlick, Alois*—music master at the Trier gymnasium (1827-38).—647

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*Schneemann, Johann Gerhard* (1794-1864)—historian, teacher at the Trier gymnasium.—644

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*Steffens, Henrich* (*Henrick*) (1773-1845)—German naturalist, writer and philosopher, Norwegian by birth.— 699, 703

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*Strauss, David Friedrich* (1808-1874)—German philosopher and publicist, Young Hegelian.— 197, 370

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*Thibaut, Anton Friedrich Justus* (1772-1840)—German jurist, specialist in civil law, historian and critic of Roman law.—12

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French statesman and historian, Prime Minister (1836, 1840); in 1871 head of the Versailles government, organised the suppression of the Paris Commune.—316

*Thomé, Wilhelm* (1810-1846)—Cologne physician, member of the Board of Directors of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—712

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*Welker, Ch.*—a shareholder of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—713

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*Westphalen, Edgar von* (1819-c. 1890)—brother of Jenny von Westphalen, and Karl Marx's schoolmate.—683, 695

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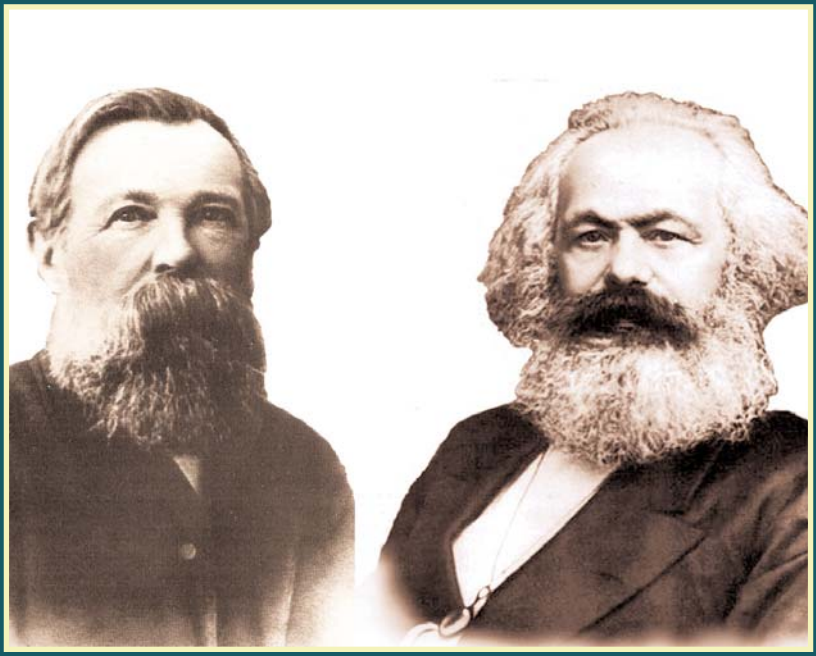

## VOLUME 2

### Frederick Engels 1838-42

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## Volume
## 2

## Frederick Engels 1838-42

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# Preface

The Second Volume of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains Engels' early writings and letters dating from the years 1838 to 1842, grouped together in two main sections. A special section contains his poetic and prose works in manuscript of an earlier period (1833-37); other biographical material is given in appendices.

Engels' outlook developed on similar lines to that of the young Marx. He had steeped himself in the progressive philosophical and political ideas of the time, and was moved by a sense of protest against the reactionary order in Germany. His ambition was to take part in the ideological and political controversies on the eve of her bourgeois revolution. Like Marx, Engels became an adherent of the Hegelian philosophy, drawing revolutionary conclusions from it and soon afterwards coming under the influence of Ludwig Feuerbach's ideas, which helped to crystallise the materialist aspects of his thinking.

Engels, however, found it much harder than Marx to arrive at a progressive outlook. He came from the conservative and religious family of a Barmen industrialist and was forced by his father to leave school and go into business. This meant that he had to complete his education independently, to find his own way through the labyrinth of contemporary religious, philosophical, political and literary trends, and in much painful soul-searching to rise above the religious convictions nurtured in him since early childhood. It was in the main Engels' critical analysis of religion and theology that led him to progressive philosophical ideas. Literature, too, had an important part to play in his development, particularly in his early years.

While espousing the rational elements in the views of Ludwig Börne and the writers of the Young Germany movement, and in Hegel's philosophy and the Young Hegelians' radical theories, Engels came to realise at each stage of his intellectual development the inconsistencies and limitations in their ideas, subjecting them to critical analysis as he carved out his own path to other views which were more profound and more radical. His attention was soon drawn to the contradictions of the society in which he lived and to the wretched conditions of the working masses. This was an additional stimulus to his turning his back on the bourgeois outlook. By late 1842 he had become an advocate of communist reconstruction of the existing social system, though he still saw this largely in utopian terms.

This stage in Engels' intellectual evolution can be broadly summed up as the emergence and rapid development of revolutionary-democratic ideas, followed in the second half of 1842, two years before he and Marx began to work closely together, by his incipient transition from idealism to materialism, and from a revolutionary-democratic outlook to communism.

Engels' early journalistic writings make up the first section of this volume. At the age of eighteen he became a regular contributor to the press and published many letters, articles and essays on literary and socio-political subjects in various journals and newspapers, as well as some poems and philosophical pamphlets. His first published work, the poem *The Bedouin* (September 1838), breathed a spirit of liberty.

A good dozen articles and letters from the young Engels' pen appeared in the columns of the Hamburg journal, *Telegraph für Deutschland,* a mouthpiece of the Young Germany movement edited by Karl Gutzkow. Engels had already begun to discern the contradictory nature of Young Germany, but remained firmly in favour of its demands for a constitution, freedom of the press, abolition of all forms of religious coercion, and emancipation of women.

It was in the *Telegraph für Deutschland* that Engels published, in the spring of 1839, his first major journalistic work, "Letters from Wuppertal", describing life in his home town of Barmen and neighbouring Elberfeld. With an eye for detail remarkable for his years Engels describes in these letters the grim working conditions in the factories, the terrifying poverty, the widespread disease and the drunkenness among the poorer classes. He likewise paints the true portrait of broad sections of the German bourgeoisie, with their philistinism, obscurantism and religious bigotry. With them pietism served as a mask for the inhuman exploitation of the

unfortunate masses and the poverty of intellectual life. Engels' highly critical attitude to the social conditions of his day is pointedly expressed in the irony and sarcasm with which he describes the mores of the burghers of Wuppertal.

In the article "German *Volksbücher*", Engels attacks the "popular literature" which gave either overt or covert expression to the interests of the reactionary classes. Condemning the serving up of pious homilies and the idealisation of meekness in pseudo folk-tales, Engels demands books to foster the people's proud awareness of its rights and dignity, to help arouse its courage and love for its country.

Subsequent articles by Engels, such as "Karl Beck", "Platen", "Retrograde Signs of the Times" and "Immermann's *Memorabilien*", show that already at this early stage he was coming to understand very well the processes then at work in German literature and distinctive aspects of the relationship between literature and society. In the article "Retrograde Signs of the Times", he remarks that criticism should not only expose tendencies to hark back in art and literature, but also their links, often not visible at first glance, with related phenomena in politics and in public and social life.

Engels' revolutionary-democratic approach to literature undeniably set him apart from other critics and writers of his day. This is especially evident in his articles on poets like August von Platen, Karl Immermann and Karl Beck. Beck's poems had at first led Engels to expect great things in view of the love of freedom professed in them, but later proved a source of considerable disappointment. Engels stressed that contemporary poetry should not express a futile *Weltschmerz* but rather the positive fight for freedom and against tyranny, philistinism and religious bigotry (see this volume, p. 43).

It was in the autumn of 1839 that Engels acquainted himself with Hegel's philosophy, to which he was led to turn after reading David Strauss *Das Leben Jesu*. Engels adopted a radical, revolutionary approach to Hegel's philosophy from the start, and this helped him to escape the influence of the conservative aspects of Hegel's ideas and, in particular, to recognise the narrowness of his political views. While Hegel presented the constitutional monarchy as the culmination of the process of historical development and even implied that the Prussian monarchy might well be regarded as the final stage of evolution of absolute spirit, Engels opposed to this the open-endedness of historical progress and mankind's advancement (pp. 47-48).

In his article "Requiem for the German *Adelszeitung*", published in April 1840, basing himself on the Hegelian theory of world history as the implementation of the idea of freedom, Engels attacked conservative trends in philosophy, romantic historiography, the "historical school of law", etc., which proclaimed the eternal and immutable character of the medieval social system and the privileges of the nobility. Pouring scorn on the political programme of the *Adelszeitung,* Engels wrote: "The foreword teaches us that world history exists ... solely to prove that there must exist three estates: the nobility, which has to fight, the burghers — to think, and the peasants — to plough" (pp. 68-69). In this and other articles he attacked the feudal-monarchic institutions of Germany which had outlived their day, the bureaucracy and the censorship.

Engels' revolutionary-democratic convictions were expressed still more clearly in his articles "Siegfried's Native Town" (published in December 1840) and "Ernst Moritz Arndt" (published in January 1841). In these he calls for an all-out struggle against conservatism and philistinism, praises the urge to perform heroic exploits in the name of freedom, and protests against the suppression of "every free movement" (p. 136). Condemning the antipathy to the democratic principles of the French Revolution which was kept alive and encouraged by the German nobility, he proclaims a programme of democratic reform in Germany, including such demands as elimination of the vestiges of feudalism, liquidation of absolutism together with the social estates, introduction of trial by jury and formation of a united democratic state. He declares that "so long as our Fatherland remains split we shall be politically null, and public life, developed constitutionalism, freedom of the press, and all else that we demand will be mere pious wishes always only half-fulfilled" (p. 150).

In the article "Ernst Moritz Arndt", Engels praises Arndt's generation of German patriots for their role in the liberation struggle against Napoleon, while pointing out the national limitations inherent in their ideas. He castigates the German nobility's reactionary Teutomania and arrogant attitudes towards other nations, while at the same time rejecting the abstract cosmopolitanism and nihilism on the national question to be found among many representatives of the liberal bourgeoisie. But while criticising nationalist ideology in many of its aspects Engels had yet to dissociate himself completely from all the nationalist tendencies to be found in the work of such writers as Arndt. He echoed Arndt's ideas about the return of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany and the

"Germanisation of a disloyal Holland and of Belgium" (p. 149). But the main aspect of Engels' article was not the re-echoing of Arndt's demands, which he very soon came to regard as unwarranted, but his opposition to national prejudices, his stand for the idea of the equal rights of nations, and his strongly voiced conviction that every nation deserves respect and makes its own specific contribution to world civilisation.

While still contributing to Gutzkow's journal, Engels also wrote articles for a number of other German periodicals. His article "Modern Literary Life", published in the *Mitternachtzeitung* (March-May 1840), shows his increasingly critical attitude to the adherents of the Young Germany movement. He draws attention to their inconsistency and irresolution, their incapacity for energetic action, their lack of ideological unity, and their unprincipled literary wrangling. By this time, Engels was clearly aware that the Young Germany movement had retreated a long way from the political radicalism of its forerunner, Börne, and lacked a coherent outlook. In "Modern Literary Life" he stressed the need to integrate progressive philosophy with political activity, an idea he was later to elaborate in a number of other articles. He expressed his conviction that essential in the fight for freedom was "co-operation between science and life", between philosophy and the modern political trends, between Hegel and Börne (pp. 50-51).

Of particular interest in this volume are Engels' reports in the newspaper *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser,* which give a picture of the political, religious and cultural life of Bremen, where Engels worked in the office of a trading company between July 1838 and March 1841. "An Outing to Bremerhaven" (written in July 1840 but published in August 1841) reflects his sensitive awareness of social problems, and in particular his search for the cause of the working people's underprivileged status, desperate poverty and lack of rights.

In the autumn of 1841 Engels went to Berlin for his military service. For a year he underwent military training in a brigade of the Guards' Artillery and in his spare time attended lectures and seminars at Berlin University as a non-matriculated student. Finding himself at the centre of a fierce controversy between the various philosophical schools, he made contact with the Berlin group of Young Hegelians, who had formed a study circle which went by the name of "The Free", and took a most active part in their fervent battle of ideas. At this stage his philosophical and political convictions had assumed an even more radical and consistently revolutionary-democratic character.

An important element of Engels' writings in this period is his spirited defence of the philosophy of Hegel and the Young Hegelians from attacks by adherents of religious and conservative principles, and in particular by Schelling. Schelling, an old man by then, had veered to the right and lately been invited by the king of Prussia to Berlin University so as to root out the "dreadful dragon of Hegelianism" (p. 192). After regularly attending the lectures given by this prophet of irrationalism Engels dashed off a series of critical studies—*Schelling on Hegel, Schelling and Revelation* and *Schelling, Philosopher in Christ*—showing the reactionary, mystical character of Schelling's latter-day ideas and the absurdity of his attempts to discredit Hegel, whom at one time he had praised. Engels still shares the Hegelian belief in the *Weltgeist* as the moving force behind historical development, but he is more clearly aware of the need to reject the conservative elements in Hegel's thinking and go beyond "the limits within which Hegel himself had confined the powerful, youthfully impetuous flood of conclusions from his teaching" (p. 196). Engels gave a revolutionary meaning to Hegel's doctrine of the omnipotence of thought and the triumph of reason and truth, which he saw as the triumph of democracy.

The pamphlet *Schelling and Revelation* bears obvious traces of the influence of Feuerbach's *Wesen des Christenthums* which Engels read in the second half of 1841. Following in Feuerbach's footsteps while not as yet realising the essentially materialist character of his criticism of religion, Engels here takes his first step towards a materialist view of consciousness, and of the relation between reason (spirit) and nature. The pamphlet also testifies to a considerable advance in the evolution of Engels' atheism. Feuerbach's book, together with various works by Bruno Bauer on the history of early Christianity, helped Engels to shed the influence of religion.

An interesting work by Engels to be found in this volume is the satirical poem entitled *The Insolently Threatened Yet Miraculously Rescued Bible* written together with Edgar Bauer in June-July 1842. It is a sharp attack in Young Hegelian style on religious obscurantism and fanaticism. At the same time Engels is aware of the inconsistencies and the patchwork character of the Young Hegelian trend. He is pointedly ironical about the contradiction between the revolutionary talk of many members of "The Free" and their incapacity for practical action, which was already becoming evident by that time. Making no secret of where his own sympathies lie Engels names the most radical thinkers and writers

of contemporary Germany, among whom he ranked Marx. Even before the two men met, Engels paints a dynamic and vivid portrait of Marx as an impassioned and indefatigable champion of the revolutionary cause.

> A swarthy chap of *Trier*, a marked monstrosity.
> He neither hops nor skips, but moves in leaps and bounds,
> Raving aloud. As if to seize and then pull down
> To Earth the spacious tent of Heaven up on high (p. 336).

Engels' work on the opposition newspaper *Rheinische Zeitung*, from April 1842, marked the beginning of a new stage in his political and intellectual development. Marx, who also contributed to this paper, became one of its editors in the autumn of 1842. Between April and December 1842, Engels published seventeen articles and sketches in the *Rheinische Zeitung* (including "Diary of a Guest Student", "Rhenish Festivals", "Polemic Against Leo", "On the Critique of the Prussian Press Laws") in which he advocated radical social reform, freedom of speech and the press, and criticised conservative ideology and the timidity of the liberals. Engels' articles for the *Rheinische Zeitung* contributed to setting the paper's revolutionary-democratic tone, which it acquired under Marx's editorship.

It was at this time that Engels made a clean break with the Young Germany movement. His review of *Glossen und Randzeichnungen zu Texten aus unserer Zeit,* published in the *Rheinische Zeitung,* condemned the eclecticism and political spinelessness of its spokesmen who, to use his words, "have sunk into lethargy" (p. 280). Engels treated the ideas and political attitudes of this movement with still harsher criticism in his review of Alexander Jung's book *Vorlesungen über die moderne Literatur der Deutschen,* published in the July issues of the Young Hegelian journal, *Deutsche Jahrbücher.* In this review Engels champions a committed literature and hurls passionate invective at the philosophy of "the golden mean", which sought artificially to reconcile opposites.

In the columns of the *Rheinische Zeitung,* in particular in articles such as "North- and South-German Liberalism" and "Centralisation and Freedom", Engels openly opposes bourgeois liberal ideology and treats the conciliatory stand of the Young Germany movement as merely one of its manifestations. Engels' attitude to the liberal opposition was a genuinely dialectical one, a far cry from the nihilist attitude of "The Free", who prided themselves on their show of radicalism. He recognised, given the conditions of that particular period, the progressive nature of the criticism directed by opposition spokesmen at the reactionary order in the

German states. Yet he was aware that liberal moderation and inconsistency were serious obstacles to revolutionary initiative and efforts to arouse the people's revolutionary energy.

The article "Centralisation and Freedom" shows that by the autumn of 1842 Engels was convinced of the limitations of liberalism and of its increasingly anti-popular tendencies in Germany and all over Europe. As a revolutionary democrat, he condemns the idealisation of the July monarchy in France and the Guizot régime, which was openly violating "the principles of popular sovereignty, of a free press, of an independent jury, of parliamentary government" (p. 355). With deep historical insight he grasped the connection between bureaucratic centralisation and the absolutist state, going on to observe how the bourgeois régime of the July monarchy represented a direct continuation of the old absolutist order.

While attacking bourgeois liberalism, Engels continued his onslaught against the absolute monarchy, against the Prussian state and the ideologists of the "Christian German state". This is clearly expressed in his article, "Frederick William IV, King of Prussia", written in the autumn of 1842, which predicts inevitable revolutionary upheavals in Germany like those in France at the end of the eighteenth century. The censorship forbade the article being printed in Germany and it appeared in a collection published in Switzerland.

The first section of this volume closes with reports specially sent to the *Rheinische Zeitung* from England, where Engels went at the end of November 1842. His experiences in England, then the bastion of the capitalist world, were to play a decisive role in the development of his materialist ideas and his full turn to communism. These reports were written during his first few weeks in England and clearly indicate the subsequent direction of his ideas. He had been closely following the progress of the socialist and communist movements for some time, and was coming round to the view that communism alone could solve the social question. His acquaintance with economic and social conditions in England and with the English labour movement did much to confirm this opinion.

In the reports entitled "The Internal Crises", "The English View of the Internal Crises", "The Position of the Political Parties", "The Condition of the Working Class in England" and "The Corn Laws", Engels describes the mounting economic and political struggle in England, which he understood as rooted in the incompatibility of interests of the various classes. He describes with

evident sympathy the English workers' resistance to capitalist exploitation, in particular the activities of the Chartists. There was no doubt in his mind that the English working class was destined to play a crucial role in the coming social revolution: all that it needed to put an end to the domination of the propertied classes was to become aware of its real strength and to organise its ranks. Engels had still to overcome completely the contradictory aspects of his former outlook, with its Hegelian attribution of the dominant role in history to ideas rather than material interests. Yet he could not be blind to the fact that in an industrially developed country like England "it will be interests and not principles that will begin and carry through the revolution; ... the revolution will be social, not political" (p. 374).

The second section of this volume contains Engels' letters to his school friends Wilhelm and Friedrich Graeber, his sister Marie, his brother Hermann, the writer Levin Schücking and the journalist Arnold Ruge. They shed much light on the formation of his character, and show the wide range of his interests, his conviviality, his literary and artistic tastes and the workings of his rich and subtle mind.

Engels' developing ideas in literature, philosophy, religion and politics emerge most clearly in his letters to the Graeber brothers, which reflect his gradual escape from religion. From the outset he conceived a violent dislike for pietism and the hypocritical orthodox forms of Christianity, and gradually came to doubt the very essence of Christian dogma. In his correspondence with the Graeber brothers, both clergymen, Engels conducted serious discussions on the authenticity of the Gospel legends and on the contradictions to be found in the Bible. Concentrated critical analysis, his searching study of the history of Christianity, his wide acquaintance with critical works on the Gospels, and his grasp of the Hegelian dialectic set Engels on a path which was to lead him to a scientific interpretation of religion and his subsequent elaboration of scientific atheism.

Engels' letters dating from the years 1838 to 1842 give a clear idea of his literary interests, the extent of his reading, and his flair for subtle criticism. Originally Engels dreamed of the poet's laurels and now and again quotes his own verses in his letters. Indeed, some of his poems made their way into print: they are often imitative in form, and it is the epigrams and satirical parodies which betray the greatest degree of originality. However, certain poems are set apart by their perceptive political and philosophical content, and their revolutionary implications. A good example is

the ode on the anniversary of the July 1830 revolution in France which Engels sent to Friedrich Graeber in the summer of 1839 (pp. 463-64). It is a veritable hymn to revolution which the poet celebrates as a surge of vital energy among the popular masses, a truly popular festival.

Engels' critical view of his own work made him realise that poetry was not his true vocation. This merely meant, however, that he turned with all the more energy to other forms of literary activity, to literary, social and political criticism. His letters bear witness to the intensity of his work in these fields. Engels' original ideas, which subsequently found expression in his articles of literary criticism, were first expounded in his letters to the Graeber brothers before they appeared in print.

He was also to try his hand at translation, and rendered into German a poem, *On the Invention of Printing* (*A la invención de la imprenta*), by the Spanish poet M. J. Quintana. Even as a boy he had shown great interest in the study of foreign languages, for which, as his letters make clear, he had a phenomenal flair, and he was widely read in several languages. His letters to his school friends and the writer Levin Schücking show that what he looked for in literature was above all love of liberty and humanistic ideas. This explains his predilection for Shelley and his plans for publishing his own translations of the latter's verse, which, however, were never to materialise. He valued most in Shelley, whom he was always to admire, his praise of freedom and his furious protest at oppression. Engels used Shelley's words "To-morrow comes!" as an epigraph to his poem *An Evening,* in which he expresses the conviction that the dark despair then reigning in Germany would give way to "Freedom's day" (p. 107).

Engels often declares his political convictions more openly in his letters than in his literary writings, which were subject to censorship; he expounds them without concealing his hatred and contempt for despotism, the arbitrary rule of monarchs, the social arrogance of the aristocracy and the prosperous bourgeoisie, and the general atmosphere of political and intellectual bondage in his native land. Much of what Engels writes in his letters is permeated by a truly democratic spirit and reveals how, as he came to realise the transforming role of revolution in history, he began to advocate revolutionary methods for removing social and political barriers standing in the way of Germany's advance and unification.

Engels had a tremendous zest for life, which shows itself abundantly in his letters. He took great interest in art and

painting, travel and sport. He was something of a connoisseur of beer, wines and tobacco. He spent much of his leisure time riding, fencing, swimming and going for long walks. His letters to his favourite sister, Marie, also reveal his love of music: he was a keen concert-goer and opera-lover, and admired the works of Bach, Handel, Gluck, Mozart, Mendelssohn and above all Beethoven, and even attempted to write chorales himself. He was extremely sensitive to the grandeur and beauty of nature, and his landscape descriptions are often detailed and compelling (see "Landscapes", "Wanderings in Lombardy", etc.).

The two main sections of this volume are followed by a section of *Early Literary Experiments,* containing the poems Engels wrote in his schooldays and chapters of *A Pirate Tale,* written in 1837, in which for his heroes he turned to the Greek corsairs fighting against Turkish rule. This fragment and the poems shed some light on the very earliest formation of Engels' literary tastes and social ideals.

The documents included in the appendices are also of biographical interest, and enable us to form some idea of the setting in which Engels spent his childhood and youth. This applies in particular to the letters from his father, one of which, addressed to Karl Snethlage (October 5, 1842), testifies to the strained relations which by then existed in the family, and to the pious and conservative father's deep anxiety about his son's free-thinking. To a large extent this accounted for the decision to send Engels to England, where it was hoped the eldest son would be cured of the malaise besetting German youth and return to the bosom of the Church. Engels' father never imagined that in England Frederick would become a proletarian revolutionary and communist, to remain one till the end of his days.

* * *

This volume contains all the extant writings and letters of the young Engels, nearly all of which are here published in English for the first time. The supplementary material has not previously been published in English. Engels' original drawings, musical notations, etc., are reproduced in the letters.

Letters written in a number of languages are printed in the original with a word-for-word translation in the footnotes. Words underlined by the author in the manuscripts are given in italics. Headings of articles and the dates and places of letters, provided by the editors, where the author's own are missing, are given in square brackets. The asterisks indicate footnotes by the author; the

editors' footnotes are indicated by index letters, and reference notes by superior numbers.

This volume was compiled by Lev Golman and Vladimir Sazonov of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, who also prepared the preface and the greater part of the notes. Some notes, the name index, the index of quoted and mentioned literature and of periodicals, were prepared by Albina Gridchina. Yuri Vasin also assisted in the arrangement of the reference material.

All the articles, letters, etc., in this volume have been translated from the German, unless otherwise stated.

The prose was translated by Jack Cohen, Clemens Dutt, Barbara Ruhemann and Christopher Upward, and edited by Frida Knight, Margaret Mynatt and Alick West (Lawrence & Wishart Ltd.), Kate Cook and Richard Dixon (Progress Publishers). The poems were translated by Alex Miller in consultation with Diana Miller and Victor Schnittke, except for *The Single Combat of Eteocles and Polynices* translated from Engels' Greek composition by Robert Browning.

The volume was prepared for the press by the editors Lydia Belyakova, Yelena Chistyakova, Victor Schnittke and Lyudgarda Zubrilova, and the assistant-editor Tatyana Butkova, for Progress Publishers, and Irene Bach, scientific editor, for the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

# FREDERICK ENGELS

## WORKS

August 1838-December 1842

## THE BEDOUIN[1]

Now the bell rings, and suddenly
The silken curtain swift ascends.
And all in hushed expectancy
Wait for the evening to commence.

No Kotzebue commands the scene
To set the merry audience roaring.
No Schiller of the earnest mien
Steps forth, his golden words outpouring.

Sons of the desert, proud and free,
Walk on to greet us, face to face;
But pride is vanished utterly,
And freedom lost without a trace.

They jump at money's beck and call
(As once that lad from dune to dune
Bounded for joy). They're silent, all,
Save one who sings a dirge-like tune.

The audience, amazed and awed
By what these acrobats can do,
Applauds them, just as it applauds
The trumperies of Kotzebue.

Fleet nomads of the desert lands,
You've braved the sun's fierce noontide rays
Through harsh Morocco's burning sands,
Through valleys where the date-palms sway.

And through the garden paradise
Of Bled-el-Djerid once you swept.
You turned your wits to bold forays.
Your steeds to battle proudly stepped.

You sat there, where moon lustres spill
By rare springs in a palm-tree grove,
And lovely lips with gracious skill
A fairy-story garland wove.

Sleeping in narrow tents you lay
In love's warm arms, with dreams all round,
Till sunrise ushered in the day
And camels made their bellowing sound.

They jump at money's beck and call,
And not at Nature's primal urge.
Their eyes are blank, they're silent, all,
Except for one who sings a dirge.

Written in the first half of September 1838

First published in the *Bremisches Conversationsblatt* No. 40, September 16, 1838

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first time

## TO THE ENEMIES[2]

Why can you never leave what's well alone
And let a little honest striving
Or well-meant words said in a kindly tone
Do their good work among the living?
To falsify what people really mean
Is very easy to arrange.
Bad in the good is all too quickly seen,
But good to bad you'll never change.

Or is it that you seriously expect
To gain advantages by making light
Of others' efforts? If you want respect,
Then win respect in your own right.
Use your own brains then; if you would succeed,
Prepare to make the upward climb;
Hanging behind those who are in the lead,
Belittling them, you waste your time.

Say, can you hope to do the courier wrong
For whom you lay your spiteful snares?
He carries news, so let him pass along
As on his lawful way he fares.
If truth he brings, truth shall indeed prevail,
Transcending perfidy and fraud.
The wise old saying hits it on the nail—
"Honesty is its own reward."

Written about February 24, 1839

First published in *Der Bremer Stadtbote* No. 4, February 24, 1839

Signed: *Theodor H.*

Printed according to the newspaper *Bremisches Unterhaltungsblatt* No. 17, February 27, 1839

Published in English for the first time

# BOOK WISDOM[3]

He is not wise who from his reading draws
Nothing but floods of useless erudition.
For all his learning, life's mysterious laws
Are a closed book beyond his comprehension.
He who acquires a thorough textbook grounding
In Botany, won't hear the grass that grows.
Nor will he ever teach true understanding
Who tells you all the dogma that he knows.
Oh, no! The germ lies hid in man's own heart.
Who seeks the art of life must look within.
Burning the midnight oil will not impart
The secret of emotion's discipline.
The man is lost who hears his own heart's voice
And spurns it, wilfully misapprehending.
Of all your words so noble and so wise
The most profound is human understanding.

Written in March 1839

First published in *Der Bremer Stadtbote* No. 8, March 24, 1839

Signed: *Th. Hildebrandt*

Printed according to the text given in Engels' letter to his sister Marie of March 12, 1839

Published in English for the first time

Telegraph
für
Deutschland.

1839. März. № 49.

# LETTERS FROM WUPPERTAL[4]

## I

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 49, March 1839]

As is well known, people understand by this name, held in much ill-repute among the Friends of Light,[5] the two towns of Elberfeld and Barmen, which stretch along the valley for a distance of nearly three hours' travel. The purple waves of the narrow river flow sometimes swiftly, sometimes sluggishly between smoky factory buildings and yarn-strewn bleaching-yards. Its bright red colour, however, is due not to some bloody battle, for the fighting here is waged only by theological pens and garrulous old women, usually over trifles, nor to shame for men's actions, although there is indeed enough cause for that, but simply and solely to the numerous dye-works using Turkey red. Coming from Düsseldorf, one enters the sacred region at Sonnborn; the muddy Wupper flows slowly by and, compared with the Rhine just left behind, its miserable appearance is very disappointing. The area is rather attractive: the not very high mountains, rising sometimes gently, sometimes steeply, and heavily wooded, march boldly into green meadows and in fine weather the blue sky reflected in the Wupper causes the red colour to disappear completely. After a bend round a cliff, one sees the quaint towers of Elberfeld straight ahead (the humble houses are concealed behind gardens), and a few minutes later one reaches the Zion of the obscurantists. Almost outside the town is the Catholic church; it stands there as if it has been expelled from the sacred walls. It is in Byzantine style, built very badly by a very inexperienced architect from a very good plan; the old Catholic church has been demolished to make room for the left wing, not yet built, of the Town Hall; only the tower remains

and serves the general good after a fashion, namely, as a prison. Immediately afterwards one comes to a large building, its roof supported by columns,[a] but these columns are of a most remarkable kind; they are Egyptian at the bottom, Doric in the middle, and Ionic at the top; moreover, for very sound reasons, they dispense with all superfluous accessories, such as a plinth and capitals. This building used to be called the museum, but the Muses kept away and there remained only a huge burden of debt so that not very long ago the building was sold by auction and became a casino, a name which adorns the bare façade, dispelling all reminders of the former poetic name. Incidentally, the building is so clumsily proportioned that at night it looks like a camel. Here begin the dull streets, devoid of all character; the fine new Town Hall, only half completed, is situated so awkwardly owing to lack of space that its front faces a narrow, ugly side street. Finally, one comes to the Wupper again, and a fine bridge shows that you are approaching Barmen, where at least more attention is paid to architectural beauty. As soon as you cross the bridge, everything assumes a more friendly character; large, massive houses tastefully built in modern style take the place of those mediocre Elberfeld buildings, which are neither old-fashioned nor modern, neither beautiful nor a caricature. New stone houses are springing up everywhere; the pavement ends and the street continues as a straight highway, built up on both sides. Between the houses one catches sight of the green bleaching-yards; the Wupper is still clear here, and the closely approaching mountains with their lightly sketched outlines, and the manifold alternation of forests, meadows and gardens from which red roofs peep out everywhere, make the area increasingly attractive the farther one goes. Halfway along the avenue one sees the façade of the Lower Barmen church, set somewhat back; it is the valley's most beautiful building, very well constructed in the noblest Byzantine style. But soon the pavement begins again and the grey slate houses jostle one another. There is, however, far more variety here than in Elberfeld, for the monotony is broken by a fresh bleaching-yard here, a house in modern style there, a stretch of the river or a row of gardens lining the street. All this leaves one in doubt whether to regard Barmen as a town or a mere conglomeration of all kinds of buildings; it is, indeed, just a combination of many small districts held together by the bond of municipal institutions. The most important of these districts are: Gemarke, the ancient centre

[a] From Goethe's poem *Mignon*.—*Ed.*

of the Reformed faith; Lower Barmen in the direction of Elberfeld, not far from Wupperfeld and above Gemarke; farther on Rittershausen, which has Wichlinghausen on the left, and Hekinghausen with the remarkably picturesque Rauhental on the right. These are all inhabited by Lutherans of both churches[6]; the Catholics—at most two or three thousand—are scattered throughout the valley. After Rittershausen, the traveller at last leaves behind the Berg area and goes through the turnpike to enter the Old-Prussian Westphalian region.

This is the outward appearance of the valley which in general, apart from the gloomy streets of Elberfeld, makes a very pleasant impression; but the latter, as experience shows, is lost on the inhabitants. There is no trace here of the wholesome, vigorous life of the people that exists almost everywhere in Germany. True, at first glance it seems otherwise, for every evening you can hear merry fellows strolling through the streets singing their songs, but they are the most vulgar, obscene songs that ever came from drunken mouths; one never hears any of the folk-songs which are so familiar throughout Germany and of which we have every right to be proud. All the ale-houses are full to overflowing, especially on Saturday and Sunday, and when they close at about eleven o'clock, the drunks pour out of them and generally sleep off their intoxication in the gutter. The most degraded of these men are those known as *Karrenbinder*, totally demoralised people, with no fixed abode or definite employment, who crawl out of their refuges, haystacks, stables, etc., at dawn, if they have not spent the night on a dungheap or on a staircase. By restricting the previously indefinite numbers of ale-houses, the authorities have now to some extent curbed this annoyance.

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 50, March 1839]

The reasons for this state of affairs are perfectly clear. First and foremost, factory work is largely responsible. Work in low rooms where people breathe in more coal fumes and dust than oxygen—and in the majority of cases beginning already at the age of six—is bound to deprive them of all strength and joy in life. The weavers, who have individual looms in their homes, sit bent over them from morning till night, and desiccate their spinal marrow in front of a hot stove. Those who do not fall prey to mysticism are ruined by drunkenness. This mysticism, in the crude and repellent form in which it prevails there, inevitably produces the opposite extreme, with the result that in the main the *people*

there consist only of the "decent" ones (which is what the mystics are called) and the dissolute riff-raff. This division into two hostile groups, irrespective of their nature, is capable by itself of destroying the development of any popular spirit, and indeed what hope is there in a place where even the disappearance of one of the groups would be of no avail, since the members of both are equally consumptive? The few healthy people to be found there are almost exclusively joiners or other craftsmen, all of whom have come from other regions. Robust people can also be found among the local-born leather-workers, but three years of such a life suffice to ruin them physically and mentally: three out of five die from consumption, and it is all due to drinking spirits. But this would not have assumed such horrifying proportions if the factories were not operated in such a reckless way by the proprietors and if mysticism did not take the form it does and did not threaten to gain an increasing hold. Terrible poverty prevails among the lower classes, particularly the factory workers in Wuppertal; syphilis and lung diseases are so widespread as to be barely credible; in Elberfeld alone, out of 2,500 children of school age 1,200 are deprived of education and grow up in the factories—merely so that the manufacturer need not pay the adults, whose place they take, twice the wage he pays a child. But the wealthy manufacturers have a flexible conscience, and causing the death of one child more or one less does not doom a pietist's soul to hell, especially if he goes to church twice every Sunday. For it is a fact that the pietists among the factory owners treat their workers worst of all; they use every possible means to reduce the workers' wages on the pretext of depriving them of the opportunity to get drunk, yet at the election of preachers they are always the first to bribe their people.

In the lower social strata mysticism is most prevalent among the craftsmen (I do not include manufacturers here). It is a pitiful sight to see one of them in the street, a bent figure in a very long frock-coat, with his hair parted in the pietist fashion. But anyone who really wants to get to know this breed should visit the workshop of a pious blacksmith or boot-maker. There sits the master craftsman, on his right the Bible, on his left—very often at any rate—a bottle of schnapps. Not much is done in the way of work; the master almost always reads the Bible, occasionally knocks back a glass and sometimes joins the choir of journeymen singing a hymn; but the chief occupation is always damning one's neighbour. One sees that the tendency here is the same as everywhere else.[7] Their proselytising zeal is not without fruit. In

particular, many godless drunkards, etc., are converted, mostly in a miraculous way. But this is not surprising; these proselytes are all enervated, spiritless people, and persuading them is a mere bagatelle; they become converted, allow themselves to be moved to tears several times a week, and secretly continue their old way of life. Some years ago all this business suddenly came to light, to the horror of all the hypocrites. An American speculator turned up calling himself Pastor Jürgens; he preached several times attracting large crowds, for most people imagined that being an American he must be dark-skinned or even black. How amazed they were that he was not merely white but preached in such a way that he had the whole church in tears; incidentally, the reason for this was that he himself began to whimper when all other means of moving his audience had failed. The believers were unanimous in their wonder; true, there was some opposition from a few sensible people, but they were simply decried as godless. Soon Jürgens began to organise secret gatherings; he received rich gifts from his prominent friends and lived in clover. His sermons attracted larger crowds than any others, his secret gatherings were filled to overflowing, his every utterance made both men and women weep. All were now convinced that he was at the very least a demi-prophet and would build a new Jerusalem, until one day the fun came to an end. What was going on at his secret gatherings suddenly came to light; Herr Jürgens was arrested and spent a few years doing penance for his piety, while under investigation in Hamm. Later he was released, after promising to make amends, and sent back to America. It also became known that he had already practised his tricks in America, for which he had been deported, and in order not to get out of practice had given a rehearsal in Westphalia, where, owing to the leniency, or rather the weakness, of the authorities, he had been freed without further inquiries and had finally crowned his dissolute life by another repetition in Elberfeld. When it was revealed what had actually taken place at the gatherings of this noble creature, everyone rose up against him, and no one wanted to have anything to do with him; everyone turned away from him, from Lebanon to the Dead Sea, that is to say, from Mount Rittershaus to the weir at Sonnborn on the Wupper.

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 51, March 1839]

But the real centre of all pietism and mysticism is the Reformed community in Elberfeld. From the early days it was marked by a

strict Calvinist spirit, which in recent years owing to the appointment of extremely bigoted preachers—at present four of them officiate there—has developed into the most savage intolerance and falls little short of the papist spirit. Regular trials of heretics take place at the meetings; the behaviour of anyone who fails to attend the meetings is reviewed; they say: so and so reads novels, it is true the title-page states that it is a Christian novel, but Pastor Krummacher has said that novels are godless books; or so and so seems to be a God-fearing man, but the day before yesterday he was seen at a concert—and they wring their hands in horror at the abominable sin. And if a preacher is reputed to be a rationalist (by this they mean anyone whose opinion differs in the slightest from theirs), he is taken to task and carefully watched to see whether his frock-coat is perfectly black and his trousers of the orthodox colour; woe to him if he allows himself to be seen in a frock-coat with a bluish tinge or wearing a rationalist waistcoat! If someone turns out not to believe in predestination, they say at once: he is almost as bad as a Lutheran, a Lutheran is little better than a Catholic, and Catholics and idolaters are damned by their very nature. But what sort of people are they who talk in this way? Ignorant folk who hardly know whether the Bible was written in Chinese, Hebrew or Greek, and who judge everything, whether relevant or not, from the words of a preacher who has been recognised for all time as orthodox.

This spirit had existed ever since the Reformation gained the upper hand here, but it remained unnoticed until the preacher G. D. Krummacher, who died a few years ago, began to foster it in precisely this community. Soon mysticism was in full bloom, but Krummacher died before the fruit ripened; this occurred only after his nephew, Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacher, had developed and formulated the doctrine in such a strict form that one is at a loss whether to regard the whole thing as nonsense or blasphemy. Now the fruit has ripened, but no one knows how to pluck it and so in time it will inevitably fall off miserably rotten.

Gottfried Daniel Krummacher, brother of the Dr. F. A. Krummacher who was well known for his parables in Bremen, died about three years ago in Elberfeld after a long period of office. When over twenty years ago a preacher in Barmen taught predestination from his pulpit in a less strict form than Krummacher, the congregation began smoking in the church, created a disturbance and prevented him from preaching on the pretext that such a heretical sermon was no sermon at all, so that the authorities were compelled to intervene. Krummacher then wrote

a dreadfully rude letter to the Barmen magistracy, such as Gregory VII might have written to Henry IV,[8] demanding that the bigots should not be touched, since they were only defending their beloved Gospel. He also preached a sermon on the same lines, but he was only ridiculed. All this is characteristic of his frame of mind, which he preserved to his dying day. Moreover, he was a person of such peculiar habits that thousands of anecdotes were told of him, judging by which he should be regarded either as a strange eccentric or an exceptionally rude individual.

Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacher is a man of about forty, tall, strong, with an impressive figure, but since he settled in Elberfeld his circumference has noticeably increased. He has a very peculiar way of dressing his hair, which is imitated by all his supporters. Who knows, some day it may become the fashion to wear one's hair *à la* Krummacher, but such a fashion would surpass *all* preceding ones, even powdered wigs, in lack of taste.

As a student he was involved in the demagogy of the gymnastic associations, composed freedom songs, carried a banner at the Wartburg festival,[9] and delivered a speech which is said to have made a great impression. He still frequently recalls those dashing times from the pulpit, saying: when I was still among the Hittites and Canaanites. Later the Reformed community in Barmen chose him for their pastor and his real reputation dates from this period. He had hardly been appointed before he caused a split by his doctrine of strict predestination, not only between Lutherans and Reformists, but also among the latter, between the strict and moderate supporters of predestination. On one occasion an old orthodox Lutheran coming back a little tipsy from seeing friends had to cross a broken-down bridge. That seemed to him somewhat dangerous in his condition and he began to reflect: if you get over safely it will be all right, but if not you will fall into the Wupper and then the Reformists will say that this was as it should be; but that is not as it should be. So he turned back, looked for a shallow place and then waded across waist-deep, with the blissful feeling that he had robbed the Reformists of a triumph.

When a vacancy occurred in Elberfeld, Krummacher was chosen for it, and immediately all dissension ceased in Barmen, whereas in Elberfeld it became still fiercer. Already Krummacher's inaugural sermon made some people angry and delighted others; the dissension continued to increase, particularly because soon every preacher, although they all held the same views, formed his own party consisting of his congregation alone. Later people got bored

with the business and the eternal shouting of I am for Krummacher, I am for Kohl, etc., ceased, not through love of peace, but because the parties became more and more distinct from one another.

Krummacher is undeniably a man of excellent rhetorical, and also poetic, talent; his sermons are never boring, the train of thought is confident and natural; his strength lies primarily in painting gloomy pictures—his description of hell is always new and bold no matter how often it occurs—and in antitheses. On the other hand, he very often resorts to biblical phraseology and the images found in the latter, which, although his use of them is always ingenious, are bound in the end to be repetitive; interspersed with them one finds an extremely prosaic picture from daily life or a story based on his own life-history and his most insignificant experiences. He drags all this into the pulpit, whether appropriate or not; not long ago he regaled his reverent audience with two sermons about a journey to Württemberg and Switzerland, in which he spoke of his four victorious disputes with Paulus in Heidelberg and Strauss in Tübingen, naturally quite differently from Strauss' account of the matter in a letter.—In some passages his declamation is very good, and his powerful, explicit gesticulations are often entirely appropriate, but at times incredibly affected and lacking in taste. Then he thrashes about in the pulpit, bends over all sides, bangs his fist on the edge, stamps like a cavalry horse, and shouts so that the windows resound and people in the street tremble. Then the congregation begins to sob; first the young girls weep, then the old women join in with a heart-rending soprano and the cacophony is completed by the wailing of the enfeebled drunken pietists, who would be thrilled to the marrow by his words if they still had any marrow in their bones; and through all this uproar Krummacher's powerful voice rings out pronouncing before the whole congregation innumerable sentences of damnation, or describing diabolical scenes.

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 52, March 1839]

And what a doctrine this is! It is impossible to understand how anyone can believe in such things, which are in most direct contradiction to reason and the Bible. Nevertheless, Krummacher has formulated the doctrine so sharply, following and firmly adhering to all its consequences, that nothing can be refuted once the basis is accepted, namely, the inability of man on his own to

desire what is good, let alone do it. Hence follows the need for this ability to come from outside, and since man cannot even desire what is good, God has to press this ability on him. Owing to God's free will, it follows that this ability is allotted arbitrarily, and this also, at least apparently, is supported by the Scriptures.—The entire doctrine is based on such pretence of logic; the few who are chosen will, *nolentes, volentes,* be saved, the rest damned for ever. "For ever?—Yes, for ever!!" (Krummacher.) Further, the Scriptures say: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me.[a] But the heathen cannot come to the Father by Christ, because they do not know Christ, so they all exist merely to fill up hell.—Among Christians, many are called but few are chosen; but the many who are called are called only for the sake of appearance, and God took care not to call them so loudly that they obeyed him; all this to the glory of God and in order that they should not be forgiven. It is also written: for the wise men of this world the wisdom of God is foolishness[b]; the mystics regard this as an order to make their creed quite meaningless so that this statement may be fulfilled. How all this fits in with the teaching of the apostles who speak of rational worship of God and the rational milk of the Gospel is a secret beyond human understanding.

Such doctrines spoil all Krummacher's sermons; the only ones in which they are not so prominent are the passages where he speaks of the contradiction between earthly riches and the humility of Christ, or between the arrogance of earthly rulers and the pride of God. A note of his former demagogy very often breaks through here as well, and if he did not speak in such general terms the government would not pass over his sermons in silence.

The aesthetic value of his sermons is appreciated only by very few in Elberfeld; for, compared with his three colleagues, nearly all of whom have an equally large congregation, he appears as figure one, and the others as mere noughts who serve only to enhance his value. The oldest of these noughts is called Kohl, which at the same time characterises his sermons.[c] The second is Hermann, no descendant of the Hermann,[10] to whom a monument is now being erected which should survive history and Tacitus. The third is Ball, namely, a ball for Krummacher to play with. All three are highly orthodox and imitate the worst aspects

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[a] John 14:6.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. 1 Corinthians 3:19.—*Ed.*

[c] A pun: "Kohl" is a surname but also a German word meaning rubbish.—*Ed.*

of Krummacher in their sermons. The Lutheran pastors in Elberfeld are Sander and Hülsmann, who used to be deadly enemies, when the former was still in Wichlinghausen and became involved in the famous quarrel with Hülsmann in Dahle, now in Lennep, the brother of his present colleague. In their present position, they behave with courtesy to each other, but the pietists try to revive the dissension between them by constantly accusing Hülsmann of all kinds of misdemeanours against Sander. The third in this company is Döring, whose absent-mindedness is most odd; he is incapable of uttering three sentences with a connected train of thought, but he can make three parts of a sermon into four by repeating one of them word for word without being at all aware of it. *Probatum est.* His poems will be dealt with later.

The Barmen preachers differ little from one another; all are strictly orthodox, with a greater or lesser admixture of pietism. Only *Stier* in Wichlinghausen is worthy of some attention. It is said that Jean Paul knew him as a boy and discovered excellent talents in him. Stier held office of pastor in Frankleben near Halle, and during this period he published several writings in prose and verse, an improved version of the Lutheran catechism, a substitute for it, and a small book as an aid to its study for dull-witted teachers, and also a booklet on the lack of hymn books in the province of Saxony, which was particularly praised by the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung*[11] and did at least contain more rational views on church songs than those which can be heard in blessed Wuppertal, although it also has many unfounded judgments. His poems are extremely boring; he also distinguished himself by making some of Schiller's pagan poems acceptable to the orthodox. For example, lines from *Die Götter Griechenlands* he revised as follows:

When vain Earth you held in domination
With Sin's treacherous and deceitful bond,
Leading many a mortal generation,
Hollow Idols of a mythic land!
When your sinful cult still scintillated,
Things were different, different then by far!
When with flowers your shrines were decorated,
Venus Amathusia![a]

Really very ingenious, truly mystical indeed! For six months now Stier has been in Wichlinghausen in place of Sander, but so far he has not enriched Barmen literature.

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[a] R. Stier, *Christliche Gedichte,* S. 190-91.— *Ed.*

*Langenberg*, a little place near Elberfeld, by its whole character still belongs to Wuppertal. The same industry as there, the same spirit of pietism. *Emil Krummacher*, brother of Friedrich Wilhelm, has his post there; he is not such a strict believer in predestination as his brother, but imitates him very much, as the following passage from his last Christmas sermon shows:

"With our earthly bodies we are still sitting here on wooden benches, but our spirits together with millions of believers are borne aloft to the sacred heights and, after observing the rejoicing of the heavenly hosts, they go down to lowly Bethlehem. And what do they see there? First of all, a poor stable, and in the poor, poor stable a poor manger, and in the poor manger poor, poor hay and straw, and on the poor, poor hay and straw lies like the poor child of a beggar, in poor swaddling clothes, the rich Lord of the world."

Something should now be said about the mission-house, but the book *Harfenklänge*, by an ex-missionary,[a] which has already been mentioned on the pages of this journal,[b] is sufficient testimony to the spirit that prevails there.[12] Incidentally, the inspector of this mission-house, Dr. *Richter*, is a learned man, an eminent orientalist and naturalist, and has also published an *Erklärte Hausbibel.*

Such are the activities of the pietists in Wuppertal; it is difficult to imagine that such things can still take place in our day; however, it looks as though even this rock of old obscurantism will not be able to withstand the surging flood of time any longer; the sand will be washed away and the rock will collapse with a great fall.

## II

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 57, April 1839]

It goes without saying that in an area so full of pietist activities this spirit, spreading in all directions, pervades and corrupts every single aspect of life. It exerts its chief influence on the education system, above all on the elementary schools. Part of them are wholly controlled by the pietists; these are the church schools, of which each community has one. The other elementary schools, over which the civil administration has greater influence, enjoy more freedom, although they, too, are under the supervision of the clerical school inspectors. Here too the retarding effect of mysticism is very obvious; for whereas the church schools still

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[a] J. Ch. F. Winkler.— *Ed.*

[b] *Telegraph für Deutschland.— Ed.*

drum nothing but the catechism into their pupils, apart from reading, writing and arithmetic, as of old under the Elector Karl Theodor of blessed memory, in the other schools the rudiments of some sciences are taught, and also a little French, with the result that after leaving school many of the pupils try to continue their education. These schools are rapidly developing and since the Prussian Government came to office,[13] they have advanced far ahead of the church schools, behind which they used to lag considerably. The church schools, however, have a much greater attendance because they are far cheaper, and many parents still send their children to them partly out of an attachment to religion, partly because they consider that intellectual progress of the children gives worldliness the upper hand.

Wuppertal maintains three high schools: the municipal school in Barmen, the modern secondary school [*Realschule*] in Elberfeld, and the grammar school in the same city.

The Barmen municipal school, which is very poorly financed and therefore very badly staffed, nevertheless does everything in its power. It is wholly in the hands of a limited, niggardly governing body which in most cases also selects only pietists as teachers. The headmaster is also not averse to this trend, but is guided by firm principles in discharging his duties and manages very skilfully to keep every teacher in his place. Next to him comes Herr Johann Jakob Ewich, who can teach well from a good textbook and in history teaching is a zealous supporter of the Nösselt system of anecdotes. He is the author of many pedagogical works of which the greatest, i.e., in size, is entitled *Human*, published in Wesel by Bagel, two volumes, 40 printed sheets, price 1 Reichstaler. They are all full of lofty ideas, pious wishes and impracticable proposals. It is said that in practice his teaching lags far behind his beautiful theory.

Dr. Philipp Schifflin, the second senior teacher, is the most efficient teacher in the school. Probably no one in Germany has delved so deeply into the grammatical structure of modern French as he has. He took as his starting point, not the old Romance language, but the classical language of the last century, particularly that of Voltaire, and went on from there to the style of the most modern authors. The results of his research are contained in his *Anleitung zur Erlernung der französischen Sprache, in drei Cursen*, of which the first and second courses have already appeared in several editions, and the third will be out by Easter. Without doubt, next to Knebel's, this is the best textbook on the French language which we possess; it met with universal approval as soon

as the first course appeared and already enjoys an almost unprecedented circulation throughout Germany and even as far as Hungary and the Baltic provinces of Russia.

The remaining teachers are young graduates, some of whom have been excellently trained, while others are full of all sorts of jumbled knowledge. The best of these young teachers was Herr Köster, a friend of Freiligrath; an annual report contains his outline of poetics, from which he has totally excluded didactic poetry, and put the classes usually allotted to it under the epic or lyric; this article testified to his insight and clarity.[14] He was invited to Düsseldorf, and since the members of the governing body knew him as being opposed to every kind of pietism, they very willingly released him. The very opposite of him is another teacher[a] who, when asked by a fourth-form pupil who Goethe was, replied: "an atheist".

The Elberfeld modern secondary school is very well financed and can therefore select better teachers and arrange a fuller curriculum. On the other hand, it is addicted to that horrible system of filling up exercise books which can make a pupil dull-witted in six months. Incidentally, the administration is little in evidence: the headmaster[b] is away half the year and proves his presence only by excessive severity. Linked with the modern secondary school is a trade school where the pupils spend half their lives scribbling away. Of the teachers one must mention Dr. Kruse who spent six weeks in England and wrote a little work on English pronunciation which is remarkable for being completely unusable; the pupils have a very bad reputation and were the cause of Diesterweg's complaints about the Elberfeld youth.

The Elberfeld grammar school is in very straitened circumstances, but is recognised as one of the best in the Prussian state. It is the property of the Reformed community, but suffers little from the latter's mysticism, since the preachers are not interested in it and the school inspectors have no understanding of grammar school affairs; but it has to suffer all the more because of their stinginess. These gentlemen have not the slightest idea of the advantages of the Prussian grammar school education; they try to provide the modern secondary school with everything—money and pupils—and at the same time reproach the grammar school for being unable to meet its expenditure out of school fees. Negotiations are now taking place for the government, which is

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[a] Rudolf Riepe.—*Ed.*

[b] P. K. N. Egen.—*Ed.*

very concerned in the matter, to take over the grammar school. If this does not happen, it will have to close down in a few years' time for lack of funds. The selection of teachers is now also in the hands of the school inspectors, people capable, it is true, of making very accurate entries in a ledger, but with no conception at all of Greek, Latin or mathematics. Their guiding principle in selection is as follows: it is better to choose a mediocre Reformist than an *efficient* Lutheran or, worse still, a Catholic. But as there are far more Lutherans than Reformists among the Prussian philologists, they have hardly ever been able to apply this principle.

Dr. Hantschke, a royal professor and temporary headmaster, comes from Luckau in Lausitz, writes poetry and prose in Ciceronian Latin and is also the author of a number of sermons, works on education and a textbook for the study of Hebrew. He would have been made permanent headmaster long ago if he were not a Lutheran and if the school inspectorate were less miserly.

Dr. Eichhoff, the second senior teacher, in conjunction with his junior colleague, Dr. Beltz, wrote a Latin grammar which, however, was not very well reviewed by F. Haase in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*.[15] His best subject is Greek.

Dr. Clausen, the third senior teacher, is, undoubtedly, the most capable man in the entire school, with an expert knowledge in all spheres of learning, and outstanding in history and literature. His lectures have a rare charm; he is the only one who can arouse a feeling for poetry among the pupils, a feeling which would otherwise be bound to perish miserably among the philistines of Wuppertal. As far as I know, his only written work is a thesis in an annual report, "Pindaros der Lyriker", which won him a high reputation among grammar school teachers in Prussia and beyond her borders.[16] It did not, of course, reach the book market.

These three schools were not founded until 1820; previously Elberfeld and Barmen had one *Rektoratsschule*[17] each and numerous private institutions which could not provide an adequate education. Their influence can still be felt in the Barmen merchants of the older generation. Not a trace of education; anyone who plays whist and billiards, who can talk a little about politics and pay a pretty compliment is regarded as an educated man in Barmen and Elberfeld. The life these people lead is terrible, yet they are so satisfied with it; in the daytime they immerse themselves in their accounts with a passion and interest that is hard to believe; in the evening at an appointed hour they turn up at social gatherings where they play cards, talk politics and smoke, and then leave for

home at the stroke of nine. So they live day in, day out, with never a change, and woe to him who interferes with their routine; he can be sure of most ungracious treatment in all the best houses.—Fathers zealously bring up their sons along these lines, sons who show every promise of following in their fathers' footsteps. The topics of conversation are pretty monotonous: Barmen people talk more about horses, Elberfeld people about dogs; and when things are at their height there may also be appraisals of fair ladies or chat about business matters, and that is all. Once every half a century they also talk about literature, by which they mean Paul de Kock, Marryat, Tromlitz, Nestroy and their like. In politics they are all good Prussians, because they are under Prussian rule and *a priori* very much against liberalism, but all this is only for as long as it suits His Majesty to preserve the Napoleonic Code, for all patriotism would disappear with its abolition. No one knows anything about the literary significance of Young Germany; it is regarded as a secret alliance, something like demagogues, under the chairmanship of Messrs. Heine, Gutzkow, and Mundt.[18] Some of the upper-class youth have probably read a little Heine, perhaps the *Reisebilder*, omitting the poems in it, or the *Denunziant*,[a] but they have only a hazy notion of the rest from the mouths of pastors or officials. Freiligrath is known personally to most of them and has the reputation of being a good fellow. When he came to Barmen he was deluged with visits from these green noblemen (as he calls the young merchants); however, he very soon realised what they were like and kept away from them; but they pursued him, praised his poems and his wine, and did their utmost to get on close terms with a man who had something in print, because for these people a poet is nothing, but an author whose works have been printed is everything. Gradually Freiligrath ceased to associate with these people and now meets only a few, since Köster left Barmen. Freiligrath's employers[19] in their precarious situation have always behaved in a decent and friendly manner towards him; surprisingly he is an extremely accurate and diligent office worker. It would be quite superfluous to speak of his poetic achievements after Dingelstedt in the *Jahrbuch der Literatur* and Carrière in the Berlin *Jahrbücher* have given such an accurate assessment of him.[20] It seems to me, however, that neither of them has paid sufficient attention to the fact that however far afield his thoughts may roam, he is still extremely attached to his homeland. This can be seen from his frequent

[a] H. Heine, *Salon*, Preface to Vol. 3.—*Ed.*

allusions to German folk-tales, e.g., the *Unkenkönigin* (p. 54), *Snewittchen*[21] (p. 87), and others to which (p. 157) an entire poem (*Im Walde*) is devoted, from his imitation of Uhland (the *Edelfalk*, p. 82, *Die Schreinergesellen*, p. 85; the first of the *Zwei Feldherrngräber* also reminds one of Uhland, but only to his advantage), then *Die Auswanderer* and, above all, his incomparable *Prinz Eugen*. One must pay more attention to these few points in his poetry the farther Freiligrath strays in the opposite direction. A deep insight into the state of his feelings is afforded by *Der ausgewanderte Dichter*, particularly the excerpts published in the *Morgenblatt*[22]; here he already realises that he cannot feel at home in distant parts unless he has his roots in true German poetry.

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 59, April 1839]

Journalism occupies the most important place in Wuppertal literature proper. At the top is the *Elberfelder Zeitung* edited by Dr. Martin Runkel, which under his perspicacious guidance won for itself a considerable and well-deserved reputation. He took over the editorship when two newspapers, the *Allgemeine* and the *Provinzialzeitung*, were merged; the newspaper came into being under somewhat unfavourable auspices; the *Barmer Zeitung* competed with it, but thanks to his efforts to get his own correspondents and to his leading articles Runkel gradually made the *Elberfelder Zeitung* one of the main newspapers in the Prussian state. True, in Elberfeld, where only a few people read the leading articles, the newspaper met with little recognition, but it received a much greater welcome elsewhere, which the decline of the *Preussische Staats-Zeitung* may have helped to bring about. The literary supplement, the *Intelligenzblatt*, does not rise above the usual level. The *Barmer Zeitung*, the publisher, editors and censors of which have frequently changed, is at present under the guidance of H. Püttmann, who from time to time writes reviews in the *Abend-Zeitung*. He would very much like to improve the newspaper, but his hands are tied by the well-justified parsimony of the publisher. Nor does the feature page with some of his poems, reviews or extracts from larger writings provide a remedy. The newspaper's companion, the *Wuppertaler Lesekreis*, derives its material almost exclusively from Lewald's *Europa*. In addition, there is also the Elberfeld *Täglicher Anzeiger* along with the *Fremdenblatt*—a product of the *Dorfzeitung*, which is unrivalled for its heart-rending poems and bad jokes—and the *Barmer Wochen-*

*blatt*, an old nightcap, with pietist asses' ears sticking out constantly from its literary lion's skin.

Of the other types of literature, the prose is of no value at all; if one takes away the theological or, rather, pietist works and a few booklets on the history of Barmen and Elberfeld, written very superficially, there is nothing left. But poetry is much cultivated in the "blessed valley" and a fair number of poets have taken up residence there.

Wilhelm Langewiesche, a bookseller in Barmen and Iserlohn, writes under the name of W. Jemand[a]; his main work is a didactic tragedy *Der ewige Jude* which is, of course, inferior to Mosen's treatment of the same subject. As a publisher, he is more important than his Wuppertal rivals, which is very easy, incidentally, since the two of them, Hassel in Elberfeld and Steinhaus in Barmen, publish only genuinely pietist works. Freiligrath lives in his house.

Karl August Döring, the preacher in Elberfeld, is the author of numerous prose and poetry works; to him Platen's words are applicable: "You are a river in full spate which no one can swim to the end."[b]

He divides his poems into religious songs, odes and lyrics. Sometimes, by the middle of a poem he has forgotten the beginning and is carried away into most peculiar regions; from the Pacific islands with their missionaries to hell, and from the sighs of a contrite soul to the ice of the North Pole.

Lieth, the headmaster of a girls' school in Elberfeld, is the author of poems for children; most of them are written in a now outmoded fashion and cannot bear comparison with the poems of Rückert, Güll and Hey, yet there are a few nice things to be found among them.

Friedrich Ludwig Wülfing, indisputably the greatest Wuppertal poet, born in Barmen, is a man of unmistakable genius. Should you see a lanky individual, about forty-five years of age, wrapped in a long reddish-brown frock-coat half as old as its owner, above his shoulders a countenance that defies description, on his nose gold-rimmed spectacles through the lenses of which every glance from his lustrous eyes is refracted, his head crowned by a green cap, in his mouth a flower, in his hand a button which he has just twisted off his frock-coat—this is the Horace of Barmen. Day in, day out he walks on the Hardtberg hoping to come across a new

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[a] *Jemand* means "someone".—*Ed.*

[b] A. Platen, *Der romantische Oedipus*, Act III, Scene 4.—*Ed.*

rhyme or a new beloved. Until his thirtieth year this indefatigable man worshipped Pallas Athena, then fell into the hands of Aphrodite, who presented him with nine Dulcineas, one after the other; these are his Muses. Speak not of Goethe, who found a poetic aspect in everything, or of Petrarch, who embodied every glance, every word of his beloved in a sonnet—Wülfing leaves them far behind. Who counts the grains of sand beneath his beloved's feet? The great Wülfing. Who sings of Minchen (the Clio of the nine Muses), her stockings bespattered in a swampy meadow? No one but Wülfing.—His epigrams are masterpieces of the most eccentric, popular crudity. When his first wife died he wrote an announcement of her death which reduced all maidservants to tears and an even finer elegy: "Wilhelmine—the most beautiful of all names!" Six weeks later he became betrothed again; and now he has a third wife. This ingenious man has new plans every day. When still in the full flowering of his poetic talent, he thought of becoming a button-maker, then a farmer, then a paper-merchant; finally he ended up in the haven of candle-making, so as to make his lamp shine in some way or other. His writings are like the sand on the sea-shore.

Montanus Eremita, an anonymous Solingen writer,[23] should be included here as a neighbour and friend. He is the most poetical historiographer of the Berg area; his verses are less absurd than tedious and prosaic.

Here, too, belongs Johann Pol, a pastor in Heedfeld near Iserlohn, who has written a slim volume of poems.

> Kings come from God and missionaries too,
> But Goethe the poet comes from mankind alone.

This reflects the spirit of the entire book. But Pol is also a wit, for he says: "Poets are lamps, philosophers are the servants of truth."[a] And what imagination is shown by the two opening lines of his ballad *Attila an der Marne.*

> Like the monstrous avalanche, like sword and flint hard cutting all,
> Through the blazing towns and ruins whirls the Scourge of God on Gaul.

He has also composed psalms, or rather combined fragments from the psalms of David. His greatest work is a song in praise of the quarrel between Hülsmann and Sander, written in a most

[a] Engels is speaking ironically of Pol's wit; he is alluding to the internal rhymes in the German: *"Die Dichter sind Lichter, die Philosophen sind der Wahrheit Zofen."*—*Ed.*

original way, in epigrams. The whole thing centres round the idea that the rationalists dared

To slander and blaspheme against Lord God.

Neither Voss nor Schlegel have ever ended a hexameter with such a perfect spondee. Pol is even better than Döring at grouping his poems: he divides them into "religious chants and songs and miscellaneous poems".[24]

F. W. Krug, candidate of theology, author of *Poetische Erstlinge und prosaische Reliquien*, and translator of a number of Dutch and French sermons, has also written a touching short novel[a] in the manner of Stilling in which, among other things, he presents new evidence supporting the Mosaic account of the creation. A delightful book.

In conclusion, I must also mention a clever young man who has the idea that since Freiligrath can be a business clerk and a poet simultaneously, he should be able to as well. It is to be hoped that German literature will soon be enriched by some of his short novels, which will not be inferior to the best; the only shortcomings of which he can be accused are hackneyed treatment, ill-conceived design and careless style. I would willingly quote extracts from one of them, if decency did not forbid it, but soon perhaps a publisher will take pity on the great D.[b] (I dare not give his full name lest his wounded modesty leads him to sue me for libel) and publish his short novels. He also *wants* to be a close friend of Freiligrath.

This just about covers the literary manifestations of the world-famous valley to which, perhaps, should be added a few wine-inspired geniuses who from time to time try their hand at rhyming, and whom I can warmly recommend to Dr. Duller as characters for a new novel. This whole region is submerged in a sea of pietism and philistinism, from which rise no beautiful, flower-covered islands, but only dry, bare cliffs or long sandbanks, among which Freiligrath wanders like a seaman off course.

Written in March 1839

First published in the *Telegraph für Deutschland* Nos. 49, 50, 51 and 52 for March and Nos. 57 and 59 for April, 1839

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first time

[a] F. W. Krug, *Kämpfe und Siege des jungen Wahlheim oder Lebensbilder aus dem Reiche des Wahren, Guten und Schönen.*—*Ed.*

[b] Dürholt, a clerk in Barmen. See this volume, p. 427.—*Ed.*

## TO THE *BREMEN COURIER*[25]

Dear *Bremen Courier*,
Please don't be offended
If you've become the laughing-stock of town.
Remember, friend, that folk have always tended
To ridicule what's patently unsound.
Your sunshine days have very nearly ended
In the three months that you've been trotting round.
Have you been saying things you didn't ought,
To give yourself such food for afterthought?

My poems cost little effort when I did them;
The donkey work was almost wholly done.
I took your articles and parodied them;
The subject-matter came from you alone.
Simply subtract the rhyme-schemes and the rhythm—
The image that remains is all your own.
Rage, if you like, at your respectful and
Obedient servant,

*Theodor Hildebrand*

Written about April 27, 1839

First published in the *Bremisches Unterhaltungsblatt* No. 34, April 27, 1839

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

## [OPEN LETTER TO DR. RUNKEL][26]

*To Herr Dr. Runkel in Elberfeld*

*Elberfeld,* May 6th

You have violently attacked me and my "Letters from Wuppertal" in your newspaper and accused me of deliberate distortion, ignorance of the conditions, personal abuse and even untruths. It does not matter to me that you call me a Young German, for I neither accept the charges you level against Young Literature nor have the honour of belonging to it. Up to now I have felt nothing but respect for you as a man of letters and journalist; I have even expressed my opinion to this effect in the second article, where I deliberately refrained from mentioning your poems in the *Rheinisches Odeon*[27] since I could not have praised them. Anyone can be accused of deliberate distortion, and this tends to be done wherever an account does not conform to the preconceived notions of the reader. Why do you not give a single example as evidence? As for ignorance of the conditions, I should have expected this reproach least of all did I not know what a meaningless expression this phrase has become, used everywhere for lack of anything better. I have possibly spent twice as much time as you in Wuppertal, have lived in Elberfeld and Barmen and have had the most favourable opportunity to observe closely the life of all social estates.

Herr Runkel, I do not, as you accuse me of doing, make any claim to genius, but it would indeed require an extraordinarily dull intelligence not to acquire a knowledge of the conditions in such circumstances, especially if one makes the effort to do so. As for personal abuse—a preacher or a teacher is just as much a public figure as a writer, and you would surely not call a

description of his public actions personal abuse. Where have I spoken of private matters, or even of such as would require a mention of my name, where have I ridiculed such things? As for the alleged untruths, much as I would like to avoid coming to blows or even causing a sensation, I find myself compelled, in order not to compromise the *Telegraph* or my anonymous honour, to challenge you to point out a single one of the "multitude of untruths". To be honest, there are in fact two. Stier's adaptation is not printed word for word, and Herr Egen's travels are not that bad.[a] But please, now be so kind as to complete the clover leaf! You say further that I have not shown a single bright side of the district. That is so; I have throughout acknowledged competence in individual cases (though I have not shown Herr Stier in his theological importance, which I truly regret), but in general I was unable to find any purely bright sides; and I await a description of the latter from you. Furthermore, it never occurred to me to say that the red Wupper becomes clear again in Barmen. That would be nonsense, or does the Wupper flow uphill? In conclusion I would ask you not to pass judgment before you have read the whole, and in future to quote Dante accurately or not at all; he does not say: *qui si entra nell' eterno dolore,*[b] but *per me si va nell' eterno dolore*[c] (*Inferno,* III, 2).

*The author of the Letters from Wuppertal*

Written on May 6, 1839

First published in the *Elberfelder Zeitung* No. 127, May 9, 1839

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, p. 19.— *Ed.*

[b] Here is the gateway to eternal pain.— *Ed.*

[c] Through me you pass into eternal pain (Dante, *La Divina Commedia*).— *Ed.*

# [F. W. KRUMMACHER'S SERMON ON JOSHUA][28]

In a recent sermon in Elberfeld on Joshua 10:12-13, where Joshua bids the sun stand still, Krummacher advanced the interesting thesis that pious Christians, the Elect, should not suppose from this passage that Joshua was here accommodating himself to the views of the people, but must believe *that the earth stands still and the sun moves round it.* In defence of this view he showed that it is expressed throughout the Bible. The fool's cap which the world will give them for that, they, the Elect, should cheerfully put in their pockets with the many others they have already received.— We should be happy to receive a refutation of this sad anecdote, which comes to us from a reliable source.

Written in May 1839

First published in the *Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 84, May 1839

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first time

# FROM ELBERFELD

For some time there have been loud and bitter complaints about the deplorable power of scepticism; here and there one looked gloomily at the toppled edifice of the old faith, anxiously waiting for the clouds covering the sky of the future to break. With a similar feeling of melancholy I laid down the *Lieder eines heimgegangenen Freundes*; they are the songs of a dead man, a genuine Wuppertal Christian, recalling the happy time when one could still cherish a childlike belief in a doctrine whose contradictions can now be counted on the fingers, when one burned with pious zeal against religious liberalism, a zeal at which people now smile or blush.— The very place of printing shows that these verses must not be judged by ordinary standards, that no brilliant thoughts, no unfettered soaring of a free spirit are to be found here; indeed, it would be unfair to expect anything but a product of pietism. The only proper standard that can be applied to these poems is provided by earlier Wuppertal literature, about which I have already vented my irritation at length,[a] to allow one of its products for once to be judged from a different standpoint. And here it is undeniable that this book reveals progress. The poems, which appear to come from a layman, although not an uneducated one, are in their thought at least on the level of those of the preachers Döring and Pol; at times even a faint hint of romanticism, as far as that can go together with the Calvinistic doctrine, is unmistakable. As regards form, they are undeniably the best that Wuppertal has produced so far; new or unusual rhymes are often

[a] See this volume, pp. 22-23.— *Ed.*

used not without skill; the author even rises to the distich or the free ode, forms which are actually too elevated for him. Krummacher's[a] influence is unmistakable; his phrases and metaphors are used everywhere. But when the poet sings:

*Pilgrim*: Though lamb of Jesus' flock you be,
No ornament of His I see
On Thee, O lamb so still.

*Little Lamb*: Oppressed, but only to arise,
The lamb shall go to Paradise.
Be silent, Pilgrim, be a lamb;
Meek and low through gate may go,
Be silent, pray, and be a lamb,

this is no imitation, but Krummacher himself! Nevertheless one can find passages in these poems which are truly moving by their genuineness of feeling; but, alas, one can never forget that this feeling is for the most part morbid! And yet, even here one can see how fortifying and comforting a religion which has truly become a matter of the heart is, even in its saddest extremes.

Dear reader, forgive me for presenting you with a book which can be of infinitely little interest to you; you were not born in Wuppertal, perchance you have never stood on its hills and seen the two towns[b] at your feet. But you too have a homeland and perhaps return to it with the same love as I, however ordinary it looks, once you have vented your anger at its perversities.

Written in the autumn of 1839

First published in the *Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 178, November 1839

Signed: *S. Oswald*

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first time

[a] Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacher.— *Ed.*

[b] Barmen and Elberfeld.— *Ed.*

# GERMAN *VOLKSBÜCHER*[a]

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 186, November 1839]

Is it not a great commendation for a book to be a popular book, a book for the German people? Yet this gives us the right to demand a great deal of such a book; it must satisfy all reasonable requirements and its value in every respect must be unquestionable. The popular book has the task of cheering, reviving and entertaining the peasant when he returns home in the evening tired from his hard day's work, making him forget his toil, transforming his stony field into a fragrant rose garden; it has the task of turning the craftsman's workshop and the wretched apprentice's miserable attic into a world of poetry, a golden palace, and showing him his sturdy sweetheart in the guise of a beautiful princess; but it also has the task, together with the Bible, of clarifying his moral sense, making him aware of his strength, his rights, his freedom, and arousing his courage and love for his country.

If, generally speaking, the qualities which can fairly be demanded of a popular book are rich poetic content, robust humour, moral purity, and, for a German popular book, a strong, trusty *German* spirit, qualities which remain the same at all times, we are also entitled to demand that it should be in keeping with its age, or cease to be a book for the people. If we take a look in particular at the present time, at the struggle for freedom which

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[a] German *Volksbücher* were similar to the English chap-books of the same period, that is, cheap popular books intended for the mass of the people and containing legends, tales, poetry, etc.— *Ed.*

produces all its manifestations—the development of constitutionalism, the resistance to the pressure of the aristocracy, the fight of the intellect against pietism and of gaiety against the remnants of gloomy asceticism—I fail to see how it can be wrong to demand that the popular book should help the uneducated person and show him the truth and reasonableness of these trends, although, of course, not by direct deduction; but on no account should it encourage servility and toadying to the aristocracy or pietism. It goes without saying, however, that customs of earlier times, which it would be absurd or even wrong to practise today, must have no place in a popular book.

By these principles we should, and must, also judge those books which are now genuinely popular German books and are usually grouped together under this name. They are products in part of medieval German or Romance poetry, in part of popular superstition. Earlier despised and derided by the upper classes, they were, as we know, sought out by the romantics, adapted, even extolled. But romanticism looked at their poetic content alone, and how incapable it was of grasping their significance as popular books is shown by *Görres'* work on them.[a] Görres, as he has shown but lately, actually *versifies* all his judgments. Nevertheless, the usual view of these books still rests on his work, and *Marbach* even refers to it in the announcement of his own publication. The three new revised adaptations of these books, by Marbach in prose, and *Simrock* in prose and poetry, two of which are again intended for the people,[29] call for another precise examination of the material adapted here from the point of view of its popular value.

So long as opinions about the poetry of the Middle Ages vary so widely, the assessment of the poetic value of these books must be left to the individual reader; but naturally no one would deny that they really are genuinely poetic. Even if they cannot pass the test as popular books, their poetic content must be accorded full recognition; yes, in Schiller's words:

> What in immortal song shall live forever,
> Is doomed to die in life,[b]

many a poet may find yet one more reason to save for poetry by means of adaptation what proves impossible to preserve for the people.

There is a very significant difference between the tales of German and Romance origin. The German tales, genuine folk

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[a] J. Görres, *Die teutschen Volksbücher.*—*Ed.*

[b] From Schiller's poem *Die Götter Griechenlands.*—*Ed.*

stories, place the man in action in the foreground; the Romance give prominence to the woman, either as one who suffers (Genovefa), or as one who loves, passive towards passion even in her love. There are only two exceptions, *Die Haimonskinder* and *Fortunat*, both Romance but also folk legends; while *Octavianus, Melusina*, etc., are products of court poetry which only reached the people later in prose adaptations.—Of the humorous tales only one, *Salomon und Morolf*, is not directly of Germanic origin, while *Eulenspiegel, Die Schildbürger*, etc., are indisputably ours.

If we view all these books in their entirety and judge them by the principles stated at the beginning, it is clear that they satisfy these requirements only in the one respect that they have poetry and humour in rich measure and in a form which is easily understood in general even by the least educated, but in other respects they are far from adequate, some of them a complete contradiction, others only partially acceptable. Since they are the products of the Middle Ages, they naturally fail entirely in the special purpose which the present age might require them to fulfil. Thus in spite of the outward richness of this branch of literature and in spite of the declamations of Tieck and Görres, they still leave much to be desired; whether this gap is ever to be filled is another question which I will not take it upon myself to answer.

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 188, November 1839]

To proceed now to individual cases, the most important one is undoubtedly the ***Geschichte vom gehörnten Siegfried.***—I like this book; it is a tale which leaves little to be desired; it has the most exuberant poetry written sometimes with the greatest naivety and sometimes with the most beautiful humorous pathos; there is sparkling wit—who does not know the priceless episode of the fight between the two cowards? It has character, a bold, fresh, youthful spirit which every young wandering craftsman can take as an example, even though he no longer has to fight dragons and giants. And once the misprints are corrected, of which the (Cologne) edition in front of me has more than a fair share, and the punctuation is put right, Schwab's and Marbach's adaptations will not be able to compare with this genuinely popular style.[30] The people have also shown themselves grateful for it; I have not come across any other popular book as often as this one.

***Herzog Heinrich der Löwe.***—Unfortunately I have not been able to get hold of an old copy of this book; the new edition

printed in Einbeck[31] seems to have replaced it entirely. It starts with the genealogy of the House of Brunswick going back to the year 1735; then follows a historical biography of Herzog Heinrich and the popular legend. It also contains a tale which tells the same story about Godfrey of Bouillon as the popular legend of Heinrich der Löwe, the story of the slave Andronicus ascribed to a Palestinian abbot called Gerasimi with the end substantially altered, and a poem of the new romantic school of which I cannot remember the author, in which the story of the lion is told once more. Thus the legend on which the popular book is based disappears entirely under the trappings with which the munificence of the clever publisher has furnished it. The legend itself is very beautiful, but the rest is of no interest; what do Swabians care about the history of Brunswick? And what room is there for the wordy modern romance after the simple style of the popular book? But that has also disappeared; the adapter, a man of genius, whom I see as a parson or schoolmaster at the end of the last century, writes as follows:

> "Thus the goal of the journey was reached, the Holy Land lay before their eyes, they set foot on the soil with which the most significant memories of religious history are linked! The pious simplicity which had looked forward in longing to this moment changed into fervent devotion here, found complete satisfaction here and became the keenest joy in the Lord."

Restore the legend in its old language, add other genuine folk legends to make a complete book, send this out among the people, and it would keep the poetic sense alive; but in this form it does not deserve to circulate among the people.

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 189, November 1839]

***Herzog Ernst.***— The author of this book was no great poet, for he found all the poetical elements in oriental fairy-tales. The book is well written and very entertaining for the people; but that is all. Nobody will believe any longer in the reality of the fantasies which occur in it; it can therefore be left in the hands of the people without alteration.

I now come to two legends which the German people created and developed, the most profound that the folk poetry of any people has to show. I mean the legends of ***Faust*** and of ***Der ewige Jude.*** They are inexhaustible; any period can adopt them without altering their essence; and even if the adaptations of the Faust legend after Goethe belong with the Iliads *post Homerum*, they still always reveal to us new aspects, not to mention the importance of

the Ahasuerus legend for the poetry of later times. But how do these legends appear in the popular books! Not as products of the free imagination are they conceived, no, as children of a slavish superstition. The book about the Wandering Jew even demands a religious belief in its contents which it seeks to justify by the Bible and a lot of stale legends; it contains only the most superficial part of the legend itself, but preaches a very lengthy and tedious Christian sermon on the Jew Ahasuerus. The Faust legend is reduced to a common witches' tale embellished with vulgar sorcerer's anecdotes; what little poetry is preserved in the popular comedy has almost completely disappeared. These two books are not only incapable of offering any poetical enjoyment, in their present shape they are bound to strengthen and renew old superstitions; or what else is to be expected of such devilish work? The awareness of the legend and its contents seems to be disappearing altogether among the people, too; Faust is thought to be no more than a common sorcerer and Ahasuerus the greatest villain since Judas Iscariot. But should it not be possible to rescue both these legends for the German *people*, to restore them to their original purity and to express their essence so clearly that the deep meaning does not remain entirely unintelligible even to the less educated? Marbach and Simrock have still to adapt these legends; may they exercise wise judgment in the process!

We have before us yet another series of popular books, namely, the humorous ones, ***Eulenspiegel***, ***Salomon und Morolf***, ***Der Pfaff vom Kalenberge***, ***Die sieben Schwaben***, and ***Die Schildbürger.*** This is a series such as few other nations have produced. The wit, the natural manner of both arrangement and workmanship, the good-natured humour which always accompanies the biting scorn so that it should not become too malicious, the strikingly comical situations could indeed put a great deal of our literature to shame. What author of the present day has sufficient inventiveness to create a book like *Die Schildbürger*? How prosaic Mundt's humour appears compared with that of *Die sieben Schwaben*! Of course, a quieter time was needed to produce such things than ours which, like a restless businessman, is always talking about the important questions it has to answer before it can think of anything else.—As regards the form of these books, little needs changing, except for removing the odd flat joke and distortions of style. Several editions of *Eulenspiegel*, marked with the stamp of Prussian censorship, are not quite complete; there is a coarse joke missing right at the beginning which Marbach illustrates in a very good woodcut.

In sharp contrast to these are the stories of ***Genovefa, Griseldis*** and ***Hirlanda***, three books of Romance[a] origin, each of which has a woman for heroine, and a suffering woman at that; they illustrate the attitude of the Middle Ages to religion, and very poetically too; only *Genovefa* and *Hirlanda* are too conventionally drawn. But, for heaven's sake, what are the German people to do with them today? One can well imagine the German people as Griseldis, of course, and the princes as Markgraf Walther; but then the comedy would have to end quite differently from the way it does in the popular book; both sides would resent the comparison here and there on good grounds. If *Griseldis* is to remain a popular book I see it as a petition to the High German Federal Assembly for the emancipation of women. But one knows, here and there, how this kind of romantic petition was received four years ago, which makes me wonder greatly that Marbach was not subsequently counted among the Young Germans.[32] The people have acted Griseldis and Genovefa long enough, let them now play Siegfried and Reinald for a change; but the right way to get them to do so is surely not to praise these old stories of humiliation.

The first half of the book ***Kaiser Octavianus*** belongs to the same class, while the second half is more like the love stories proper. The story of ***Helena*** is merely an imitation of *Octavianus*, or perhaps both are different versions of the same legend. The second half of *Octavianus* is an excellent popular book and one which can be ranked only with *Siegfried*; the characterisation of Florens and his foster-father Clemens is excellent, and so is that of Claudius; Tieck had it very easy here.[33] But running right through is there not the idea that noble blood is better than common blood? And how often do we not find this idea among the people themselves! If this idea cannot be banished from *Octavianus*—and I think it is impossible—if I consider that it must first be eradicated where constitutional life is to arise, then let the book be as poetic as you like, *censeo Carthaginem esse delendam.*[b]

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 190, November 1839]

In contrast to the tearful tales of suffering and endurance I have mentioned are three others which celebrate love. They are ***Magelone, Melusina*** and ***Tristan***. I like *Magelone* best as a popular book; *Melusina* is again full of absurd monstrosities and fantastic

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[a] The *Telegraph für Deutschland* has "romantic", which is a misprint.—*Ed.*

[b] I am of the opinion that Carthage must be destroyed.—*Ed.*

exaggerations so that one could almost see it as a kind of Don Quixote tale, and I must ask again: what do the German people want with it? On top of that the story of Tristan and Isolde—I will not dispute its poetic value because I love the wonderful rendering by Gottfried von Strassburg,[34] even if one may find defects here and there in the narrative—but there is no book that it is less desirable to put into the hands of the people than this. Of course, here again there is a close connection with a modern theme, the emancipation of women; a skilful poet would today hardly be able to exclude it from an adaptation of *Tristan* without falling into a contrived and tedious form of moralising poetry. But in a popular book where this question is out of place the entire narrative is reduced to an apology for adultery and whether that should be left in the hands of the people is highly questionable. In the meanwhile the book has almost disappeared and one only rarely comes across a copy.

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 191, November 183[illegible]

***Die Haimonskinder*** and ***Fortunat,*** where we again see the *ma* in the centre of the action, are another couple of true popul[illegible] books. Here the merriest humour with which the son of Fortuna[illegible] fights all his adventures, there the bold defiance, the unrestrained relish in opposition which in youthful vigour stands up to the absolute, tyrannical power of Charlemagne and is not afraid, even before the eyes of the prince, to take revenge with its own hand for insults it suffered. Such a youthful spirit that allows us to overlook many weaknesses must prevail in the popular book; but where is it to be found in *Griseldis* and its like?

Last but not least, the ***Hundertjährige Kalender***, a work of genius, the super-clever ***Traumbuch***, the unfailing ***Glücksrad***, and similar progeny of miserable superstition. Anyone who has even glanced at his book, knows with what wretched sophistries Görres made excuses for this rubbish. All these dreary books have been honoured with the Prussian censor's stamp. They are, of course, neither revolutionary, like Börne's letters,[a] nor immoral, as people claim *Wally*[b] is. We can see how wrong are the charges that the Prussian censorship is exceedingly strict. I hardly need waste any more words on whether such rubbish should remain among the people.

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[a] L. Börne, *Briefe aus Paris.—Ed.*

[b] K. Gutzkow, *Wally, die Zweiflerin.—Ed.*

Nothing need be said of the rest of the popular books; the stories of ***Pontus, Fierabras***, etc., have long been lost and so no longer deserve the name. But I believe I have shown, even in these few notes, how inadequate this literature appears, when judged according to the interest of the people and not the interest of poetry. What is necessary are adaptations of a strict selection which do not needlessly depart from the old style and are issued in attractive editions for the people. To eradicate forcibly any which cannot stand up to criticism would be neither easy nor advisable; only that which is pure superstition should be denied the stamp of the censor. The others are disappearing as it is; *Griseldis* is rare, *Tristan* almost unobtainable. In many areas, in Wuppertal, for example, it is not possible to find a single copy; in other places, Cologne, Bremen, etc., almost every shopkeeper has copies in his windows for the peasants who come into town.

But surely the German people and the best of these books deserve intelligent adaptations? Not everybody is capable of producing such adaptations, of course; I know only two people with sufficient critical acumen and taste to make the selection, and skill to handle the old style; they are the brothers *Grimm*. But would they have the time and inclination for this work? Marbach's adaptation is quite unsuitable for the people. What can one hope for when he starts straight away with *Griseldis*? Not only does he lack all critical sense, but he cannot resist making quite unnecessary omissions; he has also made the style quite flat and insipid—compare the popular version of the *Gehörnter Siegfried* and all the others with the adaptation. There is nothing but sentences torn apart, and changed word order for which the only justification was Herr Marbach's mania to appear original here since he lacked all other originality. What else could have driven him to alter the most beautiful passages of the popular book and furnish it with his unnecessary punctuation? For anyone who does not know the popular version, Marbach's tales are quite good; but as soon as one compares the two, one realises that Marbach's sole service has been to correct the misprints. His woodcuts vary greatly in value.—Simrock's adaptation is not yet far enough advanced for judgment to be passed on it; but I trust him more than his rival. His woodcuts are also consistently better than Marbach's.

These old popular books with their old-fashioned tone, their misprints and their poor woodcuts have for me an extraordinary, poetic charm; they transport me from our artificial modern "conditions, confusions and fine distinctions" into a world which is

much closer to nature. But that is not what matters here; Tieck, of course, made this poetic charm his chief argument—but what weight has the authority of Tieck, Görres and all other romantics when reason contradicts it and when it is a question of the *German people*?

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# KARL BECK

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 202, December 1839]

I am a Sultan, driven by storms that blow,
My warrior hosts are armoured forms of song,
And grief has laid a turban on my brow
With many mysteries its folds among.[a]

With these bombastic words Herr Beck approached the German poets' ranks, demanding admission; in his eyes the proud awareness of his calling, about his lips an expression of modern world-weariness. Thus he stretched out his hand for the laurel wreath. Two years have passed since then; does the laurel appeasingly cover the "mysterious folds" of his brow?

There was much boldness in his first collection of poems. *Gepanzerte Lieder,* a *Neue Bibel,* a *Junges Palästina*[35]—the twenty-year-old poet jumped straight from the top form into the third heaven! That was a fire such as had not blazed for a long time, a fire which gave out much smoke because it came from wood that was too fresh and green.

The Young Literature developed so rapidly and brilliantly that its adversaries perceived they stood to lose rather than gain by arrogant rejection or condemnation. It was high time to take a closer look at it and to attack its real weaknesses. Thus, the Young Literature was, of course, recognised as an equal. Soon quite a number of these weaknesses were found—whether real or apparent does not concern us here; but the loudest claim was that the former Young Germany had wanted to dethrone lyric poetry.

[a] K. Beck, *Nächte. Gepanzerte Lieder.* From the poem *Der Sultan.*—*Ed.*

Heine, of course, fought against the Swabians[36]; Wienbarg made bitter comments on the humdrum lyrics and their eternal monotony; Mundt rejected all lyrics as being out of tune with the times and prophesied a literary Messiah of prose. That was too much. We Germans have always been proud of our songs; if the Frenchman boasted of his hard-won charter and derided our censorship, we pointed proudly to philosophy from Kant to Hegel and to the line of songs from the Song of Ludwig[37] to Nikolaus Lenau. Are we to be deprived of this lyrical treasure? Behold, there comes the lyrical poetry of the "Young Literature" with Franz Dingelstedt, Ernst von der Haide, Theodor Creizenach and Karl Beck.

Beck's *Nächte* appeared shortly before Freiligrath's poems.[a] We know what a sensation both these collections of poems made. Two young lyrical poets had emerged with whom at that time none of the younger could be ranked. A comparative study of Beck and Freiligrath was made in the *Elegante Zeitung*[b] by Kühne[38] in the manner familiar from the *Charaktere*. I would like to apply Wienbarg's remark about G. Pfizer to this criticism.[39]

The *Nächte* are chaos. Everything lies in motley disorder. Images, often bold, like strange rock formations; seeds of a future life, but drowned in a sea of phrases; now and then a flower begins to bud, an island to take firm shape, a crystal layer to form. But still everything is in confusion and disorder. The words:

> Oh, how the frenzied, flashing images
> Race through my wrathful, thunder-laden head,[c]

fit not Börne but Beck himself.

The image which Beck gives of Börne in his first attempt is terribly distorted and untrue; Kühne's influence here is unmistakable. Apart from the fact that Börne would never have used such phrases, he also knew nothing of all the desperate world-weariness which Beck ascribes to him. Is that the clear-headed Börne, the strong, imperturbable character whose love warmed but did not burn, least of all himself? No, it is not Börne, but merely a vague ideal of a modern poet composed of Heine's coquetry and Mundt's flowery phrases; the Lord preserve us from its realisation! Frenzied and flashing images never raced in Börne's head; his locks never stood on end with curses against heaven; in his heart

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[a] F. Freiligrath, *Gedichte.—Ed.*

[b] *Zeitung für die elegante Welt.— Ed.*

[c] K. Beck, *Nächte. Gepanzerte Lieder. Zweiundzwanzigste Nacht.— Ed.*

midnight never sounded, but always morning; his sky was never blood-red but always blue. Fortunately, Börne was never filled with such dreadful despair that he could have written *Die achtzehnte Nacht.* If Beck did not gabble so much about the Red of Life with which his Börne writes I should believe that he had never read the *Franzosenfresser.*[a] Let Beck take the most melancholy passage of the *Franzosenfresser* and it is bright day compared with his affected night-of-storm despair. Is not Börne poetic enough in himself, must he first be spiced with this new-fangled world-weariness? I say new-fangled because I can never believe that this sort of thing is a part of genuinely *modern* poetry. Börne's greatness is precisely that he was above the miserable flowery phrases and cliquish catchwords of our days.

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 203, December 1839]

Before a definite judgment of the *Nächte* could be formed, Beck had already come forward with a new series of poems. *Der fahrende Poet* showed him to us from a different angle. The storm had blown itself out and order began to emerge out of chaos. One had not expected such excellent descriptions as those in the first and second songs; nor had one believed that Schiller and Goethe, who had fallen into the clutches of our pedantic aesthetics, could offer material for such a poetic unity as is to be found in the third song, nor that Beck's poetic reflection could hover in almost philistine calm over the Wartburg as now in fact it did.

With *Der fahrende Poet* Beck had formally entered literature. Beck announced the *Stille Lieder,* and the journals reported that he was working on a tragedy, *Verlorene Seelen.*

A year passed. Except for a few poems nothing was heard of Beck. The *Stille Lieder* remained unpublished and nothing definite could be learned of the *Verlorene Seelen.* Eventually, his *Novellistische Skizzen* appeared in the *Elegante.* An attempt at prose by such an author would command attention in any event. I doubt, however, whether this attempt satisfied even a single friend of Beck's Muse. The earlier poet could be recognised in a few metaphors; with careful cultivation the style could be developed quite nicely; but that is all one can say for this little tale. Neither in profundity of thought nor poetic imagination did it rise above the

[a] L. Börne, *Menzel, der Franzosenfresser.*— *Ed.*

usual sphere of literature meant for entertainment; the invention was rather ordinary and indeed ugly, and the execution was commonplace.

A friend told me during a concert that Beck's *Stille Lieder* had arrived. Just then the adagio of a Beethoven symphony began. The songs will be like this, I thought; but I was mistaken, there was little Beethoven and a great deal of Bellini lamentation. I was shocked when I took the booklet in my hands. The very first song was so infinitely trivial, so cheaply mannered, only given a spurious originality by an affected turn of phrase.

Only the enormous dreaming in these songs still recalls the *Nächte*. That a lot of dreaming was done in the *Nächte* could be excused; it could be overlooked in *Der fahrende Poet*; but now Herr Beck never comes out of his sleep at all. He is dreaming already on page 3; p. 4, p. 8, p. 9, p. 15, p. 16, p. 23, p. 31, p. 33, p. 34, p. 35, p. 40, etc., dreams everywhere. In addition there is a whole series of dream images. It would be ridiculous if it were not so sad. The hope of originality dwindled to a few new metres, and to make up for it there are suggestions of Heine and an infinitely *childish naivety* which runs most repulsively through almost all the songs. The first part, *Lieder der Liebe. Ihr Tagebuch*, suffers particularly. I would not have expected such weak, revolting pap from the blazing flame, the noble, strong spirit that Beck wants to be. Only two or three songs are tolerable. *Sein Tagebuch* is a little better; here there is occasionally a real song to make up for the frequent nonsense and drivel. The worst of the drivel in *Sein Tagebuch* is *Eine Träne*. We know what Beck produced earlier in tear poetry. There he let "the suffering, that bloody, raw corsair, sail in the quiet sea of tears"[a] and "grief, the dumb, cold fish", splash about in it. Now this is joined by:

Teardrop, not in vain
So large and round a-brimming,
All life's joy and pain
In *your lap* (?) are swimming.
So much, so much in you
My love and lute are swimming too,
Teardrop, not in vain
So large and round a-brimming.[b]

How stupid it is! The better part of the whole booklet is to be found in the dream images, and some of the songs there are at

[a] K. Beck, *Nächte. Gepanzerte Lieder*. From the poem *Der Sultan*.—*Ed.*
[b] K. Beck, *Stille Lieder*. From the poem *Die Träne*.—*Ed.*

least heartfelt. Particularly *Schlaf wohl!* which, to judge by the date of its first publication in the *Elegante*,[40] must belong to the earlier of these songs. The final poem is among the better ones, although somewhat verbose, and at the end there is again the "tear the strong shield of the world spirit".[a]

To conclude there are attempts at the ballad. The *Zigeunerkönig*, with an opening which smacks strongly of Freiligrath's descriptive manner, is weak compared with the vivid portrayal of gipsy life in Lenau, and the gushing phrases, which are meant to make us find the poem fresh and strong, only render it more repulsive. *Das Röslein* is, however, a prettily reproduced moment. *Das ungrische Wachthaus* is in the same class as the *Zigeunerkönig*; the last ballad of this cycle is an example of how a poem can have flowing and sonorous verses and beautiful phrases without leaving much impression. The earlier Beck would have presented the sinister robber Janossyk more vividly in three striking images. And this Beck must have a final *dream* on the last page but one and so the booklet ends, but not the poem, the continuation of which is promised for the second slim volume. What does this mean? Are poems, like journals, to end with "to be continued"?

After several theatre managements had declared it impossible to produce, *Verlorene Seelen* was, we hear, destroyed by the author; he now appears to be working on another tragedy, *Saul*; at least, the *Elegante* has only published the first act and the *Theater-Chronik*[b] an extensive prospectus of it. This act has already been reviewed in these columns.[41] Unfortunately I can only confirm what is said there. Beck, whose uncontrolled and uncertain fantasy makes him incapable of presenting characters in the round, who compels all his personages to use *the same phrases*, Beck, who showed in his interpretation of Börne how little he can understand a character, let alone create one, could not have hit upon a more unfortunate idea than to write a tragedy. Beck was *forced* unwittingly to borrow the exposition from a recently published model,[42] to make his David and Merob speak in the tearful tone of *Ihr Tagebuch*, to present Saul's changes of mood with the crudeness of a comedy at a country fair. Hearing this Moab speak you begin to realise the significance of Abner as his model; is this Moab, this coarse, bloody disciple of Moloch, more like an animal than a man, supposed to be Saul's "evil spirit"? A child of nature is not a

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[a] K. Beck, *Stille Lieder*. From the poem *Weltgeist*.— *Ed.*

[b] *Allgemeine Theater-Chronik*.— *Ed.*

beast, and Saul, who opposes the priests, does not for that reason find pleasure in human sacrifice. In addition, the dialogue is wooden beyond measure, the language feeble, and only a few tolerable images, which, however, cannot carry the weight of even one act of a tragedy, recall the expectations which Herr Beck no longer seems capable of fulfilling.[13]

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# RETROGRADE SIGNS OF THE TIMES

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There is nothing new under the sun! That is one of those happy pseudo-truths, which were destined to have a most brilliant career, which have passed from mouth to mouth in their triumphal procession round the globe, and after centuries are still often quoted as if they had only just made their appearance in the world. Genuine truths have rarely been so fortunate; they have had to struggle and suffer, they have been tortured and buried alive, and everyone has moulded them as he thought fit. There is nothing new under the sun! On the contrary, there is enough that is new, but it is suppressed if it does not belong to those pliant pseudo-truths which always have a loyal "that is to say, etc." in their train and like a flash of the northern lights soon give way to night again. But if a new genuine truth rises on the horizon like the red morning sky, the children of night know full well that it threatens the downfall of their kingdom and they take up arms against it. For the northern lights the sky is always clear, whereas the roseate dawn usually occurs in an overcast sky, the gloom of which it has to conquer or enkindle with its flames. And it is such *clouds* obscuring the roseate dawn of our time which we now intend to pass under review.

Or let us tackle the subject in another way! Attempts to depict the course of history in the form of a line are familiar.

"The form taken by history," states an intelligent work written to oppose Hegel's philosophy of history, "is not ascent and descent, not a concentric circle or a spiral, but an epic parallelism, sometimes converging" (this is what the word should be instead of "congruent"), "sometimes diverging."[a]

[a] K. Gutzkow, *Zur Philosophie der Geschichte*, S. 53.—*Ed.*

Yet I prefer a free hand-drawn spiral, the turns of which are not too precisely executed. History begins its course slowly from an invisible point, languidly making its turns around it, but its circles become ever larger, the flight becomes ever swifter and more lively, until at last history shoots like a flaming comet from star to star, often skimming its old paths, often intersecting them, and with every turn it approaches closer to infinity.— Who can foresee what the end will be? And at those points where history seems to be resuming an old path again, short-sighted people who see no farther than their noses rise up and joyfully cry out that it is just as they thought! And there we are: there is nothing new under the sun! So our heroes of Chinese stagnation, our mandarins of retrogression are jubilant and pretend to have cut three centuries out of the annals of the world as an inquisitive excursion into forbidden regions, as a delirious dream — and they fail to see that history only rushes onward by the most direct route to a new resplendent constellation of ideas, which with its sun-like magnitude will soon blind their feeble eyes.

It is at just such a point in history that we now stand. All the ideas which have been advanced since Charles the Great, all the tastes which successively supplanted one another through five centuries, want to assert their extinct rights once more at the present time. The feudalism of the Middle Ages and the absolutism of Louis XIV, the hierarchy of Rome and the pietism of the past century contend for the honour of driving free thought from the field! Permit me not to speak of these at greater length; for some thousand swords, all sharper than mine, immediately flash in opposition to anyone who bears one of these devices on his shield, and we surely know that they all disintegrate in conflict with one another and under the adamantine foot of the forward moving time. But corresponding to those colossal reactionary phenomena in the life of the church and state are *less noticed* tendencies in art and literature, an *unconscious* harking back to earlier centuries, which, it is true, are not a threat to the times but nevertheless are a danger to contemporary taste, and whose composition has curiously enough nowhere been comprehensively treated.

We do not need to go far afield to encounter these phenomena. Only go to visit a salon furnished in the modern style and you will see whose spiritual offspring are the figures that surround you. All the rococo abortions of the period of crassest absolutism have been conjured up in order to force the spirit of the movement into the forms in which the *"l'état c'est moi"* felt at ease. Our salons, with their chairs, tables, cupboards and sofas, are decorated

in the style of the Renaissance, and all that is needed is to put a wig on Heine and squeeze Bettina[a] into a hooped petticoat, and the restoration of the *siècle* will be complete.

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 27, February 1840]

Such a room is of course eminently suitable for reading a novel by Herr *von Sternberg,* with his remarkable preference for the period of Madame de Maintenon. People have forgiven Sternberg for this caprice of his mind, they have also looked carefully, but of course in vain, for deeper reasons for it; I venture to assert, however, that precisely this feature of Sternberg's novels, which for the moment perhaps promotes their circulation, will be a considerable obstacle to their prolonged existence. Apart from the fact that a perpetual harping on a most arid and prosaic period, in comparison with whose eccentric nature, floundering between heaven and earth and conventional puppets, our time and its children are still natural, does not precisely enhance the beauty of a literary work—apart from this fact, we are certainly too accustomed to regarding this period in a mocking light for it to have a lasting appeal to us under any other illumination, and to find such a caprice in every one of Sternberg's novels finally becomes extremely boring. This tendency of his cannot be regarded as more than a caprice, in my opinion at least, and therefore has no deeper reason; nevertheless I think I have found its starting point in the life of "good society". Undoubtedly, Herr von Sternberg was brought up for this society; he learned to move in it with pleasure, and perhaps found his proper home in its circles. So no wonder he flirts with a period whose social forms were far more definite and polished, though more wooden and tasteless than those of the present day. Far more audaciously than in the case of Herr von Sternberg, the taste of the *siècle* is expressed in its mother city, Paris, where it makes a serious pretence of wresting from the romantic writers their barely won victory. Victor Hugo arrived, Alexandre Dumas arrived, and the herd of imitators with them; the unnaturalness of the Iphigenias and Athalias gave way to the unnaturalness of a Lucrezia Borgia; cramped rigidity was followed by a burning fever; the French classics were shown to have plagiarised the ancient writers—and then Demoiselle Rachel appears and all is forgotten: Hugo and

[a] Bettina von Arnim.—*Ed.*

Dumas, Lucrezia Borgia and the plagiarisms; Phèdre and le Cid walk the stage with measured tread and stylish Alexandrine lines; Achilles parades with his hints at the great Louis, and Ruy Blas and Mademoiselle de Belle Isle hardly venture to emerge from wings in order at once to find salvation in German translation factories and on the stage of German national theatres. It must be a blissful relief for a legitimist to be able to forget the revolution, Napoleon, and the great week,[44] by watching Racine's plays; the glory of the *ancien régime* rises from the grave, the world is draped with high-warp tapestries, Louis, the absolute monarch, walks along the well-clipped avenues of Versailles in brocaded waistcoat and full-bottomed wig, and an all-powerful array of mistresses rules the happy court and unhappy France.

While in all this the reproduction of the past remains in France itself, it seems that a peculiarity of previous-century French literature is seeking to repeat itself in German literature of the present day. I mean the philosophical dilettantism displayed by several recent authors just as much as by the Encyclopaedists. The place occupied by materialism among the latter is beginning to be taken by Hegel among the former. *Mundt* was the first who—to use his own phraseology—introduced the Hegelian categories into literature; *Kühne,* as always, did not fail to follow him and wrote the *Quarantäne im Irrenhause,* and although the second volume of *Charaktere*[a] betrays a partial falling off from Hegel, the first volume contains enough passages in which he tries to translate Hegel into the modern idiom. Unfortunately, these translations must be numbered among those which cannot be understood without the original.

The analogy is undeniable; will the conclusion which the author who has already been referred to drew from the fate of philosophical dilettantism in the previous century—namely, that with the system the germ of death is introduced into literature—will this conclusion be confirmed also in the present century? Will the roots of a system that surpasses all its predecessors in its consistency be obstacles encumbering the field cultivated by poetic genius? Or are these phenomena merely a sign of the love that philosophy has for literature and the fruits of which are so brilliantly manifested in Hotho, Rötscher, Strauss, Rosenkranz and the *Hallische Jahrbücher*? In that case, of course, the point of view would be different, and we could hope for that co-operation between science and life, between philosophy and the modern

[a] F. G. Kühne, *Weibliche und männliche Charaktere.—Ed.*

trends, between Hegel and Börne, which a section of so-called Young Germany aimed earlier at promoting. Apart from these two conclusions, there remains only one way out, one which, to be sure, looks somewhat strange compared with either of them: namely, to assume that Hegel's influence will be of no importance for *belles-lettres*. I think, however, that there are few who will be able to make up their minds to adopt this course.

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 28, February 1840]

But we must go farther back than to the Encyclopaedists and Madame de Maintenon: Duller, Freiligrath and Beck claim to represent the Second Silesian School of the seventeenth century[45] in our literature. Is there anyone to whom Duller's portrayals in *Ketten und Kronen, Der Antichrist, Loyola, Kaiser und Papst,* do not recall the heaven-storming pathos of the *Asiatische Banise* written of old by Ziegler von Kliphausen or Lohenstein's *Grossherzog Arminius sammt seiner durchlauchtigsten Thusnelda*? Beck has even quite surpassed these good men in pomposity; some passages of his poems are almost regarded as nothing but products of the seventeenth century dipped in a tincture of modern world-weariness; and Freiligrath, who also at times is incapable of distinguishing between pomposity and poetic diction, makes the retrograde step to Hofmannswaldau complete by reviving the Alexandrine,[a] and re-introducing coquetting with foreign words. It is to be hoped, however, that he will discard this along with his foreign subject-matter.

> Withered the palm, blown off the desert sand.
> The poet seeks the heart of his homeland,
> A different man, and yet the same![b]

And, certainly, if Freiligrath were not to do so, in a hundred years' time his poems would be regarded as a herbarium or a sand-box and used, like Latin rules of prosody, for teaching natural history in schools. A man like Raupach could not count on any other kind of practical immortality for his iambic chronicles, but it is to be hoped that Freiligrath will provide us with poetic works fully worthy of the nineteenth century.—However, it is nice, is it not, that in our revivalist literature since the romantics we have already covered from the twelfth to the seventeenth

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[a] Allusion to Freiligrath's series of poems.—*Ed.*

[b] F. Freiligrath. From the poem *Freistuhl zu Dortmund.*—*Ed.*

century? In that case Gottsched, too, will not make us wait much longer for him.

I confess to being perplexed how to arrange these individual items from a single point of view. I confess to having lost the threads by which they are linked to the torrent of time which keeps rolling on. Perhaps they are not yet ripe for a survey to be made with assurance, and will yet increase in size and number. But it remains remarkable that this *reaction* is conspicuous in art and literature as also in life, that the complaints of ministerial newspapers re-echo from walls that seem to have belonged to the "*l'état c'est moi*", and that corresponding to the shouting of the modern obscurantists, on the one hand, is the exaggerated obscurantism, on the other hand, of a part of recent German poetry.

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Signed: *Friedrich Oswald*

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# PLATEN

Among the poetic offspring of the Restoration period, whose powers were not crippled by the electric shocks of the year 1830 and whose fame only became established in the present literary epoch, there are three who are distinguished by a characteristic similarity: Immermann, Chamisso, and Platen. All three possess unusual individuality, considerable character, and an intellectual power which at least outweighs their poetic talent. In Chamisso, it is sometimes imagination and feeling that predominate, and at other times calculating intellect; especially in the terza rimas the surface is altogether cold and rationalistic, but underneath one hears the beating of a noble heart; in Immermann, these two qualities oppose each other and constitute the dualism which he himself acknowledges and the extreme features of which his strong personality can bend together but not unite; lastly, in Platen, poetic power has abandoned its independence and finds itself at ease under the domination of the more powerful intellect. If Platen's imagination had not been able to rely on his intellect and his magnificent character, he would not have become so famous. Hence he represented the intellectual in poetry, the form; hence also his wish to end his career with a great work of art was not granted. He was well aware that such a great work was essential to make his fame lasting, but he felt also that his powers were still inadequate for it and he put his hopes on the future and his preparatory work; meanwhile, time passed, he did not get beyond the preparatory work and finally died.

Platen's imagination followed timorously the bold strides of his intellect, and when it was a matter of a work of genius, when his imagination should have ventured on a bold leap that the intellect could not accomplish, it had to shrink back. That was the source of Platen's error in considering the products of his intellect to be poetry. His poetic creative powers sufficed for anacreontic ghazals and sometimes flashed like a meteor in his comedies; but let us admit merely that most of what was characteristic of Platen is the

product of the intellect, and will always be recognised as such. People will tire of his excessively affected ghazals and his rhetorical odes; they will find the polemics of his comedies for the most part unjustified, but they will have to pay full respect to the wit of his dialogue and the loftiness of his parabases, and see the justification of his one-sidedness in the greatness of his character. Platen's literary standing in public opinion will change; he will go farther from Goethe, but will come closer to Börne.

That his views, too, make him more akin to Börne is evident not only from a host of allusions in his comedies but already from several poems in his collected works, of which I shall mention only the ode to Charles X. A number of songs inspired by the Polish struggle for freedom were not included in this collection, although they were bound to be of great interest for a characterisation of Platen. They have now been issued by another publishing firm as a supplement to the collected works.[46] I find my view of Platen confirmed by them. Thought and character here have to be the substitute for poetry to a greater extent and more noticeably than anywhere else. For that reason Platen seldom feels at home in the simple style of the song; there have to be lengthy, extended verses, each of which can embody a thought, or artificial ode metres, the serious, measured course of which seems almost to demand a rhetorical content. With the art of verse, thoughts also come to Platen and that is the strongest proof of the intellectual origin of his poems. He who demands something else from Platen will not find satisfaction in these Polish songs, but he who takes up this booklet with these expectations will find himself richly compensated for the lack of poetic fragrance by an abundance of exalted, powerful thoughts that have sprung from a most noble character, and by a "magnificent passionateness", as the preface aptly says. It is a pity that these poems were not published a few months earlier, when German national consciousness rose against the imperial Russian European pentarchy[47]; they would have been the best reply to it. Perhaps the pentarchist, too, would have found in them many a motto for his work.[a]

Written in December 1839

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Signed: *Friedrich Oswald*

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[a] Allusion to K. Goldmann's book *Die europäische Pentarchie.*—*Ed.*

## [ON THE INVENTION OF PRINTING][48]

Shall then the Poet's voice sing, only telling
Of bloody Ambition, Thrones in all their pride,
When Fame's shrill trumpets sound about him, swelling
The lips in places where the Gods abide?
Have you forgotten shame? And do you waste
The precious gift of Praise with its bright light
On men to curses and to execration
Ever condemned by History outright?
Awake, awake! Song, that's become so shy,
Soar up above the clouds,
With might unmatched to lofty triumph fly!
And he who wants the world to find his song
Well worthy of the laurels on his brow,
Must make his song from now
Unfold well worthy of the world, and strong!

They were not prodigal in olden days,
But freely at the Altar
Of beneficial Spirit, of Invention,
They spent the sacrificial smoke of Praise.
Saturn came down, and with the mighty plough
Divided he the Earth's maternal breast.
And then mankind beheld
The living seeds grow on the barren ground.
Heaven received Man's gratitude profound:
God of the Golden Age is Saturn called.
And were you not a God, you who once found

Body for Thought, for Word,
Fixing in signs the life of speech that would
Have otherwise flown off, by no ties bound?
Without you, Time had gone,
Still self-consuming, sinking, dying, down,
Buried forever in oblivion.
You came. 'Twas then that Thought
Saw the swift widening of the narrow sphere
That once enfolded its long infancy.
It winged its way into that world so vast,
Where mighty dialogue doth fill the air
Between Time Future and deed-heavy Past.
You've helped the blind to see!
Immortal one, enjoy the honours rare,
The lofty hymns of praise,
That are your due alone, Exalted Spirit!
And Nature, just as if the one invention
Were of itself enough to prove her power,
Rests from that time and, parsimonious,
Gives the world no such wonder any more.

But Nature in the end bestirs herself,
To give another token: the icy Rhine
Sees Gutenberg come forth: "O vain endeavours!
What does it help you, that you can inspire
Your thoughts with life by writing,
If thought dies, petrified, dumb in the dire
Darkness of lethargy and long forgetting?
Say, can a single vessel be enough
E'er to contain the billowing sea that rages?
Much less can Man's gifts of the Spirit be
Unfolded in a single volume's pages!
What lacks? The art of flight? But when bold Nature
Created in one image countless beings,
Now, after hers, there comes my own Invention!
That, echoing a thousandfold, Truth might
Embrace the world with powerful proclamation,
Soaring aloft with Clarity's sheer flight!"

He spoke. And there was Print. And lo! all Europe,
Astounded, moved, forthwith herself bestirs
With thund'rous sound. As if by storm winds fanned,
Swift-rushing onward roars

Spanisch.

¿Será que siempre la ambicion sangrienta,
Ó del solio el poder pronuncie solo,
Cuando la trompa de la fama alienta
Vuestro divino labio, hijos de Apolo?
¿No os da rubor? ¿El don de la alabanza,
La hermosa luz de la brillante gloria
Serán tal vez del nombre, á quien daria
Eterno oprobrio ó maldicion la historia?
¡Oh, despertad! el humillado acento
*Con magestad no usada,*
Suba á las nubes, penetrando el viento:
Y si quereis que el universo os crea
Dignos del lauro, en que ceñis la frente,
Que vuestro canto enérgico y valiente
Digno tambien del universo sea.

No los aromas del loor se vieron
Vilmente degradados
Asi en la antigüedad: siempre las aras
De la invencion sublime,
Del genio bienhechor los recibieron.



Wird denn allein des Dichters Stimme singen
Von blut'gem Ehrgeiz und von stolzen Thronen,
Wenn die Drommeten Fama's um ihn klingen,
Die Lippen schwellend, wo die Götter wohnen?
Ward euch so fremd die Scham? Des Preisens Gabe,
Des Ruhmes Strahl mit seinem hellen Lichte
Verschwendet ihr an Männern, welchen ewig
Fluch spendet und Verwünschung die Geschichte?
Erwacht, erwacht! die Wolken überfliege
Der Sang, der schengeword'ne,
Mit nie geseh'ner Kraft in hehrem Siege!
Und wollt ihr, daß die Welt euch würdig halte
Des Lorbeers, der um eure Stirne blüht,
So sorgt, daß euer Lied
Würdig der Welt und kräftig sich entfalte!

In alter Zeit ward nimmermehr verschwendet
Der Opferduft des Lobes;
An dem Altar wohlthätiger Erfindung,
Wohlthät'gen Geistes ward er stets gespendet.



Pages 208 and 209 of the *Gutenbergs-Album* containing M. J. Quintana's poem *A la invención de la imprenta* and Engels' translation

The wrathful fire that has so long lain deep
In the dark bowels of the Earth, asleep.
O evil Pile, raised up for Ignorance there
By base brutality and Tyrants' wrath!
Rocks glowing, the Volcano gushes forth,
And your foundations tremble in their fear!
What is this monster of the evil spirit,
This foul abortion, that, all scruples gone,
Founds on the old decaying Capitol
Its loathsome and abominable Throne,
And now bids to destroy, yea, murder all?

It stands, although the structure of its power
Is crumbling slowly. But one day that Throne
Shall fall and cast its ruins o'er the land.
A fastness perching on a crag alone
Thus crowns the summit of a mountain high.
The Sons of War once took up their abode
In its security.
Ruling by force of stolen power, they
Would sally forth exultant to the fray.
Deserted and alone,
The Keep stands in the forest, seen by none.
It still surveys, though crumbling with neglect,
The world all round with menacing aspect.
One day it shall fall down,
And then the fields shall groan,
Covered with ruins. Meanwhile, it shall be
Scarecrow and bogey to all folk that lived
In fear and terror of it recently.

That, then, was the first wreath of bay to deck
The brow of Reason; but Intellect now rises
Courageously, athirst for certain knowledge,
Encompassing the world in its embraces.
Copernicus soars to the starry places
Hitherto shrouded in a heavy pall;
And then he sees, immeasurably far,
Day's bringer, our forever festive star,
The brightest luminary of them all.
Then Galileo feels beneath his feet
The Earth's ball rolling; but blind Italy
Rewards him with a prison cell's disgrace.

Meanwhile, the Earth sails onward ceaselessly
And swiftly through the infinite sea of space,
And with it, fast as lightning, sweep the stars,
Shimm'ring in flight. Then Newton's fiery spirit
Is flung aloft into their very midst.
He follows, understands them,
Charting the tracks of forces
That keep them racing in their whirling courses.

What does it help you, then, to conquer Heaven,
To find the law that moves eternally
Air's circle and the seas? To split the ray
Of light incorporeal; or to dig down
Into the bowels of Earth and snatch the cradle
Of gold and crystal? Spirit, return once more
To Man!
And so it did, only to pour
Its bitterness into lamentations loud:
"How is the Intellect with blindness cowed!
How rings that chain of iron
Forged by the frenzied powers of Tyranny,
From pole to pole each with the other vying,
And pins Man helpless lying,
Upon his death-bed, tired of slavery!
This must be ended."
And the Despots heard,
And wielded in their vile and villainous hands
Two weapons to depend on—Fire and Sword.

"O senseless ones! Those very high-piled faggots
That threaten to devour me horribly,
That burn to keep me from the Truth away,
Are beacons guiding me along Truth's way,
Are Torches to light up Truth's victory!
Truth fondly I desire;
With rapture drunk, my heart to Truth gives prayer,
My spirit looks on Truth; I follow her,
Not of the sword afraid, nor yet of fire.
That being so, then shall I still demur?
Can I turn back again,
Retrace my steps? The waves of Tagus never
Run back towards the source from which they came
Once they have flowed into the mighty sea.

The mountains seek to bar its course in vain;
They cannot stay it in its onward motion.
It rushes in the train
Of Destiny that roars into the Ocean."

And then the great day came
On which a mortal man arose outraged,
In wrath from all-encompassing disgrace,
And, with almighty voice,
Called out to all the World: Mankind is free!
And narrow boundaries no longer caged
The sacred call: it rose up on the wing
Of the great echo Gutenberg invented,
Soared up, a wondrous thing,
And swift, in mighty inspiration,
O'erleapt the mountains and the ocean wide
And o'er the very winds held domination.
It was not shouted down by Tyranny,
And loud and lusty rang on every side
The joyful cry of Reason: Man is free!

Oh, free, yes, free! Sweetest of words, the breast
Swells, beating faster at the sound of you;
My spirit, that you imbue,
O'erbrimming with your holy inspiration,
Soars to serene celestial dominions,
Bearing me on its fiery beating pinions.
Where are you all that hear
My singing, mortal beings? From on high,
I see the awesome prison doors of Fate
Open, the impenetrable veil of Time
Is torn apart—the Future lies before me!
I see full clear that Earth never again
Shall be the wretched planet where Ambition
And War with its fierce countenance can reign.

Now both of them are gone from Earth for ever,
As Plague and Storm, those torturers, prepare
To leave the zone they've pillaged and laid bare,
When Polar ice-winds threaten to blow over.
All people felt their true equality;
With strength untamed, brave heroes struggled for
That right and won it with triumphant glee.

There are no Slaves or Tyrants any more.
Now Love and Peace fill all the World around,
And Love and Peace breathe over all the Earth,
And "Love and Peace!" both near and far resound.
And up aloft, upon his golden Throne
In blessing doth the Lord his sceptre raise,
Dispensing Air and Joy all round below,
So that on all Earth's ways
They might, as once of old, abundant flow.

Do you not see that column soaring there,
Towering in all its splendour to the sky,
A-throb with flashing light, eye-dazzling?
Less mighty are the pyramids so high,
The work of slaves who toiled in abject fear
Of one whose glory came from suffering.
See there, unwavering,
The eternal incense rise,
As the whole Earth gives thanks to Gutenberg.
For such beneficence, a modest prize!
Hail to the one who broke the insensate power
Of battering violence; raised the might of Reason,
The strength of soul, high o'er the world to fly!
Praise him who raised the Truth in triumph high,
Making his hands' work fruitful for all time!
Sing the Well-Doer's praise in song sublime!

Bremen

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# JOEL JACOBY

Görres' troupe of tight-rope dancers has acquired a valuable recruit in *Joel Jacoby*. The role of clown was previously performed by Herr Guido Görres, whose jokes, however, were not appreciated by the public; but in his *Kampf und Sieg* the new member has recently again demonstrated his vocation for this role in surprising fashion. Such a versatile man, who can wear with equal grace the red cap and purple of David, the frock-coat of a candidate eager for a post, or the penitential shirt of a catechumen, who finds pleasure in acting as a walking advertisement, carrying in front of him an issue of the *Berliner politisches Wochenblatt* and behind him the publications list of Manz in Regensburg—such a man is quite at his ease in all roles. Now he makes his first appearance without being in the least embarrassed, and while "Prosperity and peace, struggle and victory, sound their strains for you", he has one eye on the Order of the Red Eagle and the other on the bishop's mitre.

"What should I give you for your refreshment?" he asks the public. "Do you want something from the year 1832 or 1834, 1836 or 1839? What should I declaim, Marat or Jarcke, David or Görres or Hegel?" But he is generous and gives us a ragout of all the reminiscences that spring up in the desert of his mind, and it is true that he gives us something refreshing.

One is perplexed how to deal with this nonsense. I shall readily be permitted not to analyse the perfidy of disposition and chaotic confusion of ideas which distinguish also this work of the author; we are indeed faced with a semi-lunatic in whose mind his own shapeless thought embryos have other people's ideas grafted on

them to produce an unbridled orgy! How much, for example, can our poet know of his own past if he calls himself "a quiet man"! He, who for the past eight years has continually shouted, raged and stormed for the revolution, against the revolution, for Prussia, for the Pope. He, a quiet man? He, whose plaints were always equivalent to *com*plaints,[a] the born informer who always cast suspicion on a massive scale—does he belong to the country's quiet men?

Franz Karl Joel Jacoby's confusion of language is in keeping with his confusion of ideas. I would never have believed that the German language could be so closely linked with the most confused conceptions. Words which have never been seen in company with one another are here thrown together; ideas which are mutually antagonistic are here coupled together by an all-powerful verb; the most lawful and innocent expressions occur suddenly among reminiscences from Joel's revolutionary years, among suspicious-looking phrases of Menzel's, Leo's and Görres', among incorrectly understood thoughts of Hegel's, and over all this the poet brandishes his riding-whip so that the whole wild pack rushes along, knocking one another over, turning somersaults, and reeling, until it finally comes to rest in the bosom of the church as the sole source of salvation.

The actual content of this masterpiece, which is composed in accordance with a pseudo-parallelism, in the old "grand manner of saying everything twice" (and even three or six times!), consists of the lyrical laments of a Jew and a catechumen, and then the laments of a Catholic, where the author abandons one-sided lyrical subjectivity and develops a genuine modern drama, in the centre of which the vigorous personality of the author acts a tragic role (he is at least mournful enough to look at), and over whose disconsolate confusion rises the medieval dawn of the Catholic Church. The new prophet Joel rises up in gigantic form out of the modern chaos and predicts the downfall of all revolutionary, liberal, Hegeling,[49] and Protestant efforts, which will give way to a new age of absence of thought. A curse is pronounced on everything that does not bow down before the crosier. Only the "Prussian Fatherland" receives *pia desideria*[b]; on the other hand, the Carlist Basques and the "Belgian nightingale"[50] perish to the joy of their master Loyola. One sees that the terrorism of the Jacobin era remains firmly in Herr Jacoby's memory. A bloody

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[a] A pun on the German words *Klagen* and *Verklagen*.—*Ed.*

[b] Pious wishes.—*Ed.*

judgment is held on all enemies of Jesuitism and the monarchist principle, above all on the new philosophers, who carry a dagger in a sheath of mind-confusing ideas, and among their many-coloured rags the well-known shroud (at least Herr Jacoby knows it very well from former days) in which the priests and princes together sleep their sleep of death. But the new prophet knows them, "I have always understood you," he says himself. On the other hand, he acquits the master,[a] because a few of the latter's ideas have entered Herr Jacoby's heated brain like snowflakes, and there, of course, have turned to water. In face of the chorus of vultures and owls that now follows, as also in face of the infernal rejoicing, criticism is justly silent.

In Joel Jacoby we see the horrifying extreme to which all knights of unreason are driven in the end. That is the final outcome of all hostility to free thought, of all opposition to the absolute power of the mind, whether it appears in the form of wild, unruly sansculottism or the unthinking servile mind; whether it is represented by the parted hair of the pietist or the tonsure of the priest. Joel Jacoby is a living trophy, a sign of the victory which the thinking mind has achieved. Anyone who has ever entered the lists on behalf of the nineteenth century can gaze in triumph on this unfortunate poet of our time, for sooner, or later all its other adversaries will suffer the same fate.

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[a] Hegel.—*Ed.*

# REQUIEM FOR THE GERMAN *ADELSZEITUNG*[51]

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 59, April 1840]

Dies irae, dies illa
Saecla solvet in favilla.[a]

The day that Luther produced the original text of the New Testament and with this Greek fire burnt to dust and ashes the centuries of the Middle Ages, with their lordly splendour and feudal servitude, with their poetry and lack of thought,[52] that day and the three centuries that followed brought forth, at long last, a time

> "which belongs wholly to the public, a time of which Napoleon, whose rare perspicacity cannot be denied in spite of his many qualities that are reprehensible, particularly in German eyes, said: '*Le journalisme est une puissance*'" [b].

I quote these words here merely to show how little medieval, i.e., lacking in thought, is the prospectus of the *Adelszeitung* from which they are taken.[53] And the German *Adelszeitung* was intended to set the crown on this public and give it consciousness. For it is clear that Gutenberg did not invent printing to assist a Börne, who was certainly a demagogue, or Hegel—who is indeed servile in front, as Heine proved, and revolutionary behind, as Schubarth proved[c]—or any other burgher to spread his confused ideas throughout the world, but for the one and only purpose of enabling the *Adelszeitung* to be founded.—*Peace be with it, it has passed away!* It took only a stealthy, timid look at this nasty,

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[a] The day of anger, the day the world is reduced to ashes.—This and other Latin quotations are taken from the sequence on the Last Judgment in the Roman Catholic Requiem mass.—*Ed.*

[b] "Journalism is a power."—*Ed.*

[c] K. Schubarth, *Ueber die Unvereinbarkeit der Hegel'schen Staatslehre mit dem obersten Lebens- und Entwickelungsprinzip des Preussischen Staats.*—*Ed.*

unmedieval world, and its pure, maidenly soul, or rather its gracious young lady's soul, recoiled before the abomination of desolation, before the filth of the democratic *canaille,* before the horrifying arrogance of those who are not admitted to court, before all those lamentable circumstances, relations and disorders of our time which, if they show themselves at the gates of nobles' castles, are welcomed with a riding-whip. Peace be with it, it has passed away; it sees no longer the hollowness of democracy, the undermining of what exists, the tears of the high- and noble-born, it has passed into eternal sleep.

*Requiem aeternam dona ei, Domine!*[a]

And yet we have lost much by its death. What joy there was in all the salons to which only gentlemen with sixteen generations of ancestors are admitted, what delight in all the half-lost advance posts of orthodox aristocracy! There sat the old gracious papa in his inherited arm-chair, surrounded by his favourite hounds, in his right hand his inherited pipe, in his left hand his inherited riding-whip, and reverently studied the antediluvian genealogical tree in the first book of Moses, when the door opened and the prospectus of the *Adelszeitung* was brought in to him. The nobleman, seeing the word *Adel*[b] printed in large letters, hastily adjusts his spectacles and blissfully reads through the sheet; he sees that the new newspaper also gives space to family news, and he rejoices at the thought of his obituary—how he would like to read it himself!—when one day he is gathered to his ancestors.—Then the young squires gallop into the castle yard; the old man hurriedly sends for them. Herr Theoderich "von der Neige",[c] with a lash from his whip, drives the horses into the stable, Herr Siegwart rides down a few flunkeys, treads on the cat's tail and in knightly fashion pushes aside an old peasant who has come with a request and has been refused; Herr Giselher orders the servants on pain of corporal punishment to make impeccable arrangements for the hunt; and so at last the young barons noisily enter the hall. Barking, the dogs rush to meet them, but are driven under the table with lashes from riding-whips, and Herr Siegwart von der Neige, who had quietened his favourite hound with a kick of his gracious boot, does not receive from the delighted father even the usual angry glance because of it. Herr

[a] Eternal rest give unto it, O Lord!—*Ed.*
[b] Nobility.—*Ed.*
[c] *Neige* means "decline".—*Ed.*

Theoderich, who besides the Bible and the family tree has read a few things in the encyclopaedia and therefore knows how to pronounce foreign words more correctly than the others, has to read the prospectus aloud, and the old man amid his tears of joy forgets about the redemption ordinance and the burdens of the nobility.

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 60, April 1840]

How morally-modestly-condescendingly the gracious lady rode into the modern world on her white paper palfrey, how boldly her two knights looked out into the world—each of them every inch a baron, each drop of their blood the fruit of sixty-four nuptials between partners of equal rank, each glance a challenge! First of all, Herr von *Alvensleben,* who has pranced his knightly charger over the arid waste of French novels and memoirs so that now he can venture also on a tilt against bourgeois louts. His shield bears the device: "A properly inherited right can never be a wrong", and he cries out to the world in a loud voice: "It has been vouchsafed to the nobles in the past to earn distinction, now they are resting on their laurels or, in plain language, they have grown idle; the nobles have given powerful protection to the princes *and thereby to the peoples also,* and I shall take care that these great deeds are not forgotten, and my beloved, the *Adelszeitung—requiescat in pace*[a]—is the most beautiful lady in the world, and whoever denies it, he—"

But here the noble hero falls off his horse, and in his place Herr Friedrich, baron de la *Motte Fouqué,* jogs into the lists. The old "light-brown" Rosinante, whose horseshoes had fallen off from prolonged sojourn in the stable, this hippogriff, which had never been well fed even in its best days and long ago ceased to make romantic leaps among the warriors of the North, suddenly began to stamp on the ground. Herr von Fouqué forgot the annual poetic commentary for the *Berliner politisches Wochenblatt,* ordered his armour to be polished and the old blind horse brought out, and with the grandeur of a lone hero set out on a crusade against the ideas of the times. But so that the honour-loving burgher estate would not think that the bent lance of the old warrior was directed against it, Fouqué throws it a foreword.[54] Such condescending kindness deserves discussion.

The foreword teaches us that world history does not exist in order to realise the idea of freedom, as Hegel most erroneously

[a] May it rest in peace.—*Ed.*

supposes, but solely to prove that there must exist three estates: the nobility, which has to fight, the burghers—to think, and the peasants—to plough. But there should be no caste distinctions; the estates should replenish and renovate one another, not by misalliances, but by elevation to a higher estate. It is, of course, difficult to understand how the nobility, "a lake clear as spring water" which pure springs combined to produce, which gushed forth from the heights of robber castles, could be in any need of renovation. But the noble baron allows that people who have not been only burghers, but also "ostlers", *and perhaps even tailors' journeymen,* should renovate the nobility. But how other estates should be renovated by the nobility, Herr Fouqué does not say. Probably by persons who have been degraded from the ranks of the nobility, or perhaps—since Herr Fouqué is kind enough to confess that the nobility in itself is no better at bottom than the *canaille*—it will be as much an honour for a nobleman to be raised to the burgher estate, or even to the peasant estate, as it is for the burgher to obtain a nobleman's patent? Furthermore, in the Herr Fouqué state, care is taken to ensure that philosophy does not get the upper hand too much; Kant with his ideas of eternal peace[55] would have gone to the stake there, for where eternal peace prevails the nobility could not fight, at best only apprentices would.

It is clear that on account of his thorough studies of history and statecraft Herr Fouqué deserves to be raised to the thinking, i.e., the burgher estate; he has managed excellently to detect among the Huns and Avars, among the Bashkirs and Mohicans, indeed even among antediluvians, not only an honourable public, but also a high nobility. Moreover, he has made a totally new discovery—that in the Middle Ages, when the peasant was a feudal serf, the peasant estate was the giver and recipient of love and kindness in respect of the other two estates. His language is incomparable, he lays about him with "dimensions penetrating to the very roots" and "knows how to extract gold from phenomena that are *in themselves* (Hegel—Saul among the prophets) most obscure".

*Et lux perpetua luceat eis*[a]—

they are truly in need of it.

The defunct *Adelszeitung* has indeed had some splendid ideas, for example, the one about the landownership of the nobility, and a hundred more which it would be impossible to praise, but its

[a] And may perpetual light shine upon them.—*Ed.*

happiest idea, however, was that in its very first issue, among the announcements, it immediately advertised a *misalliance*. Whether it was prepared with equal humanity to include Herr von Rothschild in the German nobility, it did not say. May God comfort the unfortunate parents and raise the deceased to heavenly baronial rank.

And let them sleep in peace
Until the Judgment Day.

We, however, shall sing a requiem for it and pronounce a funeral oration, as is the duty of an honest burgher.

*Tuba mirum spargens sonum*
*Per sepulcra regionum*
*Coget omnes ante thronum.*[a]

Do you not hear the trumpet, whose sound overturns the tombstones and makes the earth shake with joy so that the graves burst open? The Day of Judgment has come, the day that will never be followed by another night[b]; the spirit, the eternal king, has ascended his throne and at his feet are gathered all the peoples of the earth to render account of their thoughts and deeds; new life pervades the whole world, so that the old family trees of the peoples joyfully wave their leafy branches in the morning air, shedding all their old foliage to be at the mercy of the wind, which blows them together into a large funeral pyre which God himself ignites with his lightning. Judgment has been pronounced on the races of the earth, a judgment which the children of the past would like to defeat as much as in a lawsuit over inheritance, but the eternal judge inexorably threatens them with his piercing glance; the talent which they did not put to use is taken from them and they are cast out into the darkness where no ray of the spirit refreshes them.

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[a] The trumpet spreading wonderful sound over the graves of all regions summons all before the throne.— *Ed.*

[b] The *Telegraph für Deutschland* has the misprint *Macht* (might) for *Nacht* (night).— *Ed.*

# MODERN LITERARY LIFE[56]

## I

## KARL GUTZKOW AS DRAMATIST

[*Mitternachtzeitung für gebildete Leser* No. 51, March 26, 1840]

One would have thought that after Gutzkow's well-known article in the *Jahrbuch der Literatur*[57] his opponents would feel moved to equally noble revenge; with the possible exception of Kühne, who was really dismissed too superficially here also. But one little knows the egoism of our literature if one expects any such thing. It was most significant that the *Telegraph* in its literary share-list took each writer's evaluation of himself as the price at par. So it was predictable that Gutzkow's latest writings would receive no special welcome from this quarter.

Nevertheless there are those among our critics who pride themselves on their impartiality to Gutzkow, and others who admit to a decided predilection for his literary work. The latter spoke very highly of his *Richard Savage,*[58] the *Savage* which Gutzkow wrote in feverish haste in twelve days, while his *Saul,*[59] where one can see with how much love the poet worked on it, how carefully he nurtured it, they dismiss with a few words of half-hearted recognition. At the very time when *Savage* was making its fortune on every stage and all the journals were filled with reviews, those to whom knowledge of this play was denied should have been prompted to trace Gutzkow's dramatic talent in *Saul,* which was available to them in print. But how few journals gave even a superficial criticism of this tragedy! One really does not know what to think of our literary life if one compares this neglect with the discussions aroused by Beck's *Fahrender Poet,* a poem which is surely farther from classicism than Gutzkow's *Saul!*

But before discussing this play we must consider the two dramatic studies in the *Skizzenbuch.*[60] The first act of *Marino*

*Falieri,* an unfinished tragedy, shows how well Gutzkow can fashion and shape each single act by itself, how skilfully he can handle the dialogue and endow it with refinement, grace and wit. But there is not enough action, one can relate the content in three words, and so on the stage it would bore even those who can appreciate the beauties of the execution. Any improvement, it is true, would be difficult since the action is so constructed that to move anything from the second act to the first would only do harm elsewhere. But here the true dramatist proves his worth, and if Gutzkow is one, as I am convinced he is, he will solve the problem satisfactorily in the tragedy as a whole which he has promised to and will, we hope, soon complete.

*Hamlet in Wittenberg* already gives us the outline of a whole. Gutzkow has done well to give only the outlines here, since the most successful part, the scene in which Ophelia appears, would offend if depicted in greater detail. I find it inexplicable, however, that in order to introduce doubt, that German element, into Hamlet's heart, Gutzkow should bring him together with Faust. There is no need whatever to bring this trait into Hamlet's soul from without, since it is already there, and is inborn in him. Otherwise Shakespeare also would have especially motivated it. Gutzkow here refers to Börne, but it is precisely Börne who not only demonstrates the split in Hamlet but also establishes the unity of his character.[a] And by what agency does Gutzkow introduce these elements into Hamlet's mind? Perhaps through the curse which Faust pronounces on the young Dane? Such *deus-ex-machina* effects would make all dramatic poetry impossible. Through Faust's conversations with Mephistopheles which Hamlet overhears? If so, firstly, the curse would lose its significance, and, secondly, the thread leading from this character of Shakespeare's Hamlet is often so fine as to be lost to sight, and, thirdly, could Hamlet speak so casually of other things immediately afterwards? It is different with the appearance of Ophelia. Here Gutzkow has seen through Shakespeare, or if not that, has supplemented him. It is a case of Columbus and the egg; after the critics have argued about it for two hundred years a solution is given here which is as original as it is poetical and probably the only possible one. The execution of the scene is also masterly. Those who were not convinced by a certain scene in *Wally*[61] that Gutzkow also has imagination and is not coldly matter-of-fact, can learn it here. The tender, poetic bloom on the delicate figure of Ophelia is more

[a] L. Börne, *Hamlet, von Shakespeare.*— *Ed.*

than one is entitled to expect from mere outlines.—The verses spoken by Mephistopheles are totally unsuccessful. It would require a second Goethe to reproduce the language of Goethe's *Faust,* the melody that rings in the seeming doggerel; in anybody else's hands these light verses would become wooden and ponderous. On the interpretation of the principle of evil I will not argue with Gutzkow here.

Now we come to our main work, *König Saul.* Gutzkow has been upbraided for having his *Savage* preceded by a number of trumpet blasts and fanfares in the *Telegraph,* although all the fuss is about two or three short notices; it does not occur to anybody that others have had their works welcomed by paid musicians; but because it is Gutzkow, who has told someone a home truth and perhaps done someone else a slight injustice, it is made out to be a great crime. With *König Saul* there is no room for such reproaches; it came into the world unannounced either by notices below the line or excerpts in the *Telegraph.* There is the same modesty in the drama itself; no spectacular effects with thunder and lightning rise like volcanic islands from a sea of watery dialogue, no pompous monologues are intoned whose inspired or moving rhetoric has to conceal a number of dramatic blunders; everything develops calmly and organically, and a conscious, poetic force leads the action safely to its conclusion. And will our critics read such a work *once* and then write an article whose bright, flowery flourishes show from what thin, sandy soil they sprout? I regard as a great merit of *König Saul* the fact that its beauties are not on the surface, that one must look for them, that after a single reading one may well throw the book contemptuously into a corner. Let an educated man forget how famous Sophocles is and then let him choose between *Antigone* and *Saul*; I am convinced that after a single reading he would find both works equally bad. By that I do not, of course, mean to say that *Saul* can be compared to the greatest poetic work of the greatest Greek; I only wish to indicate the degree of perverseness with which frivolous superficiality can judge. It was entertaining to see how certain sworn enemies of the author now suddenly believed themselves to have won an enormous triumph, how jubilantly they pointed to *Saul* as a monument to all Gutzkow's hollowness and lack of poetry, how they did not know what to make of Samuel and pretended it was always being said of him "I don't know if he is alive or dead". It was amusing how beautifully they unconsciously revealed their boundless superficiality. But Gutzkow may be reassured; it happened thus to the prophets who came before him, and in the end his Saul will be

among the prophets. Thus they despised Ludwig Uhland's plays until Wienbarg opened their eyes.[62] Precisely Uhland's plays have much in common with *Saul* in the modest simplicity of their dress.

[*Mitternachtzeitung für gebildete Leser* No. 52, March 27, 1840]

Another reason why superficiality could dismiss *Saul* so easily lies in the peculiar conception of historical fiction. With historical works which are as well known as the first book of Samuel and regarded in so many and various ways, everyone has his own peculiar standpoint which he wishes to see recognised or heeded at least to some extent in the case of a poetic adaptation. One reader is for Saul, another for David, a third for Samuel; and everybody, however solemn his assurances that he is willing to let the poet have his views, is nevertheless piqued if his own are not respected. But Gutzkow has done well here to leave the common highway where even the most ordinary cart finds a rut. I would like to see the man who would undertake to create a purely historical Saul in a tragedy. I cannot be satisfied with the attempts hitherto made to place the story of Saul on a purely historical basis. Historical criticism of Old Testament scripture has not yet got beyond the bounds of old-fashioned rationalism. A Strauss would still have much to do here if he wanted to separate strictly and clearly what is myth, what is history, and what is interpolated by the priests. Furthermore, have not a thousand failures shown that the Orient as such is an infertile ground for drama? And where in the story is that higher power which emerges victorious when the individuals who have outlived themselves break down? Surely not David? He remains as before amenable to the influence of the priests and is a poetic hero at most in the unhistorical light in which the Bible presents him. Consequently Gutzkow has not only taken advantage here of the right belonging to every poet, he has also removed the obstacles standing in the way of a poetic presentation. How then would a purely historical Saul appear in all the trappings of his time and nationality? Imagine him speaking in Hebrew parallelisms, all his ideas relating to Jehovah and all his images to the Hebrew cult; imagine the historical David speaking in the language of the psalms—to imagine an historical Samuel is altogether impossible—and then ask yourselves whether such figures would be even tolerable in drama? Here the categories of period and nationality had to be removed, here the outlines of the characters as they appear in biblical history and in previous criticism had to undergo many very necessary changes;

indeed, a great deal here which historically was known to them only as notions or at most as vague representations had to be developed into clear concepts. Thus the poet had the perfect right, for example, to assume that his characters were familiar with the concept of the church.— And one cannot but heartily applaud Gutzkow when one observes how he solved his problem here. The threads from which he wove his characters are all to be found, however entangled, in his source; many had to be pulled out and thrown away, but only the most biassed criticism can charge him with having interwoven anything alien, except in the scene with the Philistines.

Grouped in the centre of the drama are three characters by whose original portrayal alone Gutzkow made his material truly tragic. Here he shows a genuinely poetic view of history; no one will ever be able to convince me that a "coldly matter-of-fact" person, "a debater", would be capable of selecting from a confused tale precisely that which would produce the greatest tragic effect. These three characters are Saul, Samuel and David. Saul concludes one period of Hebrew history, the age of the Judges, the age of heroic legend; Saul is the last Israelite Nibelung whose generation of heroes has left him behind in an age he does not understand and which does not understand him. Saul is an epigone whose sword was originally destined to gleam through the mist of the age of myth but whose misfortune it was to have lived to see the age of advancing culture, an epoch which is alien to him, which covers his sword with rust, and which he therefore seeks to drive back. He is otherwise a noble person to whom no human feeling is alien, but he does not recognise love when he encounters it in the apparel of the new age. He sees this new age and its manifestations as the work of the priests, whereas the priests only prepare it, are only tools in the hands of history from whose hierarchical seed sprouts an unsuspected plant; he fights the new epoch, but it prevails over him. It gains giant strength overnight and smashes the great, noble Saul together with all who oppose it.

Samuel stands at the transition to culture; here as always the priests, as the privileged possessors of education, prepare the state of culture among primitive peoples, but education penetrates to the people, and the priests must resort to other weapons if they want to preserve their influence on the people. Samuel is a genuine priest whose holy of holies is the hierarchy; he firmly believes in his divine mission, and is convinced that if the rule of the priests is overthrown Jehovah's wrath will descend on the

people. To his horror he sees that the people already know too much when they demand a king; he sees that moral power, the imposing frock of the priest, no longer suffices with the people; he must resort to the weapons of cleverness and unwittingly becomes a Jesuit. But the very crooked ways he now pursues are doubly hateful to the king who could never be the priests' friend, and in the struggle Saul's eyes soon become as sharp for priestly tricks as they are blind to the signs of the times.

The third element, which emerges victorious from this struggle, the representative of a new historical epoch in which Judaism attains a new stage of consciousness, is David, equal to Saul in his humanity, and far exceeding him in his understanding of the age. At first he appears as Samuel's pupil, barely having left school; but his reason has not so bowed itself before authority as to lose its resilience; it springs up and restores his independence to him. Samuel's personality may still impress him, but his intellect always comes to his aid, his poetic imagination rebuilds the new Jerusalem for him as often as Samuel destroys it with the lightning of his anathemas. Saul cannot become reconciled with him since both are pursuing opposite aims, and when he says that he hates only what priestly deceit has put into David's soul, he is again confusing the effects of priestly lust for power with the signs of the new age. Thus David develops before our eyes from a foolish boy to the bearer of an epoch, and so the seeming contradictions in his portrayal vanish.

In order not to interrupt the development of these three characters, I have deliberately passed over a question raised by all critics who took the trouble to read *Saul* once, the question of whether Samuel appears as a living person in the witches' scene and at the end or whether his ghost delivers the speeches there recorded. Let us suppose that no easy or thoroughly satisfactory answer is to be found in *Saul*; would that be such a great fault? I think not—take him for what you like, and if you feel inclined start boring discussions about it; after all one finds the same thing in Shakespeare's Hamlet whose madness all the critics and commentators have discussed for the past two hundred years "three long and three broad and altogether polygonally"[a] and from all angles. Gutzkow has not made the problem so very difficult, however. He has long known how ridiculous ghosts are in broad daylight, how *mal à propos* the Black Knight appears in *Die Jungfrau*

[a] A quotation from Wienbarg's article "Ludwig Uhland, als Dramatiker". See this volume, p. 42.— *Ed.*

*von Orleans*,[a] and that all ghostly apparitions would be quite out of place in *Saul*. In the witches' scene especially the mask is easy to see through, even if the old high priest had not appeared earlier in a similar manner, before there was any talk of Samuel's death.

Of the play's remaining characters the best drawn is Abner, who devotes himself to Saul with utter conviction and due to perfect compatibility of temperament and in whom the warrior and enemy of the priests has relegated the man wholly into the background. Least successful, by contrast, are Jonathan and Michal. Jonathan indulges throughout in phrases about friendship, and insists on his love for David without, however, proving it in anything but words; he dissolves completely in the friendship for David, thereby losing all manliness and strength. His butter-like softness cannot properly be called character. Gutzkow was confused here as to what he should do with Jonathan. In any case, he is superfluous like this. Michal is kept quite vague and is characterised to some extent only by her love for David. How very unsuccessful these two figures are can best be seen in the scene where they converse about David. What is said there about love and friendship lacks all the striking sharpness, all the wealth of thought, to which we are accustomed in Gutzkow. Mere phrases which are neither quite true nor quite false, nothing remarkable, nothing significant.— Zeruiah is a Judith; I don't know whether it was Gutzkow or Kühne who once said that Judith, like every woman who transcends the limits of her sex, must die after her deed if she does not want to appear unattractive; Zeruiah also dies accordingly.— In itself the characterisation of the Philistine princes is excellent and rich in entertaining features, but whether it fits into the play is a question still to be settled.

[*Mitternachtzeitung für gebildete Leser* No. 53, March 30, 1840]

I trust I shall be excused for not giving a consecutive analysis of the dramatic action; only one point must be emphasised here, namely, the exposition. This is excellent and contains features in which Gutzkow's great dramatic talent is unmistakable. Wholly in keeping with Gutzkow's quick, impetuous manner, the mass of the people appears only in short scenes. There is something awkward about large crowd scenes; if one is not a Shakespeare or a Goethe they easily become trivial and insignificant. By contrast, a few words spoken by a couple of warriors or other men from the

[a] Schiller, *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, Act III, Scene 9.— *Ed.*

crowd are often very effective and achieve perfectly their aim of sketching public opinion; moreover, they can appear much more frequently without being conspicuous and tiresome. So much for the first and fourth scenes of the first act. The second and third scenes contain Saul's monologue and his conversation with Samuel, which are the finest and most poetic passages of the play. The classically restrained passion of the dialogue is characteristic of the spirit in which the whole play is written. After the general state of the action has been rapidly outlined in these scenes, we are introduced to more specific matters in the fifth scene between Jonathan and David. This scene suffers somewhat from a confusion of thought; several times one loses sight of the dialectical thread—without any doubt the result of the unsuccessful drawing of Jonathan right from the start. The final scene in the act is masterly, however. We are already familiar to some extent with the chief characters, and here they are brought together; David and Saul meet with the serious intention of being reconciled. Here the poet had to develop their different natures, show their incompatibility and bring about the inevitable conflict instead of the intended reconciliation. And this task, which only the most lively awareness, the most acute delineation of the characters, the surest look into the human soul can deal with satisfactorily, is solved here unsurpassably; the transitions in Saul's mind from one extreme to the other are so true psychologically, so finely motivated, that I must judge this scene the best in the whole play, in spite of the unfortunate episode with the son-in-law.

In the second act, the scene with the Philistines is striking, or, to use Kühne's expression, "freshly piquant", but I doubt whether its rich wit suffices to secure it a place in the tragedy. When Gutzkow lifted his Saul above the concepts of his age and ascribed to him a consciousness which he did not have, that can be justified; however, this scene introduces a purely modern concept, and David is standing on *German* soil here. That is damaging, at least for the tragedy. Comic scenes could still occur, but they would have to be of a different kind. The comic element in tragedy is not there, as superficial criticism says, for the sake of variation or contrast, but rather to give a more faithful picture of life, which is a mixture of jest and earnest. But I doubt if Shakespeare would have been satisfied with such reasons. In real life does not the most moving tragedy invariably appear in comic dress? I will only remind you of the character who, though he appears in a novel as he must, is yet the most tragic I know, Don Quixote. What is more tragic than a man who from sheer love of humanity and

misunderstood by his own age falls into the most comic follies? Still more tragic is Blasedow, a Don Quixote of the future, whose consciousness is more heightened than that of his model. Incidentally, I must here defend Blasedow against the otherwise penetrating criticism in the *Rheinisches Jahrbuch* which charges Gutzkow with having treated a tragic idea comically.[63] Blasedow *had* to be treated comically, like Don Quixote. If he is treated seriously, he becomes a prophet of world-weariness, a quite ordinary one, torn by emotion; remove the foil of comedy from the novel, and you have one of those formless, unsatisfactory works with which modern literature began. No, *Blasedow* is the first sure sign that Young Literature has left behind the period, necessary though it was, of wretchedness, of the *Wallys* and of the *Nächte* "written in red life".—The truly comic in tragedy is to be found in the fool in *King Lear* or the grave-digger scenes in *Hamlet.*

[*Mitternachtzeitung für gebildete Leser* No. 54, March 31, 1840]

Here also that pitfall of the dramatist, the two last acts, has not been negotiated by the author entirely without damage. The fourth act contains nothing but decisions. Saul decides, Astharoth decides twice, Zeruiah decides, David decides. Then the witches' scene which also yields only meagre results. The fifth act consists of nothing but battle and reflection. Saul reflects a little too much for a hero, David too much for a poet. One often thinks that one is hearing not a poet-*hero* but a poet-*thinker,* perhaps Theodor Mundt. In general Gutzkow has a way of making monologues less conspicuous by having them spoken in the presence of others. But since such monologues can rarely lead to decisions and are purely reflective, there are still more than enough real monologues.

The language of the play, as was to be expected of Gutzkow, is thoroughly original. We again find those images of Gutzkow's prose which are so expressive that one is unaware of moving from simple, naked prose into the flourishing region of the modern style, those pithy, apt expressions which frequently sound almost like proverbs. There is nothing of the lyric poet in Gutzkow, except in the lyrical moments of the action, when lyrical enthusiasm grips him unawares, and he is able to use prose. Hence the songs put into David's mouth are either unsuccessful or insignificant. When David says to the Philistines:

> I need but make you up as verses
> For fun into a wreath,[a]

[a] K. Gutzkow, *König Saul,* Act II, Scene 7.—*Ed.*

what does it mean?—The basic thought of such a song is often very pretty, but the execution invariably miscarries. In other respects, too, one notices in the language that Gutzkow does not possess sufficient skill in writing verse, which is, of course, better than making the verses more flowing, but also more insipid, with old phrases.

Unsuccessful images have not been entirely avoided either. For example:

> The anger of the priest
> From whom the people first did wrest the crown
> And then in whose emaciated hand
> It should have been a staff.[a]

Here the *crown* is already an allegory for kingdom and cannot become the abstract basis for the second image of the staff. This is all the more striking as the mistake could so easily have been avoided, and proves clearly that verse still presents difficulties for Gutzkow.

Circumstances have prevented me from gaining a knowledge of *Richard Savage.* I admit, however, that the immoderate applause which greeted the first performances made me suspicious of the play. I recalled what had happened three years ago with *Griseldis.*[64] Since then enough disapproving voices have made themselves heard, the first and most thorough, as far as one can judge without knowing the play from accounts given in journals, strangely enough in a political paper, the *Deutscher Courier.*[65] But I can easily spare myself a criticism, for what journal has not already reviewed it? Let us wait, therefore, until it is available in print.

*Werner,*[66] Gutzkow's most recent work, has received the same applause in Hamburg. To judge by its antecedents, the play is probably not only of great value in itself, but may be the first really modern tragedy. It is strange that Kühne, who has so often reviewed the modern tragedy that one might almost think he himself was writing one, has allowed himself to be forestalled by Gutzkow. Or does he not feel called upon to try his hand at drama?

However, we hope that Gutzkow, having prepared the way to the stage for the Young Literature, will continue with original, vital plays to drive shallowness and mediocrity from the usurped theatre. It cannot be done through criticism, however devastating;

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[a] K. Gutzkow, *König Saul,* Act I, Scene 3.—*Ed.*

that we have seen. Those who pursue the same tendencies as himself will support him most strongly, and thus new hope is rising in us for the German drama and the German theatre.

## II

## MODERN POLEMICS[67]

[*Mitternachtzeitung für gebildete Leser* No. 83, May 21, 1840]

The Young Literature has a weapon through which it has become invincible and gathers under its banners all young talents. I mean the modern style, which in its concrete vitality, sharpness of expression, and variety of nuances offers to every young writer a bed in which the river or the stream of his genius can comfortably roll on without his originality—if he has any—being infected too strongly with alien elements, Heine's carbonic acid or Gutzkow's caustic lime. It is a pleasure to see how every young author seeks to adopt the modern style with its proudly soaring rockets of enthusiasm which at their highest point dissolve in a gaily coloured shower of poetical fire or burst in crackling sparks of wit. In this respect the criticisms in the *Rheinisches Jahrbuch*, which I mentioned earlier in my first article of this series, are of importance; they are the first sign of the effect which a new literary epoch has had on Rhenish soil, fairly alienated from German poetry. Here is the whole modern style with its light and shade, its original but apt descriptions, and its iridescent poetic spotlight.

In these circumstances we can say of our authors not only: *le style c'est l'homme,*[a] but also: *le style c'est la littérature.*[b] The modern style bears the stamp of mediation, not only between the celebrities of the past, as L. Wihl recently remarked, but also between production and criticism, poetry and prose. It is Wienbarg in whom these elements interpenetrate most intimately; in *Die Dramatiker der Jetztzeit* the poet has been absorbed into the critic. The same would apply to the second volume of Kühne's *Charaktere*[c] if there were more coherence in the style.—German style has

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[a] "The style makes the man." The expression belongs to G. L. Buffon.—*Ed.*

[b] "The style makes the literature."—*Ed.*

[c] F. G. Kühne, *Weibliche und männliche Charaktere.*—*Ed.*

gone through its dialectical mediation process; from the naive directness of our prose there emerged the language of the intellect which culminated in the lapidary style of *Goethe,* and the language of the imagination and the heart, the splendour of which has been revealed to us by *Jean Paul.* Mediation began with *Börne,* but in him the intellectual element nevertheless still dominated, especially in the *Briefe,*[a] while *Heine* helped the poetical side to come into its own. Mediation is completed in the modern style; imagination and intellect do not unconsciously flow into each other, nor do they stand in direct opposition; they are united in style, as in the human mind, and since their unification is conscious, it is also lasting and genuine. Hence I cannot admit that fortuitousness which Wihl still tends to vindicate in the modern style, and I am compelled to discern a genetic, historical development here.—The same mediation occurs in literature; there is almost no one in whom production and criticism are not combined; even among the lyric poets Creizenach has written *Der schwäbische Apoll* and Beck a work on Hungarian literature,[68] and the reproach that the Young Literature is getting lost in criticism has its foundation far more in the mass of critics than of criticisms. Or do not the productions of Gutzkow, Laube, Mundt and Kühne significantly outweigh their critical writings, both in quantity and quality? Thus the modern style remains a reflection of literature. There is, however, one aspect of style which is always a sure test of its essence: the polemical. With the Greeks polemic took the form of poetry, becoming plastic with Aristophanes. The Romans clad it in the gown of the hexameter which was suitable for everything, and Horace, the lyric poet, developed it likewise lyrically into satire. In the Middle Ages, when the lyric was in full flower, it passed with the Provençals into *sirventes* and *chansons,* with the Germans into the *Lied.* When bare intellect made itself master of poetry in the seventeenth century, the epigram of the later Roman period was sought out to serve as the form for polemical wit. The French fondness for classical imitation produced Boileau's Horacising satires. In Germany, the previous century, which fastened on to anything until German poetry began to develop in complete independence, tried all polemical forms until Lessing's antiquarian letters found in prose the medium which permits the freest development of polemics. Voltaire's tactics, which deal the opponent a blow now and then, are truly French; so is the sniping war

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[a] L. Börne, *Briefe aus Paris.*—*Ed.*

of Béranger, who in the same French manner puts everything into a *chanson*. But what about modern polemics?

Forgive me, dear reader, you have probably long ago guessed the aim of this diatribe; but I happen to be a German and cannot rid myself of my German nature which always starts with the egg. Now, however, I will be all the more direct; it is a question of the dissensions in modern literature, the justification of the parties and especially the dispute at the root of all the rest, the dispute between *Gutzkow* and *Mundt*, or, as the matter now stands, between Gutzkow and *Kühne*. This dispute has now been going on for two years in the midst of our literary developments and could not but have upon them an influence partly favourable, partly unfavourable. Unfavourable because the smooth course of development is always disturbed when literature lets itself become the arena of personal sympathies, antipathies and idiosyncrasies; favourable because, to speak in Hegelian terms, it stepped out from the one-sidedness in which it found itself as a party, and proved its victory through its very destruction; also because, contrary to the expectations of many, the "younger generation" did not take sides, but used the opportunity to free itself from all alien influences and to devote itself to independent development. If then a few have taken sides, they prove thereby how little confidence they have in themselves and of what little consequence they are to literature.

Whether Gutzkow picked up the first stone, whether Mundt was the first to put his hand to his left hip, may be left unexamined; suffice it that stones were thrown and swords drawn. It is only a question of the deeper causes of a war which was bound to break out sooner or later; for nobody who has watched its whole course without bias will believe that on either side there prevailed subjective motives, spiteful envy or frivolous love of fighting. Only in Kühne's case was personal friendship with Mundt a motive, and in itself surely no ignoble one, for accepting Gutzkow's challenge.

[*Mitternachtzeitung für gebildete Leser* No. 84, May 22, 1840]

*Gutzkow's* literary work and aspirations bear the stamp of a sharply defined individuality. Only a few of his numerous writings leave a wholly satisfying impression and yet it cannot be denied that they are among the finest products of German literature since 1830. Why is this so? I believe I see in him a dualism that has much in common with the schism in Immermann's mind which

Gutzkow himself first tore open. Gutzkow possesses the greatest power of intellect, as is recognised by all German authors—of *belles-lettres,* of course; his judgment is never at a loss, his eye finds its bearings with wonderful facility in the most complex phenomena. Alongside this intellect there is, however, an equally powerful heat of passion which expresses itself as enthusiasm in his productions and puts his imagination in that state of, I would almost say, erection, in which alone spiritual creation is possible. His works, though they are often very protracted compositions, come into being in a flash, and if on the one hand one can see in them the enthusiasm with which they are written, on the other this haste prevents the calm working out of detail and, like *Wally,* they remain mere sketches. More calm prevails in the later novels, most of all in *Blasedow,* which is chiselled with a plasticity altogether unusual in Gutzkow up to now. His earlier figures were character drawings rather than characters, μετέωρα,[a] hovering between heaven and earth, as Karl Grün says. Nevertheless, Gutzkow cannot prevent the enthusiasm from giving way momentarily to intellect; in this mood are written those passages of his works which produce the disagreeable impression already mentioned; it is this mood which Kühne in his insulting language called "senile shivers".—But it is also this passionate disposition which leads Gutzkow so easily into outbursts of wrath, often about the most insignificant things, and which brings into his polemic a gushing hatred, a wild vehemence, which Gutzkow surely regrets afterwards; for he must see how unwisely he acts in moments of fury. That he does see this is proved by the well-known article in the *Jahrbuch der Literatur,*[b] on whose objectivity he somewhat flatters himself—he knows, then, that his polemic is not free of momentary influences.—To these two sides of his mind, whose unity Gutzkow does not yet appear to have found, there is also added a boundless feeling of independence; he cannot bear the lightest fetters, and whether they were of iron or cobweb, he would not rest until he had smashed them. When against his will he was counted as belonging to Young Germany with Heine, Wienbarg, Laube and Mundt, and when this Young Germany began to degenerate into a clique, he was overcome by a malaise which left him only after his open breach with Laube and Mundt. But effectively as this desire for independence has preserved him from alien influence, it easily becomes heightened into a rejection of

[a] High above.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 71.—*Ed.*

everything different, a withdrawal into himself, an excess of self-reliance, and then it borders on egoism. I am far from accusing Gutzkow of consciously striving for unrestricted domination in literature, but at times he uses expressions which make it easier for his opponents to charge him with egoism. His passionate disposition alone drives him to give himself wholly as he is, and so one can discern at once the whole man in his works.—Add to these spiritual characteristics a life continually wounded over the last four years by the censor's scissors and the restrictions imposed on his free literary development by the police, and I may hope to have sketched the main features of Gutzkow's literary personality.

While the latter's nature thus proves to be thoroughly original, in *Mundt* we find an amiable harmony of all spiritual powers, which is the first prerequisite for a humourist: a calm intellect, a good German heart, and in addition the necessary imagination. Mundt is a genuinely German character, who, however, for precisely this reason, rarely rises above the ordinary and often enough verges on the prosaic. He possesses amiability, German thoroughness, sterling honesty, but he is not a poet concerned with artistic development. Mundt's works prior to the *Madonna* are insignificant; the *Moderne Lebenswirren* is rich in good humour and fine detail, but worthless as a work of art and tedious as a novel; in the *Madonna* enthusiasm for new ideas gave him an impetus which he had not known before, but again the impetus did not produce a work of art, merely a mass of good ideas and splendid images. Nevertheless, the *Madonna* is Mundt's best work, for the showers of rain sent into the literary sky shortly afterwards by the German cloud-gatherer Zeus[69] cooled Mundt's enthusiasm considerably. The modest German Hamlet strengthened his protestations of harmlessness with innocent little novels in which the ideas of the times appeared with trimmed beard and combed hair, and submitted in the frock-coat of a suppliant a most abject petition for most gracious assent. His *Komödie der Neigungen* did his reputation as a poet an injury which he attempted to heal with *Spaziergänge und Weltfahrten* instead of with new, rounded poetical works. And if Mundt does not throw himself into production with his earlier enthusiasm, if instead of travel books and journalistic articles he does not give us poems, then there will soon be no more talk of Mundt the *poet.* One could observe a second retreat by Mundt in his style. His preference for Varnhagen, in whom he thought he had discovered Germany's greatest master of style, led him to adopt the latter's diplomatic turns of phrase, affected expressions and abstract flourishes; and Mundt entirely failed to

see that the fundamental principle of the modern style—concrete freshness and liveliness—was thereby violated to the core.

[*Mitternachtzeitung für gebildete Leser* No. 85, May 25, 1840]

Besides these differences, the intellectual development of the two disputants had been wholly opposed. Gutzkow manifested from the start an enthusiasm for Börne, the "modern Moses", which still lives on in his soul as fervent adoration; Mundt sat in the secure shade thrown by the giant tree of Hegel's system and for a time betrayed the conceit of most Hegelians; in the early years of his literary activity the axioms of the philosophical padishah that freedom and necessity are identical and that the aspirations of the South-German liberals are one-sided, prejudiced Mundt's political views. Gutzkow left Berlin with distaste at conditions there and acquired a predilection for South Germany in Stuttgart which never left him; Mundt felt at home in Berlin life, loved to sit at the aestheticising tea-parties and distilled from the intellectual activity of Berlin his *Persönlichkeiten und Zustände,*[70] that literary hothouse product which suffocated all free poetic activity in him and in others. It is saddening to see how Mundt, in the second issue of *Freihafen* for 1838, reviewing a work by Münch, goes into raptures in his description of such a personality, raptures to which he could never be roused by a work of poetry.[71] Berlin conditions—it is as if this word were invented for Berlin—made him forget everything else and he even let himself be misled into a ridiculous contempt for the beauties of nature, such as is revealed in the *Madonna.*

So Gutzkow and Mundt confronted each other when the ideas of the age suddenly made their paths cross. They would soon have separated, perhaps waved greetings to each other from afar and been happy to recall their meeting, had not the setting up of Young Germany and the *Roma locuta est* of the most serene Federal Diet compelled them both to unite. The state of affairs was thus radically altered. Their common fate obliged Gutzkow and Mundt to give weight in their judgments of each other to considerations the observation of which was bound in the long run to become unbearable for both of them. Young Germany, or Young Literature, as it called itself after the catastrophe from above so as to sound more harmless and not to exclude others with similar aims, was near to degenerating into a clique, and that against its will. From all sides one found oneself compelled to drop opposing tendencies, to cover up weaknesses, to overstress

agreement. This unnatural, forced pretence could not last long. Wienbarg, the finest figure in Young Germany, withdrew; Laube had from the start protested against the conclusions which the state permitted itself; Heine in Paris was too isolated to quicken the literature of the day with the electric sparks of his wit; Gutzkow and Mundt, by mutual agreement, as I would like to think, were frank enough to break the public peace.

Mundt polemicised little and insignificantly, but once he let himself be misled into conducting his polemic in a manner inviting the sharpest censure. At the end of the article "Görres und die katholische Weltanschauung" (*Freihafen,* 1838, II) he says that if German religiousness will have nothing to do with Young Germany, the movement has sufficiently shown that it contains more than enough rotten elements as far as religion is concerned. It is clear that this refers not only to Heine, who does not concern us here, but to Gutzkow. However, even if the accusations were true, Mundt should at least have enough respect for those to whom he is bound by common fate not to champion narrow-mindedness, philistinism and pietism against them! Mundt could hardly behave worse than when he says in pharisaic triumph: God, I thank thee that I am not as Heine, Laube and Gutzkow, and that in the eyes of German religiousness, if not of the German Confederation, I can pass as respectable!

Gutzkow, by contrast, took real pleasure in polemics. He pulled out all the stops and followed the *allegro moderato* of the *Literarische Elfen*[72] with an *allegro furioso* of literary notices. He had the advantage over Mundt in that he could expose the latter's literary whims in full focus and place them within range of the permanently loaded gun of his wit. Almost every week at least one blow against Mundt could be found in the *Telegraph.* He knew how to profit by the overwhelming advantage which possession of a weekly journal gives over an opponent limited to a quarterly[a] and his own works; it is particularly remarkable that Gutzkow intensified his polemic, allowing his contempt for Mundt's literary gifts to appear only gradually, while the latter treated Gutzkow as an inferior personality immediately after the declaration of war, without regard for such a descending climax.—The usual artifices of political journals, recommending articles of the same colour in other journals, smuggling in hidden malice under the guise of recognition and praiseworthy objectivity, etc., were carried over into the literary sphere in this polemic; whether their

[a] *Freihafen.—Ed.*

own articles appeared under the pseudonyms of provincial correspondents cannot, of course, be determined, since right from the start there streamed to each party a crowd of obliging, nameless assistants, who would have felt very flattered if their labours were taken for the works of their commanding generals. Marggraff attributes most of the blame for the dispute to these interlopers who with their zeal wished to buy commendatory notices below the line.[73]

Towards the end of 1838 a third fighter entered the lists, *Kühne,* whose armoury we must review for the moment. For a long time Mundt's personal friend and without doubt the Gustav to whom Mundt once appeals in the *Madonna,* his literary character also has much in common with Mundt, although on the other hand a French element is clearly evident in him. He is linked with Mundt particularly by their common development through Hegel and the social life of Berlin, which determined Kühne's taste for personalities and conditions and Varnhagen von Ense, the true inventor of these literary hybrids. Kühne is also one of those who give much praise to Varnhagen's style and overlook the fact that what is good in it is really only an imitation of Goethe.

[*Mitternachtzeitung für gebildete Leser* No. 86, May 26, 1840]

The chief foundation of Kühne's literary stature is *esprit,* that French, quickly combining intellect, linked with a lively imagination. Even the extreme of this trend, the cult of the phrase, is so little alien to Kühne that, on the contrary, he has achieved a rare mastery in handling it, and one cannot read reviews such as that of the second volume of Mundt's *Spaziergänge* (*Elegante Zeitung,*[a] May 1838) without a certain enjoyment. Naturally, it also happens often enough that this play with phrases makes a disagreeable impression and one is reminded of a few apt words of Mephistopheles which have become commonplace.[b] In a journal one may well tolerate passages interwoven with phrases in this fashion; but when in a work like the *Charaktere* a passage occurs which reads quite well but lacks all real content—and that is more than once the case—this shows too much levity in selection. On the other hand, his French cleverness makes Kühne one of our best journalists, and it would surely be easy for him, with greater activity, to lift the *Elegante Zeitung* far above its present level. But oddly enough, Kühne is far from displaying the agility of mind

[a] *Zeitung für die elegante Welt.—Ed.*

[b] Goethe, *Faust,* Erster Teil, Studierzimmer: "*Mit Worten lässt sich trefflich streiten, mit Worten ein System bereiten....*" — *Ed.*

which alone seems to correspond to the *esprit* in which he recalls Laube.— Kühne displays this trans-Rhenish nature most clearly as a critic. While Gutzkow does not rest until he has got to the bottom of his subject and forms his judgment from that alone without regard to any favourable or mitigating minor considerations, Kühne places the subject in the light of a witty thought, which, it is true, consideration of the object has most often inspired. When Gutzkow is one-sided, it is because he judges without due regard of person, more by the object's weaknesses than its virtues and demands classical creations from budding poets like Beck; when Kühne is one-sided, he endeavours to regard all aspects of his object from a single viewpoint which is neither the highest, nor the most illuminating, and excuses the playfulness of Beck's *Stille Lieder* with the truly apt phrase that Beck is a lyrical musician.

In Kühne one must further distinguish two periods; the beginning of his literary career was marked by a bias towards the Hegelian doctrine and, so it seems to me, by a devotion to Mundt or a community of views with him in which independence was not always duly respected. The *Quarantäne* marks his first step towards emancipation from these influences; Kühne's views did not find their full development until the literary troubles after 1836. For a comparison of Kühne's and Gutzkow's poetic aims two works written at the same time are available, the *Quarantäne im Irrenhause* and *Seraphine*. Both reflect the whole personality of their authors. Gutzkow portrayed the reasonable and the genial side of his character in Arthur and Edmund; Kühne, as a beginner, revealed himself fully and more artlessly in the hero of the *Quarantäne*, as he looks for a way out of the labyrinth of the Hegelian system. Gutzkow excels, as always, in the sharpness of his portrayal of the soul, in the psychological motivation; almost the entire novel takes place in the mind. Such an intellectual compounding of the motives from nothing but misunderstandings, however, destroys all quiet enjoyment, even of the interspersed idyllic situations, and no matter how masterly *Seraphine* is on the one hand, it is a failure on the other. Kühne, by contrast, bubbles over with witty reflections on Hegel, German soul-searching and Mozart's music, with which he fills three-quarters of the book, but in the end succeeds only in boring the readers and spoiling the novel as such. *Seraphine* does not contain a single well-drawn character; and Gutzkow's aim, which was to show his ability to portray female characters, is realised least of all. The women in all his novels are either trivial, like Celinde in *Blasedow*, devoid of real womanliness,

like Wally, or unlovely through a lack of inner harmony, like Seraphine herself. He almost seems to realise this himself when he makes Michal say in *Saul*:

> You can lay open, like the human brain,
> The very heart of woman,
> You can show all a woman's heart is made of;
> But that which is the spirit of life within it
> No scalpel can lay bare, nor keen comparison.[a]

The same lack of precise characterisation is displayed in the *Quarantäne*. The hero is not a complete character but a personification of the transitional epoch in the present-day consciousness, who therefore lacks all individuality. The remaining characters are almost all made too indeterminate so that one cannot properly say of most of them whether they are successes or failures.

Kühne had long been challenged by Gutzkow but had replied only indirectly by praising Mundt's merits excessively and rarely mentioning Gutzkow's. Eventually Kühne also came out in opposition to him, at first calmly and critically rather than polemically; he called Gutzkow a debater, but would not concede to him any further literary claim; soon afterwards, however, he began his offensive in a manner which perhaps no one had expected, with the article "Gutzkows neueste Romane".[74] Here with much wit Gutzkow's dual nature is distorted into caricature and traced in his writings, but there is also such a mass of unworthy expressions, unfounded assertions and ill-concealed innuendoes that the polemic only benefited Gutzkow. He replied with a brief reference to the *Jahrbuch der Literatur* for 1839 (why has that for 1840 not yet appeared?) which carried his article on the latest literary disputes. The policy of winning minds by impartiality was shrewd enough, and the restraint which this article cost Gutzkow must be recognised; if it was not entirely satisfactory and, in particular, disposed too easily of Kühne, who can surely not be denied an important influence on present-day literature or a sound talent for the historical novel, although not yet very clear in the *Klosternovellen*, this can gladly be overlooked until his opponents have done as well or have excelled him.

[*Mitternachtzeitung für gebildete Leser* No. 87, May 28, 1840]

This *Jahrbuch der Literatur*, however, bore within itself the seed of a new split, *Heine's* "Schwabenspiegel".[75] Probably only a few of

[a] K. Gutzkow, *König Saul*, Act III, Scene 3.—*Ed.*

those involved know what actually happened; I find it best to pass over this whole embarrassing story. Or could not Heine muster the required number of sheets again soon to bring out an uncensored volume, which would also contain the complete "Schwabenspiegel"? Then one could at least see what the Saxon censorship considered fit to cut and whether the mutilation is indeed to be laid to the charge of any censorship authority.[76] Enough, the flames of war were fanned again. Kühne behaved unwisely by accepting the stupid article on *Savage* and by accompanying Dr. Wihl's explanation (which it was surely too much to expect the *Elegante* to accept, rather as if Beck had sent his declaration against Gutzkow to the *Telegraph*) with a currish parody which the other side likewise rejected with a bark.[77] This dog-fight is the most shameful blot on all modern polemics; if our men of letters start treating each other like beasts and applying the principles of natural history in practice, German literature will soon be like a menagerie and the long-awaited Messiah of literature will fraternise with Martin and van Amburgh.

To prevent the once more slackening polemic from going to sleep, an evil spirit stirred up the dispute between Gutzkow and *Beck*.[78] I have already given my judgment of Beck elsewhere,[a] but, as I willingly admit, not without bias. The retrogressive step which Beck took in *Saul* and in the *Stille Lieder* made me suspicious and unfair to the *Nächte* and the *Fahrender Poet*. I ought not to have written the article, much less sent it to the journal which printed it. I may therefore be permitted to correct my judgment to the effect that I accord recognition to Beck's past, the *Nächte* and *Fahrender Poet*, but that it would go against my conscience as a critic if I did not describe the *Stille Lieder* and the first act of *Saul* as retrogressive. The faults of Beck's first two works were inevitable because of his youth, nay, in the press of images and the immature impetuousness of thought one might be inclined to see a superabundance of strength, and in any case here was a talent of which one might have the highest hopes.— Instead of those flaming images, instead of that wildly excited youthful strength, there is a tiredness, a languor in the *Stille Lieder*, which was least to be expected of Beck, and the first act of *Saul* is equally feeble. But perhaps this flabbiness is only the natural, momentary consequence of that over-excitement, perhaps the following acts of *Saul* will make up for all the defects of the first—but Beck is a poet, and even in its most severe and just censure criticism should

[a] See this volume, pp. 41-46.— *Ed.*

show a proper respect for his future creative work. Every true poet deserves such reverence; and I myself would not like to be taken for an enemy of Beck's, since, as I readily admit, I am indebted to his poetic works for the most varied and enduring stimulation.

The dispute between Gutzkow and Beck might well have been avoided. It cannot be denied that in the exposition of his *Saul* Beck followed Gutzkow to some extent, unwittingly, of course, but that does not detract from his honesty, only from his originality. Instead of being indignant about it, Gutzkow should rather have felt flattered. And Beck, instead of laying stress on the originality of his characters, which no one had called in doubt, had indeed to take up the gauntlet once it was thrown down, as he in fact did, but should also have revised the act, which one trusts he will have done.

Gutzkow now adopted a hostile position to all the Leipzig men of letters and has since harried them unremittingly with literary witticisms. He sees them as a regular band of organised ruffians which harasses him and literature in every possible way; but he would truly do better to adopt a different method of attack if he does not want to give up the fight. Personal connections and their reaction on public opinion are inevitable in Leipzig literary circles. And Gutzkow should ask himself whether he has never succumbed to this sometimes unfortunately unavoidable sin; or must I remind him of certain Frankfurt acquaintances? Is it surprising if the *Nordlicht,* the *Elegante* and the *Eisenbahn* occasionally agree in their judgments? The description *clique* is quite unfitting for these circumstances.

This is how matters stand at present; Mundt has withdrawn and no longer bothers about the dispute; Kühne also is rather tired of the interminable warfare; Gutzkow is also sure to see soon that his polemic must eventually become boring to the public. They will gradually begin to challenge each other to novels and plays; they will see that a journal is not to be judged by a biting literary article, that the nation's educated circles will award the prize to the best poet, not the most impetuous polemicist; they will get used to a calm existence side by side, and, perhaps, learn to respect each other again. Let them take Heine's conduct as an example, who in spite of the dispute does not conceal his esteem for Gutzkow. Let them determine their relative value not by their own subjective estimation, but by the conduct of the younger people to whom literature will sooner or later belong. Let them learn from the *Hallische Jahrbücher* that polemic may only be directed against the

children of the past, against the shadows of death. Let them consider that otherwise literary forces may arise between Hamburg and Leipzig which will overshadow their polemic fireworks. The Hegelian school, in its latest, free development, and the younger generation, as they prefer to be called, are advancing towards a unification which will have the most important influence on the development of literature. This unification has already been achieved in Moritz Carrière and Karl Grün.

Written in March 1840

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Signed: *Friedrich Oswald*

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# [ON ANASTASIUS GRÜN]

In connection with Anastasius Grün's application for the post of chamberlain, one is involuntarily reminded of the verses he published two years ago in the *Elegante*.[a] The poem was entitled *Apostasie* and concluded:

> God's will, you'll know how well I fare
> By this flag overhead.
> God's truth, if ever you see me *there*,
> I'm sick or good as dead.
> Then think of me as dead and gone:
> Bitter, to cast one's eye,
> Living, on one's own gravestone,
> As one is passing by.[79]

It sounds almost like a premonition.

Written in the first half of April 1840

First published in the *Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 61, April 1840

Signed: *F. O.*

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first time

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[a] *Zeitung für die elegante Welt.*— *Ed.*

# LANDSCAPES

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 122, July 1840]

Hellas had the good fortune of seeing the nature of her landscape brought to consciousness in the religion of her inhabitants. Hellas is a land of pantheism; all her landscapes are — or, at least, were — embraced in a harmonious framework. And yet every tree, every fountain, every mountain thrusts itself too much in the foreground, and her sky is far too blue, her sun far too radiant, her sea far too magnificent, for them to be content with the laconic spiritualisation of Shelley's spirit of nature,[a] of an all-embracing Pan. Each beautifully shaped individual feature lays claim to a particular god, each river will have its nymphs, each grove its dryads — and so arose the religion of the Hellenes. Other regions were not so fortunate; they did not serve any people as the basis of its faith and had to await a poetic mind to conjure into existence the religious genius that slumbered in them. If you stand on the Drachenfels or on the Rochusberg at Bingen, and gaze over the vine-fragrant valley of the Rhine, the distant blue mountains merging with the horizon, the green fields and vineyards flooded with golden sunlight, the blue sky reflected in the river — heaven with its brightness descends on to the earth and is mirrored in it, the spirit descends into matter, the word becomes flesh and dwells among us — that is the embodiment of Christianity. The direct opposite of this is the North-German heath; here there is nothing but dry stalks and modest heather, which, conscious of its weakness, dare not raise itself above the ground; here and there is a once defiant tree now shattered by lightning; and the brighter the sky, the more sharply does its self-sufficient magnificence demarcate it from the poor, cursed earth lying below it in sackcloth and ashes, and the more does its eye, the sun, look

[a] The words "spirit of nature" are in English in the original. In Shelley's works, in particular in *Queen Mab*, the pantheistic figurative symbol of Pan appears.— *Ed.*

down with burning anger on the bare barren sand—there you have a representation of the Jewish world outlook.

The heathland has been much reviled, all literature* has heaped curses on it and, as in Platen's *Oedipus*, it has been used only as a background for satire, but people have scorned to seek out its rare charms, its hidden poetic connections. One must really have grown up in a beautiful region, on mountain heights or forest-crowned crags, to feel properly the frightening, depressing character of the North-German Sahara, but also to be able to detect with pleasure the beautiful features of this region, which, like the mirage in Libya, are not always visible to the eye. The really prosaic Germany is to be found only in the potato fields on the right[a] bank of the Elbe. But the homeland of the Saxons, the most active of the German races, is poetic even in its desolation. On a stormy night, when clouds stream ghost-like past the moon, when dogs bay to one another at a distance, gallop on snorting horses over the endless heath and leap with loose reins over the weathered granite blocks and the burial mounds of the Huns; in the distance the water of the moor glitters in the reflected moonlight, will-o'-the-wisps flit over it, and the howling of the storm sounds eerily over the wide expanse; the ground beneath you is unsafe, and you feel that you have entered the realm of German folk-lore. Only after I became acquainted with the North-German heathland did I properly understand the Grimm brothers' *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen.* It is evident from almost all these tales that they had their origin here, where at nightfall the human element vanishes and the terrifying, shapeless creations of popular fantasy glide over a desolate land which is eerie even in the brightness of midday. They are a tangible embodiment of the feelings aroused in the solitary heath dweller when he wends his way in his native land on such a wild night, or when he looks out over the desolate expanse from some high tower. Then the impressions which he has retained from childhood of stormy nights on the heath come back to his mind and take shape in those fairy-tales. You will not overhear the secret of the origin of the popular fairy-tales on the Rhine or in Swabia, whereas here every lightning night—*bright* lightning night, says Laube—speaks of it with tongues of thunder.

The summer thread of my apologia for the heath, carried by

* In the third volume of *Blasedow* the old man is concerned for the heath.—*Note by Engels.*

[a] The *Telegraph für Deutschland* has "left", which is a misprint.—*Ed.*

the wind, would probably continue to be spun out, if it had not become entangled with an unfortunate signpost painted in the colours of the land of Hanover.[a] I have long pondered over the significance of these colours. It is true that the royal Prussian colours do not show what Thiersch tries to find in them in his bad song about Prussia [80]; nevertheless, by their prosiness they remind one of cold, heartless bureaucracy and of all that the Rhinelander still cannot find quite plausible about Prussianism. The sharp contrast between black and white can provide an analogy for the relation between king and subject in an absolute monarchy; and since, according to Newton, they are not colours at all, they can be an indication that the loyal frame of mind in an absolute monarchy is that which does not hold a brief for any colour. The gay red and white flags of the people of the Hanse towns were at least fitting in olden days; the French *esprit* displays its iridescence in the tricolour, the colours of which have been appropriated by phlegmatic Holland too, probably in derision of itself; the most beautiful and significant, of course, is still the unhappy German tricolour. But the Hanoverian colours! Imagine a dandy in white trousers who has been chased for an hour at full speed through road-side ditches and newly ploughed fields, imagine Lot's pillar of salt [81]—an example of the Hanoverian *Nunquam retrorsum*[b] of former times as a warning for many—imagine this honourable memorial splashed with mud by ill-bred Bedouin youths, and you have a Hanoverian frontier post with its coat of arms. Or does the white signify the innocent basic law of the state and the yellow the filth with which it is being bespattered by certain mercenary pens?

To continue with the religious character of various regions, the *Dutch* landscapes are essentially Calvinist. The absolute prose of a distant view in Holland, the impossibility of its spiritualisation, the grey sky that is indeed the only one suited to it, all this produces the same impression on us as the infallible decisions of the Dordrecht Synod.[82] The windmills, the sole moving things in the landscape, remind one of the predestined elect, who allow themselves to be moved only by the breath of divine dispensation; everything else lies in "spiritual death". And in this barren orthodoxy, the Rhine, like the flowing, living spirit of Christianity, loses its fructifying power and becomes completely choked up with sand. Such, seen from the Rhine, is the appearance of its Dutch banks; other parts of the country may be more beautiful, I do not know them.—Rot-

[a] Yellow and white.—*Ed.*

[b] Never turning back (inscription under the rampant steed of the Hanoverian coat of arms).—*Ed.*

terdam, with its shady quays, its canals and ships, is an oasis for people from small towns in the interior of Germany; one can understand here how the imagination of a Freiligrath could ply with the departing frigates to distant, more luxuriant shores. Then there are the cursed Zeeland islands, nothing but reeds and dykes, windmills and the tops of chiming church steeples, between which the steamboat winds its way for hours!

But then, with what a blissful feeling we leave behind the philistine dykes and tight-laced Calvinist orthodoxy and enter the realm of the free-ranging spirit! Helvoetsluys vanishes, on the right and the left the banks of the Waal sink into the rising, jubilant waves, the sandy yellow of the water changes to green, and now what is behind is forgotten, and we go forward into the dark-green transparent sea!

And now have done with grieving,
And shed that bitter load.
And you'd go travelling onwards
Time to be up and leaving
To take the great highroad.
The sky leans gently downwards
To mingle with the sea—
In tired despondency?

The sky bends downwards, holding
The world with all its charms,
Happy to be enfolding
Such beauty in his arms.
As if to kiss her lover
The wave leaps up to the sky,
And you'd wish life was over,
In dark despondency?

The God of Love, descending,
Makes all this world his own;
To dwell here without ending,
He gives himself through Man.
And does that God not really
Abide within your breast?
Then let him reign more freely
And shine his worthiest.

Then climb on to the rigging of the bowsprit and gaze on the waves, how, cleft by the ship's keel, they throw the white spray high over your head, and look out, too, over the distant green surface of the sea, where the foaming crests of the waves spring up in eternal unrest, where the sun's rays are reflected into your eyes from thousands of dancing mirrors, where the green of the

sea merges with the blue of the sky and the gold of the sun to produce a wonderful colour, and all your trivial cares, all remembrance of the enemies of light and their treacherous attacks disappear, and you stand upright, proudly conscious of the free, infinite mind! I have had only one impression that could compare with this; when for the first time the divine idea of the last of the philosophers,[a] this most colossal creation of the thought of the nineteenth century, dawned upon me, I experienced the same blissful thrill, it was like a breath of fresh sea air blowing down upon me from the purest sky; the depths of speculation lay before me like the unfathomable sea from which one cannot turn one's eyes straining to see the ground below; in God we live, move and have our being! We become conscious of that when we are on the sea; we feel that God breathes through all around us and through us ourselves; we feel such kinship with the whole of nature, the waves beckon to us so intimately, the sky stretches so lovingly over the earth, and the sun shines with such indescribable radiance that one feels one could grasp it with the hand.

The sun sinks in the north-west; on its left a shining streak rises from the sea—the Kentish coast and the southern bank of the Thames estuary. Already the twilight mist lies on the sea, only in the west is the purple of evening spread over the sky and over the water; the sky in the east is resplendent in deep blue, from which Venus already shines out brightly; in the south-west a long golden streak in the magical light along the horizon is Margate, from the windows of which the evening redness is reflected. So now wave your caps and greet free England with a joyful shout and a full glass. Good night, and a happy awakening in London!

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 123, August 1840]

You who complain of the prosaic dullness of railways without ever having seen one should try travelling on the one from London to Liverpool. If ever a land was made to be traversed by railways it is England. No dazzlingly beautiful scenery, no colossal mountain masses, but a land of soft rolling hills which has a wonderful charm in the English sunlight, which is never quite clear. It is surprising how various are the groupings of the simple figures; out of a few low hills, a field, some trees and grazing cattle, nature composes a thousand pleasant landscapes. The trees, which occur singly or in groups in all the fields, have a singular beauty that makes the whole neighbourhood resemble a park. Then

[a] Probably Hegel.— *Ed.*

comes a tunnel, and for a few minutes the train is in darkness, emerging into a deep cutting from which one is suddenly transported again into the midst of smiling, sunny fields. At another time the railway track is laid on a viaduct crossing a long valley; far below it lie towns and villages, woods and meadows, between which a river takes its meandering course; to the right and left are mountains which fade into the background, and the valley is bathed in a magical light, half-mist and half-sunshine. But you have hardly had time to survey the wonderful scene before you are carried away into a bare cutting and have time to recreate the magical picture in your imagination. And so it goes on until night falls and your wearied eyes close in slumber. Oh, there is rich poetry in the counties of Britain! It often seems as if one were still in the golden days of merry England[a] and might see Shakespeare with his fowling-piece moving stealthily behind a hedge on a deer-poaching expedition, or you might wonder why not one of his divine comedies actually takes place on this green meadow. For wherever the scenes are supposed to occur, in Italy, France or Navarra, his baroque, uncouth rustics, his too-clever schoolmasters, and his deliciously bizarre women, all belong basically to merry England,[b] and it is remarkable that only an English sky is suited to everything that takes place. Only some of the comedies, such as the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, are as completely adapted to a southern climate as *Romeo and Juliet*, even in the characters of the play.

And now back to our Fatherland! Picturesque and romantic Westphalia has become quite indignant at its son Freiligrath, who has entirely forgotten it on account of the admittedly far more picturesque and romantic Rhine. Let us console it with a few flattering words so that its patience does not give out before the second issue appears.[83] Westphalia is surrounded by mountain ranges separating it from the rest of Germany, and it lies open only to Holland, as if it had been cast out from Germany. And yet its children are true Saxons, good loyal Germans. And these mountains offer magnificent points of view; in the south the Ruhr and Lenne valleys, in the east the Weser valley, in the north a range of mountains from Minden to Osnabrück—everywhere there is a wealth of beautiful scenery, and only in the centre of the province is there a boring expanse of sand which always shows up through the grass and corn. And then there are the beautiful old

[a] The words "golden days of merry England" are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

[b] The words "merry England" are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

towns, above all Münster with its Gothic churches, with its market arcades, and with Annette Elisabeth von Droste-Hülshoff and Levin Schücking. The last-named, whose acquaintance I had the pleasure of making there, was kind enough to draw my attention to the poems of that lady,[84] and I could not let this opportunity slip without bearing part of the blame which the German public has incurred in regard to these poems. In connection with them it has once again been proved that the much-vaunted German thoroughness treats the appreciation of poetry much too light-heartedly; people leaf through it, examine whether the rhymes are pure and the verses fluent, and whether the content is easy to understand and rich in striking, or at least dazzling, images, and the verdict is complete. But poems like these, which are marked by a sincerity of feeling, a tenderness and originality in the depiction of nature such as only Shelley can achieve, and a bold Byronic imagination—clothed, it is true, in a somewhat stiff form and in a language not altogether free from provincialism—such poems pass away without leaving a trace. Anyone, however, who is prepared to read them rather more slowly than usual—and, after all, one only takes up a book of poems in the hours of a siesta—could very well find that their beauty prevents him from going to sleep! Furthermore, the poetess is a fervent Catholic, and how can a Protestant take any interest in such? But whereas pietism makes the man, the schoolmaster, the chief curate Albert Knapp, ridiculous, the childish faith of Fräulein von Droste becomes her very well. Religious independence of mind is an awkward matter for women. Persons like George Sand, Mistress Shelley,[a] are rare; it is only too easy for doubt to corrode the feminine mind and raise the intellect to a power which it ought not to have in any woman. If, however, the ideas by which we children of the new stand or fall are truth, then the time is not far off when the feminine heart will beat as warmly for the flowers of thought of the modern mind as it does now for the pious faith of its fathers—and the victory of the new will only be at hand when the young generation takes it in with its mother's milk.

Written at the end of June and in July 1840

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Signed: *Friedrich Oswald*

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first time

[a] Mary Wollstonecraft-Shelley, *née* Godwin.— *Ed.*

№ 181.

# Morgenblatt

für

## gebildete Leser.

Donnerstag, den 30. Juli 1840.

Da sind wir am Ziel! Wir ließen die Wolken,
Die Töchter des Aethers, wir ließen die Vögel,
Die himmelanstreifenden, weit hinter uns.

P. L. W. Wolff.

## [REPORTS FROM BREMEN]

### THEATRE. PUBLISHING FESTIVAL

[*Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* No. 181, July 30, 1840]

*Bremen,* July

As far as I know, no periodical of any note has a permanent correspondent in Bremen, and it could easily be concluded from this *consensus gentium*[a] that there is nothing to write about from here. But that is not the case; for have we not a theatre, which only recently had in succession Agnese Schebest, Caroline Bauer, Tichatscheck, and Mme Schröder-Devrient performing as visiting stars, and whose repertory could compete in quality with many other more famous theatres. Have not Gutzkow's *Richard Savage* and Blum's *Schwärmerei nach der Mode* already been shown here? The first of these two plays has by now been discussed to excess; I consider that a very recent review of it in the *Hallische Jahrbücher,*[85] if one leaves out the frequent hostile remarks, contains very much that is true and, in particular, hits on its basic mistake, namely, that the relationship between mother and child, as an unfree relationship, can never provide the basis for a drama. Perhaps Gutzkow was aware of this mistake beforehand, but he was right in not allowing that to prevent him from carrying out his plan; for if he wanted to break into the theatrical world with a single play he had to make some concessions to established theatrical routine, which he could always withdraw later if his plan

[a] Universal opinion.— *Ed.*

was successful. He had to give his play an original foundation, even if this could not stand up to poetic criticism, and even if his scenes became melodramatic and effect-seeking. One can find fault with *Richard Savage,* one can condemn it, but one must also admit that by it Gutzkow proved his dramatic talent.—I would not say anything at all about Blum's *Schwärmerei nach der Mode* had this play not been loudly hailed as "timely" in many journals. But there is absolutely nothing timely about it, neither in the characters, nor in the action, nor in the dialogue. It is true that Blum performed one service by having the courage to bring pietism on to the stage, but one cannot so easily dispose of this sprained foot of Christianity. One must at last stop looking for deception, greed or refined sensuality concealed behind pietism; real pietism decisively turns away from such exaggerations and extremes as were displayed in Königsberg, or such abuses as Stephan from Dresden indulged in. When Stephan with his unfortunate company came here to take ship for New Orleans, and no one had as yet the slightest moral suspicion of him, I myself saw how distrustfully the pietists here behaved towards him. Anyone who wants to write about this trend should try going to the "Quakers", as they are called here, and see the love these people show towards one another, how quickly friendship is established between two complete strangers who know nothing more of each other than that they are both "believers", with what assurance, consistency and determination they follow their path, and with what subtle psychological tact they are able to discover all their little faults, and I am convinced he would not write another *Schwärmerei nach der Mode.* Pietism is just as right in condemning this play as it is wrong in respect of the free thinking of our century.—Hence, too, the only notice of the play taken by the pietists here was to ask whether it contained "blasphemous speeches".

The Gutenberg festival[86] has also been celebrated here, in the *ultima Thule*[a] of German culture, and indeed in a more gladdening way than in the other two Hanse towns. For several years past the printers had been putting by something from their wages each week to ensure a worthy celebration of the festival. Already at an early stage, a committee was set up, but here too difficulties were encountered from the state in holding the festival. Small cabals, mostly connected with particular personalities, developed, as is inevitable in such small states. For a while, nothing was heard of

[a] An island lying at the extreme north of the habitable world, mentioned in ancient legends and in Virgil's *Georgics.*—*Ed.*

the whole affair, and it seemed that at most a "craftsmen's gala" was being organised. Only on the eve of the festival did the interest become more general, the programme was issued, Professor Wilhelm Ernst Weber, well known for his excellent translations of the ancient classics and his commentaries on German poets, drew attention to the next day's event by his speech in the big hall, and the merchants were undecided whether they ought not to grant their office workers a half-holiday next day. The festival day came; all ships on the Weser flew their flags, and at the lower end of the town were two ships, the mast-tops of which were connected by a long line of innumerable flags to form a huge arch of honour. On one of these ships was mounted the only available gun, which thundered throughout the day. The committee, together with all the assembled printers, marched in a solemn procession to the church and from there to the newly-built steamship *Gutenberg* which, with its snow-white, gilt-ornamented hull, is the finest steamer that ever sailed the Weser. For this, its inaugural journey, it was festively decorated with garlands and flags; the procession went on board, cruised with music and singing up the Weser as far as the bridge; there a halt was made, a choral was sung and one of the printers delivered a speech. While all the participants in the festival took part in a luncheon on board arranged by the ship's owner, Herr Lange von Vegesack, the *Gutenberg* proceeded with a speed that did honour to its builder through the arch of flags to Lankenau, a pleasure resort below the town, thousands of people hailing it with shouts of "hurrah" from the bridge and the quayside. It was the festive procession and the Weser excursion that gave the celebration the character of a people's festival, but even more so the distribution, at first restricted but later liberal, of tickets for an evening in a public garden which had been taken over and illuminated for the occasion. There the committee repaired after a banquet, and the festival concluded under the bright illuminations with music and the drinking of Haut-Sauternes, St. Julien and champagne.

## LITERATURE

[*Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* No. 182, July 31, 1840]

*Bremen,* July

For the rest, life here is rather monotonous and small-townish; the *haute volée,* i.e., the families of patricians and monied aristocrats, are spending the summer on their landed estates; the

middle-class ladies even in this fine period of the year cannot tear themselves away from their tea-parties, where cards are played and tongues wag; and the merchants day after day visit the museum, the stock exchange, or their club, to talk about coffee and tobacco prices and the state of the negotiations with the Customs Union[87]; few go to the theatre.— Interest in the current literature of the Fatherland as a whole is not to be found here; it is pretty generally held that Goethe and Schiller set the coping-stones of the arch of German literature, and that in any case the romantic writers served only as later ornamentations. People subscribe to a reading-club, partly because it is the fashion, partly because a siesta can be more comfortable with a periodical; but they are interested only in scandal and anything that the papers may say about Bremen. With many educated people this apathy may of course be due to lack of leisure, for here the merchant especially is always compelled to keep his business in mind, and any time he may have left over is taken up by the duties of etiquette towards his usually numerous relatives, visits, etc. On the other hand, there is a seclusive kind of literature here which has an ample circulation, partly through pamphlets, most of which are concerned with theological controversies, and partly through periodicals. The *Bremer Zeitung*, tactfully edited and with informative reports, used to enjoy a considerable reputation over a wide area, which however has decreased since its involuntary involvement in the political affairs of the neighbouring state. Its West-European articles are intelligently written, even if they are not definitely liberal-minded. A supplement to the newspaper, the *Bremisches Conversationsblatt*, tried to represent Bremen in current German literature and carried clever articles by Professor *Weber* and *Dr. Stahr* in Oldenburg; poems were supplied by Nicolaus *Delius*, a talented young philologist who could gradually achieve an honourable position also as a poet. But it proved difficult to recruit important outside contributors, and so the newspaper had to close down for lack of material. Another periodical, the *Patriot*, which endeavoured to serve as a worthier organ for the discussion of matters of local interest and at the same time to be more valuable from the aesthetic point of view than the small local newspapers, died because of the ambiguity of its position as neither a local newspaper nor an organ of *belles-lettres*. The smaller local newspapers, which feed on scandals, feuds between actors, town gossip, and such like, can boast of a more tenacious existence. In particular, the *Unterhaltungsblatt*,[a]

[a] *Bremisches Unterhaltungsblatt.— Ed.*

owing to its numerous contributors (almost every clerk in an office can boast of having written a few lines for the *Unterhaltungsblatt*), has achieved a singular degree of omniscience. If there is a nail sticking out of a seat in the theatre, if a pamphlet has not been ordered in the club, if a drunken cigar-maker has spent a night of merriment in the street, if a gutter has not been properly cleaned—the first to pay attention to it is the *Unterhaltungsblatt*. If a militia officer believes that his rank gives him the right to ride on the foot-path, he can be sure that the next issue of this newspaper will raise the question whether militia officers ought to be allowed to ride on the foot-paths. This excellent sheet could be called the providence of Bremen. Its chief contributor, however, is Crischan Tripsteert, the pseudonymous author of poems in Low German. It would be better for this dialect if it were abolished in accordance with Wienbarg's demand rather than that it should have to let itself be misused by Crischan Tripsteert for his poems. The other local newspapers are of too low a level for even their names to be merely mentioned before the general public. Quite apart is the *Bremer Kirchenbote*, a pietistic-ascetic newspaper edited by three priests[a] to which Krummacher, the well-known writer of parables,[b] sometimes contributes. This newspaper is so zealous that the censorship is often compelled to intervene, although to be sure this only happens in extreme cases, since its tendency meets with approval in higher circles. It carries on a continual polemic against Hegel, the "father of modern pantheism", and "his disciple, the ice-cold Strauss", as well as against any rationalist who comes within ten miles. Next time I shall say something about Bremerhaven and social conditions in Bremen.

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Signed: *F. O.*

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[a] Georg Gottfried Treviranus, Friedrich Ludwig Mallet, and F. A. Toel.—*Ed.*
[b] Friedrich Adolf Krummacher.—*Ed.*

# AN EVENING

To-morrow comes!
Shelley[a]

1

I sit in the garden. 'Neath the ocean's rim
The old day's sun has slowly slipped from sight,
And hidden shafts that draw their strength from him
Now fill the heavens with scintillating light.
But with day's brilliance fading from the sky,
The flowers stand and grieve in silent sadness;
Meanwhile the birds, safe in the tree-tops high,
Carol their love-songs full of joy and gladness.
Ships that have traced the oceans with their wake
Now lie at anchor in the peaceful bay.
From end to end the timbered bridges shake
As the tired people trudge their homeward way.
The cool wine bubbles in the crystal glass.
I leaf through Calderón's great comedies,
Drinking my fill to very drunkenness
On heady wine and headier tragedies.

2

The radiance in the West is almost gone.
Patience! A new day's coming—Freedom's day!
The sun shall mount his ever-shining throne
And Night's black cares be banished far away.
New flowers shall grow, but not in nursery beds
We raked ourselves and sowed with chosen seeds:
All earth shall be their garden full of light;

[a] Written in English in the original. (Shelley, *Queen Mab.*)—*Ed.*

All plants shall flourish in far alien lands.
The Palm of Peace shall grace the Northern strands,
The Rose of Love shall crown the frozen wight,
The sturdy Oak shall seek the Southern shore
To make the club that strikes the despot down,
And he who brings his nation peace once more
Shall wear upon his head the oak-leaf crown.
The Aloe, flourishing all over Earth,
Is like the People's spirit everywhere,
As prickly, coarse, and lacking grace as they are,
Till, with a crash, there suddenly bursts forth
Through every obstacle a blossom bright—
The Freedom flame, that glowed concealed from sight;
Its scent is far more like to reach the Lord
Than all the incense of the pious fraud.
Only the Cypress-trees are left alone,
Abandoned in the grove, their meaning gone.

3

The birds on their green branches greet the dawn
With paeans of tumultuous song, and know
That when the drifting cloudlets have withdrawn
Their steamy summits to the vales below,
Then shall the sun begin to mount his throne—
These birds are minstrel singers, every one;
Their words fly free as the free winds that blow;
And winds and words as one united go.
These songsters do not haunt the castle walls
(Those stately homes have long since tumbled down),
But, in proud oaks unbent by howling squalls,
Boldly they look towards the rising sun,
Though they be dazzled when his brilliance falls
To ring the earth with radiant light around.
I, too, am one of Freedom's minstrel band.
'Twas to the boughs of *Börne*'s great oak-tree
I soared, when in the vales the despot's hand
Tightened the strangling chains round Germany.
Yes, I am of those plucky birds that make
Their course through Freedom's bright aethereal sea.
Though I be just a sparrow in their wake,

Rather that little sparrow would I be
Than the caged nightingale that can't take wing
And only to a prince's ear may sing.

4

No longer does the cargo vessel press
Across the ocean to enrich the few
Or swell the greedy merchant's revenue:
It bears the seeds of human happiness.
It is a noble stallion prancing high,
Whose rider slays all hypocrites and crawlers,
It is the fearless scourge of human dolours,
It is a thought that dreams of Liberty.
The flag bears not the royal coat of arms
For the ship's frightened crew to tremble under;
It bears the cloud on which, after the thunder,
After the lightning bolts of raging storms,
The reconciling Freedom rainbow forms.

5

The bridge of Love shall throw its spans unseen
Across from heart to heart; between the piers
Runs Passion's wild and ever-rushing stream,
The swiftly flowing torrent of the years.
The bridge is diamond hard: it will not sag.
Across goes Freedom's bravely shining flag.
Across goes Man. Where'er his feet may lead him,
Wherever he may choose to cast his eye,
He sees a friendly roof against the sky
And knows that food and drink are there to meet him;
A very home from home awaits to greet him,
Wherever he may make his bed and lie.
A bridge of purer faith shall pierce the clouds.
Man shall ascend it, climbing without fear
Its heavenward steps to gaze on, humbly proud,
The Eternal Archetype of All the Spirits.
Out of his bosom issues forth Mankind,
And to his bosom Men return again,
All conscious links in the great spirit-chain
By which Eternal Matter is confined.

6

New wine shall fill your glasses to the brim,
Pure Freedom wine's intoxicating brew:
Not the unwary senses to bedim,
But jaded senses to exchange for new,
That with revived perception you may hear
The spheres in heaven singing high and low;
That the blood coursing through your veins may clear,
Transformed into pure Aether, which flows through
The Infinities; that your eye-beams may spear
Primordial Space, like warriors bold that go
To storm the starry summits without fear.
Between, like Jack-o'-Lanterns in the sky,
Images of past woe are gliding by.

7

And there shall rise another Calderón,
Pearl-fisher in the tide of poetry,
With images like flames ascending from
The layered wood of the sweet Cedar-tree.
With golden lyre, he shall exalt in song
The bloody stamping out of Tyranny.
Mankind shall hear proud Victory's refrain,
And Peace shall flourish in the world again.
He too shall sing how Mankind made a stand
Against the cruel hordes of Tyranny
Upon *Mantible Bridge**[88]; how that brave band
Fought on through levelled spears to victory
And so set foot on Freedom's hallowed land;
How *Doctor of His Honour*** came to be
Man, like *The Constant Prince,**** condemned to languish
In chains until deliverance from anguish;
How Freedom came, *The Daughter of the Air,*****
Descending earthwards from aethereal space
To sing her magic songs, so wondrous fair;

* *La puente de Mantible.— Note by Engels.*
** *El médico de su honra.— Note by Engels.*
*** *El principe constante.— Note by Engels.*
**** *La hija del aire.— Note by Engels.*

How *Life* became a *Dream** of joy and grace,
And how the Cup of Happiness shone clear
Of furious ferment showing not a trace;
And how the sun shall put the clouds to flight,
Bringing sweet *April-and-May-Mornings'*** light.

8

But say, when is the new sun going to rise?
When will the bad old times be cracked asunder?
We saw the old sun sinking in the skies—
How long must night's oppression keep us under?
The melancholy moon peers through the cloud,
And white mists, bivouacked in the vales below,
Hide all that lives on earth beneath their shroud.
Like blind men tapping through the dark we go.
Patience! For look, already heavenward bound,
The sun would chase the gloomy clouds away.
The very mists that crawl along the ground
Are Spirits' dawn-breeze-wakened roundelay.
The morning star dances his upward way.
The mists are pierced by shafts of blood-red fire.
Do not the flowers unfold to greet the day?
Do you not hear the joyful feathered choir?
Now half the heavens are filled with radiance bright.
The snow-capped mountains blaze with ruby light.
The golden clouds rear up their noble heads
Like the sun's fiery chariot-drawing steeds.
Look yonder, where the densest light rays run
In joyous throng to greet the new-born sun!

Written in July 1840

First published in the *Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 125, August 1840

Signed: *Friedrich Oswald*

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first time

* *La vida es sueño.— Note by Engels.*

** *Mañanas de Abril y Mayo.— Note by Engels.*

# [REPORTS FROM BREMEN]

## AN OUTING TO BREMERHAVEN[89]

[*Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* No. 196, August 17, 1841]

*Bremen,* July

The *Roland* was due to leave at six o'clock in the morning. I stood leaning against the wheel-house and looked for familiar faces in the throng of people pushing to get on board the steamer. For today a Sunday outing to Bremerhaven had been arranged, and at reduced prices, so everybody took the opportunity to get a little nearer to the sea and to look at some big ships. I thought it strange that the craze for profit, which otherwise continually serves the monied aristocracy, should here for once make some concessions to democracy. The price reduction made it possible for the more impecunious to join in, and in addition the distinction between first and second class had been eliminated, which means a great deal in Bremen where the "upper crust" shy at nothing so much as mixed company. So the steamer became very full. True Bremen burghers, who had never once left the territory of the free Hanseatic town[90] and now wanted to show their families the port, formed the core of the party; coopers, emigrants and journeymen were also there in large numbers; here and there a man from the stock exchange was standing apart from the crowd since he belonged to high society, and everywhere one saw the pawns who are always pushed forward on the chessboard of a trading city, the office clerks, who are again divided into agents, senior apprentices and juniors. The agent already regards himself as an important person; he is only one step from independence; he is the factotum of his firm, he knows the situation of his house inside out, he is familiar with the state of the market and the brokers crowd around him at the stock exchange. Nor does the senior apprentice think much less of himself;

although he is not on the same footing with his master as the agent, he already knows very well how to deal with a broker and especially a cooper or boatman and in the absence of the master and the agent he displays the consciousness that he now represents the firm and that the credit of an entire house depends on his conduct. The junior, however, is an unfortunate creature; at most, he represents the merchant house to the worker who packs the goods, or the postman in whose area the office is situated. As well as having to copy out all the business letters and bills of exchange, deliver invoices and pay them, he must also be the universal messenger boy, take letters to the post, tie up parcels, mark crates, and fetch letters from the post. Every day at noon you can see the post-office crowded with these "juniors", waiting for the mail from Hamburg. And worst of all, the junior must take the blame for whatever goes wrong in the office, for it is part of his calling to be the scapegoat for the entire office. These three classes also keep strictly separate in society: the juniors, who for the most part have not yet worn out their school boots, like to laugh loudly and make much ado about nothing; the senior apprentices zealously debate the latest big purchase made by a sugar merchant, and each one has his own conjectures about it; the agents smile at jokes which are not for publication and could tell you a thing or two about the ladies present.

[*Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* No. 197, August 18, 1841]

*Bremen*, July

The steamer set off. Although the people of Bremen can see such a spectacle every day, Bremish curiosity had to make itself felt nevertheless in the enormous mass of people who watched our departure from every vantage point on the shore.— The weather was not too promising; for it was the same old metallic sky of which Homer tells, though the side turned towards us, which the eternal gods do not have polished every day, had a considerable coating of rust. More than once a drop of rain extinguished my cigar with a hiss. The dandies who had up to now carried their mackintoshes over the arm found they had to put them on, and the ladies opened their umbrellas.— Seen from the Weser, the view of Bremen as you leave it is very pretty; on the left the new town with its long "dyke" planted with trees, on the right the gardens on the earthwork which stretch down to the Weser here and are crowned with a colossal windmill. But then comes the

Bremen desert, willow bushes right and left, marshy fields, potato patches and a mass of broccoli fields. Broccoli is the favourite dish of the people of Bremen.

A lanky assistant insurance broker stood on the wheel-house, in spite of the pouring rain and sharp wind, and conversed in Low German with the captain who was quietly drinking his coffee. Then he hurried below again to a company of second-class merchants to report to them on the important pronouncements of the captain. The agents and the senior apprentices almost fought to get near this respected personality, but he took no notice of them, for today he was only speaking to established houses. Now he hurried down from the wheel-house with the news: "In a quarter of an hour we'll be in Vegesack." "Vegesack!" repeated all the hearers delightedly, for Vegesack is the oasis of the Bremen desert, in Vegesack there are mountains sixty foot high, and the people of Bremen even speak of the "Vegesack Switzerland". Vegesack is indeed situated quite prettily, or, as one says here, "nicely" or "sweetly", which makes one think of the latest consignment of brown sugar from Havana sold so advantageously. The view of the place from the Weser is charming; before you reach it you see many ships' hulls on the Weser, some worn out, others newly built here. The Lesum flows into the Weser here and its hills also form quite "nice" banks which are even considered to be romantic, or so the schoolmaster from Grohn, a village near Vegesack, assured me on his honour. Soon after Vegesack the sea of sand really tries to send up some decent waves and descends fairly steeply into the Weser. Here are the villas of the Bremen aristocracy whose gardens add greatly to the beauty of the Weser's banks for a short distance. Then it becomes dull and boring again.— I went below and in a little side room of the saloon found a crowd of "senior apprentices", who had hoisted all their sails to entertain three pretty tailor's daughters fittingly; a crowd of "juniors" jostled each other at the door, listening eagerly to the talk of the senior apprentices; behind them stood the ladies' *garde d'honneur*, an old friend of the family, growling in annoyance at their behaviour. The conversation bored me, so I went back on deck and stood on the wheel-house. Nothing is more enjoyable than to stand like this above a crowd of people, to watch the thronging and to hear the babel of words rising from below. The fresh breeze has greater freshness up here, and if the rain is also felt more freshly, it is at least better than the drops which a philistine shakes down your neck from his umbrella.

[*Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* No. 198, August 19, 1841]

*Bremen*, July

At last, after various uninteresting Hanover and Oldenburg villages, came a pleasant change, the free port of Bracke, its houses and trees forming an effective background to the ships on the Weser. Quite large sea-going vessels come as far as this, and the Weser is impressively wide from here on downstream except where it is broken up by islands.—The steamer went on after a brief stop and an hour and a half later we had reached our goal, in about six hours' sailing altogether. As the fort of Bremerhaven came into view a bookdealer of my acquaintance quoted Schiller, the insurance broker quoted the *Shipping and Mercantile Gazette*, and a merchant quoted the latest issue of the import list. With a splendid curve the steamer entered the Geest, a little river which flows into the Weser near Bremerhaven. But in spite of the captain's warnings, the passengers crowded too near the bow of the ship, and the water being at its lowest ebb, the *Roland*, the representative of Bremen's independence, ran aground on the sand with a jolt. The passengers dispersed, the engines reversed, and the *Roland* managed to get off the sandbank.

Bremerhaven is a young town. In 1827 Bremen bought a narrow strip of land from Hanover and had the port built there at enormous cost. Gradually an entire Bremen colony moved into it, and the population is still growing. Hence, everything here is Bremish, from the style of the buildings to the Low German language of the inhabitants, and the Bremen people of the old sort, who were perhaps irritated by the extraordinary tax levied to buy the strip of land, can now hardly conceal their pleasure when they see how beautiful, how practical, how Bremish everything is.—You get the best view of the whole straight from the steamer jetty. A beautiful, broad quay with the colossal port building in the middle standing out in unsuccessful antique style; the whole length of the port, with all its ships; on the left and beyond it the little fort which is occupied by Hanoverian soldiers, while its brick walls show only too clearly that it is there only *pro forma*. It is thus quite consistent that no one is allowed inside, although such permission is easily obtained for any Prussian fortress.—We walked along the quay in the rain. Now and then a side street offered a view into the centre of the town; everything is rectangular, the streets straight as a ruler, and the houses often still in the process of building. Only this modern layout of the place forms a contrast to Bremen. With the bad weather and church services not yet over, the streets were as quiet as in Bremen.

[*Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* No. 199, August 20, 1841]

*Bremen*, July

I went on board a big frigate the deck of which was full of emigrants who stood watching the "yawl" being hauled up. A yawl here is any boat which has a keel and is therefore suitable for service at sea. The people were still cheerful; they had not yet trodden the last clod of their native soil. But I have seen how deeply it affects them when they really leave German soil forever, when the ship, with all its passengers on board, slowly moves from the quay into the roadstead and thence sails into the open sea. They are almost all true German faces, without falseness, with strong arms, and you need only be among them for a moment and see the cordiality with which they greet each other to realise that it is certainly not the worst elements who leave their Fatherland to settle in the land of dollars and virgin forests. The saying: stay at home and feed yourself honestly[a] seems to be made for the Germans, but this is not so; people who want to feed themselves honestly go, very often at least, to America. And it is by no means always lack of food, much less greed, which drives these people into distant lands; it is the German peasant's uncertain position between serfdom and independence, it is the inherited bondage and the rules and regulations of the patrimonial courts[91] which make his food taste sour and disturb his sleep until he decides to leave his Fatherland.

The people going over on this ship were Saxons. We went below to take a look at the inside of the ship. The saloon was most elegantly and comfortably appointed; a little square room, everything elegant, mahogany inlaid with gold, as in an aristocratic drawing-room. In front of the saloon were the berths for the passengers in small, nice little cabins; from an open door by the side we got a whiff of ham from the larder. We had to go on deck again to reach the steerage by another companion-way: "But it's terrible down there,"[b] all my companions quoted when we got back. Down there lay the dregs who had not enough money to spend ninety talers on the cabin class fare, the people to whom nobody raises a hat, whose manners some here call common, others uneducated, a plebs which owns nothing, but which is the best any king can have in his realm and which alone upholds the German principle, particularly in America. It is the Germans in

[a] Cf. Psalms 37:3.— *Ed.*

[b] Schiller, *Der Taucher*.— *Ed.*

the cities who have taught the Americans their deplorable contempt for our nation. The German merchant makes it a point of honour to discard his Germanness and become a complete Yankee ape. This hybrid creature is happy if the German in him is no longer noticed, he speaks English even to his compatriots, and when he returns to Germany he acts the Yankee more than ever. English is often heard in the streets of Bremen, but it would be a great mistake to take every English speaker for a Britisher or a Yankee. The latter always speak German when they come to Germany in order to learn our difficult language; but these English speakers are invariably Germans who have been to America. It is the German peasant alone, perhaps also the craftsman in the coastal towns, who adheres with iron firmness to his national customs and language, who, separated from the Yankees by the virgin forests, the Allegheny mountains and the great rivers, is building a new, free Germany in the middle of the United States; in Kentucky, Ohio and in Western Pennsylvania only the towns are English, while everybody in the countryside speaks German. And in his new Fatherland the German has learnt new virtues without losing the old ones. The German corporative spirit has developed into one of political, free association; it presses the government daily to introduce German as the language of the courts in the German counties,[a] it creates German newspapers one after another, which are all devoted to the calm, level-headed endeavour to develop existing elements of freedom, and, as the best proof of its strength, it has caused the "Native Americans"[b] party to be founded which has spread through all the states and aims to hinder immigration and to make it difficult for the immigrant to acquire citizenship.[92]

"But it's terrible down there." All round the steerage runs a row of berths, several close together and even one above the other. An oppressive air reigns here, where men, women and children are packed next to one another like paving stones in the street, the sick next to the healthy, all together. Every moment one stumbles over a heap of clothes, household goods, etc; here little children are crying, there a head is raised from a berth. It is a sad sight; and what must it be like when a prolonged storm throws everything into confusion and drives the waves across the deck, so that the hatch, which alone admits fresh air, cannot be opened! And yet, the arrangements on the Bremen ships are the most

[a] This word is in English in the original.— *Ed.*
[b] This name is in English in the original.— *Ed.*

humane. Everybody knows what it is like for the majority who travel via Le Havre. Afterwards we visited another, an American, ship; they were cooking, and when a German woman standing nearby saw the bad food and even worse preparation she said weeping bitterly that if she had known this before she would rather have stayed at home.

[*Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* No. 200, August 21, 1841]

*Bremen,* July

We went back to the inn. The prima donna of our theatre sat there in a corner with her husband, its *ultimo uomo,* and with several other actors; the rest of the company was very dull, and so I reached for some printed matter that lay on the table, of which an annual report on Bremen trade was the most interesting. I took it and read the following passages:

"Coffee in demand in summer and autumn, until slacker *conditions* set in towards winter. Sugar enjoyed a steady sale, but the actual *idea* for this only came with rising supplies."

What is a poor man of letters to say when he sees how the manner of expression not only of modern *belles-lettres* but of philosophy is infecting the style of the broker! Conditions and ideas in a trade report—who would have expected that! I turned the page and found the description:

"Superfine medium good ordinary real Domingo coffee."

I asked the agent of one of the leading Bremen merchant shippers who happened to be present what this superfine designation might mean. He replied: "Look at this sample I have just taken from a consignment delivered to us; that description will fit it roughly." Thus I learned that superfine medium good ordinary real Domingo coffee is a pale grey-green coffee from the island of Haiti, each pound of which has fifteen half-ounces of good beans, ten half-ounces of black beans and seven half-ounces of dust, small stones and other rubbish. I then let myself be initiated into several other mysteries of Hermes and in this way passed the time until midday, when we partook of a very indifferent meal and were called back to the steamer by the bell. The rain abated at last, and no sooner had the steamer "laid" the Geest than the clouds broke and the rays of the sun fell bright and warming on our still wet clothes. To everybody's astonishment, however, the steamer did not go upstream, but down the roadstead where a proud three-master had just anchored. We had barely reached the middle

of the current when the waves grew bigger and the steamer began to pitch noticeably. Who, if he has ever been to sea, does not feel his pulse quicken when he senses this sign of the proximity of the sea! For a moment he believes he is again going out into the free, roaring sea, into the deep, clear green of the waves, right into the middle of that marvellous light which is created by the sun, azure and sea together; he involuntarily begins to find his sea-legs again. The ladies, however, were of a different opinion, looked at each other in fright and grew pale, while the steamer, "in a gallant style",[a] as the English say, described a semicircle around the newly arrived ship and picked up its captain. The assistant insurance broker was just explaining to some gentlemen, who had vainly endeavoured to find the ship's name on the bow, that according to the number on its flag it was the *Maria,* Captain Ruyter, and that according to Lloyd's list it had sailed from Trinidad de Cuba between such-and-such a date, when the captain came up the steamer's companion-way. Our assistant insurance broker met him, shook his hand with the expression of a protector, asked how the voyage had been, what cargo he was carrying, and in general conducted a long discourse with him in Low German, while I listened to the flatteries which the bookdealer was lavishing on the half-naive, half-flirtatious tailor's daughters.

The sun went down in full glory. A glowing ball, it hung in a net of clouds, the strands of which seemed already to have caught fire, so that one expected it to burn through the net at any moment and drop hissing into the river! But it sank calmly behind a group of trees which looked like Moses' burning bush. Truly, both here and there God speaks with a loud voice! But the hoarse croaking of a member of the Bremen opposition tried to shout Him down; this clever man was straining hard to prove to his neighbour that it would have been much wiser to deepen the fairway of the Weser for larger ships instead of building Bremerhaven. Unfortunately, the opposition here is too often motivated by envy of the power of the patricians than by the consciousness that the aristocracy resists the rational state, and in this matter its representatives are so narrow-minded that talking to them about the affairs of Bremen is as difficult as to firm supporters of the Senate.[93]—Both parties convince one more and more that such small states as Bremen have outlived themselves and even in a mighty union of states would lead a life under pressure from without and phlegmatically senile within.—Now we

[a] These words are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

were close to Bremen. The high spire of the Church of Ansgarius, with which our "church troubles" were connected, rose from moor and heath, and soon we reached the tall warehouses framing the right bank of the Weser.

Written in July 1840

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# [TWO SERMONS BY F. W. KRUMMACHER]

We have before us the two sermons which caused the otherwise so pious people of Bremen to prohibit the Elberfeld zealot, *F. W. Krummacher,* from further officiating by invitation in the Church of St. Ansgarius. If the ordinary sermon in which God is spoken of only as the *Father of the World* or the *Highest Being* generally sounds very watery, the text of these orations by Krummacher is lye, caustic, even *aqua regia.* They will be read with interest if only because of the originality displayed in communicating thus with the congregation from the pulpit; they show that Krummacher is a zealot of intelligence, blessed with wit and imagination. Whether he speaks in this fiery language out of a real rock-like faith in Christianity may be doubted; we believe that Krummacher is no hypocrite but that he fixed on this manner of preaching merely because he liked it and cannot now abandon it, the less so because the ordinary tone of the evangelical whisperers on love and of the preachers for the ladies is very insipid. This much is certain, however, that Krummacher is badly mistaken about the significance of the pulpit if he raises it to a seat of the Inquisition. What can a congregation take home from such a sermon? Nothing but that *spiritual pride* which is so repellent in pietism. He who demands of his congregation nothing but *faith,* who merely reiterates this rigid commandment in synonyms and uses the rest of the sermon-lecture for current polemics, will spread much self-conceit, pride and orthodox obduracy, but little Christianity. Krummacher seems to be methodically carrying on this task of elevating Christian simplicity into pride. The statement that spirit, wit, imagination, poetic talent, art and science are all nothing before God is a cliché to him.

He says:

"There is more joy in heaven over a repentant sinner than over the birth of a poet."[a]

He paints such a picture of the *importance* which the poorest member of his congregation could have that the latter must inevitably fancy himself higher and wiser than Kant, Hegel, Strauss, etc., whom Krummacher constantly anathematises in his sermons. Is it not possible that at the root of Krummacher's inmost being there is frustrated ambition, a longing for distinction? There are many minds which have striven for the highest, failed to achieve it by diligence, talent and hard work, and then hope to win the eternal crown by an unexampled *virtuosity of faith*. This and nothing else, one is inclined to believe, explains Krummacher's constant polemic against everything *famous in the world*.— It is truly painful to find in these sermons so few *softening elements*, so little pathos, feeling, or true grief. The tone of love cannot come easily to such a rigid zealot. And yet there are passages which reconcile us to this man's strange nature. How few sermons we have in which one can find such a beautiful passage as the following:

"Yes, friends, the world does not end where the storm howls on the sea's distant shore, or where the sorrowing moon walks on high and the silent stars look down in sadness on the earth. Beyond, there is another, wider, brighter region. Oh,'tis better to be there than here. There roses are no longer carried to the grave; there love no longer fears separation; there no drop of gall remains in the cup of joy. That such a world exists is as true as that the Lord Jesus *visibly* (?) ascended into it."[b]

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[a] F. W. Krummacher, *Paulus kein Mann nach dem Sinne unsrer Zeit*. Predigt.— *Ed.*

[b] F. W. Krummacher, *Das letzte Gericht*. Gastpredigt.— *Ed.*

## ON THE DEATH OF IMMERMANN

In the camp's finest tent we'd sat all night
And mingled Spanish wine with German song.
The fields were turning grey in dawn's first light;
Our eyes were aching—we'd stayed up so long.
The sun's rays peeped into our tent and found
Our sherry bottles drained, in disarray.
The hour was late. Time we were homeward bound.
Come, let us mount the horses and away!

We flew. After carousing all night long,
What bliss to feel the freshness of the morrow.
Still in our ears the sound of strings and song;
Still far away the long day's care and worry.
The shades of night had vanished. From the sky
Light fell on river, trees, fields bathed in dew.
We all looked up to trace with joyful eye
The sun's bright progress through the cloudless blue.

We're home. Our steeds coursed well. Now I stand here
Upon the threshold of work's tribulations.
Here is the paper. Let me draw fresh cheer
By drinking from the well-spring of the nations.
Russia, Great Britain, Turkish catastrophes!
And now for Germany—does all go well?
Ah, here.... What? Dead? Can I believe my eyes?
You, Immermann, must also bid farewell?

Defiant heart, so full of noble scorn,
Must you depart, then, for eternity,
Now that we see the rose despite the thorn
And bow to you in all humility?
Now that, like Schiller, proudly you beheld
Your people hang on every word from you?
Now that the love within your bosom held
Had blossomed forth with shining rays anew?

Aloof in German poetry's sacred grove,
You shunned your fellow bards' vociferous throng,
And by the Rhine in solitude you wove
The images of many a gentle song.
The mob's harsh clamour never came to hurt you
In the flower garden where you toiled away.
So few the stories they could spread about you;
Living, you were a legend in your day.

Because the maltitude, that never can
Conceive what power inspires the poet's lays,
Why should they heed the silent, serious man
Who wanders far from their well-trodden ways?
But you, O Immermann, that now have died,
Wanted to wrestle with yourself, alone,
And all the bitter jarring strife inside
That you grew up with, master on your own.

So, meditating through the long dark night
That held in thrall our German poetry,
In solitude you fought the inner fight
And battled through to see the dawning day.
When far above your dwelling's mossy stones
July's wild thunder[a] rolled away at last,
You sent into the world your *Epigones*,
That requiem for a generation past.

And yet you saw the rising generation,
Those in whose hearts the youthful fires blaze,
Speak loudly to defend your reputation,
Your right to wear the bard's full crown of bays.

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[a] The July 1830 revolution in France.— *Ed.*

In your abode you saw us drawing nigh,
You saw us silent at your feet, as we
Looked up into your rapt and thoughtful eye
And listened to your rolling poetry.

Now that the people, who forgot your name,
Have welcomed you with shouts of joy, bestowing
On you your rightful laurels of acclaim,
O Immermann, is this a time for going?
Farewell! Here in this land of Germany
Poets to match your skill are very few.
I settled down to work, and swore to be
As German, and as strong and firm as you.

Written in September 1840

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Signed: *Friedrich Oswald*

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Published in English for the first time

# [REPORTS FROM BREMEN]

## RATIONALISM AND PIETISM

[*Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* No. 249, October 17, 1840]

*Bremen, September*

At last once again a topic which extends beyond tea-party gossip, which so excites the entire public of our Free State that everyone takes sides either for or against, and which gives food for thought even to the more serious-minded. The thunderstorm in the sky of our age has struck even in Bremen, the fight for a freer or narrower conception of Christianity has been kindled even here, in the capital of North-German fundamentalism; the voices which were recently raised in Hamburg, Kassel and Magdeburg have found an echo in Bremen.— Briefly, the course of events was as follows: Pastor *F. W. Krummacher*, the Pope of the Wuppertal Calvinists, the St. Michael of the doctrine of predestination, visited his parents here and gave two sermons for his father[a] in the Church of St. Ansgarius.[b] The first sermon dealt with his favourite spectacle, the Last Judgment, the second with an anathematising passage in the Epistle to the Galatians; both were written with the burning eloquence, the poetic, if not always well-chosen, splendour of imagery for which this richly talented pulpit speaker is famous; but both, particularly the last, flash with curses against those who think differently, as one might expect from such a harsh mystic. The pulpit became the presidential chair of a court of inquisition whence the eternal curse was hurled against all theological trends which the inquisitor did and did not know. Anyone who did not accept this crass mysticism as absolute Christianity was delivered up to the devil. And with a sophistry which

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[a] Friedrich Adolf Krummacher.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 121-22.— *Ed.*

emerged as strangely naive, Krummacher always managed to shelter behind the apostle Paul. "It is not I who is cursing, nay! Children, reflect, it is the apostle Paul who condemns you!" — The worst of it was that the apostle wrote in Greek and scholars have not yet been able to agree on the precise meaning of certain of his expressions. Among these dubious words is the anathema used in this passage, to which Krummacher, without more ado, ascribed the most extreme meaning of a sentence of eternal damnation. Pastor Paniel, the chief representative of rationalism in this pulpit,[94] had the misfortune to interpret this word in its milder sense, and in general to oppose Krummacher's way of thinking; he therefore preached controversial sermons.[a] Whatever you may think of his views, his behaviour is irreproachable. Krummacher cannot deny that in composing his sermons he had in mind not only the rationalistic majority of the congregation, but Paniel in particular; he cannot deny that it is wrong for a *guest* preacher to try to prejudice a congregation against its appointed pastors; he must admit that a coarse wood needs a coarse wedge. What was the point of all the invective against Voltaire and Rousseau, whom even the worst rationalist in Bremen fears like the devil, or of all the curses against speculative theology, which, with two or three exceptions, his entire audience was as incapable of judging as he himself, what was the point of this except to disguise the very definite, even personal, tendenciousness of the sermons? — Paniel's controversial sermons were certainly preached in the spirit of Paulus' rationalism and, in spite of the lauded care in their arrangement and their rhetorical pathos, they suffer from all its weaknesses. It is all vague and verbose; where the poetic impulse is set in motion, it is like the working of a spinning-machine, and the treatment of the text like a homoeopathic brew; Krummacher has more originality in three sentences than his opponent in three sermons.— An hour from Bremen lives a pietistic country pastor[b] who is so superior to his peasants that he has begun to think himself a great theologian and linguist. He issued a tract against Paniel in which he brought into play the entire apparatus of a philological theologian of the last century. The scientific pretensions of the worthy country pastor were punctured most painfully in an anonymous paper. With as much spirit as learning the anonymous author,[c] believed

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[a] K. F. W. Paniel, *Drei Sonntagspredigten, mit Bezug auf eine besondere Veranlassung, am 12., 19. und 26. Juli 1840 gehalten.— Ed.*

[b] Johann Nikolaus Tiele.— *Ed.*

[c] Wilhelm Ernst Weber.— *Ed.*

to be a deserving, learned inhabitant of our town who has several times been mentioned in my previous report,[a] has demonstrated to the clever "God's word from the country" all the absurdities which he had extracted with great trouble from long antiquated handbooks. Krummacher issued a *Theologische Replik* to Paniel's controversial sermons, in which he made an unconcealed attack on his whole personality, and, moreover, in a manner which nullified the charge of slander brought against his adversary. Though the reply takes skilful advantage of the weaknesses of rationalism, particularly those of his adversary, Krummacher acts clumsily in trying to demolish Paniel's interpretation. The most capable work written from the pietistic standpoint in this controversy was the pamphlet by Pastor Schlichthorst, who lives nearby, in which rationalism, and that of Pastor Paniel in particular, was quietly and dispassionately traced back to its basis, Kantian philosophy, and the question was posed: Why are you not honest enough to admit that the foundation of your faith is not the Bible but its interpretation according to Kantian philosophy as expounded by Paulus?—A new paper by Paniel[b] is expected to come from the press some time soon. Whatever it may prove to contain, he has stirred the old leaven, he has brought the Bremen people, who believed in everything but themselves, to their senses, and pietism, which till now has considered the fact that its adversaries were split among themselves into so many parties to be a gift from God, will now have to learn for once that we all stand united when it is a question of fighting obscurantism.

## SHIPPING PROJECT. THEATRE. MANOEUVRES

[*Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* No. 250, October 19, 1840]

*Bremen, September*

A plan is under consideration here which, if implemented, would be of the greatest consequence, and not only for Bremen. A respected young local merchant has recently returned from London where he informed himself exactly about the equipment of the steamer *Archimedes* which, as you know, has a newly invented method of propulsion by an Archimedean screw. He went on the ship's trial run round the whole of Great Britain and Ireland, in which it greatly exceeded the speed of steamboats

[a] See this volume, pp. 104-05.—*Ed.*

[b] K. F. W. Paniel, *Unverholene Beurtheilung.*—*Ed.*

equipped in the usual way, and he is now planning to apply the new invention to a newly designed steamship which is to provide a fast and regular service between New York and Bremen. The empty ship, the so-called hull, will be built by our master shipbuilder at his own expense, while the cost of the machinery, etc., is to be raised by shares. Everybody senses the importance of such an enterprise; although some of our sailing vessels make the crossing from Baltimore to here in the inconceivably short time of twenty-five days, their speed always depends on the wind which can treble the duration of such a voyage, and a steamboat, which in case of a favourable wind is also equipped for sailing, would undoubtedly need only eleven to eighteen days from a port in the United States to Bremen. Once a beginning is made with a steam packet-boat service between Germany and the American continent, the new equipment is bound to be developed quickly and have the greatest consequences for the linking of the two countries. We will not have to wait long before we can reach New York from any part of Germany in a fortnight, see the sights of the United States in a fortnight, and be back home again in a fortnight. A couple of railways, a couple of steamships, and that's that; since Kant eliminated the categories of space and time from the sensory impressions of the thinking mind, mankind has been striving with might and main to emancipate itself from these limitations materially too.

An unprecedented animation prevailed in our theatre recently. Usually our stage is quite outside society; the subscribers pay their contributions and go there now and again when they have nothing better to do. Then Seydelmann came, and actors and public were filled with a fervour to which we are not accustomed in Bremen. One may complain as much as one likes about the decay of the spoken drama through the domination of opera, even Schiller and Goethe may find empty houses, while everybody rushes to hear the tootling of a Donizetti and Mercadante; but as long as the spoken drama can still achieve such triumphs through its most capable representative, our stage can still be cured of its languor. Besides some plays by Kotzebue and Raupach, we have seen Seydelmann as Shylock, Mephistopheles and Philipp (*Don Carlos*). It would be like pouring water into the sea if I were to enlarge upon his well-known interpretation of these roles.

The recent manoeuvres of the Oldenburg-Hanseatic brigade conducted in the adjoining part of the Oldenburg region give us a picture in miniature of the camp at Heilbronn. During the sham fight for the capture of a village our troops are said to have

behaved so courageously that the force of the cannon fire shattered all the window-panes. The people of Bremen are glad that they have a new amusement spot and go out in droves to watch the fun, while their sons and brothers move to the guard posts and spend the merriest nights of their lives there with wine and song.

Written in September 1840

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Signed: *F. O.*

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# ST. HELENA

Fragment

You proud pile in the ocean's solitude,
Grim rock-tomb of a heart as strong as stone
That here on self-made history came to brood
And in Promethean agony died alone—
Black-cowled, you loom above the ocean's flood,
Of all his many burnt-out candles, one
That God, in need of more illumination,
Kindled to light the work of his creation.

Well might they send the Hero to this place,
Who at the hour of the century's birth
Lit with his firebolts history's darkling face
And with his thunder filled all ears on earth,
Until within the walls of cosmic space
The babe's first cry was lost as it burst forth;
Then Time threw coldly down in cruel jest
Another burnt-out stump to join the rest.

Written in November 1840

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Signed: *Friedrich Oswald*

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# SIEGFRIED'S NATIVE TOWN

> There lived in the Low Lands a rich king's heir
> by right,
> His father Siegmunt, his mother Siglint hight,
> In a castle brave that everywhere was famed
> Down by the Rhine, and *Santen* it was named.
>
> *Der Nibelunge Not*, [I] 20

The Rhine should not be visited only above Cologne, and young Germans particularly should not imitate the travelling John Bull who sits bored in the saloon of the steamer from Rotterdam to Cologne and only comes up on deck here because it is the beginning of his panorama of the Rhine from Cologne to Mainz, or his *Guide for Travellers on the Rhine.*[a] Young Germans should choose a seldom visited place for their pilgrimage—I am speaking of *Xanten*, the native town of the Horny Siegfried.

A Roman city, like Cologne, it remained small and outwardly insignificant during the Middle Ages, while Cologne grew big and gave its name to an electoral archbishopric. But Xanten Cathedral looks out in splendid perfection far across the prose of the Dutch sand flats, and Cologne's more colossal cathedral remained a torso; but Xanten has Siegfried and Cologne only St. Anno, and what is the Song of Anno[95] compared to the Nibelungs!

I came there from the Rhine. I entered the town through a narrow, dilapidated gate; dirty, narrow alleys led me to the friendly market-place, and from there I approached a gate built into the wall which encircled the former monastery court with the church. Above the gate, right and left, below a pair of small turrets, were two bas-reliefs, unmistakably two Siegfrieds, easily distinguished from St. Victor, the patron-saint of the town, who is to be seen above every house door. The hero stands in a closely-fitting coat of mail, spear in hand, driving the spear into the dragon's jaws in the image on the right, and trampling down

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[a] The title is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

the "strong dwarf" Alberich on the left. It struck me that these bas-reliefs are not mentioned in Wilhelm Grimm's *Deutsche Heldensage,* where everything else relating to the subject is collected. Nor do I recall having read of them anywhere else, although they are among the most important pieces of evidence for the local connections of the legend in the Middle Ages.

I passed through the echoing Gothic vaulted gateway and stood before the church. Greek architecture is clear, gay consciousness; Moorish is mourning; Gothic is holy ecstasy; Greek architecture is bright, sunny day; Moorish is star-spangled dusk; Gothic is dawn. Here in front of this church I sensed as never before the power of the Gothic style. Not when it is seen among modern buildings, like Cologne Cathedral, still less when it is built round with houses clinging to it like swallows' nests, as with the churches in the North-German towns, does a Gothic cathedral make its most powerful impression; only between wooded hills, like the Altenberg church in the Berg country, or at least separated from everything alien, modern, between monastery walls and old buildings, like Xanten Cathedral. Only there does one feel deeply what a century can accomplish when it throws itself with all its might into a single, great aim. And if Cologne Cathedral, in all its gigantic dimensions, stood free and open to the gaze from all sides, like the church of Xanten, truly the nineteenth century would have to die of shame that for all its super-cleverness it cannot complete this building. For we no longer know the religious deed and so we marvel at a Mrs. Fry, who would have been a most commonplace phenomenon in the Middle Ages.

I entered the church; high mass was just being celebrated. The notes of the organ thundered down from the choir, a jubilant throng of heart-storming warriors, and raced through the echoing nave until they died away in the farthest aisles of the church. You, too, son of the nineteenth century, let your heart be conquered by them—these sounds have enthralled stronger and wilder men than you! They drove the old German gods from their groves, they led the heroes of a great age across the stormy sea, through the desert, and their unconquered children to Jerusalem, they are the shadows of hot-blooded centuries which thirsted for action! But when the trumpets announce the miracle of the transubstantiation, when the priest raises the glittering monstrance and the whole consciousness of the congregation is intoxicated with the wine of devotion, rush out, save yourself, save your reason from this ocean of feeling that surges through the church and pray outside to the God whose house is not made by human hands,

who is the breath of the world and who wants to be worshipped in spirit and in truth.

I went away shaken and asked to be shown the way to an inn, the only one in the little town. When I entered the inn parlour I could feel that I must be close to Holland. A quaintly mixed exhibition of paintings and engravings on the wall, landscapes cut into the window-panes, goldfish, peacock feathers and the ribbed leaves of tropical plants in front of the mirror clearly showed the host's pride in possessing things which others do not have. This passion for rarities which in decidedly bad taste surrounds itself with products of art and nature, be they beautiful or ugly, and which feels most at home in a room full to bursting with such absurdities, is the Dutchman's besetting sin. But what a shudder seized me when the good man took me into his so-called picture-gallery! A small room, all the walls densely covered with paintings of little value, although he claimed that Schadow had declared one of the portraits, which was actually much prettier than the rest, to be a Hans Holbein. A few altar pieces by Jan van Calcar (from a neighbouring small town) had lively colouring and would be of interest to an expert. But as for the rest of the room's decorations! Palm leaves, coral branches and the like protruded from every corner; there were stuffed lizards everywhere, a couple of figures made of coloured seashells, such as one finds frequently in Holland, stood on the stove; in a corner was a bust of the Cologne Wallraf, and beneath it hung, desiccated like a mummy, the dead body of a cat, with one forepaw treading right on the face of a painted Christ on the cross. If my reader should ever stray into this one hotel in Xanten, let him ask the obliging host about his beautiful ancient gem; he possesses an exquisite Diana cut in an opal, which is worth more than his entire collection of paintings.

In Xanten one should not miss seeing the collection of antiquities in the possession of Mr. Houben,[a] a solicitor. It includes almost everything that has been dug up or found at *Castra vetera*.[96] The collection is interesting, but it does not contain anything of particular artistic value, as is to be expected of a military station, which *Castra vetera* was. The few beautiful gems which were found here are dispersed all over the town; the one piece of sculpture of any considerable size is a sphinx, about three feet long, in the possession of the innkeeper already mentioned; it is made of

[a] The *Telegraph für Deutschland* has "Huber", which is a misprint.— *Ed.*

ordinary sandstone, badly preserved, and was never particularly beautiful.

I went out of the town and up a sandy rise, the only natural elevation for miles around. This is the mountain on which, according to the legend, Siegfried's castle stood. At the entrance to a pine grove I sat down and looked at the town below. Surrounded on all sides by earthworks, it lay as it were in a cauldron, only the church rising majestically over the brim. On the right the Rhine embracing a green island with broad, gleaming arms, on the left the hills of Cleves in the blue distance.

What is it about the legend of Siegfried that affects us so powerfully? Not the plot of the story itself, not the foul treason which brings about the death of the youthful hero; it is the deep significance which is expressed through his person. Siegfried is the representative of German youth. All of us, who still carry in our breast a heart unfettered by the restraints of life, know what that means. We all feel in ourselves the same zest for action, the same defiance of convention which drove Siegfried from his father's castle; we loathe with all our soul continual reflection and the philistine fear of vigorous action; we want to get out into the free world; we want to overrun the barriers of prudence and fight for the crown of life, action. The philistines have supplied giants and dragons too, particularly in the sphere of church and state. But that age is no more; we are put in prisons called schools, where instead of striking out around us we are made with cruel irony to conjugate the verb "to strike" in Greek in all moods and tenses, and when we are released from that discipline we fall into the hands of the goddess of the century, the police. Police for thinking, police for speaking, police for walking, riding and driving, passports, residence permits, and customs documents—the devil strike these giants and dragons dead! They have left us only the semblance of action, the rapier instead of the sword; but what use is all the art of fencing with the rapier if we may not apply it with the sword? And when the barriers are finally broken down, when philistinism and indifference are trodden underfoot, when the urge to action is no longer checked—do you see the tower of Wesel there across the Rhine? The citadel of that town, which is called a stronghold of German freedom, has become the grave of German youth, and has to lie right opposite the cradle of the greatest German youth! Who sat there in prison? Students who did not want to have learnt to fence to no purpose, *vulgo* duellists and demagogues.[97] Now, after the amnesty of Frederick William IV, we may be permitted to say that this

amnesty was an act not only of mercy but of justice. Granted all the premises, and in particular the need for the state to take measures against the student fraternities, nevertheless, everyone who sees that the good of the state does not lie in blind obedience and strict subordination will surely agree with me that the treatment of the participants demanded that they should be rehabilitated in honour and dignity. Under the Restoration and after the July days[a] the demagogic fraternities were as understandable as they are now impossible. Who then suppressed every free movement, who placed the beating of the youthful heart under "provisional" guardianship? And how were the unfortunates treated? Can it be denied that this legal case is perfectly calculated to show in the clearest light all the disadvantages and errors of both public and secret judicature, to make manifest the contradiction that paid *servants of the state,* instead of independent jurors, try charges of offending against the state; can it be denied that all the sentencing was done summarily, "in bulk", as merchants say?

But I want to go down to the Rhine and listen to what the waves gleaming in the sunset tell Siegfried's mother earth about his grave in Worms and about the sunken hoard. Perhaps a friendly Morgan le Fay will make Siegfried's castle rise again for me or show my mind's eye what heroic deeds are reserved for his sons of the nineteenth century.

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Signed: *Friedrich Oswald*

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[a] The July 1830 revolution in France.—*Ed.*

# ERNST MORITZ ARNDT [98]

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 2, January 1841]

Like the faithful Eckart of the legend, old Arndt stands on the Rhine and warns the youth of Germany, who for many years now have been gazing across to the French Venusberg and the seductive, passionate maidens, the ideas,[99] that beckon from its pinnacles. But the wild youths do not heed the old hero and storm across, and not all of them remain in enervated prostration like the new Tannhäuser Heine.

This is Arndt's position in relation to the German youth of today. Though all hold him in high esteem, his ideal of German life does not satisfy them; they want more freedom to act, fuller, more exuberant vitality, ardent, impetuous throbbing in the veins of world history which carry Germany's life-blood. Hence the sympathy for France, not, of course, the sympathy of submission about which the French romance, but that loftier and freer form whose nature has been so admirably set forth by Börne in his *Franzosenfresser,* in contrast to Germanising one-sidedness.

Arndt has sensed that the present is estranged from him, that it does not respect him for his thought but respects his thought for the sake of his strong, manly personality. Hence, as a man whose life had been given meaning both by his talent and conviction and by the course of developments over a number of years, he was faced with the duty of leaving his nation a memorial of his cultural development, his way of thinking and his times, which he has done in his much discussed *Erinnerungen aus dem äussern Leben.*

Disregarding its trend for the moment, Arndt's book is also aesthetically a most interesting publication. This concise, pithy language has not been heard in our literature for a long time and

deserves to make a lasting impression on many of the young generation. Better firm than flabby! There are, of course, authors for whom the essence of the modern style is that every ripple of the muscles, every taut sinew of speech should be prettily enveloped in soft flesh, even at the risk of appearing effeminate. No, give me the manly, bony structure of Arndt's style rather than the spongy manner of certain "modern" stylists! Particularly since Arndt has avoided the idiosyncrasies of his comrades of 1813 so far as possible and comes near to affectation only in the absolute use of the superlative (as in the southern Romance languages). Nor should one look in him for that repulsive mixing of languages which has again become the fashion; on the contrary, he shows how few alien shoots we need graft on our language without being at a loss. The carriage of our thoughts does indeed run better on most roads with German rather than French or Greek horses, a fact which ridicule of the extremes of the puristic trend does not alter.

Let us now examine the book more closely. Most of it is taken up with the idyll of his early life, which is drawn with a genuinely poetic hand. Anyone who has spent his first years as Arndt did, can be eternally thankful to God! Not in the dust of a big city, where the joys of the individual are crushed by the interests of the whole, not in children's homes or philanthropic prisons, where budding vigour is blunted; no, it was under the open sky in fields and woods that nature formed the man of steel at whom an effeminate generation gazes as at a northern warrior. The great plastic force with which Arndt depicts this period of his life almost compels one to believe that all idyllic *compositions* are superfluous as long as our authors *experience* such idylls as Arndt did. What will appear most strange to our century is the self-discipline of the young Arndt, which combines German chastity with Spartan vigour. But this vigour, so naive, so free from any Jahn-like bragging, as it hums to itself its *hoc tibi proderit olim*,[a] cannot be recommended enough to our stay-at-home youths. Young men who shun cold water like mad dogs, who put on three or four layers of clothing when the weather is the least bit frosty, who make it a point of honour to obtain exemption from military service on grounds of physical weakness, are truly a fine support for the Fatherland! As for chastity, it is regarded as a crime even to speak of it in an age where one's first inquiry in every town is the way to the "gate where the last of the houses stand".[b] I am

[a] This will come in handy one day.— *Ed.*

[b] From Goethe's ballad *Der Gott und die Bajadere.— Ed.*

certainly no abstract moralist, I detest all ascetic nonsence, and shall never pass judgment on fallen love; but it grieves me that moral seriousness threatens to disappear and that sensuality strives to set itself up as the highest good. The emancipation of the flesh in practice will always have to blush beside an Arndt.

With the year 1800 Arndt enters the profession allotted to him. Napoleon's armies flood Europe, and as the French Emperor's power increases Arndt's hatred of him grows; the Greifswald professor protests in the name of Germany against the oppression and has to flee. At last the German nation rises up and Arndt returns. We could wish that this part of the book contained more detail; Arndt retires modestly into the background before the arming of the nation and its deeds. Instead of leaving us to guess that he was not inactive he should have described his part in the developments of the time in greater detail, and told us the history of these days from the subjective standpoint. Later events are treated still more briefly. What is remarkable here is on the one hand the increasingly pronounced tendency to orthodoxy in religious matters, on the other the mysterious, almost servile, kiss-the-rod manner in which Arndt speaks of his suspension. But those who find this strange will have been convinced by Arndt's statements issued recently in the public press, in which he regards his reinstatement as an act of *justice*, not of grace and favour, that he still possesses his old firmness and determination.

Arndt's book gains particular importance, however, from the simultaneous publication of a mass of memoirs on the war of liberation. The glorious period when the German nation, for the first time in centuries, rose once more in all its power and greatness and opposed foreign oppression is vividly brought close to us again. And we Germans cannot recall these battles often enough if we are to keep awake our somnolent national consciousness; of course not in the sense of a party which believes it has now done everything and regards itself complacently in the mirror of history, resting on the laurels of 1813, but rather in the opposite sense. For the greatest result of the struggle was not the shaking off of foreign rule, whose elaborate artificiality, resting as it did solely on the Atlas shoulders of Napoleon, was bound to come crashing down of its own accord sooner or later, nor was it the "freedom" which was won; it was the deed itself, or rather an aspect of it, which only very few people at the time clearly sensed. That we became conscious of the loss of our national sanctuaries, that we armed ourselves without waiting for the most gracious permission of the sovereigns, that we actually *compelled* those in

power to take their place at our head,* in short, that for a moment we acted as the source of state power, as a sovereign nation, that was the greatest gain of those years, and therefore after the war the men who had felt this most clearly and had acted accordingly with the greatest resolution, were bound to appear dangerous to the governments.—But how soon the moving power went to sleep again! The bane of disunity absorbed for the parts the impulse so much needed for the whole, split the general German interest into a multitude of provincial interests and made it impossible to provide Germany with a foundation for state life such as Spain created for herself in the Constitution of 1812.[100] On the contrary, the gentle spring rain of general promises which surprised us from the "higher regions" was too much for our hearts bowed down by oppression, and we fools did not reflect that there are promises the breaking of which can never be excused from the point of view of the nation, but very easily from that of the individual. (?) Then came the Congresses[101] giving the Germans time to sleep off their intoxication with freedom and wake up to find themselves back in the old relationship of Your Most Gracious Majesty and Your Most Humble Servant. Those who had not yet lost their old aspirations, and could not reconcile themselves to having no active part in the life of the nation, were driven by all the forces of the time into the blind alley of Germanisation. Only a few distinguished spirits broke out of the labyrinth and found the path which leads to true freedom.

The Germanisers wanted to complete the facts of the war of liberation and to free a now materially independent Germany from foreign intellectual hegemony as well. But for that very reason Germanisation was negation, and the positive elements with which it plumed itself lay buried in an unclarity from which they never quite emerged; what did come up into the daylight of reason was for the most part paradoxical enough. Its whole world view was philosophically without foundation since it held that the entire world was created for the sake of the Germans, and the Germans themselves had long since arrived at the highest stage of evolution. The Germanising trend was negation, abstraction in the Hegelian sense. It created abstract Germans by stripping off everything that had not descended from national roots over sixty-four purely German generations. Even its seemingly positive features were negative, for Germany could only be led towards its ideals by negating a whole century and her development, and thus

* Cf. K. Bade, *Napoleon im Jahre 1813*, Altona, 1840.— *Note by F. Engels.*

its intention was to push the nation back into the German Middle Ages or even into the primeval German purity of the *Teutoburger Wald.* Jahn embodied this trend in its extreme. This one-sidedness turned the Germans into the chosen people of Israel and ignored all the innumerable seeds of world history which had grown on soil that was not German. It is against the French especially, whose invasion had been repulsed and whose hegemony in external matters is based on the fact that they master, more easily than all nations at least, the *form* of European culture, namely, civilisation—it is against the French that the iconoclastic fury was directed most of all. The great, eternal achievements of the revolution were abhorred as "foreign frivolities" or even "foreign lies and falsehoods"; no one thought of the kinship between this stupendous act of the people and the national uprising of 1813; that which Napoleon had introduced, the emancipation of the Israelites, trial by jury, sound civil law in place of the pandects,[102] was condemned solely because of its initiator. Hatred of the French became a duty. Every kind of thinking which could rise to a higher viewpoint was condemned as un-German. Hence patriotism too was essentially negative and left the Fatherland without support in the struggle of the age, while it went to great pains to invent bombastic German expressions for foreign words which had long been assimilated into German. If this trend had been concretely German, if it had taken the German for what he had become in two thousand years of history, if it had not overlooked the truest element of our destiny, namely, to be the pointer on the scales of European history, to watch over the development of the neighbouring nations, it would have avoided all its mistakes.—On the other hand, one must not ignore the fact that Germanisation was a necessary stage in the formation of our national spirit and that together with the succeeding stage it formed the contrast on whose shoulders the modern world view rests.

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 3, January 1841]

This contrast to the Germanising trend was the cosmopolitan liberalism of the South-German estates which worked for the negation of national differences and the formation of a great, free, united humanity. It corresponded to religious rationalism and stemmed from the same source, the philanthropy of the previous century, whereas the Germanising trend consistently led to theological orthodoxy, at which almost all its adherents (Arndt, Steffens, Menzel) arrived in due course. The one-sidedness of

cosmopolitan liberalism has so often been exposed by its opponents, albeit in a one-sided fashion, that I can be brief where this trend is concerned. The July revolution at first seemed to favour it, but this event was exploited by all parties. The actual destruction of the Germanising trend or rather of its propagating power dates from the July revolution and was inherent in it. Yet so was the collapse of the cosmopolitan trend; for the overwhelming significance of the great week[a] was the restitution of the French nation in its position as a great power, whereby the other nations were compelled to close their ranks as well.

Even before this latest world-shaking event two men had been working quietly on the development of the German, or as it is preferably called the modern, spirit, two men who almost ignored each other in their lifetime and whose complementary relationship was not to be recognised until after their death, *Börne* and *Hegel.* Börne has often and most unjustly been branded as a cosmopolitan, but he was more German than his opponents. The *Hallische Jahrbücher* has recently linked a discussion of "political practice" with the name of Herr von Florencourt[103]; but he is certainly not its representative. He stands at the point where the extremes of the Germanising trend and cosmopolitanism meet, as happened in the *Burschenschaften,*[104] and was only superficially affected by the later developments of the national spirit. The man of political practice is Börne, and his place in history is that he fulfilled this calling perfectly. He tore the ostentatious finery off the Germanising trend and also unmercifully exposed the shame of cosmopolitanism, which merely had impotent, more pious wishes. He confronted the Germans with the words of the Cid: *Lengua sin manos, cuemo osas fablar?*[b] No one has described the glory of the deed like Börne. With him all is life, all is vigour. Only of *his* writings can it be said that they are *deeds* for freedom. Do not speak to me here of "reasoned definitions", of "finite categories"! The manner in which Börne understood the position of the European nations and their destiny is not speculative. Yet Börne was the first to show the relationship of Germany and France in its reality and thereby did a greater service to the idea than the Hegelians, who were meanwhile learning Hegel's *Enzyklopädie* by heart and thought that they had thereby done enough for the century. That same portrayal also proves how high Börne stands above the level of cosmopolitanism. Rational one-sidedness was as

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[a] The events of the July revolution in France (July 27-August 2, 1830).—*Ed.*
[b] Tongue without hands, how dare you speak? (*Poema del Cid.*)—*Ed.*

necessary for Börne as excessive schematism for Hegel; but instead of understanding this we do not get beyond the crude and often false axioms of the *Briefe aus Paris*.

By the side of Börne and opposed to him, Hegel, the man of thought, presented his already completed system to the nation. Authority did not take the trouble to work its way through the abstruse forms of Hegel's system and his brazen style; but then, how could it have known that this philosophy would venture from the quiet haven of theory onto the stormy sea of actuality, that it was already brandishing its sword in order to strike directly against existing practice? For Hegel himself was such a solid, orthodox man, whose polemic was directed at precisely those trends which the state power rejected, at rationalism and cosmopolitan liberalism! But the gentlemen at the helm did not appreciate that these trends were only combated in order to make room for the higher, that the new teaching must first root itself in recognition of the nation before it could freely develop its living consequences. When Börne attacked Hegel he was perfectly right from his standpoint, but when authority protected Hegel, when it elevated his teaching almost to a Prussian philosophy of the state, it laid itself open to attack, a fact which it now evidently regrets. Or did Altenstein, whose more advanced standpoint was a legacy of a more liberal age, receive such a free hand here that everything was laid to his account? Be that as it may, when after Hegel's death the fresh air of life breathed upon his doctrine, the "Prussian philosophy of the state" sprouted shoots of which no party had ever dreamt. Strauss will remain epoch-making in the theological field, Gans and Ruge in the political. Only now do the faint nebulae of speculation resolve themselves into the shining stars of the ideas which are to light the movement of the century. One may accuse Ruge's aesthetic criticism of being prosaic and confined within the schematism of the doctrine; yet credit must go to him for showing the political side of the Hegelian system to be in accord with the spirit of the time and for restoring it in the nation's esteem. Gans had done this only indirectly, by carrying the philosophy of history forward into the present; Ruge openly expressed the liberalism of Hegelianism, and Köppen supported him; neither was afraid of incurring enmity, both pursuing their course, even at the risk of a split in the school, and all due respect to their courage for it! The enthusiastic, unshakable confidence in the idea, inherent in the New Hegelianism, is the sole fortress in which the liberals can find safe retreat whenever reaction gains a temporary advantage over them with aid from above.

These are the most recent developments of German political consciousness, and the task of our age is to complete the fusion of Hegel and Börne. There is already a good deal of Börne in Young Hegelianism, and Börne would have little hesitation in signing many an article in the *Hallische Jahrbücher*. However, the combining of thought and action is in part not yet conscious enough, in part it has not yet penetrated the nation. Börne is still looked upon by many as the exact opposite of Hegel, but just as Hegel's practical importance for the present (not his philosophical significance for eternity) is not to be judged by the pure theory of his system, neither is Börne to be flatly rejected because of his one-sidedness and his extravagances, which have never been denied.

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 4, January 1841]

I trust that I have characterised the attitude of the Germanising trend to the present day sufficiently and may now proceed to a detailed review of the trend's individual aspects as expounded by Arndt in his book. The wide gulf which separates Arndt from the present generation is expressed most clearly in the fact that he is indifferent to those matters of state for which we sacrifice our life-blood. Arndt declares himself a decided monarchist; good. Yet he never once discusses whether the monarchy is to be constitutional or absolute. The point of difference is this: Arndt and his whole company believe that the well-being of the state consists in sovereign and people being attached to each other by sincere love and co-operating with each other in the striving for the common good. We, however, are convinced that the relationship between the governing and the governed must first be regulated *by law* before it can become and remain amicable. First law, then equity! Where is there a sovereign so bad that he does not love his people and is not loved by them—I speak here of Germany—simply because he is their sovereign? But where is there a sovereign who can claim to have brought his people any real advance since 1815? Is it not all our own work; is not what we own ours in spite of control and supervision? It is all very fine to talk of the love between a sovereign and his people, and since the great poet[a] of "*Heil Dir im Siegerkranz*" sang that "a free man's love makes the steep heights secure where sovereigns stand", ever since then

[a] An ironical reference to Balthasar Gerhard Schumacher.—*Ed.*

infinite nonsense has been talked about it. The kind of government threatening us from a certain quarter might be called an up-to-date reaction. Patrimonial courts to promote the formation of a high aristocracy; guilds to reawaken a "respectable" burgher estate; encouragement of all so-called historical seeds, which in reality are old, cut-off stalks.

But it is not only in this respect that the Germanising trend has let itself be cheated of freedom of thought by a determined reaction; its ideas on the constitution are the whispered promptings of the gentlemen of the *Berliner politisches Wochenblatt.* It was painful to see how even the solid, quiet Arndt allowed himself to be dazzled by the sophisticated glitter of the "organic state". Phrases about historical development, making use of the given factors, organism, and so on, must once have possessed a charm which entirely eludes us now because we realise that they are mostly fine words which do not seriously mean what they actually signify. Challenge these ghosts point-blank! What do you understand by the organic state? A state whose institutions have grown with and out of the nation in the course of the centuries, and which have not been constructed from theory. Very well; now apply this to Germany! This organism is supposed to consist of the citizens being divided into nobility, burghers and peasants, and everything else that goes with it. All this is supposed to lie hidden *in nuce* in the word organism. Is that not deplorable, shameful sophistry? Self-development of the nation, does that not look exactly like freedom? You grasp at it with both hands and what you get is the full burden of the Middle Ages and the *ancien régime.* Fortunately this sleight-of-hand cannot be laid to Arndt's account. Not the supporters of division into estates, but we, its opponents, want an organic state life. The point at the moment is not "construction from theory"; it is what they want to blind us with: the self-development of the nation. We alone are serious and sincere about it. But these gentlemen do not know that every organism becomes inorganic as soon as it dies; they set the corpses of the past in motion with their galvanic wires and try to fool us that this is not a mechanism but life. They want to promote the self-development of the nation and fasten the ball and chain of absolutism to its ankle so that it will go ahead more quickly. They do not want to know that what they call theory, ideology, or God knows what, has long passed into the blood and sap of the nation and in part has already come to life; that not we, therefore, but *they* have lost their way in the utopias of theory. For that which was indeed still theory half a century ago has developed as an

independent element in the state organism since the revolution. Moreover, and this is the main thing, does the development of mankind not rank above that of the nation?

And what about the estates? The dividing line between burghers and peasants simply does not exist; not even the historical school[105] takes it seriously; it is put there only *pro forma*, to make the separation of the nobility more plausible to us. Everything turns on the nobility. When the nobility goes, so does the estates system. And with the nobility's position as an estate things look even worse than with its composition.[a] An entailed hereditary estate is absolute nonsense according to modern conceptions. Not in the Middle Ages, of course. In those days in the free cities of the Empire (as in Bremen, for example, even today) there were hereditary guilds with hereditary privileges, pure bakers' blood and pure pewterers' blood. Indeed, what is the pride of the nobility compared with the consciousness: My ancestors have been beer-brewers for twenty generations! We still have butchers', or in the more poetical Bremen name, bone-choppers' blood in the nobility, since the military profession, laid down by Herr Fouqué as proper to it, is continual butchery and bone-chopping. For the nobility to regard itself as an estate, when no calling is exclusively reserved for it under the law of any state, neither the military nor that of the large landowner, is ridiculous arrogance. Anything written on the nobility could have as a motto this line by the troubadour William of Poitiers: "I'll make a song about sheer nothing." And since the nobility feels its own inner nothingness, no nobleman can hide the pain of it, from the very intelligent Baron of Sternberg to the very unintelligent C. L. F. W. G. von Alvensleben. The tolerance which would leave the nobility the pleasure of regarding itself as something special so long as it does not demand any privileges is most misplaced. For as long as the nobility represents something special, it will desire and must have privileges. We stand by our demand: No estates, but a great, united nation of citizens with equal rights!

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 5, January 1841]

Another thing which Arndt demands of his state is entails, in general an agrarian legislation laying down fixed conditions for landed property. Apart from its general importance, this point also deserves attention because here too the up-to-date reaction

[a] A pun on the German words *Stand* and *Bestand*.—*Ed.*

already mentioned threatens to put things back on the footing before 1789. How many have been raised to the nobility recently on condition that they institute an entail guaranteeing the prosperity of the family!—Arndt is definitely against the unlimited freedom and divisibility of landed property; he sees as its inevitable consequence the division of the land into plots none of which could support its owner. But he fails to see that complete freeing of the land provides the means of restoring in general the balance which in individual cases it may, of course, upset. While the complicated legislation in most German states and Arndt's equally complicated proposals will never eliminate, but only aggravate anomalies in agrarian relations, they also hinder a voluntary return to the proper order in the event of any dislocation, necessitate extraordinary interference by the state and hinder the progress of this legislation by a hundred petty but unavoidable private considerations. By contrast, freedom of the land allows no extremes to arise, neither the development of big landowners into an aristocracy, nor the splitting up of fields into patches so small as to become useless. If one scale of the balance goes down too far, the content of the other soon becomes concentrated in compensation. And even if landed property were to fly from hand to hand I would rather have the surging ocean with its grand freedom than the narrow inland lake with its quiet surface, whose miniature waves are broken every three steps by a spit of land, the root of a tree, or a stone. It is not merely that the permission to entail means the consent of the state to the formation of an aristocracy; no, this fettering of landed property, like all entails, works directly towards a revolution. When the best part of the land is welded to individual families and made inaccessible to all other citizens, is not that a direct provocation of the people? Does not the right of primogeniture rest on a view of property which has long ceased to correspond to our ideas? As if one generation had the right to dispose absolutely of the property of all future generations, which at the moment it enjoys and administers, as if the freedom of property were not destroyed by so disposing of it that all descendants are robbed of this freedom! As if human beings could thus be tied to the soil for all eternity! Incidentally, landed property well deserves the attention which Arndt devotes to it and the importance of the subject would certainly merit thorough discussion from the highest standpoint of the present time. Previous theories all suffer from the hereditary disease of German men of learning who think they must assert their independence by each having a separate system of his own.

If the retrograde aspects of Germanisation deserve closer examination partly for the sake of the revered man, who defends them as his own convictions, partly because of the favour which they have found of late in Prussia, another of its tendencies must be all the more decisively rejected because it is again threatening to prevail among us: hatred of the French. I will not join issue with Arndt and the other men of 1813, but the servile twaddle which without any principle all newspapers now serve up against the French is utterly repulsive to me. It requires a high degree of obsequiousness to be convinced by the July convention[106] that the Eastern question is a matter of life or death for Germany and that Mohammed Ali endangers our nationhood. By supporting the Egyptian, France has from that standpoint indeed committed against the German nation the same crime of which she became guilty at the beginning of the century. It is sad that for half a year already one has not been able to open a newspaper without meeting this newly awakened French-eating fury. And what is it for? To give the Russians enough additional land and the English enough trading power so that they can get us Germans in a vice and crush us to smithereens! The stable principle of England and the system of Russia, these are the sworn enemies of European progress, not France and her movement. But because two German sovereigns have found it proper to join the convention, the affair has suddenly become a German concern, France is the old godless, "Gallic" sworn enemy, and the perfectly natural arming of a truly insulted France is a crime against the German nation. The ridiculous clamour of a few French journalists for the Rhine frontier is thought worthy of lengthy rejoinders, which are unfortunately never read by Frenchmen, and Becker's song "They shall not have it"[a] is *par force* turned into a folk-song. I do not grudge Becker his song's success and I will not examine its poetic content, I am even glad to hear such expressions of German sentiment from the left bank of the Rhine, but I share the view of the articles already published in this journal which have just come to hand that it is ridiculous to want to elevate this modest poem into a national anthem. "They shall not have it." So again negative? Can you be satisfied with a negative folk-song? Can German nationhood find support solely in polemic against foreign countries? The text of the *Marseillaise* is not worth much in spite of all its enthusiasm, but how much more noble is its reaching out

[a] "Sie sollen ihn nicht haben!"—the first line of N. Becker's song *Der deutsche Rhein.*—*Ed.*

beyond nationality to mankind. And now, after Burgundy and Lorraine have been torn from us, after we have let Flanders become French and Holland and Belgium independent, after France has already advanced in Alsace as far as the Rhine and only a relatively small part of the once German left bank of the Rhine is still ours, we are not ashamed to talk big and to write: at least you shall not have the last piece. Oh, the Germans! And if the French had the Rhine, we would cry with the most ridiculous pride: they shall not have it, the free German Weser, and so on to the Elbe and Oder, until Germany was divided up between France and Russia, and it was only left for us to sing: they shall not have it, the free stream of German theory, so long as it calmly flows into the ocean of infinity, so long as a single unpractical ideal fish flaps a fin on its bottom! Instead of which we should do penance in sackcloth and ashes for the sins through which we have lost all those beautiful lands, for the disunity and the betrayal of the idea, for the provincial patriotism which deserts the whole for the sake of local advantage, and for the lack of national consciousness. True, it is a fixed idea with the French that the Rhine is their property, but to this arrogant demand the only reply worthy of the German nation is Arndt's: "Give back Alsace and Lorraine!"

For I am of the opinion, perhaps in contrast to many whose standpoint I share in other respects, that the reconquest of the German-speaking left bank of the Rhine is a matter of national honour, and that the Germanisation of a disloyal Holland and of Belgium is a political necessity for us. Shall we let the German nationality be completely suppressed in these countries, while the Slavs are rising ever more powerfully in the east? Shall we give up the Germanness of our most beautiful provinces to buy the friendship of France; possession going back barely a century which could not even assimilate what was conquered—shall we accept this and the treaties of 1815[a] as a judgment of the world spirit against which there is no appeal?

On the other hand, however, we are not worthy of the Alsatians so long as we cannot give them what they now have: a free public life in a great state. Without doubt, there will be another war between us and France, and then we shall see who is worthy of the left bank of the Rhine. Until then we can well leave the question to the development of our nationhood and of the world spirit, until then let us work for a clear, mutual understanding among the European nations and strive for the inner unity which is our

[a] The decisions of the Vienna Congress.— *Ed.*

prime need and the basis of our future freedom. So long as our Fatherland remains split we shall be politically null, and public life, developed constitutionalism, freedom of the press, and all else that we demand will be mere pious wishes always only half-fulfilled; so let us strive for this and not for the extirpation of the French!

Nevertheless, Germanising negation has still not fully completed its task: there is still plenty to be sent home over the Alps, the Rhine, and the Vistula. The Russians can have the pentarchy,[107] the Italians their papism with all its hangers-on, their Bellini, Donizetti and even Rossini if they want to make him out greater than Mozart and Beethoven, and the French their arrogant opinion of us, their vaudevilles and operas, their Scribe and Adam. We want to chase all these crazy foreign habits and fashions, all the superfluous foreign words back whence they came; we want to cease to be the dupes of foreigners and want to stand together as a single, indivisible, strong, and with God's will *free* German nation.

Written in October-December 1840

First published in the *Telegraph für Deutschland* Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5, January 1841

Signed: *F. Oswald*

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first time

## NIGHT RIDE

One night, my carriage bore me all alone
Across that well-known German territory
Where many a heart, by power beaten down,
Rages in impotent and blazing fury.

In fury that the freedom bought so dear
With struggle and with ceaseless vigilance
Had been cast out, for venal tongues to jeer
And cavil at with cruel insolence.

A mist lay on the meadows, deep and calm.
At times, a gust of wind would smite amain
The poplar-trees and they, in quick alarm
Aroused from sleep, soon slumbered on again.

Clear was the air. Sharp hung the sickle moon,
A sword of Damocles above the town
Towards which I sped. The wrath of kings flies soon
From far away to strike its victims down.

Around the carriage wheels run leaping packs
Of dogs that bark at me. And do they howl
Just like the Capital's paid writer-hacks,
Having caught wind of my free-thinking soul?

What do I care? Sunk in my cushions low,
I live in dreams of many brave tomorrows.
Make no mistake—just before dawn, we know,
The nightmare plumbs the deepest of its horrors.

Yes, morning comes at last in silence stealing.
A single star shines forth to light its way.
The pious wake to bells of freedom pealing—
No tocsin now, but peace this joyful day!

The spirit's tree has coiled its root-limbs round
The past, to crush all things outworn and old,
And now its branches strew the world around
With shining blossoms of eternal gold!

And so I slept, and woke that morning after,
And saw the earth all happy, cleansed and bright,
And *Stüve's* city[a] filled with joy and laughter,
City of Freedom, bathed in morning light.

Written at the end of 1840

First published in the *Deutscher Courier* No. 1, January 3, 1841

Signed: *Friedrich Oswald*

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first time

[a] Osnabrück, whose burgomaster was Johann Karl Bertram Stüve.—*Ed.*

## THE EMPEROR'S PROCESSION[108]

Paris is empty. All the populace
Swarms out to throng the Seine on either side.
Bright shines the sun of France, though veiled
in mourning.
A tear bedews the smiling face of pride.

Today the ebullient French are grave and calm.
They dream of victory's laurel wreath no more.
Ringed with eternal laurels comes the scourge
Of Europe, God of France, the Emperor.

Like grey old battle ruins, the veteran soldiers
Ride on before and after. The funeral train
With cannon thundering and banners flying
Moves on towards Paris. Rich, exuberant, vain,

Plunged into grief, devotion-drunk once more,
Paris falls prostrate at her idol's feet;
And if the price be still more suffering—
They shall not flinch. Thoughts of revenge are sweet.

Music of death and music of the wars
Crashes all round. The gentlest heart is thrilled.
Thus rode he in the blaze of victory
From Austerlitz and from Marengo's field.

And pale, and mute, and proud, and great, as when
He rode in triumph through the swirling throng,

Transformed as never by the light of glory,
Acclaimed by all, the Emperor rides along.

Where are they now, the Guards? Where is Dombrowski,
General of the Slavs and no man's slave?
Murat, the prince of horsemen? Poniatowski?
And where is Ney, the Bravest of the Brave?

Thinned is the forest of the mighty heroes.
Waterloo's fury mowed the Guardsmen down.
The remnants march in silence, heads held high.
Behind iron bars weeps Montholon, alone.

The strength and flower of Empire follow after.
United here the young and old of France.
And even the elite of the Republic
Weep at the shrine where weeps the whole of France.

And who are these with brows of victory
That yet betray the anguish of their souls,
Their features ravaged by the grief of mourning,
Though they step proudly? Hush, it is the Poles.

To greet the Emperor—arches, columns, stones,
Memorials, images of eternity,
Ideas in bronze as daring as his own,
To sanctify his fallen majesty.

Collapsed his house, tumbled the royal crown,
Gone is the world empire that he dreamed might be.
Like Alexander, without heirs he sleeps
The eternal sleep beneath the laurel-tree.

He rests in peace, Silent the *Te Deum.*
In pious gloom the shadowed columns rear.
This very church is now his mausoleum.
A deity lies dead and buried here.

Written in December 1840

First published in the *Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 23, February 1841

Signed: *Friedrich O.*

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first time

# [REPORTS FROM BREMEN]

## ECCLESIASTICAL CONTROVERSY[a]

[*Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* No. 13, January 15, 1841]

With the old year the records of our ecclesiastical controversy may be more or less closed. At least, any future polemical treatises can now no longer count on the public interest which the earlier ones enjoyed; it will not happen again that several editions are sold out in a week. And yet this kind of controversy depends mainly on such participation by the people; a purely scientific interest cannot be claimed by a question which is only valid in terms of trends long since disposed of by science.— Pastor Paniel justified the delayed appearance of his treatise against Krummacher's *Theologische Replik* by its size.[b] He attacks his adversary with ten sheets of print. In the preface he explains that he wishes to reply to possible future attacks with a history of pietism and to prove in it that this movement has its source in paganism. That would indeed have to be a source like Arethusa, which ran under the earth for a long time before it came to the surface on Christian soil.[109] For the rest he practises the right of retaliation on his attacker, for not only does he repeat the charges usually made against pietism, but conscientiously flings back at him almost every hostile word. In this fashion the whole controversy is finally reduced to quibbling; half-true claims fly back and forth like playballs, and in the last resort it becomes merely a matter of defining terms which, of course, ought to have been done before the controversy began. But face to face with orthodoxy rationalism will always find itself in this predicament. It owes this to its vacillating position, wanting to rank now as a new development of

[a] See also this volume, pp. 127-28.— *Ed.*
[b] K. F. W. Paniel, *Unverholene Beurtheilung.*— *Ed.*

the Christian spirit, now as its original form, and in both cases it appropriates the biblical catchwords of orthodoxy, only with a different meaning. It is not honest either with itself or with the Bible; the concepts of revelation, redemption and inspiration have a highly uncertain and twisted meaning on its lips.—The dry reasoning of rationalism has reached a rare height in Paniel. With a forbidding logic, more like that of Wolf than of Kant, he takes the greatest pride in making the whole structure of his work glaringly apparent. His arguments are not the living flesh in which the logical skeleton is clothed, but rags soaked in a mush of sentimentality which he hangs out to dry on the jutting corners of the church building. Then Paniel also has a great liking for those watery digressions in which one recognises the rationalist everywhere, despite the most orthodox catchwords; yet he does not know how to blend them with the dryness of his reasoning and often finds himself compelled to interrupt the most beautiful stream of phrases by a firstly, secondly, and thirdly. But nothing is more repugnant than this tasteless flabbiness when there is method in it. The most interesting part of the whole book are the excerpts from Krummacher's writings, where his crass manner of thinking shines out in all its sharpness.—The decisiveness with which rationalism acted here moved the preachers of the opposing party to draw up a joint declaration which was put in pamphlet form and signed by twenty-two preachers.[a] It contains the principles of orthodoxy coherently presented and with a half-concealed reference to the facts of the unresolved controversy. An intended declaration by the seven rationalist preachers failed to appear. It would be a very great mistake, however, to judge the proportionate strength of the parties among the public by the relative numbers of the preachers.

[*Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* No. 14, January 16, 1841]

The great majority of the pietistic preachers in the area is made up of pastors who owe their positions partly to the temporary preponderance of their party, partly to a mild nepotism. Among the public, on the contrary, the rationalists at least balance the pietists in numbers, and all they lacked was an energetic representative to make them conscious of their position. In this respect Paniel is of incalculable value to his supporters; he has courage, determination and in many respects also sufficient learning, and

[a] *Bekenntniss bremischer Pastoren in Sachen der Wahrheit.—Ed.*

lacks only the talent of rhetoric and writing to achieve something of significance. Latterly several little pamphlets have appeared, mostly anonymous, all of which remained without any influence on the public, however. A few days ago, a sheet of *Unpietistische Reime* came out which does not do its author any particular credit and is mentioned only for its curiosity value. The chief spokesman of the Bremen pietists, the talented preacher F. L. Mallet, has promised a treatise entitled *Dr. Paniel und die Bibel*; but since it will hardly be able to count on the attention of the opposing party, one may assume the controversy to be over and summarise the complete facts from a general point of view.— It must be admitted that this time pietism has conducted itself with more skill than its opponent. It also had certain advantages over rationalism, a prestige of two thousand years' standing and a scientific, if one-sided, training through the latest orthodox and semi-orthodox theologians, while rationalism, in its finest development, was caught between two fires and attacked simultaneously by Tholuck and Hegel. Rationalism has never been clear about its attitude to the Bible; the unhappy half-way stance which at first appeared definitely to imply belief in revelation but in further argumentation so restricted the divinity of the Bible that almost nothing remained of it, this vacillation puts rationalism at a disadvantage whenever it is a question of giving its tenets a biblical foundation. Why praise reason without proclaiming its autonomy? For where the Bible is acknowledged by both sides as the common basis, pietism is always right. However, this time talent, too, was on the side of pietism. A Krummacher may show bad taste in many a single passage, but he will never go round and round for whole pages in such empty phrases as does Paniel. The best that was written from the rationalist side was *Die Verfluchungen*, of which *W. E. Weber* acknowledged himself to be the author. G. Schwab once said of Strauss that he stood out from the great throng of opponents of the positive[110] by a receptive awareness of the beautiful in every form. By the same token I should distinguish Weber from the ordinary run of rationalist. He has broadened his horizon by a rare knowledge of the Greek and German classics, and even if one cannot always agree with his assertions, particularly when they relate to dogma, his free mind and noble, vigorous diction must always find recognition. A recently published opposition pamphlet lacks all these qualities. A treatise just received here, *Paulus in Bremen*,[a] is written not without wit and contains

[a] The author of the anonymous pamphlet was Eduard Beurmann.— *Ed.*

piquant digs at political and social conditions in Bremen, but it is as inconclusive as those already mentioned.—This controversy was of great importance for Bremen especially. The parties opposed each other without thought, and things did not go any further than petty heckling. Pietism pursued its own purposes, while rationalism did not care about it and for that very reason had many mistaken notions about it. In the *Ministerium,* that is, the official assembly of all the Reformed and United preachers of the town, rationalism had hitherto been represented by only two members, and very timid ones at that; as soon as Paniel arrived, he acted more resolutely and presently we began to hear of dissension in the *Ministerium.* Now, since Krummacher fanned the controversy, each party knows where it stands. Pietism had long known that its principle of authority could not be reconciled with reason, the basis of rationalism, and correctly saw in that trend, even when it was only germinating, a falling away from old-orthodox Christianity. Now even the rationalist has realised that his belief is not distinguished from pietism by a different interpretation of the Bible, but stands in direct opposition to it. Only now that the parties are getting to know each other, is a unification on a higher plane possible, and in that regard the future can be awaited with tranquillity.

## RELATION TO LITERATURE. MUSIC

[*Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* No. 15, January 18, 1841]

It seems that the Hanseatic towns are now to be drawn forcibly into the stream of literature. Since Beurmann's *Skizzen,* there have been frequent discussions of this undeniably interesting topic. Beurmann himself, in *Deutschland und die Deutschen,* has given considerable space to the three free maritime cities. The *Freihafen* carried Soltwedel's *Hanseatische Briefe.* Hamburg has had some relation to German literature for a long time; Lübeck occupies a slightly too peripheral position and its age of material prosperity is also long past; yet A. Soltwedel is to found a journal there too. Bremen eyes literature suspiciously since it has not got a very clear conscience with respect to it and is not usually treated very gently by it. And yet with its position and political conditions Bremen is undeniably better suited to be a centre for the culture of North-West Germany than any other city. If only two or three capable men of letters could be attracted here, it would be possible to found a journal which would have a most important influence

on the cultural development of North Germany. The bookdealers of Bremen are enterprising enough, and I have heard it said already by several of them that they would be glad to provide the necessary funds and willing to bear the probable losses of the first few years of publication.

The best thing about Bremen is its music. There are few towns in Germany with so much and such good music as here. A relatively very large number of choral societies have been formed and the frequent concerts are always well attended. Musical taste, moreover, has remained almost quite pure; the German classics, Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, of the more modern composers Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and the best song composers, are decidedly preponderant. The new French and new Italian schools have an audience almost only among the young office employees. One might only wish that Sebastian Bach, Gluck and Haydn were less pushed into the background. Nor are more recent compositions rejected; on the contrary, there are perhaps few places where the works of young German composers are performed as readily as here. There have also always been names here which enjoyed a high reputation in the musical world. The talented song composer Stegmayer conducted the orchestra of our theatre for several years; his place has now been taken by Kossmaly, who will have made many friends partly with his compositions, partly with the articles which he publishes mostly in Schumann's *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. Riem, who conducts the choir and most of the concerts, is also a recognised composer. Riem is a lovable old man with a youthful, infectious enthusiasm in his heart; nobody knows as well as he does how to inspire both singers and instrumentalists to lively performance.

## LOW GERMAN

[*Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* No. 16, January 19, 1841]

What first strikes the stranger here is the use of the Low German language, even in the most respected families. As soon as the people of Bremen become cordial and familiar they speak Low German; indeed they are so attached to this dialect that they carry it over the ocean. On the *Lonja*[a] in Havana as much Bremen Low German is spoken as Spanish. I know people who have learnt the Bremen dialect perfectly in New York and Veracruz from the

[a] Stock exchange.—*Ed.*

Bremen people living there in large numbers. It is, of course, not yet three hundred years since High German was declared the official language; the basic laws of the city, the *Tafel* and the *Neue Eintracht*,[111] are written in the Low German language, and the first sounds which an infant here learns to imitate are Low German. It is rare for a child to begin to speak High German before the age of four or five. The peasants in this region never learn it and thus very often compel the courts to conduct proceedings in Low German and record in High German. Incidentally, Low Saxon is still spoken here in a very pure form and has remained completely free from mixing with High German forms, which disfigures the Hessian and Rhenish dialects. The North-Hanoverian dialect has certain archaisms which are not found in the Bremen dialect but suffers all the more from various local colourings; the Westphalian has lost greatly through a most ugly broadening of the diphthongs, while west of the Weser the transition to Frisian begins. One may safely regard the dialect of Bremen as the purest further development of the old Low Saxon written language; even now the popular language is so conscious of itself that it constantly changes High German words in accordance with the phonetic laws of Low German and assimilates them, a capacity which only a few Low Saxon popular dialects still enjoy. Almost the only thing which distinguishes the language of *Reineke Vos*[112] from the present dialect is its fuller, now contracted, forms, while the roots of the words, with few exceptions, still survive. The linguists were therefore quite right to regard the *Bremisches Wörterbuch* as giving the lexical median of present-day Low Saxon popular idioms, and a grammar of the Bremen dialect taking into consideration the dialects between the Weser and the Elbe would be a most meritorious work. Several scholars here have displayed interest in Low German, and it is greatly to be desired that one of them should undertake this task.

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# IMMERMANN'S *MEMORABILIEN*

## Erster Band. Hamburg, Hoffmann und Campe, 1840

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 53, April 1841]

The news of Immermann's death was a hard blow for us Rhinelanders, not only because of the poetical but also because of the personal significance of this man, although the latter, even more than the former, was only just beginning to develop. He stood in a special relationship to the younger literary forces which have lately emerged on the Rhine and in Westphalia; for in respect of literature Westphalia and the Lower Rhine belong together, however sharply they have been politically divided up to now, and in fact the *Rheinisches Jahrbuch* provides a common rallying point for writers from both provinces. The more the Rhine had hitherto kept literature at a distance, the more Rhenish poets now tried to figure as representatives of their home province and hence acted if not according to one plan, at least towards *one* aim. Such an endeavour rarely remains without a strong personality at its centre to which the younger ones subordinate themselves without surrendering any of their independence, and Immermann seemed to want to become that centre for the Rhenish poets. In spite of many prejudices against the Rhenish people he had gradually become naturalised among them; he had publicly made his peace with the literary present to which all the younger ones belonged; a new, fresh spirit had come over him, and his work was finding increasing recognition. Hence, the circle of young poets who rallied around him and gravitated towards him from the surrounding area kept growing; how often did not Freiligrath, for example, shut his memorandum and ledgers, when he was still writing invoices and current accounts in Barmen, to spend one or two days in the company of Immermann and the Düsseldorf

painters! Thus Immermann came to occupy an important place in the dreams which were cherished here and there of a Rhenish-Westphalian school of poetry; before Freiligrath's fame matured he was the mediating transition from the provincial to the general German literature. This had long been no secret to anyone with an eye for such relationships and ties; a year ago Reinhold Köstlin, among others, drew attention in *Europa* to the fact that Immermann was maturing towards a standing similar to that of Goethe in his later years.[113] Death has destroyed all these hopes and dreams for the future.

Immermann's *Memorabilien* appeared a few weeks after his death. Was he, a man in his prime, already mature enough to write his own memoirs? His fate says yes, his book says no. However, we must not regard the *Memorabilien* as an old man's final settlement with life, by which he declares his career closed; Immermann was rather settling accounts with an earlier, the exclusively romantic period of his work, and hence a different spirit prevails in this book than in the works of that period. Moreover, the events described here had receded so far through the great changes of the last decade that even to him, their contemporary, history seemed to have finished with them. And yet I think I am justified in maintaining that in ten years' time Immermann would have grasped the present and its attitude to the war of liberation, on which his work hinges, more profoundly, more freely. But for the moment we must take the *Memorabilien* as they are.

If the earlier romantic, in the *Epigonen*, had already striven for the higher standpoint of Goethe's plasticity and repose, and *Münchhausen* already rested firmly on the basis of the modern poetic manner, his posthumous work shows even more clearly how well Immermann appreciated the latest literary developments. The style and with it his vision of things are quite modern; only the more thoroughly thought-out content, the stricter arrangement, the sharply stamped individuality of character and the albeit rather veiled, anti-modern views of the author distinguish this book from the mass of descriptions, characters, memoirs, reviews, situations, conditions, etc., with which our literature, gasping for healthy, poetic fresh air, is suffocated today. Immermann, moreover, has sufficient tact only rarely to arraign before the forum of reflection subjects which are entitled to a different tribunal than that of bare reason.

The present first volume finds its material in the "youth of twenty-five years ago" and the influences which dominated it. A

"bill of lading" prefaces it in which the character of the whole is most faithfully outlined. On the one hand, a modern style, modern catchwords, and even modern principles; on the other, the peculiarities of the author, the significance of which has long been dead for a wider circle. Immermann writes for modern Germans, as he says fairly bluntly, for those who stand equally far from the extremes of Germanism and cosmopolitanism; he has an entirely modern conception of the nation and establishes premises which would lead logically to autocracy as the people's destiny; he pronounces himself emphatically against that "lack of self-confidence, the rage to serve and throw oneself away"[a] from which the Germans suffer. And yet, at the same time Immermann has a most inadequately grounded preference for Prussianism and the cool indifference with which he speaks of constitutional aspirations in Germany reveals only too clearly that he has not yet understood the unity of the modern spiritual life at all. One sees that the concept of the modern does not appeal to him at all since he resists many of its aspects, but nevertheless he cannot dismiss the concept.

The memoirs proper begin with the "Boyhood Reminiscences". Immermann keeps his promise to describe only those moments at which "history made its passage through him".[b] World events grow with the boy's consciousness and the colossal edifice is raised of which he was to witness the fall; at first storming in the distance, the waves of history break through the dam of North Germany in the battle of Jena, sweep over complacent Prussia, making the saying of its great king "*après moi le déluge*" particularly true of his own state,[114] and at once flood first over Magdeburg, Immermann's home town. This part is the best in the book; Immermann is stronger at narrative than reflective writing, and he has succeeded excellently in perceiving how world events are mirrored in the individual heart. This is also the point at which he links himself frankly to progress, even if only for the time being. For him, as for all the volunteers of 1813, the Prussia of before 1806 is the *ancien régime* of this state, but also, what is now less often admitted, the Prussia of after 1806 is a Prussia entirely reborn, a new order of things. The rebirth of Prussia is a peculiar affair, however. The first rebirth, through the great Frederick, has been so praised on the occasion of last year's jubilee that it is hard to understand how an interregnum of twenty years could already

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[a] K. Immermann, *Memorabilien*, 1. Teil, S. 27.— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid., S. 30-31.— *Ed.*

make another necessary.[115] It is also claimed that in spite of the double baptism of fire, the old Adam has of late shown new, strong signs of life. In the present section, however, Immermann spares us the praises of the *status quo*, hence the point at which Immermann's road diverges from that of the modern day will only become clearer in the course of these lines.

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 54, April 1841]

"Until it enters public life, youth is educated by the family, by study, by literature. For the generation which we are here considering, despotism was added as another, a fourth medium of education. The family cherishes and nurses it, study isolates it, literature leads it again into wider fields; despotism gave us the beginnings of character."[a]

This is the pattern according to which the reflective part of the book is arranged, and which has the great and undeniable merit of showing the development of consciousness in its successive stages.—The section on the family is quite excellent as long as it describes the *old* family, and it is only regrettable that Immermann has not made more effort to combine aspects of light and shade into a whole. The remarks he makes here are all most apt. By contrast his concept of the *newer* family shows again that he has not yet rid himself of the old prejudice and resentment against the phenomena of the last decade. True, the "old-fashioned comfort", the contentment with the family hearth, increasingly give way to ill humour, to dissatisfaction with the joys of family life; but against that background the philistinism of the patriarchal way of life, the halo around the nightcap, are more and more lost, and the causes of the ill humour, almost all of which Immermann emphasises quite correctly and only too glaringly, are no more than the symptoms of a still struggling, uncompleted, epoch. The epoch preceding foreign rule was completed and as such bore the stamp of repose, but also of indolence, and carried within it the seeds of decay. Our author could have said quite briefly: the reason why the newer family cannot fight off a certain sense of discomfort is that new demands are being made on it which it does not yet know how to reconcile with its own rights. As Immermann admits, society has changed, public life has been added as an entirely new element; literature, politics, science, all this now penetrates into the family more deeply, and it has difficulty in accommodating all these alien guests. That is the point! The family still lives too much in the old style to be able to come to a proper understand-

[a] K. Immermann, *Memorabilien*, 1. Teil, S. 95.—*Ed.*

ing with the intruders and be on good terms with them, and here indeed a regeneration of the family is occurring; the disagreeable process just has to be gone through, and to my mind the old family badly needs it. Incidentally, Immermann studied the modern family in precisely that part of Germany, on the Rhine, which is most mobile and receptive to modern influences, and here the discomfort of the transition process came to light most clearly. In the provincial towns of interior Germany the old family continues to live, move and have its being in the godly shadow of the dressing-gown; society still stands where it stood in A. D. 1799, and public life, literature, science, are dismissed with calm and deliberation, without anybody allowing his comfortable routine to be disturbed.—The author adds "pedagogical anecdotes" to prove what he has put forward about the old family and then concludes the narrative part of the book with "Uncle", a character typical of the old days. The education which the adolescent generation receives from the family is completed; the young throw themselves into the arms of study and literature. Here the less successful sections of the book begin. Study touched Immermann at a time when philosophy, the soul of all science, and knowledge of the ancient world, the basis of everything the young were offered, were caught up in a whirlwind revolution, and Immermann did not have the advantage of being able to follow it up to its goal as a student. When it drew to its close, he had long outgrown school. Nor does he say much more for the time being than that teaching in those days was narrow, and makes up for this by dealing with the most influential thinkers of the time in separate articles. Speaking of Fichte he obliges with a philosophy which would strike gentlemen familiar with the subject as fairly peculiar. Here he lets himself be lured into a witty argument about a matter which it needs more than a witty and poetic eye to penetrate. How our strict Hegelians will shudder when they read the history of philosophy as presented here in three pages! And it must be admitted that it would not be easy to discuss philosophy in a more dilettante fashion than is the case here. The very first sentence, which says that philosophy always oscillates between two points, seeking certainty either in the thing or in the ego, was clearly written in deference to the fact that Kant's "thing-in-itself" was followed by Fichte's "I", and can, with difficulty, be applied to Schelling, but in no sense to Hegel.—Socrates is called the incarnation of thinking and for that very reason the ability to have a system is denied him; pure doctrine is said to be combined in him with a direct penetration of empiricism, and since it tran-

scended the concept, this union, it is declared, could manifest itself only as a personality, not as a doctrine. Are these not sentences which must throw into the greatest confusion a generation that has grown up under Hegelian influence? Does not all philosophy end where conformity of thinking and empiricism "transcends the concept"? What logic can stand its ground where lack of system is asserted to be a necessary attribute of the "incarnation of thinking"?

But why pursue Immermann into a sphere which he himself only wanted to fly through? Suffice it to say that he can no more cope with the philosophical concepts of earlier centuries than he can unite Fichte's philosophy with his personality. By contrast he again describes excellently the character of Fichte, the orator of the German nation, and the gymnastics enthusiast Jahn. These character sketches shed more light on the effective forces and ideas by which the youth of the time was influenced than might any lengthy discourses. Even where literature forms the theme we enjoy far more reading the description of the relationship in which the "youth of twenty-five years ago" stood to the great poets than the inadequately substantiated demonstration that, unlike all its sisters, German literature has a modern, non-romantic origin. It will always appear forced to make Corneille sprout from a romantic medieval root and to attribute more in Shakespeare to the Middle Ages than the raw material which he found to hand. Is this perhaps the not altogether clear conscience of the erstwhile romantic seeking to reject the charge of continuing crypto-romanticism?

The section on despotism, namely, that of Napoleon, will not please either. Heine's worship of Napoleon is alien to the consciousness of the people, yet nobody will be happy that Immermann speaks as an insulted Prussian, while claiming the impartiality of the historian. He must have sensed that the national German, and particularly the Prussian, standpoint needed to be transcended here; hence he is as cautious as possible in style, adapts his viewpoint as closely as possible to the modern and ventures out only in minor and incidental matters. Gradually he does become bolder, however, admitting that he cannot quite see why Napoleon should be counted as a great man, establishing a complete system of despotism and showing that in this craft Napoleon was a pretty bad tyro and bungler. But this is hardly the right way to understand great men.

Hence, apart from a few ideas which run ahead of his convictions, Immermann stands in the main far from the modern

consciousness. Nevertheless, he cannot be classed with any of the parties into which Germany's spiritual *status quo* is customarily divided. He explicitly rejects the trend to which he seems to stand closest, Germanism. The well-known dualism in Immermann's convictions was expressed, on the one hand, as Prussianism, on the other, as romanticism. The former gradually lapsed, however, especially in Immermann the official, into the most sober, mechanistic prose, the latter into unlimited effusiveness. So long as he remained at this point Immermann could not achieve real recognition and was compelled more and more to realise that not only were these trends polar opposites but that they left the heart of the nation increasingly indifferent.

At last he dared a poetic advance and wrote the *Epigonen*. No sooner had this work left the publisher's shop than it showed its author that only his previous tendency had prevented a more general recognition of his talent by the nation and the younger men of letters. The *Epigonen* were appreciated almost everywhere and occasioned diatribes on the character of their author such as Immermann had not been previously accustomed to. The Young Literature,[a] if we may apply this name to the fragments of what had never been a whole, was the first to recognise the significance of Immermann, and was responsible for his becoming properly known to the nation. He had been inwardly resentful at the constantly sharpening division between Prussianism and romantic poetry, and also at the relatively slight popularity enjoyed by his writings, and he had unwittingly impressed more and more on his works the stamp of a stark isolation. Now that he had taken a step forward and won recognition, a different, freer, more cheerful spirit came over him. The old youthful enthusiasm thawed again and in *Münchhausen* made a start towards reconciliation with the practical, reasonable side of his character. The romantic sympathies which still remained at the back of his mind he appeased with *Ghismonda* and *Tristan*; but what a difference from his earlier romantic poetry, and especially what plasticity compared with *Merlin!*

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 55, April 1841]

Basically, romanticism was only a matter of form for Immermann. The sobriety of Prussianism saved him from the dreaming of the romantic school, but this was also the cause of a certain

[a] The literature of the Young Germany movement.— *Ed.*

resistance in him to the developments of the time. We know that in religious matters Immermann was very liberal; politically, however, he was a far too zealous supporter of the government. True, his attitude to the Young Literature brought him closer to the political aspirations of the century and taught him to view them from another aspect; but, as the *Memorabilien* show, Prussianism was still very firmly entrenched in him. Yet precisely in this book we find quite a few statements which contrast so strongly with Immermann's basic views and rest so much on a modern basis that the significant influence of modern ideas on him is quite unmistakable. The *Memorabilien* clearly show their author's endeavour to keep pace with his time, and who knows whether the current of history might not eventually have undermined the conservative Prussian dam behind which Immermann kept himself entrenched.

And now one more remark! Immermann says that the character of the epoch which he describes in the *Memorabilien* was primarily youthful; youthful motives were given play and youthful moods were voiced. Is that not also true of our epoch? The old generation has died out in literature, and youth has seized hold of the word. Our future depends more than ever on the growing generation, for this generation will have to decide contradictions of ever-heightening intensity. The old may complain about the young, and it is true that they are most disobedient; but just let them go their own way: they will find their bearings, and those who get lost have only themselves to blame. For we have a touchstone for the young in the shape of the new philosophy; they have to work their way through it and yet not lose the enthusiasm of youth. He who is afraid of the dense wood in which stands the palace of the Idea, he who does not hack through it with the sword and wake the king's sleeping daughter with a kiss, is not worthy of her and her kingdom; he may go and become a country pastor, merchant, assessor, or whatever he likes, take a wife and beget children in all piety and respectability, but the century will not recognise him as its son. You need not therefore become Old Hegelians and throw around "in and for itself", "totality", and "thisness", but you must not fight shy of the labour of thinking, for only that enthusiasm is genuine which like the eagle is afraid neither of the dull clouds of speculation nor of the thin, rarefied air in the higher regions of abstraction when it is a question of flying towards the sun of truth. And in this sense the youth of today has indeed gone through Hegel's school, and in the heart of the young many a seed has come up splendidly from the system's dry husk. This is also the ground for the boldest confidence in the

present; that its fate depends not on the cautious fear of action and the ingrained philistinism of the old but on the noble, unrestrained ardour of youth. Therefore let us fight for freedom as long as we are young and full of glowing vigour; who knows if we shall still be able to when old age creeps upon us!

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# WANDERINGS IN LOMBARDY[116]

## I

### OVER THE ALPS!

[*Athenäum* No. 48, December 4, 1841]

Thank God, we have left Basle behind! Such a barren town, full of frock-coats and cocked hats, philistines and patricians and Methodists, where nothing is fresh and vigorous but the trees around the brick-red cathedral and the colours of Holbein's *Passion*, which can be seen among other paintings in the library here; such a hole-and-corner town, with all the ugliness of the Middle Ages and none of their beauty, cannot appeal to a young heart whose imagination is fully engaged with the Swiss Alps and Italy. Is the transition from Germany to Switzerland, from the mellow, vine-covered Margravate of Baden to Basle, perhaps so discouraging only in order that the impression made by the Alps later should be the more profound? The country through which we are travelling now is not the most beautiful either. On the right are the last spurs of the Jura, green and fresh, it is true, but without character; on the left the narrow Rhine, which also seems to have a horror of Basle, so slowly does it crawl downdale, and beyond the Rhine another little piece of Germany. Gradually we move away from the green river, the road goes uphill, and we ascend the outermost spur of the Jura, which pushes forward between the Aar and the Rhine. Then suddenly the scenery changes. A sunny, cheerful valley lies before us, no, three or four valleys. The Aar, Reuss and Limmat, visible for long stretches, wind through the hills and join their waters; villages and townlets lie along their banks, and in the distance one mountain chain after another rises like the tiers of a giant amphitheatre behind the row of hills in front; here and there snow glistens through the mists which hover round the most distant summits, and Pilatus rises above the mass of peaks as if it were sitting in judgment like the

Judaean governor of old who gave it his name—these are the Alps!

We go downhill quickly and only now that the Alps are near become aware that we are in Switzerland. Swiss dress and Swiss architecture make their appearance with Swiss scenery. The language sounds more beautiful, more refined than the Basle dialect, to which the portliness of patrician city life has lent a materialistic, uncouth broadness; the countenances become freer, more open, more vivacious, the cocked hat gives way to the round hat, the long, trailing coat-tails to the short velvet jacket.—The little town of Brugg soon lies behind us, and following the road we cross the swift, green rivers; as our eyes pass rapidly over all the charming and quickly changing views, we leave the Aar and Reuss with the Hapsburg, the ruins of which look down from a wooded summit, and enter the Limmat valley to follow it as far as Zurich.

I had to spend a day in Zurich, and on the way to the promised land of German youth a day is quite a considerable delay. What could I expect of Zurich? Would the stay be rewarding? I admit, since the September affair and the victory ot the Pfäffikon guardians of Zion,[117] I could not picture Zurich as anything but a second Basle and thought with dismay of the day I had already given up as lost. In my innocence I no longer thought of the lake at all, particularly since the showers which, after continuous sunshine, had at last overtaken me between Basle and Zurich promised me a wet day. But when on awakening I saw a blue morning sky over the sunny mountains I quickly sprang up and hurried out. Sauntering off at random I came to a sort of terrace surrounded by gardens and surmounted by old trees. A notice-board informed me that the gardens were public and so I climbed briskly up. Then I saw the lake lying before me, glistening in the morning sun, steaming with early mist, enclosed by densely wooded mountains, and for the first moment I was quite overcome by a certain naive astonishment at the existence of such a strikingly beautiful landscape. A kindly citizen of Zurich whom I accosted told me that up there on the Ütliberg the view was so beautiful that the people of Zurich called their mountain the little Rigi,[a] and not entirely without justification. I took a look at the top; it was the highest in the Albis chain, which runs along the south-western side of the lake, and, in general, higher than the other mountains you could see. I asked the way and set off forthwith. After one and a half hours' march I was at the top.

[a] Peak in the Swiss Alps famed for its beauty.—*Ed.*

Here the lake lay before me in its full length with all its scintillating play of green and blue, with the town and the innumerable houses on its hilly shores, and there, on the other side of the Albis, a valley full of green meadows into which light oak and dark fir woods descended, a green sea with hills for waves in which the houses lay like ships, and to the south, on the horizon, the glistening chain of glaciers, from the Jungfrau to the Septimer and Julier; and from the blue sky above the May sun poured the glory of its rays over the world in its Sunday finery, so that lake and field and mountain vied in their radiance and there was no end to the splendour.

Tired from looking I went into the wooden house which stands on the summit and ordered a drink. I received it, together with the visitors' book. We all know what is to be found in books of this kind: every philistine regards them as institutions for securing immortality, in which he can transmit his obscure name and one of his exceedingly trivial thoughts to posterity. The duller he is, the longer the commentaries with which he accompanies his name. Merchants want to prove that besides coffee, train-oil or cotton, beautiful nature, which has created all this and even gold itself, still holds a tiny corner in their hearts; ladies give expression to their gushing sentiments, students to their high spirits and impertinence, and sage schoolmasters write out nature a bombastic certificate of maturity. "Magnificent Ütli, Rigi's dangerous rival!" a doctor of the illiberal arts began to apostrophise in Ciceronian style. In annoyance, I turned the page and left all the Germans, French, and English unread. Then I found a sonnet by Petrarch in Italian which in translation sounds roughly like this:

I soared in spirit to the abode up there
Of her I seek below but never find.
Gentle the looks that once avoided mine—
So stood she in the third celestial sphere.

Taking my hand, she softly said, "No tear
Can flow where we may never be disjoined.
'Tis I that long disturbed your peace of mind,
Returning all too soon to my home here.

"Oh, that man's mind my joy might understand!
I seek but you, and the form that you loved
And that I left down there so long ago."

Why did she say no more, let go my hand?
A little more of that sweet sound, I know,
And then from Heaven had I never moved.[118]

The person who had copied this out was called Joachim Triboni from Genoa and by this entry at once became my friend. For the more hollow and nonsensical the other comments, the more sharply this sonnet stood out against such a background, and the more it moved me. Where nature displays all its magnificence, where the idea that is slumbering within it seems, if not to awaken, then to be dreaming a golden dream, the man who can feel and say nothing except "Nature, how beautiful you are!" has no right to think himself superior to the ordinary, shallow, confused mass. In a more profound mind, however, individual sorrows and sufferings rise, only to be merged in the splendour of nature and to dissolve in gentle reconciliation. This reconciliation could hardly be expressed more beautifully than in this sonnet. But there was yet another circumstance which made me a friend of that Genoese. So another before me had brought his lover's grief to this summit; so I did not stand there alone with a heart that only a month ago had been filled with infinite bliss and now was torn and desolate. And what pain has more right to speak out in face of the beauty of nature than the noblest and most profound of all personal sorrows, the sorrow of love?

I gazed over the green valleys once more and then went down the mountain to take a closer look at the town. It lies round the narrow end of the lake like an amphitheatre and from the lake too presents a charming aspect with its surrounding villages and country-houses. The streets also stand out because of their handsome new buildings. I learned from an evening conversation with an old traveller that this state of affairs had not existed for very long. He could not marvel enough how much more beautiful the old Zurich had become over the last six years and how brilliantly the previous government had enhanced the outward dignity of the Republic by erecting public buildings. Today, when a certain party cannot throw enough mud at that government's corpse, the fact deserves mention that during its lifetime it not only had the unprecedented courage to appoint a *Strauss*, but also performed other governmental duties with honour.

The next morning I left for the south. First the road ran along the whole length of the lake to Rapperswil and Schmärikon, a marvellous road through gardens, country-houses and picturesquely grouped, vine-clad villages; on the other side of the lake the long, dark-green Albis ridge with its luxuriant foot-hills, and to the south, where the mountains divide, the dazzling peaks of the Glarner Alps. In the middle of the lake an island appears, Ufnau, the grave of Ulrich von Hutten. To fight like him for the free idea

and thus to rest from strife and toil—what more could one ask for? Lulled by the subdued pounding of the green waves breaking against the hero's grave with a sound like the distant clash of arms and battle-cries, guarded by giants armoured in ice and eternally youthful, the Alps! And then a Georg Herwegh, as representative of the German youth, making a pilgrimage to this grave and laying upon it his songs, the most beautiful expression of the ideas which inspire the young generation—that outweighs statues and monuments.

A fair was being held in Uznach, where the road led after leaving the lake, and the inside of the mail-coach, which I had hitherto occupied by myself, filled up with people returning from the fair, who gradually began to feel the effects of the previous riotous night and fell asleep, leaving me to my reflections. A most beautiful valley received us now; soft-sweeping hills clothed in green meadows and crowned with woods enveloped us; for the first time I saw here at close range the peculiarly shaded green of the Swiss forests which are a mixture of deciduous and coniferous trees, and I cannot describe the profound impression it made on me. This mixture, which brings out light and dark shades equally, lends great charm even to monotonous country, and although the grouping of mountain and valley here was not unusual it was surprising to find an area where almost all the beauty lay in the colouring; this made the colouring all the more beautiful. There was enough sublime and austere nature awaiting me on the way to the heights of the Alpine chain; but this softness and grace I found again only on the Italian side.

In the meantime I was soon again at the foot of higher mountains whose peaks, though below the snow-line, were still white now, in May. Through valleys now narrow, now wider, we went along the canal which links the Lake of Zurich with the Lake of Wallenstädt. Soon the latter lay before me. Here the countryside is already of a very different character from that around the Lake of Zurich; the basin lies almost unapproachable between steep rocks which rise directly out of the water and leave only a narrow opening at either end of the lake. A poor steamboat took on the coach travellers, and soon Weesen, the little town where we had embarked, disappeared as the mountains closed in. All traces of human activity were left behind us, the steamboat paddled lonely into the beautiful wilderness, deeper and deeper into this silent realm of nature; the green heads of the waves, the snowy mountain tops and the waterfalls which gushed down from them here and there, glistened in the bright sunshine. Occasionally a green, wooded gorge or a patch of meadowland smiled among the

white-grey granite of the rocks, and in the distance the thin veil of mist which rose from the lake blurred into soft, violet shades against the mountain background. It was the kind of country which all but challenges the human spirit to that personification of the spirit of nature which we find in folk legend where the fissured rocks with their snowy crowns take on the lines of old men's faces with deep furrows and silver locks and the green-flowing hair of bewitching mermaids rises from the clear waves. Gradually the pressing walls opened a little, spurs thickly covered with bushes protruded into the lake, and a white streak shimmered through the blue mist—the houses of Wallenstädt which lies at the end of the lake. We disembarked and proceeded cheerfully on to Chur, above our heads the rocky chain whose highest peaks are called *Die sieben Kurfürsten.* In their petrified ermine coats, their crowns of snow gilded by the evening sun, the severe gentlemen sat there as solemnly as if they were assembled in the Römer in Frankfurt to elect the Emperor, undisturbed by the shouting and jostling of the people at their feet throughout the Holy Roman Empire, the constitution of which had, with the passage of time, become as petrified as its seven representatives here.[119] Such names in the mouth of the people, by the way, are proof of how thoroughly German the Swiss are, however little they themselves may like to admit it. I shall perhaps return to this theme later in more detail and therefore leave it for the present.

Now we went deeper and deeper into the rocks; places where the hand of man had imparted a milder aspect to nature in the raw became ever more infrequent; the castle of Sargans clung to a perpendicular cliff like a swallow's nest, until at Ragatz the trees finally found enough earth on the stony ground to be able to clothe it in dense forest. Here, too, a castle lies on the slope, but it is in ruins, just as in general the passes from one river valley to the next here rather frequently show such traces of club-law. At Ragatz the valley widens again, the mountains retreat in awe before the mighty genius of the young river which has vigorously struck a passage for itself through the granite giants at Gotthard and Splügen and now swells towards its great destiny with the pride and courage of youth; it is the *Rhine* which we now greet again. In a broad bed it rolls on solemnly over gravel and sand, but from the widely scattered rocks one can see how wildly it lashes out when it has had enough of indolent comfort and braces itself in a destructive mood. From here onward its valley forms the road which leads up to Chur and from there to the Splügen pass.

In Chur there already begins the language mixture which reigns throughout the whole of the highest part of the Alps. German, Romanic and Italian in the Lombardic dialect were all to be heard at the coach-station. Romanic, the language of the mountain dwellers of Graubünden, has been much discussed by philologists, yet it is still veiled in a mysterious darkness. Some have tried to group it with the main Romance languages in respect of independence; others have sought French elements in it without considering how these could have penetrated there. If this idiom is to be honoured with some attention, the thing that most naturally suggests itself is to compare it with the neighbouring dialects. But so far this has not been done. The little I was able to gather during my transit from people who know the language indicates that in word formation it is very closely related to the neighbouring Lombardic idiom and differs from the latter only dialectally. Everything that has been taken for French influence is to be found again south of the Alps.

The next morning we went from Chur further up the Rhine along a broad valley surrounded by wild rocks. After a few hours a precipitous mountain face loomed out of the thin morning mist, crowned with the ruins of a castle, and placed itself straight across the road. The valley seemed to be blocked ahead of us and we could only advance through a narrow gorge. A slim white tower rose up before us; it belongs to Thusis, or, as the Lombards say, Tosana, which means Maidentown. It is beautifully situated in a narrow hollow enclosed by sheer towering rocks; the one most difficult of access bears the ruins of the castle of Hohenrhätien. There is no greater seclusion than that to which nature has condemned this village, and yet even here men have been stronger than nature; as if to spite it they have laid the highway through the middle of Thusis and every day carry Englishmen, merchants, and tourists over it.— After Thusis the Alpine chain which we had to cross by evening began to rise steeply. I abandoned the coach and walked along the road, fortified by a glass of Veltliner, which is to be had here at its best. There is no other road like it in the whole world. Hewn into overhanging rock it winds upwards through the gorges which the Rhine has quarried for itself. Giant perpendicular granite walls stand rigid on either side of the path, which in many places even the midday sun does not reach, and far down below the wild mountain torrent rages and thunders through fissured rock, uprooting firs, rolling boulders like a furious titan on whose chest a god has flung two mountains. The last defiant mountains, unwilling to bow to the all-conquering

domination of man, seem to have sought refuge here, gathering in rank and file to defend their freedom; terrifying and stern, they gaze upon the traveller, and in imagination one hears their voice: "Come here, man, if you dare; scale our summits and sow your corn in the furrows of our brows; but up there the sense of your smallness will grip you and make you dizzy, the ground will give way beneath you, and you will be dashed to pieces as you plunge from jagged rock to jagged rock. You may drive your roads between us; every year our ally, the Rhine, will descend swollen in wrath and tear your work to pieces!"

Nowhere is this resistance of the power of nature to the human spirit so colossal, one might almost say so conscious of itself, as here. The lonely horror of the road and the former danger of this Alpine crossing have given it the name of *Via mala.* Today it is different, of course. Here, too, spirit has conquered nature and like a linking ribbon the road goes on from rock to rock, safe, comfortable, almost indestructible, and negotiable at all seasons of the year. Yet an awful feeling of fear creeps over one at the sight of the menacing rocks; they seem to be brooding on vengeance and liberation.

[*Athenäum* No. 49, December 11, 1841]

Gradually the gorge widens, however, the rushing cataracts become rarer, the bed of the Rhine, which often had to push its way through defiles measured only in inches, expands, the steep walls become more sloping and recede farther back, a green valley opens and Andeer, a little village known to the people of Graubünden and the Veltlin valley as a spa, lies in the centre of this first terrace of the Splügen. The vegetation here is much more sparse, which is all the more striking as neither leaves nor grass were to be seen from Thusis until here and only fir-trees were able to cling to the steep cliffs. But even so it was comforting to the eye to see a valley green with meadows, a bushy slope, after all the gloomy, grey-brown granite walls. Directly after Andeer we ascended a steep slope up which the road snaked in a thousand convolutions. I left these to the coach and scrambled up the scree, through bushes and densely tangled creepers, to the point where the road turned towards the other side of the mountain. There the green valley lay deep below me, threaded by the Rhine, whose thunder again came echoing across to me. One more glance down in greeting and then onward. The road led me between sloping rocks, high as the sky, into a hollow, again into the most forsaken

loneliness in the world. I leant against the parapet and looked down into the Rhine, which formed a pool under dark-leaved trees. The still, green surface over which the boughs bent hiding secret little corners everywhere with their foliage, the mossy walls of rock, the sunbeams which penetrated here and there—all held a peculiar magic. The murmur of the quietened river sounded almost intelligible, like the talking of those beautiful swan maidens who come flying over the mountains from afar to strip off their swan's plumage in a secluded secret spot and bathe in the snow-cold wave under the green branches. In between the thunder of the cataracts rang out like the angry voice of the river spirit berating them for their lack of circumspection, for they know they must follow the man who robs them of their swan's plumage and a whole stage-coach full of maiden-oglers is already arriving, and in any case it is not becoming for females to bathe near the open highway, even if they are romantic swan maidens. But the beautiful nymphs laugh at the anxious old man for they know, of course, that no one sees them except he to whom the dreaming life of nature has been revealed, and that he will do them no harm.

Every moment it was becoming cooler between the mountains; about noon, after some climbing, I found the first snow, and suddenly, heated as I was from rapid climbing and running in the burning sun, I felt a marked chill in the air. This was the temperature of the second terrace in this pass on which the village of Splügen is situated, the last place where German is spoken, between high mountains against whose green walls the dark-brown chalets stand out. The midday meal was taken in a house which was arranged completely in Italian style and had only stone floors and thick stone walls even in the upper storeys; then the journey was continued up an almost vertical rock face. In a wooded gorge among the last trees which I saw on this side of the Alps, lay an avalanche, a broad river of snow which had rolled down from the steeper walls. It was not long before desolate gorges began where the mountain torrents thunder under a firm, vaulted cover of snow and the naked rocks are barely covered with patches of moss. The snow lay thicker and spread further. Right at the top a path had been cut out for the road on either side of which the snow was three or even four times as high as a man. I dug steps into the snow wall with my heels and clambered up. A broad, snow-white valley lay before me in the middle of which rose a grey roof, the Austrian customs-house, the first building on the Italian side of the Alps. The inspection of our luggage at this house,

during which I successfully concealed my Varinas[a] from the eyes of the frontier guards, gave me leisure to look around a little. On all sides bare, grey layers of rock, their summits covered with snow, a valley in which not a blade of grass was to be seen for snow, much less a bush or a tree, in short, a dreadful, forsaken desert above which Italian and German winds meet and continually drive grey clouds towards each other, a solitude more terrible than the Sahara and more prosaic than the Lüneburger Heide, a region where it snows for nine months and rains for three months year in, year out—that was my first sight of Italy. But then we descended rapidly, the snow disappeared, and where the white winter cover had barely melted yesterday, yellow and blue crocuses were already coming up today, the grass began to grow green, bushes appeared again, then trees with white waterfalls tumbling down between them, and the foaming Liro flowed far below in a valley full of violet shadows, gleaming snowy white through dark chestnut avenues; the air grew warmer and warmer although the sun was already sinking behind the mountains, and in Campo Dolcino we were already among real Italians, if not in real Italy. The inhabitants of the little village crowded around our coach and chattered in their rough nasal Lombardic dialect about the horses, the vehicle and the travellers; all true Italian faces, their vigorous expression heightened by thick black hair and beard. We went on quickly, down the Liro, between meadows and woods, through innumerable huge granite blocks hurled down from the Alpine peaks who knows when, whose sharp black jags and edges looked strange against the light-green background of the meadows. A row of beautiful villages, leaning against the rocks, with their slender, snow-white church towers, in particular S. Maria di Galivaggio, pass before our eyes; at last the valley opens up and in a bend rises the tower of Chiavenna or in German Kläwen, one of the chief towns in the Veltlin valley. Chiavenna is a completely Italian town with tall houses and narrow streets where one hears passionate Lombardic outbursts everywhere: *fiocul d'ona putana, porco della Madonna*, etc. While an Italian supper and Veltliner wine claimed our attention here, the sun was sinking behind the Alps of Rhäticon; an Austrian coach with an Italian *condottiere* and an escorting *carabiniere* picked us up and we set off for Lake Como. The moon stood full and clear in the dark-blue sky where here and there a star began to shine. The sunset flamed high, gilding

[a] *Varinas*—a brand of tobacco named after the Venezuelan town of the same name.—*Ed.*

the mountain peaks, and a magnificent southern night drew on. So I continued through the green vineyard country, the vines climbing over arbours and into the tops of mulberry trees; the warm air of Italy breathed upon me ever more mildly, the magic of a land never known but long dreamed of sent a sweet thrill through me, and beholding in spirit the glories my eye was to see, I fell blissfully asleep.

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# SCHELLING ON HEGEL[120]

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 207, December 1841]

Ask anybody in Berlin today on what field the battle for dominion over German public opinion in politics and religion, that is, over Germany itself, is being fought, and if he has any idea of the power of the mind over the world he will reply that this battlefield is the University, in particular Lecture-hall No. 6, where Schelling is giving his lectures on the philosophy of revelation. For at the moment all the separate oppositions which contend with Hegel's philosophy for this dominion are obscured, blurred and pushed into the background by the one opposition of Schelling; all the attackers who stand outside philosophy, Stahl, Hengstenberg, Neander, are making way for a fighter who is expected to give battle to the unconquered on his own ground. And the battle is indeed peculiar enough. Two old friends of younger days, room mates at the Tübingen theological seminary, are after forty years meeting each other again face to face as opponents; one of them ten years dead but more alive than ever in his pupils; the other, as the latter say, intellectually dead for three decades, but now suddenly claiming for himself the full power and authority of life. Anybody who is sufficiently "impartial" to profess himself equally alien to both, that is, to be no Hegelian, for surely nobody can as yet declare himself on the side of Schelling after the few words he has said—anybody, then, who possesses this vaunted advantage of "impartiality" will see in the declaration of Hegel's death pronounced by Schelling's appearance in Berlin the vengeance of the gods for the declaration of Schelling's death which Hegel pronounced in his time.

An imposing, colourful audience has assembled to witness the battle. At the front the notables of the University, the leading lights of science, men everyone of whom has created a trend of his own; for them the seats nearest to the rostrum have been reserved, and behind them, jumbled together as chance brought them to the hall, representatives of all walks of life, nations, and religious beliefs. In the midst of high-spirited youths there sits here and there a grey-bearded staff officer and next to him perhaps, quite unembarrassed, a volunteer who in any other society would not know what to do for reverence towards such a high-ranking superior. Old doctors and ecclesiastics the jubilee of whose matriculation can soon be celebrated feel the long-forgotten student haunting their minds again and are back in college. Judaism and Islam want to see what Christian revelation is all about; German, French, English, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, modern Greek and Turkish, one can hear all spoken together—then the signal for silence sounds and Schelling mounts the rostrum.

A man of middle stature, with white hair and light-blue, bright eyes, whose expression is gay rather than imposing and, combined with a certain fullness of figure, indicates more the jovial family-man than the thinker of genius, a harsh but strong voice, Swabian-Bavarian dialect with a recurring "*eppes*" for *etwas*,[a] that is Schelling's outward appearance.

I pass over the contents of his first lectures so as to come immediately to his utterances on Hegel, with the reservation that I shall add later whatever is necessary to explain them. I reproduce them as I took them down myself during the lecture.

"The philosophy of identity, as I have set it out, was only one aspect of the whole philosophy, namely, the negative aspect. This 'negative' had either to be satisfied by the presentation of the 'positive', or, absorbing the positive content of previous philosophies, to posit itself as the 'positive' and hence to set itself up as absolute philosophy. Over the fate of man also presides a reason which makes him persist in one-sidedness until he has exhausted all its possibilities. Thus it was Hegel who established the negative philosophy as the absolute philosophy.—I mention Herr Hegel's name for the first time. Just as I have expressed myself freely on Kant and Fichte, who were my teachers, so will I also on Hegel, although it gives me no pleasure to do so. But I will do it for the sake of the frankness which I have promised you, gentlemen. It must not appear as if I had anything to be afraid of, as if there were points on which I could not speak freely. I recall the time when Hegel was my listener, my comrade in life, and I must say that while in general the understanding of the philosophy of identity was shallow and superficial, he it was who saved its fundamental thought for the time to come and acknowledged it constantly to the last, as his *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie* above all

[a] Something.—*Ed.*

proved to me. Having found the great material already mastered, he concerned himself chiefly with the method, while the rest of us preferred to concentrate on the material. I myself, not satisfied with the negative results achieved, would readily have accepted any satisfactory conclusion, even from a stranger's hand.

"Incidentally, the question here is whether Hegel's position in the history of philosophy, the position which is to be accorded to him among the great thinkers, is precisely that he attempted to raise the philosophy of identity to the absolute, the final philosophy, a thing which could be done, of course, only with significant changes; and this I intend to prove from his own writings, which are open to all the world. If one were to say that this is precisely what Hegel is to be reproached with, I would reply that Hegel did that which lay closest to him. The philosophy of identity had to wrestle with itself, to transcend itself, so long as the science of the 'positive', which covers existence as well, was not yet there. Hence in this endeavour Hegel had to raise the philosophy of identity above its limitation, the power of being, the pure ability to be, and to make existence subject to it.

"'Hegel, who with Schelling rose to the recognition of the absolute, diverged from him in that he wished the absolute to be conceived, not as presupposed in intellectual perception, but rather as discovered by scientific method.' These words form the text on which I shall now speak to you.—At the basis of the above passage lies the view that the philosophy of identity has as its result the absolute not only in substance but in existence; since the starting point of the philosophy of identity is the indifference of subject and object, their existence is also assumed because validated by intellectual perception. In this way Hegel assumes quite artlessly that I wished to prove the *existence*, the *being*, of that indifference by intellectual perception, and reproaches me for the inadequate proof. That I did not wish to do so is shown by the protest I have so often voiced that the philosophy of identity is not a system of existence, and, as concerns intellectual perception, the term in question does not occur at all in the presentation of the philosophy of identity which is the sole and only one of the earlier period that I recognise as scientific. This presentation is to be found where no one looks for it, namely, in the *Zeitschrift für spekulative Physik*, Vol. II, Part 2. Elsewhere it does indeed occur and is part of Fichte's legacy. Fichte, with whom I did not wish to break outright, arrives through it at his immediate consciousness, the 'I'; from this, I went further and thus arrived at the indifference. Since in intellectual perception the 'I' is no longer regarded as being subjective, it enters the sphere of thought and thus its existence is no longer immediately certain. Accordingly, intellectual perception would not even prove the existence of the 'I', and though Fichte uses it for this purpose, I cannot base myself on it to prove from it the existence of the absolute. Hence Hegel could not reproach me for the inadequacy of a proof which I never wished to provide, but only for not having stated explicitly enough that I was not at all concerned with existence. For if Hegel demands proof of the being of the infinite power he goes beyond reason; should the infinite power exist, philosophy would not be free of being, and we must here ask whether something prior to existence can be thought. Hegel denies it, for he begins his logic with being and proceeds directly to an existential system. But we affirm it, by beginning with the pure power of being as existing only in thinking. Hegel, who so often speaks of immanence, nevertheless is only immanent in that which is *not* immanent in thinking, for being is this non-immanent. To retreat into pure thinking means in particular to retreat from all being outside thought. Hegel's contention that the existence of the absolute is proved by logic has the further disadvantage that in this way one has the infinite twice, at the end of the logic and again at the end of the whole process. In general one cannot conceive why the logic is put first in the *Enzyklopädie*, instead of pervading and animating the entire cycle."

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 208, December 1841]

Thus far Schelling. In large part and so far as I could I have quoted his very words and can boldly claim that he could not refuse to put his signature to these excerpts. To complete this presentation I add from the preceding lectures that he considers things from two aspects, separating the *quid* from the *quod*, the essence and the concept from existence. The first he apportions to the pure science of reason or negative philosophy, the second to a science to be newly founded and containing empirical elements, positive philosophy. Of the latter we have not yet heard anything; the former appeared forty years ago in an inadequate form abandoned by Schelling himself, and is now being developed by him in its true, adequate expression. Its basis is reason, the pure power of cognition, which has as its immediate content the pure power of being, the infinite ability to be. The necessary third element to be added here is the power *over* being, which can no longer alienate itself, and this is the absolute, the spirit, that which is released from the necessity of transition into being and persists in eternal freedom in relation to being. The absolute can also be called the "orphic" unity of these powers, as that outside of which there is nothing. When these powers come into contradiction with each other this mutual exclusiveness is finiteness.

These few sentences suffice, I think, for the understanding of the preceding passages and as an outline of neo-Schellingianism as far as this can be given here and up to now. It only remains for me to draw from this the conclusions probably intentionally concealed by Schelling, and to enter the lists for the great dead man.

If Schelling's death sentence on Hegel's system is divested of its bureaucratic language, it comes down to this: Hegel actually had no system whatever of his own, but eked out a miserable existence with the leavings of my thoughts; while I occupied myself with the *partie brillante*, the positive philosophy, he revelled in the *partie honteuse*, the negative, and since I had no time for it he took upon himself its completion and elaboration, infinitely happy that I had entrusted this to him. Will you reproach him for this? "He did that which lay closest to him." He has nevertheless a "position among the great thinkers", for "he was the only one who recognised the fundamental thought of the philosophy of identity, while all the others had a shallow and superficial understanding of it". All the same, prospects seemed bad for him, for he wanted to make half of philosophy into the whole.

A well-known saying is quoted, allegedly from Hegel's mouth, but which, after the above utterances, doubtless stems from Schelling: "Only one of my pupils understood me, and even he unfortunately understood me wrongly."

But to be serious, can such libels be engraved upon Hegel's tombstone and we, who owe him more than he owed Schelling, not dare to issue a challenge to protect the honour of the dead, however terrible the opponent? And they are libels, let Schelling say what he will, and the form be ever so scientific in appearance. Oh, "in a purely scientific manner" I could show up Herr von Schelling, or anybody else, if that were required, in such a thoroughly bad light that he would certainly recognise the advantages of the "scientific manner", but what help would that be to me? It would in any case be frivolous of me, the youth, to teach an old man, and particularly Schelling, who, however decisively he may have deserted freedom, nevertheless always remains the discoverer of the absolute and in his part as Hegel's forerunner is mentioned by all of us only with the deepest reverence. But Schelling as Hegel's successor can only lay claim to a certain piety and will demand calm and coolness least of all from me, for I am standing up for a dead man, and it is fit for a fighter to have a certain amount of passion: he who draws the sword in cold blood rarely has much enthusiasm for the cause for which he is fighting.

I must say that Schelling's speech here and especially these invectives against Hegel leave little doubt that the portrait painted in the preface to Riedel's well-known latest pamphlet[a] is a likeness, something one was hitherto reluctant to believe. Schelling presents the entire development of philosophy in this century, Hegel, Gans, Feuerbach, Strauss, Ruge and the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* as dependent on himself to begin with, and then not only negates it, but, with a flourish merely intended to bring *him* more into the limelight, presents it as a luxury in which the spirit indulges with itself, a curio collection of misunderstandings, a gallery of useless aberrations. If this does not exceed all that Schelling is reproached with in that pamphlet, then I have no idea what is customary in mutual intercourse. It might, of course, be difficult for Schelling to find a middle way which compromised neither him nor Hegel, and the egoism which caused him to sacrifice his friend so as to preserve himself, might be pardonable; but it is a little too much when Schelling asks the century to take back forty years of effort and work, forty years of thinking, of sacrifice of the dearest

[a] Carl Riedel's *Schellings religionsgeschichtliche Ansicht,* which was published anonymously.— *Ed.*

interests and the most sacred traditions, as a waste of time, an erroneous trend, only so that he shall not have lived these forty years too long; it sounds like more than irony when he allocates to Hegel a position among the great thinkers precisely by deleting him in reality from their number and by treating him as his creature, his servant; and finally it appears somewhat like intellectual meanness, like petty—what does one call that well-known, pale-yellow passion?—when Schelling claims each and every thing he acknowledges in Hegel as his own property, nay, as flesh of his own flesh. It would indeed be strange if Schelling's old truth had only been able to maintain itself in Hegel's bad form, and in that case the reproach of obscurity of expression, which the day before yesterday Schelling levelled against the man he was attacking, would of necessity recoil upon himself, as in the common judgment it already does, in spite of the promised clarity. Anyone who indulges in such periods as Schelling constantly does, who uses expressions like *quidditativ* and *quodditativ*, orphic unity, etc., and even with them is so often at a loss that every moment Latin and Greek phrases and words have to help out, clearly forfeits the right to criticise Hegel's style.

Incidentally, Schelling is most of all to be pitied because of the unfortunate misunderstanding concerning existence. The good, naive Hegel with his belief in the existence of philosophical results, in the right of reason to enter into existence, to dominate being! But it would be really strange if he, who after all studied Schelling thoroughly and for a long time maintained personal intercourse with him, if all the others who tried to penetrate the philosophy of identity, had noticed nothing of the real joke, namely, that all this was just bits of nonsense which existed only in Schelling's head and laid no claims whatever to any influence on the external world. Somewhere that must have been in black and white and somebody would certainly have found it. But one is in fact tempted to doubt whether this was Schelling's view from the beginning or whether it is a later addition.

And the new version of the philosophy of identity? Kant freed rational thinking from space and time, Schelling takes existence away as well. What then are we left with? This is not the place to prove against him that existence belongs indeed to thought, that being is immanent in the mind and that the foundation of all modern philosophy, the *cogito, ergo sum*,[a] cannot thus be stormed and overrun; but I may be permitted to ask whether a power

[a] René Descartes, *Principia philosophiae*, Vol. I, Ch. 7 and 10.—*Ed.*

which itself has no being can produce a being, whether a power which can no longer alienate itself is still power, and whether the trichotomy of the powers does not correspond in a remarkable manner with the trinity of idea, nature and mind which emerges from Hegel's *Enzyklopädie*?

And what will result from all this for the philosophy of revelation? It belongs, of course, to the positive philosophy, to the empirical side. Schelling will have no other course open to him than to assume the fact of a revelation, which he will perhaps substantiate in one way or another, only not by reason, for he has locked the door on himself in that respect. Hegel made things a little harder for himself—or can it be that Schelling has other sources of information up his sleeve? This philosophy can thus quite correctly be called empirical, and its theology positive, while its jurisprudence will probably be historical. That would indeed be not unlike a defeat, for we already knew all that before Schelling came to Berlin.

It will be *our* business to follow the course of his thinking and to shield the great man's grave from abuse. We are not afraid to fight. Nothing more desirable could have happened to us than for a time to be *ecclesia pressa*.[a] There the minds part. What is genuine is proved in the fire, what is false we shall not miss in our ranks. The opponents must grant us that youth has never before flocked to our colours in such numbers, that the thought which dominates us has never before unfolded itself so richly, that courage, conviction, talent have never been so much on our side as now. Hence we shall rise confidently against the new enemy; in the end, one will be found among us who will prove that the sword of enthusiasm is just as good as the sword of genius.

Let *Schelling* see whether he can muster a school. Many only join him now because like him they are opposed to Hegel and accept with gratitude anybody who attacks him, be it Leo or Schubarth. But for these, I think, Schelling is far too good. Whether he will find any other adherents remains to be seen. I do not yet believe so, although some of his hearers are making progress and have already got as far as *indifference*.

Written in the second half of November 1841

First published in the *Telegraph für Deutschland* Nos. 207 and 208, December 1841

Signed: *Friedrich Oswald*

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first time

[a] The church oppressed.—*Ed.*

# SCHELLING AND REVELATION

## Critique of the Latest Attempt of Reaction Against the Free Philosophy[121]

Written in late 1841 and early 1842

First published as an anonymous pamphlet in Leipzig in 1842

Printed according to the pamphlet

Published in English for the first time

For a decade there hung on the mountains of South Germany a thundercloud which gathered in ever darker menace against North-German philosophy. Schelling appeared again in Munich; it was understood that his new system was approaching completion and would oppose the domination of the Hegelian school. He himself spoke out resolutely against that school, and its other opponents, when all arguments had to give way before its conquering might, still had the resort of pointing to Schelling as the man who would ultimately demolish it.

Hence Hegel's disciples must have welcomed Schelling's arrival in Berlin six months ago and his promise to submit to the public verdict his by then completed system. One could hope no longer to have to hear the irksome, empty chatter about him, the great unknown, and to see at last what there was in it. Besides, with the fighting spirit which has always distinguished it and the self-confidence it possessed, the Hegelian school could only welcome the opportunity to try its strength with a famous opponent; Schelling had, indeed, long ago been challenged by Gans, Michelet and the *Athenäum,* and his younger pupils by the *Deutsche Jahrbücher.*

So the thundercloud came up and discharged itself in thunder and lightning which from Schelling's rostrum began to excite all Berlin. Now the thunder has died away, the lightning has ceased; has it found its target, is the structure of the Hegelian system, that proud palace of thought, going up in flames, are the Hegelians hastening to save what can still be saved? So far nobody has witnessed anything of the kind.

And yet everything had been expected of Schelling. Had not the "Positives" been down on their knees groaning about the great drought in the land of the Lord and imploring that the rain cloud hanging on the far horizon might draw nearer? Was it not just as of old in Israel, when Elijah was entreated to drive out the then priests of Baal?[a] And when at last he came, the great exorcist, how all the loud, shameless denunciation, all the wild raging and shouting, suddenly ceased so that not a word of the new revelation should be lost! How the valiant heroes of the *Evangelische* and the *Allgemeine Berliner Kirchenzeitung*,[b] of the *Literarischer Anzeiger* and Fichte's magazine[c] drew back modestly to make room for the St. George who was to slay the dreadful dragon of Hegelianism, which breathed the fire of godlessness and the smoke of obscuration! Was there not a silence in the land as if the Holy Ghost was about to descend, as if God Himself wished to speak out of the clouds?

And when the philosophical Messiah mounted his wooden, very poorly upholstered throne in the *Auditorium maximum*, when he promised deeds of faith and miracles of revelation, what jubilant cries greeted him from the camp of the Positives! How all tongues were full of him in whom the "Christians" had placed their hopes! Was it not said that the bold hero would venture alone like Roland into enemy territory, plant his banner in the heart of enemy country, blast the innermost citadel of wickedness, the unconquered fastness of the Idea, so that the enemies, left without base or centre, could no longer find counsel or any place of safety in their own country? Was it not proclaimed that the fall of Hegelianism, the death of all atheists and non-Christians, was to be expected by Easter 1842?

Everything has turned out differently. The Hegelian philosophy lives on, on the rostrum, in literature, in the young; it knows that all the blows dealt it up to now could do it no harm and calmly proceeds on its own course of inner development. Its influence on the nation, as proved if only by the increased rage and activity of its opponents, is rapidly growing, and Schelling has left almost all his hearers dissatisfied.

These are facts which not even the few adherents of the new Schellingian wisdom will be able to dispute with valid arguments. When the prejudices formed against Schelling were found to be

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[a] 1 Kings 18.— *Ed.*

[b] *Berliner Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung.— Ed.*

[c] *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie,* edited by Fichte Jr.— *Ed.*

# Schelling

und die

# Offenbarung.

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## Kritik

des neuesten Reaktionsversuchs

gegen die

## freie Philosophie.

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Leipzig,
Robert Binder.
1842.

Title-page of Engels' pamphlet *Schelling and Revelation*

all too fully confirmed, there was at first embarrassment as to how reverence for the old master of science should be reconciled with that frank, resolute rejection of his claims that was owed to Hegel. He soon helped us out of this dilemma, however, when he expressed himself on Hegel in a manner which released us from all consideration for the alleged successor and conqueror. It will therefore not be taken amiss if in my judgment I follow a democratic principle and without regard to persons confine myself to the matter and its history.

When in 1831 the dying Hegel left the legacy of his system to his disciples, their number was still relatively small. The system only existed in that no doubt strict and rigid, but also solid form which has since been much criticised but was nothing less than a necessity. Hegel himself, proudly confident in the strength of the Idea, had done little to popularise his doctrine. The writings he had published were all couched in a rigorously scientific, almost thorny style, and, like the *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, in which his pupils wrote after the same fashion, could count on only a small, and moreover preoccupied, public of scholars. The language did not need to be ashamed of the scars received in the struggle with thought; what was first required was to reject decidedly everything imaginary, fantastic, and emotional, and to grasp the pure thought in its self-creation. Once this secure base of operations had been achieved, it was possible to await in calm a subsequent reaction of the excluded elements and even descend into unphilosophic consciousness, since the rear was covered. The influence of Hegel's lectures always remained limited to a small circle, and although its importance there was great, it could bear fruit only in later years.

But it was only after Hegel had died that his philosophy really began to live. The publication of his collected works, particularly the lectures,[122] had an immeasurable effect. New doors were opened to the wonderful hidden treasure which lay in the secret depths of the earth and of whose splendour only a few had yet caught the gleam. Small had been the number of those who had had the courage to venture on their own into the labyrinth of its approaches; now there was a straight, smooth road by which the fabulous jewel could be reached. At the same time, coming from the lips of Hegel's pupils, the teaching assumed a clearer, more human form, the opposition on the part of philosophy itself became weaker and less significant, and by and by only the most hidebound theologians and jurists were heard to complain about the impertinence with which a layman was intruding into their

special field of learning. Youth seized upon the new offering the more eagerly as in the school itself an advance had meanwhile taken place which urged on to the most meaningful discussions on vital questions both of science and of practice.

The limits within which Hegel himself had confined the powerful, youthfully impetuous flood of conclusions from his teaching were conditioned partly by his time, partly by his personality. In its fundamentals Hegel's system had been completed before 1810, his world outlook by 1820. His political views, his teaching on the state, which had been developed in reference to England, bear unmistakably the stamp of the Restoration, nor did the world-historical necessity of the July revolution ever become clear to him. Hence he himself came under his own pronouncement that every philosophy is but the thought content of its own time. His personal opinions, on the other hand, were no doubt clarified by his system, but not without influencing its conclusions. Thus his philosophy of religion and of law would undoubtedly have turned out very differently if he had abstracted himself more from the positive elements which were present in him as a product of his time, and had proceeded instead from pure thought. All inconsistencies and contradictions in Hegel can be reduced to that. Everything which in the philosophy of religion appears too orthodox, and in the philosophy of law too pseudo-historical, is to be understood from this point of view. The principles are throughout independent and free-minded, the conclusions—no one denies it—sometimes cautious, even illiberal. Now some of his pupils appeared on the scene who kept to the principles and rejected the conclusions where they could not be justified. The Left wing took form; Ruge created an organ for it in the *Hallische Jahrbücher,* and overnight the abolition of the sovereignty of the positive was proclaimed. But one did not yet dare to express openly all the conclusions. Even after Strauss[123] one still believed oneself to be within the Christian fold, indeed, in relation to the Jews, one even prided oneself on one's Christianity; on such questions as the personality of God or the immortality of the individual one was not sufficiently clear to be able to pronounce an unreserved judgment; indeed, when one saw the inevitable conclusions approaching, one was even in doubt whether the new teaching should not remain the esoteric property of the school and be kept secret from the nation. Then Leo came out with his *Die Hegelingen* and thereby did his opponents the greatest service; and indeed, everything that was intended to bring about the ruin of this school worked to its advantage and proved to it most clearly

that it was walking hand in hand with the world spirit. Leo gave the Hegelings clarity about themselves, he reawakened in them the proud courage which follows truth to its most extreme conclusions and declares it openly and intelligibly, be the consequences what they may. It is amusing now to read what was then published in defence against Leo, to see how the poor Hegelings struggled and protested and hedged themselves with reservations against Leo's conclusions. Today not one of them thinks of denying his charges, so high has their audacity risen these past three years. Feuerbach's *Wesen des Christenthums,* Strauss' *Dogmatik*[a] and the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* show the fruits of Leo's denunciation; nay, *Die Posaune*[b] demonstrates the relevant conclusions even in Hegel. This book is so important for Hegel's position if only because it shows how often the bold, independent thinker in Hegel prevailed over the professor who was subject to a thousand influences. It is a vindication of the personality of the man of whom it was expected that he should transcend his time not only where he had genius but even where he had not. Here is the proof that he did this too.

So the "*hegelingische Rotte*"[c] no longer conceals that it neither can nor will any longer regard Christianity as its limit. All the basic principles of Christianity, and even of what has hitherto been called religion itself, have fallen before the inexorable criticism of reason, the absolute idea claims to be the founder of a new era. The great upheaval of which the French philosophers of the last century were merely the forerunners has achieved in the realm of thought its completion, its self-creation. The philosophy of Protestantism since Descartes has come to an end; a new era has begun, and it is the most sacred duty of all who have followed the self-development of the spirit to transmit the immense result to the consciousness of the nation and to raise it to Germany's living principle.

During this internal development of the Hegelian philosophy, its external position did not remain unchanged either. Altenstein, the Minister through whose mediation the new doctrine had found a cradle in Prussia, died; with the subsequent changes, not only did the doctrine cease to be favoured in any way, endeavours were also made gradually to exclude it from the state. This was the consequence of the greater emphasis on principles both by the

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[a] The main section of D. F. Strauss' *Die christliche Glaubenslehre in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und im Kampfe mit der modernen Wissenschaft.*— *Ed.*

[b] [B. Bauer,] *Die Posaune des jüngsten Gerichts über Hegel den Atheisten und Antichristen. Ein Ultimatum.*— *Ed.*

[c] Hegelian gang.— *Ed.*

state and by philosophy; as the latter was not afraid to express what was necessary, so the former, quite naturally, insisted more definitely on its own conclusions. Prussia is a Christian-monarchic state and its position in world history entitles it to have its principles recognised as valid in fact. One may share them or not, it is enough that they are there, and Prussia is strong enough to defend them if need be. Moreover, the Hegelian philosophy has no cause for complaint on that score. Its former position threw a false light upon it and apparently attracted to it a number of adherents who could not be relied on in times of struggle. Its false friends, the egoists, the superficial, the half-hearted, the unfree, have now fortunately withdrawn and it now knows how it stands and on whom it can count. Besides, it can only welcome a sharpening of the contradictions, since its final victory is assured. So it was quite natural that men of the opposite trend were summoned as a counterweight to the hitherto dominant tendencies. The struggle against these was taken up again, and when the historical-positive faction had again found some courage, Schelling was called to Berlin to turn the scales in the struggle and to ban the Hegelian teaching from its own field of philosophy.

His appearance in Berlin was bound to arouse general excitement. He had played so prominent a role in the history of modern philosophy; in spite of all the stimulation he had given, he had never produced a finished system and had put off his settlement with science time and again, until he had now promised to give this great account of his entire life's work. And he really did undertake to achieve the reconciliation of faith and science, of philosophy and revelation, and everything else he had mentioned in his first lecture.[a] A further important source of heightened interest in him was the relation in which he stood to the man he had come to conquer. Already friends and roommates at the University, the two men later lived together in Jena in such intimacy that to this day it cannot be decided what influence they had on each other. One thing alone is certain, that it was Hegel who made Schelling realise how far he had already gone beyond Fichte without knowing it.* After their separation, however, their

* If Schelling really is as "straightforward and frank" as he claims, if he is sincere in his assertions about Hegel and has good reasons for them, he should prove it by publishing his correspondence with Hegel, which is said to be in his possession, or at least the publication of which depends only on him. But that is the tender spot. If he demands belief in his sincerity, let him come forward with this proof which would end all arguments on the issue.— *Note by Engels.*

[a] *Schelling's erste Vorlesung in Berlin,* 15. November 1841.— *Ed.*

paths of development, which until then had been parallel, soon began to part. Hegel, whose profound, restless dialectic only now began freely to develop after Schelling's influence had receded, made in 1806 with the *Phänomenologie des Geistes* a giant step beyond the standpoint of natural philosophy and declared his independence of it; Schelling despaired more and more of the possibility of achieving the great results he desired by the method hitherto followed and already at that time attempted to master the absolute directly by empirical assumption of a higher revelation. While Hegel's thought-creating power proved itself increasingly energetic, lively and active, Schelling, as is already evidenced by his making such an assumption, sank into an inert lassitude which soon became outwardly manifest in the slackening of his literary activity. He may well talk complacently now about his long, secret philosophical labours, about the hidden treasures in his desk, about his thirty years' war with thought, nobody will believe him. He who concentrates the entire effort of his mind on a single point, who still lays claim to the youthful vigour which overcame a *Fichte,* and wants to be a hero of science, a genius of the first order—and only such a one would be able to overthrow Hegel, as everybody must admit—would he need thirty years and more to produce a few insignificant results? If Schelling had not taken philosophising so lightly, would not all the stages in the development of his thought lie before the world in separate writings? After all, he never showed much self-control in this regard, and used to send at once anything new he found into the world without much criticism. If he still felt himself to be the king of science, how could he live without the recognition of his people, how could the miserable existence of a dethroned prince, a Charles X, how could the long since worn and faded purple of the philosophy of identity satisfy him? Should he not have dared everything to reinstate himself in his lost rights, to reconquer the throne of which a "later comer"[a] had deprived him? Instead, he left the road of pure thought, buried himself in mythological and theosophical fantasies and kept his system at the disposal, as it would appear, of the King of Prussia,[b] for at his call the never completed was at once ready. So he came here, with the reconciliation of faith and knowledge in his bag, got himself talked about and at last mounted the rostrum. And what was the New he brought, the Unheard-of with which he wanted to work wonders?

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[a] An allusion to F. Schiller, *Die Piccolomini*, Act I, Scene 1.—*Ed.*
[b] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

The philosophy of revelation, on which he had lectured in Munich "since 1831 in exactly the same way", and the philosophy of mythology, which "dates from even earlier". Quite old things which had been proclaimed in Munich for ten years without success, which could captivate only a Ringseis or a Stahl. That is what Schelling calls his "system"! There lie the forces which are to save the world, the anathema against godlessness—in the seed which refused to germinate in Munich! As these lectures have been ready for ten years, why did Schelling not have them printed? With all his self-assurance and confidence in success there must be something behind this, some secret doubt must be keeping him from this step.

In appearing before the Berlin audience, he did indeed come a little closer to the public than up to now in Munich. What could there easily remain an esoteric secret teaching because nobody bothered about it, is here mercilessly forced into the light of day. Nobody is admitted to heaven before he has gone through the purgatory of criticism. Anything remarkable that is said in the University here today appears tomorrow in all German newspapers. Hence all the reasons which kept Schelling from having his lectures printed should have held him back also from moving to Berlin. Even more so, for the printed word admits no misunderstanding, while the carelessly spoken word, hastily taken down and perhaps only half heard, is indeed exposed to false interpretations. But, of course, there was now nothing else for it; he had to go to Berlin or by his action admit his inability to defeat Hegelianism. It was now also too late to go into print, for he had to bring to Berlin something new, not yet printed, and his manner here showed that he did not have anything else "in his desk".

So he confidently mounted the rostrum, and immediately promising his hearers the most tremendous things, he began his lectures before almost four hundred people, of all social positions and nations.[a] Of these I shall now report, on the basis of my own notes, which I have compared with the most accurate of other available records, whatever is necessary to justify my judgment.

Up to now, all philosophy has made it its task to understand the world as reasonable. What is reasonable is, of course, also necessary, and what is necessary must be, or at least become, real. This is the bridge to the great practical results of modern philosophy. If Schelling now does not acknowledge these results, it

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[a] See this volume, pp. 181-82.—*Ed.*

would have been consistent to deny also the reasonableness of the world. He dared not, however, say this outright, but preferred to deny the reasonableness of philosophy. So he makes a most devious way for himself between reason and unreason, calls the reasonable the understandable *a priori,* the unreasonable the understandable *a posteriori,* and assigns the former to the "pure science of reason or negative philosophy", the latter to a "positive philosophy" yet to be founded.

Here is the first great gulf between Schelling and all other philosophers, here is the first attempt to smuggle belief in dogma [*Autoritätsglauben*], sentimental mysticism, gnostic fantasy into the free science of thinking. The unity of philosophy, the wholeness of any world outlook, is torn apart into a most unsatisfactory dualism, the contradiction which makes up the world-historic significance of Christianity is raised to the principle of philosophy as well. Right from the start, therefore, we must protest against this division. Moreover, we shall see how invalid it is when we follow the train of thought with which Schelling seeks to justify his inability to grasp the universe as reasonable and whole. He proceeds from the scholastic dictum that in things the *quid* is to be distinguished from the *quod,* the *what* from the *that.* Reason teaches *what* things are, experience proves *that* they are. If one were to deny this distinction by maintaining the identity of thinking and being, this would be a misuse of the postulate. The result of the logical thought process is merely the thought of the world, not the real world. Reason is simply impotent to prove the existence of anything, and in this respect must accept the testimony of experience as sufficient. Philosophy, however, deals also with things which transcend all experience, with God, for example; hence the question is whether reason is capable of providing proof of their existence. To be able to answer this question, Schelling enters into a lengthy discussion which is here quite superfluous since the above premises do not admit any other answer than a decisive *No.* This is also the result of Schelling's discussion. Hence according to Schelling it necessarily follows that in pure thought reason has not to deal with really existing things, but with things as possible, with their essence, not with their being; so that its subject is God's essence, but not His existence. For the real God, therefore, a different sphere must be looked for than that of pure reason, the presupposition of existence must be granted to things which only later, *a posteriori,* have to show themselves as possible or reasonable and as accessible to experience in their consequences, that is, as real.

Here the contrast to Hegel is already set forth in all its sharpness. In that naive belief in the Idea to which Schelling is so superior, Hegel maintains that anything which is reasonable is also real; Schelling says, however, that what is reasonable is possible, and thus safeguards himself, for in view of the known extensive range of possibility, this proposition is irrefutable. But at the same time he thereby already proves what will be manifest later, namely, his unclarity concerning all purely logical categories. I could, indeed, at once point out the gap in the above battle order of conclusions through which the wicked enemy of dependence stole into the ranks of free thoughts, but I shall save this for a later occasion so as not to repeat myself, and shall at once go on to the content of the pure science of reason as Schelling construed it for his hearers to the great amusement of all Hegelians. It is the following:

Reason is the infinite power of cognition. Power is the same as ability (Kant's ability to know). As such it appears without any content, but nevertheless it has one, and indeed, without its own doing, without action on its part, for otherwise it would, of course, cease to be power, since power and action are opposites. This content, which is thus necessarily immediate, innate, can only be the infinite power of being, corresponding to the infinite power of cognition, since to every cognition there corresponds something which has being. This power of being, this infinite ability to be, is the substance from which we must derive our concepts. To be occupied with it is pure, self-immanent thinking. This pure ability to be is not just a readiness to exist but the concept of being itself, that which by its nature is eternally passing over into concept, or that which is about to pass over into being, that which cannot be prevented from being and is therefore passing over from thinking into being. This is the mobile nature of thinking, according to which it cannot stop at mere thinking but must constantly pass over into being. This is, however, no passing over into real being but only a logical passing over. So instead of the pure power there appears something that logically is being. But since the infinite power stands in the relation of the prius to that which itself originates in thinking by passing over into being, and since only everything that really is being corresponds to the infinite power, reason possesses as its integral content the power to assume an *a priori* attitude to being and thus, without having recourse to experience, to arrive at the content of everything that really is being. That which occurs in reality reason has recognised as logically necessary possibility. It does not know whether the world

exists; it only knows that if it does, it must be of such and such a nature.

Hence, the fact that reason is power compels us to regard its content also as potential. Hence God cannot be the immediate content of reason, for He is something real, not merely potential, possible. In the power of being we first discover the possibility to pass over into being. This being takes away from the power the domination over itself. Before, the power dominated being; it could pass over into it or not. Now it has fallen to being, is under its sway. This is being without mind, without concept, for mind is power over being. This conceptless being is no longer to be found in nature, it has already all been taken possession of by form; but it is easy to see that this condition was preceded by a blind, boundless being, which lies at its basis as matter. But power is this freedom, this infinity, which can pass over into being or not, so that the two contradictory opposites in it, being and not-being, are not mutually exclusive. This second ability—also not to pass over into being—is the equal of the first, as long as the first remains power. Only when that which is immediately able to be actually passes over into being is the other excluded from it. The indifference of the two in the power then ceases, for now the first possibility posits the second outside itself. The ability to realise itself is given to this second only by the exclusion of the first. As in the infinite power the ability to pass over and the ability not to pass over do not exclude each other, so also they do not exclude that which hovers freely between being and not-being. Thus we have three powers. In the first a direct relation to being, in the second an indirect relation, which is able to be only by the exclusion of the first. So we now have 1) that which inclines to being; 2) that which inclines to not-being; 3) that which hovers freely between being and not-being. Before the act of passing over, the third is not distinct from the direct power and so will only become being when it is excluded by the first two; it can only come to be when the first two have passed over into being. With this all possibilities are completed and the inner organism of reason is exhausted in this totality of powers. The first possibility is only that before which there can only be the infinite power itself. There is something which, when it has left the realm of possibility, is only one, but until it has decided to do so, it is *instar omnium*, the directly imminent, also that which resists, which offers resistance to the other that is destined to succeed it. By yielding its position it transfers its might to another, raising it to power. To this other that is raised to power it will subordinate itself as

relative not-being. At first there appears that which can be in the transitive sense, which is therefore also the most accidental, the least substantiated, which can find its basis only in the subsequent, not in the preceding. Only in subordinating itself to this subsequent, in becoming, by comparison, a relative not-being, does it obtain substantiation, only thus does it become something, since alone it would only be lost. This first is the *prima materia* of all being, itself arriving at determined being by placing above itself something higher. The second thing with the ability to be is only posited and raised into its power by the above exclusion of the first from its placidity; that which in itself is not yet able to be, now becomes something able to be through the negation. From its original *in*direct ability to be, it is posited as placid, calm willing and so it will necessarily work towards negating that by which it was itself negated, and thus towards returning into its own placid being. This can only come to pass by the first being brought back from its absolute alienation into its ability to be. Thus we obtain a superior ability to be, a being which has been brought back to its ability to be, which as something higher is a being with power over itself. Since with the direct ability to be the infinite power is not exhausted, the second within it must be the direct ability only not to be. But that which has the direct ability to be is already superior to the ability; hence, the second power must be the direct non-ability not to be, the perfectly pure being, for only the being is not the being able to be. The pure being can certainly be power, however contradictory this may seem, for it is not real being, it has not, like the latter, passed *a potentia ad actum*, but is *actus purus*. It is, of course, not immediate power, *but from that it does not follow that it cannot be power at all.* It must be negated in order to be realised; thus it is not power everywhere and throughout, but can become power through negation. As long as that which is immediately capable of being remained mere power, it was itself pure being; as soon as it raises itself above power, it presses the pure being out of its own being so as itself to become being. Pure being, negated as *actus purus*, thus becomes power. So it has no freedom of will but must work in order again to negate its negation. In this way it could indeed pass over *ab actu ad potentiam* and thus be realised outside itself. The first, the boundless being, was the non-willed, the *hyle*, with which the demiurge has to wrestle. It is posited so as at once to be negated by the second power. A bounded being must take the place of the boundless being, it must be led by stages back into the ability to be, and then is an ability which is self-possessing and, at the

highest stage, conscious of itself. So between the first and the second possibility there lie a mass of derived possibilities and medium powers. These are already the concrete world. If the power that was posited outside itself is fully brought back into ability, into self-possessing power, the second power, too, will leave the scene, because it is only there to negate the first and in the act of negating the first dissolves itself as power. The more it overcomes the opposing being, the more it destroys itself. *At this stage it is not possible to stop.* If the being is to be completed, in place of the being which was entirely overcome by the second power a third must be posited to which the second power completely transfers its might. This can be neither pure ability to be nor pure being, but only that which in being is ability to be and in ability to be is being, the contradiction of power and being posited as identity, that which hovers freely between the two, *the spirit,* an inexhaustible source of being, which is quite free and in being does not cease to remain power. This cannot work directly but can only be made actual through the second power. Since now the second is that which mediates between the first and the third, the third is posited by that first which was overcome by the second. This third, which remains unconquered in being, is, posited as spirit, that which is able to be and which consummates, so that with its entry into being the consummate being is there. In the self-possessing ability, in the spirit, lies the consummation of nature. This last can also devote itself to a new, consciously produced movement and so form for itself a new, intellectual world standing above nature. This possibility, too, must be exhausted by science, which thereby becomes philosophy of nature and philosophy of spirit.

Through this process everything that is not immanent in thinking, that has passed over into being, is eliminated and there remains the power which no longer needs to pass over into being, which no longer has being outside itself, whose ability to be is its being; the entity which is no longer subordinate to being, but is its being in its truth, what is called the supreme being. Thus the supreme law of thinking is fulfilled, power and action are together in one being, thinking is now by itself and hence is *free thinking,* no longer subject to an unceasing, necessary movement. Here that which was willed in the beginning has been reached, the self-possessing concept (for concept and power are identical) which, because it is unique of its kind, has a special name and, because it is that which was willed from the beginning, is called the Idea. For he who in thinking will not look to the result, whose philosophy is

not conscious of its purpose, *is like a painter who simply goes on painting, and the outcome can take care of itself.*

So far Schelling has communicated to us the content of his negative philosophy, and these outlines are perfectly sufficient to recognise the fantastic, illogical character of his mode of thinking. He is no longer capable of moving in pure thinking even for a short time; every moment the most fabulous, most bizarre phantoms cross his path, so that the great horses drawing his carriage of thought rear and shy and he himself abandons his goal to chase after these phantoms. That the three powers, when reduced to their naked thought content, are nothing but the three elements of the Hegelian course of development through negation, only torn apart, fixed in their separateness and dressed up by "philosophy which is conscious of its purpose" in accordance with that purpose, can be seen at first glance. It is a sad spectacle to watch Schelling drag thought down from its lofty, pure ether into the region of sensory perception, strike from its head the true golden crown and make it stagger about, drunk with the fog and mist of the unaccustomed, romantic atmosphere, in a crown of gilded paper, to be the laughing-stock of the street urchins. These so-called powers are no longer thoughts at all, they are nebulous, fantastic shapes in which the outlines of the three divine hypostases already shine clearly through the veil of cloud which mysteriously envelops them. Indeed, they already have a certain self-consciousness: one "inclines" to being, the other to not-being, the third "hovers freely" between the two. They "yield place to each other", they have different "positions", they "crowd" each other, they "resist", they fight each other, they "seek to negate themselves", they "work" and "endeavour", etc. This strange sensualisation of thought again arises from a misunderstanding of the Hegelian logic. That powerful dialectic, that inner motive force which constantly drives the individual thought categories, as if it were the bad conscience of their imperfection and one-sidedness, to ever new development and rebirth until they arise from the grave of negation for the last time as absolute idea in imperishable, immaculate splendour, Schelling has been able to grasp in no other way than as the self-consciousness of the individual categories, while in fact it is the self-consciousness of the general, of thinking, of the Idea. He wants to raise the language of emotion to an absolutely scientific language without first having shown us pure thought in a language that alone is suitable to it. On the other hand, he is equally incapable of grasping the concept of being in its complete abstraction, as he shows if only by

constantly using as synonymous the concepts of being and of that which is. Being is thinkable for him only as matter, as *hyle*, as wild chaos. In addition we now already have several such matters, a "boundless being", a "bounded being", a "pure being", a "logical being", a "real being", a "placid being", and later we shall get, besides, an "unpremeditatable being" and a "contrary being". It is amusing to see how these different beings collide and crowd each other out, how power has only the choice of losing itself in this chaotic mass or remaining an empty phantom. Do not tell me that this is only because of the figurative language; on the contrary, this gnostic-oriental dream thinking, which conceives every thought category either as personality or as matter, is the basis of the whole process. Take away the mode of looking at things and everything collapses. Even the basic categories, power and action, derive from a time of confusion, and Hegel was quite right when he threw these hazy categories out of logic. Schelling makes confusion worse confused and uses this opposition by turns, as it suits him, for the following Hegelian categories: being in itself and being for itself, ideality and reality, force and manifestation, possibility and actuality, and in all this power is, moreover, a separate, sensory-supersensory essence. The chief meaning which Schelling attributes to it is, however, that of possibility, and so we have a philosophy based on possibility. In this respect, Schelling rightly calls his science of reason the "none-exclusive" science, for in the end everything is possible. What matters, however, is that thought should prove its worth by its inner force to become real. The Germans will decline a philosophy which drags them along a bumpy road through the infinitely boring Sahara of possibility without giving them anything real to eat and drink and without leading them to any other goal than where the world, according to it, is boarded up to reason.

But let us give ourselves the trouble to follow the road through Nothing. Schelling says: Essence is for concept, being for cognition. Reason is the infinite power of cognition, its content the infinite power of being, as set out above. But now he suddenly starts actually to take cognisance of the infinite power of being through the power of cognition. Can he do it? No, cognition is *actus*, to *actus* corresponds *actus*, "to cognition corresponds a being", hence to the above actual cognition corresponds the actual, real being. Hence, against its will, reason would have to cognise real being, and in spite of all endeavour to keep to the high seas of possibility we would at once be thrown on the hated beach of actuality.

But, it is objected, the power of being is only cognised after its transition, which is certainly a logical one. Schelling himself indeed says that logical being and power of being, concept and power, are identical. When therefore the power of *cognition* actually passes over into *actus*, the power of *being* cannot be satisfied with a pretended, fictitious transition. If the power of being does not actually make the transition, it remains power, cannot be cognised by reason, and therefore is not the "necessary content of reason" but, on the contrary, the absolutely irrational.

Or will Schelling call the activity which reason applies to its content not cognition, but, perhaps, conception? Then reason would have to be the infinite power of conception, since in its own science it would never attain to cognition.

On the one hand, Schelling excludes existence from reason; on the other, he restores it to reason with cognition. Cognition is for him the unity of concept and existence, of logic and the empirical. Hence, contradictions at every turn. How is that?

Is reason then the infinite *power* of cognition? Is the eye the power of seeing? The eye, even the closed eye, continues to see, it still sees darkness even if it believes it is not seeing anything. Only the diseased eye, the curably blind, is power of seeing without being *actus*; only the undeveloped or momentarily confused reason is mere *power* of cognition. But then does it not appear so plausible to understand reason as power? It is that, too, and not mere possibility, but absolute force, necessity of cognition. That, however, must manifest itself, must cognise. The separation of power and *actus*, of force and manifestation, belongs only to the finite; in the infinite, power is itself its *actus*, the force its own manifestation. For the infinite does not tolerate any contradiction within itself. If now reason is infinite power, then by virtue of this infinity it is also infinite *actus*. Otherwise the power itself would be conceived as finite. That is already the case in naive consciousness. Reason which does not get beyond the power of cognition is called unreason. Only that reason is accepted as reason which really proves itself by cognition, the eye only as a true eye if it sees. Here the contradiction between power and *actus* is at once seen as soluble and in the last resort void, and this solution is a triumph of Hegelian dialectic over Schelling's narrowness, which never got beyond this contradiction; for even where power and *actus* are supposed to coincide in the Idea, this is merely asserted, and the fusion of the two concepts is not shown.

But when Schelling says: Reason is conceiving, and since concept is power, it is power to cognise, which only becomes real cognition

when it finds something real to cognise; on the other hand, in the pure science of reason, where it is concerned with the power of being, reason does not go beyond the power of cognition and merely conceives—then nobody, even apart from the above discussion on power and *actus*, will deny that the purpose of the power of cognition is actually to pass on to cognition, and that it is nothing so long as it does not do this. So it turns out that the content of the pure science of reason is hollow, empty, useless, and that reason when it fulfills its purpose and actually cognises becomes unreason. If Schelling admits that the essence of reason is unreason, I have, of course, nothing more to say.

So from the very start Schelling has got himself so tied up with his powers, transitions and correspondences that the only way out of the confusion of logical and real being, in which he does not want to be entangled, is the recognition of a line of thought other than his own. But let us proceed.

Reason is now to conceive in this fashion the content of all actual being and take up an *a priori* attitude towards it; it is not supposed to prove that something exists, but that if something exists it must be of such and such a nature, in contrast to Hegel's assertion that with thought real existence is also given. These statements are again downright confused. It has not occurred either to Hegel or anyone else to want to prove the existence of anything without empirical premises; he merely proves the necessity of that which exists. Schelling here understands reason just as abstractly as earlier he understood power and *actus* and is in consequence driven to assign to it an existence prior to that of the world and separated from all other existence. The conclusion of modern philosophy, which was at least among the premises of Schelling's earlier philosophy, and of which Feuerbach first made us conscious in all its sharpness, is that reason cannot possibly exist except as mind, and that mind can only exist in and with nature, and does not lead, so to say, a life apart, in separateness from it, God knows where. Schelling himself admits this when he describes as the aim of individual immortality not the liberation of mind from nature, but the proper balance of the two; also when he says further of Christ that he was not *dissolved into the universe* but was raised as a man on the right hand of God. (So the remaining two divine persons must have been dissolved in the universe after all?) But if reason exists, then its own existence is proof of the existence of nature. So the necessity exists that the power of being must pass over at once into the *actus* of being. Or, to use a very humdrum phrase, intelligible even without Feuerbach and Hegel:

So long as one abstracts from all existence one cannot talk about it at all. But if one starts from something existing it is, of course, possible to go on from that to other things, which, all conclusions being correctly drawn, must also exist. If the existence of the premises is admitted, the existence of the conclusion stands to reason. Now the basis of all philosophy is the existence of reason; this existence is proved by its activity (*cogito, ergo sum*); if therefore one proceeds from reason as existing, the existence of all its consequences follows of itself. No philosopher has yet denied that the existence of reason is a premise; and if Schelling does not want to admit this premise let him keep out of philosophy altogether. Thus Hegel could indeed prove the existence of nature, i.e., that it is a necessary consequence of the existence of reason. But Schelling, who wants to make his way into an abstract and empty immanence of thinking, forgets that all his operations are obviously based on the existence of reason and makes the ridiculous demand that real reason should have unreal, merely logical results, that a real apple-tree should produce only logical, potential apples. Such an apple-tree is usually called barren; Schelling would say: the infinite power of an apple-tree.

If then Hegel's categories are called not only the models according to which, but also the generating forces through which the things of this world have been created, this means nothing else than that they deduce the thought-content of the world and its necessary consequence from the existence of reason. Schelling, on the other hand, takes reason really for something which could also exist outside the world organism and so places its true realm in the hollow, empty abstraction, in the "aeon before the creation of the world", which, fortunately, however, has never existed and in which reason still less ever found itself or even felt happy. But here we see how extremes meet: Schelling cannot grasp the concrete thought and drives it on to the most dizzying abstraction, which at once appears to him again as a sensory image, so that precisely this muddle of abstraction and conception is characteristic of Schelling's scholastic-mystic way of thinking.

We get new proofs of this when we turn to the exposition of the content of "negative philosophy". The power of being serves as the basis. The caricature of Hegelian dialectic is most obvious. The power can make a transition, but it can also refrain from doing so, as it wishes. So in the retort of reason the two chemical components, being and not-being, are separated from the neutral power. If it were at all possible to bring back the business of power to sound reason, here would be the place where a

dialectical element shows itself and Schelling seems to divine that the essence of power is the necessity of transition and that power is only abstracted from the *actus* of reality. But no, he becomes more and more entangled in the one-sided abstraction. He lets the power make a trial transition and discovers the great thought that after the transition it has forfeited the chance *not* to make it. At the same time he discovers in the power a third thing, the possibility not to do either and to hover freely between the two. These three possibilities or powers, it is declared, include all reasonable content, all possible being.

The possibility to be becomes actual being. With that the second possibility, the ability also not to be, is negated. Will it seek to reconstitute itself? How can it do so when it is not overcome by a mere negation in the Hegelian sense, but is totally destroyed, reduced to nothing, to such radical not-being as can only occur in a philosophy of possibility? Crushed, swallowed, devoured, how should this possibility still have the strength to reconstitute itself? For not only the second possibility, but even the primeval power, the subject to which that second possibility is a mere predicate, is negated, and so not the latter, but the former, the primeval power, must seek to reconstitute itself. But that cannot at all be its intention—to stick to Schelling's way of looking at things—for it is bound to know beforehand that by becoming *actus*, it would negate itself as power. Such a reconstitution can occur only when *persons*, not categories, negate themselves. Only boundless misunderstanding, a monstrous passion for would-be improvement could so thoughtlessly distort the principle of Hegel's dialectic which is here clearly the basis. How undialectical the whole process is can also be shown thus: If the two sides in the power have equal strength, then, without an impulse from outside, it does not decide to make the transition at all and remains as before. Then, of course, the whole process would not take place, and Schelling would not know where to derive the prototypes of the world, of the spirit and the Christian Trinity. So one fails to see the necessity for the whole thing, it remains obscure why the power takes leave of its lovely potential peace, subjects itself to being, etc., and the whole process rests from the start on arbitrariness. If this happens in the "necessary" thinking, what will not occur in the "free"! But that is just the point: this transition must remain arbitrary, for otherwise Schelling would be admitting the necessity of the world and this does not fit into his positivism. But here again is proof that power is only power as *actus*, but without *actus* is only a hollow, empty absurdity with which even Schelling cannot

be contented. For with empty power he is left without content, this only appears when the power becomes *actus*, and so against his will he has to acknowledge the untruth of the opposition of power and *actus*.

Let us return once more to the second power, of which Schelling makes the most wonderful fuss. We have seen above how it was negated, reduced to nothing. Now Schelling says further: Since the first is that which can be, it is its opposite, everything except that which can be, hence the wholly pure being, *actus purus*! This, however, must already have lain in the primeval power, but how does it get there? How does that which is "averse to being, inclined to not-being", etc., suddenly become wholly pure being; how does "pure being" differ from "boundless being"; why is there no other possibility for that which cannot be, but to be that which is? To that we get no reply. Instead we are assured that this, the second power, leads the first, which has become boundless, back into the condition of ability and thereby reconstitutes and at the same time—destroys itself! Who can understand that? Furthermore, this reduction process is fixed in its stages by the stages of nature. That nature should be the outcome is incomprehensible. Why, for example, is the boundless being the *hyle*? Because Schelling thought of the *hyle* from the start and worked towards it; otherwise this being could have anything else as its sensory or spiritual content. That the stages of nature are to be conceived as powers is also incomprehensible. In that way the deadest, the inorganic, would have to be that which has the highest degree of being, the organic rather that which is able to be; but one can only regard this as a mystical image in which all thought-content has been lost.

Now instead of conceiving the third power, the spirit—for again we can see Schelling working towards it from afar—as the highest quantitative stage of the first, which has been overcome by the second, and in which at the same time a qualitative change takes place, Schelling again does not know where to derive it from. "Science is looking round for a third." "One cannot stop here." "In place of the being overcome by the second power, a third must be posited." These are the magic flourishes with which he conjures up the *spirit*. Now we learn how this spirit, which has made its entrance through *generatio primitiva*, is constituted. If we think of nature, it is, of course, evident that, given these premises, the spirit is to be understood as self-possessing ability to be (not mere ability), which, of course, is already bad enough; but if we abstract from this future nature, which will perhaps never even

come, if we keep to the pure powers, it is impossible to grasp, try as one may, that the first power, which has been brought back into ability to be by the second, can be anything but the primeval power. Schelling seems to have felt in Hegel the depth of the mediation which has passed through the negation and the opposition, but it is beyond him to achieve anything like it. With him there are two things, indifferent to each other, one of which pushes the other aside, whereupon the second reconquers its place and drives the first back to its original position. Nothing else than the initial state can possibly result. Moreover, if the first is strong enough to push the second aside, where does the second suddenly find the strength to go over, after an unsuccessful defensive, to the offensive and drive the first away? I will say nothing about the unfortunate definition of the spirit; it refutes itself and the entire process of which it is the result.

So we would now have happily worked through this so-called process of development and could pass on to other things, if Schelling, after finally the spirit had concluded all, had not held out for us the prospect of another, intellectual world, the coping-stone of which he calls the Idea. How Schelling, *after* the concrete nature and the living spirit, can now bring out the abstract idea (in this position it can indeed only be abstract), is quite incomprehensible, and Schelling should have justified this, since he rejects the contrary position of the Hegelian Idea. He arrives at this through his mania for having the absolute decidedly at the end of philosophy, and through his failure to comprehend how Hegel actually achieved this. The absolute is, however, the self-knowing spirit, and that, it is to be supposed, is what Schelling's Idea is too; but according to Schelling this spirit is to be a postulate at the end of the negative philosophy. But that again is a contradiction. History cannot come into this philosophy since it has nothing to do with actuality; on the other hand, it is the philosophy of spirit, the crown of which is the philosophy of world history; moreover, the negative science is supposed to "exhaust this last possibility of a consciously occurring process" (which can only be history). Where does that leave us? This much is certain, that if Schelling had a philosophy of history, the self-knowing spirit would appear to him not as a postulate, but as a result. The self-knowing spirit is, however, a long way from being the concept of the personal God, as Schelling claims for the Idea.

When Schelling had got thus far, he claimed that it had been his endeavour forty years earlier to give a coherent presentation of the science just outlined. The philosophy of identity, he said, had

been intended only as this negative philosophy. Its slow, gradual elevation above Fichte had at least in part been intentional:

"He had wished to avoid all abrupt transitions, to keep the continuity of philosophical development, and even flattered himself with the hope perhaps some time later to bring Fichte himself over to his side."

As if we did not know Hegel's previously quoted saying or how little Schelling knew himself. The subject, which in the philosophy of identity comprised within itself all positive content, is now declared to be power. Already in this philosophy it is supposed that all the stages of nature are being relative to the next higher stages, which are themselves ability to be and, in turn, being relative to their higher stages, so that what is there called subject and object here becomes ability to be and being until the final outcome is no longer that which relatively has being, but that which absolutely has "super-being", the identity, no longer the mere indifference, of thinking and being, of power and *actus*, subject and object. Everything in this philosophy, however, according to Schelling, had been stated "presupposing the pure science of reason", and the worst misunderstanding was that the whole was taken for a not merely logical but also a real process, that this philosophy was thought to infer from a principle that was true in itself, the truth of all that followed. Only when this philosophy had reached its conclusion, did being, which was no longer able to alienate itself, remain stationary in its full splendour and see nature and spirit beneath it as its throne to which it had been raised; yet, for all its sublimity this was no more than a construction of thought and only to be transformed into a real process by a complete reversal.

For the moment we will leave it open whether this presentation of the philosophy of identity has not been adapted to Schelling's present views, whether forty years ago he cared as little for the reality of his thoughts as now, and whether it would not have been better to remove the "greatest misunderstanding" with two words, which could easily have been done, instead of maintaining a superior silence; we shall go on directly to the judgment of the man who "pushed" Schelling "out of his place", without the latter hitherto having been able to "negate that which has negated him".

Schelling says that while almost everybody understood the philosophy of identity wrongly and superficially, Hegel rescued its fundamental thought and acknowledged it to the last, as testified by his *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie*. Hegel erred in that he took the philosophy of identity for the absolute philosophy and did not acknowledge that there are things which go beyond it.

Its limit was the ability to be; he went beyond that and drew being into its compass. His basic error was that he wished to turn it into an existential system. He believed the philosophy of identity had the absolute for its subject not merely in essence, but in existence. By bringing existence into it, he leaves the sphere of development of pure reason. So he is consistent when he begins his science with pure being and thereby denies the prius of existence. Thus it came about that he was only immanent in the non-immanent, for being is that which is non-immanent in thinking. Then he claims to have demonstrated the absolute in logic. So he had the absolute twice, at the end of logic, where it is derived in exactly the same way as at the end of the philosophy of identity, and at the end of the whole process. This shows, therefore, that logic is not to be premised as the first part of the development but should rather pervade the whole process. Hegel defines logic as a subjective science in which thinking is in and with itself alone, prior to and outside all actuality. And yet thinking is supposed to have the *actual,* real idea as its terminal point. While with its first step the philosophy of identity is within nature, Hegel throws nature out of logic and thereby declares it illogical. The abstract concepts of Hegel's logic do not belong to the beginning of philosophy; they can enter it only when consciousness has absorbed the whole of nature, for they are mere abstractions from nature. So there can be no question of objective logic in Hegel, for just where nature, the object, begins, logic ceases. So in logic the Idea is in the process of becoming, but only in the thought of the philosopher; its objective life only begins when it has arrived at consciousness. But as actually existing, it is already at the end of logic—hence it is impossible to continue with it. For the Idea as absolute subject-object, as ideal-real, is complete in itself and incapable of further progress; how then can it still pass over into the other, into nature? Here it becomes clear that in the pure science of reason there can be no question of an actually existing nature. What concerns actual existence must be reserved for positive philosophy.

The error of this presentation rests mainly on the naive belief that Hegel did not advance beyond Schelling's standpoint and that, moreover, he misunderstood it. We have seen that, try as he will, Schelling cannot get away from existence, and therefore there is hardly any need to justify Hegel for not making this claim of abstract ideality. Even if Schelling could abide by the pure power, his own existence should convince him that the power has made the transition, hence that all consequences of mere logical being now belong in the real, and hence the "absolute" exists. After

that, why does he still need positive philosophy? If the logical absolute follows from the logical world, the existing absolute follows from the existing world. But that Schelling cannot be content with this and now in addition assumes a positive philosophy of faith shows how strongly the empirical, extra-mundane existence of the absolute contradicts all reason, and how strongly Schelling himself feels this. Because Schelling now seeks to pull down to his own low level the Hegelian Idea, which stands infinitely high above the absolute of the philosophy of identity since it is what the other merely pretends to be, he cannot grasp the relation of the Idea to nature and spirit. Schelling again conceives the Idea as an extra-mundane being, as a personal God, a thing which never occurred to Hegel. For Hegel the reality of the Idea is nothing but—nature and spirit. That is also why Hegel does not have the absolute twice. At the end of logic the Idea is there as ideal-real, but for that very reason it is, of course, also nature. If it is only expressed as Idea it is merely ideal, merely logically existing. The ideal-real absolute, complete in itself, is nothing but the unity of nature and spirit in the Idea. Schelling, however, still conceives the absolute as absolute subject, for, although it is filled with the content of objectivity, it still remains subject without becoming object, i. e., the absolute is for him real only in the shape of the personal God. He should leave him out altogether and keep to the pure definition of the concept in which it is not a question of personality. So the absolute is not real outside nature and mind. If it were, they would, of course, both be superfluous. Hence, if in logic it was a question of the ideal definitions of the Idea as real in nature and mind, it is now a question of this reality itself, of the demonstration of these definitions in existence, which is the final test and at the same time the highest stage of philosophy. So an advance out of logic is indeed not only possible but necessary, and in the self-conscious, infinite mind this very advance returns to the Idea. So we can see the nullity of Schelling's assertions that Hegel declares nature illogical (which Schelling, by the way, at once declares the whole world to be), that his logic, the necessary, self-active development of thought, is "subjective science, and that objective logic cannot exist at all since it is philosophy of nature and this philosophy has been thrown out of logic". As if the objectivity of science consisted in its regarding an *external* object as such! If Schelling calls logic subjective, there is no reason not[a] to declare the philosophy of

[a] There is an obvious misprint here in the German text, where *nicht* (not) is missing.— *Ed.*

nature also subjective, for the same subject which thinks here also thinks there, and it does not matter, of course, what content is under consideration. Hegel's objective logic, however, does not develop the thoughts, it *lets* them develop *themselves*, and the thinking subject is, as mere spectator, quite accidental.

Passing on to the philosophy of spirit, Schelling now proceeds from those utterances in which Hegel's philosophy is at war with his personal inclinations and prejudices. The religious-philosophical side of the Hegelian system gives him occasion to point out contradictions between premises and conclusions which have long since been discovered and acknowledged by the Young Hegelian school. Thus he says quite correctly: This philosophy wants to be Christian, to which, however, nothing whatever compels it; if it maintained its original attitude as science of reason, it would have its truth in itself.—He then concludes his remarks by acknowledging Hegel's statement that art, religion and philosophy are the ultimate forms of achieving the absolute. Only since art and religion transcend the pure science of reason, this philosophy—and this he takes for the dialectical point of the statement—would also have to do so and be a second philosophy, different from the former one. But where does Hegel say this? At the end of the *Phänomenologie*, where he has the whole of logic before him as a second philosophy. Phenomenology, however—here stands out the very opposite of Schelling's interpretation—was not the pure science of reason, but only the path to it, the raising of the empirical, of sensory consciousness to the level of the pure science of reason. Not logical, but phenomenological consciousness finds these three before it as ultimate "possibilities to assure itself of the existence of the absolute super-being". Logical, free consciousness sees quite different things, with which, however, we need not concern ourselves for the moment; it *has* the absolute already in itself.

So the difficult step will have been taken and the apostasy from pure reason openly pronounced. Since the scholastics, Schelling is the first to have dared this step; for Jacobi and his like do not count, since they represented their time only in certain aspects, never in its wholeness. For the first time for five hundred years a hero of science stands up and declares science the servant of faith. He has done it—the consequences be on his head. We can only be glad that the man who was a representative of his time like no one else, in whom his century came to self-consciousness, that this man is declared also by Schelling the finest flower of the science of

reason. Let him who believes in the omnipotence of reason take to heart this testimony of an enemy.

Schelling describes positive philosophy as follows: It is quite independent of negative philosophy and cannot start with the end of this philosophy as something existing, but must itself first demonstrate existence. The end of the negative philosophy is in the positive philosophy not a principle but a task; the beginning of the positive philosophy is absolute through itself. The unity of the two has never existed, nor could it be achieved either by suppressing one or by mixing the two. It can be proved that the two have always been in conflict with each other. (Here follows the attempt at such a demonstration from Socrates to Kant, in whom empiricism and apriorism are claimed to be again sharply separated. We must pass over this, since it remains without any result.) Now positive philosophy is, however, not pure empiricism, least of all of the kind which is based on inner, mystic-theosophical experience; it has its principle in that which occurs neither in mere thinking nor in experience, but in the absolutely transcendental, which goes beyond all experience and all thinking and precedes both. Hence the beginning must not be a relative prius, as in pure thinking, where the power has the transition before it, but the absolute prius, so that we proceed not from concept to being but from being to concept. This transition is not necessary, like the first, but is the consequence of a free act which overcomes being and is proved *a posteriori* empirically. For if it can be immaterial to negative philosophy, which rests on logical consistency, whether there is a world and whether this world agrees with its construction, positive philosophy progresses through *free* thinking and so must find its confirmation in experience, with which it has to keep pace. If negative philosophy is pure apriorism, positive philosophy is *a priori* empiricism. Since in it a free thinking, i.e., a thinking with volition, is presupposed, its proofs are also only for the willing, and the "wise"; one must not only understand it but have the *will* to feel its power. If revelation is also among the objects of experience, then it belongs as much to positive philosophy as to nature and mankind, and has therefore no other authority for this philosophy than for anything else; as for astronomy, for example, the movements of the planets are indeed authorities with which the calculations have to agree. If it is claimed that without preceding revelation philosophy would not have arrived at this result, this is correct, of course, in a way, but now philosophy can also do it by itself. Just as there are people who, when they have once discerned small fixed stars with the

telescope, can afterwards see them also with the naked eye and hence are no longer dependent on the telescope. Philosophy must take in Christianity, which is as much reality as are nature and mind, yet not only revelation, but the inner necessity of the merely logical philosophy forces it to transcend itself. Negative philosophy brings everything only to the point of cognisability and then hands it over to the other sciences; only the one ultimate thing it cannot bring to this point and that is the thing most worthy of cognition; this it must take up again in a new philosophy which has the task to demonstrate precisely this ultimate thing as existing. Thus negative philosophy becomes philosophy only in relation to positive philosophy. If negative philosophy were alone, it would have no real result, and reason would be void; in positive philosophy it triumphs; reason, which in negative philosophy was bowed down, again stands erect.

I hardly need say anything in elucidation of these Schellingian propositions; they explain themselves. But if we compare them with the promises Schelling made in the beginning, what a difference is revealed! Philosophy was to be revolutionised, a teaching was to develop which would put an end to the negative philosophy of recent years, the reconciliation of faith and knowledge was approaching, and in the end what is the outcome? A teaching which has no foundation either in itself or in anything else that has been proved. Here, it is based on a thinking freed from all logical necessity, that is, an arbitrary, empty thinking; there, on something of which precisely the reality is in question, and of which the claims are disputed, namely, revelation. What a naive demand that in order to cure oneself of doubt one must cast away doubt! "Well, if you don't believe, there is no help for you!" What did Schelling come to Berlin for? Instead of his positive treasure he should have brought with him a refutation of Strauss' *Leben Jesu*, of Feuerbach's *Wesen des Christenthums*, etc.; then he might have done something; as it is, the Hegelians prefer to remain stuck in the notorious "blind alley" rather than "place themselves at his mercy"; and the positive theologians will also prefer to continue to work from revelation rather than steep themselves deeper in it. Then, too, his admission, repeated day after day since the New Year, that he wishes to give neither proof of Christianity nor any speculative dogma but merely a contribution to the explanation of Christianity, falls into place. The need of negative philosophy to transcend itself, as we have seen, has not much to it either. If the assumption of the transition *a potentia ad actum* leads necessarily to the logical God dependent only on this

assumption, the empirically demonstrated real transition leads to the real God, and positive science is superfluous.

Schelling takes the transition to positive philosophy from the ontological proof of the existence of God. God cannot exist by chance, hence "*if He exists*", He exists of necessity. This clause inserted in the gap of the argument is quite correct. So God can only be that which is in and *before* itself (not *for* itself; Schelling is so furious with Hegel that he even thinks he must criticise his expressions as misuse of language and improve on them), i.e., He exists before Himself, before His divinity. So He is blind being, prior to all thinking. But since it is doubtful whether He exists, we must proceed from that blind being, and see whether we cannot arrive at the concept of God from there. Hence, if in negative philosophy the principle is the thinking which precedes all being, in positive philosophy it is the being which precedes all thinking. This blind being is the necessary being; God, however, is not this being but that which of necessity "is necessary"; the necessary being alone is the ability to be of the supreme being. Blind being is that which requires no substantiation, since it precedes all thinking. Thus positive philosophy begins with something altogether beyond concepts so as to make it *a posteriori*, as God, conceivable and the immanent content of reason. Here only is the latter free and has escaped from the realm of necessary thinking.

This "blind being" is *hyle*, the eternal matter of earlier philosophy. That it develops itself into God is at least new. Up to now it has always been the dualistic principle opposed to God. But let us consider further the content of positive philosophy.

This blind being, which can also be called "unpremeditatable being", is the *purus actus* of existence and the identity of essence and being (which in the case of God is described as aseity). But this, it seems, cannot serve as the basis of a process, since it lacks all motive force, which lies only in power. But why should the *actus purus* be denied all possibility of subsequently also becoming power; it does not follow that the being which is cannot *post actum* also be that which has ability to be. Unpremeditatable being can afterwards be given the possibility—nothing stands in the way—of letting a second being emerge from itself. Blind being thereby becomes power, for it receives something which it can will and so becomes master of its own blind being. If it releases this second being, the first blind being is only *potentia actus purus* and is thus self-possessing being (but all this is only hypothesis which has to be proved by success); only by differentiation from the second does it become conscious of itself as necessary by its nature; blind

being appears as accidental because it is not foreseen, and so has to prove itself necessary by overcoming its opposite. This is the ultimate ground of the being which stands in opposition to it, and hence the ultimate ground of the world. The law that everything must become clear and nothing remain hidden is the supreme law of all being; not, of course, a law that stands above God, but one which first sets Him free, and is therefore already itself a divine law. This great world law, this world dialectic, is simply unwilling that there should be anything undecided. It alone can solve the great riddles. Nay, God is so just that He acknowledges that opposed principle to the very end and until all contradiction is exhausted. All involuntary, unpremeditatable being is unfree; the true God is the living God who can become something other than the unpremeditatable. Otherwise it must either be assumed with Spinoza that everything emanates from the divine nature necessarily, without it doing anything towards it (bad pantheism), or that the concept of creation is one that cannot be grasped by reason (shallow theism which cannot overcome pantheism). Thus unpremeditatable being becomes the power of the opposite, and since potentiality is for it something intolerable, it will necessarily want to work towards its restoration into *actus purus*. So the second being must again be negated by the first and be led back into power. So it becomes master not only of the first power, but also of the second, the power to transform its unpremeditatability into a being and thereby to remove it from itself and thus give up its entire existence. In this also lies its essence, which hitherto was concealed by being; the pure being, which through resistance has received a power into itself, is now independent as essence. Thus the master of the first possibility has also been given the possibility to reveal itself as itself, as free from necessary being, to posit itself as *spirit*; for spirit is that which is free to work or not to work, which in being is master of itself and remains in being even when it does not manifest itself. But this is not that which is directly *able to be*, nor that which *must be*, but that which, *being able to be, must be*. These three moments appear to the unpremeditatable being as that which properly *should be*, so that there is nothing outside these three moments and everything which is of the future is excluded.

The train of thought in positive philosophy is, as we see, very "free". Schelling does not conceal that he proposes only hypotheses which have yet to be proved by success, i.e., by agreement with revelation. It is a consequence of this free, willing thinking that he lets the "unpremeditatable being" behave exactly as if it were already that which has yet to be developed from it, namely,

God. The unpremeditatable being can, of course, not yet see, will, release, or lead back. It is nothing but a naked abstraction of matter which is most remote precisely from anything personal, self-conscious. It is not possible by any kind of development to introduce self-consciousness into this rigid category unless it is understood as matter and develops through nature to spirit, like the "boundless being" in negative philosophy from which it is distinguished only by the empty attribute of unpremeditatability. This unpremeditatability can only lead to materialism and at most to pantheism, but never to monotheism. Cuvier's saying here also proves correct:

"Schelling puts metaphors in the place of arguments, and instead of developing concepts he changes images and allegories according to his needs." [124]

Moreover, the method of argument in which every advance is rejected with "there is no reason why this should not happen, there is no logical necessity that this should not be possible", etc., has never been encountered in philosophy, at least up to now. In this way the Chinese and Otaheitan[a] religions can also be deduced out of the "unpremeditatable being", and that, too, is justified since they are just as much facts as Christianity. But as for the newly-discovered world law that everything must become clear, it cannot be denied that *here* at least very little becomes clear and very much remains hidden. Here we only see clarity of thought sink into the dark abyss of fantasy. But if that law means that everything must justify itself to reason for its existence, then this again is one of Hegel's basic thoughts and, moreover, it is not applied by Schelling himself. Considerable time may still be spent in a vain endeavour to bring the conclusion of the above presentation with its "can", "must", and "should" to a point where everything becomes clear. Above all, we must ask: In what relation do the three positive powers stand to the three negative ones? Only one thing becomes clear, that they are indeed possibilities which should be, but not possibilities which, being able to be, must be.

This "most thoroughgoing" dialectic, Schelling maintains, alone makes it possible to advance from Spinoza's necessarily-existing *actu* to the necessarily-being *natura sua*. For this is all he could have wanted to do, since he did not want to prove the existence of the divine, but only the divinity of that which exists (Young Hegelian philosophy does precisely the same), namely, the divinity of that which exists *actu*, eternally, of itself. But who then will prove to us that anything exists from eternity? That which is *actu*,

[a] Otaheite — former name of the island of Tahiti.— *Ed.*

of itself, can only lead to the eternity of matter, if one argues logically. And illogical conclusions have no validity, even if revelation agrees with them.

"If, in accordance with a *weak* dialectic, we were to say: God only assumes the power of the opposed being so as to transform the blind affirmation of His existence into one mediated by negation, the question is *why* does He do so? Not for His own sake, for He knows His might; only for the sake of others can He make the being which differs from Himself into the object of volition. Only in this being-away-from-Himself lies God's essence, His beatitude; all His thoughts are only outside Himself, in creation. Thus it is, indeed, a process of suspension and restoration, but in between there lies the whole world."

How ridiculous is here the arrogance with which this caricature of a most thoroughgoing dialectic looks down upon its "weak" original! It has not even understood it sufficiently to present it correctly. According to Schelling, even Hegel thinks in this speculative manner; Schelling makes him reason something like this: Here is God. He creates the world. It negates Him. Why? Because it is evil? God forbid, only because it exists. It takes up all space for itself, and God, who does not know where to turn, finds Himself compelled to negate it again. Then He must destroy it, of course. The profundity, however, according to which the negation necessarily follows from what exists yet only in itself, as the unfolding of the innermost essence, as the awakener of consciousness, until in its supreme activity it must negate itself again out of itself and brings forth as product the developed, that which stays with itself, the free—of that Schelling can have no idea, for his God is free, i.e., acting arbitrarily.

God or the unpremeditatable being has now posited the world or the contrary being. This exists only in God's will and depends on it. His justice does not allow it to be destroyed in one blow for the sake of His restoration, for the contrary being now has, as it were, a right, a will independent of God. Hence it is brought back through the two last powers, gradually and according to a principle which determines the stages of the process. If then the first power was the cause which started the whole movement and the cause of the contrary being, the second was the one posited *ex actu*, which, realising itself by overcoming the first and acting on the contrary being, subjected this to the third power, so that the contrary being stepped between the three powers as a concrete thing. These now prove to be: *causa materialis, ex qua; causa efficiens, per quam; causa finalis, in quam (secundum quam) omnia fiunt.*[a]

[a] Material cause from which, efficient cause through which, final cause in conformity with which (according to which) everything happens.—*Ed.*

If now unpremeditatable being is a condition of divinity, so with the creation God exists as such, as lord of being who has it in His power to realise or not to realise those possibilities. He remains outside the whole process and goes beyond that triad of causes as *causa causarum.* So as not to make the world appear as an emanation of His essence, it was for God to try all possible positions of the powers relative to one another, i.e., to let the future world *pass before Him as in a vision.* For mere omnipotence and omniscience does not ensure this by itself, but the works are present as visions of the creator. Hence that primeval power, that prime cause of the contrary being, has always been specially glorified; it is the Indian *Maja* (akin to the German *Macht,* power), which spreads out the nets of mere appearance so as to move the creator to real creation, like *Fortuna primigenia* at Praeneste.[125]

I will not add a word so as not to rub off the mystic butterfly dust of this vision.

Now it cannot be proved *a priori* that God really creates, it is explained by the sole need which can be attributed to God, the need to be known, which is precisely a quality most inherent in the noblest natures. The God of creation is not just the single God, but the single God in a plurality, and since this plurality (these powers) is self-contained, the creator is the *All-One,* and this is monotheism. Since He precedes everything He can have no equal, for powerless being is *capable* of absolutely *nothing* [*kann* überhaupt nicht](!). God, of whom it is said only in passing that He is the sole one, is merely the God of the theists; monotheism demands the soleness without which God is not God, while theism stops at infinite substance. The advance from here to that which is God in relation to things is pantheism; in it, the things are determinants of God. Only monotheism contains God as the real, living God, where the unity of substance has disappeared in the power and has been replaced by a supersubstantial unity, so that God is the unconquerable One against three. Though several, they are not several *gods,* but only one God, not several *in divinity.* Monotheism and pantheism are thus advances over theism, which is the last expression of the absolute in negative philosophy. In monotheism there is the transition to Christianity, for the singleness finds its definite expression in the Trinity.

However much one may try to grasp this Trinity, there always remain three against one, one against three. If God is the unity of three, He can be so only as a fourth, or else there remain three gods. If only divinity is their unity, then humanity is likewise the unity of all human beings and just as we have only one God, so we

have only one human being. But the many can no more be done away with than the three, and three persons will never make one. The old contradiction of the Trinity lies bare, and we are amazed at Schelling's boldness in claiming it has been solved. That only the Trinity is the true expression of unity is again taken from Hegel, but as usual made shallow to the point of sheer emptiness. With Hegel the Trinity remains a succession of the stages of God's development, if one insists on having a god in his system. Here, however, the three moments are conceived as standing side by side as *personalities,* and the original proposition is advanced that the true personality of *one* person is that it is *three* persons.

Up to now we have indeed only the one person, the Father. For if a prior being removes from itself something belonging to it, so that the latter necessarily realises itself, this is rightly called procreation. If now in this process of realisation the contrary being (*B*) is actually overcome, the second power, like the first, is master over it, and hence the divinity of the Son is equal to that of the Father. So, too, the third power, which, as essence free of being, can only return into being after overcoming *B*, but then has the same glory and personality as the first two and appears as the Holy Ghost. So in the end there are three personalities, but not three gods, since being is one, and hence also the glory of it is only one (as though the two Spartan kings, because their rule was one, had been only one king!). In the powers, while they are in tension, we only see the natural side of the process ("tension" appears to be the process of negative philosophy) as the genesis of the world; only with the persons is there opened up the world of the *divine* and the divine significance of that process in which being, originally as possibility in the Father, is given to the Son and by him returned to the Father as overcome. Besides being given to the Son, it is also given to the Holy Ghost, by Father and Son, and it has only that being which is common to them both. The tension of the powers pervades all nature, and is present in a certain proportion in everything. Everything that arises is a fourth between the powers, but man, in whom the tension becomes fully resolved, already has a relationship to the *personalities* as such, for in him that last moment of realisation is expressed in which the powers become real personalities. This process, then, is a process of creation for things, and a theogonic process for the personalities.

Thus, out of the abyss of unpremeditatable being Schelling has conjured up for us into the light of day not only the personal but also the triune God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, though the third has indeed only been accommodated with difficulty, and then the

arbitrarily created world, dependent on arbitrariness and therefore hollow and void; and he has thus the basis of Christianity. It cannot be my intention to show up one by one the inconsistencies, the arbitrary judgments, the rash claims, the gaps, leaps, assumptions and confusions of which Schelling is guilty here; if things were already bad enough in the necessary thinking, in the free thinking one must reckon with an even greater confusion of scholasticism and mysticism—that is the essence of neo-Schellingianism. The reader can neither demand such superhuman patience of me, nor I of the reader such interest in the matter. Moreover, what lies on the surface does not first have to be uncovered. My purpose is merely to follow the train of thought in general, only to show how between Hegel and Schelling precisely the opposite occurs of what Schelling affirms. Now, on the ground of Christianity, we can let the facts speak for themselves even more. Firstly, Schelling declares his inability to understand the world insofar as he is unable to understand evil. Man could, or could not, remain in God; that he did not do so was an act of free will on his part. He thereby put himself in God's place and, where everything seemed ordered, jeopardised everything again. Separated from God, the world was exposed to externals, and the element in an ordered system [*Moment*] lost its position as such. The Father was "as it were" pushed out of his place (later, the "as it were" is omitted).

But the Christian Trinity was still not there, and the Son's will, his own, independent of the Father's, was not yet pronounced. But now, at the end of the creation, there appears something new, the *B* which possesses itself in Man. He can choose whether to be or not to be one with God. He does *not* want to be and thereby pushes the superior power back into potentiality, which now, separated from the Father by the will of Man, is as much the *Son of Man* as the Son of God (this is the significance of the expression in the New Testament) and has a being both divine and extra-divine. Now the superior power can follow being into extra-divinity and lead it back to God. The Father is now turned away from the world and no longer acts in it with his will but with his unwillingness (this is the true significance of the wrath of God). So the Father did not destroy the evil world, but preserved it in view of the Son, as it is written. In him, i. e., in view of him, all things are made. So we have here two periods: the age of the Father, where being (the world) still lay in the Father as power and the Son was not yet independent, and the age of the Son, the time of the world, whose history is that of the Son. This age again has two

periods; in the first man is entirely under the sway of the contrary being, the *B*, the cosmic powers. Here the Son is in the state of negation, of the deepest suffering, of passivity, at first excluded from being (i. e., from the world), unfree, outside human consciousness. It can only work in a natural way towards the conquest of being. This is the time of the old covenant, where the Son strives for dominion over being not according to his will, but according to his nature. So far this significance of that time has been missed in science, nobody has grasped it yet. It is most definitely indicated in the Old Testament, namely, in Chapter 53 of Isaiah, which speaks of the *present* suffering of the Messiah. The second period only begins with the strengthening of the second power, with the achievement of dominion over being, when it acts freely and with will. This is the time of its appearance in Christ, the time of revelation. This is the key to Christianity; with this Ariadne's thread it is possible "to find the way through the labyrinth of my trains of thought".—Through the rebellion of man the personalities that arose through the overcoming of *B* in creation become again mere possibilities, pushed back into potentiality and excluded from consciousness, posited outside God. Here now is the cause of a new process which takes place in the consciousness of man and from which the divinity is excluded, for in their tension the powers are extra-divine. This process of the subjugation of consciousness to the dominion of the powers took place in paganism as mythological development. The deeper historical precondition of revelation is mythology. We must now trace in the philosophy of mythology the individual powers in the mythological consciousness and the consciousness of them in the Greek mysteries.

The question arises whether this influence of man on the self-development of God—for it can only be called that—which Schelling affirms, is Christian? For the Christian God is one who has been complete from all eternity, whose composure suffers no change even through the Son's temporary life on earth. In general, according to Schelling the creation ends ignominiously. The house of cards of the "intermediate powers, the relatively being and able to be", has no sooner been built and the three powers are on the point of becoming personalities than stupid man plays a silly trick and all the ingenious architectonics come tumbling down and the powers remain powers as before. It is just as in the fairy-tale, where a treasure, surrounded by brightly shining phantoms, is conjured up from the depths; already the coveted treasure is seen rising over the edge of the abyss—then a

rash word is spoken, the phantoms dissolve, the treasure sinks and the depths close over it forever. Schelling's God could have done His job a little more cleverly, and He would then have saved Himself much trouble and us the philosophy of revelation. Schelling's mysticism, however, comes to its finest flowering in the Son's state of suffering. This obscure, mysterious relationship of divine extra-divinity, conscious unconsciousness, active inactivity, unwilling will, this spate of crowding contradictions is for Schelling indeed a priceless gold-mine of conclusions, for anything can be derived from it. Still more unclear is the relationship of this power to man's consciousness. All powers here act as cosmic, natural powers, but how? What are cosmic powers? Not a single one of Schelling's pupils, not even Schelling himself, can give a rational answer. This is again one of those confused, mystical thought-categories in which he has to take refuge in order to arrive, even "with free, self-determined thinking", at revelation.

"The mythological concepts cannot be explained in any other way than as the necessary product of consciousness which has fallen under the sway of the cosmic powers."

But the cosmic powers are the divine powers in their state of tension, the divine as non-divine. In this way, then, we are to explain also the relation of mythology to nature, to obtain entirely new facts and to supply a content to the prehistoric period of mankind, namely, by the "immense agitation of the mind and heart in begetting concepts of gods".

We can spare ourselves the presentation of the "philosophy of mythology" since it is not directly part of the philosophy of revelation and, moreover, Schelling will treat of it in greater detail next term. This part of the lectures, incidentally, was by far the best and contains much that should not be rejected—once it is freed from the mystical, distorting outlook—even by him who considers these phases of consciousness from a free, purely human standpoint. The question is only how far this is really Schelling's property, and whether it does not in fact originate with Stuhr. The chief fault of Schelling's presentation is that he does not conceive the mythological process as the free self-development of consciousness within world-historic necessity, but constantly introduces superhuman principles and forces, and does so in the most confused manner, so that these powers are at one and the same time the "substance of consciousness" and yet again something more. Resort to such means becomes indeed necessary once absolutely superhuman influences are stipulated. So I gladly concede to Schelling his main results of mythology in relation to

Christianity, only in a different way, inasmuch as I understand both phenomena not as having been brought into consciousness from outside, supernaturally, but as innermost products of consciousness, as purely human and natural.

Now at last we arrive at the revelation, prepared by mythology. This is Christianity as a whole. Hence its philosophy does not have to be concerned with dogma, etc.; it does not itself intend to establish a doctrine, but only to explain the historical fact of Christianity. We shall see, however, how the whole dogmatic system gradually emerges. We shall see how Schelling regards "Christianity only as a fact, as also paganism". The facts of paganism, as they appeared, he did not regard as true; he did not take Dionysus, for instance, for a real God; those of Christianity, by contrast, are to him absolute; when Christ declares himself the Messiah, when Paul claims this or that, Schelling believes him unconditionally. Schelling *explained* the mythological facts, at least in his own fashion; those of Christianity he asserts. And with all this he flatters himself

> "to have won the love of youth by his straightforwardness and frankness, nay, not only its love, but also its enthusiasm".

In order to explain revelation he proceeds from a passage in Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, Ch. 2: 6-8, which I here quote:

> "[Christ Jesus], being in the form of God [ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ], thought it not robbery [ἁρπαγμα] to be equal with God: But made himself of no reputation [ἐκενωσε], and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross."

Without entering into the extensive exegetical discussions with which Schelling accompanied his philosophical explanation I will here merely recount in Schelling's own manner the fact told by Paul. In his state of suffering Christ had gradually become master of consciousness through the mythological process. He possessed his own world independently of the Father and could do with it what he wished. He was the God of the world, but not the absolute God. He could persist in this extra-divine-divine state. Paul calls this: being in the form of God, ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ. But he did not want this. He became man, divested himself of his glory to surrender it to the Father and thus to unite the world with God. Had he not done so, there would no longer have been any possibility for the world to unite with God. This is the true significance of Christ's obedience. The story of the temptation is also to be explained in this sense. The adversary, the blind cosmic principle, has been brought to the point where he offers his realm

to Christ, if he will worship him, i. e., will himself remain cosmic power, ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ. Christ, however, rejects this possibility and surrenders his being to the Father by making it creature-like and becoming man.

"God preserve me from deducing as Christian philosophical doctrines of which Christianity knows nothing," Schelling concluded this deduction. To dispute about the Christianity of these doctrines would be a luxury, for even if it were proved, nothing would yet be gained for Schelling. In my view, however, they contradict the entire basic outlook of Christianity. It is no great art to prove the most abnormal thing by single passages from the Bible, but this is in no way the point here. Christianity is nearly two thousand years old and has had time enough to come to itself. Its content is expressed in the church, and it is impossible that any other positive content of significance is still concealed in it, or that its true meaning has only now been understood. In any case it would now be too late. But apart from that, there is still enough that is edifying in the above explanation. Was it a free act of Christ to surrender himself to the Father? Impossible, it was a natural necessity. We cannot stipulate the possibility of evil in Christ without destroying his divinity. He who can do evil can never become God. How in any case can one *become* God? But supposing now that Christ had kept the world for himself? One cannot imagine so absurd, comical a state of affairs as that which would have resulted. Here is Christ living gloriously and joyfully in his beautiful world, the flower of Hellenism in heaven and on earth, and there is the old God, lonely and childless, grieving over the failure of the trick against the world. The main fault of Schelling's God is that He has more luck than intelligence. Everything went well in fact, but it could have turned out very differently. Altogether, Schelling's doctrine of God is thoroughly anthropopathic. If the devil had offered the dominion of the world to Christ before he became man, he would at least have had the prospect of winning him, and who knows what would have happened; but once Christ had become man he had thereby already entered into his submission to God, and all hope was lost for the poor devil. Besides, had not Christ already gained the dominion of the world in the mythological process; what then could the devil still offer him?

Herewith the gist of what Schelling says in explanation of Christianity has been given. The rest consists partly of quotations and their interpretations, partly of detailed analysis of the deductions. Of these I will give the more important.

According to the earlier doctrine of the succession of the powers in the dominion of the world, it can be explained how each time the dominating power is the herald of the next. Thus in the Old Testament the Father prophesies the Son, in the New, the Son prophesies the Spirit. In the prophetic books this is reversed, and the third power foretells the second. Here a progression of the powers with time is now revealed, in particular in the "Jehovah of Malachi", the "Angel of the Lord" who, although not directly the second person, is yet the second power, the cause of the appearance of the second power in *B*. He is a different one at different times, so that the age of each book can be judged by the manner of his appearance, and thus from the progression of the powers the most "amazing" results can be achieved, surpassing everything yet accomplished by criticism. This determinant is "the key to the Old Testament from which the reality of the concepts of the Old Testament is to be demonstrated in their relative truth".

The Old Testament has its basis and its premises in common with paganism. Hence the pagan element in so many Mosaic customs. Thus circumcision is evidently merely a milder form of castration, which plays such a great part in the most ancient paganism and mimically and symbolically represents the conquest of Uranus, the oldest God, by the subsequent stage. So also the food taboos, the institution of the Tabernacle, which recalls Egyptian sanctuaries just as the Ark of the Covenant recalls the sacred chest of the Phoenicians and Egyptians.

The appearance of Christ is not accidental, but predestined. The Roman era was the dissolution of mythology, for it absorbed into itself all religious concepts of the world even to the oldest Oriental religions without itself offering any new elements, and thus showed that it was incapable of producing anything new. At the same time, there arose out of the emptiness of these moribund forms a presentiment that something new must come. The world remained still and awaited the things to come. From this outward Roman world empire, from this destruction of the nations, there arose the inner kingdom of God. When the time was fulfilled, God sent his Son.

Christ, divesting himself of μορφῇ θεοῦ, the extra-divine being as divine, became man, thereby exercising most brightly and brilliantly the divinity which continued in him. That Christ became poor for our sakes does not mean his parting with his divinity, the *non-usus* of the latter, but the discarding of the μορφῇ θεοῦ, the form of God. The divine essence remains in him. Only he could mediate, because he was from God and in human consciousness.

Through his effect on paganism and Judaism the principle which hampered mankind and might possibly have negated it was not negated; only the symptoms, not the cause of the disease, were removed by the repeated sacrifices. The ill will of the Father could only be overcome by another will, stronger than it, than death, than any other will. No physical, only the moral overcoming of this will was admissible, and that through the greatest voluntary submission of the mediator in place of man. Man's greatest voluntary submission was never wholly voluntary, that of the mediator, however, was free, without his will or his guilt free over against God. Hence the process through paganism so that the mediator could appear as the representative of consciousness. The taking of this decision was the greatest marvel of the divine mind.

The physical side of the incarnation can, of course, not be made clear down to the smallest detail. The material possibility for this lies in himself. To be material means to serve as substance to a superior power, to be subject to it. When Christ thus submits to God, he becomes material over against Him. But only as a creature has he the right to be outside God. So he must become man. That which in the beginning was with God, and which dominated consciousness in paganism in the form of God, is given birth in Bethlehem as a man by a woman. The reconciliation had always been only subjective, hence subjective facts were sufficient. But here it was necessary to overcome the ill will of the Father, and this could only be achieved by an objective fact, the incarnation.

With this the third power now enters as mediating personality. Christ is conceived of, i. e., by the power of, the Holy Ghost, but is not his Son. The demiurgic function passes over to the third power; its first manifestation is the material man Jesus. The second power is substance, the third that which gives it form. The process in question is extraordinary, materially inconceivable, but it can be grasped by a loftier comprehension. Christ took the substance of the incarnation from himself. This first form, the nature of which does not further concern us here, was received into the organic process of the mother. To ask more questions would be more than micrology.

When God works anywhere with His will, that is a miracle. In nature nothing has will. Neither has Christ. The demiurgic function belongs to him *natura sua,* without his will, hence he cannot discard it when he is man; here this function becomes the guide of his will. It depends on the will of the Father that the Son with his will is in nature, hence the Son works the miracles by

virtue of the Father. He who reads the New Testament after these lectures, will find there much that he has not previously seen.

The death of Christ had been decided even before the incarnation and approved by Christ and Father. It was then no accident, but a sacrifice demanded by the divine mind. It was necessary in order to deprive the evil principle of all its might, to overcome it in its power. Only the mediating power could achieve this, but not by counterposing itself as a purely natural power to the former. But since God Himself desired that principle to be overcome, the second power had to submit to it. For in the eyes of God the second power, being natural, is worth no more than that which negates God, even if it did not become natural through its own fault, but through the fault of man. This last circumstance also gives it a certain right thus to be outside God. God is so just that He does not unilaterally annul the opposing principle, nay, He is so human that He loves this basically merely accidental element which gave Him the possibility to be as God more than He loves the necessary element, the power out of Himself. He is as much the God of the contrary principle as that of the second power. This is His nature, which stands even above His will. This singleness of all principles is His divine majesty and this does not allow that principle to be unilaterally broken. If it is to be annulled, it is necessary for the second power to precede it and in its extra-divine being to submit to God completely. Here the incarnation could not yet suffice. Immediately after the Fall, Christ followed man into estrangement from God and placed himself between the world and God. By taking up a position on the side of the contrary principle, he opposed the Father, came into tension with him, shared the guilt of that being and as guiltlessly guilty, as guarantor of the being estranged from God, had to suffer the punishment. Christ atoned in death for thus placing himself on a level with the contrary principle by taking upon himself the sins of the world. This is the reason for his death. Other men indeed die too, but he died a very different death from theirs. This death is a miracle which we would not dare believe at all were it not so certain. All humanity was present in its representatives at his death: Jews and pagans attended it. The principle of the pagans had to die the death of the pagans, the death on the cross—in this, of course, nothing special is to be seen. The *crucifixion* was the solution of the prolonged *tension*[a] in which Christ had found

[a] In the German text there is a pun on the words *Ausspannung* (stretching out) and *Spannung* (tension).—*Ed.*

himself in paganism, as it is written that by death he was relieved of the judgment and the fear (i. e., the tension). This is the great secret which to this day is a scandal to the Jews (the moralists) and a folly to the pagans (the merely rational).

The resurrection of Christ has always been regarded as a guarantee of personal immortality. On this teaching, apart from the resurrection of Christ, the following must be remarked. In this life nature dominates spirit, and it therefore presupposes another, in which this state of affairs is compensated for by the domination of spirit over nature, and a third and last in which the two elements balance each other and are in harmony. So far philosophy has had no satisfying purpose for immortality; here, in Christianity, it is given.

The resurrection of Christ is itself proof of the irrevocability of his incarnation. In it human being is again accepted by God. Not any single deed of man displeased God, but the entire condition in which man found himself, and therefore also the individual, even before he had sinned. Hence no human will, no deed could be really good until the Father was reconciled. In Christ's resurrection this condition is acknowledged by God, joy is restored to the world. Hence the justification was only completed in the resurrection inasmuch as Christ *was not dissolved in the universe* but sits as man on God's right hand. The resurrection is a stroke of lightning from inner history to outer. Whoever takes it away has only the external without divine content, without that transcendental which alone turns history into history; he has a mere fact of memory and stands there like the great mass before the events of the day whose inner workings are unknown to him. Moreover, he goes to hell, i. e., "the moment of dying stretches for him into eternity".

In the end, the Holy Ghost comes and concludes all. He can only descend after the Father is completely reconciled and his coming is the sign that this has taken place.

Here Schelling interpolated his judgment on the latest criticism since Strauss. It had never been able, he said, to tempt him into any sort of polemic, as he had proved by always giving these lectures in the same way, without additions, since 1831. He dated the philosophy of mythology even farther back. Then he spoke of the "trivial, eminently philistine mind" of these people, of their "schoolboyish treatment of incomplete propositions", of the "impotence of their philosophy", etc. By contrast, he had nothing to say against pietism and purely subjective Christianity, except that it was not the only kind nor the highest.

Shall I also give excerpts from the satanology? The devil is neither personal nor impersonal, he is a power; the evil angels are powers, they are such as should not be, but were posited by the fall of man; the good angels are also powers, they are such as should be and through the fall of man are not. That is enough for the present.

The church and its history have developed from the three apostles Peter, James (with his successor Paul) and John. Neander is of the same view. The Catholic Church, the conservative, the Jewishly-formal, is that of Peter, the Protestant that of Paul, and the third, still to be expected and presumably prepared by Schelling, that of John, who combines in himself the simplicity of Peter with the dialectical acumen of Paul. Peter represents the Father, Paul the Son, John the Holy Ghost.

"To those whom the Lord loves he gives the task of completion. If I had to build a church, I would build it for St. John. Some day, however, a common church will be built for all three apostles, and that will be the true Christian pantheon."

That is the main content of Schelling's lectures, as far as it could be made out by comparing three notebooks. I am conscious of having proceeded with the greatest sincerity and candour. Here we have the entire dogma: the Trinity, the creation from nothing, the fall of man, original sin and the impotence to do good, the reconciliation through the death of Christ, the resurrection, the descent of the Holy Ghost, the community of the Saints, the resurrection of the dead and eternal life. Thus Schelling himself negates the separation of fact and dogma which he had stipulated. But if we look at the matter more closely, is this Christianity still the old one? If you approach it without prejudice you will have to say: Yes and No. The irreconcilability of philosophy and Christianity has gone so far that even Schelling falls into a still worse contradiction than Hegel. The latter had at least a philosophy, even if the outcome was only an apparent Christianity; by contrast, what Schelling produces is neither Christianity nor philosophy, and his passing it off for both is the measure of his "straightforwardness and frankness", of the merit that "to those who asked him for bread he gave real bread, not a stone, while saying *it was bread*". That Schelling does not know himself in the least is again proved by the speech from which these words are taken. Such a doctrine again really brings home to one how weak are the foundations on which modern Christianity rests.

If we once more review this doctrine in its entirety, in addition to what has already been said we obtain also the following results

for the definition of the neo-Schellingian manner of thinking. The confusion of freedom and arbitrariness is in full flower. God is always conceived as acting in a humanly arbitrary fashion. This is indeed necessary so long as God is conceived as single, but it is not philosophical. Only *that* freedom is genuine which contains necessity, nay, which is only the truth, the reasonableness of necessity. Therefore Hegel's God cannot now or ever be a single person, since everything arbitrary has been removed from Him. Therefore when he speaks of God, Schelling has to employ "free" thinking, for the necessary thinking of logical inference excludes any kind of divine person. The Hegelian dialectic, this mighty, never resting driving force of thought, is nothing but the consciousness of mankind in pure thinking, the consciousness of the universal, Hegel's consciousness of God. Where, as with Hegel, everything produces itself, a divine personality is superfluous.

Furthermore, another contradiction is revealed in the division of philosophy. If the negative philosophy is without all reference to existence, "there is no logical necessity" that it should not also contain things which do not occur in the real world. Schelling admits this when he says of it that it is not concerned with the world, and that if the world agrees with its constructions, this is accidental. In this way, however, negative philosophy becomes quite empty and hollow, wandering around in the most arbitrary possibility and flinging its doors wide open to fantasy. On the other hand, however, if it contains only what is real in nature and spirit, it, of course, includes reality and the positive philosophy is superfluous. This is to be seen also from the other side. Nature and spirit are for Schelling all that is rational. God is not rational. So here also it is shown that the infinite can only rationally exist in reality when it appears as finite, as nature and spirit, and that any other-worldly, extra-mundane existence of the infinite must be relegated to the realm of abstractions. That particular positive philosophy depends entirely on faith, as we have seen, and exists only for faith. If now a Jew or Mohammedan accepts Schelling's premises in the negative science, he will necessarily also have to fashion for himself a Jewish or Mohammedan positive philosophy. Indeed, it will differ even for Catholicism and for the Anglican Church. All are equally justified, for "it is not dogma that matters, but fact". And the so beloved "free" thinking allows everything to be construed as absolute. Particularly in Mohammedanism, the facts are far better construed than in Christianity.

So we have come to the end of Schelling's philosophy and can only regret that such a man should have become so caught in the

snares of faith and unfreedom. He was different when he was still young. Then there arose from the ferment of his brain forms as radiant as Pallas, of which many a one forged to the front also in later struggles; then freely and boldly he sailed into the open sea of thought to[a] discover Atlantis, the absolute, whose image he had so often seen rising from the distant horizon of the sea like a dreamily shimmering *fata morgana*; then all the fire of youth broke from him in flames of enthusiasm; a prophet drunk with God, he foretold a new era; carried away by the spirit which came over him, he often did not know himself the meaning of his words. He tore wide open the doors to philosophising so that the breath of nature wafted freshly through the chambers of abstract thought and the warm rays of spring fell on the seed of the categories and awakened all slumbering forces. But the fire burnt itself out, the courage vanished, the fermenting new wine turned into sour vinegar before it could become clear wine. The bold ship dancing joyfully through the waves turned back and entered the shallow haven of faith, ran its keel so fast into the sand that it is still stuck there. There it lies, and nobody recognises in the old, frail wreck the old ship which went out with all sails spread and flags flying. The sails have long since rotted, the masts are broken, the waves pour in through the gaping planks, and every day the tides pile up more sand around the keel.

Let us turn away from this waste of time. There are finer things for us to contemplate. No one will want to show us this wreck and claim that it alone is a seaworthy vessel while in another port an entire fleet of proud frigates lies at anchor, ready to put out to the high seas. Our salvation, our future, lies elsewhere. Hegel is the man who opened up a new era of consciousness by completing the old. It is curious that just now he is being attacked from two sides, by his predecessor Schelling and by his youngest follower Feuerbach. When the latter charges Hegel with being stuck deeply in the old, he should consider that consciousness of the old is already precisely the new, that the old is relegated to history precisely when it has been brought completely into consciousness. So Hegel is indeed the new as old, the old as new. And so Feuerbach's critique of Christianity is a necessary complement to the speculative teaching on religion founded by Hegel. This has reached its peak in Strauss, through its own history the dogma dissolves *objectively* in philosophical thought. At the same time Feuerbach reduces the religious categories to *subjective* human relations, and

[a] In the pamphlet there is a misprint: *und* (and) instead of *um* (to).—*Ed.*

thereby does not by any means annul the results achieved by Strauss, but on the contrary puts them to the real test and in fact both come to the same result, that the secret of theology is anthropology.

A fresh morning has dawned, a world-historic morning, like the one in which the bright, free, Hellenic consciousness broke out of the dusk of the Orient. The sun has risen greeted with smiles by sacrificial fires on all the mountain peaks, the sun, whose coming was announced in ringing fanfares from every watch-tower, whose light mankind was anxiously awaiting. We are awakened from long slumber, the nightmare which oppressed us has fled, we rub our eyes and look around us in amazement. Everything has changed. The world that was so alien to us, nature whose hidden forces frightened us like ghosts, how familiar, how homely they now are! The world which appeared to us like a prison now shows itself in its true form, as a magnificent royal palace in which we all go in and out, poor and rich, high and low. Nature opens up before us and calls to us: Do not flee from me, I am not depraved, I have not fallen away from the truth; come and see, it is your own inmost and truest essence which gives also to me the fulness of life and the beauty of youth! Heaven has come down to earth, its treasures lie scattered like stones on the road-side, whoever desires them has but to pick them up. All confusion, all fear, all division has vanished. The world is again a whole, independent and free; it has burst open the doors of its dank cloister, has thrown off its sackcloth and chosen the free, pure ether to dwell in. No longer does it have to justify itself to unreason, which could not grasp it; its splendour and glory, its fulness and strength, its life is its justification. He was surely right who eighteen hundred years ago divined that the world, the cosmos, would one day push him aside, and bade his disciples renounce the world.

And man, the dearest child of nature, a free man after the long battles of youth, returning to his mother after the long estrangement, protecting her against all the phantoms of enemies slain in battle, has overcome also the separation from himself, the division in his own breast. After an inconceivably long age of wrestling and striving, the bright day of self-consciousness has risen for him. Free and strong he stands there, confident in himself and proud, for he has fought the battle of battles, he has overcome himself and pressed the crown of freedom on his head. Everything has become revealed to him and nothing had the strength to shut itself up against him. Only now does true life open to him. What formerly he strove towards in obscure presentiment, he now

attains with complete, free will. What seemed to lie outside him, in the hazy distance, he now finds in himself as his own flesh and blood. He does not care that he has bought it dearly, with his heart's best blood, for the crown was worth the blood; the long time of wooing is not lost to him, for the noble, splendid bride whom he leads into the chamber has only become the dearer to him for it; the jewel, the holy thing he has found after long searching was worth many a fruitless quest. And this crown, this bride, this holy thing is the *self-consciousness of mankind,* the new Grail[126] round whose throne the nations gather in exultation and which makes kings of all who submit to it, so that all splendour and might, all dominion and power, all the beauty and fulness of this world lie at their feet and must yield themselves up for their glorification. This is our calling, that we shall become the templars of this Grail, gird the sword round our loins for its sake and stake our lives joyfully in the last, holy war which will be followed by the thousand-year reign of freedom. And such is the power of the Idea that he who has recognised it cannot cease to speak of its splendour or to proclaim its all-conquering might, that in gaiety and good heart he gives up all else at its bidding, that he sacrifices body and soul, life and property in order that it and it alone shall triumph. He who has once beheld it, to whom in the nightly stillness of his little room it has once appeared in all its brightness, can never abandon it, he must follow where it leads, even to death. For he knows that it is stronger than everything in heaven and on earth, that it fights its way through against all enemies. And this belief in the all-conquering might of the Idea, in the victory of eternal truth, this firm confidence that it can never waver or yield, even if the whole world were to rise against it, that is the true religion of every genuine philosopher, that is the basis of the true positive philosophy, the philosophy of world history. This is the supreme revelation, that of man to man, in which all negation of criticism is positive. This press and storm of nations and heroes over which the Idea hovers in eternal peace and at last comes down into the midst of the turmoil and becomes its inmost, most living, self-conscious soul, that is the source of all salvation and all deliverance; that is the realm in which each one of us in his place has to work and act. The Idea, the self-consciousness of mankind, is that wonderful phoenix who builds for himself a funeral pyre out of all that is most precious in the world and rises rejuvenated from the flames which destroy an old time.

So let us carry to this phoenix on the funeral pyre all that is most dear to us and most beloved, all that was sacred and great

for us before we were free! Let us not think any love, any gain, any riches too great to sacrifice gladly to the Idea—it will repay us everything a thousandfold! Let us fight and bleed, look undismayed into the grim eye of the enemy and hold out to the end! Do you see our flags wave from the mountain peaks? Do you see the swords of our comrades glinting, the plumes on the helmets fluttering? They are coming, they are coming, from all valleys, from all heights they are streaming towards us with song and the call of trumpets; the day of the great decision, of the battle of the nations, is approaching, and victory must be ours!

# SCHELLING, PHILOSOPHER IN CHRIST, OR THE TRANSFIGURATION OF WORLDLY WISDOM INTO DIVINE WISDOM

## For Believing Christians Who Do Not Know the Language of Philosophy[127]

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"I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance" (Luke 15:7).

This word of the Lord may easily come to mind when one speaks of Schelling; for in him have wonders of God's mercy been manifested, so that the name of the Lord should be exalted. For He has shown mercy to him as once He showed mercy to Paul, who also, before he was converted, went and made havoc of the churches and breathed out threat and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord. But as he was on his way to Damascus, suddenly there shone around him a light from heaven and he fell to the earth; but the Lord spake to him and drew him to Him so that he became a believer at that very hour, let himself be baptised and bore the name of the Lord before all nations and became a chosen vessel of the Lord. So also the grace of the Saviour has imposed its hand on Schelling, and when the time had come a great light shone for him. For who could ever have foretold according to human understanding that the man who at the beginning of the century, with his friend of that time, the notorious *Hegel*, laid the foundations of that vile worldly wisdom which now no longer prowls in the dark but whose darts spoil at midday—that this man would yet take up his cross and follow Christ? But that is how it has come to pass. The Lord, who guides the hearts of men like runnels of water, had elected him too in His grace and only waited for the right hour to draw him to Him. And now He has done so, He has enlightened him and made him one of His fighters against unbelief and godlessness. There is no

longer any doubt; he himself calls from the rostrum to the believers: Come and see, and praise the mercy which the Lord has done to me! Nay, the guardian in Israel neither sleeps nor slumbers, the old God is still alive, in spite of all the mockers, and still gives signs and works wonders for all who want to see. They make a clamour, the godless, and say in their hearts, there is no God, but He who dwells in heaven laughs at them, and the Lord pours scorn on them. He has triumphed over them as long as the world has stood and will triumph over them in all eternity. With His strong arm He has held His regiment and has awakened vessels for Himself in all places to glorify His name. And now He has once more brilliantly triumphed over the philosophers who have been an abomination to Him at all times, since He has raised the best and cleverest of them, the true founder of their doctrine, out of their midst and made him His servant. For that formerly Schelling himself was most pitiably deep in this so-called pantheism, in this deification of the world and of himself, is as clear as daylight from his earlier books. He had not yet seen everything rightly in its connection and did not rightly know where this road would lead. May he thank the Lord that He has taken him from this road and guided him along the narrow path which leads to heaven, and thereby has proved on him most clearly His might over all enemies of faith. Now they can no longer say: Where is your God? What does He do? Where does He roam? Why does He no longer work wonders? For here He is, His arm strikes down like lightning in their own flock and makes fire out of water, white out of black, just out of unjust. Who can still deny that this is God's hand?

But that is not all. By calling Schelling the Lord has prepared for us another triumph over the ungodly and blasphemous. He has elected none other than Schelling since he, being familiar with the wisdom of this world, was best suited to refute the proud and haughty philosophers, and in His immeasurable grace and love He has opened a way for them by which they can come to Him again. Can one ask more from Him? To those who curse Him, who rage against His existence, who are His most furious, most raving, most impenitent enemies, instead of rooting them out from the earth and casting them into the deepest abyss of hell, He offers again and again a rescuing hand to draw them up to the light out of the abyss of corruption wherein they lie; nay, the grace of God is as wide as the heaven from sunrise to sunset, and there is no end to His mercy. Who could resist such forbearance and love? But their hearts are so impenitent and hardened in sin that even now they

# Schelling,
## der Philosoph in Christo,

oder

## die Verklärung
### der Weltweisheit zur Gottesweisheit.

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## Für gläubige Christen
### denen der philosophische Sprachgebrauch unbekannt ist.

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Berlin, 1842.
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Title-page of Engels' pamphlet *Schelling, Philosopher in Christ*

reject the hand that wants to save them; so dazzled are they by the lusts of this world and the devil of their own pride. They dig for themselves wells with holes and scorn the source of life which runs in the blood of Christ. They shut their ears against the salvation which comes from above, they lust for that which displeases the Lord.

"The shew of their countenance doth witness against them; and they declare their sin as Sodom, they hide it not. Woe unto their soul! for they have rewarded evil unto themselves" (Isaiah 3:9).

But still the Lord has not ceased to call them to Him, so that they have no excuse. Through Schelling He has shown them how weak and vain is human reason. If they are not converted now, it is their fault alone, and they cannot say that they did not know the Gospel.

Since now God has done such a great thing and has given such a comforting sign to all Christendom that He is close to it and will not abandon it in need or in the struggles of this world, so it must be near to the heart of every believer to announce the glad tidings to his fellow Christians. And since Schelling has now professed his belief in Christ in his lectures, this, on the one hand, became known to only a few, on the other, is couched in such a difficult, artificial, philosophical language that only those can understand it who have occupied themselves with worldly wisdom for a long time; in the third place, however, much is meant for philosophers and other things for believers, so that the simple Christian would have difficulty in finding his way. Hence the writer of these lines, not to stand idle in the Lord's vineyard, did not think it entirely superfluous to present this in short, simple words, for all those who have neither the time nor the inclination to enter into the fruitless study of worldly wisdom and yet would like to know what there really is to the famous Schelling. May the Lord give His blessing to it so that it may prosper to the benefit and advantage of His kingdom.

But first it must be remarked that for all he has done for true Christianity, Schelling cannot quite get rid of his old, perverse wisdom. He still has various views which make us believe that he cannot entirely suppress the arrogance of his own reason and that he still hesitates a little to face the world and confess his complete conversion in all gladness and gratitude to Christ. We will not blame him too much for this; He who made grace break through in him so splendidly will wash away these stains too; He who began the work will bring it to completion. But let the courageous

fighter for truth of whom we speak remember this thorn in his flesh when the devil of pride comes over him and tempts him. May he put away all pride in his former philosophy, which has borne only ungodly children, and only take pride in Him who in His free, immeasurable grace has saved him from this corruption.

The first thing Schelling did here on the rostrum was that he immediately and with open visor attacked philosophy and cut away its ground, reason, from under its feet. With the most striking arguments, taken from its own armouries, he proved that natural reason is incapable of proving the existence of even a blade of grass; that all its demonstrations, arguments and conclusions do not hold water and cannot lead up to the divine, since in its heaviness it always remains prostrate on the earth. Now we have, of course, known this for a long time, but the hardened philosophers have never been told it so well and clearly. This he has done in a whole lengthy system of so-called negative philosophy, where he demonstrates to them as clearly as daylight that their reason can only comprehend possibilities and nothing actual, least of all God and the mysteries of Christianity. The trouble to which he went over such a fruitless subject, the airy phantoms of worldly wisdom, deserves the highest thanks for the sake of the kingdom of God. For so long as these philosophers could still presume on their reason, nothing could be done with them. Now, however, when they have been convinced from their own standpoint that their reason is altogether unfit to cognise truth and can bring to the surface only empty, hollow phantoms, which have no right whatever to exist, it would really need a hardened head, grown grey in sin, to persist in the pagan doctrine, and it is quite possible that with the aid of divine grace one or the other of them will be converted from his evil ways. It is very true and must always be repeated that the darkened reason of man is altogether incapable and lacks the fame it should have before God, for that is the main bulwark of the unbelievers that their reason tells them other things than the word of God. But it is an outrage against the Almighty to want to comprehend Him, the enemy of all sin, with reason that is stained with sin and blinded, nay, to set this reason which is subject to all the lusts of this world, all the temptations of Satan, above God Himself; and yet that is what the worldly wise do when they criticise the word of God with that corrupt reason, throw out whatever does not please them, nay, lay their wicked hands on and deny not only the holiness of the Bible, but even the existence of God Himself so as to make themselves God in His place. These are the natural consequences

of setting reason upon the throne of God, like that whore of old in the gory days of the French Revolution, and presuming to criticise the dispositions of the Almighty Lord of the world. Here it is that we must heal, not on the surface, but at the root of the evil. Do men put a piece of new cloth unto an old garment? How does Christ come to terms with Belial? It is not possible, and it is blasphemy to try and grasp by natural reason the Lord's death of salvation, the resurrection and the ascension. Then let us set to work in earnest with *Schelling*, and cast reason out of Christianity into paganism, for there it belongs, there it can rise against God and take as divine the world with its lusts and desires which we have renounced, excuse all sins and vices, the abominations of gluttony and lasciviousness as virtues and service to God, and present as models for mankind the suicide of a Cato, the unchastity of a Lais and Aspasia, the parricide of a Brutus, the Stoicism and Christian-persecuting rage of a Marcus Aurelius. Then, of course, it frankly opposes Christianity and everybody knows where he is with it. But it has been a chief stratagem of the adversary to smuggle it into Christianity, where it thereupon has given birth to such choice bastards as Pelagianism and Socinianism, rationalism [128] and speculative theology.

"But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise" (1 Corinthians 1:27); hence "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him and must be spiritually discerned" (1 Corinthians 2:14).

So it is a truly Christian endeavour when *Schelling*, in the pure science of reason, which is, of course, the negative philosophy, deeply humbles and humiliates reason instead of allowing it any measure of presumption, so as to bring it to acknowledge its weakness and sinfulness and make it turn in penance to grace, for only this can sanctify and enlighten it and let it be born again so that it becomes capable of knowing God. To crucify reason is harder, and therefore more, than to crucify the flesh. For the latter is subject to conscience, which has been given even to the pagans to restrain their lusts and be the internal judge of their sins; reason, however, raises itself above it and even gets on with it quite well, and it is only given to Christians to submit it to the mild yoke of faith. But that is what Scripture demands of us, and there can be no objections or subterfuges here: either let your reason surrender to faith or go over to the left side, to the goats (for the worst of these self-worshippers call themselves as in mockery: the *left* side), there you are in your place!

With that *Schelling* has now cleared the ground for himself. All the survivals of paganism which in our time are being brought out again and are supposed to be the new truth, all the misshapen abortions of unchaste, lascivious reason have been removed, and his hearers are now ready to receive the milk of the Gospel. That is the right way. The pagans could be got hold of by their worldly lusts and desires; but our philosophers pretend, at least today, that they still want to acknowledge Christian morals. Hence, if the apostles demanded of the pagans a penitent, sorrowing, battered and contrite heart, so a penitent, humble, battered reason must be demanded of the proud worldly-wise men of our time before they are ready to enjoy the grace of the Gospel. So also *Schelling* could only now really judge his former comrade in godlessness, the notorious *Hegel*. For this *Hegel* had such a pride in reason that he expressly declared it to be God when he saw that with it he could not come to another true God, higher than man. Hence also *Schelling* frankly declared that he wanted nothing more to do with this man and his doctrine and no longer bothered with him.

Since reason has now humbled itself and shows the desire to accept salvation, it can be exalted again and enlightened by the spirit of truth. This happens in positive philosophy, where by a free, that is, enlightened, thinking with the aid of divine revelation it is admitted to the grace and favour of Christianity. Now that the understanding of the higher world has been opened up to it, it at once discerns the whole marvellous connection in the history of the kingdom of God, and what formerly was incomprehensible to it is now clear and comprehensible as if it could not be otherwise. For only the eyes which the Lord has enlightened are true eyes and seeing; but where darkness reigns and the lusts and desires of this world have their way, nobody can see anything. *Schelling* expresses this effect of grace when he says that this philosophy is only for the willing and the wise, and that it finds its proof in revelation. Hence this philosophy is not for him who does not believe in revelation. In other words, this thing is not a real philosophy at all, and this name has only been chosen for the sake of the worldly wise, as it is written: "Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves" (Matthew 10 : 16); for the rest, however, it is a right and real Christianity, as we shall soon see. *Schelling* has brought back the good old times when reason surrenders to faith, and worldly wisdom, by becoming the handmaid of theology, of divine wisdom, is transfigured into divine wisdom.

"And whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased; and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted" (Matthew 23 : 12).

Along this road of enlightened thinking the dear man of whom we are speaking comes at once to the true fundamental doctrine of all Christianity, namely, the Trinity of God. The godfearing reader cannot be expected to accompany him on this road, for he knows and believes that this road only can lead to truth; this is only said for the unbelievers to show them how they can come to truth and how much their reason must be purified and sanctified to be able to discern and comprehend salvation in Christ Jesus. Hence we shall pass over these things which have no value for the discernment of salvation by the faithful. *Schelling* then describes according to Scripture how God created the world from nothing and how man, seduced by Satan in the shape of the serpent, lost his first way of life and became the slave of the Prince of Darkness. Thereby he tore the whole world from God and brought it into the power of Satan. All the forces which before were kept together by divine unity now fell apart and came into savage hostility, so that Satan could play havoc in the world to his heart's delight. One must not be dazzled by the philosophical manner of expression of our theologians. In our ungodly times the worldly wise no longer understand the simple language of Holy Scripture inspired by God Himself; they must be taught in their own way until they are again ripe for the understanding of the Bible, for it is written:

> "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes" (Matthew 11:25).

Hence *Schelling* calls the "angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation" (Jude 6), calls the devil and his godless hosts cosmic powers, which means as much as princes of this world. Now God can, of course, have no further pleasure in the world. In His justice He rejects it, and where He works in it He does so in His wrath and without His full free will. But the Eternally Merciful cannot let go of it; the word through which "all things were made and without which was not any thing made that was made" (John 1:3), the only begotten Son of God with his immeasurable love and grace remains in the poor, rejected world. His state of suffering begins with the fall of man and not just with his becoming man under Herod, for with the fall he is completely thrust out of mankind, in which he lived still more than the Father. Nay, by placing himself between the angry God and the fallen world, which the former wanted to destroy, and taking its side, he separated himself from the Father and so was in a sense

jointly guilty and could not claim any part of the divine splendour so long as the Father was not reconciled. This great work of reconciliation, the struggle against the prince of this world, he now began in this form, neither divine nor human, in this separation from the Father which makes up his suffering and his pain. That this interpretation is founded on Holy Scripture is most clearly shown in Chapter 53 of the Prophet Isaiah, which speaks of a present, not future suffering. This great struggle is now beginning both among the Jews and the pagans. How the Lord subjugates the Jews unto Himself is shown in the history of the people of Israel in the Old Testament, and the splendid guidances by which the Lord led His people are well known to Christians. But among the pagans? Was not the devil precisely the God of the pagans? We shall try to answer this as clearly as possible without deviating from the pronouncements of Holy Scripture.

Everybody will have already heard that among the pagans, too, in the books of the Sibyls [129] and elsewhere, there were prophecies about Christ. Here we see already that they were not quite so forsaken by God as is the usual view, for the prophecies are of divine origin. But now this is not enough. Why should the Lord in His mercy let them go so far astray and fall into the devil's clutches? He lets rain fall on good and evil alike and the sun shine on the just and the unjust! Nay, if the pagans had been so entirely without God's protection and guidance in the power of the evil enemy, would their sins not have been greater and more outrageous than they actually were? Would not then all the shameful lusts and unnatural desires, the sins of the flesh and other sins, murder, adultery, fornication, thieving, roguery, unchastity have cried to high heaven so that God would have had to exterminate them without hesitation? Nay, would they themselves not have slain and devoured each other? It already follows from this that God must have had mercy even on the pagans and given them some light from above; and this consists in their having been led gradually and without noticing it through all stages of idolatry to the worship of the true Christ, but without their knowing that their God and that of the Christians was one and the same, and that He who was hidden in paganism was now revealed in Christianity. Now those who failed to realise this when the Gospel was preached to them no longer worshipped the hidden Christ, since they persecuted the revealed one, but their god was now the enemy of Christ, the devil. It is *Schelling*'s great merit that he is the first to devote himself to tracing the guidance of God among

the pagans and so prepares new praise of the love of Christ for sinful men.

Since now the Jews consciously and the pagans without knowing it and in a false form were brought to the knowledge of the true God, when the proud palaces of the Greeks lay in ruins and the iron hand of the Roman Emperor lay upon the whole world, the time was fulfilled and God sent His Son so that all who believe in Him should not perish but have eternal life. This happened in the following manner. Since Christ had subjected paganism unto himself, he was its God, but not the true God, which he could not be without the Father. So he had wrested the world from the devil and could do with it what he wished; he could keep it for himself and rule over it alone in this *form of God*; but out of free obedience he did not do so, but handed it over to his Father by divesting himself of the form of God and becoming man.

"...Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: But made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross" (Philippians 2:6-8).

There are many other passages in Holy Scripture which declare this interpretation to be the right one and prove it; moreover, one can in this way take everything quite simply and literally, without need for a lot of subterfuges and erudition.

For what is great in Christ's obedience is that the Saviour could have possessed the whole world for himself and dissociated himself from the Father, and that he did not want this, but laid the world he had wrested from the devil at his Father's feet and suffered death for the sake of atonement for many.

Here we also see the meaning of the story of Christ's temptation. Had it not been in Jesus' free choice to submit or not to submit himself to the Father, the devil could not have tempted him at all, for he must have known that it would be in vain. Hence the above interpretation by *Schelling* is certainly correct.

Thus we have heard that Christ is the true God, and now our authority passes on to the second nature of the same Christ, the human. He also is of the firm belief that Christ was truly a true man and not, as many heretics think, a mere apparition or the Spirit of God which had descended on an already existing man.

In representing the world before God, standing surety for it, Christ stepped out of God and confronted Him. So long as the world was not reconciled again with God, Christ was not God, but in a middle state which took the form of God through the

conquest of paganism, but was not itself the true state of divinity. To put himself back into this, Christ had to hand over to his Father the world he had wrested from the devil, divest himself of the form of God and submit humbly to the Father, so as to take upon himself the punishment for the iniquity of the world. This humility he showed by becoming man, born of woman, and being obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. No purifications or sacrifices could reconcile God; they were merely preludes to the one great sacrifice in which not only evil was extirpated, but God's wrath reconciled. The latter could only be reconciled by the greatest, most freely rendered, most humble submission, and that could only be done by the Son, not by a man compelled to submission by fear and the torment of conscience, the threatening wrath of God. Christ could now also represent the people before God, since he had become their Lord, their defender, through the worship they paid him without knowing it. So as now really to bear punishment in place of man, who had deserved it, he became man; the decision to become man is a miracle of the divine spirit. So he who in the beginning was with God, nay, was God Himself, and after the Fall was in the "form of God", was now born in Bethlehem as man, namely, of Mary through the Holy Ghost without the agency of any man.

Who would have dared hope that in the year 1842 a philosopher, nay, the founder of the new school of blasphemy, would make such a pleasing conversion and acknowledge so gladly the main doctrines of Christianity? That which was always the first to be attacked by doubt, which half-Christians have always rejected and which is nevertheless the corner-stone of the Christian faith, the birth of Christ by Mary without the agency of any man—the fact that this too has been asserted by *Schelling* as his conviction, is one of the most gratifying signs of the times, and the favourite of God who has had the courage to do this has a claim to the gratitude of every believer. But who does not recognise here the hand of the Lord in this marvellous, wonderful dispensation? Who does not see that He is giving a sign to His Church that He has not forsaken it and remembers it day and night?

On the death of the Lord *Schelling* pronounces himself in a no less truly Christian and edifying manner. This is said to have been decided from the beginning of the world in the Council of the Guardians and to be a sacrifice demanded by the divine spirit. God is said to be just even to Satan and so fully to have allowed him his rights that He delivered His own Son up to death so that all who believed in Him should not perish but should have eternal

life, so that the devil should not have even the slightest grounds for saying he had been overthrown by the greater might of God, and unjustly. It is the majesty and splendour of the Lord Himself which does not tolerate even the least semblance of such a blemish. For this reason Christ had to become man and had to take upon himself the iniquity of mankind forsaken by God and suffer the death on the cross so that through the death of one many would come to life. For this reason the Lord in his grace and mercy had to sacrifice himself for us, to stand surety for the sinners to his Father and to pay our debt, so that we might again have access to the throne of grace. The other men also, it is true, are one and all delivered over to death, but none has died like the Lord, none has suffered such a death of salvation as Jesus Christ. And so also this crown of faith, the purification from sin in the blood of Christ, is once again marvellously saved from the claws of the old dragon who now roams in the form of worldly wisdom and the odious spirit of the times, and the Lord has once again kept the precious promise that the gates of hell shall not prevail against His Church. Further, *Schelling* says of Christ very beautifully: this death is such a great miracle that we would never dare believe it were we not so certain of it. At his death all mankind was represented; Jews and pagans were present, and they were the two sides of the whole human race. The principle of the pagans, as Christ had become in paganism through his struggle with Satan, had to die the death of the pagans, the death on the cross. His crucifixion is only the resolution of the prolonged tension in which he found himself among the pagans, that is, the extra-divine position of the Lord was resolved and by death he again became one with God, as it is written:

> "He was taken from prison and from judgment: and who shall declare his generation? for he was cut off out of the land of the living: for the transgression of my people was he stricken" (Isaiah 53:8).

But of the Lord's resurrection *Schelling* says it was proof that Christ had not taken on his humanity for appearance's sake but had become man in earnest and forever, and that God had again accepted into grace the human form and the human essence, and indeed not the humanity in Christ alone, but the whole of humanity, of whom Christ had merely been the representative. For not the individual sin displeased God so much that He therefore had to abandon mankind, the worst was rather the whole iniquitous state of all mankind, sold to the evil one, and therefore God finds displeasure in man even before he has sinned,

so that before God it was equivalent to a sin to be human. Hence no goodwill pleasing to God, not a single good deed that was just in the eyes of God, could be found in the world before Christ had died, and hence even now only believers can do good works and be of goodwill. But by the resurrection of the Lord the human state is vindicated before God and recognised by God as purified from sin, and so the vindication is completed only by the resurrection. So Christ has been raised up to heaven and sits on the right hand of God the Father as true man and true God, representing mankind before the Father.

The resurrection is further a proof to us of the immortality of our own soul and the resurrection of the flesh. *Schelling* acknowledges this also and adds that if during this life the flesh dominates the spirit, then a second must follow, where the spirit has overcome the flesh, and finally an equalising of both sides is necessary. This accords wholly with the teaching of Scripture, for the last state after the resurrection and the Last Judgment, after the transfiguration of the body, is nothing but what *Schelling* calls the equilibrium between soul and body. About the condition of the impenitent and damned who have passed away in unbelief, hard-heartedness and sin, *Schelling* offers a surmise too. He holds the second, eternal death for an eternal dying without ever being able to come to real death. It seems better to refrain from pondering over this and to leave it to the Lord to decide how He wishes to punish and torment His contemners and blasphemers.

Finally, the dear *Schelling* delivers the following priceless testimony to the resurrection of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: This resurrection is a stroke of lightning from inner history to outer. Whoever denies such facts, to him the history of the kingdom of God remains a mere series of external, accidental occurrences without any divine content, without the transcendental (which goes beyond reason), which alone is history proper. Without it history is merely a matter of superficial memorising, not true, complete knowledge of the events.— That is a beautiful and Christian word, but the talk of the worldly wise about God being in the history and development of the consciousness of the species is sheer filth and blasphemy. For if these proud seducers of youth have their god in the history of all human sins and crimes, how can God remain outside those sins? These mockers will not understand that the entire history of the world is a jostling succession of all kinds of injustice, malice, murder, adultery, fornication, thieving, blasphemy, profanation, anger and rage and drunkenness; they would without fail hurl themselves into hell and

the whole world with them if one did not see everywhere the saving hand of God, which restrains and prevents the evil; and this shameful scene of blasphemy is their heaven, their whole immortality, they have said so frankly themselves. But these are the fine consequences of casting all divine action out of history. God avenges Himself on them by closing their minds against His true essence and letting them make a god for themselves who is even less than a deaf idol of wood and straw, who is a vague phantom of air, a so-called world spirit and spirit of history. We have seen what is the outcome of such a view of history, of which the chief preacher is that *Hegel*, who is in evil repute with all good Christians; let us hold against that the picture of history outlined by a man of God like *Schelling*.

Among the Twelve, *Schelling* says, who were always near the Lord and whom He appointed apostles, there were in particular three whom he favoured before the others at every opportunity, Peter, James and John. In these three the models of the whole Christian Church are given if we substitute as successor for James, who was earlier killed for the sake of Christ, Paul, who was converted at about the same time. Peter, Paul and John are the rulers of three different periods of the Christian Church, as in the Old Testament Moses, Elijah and John the Baptist were the three representatives of three periods. Moses was the lawgiver through whom the Lord laid the foundation; Elijah the fiery spirit who brought the inert, apostate people back to life and activity; John the Baptist was the accomplisher who led the Old Testament into the New. So also for the Church of the New Testament, Peter was Moses, the founder, through whom the Jewish essence of the times was represented in the Christian Church; Paul the driving, fiery Elijah who did not let the faithful become lukewarm and fall asleep and who represented the essence of paganism, culture, learning and worldly wisdom—insofar as it submitted to faith; but John will again be the accomplisher, the one who points to the future, for to those whom the Lord loves He gives the task of completing. So John in his lifetime, already pointing to the future, wrote the Revelation. The Church of the apostle Peter is now the Catholic Church, whose ceremonial service as well as its teaching of good works corresponds to the Jewish Law; and it cannot be denied that the word of the Lord: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it",[a] refers to the Church he founded. As he thrice denied

[a] Matthew 16:18.—*Ed.*

the Lord, so it can be shown that the Roman Church thrice denied the Lord. First, when it strove for worldly domination, then when it used worldly power for its own purposes, and lastly, when it lent itself to the worldly power as a means to its ends. The second Church, that of the apostle Paul, is now the Protestant Church, in which prevail erudition and all godly wisdom, that is, the essential spirit of those Christians who came over from paganism, and into which, instead of the established permanence of the Catholic Church, there enters the driving, partisan life of the Evangelical Church, split into many sects. Who knows whether the thoughts and aspirations of these pagan Christians will not in the end be more beneficial to the kingdom of God than those of the Jewish Christians!

But neither of these two parties is the true, last Church of the Lord; this will be only the one which from Peter's foundation will penetrate through Paul to John and so prepare the last times. This last Church is the Church of love, as John was the messenger of love, the consummation of the Church, in whose times will be the great apostasy which has been foretold for the end, to be followed by the Last Judgment. Many churches have been built for all the apostles, but relatively very few for St. John. If I had to build a church I would consecrate it to him; one day, however, a church will be built for all three apostles, and this will be the last, the true Christian pantheon.

These are the words with which the first truly Christian philosopher concluded his lectures, and so we will have followed him to the end. The author of these lines believes that he has sufficiently shown what a chosen vessel the Lord has awakened for His Church in this worthy man. This is the man who will drive out the pagans of the modern world who there pursue their practices in many forms, as men of the world, Young Germans,[130] philosophers, and what else they may call themselves. Indeed, when one entered the hall where *Schelling* was lecturing, and heard these people mock and make fun of the Elect among the worldly wise, one had to think of the apostle Paul when he preached in Athens. It is just as if history were repeating itself, as it is told in The Acts of the Apostles 17 : 16 ff. where it says the following:

"Now while Paul waited for them at Athens, his spirit was stirred in him, when he saw the city wholly given to idolatry. Therefore disputed he in the synagogue with the Jews, and with the devout persons, and in the market daily with them that met with him. Then certain philosophers of the Epicureans, and of the Stoicks, encountered him. And some said, What will this babbler say? other some, He

seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods: because he preached unto them Jesus, and the resurrection."

Well might *Schelling*, too, grow angry, here in Berlin, since he saw the city so wholly given to idolatry. For where is there more worshipping of things of the earth, of Mammon and the honour of this world, of one's own dear Ego, and where is the true God more thrust aside, than precisely here? Where has the life of the world with its opulence, its luxury and its hollow, vain pomp, with its glittering vices and embellished sins, reached a higher pitch than precisely here? Did not your scholars, your shallow un-Christian writers wish to flatter you when they compared your city so often to Athens? Oh, what bitter truth they told you! Yes, Athens, full of pagan, proud culture and civilisation which blinds your eyes to the simple truth of the Gospel; Athens, full of brilliance and glamour and earthly splendour, full of the life of pleasure and comfortable idleness which stretches and yawns on a soft bed of dissoluteness and finds the word of the cross much too boring and penance much too strenuous; Athens, full of voluptuous, wild ecstasy and intoxication of the senses, in which the loud voice of conscience is shouted down and drowned, the inner unrest and pain concealed beneath a bright covering. Yes, indeed, Athens, full of proud worldly-wise men who rack their brains over Being and Nothing and other stale things and have long finished with God and the world but who laugh at the word of humility and poverty of spirit as a folly and curiosity of past times; Athens, full of accomplished scholars who know by heart all the kinds of infusoria and all the chapters of Roman Law but forget the eternal salvation which is the bliss of the soul. There a *Schelling* might well get angry as once Paul did when he entered such a city. And when he arrived there the worldly wise spoke just as once the Epicureans and Stoics did in Athens of old: What will this babbler say? They already spoke ill of him before he opened his mouth, they reviled him even before he entered their city. But let us see what Holy Scripture reports further:

"And they took him, and brought him unto Areopagus, saying, May we know what this new doctrine, whereof thou speakest, is? For thou bringest certain strange things to our ears: we would know therefore what these things mean. (For all the Athenians and strangers which were there spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell, or to hear some new thing.)" [a]

Now, is that not the Berliners to the very life? Are they not also bent on nothing but to hear and see some new thing? Just go into your coffee-houses and pastry shops and watch the new Athenians

[a] The Acts of the Apostles 17 : 19-21.— *Ed.*

running after the newspapers while the Bible lies at home gathering dust, and nobody opens it; listen when they gather together whether their greetings are anything but: What is the news? Nothing new? Always something new, always something that never happened before, otherwise they are bored to death with all their culture, their pomp and their enjoyments. Whom do they think amiable, interesting and notable? Him who is most enlightened by the Holy Ghost? No, him who always has the most news to tell. What worries them most? Whether a sinner has been converted, at which the angels of God rejoice? No, what scandals have occurred during the night, what has been reported from Berlin in the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*! Above all the brood of vipers of politicians and beer-parlour orators is the worst and most obsessed by news. These hypocrites interfere most loudly in the government instead of leaving unto the King what is the King's and never for a moment do they worry about the salvation of their immortal souls; they want to remove the mote from the eye of the government, and will not notice the beam in their own, unbelieving eye which is blind to the love of Christ. These most especially are like the Athenians of old, who also spent all day lounging around in the market-place and ferreting out news while the old truth was lying untouched in their closets. What did they want of *Schelling* but to hear something new, and how they turned up their noses when he gave them nothing but the old Gospel! How few were they who were not looking all the time for something new, but only demanded from *Schelling* the old truth, the word of salvation through Christ Jesus!

And so it is with the whole of history, as there with Paul so here with *Schelling*. They listened to his sermon with critical faces, now and then gave a superior smile, shook their heads, exchanged meaningful glances and then looked pityingly at *Schelling*, "and when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked" (The Acts of the Apostles 17 : 32). Only a few took his side. For as it was in Athens so it is today: the resurrection of the dead is their chief stumbling-block. Most of them are honest enough not to want to know anything about any immortality; the minority admits a very uncertain, vacillating, nebulous immortality of the soul, but leaves the body to rot forever, and they are all unanimous in scorning the real, definite and open resurrection of the flesh and in holding it to be a matter of impossibility, as if it were not written: for God nothing is impossible.

It still remains for us to make one more remark if we return to the history of the Church of Christ presented to the believing

reader as it is typified in the three apostles Peter, Paul and John. It follows from this that it is a most grievous wrong and a sin against the ordinance of God Himself if we, as many do even today, were to despise and disparage the Catholic Church in comparison with ours. For it is pre-ordained in the divine counsel, just as the Protestant Church, and we have much to learn from it. The Catholic Church still has the old Apostolic Church discipline, which with us has been completely lost. We know from the Scriptures that the apostles and the churches expelled from the communion of the Holy Ghost unbelievers, false teachers and sinners who were a cause of offence to the church. Does not Paul say in 1 Corinthians 5:3-5:

"For I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."

Did not Christ say to Peter:

"And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (Matthew 16:19).

Did he not say after the resurrection to all the disciples:

"Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained" (John 20:23).

Such passages in Holy Scripture point to strong church discipline, as it flourished in the Apostolic Church and still persists among Catholics, and if the Apostolic Church is our model and Holy Scripture our guide, we also must endeavour to assert again that ancient institution, and considering the fury with which the evil enemy today persecutes and attacks the Church of the Lord, we would do well to be armed not only inwardly with faith and hope, but also outwardly through the strengthening of the community in spirit and the expulsion of false prophets. The wolf must not be allowed to come among the flock without being driven out again. Moreover, the celibacy of Catholic priests is also not to be entirely condemned. It is written in Matthew 19:10-12:

"His disciples say unto him, If the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry. But he said unto them, All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given. For there are some eunuchs, which were so born from their mother's womb: and there are some eunuchs, which were made eunuchs of men: and there be eunuchs, which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it."

Again, 1 Corinthians 7 deals from beginning to end with the advantages of the unmarried over the married state, and I will only quote from it a few passages:

7:1-2. "It is good for a man not to touch a woman. Nevertheless, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband."

7:8. "I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, It is good for them if they abide even as I."

7:27. "Art thou loosed from a wife? seek not a wife."

7:32-33. "He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord: But he that is married careth for the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife."

7:38 ff. Finally, "he that giveth her in marriage doeth well; but he that giveth her not in marriage doeth better. The wife is bound by the law as long as her husband liveth; but if her husband be dead, she is at liberty to be married to whom she will; only in the Lord. But she is happier if she so abide, after my judgment: and I think also that I have the Spirit of God."

These utterances are surely clear enough, and it is difficult to understand how, with such precepts, the single state could come so much into disrepute among Protestants. So we see that the Catholic Church is in many respects closer to the Scriptures than we, and we have no cause to despise it. On the contrary, our brethren in the Catholic Church, insofar as they are believing and godfearing, are closer to us than the apostate and un-Christian Protestants, and it is time for us to begin to prepare the Church of John by uniting with the Catholics against the common foes who threaten the whole of Christendom. It is no longer the time to quarrel over the differences between the various denominations, we must leave that to the Lord, since we humans have been unable here to reach clarity in three hundred years; we must watch and pray and be prepared always,

"having our loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness; And our feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith we shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God" (Ephesians 6:14-17). For the times are evil, and "the adversary ... as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour" (1 Peter 5:8).[a]

And if the author may be allowed to express his humble opinion where so many godly and enlightened men could speak, then he is of the opinion that the Church of John, and with it the last days, are at the door. Who has watched the events of the last years with

[a] These quotations are slightly modified.— *Ed.*

the Lord in view and has not noticed that great things are approaching and the hand of the Lord commands the affairs of kings and countries! Since the dreadful French Revolution a wholly new, devilish spirit has entered a great part of mankind and godlessness raises its insolent head so impudently and proudly that one is forced to think the prophecies of Scripture are about to be fulfilled. But let us see again what Scripture says about the godlessness of the last times. The Lord Jesus says in Matthew 24:11-14:

"And many false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many. And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold. But he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved. And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come." And in 24: "For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect." And Paul says, in 2 Thessalonians 2:3 ff.: "that man of sin shall be revealed, the son of perdition; Who opposeth and exalteth *himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped*; ... after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, And with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. *And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie:* That they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness." And in 1 Timothy 4:1. "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils."

Is that not as if the Lord and Paul saw our time before their eyes, large as life? The general falling away from the kingdom of God is ever increasing, the godlessness and blasphemy is daily becoming more impudent, as Peter says, 2 Peter 3:3.

"Knowing this first, that there shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts."

All enemies of God are coming together and attacking the believers with all possible weapons; the indifferent ones who indulge in the lust of this world and to whom the word of the cross was too boring, pricked by conscience, are uniting with the atheist worldly wise and by their doctrine are trying to lull the worm within to sleep; the latter, for their part, deny with barefaced impudence everything that cannot be seen with the eyes, God and all life after death, and so, of course, it follows that for them this world is supreme, this world with its enjoyments of the flesh, with feasting, boozing and whoring. They are the worst pagans who have made themselves hardened and stiff-necked against the Gospel and of whom the Lord says that the Last Judgment would be more tolerable for the people of Sodom and

Gomorrah than for them. It is no longer an indifference and coldness in respect of the Lord, nay, it is open, declared hostility, and instead of all the sects and parties we now have only two: Christians and Anti-Christians. But he who has eyes to see, let him see and not blind them; for now is not the time to sleep and resort to subterfuges; where the signs of the times speak so clearly, there is need to pay heed to them and to search in the words of the prophecy, which has not been given us for nothing. We see the false prophets in our midst,

"and there has been given unto them a mouth to speak great things and blasphemies: and they open their mouths in blasphemy against God, to blaspheme his name and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven. And it is given unto them to make war with the saints and" (it almost seems) "to overcome them." Revelation 13:5-7.

All shame and respect and reverence have vanished out of them and the abominable mockeries of a Voltaire are child's play compared with the horrible earnestness and the deliberate blasphemy of these seducers. They roam about in Germany and want to sneak in everywhere, they preach their satanic doctrines in the market-places and carry the devil's standard from city to city, enticing the poor youths after them, to cast them into the deepest abyss of hell and death. Temptation abounds as never before, and it cannot be without special purpose that the Lord permits it. Shall it be said even of us:

"O ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky; but can ye not discern the signs of the times?" Matthew 16:3.

Nay, we must open our eyes and look about us; the times are important and it is meet to watch and pray, so that we enter not into temptation and the Lord, who will come like a thief in the night, may not find us sleeping. Great trouble and temptation will befall us, but the Lord will not forsake us, for He has said, Revelation 3:5:

"He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father, and before His angels." And in 3:11: "Behold, I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown."

Amen!

Rheinische Zeitung
für
Politik, Handel und Gewerbe.

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# NORTH- AND SOUTH-GERMAN LIBERALISM [131]

*Berlin*, March. Until quite recently the south of our Fatherland was thought to be the only part of it capable of strong political convictions; Baden, Württemberg and Rhenish Bavaria seemed to be the only three altars on which could be kindled the fire of the only patriotism worthy of the name, independent patriotism. The north seemed to have sunk back into inert indifference, a limp, if not servile, torpor, in which it sought recovery from the truly grand and unusual exertion of the wars of liberation, in which the south took no part. With that deed the north seemed to feel it had done enough and now deserved some rest, so that the south soon began to look down on it, chide its lack of interest and be scornful of its patience. The events in Hanover [132] were also amply exploited by the south to vindicate its superiority over the north. While the latter seemed to be quieter, less active, the former was triumphant, preening itself on its developing parliamentary life, its speeches in the chambers, its opposition, which had to give support to the north while the south knew its own existence assured even without it.—This has all changed. The movement of the south has gone to sleep, the cogs on its wheels which used to engage so firmly and keep them revolving have gradually become ground down and no longer interlock properly; one voice after another falls silent and the younger generation has no desire to follow the path of its predecessors. The north, on the other hand, although external circumstances were not nearly so favourable for it as for the south, although the platform, when not entirely lacking, could never rise to the significance of that of South Germany, has nevertheless for some years possessed a store of

solid political conviction, of firmness of character combined with lively energy, of talent and journalistic activity such as the south was never able to accumulate in the period of its finest flowering. Moreover, North-German liberalism is incontestably more thoroughly developed and versatile and possesses a firmer historical and national basis than the liberalism of the south could ever achieve. The standpoint of the former far transcends that of the latter. Why so? The history of the two phenomena provides the clearest answer.

When in the year 1830 political consciousness began to awaken all over Europe and the interest of the state began to come to the fore, the events and stimulations of that year, colliding with the reawakening dreams of Germanisation, gave rise to the new phenomenon of South-German liberalism. Born of immediate practice, it remained true to it and made it the basis of its theory. The practice out of which its theory was constructed was, however, as we know, very varied: French, German, English, Spanish, etc. Hence it came about that the theory, the real content of this movement, also ended up as something very general, vague and blurred, which was neither German nor French, neither national nor definitely cosmopolitan, but simply abstract and incomplete. There was a common purpose, the legalisation of liberty, but generally two diametrically opposed means of achieving it; thus, constitutional guarantees were desired for Germany and, in order to achieve this, one day greater independence of the princes from the Federal Diet[133] would be proposed and the next, greater dependence but a popular chamber alongside the Federal Diet: two equally impractical means in the prevailing circumstances. One day the great purpose was to be achieved through greater unity of Germany, and the next through greater independence of the small princes in relation to Prussia and Austria. Hence, always united on the purpose but never on the means, the by far more powerful party was soon overtaken by the government and realised its imprudence too late. Moreover, its strength was dependent on a momentary excitement, on the effect of a purely external event, the July revolution, and when this abated, it also had to go to sleep.

During this period things were much quieter in North Germany and outwardly less active. Only one man poured forth all the ardour of his vitality in living flames, and he was worth more than all the South Germans put together. I am speaking of *Börne*. In him, who with all the energy of his character rose above their half-heartedness, this one-sidedness carried on the fight to its

conclusion and so overcame itself. In him theory wrested itself free from practice and revealed itself as the latter's most beautiful flower. Hence he adopted the standpoint of North-German liberalism firmly, becoming its precursor and prophet.

This movement, whose domination of Germany can no longer be disputed, has gained a fuller content and more enduring existence through its basis. From the start it linked its being not to an individual event but to the whole of world history, and especially German history; the source from which it flowed was not in Paris, but in the heart of Germany; it was the newer German philosophy. Hence the North-German liberal is distinguished by a high degree of consistency, a definiteness in his demands, and a consonance of means and purpose, for which the South-German liberal has hitherto always striven in vain. Hence his conviction appears as a necessary product of national aspirations and itself national, because it wants to see Germany equally worthily placed in internal and external matters and cannot fall into the ludicrous dilemma of whether to be liberal first and then German, or German first and then liberal. Hence it knows itself to be equally safe from the one-sidedness of both parties and is free of the quibbles and sophistries into which they were driven by their own inner contradictions. Hence it can launch a resolute, vigorous and successful battle against each and every form of reaction, such as South-German liberalism never could, and hence its eventual victory is certain.

Nevertheless, South-German liberalism is not to be regarded as a lost outpost or an unsuccessful experiment; through it we have achieved results which are not to be disregarded. Above all, it was South-German liberalism that founded a German opposition, thereby making political convictions possible in Germany and awakening parliamentary life; that did not allow the seed which lay within the German constitution to fall asleep and rot, and that extracted from the July revolution the profit to be won from it for Germany. It proceeded from practice to theory and failed; so let us begin the other way round and try to penetrate from theory into practice — I will wager anything that in the end we shall get farther this way.

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# DIARY OF A GUEST STUDENT

## I

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 130, May 10, 1842]

In a city like Berlin a stranger would be committing a real crime against himself and against good taste if he did not inspect all the sights. Yet the most remarkable thing in Berlin, that which distinguishes the Prussian capital above all others, remains all too often unnoticed by him; I am speaking of the University. I do not mean the imposing façade on the Opera Square, or the anatomy and mineralogy museums, but the many lecture-halls with witty and pedantic professors, with students young and old, gay and serious, with freshmen and old-stagers, lecture-halls in which words have been spoken and are still spoken daily that spread beyond the frontiers of Prussia and even beyond the bounds within which German is spoken. Berlin University enjoys the reputation, like no other, of standing in the mainstream of contemporary thought and of having made itself such an arena of intellectual battles. How many other universities, Bonn, Jena, Giessen, Greifswald, and even Leipzig, Breslau and Heidelberg, have withdrawn from these battles and sunk into that learned apathy which has at all times been the bane of German science! Berlin, on the other hand, numbers representatives of all trends among its academic staff and thus allows a lively polemic which gives the students an easy, clear overall picture of present-day trends. In such circumstances I was tempted to take advantage of the now commonly granted privilege to sit in at lectures, and so I went in one morning, just as the summer term was beginning. Several lecturers had already begun their courses, most were beginning that day. Of all the lectures open to me the most interesting was the start of *Marheineke's* course on the introduction

of Hegelian philosophy into theology. In general, the first lectures by the local Hegelians this term were of very particular interest because with several of them one could be sure in advance of direct polemics against Schelling's philosophy of revelation, while others could be expected not to hesitate in saving the honour of Hegel's offended manes. Marheineke's course was too evidently directed against Schelling not to attract special attention. The lecture-hall was filled long before his arrival; young men and old, students, officers and goodness knows who else, sat and stood packed closely together. At last he enters; the talk and hum of voices cease instantly, hats fly off as if by command. A firm, strong figure, the serious, resolute face of a thinker, the high forehead wreathed in hair gone grey in the hard toil of thinking; during the lecture itself a noble demeanour, nothing of the scholar who buries his nose in the notes from which he is reading, no histrionic gesticulation; a youthful, upright posture, the eye fixed firmly on the audience; the delivery itself calm, dignified, slow but always fluent, plain but infinitely rich in striking thoughts which follow close one upon the other, each more penetrating than the preceding one. On the rostrum Marheineke impresses you by his sureness, imperturbable firmness and dignity, and also by the freedom of mind which radiates from his entire personality. Today, however, he stepped onto the rostrum in a very special mood, impressing his audience far more powerfully even than usually. If for a whole term he had patiently endured Schelling's unworthy utterances on the dead Hegel and his philosophy, if he had quietly listened to Schelling's lectures to the end—and for a man like Marheineke that is indeed no trifle—the moment had now come when he could reply to the attack, when he could lead proud thoughts into the field against proud words. He began with general remarks in which he described in masterly strokes the present attitude of philosophy to theology, referred appreciatively to Schleiermacher, saying that his pupils had been led to philosophy by his thinking which stimulated thinking, and that any who took a different path had themselves to blame for it. Gradually he passed to Hegelian philosophy and soon made a clear allusion to Schelling.

"Hegel," he said, "desired above all else that in philosophy one should rise above one's *own vanity* and not behave as if one had divined something special and here the matter could now rest; in particular he was not the man to come out *with grand promises and dazzling words,* but was content to let the philosophical *deed* speak for him. He has never been the *miles gloriosus*[a] of philosophy who boasted much

[a] Bragging liar.—*Ed.*

about himself.— Now, of course, nobody thinks himself too ignorant or too limited to pass adverse judgment on him and his philosophy; and nobody can fail to make his fortune if he has a thorough refutation of it in his pocket; for how easily he could insinuate himself with it can be seen from those who merely promise a refutation *and afterwards do not keep their word.*"

At these last words the applause of the audience, of which there had already been single outbursts, broke into stormy acclamation, which, being new at a theological lecture, greatly surprised the lecturer, and in its fresh spontaneity offered a striking contrast to the dry cheers barely produced by subventions at the end of the lectures which Marheineke was attacking. He quietened the applause with a gesture and continued:

"This desired refutation is nevertheless not yet available, nor will it be, as long as *irritation, ill humour, envy* and passion generally are employed instead of calm, scientific examination; as long as *gnosticism* and *fantasy* are considered sufficient to dethrone philosophical thought. The first condition of this refutation is, of course, to understand the opponent correctly, and here many of Hegel's enemies are like the dwarf who fought against the giant, or the still better known knight who tilted against windmills."

This is the main content of Marheineke's first lecture as far as it may be of interest to the wider public. Marheineke has once more shown how courageous and calm he always is on the field of battle when it is a matter of defending the freedom of science. By virtue of his character and acumen he stands out far more as Hegel's successor than Gabler, to whom this title is usually given. The grand, free vision with which Hegel surveyed the entire realm of thought and grasped the phenomena of life is also Marheineke's inheritance. Who will condemn him if he is not prepared to sacrifice his long-held conviction, his hard-won achievement, to a development which has only come about in the last five years? Marheineke has advanced with the times long enough to be entitled to a scientific summing-up. It is a great quality in him that he feels at home even in the most outlying areas of philosophy and makes its cause his own, as he has done every day from Leo's *Hegelingen* to Bruno Bauer's dismissal.[134]

Incidentally Marheineke intends to have these lectures printed when they are completed.[135]

## II

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 144, May 24, 1842]

A few students were sitting scattered in a spacious lecture-hall waiting for the lecturer. The notice on the door said that Professor von *Henning* was at this hour to begin a public lecture

on the *Prussian financial system.* Attracted by the subject, put on the order of the day by Bülow-Cummerow,[a] and the name of the lecturer, one of Hegel's older pupils, I was surprised that it did not appear to arouse more interest. Henning entered, a slim man in his "prime", with thin fair hair, and began to present his subject in rapidly flowing, perhaps rather too detailed discourse.

"Prussia," he said, "stands out among all other states by having a financial system based entirely on the modern science of political economy, and having had the hitherto unique courage to apply in practice the theoretical results of Adam Smith and his followers. England, for instance, where the modern theories originated, is still up to the eyes in the old system of monopoly and prohibition, France almost more so, and neither Huskisson in the former country nor Duchâtel in the latter has been able to overcome private interests by his more reasonable views, to say nothing of Austria and Russia; whereas Prussia has firmly recognised the principle of free trade and free industry and has abolished all monopolies and prohibitive customs duties. This aspect of our political system, therefore, places us high above states which in another respect, the development of political freedom, are far ahead of us. If our government's achievement in respect of finance has been so extraordinary, it must also be admitted, on the other hand, that peculiarly favourable conditions existed for such a reform. The disaster of 1806[b] cleared the ground on which the new edifice could be erected; the government's hands were not tied by a representative system, enabling the particular interests to assert themselves. But unfortunately there are still old gentlemen whose narrow-mindedness and peevishness make them carp at what is new and accuse it of being an unhistorical, unpractical, forcibly imposed construction evolved from abstract theory; as if history had stopped in 1806 and it were wrong for practice to conform with theory, with science; as if the essence of history were stagnation or movement in a circle, and not progress, as if there could really be practice devoid of all theory."

I may be permitted to look more closely at these last points, with which public opinion in Germany, and particularly in Prussia, will surely declare itself in accord; it is high time to oppose resolutely the eternal talk of a certain party about "historical, organic, natural development", about the "natural state", etc., and publicly expose these dazzling visions. If there are states which must indeed take the past into consideration and are obliged to advance more slowly, this does not apply to Prussia. *Prussia cannot advance quickly enough,* cannot develop rapidly enough. Our past lies buried under the ruins of pre-Jena Prussia, it has been swept away by the flood of the Napoleonic invasion. What fetters us? We no longer have to drag on our feet those medieval balls and chains which hamper the progress of so many states; the dirt of past centuries

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[a] Bülow-Cummerow, *Preussen, seine Verfassung, seine Verwaltung, sein Verhältnis zu Deutschland.— Ed.*

[b] The defeat at Jena.— *Ed.*

no longer sticks to our soles. How then can anyone talk about historical development here without meaning a return to the *ancien régime*? A retreat which would be the most shameful there ever was, the most cowardly denial of the most glorious years of Prussian history, treason—conscious or unconscious—against the Fatherland, since it would necessitate another catastrophe like that of 1806. No, it is clear as daylight *that Prussia's salvation lies solely in theory, in science, in development through the intellect.* Or to see it from another angle, Prussia is no "natural" state, but one which has come into being through politics, through purposeful action, through the *intellect.* From the French side the attempt has recently been made to represent this as our state's greatest weakness; on the contrary, this circumstance is our main strength, provided that it is rightly used. Prussia, if it so wants, can raise itself as high above the "natural" states as the conscious intellect stands above unconscious nature. Since provincial differences in Prussia are so great, the system must grow *purely from thought* in order that no province shall be wronged; a gradual fusion of the different provinces will then take place of itself, the separate peculiarities all dissolving in the higher unity of a free state consciousness, whereas otherwise several centuries would not suffice to bring about the internal legislative and national unity of Prussia, and the first violent blow would be bound to have such consequences for the internal cohesion of our state against which no man could offer reliable guarantees. The road which other states have to take is determined in advance by a definite national character; we are free from this compulsion; we can make of ourselves what we will; dismissing all other considerations, Prussia can follow solely the inspiration of reason; it can, as no other state, learn from the experience of its neighbours; it can stand—which no other country can—as the model state for Europe, at the height of its time, and represent in its institutions the complete state consciousness of its century.

This is our vocation, this is what Prussia has been created for. Should we barter away this future for the sake of a few hollow phrases from a dead trend? Shall we not listen to history itself, which entrusts us with this vocation of bringing the flower of all theory to life? Prussia's basis, I say it once more, is not the ruins of past centuries, but the eternally young spirit which becomes conscious in science and creates for itself its own freedom in the state. And if we were to give up the spirit and its freedom, we should be denying ourselves, we should be betraying our most sacred possession, we should be murdering our own living strength

and should not be worthy any longer to stand in the ranks of the European states. Then history would pronounce its terrible death sentence on us: "Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting." [a]

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[a] Daniel 5:27.— *Ed.*

# RHENISH FESTIVALS[136]

*Berlin,* May 6. There are certain times of the year when the Rhinelander gadding about abroad is seized by a very special longing for his beautiful homeland. This longing comes particularly in spring, around Whitsun, the time of the Rhenish music festival, and is a really dreadful feeling. Now, he knows it only too well, everything on the Rhine is in bud; the transparent waves of the river ripple in the spring breeze, nature puts on its Sunday best, and at home they are getting ready for the song outing, tomorrow they will set off, and you are not there!

Oh, it is a fine festival, the Rhenish music festival! The visitors come pouring in from all sides, on crowded steamers decorated with greenery and flags flying, to the accompaniment of horn and song, in long railway trains and lines of stage-coaches, with flourishing of hats and waving of kerchiefs, cheerful men, young and old, beautiful women with even more beautiful voices, all Sunday people with laughing Sunday faces. There's pleasure for you! All cares, all business are forgotten; not a single serious face is to be seen in the dense crowd of arrivals. Old acquaintances are renewed, new ones made; the young folk laugh and flirt and chatter incessantly, and even the old, forcibly persuaded by their dear daughters to take part in the festival, despite gout and podagra, cold and hypochondria, are infected by the general merriment and have to be cheerful since they have come along. Everybody is preparing for the Whitsun holiday, and a festival that derives from the general emanation of the Holy Spirit cannot be more worthily celebrated than by surrendering to the divine spirit of bliss and enjoyment of life, the innermost kernel of which

is enjoyment of art. And of all the arts none is so well suited as music to form the centre of such a convivial provincial parliament where all the educated people of the area come together for the mutual renewal of the joy of living and youthful gaiety. If with the ancients it was the presentation of comedy and the contest of tragic poets that attracted the people to the Panathenaean festivals [137] and bacchanalia, in our climatic and social conditions music alone can play the same role. For just as music which is merely printed and does not speak to the ear can give us no enjoyment, so tragedy remained dead and strange to the ancients unless it spoke from the *thymele*[a] and *orchestra*[b] through the living mouths of the actors. Today every town has its theatre where plays are performed daily, while for the Hellenes the stage came alive only at great festivals; today printing spreads every new play throughout Germany, while among the ancients only a few could read the written tragedy. Hence, drama can no longer serve as the centre for great assemblies, a different art must help, and only music can do that; for it alone admits of the participation of a great multitude and even gains considerably thereby in power of expression; it is the only art where enjoyment coincides with live performance and where the range of effect is as wide as that of ancient drama. And well may the German celebrate and foster music, in which he is king above all nations, for just as he alone succeeded in bringing the highest and holiest, the innermost secret of the human heart, to light out of its hidden depth and in expressing it in sound, so it is given to him alone to respond fully to the power of music, to understand the language of instruments and song through and through.

But here music is not the main thing. What is then? The music festival. Just as the centre cannot form a circle without a periphery, so music is nothing without the gay, convivial life which forms the periphery to this musical centre. The Rhinelander is thoroughly sanguine by nature; his blood flows as freely through his veins as newly fermented Rhine wine, and his eyes always look cheerfully and merrily upon the world. Among the Germans he is Sunday's child to whom the world always looks more beautiful and life more cheerful than to others. He sits laughing and chattering among the vines and over his goblet has long forgotten all his cares while others argue for hours whether they should go and do the same, losing the best time. One thing is certain, no Rhineland-

[a] Raised section of the orchestra in the ancient Greek theatre.— *Ed.*

[b] Space for the chorus in the ancient Greek theatre.— *Ed.*

er has ever let slip an opportunity to enjoy life, or he is thought the biggest fool. This sprightly blood keeps the Rhinelander young years after the real North German has passed into a sedate and prosaic philistinism. All his life long the Rhinelander loves gay, high-spirited pranks, youthful larks, or, as wise, sedate people say, mad tomfooleries and all sorts of crazy things; the gayest and liveliest universities have always been Bonn and Heidelberg. And even the old philistine, soured by worry and work, and the dreariness of everyday life, may give his boys a good hiding for their mischievous pranks in the early morning, yet tell them gleefully in the evening over a pint about the old tricks he himself played in his youth.

With the Rhinelander's eternally cheerful nature, with such an open, unaffected, carefree temperament, it is no wonder that almost everybody at the music festival wants something more than to hear and be heard. There is a gaiety, a freedom and movement of life, a freshness of enjoyment which one would search for long elsewhere. Gay, good-tempered faces, friendship and cordiality for all who take part in the general enjoyment; the three days of the festival slip by like hours in drinking, singing and jesting. And on the morning of the fourth day, when all the pleasure has been enjoyed and the time has come to part, everybody is already looking happily forward to next year, arranging to meet then and, still gay and filled with new life, going on their way and about their everyday work.

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# MARGINALIA TO TEXTS OF OUR TIME

## Four Public Lectures Given in Königsberg by Ludwig Walesrode. Königsberg, H. L. Voigt, 1842[a]

It is now several years since Königsberg in Prussia acquired an importance which must be gratifying to all Germany. Formally excluded from Germany by the Federal Act,[138] the German element there has rallied its strength and claims to be recognised as German and respected as Germany's representative *vis-à-vis* the barbarism of the Slavonic East. And, indeed, the East Prussians could not represent Germany's culture and nationhood *vis-à-vis* the Slavs better than they have done. Intellectual life, political awareness have there reached a height of animated activity, a loftiness and freedom of standpoint as in no other city. *Rosenkranz* with his versatile and lively intelligence represents German philosophy there in a most gratifying manner, and even if he has not the courage of ruthless consistency, his knowledge and talent combined with a fine sense of tact and an unprejudiced approach rank him very high. Jachmann and others discuss the questions of the day in a liberal spirit and now we are presented in the above publication with new proof of the high degree of culture which the public there possesses.

It consists of four humorous lectures given to a large audience on subjects taken from the immediate living present, which the talented author has brought together here. Truly, they reveal such a gift for genre-painting, such ease, elegance and clarity of presentation, such sparkling wit that one cannot deny the author's considerable talent as a humourist. He has an eye which

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[a] *Glossen und Randzeichnungen zu Texten aus unserer Zeit.* Vier öffentliche Vorlesungen, gehalten zu Königsberg von Ludwig Walesrode. Königsberg, H. L. Voigt, 1842.—*Ed.*

seizes on that aspect of current events through which they can be shown most effectively, and he introduces his innumerable references and allusions so cleverly that even the person who is their butt has to smile; moreover, allusions follow in quick succession and in the end no one can take offence at the mockery because everybody has had his share of it. The first lecture, *Die Masken des Lebens*, introduces us to Munich, Berlin, the German Michel, the hollowness of the hereditary aristocracy, the disunion, and a party of German celebrities from the description of which I have taken the following passage:

"Sitting at a table not far from us is a young man drinking his wine from a heavy silver goblet. Once, with a single song, he dismantled twenty French batteries aimed against the free nymphs of the green, free Rhine, and with his four-foot iambics drove back in headlong flight to Thionville several cavalry regiments of the French advance guard who had already got as far as Andernach. For this bold deed he was rewarded with a silver goblet and a participial construction even bolder than his song, so marvellously gigantic that all the grammar schoolteachers in Germany blenched and the third-formers jumped up from their seats and shouted jubilantly: 'Now we can have hot weather holidays!'"[a]

A little further on it says:

"Then a censor's mask approaches us. Should it discover an uncensored ink-stain on our fingers, we should be lost. A censor looks like any other human, but his post is more than human. He judges the spirit and the thoughts and carries the scales which only eternal justice should hold. In literature he is employed to execute the pharaonic law that all *male*-born literary infants must be killed or at least abelarded.[b] The censorship in ancient Rome consisted in strict moral judgment on the citizens of the Republic; it came to an end when, as Cicero says, it could do no more than make a man blush. Our censorship can only come to an end *when* the entire nation can blush for it as *one* man!"[c]

The second lecture, *Unser goldenes Zeitalter*, discourses in the same light vein on the moneyed aristocracy; the third, *Literarisches Don-Quixote-Tournier*, tilts with lance in rest at all kinds of absurdities of our time, first and foremost German political style.

"The German language," it says in this lecture, "was born free and republican; it scales the highest Alpine peaks and glaciers of poetry and thought, to soar with the eagle to the sun. But, like the Swiss, it also enrols in the bodyguard of despotism. What the King of Hanover[d] told his people in the worst German could not have been expressed in the best English. In short, our language, like Morison's pills, is good and usable for everything: but it lacks something which it needs very badly: political style! Of course, in times of greatest peril, when Cologne Cathedral mirrors itself in the Rhine, which usually it does only in very serious circumstances,

[a] L. Walesrode, *Glossen und Randzeichnungen*,, S. 15-16.— *Ed.*

[b] Castrated. An allusion to Pierre Abélard.— *Ed.*

[c] L. Walesrode, *Glossen und Randzeichnungen*, S. 16-17.— *Ed.*

[d] Ernst August.— *Ed.*

it takes on a sort of political verve, with high official approval; every potato patch is then called a *Gau*, and respectable small townsfolk are promoted to *Mannen*, and every seamstress is suddenly transformed overnight into a German *Maid*. But that is only the style of political defensive and is usually mobilised at the same time as the people's militia; taking offensive action is something our language has yet to learn. When a German wants to assert his simplest political right, which is pledged to him by a stamped paper as legally as his wife is by the marriage contract, he wraps his demand in so many clauses, legal flourishes, incidental expressions of high esteem, exclamation marks of respect, and assurances of undying love and loyalty that one might take the whole thing for a ceremonious love letter from a tailor's apprentice rather than a just demand. For the German has not enough courage—to have the right, and therefore he begs pardon a thousand times for having dared believe, think, suppose or even merely suspect that he had a political demand outstanding with a high customer. Do not most of the petitions for freedom of the press, for example, recall exactly the Marquis Posa, completely rigged out from the theatrical wardrobe, throwing himself at the feet of King Philipp with the words: 'Sire, give us freedom of thought!'[a] Is it any wonder, then, that such supplications are likewise dismissed with King Philipp's words: 'Curious dreamer!'[b] and laid aside *ad acta*? The few Germans who had the courage as their Fatherland's advocates to put forward its political rights in the clear and terse language becoming to real men, have only the cowardice of our political style to thank for the fact that they fell victim to the state inquisition. For where cowardice is the norm, courage is a crime! It could very easily happen that for mere stylistic sins, for having let his words and thoughts be seen in naked truth, not clothed in the costume prescribed by the master of ceremonies, a political writer of our time would be gently broken on the wheel from top to toe, and that in the name of the law. Just as German style is as cowardly as a eunuch when it has to assert political rights, so it is no less clumsy when it swings the censer round the ears of the high and mighty. If somewhere a prince says: 'I shall do right and justice' whole swarms of newspaper phrases at once descend on the speck of honey like wild bees and buzz with delight at the precious find on the desolate political wasteland. But is there anything more insulting for a prince than when the mere expression of the intention to execute a ruler's prime duty, without which his name would have to be equated with Nero and Busiris, is trumpeted through all the newspapers as an extraordinary, unheard-of princely virtue? And this happens in official gazettes, under the eyes of the censors, under the auspices of the Federal Diet! Should not paragraph 92 of the Criminal Law be applied to such clumsy eulogists in all its severity?"[c]

The fourth lecture gives *Variationen über beliebte Zeit- und Nationalmelodien* which include *Ein Ordenskapitel*, beginning as follows:

"Princes are the peoples' shepherds, as Homer has already said, and therefore the peoples are, of course, the princes' sheep. And the shepherds love their sheep very much and lead them on gay, silken leading-strings, so as not to lose them, and the sheep in turn are pleased with the pretty iridescent ribbon and don't notice that this decoration is at the same time their fetter, because they are mere sheep", etc.[d]

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[a] Schiller, *Don Carlos*, Act III, Scene 10.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid.—*Ed.*

[c] L. Walesrode, *Glossen und Randzeichnungen*, S. 48-50.—*Ed.*

[d] Ibid., S. 70.—*Ed.*

With these four lectures Walesrode has demonstrated his ability as a humourist. But that is not enough. So long as they fulfil their purpose as lectures, such things have the right to be loosely constructed, disjointed, without unity; the genuine humourist, however, would have given even more stress than Walesrode has done to the background of a great, positive vision of the world in which all mockery and all negation are completely and satisfyingly dissolved. In this respect, Walesrode has taken a duty upon himself by publishing the above small work; he must as soon as possible justify the expectations which he has aroused here and prove that he can equally well concentrate and work his views into a whole as he has here allowed them separate expression. And that is all the more necessary as his derivation from Börne, his vision of the world and his style are evidence of close kinship with the authors of the Young Germany of yore; almost all the authors who belonged to that category, however, have failed to justify the expectations they aroused and have sunk into lethargy, the inevitable consequence of a fruitless striving for inner unity. The inability to produce something whole was the rock on which they were wrecked, since they themselves were not *whole* people. Walesrode, on the other hand, gives us a glimpse here and there of a higher, more perfect standpoint and so justifies the demand that he bring his individual judgments into balance with each other and with the height of the philosophy of his time.

For the rest, we must congratulate him on the audience, which was able to appreciate such lectures, and on the censor, who did not prevent them from being published. We cherish the hope that such handling of censorship as evidenced by this book will overcome all other, vacillating principles in its application, at least for Prussia, and win general approval; that censorship may everywhere be exercised by such people as in Königsberg, where, our author says, the censors are men

> "who have taken on the most hateful of all offices in painful self-sacrifice so that it should not fall into the hands of those who would take it on with pleasure".[a]

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[a] L. Walesrode, *Glossen und Randzeichnungen*, S. VIII.— *Ed.*

# [POLEMIC AGAINST LEO]

*From the Hasenheide,* May. What Hegelian philosophy, according to the enlightened judgment of the *Literarische Zeitung*, has been unable to achieve, namely, construct a system of natural sciences based upon its principles, the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung* is now undertaking most successfully from its standpoint. On the occasion of a book by Professor Leupoldt in Erlangen, an essay in its latest issues signed *H. L.* (Leo) develops the *programme of a total revolution in medicine* the consequences of which are not yet foreseeable.[139] As always, Leo begins here with the Hegelings, although without naming them, speaks of the pantheistic, heathen trend which is said to have taken hold of modern natural science, and the "philosophical fondling of nature and subtle reconciliation of systems", castigates the anatomistic view which would cure the individual man instead of whole generations and nations, and finally comes to the conclusion

"that sickness is the wages of sin, that physically connected generations answer jointly for their sins, and even spiritually, unless belief, given through God's mercy, breaks the chain of punishment. Just as the individual is not, through his conversion, physically freed from punishment for the sin committed, e. g., if he has lost his nose as a result of sinful debauches he will not get it back through his conversion, so even today the teeth of the grandchildren quite naturally are set on edge by the sour grapes which their grandparents have eaten, and where firm belief does not intervene, not even the spiritual punishments cease. How often has a man, who lived in opulence and sin and withal appeared to have a happy end, left his son and grandson the seed of the most nerve-destroying morbidity which continued to rage in them until, in the most depressive stage of the abdominal disease, the great-grandson, in whom no word of mercy had yet found fertile soil, seized the razor in despair and executed on his own throat the punishment which the originator of his sufferings, his great-grandfather, deserved".

Were it not for these views, the history of the world would seem to be the most crying injustice.— Leo then continues:

"The repentant noseless sinner can see in his mutilation only a memorial to God's justice, and that which for the unbeliever was a punishment, becomes for the believer a new foundation for his faith."

It is the same with nations:

"Spiritual as well as bodily diseases and disorders of the age are from a certain standpoint divine judgments, today just as much as in the age of the prophets."

These are the philosophical — I meant to say religious principles on which Leo, who would be worthy to fraternise with a Ringseis, bases his new medical practice. What use is all that petty, piecemeal curing of single individuals, nay, of the single limb? Whole families, whole nations must be cured by the lump! If grandfather has a fever, the entire family, sons, daughters, grandchildren with wife and child, must swallow Peruvian bark! If the king has pneumonia every province should send a delegate to be bled, if you don't prefer to take an ounce of blood per head from the entire population of so and so many millions straight-away as a precaution! And what results might this not have for the sanitary police! Nobody is to be allowed to marry who does not produce a doctor's certificate that he is healthy, and that all his ancestors back to his great-grandfather were of sound constitution, and a certificate from the preacher saying that he and his ancestors, back to his great-grandfather, have kept strictly to a Christian, godfearing and virtuous way of life, so that, as Leo says, it shall not come to pass that

"the sins of the fathers are visited on the children down to the third and fourth generation!"

Hence, the doctor has

"a position most dreadful in its responsibility and most terrifying in its consequences, for he can equally well be a messenger of God to the individual who exempts him as far as possible from joint suffering for sin, or a *servant of the devil* who with his power seeks to oppose God's punishment and to make it ineffective".

Again results for the state! The prescribed philosophical course for medical men must be abolished and replaced by a theological one; before his examination the medical student must submit a testimonial of his faith, and the practice of Jewish medical men, if it is not to be completely abolished, must at least be limited to their fellow believers. Leo goes on:

"The sick man, like the criminal, is *sacer*, the holy hand of God lies upon him — he who can heal, let him do so! But let him not fear the red-hot steel or the

sharp iron, or the fierce hunger, where these alone can help. Feeble help is as harmful in medicine as in civil society."

So cut and burn with a will! Where they used to do a miserable trepanning we now help by simply cutting the head off; where a heart condition is revealed, which is usually punishment for sins of love committed by the sick man's mother, and the blood causes too much pressure on the heart, we provide an outlet for it by a stab with a knife in the heart; if someone is suffering from stomach cancer, we cut out his whole stomach—the old doctor Eisenbart of whom the people sing was really not so bad, it was only that his age did not understand him. It is the same, Leo concludes, with criminals; they are not alone culpable, but the nation is responsible with them, and the punishments which our easy-going time metes out are not harsh enough; there must be more beheading and torturing, otherwise we shall have more criminals than there is room for in the workhouses. Quite right! If a man murders, his whole family must be rooted out and every citizen of his home town receive at least twenty-five strokes with the rod for his joint culpability in this murder; where a brother lives in sin, all his brothers must be c——with him. And nothing but good can come from making punishments more severe. Now that beheading, as we have seen above, is no longer a punishment but merely a medical amputation to save the body, this manner of death must be deleted from the criminal codes and replaced by breaking on the wheel, quartering, piercing with the spit, burning, pinching with red-hot tongs, etc.

Thus Leo opposes a system of medicine and jurisprudence that has become heathenish with a Christian one, which will indubitably soon prevail everywhere. We all know how, in accordance with the same principles, he introduced Christianity into history and thus, for example, made the Hegelings, whom he sees as the children of the men of the French Revolution, responsible for the blood shed in Paris, Lyons and Nantes,[140] even for the actions of Napoleon himself, and I only mention it here to demonstrate the delightful many-sidedness of the indefatigable man. We understand that a German grammar based on Christian principles is soon to be expected from him.

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№ 160. 7. Juli. 1842.

# ALEXANDER JUNG, "LECTURES ON MODERN GERMAN LITERATURE"[a]

Danzig, 1842. Gerhard [141]

[*Deutsche Jahrbücher* No. 160, July 7, 1842]

The more gladdening the powerful intellectual movement by which Königsberg seeks to place itself at the centre of German political progress, and the freer and more developed the form in which public opinion manifests itself there, the more peculiar does it seem that this should be the place where a certain *juste-milieu,* which is obviously bound to come into conflict with the majority of the local people, is attempting to assert itself in the philosophical field. And whereas *Rosenkranz* still has many aspects that command respect, although he lacks the courage to be consistent, all the flabbiness and paltriness of the philosophical *juste-milieu* is revealed in the person of Herr *Alexander Jung.*

In every movement, in every ideological struggle, there is a certain species of foggy mind which only feels comfortable in confusion. As long as the principles have not yet been worked out, such people are tolerated; as long as everyone is striving for clarity, it is not easy to discern the predestined lack of clarity of such people. But when the elements become separated, and principle is counterposed to principle, then it is high time to bid farewell to these useless people and definitively part company with them, for then their emptiness becomes appallingly obvious.

Herr Alexander Jung is also one of these people. It would be best if his above-mentioned book were ignored; but since, in addition, he publishes a *Königsberger Literatur-Blatt,* in which he also brings his boring positivism [142] before the public every week,

[a] Alexander Jung, *Vorlesungen über die moderne Literatur der Deutschen.*—*Ed.*

the readers of the *Jahrbücher*[a] will forgive me if I fix my sights on him and characterise him in rather more detail.

In the bygone days of Young Germany, he came out with his letters on recent literature.[b] He had joined this youthful trend and now, without wishing to, became with it part of the opposition. What a position for our conciliator! Herr Alexander Jung on the extreme left! One can easily imagine his discomfort and the stream of assurances he poured forth. Yet he had a particular liking for Gutzkow, who at that time was regarded as the arch-heretic. He wanted to unburden his full heart, but he was afraid, he did not want to cause offence. How was he to find a way out? He resorted to a method altogether typical of him. He wrote an apotheosis of Gutzkow, but without mentioning his name, and then entitled it: "Lines on an Unnamed Person". Permit me to say it, Herr Alexander Jung, that was downright cowardly!

[*Deutsche Jahrbücher* No. 161, July 8, 1842]

Later Jung came out again with a conciliatory and confused book: *Königsberg in Preussen und die Extreme des dortigen Pietismus.* What a title! He allows pietism as such, but its *extremes* must be fought, just as now a struggle is being waged in the *Königsberger Literatur-Blatt* against the extremes of the Young Hegelian trend, for all extremes are evil in general, and only his beloved conciliation and moderation are of any value. As if extremes were not consistency pure and simple! Incidentally, this book was reviewed at the time in the *Hallische Jahrbücher.*[143]

Now he comes forward with the above-mentioned book and pours forth a whole bucketful of vague, uncritical assertions, confused judgments, empty phrases and ludicrously narrow views. It is as if he had been asleep ever since his *Briefe* appeared. *Rien appris, rien oublie!*[144] Young Germany has passed away, the Young Hegelian school has emerged, Strauss, Feuerbach, Bauer, and the *Jahrbücher* now command universal attention, the battle over principles is at its height, it is a question of life or death, Christianity is at stake, the political movement embraces everything, and yet the good Jung still cherishes the naive belief that "the nation" has nothing better to do than wait agog for a new play by Gutzkow, a novel promised by Mundt, an oddity to be expected from Laube. At

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[a] *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst.— Ed.*

[b] A. Jung, *Briefe über die neueste Literatur.— Ed.*

a time when the cry of battle resounds throughout Germany, when the new principles are being debated at his very feet, Herr Jung sits in his study, chews his pen and ruminates over the concept of the "modern". He hears nothing, sees nothing, for he is up to his ears in a pile of books, the contents of which are now of no interest to anyone, and he labours to arrange the various items precisely and neatly into Hegelian categories.

On the threshold of his lectures, he sets up as sentry the bogey of the "modern". What is the "modern"? Herr Jung says that his point of departure for it is Byron and George Sand, and that for Germany the most immediate basic elements of the new world epoch are Hegel and the writers of what is called Young Literature.— Is there anything for which poor Hegel has not been made responsible? Atheism, the omnipotence of self-consciousness, the revolutionary theory of the state, and now Young Germany as well. But it is perfectly ridiculous to connect Hegel with this coterie. Is Herr Jung not aware that Gutzkow has long been engaged in a polemic against Hegelian philosophy, that Mundt and Kühne understand practically nothing at all about the subject, that Mundt, in particular, in the *Madonna* and elsewhere has said the most senseless things about Hegel, shown the greatest misunderstanding of him and is now an avowed opponent of his teaching? Does he not know that Wienbarg, too, has spoken out against Hegel, and that Laube in his history of literature[a] has continually made incorrect use of Hegelian categories?

Herr Jung then passes on to the concept of the "modern" and tortures himself over it for six pages, without being able to master it. Of course! As though the "modern" could ever become "elevated to the rank of a concept"! As though such a vague, empty, imprecise expression which superficial minds everywhere put forward with a certain air of mystery, could ever become a philosophical category! What a distance there is between the "modern" of Heinrich Laube, which smacks of aristocratic salons and is personified only in the shape of a dandy, and "modern science" in the title of Strauss' book on dogma[b]! But all that is of no avail; Herr A. Jung regards this title as proof that Strauss acknowledges the modern, the special Young-German modern, as a power above him, and instantly puts him and Young Literature in the *same* category. In the end he defines the concept of the

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[a] H. Laube, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur.— Ed.*

[b] D. F. Strauss, *Die christliche Glaubenslehre in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und im Kampfe mit der modernen Wissenschaft.— Ed.*

modern as the independence of the subject from all merely external authority. We have long known that the striving towards this is the main element of the movement of the present day, and *no one* will deny that the "moderns" are connected with this striving; but what is very conspicuously revealed here is the absurdity of Herr Jung's desire to present a part as the whole, an outlived, transitional epoch as a period of full flower. At all costs, Young Germany must be made the embodiment of the whole spirit of the times, and incidentally Hegel, too, must come in for his share. One can see that, so far, Herr Jung was divided in two; he kept one half of his heart for Hegel and the other for Young Germany. Now, in writing these lectures, he was compelled to bring the two together. What a problem! The left hand caressed philosophy, the right hand superficial, iridescent unphilosophy and, in good Christian fashion, the right hand did not know what the left hand was doing. Where was he to turn? Instead of honestly rejecting one of his two incompatible favourites, he made a bold stroke and deduced unphilosophy from philosophy.

To this end, thirty pages are devoted to throwing light on poor Hegel. A pompous, high-faluting apotheosis gushes in a turbid flood over the grave of the great man; then Herr Jung is at pains to prove that the fundamental feature of the Hegelian system is the assertion of the free subject as opposed to the heteronomy of rigid objectivity. But one need not be particularly knowledgeable about Hegel to know that he laid claim to a far higher standpoint, that of the *reconciliation* of the subject with objective forces; that he had a tremendous respect for objectivity, that he regarded reality, the actually existing, as far higher than the subjective reason of the individual, and demanded that precisely the latter should recognise objective reality as rational. Hegel is not, as Herr Jung supposes, the prophet of subjective autonomy, which is seen in the form of arbitrariness in Young Germany. Hegel's principle is also heteronomy, subordination of the subject to universal reason, and sometimes, for instance in the philosophy of religion, even to universal unreason. What Hegel despised most of all was the intellect, and what is that but reason petrified in its subjectivity and isolation? But Herr Jung will reply to me by saying that that was not what he meant, that he was speaking only of *purely external* authority, that he, too, wants to see no more in Hegel than merely the reconciliation of both sides, and that, in his opinion, the "modern" individual desires no more than to regard himself as governed "by his own insight into the rationality of what is objective". But then I, in turn, will insist that he should not lump

Hegel with the Young Germans, whose essence lies precisely in subjective arbitrariness, whims and oddities; for then the "modern individual" is merely another expression for a Hegelian. In the presence of such boundless confusion Herr Jung will have to look for the "modern" also within the Hegelian school, and it is correct that the Left trend of the latter is pre-eminently called upon to fraternise with the Young Germans.

Finally, he comes to "modern" literature, and now a flood of universal recognition and eulogising is let loose. Here there is *no one* who has not achieved something to his credit, *no one* who does not represent something worthy of notice, *no one* to whom literature does not owe some of its progress. These endless compliments, these conciliatory efforts, this passion to play the literary procurer and broker, are intolerable. What concern is it to literature that some writer or other has a bit of talent, that here or there he achieves some trifle, if he is otherwise worthless, if his whole trend, his literary character, his achievements as a whole, are of no value? In literature a writer's value does not depend on himself, but only on his position in relation to the whole. If I were to adopt that kind of criticism, I would have to deal more indulgently with Herr Jung himself, since perhaps five pages of this book are not badly written and reveal some talent.— A mass of curious statements flows from his pen with extraordinary ease and even with a certain *hauteur*. Thus, in speaking of Pückler's harsh treatment at the hands of the critics, he rejoices that they "*pronounce their judgment without regard for person or rank*. This truly testifies to the high, independent standpoint of German criticism." What a poor opinion Herr Jung must have of the German nation to consider that sort of thing so greatly to its credit! As though incredible courage were required to criticise the literary works of a *sovereign*!

I shall pass over this drivel which claims to be a history of literature and which, in addition to its inner emptiness and incoherence, also has limitless omissions; thus there is no mention of the poets Grün, Lenau, Freiligrath, and Herwegh, or the dramatists Mosen and Klein, etc. Finally, the author arrives at what he has been working up to from the outset—his precious Young Germany, which for him is the acme of the "modern". He begins with *Börne*. Actually, Börne's influence on Young Germany has not been so great; Mundt and Kühne said he was mad, Laube thought him too democratic, too categorical, and only on Gutzkow and Wienbarg did he exercise a more sustained influence. Gutzkow, in particular, owes a great deal to Börne. The latter's greatest

effect lay in his quiet influence on the nation, which preserved his works as sacred objects and drew strength and support from them during the troubled times of 1832 to 1840, until the true sons of the author of the *Briefe aus Paris*[a] appeared in the form of the new, philosophical liberals. Without the direct and indirect influence of Börne it would have been far more difficult for the free trend proceeding from Hegel to take shape. Then all that needed to be done was to clear out the silted-up paths of thought between Hegel and Börne, and that was not so difficult. These two men stood closer to each other than it seemed. Börne's directness and healthy outlook proved to be the practical side of what Hegel had in mind, theoretically at least. Naturally, Herr Jung does not see this either. True, for him Börne is to a certain extent a respectable person, even a man of character, which is obviously very valuable in the circumstances; he has undeniable merits, as perhaps Varnhagen and Pückler have also, and he wrote in particular good dramatic criticism, but he was a fanatic and terrorist, and from such may the good Lord deliver us! Shame on such a vapid, faint-hearted conception of a man who by his mode of thought alone became a standard-bearer of his time! This Jung, who wishes to construct Young Germany and Gutzkow's personality out of the absolute concept, is not even capable of understanding such a simple character as Börne; he does not see how inevitably and logically the most extreme, the most radical pronouncements arise from Börne's innermost being, that *Börne was a republican by his very nature,* and that truly the *Briefe aus Paris* are not written in too strong terms for such a man. Or has Herr Jung never heard a Swiss or a North American talking about monarchical states? And who would reproach Börne for "considering life only from the political point of view"? Does not Hegel do the same? Is not for him, too, the state in its transition to world history, and therefore in the conditions of home and foreign policy, the concrete reality of the absolute spirit? And—ludicrously enough—confronted by this direct, naive outlook of Börne, which finds its completion in the wider Hegelian outlook and often coincides with it in the most surprising way, Herr Jung nevertheless concludes that Börne "outlined a system of politics and happiness of the peoples", a sort of abstract, cloudy conception which, in his view, must explain Börne's one-sidedness and obduracy! Herr Jung has not the slightest idea of Börne's importance, his iron, unyielding character, his imposing will-power, precisely because he himself is such

[a] Ludwig Börne.—*Ed.*

an insignificant, soft-hearted, helpless, obsequious little man. He does not know that as a personality Börne is unique in German history; he does not know that Börne was the standard-bearer of German freedom, the only *real man* in the Germany of his day; he cannot imagine what it means to rise up against forty million Germans and proclaim the realm of the *idea*; he cannot understand that Börne is the John the Baptist of the new period, who preaches repentance to the self-satisfied Germans and tells them that already the axe is laid to the root of the tree and that one mightier will come, who will baptise with fire and mercilessly sweep away the chaff from the threshing-floor. Herr Jung should see himself as part of this chaff. Finally, Herr A. Jung arrives at his beloved Young Germany and begins with a tolerable, but much too detailed criticism of Heine. The others are then dealt with in turn; first Laube, Mundt, and Kühne, then Wienbarg, to whom homage is paid as he deserves, and finally *almost 50 pages* are devoted to Gutzkow. The first three receive the usual *juste-milieu* tribute, much approval and very modest censure; Wienbarg is given definite prominence, but only four pages are allotted to him; and finally, with shameless servility, Gutzkow is made the standard-bearer of the "modern", his image is constructed in accordance with the Hegelian scheme of concepts, and he is treated as a personage of the first rank.

If such judgments had been put forward by a young, budding author, one would let it pass; there are many who for a time set their hopes on the Young Literature, and with an eye to the expected future considered its works with more indulgence than they could otherwise have justified to themselves. In particular, anyone whose own mind has passed through the recent stages of the development of German thought will at some time have had a special liking for the works of Mundt, Laube, or Gutzkow. But since then progress beyond this trend has gone on much too vigorously, and the emptiness of most of the Young Germans has become horribly obvious.

Young Germany extricated itself from the unclearness of disturbed times, but itself remained tainted by this unclearness. Ideas which at that time were fermenting in people's minds in a still shapeless and undeveloped form and which only later were consciously perceived with the help of philosophy, were used by Young Germany to play a game of fantasy. Hence the vagueness, the confusion of concepts, which prevailed among the Young Germans themselves. Gutzkow and Wienbarg knew better than the others what they wanted, Laube least of all. Mundt pursued social

whims; Kühne, in whom something of Hegel was visible, made schemes and classifications. But in view of the general unclearness of thought nothing of value could come of it. The idea of the justification of sensuality was conceived, following Heine's example, in a crude and shallow way; liberal political principles differed among various personalities and the position of women gave rise to the most sterile and confused discussions. No one knew where he stood in relation to another person. The measures adopted by the various governments against these people should also be ascribed to the universal confusion of the period. The fantastic form in which these views were propagated could only promote further confusion. Thanks to the outward brilliance of the Young Germans' works, to their witty, piquant and lively style, the enigmatic mysticism in which the main slogans were clothed, and thanks also to the revival of criticism and enlivening of the literary journals under their influence, the Young Germans soon attracted a mass of younger writers, and it was not long before each of them, with the exception of Wienbarg, had his own following. The old, flabby *belles-lettres* had to give way under pressure from the young forces, and the "Young Literature" took possession of the field it had conquered, divided it up—and disintegrated in the course of this division. Thus, the inadequacy of principle was disclosed. They had all been mistaken about one another. Principles vanished; it was now only a matter of personalities. Gutzkow or Mundt, that was the question. The periodicals began to be filled with the doings of the cliques, squabbles, and disputes about nothing at all.

The easy victory had made the young masters overbearing and vain. They regarded themselves as characters of world-historic importance. Whenever a new author appeared a pistol was immediately levelled at his heart and his unconditional subordination demanded. Each claimed to be the sole god of literature. Thou shalt have no other gods before me! The slightest censure aroused deadly enmities. Thus this trend lost all the intellectual content it might still have had and degenerated into sheer squabbling, which culminated in Heine's book about Börne[a] and developed into infamous baseness. Of the individual personalities, undoubtedly the noblest is *Wienbarg*—a true, forceful *man,* like a statue of brightly shining bronze cast in a *single* piece, without a speck of rust. *Gutzkow* is the clearest, the most intelligent; he has written more than the others and, next to Wienbarg, has provided

[a] H. Heine, *Über Ludwig Börne.—Ed.*

the most definite evidence of his mode of thought. However, if he wishes to remain in the sphere of drama, he should look for better and richer ideological material than he has chosen so far, and proceed not from the "modern", but from the true spirit of the present day. We demand greater ideological content than is to be found in the liberal phrases of Patkul or the tender sensitivity of Werner.[a] Where Gutzkow has great talent is as a publicist; he is a born journalist, but there is only *one* means by which he can hold his own: if he masters the latest philosophical developments on religion and the state, and if he unreservedly devotes his *Telegraph*[b]—which, it is said, he intends to revive—to the great movement of the present time. If he allows the degenerate type of *belles-lettres* to gain the upper hand over him his journal will be no better than others of the same kind, which are neither fish nor fowl, abound in boring stories, are scarcely glanced at and, in general, as regards content and the opinion of the public, have sunk lower than ever before. Their day is past, they are gradually being absorbed by the political newspapers, which are quite able to cope with the little bit of literature that appears.

In spite of his bad qualities, *Laube* is still likeable to a certain extent, but his untidy scribblings, devoid of principle—one day a novel, the next day a history of literature, and the day after criticism, drama, etc.—his vanity and shallowness prevent him from coming to the fore. He has as little spirit of freedom as has *Kühne*. The "tendencies" of the "Young Literature" of yore have long been forgotten, both of them are wholly in the grip of empty, abstract literary interests. On the other hand, with *Heine* and *Mundt* indifference has become open apostasy. *Heine's* book on Börne is the most vile that has ever been written in the German language; *Mundt's* latest writings in *Der Pilot* deprive the author of the *Madonna* of the last trace of respect in the eyes of the nation. Here in Berlin people know only too well what Mundt aims to achieve by such self-abasement, viz., a professorship; all the more disgusting is this servility which has suddenly taken possession of Herr Mundt. Let Herr Mundt and his henchman, F. Radewell, continue to cast suspicion on recent philosophy, to grasp the sheet-anchor of Schelling's revelation and make themselves ridiculous in the eyes of the nation by their nonsensical attempts at independent philosophising. Free philosophy can calmly allow their infantile philosophical writings to go unrefuted; they collapse

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[a] The heroes of Gutzkow's plays of the same name.—*Ed.*

[b] *Telegraph für Deutschland.*—*Ed.*

of themselves. Everything that bears the name of Herr Mundt is branded, like the works of Leo, with the mark of apostasy. Perhaps he will soon acquire a new vassal in Herr Jung; the latter bids fair to become one, as we have already seen and shall see again later.

[*Deutsche Jahrbücher* No. 162, July 9, 1842]

Having achieved the actual aim he set himself in his lectures, Herr Jung is irresistibly impelled in conclusion to make himself once again the laughing-stock of the nation. From Gutzkow he passes on to David Strauss and ascribes to him the outstanding merit of having combined in himself "the conclusions of Hegel and Schleiermacher and of the modern style" (is *that* perhaps an example of the modern *style?*), but at the same time bitterly complains of the abominable, eternal negation. Yes, negation, negation everywhere! The poor positivists and people of the *juste-milieu* see the wave of negation rising ever higher and higher; they cling fast to one another and cry out for something positive. And now we have someone like Alexander Jung moaning over the eternal movement of world history, calling progress negation, and finally setting himself up as a false prophet who predicts "a great birth of the positive", which he describes in advance with the most involved phrases, and which will conquer Strauss, Feuerbach and everything connected with them by the sword of the Lord. In his *Literatur-Blatt,* too, he preaches the coming of the new "positive" Messiah. Can there be anything more unphilosophical than such unconcealed dislike, such open dissatisfaction with the present? Can one behave in a more unmanly and feeble manner than Herr A. Jung does? Can one imagine a worse fantasy—apart from neo-Schellingian scholasticism—than this pious faith in a "positive Messiah"? Was there ever a greater and, unfortunately, also more widespread confusion than that which now prevails in regard to the concepts "positive and negative"? One has only to take the trouble of looking more closely at the disparaged negation and it will be found that it is itself entirely positive. Of course, for those who declare that the rational, thought, is not positive because it develops instead of standing still, and whose feeble ivy-like minds need an old ruined wall, a fact, to cling to, for them, of course, all progress is negative. In reality, however, thought in its development alone constitutes the eternal and positive whereas the factual, the external aspect of what is taking place, is precisely what is negative, evanescent and vulnerable to criticism.

"But who will unearth this infinite treasure reposing so close to us?" continues Herr Jung with heightened pathos. Yes, who will be the Messiah who will lead the weak, wavering souls out of the exile of negation, out of the dark night of despair, back into the land flowing with milk and honey?

"*Perhaps Schelling?*———We place great, sacred hopes on *Schelling* precisely because *He* trusted solitude for so long, precisely because he has discovered that throne of peace at the fountain-head of thought and creativity, that throne of power which makes time cease to be time!", etc.

Yes, this is a Hegelian speaking, and he continues (*Königsberger Literatur-Blatt* No. 4[a]):

"We expect an extraordinary amount from *Schelling*. Schelling, we hope, will stride through *history* with the same beacon of a new, as yet unseen light as he once strode with through nature", etc.

Then in No. 7—a tribute to Schelling's unknown god. The philosophy of mythology and revelation is construed as necessary, and Herr Jung basks in the consciousness that already from afar with his inspired eye he is able to divine the paths of thought of Schelling, the great Schelling. This Jung is such a spineless, dreamy soul that he finds satisfaction only in submission to someone else, in subordination to another's authority. There is not a hint of independence about him; as soon as the support to which he clings is removed he breaks down and sheds bright tears of yearning. He even debases himself before something he does not yet know and, in spite of the fairly exact information that was available about Schelling's philosophy and the specific content of his lectures even before he spoke in Berlin, Herr Jung knows no greater bliss than to sit in the dust at Schelling's feet. He does not know how Schelling spoke of Hegel in the preface to Cousin's book[145] or, rather, he knows it full well and yet he, a Hegelian, dares to cringe to Schelling, he dares after such antecedents to go on mentioning Hegel's name and to refer to him when opposing the most recent developments! And to crown his self-degradation, in No. 13 he once more piously prostrates himself before Schelling, bestowing on the latter's first lecture the adulation of his full admiration and reverence. Yes, he finds here confirmation of everything about Schelling that he,

"not only presupposed, but knew—that wonderfully fresh penetration, perfect also in form, into all scientific, artistic and ethical elements which, in such a combination of the ancient and Christian world, can consecrate one thus glorified into a totally different priest of all that is highest and its revelation, *such as priests of*

[a] Of October 27, 1841.—*Ed.*

*a lower order and laymen can only dream of*". Of course, some will be so vile "that out of envy they will even deny the greatness which reveals itself here to all as pure and clear as sunlight". "Schelling's full greatness, his superiority over all the excellence of merely one-sided trends, sheds its splendid lustre on us in his first lecture." ... "One who can begin in this way must continue *powerfully, must end as victor,* and if they should all grow weary and droop because they are unaccustomed to such flights, and *no one can any longer follow and understand* what is spoken by You, who are inspired from of old, nevertheless You are sure to be heard by the shade of one who is Your equal, the most faithful, the most glorious of Your friends, *You are heard by the shade of old Hegel!*" [a]

What could Herr Jung have had in mind when he put this wild enthusiasm, these romantic flights on paper! Our pious "priest" has not the slightest inkling of what everyone, at least here in Berlin, knew beforehand or could conclude with certainty. But what sort of "revelations" this "priest of all that is highest" preached to us, what the "greatness", the "destiny to reveal all that is highest to mankind", the "powerful flight", consisted in, how Schelling "ended as victor"—the whole world now knows. In the pamphlet *Schelling und die Offenbarung,*[b] of which I hereby acknowledge myself to be the author, I have given a completely objective description of the content of the new revelation. Let Herr Jung use it to prove that his hopes have been realised, or at least let him have the sincerity and *courage* to admit his egregious error.

Without going on to the criticism of Sealsfield with which Herr Jung ends his book, since I have already strayed far enough from the field of *belles-lettres,* I will conclude by examining a few more passages from the *Königsberger Literatur-Blatt* to demonstrate Herr Jung's faint-heartedness and empty pomposity here also. Already in No. 1 reference is made to Feuerbach's *Wesen des Christenthums,* although in a very restrained manner; in No. 2 attacks are made, although still in a respectful form, on the theory of negation of the *Jahrbücher*; in No. 3 homage is paid to *Herbart,* as previously to Schelling; in No. 4 homage is paid to both of them and at the same time a protest voiced against radicalism; No. 8 begins an extensive criticism of Feuerbach's book, in which the half-hearted *juste-milieu* attempts to assert its superiority over decisive radicalism. And what are the convincing arguments employed here? Feuerbach would be quite right, says Jung, if the earth were the whole universe; from the terrestrial point of view his whole work is splendid, convincing, excellent, irrefutable; but from the univer-

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[a] *Königsberger Literatur-Blatt* No. 13, December 29, 1841.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 189-240.—*Ed.*

sal, the global point of view, it is worthless. A fine theory! As if twice two were five on the moon, as if stones were alive and ran about on Venus, and plants could talk on the sun! As if a different, new kind of reason began beyond the earth's atmosphere, and the nature of the mind were to be measured by its distance from the sun! As if the self-consciousness at which the earth arrives in mankind did not become world consciousness the very moment it recognises its own position as an element of the latter! As if such an objection were not merely an excuse to banish the vexatious reply to an old question into the bad infinity of space! Does it not sound curiously naive when Jung smuggles into his main line of argument the phrase: "reason, which goes beyond the bounds of any merely spherical definitiveness"? How can he then, having admitted the consistency and rationality of the disputed position from the terrestrial point of view, make a distinction between the latter and the "universal" one? It is, however, quite worthy of such a fantast and emotional dreamer as Herr Jung to lose himself in the bad infinity of the starry sky, and to concoct all kinds of curious hypotheses and wonderful day-dreams about thinking, loving, romanticising beings on other celestial bodies. Moreover, it is ludicrous how he warns against the shallowness of directly accusing Feuerbach and Strauss of atheism and unconditional denial of immortality. Herr Jung does not see that these people make no claim to any other viewpoint at all. To continue: in No. 12 Herr Jung already threatens us with his anger; in No. 26 an interpretation of Leo is given, and because of Leo's undoubted talent his actual views are totally forgotten and glossed over; Ruge, too, is dealt with just as incorrectly as Leo. No. 29 approves Hinrichs' worthless criticism of the *Posaune*[a] in the *Berliner Jahrbücher,* and speaks out even more definitely against the Left; No. 35 gives in full a long, appalling article about F. Baader, whose somnambulistic mysticism and unphilosophy are moreover put to his credit; finally, No. 36 complains about an "unfortunate polemic", in other words, obviously, about E. Meyen's article in the *Rheinische Zeitung,*[146] in which for once Herr Jung is told the truth—it is most peculiar! Herr Jung sinks into such a state of torpor and day-dreaming that he imagines he is our "comrade-in-arms", and "defends the same ideas", and that although "it is true there existed differences" between him and us, "nevertheless the identity of principles and aims is firmly established". It is to be

[a] B. Bauer's anonymous book *Die Posaune des jüngsten Gerichts über Hegel den Atheisten und Antichristen.—Ed.*

hoped that he has now realised that we are neither inclined nor able to fraternise with him. Such miserable amphibians and double-dealers are useless for the struggle, which was started by resolute people and can be carried through only by men of character. In the course of the above article he further discredits himself by indulging in the most trivial talk about the literary despotism of the liberals and defending his own freedom. Let him keep it; everyone will be quite ready to let him go blathering on for all eternity. But let him permit us to thank him for his support and to tell him honestly and frankly what we think of him. Otherwise, *he* would indeed be the literary despot, and he is somewhat too soft-hearted for that. The same issue closes *worthily* with an appeal for help against "the self-seeking, vain clamour which *ravingly* elevates self-consciousness to be God"—and the *Königsberger Literatur-Blatt* even dares to reproduce these horrifying exclamations: "Down with Christianity, down with immortality, down with God!!" However, it consoles itself by the fact that "the coffin-bearers stand ready on the threshold to carry out those who still have such fine voices as dumb corpses".[a] Once again, therefore, the impotence of an appeal to the future!

I have not yet seen any later issue of Jung's paper. I think the evidence given above will suffice to justify the exclusion of Herr Jung from the camp of the resolute and "free"; he himself is now in a position to see what people object to in him. Permit me yet another remark. Herr Jung is, undoubtedly, Germany's most spineless, helpless and confused writer. What is the origin of all this, whence the devotional form which he displays everywhere? Is it perhaps connected with the fact, as rumour has it, that Herr Jung must have formerly been devotional *ex officio*? [147]

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Signed: *Friedrich Oswald*

Printed according to the journal

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[a] *Königsberger Literatur-Blatt* No. 36, June 8, 1842.—*Ed.*

# PARTICIPATION IN THE DEBATES OF THE BADEN CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

*Berlin,* June 21. The more our political awareness develops and the *more freely* and loudly the public voice of Prussia makes itself heard, the more we feel at one with the other German races, and the greater the interest with which we view the manifestations of their state life. This is irrefutable testimony that the barriers which have existed so long in public opinion between Prussia and constitutional Germany have fallen, and that the national division resulting, on the one hand, from the arrogant self-sufficiency of many Prussians and, on the other, from the South-German liberals' distrust of our government, no longer exists. Last year the reconciliation between the North-German and the South-German representatives of progress already found expression in the reception which Welcker was given in Berlin as well as in the rest of North Germany,[148] but it is only since the freer censorship in Prussia[149] that the two great halves of our Fatherland began to merge ever more visibly in the single striving for freedom. The Prussians have unexpectedly departed from their self-sufficiency, from their vainglorious boasting that their institutions are faultless; in less than half a year defects have been discovered whose very existence the majority of our fellow citizens had refused to imagine. The South Germans, on the other hand, owing to the independent-minded and often directly oppositional Prussian press, have got rid of the last remnants of their prejudices against the Prussian people and the latter's degree of political education. In such circumstances it is understandable that the proceedings of the Baden Chamber of Deputies are being followed by us with the liveliest interest. After the Prussians had shown in the press that

they had come of age politically, it was expected that the South Germans would do their utmost so as not to lag behind us. The Württemberg Chamber, however, showed only too clearly in its debates on judicial procedure how greatly it lacks the old coryphaei of 1833.[150] From Baden, on the other hand, one could have expected that after what happened in the dissolved Chamber[151] political life would not so easily go to sleep. The powerful movements during the elections were a welcome sign of alertness and interest in domestic affairs; and although the press was not permitted to let us participate in these from afar and in thought, nevertheless they found expression in the election debates in the Chamber and now come into full evidence before our eyes. These debates, together with the hints that the press here and there contained about the celebrations prepared for individual deputies, gave us a clear picture of those days of tension and struggle. It was shown also, again in the most conspicuous way, in connection with the Schwetzingen-Philippsburg election among other things, that nothing is more harmful to governments anywhere than exaggerated zeal on the part of officials. The machinations resorted to here to secure votes for Rettig are unprecedented in Baden's constitutional history. The simple fact that a constituency, which *for twenty years in succession* was always represented by von Itzstein, should now all at once have dropped him after he has often enough given evidence of his frame of mind and elected a deputy from the governmental party, sufficiently proves that this election was not a free one. The more welcome therefore was the reparation made to von Itzstein by the Chamber.[152] There one was glad to hear the veterans of free thought, Itzstein and Welcker, as well as representatives of the younger generation, Rindeschwender and others, speak in the old familiar way. The fact that the election of Mathy as deputy was secured in spite of all hostility, makes an all the better impression since in general he is the first journalist in Germany to have a seat in a Chamber.

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Marked with the sign *×*

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# THE LIBERALISM OF THE *SPENERSCHE ZEITUNG*

*Berlin,* June 22. The other day, the *Spenersche Zeitung*[a] bestowed upon itself, since so far no one else has taken on the job, the praise which it feels it deserves.[153] A "review" of its activity over the past six months is sufficient for it to arrive at the important discovery that *it* is the paper which has pioneered the movement for a free press. It is amusing to see how, with a solemn air of heightened self-confidence, its frock-coat brushed fit for Sunday, it steps before its public, before the foreign newspapers, and places on its head the civic crown of liberalism. The *Spenersche Zeitung* claims that but for it or rather for the *, which stands for the article in question, but for this * no Prussian newspaper would to this day have attained the present standpoint of liberalism. For as soon as the censorship circular appeared[154] the * proceeded to sound out how far one might go in the opposition business; it knocked, softly, and lo! it was admitted. And naturally so, for these quiet, bowing, well-intentioned, humble, tame articles would eventually have been passed even before. The * should at least trust its censor to be able to tell a domestic animal from a wild one. But God forbid! This isolated philistinism is so limited that it takes the most trivial idea that crosses its mind for original, inspired by genius, unique of its kind. The censorship circular appears; now every writer must, of course, instantly change his manner of writing, give it freer rein. Our asterisk man, however, considers himself the only person in the world with an intellect capable of reaching this conclusion, and he wants to rub it under

[a] The reference is to the newspaper *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen.*—*Ed.*

the noses of other journalists that they may now write more freely. But that is not enough. He thinks himself liberal. He has a certain flair for publicity. Perhaps in the most secret, hidden corner of his heart slumbers a little thought of the development of estate relations.— So what does he do then? He writes a series of articles which represent a complete range of liberalism; today the tamest is sent in, tomorrow the one which is half a grain less tame, and so on. But at the stage where the tameness and the so-called liberalism balance, he stops. Our asterisk man calls this "pioneering"!? The other Prussian editorial boards will no doubt take the trouble to read the *Spenersche Zeitung* so as to learn from it the meaning of liberalism! Moreover, it is odd that our politicaster cannot understand why he does not cause as big a sensation with his articles as certain newspapers do with theirs; why he, the standard-bearer of Prussian liberalism, the great pioneer, finds himself nevertheless derided in all foreign newspapers, and must console himself with the thought that he is misunderstood.

Written on June 22, 1842

First published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 177, June 26, 1842

Marked with the sign *×*

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# THE END OF THE *CRIMINALISTISCHE ZEITUNG*

*Berlin,* June 25. On July 1 the local *Criminalistische Zeitung* will "cease to appear for the time being". Hence, its tirades against the jury system do not seem to have found the desired approval of the public. It was a *juste-milieu* paper in the juristic sphere. It favoured public and oral proceedings, but for God's sake no juries. The half-heartedness of such a tendency is fortunately being more and more recognised, and supporters of the jury system multiply daily. The *Criminalistische Zeitung* established the principle that no branch of executive power must be given directly into the hands of the people, hence not judicial office either. That would be all very fine if judicial power were not something quite different from executive power. In all states where the separation of the powers has been really instituted, judicial and executive powers are quite without any connection. This is the case in France, England and America; the mixing of the two leads to the most unholy confusion, and its most extreme consequence would be to unite the chief of police, investigating officer and judge in one person. But it has long been proved, not only in principle but by history, that judicial power is the direct property of the nation, which exercises it through its jurors. I remain silent on the advantages and guarantees offered by the jury system; it would be superfluous to waste words on that. But there are the inveterate jurists, the sticklers for the letter, whose slogan is: *fiat justitia, pereat mundus!* [a] The free jury system naturally does not suit them for not only would they be pushed out of their position as judges,

[a] May justice take its course even if the world perishes.— *Ed.*

but the sacred letter of the law, dead, abstract law, would be jeopardised. And that must not be lost. It is their palladium, and hence the gentlemen cry blue murder when for once a jury in France or England acquits a poor proletarian who, driven to desperation by hunger, has stolen a pennyworth of bread, although the case was proved by witnesses and confession. Then they shout triumphantly: You see, that comes of the jury system, the safety of property, of life itself is undermined, lawlessness is sanctioned, crime and revolution are openly proclaimed! — We hope that for the time being the *Criminalistische Zeitung* will not start again to appear "for the time being".

Written on June 25, 1842

First published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* No. 181, June 30, 1842

Marked with the sign *×*

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# ON THE CRITIQUE OF THE PRUSSIAN PRESS LAWS[155]

*Berlin*, June. Two ways are open to the Prussian for the publication of his thoughts. He can either have them printed in his own country, in which case he has to submit to the domestic censorship; or, should he meet with objections here, outside the frontiers of his own state he can still either place himself under the censorship of another state in the Confederation or take advantage of press freedom in foreign countries. In any case the state retains the right to take repressive measures against possible breaches of the law. In the first case, such measures will, in the nature of things, be applicable only very rarely, since as a rule the censorship deletes too much rather than too little and least of all does it pass anything *liable to penalties*. But with publications which have been effected under foreign press laws confiscation of the work and prosecution of the author can occur much more readily and frequently. To form a judgment on Prussian press legislation as a whole it is most important that legal measures of repression should not be disregarded.

Since we still lack a special repressive statute on the press, the laws relating to this are scattered under various headings in the Prussian Law.[156] We can for the moment disregard the penal laws against libel, indecency and the like, since we are in the main concerned only with political offences, and here we find the relevant data under the headings of high treason, insolent and disrespectful criticism or mockery of the laws of the land, and *lèse-majesté*. As will be seen presently, these laws are, however, formulated so vaguely and, in relation to the press in particular, subject to such wide and undeniably arbitrary interpretation that

any judgment on them must essentially depend only on the practice of the courts. For if it is correct to assume that the spirit of every[a] legal system comes to life in the[b] administrators of justice, the latter's customary interpretation of particular provisions must form an important complement to them, and previous practice does indeed influence the verdict considerably in doubtful cases.

The present author is now in a position to supplement his judgment on the Prussian press laws with an extensively motivated verdict by a Prussian court which lies before him. The author of a paper on domestic affairs printed outside Prussia was charged with all the offences listed above and, although unconditionally acquitted of the charge of high treason, was found guilty of insolent and disrespectful criticism, mockery of the laws of the land, and also *lèse-majesté.*[157]

The Prussian Penal Code defines the crime of high treason as follows (§ 92):

"An action aimed at a violent overthrow of the state system or against the life or liberty of its head is high treason."

It can be assumed that for the present conditions this legal definition will be recognised as sufficiently general. This point is fairly unimportant for the press since it is not to be expected that such enterprises will be started by the press or by the kind of people whom our justice can reach. The clear word "violent" is sufficient protection against judicial arbitrariness or illiberality. Another point is, however, of the greatest importance for the press, namely, the one which refers to the unauthorised statement of opinions regarding the laws of the land. The legal definitions concerned are the following: Penal Code, § 151:

"Whosoever causes dissatisfaction by insolent, disrespectful criticism or mockery of the laws of the land and government edicts shall incur the penalty of detention in prison or fortress from six months to two years."

The Edict[c] of October 18, 1819, is relevant here, which lays down under XVI, Clause 2,

"that with insolent, disrespectful criticism and mockery of the laws of the land and government edicts, the issue shall not be held to be merely whether displeasure or dissatisfaction has been caused, but whether the above penalty has been incurred by such culpable utterances themselves".[158]

It is, however, clear even at first glance how indefinite and

[a] In the *Rheinische Zeitung*: our.— *Ed.*
[b] In the *Rheinische Zeitung*: our.— *Ed.*
[c] In the *Rheinische Zeitung*: Censorship Edict.— *Ed.*

inadequate these legal provisions are. What do *insolent* and *disrespectful* mean? Obviously either the first or the second part of the paragraph in the Penal Code is superfluous. Insolent criticism or mockery of the laws of the land is as good as declared synonymous with provocation of displeasure, and the Edict of October 18, 1819, directly expresses the identity of these concepts. The legal stipulation is, therefore, to be understood thus: whoever makes himself guilty of insolent, disrespectful criticism or mockery of the laws of the land and government edicts seeks to provoke displeasure and dissatisfaction with them and has, therefore, incurred the penalty in question.

Only now is it possible to view the law clearly. To place the concepts *insolent* and *disrespectful* side by side was a blunder on the part of the legislator liable to cause the greatest confusion. It is possible to be disrespectful without being insolent. Disrespect is a deficiency, an act of negligence, a mistake made in haste, which can happen to the best of people; insolence presupposes the *animus injuriandi*, the malicious intent. And now, to crown it all, mockery! What a far cry from "disrespect" to "mockery"! And yet both carry the same penalty. These two concepts are not merely *quantitatively* different, not merely different degrees of one and the same thing—they are essentially different in quality, quite incommensurable. If someone is approaching me to whom I am under an obligation, and I notice him and give him a wide berth so as not to greet him, that is *disrespectful*; if I look him boldly in the face, pull my hat down over my eyes and in passing dig my elbow into his side, that is *insolent*; but if I thumb my nose in his face and make grimaces, that is *mockery*. Certain people even consider it disrespectful not to notice them.[a] And are these different things to be put under the same heading in a law? In any case, "disrespectful" should be deleted here and put in a separate paragraph or, rather, omitted entirely. For displeasure and dissatisfaction can never be *intended* by disrespectful criticism since disrespect is always committed *unintentionally, unwittingly*, or at least without *ill* intent. Hence, if the word disrespectful is kept here, it is thereby pronounced that each and every criticism of the state affairs seeks to provoke dissatisfaction and is therefore punishable. But this would be in complete contradiction to our present censorship conditions. In short, the whole confusion is caused by the word disrespectful being taken over from the censorship instructions, where it belongs, into the *law*. In censor-

[a] In the *Rheinische Zeitung* the last two sentences are omitted.—*Ed.*

ship cases it may be left to the judgment of the censor as a police officer, as long as censorship is a police measure, whether he considers something to be "disrespectful" or "well-intentioned"; censorship is an exception, and more precise definitions will always be impossible here. But such a vague concept, such latitude for subjective interpretation should not be present in the Criminal Code, least of all where difference of political views is *bound* to come into play and where the judges are not jurymen but servants of the state. That this critique of the law is correct, that the charge of confusion of concepts is well founded, may be best demonstrated by the practice of the courts. I cite the above-mentioned verdict, dated 5th April of this year[a] and already published.

The author[b] of the printed paper in question outlines in it a description of the censorship as exercised, be it noted, in Prussia towards the end of 1840, the following passages from which were found incriminating:

"As is known, neither the smallest newspaper article nor writings of more than twenty printed sheets may be published here without examination by the censor; if the subject is political, the examination devolves in most cases on a police agent, who, the stipulations of the censorship regulations (of October 18, 1819) being so vague, has to be guided solely by the special instructions of the minister. Completely dependent on the minister and responsible to him alone, this censor is compelled to delete everything which is not agreeable to the individual views and intentions of his superiors. If the author lays a complaint against him, he meets, as a rule, with rejection or obtains his due after such a long time that he can no longer make use of it. How else can one explain the fact that since the praise accorded to decent publicity in 1804 not the slightest criticism of the procedure of the most subordinate official can be found in any Prussian newspaper or in any book printed here, that even the remotest reference to the public interest must first flee beyond the Prussian borders in order to be published (of course, no one will include here the Home Affairs column of the *Staatszeitung*[c]).

"And even here it is not safe from that autocracy of officials which causes so much concern and which Frederick William III rightly described as the inevitable consequence of suppressed publicity; in order that no unfavourable judgment of the actions of officials, no outspoken comment of any kind on our conditions may come into Prussia through such foreign papers, they are either prohibited or their editorial boards made amenable by well-known methods. We are not, unfortunately, exaggerating! French newspapers are indeed permitted, but most of them are not allowed to enter Prussia as printed matter, so that *one* copy of such a paper would cost more than 400 talers a year in postage; only the appearance is preserved, in reality such permission is tantamount to prohibition. A different method is used with *German* newspapers. If their editors are not already on their guard in their *own* well-understood interest, if they accept an article about Prussia

[a] In the *Rheinische Zeitung* the words "dated 5th April of this year" are omitted.— *Ed.*

[b] Johann Jacoby.— *Ed.*

[c] *Allgemeine Preussische Staats-Zeitung.*— *Ed.*

or Prussian officials which causes displeasure in Berlin, rebukes and complaints are brought against them by the Prussian Government (we are prepared to prove this to any doubters with documents), the names of their correspondents are demanded under threats, and the profitable Prussian market is kept open to them only on humiliating conditions."[a]

After this description the accused remarks that censorship exercised in this fashion becomes arrogant tutelage, virtual suppression of public opinion, and eventually leads to a highly questionable autocracy of officials, equally dangerous to king and people.

Now, what is to be said about this passage? Would not a book written in this tone today receive the Prussian *imprimatur*? Do not all Prussian newspapers pass exactly the same judgment on the censorship of that time? Have not much stronger things already been said about *still existing* institutions? And what does our verdict say?

"A subject must not express himself in such a way on the laws and government edicts; the assertions that even the remotest reference to the public interest must flee beyond the Prussian borders in order to be published, that the censorship as exercised in Prussia involves arrogant tutelage, virtual suppression of public opinion, contain *insolent criticism* in word and spirit and violate the respect due to the state. The allegation, moreover, that a highly questionable autocracy of officials, equally dangerous to king and people, is promoted thereby, clearly proves the tendency to cause displeasure and dissatisfaction with the institutions so described. During the present proceedings the accused tried to prove that his judgment on the administration of the censorship is founded on fact, and in this respect he has referred to a number of special cases in which articles of journalistic content have been refused the *imprimatur*. He has also referred to a correspondence which took place between Chief Government Privy Councillor Seyffert and the editor of the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* as proof that this newspaper was indeed under the influence of the Prussian Government.[b]

"These references are, however, clearly irrelevant; for, without mentioning the fact that isolated examples prove nothing whatever about the value or otherwise of a state institution, even assuming the correctness of the judgment formed by the accused, the form in which he has expressed it would leave intact the charge of insolence and disrespect. He does not judge in a manner of calm consideration, but condemns with expressions which, were they directed against persons, would indubitably have to be regarded as insults."[c]

Further on it reads:

"The accused remarks about the municipal legislation: 'Above all, the Municipal Order of the year 1808 must be clearly distinguished from the revised one of the

[a] *Vier Fragen beantwortet von einem Ostpreussen*, S. 8-10.— *Ed.*

[b] In the *Rheinische Zeitung* this last sentence is omitted.— *Ed.*

[c] J. Jacoby, *Meine weitere Verteidigung wider die gegen mich erhobene Beschuldigung der Majestätsbeleidigung und des frechen unehrerbietigen Tadels der Landesgesetze*, S. 13, 16, 20, 33-34.— *Ed.*

year 1831. The first bears the liberal character of that time and respects the independence of citizens; the second is favoured in all cases by the present government and urgently recommended to the cities.' This opposition of the words 'liberal character of that time' and 'the present government' contains the insolently critical assertion that the present government is not only illiberal, but also that it in general has no respect for the independence of citizens(??). The dishonest intention and the reprehensible tendency of his publication are, however, made particularly manifest in the examples which the accused submits as proof of the parallel he has drawn, since the regulations which he instances from the two municipal orders are herein reproduced in part incorrectly, in part incompletely and in distorted fashion." [a]

I can pass over the excerpts which follow and which lead into too great detail all the more so because, even admitting the incorrectness and incompleteness of the incriminating description, this would by no means be proof of "dishonest intention" and "reprehensible tendency". I will quote only the conclusion:

"When one considers that inter-estate dealings are given no publicity whatever, that, in consequence, at elections and on all other occasions the educated classes display an obvious indifference, and finally that the liberal Rhenish-Prussian estates twice rejected this kind of municipal legislation, in 1826 and in 1833, one will hardly be inclined to accept the *much vaunted* Prussian municipal order as representing the counterweight of the independent consciousness of the people against ministerial arbitrariness, still less as a substitute for constitutional representation." [b]

On these words the verdict comments:

"This passage, too, obviously contains mocking criticism and likewise betrays the tendency to provoke dissatisfaction and displeasure. He who is only concerned to be useful to the Fatherland will not strive to prove that previously a line was followed which was more beneficial to the people and which is now increasingly being abandoned and replaced by a tendency harmful to the common good. Such a comparison of the earlier, allegedly better, condition with the present one is perfectly unnecessary for revealing the supposed deficiencies of the present system; it can therefore have no other purpose than to encourage the view that the well-being of the nation is not in such good shape now as formerly, in order thus to provoke displeasure and dissatisfaction." [c]

Enough of excerpts, which, by the way, I could multiply tenfold! [d] Practice confirms only too well what has been said above about the law. The concept of disrespect, which belongs within the competence of the police, of censorship, here shows its detrimental effects. By transplanting it to the field of the law the latter is made

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[a] J. Jacoby, *Vier Fragen beantwortet von einem Ostpreussen*, S. 11; J. Jacoby, *Meine weitere Verteidigung...*, S. 13-20.— *Ed.*

[b] J. Jacoby, *Vier Fragen...*, S. 8-10.— *Ed.*

[c] J. Jacoby, *Meine weitere Verteidigung...*, S. 13-20.— *Ed.*

[d] In the *Rheinische Zeitung* this sentence is omitted.— *Ed.*

dependent on censorship, which at the given time may be more severe or more lenient. If censorship happens to be oppressive, as in 1840, the slightest criticism is disrespectful. If it is lenient and[a] humane, as now, that which was formerly deemed insolent is today barely disrespectful. Hence the contradiction that in the *Rheinische* and *Königsberger Zeitung*[b] things receive the Prussian *imprimatur* which in 1840 were not only forbidden but even punishable.[c] *Censorship* must by its nature be fluctuating; the *law* must, however, stand firm until it is repealed; it must be independent of variations in police practice.

And now, to crown it all, the "provocation of displeasure and dissatisfaction"! That is, indeed, the purpose of all opposition. When I criticise this[d] legal stipulation I do indeed intend to provoke dissatisfaction with it, and not only[e] in the people but even if possible in the government. How can one criticise anything without intending to convince others of the—to put it mildly—imperfection of that which is being criticised, that is, to awaken dissatisfaction with it? How can I criticise here and praise there, how can I think something to be bad and good at the same time? It is downright impossible. I am also honest enough to say straight out that I have every intention of provoking discontent and displeasure against §151 of the Prussian Penal Code with this article, and yet I cherish the conviction that I am not criticising it "insolently and disrespectfully", as this paragraph says, but "decently and with good intent", as the censorship circular[159] says. The censorship circular has, however, sanctioned this right to provoke dissatisfaction and, to the glory of the Prussian nation, everything possible[f] has already been done since then to awaken dissatisfaction and displeasure. This part of the paragraph has thereby in effect been repealed and the culpability of "disrespectful criticism" significantly limited. Proof enough that the paragraph contains a mixture and confusion of heterogeneous legislative and press-police definitions.

This is to be explained quite simply by the period in which the laws of the land were codified, by the conflict between the liberal enlightenment of that epoch and the Prussian *ancien régime* of the time. To entertain discontent with the government, with state

[a] In the *Rheinische Zeitung* the words "lenient and" are omitted.— *Ed.*
[b] *Königlich Privilegirte Preussische Staats- Kriegs- und Friedens-Zeitung.*— *Ed.*
[c] In the *Rheinische Zeitung* this sentence is omitted.— *Ed.*
[d] In the *Rheinische Zeitung*: a.— *Ed.*
[e] In the *Rheinische Zeitung*: and not indeed.— *Ed.*
[f] In the *Rheinische Zeitung*: a great deal.— *Ed.*

institutions, was then not much better than high treason and, at the very least, a crime on which it was possible to base a nice little investigation and sentence.

*Lèse-majesté* has little interest for us. The Prussian journalists have up to now had the tact to leave the person of the king out of it. This is anticipation of the constitutional principle of the inviolability of the royal person and can only be approved.

The above paragraph is herewith highly recommended to the Commission for Revision of the Laws; in the meantime we propose to continue in the well-intentioned and decent fashion here indicated to awaken more than a little discontent and dissatisfaction with all obsolete and illiberal survivals in our state institutions.

Written in June 1842

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Published in English for the first time

# THE INSOLENTLY THREATENED YET MIRACULOUSLY RESCUED BIBLE OR: THE TRIUMPH OF FAITH

To Wit, the Terrible, Yet True and Salutary History of the Erstwhile Licentiate Bruno Bauer; How the Same, Seduced by the Devil, Fallen from the True Faith, Became Chief Devil, and Was Well and Truly Ousted in the End

*A Christian Epic in Four Cantos*[160]

Written in June-July 1842

First published as an anonymous pamphlet in Neumunster, near Zurich, in December 1842

Printed according to the pamphlet

Published in English for the first time

## CANTO THE FIRST

Spread out your pinions, O my soul, and humbly rise
To praise in stately song Faith's glory to the skies.
Faith's triumph—no! For am I not a broken reed?
Another gives the vigour that I need:
The ability, the will. O you believers, pray
That gracious blessings may be showered my way.
Raise a great roar, you *Leo*[a] of the Saale strands.
Fold, *Hengstenberg*, your more-than-once triumphant hands.
Prodigious likewise at the lectern and the lyre,
*Sack*, lend my pen those powers of yours, lend me your fire.
*Krummacher*, man of God, rock of believers true,
O guide me how to preach the Word as well as you.
Dear, pious *Knapp*, your flaming brands of poetry
I bear into the dark dens of iniquity.
And you, that to the tribe of mockers bold and free
Held out the holy Cross, O *Klopstock*, stand by me!
What would I be without you, Theologian *John*!
If you will help, I'll start and boldly carry on.
With your assistance too, *David* and *Ezekiel*,
I'll tear up by the roots all blasphemy most vile.
Strong pillars of the Faith, come close and rally round,
Shield me from Mockery, and Slander's jeering sound.
Lift up your pious hands towards the throne of Grace,
That to God's glory I may run my arduous race.
    What suddenly disturbs the chorus of Hosannas?
What's happened to the angel hymns that fell like Manna?

[a] Heinrich Leo.—*Ed.*

Woe! Has the Devil's cunning somehow sneaked up there?
Has his pestiferous stench turned joy into despair?
Where only praise and jubilation should resound,
What means all that distress, that sad funereal sound?
Who up in highest Heaven makes that dismal moan?
It is the pious souls, they are the ones that groan:
"O Lord, O hear, hear Lord, O hear our desperate cry!
How long wilt Thou let Faith endure such agony?
How long before Thou wilt avenge the Faithful blood
So long spilt by the insulting and blaspheming brood?
Oh, shall the boasts of overweening arrogance
Prosper down there on Earth in all magnificence?
Shall each philosopher insist that 'I am I'?
Shall the free-thinking mob Thy very Name deny?
Their arrogant jeering still more wantonly resounds.
O call the Judgment Day, O let the Last Trump sound!"
The Lord placated them: "The measure is not full.
Wait till the carrion stink blows even still more foul.
My soldiers I have yet to train in verve and dash,
So that they flee not Satan in the final clash.
Below there in Berlin, I am indeed much sought,
But others, fettered by the chains of arrogant thought,
They won't have Faith in me, they want to understand,
And seek to gird me round with thought's tight metal band.
Take *Bruno Bauer*: he believes, but thinks as well;
His flesh may well be willing, but his spirit's frail.
But wait awhile till all those dregs have finished sinking,
And Satan after that will never catch him thinking.
He'll find me in the end, if he but seeks me truly,
And spurns the idle vanities he loves unduly.
Thought's folly, that has torn his senses all apart,
He'll see as wind; the Light once more shall flood his heart.
Philosophy he'll deem nought but an empty fraud,
Grace shall break through. He'll know again that God is God."
Now at these words great was the Angels' joy on high,
And pious praises of the Almighty filled the sky:
"Let power and might and glory evermore redound
To Thee that set the stars of Heaven whirling round.
Thy wrath shall smite the wicked ones in every land,
Exalting those that truly serve at Thy command."
Then further spake the Lord: "In that last battle, he
Shall lead the Faithful ones to final victory.

Die
frech bedräute,
jedoch wunderbar befreite
**Bibel.**
Oder:
**Der Triumph des Glaubens.**
Das ist:
Schreckliche,
jedoch wahrhafte und erkleckliche
**Historia**
von dem weiland Licentiaten
**Bruno Bauer;**
wie selbiger
vom Teufel verführet,
vom reinen Glauben abgefallen,
Oberteufel geworden
und endlich
kräftiglich entsetzet ist.
**Christliches Heldengedicht**
in vier Gesängen.

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Neumünster bei Zürich
Druckts und verlegts Joh. Fr. Heß
1842.

Title-page of Engels' pamphlet *The Insolently Threatened Yet Miraculously Rescued Bible*

When all the brimming vials of my wrath are shed
Upon the sinful Earth, and when the seas turn red,
When well-springs shoot black fountains in the deep ravine,
And swarming locusts in their shimmering hosts are seen,
When all Earth thunders to a clanging hail of fire,
And when the ground heaves up, and cliffs are smashed entire,
Then on that day shall *Bruno Bauer* never falter
To raise the standard of my hosts for Throne and Altar."
These words were greeted with felicity up there,
And jubilant hymns to praise the Almighty filled the air:
"Sing Hallelujah! Let the incense ever rise!"
But lo! while Heaven's vaults still echoed to the song,
With stench and roaring tumult Satan swept along,
Black writhing flames of Hell-rage from his eyeballs bursting,
His tongue to taste the blood of God's own children thirsting.
He stepped towards the Throne on sacrilegious feet,
Towards the Angels clustered round the Almighty's Seat,
Then he, in thunderous tones: "How long must you postpone,
And in your cowardly peace keep me cooped up at home?
Or do you simply fear that Doomsday, when we meet
And battle at last is given
For this world's crown, shall signal your defeat,
As I invade your tent of Heaven?
But if you dare, then hurry up, give battle,
And let the trumpet sound to engage.
I'll muster all my savage hosts to try your mettle.
Oh, how I burn to charge in the fierce war we'll wage
As through your heavenly spheres I rage!"
And then the Lord: "Have patience, for the time is nigh
When you shall learn indeed who is the Lord on High.
Look down below on Earth. See you the portents there
At which men tremble and stand deathly pale with fear?
See war and revolution, pestilence and fire,
Law held to scorn, religion trampled in the mire.
There, blasphemy's triumphant, mocked is piety.
But wait awhile. Soon things shall ten times better be,
For as my servant true I've chosen in my need
One who shall preach my Kingdom to the godless breed.
A target he shall be of ridicule and scorn;
But that is all I need to get things quickly done.

The measure's not yet full, but very soon will be,
If they still treat the light of Grace with mockery."
The Devil: "Who's the one that's chosen for this feat?"
The Lord: "It's *Bruno Bauer.*"
"The Licentiate?"
"The same."
"You've picked a most unusual servant there.
He gives his soul no sustenance of hymn or prayer,
And he demands from you your very loveliest stars.
To apprehend them—that is what he loves the best.
Even the very finest speculative cores
Of dogma do not help to soothe his troubled breast."
The Lord: "Although his service may be inconsistent,
I shall clear up his mind's confusion in due season,
And if in thinking he still dares to be persistent,
You may be sure he'll very quickly lose his Reason."
The Devil: "What's the use of that? I'll lure him down.
That precious stone of yours shall sparkle in *my* crown.
And since he still has *Hegel* running round his brain,
You watch—that's where I'll get him by his hairy mane!"
The Lord: "Go on, then! You can have him as your prize!
Go, drag him from his Saviour. Take him far away.
Yes, you may catch him, if you can, with cheating lies.
Laugh as you take him with you down your Hell-bound way,
Then stand ashamed and make admission on your part:
For all his Speculation, the believer still
Sticks to the straight and narrow pathway in his heart."
The Devil laughed. "Go on! You can't scare me, you know!
Watch out! As your man, *Bauer* hasn't long to go!"
Then out of Heaven with raging tempest force he broke,
And left the bright domain still billowing with his smoke.
Now while the Fiend with God in business was engaged,
The legions of the damned in Hell had all rebelled.
An angry, howling mob, they rioted and raged,
"Where are you, Satan, Satan, where are you?" they yelled.
Their leader, *Hegel,* swung two torches in the air.
Whirling a fiery flail, behind him came *Voltaire.*
*Danton* was shouting with them, *Edelmann* was howling.
"Charge, charge, you scum of Hell!" *Napoleon* was bawling.
All through the gloomy pit of fire the dark shades poured,
Snorting about with fury, shouting for their Lord.

Then down from Heaven's heights he plummeted amain
Into his sea of fire, into his tomb of flame.
"What's this?" he roared at them. "What do you want, you rabble?
You dare to mock the wrath and power of the Devil?
Are you not hot enough in Hell-fire's blazing flood?
Do I not slake your thirst full well with righteous blood?"
"No, no, you good-for-nothing Devil!" screamed *Voltaire.*
"Have I been sowing doubt here, there, and everywhere
Merely that through the whole of speculative night
The word 'philosophy' should be decried outright,
And that the French should trust their priests instead of me—
And that you, Satan, you should let this come to be?"
Said *Danton:* "Did I guillotine them all in vain,
That Reason ousted God, but God is back again?
Now nonsense reigns supreme, and high-born fops once more
In league with crack-brained priests their kingdom can restore."
The furious *Hegel,* who'd been speechless all along,
Forthwith rose like a giant and finally gave tongue:
"To Science I've devoted every hour,
And I've taught Atheism with all my power.
Self-consciousness upon the Throne I seated,
And thought that God had thereby been defeated.
But foolish misconception's all that's used me,
And certain craven minds have much abused me,
Out of pure nonsense building pseudo-structures,
Enslaving Speculation with their strictures.
At last, a truly brave man came to hand,
*Strauss,* who had half begun to understand.
And yet when Zurich offered him a Chair,
They simply wouldn't let him lecture there.[161]
Shame, that the world condemns to banishment
The instrument I had the wit to invent,
The freedom-fighter, bravest ever seen,
Woe, woe, I cry, they've banned my guillotine!
Say, Devil, have I lived to no avail?
Is my philosophy, then, doomed to fail?
When will the right man come, and come apace,
To chop the heads off all the pious race?"
The Devil heard him out, with gentle malice grinning:
"Peace, most devoted servant, you can stop that whining.
Do you not know your Devil, then? I have a plan.

The very man has long been found. Found is the man."
"Who, who? We're all agog to know!" the rabble cried.
"His name is *Bruno Bauer,*" the Arch-Fiend then replied.
Howling with mirth, the sinful host all turned away,
*Hegel,* ablaze with fury, was provoked to say:
"You mock us still, you sneerer of the vilest sort!
Why *Bruno Bauer,* who brings Reason's cause to nought,
And drags all Science up to trial in Faith's High Court?"
"Oh, *Hegel,* are you blind?" the Lord of Hell replied.
"You think the fruits of Faith will keep him satisfied?
His thirst is much too great, and they are not enough.
Who fights as hard as he does, won't run out of puff.
It won't be long before he doffs Faith's beggar cloak,
And then I'll clinch it with him at a single stroke."
Said *Hegel,* finally relieved: "I bow to you!"
And all the gang of Hell roared out a wild "Halloo!"
They saw their master to the door with many a joyous yell,
And he, assured of triumph, floated up from Hell.—
A house of pious people and a dingy room
Stacked high with books, and *Bauer* pondering in the gloom,
The Pentateuch in front of him, the Devil behind,
A tug of war twixt Faith and Doubt within his mind.
"Did Moses write this book, and is it true for sure?
Philosophy, your meaning is so oft obscure!
I've studied matters Phenomenological,
Theological also, to my distress,
Aesthetical too, Metaphysical, Logical,
Not entirely without success.
I'm Doctor and Licentiate,
I lecture in college early and late,
I've married, by Speculation astute,
Faith and the Concept Absolute.
Nought is beyond me, no mystery
Can stand the test of my scrutiny.
Name me the dogma I haven't been into—
Creation, Redemption, Original Sin, too.
I've grasped with absolute perfection
Even the Immaculate Conception,
Lock, stock and barrel—but all that stuff
Still doesn't prove the Pentateuch is not a bluff.
O who will help me, who will get me off the rack?

O who will give the bread of knowledge that I lack?
What if that most mysterious book
Inscribed in Philip's own true hand
Became my trusty guide and took
Me through Doubt's ever-labyrinthine land?
I break it open. I can see the light—
A spring of Categories rushes into sight.
Oh, see them! Up and down they climb,
Passing gold buckets all the time!
What high ecstasy!
Faith and Science, I see,
Have signed an armistice
With sanctified kisses!
Deep under me is Nature's mighty power!
Ah, what a sight!—but show, nothing more!
When shall the veil e'er lifted be
That hides the source of the Pentateuch from me?

*Philip, appear!*"

The wall divides, and then a shadow, triple-crowned,
Steps through the cleft to raise a bony warning hand:
"O *Bauer, Bauer,* mind you stray not from the path
That Hegel's *Logic* has marked out for you to follow!
For, in that work, the Concept absolutely clear
Shines forth. So do not let Imaginative Thinking
Ever defy the Spirit there, which stands for Freedom."
"But can you tell me how authentic is this Book?
Oh, do not turn away from me! Speak, answer, talk!"
"You're like the Spirit that you understand, not me!"[a]
"Not you? Oh, do not vanish! Stay with me, my friend!"
He shouts, jumps up, and lo! before him stands the Fiend!
"Ha haha haha haha haha haha!
There stands the Theologian! There you are!
You thought yourself so shrewd, not even apprehending
That you were running round in circles never-ending?"
Here *Bruno* reaches for his Bible, mad with fear.
"Pah!" says the Devil, laughing. "That old primer there?
Pah! We've left all that junk a long, long way behind,
Think you that I believe such trash can ease your mind?
Think you that, when within these musty walls you strain
Concocting categories in your fevered brain,

[a] Goethe, *Faust,* Part One, Scene 1.—*Ed.*

Or mixing Fire and Water—when you choose
To try and slake the Spirit's thirst with filthy brews,
The free-willed Spirit that would burst its bonds and flee
The foul confining dungeon of captivity—
Think you such torture can e'er satisfy your urge?
Did *Hegel* ever teach you Hill and Vale to merge,
Or Black and White, or fiercely flaming Fire and Water?
Consider *Hegel* now, that unabashed God-hater,
Who, without thinking further, flung Fact overboard
And, choosing Reason, cast away Tradition's Word."

"O Satan, what you say indeed sounds fine—a well
Of Heaven's purest light; thus shines the smoke of Hell.
But still I won't be led astray; for Speculation
Has long included you within its comprehension.
And since all Being by my Spirit's permeated,
Are you alone from understanding, then, exempted?
With fair appearance and dissembling words you please us:
You lead us gently on, then suddenly you seize us,
Pledging free Spirit for our lovely world of Fact,
To lure us to that narrow realm of the Abstract.
With your free Spirit to the far Extreme I'll go,
Because 'I am' is all I claim to think and know.
They don't delude me, Friend, those stark and chilly heights,
Where what the Spirit grasps, the Spirit also blights.
Your Spirit is a Moloch racked with hunger's pangs,
And at the Positive it ever bares its fangs.
Full well I know you and I know your ways, you see;
Phrases and empty words are all you've given me.
See if I positively grasp this Pentateuch,
I grasp the concept 'Judaism' like this book."

The Devil laughs and jeers. "How very funny! Must
You try to polish up what's old and thick with rust?
How the Lord's finger is discerned in one small louse,*
And how the Lord will guide the building of a house,**
And how the Lord's design is seen in Measure, Weight
And Pledge***—on suchlike things you choose to speculate?
You waste yourself on them, and get no joy or rest.
Just try your strength with Faith, and see who comes off best!
Up there, the Spirit feels its power and majesty.
No more a worm that crawls through old putridity,

* 2 Moses 8:19.—*Note by Engels.*
** 5 Moses 22:8.—*Note by Engels.*
*** 5 Moses 25.—*Note by Engels.*

It reigns triumphant on its throne; its high Law sees
Faith, slave of Prejudice, down on its bended knees."
"O Devil, with what ease you utter all the things
I've hardly dared to in my wild imaginings.
Now I'm a man obsessed, a man tormented by
His very inmost being's agonising cry:
'Your life has come to nought!'"
"Don't waste your time in vain.
If the desire is there, you can be born again!"
"Then where do I begin?"
"Think you that in this spot,
*Berlin*, this true-believing, sandy vacant lot,
That here you'll ever reach the lofty heights, attain the bliss
Of dealing Faith once and for all the *coup de grâce*?
To *Bonn* I'll take you,[162] to the Rhine so proud and green;
Of superstition's slime you'll wash your notions clean.
You'll live a life of joy and beauty all the time,
Refreshed by union with the true juice of the vine;
Where all is Victory, where every breast heaves high,
Where every vein's a-throb with Freedom's radiancy!"
"Lead on! I'll follow you!"
"Where in full clarity
The pure Truth rises from the Spirit struggle free—
There, high upon the wrecks of barriers devastated,
Triumphant build a shrine to Free Thought consecrated!"

## CANTO THE SECOND

Oh, woe to thee, *Bonn,* woe, most pious of Faculties!
Put on sackcloth and ashes, pray on bended knees!
Upon that Chair of erstwhile pious reputation
Mad *Bauer* lectures through the Devil's ministration.
He stands and foams with rage; a demon on his back
Goads him and sets him on the Theologians' track.
Just like a hydrophobic dog, he howls and bays;
Through his blaspheming mouth the Adversary says:
"Let not the Theologians fool you with their guiles,
Or rank hypocrisy, or low, perfidious wiles.
See how they twist the sense of every word by force,
And slither through the darkness on their evil course.
Oh, see those letter-slaves in all their filthy fright,
And how they savage one another when they fight.
All unctuous torture, cunning Jesuitical,
All tinselled pious fraud and arts sophistical!
As the schoolmaster, when the village children run
Away from school to romp and have themselves some fun,
Comes raging with his stick to fetch the truants in,
And they, with jeers and catcalls, flee ahead of him—
Such is the Theologian, very soon perplexed
When trapped between the Contradictions of the Text.
See how he twists, turns, dodges, stretches, wriggles in it,
Forgetting everything he said that very minute.
Just watch him cooking in his kitchen filled with steam,
Until the Contradictions flee him with a scream.
How he runs after them! Oh, how he starts to scold!
Will you come back again! Will you do as you're told!

With what insensate rage he plies Faith's holy cane,
Hitting the godless freaks again and yet again!
He pops them in the witches' cauldron, pokes them down,
Until the wretched things asphyxiate and drown!
They're all the same, including these Evangelists;
They'll never change as long as there are men of Christ's.
The one Evangelist misapprehends the other,
He wriggles, writhes, distorts the meaning even further;
Caught in the hopeless toils of endless Contradictions,
He cannot help but multiply his misconstructions.
He tears to shreds the writings of the other one,
And then, to crown it all, there is the work of *John*.
Just look!"—The mob of Faithful, past endurance, bellows:
"Away with that blasphemer, hang him on the gallows!
Away! Enough abuse from that once worthy Chair,
Sing Hallelujah, then, and get him out of there!"
The others shout: "Hurrah, and long live *Bruno Bauer*!
Free Science's support, Free-thinking's mightiest power!
Hush, pious hypocrites! If your God's help is strong,
Then fight, and let the outcome prove you right or wrong."
"Out with the liar!" all the Right-wing voices cry.
"Out with the Faithful!" comes the impious Left's reply.
"Atheists, silence!" "Pious sheep, keep your mouths shut!
Or else you'll soon find out how billy-goats can butt!"
"*Christ here!*"—"*And Bauer here!*"
Making a thund'rous sound,
With all their weight the wielded sticks come crashing down
To echoing battle-cries the tussle grows amain,
As desks are overturned and benches split in twain.
To thwart the Christian troops, the Atheist forces bold
Pile up the desks and build themselves A Safe Stronghold.
United in a closely welded mass, they throw,
Instead of bombs, ink-horns and Bibles at the foe.
In vain the Pious launch their sallies on the fort,
They fail to take it, even at the third onslaught.
Heads bleed, and many fighters of the Pious band
Collapse upon the bench, felled by an Atheist hand.
Then the blasphemers bring the walls a-tumbling down,
Lastly to drive the foe clean off the battleground.
Snarling, they hurl themselves on God's chaste warriors, who
Flee in blind panic from the wild and horrid crew.
The field is clear, at last.—
Swift speeds the pious band

Along the passage to the gates, and makes its stand.
The Lord sends proctors round to rescue them, and then
The Rector comes, and Senators, and Clergymen.
They want to mediate, ask what's behind it all,
But they themselves are soon entangled in the brawl.
The fight breaks out again, all join in willy-nilly;
Many a lofty learned brow is knocked half silly,
Many a crooked back is beaten straight again,
Many a nose pulled down that stuck up in disdain.
The sky grows dark with clouds of beaten-out cloth dust,
And periwigs fly at the whim of every gust.
Philosophers, most Positive of gentlemen,[163]
Under the Atheist attack, turn tail and run.
Great *Fichte's* little son, you certainly move fast!
You're much too skinny for the Atheist repast.
Herr *Brandis*, though you may be swift to flee pursuit,
The system-dust has all been walloped from your suit.
Refuting *Hegel* hasn't done them any good,
If they are beaten up by *Hegel's* crazy brood.
Onward they press, the frenzied Atheistic horde:
Their sticks make mockery of trusting in the Lord.
But no, His eye is watchful; in the hour of need,
When ignominy threatens those who hold the creed,
To thwart the triumph of the evil ones down there,
He sends the faithful *Sack*, with neatly parted hair.
He comes straight from the vineyard of the Lord on High.
His grey eye gleams, a star up in the Church's sky.
His nose, it is a mighty pillar of the Faith.
The Lord's Word and Salvation dribble from his mouth.
His mount's a virgin ass, with tail most wondrous fair,
And if his foot trails on the ground, he doesn't care.
The Bible text he has invented, with God's aid,
And tied it with her tail on to the donkey-maid.
He sits astride her, with his head bowed all the way;
The Spirit gently leads the beast towards the fray.
He sees the battle rage, the godless forge ahead,
And seeks the pious beast on other paths to lead.
But now the she-ass, who's obeyed him faithfully,
Begins to rear and stall and jump and buck and shy.
"What ails you, little beast? What's getting in your way?
Go where the bridle leads you, listen, and obey!"
She jams him up against a wall, unheeding still.
For the first time, he tries the stick to break her will.

He beats and beats and beats and beats her fit to bust.
The she-ass won't give in to him. He bites the dust.
God opens up the donkey's mouth; she, loud and clear,
Speaks His intention for the startled *Sack* to hear.
"Why do you beat me? See, the Spirit bars my way
And turns my bridle towards the scene of the affray.
Where's your old courage? Up, fly to the battleground,
Where Atheist fury pins God's faithful army down.
Lend me your ear, O *Sack*, and hear the tidings new
That through your donkey's mouth the Lord reveals to you.
Henceforth your name is *Bag* and shall be *Sack* no more.

Engels' caricature of "The Free", the Berlin group of Young Hegelians (Words in the drawing: Ruge, Buhl, Nauwerck, Bauer, Wigand, Edgar [Bauer], Stirner, Meyen, stranger, Koppen the Lieutenant. The squirrel in the upper left corner is a caricature of the Prussian Minister Eichhorn)

I'm sending you, O *Bag*, to terminate this war."
Then did the pious *Bag* to Heaven gaze and cry:
"Lord, before Thee man's knowledge is but vanity!
You choose a lowly beast for mouthpiece! Daring all,
I plunge into the battle's terrors at your call!"
He turns and speeds in haste towards the scene of horrors,
And finds it strewn with faint, exhausted, bleeding warriors.
Then, with a mighty shout, he bravely dives into them,
And to a heavenly air he sings the peace-hymn to them.
His coming has the fighters dazed on either side,
But *Brother Bag* just sees the Heavens open wide.
"Why all this Hatred, Envy, Murder, Storm and Stress,
Where Faith's Word should resound, and hymns of holiness?
In the full sight of God, where Heaven in twain divides,
Have you nought else to do but tan each other's hides?"
The faithful flock gives ear and, much abashed, withdraws,
The Atheist mob just stares and brazenly guffaws.
Then *Brother Bag*: "Down here below is tumult, gore,
But up above there's peace and bliss for evermore.
I see the Cherubim around the Almighty's Throne,
I see the Lamb of God, the sole begotten son.
I see the glory of the Lord shine down so bright,
I see the angelic host in songs of praise unite,
I see—oh, bliss!—the Lamb of God begins to speak
And states its will to me, who am its servant meek:
'I've pinned my hopes on *Bruno Bauer* all this while,
But the Arch-Fiend has cheated us of him by guile.
He who sat praying in his hermitage, alone,
Gives sinners now my holy Word to guzzle on.
He hounds my pious flock with desperate murderers.
His will be done; he'll know the meaning of my curse.
Be you the chosen one. Cross mountain, hill and valley,
Summon the Faithful ones to arms, and do not dally.
Go, let your trusty she-ass take you everywhere,
Go, preach the message of the Cross, and have no fear.
Put on the armour, armour of the Lord most high,
Await the day of battle, for that day draws nigh.
Then with the belt of Truth be sure your loins are girt;
For breastplate, Righteousness shall keep you safe from hurt.
With both legs booted, go you forth and do not yield,
Put out the fiery darts of Hell with Faith's bright shield.
Put on Salvation's helm that wards off mockery,
God's Word shall be your sword; wield it courageously!'

Yea, Lord, I follow Thee. Thy servant flies apace
To spread Thy holy Word to all the sinful race!"
Meanwhile, the pious crowd had gone to church to pray;
The godless went off boozing, in the usual way.
But *Brother Bag* rode forth astride his animal,
And sang: "Praise to the Lord, praise to the Lord of All,
And may all folk on Earth in sweet content abide!"
His pious song was heard all over, far and wide.
So fared he forth and gave his animal free rein
To lead him where it would in God the Father's name.
Meanwhile, three sit in *Leipzig*. Glum and taciturn,
They've long been overdue in Satan's hell to burn.
Wild *Ruge's* one of those around the table there,
His broad fists propping up a head that's full of care.
A valiant warrior, stout, seemingly hard to rattle;
But sharp as rapiers are his claws, well trained in battle.
He seems a philistine, beer-sodden, casual,
But deep inside his breast he bears the whole of Hell.
Laugh, *Ruge*, laugh! It's very nearly Judgment Day,
And then that mask you're wearing will be torn away!
The second eyes his glass with proud defiance—*Prutz*
The sinister, who's hatching out infernal plots.
Mere human feeling is a thing he never uses;
Emotions, thoughts and deeds with him are all Medusas.
Innocent, trustful hearts devoid of doubt and schism
His sparkling rhymes corrupt with seeds of Atheism.
Laugh, *Prutz*, oh, laugh! It's very nearly Judgment Day
And then the mask you wear, too, will be torn away.
Caressing his mustachios, the third and last
Is *Blücher-Wigand*; he's a scoundrel unsurpassed.
Thanks to his capital, the whole gang's prop is he,
Untiring publisher of every blasphemy.
O *Wigand* with the *Blücher* beard, laugh, laugh away!
You'll surely be the Devil's on that Judgment Day!
Fuming with rage they gaze into each other's eyes.
"Has all that money gone for nothing?" *Wigand* cries.
"Have I paid out so much, and done my very best,
To see the *Halle Annals*[a] totally suppressed?"
Growls *Arnold Ruge*: "Times are anything but good.
The Censor's always out to suck my paper's blood.
At least two-thirds of all my space he has to have,

[a] *Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst.—Ed.*

Yet still they want my paper dead and in its grave!"
Then *Prutz*: "Alas, six months have passed, and here we are,
And still the Censor hasn't passed a single par!
Things must ease up, or else I'll starve; I'll never make it,
Except by going back to love-songs—Devil take it!"
"What else am I to do?" says *Ruge* with a roar.
"I've got the *Muses' Almanack*,[a] and nothing more.
To Hell with Hegelising, then. I'll boost morale
With dreary novelettes and posies lyrical!"
"I'll get in touch with him at once," continues *Wigand*,
"And get a new four-decker novel out of *Mügge*.
Come to my heart, oh, come, O sweet *Belles-Lettres*, do!
The Censor cuts Hegelian sophistries, not you!
My wings shall shield all German bards that care to come.
Minstrels and Tavern Fiddlers, make yourselves at home!
Brothers, your hands! Our line is to be different.
We're loyalists from now. Long live the Government!"
The Devil walks straight in. "You wretched trash, for shame!"
He castigates the Free[164] ones with a tongue of flame.
"You think you're heroes, while your courage quite deserts you
As soon as you get banned, or when the Censor cuts you.
I ought to be ashamed. I let you take me in,
And never saw the Ass inside the Lion's skin.
Well, just you wait awhile. It's going to be a pleasure
To get you down in Hell and torture you at leisure.
But, no, you craven trash, you're nothing but small fry!
I'll chase you up to Heaven, up to the Lord on High!"
"Be reasonable!" *Wigand* is constrained to say.
"What, then, are we to do? Show us a better way!"
"You miserable scum!" cries Satan, most displeased.
"It's plain you cannot even see the wood for trees!
For if the ban on *Halle Annals* bothers you,
Just call them *German*,[b] and start publishing anew.
You leave the Censorship to me. The will to fight
Is what you need and things will then come out all right.
Who with the Devil makes a binding covenant,
Must not turn tail and flee from every miscreant.

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[a] *Deutscher Musenalmanach.—Ed.*
[b] *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst.—Ed.*

Courage is all you need. Now I must onwards press.
Rave on, as always, in the name of Godlessness!"
He speaks and disappears. And lo! all starry-eyed,
Comes *Brother Bag* and sees the Heavens open wide.
Him bears the she-ass, mouthpiece of the Almighty's Word;
She'll take him on his last ascent to meet his Lord.
He looks to Heav'n with God-intoxicated eyes
And says: "Blaspheming gang, I know your tricks and lies!
Thus saith the Lord your God: you are the Devil's brood,
And ever seek to slake your thirst with righteous blood.
Once more, then, through my servant be my summons known
That you should kneel subservient before my Throne.
Do penance, saith the Lord, abase yourselves and crawl,
Or down to feed the flames of Hell you'll surely fall.
Thus saith the Lord your God: you'll either get converted
Or else I promise you I'll have you all degutted.
For sweet, I'll serve this gang of evil name to you,
My faithful *Hengstenberg*, and *Bag*, my servant true.
Their pious flesh shall be a living grave for you.
Thus saith the Lord your God."
And therewith he withdrew.

## CANTO THE THIRD

What do I see? A frenzied host so glittering bright
With Blasphemy, the very sun has lost its light?
Who are they? See them, how they all come surging forth,
Foregathering from East, and South, and West, and North.
The scum of Germany, they meet in convocation
To whip their spirits up for still more evil action.
Already they have felt the Lord's hand moving o'er them,
Already they have guessed how Satan's clutch could claw them
Down to a dreadful doom. Knowing despair full well,
They've felt like letting Atheism go to Hell.
Then *Arnold*[a] summons all those of the Free persuasion
To meet at *Bockenheim* in Hellish congregation.
"Arise, you Free ones all! How can you sit so tight,
When the Romantics plunge the whole world into night?
Or when Reaction stirs and, cunning as of old,
Almost has Science in its deadly stranglehold?
*Bauer's* in peril. Of your thoughts and writings, most
Go straight up to the raving Censor and are lost.
Free brethren, hear my Manifesto, all of you,
Of course, provided that the Censor lets it through:
High time that we as diplomats discussed with weight
The Holy Alliance in congressional debate!
Do you see how the high Police determinedly
Abolish everywhere one little word—that's *free*?
And now the Lamb of God joins the *Gensdarmerie*,

[a] Arnold Ruge.—*Ed.*

And is about to sink to bestiality.
So onwards, then, Free ones; to *Bockenheim* we'll go;
Seeds of fresh action there united we shall sow!"
Scarce was this Manifesto broadcast far and wide,
When awful urges, evil cravings surge inside
Each brazen breast to leave forthwith for *Bockenheim.*
*Berlin* it is that sends the most devoid of shame.
Broad *Arnold* heads them as they brashly march along;
Behind him mills a lunatic and loathsome throng.
And all that yelling gang, that Atheistic mob,
Is much more wild than ever was the Jacobin Club.
That's *Köppen* you can see there with his glasses on.
If *Ruge* but allowed, he'd be a virtuous man.
But *Arnold's* raving fury has him so impressed:
He has a sword and wears it dangling from his waist;
It's like a demon's tail, a long and rusty thing,
And when he dances, see how bravely it can swing.
He's wearing epaulettes and brandishing about
A stick with which to beat the thirst for knowledge out
Of flaming youth. Next, *Maien*[a] comes along, the Free;
Familiar everywhere to everyone is he:
An Atheist born, the vilest love him well: Voltaire
Ever since birth has been his daily reading fare.
So nice, so soft, so small—*Maien,* you devil, you!
Those ruffians with you making all that hullabaloo,
They're not your nephews? Have you lured them in as well?
You'd take your family with you on your trip to Hell?
Right on the very left, that tall and long-legged stepper
Is *Oswald,*[b] coat of grey and trousers shade of pepper;
Pepper inside as well, *Oswald* the Montagnard;
A radical is he, dyed in the wool, and hard.
Day in, day out, he plays upon the guillotine a
Single solitary tune and that's a cavatina,
The same old devil-song; he bellows the refrain:
*Formez vos bataillons! Aux armes, citoyens!*[c]
Who raves beside him, with the muscles of a brewer?
It's old Bloodlust himself in person, *Edgar Bauer.*
His brown-complexioned face through bushy whiskers peers;
And he's as old in cunning as he's young in years.

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[a] Eduard Meyen.—*Ed.*
[b] Pseudonym of Frederick Engels.—*Ed.*
[c] Form your battalions! To arms, citizens! (From the *Marseillaise.*)—*Ed.*

Outside, a smart blue coat; inside he's black, lacks polish;
Outside he's dandified; inside he's sansculottish.
His shadow's with him, it's a wonder to behold it;
His evil shadow's there, and *Radge*[a] he has called it.
See *Stirner* too, the thoughtful moderation-hater;
Though still on beer, he'll soon be drinking blood like water.
And if the others shout a wild: *à bas les rois!*[b]
*Stirner* is sure to add: *à bas aussi les lois!*[c]
Next, baring greenish teeth, comes tripping on his way,
His hair unkempt and tousled, prematurely grey,
A soap-and-water-shy and blood-shy *Patriot*,[d]
So smooth and soft inside; outside a sansculotte.
Wild *Arnold* heads them, Czar of All the Atheists,
And high upon his baton's end he twirls and twists
Copies of *Halle Annals*. Next, there follow on
The crew that Satan's picked to gorge himself upon.
As soon as they arrive, in bursts the frantic *Bauer*,
Engulfed in smoke and steam and Hell-rain's deadly shower.
He raves, a lanky villain in a coat of green;
Behind the leering face Hell's offspring can be seen.
He hoists his flag aloft, and in an arc up high
The sparks of his rude Bible criticisms fly.
Who runs up next with wild impetuosity?
A swarthy chap of *Trier*, a marked monstrosity.[e]
He neither hops nor skips, but moves in leaps and bounds,
Raving aloud. As if to seize and then pull down
To Earth the spacious tent of Heaven up on high,
He opens wide his arms and reaches for the sky.
He shakes his wicked fist, raves with a frantic air,
As if ten thousand devils had him by the hair.
Next, from *Cologne*, a *Youngster*,[f] something of a swell,
Too bad for Heaven, too good to pass the gates of Hell.
He's half a sansculotte, and half an aristo,
A suave rich gentleman with pleats in his jabot.
The pleats inside his soul add up to even more.
His pocket lining's filled with demons by the score

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[a] Pseudonym of Edgar Bauer.— *Ed.*
[b] Down with kings! — *Ed.*
[c] Down with the laws as well! — *Ed.*
[d] Ludwig Buhl.— *Ed.*
[e] Karl Marx.— *Ed.*
[f] Georg Jung.— *Ed.*

With golden faces. Next, one who indeed disgusts,
The dawdling *Rtg*,[a] quite handy with his fists.
He has an evil habit: constantly he smokes
Hellish tobacco in an ell-long pipe which pokes
Out of his mouth, and which he never once removes
Except to give his utterance point when he reproves.
But who comes from the South as lonely as a cloud,
Disdaining sympathy, himself a one-man crowd,
A one-man host of Atheists fanatical,
A one-man treasure store of craft Satanical,
A one-man fount of wicked blasphemy and shame?
Help us, Saint John, it's *Feuerbach* of dreadful name!
He neither raves nor bounds, but hovers in mid-air,
An awful meteor girt by hellish vapours there.
In the one hand he holds outstretched the cup that shines,
And in the other one, the bread loaf that sustains.
He sits up to his navel in a sea-shell basin,
Trying to find a new church service for the brazen.
Guzzling, boozing, bathing, firmly he maintains,
Are all the truth the holy sacrament contains.
A storm of shouts and cheers succeeds the first *hurrah!*
And then he must be taken to a public bar.
At once, all hell breaks loose; the uproar is so loud
That nobody can gain the attention of the crowd.
They won't sit still; they heave, and push, and shove around;
The Evil Spirit keeps them whirling round and round.
Their loathing of inaction gives them all no peace;
And futile calls for quiet continue without cease.
Then *Köppen*, that most virtuous, order-loving chap,
Flies off into a rage. "Is this the savage steppe?
Have you forgotten in this wild barbaric throng
What was the purpose of our journey all along?
O *Arnold*, trusty bastion, speak, start the discussion.
Will you not show us how to find the best solution?"
*Oswald* and *Edgar* shout in roaring unison:
"Now that's enough of these disgraceful goings-on!"
Then silence fell. And *Arnold*, who, quite guiltlessly,
Had in the meantime been consuming beefsteaks three,
On the last mouthful seemed as if about to choke,

[a] Adolf Rutenberg.—*Ed.*

But managed in the end to get it down, and spoke:
"Oh, what a lovely vision's there in Unity: Free brethren, ever
Ready for battle and for death, obedient should the Idea command.
Reaction holds us by the hair, it lifts the stick with threatening hand,
But it can never tame us, Friends, if we stand firm as one together."
*Oswald* and *Edgar* cannot wait until he's done.
They both jump on the table, then they shriek as one:
"*Ruge,* we've had enough of all this talk from you!
What we want now is deeds, not words. We want some action!"
A frenzied *bravo!* is the ill-advised reaction;
Everyone keeps demanding: "Action, action, action!"
Then with a mocking laugh shouts *Arnold* in reply:
"Our actions are just words, and long they so shall be.
After Abstraction, Practice follows of itself."
Meanwhile, athirst for deeds, the wildly screaming pair
Have lifted crazy *Bruno* high on to a chair.
A crowd swarms round him and he's hoisted really high.
Aloft, he hovers like an eagle in the sky.
With frenzied burning passion are his eyes aglow,
And lowering black with fury is his furrowed brow.
Oh, how he screams and raves. But opposite, alack,
The swart *monstrosity* has climbed *Rtg*'s back.
Hear how he raves and screams. Just hear how both are raving:
"How long d'you think that words will satisfy our craving?"

*Bauer*: See you, O blind one,
See you the Pious,
How they draw nigh us?
*Monster*: Their pious corps
Grows more and more.
*Bauer:* *Bag*'s at his tricks,
Hoodwinking the public.
*Monster*: A pity the Lord hasn't noticed how dire
The need of the world for another Messiah.
*Bauer*: It's not one Lamb we've got to impede us;
We're faced with an actual flock of the creatures.
*Monster*: The Holy Ghost, we know,
Moves in a thousand forms below.

*Both*: We're not just plagued with the Trinity;
The Police and the Faith have joined up in a
Twinity.
*Monster*: When they are vigilant,
Should we be negligent?
*Bauer*: When they are arming,
Should we be yawning?
Voices are heard all round: "We're game for battle now!"
But *Ludwig Feuerbach* sparks off another row.
He roars: "Why should we waste our time with all this talk?
Who action seeks, let him get on and do the work.
The Free man helps himself, ay, he and he alone.
Whatever he achieves, he does all on his own!"
His glasses gleaming, *Köppen* jumps up with a bound,
His Jovian head commanding silence all around.
"Against united action, then, you take your stand?
But it alone stops matters getting out of hand;
The stream of Progress flows untroubled, undiverted,
And, best of all, the risk of bloodshed is averted!"
*Edgar* and *Oswald* shriek: "Confounded Girondist!
Out, feeble-minded dreamer; you're no Atheist!"
Then *Stirner*, dignified: "Who binds his will around?
Who would impose a law by shouting people down?
You tie his will and have the nerve to say you're free;
A lot you've done to break away from slavery!
Down with all rules and laws, say I!" This aberration
Has the whole Hellish congress in complete confusion.
The ceiling splits, and *Blücher-Wigand*'s seen aloft
Swooping into the hall on his own flying raft.
A paper dragon—Oh, Satanic arts!—he flies.
"What are you up to now?" he vigorously cries.
"See how I soar
On editions galore
Of the *German Yearbook*.[a]
I gummed them myself,
I bound them myself,
I, *Blücher*, just look!
If they can bear me through the air,
Need you despair?
Woe, I cry,
With Frankfurt nigh,

[a] *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst.—Ed.*

Isn't everything all right?
There is Peace and Union still,
And the Great All-Highest Will
For the high and for the highest,
For the low and for the lowest,
Is Conviction, Lodestar, Light.
Woe, I cry,
From Frankfurt nigh
Has an evil wind come blowing?
Shall the Free ones not withstand
The Union's[165] wind throughout the land?
Follow me and let's be going!
To *Leipzig*! There I've mounted lovely batteries
That all the Pious hosts together could not seize.
The house in which I Hegelised of old
Has latterly been turned into A Safe Stronghold.
The *Gutenberg* and *Leipzig* be our rendezvous.
The book-trade's centre shall be the State centre too."
"Yes, yes, to *Leipzig*!" cries on every side resound.
"Let that the centre be, our forces' rallying ground!"
They all depart, with *Wigand* flying in the lead,
But *Feuerbach* pursues a lonely course indeed.
But leave that show. I'm beckoned by a peaceful valley.
The Lord's own City calls me—*Halle* on the *Saale*.
O Town of bliss, still faithful to the Lord you are!
To beat the Devil's craft e'er brighter gleams your star.
*Ruge* poured out his pus on you to no avail;
Thanks to your loyalty, his schemes were doomed to fail.
He went off in a rage, nor has he since come back.
Town, thank the Lord who gave you triumph and good luck.
See all the Faithful, see the Chosen gathered round
To sing His praises with a sweet and pleasant sound.
Oh, what a fine assemblage! See that cobbler there
Whose feverish, skinny body spurs him into prayer.
The barman of the Temperance League is present too:
Pay him—he'll pour pure drinking water out for you.
God's peace shines in the moon-like face behind the bar.
Truly, with firm-held faith a person can go far!
That little woman there is bowed with sinfulness,
And yet her stiff old limbs are bathed in blessedness.
All in a soulful shriek she sings a holy lay,
And mortifies her shrunken body night and day.
Next, there is *Leo*, Lion of the Saale strand.

His strength of faith indeed delights the angel band.
In faith he hurled himself the *Hegelings*[166] upon,
In faith defended he the Altar and the Throne,
In faith did he improve, up-end, and set aright
Godless world history by Heaven's shining light.
Go to the little room, O Faithful, enter in,
And sing unto your God a gentle, gracious hymn.
Oh, hear the little ditty sounding forth, to rise
Towards the Throne of Grace like fumes of sacrifice:
"Lord, we are carrion of the beast,
A poxy stench, a raven's feast,
A knacker's pit of sin.
From the womb we're bad outright.
Crush us; it would serve us right
For all our wicked sin.
If Thou didst, then Thou hadst blessed us,
Thus to wrest us
From the cancers that infest us.
Thou lettest us ascend to Thee
Unto Thine Angels, fair to see,
And washest us of sin.
The Evil One Thou'st driven out
Who filled our hearts with fear and doubt.
Destroy and banish him.
Sizzling, frizzling in the horror
Of Hell-terror
Leave him spitted
For the wicked sins committed!"
And now the cobbler stands upon a chair to tell
In fearsome tones about the sulphur lake of Hell.
"Behold the dreadful gorge that spills its contents out,
Fire, pitch and sulphur over all the lands about.
See how it stews and brews, spews demons up of fire
To gobble up the world of Christendom entire.
Black seeds of Hell it scatters 'mid the race of men.
Great is the Lord thy God. The world is doomed. Amen."
"That's true enough!" shouts *Leo*. "Those demons are so rude,
They cover not their private parts and all go nude!
The Great Whore comes from Babylon with its pollution,
And that Great Whore is Reason's Goddess, Revolution!
*Bauer* is *Robespierre, Ruge*'s *Danton*; and worse,
*Feuerbach* is *Marat*. O God, send down Thy curse!

Ye Faithful, watch the times, for cometh soon the Day,
The Day of God the Father. Therefore, watch and pray!"
He speaks. But all stand thunderstruck and goggle-eyed—
It's *Brother Bag*: he sees the Heavens open wide.
His mount's the she-ass, mouthpiece of the Almighty's Word;
She'll take him on his last ascent to meet his Lord.
With trust in God and strength to Heav'n he turns his eyes,
And says: "O Pious band, your works I recognise.
Thus saith the Lord: my servant ye shall all obey
That I have picked to lead my host into the fray.
Obey our *Brother Bag*, obey him as you ought,
And Satan's craft and power he shall surely thwart.
Thus spake the Lord. I fell upon my knees and said:
But call me, Lord, I'll follow Thee where'er I'm led.
Then left I cheerly and the Lord's Word did begin
To spread, the Lord's good year, to all this world of sin.
Then in through many a wealthy castle gate I went
To visit prince, and queen, all folk of great descent.
But they, who ever thirst for worldly goods, and choose
To covet honours vain, received me with abuse.
They sat around the board in rich debauchery;
And cheek by jowl were lust of flesh and lust of eye.
I shook the dust from off my feet. The Lord then spake,
Stirring me in the depths of sleep till I should wake.
'Shall the rich man see Heav'n, however much he try,
Or shall the camel pass right through a needle's eye?
What hath been written? On the highways thou shalt find
The homeless wandering poor, the halt, the lame, the blind.
Bring all the maimed ones from the alleys home to sup;
Call those by fences, let your voice be lifted up.
They are the faithful ones, they are my army's core.
Collect, recruit them, multiply them more and more.'
Thus spake the Lord. And I, I come without delay
To you, the Faithful, for to do as He did say.
Obey the Lord your God. Soon will come morning's light,
When with the Devil we must fight the mighty fight.
The Free ones mobilise; *Leipzig*'s their destination,
And *Blücher-Wigand*'s house is their fortification.
They've piled up books and bales of paper by the score,
It's there they mean to dance the holy dance of war.
Stout hearts and steadfastness shall aid us in that hour,
When we go forth to storm the foul Blasphemers' tower.
Assemble, brethren. Be ye strong in love and hope.

Hold fast to Faith. I see up there the Heavens ope.
Faith is indeed the Alpha and the Omega,
In faith, thou'rt truly great, *Halle,* Hallelujah!
In faith the Maid conceived the Son that God begat,
In faith was Jonah from the alarmed whale's belly spat.
In faith the Lord did promulgate the Gospel's word,
In faith the Lord's voice in a donkey's mouth I heard.
In faith the blind one saw the light against all hope,
In faith do I look up and see the Heavens ope.
In faith do I cry out: *credo ut intelligam,*
In faith I cling unto the holy Cross's stem.
In faith are all my deeds, in faith is all my hope,
In faith do I look up and see the Heavens ope.
Thus saith the Lord: now let my servant *Leo* be
The doughty Captain of the Halle company.
Go, visit every town and city in the land,
Find soldiers and field surgeons there on every hand.
By night or day allow yourself no respite, ever,
Until the Faithful army has been brought together.
Thus saith the Lord thy God, my refuge and my hope!
Farewell, dear brethren, for I see the Heavens ope!"—

## CANTO THE FOURTH

What do I see! Saint *John,* illuminate my vision,
So that your poetry's power may lend me inspiration.
Whose holy eyes saw Angel *Michael* in the fight
With the great dragon, fill, O fill my soul with light!
What do I see! It's drawing nigh, the day of doom,
The battles' last that bears destruction in its womb.
I see the whole horizon bounded by a ring
Of cloud that slowly lifts, at first unhurrying,
Then swiftly, like the lion greedy for his prey,
Springs forward. All the hounds of Hell speed on their way,
Hissing through misty cloud. Their tails, ablaze with fire,
Whip all around and lash to shreds the very air.
In a wild witches' dance with greedy rage they spin,
Yelling with fury, mad to appease the wrath within.
What do I see! You mount Heav'n's heights, accursed race?
May you unpunished go along the Almighty's ways?
You wield the lightning, hold the thunder in your hand?
Ah, it's the desperate man of *Bonn* that leads your band!
But see, God's mercy ever watches from afar,
And when all ends, it shall be with a Gloria.
Consumed with rage, the forces of the Free draw near;
Soon, soon God's might shall turn their arrogance to fear.
They come, a seething mass. As *Wigand* sails along,
The others follow him, a roaring, snorting throng.
To *Leipzig* city he is leading one and all,
The *"Gutenberg"* he's chosen as his arsenal.
Many a bastion's piled up high with bulging bales,
Rampart and trench are dug for when the foe assails.

Four ravelins are stacked up high with *Bauer's* writings,
With guns galore to give protection to the curtains.
Many a text of Köppen's *Friedrich*[a] lies there,
Many a page of *Annals* from a long-past year.
*The Trumpet,*[b] *Feuerbach,* in heavy bundles bound,
Are stacked in serried rows to ring the fortress round.
And as *cheval de frise,* there's Ruge's *Novelist,*[c]
To mop the sweat up, there's *The Faded Pietist.*[d]
As last resort, there is a little nook of Hell—
The house, that's now become a mighty citadel.
They've walled the windows, barricaded up the door,
The attic has been made an ammunition store,
And when the Pious party moves to the attack,
From overhead the Free can give their skulls a crack.
Now, drawing nearer with a wild, exultant sound,
The Free disperse to man the bastions all around.
On, on from *Halle* march God's soldiers, one and all,
With *Jacob's* scaling ladder for the fortress wall.
Flag-like, the fiery pillar proudly goes before them,
And burning bushes light the darkling roadway for them.
Could I but paint the pious train in colours bright,
And richly bathe it round in beams of holy light!
Proud, wrathful *Leo* is the one who takes the lead.
Swinging along without constraint, he strides ahead,
Five volumes of world history[e] in his pious fists,
He's otherwise unarmed, it is in Faith he trusts
Where arrogance and self-assurance aren't enough.
The next line's leader is indeed of Godly stuff—
Nerr *Julius Sinck von Sinnes,*[f] as the Pious know him.
The dear man thinks to carry arms would be below him.
With presence pure and simple does he smite the Free,
And so the Faithful gather round him trustingly.
And sacred songs and prayer are their only arms,
Because when from afar the strains of heavenly psalms

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[a] C. F. Köppen, *Friedrich der Grosse und seine Widersacher.—Ed.*

[b] B. Bauer's anonymous book *Die Posaune des jüngsten Gerichts über Hegel den Atheisten und Antichristen.—Ed.*

[c] A. Ruge, *Der Novellist. Eine Geschichte in acht Dutzend Denkzetteln aus dem Taschenbuche des Helden.—Ed.*

[d] E. Meyen, *Heinrich Leo, der verhallerte Pietist.—Ed.*

[e] H. Leo, *Lehrbuch der Universalgeschichte.—Ed.*

[f] Julius Müller, author of *Die christliche Lehre von der Sünde (The Christian Teaching on Sin).—Ed.*

Resound, the Free forthwith take to their heels and run.
*Bonn* sends a host of stalwarts, champions, every one;
They're led by Brother *Nix*.[a] The *Swabians* now draw nigh;
*The Christian Courier*[b] is the banner that they fly.
Brave *Mallet* brings the faithful folk of *Bremen* in,
And *Hengstenberg* commands the Pious from *Berlin*.
And even you, the ones who ordered *Strauss* away
From *Zurich*, follow fearless *Hirzel* to the fray,
The priest of Pfäffikon.[c] They come from *Basel*, too.
*Krummacher*, man of God, from *Wuppertal* are you.
The troops form up in every spacious Leipzig square,
And sounds of exultation fill the distant air,
Strains of upswelling song to touch the heart's own strings.
Each asks his neighbour: Say, who can it be that sings?
Behold, astride his she-ass (all stand goggle-eyed)
Comes *Brother Bag*; he sees the Heavens open wide.
And this is what he sings: "God's sword and Gideon here!
Up, Brothers, and behold the Devil's earthworks there!
However terribly they yawn, those gates of Hell,
Onward and trust in God! Faith will acquit you well!"
Behold the she-ass up the bastions nimbly springing,
And, following after her, the Faithful ones all singing!
Oh, what a fierce attack! Despair, all ye Blasphemers!
Scream for your devil now, ye God-forsaken screamers!
Now *Brother Bag* flies up that mighty wall of Pride
That *Hengstenberg* may lead his pious troops inside.
But there within, the Devil orders the defence,
Banishes craven doubts and counsels with good sense.
See, *Blücher-Wigand* stands high on the ravelin,
Egged on by *Maien*. How they make their missiles spin!
There's *Stirner*; see him flinging bales of books entire,
While hordes of Pious warriors melt beneath his fire.
See *Arnold* on the wall: he hardly ever misses,
Hurling his *Yearbooks* down at all those pious faces.
High on the wall of books and in the leading row,
Mad *Bauer* wields *The Trumpet*, blow on deadly blow,
The *Patriot*[d] ensconced where no missile can fly,
Tosses his pamphlets backwards at the enemy,

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[a] Karl Immanuel Nitzsch.— *Ed.*
[b] *Der Christen-Bote. Ein kirchlich-religiöses Sonntagsblatt.*— *Ed.*
[c] Bernhard Hirzel.— *Ed.*
[d] Ludwig Buhl.— *Ed.*

While with his toad-spit furious *Köppen* stems the flood,
But most humanely takes good care to shed no blood.
The raving *Edgar* fights with brewer strength and valour,
While red with blood is *Oswald's* coat of pepper colour.
See the Cologne contingent. In the furious fray
*Rtg's* pipe's gone out; but he feels no dismay:
Swinging it by its long and supple tube right well, he
Wraps the water-bowl round many a pious belly.
Gold devils are the missiles that the *Youngster*[a] skims;
The *Monster*[b] joins the battle flexing all his limbs.
Yet on the Pious press, still more victorious;
Their Hallelujahs ringing still more glorious.
Up on the mound of books has *Hengstenberg* appeared.
He seizes *Blücher-Wigand* by his long blond beard.
Raging, he pulls it out and manages to chuck
*Wigand* full length into a horrid pool of muck.
*Edgar* is now hard pressed, and *Arnold* is beset.
*Köppen* has fled indoors; with him, the *Patriot.*
The arrogant wall of books is almost half torn down,
But still the frenzied *Bauer* stands his ground alone.
He hurls a bale of books at *Bag* to seal the doom
Of that most pious one and be a fitting tomb.
Herr *Sinck von Sinnes* staggers at a blow of his.
But *Halle's Leo* still defies Hell's wild abyss.
A Samson, he strains hard at that proud fortress wall.
It crashes down. See *Bauer,* even *Bauer,* fall!
Pinned helpless to the ground by his own bales he lies.
See the Believers set on him with joyous cries!
*Bag* struggles to his feet. With a triumphant cheer
He goes across to *Bauer,* grips him by the ear,
And says: "Ye Faithful, God fulfilleth all my hope!
The Lord my refuge is. I see the Heavens ope!
Leave *Bauer* in my hands. To battle, never fear!
While you defeat the others, I shall guard him here!"
They truss up *Bauer*; then, to hymns victorious,
They set their Jacob's ladder up against the house.
Now rocks the Gutenberg, now splits the fortress door,
Near empty is the attic ammunition store.
Now wrings the *Patriot* his hands in grief and woe,

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[a] Georg Jung.— *Ed.*
[b] Karl Marx.— *Ed.*

Now *Arnold's* ham is wounded by a flying blow.
*Maien* is bleeding from the mouth and nose as well.
Frightened, the Devil plunges down the abyss of Hell.
He plummets down into the depths with shrieks of horror.
Ha, how the wicked ones all huddle up in terror!
They plead, blaspheme, and threaten. Then, all trembling, he:
"Oh, shame, the Pious have made mincemeat of the Free!
Useless my jeers, my fetor pestilential.
Alas, they've beaten me with songs celestial!
*Bauer* is captive, *Wigand's* lost his beard withal,
And now they've stormed and occupied our book-bale wall!"
The depths of Hell resound with dreadful shrieks of fear;
Wild *Hegel's* agony is horrible to hear.
No sooner has the gang recovered from this news,
Than Hell's mad Knights break into bluster and abuse
In mutinous uproar. "You claim to be the Devil,
And let things come to this!" screams forth the frenzied *Hegel.*
"Where were your sulphur fumes, your blazing firebrands bright?
Scared monster, did a mere Amen put you to flight?
Too late we see you're much too old to keep the pace;
Women and children are the only ones you chase.
Up, for swift action helps, not weeping and despair.
Up, *Danton,* up, *Voltaire,* and you too, *Robespierre*!
Earth-creatures, you alone can end this infamy.
To Heaven with the Devil! *We* shall devils be!
The mythic scum was never any use at all.
A thousand years of flame won't fire the craven soul.
Brother *Marat,* arise! At last we've learned our need.
We, who were human once, must choose a man to lead.
The Devil was, and still remains, nought but a myth,
He is our foe like any true son of the Faith.
To victory, then!"
With crazed impetuosity
Straight out of Hell the blood-voracious Aesir flee.
Their leader, *Hegel,* swings two torches in the air,
Whirling a fiery flail, behind him comes *Voltaire.*
*Danton* is shouting with them, *Edelmann* is howling.
"Charge, charge, you scum of Hell!" *Napoleon* is bawling.
*Marat* holds in his hands two of Hell's hairy litter;
Depraved man-murderer, he's thirsting for the slaughter.

Whirling along with twisted mouth flies *Robespierre.*
See the crazed mob disgorged by Hell's abyss down there!
No sooner are they out, than all that desperate shower
Head for where *Brother Bag* is standing guard on *Bauer.*
*Bag* is much shaken. Tears stream from the donkey's eyes.
"O Lord, the end is near! Our time is come!" she cries.
*Marat* lets fly a shot, and *Bag,* all glassy-eyed,
Sinks to the ground. He sees the Heavens open wide.
*Hegel* embraces *crazy Bauer*: "Yes, 'tis done!
You've comprehended me! You are my own dear son!"
He frees him. Then the wicked ones with great delight:
"*Bauer's* our hero! He shall lead us to the fight!
The Devil is deposed. What we need is a man!"
And then with screams and yells they charge the pious band.
The tables are now turned. God's folk flee, sorely tried.
But *Bag,* as usual, sees the Heavens open wide.
He's borne aloft to Heaven by his virgin ass.
Oh, what a miracle the Lord hath brought to pass!
Behold *Elijah-Bag* aloft to Heaven sailing,
The plans of the Blasphemers gloriously foiling.
Behind, the shining armies of the Pious rise,
With songs of joy ascending to the very skies.
But, with triumphant shouts, Hell's evil offspring shoot
Straight up behind the Almighty's host in hot pursuit.
Now fear and horror overwhelm the pious troops,
As Hell's pack surges up with savage yells and whoops.
Meanwhile, the Devil has for, some time been struck dumb
By the rebellion which has carried every one
Of his best men away. Hell's taken by surprise.
All stand unmoving and regard with staring eyes
The exit through which Hegel's host has just dispersed.
Till from *his* foaming mouth the imprecations burst:
"Fool that I am—betrayed! I now see where it leads!
Their deed's more devilish than all my wretched deeds.
I led the Free astray, till they became too free,
And now they've gone and foully freed themselves from me!
Truly, it is past help, the lowly human breed,
Craving the most outrageous freedom in its greed.
If all these Free hold nothing sacred any more,
Is it my ruin, too, they're really aiming for?
Denying God, I only fight against myself.
Soon, as a myth, I too shall end up on the shelf.

To Heav'n! We'll seek the Lord up there with due
compliance;
United, we shall form a holy High Alliance!"
He soars aloft. And, kneeling at God's feet, begins:
"Lord, do not make me pay for all my wretched sins!
I join you in the fight!" God, generous, replies:
"For just this once we'll let your old trespasses be.
Go, wash your wicked sins off in Blasphemers' blood,
Return, and leave the rest to me, your gracious God!"
Joyous, he rushes off. The battle's almost lost,
For though assistance has gone to the pious host,
Oh, ignominy! — with the Faith it's nearly over.
The wicked follow up one triumph with another.
From star to star, insane with fury, *Bauer* springs,
And in his hand *The Trumpet* for a club he swings.
At him come charging all the four Evangelists,
But nothing daunts the boldest of the Atheists.
Though *Luke's* Bull levels angry horns and charges at him,
Though *Mark's* great Lion roars, there's nothing can affright
him.
He puts them all to flight. Wild *Hegel* in his ire
Scorches the angel pinions with a brand of fire.
Foul *Voltaire's* flail still blazes brightly like a torch,
While raving *Ruge* thumps the Elders of the Church.
Now see how *Bauer* plucks a star from off its course
And sends it shooting at the fleeing pious force.
The Devil's pole-axed by a *Trumpet* blow at last;
*Michael* himself cannot withstand its mighty blast.
Next, furious *Hegel* seizes Sirius and throws
It straight at *Hengstenberg*: white as a sheet he goes.
See how the angel host, with wings a-smouldering, flies
Up through the misty clouds with frightened, piteous cries.
The Lambkin braves the Monster with a Cross held high;
The latter balls his fist and shakes it threateningly.
Even the Virgin Mary leaves her holy place,
To deeds of derring-do she spurs the angelic race.
"Up, against *Bauer,* up against the Titan, go!
He tried to apprehend me, I would have you know!"
However much she pleads, however sweet her glances,
The army of the Free ones steadily advances.
And now towards the Almighty's holy realm they storm,
God's hosts are impotent against the oncoming swarm.
Into a star the pious ass bumps with her rider;

Head over heels she goes, with *Brother Bag* astride her.
*Bauer* at once swoops on him with a horrid shout,
The fatal *Trumpet* ready aimed to snuff him out.
*Ruge* grabs *Leo* of the Saale: with some force
He stuffs a page of *Annals* in between his jaws.—
But what's this floating down bathed in celestial light?
What's making *Bauer* shake from head to foot with fright?
It's just a little piece of parchment, strange to say.
What might be written on it by the heavenly ray?
It flutters down. At *Bauer's* feet it comes to rest.
Shaking, he stoops and picks it up with heaving breast.—
Why does the cold sweat on his brow spring so abundant?
What does he murmur, stunned? He murmurs this—
"Redundant!"
Hardly has Heaven's word from Hell's own mouth rung out,
Before "Redundant!" is the universal shout.
The Free are horror-struck, the Angels filled with glee,
The Free take flight, the Host pursues relentlessly.
The Free are driven down to Earth in full confusion,
That wicked folk shall all receive due retribution.

## [F. W. ANDREÄ AND THE *HIGH NOBILITY OF GERMANY*]

I will not fail to draw the attention of the Catholic nobly-born members of the knighthood to a poem which, though written by a commoner, is perhaps for this very reason the more worthy of being preserved as a precious pearl, as a due tribute of bourgeois humility.

In the year of grace eighteen hundred and forty-two a booklet appeared in Erfurt published by F. W. Otto: *Das Wissenswürdigste der Heraldik oder Wappenkunde* by F. W. Andreä, with a dedication which reads as follows: "Respectfully dedicated to the entire *high nobility* of Germany, by the publisher."

"The Aristocracy by Right are loftiest in the Land,
The Virtues of Their Forebears always ranked full high.
Hereditary Worth has waxed and multiplied,
In no way doth the Present yield before the Past.
Thus Reverence greets Them humbly everywhere They go,
On every State the richest blessings They bestow.
"A Coat of Arms conceals a Wealth of hidden Meaning,
How the sublimest Deeds were done in ancient Times;
How Sovereigns gave the Nobles all Their just Deserts
In War as well as in the palmy Days of Peace.
Thus, Coats of Arms as high as Royal Crowns are rated:
Only exalted Deeds are therewith consecrated.
"With all Humility and Deference deeply felt
For Glory thus resplendent down the Aeons of Time,
I dedicate this Monument of Reverence
To the most lofty Scions of Virtue-breeding stock.
Pray, of a great Intention take this feeble token;
It might yet tell you what lay in my heart unspoken."

Does the man not deserve to be knighted?

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## [BERLIN MISCELLANY]

*Berlin*, August 19. I am writing to you today to report that there is really nothing to report from here. Heaven knows, it is now the silly season or gherkin time, as they say here. Nothing is happening, absolutely nothing! The Union of the Historical Christ gives no more signs of life than the Union of the Free[167]; although officially it exists, no student really knows where it exists or who belongs to it. It is probably the same as with the famous torchlight procession six months ago for the philosopher in the Leipziger Strasse,[168] in which, too, no student would afterwards admit having taken part, and of which it was already said the day before that they were unfortunately mostly "philistines". The Commissions of the Estates have not yet materialised either, in spite of the *Leipziger Zeitung*[a] which, with its passion for unhatched Prussian eggs, conducts interminable debates on whatever is to be placed before the Commissions.[169] But we console ourselves with the wisdom of our King,[b] and leave the unhatched eggs in peace. He is said to have brought with him a trade treaty and a new cartel convention, and that will certainly not be unhatched eggs! Far from bothering about that, we — I mean we Berliners — envy the Rhinelanders the great enjoyment that will be theirs in a few weeks, when not only our King, but many other persons of high rank, including the worthy King Ludwig of Bavaria, the poet on the throne, author of *Walhallagenossen* and founder of Valhalla,[170] will attend the laying of the foundation stone of Cologne Cathe-

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[a] *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung.— Ed.*

[b] Frederick William IV.— *Ed.*

dral, which is to be completed as an ornament for the German people. The *Walhallagenossen* caused a lively sensation in local educated circles, and the general, competent judgment pronounces without qualification that King Ludwig has added a new laurel branch to his crown. Terse as Tacitus', strong and elementally forceful, the King's style can be confident of imitation and yet will only rarely be equalled.

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# CENTRALISATION AND FREEDOM[171]

At first sight it seems incomprehensible that in France a ministry like Guizot's could last so long, that indeed it could come to power at all. Confronted by a Chamber with full power to appoint and remove ministers, by a free and influential press, by the freest institutions in Europe, by a concentrated public opinion strongly opposed to him, Guizot, Minister *de l'étranger*, has withstood this for almost two years, persecuted the press, defied public opinion, led the Chamber, dissolved it, convoked a new one, compromised France's honour in the eyes of the great powers, and achieved in full measure the unpopularity which he has been courting. And the man who has done all this, who has robbed the French people of two years of their history, can boast of having such a strong party in the Chamber that only a forced coalition of the most directly opposed opinions can endanger him.

Guizot's Ministry is the period of full bloom of the July government, the triumph of Louis Philippe, and the bitterest humiliation for all those who had expected the July revolution[a] to bring the liberation of Europe. The principles of popular sovereignty, of a free press, of an independent jury, of parliamentary government, have practically been destroyed in France. Guizot's Ministry has set the crown on the reactionary tendencies which have succeeded in reasserting themselves in France, and has brought openly into view the impotence of French liberalism in the face of Europe's legitimate authorities.

The fact is well established. Reaction in the whole of Europe rejoices over it. The liberal party has continually to hear it said

[a] Of 1830.—*Ed.*

that France daily disavows her institutions, gives the lie to her history since 1789, elects Chambers the list of whose members is itself a lampoon on the July revolution, in short, that by every one of its actions the most liberal nation in Europe is betraying liberalism. And liberals, namely, the good-natured Germans, blush with shame and stammer a few uncouth excuses which they themselves do not take quite seriously, silently hope for a liberal Chamber, and secretly, quite stealthily, hope—for another July.

The fact can not only be admitted without prejudice to the principle of freedom, it must even be put in the forefront for the very sake of this principle. It has two causes; one of them has already often been put forward as an argument against the reactionaries by the bolder independent thinkers, namely, the half-heartedness and ambiguity of the French constitution, in which the principle of freedom is never explicitly formulated and implemented; the other is *centralisation.*

In spite of Cormenin's pamphlet,[a] in spite of his brilliant and eloquent defence of French centralisation, the latter remains the chief cause of the retrogression of French legislation. Cormenin really proves nothing at all, although almost everything in his book is correct and good. For he does not base centralisation on the general laws of reason, but excuses it on the grounds of the special nature of the French national spirit and of the course of history.

Those are grounds which we can accept for the time being, for we have first of all to furnish the proof that such centralisation is irrational and therefore the cause of the effects mentioned above.

Centralisation, in the extreme form in which it prevails in France at present, is the state overstepping its bounds, going beyond its essential nature. The state is bounded, on the one hand, by the individual and, on the other hand, by world history. Both of these are harmed by centralisation. By assuming a right which belongs only to history, the state destroys the freedom of the individual. History has eternally had and will always retain the right to dispose of the life, the happiness, the freedom of the individual, for it is the activity of mankind as a whole, it is the life of the species, and as such it is sovereign; no one can revolt against it, for it is absolute right. No one can complain against history, for whatever it allots one, one lives and shares in the development of mankind, which is more than any enjoyment. How ludicrous it would be if the subjects of a Nero or a Domitian were to complain that they had not been born in an age like ours,

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[a] Cormenin, *De la Centralisation.—Ed.*

when beheading or roasting alive does not happen so easily, or if the victims of medieval religious fanaticism were to reproach history because they did not live after the Reformation and under tolerant governments! As if without the suffering of some, the others could have made progress! Thus, the English workers, who at present have to suffer bitter hunger, have indeed the right to protest against Sir Robert Peel and the English constitution, but not against history, which is making them the standard-bearers and representatives of a new principle of right. The same thing does not hold good for the state. It is always a particular state and can never claim the right, which mankind as a whole naturally possesses in its activity and the development of history, to sacrifice the individual for the general.

Thus the centralised state, of course, commits an injustice when, as occurs in France and as Cormenin admits, it sacrifices the provinces to the centre and thus introduces an oligarchy, an aristocracy of locality which is no less unjust and irrational than the aristocracy of nobility and of money. Freedom is essentially conditioned by equality, and despite all *égalité devant la loi*, the difference between Parisians and provincials, as far as education, participation in popular sovereignty, and true, moral enjoyment of life are concerned, is nevertheless more than enough to obstruct the French institutions in their natural development towards complete freedom.

The history of centralisation in France, as everywhere else, goes parallel to that of absolutism. Louis XI was the founder of both; the Huguenot wars were the last significant attempt of the provinces to revolt against the hegemony of Paris, and from then on the supremacy of the capital over France has been generally recognised.[172] For as soon as centralisation of the state takes place in earnest, there is bound to be local centralisation, the hegemony of the centre. As long as absolutism lasted only Paris profited by it, the provinces had to put up with the costs of the state and His Majesty's arbitrariness. All culture, all *esprit*, all science from the whole of France was concentrated in Paris, existed for Paris; the press operated only in and for Paris; the money of the provinces, which the court drew towards itself, was squandered in and for Paris. This gave rise to that great disproportion in culture between Paris and the rest of the country which, with the fall of absolutism, developed in a form extremely disadvantageous for France. Centralisation alone made the revolution possible, in the way in which it eventually happened; but centralisation also had made the gulf between Paris and the rest of the country so great that Paris

felt little concern for the welfare of the provinces as long as it itself was not affected by the general oppression. The estates of the realm,[173] the representation of the oppressed *country*, not the city of Paris, began the work of revolution; only when the problems became matters of principle and the interests of the capital became involved did the latter take the initiative and dominate the course of events. But as a result the participation of the country slackened, and the country, and the representatives elected by it gave Napoleon by their apathy the opportunity to raise himself gradually to the imperial throne. Under the Restoration, when political parties developed, the same struggle between the country and the capital became evident; Paris soon achieved greater clarity of purpose and decided against the Bourbons and kingship by the grace of God; the country, with its lesser degree of education, put few liberals into the arena; it was largely apathetic and therefore favoured the existing regime or even fanatically supported the *ancien régime*. Hence the July revolution was made by Paris alone; the great mass of the indifferent were too indolent to rise against the capital and its new principle; the most uneducated regions of the country remained loyal to the Bourbons, but could do nothing to counter centralisation. Since then, however, almost every Chamber has allowed itself to be robbed of the gains of the July revolution one after another, and centralisation, besides other causes, was also responsible for this. For all parts of the country send their deputies to the Chambers and, in spite of controlled elections and bribery, each constituency demonstrates by its choice the degree of its political education. He who allows himself to be bribed and dictated to is certainly not himself free and resolute; hence he acts quite rightly when, by electing a ministerial deputy, he submits to the tutelage that falls to his lot. The contradiction between the July revolution and the Chambers of 1842 is the contradiction between the capital and the country. Through Paris, France can indeed make revolutions and create free institutions at a single stroke, but she cannot keep them. Anyone who is unable to understand the 1842 Chambers shows that he has confused Frenchmen and Parisians, that he has not realised the contradiction of centralisation.

Let us not be unjust! The contradiction from which centralisation suffers is undeniable; but let us also allow it the historical and rational right that is its due! Centralisation is—and this is its justification—the essence, the vital nerve, of the state. Every state must necessarily strive for centralisation; every state is centralised, from the absolute monarchy to the republic; America just as much

as Russia. No state can do without centralisation, the federal state no more than the developed central state; as long as states exist, each state will have a centre, each citizen will perform his civic functions only by virtue of centralisation. Under this centralisation, communal administration, everything that affects individual citizens or corporations, can quite well be left free, and even must be left free, since *because* centralisation is concentrated in a single centre, because everything here forms a single unity, its activity must necessarily be general, its competence and powers embracing everything that is of *general* validity, but leaving free everything that concerns only this or that particular individual. From this follows the right of the central power of the state to promulgate laws, to control the administration, to appoint state officials, etc.; from this follows at the same time the principle that judicial power must by no means be connected with the centre but must be in the hands of the people—courts of law with juries—and that, as already said, communal affairs, etc., do not come within the competence of the centre, and so on.

The central nature of the state does not by the way stipulate that some one person must be the central point, as in an absolute monarchy, but only that an individual occupies the central position, as in a republic the president may well do. For it should not be forgotten that the main thing is not the person in the centre, but the centre itself.

To return to our beginning. Centralisation is the principle underlying the state, yet centralisation necessarily compels the state to reach out beyond itself, to make itself—the particular—into something universal, ultimate and supreme, and to claim the authority and position that belongs only to history. The state is not, as it is held to be, the realisation of *absolute* freedom—otherwise the above dialectic of the state concept would be invalid—but merely the realisation of objective freedom. True *subjective* freedom, which has equal rights with absolute freedom, calls for a different form of realisation than the state.

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# FREDERICK WILLIAM IV, KING OF PRUSSIA[174]

Among the European sovereigns whose personality attracts attention also outside their own country there are four of special interest: *Nicholas* of Russia, because of the directness and unconcealed frankness with which he strives towards despotism; *Louis Philippe*, who can be regarded as the Machiavelli of our time; *Victoria* of England, the perfect model of a constitutional queen; and *Frederick William* IV, whose frame of mind, which has been unmistakably and clearly revealed during the two years of his reign, is to be the subject of closer examination here.

What we have to say is not dictated by the hatred and desire for revenge of a party slighted and abhorred by him, and oppressed and ill-treated by his officials, nor by the bitter resentment engendered by the censorship, which uses freedom of the press to spread scandalous tales and Berlin city gossip. *Der deutsche Bote* is occupied with other matters. But in view of the dishonourable and base flattery which the newspapers daily lavish on the German sovereigns and peoples, it is absolutely essential that the rulers should for once be seen from a different point of view, and their actions and frame of mind judged as impartially as we judge those of any other person.

In the last years of the previous king,[a] reaction in the state administration began to join forces with clerical reaction. Owing to the development of opposition to absolute freedom, the orthodox state, like the orthodox church, found itself compelled to return to its initial premises and assert the Christian principle with all its

[a] Frederick William III.— *Ed.*

consequences. Thus, Protestant orthodoxy reverted to Catholicism, a phase which finds its most consistent and worthy representatives in *Leo* and *Krummacher*, and the Protestant state to the consistent Christian-feudal monarchy in the form in which *Frederick William IV* seeks to establish it.

*Frederick William IV* is altogether a product of his time, a figure wholly and solely to be explained by the development of free thought and its struggle against Christianity. He represents the extreme consequence of the Prussian principle, which is seen in him in its latest garb but at the same time in its complete impotence in the face of free self-consciousness. With him the ideological development of the former Prussia has come to an end; a new version of it is not possible, and if Frederick William succeeds in carrying through his system in practice, Prussia must either adopt an entirely new principle—and this can only be the principle of free thought—or it must collapse, if it lacks the strength for such progress.

The state which Frederick William IV is striving to establish is, according to his own words, the Christian state. The form which Christianity assumes when it wishes to appear scientific is theology. The essence of theology, especially in our day, is the reconciliation and glossing over of absolute opposites. Even the most consistent Christian cannot fully emancipate himself from the circumstances of our time; the latter compels him to introduce modifications into Christianity. Christianity contains premises which, if developed, could lead to atheism. Hence arises that form of theology which has found its critic in Bruno Bauer and which with its inherent falsehood and hypocrisy permeates our whole life. In the sphere of the state, this theology has its counterpart in the present system of administration in Prussia. That Frederick William IV has a system is undeniable. It is a fully developed system of romanticism which is the necessary consequence of his point of view; for if one wants to organise a state from this point of view, one must have something more than a few scrappy, disconnected ideas at one's disposal. Hence, as a preliminary, the theological nature of this system would have to be elaborated.

By undertaking to put into effect the principle of legitimacy with all its consequences, the Prussian King not only allies himself with the historical school of law, but develops it even further, almost as far as Haller's "restoration".[a] First of all, in order to realise the Christian state, he has to imbue the rationalist, bu-

[a] A reference to the book: K. Haller, *Restauration der Staatswissenschaft....*—*Ed.*

reaucratic state, which has become almost heathen, with Christian ideas, give the cult a higher status, and seek to promote participation in it. Nor has he neglected to do so. Here we find the measures to increase church attendance in general and by officials in particular, stricter observance of Sunday, the planned tightening of the laws on divorce, the purging of the theological faculties which has already partially begun, the priority given at theology examinations to firm belief even if coupled with poor knowledge, the appointment primarily of believers to many official positions, and many other generally known facts. They may serve as proof of how intensely Frederick William IV is striving to re-introduce Christianity directly into the state, and to institute state legislation on the basis of the precepts of biblical morality. But these are only the first, most immediate measures. The system of the Christian state cannot rest content with this. The next step is the separation of the church from the state, a step that goes beyond the Protestant state. In the latter the King is *summus episcopus*[a] and combines in his person supreme ecclesiastical and state power; the final aim of this form of state is the fusion of state and church, as Hegel expressed it. But just as the whole of Protestantism is a concession to secularity, so also is the episcopate of the sovereign. It is a confirmation and justification of the papal primate in that it recognises the need for a visible supreme head of the church; on the other hand, however, it declares the earthly, secular power, state power, to be absolutely supreme and subordinates ecclesiastical power to it. It is not an equation of the secular and the spiritual, but the subordination of the spiritual to the secular. For the sovereign was a sovereign before he became *summus episcopus*, and remains primarily the sovereign afterwards as well, without ever being invested with a spiritual character. The other aspect of the matter, of course, is that the sovereign now combines all power, earthly and heavenly, in his own person and, as an earthly God, is the consummation of the religious state.

Since, however, such subordination is contrary to the Christian spirit, it is absolutely necessary for a state that claims to be Christian to restore to the church its independence of the state. This reversion to Catholicism is now quite impossible; the absolute emancipation of the church is equally impossible to carry out without undermining the fundamental basis of the state; hence it is necessary to resort to an intermediate system. That is precisely

[a] Head of the Evangelical Church.— *Ed.*

what Frederick William IV has already done in relation to the Catholic Church. As regards the Protestant Church, here also obvious facts reveal his views on this matter; in particular, one should mention the abolition of compulsory union and the freeing of the Old Lutherans from the oppression they had to suffer.[175] In the Protestant denomination a very special situation has now arisen. It has no visible supreme head, and in general no unity; it is divided into numerous sects, and therefore the Protestant state cannot give it freedom in any other way than by regarding the various sects as corporations, and thus affording them absolute freedom for their internal affairs. Nevertheless, the sovereign does not relinquish his episcopate, but reserves for himself the right of confirmation and sovereignty in general, whereas, on the other hand, he recognises Christianity as a power over himself and consequently must also yield to the church. Thus, not only do the contradictions in which the Protestant state develops remain in force, despite all apparent resolution of them, but there also arises an intermixture with the principles of the Catholic state, which is bound to lead to an astonishing confusion and lack of principle. And that is not theological.

By the action taken against the Archbishop of Cologne,[a] the Protestant state declared, through Altenstein and Frederick William III, that a devoted Catholic cannot be a useful citizen.[176] This thesis, confirmed by the whole history of the Middle Ages, is valid not only for the Protestant state, but for any state at all. A person who makes his whole being, his whole life, a preparation for heaven cannot have the interest in earthly affairs which the state demands from its citizens. The state claims to be everything to its citizens; it does not recognise any authority over itself and, in general, presents itself as an absolute power. But the Catholic recognises God and his institution, the church, as something absolute and can therefore never adopt the standpoint of the state without inner reservation. This contradiction cannot be resolved. Even the Catholic state must, in the opinion of the Catholics, subordinate itself to the church, otherwise the Catholic will disassociate himself from it; how much more, therefore, will he be at variance with the non-Catholic state? In this respect, the action taken by the previous government was perfectly consistent and well founded; the state can only allow the freedom of the Catholic denomination to be undiminished so long as the latter obeys the

[a] Clemens August Freiherr von Droste-Vischering.— *Ed.*

existing laws.—This state of affairs could not satisfy the Christian King. But what was to be done? The Protestant state could not lag behind the Catholic Hohenstaufens, and in view of the height of consciousness which the state and church had attained, a definite solution was possible only by the subordination of one or the other, a subordination which for the submitting side would be tantamount to self-destruction. The problem had become one of principle, and in the face of principles the isolated case as such had to take second place. What did Frederick William IV do now? In true theological fashion, he ignored the impertinent, inconvenient principles, concentrated exclusively on the actual case in question, which divorced from principles became completely confused, and tried to dispose of it by means of a compromise. The curia stood firm, and therefore it was the state that was defeated. This is what the renowned glorious solution of the Cologne discord amounts to, reduced to its true content.

These same only superficially concealed contradictions which Frederick William IV evoked in the attitude of the state to the church, he tried to arouse also in the internal relations of the state. Here he could rely on the already existing theories of the historical school of law, and so he had a fairly easy task. The course of history had made the principle of absolute monarchy dominant in Germany, destroyed the rights of the old feudal estates, and elevated the King into a divinity in the state. Moreover, in the period between 1807 and 1812, the vestiges of the Middle Ages were resolutely attacked and for the most part swept away. And no matter how much the old was later restored, the legislation of that time and the Prussian Law drawn up under the influence of the Enlightenment remained the basis of Prussian legislation. Such a state of things was bound to be intolerable. Therefore Frederick William IV seized on all vestiges of the Middle Ages wherever they were to be found. The nobility with the right of primogeniture was shown special favour and their ranks strengthened by the investiture of new members on condition that they established the right of primogeniture. The burghers, as distinct from the nobility and peasants, were regarded and treated as a special social estate representing trade and industry. Separation of the corporations, the isolation of individual crafts and their approximation to the guild system were encouraged, etc. In general, from the outset, all the King's speeches and actions showed his special predilection for the system of corporations, and it is precisely this that is the best indication of his medieval standpoint. This coexistence of privileged associations,

which in their internal affairs can act with a certain freedom and independence, each of them being closely knit by similar interests, but which fight among themselves and try to outdo one another—this disintegration of the state forces to the extent of the complete collapse of the state, typical of the German Empire, is one of the most significant features of the Middle Ages. It goes without saying, however, that Frederick William IV does not intend to lead the Christian state to this pass. It is true that he believes himself called upon to restore the truly Christian state, but actually he wants only the theological appearance of the same, the brilliance and splendour of the Christian state but not its misery, oppression, disorder and self-destruction, in short, he wants a *juste-milieu* Middle Ages, just as a person like Leo wants from Catholicism only the resplendent cult, the church discipline, etc., but not the whole of Catholicism hook, line and sinker. Hence Frederick William is also not absolutely illiberal and despotic in his endeavours—God forbid—he wants to allow his Prussians all possible freedoms, but actually only in the form of unfreedom, monopoly, and privilege. He is not an out-and-out enemy of a free press, he will grant it, but again as a monopoly primarily of the learned professions. He does not wish to abolish representation or refuse it, he merely objects to representation of the citizen as such; he is aiming at representation of the *social estates* as already partially carried out in the Prussian provincial diets.[177] In short, he does not recognise any universal, civic, or human rights, he admits only corporate rights, monopolies, privileges. He will bestow a multitude of these, as many as he can without his absolute power being restricted by positive legal provisions. Perhaps he will go even further. It is possible that already now, despite the Königsberg and Breslau assurances,[178] he has the secret intention—when he has carried his theological policy far enough—to crown his labours by inaugurating a medieval constitution based on the social estates of the realm, and thereby bind the hands of his successors, who may possibly have other views. That would be consistent, but whether his theological standpoint would permit it remains to be seen.

We have seen how vacillating and unfounded, how inconsistent this system is already in itself; its introduction in practice must inevitably give rise to new vacillations and inconsistencies. The cold Prussian bureaucratic state, the system of control, the strident state machine, do not want to know anything about splendid, shining, trustful romanticism. The nation as a whole is still at too low a level of political development to be able to see through the

system of the Christian King. Nevertheless, hatred of the privileges of the nobility, and of the claims of the clergy of all denominations, is too deep-rooted for Frederick William not to meet with failure here if he acts quite openly. Hence the cautious system of taking soundings that he has hitherto practised, by which he first explored public opinion and then always left himself sufficient time to withdraw any too obnoxious measure. Hence also the method of putting his ministers into the forefront and disavowing them if they acted too forcefully. The remarkable thing is that a Prussian minister should tolerate this and not offer his resignation. It has already happened to Rochow, and it will shortly be Herr Eichhorn's turn, although quite recently the King awarded him a title of honour and applauded his actions. Without such theological devices, Frederick William IV would long ago have lost the affection of the people, which he has managed to retain so far only because of his frank, jovial nature, his great kindness and affability, and his unrestrained wit, which is said not to spare even crowned heads. Moreover, he takes great care not to flaunt the obnoxious or even unavoidably bad aspects of his system; on the contrary, he speaks of it as though it were nothing but splendour, glory and freedom, and he lets himself go only on topics where his system gives the appearance of being more liberal than the existing Prussian system of tutelage; where, however, he would appear illiberal, he wisely restrains himself. Furthermore, while always applying to ordinary constitutionalism such flattering epithets as superficial and vulgar he has nevertheless mastered its terminology and uses it very skilfully in his speeches—should one say to express his ideas or conceal them? That is exactly how the modern theologians of compromise behave, who are likewise fond of using political terminology, imagining that by so doing they are adapting themselves to the demands of the time. Bruno Bauer bluntly calls this hypocrisy.

As for the financial administration under Frederick William IV, he has not been able to keep to the kind of civil list which his father established for himself, who laid down *by law* that $2^1/_2$ million talers annually should be allocated to the King and his household out of the revenue from the domains, and that the remainder, together with other revenues, should be used for state requirements. Even if the King's private income is taken into account it can be reckoned that he spends more than $2^1/_2$ million—yet this sum is also supposed to cover the maintenance of the other princes. In addition, Bülow-Cummerow has proved that the so-called financial accounting of the Prussian state is

absolutely illusory.[a] In general, it remains a complete mystery how the state revenues are administered. The much-talked-of reduction of taxes hardly deserves mention; it could have been carried out long ago under the previous King had he not feared that he would be compelled to raise them again.

I think I have now said enough about Frederick William IV. In view of his undoubtedly kind-hearted nature, it stands to reason that in matters not related to his theory, he honestly does what public opinion demands and what is really good. The question still remains whether he will ever be able to put his system into effect. To this, fortunately, the reply can only be in the negative. Since last year, since the time when allegedly greater freedom was accorded to the press, which at the present moment has again become the most unfree, the Prussian people has achieved an advance which is out of all proportion to the insignificance of that measure. The oppression of the censorship in Prussia shackles such an extraordinary mass of forces that the smallest relief evokes an incomparably powerful reaction on their part. Prussian public opinion is centring more and more round two questions: representative government and, especially, freedom of the press. The latter, whatever the attitude of the King, will be wrung from him as a preliminary, and once this is achieved it must be followed within a year by a constitution. But should a representative system be established, it is quite impossible to foresee what course Prussia will then take. One of the first consequences will be the annulment of the alliance with Russia, if the King has not already been compelled by then to abandon this consequence of his principle. However, there is much more that could follow, and Prussia's present situation closely resembles that of France before ... but I refrain from any premature conclusions.

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[a] Bülow-Cummerow, *Preussen, seine Verfassung, seine Verwaltung, sein Verhältnis zu Deutschland.*— *Ed.*

# THE ENGLISH VIEW OF THE INTERNAL CRISES[179]

*London,* November 29. If one engages for a time in a quiet study of English conditions, if one comes to understand clearly the weak foundation on which the entire artificial edifice of England's social and political well-being rests, and then suddenly finds oneself amidst the hustle and bustle of English life, one is astonished at the remarkable calm and confidence with which everyone here looks to the future. The ruling classes, whether middle class or aristocracy, whether Whigs or Tories, have now ruled the country for so long that the emergence of any other party seems to them an impossibility. No matter how much one may point out to them their sins, their inconsistency, their vacillating policy, their blindness and obduracy, and the precarious state of the country which is the outcome of their principles, they remain unshaken in their assurance and confident in their ability to lead the country to a better position. And if a revolution in England is impossible, as they at least assert, they have indeed little to fear for their rule. If Chartism has the patience to wait until it has won a majority in the House of Commons, it will have to go on for many a year to come holding meetings and demanding the six points of the People's Charter[180]; the middle class will never renounce its occupation of the House of Commons by agreeing to universal suffrage, since it would immediately be outvoted by the huge number of the unpropertied as the inevitable consequence of giving way on this point. Therefore Chartism has not yet been able to gain any hold among educated people in England and will remain unable to do so for some time yet. When people here speak of Chartists and radicals, they almost always have in mind the lower strata of

society, the mass of proletarians, and it is true that the party's few educated spokesmen are lost among the masses.

Moreover, irrespective of political interests, the middle class can only be Whig or Tory, never Chartist. Its principle is the preservation of the *status quo*; in England's present condition, "legal progress" and universal suffrage would inevitably result in a revolution. It is therefore quite natural that the practical Englishman, for whom politics is a matter of arithmetic or even a commercial affair, pays no attention at all to the power of Chartism, which is quietly growing to formidable proportions, since it cannot be expressed in numbers, except perhaps in such as, in relation to the government and Parliament, would be noughts *after* the decimal point. But there are things which are beyond numerical calculation, and it is here that the super-cleverness of English Whiggery and Toryism will suffer a debacle, when the time comes.

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# THE INTERNAL CRISES

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 343, December 9, 1842]

*London,* November 30. Is a revolution in England possible or even probable? This is the question on which the future of England depends. Put it to an Englishman and he will give you a thousand excellent reasons to prove that there can be no question at all of a revolution. He will tell you that at the moment certainly England is in a critical situation, but thanks to her wealth, her industry and her institutions, she has the ways and means to extricate herself without violent upheavals, that her constitution is sufficiently flexible to withstand the heaviest blows caused by the struggle over principles and can, without danger to its foundations, submit to all the changes forced on it by circumstances. He will tell you that even the lowest class of the nation is well aware that it only stands to lose by a revolution, since every disturbance of the public order can only result in a slow-down in business and hence general unemployment and starvation. In short, he will offer you so many clear and convincing reasons that finally you will believe things are really not so very bad in England, and that people on the Continent are indulging in all kinds of fantasies about the situation of this state, which will burst like soap-bubbles in face of obvious reality and a closer acquaintance with the facts. And this is the only possible opinion if one adopts the national English standpoint of the most immediate practice, of material interests, i. e., if one ignores the motivating idea, forgets the basis because of the surface appearance, and fails to see the wood for the trees. There is one thing that is self-evident in Germany, but which the obstinate Briton cannot be made to understand, namely, that the so-called material interests can never operate in history as

independent, guiding aims, but always, consciously or unconsciously, serve a principle which controls the threads of historical progress. It is therefore impossible that a state like England, which by virtue of its political exclusiveness and self-sufficiency has finally come to lag some centuries behind the Continent, a state which sees only arbitrary rule in freedom and is up to the neck in the Middle Ages, that such a state should not eventually come into conflict with the intellectual progress that has been made in the meantime. Or is that not the picture of the political situation in England? Is there any other country in the world where feudalism retains such enduring power and where it remains immune from attack not only in actual fact, but also in public opinion? Is the much-vaunted English freedom anything but the purely formal right to act or not to act, as one sees fit, within the existing legal limits? And what laws they are! A chaos of confused, mutually contradictory regulations, which have reduced jurisprudence to pure sophistry, which are never observed by courts of law since they are not in accord with our times; regulations which allow an honest man to be branded as a criminal for the most innocent behaviour, as long as public opinion and its sense of justice sanctioned it. Is not the House of Commons a corporation alien to the people, elected by means of wholesale bribery? Does not Parliament continually trample underfoot the will of the people? Has public opinion on general questions the slightest influence on the government? Is not its power restricted merely to isolated cases, to control over the courts of law and administration? These are all things which even the most obdurate Englishman cannot totally deny, and can such a state of things persist?

But let us leave aside questions of principle. In England, at any rate among the parties which are now contending for power, among the Whigs and Tories, people know nothing of struggles over principles and are concerned only with conflicts of material interests. It is only fair, therefore, to do justice to this aspect as well. England is by nature a poor country which, apart from her geographical position, her iron and coal mines and some lush pasture-land, has no fertility or other natural riches. She is, therefore, entirely dependent on trade, shipping and industry, and through them she has succeeded in rising to her present heights. By the very nature of things, however, a country which has adopted this course can remain at the heights it has reached only by constantly increasing industrial output; any halt here would be a step backward.

Further, a natural consequence of the premises of the industrial state is that, in order to protect the source of its wealth, it has to keep out the industrial products of other countries by means of prohibitive import duties. But since the home industry raises the prices of its products in step with the import duties on foreign products, this makes it necessary also to increase import duties constantly, in order that foreign competition shall continue to be eliminated, in accordance with the accepted principle. Hence the result would be a two-sided process going on to infinity, and this alone reveals the contradiction inherent in the concept of the industrial state. But we do not need these philosophical categories to show the contradictions in which England is enmeshed. Other people besides the English industrialists have something to say on the question of the two kinds of increase — production and import duties — that we have just considered. In the first place, there are the foreign countries, which have their own industry and do not need to turn themselves into an outlet for English products; and then there are the English consumers, who refuse to reconcile themselves to this endless increase in import duties. That is precisely how matters stand as regards the development of the industrial state in England. Foreign countries do not want English products since they themselves produce what they need, while English consumers unanimously demand the abolition of the protective tariffs. From the above, it is clear that England is caught in a twofold dilemma which the industrial state as such is incapable of solving; this is also confirmed by direct observation of the existing state of affairs.

First of all, on the question of import duties, it is admitted even in England that the lower grades of almost all types of goods are produced better and more cheaply by German and French factories; the same holds good for numerous other commodities where the English lag behind the Continent. If the system of protective tariffs were abolished, England would immediately be flooded with them, and English industry would thereby be dealt a fatal blow. On the other hand, the export of machinery from England is freely permitted at present, and since England so far has no rivals in the manufacture of machinery, the Continent, with the help of English machines, is becoming increasingly capable of competing against England. Further, the system of protective tariffs has undermined England's state revenue, and for this reason alone the tariffs must be abolished. Is there any way out of this situation for the industrial state?

[*Rheinische Zeitung* No. 344, December 10, 1842]

As regards the market for English products, Germany and France have stated sufficiently clearly that they are no longer ready to sacrifice their own industry to please England. German industry especially has in any case made such progress that it has nothing to fear from English industry. The continental market is lost for England. Only America and her own colonies remain for her, and only in the latter is she safeguarded against foreign competition by her navigation laws.[181] But the colonies are far from being large enough to consume all the products of England's immense industry, while everywhere else English industry is being increasingly ousted by the German and French. The blame for this, of course, does not lie with English industry, but with the system of protective tariffs, which has made the prices of all prime necessities, and with them wages, disproportionately high. But these wages also make the prices of English products extremely high compared with those of continental industry. Thus, England cannot escape the necessity of restricting her industry. But this is as little realisable as the transition from the system of protective tariffs to free trade. For although industry makes a country rich, it also creates a class of unpropertied, absolutely poor people, a class which lives from hand to mouth, which multiplies rapidly, and which cannot afterwards be abolished, because it can never acquire stable possession of property. And a third, almost a half, of all English people belong to this class. The slightest stagnation in trade deprives a considerable part of this class of their bread, a large-scale trade crisis leaves the whole class without bread. When such a situation occurs, what is there left for these people to do but to revolt? By its numbers, this class has become the most powerful in England, and woe betide the wealthy Englishmen when it becomes conscious of this fact.

So far it is not conscious of the fact. The English proletarian is only just becoming aware of his power, and the fruits of this awareness were the disturbances of last summer.[182] The nature of these disturbances was quite misunderstood on the Continent. At any rate, people wondered whether the matter might not take a serious turn. But there was no question of that for anyone who saw the events on the spot. In the first place, the whole thing was based on an illusion; because a few factory owners wanted to reduce wages, all the workers in the cotton, coal and iron areas thought that their position was endangered, which was not the case at all. Moreover, the whole affair was unprepared, unorgan-

ised and without leadership. The strikers had no definite aim, still less were they united on the nature and method of the action to be taken. Hence, at the slightest resistance on the part of the authorities they became irresolute and unable to overcome their respect for the law. When the Chartists took over the leadership of the movement and proclaimed the People's Charter[a] to the assembled crowds, it was already too late. The only guiding idea vaguely present in the minds of the workers, and of the Chartists as well, with whom it had, in effect, originated, was that of revolution by legal means—in itself a contradiction, a practical impossibility—in their efforts to achieve which they failed. The very first measure jointly undertaken by all—stopping the factories—was forcible and illegal. In view of the inconsistent character of the whole undertaking, it would have been suppressed at the very outset if the administration, for whom it came as a complete surprise, had not been equally irresolute and resourceless. Nevertheless, insignificant military and police forces sufficed to hold the people in check. In Manchester one saw thousands of workers trapped in the squares by four or five dragoons, each of whom blocked one of the exits. The "legal revolution" had paralysed everything. Thus the whole thing fizzled out; every worker returned to work as soon as his savings were used up and he had no more to eat. However, the dispossessed have gained something useful from these events: the realisation that a revolution by peaceful means is impossible and that only a forcible abolition of the existing unnatural conditions, a radical overthrow of the nobility and industrial aristocracy, can improve the material position of the proletarians. They are still held back from this violent revolution by the Englishman's inherent respect for the law; but in view of England's position described above there cannot fail to be a general lack of food among the workers before long, and then fear of death from starvation will be stronger than fear of the law. This revolution is inevitable for England, but as in everything that happens there, it will be interests and not principles that will begin and carry through the revolution; principles can develop only from interests, that is to say, the revolution will be social, not political.

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[a] The words "People's Charter" are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

# THE POSITION OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES

*From Lancashire,* December 19. Complicated as the present situation in England seems if one sticks, as the Englishman does, to what is most immediate and close at hand, the external practical aspect, it is nevertheless simple if one reduces externals to the underlying content. In England there exist only three parties of any importance: the landed aristocracy, the moneyed aristocracy, and radical democracy. The first, the Tory party, is by its nature and historical development the purely medieval, consistent, reactionary party, that of the old nobility, which fraternises with the "historical" school of law in Germany[183] and forms the pillar of the Christian state. The kernel of the second party—the Whigs—consists of the merchants and manufacturers, the majority of whom form the so-called middle class. This middle class—which includes everyone who is a gentleman, i. e., has a decent income without being excessively wealthy—is, however, a middle class only compared with the wealthy nobility and capitalists; in relation to the workers its position is that of an aristocracy, In a country like England, which lives only by industry and therefore has a multitude of workers, people will be much more conscious of this than, for example, in Germany, where the middle class comprises the craftsmen and peasants, and where such an extensive class of factory workers is unknown. As a result, the Whig party will be forced into the ambiguous position of the *juste-milieu* as soon as the working class begins to be conscious of itself. And this is taking place now. The working class is daily becoming more and more imbued with the radical-democratic principles of Chartism and is increasingly coming to recognise

them as the expression of its collective consciousness. However, at present this party is only in process of formation and therefore cannot yet act with full vigour.

Needless to say, in addition to these three main parties there are all kinds of transitional shades, and at the moment two of them are of some importance, although devoid of any basic principles. The first stands halfway between Whiggism and Toryism; its representatives are Peel and Russell, and it is sure of a majority in the House of Commons in the near future and therefore of forming the government. The other, the "radical" shade, is halfway between Whiggism and Chartism; it is represented by half-a-dozen Members of Parliament and a few periodicals, in particular *The Examiner*, and its principles, although not formally expressed, are the basis of the National Anti-Corn Law League.[a] With the further development of Chartism the first group is bound to gain in importance, since it represents the unity of Whig and Tory principles against Chartism, a unity which the latter expressly stresses. As a result, the second group is bound to come to nothing. The position of these parties in relation to one another is shown most clearly in their attitude to the Corn Laws.[184] The Tories will not budge an inch. The nobility knows that its power, apart from the constitutional sphere of the House of Lords, lies mainly in its wealth. With free import of corn, the nobility would be forced to conclude new contracts with the tenant farmers on less advantageous terms. All its wealth is in landed property, the value of which bears a fixed relation to rent and falls with the latter. Rents are now so high that even with the present import tariff the tenant farmers are being ruined; free import of corn would bring down rents, and with them the value of landed property, by a third. Sufficient reason for the aristocracy to hold fast to its long-standing right, which ruins agriculture and reduces the poor in the country to starvation. The Whigs, always a perfect *juste-milieu*, have proposed a fixed import tariff of 8 shillings per quarter; this is just low enough to let in foreign corn and spoil the market for the tenant farmer, and just high enough to deprive the tenants of any grounds for demanding new terms of lease and to establish in the country an average price for bread just as high as it is at present. Thus the wisdom of the *juste-milieu* is ruining the country even more surely than the obduracy of consistent reaction. On this question, the "radicals" are truly radical for once and are

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[a] Here and below the name of the League is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

demanding free import of corn. But *The Examiner* only summoned up the courage to do so eight days ago, while the Anti-Corn Law League from the outset confined itself so emphatically to the struggle against the existing Corn Laws and the sliding-scale[a] that up to the last moment it continued to support the Whigs. Gradually, however, absolutely free import of corn and "free trade" in general have become the battle-cry of the radicals, and the Whigs obligingly shout with them for "free trade", which they understand to mean "*juste-milieu*" import tariffs. It goes without saying that the Chartists are totally opposed to import tariffs on corn. But what will come of all this? That corn imports are bound to become free is as certain as that the Tories are bound to be overthrown, by peaceful or by forcible means. One can only argue about the manner in which this change will come about. Probably the very next session of Parliament will bring Peel's renunciation of the sliding-scale and, with it, of full-blown Toryism. The nobility will give way on everything that does not compel it to lower its rent charges, but no further. In any case, the Peel-Russell coalition, the Parliamentary centre, has the most immediate chance of forming a government, and by its *juste-milieu* measures it will delay a decision on the corn question as long as possible. How long, however, depends not on it, but on the people.

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[a] Here and below the term "sliding-scale" is in English in the original.— *Ed.*

# THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND

*From Lancashire,* December 20. The condition of the working class in England is becoming daily more precarious. At the moment, true, it does not seem to be so bad; most people in the textile districts have work; for every 10 workers in Manchester there is perhaps only one unemployed, the proportion is probably the same in Bolton and Birmingham, and when the English worker is employed he is satisfied. And he can well be satisfied, at any rate the textile worker, if he compares his lot with the fate of his comrades in Germany and France. The worker there earns just enough to allow him to live on bread and potatoes; he is lucky if he can buy meat once a week. Here he eats beef every day and gets a more nourishing joint for his money than the richest man in Germany. He drinks tea twice a day and still has enough money left over to be able to drink a glass of porter at midday and brandy and water in the evening. This is how most of the Manchester workers live who work a twelve-hour day. But how long will it last? The slightest fluctuation in trade leaves thousands of workers destitute; their modest savings are soon used up and then they are in danger of starving to death. And a crisis of this kind is bound to occur again in a few years' time. The same expanded production which is now giving work to "paupers" and is counting on the Chinese market is bound to create a huge mass of commodities and a slump in sales, which will again result in general destitution among the workers. For the moment the textile workers are in the best position. In the pits the coal-miners have to perform the heaviest and most unhealthy work for low wages. As a result this section of the working class harbours far more wrath against the wealthy than other working men, and for this reason is especially noted for robbery, assaults against richer people, etc. Thus, here in Manchester there is real fear of the

"Bolton people"[a] who also proved to be the most determined of all during the summer disturbances.[185] The iron-workers have a similar reputation, as in general do all those engaged in hard physical labour. If all these are only just able to exist now, what will become of them if there is the slightest slump in business? True, the workers have organised their own mutual benefit funds, which are augmented by weekly contributions and are intended to support the unemployed; but these only suffice when the factories are working well, for even then there are always enough destitute. When unemployment becomes general, even this source of relief dries up. At the moment the scapegoat is Scotland, where the factories are coming to a standstill, for when English industry expands, there is always some region or other which suffers. Unemployment is increasing daily all round Glasgow. In Paisley, a relatively small town, there were 7,000 unemployed a fortnight ago; now there are already 10,000. The grants from mutual benefit funds, small enough in any case, have been cut by half, because funds are running out. At a meeting of the noblemen and gentlemen of the county it was decided to organise subscriptions which are expected to yield £3,000; but this method, too, is already outworn and the gentlemen themselves secretly admit that they do not expect to collect more than £400. What all this boils down to is that England with her industry has burdened herself not only with a large class of the unpropertied, but among these always a considerable class of paupers which she cannot get rid of. These people have to rough it on their own; the state abandons them, even pushes them away. Who can blame them, if the men have recourse to robbery or burglary, the women to theft and prostitution? But the state does not care whether starvation is bitter or sweet; it locks these people up in prison or sends them to penal settlements, and when it releases them it has the satisfaction of having converted people without work into people without morals. And the curious thing about the whole story is that the sagacious Whig and the "radical" are still unable to understand where Chartism comes from with the country in such a state, and how the Chartists can possibly imagine they have even the slightest chance in England.

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[a] The words "Bolton people" are in English in the original.— *Ed.*

# THE CORN LAWS

*From Lancashire*, December 22. The end of the existing Corn Laws is rapidly approaching. The people are in a real fury about the "corn tax", and no matter what the Tories do, they cannot withstand the pressure of the exasperated masses. Sir Robert Peel has prorogued Parliament until February 2—six weeks for the opposition to fan the anger still more. When the new session opens, Peel will have to state his position on the sliding-scale[a] at the very outset; it is generally believed that he has at least begun to waver in his attitude towards it. If he decides to drop it, the more extreme Tories will undoubtedly resign from the government and make room for the moderate Whigs, and then the Peel-Russell coalition will have come into being. In any case, the aristocracy will defend itself stubbornly, and I, for my part, do not think it can be induced to agree voluntarily to the free import of corn. The English nobility allowed the Reform Bill and Catholic emancipation to go through, but the effort that this cost it would be nothing compared with that which abolition of the Corn Laws would entail.[186] What is a weakening of the aristocracy's influence at parliamentary elections compared with a 30 per cent reduction in the property of the whole English nobility? And if even the two above-mentioned Bills have evoked such struggles, if the Reform Bill was passed only with the aid of popular risings and stones thrown at the windows of the aristocracy, cannot the nobility be

[a] This term is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

relied upon to test whether the people has enough courage and strength to ensure that its will is carried out? The summer disturbances certainly showed the nobility how ineffectual the English people is when it revolts.[a] I am firmly convinced that this time the aristocracy will remain adamant until the knife is at its throat. There can be no doubt, however, that the people will not go on much longer paying the aristocracy a penny (10 Prussian pfennigs) on every pound of bread it eats. The Anti-Corn Law League[b] has seen to that. Its activity has been tremendous; I intend to write a more detailed report about it.[187] Suffice it to say that one of the most important results due partly to the Corn Laws, partly to the League, is the freeing of the tenant farmers from the moral influence of their aristocratic landlords. Up to now, no one has been so indifferent to political issues as the English tenant farmers, i. e., the entire agricultural section of the nation. As a matter of course, the landlord was a Tory and evicted every tenant who voted against the Tories at the parliamentary elections. The result was that the 252 Members of Parliament which the agricultural districts in the United Kingdom have to elect were, as a rule, almost all Tories. Now, however, due to the effect of the Corn Laws and the publications of the League, distributed in hundreds of thousands of copies, the tenant farmer has been awakened to political consciousness. He has realised that his interests are not identical with those of the landlord, but are directly opposed to them, and that to no one have the Corn Laws been more unfavourable than to himself. Hence a considerable change has taken place among tenant farmers. The majority of them are now Whigs, and since the landlords may now find it difficult to exert a decisive influence on the tenant farmers' vote at the elections, the 252 seats held by the Tories will probably soon pass to the same number of Whigs. Even if this change-over only affected half the seats, it would already alter the character of the House of Commons considerably, since as a result the Whigs would be assured of a majority there for good. And that is *bound* to happen. Particularly if the Corn Laws were repealed, for then the tenant farmer would become completely independent of the landlord, because tenancy agreements would have to be concluded under quite new conditions after the repeal. The aristocracy thought that it had achieved a remarkably clever stroke of business by passing the Corn Laws; but the money it has obtained as a

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[a] See this volume, pp. 373-74.— *Ed.*
[b] The name of the League is in English in the original.— *Ed.*

result by no means outweighs the disadvantage which these laws have caused it. And this disadvantage lies precisely in the fact that from now on the aristocracy is no longer the representative of agriculture, but of its own selfish interests.

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# LETTERS

## August 1838-August 1842

# 1 8 3 8

## 1

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN BARMEN

Bremen,[188] Aug. 28, 1838

Dear Marie,

As soon as I saw your letter I realised at once that it was from you although I don't know your handwriting. Because the letter is just like you—written in a terrible hurry, everything in a lovely confusion, sermons that are not a bit seriously meant: how are you, your health, news about Emilchen[a] and Adelinchen,[b] accidents, all mixed up together. We had an accident here too, a house painter—the second in a week—fell from the scaffolding and died immediately.

It is a great surprise to hear that Emilchen and Adelinchen are leaving. The Treviranuses at any rate were quite astonished; they all thought that Karl[c] was bringing them up.

August 29

It's a very good thing that you want to go to Xanten and you should really go there if Mother[d] promised Auntie[e] and Grandmother[f] that you would. You must arrange to go there during the grape season, for then you will be able to eat all you can manage. We have grapes in our garden here too, but they are

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[a] Emilie Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] Adeline Engels.—*Ed.*

[c] Karl Engels.—*Ed.*

[d] Elisabeth Engels.—*Ed.*

[e] Friderike von Griesheim.—*Ed.*

[f] Franciska van Haar.—*Ed.*

not ripe yet. But we have apples which are ripe—Paradise apples; they are much more delicious than those on the big tree in Caspar's[a] yard, the one they have now cut down.

Just think, Marie, we've got a broody hen here with seven chicks hardly eight days old and when there's nothing to do at the office, we go down to the yard and catch flies, gnats and spiders and then the old hen comes and takes them out of our hands and feeds them to the chicks. But there's a black chick, the size of a canary, which gobbles up the flies out of our hands. And all these little creatures will become hens with croups and have feathers growing on their feet. I wager that you would be delighted with this hen and her chicks. You are a chicken yourself, just like them. You must tell Mother that next year she too should place some eggs under a hen. There are also pigeons here, not only at the Treviranuses' but also at the Leupolds', crested pigeons and pouters, which are called crown pigeons (because they have a crest on their fronts which is called a crown here). The crested ones are particularly handsome. We—Eberlein and I—feed these every day. They don't eat vetch, which doesn't grow here, but they will eat peas or very small beech nuts, which are no bigger than peas.

You should see some time, when the market is full in the morning, what remarkable costumes the peasant women wear. Their caps and straw hats are especially remarkable. If I can only get a quiet look at one of them some time, I'll try and draw her and send it to you. The girls wear very small red caps over their hair, which is coiled up in a bun, while old women have big close-fitting winged bonnets which hang over their foreheads, or big velvet caps trimmed with black frilled lace in front. It looks quite odd.

The window of my room looks out on an alley which is uncanny. If I'm still up late of an evening, round about eleven o'clock, things begin to get noisy in the alley and the cats squeal, the dogs bark, the ghosts laugh and howl and rattle the windows of the house opposite. But it's all quite natural because the lamplighter lives in the alley and he goes on his rounds at eleven o'clock.

Now I have written two full pages and if I wanted to do what you do, I would now write: "Now you will probably be satisfied because I have told you so much. Next time I shall tell you just as much." This is the way you do it; you write me two pages, with

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[a] Caspar Engels.—*Ed.*

the lines set very far apart, and you leave the other two pages quite empty. But so that you can see that I don't do the same as you and do not give tit for tat, I shall do my best to fill up four closely written pages for you.

This morning a barber came round and Herr Pastor[a] wanted me to have a shave for he said I looked quite revolting. But I do not do so. Father[b] said that I should leave my razors locked up until I need them and he left a fortnight ago today and my beard certainly cannot have grown so much in that time. And now I shall not shave until I have a moustache as black as a raven. And you know, Mother told Father to give me a razor to take with me and Father answered that would be tempting me to start shaving, and he would buy me some himself in Manchester, but I don't use them on principle.

I have just come back from the parade which takes place every day on the Domshof. There the great Hanseatic army, composed of about 40 soldiers and 25 bandsmen as well as 6 to 8 officers, does its exercises, and (if I leave out the drum major) they all have as much moustache between them as one Prussian hussar. Most of them have no beard at all; others just a suspicion of one. The parade lasts the whole of two minutes. The soldiers arrive, line up, present arms and go off again. But the music is good (very good, wonderful, beautiful, say the Bremen people). Yesterday one of these Hanseatic soldiers, who had deserted, was brought in. This fellow was a Jew and was taking religious instruction with Pastor Treviranus and wanted to be baptised. Then he deserted, without leaving the town, but wrote a letter to Pastor Treviranus saying he was in Brinkum and had been persuaded by a relative to go there. He asked the Pastor to intercede for him so that his punishment might be mitigated. The Pastor wanted to do this too, when the fellow was suddenly arrested near Bremen yesterday and it came out where he was. He will now probably get a stretch or sixty strokes, for the soldiers always get whipped here.

No Jews at all live in Bremen, only a couple of Jews with permits in the suburbs, but none can move into the town.

It has been raining again all day long today. Yesterday week it did not rain at all for once, otherwise it has rained every day even though often only a little. It was very hot on Sunday and yesterday too the air was somewhat oppressive although the sky was frequently overcast, but as for today, really it's unbearable. You

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[a] Georg Gottfried Treviranus.— *Ed.*
[b] Friedrich Engels.— *Ed.*

get soaking wet as soon as you put your nose out of doors. What is it like in your place? Now I am going to write to Mother.— Have you made it up again with the Kampermanns, old geese?

Adieu, Marie.

Your brother
*Friedrich*

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## 2

## TO FRIEDRICH AND WILHELM GRAEBER

### IN ELBERFELD

[Bremen] September 1 [1838]

To the Graeber brothers, of Barmen, now in Elberfeld. Acknowledging receipt of the esteemed letter of your Herr F. Graeber, I am taking the liberty to send you a few lines. Thunder and lightning, things are looking up. We will now begin right away with the plastic arts. Namely with my fellow lodger by the name of George (pronounced as in English) Gorrissen, the greatest Hamburg fop that ever existed. Take the mean between the two drawings you see here, place it on a slim trunk and long legs, give the eyes a real boorish look, a speech exactly like Kirchner's, only in the Hamburg dialect, and you have the most complete picture of this lout that you can get. I wish I could only draw him as well as last night when I drew him on a board, and it was so like him that everybody recognised him, even the maids. Even a painter[a] who lives in our house and otherwise doesn't think much of anything found it very good.— This G. Gorrissen is the most boorish fellow on earth; he is busy with some new nonsense every day and is inexhaustible in commonplace and boring ideas. The fellow already has on his conscience at least twenty hours that he has bored me.

[a] G. W. Feistkorn.— *Ed.*

The other day I bought myself Jacob Grimm's defence; it is extraordinarily good and is written with a rare power. I read no less than seven pamphlets about the Cologne affair in *one* bookshop.[189] — N. B. I have read things here and come across expressions — I am getting good practice especially in literature — which one would never[a] be allowed to print in our parts, quite liberal ideas, etc., arguments about the old Hanoverian he-goat,[b] really wonderful.

There are some sheets with very fine satirical drawings here.— One I saw was rather badly drawn but the faces are very characteristic. A tailor on a goat is being stopped by his master and the cobblers are looking on. What happens is expressed in the text underneath:

"Old master, don't stop my charger!"

But about that next time, for I cannot now get this [...] because the Principal[c] is sitting here. Otherwise he's a terribly nice fellow, oh so good, you can't imagine.

Excuse me for writing so badly, I have three bottles of beer under my belt, hurrah, and I cannot write much more because this must go to the post at once. It is already striking half-past three and letters must be there by four o'clock. Good gracious, thunder and lightning, you can see that I've got some beer inside me. [...][d]

Roland, the knight of Bremen

Please have the goodness to scribble me something in reply right away; Wurm knows my address, and you can give it to him. Oh dear, what shall I write? Oh dear, oh dear, oh dear. What a lamentable state! The old man, i. e., the Principal, is just going out and I am all mixed up, I don't know what I'm writing. There are all sorts of noises going on in my head. Give my greetings to P. Jonghaus and F. Plümacher, and tell them to write, and I will bore them shortly with my scribbling too. Can you read my scrawl?

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[a] From here up to the words "I've got some beer inside me", Engels writes in red ink across the first page, which is written in black ink.— *Ed.*

[b] Ernst August.— *Ed.*

[c] Heinrich Leupold.— *Ed.*

[d] One sentence is indecipherable because the paper is damaged.— *Ed.*

What will you give me for a pound of muddlement? I have heaps in store. Oh dear.

Your devoted
Your Honour's devoted
*F. Engels*

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## 3

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN BARMEN

[Bremen] Sept. 11 [1838]

Dear Marie,

"Hoping to receive another *four-page* letter from you, I remain, etc." Yes, you little goose, you shall have four pages but they are according to the saying that with the same measure as you measure will it be measured unto you,[a] and even that is too much for you. For I manage to get as much on a small page like this as you do on a big one, and I forbid such a waste of paper in future; when Fatty writes so spread out, that's a different matter. Do you understand me, little Mamsell? — If you don't go to Xanten this year, you must say:

Console yourself with Job
And anoint the monk with syrup.

I can't help it, they say here in Bremen. You can imagine to yourselves that you have already been there, and don't you, Marie, know how Hermann[b] went on when he had a glass of wine? He drank it very slowly so as to have the pleasure of it for a long time. So you should say to yourselves: If we were at Xanten now, we would not be able to be glad that we were still to go there, but now we have a whole hopeful year ahead of us and we can be glad to our fill. See, that's the political way, Socrates and Eulenspiegel would say just the same thing. Remember this for the future. You see, I can lecture you just as well as you me. And when you write

[a] Cf. Matthew 7:2.— *Ed.*
[b] Hermann Engels.— *Ed.*

to me again, don't begin every paragraph with "Just imagine". How did you get such a noble habit? How can you say "I don't know what else to write about" when you have not yet told me what kind of school report you and Anna[a] have and who worked out your programme this year. Fatty must also have cracked a joke or two during the eight weeks I've been away, couldn't you perhaps have written to me about that? How much else may have happened that I cannot know anything about? Tell me, what kind of excuse is "I don't know what else to write about". I don't know what to write about either. When I begin a line, I don't yet know what to put in the following one, but something always comes to me, and I hope that what I write to you will be useful and of no little profit to you. But when you have filled two pages with lines wide apart, you immediately think you have performed a colossal Herculean labour, but what about me? When I have finished this letter to you, I must still write three others and they must be ready for posting tomorrow or the day after. And I have not much time, for the *Panchita* is being sent off to Havana this afternoon and so I have to copy letters instead of writing some of my own. I am expecting a letter from Strücker at midday today and then he'll be wanting an answer too, and I can't write exactly the same thing to one as I have written to the other. So, you see that it would be right if you wrote me six pages and should not complain if I only wrote you one-sixth of a page? However, this lecture is already as long as your whole letter and so that you can see that I can also write about other things I will now make so free as to tell you that if I have brushes before this letter goes off, I will enclose a few drawings of Bremen peasant fashions.— But now you are right, I don't know what else to write about, but I just want to see if I get anything more to do. The four pages will be filled, and quite honestly too. What is very unpleasant is that in the evenings the city gates are closed when it gets dark and whoever wants to go out or come in has to pay a toll and it now starts at seven o'clock, when you have to pay two groats, and this increases as it gets later. You pay three groats after nine and six groats at ten and twelve groats at eleven. If you are on horseback you have to pay even more. I too have had to pay toll once or twice.— The Consul[b] is at this moment talking to Herr Grave about the letters which have to be written this afternoon. I am listening with the greatest excitement like a rascal who sees the jury return and is waiting to hear

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[a] Anna Engels.— *Ed.*

[b] Heinrich Leupold.— *Ed.*

"Guilty" or "Not guilty". Once Grave starts writing, before I know where I am I have six, seven, eight or even more letters to copy, each of which may be of one, two or perhaps three pages. During the time I have been here I've already copied forty pages, forty pages in a huge copy-book. Another letter for Baltimore is lying in front of me now, and look—the four pages are full, it is 11.30 and I shall go to the post under the pretext of collecting the Consul's letters but really to see if there is a letter from Strücker. Adieu, dear Marie, I'm looking forward to four *big* pages.

Your brother
*Friedrich*

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## 4

## TO FRIEDRICH AND WILHELM GRAEBER IN BARMEN[a]

[Bremen, September 17-18, 1838]

*September 17.* First the black ink, then the red ink from the beginning again.[b]

*Carissimi! In vostras epistolas haec vobis sit respondentia. Ego enim quum longiter latine non scripsi, vobis paucum scribero, sed in germanico-italianico-latino. Quae quum ita sint,*[c] you will not get one more word in Latin, but only pure, unalloyed, unadulterated, perfect German. And now to deal at once with a matter of considerable importance, I want to tell you that my Spanish romance has been a failure; the fellow seems to be an anti-romantic and he looks like one too. But a poem of my own—*The Bedouin*[d]—a copy of which I enclose, was inserted in a different paper; only the fellow went and changed the last verse and so created the most hopeless confusion. He does not seem to have understood "Your desert robes do not belong with our Parisian

[a] The back of the letter bears the inscription: "Herr Friedrich Graeber. c/o Herr Pastor Graeber. Barmen. Post-paid."—*Ed.*

[b] The letter of September 17 is written in black ink while that of September 18 is written in red ink, across the text of the first letter.—*Ed.*

[c] My dearest ones, let this be an answer to your letters. As I haven't written in Latin for a long time, I shall write you only a little, but in German-Italian-Latin. This being so....—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 3-4.—*Ed.*

coats and vests, nor with our literature your song", because it appears to be baroque. The main idea is to contrast the Bedouin, even in their present condition, and the audience, who are quite alien to these people. For this reason the contrast must not be expressed only by the bare description given in the two clearly distinguishable parts, but comes really to life only at the end through the contrast and the conclusion drawn in the last verse. There are also a number of other details expressed in the poem: 1) Delicate irony at the expense of Kotzebue and his supporters with Schiller counterposed as the good principle for our theatre; 2) grief over the present condition of the Bedouin as contrasted with their former condition. These two incidentals run parallel in the two main contrasts. Take the last verse away, and the whole thing falls apart. But if the editor wishes to make the conclusion less striking and ends with: "They jump at money's beck and call, and not at Nature's primal urge. Their eyes are blank, they're silent, all, except for one who sings a dirge", then, first of all, this ending is feeble because it consists of previously used rhetorical phrases, and secondly, it destroys my main idea by replacing it with the subsidiary one—sorrow over the present condition of the Bedouin and the contrast with their former condition. So he has done the following damage: he has completely destroyed 1) the main idea, 2) the cohesion of the poem. However, this will cost the fellow an additional groat (=$^1/_2$ silver groschen) for he will get an answer from me in the form of a sermon. By the way, I wish I had never written the poem. I have completely failed to express the idea in a clear, pleasant form. Str.'s[a] fine phrases are simply phrases. *Dattelland*[b] and Bled-el-Djerid are one and the same thing, so one idea is expressed twice with the same words, and what dissonance—"*schallend Lachen zollt*" and "*Mund gewandt*"! It gives one a peculiar feeling to see one's verses in print like this. They have become something strange and one sees them with a much clearer eye than when they are handwritten.

I had a good laugh when I saw myself thus made public, but I soon lost any desire to laugh. As soon as I saw the changes I became very angry and raged in a most barbaric fashion.—*Satis autem de hac re locuti sumus!*[c]

I found a quite peculiar book this morning in an antiquarian's shop—an extract from the *Acta Sanctorum,* unfortunately only for

[a] This probably means Strücker, Engels' comrade.—*Ed.*

[b] Land of date-palms.—*Ed.*

[c] But we have said enough about this!—*Ed.*

the first half of the year, with portraits, lives of the saints and prayers, but all very short. It cost me twelve groats, six silver groschen, and I paid the same for Wieland's *Diogenes von Sinope, oder Σωκράτης μαινόμενος.*[a]

I doubt my ability and my productivity as a poet more and more every day since I read Goethe's two essays *Für junge Dichter*[b] in which I find myself described as aptly as could be, and from which it has become clear to me that my rhyming achieves nothing for art. All the same, I want to go on rhyming because, as Goethe says, it is "a pleasant addition" and I shall also probably get a poem or two published in some journal because other fellows also do so who are just as big if not bigger asses than I am, and because my efforts will neither raise nor lower German literature. But when I read a really good poem then fury seizes my soul to think that I couldn't have done that. *Satis autem de hac re locuti sumus!*

My *cari amici,* how much I miss you! When I remember how I often entered your room and there sat Fritz, so comfortable behind the stove, with his short pipe in his mouth, and Wilm rustled around the room in his long dressing-gown, could not smoke anything but four-pfennig cigars and cracked jokes which shook the whole room, and then the mighty Feldmann rose like ζανδὸς Μενελάος[c] and entered, and then Wurm came in in his long coat and with his stick in his hand, and then we all caroused and all hell was let loose—and now we have to make do with letters—it's outrageous. But that you write to me a lot from Berlin too is *constat* and *naturaliter*; letters there only take a day longer than to Barmen. You know my address, but it doesn't matter if you don't for I have struck up such a close acquaintance with our postman that he always delivers my letters to the office. But still, *honoris causa,* you might put St. Martini Kirchhof No. 2 on the envelope if necessary. This friendship with the postman comes from our names being similar, his is Engelke.—Letter-writing is a bit hard for me today. The day before yesterday I sent off a letter to Wurm at Bilk and today I posted one to Strücker—the first was eight pages long, the second seven, and now you too want your ration. If you receive this letter before you go to Cologne, please do the following for me. When you get there will you find Streitzeuggasse and go to Everaert's the printers at number 51 and buy me *Volksbücher.* I have *Siegfried, Eulenspiegel* and *Helena.* The

[a] The raging Socrates.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to Goethe's articles "Für junge Dichter" and "Noch ein Wort für junge Dichter".—*Ed.*

[c] Fair Menelaus.—*Ed.*

ones I need most are *Octavianus, Die Schildbürger* (incomplete in the Leipzig edition), *Die Haimonskinder, Dr. Faust* and any of the others which are illustrated with woodcuts. If there is anything mystical there buy it as well, especially the *Sibyllenweissagungen.* You can go up to two or three talers in any case. Then send the books on to me by express post, tell me how much they come to and I shall send you a letter of credit drawn on my Old Man, who will gladly pay it. Or, better still, you can send the books to my Old Man, to whom I'll explain the whole business and he can give them to me as a Christmas gift or as he likes.—A new subject of study for me is Jacob Böhme. He is a dark but deep soul. But most of it must be studied terribly hard if one wants to understand any of it. He is rich in poetic ideas and a very allegorical man, his speech is quite original, for he gives all words a different meaning from the usual one. Instead of "essence" [*Wesen*], "substance" [*Wesenheit*], he says "torment" [*Quat*]. He calls God a "non-cause" [*Ungrund*] and a "cause" [*Grund*] because He has no cause or beginning of His existence, but is Himself the cause of His own and all other life. So far I have been able to find only three of his books—admittedly enough to begin with.—But here I want to insert my poem about the Bedouin.

Now the bell rings, and suddenly
The silken curtain swift ascends,
And all in hushed expectancy
Wait for the evening to commence.
No Kotzebue commands the scene
To set the merry audience roaring.
No Schiller of the earnest mien
Steps forth, his golden words outpouring.
Sons of the desert, proud and free,
Walk on to greet us, face to face;
But pride is vanished utterly,
And freedom lost without a trace.
They jump at money's beck and call
(As once that lad from dune to dune
Bounded for joy). They're silent, all,
Save one who sings a dirge-like tune.
The audience, amazed and awed
By what these acrobats can do.
Applauds them, just as it applauds
The trumperies of Kotzebue.
Fleet nomads of the desert lands,
You've braved the sun's fierce noontide rays
Through harsh Morocco's burning sands,

Through valleys where the date-palms sway.
And through the garden paradise
Of Bled-el-Djerid once you swept.
You turned your wits to bold forays.
Your steeds to battle proudly stepped.
You sat there, where moon lustres spill
By rare springs in a palm-tree grove,
And lovely lips with gracious skill
A fairy-story garland wove.
Sleeping in narrow tents you lay
In love's warm arms, with dreams all round,
Till sunrise ushered in the day
And camels made their bellowing sound.
Go home again, exotic guests!
Your desert robes do not belong
With our Parisian coats and vests,
Nor with our literature your song!

[September] 18th

*Cur me poematibus exanimas tuis*,[a] you will be shouting. But I am going to torture you still more with them or rather because of them. Guilelmus[b] has still got an exercise book of my verse, just as I wrote it. I'm now asking for this exercise book back and you can send it in the following way: you can cut out all the blank paper and you can then enclose a few sheets with every letter you write: it won't increase the postage. If need be you can also add one or two bits of reading matter if you pack it cunningly and press the letter well, for instance, laying it for a night between a couple of dictionaries before you send it, so they won't notice anything.— See that Blank gets the sheet I've enclosed for him. I am getting a terribly extensive correspondence, with you in Berlin, with Wurm in Bonn, and similarly with Barmen and Elberfeld. But if I didn't have it, how would I kill the endless time I have to spend at the office without being allowed to read? The day before yesterday I spent with the Old Man,[c] *id est principalis*—his wife is called the Old Woman [*Altsche*] (the elk, *alce* in Italian, pronounced just like that)—in the country where his family lives, and I enjoyed it very much. The Old Man is an excellent fellow, he always scolds his boys in Polish. You *Ledshiaks*, you *Kashubs*, he shouts. On the way back I tried to give a philistine who was also there some idea of the beauty of Low German, but saw it was impossible. A philistine like that is really an unhappy soul yet

[a] Why do you torture me with your poems?— *Ed.*
[b] Wilhelm Graeber.— *Ed.*
[c] Heinrich Leupold.— *Ed.*

over-happy nonetheless in his stupidity, which he regards as the greatest wisdom. I went to the theatre the other evening. They were playing *Hamlet*, but in a quite horrifying manner. So I would rather say nothing at all about it.— It's good that you are going to Berlin. There will be more art there than you are likely to get at any other university except Munich; the poetry of nature, on the other hand, is lacking—sand, sand, sand! It is far better here. The roads outside the town are mostly very interesting and very charming with their groups of various trees. But the mountains, the mountains, that's what you miss. What is also lacking in Berlin is the poetry of student life, which is at its best in Bonn, and to which the wandering about in the poetic surroundings contributes not a little. Well, you too will be going to Bonn one day. My dear Wilhelm, I would madly love to answer your witty letter with one equally witty, if it were not for the fact that I don't feel at all witty and especially at the moment I am lacking precisely in that desire which one cannot give oneself and without which everything is forced. But I feel as if for me the end were near, as if my head no longer held a single idea, as if my life were being stolen away. The tree of my mind of its leaves is stripped, my witticisms too fine are clipped, the kernel out of the shell has been nipped. And my *Makamas*[190] hardly merit the name, while yours robbed Rückert of all his fame; those here written with gout are smitten, they limp, they totter, fall, nay, have fallen to the bottom of the pit of oblivion, not climbed the peaks of readers' opinion. Oh doom, here I sit in my room, and even if I hammered my head sore, only water would come out with a roar. That helps not a louse, it does not bring wit into the house. When I went to bed last night I banged my head and it sounded just like when you knock against a bucket of water and the water splashes against the other side. I had to laugh at the way my nose was properly rubbed in the truth. Yes, water, water! My room is full of spooks. Last night I heard a death-watch beetle in the wall. In the alley near me there is a noise of ducks, cats, dogs, hussies and people. And incidentally I expect a letter from you just as long if not longer than this one, *et id post notas*—let there be no mistake about it.

The most marvellous hymn book in existence is undoubtedly the one used here.[a] It contains all the famous names in German poetry: Goethe (the song, *Der Du von dem Himmel bist*[b]), Schiller (*Drei Worte des Glaubens*), Kotzebue and many others. Also songs against cow-pox and all kinds of other nonsense. It is sheer

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[a] *Christliches Gesangbuch zur Beförderung öffentlicher und häuslicher Andacht.—Ed.*

[b] Initial words from Goethe's poem *Wandrers Nachtlied.—Ed.*

barbarism unequalled anywhere. One must see it to believe it. It is an appalling spoiling of all our beautiful songs, a crime which Knapp also made himself guilty of in the *Treasury of Songs*.[a]— The occasion of our sending a cargo of hams to the West Indies reminds me of an extremely interesting story. Somebody once sent a cargo of hams to Havana. The letter with the bill did not arrive till later, and the recipient, who had already noticed that the cargo was 12 hams short, saw reckoned up in the bill: "Loss through rats—12 pieces." But those rats were the young office lads who had helped themselves to the hams. That's the end of the story.—While I take the liberty to fill the remaining space with artistic renderings of outward appearances chosen at random (Dr. He), I must confess that I shall hardly be able to tell you much about my trip for I promised both Strücker and Wurm they would hear about it first. I even fear that I shall have to write about it to them twice over, and to go through all that tedious stuff three times, mixed up with all kinds of other nonsense, would really be too much. But if Wurm cares to send you the exercise book, which he is hardly likely to receive before the end of the year, that's all right with me. Otherwise I can't do anything for you until you go to Bonn yourselves.

Your most humble *Servant*

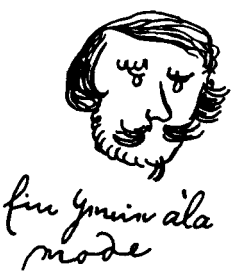


A genius à la mode

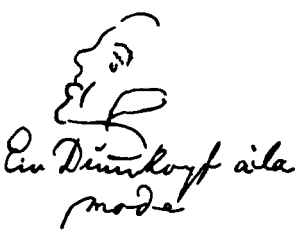


A fathead à la mode

Greetings to P. Jonghaus. He can enclose a letter with yours. I would have written to him too but the fellow is certainly away.

*Friedrich Engels*

Reply soon. Your Berlin address!!!!!!!

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[a] A. Knapp, *Evangelischer Liederschatz für Kirche und Haus*.—*Ed.*

5

## TO MARIE ENGELS

IN BARMEN

Bremen, Oct. 9, 1838

Dear Marie,

At last four full pages! Well, I shall have to praise you till you can no longer bear it, as they say. Riding is now over unfortunately, so I am mostly at home on Sundays, but I enjoy myself quite a lot. Either I listen to somebody playing or singing or I write, and in the evening we do all kinds of crazy things. The day before yesterday, which, as you know, was Sunday, we put a ring in a cup of flour and then played the well-known game of trying to get it out with your mouth. We all had a turn—the Pastor's wife,[a] the girls, the painter[b] and I too, while the Pastor[c] sat in the corner on the sofa and watched the fun through a cloud of cigar smoke. The Pastor's wife couldn't stop laughing as she tried to get it out and covered herself with flour over and over again, and when the painter's turn came, he blew with all his might so that the flour puffed out right and left and descended like a cloud on his green and red dressing-gown. Afterwards we threw flour in each other's faces. I blackened my face with cork, at which they all laughed, and when I started to laugh, that made them laugh all the more and all the louder. Then I laughed, ha ha ha ha ha, so loudly that all the others followed suit with he he he he he and ha ha ha ha ha, until it was just like in the story where the Jew has to dance in the bramble bush, and at last they all begged me to stop for heaven's sake.

You are still a real goose if you let that Jettchen Troost bore you. Why don't you tell her to go away?

Now the goose is starting to lecture me; that is touching. Tell me, goose, don't you know the saying—I shall behave to you as you behave to me? Don't you know that no matter how small you write, I still write twice as small? But let's settle the matter once and for all. If you write me four pages then you shall get four pages back and there's an end of it. Besides, if you only knew how many letters I've already written this week and how many I still have to write, you would have pity on me and be satisfied with two pages. Ask Strücker some time how much I've written to him. Ask Wurm some time—but he's not there, so I shall tell you—at least

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[a] Mathilde Treviranus.—*Ed.*

[b] G. W. Feistkorn.—*Ed.*

[c] Georg Gottfried Treviranus.—*Ed.*

twelve pages just like these and as much again across the page in red ink. But he writes just as much to me in reply. And I have also to write to Mother, Hermann,[a] August,[b] Rudolf,[c] what do you think that adds up to? I think that as you can read the other letters you'll be fair and only expect half as much from me as you write to me.— You say that I praise Anna[d] to the skies, no, *so god over nit, dat do ek nit*,[e] but if she writes me four pages and you only write three, isn't she better than you? Apart from all this I'll gladly admit that you are a loyal soul and write to me most diligently. But you must not presume to start such rows and quarrels with me and imagine all the right is on your side when you really ought to be on your knees begging forgiveness.— You complain about the shoulder-brace, but oh, my little goose, hold yourself straight and then they won't put one on you.— We had the same weather here as you describe but now it's horrible; it rains and drizzles continuously, sometimes it pours down and then we have a bit of blue sky every 24 hours and a ray of sunshine every half-year.

You want me to write what I would like for Christmas? Well, you needn't make me what I've already got and you know what I haven't got, so what shall I write? Embroider a cover for a cigar box or — I don't know what, but you can keep nagging Mother a little every two or three days to send me the Goethe for Christmas Day. I really need it very badly, for you can hardly read anything without there being some reference to Goethe. Who was this man Goethe? Herr Riepe: Children, he was...!

Your drawing of the poultry-yard I could comprehend quite easily and it is very practical—cats or polecats can't get in and the hens can't get out.

Last Friday I went to the theatre. They were playing *Nachtlager in Granada*,[f] an opera which is very nice. Tonight they are giving *Die Zauberflöte*.[g] I must go to it. I really must manage to see what it is like. I hope it will be really good.

*October 10*. I went to the theatre. I liked *Die Zauberflöte* very much. I should like you to be able to come and see it with me some time, I bet you would like it very much.— Yes, Marie, what shall I write about now? Shall I grumble a bit for want of anything

[a] Hermann Engels.— *Ed.*
[b] August Engels, Engels' cousin.— *Ed.*
[c] Rudolf Engels.— *Ed.*
[d] Anna Engels.— *Ed.*
[e] But not so good, I don't do that.— *Ed.*
[f] An opera by Kreutzer.— *Ed.*
[g] Mozart's *The Magic Flute*.— *Ed.*

better? I can't think of anything better and you will certainly be satisfied if the four pages are filled, no matter what is in them. Here in Bremen the merchants' houses are all built in a very remarkable way. They are not built with their long sides facing the street like ours but with their short sides, so that the roofs are very close together, and the hall is very large and high, just like a small church. They have hatches above and below, one on top of the other, which are closed by trapdoors and through which a hoist can move up and down. Up in the attic is the store-room and coffee, linen, sugar, whale-oil, etc., are brought up by the hoist. All halls have thus two rows of windows one above the other.— The Consul's wife has now moved into town again with her four small children; they make an awful uproar. Luckily two of them, Elisabeth and Loin (really Ludwig), go to school, so one does not have to listen to their noise all day long. But when Loin and Siegfried are together they make such a row that you just can't stand it. The other day they started dancing on the linen chests, each armed with a gun and a sword; they challenged each other to a duel and Loin blew on his trumpet so loudly that it made your ears ring. I have a very nice place, in front of my desk there is a big window giving on to the hall and so I can see everything that happens.

Since you drew me the poultry-yard I'm drawing you the church as seen from the office. Farewell.[a]

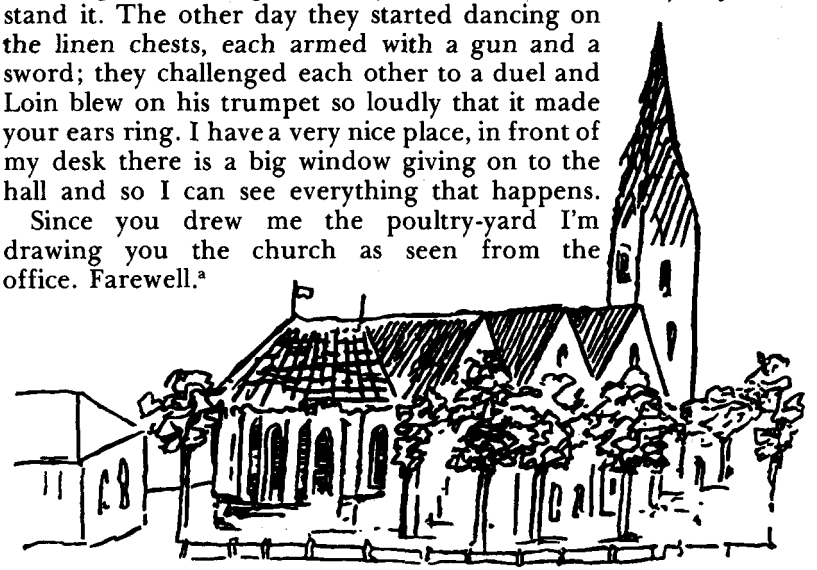

Your brother

*Friedrich*

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[a] This word is in English in the original.— *Ed.*

## 6

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN BARMEN[a]

Bremen, Nov. 13, 1838

Dear Marie,

Both your letters gave me very great pleasure and I will see what I can do, time and space permitting, to tell you something. It is now past three o'clock and the letter must be posted by four. But I really don't know anything much to tell you. Nothing out of the ordinary happens here, apart from the fact that the Bremen people have mounted their two splendid cannon at the main guardhouse again, that instead of saying "footstool" they say "footboard" here, that very many people are now wearing macintoshes here, that it was immensely cold last night and ice-ferns were formed on the window-panes and that the sun is now shining, and the like. Something else occurs to me that you should mention to Mother, namely, that I wrote to the Graebers at the end of September saying that when they went to Cologne they should send me *Volksbücher* and get the money from Father.[b] But as they never got to Cologne, they have written to their cousin, so if he sends some *per mezzo* Pastor Graeber it would be fine, and I'm sure Father would do me the favour of settling the bill for me. If he doesn't send any that will be all right too and you won't be bothered with it. I would have written about this before now, but was only given noteworthy information of the correct procedure today. Wilhelm Graeber also writes to me—and this is certainly something for you—that there are no lavatories properly so-called in Berlin, only commodes, and these have to be hired separately and cost five silver groschen a month; as the sons of a pastor, however, they are exempted from this as from other taxes. They also tell me a great deal about their walking tour through the Harz Mountains and up the Blocksberg, and how they travelled from Magdeburg to Berlin with a very tall Guards N. C. O. If you come to visit me some time I shall read you the whole story as well as that of the lovely Dorothee, which happened in Siebertal, in the Harz country, where a very, very rich man fell in love with a little

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[a] The back of the letter bears the inscription: "Fräulein Elise Engels. c/o Herr Friedrich Engels and Co., Barmen."—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 394-95.—*Ed.*

girl of seven and gave her father a ring, telling him that he would come back and marry her when the ring fitted her, and how, when he did come back after ten years, the girl had already been dead for a year, and the gentleman himself also died of sheer boredom, about which Fritz Graeber composed a moving song, etc. But now the page is almost full and I shall just copy another letter which must go with it, and take them both to the post. Are you writing to Ida[a]? Herr Holler took a great liking to Julchen[b] in Mannheim, but Karl[c] was very cross because he visited her so often. But don't tell that to anyone else. Adieu, dear Marie.

Yours,

*Friedrich*

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## 7

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN BARMEN

[Bremen, end of December 1838]

Dear Marie,

Well, you really are making a good thing out of being ill, lying in bed most of the time, you lazy-bones. You'll have to get out of that habit. You must be up and about by the time you get this letter, do you hear? Thank you for the nice cigar-box cover. I can assure you that it has met with the most complete approval, not only for the choice of pattern, but also for the execution, from that most severe of critics, Herr G. W. Feistkorn, painter. Marie Treviranus also embroidered one for me but she took it back again and is now going to send it to Herr Pastor Hessel in Münster am Stein near Kreuznach, to whom she also promised one. She is making me a basket for cigars instead. The Pastor's

[a] Ida Engels.—*Ed.*
[b] Julie Engels.—*Ed.*
[c] Karl Engels.—*Ed.*

wife[a] has crocheted a purse for me, and Leupold's boys got a rifle that fires caps, as well as swords, and the Old Man[b] keeps calling them — Old Soldiers, *Kashubs*! I can't make out that riddle of yours about the pond but I'll ask you one myself. Do you know what a *Ledshiak* is? (I don't know myself. It's a term of abuse which the Old Man uses very often.)[c] If you can't find the answer then hold this up against a mirror and then you will be able to read it. I have just heard that there has been an addition to the Leupold family — a little girl.

I should also like to tell you that I have now started composing and am working on chorals. But it is terribly difficult. The measure and the sharps and the chords give one a lot of trouble. I haven't got very far yet but I am sending you a specimen. It's the first two lines of *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott.*[d]

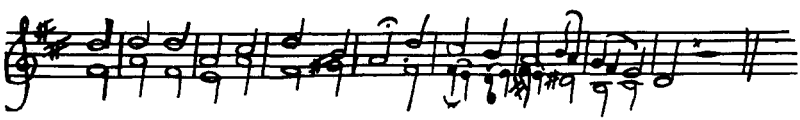

I have not yet been able to do it for more than two voices, for four voices is still too hard. I hope I have not made any mistakes in the score, so try and play it some time.

Adieu, dear Marie.

Your brother

*Friedrich*

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[a] Mathilde Treviranus.— *Ed.*

[b] Heinrich Leupold.— *Ed.*

[c] The bracketed sentence is in mirror writing in the original.— *Ed.*

[d] First line of a hymn by Martin Luther.— *Ed.*

# 1 8 3 9

## 8

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN BARMEN

[Bremen] Jan. 7, 39

Dear Marie,

I hope you have now had that tooth extracted or that it was not necessary.—The riddle about the pond is very nice but you ought to be able to solve it yourself. Listen, composing is hard work; you have to pay attention to so many things—the harmony of the chords and the right progression, and that gives a lot of trouble. I'll see if I can't send you something again next time. I am now working on another choral, in which the bass and soprano voices alternate. Have a look at this.

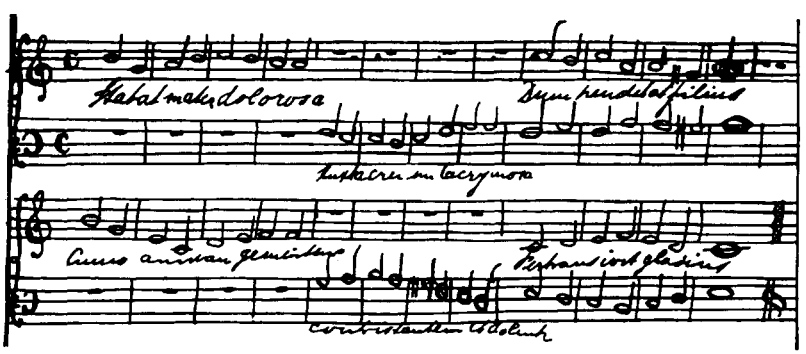

The accompaniment is still missing, and I'll probably make some changes too. It is obvious that most of it, except the fourth line, has been stolen from the Hymn Book. The text is the well-

known Latin *Stabat mater dolorosa juxta crucem lacrymosa Dum pendebat filius.*

The Pastor[a] killed a pig in the wash-house at midday today. At first his wife[b] would not have anything to do with the whole business, but he said he wanted to make a gift of it to her, so she had to take it. And the pig didn't scream at all. Once it was dead all the females in the family came in. But the old granny would not let anyone take her place stirring the blood and it looked quite strange. They will be making the sausage tomorrow, that is really the thing for her.

You say you saw a monkey and that it was you. Do you know that on the wafer with which you sealed your little letter there was written: *Je dis la vérité*?

It also has a mirror drawn on it.

Tell Mother that she should not write "Treviranus", she can leave out the Herr Pastor from the address altogether, the postman knows where I live anyway, as I fetch the letters from the post every day; besides, he might be tempted not to bring my letters to the office but to me at the Treviranus' and there I only get them a couple of hours later when I come home.

Strücker wrote me that on the Sunday before New Year Hermann[c] acted all sorts of things, including a waiter, etc. He must write to me about it.—Strücker was full of praise for his skill, saying that Hermann played the part of the waiter as well as if he had worked in a restaurant for three years. Is he growing a lot?

Tell Mother not to show my composition to Schornstein or he will say again—that is the end of everything. You see, I learn everything that happens. Next time I am in Barmen again I shall become the consul for Bremen like the Old Man.[d]

*Addiós mi hermana.*[e]

Yours,

*Friedrich*

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[a] Georg Gottfried Treviranus.—*Ed.*

[b] Mathilde Treviranus.—*Ed.*

[c] Hermann Engels.—*Ed.*

[d] Heinrich Leupold.—*Ed.*

[e] Good-bye, my sister.—*Ed.*

Please excuse all the mistakes I have made in the bass part. I am not used to writing music. In case you could not read the last line but one, I am writing it out again for you.

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9

## TO FRIEDRICH GRAEBER

[Bremen, January 20, 1839]

To Fritz Graeber

*Florida*

I

The Spirit of Earth speaks:

Three hundred years have rolled by since the hour
When the proud white folk came from far away
Across the seas, where their great cities tower.
The islands soon became the strong men's prey;
I lifted up my clenched fist from the ocean
To see how far their arrogant feet might stray.
Woods clothed the land and flowers grew in profusion;
Through the deep valleys wandered by the score
My faithful tribesmen of the brown-skinned nation.
The Eternal Father mild saw fit to pour
Abundant blessings down. The White Men came;
Their ship, its course erratic, neared the shore.
The land seemed fair to them. They made their claim,
And seized it, like the islands, in their greed,
Sowing among my people serfdom's shame.

The borders marked by furrows they denied,
And with their quadrants measured out my Hand,
Drawing strange lines across from side to side.
Ere long had passed, they swarmed across the land;
Only one finger did they fear to try.
Who ventured there was doomed to meet his end.
Upon this one remaining finger, I
Have placed a ring my brown-skinned folk compose.
They stand with spears poised, ready to let fly.
And if their shields in compact, serried rows
Fail me, if White Man's arrogance breaks the ring,
This Hand, with White and Brown, I then propose
To plunge into the waters weltering.

II

The Seminole speaks:

Peace to my brethren I shall not proclaim;
War be my first word, battle be my last.
And when your eyes blaze up in sudden flame,
As forest fire is fanned by hurricane's blast,
Then shall I say that you were truly right
To call me Word's Sun, that Night flees fast.
E'en as your hunter's lust flamed at the plight
Of innocent creatures that you forced to flee
From arrow following arrow in swift flight,
So would the White Men hunt you ruthlessly.
But let your speeding arrows make it clear
That they're the quarry, and the hunters—we.
They envy us our red skins; and in fear
That their revolting white may be discerned,
They swathe themselves in many-coloured gear.
Our country they have named the floral strand,
For flowers here in great profusion grow.
But blue, or white, or yellow, through the land
Into red raiment soon they all must go,
Bespattered with the White Man's own red blood.
Flamingo bird shall not more crimson glow.
As slaves, we proved to be of little good.
They brought the cowardly Blacks across the sea:
They'll learn the strength and courage of our brood!

Come then, White Man, if your desire it be,
And you shall get the homage that's your due.
From every bed of reeds, from every tree,
Seminole arrows wait to ambush you!

III

The White Man speaks:

Well, then! And so for the last time I will
Offer my brow to cruel Destiny
And freely turn to face the murderous steel!
O vengeful Fate, you are well known to me!
Always you've turned my joy in life to gall.
You think I ever knew Love's ecstasy?
Mocking, she broke my heart, whom I did fall
In love with. Thenceforth, seeking consolation,
I fought for Freedom. Kings themselves have all
Trembled before our League. In trepidation,
Princes have seen how German youth can stand
As one. In seven years of expiation
I've fully paid my debt in iron bonds.
In a swift ship they bring me o'er the sea
To Liberty—but on an alien strand.
The coastline beckons! But at a cliff's foot, see!—
The ship is wrecked. The folk on board all spring
Into the foaming waves. A plank bears me
Safely to shore, though bruised and shivering.
For the first time, my luck goes favourably.
In sand-choked seas the rest lie weltering.
But can I not escape my destiny?
The savages surround me, bind my limbs.
They seek to gain revenge by killing me.
For me, new Freedom, so I hoped, begins.
But Freedom fighters seek my murder here.
So must I expiate my brothers' sins.
But what comes floating to the beach down there?
A crucifix! In my Redeemer's eye
Such tenderness! I miss His Word so dear.
As I lie here upon the hot sands dying,
He comes to me with bounteous clemency.
While I complain, God, with Hell's fury vying,
Has now Himself become a corpse for me!

Here is my contribution to the next little party. I saw that there had been one at our place again and I was very sorry that I didn't send anything in for it. Now in reply to your letter.—Aha! Why don't you read the newspaper? If you did you would have seen what was and what was not printed about the business. It's not my fault if you make a fool of yourself. The paper only contained official reports issued by the Senate and they were really what was to be expected. Plümacher's comedy must be very good. I have written asking for it twice, but he has not uttered a word about it. As far as Jonghaus and his love are concerned, I have something to settle with him about that. You fellows always let yourselves be put off writing by "this and that". Tell me, can't you write to me for half an hour each day after you get a letter from me? Then you'd be finished in three days. I have all these letters to write—five of them—and I write much closer than you do and still I have them finished in four or five days. Yes, it's terrible. You can have eight days, but on the ninth day after you receive my letter you must post your reply. There's no other way. If I have made other arrangements with Wurm I herewith change them. You have eight days, otherwise the penalties that Wurm is threatened with come into force—no verses and you'll be kept waiting just as long as I am.

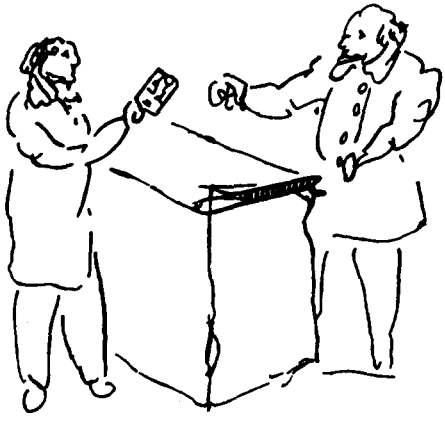

Postman: Herr Consul, a letter for you!
Consul: Aha! Good.

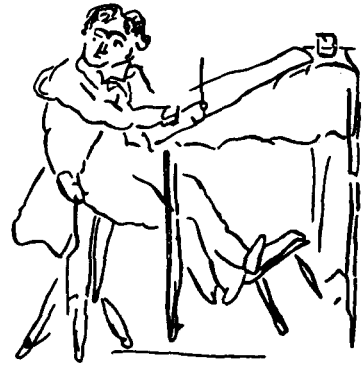

Engels: Nothing for me?
Postman: No.

Here is a woodcut, *à la Volksbücher*, which shows you plainly how I'm on the look-out for you, that is, for your letters. I thought I would have got my letters off today (Sunday, Jan. 20) but it's

striking half past four and the post goes at five today. So my plans have gone awry again. Well, it has its good side anyway for now I can shit in peace and then write to you in peace. I have not yet been able to start a letter to Peter Jonghaus. Damn, there's somebody sitting in the lavatory and I am bursting.

It's remarkable that if you consider our greatest writers, they always seem to go in pairs, one complementing the other as, for example, Klopstock and Lessing, Goethe and Schiller, Tieck and Uhland. But now Rückert is quite on his own and I'm curious whether he is going to be joined by anybody or whether he'll die off first; it almost looks like it. As a love poet, he could be paired with Heine, but unfortunately the two of them are otherwise so heterogeneous that you can't possibly unite them. Klopstock and Wieland are at least contrasts, but Rückert and Heine have not the slightest other similarity and each stands absolutely on his own. The Berlin party of Young Germany[191] are a fine lot indeed! They want to transform our time into one of "conditions and subtle relations", which is as much as to say: we write something for the whole world, and to fill up the pages we describe things that don't exist, and we call them "conditions", or we dish up a hotch-potch and that goes under the name of "subtle relations". This Theodor Mundt scribbles up something for the whole world about Demoiselle Taglioni, who "dances Goethe", embellishes it with fine phrases from Goethe, Heine, Rahel[a] and Stieglitz and talks the most priceless nonsense about Bettina,[b] but all in so ultramodern a fashion that it must be a delight for any empty-headed dandy or a young, vain, lascivious lady to read the like. This Kühne, Mundt's agent in Leipzig, is editor of the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* and it now looks like a lady whose figure was built for a crinoline and who is now stuck into a modern dress so that at every step you can see her charming bandy legs through the clinging dress. It is exquisite! And this chap Heinrich Laube! He daubs without stopping about characters that don't exist, writes travel stories[c] which are nothing of the sort, nonsense upon nonsense; it's terrible. I don't know what is going to happen to German literature. We have three men of talent: Karl Beck, Ferd. Freiligrath and Julius Mosen. The last is certainly a Jew and in his *Ahasver*, he makes the Wandering Jew defy Christianity on all accounts. Gutzkow, who is amongst the most reasonable of all,

[a] Rahel Varnhagen von Ense.— *Ed.*

[b] Bettina von Arnim.— *Ed.*

[c] Laube's collections of short stories entitled *Reisenovellen* and *Neue Reisenovellen*.— *Ed.*

reproaches him because, he says, Ahasuerus is a mean character, a real haggling Jew [192]; Theodor Creizenach, likewise a *juif*, has now laid hold of Gutzkow in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* [193] in the most violent way, but Gutzkow stands too high above him. This Creizenach, a run-of-the-mill hack writer, praises Ahasuerus to high heavens as a crushed worm and abuses Christ as a self-willed, proud God Almighty; he also says that in the *Volksbuch*, it is true, Ahasuerus is nothing but a vulgar fellow, but that in the blotting-paper books of the fair pedlars Faust also is not much more than a common sorcerer, whereas Goethe has endowed him with the psychology of several "centuries". This last is clear to be nonsense (if I'm not mistaken, that is quite a Latin construction), but I am concerned with it only because of the *Volksbücher*. Of course, if Theodor Creizenach damns them they must be very, very bad indeed, nevertheless I make bold to say that there is more depth and poetry in the *Volksbuch* Ahasuerus than in the whole of Th. Creizenach plus all his worthy companions.

I am now at work on a number of epigrams and I'm sending you those I have finished.

## The periodicals

### 1. *Telegraph* [a]

You call yourself a quick writer, so who can doubt quick-written stuff is what your pages are filled with?

### 2. *Morgenblatt* [b]

If you read me through in the morning, by evening you'll have forgotten whether it was blank or printed pages you saw.

### 3. *Abend-Zeitung*

If you cannot sleep at night, just take in your hand this paper and lovely slumber will come to you soon.

### 4. *Literatur-Blatt*

These leaves are the most critical in the whole literary forest. But how dry they are. The wind blows them down.

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[a] *Telegraph für Deutschland.—Ed.*
[b] *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser.—Ed.*

I can't think of any more at the moment and so must stop now. As I have just noticed, I really must hurry up if I am to get the letters off tomorrow, malefactor that I am. We shall be having company any moment now, and tomorrow there will be an awful lot of running about and copying, so that it will not be out of place to write very fast.

I am now reading *Kaiser und Papst* by Duller, a novel in four volumes. Duller has an undeserved reputation. His Wittelsbach romances, many of which are included in Hüllstett's book, are terribly bad.[194] He wanted to imitate a popular style but became familiar. His *Loyola* is an abominable mix-up of all the good and bad elements of a historical novel warmed up in the sauce of a bad style. His *Leben Grabbes* is horribly distorted and one-sided.[195] The novel I am reading is better; some of the characters are well described, others at least not too badly, isolated situations are pretty well handled, and the people he has invented are interesting. But to judge by the first volume, he is quite lacking in any sense of proportion in the importance given to the secondary characters, and in any new, original views on history. It is nothing to him to kill off his best-drawn character at the end of the first volume, and besides he has a great preference for peculiar kinds of death. Thus, one of the characters dies of rage at the very moment when he is about to plunge his dagger into his enemy's breast, and this same enemy is standing on the edge of the crater of Etna, where he wants to poison himself, when a crevasse opens in the mountain and he is buried in a stream of lava. The volume ends after a description of the following scene: The waves of the ocean close over the sun's head, parting and all.[a] A very piquant, but thoroughly trite and silly ending. That must also be the end of my letter.

*Addio, adieu, adiós, adeus.*[b]

Yours,
*Friedrich Engels*

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[a] E. Duller, *Kaiser und Papst*, Erster Theil, S. 284.— *Ed.*

[b] Good-bye (in Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese).— *Ed.*

## 10

## TO FRIEDRICH GRAEBER

[Bremen, February 19, 1839]

*Et Tu, Brute? Friderice Graeber, hoc est res quam nunquam de te crediderim! Tu jocas ad cartas? passionaliter? O Tempores o moria! Res dignissima memoria! Unde est tua gloria?*[a] Where is your honour and your Christianity? *Est itum ad Diabolum! Quis est, qui te seduxit? Nonne verbum meum fruxit* (has borne fruit)? *O fili mi, verte,*[b] otherwise I'll beat you with rod and switch, *cartas abandona, fac multa bona, et vitam agas integram, partem recuperabis optimam! Vides amorem meum, ut spiritum faulenzendeum egi ad linguam latinam et dic obstupatus: quinam fecit Angelum ita tollum, nonsensitatis vollum, plenum et, plus ancora* much: *hoc fecit*[c] excessive card-playing. Recollect yourself, you evil-doer, think what is the purpose of your existence! Robber, think of how you are sinning against everything sacred and profane! Cards! They are cut from the skin of the devil. O you terrible people. I think of you only with tears or gnashing of teeth. Ha, I am filled with inspiration. On the nineteenth day of the second month of 1839, on the day when midday is at twelve o'clock, a storm seized me and carried me afar and there I saw them playing cards, and then it was time to eat. To be continued.

And behold, there arose from the Orient a dreadful thunderstorm, so that the windows rattled and the hailstones came beating down, but still they went on playing. Thereat a quarrel arose and the King of the Orient marched into battle against the Prince of the Occident and midnight echoed with the cries of the combatants. And the Prince of the Sea rose up against the lands in the Orient and a battle took place in front of his town, the like of which was never before seen by men. But they went on playing. And seven spirits came down from heaven. The first wore a long coat and his beard came down to his chest. He was called Faust. And the second spirit had a venerable fringe of grey hair round his bald head and he called out "Woe, woe, woe!" He was called

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[a] And you, too, Brutus? Friedrich Graeber, this is a thing I should never have believed of you. You play cards? passionately? O times, O customs! Thing most worthy of being remembered. Where is your honour?— *Ed.*

[b] Gone to the devil! Who is it that has led you astray? Have my words borne no fruit? O my son, turn back.— *Ed.*

[c] Leave the cards, do much good, and if you live a pure life you will win back the best part. You see my love in that I have driven the spirit of idleness to Latin, and say in stupefaction: who then has made the angel so mad, so full of folly and other things? This has been done by....— *Ed.*

Lear. And the third spirit was of great stature and enormous to behold and his name was Wallenstein. And the fourth spirit was like the children of Anak[a] and he carried a cudgel like to the cedars of Lebanon. He was called Hercules. And the fifth was made of iron through and through and his name was written on his brow — Siegfried — and by his side strode a mighty warrior whose sword gleamed like lightning. He was the sixth and his name was Roland. And the seventh spirit carried a turban on the point of his sword and swung a banner over his head on which was written — *Mio Cid.* And the seven spirits knocked on the door of the players, but they paid no heed. And behold, there arose from midnight a great brightness which spread over the whole earth like an eagle, and when it was gone I saw the players no more. But written in black letters on the door was וְבֶרְלִין[b] And I was struck dumb.

If my letter to Wilhelm[196] was not sufficient proof of my madness, I hope that it will not occur to any of you now to doubt it. If this is not the case, I am willing to give you even more convincing proof.

Future of the five card-players

I have just seen in the *Telegraph* a review of the poems of Winkler, the Barmen missionary.[197] They are trounced terribly and a mass of extracts are given which have a distinct missionary flavour. If the paper comes to Barmen, that will be the end of Gutzkow's reputation there, which is already low. These extracts are really infinitely revolting — Pol is an angel by comparison. Lord Jesus, heal the issue of blood of my sins (an allusion to the

[a] *Sons of Anak*—aboriginal giants reported in the Old Testament to have inhabited Southern Palestine.—*Ed.*

[b] Berlin!—*Ed.*

well-known story in the Gospel[a]) and a lot more like this. I am despairing more and more about Barmen. It is finished as far as literary matters are concerned. What is printed there is, at best, piffle, with the exception of the sermons. Religious things are usually nonsense. Truly, it is not without justification that Barmen and Elberfeld are cried down as obscurantist and mystic. Bremen has the same reputation and resembles them in many ways. Philistinism linked with religious zealotry, with, moreover, in Bremen's case, a vile constitution, hinders any uplifting of the spirit, and one of the most outstanding hindrances is F. W. Krummacher.— Blank is complaining so terribly about the Elberfeld preachers, especially Kohl and Hermann, that I should like to know whether he is right. He attacks them for their dryness more than anything else, with the sole exception of Krummacher.— What the missionary writes about love is extremely comical. Look, I shall give you something like it.

The Pietist Declares His Love

Respected maiden, after struggling hard and long
Against all worldly joys, because their lure was strong,
I come to Thee to ask if Thou wouldst not wish me
In honour bound Thy lawful wedded Spouse to be.
Although I love Thee not—that were too much to ask—
I love in Thee the Lord, who—

No—it won't do. You can't go making satires on things like this without dragging in the most sacred things behind which these people hide themselves. I should like to see a marriage in which the man does not love his wife but Christ in his wife; and is it not an obvious question there whether he also sleeps with Christ in his wife? Where can you find nonsense like this in the Bible? In the Song of Songs it says—"How fair and how pleasant art thou, O love, for delights!"[b] But, to be sure, any defence whatever of sensuousness is attacked nowadays in spite of David, Solomon and God knows whom. I can get terribly annoyed over this kind of thing. In addition, these fellows pride themselves on having the true teaching and they damn anybody who does not so much doubt what is in the Bible, as interpret it in a different way from them. It is a pretty business. If anyone should dare to say that this or that verse is an interpolation, then they'll soon go for you. Gustav Schwab is the finest chap in the world, and even orthodox,

[a] Luke 8:43.—*Ed.*
[b] The Song of Solomon 7:6.—*Ed.*

but the mystics do not think anything of him because he is not always playing them religious songs in the style of: You say I am a Christian, and in one of his poems hints at a possible understanding between rationalists and mystics.[a] As far as religious poetry is concerned, it is at an end for the time being until someone comes along who can give it a new impetus. With both Catholics and Protestants everything goes on in the same old humdrum way. The Catholics compose hymns about the Virgin Mary, the Protestants sing the old songs with the most prosaic words in the world. These horrible abstractions—sanctification, conversion, justification and lord knows what *loci communes*[b] and hackneyed flourishes. Out of anger at present-day religious poetry, out of very piety, that is, one might well go over to the devil. Is our time so shabby that it is impossible for anyone to set religious poetry on to new paths? Incidentally, I think that the most contemporary kind is that which I have used in my *Sturm* and *Florida*,[c] concerning which I ask you for the most detailed review on pain of not-receiving-any-more-poems. It is inexcusable of Wurm to hold on to the letters.

Yours,
*Friedrich Engels*

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## 11

## TO HERMANN ENGELS

### IN BARMEN

Bremen, March 11,[d] 1839

Dear Hermann,

I request Your Honour not to plague me in future with beginnings of letters such as you learned from Herr Riepe and only permit myself for the moment to remark that it is winter with

[a] In the original letter follow the words: Von Tieck.—*Ed.*
[b] Platitudes.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, pp. 407-09.—*Ed.*
[d] The original is mistakenly dated February 11.—*Ed.*

us every morning and summer every midday. For in the morning the temperature is minus five degrees, while it is plus ten degrees at midday. I continue to practise my singing and composing regularly. Here is a sample of the latter:

You can sing *The Blind Man* to that melody or you can leave it.

March 12.[a] I'm very glad that you will soon be getting your dog. What is the breed of the mother and what does the animal look like? His Antiquity, Herr Leupold, is now arriving at the office and I will have to strike a more serious tone, as the great Shakespeare says. A new newspaper has just come out called the *Bremer Stadtbote*,[b] edited by Albertus Meyer, who is a very great blockhead. He used to lecture on the happiness of peoples, child education, and other topics, and when he wanted to get his lectures printed the worthy authorities would not agree, saying it would be far too nonsensical. He has the nature of a china merchant and has been in conflict with the *Unterhaltungsblatt*[c] ever since his first issue. The way they go for each other would make you die laughing. Continuation in letter to Marie.

Walking in front of the *Bremer Stadtbote* is a man who looks like this

Your loving brother

*Friedrich Engels*

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[a] The original is mistakenly dated February 12.— *Ed.*

[b] The *Bremen Courier*.— *Ed.*

[c] *Bremisches Unterhaltungsblatt*.— *Ed.*

## 12

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN BARMEN

Bremen, March 12, 1839

Dear Marie,

(Continuation of my letter to Hermann.) The *Stadtbote* is full of absolute nonsense and I am writing poems about it at the office which ridicule it by always praising it to the skies, just incoherent twaddle, and I send it to the paper signed Th. Hildebrandt and they print it in all innocence. I have got one in my desk at this very moment which I am going to send in. It runs like this:

Book Wisdom[a]

He is not wise who from his reading draws
Nothing but floods of useless erudition.
For all his learning, life's mysterious laws
Are a closed book beyond his comprehension.
He who acquires a thorough textbook grounding
In Botany, won't hear the grass that grows.
Nor will he ever teach true understanding
Who tells you all the dogma that he knows.
Oh, no! the germ lies hid in man's own heart.
Who seeks the art of life must look within.
Burning the midnight oil will not impart
The secret of emotion's discipline.
The man is lost who hears his own heart's voice
And spurns it, wilfully misapprehending.
Of all your words so noble and so wise
The most profound is human understanding.

So it goes, on and on, all mockery. Usually, when I am not quite sure what to send, I get hold of the *Bote* and scrape something together from that. The other day I sat Karl Leupold at my desk

[a] See this volume, p. 6.—*Ed.*

and dictated to him a rude letter to the *Bote*,[198] which they received and printed with the most fantastically stupid comments. But I must go out now. So I remain

Your loving brother

*Friedrich*

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## 13

## TO FRIEDRICH GRAEBER

[Bremen] April 8 (*nisi erro*[a]), 1839

My dearest Fritz,

This letter—yes, you think you are going to be greatly amused by it, but no, not so much. You, who not only by making me wait so long, but by desecrating the holiest mysteries which ever remained hidden from the human genius, have clouded my visions, angered and enraged me, must suffer a special punishment. You shall be bored, and how? With an essay. And about what? About that much-talked-about sheep—contemporary literature.

What did we have before 1830? theodor Hell and his associates, Willibald Alexis, an aged Goethe and an aged Tieck, *c'est tout.* Then, like a thunderclap, came the July revolution, the most splendid expression of the people's will since the war of liberation. Goethe dies, Tieck goes to seed more and more, Hell goes to sleep, Wolfgang Menzel goes on writing stodgy criticism, but a new spirit arises in literature—with Grün and Lenau above all among the poets. Rückert acquires a new verve, Immermann acquires importance, Platen the same, but that is not enough. Heine and Börne were already fully formed characters before the July revolution, but only now are they acquiring importance and upon them is arising a new generation, which turns to its account the lives and literatures of all peoples, Gutzkow leading. In 1830, Gutzkow was still a student and worked first of all for Menzel on the *Literatur-Blatt*, but not for long; they did not agree in their views. Menzel turned churlish; Gutzkow wrote the notorious *Wally* (*die Zweiflerin*), and Menzel made a terrible uproar about it, accusing Gutzkow of himself holding the views expressed by Wally

[a] If I am not mistaken—*Ed.*

in the novel, and actually succeeded in getting the harmless book banned.[199] Gutzkow was joined by the admittedly unimportant Mundt, who in order to make money started all kinds of undertakings, publishing other people's articles *cum suibus.*[a] Beurmann, a shrewd chap and fine observer, soon joined them, and then Ludolf Wienbarg and F. Gustav Kühne, and for these five writers (*nisi erro, anno* 1835) Wienbarg invented the name *Junges Deutschland.*[200] Opposing them was Menzel, who would have done better to stay at home, since it was for that very reason that Gutzkow demolished him, and then the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung,* which sees idolatry in every allegory and original sin in every expression of sensuousness (perhaps Hengstenberg was so named on the principle of *lucus a non lucendo,*[b] i.e., perhaps he is gelded, castrated, a eunuch?[c]). These noble people accused Young Germany of wanting the emancipation of women and the restoration of the flesh and wanting as a side-line to overthrow a couple of kingdoms and become Pope and Emperor in one person. Of all these charges, only the one concerning the emancipation of women (in the Goethean sense) had any grounds, and it could only be brought against Gutzkow, who later disavowed the idea (as high-spirited, youthful over-haste). Through their standing by one another, their aims became more and more sharply defined; it was the "ideas of the time" which came to consciousness in them. These ideas of the century (so Kühne and Mundt said) are not anything demagogic or anti-Christian as they are made out to be, but are based on the natural right of every man and extend to everything in the present conditions which conflicts with it. Thus these ideas include: above all, participation by the people in the administration of the state, that is, constitutional matters; further, emancipation of the Jews, abolition of all religious compulsion, of all hereditary aristocracy, etc. Who can have anything against that? The *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung* and Menzel have it on their consciences that they have so cried down the honour of Young Germany. As early as 1836-37, among these writers, who were bound together by unity of purpose, but not by any special association, the idea was clear and definite; by the high quality of their writing they won for themselves the recognition of the other, mostly wretched, writers and attracted all the young talents to

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[a] Along with his own.— *Ed.*

[b] Grove from not being light; ancient Roman etymologists derived words often by contrast and not by resemblance.— *Ed.*

[c] A play on the name Hengstenberg, *Hengst* meaning "stallion".— *Ed.*

themselves. Their poets are Anastasius Grün and Karl Beck; their critics are, first and foremost, Gutzkow, Kühne, Laube and, among the younger ones, Ludwig Wihl, Levin Schücking and others; they also try their hand at the novel, drama, etc. Recently, however, differences have arisen between Gutzkow and Mundt along with Kühne and Laube. Both have supporters — Gutzkow the younger people like Wihl, Schücking and others, Mundt only a few of the younger ones. Beurmann is keeping fairly neutral, so is the young, very talented Dingelstedt, but they incline very much towards Gutzkow. As a result of the quarrel Mundt has lost all his credit, and that of Kühne has fallen considerably because he is so contemptible that he denigrates everything Gutzkow writes. Gutzkow, on the other hand, behaves very nobly and dwells only on the great love between Mundt and Kühne, who engage in mutual praise. Gutzkow's latest article in the *Jahrbuch der Literatur* shows that he is a quite extraordinarily honourable fellow.[201]

We have very few active writers apart from Young Germany. The Swabian school[202] has been passive ever since 1820. The Austrians Zedlitz and Grillparzer are of little interest because they write in such a strange fashion (Zedlitz Spanish style, Grillparzer antique); among the lyric poets Lenau inclines towards Young Germany despite his ecclesiastical material, Frankl is an agreeable Uhland in miniature, K. E. Ebert is quite Bohemianised. The Saxons — Hell, Heller, Herloßsohn, Morvell, Wachsmann, Tromlitz — oh my God, they lack wit; the Marteau lot[203] and the Berliners (to whom you do not belong) are vile, the Rhinelanders — Lewald is by far the best writer of entertainment literature; his *Europa* is readable, but the reviews in it are terrible — Hub, Schnezler and Co. are not worth much, Freiligrath will yet turn to Young Germany one day, you'll see, Duller too, if he does not go to the dogs before then, and Rückert stands there like an old father and stretches out his hands in benediction over everyone.

April 9. So there is the moving essay. What shall I, poor devil, do now? Go on swotting on my own? Don't feel like it. Turn loyal? The devil if I will! Stick to Saxon mediocrity — *ugittugitt* (oh God, oh God — local expression of disgust). So I must become a Young German, or rather, I am one already, body and soul, I cannot sleep at night, all because of the ideas of the century. When I am at the post-office and look at the Prussian coat of arms, I am seized with the spirit of freedom. Every time I look at a newspaper I hunt for advances oı freedom. They get into my poems and mock at the obscurantists in monk's cowls and in ermine. But with their fine phrases — world-weariness, world-historic, the anguish of

the Jews, etc.— I will have no truck, for they are already outdated. And I'm telling you, Fritz, when you become a pastor you can be as orthodox as you like, but if ever you become a pietist who rails against Young Germany and regards the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung* as his oracle, then, truly, I'm telling you you'll have me to deal with. You must become a pastor in Gemarke[a] and drive out the damned, consumptive, sit-by-the-fire pietism which Krummacher has brought to such a bloom. Of course they will call you a heretic, but let one of them come and prove by the Bible or by reason that you are wrong. Meanwhile, Blank is a wicked rationalist and throws the whole of Christianity overboard, what will it lead to? Well, I have never been a pietist. I have been a mystic for a while, but those are *tempi passati.* I am now an honest, and in comparison with others very liberal, super-naturalist. How long I shall remain such I don't know, but I hope to remain one, even though inclining now more, now less towards rationalism. All this will have to be settled. *Adios, Friderice,* write more quickly and write a lot. *Tuus.*[b]

*Do hêst de mî dubbelt.*[c]

*Friedrich Engels* *Friedrich Engels*

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## 14

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN BARMEN

Bremen, April 10, 1839

Dear Marie,

Pardon me for not writing to you for so long. Now I'll tell you something nice. On Good Friday, the local Burgomaster, His Magnificence Dr. Groening, died and the election of a new one took place a week ago. The Right Honourable Senator Dr. J. D. Noltenius got the appointment and last Friday there was a big procession for his installation. First came the eight gentlemen

[a] A district in Barmen.— *Ed.*

[b] Yours.— *Ed.*

[c] There you have me doubled.— *Ed.*

servants, two of whom are at the service of every Burgomaster, each wearing short porcelain-white breeches, fine hose and bright red frock-coats, swords at their sides, and tricorns on their heads. Following them came the Burgomasters with His Magnificence Dr. Smidt, the shrewdest of them all and as good as King of Bremen, well to the fore; then Herr Dr. Duntze, who was muffled up to his chin in fur and who always takes a thermometer with him to the meetings of the Senate. Then the senators, preachers and citizens, some 600-800 people, perhaps more, who all went into a house or several houses where they ate,[a] that is, they were all given macaroons, cigars and wine, ate as much as they could hold and crammed their pockets full. Youngsters gathered before the doors and made a din, and when anyone came out they all shouted after him, "*hêt îst, hêt îst!*"[b] They also did this to Alderman Hase, who turned round majestically and said: "I am Herr Alderman Hase." Then they shouted: "*Ollermann Håse hêt îst, Ollermann Håse hêt îst!*" And you can imagine how this strut of the Bremen state set the struts of his own body in motion in order to save himself. Last Saturday a new senator was elected in Dr. Noltenius' place; Dr. Mohr received the honour and his tuck-in took place on Monday. It is the custom on these occasions that one of the new senator's relatives has to drink the pig [*das Schwein trinken*], i. e., he has to drink himself under the table, which difficult task was carried out by Herr H. A. Heineken, a broker, to the satisfaction of all. For a great poet says:

> To enjoy the weariness of life with melancholy
> Is virtue and conception.[c]

*Marie*: "But Friedrich, how can you write such stupid stuff? There's neither rhyme nor reason in it." *Friedrich*: "I can't help it."[d] I have to fill the page somehow—aha, I've just remembered something. Last Sunday I went out riding with Neviandt and Roth, and Neviandt brought along a little Englishman, the size of Anna.[e] We were hardly outside the town before the Englishman got hold of a whip and walloped the horse, so that it lashed out

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[a] *Wo geist (nicht Geist) wurde.* A play on the words *Geist*, which means "spirit", and *geist*, a dialectal word meaning "eaten".—*Ed.*

[b] Has eaten, has eaten!—*Ed.*

[c] Paraphrased lines from Hans Adolf von Thümmel, Hofmarschall of the Hessen Electorate.—*Ed.*

[d] Written in English in the original.—*Ed.*

[e] Anna Engels.—*Ed.*

with forelegs and hindlegs. He remains sitting on it calmly, the animal jumps about in all directions, but he isn't thrown. Then he dismounts to pick up his whip, which he had dropped, and, oh, magnificent stupidity, leaves the horse all by itself, and the horse wastes no time to think before doing a bunk. He runs after it, Neviandt dismounts and goes after him, but returns unsuccessful, John and the horse are gone. We ride to Horn, have a drop, and have scarcely started back before Mr. John comes galloping up *pleine carrière*.[a] The horse had been stopped on the way, he had mounted, ridden it back to the stable and got himself a new whip. So we turn round. Neviandt and I have rather wild horses and as we begin to trot a little Mr. John shoots past me at a mad gallop. My horse gets a fancy and goes off in high style. I twigged what it was up to, calmly let it run and tried to slow it down now and again, but when I'd just got it out of its mad rush, John shot past me and it was worse than ever. Waving his hat he kept shouting: "My horse runs better than yours, hurrah!"[b] Finally his horse pulled up in front of a cart and behold, my Norma also stopped. If only the silly horses knew that their riders enjoy it when they rush off like that. I wasn't in the least afraid and managed quite well. Adieu.

Yours,

*Friedrich*

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## 15

## TO FRIEDRICH GRAEBER

### IN BERLIN

[Bremen, about April 23-May 1, 1839]

*Fritz Graeber*, I am very busy at present with philosophy and critical theology. When you get to be eighteen years of age and become acquainted with Strauss, the rationalists and the *Kirchen-*

[a] At full speed.— *Ed.*

[b] Written in English in the original.— *Ed.*

*Zeitung*[a] then you must either read everything without thinking or begin to doubt your Wuppertal faith. I cannot understand how the orthodox preachers can be so orthodox since there are some quite obvious contradictions in the Bible. How can you square the two genealogies of Joseph, Mary's husband, the different accounts of the institution of the Eucharist ("this is my blood"; this is "the new testament in my blood"[b]), of the men possessed by the devil (one says simply that the devil left him, the other that he entered into the swine), the statement that the mother of Jesus went out to look for her son, whom she believed to be mad, although she had conceived him miraculously, etc., with the authenticity, the literal authenticity of the Evangelists? And the discrepancy in the "Our Father", in the sequence of the miracles, John's peculiarly deep interpretation, through which, however, the form of the narrative is obviously obscured—what about that? *Christi ipsissima verba*[c] of which the orthodox boast come out differently in every gospel. Not to speak of the Old Testament. But nobody tells you this in dear old Barmen; there one is taught according to quite different principles. And on what does the old orthodoxy base itself? On nothing but—the old routine. Where does the Bible demand literal belief in its teachings, in its accounts? Where does a *single* apostle declare that everything he says is directly inspired? This is not surrendering reason in obedience to Christ, as the orthodox people affirm; no, it is a killing of the divine in man to replace it with the dead letter. I am therefore just as good a super-naturalist as I was before, but I have cast off orthodoxy. Thus I cannot now or ever believe that a rationalist who seeks with all his heart to do as much good as possible, should be eternally damned. That is at odds with the Bible itself, for it is written that no one is damned on account of original sin but only because of his own sins. But if a person resists original sin with all his might and does what he can, then his actual sins are only a necessary consequence of original sin and therefore they cannot damn him.

*April 24.* Ha, ha, ha! Do you know who wrote the article in the *Telegraph*? The author is the writer of these lines,[d] but I advise you not to say anything about it, I could get into a hell of a lot of trouble. I know about Kohl, Ball and Hermann almost exclusively from reviews by W. Blank and Strücker, which I copied almost

---

[a] *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung.—Ed.*
[b] Mark 14:24; Luke 22:20.—*Ed.*
[c] Christ's very own words.—*Ed.*
[d] See this volume, pp. 7-25.—*Ed.*

word for word. But that Kohl talks nonsense[a] and Hermann is a feeble pietist, I know from my own ears. D. is *Dürholt*, office boy at Wittenstein's in Unterbarmen. For the rest I am pleased with myself for not having said anything in the article that I cannot prove. There is only one thing which annoys me: I haven't presented *Stier* in as important a light as I ought to have done. He is not to be disregarded as a theologian. Aren't you astonished at my knowledge of the characters, especially of Krummacher and Döring (what I said about his sermon I heard from P. Jonghaus), and of literature? The remarks about Freiligrath must have been really good, otherwise Gutzkow would have cut them out. But the style is atrocious.— By the way, the article seems to have caused a sensation. I put all five of you under obligation on your word of honour not to tell anyone that I am the author. Understood? As far as abuse is concerned, I heaped most of it on you and Wilhelm because I had the letters to you right in front of me when the urge to abuse somebody overcame me. F. Plümacher especially must *not* get to know that I wrote the article. What a lad that Ball is though! He is to preach on Good Friday, does not feel like studying and so learns by heart a sermon he finds in the *Menschenfreund* and gives that. Krummacher is in church, the sermon seems familiar to him, and it finally occurs to him that he had preached that sermon himself on Good Friday 1832. Other people, who have read the sermon, also recognise it. Ball is called upon to account for it and must confess. *Signum est, Ballum non tantum abhorrere a Krummachero, ut Tu quidem dixisti.*[b] I am very much obliged to you for the detailed review of *Faust*. The treatment of this piece certainly bears the stamp of that wretch Raupach.[204] This low cur pokes his nose into everything and ruins not only Schiller by using his images and ideas over and over again in his tragedies, but also Goethe by maltreating him. I doubt very much if my poems will have a big sale; more likely they'll have a stinking one, since they are going for waste paper and bumf. I could not read what you wrote in red ink, so shall send you neither 5 silver groschen nor cigars. This time you will get either the canzone or part of the comedy which I have begun but not finished. Now I must go to my singing lesson. Adieu.

---

[a] In the German there is a pun on the name Kohl and the verb *kohlen*— to talk nonsense.— *Ed.*

[b] This is an indication that Ball has not such an aversion for Krummacher as you indeed said.— *Ed.*

April 27

## FRAGMENTS OF A TRAGICOMEDY

### *HORNED SIEGFRIED*

I

The Palace of King Sieghard

Council Meeting

*Sieghard*

So you are gathered here again,
Strong members of our wide domain,
Around our lofty royal throne,
And all are present, save our son.
He's in the woods on the rampage;
It's time he learned to be his age.
He comes not to this cabinet
Where morning, noon and night we sweat.
Instead of hearing wise men's words,
He goes and listens to the birds;
Instead of studying state affairs,
He's after wrestling bouts with bears.
The only thing he wants us for
Is to demand we start a war.
We would have yielded to his plea
Had God, in His sagacity,
Not given us to realise
Such rashness would be most unwise.
Why let the country go to pot
By humouring the silly clot?

*Councillor*

All that Your Majesty has said
Hits it, as usual, on the head.
But grant your simple servant leave
To speak and say what I believe.
The ways of men are manifold;
The boy is but eighteen years old.
He has the urge to hunt and fight;
Wisdom will come with time all right.

Young courage ever seeks to roam,
But Wisdom quietly stays at home.
Young courage all too soon is tamed,
Its pride and strength are quickly lamed.
Then it returns to Wisdom's door
And there finds happiness once more.
So let him, with your royal compliance,
Go fight with dragons and with giants.
The years will catch him up and get
The better of him anyway;
And so will life: they'll teach him yet.
He will heed Wisdom's words one day.

*Siegfried* (*entering*)

And must I bid farewell,
O Forest, to your trees?
No king's fare can excel
Your sylvan luxuries.
Where but in wooded valleys
Can wild game run so free?
This very golden palace
Envies your greenery.
You'd scold me, Sire, as I can see
For roaming far afield once more.
Must I endure such misery
Each time I chase the fleeting boar?
Since sports and hunting both are banned,
Give me a charger and a sword
That I may fare to some far land,
As I so often have implored.

*Sieghard*

Do you persist in this obsession?
When will you ever show some sense?
Clearly, you'll never learn discretion
Until you curb your insolence.
But since 'tis best to be compliant
And let you have your will, it seems—
Go: let the cudgel of some giant
Awake you from your foolish dreams.
Take sword and steed, and get you hence.
Don't come back till you've learnt some sense.

*Siegfried*

What do I hear? A sword and steed!
Why ask for helm and coat of mail?
Why ask for pages? All I need
Is bold intent that cannot fail.
Swift through the forest's wild ravine
The boisterous mountain torrent roars;
And, laying low the helpless pine,
He cuts himself his lonely course.
Like to that mountain stream I'll be,
Taking my course alone and free.

*Councillor*

Sire, be not heavy in your heart
That our young hero must depart.
The torrent comes to level ground,
And trees no longer crash all round.
Across the plain it finds its way
To fecundate the thirsty land.
The torrent's fury turns to play
And ends by sinking in the sand.

*Siegfried*

Must I needs tarry longer
These castle walls about?
A trusty blade hangs yonder,
A charger neighs without.
Come, you stone pillar, yield
That shining blade so true.
I hasten far afield.
Father, farewell to you!

(*Exit.*)

II

A Forge in the Forest

Enter Siegfried. Enter the Master Smith

*Master Smith*

This is the mighty forge that makes
That lovely thing, the Long Short Story.
With poems, it fills the Almanacks
In all its celebrated glory.

And here we hammer magazines
Where verse and criticism unite.
The fire-glow of our smithy shines
Unceasing, morning, noon and night.
But first, take food, and wine, and rest.
Apprentice, pray escort our guest.

(*Exit Siegfried with Apprentice.*)

*Master Smith*

Now, Journeymen, I'm right behind you.
To work, and raise a goodly din!
Strike on the anvil true, and mind you
Beat those novellas long and thin!
Heat up those lyrics in the forge;
On living fire let them gorge,
Then turn them out in one big mess—
The public's maw is bottomless.
And if there isn't iron enough,
A tip from one who knows his stuff;
Three heroes of Scott's, three women of Goethe's,
A knight from Fouqué with his steely-hard strength,
Are more than sufficient for twelve story writers
To spin out novellas of suitable length.
For lyrics, Uhland's verse affords
A treasure-store of flowery words.
So hammer with a right good zest:
Who turns the most out is the best!

*Siegfried* (*returning*)

Master, my thanks! The wine was good.
I quaffed twelve measures from the wood.

*Master*

(Damned scoundrel!) Kind of you to say
How much you liked my good Rhine wine.
Please be so kind to step this way
And meet this gallant team of mine.
Now here we have the very best;
He churns out tales, at my behest,
Both lewd and moral; his praises sang
None other than the great Wolfgang
Menzel, who in Stuttgart sits;
His name, it is Herr von Tromlitz.

And here is one almost as good;
He also is of noble blood:
The "C" of Wachsmann—a big one, mind—
His equal would be hard to find.
There's not a single almanack
In which he hasn't left his tracks.
Composing tales at breathless pace
He flings them in the public's face.
A man of sweated toil is he,
He hasn't done a thing for verse,
But thanks to him, as most agree,
The public's taste was never worse.
Taste I regard with trepidation,
For taste could mean our ruination.
Third, Robert Heller: famous due to
A shine as on 1 plate of pewter.
The public think it's silver plate;
We don't mind if they learn too late.
He sets himself a slower pace
And strives for characterisation.
He's dealt a right smack in the face
To mystics—his abomination.
You know, the 4 Evangelists
Were only silly pietists.
He's brought them down a peg or two,
And stripped a halo off or two,
And made them tea-time fare for us.
Just read *The Sisters of Lazarus.*
He also writes with grace and charm,
His prickly *Roses*[a] will confirm.
Now here is one whose chief attainment
Is in scholastic entertainment.
Friedrich Nork, hair-splitter, poet,
The greatest—thinks the world should know it.
He tells his lies in lovely songs
And proves, from Oriental tongues,
That you're an Ass, Elijah the sun,
And East was where all speech began.
But don't look for anything sensibly logical,
Thoroughly reasoned or etymological.
Next is honest Herloßsohn,

[a] An allusion to the journal *Rosen. Eine Zeitschrift für die gebildete Welt.*—*Ed.*

Truly deserving of a throne:
A novelist and lyric-writer,
Piffle's panegyric-writer.
His *Comet Star*[a] is something rare,
And read by nitwits everywhere.
Next, under Winkler's guiding hand,
The *Abend-Zeitung*'s noble band.
Von Grosscreutz, Faber, and Thuringus—
What magic thrills those names can bring us!
But what more need have I to praise?
The public, with its curious ways,
Has long since raised them heaven-high
To join the stars up in the sky.
There are some others, absentees;
They're gathering deadwood from the trees.
No need to name the apprentice swarm:
They're all still rather weak of arm.
I hope they will, in time, make good,
Given one drop of novelist's blood.

*Siegfried*

Good Master Smith, who may *you* be?

*Master*

Saxon literature's spirit you see
Incarnate in my nothingness.
If you would know what I can do,
Observe this arm's sinewiness
And how I hammer hard and true.
You look a likely lad, no shirker.
Why don't you join us for a spell?

*Siegfried*

Done, Master! It would suit me well
To join you as a common worker.

*Master*

You can be one of Theodor Hell's.
Go, try your hand at 2 nouvelles.

*Siegfried*

Ha! With bare fists I brought
The oak-trees to the ground;

[a] An allusion to the newspaper *Der Komet. Ein Unterhaltungsblatt für die gebildete Lesewelt.*—*Ed.*

Before my fierce onslaught,
The savage bear went down;
Wrestling the bull in rut,
I brought him to his knees;
Why, then, should I not
Swing at this art with ease?
No learner's tasks for me—
No, not at any price!
Apprentice I won't be.
Here is my masterpiece.
Hand me those bars, there. Neatly
I've snapped them, every one.
They're pulverised completely,
My blacksmith's work is done!

*Theodor Hell*

Here, steady! What's the big idea?
I'll hit you like that iron, d'you hear!

*Siegfried*

Why make that babbling sound?
Why take it all so ill?
Stop rolling on the ground.
Stand up, man, if you will!

*Theodor Hell*

Oh, help, oh, help!

*Master*

Young journeyman,
You strike your fellow hands, I see.
Quick march! Get moving—understand?
Unless you want your hide well tanned.

*Siegfried*

You're clearly just the man for me!

(*Throws him down.*)

*Master*

Ah, woe, woe! etc.

(*Siegfried is sent into the forest, slays the dragon and, on returning, the Master; scatters the journeymen in all directions, and goes away.*)

III

In the Forest

*Siegfried*

O'er yonder, where that coppice grows,
I hear two men exchanging blows.
They're drawing near—such foolish pother;
They'll never silence one another!
I thought them giants in all their strength
With lances of a pine-tree's length,
Not two Professors, all skin and bones,
Pelting each other with learned tomes.

(*Enter Leo and Michelet.*)

*Leo*

Stand up and fight, Hegelian whelp!

*Michelet*

Not with you, Bigot—you're past all help!

*Leo*

Here, take the Bible—smack on the head!

*Michelet*

Take Hegel, miserable drip, instead!

*Leo*

Blasphemer, I throw your Hegel back!

*Michelet*

This Bible will give you a pain in the neck!

*Leo*

What more do you want, you old corpse in the attic!

*Michelet*

You mean yourself, unbridled fanatic!

*Siegfried*

Pray tell me how this quarrel began.

*Leo*

Why, that foul-mouthed Hegelian
Would get the Bible in disgrace.
He really must be taught his place.

*Michelet*

Unpolished boor, and liar too,
He won't let Hegel have his due!

*Siegfried*

And so you throw at one another
The very books that cause the bother?

*Leo*

It's all the same. No Christian he.

*Michelet*

As good and better, believe you me.
It's arrant nonsense, what he says.

*Siegfried*

Why don't you go your separate ways?
Who started off this quarrel here?

*Leo*

I did. I say so without fear.
I fought for God and in God's name.

*Siegfried*

Well, then, the horse you rode was lame.
*He* will never kill Christianity,
*You* won't rescue it from calamity.
Let him pursue his chosen bent:
You may teach something different.
No more the Almighty's name misuse
In your blind rage and wild abuse.
Now you go this way, you go that,
And stop exchanging tit for tat!

*(Exeunt Leo and Michelet in different directions.)*

*Siegfried*

Although they're peaceful, learned men,
I've never seen such fierce defiance;

They fight with all their might and main,
Though schooled in many a noble science.
But hunger plagues me now, and so
Down to the valley I shall go
To look for house or castle there,
Or failing them, my trusty bow
Will furnish me with ample fare.

---

That is as far as I've got. I have left out the bits of narration and only copied out the introduction and the satires. This is the last piece. Now it is the turn of the King of Bavaria[a] to be dealt with—but here it comes to a standstill. The thing lacks complexity and rounding off. Please ask Wurm to see about the poems for the *Musenalmanach*.[b] I must finish now, the post is going.

Yours,

*Friedrich Engels*

May 1, 39

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## 16

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN BARMEN

[Bremen] April 28, 1839

Dear Marie,

You too are only going to get a little from me today so that I can get on to my comedy which I want to send you.[c] It is quite true that the gentlemen ate six crates of macaroons. You can believe it or not, just as you like, but there were about 600 people.

Serves you right that you've got nettle-rash. Your fingers are always itching because you want to do something silly. Now you've got something to itch about. You are an old itching machine, and always will be.

---

[a] Ludwig I.—*Ed.*

[b] *Deutscher Musenalmanach*.—*Ed.*

[c] The comedy given below was written later on separate sheets of paper.—*Ed.*

And I advise you not to leave any empty spaces in your letter, otherwise I'll fill them with caricatures so as not to get out of practice.

*Dios,*[a] my dear Marie.

*Dios,* my dear Marie. Your brother
*Friedrich*

This scrawl is called stenography.

## The Dressing-up. Comedy in 1 act, for Marie

### *Scene 1*

*(The living-room. Mother is sitting by the table and helping Emil*[b] *and Hedwig.*[c] *Marie is sitting by the stove reading; Rudolf*[d] *is running about annoying everybody.)*

*Mother*: Marie, stop reading. That's not a book for you. All the stuff you read, it can't be good for you.

*Marie*: Oh Mother. Just this one story, then you can have the book back.

*Emil*: Mother, what does the word *Kewatroze* mean?

*Mother*: Oh, you mean *quatorze*—fourteen. You learnt that a long time ago. You mustn't always forget everything again. Hedwig! Really, the child is running up to Marie and fighting with Rudolf. Hedwig, will you do your work? You're all naughty today.

*(Enter Anna*[e] *and Laura Kampermann.)*

*Anna*: There. Mother, we've done our work and now we are going upstairs to dress up. That's what we're going to do.

*Mother*: All right, but don't make too much noise.

---

[a] Farewell.—*Ed.*
[b] Emil Engels.—*Ed.*
[c] Hedwig Engels.—*Ed.*
[d] Rudolf Engels.—*Ed.*
[e] Anna Engels.—*Ed.*

*Hedwig*: Mother, I can't get this sum right.
*Mother*: Oh, just think a bit. I already did it with you once. Don't be so scatter-brained!
*Hedwig* (*starts to cry*): But I still can't get it right.
*Anna*: Mother, do you want to dress up as well?
*Mother*: What did you say? Go away. Leave me in peace. Always Mother this and Mother that. It's unbearable.
*Anna*: Tell me, Mother, do you want to?
*Mother*: Yes, yes. Go on, away, with you.

(*Exeunt Anna and Laura with shouts of delight.*)

*Marie*: Here is the book, Mother. I've finished the story. I want to dress up too. Tell me, what shall I put on?
*Mother*: Oh, I've just been telling Anna to be quiet, are you starting now?
*Rudolf* (*falls down and shouts*): Oh Mother, o-oh Mother.
*Mother*: What's the matter? (*Goes to him.*)
*Emil*: Mother, what does this sentence mean?
*Hedwig*: Mother, here's a very funny figure.
*Mother*: Will you be quiet? All of you going on at once. I can't bear it!
*Emil*: Mother, tell me. Won't you help me? Oh Mother, Mother, I must go to the A. B. C.[a]
*Mother*: Then go.
*Marie*: Is it true, Mother, that you want to dress up?
*Mother*: Nonsense. Does it still hurt, Rudolf?
*Hedwig*: Yes, Mother. He has a big bruise on his head. What is this figure, Mother?
*Marie*: But you must dress up.

(*Enter Anna.*)

*Anna*: Mother, Laura is in the A. B. C. and Emil is standing outside brawling and banging on the door.
*Mother*: You too? I've got no time now.

(*Enter Luise.*)

*Luise*: Madam, Wendel is going to Gemarke.[b] Have you got anything for him?

---

[a] Euphemism for W. C.—*Ed.*

[b] A district in Barmen.—*Ed.*

*Mother*: Yes, let me think. Be quiet, all of you. Rudolf, stop whining.

*Marie*: Anna, didn't Mother say she wanted to dress up too?

*Anna*: Yes, Mother, you did.

*Mother*: Will you all be quiet. Out you go.

*Emil (enters crying)*: Oh Mother, Laura wouldn't let me into the lavatory and so I've ... I've done something in....

*All*: He's done something in his trousers!

*Mother*: That's all I needed. Can't we have a moment's peace? All of you shouting at once. (*Takes a horsewhip.*) There, Emil, one, two, three, Anna, Marie, out with you. Tell Wendel to come himself.

(*Enter two masked figures, a man and a woman.*)

*Mother*: What's this? Here's something else now.

(*The man runs to Mother and takes the horsewhip gently away from her. All leap about for joy. The woman stands near Mother and places a pince-nez on her nose.*)

*Mother*: Nonsense! But you can't help laughing at it. (*Enter Wendel.*) Wendel, here's a letter for the post. And this for the Cleners. Here's the money for Hühnerbein the tailor. That's all. (*Exit Wendel. Mother sits down wearing the pince-nez.*) Emil, you go first and get washed.

(*The masked figures seize Emil, who is standing there with his mouth open, and chase him out of the room with shouts and blows.*)

*Hedwig*: Oh Mother, now I see I've done two more sums than I am supposed to. Hurray!

*Marie*: Listen, Mother. Will you dress up now too?

*Mother*: Oh, nonsense!

*Marie*: But listen, Mother, I want to tell you something.

(*Says something in Mother's ear.*)

*Mother*: No, it's impossible.

*Marie*: No, it's not. You'll see. (*Exeunt all.*)

(*Two hours later. Hedwig is wearing Rudolf's clothes and Rudolf is wearing Hedwig's, and both are wearing masks which they undo for each other. The others follow one after the other, all very curiously disguised.*)

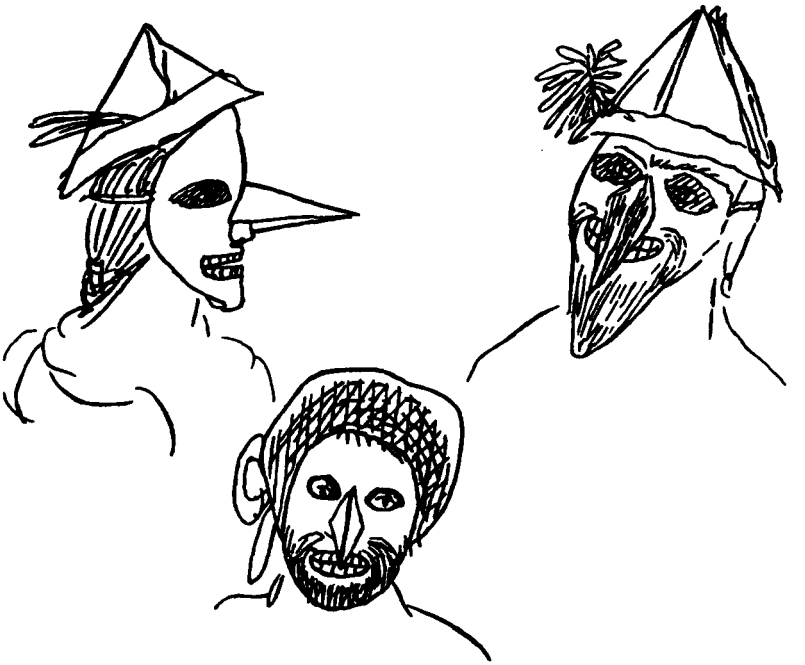

*Hermann*[a]: Oh August,[b] I have surely got the longest nose! Look, boy, I even have a beard like the one our Fritz once had!

*August*: But I have such nice green cheeks and a grey beard, and my nose is also much redder!

*Marie*: Look, Laura, I'm a nice boy, aren't I? You are such a tiny thing under the hat, I am much bigger than you are, and my fancy paper hat is also bigger!

*(Enter Mother in an old dressing-gown with Father's fur dressing-gown over it, and a peaked nightcap on top of her bonnet, and the pince-nez on her nose.)*

---

[a] Hermann Engels.—*Ed.*
[b] August Engels.—*Ed.*

*All shout*: Oh Mother, Mother.
*Hermann*: August, that's not my mother.
*Mother*: Will you be quiet, boy, and sit down at the table, all of you, until he comes.

(*Pause. Enter Father, looks round astonished until at last all take their masks off and the children run about shouting and screaming for joy. Finale: a gigantic feast.*)

I could have gone on with it but time will not allow. The post goes in half an hour, so I'll close.

Your brother
*Friedrich*

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## 17

## TO WILHELM GRAEBER

### IN BERLIN

[Bremen, about April 28-30, 1839]

*Guglielmo carissimo!* τὴν σοῦ ἐπιστόλην εὕρηκα ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἑτέρων, καὶ ἡδὺ μὲν ἦν ἐμοὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ ῥῆμα. Τὸ δὲ δικαστήριον τῶν πέντε στουριώσων, καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν κρίσιν οὐ δύναμαι γινώσκειν ἢ αὐθεντικὴν ἢ κομπετέντην.— Ἐστὶν γὰρ χάρις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, εἰ δίδωμι ποιήματα ἐν ταῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστόλαις. [a]

Since you don't wish to criticise *St. Hanor, Florida* and *Sturm*, you don't deserve to get any more verses. Your assertion *debilitatis ingenii abhorret ab usata tua veriloquentia. Meam quidem mentem ad juvenilem Germaniam se inclinare, haud nocebit libertati; haec enim classis scriptorum non est, ut schola romantica, demagogia, et cett, societas clausa, sed ideas saeculi nostri, emancipationem judaeorum servorumque, constitutionalismum generalem aliasque bonas ideas in succum et san-*

[a] My very dear Wilhelm, I found your letter amongst those of the others and its words were sweet to me. But I cannot accept as either authentic or competent the judgment and the sentence passed by the five students.— For it is an act of kindness on my part when I enclose poems in my letters to you.— *Ed.*

*guinem populi Teutonici intrare volunt tentantque. Quae quum ideae haud procul sint a directione animi mei, cur me separare? Non enim est, quod tu dicis*[a]: surrendering oneself to a tendency, *sed*[b]: joining it; *sequitur*[c] a continuation in my room, and, in writing a polyglottic letter, I will take now the English language,[d] *ma no, il mio bello Italiano, dolce e soave, come il zefiro, con parole, somiglianti alle flori del più bel giardino, y el Español, lengua como el viento en los árboles, e o Portuguez, como as olas da mar em riba de flores e prados, et le Français, comme le murmure vîte d'un font, très amusant, en de hollandsche taal, gelijk den damp uijt eener pijp Tobak, zeer gemoedlijk*[e]: but our beloved German—that is all at once.

Like to the long, long waves of the sea is the language of Homer;
Aeschylus into the valley hurls one rock after another.
Tongue of the Romans—thus mighty Caesar addresses the legions,
Grasping the words that lie in profusion like angular boulders
Scattered around; from them there soars a Cyclopean building;
Whereas the new Italian tongue is graceful and charming,
Setting the poet in the middle of Earth's most beautiful garden;
Petrarch filled cornucopias; Ariosto wove his bay-wreath.
Language of Spain: oh, hear how aloft in the leaves of the tree-top
Reigns the tremendous wind, and tremendous songs of the ancients
Swell and resound in its roar, and the grapes that hang from the vine-branch
Climbing the trunk of the tree, all swing to and fro in the leafage.

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[a] Of intellectual weakness is in contradiction to your customary veracity. It will do no harm to liberty if my mind inclines towards Young Germany, for this is not a group of writers, like the romantic, demagogic and other schools, not a closed society; what they want and work for, is that the ideas of our century—the emancipation of the Jews and of the slaves, general constitutionalism and other good ideas—shall become part of the flesh and blood of the German people. Since these ideas are not far from the trend of my own mind, why should I hold aloof? For it is not as you say.—*Ed.*

[b] But.—*Ed.*

[c] Follows.—*Ed.*

[d] The original (after *sequitur*) is written in English.—*Ed.*

[e] But no, my beautiful Italian, lovely and pure as the zephyr, with words like flowers from the loveliest of gardens, and Spanish, a language like the wind in the trees, and Portuguese, like the rustling of the sea on a shore of flowers and meadows, and French, like the quick murmur of a fountain, very amusing, and Dutch, like the smoke from a pipe of tobacco, very cosy.—*Ed.*

Portugal's language—the murmur of waves on the flower-studded coastline,
Where in the reeds may be heard how Syrinx sighs with the Zephyr.
Hark to the tongue of the Franks: it runs, an exuberant streamlet,
Merrily taking its course and smoothing the obstinate sandstone
Under the rippling flow of its chattering, garrulous wavelets.
Language of England, all this time weather-beaten and grass-grown
Monument of great giants, that the brambles covered for all that,
Round it screams and howls the storm that would topple it over.
Ah, but the German tongue, it booms like the surf of the breakers
Washing the jagged-edged coral that carries the fairest of islands;
Towards it thunder the long, long waves of the music of Homer;
There, too, crash the gigantic rocks that Aeschylus tumbled;
There you will see the Commander-in-Chief's Cyclopean building;
There you will see the fragrant garden of beautiful flowers;
Mighty the sounds that swell from the midst of the leaves in the tree-top;
Syrinx is heard in the reeds, and the rivulets polish the sandstone;
Many a giant building stands with the wind screaming round it:
Such is the German language, eternal and woven with wonders.

I wrote down these hexameters *ex tempore*, and I hope they'll make the nonsense on the previous page, out of which they came, more bearable to you. But discuss them as something extemporary.

April 29. To proceed with your letter in consistent continuation, the weather is marvellous today so that you, *posito caso aequalitatis temporalis*,[a] are probably and rightly cutting all your lectures today. I wish I were with you.—I have probably already written to you that I have been venting my wit on the *Bremer Stadtbote*[b] under the name of Theodor Hildebrand; I have given it up now with the following letter.

Dear *Bremen Courier*,
Please don't be offended
If I've made you the laughing-stock of town.
Remember, friend, that folk have always tended
To ridicule what's patently unsound.
Your sunshine days have very nearly ended
In the three months that you've been trotting round.

[a] Assuming similarity of weather.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 5.—*Ed.*

Have you been saying things you didn't ought,
To give yourself such food for afterthought?

My poems cost little effort when I did them;
The donkey work was almost wholly done.
I took your articles and parodied them;
The subject-matter came from you alone.
Simply subtract the rhyme-schemes and the rhythm—
The image that remains is all your own.
Rage, if you like, at your respectful and
Obedient servant,

*Theodor Hildebrand*[a]

You, too, should begin to write a little, either in verse or in prose, and then send things to the *Berliner Conversationsblatt*, if it still exists, or to the *Gesellschafter*. Later, you take it up more seriously, write short stories, which you get printed in magazines, then by themselves, you get a reputation, are acclaimed as a gifted, witty narrator. I see you all again, Heuser a great composer, Wurm writing profound studies on Goethe and the developments of the time, Fritz becoming a famous preacher, Jonghaus composing religious poems, you writing witty short stories and critical essays, and me—becoming the town poet of Barmen to replace Lieutenant Simons of shabbily treated memory (in Cleve).—As a further piece of poetry for you, there is also the song on the sheet for the *Musenalmanach*,[b] which I don't feel like copying out again. Perhaps I'll write another one besides. Today (April 30), because of the magnificent weather, I sat in the garden from 7 in the morning to half past 8, smoked and read the *Lusiade*[c] until I had to go to the office. There's no better way of reading than in a garden on a clear spring morning, with a pipe in your mouth, and the rays of the sun on your back. This afternoon I'll continue this pursuit with the Old German Tristan, and his sweet reflections on love. Tonight I'm going to the *Ratskeller*[d] where our Herr Pastor[e] is treating us to the Rhine wine which he has

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[a] See this volume, p. 26.—*Ed.*

[b] *Deutscher Musenalmanach.—Ed.*

[c] Luiz Vaz de Camões, *Os Lusiadas.—Ed.*

[d] Beer cellar under the town hall.—*Ed.*

[e] Georg Gottfried Treviranus.—*Ed.*

been given—in duty bound—by the new Burgomaster.[a] In such stupendous weather I always get an immense longing for the Rhine and its vineyards, but what can I do about it? Write a couple of verses at most. I am willing to bet that W. Blank has written telling you that [I] wrote the articles in the *Telegraph*[b] and

that's why you were all so angry about it. The scene is in Barmen and you can imagine what it is.—I have just had a letter from W. Blank in which he says that the article is causing a frantic uproar in Elberfeld. Dr. Runkel attacks it in the *Elberfelder Zeitung*, accusing me of falsehood.[c] I want to let him be given a hint that he should point out to me just one single falsehood, which he cannot, because everything I wrote was based on proven data which I have from eye-witnesses and ear-witnesses. Blank sent me the paper, which I at once dispatched to Gutzkow with the request to go on keeping my name secret. Krummacher declared recently in a sermon that the earth stands still and the sun rotates around it, and the fellow dares to trumpet this to the world on this April 21, 1839, and then he says that pietism does not lead the world back to the Middle Ages![d] It is scandalous. He should be

[a] J. Daniel Noltenius.—*Ed.*

[b] "Letters from Wuppertal". See this volume, pp. 7-25.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 27-28.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, p. 29.—*Ed.*

expelled, or one day he will yet become Pope before you know, and then may a saffron-yellow thunderstorm strike him dead. *Dios lo sabe,* God knows what will become of Wuppertal. *Adios.* Yours, expecting a speedy reply or not sending any more poems,

*Friedrich Engels*

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## 18

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN BARMEN

Bremen, May 23, 1839

Dear Marie,

Now I ride out every Sunday in the country with R. Roth. Last Monday we went to Vegesack and Blumenthal and just when we wanted to have a look at the famous Bremer Schweiz (this is a very small strip of land with small sand-hills), an enormous pall of haze came down like a cloud and in five minutes it was almost quite dark, so that we were unable to enjoy the so-called beautiful view.—But on Whit Monday it is really lively in these parts. Everybody goes out of town and it is dead quiet in Bremen, but at the town gates you see procession after procession of carriages, riders and walkers. And such a dust, it is terrible. For the roads are covered with sand to a depth of half a yard and of course it all goes up into the air. A broker called Jan Krusbecker has just arrived and I'll draw him for you.

Jan Krusbecker

He looks exactly like this. He has eyes like rockets and an always half-melancholy, half-smiling air. Adieu.

Your brother

*Friedrich*

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## 19

## TO WILHELM GRAEBER

### IN BERLIN

[Bremen, May 24-June 15, 1839]

My dear William,[a]

Today is May 24, and still not a line from any of you. You are again qualifying for non-receipt of poems. I don't understand you. Nevertheless, you shall have contributions on present-day literature.

*Collected Works of Ludwig Börne.* Vols. 1 and 2. *Dramaturgische Blätter.*—Börne, the great fighter for freedom and justice, is concerned here with questions of aesthetics. And here too he is in his element; what he says is so precise and clear, coming from such a true feeling for beauty and demonstrated so convincingly, that there can be no question of contradiction. It is all flooded in a sea of the most exuberant wit, and here and there, the firm and sharp ideas of freedom rise out of it like rocks. Most of these reviews (for that is what the book is made up of) were written at the time when the plays discussed had just appeared, that is, at a time when critical judgments on them were still blindly and hesitatingly groping about. But Börne's vision penetrated to the innermost threads of the action. The most excellent are his criticisms of Schiller's *Tell,* an essay which for more than twenty

[a] Written in English in the original.—*Ed.*

years has opposed the usual view without being refuted, precisely because it is irrefutable.[205] — Immermann's *Cardenio* and *Hofer*, Raupach's *Isidor und Olga*, Clauren's *Wollmarkt*, with which other interests are connected, Houwald's *Leuchtturm* and *Bild*, his criticism of which is so devastating that nothing, absolutely nothing, remains, and Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. He reveals himself throughout as a great man who stirred up a controversy the consequences of which are still not to be foreseen, and these two volumes would already ensure Börne a place alongside Lessing. But he became a Lessing in a different field; may Karl Beck follow him as his Goethe!

*Nächte. Gepanzerte Lieder by Karl Beck*

I am a Sultan, driven by storms that blow,
My warrior hosts are armoured forms of song,
And grief has laid a turban on my brow
With many mysteries its folds among.[a]

If such images are already contained in the second verse of a prologue, what will the book itself be like? If a youngster of twenty has such ideas, what kind of song will the mature man sing? — Karl Beck is a poetic talent without equal since Schiller. I find a remarkable affinity between Schiller's *Räuber* and Beck's *Nächte*, the same ardent spirit of freedom, the same unrestrained fantasy, the same youthful exuberance, the same mistakes. Schiller strove for freedom in the *Räuber*, which was an earnest warning to his servile age. But at that time such a striving could not yet take a definite form. In Young Germany, we now have a definite, systematic trend. Karl Beck comes forward and calls loudly to his age to recognise this trend, and to join it. *Benedictus, qui venit in nomine Domini!*[b]

*Der fahrende Poet. Poems by Karl Beck.* The first work of the young poet has hardly appeared before he presents us with a second, which in power of expression, wealth of ideas, lyrical verve and depth is not a whit inferior to the first, but infinitely surpasses it in excellence of form and in its classicism. What an advance from *Schöpfung* in the *Nächte* to the sonnets on Schiller and Goethe in *Der fahrende Poet*! Gutzkow thinks that the sonnet

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[a] From Karl Beck's poem *Der Sultan*. See this volume, p. 41.— *Ed.*

[b] Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord.— *Ed.*

form is harmful to the effect of the work as a whole, but I would maintain that this Shakespearean sonnet is precisely the medium between the epic stanza and the individual poem which this peculiar type of poetry requires. Of course, it is not an epic poem but a purely lyrical one with a loose epic thread running through it, still looser than in Byron's *Childe Harold.* But it is a good thing for us Germans that Karl Beck was born.

*Blasedow und seine Söhne. A comic novel by Karl Gutzkow.* Vol. 1. This novel in 3 volumes is based on the idea of a modern Don Quixote—an idea which has already been frequently used but generally has been badly adaptated, and by no means exhausted. The character of this modern Don Quixote (Blasedow, a country parson), as Gutzkow originally conceived him, was splendid, but something is clearly wanting in the execution. At any rate, this novel by the barely thirty-year-old Gutzkow (and which, moreover, is said to have been finished three years ago) is very inferior to Cervantes' presentation which, of course, is the work of a mature man. On the other hand, the secondary characters—Tobianus seems to correspond to Sancho Panza—the situations and the language are excellent.

So much for my reviews. I shall continue when you have written.—Do you know when your letters arrived? On June 15! And the ones before came on April 15! That makes exactly two months! Is that right? I herewith decree that, on pain of not being sent any more poems, Wurm's influence on the dispatch of letters be totally withdrawn. And if Wurm does not get his letter finished by the proper time, then send yours off without his. Isn't 14 days long enough to write me two quarto-size pages? It is scandalous. You put no date on your letter again, I don't think that's right, either.—The article in the *Telegraph*[a] is my own indisputable property, and pleased W. Blank enormously. It was also applauded very much in Barmen and, in addition, was quoted with praise in the Nuremberg *Athenäum.*[206] There may be individual exaggerations in it, but on the whole it gives a correct picture if seen from a reasonable standpoint. However, if read with the preconceived opinion that it is a jumbled botch, it must appear to be precisely that.—What you say about the comedy is *justum.*[b]

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[a] "Letters from Wuppertal". See this volume, pp. 7-25.—*Ed.*
[b] Correct.—*Ed.*

*Justus judex ultionis,*
*Donum fac remissionis.*[a]

You have not made the slightest mention of the canzone. This to be rectified.

Candidates of *Musenalmanach*[b]

With regard to *Leo* and *Michelet,* I only know about the matter from *Leo's Hegelingen*[207] and a number of works written against it, and from these I have learned: 1) that, according to his own statements, *Leo* has abandoned all philosophy for the past 11 years and therefore cannot pass any judgment; 2) that only his extravagant and boastful brain made him believe he had a vocation for it; 3) that he attacked conclusions which, by the specific character of the *Hegelian* dialectic, necessarily follow from generally accepted premises instead of attacking the dialectic itself, and failing which he should have let these conclusions stand; 4) that he resorted only to coarse exclamations and indeed abuse to refute what was written against him; 5) that he regards himself as being far superior to his opponents, puffs himself up, and then on the very next page smirks with an infinite humility; 6) that he only attacks four persons, though by so doing he attacked the whole school, which cannot be separated from them, for although Gans, etc., may indeed have dissociated themselves from them on particular

[a] Upright judge who punishes, grant me indulgence.— *Ed.*
[b] *Deutscher Musenalmanach.— Ed.*

points, they belonged so closely together that *Leo* was least of all capable of showing the points of difference between them to be important; 7) it is the spirit of the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung*, which anticipated Leo, that is dominant in his whole libellous attack; conclusion: Leo would have done better to keep his mouth shut. What were those "*most bitter experiences*" which forced Leo to break away? Had he not attacked them already in his pamphlet about *Görres*,[a] and even more violently than in his *Hegelingen*? Anyone with the requisite knowledge (has Leo got it?) may participate in a scientific controversy, but whoever wishes to indulge in condemnation had better take care. And did Leo do that? Does he not, along with Michelet, also condemn Marheineke, whose every word, as though he were under police surveillance, the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung* scrutinises to see if it is orthodox. If he had been consistent in his conclusions, Leo would have had to damn a number of people beyond counting, but for that he lacked the courage. Whoever wishes to attack the Hegelian school must himself be a Hegel and create a new philosophy in its place. And despite Leo, the school is spreading from day to day. As for the attack of the Hirschberg Schubarth[b] on the political side of Hegelianism, doesn't this come like the verger's "Amen" to the popish Credo of the Lion of Halle, a lion which indeed does not disavow its cat-species? *A propos*, Leo is the only academic teacher in Germany who zealously defends the hereditary aristocracy. Leo also calls W. Menzel his friend!!!

Your true friend

*Friedrich Engels, Young German*

Weren't you at Gans' funeral? Why don't you write anything about him?

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[a] H. Leo, *Sendschreiben an J. Görres.—Ed.*

[b] K. Schubarth, *Ueber die Unvereinbarkeit der Hegel'schen Staatslehre....—Ed.*

## 20
## TO FRIEDRICH GRAEBER
### IN BERLIN

[Bremen, June 15, 1839]

Fritz Graeber: Gentlemen, here you see modern characters and conditions.[a]

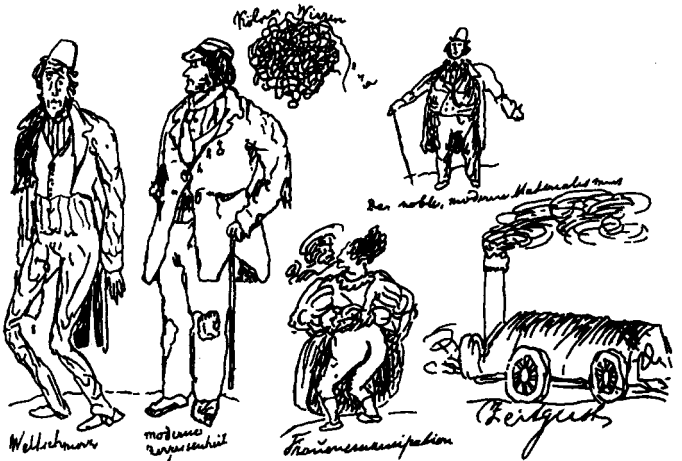

June 15. Your letters arrived today. I decree that Wurm must never again post the letters. To come to business, I was already aware of the gist of what you say about Joseph's family trees and have the following to say in reply:

1) Where can you find in any *genealogical table* in the Bible a son-in-law in similar circumstances being called a *son*? Unless you can mention one I can only regard this as a forced, unnatural explanation.

2) Why did Luke, who wrote in Greek for Greeks, who could not know this

[a] Cartoons (left to right): *Weltschmerz* (World-weariness), *Moderne Zerrissenheit* (Modern stress and strain), *Kölner Wirren* (Cologne discord),[208] *Der noble, moderne Materialismus* (The noble, modern materialism), *Frauenemancipation* (Emancipation of women), *Zeitgeist* (Spirit of the times), *Emancipation des Fleisches* (Emancipation of the flesh).— *Ed.*

Jewish custom, not expressly say for their benefit that it was as you state?

3) What is the point of Joseph's genealogical table at all? It is superfluous since all three synoptic gospels expressly declare that Joseph was not the father of Jesus.

4) Why does a man like Lavater not resort to this explanation, but rather let the contradiction stand? Finally, why does even Neander—who after all is more erudite than Strauss—say that this is an insoluble contradiction, responsibility for which should be laid on the Greek scholar who worked on Matthew's Hebrew manuscripts?

Furthermore, I do not propose to be dismissed so easily with my other points, which you call "miserable hair-splitting". The teaching of literal inspiration is carried by the Wuppertalers to such a degree that God is supposed to have invested each word with a particularly deep meaning, as I have heard often enough from the pulpit. I can well believe that Hengstenberg does not share this view, for it is obvious from the *Kirchen-Zeitung* that he has no clear opinions whatever, but at one moment concedes to one of the orthodox something which the next moment he holds up as a crime when it is said by a rationalist. But how far does the inspiration of the Bible go? Certainly not so far that one Evangelist can make Christ say "This is my blood"[a] and another "This cup is the new testament in my blood".[b] Why then did God who surely foresaw the dispute between Lutherans and Reformers not prevent this wretched conflict by such a very small intervention? If there is inspiration, then only two things are possible: either God did it deliberately *in order* to cause the conflict, something which I should not like to impute to God, or God overlooked it, which is ditto inadmissible. One cannot say that this dispute has brought forth any good, and it would be completely unwarranted and contrary to all probability to suppose that, after having divided the Christian Church for 300 years, it will have a good effect in the future. It is precisely the passage about the Lord's Supper which is important. And if there is a contradiction here, then all faith in the Bible is destroyed.

I want to tell you quite plainly that I have now reached a point where I can only regard as divine a teaching which can stand the test of reason. Who gives us the right to believe blindly the Bible? Only the authority of those who did so before us. Yes, the Koran

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[a] Mark 14:24.—*Ed.*

[b] Luke 22:20.—*Ed.*

is a more organic product than the Bible, for it demands belief in its entire, *continuous* content. But the Bible consists of numerous parts written by different authors, many of whom do not even *themselves make any claim* to godliness. Are we supposed to believe it against our reason, simply because our parents tell us to do so? The Bible teaches that rationalists will be eternally damned. Can you imagine that a man who has striven for union with God all his life (Börne, Spinoza, Kant), indeed that someone like Gutzkow, whose highest aim in life is to find the meeting point between positive Christianity and the culture of our time, that after death people like these should be banished from God for ever and ever and suffer God's wrath physically and mentally without end in the most fearful torments? We must not torment a fly for stealing our sugar, yet God is supposed to torment such men, whose errors are equally unconscious, ten thousand times more cruelly and for all eternity? Further, a rationalist who is sincere—does he sin by his doubting? Not at all. He would then have to suffer the most terrible pangs of conscience all his life; if he strives for truth, Christianity would have to overwhelm him with incontestable truth. Does this happen? Further, how ambiguous is the position of orthodoxy with regard to modern education? It is claimed that Christianity has brought education with it everywhere. And now all of a sudden, orthodoxy orders that education shall be brought to a halt in the middle of its progress. What is the point of all philosophy, for example, if we believe the Bible, which teaches that God cannot be known through reason? Yet, despite this, orthodoxy finds a little philosophy, only not too much of it, quite useful. If geology brings results different from what Mosaic primeval history teaches, then it is decried (see the miserable article in the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung* entitled "Die Grenzen der Naturbetrachtung"[a]); if it brings results which seem to be the same as in the Bible, then it is appealed to. For example, it is appealed to if a geologist declares that the earth and the fossilised bones prove that there was once a great flood; but if another geologist finds evidence that these things belong to different ages and proves that these floods took place at different times in different places, then geology is damned. Is that honest? Furthermore: here we have the *Leben Jesu* by Strauss, an irrefutable book; why does not someone write a devastating refutation? Why is this truly honourable man decried? How many have come out against him in the manner of a Christian, like Neander, and he is not one

[a] *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung*, March 20, 23 and 27, 1839.—*Ed.*

of the orthodox. Yes, truly, there are doubts, grave doubts, which I cannot refute. Then take the teaching about salvation. Why do we not draw from this the moral that if someone freely gives himself up for somebody else he should be punished? All of you would regard this as unjust; but shall what is unjust in the eyes of men be the highest justice in the eyes of God? Again, Christianity says: I free you from sin. That is what the rest of the world, the rationalist world, is also striving to bring about, and now Christianity steps in and forbids it to go on striving on the grounds that the path of the rationalists leads still further away from the goal. If Christianity could show us one single person whom it has made so free in this life that he no longer sins, then it would have some right to speak in this way; but until then, truly none at all. Again: Peter[a] speaks of the reasonable, pure milk of the Gospel.[b] I do not understand it. They tell me: This is enlightened reason. Now show me an enlightened reason to whom this is clear. So far I have not come across one; even to the angels it is a "high mystery".— You think too well of me, I hope, to attribute all this to a sacrilegious scepticism or to boastfulness. I know that I am going to get into the greatest unpleasantnesses through this, but what forces itself on me so convincingly, I cannot drive away, no matter how much I might like to. If I should perhaps have hurt your conviction by my strong language, then I ask your pardon from the bottom of my heart. I only spoke as I think and as things have forced themselves on me. It is with me as with Gutzkow; when I come across someone who arrogantly dismisses positive Christianity, then I defend this teaching, which derives from the deepest needs of human nature, the longing for salvation from sin through God's grace; but when it is a matter of defending the freedom of reason, then I protest against all compulsion.— I hope to live to see a radical transformation in the religious consciousness of the world — if only I was clear about it myself! Still, that will come in due course, if only I have time to develop undisturbed and in peace.

Man is born free, he is free!

Your true friend

*Friedrich Engels*

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[a] Paul in the original.— *Ed.*

[b] 1 Peter 2:2.— *Ed.*

## 21

## TO FRIEDRICH GRAEBER

IN BERLIN

[Bremen, July 12-27, 1839]

Fritzo Graebero. *July 12.* Really, you could condescend to write to me. It will soon be five weeks since I received your last letter.—I chucked a mass of sceptical bricks at you when I last wrote; I would have understood the thing differently had I then been acquainted with Schleiermacher's teaching. For that is still a reasonable kind of Christianity. Everybody finds it clear even if one does not actually accept it, and one can recognise its value without feeling obliged to adopt it. I have already accepted the philosophical principles which I found in the teaching. But I am not quite clear about his theory of salvation and I will guard against accepting it immediately as a conviction so that I may not soon have to change again. But I will study it as soon as I have the time and the opportunity. If I had come into contact with this teaching before, I would never have become a rationalist, but where do you hear about things like this in our Muckertal[a]? I feel a blazing anger at this kind of thing, and will fight against pietism and literal belief as long as I can. What is this nonsense? What is rejected by science, the development of which now includes the whole of church history, should no longer exist in life either. Pietism may have been an historically justified element in the development of theology in former times. It obtained its lawful right, it lived and should not now refuse to make way for speculative theology. It is only out of this latter that any certainty can be developed. I cannot understand how one can still try to maintain literal belief in the Bible or defend the direct influence of God, since this cannot be proved anywhere.

July 26. So here you are. To business. It is quite remarkable how in your letter you cling to orthodoxy and yet manage to concede some points to a rationalising trend, thus providing me with a weapon. Joseph's family tree. To my first objection you reply: "Who knows whether we have not often read son instead of son-in-law or nephew in the genealogical tables in the Bible?" Are you not destroying the whole credibility of the biblical genealogical tables when you say this? I cannot at all understand how the law is supposed to prove anything here.—To my second objection you

[a] Muckertal—valley of bigots; an allusion to Wuppertal.—*Ed.*

reply: "Luke wrote for Theophilus." Dear Fritz, what kind of inspiration is that which has such consideration for the level of knowledge possessed by the one into whose hands the book happens to come first? If there is not also consideration for all future readers, then I cannot acknowledge any inspiration at all. In general, you do not as yet seem to be clear about the concept of inspiration. 3) How Joseph's genealogical table demonstrates the fulfilment of the prophecy, I am incapable of understanding. On the contrary, the Evangelists should have been above all concerned not to present Jesus as the son of Joseph, to destroy this view, and not at all to honour Joseph by thus presenting his genealogical table.— "To say that Jesus was a son of Mary and that Mary was a daughter of Elijah would have been quite contrary to custom." Dear Fritz, can custom have the slightest influence here? Make sure whether by talking like this you are not once more going against your conception of inspiration. Really, I cannot regard your explanation as anything but so completely forced that if I were in your place I would rather conclude that one or the other was wrong.— "Insoluble doubts must confront Christianity, and yet we can arrive at certainty through God's mercy." I doubt this influence of God's mercy on the individual in the form in which you have it. I well know the feeling of happiness everyone has, rationalist or mystic alike, who places himself in a close, heartfelt relationship with God; but make yourself clear about it, think about it without using biblical phrases, and you will find that it is the consciousness that mankind is of divine origin, that you, as part of this mankind, can never be lost and that after all the countless struggles in this world, as in the next, you must return, divested of all that is mortal and sinful, to God's bosom; that is my conviction, and I am at rest with it. To this extent, I can also tell you that God's Spirit gives me testimony that I am a child of God and, as I have said, I cannot believe that you could say it in any other way. To be sure, you are much calmer about it, while I am still threshing around with all kinds of opinions and cannot let my conviction remain in its present undeveloped state; but because of that I can indeed acknowledge the difference quantitatively but not qualitatively.— I readily admit that I am a sinner and that I have a deep-rooted propensity to sin and I refrain completely from any justification by works. But I do not admit that this sinfulness lies in the will of man. I readily admit that though the possibility of sinning is not inherent in the idea of humanity, it *must necessarily be inherent* in its realisation. I am therefore certainly as penitent as anyone can possibly demand, but, my dear Fritz, no

thinking person can believe that my sins can be remitted by the merits of a third party. When I think about this independently of all authority, then I find, like the new theology, that the sinfulness of man lies in the necessarily imperfect realisation of the idea, that it must therefore be the striving of everyone to realise in himself the idea of humanity, i.e., to make himself the equal of God in spiritual perfection. That is something quite subjective. How can the orthodox theory of salvation, which posits a third, something objective, accomplish this subjective development? I admit that I deserve to be punished, and if God wishes to punish me, let Him do so, but eternal banishment even of the least part of the Spirit from God—this I find it quite impossible to conceive or to believe. It is, of course, true that it is God's mercy that He accepts us. Everything God does is mercy, but everything He does is likewise necessity. The unity of these contradictions constitutes an essential part of the essence of God. What you say later about God not being able to deny Himself, etc., sounds to me as if you wanted to evade my question. Can you believe that a man who strives for union with God ought to be rejected by God for all eternity? Can you? You can't, so you beat about the bush. Is it not very base to believe that God would inflict further punishment for past wickedness, in addition to that already contained in the wicked deed itself? Alongside eternal punishment you must also set eternal sin, and alongside eternal sin eternal possibility of believing and, therefore, of being saved. The teaching of eternal damnation is terribly inconsistent. Furthermore: historical belief is for you a great essential of belief, without it belief is unthinkable. But you will not deny that there are people for whom it is *quite impossible* to have this historical belief. And should God require such people to do the impossible? Dear Fritz, just think—this would be nonsense and God's reason is certainly higher than ours, but still not of a different kind, for otherwise it would no longer be reason. The biblical dogmas also are to be understood by using reason.—Not to be able to doubt, you say, is freedom of the mind? It is the greatest enslavement of the mind. He only is free who has overcome every doubt concerning his conviction. And I am not even demanding that *you* refute me. I challenge all orthodox theology to refute me. Christian scholarship is now all of 1,800 years old and has been unable to bring forward any counter-arguments against rationalism, and has only repulsed a few of its attacks; nay, it shies away from the fight in the purely scientific field and prefers to drag the personalities of its opponents in the mud—what is a man to say to that? Indeed, *is* orthodox Christian

teaching capable of being purely scientific? I say no. What more can it do than engage in a little classifying, explaining, disputing? I advise you to read some time *Darstellung und Kritik des modernen Pietismus* by Dr. C. Märklin, Stuttgart, 1839. If you can refute it (that is, not what is positive, but what is negative in it), you will be the world's leading theologian.— "The simple Christian can rest quite content with this; he knows that he is a child of God, and it is not necessary for him to be able to give answers to all apparent contradictions." Neither the simple Christian nor Hengstenberg can give answers to the "apparent contradictions", for they are real contradictions; but truly, whoever rests content and prides himself on his faith, has in reality no basis whatever for his faith. True, feeling can confirm, but it can most certainly not furnish a basis—that would be like wanting to smell with one's ears. What makes Hengstenberg so detestable to me is the really scandalous editing of the *Kirchen-Zeitung*.[a] Nearly all the contributors remain anonymous and the editor, therefore, has to be responsible for them; but if somebody who has been attacked in the paper takes him to task, then Herr Hengstenberg denies all knowledge of the matter, will not reveal the name of the author, but also disclaims all responsibility. This has already happened to many a poor devil who has been attacked by God knows what miserable lout in the *Kirchen-Zeitung* and the only answer he got from Hengstenberg when he approached him about it was that it was not *he* who wrote the article. The *Kirchen-Zeitung* still enjoys a big reputation among the pietist preachers because they do not read anything opposed to it, and so it keeps going. I have not read the latest issues, otherwise I would quote you examples. You cannot imagine how abominably the *Kirchen-Zeitung* slandered and abused Strauss in connection with his Zurich affair,[209] while all reports are unanimous in saying that he behaved quite nobly over the whole business. Why, for example, is the *Kirchen-Zeitung* so very eager to bracket Strauss with Young Germany? And unfortunately many people regard Young Germany as something terribly wicked.—You understood me quite wrongly with regard to the poetry of belief. I did not believe because of the poetry. I believed because I realised that I could no longer live only for the day, because I repented of my sins, because I needed communion with God. I gladly gave away immediately what I most loved, I turned my back on my greatest joys, my dearest acquaintances, I made myself look ridiculous to everybody everywhere. It was an immense joy to me

[a] *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung.— Ed.*

when I found in Plümacher someone with whom I could talk about it, and I gladly put up with his fanaticism concerning predestination. You know yourself that I was in earnest, in dead earnest. I was happy then, that I know, and I am still just as happy; I had trust and joy when I prayed; I have them now too, I have them even more because I am struggling and need to be strengthened. But I have never experienced anything of that ecstatic bliss I heard so much about from our pulpits. My religion was—and is—quiet, blessed peace, and if I have it after my death then I shall be satisfied. I have no reason to believe that God will take it from me. Religious conviction is a matter of the heart and is only concerned with dogma insofar as dogma is or is not contradicted by feeling. Thus the Spirit of God may convince you through your feeling that you are a child of God—that is quite possible; but it most certainly cannot so convince you that you are a child of God through the death of Christ; otherwise feeling would be capable of thinking and your ears of seeing.—I pray daily, indeed nearly the whole day, for truth, I have done so ever since I began to have doubts, but I still cannot return to your faith. And yet it is written: "Ask, and it shall be given you."[a] I search for truth wherever I have hope of finding even a shadow of it and still I cannot acknowledge your truth as the eternal truth. And yet it is written: "Seek, and ye shall find. Or what man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone?... how much more shall your Father which is in Heaven?"[b]

Tears come into my eyes as I write this. I am moved to the core, but I feel I shall not be lost; I shall come to God, for whom my whole heart yearns. And this is also a testimony of the Holy Spirit and I live and die by it, even if the Bible says the opposite ten thousand times over. And don't deceive yourself, Fritz, you may seem to be so sure, but a doubt will come before you know it, and the way your heart decides often depends on the merest coincidence.—But I know from experience that dogmatic faith has no influence whatever on one's inner peace.

July 27

If you did what it says in the Bible, you should have nothing more to do with me. In the Second Epistle of John (if I'm not mistaken) it says that one should not greet the unbeliever, not even say χαῖρε[c] to him. There are many such passages in the Bible

[a] Matthew 7:7.—*Ed.*
[b] Matthew 7:9-11.—*Ed.*
[c] I greet you.—*Ed.*

and they have always angered me. But you do not do all it says in the Bible by a long way. Incidentally when orthodox evangelical Christianity is called the religion of love, that sounds to me like the most monstrous irony. According to your Christianity, nine-tenths of mankind will be eternally unhappy and only one-tenth happy. Fritz, and do you call that God's infinite love? Just think how small God would appear if that was what His love amounted to. It is therefore clear that if there is a revealed religion, its God must indeed be greater than but not different from the one who is shown by reason. Otherwise all philosophy is not only empty but even sinful. Without philosophy there is no education; without education there is no humanity; without humanity, again, there is no religion. But even the fanatical Leo does not dare to revile philosophy in this way. And that is another of the inconsistencies of the orthodox. I could reach an understanding with men like Schleiermacher and Neander, for they are consistent and have pure hearts. I look in vain for these qualities in the columns of the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung* and other pietist journals. Especially for Schleiermacher I have enormous respect. If you are consistent you must, of course, consign him to damnation, for he does not teach the word of Christ in your sense, but rather in that of Young Germany, of Theodor Mundt and Karl Gutzkow. But he was a great man, and I only know one man now living who has equal intelligence, equal power and equal courage—and that is David Friedrich Strauss.

I was very pleased that you should rise up with such vigour to refute me, but one thing made me angry and I shall tell you straight out what it is. It is the contempt with which you speak of the striving of the rationalists for union with God, of their religious life. To be sure, you lie comfortably in your faith as in a warm bed, and you know nothing of the fight we have to put up when we human beings have to decide whether God is God or not. You do not know the weight of the burden one feels with the first doubt, the burden of the old belief, when one must decide for or against, whether to go on carrying it or to shake it off. But I tell you again, you are not so safe from doubt as you think, so do not delude yourself with regard to those who doubt. You could become one of them yourself, and then you too would ask for fair treatment. Religion is an affair of the heart and whoever has a heart can be devout; but those whose devoutness is rooted either in their understanding or in their reason have none at all. The tree of religion sprouts from the heart, overshadows the whole man and seeks its nourishment from the air of reason. But its

fruits, which contain the most precious heart-blood, are the dogmas, and what goes beyond them is of the Evil one. This is what Schleiermacher teaches and I stand by it.

Adieu, dear Fritz. Think carefully about whether you really want to send me to hell and write me my sentence soon.

Yours,
*Friedrich Engels*

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## 22

## TO FRIEDRICH GRAEBER

### IN BONN

[Bremen, after July 27, 1839]

Dear Fritz,

*Recepi litteras tuas hodie, et jamque tibi responsurus sum.*[a] I cannot write very much to you—you are still in my debt, and I am expecting a long letter from you. Is your brother Wilhelm on holiday too? Is Wurm now studying with you in Bonn? God bless fat Peter[b] in his *studia militaria*. A little poem written on July 27[c] may give you practice in liberalism and in reading ancient metre. Otherwise there is nothing in it.

### GERMAN JULY DAYS 1839

How the waves mount up in the roaring gale, how the storm comes relentlessly onwards!
Tall as a man are the foaming waves, and the skiff goes rising and falling;
From the Rhine there blows a whirling wind that musters the clouds in the heavens,

[a] I received your letter today, and I am already about to answer you.—*Ed.*

[b] Peter Jonghaus.—*Ed.*

[c] That is, on the anniversary of the July 1830 revolution in France.—*Ed.*

That splits up oaks and whips up dust and lashes the waves in its fury.
Of you I think in my tossing skiff, you German kings and you princes.
How the patient people bore on their heads the gilded throne you ascended,
In triumph carried you through the land and sent the bold conqueror fleeing.[a]
Brazenly arrogant then you became, you betrayed all the promises given.
Now a storm blows up out of France, and the people rise up in their masses,
And your throne is rocked like the skiff in the storm and your hand loses hold of the sceptre.
You above all, Ernst August, I challenge with angry defiance.
Despotic and reckless, you flouted the law—now hark to the storm as it rises!
The people look up with piercing eyes and the sword barely rests in the scabbard.
Speak! Are you safe on your golden throne, as I in my boat on the waters?

The business about the high waves on the Weser is quite true, also that I was sailing on it on the great day of the July revolution.

Give my regards to Wurm and tell him that he must write me a lot.

Yours,
*Friedr. Engels*

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## 23

## TO WILHELM GRAEBER

IN BERLIN

Bremen, July 30, 1839

My dear Guglielmo,

What foul ideas you have about me! There can be no question either of the buffoon or of the loyal Eckart (or Eckkardt, as you spell it),[210] but only of logic, reason, consistency, *propositio major et*

[a] An allusion to Napoleon I.—*Ed.*

*minor,* etc. Yes, you are right. We won't get anywhere with gentleness here, these pigmies—servility, aristocratic rule, censorship, etc.—have to be driven away with the sword. Of course, I ought now to be really bullying and raging, but since it is you I am writing to, I'll go easy with you so that you will not have to "cross yourself" when the "wild gallop" of my unruly poetic prose overtakes you. First of all I protest against your insinuations that I have been giving the spirit of the times one kick after another in the hindquarters in order to speed its progress. My dear man, what a mug do you think I really am with my poor snub nose! No, I'm leaving it well and truly alone; on the contrary, when the spirit of the times comes along like a hurricane and pulls the train away on the railway line, then I jump quickly into a carriage and let myself be pulled along a little. Yes, a man like Karl Beck—the mad idea that he is finished as a poet originates most certainly from that depraved Wichelhaus, about whom Wurm has thoroughly informed me. The idea that a young man of twenty-two who has written such ravishing poetry should suddenly stop—no, really, I have never come across such nonsense before. Can you believe that Goethe stopped being a poet of genius after he had written *Götz,* or Schiller after he had written the *Räuber*? Apart from which, history is supposed to have avenged itself on Young Germany! God preserve me. Indeed, if world history has been entrusted by the dear Lord God to the Bundestag as its hereditary fief, then it has avenged itself on Gutzkow by putting him in jail for three months.[211] But if, as we no longer doubt, it lies with public opinion (i. e., here, literary opinion), then it has avenged itself on Young Germany to the extent that it has allowed itself to be won by Young Germany fighting with the pen, and now Young Germany is enthroned as queen of modern German literature. What was Börne's fate? He died like a hero in February 1837, and in his last days he had the joy of seeing his successors—Gutzkow, Mundt, Wienbarg, Beurmann—rise so powerfully; to be sure, the black clouds of disaster still hung over their heads and a long, long chain was drawn around Germany which the Bundestag mended whenever it threatened to snap. But he is laughing even now at the princes, and perhaps he knows the hour when the stolen crowns will fall from their heads. I will not vouch to you for Heine's happiness—anyhow the fellow has been wallowing in the mud for quite a while now. Nor for Beck's for he is in love and fretting over our dear Germany. I am with him in regard to the latter, apart from which I still have a lot of fighting to do. But never mind, our good Lord God has given me an excellent sense

of humour, which is a great comfort to me. Are *you* happy, manikin?—Keep your views about inspiration to yourself, otherwise you will never be a preacher in Wuppertal. If I had not been brought up in the most extreme orthodoxy and piety, if I had not had drummed into me in church, Sunday school and at home the most direct, unconditional belief in the Bible and in the agreement of the teaching of the Bible with that of the church, indeed, with the special teaching of *every* minister, perhaps, I would have remained stuck in some sort of liberal supranaturalism for a long time. There are plenty of contradictions in the teaching—as many as there are biblical authors, and the Wuppertal faith has accordingly absorbed a dozen different individualities. As for Joseph's family tree, Neander, as you know, attributes the one in Matthew to the Greek translator of the Hebrew original. If I am not mistaken, *Weisse* in his Life of Jesus[a] came out against Luke in much the same way as you do. Fritz's explanation finally depends on such unnatural possibilities that it can't be called an explanation at all. I am certainly a πρόμαχος,[b] but of the liberal party, not the rationalists. The contradictions are taking shape, the views stand in sharp opposition. Four liberals (who are also rationalists), one aristocrat who came over to us but, fearing to offend against his family's hereditary principles, immediately ran back again to the aristocracy, an aristocrat with good expectations, as we hope, and various blockheads, this is the circus within which the disputes rage. I do my championing as an expert on antiquity, the Middle Ages and modern life, as a boor, etc., but the championing is already no longer necessary; my young fellows are coming along quite well. Yesterday I explained to them the operation of historical necessity during the period 1789-1839 and, in addition, learned to my astonishment that I was supposed to be rather superior to all the local prima pupils in debating. I had beaten two of them in an argument some time before and they had then sworn to get me involved with the cleverest among them so that he could beat me; but unfortunately for them, he was tremendously enamoured of Horace at the time, so I beat him hollow. Then they became terribly afraid. This erstwhile Horaceomane is now on very good terms with me and told me all about it yesterday evening. You would be immediately convinced of the correctness of my book reviews if you read the books they

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[a] Ch. H. Weisse, *Die evangelische Geschichte....*—*Ed.*

[b] Champion.—*Ed.*

deal with. K. Beck is an enormous talent, more than that, he is a genius. He produces images like

> One hears the thunder's voice proclaim aloud
> What's written by the lightning on the clouds[a]

in enormous profusion. Listen to what he says about Börne, whom he adores. He is speaking to Schiller:

> Your Posa was no airy fantasy;
> For did not Börne perish for us all?
> He scaled the summits of humanity;
> A Tell, he sounded Freedom's clarion call.
> Up there, he calmly whet his arrow-head
> Took aim and shot. And Freedom's arrow sped
> — — — — —
> Into the apple, into the round Earth.[b]

And how he describes the misery of the Jews and student life! It is capital, and now the *Fahrende Poet*! Man, have some sense and read him. Look, if you refute Börne's essay on Schiller's *Tell* then you can have all the royalties I am hoping to get for my translation of Shelley.[212] I'll forgive you for pulling my Wuppertal article[c] to pieces so thoroughly, for I read it again recently and was astonished at the style. I haven't written nearly so well since. Don't forget Leo and Michelet next time. As I have said before, you are very much mistaken in thinking that we Young Germans want to support the spirit of the age. But just think for a moment—when this πνεῦμα[d] blows and blows right for us, would we not be fools if we did not set our sails? It will not be forgotten that you were at Gans' funeral.[213] I'll get it mentioned in the *Elegante Zeitung*[e] soon. The way you all afterwards beg so nicely for forgiveness for the little bit of rumpus you kicked up strikes me as very funny. You still can't curse and swear, but here they all come: Fritz sends me to hell, accompanies me to the gate and pushes me in with a low bow so that he himself can then fly back to Heaven. You see everything double through your spar spectacles and take my three friends for spirits from the Venus-

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[a] From the poem *Gang um Leipzig* (K. Beck, *Nächte. Gepanzerte Lieder*. Erstes Märchen. Dritte Nacht).— *Ed.*

[b] From the poem *Schillers Haus in Gohlis* (K. Beck, *Nächte*. Erstes Märchen. Fünfte Nacht).— *Ed.*

[c] "Letters from Wuppertal". See this volume, pp. 7-25.— *Ed.*

[d] Wind.— *Ed.*

[e] *Zeitung für die elegante Welt.— Ed.*

berg.— Manikin, why are you calling for the loyal Eckart? Look, there he is, a little chap with a sharp, Jewish profile. His name is Börne and only give him a free hand and he will clear out all the Venus Servilia crowd. Then you also will make your most humble farewells — look, Mr. Peter[a] is coming too, smiling with one side of his face and snarling with the other, turning towards me first the snarl and then the smile.

In our dear Barmen literary feeling is beginning to stir now. Freiligrath started a play-reading society in which, since his departure, Strücker and Neuburg (a clerk at Langewiesche's) are the πρόμαχοί [b] of liberal ideas. Now Herr Ewich has made the following sharp-witted discoveries: (1) that the spirit of Young Germany haunts this society, (2) that the society *in pleno* composed the "Letters from Wuppertal" in the *Telegraph*. He has also suddenly discovered that Freiligrath's poems are the dullest stuff in the world and that Freiligrath stands far below de la Motte Fouqué and will be forgotten within three years. Precisely what was once asserted by Beck.

O Schiller, Schiller, ever-vibrant spirit,
O greatest heart that beat in warmest breast,
Forever young, to us you were the Prophet
Who carried Freedom's flag before the rest.
When all the world had stolen from the fray,
And the faint-hearted could do nought but pray,
Oh, you were truly prodigal of your blood;
Your warmest life, your deepest life you threw
Before the world in sacrifice from you.
Contented, cold, the world misunderstood,
All heedless of your heart's deep misery,
And only heard the music of the spheres,
When to its ears came waves of poetry
That you had swelled with your own blood-red tears.

Who wrote that? — It is from Karl Beck's *Der Fahrende Poet*[c] with all his powerful verse and magnificent imagery, but also with his obscurity, his extravagant hyperboles and metaphors. For it is now settled that Schiller is our greatest liberal poet. He sensed the new era which would dawn after the French Revolution, which Goethe did not, even after the July revolution, and when it came too near to him so that he almost had to believe that something new was coming, he retired into his room and shut the door so as to remain comfortable. That detracts from Goethe a great deal; but

[a] Peter Jonghaus.— *Ed.*
[b] Champions.— *Ed.*
[c] Dritter Gesang. Gedicht 52.— *Ed.*

he was forty years old when the revolution broke out, and a made man, so one cannot reproach him with it. To finish I'll draw you something.[a]

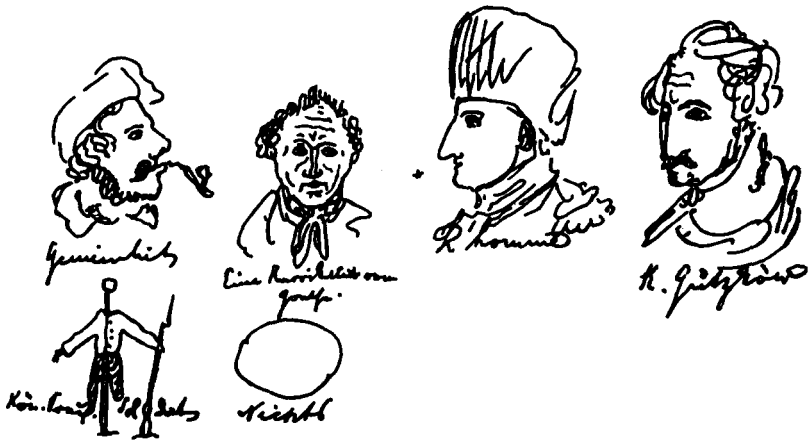

I enclose masses of poems. Share them between you.

Yours,

*Friedrich Engels*

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## 24

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN BARMEN

Bremen, Sept. 28, 1839

Dear Marie,

It was high time your ladyship wrote to me at last; it has gone on long enough, Mamsell. But I'll forgive you your great crimes and tell you something. Tomorrow it will be two weeks since we rode out to Delmenhorst. This is a small Oldenburg country town

[a] Cartoons (left to right): *Gemeinheit* (Common trash); *Eine Karrikatur von Goethe* (A caricature of Goethe); *L'homme* (Man); K. Gutzkow; *Kön. Preuss. Soldat* (Soldier of the King of Prussia); *Nichts* (Nothing).— *Ed.*

with a menagerie, so called because the people of Oldenburg and Bremen are always going there, and when we had seen it, we rode back—and came home, you think? Yes, but after several adventures. In the first place, I sat half the way in the carriage and when we reached the place where I was to pick up my horse again, the riders had not yet arrived and so we had to go in, drink bad beer and smoke bad cigars. Finally, the riders turned up and by now it was eight o'clock and pitch dark. Once I had found my horse we rode on, paid the gate toll and rode through Neustadt. Then round the corner and riding directly at us came eight drummers beating a tattoo, all in a row, and our horses jumped about all over the place. The drummers beat louder and louder, and the noble street arabs of Bremen shouted, so that we soon got separated from one another. R. Roth and I were the first to find each other again, and we rode on to the other end of the town where we had to pay toll again because the philistine who hires out horses lives just outside the gate. Here we met the others, whose horses had run away with them, and we then made for home and had to pay toll a *third time*. Isn't that an interesting story? You won't be able to deny it, especially when you hear that since it was too late to eat at home, I went into the Club, ate beefsteak and eggs and heard a very entertaining conversation which was going on near me, about young dogs and dead cats. Indeed, very interesting, very amusing.[a] I am now at the Club, which is the same kind of place as the Concordia or institute for improvement in Barmen. The best thing about it is the many newspapers—Dutch, English, American, French, German, Turkish and Japanese. This gave me the opportunity to learn Turkish and Japanese, so I now understand 25 languages. All this is, of course, of the greatest interest to a young lady who wants to go to a boarding-school in Mannheim. Jacob Schmitt was here too, and he will be back again next week and will go to the wine cellar with me. That is undoubtedly the best institution in Bremen. We also have a theatre again, but I haven't been there yet.

Farewell, my dear,[b]

Yours for ever,[c]

*Friedrich*

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[a] This sentence is written in English in the original.—*Ed.*
[b] Written in English in the original.—*Ed.*
[c] Written in English in the original.—*Ed.*

## 25
## TO WILHELM GRAEBER
### IN BERLIN

[Bremen] October 8, 1839

O Wilhelm, Wilhelm, Wilhelm! So at last we are hearing from you. Now, manikin, now you're going to hear something: I am now an enthusiastic Straussian. Just you come here, I have now got arms, shield and helmet; now I am secure, just you come here and I'll give you such a drubbing, despite all your theologia, that you won't know where to run. Yes, Guillermo, *jacta est alea.*[a] I am now a Straussian; I, a poor, miserable poet, have crept under the wing of the genius David Friedrich Strauss. Just hear what a fellow he is! There lie the four gospels in a crisp and colourful chaos; mysticism lies in front of them and adores them—and behold, in comes David Strauss like a young god and brings the chaos out into the light of day and—*Adios* faith! It is as full of holes as a sponge. He sees too much myth here and there, but only in unimportant matters, otherwise he is a man of real genius. If you can refute Strauss—*eh bien,* I'll become a pietist once again.—I could also have learned from your letter that Mengs was an important artist, if, unfortunately, I had not already known it for a long time. With *Die Zauberflöte* (music by Mozart) it is exactly the same. The reading-room is splendidly arranged, and among the most recent literary productions I draw your attention to *König Saul,* a tragedy by Gutzkow; *Skizzenbuch* by the same author; *Dichtungen* by Th. Creizenach (a Jew); *Deutschland und die Deutschen* by Beurmann; *Die Dramatiker der Jetztzeit,* Vol. 1, by L. Wienbarg, etc. I am very anxious to hear your opinion about *Saul.* Beurmann quoted extracts from my article in the *Telegraph*[214] in his *Deutschland und die Deutschen,* in which he speaks about Wuppertal.—On the other hand, I warn you against the *Geschichte des polnischen Aufstands (1830-31)* by Smitt, Berlin, 1839, which was undoubtedly written on the direct order of the King of Prussia.[b] The chapter about the beginning of the revolution is headed with a motto from Thucydides which runs something like this: But we, who were unprepared for anything untoward, were suddenly invaded by them without any cause!!!!!! Oh, what gigantic nonsense! Splendid, on the other hand, is the history of this glorious uprising by Count Soltyk, which was published in German in

[a] The die is cast.—*Ed.*
[b] Frederick William III.—*Ed.*

Stuttgart in 1834[215]—in your place, of course, it will have been banned, like everything good. Another important piece of news is that I am writing a short story which will be printed in January, always provided, of course, that it is passed by the censor, which is an annoying dilemma.

I really don't know whether or not I should continue sending you poems, but I think I did send you my *Odysseus Redivivus*[216] lately and I beg you to let me have your criticisms of the last consignment. We have a novice here from your part of the country, someone called Müller, who is going to sail to the South Seas as a ship's preacher. He is staying at our house and has the most extravagant views about Christianity, which you will understand when I tell you that he has spent his time recently under the influence of *Gossner*. It is not easy to have more exalted views about the efficacy of prayer and direct divine intervention in life. Instead of saying that one can sharpen one's senses, one's hearing, one's sight, he says that when the Lord gives me a duty to fulfil, He is also bound to provide me with the power to fulfil it; of course there must be fervent prayer and hard work for one's own part too, otherwise there is nothing doing. And so he restricts to believers only this familiar fact that holds for all men. Even a Krummacher would have to grant me that such an outlook is really too childike and childish.—I am very pleased to hear that you have a better opinion of my *Telegraph* article. It was, of course, written in haste, as a result of which it has a style such as I only hope my short story will have, but also some one-sidednesses and half-truths. Krummacher, as you probably know, got to know Gutzkow in Frankfurt am Main and is said to be making up *mirabilia*[a] about it—proof of the correctness of Strauss' views about myths. I am now taking to the modern style, which is without doubt the ideal of all style. Models for it are Heine's writings, but especially Kühne and Gutzkow, although Wienbarg is its real master. Among earlier elements that have had a particularly favourable influence on it are Lessing, Goethe, Jean Paul and, above all, Börne. Oh, Börne—he writes a style that surpasses everything. *Menzel, der Franzosenfresser* is stylistically the best piece of work in German and likewise the first one that sets out to annihilate an author completely; and in your place it is also banned to make sure that no better style shall be written than what is turned out in the royal offices. The modern style unites in itself every excellence of style—compact brevity and pregnancy

[a] Curious stories.—*Ed.*

which hits the mark with a word, alternating with epic, calm description; simple language alternating with shimmering images and brilliant sparks of wit, a Ganymede with the strength of youth, roses twined round his head and in his hand the weapon that slew the python. At the same time, the greatest freedom is left to the author's individuality, so that despite affinity none imitates the other. Heine writes dazzlingly, Wienbarg with cordial warmth and radiance, Gutzkow with a razor-sharp precision over which there sometimes plays a comforting sunlight. Kühne is pleasantly descriptive with rather too much light and too little shade. Laube imitates Heine and now Goethe as well, but in a wrong manner, for he imitates the Goethean Varnhagen, and Mundt likewise imitates Varnhagen. Marggraff still writes rather too generally and with too much puffing out of his cheeks, but that will pass, and Beck's prose has not yet got beyond studies.— If you combine Jean Paul's ornateness with Börne's precision then you have the essentials of the modern style. Gutzkow has been able to assimilate the brilliant, light but dry style of the French most fortunately. This French style is like a thread of gossamer, the modern German like a wisp of silk (this image has unfortunately gone somewhat awry). My studies of Goethe's divine songs show that I do not forget the old in my enthusiasm for the new. But one must study them musically and best of all in different musical settings. Here, for example, I reproduce Reichardt's tune for the *Bundeslied*.[a]

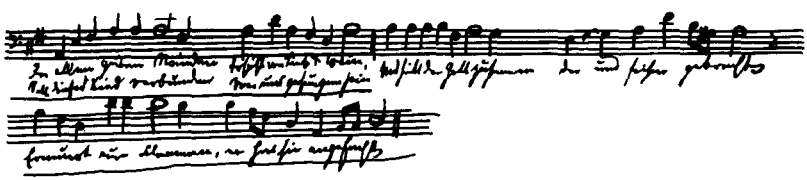

I have forgotten the bars again; get Heuser to put them in for you. The melody is marvellous and through its always harmonious

[a] Engels has copied out the first stanza of Goethe's *Bundeslied* under the melody of Reichardt's setting for this song. The text is as follows:

"In hours of exaltation
That Love and Wine both bring,
This song with inspiration
United we shall sing!
God binds us all together,
Who come here at His call.
Keep our flames burning ever;
He lit them for us all."— *Ed.*

simplicity it is better suited than any other to the poem. Wonderfully effective is the rise at v. 6 from E by a seventh to D, and the sudden fall at v. 8 from B by a ninth to A. I shall write to Heuser about Leonardo Leo's *Miserere.*

In the next few days I shall send you a good friend, Adolf Torstrick, who is going to study there. He is jolly and liberal and understands Greek very well. The other Bremen people who are coming are not up to much. Torstrick will have letters from me to you. Receive him well, I hope you get to like him. Fritz has not yet written to me, the vermicle[a] was going to write to me from Elberfeld but didn't do so out of laziness—for which please give him a dressing down. If Heuser—whom I cannot write to in Elberfeld for fear I miss him—should arrive, tell him he may hope for something from me soon.

Yours,
*Friedrich Engels*

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## 26

## TO WILHELM GRAEBER

### IN BERLIN[b]

[Bremen, October 20-21, 1839]

*October 20.* To Herr Wilhelm Graeber. I am quite sentimental; it is a difficult case. I remain here deprived of all merriness. With Adolf Torstrick, the bearer of this, the last merriness leaves. How I celebrated October the 18th can be read in my last epistle to

[a] An allusion to Gustav Wurm.—*Ed.*

[b] The back of the letter bears the inscription: "To Herr Wilhelm Graeber Berlin, Mittelstrasse, 3rd floor."—*Ed.*

Heuser. Today beer-guzzling, tomorrow boredom, the day after tomorrow Torstrick is leaving, on Thursday the student mentioned in the above-mentioned epistle will return, whereupon there will follow two merry days and then a lonely, horrible winter. Not a soul in this place can be moved to come on the booze, they are all philistines. Here I sit with all that is left of my jolly songs, and my cocky, would-be student air, alone in the great desert, without boozing companions, without love, without any fun, alone with tobacco, beer and two acquaintances who can't drink. "My son, here is my spear, drink with it my beer. When you drink *comme il faut*, it pleases your old father so," [217] I want to sing, but to whom shall I give my spear, and I haven't got the tune right, either. Only one hope remains for me, to meet you in Barmen in a year's time, when I go home, and then, if too much of the pastor has not got into you and Jonghaus and Fritz, to go on the spree with you.

21st. Today has been a dreadfully boring day. Half-dead from slaving in the office. Then choir practice, enormous enjoyment. Now I must see that I write you something more. Verses at the next opportunity, I have no time left to copy them. Didn't even have anything interesting to eat, all boring. And it's so cold you can't bear it in the office. Thank God, tomorrow we have hopes of getting some heating. I should be getting a letter from your brother Hermann soon; he wants to test my theology and massacre my conviction. That comes of being a sceptic; the thousand hooks with which one hung on to the old come loose and hook on to something else, and then there are arguments. The devil take Wurm, don't get a word from the fellow, he is becoming worse and worse every day. I suppose he is taking to drinking brandy. Now give Torstrick a friendly welcome, make him tell you about me if it interests you, and put good beer before him.

Farewell.[a]

Yours, *Friedrich Engels*

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[a] Written in English in the original.— *Ed.*

## 27

## TO FRIEDRICH GRAEBER

[Bremen, October 29, 1839]

My dear Fritz,

I am not of the same mind as Pastor Stier.— On October 29, after a jolly fair, and one involving a difficult, dreadful correspondence, which by chance went to Berlin, and after a letter to W. Blank, who had to wait a long time, I am at last free for a good friendly tussle with you. You seem to have dashed off your essay on inspiration in a bit of a hurry, for it is hardly to be taken literally when you write: The apostles preached the Gospel in its purity and that ceased after their death. Among the apostles you must in that case also count the author of the Acts of the Apostles and of the Epistle to the Hebrews and *prove* that the Gospels were actually written by Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, whereas in respect of the first three the opposite is established. Further you say: I don't believe that we must look in the Bible for any other inspiration than when the apostles and prophets came forward and preached to the people. Good; but does it not again require inspiration to record those sermons correctly? And if you concede to me in this sentence that there are uninspired passages in the Bible, where will you draw the line? Take the Bible and read — you won't want to have a line missing except where there are real contradictions; but these contradictions entail a mass of consequences; the contradiction, for instance, that the stay of the children of Israel in Egypt only lasted four generations, while Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians (*nisi erro*[a]) gives 430 years,[b] which even my pastor,[c] who is eager to keep me in the dark, admits is a contradiction. You will not tell me that Paul's words don't count as inspired because he mentions the matter incidentally and is not writing history — what do I care for a revelation in which such superfluous and useless things occur. But if the contradiction is acknowledged both may be equally wrong, and Old Testament history appears in an ambiguous light, as in general — everybody admits it, except Pastor Tiele in Oberneuland near Bremen — biblical chronology is hopelessly lost as far as inspiration is concerned. This ranks Old Testament history even more in the realm

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[a] If I am not mistaken.— *Ed.*

[b] Galatians 3 : 17.— *Ed.*

[c] Georg Gottfried Treviranus.— *Ed.*

of mythology, and it will not be long before this is generally acknowledged in the pulpits.— As regards Joshua's making the sun stand still, the most telling argument you can use is that when Joshua said this, he was not yet inspired, and that later when, being in a state of inspiration, he wrote the book, he only told the story. The doctrine of redemption.—"Man is so fallen that of himself he can do nothing good." Dear Fritz, please drop this hyperorthodox and not even biblical nonsense. When Börne, who himself had barely enough to live on in Paris, gave all the fees for his writings to poor Germans, for which he did not even get any thanks, that was, I hope, something good? And Börne had certainly not been "born again".— You don't need this sentence at all, provided you have original sin. Christ does not know it either, like so much else from the teaching of the apostles.— The doctrine of sin is what I have thought least about, but nevertheless it is clear to me that sin is necessary for mankind. Orthodoxy rightly perceives a connection between sin and earthly deficiencies, disease, etc., but it errs in presenting sin as the cause of these deficiencies, which occurs only in isolated cases. The two, sin and deficiency, condition each other, one cannot exist without the other. And since the powers of man are not divine, the possibility of sin is a necessity; that it actually had to occur was given in the crude stage of the first human beings, and that it has not ceased since is again quite psychological. Nor can it cease on earth since it is conditioned by all earthly circumstances, and God would otherwise have had to create men quite differently. But since He has created them thus He cannot demand of them to be absolutely without sin, but only to fight against sin; that this fight would suddenly cease with death and a *dolce far niente* would ensue, only the neglected psychology of earlier centuries could conclude. Indeed, if these premises are granted, moral perfection can be achieved only with the perfection of all other spiritual powers, with a merging into the world soul, and there I am with the Hegelian doctrine, which Leo attacked so violently. This last metaphysical sentence is, by the way, the kind of conclusion of which I do not yet know myself what to think.— Further, according to these premises the story of Adam can only be a myth, since Adam either had to be equal to God if he was created so free from sin, or had to sin if he was created with otherwise human powers.— That is my doctrine of sin, which is indeed still enormously crude and incomplete; but what need have I here of a redemption?— "If God wanted to find a way out between punitive justice and redeeming love, the only means left was substitution."

Now just take a look at yourselves and see what sort of people you are. You reproach us with lowering our critical sounding lead into the depths of divine wisdom, and here you are actually setting limits to divine wisdom. Herr Professor Philippi could not have gone back on himself more flagrantly. And even granted the need of it as the only means—does substitution cease to be an injustice? If God is really so severe with men He must be severe here also and not turn a blind eye. Work this system out for yourself in sharp, definite terms, and the sore points will not escape you.—Then comes a really pompous contradiction to "substitution as the only means" when you say: "A man cannot be mediator *even if by an act of God's omnipotence he were freed of all sin.*" So there is another way after all? If orthodoxy has no better representative in Berlin than Professor Philippi it is indeed in a bad way.—Throughout the entire deduction tacitly runs the principle that substitution is justifiable. That is a murderer whom you have hired for your purposes and who afterwards stabs you to death yourselves. Nor do you really want to tackle the job of proving that this principle does not contradict divine justice and, be honest and admit it, you yourselves feel that you would have to prove this against your innermost conscience; so you whisk past the principle and silently take the fact, dressed up in fine words about merciful love, etc., for granted.—"The Trinity is a condition of redemption." That again is one of those half-true conclusions of your system. Two hypostases, of course, it would be necessary to assume, but the third only because it is traditional to do so.

"But in order to suffer and to die God had to become man, for apart from its being metaphysically unthinkable to postulate in God as such a capacity to suffer, there was also the ethical necessity conditioned by justice."—But if you admit that it is unthinkable that God should be able to suffer, then it was not the *God* who suffered in Christ, but only the man, and "a man could not be mediator". You are still so reasonable that unlike so many here you do not push the conclusion to the extreme point: "hence God must have suffered", and hold fast to that. And what exactly this has to do with "ethical necessity conditioned by justice" also remains to be seen. If once the principle of substitution is to be granted, it is not necessary that the sufferer should be a man, if he is only God. But God cannot suffer—*ergo* we are no further than we were before. That is just the trouble with your deduction, at every step I must make new concessions to you. Nothing develops fully and entirely out of what has gone before. So here again I must concede to you that the mediator had also to be man, which

has not yet been proved at all; for if I didn't concede it I couldn't accept what follows. "But the incarnation could not have taken place by means of natural procreation, for even if God had united Himself with a person born to a mother and father and freed from sin by His omnipotence, He would only have united Himself with that person and not with human nature.— In the body of the Virgin Mary Christ only assumed human nature, the person-forming power lay in his divinity."— Do please see, this is sheer sophistry and is forced on you by the attacks on the necessity of supernatural generation. In order to put this matter in a different light, the professor interposes a third thing: personality! That has nothing to do with it. On the contrary, the union with human nature is the more intimate the more the personality is human and the spirit which animates it divine. A second misunderstanding here lies hidden in the background. You confuse the body and the person; that emerges even more clearly from the words: "On the other hand, God could not make Himself human quite so abruptly as He did the first Adam, otherwise He would not have stood in any connection with the substance of our fallen nature." So it is a question of the *substance,* of the palpable, the corporeal? But the best of it is that the finest reason for the supernatural generation, the dogma of the impersonality of the human nature in Christ, is merely a gnostic consequence of the supernatural generation. (Gnostic, of course, not in reference to the sect but to γνῶσις[a] in general.) If the God in Christ could not suffer, then still less could the impersonal man, and that is what comes of being profound. "So Christ appears without a single human trait." That is a random assertion; all four Evangelists give a definite picture of the character of Jesus which in most of its features is the same in all of them. Thus we can maintain that the character of the apostle John was nearest to that of Jesus; but now if Christ had no human trait, this implies that John was the most excellent; and that might be a questionable assertion.

Thus far the reply to your deduction. I have not succeeded very well with it, I had no college notebooks, only invoice and account books. So please excuse unclarities here and there.— Your brother[b] has not yet been heard of by letter. *Du reste,* if you acknowledge the honesty of my doubt, how will you explain such a phenomenon? Your orthodox psychology must necessarily rank me among the most wicked, obdurate sinners, especially as I am

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[a] Gnosis.— *Ed.*

[b] Wilhelm Graeber.— *Ed.*

now wholly and utterly lost. For I have taken the oath to the flag of David Friedrich Strauss and am a first-class mythic; I tell you, Strauss is a grand fellow and a genius, and with powers of discernment such as nobody else has. He has taken away the ground from under your views, the historical foundation is lost beyond recall, and the dogmatic foundation will go down after it. Strauss cannot be refuted, that is why the pietists are so furious with him; Hengstenberg is making tremendous efforts in the *Kirchen-Zeitung*[a] to draw false conclusions from his words and to combine with that spiteful attacks on his character. That is what I hate in Hengstenberg and company. Strauss' personality is no concern of theirs; but they strain themselves to blacken his character so that people should be afraid to join him. The best proof that they are unable to refute him.

But now I have theologised enough and will turn my eyes elsewhere. How splendid are the discoveries which the *Deutsche Bund* has made of demagogy and all so-called conspiracies is to be gathered from the fact that they could be printed on seventy-five[b] pages. I have not yet seen the book,[218] but have read excerpts in newspapers which show me what precious lies our damned administration dishes out to the German people. The *Deutsche Bund* alleges with the most brazen effrontery that the political criminals were sentenced by their "legitimate judges", although everybody knows that everywhere, especially where a public judicature exists, commissions were instituted, and what happened there under cover of darkness nobody knows, for the defendants had to swear not to say anything about the hearing. That is the justice which exists in Germany—and we have nothing, but nothing to complain of!—About six weeks ago there appeared an excellent book: *Preussen und Preussenthum* by J. Venedey, Mannheim, 1839, in which Prussian legislation, state administration, tax distribution, etc., are subjected to strict scrutiny, and the results are convincing: favours for the money aristocracy against the poor, endeavours to perpetuate absolutism, and the means to do this: suppression of political education, stupefying of the mass of the people, utilisation of religion; outward brilliance, restraintless bragging and a pretence of favouring education. The *Deutsche Bund* at once took care to ban the book and to confiscate the copies in stock; the last is only a pretence, since the booksellers are at most asked if they have any copies, to which, of course, every decent fellow says:

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[a] *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung.—Ed.*

[b] The original mistakenly has "eighty-five".—*Ed.*

No.— If you can get hold of the book there, do read it, for it isn't just rodomontades, but adduces proofs *from the Prussian Law*.— What I would like best of all is if you could get Börne's *Menzel, der Franzosenfresser*. This work is without doubt the best we have in German prose, both in respect of style and of power and wealth of thought; it is marvellous; anyone who doesn't know it will not believe that our language possesses such power.[a]

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## 28

## TO WILHELM GRAEBER

### IN BERLIN

[Bremen, November 13-20, 1839]

*Nov. 13, 1839.* Dearest Guilielme, why don't you write? You all belong to the category of idlers and loungers. But I am a different fellow! Not only do I write to you more than you deserve, not only am I acquiring an exceptional acquaintance with all literatures of the world, I am also quietly making for myself in short stories and poems a memorial of glory which, unless the censor's breath turns the bright gleam of steel to ugly rust, will shine in brilliant, youthful radiance through all German lands, Austria excepted. In my breast it ferments and boils, in my sometimes drunken head it glows quite exceptionally; I long to find a great thought which will clear the ferment and blow the glow into a bright flame. A splendid subject, compared with which all my previous ones are mere childishness, is working upwards in my mind. What I want to do is to reveal in a "fairy story" or something like that those foreshadowings of the modern world that showed themselves in the Middle Ages; I want to uncover those spirits who knocked under the hard crust of the earth for release, buried beneath the foundations of churches and dungeons. I want to try and resolve at least part of Gutzkow's task: the true second part of *Faust*— Faust no longer an egoist but sacrificing himself for

[a] The end of the letter is missing.— *Ed.*

mankind—has yet to be written. There is *Faust*, there is the *Wandering Jew*, there is the *Wild Huntsman*, three types of the anticipated spiritual freedom which can easily be placed in connection and relation with Jan Huss. What a poetic background is given to me there, against which these three demons work their will! The idea of the *Wild Huntsman*, formerly begun in metre, has merged into it.—These three types (why don't you write, you fellows? Nov. 14) I shall treat in a most original manner; I promise myself a particular effect from the interpretation of Ahasuerus and the *Wild Huntsman*. To make the subject more poetic and the details more significant I can easily weave in other things from German tradition—but there is time for that yet. While the short story I am working on at present is more of a mere study in style and character portraying, this is to be the real thing on which I found my hopes for my name.

Nov. 15. No letter today either? What shall I do? What shall I think of you? I can't understand you. Nov. 20. And if you don't write today I shall geld you in thoughts and make you wait as long as you do me. An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a letter for a letter. But you hypocrites say: Not an eye for an eye, not a tooth for a tooth, *not* a letter for a letter, and fob me off with your damned Christian sophistry. No, better a good pagan than a bad Christian.

Poets of world-weariness

A young Jew has arisen, Theodor Creizenach, who writes most excellent poems and even better verses. He has written a comedy[a] in which W. Menzel and company are ridiculed in the most priceless fashion. Everybody is now flocking to the modern school

[a] Th. Creizenach, *Der schwäbische Apoll.*—*Ed.*

and building houses, palaces or little huts on the foundation of the great ideas of the time. Everything else is going to the dogs, sentimental little songs die away unheard, and the ringing horn waits for a huntsman to sound it for the hunting of tyrants; and God's storm rustles in the tree-tops and the youth of Germany stand in the grove, clashing their swords and raising high their brimming cups; from the mountain-tops the burning castles blaze, thrones shake, altars tremble, and if the Lord calls in storm and thunder: Forward, forward! who will resist us?[a]

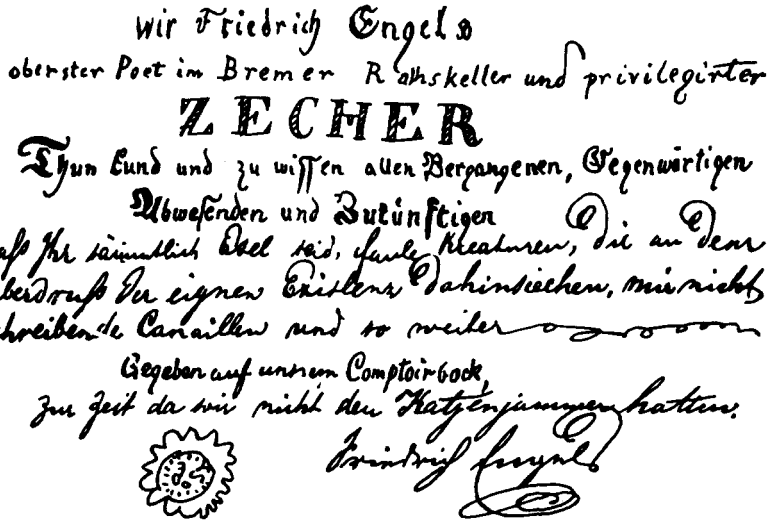
Wir Friedrich Engels
oberster Poet im Bremer Rathskeller und privilegirter
ZECHER
Thun kund und zu wissen allen Vergangenen, Gegenwärtigen
Abwesenden und Zukünftigen
daß Ihr sämmtlich Esel seid, faule Kreaturen, die an dem
Überdruß Ihr eignes Existenz dahinsiechen, mir nicht
schreibende Canaillen und so weiter
Gegeben auf unserm Comptoirbock,
zur Zeit da wir nicht den Katzenjammer hatten.
Friedrich Engels

In Berlin lives a young poet, Karl Grün, of whom I have these days read a *Buch der Wanderungen* which is very good. But he is said to be twenty-seven already, and at that age he should be able to write better. Now and again he has very striking thoughts, but often dreadful Hegelian phrases. What does this mean, for

[a] Further comes the following joking text: "We, Friedrich Engels, supreme poet in the Bremen town-hall cellar and privileged boozer, announce and make known to all and sundry, past, present, absent and future, that you are all asses, lazy creatures, who are wasting away from disgust with your own existence, scoundrels who don't write to me, and so on, and so on. Written on our office stool at a time when we had no hangover. *Friedrich Engels.*" — *Ed.*

instance: "Sophocles is the highly moral Greece which lets its titanic outbursts break against the wall of absolute necessity. In Shakespeare the concept of absolute character made its appearance." [a]

The night before last I had a great booze-up in the wine cellar on two bottles of beer and two and a half bottles of 1794 Rüdesheimer. My prospective publisher and diverse philistines were with me. Specimen of an argument with one of these philistines on the Bremen constitution: I: In Bremen the opposition to the government is not of the right kind since it consists of the money aristocracy, the aldermen who oppose the aristocracy of rank, the Senate. He: You cannot really maintain that, can you? I: Why not? He: Prove your assertion.—That sort of thing passes for argument here! Oh, you philistines, go and learn Greek, and come again. Anyone that knows Greek also knows how to argue *rite*. I can argue six such fellows to death at once, even if I am half-seas over and they are sober. These people cannot follow a thought through to its necessary conclusions for three seconds, but everything goes in spasms; you only need let them speak for half an hour, throw in a few seemingly innocent questions, and they contradict themselves *splendidamente*. They are dreadfully stolid people, these philistines; I began to sing, but they resolved unanimously against me that they would eat first, and then sing. They stuffed themselves with oysters, while I went on angrily smoking, drinking and shouting without taking any notice of them, until I fell into a blissful slumber. I am now a large-scale importer of banned books into Prussia; Börne's *Franzosenfresser* in four copies, the *Briefe aus Paris* by the same, six volumes, Venedey's *Preussen und Preussenthum*, most strictly prohibited, in five copies, are lying ready for dispatch to Barmen. The last two volumes of the *Briefe aus Paris* I had not yet read; they are magnificent. King Otto of Greece is given a terrible going-over; thus he says on one occasion:

"If I were God I would have great fun: I would let all the great Greeks rise again one night." [b]

Then comes a very fine description of how these Hellenes walk about in Athens, Pericles, Aristotle and others. Then it is announced: King Otto has come. Everybody gets up, Dio-

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[a] *Buch der Wanderungen. Ostsee und Rhein*, Cassel und Leipzig, 1839, S. XXV. (Grün's book was published under the pseudonym of Ernst von der Haide.)—*Ed.*

[b] L. Börne, *Briefe aus Paris*, Brief 89.—*Ed.*

genes trims his lamp, and all hurry to Piraeus. King Otto has landed and is making the following speech:

"Hellenes, look up. The sky has taken on the Bavarian national colour." (This speech is really too good, I must copy it out in full.) "For in the most ancient times Greece belonged to Bavaria. The Pelasgians lived in the Odenwald, and Inachus was born in Landshut. I have come to make you happy. Your demagogues, seditionists and journalists have brought your beautiful land to ruin. The fatal freedom of the press has thrown everything into confusion. Just see what the olive-trees look like. I would have come to you long ago, but I could not do so, for I have *not yet been long in this world.* Now you are a member of the *Deutsche Bund*; my ministers will inform you of the latest decisions of the *Bund.* I shall know how to safeguard the rights of my crown and by and by make you happy. For my civil list" (salary of the king in a constitutional state) "you shall annually give me 6 million piastres, and I allow you to pay my debts."[a]

The Greeks become confused, Diogenes shines his lamp in the king's face, and Hippocrates has ordered six cartloads of hellebore to be fetched, etc., etc. This whole ironical poem is a masterpiece of biting satire and written in a style that is divine. The reason why you like Börne less is because you are reading one of his weakest and earliest works, the *Schilderungen aus Paris.* The *Dramaturgische Blätter,* the criticisms, the aphorisms, but above all the *Briefe aus Paris* and the marvellous *Franzosenfresser* stand infinitely higher. The description of the collection of paintings is very boring, there you are right. But the grace, the Herculean strength, the depth of feeling, the devastating wit of the *Franzosenfresser* are unsurpassable. I hope we shall meet at Easter or else in the autumn in Barmen, and then you shall get a better idea of this Börne.—What you write about Torstrick's duel is indeed different from his own version, but in any case he is the one who had the most unpleasantness from it. He is a good fellow, but he lives in extremes, now drunk, then a little pedantic.

Continuation. If you are of the opinion that German literature has gradually fallen asleep, you are greatly mistaken. Don't think that because you hide your head from it like an ostrich and don't see it, it has ceased to exist. *Au contraire,* it is developing quite appreciably, as would be clear to you if you paid more attention to it and didn't live in Prussia, where the works of Gutzkow, etc., first require a special and rarely granted permission.—You are equally mistaken in thinking I should return to Christianity. *Pro primo,* it is ridiculous to me that I no longer count with you as a Christian, and *pro secundo,* that you think anyone who for the sake of the Idea has stripped off what is fantastical in orthodoxy could

[a] Ibid.—*Ed.*

submit to that strait jacket again. A true rationalist can perhaps do so by acknowledging that his natural explanation of miracles and his shallow moralising are insufficient; but mythicism and speculation cannot again descend from their dawn-reddened snow-capped peaks into the misty valleys of orthodoxy.— For I am on the point of becoming a Hegelian. Whether I shall become one I don't, of course, know yet, but Strauss has lit up lights on Hegel for me which make the thing quite plausible to me. His (Hegel's) philosophy of history is anyway written as from my own heart. Do see that you get hold of Strauss' *Charakteristiken und Kritiken,* the essay on Schleiermacher and Daub is wonderful.[219] Nobody else writes so penetratingly, clearly and interestingly as Strauss. By the way, he is not at all infallible; even if his entire *Leben Jesu* should be discovered to be a collection of sheer sophistries, still the first thing that makes this work so important is its basic idea of the mythical in Christianity; and the discovery would not damage this idea, for it can always be applied anew to biblical history. And that he has not only conceived the idea but also carried it out with such undeniable excellence raises Strauss' merit still higher. A good exegetist may be able to convict him here and there of a mistake or of falling into extremes, just as Luther was in detail open to criticism; but that, of course, does not matter. If Tholuck has ever said anything good about Strauss[a] that is either a sheer accident or an apt reminiscence; Tholuck's scholarliness is too diffuse and with that he is merely receptive, not even critical, much less productive. The good ideas Tholuck has had can easily be counted, and he himself destroyed any belief in the scientific character of his polemics as far back as ten years ago by his controversy with Wegscheider and Gesenius. Tholuck's scientific effect has in no way been lasting, and his time is long past. Hengstenberg did at least once have an original, even if absurd thought: that of the prophetic perspective.— It is incomprehensible to me that you care for nothing that goes beyond Hengstenberg and Neander. With all due respect for Neander, he is not scientific. Instead of setting intellect and reason solidly to work in his writings, even if at some point he should come into opposition to the Bible, whenever he fears that might happen he lets science take care of itself and comes out with empiricism or pious sentiment. He is much too pious and amiable to be able to oppose Strauss. Precisely by these pious outbursts in which his *Leben Jesu* abounds he blunts the point even of his genuinely scientific arguments.

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[a] A. Tholuck, *Die Glaubwürdigkeit der evangelischen Geschichte.— Ed.*

*A propos*—a few days ago I read in the paper that Hegelian philosophy has been banned in Prussia, that a famous Hegelian lecturer in Halle has been induced by a ministerial rescript to suspend his lectures and that it has been intimated to several junior Halle lecturers of the same colour (presumably Ruge, etc.) that they cannot expect appointments. It is said that by this same rescript the definitive ban on the Berlin *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* has been decided. I have not yet heard anything further. I cannot believe even the Prussian Government capable of such an unheard-of act of violence, although Börne prophesied it as long as five years ago, and Hengstenberg, an intimate friend of the Crown Prince,[a] as well as Neander, is said to be a declared enemy of the Hegelian school. If you hear anything of the business, write to me about it. Now I'll study Hegel over a glass of punch. *Adios.* Expecting a letter from you soon,

*Friedrich Engels*

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## 29

## TO FRIEDRICH GRAEBER

### IN BERLIN

[Bremen, December 9, 1839-February 5, 1840]

*December 9.*

My dear fellow, your letter has just arrived; it is amazing how long one has to wait for you people. Nothing has been heard from Berlin since your and Heuser's letter from Elberfeld. One ought to give oneself up to the devil if only his existence were proved. But you have now arrived and that is good.

Imitating you, I leave theology to the last as a worthy crowning to the pyramid of my letter. I busy myself very much with literary work; since I received Gutzkow's assurance that my contributions are welcome I have sent him an essay on K. Beck[b]; then I am composing a lot of verses, which, however, badly need polishing

[a] The future King Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 41-46.—*Ed.*

up, and also writing prose pieces to practise my style. The day before yesterday I wrote "Eine Bremer Liebesgeschichte", yesterday "Die Juden in Bremen"; tomorrow I think I shall write "Die junge Literatur in Bremen", "Der Jüngste"[a] (namely, the office boy) or something else of the kind. In a fortnight, if one is in the mood, one can thus easily scribble up to five sheets, then one polishes up the style, puts in verses here and there for variety, and publishes it as *Bremer Abende*. My prospective publisher came to see me yesterday; I read him *Odysseus Redivivus*,[220] which delighted him exceedingly; he will take the first novel from my factory and yesterday wanted desperately to have a small volume of poems. But unfortunately there aren't enough of them, and—the censorship! Who would pass *Odysseus*? Incidentally, I don't allow the censorship to keep me from writing freely; let them cross out as much as they like afterwards, *I* don't commit infanticide on my own thoughts. Such censorship cuts are always disagreeable, but also honourable; an author who reaches the age of thirty or writes three books without cuts by the censor is not worth anything. Scarred warriors are the best. You must be able to tell by looking at a book that it has come out of a battle with the censor. By the way, the Hamburg censorship is liberal; in my last *Telegraph* essay on the German *Volksbücher*[b] there are several pieces of very bitter sarcasm about the Bundestag and the Prussian censorship, but not a letter has been crossed out.

*December 11.* Oh, Fritz! For years I have not been so lazy as I am at this moment. Ha! it is beginning to dawn on me what I need—I must visit the *tertium locum.*

*December 12.* Really, what asses—I meant to say what good people—the Bremen people are! In this present weather the streets are terribly slippery, and they have strewn sand in front of the town-hall cellar so that the drunks will not fall.

The fellow on the side here suffers from world-weariness, he visited H. Heine in Paris and caught it from him; then he went to Theodor Mundt and learnt certain phrases indispensable for world-wearinessing. Since then he has become visibly thinner and is going to write a book on world-weariness as the only sure remedy against corpulence.

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[a] "A Bremen Love Story", "The Jews in Bremen", "Young Literature in Bremen", "The Youngest".—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 32-40.—*Ed.*

*January 20 [1840]*. I did not want to write to you until it was certain whether I shall stay here or go away. Now at last I can tell you that for the time being I shall stay here.

*21st.* I admit that I am not very keen to continue the theological debate. One misunderstands one another and by the time one replies, one has long since forgotten one's *ipsissima verba* which are the point at issue, and so no purpose is achieved. A thorough discussion of the matter would require much more space, and it often happens to me that I cannot endorse in a subsequent letter things I said in an earlier one because they belonged so very much to the category of preconception of which I have freed myself in the meantime. Through Strauss I have now entered on the straight road to Hegelianism. Of course, I shall not become such an inveterate Hegelian as Hinrichs and others, but I must nevertheless absorb important things from this colossal system. The Hegelian idea of God has already become mine, and thus I am joining the ranks of the "modern pantheists", as Leo and Hengstenberg say, knowing well that even the word pantheism arouses such colossal revulsion on the part of pastors who don't think. Thus today at midday I was highly amused by a long sermon in the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung* against Märklin's pietism.[221] The good *Kirchen-Zeitung* not only finds it most peculiar that it is counted among the pietists, but finds also other curious things. Modern pantheism, i.e., Hegel, apart from the fact that it is already found among the Chinese and Parsees, is perfectly expressed in the sect of the Libertines, which was attacked by Calvin.[222] This discovery is really rather too original. But still more original is its development. It is already very difficult to recognise Hegel in what the *Kirchen-Zeitung* passes off as his views, and that again has a very far-fetched similarity with a most vaguely expressed proposition of Calvin's on the Libertines. The proof was enormously amusing. The *Bremer Kirchenbote* puts it even better and says that Hegel denies the truth of history! It's stupendous what nonsense sometimes comes out when somebody labours to make out that a philosophy which stands in his way and which he can no longer get round, is un-Christian. People who know Hegel only by name and have only read the notes in Leo's *Hegelingen* want to overthrow a system which, being cast in a single mould, needs no clamps to hold it together.—This letter is presided over by an eminently unlucky star. God knows, I no sooner get down to it than the devil is let loose. I am always given office work.

These are two puppets which are so stiff contrary to my will. Otherwise they would be men.

Have you read Strauss' *Charakteristiken und Kritiken*? See that you get it, the essays in it are all excellent. The one on Schleiermacher and Daub is a masterpiece. From the essays on the Württemberg demoniacs an enormous amount of psychology can be learnt.[223] Equally interesting are the other theological and aesthetic essays.— In addition I am studying Hegel's *Geschichtsphilosophie*,[a] an enormous work; I read out of it dutifully every evening, the tremendous thoughts grip me terribly.— Recently Tholuck's old gossip sheet, the *Literarische Anzeiger*, fatuously raised the question why "modern pantheism" had no lyric poetry, though the ancient Persian, etc., had.[224] The *Literarische Anzeiger* can just wait until I and certain other people have got to the bottom of this pantheism, the lyric poetry will come all right. It is very fine, by the way, that the *Literarische Anzeiger* accepts Daub and condemns speculative philosophy. As if Daub did not also adhere to Hegel's principle that humanity and divinity are in essence identical. There you have this dreadful superficiality; whether Strauss and Daub agree in principle they care little, but that Strauss does not believe in the marriage at Cana[225] while Daub does, suffices for them to elevate one into heaven and declare the other a candidate for hell. Oswald Marbach, the

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[a] G. F. W. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*, Berlin, 1837.— *Ed.*

*Volksbücher* publisher, is the most confused of men, but especially (*cum — tum*) of the Hegelians. How a pupil of Hegel can say,

> Heaven is also here on Earth. I can
> Distinctly feel the God in me becoming Man,

is to me utterly incomprehensible, since Hegel distinguished the totality very sharply from the incomplete individual. — Nobody has done Hegel more harm than his pupils; only a few of them, like Gans, Rosenkranz, Ruge and others, were worthy of him. But an Oswald Marbach is truly the *non plus ultra* of all misunderstanders; such a godly fellow! — The Rev. Pastor Mallet, in the *Bremer Kirchenbote,* has declared Hegel's system to be "loose talk".[226] That would be serious, for if these blocks, these granite thoughts, fell apart, a single fragment of this Cyclopean building could kill not merely Pastor Mallet but all Bremen. If, for example, the thought that world history is the development of the concept of freedom were to fall with all its weight on the neck of a Bremen pastor — what sort of sigh would he give?

*February 1.* Today this letter must go off, come what may.

Let him tell you his life story himself

The Russians are beginning to become naive; they claim that the war against the Circassians has not yet cost as many human lives as one of Napoleon's lesser battles. I should not have credited a barbarian like Nicholas with such naivety.

The Berliners, I hear, are terribly furious with me. I have belittled Tholuck and Neander to them and I have not put Ranke among the *superos,* and that has made them mad. In addition I have written to Heuser divinely extravagant stuff about Beethoven. — I have read a very pretty comedy, *Weh dem, der lügt!*[a] by Grillparzer in Vienna, which is a long way above the present common run of comedies. There shines through it now and then a free noble spirit to which the Austrian censorship is an intolerable burden. One can see how much trouble it cost the author to draw an aristocratic nobleman in such a fashion that the noble censor raises no objection. *O tempores, o moria, Donner und Doria,*[b] today the fifth of February is here and it's a scandal that I am so lazy, but I

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[a] *Woe to him who lies! — Ed.*

[b] The well-known Latin *O tempora, o mores* is here distorted to rhyme with the German. — *Ed.*

cannot help it,[a] God knows, I am doing nothing now. I have started several essays but they are not progressing, and whenever I want to write verses in the evening I have always eaten so much that I can't prevent myself from falling asleep.—This summer I terribly want to make a journey into the Danish country, Holstein, Jutland, Zealand, Rügen. I must see that my Old Man sends my brother[b] here, then I'll take him with me. I have an enormous longing for the sea, and what an interesting travel journal I could make of it; then it could be published with a few poems. We are having such divine weather now, and I can't go out, I want to so terribly, it's bad luck.

This is a fat sugar broker who is just leaving the house and whose standing phrase is "In my opinion". When he has spoken to somebody at the stock exchange and is going away, he invariably says: "You fare well!" His name is Joh. H. Bergmann.

There are touching people here. So I'll immediately draw you another picture from life:

This old fellow is drunk every morning and he then steps in front of his door and shouts, thumping his chest: "*Ick bin Borger*", i.e., I thank Thee, God, that I am not like these Hanoverians, Oldenburgers, or worse, Frenchmen, but a Bremen *Borger tågen båren Bremer Kind!*[c]

The expression on the faces of the local old women of all classes is really horrid. In particular the one on the right with the snub nose is genuine Bremen.

The speech of Bishop Eylert at the festival of the Order[227] has one great merit: now we know what to think of the King[d] and his perjury is official. The same king who in A. D. 1815, when he was feeling afraid, promised his subjects in a cabinet decree that if

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[a] "But I cannot help it" is written in English in the original.—*Ed.*
[b] Hermann Engels.—*Ed.*
[c] A burgher of Bremen, a true-born child of Bremen.—*Ed.*
[d] Frederick William III.—*Ed.*

they got him out of the mess they should have a constitution, this same shabby, rotten, goddamned king now has it announced through Eylert that nobody is going to get a constitution from him, for "All for one and one for all is Prussia's principle of government" and "No one puts old cloth on a new garment". Do you know why Rotteck's fourth volume[a] is banned in Prussia? Because it says that in 1814 our majestic snotnose of Berlin recognised the Spanish constitution of 1812 and yet in 1823 sent the French into Spain to do away with that constitution and bring back to the Spaniards the noble gift of the Inquisition and torture.[228] In 1826 Ripoll was burnt at Valencia on instructions from the Inquisition, and his blood and that of 23,000 noble Spaniards who languished to death in prison for their liberal and heretic views is on the conscience of Frederick William III """"the Just"""" of Prussia. I hate him, and besides him I hate only perhaps two or three others; I hate him with a mortal hatred, and if I didn't so despise him, the shit, I would hate him still more. Napoleon was an angel compared with him, the King of Hanover[b] is a god if our King is a man. There never was a time richer in royal crimes than that of 1816-30; almost every prince then ruling deserved the death penalty. The pious Charles X, the vicious Ferdinand VII of Spain, Francis of Austria, that machine that was only good for signing death sentences and dreaming of Carbonari[229]; Dom Miguel, who is a greater scoundrel than all the heroes of the French Revolution taken together, and whom nevertheless Prussia, Russia and Austria gladly recognised when he bathed in the blood of the best Portuguese, and the parricide Alexander of Russia, as also his worthy brother Nicholas on whose abominable deeds it would be superfluous to waste another word—oh, I could tell you killing stories about how the princes love their subjects—I expect anything good only of that prince whose ears are boxed right and left by his people and whose palace windows are smashed by the flying stones of the revolution. Farewell.

Yours,

*Friedrich Engels*

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[a] C. Rotteck, *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte für alle Stände....*— *Ed.*

[b] Ernst August.— *Ed.*

# 1840

## 30

## TO LEVIN SCHÜCKING

IN MÜNSTER

Bremen, June 18, 1840

Dear Herr Schücking,

Once again my warmest thanks for your kindly reception and for the beautiful souvenir from Münster[230]! I read it through in Osnabrück at one sitting with great enjoyment, and I envy the poet[a] for her original and tender images of nature, the many hidden splendours, the kinship with Byron, which you also, if I am not mistaken, stressed in your review.[231] It is a shame that these poems should have come and gone without making any impression; but what does this depth of feeling mean to the shallow reading public of our days? At the first opportunity I shall publicly do justice to the book.[b]—Where is there a more beautiful ballad of its kind than *Der Graf von Thal*?

Now concerning our Shelley-plan,[232] I had a talk with Schünemann straight away yesterday; at the mention of the fee of ten talers he shrank back as if struck by lightning and said at once he could not take it on. He is just back from the Fair where he himself inspected his masses of unsold books of every kind, pietistic novels, descriptions from Belgium, Spanish readers and other rubbish; in addition, he was foolish enough to make contracts in Leipzig for works on theology and on world and literary history at a low fee, so that he has his hands full. These stupid bookseller people believe they risk less on a commentary on the epistles of John, which costs perhaps two talers in fees and is badly produced, and will perhaps be bought by 20 students at most, than on Shelley, for which production and fees may cost

[a] Annette Elisabeth Freiin von Droste-Hülshöff.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 101.—*Ed.*

relatively three times as much, but in which the whole nation will take an interest. Just now I was with Schünemann again to hear from his own mouth the final statement that on these conditions he cannot take it on; one sheet of poems, he said, contains only a quarter as much as a sheet of prose, so that the fee for a sheet would really come to 40 talers. I told him it was not child's play to translate Shelley, and if he did not want it then he should leave it alone, for heaven's sake; and that by the way he was standing in his own light. He: If only we would first give him a small specimen, he would print it, and then one could see what could be done. I: Schücking and Püttmann are not the people to agree to give specimens, and what specimens do for other people, their names do for them. Will you or won't you? He: Not on these conditions.—*Muy bien*; to beg was beneath our dignity, so I left.—I am now of the opinion that this failure should by no means discourage us; if one will not do it, another will. Püttmann, who translated the first canto of *Queen Mab*, has sent it to Engelmann in Leipzig, and if he accepts, it will be easy to get him to take on the whole thing. Otherwise Hammerich in Altona and Krabbe in Stuttgart would perhaps be the ones we should approach first. But just now, immediately after the Easter Fair, is a very unfavourable moment for making our offers. If it were January I am sure Schünemann would have grabbed it with both hands. I want to go to him once more and ask him for a joke what kind of conditions he can offer us.

Friend Schünemann evaded my visits by flight; he is on an outing to the country. He would probably have offered five talers a sheet and asked, as he always loves to do, for a little specimen of three to four sheets in advance. The whole thing is the fault of none other than the pietist Wilh. Elias of Halle, on whose novel *Glauben und Wissen*, published by Schünemann, the latter loses about 2,000 talers. If I catch the fellow I'll challenge him to scimitars.

What do you say to all this? I shall write to Püttmann straight away today. I think it is too good a project simply to drop it. Any bookseller with a smattering of education (Schünemann is a blockhead) will take on the publication with pleasure.

I am eagerly looking forward to hearing your opinion on the matter, and in the meantime commend myself to your friendly goodwill.

Respectfully,

*Friedrich Engels*

What do you say to Gutzkow's challenge to the *Hallische Jahrbücher* in the *Telegraph*?[233] Gutzkow seems to want to renew Menzel's and Müllner's critical terrorism; let him take care that the younger ones do not outgrow him!

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## 31

## TO LEVIN SCHÜCKING

### IN MÜNSTER

My dear Friend,

Your kind lines of the 22nd of last month reached me unfortunately only on the 26th, which was very disagreeable to me since the previous evening, asked by a local bookseller of whom I made inquiries about reasonable publishers, I had written to Hammerich in Altona and offered him the publication of the Shelley.[a] So I received his reply only today, which was a rejection, since he says he is overwhelmed with publishing work.

As concerns G. C. A. Meyer senior, I am of the opinion that we should let *him* go in any case. Firstly, the fellow and his factory workers (Brinckmeier, Bärmann and Co.) are too common; secondly, Püttmann would never consent to write for his publishing house; thirdly, Meyer pays terribly low fees, and fourthly, we would get involved in a horrible mass of demand notes and other vexations to rake in the fees. I am at the moment myself having to send him demand notes for the fee for my articles in the *Mitternachtzeitung*,[b] which he does not want to fork out; and although in this case there is the middleman Brinckmeier between us, *I* could on no account make the offer. I am unfortunately still without a reply from Püttmann and hence cannot take any energetic steps. Moreover, Meyer will already have distributed

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[a] See this volume, p. 495.— *Ed.*

[b] "Modern Literary Life. I. Karl Gutzkow as Dramatist. II. Modern Polemics". See this volume, pp. 71-93.— *Ed.*

everything to his subordinates and will not be able to let us have anything from Shelley. These publishers are used to having the pens in their service absolutely at their disposal, and which of us would put up with that?

I think the best is to give Püttmann, who in this respect is probably the most experienced among us, unrestricted authority to enter into a contract; he will no doubt carry the matter through to the satisfaction of us all and at all events with greater ease than *I* could. Moreover, he has already offered *Queen Mab* to W. Engelmann, who would be the right publisher for us. And one thing is of great importance here: you, like me, have so far written only for journals; Püttmann, on the other hand, has already had one work printed and another announced.[234] The infamous publishers pay attention to this kind of thing.

When your letter arrived, Schünemann had just started on a journey from which he is not yet back. I shall make him accept Coleridge, at any rate[235]; in a champagne fog at the Gutenberg festival, which was celebrated here with splendour, I drank brotherhood with him, by which he felt much honoured. If you have the manuscript so far ready, please send it to me.

The spiteful abuse of the *Hallische Jahrbücher* is in No. 97 or 98 of the *Telegraph*,[a] which reaches us by post and therefore much earlier than it can you. I have again sent Gutzkow something and am curious to see how he receives it after the article in the *Mitternachtzeitung* ("Moderne Polemik").[236]

From Barmen I have just received a letter which incomprehensibly contains nothing about Püttmann. If you agree to Püttmann looking after the publishing side, I shall write to him immediately I hear from you and pass everything on to him. Also, please tell me how matters stand with the fee from the *Rheinisches Jahrbuch*; in a few days I shall send something to Freiligrath. In this case I don't care so much about the money, but I would like to know in advance how I stand.

Your translation of Shelley and Coleridge in Pfizer's *Blätter*[b] I have read with pleasure[237]; today I shall finish Shelley's *Sensitive Plant* and shall send it also to him. This splendid poem is written in a spirit which is still more akin than Byron to Droste's works. These continue to give me great pleasure and I thank you for them once more.

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[a] See this volume, p. 496.— *Ed.*

[b] *Blätter zur Kunde der Literatur des Auslands.— Ed.*

With the assurance of my sincere respect I commend myself to your kind remembrance.

Yours most truly,

*Fr. Engels*

Bremen, 2/7.40

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## 32

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN MANNHEIM[a]

Dear Marie,

Things will soon be too bad with you; you were going to write to me as soon as you arrived in Mannheim, and now I have been sitting here three weeks already and still no letter from you. If that goes on I shall have to make up my mind to write direct to Fräulein Jung so that you will be more or less made to prove your sisterly love for me.

I hope you are having better weather than we are, nothing but storm and rain, as in September and November. At sea ships are going down like flies which drop into a glass of water, and the Norderney steamer was barely able to get there. The day before yesterday I was in Bremerhaven,[b] and there also it rained all morning. I was on the ships which take emigrants to America; they lie all together in the steerage, which is a large space as wide and long as the whole ship, the berths (that is what the beds are called) in sets of six side by side, and above them another six. There they all lie, men, women and children, and how horrible this stuffy place is, where there are often 200 people lying, especially during the first days of seasickness, you can well imagine. The air is in any case suffocating. Cabin passengers are better off, however, they have more room and a very elegantly furnished cabin. But when a storm breaks and the waves come over the ship, they are worse off; for the cabin has a glass skylight through which the light comes in; and when it is

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[a] The back of the letter bears the inscription: "Fräulein Marie Engels im grossherzoglichen Institut, frei. Mannheim." — *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 112-20. — *Ed.*

hit by a heavy wave, the glass comes ringing most politely into the cabin and the water after it. Then the whole cabin generally gets full of water, but the beds are so high that they remain dry. Just as we were leaving again at midday a great three-master called *Marie*, like you, and coming from the island of Cuba, sailed into the roads. Because of the low tide it could not enter the port and anchored in the roads. We went close to it in our steamer, and took off the captain; but there were already beginning to be waves in the roads, and the ship pitched a little. At once all the ladies grew pale and made faces as if they were going to be drowned; we had a couple of pretty tailor's daughters on board to whom we behaved extremely gallantly, and with the straightest face in the world I made the geese believe the rolling and pitching would go on as far as Brake, which we were to reach only in an hour and a half. Unfortunately, however, it stopped again directly after Bremerhaven. Three unripe hats blew off into the water and were probably carried away to America, as well as a whole lot of empty wine and beer bottles. Apart from that I did not see much that was remarkable except a dead cat in the Weser which was making a voyage to the United States all on its own. I spoke to it, but it was rude enough not to reply.

Here you have a hasty sketch of Bremerhaven. On the left is the fort which guards the harbour, an old brick-built thing which the wind will soon blow over; next the locks through which ships are let into the harbour, which is a long narrow canal a little wider than the Wupper; behind that is the town, and farther to the right the Geest, a kind of river, and the church spire above it in the air, that is the church which has yet to be built. On the right in the distance is Geestendorf.

A few days ago I made the acquaintance of a man whose father is a Frenchman born in America, his mother a German, he himself was born at sea and his native tongue, since he lives in Mexico, is Spanish. So what is his Fatherland?

We now have a complete stock of beer in the office; under the table, behind the stove, behind the cupboard, everywhere are beer

bottles, and when the Old Man[a] is thirsty he borrows one and has it filled up again for us later. That is now done quite openly, the glasses stand on the table all day and a bottle nearby. In the right-hand corner are the empty bottles, in the left the full ones, next to them my cigars. It is really true, Marie, the young people are getting worse and worse every day, as Dr. Hantschke says; who would have thought 20 or 30 years ago of such terrible wickedness as drinking beer in the office?

What is most convenient for you, shall I pay the postage for our correspondence and frank my letters and also pay for yours, which you will then send unfranked? If you have already written before this letter arrives, I shall not write to you again until you write me a sensible, long letter in reply to this one.

Adieu.

With true love,

Your brother

*Friedrich*

Bremen, July 7, 40

Fortunately, this letter has again been left lying around and thus gives me the opportunity to reply to your letter, which has just arrived. "I wish I too could play as well as she does! If I practise very hard, I shall get that far too?" You? Play a sonata of 20 pages? Goose that you are! Schornstein would, of course, be pleased. What wishes have I for Christmas? I have lost my cigar case, and if I don't find it soon, can you make a new one for me? Thank Ada[b] for her greetings and greet her heartily from me; tell her she is the first to call me amiable, and I am not at all a cousin, but at most her very respectful kinsman.—When you write again, don't address the letter to Treviranus, as I then get it later, but to F. E., Bremen, Martini No. 11. Then it will be brought to me in the office.

Farewell.[c]

Yours,

*Friedrich*

Bremen, July 9, 1840

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[a] Heinrich Leupold.—*Ed.*

[b] Adeline Engels.—*Ed.*

[c] Written in English in the original.—*Ed.*

## 33

## TO MARIE ENGELS

IN MANNHEIM[a]

Dear Marie,

Now I must tell you at once that for the future I shall not stand for any lessons from your pen. You must not think, my dearest little goose, that now you are at a boarding-school you can at once try to be wise and, besides, if I want any, I can get piles of books full of good instructions from the Pastor.[b] The beer stays in our office until it has been drunk, and since your arguing against it our beer trade has only improved, for we have firstly brown ale and secondly pale ale. That's what comes of saucy little boarding-school misses interfering in the affairs of their gentlemen brothers.

So I shall not frank my letters. Only address yours: Herr F. E. in Bremen, that is enough. But leave the parson out of the address. Recently, from July 27th to 30th, we celebrated the July revolution which broke out ten years ago in Paris; we spent one evening in the town-hall cellar and the others in Richard Roth's tavern. The fellow is still not back. There we drank the finest Laubenheimer in the world and smoked cigars—if you had seen them you would have learnt to smoke just for their sake. My cigar case has still not turned up again. Also, an acquaintance of mine[c] has come back, who has been in Pinselfahnien and Kaltermoria and has seen Mister Sippi (this should read Pennsylvania, Baltimore and Mississippi). This fellow is from Solingen, and the Solingen people are the most unfortunate in the world, for they cannot get rid of their Solingen German. The lad still says: *im Sohmer is es sehr schön Wätter*,[d] and for Karoline he always says Kalinah.

It is sad, I have barely a groat left in my pocket and a mass of debts, both my own and cigar-shop debts. Now I am being pestered by the man from whom I bought plums for you, which I have not yet paid for, and the bookbinder has not been paid yet,

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[a] The back of the letter bears the inscription: "Fräulein Marie Engels im grossherzoglichen Institut zu Mannheim."—*Ed.*

[b] Georg Gottfried Treviranus.—*Ed.*

[c] Höller.—*Ed.*

[d] Dialectal pronunciation of *im Sommer ist es sehr schönes Wetter* (in summer the weather is very fine).—*Ed.*

then the three months after which I had to pay for the cigars I bought have long gone by, and Strücker does not send bills of exchange, and the Pastor is away travelling and cannot give me any money. But tomorrow he will be back, and then I shall put six louis d'or in my purse, and when I have eaten three groats' worth of cake in a coffee-house I shall throw a double pistole on the counter: "Can you give me change?" And then he will say, "Unfortunately not", then I shall turn out all my pockets for the three groats and go out of the door proud of my double pistoles. When I am back in the office I shall toss a pistole on the ginger-headed junior's desk: "Derkhiem, see if you can get change", and the fellow will be extremely happy, for it gives him an opportunity to stay away from the office for an hour and to lounge around, which innocent pleasure he likes very much. For small change is very scarce here, and anyone who has five talers' worth of change in his pocket is vastly content.

Recently, a pricelessly funny incident occurred here. In the paper there was an advertisement for a cook. A sturdy girl comes into the editorial office and says[a]: "*Hört Se mol, do hebb' ick in der Zeitung lesen, dat se 'ne Köksche sökt.*"[b] "*Jowol,*"[c] says the clerk. "*Wat mot de wol können?*"[d] asks the girl. "*Jo, de mot Kloveer speelen un danzen un Französch, un singen, un neien un sticken — dat mot se all können.*"[e] "*Donnerslag,*" says the girl, "*dat kann eck nit.*"[f] But when she sees the whole office laughing, she asks: "*Se wêt mek wol tom besten hebben? Donnerslag, ick lote mi nich mokeeren!*"[g] And with that she goes for the clerk and wants to give him a good hiding; of course, she was gently put outside the door. The other day the Old Man[h] threw a driver out of the door. The fellow wanted Prussian gold and would not take louis d'or at the rate of $5^5/_{12}$ talers. We were having a row with him, when the Old Man came in: "What is going on here, confound it", and took the fellow by the chest and threw him in the gutter. Thereupon the driver came

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[a] The following conversation is in Low German.— *Ed.*

[b] "Listen, I have read in the paper that you are looking for a cook." — *Ed.*

[c] "Yes, indeed."— *Ed.*

[d] "What must she be able to do?"— *Ed.*

[e] "Well, she must play the piano and dance and speak French, and sing, and sew, and embroider — she must be able to do all that."— *Ed.*

[f] "Blast it, I can't do that."— *Ed.*

[g] "Are you trying to make a fool of me? I don't let people make fun of me, blast it!"— *Ed.*

[h] Heinrich Leupold.— *Ed.*

quietly back and said: *"So wer et nich meent, jetz will eck de Lujedor woll nehmen."* [a]

At the moment I have no envelope for my letter except this scribbled-over coffee bill, which will surely be welcome to you as a true coffee-sister.

Farewell [b] and write soon

to your brother
*Friedrich*

Bremen, Aug. 4, 40

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## 34

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN MANNHEIM

My very dear *Sœur*,

I have just received your letter, and since I have nothing to do at the moment, I shall scribble you a few lines. Our office has been considerably improved. Up to now it was always very annoying to have to dash straight to the desk from a meal, when you are so dreadfully lazy, and to remedy this we have fixed up two very fine hammocks in the packing-house loft and there we swing after we have eaten, smoking a cigar, and sometimes having a little doze. I am convinced you will find this arrangement most suitable. Today I also had a letter from Roth, he will be back next Sunday [after] an absence of 4 months. So that you know: 1,700 marks banco at 137 per cent are 776 talers 24 groats louis d'or. I have checked it, it is quite correct. Herewith an engraving.

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[a] "I did not mean it like that, I will take the louis d'or now all right."— *Ed.*

[b] Written in English in the original.— *Ed.*

An old connoisseur of wines who has been given sour wine to drink. The one next to him is the commercial traveller from whom he bought the sour wine. I will also draw you a picture of the hair style for young gentlemen here:

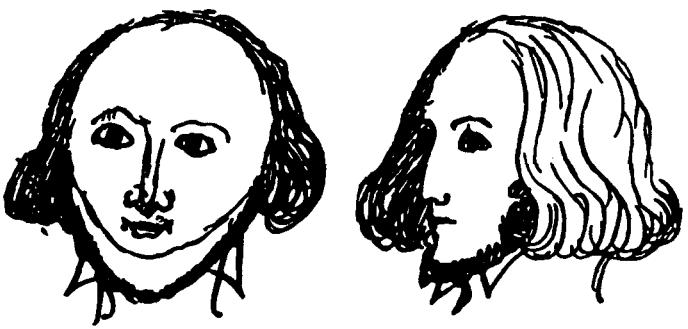

The fellows look like calves

Confound it! When I had written this I went home to eat, and when I came back I lit a cigar to lie down in the hammock. But it immediately broke down under me and when I went to hammer new nails in, the infamous Derkhiem called me, and now I can't get away from the office again.

Thank God, I did have my siesta after all. I stole out of the office and took cigars and matches with me and ordered beer; then I went to the upper packing-house loft and lay down in the hammock and swung very gently. Then I went to the middle packing-house loft and packed two cases of *platillas*, and at the

same time I consumed a cigar and a bottle of beer and sweated profusely, for it is so warm today that in spite of barely having got rid of a cold I want to go swimming in the Weser again. The other day I bathed and had a fellow row after me, and thus I swam four times across the Weser in one go, which no one in Bremen will so easily imitate.

Confound it! For two reasons: first, it is raining, second, my amiable young principal[a] simply will not leave the office, and so I must let my cigar go out again. But I will chase him away all right. Do you know how I do it? I go into the kitchen and call out very loud: "Kristine, a cork-screw!" Then I open a bottle of beer and pour out a glass for myself. If then he has but half a groat's worth of honour in him, he must go out, for that means as much as "Be off, Don Guillermo!"

So you now speak English so splendidly? Just wait, when you come home again I will teach you Danish or Spanish so that you can speak with me in a language the others don't understand. *Danske Sprag fagre Sprag, y el Español es lengua muy hermosa.*[b] Or would you prefer Portuguese? *O portugues he huma lengoa muito graçosa, e os Portuguezes saõ naçaõ muito respeitavel.*[c] But since you have not yet got so far I will spare you that.

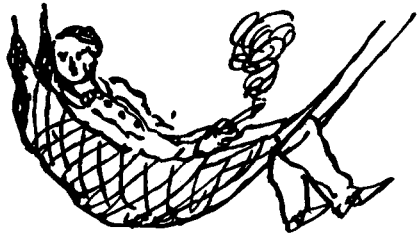

Here you can see my hammock, containing myself smoking a cigar.

I have just heard that another 500 cases of sugar, that is, 250,000 lbs., have been sold. That can sweeten many a cup of coffee. Who knows whether the sugar in your cup won't come from the same case from which I had to take samples! But all your sugar on the Rhine comes from Holland, where it is made from *lumps,* lumps of sugar, not of cotton-rag.

Soon there will be big manoeuvres in Falkenberg, 3 hours from

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[a] Wilhelm Leupold.— *Ed.*

[b] Danish is a charming language, and Spanish is a most beautiful language.— *Ed.*

[c] Portuguese is a most graceful language, and the Portuguese are a most respectable nation.— *Ed.*

here, where the Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck and Oldenburg troops, a whole regiment all together, will show their tricks. They are poor, pathetic things, three of them together have not as much moustache as I have when I have not had a shave for three days; one can count every thread in their coats and they have no sabres, but *Speckääle*. A *Speckaal* is a smoked eel, but in soldiers' language it is a leather scabbard for the bayonet which they carry instead of a sabre. For if they put the bayonet on the end of the rifle, these poor creatures would be very likely to run each other through the mug with it when they were marching, so they are sensible enough to carry it on their backs. They are miserable fellows, *Kashubs* and *Ledshaks*.

I just can't think what else to write about.
God knows, my matter's melted all away,
Yet I must fill this page up anyway,
Although it takes me pliers to pull it out;
And since by writing verses one can say
Little, and make it go a long, long way,
I end with rhyming doggerel, though I fear
That Pegasus, outraged, will surely rear
And throw me forcibly upon the sand.
The sun is setting. Darkling lies the land,
Save where through Western cloud-veils, bright and clear
Blazes the sunset's incandescent brand.
It is a solemn, holy fire up there,
Flaming upon the tombstone of a day
That brought us many a thing so loved and dear,
Now dead and gone from us. The night holds sway
And gently draws her star-shot mantle over
Earth's territories, near and far away.
And silence reigns. Birds in their nests seek cover,
Beasts hide in brushwood on the forest floor.
The midges' dizzy evening dance is over;
Closed for the night is Life's enchanting door.
As on the Third one of the Seven Days,
When only trees had been created for
Earth's ornament, and beasts were yet to graze
In the green fields—so, 'midst the leaves again
Only the wind intones his hoary lays.
It is the Almighty's Spirit, who doth rain
On Earth a torrent of tremendous song.

He drives the storm on wings of cloud and rain,
He blows eternally, forever young,
But me, I've puffed the rhymes out of my lungs.

Full stop. If you understand it you are educated and can put a word in.

*Adios*, yours,
*Friedrich*

Bremen, Aug. 20, 40

Aug. 25. Roth came back the day before yesterday.

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## 35

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN MANNHEIM

[Bremen] Sept. 18, 1840

My most precious!

At the moment the equinoctial gales are raging frightfully; in our house a window was blown in last night and the trees are creaking most pitiably. Tomorrow and the day after there will be news of shipwrecks coming in! The Old Man[a] is standing by the window and pulling a wry face because the day before yesterday a ship went to sea in which he has 3,000 talers' worth of linen which is not insured. You don't say anything about the letter to Ida[b] which I enclosed in my previous letter; or did I forget to put it in? — I am now really staying here till Easter, which for various reasons is most welcome to me. So Ida has gone now; that will be very awkward for you.

We have quite a good camp here too, almost 3,000 men strong, Oldenburg, Bremen, Lübeck and Hamburg troops. I went there

[a] Heinrich Leupold.— *Ed.*

[b] Ida Engels.— *Ed.*

the other day, it was great fun. Right in front of the tent (a tavern owner has put up a big refreshments tent) sat a Frenchman, he was quite sozzled and could no longer stand on his feet. The waiters hung a big wreath round him, and he began to shout: Wreathe in gree-en the flo-owing bowl.[a] Afterwards they dragged him to the mortuary, that is, the hayloft, where he stayed on his back and fell asleep. When he was sober again, he borrowed a horse from somebody, mounted it and kept galloping up and down the camp. All the time he was on the point of falling off most agreeably. We had plenty of good fun there and especially fine wine. Last Sunday I rode to Vegesack, during which tour I had the pleasure of being drenched with rain four times, but I had so much inner heat that every time I dried immediately. But I had a dreadful horse with a terribly hard trot so that one's bones were jarred to the marrow.—At this moment another 6 bottles of beer are being carried in for us, and they will at once enter upon the process of being lit—I was thinking of cigars, that should read of being emptied.—One bottle I have almost finished already and with it I smoked a cigar; presently, our Don Guillermo,[b] the young principal, will go out again, and then we shall start anew.

Sept. 19, 1840. You have a more boring life than we do. Yesterday afternoon there was no more work to do, and the Old Man was out, and Wilhelm Leupold did not show up often either. So I lit a cigar, first wrote the above to you, then took Lenau's *Faust* from my desk and read some of it. Afterwards I drank a bottle of beer and at half past seven went to Roth's; we went off to the Club, I read Raumer's *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen* and then ate beefsteak and cucumber salad. At half past ten I went home and read Diez's *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen* until I felt sleepy. Moreover, tomorrow is Sunday again and Wednesday is a day of penance and prayer in Bremen, and so we carry on gradually into the winter. This winter I shall take dancing lessons with Eberlein so as to accustom my stiff legs to a little graceful movement.

Here you have a scene in the Schlachte, i. e., the street which has the Weser on one side and where the goods are unloaded. The fellow with the whip is the waggoner who is about to drive away the sacks of coffee lying in the background; the fellow with the sack on the right is the Schlachte pirate who is loading them

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[a] Matthias Claudius, *Rheinweinlied.*—*Ed.*
[b] Wilhelm Leupold.—*Ed.*

on the cart; by his side a cooper who has just taken a sample and is still holding it in his hand, and next to him is the bargeman from whose barge the sacks were unloaded. You won't be able to deny that these figures are most interesting. When the waggoner drives he mounts the horse without saddle, stirrup or spurs, and keeps digging his heels into its ribs, like this:

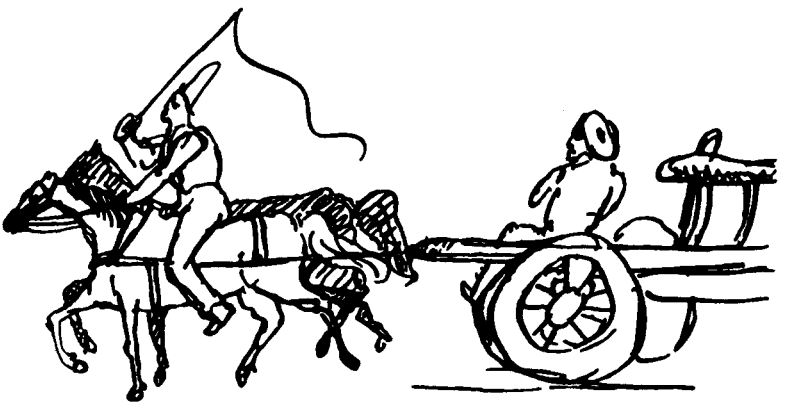

Now it is raining again quite improperly for a Saturday evening, it should really rain only during the week, but from midday Saturday it should be fine. Do you know what superfine medium good ordinary Domingo coffee is? That again is one of those profound concepts which occur in the philosophy of the commer-

cial profession and which your mental powers cannot understand. Superfine medium good ordinary Domingo coffee is coffee from the Island of Haiti which has a slight touch of green, is otherwise grey, and in which with ten good beans you get into the bargain four bad ones, six bits of stone and an eighth of an ounce of dirt, dust, etc. Now you will have grasped it. One pound of this now costs $9^1/_2$ groats, that is 4 silver groschen and $8^{123}/_{137}$ pfennigs. I should not really betray these trade secrets, since one does not tell tales out of school, but because it is you I shall make an exception.—Just now our workman is saying: *Herr Derkhiem, wann Se sek met de Jungens gemein mokt, so mêt Se sek en beten mehr en Respekt hohlen, sons krigt Se dat Volk ganz unner de Föte, Heinrich, dat es en slimmen Jung, do hebb' ick manch' en Tuck med har'd, Se met nich so veel domet speelen, Se möt se gliks wat achter de Ohren geven, anners helpt nich, un wann Se no'n Ohlen goht, de dait de Jungens ok nix, de segt man blot*[a]: Don't bother me with the fellow. There you can practise our Low German a little. For the rest I am your most devoted

*Friedrich*

Bremen, 19.9.40

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## 36

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN MANNHEIM[b]

Dear Marie,

Next time don't write to me via Barmen again; Mother leaves the letters lying there until she writes herself, and that is often a long time. But what I wanted to write to you—only you must not write this home, for I want to surprise them with it next

[a] Herr Derkhiem, if you make yourself cheap with the boys you must have a bit more self-respect, otherwise they will walk over you. That Heinrich, he is a bad lad, I have had a lot of trouble with him, you must not play so much with him but immediately give him a smack behind the ears, there is no help for it, and if you go to the Old Man, he won't do anything to the boys but only say....—*Ed.*

[b] The back of the letter bears the inscription: "Fräulein Marie Engels im grossherzoglichen Institut zu Mannheim."—*Ed.*

spring—I now have an enormous moustache and shall presently add to it a Henry IV and goatee beard. Mother will wonder when suddenly such a long, black-bearded fellow comes across the lawn. Next year, when I go to Italy, I too must look like an Italian.

This is written by little Sophie Leupold who has just been to visit me in the office, while the Old Man[a] and Eberlein, who eats here in the house, are at a big dinner. Oh, I could tell you interesting things about this dinner, of engagements which are not yet public and of stolen kisses, but that is not for a girl in a boarding-school. You will learn it soon enough when we are back at home. Then I shall sit in the garden and you'll bring me a big mug of beer and a sausage sandwich, and then I shall say: See, my dear sister, because you have brought the beer out to me and because it is such a fine summer evening, I will tell you of a big dinner which was celebrated in the year 1840, on the twenty-ninth of the month of October, in Bremen, Martini number eleven, in the Royal Saxon Consulate. But now I can tell you only this much, that quite enormous quantities of Madeira, Port, Pouillac, Haut Sauternes, and Rhine wine will be drunk this lunchtime. For although there are only five gentlemen, they are all very good drinkers, almost as good as I.—At the moment there is a Free Market here, and although I have not the honour to be introduced to Her Royal Highness, a Grand Duchess, and many Most Serene Princesses, we still have our fun. I am fortunately so short-sighted that I do not even know what the several exalted, more exalted, and most exalted personages look like who had the honour to drive past me. When next time such a most gracious lady is introduced to you, do tell me whether she is pretty, otherwise such personages don't interest me at all. Our noble town-hall cellar is now so well fitted out it couldn't be better; you sit so comfortably between the barrels. Last Sunday we had a moustache evening there. For I had sent out a circular to all moustache-capable young men that it was finally time to horrify all philistines, and that that could not be done better than by wearing moustaches. Everyone with the courage to defy philistinism and wear a moustache should therefore sign. I had soon collected a

[a] Heinrich Leupold.—*Ed.*

dozen moustaches, and then the 25th of October, when our moustaches would be a month old, was fixed as the day for a common moustache jubilee. But I had a shrewd idea what would happen, bought a little moustache wax and took it with me; it was then found that one had a truly very fine but unfortunately quite white moustache, while another had been instructed by his principal to hack the criminal thing off. Enough, that evening we had to have at least a few, and those who had none had to paint themselves one. Then I got up and proposed the following toast:

Moustaches always were the pride
Of gallant gentlemen far and wide.
Brave soldiers faced their country's foes
In brown or black mustachios.
So, in these times of martial glory,
Moustaches are obligatory.
Philistines shirk the burden of bristle
By shaving their faces as clean as a whistle.
We are not philistines, so we
Can let our mustachios flourish free.
Long life to every Christian
Who bears his moustaches like a man.
And may all philistines be damned
For having moustaches banished and banned.

To this doggerel glasses were clinked with great enthusiasm, and then somebody else got up. His principal would not give him a key, and so he had to be home by ten o'clock, or he would not be let in. That is the plight of many a poor devil here. He said:

A plague befall
Principals all
Who won't hand over the key of the door.
May flies and strands of hair infest
Their supper plates for evermore
And may their nights give them no rest.

Thereupon there was more clinking of glasses. So it continued until ten o'clock, then those without keys had to leave, but we, the fortunate ones with keys, remained seated and ate oysters. I ate eight, but could not manage any more, I still don't enjoy the things.

Since you are so fond of calculations and even want to reward me for them with the Order of the Yellow Envelope, I shall

graciously regale you with the remark that Courant now stands at $106^1/_2$ per cent, while a year ago it stood at 114. The louis d'or are falling so that anyone here in Bremen who had a million talers a year ago now only has 900,000, that is, 100,000 talers less. Isn't that tremendous?

You still don't write me anything of the screed for Ida,[a] did you get it and have you passed it on or not? It would be awkward for me if I had not sent it and it had been left lying around and got into the hands of the Old Man.[b] So write to me and make it the long six-page letter you promised me. I shall return the compliment. Here on the envelope you shall again be regaled with a few calculations which you may take to heart. That I had to copy this letter out again is the fault of Herr Timoleon Miesegans in Bremen, the same one whom the Old Man once threw out of the house two years ago. Your respectful and devoted

*Friedrich*

Bremen, Oct. 29, 1840

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## 37

## TO WILHELM GRAEBER

### IN BARMEN

Bremen, Nov. 20, 1840

My dear Wilhelm,

It is now at least six months since you wrote to me. What shall I say to such a friend? You don't write, your brother[c] does not write, Wurm does not write, Grel does not write, Heuser does not write, not a line from W. Blank, I am still less aware of anything from Plümacher, *sacré tonnerre*,[d] what am I to say? When I last wrote to you, my roll of tobacco still weighed seven pounds, now there is barely a cubic inch of it left, and still no reply. Instead you

[a] Ida Engels.— *Ed.*

[b] Heinrich Leupold.— *Ed.*

[c] Friedrich Graeber.— *Ed.*

[d] Confound it.— *Ed.*

lead a gay life in Barmen—wait, you fellows, as if I didn't know of every glass of beer that you have since drunk whether you drank it in one draught or several.

You in particular should be ashamed to inveigh against my political truths, you political sleepyhead. If you are left to sit quietly in your rural parsonage, for you will hardly expect a higher position, and to go out for a walk every evening with Frau Pastor and eventually with the young little Pastors and nobody fires off a cannon-ball under your nose, you are blissfully happy and don't trouble yourself about the sinful F. Engels who argues against the established order. Oh you heroes! But you will yet be drawn into politics, the current of the times will come flooding over your idyllic household, and then you will stand like the oxen before the mountain. Activity, life, youthful spirit, that is the real thing!

By now you will already have heard of the grandiose fun stirred up here by our mutual friend Krummacher.[a] It is now practically over, but it was a bad business. The Panielites formed up in battalions, stormed the militia arsenal and marched through the town with a large tricolour. They sang: "Free is the life we lead" and "Vivat Paniel, long live Paniel, Paniel is a worthy man!" The Krummacherians gathered in the Cathedral precincts, occupied the town hall, where the Senate was just in session, and plundered the armoury. Armed with halberds and spiked clubs they formed a square in the Cathedral precincts, aimed the two cannons which stand near the main guard post (though they had no powder) at Obernstrasse, from which the Panielites were coming, and so awaited the enemy. But when the latter arrived in front of the cannons, they entered the market from the other side, and occupied it. The 600-strong cavalry occupied the Grasmarkt, directly opposite the Krummacherians, and awaited the command to charge. At this point Burgomaster Smidt came out of the town hall. He stopped between the parties, planting his feet firmly on the stone on which Gottfried, a woman guilty of poisoning, was executed and which stands exactly half an inch above the pavement, and, turning to the Krummacherians, said: "You men of Israel!" Then he turned to the Panielites: "Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι!"[b] Then turning, now to the right, now to the left, he made the following speech: "Since Krummacher is an alien, it is not fitting that a quarrel which he has stirred up should be fought out within

[a] Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacher (see this volume, pp. 155-60).—*Ed.*

[b] "Men of Athens!"—*Ed.*

our good town. Therefore, I suggest to the honoured parties that they repair to the Burghers' Common, which offers a most suitable terrain for such scenes."

This was approved, and the parties marched out by different gates, after Paniel had armed himself with Roland's stone shield and sword. The supreme command over the Krummacherians, who were 6,239$^1/_2$ men strong, was taken over by Pastor Mallet, who took part in the campaign of 1813; he ordered powder to be bought and a few small cobbles to be taken along to load the cannons. Arriving on the Burghers' Common, Pastor Mallet gave orders to occupy the churchyard which adjoins it and is surrounded by a wide ditch. He mounted the memorial to Gottfried Menken and ordered the cannons to be driven on to the cemetery mound. But for want of horses it had not been possible to bring out the cannons. In the meantime it was nine o'clock in the evening and pitch dark. The armies bivouacked, Paniel in Schwachhausen, a village, Mallet in the suburb. The headquarters was in the riding school before the Herdentor, which, however, was already occupied by a troup of exhibition riders; but when Pastor Kohlmann of Horn held an evening service in the school, the riders ran away. This happened on October 17th. In the morning of the 18th, the two armies took the field. Paniel, who had 4,267$^3/_4$ foot and 1,689$^1/_4$ horse, attacked. A column of infantry led by Paniel himself attacked Mallet's first battle-line, which consisted of the pupils of his catechism class and a few women zealots. When three old women had been speared and six catechumens shot, the battalion scattered and was driven by Paniel into the roadside ditch. On Paniel's right wing stood Pastor Capelle with three cavalry squadrons formed by young office employees, who outflanked Mallet and attacked him from behind; he occupied the suburb and deprived Mallet of his operational base. Paniel's left wing, under the command of Pastor Rothe, advanced on the Horn highway and pressed the Young Men's Union, who did not know how to handle halberds, back on the main body of Mallet's army. Then we, six of us, heard the shooting in the fencing lesson and rushed out in fencing jackets, gloves, masks and helmets; the gate was locked, an attack on the guard gave us the keys, and so we arrived on the scene of the battle, rapier in hand. Richard Roth of Barmen re-formed the scattered Young Men's Union, while Höller of Solingen threw himself into a house with the remnants of the catechumens; three others and I unseated a few Panielites from their horses, mounted them and, supported by the Young Men's Union, threw back the enemy cavalry; Mallet's main army ad-

vanced, our rapiers spread cartes, tierces, terror and death, and in half an hour the rationalists were destroyed. Now Mallet came to thank us, and when we saw for whom we had been fighting, we looked at each other in astonishment.

*Se non è vero, è come spero ben trovato.*[a] But now write soon! And urge Wurm to write to me.

*Fr. Engels*

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## 38

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN MANNHEIM[b]

Most humble letter of thanks
of F. Engels, who has most graciously been awarded
the Order of the Yellow Envelope
Your Ladyship! Most respected Fräulein!

Your most obedient servant, whom Your Ladyship has most graciously condescended to invest most undeservedly with the Order of the Yellow Envelope, fails not most humbly to lay his most devoted thanks at Your Most Noble Highness' exalted feet.

Nor could the same most obedient servant fail to admire the supreme grace with which Your Most Noble Highness allowed the covering note to reach Your most submissive servant open and accessible to all the world* so that everybody could convince himself of the lofty favour which Your Exalted gentleness and comprehensive wisdom have condescended to accord to me.

In conclusion, in most profound submission before Your Most Noble Highness, Your humble and most obedient servant commends himself to Your most gracious memory.

*Fr. Engels*

Bremen, Dec. 6, 1840

* I received your letter open. The wretched wafer had come off.— *Note by Engels.*

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[a] If it is not true, I trust it is well invented.— *Ed.*

[b] The back of the letter bears the inscription: "Fräulein Marie Engels im grossherzogl. Institut, Mannheim." — *Ed.*

Dear Marie,

To fall out of the style which I chose for the first page of this letter, I am not in the least grateful to you for the poor wafers with which you seal your letters and which come off halfway. It is all the same to me which Order of the Envelope you want to honour me with, but for goodness' sake stick a proper seal on them so that the thing does not come apart by the time it gets to Mainz. The day before yesterday, or was it yesterday, I am not sure, it was Anna's[a] birthday, I celebrated it yesterday in Schwachhausen with a cup of coffee, cost me six groats, is that not brotherly love? Last Saturday week, when I became 20, I celebrated my birthday with a toothache and a swollen cheek, which was fiendishly painful. You will also have heard that Napoleon's body has arrived in France,[b] hey, that is going to be a row! I wish I were in Paris now, what fun! Do you read the newspaper? Did you believe there was going to be a war? What do you think of the Guizot-Soult Ministry? Do you also sing the bad song: "They shall not have it"[c]? while, if you have good eyes, you can see the French border on the other side of the Rhine. We now have fencing lessons, I fence four times a week, today at midday too. On the other side of the page you can see how I lay about me.

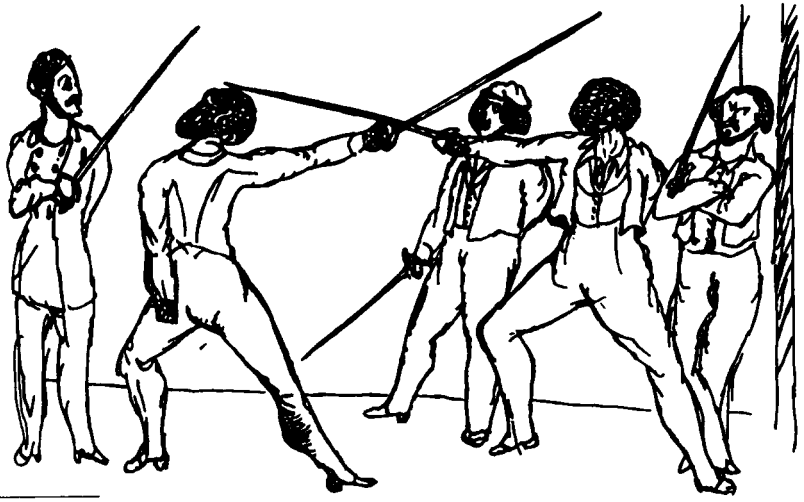

[a] Anna Engels.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 153-54.— *Ed.*

[c] Here Engels gave the first notes of the song, *Der deutsche Rhein* by N. Becker, but crossed them out again.— *Ed.*

Dec. 8th. Yesterday I had a hellish lot to do, and this morning too. Now I shall close this letter to you, and then I hope I shall be able to have a cup of coffee. Listen, for Christmas make me a new cigar case, in black, red and gold,[a] those are the only colours I like.

> Oh, red as love then be our brethren's token,
> And pure as gold the purpose of our quest,
> And that in death our spirit be not broken,
> Black be the riband worn around the breast.

From a banned student song. Here some blockheads have founded an association where they make speeches, and I am to be a guest and *nolens volens* make a speech. Oh dear, that will be a fine do! Incidentally, I can preach very well even without having studied beforehand, and when it is a matter of lying, there is no stopping me, I go on and on. If I were in the Landtag I would let nobody else get a word in.— Now I have had my portrait painted, with my moustache, and so that you can see what I look like, I copy the picture:

You see, I was painted when I was furious because the cigar would not draw. At that moment I looked so intelligent that the painter[b] implored me to let myself be painted like that. I put aside all the bad cigars and smoked one of the awful things at every sitting. That was the worst torment for me.

Be glad that you have nothing to do with sample boxes, it is first-class stupidity and muddle, there you can stand all day by the open window in the packing-house loft in this cold weather and pack linen, it is something dreadful, and in the end nothing comes of it but nonsense.

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[a] Colours symbolising the unity of Germany.— *Ed.*

[b] G. W. Feistkorn.— *Ed.*

My dear sister, I am your devoted

*Friedrich*

December 9, 1840

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## 39

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN MANNHEIM

[Bremen] Dec. 21, 40

Dear Marie,

I cannot refrain from thanking you for the beautiful cigar case — the only thing wrong with it is that it is not black, red and

gold. It accidentally came into my possession already today and was put to use at once.—Here it has been terribly cold, through the whole of December it has been freezing without interruption and it is still freezing. The Weser is frozen from here to Vegesack, four hours from here, which looks most remarkable. Recently some people from Barmen were here, and we had a jolly good time, visited all the taverns, kept the glasses going and at times felt a bit tipsy. Enclosed you will find a demand note[a] from my former Spanish teacher; if you can understand it I'll make you a present of a new hat. Perhaps there is somebody in your boarding-school who understands so much Spanish, and here the thing is getting in my way.—I must say, I hardly know what to write to you; a sugar refinery has burnt down here, and the Old Man[b] will not leave the office, although I am really dying for a cigar.

23rd. Yesterday evening we were having a fencing lesson when the nice news came that there was another fire and this time in Neustadt. We went there out of a sense of duty, and when we got there it was already out. That is what one gets for one's trouble. You should always stay nicely at home until it is burning under your nose. Mother has sent me for Christmas an order for Goethe's collected works; I went at once yesterday to fetch the first volumes that have appeared and last night read the *Wahlverwandtschaften* till midnight with great enjoyment. He is a fellow, Goethe! If you wrote German as he does I would excuse you from all foreign languages. Incidentally, it is quite unnecessary for you to leave a margin when you write to me, the octavo pages are narrow enough as it is, and I will not hear of this comfortable way of writing pages full and not writing much. Please note! says Professor Hantschke.

24th. You will now be in tremendous excitement, I can imagine, and in grand hopes. I am curious what will come of it. You will, of course, acquaint me by the first post with this important proceeding? I shall see that it gets into the newspaper here at once.

Here, in passing, are a few strokes, flourishes and signatures, with which I proved the skill of my hand to my junior,[c] who prides himself on his rectangular strokes.

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[a] The "demand note" was written in Spanish as a joke by Engels himself.—*Ed.*
[b] Heinrich Leupold.—*Ed.*
[c] Wilhelm Leupold.—*Ed.*

Dec. 28th. The Weser is now completely frozen over, so that people are driving on it in coaches. I believe one could skate as far as Vegesack, which is five hours by the Weser. In the afternoon all the *beau monde* goes for walks on it and the ladies slide on the ice so as to be lifted off by the gentlemen, which always gives them great pleasure. The trees look as if they were made of snow, they are so thickly covered with a white crust.— The Pastor's wife [a] has embroidered a black, red and gold purse for me for Christmas and Marie [b] has made me a black, red and gold tassel for my pipe, which is smashing. Today we have 9 degrees below freezing-point, what a life! I like nothing better than this cold, ineffective sun which rises over the winter-hard earth. No clouds in the sky, no dirt on the earth, everything as hard and solid as steel and diamond. The air is not so flabby and consumptive as in summer, you feel it now when you go out of doors. The whole town is full of glaciers, people no longer walk, they fall from one street into the other. Now one can't help noticing that it is winter. I hope that

[a] Mathilde Treviranus.— *Ed.*
[b] Marie Treviranus.— *Ed.*

in Mannheim, among other useful accomplishments, you will also learn to skate, so that you don't come home a shivering, stay-at-home, not-to-be-moved-out-of-doors little lady, which I refuse to stand for. But if you do arrive afraid of the cold I shall tie you on a sleigh, put a burning sponge in the horses' ears and chase you like that out into the open. Or I'll tie skates under you and carry you out to the middle of the pond and leave you to crawl on your own.

My very dear sister, if my hopes are not disappointed you will get this letter on New Year's Day. On this holiday, greatly looked forward to by me and you too, I imagine, I wish you everything you desire, since this wish costs me nothing, and hope that your wishes for me will be at least equally Christian. May Mannheim be as much to your liking in the New Year as, to judge by your letters, it was in the old. (This I write in case this letter has first to be censored before it comes into your hands.)

Yours,
*Friedrich*

Bremen, Dec. 28, 40

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# 1841

## 40

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN MANNHEIM[a]

Dear Marie,

This time you shall get a really heavy letter. At first I even wanted to write to you on cardboard so that you would have to fork out quite a sum for postal charges, but unfortunately I could not get a piece with a smooth surface and so I must write on the heaviest paper to be found in our paper store. I[f] you don't know what a *Paukstunde* is.that proves that in culture you have remained shamefully backward, but that you did not see it from the enclosed drawing proves also natural dullness, and one sees that not only the hops of education but even the malt of mother wit are lost on you. In your bad German a *Paukstunde* is the same as a fencing lesson. I have now also acquired a couple of rapiers and gloves, the only gloves I have, for I don't care for kid-gloves, etc.

Concerning the *Stabat mater dolorosa*[b] et cetera, it occurs to me, please look up whether this thing was composed by Pergolese. If so, please get me if possible a copy of the score; if instruments are included, I don't need them, only the voices. But if it is by Palestrina or somebody else I don't need it.[238] The day after tomorrow we are going to perform *Paulus* by Mendelssohn, the best oratorio written since Handel's death. You will know it. I go to the theatre only rarely since the local one is terribly bad; I go occasionally, only when a new play is being shown, or a good opera I don't know yet.

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[a] The back of the letter bears the inscription: "Fräulein Marie Engels im grossherzoglichen Institut zu Mannheim."— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 405-06.— *Ed.*

Since my last letter we have had a fine flood here. At Treviranus' the water stood 12 to 14 inches deep in my room, and I had to flee to the Old Man,[a] who with his usual kindness accommodated me for nearly a fortnight. But then the fun really started properly. There was a foot and a half of water at the front door, and to prevent it getting into the cellar, which has a hatch, we walled this up with cow-dung. But the malicious water then flowed from the neighbour's cellar into ours through the wall, and so that it should not drown our fine barrels of rum and our potatoes, and above all the Old Man's well-stocked wine cellar, we had to pump day and night for four nights running, and I pumped through all four of them. Wilhelm Leupold and I usually stayed up together, sat on the settee behind the table, with a few bottles of wine, sausage and a big piece of the finest Hamburg smoked meat on the table. We smoked, talked and pumped every half hour. It was most entertaining. At five o'clock the Old Man would come and relieve one of us. There were some touching incidents during the flood. In a house outside the town which was full of water up to the ground floor windows, people suddenly saw an enormous host of rats swimming along, which went in through the windows and occupied the whole house. Besides, there was no man in the house, only a lot of females terrified of rats, so that in spite of their fear, the delicate ladies had to resolve to attack the wild horde with sabres and sticks, etc. In a house lying quite close to the Weser the office clerks were just sitting at breakfast when a large block of ice came drifting along, charged through the wall and poked its immodest head into the room, followed by a good portion of water. Now I shall tell you a piece of news. You remember that I wrote you once very mysteriously about a big dinner given in the Royal Saxon Consulate at which great secrets were broached.[b] Now I can tell you that the person who was the guest of honour at that dinner was the *dame souveraine des pensées,* the *donna amada mais que la vida*[c] of my second principal, the above-mentioned Wilhelm Leupold. During the flood he told me officially that his engagement would be announced at Easter, and I tell you this relying on your discretion; but you must not breathe a word about it, as it will only be made public at Easter. You see how I trust you, for if you talked about it, it could spread here to Bremen in three days, since there are gossiping females

[a] Heinrich Leupold.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 511.— *Ed.*

[c] Supreme lady of thoughts, lady loved more than life.— *Ed.*

everywhere. And then I would be in a fine fix.—The name of W. Leupold's fiancée is Therese Meyer, daughter of the Stick-Meyer in Hamburg; he is called Stick-Meyer because he has a walking-stick factory by which he has made a pile of money. She wears a blue spencer and a light-coloured dress, is 17 years old and as slim as you, if you have not put on weight in Mannheim. She is not even confirmed yet, isn't that terrible?

Today I have shaved my moustache off again and buried the youthful corpse with much wailing. I look like a woman; it is shameful; and if I had known that without a moustache I should look such a sight I would not have hacked it off. As I stood before the mirror, scissors in hand, and had shorn off the right side, the Old Man came into the office and had to laugh out loud, when he saw me with half a moustache. But now I shall let it grow again, for I cannot show myself anywhere. In the Academy of Singing I was the only one with a moustache and always used to laugh at the philistines who could not marvel enough that I had the audacity to go so unshaven into decent society. The ladies, incidentally, liked it very much, and so did the Old Man. Only last night at the concert six young dandies stood around me, all in tail-coats and kid-gloves, and I stood among them in an ordinary coat and without gloves. The fellows made remarks all evening about me and my bristling upper lip. The best of it is that three months ago nobody knew me here and now all the world does, just because of the moustache! Oh, the philistines!

Yours,
*Friedrich*

Bremen, Feb. 18, 41

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## 41

## TO FRIEDRICH GRAEBER

Reverend Sir *in spe*,

You have done me the favour, *habuerunt gratiam* of writing to me *mihi scribendi sc. literas. Multum gaudeo, tibi adjuvasse ad gratificationem triginta thalerorum, speroque, te ista gratificatione usum esse ad bibendum in sanitatem meam.* Χαῖρε, Φύλαξ τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ,

μέγας Στραυσσομάστιξ, ἄστρον τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας, παῦσις τῆς τῶν πιετίστων λύπης, βασιλεὺς τῆς ἐξηγήσεως!;!;!;

בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֵת־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֵת־הָאָרֶץ

וְרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים[a] hovered over F. Graeber, when he did the impossible and proved that twice two are five. O great hunter of Straussians, I beseech you in the name of all orthodoxy to destroy the whole infamous nest of Straussians and to pierce all the half-hatched Straussian eggs with your St. George's lance. Sally forth into the desert of pantheism, brave dragon-slayer, engage Ruge *rugiens*[b] Leo, Ruge, who is wandering about looking for someone to devour, destroy the damned Straussian brood and plant the banner of the cross on the Sinai of speculative theology! Be moved by our entreaties, see, the faithful have now been waiting for five years for him who will crush the head of the Straussian snake. They have exhausted themselves, thrown stones and filth, yes, even dung at it, yet its poison-spurting head rises ever higher. Since you find it so easy to refute that all fine buildings collapse of their own accord, arise and refute *Das Leben Jesu* and the first volume of *Dogmatik*[c] for the danger is becoming more and more imminent; *Das Leben Jesu* has already gone through more editions than all the works of Hengstenberg and Tholuck put together and it is becoming common practice to throw everyone who is not a Straussian out of literature. And the *Hallische Jahrbücher* is the most widely read journal in North Germany, so widely read that His Prussian Majesty[d] can no longer ban it, however much he would like to. The banning of the *Hallische Jahrbücher,* which heaps the grossest insults on him every day, would change a million Prussians who do not yet know what they should think about the King, into a million enemies overnight. And it is high time for you to act, otherwise you will be reduced to eternal silence by us despite the pious views of the King of Prussia. You should screw up a little more courage so that the battle can really begin. But you write in such a calm and detached fashion, as if the Orthodox-Christian shares stood at

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[a] Have done me the favour of writing to me a letter. I am very glad that I was able to help you get a gratuity of thirty talers and hope you have used the money to drink my health. Greetings, guardian of Christianity, great hunter of Straussians, star of orthodoxy, comforter of grieving pietists, King of Exegesis!;!;! In the beginning, God created Heaven and Earth, and the spirit of God....— *Ed.*

[b] Censuring.— *Ed.*

[c] The title of the main section in Strauss' work, *Die christliche Glaubenslehre in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung....— Ed.*

[d] Frederick William IV.— *Ed.*

a premium of 100 per cent, as if the stream of philosophy flowed as calmly and peacefully between its ecclesiastical banks as it did in the time of the scholastics, as if the insolent earth had not thrust itself into a frightful eclipse between the moon of dogmatism and the sun of truth. Have you not noticed that the storm is raging through the forest and hurling down all the dead trees, that instead of the old *ad acta* devil, the critical-speculative devil has arisen and has an enormous following? We challenge you every day, insolently and derisively, to come out and fight; let it penetrate your thick skin for once—true it is 1800 years old and has become somewhat leathery—and mount your war-horse. But all your Neanders, Tholucks, Nitzsches, Bleeks, Erdmanns, and whatever they're called, are such weak, sensitive fellows on whom daggers would seem ludicrous; they are all so quiet and cautious, so fearful of scandal, that you can't do anything with them. Hengstenberg and Leo do have some courage but Hengstenberg has been thrown from his saddle so often that he is quite crippled, and in the latest scuffle with the Hegelings,[239] Leo had his beard plucked out altogether so that he cannot really show himself decently in public. In any case, Strauss has not compromised himself in the slightest for if he still believed a couple of years ago that his *Leben Jesu* would not harm the church's teachings, he could, of course, without abandoning any of his principles, have read a "System of Orthodox Theology" in the same way as many an Orthodox Christian reads a "System of Hegelian Philosophy". But even if he really believed—as his *Leben Jesu* indicates—that dogmatism would not be harmed by his opinions, everyone knew in advance that he would soon abandon such ideas once he had begun to tackle dogmatism seriously. He says straight out in his *Dogmatik* what he thinks of the teaching of the church. However, it is a very good thing that he has moved to Berlin—this is where he ought to be and his spoken and written word can be more effective there than they would in Stuttgart.

The idea that I have gone to the dogs as a poet is being widely disputed and, in any case, Freiligrath refused to print my verses[a] not because of the poetry but because of the views and lack of space. First of all, he is not such a liberal, and secondly, they arrived too late. Thirdly, there was so little space that many important poems intended for the last folios had to be left out. However, *Das Rheinlied* by N. Becker is really a very indifferent piece and has fallen into such bad odour that one can no longer

[a] See this volume, p. 497.—*Ed.*

praise it in any magazine. But the *Rhein* by R. E. Prutz[240] is quite a different kind of poem. And other poems by Becker are also much better. The speech he made at the torchlight procession was one of the most muddled things I have ever come across. The marks of honour bestowed by kings I decline with thanks. What's all that about? A decoration, a golden snuff-box, a beaker from a king, these are a disgrace rather than an honour these days. We all decline such things with thanks and are pretty safe, thank goodness, for since my article about E. M. Arndt was printed in the *Telegraph*[a] it would not occur even to the mad King of Bavaria[b] to present me with such a fool's cap and bells or to print the stamp of servility on my backside. The more scoundrelly, more cringing, more fawning a person is these days the more decorations he gets.

I am now fencing furiously and will soon hack you all to pieces. I have had two duels here in the last four weeks. The first fellow has retracted the insulting words of stupid boy which he said to me after I gave him a box on the ear, and the slap is still unexpiated. I fought with the second fellow yesterday and gave him a real beauty above the brow, running right down from the top, a really first-class prime.

Farewell.[c]

Yours,
*F. Engels*

Bremen, 22.2.41

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## 42

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN MANNHEIM

Bremen, March 8, 1841

Dear Marie,

"Your most respectful and obedient", these were the last words I wrote in a business letter as I finished my work at the office

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[a] See this volume, pp. 137-50.— *Ed.*

[b] Ludwig I.— *Ed.*

[c] This word is in English in the original.— *Ed.*

today so as—so as—now how can I express it most delicately? Oh well, the verses won't flow today, so I'd better say it straight out: so as to write to you. However, as I am still digesting my lunch, I haven't got time to think much and must write whatever comes into my head. But my first thought is a cigar, which I shall now proceed to light since His Majesty has taken himself off, His Majesty being, of course, the Old Man[a] who has been given this title because we have decided to carry on as if we were at Court. For it is now quite certain and sure that the whole Leupold counting-house will soon be transformed and have ministers and confidential gentlemen-in-waiting once again. You will be amazed when you see me with a golden key hanging from my black tail-coat—I will, of course, be as stuck-up as I have always been—and I'm not cutting off my moustache to please any king. It is now in full flower again and growing and when I have the pleasure—as I don't doubt I shall—of boozing with you in Mannheim in the spring, you will be amazed at its glory.

Richard Roth left here a week ago for a grand tour of South Germany and Switzerland. Thank God that I too am leaving this dreary hole where there is nothing to do but fence, eat, drink, sleep and drudge, *voilà tout.* I don't know if you have heard that Father and I shall probably be going to Italy at the end of April,[b] in which case I shall do you the honour of visiting you. If you behave properly I may even bring you something, but if you are high and mighty, stiff and haughty, then you will be in for trouble. Nor will you escape just punishment if you write any more such nonsense as you did in your last letter but one, teasing me about the fencing lesson. I was very glad to hear that the *Stabat mater*[c] is by

[a] Heinrich Leupold.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 532.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 405-06 and 523.—*Ed.*

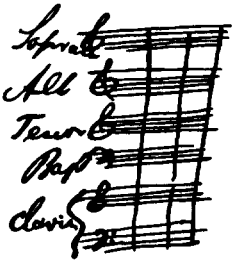

Pergolese. You must in any case get me a copy of the piano arrangement containing all the vocal parts with the score showing the singing parts above those which have to be played, as in a piano arrangement of an opera. It occurs to me that there are no tenor or bass parts in Pergolese's *Stabat mater.* There are probably more sopranos and altos instead. Never mind.

If I really do go to Milan in the spring I shall meet Roth, and Wilhelm Blank from Elberfeld, and we'll have a high old time there with Turkish tobacco and Lacrime di Christo. Six months after we've gone, the Italians should still be talking about the three jolly Germans, so famous do we intend to make ourselves.

I was very much amused to read your description of your innocent carnival. I should like to have seen you. Nothing very amusing has happened here, apart from a couple of boring fancy-dress balls which I didn't go to. In Berlin, too, the carnival was a terribly flat affair. They're still best at that sort of thing in Cologne.

There is one thing in which you are less fortunate than I. You cannot hear Beethoven's Symphony in C Minor today, Wednesday, March 10, while I can. This and the *Eroica* are my favourites. Practise Beethoven's sonatas and symphonies well, so that I shan't be ashamed of you later on. I am going to hear them not just in the piano arrangement, but played by the full orchestra.

March 11. What a symphony it was last night! You never heard anything like it in your whole life if you don't know this wonderful work. What despairing discord in the first movement, what elegiac melancholy, what a tender lover's lament in the *adagio,* what a tremendous, youthful, jubilant celebration of freedom by the trombone in the third and fourth movements! Besides this I also heard a wretched Frenchman sing yesterday and it went something like this:

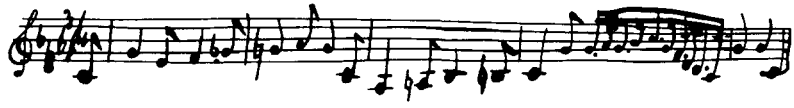

and so on, no melody or harmony and a pathetic French text and the whole joke was called *L'Exilé de France.* If all French exiles indulge in such caterwauling then nobody will want to have them anywhere. This boor also sang a song called *Le toréador,* which

means the bull-fighter, with the refrain, every other second, of *Ah que j'aime l'Espagne!* This was even more pitiful—if that were possible—sometimes with leaps of fifths, sometimes twisting about in chromatic passages as if to signify an attack of stomach-ache. If it hadn't been followed by the tremendous symphony I would have run away and left the crow to squawk in his miserable, thin baritone. Meanwhile see that the next letters you send are folded better. This way is very unpractical and in bad taste, it must be like this or like this , please note.

*Semper Tuus*
*Friedrich*

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## 43

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN MANNHEIM

Why didn't you write to me in Bremen? You really don't deserve to hear from me again, but this time I shall make an exception and write you a few lines to cheer your lonely time in Mannheim. I have been installed in the room next to my old one, which is now the music room, where I have buried myself under a mass of Italian books, and emerge now and again for a turn at fencing with Hermann[a] or Adolf.[b] I have just finished a few rounds with August,[c] Hermann and Bernhard and as a result my hand is a bit shaky, so today as well my writing is very bad and learned-looking. When we went to Vohwinkel yesterday, I met nearly everyone who was at the gymnasium with me.

The weather is splendid here but today I have to go on a miserably boring visit to the Wemhöners. I'll remember you to Emil.[d] Luise Snethlage has linked up with Hermann Siebel and

[a] Hermann Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] Adolf von Griesheim.—*Ed.*

[c] August Engels.—*Ed.*

[d] Emil Wemhöner.—*Ed.*

seems to be enjoying it. For the rest, Barmen is still the same old place, and all I ask of you is to fulfil your duty to me as quickly as you possibly can.

Yours,
*Friedrich*

Barmen,[241] April 5, 41

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## 44

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN MANNHEIM

[Barmen, about the beginning of May 1841]

Dear Marie,

I started a letter to you last night but got no further than three lines when Anna[a] came and cut it off to use the rest of the paper herself. I got both your letters, including the one sent to Bremen, which made quite a journey before it reached me. Well, it's pretty dry in these parts except for an occasional dinner with some May wine or a student drinking bout, or carousal or rainy weather. The best thing about the whole business is that I smoke the whole day long and this is undoubtedly a great and priceless pleasure. I received some very nice things in my trunk which arrived here from Bremen—a little cigar basket, ash-tray, tassel for my pipe, etc. Father has gone to Engelskirchen and I am sitting in his dressing-gown on his stool with his long pipe, puffing out smoke like anything. We'll be off to Milan[242] in eight or ten days and all we wish for is good weather. It's raining cats and dogs here today. I am curious to know how you have developed in Mannheim—whether you are still the same silly, skinny chick you used to be, or whether you have picked up any new crazy ideas. Anna also gets up to daft tricks now and again and indulges in all kinds of silliness—with every third word she exclaims "*Og, Drikes!*"[b] Hermann[c] is developing a real talent as a hypochondriac and can often sit all day with a face utterly indifferent to the world, his

[a] Engels' sister.— *Ed.*
[b] "What nonsense!"— *Ed.*
[c] Engels' brother.— *Ed.*

mouth drooping, not uttering a word. If he suddenly gets into a tantrum, he can't snap out of it. Emil[a] is still great at misunderstanding things. Hedwig[b] is not developing much character apart from a touch of obstinacy. Rudolf[c] is just like Hermann was, he wanders about dreaming half the day and gets up to silly tricks the rest of the time. What he likes best is when I give him a rapier and then knock it out of his hand. Little Elise[d] will become important but for the time being she's still unimportant. She shows signs of amiability and will put you all in the shade in the end. And what about me? I might look interesting if, instead of my present young moustache, I still had the one I had in Bremen and my long hair.

You've had enough for today. I'll write to you from Milan—if it's raining there.

Yours,
*Friedrich*

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## 45

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN MANNHEIM[e]

[Barmen, about the end of August 1841]

Dear Marie,

If I have really got to write to you I must tell you in advance that it will not come to much, for nothing ever happens here. Weddings, parties, why yes, I go to them, I eat and drink, but afterwards I find it impossible to write a lot of tittle-tattle about them. And anyway you are not used to that kind of thing from me. I now sit in my little room upstairs nearly all day long, read and smoke like a chimney-stack, fence until the swords nearly crack, and amuse myself as best I can. This disgracefully bad weather is nearly driving me to desperation, you can't go to Elberfeld without the risk of getting soaked three times over.

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[a-d] Engels' brothers and sisters.—*Ed.*

[e] The back of the letter bears the inscription: "To Miss Mary Engels, Mannheim."—*Ed.*

Unfortunately there's only one halt between here and Elberfeld where one can stop if it gets too bad, namely, the *Bierkirche*. And you have to pay two silver groschen for a glass of beer there. Apart from this, nothing moves forward here, only backwards. I have not heard anything more about my departure for Berlin—there's still plenty of time. I don't bother about anything and let the others worry. If you want more letters from me, let's hear from you, and write me something nice.

Your brother
*Friedrich*

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## 46

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN MANNHEIM

Dear Marie,

Mother says I didn't write you a letter last time, only a mere scrawl which was not worth answering, and since you have not replied to it, I am almost forced to believe, to my very great sorrow, that you agree with her. Still, I must tell you that I am very hurt, not to say insulted, by such treatment and I am writing to you tonight only because I am in a good mood and have no wish to start quarrelling with you, for you certainly don't deserve a letter. Apart from which I am doing Mother a favour, so now you know whom you have to thank for these lines. I have now been here about six weeks, have smoked a great deal of tobacco and have studied hard although there are some in the higher regions who maintain that I have been doing nothing. However, I shall be leaving for Berlin in a week or a fortnight to do my duty as a citizen, i. e., to do what I can to evade conscription[243] if possible and then come back to Barmen. We shall have to wait and see how this turns out.

We had arranged a trip to Altenberg for Saturday and Sunday but nothing will come of it because Blank and Roth cannot manage it. I must see whether we can organise something else. It

has just occurred to me that I might go to the Beienburg again, as I have not been there for a long time.

Mother went to August's[a] for coffee yesterday and noticed that Fräulein Julie Engels was very quiet but Fräulein Mathilde Wemhöner was very talkative. You can draw your own conclusions from this.

Apart from this I have found Anna[b] very jolly, Emil[c] making progress as a humorist, Hedwig[d] becoming very cheeky and Rudolf[e] going the same awkward way as Hermann[f] did at his age, and, for the rest, that Elise[g] gives herself airs.

The letter you wrote to Father in English, which I have read today, is good on the whole, with only a few serious mistakes.

*Du reste*

Your brother

*Friedrich*

Barmen, Sept. 9, 41

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[a] Engels' uncle.— *Ed.*

[b-g] Engels' sisters and brothers.— *Ed.*

# 1842

## 47

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN MANNHEIM

Berlin, January 5, 1842

My dear Marie,

Your letter reminded me, to my enormous shame, how much I have neglected my duty to write to you. It was really disgraceful of me and there is no excuse whatever for this crime. So I'm setting to work immediately and replying to your nice letter which I received the day before yesterday. I had a dose of cannon fever yesterday. What happened was this: I was very unwell and felt really weak the whole morning and was then ordered to artillery practice and was nearly laid out at the gun, so I left and had a shocking fever all the afternoon. I felt a bit better this morning but still was not quite up to the mark at the gun-fire practice, although I have now almost recovered and have got myself two days sick-leave on account of catarrhal cannon fever, after which I hope I shall be able to handle the sponge properly again. Incidentally, don't write home about this, it won't be of any use. Do you know what the doctor prescribed for my cannon fever? A glass of punch before going to bed, isn't that splendid medicine? You can see from this that an army surgeon is worth much more than, say, a Dr. Reinhold, with all his plasters, Spanish flies, leeches, etc., although he doesn't need to know nearly as much. But we only apply powerful remedies here, genuine medical heavy artillery, bombs and shells and 24-pounders. Our prescriptions are very simple and I always cured myself that way in Bremen. First of all, beer; if that doesn't help, then punch; if that doesn't help either, then a swig of rum—that's bound to help. That's artillery medical treatment for you. But I'm sure you would laugh yourself sick if you saw me in my jerkin, standing beside the six-pounder, a long, thick sponge in my hand, and jumping around the gun-carriage. My uniform, incidentally, is very fine, blue with a black

collar adorned with two broad yellow stripes, and black, yellow-striped facings together with red piping round the coat tails. Furthermore, the red shoulder-straps are edged with white. I assure you the effect is most impressive and I'm worthy to be put on show. Because of this the other day I shamefully embarrassed Rückert, the poet, who is here at present. I sat down right in front of him as he was giving a poetry reading and the poor fellow was so dazzled by my shining buttons that he quite lost the thread of what he was saying. Apart from all this, as a soldier I enjoy the privilege of not having to knock at anyone's door when I go to see them, nor having to say good day or pay them any other compliments. Someone once came to our Captain's quarters and accidentally banged against the door with his scabbard. He got a week's arrest, because the Captain insisted that he had knocked on the door. You see what kind of cutthroat I am. On top of it I shall soon be promoted to bombardier, which is a sort of non-commissioned officer, and I shall get gold braid to wear on my facings. So you must treat me with proper respect. Because once I'm a bombardier, I shall have all the privates in the whole Prussian army under my command and they will all have to salute me.

Why do you talk so much nonsense in your letter about old Fritz Wilm[a] and about young Fritzchen Wilmchen[b]? You women should not interfere in politics, you don't understand anything about it. But since you so much want to hear something about your beloved Majesty, I can tell you that His Supreme Royal Highness will leave for London on the 16th of this month in order to act as godfather to His Royal Highness, the little English prince,[c] and will perhaps visit Paris on the return journey but most certainly Cologne, and in the spring he is going to Petersburg to celebrate the silver wedding of his noble brother-in-law, the All Highest Tsar of Russia,[d] then return to amuse himself in Potsdam in the summer, to spend the autumn on the Rhine and then to amuse himself in Charlottenburg during the winter. Now I must go to a lecture.

Jan. 6, 1842

This morning I moved out of the front room into the back room, because the front one has been let to a man from my part of the country, a jurist from the Cologne area; in any case, it is

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[a] Frederick William III.— *Ed.*
[b] Frederick William IV.— *Ed.*
[c] Edward.— *Ed.*
[d] Nicholas I.— *Ed.*

badly heated. This is curious, for the back room is larger than the front one but it is always warm from a little heating while the front one is as cold as ice. Whatever I did, I could never get the ice-ferns on the windows in the front room to melt, but here at the back, it is a pleasure to watch the ice, which has frozen finger-thick during the last week, melting away as in spring, and the bright blue sky, which I was unable to see from my former room for so long, is gaily looking in. And I can once again see the barracks of the 2nd Guards Regiment of Mudlarks (as we call the Infantry) and the Veterinary School and everything attached to it.

We've got a Rhinelandish restaurant here where all our favourite home dishes—which are otherwise quite unknown here—are served. Every Saturday night we have fried potato cake along with a jug of coffee. Yesterday I had apple and potato. Our good old duck soup, which you know well, has a distinguished place there. And lots of other things which do not come to my mind. There is pork and sauerkraut for lunch today, which I'm looking forward to. The other day he was going to treat us to *Pannhas*[a] but it didn't come off because there is no buckwheat flour to be had, so we can't have yeast pancakes either, which we have long been languishing for.

Splendid! The sun is beginning to shine well and truly, which I find most delightful, and so I shall go for a walk after dinner, and since Schelling is not lecturing tonight, I shall have the whole evening to myself and be able to work seriously and without interruption.

The local theatre is very fine—magnificent sets, splendid actors, but mostly bad singers. So I don't very often go to the opera. Tomorrow there will be a new play, *Columbus* by Werder.[244] This is about Columbus who discovered America and Werder is a professor at the University here, the man who discovered the profundity of negation. Verily, verily I say unto you the theatre will be really full tomorrow night and I will be there contributing to its fullness. Two of the acts take place on a ship at sea, which should be interesting to watch.

Here you see me in uniform with my great-coat draped round my shoulder in a most romantic and picturesque fashion—but strictly against regulations. If I were to go out like this

[a] Rhenish meat dish.—*Ed.*

into the street, I should risk being arrested at any moment—which isn't very pleasant. For if I'm seen in the street with even one button on my uniform or one hook on my collar unfastened, any officer or N.C.O. can put me under arrest. So you see, it is quite dangerous to be a soldier, even in peacetime. One of the most delightful things is that we have to go to church every four weeks but I have always managed to dodge it, except once. You have to stand in the yard for an hour beforehand wearing your heavy decorated shako with its plumes and then when you are frozen right through, you go into the ice-cold church where you cannot even hear anything of the sermon, for the acoustics are so bad. Isn't that delightful? Write again soon.

Your brother
*Friedrich*

The sealing-wafer isn't one of the best.

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## 48

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN MANNHEIM[a]

Dear Marie,

This tender little flower[b] which has lain in my portfolio for half a year, and which I take out now and offer to you, will, I hope, compensate for the long time which, I admit it with remorse, I have kept you waiting. Herr Hösterey delivered your little

[a] The back of the letter bears the inscription: "Fräulein Marie Engels im grossherzoglichen Institut zu Mannheim."—*Ed.*

[b] A pressed rose, with buds and leaves, in the top left-hand corner of the notepaper.—*Ed.*

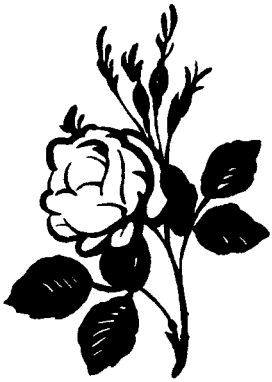

note to me safely after His High-and-Mightiness had hidden it in his trouser pocket from the eyes of the Austrian customs officers, for which His Supreme Highness asked my pardon, and in delightful German indeed. My conscience will not allow me to keep you waiting any longer, so I write. What about? Well, I don't know yet. That I was on parade drill this morning from 8 till half past eleven? That during this I got a very stiff telling-off from the Lieutenant-Colonel? That we have church parade next Sunday? That I have finished all my good cigars and that the beer at Wallmüller's has been very bad these last few days? That I must go out now to collect a couple of pots of ginger which I ordered for the Snethlages? Well, that's all there is to say. So—till tomorrow.

Today, Friday, April 15, I am going for a drive. The weather has greatly improved. A whole lot of carriages are lined in front of my house where they have taken up their quarters. The cabbies are usually drunk and entertain me vastly. It is very convenient for me if I ever want to take a trip in one of the cabs. I live very agreeably on the first floor, in an elegantly furnished room—the front wall of it is made up of three windows separated only by small pillars, so it is very bright and friendly.

I was interrupted yesterday when I had written this. Today I can tell you the glad news that we are probably not going on parade tomorrow because His Most Supreme Majesty, the King,[a] has condescended to leave for Potsdam and Brandenburg. All of which suits me very well, for I have no desire to knock around that cursed palace yard tomorrow. Let us hope we shall have no parade at all. We now also have a most charming exercise on the Grützmacher, so called, which is a very large open space where you sink up to your knees in sand and which has the delightful peculiarity of being electric. When the 12th Guards Artillery Company, to which I belong, and which is also electric, but negative, arrives there, positive and negative electricity collide, causing confusion and chaos in the atmosphere and attracting the

[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

clouds. Otherwise I cannot think how to explain why it always rains or snows when our company is on the Grützmacher. Incidentally I have now been a bombardier for four weeks, and, in case you didn't know, I wear braid and piping and a blue collar with red edgings. You won't understand all this, but it is not really necessary, as long as you know that I am a bombardier, that's enough.

You will certainly not have heard yet that Herr Liszt has been here and enchanted all the ladies by his piano playing. The Berlin ladies were so besotted by him that there was a free fight during one of his concerts for possession of a glove which he had dropped, and two sisters are now enemies for life because one of them snatched the glove from the other. Countess Schlippenbach poured the tea which the great Liszt had left in a cup into her Eau-de-Cologne bottle after she had poured the Eau-de-Cologne on to the ground. She has since sealed the bottle and placed it on top of her writing-desk to his eternal memory and feasts her eyes on it every morning, as can be seen in a cartoon which appeared about it. There never was such a scandal. The young ladies fought over him but he snubbed them frightfully, and preferred to go and drink champagne with a couple of students. But there are a couple of pictures of the great, charming, heavenly, genial, divine Liszt in every house. I will draw you a portrait of him. Here is the man with the Kamchatka hair style. By the way, he must have earned at least 10,000 talers here and his hotel bill amounted to 3,000 talers—apart from what he spent in taverns. I tell you, he's a real man. He drinks twenty cups of coffee a day, two ounces of coffee in every cup, and ten bottles of champagne, from which it can fairly safely be concluded that he lives in a kind of perpetual drunken haze, which may also be confirmed. He has now gone off to Russia and one wonders whether the ladies there will go as crazy too.

F. Liszt

I must go out now, so I will close. Farewell and write soon.

Your brother
*Friedrich*

Berlin 16/4, 42

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## 49

## TO MARIE ENGELS

(FRAGMENT)[a]

A nice story told in front of a Frenchman by that son of the gods, Albert Molineus, who is courting Ida.[b] *Enfin, à la porte du ciel était Saint-Pétrus* (instead of *Saint Pierre*) *et le peintre Köttgen d'Elberfeld était abordé par le musicien Weinbrenner: Eh bien, Köttgen, vous ne dites rien, racontez-nous donc quelque chose. Enfin, Köttgen dit: Enfin, j'ai eu cette nuit un fameux rêve. Enfin, dit Weinbrenner, qu'est-ce qu'il y avait donc? Enfin, dit Köttgen, je rêvais d'être à la porte du ciel. Alors il y avait tous les artistes célèbres, Meyerbeer, Horace Vernet etc. Enfin, Meyerbeer frappait à la porte; Pétrus dit: Qui est là? "Meyerbeer." Les artistes n'entrent pas ici, dit Pétrus. Enfin vint Horace Vernet. Qui est là, dit Pétrus. "Horace Vernet." Les artistes n'entrent pas ici, dit Pétrus. Enfin Weinbrenner arrivait. Qu'est-ce qu'il y a là? dit Pétrus. Enfin, je suis Weinbrenner. Enfin, Pétrus dit: Entrez, s'il vous plaît.*[c]

The point of the joke—*ainsi, Weinbrenner n'est pas d'artiste*[d]—was naturally omitted by the clever young man who spoke French so well. Now you know what kind of people are scrambling for the honour of becoming your brother-in-law.

*Friedrich*

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[a] According to the latest findings, this is a P.S. to Engels' letter to Marie of September 9, 1841 (see this volume, pp. 534-35).—*Ed.*

[b] Ida Engels.—*Ed.*

[c] Saint Pétrus was standing at the Heavenly Gate and Köttgen, the Elberfeld painter, was approached by Weinbrenner the musician. Now then, Köttgen, you're very quiet, tell us something. At last Köttgen said: I had a wonderful dream last night. Well, said Weinbrenner, what was it about? Well, said Köttgen, I dreamt I was at the Heavenly Gate. All the famous artists were there—Meyerbeer, Horace Vernet, etc. Then Meyerbeer knocked on the Gate and Pétrus said: Who is there? "Meyerbeer." No artists allowed in here, said Pétrus. So then Horace Vernet stepped forward. Who is there? said Pétrus. "Horace Vernet." No artists allowed in here, said Pétrus. So then Weinbrenner came forward. What's going on? said Pétrus. I am Weinbrenner. So then Pétrus says: Come in, please.—*Ed.*

[d] Consequently Weinbrenner is not an artist.—*Ed.*

## 50

## TO ARNOLD RUGE

IN DRESDEN

Dear Doctor,

Enclosed please find an article[a] for the *Jahrbücher*.[b] I have put the Dante thing to one side for the time being. I would have sent it sooner if I had had anything like enough time.

I got your letter after it had gone to a number of wrong addresses. Why didn't I send *Schelling und die Offenbarung*[c] to the *Jahrbücher*? 1) Because what I had in mind was a book of between 5 and 6 folios and this was cut down to $3^1/_2$ folios only in the course of my negotiations with the publishers. 2) Because up to then the *Jahrbücher* had been a little reserved about Schelling. 3) Because people here advised against attacking Schelling in a journal and told me rather to put out a pamphlet against him. *Schelling, der Philosoph in Christo*[d] is also from my pen.

Apart from all this, I am not a Doctor and cannot ever become one. I am only a merchant and a Royal Prussian artillerist, so kindly spare me that title.

I hope to send you another manuscript very soon and in the meantime I remain

Yours sincerely,

*F. Engels (Oswald)*

Berlin, June 15, 42

Dorotheenstr. 56

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[a] "Alexander Jung, 'Lectures on Modern German Literature'." See this volume, pp. 284-97.— *Ed.*

[b] *Deutsche Jahrbücher.*— *Ed.*

[c] *Schelling and Revelation.* See this volume, pp. 189-240.— *Ed.*

[d] *Schelling, Philosopher in Christ.* See this volume, pp. 241-64.— *Ed.*

## 51

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN BONN[a]

Dear Marie,

I congratulate you on your discharge from the noble Mannheim Institute and from Fräulein Jung's censorship of your letters. I did not want to write about it before so as not to make you even more discontented, but I can tell you now that all these boarding-schools are nonsense and that the girls in them, unless they have such a happy disposition as yours, become terribly spoiled and turn into empty-headed coquettes and blue-stockings.[b] But it's the fashion now in Barmen and nobody can do anything about it. Rejoice that you are now out of the convent and can sit at the window again and walk across the street and occasionally talk nonsense without these things being treated as crimes. But I must say one thing to you—don't play me any silly tricks by joining in the Barmen jumps, namely, the jump into engagement. The noble young folk are rushing headlong into marriage, as if they were mad, and so blindly that they are knocking each other over. It is exactly like a game of blindman's-buff and where two of them catch each other, they get engaged, marry and live in blissful contentment. Just look at your two cousins. There's Luise Snethlage who has caught a husband[c] who's not bad but his hair is grey, and pretty Ida[d] has managed to get hold of one too, but I don't think much of him either. True, he's my brother-in-law, so I shouldn't run him down, but I'm vexed that they didn't ask me whether I wanted this Saint-Pétrus,[e] this lion, this dandy, this Albert Molineus for a brother-in-law, and so he'll have to pay for it. I tell you—if you want a suitor like that, I'll send you a dozen every day and each day a new dozen. It was generous of me to let the whole thing happen at all. I should at least have protested about it.

Even Schornstein has got himself engaged—it's terrible! And Strücker definitely wants to become a husband—isn't that strange? I begin to despair of the human race; I shall become a

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[a] The back of the letter bears the inscription: "Fräulein Marie Engels im grossherzoglichen Institut. Bonn."—*Ed.*

[b] This term is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

[c] Hermann Siebel.—*Ed.*

[d] Ida Engels.—*Ed.*

[e] See this volume, p. 542.—*Ed.*

misanthrope if you, Marie, you too—But no, you would not cause your brother such pain.

It's raining very boringly again. I have been soaked at least four times this week in the service of the Fatherland—twice from rain and twice, to use a delicate expression, from perspiration. I'm now going to the reading-room to look at the newspapers; surely I shall not get wet there for the fifth time, shall I?

Adieu.

Your brother

*Friedrich*

Berlin, July 2, 42

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## 52

## TO ARNOLD RUGE

### IN DRESDEN

Dear Sir,

This time I am writing to inform you that I shall not be sending you anything.

I have decided to abandon all literary work for a while in order to devote more time to studying. The reasons for this are fairly plain. I am young and self-taught in philosophy. I have learnt enough to form my own viewpoint and, when necessary, to defend it, but not enough to be able to work for it with success and in the proper way. All the greater demands will be made on me because I am a "travelling agent" in philosophy and have not earned the right to philosophise by getting a doctor's degree. I hope to be able to satisfy these demands once I start writing again—and under my own name. In addition I must not try to do too many things now, as I shall soon be again more fully occupied with business matters. Regarded subjectively, my literary activities have so far been mere experiments from the outcome of which I was to be able to learn whether my natural capacities were such as to enable me to work fruitfully and effectively for progress and to participate actively in the movement of the century. I can be

satisfied with the results and now regard it as my duty to acquire by study, which I now continue with redoubled zest, also more and more of that which one is not born with.

When I return home to the Rhineland in October[245] I hope to be able to meet you in Dresden and to discuss this with you further. In the meantime my good wishes and think of me now and again.

Yours,

*F. Engels*

Berlin, 26.7.42

Have you read Jung's reply[246]? I think it is the best thing he has written so far. In the meantime, the other Jung,[a] of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne, has arrived here and will look you up on his return journey in a few weeks' time.

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## 53

## TO MARIE ENGELS

### IN OSTENDE

Berlin, August 2, 1842

Dear Marie,

I was very pleased with your long letter but since there were so many pages, all written criss-cross, I read your sermon of disapproval very quickly and do not really know what you are reproaching me about. I can quite understand that Fräulein Jung must have pulled a nasty face when she read the true name given by Hermann[b] to her beloved Institute—a convent—and that she called him a frivolous fellow. Fortunately, not everybody has such a bad opinion of frivolity as your erstwhile Head Sin Recorder. And this is a good thing. Otherwise what would become of us

[a] Georg Jung.—*Ed.*

[b] Hermann Engels.—*Ed.*

both, I ask you? I too have to suffer being growled and shouted at by my Captain[a] and think to myself: who cares, and cock a snook at him. And when he makes things too hard for me, as he did last Wednesday when everyone was dismissed except me, simply because my orderly had not got me excused, and I had to go to the artillery range at 12 noon just to see some impossible piece of nonsense not carried out—in such cases I just report sick, this time with toothache, and so save myself a night march and a two-hour exercise. Unfortunately, I have to report back for duty again today. However, I go for a stroll if I feel like it. Berlin is a big place and only three officers in our company know me, so it is highly unlikely that they'll bump into me. The only thing that could happen is that they might send the company doctor to see me, but that would take time and the worst that could happen if he didn't find me at home would be that I would get a good telling off. Who cares!

You seem to have an enormous talent for making acquaintances. The girl is in Bonn for four weeks and already knows the names of half the University and has found herself an interesting lame student whom she encounters six times a day. The interesting lame student with the spectacles and fair beard! He undoubtedly had his legs shot up in a duel. Only why does he still limp when walking? Does he limp in an interesting way or ordinarily, like other lame people? Which foot is lame—the right one or both? Does he wear a hat with a red cock's feather? Could he not be the *diable boiteux*[b]? I'd like to know a great deal more about this interesting, lame, bearded, bespectacled, sharp-eyed student.

Have you continued to make friends in Ostende? Isn't there an interesting lame Fleming there who meets you on the beach six times a day? Look:

Happily the Convent leaving,
Free to move again am I.
I can laugh and I can chatter,
In the window I can lie!

With Duennas watching round me,
Oh, what agony of mind,
Sitting at the daily lessons,
Cribbed and cabined and confined!

---

[a] Von Wedell.—*Ed.*

[b] Limping devil (an allusion to the title character of Le Sage's novel).—*Ed.*

Oft I heard those Heidelbergers
Singing outside merrily;
Could not even reach the window
All the gallant lads to see!

Now I'm free at last, and want to
Taste my new-found liberty.
There's a new life waiting after
All that grey monotony!

I'll look out my newest clothes and
Dress as pretty as I please.
I'll be off to see the poshest
Of the posh Academies!

Poppelsdorf and Königswinter!
Rolandseck and Drachenfels!
Goggle at my so sparkling eyes
And my sparkling teeth as well!

And I'll bet that though our fellow
Students may be quite a host,
Getting our address will take them
Eight days at the very most.

Landlord Stamm be truly grateful
That your lodging-house we chose.
Tippling students throng your garden,
And the money really flows.

Best of all, when I'm out walking,
How I'm crowded round and courted!
See the poor Professors' daughters
All alone and unescorted!

Bottle-heroes Count d'Alviella,
Von Szczepansky come and linger:
See me twist those gallant fellows
Round and round my little finger!

Herr von Diest, the truly love-lorn,
Runs my errands all the while.
Chapeau plays his fife for dancing,
Bunsen sings to make me smile.

But there's something always haunts me
When I leave the busy throng,
And it is a handsome student
Limping painfully along.

While the others are so busy
Doing all that I want done,
How am I to meet that handsome
Lame and interesting one?

* * *

Now I've left my town of Bonn
For the North Sea's level shore.
No more rousing student ditties,
Just the ocean's mighty roar.

With the French and with the Belgians
I go strolling by the seas,
Just as in the Convent, I must
Speak French only, if you please.

Once again, crowds of admirers
Follow me along the strip,
Follow me into the briny
When I take my morning dip.

Otherwise, it's just like Bonn,
And I have no cause to grumble.
Food and lodgings both are decent,
And the landlord's tolerable.

Yet, for all those bathers, someone's
Missing, when all's said and done.
Woe is me! I just can't find that
*Lame* and interesting one!

This describes you perfectly, don't you think? I want to set it to music for you so you can sing it. But you'll only get the score when I answer your next letter, otherwise I would spoil you by sending such a magnificent gift. I have other things to do than to praise you in song—that can only be permitted as a reward for an especially long letter.

You must try to learn the Flemish or Netherlandic dialect while you are in Ostende. It is a very clumsy language, but it has its advantages and anyway it is very comical. If you know Low German, you'll probably be able to understand Flemish.

I now have a dog whom I got from August Bredt of Barmen when he left here. It's a handsome young spaniel, much bigger than our dear Mira and quite crazy. He has a great talent for boozing and if I go to a restaurant in the evening, he always sits near me and has his share, or makes himself at home at everybody else's table. He's also remarkable for an invisible collar. He is an excellent swimmer but too crazy to learn any tricks. I have taught him one thing. When I say *"Namenloser"*[a] (that's his name)—"there's an aristocrat!" he goes wild with rage and growls hideously at the person I show him.

While everybody has been forecasting that the Rhine wine will be splendid this year, the Grüneberger has turned out to be disgracefully bad. Do you know Grüneberger? Grüneberger is a Lausitz vine which only grows in sand and never produces good grapes except in a very wet year. When the hardness of the grapes turns from stone to wood, i. e., when you can cut into them with a knife, then they are ripe. They are pressed by steam-engine and people reckon that it takes a twelve horse-power machine working for an hour to press a hundred grapes. The best year for Grüneberger was '40. It cannot be put into casks because it splits the wood. When it is good you should eat a dozen pins, then drink a glass of Grüneberger, and if the pins are not dissolved or destroyed in five minutes it means the wine is no good. It is a very long-lasting wine for if you take a swig, your throat is sore for four weeks. It has a very fine bouquet and only a connoisseur can tell the difference between it and vinegar. A mixture of nitric acid and wine-vinegar comes closest in taste to this noble wine. Well, you've had enough now, and I still have to write to Mother. Adieu.

Your brother

*Friedrich*

Berlin, Aug. 8, 42

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[a] Nameless one.—*Ed.*

# EARLY LITERARY EXPERIMENTS

(1833-1837)

The house in Barmen where Engels was born

# TO MY GRANDFATHER[a]

Barmen, December 20, 1833

O you dear Grandfather, who always treat us so kindly,
Always helping us when our work isn't going so smoothly,
While you were here, you told me many a beautiful story
Of Cercyon and Theseus, and Argus the hundred-eyed monster,
The Minotaur, Ariadne, and Aegeus drowned in the ocean,
The Golden Fleece, the Argonauts and Jason defiant,[247]
Mighty Hercules, Danaus, and Cadmus the hero,
And — I can't remember all of the things that you told me;
Well, I wish you, Grandfather, a Happy New Year and a gay one,
Long, long years to come, with plenty of joy and no worries,
Everything good in life that can possibly happen to people,
All this is wished for you by your loving, affectionate grandson.

*Friedr. Engels*

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[a] Bernhard van Haar.— *Ed.*

## POEM, 1836

The evening sky grows dimmer
With pictures to delight,
As, through the clouds, stars glimmer
With soft and gentle light.
Now they draw near—full well
Those forms I seem to know:
The Archer, *William Tell,*
*Siegfried*, the Dragon's foe;
Then *Faust,* the defiant one,
*Achilles*, striding free,
The warrior-knight *Bouillon*
With all his chivalry;
Then—please, no laughing, brother—
On gallant steed doth ride
*Don Quixote* and none other
Across this world so wide.
Approaching and receding,
They float across the night,
Who can arrest their speeding,
Or stay them in their flight?
Oft may these poetry-weaving
Fair images appear,
To put an end to grieving
As gently they draw near.

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## POEM
### Probably Written Early in 1837

1. Lord Jesus Christ, God's only son,
   O step down from Thy heavenly throne
   And save my soul for me.
   Come down in all Thy blessedness,
   Light of Thy Father's holiness,
   Grant that I may choose Thee.
   Lovely, splendid, without sorrow is the
   joy with which we raise,
   Saviour, unto Thee our praise.

2. And when I draw my dying breath
   And must endure the pangs of death,
   Firm to Thee may I hold;
   That when my eyes with dark are filled
   And when my beating heart is stilled,
   In Thee shall I grow cold.
   Up in Heaven shall my spirit praise
   Thy name eternally,
   Since it lieth safe in Thee.

3. O were the time of joy but nigh
   When from Thy loving bosom I
   Might draw new life that warms.
   And then, O God, with thanks to Thee,
   Shall I embrace those dear to me
   Forever in my arms.
   Ever, ever, ever-living, Thee abiding to behold
   Shall my life anew unfold.

   Thou camest Humankind to free
   From death and ill, that there might be

Blessings and fortune everywhere.
And now with this, Thy new descent,
On Earth all shall be different;
To each man shalt Thou give his share.

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# [A PIRATE TALE]

## I

On a winter's morning in the year 1820 a ship was on the point of setting sail from the island of Kuluri, Salamis of old and scene of Athenian valour. It was a Greek merchant vessel which with its large crew had brought to Athens mastic, gum arabic and the like, but more especially Damascus blades, cedar-wood and fine cloths from Asia.

Ashore all was activity. The captain was moving among the sailors at their work, seeing that everything was done properly, when one sailor whispered to another in Italian:

"Philippo, do you see that young man standing over there? That is the new passenger the captain took on last night; he wants him to join us, and if he refuses, he'll be sent to the bottom of the sea, for he shall not reach Stamboul, as he intends."

"But," said Philippo, "what manner of man is he then?" "I do not know, but the captain doubtless will." Just then a shot rang out from the ship and all made for the boats. The captain boarded the sloop and cried out: "Young man—ahoy, why are you dreaming? Come along. We want to be off." The young man to whom these words were addressed and who had hitherto stood by a column in silence, looked up: "Ah yes," he called, "I'm coming," and strode rapidly toward the boat. He got in, and the vessel pulled away from the shore with quick strokes of the oars. The ship was soon reached, and after a cannon had been fired, the ship's crew assembled on board, and soon the anchor was weighed, the sails set, and like a giant swan the brig flew swiftly out over the blue-tinted sea.

But the captain, who had hitherto directed the work of the crew, now approached the handsome youth, who was leaning

sorrowfully as before on the rail of the ship and gazing gloomily at the peaks of Hymettus as they sank ever further into the distance.

"Young man," he addressed him, "come down to the saloon, I have something to say to you."

"Gladly," the other answered and followed in the captain's steps.

When they were below, the captain bade him be seated, and having poured each of them a glass from a bottle of Chios wine, he said:

"Listen, I have a suggestion to make to you. But first, what is your name? And where are you from?"

"*Leon Papon* is my name and I am from Athinai. And you?"

"Captain Leonidas Spezziotis (from Spezia). Now listen! Doubtless you think us honest traders? We are no such thing! Have a look at our cannon, both exposed and concealed, our ammunition, our armoury, and you will easily see that we carry on such trading merely as a guise. You will see that we are different, better men, true Hellenes, men who still have a taste for freedom—in short, corsairs, as the infidels, whom we harass sorely, are wont to call us. And now to you, for you are to my liking and remind me much of a dear son of mine whom the infidels shot before my eyes last year, I would propose that you should join us and help fight for the freedom of the Hellenes and harm the infidel cause, to whom Homer's lines could well be applied:

> Ἔσσεται ἦμαρ, ὅτ' ἄν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρή,
> Καὶ Πρίαμος, καὶ λαός ἐυμμελίω Πριάμοιο.[a]

But should you be disinclined to do this, I cannot answer for the consequences; for when my men hear what I have revealed to you, they will most certainly demand your death, and I shall not be able to save you."

"What's that you say? Corsairs? Will I join you? Straight away! To be able to take revenge on my father's murderers! Oh gladly, gladly will I join your ranks, with fury will I fight the Moslems and slaughter them like cattle!"

"So it is agreed! Leon, thus you are to my liking! Let us drink a bottle of Chios wine to the new alliance!" And the old imbiber poured the wine briskly and many a time exhorted his more moderate comrade with a merry "Drink up, Leon," until the bottle was empty.

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[a] In time the day will come when holy Ilion will fall,
Priam too, and the people of the spear-brandishing king. (*Iliad*, IV.)—*Ed.*

Now he went with his new comrade through the ship and showed him the stores. First they went into the armoury. There hung magnificent garments of all kinds, close-fitting sailors' jackets, capacious caftans, tall hats, small Greek caps, broad turbans, close-fitting western breeches and baggy Turkish trousers, gaily embroidered Persian waistcoats, Hungarian Hussar jackets, and Russian fur coats, all paraded in motley array in large cupboards. The walls were covered with the weapons of all nations: every type of fire-arm from small pocket pistols to triple-barrelled heavy muskets, swords of every description, Damascus blades, Spanish rapiers, German broadswords, short Italian daggers and curved handjars, all carefully ordered in their places. In the corners were spear-stands, so that the whole space of the room was used. Next they entered the powder-magazine. Eight large barrels, each with a hundred pounds of gunpowder, and four small ones of ten pounds stood there; there were three barrels of bombs, and two larger ones of shells; the cupboards at the sides were full of jars and pots containing powder mixed with pieces of lead, stones and pieces of iron. Then they entered the room in which Leonidas showed him several sacks full of cannon-balls. They went up again to the cannons. On each side stood twelve cannons of large bore, and on the quarter-deck another two forty-eight pounders. Dotted about everywhere stood swivel guns, some thirty pieces of ordnance in all. In the saloon, to which they returned, Leonidas showed Leon three cases of musket-balls and two of mixed shot.

"Our ship is in good shape, is it not?" he said to him.

"Splendid," replied the other, "it could not be better. But now let me look around on deck a little more."

He went up. However it was not long before he found him standing once more at the rail. They were just passing Cape Colonae, ancient Sunium, and Leon was again looking despondently back at the peaks of Hymettus just as they were disappearing from view, when Leonidas addressed him as follows:

"Now, lad, why so melancholy? Come on to the quarter-deck with me and tell me about your life."

And Leon accompanied him and told the following tale:

## II

I shall soon be 16 years of age. My father was the merchant Gregorios Papon; my mother was called Diana; I am called Leon, my twin sister is called Zoë and my younger brother Alexis. It is

some three months since the Pasha of Athinai saw a young slave-girl that my father had brought up with us. He asked for her at once, and when my father refused to let him have her, he swore to be revenged and kept his oath, to our undoing. For as we were sitting quietly together one evening and I was singing songs to the cithara with Selima, the slave-girl, Zoë and Alexis, the Pasha's Arnauts entered, seized our dear father and Selima from among us and took them away; and we were turned out and left with nowhere to turn for help. We departed thence and at length arrived at the place before the gate where the old Macedonian fortress stood. There we found shelter in the house of compassionate peasants who gave us bread and a little meat. From there we made our way toward Piraeus. But alas! My sister's strength was exhausted and she sank down half-swooning beneath an olive-tree. As for myself, I wanted to return to the city and seek help of our relatives. I went despite my mother's entreaties and when I reached the Acropolis and was about to ascend, I found—imagine my joy—my father. I cannot tell you how joyfully I embraced him and how I pictured our happiness and my mother's joy. Alas, all too soon I was to be disappointed! For hardly had we gone a few steps when we saw coming the commander of the Pasha's troop of Arnauts. He recognised my father, drew his sabre and fell upon him. My father took the gnarled stave which he had picked up earlier in his right hand and held his ground, the Turk struck and cut the stave in two; the blow fell upon my father's shoulder; the Turk struck again and caught my defenceless father about the head so that he sank to the ground. I seized the fallen stave and threw it into the Turk's face; in his fury he dropped his sabre, but drew a hammer from his belt and dashed it against my head so that I fell down senseless.

When I came to myself again, my father lay beside me breathing his last. He said, "Leon—my son—flee—flee from here! You are not safe! Is your mother free?" When I confirmed it, he said: "Oh, go to Kuluri, and from there to Nauplia—I have friends there." I asked: "Father, what is the name of your murderer?" "Leon—his name is—Mustapha—Bey—God have—mer—cy—on my poor—soul," and with these words he departed. I embraced the body, cried, lamented and shouted for help—but he remained dead and no one came to my help. At length I rose weeping to my feet, girt my good father's belt about me, thrust the murderer's sabre in it and swore to discard neither belt nor sabre—until my father's blood had been washed by Turkish blood.

Now I went out of the city gates—but—oh misery, my loved ones were no longer there! A bloody dagger, my mother's blood-stained veil and Alexis' cap lying there testified that violence had been done here also. This is the cap I am wearing now; this is the dagger (he pointed to a fine Turkish dagger in his belt), and the veil I have been wearing since then next to my heart, beneath my chiton.*

Only now did I give thought to my wound. It was beginning to pain me; I felt it and pushed my cap back—the blood poured afresh over my face. I lay down beneath the tree and bound a cloth round my head.

I fell asleep; and in my sleep I fancied that I saw my father coming towards me, fresh and blooming, and my mother at his side, and Zoë and Alexis with them, and they lifted me up, but then the Turks came, and my father's murderer fell screaming at our feet—I awoke and found myself lying on a cart—an old man stood before me and told me to be calm, and drove me away.

He took me to St. Nicholas, where he restored me to health. I stayed four weeks with him, then he gave me money and took me to Kuluri in his own boat. There I parted from him, and we divided a piastre as a keepsake. I remained here several days, there being no opportunity for departure. The rest you know.

## III

Such was the burden of young Papon's tale. Leonidas at once took him by the hand, went with him into the armoury and bade him select his outfit. For clothing he took some light Greek breeches and a short blue coat. For arms he chose a short double-barrelled rifle, two brace of double pocket pistols and a hammer. Leonidas said, "Well, take a sabre too! Or at least a scabbard for it." "No," he said, "I shall not be parted from this sabre! And it will remain bare until I have won myself a scabbard for it."

Meanwhile it began to grow dark. They reached the isle of Ceos. They did not land, but nonetheless they took in all sail and sent a rocket up from the top of the main mast. At once a boat with a cross upon its prow drew near. In it sat six armed men who moored the boat at the stern and boarded. Leonidas introduced the new comrade to them, and they welcomed him heartily. Thereupon Leonidas said:

* Tunic. The undergarment worn by the Greeks: χιτών or κιθών.—*Note by Engels.*

"Well, Stephanos, what have you hunted out?"

Stephanos: "There in the city harbour lies a Turkish merchant ship. I was there disguised as a tradesman. But whom do you think I saw, Leonidas? Just imagine, our old comrade Dukas was there as a slave. I got him out in a chest. The ship has only three cannons, but the crew is large and well armed; there are some thirty Turks aboard. But I have won over two Greek passengers, who are travelling to Athinai. They will occupy the powder-magazine."

Leonidas: "Ah, splendid! You stay here and wait a little."

He hurried down to the saloon, returned with three bottles of wine and emptied them with Leon and the six newcomers. In the course of this he said:

"We are now—wait—you six, twenty men on board, Leon, myself, that makes twenty-eight, two Turks as passengers to Serpho, one of whom is a Janissary.—Notos!"

The man thus summoned came.

"Take Protos and Taras with you to the saloon, disarm the Turks and bring them up." He went.

Leonidas called again: "Mykalis!"

"Here," cried the latter, at the double.

"Load the cannons for firing, prepare the swivel guns, load three with shot and balls, and the rest with lead, glass, stones and iron! Fetch up sixty shells, two bombs and a case of balls! Every man is to arm himself!" His command was carried out. "And now, my son," as he turned to Leon, "now you will have the chance to try your first battle with us. Fight bravely. As soon as the ship engages with us, stay by me and do as I do. Do not venture to board before I do; it could well cost you your life."

"Yes," said Stephanos, "*I* know that. Imagine, Leon, I jumped on board the enemy ship with two young fellows like yourself; the enemy chopped off the hooks and there we were in their hands. We fought, but after my two companions had died, I was all but crushed in the throng and took a sharp blow on the head; the scar is still visible; and I would certainly have lost my life, if our side had not meantime again grappled fast."

Then Notos came with the two Turks, one of whom wore his arm bandaged. Notos said to Leonidas:

"Here, I have them now. They fought desperately. Our Janissary here dealt poor Protos a blow such as he will scarcely recover from. He was repaid by me with a broken arm, while Taras seized the other Turk around the body and threw him to the ground."

"Yes," said the Janissary, "that was a skilful feat indeed,

overwhelming us as we sat peacefully in the saloon! But they paid dearly for it and that consoles me."

"Oh," answered Leonidas, "I never doubted your bravery. But you shan't be without your reward; if you wish, I shall disembark you tomorrow morning on Thermia; but each of you shall give me fifty piastres ransom." They were glad to do so and were escorted back to the saloon, where they stayed under Notos' guard, while Leonidas went to Protos, who was lying in a hammock. He examined the wound and saw it was a blow from a handjar right across the skull, which had been damaged in one place. It was a deadly wound; yet there was still hope. He applied a plaster and retired along with Leon to bed. To the latter he allotted a couch alongside his own.

In the middle of the night they were woken. Stephanos was standing before them.

"Make haste, arise, there is a sail in sight to the north. You may see it by its lamp." In a moment both were armed. Leonidas opened a cupboard and gave Leon a bag of musket-balls, one of shot, and a fine large powder-horn. He also furnished himself with ammunition and both went on deck.

"Mykalis," said the captain, "where are the swivel cannons?"

When these were pointed out, he placed himself by one, Leon by the second and Stephanos by the third.

The crew gathered on deck. Leonidas bade them assemble and numbered them off. Counting himself there were twenty-six. He ordered Notos to be relieved, and the latter came and placed himself by one of the forty-eight pounders, Mykalis by the other. The swivel guns were hard by.

All eyes were directed at the lamp. They were drawing nearer to it. Then it went out, and they had to steer on in the direction they had taken. Several times it reappeared, but eventually they quite lost it.

Day came. The sea was covered with fog patches, which gradually dispersed. Then Stephanos, who was up the mast, cried out: "I see the ship! It is the same one as I saw in the harbour at Ceos."

Leonidas also saw it through his telescope. Stephanos came down. At once all sail was raised to catch it, and soon it was visible to them all. They ran up the Turkish flag and drew near to it. After some three hours they were so near that it was only a little out of firing range. Then Leonidas ordered the Turkish flag to be taken down and the black and red one with the white cross run up. The Turkish ship had however already turned to the north-

west and put on all sail to gain Makronisi. But soon Leonidas was hard upon it, and a cannon-ball sped at his command through the enemy rigging. The Turks replied at once, but then withdrew. Then Leonidas called: "Here, Mykalis with your fifteen men, go and row your hardest! We must have it! Notos! You go to the bows and fire on the enemy when we are at half range! Taras and his five men are to stay here."

The ship flew faster. Nearer and nearer they approached their prey. Meanwhile Leonidas commanded:

"Taras, as soon as Mykalis returns, go to the starboard cannon; Stephanos is in charge of the stern cannon; Leon stays by me!"

Then Notos fired from his twelve-pounder, another five cannons roared, and one of the enemy's sails fell with its mast-top and hung from the ropes! A cry of delight issued on the spot; the cannon fired once more and the ship's bowsprit was shattered. The Turks could not escape. The ship came nearer, and quickly Leonidas and Leon gave fire with their swivel guns. Several men fell; yet the shots had achieved but little. Mykalis returned; they were quite near the Turks now, with salvoes flying right and left; but the Turks were also firing bravely; then Leonidas gave a full salvo and moved close in to the enemy. The swivel guns banged; as the enemy's deck cleared somewhat, the Greeks grappled. Mykalis and his band, Leonidas and Leon stood by the grappling-hooks; they fired their muskets amongst the enemy, hauled at the hooks, and in a flash Mykalis and Leon were there with the enemy. Leon pulled a pistol and shot down the first comer; his cutlass flashed this way and that—and one Turk fell upon the other. Then Mykalis fell; but Leonidas was there, and the Hellenes advanced; a furious struggle developed, but the Greeks who were still on their ship fired valiantly away, and in a short while some of the Turks laid down their arms. Then a gigantic Arnaut leapt on to the deck, swung his cutlass and shouted:

"What's this, Moslems? Do you intend to let yourselves be slaughtered by the infidels? Seize your cutlasses and cut down these dogs!"

He leapt forward and cut down one of the Hellenes. "Where is your leader?" he called. "Here," shouted Leonidas and pushed forward. They fought. Leonidas remained cool in the face of the heavy, furious blows of his enemy. In a blind, mad fury the latter rushed forward, struck and managed to hit his opponent's left arm. Leonidas gripped his broadsword hard and shattered his enemy's cutlass, struck again and blood welled up from the Turk's breast. But another Turk rushed up to Leonidas and dealt him

such a blow across the face that he fell. Leon saw him fall, struck the assassin dead, held back the enemy, and the latter now laid down their arms.

But the wounded leader with ten men was just landing in his boat on Makronisi.

## IV

Now he surveyed the scene of battle. Twelve Turks lay there dead. Eight were wounded; ten had laid down their arms, and ten had escaped.

But four Greeks lay there dead too; Mykalis lay dying; Notos had a shot in his thigh; the captain had his cutlass wound, and three more were slightly wounded. Leon too had his head grazed by a bullet and a cut on his left arm.

Stephanos went up to him. "You fought bravely, Leon; but you must come to Leonidas. What, are you bleeding?"

"It is nothing, just a trifle. What vexes me most is that the cursed Arnaut escaped us. I would gladly have quite done for him."

He went to Leonidas. The captain said: "Leon, I now give Notos' command to you until he is recovered. Stephanos is commander-in-chief until I can resume my office. Go to Mykalis and see how he fares."

He obeyed. "He is very weak; he has a shot in the breast and a stab in the thigh. But Taras still has hope."

Stephanos returned. "The ship is loaded with cotton for Athinai and ammunition for Nauplia. Also dates, coco-nuts, figs and all manner of provisions in superfluity, for occasional sale."

"Bring over everything that is of value in the ship and order course for Porto Raphthi," said Leonidas. "Leon, go over with Stephanos. Question the prisoners; note everything they say."

He went. The gist of the prisoners' statements was as follows: the ship was a merchantman and belonged to a merchant in Ismir,* named Murad. His brother Ali had been in command of the ship and was the very man whom Leon had wounded. They had reached Sykia where they had received news that there were corsairs in that vicinity. For this reason they had taken on ten more men for Athinai the previous night. Then they had seen the ship and been attacked. To the question of where the Greek passengers were, they said one had fallen into the sea and the

* Smyrna.— *Note by Engels.*

other had been killed by Ali when the corsair ship had been recognised.

Then the ship was searched through. Besides the goods already cited, much weaponry and ammunition was found, along with cloth and clothing. Best of all were three bags of gold, with 5,000 piastres in each. These were brought to the saloon of the Greek ship.

Between Sunium and the Argolis peninsula lies an islet,* rocky and deserted. To this Leonidas steered. They landed the following morning. But as they wanted [to secure themselves] against Ali and the Turks, who would certainly persuade the Pasha of Eyribos or Athens to send a ship against the pirates, they set down the Turks there, gave them some provisions, two cutlasses and a musket with ammunition, so that they might provide for themselves by hunting hares and the like, which abound on such islands.

They were about to depart—but Leon was missing. He had gone off to hunt; they searched—then a shot was heard, they hastened in that direction and—there lay Leon in his own blood, beside him a Turk who had been shot dead, and another with Leon's bloody cutlass in his hand stood by. Stephanos, who was there first, leapt in and attacked the Turk. After a short struggle he dashed the cutlass from his enemy's hand, hurled him to the ground and struck off his head.

Then several others appeared. Leon was laid upon a stretcher of boughs and carried back. Taras, who examined the youth, found that the Turk had dealt him a blow across the head, another across the thigh and a slight scratch across the arm.

At length the wounded man regained his senses. "Where is my cutlass?" was his first question. When it was shown to him he said, "Where is the Turk who struck me?"

"I have killed him," said Stephanos. "But be calm, you are dangerously wounded."

The head wound was dangerous; the journey by ship could only do harm, so it was resolved to capture the Turks and set them down on the coast of the Morea; and to leave Leon, Mykalis, who was also in danger, Notos and Leonidas here with three men to tend them. Stephanos would pick them up again a few weeks later.

The Turks were again assembled, only one was still missing; but as they sighted a Turkish ship in the distance, the corsairs' ship set sail with Stephanos. Apart from the wounded and Taras with his

* Called San Giorgio di Aspara.—*Note by Engels.*

two helpers another five remained behind, who were to get the Turkish ship to Epina and departed the following day.

Leon's condition improved visibly. After six days he could already get up and walk around a little. The following week Mykalis too stepped out of the door of the little hut they had built. Leonidas and Notos were already almost completely recovered and had often been hunting. One day Notos returned and said:

"I have seen a Turk. But he ran away quickly. Let us be on our guard."

The following day he again went hunting with Leonidas. They met a wild goat. Then they separated. Notos was walking through the woods when a shot rang out, Notos fell, and the Turk, with a pistol in his left hand and a dagger in his right, dashed forward, bent down, and swung the dagger, at which moment the wounded man rose, drew a pistol and shot the Moslem down. Before long all the Greeks gathered. The Turk was dead; his shot had entered Notos' breast, but the handle of his dagger had deadened the shot and there was no danger.

Notos was borne home and suffered another week before he could rise again. Then they were all recovered; but the provisions were exhausted and the isle provided little from hunting.

## V

They had been on the island for four weeks when Stephanos came and took them off. He had sold the Turkish ship to an English merchant in Thessalonica for 10,000 piastres; likewise the cotton to another for 4,000 piastres. The corsairs' ship was newly equipped, three new cannons, ammunition replenished threefold, muskets and other arms in abundance. The well-rewarded pirates were also in better condition. Now the ship set sail for Candia. But when they were within view of Milos, a ship of Turkish appearance hove in sight. At once Leonidas fell in behind and pursued it into the bay of Milos, across the mouth of which several small islands are scattered. Here the ship fled, protected by the cannons of the harbour naval yard. Now it became evident that it was an Egyptian galley. A furious battle developed. The Greeks fired away bravely; but then a Turkish ship—a small man-of-war—sailed into the bay and attacked the Hellenes from the rear. Leonidas grappled with the Turks—sent Stephanos on board, and after a short struggle the ship was won.

Meantime a salvo from the fort had hit the Greek ship and it was sinking. So it was hastily steered to the shore on to a sandbank

where it grounded. But the men climbed aboard the captured Turkish ship, pressed the galley hard and grappled. Leon leapt across and was followed by others; Stephanos went too, without delay, and attacked. Leon, always in the lead, bathed his sword in Moslem blood; he laid on furiously, Stephanos followed him, and they pushed far ahead. Then Leon was faced by the enemy leader, a gigantic Egyptian. He fought with him but neither could overcome the other; at length Leon dealt his opponent a rapid blow on the left arm; then the latter drew a pistol, fired it, but instead of Leon hit another Hellene and fell beneath the blows of his valiant adversary. With his fall the ship was won. The few Turks laid down their arms and were put on land, where Taras approached the fort in Turkish costume to negotiate the restoration of the ship. The avaricious Pasha was persuaded by a gift of three hundred piastres, but secretly sent a boat to Siphanto where several ships of the Turkish fleet lay. It found them and at once all three sailed up. Notos and Taras had gone out to the mouth of the bay in their boat when they sighted the ships and brought the news to Leonidas. The latter swiftly dispatched some of his men aboard the Turkish ships where he had also sent ammunition for small arms and several cannons; most of them, however, he ordered aboard his own ship, to which also went some thirty newly-hired fellows from Milos. Leon, who was in command of the little naval brig, stationed himself at the entrance to the bay. Then the Turks came. One ship entered first. Thereupon Leon gave it a full salvo at the bows, turned his ship, grappled and boarded with his whole crew. But the next ship fastened on from the other side, sent in its crew, and a furious battle ensued. Leon fought bravely. Many a Turk fell beneath his blows, but many a brave Hellene too was made to breathe his last beneath the swords of the Turks, and fortune inclined to the barbarians' side, who, however, were thrice as numerous. Then Leon saw his father's murderer. Rage seized him as he saw the big Arnaut, who was at that moment felling an old Hellene. "Hunkiar!" (Murderer) he cried, "turn and face younger men!" And at once he turned and fought, in strength twice the Hellene's equal but inferior to him in fury. They fought furiously. Blow fell upon blow.—Then the Turk dropped his cutlass as Leon gave him a blow on the hand. But he snatched the familiar hammer from his belt and, raging with fury and pain, bore down on Leon, and soon the broad surface of the hammer descended a second time on Leon's brow, and Leon fell beneath the Turk's incessant heavy blows.

Alte

Geschichte

nach dem Vortrage d

des

Herrn Dr. Clausen

ausgearbeitet

von

FR. ENGELS.

Cover of Engels' history exercise book

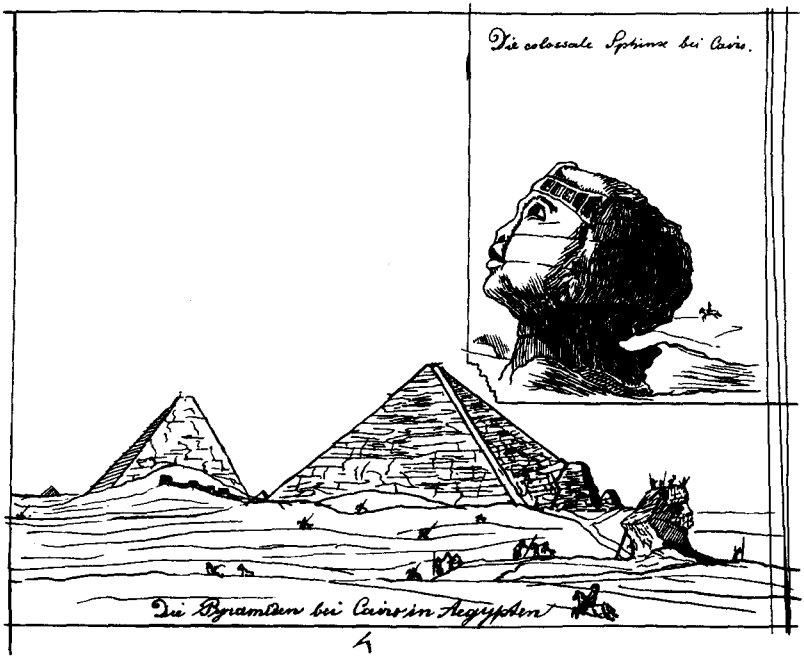


Drawing by Engels from his history exercise book

"The devil has him now!" he cried. "Now for the others." But these were already almost all dead, and only a few, deprived of their arms, had been taken prisoner.

Meantime the two other ships had sailed into the harbour and were pursuing Leonidas, who threw himself with all his crew and the money on to the galley and, escaping the enemy's pursuit, left the harbour safely for the open sea and sailed for Belo Paulo, from where he meant to obtain news of Leon and the rest.

Written in 1837

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# THE SINGLE COMBAT OF ETEOCLES AND POLYNICES[248]

Why do the companies of the Greeks and their swift horses march through the great city of the mighty sons of Cadmus? And why throughout the plain do men with white shields move in polished arms around the long walls?

There comes against the city of the stout son of Agenor an army of Argive men for a mighty prize, there come the leaders of the Danaans, bringing war to Thebes, Tydeus, Capaneus and Parthenopaeus, King Amphiaraus, the godlike might of Hippomedon, King Adrastus, and Polynices, king of men; all march together with horse and car.

There glitter in the field iron lances and bossy shields and silver-studded swords. Just as when a serpent suddenly coils round a sheep and envelops it, enclosing all its limbs, so did the Danaans surround the seat of Thebe.

But when all the ranks had taken up their position, spear in hand, men came out from the city, helmeted in flashing bronze, and among them was Eteocles, the stout son of Oedipus and a bold warrior. And when the leaders of the Boeotians and the soldiers of the Argives met together, they clashed together their shields, their spears and the might of bronze-breastplated men: and there arose a dreadful din. Bloody flowed the stream of famous Dirce, bloody the Ismenus, as man threw down man.

And in the forefront raged Eteocles with his bronze spear; and many were the warriors who fell to the ground, vanquished by his keen shaft. And the son of Agenor, descrying mighty Polynices

striding among the Argives, prayed to Athena: "Pallas, daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus, Atrytone, hear me. If ever I have burned for you fat thighs of oxen and of goats, grant me this prayer. Let me sink my long-shadowing spear in the breast of that man, of the race of famed Oedipus who, though he is my brother, goodly Polynices, yet has come from thirsty Argos with the rulers of the Argives to devastate his native land."

So he spoke, and then addressed winged words to his brother: "Son of Oedipus, Polynices of the loud voice, it is with thee that my heart within my breast bids me fight: come hither as champion of all against the godlike Eteocles."

So he spoke; and his brother prayed to the lady Hera: "Hear me, Hera, sister and spouse of Zeus, for thine I now am, since I have wedded an Argive woman, the daughter of Adrastus, who rules over the Argives, grant me now to slay with my spear stout Eteocles, because he did not respect his oath of loyalty in Thebes." So he spoke, and then Eteocles, king of men, came over into the mid field, held back the ranks in the field. And to both sides he spoke such words: "Listen to me, Danaans and well-greaved Achaeans, that I may tell you what my spirit within my breast bids me. The Argives and the peoples of Boeotia are dying in hard-fought strife. And the business is not accomplished. My spirit bids me fight with my brother. This I declare and may Zeus be my witness. If he overcomes me with his long-bladed bronze, so let him rule over the Cadmeians among the people. But if I overcome him, and Athena gives me her spear, mine will be the dignity and the kingdom of my father, and you Argives may go back again to your home."

So he spoke. And Achaeans and Boeotians rejoiced, and they drew up their horses in ranks, and dismounted themselves, and took off their suits of armour and laid them on the ground near one another, and there was little space round about.

Now Eteocles hurls his long-shadowing spear, and the lordly son of Agenor, seeing it approaching, avoided black Death, and the bronze spear flew over him.

And the godlike Polynices, swiftly drawing his gold-studded sword, rushed upon his adversary, and they clashed together like two savage lions, brothers and siblings of one blood. And as he hastened, by his golden belt.....darkness. And he pressed upon him, relying on his heavy hand. At once black blood began to flow from the wound. And at the same time the keen sword of Polynices, king of men, drove through breast-plate and breast of Eteocles. And they both fell to the ground,

and darkness covered their eyes. They lay there, brother having slain brother with long-bladed bronze. So perished the race of noble Oedipus.

Written in September 1837

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# APPENDICES

# BIRTH CERTIFICATE OF FRIEDRICH ENGELS

BARMEN, DECEMBER 5, 1820,
EXTRACT FROM THE BARMEN REGISTER OF BIRTHS, DEATHS AND MARRIAGES

No. 659. Birth of Friedrich Engels, November 28, 1820.

In the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty, on December 5 at half past three in the afternoon, there appeared before me, *Peter Wichelhausen*, Deputy of the Parish of Barmen, the merchant Herr *Friedrich Engels* domiciled in Brucher Rotte to notify that on Tuesday, the 28th day of November at nine o'clock in the evening, a child of the male sex, to whom he gave the first name of *Friedrich*, was born to him by his wife, *Elisabeth Francisca Mauritzia*, née *van Haar*.

Witnesses to this proceeding were: Herr *Peter Gottfried Schmits*, twenty-six years of age, secretary, domiciled in Gemarke, and Herr *Johann Jacob Helmes*, thirty-two years of age, secretary, domiciled in Werther Rotte.

After this had been read to them the declarants signed:

(signed) *Friedrich Engels, Jac. Schmits, J. Helmes*

The Deputy (signed) *Wichelhausen*

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## FRIEDRICH ENGELS SENIOR TO KARL SNETHLAGE

### IN BERLIN

Barmen, December 1, 1820

Rejoice with me, dearly beloved Karl, that the good Lord has heard our prayer and last Tuesday evening, the 28th,[a] at 9 o'clock presented us with a babe, a healthy well-shapen boy. We thank and praise Him from the fullness of our hearts for this child, and for the merciful assistance and care for mother and child during the confinement. True, everything ended happily, but it was a difficult birth. O God, what I felt when I saw my poor wife endure such suffering is impossible to describe. Often I felt that I could not bear to witness it any longer, and yet the same love prevented me from leaving the scene of her suffering even for a moment, in case there was any alleviation I could help to procure. The Lord be praised that this period of anxiety is over! And not only over, but replaced by joy when we saw what a healthy baby boy we had.

Since then my good Elise has been quite well again in the circumstances, except that last night she had strong stomach pains, probably due to flatulence, but they soon disappeared after some prescription from the doctor. The little boy nearly always sleeps quietly, which is a very good thing, for God gives strength to sleeping babes. His little dwelling-place is beside me, with its sweetly slumbering inhabitant, and it fills me with an utterly new, great joy whenever I look at it. May the good Lord keep both my dear ones under His holy protection. May He be to the child as kind a Lord and Father as He has been to me, and grant that we shall yet rejoice before His throne at this birth. But may He also

[a] A mistake in the original: 29th.— *Ed.*

grant us the wisdom to bring it up well and in fear of Him, and to give it the best teaching through our example! That is now my daily prayer. I had intended to write to you on Wednesday immediately after my dear wife's confinement, but everything was in such turmoil here that first morning and there were so many claims on my activity that it was impossible.

You will, of course, tell your dear parents and your brothers and sisters today's glad news, and be so kind as to give them sincerest greetings from my Elise and myself.

I received your kind letter of November 16; it made me very happy, although your epistolary generosity put me somewhat to shame. I intend to improve in this respect, however, and write more even if there should be more real obstacles to writing than have actually existed since my last proper letter.

August[a] and Louise (his wife) had a very fine trip, almost the same as yours, and occasionally they tell us about their adventures and the good people whose acquaintance they made. What should I reply to your question as to why Louise (ours) did not want to join in that fine trip? I myself have wondered at her calm rejection of it. But it occurs to me that at the start of the Swiss trip it had not yet been settled whether Papa would not still have to go to Berlin, it was even likely at the time, and in view of all our domestic circumstances no one was better qualified to accompany dear Papa than she; moreover, she had already heard so much from Elise about your remarkable city that it was no great struggle for her to do without Switzerland, of which she had already seen a good deal.

How happy you have made my good papa by your church news, dear Karl! It was balm to his soul and he was thankful to the supreme guide in this important matter.

Elise has just taken the little boy in her arms and is talking to him. Tears of joy always spring to my eyes when I see and hear it. God grant that some time you too will know such joy, dear Karl.

Well, good-bye now. We are all thinking of you and we all send you our warmest greetings, especially Elise and my good mother-in-law.

May the Lord remain with you and yours,

*Friedrich*

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[a] August Engels.— *Ed.*

# BAPTISM CERTIFICATE OF FRIEDRICH ENGELS

EXTRACT FROM THE BAPTISM REGISTER
OF THE ELBERFELD
REFORMED EVANGELICAL PARISH

1821, January. Baptised the 18th, Unter-Barmen.

No. 24—[Born] on November 28th at 9 o'clock in the evening *Friedrich,* legitimate son of the merchant Herr *Friedrich Engels,* domiciled in Bruch, and Frau *Elisabeth Mauritzia Francisca,* née *van Haar.*

The godparents Herr *Caspar Engels* Senior, and Frau *Francisca Cristina van Haar,* née *Snethlage.*

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# FRIEDRICH ENGELS SENIOR TO HIS WIFE ELISE

IN HAMM[a]

Barmen, August 27, 1835, Thursday evening

Dear Elise,

I have just received the letter you wrote to me yesterday from which I gather that your good father's[b] condition is still the same and even seems to show a slight improvement. Let us not delude ourselves about his state, for even if nature appears to be rallying and strength to be increasing, one can very rarely hope for a recovery; the illness drags on, until a new attack occurs. Your good father is in God's hands, and it is well for him and for us that we can entrust him so peacefully to the Heavenly Father.

I posted a letter to you on Sunday the 23rd. You have received it, I trust? You make no mention of it. I wanted to write to you again yesterday but was prevented. Everything is well with us, God be praised; the children are all in good health. I am having my usual trouble with Emil. The boy is somewhat unmanageable, he wants to be out in the street all the time, and this evening there was another complaint that he had jumped out of the window. Rudolph is sweet and good, he sits beside me at lunch and is a dear lad. Hedwig is cleverer than either of them, has now completely recovered and is knitting me a pair of socks which I asked her to do to help her pass the time. Hermann is fairly well-behaved, my sole companion at supper, and is firmly convinced that this week he is going to get top marks as usual. Little Elise is, if possible, even more lively than usual, gets up to her little tricks, loves her father very much and, in short, is a very sweet little puss.

[a] The back of the letter bears the inscription: "Frau Elise Engels. c/o Herr Rektor van Haar Wohlgeb. in Hamm, France."—*Ed.*

[b] Bernhard van Haar.—*Ed.*

Friedrich had a pretty average report last week.[249] As you know, he has become more polite, outwardly, but in spite of the severe chastisements he received earlier, not even the fear of punishment seems to teach him unconditional obedience. Thus today I was again distressed to find in his desk a greasy book which he had borrowed from the lending library, a story about knights in the 13th century. The careless way he leaves such books about in his desk is remarkable. May God watch over his disposition, I am often fearful for this otherwise excellent boy.

I received a letter yesterday through Friedrich from Dr. Hantschke, written on August 22, which he prudently gave to the maids so late that it only reached me at half past eight in the evening. So he probably already had it on Sunday. Dr. Hantschke writes that he has been asked to take in two boarders but that he will decline if we prefer to leave Friedrich with him after the autumn. He says that Friedrich continually requires supervision, that the long journey is harmful to his studies, etc. I immediately replied that I was most grateful to him for giving me first choice after receiving such an advantageous request, and that I would ask him to keep Friedrich on, but that I should be obliged if he would inform me of his terms. He himself had indicated that we should have no difficulty in agreeing on them. I am sure that you too will regard this as the best course. When it is a question of our child's welfare we should not consider money, and Friedrich is such a peculiar and versatile lad that a secluded way of life, which is bound to lead him to a certain degree of independence, is the best thing for him. Once again, may the good Lord have the boy in His care so that his disposition may not be spoiled. So far, for all his pleasing qualities, he has been developing a disturbing thoughtlessness and lack of character.

So much for our children here. I should be glad to hear from you that all is well with Anna and Marie. When are they coming back and is it definite that Ludwig[a] will bring them home?

In view of your dear father's present condition I can well imagine that you and your good mother would like to stay there a few days more. Do so in God's name. I had thought that I would come to fetch you about Sunday the 30th inst., but now I will await further news. Everything here is much as usual, so your

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[a] Ludwig van Haar.— *Ed.*

mind may be at rest. Caspar[a] has left for Frankfurt with Julius[b] and is expected back on Tuesday.

Your instructions about clothes and linen will be faithfully carried out — I should not have thought of it. I will bring the wine with me.

Give warmest greetings from me as well as from the Griesheims to your dear mother and to your father when his mind is clear. God be with you all in these difficult days.

Your
*Friedrich*

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[a] Caspar Engels Jr.— *Ed.*
[b] Julius Engels.— *Ed.*

# SCHOOL-LEAVING REFERENCE[250] FOR PRIMA[a] PUPIL FRIEDRICH ENGELS (No. 713)

Born on 28th November, 1820, at Unter-Barmen, of the Evangelical faith, pupil of the Elberfeld gymnasium since the autumn of 1834 (October 20th) and since the autumn of 1836 (October 17th) a member of the Prima of the same, has taken pains to be of *very good behaviour,* especially during his stay in the Prima form, has commended himself to his teachers particularly by his modesty, frankness and good-natured disposition, and equally displayed commendable *endeavour,* supported by good talents, to acquire the most comprehensive scientific education possible, for which reason also his *progress* has been gratifyingly conspicuous, as the following special compilation of the separate subjects shows more precisely.

## *I. Languages*

1. *Latin.* He finds no difficulty in understanding the respective writers either of prose or poetry, namely, Livius and Cicero, Virgil and Horace, so that he can easily follow the thread of the longer pieces, grasp the train of thought with clarity and translate the text before him with skill into the mother tongue. He has been less successful in mastering the grammatical part with thorough assurance, so that his written work, although not without visible progress towards improvement, yet left something to be desired in respect of grammar and style.

2. *Greek.* He has acquired a satisfactory knowledge of morphology and the rules of syntax, in particular good proficiency and skill

[a] Upper, or First, Form in German secondary schools, corresponding to the Sixth Form in England.— *Ed.*

in translating the easier Greek prose writers, as also *Homer* and *Euripides*, and could grasp and render the train of thought of a *Platonic* dialogue with skill.

3. *German.* His written essays, particularly in the last year, showed gratifying progress in general development; they contained good, independent thoughts and were for the most part correctly arranged; the exposition was duly exhaustive and the expression perceptibly approached correctness. Engels showed commendable interest in the *history of German national literature* and the reading of the German classics.

4. *French.* He translates the French classics with skill. He has a good knowledge of grammar.

*II. Sciences*

1. *Religion.* The basic doctrines of the Evangelical Church as well as the chief elements of the history of the Christian Church are well known to him. He is also not without experience in reading the New Testament (in the original).

2. In *history* and *geography* he possesses sufficient lucid knowledge.

3. In *mathematics* Engels has on the whole attained gratifying knowledge; he showed in general good power of understanding and could express himself clearly and with precision. The same holds

4. for his knowledge of *physics.*

5. *Philosophical propaedeutic.* Engels followed the lectures on empirical psychology with interest and success.

The undersigned discharges with his best blessings a dear pupil who, due to private connections, stood particularly close to him and who in this position endeavoured to commend himself by his religious feeling, purity of heart, agreeable habits and other prepossessing qualities, on his going into business at the end of the school year (September 15th of this year), which he found himself induced to choose as his outward profession in life instead of the studies he had earlier intended. May the Lord bless and guide him!

Elberfeld, September 25th, 1837

*Dr. J. C. L. Hantschke*

First published in the book: F. Engels, *Schriften der Frühzeit,* Berlin, 1920

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## FRIEDRICH ENGELS SENIOR TO KARL SNETHLAGE

IN BERLIN

*(Fragment)*

Barmen, October 5, 1842

I found your letter on my return from Engelskirchen, where I spent a while and where I am thinking of going again tomorrow. I thank you also heartily for your letter, and in particular for what you told me about Friedrich. It was nothing new to me, I have known since childhood his tendency to extremes and was convinced, although he never wrote to me about his views since he was in Bremen, that he would not keep to those ordinarily held. We had decided to deal with him exactly in the way that you advise. I shall make clear to him that merely for his sake or because of his presence I shall neither change nor conceal my views, either in respect of religion or of politics; we shall continue entirely our former way of living and read the word of God and other Christian books in his presence. I shall not argue with him, for that would only lead to obstinacy and embitterment. His conversion must come from above. I know for certain that he was moved by pious feelings at his confirmation and I am confident that a person who has once felt the force of God's word in his heart cannot for long be satisfied with the vapid new systems. He may, however, have to travel a rough road before he is obliged to climb down from the height of his pride and submit his heart in humility to the powerful hand of God. But God grant that this time is not too far away, let us pray to Him for that! Until then it is hard to bear having a son in the house who is like a black sheep in the flock and adopts a hostile attitude to the faith of his fathers. By the way, I hope to be able to give him a fair amount of work, and wherever he may be I shall watch over him unnoticed with the greatest care so that he does not take any dangerous step. The

most depressive is that the trend which Friedrich has embraced is becoming or seems almost to be generally prevalent. Friedrich himself does not suspect what influence such a fashionable trend has exerted over him, whom I have always found greatly inclined to imitation. We all often find a fashion in dress outwardly strange at the beginning, but as it spreads more we accustom ourselves to it, and in the end one can hardly understand any longer how one could tolerate the former fashion. And now that all are preaching *progress* and that the old faith and the old mentality are consigned to the rubbish heap, how easily a young and spirited heart can be ensnared!—Oh, this progress and this modern wisdom, where will they lead to! I fear our good King,[a] who is *still* adored, will yet have to hear things which will not be to his taste. In Königsberg they now intend to tackle your minister[b] in earnest; I cannot but warn you not to advise too strict measures in your present situation, for there too things will have to be left to God and time. I mean this kindly, and naturally expect no objection.

First published in *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, Bd. IX, 1969

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first time

[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[b] This apparently refers to Eichhorn, the Prussian Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine.—*Ed.*

# CERTIFICATE OF CONDUCT FOR THE ONE-YEAR VOLUNTEER FRIEDRICH ENGELS

*Certificate of Conduct*

The bearer of this certificate, one-year Volunteer Bombardier *Friedrich Engels* of the 12th Foot Company of the Guards Artillery Brigade, born in Barmen, Elberfeld Division, Düsseldorf Government District, aged twenty-one years and ten months, having served *one* year, has conducted himself very well during his period of service in respect both of morals and service, as is herewith duly certified by

v. *Wedell,*

Captain and Company Commander

Berlin, October 8th, 1842

First published in: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe,* Abt. 1, Bd. 2, 1930

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

# NOTES
# AND
# INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] *The Bedouin* was Engels' first work to appear in print. He wrote it at the beginning of his stay in Bremen, where he worked as a clerk in a trading company from July 1838 to March 1841. When preparing this poem for the press the editors of the *Bremisches Conversationsblatt* changed the last stanza without the author's permission. The original text is cited by Engels in his letter to the Graeber brothers dated September 17-18, 1838 (see this volume, pp. 395-96). p. 3

[2] In this poem Engels ridiculed the heated polemic between the weekly *Der Bremer Stadtbote* and the newspaper *Bremisches Unterhaltungsblatt* (see Engels' letters to his brother Hermann of March 11-12, 1839, and to his sister Marie of March 12, 1839, in this volume, pp. 417-20). For fun Engels sent this poem to *Der Bremer Stadtbote* under the pen-name of Theodor H. (Hildebrand). Not realising its ironical character, the editors published the poem as a regular item against the rival newspaper. The editors of the *Bremisches Unterhaltungsblatt*, however, perceived the poem's irony directed against *Der Bremer Stadtbote* and reprinted it with appropriate comments.

In this volume the poem is given according to the *Bremisches Unterhaltungsblatt* since the Publishers do not possess a copy of *Der Bremer Stadtbote*. p. 5

[3] As can be seen from Engels' letter to his sister Marie of March 12, 1839 (see this volume, pp. 419-20), this poem was sent to *Der Bremer Stadtbote* in a fuller version. The publication of Th. Hildebrandt's poem *Book Wisdom* was mentioned in the *Bremer Wöchentliche Nachrichten* No. 36, 2. Beilage, S. 2, for March 25, 1839. However, the Publishers do not possess a copy of *Der Bremer Stadtbote* containing this poem. p. 6

[4] "Letters from Wuppertal" is Engels' first journalistic work with which he started his contributions to the *Telegraph für Deutschland*, a progressive Hamburg journal published by the Young Germany literary group. In November 1839 Engels' articles began to appear there under the pseudonym of Oswald (first S. Oswald, then Friedrich Oswald).

The "Letters" evoked a lively response in Barmen and Elberfeld, two neighbouring towns situated in the Wupper valley (in 1930 they merged to form one town, Wuppertal). Wilhelm Blank, a friend of Engels', wrote to Wilhelm

Graeber on May 24, 1839, that all copies of the journal containing the article had been bought up immediately. The Wuppertal philistines were furious with the anonymous author (many believed that the article had been written by some local celebrity, the poet Ferdinand Freiligrath in particular). For the reaction of the Wuppertal bourgeois to the article see also Engels' letter to Wilhelm Graeber written about April 28-30, 1839, in this volume, p. 446. p. 7

[5] *Friends of Light*—a religious trend opposed to pietism (see Note 7), which dominated in the official Lutheran Church. This opposition was one of the expressions of the dissatisfaction of the German bourgeois with Germany's monarchic regime, based on the estates system, in the 1830s and 1840s. p. 7

[6] After 1817, when the Lutherans were united with the Reformists (Calvinists) in a compulsory union, its opponents, the Old Lutherans, split away to form a separate trend defending the "true" Lutheran Church. p. 9

[7] This refers to *pietism*, a trend in the Lutheran Church that emerged in Germany in the 17th century. Distinguished by extreme mysticism, it rejected rites and attached special importance to personal religious experience. p. 10

[8] An allusion to the dispute in 1075-76 between Pope Gregory VII and Henry IV, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, the two protagonists in the struggle for supremacy between ecclesiastical and temporal power. p. 13

[9] After the Vienna Congress (1814-15), many members of the student gymnastic associations, which emerged in the course of the struggle against Napoleonic rule, opposed the reaction of the monarchist landowners and called for the unification of Germany. On October 18, 1817, on the occasion of the tercentenary of the Reformation and the fourth anniversary of the battle of Leipzig, the German students organised the Wartburg festival, which turned into a demonstration against the Metternich regime. In 1819, the student opposition and other free-thinking intellectuals were accused of "demagogy" by the Karlsbad Conference of Ministers of the Chief German States and subjected to reprisals. p. 13

[10] *Hermann* (Arminius)—chief of the Cherusci and other German tribes which defeated the Romans in the Teutoburg Woods (9 A. D.). p. 15

[11] *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung* Nos. 76-80, September 22-October 6, 1838. p. 16

[12] Engels is referring to the review of J. Ch. F. Winkler's book *Harfenklänge* printed in the *Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 208 in December 1838 under the title "Zeichen der Zeit". p. 17

[13] Barmen and Elberfeld were incorporated in the Kingdom of Prussia along with the other territories of the former Dukedom of Berg by decision of the Vienna Congress of 1814-15 and became parts of her Rhine Province. p. 18

[14] Köster's article entitled "Kurze Darstellung der Dichtungsarten" was published in the *Neunter Bericht über die höhere Stadtschule in Barmen*, Barmen, 1837.p. 19

[15] F. Haase's review "Übersicht über 9 lateinische Grammatiken" was printed in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* Nos. 65-70, August 1838, Jena and Leipzig, Ergänzungsblätter. p. 20

[16] J. C. H. Clausen's "Pindaros der Lyriker" was published in the *Programm des Gymnasiums Elberfeld*, 1834. p. 20

[17] *Rektoratsschulen* was the name given to elementary five-class schools in the Rhine Province and Westphalia. p. 20

[18] *Young Germany* (*Junges Deutschland*) — a literary group that emerged in Germany in the 1830s and was under the influence of Heinrich Heine and Ludwig Börne. In their fiction and journalistic works, the writers of this group (also known as Young Literature), Gutzkow, Wienbarg, Mundt, Laube, Jung and others, expressed the opposition sentiments of the petty bourgeois and intellectuals who advocated freedom of conscience and the press, the introduction of a constitution, the emancipation of women, and so on. Their political views were vague and inconsistent; many of them soon became ordinary liberals.

For the *demagogues* see Note 9. p. 21

[19] Engels is referring to the owners of the Barmen trading company J. P. von Eynern & Söhne, where Ferdinand Freiligrath worked as a clerk in 1837-39. p. 21

[20] Engels is referring to the following reviews: Dr. F. Dingelstedt, "Ferdinand Freiligrath. Ein Literaturbild", published in the *Jahrbuch der Literatur*, 1. Jg., Hamburg, 1839, and Moritz Carrière, "Gedichte von Ferdinand Freiligrath, Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1838", published in the *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* No. 8, January 1839, Berlin. p. 21

[21] Allusions to the folk-tale *Die Unkenkönigin* (*The Frog Queen*) can be found in Freiligrath's poem *Schwalbenmärchen*, and to the tale *Schneewittchen* (*Snow-White*) in his poem *Meerfahrt*.

Below Engels mentions Freiligrath's poems printed in the following publications: Freiligrath, *Gedichte*, Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1838; *Prinz Eugen, der edle Ritter* in the *Rheinisches Odeon*. Hg. v. I. Hub, F. Freiligrath u. A. Schnezler, 1. Jg., Coblenz, 1836; Freiligrath, *Der ausgewanderte Dichter* (*Bruchstücke eines unvollendeten Cyklus*). *Sechs Gedichte ohne besondere Überschriften*, published in the *Rheinisches Odeon*, 2. Jg., Düsseldorf, 1838; Freiligrath, *Der ausgewanderte Dichter. Weitere Bruchstücke. Fünf Gedichte ohne einzelne Überschriften*, published in the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* No. 218, September 10, 1836. p. 22

[22] A reference to the second instalment of Freiligrath's cycle of poems *Der ausgewanderte Dichter*, published in the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* No. 218, September 10, 1836 (see Note 21). p. 22

[23] Engels gives this ironical name, *Montanus Eremita* (mountain hermit), to Vincenz Zuccalmaglio, a German writer who under the pen-name of Montanus published, in 1836, the book: *Die Vorzeit der Länder Cleve-Mark, Jülich-Berg und Westphalen*. p. 24

[24] Engels is referring to the following publication: Johann Pol, *Gedichte*, 1. Teil, *Geistliche Gesänge und Lieder*; 2. Teil, *Vermischte Gedichte*, Heedfeld, 1837. p. 25

[25] In this poem Engels expressed his attitude to the weekly *Der Bremer Stadtbote*, to which for fun he had sent several months in succession his poems (including *To the Enemies*, see this volume, p. 5) under the signature of Theodor Hildebrand, passing himself off as its supporter. This poem is also quoted, with minor stylistic changes, in Engels' letter to Wilhelm Graeber written about April 28-30, 1839 (see this volume, pp. 444-45). p. 26

[26] Expressing the attitude of the local bourgeoisie to Engels' "Letters from Wuppertal", the *Elberfelder Zeitung* on April 12, 1839, published an article by

Martin Runkel, its editor, sharply attacking the "Letters" and their author. The "Open Letter to Dr. Runkel" was Engels' reply to this article.

The *Elberfelder Zeitung* published the "Open Letter" with the following footnote: "We found this article in our premises yesterday without knowing who had sent it in. We are printing it word for word since we wish to be *impartial* but, for our part, we would note that we shall defend *our* generally expressed statements in detail only if the Wuppertal letter-writer *names* himself, just as *we* have done." p. 27

[27] An allusion to Martin Runkel's poem *Zu Grabbe's Bildniss* printed in the *Rheinisches Odeon*, 2. Jg., Düsseldorf, 1838.

For the Young Germany writers see Note 18. p. 27

[28] This item was published in the *Telegraph für Deutschland* in the "Kleine Chronik" section. Engels also wrote about the sermon in question by F. W. Krummacher in his letter to Wilhelm Graeber on April 30, 1839 (see this volume, pp. 446-47). p. 29

[29] These are the following publications: *Volksbücher*, hrsg. v. G. O. Marbach, Leipzig, 1838-39; *Deutsche Volksbücher nach den ächtesten Ausgaben hergestellt v. Dr. Karl Simrock*, Berlin, 1839; and *Deutsche Volksbücher, neu gereimt v. K. Simrock*, Berlin, 1839. p. 33

[30] Besides the above-mentioned Marbach edition, the following publications are referred to here: *Der hörnere Siegfried. Eine wunderschöne Historie von dem gehörnten Siegfried. Was wunderliche Ebentheuer dieser theure Ritter ausgestanden, sehr denkwürdig und mit Lust zu lesen*, Cöln (n.d.), and *Buch der schönsten Geschichten und Sagen für Alt und Jung wiedererzählt von Gustav Schwab*, 2 Teile, Stuttgart, 1836-37. p. 34

[31] The publication referred to is *Leben und Thaten des grossen Helden Heinrich des Löwen, Herzog zu Braunschweig*, Einbeck (n.d.). p. 35

[32] On December 10, 1835, the Federal Assembly banned the works by writers of the Young Germany group (see Note 18). Some of them, such as Gutzkow's *Wally, die Zweiflerin*, raised the question of women's emancipation.

The *Federal Assembly* (*Diet*) of the German Confederation (1815-66) consisted of representatives of the German states and was a pillar of the conservative monarchical order in Germany. p. 37

[33] An allusion to Tieck's comedy *Kaiser Octavianus* which was based on a German popular book of the same name and published in *Ludwig Tieck's Schriften*, Bd. 1, Berlin, 1828. p. 37

[34] Gottfried von Strassburg's poem *Tristan und Isolde* was written in the early 13th century. p. 38

[35] *Die neue Bibel* and *Das junge Palästina* are the titles of the parts of Karl Beck's collection of poems *Nächte. Gepanzerte Lieder*, which appeared in Leipzig in 1838. p. 41

[36] In his article "Der Schwabenspiegel" (in the *Jahrbuch der Literatur*, 1. Jg., Hamburg, 1839), Heine criticised the "Swabian poetical school" which comprised a number of poets and literary critics representative of late romanticism, including Ludwig Uhland, Justinus Kerner, Gustav Schwab, Wolfgang Menzel and Gustav Pfizer. p. 42

[37] *Song of Ludwig*—a poem by an unknown medieval poet written in the late 9th century in the Franconian dialect. It glorifies the victory of Ludwig III, King of the Western Franks, over the Normans in 881. p. 42

[38] A reference to Gustav Kühne's book *Weibliche und männliche Charaktere*, 2 Teile, Leipzig, 1838; and to his article "Deutsche Lyrik. Karl Beck, Ferdinand Freiligrath" published anonymously in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* Nos. 223 and 224, November 13 and 15, 1838. p. 42

[39] Engels is referring to the following passage from Ludolf Wienbarg's article "Ludwig Uhland als Dramatiker", included in his book *Die Dramatiker der Jetztzeit*, 1. Heft, Altona, 1839: "Gustav Pfizer has spoken in and out and round about on the character and talent of Uhland, as a pupil about his teacher, as a friend about his friend and not a word about Uhland the dramatist. What should one conclude from this? Simply that a certain younger writer is right in calling the latter mediocre. The pamphlet by Pfizer which I have in mind appeared about two years ago. It compares Uhland with Rückert, or rather, it weighs the talents of the two. Let us say it in passing, rather like a grocer" (p. 13).

Pfizer's pamphlet *Uhland und Rückert. Ein kritischer Versuch* was printed in 1837. p. 42

[40] Beck's poem *Schlaf wohll* included in his collection *Stille Lieder* was originally published in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* No. 126, June 30, 1838. p. 45

[41] Act I of Beck's *Saul* was published in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* Nos. 216-19 for November 4, 5, 7 and 8, 1839.On November 25, the *Allgemeine Theater-Chronik* (No. 143) printed a review by J. P. Lyser entitled "Episoden. Carl Beck als Dramatiker", while the *Telegraph für Deutschland*, in its "Kleine Chronik" section, published an anonymous review of Act I with a note by Karl Gutzkow. p. 45

[42] A reference to Gutzkow's tragedy *König Saul*, which appeared in print shortly before the publication of Act I of Beck's tragedy *Saul*. p. 45

[43] In its issue No. 203, immediately following Engels' article, the *Telegraph für Deutschland* printed an article about Beck by Gutzkow entitled "Ergänzung" ("Supplement") (the end of the article was published in No. 204 under the title "Karl Beck"). In this article Gutzkow subjected Beck's *Stille Lieder* to even sharper criticism, emphasising the "childish nature" of his poetry. p. 46

[44] A reference to the bourgeois revolution of July 1830 in France, the main events of which took place between July 27 and August 2. p. 50

[45] The *Second Silesian School*—a literary trend in Germany in the second half of the 17th century that expressed the sentiments of the feudal nobility. Its main exponents were Christian Hofmannswaldau and Daniel Lohenstein. p. 51

[46] Engels is referring to the following publications: *Gesammelte Werke des Grafen August von Platen. In Einem Band*, Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1839; and *Gedichte aus dem ungedruckten Nachlasse des Grafen August von Platen-Hallermünde. Als Anhang zu den bei Cotta erschienenen Gedichten Platens*, Strassburg, 1839. p. 54

[47] *Pentarchy*—Europe's political system in the period of the Restoration. It was based on the supremacy of the five Great Powers, England, France, Russia, Austria and Prussia. p. 54

[48] This is a translation into German of the poem *A la invención de la imprenta* by Manuel José Quintana, a Spanish poet, politician and supporter of the

18th-century French Enlightenment. The poem was first published in Madrid in 1803 in Quintana's book *Poesias*. Engels' translation was published together with the original in the *Gutenbergs-Album* issued on the occasion of the quatercentenary of the invention of printing (the official date of the invention is 1440). The anniversary was widely celebrated in Germany in June 1840.

Engels' translation, which follows, was his first work to appear in print under his own name.

Wird denn allein des Dichters Stimme singen
Von blut'gem Ehrgeiz und von stolzen Thronen,
Wenn die Drommeten Fama's um ihn klingen,
Die Lippen schwellend, wo die Götter wohnen?
Ward euch so fremd die Scham? Des Preisens Gabe,
Des Ruhmes Strahl mit seinem hellen Lichte
Verschwendet ihr an Männern, welchen ewig
Fluch spendet und Verwünschung die Geschichte?
Erwacht, erwacht! die Wolken überfliege
Der Sang, der scheugeword'ne,
Mit nie geseh'ner Kraft in hehrem Siege!
Und wollt ihr, dass die Welt euch würdig halte
Des Lorbeers, der um eure Stirne blüht,
So sorgt, dass euer Lied
Würdig der Welt und kräftig sich entfalte!

In alter Zeit ward nimmermehr verschwendet
Der Opferduft des Lobes;
An dem Altar wohltätiger Erfindung,
Wohltät'gen Geistes ward er stets gespendet.
Einst kam Saturn, und mit dem mächt'gen Pfluge
Zerteilte er der Erde Mutterbusen,
Da sah der Mensch sich breiten
Lebend'ge Saat rings über dürren Boden,
Zum Himmel steigen seines Dankes Oden,
Sie nennen ihn den Gott der goldnen Zeiten.
Warst du nicht auch ein Gott, der dem Gedanken,
Dem Wort du einen Leib einst hast gegeben,
In Zeichen fesseltest der Rede Leben,
Das sonst entfloh, gehemmt von keinen Schranken?
Verschlungen immer wieder
Hätt' ohne dich sich selbst die Zeit, ins Grab
Ew'gen Vergessens sinkend, tot, hernieder.
Du kamst, und der Gedanke
Sah rasch erweitert seine enge Sphäre,
Die ihn umgrenzt in seiner langen Kindheit.
Ihn trug sein Fittich in die ferne Welt,
Wo mit zukünft'ger Zeit die tatenschwere
Vergangenheit gewalt'ge Zwiesprach hält.
Erleuchter du der Blindheit!
Erfreue dich, Unsterblicher, der Ehre,
Des hohen Ruhmgesanges nun allein,
Die dir gebühren, dem erhabnen Geiste!
Und die Natur, als hätte die Erfindung

Allein genügt, zu zeigen ihre Macht,
Sie hat geruht seitdem, und, geizig, nicht
Ein gleiches Wunder mehr der Welt gebracht.

Endlich erhebt sie sich, ein neues Zeichen
Sich zu erschaffen, und der eis'ge Rhein
Sah Gutenberg erstehn. „Vergebliche Mühen!
Was hilft es euch, dass Leben ihr verleiht
Eurem Gedanken, schreibend,
Wenn er erstirbt, starr in der Dunkelheit
Lethargischen Vergessens ferner bleibend?
Kann ein Gefäss die breiten Wogen alle
Des Ozeans, des tosenden, enthalten?
So können nicht in einem Buch allein
Des Menschengeistes Gaben sich entfalten!
Was fehlt? die Kunst des Flugs? Doch wenn Natur
Nach einem Bilde unzählbare Wesen
Erschuf, wohlan, ihr nach, meine Erfindung!
Dass tausendfach im Echo eine Wahrheit
Erschalle in gewaltiger Verkündung,
Empor sich schwingend mit dem Flug der Klarheit!"

Er sprach's—da ward der Druck, und sieh, Europa
Erstaunt, bewegt, erhebt sich alsobald
Mit lautem Brausen, wie vom Sturmeswinde
Emporgefacht, erschallt
Das grimme Feuer, dessen Flammen schliefen
Verschlossen in der Erde finstern Tiefen.—
O schlimme Burg, dem Irrtum aufgemauert
Durch schnöde Rohheit und Tyrannenwüten!
Es platzte der Vulkan, die Felsen glühten,
Da bebten deine Gründe, schreckdurchschauert!
Wer ist das Ungetüm, des bösen Geistes
Unreine Missgeburt, die ohn' Erröten
Auf dem verfallnen Kapitol den Thron,
Den scheusslichen, sich gründet, und zu töten,
Ja, zu verschlingen drohet alles schon?

Wohl lebt es noch, doch seiner Macht Gebäude
Bricht langsam ein; einst aber stürzt der Wipfel,
Und weithin breiten rings sich die Ruinen.
Also beherrscht den hohen Bergesgipfel
Ein starker Turm auf hoher Felsenzinne;
Des Krieges Söhne haben aufgeschlagen
Die feste Wohnung drinne,
Dort herrschen sie mit der geraubten Macht,
Laut brüllend stürzen sie von da zur Schlacht;
Verlassen bleibt er stehen,
Der Turm, einsam im Wald, und ungesehen.
Noch schaut er, auch gebrechlich, wie vor Zeiten,
Mit droh'ndem Antlitz rings nach allen Seiten.

Einst aber kommt die Zeit, da fällt er nieder,
Er fällt, die Felder ächzen,
Trümmerbedeckt; bis dahin bleibt er freilich
Popanz und Vogelscheuche aller Leute,
Der doch ihr Schreck, ihr Ärgernis war neulich.

Das war der erste Lorbeer, der die Schläfe
Bekränzte der Vernunft; doch kühn erhebt
Sich der Verstand, nach sicherm Wissen dürstend,
Und er umarmt die Welt in ihrem Fluge.
Kopernikus schwingt sich zum Sternenzuge,
Den, undurchdringlich, deckte sonst ein Schleier;
Dort schaut er, wie in ungemessner Ferne
Der leuchtendste der Sterne,
Der uns den Tag bringt, ruht in ew'ger Feier.
Unter der Sohle fühlet Galileo
Der Erde Kugel rollen, und zum Lohne
Gibt ihm Italien einen Kerker, blind;
Und dennoch schifft indes die Erde ohne
Aufhören durch des Raumes Meer geschwind,
Und mit ihr schiffen, Blitzen gleich, die Sterne,
Die schimmernden, im Flug; da ward geschleudert
In ihre Mitte Newtons rascher Geist;
Er folgt, und er versteht sie,
Bestimmend die Geleise
Des Triebs, der sie gescheucht in ihre Kreise.

Was hilft es dir, den Himmel zu erobern,
Zu finden das Gesetz, das ewig regt
Den Luftkreis und das Meer? Den Strahl zu teilen
Des unantastbar'n Lichts, und in die Erde
Dich zu vergraben, und des Goldes Wiege
Und des Kristalles zu ertappen? Kehre
Zum Menschen, Geist! — Er tat's, und warf die schwere
Erbitterung in seine lauten Klagen.
„Wie ist der Sinn mit Blindheit doch geschlagen,
Wie klirrt die wilde Kette,
Die Tyrannei in ihrer Wut geschmiedet,
An diesem Pol und jenem um die Wette,
Und bannt ans Totenbette
Den Menschen, wenn der Knechtschaft er ermüdet!
So sei's nicht mehr!" — Das hörten die Despoten,
Da fühlten sie das Feuer und das Schwert
In der verruchten Hand, zwei sichre Boten.

„Unsinnige! die hohen Scheiterhaufen,
Die schrecklich dorther droh'n mich zu verschlingen,
Die mit der Wahrheit wollen um mich streiten,
Leuchttürme sind's ja, die zu ihr mich leiten,
Und Fackeln, Licht für ihren Sieg zu bringen!
In Liebe sie verlangend

Betet sie an mein Herz, begeistrungstrunken,
Mein Geist schaut sie, ihr folgen meine Schritte,
Nicht vor dem Feu'r, nicht vor dem Schwerte bangend,
Und dennoch sollen wanken meine Tritte?
Kann ich zurück denn setzen
Vielleicht den Fuss? des Tajo Wogen kehren
Niemals zurück zu ihrer ersten Quelle,
Wenn einmal sie zum Meer hinabgeflossen;
Vergebens stellen Berge sich entgegen,
Sie halten ihn in seinem Lauf nicht an;
Ihr jagt auf raschen Wegen
Das Schicksal brausend in den Ozean."

Da kam der Tag, der grosse,
An dem ein Sterblicher sich aus der Schande,
Der allwärts gleichen, sich erhob im Grimme,
Und mit allmächt'ger Stimme
Vor aller Welt es rief: Frei ist der Mensch!
Und enge Grenzen schlugen nicht in Bande
Den heil'gen Ruf; auf seine Schwingen nahm
Das Echo ihn, das Gutenberg erfunden,
Und trug ihn wundersam,
Dass er in einem Augenblick, beflügelt,
Die Berge übersprang, die weiten Meere,
Und in den Winden herrschte, ungezügelt.
Nicht übertönt' ihn der Tyrannen Schrei,
Und kräftig scholl und laut nach allen Seiten
Das Jauchzen der Vernunft: der Mensch ist frei!

Ja, frei, ja frei! o süsses Wort, die Brust
Schwillt, höher klopfend, wenn du ihr erklungen,
Mein Geist, von dir durchdrungen,
Erfüllt von deiner heiligen Begeist'rung,
Schwingt sich empor zu himmlisch heitern Wegen,
Und reisst mich mit in feur'gen Fittichschlägen.
Wo bleibt ihr, die ihr höret
Auf meinen Sang, ihr Sterblichen? Von oben
Seh ich das ehrne Kerkertor des Schicksals
Sich öffnen, und den dichten Schlei'r der Zeiten
Zerreissen — offen liegt vor mir die Zukunft!
Ich sah es klar, nicht ist von nun die Erde
Mehr der Planet, der arme, wo die Ehrsucht,
Der Krieg geherrscht mit grimmiger Gebärde.

Die sind auf ewig beide nun entflohen,
Wie Pest und Sturm, die Peiniger, sich schickten
Zur Flucht weg von der Zone, der bedrückten,
Wenn von dem Pol her eis'ge Winde drohen.
Die Menschen fühlten ihre Gleichheit alle,
Mit ungezähmter Kraft die tapfern Mannen
Erkämpften sie mit lautem Jubelschalle.

Jetzt sind nicht Sklaven mehr und nicht Tyrannen;
Liebe und Friede in der Welt sich breiten,
Liebe und Friede atmet rings die Erde,
„Liebe und Friede!" schallt's durch alle Weiten.
Und droben streckt auf seinem goldnen Throne
Gott seinen Szepter über sie zum Segen,
Und spendet Luft und Freude rings hernieder,
Dass sie auf allen Wegen
In Strömen rinnen, so wie vormals wieder.

Seht ihr sie nicht? seht ihr sie nicht, die Säule,
Die grosse, jenes Denkmal, hehr und prächtig,
Wie hell aufblitzend es die Augen blendet?
So sind nicht jene Pyramiden mächtig,
Der Sklaven Werk, die scheu vor dessen Keule
Gebebt, dem Unterdrückung Ruhm gespendet!
Vor ihm, unabgewendet
Dampft ew'ger Weihrauch schon,
Den Gutenberg der Erdkreis dankbar weihet;
Für seine grosse Wohltat kleiner Lohn!
Ruhm dem, der die unsinn'ge Macht zerschlug
Der pochenden Gewalt, und des Verstandes,
Der Seele Kraft erhob zu raschem Flug!
Ruhm dem, den im Triumph die Wahrheit trug,
Und ewig fruchtbar machte seine Hände!
Dem Weltwohltäter Hymnen ohne Ende! p. 55

[49] *Hegelings* was a pejorative name for the followers of the Hegelian school coined by their opponent Heinrich Leo, the historian and journalist. In 1838 he published in Halle a pamphlet entitled *Die Hegelingen. Actenstücke und Belege zu der s.g. Denunciation der ewigen Wahrheit,* which fiercely attacked the Young Hegelians. p. 64

[50] In his *Kampf und Sieg* Franz Carl Joel Jacoby extolled the Basques for their support of the Carlists in Spain and the struggle waged against the liberals by the ultramontane clergy in Belgium, in particular the intrigues of the Belgian Jesuit Order which he called the "Belgian nightingale".

*Carlists*—an absolutist clerical group in Spain that supported Don Carlos, brother of Ferdinand VII, in his claims to the Spanish throne. The Civil War of 1833-40 unleashed by the Carlists (known as the First Carlist War) was in fact a clash between the Catholic feudal and the liberal bourgeois elements in Spain and ended with the defeat of the Carlists. p. 64

[51] This article appears to have been written in connection with rumours about the proposed suspension of the *Zeitung für den Deutschen Adel,* which started publication in January 1840. However, the newspaper continued to appear until 1844. p. 66

[52] This refers to the attacks by Martin Luther, founder of the Lutheran Church, on the Catholic Church and papism in which he relied on the original Greek texts of the Gospels (hence Engels' comparison of them to "Greek fire"). On October 31, 1517, the beginning of the Reformation in Germany, Luther posted

up on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg his 95 Theses refuting certain dogmas of medieval Catholic faith and containing the fundamentals of Lutheranism. An important place in his subsequent activities was occupied by the translation into German and corresponding interpretation of the New and the Old Testament. He completed his translation of the Bible in 1534. p. 66

[53] Engels is quoting from the "Ankündigung und Einladung zur Subscription auf die mit dem 1. Januar 1840 erscheinende *Zeitung für den Deutschen Adel*", published in the *Sprecher oder Rheinisch-Westphälischer Anzeiger* No. 69, August 28, 1839, and other papers. p. 66

[54] An allusion to the leading article by Fouqué, editor of the *Zeitung für den Deutschen Adel,* published in its first issue on January 1, 1840, under the title "Vorwort an unsere Leser". p. 68

[55] A reference to Kant's book *Zum ewigen Frieden. Ein philosophischer Entwurf,* Königsberg, 1795. p. 69

[56] This work consists of two articles. Engels published them in the *Mitternachtzeitung für gebildete Leser,* a liberal newspaper that appeared in Brunswick, because he wanted to express his views freely on Karl Gutzkow and the Young Germany group (see Note 18), something he could not do in Gutzkow's *Telegraph für Deutschland.* Engels apparently intended to continue the series by dealing with other aspects of the German literary scene in the late 1830s and the early 1840s, but was forced to cease contributing to the *Mitternachtzeitung* because of his differences with its editor, Eduard Brinckmeier (Engels mentions them in his letter to Levin Schücking of July 2, 1840; see this volume, p. 496). p. 71

[57] Gutzkow's article "Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. 1830-1838" contained a criticism of German literature of that period. It was published in the first and only issue of the *Jahrbuch der Literatur,* which appeared in Hamburg in 1839. p. 71

[58] The *première* of Gutzkow's tragedy *Richard Savage oder: Der Sohn einer Mutter* took place on July 15, 1839, in Frankfurt am Main. Originally it was printed privately under the pen-name of Leonhard Falk. It appeared under the author's real name in Leipzig in 1842 in his *Dramatische Werke,* Bd. 1. p. 71

[59] Gutzkow's tragedy *König Saul* was printed in Hamburg in 1839 as a separate book. p. 71

[60] A reference to Gutzkow's *Marino Falieri* and *Hamlet in Wittenberg* published in a collection of his unfinished writings entitled *Skizzenbuch,* Cassel and Leipzig, 1839. p. 71

[61] The scene in question is from Gutzkow's *Wally, die Zweiflerin,* Book Two. p. 72

[62] In the preface to his book *Die Dramatiker der Jetztzeit* (see Note 39) Wienbarg wrote: "I shall begin with *Uhland* because I see in this misunderstood, original and simple dramatist, so childlike in his manhood, to a certain extent the pure, unaffected type of German dramatist" (pp. 7-8). p. 74

[63] Engels is referring to the anonymous article "Moderne Romane" in the *Rheinische Jahrbuch für Kunst und Poesie,* 1. Jrg., Köln, 1840, which reviewed

Gutzkow's novel *Blasedow und seine Söhne*, printed in Stuttgart in 1838, and other works by contemporary writers. p. 79

[64] *Griseldis*, a drama by Friedrich Halm (the pen-name of Ernst Münch-Bellinghausen), was staged in Vienna in 1835 and was a great success. However, when it was published in 1837 it was sharply criticised. p. 80

[65] After the *première* of Gutzkow's *Richard Savage* in Stuttgart, the local weekly *Deutscher Courier* (No. 44, November 3, 1839) carried a review of it entitled "Erste Vorstellung von *Richard Savage, oder der Sohn einer Mutter*, Trauerspiel in 5 Aufzügen von Karl Gutzkow". p. 80

[66] The *première* of *Werner, oder Herz und Welt* took place in Hamburg on February 21, 1840. The play was published in Gutzkow's *Dramatische Werke*, Bd. 1, Leipzig, 1842. p. 80

[67] One of the reasons why Engels wrote this article, "Modern Polemics", the second in his series *Modern Literary Life*, was the publication in the *Telegraph für Deutschland* (No. 3, 1840) of the article "Haben wir einen modernen Styl?" by Ludwig Wihl, a representative of the Young Germany group. Below Engels refers to this article. p. 81

[68] This refers to the satirical comedy by Creizenach, *Der schwäbische Apoll*, published in 1839, which poked fun at the Swabian school (see Note 36).

Beck's article "Literatur in Ungarn" was printed in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* in September 1837 (Nos. 173-81). p. 82

[69] An allusion to the ban in 1835 on works by writers of the Young Germany movement (see Note 32). p. 85

[70] Mundt has no work by this title. In all probability Engels is referring to his book *Charaktere und Situationen. Vier Bücher Novellen, Skizzen, Wanderungen auf Reisen und durch die neue Literatur*, 2 Teile, Wismar, 1837. p. 86

[71] In the second issue of his Altona journal *Freihafen* for 1838, Mundt published an article entitled "Lebenserinnerungen von Münch", reviewing the memoirs of the German historian and publicist Ernst Münch-Bellinghausen which appeared in Karlsruhe in 1836-38. p. 86

[72] Gutzkow's essays *Literarische Elfenschicksale. Ein Märchen ohne Anspielung*, directed against Mundt, were printed in the *Telegraph für Deutschland* in February (Nos. 31, 32, 35 and 36) and April (Nos. 65-68) 1838. The next year they were included in Gutzkow's *Skizzenbuch* under the title *Die literarischen Elfen, Ein Märchen ohne Anspielung*. p. 87

[73] Engels is referring to *Deutschlands jüngste Literatur- und Kulturepoche*, a work by the German writer and journalist Hermann Marggraff that appeared in Leipzig in 1838. p. 88

[74] This article was published anonymously in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* (Nos. 192-93) for October 1-2, 1838; Kühne sharply criticised Gutzkow's literary work and his novels *Seraphine* and *Blasedow und seine Söhne*. p. 90

[75] Heine's article "Der Schwabenspiegel" was published in the *Jahrbuch der Literatur* (1839) in distorted form. In a special statement published in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* on February 8, 1839, Heine renounced his authorship. p. 90

[76] Under the press laws in the states of the German Confederation, only books exceeding 20 printed sheets were not liable to preliminary censorship. p. 91

[77] The article criticising Gutzkow's *Richard Savage* was published in Kühne's *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* (No. 135) on July 13, 1839, under the title "Richard Savage, oder: grosse Geister begegnen sich".

Ludwig Wihl's declaration (*Zeitung für die elegante Welt* No. 102, May 28, 1839) was directed against Heine. The same issue contained a mock reply by Kühne signed *Hektor, Jagdhund bei Hoffmann und Campe in Hamburg.* On April 18-20, 1839, Heine had published in Kühne's newspaper, under the title "Schriftstellernöten", an open letter to Julius Campe, publisher of the *Jahrbuch der Literatur,* accusing Wihl of distorting his article "Der Schwabenspiegel", and calling him Campe's hound (*Jagdhund*). p. 91

[78] The dispute between Beck and Gutzkow started after the latter had published in the *Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 190 (November 1839), in the "Kleine Chronik" section, a note drawing attention to the resemblance, suggestive of imitation, between Beck's *Saul* and Gutzkow's *König Saul.* Beck replied with a sharply-worded declaration in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* of November 25, 1839. Concerning Gutzkow's "Supplement", written later to Engels' critical article "Karl Beck" (published in the *Telegraph für Deutschland*), see Note 43. p. 91

[79] This poem was published in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* on February 8, 1838. p. 94

[80] Thiersch's song *Ich bin ein Preusse* was published in the book: *Lieder und Gedichte des Dr. Bernhard Thiersch, von seinen Freunden in und bei Halberstadt für sich herausgegeben,* Halberstadt, 1833. p. 97

[81] Lot's wife was changed into a pillar of salt for having looked back regretfully at the condemned cities of Sodom and Gomorrah after God had warned Lot to flee from them with his family (Genesis 19). p. 97

[82] The Calvinist Synod, which met in Dordrecht (Holland) from November 13, 1618, to May 9, 1619, condemned the Arminian sect for its non-conformist views and reasserted strictly Calvinist dogmas. p. 97

[83] This refers to the second issue of the book by Ferdinand Freiligrath and Levin Schücking, *Das malerische und romantische Westphalen,* published in Barmen and Leipzig in 1840, some time after the publication of this article. The first issue appeared in 1839. p. 100

[84] The copy of the above-mentioned book with the dedication "In memory of Münster" ("Andenken an Münster") was presented to Engels during his travels round Westphalia in May 1840 by the writer Levin Schücking (see Engels' letter to him of June 18, 1840; this volume, pp. 494-96).

Annette Elisabeth von Droste-Hülshoff's book *Gedichte* came out in Münster in 1838 under the initials D. H. p. 101

[85] The review bore the title "Richard Savage in Leipzig. Correspondenz" and was published in Nos. 95, 97-99 of the *Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst* for April 20, 22-24, 1840. p. 102

[86] The *Gutenberg festival*—the quater-centenary of the invention of printing (see Note 48). p. 103

[87] The *Customs Union (Zollverein)* of German states was set up in 1834. The member states (originally numbering eighteen) established a common customs frontier. Prussia played the leading role in the Union. The Hanseatic towns of Bremen, Lübeck and Hamburg were not members of this Union. p. 105

[88] Here and below Engels plays on the titles of the following works by the Spanish dramatist Calderón: *Mantible Bridge, Doctor of His Honour, The Daughter of the Air, April-and-May Morning, The Constant Prince* and *Life Is a Dream.* p. 110

[89] This report was printed in the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* in the summer of 1841, a year after it was written. As can be seen from Engels' letter to his sister Marie of July 7-9, 1840 (see this volume, pp. 498-500), he made an outing to Bremerhaven on July 5, 1840. It is evident from the report that it was written immediately after the outing.

*Bremerhaven*—an independent town in North-West Germany, Bremen's outer harbour in the mouth of the Weser. In 1939 it became part of Wesermünde. p. 112

[90] Bremen, the capital of an ecclesiastic dukedom in the early Middle Ages and one of the leading Hanseatic ports in the 13th century, was declared a free imperial town in 1646, but later repeatedly came under the rule of various neighbouring foreign and German princes. It resumed the status of a free town by the Final Act of the Vienna Congress in 1815. p. 112

[91] *Patrimonial courts* were feudal courts based on the landowner's right to try and punish his peasants. They were not finally abolished in Germany until 1877. p. 116

[92] The "*Native Americans*" party emerged in the U.S.A. in 1835. It advocated privileges for persons born in the United States. Under its pressure the period of permanent residence in the country for immigrants wishing to acquire U. S. citizenship was increased from 7 to 21 years. p. 117

[93] This refers to the struggle by the rising bourgeoisie of Bremen to abolish the oligarchic system of government by the old merchant aristocracy. Self-government was not introduced in Bremen until April 1849, during the German revolution. It was abolished in 1854 and power again passed to 150 patrician merchant families. p. 119

[94] *Rationalism* here means the trend in Protestant German theology which enjoyed a considerable following in the 18th and the early 19th century. The rationalists sought to combine theology with philosophy and to prove that "divine truths" could be understood by reason. p. 127

[95] The *Song of Anno*, a poem written in the Central German dialect in the late 11th or the early 12th century in praise of Archbishop Anno of Cologne, subsequently canonised. p. 132

[96] *Castra vetera* (ancient camp)—an ancient Roman military station, situated on the left bank of the Rhine, where the city of Xanten later grew up. p. 134

[97] For the *demagogues* see Note 9. The persecution of the demagogues increased in the 1830s, after the July revolution in France, which had a strong impact on the German states. p. 135

[98] Engels wrote this article following the publication, in Leipzig in 1840, of Arndt's book *Erinnerungen aus dem äusseren Leben.* The editors of the *Telegraph für Deutschland* provided the name of the author, *F. Oswald* (Engels' pen-name), with an asterisk referring the reader to the following footnote: "A much discussed publication, reviewed by the *Telegraph.*" p. 137

[99] Engels is comparing Arndt to Eckart, a hero from medieval German tales, who in the Tannhäuser legend stands on guard at Venusberg and warns those approaching of the danger of Venus' charms. p. 137

[100] The *Constitution of 1812,* adopted in the interests of the liberal nobility and the liberal bourgeoisie, limited the king's power by diets and did away with certain survivals of feudalism. The return to power of the feudal and clerical forces after the country's liberation from Napoleon's rule led, in 1814, to the repeal of this constitution, which became the banner of the liberal constitutionalist movement in Spain and other European countries. p. 140

[101] This refers to the congresses of the Holy Alliance (founded by the Vienna Congress on September 26, 1815) held in Aachen (1818), Troppau (1820), Laibach (1821) and Verona (1822), at which the European monarchs and their ministers worked out measures for protecting "legitimist" regimes restored after the victory over Napoleon and for suppressing revolutionary and national liberation movements. p. 140

[102] In 1804, in France and subsequently some countries in Western and South-Western Europe which were dependent on Napoleon (Italy, the Netherlands, the Kingdom of Westphalia, Belgium and others), a Civil Code (*Code Napoléon*) was introduced instead of the archaic private law based largely on pandects, part of the Roman Code drawn up in 528-34 under Justinian I, Emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire. p. 141

[103] The *Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst* Nos. 281 and 282, for November 23 and 24, 1840, carried Arnold Ruge's review of Florencourt's book *Politische, kirchliche und litterarische Zustände in Deutschland. Ein journalistischer Beitrag zu den Jahren 1838 und 1839,* Leipzig, 1840. The review was entitled "Friedrich von Florencourt und die Kategorieen der politischen Praxis". p. 142

[104] The *Burschenschaften* (fraternities) were German student organisations that arose in the course of liberation war against Napoleon. They advocated German unification, but Right-wing nationalistic views were also current among them. p. 142

[105] The *historical school of law*—a trend in German historiography and jurisprudence in the late 18th century. The representatives of this school, Gustav Hugo, Friedrich Karl von Savigny and others, sought to justify the privileges of the nobility and feudal institutions by referring to the inviolability of historical traditions. p. 146

[106] This refers to the London Convention concluded on July 15, 1840, between England, Russia, Austria and Prussia, on the one hand, and Turkey, on the other, on rendering military aid to the Turkish Sultan against the Egyptian Pasha Mohammed Ali, who was supported by France. p. 148

[107] See Note 47. p. 150

[108] This poem was written on the occasion of the transfer, in 1840, of Napoleon I's remains from St. Helena to Paris. p. 153

[109] In Greek mythology, the nymph Arethusa, daughter of Nereus and Doris, pursued by the river-god Alpheus fled, by swimming over the sea or crossing the sea bed, to Sicily where she turned into a spring. Several other springs in ancient Greece bore the name of Arethusa. p. 155

[110] "*Positive philosophy*"—a mystical religious trend (represented by Christian Hermann Weisse, Immanuel Hermann Fichte junior, Franz Xaver von Baader, Anton Günther, and Schelling in his late period) which criticised Hegel's philosophy from the right. The supporters of this trend sought to subordinate philosophy to religion by declaring divine revelation to be the only source of "positive" knowledge, and labelled as "negative" any philosophy which proceeded from rational knowledge. p. 157

[111] Bremen's basic laws dated back to the Middle Ages: the *Tafel* (Table) was drawn up in 1433 and the *Neue Eintracht* (New Concord) in 1534. p. 160

[112] This folk epic was published in Lübeck in 1498 in the Low German dialect (*Reyneke Vos*). p. 160

[113] Engels is referring to Reinhold Köstlin's article "Die deutschen Dichter und ihr Publikum", published in the journal *Europa. Chronik der gebildeten Welt*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1840. p. 162

[114] The words "*après moi le déluge*" ("after me the deluge") are attributed to Louis XV of France. They were also quoted by Frederick II of Prussia, in a letter to Prince Heinrich of Prussia dated October 18, 1782.

The defeat of the Prussian troops by Napoleon in the battle of Jena on October 14, 1806, led to Prussia's surrender. p. 163

[115] On May 31, 1840, Prussia marked the centenary of Frederick II's ascent to the throne. By the *interregnum of twenty years* Engels means the period between 1786, the year of Frederick II's death, and 1806, when the Prussian troops were routed at Jena. p. 164

[116] This essay describes Engels' impressions of his travels in Switzerland and Italy in mid-May 1841. He started from Barmen, to which he had returned in the middle of March 1841 after his almost three-year stay in Bremen. The essay was not completed. Part I was evidently to be followed by Part II, but it did not appear, probably because the *Athenäum*, the Young Hegelian weekly in which this article was printed, was banned in late December 1841. p. 170

[117] In 1839 the radical government of the canton of Zurich offered David Strauss a professorship at Zurich University, which caused a sharp conflict between the radicals and conservative-clerical circles. On September 6, 1839, Strauss' opponents, headed by Bernhard Hirzel, a priest from the village of Pfäffikon (Engels dubbed his followers "Pfäffikon guardians of Zion", i.e., guardians of the orthodox faith), staged an armed demonstration in Zurich. But even before the demonstration took place the government was compelled to withdraw the invitation and later resigned. p. 171

118 Engels is quoting Petrarch's 261st sonnet from his cycle *Canzoniere* ("*In vita e in morte di Madonna Laura*") in the following German translation, possibly his own:

Ich schwang mich auf im Geist zur Wohnung deren,
Die stets ich such' und finde nicht hienieden;
Die Blicke sanft, die einst so streng mich mieden,
So stand sie in des Himmels dritten Sphären.

Die Hand mir fassend, sprach sie leise: Deine Zähren
Versiegen hier, wo nie wir sind geschieden;
Ich bin's, die lange dir geraubt den Frieden,
Um hieher, vor der Zeit, dann heimzukehren.

O dass ein Menschensinn mein Glück verstände!
Dich nur erwart' ich, und den dir so lieben,
Den Leib, den ich dort unten liess schon lange.—

Ach, warum schwieg sie, liess mir los die Hände?
Denn wenig fehlte bei dem süssen Klange,
Dass ich nicht gleich im Himmel dort geblieben. p. 172

119 In the Holy Roman Empire (which comprised Germany, Austria, part of Italy, Bohemia, Burgundy, the Netherlands and other countries, and existed from 962 to 1806) the Emperor was elected, according to the Golden Bull of 1356, by the seven most powerful princes. p. 175

120 This article opens a series of Engels' writings directed against Schelling. By this time Schelling had abandoned many rationalist elements of his former views and had become a prophet of the mystical religious "positive philosophy" (see Note 110). He was invited to Berlin by Frederick William IV of Prussia, as a counterweight to the Hegelian school, particularly the Young Hegelians.

On November 15, 1841, Schelling started his course of lectures at Berlin University. Engels attended them as a non-matriculated student. He had come to Berlin from Barmen in the latter half of September 1841 and did military training there in an artillery brigade until August 1842.

Excerpts from Schelling's lectures which continued until March 18, 1842, are quoted in Engels' works from his own notes. Only a small part of these lectures were printed at the time (*Schelling's Vorlesungen in Berlin, Darstellung und Kritik der Hauptpunkte derselben, mit besonderer Beziehung auf das Verhältniss zwischen Christenthum und Philosophie von Dr. J. Frauenstadt*, Berlin, 1842), the greater part being published only after the author's death in his *Complete Works*. See F. W. Schelling, *Philosophie der Offenbarung. Sämmtliche Werke*, II Abt., Bd. I-IV, Stuttgart und Augsburg, 1856-1861. p. 181

121 This pamphlet is Engels' major work directed against Schelling's mystical religious concepts. It was written at the same time as Schelling was lecturing at Berlin University and is mainly a critique of the opening lectures of Schelling's course.

The pamphlet was published anonymously (it was not until the summer of 1842, in an article against Jung which he signed Friedrich Oswald, that Engels confirmed his authorship; see this volume, p. 295) and soon attracted the attention of

various public circles. Schelling's followers described Engels' criticism as "absurd attacks" (see the *Jahrbuch der deutschen Universitäten*, II, Leipzig, 1842, S. 22), while the Young Hegelians acclaimed the pamphlet. The *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, a Young Hegelian journal, published a special article on the pamphlet (in Nos. 126-28, May 28, 30-31, 1842) by its editor, Arnold Ruge, which noted the author's spirit and lucidity in his criticism of Schelling's views. When Ruge learned later that the pamphlet was written by Engels he wrote to him inviting him to contribute to the journal and addressing him as a "Doctor" (see Engels' reply to Ruge of June 15, 1842, p. 543 of this volume). p. 189

122 Engels is referring to the following publication: G. F. W. Hegel, *Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe durch einen Verein von Freunden des Verewigten. 19 Bücher in 23 Bänden*, Berlin, 1831-1845. By 1841 almost all the books had been published except for 7 and 18. In 1887 *Briefe von und an H.*, hrsg. von K. Hegel, appeared as the 19th and last book. p. 195

123 A reference to Strauss' work *Das Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet*, Bd. 1-2, which was published in Tübingen in 1835-36. p. 196

124 Engels is presumably quoting here from Cuvier's book *Discours sur les révolutions de la surface du globe*, Paris, 1840, p. 53. p. 222

125 The Temple of *Fortuna primigenia*, an ancient Roman deity embodying creative power, was at Praeneste (the ancient name for the town of Palestrina), east of Rome. p. 224

126 The Holy Grail. According to medieval legend, this was a precious cup possessing miraculous powers. p. 239

127 Engels' pamphlet *Schelling, Philosopher in Christ* was written, following his *Schelling and Revelation*, in response to the continued attacks on Hegel's philosophy and progressive philosophical trends made by Schelling in his Berlin lectures from the standpoint of religious mysticism.

The conservative press sharply criticised the author: the pietist *Elberfelder Zeitung* for May 18, 1842, described him as a "young, frivolous scribbler", while the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* accused him of "cynicism" (No. 139, May 15, 1842). The *Rheinische Zeitung*, published with the active co-operation of Young Hegelians, came out in defence of the pamphlet (in No. 138, May 18, and No. 157, June 6, 1842), as did several other progressive German periodicals. Among other things it praised the pamphlet's original satirical form. The author, it wrote on May 18, 1842, had imitated the pietist tone very skilfully. p. 241

128 *Pelagianism* (after the Celtic monk Pelagius)—a Christian trend hostile to the official church and widespread in the Mediterranean countries in the early 5th century. The Pelagians affirmed the freedom of man's will.

*Socinianism* (after the Italian theologian Faustus Socinus)—a religious doctrine widespread in Poland in the late 16th and the early 17th century, and later in certain other European countries. Its followers were critical of the dogmas of the official church and like the Pelagians affirmed the freedom of man's will.

For *rationalism* see Note 94. p. 249

129 The *books of the Sibyls*—a collection of oracles attributed to the legendary prophetess Sibyl. They were used in ancient Rome for official fortune-telling

when danger threatened the state. At the time of the Roman Empire the Jews and Christians also had Sibylline books. p. 252

130 See Note 18. p. 258

131 This was the first article written by Engels for the *Rheinische Zeitung*, an opposition newspaper to which he contributed until the end of 1842. Engels' articles were marked with a special sign *×, as were articles written by the newspaper's other leading correspondents. Some of his articles were signed F. O. (Friedrich Oswald, Engels' main pseudonym).

Soon after the publication of Engels' first article Marx also began to contribute to the *Rheinische Zeitung* (his article "Debates on Freedom of the Press" was published in May 1842). After moving to Cologne in October 1842, he became its editor and held the post until March 17, 1843. p. 265

132 The events mentioned here took place in 1837 after Ernst August, the new King of Hanover, abrogated the moderately liberal constitution of 1833. Hanover's liberal circles strove to have it reintroduced. Their demand found expression in a protest by seven professors at Göttingen University (Albrecht, Dahlmann, Gervinus, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, Ewald and Wilhelm Weber), for which they were dismissed from their posts. Jacob Grimm, Dahlmann and Gervinus were made to leave the country. p. 265

133 See Note 32. p. 266

134 In the autumn of 1841, Bruno Bauer, one of the leaders of the Young Hegelians, was suspended from teaching at Bonn University by Eichhorn, the Prussian Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine. In March 1842, he was dismissed from his post as lecturer in theology on account of his atheistic views and opposition speeches. Bauer's dismissal evoked sharp protests from radical and liberal intellectuals.

For *Hegelings* see Note 49. p. 270

135 Lectures given by Philipp Konrad Marheineke in Berlin University were published in 1842-43 in two books: Ph. Marheineke, *Einleitung in die öffentlichen Vorlesungen über die Bedeutung der Hegelschen Philosophie in der christlichen Theologie*, Berlin, 1842; Ph. Marheineke, *Zur Kritik der Schellingschen Offenbarungsphilosophie*, Berlin, 1843. In the latter book the author mentions Engels' anonymous pamphlet *Schelling und die Offenbarung* (*Schelling and Revelation*).

In quoting Marheineke's lectures and the lectures given by Leopold Henning, Engels used the notes which he made during the lectures. p. 270

136 This article is marked with the figure I in the *Rheinische Zeitung*. Presumably Engels wanted to continue it, but this intention did not materialise. p. 274

137 The great festivals in Athens, in honour of Athena, the tutelary goddess of the city. The *Greater Panathenaea* were celebrated with especial magnificence in the third year of each Olympiad and were accompanied by contests of poets and musicians. In other years the festival was known as the *Lesser Panathenaea*. p. 275

138 The *Federal Act* was part of the Final Act of the Vienna Congress. It was signed on June 8, 1815, and proclaimed the German Confederation, which originally comprised 34 independent states and 4 free cities. The Federal Act intensified

the political disunity of Germany and preserved the absolutist feudal regime in the German states. p. 277

139 A reference to a review of Johann Michael Leupoldt's *Geschichte der Gesundheit und der Krankheiten* (Erlangen, 1842) by Heinrich Leo, an opponent of the Hegelian philosophy, who called Hegel's adherents by the contemptuous name of "Hegelings" (see Note 49). This review was published in the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung* Nos. 36 and 37, May 4 and 7, 1842. The quotations given by Engels are from No. 36, except for the last one, which he took from No. 37. p. 281

140 Engels appears to be referring to the revolts against the July monarchy, which occurred in a number of industrial centres in France in the 1830s. In November 1831 the weavers of Lyons rose in a revolt which was followed, in June 1832, by an armed uprising of the Paris workers led by the petty-bourgeois republicans. A second revolt of the Lyons workers broke out in April 1834 and was supported by armed struggle under republican slogans in Paris, Saint-Etienne, Grenoble, Clermont-Ferrand and other towns. Both revolts in Lyons were an important landmark in the history of the proletariat's struggle for liberation and marked a step forward in the independent class movement of the proletariat. p. 283

141 This article about Jung's book marked Engels' final break with the Young Germany literary group (see Note 18), whose political and ideological views he had begun to question earlier. When he moved to Berlin in September 1841 and made contact with the Young Hegelians he became increasingly convinced that political half-heartedness and hostility to philosophical radicalism of the Young Germany movement made it incapable of becoming the exponent of progressive ideas and the champion of consistent struggle against outdated institutions. In December 1841, he ceased contributing to Gutzkow's journal, *Telegraph für Deutschland*, and later decided publicly to dissociate himself from the Young Germany group and to subject the weak aspects of their outlook and literary activity to open criticism. This he did in the *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, a journal edited by the Young Hegelian Arnold Ruge.

In reply to Engels' criticism Jung wrote a scornful article entitled "Ein Bonbon für den kleinen Oswald, meinen Gegner in den *Deutschen Jahrbüchern*" (*Königsberger Literatur-Blatt* No. 42, July 20, 1842). p. 284

142 Engels is hinting at the similarity between Jung's ideological views and the mysticism of Schelling and other exponents of "positive philosophy" (see Note 110). p. 284

143 A reference to Arnold Ruge's review of Jung's book, *Königsberg in Preussen und die Extreme des dortigen Pietismus*, published in 1840. The review, entitled "Die Restauration des Christentums", appeared in the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* Nos. 153-55, December 27-29, 1841, that is, after the journal had changed its title. (From July 1841 Ruge's journal *Hallische Jahrbücher* appeared under the title of *Deutsche Jahrbücher*.) Engels uses the old title. p. 285

144 *Nothing learnt, nothing forgotten.* This phrase is commonly thought to have been coined by Talleyrand in reference to the Bourbons. Its origin, however, goes back to Admiral de Panat who, in 1796, said about the Royalists: "*Personne n'a su ni rien oublier ni rien prendre* (Nobody has been able to forget anything or learn anything)." p. 285

[145] A reference to Schelling's preface to the German edition of Victor Cousin's *Über französische und deutsche Philosophie* (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1834). In discussing Cousin's attitude to Hegel, Schelling completely ignored Hegel's role in the development of German and world philosophy. See p. XXIII. p. 294

[146] Eduard Meyen's review of Jung's *Vorlesungen über die moderne Literatur der Deutschen* appeared in the *Rheinische Zeitung* Nos. 149-51, May 29-31, 1842. p. 296

[147] An allusion to Jung's intention to become a preacher after graduating from the theological faculty, an intention which did not materialise. p. 297

[148] In late 1841, the editors of the *Athenäum*, a Young Hegelian journal, gave a reception in Berlin in honour of Karl Theodor Welcker, a deputy of the Baden Provincial Diet and member of the liberal opposition in Germany. The reception was used as a pretext for suppressing the journal in December of that year. p. 298

[149] Engels is referring to the censorship instruction issued by the Prussian Government on December 24, 1841, and published in the semi-official *Allgemeine Preussische Staats-Zeitung* on January 14, 1842. In word the instruction disapproved of the restrictions imposed on literary activity, but in fact it preserved and even tightened government control over the press under the cover of phrases about liberal and moderate censorship.

Marx criticised the instruction in his article "Comments on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction" (see present edition, Vol. 1, pp. 109-31). p. 298

[150] Engels would seem to have in mind Ludwig Uhland, Paul Pfizer, Friedrich Römer and Gustav Duvernoy, prominent leaders of the liberal opposition in the Württemberg Provincial Diet which was re-elected in 1833 after being dissolved the year before. p. 299

[151] In 1841 the Baden Chamber of Deputies was dissolved by Grand Duke Leopold on account of its conflict with the Baden Government over the latter's refusal to grant two state officials leave for executing their functions as deputies. The Chamber did not resume its work until after new elections held in January 1842. p. 299

[152] During the 1841-42 elections Itzstein was elected to the Second Chamber of the Baden Provincial Diet not from the Schwetzingen constituency, whose deputy he had been for many years, but from another one. p. 299

[153] Engels is referring to the article "Aufsätze über inländische Gegenstände. XVI. Ein Rückblick", which appeared in the *Spenersche Zeitung* Nos. 137-38, June 16 and 17, 1842, and was marked with two asterisks. He calls its author "our asterisk man" and makes a play on the words *Ein Rückblick* (a review). p. 300

[154] See Note 149. p. 300

[155] In the *Rheinische Zeitung* this article was printed slightly abridged and revised by the editors. In this volume it is published in its original form, according to Engels' manuscript. The most important discrepancies between the manuscript and the newspaper version are given in the footnotes. p. 304

[156] Promulgated in 1794, the Prussian Law reflected the backwardness of feudal Prussia in the sphere of law and the judiciary. In his article Engels quotes excerpts from the Prussian Law from the publication *Allgemeines Landrecht für die Preussischen Staaten*, Berlin, 1794, Teil II, Titel 20. p. 304

[157] Engels is referring to Johann Jacoby, author of the anonymous pamphlet *Vier Fragen beantwortet von einem Ostpreussen*, Mannheim, 1841, in which he criticised the Prussian state system and called for a constitution in Prussia. This pamphlet resulted in legal proceedings against its author. Although in its verdict of April 20, 1842, the Berlin court acquitted Jacoby of high treason, he was nevertheless sentenced to two and a half years of imprisonment for disrespectful criticism of the laws of the land and *lèse-majesté*. It was only the Senate of Appeal of the Supreme Court that unconditionally acquitted Jacoby in its ruling of January 20, 1843.

In 1842, during the judicial inquiry, Jacoby published a pamphlet in Switzerland entitled *Meine weitere Vertheidigung wider die gegen mich erhobene Beschuldigung der Majestätsbeleidigung und des frechen, unehrerbietigen Tadels des Landesgesetzes*, Zürich und Winterthur, 1842. Engels is quoting both pamphlets by Jacoby. p. 305

[158] *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preussischen Staaten*, Berlin, 1819, p. 232. p. 305

[159] See Note 149. p. 310

[160] This poem is a parody on the struggle between the Young Hegelians and the conservative opponents of the Hegelian philosophy (Sack and others) who took part in the slander campaign against Bruno Bauer. The poem was written as a protest against Bruno Bauer's dismissal from Bonn University in late March 1842 (see Note 134). Engels wrote it together with Bruno's brother Edgar.

The poem was widely commented on in the German and Swiss press. Its publication was announced in the radical Zurich paper *Schweizerischer Republikaner* on December 9, 1842 (No. 98). Excerpts from it were reprinted in several Leipzig periodicals, among them *Freikugeln* No. 52, December 30, 1842. Comments on it appeared in the *Hamburger Literarische und Kritische Blätter* (No. 220, December 19, 1842) and the *Hamburger Neue Zeitung* (No. 303, December 31, 1842). p. 313

[161] Engels is referring to the fact that, under the pressure of clerical and conservative circles, the government of the canton of Zurich cancelled its invitation to David Strauss to lecture at Zurich University in 1839 (see Note 117). p. 321

[162] An allusion to Bruno Bauer's transfer as university lecturer from Berlin to Bonn in 1839. p. 325

[163] See Note 110. p. 328

[164] "The Free"—the Berlin group of Young Hegelians which was formed in the first half of 1842 and was led by Edgar Bauer, Eduard Meyen, Ludwig Buhl and Max Stirner (pseudonym of Caspar Schmidt). Its members advocated radical and atheistic views and condemned the half-heartedness of liberalism.

The fact that "The Free" lacked any positive programme and ignored the realities of political struggle soon led to differences between them and the

representatives of the revolutionary-democratic wing of the German opposition movement. A sharp conflict arose between "The Free" and Marx in the autumn of 1842, after Marx had become editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* (see present edition, Vol. 1, pp. 393-95).

During his stay in Berlin Engels associated closely with "The Free" but, unlike many of them, he held that it was necessary to go beyond purely atheistic propaganda and take part in the actual struggle for political liberties and democracy. Engels' revolutionary-democratic convictions, which found expression in the satirical poem *The Insolently Threatened Yet Miraculously Rescued Bible,* together with his developing materialistic outlook, led to his parting company with "The Free" and the Young Hegelian trend in general. p. 332

165 An ironical allusion to the decisions of the Federal Diet (see Note 32), directed against the opposition movement in Germany (in particular against radical journalism and literature). The Federal Diet assembled in the free city of Frankfurt am Main. p. 340

166 See Note 49. p. 341

167 See Note 164. p. 353

168 On March 18, 1842, when Schelling finished his lectures on the "philosophy of revelation", Berlin students organised a torchlight procession in the Leipziger Strasse, where the philosopher lived. p. 353

169 The *Commissions of the Estates* in the Landtags (provincial diets), to which Engels is referring here, were instituted in Prussia in June 1842. Elected by the Landtags from their deputies according to the estates principle, they formed a single advisory body known as the "United Commissions", which the government intended to convene in Berlin on October 18, 1842. With the help of this body, which was a mockery of a representative institution, Frederick William IV hoped to enforce new taxes and obtain a loan. p. 353

170 *Valhalla* (from the name given in Norse mythology to the abode of the souls of slain warriors)—a huge building near Regensburg erected in 1841 by Ludwig I, King of Bavaria. Busts of many famous Germans were collected there.

*Walhalla's Genossen, geschildert durch König Ludwig den Ersten von Bayern, dem Gründer Walhalla's* was published in Munich in 1842; it contained biographies of Germans whose busts were exhibited in Valhalla. p. 353

171 The problem of centralisation was discussed in the *Rheinische Zeitung* on several occasions. An article by Moses Hess, entitled "Deutschland und Frankreich in Bezug auf die Centralisationsfrage", appeared in the paper's supplement on May 17, 1842. The author discussed the problem from an abstract, nihilist point of view, which prompted Marx to enter into a polemic with him. Marx, however, did not finish the article he planned. Its beginning exists in manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 1, pp. 182-83).

On May 29, 1842, the *Rheinische Zeitung* began publishing excerpts from *De la Centralisation,* a pamphlet by Louis Cormenin which appeared in Paris in 1842 under the pseudonym of Timon. Engels used this occasion to express his views on the issue and on West-European liberalism in general. p. 355

[172] *Huguenot wars*—the religious wars in France between the Catholics and Protestant Calvinists (the Huguenots). They lasted, with intermissions, from 1562 to 1594 and resulted in the consolidation of royal power, whose mainstay was the Catholic Church. During these wars Paris was the stronghold of Catholicism, and the southern provinces of France were the centre of the Huguenot movement. p. 357

[173] A representative body in medieval France. It consisted of representatives of the three estates of clergy, nobles and commons and sanctioned the levying of taxes and money subsidies to the king. Under the absolutist regime the states-general were not convened for 175 years, from 1614. They met in May 1789, at the time of the maturing bourgeois revolution, and on June 17 were transformed by the deputies of the third estate into a National Assembly, which proclaimed itself a Constituent Assembly on July 9 and became the supreme organ of revolutionary France. p. 358

[174] Engels wrote this article for the radical monthly *Der deutsche Bote aus der Schweiz* which Georg Herwegh planned to publish in Zurich in 1842 in place of a journal appearing there under the same name. Marx was also invited to contribute, but the new journal did not materialise and the articles intended for it were published in the summer of 1843 as a collection entitled *Einundzwanzig Bogen aus der Schweiz.* p. 360

[175] In 1841 the government of Frederick William IV granted the right to establish their own church to the Old Lutherans, the faction opposing the 1817 compulsory union between the Lutherans and the Reformists (Calvinists) (see Note 6). p. 363

[176] In 1837, the Archbishop of Cologne was arrested and accused of high treason for his refusal to submit to the demands of Frederick William III, King of Prussia. This arrest led to the conflict known as the "ecclesiastical discord" or "Cologne discord". At its root lay the controversy over the religion of children born into mixed Catholic and Protestant families. The conflict came to an end in 1841, under Frederick William IV, when the Prussian Government gave in to the Catholic Church. p. 363

[177] *Provincial diets* (*Landtags*) were instituted in Prussia in 1823. They were composed of the heads of princely families and representatives of the nobility, the towns and the rural communities. The estates principle of representation, coupled with a system of election based on a high tax and property qualification, ensured the predominance of the nobility in the Landtags. The jurisdiction of the provincial diets was limited to matters of local economy and administration. They could also express an opinion on government bills submitted for discussion. p. 365

[178] Engels is referring to the solemn promises given by Frederick William IV in 1840 when he accepted the oath of allegiance from the deputations of various Prussian provinces and towns, Königsberg, Breslau and others; the King said he would "concern himself with the welfare of all estates and religions". p. 365

[179] This article was the first one sent by Engels to the *Rheinische Zeitung* from England.

After finishing his military service as a volunteer, Engels returned from Berlin to Barmen about October 10, 1842. In the latter half of November he was sent

to England to study commerce at a cotton mill in Manchester which was owned by a firm of which his father was a partner. On his way from Berlin to Barmen and again before his departure to England Engels visited the editorial office of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne to discuss his future work on the newspaper. During his second visit to Cologne, at the end of November 1842, Engels met Marx who was the editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* at the time. This first personal encounter was somewhat cool since Marx disagreed strongly with the Berlin group of "The Free" to which Engels then belonged. This, however, did not prevent him from forming a high opinion of Engels as a prospective English correspondent of the newspaper. Engels sent his first item from England immediately after his arrival there. p. 368

[180] The *People's Charter* containing the demands of the Chartists was published on May 8, 1838, as a Bill to be submitted to Parliament. It consisted of six points: universal suffrage (for men of 21 and over), annual parliaments, vote by ballot, equal electoral areas, no property qualifications for candidates for Parliament, and payment for M.P.s. p. 368

[181] These laws, passed in 1651 and subsequent years, forbade the transportation of English goods in foreign vessels; they were repealed in 1849. p. 373

[182] Engels is referring to a wave of strikes which in August 1842 swept over several industrial districts of England, including Lancashire and Yorkshire. In some areas the strikers had armed clashes with troops and police. p. 373

[183] See Note 105. p. 375

[184] The *Corn Laws* (first adopted in England as far back as the 15th century) introduced high import tariffs on agricultural produce in order to maintain high prices on the home market. In 1815 the import of foreign grain was prohibited as long as its price in England was below 80s. per quarter (according to the 1822 Act—below 70s. per quarter). In 1828, a sliding-scale of duties was introduced according to which import tariffs on grain were raised when its prices on the home market fell and lowered when the price of grain went up.

In 1838 the Manchester factory owners Cobden and Bright founded the *Anti-Corn Law League,* which demanded the lifting of the corn tariffs and urged unlimited freedom of trade for the purpose of weakening the economic and political power of the landed aristocracy and reducing workers' wages.

The struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the Corn Laws ended in 1846 with their repeal. p. 376

[185] See Note 182. p. 379

[186] The *Reform Bill,* enacted on June 7, 1832, by reforming the basis of parliamentary representation, effectively placed political power in the hands of the industrial capitalists and their middle-class followers. No electoral rights were given to the workers and small property owners, who were the real driving force of the reform movement.

*Catholic emancipation*—the lifting by the English Parliament in 1829 of restrictions on the rights of Catholics. The Catholics, most of whom were Irish, were granted the right to stand for election to Parliament and to hold certain government offices. Simultaneously, the property qualification was raised fivefold.

For the struggle to abolish the Corn Laws see Note 184. p. 380

[187] Engels did not carry out his intention at the time, but subsequently the struggle for the repeal of the Corn Laws in England was a frequent theme of his journalistic articles and major works. p. 381

[188] Most of the extant letters by the young Engels (to his sister Marie and his schoolfriends, the brothers Friedrich and Wilhelm Graeber, and other people) were written in Bremen. Between July 1838 and March 1841 Engels worked there as a clerk at a large trading house belonging to Consul Leupold. In his spare time he improved his education and engaged in literary and journalistic work. p. 385

[189] A reference to the pamphlet *Jacob Grimm über seine Entlassung* (published in Basle in 1838) written in connection with the dismissal, in 1837, of seven liberal-minded professors from Göttingen University (see Note 132).
For the Cologne affair or "Cologne discord" see Note 176. p. 389

[190] This part of the letter is written in rhymed prose and Engels jokingly calls it "my *Makamas*", alluding to the picaresque novel in Arabic, Persian and Jewish literature of the Middle Ages. p. 397

[191] See Note 18. p. 411

[192] Engels is referring to Karl Gutzkow's review of *Ahasver*, a poem by Julius Mosen. The review was printed in the *Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 124, August 1838. p. 412

[193] A reference to Theodor Creizenach's article, "Gutzkow über *Ahasver*", published in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* No. 189, September 27, 1838. p. 412

[194] A reference to a collection of ballads by Eduard Duller, published in Munich in 1831 under the title *Die Wittelsbacher*; many of these ballads were included in a German reader compiled by G. Hüllstett, *Sammlung ausgewählter Stücke aus den Werken deutscher Prosaiker und Dichter, zum Erklären und mündlichen Vortragen für die unteren und mittleren Klassen von Gymnasien*, 2 Teile, Düsseldorf, 1830-1831. p. 413

[195] Engels has in mind Eduard Duller's introduction to Grabbe's play *Die Hermannsschlacht*. p. 413

[196] Engels' letter to Wilhelm Graeber mentioned here has not come to light. p. 415

[197] See Note 12. p. 415

[198] The issue of the newspaper *Der Bremer Stadtbote* in which this letter by Engels was published has not come to light. p. 420

[199] Wolfgang Menzel's review of *Wally, die Zweiflerin*, a novel by Karl Gutzkow, was published in the *Literatur-Blatt* Nos. 93 and 94 for September 11 and 14, 1835, and accused Gutzkow of holding immoral and blasphemous views. This review was one of the pretexts used by the Prussian Government for banning on November 14, 1835, the works by the writers of the Young Germany movement. On December 10, a decision to this effect was adopted by the Federal Diet (see Note 32). p. 421

[200] See Note 18. p. 421

[201] A reference to Karl Gutzkow's critical article "Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. 1830-1838", published in 1839 (see Note 57). p. 422

[202] See Note 36. p. 422

[203] A reference to a publishing house in Cologne called after Pierre Marteau, a fictitious publisher under whose trademark books and pamphlets in French, Dutch and German were printed in the 17th-19th centuries. p. 422

[204] Engels is presumably referring to a book by F. Marlow (the pseudonym of the poet Hermann Ludwig Wolfram), *Faust. Ein dramatisches Gedicht in drei Abschnitten*, published in Leipzig in 1839.

Raupach was the author of many philistine plays on historical subjects. p. 427

[205] In his article "Über den Charakter des Wilhelm Tell in Schillers Drama", which appeared in the *Dramaturgische Blätter*, Ludwig Börne sharply criticised Schiller's hero, calling him a downright philistine who was more like a petty bourgeois than a "bold mountaineer". p. 449

[206] The March 1839 issue of the *Athenäum für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Leben*, a journal published in Nuremberg, gave the following appraisal of Engels' "Letters from Wuppertal": "In several issues of the *Telegraph* for March of this year we find a really true picture of religious life in Elberfeld and Barmen. Krummacher is depicted very authentically in a few characteristic strokes." p. 450

[207] See Note 49. p. 451

[208] See Note 176. p. 453

[209] See Note 117. p. 460

[210] See Note 99. p. 464

[211] Engels is referring to the decision of the Federal Diet to ban works by the writers of the Young Germany movement (see Note 32 and Note 199). Karl Gutzkow's novel *Wally, die Zweiflerin* was one of the pretexts for this decision and also for arresting and prosecuting the author. Gutzkow was arrested in late November 1835, and on January 13, 1836, sentenced to one month's imprisonment for "blasphemous views, disrespect for the Christian faith and the Church and depicting immoral situations". p. 465

[212] For Börne's essay on Schiller's Wilhelm Tell see Note 205.

It was evidently about this time that Engels began translating works by Shelley, who was one of his favourite poets. In 1840, he consulted the radical German writers Levin Schücking and Hermann Püttmann on the preparation and publication of a collection of Shelley's poems (see this volume, pp. 494-95). Engels' translations have not come to light. p. 467

[213] Professor Eduard Gans died on May 5, 1839, and was buried in Berlin. He supported the Hegelian school, and his popularity with the students aroused the concern of the Prussian Government. p. 467

[214] On pp. 147-62 of Volume 3 of *Deutschland und die Deutschen*, published in Altona in 1840, Beurmann gives a description of Barmen and Elberfeld

(Wuppertal) that is reminiscent in many respects of Engels' "Letters from Wuppertal". p. 471

215 Engels is referring to the German translation of Roman Soltyk's book *La Pologne. Précis historique, politique et militaire de sa révolution*, T. I-II, Paris, 1833. This translation appeared in Stuttgart in 1834 under two titles: *Polen, geographisch und historisch geschildert. Mit einer vollständigen Geschichte der Jahre 1830 und 1831. Von einem Augenzeugen* and *Polen und seine Helden im letzten Freiheitskampfe. Nebst einem kurzen Abriss der polnischen Geschichte seit ihrem Beginne bis zum Jahre 1830 von dem Grafen Soltyk.* p. 472

216 In his *Odysseus Redivivus*, a work which has not come to light, Engels apparently described one of the heroes of the national liberation struggle waged by the Greeks against Turkish rule in 1821-25.

Engels sympathised deeply with the struggle of the Greek people for their freedom even when he was quite young. This is evident from his unfinished *Pirate Tale* (see this volume, pp. 557-71) which he wrote while still at school. p. 472

217 Engels is quoting a parody on a poem by the 18th-century German writer Count Friedrich Leopold von Stolberg in which an old Swabian knight is speaking to his son (*Sohn, da hast Du meinen Speer*). p. 475

218 Engels is referring to the book *Darlegung der Haupt-Resultate aus den wegen der revolutionären Complotte der neueren Zeit in Deutschland geführten Untersuchungen. Auf den Zeitabschnitt mit Ende Juli 1838*, Frankfurt am Main.

This book contained documents of the central investigation commission of the German Confederation in Frankfurt am Main, which inquired into the activities of the "demagogues", an opposition movement involving students and people from other social strata (see Note 9). p. 480

219 Engels is referring to the first article in David Strauss' collection *Charakteristiken und Kritiken. Eine Sammlung zerstreuter Aufsätze aus den Gebieten der Theologie, Anthropologie und Aesthetik*, Leipzig, 1839. The article is entitled "Schleiermacher und Daub in ihrer Bedeutung für die Theologie unsrer Zeit". p. 486

220 See Note 216. p. 488

221 The article attacking *Darstellung und Kritik des modernen Pietismus*, a book by the Young Hegelian Dr. Christian Märklin, was published in the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung* (Nos. 1-8, January 1, 4, 8, 11, 15, 18, 22 and 25, 1840) under the title "Vorwort". p. 489

222 *Parsees*—members of a religious sect in India and Iran deifying fire, air, water and earth; adherents of Zoroastrianism.

*Libertines*—members of a pantheistic sect in France and Switzerland in the middle of the 16th century; they were democratic in nature and fought against Calvin and his followers, but were defeated. p. 489

223 Engels is referring to the first, sixth and seventh articles by David Strauss in his collection *Charakteristiken und Kritiken*: I. "Schleiermacher und Daub in ihrer Bedeutung für die Theologie unsrer Zeit"; VI. "Kerner, Geschichten Besessener neuerer Zeit"; VII. "Kerner, Eine Erscheinung aus dem Nachtgebiete der Natur...". p. 490

[224] A reference to the article "Vorwort des Herausgebers zum zehnten Jahrgange", published in the *Literarischer Anzeiger für christliche Theologie und Wissenschaft überhaupt* Nos. 1 and 2, 1840. p. 490

[225] A reference to the marriage feast at Cana at which Christ turned water into wine (St. John, Ch. 2). p. 490

[226] A reference to Friedrich Mallet's article "Vorwort" in the *Bremer Kirchenbote* Nos. 1 and 2, January 12 and 19, 1840. p. 491

[227] Rulemann Friedrich Eylert, court preacher and confidant of Frederick William III, made this speech on January 19, 1840, in the *Rittersaal* at the royal palace in Berlin. It was published in the *Allgemeine Preussische Staats-Zeitung* No. 20, January 20, 1840. p. 492

[228] During the war against Napoleon, Frederick William III, King of Prussia, recognised the Spanish Constitution of 1812 (see Note 100). In December 1822, however, the Verona Congress of the Holy Alliance adopted a decision, sponsored by the Emperors of Russia and Austria and the Prussian King, sanctioning an armed intervention by France against revolutionary Spain. On April 7, 1823, French troops invaded Spain, the absolute power of Ferdinand VII was restored and the 1812 Constitution again abrogated (it was first declared null and void by the clerical and aristocratic circles in May 1814 but then restored during the second Spanish revolution of 1820-23). p. 493

[229] *Carbonari* (from *carbonaro*—a coal man)—members of secret conspiratorial societies in Italy and France in the opening decades of the 19th century. In Italy their aim was national liberation and the unification of the country, and certain political reforms; in France, the overthrow of the Bourbons. p. 493

[230] Engels is speaking about the dedication in a volume of poems by Annette Elisabeth von Droste-Hülshoff, which he received as a present from Levin Schücking when visiting Münster (see Note 84). p. 494

[231] Engels is referring to Levin Schücking's review of poems by Annette Elisabeth von Droste-Hülshoff, which was printed in the *Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 170, October 1838. p. 494

[232] See Note 212. p. 494

[233] In one of the sections of the article entitled "Tagebuch aus Berlin", which appeared in the *Telegraph für Deutschland* in June and July 1840, Karl Gutzkow attacked the *Hallische Jahrbücher*, a journal published by the Young Hegelians (see issue No. 97, June 1840). p. 496

[234] A reference to the following books by Hermann Püttmann: *Die Düsseldorfer Malerschule und ihre Leistungen seit der Errichtung des Kunstvereines im Jahre 1829*, Leipzig, 1839, and *Chatterton*, Barmen, 1840. p. 497

[235] Engels is referring to Coleridge's poems translated into German by Levin Schücking. p. 497

[236] In the article mentioned here Engels criticised the writings of the Young Germany literary group and condemned the unprincipled dissension within it. He did not break with this group, however, until a much later date, and contributed to Gutzkow's *Telegraph für Deutschland* until the end of 1841. p. 497

[237] The *Blätter zur Kunde der Literatur des Auslands* for June 7, 1840, contained Schücking's translations of two poems by Shelley and three by Coleridge. p. 497

[238] Music to the words of the Catholic hymn, *Stabat mater dolorosa,* was set by many composers, including Pergolese, Palestrina and Rossini. p. 523

[239] See Note 49. p. 527

[240] The poem by Robert Prutz to which Engels is referring was published as a separate publication in Leipzig in 1840. p. 528

[241] In late March 1841 Engels returned to his parents in Barmen after finishing his term of service at the Bremen office of Heinrich Leupold's trading firm. p. 532

[242] Engels wrote to his sister Marie from Bremen on March 8, 1841, about his intention to make a journey to Italy (see this volume, p. 529), but he did not go there until the middle of May. On the way he visited Basle and Zurich and then crossed the Alps at Splügen. His travel impressions are described in the unfinished essay "Wanderings in Lombardy" (see this volume, pp. 170-80). p. 532

[243] Engels decided to go to Berlin for a term of military training as a volunteer in an artillery brigade, and also to attend lectures at Berlin University and make closer contacts with radical scientists and writers.

Engels' subsequent letters to Marie were sent from Berlin, where he arrived in the latter half of September 1841. p. 534

[244] Karl Werder's tragedy *Columbus* was first performed on January 7, 1842, at the Royal Opera in Berlin. Excerpts from Beethoven's symphonies were played before the curtain went up and between the acts. p. 538

[245] Engels' term of military service expired in early October 1842. p. 546

[246] A reference to Jung's reply to Engels' article "Alexander Jung, 'Vorlesungen über die moderne Literatur der Deutschen'". Jung's reply was printed in the *Königsberger Literatur-Blatt* No. 42, July 20, 1842, under the ironical title of "Ein Bonbon für den kleinen Oswald, meinen Gegner in den *Deutschen Jahrbüchern*" (see Note 141). p. 546

[247] *Argonauts* (Greek mythology)—the heroes who sailed with Jason in the *Argo* to Colchis in quest of the Golden Fleece guarded by the dragon. p. 553

[248] Engels wrote this poem in Greek and read it at his school's public celebrations in Elberfeld on September 15, 1837. The theme was taken from the Greek myth about the war waged by Argos against Thebes. The campaign was led by Polynices, son of King Oedipus, against his brother Eteocles, who had usurped power in Thebes. Aeschylus' tragedy *Seven against Thebes* was based on this myth. p. 572

[249] A reference to a school report from the Elberfeld gymnasium, which Engels entered in October 1834. Prior to this he attended the Barmen municipal school. p. 582

[250] Engels received this reference in September 1837 when he had to leave the top form of the Elberfeld gymnasium in compliance with the wishes of his father, who sent him to study commerce at the Barmen office of his firm; in June 1838, Engels went to Bremen for the same purpose. p. 584

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*Groening, Heinrich* (1774-1839)—Burgomaster of Bremen from 1817.—423

*Grosscreutz, A. von*—contributor to the German literary newspaper *Abend-Zeitung* edited by Theodor Hell.—433

*Grün, Anastasius* (pseudonym of *Auersperg, Anton Alexander, Graf von*) (1806-1876)—Austrian poet.—420, 422

*Grün, Karl Theodor Ferdinand* (wrote under the pseudonym of *Ernst von der Haide*) (1817-1887)—German writer; one of the principal spokesmen of "true socialism" in the mid-1840s.—84, 93, 288, 483

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman; actually directed France's home and foreign policy from 1840 to the February revolution of 1848.—355, 517

*Güll, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1812-1879)—German poet, author of poems and songs for children.—23

*Gutenberg, Johann* (c. 1400-1468)—German inventor of printing from movable type.—56, 61, 62, 66, 103, 344, 497

*Gutzkow, Karl Ferdinand* (1811-1878)—German writer, member of the Young Germany literary group; editor of the journal *Telegraph für Deutschland* (1838-42).—21, 47, 71-87, 89-92, 102, 285, 288-93, 411, 412, 415, 420-22, 427, 446, 449, 450, 455, 456, 462, 465, 468, 471, 472, 481, 485, 487, 496, 497

## H

*Haar, Bernhard van* (1760-1837)—headmaster of the gymnasium in Hamm, Frederick Engels' grandfather, pietist.—553

*Haar, Franciska Christina van* (b. 1758)—Frederick Engels' grandmother.—385, 580

*Haar, Ludwig van*—Bernhard van Haar's son, Frederick Engels' uncle.—582

*Haase, Friedrich* (1808-1867)—German philologist, Latin and Greek scholar.—20

*Haide, Ernst von der*—see *Grün, Karl Theodor Ferdinand*

*Haller, Karl Ludwig von* (1768-1854)—Swiss lawyer and historian, advocate of absolutism.—361

*Hammerich, Johann Friedrich*—head of a publishing house founded in Altona in 1789.—495, 496

*Handel, George Frederick* (1685-1759)—German composer.—159, 523

*Hantschke, Johann Carl Leberecht* (1796-1856)—senior teacher and acting director of the Elberfeld grammar school (1831-42), Frederick Engels' tutor.—20, 500, 520, 582, 585

*Häring, Georg Wilhelm Heinrich* (wrote under the pseudonym of *Alexis, Willibald*) (1798-1871)—German writer, author of a number of historical novels.—420

*Hase*—Bremen Senator (alderman).—424

*Hassel*—publisher in Elberfeld.—23

*Haydn, Franz Joseph* (1732-1809)—Austrian composer.—159

*He*—physician.—398

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—42, 47, 50, 63-64, 66, 69, 83, 86, 88-89, 93, 99, 106, 122, 140-44, 157, 165, 168, 181-87, 191-99, 202-11, 213-17, 220, 222, 223, 226, 235, 236, 237, 243, 250, 257, 269-71, 281, 286, 289-95, 320-23, 328, 348-50, 362, 435-36, 451, 477, 483, 486, 489-91

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—21, 42, 44, 49, 66, 81, 82, 84, 87, 90, 92, 137, 166, 290-92, 411, 420, 465, 473, 488

*Heineken, H. A.*—broker in Bremen.—424

*Heinrich der Löwe*—see *Henry the Lion*

*Hell, Theodor*—see *Winkler, Karl Gottlieb Theodor*

*Heller, Robert* (1812-1871)—German writer and journalist.—422, 432

*Helmes, Johann Jacob* (b. 1788)—Barmen official.—577

*Hengstenberg, Ernst Wilhelm* (1802-1869)—German theologian, professor of Berlin University, editor of the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung*; extreme conservative.—181, 315, 333, 346, 350, 421, 454, 460, 480, 487, 489, 526, 527

*Henning, Leopold von* (1791-1866)—German philosopher, professor of Berlin University, Hegel's pupil.—270

*Henry IV* (1050-1106)—Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1056-1106).—13, 511

*Henry the Lion* (1129-1195)—Duke of Saxony (1139-81) and Bavaria (1156-81).—34, 35

*Herbart, Johann Friedrich* (1776-1841)—German philosopher, psychologist and teacher.—295

*Herloßsohn, Karl Georg Reginald* (1804-1849)—German writer.—422, 432

*Hermann*—see *Arminius*

*Hermann, Reinhard* (1806-1839)—pastor at the Reformed Church in Elberfeld.—15, 416, 427

*Herod* (73-4 B.C.)—King of Judaea (40-4 B.C.).—251

*Herwegh, Georg* (1817-1875)—German democratic poet.—174, 288

*Hessel, Johann Jacob* (1806-1891)—pastor at Münster near Kreuznach.—403

*Heuser, Gustav*—Frederick Engels' Elberfeld friend.—445, 473, 474, 491, 513

*Hey, Wilhelm* (1789-1854)—German priest, author of poems and fables for children.—23

*Hildebrand, Theodor* (*Hildebrandt, Th.*)—pseudonym of Frederick Engels.—5, 6, 26, 419, 444, 445

*Hinrichs, Hermann Friedrich Wilhelm* (1794-1861)—German professor of philosophy, Right-wing Hegelian.—296, 489

*Hippocrates* (c. 460-c. 377 B.C.)—Greek mathematician and physician, founder of medicine.—485

*Hirzel, Bernhard* (1807-1847)—Swiss priest, orientalist.—346

*Hoffmann*—see *Campe, Johann Julius Wilhelm*
*Hofmannswaldau, Christian Hofmann von* (1617-1679)—German poet.—51
*Hohenstaufens*—princely German family (1138-1254).—364, 508
*Holbein, Hans (the Younger)* (1497-1543)—German painter and wood engraver of the Renaissance.—134, 170
*Holler*—friend of the Engels family.—403
*Höller* from Solingen—Frederick Engels' acquaintance in Bremen.—501
*Homer*—epic poet of Ancient Greece, author of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.—35, 279, 443, 558, 585
*Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus)* (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—23, 82, 466, 584
*Hösterey*—Barmen acquaintance of the Engels family.—539
*Hotho, Heinrich Gustav* (1802-1873)—professor of aesthetics and history of art at Berlin University; follower of Hegel.—50
*Houben, Philipp* (died c. 1855)—notary in Xanten, expert in ancient history, archaeologist.—134
*Houwald, Christoph Ernst, Freiherr von* (1778-1845)—German dramatist.—449
*Hub, Ignaz* (wrote under the pseudonym of *Frank von Steinach*) (1810-1880)—German poet and journalist; founder of the *Rheinisches Odeon*.—422
*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885)—French writer.—49
*Hühnerbein, F. W.*—German tailor, acquaintance of the Engels family; in later years a member of the Communist League.—440
*Hüllstett, G. Karl Anton*—senior teacher in Düsseldorf, author of an anthology of German literature for gymnasium pupils.—413
*Hülsmann, August* (1822-1846)—pastor of a Lutheran community in Elberfeld; later a consistorial and school councillor in Düsseldorf.—16, 24
*Hülsmann, Eduard*—brother of August Hülsmann; pastor in Dahl and from 1836 of a Lutheran church in Schwelm.—16
*Huskisson, William* (1770-1830)—English statesman, Tory, President of the Board of Trade (1823-27).—271
*Huss* or *Hus, John* or *Jan* (c. 1369-1415)—Bohemian religious reformer and ideologist of the national movement; professor of Prague University from 1398, and rector of the same between October 1402 and April 1403; burnt at the stake as a heretic—482
*Hutten, Ulrich von* (1488-1523)—German poet, supporter of the Reformation; participant in and ideological leader of the knights' uprising of 1522-23.—171

I

*Immermann, Karl Leberecht* (1796-1840)—German writer, journalist, critic and prominent figure in the theatre.—53, 83, 123-25, 161-68, 420, 449
*Itzstein, Johann Adam von* (1775-1855)—German statesman, one of the leaders of the liberal opposition in the Baden Provincial Diet.—299

J

*Jachmann, Karl Reinhold* (d. 1873)—German theologian and writer.—277
*Jacobi, Friedrich Heinrich* (1743-1819)—German fideist philosopher.—217
*Jacoby, Franz Carl Joel* (1810-1863)—German Catholic writer, opponent of the Hegelian school, harbinger of religious fanaticism.—63-65
*Jacoby, Johann* (1805-1877)—German radical writer and politician; in the 1870s was close to the Social-Democratic Party.—305, 307
*Jahn, Friedrich Ludwig* (1778-1852)—German writer and journalist, organiser of *Turnplatz* (open-air gymnasiums) movement in Germany; took part in the struggle against Napoleon's rule.—138, 141, 166

*Jarcke, Karl Ernst* (1801-1852)—German lawyer and writer, extreme monarchist.—63
*Jean Paul* (pseudonym of *Richter, Johann Paul Friedrich*) (1763-1825)—German satirist.—16, 473
*Jemand, Wilhelm*—see *Langewiesche, Wilhelm*
*Joest, Jan van* (pseudonym—*Calcar, Jan van*) (c. 1460-1519)—Dutch painter.—134
*John*—English acquaintance of Frederick Engels in Bremen.—424, 425
*Jonghaus, Peter* (1816-1884)—Frederick Engels' schoolmate, later pastor.—389, 398, 410, 411, 427, 445, 463, 468, 475
*Jung*—headmistress of the Mannheim Institute for Young Ladies.—498, 544, 546
*Jung, Alexander* (1799-1884)—German writer, literary historian, journalist; associated with the Young Germany literary group.—284-90, 293-97, 543, 546
*Jung, Georg Gottlob* (1814-1886)—German writer, Young Hegelian, one of the managers of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—336, 347, 546
*Jung, Johann Heinrich* (wrote under the pseudonym of *Heinrich Jung-Stilling*) (1740-1817)—German writer, pietist.—25
*Jürgens*—itinerant preacher, adventurist.—11

K

*Kampermanns*—textile manufacturers in Barmen.—388
*Kampermann, Laura* (b. 1827)—friend of Frederick Engels' sisters.—438-41
*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—42, 69, 122, 128, 129, 165, 182, 186, 202, 218, 455
*Karl Theodor* (1724-1799)—Elector of Pfalz (1733-99) and Bavaria (1777-99).—18
*Kirchner*—friend of the Engels family.—388
*Klein, Julius Leopold* (1810-1876)—German dramatist and theatre critic.—288
*Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb* (1724-1803)—German poet, representative of the German Enlightenment.—315, 411
*Knapp, Albert* (1798-1864)—German poet, author of church songs and hymns, pietist.—101, 315, 398
*Knebel, H.*—director of a grammar school in Duisburg, author of *Französische (Schul-) Grammatik für Gymnasien und Progymnasien*.—18
*Kock, Charles Paul de* (1794-1871)—French novelist and dramatist.—21
*Kohl, Albert* (1802-1882)—Protestant pastor in Elberfeld, pietist.—14, 15, 416, 426, 427
*Kohlmann, Johann Melchior* (1795-1864)—pastor from Horn near Bremen.—515
*Köppen, Karl Friedrich* (1808-1863)—German radical writer and historian, Young Hegelian.—143, 335, 337, 339, 345, 347
*Köster, Heinrich* (1807-1881)—German philologist and teacher.—19, 21
*Köstlin, Christian Reinhold* (1813-1856)—German jurist and poet.—162
*Kossmaly, Karl* (1812-1873)—German musical critic, professor of music, conductor.—159
*Köttgen, Gustav Adolf* (1802-1882)—German painter and poet, in later years was close to the "true socialists".—542
*Kotzebue, August Friedrich Ferdinand von* (1761-1819)—German writer and journalist, extreme monarchist.—3, 129, 393, 395, 397
*Krabbe*—publisher in Stuttgart.—495
*Kreutzer, Konradin* (1780-1849)—German composer.—400
*Kristine*—maidservant at Consul Leupold's in Bremen.—505
*Krug, Friedrich Wilhelm* (b. 1799)—German theologian, author of poems, fiction and autobiographical works.—25
*Krummacher, Emil* (1798-1886)—pastor in Duisburg, then in Bonn; son of Friedrich Adolf Krummacher.—17

*Krummacher, Friedrich Adolf* (1767-1845) —German pedagogue, pastor in Bremen (1824-43), religious writer; brother of Gottfried Daniel Krummacher. —12, 106, 126, 127, 416, 427

*Krummacher, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1796-1868)—German preacher and religious writer, leader of the Wuppertal pietists; son of Friedrich Adolf Krummacher.—12-17, 29-31, 121, 122, 126, 127-28, 155, 156, 157, 158, 315, 346, 361, 416, 423, 446, 472, 514

*Krummacher, Gottfried Daniel* (1774-1837) —German Protestant preacher and religious writer, pastor in Elberfeld; brother of Friedrich Adolf Krummacher.—12

*Krusbecker, Jan*—broker in Bremen.—447

*Kruse, Karl Adolf Bernhard* (1807-1873)—teacher of the Elberfeld *Realschule*.—19

*Kühne, Ferdinand Gustav* (1806-1888)—German writer, member of the Young Germany literary group, editor of the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* and the journal *Europa*.—42, 50, 71, 77, 78, 80-84, 88-91, 92, 286, 288, 290, 292, 411, 421, 472

L

*Lais*—one of the Greek courtesans in the latter half of the 5th and the beginning of the 4th century B.C.—249

*Lange*—shipowner from Vegesack.—104

*Langewiesche, Wilhelm* (pen-name—*William Jemand*) (1807-1872)—writer and bookseller in Barmen.—23, 468

*Laube, Heinrich* (1806-1884)—German writer, member of the Young Germany literary group; later, theatre director, producer of Vienna theatres. —82, 84, 87, 89, 97, 285, 286, 288, 290-92, 411, 422, 473

*Lavater, Johann Kaspar* (1741-1801)—Swiss clergyman and writer, physiognomist.—454

*Lenau, Nikolaus* (pseudonym of *Niembsch von Strehlenau*) (1802-1850)—Austrian poet.—42, 45, 288, 420, 422, 508

*Leo, Heinrich* (1799-1878)—German historian and writer, extreme monarchist, ideologist of Junkerdom.—64, 187, 196, 270, 281-83, 293, 296, 315, 340, 345, 361, 365, 435, 436, 451, 452, 462, 467, 477, 489, 526, 527

*Leo, Leonardo* (*Leonardo Oronzo Salvatore de Leo*) (1694-1744)—Italian composer.—474

*Le Sage, Alain René* (1668-1747)—French writer.—547

*Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim* (1729-1781)—German writer, critic, philosopher and Enlightener.—82, 411, 449, 472

*Leupolds*—family of Heinrich Leupold, owner of a trading firm in Bremen.—386, 404, 529

*Leupold*—wife of Consul Heinrich Leupold.—396, 401, 438

*Leupold, Elisabeth*—daughter of Consul Heinrich Leupold.—401

*Leupold, Heinrich* (d. 1865)—Consul, owner of a trading firm in Bremen in which Engels worked from mid-July 1838 to the end of March 1841.—389, 391, 396, 404, 406, 410, 418, 500, 502, 507, 510, 511, 520, 524, 529

*Leupold, Karl*—son of Consul Heinrich Leupold, junior co-owner of his father's firm.—419

*Leupold, Ludwig* (*Loin*)—son of Consul Heinrich Leupold.—401

*Leupold, Siegfried*—son of Consul Heinrich Leupold.—401

*Leupold, Sophie*—daughter of Consul Heinrich Leupold.—511

*Leupold, Wilhelm*—son of Consul Heinrich Leupold.—505, 508, 520, 524, 525

*Leupoldt, Johann Michael* (1794-1874)—German psychiatrist, author of several works on medicine.—281

*Lewald, August* (1792-1871)—German writer close to the Young Germany literary group, editor of the journal *Europa* (1835-46).—22, 422

*Lieth, Ludwig Theodor* (1776-1850)—headmaster of the Elberfeld gymnasium for girls, author of poems for children.—23

*Liszt, Franz* (1811-1886)—Hungarian composer and pianist.—541

*Livy* (*Titus Livius*) (59 B.C.-17 A.D.)—Roman historian, author of History of Rome (*Ab urbe condita libri*).—584
*Lohenstein, Daniel Caspar von* (1635-1683)—German poet, representative of aristocratic literature.—51
*Louis XI* (1423-1483)—King of France (1461-83).—357
*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—48, 50
*Louis XV* (1710-1774)—King of France (1715-74).—163
*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—355, 360
*Loyola, St. Ignatius of* (*Inigo Lopez de Loyola*) (1491-1556)—Spanish nobleman, founder of the Society of Jesus.—51, 64, 413
*Ludwig* (*Louis*) *III* (c. 880-928)—King of the Western Franks.—42
*Ludwig* (*Louis*) *I* (1786-1868)—King of Bavaria (1825-48).—353, 527
*Luise*—maid in the house of Frederick Engels' parents.—439
*Luther, Martin* (1483-1546)—leader of the Reformation, founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany, ideologist of the German burghers.—66, 404, 486

M

*Machiavelli, Niccolò* (1469-1527)—Italian politician, historian and writer.—360
*Maien*—see *Meyen, Eduard*
*Maintenon, Françoise d'Aubigné, Marquise de* (1635-1719)—mistress and, from 1685, wife of Louis XIV.—49, 51
*Mallet, Friedrich Ludwig* (1792-1865)—German theologian, Protestant pastor in Bremen, publisher of several religious journals, pietist.—106, 157, 346, 491, 515, 516
*Manz, Georg Joseph* (1808-1894)—German publisher; founded a publishing firm in Landshut which was transferred to Regensburg in 1835.—63
*Marat, Jean Paul* (1743-1793)—French writer, a Jacobin leader in the French Revolution.—63, 341, 348
*Marbach, Oswald* (1810-1890)—German writer and journalist, author of adaptations of German medieval epics and publisher of German *Volksbücher* (popular books).—33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 490
*Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* (121-180)—Roman Emperor (161-80), Stoic philosopher.—249
*Marggraff, Hermann* (1809-1864)—German writer and journalist.—88, 473
*Marheineke, Philipp Konrad* (1780-1846)—German Protestant theologian, philosopher and historian of Christianity, follower of Hegel.—268-70, 452
*Märklin, Christian* (1807-1849)—German theologian, follower of Hegel; in 1839-40 wrote three pamphlets against pietism.—460
*Marryat, Frederick* (1792-1848)—English naval officer and novelist.—21
*Martin, Henri* (1793-1882)—French animal tamer.—91
*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883).—336, 338-39, 347
*Mathy, Karl* (1807-1868)—Baden journalist, official and politician, moderate liberal.—299
*Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Jakob Ludwig Felix* (1809-1847)—German composer and conductor.—159, 523
*Mengs, Anton Raphael* (1728-1799)—German painter.—471
*Menken, Gottfried* (1768-1831)—German Protestant theologian, pastor in Bremen.—515
*Menzel, Wolfgang* (1798-1873)—German conservative writer and literary critic.—43, 64, 141, 420, 421, 431, 452, 472, 482, 496
*Mercadante, Giuseppe Saverio Raffaelle* (1797-1870)—Italian composer, author of operas and religious music.—129
*Meyen, Eduard* (1812-1870)—German journalist, Young Hegelian.—296, 335, 345-46, 348
*Meyer, Albertus*—editor of the *Bremer Stadtbote*.—418
*Meyer, G. C. A.*—publisher in Brunswick.—496
*Meyer, Therese*—fiancée of Wilhelm Leupold.—525

*Meyer (Stick-Meyer)*—father of Therese Meyer, fiancée of Wilhelm Leupold.—525

*Meyerbeer, Giacomo* (real name—*Jakob Liebmann Meyer Beer*) (1791-1864)—German composer, pianist and conductor.—542

*Michelet, Karl Ludwig* (1801-1893)—German philosopher, follower of Hegel, professor of Berlin University.—191, 435, 436, 451, 452, 467

*Miesegans, Timoleon*—Bremen resident.—515

*Miguel, Maria Evarist (Miguel Maria Evaristo de Braganza)* (1802-1866)—King of Portugal (1828-34).—493

*Mohammed Ali* (1769-1849)—ruler of Egypt (1805-49), carried out several progressive reforms.—148

*Mohr, Karl Friedrich Gottlieb* (1803-1888)—member of the Bremen Senate, Burgomaster of Bremen (1857-73).—425

*Molineus, Albert* (1814-1889)—Barmen manufacturer, husband of Ida Engels.—542, 544

*Montanus Eremita*—see *Zuccalmaglio, Vincenz Jakob von*

*Montholon, Charles Tristan, Comte de* (1783-1853) — general-aide-de-camp of Napoleon I; condemned to imprisonment for participating in an abortive Bonapartist coup d'état in 1840.—154

*Morison, James* (1770-1840)—English entrepreneur who amassed big wealth through the sale of so-called Morison pills.—278

*Morvell, C. F.* (real name—*Vollmer, C. F.*) (d. 1864)—German writer, author of historical novels.—422

*Mosen, Julius* (1803-1867)—German romantic writer.—23, 288, 411

*Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus* (1756-1791)—Austrian composer.—89, 150, 159, 400, 471

*Mügge, Theodor* (1806-1861)—German writer and journalist, Young Hegelian.—332

*Müller*—a novice in 1839, lived in the house of Pastor Treviranus in Bremen.—472

*Müller, Julius* (1801-1878)—German Protestant theologian.—345, 347

*Müllner, Amadeus Gottfried Adolf* (1774-1829)—German poet, dramatist and literary critic.—496

*Münch, Ernst Hermann Joseph von* (1798-1841)—German historian and writer.—86

*Mundt, Theodor* (1808-1861)—German writer, member of the Young Germany literary group; professor of literature and history at Breslau and Berlin.—21, 36, 42, 50, 79, 82-88, 90, 92, 285, 286, 288, 290-93, 411, 421, 422, 462, 465, 473, 488

*Murat, Joachim* (1767-1815)—French marshal, participant in Napoleon's campaigns; King of Naples (1808-15).—154

N

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—21, 50, 66, 139-41, 153-54, 166, 271, 283, 320, 348, 358, 464, 491, 493, 517

*Neander, Johann August Wilhelm* (1789-1850)—German Protestant theologian, historian of Christianity and the Church, pietist.—235, 454, 455, 462, 466, 486, 491, 527

*Nero (Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus)* (37-68)—Roman Emperor (54-68).—279, 356

*Nestroy, Johann Nepomuk* (1801-1862)—Austrian dramatist and actor, author of vaudevilles.—21

*Neuburg*—shop assistant in the Barmen publishing house of Wilhelm Langewiesche.—468

*Neviandt*—Frederick Engels' acquaintance in Bremen.—424, 425

*Newton, Sir Isaac* (1642-1727)—English physicist, astronomer and mathematician, founder of classical mechanics.—60, 96

*Ney, Michel* (1769-1815)—French marshal, participant in Napoleon's campaigns in 1808-11.—154

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—360, 491, 493, 537

*Nitzsch, Karl Immanuel* (1787-1868)—German Protestant theologian and preacher, professor of theology at Bonn and Berlin.—346, 527

*Noltenius, J. Daniel* (1779-1852)—Burgomaster of Bremen (from 1839).—423, 424, 446

*Nork, Friedrich* (real name—*Korn, Friedrich*) (1803-1850)—German writer, well known for his adaptations of Greek myths.—432

*Nösselt, Friedrich August* (1781-1850)—German pedagogue, author of textbooks on history, geography and German literature.—18

O

*Oswald, Friedrich* (*F. O., S. Oswald*)—pseudonyms of Frederick Engels.—31, 40, 46, 52, 70, 335, 337, 339, 347, 543

*Otto I* (1815-1867)—Prince of Bavaria, King of Greece (1832-62).—484

*Otto, Friedrich Wilhelm*—head of a publishing firm founded in 1797.—352

P

*Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da* (c. 1525-1594)—Italian composer.—523

*Paniel, Karl Friedrich Wilhelm* (1803-1856)—German Protestant theologian, pastor in Bremen, supporter of the rationalist trend in Lutheranism.—127-28, 155-56, 514, 515

*Patkul, Johann Reinhold* (1660-1707)—Livonian nobleman; from 1702 was in Russian service as Privy Councillor and general.—292

*Paulus, Heinrich Eberhard Gottlob* (1761-1851)—German Protestant theologian, representative of the rationalist trend in Lutheranism.—14, 127, 128

*Peel, Sir Robert* (1788-1850)—English statesman, Prime Minister (1841-46); in 1846 repealed the Corn Laws.—357, 376, 377

*Pergolese* (*Pergolesi*), *Giovanni Battista* (1710-1736)—Italian composer.—523, 530

*Pericles* (c. 490-429 B.C.)—Athenian statesman.—484

*Petrarch* or *Petrarca, Francesco* (1304-1374)—Italian poet of the Renaissance.—24, 172, 443

*Pfizer, Gustav* (1807-1890)—German lyrical poet and critic, belonged to the Swabian school of romanticists.—42, 497

*Philip*—see *Philippi, Friedrich Adolf*

*Philippi, Friedrich Adolf* (1809-1882)—German Protestant theologian.—322, 323, 478

*Pilate, Pontius* (died c. 37)—Roman procurator of Judaea (26-36).—170

*Pindar* (c. 522-443 B.C.)—Greek lyric poet.—20

*Platen* (*Platen-Hallermünde*), *August, Graf von* (1796-1835)—German poet and dramatist.—23, 54, 96, 420

*Plato* (c. 427-c. 347 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—585

*Plümacher, Friedrich* (1819-1905)—Frederick Engels' schoolmate, later pastor.—389, 410, 427, 461, 513

*Poitiers, Guillaume de* (1071-1127)—French troubadour.—146

*Pol, Johann*—Protestant pastor in Heedfeld (near Wuppertal), author of religious poems.—24, 25, 30, 415

*Poniatowski, Joseph Anthony* (1763-1813)—Polish politician and general, took part in Napoleon's campaigns in 1809-13.—154

*Prutz, Robert Eduard* (1816-1872)—German poet, journalist and literary historian, was connected with the Young Hegelians.—332, 528

*Pückler-Muskau, Hermann, Prince* (1785-1871)—German writer.—288, 289

*Püttmann, Hermann* (1811-1894)—German radical poet and journalist, representative of "true socialism".—22, 495, 496, 497

Q

*Quintana, Manuel José* (1772-1857)—Spanish writer and poet.—55

R

*Rachel* (real name—*Félix, Elizabeth*) (1821-1858)—French actress.—49
*Racine, Jean Baptiste* (1639-1699)—French dramatist, representative of French classicism.—50
*Radewell, Friedrich*—German writer.—292
*Radge, Edgar*—see *Bauer, Edgar*
*Ranke, Leopold von* (1795-1886)—German historian, professor of Berlin University, ideologist of Junkerdom.—491
*Raumer, Friedrich Ludwig Georg von* (1781-1873)—German historian and politician; representative of the narrative-romantic trend; professor at Berlin and Breslau universities.—508
*Raupach, Ernst Benjamin Salomo* (1784-1852)—Prussian poet and dramatist.—51, 129, 427, 449
*Reichardt, Johann Friedrich* (1752-1814)—German composer, author of songs to Goethe's words.—473
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*Richter, Heinrich* (1800-1847)—inspector of the Rhenish missionary society and the mission-house in Barmen.—17
*Riedel, Carl* (1804-1878)—German radical journalist, follower of Hegel.—185
*Riem, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1779-1857)—German musician, composer and organist.—159
*Riepe, Rudolf*—teacher in the Barmen municipal school (1835-58), then in the Elberfeld high school for girls.—19, 400, 417
*Rindeschwender*—deputy of the Baden Provincial Diet.—299
*Ringseis, Johann Nepomuk* (1785-1880)—German physician and theologian, professor of Munich University, advocate of religious orthodoxy.—282
*Ripoll, Cayetano*—teacher in Rizaffo, Spain; executed as a heretic on July 26, 1826.—493
*Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de* (1758-1794)—active participant in the French Revolution; Jacobin leader, head of the revolutionary government (1793-94).—341, 348, 349
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*Rossini, Gioacchino Antonio* (1792-1868)—Italian composer.—150
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*Rückert, Friedrich* (1788-1866)—German romantic poet and translator of oriental poetry.—23, 397, 411, 420, 422, 537
*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian.—143, 185, 196, 296, 331, 334-38, 340, 341, 345-47, 348, 350, 351, 487, 491, 526, 543, 545-46
*Runkel, Martin*—German conservative journalist, editor of the *Elberfelder Zeitung* in 1839-43.—22, 27-28, 446
*Russell, John Russell, 1st Earl* (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader, Prime Minister (1846-52 and

1865-66) and Foreign Secretary (1852-53 and 1859-65).—376, 377

*Rutenberg, Adolf (Rtg)* (1808-1869)—German journalist, Young Hegelian, member of the editorial board of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in 1842.—337, 347

*Ruyter*—captain of the ship *Maria*.—119

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*Sack, Karl Heinrich* (1789-1875)—German Protestant theologian, professor at Bonn, advocate of religious orthodoxy.—329-30, 332, 338, 342, 346-49, 351

*Sand, George* (pseudonym of *Aurore Dupin, baronne Dudevant*) (1804-1876)—French authoress, representative of the democratic trend in romanticism.—101, 286

*Sander, Immanuel Friedrich* (1797-1859)—Lutheran pastor in Elberfeld, pietist.—16, 24

*Sass, Friedrich* (pseudonym—*Alexander Soltwedel*) (1819-1853)—German journalist, Young Hegelian, later "true socialist".—158

*Saul* (11th cent. B.C.)—King of Israel.—74

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*Schifflin, Philipp*—teacher of modern languages in the Barmen municipal school.—18

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, historian and philosopher, professor of history at Jena University.—3, 16, 33, 43, 77, 105, 115, 116, 124, 129, 199, 279, 393, 395, 397, 411, 427, 448, 465, 467, 468

*Schlegel, August Wilhelm von* (1767-1845)—German romantic poet, translator, literary historian and critic.—25

*Schleiermacher, Friedrich Daniel Ernst* (1768-1834)—German philosopher, theologian and preacher.—269, 457, 462, 463, 486, 490

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*Schnezler, Ferdinand Alexander August* (1809-1853)—German writer.—422

*Schornstein, Johannes*—teacher of music and singing at the Elberfeld grammar school (1824-44), organist of a reformed community.—406, 500

*Schröder-Devrient, Wilhelmine* (1804-1860)—German opera singer.—102

*Schubarth, Karl Ernst* (1796-1861)—German conservative writer, teacher at the Hirschberg gymnasium.—66, 187, 452, 453

*Schücking, Levin* (1814-1883)—German writer, contributor to the *Kölnische Zeitung* from 1845.—101, 422, 494-96

*Schumacher, Balthasar Gerhard* (1755-1801)—German jurist, author of the song on which the Prussian National Anthem was based.—144

*Schumann, Robert Alexander* (1810-1856)—German composer and musical critic.—159

*Schünemann, Karl*—owner of a publishing house founded in Bremen in 1817.—494-95, 497

*Schwab, Gustav* (1792-1850)—German romantic poet, author of adaptations of German epics and classical myths.—34, 157, 416

*Scott, Sir Walter* (1771-1832)—Scottish writer.—431

*Scribe, Augustin Eugène* (1791-1861)—French dramatist.—150

*Sealsfield, Charles* (pseudonym—*Postl, Karl Anton*) (1793-1864)—Austrian writer.—295

*Seydelmann, Karl* (1793-1843)—German actor.—129

*Seyffert*—Prussian official, Privy Councillor.—308
*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English poet and dramatist.—72, 76, 77, 78, 100, 166, 418, 449, 483
*Shelley, Mary Wollstonecraft* (1797-1851)—English authoress, second wife of Percy Bysshe Shelley.—101, 496
*Shelley, Percy Bysshe* (1792-1822)—English poet, revolutionary romantic.—95, 101, 107, 467, 494, 495, 497
*Siebel, Christian Hermann* (1808-1879)—Barmen manufacturer, relative of Frederick Engels'.—531, 544
*Simons*—lieutenant, acquaintance of Frederick Engels'.—445
*Simrock, Karl Joseph* (1802-1876)—German poet and philologist, author of adaptations of the works of medieval literature and folk epics, publisher of German *Volksbücher*.—33, 36, 39
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*Smidt, Johann* (1773-1857)—Burgomaster of Bremen (1821-48 and 1853-57).—424, 514
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*Smitt, Friedrich von (Fyodor Ivanovich)* (1787-1865)—Russian military historian.—471
*Snethlage, Karl Wilhelm Moritz* (1792-1871)—relative of the Engels family; Protestant pastor in Unter-Barmen (from 1822) and court preacher in Berlin (from 1842).—578-79, 586-87
*Snethlage, Luise* (1822-1878)—daughter of Karl Snethlage, Frederick Engels' cousin, wife of Christian Hermann Siebel from 1841.—531, 544
*Socrates* (c. 470-399 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—165, 218, 390, 394
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*Sophocles* (c. 497-406 B.C.)—Greek dramatist.—73, 483
*Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu, Duke of Dalmatia* (1769-1851)—French marshal and statesman, in 1808-14 commanded French troops in Spain; War Minister (1830-34 and 1840-45), Foreign Minister (1839-40) and Prime Minister (1832, 1834, 1839-40 and 1840-47).—517
*Spinoza (Baruch* or *Benedictus) de* (1632-1677)—Dutch philosopher.—221, 222, 455
*Stahl, Friedrich Julius* (1802-1861)—German jurist and politician, extreme monarchist, professor of Berlin University from 1840.—181, 200
*Stahr, Adolf Wilhelm Theodor* (1805-1876)—German writer, author of historical novels and essays on the history of art and literature.—105
*Stamm*—owner of a hotel in Bonn.—548
*Steffens, Henrik* (1773-1845)—German naturalist, writer, philosopher, follower of Schelling, Norwegian by birth.—141
*Stegmayer, Ferdinand* (1803-1863)—German composer and conductor, in 1839 conductor at the Bremen theatre.—159
*Steinhaus, Johann Friedrich*—Barmen publisher.—23
*Stephan, Martin* (1777-1846)—preacher of a Bohemian community in Dresden; in 1838 emigrated to America together with his 700 followers.—103
*Sternberg, Alexander* (1806-1868)—German writer who idealised the Middle Ages.—49, 146
*Stieglitz, Heinrich* (1801-1849)—German poet.—411
*Stier, Rudolf Ewald* (1800-1862)—German Protestant theologian and pastor, known also for his adaptations of Schiller's poems in the church fashion.—16, 28, 427, 476
*Stilling, Johann Heinrich*—see *Jung, Johann Heinrich*
*Stirner, Max* (real name—*Schmidt, Johann Caspar*) (1806-1856)—German philosopher, Young Hegelian.—336, 339, 346
*Strauss, David Friedrich* (1808-1874)—German philosopher and writer, Young Hegelian, author of *Das Leben Jesu*.—14, 50, 74, 106, 122, 143, 157, 173, 185, 196, 219, 234, 237, 285, 286, 293, 296, 321, 346, 425, 454,

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*Strücker, F. W.*—Frederick Engels' Elberfeld friend.—392-94, 398-400, 406, 468, 502, 544

*Stuhr, Peter Feddersen* (1787-1851)—German historian, author of works on the history of religion, professor of philosophy at Berlin University.—228

*Stüve, Johann Karl Bertram* (1798-1872)—German liberal politician, Minister of the Interior in Hanover (1848-50).—152

*Szczepansky, Gustav L. Fr. H. W. von*—student at Bonn University (1839-42).—548

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*Tacitus, Cornelius* (c. 55-c. 120)—Roman historian and orator.—15, 354

*Taglioni, Maria* (1804-1884)—Italian ballet dancer.—411

*Thiersch, Bernhard* (1794-1855)—German pedagogue and poet.—97

*Tholuck, Friedrich August Gottreu* (1799-1877)—German Protestant theologian, pietist.—157, 486, 490, 491, 526, 527

*Thucydides* (c. 460-c. 395 B.C.)—Greek historian, author of *The History of the Peloponnesian War*.—471

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*Thuringus*—pen-name of a member of the Dresden *Abend-Zeitung* editorial board.—433

*Tichatschek, Joseph Alois* (1807-1886)—German opera singer.—102

*Tieck, Johann Ludwig* (1773-1853)—German writer and philologist, representative of romanticism, author of adaptations of German medieval literature and folk-lore.—34, 37, 40, 411, 413

*Tiele, Johann Nikolaus* (1804-1856)—Protestant pastor at Bremen, pietist.—127, 476

*Toel, F. A.*—one of the editors of the *Bremer Kirchenbote. Eine Zeitschrift*.—106

*Torstrick, Johann Adolf* (1821-1877)—Frederick Engels' Bremen friend, later teacher and researcher on Aristotle.—474, 475, 485

*Treviranus, Georg Gottfried* (1788-1868)—Bremen pastor in whose house Frederick Engels lived from 1838 to 1841.—105-06, 386, 387, 399, 406, 445, 500, 501, 524

*Treviranus, Marie*—daughter of pastor Georg Gottfried Treviranus.—403, 522

*Treviranus, Mathilde*—wife of pastor Georg Gottfried Treviranus.—399, 404, 522

*Triboni, Joachim*—Genoa resident who made a trip to the Swiss Alps.—173

*Tripsteert, Crischan*—pen-name of a member of the editorial board of the *Bremisches Unterhaltungsblatt*.—106

*Tromlitz, August von* (real name—*Witzleben, Karl August, Freiherr von*) (1773-1839)—German writer, author of novels and short stories on historical themes.—21, 422, 431

*Troost, Henriette* (*Jettchen*) (1826-1853)—Marie Engels' friend.—399

U

*Uhland, Johann Ludwig* (1787-1862)—German romantic poet, head of the Swabian school.—22, 74, 411, 422, 431

V

*Varnhagen von Ense, Karl August* (1785-1858)—German writer and literary critic of the liberal trend.—85, 88, 289, 473

*Varnhagen von Ense, Rahel Antonie Frederike* (née *Levin*) (1771-1833)—wife of Karl August Varnhagen von Ense, well known for her literary salon in Berlin.—411

*Venedey, Jakob* (1805-1871)—German radical writer and politician.—480, 484

*Vernet, Horace* (1789-1863)—French battle-scene painter.—537

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*Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro)* (70-19 B.C.)—Roman poet.—103, 584
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*Voltaire, François Marie Arouet de* (1694-1778)—French deist philosopher, writer, historian, representative of the Enlightenment.—18, 82, 127, 321, 335, 348, 350
*Voss, Johann Heinrich* (1751-1826)—German poet, translator of Homer, Virgil and other ancient authors.—25

W

*Wachsmann, Karl Adolf von* (1787-1862)—German writer and journalist, moderate liberal, member of the editorial boards of the Dresden *Abend-Zeitung* and the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*.—422, 432
*Walesrode, Ludwig Reinhold* (pseudonym—*Emil Wagner*) (1810-1889)—German writer, democrat, publisher of the *Demokratische Studien*.—277, 278, 280
*Wallenstein, Albrecht Wenzel Eusebius von* (1538-1634)—general at the time of the Thirty Years' War, commander of the imperial army in 1618-30 and 1632-34.—415
*Wallmüller*—owner of a café in Berlin.—540
*Wallraf, Ferdinand Franz* (1748-1824)—German scientist, professor of natural science and aesthetics at Cologne University (1786), its rector (from 1794), founder of a museum in Cologne, author of a work on the city's history.—134
*Weber, Wilhelm Ernst* (1790-1850)—headmaster of a humanitarian school in Bremen; author of works on philosophy, pedagogics and aesthetics, translator of ancient authors.—104, 105, 127, 157
*Wedell, von*—captain, commander of the 12th Foot Company of the Guards Artillery Brigade where Engels was in military service from October 1, 1841, to September 30, 1842.—547, 588
*Wegscheider, Julius August Ludwig* (1771-1849)—German Protestant theologian of the rationalist trend, professor of philosophy and theology.—486
*Weinbrenner, August*—teacher of music, organist of a Lutheran community in Elberfeld.—542
*Weisse, Christian Hermann* (1801-1866)—German philosopher, opponent of the Hegelian school.—466
*Welcker, Karl Theodor* (1790-1869)—German jurist and writer, liberal, deputy of the Baden Provincial Diet.—298, 299
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*Wemhöner, Emil*—graduate of the Barmen municipal school (1839), later merchant.—531
*Wemhöner, Mathilde*—member of the Wemhöner family.—535
*Wendel*—clerk in the office of Frederick Engels' father.—439, 440
*Werder, Karl* (1806-1893)—German poet, literary critic and philosopher, follower of Hegel.—538
*Wichelhaus, Johannes* (1819-1858)—Protestant theologian, studied with Frederick Engels at the Elberfeld grammar school.—465
*Wichelhausen, Peter*—Deputy of the Parish of Barmen.—577
*Wieland, Christoph Martin* (1733-1813)—German writer of the Enlightenment, translator of Shakespeare and ancient authors.—394, 411
*Wienbarg, Ludolf* (1802-1872)—German writer and critic, member of the Young Germany literary group.—42, 74, 81, 84, 87, 106, 288, 290, 421, 465, 472
*Wigand, Otto* (1795-1870)—German publisher and bookseller, owner of a firm in Leipzig, published works by radical writers.—331, 332, 340, 342, 344, 346, 347

*Wihl, Ludwig* (1807-1882)—German writer and critic close to the Young Germany literary group.—81, 82, 91, 422
*Wilhelmine*—probably the name of the wife of the German poet Wülfing who wrote an elegy on the occasion of her death entitled *Wilhelmine, schönster aller Namen!*—24
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*Winkler, J. Ch. F.*—missionary, author of a collection of poems entitled *Harfenklänge.*—17
*Winkler, Karl Gottlieb Theodor* (pen-name—*Theodor Hell*) (1775-1856)—German conservative writer and journalist, publisher of the *Abend-Zeitung.*—420, 422, 433, 434
*Wittenstein*—owner of a firm in Unter-Barmen.—427
*Wolf (Wolff), Christian* (1679-1754)—German philosopher and naturalist, economist and jurist.—156
*Wülfing, Friedrich Ludwig* (b. 1807)—German poet.—23
*Wurm, Gustav* (1819-1888)—Frederick Engels' schoolmate, subsequently a philologist.—389, 394, 396, 398, 399, 410, 417, 437, 445, 450, 453, 463, 464, 465, 474, 475, 513, 516

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*Ziegler und Kliphausen, Heinrich Anshelm* (1663-1696)—German poet, representative of aristocratic literature.—51
*Zuccalmaglio, Vincenz Jakob von* (pen-name—*Montanus Eremita*) (1806-1876)—German poet and researcher of legends.—24

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*Eteocles* (Gr. Myth.)—a son of Oedipus, who usurped power in Thebes; a character in Aeschylus' tragedy *Seven against Thebes*.—572, 573, 574
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*Helena*—the heroine of a Greek epic and of the German popular book *Die schöne Helena* based on it; also a character in numerous literary adaptations.—37, 394
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*Hermes* (Gr. Relig.)—pastoral god, protector of cattle; god of roads, trade, gymnastics and eloquence.—118
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*Hirlanda*—the title character in a German popular book whose plot goes back to French folk-lore of the early 17th century.—37
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*Isaiah* (Bib.).—227, 247, 252, 255
*Isidor*—one of the main characters in Ernst Raupach's tragedy *Die Leibeigenen, oder Isidor und Olga*.—448
*Isolde*—the main character in the medieval romance *Tristan and Isolde*, in the German popular book of the same

title and in numerous literary adaptations.—38

*James* (Bib.).—235, 257, 345, 347
*Janossyk*—a robber in Karl Beck's ballad *Ungarischen Melodien*.—45
*Jason* (Gr. Myth.)—the leader of the Argonauts' expedition to obtain the Golden Fleece.—553
*Jehovah* (Bib.).—74, 75
*Job* (Bib.).—390
*John Bull*—the title character in John Arbuthnot's book *The History of John Bull* (18th cent.). His name is often used to personify England.—132
*John, Saint, the Apostle* (Bib.).—235, 251, 258, 261, 262, 264, 315, 327, 344, 426, 461, 476, 479, 494
*John, Saint, the Baptist* (Bib.).—257, 290
*Jonah* (Bib.).—343
*Jonathan*—a biblical character; also a character in the tragedies *Saul* by Karl Beck and *König Saul* by Karl Gutzkow.—77-78
*Joseph* (Bib.)—son of Jacob, sold by his brothers as a slave into Egypt where he became the Pharaoh's courtier through his wisdom and beauty.—426, 454, 457, 458, 466
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*Judas Iscariot* (Bib.).—36, 251
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*Lazarus*—a character from Robert Heller's story "Die Schwestern des Lazarus".—432
*Lear*—the title character in Shakespeare's tragedy *King Lear*.—79, 415
*Lot*—a character in the Old Testament (Genesis) who was rescued by God from the burning city of Sodom.—97
*Loyola*—the title character in Eduard Duller's novel.—51
*Lucrezia Borgia*—the title character in Victor Hugo's drama.—49, 50
*Luke* (Bib.).—243, 350, 416, 453, 458, 466, 476

*Magelone*—the title character in a German popular book.—37
*Marino Falieri*—the title character in an unfinished tragedy by Karl Gutzkow.—71, 72
*Mark* (Bib.).—350, 476
*Mary* (Bib.).—254, 350, 417, 426, 458, 479
*Matthew* (Bib.).—250, 257, 261, 263, 264, 390, 454, 461, 466, 476
*Melusina*—the title character in the German popular book *Die schöne Melusina*.—34, 37
*Menelaus* (Gr. Myth.)—King of Sparta; took part in the Trojan War.—394
*Mephistopheles*—one of the names of Satan; a character in Goethe's tragedy *Faust* and in Karl Gutzkow's dramatic essays *Hamlet in Wittenberg*.—72, 73, 129
*Merlin*—an enchanter in old Welsh sagas; the title character in Karl Immermann's drama.—167
*Merob*—a character in Karl Beck's tragedy *Saul*.—45
*Michael*—according to biblical tradition, one of the seven archangels.—126, 344, 350
*Michal*—a character in Karl Gutzkow's tragedy *König Saul*.—77, 90
*Michel*—a German name personifying a maladroit and dull-witted philistine.—278
*Minotaur* (Gr. Myth.)—fabulous monster living on Crete and fed with human flesh.—553
*Moab*—a character in Karl Beck's tragedy *Saul*.—45
*Moloch*—the Sun-god in Carthage and Phoenicia, whose worship was accompanied by human sacrifices.—45, 324
*Morgan le Fay* (Celtic Myth.)—one of the nine fairies protecting the Celts.—136
*Morolf* (*Marcolf*)—one of the title characters in the German popular book *Salomon und Morolf*.—34, 36
*Moses* (Bib.).—25, 67, 86, 119, 257, 322, 324, 455
*Münchhausen*—the title character in Karl Immermann's novel *Münchhausen*,

*eine Geschichte in Arabesken.*—162, 167

*Nibelungs*—mythological dwarfs who possessed a famous treasure; the medieval German epic *Nibelungenlied* was named after them.—75, 132

*Octavianus*—the title character in the German popular book *Kaiser Octavianus* and in Ludwig Tieck's comedy.—34, 37, 395

*Odysseus*—the title character in Engels' lost work *Odysseus Redivivus.*—472, 488

*Oedipus* (Gr. Myth.)—King of Thebes; the title character in Sophocles' tragedies *Oedipus Rex* (*Tyrannus*) and *Oedipus at Colonus.*—23, 96, 572, 573, 574

*Olga*—one of the main characters in Ernst Raupach's tragedy *Die Leibeigenen, oder Isidor und Olga.*—448

*Ophelia*—a character in Shakespeare's tragedy *Hamlet* and in Karl Gutzkow's dramatic essays *Hamlet in Wittenberg.*—72

*Pallas Athena* (Gr. Myth.)—goddess of war; personification of wisdom; protectress of arts and crafts.—24, 237, 573

*Pan* (Gr. Relig.)—god of pastures and woods, protector of shepherds and cattle.—95

*Parthenopaeus* (Gr. Myth.)—one of the seven leaders of the expedition against Thebes; a character in Aeschylus' tragedy *Seven against Thebes.*—572

*Patkul*—the title character in Karl Gutzkow's drama.—292

*Paul* (Bib.).—14, 122, 126, 127, 157, 229, 235, 243, 257-61, 263, 476

*Pegasus* (Gr. Myth.)—a winged horse.—506

*Peter* (Bib.).—235, 257-58, 261-63, 456, 542, 544

*Phèdre* (Gr. Myth.)—wife of Theseus; the title character in Jean Racine's tragedy *Phèdre.*—50

*Philipp*—a character in Schiller's tragedy *Don Carlos.*—129, 279

*Polynices* (Gr. Myth.)—son of Oedipus, took part in the war against Thebes; a character in Aeschylus' tragedy *Seven against Thebes.*—572, 573

*Pontus*—one of the title characters in the German popular book *Pontus und Sidonia.*—39

*Posa, Marquis*—a character in Schiller's tragedy *Don Carlos.*—279, 467

*Priam* (Gr. Myth.)—King of Troy.—558

*Prometheus* (Gr. Relig.)—one of the titans.—131

*Python* (Gr. Myth.)—a huge serpent which lived at Delphi and was killed by Apollo.—473

*Queen Mab*—the title character from a lyrical poem by Shelley.—107, 495, 497

*Reinald*—one of the sons of Duke Haimon in the German popular book *Haimonskinder.*—37

*Roland*—the hero of the French epic *Chanson de Roland.*—192, 389, 415, 515

*Romeo*—one of the title characters in Shakespeare's tragedy *Romeo and Juliet.*—100

*Ruy Blas*—the title character in Victor Hugo's drama.—50

*Samson*—a biblical hero known for his supernatural strength and courage.—347

*Samuel*—a biblical prophet; a character in Karl Gutzkow's drama *König Saul.*—73-78

*Sancho Panza*—a character in Cervantes' *Don Quixote.*—450

*Satan*—in a number of religions, the evil spirit who opposed God.—229, 248, 321, 350

*Saturn* (Rom. Relig.)—god of sowing.—55

*Saul*—a biblical character; also the title character in the tragedies *Saul* by Karl Beck and *König Saul* by Karl Gutzkow.—46, 69, 71, 73, 74, 78-79, 90, 91, 92, 471

*Savage, Richard*—the title character in Karl Gutzkow's drama *Richard Savage oder der Sohn einer Mutter.*—71, 73-77, 80, 91, 102, 103
*Schildbürger*—characters in a German popular book of the same name, famous for their stupidity.—34, 36, 395
*Seraphine*—the title character in Karl Gutzkow's novel.—89
*Shylock*—a character in Shakespeare's comedy *The Merchant of Venice.*—129
*Sibyl*—one of the women in ancient times believed to possess prophetic powers.—252, 395
*Siegfried*—one of the main characters in an ancient German epic and in the medieval epic *Nibelungenlied*; the title character in Engels' tragicomedy *Der gehörnte Siegfried.*—34, 37, 39, 132, 135, 136, 394, 415, 428-37, 554
*Sieghard*—a character in Engels' tragicomedy *Der gehörnte Siegfried.*—428, 429
*Siegmunt*—father of Siegfried, the hero of an ancient German epic and of the medieval epic *Nibelungenlied.*—132
*Siegwart von der Neige*—a satirical character in Engels' article "Requiem for the German *Adelszeitung*".—67
*Siglint*—mother of Siegfried, the hero of an ancient German epic and of the medieval epic *Nibelungenlied.*—132
*Solomon* (*Salomon*)—a biblical character; also one of the title characters in the German popular book *Salomon und Morolf.*—34, 36, 416

*Tannhäuser*—a character in German folk-lore; the title character of Heine's poem.—137
*Tell, Wilhelm*—the title character in Schiller's drama.—448, 467, 554
*Theoderich von der Neige*—a satirical character in Engels' article "Requiem for the German *Adelszeitung*".—67-68
*Theophilus*—a character in the New Testament.—458
*Theseus* (Gr. Myth.)—King of Athens and founder of the Athenian state.—553
*Thusnelda*—one of the main characters in Lohenstein's novel *Grossmüthiger Feldherr Arminius.*—51
*Timothy*—according to Christian tradition, a disciple and colleague of St. Paul.—263
*Tobianus*—a character in Karl Gutzkow's novel *Blasedow und seine Söhne.*—450
*Tristan*—a character in a medieval epic; the main character in the medieval romance *Tristan and Isolde*, in a German popular book and in numerous literary works based on them.—37-39, 167, 445
*Tydeus* (Gr. Myth.)—one of the seven leaders of the expedition against Thebes; a character in Aeschylus' tragedy *Seven against Thebes.*—572

*Uranus* (Gr. Myth.)—personification of Heaven; husband of the earth-goddess, Ge, father of the Titans, Cyclopes and Hecatoncheires, hundred-armed giants.—231

*Venus* (Rom. Relig.)—goddess of love and beauty.—137, 467

*Wahlheim*—the title character in Friedrich Wilhelm Krug's story *Kämpfe und Siege des jungen Wahlheim.*—25
*Wally*—the title character in Karl Gutzkow's novel *Wally, die Zweiflerin.*—38, 79, 84, 89, 420
*Walter, Markgraf*—a character in the German popular book *Griseldis.*—88, 473
*Werner*—the title character in Karl Gutzkow's drama *Werner, oder Herz und Welt.*—80, 292

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*Allgemeine Preussische Staats-Zeitung*—a newspaper published in Berlin from 1819 to 1843 six times a week. In the 1840s it was the semi-official organ of the Prussian Government.—22, 300, 307

*Allgemeine Theater-Chronik*—a journal published in Leipzig from 1832 to 1875. In the 1830s it was edited by Ludwig Alvensleben.—45

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*Athenäum für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Leben. Eine Monatsschrift für das gebildete Deutschland*—a literary-critical monthly, organ of the Young Hegelians; appeared in Nuremberg in 1838 and 1839. In 1841 it was published in Berlin as a weekly under the title *Athenäum. Zeitschrift für das gebildete Deutschland.* Ludwig Feuerbach was one of its editors.—191, 450

*Barmer Wochenblatt zur Belehrung und Unterhaltung*—a journal published in Barmen from 1832 to 1846 under the editorship of Johann Friedrich Steinhaus; organ of the Barmen pietists.—22

*Barmer Zeitung*—a liberal daily published from 1834 to 1931; from 1838 to 1841 Hermann Püttmann was its editor.—22

*Berliner Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung*—a newspaper published from 1830 to 1849 by Georg Friedrich Heinrich Rheinwald, professor of theology.—192

*Berliner Conversations-Blatt für Poesie, Litteratur und Kunst*—a journal edited by Wilhelm Häring (Willibald Alexis) (1827-29) and Hermann Marggraff (1836-38). From 1830 to 1836 it was published under the title *Der Freimüthige oder Berliner Conversationsblatt,* with Wilhelm Häring as its editor.—445

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*Berliner politisches Wochenblatt*—a conservative weekly published from 1831 to 1841 with the participation of Karl Ludwig von Haller, Heinrich Leo and Friedrich von Raumer; was supported and patronised by Frederick William IV.—63, 68, 145

*Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*—a newspaper published in Berlin from 1740 to 1874 six times a week. In the early 1840s it was the government's semi-official organ; it was also known as the *Spenersche Zeitung* after the name of its publisher.—300, 301

*Blätter zur Kunde der Literatur des Auslands*—a literary newspaper published in Stuttgart from 1836; in 1838-40 its publisher was the German poet and critic Gustav Pfizer.—497

*Bremer Kirchenbote. Eine Zeitschrift*—a journal, organ of the Bremen pietists, published from 1832 to 1847; its publishers were Georg Gottfried Treviranus, Friedrich Ludwig Mallet and F. A. Toel; Mallet was its editor from 1839 to 1845.—106, 489, 491

*Der Bremer Stadtbote*—a weekly published by Albertus Meyer from January 1839.—26, 418-20, 444

*Bremer Zeitung für Staats- Gelehrten- und Handelssachen*—a moderate liberal daily published from 1813 to 1848 by Johann Georg Heyse.—105

*Bremisches Conversationsblatt*—a moderate liberal literary journal published as a supplement to the *Bremer Zeitung* in 1838 and 1839.—106, 418

*Bremisches Unterhaltungsblatt*—a literary newspaper published from 1823 to 1857; from 1838 to 1840 its editor was W. Fricke, the editorial board including Crischan Tripsteert.—106, 418

*Der Christen-Bote. Ein kirchlich-religiöses Sonntagsblatt*—a conservative church magazine published in Stuttgart from 1832 to 1846.—346

*Criminalistische Zeitung für die Preussischen Staaten*—a moderate liberal weekly published in Berlin in 1841 and 1842.—302, 303

*Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst*—see *Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst*

*Deutscher Courier. Europäische Wochenschrift für Politik und konstitutionelle Interessen*—a weekly published in Stuttgart from 1834 to 1842.—80

*Deutscher Musenalmanach*—a liberal yearbook published in Leipzig from 1832 to 1838 by Adelbert von Chamisso and Gustav Schwab.—437, 445, 451

*Deutscher Musenalmanach*—a literary weekly, organ of the Young Hegelians, published in Berlin in 1840-41 by Theodor Echtermeyer and Arnold Ruge.—332

*Dorfzeitung*—a provincial newspaper published in Elberfeld from 1838 to 1847.—22

*Die Eisenbahn. Zeitschrift zur Beförderung geistiger und geselliger Tendenzen*—a literary journal published in Leipzig from 1838 to 1844.—92

*Elberfelder Zeitung*—a daily published under various names from 1789 to 1904; in 1834 it merged with the Elberfeld *Allgemeine Zeitung* and assumed the name *Elberfelder Zeitung*; for a number of years its editor was Martin Runkel.—22, 27, 446

*Europa. Chronik der gebildeten Welt*—a liberal journal published from 1835 to 1885, first in Stuttgart and then in Karlsruhe and Leipzig. August Lewald was its editor from 1835 to 1846.—22, 162, 422

*Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung*—a conservative church newspaper founded by Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg and published in Berlin from 1827 to 1924.—16, 192, 281, 421-23, 425, 426, 452, 455, 460, 462, 480, 489

*The Examiner*—a weekly, organ of the liberal bourgeoisie, published in London from 1808 to 1881.—376, 377

*Der Freihafen. Galerie von Unterhaltungsbildern aus den Kreisen der Literatur, Gesellschaft und Wissenschaft*—a literary quarterly published in Altona from 1838 to 1844 and influenced by the Young Germany literary group; its publisher was Theodor Mundt.—86-87, 158

*Fremdenblatt* (Elberfeld).—22

*Der Gesellschafter oder Blätter für Geist und Herz*—a literary newspaper of a liberal orientation; came out in Berlin from 1817 to 1848.—445

*Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst*—a literary and philosophical journal, organ of the Young Hegelians, published under the editorship of Arnold Ruge and Theodor Echtermeyer in Halle (1838-41); threatened with banning in Prussia, it began to appear, in July 1841, under the title *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst* in Leipzig. However, in January 1843 the journal was closed down by the Saxon Government and banned by decision of the Federal Diet throughout Germany.—50, 92, 102, 142, 144, 185, 191, 196, 197, 284, 331, 336, 340, 345, 346, 351, 496, 497, 526, 543

*Intelligenzblatt*—supplement to the *Elberfelder Zeitung*.—22

*Jahrbuch der Literatur*—a liberal literary almanac published in Hamburg in 1839 by the Hoffmann und Campe Publishing House.—21, 71, 84, 90, 422

*Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*—a journal, organ of the Right-wing Hegelians, published in Stuttgart and Tübingen from 1827 to 1846; in 1834 it appeared in Berlin.—21, 195, 295, 296, 487

*Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*—a literary journal published in Jena and Leipzig from 1804 to 1841. From 1842 to 1848 it appeared under the title *Neue Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*.—80

*Der Komet. Ein Unterhaltungsblatt für die gebildete Lesewelt*—a liberal literary daily published from 1830 to 1848, first in Altenburg and then in Leipzig; its editor was Karl Georg Reginald Herloßsohn.—433

*Königlich Privilegirte Preussische Staats- Kriegs- und Friedens-Zeitung*—a daily published (under this title) in Königsberg from 1752 to 1850. In the 1840s it was a progressive bourgeois newspaper.—310

*Königsberger Literatur-Blatt*—a newspaper published under Alexander Jung's editorship in Königsberg from 1841 to 1845; it was influenced by the Young Germany literary group.—284, 293-95

*Königsberger Zeitung*—see *Königlich Privilegirte Preussische Staats- Kriegs- und Friedens-Zeitung*

*Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*—a daily published from 1837; in the early 1840s it had a radical orientation. By a government decree of December 28, 1842, the newspaper was banned in Prussia, but it continued to appear in Saxony until April 1, 1843.—260, 308, 353

*Literarische Zeitung*—a literary weekly published in Berlin from 1834 to 1849 and financed by the Prussian Government. Its publishers were Karl Büchner (1834-37), Eduard Meyen (1838) and Heinrich Brandes.—281

*Literatur-Blatt*—a newspaper published as a supplement to the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* in Stuttgart and Tübingen from 1820 to 1852; from 1852 to 1869 it appeared as an independent literary paper. Between 1830 and 1869 it was edited by Wolfgang Menzel.—293, 412, 420

*Litterarischer Anzeiger für christliche Theologie und Wissenschaft überhaupt*—a theological journal, organ of the Halle pietists, published from 1830 to 1849 by Friedrich August Tholuck.—192, 490

*Der Menschenfreund. Eine religiöse Zeitschrift*—a theological journal published in Berlin from 1824 to 1847 by Friedrich August Tholuck.—192, 490

*Mitternachtzeitung für gebildete Leser*—a liberal newspaper published under this title in Brunswick from 1830 to 1839 under the editorship of Eduard Brinckmeier. Earlier, between 1826 and 1829, it was published by Adolf Müllner under the title *Mitternachtzeitung für gebildete Stände*.—496, 497

*Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser*—a literary daily published in Stuttgart and Tübingen from 1839 to 1865. From 1807 to 1838 it appeared under the title *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*. Frederick Engels contributed to the newspaper in 1840 and 1841.—22, 412

*Musenalmanach*—see *Deutscher Musenalmanach*

*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*—a theoretical-musical journal published in Leipzig from 1834 to 1926. It was founded, and in 1834-41 edited, by Robert Schumann.—159

*Das Nordlicht*—a journal published in Leipzig from 1839 by Rudolf Mettler.—92

*Der Patriot. Zeitschrift für Deutschland*—a journal published in Bremen between July and December 1838.—105

*Pfizers Blätter*—see *Blätter zur Kunde der Literatur des Auslands*

*Der Pilot. Allgemeine Revue der einheimischen und ausländischen Literatur- und Volkszustände*—a literary and philosophical journal published by Johann Friedrich Hammerich in Altona from 1840 to 1842; from 1841 it appeared twice a week. Its editor-in-chief was Theodor Hell (1841-42).—292

*Provinzialzeitung*—see *Elberfelder Zeitung*

*Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*—a daily founded on January 1, 1842, as an organ of the Rhenish bourgeois opposition circles and published until March 31, 1843, in Cologne. Edited by Marx (from October 15, 1842, to March 17, 1843), the newspaper acquired a clearly expressed revolutionary-democratic character. By a decision of the Prussian Government it was closed down on April 1, 1843. In 1842 Engels was one of its contributors.—296, 310, 546

*Rheinisches Jahrbuch für Kunst und Poesie*—a literary journal published in Cologne in 1840 and 1841 under the editorship of Ferdinand Freiligrath, G. Matzerath and Karl Simrock.—79, 81, 161, 497

*Rheinisches Odeon*—a democratic literary journal; in the first year of its publication (1836) it appeared in Coblenz and in the second (1838) in Düsseldorf; it was published by Ignaz Hub, Ferdinand Freiligrath and August Schnezler.—27

*Rosen. Eine Zeitschrift für die gebildete Welt*—a liberal literary journal published in Leipzig from 1838 to 1848, by Robert Heller (1838-44) and George Hesekiel (1845-48).—432

*The Shipping and Mercantile Gazette*—a newspaper published in London from January 1836.—115

*Spenersche Zeitung*—see *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*

*Staats-Zeitung*—see *Allgemeine Preussische Staats-Zeitung*

*Täglicher Anzeiger für Berg und Mark*—a daily published in the 1830s and 1840s.—22

*Telegraph für Deutschland*—a literary journal founded by Karl Gutzkow; in 1837 it was published in Frankfurt am Main and in 1838-48 in Hamburg; in the late 1830s and early 1840s it expressed the views of the Young Germany literary group. Engels contributed to the journal from March 1839 to 1841.—28, 71, 73, 87, 91, 292, 412, 415, 426, 446, 450, 468, 472, 488, 496, 497

*Unterhaltungsblatt*—see *Bremisches Unterhaltungsblatt*

*Wupperthaler Lesekreis*—supplement to the *Barmer Zeitung*.—22

*Zeitschrift für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie*—a conservative journal published under this title in Bonn from 1837 to 1846 by Immanuel Hermann Fichte.—192

*Zeitschrift für spekulative Physik*—a natural-philosophy journal published under the editorship of Friedrich Wilhelm Schelling in Jena and Leipzig in 1800 and 1801.—183

*Zeitung für den Deutschen Adel*—a newspaper which expressed the interests of the feudal nobility; it appeared from 1840 to 1846, first in Leipzig and then in Altenburg; it was published by Ludwig Alvensleben (up to 1842) and edited by Friedrich Fouqué (1840-42).—66-70

*Zeitung für die elegante Welt*—a literary newspaper published from 1801 to 1859 in Leipzig and, in the last years, in Erfurt; in the 1830s and 1840s it expressed the views of the Young Germany literary group. From 1835 to 1843 it was edited by Gustav Kühne.—42, 43, 45, 88, 91, 92, 94, 412, 467

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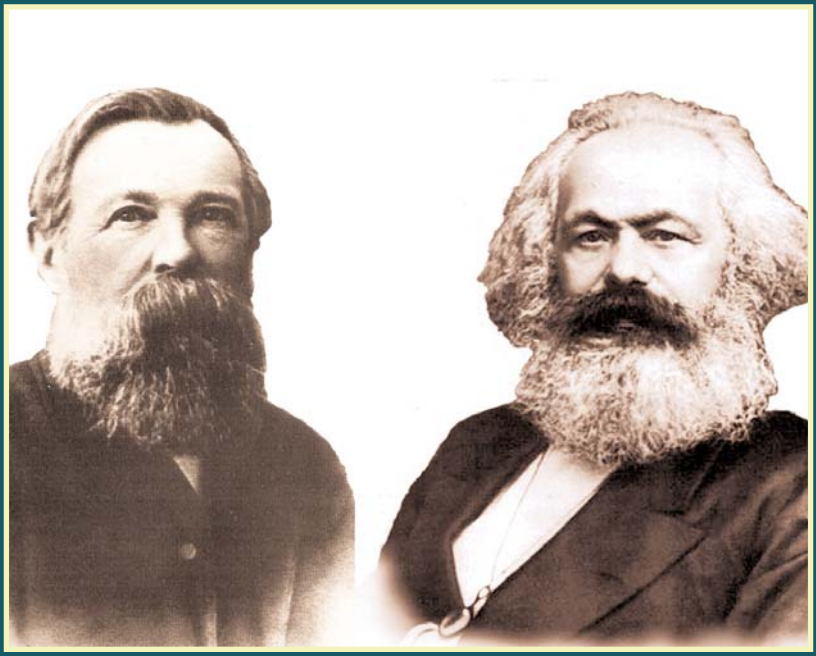

## VOLUME 3

Karl Marx March 1843-August 1844

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## TRANSLATORS

JACK COHEN: Marx: Works 8; Letters 1-3; From the Preparatory Materials 1

RICHARD DIXON: Appendices: 2

CLEMENS DUTT: Marx: Works 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11; From the Preparatory Materials 2; Engels: Article 1, Appendices 1, 3-5

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CHRISTOPHER UPWARD: Engels: Works 9, 10 and 11

# Preface

The third volume of the works of Marx and Engels covers the period between March 1843 and August 1844, before their close collaboration began. The contents fall into two parts; the first consists of Marx's works, letters and preparatory material from March 1843 to August 1844; the second contains Engels' writings from May 1843 to June 1844. Included as appendices are biographical documents of Marx and letters which his wife Jenny wrote to him between June and August 1844.

This period marked an important stage in the formation of the world outlook of both Marx and Engels, each of whom accomplished in 1843 the transition from idealism to materialism and from the standpoint of revolutionary democracy to that of communism. The development of each proceeded in the main independently of the other, although they showed a growing interest in each other's writings and activity.

By late 1843 and early 1844 Marx and Engels were alike opponents not only of the existing political systems of feudal absolutism and bourgeois monarchy, but of any kind of social system resting on private property and exploitation of the working people. They both saw in the emancipation movement of the working class the only way to free humanity from social inequality and oppression. It was at this time that Marx and Engels made their first contacts with the working class. After moving to Paris in October 1843 Marx found himself in an atmosphere of intense socialist agitation and activity of workers' groups and secret societies. And during the same year, Engels, who had been living in England since November 1842, established close links with the Chartists and the Owenite Socialists and became a contributor to their periodicals.

The main efforts of Marx and Engels during this period were directed towards working out the scientific basis of a new, revolutionary-proletarian world outlook. Each had arrived at materialist and communist convictions, and set about studying a broad spectrum of philosophical, historical, economic and political problems. Marx was engaged upon a number of theoretical projects: he began writing a work on Hegel's philosophy of law, intended to write a history of the Convention, and was also planning works devoted to the criticism of politics and political economy; Engels, for his part, was studying social developments in England, the condition of the English working class. Each clearly realised the necessity to dissociate himself from current economic, philosophical and sociological doctrines; each considered the criticism of these essential if the theoretical principles of a new world outlook were to be arrived at. They both clearly understood the inconsistency of Hegel's idealism, the narrow-mindedness of the bourgeois economists, and the weaknesses of the Utopian Socialists, but at the same time they tried to make use of all that was rational in the views of their predecessors. They were deeply impressed by Feuerbach's materialism, but had already gone far beyond Feuerbach in their approach to theoretical and practical problems, particularly in interpreting the life of society.

The works included in this volume register the completion of Marx's and Engels' transition to materialism and communism and the initial stage in synthesising the emerging revolutionary-communist and dialectical-materialist views into a qualitatively new theory. The contribution each made to this complex process may be seen. Evident too are the common features in their views which led them later to unite their efforts in the theoretical and practical struggle.

The volume opens with Marx's extensive though incomplete manuscript *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law* (written in the spring and summer of 1843). The object of this study was not only Hegel's philosophy. Marx studied a broad range of problems in the history and theory of the state and law, world history, the history of separate countries (England, France, Germany, the USA, Italy, Sweden), the English Revolution of the seventeenth century, and the French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century. All this was reflected in his manuscript and in his notebooks of excerpts (the so-called Kreuznach Notebooks). Although he was strongly influenced by Feuerbach's materialism, Marx did not approach the criticism of Hegel through an analysis of religion, as Feuerbach had done, but through an investigation of

social relations. For this reason what interested Marx most in Hegel was his philosophy of law, his teaching on the state and society. In the process of criticising Hegel's philosophy of law, Marx was led to the conclusion that the state is determined by civil society, that is, the sphere of private—first and foremost material—interests, and the social relations connected with them, and not civil society by the state, as Hegel had asserted.

Marx wished to define the concept of civil society in concrete terms, to bring out the essential features of its historical evolution, and in particular to analyse the stage at which bourgeois private property began to play the dominant role in the field of material relationships. Giving a materialist explanation of the mutual connection between the state in his time and bourgeois ownership, Marx wrote that the existing political constitution in the developed countries was "the *constitution of private property*" (see this volume, p. 98).

Later, in 1859, in the Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx recalled the important part his work on the critique of Hegel's philosophy of law had played in the formation of his materialist views: "My inquiry led me to the conclusion that neither legal relations nor political forms could be comprehended either by themselves or on the basis of a so-called general development of the human mind, but that on the contrary they originate in the material conditions of life, the totality of which Hegel, following the example of English and French thinkers of the eighteenth century, embraces within the term 'civil society'; that the anatomy of this civil society, however, has to be sought in political economy."

From the criticism of the conservative aspects of Hegel's philosophy, such as the idealisation of monarchical and bureaucratic institutions, Marx went on to a critical reconsideration of the very basis of Hegel's idealism. He arrived at the conviction that idealism inevitably leads to religion and mysticism. But Marx did not reject the rational content of Hegel's philosophy or his dialectics, and stressed that Hegel had succeeded in presenting, though in an abstract, mystified form, many of the real processes of social life. Contrary to Feuerbach, Marx continued to attach great importance to Hegel's dialectical method and made the first step towards a materialist transformation of dialectics, towards freeing it from its mystical shell.

In his manuscript Marx put forward his own, essentially communist conception of democracy as a social system free from social oppression and worthy of man. We can, he stressed, acquire genuine

freedom by throwing off the impositions of both the bureaucratically organised state and of a civil society resting on the egoistic principles of private property. But "for a *new* constitution a real revolution has always been required" (see this volume, p. 56).

Closely connected with the manuscript of 1843 is Marx's note on Hegel taken from the Kreuznach Notebooks, which is included in this volume. It bears witness to the internal connection between the manuscript and the notebooks, which were compiled because Marx felt the necessity to supplement his philosophical investigation with concrete historical material. In this note Marx criticises Hegel for separating the abstract idea of the state from its real historical form.

Marx's final transition to the standpoint of communism was associated with the preparation and publication of the journal *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher.*

Marx's draft programme of this journal and his correspondence with the co-founder, the radical philosopher and publicist Arnold Ruge, which are included in this volume, reflect the different approaches of the editors to the journal's tasks. Contrary to Ruge, who wanted to give it a more moderate, purely enlightening character, Marx held that the main theme of the journal, the purpose of which was to unite the German and French Socialists and democrats, should be relentless criticism of the existing world order. Accordingly, in the letters published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher,* Marx had no use for speculative theories divorced from life and the practical struggle of the masses, and demanded the embodiment of theoretical criticism in practical revolutionary activity, "making ... *real* struggles the starting point of our criticism" (see this volume, p. 144). He expressed here one of the principal ideas of the emerging revolutionary-communist world outlook — the idea of the unity of theory and practice.

In his article "On the Jewish Question", Marx attacked Bruno Bauer's idealistic, narrowly theological presentation of the problem of Jewish emancipation. As opposed to his former fellow thinkers, the Young Hegelians, Marx saw criticism of religion, as well as of politics, not as the final aim but as a tool to be used in the revolutionary struggle, and he wanted to go further and deeper in the critical reconsideration of all existing relationships. Marx's polemic with Bauer provided him with the occasion for a broader materialist examination of the problem of mankind's emancipation not only from national, religious and political, but also from economic and social oppression. In this work Marx developed the concept of the limited nature of the bourgeois revolution,

which he called "political emancipation". He put forward the idea of the necessity for a deeper-going revolution aiming at the real elimination of all social antagonisms. This kind of revolution he called "human emancipation".

In another of his works published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*— "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction", Marx continued his analysis of the problem of "human emancipation". Here he comes to the crucial conclusion of the historical role of the proletariat in the revolutionary transformation of the world. For the first time he declared that the proletariat is the social force capable of carrying out the complete emancipation of mankind. In this work Marx also came to another important conclusion: the profound revolutionising significance of advanced theory. "The weapon of criticism cannot, of course, replace criticism by weapons, material force must be overthrown by material force; but theory also becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses" (see this volume, p. 182).

Lenin considered Marx's articles in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* as the final link in his transition from revolutionary democracy to proletarian revolution: "Marx's articles in this journal showed that he was already a revolutionary, who advocated 'merciless criticism of everything existing', and in particular the 'criticism by weapons', and appealed to the *masses* and to the *proletariat*" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 47).

After the journal *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* ceased publication, Marx wrote several articles for *Vorwärts!*, the German emigrants' paper in Paris. His articles in this newspaper, his direct participation in the editorial work from September 1844, and his enlistment of Frederick Engels, Heinrich Heine and Georg Herwegh as contributors, made this journal a militant political weapon in the struggle against both Prussian absolutism and German moderate liberalism. Under the influence of Marx and Engels the paper began to assume a communist character.

Marx's article "Critical Marginal Notes on the Article 'The King of Prussia and Social Reform. By a Prussian'", dealing with the uprising of the Silesian weavers in 1844, was published in *Vorwärts!* It was directed against Ruge, who considered the Silesian uprising a futile revolt of the desperate poor. Marx, on the other hand, regarded it as the first major class action of the German proletariat against the bourgeoisie, a testimony to the broad revolutionary possibilities of the working class. Developing the idea he had already expressed in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* about the world-historical role of the proletariat, Marx pointed out that "it is only in the *proletariat*

that" the German people "can find the dynamic element of its emancipation" (see this volume, p. 202).

Having arrived at a materialist position, Marx came to the conclusion that an extensive study of economic relations had to be undertaken. From this time until the end of his life the study of political economy occupied the central place in his scientific activity. Marx made numerous excerpts from the works of Adam Smith, Ricardo, Say, Skarbek, List, James Mill, Destutt de Tracy, McCulloch, Boisguillebert, Lauderdale, Schütz and other economists, in many cases accompanying these excerpts with his own comments and critical remarks. The most extensive of these are the "Comments on James Mill, *Élémens d'économie politique*", which formed part of Marx's summary of this work and are included in the present volume. From these comments it is clear that although Marx's own economic views were still in the initial stage of formation, he nevertheless succeeded in noting the main defect of bourgeois political economy—its anti-historical approach to capitalism. He pointed out that Mill, like other bourgeois economists, thought capitalist relations eternal and immutable, corresponding to "man's nature" (see this volume, p. 217).

Many of the thoughts expressed in the "Comments" have much in common with the unfinished, only partially extant work which has editorially been given the title *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*. This was Marx's first attempt at a critical examination, from the standpoint of the dialectical-materialist and communist conclusions he had reached, of the economic bases of bourgeois society and the views of the bourgeois economists. At the same time, these manuscripts were the first attempt of synthesising the new philosophical, economic and historical-political ideas of the integral world outlook of the proletariat.

The *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* embrace various fields of the social sciences. In all these fields Marx used and developed materialist dialectics as a penetrative instrument of knowledge. He achieved a new stage of comprehension of the structure and development of society. Marx emphasised here for the first time the decisive role of production in the social process and pointed out that private property and the division of labour are the material basis of society's division into classes. Analysing the economic structure of bourgeois society, he stressed that the class contradictions of capitalism would inevitably grow deeper as wealth became concentrated in the hands of capitalist owners. Extremely penetrating are Marx's thoughts on the influence of man's productive labour and his social relations on science and culture. He noted in particular the

process not only of social enslavement, but also of spiritual impoverishment of the working man resulting from the domination of private property.

In his manuscripts Marx put forward materialist criteria for assessing the development of economic thought, a development which, he explained, is a reflection in the ideological sphere of the evolution of actual economic relations. The development of science, according to Marx, repeats the development of society itself. He considered the teaching of the leading bourgeois economists — Adam Smith, Ricardo and others — as the highest achievement of political economy. But although he had not yet undertaken an analysis of the labour theory of value, he at the same time noted the limitations of their views — their failure to understand the true internal connections and dynamics of the economic phenomena described, and their metaphysical approach to them. In their striving to perpetuate artificially the basis of capitalism and the relationships of inhuman exploitation, Marx discerned the anti-humanist tendencies of the bourgeois economists.

In the manuscripts of 1844, as in his other works of this period, Marx used the traditional terminology, partly of Feuerbach and partly of Hegel. Thus, in accordance with Feuerbach's usage Marx wrote that "communism, as fully developed naturalism, equals humanism, and as fully developed humanism equals naturalism". In fact, however, Marx gave these terms an essentially new content, and put forward views which were in many respects opposed to Feuerbach's abstract humanism and supra-class anti-historical anthropologism. His manuscripts are pervaded with the sense of history and understanding of the significance of revolutionary practice, and are distinguished by their class approach to the social phenomena under consideration. As regards Hegel, it can be seen from the manuscripts of 1844 that Marx had achieved a quite mature understanding of the relationship between the rational and conservative aspects of his teaching. Marx showed the groundlessness of Hegel's attempts to transform nature into another mode of existence of the mystical Absolute Idea. At the same time he also stressed the positive aspects of the Hegelian dialectic and in particular the significance of Hegel's conception—although it was expressed in an idealistic form—of the development and resolution of contradictions.

One of the central problems in the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* is the problem of estrangement or alienation. Hegel had already made extensive use of this concept. With him, however, it is not real living people but the Absolute Idea that

undergoes alienation. Feuerbach operates with a similar concept in his theory of the origin of religion, reducing it to the alienation of the universal (generic) qualities of abstract man, which are imputed to an illusory divinity.

Marx used the concept of alienation for purposes of a profound analysis of social relations. For him alienation was characteristic of those social relations under which the conditions of people's life and activity, that activity itself, and the relations between people, appear as a force which is alien and hostile to people. So in Marx's interpretation alienation is by no means a supra-historical phenomenon. Marx was the first to link alienation with the domination of private property and the social system it engenders. He saw that alienation could be overcome only by the liquidation of private property and of all the consequences of its domination.

Marx's views on alienation appeared in a concentrated form in his treatment of "estranged labour". The concept of "estranged labour" summed up the enslaved condition of the worker in capitalist society, his being tied down to a definite job, his physical and moral crippling as a result of labour which is forced on him, "the loss of his self" (see this volume, p. 274). The concept of "estranged labour" in the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* constituted in particular the initial expression of the future Marxist theory of the appropriation of labour of others by capital, a preliminary approach to the important ideas later developed especially in *Capital.*

The wide application of the concept of alienation was distinctive of the initial stage in the shaping of Marx's economic teaching. In his subsequent works this concept was superseded to a considerable degree by other, more concrete determinations revealing more completely and more clearly the substance of the economic relations of capitalism, the exploitation of wage-labour. However, as a philosophically generalised expression of the exploiting, inhuman character of the social system based on private property, and of the destitution of the working masses in that society, it continues to be used in Marx's later works.

In the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* Marx clearly formulated his conclusion that the system of private property can be overthrown only as a result of the revolutionary struggle of the broad masses. "In order to abolish the *idea* of private property, the *idea* of communism is quite sufficient. It takes *actual* communist action to abolish actual private property" (see this volume, p. 313).

As Marx saw it, the future social system represents the antipode of the existing society of exploitation. At that stage of social development man will have become capable of freeing himself from social

antagonisms and all forms of alienation. Marx criticised the various primitive theories of egalitarian communism, with their tendencies towards asceticism, social levelling, and a return to the "*unnatural* simplicity of the *poor* and crude man who has few needs" (see this volume, p. 295). The future society must give scope for the all-round satisfaction of man's requirements, and the full flowering of the human personality.

The second section of the first part of this volume contains letters written by Marx which provide supplementary material showing the development of his views and his political activity during the period.

Of special interest are two letters from Marx to Ludwig Feuerbach. Marx wanted to draw the great materialist philosopher into active political and ideological struggle. In his letter of October 3, 1843, inviting Feuerbach to contribute to the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher,* Marx mentioned how important it would be if his authority as a philosopher could be used to discredit Schelling's reactionary and idealist philosophy. The idea that philosophical materialism and idealism are irreconcilable likewise runs through another letter, written on August 11, 1844. In it Marx stressed that progressive philosophy should serve the most revolutionary social force, the proletariat. At that time Marx still regarded Feuerbach's materialism as the theoretical substantiation of the necessity for the revolutionary transformation of society. He considered that Feuerbach had provided "a philosophical basis for socialism" (see this volume, p. 354). However, it soon became obvious to Marx that such a foundation could be laid only by overcoming the weak sides of Feuerbach's philosophy, with its tendency towards abstraction from real social relations, and by working out a theory that would reveal the objective dialectical laws of social development.

The section "From the Preparatory Materials" contains a conspectus of the memoirs of the Jacobin Levasseur made by Marx after his move to Paris, most probably in connection with his unrealised intention to write a history of the Convention. This conspectus, entitled by Marx "The Struggle Between the Montagnards and the Girondists", demonstrates Marx's sustained interest in the French Revolution of the late eighteenth century as a major event of world history. It contains few of Marx's own remarks, but the selection of the material shows that he was particularly interested in the influence of the popular masses on the course of the Revolution. It was precisely the growing revolutionary activity of the masses after the fall of the monarchy on August 10, 1792, and their increasing discontent with the administration of the Girondists—who repre-

sented the moderate bourgeoisie, as the facts quoted by Marx eloquently prove—that led to the establishment of the revolutionary dictatorship of the Jacobins. His study of these events undoubtedly played a major part in the formation of his views of the determining role of the working masses in history and the class struggle as the most important factor in historical development.

This section also includes a short summary made by Marx of Engels' article "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy". This article was one of the causes which led Marx to study political economy. Marx recognised in Engels a philosophical and political fellow thinker, and was deeply influenced by Engels' initiative in dealing with problems of economics from the standpoint of communism—a field in which his future associate was then a pioneer.

The second part of the volume contains the works of Engels written from May 1843 to June 1844. Living in England, the most highly developed capitalist country of the time, Engels studied with a profound interest its economic and political life and social relations. He devoted himself especially to the study of British political economy and the works of the English Utopian Socialists, in particular Robert Owen.

The key problem in Engels' series of articles "Letters from London", printed in the Swiss progressive journal *Schweizerischer Republikaner* in May and June 1843, concerns the social structure of English society. In analysing it, Engels laid bare the class character of the English political parties. He noted the important role of the Socialist and Chartist movements and stressed that Chartism "has its strength in the working men, the proletarians" (see this volume, p. 379). The "Letters from London" mark a new stage in the development of Engels' revolutionary-materialist world outlook since his arrival in England in the autumn of 1842. The thoughts he expressed in them show that he appreciated the part played by the class struggle in social development, and understood the role of the proletariat as the force capable of accomplishing a social revolution in England.

By his writings in the English and continental press Engels sought to bring about an international rapprochement in the field of ideas between the proletariat and the Socialists. He considered that the English Socialists were doing great service by making known to the workers the ideas of the eighteenth-century French Enlightenment. Engels himself thought it his duty to inform the English Chartists and Owenists about the socialist and communist movements in other countries. For this purpose he wrote a number of articles for the

Owenist paper *The New Moral World*, including the essay "Progress of Social Reform on the Continent". Engels linked the inception and development of socialist and communist teachings with the social protest of the working masses against oppression and exploitation, and showed that socialist views came into being as a reflection of that protest in the consciousness of progressive thinkers. Drawing attention to the common underlying social base and international character of the socialist and communist movement, he wrote: "... Communism is not the consequence of the particular position of the English, or any other nation, but ... a necessary conclusion, which cannot be avoided to be drawn from the premises given in the general facts of modern civilisation" (see this volume, p. 392). At the same time he noted the influence of each people's national peculiarities on the development of socialist thought.

Engels followed the history of socialist and communist ideas in France, Germany and Switzerland. He brought out the rational elements in the teaching of the various schools of utopian socialism and communism and at the same time he indicated the inconsistencies and immature features inherent in them. The article shows that he was clearly aware of the need to overcome the defects of previous socialist ideas, to deepen the theoretical understanding of communism and unite it with advanced philosophy.

The article "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy" published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* was Engels' first work on economics. In it, Lenin wrote, he "examined the principal phenomena of the contemporary economic order from a socialist standpoint, regarding them as necessary consequences of the rule of private property" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 24). Engels' work is remarkable for its profound revolutionary purposefulness, its materialist proletarian class approach to economic phenomena and theories, and its clear understanding of the failure of the metaphysical method used by the bourgeois economists. His article was the first experiment in applying the materialist world outlook and materialist dialectics to the analysis of economic categories.

The work is devoted mainly to a critical examination of the economic basis of the capitalist system — private property. Engels proved that the main cause of the social antagonisms in the bourgeois world and the cause of the future social revolution was the development of the contradictions inherent in and engendered by private property. He investigated the dialectical interconnections between competition and monopoly resulting from the nature of private property, and the profound contradictions between labour and capital.

While criticising the bourgeois economists, Engels made no distinction at that time between the representatives of the classical school, Smith and Ricardo, and vulgar economists of the type of Say, McCulloch and others. At this stage he had not yet accepted Smith's and Ricardo's labour theory of value and was unable properly to assess its place in the development of economic teachings. At the same time he put forward the profound concept of the correspondence between the development of political economy and the level of economic relations achieved. He vehemently criticised the unscientific misanthropic population theory of Malthus and proved that poverty and destitution are in no way to be accounted for by allegedly limited possibilities of production and of applied science. On the contrary, Engels stressed that "the productive power at mankind's disposal is immeasurable" (see this volume, p. 436). Social calamities, he concluded, are engendered by the existing economic system, which must be subjected to a revolutionary communist reconstruction.

Engels' review—also published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*—of Carlyle's *Past and Present*, which he criticised from the standpoint of materialism and atheism, took issue with Carlyle's idealist interpretation of history, his hero-worship and romantic idealisation of the Middle Ages. In opposition to these views Engels emphasised that at the basis of the historical process lies the concrete activity of people, their hard struggle both to subjugate nature and to establish social relationships corresponding to man's dignity and genuine interest. Engels rejected Carlyle's view of the working class as a mere suffering mass. He expressed faith in the creative role of the proletariat, in its ability to carry out radical social changes.

In the articles continuing this review and published in the newspaper *Vorwärts!*—"The Condition of England. I. The Eighteenth Century" and "The Condition of England. II. The English Constitution"—Engels performed pioneering work in the materialist interpretation of the history of England, and this was a most important premise for the subsequent elaboration by Marx and Engels of the materialist understanding of the whole historical process. Engels traced the part played by the industrial revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in England's development and analysed in detail its social and political consequences. Examining the English political system, he showed the limitations of bourgeois democracy. Opposing to it the idea of "social democracy", Engels arrived at the conclusion that the conquest of political power by the working class was the necessary condition for the transition to socialism.

This volume contains a large group of articles previously unknown as written by Engels from the Chartist paper *The Northern Star*, to which he began to contribute at the end of 1843. They had a common theme—the democratic and socialist movement in the countries of Central Europe, and exposure of the reactionary policy pursued by the governments of those states. Engels demonstrated the common condition of the working class in different countries and the identity of the social causes giving rise to the class actions of the workers.

Particularly notable are the articles "News from Prussia" and "Further Particulars of the Silesian Riots" because they are the first comments on the uprising of the Silesian weavers from the standpoint of revolutionary communism. Engels saw in the uprising the confirmation of the universal character of the contradictions of capitalism and pointed out that the emergence of the factory system would have the same effects in every country as it had in England. The account of the Silesian uprising in these articles coincided in many respects with Marx's assessment of it in his work "Critical Marginal Notes on the Article 'The King of Prussia and Social Reform. By a Prussian'".

The evolution of Engels' views led him to the same conclusions at which Marx was arriving. The ensuing steps in developing the scientific principles of the revolutionary world outlook were made by them jointly in their unique collaboration, which began after their meeting in Paris at the end of August 1844.

* * *

Some of the works included in this volume have never before been translated into English. Published for the first time in English are an extract from the Kreuznach Notebooks of 1843; "Draft Programme of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*"; letters to the editors of the newspapers *Démocratie pacifique* and *Allgemeine Zeitung*; "Illustrations of the Latest Exercise in Cabinet Style of Frederick William IV"; Marx's letter of November 21, 1843, to Julius Fröbel, all the items in the section "From the Preparatory Materials" and also the letters of Jenny Marx published in the Appendices.

The works of Engels not previously published in English include the first three articles in the series "Letters from London" and one article in the series "The Condition of England". The eleven articles from the newspaper *The Northern Star* have been collected together for the first time.

Those works included in this volume which have been previously published in English are given either in new or in carefully revised

translations. Peculiarities in the arrangement of the text of some works, in particular the manuscripts, are described in the notes.

Publishers and translators express their gratitude to Clarendon Press, Oxford, and Professor Sir Malcolm Knox for their kind permission to take as a basis for some of the quotations in the *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law* the text of *Hegel's Philosophy of Right* translated and edited by Professor Knox. Certain changes have been introduced in the translation and some passages retranslated to render Marx's interpretation of the respective passages.

All the texts have been translated from the German except where otherwise indicated.

The volume was compiled and the preface and notes written by Velta Pospelova and edited by Lev Golman (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). Indexes of names and of books and periodicals mentioned or quoted were prepared by Kirill Anderson, and the subject index by Boris Gusev (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

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# KARL MARX

## WORKS

March 1843-August 1844

# CONTRIBUTION TO THE CRITIQUE OF HEGEL'S PHILOSOPHY OF LAW[1]

Written in the spring and summer of 1843

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Printed according to the manuscript

261. "Over against the spheres of civil law and personal welfare, the family and civil society, the state is ***on the one hand*** an *external* necessity and their superior authority, and both their laws and interests are subordinate to and dependent upon the nature of this authority. ***On the other hand***, however, the state is their *immanent* end, and its strength lies in the unity of its ultimate general purpose with the particular interest of individuals—in the fact that they have *duties* towards the state since they have rights as well (para. 155)."[2]

The previous paragraph [i. e., para. 260] tells us that *concrete freedom* consists in the identity (as an ought, a dual identity) of the system of particular interest (the family and civil society) with the system of general interest (the state). The relation between these spheres has now to be more precisely defined.

On the one hand, the state, over against the sphere of the family and civil society, is an "*external* necessity", an authority, in relation to which "laws" and "interests" are "subordinate and dependent". That the state is an "*external* necessity" over against the family and civil society was already implied to some extent in the category of "transition" and to some extent in the *conscious relation* of family and civil society to the state. The "subordination" to the state, too, corresponds completely to this relation of "*external* necessity". What Hegel means by "dependence", however, is shown by the following sentence in the Remark to this paragraph:

"It was Montesquieu above all who kept in view [...] both the thought of the ***dependence*** of civil law in particular on the specific character of the state, and also the philosophical notion of always treating the part in its relation to the whole", etc.

Hegel is thus speaking here of the fact that civil law, etc., is *intrinsically* dependent on, or determined in its essence by, the state.

At the same time, however, he subsumes this dependence under the relation of "*external* necessity" and contrasts it with the other relation in which the family and civil society have the state as their "*immanent* end".

"External necessity" can only be taken to mean that where a collision occurs, the "laws" and "interests" of family and society must give way to the "laws" and "interests" of the state; that they are subordinate to it; that their existence is dependent on its existence; or again that its will and its laws appear to their "will" and their "laws" as a necessity!

However, Hegel is not here speaking of empirical collisions: he is speaking of the relation of the "*spheres* of civil law and personal welfare, the family and civil society" to the state. What is at issue is the *essential relationship* of these spheres themselves. Not only their "interests", but also their "laws", their "fundamental characteristics" are "dependent" on the state, "subordinate" to it. It stands to their "laws and interests" as "superior *authority*". Their "interest" and "law" stand as its "subordinate". They live in "dependence" on it. Precisely because "subordination" and "dependence" are *external* relations which constrain and run counter to independent being, the relation of the "family" and of "civil society" to the state is that of "*external* necessity", of a necessity which goes against the inner nature of the thing. This fact itself, that the "civil law" depends on and is modified by "the specific character of the state", is therefore subsumed under the relation of "*external necessity*", precisely because "civil society and family" in their true (i. e., in their independent and complete) development are antecedent as particular "spheres" to the state. *"Subordination"* and *"dependence"* are the expressions for an "external", *imposed,* illusory identity, as the logical expression for which Hegel rightly uses "*external necessity*". In "subordination" and "dependence" Hegel has further developed one side of the dual identity, namely, the aspect of the estrangement within the unity;

> "on the other hand, however, the state is their *immanent* end, and its strength lies in the unity of its *ultimate* **general** *purpose* with the **particular** *interest* of individuals — in the fact that they have *duties* towards the state since they have rights as well."

Hegel here sets up an unresolved *antinomy. On the one hand* external necessity, *on the other hand* immanent end. The unity of the *ultimate general purpose* of the state with the *particular interest of individuals* is supposed to consist in the fact that their *duties* to the state and *their rights* in the state are identical. (Thus, for example, the duty to respect property is supposed to coincide with the right to property.)

In the Remark [to para. 261] this identity is explained thus:

"*Duty* is primarily behaviour *towards* something which is for me *substantial* and which is intrinsically universal; right, on the other hand, is actually *existence* of this substance, and is thus the aspect of its *particularity* and of my *particular* freedom. Consequently, at formal levels both duty and right appear allocated to different sides or different persons. In the state, as something ethical, as the interpenetration of the substantial and the particular, my obligation to what is substantial is at the same time the form of existence of my particular freedom: in the state, that is, duty and right are *united in one and the same relation.*"

262. "The actual idea, mind, divides itself into the two ideal spheres of its concept, family and civil society, that is, its ***finite*** phase, so as to emerge from their ideality as ***explicitly infinite*** actual mind. Accordingly, it assigns to these spheres the material of this, its finite actuality, individuals as a *multitude*, in such a way that with regard to the individual this assignment appears *mediated* by circumstances, caprice and the individual's own choice of vocation."

Translated into prose, the above yields this:

The way in which the state effects its self-mediation with the family and civil society is decided by "circumstances, caprice and the individual's own choice of vocation". Political reason has therefore nothing to do with the distribution of the material of the state to the family and civil society. The state arises from them in an unconscious and arbitrary fashion. The family and civil society appear as the dark natural ground from which the light of the state arises. The material of the state is taken as comprising the *concerns* of the state, namely, the family and civil society, insofar as they form parts of the state and participate in the state as such.

This exposition is remarkable in two respects.

1) Family and civil society are conceived as *spheres of the concept* of the state, namely, as the spheres of its *finite* phase, as *its finiteness.* It is the state which *divides* itself into them, which *presupposes* them, and it *does* this "so as to emerge from their ideality as *explicitly infinite* actual mind". "It divides, so as to." It "*accordingly assigns* to these spheres the material of its actuality *in such a way that* this assignment, etc., *appears* mediated". The so-called "actual idea" (mind as infinite and actual) is presented as if it acted on a specific principle and with specific intent. It divides into finite spheres; it does this "so as to return into itself, to be conscious of itself"; and this it does indeed so that what comes to pass is precisely what actually exists.

At this point the logical, pantheistic mysticism becomes very clear.

The *actual* relation is this: "with regard to the individual the assignment of the material of the state is mediated by circumstances, caprice and the individual's own choice of vocation". Speculative philosophy expresses this fact, this *actual relation* as

*appearance*, as *phenomenon*. These circumstances, this caprice, this choice of vocation, this *actual mediation*—these are merely the *appearance of a mediation* which the actual idea effects with itself, and which goes on behind the scenes. Reality is expressed not as itself but as another reality. Ordinary empirical fact has not its own but an alien spirit for its law; whereas the form of existence of the actual idea is not an actuality evolved from itself, but ordinary empirical fact.

The idea is made the subject and the *actual* relation of family and civil society to the state is conceived as its *internal imaginary* activity. Family and civil society are the premises of the state; they are the genuinely active elements, but in speculative philosophy things are inverted. When the idea is made the subject, however, the real subjects, namely, civil society, family, "circumstances, caprice, etc.", become *unreal* objective elements of the idea with a changed significance.

The assignment of the material of the state "with regard to the individual ... mediated by circumstances, caprice and the individual's own choice of vocation" is not expressly stated to be what is true, necessary and absolutely warranted. These [circumstances, caprice, etc.] are *as such* not presented as rational. And yet, on the other hand, they are so presented simply by being presented as a *seeming* mediation, by being left as they are but at the same time acquiring the significance of being an attribute of the idea, a result, a product of the idea. The difference lies not in the content but in the method of approach or in the *manner of speaking*. There is a double history, an esoteric and an exoteric. The content lies in the exoteric part. The interest of the esoteric part is always that of finding again in the state the history of the logical concept. It is on the exoteric side, however, that development proper takes place.

*Rationally interpreted*, Hegel's propositions would only mean this:

The family and civil society are parts of the state. The material of the state is distributed amongst them "by circumstances, caprice and the individual's own choice of vocation". The citizens of the state are members of families and members of civil society.

"The actual idea, mind, *divides itself* into the two ideal spheres of its concept, family and civil society, that is, *its finite* phase"—hence, the division of the state into family and civil society is *ideal*, i. e., necessary as part of the essence of the state. Family and civil society are actual components of the state, actual spiritual existences of the will; they are modes of existence of the state. Family and civil society constitute *themselves* as the state.

They are the driving force. According to Hegel, they are on the contrary *produced* by the actual idea. It is not the course of their own life which unites them in the state; on the contrary, it is the idea which in the course of its life has separated them off from itself. Indeed, they are the finiteness of this idea. They owe their presence to another mind than their own. They are entities determined by a third party, not self-determined entities. Accordingly, they are also defined as "finiteness", as the "actual idea's" own *finiteness.* The purpose of their being is not this being itself; rather, the idea separates these presuppositions off from itself "so as to emerge from their ideality as explicitly infinite actual mind". That is to say, there can be no political state without the natural basis of the family and the artificial basis of civil society; they are for it a *conditio sine qua non.* But the condition is postulated as the conditioned, the determinant as the determined, the producing factor as the product of its product. The actual idea only degrades itself into the "finiteness" of the family and civil society so as by transcending them to enjoy and bring forth its infinity. "*Accordingly*" (in order to achieve its purpose), it "assigns to these spheres the material of this, its finite actuality" (this? which? these spheres are indeed its "finite actuality", its "material"), "individuals as a multitude" ("the individuals, the multitude" are here the material of the state; "the state consists of them": this composition of the state is here expressed as an act of the idea, as an "allocation" which it undertakes with its own material. The fact is that the state issues from the multitude in their existence as members of families and as members of civil society. Speculative philosophy expresses this fact as the idea's deed, not as the idea of the multitude, but as the deed of a subjective idea different from the fact itself), "in such a way that with regard to the individual this assignment" (previously the discussion was only about the assignment of individuals to the spheres of the family and civil society) "appears mediated by circumstances, caprice, etc." Empirical actuality is thus accepted as it is. It is also expressed as rational, but it is not rational on account of its own reason, but because the empirical fact in its empirical existence has a different significance from it itself. The fact which is taken as a point of departure is not conceived as such, but as a mystical result. The actual becomes a phenomenon, but the idea has no other content than this phenomenon. Nor has the idea any other purpose than the logical one of being "explicitly infinite actual mind". The entire mystery of the philosophy of law and of Hegel's philosophy as a whole is set out in this paragraph.

263. "In these spheres in which its elements, individuality and particularity, have their ***immediate*** and ***reflected*** reality, mind is present as their objective generality *shining into them*, as the power of the rational in necessity [(para. 184)], i. e., as the *institutions* considered above."

264. "Since ***they themselves*** possess spiritual natures and therefore unite in themselves the two poles, namely, *explicitly* knowing and willing *individuality*, and the *generality* which knows and wills what is substantial, the individuals who make up the multitude acquire their rights on these two counts only insofar as they are actual both as private and as substantial persons. In these spheres [the family and civil society] they attain partly the first of these rights directly, and partly the second, in that they have their essential self-consciousness in the institutions as the inherently *general* aspect of their particular interests, and partly in that these institutions furnish them in the corporation with an occupation and an activity directed to a general purpose."

265. "These institutions are the components of the *constitution* (i.e., of developed and actualised rationality) *in the sphere of particularity*. They are, therefore, the firm foundation of the state as well as of the individual's confidence in it and disposition towards it, and the pillars of public freedom, since in them particular freedom is realised and rational, so that in themselves there is *implicitly* present the union of freedom and necessity."

266. "***But*** mind is objective and actual to itself not merely as this" (which?) "necessity [...], but also as the *ideality* and the heart of this necessity. In this way this substantial generality is *itself* its *own* object and purpose, and therefore this necessity is equally present to itself in the *shape* of freedom."

The transition of the family and civil society into the political state is, therefore, this: the mind of these spheres, which is *implicitly* the mind of the state, now also behaves to itself as such and is *actual* for itself as their inner core. The transition is thus derived, not from the *particular* nature of the family, etc., and from the particular nature of the state, but from the *general* relationship of *necessity* to *freedom*. It is exactly the same transition as is effected in logic from the sphere of essence to the sphere of the concept. The same transition is made in the philosophy of nature from inorganic nature to life. It is always the same categories which provide the soul, now for this, now for that sphere. It is only a matter of spotting for the separate concrete attributes the corresponding abstract attributes.

267. "*Necessity* in ideality is the *development* of the idea within itself. As *subjective* substantiality it is ***political*** *conviction*, as *objective* substantiality, in distinction therefrom, it is the *organism* of the state, the strictly *political* state and *its constitution*."

The *subject* here is "necessity in ideality"—the "idea within itself". The *predicate*: *political conviction* and the *political constitution*. In plain language *political conviction* is the subjective and the *political constitution* the *objective substance* of the state. The logical development from family and civil society to the state is thus sheer *pretence*. For it is not explained how family sentiment, civic sentiment, the institution of the family and social institutions as

such are related to political conviction and to the political constitution, and how they are connected.

The transition in which mind exists "not merely as this necessity and as a *realm of appearance*" but is actual for itself and has a particular existence as "the ideality [...] of this necessity", as the soul of this realm, this transition is no transition at all, for the soul of the family exists for itself as love, etc. The pure ideality of an actual sphere, however, could exist only as *science.*

It is important that Hegel everywhere makes the idea the subject and turns the proper, the actual subject, such as "political conviction", into a predicate. It is always on the side of the predicate, however, that development takes place.

Paragraph 268 contains a fine disquisition on political *conviction, patriotism,* which has nothing in common with logical exposition, except that Hegel describes this conviction as "*only* the result of the institutions existing in the *state,* in which rationality is *actually* present"; whereas on the contrary, these institutions are just as much an *objectification* of political conviction. Cf. the Remark to this paragraph.

269. "This conviction gets its distinctive *content* from the various aspects of the ***organism*** of the state. This *organism* is the development of the idea into its distinct aspects and their objective actuality. These different aspects are ***thus*** the *various authorities* and their functions and activities, through which the ***general*** continually *engenders* itself, and that in a *necessary* fashion, since they are determined by the *nature of the concept*; and through these authorities the general also *preserves* itself, being likewise presupposed in its own production. This organism is the *political constitution.*"

The political constitution is the organism of the state, or the organism of the state is the political constitution. That the various aspects of an organism stand to one another in a necessary connection arising out of the nature of the organism is sheer tautology. That if the political constitution is defined as an organism, the various aspects of the constitution, the various authorities, behave as organic features and stand to one another in a rational relationship, is likewise a tautology. It is a great advance to treat the political state as an organism and therefore to look upon the variety of authorities no longer as something [in]organic,[a] but as a living and rational differentiation. But how does Hegel present this discovery?

1) "This *organism* is the development of the idea into its distinct aspects and their objective actuality." It does not say: this

[a] Marx has written *organische* (organic) here, but this seems to be a slip of the pen. It should probably read *anorganische* (inorganic) or *mechanische* (mechanical).— *Ed.*

organism of the state is the development of the state into distinct aspects and their objective actuality. The genuine thought is this: the development of the state or the political constitution into distinct aspects and their actuality is an *organic* development. The *actual distinct aspects* or *various facets of the political* constitution are the premise, the subject. The predicate is their characterisation as *organic*. Instead of this, the idea is made the subject, and the distinct aspects and their actuality are conceived as the idea's development and product; whereas, on the contrary, the idea has to be developed from the actual distinct aspects. The organic is just the *idea of the distinct aspects*, their ideal definition. Here, however, the *idea* is spoken of as a subject, which develops itself into *its* distinct aspects. Besides this inversion of subject and predicate, the impression is given that some other idea than organism is meant here. The point of departure is the abstract idea, whose development in the state is the *political constitution*. What is therefore being treated here is not the political idea, but the abstract idea in the political element. By saying "this organism" (of the state, the political constitution) "is the development of the idea into its distinct aspects, etc.", I have said nothing at all about the *specific idea* of the political constitution; the same statement can be made with the same truth about the *animal* as about the *political* organism. By what, then, is the *animal* organism *distinguished* from the *political*? This cannot be deduced from this general definition. But an explanation which does not provide the *differentia specifica* is *no* explanation. The sole interest is in rediscovering "the idea" pure and simple, the "logical idea", in every element, whether of the state or of nature, and the actual subjects, in this case the "political constitution", come to be nothing but their mere *names*, so that all that we have is the appearance of real understanding. They are and remain uncomprehended, because they are not grasped in their specific character.

"These different aspects are *thus* the *various authorities* and their functions and activities." By means of the little word "thus", the appearance is given of logical sequence, of deduction and explanation. We must rather ask "why?" That "the various aspects of the organism of the state" are "the various authorities" and "their functions and activities" is an empirical fact; that they are members of an "organism" is the philosophical "predicate".

Here we note a stylistic peculiarity in Hegel which often recurs, and which is a product of mysticism. The whole paragraph runs:

"This conviction gets its distinctive content from the ***various aspects*** of the ***organism*** of the state. ***This*** *organism* is the development of the idea into its distinct aspects and their objective actuality. ***These different aspects*** are ***thus*** the *various authorities* and their functions and activities, through which the general continually *engenders* itself, and that in a *necessary* fashion, since they are determined by the *nature of the concept*; and through these authorities the general also *preserves* itself, being likewise presupposed in its own production. This organism is the *political constitution.*"

(1) "This conviction gets its distinctive content ***from the various aspects*** of the organism of the state." "These different aspects are ... the *various authorities* and their functions and activities."

(2) "This conviction gets its distinctive content from the various aspects of the ***organism*** of the state. ***This*** *organism* is the development of the idea into its distinct aspects and their objective actuality ... through which the general continually *engenders* itself, and that in a *necessary* fashion, since they are determined by the *nature of the concept*; and through these authorities the general also *preserves* itself, being likewise presupposed in its own production. ***This organism*** is the *political constitution.*"

As can be seen, Hegel uses two subjects, the "various aspects of the organism" and the "organism", as the point of departure for further definitions. In the third sentence [of Hegel's original para. 269] the "different aspects" are described as the "various authorities". By the inserted word "*thus*" it is made to seem as if these "various authorities" had been derived from the preceding sentence about the organism as the development of the idea.

Then comes more about the "various authorities". The statement that the general continually "engenders" itself and thereby preserves itself says nothing new, for this is already implied in the description [of these authorities] as "aspects of the organism", as "organic" aspects. Or rather this characterisation of the "various authorities" is nothing but a paraphrase of the statement that the organism is "the development of the idea into its distinct aspects, etc."

The propositions that this organism is "the development of the idea into its distinct aspects and their objective actuality" or into distinct aspects through which "the general" (the general is here the same as the idea) "continually *engenders* itself, and that in a *necessary* fashion, since they are determined by the *nature of the concept*; and [...] also *preserves* itself, being likewise presupposed in its own production"—these propositions are identical. The latter is merely a more detailed elaboration of "the development of the idea into its distinct aspects". Hegel has thereby not advanced one step beyond the general concept of "the idea" or at most of the "organism" as such (for really it is this specific idea which is in question). What, then, entitles him to the final sentence: "This

organism is the political constitution"? Why not "This organism is the solar system"? Because he has subsequently described "the various aspects of the state" as the "various authorities". The proposition that "the various aspects of the state are the various authorities" is an empirical truth and cannot be presented as a philosophical discovery, nor has it in any way emerged as a result of an earlier stage in the argument. By describing the organism, however, as the "development *of* the idea", by speaking of distinct aspects *of* the idea, and then inserting the concrete phrase "the various *authorities*", the impression is created that a *specific* content has been evolved. To the sentence "This conviction gets its distinctive content from the various aspects of the *organism of the state*" Hegel ought not to have conjoined "*this* organism" but rather "*the* organism is the development of the idea, etc." At any rate, what he says holds good of every organism, and there is no predicate present which would justify the subject "*this*". The actual result he wants to attain is the description of the *organism* as the *political constitution.* But no bridge has been built *whereby one could pass from the general idea of organism to the specific idea of the organism of the state or the political constitution,* and no such bridge can ever be built. The opening sentence speaks of "the various aspects of the organism of the state", which are later defined as "the various authorities". What is said, therefore, is merely this: "*the various authorities of the organism of the state" or "the state organism of the various authorities" is the "political constitution" of the state.* It is not from "organism", "*the* idea", its "distinct aspects", etc., that the bridge to the "*political* constitution" is built, but rather from the presupposed concept "various authorities", "organism of the *state*".

In truth, Hegel has done nothing but dissolve the "political constitution" into the general abstract idea of "organism"; but in appearance and in his own opinion he has evolved something determinate from the "general idea". He has turned the subject of the idea into a product, a predicate, of the idea. He does not develop his thinking from the object, but expounds the object in accordance with a thinking that is cut and dried — already formed and fixed in the abstract sphere of logic. It is not a question of evolving the specific idea of the political constitution, but of establishing a relationship of the political constitution to the abstract idea, of placing it as a phase in the life-history of the idea, a manifest piece of mystification.

Another statement is that the character of the "various authorities" is "determined by the *nature of the concept*", and there-

fore that the general "engenders" them "in a *necessary* fashion". The various authorities are therefore not determined by their "own nature", but by a nature alien to them. Similarly, the *necessity* is not derived from their own essence, still less critically established. Rather, their fate is predetermined by the "nature of the concept", sealed in "the sacred registers of the Santa Casa",[a] of logic. The soul of objects, in this case of the state, is cut and dried, predestined, prior to its body, which is really mere appearance. The "concept" is the Son in the "idea", in God the Father, the *agens*, the determining, differentiating principle. "Idea" and "concept" are here hypostatised abstractions.

270. "The fact that the purpose of the state is the general interest as such and the conservation therein of particular interests, the general interest being their substance, is, firstly, the *abstract actuality* or substantiality of the state. But it [this abstract actuality or substantiality of the state] is, secondly, its *necessity*, since it divides up into the conceptual *differentiations* of its activities which by virtue of that substantiality are equally actual, *concrete* attributes [of the state]—the ***authorities.*** Thirdly, however, this very substantiality, *having passed through the phase of education*, is mind knowing and willing itself. The state therefore *knows* what it wills, and knows it in its *generality*, as something *thought*. Hence it works and acts according to consciously adopted ends, known principles, and laws which are not merely *implicit* but are actually present to consciousness; and further, it acts with precise knowledge of existing conditions and circumstances, inasmuch as its actions have a bearing on these."

(The Remark to this paragraph on the relation of state and church [is to be considered] later.[3])

The application of these logical categories deserves quite special scrutiny.

"The fact that the ***purpose*** of the state is the ***general interest*** as such and the conservation therein of particular interests, the general interest being their substance, is, firstly, the *abstract actuality* or substantiality of the state."

The fact that the general interest as such and as the existence of particular interests is the *purpose of the state*—this fact constitutes the actuality of the state, its existence, abstractly defined. The state is not actual without this purpose. This is the essential object of its willing—but at the same time it is only a quite general definition of this object. This purpose as being is for the state the element of existence.

"But it" (the abstract actuality, substantiality [of the state]) "is, secondly, its *necessity*, since it divides up into the conceptual *differentiations* of its activities which by virtue of that substantiality are equally actual, *concrete* attributes—the authorities."

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[a] Friedrich Schiller, *Don Carlos*, Act V, Scene 10. Santa Casa—literally "the holy house"—the Inquisition's prison in Madrid.—*Ed.*

It (the abstract actuality, the substantiality) is its (the state's) *necessity*, since its actuality divides up into *distinct activities*, whose differentiation is rationally determined and which are moreover concrete attributes. The abstract actuality of the state, its substantiality, is necessity, inasmuch as it is only in the existence of the different state authorities that the true purpose of the state and the true existence of the whole are realised.

That is clear. The first description of the state's actuality was *abstract*: the state cannot be regarded as simple actuality; it has to be seen as activity—and as differentiated activity.

"The *abstract actuality* or substantiality of the state [...] is its *necessity*, since it [the abstract actuality or substantiality] divides up into the conceptual differentiations of its activities which by virtue of that ***substantiality*** are equally actual, *concrete* attributes—the authorities."

The substantiality-relation is a relation of necessity: that is to say, substance appears divided into independent, but essentially determinate *actualities* or *activities*. These abstractions will be applicable to anything and everything actual. If I first regard the state under the heading of "abstract actuality", I shall subsequently have to regard it under the heading of "concrete actuality", of "necessity", of realised difference.

"Thirdly, however, this very substantiality, *having passed through the phase of education*, is mind knowing and willing itself. The state therefore *knows* what it wills, and knows it in its *generality*, as something *thought*. Hence it works and acts according to consciously adopted ends, known principles, and laws which are not merely *implicit* but are actually present to consciousness; and further, it acts with precise knowledge of existing conditions and circumstances, inasmuch as its actions have a bearing on these."

Now let us translate this whole paragraph into plain language.

1) *Mind knowing and willing itself* is the substance of the state (mind, *educated and self-aware*, is the subject and the foundation of the state, its independent existence).

2) *The general interest and, therein, the conservation of particular interests* constitutes the general purpose and content of this mind—the enduring substance of the state, the political aspect of self-knowing and self-willing mind.

3) Self-knowing, self-willing, self-aware, educated mind achieves the *actualisation* of this abstract content only in the form of differentiated *activities*—as the existence of the *various authorities*, as *articulated power*.

About Hegel's presentation of this the following should be noted:

a) It is *abstract actuality*, *necessity* (or difference of substance), *substantiality*—hence *abstractly logical categories*—that are made into

*subjects*. True, the "abstract actuality" and "necessity" are described as "*its*", the state's, actuality and necessity. But, firstly, "*it*", "the abstract actuality" or "substantiality", is the *state*'s necessity. Secondly, it is *it* ["the abstract actuality" or "substantiality"] which "divides up into the conceptual differentiations of its activities". The "conceptual differentiations" are "by virtue of that substantiality equally actual, *concrete*" attributes, *authorities*. Thirdly, "substantiality" is no longer treated as an abstract attribute of the state, as "*its*" substantiality; substantiality as such is made the subject, for we are told, finally, that "this very *substantiality*, having passed through the phase of education, is mind knowing and willing itself".

b) Finally, it is not stated that "mind educated, etc., is the substantiality", but, on the contrary, that "the substantiality is mind educated, etc." Mind thus becomes the predicate of its predicate.

c) After being described as, firstly, the general purpose of the state, and then, secondly, as the various authorities, substantiality is described, thirdly, as *actual* mind educated and knowing and willing itself. The true point of departure, self-knowing and self-willing mind, without which the "purpose of the state" and the "state authorities" would be untenable fantasies, unreal, even impossible phenomena, this true starting point makes its appearance only as the *last* predicate of substantiality, which has already been described as the *general purpose* and as the *various state authorities*. Had *actual mind* been made the starting point, the "general purpose" would have been its content, the various authorities its mode of self-realisation—its *real* or *material* existence, whose specific character could have been explained from the very nature of its purpose. Because, however, the "idea" or "substance" as subject, as actual essence, is made the starting point, the *real subject* appears only as the *last predicate* of the abstract predicate.

The "purpose of the state" and the "state authorities" are mystified since they are presented as "modes of existence" of "substance" and cut off from their real mode of existence, from "mind knowing and willing itself, educated mind".

d) The concrete content, the actual definition, appears as something formal; the wholly abstract formal definition appears as the concrete content. The essence of the definitions of the state is not that they are definitions of the state, but that in their most abstract form they can be regarded as logical-metaphysical definitions. Not the philosophy of law but logic is the real centre of interest. Philosophical work does not consist in embodying think-

ing in political definitions, but in evaporating the existing political definitions into abstract thoughts. Not the logic of the matter, but the matter of logic is the philosophical element. The logic does not serve to prove the state, but the state to prove the logic.

1) The general interest and, therein, the conservation of particular interests as the *purpose of the state*;

2) The various authorities as the *actualisation* of this purpose;

3) Mind educated, self-aware, willing and acting mind, as the *subject* of this purpose and of its actualisation.

These concrete definitions are regarded as extrinsic, as *hors-d'œuvres*: their philosophical meaning is that in them the state has this logical significance:

1) As abstract actuality or substantiality;

2) That the substantiality-relation passes over into the relation of necessity, of substantial actuality;

3) That substantial actuality is in truth *concept, subjectivity.*

Omitting the concrete definitions, which when it comes to another sphere, e.g., physics, can quite well be exchanged for other concrete definitions and which are therefore not essential, what we have before us is a *chapter of logic.*

Substance has to "divide up into conceptual differentiations, which by virtue of that substantiality are equally actual, *concrete* attributes". Essentially, this proposition belongs to logic and has been produced before the philosophy of law. That these conceptual differentiations are here "its" (the state's) distinct "activities" and that the "concrete attributes" are "state authorities", this parenthesis belongs to the philosophy of law, to the realm of empirical political fact. Thus the whole of the philosophy of law is only a parenthesis within logic. The parenthesis is, of course, only an *hors-d'œuvre* of the proper exposition. Cf. p. 347 [para. 270, Addition], for example.

"Necessity consists in the whole being divided into conceptual differentiations and that this divided whole yields concrete and enduring attributes, which are not fossilised but perpetually recreate themselves in dissolution." Cf. also the Logic.[4]

271. "The political constitution is *in the first place* the organisation of the state and the process of its organic life *in relation to itself*, in which the state differentiates its elements within itself and unfolds them into *existence.*

"*Secondly*, as something individual the state is an *exclusive* unit, which is therefore related to *others*; thus it turns its differentiating activity *outward* and accordingly establishes its existing distinct aspects within itself in their ideality."

*Addition:* "The internal state as such is the ***civil power***, while its orientation outwards is the ***military power***, which however also forms a distinct aspect of the state itself."

## I. THE INTERNAL CONSTITUTION AS SUCH

272. "The constitution is rational insofar as the state internally differentiates and defines its activity *in accordance with the nature of the concept*; and that in such a way that *each* of these *authorities* is in itself the *totality*, by containing the other elements in an operative form in itself, and that these authorities, since they express the differentiation of the concept, remain wholly within its ideality and constitute a *single individual* whole."

The constitution is thus rational insofar as its elements can be dissolved into abstractly logical elements. The state has to differentiate and define its activity not in accordance with its specific nature, but in accordance with the nature of the concept, which is the mystified movement of abstract thought. The rationale of the constitution is thus abstract logic and not the concept of the state. In place of the concept of the constitution we get the constitution of the concept. Thought does not conform to the nature of the state; but the state to a ready-made system of thought.

273. "The political state thus" (why?) "divides up into the following substantial divisions:

"a) The power to determine and lay down the general, *legislative power*;

"b) The power to subsume *particular* spheres and individual cases under the general, *executive power*;

"c) The power of ***subjectivity*** as the will which makes the final decision, the *power of the monarch*, in which the different powers are bound together into an individual unity, and which is therefore the summit and the source of the whole, i.e., of the *constitutional monarchy*."

We shall return to this division [of powers] after examining the details of its exposition separately.

274. "***Mind is actual*** only as that which it knows itself to be, and the state, being the mind of a people, is at the same time the law *permeating all its relationships* and the customs and consciousness of its individual members. Hence the constitution of any given people generally depends on the ***character and development of its self-consciousness***. Its subjective freedom and with this the ***actuality of the constitution*** is rooted in its self-consciousness.... Every nation, therefore, has the constitution appropriate to it and suitable for it."

All that follows from Hegel's argumentation is that a state in which there is a contradiction between "character and development of self-consciousness" and "constitution" is no true state. That the constitution which was the product of a bygone consciousness can become a heavy fetter on an advanced consciousness, etc., etc., these are surely trivial truths. What would really follow would be simply the demand for a constitution which contains within itself the designation and the principle to advance along with consciousness, to advance as actual men advance, this is only possible when "man" has become the principle of the constitution. Hegel here is a *sophist*.

### a) *The Monarch's Authority*

275. "The monarchical authority contains in itself the three elements of the whole [(para. 272)], the *general element* of the constitution and the laws, consultation as the relation of the *particular* to the general, and the element of final *decision*, as the *self-determination* to which everything else can be traced back and from which everything else derives its actuality. This absolute self-determination forms the ***distinctive principle*** of the monarchical authority as such, which has yet to be expounded."

The beginning of this paragraph says first of all no more than this: "The general element of the constitution and the laws" is the *monarchical authority. Consultation,* or the relation of the *particular* to the general, is the *monarchical authority.* The authority of the monarch does not stand outside the general system of the constitution and the laws, once it is taken to refer to the authority of the (constitutional) monarch.

What Hegel really wants to establish, however, is only that "the general element of the constitution and the laws" is the monarchical authority, the sovereignty of the state. It is wrong, then, to make the *monarchical authority* into the *subject,* and to make it seem, since the monarchical authority can also be taken as referring to the authority of the monarch, as if he, the monarch, were the master of *this* element, its subject. But let us turn now to what Hegel presents as "*the distinctive principle of the monarchical authority as such*"—namely, "the element of final *decision,* as the *self-determination* to which everything else can be traced back and from which everything else derives its actuality"—"absolute self-determination".

Here Hegel is simply saying that the *actual,* i.e., *individual, will* is the *monarchical authority*. Thus in paragraph 12 he says:

"In giving itself the form of *individuality* [...] the will is that which resolves, and only as the will that resolves is it an ***actual*** will."

Insofar as this element of "final decision" or "absolute self-determination" is separated from the "general element" of the contents and from the particularity of consultation, we have *actual will* as *arbitrariness.* Or:

"*Arbitrariness* is the monarchical authority", or "the monarchical authority is arbitrariness".

276. "The fundamental attribute of the political state is substantial unity as the *ideality* of its elements. In this unity

"α) The particular powers and functions of the state are as much dissolved as preserved, and they are preserved only insofar as they have no independent justification but are justified only to the extent determined by ***the idea of the***

***whole***, since they issue ***from the power of the whole***, and are flexible limbs of it, as their single self."

*Addition*: "With this ideality of the elements it is much as with life in the physical organism."

Of course. Hegel is speaking purely of the idea of the "particular powers and functions" ... they are to be justified only to the extent determined in the idea of the whole; they are to issue only "from the power of the whole". That this *ought* to be so is implied in the idea of *organism*. What really called for explanation, however, was just how this is to be brought about. For what must prevail in the state is *conscious reason*; and *substantial* necessity, a necessity which, being purely internal, is also purely external, the accidental [intertwining][a] of "powers and functions", cannot be passed off as something rational.

277. "β) The particular functions and activities of the state, being its essential elements, are *peculiar to the state* and are associated with the *individuals* by whom they are applied and exercised not on the strength of their immediate personalities but only by virtue of their general and objective qualities. Hence the functions and affairs of the state are linked with a particular personality as such only formally and accidentally. State functions and powers cannot therefore be *private property*."

It goes without saying that if *particular* functions and activities are described as functions and activities of *the state*, as *state functions* and *state powers* they are not *private property* but *state property*. That is a tautology.

The functions and activities of the state are associated with individuals (the state is only effective through individuals), but with the individual not as a *physical* but as a *political* being, that is, with the *political quality* of the individual. It is therefore ridiculous of Hegel to say that *they* are "linked with a particular personality *as such only formally and accidentally*". On the contrary, they are linked with the individual by a *vinculum substantiale*,[b] by an essential quality of the individual. They are the natural expression in action of his essential quality. This nonsense comes in because Hegel takes state functions and activities in abstract isolation, and the particular individual in antithesis to them. He forgets, though, that the particular individual is human and that the functions and activities of the state are human functions. He forgets that the essence of a "particular personality" is not its beard, its blood, its abstract physical character, but its *social quality*, and that state functions, etc., are nothing but modes of being and modes of

[a] There is an unclear word at this point in Marx's manuscript. The word may be *Verschränkung* or *Verschlingung*—"intertwining" or "intermingling".—*Ed.*

[b] Deep bond.—*Ed.*

action of the social qualities of men. Clearly, therefore, insofar as individuals are bearers of state functions and powers, they must be regarded in the light of their social and not of their private quality.

278. "That the particular functions and powers of the state are not self-sufficient or firmly based either on themselves or in the particular will of individuals, but have their ultimate root, rather, in the ***unity of the state*** as their ***single self***, these two attributes together constitute *state sovereignty*."

"Despotism generally means the condition of lawlessness where the particular will as such, whether of a monarch or of a nation [...], counts as law, or rather, takes the place of law; whilst sovereignty by contrast forms the aspect of the ideality of the particular spheres and functions found precisely in a legal, constitutional state of affairs, such that no one of these spheres is independent, something self-sufficient in its purposes and ways of working and immersing itself only in itself, but on the contrary these purposes and ways of working are determined by and dependent on the *purpose of the whole* (which has been denominated in general terms by the rather vague expression '*good of the state*').

"This ideality manifests itself in two ways.

"In *peaceful* conditions, the particular spheres and functions pursue the path of minding their own business [...], and it is in part only by way of the unconscious *necessity* of the thing that their self-seeking is *turned* into a contribution to the support of one another and of the whole [...]. In part, however, it is by *direct influence* from above that they are not only continually brought back to the purpose of the whole and restricted accordingly [...], but are also constrained to perform direct services for the support of the whole. In *time of need*, however, whether internal or external, the organism in all its particularity fuses into the single concept of sovereignty, and to sovereignty is entrusted the salvation of the state at the sacrifice of this otherwise legitimate particularity. It is then that the ***ideality*** attains its ***own proper*** actuality."

This idealism is therefore not developed into a conscious rational system. In *peaceful* conditions it appears either merely as an external constraint imposed on the prevailing power, on private life by "direct influence from above", or as a blind, unconscious result of self-seeking. This ideality finds its "own proper actuality" only when the state is in a "condition of war or emergency" so that its essential nature is expressed here in this "condition of war and emergency" of the actual, existing state; whereas its "*peaceful*" conditions are just the war and misery of selfishness.

*Sovereignty*—the idealism of the state—exists, therefore, only as *inner* necessity, as *idea*. Hegel is satisfied even with this, for all that is at issue is the *idea*. Sovereignty thus exists, on the one hand, only as *unconscious, blind substance*. We shall presently encounter its other actuality.

279. "Sovereignty, in the first place simply the *general* thought of this ideality, *exists* only as *subjectivity* sure of itself and as the will's abstract and to that extent unfounded *self-*

1) "Sovereignty, in the first place simply the general thought of this ideality, *exists* only as *subjectivity* ***sure of itself*** [...]. In its truth subjectivity exists only as *subject*, ***personality*** only as

*determination* with which lies the final decision. This is the state's individuality as such, and only in this is the state itself *one*. In its truth, however, subjectivity exists only as *subject*, personality only as *person*, and in the constitution which has developed into real rationality each of the three elements of the concept has its *explicitly actual* and separate form. This absolutely decisive element of the whole is therefore not individuality in general, but one individual, the *monarch*."

*person*. In the constitution which has developed into real rationality each of the three elements of the concept has [its] explicitly actual and separate form."

2) Sovereignty "exists only [...] as the will's abstract and to that extent unfounded *self-determination* with which lies the final decision. This is the state's individuality as such, and only in this is the state itself *one* [...] (and in the constitution which has developed into real rationality each of the three elements of the concept has its *explicitly actual* and separate form). This absolutely decisive element of the whole is ***therefore*** not individuality in general, but *one* individual, the *monarch*".

The first proposition means only that the general thought of this ideality, the sorry character of whose existence we have seen above, would have to be the self-conscious work of subjects and exist as such for them and in them.

If Hegel had set out from real subjects as the bases of the state he would not have found it necessary to transform the state in a mystical fashion into a subject. "In its truth, however," says Hegel, "subjectivity exists only as *subject*, personality only as *person*." This too is a piece of mystification. Subjectivity is a characteristic of the subject, personality a characteristic of the person. Instead of conceiving them as predicates of their subjects, Hegel gives the predicates an independent existence and subsequently transforms them in a mystical fashion into their subjects.

The existence of predicates is the subject, so that the subject is the existence of subjectivity, etc.; Hegel transforms the predicates, the objects, into independent entities, but divorced from their actual independence, their subject. Subsequently the actual subject appears as a result, whereas one must start from the actual subject and look at its objectification. The mystical substance, therefore, becomes the actual subject, and the real subject appears as something else, as an element of the mystical substance. Precisely because Hegel starts from the predicates of the general description instead of from the real *ens* (ὑποκείμενον, subject), and since, nevertheless, there has to be a bearer of these qualities, the mystical idea becomes this bearer. The dualism consists in the fact that Hegel does not look upon the general as being the actual

nature of the actual-finite, i.e., of what exists and is determinate, or upon the actual *ens* as the *true subject* of the infinite.

So in this case sovereignty, the essential feature of the state, is treated to begin with as an independent entity, is objectified. Then, of course, this objective entity has to become a subject again. This subject then appears, however, as a self-incarnation of sovereignty; whereas sovereignty is nothing but the objectified mind of the subjects of the state.

Leaving aside this fundamental defect of the exposition, let us consider this first proposition of the paragraph. As it stands there it means no more than this: Sovereignty, the ideality of the state, exists as person, as "subject"—obviously, as many persons, many subjects, since no single person absorbs in himself the sphere of personality, nor any single subject the sphere of subjectivity. What sort of state idealism would that be which, instead of being the actual self-consciousness of the citizens, the collective soul of the state, were to be *one* person, *one* subject? In this proposition Hegel has not set forth anything else. But let us now look at the second proposition which is interlinked with this one. Hegel is concerned to present the monarch as the true "God-man", as the *actual incarnation* of the Idea.

> "Sovereignty ... *exists* only ... as the will's abstract and to that extent unfounded *self-determination* with which lies the final decision. This is the state's ***individuality*** as such, and only in this is the state itself *one*. ... In the constitution which has developed into real rationality each of the three elements of the concept has its *explicitly actual* and separate form. This absolutely decisive element of the whole is ***therefore*** not individuality in general, but *one* individual, the *monarch*."

We have already drawn attention to this proposition earlier. The moment of resolving, of arbitrary, because definite, decision, is the *monarchical authority* of the *will* as such. The idea of the *monarchical authority*, as Hegel expounds it, is nothing but the *idea* of the *arbitrary*, of the *decision* of the will.

But whereas Hegel conceives of sovereignty as the idealism of the state, as the actual regulation of the parts by the idea of the whole, now he makes it "the will's *abstract* and to that extent *unfounded* self-determination with which lies the final decision. This is the state's *individuality* as such". Previously the discussion was about subjectivity, now it is about individuality. The state as sovereign must be *one, one individual,* [it must] possess individuality. The state is *one* "not only" in this individuality. The individuality is only the *natural* element in the oneness of the state, the *natural attribute* of the state. "This absolutely decisive element is *therefore* not individuality in general, but *one* individual, the *monarch.*" Why? Because "each of the three elements of the

concept in the constitution which has developed into real rationality has *its explicitly actual* and separate form". One element of the concept is "individuality", but this is not yet *one individual.* And what sort of constitution would that be in which generality, particularity and individuality each had "its *explicitly actual* and separate form"? Since it is not at all a question of an abstract entity but of the state, of society, we can even accept Hegel's classification. What would follow from it? As determining the general the citizen is legislator; as the maker of individual decisions, as *actually* exercising his will, he is king. What is the meaning of [saying that] *the individuality of the state's will* is "one *individual*", one particular individual distinct from all others? The element of *generality*, legislation, also has an "explicitly actual and separate form". One could therefore conclude that "the legislature are these particular individuals".

| *The Common Man:* | *Hegel:* |
|---|---|
| 2) The monarch has sovereign power, sovereignty. | 2) The *sovereignty* of the state is ***the*** monarch. |
| 3) Sovereignty does what it wills. | 3) Sovereignty is "the will's abstract and to that extent unfounded *self-determination* with which lies the final decision". |

Hegel converts all the attributes of the constitutional monarch in the Europe of today into the absolute self-determinations of *the will.* He does not say "the monarch's will is the final decision", but "the will's final decision is the monarch". The first proposition is empirical. The second perverts the empirical fact into a metaphysical axiom.

Hegel mixes up the two subjects—sovereignty "as subjectivity sure of itself" *and* sovereignty "as the will's *unfounded* self-determination, as the individual will", so as to construe the "idea" as "*one* individual".

It is obvious that subjectivity sure of itself must also *actually* will, and will as a unity, as an individual. But who has ever doubted that the state acts through individuals? Should Hegel want to argue that the state must have *one* individual as the representative of its individual unity, he would not get the *monarch* out of this. The *positive* result of this paragraph which we set down is merely this:

In the state the *monarch* is the element of *individual will,* of unfounded self-determination, of arbitrariness.

Hegel's Remark to this paragraph is so remarkable that we must examine it closely.

"The immanent development of a science, the *derivation of its entire content* from the elementary *concept* ... exhibits this peculiarity, that one and the same concept, in

this case the ***will***, which is abstract to begin with (because this is the beginning), is maintained, but its attributes are condensed—and this, indeed, purely through the concept itself—and in this way it gains a concrete content. Thus it is the basic element of personality, abstract at first in the sphere of immediate law, which has evolved through its various forms of subjectivity, and here, in the sphere of absolute law, in the state, in the completely concrete objectivity of the will, it is the *personality of the state*, the *state's certainty of itself*. This last, which in its single self transcends all particularities, cuts short the weighing of pros and cons between which it is possible to oscillate perpetually, *concluding* with its *'I will'* and initiating all activity and actuality."

In the first place, it is not a "peculiarity of science" that the fundamental concept of a subject always recurs.

But then no *advance* has taken place. *Abstract personality* was the subject of abstract law. It has not changed; it is as *abstract personality* again the *personality of the state*. Hegel ought not to have been surprised that the *actual person*—and persons make the state—everywhere recurs as the essence of the state. He would have had cause for surprise at the contrary—and even more so at the recurrence of the person as a political person in the same meagre abstraction as the person of civil law.

Hegel here defines the monarch as "the personality of the state, the state's certainty of itself". The monarch is "personified sovereignty", "sovereignty incarnate", political consciousness in the flesh; in consequence, therefore, all other people are excluded from this sovereignty, from personality, and from political consciousness. At the same time, however, Hegel knows of no other content to give to this "*souveraineté personne*" than the "I will", the element of arbitrary choice within the will. "Political reason" and "political consciousness" are a "single" empirical person to the exclusion of all others; but this personified reason has no content other than the abstraction of the "I will". *L'état c'est moi.*

"***Further***, however, personality, and subjectivity in general, as something infinitely self-relating, only has *truth*, and its most direct, immediate truth, as person, as a subject existing for itself; and what exists for itself is likewise simply *one*."

It goes without saying that since personality and subjectivity are only predicates of person and subject, they exist only as person and subject; and a person is *one*. But, Hegel should have continued, the *one* only has truth as the *many ones*. The predicate, the essence, never exhausts the spheres of its existence in *one unit* but *in many units*.

Instead, Hegel concludes:

"The personality of the state is actual only as a *person*, the *monarch*."

Hence, because subjectivity is actual only as subject and the subject is actual only as one, the personality of the state is actual

only as one person. A fine conclusion! Hegel might as well have concluded that because the individual human being is a unit, the human species is only a single human being.

"Personality expresses the concept as such; ***at the same time*** the person contains the concept's actuality, and only when so determined is the concept *idea*, truth."

Without the person, *personality* is certainly a mere abstraction; but the person is only the *actual idea* of personality as the embodiment of the species, *as the persons*.

"A so-called *juridical* person, a society, a community or a family, however inherently concrete it may be, contains personality only as an element, only abstractly; in a juridical person personality has not attained to the truth of its existence. The state, however, is precisely this totality in which the elements of the concept achieve the actuality corresponding to the truth peculiar to each of them."

There is considerable confusion in this passage. The *juridical* person, a society, etc., is called abstract: that is to say, precisely those species-forms are termed abstract in which the *actual person* manifests what is actually within him, objectifies himself and abandons the abstraction of the "person *quand même*". Instead of recognising this *realisation* of the person as the most concrete thing of all, the state is supposed to have the distinction that [in it] "the element of the concept", the "individuality", attains a mystical "presence". Rationality consists not in the reason of actual persons achieving actuality but in the elements of the abstract concept doing so.

"The concept of the monarch is therefore of all concepts the most difficult for ratiocination, i.e., for the method of reflection employed by the understanding. For this way of thinking does not get beyond the standpoint of isolated categories, and therefore knows only reasons [for this and that], finite points of view and *derivation* from premises. It therefore presents the dignity of the monarch as something *derivative* not merely in form but in content; whereas the concept of the monarch, on the contrary, is not derivative but *originates purely in itself*. Most closely related" (indeed!) "to this view is the idea of regarding the royal prerogative as based on divine authority, since its unconditional character is contained therein."

In a certain sense every necessary being "originates purely in itself" — in this respect the monarch's louse is as good as the monarch. Hence Hegel here was not saying anything special about the monarch. But if something is supposed to appertain to the monarch which makes him different in kind from all the other objects of science and of the philosophy of law, then that is real tomfoolery; and only correct insofar as the "*one* person-idea" is indeed something not derivable from the understanding but only from the imagination.

"*National sovereignty* may be spoken of in the sense that a nation is indeed an independent unit *in its external relations* and constitutes a state of its own", etc.

That is triviality. If the king is the "actual sovereignty of the state", it ought to be possible for "the king" to count as an "independent state" also in external relations, even without the people. But if he is sovereign inasmuch as he represents the unity of the nation, then he himself is only the representative, the symbol, of national sovereignty. National sovereignty does not exist by virtue of him, but he on the contrary exists by virtue of it.

"We may also speak of *sovereignty in home affairs* residing in the people, provided that we are only speaking generally about the *whole* and meaning only what was shown above (paras. 277, 278), namely, that sovereignty belongs to the *state*."

As if the actual state were not the people. The state is an abstraction. The people alone is what is concrete. And it is remarkable that Hegel, who without hesitation attributes a living quality such as sovereignty to the abstraction, attributes it only with hesitation and reservations to something concrete.

"The usual sense, however, in which men have recently begun to speak of the sovereignty of the people is in *opposition to the sovereignty existing in the monarch*. In this antithesis the sovereignty of the people is one of those confused notions which are rooted in the *wild* idea of the *people*."

The "confused notions" and the "*wild* idea" are here exclusively Hegel's. To be sure, if sovereignty *exists* in the monarch, then it is foolish to speak of an antithetical sovereignty in the people; for it is implied in the concept of sovereignty that sovereignty cannot have a double existence, still less one which is contradictory. However:

1) This is just the question: Is not that sovereignty which is claimed by the monarch an illusion? Sovereignty of the monarch or sovereignty of the people—that is the question.[a]

2) One can also speak of a sovereignty of the people *in opposition to the sovereignty existing in the monarch*. But then it is not a question of *one and the same sovereignty* which has arisen on two sides, but two *entirely contradictory concepts of sovereignty*, the one a sovereignty such as can come to exist in a *monarch*, the other such as can come to exist only in a *people*. It is the same with the question: "Is God sovereign, or is man?" One of the two is an untruth, even if an existing untruth.

"Taken *without* its monarch and the *articulation* of the whole which is necessarily and directly ***associated with the monarch***, the people is that formless mass which is no longer a state. It no longer possesses *any* of the attributes which are to be found only in an *internally organised* whole — sovereignty, government, courts of law, the administration, estates of the realm, etc. With the appearance in a nation of such factors, which relate to organisation, to the life of the state, a people ceases to be that indeterminate abstraction, which, as a purely general notion, is called the nation."

[a] Marx here uses the English word "question".— *Ed.*

All this is a tautology. If a people has a monarch and the structure that necessarily and directly goes with a monarch, i. e., if it is structured as a monarchy, then indeed, taken out of this structure, it is a formless mass and a purely general notion.

"If by sovereignty of the people is understood a *republican* form of government and, more specifically, democracy [...] then [...] there can be no further discussion of such a notion in face of the developed idea."

That is indeed right, if one has only "such a notion" and not a "developed idea" of democracy.

Democracy is the truth of monarchy; monarchy is not the truth of democracy. Monarchy is necessarily democracy inconsistent with itself; the monarchical element is not an inconsistency in democracy. Monarchy cannot be understood in its own terms; democracy can. In democracy none of the elements attains a significance other than what is proper to it. Each is in actual fact only an element of the whole demos [people]. In monarchy one part determines the character of the whole. The entire constitution has to adapt itself to this fixed point. Democracy is the genus Constitution. Monarchy is one species, and a poor one at that. Democracy is content and form. Monarchy is *supposed* to be only a form, but it falsifies the content.

In monarchy the whole, the people, is subsumed under one of its particular modes of being, the political constitution. In democracy the *constitution itself* appears only as *one* determination, that is, the self-determination of the people. In monarchy we have the people of the constitution; in democracy the constitution of the people. Democracy is the solved *riddle* of all constitutions. Here, not merely *implicitly* and in essence but *existing* in reality, the constitution is constantly brought back to its actual basis, the *actual human being,* the *actual people,* and established as the people's *own* work. The constitution appears as what it is, a free product of man. It could be said that in a certain respect this applies also to constitutional monarchy; but the specific distinguishing feature of democracy is that here the *constitution* as such forms only *one* element in the life of the people—that it is not the *political constitution* by itself which forms the state.

Hegel starts from the state and makes man the subjectified state; democracy starts from man and makes the state objectified man. Just as it is not religion which creates man but man who creates religion, so it is not the constitution which creates the people but the people which creates the constitution. In a certain respect the relation of democracy to all other forms of state is like

the relation of Christianity to all other religions. Christianity is the religion κατ' ἐξοχήν,[a] the *essence of religion*—deified man as a *particular* religion. Similarly, democracy is the *essence of all state constitutions*—socialised man as a *particular* state constitution. Democracy stands to the other constitutions as the genus stands to its species; except that here the genus itself appears as an existent, and therefore as one *particular* species over against the others whose existence does not correspond to their essence. To democracy all other forms of state stand as its Old Testament. Man does not exist for the law but the law for man—it is a *human manifestation*; whereas in the other forms of state man is a *legal manifestation*. That is the fundamental distinction of democracy.

All other *state forms* are definite, distinct, *particular forms of state*. In democracy the *formal* principle is at the same time the *material* principle. Only democracy, therefore, is the true unity of the general and the particular. In monarchy, for example, and in the republic as a merely particular form of state, political man has his particular mode of being alongside unpolitical man, man as a private individual. Property, contract, marriage, civil society, all appear here (as Hegel shows quite correctly with regard to these *abstract* state forms, but he *thinks* that he is expounding the idea of the state) as *particular* modes of existence alongside the *political* state, as the *content* to which the *political state* is related as *organising form*: properly speaking, the relation of the political state to this content is merely that of reason, inherently without content, which defines and delimits, which now affirms and now denies. In democracy the political state, which stands alongside this content and distinguishes itself from it, is itself merely a *particular* content and particular *form of existence* of the people. In monarchy, for example, this particular, the political constitution, has the significance of the *general* that dominates and determines everything particular. In democracy the state as particular is *merely* particular; as general, it is the truly general, i.e., not something determinate in distinction from the other content. The French have recently interpreted this as meaning that in true democracy the *political state is annihilated*.[5] This is correct insofar as the political state *qua* political state, as constitution, no longer passes for the whole.

In all states other than democratic ones the *state*, the *law*, the *constitution* is what rules, without really ruling—i. e., without materially permeating the content of the remaining, non-political

[a] *Par excellence*—i.e., "Christianity is the pre-eminent religion".—*Ed.*

spheres. In democracy the constitution, the law, the state itself, insofar as it is a political constitution, is only the self-determination of the people, and a particular content of the people.

Incidentally, it goes without saying that all forms of state have democracy *for* their truth and that they are therefore untrue insofar as they are not democracy.

In the states of antiquity the political state makes up the content of the state to the exclusion of the other spheres. The modern state is a compromise between the political and the unpolitical state.

In democracy the *abstract* state has ceased to be the dominant factor. The struggle between monarchy and republic is itself still a struggle within the abstract state. The *political* republic is democracy within the abstract state form. The abstract state form of democracy is therefore the republic; but here it ceases to be the *merely political* constitution.

Property, etc., in short, the entire content of the law and the state, is the same in North America as in Prussia, with few modifications. The *republic* there is thus a mere state *form*, as is the monarchy here. The content of the state lies outside these constitutions. Hegel is right, therefore, when he says: The political state is the constitution, i.e., the material state is not political. What obtains here is merely an external identity, a determination of changing forms. Of the various elements of national life, the one most difficult to evolve was the political state, the constitution. It developed as universal reason over against the other spheres, as ulterior to them. The historical task then consisted in its [the constitution's] reassertion, but the particular spheres do not realise that their private nature coincides with the other-worldly nature of the constitution or of the political state, and that the other-worldly existence of the political state is nothing but the affirmation of their own estrangement. Up till now the *political constitution* has been the *religious sphere*, the *religion* of national life, the heaven of its generality over against the *earthly existence* of its actuality. The political sphere has been the only state sphere in the state, the only sphere in which the content as well as the form has been species-content, the truly general; but in such a way that at the same time, because this sphere has confronted the others, its content has also become formal and particular. *Political life* in the modern sense is the *scholasticism* of national life. *Monarchy* is the perfect expression of this estrangement. The *republic* is the negation of this estrangement within its own sphere. It is obvious that the political constitution as such is brought into being only

where the private spheres have won an independent existence. Where trade and landed property are not free and have not yet become independent, the political constitution too does not yet exist. The Middle Ages were the *democracy of unfreedom.*

The abstraction of the *state as such* belongs only to modern times, because the abstraction of private life belongs only to modern times. The abstraction of the *political state* is a modern product.

In the Middle Ages there were serfs, feudal estates, merchant and trade guilds, corporations of scholars, etc.: that is to say, in the Middle Ages property, trade, society, man are *political*; the material content of the state is given by its form; every private sphere has a political character or is a political sphere; that is, politics is a characteristic of the private spheres too. In the Middle Ages the political constitution is the constitution of private property, but only because the constitution of private property is a political constitution. In the Middle Ages the life of the nation and the life of the state are identical. Man is the actual principle of the state—but *unfree* man. It is thus the *democracy of unfreedom*—estrangement carried to completion. The abstract reflected antithesis belongs only to the modern world. The Middle Ages are the period of *actual* dualism; modern times, one of *abstract* dualism.

"We have already noted the stage at which the division of constitutions into democracy, aristocracy and monarchy has been made—the standpoint, that is, of that unity which is still ***substantial, which still remains within itself and has not yet come to its process of infinite differentiation and inner deepening***: at that stage, the element of the *final self-determining resolution of the will* does not emerge explicitly into its *own proper actuality* as an *immanent* organic factor in the state."

In the spontaneously evolved monarchy, democracy and aristocracy there is as yet no political constitution as distinct from the actual, material state or the other content of the life of the nation. The political state does not yet appear as the *form* of the material state. Either, as in Greece, the *res publica*[a] is the real private affair of the citizens, their real content, and the private individual is a slave; the political state, *qua* political state, being the true and only content of the life and will of the citizens; or, as in an Asiatic despotism, the political state is nothing but the personal caprice of a single individual; or the political state, like the material state, is a slave. What distinguishes the modern state from these states characterised by the substantial unity between people and state is not, as Hegel would have it, that the various elements of the

[a] i.e., state, republic; etymologically, "public affairs".—*Ed.*

constitution have been developed into *particular* actuality, but that the constitution itself has been developed into a *particular* actuality alongside the actual life of the people — that the political state has become the *constitution* of the rest of the state.

280. "This, the ultimate self of the state's will, is in its abstraction a single self and therefore *immediate* individuality. Its very concept thus implies its attribute of being something *natural*: the essential nature of the monarch is therefore to be *this* individual, in abstraction from any other content, and this individual is destined for the dignity of the monarch directly and naturally, by *birth* in the course of nature."

We have already heard that subjectivity is a subject and the subject necessarily an empirical individual, *one*. Now we learn that in the concept of *immediate* individuality is implied the attribute of *being natural*, corporeal. Hegel has proved nothing but what is self-evident, namely, that subjectivity *exists* only as the *corporeal* individual; and, of course, to the corporeal individual belongs *birth in the course of nature*.

Hegel thinks he has proved that the "essential nature" of the subjectivity of the state, of sovereignty, of the monarch, is "to be *this* individual, in abstraction from any other content, and [that] this individual is destined for the dignity of the monarch directly and naturally, by *birth* in the course of nature". Sovereignty, royal dignity, would therefore be born. The *body* of the monarch would determine the dignity of the monarch. Thus at the very summit of the state, instead of reason, the merely *physical* would be decisive. Birth would determine the quality of the monarch, as it determines the quality of cattle.

Hegel has proved that the monarch has to be born, which no one doubts; but he has not proved that birth makes a monarch.

That man becomes a monarch by birth can no more be made a metaphysical truth than can the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary. But just as this latter notion, this fact of consciousness, can be understood in the light of human illusion and circumstances, so can this other empirical fact.

In the Remark [to para. 280] which we are about to examine more closely, Hegel indulges himself in the pleasure of having demonstrated the irrational as absolutely rational.

"This transition of the concept of pure self-determination into the immediacy of being and so into the realm of nature is of a purely speculative character, and cognition of it therefore belongs to logical philosophy."

This is indeed purely speculative, but not the leap from *pure* self-determination, an abstraction, to the other extreme, the *pure* realm of nature (the accident of birth) — *car les extrêmes se touchent*. What is purely speculative is calling this a "transition of the

concept" and presenting complete contradiction as identity, and supreme inconsistency as consistency.

We may regard it as a positive admission by Hegel that with the hereditary monarch the place of self-determining reason is taken by the abstract natural order, not as what it is, not as the natural order, but as the supreme determinant of the state; that this is the *positive* point at which monarchy can no longer preserve the appearance of being the organisation of rational will.

"Moreover, this transition is ***on the whole the same***" (?) "as that familiar to us in the ***nature of volition in general***, it is the process of translating a content from the sphere of subjectivity (in the form of a preconceived purpose) into that of existence [...]. But the ***peculiar*** form of the idea and of the transition here under consideration is the *immediate transformation* of the ***pure self-determination of the will*** (***of the simple concept itself***) into a *this*, a natural form of existence without mediation by a *particular* content (by a purpose in action)."

Hegel is saying that the transformation of state sovereignty (of a self-determination of the will) into the body of the born monarch (into existence) is *on the whole* that transition of content in general effected by the will in order to *realise*, to translate into existence, a purpose *entertained in thought*. But Hegel says: on the *whole*. The *peculiar* difference which he specifies is so peculiar as to destroy all analogy and to put *magic* in the place of the "nature of volition in general".

In the first place, the *transformation* of the preconceived purpose into existence is here *immediate, magical*. Secondly, the subject here is the *pure self-determination* of the will, the *simple concept itself*, it is the essence of the will as a mystical subject that makes decisions. It is not an actual, individual, conscious willing, it is the abstraction of volition which turns into a natural form of existence, the pure idea which embodies itself as *one* individual.

Thirdly, as the actualisation of willing into a natural form of existence takes place *immediately*, i.e., without any *means*, which otherwise the will requires for its objectification, so there is even lacking any *particular*, i.e., determinate, purpose: "Mediation by a *particular* content, by a purpose in action" does not take place, clearly, because no *acting* subject is present, and the abstraction, the pure idea of will, in order to act, has to act mystically. A purpose which is not a *particular* purpose is no purpose, just as action without purpose is purposeless, meaningless action. Thus the whole comparison with the teleological act of the will reveals itself in the end to be a piece of mystification itself, and an *empty* action of the idea.

The means is the absolute will and the word of the philosopher; the particular purpose is again the philosophising subject's aim of

constructing the *hereditary monarch* out of the pure idea. The realisation of the purpose is simply an *assertion* by Hegel.

"In the so-called *ontological proof* of the existence of God we have the same transformation of the absolute concept into being" (the same mystification). "This transformation has constituted the depth of the idea in modern times, although recently it has been presented" (rightly) "as *inconceivable.*"

"But since the notion of the monarch is regarded as falling entirely within the scope of ordinary" (sc. intelligent) "consciousness, the intellect here persists all the more in its separation [of the concept and existence] and sticks to the results thus derived by its clever ratiocination: it therefore denies that the moment of final decision in the state *as such* (i.e., in the rational concept) is bound up with what is directly natural in character."

People deny that the *final decision* is *born* and Hegel asserts that the monarch is by birth the final decision; but who has ever doubted that the final decision in the state is attached to actual *corporeal* individuals, and that it is therefore "bound up with what is directly natural in character"?

281. "Both elements in their undivided unity—the will's ultimate unfounded self, and, consequently, existence, likewise unfounded, as the aspect committed to *nature*—this idea of *that which is unmoved* by caprice constitutes the *majesty* of the monarch. In this unity lies the *actual unity* of the state, and it is only through this, its inward and *outward immediacy,* that the unity of the state is raised above the possibility of being drawn down into the sphere of *particularity* and its caprice, aims and opinions, and it likewise remains above the war of factions round the throne and the weakening and shattering of state power."

The two elements are: the *accident of the will*—caprice—and the *accident of nature*—birth. So: *His Majesty Accident.* Accident is thus the *actual unity* of the state.

How an "inward and outward immediacy" is supposed to be free from collision, etc., is an assertion of Hegel's which is quite incomprehensible, for it is just this immediacy which is exposed to it.

What Hegel asserts about elective monarchy applies with still greater force to the hereditary monarch:

"In an elective monarchy, because of the nature of that relationship within it which has made *particular* will the ultimate deciding power, the constitution becomes an elective *capitulation*"—etc., etc.—"becomes a surrender of state authority at the discretion of the particular will, from which proceeds the transformation of particular ***offices of state into private property***", etc.

282. "The *right to pardon* criminals flows from the sovereignty of the monarch, for to this alone it falls to actualise mind's power to undo what has been done and by forgiving and forgetting to wipe out a crime."

The right of pardon [*Begnadigungsrecht*] is the prerogative of *mercy* [*Gnade*]. *Mercy* is the highest expression of *haphazard arbitrariness,* and it is significant that Hegel makes it the attribute proper

to the monarch. In the Addition to this paragraph Hegel declares that "*unfounded decision*" is its source.

283. "The *second* element in the monarch's authority is *particularity* or determinate content and its subsumption under the general. Insofar as this is given a particular existence, it takes the form of supreme consultative bodies and individual advisers. They bring before the ***monarch*** for his decision the content of current affairs of state or the legal provisions required to meet existing needs, together with their *objective* aspects, i.e., the grounds on which decisions are to be based, the relevant laws, circumstances, etc. Because *individuals* who discharge these duties are in direct contact with the person of the monarch, their choice and dismissal alike rest with his ***unrestricted arbitrariness***."

284. "Since it is solely with regard to the *objective* element in decision-making (the knowledge of a topic and its context, and the relevant legal and other considerations) that *responsibility* can exist, in other words, since solely this aspect is capable of objective proof and therefore subject to consultation which is distinct from the personal will of the monarch as such, only these consultative bodies or individual advisers can incur ***responsibility***. The peculiar majesty of the monarch, however, as the subjectivity making the final decision, is raised above all accountability for acts of government."

Hegel here describes quite empirically the *ministerial function* as it is usually defined in constitutional states. All that philosophy adds is to interpret this "empirical datum" as the existence, the predicate, of the "element of *particularity* in the monarch's authority".

(The Ministers represent the rational, objective aspect of the sovereign will. To them, therefore, also falls the *honour* of responsibility, whilst the monarch is fobbed off with the peculiar fancy of "majesty".) The speculative element is thus very meagre. The argument in its particulars, on the other hand, is based on quite empirical grounds, and actually on very abstract, very bad empirical grounds.

Thus, for example, the choice of Ministers is placed within "the unrestricted arbitrariness" of the monarch "because they are in direct contact with the person of the monarch"—i.e., because they are Ministers. In the same way, the "unrestricted choice" of the monarch's *valet* can be derived from the absolute idea.

Better, at least, is the reason given for the *accountability* of Ministers: "it is solely with regard to the *objective* element in decision-making (the knowledge of a topic and its context, and the relevant legal and other considerations) that *responsibility* can exist, *in other words,* solely this aspect is capable of *objective proof*". Of course, when one individual is the *hallowed, sanctified embodiment* of caprice, then "the subjectivity making the final decision", pure subjectivity, pure caprice, is not objective, and thus cannot be established objectively or therefore be accountable. Hegel's proof

is conclusive if one accepts the constitutional presuppositions, but by *analysing* their basic notion, Hegel has not proved these presuppositions. The *whole uncritical character* of Hegel's philosophy of law *lies in this confusion.*

285. "The *third* element in the monarchical authority concerns that which is the general as such, which exists subjectively in the *conscience* of the *monarch* and objectively *in the whole* of the *constitution* and in the *laws.* The monarchical authority in this respect ***presupposes*** the other elements in the state, ***just as it is presupposed by each of them.***"

286. "The *objective guarantee* of the monarchical authority, of the right of hereditary succession to the throne and so forth, consists in the fact that just as this sphere has its own actuality, ***differentiated*** from that of the other rationally determined elements of the state, so these others in themselves have the rights and duties proper to their own definition. In the rational organism of the state, each member, by maintaining itself as such, thereby maintains the others in their distinctiveness."

Hegel does not see that with this third element, "the general as such", he explodes the first two or vice versa. "The monarchical authority in this respect presupposes the other elements in the state, just as it is presupposed by each of them." If this positing is understood not in a mystical sense but in a real sense, then the authority of the monarch is established not by birth but by the other elements, and is therefore not hereditary but fluid, i.e., it is a state function which is varyingly distributed among individual members of the state in accordance with the organisation of the other elements. In a rational organism the head cannot be of iron and the body of flesh. If the members are to maintain themselves, they must be of *equal birth,* of one flesh and blood. But the hereditary monarch is not of equal birth, he is made of different stuff. The prose of the rationalist will of the other members of the state is here confronted by the magic of nature. Besides, members of an organism can only mutually support one another insofar as the whole organism is fluid and each of them is absorbed in this fluidity, and when, therefore, no one of them, such as in this case the head of the state, is "unmoved" or "unalterable". By this proposition, therefore, Hegel abolishes "sovereignty by birth".

Secondly, irresponsibility. If the monarch violates "the whole of the constitution", the "laws", his irresponsibility is at an end, because his constitutional existence is at an end. But it is precisely these laws and this constitution which make him irresponsible. They therefore contradict themselves, and this *one* clause abolishes law and constitution. The constitution of constitutional monarchy is *irresponsibility.*

However, if Hegel is content with the thought "that just as this sphere has its own actuality, *differentiated* from that of the other

rationally determined elements of the state, so these others *in themselves* have the rights and duties *proper* to their own definition", then he ought to call the medieval constitution an organisation; then all he has is merely a mass of particular spheres connected by an external necessity. And, indeed, a personal monarch fits only such a situation. In a state in which each particular attribute exists *on its own*, the *sovereignty of the state*, too, must be attached to a *particular* individual.

*Résumé of Hegel's Exposition of the Monarch's Authority, or of the Idea of State Sovereignty*

279. In the Remark, p. 367, it is said:

"*Sovereignty of the people* may be spoken of, in the sense that a people as a whole is an independent unit *in its external relations* and constitutes a state of its own, like the people of Great Britain. But the people of England, Scotland or Ireland, or the people of Venice, Genoa, Ceylon, etc., are no longer sovereign now that they have ceased to have ***their own rulers*** or supreme governments."

Here, therefore, the *sovereignty of the people* is *nationality*: the sovereignty of the monarch is *nationality*, or the monarchical principle is *nationality*, which by itself and exclusively forms the sovereignty of a people. A people whose *sovereignty* consists *solely* in nationality has a *monarch*. Difference of nationality among peoples cannot be better established or expressed than by having different *monarchs*. The same cleft which separates one absolute individual from another separates these nationalities.

The *Greeks* (and Romans) were *national* because and insofar as they were the *sovereign peoples*. The Germans are *sovereign* because and insofar as they are national. (*Vid. pag.* XXXIV.)[a]

"a so-called *juridical* person," further says the same Remark, "a society, a community or a family, however inherently concrete it may be, contains personality only as an element, only ***abstractly;*** in a juridical person personality has not attained to the ***truth of its existence.*** The state, however, is precisely this totality in which the elements of the concept achieve the actuality corresponding to the truth ***peculiar to each of them.***"

The juridical person, society, the family, etc., contains personality only abstractly. In the monarch, on the other hand, the *state* is contained *within the person*.

It is only within the *juridical* person, society, the family, etc., that the *abstract person* has truly brought his *personality* into real existence. But Hegel conceives society, the family, etc., the *juridical person* in general, not as the realisation of the actual empirical person, but as an *actual* person, who, however, contains the ele-

[a] This refers to the relevant sheet of the manuscript (see this volume, p. 110).— *Ed.*

ment of personality as yet only abstractly. Hence, too, in Hegel, actual persons do not come to the state; instead, the state must first come to the actual person. Hence, instead of the state being brought forth as the supreme actuality of the person, as the supreme social actuality of man, *one single* empirical man, the empirical person, is brought forth as the supreme actuality of the state. This perversion of the subjective into the objective and of the objective into the subjective is a consequence of Hegel's wanting to write the biography of abstract substance, of the idea, man's activity, etc., thus having to appear as the activity and result of something else, and of his wanting to make the human essence operate on its own, as an imaginary individuality, instead of in its *actual human* existence. The inevitable outcome of this is that an *empirical existent* is *uncritically* accepted as the actual truth of the idea; for it is not a question of bringing empirical existence to its truth, but of bringing truth to an empirical existent, and so what lies to hand is expounded as a *real* element of the idea. (On this necessary transforming of empirical fact into speculation and of speculation into empirical fact, more later.[a])

In this way, too, the impression is produced of something *mystical* and *profound*. It is common knowledge that men are born, and that what is brought into being by physical birth becomes a social person, etc., and eventually a citizen of a state; that it is via his birth that a man comes to be all that he is. But it is very profound, it is startling, to hear that the idea of the state is born without intermediary; that, in the birth of the monarch, this idea has given birth to its own empirical existence. No content is gained in this way, only the *form* of the old content is changed. It has received a philosophical *form*, a philosophical testimonial.

Another consequence of this mystical speculation is that a *particular* empirical existent, one individual empirical existent in distinction from the others, is regarded as the *embodiment of the idea*. Again, it makes a deep mystical impression to see a *particular* empirical existent posited by the idea, and thus to meet at every stage an incarnation of God.

If, for example, in the exposition of the family, civil society, the state, etc., these social modes of man's existence are regarded as the actualisation, the objectification, of his essence, then the family, etc., appear as qualities inherent in a subject. The human being remains always the essence of all these entities, but these entities also appear as man's *actual* generality, and therefore also as *something*

[a] See this volume, pp. 60-65.—*Ed.*

*men have in common.* But if on the contrary family, civil society, the state, etc., are attributes of the idea, of substance as subject, they must be given an empirical actuality, and that body of people among whom the idea of civil society unfolds are members of a civil society, that other body of people [among whom the idea of the state unfolds] being state citizens. Since all we have here, really, is *allegory,* for the sole purpose of conferring on some empirical existent or other the *significance* of being the actualised idea, it is clear that these vessels have fulfilled their function as soon as they have become specific embodiments of elements in the life of the idea. The general, therefore, appears everywhere as something specific, particular; and individuality, correspondingly, nowhere attains to its true generality.

It therefore necessarily seems that the most profound, most speculative level has been reached when the most abstract attributes, the natural bases of the state such as birth (in the case of the monarch) or private property (in primogeniture), which have not yet developed at all into genuine social actualisation, appear as the highest ideas directly personified.

And it is self-evident. The correct method is stood on its head. The simplest thing becomes the most complicated, and the most complicated the simplest. What ought to be the starting point becomes a mystical outcome, and what ought to be the rational outcome becomes a mystical starting point.

However, if the monarch is the abstract *person* who contains the *state within his own person,* this only means that the essence of the state is the abstract *private person.* Only in its flower does the state reveal its secret. The monarch is the one private person in whom the relation of private persons generally to the state is actualised.

The hereditary character of the monarch follows from his concept. He is to be the person specifically distinguished from the whole species, from all other persons. What is it, then, that ultimately and firmly distinguishes one person from all others? The *body.* The highest function of the body is *sexual activity.* The highest constitutional act of the king is therefore his sexual activity, for through this he *makes* a king and perpetuates his body. The body of his son is the reproduction of his own body, the creation of a royal body.

### b) *The Executive*

287. There is a difference between the ***decisions*** of the monarch and the ***execution*** and ***application*** of these decisions and, in general, the prosecution and maintenance of past decisions, of existing laws, arrangements and institutions for

common purposes, and the like. This task of *subsumption* [...] falls within the scope of the *executive,* as do the *judicial* **and** *police* authorities, which have more direct relation to the particular concerns of civil society, and which assert the general interest within these aims."

The usual explanation of the executive. The only thing that can be said to be *original* in Hegel is that he *links* the *executive,* the police and the *judiciary,* whereas usually the administration and the judiciary are treated as antithetical.

288. "*Particular* common interests, which fall within civil society ***and lie outside the intrinsically and explicitly general character of the state proper*** (para. 256), are administered by the ***corporations*** (para. 251) of the municipalities and of other trades and estates with their authorities, officials, administrators and the like. These concerns are on the one hand the *private property* and *interest* of these *particular* spheres, and from this point of view the authority of these officials rests on the confidence of their social equals and the members of their communities, and on the other hand, these circles must be subordinated to the higher interests of the state. This being so, the filling of these official posts in the corporations will in general be effected by a mixture of popular election by those interested with ratification and appointment by a higher authority."

A straightforward description of the empirical position in some countries.

289. "The *maintenance* of the *general state interest* and of *legality* in this sphere of particular rights, and the relating back of these to the general interest and legality, require to be seen to by ***representatives*** of the executive—***executive*** *civil servants* and higher advisory bodies inasmuch as they are constituted on collegiate lines—which converge at the top in chiefs who are in direct touch with the monarch."

Hegel has not *fully set forth executive authority.* But even taking this into account, he has not proved that the executive power is more than *one function,* one *attribute,* of state citizens as such. He has deduced the executive as a *particular, separated* power only by looking at the "particular interests of civil society" as such, which "lie outside the intrinsically and explicitly general character of the state".

"Just as ***civil society is the battlefield of the individual private interests of all against all, so here the struggle of private interests against particular common concerns and of both these together*** against the superior viewpoints and edicts of the state has its seat. At the same time the corporation spirit, generated by the vested rights of the particular spheres, is itself inwardly transformed into the spirit of the state, on finding in the state the means for the support of particular aims. It is the ***secret*** of the patriotism of the citizens in this respect, that they know the state to be their substance, ***because*** it is the state which backs their particular spheres, both their rights and authority, and their welfare. The corporation spirit, since it *directly* comprises the *rooting* of the *particular in the general,* therefore constitutes the depth and strength which the state possesses in the citizens' *frame of mind.*"

The above is remarkable

1) On account of the definition of civil society as *bellum omnium contra omnes*;

2) Because *private egoism* is revealed as the "*secret of the patriotism of the citizens*" and as the "depth and strength which the state possesses in the citizens' frame of mind";

3) Because the "citizen", the man of the particular interest as opposed to the general, the member of civil society, is looked upon as a "fixed individual", whereas the state also confronts the "citizens" in "fixed individuals".

Hegel, one would have thought, should have defined "civil society" as well as the "family" as an attribute of every individual member of the state, and therefore the subsequent "political qualities" too as attributes of the individual member of the state as such. But [with Hegel] it is not the self-identical individual who unfolds new attributes out of his social essence. It is the essence of the will which allegedly brings forth its attributes out of itself. The extant, various and disparate, empirical forms of existence of the state are looked upon as direct incarnations of one or other of these attributes.

The general as such being given an independent existence, it is directly confounded with the empirical form of existence, and the limited straightway accepted uncritically as the expression of the idea.

Hegel falls into self-contradiction here only inasmuch as he does not regard the "family man", like the citizen, as a fixed breed denied those other qualities.

290. "*Division of labour* [...] also occurs in the ***business of the government.*** The organisation of administrative bodies has this formal but difficult task insofar as below, where civil life is *concrete*, it must be governed concretely, while the business of the executive is nevertheless divided into its *abstract* branches, administered by special departments as distinct centres whose activities merge below, as well as at the top, in the supreme government authority, in a concrete survey."

The *Addition* to this paragraph is to be considered later.[6]

291. Government business is by nature *objective* and determined, explicitly and in substance, by decisions already taken (para. 287), and has to be carried through and realised by *individuals*. Between it and these individuals there is no immediate ***natural*** link. The individuals are therefore not destined for office by virtue of their birth or natural personality. The objective factor in their appointment is knowledge and proof of ability. Such proof guarantees that the state gets what it requires, and since it is the sole condition of appointment, it also guarantees to every citizen the ***opportunity*** to devote himself to the general estate."

292. "Since the objective element in appointing to office in the administration is not genius (as in art, for example), selection is of necessity from an indefinite *plurality* of individuals whose relative merits cannot be positively ascertained, and is therefore subjective. The selection of a *particular* individual for a post, his appoint-

ment, and his authorisation to conduct public business, this linking of the individual to the office, whose relation one to the other must always be fortuitous, is the prerogative of the monarch as the deciding and sovereign power in the state."

293. "The particular affairs of state which ***monarchy*** devolves to departments of state constitute one part of the *objective* aspect of the sovereignty dwelling in the monarch. Their specific *differentiation* is also given by the nature of the subject-matter. And whilst the activity of the departments is the fulfilment of a duty, their business is also a right relieved of contingency."

The only thing to note is the "*objective* aspect of the sovereignty *dwelling in* the monarch".

294. "The individual who is appointed by sovereign act (para. 292) to an official position has to fulfil the duties—the substantial feature—of his post as the condition of his appointment, where *as a consequence* of this substantial relationship he finds means and the assured satisfaction of his particularity (para. 264), and is freed in his external circumstances and his official activity from other kinds of subjective dependence and influence."

"The service of the state [...] requires," the Remark says, "the renunciation of independent and arbitrary satisfaction of subjective aims; and at the same time offers the right to find satisfaction in, but only in, the discharge of one's duties. In this fact, so far as this aspect is concerned, there lies the link between the general and the particular interests which constitutes both the concept of the state and its inner stability (para. 260)." "The assurance of satisfaction of particular needs removes the external pressure which may induce a man to seek means for their satisfaction at the expense of his work and his duty as an official. In the general power of the state, those entrusted with its affairs find protection against that other subjective aspect, the private passions of the governed, whose private interests, etc., suffer as the general interest is made to prevail against them."

295. "The security of the state and of the governed against the abuse of power by government departments and their officials lies, on the one hand, directly in their hierarchical structure and accountability and, on the other hand, in the rights vested in local authorities and corporations. This prevents the intrusion of subjective arbitrariness into the power entrusted to a civil servant, and supplements from below the control from above which does not reach down to the conduct of individuals."

296. "But the fact that behaviour marked by dispassionateness, uprightness and kindness becomes *customary* [among civil servants] is partly connected with direct *moral* and *intellectual education*, which provides a spiritual counterpoise to whatever there is of the mechanical and suchlike in the learning of the so-called sciences related to their spheres of work, in the requisite professional training, in the actual work itself, etc.; in part the *size* of the state is also an important factor, weakening the pressure of family and other personal ties, and making less potent and less keen such passions as hatred, revenge, etc. In preoccupation with the large interests present in a great state these subjective features disappear of themselves, and habituation to general interests, points of view, and concerns is produced."

297. "The members of the government and the civil servants constitute the major part of the *middle estate*, in which is concentrated the developed intelligence of the mass of a people and its consciousness of what is lawful. That this section should not assume the isolated position of an aristocracy or use education and ability as a means to arbitrary domination, depends on the ***institutions of sovereignty*** working from above and on the ***corporate institutions' rights*** exercised from below."

"*Addition*: In the middle estate, to which civil servants belong, there is consciousness of the state and the most pronounced degree of education. This estate therefore constitutes the pillar of the state in terms of uprightness and intelligence." "The education of this middle estate is a principal interest of the state, but this can only occur in an organic structure such as we have been considering, namely, as a result of the rights vested in particular, relatively independent circles, and through a ***world of officials*** whose arbitrariness is checked by those who possess such rights. Action in accordance with general law, and habituation to such action, is a consequence of the antithesis constituted by these independent circles."

What Hegel says about the "executive" does not deserve to be called a philosophical exposition. Most of the paragraphs could stand word for word in the Prussian Common Law.[7] And yet, the administration proper is the most difficult point of all in the exposition.

As Hegel has already assigned the "police" and the "judiciary" to the sphere of *civil society*, the *executive* is nothing more than the administration, which he expounds as *bureaucracy*.

The bureaucracy presupposes, firstly, the "*self-government*" of civil society in "*corporations*". The only stipulation added is that the selection of administrators, officials, etc., for these corporations is a *mixed* responsibility, initiated by the citizens and ratified by the executive proper ("ratification by a *higher* authority", as Hegel puts it).

Over this sphere, for the "maintenance of the general state interest and of legality", stand "*representatives* of the executive", the "executive civil servants" and the "collegiate bodies", which converge in the "monarch".

"Division of labour" takes place in the "business of the government". Individuals must prove their suitability for government service — i.e., pass examinations. The choice of *specific* individuals for public office is the prerogative of the monarchical state authority. The division of state business is "given by the nature of the subject-matter". The responsibility of office is the duty of civil servants and their life's vocation. They must therefore receive *salaries* from the state. The guarantee against the abuse of bureaucratic power is partly the hierarchical structure and accountability of the bureaucracy, and on the other hand the rights which communities and corporations possess. The humanity of the bureaucracy depends partly on the "direct moral and intellectual education", partly on the "size of the state". Officials form the "major part of the middle estate". Against their becoming an "aristocracy and arbitrary domination" protection is provided, partly by "the institutions of sovereignty working from above",

and partly by "the corporate institutions' rights exercised from below". The "middle estate" is the estate of "education". *Voilà tout.* Hegel gives us an empirical description of the bureaucracy, partly as it is in actual fact, and partly as it is on its own estimation. And with this the difficult chapter on the "executive" is done with.

Hegel proceeds from the *separation* of the "state" and "civil" society, from "particular interests" and the "intrinsically and explicitly general"; and indeed bureaucracy is based on *this separation.* Hegel proceeds from the presupposition of the "corporations", and indeed the bureaucracy does presuppose the *corporations,* or at least the "spirit of the corporations". Hegel expounds no *content* for the bureaucracy, but only some general features of its "*formal*" organisation; and indeed the bureaucracy is only the "formalism" of a content which lies outside itself.

The *corporations* are the materialism of the bureaucracy, and the bureaucracy is the *spiritualism* of the corporations. The corporation is the bureaucracy of civil society; the bureaucracy is the corporation of the state. In actual fact, therefore, bureaucracy as the "civil society of the state" confronts the "state of civil society", the corporations. Wherever the "bureaucracy" is a new principle, wherever the general state interest begins to become something "distinctive and separate" and thus a "real" interest, the bureaucracy fights against the corporations, as every consequence fights against the existence of its premises. On the other hand, once the state actually comes to life and civil society frees itself from the corporations by its own rational impulse, the bureaucracy tries to restore them. For with the fall of the "state of civil society" goes the fall of the "civil society of the state". The spiritualism disappears along with the materialism which opposes it. The consequence fights for the existence of its premises as soon as a new principle challenges not their *existence,* but the *principle* of their existence. The same spirit which creates the corporation in society creates the bureaucracy in the state. Hence, the attack on the spirit of the corporations is an attack on the spirit of the bureaucracy; and if earlier the bureaucracy combated the existence of the corporations in order to make room for its own existence, so now it tries forcibly to keep them in existence in order to preserve the spirit of the corporations, which is its own spirit.

The "bureaucracy" is the "*state formalism*" of civil society. It is the "state consciousness", the "state will", the "state power", as *one corporation*—and thus a *particular, closed* society within the

state. (The "general interest" can maintain itself against the particular as "something particular" only so long as the particular maintains itself against the general as "something general". The bureaucracy must therefore protect the *imaginary* generality of the particular interest, the spirit of the corporations, in order to protect the *imaginary* particularity of the general interest—its own spirit. The state has to be a corporation so long as the corporation wants to be a state.) The bureaucracy wants the corporation, however, as an *imaginary* power. To be sure, the individual corporation, too, on behalf of its *particular* interest, has the same wish as regards the bureaucracy, but it *wants* the bureaucracy against other corporations, against other particular interests. The bureaucracy as the *perfect corporation* is therefore victorious over the *corporation* as the imperfect bureaucracy. The bureaucracy reduces the corporation to an appearance, or wants to do so, but it wants this appearance to exist, and to believe in its own existence. The corporation is the attempt of civil society to become the state; but the bureaucracy is the state which has actually turned itself into civil society.

The "state formalism" which bureaucracy is, is the "state as formalism"; and it is as a formalism of this kind that Hegel has described bureaucracy. Since this "state formalism" constitutes itself as an actual power and itself becomes its own *material* content, it goes without saying that the "bureaucracy" is a web of *practical* illusions, or the "illusion of the state". The bureaucratic spirit is a jesuitical, theological spirit through and through. The bureaucrats are the jesuits and theologians of the state. The bureaucracy is *la république prêtre.*

Since by its *very nature* the bureaucracy is the "state as formalism", it is this also as regards its *purpose.* The actual purpose of the state therefore appears to the bureaucracy as an objective *hostile* to the state. The spirit of the bureaucracy is the "formal state spirit". The bureaucracy therefore turns the "formal state spirit" or the *actual* spiritlessness of the state into a categorical imperative. The bureaucracy takes itself to be the ultimate purpose of the state. Because the bureaucracy turns its "formal" objectives into its content, it comes into conflict everywhere with "real" objectives. It is therefore obliged to pass off the form for the content and the content for the form. State objectives are transformed into objectives of the department, and department objectives into objectives of the state. The bureaucracy is a circle from which no one can escape. Its hierarchy is a *hierarchy of knowledge.* The top entrusts the understanding of detail to the lower levels, whilst the

lower levels credit the top with understanding of the general, and so all are mutually deceived.

The bureaucracy is the imaginary state alongside the real state—the spiritualism of the state. Each thing has therefore a double meaning, a real and a bureaucratic meaning, just as knowledge (and also the will) is both real and bureaucratic. The really existing, however, is treated in the light of its bureaucratic nature, its other-worldly, spiritual essence. The bureaucracy has the state, the spiritual essence of society, in its possession, as its *private property*. The general spirit of the bureaucracy is the *secret*, the mystery, preserved within itself by the hierarchy and against the outside world by being a closed corporation. Avowed political spirit, as also political-mindedness, therefore appear to the bureaucracy as *treason* against its mystery. Hence, *authority* is the basis of its knowledge, and the deification of authority is its *conviction*. Within the bureaucracy itself, however, *spiritualism* becomes *crass materialism*, the materialism of passive obedience, of faith in authority, of the *mechanism* of fixed and formalistic behaviour, and of fixed principles, views and traditions. In the case of the individual bureaucrat, the state objective turns into his private objective, into a *chasing after higher posts*, the *making of a career*. In the first place, he looks on actual life as something *material*, for the *spirit of this life has its distinctly separate existence* in the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy must therefore proceed to make life as material as possible. Secondly, actual life is material for the bureaucrat himself, i.e., so far as it becomes an object of bureaucratic manipulation; for his spirit is prescribed for him, his aim lies beyond him, and his existence is the existence of the department. The state only continues to exist as various fixed bureaucratic minds, bound together in subordination and passive obedience. *Actual* knowledge seems devoid of content, just as actual life seems dead; for this imaginary knowledge and this imaginary life are taken for the real thing. The bureaucrat must therefore deal with the actual state jesuitically, whether this jesuitry is conscious or unconscious. However, once its antithesis is knowledge, this jesuitry is likewise bound to achieve self-consciousness and then become deliberate jesuitry.

Whilst the bureaucracy is on the one hand this crass materialism, it manifests its crass spiritualism in the fact that it wants to *do everything*, i.e., by making the *will* the *causa prima*. For it is purely an *active* form of existence and receives its content from without and can prove its existence, therefore, only by shaping and

restricting this content. For the bureaucrat the world is a mere object to be manipulated by him.

When Hegel calls the executive the *objective* aspect of the sovereignty dwelling in the monarch, that is right in the same sense in which the Catholic Church was the *real presence* of the sovereignty, substance and spirit of the Holy Trinity. In the bureaucracy the identity of state interest and particular private aim is established in such a way that the *state interest* becomes a *particular* private aim over against other private aims.

The abolition of the bureaucracy is only possible by the general interest *actually*—and not, as with Hegel, merely in thought, in *abstraction*—becoming the particular interest, which in turn is only possible as a result of the *particular* actually becoming the *general* interest. Hegel starts from an unreal antithesis and therefore achieves only an imaginary identity which is in truth again a contradictory identity. The bureaucracy is just such an identity.

Now let us follow his exposition in detail.

The sole philosophical statement Hegel makes about the *executive* is that he *"subsumes"* the individual and the particular under the general, etc.

Hegel contents himself with this. On the one hand, the category of "subsumption" of the particular, etc. This has to be actualised. Then he takes any one of the empirical forms of existence of the Prussian or modern state (just as it is), anything which actualises this category among others, even though this category does not express its specific character. Applied mathematics is also subsumption, etc. Hegel does not ask "Is this the rational, the adequate mode of subsumption?" He only takes the *one* category, and contents himself with finding a corresponding existent for it. Hegel gives *a political body to his logic*: he does not give the *logic of the body politic* (para. 287).

On the relation to the government of the corporations and the local bodies, we learn first of all that their *administration* (the appointment of their magistracy) requires "in general a mixture of popular election by those interested with *ratification* and appointment by a *higher* authority". The *mixed selection* of officials of local bodies and corporations would thus be the *first relationship* between civil society and state or executive, their *first identity* (para. 288). According to Hegel himself, this identity is very superficial—a *mixtum compositum,* a *"mixture"*. Superficial as is this identity, so the antithesis is sharp. Since "these concerns" (of the corporation, the local body, etc.) "are on the one hand the *private property* and

*interest* of these *particular* spheres, and from this point of view the authority of these officials rests on the confidence of their social equals and the members of their communities, and on the other hand, these circles must be subordinated to the *higher interests of the state*", the outcome is the indicated "*mixed selection*".

The administration of the corporation therefore has this antithesis:

*Private property and the interest of the particular spheres against the higher interest of the state; antithesis between private property and state.*

It does not need to be remarked that the resolution of this antithesis in the *mixed selection* is a mere *compromise,* a treaty, a *confession* of unresolved dualism, itself a *dualism,* a "*mixture*". The *particular* interests of the corporations and local authorities have a dualism within *their own sphere*—a dualism which likewise shapes the character of their *administration.*

The well-marked antithesis only comes to the fore, however, in the relationship of these "*particular common* interests", etc., which "lie outside the intrinsically and explicitly general character of the *state*" on the one hand, and this "*intrinsically and explicitly general character of the state*" on the other. To begin with, it is again present within this latter sphere.

"The maintenance of the general state interest and of legality in this sphere of particular rights, and the relating back of these to the general interest and legality, require to be ***seen to*** by ***representatives*** of the ***executive—executive*** *civil servants* and higher advisory bodies inasmuch as they are constituted ***on collegiate lines***—which converge at the top in chiefs who are in direct touch with the monarch." (Para. 289.)

Incidentally, let us note the construction of the administrative *councils* which are unknown in France, for instance. "*Inasmuch*" as Hegel adduces these bodies as "*advisory*", it is certainly obvious that they are "constituted on collegiate lines".

Hegel brings in the "state proper", the "executive", to "see to" the "general state interest and legality, etc.", within civil society through "representatives", and according to him it is really these "representatives of government", the "executive civil servants", who constitute the *true "representation of the state"*—not "of", but "against" "civil society". The antithesis of state and civil society is thus fixed: the state does not reside in, but outside civil society. It touches it only through its "*representatives*" who are entrusted with "*seeing to the state*" within these spheres. Through these "representatives" the antithesis is not transcended, but has become a "legal", "fixed", antithesis. By means of deputies the "state"—an entity alien and ulterior to the *essence* of civil society—asserts itself

over against civil society. The "police", the "judiciary" and the "administration" are not deputies of civil society itself, in and through whom it administers its *own* general interest, but representatives of the state for the administration of the state over against civil society. Hegel further explains this *antithesis* in the frank Remark [to para. 289] examined above.

"Government business is by nature *objective* and determined, explicitly [...], by decisions already taken." (Para. 291.)

Does Hegel conclude from this that for this very reason this government business all the less requires any "hierarchy of knowledge", and that it can be completely carried out by "civil society itself"? On the contrary.

He makes the profound observation that this business has to be carried out by "individuals", and that "between it and these individuals there is no immediate *natural* link". This is an allusion to the monarch's power, which is nothing but the *"natural power of arbitrary choice"*, and so can be "*born*". The "monarchical authority" is nothing but the representative of the element of nature in the will, of the "dominion of *physical nature in the state"*.

The "executive civil servants" are therefore essentially distinguished from the "monarch" in the way they acquire their offices.

"The ***objective factor*** in their appointment" (sc. to government) "is knowledge" (subjective arbitrariness lacks this factor) "and proof of ability. Such proof guarantees that the state gets what it requires, and since it is the sole condition of appointment, it also guarantees to ***every citizen the opportunity*** to devote himself to the ***general*** estate."

This *opportunity* for every citizen to become a civil servant is thus the second affirmative relationship between civil society and state, the *second identity*. It is of a very superficial and dualistic nature. Every Catholic has the opportunity to become a priest (i.e., to separate himself from the laity as from the world). Does the clergy confront the Catholic as an other-worldly power any the less on that account? The fact that anyone has the opportunity to acquire the right of *another* sphere merely proves that in *his own* sphere this right has no reality.

In the genuine state it is not a question of the opportunity of every citizen to devote himself to the general estate as one particular estate, but the capacity of the general estate to be really general—that is, to be the estate of every citizen. But Hegel proceeds from the premise of the pseudo-general, illusory-general estate—the premise of generality as a particular estate.

The identity which he has constructed between civil society and state is the identity of *two hostile armies,* where every soldier has the "opportunity" to become, by "desertion", a member of the

"hostile" army; and indeed Hegel herewith correctly describes the present empirical position.

It is the same with his construction of the "examinations". In a rational state, to sit an examination should be demanded of a shoemaker rather than an executive civil servant. For shoemaking is a skill without which one can be a good citizen of the state and social human being; whereas the necessary "political knowledge" is a requirement without which a person in the state lives outside the state, cut off from himself, from the air. The "examination" is nothing but a Masonic rite, the legal recognition of a knowledge of citizenship as a privilege.

The *examination*—this "link" between the "office of state" and the "individual", this objective bond between the knowledge of civil society and the knowledge of the state—is nothing but the *bureaucratic baptism of knowledge,* the official recognition of the *transubstantiation* of profane into sacred knowledge (in every examination, it goes without saying, the examiner knows all). One does not hear that the Greek or Roman statesmen passed examinations. But of course, what is a Roman statesman against a Prussian government official!

Besides the *examination,* the *objective* bond between the individual and public office, there is another bond—the *arbitrary decision of the monarch.*

"Since the objective element in appointing to office in the administration is not genius (as in art, for example), selection is of necessity from an indefinite *plurality* of individuals whose relative merits cannot be positively ascertained, and is therefore subjective. The selection of a *particular* individual for a post, his appointment, and his authorisation to conduct public business, this linking of the individual to the office, whose relation one to the other must always be fortuitous, is the prerogative of the monarch as the deciding and sovereign power in the state." [Para. 292.]

The monarch is everywhere the representative of contingency. In addition to the objective element of the bureaucratic confession of faith (the examination) there is also needed the subjective element of monarchical *grace and favour,* so that the faith may bear fruit.

"The particular affairs of state which *monarchy* devolves to departments of state" (the monarchy distributes, devolves the particular activities of the state to the departments as *business, distributes the state amongst the bureaucrats*; it hands them over as the Holy Roman Church hands out ordination. The monarchy is a system of emanation; the monarchy leases out the functions of the state) "constitute one part of the *objective* aspect of the sovereignty dwelling in the monarch." Here Hegel distinguishes for the first

time the *objective* from the *subjective* aspect of the sovereignty dwelling in the monarch. Previously he cast them both together. The sovereignty dwelling in the monarch is taken here in a clearly mystical sense, just as theologians find the personal God in nature. It was also stated that the monarch is the subjective aspect of the sovereignty dwelling in the *state* (para. 293).

In para. 294 Hegel deduces the *salary* of the civil servants from the idea. Here in the *salary* of the civil servants, or in the fact that the service of the state also guarantees security of empirical existence, the *real identity* of civil society and the state is established. The civil servant's *pay* is the highest identity which Hegel constructs. The transformation of *state activities* into *official posts* presupposes the separation of the state from society. Hegel says:

> "The service of the state [...] requires the renunciation of independent and arbitrary satisfaction of subjective aims", which is what any service requires, "and at the same time offers the right to find satisfaction in, but only in, the discharge of one's duties. In this fact, so far as this aspect is concerned, there lies the link between the general and the particular interests which constitutes both the concept of the state and its inner stability."

(1) This holds good of every servant, and (2) it is true that civil service *pay* constitutes the inner stability of the deep[-rooted] modern monarchies. Only the existence of civil servants is *guaranteed,* in contrast to that of the member of civil society.

Now it cannot escape Hegel that he has constructed the executive as an *antithesis* to civil society, and indeed as a dominant pole. How does he now establish a relation of identity?

According to para. 295, "the security of the state and of the governed against the *abuse* of power by government departments and their officials" lies, on the one hand, directly in their "hierarchical structure". (As if the hierarchy were not the *chief abuse,* and the few personal sins of the officials not at all to be compared with their *inevitable* hierarchical sins. The hierarchy punishes the official if he sins against the hierarchy or commits a sin unnecessary from the viewpoint of the hierarchy. But it takes him into its protection whenever the hierarchy sins in him; moreover, the hierarchy is not easily convinced of the sins of its members.) And security against abuse also lies "in the rights vested in local authorities and corporations. This prevents the intrusion of subjective arbitrariness into the power entrusted to a civil servant, and supplements from below the control from above which does not reach down to the conduct of individuals" (as if this control were not exercised from the standpoint of the bureaucratic hierarchy).

Thus the privileges of the corporations are the second guarantee against the arbitrariness of the bureaucracy.

If we ask Hegel, then, what protection civil society has against the bureaucracy, his answer is:

1) "*Hierarchy*" of the bureaucracy; *control.* It is the fact that the adversary himself is bound hand and foot, and that if he is a hammer to those below, he is an anvil to those above. Where, then, is the protection against the "hierarchy"? The lesser evil is indeed abolished by the greater insofar as it vanishes by comparison.

2) The *conflict,* the unresolved conflict, between bureaucracy and corporation. *Struggle,* the *possibility* of struggle, is the guarantee against defeat. Later (para. 297) Hegel adds as a further guarantee the "institutions of sovereignty working from above", by which is meant again the hierarchy.

However, Hegel adduces two more factors (para. 296):

*In the civil servant himself*—and this is supposed to humanise him and make "behaviour marked by dispassionateness, uprightness and kindness" "customary"—"direct moral and intellectual education" is supposed to provide the "spiritual counterpoise" to the *mechanical character* of his knowledge and of his "actual work". As if the "mechanical character" of his "bureaucratic" knowledge and of his "actual work" did not provide the "counterpoise" to his "moral and intellectual education"! And will not his actual mind and his actual work as substance triumph over the accident of his other endowments? For his "post" is his "substantial" relationship and his "livelihood". Fine, except that Hegel sets "direct moral and intellectual education" against the "mechanical character of bureaucratic knowledge and work"! The man within the official is supposed to secure the official against himself. But what unity! *Spiritual counterpoise.* What a dualistic category!

Hegel also cites the "size of the state", which in Russia provides no guarantee against the arbitrariness of the "executive civil servants", and which in any case is a circumstance which lies "*outside*" the "*essential nature*" of the bureaucracy.

Hegel has expounded the "executive" as "state officialdom".

Here, in the sphere of the "intrinsically and explicitly general character of the state proper", we find nothing but unresolved conflicts. The final syntheses are the civil servants' *examinations* and their *livelihood.*

As the final consecration of the bureaucracy Hegel adduces its impotence, its conflict with the corporation.

In para. 297 an identity is established, insofar as "the members

of the government and the civil servants constitute the major part of the *middle estate*". Hegel praises this "middle estate" as the "pillar of the state in terms of uprightness and intelligence". (Addition to the quoted paragraph.)

"The education of this middle estate is a principal interest of the state, but this can only occur in an organic structure such as we have been considering, namely, as a result of the rights vested in particular, relatively independent circles, and through a ***world of officials*** whose arbitrariness is checked by those who possess such rights."

Certainly, only in such an organic structure can the nation appear as *one* estate, the *middle estate.* But is that an organic structure which keeps itself going by means of the counterposing of privileges? The executive power is the most difficult to expound. It belongs to the entire nation to an even much higher degree than the legislative power.

Later, in the Remark to para. 308, Hegel expresses the real spirit of the bureaucracy when he characterises it as "business routine" and the "horizon of a restricted sphere".

### c) *The Legislature*

298. "The *legislative authority* is concerned with the laws as such, insofar as they require to be further determined, and with ***internal*** affairs in their ***entirely general*** aspects" (a very general expression). "This authority is itself a ***part of the constitution,*** which is antecedent to it and which accordingly lies wholly beyond direct determination by the legislature, but which undergoes further development by the elaboration of laws and by the dynamic character of government affairs in general."

The first thing that is striking is Hegel's emphasis on the point that "this authority is itself a part of the constitution, which is antecedent to it and which lies wholly beyond direct determination by the legislature", since he has not made this remark about either the monarchical or the executive authority, though it is equally true of them. Then, however, Hegel is constructing the constitution as a whole, and, thus, cannot presuppose it. However, we recognise the profundity in Hegel precisely in the fact that he everywhere begins with and lays stress on the *opposition* between attributes (as they exist in our states).

The "legislative authority is itself a part of the *constitution*" which "lies wholly beyond direct determination by the legislature". But, again, the constitution has surely not made itself spontaneously. The laws, which "require to be further determined", must surely have had to be formulated. A legislative authority *prior* to the constitution and *outside* of the constitution must exist or have

existed. A legislative authority must exist beyond the actual, *empirical, established* legislative authority. But, Hegel will reply, we are presupposing an *existing* state. Hegel, however, is a philosopher of law and is expounding the genus of the state. He must not measure the idea by what exists, but what exists by the idea.

The collision is simple. The *legislative power* is the power to organise the general. It is the power of the constitution. It reaches beyond the constitution.

But, on the other hand, the legislative power is a constitutional power. It is therefore subsumed under the constitution. The constitution is *law* for the legislative authority. It *gave* and continues to give laws to the legislature. The legislative authority is only the legislative authority within the constitution, and the constitution would stand *hors de loi,* were it to stand outside the legislative authority. *Voilà la collision!* In recent French history this proved to be a hard nut to crack.

How does Hegel resolve this antinomy?

First he says:

The *constitution* is *"antecedent"* to the legislature; it *"accordingly* lies wholly *beyond* direct determination *by the legislature"*.

*"But"*—but "by the elaboration of laws" "and by the dynamic character of government affairs in general" it "undergoes" its "further development".

That is to say, then: directly, the constitution lies beyond the reach of the legislature; but indirectly, the legislature changes the constitution. The legislature does in a roundabout way what it cannot and must not do straightforwardly. It takes the constitution apart piecemeal, because it cannot change it wholesale. It does through the nature of things and circumstances what, from the nature of the constitution, it ought not to do. It does *materially* and *in fact* what *formally, legally,* and constitutionally it does not do.

Hegel has not herewith abolished the antinomy: he has transformed it into another antinomy. He has posed the *working* of the legislature—its *constitutional* working—in antithesis to its constitutional *designation.* The opposition between the *constitution and the legislature* remains. Hegel has depicted the *actual* and the *legal* action of the legislature as constituting a contradiction, or again depicted the contradiction between what the legislature is supposed to be and what it actually is, between what it thinks it is doing and what it really does.

How can Hegel present this contradiction as the truth? "The dynamic character of government affairs in general" explains just

as little, for it is just this dynamic character that calls for explanation.

In the Addition Hegel contributes nothing, it is true, to the solution of these difficulties. But he sets them out still more clearly.

"The constitution must be actually and explicitly the firm and recognised ground on which the legislature stands, and for this reason it must not initially be completed. Thus the constitution *is*, but just as essentially it *becomes*, i.e., its formation advances. This advance is an ***alteration*** which is ***inconspicuous*** and does not have the ***form of alteration.***"

That is to say: according to the law (illusion) the constitution *is*, but according to reality (the truth) it *develops*. According to its definition the constitution is unalterable, but actually it is altered; only, this alteration is unconscious, it does not have the form of alteration. The *appearance* contradicts the *essence*. The appearance is the *conscious* law of the constitution, and the essence is its *unconscious* law, which contradicts the former. What the thing is in its own nature is not in the law. In law it is rather the contrary.

Is this, then, the truth: that in the state, according to Hegel the highest presence of *freedom*, the presence of self-conscious reason, it is not the law, the presence of freedom, which rules, but blind natural necessity? And if the law of the thing is recognised as contradicting the legal definition, why not recognise the law of the thing, of reason, as the law of the state as well; why consciously cling to the dualism? Hegel wants everywhere to present the state as the actualisation of free mind, but *re vera* he resolves all the difficult collisions by means of a natural necessity which stands in opposition to freedom. Thus the transition of the particular interest into the general is likewise not a conscious law of the state, but is mediated by accident, proceeds *against* consciousness, and Hegel wants everywhere in the state the realisation of free will! (Here Hegel's *substantial* standpoint makes itself evident.)

The examples of *gradual* alteration of the constitution which Hegel gives are infelicitously chosen, like the transformation of the property of the German princes and their families from private estates into state domains, or the transformation of the personal administration of justice by the German emperors into administration by representatives. The first transition only worked out in such a way that all state property was transformed into private property of the monarch.

Besides, these are particular changes. Certainly, entire state constitutions have changed in such a way that gradually new needs arose, the old broke down, etc.; but for a *new* constitution a real revolution has always been required.

"Hence further development of a condition of affairs," Hegel concludes, "is something ***apparently*** tranquil and unnoticed. In this way, after a long time, a constitution passes into a condition quite different from what existed previously."

The category of *gradual* transition is, in the first place, historically false; and in the second place, it explains nothing.

If the constitution is not merely to suffer change; if, therefore, this illusory appearance is not finally to be violently shattered; if man is to do consciously what otherwise he is forced to do without consciousness by the nature of the thing, it becomes necessary that the movement of the constitution, that *advance,* be made the *principle of the constitution* and that therefore the real bearer of the constitution, the people, be made the principle of the constitution. Advance itself is then the constitution.

Does the "constitution" itself, then, properly belong to the domain of the "legislative authority"? This question can only be raised (1) when the political state exists as the mere formalism of the real state, when the political state is a distinct domain, when the political state exists as "constitution"; (2) when the legislative authority has a different source from that of the executive authority, etc.

The legislature made the French Revolution; in general, wherever it has emerged in its particularity as the dominant element, it has made the great, organic, general revolutions. It has not fought the constitution, but a particular, antiquated constitution, precisely because the legislature was the representative of the people, of the will of the species. The executive, on the other hand, has produced the small revolutions, the retrograde revolutions, the reactions. It has made revolutions not for a new constitution against an old one, but against the constitution, precisely because the executive was the representative of the particular will, of subjective arbitrariness, of the magical part of the will.

Posed correctly, the question is simply this: Has the people the right to give itself a new constitution? The answer must be an unqualified "Yes", because once it has ceased to be an actual expression of the will of the people the constitution has become a practical illusion.

The collision between the constitution and the legislature is nothing but a *conflict of the constitution with itself,* a contradiction in the concept of the constitution.

The constitution is nothing but a compromise between the political and the unpolitical state. Hence, it is necessarily in itself a treaty between essentially heterogeneous powers. Here, then, it is impossible for the law to declare that one of these powers, one

part of the constitution, is to have the right to modify the constitution itself, the whole.

If we are to speak of the constitution as something particular, however, it must be considered, rather, as one *part* of the whole.

If by the constitution is understood the general, the fundamental attributes of rational will, then it is obvious that every people (state) has these as its basis, and that they must form its political credo. This is really a matter of knowledge and not of will. The will of a people can no more escape the laws of reason than the will of an individual. In the case of an irrational people one cannot speak at all of a rational organisation of the state. Here, in the philosophy of law, moreover, the will of the species is our subject-matter.

The legislature does not make the law; it only discovers and formulates it.

The resolution of this conflict has been sought in the distinction between *assemblée constituante* and *assemblée constituée.*

299. "These concerns" (of the legislature) "are more precisely defined in relation to individuals under two heads: ($\alpha$) what advantages and benefits they receive from the state; and ($\beta$) what they have to contribute to the state. Under the former come the laws belonging to the sphere of civil law generally, laws concerning the rights of local bodies and corporations, and quite general arrangements; and, indirectly (para. 298), the whole of the constitution. As for the contributions [from individuals]: only if these contributions are reduced to *money,* as the existing general *value* of things and services, can they be fixed justly, and at the same time in such a way that the *particular* tasks and services which the individual can perform are mediated by his own choice."

With regard to this definition of the concerns of the legislature Hegel himself observes in the Remark to this paragraph:

"In general, indeed, the way in which the concerns of general legislation can be distinguished from matters calling for decision by administrative departments or government regulation generally, is that to the former belongs what is ***wholly general*** in content—the legal enactments, whereas to the latter belongs the ***particular*** and the manner of *execution.* This distinction, however, is not a hard and fast one, because a law, to be a law and not a mere general command (such as 'Thou shalt not kill' [...], must in itself be something *definite*; and the more definite it is, the more its terms are capable of being carried out as they stand. At the same time, however, to give to laws such a very detailed determinacy would give them empirical features which would inevitably become subject to alterations in the course of being actually implemented, and this would jeopardise their character as laws. The ***organic unity*** of the state authorities itself implies that *one* spirit establishes the general and also brings it to its determinate actuality and carries it out."

But it is precisely this *organic* unity which Hegel has failed to construct. The different authorities have different principles.

They are, moreover, solid reality. To take refuge from their real conflict in an *imaginary* "organic unity", instead of expounding them as elements of an organic unity, is therefore mere empty, mystical evasion.

The first unresolved collision was that between the *constitution as a whole* and the *legislature*. The second is that between the *legislature* and the *executive*, between the law and its execution.

The second statement in the paragraph is that the only contribution which the state requires from individuals is *money*.

The reasons Hegel gives for this are:

1) Money is the existing general *value* of things and services;

2) The contributions can only be fixed *justly* by means of this reduction;

3) Only in this way can the contribution be fixed so that the *particular* tasks and services which an individual can perform are mediated by his own choice.

Hegel observes in the Remark:

On 1: "It may, in the first place, seem astonishing that of the numerous skills, possessions, activities and talents and the infinitely manifold living *properties*[a] this implies, which are at the same time associated with a definite frame of mind, the state demands no direct service, but lays claim only to the *one* kind of property,[a]—that which appears in the form of *money*.

"The services relating to the defence of the state against enemies pertain only to the duty considered in the next section." (Not because of the next section but for other reasons, it is only later that we shall come to the personal obligation to military service.[8])

"In fact, however, money is not one *particular* kind of property alongside the others but their general form, insofar as they are produced in the externality of concrete being, in which they can be grasped as a *thing*."

"With us," he goes on in the *Addition*, "the state *buys* what it needs."

On 2: "Only at this extreme of externality" (sc. where *wealth* is produced in the externality of concrete being, in which its various forms can be grasped as *things*) "is *quantitative* precision, and therewith justice and ***equality of contributions***, possible." In the *Addition* he says: "By means of money, however, the ***justice of equality*** can be much better achieved." "Otherwise the talented would be more taxed than the untalented, if it depended on concrete ability."

On 3: "In his state *Plato* has individuals assigned to the particular estates by the guardians and has their *particular* services imposed on them [...]; in feudal monarchy vassals had equally indeterminate services to perform, but they had also to serve in their *particular character*—e. g., as judges, etc. The services demanded in the East, in Egypt, for the immense architectural works, etc., are likewise of *particular* quality, etc. In these conditions the principle of *subjective freedom* is lacking—i. e., the principle that the individual's substantial activity, which in any case becomes something particular in content in services like those mentioned, shall

[a] The German word *Vermögen*, here rendered as "property", has a wide range of meanings including ability, capacity, faculty, power, etc., as well as fortune, wealth, riches.—*Ed.*

be mediated by his *particular will.* This is a right which can only be realised through the demand for services in the form of a general value, and it is the reason which has brought about this transformation."

In the Addition he says: "With us, the state *buys* what it needs, and this may at first seem abstract, dead and heartless, and it can also look as if the state were in decline because it is satisfied with abstract services. But the principle of the modern state requires that everything which the individual does shall be mediated by his will."

"...But nowadays ***respect*** for subjective freedom is publicly recognised precisely in the fact that the state lays hold of a man only by that by which he is capable of being seized."

Do what you will, pay what you must.

The beginning of the Addition reads:

"The two sides of the constitution relate to the rights and services of individuals. As regards services, they are now almost all reduced to money. Military service is now almost the only personal service."

300. "Effective in the legislative authority as a ***totality*** are, first, the other two elements—the *monarchy,* whose prerogative it is to make the supreme decisions, and the *executive,* as the advisory authority possessing the concrete knowledge and over-all view of the whole in its manifold aspects together with the actual principles which have become ***firmly established*** in it, and also a knowledge of the requirements of state power in particular; and finally the *estates* element."

The monarchical authority and the executive authority are ... legislative authority. If, however, the legislative authority is the *totality,* monarchical and executive authority would, rather, have to be elements of the legislative authority. The supervening *estates* element is legislative authority *alone,* or the legislative authority in *distinction* from the monarchical and executive authority.

301. "The *estates* element has this characteristic, that in it matters of general concern come to exist not merely *in themselves* but also *for themselves;* in it, that is to say, the element of subjective *formal freedom,* public consciousness as the *empirical generality* of the opinions and thoughts of the *many,* comes into existence."

The estates element is a deputation of civil society to the state, which it confronts as the "many". The many are to deal for a moment with matters of general concern *consciously,* as being their own, as objects of *public consciousness* which according to Hegel is nothing but the "*empirical generality* of the opinions and thoughts of the *many*" (and in fact in modern monarchies, including constitutional monarchies, it is nothing else). It is significant that Hegel, who has such a great respect for the state spirit, for the ethical spirit, for state consciousness, positively despises it when it confronts him in an actual, empirical form.

This is the enigma of mysticism. The same fantastic abstraction, which rediscovers *state consciousness* in the inadequate form of the *bureaucracy,* a hierarchy of knowledge, and which uncritically

accepts this inadequate existent as the real existent and as *fully valid*, this same mystical abstraction just as candidly avows that the real, *empirical* state spirit, *public consciousness*, is a mere pot-pourri of "thoughts and opinions of the many". As it imputes to the bureaucracy an alien essence, so it leaves for the true essence the inadequate form of appearance. Hegel idealises the bureaucracy, and empiricises public consciousness. He can treat actual public consciousness as very special precisely because he has treated the special consciousness as the public consciousness. He needs to concern himself all the less about the actual existence of the state spirit since he believes he has already realised it properly in its so-called existences. As long as the state spirit mystically haunted the forecourt, many bows were made in its direction. Now, when we have caught it in person, it is scarcely regarded.

"The estates element has this characteristic, that in it matters of general concern come to exist not merely *in themselves* but also *for themselves*." And indeed they come to exist explicitly as "public consciousness", as the "*empirical generality* of the opinions and thoughts of the *many*".

The process by which "matters of general concern"—which are in this way turned into an independent entity—come to be a subject, is here presented as a phase in the life-process of the "matters of general concern". Instead of the subjects making themselves objective in the "matters of general concern", Hegel brings the "matters of general concern" to the point of being the "subject". The subjects do not need the "matters of general concern" as their true concerns, but the matters of general concern require the subjects for their *formal* existence. It is a matter for "matters of general concern" that they exist also as subject.

What has especially to be kept in view here is the difference between the *"being in itself"* and the *"being for itself"* of the matters of general concern.

The *"matters of general concern"* already exist *"in themselves"* as the business of the government, etc. They exist, without *actually* being matters of *general* concern. They are on no account matters of general concern, for they are not the concern of *"civil society"*. They have already found their *essential*, actual existence. That they now also actually become "public consciousness", "empirical generality", is something purely formal and, as it were, only a *symbolic* attaining to actuality. The "formal" existence or the "empirical" existence of matters of general concern is separated from their *substantial existence*. The truth of this is that "matters of general

concern" in their *being as such* are not *actually general,* and the actual, *empirical* matters of general concern are merely *formal.*

Hegel separates *content* and *form, being in itself* and *being for itself,* and brings in the latter externally as a *formal* element. The content is complete and exists in many forms, which are not the forms of this content; whereas clearly the form which is supposed to be the actual form of the content, has not the actual content for its content.

The *matters of general concern* are complete, without being actual concerns of the people. The actual business of the people has come into being without action by the people. The estates element is the *illusory existence* of matters of state as a public concern. [It is] the illusion that the *matters of general concern* are matters of general concern, public matters; or the *illusion* that the people's affairs are matters of general concern. Things have gone so far, both in our states and in Hegel's philosophy of law, that the tautological sentence "Matters of general concern are matters of general concern" can only appear as an *illusion of practical consciousness.* The *estates element* is the *political illusion of civil society.* Precisely because he does not establish objective freedom as the realisation, the practical manifestation of subjective freedom, *subjective* freedom appears in Hegel as *formal* freedom. (It is certainly important though that what is free is also done freely; that freedom does not prevail as the unconscious natural instinct of society.) Because he has given the presumed or actual content of freedom a mystical bearer, the actual subject of freedom acquires a formal significance.

The separation of the *in itself* and the *for itself,* of substance and subject, is abstract mysticism.

In the Remark Hegel explains the "estates element" very much as something "formal" and "illusory".

Both the *knowledge* and the *will* of the "estates element" are treated partly as unimportant, partly as suspect: i.e., the estates element is not a *substantial addition.*

1) "The idea uppermost in men's minds when they speak about the necessity or usefulness of summoning the estates is usually something of this sort, that the people's representatives, or even the people, *must best understand* what is best for them, and that they undoubtedly have the best intention to bring about this best. On the first point, it is rather the case that if by 'the people' is meant one particular section of the members of the state, then it is that section which *does not know what it wants.* To know what one wants, and, even more, to know what will, existing in and for itself, i.e., reason, wants, is the fruit of deep understanding" (confined, of course, to [government] offices) "and insight—which, of course, is not the people's affair."

Further on, he says with reference to the estates themselves:

"The highest civil servants necessarily have deeper and more comprehensive insight into the nature of the structure and the needs of the state, as well as being more skilled in, and more accustomed to, these affairs; without the estates they are therefore *able* to do what is best, as they constantly must do their best when the estates are in session."

And it stands to reason that in the organisation described by Hegel this is perfectly true.

2) "As for the estates' especially *good intention* to bring about the general good, it has already been pointed out [...] that to presume a bad or less good intention in the executive is characteristic of the vulgar crowd and of a negative outlook generally. If one were to answer in like manner, the countercharge would follow that since the estates have their origin in individuality, the private standpoint, and particular interests, they are inclined to use their powers on behalf of these at the expense of the general interest, whereas the other state authorities consciously adopt the standpoint of the state from the start, and are devoted to the common purpose."

Thus the *knowledge* and *will* of the estates are partly superfluous, partly suspect. The people do not know what they want. The estates do not possess knowledge of state affairs in the same degree as the officials, who have a monopoly of this knowledge. The estates are superfluous for the implementation of "matters of general concern", the officials are *able* to accomplish them without the estates, and indeed *have to* do what is best in spite of the estates. Thus from the point of view of content, the estates are a pure luxury. Their presence is therefore in the most literal sense a mere *form*.

Furthermore, with regard to the attitude, the *will* of the estates: this is suspect, for they issue from the private standpoint and from private interests. The truth is that private interest is their matter of general concern, and that matters of general concern are not their private interest. But what a state of things when "matters of general concern" assume the *form* of matters of general concern in a will which does not know what it wants, or at least does not possess any particular knowledge of the general, and which has as its real content an opposing interest!

In modern states, as in Hegel's philosophy of law, the *conscious*, the *true actuality* of *matters of general concern is merely formal*; or, *only what is formal is an actual matter of general concern.*

Hegel is not to be blamed for depicting the nature of the modern state as it is, but for presenting that which is as the *nature of the state*. That the rational is actual is proved precisely in the *contradiction* of *irrational actuality*, which everywhere is the contrary of what it asserts, and asserts the contrary of what it is.

Instead of showing how "matters of general concern" exist for themselves "subjectively, and therefore actually as such", and that they have also the form of matters of general concern, Hegel only shows that *formlessness* is their subjectivity, and a form without content must be formless. The form which matters of general concern gain in any state which is not the state of matters of general concern can only be a deformity, a self-deceiving, self-contradictory form, an *illusory form* which will reveal itself as this illusion.

Hegel wants the luxury of the estates element only for the sake of logic. The *being for themselves* of matters of general concern as empirical generality must have a specific presence. Hegel does not look for an adequate actualisation of the "being for themselves of matters of general concern", he is content to find an empirical existent which can be dissolved into this logical category; this is then the estates element, and Hegel himself does not fail to note how pitiful and full of contradictions this existent is. Yet he still reproaches ordinary consciousness for not being content with this logical satisfaction, and for wanting to see logic transformed into true objectivity rather than actuality dissolved into logic by *arbitrary* abstraction.

I say *arbitrary* abstraction; for, since the executive authority wills, knows and actualises the *matters of general concern,* has its source in the nation and is an empirical multiplicity (that it is not a question of totality Hegel himself tells us), why should it not be possible to define the executive as the "being for themselves of matters of general concern"? Or why not the "estates" as their *being in themselves,* since it is only in the executive that these matters reach the light and gain determinacy and implementation and independence?

The true antithesis, however, is this: "Matters of general concern" have to be *represented* somewhere in the state as "actual" and therefore "empirical matters of general concern". They must appear somewhere in the crown and robes of the general, which thereby automatically becomes a role, an illusion.

The antithesis in question here is that of the "general" as "*form*"—in the "form of generality"—and of the "general as content".

In science, for example, an "individual" can accomplish matters of general concern, and it is always individuals who do accomplish them. But these matters become truly general only when they are the affair no longer of the individual but of society. This changes not merely the form but also the content. In this case, however,

the issue is the state, where the nation itself is a matter of general concern; in this case it is a question of the will, which finds its true presence as species-will only in the self-conscious will of the nation. In this case, moreover, it is a question of the idea of the state.

The modern state, in which "matters of general concern" and preoccupation with them are a monopoly, and in which, on the contrary, monopolies are the real matters of general concern, has invented the strange device of appropriating "matters of general concern" as a *mere form.* (The truth is that only the *form* is a matter of general concern.) With this it has found the corresponding form for its content, which is only seemingly composed of real matters of general concern.

The constitutional state is the state in which the state interest as the actual interest of the nation exists *only* formally but, at the same time, as a *determinate form* alongside the actual state. Here the state interest has again acquired actuality *formally* as the interest of the nation, but it is only this *formal actuality* which it is to have. It has become a *formality,* the *haut goût* of national life, a *ceremonial.* The *estates* element is the *sanctioned, legal lie* of constitutional states, the lie that the *state* is the *nation's interest,* or that the *nation* is the *interest of the state.* This lie reveals itself in its *content.* It has established itself as the *legislative* power, precisely because the legislative power has the general for its content, and, being an affair of knowledge rather than of will, is the *metaphysical* state *power*; whereas in the form of the executive power, etc., this same lie would inevitably have to dissolve at once, or be transformed into a truth. The metaphysical state power was the most fitting seat for the metaphysical, general illusion of the state.

[301.] "A little reflection will show that the guarantee of the common good and public freedom afforded by the estates lies not in their special insight [...] but partly indeed in an ***additional***" (!!) "insight contributed by the deputies, principally into the doings of officials at some removes from direct supervision by the higher authorities, and particularly into the more pressing and specialised needs and deficiencies which these deputies have concretely before them; but partly, too, it lies in the effect which the criticism to be expected from the many, and public criticism at that, brings with it in inducing officials in advance to apply the greatest understanding to their tasks and to the projects they have to prepare, and to deal with them only in accordance with the purest motives—a compulsion which is equally effective in the case of the members of the estates themselves."

"As for the guarantee generally which the estates in particular are supposed to furnish, ***each of the other institutions of the state*** shares with them in being a guarantee of the public good and of rational freedom; and amongst these are institutions such as the sovereignty of the monarch, hereditary succession to the throne, the constitution of the courts, etc., which provide this guarantee in far greater measure than do the estates. The ***distinctive*** feature of the estates is to be sought, therefore, in the fact that in them the subjective element of general

freedom—the specific insight and the specific will characteristic of that sphere which in this presentation has been called civil society—comes *into existence relative to the state.* That this element is an aspect of the idea as developed into a totality, this inner necessity, not to be confused with *external necessities* and *expediencies,* follows, as always, from the philosophical standpoint."

Public, general freedom *is* allegedly guaranteed in the other state institutions; the estates are its alleged self-guarantee. [But the fact is] that the people attach more importance to the estates, through which they believe themselves to be able to safeguard their own security, than to those institutions which without any action on their part are supposed to be safeguards of their freedom—being affirmations of their freedom without being manifestations of their freedom. The co-ordinate position which Hegel assigns to the estates alongside the other institutions, contradicts the nature of the estates.

Hegel solves the enigma by seeing the "distinctive feature of the estates" in the fact that in them "the specific insight and the specific will characteristic of [...] civil society comes *into existence relative to the state*". It is the *reflection of civil society on to the state.* As the bureaucrats are *representatives of the state* to civil society, so the estates are *representatives of civil society* to the state. It is always a case, therefore, of *transactions* between two *opposing wills.*

In the *Addition* to this paragraph he says:

"The attitude of the executive to the estates should not be ***essentially*** hostile, and the belief in the inevitability of such a hostile relationship is a sad mistake",

is a "sad truth".

"The government is not a party facing another party."

On the contrary.

"The taxes voted by the estates, furthermore, are not to be regarded as a ***present*** given to the state; they are voted, rather, for the good of the voters themselves."

In the constitutional state, the voting of taxes is inevitably *thought of* as a *present.*

"The real significance of the estates lies in the fact that through them ***the state enters the subjective consciousness of the people***, and that the people begins to participate in the state."

This last point is quite right. In the estates the people *begins* to participate in the state, and likewise the state enters its subjective consciousness as an other-world. But how can Hegel present this *beginning* as the full *reality*?

302. "Considered as a *mediating* organ, the estates stand between the government as a whole on the one hand, and the nation on the other, resolved into particular spheres and individuals. Their function requires of them a *sense* and a *way of thinking* appropriate to the *state* and *government,* as well as to the *interests* of *particular* groups and *individuals.* At the same time, their position has the

significance of being, together with the organised[a] executive, a mediating factor, so that neither the monarchical authority should appear isolated as an *extreme* and thus as exclusively the power of the sovereign and arbitrariness, nor should the particular interests of communities, corporations and individuals become isolated; and—still more important—that individuals should not come to form a *multitude* or a *crowd*, characterised by correspondingly non-organic views and intentions and constituting a mere massed force against the organic state."

On the one side are placed, always as identical, state and government; on the other, the nation, resolved into particular spheres and individuals. The estates stand between the two as a *mediating* organ. The estates are the centre where "sense and a way of thinking appropriate to the state and government" are supposed to coincide and be united with "sense and a way of thinking appropriate to particular groups and individuals". The identity of these two opposed senses and ways of thinking, in whose identity the state should properly be rooted, is given a *symbolic* representation in the *estates*. The transaction between state and civil society appears as a *particular* sphere. The estates are the *synthesis between state and civil society*. But how the estates are to set about uniting in themselves two contradictory ways of thinking is not indicated. The *estates* are the *posited contradiction* of the state and civil society within the state. At the same time, they are the *demand* for the *resolution* of this contradiction.

"At the same time, their position has the significance of being, together with the ***organised***[a] executive, a mediating factor, etc."

The estates not only *mediate* nation and government. They prevent the "monarchical authority" from appearing as an isolated "*extreme*" and thus as "exclusively the power of the sovereign and arbitrariness"; they likewise prevent the "isolation" of the "particular" interests, etc., and the "appearance of individuals as a *multitude* or *crowd*". This mediating function is common to the estates and to the organised executive. In a state where the "position" of the "estates" prevents "individuals from coming to form a *multitude* or a *crowd*, characterised by correspondingly non-organic views and intentions and constituting a mere massed force against the organic state", the "*organic* state" exists outside the "multitude" and the "crowd"; or there the "multitude" and the "crowd" do belong to the organisation of the state, only their "non-organic views and intentions" are not to become "views and intentions against the state"—for with such a *definite orientation* these views and intentions would become "organic". Similarly, this "massed force" is to remain only "mass", so that understanding

[a] Marx wrote "organic".—*Ed.*

remains located outside the masses and hence they cannot set themselves in motion, but can only be moved, and exploited as a massed force, by the monopolists of the "organic state". Where "the particular interests of communities, corporations and individuals" are not isolated from the state, but "individuals come to form a *multitude* or a *crowd*, characterised by correspondingly non-organic views and intentions and constituting a mere massed force against the state", it becomes clear, of course, that it is no "particular interest" which contradicts the state, but that the "actual, organic, general thought of the multitude or the crowd" is not the "thought of the organic state" and does not find its realisation in it. What is it, then, that makes the estates appear as a mediating factor in relation to this extreme? Only the fact that "the particular interests of communities, corporations and individuals become isolated", or the fact that their isolated interests *balance their account with the state through the estates*; and also the fact that the "non-organic views and intentions of the multitude or the crowd" have occupied their *will* (their activity) in creating the estates, and occupied their "views" in judging the work of the estates, and have enjoyed the illusion of their own objectification. The "estates" preserve the state from the non-organic crowd only as a result of the disorganisation of this crowd.

But at the same time the mediation by the *estates* is intended to prevent the "isolation" of "the particular interests of communities, corporations and individuals". They mediate in this respect (1) by treating with the "state interest", (2) by themselves being the "*political* isolation" of these particular interests, by being this *isolation as a political act*, since through them these "isolated interests" attain the rank of the "general".

Finally, the estates are supposed to mediate in relation to the *"isolation"* of the authority of the monarch as an *"extreme"* (which "thus *would appear* as exclusively the power of the sovereign and arbitrariness"). This is correct insofar as the *principle* of the *authority of the monarch* (arbitrariness) is limited by the estates or at least is fettered in its operation, and inasmuch as the estates themselves become participants in, and accomplices of, the monarch's authority.

In this way either the power of the monarch actually ceases to be the extreme of the power of the monarch (and, since it is not an organic principle, the power of the monarch exists only as an extreme, as a one-sidedness), and becomes an *appearance of power*, a symbol; or else it only loses the *appearance* of being arbitrary and exclusively the power of the sovereign. The estates mediate to

counter the "isolation" of particular interests by presenting this isolation as a *political* act. They *mediate* to counter the isolation of the authority of the monarch as an extreme, partly by themselves becoming a part of monarchical authority, and partly by putting the executive into the position of an *extreme.*

In the "estates" all the contradictions of the organisations of the modern state coalesce. The estates are the "mediators" in all directions, because in all respects they are "hybrids".

It should be noted that Hegel does not so much expound the content of the activity of the estates, the legislative power, as the *position* of the estates, their political rank.

It should further be noted that whereas, according to Hegel, the *estates* stand to begin with "between the *government as a whole on the one hand,* and the *nation on the other,* resolved into particular spheres and individuals", their position as expounded above "has the significance of being, *together* with the organised executive, a mediating factor".

With regard to the first point, the *estates* are the nation over against the government, but *the nation in miniature.* This is their posture in opposition.

With regard to the second point, the estates are the government over against the nation, but the government amplified. This is their conservative posture. They are themselves a part of the executive over against the nation, but in such a way as to have at the same time the significance of being the nation over against the executive.

Hegel, above, characterised the "legislative authority as a totality" (para. 300): the *estates* actually are this *totality*—the state within the state—but it is precisely in them that it *becomes apparent* that the state is not the totality, but a dualism. The estates represent the state in a society that *is no* state. The state is a *mere concept.*

In the Remark [to para. 302] Hegel says:

> "It is one of the most important insights of logic that a certain element which occupies the position of an extreme when standing within an antithesis, is at the same time a *middle term,* and thus ceases to be an extreme and is an *organic* element."

(Thus the estates element is (1) the extreme of the nation over against the government; but also (2) the middle term between nation and government; or it is the *antithesis within the nation* itself. The antithesis of government and nation is mediated by the antithesis between *estates* and *nation.* The estates occupy the position of the nation with regard to the government, but the position of the government with regard to the nation. The real

antithesis between nation and government is overcome when the nation attains existence as a *notion*, as a fantasy, an illusion, a *representation*—as the *represented* nation, or the estates, which straightway finds itself, as a *particular power*, cut off from the real nation. Here the nation is displayed in just the way it must be displayed in the organism under consideration, so as not to have a clear-cut character.)

"In connection with the matter here being considered it is all the more important to stress this aspect because of the frequently-held, but most dangerous prejudice which regards the estates primarily from the point of view of *opposition* to the government, as if this were their essential attitude. Looked upon organically, i. e., as part of the totality, the ***estates element*** manifests itself ***only through the function of mediation.*** Thus the ***antithesis*** itself is reduced to an ***appearance.*** If this antithesis, when it ***manifests*** itself, were not merely something superficial but ***actually*** became a ***substantial antithesis***, then the state would be in the throes of destruction. That the conflict is not of this kind is shown, in accordance with the nature of the thing, by the fact that it is not concerned with the essential elements of the state organism but with more specialised and less important things; and the passion nevertheless aroused by these matters becomes faction concerned with merely subjective interests such as higher state appointments."

In the *Addition* he says:

***"The constitution is essentially a system of mediation."***

303. "The *general* estate, or more precisely the estate which devotes itself to *government service*, is directly defined as having the general as the purpose of its essential activity. In the *estates* element of the legislature the *civil estate* acquires *political significance* and effectiveness. Now this civil estate can appear in this sphere neither as a mere undifferentiated mass nor as a multitude resolved into its atoms, but as that *which it already is*, namely, differentiated into the estate based on the substantial relationship and the estate based on specific needs and the labour satisfying them [...]. Only thus is the really *particular in* the state truly linked in this respect with the general."

Here we have the solution of the enigma. "In the estates element of the legislature the *civil estate* acquires *political significance.*" Naturally, the *civil estate* acquires this significance in a way corresponding to what it is, corresponding to its *structure within civil society* (Hegel has already characterised the general estate as that which devotes itself to the service of the government; the general estate is thus represented within the legislative authority by the executive).

The estates element is *the political significance of the civil estate*, of the unpolitical estate—a contradiction in terms. Or in the estate described by Hegel, the *civil estate* (and further the distinction of the civil estate as such) has a *political* significance. The *civil estate* belongs to the essence, to the politics of this state. He, therefore, gives it a *political significance*, i. e., a significance other than its real significance.

In the Remark he says:

"This runs counter to another current notion, namely, that when the civil estate is elevated to the ***participation*** in general affairs in the legislature it ought to appear there in the form of *individuals* either by their choosing representatives for this function, or even by each individual himself exercising a vote there. This atomistic, abstract view disappears already within the family as well as within civil society, where the individual only makes his appearance as a member of something general. The state, however, is essentially an organisation consisting of components, each of which is *itself* a group; and no element should appear as a non-organic mass in the state. The *many* as individuals, which is what we readily take to be meant by 'people', are indeed an *assemblage*, but only as a *multitude*—a formless mass whose movement and action, accordingly, could only be elemental, irrational, savage and frightful."

"The notion which resolves the communities already existing in these groupings again into a multitude of individuals at the point where they enter the political realm, i. e., where they take up the standpoint of the *highest concrete generality*, thereby keeps ***civil and political life separate*** and suspends the latter, so to speak, in the air, since its basis would only be the abstract individuality of caprice and opinion, and thus the accidental, and not an absolutely *solid* and *legitimate* foundation."

"Although the *estates* ***of civil society*** in general and the *estates in the political* sense are widely separated in the concepts advanced by so-called theories, ***language***, nevertheless, still preserves their unity, which moreover ***formerly prevailed in fact***."

"The *general* estate, or more precisely the estate which devotes itself to *government service*."

Hegel takes it as a presupposition that the *general* estate is in the "service of the government". He takes it for granted that general intelligence "is both proper to the estates and is constant".

"In the *estates* element, etc." The "political significance and effectiveness" of the *civil estate* is a *particular* significance and effectiveness of the civil estate. The *civil estate* is not transformed into the *political estate*; on the contrary, it is as *civil estate* that it assumes its political effectiveness and significance. It does not have political effectiveness and significance in an unqualified way. Its political effectiveness and significance is the *political effectiveness and significance of the civil estate as civil estate*. Hence, the civil estate can only enter the political sphere in a way which corresponds to the *differentiation of estates in civil society*. The *differentiation of estates* within civil society becomes a political distinction.

*Language* itself, says Hegel, expresses the identity of *the estates of civil society* with the *estates in the political sense*—a "unity" "which moreover *formerly prevailed in fact*", and which, one must conclude, now no longer prevails.

Hegel finds that "the really *particular in* the state is truly linked in this respect with the general". *In this manner the separation of*

*"civil and political life" is supposed to be transcended and their "identity" established.*

Hegel relies on the following:

"There are already existing *communities* in these groupings" (family and civil society). How can one, just "at the point where they enter the political realm, i.e., where they take up the standpoint of the *highest concrete generality*", wish "to resolve" them "again into a multitude of individuals"?

It is important to follow this argument closely.

The identity Hegel is asserting was at its most complete, as he himself admits, in the *Middle Ages*. Here the *estates of civil society* as such and the *estates in the political sense* were identical. One can express the spirit of the Middle Ages in this way: The estates of civil society and the estates in the political sense were identical, because civil society was political society—because the organic principle of civil society was the principle of the state.

Hegel, however, takes as his starting point the *separation* of *"civil society"* and the *"political state"* as two fixed opposites, two really different spheres. This separation does indeed *really* exist in the *modern* state. The identity of the civil and political estates was the *expression* of the *identity* of civil and political society. This identity has disappeared. Hegel takes it to have disappeared. "The identity of the civil and political estates", if it expressed the truth, *could* therefore now only be an expression of the *separation* of civil and political society. Or rather, only the *separation* of the civil and political estates[a] expresses the *true* relationship of *modern* civil and political society.

Secondly: Hegel is dealing here with *political* estates in a quite different sense from that of the *political* estates of the Middle Ages whose identity *with the estates of civil society* is asserted.

Their whole existence was political. Their existence was the existence of the state. Their *legislative activity*, their *voting of taxes for the Empire*, was only a *particular* expression of their *general* political significance and effectiveness. Their estate was their state. The relation to the Empire was merely a treaty relationship of these various states with *nationality*; for the political state as something distinct from civil society was nothing else but the *representation of nationality*. Nationality was the *point d'honneur*, the κατ' ἐξοχήν,[b] political significance of these various corporations, etc., and the taxes, etc., had reference only to nationality. That

[a] In the manuscript: "society".—*Ed.*
[b] Pre-eminently.—*Ed.*

was the relationship of the legislative estates to the Empire. The position of the estates was similar *within the individual principalities.* Here the *princedom,* the *sovereignty,* was a *particular* estate, which had certain privileges but which was correspondingly restricted by the privileges of the other estates. (Among the Greeks civil society was the *slave* of political society.) The general *legislative effectiveness* of the estates of civil society was not at all an attaining to a *political* significance and effectiveness on the part of the *civil estate,* but rather a simple expression of their *actual and general* political significance and effectiveness. Their activity as a legislative power was simply a complement to their sovereign and governing (executive) power; it was rather their attaining to matters of wholly general concern as a *civil affair,* their attaining to sovereignty as a *civil estate.* In the Middle Ages the estates of civil society were as estates of *civil society* at the same time legislative estates, because they were *not* civil estates, or because the *civil estates* were political estates. The medieval estates did not acquire a new character as a political-estates element. They did not become *political* estates because they participated in legislation; on the contrary, they participated in legislation because they were *political* estates. What have they in common, then, with Hegel's *civil estate,* which as a *legislative* element attains a political aria di bravura, an ecstatic condition, an outstanding, striking, exceptional political significance and effectiveness?

All the *contradictions* characteristic of Hegel's presentation are to be found together in the exposition of this question.

1) He has presupposed the *separation* of civil society and the political state (a modern condition), and expounded it as a *necessary element of the idea,* as absolute rational truth. He has presented the political state in its *modern* form—in the form of the *separation* of the various powers. He has given the bureaucracy to the actual, *active* state for its body, and set the bureaucracy as mind endowed with knowledge above the materialism of civil society. He has counterposed the intrinsically and actually general aspect of the state to the particular interest and the need of civil society. In short, he presents everywhere the *conflict* between civil society and the state.

2) Civil society as *civil estate* is counterposed by Hegel to the political state.

3) He characterises the *estates* element of the legislature as the mere *political formalism* of civil society. He describes it as a *relationship of reflection in which civil society is reflected on to the state,* and as one which does not affect the *essence* of the state. And a

relationship of reflection is the highest form of identity between essentially different things.

On the other hand:

1) Hegel does not want to allow civil society to appear in its self-constitution as a legislative element either as a mere, undifferentiated mass or as a multitude dissolved into its atoms. He wants *no* separation of *civil and political life.*

2) He forgets that what is in question is a relationship of reflection, and makes the civil estates as such political estates, but again only in terms of legislative power, so that their activity is itself proof of the separation.

He makes the *estates element* the expression of the *separation*; but at the same time it is supposed to be the representative of an identity which is not there. Hegel is aware of the separation of civil society and the political state, but he wants the unity of the state to be expressed within the state, and this to be accomplished, in fact, by the estates of civil society, in their character as such estates, also forming the *estates* element of legislative society. (Cf. XIV.*)[a]

304. "The political-estates element contains at the same time in its own determination the distinctions of estates already present in the earlier spheres. Its initially abstract position, that of the *extreme of empirical generality* over against the *royal* or *monarchical* principle in general, a position which implies only the *possibility of harmony* and therefore likewise the *possibility of hostile* confrontation, this abstract position becomes a rational relation (a syllogism, cf. Remark to para. 302) only if its *mediation* is actually effected. Just as from the monarchical authority the executive already has this attribute (para. 300), so likewise one aspect of the estates must be adapted to the function of existing essentially as the middle element."

305. "One estate of civil society contains the principle which is of itself capable of being established in this political role—namely, the estate whose ethical life is natural, and whose basis is family life and, so far as its livelihood is concerned, landed property. Its specific feature, accordingly, is a will based on itself; it shares this and the natural attribute, which the monarchical element contains, with the latter."

306. "This estate is more particularly fitted for political position and significance in that its wealth is equally independent of the wealth of the state and of the uncertainty of business, the quest for profit, and any sort of fluctuation in possessions, independent both of the favour of the executive, and of the favour of the crowd. It is even safeguarded *against its own caprice* by the fact that the members of this estate who are called to fill this role lack the right of other citizens either to dispose freely of their entire property, or to know that it will pass to their children in accordance with the equality of their love for them. Their wealth thus becomes an *inalienable heritage,* burdened with primogeniture."

*Addition*: "This estate is more independent in its volition. Speaking generally, the landowning estate is divided into an educated section of landowners and the

[a] The asterisk apparently refers not to p. XIV of the manuscript but to p. XXIV since the same sign is repeated there by Marx (see this volume, p. 75).—*Ed.*

peasantry. But over against both these sorts of people stands the business estate, which is dependent on and orientated towards need, and the general estate, which is essentially dependent on the state. The security and stability of the [landowning] estate can be further enhanced by the institution of primogeniture, though this institution is desirable only from a political point of view, since it involves a sacrifice for the political purpose of enabling the first-born son to live independently. The justification for primogeniture is that the state must be able to count on a certain way of thinking not as a mere possibility, but as something necessary. Now this way of thinking is not, of course, tied to wealth, but the relatively necessary connection is that a man of independent means is not restricted by external circumstances and can thus come forward and act for the state without hindrance. Where political institutions are lacking, however, the establishment and encouragement of primogeniture is nothing but a fetter laid upon the freedom of civil right; this fetter must either acquire political meaning or move towards disintegration."

307. "Thus the rights of this section of the propertied estate are on the one hand no doubt founded on the ***natural principle of the family***, but this principle is at the same time distorted by hard sacrifice for a *political purpose*; consequently this estate is essentially assigned to activity for this purpose, and is therefore also summoned and *entitled* to this activity by *birth*, without the fortuitousness of elections. Thus it occupies a stable, essential position between the subjective caprice or contingency of the two poles, and just as it [...] carries in itself a likeness of the element of the monarchical authority, so it shares with the other pole needs and rights which are in other respects similar and becomes the pillar both of the throne and of society."

Hegel has achieved the feat of deriving the born peers, the hereditary landed property, etc., etc.—this "pillar both of the throne and of society"—from the absolute idea.

*[a] It shows Hegel's profundity that he feels the separation of civil from political society as a *contradiction*. He is wrong, however, to be content with the appearance of this resolution and to pretend it is the substance, whereas the "*so-called theories*" he despises demand the "*separation*" of the civil from the political estates—and rightly so, for they voice a *consequence* of modern society, since there the *political-estates* element is precisely nothing but the factual expression of the actual relationship of state and civil society, namely, their *separation*.

Hegel does not call the matter here in question by its well-known name. It is the disputed question of a *representative* versus *estates* constitution. The representative constitution is a great advance, since it is the *frank, undistorted, consistent* expression of the *modern condition of the state*. It is an *unconcealed contradiction*.

Before we deal with the substance of the matter let us glance once more at Hegel's presentation.

"In the *estates* element of the legislature the *civil estate* acquires *political* significance." [Para. 303.]

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[a] See footnote on p. 74.—*Ed.*

Earlier (Remark to para. 301) he said:

"The **distinctive** feature of the **estates** is to be sought, therefore, in the fact that in them ... the specific insight and the specific will characteristic of that sphere which in this presentation has been called ***civil society***—*comes into existence relative to the state.*"

Summarising this definition, we get: "*Civil society* is the *civil estate*", or the *civil estate* is the direct, essential, concrete estate of civil society. It [civil society] acquires "political significance and effectiveness" only in the estates element of the legislature. This is something new, which is added to it, a *particular* function, for its very nature as *civil estate* expresses its *contrast* to political significance and effectiveness, the forfeiture of its political character, expresses the fact that civil society in and for itself is *without* political significance or effectiveness. The *civil estate* is the estate of civil society, or civil society is the *civil estate.* Hence Hegel also consistently excludes the "general estate" from the "estates element of the legislature".

"The *general* estate, or more precisely the estate which devotes itself to *government service,* is directly defined as having the general as the purpose of its essential activity." [Para. 303.]

Civil society or the civil estate is not so defined. Its essential activity is not defined as having the general as its purpose; or, its essential activity is not a characteristic of the general—does *not* have a *general* character. The civil estate is the estate of civil society *against* the state. The estate of civil society is *not* a political estate.

In describing civil society as civil estate, Hegel has declared the distinctions of estate in civil society to be *non*-political distinctions, and civil and political life to be heterogeneous, even *opposites.* How does he go on?

"Now this civil estate can appear in this sphere neither as a mere undifferentiated mass nor as a multitude resolved into its atoms, but as that *which it already is,* namely, differentiated into the *estate* based on the substantial relationship and the *estate* based on specific needs and the labour satisfying them (para. 201 ff.). Only thus is the really *particular in* the state truly linked in this respect with the general." [Para. 303.]

Civil society (the *civil estate*) can indeed not appear as a "mere undifferentiated mass" in its activity as legislative estate because the "mere undifferentiated mass" exists only as a "notion", only in the imagination, but not in *actuality.* Here there are only accidental masses of various sizes (cities, market towns, etc.). These masses or this mass not only *appears* but *is* everywhere "a multitude resolved into its atoms" in reality, and as thus atomised it *must* appear and proceed in its activity as *political* estate. The *civil estate,* civil society,

cannot here appear "as that *which it already is*". For what is it already? *Civil estate*, i.e., antithesis to and separation from the state. To acquire "political significance and effectiveness" it must rather abandon itself as that which it already is, as *civil estate*. Only thus does it acquire its "*political* significance and effectiveness". This political act is a complete transubstantiation. In it, civil society must completely give itself up as civil society, as civil estate, and assert an aspect of its essence which not only has nothing in common with the real civil existence of its essence but stands in opposition to it.

The *general law* here appears in the individual. Civil society and state are separated. Hence the citizen of the state is also separated from the citizen as the member of civil society. He must therefore effect a *fundamental division* with himself. As an *actual citizen* he finds himself in a twofold organisation: the *bureaucratic* organisation, which is an external, formal feature of the distant state, the executive, which does not touch him or his independent reality, and the *social* organisation, the organisation of civil society. But in the latter he stands as a *private person* outside the state; this social organisation does not touch the political state as such. The former is a state organisation for which he always provides the *material*. The second is a *civil organisation* the material of which is not the state. In the former the state stands as formal antithesis to him, in the second he stands as material antithesis to the state. Hence, in order to behave as an *actual citizen of the state*, and to attain political significance and effectiveness, he must step out of his civil reality, disregard it, and withdraw from this whole organisation into his individuality; for the sole existence which he finds for his citizenship of the state is his sheer, blank *individuality*, since the existence of the state as executive is complete without him, and his existence in civil society is complete without the state. He can be a *citizen of the state* only in contradiction to these *sole available communities*, only as an *individual*. His existence as a citizen of the state is an existence outside his *communal* existences and is therefore purely *individual*. For the "legislative power" as "power" is only the *organisation*, the *common body*, which it *is to* receive. Civil society, the civil estate, does *not* exist as *state organisation prior to* the "legislative authority", and in order to come into existence as such the *real organisation* of the civil estate, its real civil life, must be posited as *non-existent*, for the estates element of the legislature has precisely the quality of positing the *civil estate, civil society*, as *non-existent*. The separation of civil society and political state necessarily appears as a separation of the *political* citizen, the citizen of the state, from civil society, from his own, actual,

empirical reality, for as an idealist of the state he is *quite another being*, a *different*, distinct, opposed being. Civil society here effects within itself the relationship of state and civil society which already exists on the other side as *bureaucracy*. In the estates element the general really becomes *for itself* what it is *in itself*, namely, the *opposite* of the *particular*. The citizen must discard his estate, civil society, the *civil estate*, so as to acquire political significance and effectiveness, for it is this *estate* which stands between the *individual* and the *political state*.

If Hegel poses civil society as a whole, as the *civil estate*, in opposition to the political state, it stands to reason that the differences *within* the civil estate, the various civil estates, can in reference to the state have only a private significance, not a political significance. For the various civil estates are merely the realisation, the existence, of the *principle*, of the civil estate as the principle of civil society. But when the principle has to be given up, it stands to reason that the divisions *within* this principle exist all the *less* for the political state.

"Only thus," Hegel concludes the paragraph [303], "is the really *particular in* the state truly linked in this respect with the general."

But Hegel here confuses the state as the whole of the existence of a people with the political state. This particular is not the "*particular in*" but rather "*outside* the state", namely, the political state. Not only is it not "the really particular in the state", it is rather the "*unreality* of the state". Hegel seeks to demonstrate that the estates of civil society are the political estates, and to prove that, he assumes that the estates of civil society are the "particularisation of the political state", i.e., that civil society is political society. The expression "the particular *in* the state" can have here only the meaning "particularisation of the state". Bad conscience prompts Hegel to choose the vague expression. He himself has not only demonstrated the opposite, he again confirms this himself in the same paragraph when he describes civil society as the "civil estate". The statement that the particular "*is linked*" with the general is also very cautious. One can link the most heterogeneous things. It is here, however, not a question of a gradual *transition* but of a *transubstantiation* and it is useless to refuse to see the chasm to be jumped over, which the jump itself demonstrates.

Hegel says in the Remark [to para. 303]:

"This runs counter to another current notion", etc. We have just shown how consistent, how necessary, this current notion is, that it is a "necessary notion at the present stage of development of the

nation", and that Hegel's notion, although also quite current in certain circles, is nevertheless an untruth. Returning to the current notion, Hegel says:

"This atomistic, abstract view disappears already within the family", etc., etc. "The state, however, is", etc. This view is indeed abstract, but it is the "abstraction" of the political state as Hegel himself expounds it. It is also atomistic, but it is the atomism of society itself. A "view" cannot be concrete when its *subject-matter* is abstract. The atomism into which civil society plunges in its *political act* follows necessarily from the fact that the community, the communal being in which the individual exists, is civil society separated from the state, or that the *political state* is an *abstraction* from it.

This atomistic view, although [it] disappears already in the family, and perhaps (??) in civil society as well, returns in the political state precisely because it is an abstraction from the family and from civil society. The reverse is also true. By expressing the *strangeness* of this phenomenon Hegel has not eliminated the *estrangement.*

"The notion," we read further, "which resolves the ***communities*** already ***existing*** in these groupings again into a multitude of individuals at the point where they enter the political realm, i.e., where they take up the standpoint of the *highest concrete generality,* thereby ***keeps*** civil and political life separate and suspends the latter, so to speak, in the air, since its basis would only be the abstract individuality of caprice and opinion, and thus the accidental, and not an absolutely *solid* and *legitimate* foundation." [Remark to para. 303.]

That notion does not *keep* civil and political life separate; it is merely the *notion of a really existing separation.*

That notion does not suspend political life in the air; it is rather that political life is *life in the airy regions*—the ethereal regions of civil society.

Now let us consider the *estates* system and the *representative* system.

It is an historical advance which has transformed the *political estates* into *social* estates, so that, just as the Christians are equal in heaven, but unequal on earth, so the individual members of the nation are *equal* in the heaven of their political world, but unequal in the earthly existence of *society.* The real transformation of the *political estates* into *civil* estates took place in the *absolute monarchy.* The bureaucracy maintained the notion of unity against the various states within the state. Nevertheless, the *social difference* of the estates, even alongside the bureaucracy of the absolute executive power, remained a political difference, *political within* and alongside the bureaucracy of the absolute executive power.

Only the French Revolution completed the transformation of the *political* into *social* estates, or changed the *differences of estate* of civil society into mere *social* differences, into differences of civil life which are without significance in political life. With that the separation of political life from civil society was completed.

The estates of civil society likewise were transformed in the process: civil society was changed by its separation from political society. *Estate* in the medieval sense continued only within the bureaucracy itself, where civil and political position are directly identical. As against this stands civil society as *civil estate*. Difference of estate here is no longer a difference of *needs* and of *work* as independent bodies. The only general, *superficial and formal* difference still remaining here is that of *town* and *country*. Within society itself, however, the difference was developed in mobile and not fixed circles, of which *free choice* is the principle. *Money* and *education* are the main criteria. However, this has to be demonstrated not here but in the critique of Hegel's presentation of civil society. Enough. The estate of civil society has for its principle neither need, that is, a natural element, nor politics. It consists of separate masses which form fleetingly and whose very formation is fortuitous and does *not* amount to an organisation.

Only one thing is characteristic, namely, that *lack of property* and the *estate of direct* labour, of concrete labour, form not so much an estate of civil society as the ground upon which its circles rest and move. The estate proper, in which political and civil position coincide, is confined to the *members of the executive authority*. The present-day estate of society already shows its difference from the earlier estate of civil society in that it does not hold the individual as it formerly did as something communal, as a community, but that it is partly accident, partly the work and so on of the individual which does, or does not, keep him in his estate, an *estate* which is itself only an *external* quality of the individual, being neither inherent in his labour nor standing to him in fixed relationships as an objective community organised according to rigid laws. It stands, rather, in no sort of *real* relation to his material actions, to his *real standing*[a]. The physician does not form a special estate within civil society. One merchant belongs to a different estate from another, to a different *social position*. For just as civil society is separated from political society, so civil society has within itself become divided into *estate* and *social* position, however many relations may occur between them. The principle of the civil

[a] The German word *Stand*—in this passage mostly rendered as "estate"—can also mean position, situation, rank, profession, standing, etc.—*Ed.*

estate or of civil society is *enjoyment* and the *capacity to enjoy*. In his political significance the member of civil society frees himself from his estate, his true civil position; it is only here that he acquires importance as a *human being*, or that his quality as member of the state, as social being, appears as his *human* quality. For all his other qualities in civil society *appear inessential* to the human being, the individual, as *external* qualities which indeed are necessary for his existence in the whole, i.e., as a link with the whole, but a link that he can just as well throw away again. (Present-day civil society is the realised principle of *individualism*; the individual existence is the final goal; activity, work, content, etc., are *mere* means.)

The *estates constitution*, where it is not a tradition of the Middle Ages, is the attempt to some extent in the political sphere itself to thrust the human being back into the narrowness of his individual sphere, to turn his particularity into his material consciousness, and because in the political sphere the differences of estate exist, to turn them again into social differences.

The *real human being* is the *private individual* of the present-day state constitution.

In general, the *estate* has the significance that *difference* and *separation* constitute the *very existence* of the individual. His way of life, activity, etc., instead of turning him into a member, a function of society, make of him an *exception* to society, are his privilege. That this *difference* is not merely *individual* but is established as a *community*, estate or corporation, not only does not cancel its exclusive nature but is rather an expression of it. Instead of the individual function being a function of society, it turns, on the contrary, the individual function into a society for itself.

Not only is the *estate* based on the *separation* of society as the prevailing law; it separates the human being from his general essence, it turns him into an animal that is directly identical with its function. The Middle Ages are the *animal history* of human society, its zoology.

The modern era, *civilisation*, makes the opposite mistake. It separates the *objective* essence of the human being from him as merely something *external*, material. It does not accept the content of the human being as his true reality.

This will be further considered in the section on "civil society".[9] We pass on to

304. "The political-estates element contains at the same time in its ***own*** significance[a] the distinctions of estates already present in the earlier spheres."

[a] In Hegel: *Bestimmung*, i.e., "determination", not *Bedeutung*, "significance". But on pp. 74 and 96, where Marx quotes the same passage, it is given as in Hegel.—*Ed.*

We have already shown that "the distinctions of estate already present in the earlier spheres" have either no significance for the political sphere at all, or only the significance of private, hence non-political, distinctions. According to Hegel, however, this distinction here does not have its "already existing significance" (the significance it has in civil society), but it is rather the "political-estates element", which, by absorbing it, affirms its essence; and, immersed in the political sphere, it acquires as its "own" significance a significance which belongs to *this element* and *not to it* [this distinction].

When the structure of civil society was still political and the political state was civil society, this *separation,* this *doubling* of the significance of the estates, was not present. They did not *signify one thing* in civil society and *something else* in the political world. They acquired no *significance* in the political world but *signified themselves.* The dualism of civil society and the political state, which the *estates* constitution seeks to resolve by a *harking-back,* appears in that constitution itself in such a way that the *difference of estate* (the differentiation within civil society) acquires a different significance in the *political* and the civil sphere. Here we are seemingly confronted by something identical, *the same subject,* but with *essentially different* attributes; hence it is really a *twofold* subject; and this *illusory identity* is artificially preserved by that reflection which at one time ascribes a character to the civil estate distinctions as such which is yet to accrue to them from the political sphere, and conversely, at another time ascribes to the distinctions of estate in the political sphere a character which does not arise from the political sphere but from the subject of the civil sphere. (This identity is illusory if only for the reason that although the human being, the *real subject,* does remain himself, whatever forms his essence takes, and does not lose his identity, here however the human being is not the subject but is identified with a predicate, the estate; and at the same time it is maintained that both in this *particular determination* and in some *other* determination, the human being, as this particular, exclusively limited entity, is something *other* than this limited entity.) In order to represent the one limited subject, the particular estate (the distinctions of estate) as the essential subject of both predicates, or in order to prove the identity of both predicates, they are both mystified and presented in an illusory, vague, twofold form.

The same subject is here taken in different *significances,* the significance however is not that determined by the subject itself, but an *allegorical,* substituted definition is given. The same signifi-

cance could be assigned to a different concrete subject, and the same subject could be given a different significance. The significance acquired by the civil distinctions of estate in the political sphere does not arise from those distinctions but from the political sphere, and they could also here have a different significance, as was indeed historically the case. The reverse is also true. It is this *uncritical, mystical* way of *interpreting* an *old world-view* in terms of a new one which turns it into nothing better than an unfortunate hybrid, where form belies significance and significance belies the form, and where form does not acquire its significance and real form, nor does significance become form and real significance. This *uncritical approach,* this *mysticism,* is both the enigma of modern constitutions (κατ' ἐξοχήν,[a] the estates constitution) and the mystery of the Hegelian philosophy, particularly the *philosophy of law* and the *philosophy of religion.*

One can best rid oneself of this illusion by taking the significance as what it is, namely, as the *essential quality,* by making it as such the subject, and then considering whether the subject *allegedly* belonging to it is its *real predicate,* whether it represents its essence and true realisation.

"Its initially abstract position" (that of the political-estates element), "that of the extreme of *empirical generality* over against the *royal* or *monarchical principle* in general, a position which implies only the *possibility* of *harmony* and therefore likewise the *possibility of hostile* confrontation, this abstract position becomes a rational relation (a *syllogism,* cf. Remark to para. 302) only if its *mediation* is actually effected."

We have already seen that the estates together with the executive authority form the middle term between the monarchical principle and the people, between the will of the state as *one* empirical will and as *many* empirical wills, between *empirical singularity* and *empirical generality.* Since Hegel defined the will of civil society as *empirical generality,* he had to define the will of the monarch as *empirical singularity,* but he does not express the *antithesis* in all its sharpness.

Hegel continues:

"Just as from the monarchical authority the executive already has this attribute (para. 300), so likewise one aspect of the estates must be adapted to the function of existing essentially as the middle element."

The true opposites, however, are the monarch and civil society. And we have already seen that the estates element has with regard to the people the same significance which the executive has with

[a] Pre-eminently.—*Ed.*

regard to the monarch. As the latter is an *emanation* into a widespread circulation system, so the former is *condensation* into a miniature edition; for the constitutional monarchy can get on with the *people* only *en miniature.* The estates element is entirely the *same abstraction of the political state* in relation to civil society as is the executive in relation to the monarch. It seems, then, that the mediation has been completely effected. Both poles have lessened their harshness, the fires of their particular natures have met, and the *legislature,* whose elements consist of both the executive and the estates, seems not to need to initiate the *mediation,* but rather itself to be *mediation incarnate.* Hegel has also already described this *estates element together with the executive* as the *middle term* between people and monarch (and similarly, the estates element as the middle term between civil society and executive, etc.). Hence the rational relationship, the *conclusion,* appears to be complete. The *legislature,* the middle term, is a *mixtum compositum* of the two extremes, the monarchical principle and civil society, empirical singularity and empirical generality, subject and predicate. In general, Hegel takes the *conclusion* as the middle term, as a composite mixture. One may say that in his exposition of the rational deduction the whole transcendence and mystical dualism of his system is made apparent. The middle term is the wooden iron, the concealed opposition between generality and singularity.

First, let us notice with regard to this whole exposition that the "mediation" which Hegel here wants to effect is not a demand he derives from the *essence of the legislative power,* from its own character; it is rather derived from *consideration* for an existence which lies outside its essential character. It is a *construction from consideration.* The legislature in particular is only derived from consideration for a third thing. It is therefore pre-eminently the *construction of its formal being* which lays claim to all the attention. The legislature is constructed very *diplomatically.* This follows from the *false,* illusory, κατ' ἐξοχήν,[a] *political* position which the legislature occupies in the modern state (whose interpreter is Hegel). It follows as a matter of course that this state is no *true* state, since in it the *political attributes,* one of which is the legislature, have to be considered not in and for themselves, not theoretically, but practically, not as independent powers, but as powers afflicted with an antithesis, not according to the nature of things, but according to the rules of convention.

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[a] Pre-eminently.—*Ed.*

Thus the estates element "together with the executive" should really be the middle term between the will of the empirical singularity, the monarch, and the will of the empirical generality, civil society; but in *truth,* in reality, "*its* position" is "initially an abstract position, that of the *extreme of empirical generality* over against the *royal* or *monarchical principle* in general, a position which implies only the *possibility of harmony* and therefore likewise the *possibility of hostile confrontation*"—an "abstract position", as Hegel correctly remarks.

First, it now appears that here neither the "*extreme of empirical generality*", nor the "royal or monarchical principle", the extreme of empirical singularity, confront each other. For the estates are *delegated* by civil society, as the executive is *delegated* by the monarch. As in the delegated executive authority the monarchical principle ceases to be the extreme of empirical singularity, and in it, really, gives up the "*unfounded*" will and condescends to the "*finiteness*" of knowledge and accountability and thinking, so in the estates element civil society no longer appears as empirical generality, but rather as a very definite whole which has the same "sense and a way of thinking appropriate to the state and government, as well as to the interests of particular groups and individuals" (para. 302). In its miniature edition, the estate edition, civil society has ceased to be "empirical generality". It is rather reduced to a committee, to a very limited number, and if in the executive the monarch has given himself empirical generality, then civil society has given itself in the estates empirical singularity or particularity. Both have become particularities.

The only opposition which is still possible here seems to be that between the two representatives of the two wills of the state, between the two emanations, between the *executive element* and the *estates* element of the legislature; and it therefore seems to be an *opposition within the legislature itself.* The "*joint*" mediation seems also well suited to get them into each other's hair. In the executive element of the legislature the empirical, inaccessible singularity of the monarch becomes *earthly* in a number of restricted, tangible, accountable personalities, and in the estates element civil society has become *heavenly* in a number of political men. Both sides have lost their impalpable quality, the monarchical authority [has lost] the inaccessible, purely *empirical unit*; civil society, the inaccessible, vague *empirical all*; the one [has lost] its inflexibility, the other its fluidity. Thus only in the estates element on the one hand and in the executive element of the legislature on the other, which together were supposed to mediate between civil society and the

monarch, the *opposition* seems to have become an opposition set for battle and also an *irreconcilable contradiction.*

This "*mediation*", therefore, has indeed a very great need, as Hegel rightly shows, for "*its mediation* to be *actually* effected". It is itself rather the existence of contradiction than of mediation.

Hegel seems to have no good reason for asserting that this mediation is effected by the *estates element.* He says:

> "Just as from the monarchical authority the executive already has this attribute (para. 300), so likewise one aspect of the estates must be adapted to the function of existing essentially as the middle element." [Para. 304.]

But we have already seen that Hegel here arbitrarily and inconsistently places monarch and estates in polar opposition. As the executive has this attribute from the monarch, so the estates element has this attribute from civil society. The estates not only stand jointly with the executive between the monarch and civil society; they also stand between the executive in general and the people (para. 302). They do more with regard to civil society than the executive does with regard to monarchical authority, since the latter itself stands in opposition to the people. It has therefore filled the measure of mediation. Why pack still more on the backs of these asses? Why must the estates element everywhere serve as the asses' bridge, even between itself and its opponent? Why is it everywhere so self-sacrificing? Is it expected to hack off *one* of its hands so as to be unable to hold off *with both* of them its opponent, the executive element of the legislature?

In addition, Hegel first made the estates arise from the corporations, the distinctions of estate, etc, so that they should not be "mere empirical generality", and now, in reverse, he turns them into "mere empirical generality" in order to make distinctions of estate arise from them! As the monarch mediates himself with civil society through the executive power as its Christ, so society mediates itself with the monarch through the estates as its priests.

It now appears rather to have to be the role of the extremes, the monarchical authority (empirical singularity) and civil society (empirical generality), to come as mediators between "their mediators" the more so as it is "one of the most important insights of logic that a certain element which occupies the position of an extreme when standing within an antithesis, is at the same time a *middle term,* and thus ceases to be an extreme and is an *organic* element". (Remark to para. 302.) Civil society seems not to be able to take on this role since in the "legislature" it has no seat as *itself,* as an extreme. The monarchical principle, the other extreme,

which is situated *as such* in the midst of the legislature, therefore seems to have to be the mediator between the estates and the executive element. It also seems to have the necessary qualifications. For on the one hand the whole of the state, including therefore also civil society, is represented in it, and it has specifically the "empirical singularity" of will in common with the estates, since the empirical generality is only actual as empirical singularity. Furthermore, it does not confront civil society merely as a *formula,* as state *consciousness,* like the executive. It *is* itself the state; it has the *material,* the *natural* element in common with civil society. On the other hand, the monarch is the head and representative of the executive power. (Hegel, who stands everything on its head, turns the executive power into the representative, into the emanation, of the monarch. Since in speaking of the idea the existence of which is supposed to be the monarch, he has in mind not the real idea of the executive authority, not the executive authority as idea, but the subject of the absolute idea which exists *bodily* in the monarch, the executive authority becomes a *mystical extension of the soul which exists in* his body, *the body of the monarch.*)

In the legislature, the monarch had therefore to constitute the middle term between the executive and the estates element; but the executive is the middle term between him and the estates element, and the estates element is the middle term between him and civil society. How is he to mediate between what he needs for his middle term in order not to be a one-sided extreme? Here all the absurdity of these extremes which in turn play the role now of the extreme, now of the middle term, becomes obvious. They are Janus-faced, show themselves now from the front, now from the back and have different characters front and back. That which originally was defined as the middle term between two extremes now appears itself as an extreme, and one of the two extremes which through it was mediated with the other, now appears again as the middle term (because it is regarded in *its distinction* from the other extreme) between its extreme and its middle term. It is a mutual complimentation. As if a man were to step between two fighting men and then again one of the fighting men were to step between the mediator and the fighting man. It is the story of the man and his wife who fought, and the doctor who wanted to step between them as mediator, when in turn the wife had to mediate between the doctor and her husband, and the husband between his wife and the doctor. It is like the lion in *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* who shouts: "I am lion and I am not lion, I am Snug the

joiner." So here every extreme is now the lion of opposition, now Snug the mediator. When one of the extremes calls "I am the middle term now!" the other two must not touch it, but only hit in the direction of the other which is now the extreme. One can see, it is a society which at heart is spoiling for a fight, but is too afraid of bruises to engage in a real fight, and the two who want to fight arrange things so that the third, who steps in between, is to get the hiding; but now one of the other two acts again as the third, and so from being so cautious they don't come to any decision. This system of mediation also comes about so that the same man who wants to beat up his opponent must protect him on all sides from the thrashing of other opponents, and so in this double occupation never comes to carry out his business. It is strange that Hegel, who reduces the absurdity of mediation to its abstract, logical, and therefore unadulterated, unique expression, describes it at the same time as the *speculative mystery* of logic, as the rational relationship, as the syllogism of reason. Real extremes cannot be mediated precisely because they are real extremes. Nor do they require mediation, for they are opposed in essence. They have nothing in common, they do not need each other, they do not supplement each other. The one does not have in its own bosom the longing for, the need for, the anticipation of the other. (But when Hegel treats generality and singularity, the abstract elements of the syllogism, as actual opposites, this precisely is the basic dualism of his logic. The further development of this point belongs to the criticism of Hegelian logic.)

To this the saying *"Les extrêmes se touchent"* seems to be opposed. North pole and south pole attract each other, female and male sexes also attract each other, and man is born only through the unifying of their polar differences.

On the other hand: every extreme *is* its other extreme. Abstract *spiritualism* is *abstract materialism*; *abstract materialism* is the *abstract spiritualism* of matter.

Concerning the first: north pole and south pole are both *pole*; their *essence* is identical; similarly, *female and male* sex are both one *species,* one *essence,* human essence. North and south are opposed aspects of *one* essence—the differentiation of one *essence* at the *height of its development.* They are *differentiated* essence. They are what they are *only* as a *distinct* attribute, and as *this* distinct attribute of the essence. *True actual* extremes would be pole and non-pole, human and *non*-human species. The difference in one case [i.e., between north and south poles, women and men] is a *difference of existence*; in the other [between pole and non-pole,

human and non-human] a difference of *essences*—between *two* essences. Concerning the second: the chief feature here is that a *concept* (a form of existence, etc.) is taken *abstractly*, is considered to have significance not as something independent but as an *abstraction* of something else and only as this *abstraction*; thus spirit, for example, is regarded as merely the *abstraction* of matter. Then it is self-evident that precisely because this form is to constitute its content, this concept is rather the *abstract contrary*, the object, from which it is abstracted, in its abstraction, which constitutes the real essence, in this case abstract materialism. If the *difference* within the existence of *one* essence had not been confused on the one hand with the *hypostatised abstraction* (not, of course, an abstraction from something else, but really from itself), and on the other with the *actual* opposition of mutually exclusive essences, a threefold error would have been prevented: (1) that, since only the extreme is said to be true, every abstraction and one-sidedness thinks itself true, whereby a principle appears only as an abstraction of something else, instead of as a totality in itself; (2) that the *sharply-marked character* of *actual* opposites, their development into extremes, which is nothing else but their self-cognition and also their eagerness to bring the fight to a decision, is thought of as something possibly to be prevented or something harmful; (3) that their mediation is attempted. For however much both extremes come on to the scene in their existence as actual and as extremes, it lies only in the *essence* of one of them to be an extreme, while for the other this has not the *significance* of *true actuality*. The one overreaches the other. They do not occupy the same position: Christianity, for example, or religion in general, and philosophy are extremes. But in truth religion does not form a *true* opposite to philosophy. For philosophy comprehends *religion* in its *illusory* actuality. For philosophy, religion is therefore dissolved into itself, insofar as it wants to be something actual. There is no actual dualism of *essence*. More of this later.[a]

It may be asked, how does Hegel arrive at all at the need for a new *mediation* by the estates element? Or does Hegel share with [others][b] "the frequently-held, but most dangerous prejudice which regards the estates primarily from the point of view of *opposition* to the government, as if this were their essential attitude"? (Remark to para. 302.)

The position is simply this: On the one hand we have seen that

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[a] See this volume, p. 92 et seq.—*Ed.*

[b] A word is missing: presumably *anderen*.—*Ed.*

only in the "legislature" civil society as "estates" element and the monarchical power as "executive element" have been actuated to real, direct, practical opposition.

On the other hand: The legislature is a totality. We find there the delegation of the monarchical principle, the "executive power"; (2) the delegation of civil society, the "estates" element; but in addition it also contains (3) the one *extreme as such*, the monarchical principle, while the other extreme, civil society, is not there as such. It is only thereby that the "estates" element becomes the extreme confronting the "monarchical" principle which really civil society should be. As we have seen, civil society becomes organised as *political* existence only as the "estates" element. The "estates" element is its *political* existence, its *transubstantiation* into the political state. Only the "legislature" is therefore, as we have seen, the *political state* proper in its totality. Here there are, therefore, (1) the monarchical principle; (2) the executive; (3) civil society. The "estates" element is "the *civil society of the political state*", of the "legislature". The opposite pole to the monarch, which should be formed by civil society, is therefore formed by the *"estates"* element. (Since civil society is the unreality of political existence, the political existence of civil society is its own dissolution, its separation from itself.) For the same reason it [the estates element] also forms an opposite to the executive.

Hegel therefore also describes the "estates" element again as the "extreme of empirical generality", which really is civil society itself. (Hegel therefore made the political-estates element arise from the corporations and the distinct estates to no good purpose. This would only be meaningful if the distinct estates as such were legislative estates, hence if the distinctions of civil society, the civil character, were in reality the political character. Then we would have not a *legislative power* of the whole state, but the *legislative power* of the different estates and corporations and classes over the state as a whole. The estates of civil society would not acquire a political determination, but on the contrary they would determine the political state. They would make their *particularity* the determining power of the whole. They would be the power of the particular over the general. We would have not one legislative power but several legislative powers which would negotiate with each other and with the executive. But Hegel has in mind the modern significance of the estates element as being the actualisation of state citizenship, of the citizen. He wants the "intrinsically and explicitly general", the political state, not to be determined by civil society, but, on the contrary, to determine the latter. Hence

while taking the form of the medieval-estates element, he gives it the opposite significance of being determined by the nature of the political state. The estates as representatives of the corporations, etc., would not be "empirical generality", but "empirical particularity", the "particularity of empirical fact"!) The "legislature" therefore requires *mediation* within itself, i.e., a glossing-over of the opposition, and this mediation must come from the "estates element" since within the legislature the estates element loses the significance of being the representation of civil society and becomes the *primary* element, becomes itself the civil society of the legislature. The "legislature" is the totality of the political state, and for this very reason its *contradiction forced to the surface.* It is therefore also its *posited*[a] resolution. Very different principles collide within it. This certainly *appears* as the *opposition* between the elements of the monarchical principle and the principle of the estates element, etc. *Actually,* however, it is the antinomy of the *political state* and *civil society,* the self-*contradiction of the abstract political state.* The legislature is the *posited*[a] revolt. (Hegel's chief error is to conceive the *contradiction of appearances* as *unity in essence, in the idea,* while in fact it has something more profound for its essence, namely, an *essential contradiction,* just as here this contradiction of the legislative authority within itself, for example, is merely the contradiction of the political state, and therefore also of civil society with itself.

Vulgar criticism falls into an opposite, *dogmatic* error. Thus it criticises the constitution, for example. It draws attention to the antagonism of the powers, etc. It finds contradictions everywhere. This is still dogmatic criticism which *fights* with its subject-matter in the same way in which formerly the dogma of the Holy Trinity, say, was demolished by the contradiction of one and three. True criticism, by contrast, shows the inner genesis of the Holy Trinity in the human brain. It describes the act of its birth. So the truly philosophical criticism of the present state constitution not only shows up contradictions as existing; it *explains* them, it comprehends their genesis, their necessity. It considers them in their *specific* significance. But *comprehending* does not consist, as Hegel imagines, in recognising the features of the logical concept everywhere, but in grasping the specific logic of the specific subject.)

Hegel expresses this in such a way that the attitude of the political-estates element to the monarchical element "implies only

[a] In the manuscript: *gesetzt,* which means either posited or sedate, staid.—*Ed.*

the *possibility of harmony* and therefore likewise the *possibility of hostile* confrontation".

The possibility of confrontation is implied wherever *different* wills meet together. Hegel himself says that the "possibility of harmony" is the "possibility of confrontation". Hence he must now form an element which is the *"impossibility of confrontation"* and the "*actuality* of harmony". For him such an element would be the freedom of deciding and of thinking *vis-à-vis* the monarchical will and the executive. It would therefore no longer be part of the "estates-political" element. It would rather be an element of the monarchical will and the executive and would stand in the same opposition to the *actual* estates element as the executive itself.

This requirement is already much toned down in the conclusion of the paragraph:

"Just as from the monarchical authority the executive already has this attribute (para. 300), so likewise one aspect of the estates must be adapted to the function of existing ***essentially*** as the ***middle element.***"

The element which is delegated by the estates must have the *reverse* attribute to that which the executive has from the monarchs, since monarchical and estates elements are opposed extremes. As the monarch is democratised in the executive, so this "estates" element must be *monarchised* in its delegation. Hence what Hegel wants is a *monarchical element from the estates.* As the executive has an estates element with regard to the monarch, so there has to be a monarchical element with regard to the estates.

The "actuality of harmony" and the "impossibility of confrontation" is transformed into the following demand: "one aspect of the estates must be adapted to the *function* of *existing essentially* as the *middle element"*. Adapted to the *function*! According to para. 302 the estates have this function anyway. Here it should no longer be *"function"* but *"character"*.

And what kind of function is that anyway, "to exist essentially as the middle element"? Of being in "essence" "Buridan's ass".

The matter is simply this:

The estates are supposed to be "mediation" between monarch and executive on the one hand and the nation on the other, but they are not that, they are rather the organised *political* opposite of civil society. The "legislature" requires *mediation* within itself, namely, as has been shown, a mediation on the part of the estates. The presupposed *moral* harmony of the two wills, of which one is the will of the state as the monarchical will and the other the will of the state as the will of civil society, is not sufficient. Indeed, only the legislature is the organised, *total* political state, but

precisely because the legislature is the highest development of the state, it is there that the unconcealed contradiction of the *political state* with itself becomes evident. Hence the *appearance* of an *actual identity* between the monarchical will and the will of the estates must be established. *The estates element must be posed as the monarchical will, or the monarchical will as the estates element.* The estates element must set itself up as the reality of a will which is not the will of the estates element. The *unity* which is not present in *essence* (otherwise it would have to prove itself by its *efficacy* and not by the *mode of being* of the estates element), must be present at least as an *existent*; or else an *existence* of the legislature (of the estates element) has the *attribute* of being this *unity* of the *non-united.* This component of the estates element, the House of Peers or Upper House, etc., is the highest *synthesis* of the political state within the organisation here considered. What Hegel wants, the "actuality of harmony", and the "impossibility of hostile confrontation", has indeed not been achieved thereby; we are rather left with the "possibility of harmony". But that is the *postulated illusion* of the *unity of the political state with itself* (of the unity of the will of the monarch with the will of the estates, and further the principle of the political state and civil society), of this *unity* as a *material* principle; that is to say, it is the illusion that not only two opposed principles are united but that their unity is [their] *nature,* the basis of [their] existence. This component of the estates element is the *romanticism* of the political state, the *dreams* of its substantiality or of its harmony with itself. It is an *allegorical* entity.

It now depends on the actual *status quo* of the relations between the estates element and the monarchical element whether this *illusion* is an effective illusion or *conscious self-deception.* So long as estates and monarchical power are in *actual* harmony, get on with each other, the *illusion* of their *essential* unity is an *actual,* hence *effective,* illusion. In the opposite case, where it ought to demonstrate its truth in practice, it becomes *deliberate untruth* and ridiculous

305. "One ***estate of civil*** society contains the principle which is of itself capable of being established in this ***political*** role—namely, the estate whose ethical life is natural, and whose basis is family life and, so far as its livelihood is concerned, landed property. Its specific feature, accordingly, is a will based on itself; it shares this and the natural attribute, which the monarchical element contains, with the latter."

We have already shown Hegel's inconsistency (1) in comprehending the political-estates element in its *modern* abstraction from civil society, etc., after having made it originate in the

corporations; (2) in now again defining it in accordance with the *differentiation of estates in civil society,* after he has defined the political estates as such as the "extreme of empirical generality".

It would be *consistent* now to regard the *political estates* of themselves as a new element and from them now to construe the mediation stipulated in para. 304.

But now we see Hegel again dragging in the differentiation of civil estates and at the same time creating the appearance that the *reality* and the *particular essence* of the differentiation of civil estates do not determine the *highest political sphere,* the legislative power, but on the contrary, that they are reduced to a mere *material* which the political sphere moulds and shapes according to *its own* needs which arise from itself.

"One estate of civil society contains the ***principle*** which is of itself capable of ***being established*** in this ***political role***—namely, the estate whose ***ethical life is natural.***" (The peasantry.)

Now in what does this *capability in principle,* or this *capability of the principle* of the peasantry consist?

It has as its "***basis family life*** and, so far as its livelihood is concerned, ***landed property.*** Its ***specific feature,*** accordingly, is a will based ***on itself;*** it shares this and the ***natural attribute,*** which the ***monarchical*** element contains, with the latter."

The "will based on itself" refers to its livelihood, the "landed property"; the "natural attribute" shared with the monarchical element refers to "family life", regarded as the basis.

The livelihood based on "landed property" and a "will based on itself" are two different things. One should rather speak of a "will *based* on land". But one should rather speak not of a will based *on itself,* but of a will based *on the whole,* on a "political way of thinking".

The place of the "way of thinking", of the "possession of political spirit" is taken by the "possession of *land*".

Where, further, *"family life"* as a basis is concerned, the "social" ethical life of civil society would seem to stand above this "natural ethical life". Moreover, "family life" is the *"natural ethical life" of the other estates,* or of the middle-class estate of civil society as much as of the peasantry. But the fact that with the peasantry "family life" is not only the principle of the family but the basis of its social existence altogether, would seem rather to make it unfit for the highest political task, inasmuch as it will apply patriarchal laws to a non-patriarchal sphere and indicate child or father, master and man, where it is a question of the *political* state, of *citizenship.*

As for the *natural attribute* of the *monarchical* element, Hegel has deduced not a patriarchal, but a *modern constitutional* king. His

natural attribute is to be the *bodily representative* of the state and to be born as *king*, or that kingship is his *family inheritance*; but what has that in common with family life as the basis of the peasantry? What has natural ethical life in common with natural destination by birth as such? The king shares this with the horse in that just as the horse is born as a horse, the king is born as a king.

If the differentiation of estates as such, which Hegel accepted, had been regarded by him as a political distinction, the peasantry as such would already have been an independent section of the estates element, and if as such it is an element of mediation with the monarchical element, what need is there for the construction of a *new* mediation? And why separate it from the estates element proper, since the latter gets into the "abstract" relation to the monarchical element only because of this separation from it? But after Hegel has just expounded the political-estates element as a particular element, as a *transubstantiation of the civil estate into state citizenship* and has found that for just this reason it needs mediation, how can he now dissolve this organism again into the distinctions of the civil estate, that is, into the civil estate, and from that derive the mediation of the political state with itself?

What an anomaly altogether, that the highest *synthesis* of the political state should be nothing but the synthesis of landed property and family life!

In one word:

As soon as the civil estates as such become political estates that mediation is not required, and as soon as that mediation is required the civil estate is not political, and so is not that mediation either. The peasant is then a part of the political-estates element not as peasant but as citizen, while in the reverse case ([when he is] a citizen as a *peasant*, or when he is a peasant as a citizen) his citizenship is his *being a peasant*, he is not a citizen as a peasant but a peasant as a citizen!

This is here therefore an inconsistency of Hegel *within his own* way of looking at things, and such an inconsistency is *accommodation*. In the modern sense, in the sense expounded by Hegel, the political-estates element is the *separation of civil society from its civil estate and its distinctions, assumed as accomplished*. How can Hegel turn the civil estate into a *solution* of the antinomies of the *legislature* within itself? Hegel wants the medieval-estates system, but in the modern sense of the legislature, and he wants the modern legislature, but in the body of the medieval-estates system! This is the worst kind of syncretism.

At the beginning of para. 304 he says:

"The political-estates element contains at the same time in its own determination the distinctions of estates already present in the earlier spheres."

But in its *own* definition the political-estates element contains these distinctions only by cancelling them, annulling them within itself, *abstracting from them.*

If the peasant estate, or, as we shall see later on, the peasant estate *raised to a higher power,* the landed aristocracy, is as such turned, in the manner described above, into the mediation of the total *political* state, of the legislative power in itself, then that is indeed the mediation of the political-estates element with the monarchical power in the sense that it is the *dissolution* of the political-estates element as an actual political element. Not the peasant estate, but the *estate,* the *civil estate,* the *analysis* (reduction) of the political-estates element to the civil estate is here the *restored unity of the political state with itself.* (Not the *peasantry* as such is here the *mediation* but its separation from the political-estates *element* in its quality as *civil estate*: the fact is that its civil estate gives it a particular position in the political-estates element, and therefore the other section of the political-estates element likewise acquires the position of a *particular* civil estate, and thus *ceases* to represent the state citizenship of civil society.) Here the *political* state is now no longer present as *two opposed wills,* but on the one hand there is the political state (executive and monarch) and on the other civil society as distinct from the political state. (The different estates.) With that the political state is, of course, annulled as a *totality.*

The next sense of the *duplication* of the political-estates element in itself as a mediation with the monarchical authority is, generally speaking, that the inner *division* of this element, its own opposition within itself, is its *restored* unity with the monarchical authority. The basic dualism between the *monarchical* and the estates elements of the legislative power is *neutralised* by the dualism of the estates element in itself. With Hegel, however, this neutralisation is effected by the political-estates element separating itself from its *political* element.

As regards *landed property* as *livelihood,* which is supposed to correspond to the *sovereignty* of the will, the *sovereignty of the monarch,* and *family life* as the basis of the peasantry, which is supposed to correspond to the *natural attribute* of monarchical authority, we shall return to this later.[a] Here in para. 305 the "*principle*" of the peasantry is expounded "which is of itself capable of being established in this political role".

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[a] See this volume, pp. 98-104.—*Ed.*

In para. 306 this "establishing" of "political position and significance" is effected. It comes down to this: "wealth" "becomes an *inalienable heritage,* burdened with *primogeniture".* It is thus "primogeniture" which is supposed to establish the peasantry politically.

"The justification for primogeniture," says the Addition, "is that the state must be able to count on a certain way of thinking not as a ***mere possibility,*** but as something ***necessary.*** Now this way of thinking is not, of course, tied to wealth, but the ***relatively necessary*** connection is that a man of independent means is not restricted by external circumstances and ***can*** thus come forward and act for the state without hindrance."

*First proposition.* The state is not content with "a *certain way of thinking as a mere possibility",* it must count on it as something "*necessary*".

*Second proposition.* "The way of thinking is not tied to wealth", i. e., the mentality of wealth is a *"mere possibility".*

*Third proposition.* But there is a *"relatively necessary connection",* namely, "that a man of independent means, etc., *can* act for the state", i.e., *wealth* provides the *"possibility"* of a political way of thinking, but it is just the "possibility" which does not suffice according to the first proposition.

Moreover, Hegel has not shown that *landed property* is the only sort of "independent means".

The *establishment of its capacity*[a] *for independence* is what fits the peasantry "for political position and significance". Or, "the independence of wealth" *is* its "political position and significance".

This independence is further expounded as follows:

Its "*wealth*"[a] is "*independent* of the *wealth of the state*". The wealth of the state here evidently means the *government exchequer.* In this respect "the *general* estate" stands *"by contrast"* "as essentially dependent on the *state".* So we read in the Preface [to Hegel's *Philosophy of Law*], p. 13:

Moreover, ***philosophy*** with us is not, as it was with the Greeks for instance, practised as a private art", "but has an existence in the open, in contact with the public, and especially, or even ***solely,*** in the ***service*** of the state".

Hence, philosophy is also *"essentially"* dependent on the exchequer.

The *wealth* [of this estate] is *independent* "of the uncertainty of business, the quest for profit, and any sort of fluctuation in

[a] Here and in the following paragraph the German word *Vermögen* is used, which can mean ability, capacity, or wealth, fortune, etc.—*Ed.*

possessions". In this respect the "business estate" stands over against it as the estate "dependent on and orientated towards need".

This wealth is thus "independent both of the *favour* of the *executive*, and of the *favour* of the *crowd*".

Finally, it is even secured *against its own caprice* by the fact that the members of this estate called to fulfil this role "lack the right of other citizens either to dispose freely of their entire property, or to know that it will pass to their children in accordance with the equality of their love for them" [para. 306].

Here the antitheses have assumed an entirely new and very material form such as we could scarcely have expected in the heaven of the political state.

As expounded by Hegel, the antithesis is, expressed in all its sharpness, the antithesis of *private property* and *wealth*.

*Landed property* is *private property* κατ' ἐξοχήν,[a] it is private property *proper*. Its precisely *private* nature is evident (1) as "*independence* of the *wealth of the state*", of the "*favour of the executive*", of the property which exists as "general property of the political state", a *particular wealth* alongside others according to the construction of the political state; (2) as "*independence* of the needs" of society or of "social wealth", of the "favour of the crowd". (It is likewise significant that the share in the wealth of the state is conceived of as a "*favour* of the *executive*" and the share in social wealth as a "*favour* of the *crowd*".) The wealth of the "general estate" and of the "business estate" is not *private property proper* because it is there *directly*, here *indirectly*, conditioned by the connection with the general wealth or with property as social property—is a *participation* in it, and therefore indeed in both cases mediated by "favour", i.e., by the "accident of the will". Over against this stands *landed property* as *sovereign private property*, which has not yet the form of wealth, i. e., of property established by the *social will*

The political constitution at its highest point is therefore the *constitution of private property*. The supreme *political conviction* is the *conviction of private property*. *Primogeniture* is merely the *external* appearance of the *inner* nature of *landed property*. The fact that it is *inalienable* cuts off its *social* nerves and ensures *its isolation from civil society*. The fact that it does not pass to their children in accordance with the "equality of their love for them" frees it, makes it independent even of the smaller society, the natural

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[a] *Par excellence.—Ed.*

society of the *family,* and its will and its laws, thus preventing the *harsh* nature of *private property* from passing into *family property.*

In para. 305 Hegel declared the estate of landed property capable of being established in the "political role" because it has "family life" as its "basis". But he himself has declared "love" to be the basis, the principle, the *spirit* of family life. Hence in the estate which is based on family life, the *basis of family life,* love as the actual, and therefore effective and determining principle, is lacking. It is *spiritless* family life, the *illusion* of family life. In its highest development the *principle of private property contradicts* the *principle of the family.* In contrast with the *estate whose ethical life is natural,* the estate of family life, it is only in civil society that *family life* becomes the life of the family, the *life of love.* The former is rather the *barbarism* of private property *against* family life.

Such, then, is the alleged *sovereign magnificence of private property,* of *landed property,* on which so much sentimentality has been spent and so many multicoloured crocodile tears have been shed in recent times.

It does not help Hegel to say that *primogeniture* is only a *demand of politics* and must be understood in its *political* position and significance. It does not help him to say: "The security and stability of the [landowning] estate can be further enhanced by the institution of primogeniture, though this institution is desirable *only from a political point of view,* since it involves a sacrifice for the *political purpose* of *enabling* the first-born son *to live independently*" [Addition to para. 306]. It is a certain decency, a *decorum of thought* which induces Hegel to put it this way. He wants to justify and construe primogeniture not in and for itself, but only in reference to something else; not as something determined by itself, but as determined by something else, not as end but as *means* to an end. In truth, primogeniture is a consequence of *perfect* landed property, it is fossilised private property, private property (*quand même*) at the peak of its independence and intensity of its development, and that which Hegel represents as the purpose, the determining factor and prime cause of primogeniture, is rather its effect, its consequence, the power of *abstract private property* over the *political state*; whereas Hegel represents primogeniture as the *power of the political state over private property.* He makes the cause the effect and the effect the cause, the determining the determined and the determined the determining.

But what is the *content* of the political establishment, of the political purpose—what is the purpose of this purpose? What is its substance? *Primogeniture,* the *superlative of private property, sovereign*

*private property.* What power does the political state exercise over private property in primogeniture? This, that it *isolates* private property from family and society, that it turns it into *something abstractly independent.* What then is the power of the political state over private property? The *power of private property itself,* its essence brought into existence. What remains for the political state in contrast with this essence? The *illusion* that the state determines, when it is being determined. It does, indeed, break the *will of the family and society,* but only so as to give existence to the *will of private property without family and society* and to acknowledge this existence as the supreme existence of the political state, as the supreme existence of *ethical* life.

Let us examine how the various elements conduct themselves here, in the *legislature,* the total state, the state come to actualisation and consequence, to consciousness, the *actual* political state with the *ideal,* the *logical* character and form of these elements, as they *ought to be.*

(Primogeniture is not, as Hegel says, "a fetter laid upon the freedom of civil right", it is rather the "freedom of civil right which has freed itself of all social and ethical ties".) ("The supreme political construction is here the construction of abstract private property.")

Before we make this comparison we must take a closer look at one statement in the paragraph, namely, that which says that through primogeniture the wealth of the peasantry, landed property, private property, is secured even *"against caprice on their own part* by the fact that the members of this estate who are called to fill this role lack the right of other citizens to dispose freely of their entire property".

We have already emphasised that by the "inalienability" of landed property the social nerves of private property are cut. Private property (landed property) is secured against the *caprice* of the owner *himself* by the fact that the sphere of his caprice has turned from being a generally human caprice into the *specific caprice of private property*; that private property has become the *subject* in volition; that will is merely now the *predicate* of private property. Private property is no longer a *distinct* object of free choice; instead, free choice is the *distinct* predicate of private property. But let us compare what Hegel himself says about the sphere of civil law:

65. "I can *alienate* my property, for it is mine only insofar as I put my will into it [...], provided always that the thing in question is a thing *external by nature.*"

66. "Therefore those possessions, or rather those material attributes, which

constitute my innermost person and the general nature of my self-consciousness—such as my personality generally, my general freedom of will, my morality and my religion—are *inalienable*, just as the right to them is *imprescriptible*."

With primogeniture, therefore, landed property, perfect private property, becomes an *inalienable* possession, hence a *material attribute*, which constitutes the "innermost person, the general nature of the self-consciousness" of the estate of owners of entailed estates, its "personality generally, its general freedom of will, its morality and its religion". Hence it is also consistent with this that where private property, landed property, is *inalienable*, the "general freedom of will" (which includes the freedom to dispose of something external, such as landed property) and the *morality* (which includes *love* as the real spirit manifesting itself likewise as the true law of the family) are, by contrast, alienable. The "*inalienability*" *of private property* is one with the "*alienability*" *of the general freedom of will and morality*. Here property no longer exists "insofar as I put my will into it", but my will exists "insofar as it lies in property". My will here does not possess, it is possessed. That is just what is *romantically* titillating about the power of primogeniture, that private property, hence private caprice in its most abstract form, the *wholly narrow-minded*, unethical, crude will, appears here as the highest synthesis of the political state, as the supreme alienation of caprice, as the hardest, most self-sacrificing struggle with *human weakness*; for the *humanisation* of private property here appears as *human* weakness. *Primogeniture* is *private property* become a *religion* to itself, lost in itself, *elated* by its own independence and power. As the estate entailed in primogeniture is exempt from direct alienation, so it is also exempt from *contract*. Hegel represents the transition from property to contract as follows:

71. "Existence as determinate being is essentially being for something else; [...] one aspect of property is that it is an existent as an external thing, that is, it exists for other external things, and in the context of this necessity and contingency. But it is also an existent as an embodiment of *will*, and from this point of view the other for which it exists can only be *the will* of another person. This relation of will to will is the specific and true soil in which freedom *exists*. This mediation, to have ***property*** no longer only by means of ***a thing and my subjective*** will, but also by means of another will and, therewith, to hold it in a ***common*** will, constitutes the sphere of *contract*."

(For entailment by primogeniture it is laid down in public law that property is owned not in *a common* will but only "by means of a *thing* and my *subjective will*".) While Hegel here in *civil law* understands the *alienability* and dependence of private property on a *common* will as its *true idealism*, in *constitutional law*, on the

contrary, the imaginary splendour of independent property is praised in contrast with the "uncertainty of business, the quest for profit, any sort of fluctuation in possessions, the dependence on the wealth of the state". What kind of state is this that cannot even tolerate the idealism of civil law? What kind of philosophy of law is that where the independence of private property has a different significance in civil law and in constitutional law?

Over against the *crass stupidity* of independent private property the uncertainty of business is elegiac, the quest for profit bombastic (dramatic), the fluctuations in possessions a serious fatality (tragic), dependence on the wealth of the state ethical. In brief, in all these qualities the beat of the ***human heart***, that is, the dependence of man on man, sounds right through property. No matter how this dependence may be constituted in and for itself, it is ***human*** over against the slave, who thinks himself free because the sphere which restricts him is not society but the *soil*. The freedom of this will is its ***lack*** of any other content but that of ***private property***.

To define monstrosities like primogeniture as a determination of private property by the political state is quite unavoidable when one interprets an old world-view in terms of a new one, when one gives to a thing, as to private property here, a double meaning, one in the court of abstract law, an opposite one in the heaven of the political state.

We now come to the comparison suggested above.

In para. 257 we read:

> "The state is the actuality of the ethical idea—the ethical spirit as the *manifest*, substantial will, clear to itself.... In *custom* the state has its immediate existence, and in the *self-consciousness* of the individual ... its mediated existence; just as the self-consciousness of the individual, by virtue of the individual's conviction, finds *substantial freedom* in the state as its essence, purpose, and the product of its activity."

In para. 268 we read:

> "Political *conviction*, *patriotism* in general, as certainty founded on *truth* [...] and willing which has become *habitual*, is only the result of the institutions existing in the state, in which rationality is *actually* present, just as action which is in conformity with these institutions is the practical expression of this conviction. This conviction is in general *trust* (which may turn into a more or less enlightened insight), the consciousness that my substantial and particular interest is preserved and contained in the interest and purpose of another (here the state) in relation to me as an individual; whereupon this other is directly for me no other, and in this consciousness I am free."

The *actuality* of the ethical idea here appears as the *religion of private property*. (Because in primogeniture private property regards itself in a religious manner, it has come about that in our

modern times religion in general has become a quality inherent in landed property and that all writings on primogeniture are full of religious unction. Religion is the highest form of thought of this brutality.) The "*manifest*, substantial will, clear to itself", turns into a dark will, broken by the soil, intoxicated with the impenetrability of the element to which it is attached. The "certainty founded on truth", which is the "political conviction", is the certainty which stands on "its own ground" (in the literal sense). The political "willing", which "has become habitual", is no longer "only the result", etc., but an institution which stands outside the state. The political conviction is no longer "*trust*" but the "confidence, the consciousness that my substantial and particular interest" is "*independent* of the interest and purpose of another (here the state) in relation to me as an individual". That is the consciousness of my *freedom from the state.*

The "maintenance of the *general state interest*", etc., was (para. 289) the task of the "executive". In it there was concentrated the "developed intelligence of the mass of a people and its consciousness of what is lawful" (para. 297). It "actually renders the estates superfluous", for "without the estates" they[a] "are *able* to do what is best, as they constantly must do their best when the estates are in session" (Remark to para. 301). The "general estate, or more precisely the estate which devotes itself to government service, is directly defined as having the general as the purpose of its essential activity" [para. 303].

And how does the general estate, the executive, appear now? "As essentially dependent on the state", as the "wealth, *depending on the favour of the executive*". The same transformation has taken place with civil society, which earlier achieved its ethical character in the corporation. It is a wealth dependent on "the uncertainty of business", etc., on "the favour of the crowd".

What then is the allegedly specific quality of the owners of entailed estates? And in what can the *ethical* quality of *inalienable* wealth consist at all? In *incorruptibility. Incorruptibility* appears as the *supreme* political virtue, an abstract virtue. Moreover, in the state constructed by Hegel incorruptibility is something so singular that it must be constructed as a *special* political power; thus one becomes conscious of it precisely because incorruptibility is not the spirit of the political state, not the rule but the *exception*; and it is constructed as such an exception. One corrupts the owners of entailed estates through their independent property in order to

[a] The top bureaucrats (see this volume p. 63).—*Ed.*

preserve them from corruptibility. Whereas, according to the idea, *dependence* on the state and the feeling of this dependence is supposed to be the supreme political freedom, since it is the feeling of a private person as an abstract, dependent person, and this person rather feels and should feel *independent* only as a citizen of the state, here [on the other hand] the *independent private person* is constructed. "His wealth is [equally] independent of the wealth of the state and of the uncertainty of business", etc. He is confronted by the "business estate, which is dependent on and orientated towards need, and the general estate, which is essentially dependent on the state". Here we find, therefore, *independence* of the state and of civil society, and this realised abstraction of both, which in fact is the crudest *dependence on the soil*, constitutes in the legislature the mediation and the unity of both. *Independent private property*, i.e., abstract private property, and the corresponding *private person* are the supreme construction of the political state. Political "independence" is construed as "independent private property" and the "person of this independent private property". In the following we shall see how things are *re vera* with the "independence" and "incorruptibility" and the political conviction arising from that.

That *estates entailed in primogeniture* are *hereditary estates* goes without saying. More of this later.[a] That they go to the *first-born son* is purely historical, as Hegel observes in the Addition [to para. 306].

307. "Thus the rights of this section of the propertied estate are on the one hand no doubt founded on the natural principle of the family, but this principle is at the same time distorted by ***hard sacrifice*** for a *political purpose*; ***consequently*** this estate is essentially assigned to activity for this purpose, and is therefore also summoned and *entitled* to this activity by *birth*, without the fortuitousness of elections."

How far the rights of this propertied estate are based on the *natural principle* of the family is not demonstrated by Hegel, unless he means thereby that landed property exists as *hereditary property*. Thus no right of this estate in the political sense is demonstrated herein, but only the right by birth of the owners of entailed estates to their land. "But this", the natural principle of the family, is "at the same time distorted by hard sacrifice for a political purpose". We have indeed seen how "the natural principle of the family is distorted" here, but also that this is "no hard sacrifice for a political purpose", but merely the *realised abstraction of private property*. Rather, through this *distortion of the natural principle of the*

[a] See this volume, p. 106 et seq.—*Ed.*

*family* the political purpose is equally distorted, "*consequently* (?) this estate is essentially assigned to activity for this purpose"—by private property being made independent?—"and is therefore also summoned and entitled to this activity by birth, without the fortuitousness of elections".

Here therefore *participation in the legislature* is an *innate* human right. Here we have *born legislators*, the *born mediation of the political state with itself*. There has been much sneering at *innate human rights*, especially by the owners of entailed estates. Is it not even stranger that the right to the supreme dignity of the legislative authority is entrusted to a particular race of men? Nothing is more ridiculous than the fact that the appointment by "birth" of legislators, representatives of the citizens, should be opposed by Hegel to their appointment by "the fortuitousness of elections". As if *election*, the conscious product of civil confidence, did not stand in a very different, necessary, connection with the political purpose than the physical accident of birth. Hegel descends everywhere from his political spiritualism into the crassest *materialism*. At the summits of the political state it is everywhere birth which makes certain individuals the incarnations of the supreme offices of state. The supreme state activities coincide with the individual by birth, much as the position of the animal, its character, its way of life, etc., are directly innate in it. In its supreme functions the state acquires the reality of an *animal*. Nature avenges itself on Hegel for the contempt he has shown it. If matter is no longer to be anything for itself against the human will, so the human will here no longer retains anything for itself but matter.

The *false* identity, the *fragmentary, patchy* identity of nature and spirit, body and soul, appears as *incarnation*. Since birth gives to the human being only his *individual* existence, positing him in the first place only as a *natural* individual, whereas political attributes such as *legislative* power, etc., are *social products*, progeny of society, and not offspring of the natural individual, it is precisely the direct identity, the unmediated coincidence of the *birth of the individual* with the individual as *individualisation of a particular social position, function*, etc., which is the astonishing thing, the *miracle*. In this system nature directly *produces* kings, directly creates *peers*, etc., just as it makes eyes and noses. It is astonishing to see as a direct product of the physical species what is only a product of the self-conscious species. I am a human being by birth without the consent of society; a particular offspring becomes peer or king only by general consent. Only consent makes the birth of

this human being the birth of a king: hence it is consent and not birth which makes a king. When birth, as distinct from the other determinants, directly gives a position to a human being, *his body* makes of him *this particular* social functionary. *His body* is his *social* right. In this system the *physical dignity of the human being* or the *dignity of the human body* (which can be further expanded to read: the dignity of the physical, natural element of the state) appears in such a way that certain dignities, and indeed the highest social dignities, are the *dignities of certain bodies predestined by birth*. It is therefore natural that the nobility should be proud of their blood, their descent, in short the *life-history of their bodies*; it is, of course, this *zoological* way of looking at things which has its corresponding science in *heraldry*. The secret of the nobility is *zoology*.

Concerning the entailment of estates in primogeniture two elements need stressing:

1) That which is enduring is the *ancestral estate*, the *landed property*. It is the lasting element in the relationship, the *substance*. The master of the entailed estate, the owner, is really a mere *accident*. The different generations represent *anthropomorphised* landed property. *Landed property*, as it were, continually *inherits* the first-born of the House as the attribute fettered to it. Every first-born in the series of landed proprietors is the *inheritance*, the *property* of the *inalienable estate*, the *predestined substance of its will* and its *activity*. The subject is the thing and the predicate the human being. The will becomes the property of the property.

2) The *political quality* of the owner of the entailed estate is the *political quality* of his ancestral estate, a *political quality* inherent in this estate. Hence the political quality also appears here as the *property* of *landed property*, as a quality which directly belongs to the *purely physical* earth (nature).

Concerning the first, it follows that the owner of an entailed estate is the *serf* of *landed property*, and nothing but the *practical* consequence of the *theoretical* relationship in which he himself stands to landed property becomes evident in the *serfs* who are subordinated to him. The depth of Germanic subjectivity appears everywhere as the crudeness of a spiritless objectivity.

Here one must explain the relation (1) between *private property* and *inheritance*, (2) between *private property*, inheritance, and through that the privilege of certain families to take part in political sovereignty, (3) the *real historical relationship* or the *Germanic* relationship.

We have seen that the right of primogeniture is the abstraction

of "*independent private property*". A second consequence follows from this. *Independence, self-reliance* in the political state, the construction of which we have been following up to now, means *private property* which at its summit appears as *inalienable landed property*. Political independence therefore does not flow *ex proprio sinu* of the political state; it is not a gift of the political state to its members; it is not the spirit animating it; but rather the members of the political state receive their independence from a factor which is not the essential factor of the political state, but from an essential factor of abstract civil law, from abstract *private property*. Political independence is not the substance of the political state, it is incidental to private property. The political state and the *legislative authority* in it, as we have seen, is the unveiled mystery of the *true value and essence* of the elements of the state. The significance which *private property* has in the political state is its *essential*, its *true*, significance; the significance which *differences of estate* have in the political state is the *essential significance* of differences of estate. Similarly the *essence* of monarchical [power] and the executive manifests itself in the "*legislative authority*". It is here, in the sphere of the political state, that the individual elements of the state are related to themselves as the *essence of the species*, as the "species-being"; because the political state is the sphere of their general aspect, their *religious sphere*. The *political* state is the *mirror of truth* for the various elements of the *concrete* state.

Thus, when "independent private property" has in the political state, in the legislature, the *significance* of *political independence*, then it *is* the *political independence* of the state. "Independent private property" or "*real* private property" is then not only the "pillar of the constitution" but the "*constitution itself*". And surely the pillar of the constitution is the constitution of constitutions, the primary, real constitution?

When constructing the hereditary monarch, Hegel, himself surprised as it were at "the immanent development of a science, the *derivation of its entire content* from the elementary *concept*" (Remark to para. 279), made this observation:

> "Thus it is the basic element of ***personality, abstract*** at first in the sphere of immediate law, which has evolved through its various forms of subjectivity, and here, in the sphere of absolute law, in the state, in the completely concrete objectivity of the will, it is the *personality of the state*, the state's *certainty of itself*."

That is to say, in the political state it becomes *apparent* that the "*abstract personality*" is the *supreme political* personality, the political

basis of the whole state. Similarly, in primogeniture the right of this abstract personality, its *objectivity*, "abstract private property", comes into being as the supreme objectivity of the state, as its *supreme law*.

That the state is a hereditary monarch, an abstract personality, means nothing but that the personality of the state is abstract, or that it is the state of the abstract personality; just as the Romans expounded the royal prerogative purely within the norms of civil law, or civil law as the supreme norm of constitutional law.

The *Romans* are the rationalists, the Germans the *mystics* of sovereign private property.

Hegel describes civil law as the *right of abstract personality* or as *abstract right*. And, in truth, it must be expounded as the *abstraction* of right and thus as the *illusory right of abstract personality*, just as the morality expounded by Hegel is the *illusory being of abstract subjectivity*. Hegel expounds civil law and morality as such abstractions; from this he does not deduce that the state and the ethical life based on them can be nothing but the *society* (the social life) of these illusions, but on the contrary, he concludes that they are subordinate elements of this ethical life. But what is civil law other than the law, and what is morality other than the morality of these subjects of the state? Or rather, the person of civil law and the subject of morality are the *person* and the *subject* of the state. Hegel has been often attacked for his exposition of morality. He has done no more than expound the morality of the modern state and of modern civil law. People have wanted to separate morality more from the state, to emancipate it more. What have they proved thereby? That the separation of the present-day state from morality is moral, that morality is apolitical and the state is immoral. Rather, it is a great merit of Hegel to have assigned to modern morality its proper position, although in one respect this is an unconscious merit (namely, in that Hegel passes off the state which is based on such a morality for the actual idea of ethical life).

In the constitution where *primogeniture* is a guarantee, *private property* is the guarantee of the political constitution. In primogeniture this appears in such a way that a *particular* kind of private property serves as this guarantee. *Primogeniture* is merely a particular manifestation of the general relationship of *private property and political state*. Primogeniture is the *political* meaning of private property, private property in its political significance, i.e., in its general significance. The constitution is here therefore the *constitution of private property*.

Where we find primogeniture in *classical* form, in the Germanic nations, we find also the constitution of *private property. Private property* is the general category, the general political bond. Even the general functions appear as the private property now of a corporation, now of an estate.

The different subdivisions of trade and industry are the private property of different corporations. Court dignities, jurisdiction, etc., are the private property of particular estates. The various provinces are the private property of individual princes, etc. Service to the country, etc., is the private property of the ruler. The spirit is the private property of the clergy. My dutiful activity is the private property of another, as my rights are again a particular private property. Sovereignty, here *nationality,* is the private property of the emperor.

It has often been said that in the Middle Ages every form of right, of freedom, of social existence, appears as *privilege,* as an *exception* to the rule. In this context the empirical fact that all these privileges appeared in the form of *private property* could not be overlooked. What is the general cause of this coincidence? *Private property* is the *specific mode of existence of privilege,* of rights as *exceptions.*

Where, as in France, the monarchs attacked the *independence* of private property, they infringed the property of the *corporations* before that of *individuals.* But by attacking the private property of the corporations, they attacked private property as corporation, as a *social* bond.

In *feudal rule* it is directly apparent that the monarchical power is the power of private property, and in the *monarchical power* the mystery of the *general power,* the *power of all state circles,* is set down.

(What is *powerful* in the state finds its expression in the monarch as the representative of political power. The *constitutional* monarch therefore expresses the idea of the constitutional state in its sharpest abstraction. He is on the one hand the *idea* of the state, the sanctified majesty of the state, and precisely as *this* person. At the same time he is *mere* imagination, as person and as monarch he has neither real power nor real activity. Here the separation of political and real, of formal and material, of general and individual person, of human being and social person, is expressed in its supreme contradiction.)

In private property *Roman* intellect and *German* feeling are combined. At this point it will be instructive to make a comparison between these two extreme developments of private property. This

will help us to solve the political problem discussed above. *Ad. pag.* XII.[a]

It is really the Romans who first developed the *law of private property*, abstract right, civil law, the right of the abstract person. *Roman civil law* is *civil law* in its *classical form.* But nowhere do we find among the Romans that the law of private property is mystified, as is the case with the Germans. It nowhere becomes the *law of the state* either.

The right of private property is the *jus utendi et abutendi,*[b] the right to *do what one likes* with the object. The main interest of the Romans is to set forth *relations* and to determine which of them prove to be *abstract* relations of private property. The true basis of private property, *possession,* is a *fact,* an *inexplicable fact, not a right.* Only through the juridical attributes which society gives to factual possession does it acquire the quality of legal possession, of *private property.*

Concerning the connection between political constitution and private property amongst the Romans the following would appear to have obtained:

1) The *human being* (as slave), as amongst the peoples of antiquity generally, is object of private property.

That is nothing specific.

2) The conquered lands are treated as private property; the *jus utendi et abutendi* is applied to them.

3) In their own history there appears the struggle between the poor and the rich (patricians and plebeians), etc.

For the rest, private property as a whole, as in general with the classical nations of antiquity, asserts itself as *public property*; either, as in good times, as expenditure by the republic, or as *luxurious and general benefits* (baths, etc.) for the masses.

The manner in which slavery is explained is through *military law,* the law of occupation: they are slaves precisely because their political existence has been destroyed.

We mainly emphasise two circumstances which differ from those obtaining among the Germans.

1) The *imperial* power was not the power of private property but the *sovereignty* of the *empirical will* as such, which was far from regarding *private property* as a bond between itself and its subjects, but on the contrary, dealt with private property as with all other social goods. The imperial power was therefore also *heritable only*

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[a] See this volume, p. 38.—*Ed.*

[b] Right of use and of disposal.—*Ed.*

*as a matter of fact.* The highest development of the law of private property, of civil law, belongs to the imperial period, it is true; but it is a consequence of political disintegration rather than political disintegration having been a consequence of private property. Moreover, when civil law becomes fully developed in Rome, constitutional law is abolished or in its process of dissolution; whereas in Germany the opposite obtained.

2) State dignities are never hereditary in Rome, i.e., private property is not the dominant political category.

3) In contrast with German primogeniture, etc., in Rome *arbitrary testamentary disposition* seems to be the outcome of private property. This last contrast contains the *whole* difference between the Roman and German developments of private property.

(In primogeniture the fact that private property constitutes the relation to political functions appears in such a way that political existence is something inherent in, an adjunct of, *direct* private property, *landed property.* At the highest summits therefore the state appears as private property, whereas here private property should appear as state property. Hegel makes citizenship, political existence and political conviction attributes of private property, instead of making private property an attribute of citizenship.)

308. "The second section of the estates element comprises the *mobile* part of *civil society* which can enter it only through *delegates,* superficially because of the large number of its members, but essentially because of the nature of their vocation and pursuits. Since these representatives are delegated by civil society it is plain that the latter acts *as that which it is*—hence not as atomistically dispersed into individuals and assembled only for a moment, for a single and transient act, without continuing cohesion, but rather as articulated in its already instituted associations, communities and corporations which thus acquire political cohesion. The existence of the estates and their assembly finds a constitutional and fitting guarantee in their ***entitlement*** to such representation under the summons of the monarch, as in the entitlement of the first estate (para. 307) to appear in the assembly."

We find here a *new* antithesis within civil society and the estates—a *mobile,* and hence also an *immobile* part (that of landed property). This antithesis has also been presented as the antithesis of *space* and *time,* etc., of conservative and progressive. On this point see the previous paragraph. Moreover, with the corporations, etc., Hegel has turned the *mobile* part of society also into a *static* one.

The second antithesis is that the first section of the *estates element* which has just been expounded, the *owners of entailed estates,* are legislators in their own right; that the power to legislate is an attribute of their empirical persons; that they are not *delegates* but

*themselves*; whereas with the second estate *election* and *delegation* takes place.

Hegel gives two reasons why this *mobile* part of civil society can enter the political state, the legislature, only through *representatives*. The first, their *large numbers*, he himself describes as *superficial* and so saves us a reply on this point.

The *essential* reason, however, he says, is the "nature of their vocation and pursuits". "Political activity" and "pursuits" are something alien to "the nature of their vocation and pursuits".

Hegel now returns to his old song, to these estates as "*delegates* of civil society". This must, he claims, "act *as that which it is*". It must rather act as what it is *not*, for it is *unpolitical* society, and it is here called upon to perform a *political* act as an act *essential to it*, arising out of itself. In so doing, it is "atomistically dispersed into individuals" "and assembled only for a moment, for a single and transient act, without continuing cohesion". Firstly, its *political* act is a *single and transient* one and in its realisation can therefore appear only as such. It is a *sensational* act, an *ecstasy* of political society, and must also *appear* as such. Secondly: Far from objecting, Hegel has even construed it as necessary that, *materially*, civil society separates itself from its civil reality (appearing only as a *second society delegated by itself*), and that it puts forward what it is *not* as itself; how can he now wish *formally* to reject this?

Hegel thinks that since society delegates by its corporations, etc., "its already instituted associations", etc., "thus acquire *political* cohesion". But they acquire either a significance which is *not* their significance, or else their connection as such *is* political and does not just "*acquire*" a political complexion as set forth above, it being rather the case that "politics" acquires its cohesion from it [from the cohesion of civil society]. By designating only this part of the estates element as "delegated", Hegel has unwittingly described the essence of the two chambers (where they actually stand to each other in the relation which he describes). House of Representatives and House of Peers (or whatever else they are called) are here not different manifestations of the same principle but belong to *two* essentially *different principles* and social conditions. The House of Representatives is here the *political constitution* of civil society in the modern sense, the House of Peers in the estates sense. House of Peers and House of Representatives confront one another here as the *estate* and as the *political* representation of civil society. The one is the *existing* estate principle of civil society, the other is the realisation of its *abstract political* being. Hence it goes without saying that the latter cannot *exist* again as the representation of

estates, corporations, etc., for it simply does not represent the estate aspect but the political aspect of civil society. Thus it is self-evident that in the Upper House only the *estate* part of civil society has seats, only "sovereign landed property", the hereditary landed aristocracy, for it is not *one* estate among others; rather the estate principle of civil society as an actual, social, that is, political, principle continues to exist *only* in it. It is *the* estate. Civil society thus has the representative of its medieval aspect in the *estate* House, that of its *political* (modern) aspect in the House of Representatives. Progress compared with the Middle Ages here consists only in the fact that the *estate politics* has been reduced to a special political existence alongside *civic* politics. The *empirical* political phenomenon which Hegel has in mind (*England*) has therefore a very different meaning from that which he imputes to it.

In this respect also the French constitution is an advance.[10] It has, it is true, reduced the House of Peers to a mere nullity, but *within the principle* of the constitutional monarchy, as Hegel alleged, this House by its nature can only be a *nullity*, the *fiction* of harmony between monarch and civil society, or the *legislature* or the *political state with itself* as a separate, and hence again *contradictory*, existence.

The French have allowed the *life membership* of the Peers to stand so as to express their independence of the choice both of government and people. But they have abolished the *medieval* expression of this—*hereditariness*. Their advance consists in the fact that they no longer make the *House of Peers* originate in *actual civil* society either, but have created it in *abstraction* from the latter. They cause their election to proceed from the *existing* political state, the *monarch*, without tying him to any other civil quality. In this *constitution* the *peerage* is actually an *estate in civil society* which is purely political, created from the point of view of the abstraction of the *political state*; but it appears more as *political embellishment* than as an actual *estate* endowed with particular rights. The House of Peers under the Restoration was a reminiscence of the past The House of Peers of the July revolution is a *real* creation of the constitutional monarchy.

Since in modern times the idea of the state could not appear except in the *abstraction* of the "*merely* political state" or the *abstraction of civil society from itself*, from its actual condition, it is a merit of the French to have defined, produced this *abstract actuality*, and in so doing to have produced the *political* principle itself. The abstraction for which they are blamed is therefore not an abstraction but the true consequence and product of the

*rediscovered political conviction,* rediscovered it is true in an antithesis, but in a necessary antithesis. Hence it is here the merit of the French to have instituted the House of Peers as a *peculiar* product of the political state, or, in general, to have made the political principle in its *peculiarity* the determinative and effective factor.

Hegel remarks further that with the representation he has construed, "the *existence* of the estates and their assembly finds a constitutional and fitting guarantee" in the "entitlement of the corporations, etc., to such representation". The *guarantee of the existence* of the assembly of the estates, its true, *primitive* existence, thus becomes the *privilege* of the corporations, etc. At this point Hegel has completely sunk back to the medieval standpoint and has entirely abandoned his "abstraction of the political state as the sphere of the state as state, the intrinsically and actually general".

In the modern sense the *existence* of the *assembly of the estates* is the *political existence* of civil society, the *guarantee* of its political being. To cast doubt on its existence is therefore to *doubt the existence of the state.* Just as previously "political conviction", the essence of the legislature, finds its guarantee according to Hegel in "independent private property", so its *existence* finds a guarantee in the "privileges of the corporations".

But one of the estates elements is rather the *political privilege* of civil society, or its *privilege* to be *political.* This element therefore cannot anywhere be the privilege of a particular, civil mode of the existence of civil society; still less can it find its guarantee in it, since on the contrary it is *supposed* to be the general guarantee.

Thus Hegel everywhere sinks to that level where the "political state" is not described as the highest actuality of social being, existing in and for itself, but where a precarious reality is granted to it, one which is *dependent on something else*; and where the political state is not depicted as the true being of the other sphere, but rather as something which finds in the other sphere *its true being*. Everywhere it requires the guarantee of spheres which lie outside it. It is not realised power. It is *supported* impotence, it is not power over these supports but the power of the support. The support is the paramount power.

What kind of august aspect is this whose existence requires a guarantee from outside itself, while it is itself supposed to be the *general* existence of this guarantee, and thus its actual guarantee? In general, in expounding the legislature Hegel everywhere falls back from the philosophical standpoint to that other standpoint where the matter is not dealt with *in its own terms.*

If the existence of the estates requires a guarantee, then they

are *not an actual* but only a *fictitious mode of existence of the state.* In constitutional states the guarantee for the existence of the estates is the *law.* Their existence is therefore a *legal* existence dependent on the general nature of the state and not on the power or impotence of individual corporations or associations; they exist, rather, as the actuality of the *association of the state.* (It is precisely here that the corporations, etc., the particular circles of civil society, are to acquire their general existence, and Hegel now again *anticipates* this general existence as privilege, as the existence of these particular circles.)

Political right as the right of corporations, etc., wholly contradicts political right as *political* right, i.e., as the law of the state—the law of the citizens; for it is supposed to be not the law of a given mode of existence as a particular mode of existence, not the law representing this particular mode of existence.

Before we pass on to the category of *election* as the political act whereby civil society sets itself apart as a political body, let us add a few further points from the Remark to this paragraph.

"The idea that all should individually participate in deliberating and deciding on the general affairs of the state on the ground that they are all members of the state and that its affairs are the affairs of *all,* in which they are *entitled* to be involved with their knowledge and volition, this idea seeks to introduce the *democratic* element *without any rational form* into the state organism which is a state organism solely by virtue of such a form. This idea comes so readily to mind because it does not go beyond the *abstract* definition of being a member of the state, and superficial thinking clings to abstractions." [Para. 308.]

Firstly, Hegel calls "being a member of the state" an "*abstract* definition", although according to the *idea,* the *view* of his own expounding, it itself is the highest, *most concrete* social definition of the legal person, the member of the state. Not to go beyond the "definition of being a member of the state", and to regard the individual from this angle, would therefore not seem to be merely "superficial thinking which clings to abstractions". But that the "definition of being a member of the state" is an *"abstract"* definition is not the fault of that thinking but of Hegel's exposition and of the actual modern conditions which presuppose the separation of real life from the life of the state and make belonging to a state an "abstract definition" of the real member of the state.

According to Hegel the direct participation of *all* in deliberating and deciding on the general affairs of the state includes "the *democratic* element *without any rational form* into the state organism which is a state organism *solely* by virtue of such a form", i. e., the democratic element can be embodied only as a *formal* element in a

state organism which is merely the formalism of the state. The democratic element must rather be the actual element which gives to itself its *rational form* in the state organism *as a whole.* But if on the other hand it enters the organism or formalism of the state as a *"particular"* element, then what is meant by the "rational form" of its being is a drill, an accommodation, a form in which the democratic element does not display the specific features of its nature; or what is meant is that it only enters as a *formal* principle.

We have already indicated once that Hegel only expounds a *state formalism.* The actual *material* principle is for him the *idea,* the abstract mental *form* of the state as a subject, the absolute idea which contains no passive, no *material* element. By contrast to the abstraction of this idea the characteristics of the actual, empirical state formalism appear as *content* and hence the *real* content appears as formless, inorganic matter (in this case the actual person, the actual society, etc.).

Hegel put the essence of the estates element in the concept that in this element the "empirical generality" becomes the subject of the intrinsically and actually general. What then should this mean but that the affairs of the state "are the affairs of *all,* in which they are *entitled* to be involved with their knowledge and volition", and is it not just the estates which should be this, their realised right? And is it then surprising that the all now also want the "reality" of this, their right?

"That *all* should individually participate in deliberating and deciding on the general affairs of the state."

In a really rational state one might reply: "*All should* not *individually* participate in deliberating and deciding on the general affairs of the state", for the "individuals" participate in deliberating and deciding on the *general affairs* as "all", i.e., within the society and as members of society. Not all individually, but the individuals as all.

Hegel poses this dilemma for himself: Either civil society (the many, the crowd) participates in deliberating and deciding on the general affairs of the state through delegates, or *all* do this [as] *individuals.* This is no contrast of *essence,* as Hegel later seeks to represent it, but of *existence,* and indeed of existence at the most superficial level, of *numbers*; and hence the reason which Hegel himself has called *"superficial"*—the *large number of members*—remains the best reason that can be advanced against the direct participation of all. *The question* whether civil society should

participate in the legislative power *either* by entering it through *delegates* or by "all individually" sharing directly, is itself a question within the *abstraction of the political state* or within the *abstract-political state*; it is an *abstract*-political question.

In both cases, as Hegel has himself shown, it is the political meaning of "empirical generality".

In its essential form the contrast is: the *individuals all do it*, or the *individuals* do it as *a few*, as *not-all*. In both cases the universality remains only as an *external* multiplicity or totality of the individuals. The universality is no essential, spiritual, actual quality of the individual. It is not something through which he would lose the attribute of abstract individuality; rather the universality is only the full *count* of *individuality*. *One* individuality, *many* individualities, *all* individualities. One, many or all—none of these descriptions alters the *essence* of the subject, individuality.

"All" are to participate "individually" in "deliberating and deciding on the general affairs of the state"; that means then: *All* shall not thus participate as all but as "individuals".

The question appears to stand in contradiction to itself in two ways.

The general affairs of the state are state affairs, the state as *actual affair*. Deliberating and deciding means *giving effect* to the state as an actual affair. Hence it appears to be self-evident that all members of the state have a *relation* to the state as their *actual affair*. Already the concept *members of the state* implies that they are *members* of the state, a *part* of it, that it takes them as *part of it*. But if they are a *part* of the state, then, of course, their social *being* is already *their real participation* in it. They *are* not only part of the state, but the state is *their* portion. To be a conscious part of something means consciously to acquire a part of it, to take a conscious interest in it. Without this consciousness the member of the state would be an *animal*.

When one says: "the general affairs of the state", the impression is given that the "general affairs" and the "state" are two *different* things. But the *state* is the "general affair", and thus in fact the "general affairs".

To participate in the general affairs of the state and to participate in the state is therefore one and the same thing. It is then a *tautology* that a member of the state, a part of the state, participates in the state and that this participation can only appear as *deliberating* or *deciding* or in some similar form, and hence that every member of the state participates in *deliberating* and *deciding* on the general affairs of the state (if these functions are under-

stood as functions of the *real* participation in the state). Therefore, if one is speaking of *real* members of the state, one cannot speak of this participation as something which *ought* to be. Otherwise one would instead be speaking of subjects who *ought* to be and *want* to be, but *are* not really *members of the state.*

On the other hand: if one is speaking of *definite* affairs, of a particular act of the state, it is again self-evident that *all* do not perform that act *individually.* Otherwise the individual would be the *true* society and would make society superfluous. The individual would have to do everything at once; whereas society both lets him act for others and others for him.

The question whether *all* should *individually* "participate in deliberating and deciding on the general affairs of the state" is a question which arises from the separation of the political state and civil society.

As we have seen: The state exists *only* as the *political state.* The totality of the political state is the *legislature.* To take part in the legislature is therefore to take part in the political state, is to demonstrate and put into effect one's *being* as a *member of the political state,* as a *member of the state.* Hence that *all* wish *individually* to share in the legislature is nothing but the wish of *all* to be actual (active) *members of the state,* or to give themselves a *political being,* or to demonstrate and give effect to their being as a *political* being. We have further seen that the estates element is *civil society* as legislative power, its *political being.* Hence, that civil society should penetrate the *legislative* power *in the mass,* if possible *in its entirety,* that actual civil society wishes to substitute itself for the *fictitious* civil society of the legislative power, this is merely the striving of civil society to give itself *political* being or to make *political being* its actual being. The striving of *civil society* to turn itself into *political* society, or to turn *political* society into *actual* society, appears as the striving for as *general* as possible a participation in the *legislative power.*

*Numbers* here are not without significance. If the increase of the *estates element* is already a physical and intellectual increase of one of the *hostile* forces—and we have seen that the different elements of the legislative power oppose each other as hostile forces—on the other hand, the question as to whether all shall individually be members of the legislative power or whether they shall enter it through deputies puts in question the *representative* principle within the representative principle, within the basic conception of the political state which finds its existence in the constitutional monarchy.

(1) It is a notion belonging to the abstraction of the political state that the *legislature* is the *totality* of the political state. Because this *single* act is the only *political* act of civil society, *all* should, and wish to, share in it at once. (2) *All* as *individuals.* In the *estates element* the legislative activity is not regarded as a *social* function, as a function of *sociality*, but rather as the act through which the individuals first enter into actual and *conscious social* function, i. e., into a political function. The *legislative power* here is no outcome, no function of society, but only its *formation.* The forming of the legislative power requires that *all* members of civil society regard themselves as *individuals*; they actually face [each other] as *individuals.* The attribute "being members of the state" is an "abstract definition", an attribute which is not realised in their actual life.

Either: Separation of political state and civil society takes place, in which case *all* cannot *individually* share in the legislative power. The political state is a phenomenon *separated* from civil society. On the one hand, civil society would abandon itself if all were legislators; on the other, the political state, which confronts civil society, can bear it only in a form appropriate to the *scale* of the political state. Or it is precisely the participation of civil society in the political state through *delegates* that is the *expression* of their separation and of their merely dualistic unity.

Or, conversely: Civil society is *actual* political society. In this case, it is nonsense to raise a demand which has arisen only from the notion of the political state as a phenomenon separated from civil society, which has arisen only from the *theological* notion of the political state. In this situation the significance of the *legislative* power as a *representative* power completely disappears. The legislative power is representation here in the sense in which *every* function is representative—in the sense in which, e.g., the shoemaker, insofar as he satisfies a social need, is my representative, in which every particular social activity as a species-activity merely represents the species, i. e., an attribute of my own nature, and in which every person is the representative of every other. He is here representative not because of something else which he represents but because of what he *is* and *does.*

"Legislative" power is striven for not because of its *content* but because of its *formal* political significance. Properly speaking *executive power*, e. g., rather than legislative power, the *metaphysical* state function, must be the goal of popular desire. The *legislative* function is the will not in its practical but in its theoretical energy. Here the *will* is not to have sway *instead* of the *law*: rather, the actual law has to be *discovered* and *formulated.*

This twofold nature of the legislature as the actual *legislative* function and as the *representative, abstract-political* function gives rise to a peculiarity which comes to the fore especially in France, the land of political culture.

(In the *executive power* we always have *two* things, the actual conduct of affairs and the political considerations behind it, as a second actual consciousness which in its total structure is the bureaucracy.)

The proper content of the legislative power (insofar as the existing particular *interests* do not come into any considerable conflict with the object of the investigation) is treated very much as separate, as a secondary matter. A question only arouses particular attention when it becomes *political,* i. e., either when it can be linked with a ministerial problem, and hence one involving the authority of the legislature over the executive, or as soon as it is in general a question of rights connected with the political formalism. Why is this so? Because the legislative power is at the same time the representation of the political being of civil society; because in general the political essence of a question consists in its relation to the various powers of the political state; because the legislative power represents political consciousness and because this can prove to be *political* only in conflict with the executive. This essential demand that every social need, law, etc., must be understood as *political,* that is, as *determined by the state as a whole* in its *social* sense, takes on a new turn in the state characterised by political abstraction, by being given—besides its actual content—a *formal* twist against another power (content). That is no abstraction of the French but rather a necessary consequence, since the actual state exists only as the *political state formalism* considered above. The *opposition* within the representative authority is the κατ' ἐξοχήν[a] *political* mode of being of the representative authority. Within this representative constitution, however, the question under consideration takes on a form different from that in which Hegel considered it. The question here is not whether civil society shall exercise the legislative power through representatives or by all individually; the question is rather one of the *extension* and greatest possible *generalisation* of *election,* both of the right to *vote* and the right to *be elected.* This is the real point of dispute concerning political *reform,* in France as in England.

One is not looking at *election* philosophically, i. e., in its specific character, if one takes it at once in relation to the *monarchical* or

[a] Pre-eminently.—*Ed.*

*executive power*. The *election* is the *actual relation* of *actual civil society* to the *civil society* of the *legislature*, to the *representative element*. Or, the *election* is the *immediate, direct* relation of civil society to the political state—a relation that is not *merely representative but actually exists*. It is therefore self-evident that *elections* are the chief political interest of actual civil society. Civil society has *really* raised itself to abstraction from itself, to *political* being as its true, general, essential mode of being only in *elections unlimited* both in respect of the franchise and the right to be elected. But the completion of this abstraction is at the same time the transcendence of the abstraction. In actually positing its *political existence* as its *true* existence, civil society has simultaneously posited its civil existence, in distinction from its political existence, as *inessential*; and the fall of one side of the division carries with it the fall of the other side, its opposite. *Electoral reform* within the *abstract political state* is therefore the demand for its *dissolution*, but also for the *dissolution of civil society*.

Later we shall encounter the question of electoral reform in a different form, namely, from the point of view of *interests*.[11] Likewise, we shall later discuss the other conflicts which arise from the twofold character of the *legislative power* (being at one time the *delegate*, mandatory of civil society, at another time on the contrary its *political* mode of being and *a distinctive mode of being* within the political state formalism[a]).

For the present we return to the Remark to our paragraph. [Para. 308.]

"Rational consideration, the consciousness of the idea, is *concrete* and to that extent coincides with genuine *practical* sense, which itself is nothing but rational sense, the sense of the idea." "The **concrete** state is the *whole, articulated into its particular circles*; the member of the state is a *member* of one of these *estates*; and he can be taken into account in the state only in this objective character."

Everything which needs saying about this has already been said above.

"His" (the member of the state's) "general character as such contains the twofold aspect of being a *private person* and also, as a *thinking being*, a person who is conscious of and wills the *general*. This consciousness and willing, however, is not empty but *complete* and truly *alive* only when it is filled with particularity, namely, the particularity of particular estate and character; or, the individual is a *species*, but has his *immanent* general *actuality* in the *next* species."

Everything that Hegel says is correct, with the reservations (1) that he treats *particular estate* and *character* as identical; (2) that this

[a] See this volume, pp. 122-23.—*Ed.*

character, the subspecies, the next species, should be posited *actually*, not only *in itself* but *for itself*, as *subspecies of the general species*, as *its* particularisation. But Hegel is content that in the state, which he demonstrates to be the self-conscious mode of being of ethical spirit, this ethical spirit should only *as such*, in the sense of the general idea, be the *determining factor*. He does not allow society to become the actually determining factor, because that requires an *actual* subject, and he has only an abstract one—an *imaginary* one.

309. "Since delegates are elected for the purpose of deliberating and deciding on matters of *general* concern, this means both that, on the strength of trust, individuals are chosen who understand these matters better than the electorate, and also that these persons do not champion the particular interests of a community or corporation against the general interest, but primarily assert the latter. Hence they are not in the position of commissioned or instruction-bearing mandatories—the less so since their assembly is meant to be a living body in which all members deliberate in common and reciprocally instruct and convince each other."

The delegates are (1) not to be "commissioned or instruction-bearing mandatories" because they must "not champion the particular interests of a community or corporation against the general interest, but primarily assert the latter". Hegel has first construed the delegates as delegates of corporations, etc., so as thereupon to bring in again the other political aspect that they are not bound to champion the *particular interests* of the corporations, etc. He thereby cancels his own characterisation, for in their *essential* character as representatives he completely separates them from their *corporation existence*. He thereby also separates the corporation from itself as its actual content, for it is not supposed to elect from *its own standpoint* but from the *standpoint of the state*: i. e., it is supposed to elect in its *non-being* as corporation. In the *concrete* definition he thus recognises what he reversed in the *formal* definition—civil society's own abstraction from itself in its political act; and its *political mode of being* is nothing but *this abstraction*. The reason Hegel gives is that they are elected precisely for the purpose of dealing with "matters of general concern"; but corporations do not exist as matters of general concern.

(2) "Election of delegates" is supposed to "mean" "that, on the strength of trust, individuals are chosen who understand these matters better than the electorate"; from which once again it is supposed to follow that the deputies do not stand in the position of "mandatories".

Only by a sophism can Hegel demonstrate that they understand these matters "better" and do not "simply" understand them. This could be concluded only if the electorate had the choice either to deliberate and decide on matters of general concern *themselves or* to

elect certain individuals to fulfil this function; i. e., only if *election, representation,* were not essentially part of the nature of the *legislative power* of civil society, which constitutes precisely its *distinctive* character in the state construed by Hegel, as we have just shown.

This is a very characteristic example of how Hegel half deliberately turns away from the intrinsic character of the thing he is dealing with, and imputes to that thing in its restricted form a significance the very reverse of this restrictedness.

Hegel gives the real reason last. The deputies of civil society form an "assembly" and only this assembly is the *actual political mode of being* of civil society and the exercise of its *will.* The separation of the political state from civil society appears as the separation of the deputies from their mandators. Society delegates only elements from itself to its political mode of being.

The contradiction appears in two ways:

1) *Formally.* The delegates of civil society form a society which is not linked with those who commission them by the form of the "instruction", the mandate. Formally they are commissioned, but once they are *actually* commissioned they are *no* longer *mandatories.* They are supposed to *be delegates,* and they are *not.*

2) *Materially.* With reference to interests. We shall come to this later.[12] Here the reverse takes place. They are commissioned as representatives of *general* concerns, but they actually represent *particular* concerns.

It is significant that *Hegel* here describes trust as the substance of *delegation,* as the fundamental relation between electors and delegates. *Trust* is a personal relation. In the Addition [to para. 309] he goes on to say:

> "Representation is founded on trust, and trusting someone else is different from my voting as a particular person. Majority voting is also contrary to the principle that I as a particular person should be present when any decisions are made which are to be binding on me. I have trust in a person if I consider his discernment to be such as to enable him to treat my concern as his concern, to the best of his knowledge and conscience."
>
> 310. "The ***guarantee*** of the qualities and of the attitude [in delegates] corresponding to this purpose—since the right of independent wealth has already been asserted in the first section of the estates—is to be seen in the second section, the section drawn from the mobile and changeable element in civil society, particularly in the attitude, the skill and the knowledge of the institutions and interests of the state and of civil society gained in the *actual* conduct of affairs in *administrative* or *political office* and tested in *action,* and also in the *administrative* and *political sense* formed and tested in such experience."

First the Upper House, the *House of independent private property,* was constructed for the monarch and the executive as a *guarantee* against

the attitude of the Lower House as the *political mode of existence* of the empirical generality, and now Hegel again demands a *new guarantee*, which is to guarantee the *attitude*, etc., of the Lower House itself.

First trust, the guarantee of the electors, was the guarantee of the delegates. Now, this trust itself requires a further guarantee of its soundness.

Hegel seems to be rather inclined to turn the Lower House into a chamber of civil service *pensioners*. He demands not only "political sense", but also "administrative", bureaucratic, sense.

What he demands here really is that the *legislature* should be the *actual governing* power. He expresses this by demanding bureaucracy *twice*, once as representing the monarch and again as the representative of the people.

Even if in constitutional states civil servants are allowed to be deputies, this occurs only because in general there is abstraction from *social rank*, from *civil* quality, and the abstraction of *citizenship* prevails.

Hegel forgets here that he made the representation originate in the *corporations* and that these are directly opposed by the executive. He goes so far in this forgetfulness—this forgetfulness in its turn is forgotten in the very next paragraph—that he carries it to the point of creating an *essential* distinction between delegates of the corporations and delegates of the estates.

In the Remark to this paragraph we read:

> "Subjective opinion of oneself easily finds superfluous, or perhaps even offensive, the demand for such guarantees if it is made with regard to what is called the people. The state, however, is characterised by objectivity, not by a subjective opinion and its ***self-confidence***; it can recognise in individuals only their objectively recognisable and tested qualities, and it must be all the more careful on this point in connection with this [the second] section of the estates since this section is rooted in interests and occupations directed towards the particular, i.e., in the sphere where chance, changeability, and caprice enjoy their right of free play."

Here the thoughtless inconsistency and the *"administrative"* sense of Hegel become truly *repulsive*. At the end of the Addition to the preceding paragraph [para. 309] he says:

> "***The electors*** require a guarantee that the delegate will further and secure this" (i. e., the task described above).

This guarantee *for the electors* has secretly been developed into a *guarantee against* the electors, against their "*self-confidence*". In the estates element the "empirical generality" was to attain to "the element of subjective formal freedom". In it, "public consciousness as the *empirical generality* of the opinions and thoughts of the *many*" was to come into existence (para. 301).

A page from Marx's manuscript of the *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law*

Now these "opinions and thoughts" are *first* to pass a *government* test to prove that they are *"its"* [the government's] opinions and thoughts. For Hegel here stupidly speaks of the state as a *finished* thing, although he is only now about to complete the construction of the state with the estates element. He speaks of the state as a concrete subject which "does not take into account subjective opinion and its self-confidence", and for which individuals must demonstrate their "recognisable" and "tested" qualities. All that is missing is for Hegel to demand that the *estates* should pass an *examination* set by their worshipful government. Hegel here descends almost to servility. We see him infected through and through with the miserable arrogance of the *Prussian* civil service which in its bureaucratic stupidity grandly looks down on the "self-confidence" of the "people's own subjective opinion". For Hegel the "state" is everywhere here identical with the "government".

In an actual state "mere trust", "subjective opinion", can indeed not suffice. But in the state constructed by Hegel, the *political* attitude of civil society is mere *opinion*, precisely because the political being of civil society is an *abstraction* from its actual being; precisely because the state as a whole is not the *objectification of the political attitude*. If Hegel wished to be consistent, he would on the contrary have to make every effort to construe the estates element in accordance with its *essential character* (para. 301) as the *being for themselves* of matters of general concern in the thoughts, etc., of the *many*, that is, to construe it quite independently of the other presuppositions of the political state.

Just as Hegel earlier described the view which presumes bad will in the government, etc., as the view of the vulgar crowd, so it is equally and still more characteristic of the vulgar crowd to presume bad will in the people. Hegel, then, must not find it either "superfluous" or "offensive" in the theoreticians, whom he despises, if they demand guarantees "with regard to *what is called*" the state, the *soi-disant* state, the government, if they demand guarantees that the attitude of the bureaucracy is the attitude of the state.

311. "Delegation, since it issues from civil society, means **furthermore** that the delegates are conversant with the special needs, difficulties and particular interests of civil society and share them. Since in accordance with the nature of civil society delegation is initiated by its various corporations (para. 308), and since the simplicity of this mode of appointment is not impeded by abstractions and atomistic notions, it is thus directly satisfactory from this point of view and elections are either something altogether superfluous or reduced to a minor play of opinion and caprice."

Firstly, Hegel links delegation in its character as "legislative power" (paras. 309, 310) to delegation as "issuing from civil society", i.e., to its representative nature, by a simple "furthermore". The huge contradictions which are implied in this "furthermore" are expressed equally thoughtlessly by him.

According to paragraph 309 the delegates are not to "champion the particular interests of a community or corporation against the general interest, but *primarily* assert the latter".

According to paragraph 311 they come from the corporations, represent these *particular* interests and needs and do not allow themselves to be impeded by "abstractions"—as if the "general interest" were not just such an abstraction, and an abstraction precisely from the interests of *their* corporations, etc.

In paragraph 310 it is stipulated that the delegates shall have acquired and tested an "administrative and political sense" through "the actual conduct of affairs, etc.". In paragraph 311 they are required to have a corporation and civil sense.

In the Addition to paragraph 309 we read that "representation is founded on *trust*". According to paragraph 311 "elections"—this realisation of trust, this giving effect to it and making it apparent—are "either something altogether superfluous or reduced to a minor play of opinion and caprice".

That on which representation is founded, its essence, is thus for representation "either something altogether superfluous", etc. In one breath Hegel thus utters the flat contradictions: Representation is founded on trust, on the reliance of one person on another, and it is not founded on that trust. This is merely an empty game.

Not the particular interest but the person and his citizenship, the general interest, is the object of representation. On the other hand, the particular interest is the substance of representation, the spirit of this interest is the spirit of the representative.

In the Remark to the paragraph which we are now considering, these contradictions are developed even more glaringly. At one time representation is the representation of the person; at another time, of a particular interest, a particular matter.

"It is obviously of advantage that amongst the delegates there should be individuals who can speak for each particular main branch of society—e. g., for trade, manufacture, etc.—who know that branch thoroughly, and themselves belong to it. With the notion of free, unrestricted elections this important consideration is left to chance only. Each of these branches, however, has the same right to be represented as the others. If the delegates are regarded as *representatives*, this has an organically rational meaning only when they are *representatives* not of *individuals*, of a conglomerate, but are *representatives* of one of the essential *spheres* of society, of its major interests. In this case representation no longer means

that *one takes the place of another*; the point is rather that the interest itself is *actually present* in the representative, just as the representative is there for the sake of his own objective element.

"It may further be remarked that election by the many individuals necessarily brings with it *indifference* towards voting, especially in large states; since one vote has an insignificant effect where there are so many, and those who are entitled to vote, however much this right is brought to their notice as something valuable, simply do not turn up to vote. The result of this institution is thus the very opposite of that which it was meant to produce and election falls under the control of a few, of a party, and thus of some particular, chance interest, which is precisely what was to have been neutralised." [Para. 311.]

The two paragraphs 312 and 313 have been dealt with in what has gone before, and do not deserve any special discussion. We therefore simply quote them at this point:

312. "Each of the two sections contained in the estates element (paras. 305, 308) makes a particular contribution to the work of deliberation; and since, moreover, one of them has the specific function of mediation in this sphere, and of mediating in fact between existing entities, it follows that this itself, likewise, has a distinct and separate existence. The assembly of the estates will thus be divided into *two houses*."

Good Lord!

313. "This division of the assembly, by providing more than one *decision-making body*, gives greater assurance of mature decisions, and eliminates both the fortuity of a passing mood and the accidental character which can belong to decision by a numerical majority. But above all, with this the estates element is less liable to confront the government in direct opposition; or in the event of the mediating element finding itself on the side of the second estate, the opinion of this estate will carry all the greater weight, since it will then seem more unbiassed, and its opposition will appear to be neutralised."[a]

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[a] The manuscript ends at this point. The next sheet, which has no number, contains only the following words:

*Contents*

Concerning Hegel's Transition and Interpretation.—*Ed.*

## [A Passage from THE KREUZNACH NOTEBOOKS OF 1843][13]

*Note.* Under Louis XVIII, the constitution [by] grace of the king (Charter imposed by the king); under Louis Philippe, the king [by] grace of the constitution (imposed kingship).[14] In general we can note that the conversion of the subject into the predicate, and of the predicate into the subject, the exchange of that which determines for that which is determined, is always the most immediate revolution. Not only on the revolutionary side. The king makes the law (old monarchy), the law makes the king (new monarchy). Likewise in regard to the constitution. The reactionaries as well. Primogeniture is the law of the state. The state demands the law of primogeniture. Owing to the fact, therefore, that Hegel makes the elements of the state idea the subject, and the old forms of existence of the state the predicate, whereas in historical reality the reverse is the case, the state idea being instead the predicate of those forms of existence, he expresses only the general character of the period, its *political teleology*. It is the same thing as with his philosophical-religious pantheism. By means of it all forms of unreason become forms of reason. But essentially here in religion reason is made the determining factor, while in the state the idea of the state is made the determining factor. This metaphysics is the metaphysical expression of reaction, of the old world as the truth of the new world outlook.

Written in July-August 1843
First published in:
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Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# [DRAFT PROGRAMME OF THE *DEUTSCH-FRANZÖSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER*][15]

The articles of our annals will be written by Germans or Frenchmen, and will deal with

1) Men and systems which have acquired a useful or dangerous influence, and political questions of the day, whether they concern constitutions, political economy, or public institutions and morals.

2) We shall provide a review of newspapers and journals which in some way will be a castigation and correction of the servility and baseness shown by some, and which will help to call attention to the worthy efforts on behalf of humanity and freedom shown by others.

3) We shall include a review of the literature and publications of the old regime of Germany which is decaying and destroying itself, and finally a review of the books of the two nations which mark the commencement and continuance of the new era that we are entering.

Written in August-September 1843

Published for the first time

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

# LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE *DÉMOCRATIE PACIFIQUE*[16]

No. 28 of the *Bien public* contains the following lines:

"The *Kölnische Zeitung* publishes a letter from Leipzig in which it is stated that a journal in French and German is due to appear shortly in Paris under the editorship of Dr. Ruge, to which M. de Lamartine and M. de Lamennais are said to have promised their collaboration.[17]

"It is not true that M. de Lamartine has undertaken to write in any journal and, in particular, in the one in question, with M. de Lamennais.

"M. de Lamartine, who is wholly absorbed in his parliamentary work, is reserving for the *Histoire des Girondins* the little leisure that politics leaves him."

It is true that M. de Lamartine has not undertaken to write for the journal in question with M. de Lamennais, but we affirm that he has let us hope for his collaboration in the journal that we are proposing to found.

In addressing ourselves separately to these two famous personages, we have been prompted by the belief that for a work such as that of an intellectual alliance between France and Germany one should seek the support of all eminent representatives of progress in France.

Furthermore, we declare that the letter from Leipzig published by the *Kölnische Zeitung,* which gave rise to the article in the *Bien public,* did not emanate from us or from any of our friends.

*Arnold Ruge,*
former editor of the *Deutsche Jahrbücher*

*Charles Marx,*
former editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*

Paris, December 10, 1843

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Published in English for the first time

# LETTERS FROM THE *DEUTSCH-FRANZÖSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER*[18]

## M. to R.[a]

On the canal-boat going to D.,
March 1843

I am now travelling in Holland. As far as I can judge from the Dutch and French newspapers, Germany is sunk deep in the mire and will sink still deeper. I assure you, even if one has no feeling of national pride at all, nevertheless one has a feeling of national shame, even in Holland. The most insignificant Dutchman is still a citizen compared with the greatest German. And the verdict of the foreigners on the Prussian Government! A horrifying unanimity prevails; no one is any longer deceived about the Prussian system and its simple nature. After all, therefore, the new school has been of some use. The mantle of liberalism has been discarded and the most disgusting despotism in all its nakedness is disclosed to the eyes of the whole world.

That, too, is a revelation, although one of the opposite kind. It is a truth which, at least, teaches us to recognise the emptiness of our patriotism and the abnormity of our state system, and makes us hide our faces in shame. You look at me with a smile and ask: What is gained by that? No revolution is made out of shame. I reply: Shame is already revolution of a kind; shame is actually the victory of the French Revolution over the German patriotism that defeated it in 1813. Shame is a kind of anger which is turned inward. And if a whole nation really experienced a sense of shame, it would be like a lion, crouching ready to spring. I admit that in Germany even shame is not yet felt; on the contrary, these miserable people are still patriots. But what system is capable of knocking the patriotism out of them if not this ridiculous system

[a] Marx to Ruge.—*Ed.*

of the new cavalier[a]? The comedy of despotism that is being played out with us is just as dangerous for him, as the tragedy once was for the Stuarts and Bourbons. And even if for a long time this comedy were not to be looked upon as the thing it actually is, it would still amount to a revolution. The state is too serious a thing to be turned into a kind of harlequinade. A ship full of fools[19] could perhaps be allowed to drift for quite a time at the mercy of the wind, but it would be driven to meet its fate precisely because the fools would not believe this. This fate is the impending revolution.

M. to R.[b]

Cologne, May 1843

Your letter, my dear friend, is a fine elegy, a funeral song[20] that takes one's breath away; but there is absolutely nothing political about it. No people wholly despairs, and even if for a long time it goes on hoping merely out of stupidity, yet one day, after many years, it will suddenly become wise and fulfil all its pious wishes.

Nevertheless, you have infected me, your theme is still not exhausted, I want to add the finale, and when everything is at an end, give me your hand, so that we may begin again from the beginning. Let the dead bury their dead and mourn them. On the other hand, it is enviable to be the first to enter the new life alive; that is to be our lot.

It is true that the old world belongs to the philistine. But one should not treat the latter as a bugbear from which to recoil in fear. On the contrary, we ought to keep an eye on him. It is worth while to study this lord of the world.

He is lord of the world, of course, only because he fills it with his society as maggots do a corpse. Therefore the society of these lords needs no more than a number of slaves, and the owners of these slaves do not need to be free. Although, as being owners of land and people, they are called lords, in the sense of being pre-eminent, for all that they are no less philistines than their servants.

As for human beings, that would imply thinking beings, free men, republicans. The philistines do not want to be either of these. What then remains for them to be and to desire?

What they want is to live and reproduce themselves (and no one, says Goethe, achieves anything more), and that the animal

[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*
[b] Marx to Ruge.—*Ed.*

DEUTSCH-FRANZÖSISCHE

# JAHRBÜCHER

herausgegeben

von

Arnold Ruge und Karl Marx.

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1ste und 2te Lieferung.

PARIS,

IM BUREAU DER JAHRBÜCHER.
AU BUREAU DES ANNALES. } RUE VANNEAU, 22.

1844

Cover of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*

also wants; at most a German politician would add: Man, however, *knows* that he wants this, and the German is so prudent as not to want anything more.

The self-confidence of the human being, freedom, has first of all to be aroused again in the hearts of these people. Only this feeling, which vanished from the world with the Greeks, and under Christianity disappeared into the blue mist of the heavens, can again transform society into a community of human beings united for their highest aims, into a democratic state.

On the other hand, people who do not feel that they are human beings become the property of their masters like a breed of slaves or horses. The aim of this whole society are the hereditary masters. This world belongs to them. They accept it as it is and as it feels itself to be. They accept themselves as they are, and place their feet firmly on the necks of these political animals who know of no other function than to be "obedient, devoted and attentive" to their masters.

The philistine world is a *political world of animals,* and if we have to recognise its existence, nothing remains for us but simply to agree to this *status quo.* Centuries of barbarism engendered and shaped it, and now it confronts us as a consistent system, the principle of which is the *dehumanised world.* Hence the most complete philistine world, our Germany, was bound, of course, to remain far behind the French revolution, which once more restored man; and a German Aristotle who wanted to derive his politics from our conditions would write at the top of it: "Man is a social animal that is however completely unpolitical",[a] but he could not explain the state more correctly than has already been done by Herr Zöpfl, the author of *Constitutionellen Staatsrechts in Deutschland.*[b] According to him, the state is a "union of families" which, we continue, belongs by heredity and property to a most eminent family called the dynasty. The more prolific the families, the happier, it is said, are the people, the greater is the state, and the more powerful the dynasty, for which reason, too, in Prussia, an ordinary despotic state, a prize of 50 imperial talers is awarded for a seventh son.

The Germans are such circumspect realists that all their desires and their loftiest thoughts do not go beyond a bare existence. And this reality—nothing more—is taken into account by those who

[a] In contradistinction to the Greek Aristotle who in his *Politics* called man a political animal (*Zöön politicon*).—*Ed.*

[b] This is a reference to Zöpfl, *Grundsätze des Allgemeinen und Constitutionell-Monarchistischen Staatsrechts....*—*Ed.*

rule over them. These latter people, too, are realists, they are very far removed from any kind of thoughts and from any human greatness; they are ordinary officers and country squires, but they are not mistaken, they are right; just as they are, they are quite capable of making use of this animal kingdom and ruling over it, for here, as everywhere, ruling and using are a *single* conception. And when homage is paid to them and they survey the swarming mass of these brainless beings, what is more likely to occur to them than the thought that Napoleon had at the Berezina? It is said of Napoleon that he pointed to the crowd of drowning people below him and exclaimed to his companion: "*Voyez ces crapauds!*"[a] This is probably a fabrication, but it is nonetheless true. Despotism's sole idea is contempt for man, the dehumanised man, and this idea has the advantage over many others of being at the same time a fact. The despot always sees degraded people. They drown before his eyes and for his sake in the mire of ordinary life, from which, like toads, they constantly make their appearance anew. If such a view comes to be held even by people who were capable of great aims, such as Napoleon before his dynastic madness, how can a quite ordinary king in such surroundings be an idealist?

The monarchical principle in general is the despised, the despicable, *the dehumanised man*; and Montesquieu was quite wrong to allege that it is honour.[b] He gets out of the difficulty by distinguishing between monarchy, despotism and tyranny. But those are names for *one and the same* concept, and at most they denote differences in customs though the principle remains the same. Where the monarchical principle has a majority behind it, human beings constitute the minority; where the monarchical principle arouses no doubts, there human beings do not exist at all. Why should someone like the King of Prussia,[c] to whom it has never been demonstrated that his role is problematical, not be guided exclusively by his whims? And when he acts in that way, what is the result? Contradictory intentions? Well, then nothing will come of it. Impotent trends? They are still the sole political reality. Ridiculous and embarrassing situations? There is only *one* situation which is ridiculous and only *one* which is embarrassing, and that is abdication from the throne. So long as whim retains its place, it is in the right. It can be as unstable, senseless and contemptible as it chooses, it is still good enough for ruling a

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[a] "Just look at these toads!"—*Ed.*
[b] Ch. L. Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des lois.*—*Ed.*
[c] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

people that has never known any other law but the arbitrary power of its kings. I do not say that a brainless system and loss of respect within the state and outside it will be without consequences, I do not undertake to insure the ship of fools, but I assert: the King of Prussia will remain the man of his time so long as the topsy-turvy world is the real world.

As you know, I have given much thought to this man. Already at the time when he still had only the *Berliner politische Wochenblatt* as his organ, I recognised his value and his role. Already when the oath of allegiance was taken in Königsberg, he justified my supposition that the question would now become a purely personal one.[21] He declared that his heart and his turn of mind would be the future fundamental law of the realm of Prussia, of *his* state, and in point of fact, in Prussia the king is the system. He is the sole political person. In one way or another, his personality determines the system. What he does or is allowed to do, what he thinks or what is attributed to him, is what in Prussia the state thinks or does. Therefore the present king has really performed a service by stating this so unambiguously.

But the mistake which people made for a time was to attach importance to the desires and thoughts that would be expressed by the king. This could not alter the matter in the slightest: the philistine is the material of the monarchy, and the monarch always remains only the king of the philistines; he cannot turn either himself or his subjects into free, real human beings while both sides remain what they are.

The King of Prussia has tried to alter the system by means of a theory which in this form his father[a] really did not have. The fate of this attempt is well known. It was a complete failure. This was to be expected. Once one has arrived at the political world of animals, reaction can go no farther, and there can be no other advance than the abandonment of the basis of this world and the transition to the human world of democracy.

The old king had no extravagant desires, he was a philistine and made no claim to intellect. He knew that the state of servants and his possession of it required only a prosaic, tranquil existence. The young king was more alert and brighter and had a much higher opinion of the omnipotence of the monarch, who is only limited by his heart and mind. The old ossified state of servants and slaves disgusted him. He wanted to enliven it and imbue it wholly and entirely with his own desires, sentiments and thoughts; and in *his*

[a] Frederick William III.—*Ed.*

state he could demand this, if only it could be brought about. Hence his liberal speeches and the outpourings of his heart. Not dead laws, but the full, vigorous heart of the king should rule all his subjects. He wanted to set all hearts and minds into motion for the benefit of his own heart's desires and long-cherished plans. A movement did result; but the other hearts did not beat like that of the king, and those over whom he ruled could not open their mouths without speaking about the abolition of the old domination. The idealists, who have the audacity to want to turn men into human beings, spoke out, and while the king wove fantasies in the old German manner, they considered they had the right to philosophise in the new German manner. Of course, this was shocking in Prussia. For a moment the old order of things seemed to have been turned upside-down; indeed things began to be transformed into human beings, there even appeared renowned persons, although the mention of names is not permitted in the Diets. But the servants of the old despotism soon put an end to this un-German activity. It was not difficult to bring about a marked conflict between the desires of the king, who is enthusing about a great past full of priests, knights and feudal serfs, and the intentions of the idealists, who want only the consequences of the French Revolution and therefore, in the final count, always a republic and an organisation of free human beings instead of the system of dead objects. When this conflict had become sufficiently sharp and unpleasant and the hot-tempered king was sufficiently aroused, his servants, who previously had so easily guided the course of affairs, approached him and asserted that he was not acting wisely in inducing his subjects to make useless speeches, and that his servants would not be able to rule this race of vociferous people. In addition, the sovereign of all the posterior-Russians was alarmed by the movement in the minds of the anterior-Russians[a] and demanded the restoration of the old tranquil state of affairs. And so the result was a new edition of the old proscription of all the desires and thoughts of people in regard to human rights and duties, that is to say, a return to the old ossified state of servants, in which the slave serves in silence, and the owner of the land and people rules, as silently as possible, simply through a class of well-bred, submissively obedient servants. It is not possible for either of them to say what he wants: the slave cannot say that he wants to become a human being, nor can the ruler say that he has

[a] Marx ironically calls the Prussians (in Latin *Borussen*) *Vorderrussen* (anterior-Russians), and Nicholas I the sovereign of all the *Hinterrussen* (posterior-Russians).—*Ed.*

no use for human beings in his country. To be silent, therefore, is the only way out. *Muta pecora, prona et ventri oboedientia.*[a]

That is the unsuccessful attempt to abolish the philistine state on its own basis; the result has been to make it evident to the whole world that for despotism brutality is a necessity and humanity an impossibility. A brutal relationship can only be maintained by means of brutality. And now I have finished with our common task, that of taking a close look at the philistine and his state. You will not say that I have had too high an opinion of the present time; and if, nevertheless, I do not despair of it, that is only because it is precisely the desperate situation which fills me with hope. I am not speaking of the incapacity of the masters and of the indifference of the servants and subjects who let everything happen just as God pleases—although both together would already suffice to bring about a catastrophe. I simply draw your attention to the fact that the enemies of philistinism, in short, all people who think and who suffer, have reached an understanding, for which previously the means were altogether lacking, and that even the passive system of reproduction of the subjects of the old type daily enlists recruits to serve the new type of humanity. The system of industry and trade, of ownership and exploitation of people, however, leads even far more rapidly than the increase in population to a rupture within present-day society, a rupture which the old system is not able to heal, because it does not heal and create at all, but only exists and consumes. But the existence of suffering human beings, who think, and thinking human beings, who are oppressed, must inevitably become unpalatable and indigestible to the animal world of philistinism which passively and thoughtlessly consumes.

For our part, we must expose the old world to the full light of day and shape the new one in a positive way. The longer the time that events allow to thinking humanity for taking stock of its position, and to suffering mankind for mobilising its forces, the more perfect on entering the world will be the product that the present time bears in its womb.

M. to R.[b]

Kreuznach, September 1843

I am glad that you have made up your mind and, ceasing to look back at the past, are turning your thoughts ahead to a new

[a] The herd is dumb, prostrate and obedient to its stomach.—*Ed.*
[b] Marx to Ruge.—*Ed.*

enterprise.[22] And so—to Paris, to the old university of philosophy—*absit omen!*[a]—and the new capital of the new world! What is necessary comes to pass. I have no doubt, therefore, that it will be possible to overcome all obstacles, the gravity of which I do not fail to recognise.

But whether the enterprise comes into being or not, in any case I shall be in Paris by the end of this month,[23] since the atmosphere here makes one a serf, and in Germany I see no scope at all for free activity.

In Germany, everything is forcibly suppressed; a real anarchy of the mind, the reign of stupidity itself, prevails there, and Zurich obeys orders from Berlin. It therefore becomes increasingly obvious that a new rallying point must be sought for truly thinking and independent minds. I am convinced that our plan would answer a real need, and after all it must be possible for real needs to be fulfilled in reality. Hence I have no doubt about the enterprise, if it is undertaken seriously.

The internal difficulties seem to be almost greater than the external obstacles. For although no doubt exists on the question of "Whence", all the greater confusion prevails on the question of "Whither". Not only has a state of general anarchy set in among the reformers, but everyone will have to admit to himself that he has no exact idea what the future ought to be. On the other hand, it is precisely the advantage of the new trend that we do not dogmatically anticipate the world, but only want to find the new world through criticism of the old one. Hitherto philosophers have had the solution of all riddles lying in their writing-desks, and the stupid, exoteric world had only to open its mouth for the roast pigeons of absolute knowledge to fly into it. Now philosophy has become mundane, and the most striking proof of this is that philosophical consciousness itself has been drawn into the torment of the struggle, not only externally but also internally. But, if constructing the future and settling everything for all times are not our affair, it is all the more clear what we have to accomplish at present: I am referring to *ruthless criticism of all that exists,* ruthless both in the sense of not being afraid of the results it arrives at and in the sense of being just as little afraid of conflict with the powers that be.

Therefore I am not in favour of raising any dogmatic banner. On the contrary, we must try to help the dogmatists to clarify their propositions for themselves. Thus, *communism,* in particular, is a

[a] May it not be an ill omen!—*Ed.*

dogmatic abstraction; in which connection, however, I am not thinking of some imaginary and possible communism, but actually existing communism as taught by Cabet, Dézamy, Weitling, etc. This communism is itself only a special expression of the humanistic principle, an expression which is still infected by its antithesis—the private system. Hence the abolition of private property and communism are by no means identical, and it is not accidental but inevitable that communism has seen other socialist doctrines—such as those of Fourier, Proudhon, etc.—arising to confront it because it is itself only a special, one-sided realisation of the socialist principle.

And the whole socialist principle in its turn is only one aspect that concerns the *reality* of the true human being. But we have to pay just as much attention to the other aspect, to the theoretical existence of man, and therefore to make religion, science, etc., the object of our criticism. In addition, we want to influence our contemporaries, particularly our German contemporaries. The question arises: how are we to set about it? There are two kinds of facts which are undeniable. In the first place religion, and next to it, politics, are the subjects which form the main interest of Germany today. We must take these, in whatever form they exist, as our point of departure, and not confront them with some ready-made system such as, for example, the *Voyage en Icarie.*[a]

Reason has always existed, but not always in a reasonable form. The critic can therefore start out from any form of theoretical and practical consciousness and from the forms *peculiar* to existing reality develop the true reality as its obligation and its final goal. As far as real life is concerned, it is precisely the *political state*—in all its *modern* forms—which, even where it is not yet consciously imbued with socialist demands, contains the demands of reason. And the political state does not stop there. Everywhere it assumes that reason has been realised. But precisely because of that it everywhere becomes involved in the contradiction between its ideal function and its real prerequisites.

From this conflict of the political state with itself, therefore, it is possible everywhere to develop the social truth. Just as *religion* is a register of the theoretical struggles of mankind, so the *political state* is a register of the practical struggles of mankind. Thus, the political state expresses, within the limits of its form *sub specie rei publicae,*[b] all social struggles, needs and truths. Therefore, to take

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[a] Étienne Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie. Roman philosophique et social.—Ed.*

[b] As a particular kind of state.—*Ed.*

as the object of criticism a most specialised political question—such as the difference between a system based on social estate and one based on representation—is in no way below the *hauteur des principes.*[a] For this question only expresses in a *political* way the difference between rule by man and rule by private property. Therefore the critic not only can, but must deal with these political questions (which according to the extreme Socialists are altogether unworthy of attention). In analysing the superiority of the representative system over the social-estate system, the critic *in a practical way wins the interest* of a large party. By raising the representative system from its political form to the universal form and by bringing out the true significance underlying this system, the critic at the same time compels this party to go beyond its own confines, for its victory is at the same time its defeat.

Hence, nothing prevents us from making criticism of politics, participation in politics, and therefore *real* struggles, the starting point of our criticism, and from identifying our criticism with them. In that case we do not confront the world in a doctrinaire way with a new principle: Here is the truth, kneel down before it! We develop new principles for the world out of the world's own principles. We do not say to the world: Cease your struggles, they are foolish; we will give you the true slogan of struggle. We merely show the world what it is really fighting for, and consciousness is something that it *has to* acquire, even if it does not want to.

The reform of consciousness consists *only* in making the world aware of its own consciousness, in awakening it out of its dream about itself, in *explaining* to it the meaning of its own actions. Our whole object can only be—as is also the case in Feuerbach's criticism of religion—to give religious and philosophical questions the form corresponding to man who has become conscious of himself.

Hence, our motto must be: reform of consciousness not through dogmas, but by analysing the mystical consciousness that is unintelligible to itself, whether it manifests itself in a religious or a political form. It will then become evident that the world has long dreamed of possessing something of which it has only to be conscious in order to possess it in reality. It will become evident that it is not a question of drawing a great mental dividing line between past and future, but of *realising* the thoughts of the past. Lastly, it will become evident that mankind is not beginning a *new* work, but is consiously carrying into effect its old work.

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[a] Level of principles.—*Ed.*

In short, therefore, we can formulate the trend of our journal as being: self-clarification (critical philosophy) to be gained by the present time of its struggles and desires. This is a work for the world and for us. It can be only the work of united forces. It is a matter of a *confession*, and nothing more. In order to secure remission of its sins, mankind has only to declare them for what they actually are.

Written in March, May and September 1843

First published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, 1844

Printed according to the journal

# ON THE JEWISH QUESTION[24]

1. BRUNO BAUER, *DIE JUDENFRAGE*, BRAUNSCHWEIG, 1843
2. BRUNO BAUER, "DIE FÄHIGKEIT DER HEUTIGEN JUDEN UND CHRISTEN, FREI ZU WERDEN". *EINUNDZWANZIG BOGEN AUS DER SCHWEIZ*, PUBLISHED BY GEORG HERWEGH. ZURICH AND WINTERTHUR, 1843, pp. 56-71

## I

## Bruno Bauer, *Die Judenfrage*, Braunschweig, 1843

The German Jews desire emancipation. What kind of emancipation do they desire? *Civic, political* emancipation.

Bruno Bauer replies to them: No one in Germany is politically emancipated. We ourselves are not free. How are we to free you? You Jews are *egoists* if you demand a special emancipation for yourselves as Jews. As Germans, you ought to work for the political emancipation of Germany, and as human beings, for the emancipation of mankind, and you should feel the particular kind of your oppression and your shame not as an exception to the rule, but on the contrary as a confirmation of the rule.

Or do the Jews demand the same status as *Christian subjects of the state*? In that case they recognise that the *Christian state* is justified and they recognise too the regime of general oppression. Why should they disapprove of their special yoke if they approve of the general yoke? Why should the German be interested in the liberation of the Jew, if the Jew is not interested in the liberation of the German?

The *Christian* state knows only *privileges*. In this state the Jew has the privilege of being a Jew. As a Jew, he has rights which the Christians do not have. Why should he want rights which he does not have, but which the Christians enjoy?

In wanting to be emancipated from the Christian state, the Jew is demanding that the Christian state should give up its *religious* prejudice. Does he, the Jew, give up *his* religious prejudice? Has he then the right to demand that someone else should renounce his religion?

*By its very nature*, the Christian state is incapable of emancipating the Jew; but, adds Bauer, by his very nature the Jew cannot be emancipated. So long as the state is Christian and the Jew is Jewish, the one is as incapable of granting emancipation as the other is of receiving it.

The Christian state can behave towards the Jew only in the way characteristic of the Christian state, that is, by granting privileges, by permitting the separation of the Jew from the other subjects, but making him feel the pressure of all the other separate spheres of society, and feel it all the more intensely because he is in *religious* opposition to the dominant religion. But the Jew, too, can behave towards the state only in a Jewish way, that is, by treating it as something alien to him, by counterposing his imaginary nationality to the real nationality, by counterposing his illusory law to the real law, by deeming himself justified in separating himself from mankind, by abstaining on principle from taking part in the historical movement, by putting his trust in a future which has nothing in common with the future of mankind in general, and by seeing himself as a member of the Jewish people, and the Jewish people as the chosen people.

On what grounds then do you Jews want emancipation? On account of your religion? It is the mortal enemy of the state religion. As citizens? In Germany there are no citizens. As human beings? But you are no more human beings than those to whom you appeal.

Bauer has posed the question of Jewish emancipation in a new form, after giving a critical analysis of the previous formulations and solutions of the question. What, he asks, is the *nature* of the Jew who is to be emancipated and of the Christian state that is to emancipate him? He replies by a critique of the Jewish religion, he analyses the *religious* opposition between Judaism and Christianity, he elucidates the essence of the Christian state—and he does all this audaciously, trenchantly, wittily, and with profundity, in a style of writing that is as precise as it is pithy and vigorous.

How then does Bauer solve the Jewish question? What is the result? The formulation of a question is its solution. The critique of the Jewish question is the answer to the Jewish question. The summary, therefore, is as follows:

We must emancipate ourselves before we can emancipate others.

The most rigid form of the opposition between the Jew and the Christian is the *religious* opposition. How is an opposition resolved? By making it impossible. How is *religious* opposition made impossible? By *abolishing religion*. As soon as Jew and Christian

recognise that their respective religions are no more than *different stages in the development of the human mind,* different snake skins cast off by *history,* and that *man* is the snake who sloughed them, the relation of Jew and Christian is no longer religious but is only a critical, *scientific* and human relation. *Science* then constitutes their unity. But contradictions in science are resolved by science itself.

The *German* Jew in particular is confronted by the general absence of political emancipation and the strongly marked Christian character of the state. In Bauer's conception, however, the Jewish question has a universal significance, independent of specifically German conditions. It is the question of the relation of religion to the state, of the *contradiction between religious constraint and political emancipation.* Emancipation from religion is laid down as a condition, both to the Jew who wants to be emancipated politically, and to the state which is to effect emancipation and is itself to be emancipated.

"Very well," it is said, and the Jew himself says it, "the Jew is to become emancipated not as a Jew, not because he is a Jew, not because he possesses such an excellent, universally human principle of morality; on the contrary, the *Jew* will retreat behind the *citizen* and be a *citizen,* although he is a Jew and is to remain a Jew. That is to say, he is and remains a *Jew,* although he is a *citizen* and lives in universally human conditions: his Jewish and restricted nature triumphs always in the end over his human and political obligations. The *prejudice* remains in spite of being outstripped by *general* principles. But if it remains, then, on the contrary, it outstrips everything else." "Only sophistically, only apparently, would the Jew be able to remain a Jew in the life of the state. Hence, if he wanted to remain a Jew, the mere appearance would become the essential and would triumph; that is to say, his *life in the state* would be only a semblance or only a temporary exception to the essential and the rule." ("Die Fähigkeit der heutigen Juden und Christen, frei zu werden". *Einundzwanzig Bogen,* p. 57.)

Let us hear, on the other hand, how Bauer presents the task of the state.

"France," he says, "has recently shown us" (Proceedings of the Chamber of Deputies, December 26, 1840) "in connection with the Jewish question—just as it has continually done in all other *political* questions—the spectacle of a life which is free, but which revokes its freedom by law, hence declaring it to be an appearance, and on the other hand contradicting its free laws by its action." (*Die Judenfrage,* p. 64.)

"In France, universal freedom is not yet the law, the *Jewish question too* has *not* yet been solved, because legal freedom—the fact that all citizens are equal—is restricted in actual life, which is still dominated and divided by religious privileges, and this lack of freedom in actual life reacts on law and compels the latter to sanction the division of the citizens, who as such are free, into oppressed and oppressors." (P. 65.)

When, therefore, would the Jewish question be solved for France?

"The Jew, for example, would have ceased to be a Jew if he did not allow himself to be prevented by his laws from fulfilling his duty to the state and his fellow citizens, that is, for example, if on the Sabbath he attended the Chamber of Deputies and took part in the official proceedings. Every *religious privilege*, and therefore also the monopoly of a privileged church, would have been abolished altogether, and if some or many persons, or *even the overwhelming majority, still believed themselves bound to fulfil religious duties*, this fulfilment ought to be left to *them* as a *purely private matter*." (P. 65.) "There is no longer any religion when there is no longer any privileged religion. Take from religion its exclusive power and it will no longer exist." (P. 66.) "Just as M. Martin du Nord saw the proposal to omit mention of Sunday in the law as a motion to declare that Christianity has ceased to exist, with equal reason (and this reason is very well founded) the declaration that the law of the Sabbath is no longer binding on the Jew would be a proclamation abolishing Judaism." (P. 71.)

Bauer therefore demands, on the one hand, that the Jew should renounce Judaism, and that mankind in general should renounce religion, in order to achieve *civic* emancipation. On the other hand, he quite consistently regards the *political* abolition of religion as the abolition of religion as such. The state which presupposes religion is not yet a true, real state.

"Of course, the religious notion affords security to the state. But to what state? *To what kind of state?*" (P. 97.)

At this point the *one-sided* formulation of the Jewish question becomes evident.

It was by no means sufficient to investigate: Who is to emancipate? Who is to be emancipated? Criticism had to investigate a third point. It had to inquire: *What kind of emancipation* is in question? What conditions follow from the very nature of the emancipation that is demanded? Only the criticism of *political emancipation* itself would have been the conclusive criticism of the Jewish question and its real merging in the "*general question of the time*".

Because Bauer does not raise the question to this level, he becomes entangled in contradictions. He puts forward conditions which are not based on the nature of *political* emancipation itself. He raises questions which are not part of his problem, and he solves problems which leave his question unanswered. When Bauer says of the opponents of Jewish emancipation: "Their error was only that they assumed the Christian state to be the only true one and did not subject it to the same criticism that they applied to Judaism" (op. cit., p. 3), we find that his error lies in the fact that he subjects to criticism *only* the "Christian state", not the "state as such", that he does not investigate *the relation of political emancipation to human emancipation* and therefore puts forward conditions which can be explained only by uncritical confusion of

political emancipation with general human emancipation. If Bauer asks the Jews: Have you from your standpoint the right to want *political emancipation*? we ask the converse question: Does the standpoint of *political* emancipation give the right to demand from the Jew the abolition of Judaism and from man the abolition of religion?

The Jewish question acquires a different form depending on the state in which the Jew lives. In Germany, where there is no political state, no state as such, the Jewish question is a purely *theological* one. The Jew finds himself in *religious* opposition to the state, which recognises Christianity as its basis. This state is a theologian *ex professo*. Criticism here is criticism of theology, a double-edged criticism, criticism of Christian theology and of Jewish theology. Hence, we continue to operate in the sphere of theology, however much we may operate *critically* within it.

In France, a *constitutional* state, the Jewish question is a question of constitutionalism, the question of the *incompleteness of political emancipation*. Since the *semblance* of a state religion is retained here, although in a meaningless and self-contradictory formula, that of a *religion of the majority*, the relation of the Jew to the state retains the *semblance* of a religious, theological opposition.

Only in the North American states—at least in some of them—does the Jewish question lose its *theological* significance and become a really *secular* question. Only where the political state exists in its completely developed form can the relation of the Jew, and of the religious man in general, to the political state, and therefore the relation of religion to the state, show itself in its specific character, in its purity. The criticism of this relation ceases to be theological criticism as soon as the state ceases to adopt a *theological* attitude towards religion, as soon as it behaves towards religion as a state, i.e., *politically*. Criticism then becomes *criticism of the political state*. At this point, where the question ceases to be *theological*, Bauer's criticism ceases to be critical.

"*Il n'existe aux Etats-Unis ni religion de l'Etat, ni religion déclarée celle de la majorité ni prééminence d'un culte sur un autre. L'Etat est étranger à tous les cultes.*"[a] (*Marie ou l'esclavage aux Etats-Unis, etc.*, par G. de Beaumont, [t. II,] Paris, 1835, p. 214.) Indeed, there are some North American states where "*la constitution n'impose pas les croyances religieuses et la pratique d'un culte comme condition des privilèges politiques*".[b]

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[a] "*In the United States there is neither a state religion nor a religion declared to be that of the majority, nor the predominance of one cult over another. The state stands aloof from all cults.*"—*Ed.*

[b] "*The constitution does not impose any religious belief or religious practice as a condition of political rights.*"—*Ed.*

(op. cit., p. 225.) Nevertheless, "*on ne croit pas aux Etats-Unis qu'un homme sans religion puisse être un honnête homme*".[a] (op. cit., p. 224.)

Nevertheless, North America is pre-eminently the country of religiosity, as Beaumont, Tocqueville and the Englishman Hamilton unanimously assure us.[b] The North American states, however, serve us only as an example. The question is: What is the relation of *complete* political emancipation to religion? If we find that even in the country of complete political emancipation, religion not only *exists,* but displays a *fresh and vigorous vitality,* that is proof that the existence of religion is not in contradiction to the perfection of the state. Since, however, the existence of religion is the existence of a defect, the source of this defect can only be sought in the *nature* of the state itself. We no longer regard religion as the *cause,* but only as the *manifestation* of secular narrowness. Therefore we explain the religious limitations of the free citizens by their secular limitations. We do not assert that they must overcome their religious narrowness in order to get rid of their secular restrictions, we assert that they will overcome their religious narrowness once they get rid of their secular restrictions. We do not turn secular questions into theological questions. We turn theological questions into secular ones. History has long enough been merged in superstition, we now merge superstition in history. The question of the *relation of political emancipation to religion* becomes for us the question of the *relation of political emancipation to human emancipation.* We criticise the religious weakness of the political state by criticising the political state in its *secular* form, *apart* from its weaknesses as regards religion. The contradiction between the state and a *particular religion,* for instance *Judaism,* is given by us a human form as the contradiction between the state and *particular secular* elements; the contradiction between the state and *religion in general* as the contradiction between the state and its *presuppositions* in general.

The *political* emancipation of the Jew, the Christian, and in general of *religious* man is the *emancipation of the state* from Judaism, from Christianity, from *religion* in general. In its own form, in the manner characteristic of its nature, the state as a *state* emancipates itself from religion by emancipating itself from the

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[a] "*In the United States people do not believe that a man without religion could be an honest man.*"—*Ed.*

[b] A. de Tocqueville, *De la Démocratie en Amérique*; Thomas Hamilton, *Men and Manners in North America,* Edinburgh, 1833, 2 vols. Marx quotes from the German translation *Die Menschen und die Sitten in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika.*—*Ed.*

*state religion,* that is to say, by the state as a state not professing any religion, but, on the contrary, asserting itself as a state. The *political* emancipation from religion is not a religious emancipation that has been carried through to completion and is free from contradiction, because political emancipation is not a form of *human* emancipation which has been carried through to completion and is free from contradiction.

The limits of political emancipation are evident at once from the fact that the *state* can free itself from a restriction without man being *really* free from this restriction, that the state can be a *free state*[a] without man being a *free man.* Bauer himself tacitly admits this when he lays down the following condition for political emancipation:

> "Every religious privilege, and therefore also the monopoly of a privileged church, would have been abolished altogether, and if some or many persons, or even the *overwhelming majority, still believed themselves bound to fulfil religious duties,* this fulfilment ought to be left to them as a *purely private matter.*" [Bruno Bauer, *Die Judenfrage,* p. 65.]

It is possible, therefore, for the *state* to have emancipated itself from religion even if the *overwhelming majority* is still religious. And the overwhelming majority does not cease to be religious through being religious *in private.*

But the attitude of the state, and of the *republic*[a] in particular, to religion is after all only the attitude to religion of the *men* who compose the state. It follows from this that man frees himself through the *medium of the state,* that he frees himself *politically* from a limitation when, in contradiction with himself, he raises himself above this limitation in an *abstract, limited,* and partial way. It follows further that, by freeing himself *politically,* man frees himself in a *roundabout way,* through an *intermediary,* although an *essential intermediary.* It follows, finally, that man, even if he proclaims himself an atheist through the medium of the state, that is, if he proclaims the state to be atheist, still remains in the grip of religion, precisely because he acknowledges himself only by a roundabout route, only through an intermediary. Religion is precisely the recognition of man in a roundabout way, through an *intermediary.* The state is the intermediary between man and man's freedom. Just as Christ is the intermediary to whom man transfers the burden of all his divinity, all his *religious constraint,* so the state is the intermediary to whom man transfers all his non-divinity and all his *human unconstraint.*

[a] A pun on the word *Freistaat,* i. e., republic, for if it is taken literally, it means "free state".

The *political* elevation of man above religion shares all the defects and all the advantages of political elevation in general. The state as a state annuls, for instance, *private property*, man declares by *political* means that private property is *abolished* as soon as the *property qualification* for the right to elect or be elected is abolished, as has occurred in many states of North America. *Hamilton* quite correctly interprets this fact from a political point of view as meaning: "*the masses have won a victory over the property owners and financial wealth*".[a] Is not private property abolished in idea if the non-property owner has become the legislator for the property owner? The *property qualification* for the suffrage is the last *political* form of giving recognition to private property.

Nevertheless the political annulment of private property not only fails to abolish private property but even presupposes it. The state abolishes, in its own way, distinctions of *birth, social rank, education, occupation,* when it declares that birth, social rank, education occupation, are *non-political* distinctions, when it proclaims, without regard to these distinctions, that every member of the nation is an *equal* participant in national sovereignty, when it treats all elements of the real life of the nation from the standpoint of the state. Nevertheless, the state allows private property, education, occupation, to *act* in *their* way, i. e., as private property, as education, as occupation, and to exert the influence of their *special* nature. Far from abolishing these *real* distinctions, the state only exists on the presupposition of their existence; it feels itself to be a *political state* and asserts its *universality* only in opposition to these elements of its being. *Hegel* therefore defines the relation of the *political state* to religion quite correctly when he says:

"In order [...] that the state should come into existence as the *self-knowing,* ***moral reality*** of the mind, its ***distinction*** from the form of authority and faith is essential. But this distinction emerges only insofar as the ecclesiastical aspect arrives at a ***separation*** within itself. It is ***only*** in this way that the state, ***above*** the *particular* churches, has achieved and brought into existence *universality* of thought, which is the principle of its form" (Hegel's *Rechtsphilosophie,* 1st edition, p. 346).[b]

Of course! Only in this way, *above* the *particular* elements, does the state constitute itself as universality.

The perfect political state is, by its nature, man's *species-life,* as *opposed* to his material life. All the preconditions of this egoistic life continue to exist in *civil society outside* the sphere of the state, but

[a] Thomas Hamilton, *Die Menschen und die Sitten in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerica,* Bd. 1, S. 146.—*Ed.*

[b] Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts.* In this quotation words emphasised by Marx are set in bold italics, words emphasised by both Marx and Hegel in italics.—*Ed.*

as qualities of civil society. Where the political state has attained its true development, man—not only in thought, in consciousness, but in *reality*, in *life*—leads a twofold life, a heavenly and an earthly life: life in the *political community*, in which he considers himself a *communal being*, and life in *civil society*, in which he acts as a *private individual*, regards other men as a means, degrades himself into a means, and becomes the plaything of alien powers. The relation of the political state to civil society is just as spiritual as the relation of heaven to earth. The political state stands in the same opposition to civil society, and it prevails over the latter in the same way as religion prevails over the narrowness of the secular world, i.e., by likewise having always to acknowledge it, to restore it, and allow itself to be dominated by it. In his *most immediate* reality, in civil society, man is a secular being. Here, where he regards himself as a real individual, and is so regarded by others, he is a *fictitious* phenomenon. In the state, on the other hand, where man is regarded as a species-being, he is the imaginary member of an illusory sovereignty, is deprived of his real individual life and endowed with an unreal universality.

Man, as the adherent of a *particular* religion, finds himself in conflict with his citizenship and with other men as members of the community. This conflict reduces itself to the *secular* division between the *political* state and *civil society*. For man as a *bourgeois*,[a] "life in the state" is "only a semblance or a temporary exception to the essential and the rule".[b] Of course, the *bourgeois*, like the Jew, remains only sophistically in the sphere of political life, just as the *citoyen* only sophistically remains a Jew or a *bourgeois*. But this sophistry is not personal. It is the *sophistry of the political state* itself. The difference between the religious man and the citizen is the difference between the merchant and the citizen, between the day-labourer and the citizen, between the landowner and the citizen, between the *living individual* and the *citizen*. The contradiction in which the religious man finds himself with the political man is the same contradiction in which the *bourgeois* finds himself with the *citoyen*, and the member of civil society with his *political lion's skin*.

This secular conflict, to which the Jewish question ultimately reduces itself, the relation between the political state and its preconditions, whether these are material elements, such as private property, etc., or spiritual elements, such as culture or religion,

[a] Here meaning a member of civil society.—*Ed.*

[b] Bruno Bauer, "Die Fähigkeit der heutigen Juden und Christen, frei zu werden", p. 57 (see also this volume, p. 148).—*Ed.*

the conflict between the *general* interest and *private interest,* the schism between the *political state* and *civil society*—these secular antitheses Bauer allows to persist, whereas he conducts a polemic against their *religious* expression.

"It is precisely the basis of *civil society,* the need that ensures the continuance of this society and *guarantees its necessity,* which exposes its existence to continual dangers, maintains in it an element of uncertainty, and produces that continually changing mixture of poverty and riches, of distress and prosperity, and brings about change in general." (P. 8.)

Compare the whole section: "Civil Society" (pp. 8-9), which has been drawn up along the basic lines of Hegel's philosophy of law. Civil society, in its opposition to the political state, is recognised as necessary, because the political state is recognised as necessary.

*Political* emancipation is, of course, a big step forward. True, it is not the final form of human emancipation in general, but it is the final form of human emancipation *within* the hitherto existing world order. It goes without saying that we are speaking here of real, practical emancipation.

Man emancipates himself *politically* from religion by banishing it from the sphere of public law to that of private law. Religion is no longer the spirit of the *state,* in which man behaves—although in a limited way, in a particular form, and in a particular sphere—as a species-being, in community with other men. Religion has become the spirit of *civil society,* of the sphere of egoism, of *bellum omnium contra omnes.* It is no longer the essence of *community,* but the essence of *difference.* It has become the expression of man's *separation* from his *community,* from himself and from other men—as it was *originally.* It is only the abstract avowal of specific perversity, *private whimsy,* and arbitrariness. The endless fragmentation of religion in North America, for example, gives it even *externally* the form of a purely individual affair. It has been thrust among the multitude of private interests and ejected from the community as such. But one should be under no illusion about the limits of political emancipation. The division of the human being into a *public man* and a *private man,* the *displacement* of religion from the state into civil society, this is not a stage of political emancipation but its *completion*; this emancipation therefore neither abolishes the *real* religiousness of man, nor strives to do so.

The *decomposition* of man into Jew and citizen, Protestant and citizen, religious man and citizen, is neither a deception directed *against* citizenhood, nor is it a circumvention of political emancipation, it is *political emancipation itself,* the *political* method of emancipating oneself from religion. Of course, in periods when

the political state as such is born violently out of civil society, when political liberation is the form in which men strive to achieve their liberation, the state can and must go as far as the *abolition of religion,* the *destruction* of religion. But it can do so only in the same way that it proceeds to the abolition of private property, to the maximum, to confiscation, to progressive taxation, just as it goes as far as the abolition of life, the *guillotine.* At times of special self-confidence, political life seeks to suppress its prerequisite, civil society and the elements composing this society, and to constitute itself as the real species-life of man devoid of contradictions. But it can achieve this only by coming into *violent* contradiction with its own conditions of life, only by declaring the revolution to be *permanent,* and therefore the political drama necessarily ends with the re-establishment of religion, private property, and all elements of civil society, just as war ends with peace.

Indeed, the perfect Christian state is not the so-called *Christian* state, which acknowledges Christianity as its basis, as the state religion, and therefore adopts an exclusive attitude towards other religions. On the contrary, the perfect Christian state is the *atheistic* state, the *democratic* state, the state which relegates religion to a place among the other elements of civil society. The state which is still theological, which still officially professes Christianity as its creed, which still does not dare to proclaim itself *as a state,* has, in its *reality* as a state, not yet succeeded in expressing the *human* basis—of which Christianity is the high-flown expression—in a *secular, human* form. The so-called Christian state is simply nothing more than a *non-state,* since it is not Christianity as a religion, but only the *human background* of the Christian religion, which can find its expression in actual human creations.

The so-called Christian state is the Christian negation of the state, but by no means the political realisation of Christianity. The state which still professes Christianity in the form of religion, does not yet profess it in the form appropriate to the state, for it still has a religious attitude towards religion, that is to say, it is not the *true implementation* of the human basis of religion, because it still relies on the *unreal, imaginary* form of this human core. The so-called Christian state is the *imperfect* state, and the Christian religion is regarded by it as the *supplementation* and *sanctification* of its imperfection. For the Christian state, therefore, religion necessarily becomes a *means*; hence it is a *hypocritical* state. It makes a great difference whether the *complete* state, because of the defect inherent in the general *nature* of the state, counts religion among its *presuppositions,* or whether the *incomplete* state, because

of the defect inherent in its *particular existence* as a defective state, declares that religion is its *basis*. In the latter case, religion becomes *imperfect politics*. In the former case, the imperfection even of consummate *politics* becomes evident in religion. The so-called Christian state needs the Christian religion in order to complete itself *as a state*. The democratic state, the real state, does not need religion for its political completion. On the contrary, it can disregard religion because in it the human basis of religion is realised in a secular manner. The so-called Christian state, on the other hand, has a political attitude to religion and a religious attitude to politics. By degrading the forms of the state to mere semblance, it equally degrades religion to mere semblance.

In order to make this contradiction clearer, let us consider Bauer's projection of the Christian state, a projection based on his observation of the Christian-German state.

"Recently," says Bauer, "in order to prove the *impossibility* or *non-existence* of a Christian state, reference has frequently been made to those sayings in the Gospel with which the [present-day] state *not only does not* comply, but *cannot possibly comply, if it does not want to dissolve itself completely* [as a state]." "But the matter cannot be disposed of so easily. What do these Gospel sayings demand? Supernatural renunciation of self, submission to the authority of revelation, a turning-away from the state, the abolition of secular conditions. Well, the Christian state demands and accomplishes all that. It has assimilated the *spirit of the Gospel,* and if it does not reproduce this spirit in the same terms as the Gospel, that occurs only because it expresses this spirit in political forms, i.e., in forms which, it is true, are taken from the political system in this world, but which in the religious rebirth that they have to undergo become degraded to a mere semblance. This is a turning-away from the state while making use of political forms for its realisation." (P. 55.)

Bauer then explains that the people of a Christian state is only a non-people, no longer having a will of its own, but whose true existence lies in the leader to whom it is subjected, although this leader by his origin and nature is alien to it, i.e., given by God and imposed on the people without any co-operation on its part. Bauer declares that the laws of such a people are not its own creation, but are actual revelations, that its supreme chief needs privileged intermediaries with the people in the strict sense, with the masses, and that the masses themselves are divided into a multitude of particular groupings which are formed and determined by chance, which are differentiated by their interests, their particular passions and prejudices, and obtain permission, as a privilege, to isolate themselves from one another, etc. (P. 56.)

However, Bauer himself says:

"Politics, if it is to be nothing but religion, ought not to be politics, just as the cleaning of saucepans, if it is to be accepted as a religious matter, ought not to be regarded as a matter of domestic economy." (P. 108.)

In the Christian-German state, however, religion is an "economic matter" just as "economic matters" belong to the sphere of religion. The domination of religion in the Christian-German state is the religion of domination.

The separation of the "spirit of the Gospel" from the "letter of the Gospel" is an *irreligious* act. A state which makes the Gospel speak in the language of politics, that is, in another language than that of the Holy Ghost, commits sacrilege, if not in human eyes, then in the eyes of its own religion. The state which acknowledges Christianity as its supreme criterion and the *Bible* as its *Charter,* must be confronted with the *words* of Holy Scripture, for every word of Scripture is holy. This state, as well as the *human rubbish* on which it is based, is caught in a painful contradiction that is insoluble from the standpoint of religious consciousness when it is referred to those sayings of the Gospel with which it "not only does not comply, but *cannot possibly comply, if it does not want to dissolve itself completely as a state*". And why does it not want to dissolve itself completely? The state itself cannot give an answer either to itself or to others. In its *own consciousness* the official Christian state is an *imperative,* the realisation of which is unattainable, the state can assert the *reality* of its existence only by lying to itself, and therefore always remains in its own eyes an object of doubt, an unreliable, problematic object. Criticism is therefore fully justified in forcing the state that relies on the Bible into a mental derangement in which it no longer knows whether it is an *illusion* or a *reality,* and in which the infamy of its *secular* aims, for which religion serves as a cloak, comes into insoluble conflict with the sincerity of its *religious* consciousness, for which religion appears as the aim of the world. This state can only save itself from its inner torment if it becomes the *police agent* of the Catholic Church. In relation to the church, which declares the secular power to be its servant, the state is powerless, the *secular* power which claims to be the rule of the religious spirit is powerless.

It is indeed *estrangement* which matters in the so-called Christian state, but not *man.* The only man who counts, the *king,* is a being specifically different from other men, and is moreover a religious being, directly linked with heaven, with God. The relationships which prevail here are still relationships dependent on *faith.* The religious spirit, therefore, is still not really secularised.

But, furthermore, the religious spirit cannot be *really* secularised, for what is it in itself but the *non-secular* form of a stage in the development of the human mind? The religious spirit can only be secularised insofar as the stage of development of the human

mind of which it is the religious expression makes its appearance and becomes constituted in its *secular* form. This takes place in the *democratic* state. Not Christianity, but the *human basis* of Christianity is the basis of this state. Religion remains the ideal, non-secular consciousness of its members, because religion is the ideal form of the *stage of human development* achieved in this state.

The members of the political state are religious owing to the dualism between individual life and species-life, between the life of civil society and political life. They are religious because men treat the political life of the state, an area beyond their real individuality, as if it were their true life. They are religious insofar as religion here is the spirit of civil society, expressing the separation and remoteness of man from man. Political democracy is Christian since in it man, not merely one man but every man, ranks as *sovereign*, as the highest being, but it is man in his uncivilised, unsocial form, man in his fortuitous existence, man just as he is, man as he has been corrupted by the whole organisation of our society, who has lost himself, been alienated, and handed over to the rule of inhuman conditions and elements—in short, man who is not yet a *real* species-being. That which is a creation of fantasy, a dream, a postulate of Christianity, i.e., the sovereignty of man—but man as an alien being different from the real man—becomes in democracy tangible reality, present existence, and secular principle.

In the perfect democracy, the religious and theological consciousness itself is in its own eyes the more religious and the more theological because it is apparently without political significance, without worldly aims, the concern of a disposition that shuns the world, the expression of intellectual narrow-mindedness, the product of arbitrariness and fantasy, and because it is a life that is really of the other world. Christianity attains here the *practical* expression of its universal-religious significance in that the most diverse world outlooks are grouped alongside one another in the form of Christianity and still more because it does not require other people to profess Christianity, but only religion in general, any kind of religion (cf. Beaumont's work quoted above). The religious consciousness revels in the wealth of religious contradictions and religious diversity.

We have thus shown that political emancipation from religion leaves religion in existence, although not a privileged religion. The contradiction in which the adherent of a particular religion finds himself involved in relation to his citizenship is only *one aspect* of the universal *secular contradiction between the political state and civil*

*society.* The consummation of the Christian state is the state which acknowledges itself as a state and disregards the religion of its members. The emancipation of the state from religion is not the emancipation of the real man from religion.

Therefore we do not say to the Jews as Bauer does: You cannot be emancipated politically without emancipating yourselves radically from Judaism. On the contrary, we tell them: Because you can be emancipated politically without renouncing Judaism completely and incontrovertibly, *political emancipation* itself is not *human* emancipation. If you Jews want to be emancipated politically without emancipating yourselves humanly, the half-hearted approach and contradiction is not in you alone, it is inherent in the *nature* and *category* of political emancipation. If you find yourself within the confines of this category, you share in a general confinement. Just as the state *evangelises* when, although it is a state, it adopts a Christian attitude towards the Jews, so the Jew *acts politically* when, although a Jew, he demands civic rights.

But if a man, although a Jew, can be emancipated politically and receive civic rights, can he lay claim to the so-called *rights of man* and receive them? Bauer *denies* it.

"The question is whether the Jew as such, that is, the Jew who himself admits that he is compelled by his true nature to live permanently in separation from other men, is capable of receiving the *universal rights of man* and of conceding them to others."

"For the Christian world, the idea of the rights of man was only discovered in the last century. It is not innate in men; on the contrary, it is gained only in a struggle against the historical traditions in which hitherto man was brought up. Thus the rights of man are not a gift of nature, not a legacy from past history, but the reward of the struggle against the accident of birth and against the privileges which up to now have been handed down by history from generation to generation. These rights are the result of culture, and only one who has earned and deserved them can possess them."

"Can the Jew really take possession of them? As long as he is a Jew, the restricted nature which makes him a Jew is bound to triumph over the human nature which should link him as a man with other men, and will separate him from non-Jews. He declares by this separation that the particular nature which makes him a Jew is his true, highest nature, before which human nature has to give way."

"Similarly, the Christian as a Christian cannot grant the rights of man." (P. 19, 20.)

According to Bauer, man has to sacrifice the "*privilege of faith*" to be able to receive the universal rights of man. Let us examine for a moment the so-called rights of man, to be precise, the rights of man in their authentic form, in the form which they have among those who *discovered* them, the North Americans and the French. These rights of man are in part *political* rights, rights which can only be exercised in a community with others. Their

content is *participation* in the *community*, and specifically in the *political* community, in the *life of the state*. They come within the category of *political freedom*, the category of *civic rights*, which, as we have seen, in no way presuppose the incontrovertible and positive abolition of religion, nor therefore of Judaism. There remains to be examined the other part of the rights of man, the *droits de l'homme*,[a] insofar as these differ from the *droits du citoyen*.[b]

Included among them is freedom of conscience, the right to practise any religion one chooses. The *privilege of faith* is expressly recognised either as a *right of man* or as the consequence of a right of man, that of liberty.

*Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*, 1791, article 10: "Nul ne doit être inquiété pour ses opinions même réligieuses."[c] "La liberté à tout homme d'exercer le *culte religieux* auquel il est attaché"[d] is guaranteed as a right of man in Section I of the Constitution of 1791.

*Déclaration des droits de l'homme*, etc., 1793, includes among the rights of man, Article 7: "Le libre exercice des cultes."[e] Indeed, in regard to man's right to express his thoughts and opinions, to hold meetings, and to exercise his religion, it is even stated: "La nécessité d'énoncer ces *droits* suppose ou la présence ou le souvenir récent du despotisme."[f] Compare the Constitution of 1795, Section XIV, Article 354.[25]

*Constitution de Pensylvanie*, article 9, § 3: "Tous les hommes ont reçu de la nature le *droit* imprescriptible d'adorer le Tout-Puissant selon les inspirations de leur conscience, et nul ne peut légalement être contraint de suivre, instituer ou soutenir contre son gré aucun culte ou ministère religieux. Nulle autorité humaine ne peut, dans aucun cas, intervenir dans les questions de conscience et contrôler les pouvoirs de l'âme."[g]

*Constitution de New-Hampshire*, article 5 et 6: "Au nombre des droits naturels, quelques-uns sont inaliénables de leur nature, parce que rien n'en peut être l'équivalent. De ce nombre sont les *droits* de conscience."[h] (Beaumont, op. cit., [t. II,] pp. 213, 214.)

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[a] Rights of man.—*Ed.*

[b] Rights of the citizen.—*Ed.*

[c] *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, 1791, Article 10: "No one is to be subjected to annoyance because of his opinions, even religious opinions."—*Ed.*

[d] "The freedom of every man to practise the *religion* of which he is an adherent."—*Ed.*

[e] *The Declaration of the Rights of Man*, etc., 1793, "The free exercise of religion."—*Ed.*

[f] "The necessity of proclaiming these *rights* presupposes either the existence or the recent memory of despotism."—*Ed.*

[g] *Constitution of Pennsylvania*, Article 9, § 3: "All men have received from nature the imprescriptible *right* to worship the Almighty according to the dictates of their conscience, and no one can be legally compelled to follow, establish or support against his will any religion or religious ministry. No human authority can, in any circumstances, intervene in a matter of conscience or control the forces of the soul."—*Ed.*

[h] *Constitution of New Hampshire*, Articles 5 and 6: "Among these natural rights some are by nature inalienable since nothing can replace them. The *rights* of conscience are among them."—*Ed.*

Incompatibility between religion and the rights of man is to such a degree absent from the concept of the rights of man that, on the contrary, a man's *right to be religious* in any way he chooses, to practise his own particular religion, is expressly included among the rights of man. The *privilege of faith* is a *universal right of man.*

The *droits de l'homme,* the rights of man, are as *such* distinct from the *droits du citoyen,* the rights of the citizen. Who is *homme* as distinct from *citoyen*? None other than the *member of civil society.* Why is the member of civil society called "man", simply man; why are his rights called the *rights of man*? How is this fact to be explained? From the relationship between the political state and civil society, from the nature of political emancipation.

Above all, we note the fact that the so-called *rights of man,* the *droits de l'homme* as distinct from the *droits du citoyen,* are nothing but the rights of a *member of civil society,* i. e., the rights of egoistic man, of man separated from other men and from the community. Let us hear what the most radical Constitution, the Constitution of 1793, has to say:

*Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen.*

*Article 2.* "Ces droits, etc. (les droits naturels et imprescriptibles) sont: l'*égalité,* la *liberté,* la *sûreté,* la *propriété.*" [a]

What constitutes *liberty*?

*Article 6.* "La liberté est le pouvoir qui appartient à l'homme de faire tout ce qui ne nuit pas aux droits d'autrui", or, according to the Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1791: "La liberté consiste à pouvoir faire tout ce qui ne nuit pas à autrui." [b]

Liberty, therefore, is the right to do everything that harms no one else. The limits within which anyone can act *without harming* someone else are defined by law, just as the boundary between two fields is determined by a boundary post. It is a question of the liberty of man as an isolated monad, withdrawn into himself. Why is the Jew, according to Bauer, incapable of acquiring the rights of man?

"As long as he is a Jew, the restricted nature which makes him a Jew is bound to triumph over the human nature which should link him as a man with other men, and will separate him from non-Jews."

But the right of man to liberty is based not on the association of man with man, but on the separation of man from man. It is the

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[a] *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. Article 2.* "These rights, etc., (the natural and imprescriptible rights) are: *equality, liberty, security, property.*"—*Ed.*

[b] *Article 6.* "Liberty is the power which man has to do everything that does not harm the rights of others", or... "Liberty consists in being able to do everything which does not harm others."—*Ed.*

*right* of this separation, the right of the *restricted* individual, withdrawn into himself.

The practical application of man's right to liberty is man's right to *private property.*

What constitutes man's right to private property?

*Article 16* (Constitution de 1793): "Le droit de *propriété* est celui qui appartient à tout citoyen de jouir et de disposer *à son gré* de ses biens, de ses revenus, du fruit de son travail et de son industrie."[a]

The right of man to private property is, therefore, the right to enjoy one's property and to dispose of it at one's discretion (*à son gré*), without regard to other men, independently of society, the right of self-interest. This individual liberty and its application form the basis of civil society. It makes every man see in other men not the *realisation* of his own freedom, but the *barrier* to it. But, above all, it proclaims the right of man

"de jouir et de disposer *à son gré* de ses biens, de ses revenus, du fruit de son travail et de son industrie".[b]

There remain the other rights of man: *égalité* and *sûreté.*

*Égalité,* used here in its non-political sense, is nothing but the equality of the *liberté* described above, namely: each man is to the same extent regarded as such a self-sufficient monad. The Constitution of 1795 defines the concept of this equality, in accordance with its significance, as follows:

*Article 3* (Constitution de 1795): "L'égalité consiste en ce que la loi est la même pour tous, soit qu'elle protège, soit qu'elle punisse."[c] [26]

And *sûreté?*

*Article 8* (Constitution de 1793): "La sûreté consiste dans la protection accordée par la société à chacun de ses membres pour la conservation de sa personne, de ses droits et de ses propriétés."[d]

*Security* is the highest social concept of civil society, the concept of *police,* expressing the fact that the whole of society exists only in order to guarantee to each of its members the preservation of his person, his rights, and his property. It is in this sense that Hegel calls civil society "the state of need and reason".[e]

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[a] *Article 16* (Constitution of 1793): "The right of *property* is that which every citizen has of enjoying and of disposing *at his discretion* of his goods and income, of the fruits of his labour and industry."—*Ed.*

[b] "of enjoying and of disposing *at his discretion* of his goods and income, of the fruits of his labour and industry".—*Ed.*

[c] *Article 3* (Constitution of 1795): "Equality consists in the law being the same for all, whether it protects or punishes."—*Ed.*

[d] *Article 8* (Constitution of 1793): "Security consists in the protection afforded by society to each of its members for the preservation of his person, his rights, and his property."—*Ed.*

[e] Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts. Werke.* Bd. VIII, S. 242.—*Ed.*

The concept of security does not raise civil society above its egoism. On the contrary, security is the *insurance* of its egoism.

None of the so-called rights of man, therefore, go beyond egoistic man, beyond man as a member of civil society, that is, an individual withdrawn into himself, into the confines of his private interests and private caprice, and separated from the community. In the rights of man, he is far from being conceived as a species-being; on the contrary, species-life itself, society, appears as a framework external to the individuals, as a restriction of their original independence. The sole bond holding them together is natural necessity, need and private interest, the preservation of their property and their egoistic selves.

It is puzzling enough that a people which is just beginning to liberate itself, to tear down all the barriers between its various sections, and to establish a political community, that such a people solemnly proclaims (Declaration of 1791) the rights of egoistic man separated from his fellow men and from the community, and that indeed it repeats this proclamation at a moment when only the most heroic devotion can save the nation, and is therefore imperatively called for, at a moment when the sacrifice of all the interests of civil society must be the order of the day, and egoism must be punished as a crime. (Declaration of the Rights of Man, etc., of 1793.) This fact becomes still more puzzling when we see that the political emancipators go so far as to reduce citizenship, and the *political community*, to a mere *means* for maintaining these so-called rights of man, that therefore the *citoyen* is declared to be the servant of egoistic *homme*, that the sphere in which man acts as a communal being is degraded to a level below the sphere in which he acts as a partial being, and that, finally, it is not man as *citoyen*, but man as *bourgeois* who is considered to be the *essential* and *true* man.

"Le *but* de toute *association politique* est la *conservation* des droits naturels et imprescriptibles de l'homme." (Déclaration des droits, etc., de 1791, article 2.) "Le *gouvernement* est institué pour garantir à l'homme la jouissance de ses droits naturels et imprescriptibles." (Déclaration, etc., de 1793, article 1.)[a] [27]

Hence even in moments when its enthusiasm still has the freshness of youth and is intensified to an extreme degree by the force of circumstances, political life declares itself to be a mere *means*, whose purpose is the life of civil society. It is true that its

[a] "The *aim* of all *political association* is the *preservation* of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man." (Declaration of the Rights, etc., of 1791, Article 2.) "*Government* is instituted in order to guarantee man the enjoyment of his natural and imprescriptible rights." (Declaration, etc., of 1793, Article 1.)—*Ed.*

revolutionary practice is in flagrant contradiction with its theory. Whereas, for example, security is declared one of the rights of man, violation of the privacy of correspondence is openly declared to be the order of the day. Whereas the "liberté *indéfinie* de la presse"[a] (Constitution of 1793, Article 122) is guaranteed as a consequence of the right of man to individual liberty, freedom of the press is totally destroyed, because "la liberté de la presse ne doit pas être permise lorsqu'elle compromet la liberté publique".[b] (Robespierre jeune, *Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française* par Buchez et Roux, T. 28, p. 159.) That is to say, therefore: The right of man to liberty ceases to be a right as soon as it comes into conflict with *political* life, whereas in theory political life is only the guarantee of human rights, the rights of the individual, and therefore must be abandoned as soon as it comes into contradiction with its *aim,* with these rights of man. But practice is merely the exception, theory is the rule. But even if one were to regard revolutionary practice as the correct presentation of the relationship, there would still remain the puzzle of why the relationship is turned upside-down in the minds of the political emancipators and the aim appears as the means, while the means appears as the aim. This optical illusion of their consciousness would still remain a puzzle, although now a psychological, a theoretical puzzle.

The puzzle is easily solved.

Political emancipation is at the same time the *dissolution* of the old society on which the state alienated from the people, the sovereign power, is based. Political revolution is a revolution of civil society. What was the character of the old society? It can be described in one word—*feudalism.* The character of the old civil society was *directly political,* that is to say, the elements of civil life, for example, property, or the family, or the mode of labour, were raised to the level of elements of political life in the form of seigniory, estates, and corporations. In this form they determined the relation of the individual to the *state as a whole,* i.e., his *political* relation, that is, his relation of separation and exclusion from the other components of society. For that organisation of national life did not raise property or labour to the level of social elements; on the contrary, it completed their *separation* from the state as a whole and constituted them as *discrete* societies within society. Thus, the vital functions and conditions of life of civil society remained nevertheless political, although political in the feudal sense, that is

[a] "*Unlimited* freedom of the press".—*Ed.*

[b] "Freedom of the press should not be permitted when it endangers public liberty."—*Ed.*

to say, they secluded the individual from the state as a whole and they converted the *particular* relation of his corporation to the state as a whole into his general relation to the life of the nation, just as they converted his particular civil activity and situation into his general activity and situation. As a result of this organisation, the unity of the state, and also the consciousness, will and activity of this unity, the general power of the state, are likewise bound to appear as the *particular* affair of a ruler isolated from the people, and of his servants.

The political revolution which overthrew this sovereign power and raised state affairs to become affairs of the people, which constituted the political state as a matter of *general* concern, that is, as a real state, necessarily smashed all estates, corporations, guilds, and privileges, since they were all manifestations of the separation of the people from the community. The political revolution thereby *abolished* the *political character of civil society*. It broke up civil society into its simple component parts; on the one hand, the *individuals*; on the other hand, the *material* and *spiritual elements* constituting the content of the life and social position of these individuals. It set free the political spirit, which had been, as it were, split up, partitioned and dispersed in the various blind alleys of feudal society. It gathered the dispersed parts of the political spirit, freed it from its intermixture with civil life, and established it as the sphere of the community, the *general* concern of the nation, ideally independent of those *particular* elements of civil life. A person's *distinct* activity and distinct situation in life were reduced to a merely individual significance. They no longer constituted the general relation of the individual to the state as a whole. Public affairs as such, on the other hand, became the general affair of each individual, and the political function became the individual's general function.

But the completion of the idealism of the state was at the same time the completion of the materialism of civil society. Throwing off the political yoke meant at the same time throwing off the bonds which restrained the egoistic spirit of civil society. Political emancipation was at the same time the emancipation of civil society from politics, from having even the *semblance* of a universal content.

Feudal society was resolved into its basic element—*man*, but man as he really formed its basis—*egoistic* man.

This *man*, the member of civil society, is thus the basis, the precondition, of the *political* state. He is recognised as such by this state in the rights of man.

The liberty of egoistic man and the recognition of this liberty, however, is rather the recognition of the *unrestrained* movement of the spiritual and material elements which form the content of his life.

Hence man was not freed from religion, he received religious freedom. He was not freed from property, he received freedom to own property. He was not freed from the egoism of business, he received freedom to engage in business.

The *establishment of the political state* and the dissolution of civil society into independent *individuals*—whose relations with one another depend on *law*, just as the relations of men in the system of estates and guilds depended on *privilege*—is accomplished by *one and the same act*. Man as a member of civil society, *unpolitical* man, inevitably appears, however, as the *natural* man. The *droits de l'homme* appear as *droits naturels*, because *conscious activity* is concentrated on the *political act*. *Egoistic* man is the *passive* result of the dissolved society, a result that is simply *found in existence*, an object of *immediate certainty*, therefore a *natural* object. The *political revolution* resolves civil life into its component parts, without *revolutionising* these components themselves or subjecting them to criticism. It regards civil society, the world of needs, labour, private interests, civil law, as the *basis of its existence*, as a *precondition* not requiring further substantiation and therefore as its *natural basis*. Finally, man as a member of civil society is held to be man *in the proper sense*, *homme* as distinct from the *citoyen*, because he is man in his sensuous, individual, *immediate* existence, whereas *political* man is only abstract, artificial man, man as an *allegorical*, *juridical* person. The real man is recognised only in the shape of the *egoistic* individual, the *true* man is recognised only in the shape of the *abstract citoyen*.

Therefore Rousseau correctly describes the abstract idea of political man as follows:

"Celui qui ose entreprendre d'instituer un peuple doit se sentir en état de *changer* pour ainsi dire la *nature humaine*, de *transformer* chaque individu, qui par lui-même est un tout parfait et solitaire, en *partie* d'un plus grand tout dont cet individu reçoive en quelque sorte sa vie et son être, de substituer une *existence partielle* et *morale* à l'existence physique et indépendante. Il faut qu'il ôte à *l'homme ses forces propres* pour lui en donner qui lui soient étrangères et dont il ne puisse faire usage sans le secours d'autrui."[a] (*Contrat Social*, livre II, Londres, 1782, p. 67.)

[a] "Whoever dares undertake to establish a people's institutions must feel himself capable of *changing*, as it were, *human nature*, of *transforming* each individual, who by himself is a complete and solitary whole, into a *part* of a larger whole, from which, in a sense, the individual receives his life and his being, of substituting a

*All* emancipation is a *reduction* of the human world and relationships to *man himself.*

Political emancipation is the reduction of man, on the one hand, to a member of civil society, to an *egoistic, independent* individual, and, on the other hand, to a *citizen,* a juridical person.

Only when the real, individual man re-absorbs in himself the abstract citizen, and as an individual human being has become a *species-being* in his everyday life, in his particular work, and in his particular situation, only when man has recognised and organised his "*forces propres*"[a] as *social* forces, and consequently no longer separates social power from himself in the shape of *political* power, only then will human emancipation have been accomplished.

## II

## "Die Fähigkeit der heutigen Juden und Christen, frei zu werden". Von Bruno Bauer (*Einundzwanzig Bogen,* pp. 56-71).

It is in this form that Bauer deals with the relation between the *Jewish and the Christian religions,* and also with their relation to criticism. Their relation to criticism is their relation "to the capacity to become free".

The result arrived at is:

"The Christian has to surmount only one stage, namely, that of his religion, in order to give up religion altogether", and therefore to become free. "The Jew, on the other hand, has to break not only with his Jewish nature, but also with the development towards perfecting his religion, a development which has remained alien to him." (P. 71.)

Thus Bauer here transforms the question of Jewish emancipation into a purely religious question. The theological problem as to whether the Jew or the Christian has the better prospect of salvation is repeated here in the enlightened form: which of them is *more capable of emancipation.* No longer is the question asked: Is it Judaism or Christianity that makes a man free? On the contrary, the question is now: Which makes man freer, the negation of Judaism or the negation of Christianity?

"If the Jews want to become free, they should profess belief not in Christianity, but in the dissolution of Christianity, in the dissolution of religion in general, that is to say, in enlightenment, criticism and its consequence, free humanity." (P. 70.)

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*limited* and *mental existence* for the physical and independent existence. He has to take from *man his own powers,* and give him in exchange alien powers which he cannot employ without the help of other men."—*Ed.*

[a] Own powers.—*Ed.*

For the Jew, it is still a matter of a *profession of faith,* but no longer a profession of belief in Christianity, but of belief in Christianity in dissolution.

Bauer demands of the Jews that they should break with the essence of the Christian religion, a demand which, as he says himself, does not arise out of the development of Judaism.

Since Bauer, at the end of his work on the Jewish question, had conceived Judaism only as crude religious criticism of Christianity, and therefore saw in it "merely" a religious significance, it could be foreseen that the emancipation of the Jews, too, would be transformed into a philosophical-theological act.

Bauer considers that the *ideal,* abstract nature of the Jew, his *religion,* is his *entire* nature. Hence he rightly concludes:

"The Jew contributes nothing to mankind if he himself disregards his narrow law", if he invalidates his entire Judaism. (P. 65.)

Accordingly the relation between Jews and Christians becomes the following: the sole interest of the Christian in the emancipation of the Jew is a general human interest, a *theoretical* interest. Judaism is a fact that offends the religious eye of the Christian. As soon as his eye ceases to be religious, this fact ceases to be offensive. The emancipation of the Jew is in itself not a task for the Christian.

The Jew, on the other hand, in order to emancipate himself, has to carry out not only his own work, but also that of the Christian, i.e., the *Kritik der Synoptiker* and *Das Leben Jesu,*[a] etc.

"It is up to them to deal with it: they themselves will decide their fate; but history is not to be trifled with." (P. 71.)

We are trying to break with the theological formulation of the question. For us, the question of the Jew's capacity for emancipation becomes the question: What particular *social* element has to be overcome in order to abolish Judaism? For the present-day Jew's capacity for emancipation is the relation of Judaism to the emancipation of the modern world. This relation necessarily results from the special position of Judaism in the contemporary enslaved world.

Let us consider the actual, worldly Jew, not the *Sabbath Jew,* as Bauer does, but the *everyday Jew.*

Let us not look for the secret of the Jew in his religion, but let us look for the secret of his religion in the real Jew.

What is the secular basis of Judaism? *Practical* need, *self-interest.*

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[a] A reference to Bruno Bauer, *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker,* and David Friedrich Strauss, *Das Leben Jesu.—Ed.*

What is the worldly religion of the Jew? *Huckstering*. What is his worldly God? *Money*.

Very well then! Emancipation from *huckstering* and *money*, consequently from practical, real Judaism, would be the self-emancipation of our time.

An organisation of society which would abolish the preconditions for huckstering, and therefore the possibility of huckstering, would make the Jew impossible. His religious consciousness would be dissipated like a thin haze in the real, vital air of society. On the other hand, if the Jew recognises that this *practical* nature of his is futile and works to abolish it, he extricates himself from his previous development and works for *human emancipation* as such and turns against the *supreme practical* expression of human self-estrangement.

We recognise in Judaism, therefore, a general *anti-social* element of the *present time*, an element which through historical development—to which in this harmful respect the Jews have zealously contributed—has been brought to its present high level, at which it must necessarily begin to disintegrate.

In the final analysis, the *emancipation of the Jews* is the emancipation of mankind from *Judaism*.[a]

The Jew has already emancipated himself in a Jewish way.

"The Jew, who in Vienna, for example, is only tolerated, determines the fate of the whole Empire by his financial power. The Jew, who may have no rights in the smallest German state, decides the fate of Europe. While corporations and guilds refuse to admit Jews, or have not yet adopted a favourable attitude towards them, the audacity of industry mocks at the obstinacy of the medieval institutions." (Bruno Bauer, *Die Judenfrage*, p. 114.)

This is no isolated fact. The Jew has emancipated himself in a Jewish manner, not only because he has acquired financial power, but also because, through him and also apart from him, *money* has become a world power and the practical Jewish spirit has become the practical spirit of the Christian nations. The Jews have emancipated themselves insofar as the Christians have become Jews.

Captain Hamilton, for example, reports:

"The devout and politically free inhabitant of New England is a kind of *Laocoön* who makes not the least effort to escape from the serpents which are crushing him. *Mammon* is his idol which he adores not only with his lips but with the whole force of his body and mind. In his view the world is no more than a Stock Exchange, and he is convinced that he has no other destiny here below than to become richer

[a] Here and elsewhere in this article Marx evidently uses the words *Jude* and *Judentum* also in the figurative sense, i.e., denoting usury, huckstering, trading, etc.—*Ed.*

than his neighbour. Trade has seized upon all his thoughts, and he has no other recreation than to exchange objects. When he travels he carries, so to speak, his goods and his counter on his back and talks only of interest and profit. If he loses sight of his own business for an instant it is only in order to pry into the business of his competitors." [a]

Indeed, in North America the practical domination of Judaism over the Christian world has achieved as its unambiguous and normal expression that the *preaching of the Gospel* itself and the Christian ministry have become articles of trade, and the bankrupt trader deals in the Gospel just as the Gospel preacher who has become rich goes in for business deals.

"*Tel que vous le voyez à la tête d'une congrégation respectable a commencé par être marchand; son commerce étant tombé, il s'est fait ministre; cet autre a débuté par le sacerdoce, mais dès qu'il a eu quelque somme d'argent à la disposition, il a laissé la chaire pour le négoce. Aux yeux d'un grand nombre, le ministère religieux est une véritable carrière industrielle.*" [b] (Beaumont, op. cit., pp. 185, 186.)

According to Bauer, it is

"a fictitious state of affairs when in theory the Jew is deprived of political rights, whereas in practice he has immense power and exerts his political influence *en gros*, although it is curtailed *en détail*." (*Die Judenfrage*, p. 114.)

The contradiction that exists between the practical political power of the Jew and his political rights is the contradiction between politics and the power of money in general. Although theoretically the former is superior to the latter, in actual fact politics has become the serf of financial power.

Judaism has held its own *alongside* Christianity, not only as religious criticism of Christianity, not only as the embodiment of doubt in the religious derivation of Christianity, but equally because the practical-Jewish spirit, Judaism, has maintained itself and even attained its highest development in Christian society. The Jew, who exists as a distinct member of civil society, is only a particular manifestation of the Judaism of civil society.

Judaism continues to exist not in spite of history, but owing to history.

The Jew is perpetually created by civil society from its own entrails.

What, in itself, was the basis of the Jewish religion? Practical need, egoism.

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[a] Hamilton, op. cit., Bd. I, S. 109-10.—*Ed.*

[b] "*The man who you see at the head of a respectable congregation began as a trader; his business having failed, he became a minister. The other began as a priest but as soon as he had some money at his disposal he left the pulpit to become a trader. In the eyes of very many people, the religious ministry is a veritable business career.*"—*Ed.*

The monotheism of the Jew, therefore, is in reality the polytheism of the many needs, a polytheism which makes even the lavatory an object of divine law. ***Practical need, egoism***, is the principle of *civil society*, and as such appears in a pure form as soon as civil society has fully given birth to the political state. The god of *practical need and self-interest* is *money*.

Money is the jealous god of Israel, in face of which no other god may exist. Money degrades all the gods of man—and turns them into commodities. Money is the universal self-established *value* of all things. It has therefore robbed the whole world—both the world of men and nature—of its specific value. Money is the estranged essence of man's work and man's existence, and this alien essence dominates him, and he worships it.

The god of the Jews has become secularised and has become the god of the world. The bill of exchange is the real god of the Jew. His god is only an illusory bill of exchange.

The view of nature attained under the dominion of private property and money is a real contempt for and practical debasement of nature; in the Jewish religion nature exists, it is true, but it exists only in imagination.

It is in this sense that Thomas Münzer declares it intolerable

> "that all creatures have been turned into property, the fishes in the water, the birds in the air, the plants on the earth; the creatures, too, must become free".[28]

Contempt for theory, art, history, and for man as an end in himself, which is contained in an abstract form in the Jewish religion, is the *real, conscious* standpoint, the virtue of the man of money. The species-relation itself, the relation between man and woman, etc., becomes an object of trade! The woman is bought and sold.

The *chimerical* nationality of the Jew is the nationality of the merchant, of the man of money in general.

The groundless[a] law of the Jew is only a religious caricature of groundless[a] morality and right in general, of the purely *formal* rites with which the world of self-interest surrounds itself.

Here, too, man's supreme relation is the *legal* one, his relation to laws that are valid for him not because they are laws of his own will and nature, but because they are the *dominant* laws and because departure from them is *avenged*.

Jewish Jesuitism, the same practical Jesuitism which Bauer

[a] In German a pun on the term *grund- und bodenlos*, which can mean "without land" or "without reason".—*Ed.*

discovers in the Talmud, is the relation of the world of self-interest to the laws governing that world, the chief art of which consists in the cunning circumvention of these laws.

Indeed, the movement of this world within its framework of laws is bound to be a continual suspension of law.

*Judaism* could not develop further as a *religion,* could not develop further theoretically, because the world outlook of practical need is essentially limited and is completed in a few strokes.

By its very nature, the religion of practical need could find its consummation not in theory, but only in *practice,* precisely because its truth is practice.

Judaism could not create a new world; it could only draw the new creations and conditions of the world into the sphere of its activity, because practical need, the rationale of which is self-interest, is passive and does not expand at will, but *finds* itself enlarged as a result of the continuous development of social conditions.

Judaism reaches its highest point with the perfection of civil society, but it is only in the *Christian* world that civil society attains perfection. Only under the dominance of Christianity, which makes *all* national, natural, moral, and theoretical conditions *extrinsic* to man, could civil society separate itself completely from the life of the state, sever all the species-ties of man, put egoism and selfish need in the place of these species-ties, and dissolve the human world into a world of atomistic individuals who are inimically opposed to one another.

Christianity sprang from Judaism. It has merged again in Judaism.

From the outset, the Christian was the theorising Jew, the Jew is therefore the practical Christian, and the practical Christian has become a Jew again.

Christianity had only in semblance overcome real Judaism. It was too *noble-minded,* too spiritualistic to eliminate the crudity of practical need in any other way than by elevation to the skies.

Christianity is the sublime thought of Judaism, Judaism is the common practical application of Christianity, but this application could only become general after Christianity as a developed religion had completed *theoretically* the estrangement of man from himself and from nature.

Only then could Judaism achieve universal dominance and make alienated man and alienated nature into *alienable,* vendible objects subjected to the slavery of egoistic need and to trading.

Selling is the practical aspect of alienation.[a] Just as man, as long as he is in the grip of religion, is able to objectify his essential nature only by turning it into something *alien*, something fantastic, so under the domination of egoistic need he can be active practically, and produce objects in practice, only by putting his products, and his activity, under the domination of an alien being, and bestowing the significance of an alien entity—money—on them.

In its perfected practice, Christian egoism of heavenly bliss is necessarily transformed into the corporal egoism of the Jew, heavenly need is turned into worldly need, subjectivism into self-interest. We explain the tenacity of the Jew not by his religion, but, on the contrary, by the human basis of his religion—practical need, egoism.

Since in civil society the real nature of the Jew has been universally realised and secularised, civil society could not convince the Jew of the *unreality* of his *religious* nature, which is indeed only the ideal aspect of practical need. Consequently, not only in the Pentateuch and the Talmud, but in present-day society we find the nature of the modern Jew, and not as an abstract nature but as one that is in the highest degree empirical, not merely as a narrowness of the Jew, but as the Jewish narrowness of society.

Once society has succeeded in abolishing the *empirical* essence of Judaism—huckstering and its preconditions—the Jew will have become *impossible*, because his consciousness no longer has an object, because the subjective basis of Judaism, practical need, has been humanised, and because the conflict between man's individual-sensuous existence and his species-existence has been abolished.

The *social* emancipation of the Jew is the *emancipation of society from Judaism.*

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

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[a] In the German original *Veräusserung*, here rendered as "selling", and *Entäusserung*, as "alienation".—*Ed.*

# CONTRIBUTION TO THE CRITIQUE OF HEGEL'S PHILOSOPHY OF LAW

## Introduction[29]

For Germany the *criticism of religion* is in the main complete, and criticism of religion is the premise of all criticism.

The *profane* existence of error is discredited after its *heavenly oratio pro aris et focis*[a] has been disproved. Man, who looked for a superhuman being in the fantastic reality of heaven and found nothing there but the *reflection* of himself, will no longer be disposed to find but the *semblance* of himself, only an inhuman being, where he seeks and must seek his true reality.

The basis of irreligious criticism is: *Man makes religion*, religion does not make man. Religion is the self-consciousness and self-esteem of man who has either not yet found himself or has already lost himself again. But *man* is no abstract being encamped outside the world. Man is *the world of man*, the state, society. This state, this society, produce religion, an *inverted world-consciousness*, because they are an *inverted world*. Religion is the general theory of that world, its encyclopaedic compendium, its logic in a popular form, its spiritualistic *point d'honneur*, its enthusiasm, its moral sanction, its solemn complement, its universal source of consolation and justification. It is the *fantastic realisation* of the human essence because the *human essence* has no true reality. The struggle against religion is therefore indirectly a fight against *the world* of which religion is the spiritual *aroma*.

*Religious* distress is at the same time the *expression* of real distress and also the *protest* against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of spiritless conditions. It is the *opium* of the people.

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[a] Speech for the altars and hearths.—*Ed.*

To abolish religion as the *illusory* happiness of the people is to demand their *real* happiness. The demand to give up illusions about the existing state of affairs is the *demand to give up a state of affairs which needs illusions.* The criticism of religion is therefore *in embryo the criticism of the vale of tears,* the *halo* of which is religion.

Criticism has torn up the imaginary flowers from the chain not so that man shall wear the unadorned, bleak chain but so that he will shake off the chain and pluck the living flower.[a] The criticism of religion disillusions man to make him think and act and shape his reality like a man who has been disillusioned and has come to reason, so that he will revolve round himself and therefore round his true sun. Religion is only the illusory sun which revolves round man as long as he does not revolve round himself.

The *task of history,* therefore, once the *world beyond the truth* has disappeared, is to establish the *truth of this world.* The immediate *task of philosophy,* which is at the service of history, once the *holy form* of human self-estrangement has been unmasked, is to unmask self-estrangement in its *unholy forms.* Thus the criticism of heaven turns into the criticism of the earth, the *criticism of religion* into the *criticism of law* and the *criticism of theology* into the *criticism of politics.*

The following exposition[30]—a contribution to that task—deals immediately not with the original, but with a copy, the German *philosophy* of state and of law, for no other reason than that it deals with *Germany.*

If one wanted to proceed from the *status quo* itself in Germany, even in the only appropriate way, i.e., negatively, the result would still be an *anachronism.* Even the negation of our political present is a reality already covered with dust in the historical lumber-room of modern nations. If I negate powdered pigtails, I am still left with unpowdered pigtails. If I negate the German state of affairs in 1843, then, according to the French computation of time, I am hardly in the year 1789, and still less in the focus of the present.

Yes, German history flatters itself with a movement which no people in the firmament of history went through before it or will go through after it. For we shared the restorations of the modern nations although we had not shared their revolutions. We underwent a restoration, first because other nations dared to carry out a revolution and second because other nations suffered a counter-revolution, the first time because our rulers were afraid, and the

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[a] Cf. Karl Marx, "The Philosophical Manifesto of the Historical School of Law" (see this edition, Vol. 1, p. 205).—*Ed.*

second because our rulers were not afraid. We—and our shepherds first and foremost—never found ourselves in the company of freedom except once—on the *day of its burial.*

A school which legitimates the baseness of today by the baseness of yesterday, a school that declares rebellious every cry of the serf against the knout once that knout is a time-honoured, ancestral, historical one, a school to which history only shows its *posterior* as the God of Israel did to his servant Moses[a]—the *historical school of law*[31]—would hence have invented German history had it not been an invention of German history. For every pound of flesh cut from the heart of the people the historical school of law—Shylock, but Shylock the bondsman—swears on its bond, its historical bond, its Christian-Germanic bond.

Good-natured enthusiasts, Germanomaniacs by extraction and free-thinkers by reflection, on the contrary, seek our history of freedom beyond our history in the primeval Teutonic forests. But what difference is there between the history of our freedom and the history of the boar's freedom if it can be found only in the forests? Besides, it is common knowledge that the forest echoes back what you shout into it. So let us leave the ancient Teutonic forests in peace!

*War* on the German conditions! By all means! They are *below the level of history, beneath any criticism,* but they are still an object of criticism like the criminal who is below the level of humanity but still an object for the *executioner.* In the struggle against those conditions criticism is no passion of the head, it is the head of passion. It is not a lancet, it is a weapon. Its object is its *enemy,* which it wants not to refute but to *exterminate.* For the spirit of those conditions is refuted. In themselves they are not objects *worthy of thought,* but *phenomena* which are as despicable as they are despised. Criticism does not need to make things clear to itself as regards this subject-matter, for it has already dealt with it. Criticism appears no longer as an *end in itself,* but only as a *means.* Its essential sentiment is *indignation,* its essential activity is *denunciation.*

It is a case of describing the dull reciprocal pressure of all social spheres on one another, a general inactive ill humour, a limitedness which recognises itself as much as it misjudges itself, within the frame of a government system which, living on the preservation of all wretchedness, is itself nothing but *wretchedness in office.*

What a sight! This infinitely proceeding division of society into

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[a] The Holy Bible, Exodus 33:23.—*Ed.*

the most manifold races opposed to one another by petty antipathies, uneasy consciences and brutal mediocrity, and which, precisely because of their reciprocal ambiguous and distrustful attitude, are all, without exception although with various formalities, treated by their *rulers* as *licensed existences*. And they must recognise and acknowledge as a *concession of heaven* the very fact that they are *mastered, ruled, possessed*! On the other side are the rulers themselves, whose greatness is in inverse proportion to their number!

Criticism dealing with this content is criticism in *hand-to-hand combat*, and in such a fight the point is not whether the opponent is a noble, equal, *interesting* opponent, the point is to *strike* him. The point is not to allow the Germans a minute for self-deception and resignation. The actual pressure must be made more pressing by adding to it consciousness of pressure, the shame must be made more shameful by publicising it. Every sphere of German society must be shown as the *partie honteuse*[a] of German society; these petrified relations must be forced to dance by singing their own tune to them! The people must be taught to be *terrified* at itself in order to give it *courage*. This will be fulfilling an imperative need of the German nation, and needs of the nations are in themselves the ultimate reason for their satisfaction.

This struggle against the limited content of the German *status quo* cannot be without interest even for the *modern* nations, for the German *status quo* is the *open completion of the ancien régime*, and the *ancien régime* is the *concealed deficiency of the modern state*. The struggle against the German political present is the struggle against the past of the modern nations, and they are still troubled by reminders of that past. It is instructive for them to see the *ancien régime*, which has been through its *tragedy* with them, playing its *comedy* as a German ghost. *Tragic* indeed was the history of the *ancien régime* so long as it was the pre-existing power of the world, and freedom, on the other hand, was a personal notion, i.e., as long as this regime believed and had to believe in its own justification. As long as the *ancien régime*, as an existing world order, struggled against a world that was only coming into being, there was on its side a historical error, not a personal one. That is why its downfall was tragic.

On the other hand, the present German regime, an anachronism, a flagrant contradiction of generally recognised axioms, the nothingness of the *ancien régime* exhibited to the world, only

[a] Shameful part.— *Ed.*

imagines that it believes in itself and demands that the world should imagine the same thing. If it believed in its own *essence*, would it try to hide that essence under the *semblancé* of an alien essence and seek refuge in hypocrisy and sophism? The modern *ancien régime* is only the *comedian* of a world order whose *true heroes* are dead. History is thorough and goes through many phases when carrying an old form to the grave. The last phase of a world-historical form is its *comedy*. The gods of Greece, already tragically wounded to death in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, had to re-die a comic death in Lucian's *Dialogues*. Why this course of history? So that humanity should part with its past *cheerfully*. This *cheerful* historical destiny is what we vindicate for the political authorities of Germany.

However, once *modern* politico-social reality itself is subjected to criticism, once criticism rises to truly human problems, it finds itself outside the German *status quo* or else it would reach out for its object *below* its object. An example. The relation of industry, of the world of wealth generally, to the political world is one of the major problems of modern times. In what form is this problem beginning to engage the attention of the Germans? In the form of *protective duties*, of the *prohibitive system*, of *national economy*. Germanomania has passed out of man into matter, and thus one morning our cotton barons and iron champions saw themselves turned into patriots. People are therefore beginning in Germany to acknowledge the sovereignty of monopoly within the country by lending it *sovereignty abroad*. People are thus about to begin in Germany with what people in France and England are about to end. The old corrupt condition against which these countries are rebelling in theory and which they only bear as one bears chains is greeted in Germany as the dawn of a beautiful future which still hardly dares to pass from *cunning*[a] theory to the most ruthless practice. Whereas the problem in France and England is: *Political economy* or the *rule of society over wealth*, in Germany it is: *National economy* or the *mastery of private property over nationality*. In France and England, then, it is a case of abolishing monopoly that has proceeded to its last consequences; in Germany it is a case of proceeding to the last consequences of monopoly. There it is a case of solution, here as yet a case of collision. This is an adequate example of the *German* form of modern problems, an example of how our history, like a clumsy recruit, still has to do extra drill in matters that are old and hackneyed in history.

[a] In the German *listig*, probably an allusion to Friedrich List, who was an advocate of protectionism.—*Ed.*

If therefore the *whole* German development did not exceed the German *political* development, a German could at the most participate in the problems of the present to the same extent as a *Russian* can. But, if the separate individual is not bound by the limitations of the nation, still less is the nation as a whole liberated by the liberation of one individual. The fact that Greece had a Scythian[a] among its philosophers did not help the Scythians to make a single step towards Greek culture.

Luckily we Germans are not Scythians.

As the ancient peoples went through their pre-history in imagination, in *mythology*, so we Germans have gone through our post-history in thought, in *philosophy*. We are *philosophical* contemporaries of the present without being its *historical* contemporaries. German philosophy is the *ideal prolongation* of German history. If therefore, instead of the *œuvres incomplètes* of our real history, we criticise the *œuvres posthumes* of our ideal history, *philosophy*, our criticism is among the questions of which the present says: *That is the question.*[b] What in advanced nations is a *practical* break with modern political conditions, is in Germany, where even those conditions do not yet exist, at first a *critical* break with the philosophical reflection of those conditions.

*German philosophy of law and state* is the only *German history* which is *al pari* with the *official* modern reality. The German nation must therefore take into account not only its present conditions but also its dream-history, and subject to criticism not only these existing conditions but at the same time their abstract continuation. Its future cannot be *limited* either to the immediate negation of its real conditions of state and law or to the immediate implementation of its ideal state and legal conditions, for it has the immediate negation of its real conditions in its ideal conditions, and it has almost *outlived* the immediate implementation of its ideal conditions in the contemplation of neighbouring nations. Hence it is with good reason that the *practical* political party in Germany[32] demands the *negation of philosophy*. It is wrong, not in its demand, but in stopping at the demand, which it neither seriously implements nor can implement. It believes that it implements that negation by turning its back on philosophy and with averted face muttering a few trite and angry phrases about it. Owing to the limitation of its outlook it does not include philosophy in the circle of *German* reality or it even fancies it is *beneath* German practice and the theories that serve it. You demand that *real living germs*

[a] Anacharsis.—*Ed.*

[b] This sentence is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

be made the starting point but you forget that the real living germ of the German nation has grown so far only inside its *cranium*. In a word—*you cannot supersede philosophy without making it a reality.*

The same mistake, but with the factors *reversed*, was made by the *theoretical* political party originating from philosophy.[33]

In the present struggle it saw *only the critical struggle of philosophy against the German world*; it did not give a thought to the fact that the *hitherto prevailing philosophy* itself belongs to this world and is its *complement*, although an ideal one. Critical towards its adversary, it was uncritical towards itself when, proceeding from the *premises* of philosophy, it either stopped at the results given by philosophy or passed off demands and results from somewhere else as immediate demands and results of philosophy, although these, provided they are justified, can be obtained only by the *negation of hitherto existing philosophy*, of philosophy as such. We reserve ourselves the right to a more detailed description of this party. Its basic deficiency may be reduced to the following: *It thought it could make philosophy a reality without superseding it.*

The criticism of the *German philosophy of state and law*, which attained its most consistent, richest and final formulation through *Hegel*, is both a critical analysis of the modern state and of the reality connected with it, and the resolute negation of the whole *German political and legal consciousness* as *practised* hitherto, the most distinguished, most universal expression of which, raised to the level of a *science*, is the *speculative philosophy of law* itself. If the speculative philosophy of law, that abstract extravagant *thinking* on the modern state, the reality of which remains a thing of the beyond, if only beyond the Rhine, was possible only in Germany, inversely the *German* thought-image of the modern state which disregards *real man* was possible only because and insofar as the modern state itself disregards *real man* or satisfies the *whole* of man only in imagination. In politics the Germans *thought* what other nations *did*. Germany was their *theoretical consciousness*. The abstraction and conceit of its thought always kept in step with the one-sidedness and stumpiness of its reality. If therefore the *status quo of German statehood* expresses the *perfection of the ancien régime*, the perfection of the thorn in the flesh of the modern state, the *status quo of German political theory* expresses the *imperfection of the modern state*, the defectiveness of its flesh itself.

Even as the resolute opponent of the previous form of *German* political consciousness the criticism of speculative philosophy of law turns, not towards itself, but towards *problems* which can only be solved by one means—*practice*.

It is asked: can Germany attain a practice *à la hauteur des principes*, i. e., a *revolution* which will raise it not only to the *official level* of the modern nations but to the *height of humanity* which will be the near future of those nations?

The weapon of criticism cannot, of course, replace criticism by weapons, material force must be overthrown by material force; but theory also becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses. Theory is capable of gripping the masses as soon as it demonstrates *ad hominem*, and it demonstrates *ad hominem* as soon as it becomes radical. To be radical is to grasp the root of the matter. But for man the root is man himself. The evident proof of the radicalism of German theory, and hence of its practical energy, is that it proceeds from a resolute *positive* abolition of religion. The criticism of religion ends with the teaching that *man is the highest being for man*, hence with the *categorical imperative to overthrow all relations* in which man is a debased, enslaved, forsaken, despicable being, relations which cannot be better described than by the exclamation of a Frenchman when it was planned to introduce a tax on dogs: Poor dogs! They want to treat you like human beings!

Even historically, theoretical emancipation has specific practical significance for Germany. For Germany's *revolutionary* past is theoretical, it is the *Reformation*. As the revolution then began in the brain of the *monk*, so now it begins in the brain of the *philosopher*.

*Luther*, we grant, overcame the bondage of *piety* by replacing it by the bondage of *conviction*. He shattered faith in authority because he restored the authority of faith. He turned priests into laymen because he turned laymen into priests. He freed man from outer religiosity because he made religiosity the inner man. He freed the body from chains because he enchained the heart.

But if Protestantism was not the true solution it was at least the true setting of the problem. It was no longer a case of the layman's struggle against the *priest outside himself* but of his struggle against his *own priest inside himself*, his *priestly nature*. And if the Protestant transformation of the German laymen into priests emancipated the lay popes, the *princes*, with the whole of their priestly clique, the privileged and philistines, the philosophical transformation of priestly Germans into men will emancipate the *people*. But *secularisation* will not stop at the *pillaging of churches* practised mainly by hypocritical Prussia any more than emancipation stops at princes. The Peasant War, the most radical fact of German history, came to grief because of theology. Today, when

theology itself has come to grief, the most unfree fact of German history, our *status quo*, will be shattered against philosophy. On the eve of the Reformation official Germany was the most unconditional slave of Rome. On the eve of its revolution it is the unconditional slave of less than Rome, of Prussia and Austria, of country squires and philistines.

A major difficulty, however, seems to stand in the way of a *radical* German revolution.

For revolutions require a *passive* element, a *material* basis. Theory can be realised in a people only insofar as it is the realisation of the needs of that people. But will the enormous discrepancy between the demands of German thought and the answers of German reality be matched by a corresponding discrepancy between civil society and the state and between civil society and itself? Will the theoretical needs be immediate practical needs? It is not enough for thought to strive for realisation, reality must itself strive towards thought.

But Germany did not go through the intermediary stages of political emancipation at the same time as the modern nations. It has not even reached in practice the stages which it has overtaken in theory. How can it do a *somersault*, not only over its own limitations, but at the same time over the limitations of the modern nations, over limitations which in reality it must feel and strive for as bringing emancipation from its real limitations? Only a revolution of radical needs can be a radical revolution and it seems that for this the preconditions and ground are lacking.

If however Germany has accompanied the development of the modern nations only with the abstract activity of thought without playing an effective role in the real struggle of that development, it has, on the other hand, shared the *sufferings* of that development, without sharing in its enjoyment or its partial satisfaction. To abstract activity on the one hand corresponds abstract suffering on the other. That is why Germany will one day find itself on the level of European decadence before ever having been on the level of European emancipation. It will be comparable to a *fetish worshipper* pining away with the diseases of Christianity.

If we now consider the *German governments* we find that because of the existing state of affairs, because of Germany's condition, because of the standpoint of German education and finally under the impulse of their own fortunate instinct, they are driven to combine the *civilised shortcomings of the modern political world*, the advantages of which we do not enjoy, with the *barbaric deficiencies of the ancien régime*, which we enjoy in full; hence Germany must

share more and more, if not in the reasonableness, at least in the unreasonableness of those state formations which are beyond the bounds of its *status quo*. Is there in the world, for example, a country which shares so naively in all the illusions of the constitutional state without sharing in its realities as so-called constitutional Germany? And was it not perforce a German government's idea to combine the tortures of censorship with the tortures of the French September laws which presuppose freedom of the press?[34] As you could find the *gods* of all nations in the Roman Pantheon, so you will find in the Germans' Holy Roman Empire all the *sins* of all political forms.[35] That this eclecticism will reach a height never dreamt of before is guaranteed in particular by the *political-aesthetic gourmandising* of a German king[a] who intends to play all the roles of monarchy, whether feudal or bureaucratic, absolute or constitutional, autocratic or democratic, if not in the person of the people, at least in his *own* person, and if not for the people, at least for *himself. Germany, as the deficiency of the political present constituted as a particular world,* will not be able to throw down the specific German limitations without throwing down the general limitation of the political present.

It is not the *radical* revolution, not the *general human* emancipation which is a utopian dream for Germany, but rather the partial, the *merely* political revolution, the revolution which leaves the pillars of the house standing. On what is a partial, a merely political revolution based? On the fact that *part of civil society* emancipates itself and attains *general* domination; on the fact that a definite class, proceeding from its *particular situation,* undertakes the general emancipation of society. This class emancipates the whole of society but only provided the whole of society is in the same situation as this class, e.g., possesses money and education or can acquire them at will.

No class of civil society can play this role without arousing a moment of enthusiasm in itself and in the masses, a moment in which it fraternises and merges with society in general, becomes confused with it and is perceived and acknowledged as its *general representative*; a moment in which its demands and rights are truly the rights and demands of society itself; a moment in which it is truly the social head and the social heart. Only in the name of the general rights of society can a particular class lay claim to general domination. For the storming of this emancipatory position, and hence for the political exploitation of all spheres of society in the

[a] Frederick William IV.— *Ed.*

interests of its own sphere, revolutionary energy and intellectual self-confidence alone are not sufficient. For the *revolution of a nation* and the *emancipation of a particular class* of civil society to coincide, for *one* estate to be acknowledged as the estate of the whole society, all the defects of society must conversely be concentrated in another class, a particular estate must be the general stumbling-block, the incorporation of the general limitation, a particular social sphere must be looked upon as the *notorious crime* of the whole of society, so that liberation from that sphere appears as general self-liberation. For *one* estate to be *par excellence* the estate of liberation, another estate must conversely be the obvious estate of oppression. The negative general significance of the French nobility and the French clergy determined the positive general significance of the immediately adjacent and opposed class of the *bourgeoisie.*

But no particular class in Germany has the consistency, the severity, the courage or the ruthlessness that could mark it out as the negative representative of society. No more has any estate the breadth of soul that identifies itself, even for a moment, with the soul of the nation, the genius that inspires material might to political violence, or that revolutionary audacity which flings at the adversary the defiant words: *I am nothing and I should be everything.* The main stem of German morals and honesty, of the classes as well as of individuals, is rather that *modest egoism* which asserts its limitedness and allows it to be asserted against itself. The relation of the various sections of German society is therefore not dramatic but epic. Each of them begins to be aware of itself and to settle down beside the others with all its particular claims not as soon as it is oppressed, but as soon as the circumstances of the time, without the section's own participation, create a social substratum on which it can in turn exert pressure. Even the *moral self-confidence of the German middle class* rests only on the consciousness that it is the general representative of the philistine mediocrity of all the other classes. It is therefore not only the German kings who accede to the throne *mal à propos*; every section of civil society goes through a defeat before it has celebrated victory, develops its own limitations before it has overcome the limitations facing it and asserts its narrow-hearted essence before it has been able to assert its magnanimous essence. Thus the very opportunity of a great role has on every occasion passed away before it is to hand, thus every class, once it begins the struggle against the class above it, is involved in the struggle against the class below it. Hence the princes are struggling against the monarchy, the bureaucrats

against the nobility, and the bourgeois against them all, while the proletariat is already beginning to struggle against the bourgeoisie. No sooner does the middle class dare to think of emancipation from its own standpoint than the development of the social conditions and the progress of political theory pronounce that standpoint antiquated or at least problematic.

In France it is enough for somebody to be something for him to want to be everything; in Germany one has to be nothing if one is not to forego everything. In France partial emancipation is the basis of universal emancipation; in Germany universal emancipation is the *conditio sine qua non* of any partial emancipation. In France it is the reality of gradual liberation, in Germany the impossibility of gradual liberation, that must give birth to complete freedom. In France every class is *politically idealistic* and becomes aware of itself at first not as a particular class but as the representative of social requirements generally. The role of *emancipator* therefore passes in dramatic motion to the various classes of the French nation one after the other until it finally comes to the class which implements social freedom no longer on the basis of certain conditions lying outside man and yet created by human society, but rather organises all conditions of human existence on the presupposition of social freedom. In Germany, on the contrary, where practical life is as spiritless as spiritual life is unpractical, no class in civil society has any need or capacity for general emancipation until it is forced by its *immediate* condition, by *material* necessity, by its *very chains.*

Where, then, is the *positive* possibility of a German emancipation?

*Answer*: In the formation of a class with *radical chains*, a class of civil society which is not a class of civil society, an estate which is the dissolution of all estates, a sphere which has a universal character by its universal suffering and claims no *particular right* because no *particular wrong* but *wrong generally* is perpetrated against it; which can no longer invoke a *historical* but only a *human* title; which does not stand in any one-sided antithesis to the consequences but in an all-round antithesis to the premises of the German state; a sphere, finally, which cannot emancipate itself without emancipating itself from all other spheres of society and thereby emancipating all other spheres of society, which, in a word, is the *complete loss* of man and hence can win itself only through the *complete rewinning of man.* This dissolution of society as a particular estate is the *proletariat.*

The proletariat is coming into being in Germany only as a result of the rising *industrial* development. For it is not the *naturally*

*arising* poor but the *artificially impoverished*, not the human masses mechanically oppressed by the gravity of society but the masses resulting from the *drastic dissolution* of society, mainly of the middle estate, that form the proletariat, although it is obvious that gradually the naturally arising poor and the Christian-Germanic serfs also join its ranks.

By proclaiming the *dissolution of the hitherto existing world order* the proletariat merely states the *secret of its own existence*, for it *is in fact* the dissolution of that world order. By demanding the *negation of private property*, the proletariat merely raises to the rank of a *principle of society* what society has made the principle of the *proletariat*, what, without its own co-operation, is already incorporated in *it* as the negative result of society. In regard to the world which is coming into being the proletarian then finds himself possessing the same right as the *German king* in regard to the world which has come into being when he calls the people *his* people as he calls the horse *his* horse. By declaring the people his private property the king simply states that the property owner is king.

As philosophy finds its *material* weapons in the proletariat, so the proletariat finds its *spiritual* weapons in philosophy. And once the lightning of thought has squarely struck this ingenuous soil of the people the emancipation of the *Germans* into *human beings* will take place.

Let us sum up the result:

The only *practically* possible liberation of Germany is liberation that proceeds from the standpoint of *the* theory which proclaims man to be the highest being for man. In Germany emancipation from the *Middle Ages* is possible only as emancipation from the *partial* victories over the Middle Ages as well. In Germany *no* kind of bondage can be broken without breaking *every* kind of bondage. The *thorough* Germany cannot make a revolution without making a *thoroughgoing* revolution. The *emancipation of the German* is the *emancipation of the human being*. The *head* of this emancipation is *philosophy*, its *heart* is the *proletariat*. Philosophy cannot be made a reality without the abolition of the proletariat, the proletariat cannot be abolished without philosophy being made a reality.

When all inner requisites are fulfilled the *day of German resurrection* will be proclaimed by the *ringing call of the Gallic cock*.

Written at the end of 1843-January 1844 Printed according to the journal

First published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, 1844
Signed: *Karl Marx*

# LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE *ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG* (AUGSBURG)

The diverse rumours which have been spread by German newspapers concerning the discontinuation of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* impel me to state that the Swiss publishers of the *Jahrbücher* suddenly withdrew from this enterprise for economic reasons and thus made impossible the continuation of this journal for the time being.[36]

Paris, April 14, 1844

*Karl Marx*

First published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Augsburg, No. 3, April 20, 1844

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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(Mittwoch.) Pariser Deutsche Zeitschrift. (7. August)

# CRITICAL MARGINAL NOTES ON THE ARTICLE "THE KING OF PRUSSIA AND SOCIAL REFORM. BY A PRUSSIAN" *[37]

## (*Vorwärts!* No. 60)

[*Vorwärts!* No. 63, August 7, 1844]

No. 60 of *Vorwärts* contains an article headed "Der König von Preussen und die Sozialreform", signed *"A Prussian"*.

First of all this alleged Prussian sets out the content of the royal Prussian Cabinet order on the *uprising of the Silesian workers* and the opinion of the French newspaper *La Réforme* on the Prussian Cabinet order.[38] The *Réforme*, he writes, considers that the King's "*alarm* and *religious feeling*" are the source of the Cabinet order. It even sees in this document a *presentiment* of the great reforms which are in prospect for bourgeois society. The "Prussian" lectures the *Réforme* as follows:

"The King and German society has not yet arrived at the 'presentiment of their reform',** even the Silesian and Bohemian uprisings have not aroused this feeling. It is impossible to make such an *unpolitical* country as Germany regard the *partial* distress of the factory districts as a matter of general concern, let alone as an affliction of the whole civilised world. The Germans regard this event as if it were of the same nature as any *local* distress due to flood or famine. Hence the King regards it as due to *deficiencies in the administration or in charitable activity*. For this reason, and because a few soldiers sufficed to cope with the feeble weavers, the destruction of factories and machinery, too, did not inspire any *'alarm'* either in the King or the authorities. Indeed, the Cabinet order was not prompted even by *religious feeling*: it is a very sober expression of the Christian art of statesmanship

* Special reasons prompt me to state that the present article is the first which I have contributed to *Vorwärts*. *K. M.*

** Note the stylistic and grammatical lack of sense. "The King of Prussia and society *has* not yet arrived at the presentiment of *their* (to whom does this "*their*" relate?) reform".— *Note by Marx.*

and of a doctrine which considers that no difficulties can withstand its sole medicine—'the well-disposed Christian hearts'. Poverty and crime are two great evils; who can cure them? The state and the authorities? No, but the union of all Christian hearts can."

The alleged Prussian denies the King's "*alarm*" on the grounds, among others, that a few soldiers sufficed to cope with the feeble weavers.

Therefore, in a country where ceremonial dinners with liberal toasts and liberally foaming champagne—recall the Düsseldorf festival—inspired a royal Cabinet order[39]; where *not a single* soldier was needed to shatter the desires of the *entire* liberal bourgeoisie for freedom of the press and a constitution; in a country where passive obedience is the order of the day—can it be that in such a country the necessity to employ armed force against feeble weavers is *not an event*, and not an *alarming* event? Moreover, at the first encounter the feeble weavers were victorious. They were suppressed only by subsequent troop reinforcements. Is the uprising of a body of workers less dangerous because it did not require a whole army to suppress it? Let the wise Prussian compare the uprising of the Silesian weavers with the revolts of the English workers, and the Silesian weavers will be seen by him to be *strong* weavers.

Starting out from the *general* relation of *politics* to *social ills*, we shall show why the uprising of the weavers could not cause the King any special "*alarm*". For the time being we shall say only the following: the uprising was not aimed directly against the King of Prussia, but against the bourgeoisie. As an aristocrat and absolute monarch, the King of Prussia cannot love the bourgeoisie; still less can he be alarmed if the submissiveness and impotence of the bourgeoisie is increased because of a tense and difficult relationship between it and the proletariat. Further: the orthodox Catholic is more hostile to the orthodox Protestant than to the atheist, just as the Legitimist is more hostile to the liberal than to the Communist. This is not because the atheist and the Communist are more akin to the Catholic or Legitimist, but because they are more foreign to him than are the Protestant and the liberal, being *outside* his circle. In the sphere of politics, the King of Prussia, as a politician, has his direct opposite in liberalism. For the King, the proletariat is as little an antithesis as the King is for the proletariat. The proletariat would have to have already attained considerable power for it to stifle the other antipathies and political antitheses and to divert to itself all political enmity. Finally: in view of the well-known character of the King, avid for anything *interesting* and

*significant*, it must have been a joyful surprise for him to discover this *"interesting"* and *"much discussed" pauperism* in his own territory and consequently a new opportunity for making people talk about him. How pleasant for him must have been the news that henceforth he possesses his *"own"*, royal Prussian *pauperism*!

Our *"Prussian"* is still more unlucky when he seeks to *deny* that *"religious feeling"* is the source of the royal Cabinet order.

Why is religious feeling not the source of this order? Because it is a "very *sober* expression of the Christian art of statesmanship", a *"sober"* expression of the doctrine which "considers that no difficulties can withstand its sole medicine—the well-disposed Christian hearts".

Is not *religious feeling* the source of the *Christian* art of statesmanship? Is a doctrine that has its panacea in the well-disposed *Christian hearts* not based on religious feeling? Does a *sober* expression of religious feeling cease to be an expression of religious feeling? Moreover, I maintain that it is a very *intoxicated* religious feeling with an extremely high opinion of itself which denies that the "*state and the authorities*" can "*cure great evils*" and seeks their cure in the "*union of Christian hearts*". It is a very *intoxicated* religious feeling which—as the "Prussian" himself admits—sees the whole evil in the lack of Christian feeling and therefore refers the authorities to "*admonition*" as the only means of strengthening this feeling. According to the "Prussian", the *Christian frame of mind* is the aim of the Cabinet order. When it is intoxicated, when it is not sober, religious feeling, as a matter of course, considers itself the only good. Wherever it sees evils it ascribes them to *absence* of religious feeling, for if the latter is the only good, then it alone can produce what is good. Hence the Cabinet order, being dictated by religious feeling, consistently prescribes religious feeling. A politician with a *sober* religious feeling would not in his "perplexity" seek "aid" in the "pious preacher's admonition about a Christian frame of mind".

How then does the alleged Prussian prove in the *Réforme* that the Cabinet order is not a product of religious feeling? He does so precisely by everywhere depicting the Cabinet order as a product of religious feeling. Can one expect from such an *illogical* brain an insight into social movements? Listen to him *chatting* about the attitude of *German society* to the workers' movement and to social reform in general.

Let us *distinguish*—which the "Prussian" neglects to do—the different categories contained in the expression "*German society*": the Government, the bourgeoisie, the press and, finally, the workers

themselves. These are the *different* masses with which we are concerned here. The "Prussian" lumps all these masses together and, from his lofty stand, passes sentence on them *en bloc. German society*, in his opinion, "has not yet arrived even at the *presentiment* of their reform".

Why does German society lack this instinct?

"It is impossible to make such an *unpolitical* country as Germany," replies the Prussian, "regard the *partial* distress of the factory districts as a *matter of general concern*, let alone as an affliction of the whole civilised world. The Germans regard this event as if it were of the same nature as any *local* distress due to flood or famine. Hence the King regards it as due to *deficiencies in the administration* and *in charitable activity*."

Thus the "Prussian" explains this *misinterpretation* of the distressed state of the workers as due to the *special character* of an *unpolitical* country.

It will be admitted that England is a *political* country. It will be admitted also that England is the *country of pauperism*, even the word itself is of English origin. Observing the state of things in England, therefore, is the surest means of learning the *attitude* of a *political* country to *pauperism*. In England, the distress of the workers is not *partial* but *universal*; it is not restricted to the factory districts, but extends to the rural districts. The movements here are not just beginning to arise, for almost a century they have periodically recurred.

What then is the view about *pauperism* held by the *English* bourgeoisie and the government and press connected with it?

Insofar as the English bourgeoisie acknowledges that *politics are to blame* for pauperism, the *Whig* regards the *Tory*, and the *Tory* regards the *Whig*, as the cause of pauperism. According to the Whig, the main source of pauperism is the monopoly of big landownership and the prohibitive legislation against the import of corn.[40] According to the Tory, the whole evil lies in liberalism, in competition, and in the excessive development of the factory system. Neither of the parties sees the cause in politics in general, but each sees it only in the politics of the opposing party; neither party even dreams of a reform of society.

The most definite expression of the English view of pauperism—we are speaking always of the view of the English bourgeoisie and government—is *English political economy*, i.e., the scientific reflection of English economic conditions.

One of the best and most famous English economists, McCulloch—a pupil of the cynical Ricardo—who is familiar with present-day conditions and ought to have a comprehensive view of

the movement of bourgeois society, still dares in a public lecture, and with applause from the audience, to apply to political economy what *Bacon* says about philosophy:

"The man who, with true and untiring wisdom, suspends his judgment, who goes forward step by step, surmounting one after the other the obstacles which, like mountains, hinder the course of study, will eventually reach the summit of science, where peace and pure air may be enjoyed, where nature presents itself to the eye in all its beauty, and from where it is possible to descend by a comfortably sloping path to the last details of practice." [41]

Good *pure air*—the pestilential atmosphere of English cellar dwellings! Great *beauty of nature*—the fantastic rags worn by the English poor, and the flabby, shrunken flesh of the women, undermined by labour and poverty; children crawling about in the dirt; deformity resulting from excessive labour in the monotonous mechanical operations of the factories! The most delightful *last details of practice*: prostitution, murder and the gallows!

Even that part of the English bourgeoisie which is impressed by the danger of pauperism conceives this danger, as also the means to remedy it, not merely in a *partial* way, but also, frankly speaking, in a *childish* and *stupid* way.

Thus Dr. *Kay*, for example, in his pamphlet *Recent Measures for the Promotion of Education in England* reduces everything to *neglected education*. Guess why! Owing to lack of education, the worker does not understand the *"natural laws of trade"*, laws which *necessarily* reduce him to pauperism. That is why he rebels. This could

"*affect the prosperity* of English manufactures and English commerce, shake the mutual confidence of mercantile men, and *diminish* the *stability* of political and social institutions." [42]

So great is the mental vacuity of the English bourgeoisie and its press on the subject of pauperism, this national epidemic of England.

Let us suppose then that the reproaches our "Prussian" levels against *German* society are well founded. Does the reason lie in the *unpolitical* condition of Germany? But if the bourgeoisie of *unpolitical* Germany is unable to see that a *partial* distress is a matter of general significance, the bourgeoisie of *political* England, on the other hand, manages to misunderstand the general significance of a universal state of distress—a distress the general significance of which has been made evident partly by its periodical recurrence in time, partly by its extension in space, and partly by the failure of all attempts to remedy it.

Further, the "Prussian" makes the *unpolitical* condition of Germany responsible for the fact that the *King* of Prussia finds the

cause of pauperism in *deficiencies in the administration and in charitable activity* and therefore seeks the means to counter pauperism in *administrative* and *charitable measures.*

Is this kind of view peculiar to the King of Prussia? Let us take a quick look at England, the only country where large-scale *political* action against pauperism can be said to have taken place.

The present English legislation on the poor dates from the Poor Law enacted in the 43rd year of the reign of Elizabeth.* What are the means adopted in this legislation? They consist in the obligation of the parishes to support their poor labourers, in the poor rate, and in legal charity. This legislation—charity carried out by administrative means—has lasted for two centuries. What attitude do we find adopted by Parliament, after long and painful experience, in its Amendment Bill of 1834?

First of all, it explains the frightful increase of pauperism by *"deficiencies in the administration"*.

Consequently, the administration of the poor rate, which was in the hands of officials of each of the parishes, is reformed. *Unions* are formed of about 20 parishes which are united in a single administration. A committee of officials, a Board of Guardians,[a] consisting of officials elected by the taxpayers, meets on an appointed day in the administrative centre of the Union and decides on the admissibility of relief. These Boards of Guardians are directed and supervised by government representatives sitting in a Central Commission at Somerset House, the *Ministry of Pauperism,* as a Frenchman[b] aptly calls it. The capital supervised by this administration is almost equal to the amount which the military administration in France costs. It employs 500 local administrative bodies, and each of these in its turn has at least 12 officials working for it.

The English Parliament did not restrict itself to a *formal* reform of the administration.

It found the main source of the *acute* state of English pauperism in the *Poor Law* itself. Charity, the means prescribed by law against the social malady, is alleged to promote the social malady. As far as pauperism *in general* is concerned, it is said to be an *eternal law of nature,* according to the theory of *Malthus*:

"Since population is constantly tending to overtake the means of subsistence, charity is folly, a public encouragement of poverty. The state can therefore do

* For our purpose it is not necessary to go back to the Statute of Labourers under *Edward* III.— *Note by Marx.*

[a] The words "Board of Guardians" are in English in the manuscript.— *Ed.*

[b] Eugène Buret.— *Ed.*

nothing but leave the poor to their fate and, at the most, make death easy for them."

With this philanthropic theory the English Parliament combines the view that pauperism is *poverty which the workers have brought upon themselves by their own fault,* and therefore it is not a misfortune which must be prevented, but rather a crime which has to be suppressed and punished.

Thus there arose the system of workhouses,[a] i. e., houses for the poor, the internal organisation of which tends to *deter* the poor wretches from seeking refuge in them from death by starvation. In the workhouses, charity is cunningly combined with *revenge* of the bourgeoisie on the poor who appeal to its charity.

At first, therefore, England tried to abolish pauperism by *charity* and *administrative measures.* Then it came to see in the progressive advance of pauperism not the inevitable consequence of modern *industry* but, on the contrary, the consequence of the *English poor rate.* It regarded the universal distress merely as a *specific feature* of English legislation. What was previously ascribed to a *lack of charity* now began to be attributed to an *excess of charity.* Finally, poverty came to be regarded as the fault of the poor themselves, and consequently they were punished for it.

The general significance which pauperism has acquired in *political* England is restricted to the fact that in the course of its development, in spite of all the administrative measures, pauperism has become a *national institution* and has therefore inevitably become the object of a ramified and widely extended administration, but an administration which *no longer* has the task of abolishing pauperism but of *disciplining* it, of perpetuating it. This administration has given up trying to stop pauperism at its source by *positive* methods; it is satisfied to dig a grave for it with policeman-like gentleness whenever it wells up to the surface of the official world. Far from going beyond administrative and charitable measures, the English state has taken a big step backwards from them. Its administration now extends only to *that* pauperism which is so desperate as to allow itself to be caught and locked up.

So far, therefore, the "Prussian" has not shown that there is anything *original* in the course adopted by the King of Prussia. But *why,* exclaims our great man with *rare naivety,*

"why does the King of Prussia *not at once issue a decree for the education of all uncared-for children?*"

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[a] This word is here and further on given in English in the original.—*Ed.*

Why does he first turn to the authorities and await their plans and proposals?

Our super-clever "Prussian" will be reassured when he learns that the King of Prussia is as little original in this matter as in all his other actions, and that the course he has taken is even the only possible one a head of state *can* take.

*Napoleon* wanted to abolish mendicancy at a stroke. He charged his official bodies with the preparation of plans for *eradicating mendicancy* throughout France. The drawing-up of a project dragged on. Napoleon lost patience. He wrote to Crétet, his Minister of Internal Affairs, ordering him to abolish mendicancy within one month. Napoleon said:

"One ought not to traverse this earth without leaving behind traces which would earn us the grateful memory of posterity. Do not ask me for another three or four months for collecting information. You have young judges, wise prefects, well-trained engineers from the department for roads and bridges; set them all in motion, do not go to sleep in performing ordinary office work."[a]

Within a few months everything was done. On July 5, 1808, the law abolishing mendicancy was promulgated. How? By means of the *dépôts*,[b] which so quickly became converted into punitive institutions that very soon the poor entered them only by order of the *police-court*. Nevertheless M. Noailles du Gard, a member of the Legislative Corps, exclaimed at the time:

"Eternal gratitude to the hero who gave a refuge to those in need, and means of subsistence to the poor. Children will no longer be left to their fate; poor families will no longer be deprived of a source of sustenance, and the workers of encouragement and occupation. *Nos pas ne seront plus arrêtés par l'image dégoûtante des infirmités et de la honteuse misère.*"[c]

The final cynical passage is the only truth in this eulogy.

If Napoleon addresses himself to the intelligence of his judges, prefects and engineers, why should not the King of Prussia appeal to his official bodies?

Why did Napoleon not *at once* issue a decree for the abolition of mendicancy? This is on the same level as the "Prussian's" question: "Why does the King of Prussia not at once issue a decree for the education of all uncared-for children?" Does the "Prussian" know what the King would have to decree? Nothing less than the *abolition of the proletariat*. In order to educate children

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[a] This passage is taken from E. Buret, *De la misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France...*, *t.* 1, p. 227.— *Ed.*

[b] *Dépôt de mendicité*—i.e., workhouse.— *Ed.*

[c] "No longer will the sight of disgusting afflictions and disgraceful poverty dog our footsteps." This passage is taken from E. Buret's book, t. 1, pp. 229-30.—*Ed.*

they have to be *fed* and freed from *wage-labour*. The feeding and education of uncared-for children, i. e., the feeding and education of the *entire rising generation* of the proletariat, would be the *abolition* of the proletariat and pauperism.

The *Convention* at one moment had the courage to *decree* the abolition of pauperism—though not "*at once*", as the "Prussian" demands of his King, but only after it had instructed the Committee of Public Safety to draw up the necessary plans and proposals and after this Committee had made use of the extensive researches of the Constituent Assembly on the conditions of the French poor, and had proposed through Barère the institution of a *Livre de la bienfaisance nationale*, etc. What was the result of the Convention's decree? That one more decree came into the world and *one* year later starving women besieged the Convention.[43]

Yet the Convention represented the *maximum of political energy, political power* and *political understanding*.

*No* government in the world has issued *regulations* regarding pauperism *at once*, without reaching agreement with the authorities. The English Parliament even sent representatives to all the countries of Europe to learn about the various administrative remedies for pauperism. But insofar as the states have occupied themselves with pauperism, they have either confined themselves to *administrative* and *charitable measures*, or they have retreated to less than administrative action and charity.

Can the state act in any other way?

The *state*—contrary to what the Prussian demands of his King—will *never* see in "*the state* and the *system of society*" the source of *social maladies*. Where political parties exist, each party sees the root of *every* evil in the fact that instead of itself an opposing party stands at the *helm of the state*. Even radical and revolutionary politicians seek the root of the evil not in the *essential nature* of the state, but in a definite *state form*, which they wish to replace by a *different* state form.

From the *political* point of view, the *state* and the *system of society* are not *two* different things. The state is the system of society. Insofar as the state admits the existence of *social* defects, it sees their cause either in the *laws of nature*, which no human power can command, or in *private life*, which does not depend on the state, or in the *inexpedient activity of the administration*, which does not depend on it. Thus England sees the cause of poverty in the *law of nature* by which the population must always be in excess of the means of subsistence. On the other hand, England explains *pauperism* as due to the *bad will of the poor*, just as the King of Prussia explains it by

the *un-Christian feelings of the rich,* and just as the Convention explained it by the *suspect counter-revolutionary mentality of the property-owners.* Therefore England punishes the poor, the King of Prussia admonishes the rich, and the Convention cuts off the heads of the property owners.

Finally, *every* state seeks the cause in *accidental* or *deliberate shortcomings of the administration,* and therefore it seeks the remedy for its ills *in measures* of the administration. Why? Precisely because *administration* is the *organising* activity of the state.

The *contradiction* between the purpose and goodwill of the administration, on the one hand, and its means and possibilities, on the other hand, cannot be abolished by the state without the latter abolishing itself, for it is *based* on this contradiction. The state is based on the contradiction between *public* and *private life,* on the contradiction between *general interests* and *private interests.* Hence the *administration* has to confine itself to a *formal* and *negative* activity, for where civil life and its labour begin, there the power of the administration ends. Indeed, confronted by the consequences which arise from the unsocial nature of this civil life, this private ownership, this trade, this industry, this mutual plundering of the various circles of citizens, confronted by all these consequences, *impotence* is the *law of nature* of the administration. For this fragmentation, this baseness, this *slavery of civil society* is the natural foundation on which the *modern* state rests, just as the *civil society of slavery* was the natural foundation on which the *ancient* state rested. The existence of the state and the existence of slavery are inseparable. The ancient state and ancient slavery — these straightforward *classic* opposites — were not more intimately *riveted* to each other than are the modern state and the modern commercial world, these hypocritical *Christian* opposites. If the modern state wanted to abolish the *impotence* of its administration, it would have to abolish the *private life* of today. But if it wanted to abolish private life, it would have to abolish itself, for it exists *only* in the contradiction to private life. But no *living being* believes that the shortcomings of his existence have their basis in the *principle* of his life, in the essence of his life; everyone believes that their basis lies in circumstances *external* to his life. *Suicide* is against nature. Therefore the state cannot believe in the *inherent* impotence of its administration, i. e., in its own impotence. It can perceive *only* formal, accidental deficiencies in its administration and try to remedy them. And if these modifications prove fruitless, the conclusion is drawn that social ills are a natural imperfection independent of man, a *law of God*

or—that the will of private individuals is too spoilt to be able to respond to the good intentions of the administration. And how preposterous these private individuals are! They grumble at the government whenever it restricts their freedom, and at the same time they demand that the government prevent the inevitable results of this freedom!

The mightier the state, and the *more political* therefore a country is, the less is it inclined to grasp the *general* principle of *social* maladies and to seek their basis in the *principle of the state,* hence in the *present structure of society,* the active, conscious and official expression of which is the state. The *political* mind is a *political* mind precisely because it thinks *within* the framework of politics. The keener and more lively it is, the *more incapable* is it of understanding social ills. The *classic* period of political intellect is the *French Revolution.* Far from seeing the source of social shortcomings in the principle of the state, the heroes of the French Revolution instead saw in social defects the source of political evils. Thus, *Robespierre* saw in great poverty and great wealth only an obstacle to *pure democracy.* Therefore he wished to establish a universal Spartan frugality. The principle of politics is the *will.* The more one-sided and, therefore, the more perfected the *political* mind is, the more does it believe in the *omnipotence* of the will, the more is it blind to the *natural* and spiritual *limits* of the will, and the more incapable is it therefore of discovering the source of social ills. There is no need of further argument against the "Prussian's" silly hope that "*political understanding*" is destined "to discover *the roots of social distress* in Germany".

It was foolish to expect from the King of Prussia not only a power such as the Convention and Napoleon together did not possess; it was foolish to expect from him a manner of viewing things that transcends the bounds of *all* politics and which the wise "Prussian" himself is no closer to possessing than is his King. This whole declaration was all the more foolish in that the "Prussian" admits to us:

"Good words and a good frame of mind are *cheap*; insight and successful deeds are *dear*; in the present case they are *more than dear*, they *are still not at all to be had.*"

If they are still not at all to be had, then one should appreciate the attempts of anyone to do whatever is possible for him in his situation. For the rest, I leave it to the tact of the reader to decide whether in this connection the commercial gipsy jargon, i.e., "cheap", "dear", "more than dear", "still not at all to be had", is to be included in the category of "*good* words" and a "*good* frame of mind".

Let us suppose then that the "Prussian's" remarks about the German Government and the German bourgeoisie — after all the latter is included in "German society" — are entirely well founded. Is this section of society more at a loss in Germany than in England and France? Can one be more at a loss than, for example, in England, where *perplexity* has been made into a system? When today workers' revolts break out throughout England, the bourgeoisie and government there know no better what to do than in the last third of the eighteenth century. Their sole expedient is material force, and since this material force diminishes in the same proportion as the spread of pauperism and the understanding of the proletariat increase, England's perplexity inevitably grows in geometrical progression.

Finally, it is *untrue, actually untrue,* that the German bourgeoisie totally fails to understand the general significance of the Silesian uprising. In several towns the masters are trying to act jointly with the apprentices. All the *liberal* German newspapers, the organs of the liberal bourgeoisie, teem with articles about the organisation of labour, the reform of society, criticism of monopolies and competition, etc. All this is the result of the movements among the workers. The newspapers of Trier, Aachen, Cologne, Wesel, Mannheim, Breslau, and even of Berlin, often publish quite reasonable articles on social questions from which the "Prussian" could after all learn something. Moreover, letters from Germany constantly express surprise at the slight resistance shown by the bourgeoisie against *social* tendencies and ideas.

The "Prussian" — if he were more familiar with the history of the social movement — would have put his question the other way round. Why does even the German bourgeoisie interpret a partial state of distress in such a comparatively universal manner? Whence the *hostility* and *cynicism* of the *politically-minded* bourgeoisie towards the proletariat, and whence the *lack of resistance* and the *sympathy* towards it of the *non-politically-minded* bourgeoisie?

[*Vorwärts*! No. 64, August 10, 1844]

Let us pass now to the oracular pronouncements of the "Prussian" on the *German workers.*

"*The German poor,*" he says wittily, "*are no wiser than the poor Germans,* i. e., *nowhere* do they see beyond their own hearth and home, their own factory, their own district; the whole question has *so far still* been ignored by the all-penetrating *political soul.*"

In order to be able to compare the condition of the German workers with the condition of the French and English workers, the "Prussian" would have had to compare the *first form*, the *start*, of the English and French workers' movement with the *German* movement that is *just beginning*. He failed to do so. Consequently, his arguments lead to trivialities, such as that *industry* in Germany is not yet so developed as in England, or that a movement at its start looks different from the movement in its subsequent progress. He wanted to speak about the *specific character* of the German workers' movement, but he has not a word to say on this subject of his.

On the other hand, suppose the "Prussian" were to adopt the correct standpoint. He will find that *not one* of the French and English workers' uprisings had such a *theoretical* and *conscious* character as the uprising of the Silesian weavers.

First of all, recall the *song of the weavers*,[44] that bold *call* to struggle, in which there is not even a mention of hearth and home, factory or district, but in which the proletariat at once, in a striking, sharp, unrestrained and powerful manner, proclaims its opposition to the society of private property. The Silesian uprising *begins* precisely with what the French and English workers' uprisings *end*, with consciousness of the nature of the proletariat. The action itself bears the stamp of this *superior* character. Not only machines, these rivals of the workers, are destroyed, but also *ledgers*, the titles to property. And while all other movements were aimed primarily only against the *owner of the industrial enterprise*, the visible enemy, this movement is at the same time directed against the banker, the hidden enemy. Finally, not a single English workers' uprising was carried out with such courage, thought and endurance.

As for the educational level or capacity for education of the German workers in general, I call to mind *Weitling*'s brilliant writings, which as regards theory are often superior even to those of *Proudhon*, however much they are inferior to the latter in their execution. Where among the bourgeoisie—including its philosophers and learned writers—is to be found a book about the emancipation of the bourgeoisie—*political* emancipation—similar to Weitling's work: *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit*? It is enough to compare the petty, faint-hearted mediocrity of German political literature with this *vehement* and brilliant literary debut of the German workers, it is enough to compare these gigantic *infant shoes* of the proletariat with the dwarfish, worn-out political shoes of the German bourgeoisie, and one is

bound to prophesy that the *German Cinderella* will one day have the *figure of an athlete.* It has to be admitted that the German proletariat is the *theoretician* of the European proletariat, just as the English proletariat is its *economist,* and the French proletariat its *politician.* It has to be admitted that Germany is just as much *classically* destined for a *social* revolution as it is incapable of a *political* one. For, just as the impotence of the German bourgeoisie is the *political* impotence of Germany, so also the capability of the German proletariat—even apart from German theory—represents the *social* capability of Germany. The disparity between the philosophical and the political development of Germany is not an *anomaly.* It is an inevitable disparity. A philosophical people can find its corresponding practice only in socialism, hence it is only in the *proletariat* that it can find the dynamic element of its emancipation.

At the present moment, however, I have neither the time nor the desire to explain to the "Prussian" the relationship of "German society" to social revolution, and, arising from this relationship, on the one hand, the feeble reaction of the German bourgeoisie against socialism and, on the other hand, the excellent capabilities of the German proletariat for socialism. He will find the first rudiments for an understanding of this phenomenon in my "Einleitung zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie" (*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*).[a]

The wisdom of the *German poor,* therefore, is in *inverse* ratio to the wisdom of *poor Germans.* But people for whom every subject has to serve as a vehicle for stylistic exercises performed in public hit upon a distorted content owing to this *formal* kind of activity, while the distorted content, for its part, puts its stamp of baseness on the form. Thus, the "Prussian's" attempt—when an opportunity such as the Silesian workers' disturbances presents itself—to develop his arguments in the form of an antithesis leads him to the greatest antithesis to the truth. Confronted with the first outbreak of the Silesian workers' uprising, the sole task of one who thinks and loves the truth consisted not in playing the role of *schoolmaster* in relation to this event, but instead in studying its *specific* character. This, of course, requires some scientific insight and some love of mankind, whereas for the other operation a glib phraseology, impregnated with empty love of oneself, is quite enough.

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[a] "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction" (see this volume, pp. 175-87).—*Ed.*

Why does the "Prussian" judge the German workers so contemptuously? Because he finds that the "whole question"—namely, the question of the distressed state of the workers—has *"so far still"* been ignored by the "all-penetrating *political* soul". He expounds his platonic love for the *political soul* in more detail as follows:

"All uprisings which break out in this disastrous *isolation of people from the community,* and of their *thoughts from social principles,* will be smothered in blood and incomprehension; but when distress produces understanding, and the *political* understanding of the Germans discovers the roots of social distress, then in Germany too these events will be appreciated as symptoms of a great revolution."

First of all, let the "Prussian" allow us to make a comment of a *stylistic* nature. His antithesis is defective. In the first half it says: "when *distress* produces *understanding*", but in the second it says: "when *political understanding* discovers the roots *of social distress*". The *simple* understanding of the first half of the antithesis becomes *political* understanding in the second half, just as the *simple* distress of the first half of the antithesis becomes *social* distress in the second half. Why does our stylistic artist endow the two halves of his antithesis so unequally? I do not think that he realised why he did it. I will explain to him his correct *instinct* here. If the "Prussian" had written "when *social* distress produces *political* understanding, and *political understanding* discovers the roots of *social* distress", no unbiassed reader could have failed to see the *nonsense* of this antithesis. Everyone would at once have asked himself: why does the anonymous author not couple social understanding with social distress, and political understanding with political distress, as the simplest logic requires? And now to the matter itself!

That *social distress* produces *political* understanding is so incorrect that, on the contrary, what is correct is the opposite: *social well-being* produces *political* understanding. *Political* understanding is a spiritualist, and is given to him who already has, to him who is already comfortably situated. Let our "Prussian" listen to a French economist, M. *Michel Chevalier,* on this subject:

"When the bourgeoisie rose up in 1789, it lacked—in order to be free—only participation in governing the country. Emancipation consisted for it in wresting the control of public affairs, the principal civil, military and religious functions, from the hands of the privileged who had the monopoly of these functions. *Rich* and *enlightened,* capable of being self-sufficient and of managing its own affairs, it wanted to escape from the system of arbitrary rule."[a]

We have already shown the "Prussian" how incapable *political*

[a] M. Chevalier, *Des intérêts matériels en France,* p. 3 (Marx gives a free translation).— *Ed.*

understanding is of discovering the source of social distress. Just *one* word more on this view of his. The more developed and universal the *political* understanding of a people, the more does the *proletariat*—at any rate at the beginning of the movement—squander its forces in senseless, useless revolts, which are drowned in blood. Because it thinks in the framework of politics, the proletariat sees the cause of all evils in the *will,* and all means of remedy in *violence* and in the *overthrow* of a *particular* form of state. The proof: the first uprisings of the *French* proletariat.[45] The Lyons workers believed that they were pursuing only political aims, that they were only soldiers of the republic, whereas actually they were soldiers of socialism. Thus their political understanding concealed from them the roots of social distress, thus it falsified their insight into their real aim, thus their *political understanding deceived* their *social instinct.*

But if the "Prussian" expects understanding to be produced by distress, why does he lump together *"smothering in blood"* and *"smothering in incomprehension"*? If distress is in general a means of producing understanding, then *bloody* distress is even a *very acute* means to this end. The "Prussian" therefore should have said: smothering in blood will smother incomprehension and procure a proper current of air for the understanding.

The "Prussian" prophesies the smothering of uprisings which break out in *"disastrous isolation of people from the community,* and in the *separation of their thoughts from social principles".*

We have shown that the Silesian uprising occurred by no means in circumstances of the separation of thoughts from social principles. It only remains for us to deal with the *"disastrous isolation of people from the community".* By community here is meant the *political community,* the *state.* This is the old story about *unpolitical* Germany.

But do not *all* uprisings, without exception, break out in a *disastrous isolation of man from the community*? Does not *every* uprising necessarily presuppose isolation? Would the 1789 revolution have taken place without the disastrous isolation of French citizens from the community? It was intended precisely to abolish this isolation.

But the *community* from which the worker is *isolated* is a community the real character and scope of which is quite different from that of the *political* community. The community from which the worker is isolated by *his own labour* is *life* itself, physical and mental life, human morality, human activity, human enjoyment, *human* nature. *Human nature* is the *true community* of men. The

disastrous isolation from this essential nature is incomparably more universal, more intolerable, more dreadful, and more contradictory, than isolation from the political community. Hence, too, the *abolition* of this isolation—and even a partial reaction to it, an *uprising* against it—is just as much more infinite as *man* is more infinite than the *citizen,* and *human life* more infinite than *political life.* Therefore, however *partial* the uprising of the *industrial workers* may be, it contains within itself a *universal* soul; however universal a *political* uprising may be, it conceals even in its *most grandiose* form a *narrow-minded* spirit.

The "Prussian" worthily concludes his article with the following sentence:

"*A social revolution without a political soul* (i.e., without an organising idea from the point of view of the whole) is impossible."

We have already seen that a *social* revolution is found to have the point of view of the *whole* because—even if it were to occur in only *one* factory district—it represents man's protest against a dehumanised life, because it starts out from the *point of view of a separate real individual,* because the *community,* against the separation of which from himself the individual reacts, is man's *true* community, *human* nature. The *political soul* of revolution, on the other hand, consists in the *tendency* of classes having no political influence to abolish their *isolation* from *statehood* and *rule.* Its point of view is that of the state, of an *abstract* whole, which exists *only* through separation from real life, and which is *inconceivable* without the *organised* contradiction between the universal idea of man and the individual existence of man. Hence, too, a revolution with a *political soul,* in accordance with the *limited* and *dichotomous* nature of this soul, organises a ruling stratum in society at the expense of society itself.

We want to divulge to the "Prussian" what a "*social revolution* with a *political* soul" actually is; we shall thereby at the same time confide the secret to him that he himself is unable, even in *words,* to rise above the narrow-minded political point of view.

A "*social*" revolution with a *political* soul is either a nonsensical concoction, if by "social" revolution the "Prussian" means a "social" as *opppsed* to a political revolution, and nevertheless endows the social revolution with a political soul instead of a social one; or else a "*social revolution with a political soul*" is only a *paraphrase* for what was usually called a "*political revolution*", or "*simply a revolution*". Every revolution dissolves the *old society* and to that extent it is *social.* Every revolution overthrows the *old power* and to that extent it is *political.*

Let the "Prussian" choose between the *paraphrase* and the *nonsense*! But whereas a *social revolution* with a *political soul* is a paraphrase or nonsense, a *political revolution* with a *social* soul has a rational meaning. *Revolution* in general—the *overthrow* of the existing power and *dissolution* of the old relationships—is a *political act.* But *socialism* cannot be realised without *revolution.* It needs this *political* act insofar as it needs *destruction* and *dissolution.* But where its *organising activity* begins, where its *proper object,* its *soul,* comes to the fore—there socialism throws off the *political* cloak.

How much detailed argument has been necessary to tear to pieces the *tissue* of errors concealed on a single newspaper column. Not all readers can have the education and time to get to the bottom of such *literary charlatanism.* Is it therefore not the anonymous "Prussian's" duty to the reading public to refrain for the time being from all writing on political and social matters, such as the declamations about conditions in Germany, and instead sincerely try to come to an understanding of his own condition?

Paris, July 31, 1844.

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Printed according to the newspaper

# ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE LATEST EXERCISE IN CABINET STYLE OF FREDERICK WILLIAM IV

"I cannot leave the soil of the Fatherland, although only for a short time, without expressing publicly the deeply-felt gratitude in My and the Queen's[a] name by which Our heart has been moved. It has heen produced by the innumerable verbal and written proofs of the love for Us which the attempt of July 26 has evoked—of the love which jubilantly acclaimed Us at the moment of the crime itself, when the hand of the Almighty cast the deadly bullet away from My breast to the ground. While looking upwards to the divine Saviour, I go with new courage about My daily work, to complete what has been begun, to carry out what has been prepared, to combat evil with new certainty of victory, and to be to My people what My high vocation imposes on Me, and My people's love merits.

"Erdmannsdorf, August 5, 1844

(signed)*Frederick William*"[46]

Immediate emotion is a bad writer. The letter which a lover writes in great excitement to his beloved is no model of style, but it is just this *confusion* of expression that is the *clearest,* most obvious and most moving expression of the power of love over the writer of the letter. The power of love over the letter-writer is the power of his beloved over him. That passionate unclarity and erratic confusion of style therefore flatters the heart of the beloved, since the reflected, general, and therefore untrustworthy nature of the language has assumed a directly individual, sensuously powerful, and hence absolutely trustworthy, character. The trusting faith in the truth of the love that the lover expresses for her, however, is the supreme joy of the loved one, her faith in herself.

From these premises it follows: We perform an inestimable service for the *Prussian* people when we put the inner *truth* of the

[a] Queen Elizabeth.— *Ed.*

royal gratitude beyond all doubt. We put this truth beyond all doubt, however, by proving the force of the thankful feeling over the royal writer, and we prove the force of this feeling over the royal writer by demonstrating the *stylistic confusion* of the cabinet edict in *expressing thanks.* Hence the aim of our patriotic analysis will not be misinterpreted.

"I cannot leave the soil of the Fatherland, although only for a short time, without expressing publicly the deeply-felt gratitude in My and the Queen's name by which Our heart has been moved."

By the construction of the sentence, it might be thought at first glance that the royal bosoms were moved by their own *name.* If amazement at this peculiar movement makes one think again, one sees that the relative conjunction "*by which* our heart has been moved" refers not to the *name,* but to the more remotely situated *gratitude.* The singular "*Our heart*" for the heart of the king and the heart of the queen can be justified as poetic licence, as a cordial expression of the cordial unity of the cordial royal couple. The laconic brevity: "in My and the Queen's name", instead of "in My name and in the name of the Queen", can easily lead to a false interpretation. "My and the Queen's name" could be understood to mean the *simple* name of the king, since the name of the husband is the name of the husband and the wife. Now, it is true that it is a privilege of great men and of children to make their *name* the subject of the sentence instead of saying "I". Thus Caesar could say "Caesar conquered" instead of "I conquered". Thus children do not say "I want to go to the school in Vienna", but "Friedrich, Karl, or Wilhelm, etc., wants to go to the school in Vienna". But it would be a dangerous innovation to make one's "I" the subject of the sentence and at the same time to give an assurance that this "I" speaks in his "own" name. Such an assurance could seem to contain a confession that one did not usually speak from one's own inspiration. "I cannot leave the soil of the Fatherland, although only for a short time" is neither a very skilful nor a more easily intelligible rephrasing of "I cannot leave the soil of the Fatherland, even for a short time, without, etc." The difficulty is due to the combination of three ideas: (1) that the king is leaving his homeland, (2) that he is leaving it only for a short time, (3) that he feels a need to thank the people. The too compressed utterance of these ideas makes it appear that the king expresses his *gratitude* only because he is leaving his homeland. But if the gratitude was seriously meant, if it came from the heart, then its utterance could not possibly be linked with such a

chance occurrence. Under all circumstances, the full heart speaks for itself.

"It" (the gratitude) "has been produced by the innumerable verbal and written proofs of the love for Us *which* the attempt of July 26 has evoked—*of the* love which jubilantly acclaimed Us at the moment of the crime itself, when the hand of the Almighty cast the deadly bullet away from My breast to the ground."

It is not clear whether the attempt evoked the love or the proofs of the love, the more so because the genitive "of the love" after the parenthesis appears again as the governing and emphasised phrase in the sentence. The stylistic boldness of the repetition of the genitive is very noticeable. The difficulty increases when we examine the content of the sentence. Was it correct that the love which spoke and wrote was described directly as the subject which shouted in the street? Did not chronological truth require that one should begin with the love that was voiced at once in the presence of the occurrence and only then go on to the subsequent expressions of love in writing and speech?

Should one not have avoided the suspicion that the king desires simultaneously to flatter both the aristocracy and the people? *The aristocracy* because their written and verbal expressions of love, although coming later in time than the popular expressions of love, nevertheless by their effect were earlier able to arouse gratitude in the royal heart; the *people* because its jubilant love is declared to be essentially the same as the written and verbal love, that is, the hereditary nobility of love is abolished? Lastly, it does not seem altogether appropriate to cause the "*bullet*" to be warded off directly by the hand of God, since in this way even a slight degree of consistent thought will arrive at the false conclusion that God at the same time both guided the hand of the criminal and diverted the bullet away from the king; for how can one presume a one-sided action on the part of God?

"While looking upwards to the divine Saviour, I go with new courage about My daily work, to complete what has been begun, to carry out what has been prepared, to combat evil with [...] certainty of victory, and to be to My people what My high vocation imposes on Me, and My people's love merits."

One cannot very well say: "I go" "to be something". At the most one can go "to become something". The motion involved in becoming appears at least as the result of the motion of going, although we would not recommend even the latter turn of phrase as correct. That His Majesty "*goes* while *looking upwards to God*" "to complete what has been begun, to carry out what has been prepared", does not seem to offer a good prospect for either the

completion or the carrying out. In order to complete what has been begun and to carry out what has been prepared one must keep one's eyes firmly fixed on what has been begun and prepared and not look away from these objects to gaze into the blue sky. One who truly "goes while looking upwards to God", will he not be "*completely absorbed* by the sight of God"? Will he not *lose all interest* in *worldly* plans and ideas? The isolated final phrase, left on its own after a comma: "and My people's love merits", seems to point to an unexpressed, hidden subsequent clause, something like: "merits the knout of my brother-in-law Nicholas and the policy of our neighbour Metternich"; or also: "merits the petty constitution devised by the knightly Bunsen".[47]

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## [COMMENTS ON JAMES MILL, *ÉLÉMENS D'ÉCONOMIE POLITIQUE* Translated by J. T. Parisot, Paris, 1823][48]

||XXV|[a] In the compensation of money and value of metal, as in his description of the cost of production as the only factor in determining value,[49] Mill commits the mistake—like the school of Ricardo in general—of stating the *abstract law* without the change or continual supersession of this law through which alone it comes into being. If it is a *constant* law that, for example, the cost of production in the last instance—or rather when demand and supply are in equilibrium which occurs sporadically, fortuitously—determines the price (value), it is just as much a *constant law* that they are not in equilibrium, and that therefore value and cost of production stand in no necessary relationship. Indeed, there is always only a momentary equilibrium of demand and supply owing to the previous fluctuation of demand and supply, owing to the disproportion between cost of production and exchange-value, just as this fluctuation and this disproportion likewise again follow the momentary state of equilibrium. This *real* movement, of which that law is only an abstract, fortuitous and one-sided factor, is made by recent political economy into something accidental and inessential. Why? Because in the acute and precise formulas to which they reduce political economy, the basic formula, if they wished to express that movement abstractly, would have to be: In political economy, law is determined by its opposite, absence of law. The true law of political economy is *chance*, from whose movement we, the scientific men, isolate certain factors arbitrarily in the form of laws.

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[a] The Roman figures refer to Marx's Paris Notebook number four.—*Ed.*

Mill very well expresses the essence of the matter in the form of a concept by characterising *money* as the *medium* of exchange. The essence of money is not, in the first place, that property is alienated in it, but that the *mediating activity* or movement, the *human,* social act by which man's products mutually complement one another, is *estranged* from man and becomes the attribute of money, a *material thing* outside man. Since man alienates this mediating activity itself, he is active here only as a man who has lost himself and is dehumanised; the *relation* itself between things, man's operation with them, becomes the operation of an entity outside man and above man. Owing to this *alien mediator*—instead of man himself being the mediator for man—man regards his will, his activity and his relation to other men as a power independent of him and them. His slavery, therefore, reaches its peak. It is clear that this *mediator* now becomes a *real God,* for the mediator is the *real power* over what it mediates to me. Its cult becomes an end in itself. Objects separated from this mediator have lost their value. Hence the objects only have value insofar as they *represent* the mediator, whereas originally it seemed that the mediator had value only insofar as *it* represented *them.* This reversal of the original relationship is inevitable. This *mediator* is therefore the lost, estranged *essence* of private property, private property which has become *alienated,* external to itself, just as it is the *alienated* species-activity of man, the *externalised mediation* between man's production and man's production. All the qualities which arise in the course of this activity are, therefore, transferred to this mediator. Hence man becomes the poorer as man, i.e., separated from this mediator, the *richer* this mediator becomes.

Christ *represents* originally: 1) men before God; 2) God for men; 3) men to man.

Similarly, *money* represents originally, in accordance with the idea of money: 1) private property for private property; 2) society for private property; 3) private property for society.

But Christ is *alienated* God and alienated *man.* God has value only insofar as he represents Christ, and man has value only insofar as he represents Christ. It is the same with money.

Why must private property develop into the *money system*? Because man as a social being must proceed to *exchange* ||XXV|[a] and because exchange—private property being presupposed—must evolve value. The mediating process between men

[a] Two consecutive pages are numbered XXV.—*Ed.*

engaged in exchange is not a social or human process, not *human relationship*; it is the *abstract relationship* of private property to private property, and the expression of this *abstract* relationship is *value*, whose actual existence as value constitutes *money*. Since men engaged in exchange do not relate to each other as men, *things* lose the significance of human, personal property. The social relationship of private property to private property is already a relationship in which private property is estranged from itself. The form of existence for itself of this relationship, money, is therefore the alienation of private property, the abstraction from its *specific*, personal nature.

Hence the opposition of modern political economy to the monetary system, the *système monétaire*,[50] cannot achieve any decisive victory in spite of all its cleverness. For if the crude economic superstition of the people and governments clings to the *sensuous, tangible, conspicuous* money-bag, and therefore believes both in the absolute value of the precious metals and possession of them as the sole reality of wealth—and if then the enlightened, worldly-wise economist comes forward and proves to them that money is a commodity like any other, the value of which, like that of any other commodity, depends therefore on the relation of the cost of production to demand, competition, and supply, to the quantity or competition of the other commodities—this economist is given the correct reply that nevertheless the *real* value of things is their *exchange-value* and this in the last instance exists in money, as the latter does in the precious metals, and that consequently money represents the *true* value of things and for that reason money is the most desirable thing. Indeed, in the last instance the economist's theory itself amounts to this wisdom, the only difference being that he possesses the capacity of abstraction, the capacity to recognise the existence of money under all forms of commodities and therefore not to believe in the exclusive value of its official metallic mode of existence. The metallic existence of money is only the official palpable expression of the soul of money, which is present in all branches of production and in all activities of bourgeois society.

The opposition of modern economists to the monetary system is merely that they have conceived the *essence of money* in its abstract universality and are therefore enlightened about the *sensuous* superstition which believes in the exclusive existence of this essence in precious metal. They substitute refined superstition for crude superstition. Since, however, in essence both have the same root, the enlightened form of the superstition cannot succeed in

supplanting completely the crude sensuous form, because the former does not attack the essence of the latter but only the particular form of this essence.

The *personal* mode of existence of money as money—and not only as the inner, implicit, hidden social relationship or *class relationship* between commodities—this mode of existence corresponds the more to the essence of money, the more abstract it is, the less it has a *natural* relationship to the other commodities, the more it appears as the product and yet as the non-product of man, the less *primitive* its sphere of existence, the more it is created by man or, in economic terms, the greater the *inverse* relationship of its *value as money* to the exchange-value or money value of the material in which it exists. Hence *paper money* and the whole number of *paper representatives of money* (such as bills of exchange, mandates, promissory notes, etc.) are the *more perfect* mode of existence of *money as money* and a necessary factor in the progressive development of the money system. In the *credit system,* of which *banking* is the perfect expression, it appears as if the power of the alien, material force were broken, the relationship of self-estrangement abolished and man had once more human relations to man. The *Saint-Simonists,* deceived by this *appearance,* regarded the development of money, bills of exchange, paper money, paper representatives of money, *credit, banking,* as a gradual abolition of the separation of man from things, of capital from labour, of private property from money and of money from man, and of the separation of man from man. An organised *banking system* is therefore their ideal. But this abolition of ||XXVI| estrangement, this *return* of man to himself and therefore to other men is only an *appearance*; the self-estrangement, the dehumanisation, is all the more *infamous* and *extreme* because its element is no longer commodity, metal, paper, but man's *moral* existence, man's *social* existence, the *inmost depths* of his heart, and because under the appearance of man's *trust* in man it is the height of *distrust* and complete estrangement. What constitutes the essence of *credit*? We leave entirely out of account here the *content* of credit, which is again money. We leave out of account, therefore, the *content* of this trust in accordance with which a man *recognises* another man by advancing him a certain quantity of value and—at best, namely, when he does not demand payment for the credit, i.e., he is not a usurer—showing his trust in his fellow man not being a swindler, but a "good" man. By a "good" man, the one who bestows his trust understands, like Shylock, a man who is "able to pay".

Credit is conceivable in two relationships and under two different conditions. The two relationships are: first, a rich man gives credit to a poor man whom he considers industrious and decent. This kind of credit belongs to the romantic, sentimental part of political economy, to its aberrations, excesses, *exceptions,* not to the *rule.* But even assuming this exception and granting this romantic possibility, the life of the poor man and his talents and activity serve the rich man as a *guarantee* of the repayment of the money lent. That means, therefore, that all the social virtues of the poor man, the content of his vital activity, his existence itself, represent for the rich man the reimbursement of his capital with the customary interest. Hence the death of the poor man is the worst eventuality for the creditor. It is the death of his capital together with the interest. One ought to consider how vile it is to *estimate* the value of a man in *money,* as happens in the credit relationship. As a matter of course, the creditor possesses, besides *moral* guarantees, also the guarantee of *legal* compulsion and still other more or less *real* guarantees for his man. If the man to whom credit is given is himself a man of means, *credit* becomes merely a *medium* facilitating exchange, that is to say, *money* itself is raised to a completely *ideal* form. *Credit* is the *economic* judgment on the *morality* of a man. In credit, the *man* himself, instead of metal or paper, has become the *mediator* of exchange, not however as a man, but as the *mode of existence of capital* and interest. The medium of exchange, therefore, has certainly returned out of its material form and been put back in man, but only because the man himself has been put outside himself and has himself assumed a material form. Within the credit relationship, it is not the case that money is transcended in man, but that man himself is turned into *money,* or money is *incorporated* in him. *Human individuality,* human *morality* itself, has become both an object of commerce and the *material* in which money exists. Instead of money, or paper, it is my own personal existence, my flesh and blood, my social virtue and importance, which constitutes the material, corporeal form of the *spirit of money.* Credit no longer resolves the value of money into money but into human flesh and the human heart. Such is the extent to which all progress and all inconsistencies within a false system are extreme retrogression and the extreme consequence of vileness.

Within the credit system, its nature, estranged from man, under the appearance of an extreme economic appreciation of man, operates in a double way:

1) The antithesis between capitalist and worker, between big and

small capitalists, becomes still greater since credit is given only to him who already has, and is a new opportunity of accumulation for the rich man, or since the poor man finds that the arbitrary discretion of the rich man and the latter's judgment over him confirm or deny his *entire* existence and that his existence is wholly dependent on this contingency.

2) Mutual dissimulation, hypocrisy and sanctimoniousness are carried to extreme lengths, so that on the man without credit is pronounced not only the simple judgment that he is poor, but in addition a pejorative moral judgment that he possesses no trust, no recognition, and therefore is a social pariah, a bad man, and in addition to his privation, the poor man undergoes this humiliation and the humiliating necessity of having to *ask* the rich man for credit.

||XXVII| 3) Since, owing to this completely *nominal* existence of money, *counterfeiting* cannot be undertaken by man in any other material than his own person, he has to make himself into counterfeit coin, obtain credit by stealth, by lying, etc., and this credit relationship—both on the part of the man who trusts and of the man who needs trust—becomes an object of commerce, an object of mutual deception and misuse. Here it is also glaringly evident that *distrust* is the basis of economic trust; distrustful calculation whether credit ought to be given or not; spying into the secrets of the private life, etc., of the one seeking credit; the disclosure of temporary straits in order to overthrow a rival by a sudden shattering of his credit, etc. The whole system of bankruptcy, spurious enterprises, etc.... As regards *government loans*, the state occupies exactly the same place as the man does in the earlier example.... In the game with government securities it is seen how the state has become the plaything of businessmen, etc.

4) The *credit system* finally has its completion in the *banking system*. The creation of bankers, the political domination of the bank, the concentration of wealth in these hands, this economic *Areopagus* of the nation, is the worthy completion of the money system.

Owing to the fact that in the credit system the *moral recognition of a man*, as also *trust in the state*, etc., take the form of *credit*, the secret contained in the lie of moral recognition, the *immoral* vileness of this morality, as also the sanctimoniousness and egoism of that trust in the state, become evident and show themselves for what they really are.

*Exchange*, both of human activity within production itself and of *human products* against one another, is equivalent to *species-activity*

and species-spirit, the real, conscious and true mode of existence of which is *social* activity and *social* enjoyment. Since *human* nature is the *true community* of men, by manifesting their *nature* men *create,* produce, the *human community,* the social entity, which is no abstract universal power opposed to the single individual, but is the essential nature of each individual, his own activity, his own life, his own spirit, his own wealth. Hence this *true community* does not come into being through reflection, it appears owing to the *need* and *egoism* of individuals, i.e., it is produced directly by their life activity itself. It does not depend on man whether this community exists or not; but as long as man does not recognise himself as man, and therefore has not organised the world in a human way, this *community* appears in the form of *estrangement,* because its *subject,* man, is a being estranged from himself. Men, not as an abstraction, but as real, living, particular individuals, *are* this entity. Hence, *as* they are, so is this entity itself. To say that *man* is estranged from himself, therefore, is the same thing as saying that the *society* of this estranged man is a caricature of his *real community,* of his true species-life, that his activity therefore appears to him as a torment, his own creation as an alien power, his wealth as poverty, the *essential bond* linking him with other men as an unessential bond, and separation from his fellow men, on the other hand, as his true mode of existence, his life as a sacrifice of his life, the realisation of his nature as making his life unreal, his production as the production of his nullity, his power over an object as the power of the object over him, and he himself, the lord of his creation, as the servant of this creation.

The *community of men,* or the manifestation of the nature of *men,* their mutual complementing the result of which is species-life, truly human life—this community is conceived by political economy in the form of *exchange* and *trade. Society,* says Destutt de Tracy, is a *series of mutual exchanges.*[a] It is precisely this process of mutual integration. *Society,* says Adam Smith, is a *commercial society.* Each of its members is a *merchant.*[b]

It is seen that political economy *defines* the *estranged* form of social intercourse as the *essential* and *original* form corresponding to man's nature.

||XXVIII| Political economy—like the real process—starts out from the *relation of man to man* as that of *property owner to property owner.* If man is presupposed as *property owner,* i.e., therefore as

[a] See Destutt de Tracy, *Élémens d'idéologie,* IV$^{e}$ et V$^{e}$ parties. Traité de la volonté et de ses effets, p.68.—*Ed.*

[b] See Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations,* Book I, Ch. IV.—*Ed.*

an exclusive owner, who proves his personality and both distinguishes himself from, and enters into relations with, other men through this exclusive ownership — private property is his personal, *distinctive,* and therefore essential mode of existence — then the *loss* or *surrender* of private property is an *alienation of man,* as it is of *private property* itself. Here we shall only be concerned with the latter definition. If I give up my private property to someone else, it ceases to be *mine*; it becomes something independent of me, lying *outside* my sphere, a thing *external* to me. Hence I *alienate* my private property. With regard to me, therefore, I turn it into *alienated* private property. But I only turn it into an *alienated* thing in general, I abolish only my *personal* relation to it, I give it back to the *elementary* powers of nature if I alienate it only with regard to myself. It becomes alienated *private property* only if, while ceasing to be *my* private property, it on that account does not cease to be *private property* as such, that is to say, if it enters into the same relation to *another* man, *apart* from me, as that which it had to myself; in short, if it becomes the *private property* of *another* man. The case of *violence* excepted — what causes me to alienate *my* private property to another man? Political economy replies correctly: *necessity, need.* The other man is also a property owner, but he is the owner of *another* thing, which I lack and cannot and will not do without, which seems to me a *necessity* for the completion of my existence and the realisation of my nature.

The bond which connects the two property owners with each other is the *specific kind of object* that constitutes the substance of their private property. The desire for these two objects, i.e., the need for them, shows each of the property owners, and makes him conscious of it, that he has yet another *essential* relation to objects besides that of private ownership, that he is not the particular being that he considers himself to be, but a *total* being whose needs stand in the relationship of *inner* ownership to all products, including those of another's labour. For the need of a thing is the most evident, irrefutable proof that the thing belongs to *my* essence, that its being is for me, that its *property* is the property, the peculiarity, of my essence. Thus both property owners are impelled to give up their private property, but to do so in such a way that at the same time they confirm private ownership, or to give up the private property within the relationship of private ownership. Each therefore alienates a part of his private property to the other.

The *social* connection or *social* relationship between the two property owners is therefore that of *reciprocity* in *alienation,* positing

the relationship of alienation on both sides, or *alienation* as the relationship of both property owners, whereas in simple private property, *alienation* occurs only in relation to oneself, one-sidedly.

*Exchange* or *barter* is therefore the social act, the species-act, the community, the social intercourse and integration of men within *private ownership,* and therefore the external, *alienated* species-act. It is just for this reason that it appears as *barter.* For this reason, likewise, it is the opposite of the *social* relationship.

Through the reciprocal alienation or estrangement of private property, *private property* itself falls into the category of *alienated* private property.[51] For, in the first place, it has ceased to be the product of the labour of its owner, his exclusive, distinctive personality. For he has alienated it, it has moved away from the owner whose product it was and has acquired a personal significance for someone whose product it is *not.* It has lost its personal significance for the owner. Secondly, it has been brought into relation with another private property, and placed on a par with the latter. Its place has been taken by a private property of a *different* kind, just as it itself takes the place of a private property of a *different* kind. On both sides, therefore, private property appears as the representative of a different kind of private property, as the *equivalent* of a *different* natural product, and both sides are related to each other in such a way that each represents the mode of existence of the *other,* and both relate to each other as *substitutes* for themselves and the other. Hence the mode of existence of private property as such has become that of a *substitute,* of an *equivalent.* Instead of its immediate unity with itself, it exists now only as a relation to *something else.* Its mode of existence as an *equivalent* is no longer its specific mode of existence. It has thus become a *value,* and immediately an *exchange-value.* Its mode of existence as *value* is an *alienated* designation ||XXIX| *of itself,* different from its immediate existence, external to its specific nature, a merely *relative* mode of existence of this.

How this *value* is more precisely determined must be described elsewhere, as also how it becomes *price.*

The relationship of exchange being presupposed, *labour* becomes *directly labour to earn a living.* This relationship of alienated labour reaches its highest point only when 1) on one side *labour to earn a living* and the product of the worker have no *direct* relation to his need or his *function as worker,* but both aspects are determined by social combinations alien to the worker; 2) he who *buys* the product is not himself a producer, but gives in exchange what

someone else has produced. In the crude form of *alienated* private property, *barter*, each of the property owners has produced what his immediate need, his talents and the available raw material have impelled him to make. Each, therefore, exchanges with the other only the surplus of his production. It is true that labour was his immediate *source of subsistence*, but it was at the same time also the manifestation of his *individual existence*. Through exchange his *labour* has become partly a *source of income*. Its purpose differs now from its mode of existence. The product is produced as *value*, as *exchange-value*, as an *equivalent*, and no longer because of its direct, personal relation to the producer. The more diverse production becomes, and therefore the more diverse the needs become, on the one hand, and the more one-sided the activities of the producer become, on the other hand, the more does his labour fall into the category of *labour to earn a living*, until finally it has only this significance and it becomes quite *accidental* and *inessential* whether the relation of the producer to his product is that of immediate enjoyment and personal need, and also whether his *activity*, the act of labour itself, is for him the enjoyment of his personality and the realisation of his natural abilities and spiritual aims.

*Labour to earn a living* involves: 1) estrangement and fortuitous connection between labour and the subject who labours; 2) estrangement and fortuitous connection between labour and the object of labour; 3) that the worker's role is determined by social needs which, however, are alien to him and a compulsion to which he submits out of egoistic need and necessity, and which have for him only the significance of a means of satisfying his dire need, just as for them he exists only as a slave of their needs; 4) that to the worker the maintenance of his individual existence appears to be the *purpose* of his activity and what he actually does is regarded by him only as a means; that he carries on his life's activity in order to earn means of *subsistence*.

Hence the greater and the more developed the social power appears to be within the private property relationship, the more *egoistic*, asocial and estranged from his own nature does man become.

Just as the mutual exchange of the products of *human activity* appears as *barter*, as trade, so the mutual completion and exchange of the activity itself appears as *division of labour*, which turns man as far as possible into an abstract being, a machine tool, etc., and transforms him into a spiritual and physical monster.

It is precisely the *unity* of human labour that is regarded merely

as *division* of labour, because social nature only comes into existence as its opposite, in the form of estrangement. *Division of labour* increases with civilisation.

Within the presupposition of division of labour, the product, the material of private property, acquires for the individual more and more the significance of an *equivalent*, and as he no longer exchanges only his *surplus*, and the object of his production can be simply a *matter of indifference* to him, so too he no longer exchanges his product for something directly *needed* by him. The equivalent comes into existence as an equivalent in *money*, which is now the immediate result of labour to gain a living and the *medium* of exchange (see above[a]).

The complete domination of the estranged thing *over* man has become evident in *money*, which is completely indifferent both to the nature of the material, i.e., to the specific nature of the private property, and to the personality of the property owner. What was the domination of person over person is now the general domination of the *thing* over the *person*, of the product over the producer. Just as the concept of the *equivalent*, the value, already implied the *alienation* of private property, so *money* is the sensuous, even objective existence of this *alienation*.

||XXX| Needless to say that political economy is only able to grasp this whole development as a fact, as the outcome of fortuitous necessity.

The separation of work from itself—separation of the worker from the capitalist—separation of labour and capital, the original form of which is made up of *landed property* and *movable*[b] *property*.... The original determining feature of private property is monopoly; hence when it creates a political constitution, it is that of monopoly. The perfect monopoly is competition.

To the economist, *production*, *consumption* and, as the mediator of both, *exchange* or *distribution*, are separate [activities].[52] The separation of production and consumption, of action and spirit, in different individuals and in the same individual, is the *separation of labour* from its *object* and from itself as something spiritual. *Distribution* is the power of private property manifesting itself.

The separation of labour, capital and landed property from one another, like that of labour from labour, of capital from capital, and landed property from landed property, and finally the separation of labour from wages, of capital from profit, and profit from interest, and, last of all, of landed property from land rent,

[a] See this volume, pp. 212-14.—*Ed.*

[b] "Movable" is not underlined in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

demonstrate self-estrangement both in the form of self-estrangement and in that of mutual estrangement.

"We have next to examine the effects which take place by the attempts of government to control the increase or diminution of money [....] When it endeavours to keep the quantity of money less than it would be, if things were left in freedom, it raises the value of the metal in the coin, and renders it the interest of every body, [who can,] to convert his bullion into money." People "have recourse to private coining. This the government must [...] prevent by punishment. On the other hand, were it the object of government to keep the quantity of money *greater* than it would be, if left in freedom, it would reduce the value of the metal in money, below its value in bullion, and make it the interest of every body to melt the coins. This, also, the government would have only one expedient for preventing, namely, punishment. But the prospect of punishment will prevail over the prospect of profit [,only if the profit is small]."[a] Pp. 101, 102 (pp. 137, 138).

Section IX. "If there were two individuals one of whom owed to the other £100, and the other owed to him £100", instead of paying each other this sum "all they had to do was to exchange their mutual obligations. The case" is the same between two nations.... Hence *bills of exchange.* "The use of them was recommended by a still stronger necessity [...], because the coarse policy of those times prohibited the *exportation* of the precious metals, and punished with the greatest severity any infringement...." Pp. 104-05, 106 (p. 142 et seq.).

Section X. Saving of *unproductive* consumption by paper money. P. 108 et seq. (p. 146 et seq.).

Section XI. "The inconveniencies" of paper money are ... "First,—The *failure* of the parties, by whom the notes are issued, to fulfil their engagements. Second,—Forgery. Third,—The alteration of the value of the currency". P. 110 (p. 149).

Section XII. "... the precious metals, are [...] that commodity [which is the most generally bought and sold...]. Those commodities alone can be exported, which are cheaper in the country from which they go, than in the country to which they are sent; and that those commodities alone can be imported, which are dearer in the country to which they come, than in the country from which they are sent". Accordingly it depends on the value of the precious metals in a country whether they are imported or exported. Pp. 128, 129 [p. 175 et seq.].

Section XIII. "When we speak of the value of the precious metal, we mean the quantity of other things for which it will exchange." This relation is different in different countries and even in different parts of the country. "We say that *living is more cheap*; in other words, commodities may be purchased with a smaller quantity of money." P. 131 [p. 177].

Section XVI. The relation between nations is like that between merchants.... "The merchants [...] will always buy in the cheapest market, and sell in the dearest." P. 159 (p. 215).

IV. *Consumption.*

"*Production, Distribution, Exchange* [...] are *means.* No man produces for the sake of producing [....] distribution and exchange are only the intermediate operations [for bringing the things which have been produced into the hands of those who are] to *consume* them." P. 177 (p. 237).

[a] The extracts quoted by Marx from Parisot's French translation of 1823 are reproduced here from the original English text of James Mill's book. The page references are to the English edition of 1821, Marx's page references to the French translation being given in brackets. In this and the following extracts Marx has summarised or paraphrased some passages.—*Ed.*

Section I. "Of Consumption, there are two species." 1) *Productive.* It includes everything "expended for the sake of something to be produced" and comprises "the necessaries of the labourer...." The second class then [...] "machinery; including tools [...], the buildings necessary for the productive operations, and even the cattle. The third is, the material of which the commodity to be produced must be formed, or from which it must be derived". Pp. 178, 179 (pp. 238, 239). "[Of these three classes of things,] it is only the second, the consumption of which is not completed in the course of the productive operations." P. 179 (loc. cit.).

2) *Unproductive* consumption. "The wages" given to a "footman" and "all consumption, which does not take place to the end that something, which may be an equivalent for it, may be produced by means of it, is unproductive consumption". Pp. 179, 180 (p. 240). "Productive consumption is itself a *means*; it is a means to production. Unproductive consumption [...] is not a means." It "is the end. This, or the *enjoyment* which is involved in it, is the good which constituted the *motive* to all the operations by which it was preceded". P. 180 (p. 241). "By productive consumption, nothing is lost [....] Whatever is unproductively consumed, is lost." P. 180 (loc. cit.). "That which is *productively* consumed is always *capital.* This is a property of productive consumption which deserves to be particularly remarked [....] Whatever is consumed productively" *is* capital and "*becomes* capital." P. 181 (p. [241,]242). "The whole of what the productive powers of the country have brought into existence in the course of a year, is called the gross annual produce. Of this the greater part is required to replace the capital which has been consumed [....] What remains of the gross produce, after replacing the capital which has been consumed, is called the net produce; and is always distributed either as profits of stock, or as rent." Pp. 181, 182 (pp. 242, 243). "This net produce is the fund from which all addition to the national capital is commonly made." (loc. cit.) "... the two species of *consumption*" are matched by "the two species of labour, *productive* and *unproductive*...." P. 182 (p. 244).

Section II. "... the whole of what is annually produced, is annually consumed; or [...] what is produced in one year, is consumed in the next." Either productively or unproductively. P. 184 (p. 246).

Section III. "Consumption is co-extensive with production." "A man produces, only because he wishes to *have.* If the commodity which he produces is the commodity which he wishes to have, he stops when he has produced as much as he wishes to have[....] When a man produces a greater quantity [...] than he desires for himself, it can only be on one account; namely, that he desires some other commodity, which he can obtain in exchange for the surplus of what he himself has produced.... If a man desires one thing, and produces another, it can only be because the thing which he desires can be obtained by means of the thing which he produces, and better obtained than if he had endeavoured to produce it himself. After labour has been divided [...] each producer confines himself to some one commodity or part of a commodity, a small portion only of what he produces is used for his own consumption. The remainder he destines for the purpose of supplying him with all the other commodities which he desires; and when each man confines himself to one commodity, and exchanges what he produces for what is produced by other people, it is found that each obtains more of the several things which he desires, than he would have obtained had he endeavoured to produce them all for himself." ||XXXI| "In the case of the man who produces for himself, there is no *exchange.* He neither offers to buy any thing, nor to sell any thing. He has the property; he has produced it; and does not mean to part with it. If we apply, by a sort of metaphor, the terms demand and supply to this case, it is implied [...] that the demand and supply are exactly proportioned to one another.

As far then as regards the demand and supply of the market, we may leave that portion of the annual produce, which each of the owners consumes in the shape in which he produces or receives it, altogether out of the question." Pp. 186, 187 (p. 251).

"In speaking here of demand and supply, it is evident that we speak of aggregates. When we say of any particular nation, at any particular time, that its supply is equal to its demand, we do not mean in any one commodity, or any two commodities. We mean, that the amount of its demand in all commodities taken together, is equal to the amount of its supply in all commodities taken together. It may very well happen, notwithstanding this equality in the general sum of demands and supplies, that some one commodity or commodities may have been produced in a quantity either above or below the demand for those particular commodities." P. 188 (pp. 251, 252). "Two things are necessary to constitute a *demand*. These are—A Wish for the commodity, and An Equivalent to give for it. A demand means, the *will* to purchase, and the *means* of purchasing. If either is wanting, the purchase does not take place. An equivalent is the necessary foundation of all demand. It is in vain that a man wishes for commodities, if he has nothing to give for them. The equivalent which a man brings is the *instrument* of demand. The extent of his demand is measured by the extent of his equivalent. The demand and the equivalent are convertible terms, and the *one* may be substituted *for the other.* [...] We have already seen, that every man, who produces, has a wish for other commodities, than those which he has produced, to the *extent* of all that he has produced beyond what he wishes to keep for his own consumption. And it is evident, that whatever a man has produced and does not wish to keep for his own consumption, is a stock which he may give in exchange for other commodities. His *will,* therefore, *to purchase,* and his *means of purchasing*—in other words, his demand, is exactly equal to the amount of what he has produced and does not mean to consume." Pp. 188-89 (pp. 252, 253).

With his customary cynical acumen and clarity, Mill here analyses exchange on the basis of private property.

Man *produces* only in order to *have*—this is the basic presupposition of private property. The aim of production is *having*. And not only does production have this kind of *useful* aim; it has also a *selfish* aim; man produces only in order to *possess* for himself; the object he produces is the objectification of his *immediate,* selfish *need.* For man himself—in a savage, barbaric condition—therefore, the amount of his production is determined by the *extent* of his immediate need, the content of which is *directly* the object produced.

Under these conditions, therefore, man produces *no more* than he immediately requires. The *limit of his need* forms the *limit of his production.* Thus demand and supply exactly coincide. The extent of his production is *measured* by his need. In this case no exchange takes place, or exchange is reduced to the exchange of his labour for the product of his labour, and this exchange is the latent form, the germ, of real exchange.

As soon as exchange takes place, a surplus is produced beyond the immediate limit of possession. But this surplus production does not mean rising above selfish need. On the contrary, it is only an *indirect* way of satisfying a need which finds its objectification not in *this* production but in the production of someone else. Production has become a *means of gaining a living,* labour to gain a living. Whereas under the first state of affairs, therefore, need is the measure of production, under the second state of affairs production, or rather *ownership of the product,* is the measure of how far needs can be satisfied.

I have produced for myself and not for you, just as you have produced for yourself and not for me. In itself, the result of my production has as little connection with you as the result of your production has directly with me. That is to say, our production is not man's production for man as a man, i.e., it is not *social* production. Neither of us, therefore, as a man stands in a relation of enjoyment to the other's product. As men, we do not exist as far as our respective products are concerned. Hence our exchange, too, cannot be the mediating process by which it is confirmed that my product ||XXXII| is [for] you, because it is an *objectification* of your own nature, your need. For it is not *man's nature* that forms the link between the products we make for one another. Exchange can only set in *motion,* only confirm, the *character* of the relation which each of us has in regard to his own product, and therefore to the product of the other. Each of us sees in his product only the objectification of his *own* selfish need, and therefore in the product of the other the objectification of a *different* selfish need, independent of him and alien to him.

As a man you have, of course, a human relation to my product: you have *need* of my product. Hence it exists for you as an object of your desire and your will. But your need, your desire, your will, are powerless as regards my product. That means, therefore, that your *human* nature, which accordingly is bound to stand in intimate relation to my human production, is not your *power* over this production, your possession of it, for it is not the *specific character,* not the *power,* of man's nature that is recognised in my production. They [your need, your desire, etc.] constitute rather the *tie* which makes you dependent on me, because they put you in a position of dependence on my product. Far from being the *means* which would give you *power* over my production, they are instead the *means* for giving me power over you.

When I produce *more* of an object than I myself can directly use, my *surplus* production is cunningly *calculated* for your need. It

is only in *appearance* that I produce a surplus of this object. In reality I produce a *different* object, the object of your production, which I intend to exchange against this surplus, an exchange which in my mind I have already completed. The *social* relation in which I stand to you, my labour for your need, is therefore also a mere *semblance,* and our complementing each other is likewise a mere *semblance,* the basis of which is mutual plundering. The intention of *plundering,* of *deception,* is necessarily present in the background, for since our exchange is a selfish one, on your side as on mine, and since the selfishness of each seeks to get the better of that of the other, we necessarily seek to deceive each other. It is true though, that the power which I attribute to my object over yours requires your *recognition* in order to become a real power. Our mutual recognition of the respective powers of our objects, however, is a struggle, and in a struggle the victor is the one who has more energy, force, insight, or adroitness. If I have sufficient physical force, I plunder you directly. If physical force cannot be used, we try to impose on each other by bluff, and the more adroit overreaches the other. For the *totality* of the relationship, it is a matter of chance who overreaches whom. The *ideal, intended* overreaching takes place on both sides, i.e., each in his own judgment has overreached the other.

On both sides, therefore, exchange is necessarily mediated by the *object* which each side produces and possesses. The ideal relationship to the respective objects of our production is, of course, our mutual need. But the *real, true* relationship, which *actually* occurs and takes effect, is only the mutually *exclusive possession* of our respective products. What gives your need of my article its *value, worth* and *effect* for me is solely your *object,* the *equivalent* of my object. Our respective products, therefore, are the *means,* the *mediator,* the *instrument,* the *acknowledged power* of our mutual needs. Your *demand* and the *equivalent of your possession,* therefore, are for me terms that are *equal in significance* and validity, and your demand only acquires a *meaning,* owing to having an effect, when it has meaning and effect in relation to me. As a mere human being without this instrument your demand is an unsatisfied aspiration on your part and an idea that does not exist for me. As a human being, therefore, you stand in no relationship to my object, because *I myself* have no human relationship to it. But the *means* is the *true power* over an object and therefore we mutually regard our products as the *power* of each of us over the other and over himself. That is to say, our own product has risen up against us; it seemed to be our property,

but in fact we are its property. We ourselves are excluded from *true* property because our *property* excludes other men.

The only intelligible language in which we converse with one another consists of our objects in their relation to each other. We would not understand a human language and it would remain without effect. By one side it would be recognised and felt as being a request, an entreaty, ||XXXIII| and therefore a *humiliation,* and consequently uttered with a feeling of shame, of degradation. By the other side it would be regarded as *impudence* or *lunacy* and rejected as such. We are to such an extent estranged from man's essential nature that the direct language of this essential nature seems to us a *violation of human dignity,* whereas the estranged language of material values seems to be the well-justified assertion of human dignity that is self-confident and conscious of itself.

Although in your eyes your product is an *instrument,* a *means,* for taking possession of my product and thus for satisfying your need; yet in my eyes it is the *purpose* of our exchange. For me, you are rather the means and instrument for producing this object that is my aim, just as conversely you stand in the same relationship to my object. But 1) each of us actually *behaves* in the way he is regarded by the other. You have actually made yourself the means, the instrument, the producer of *your* own object in order to gain possession of mine; 2) your own object is for you only the *sensuously perceptible covering,* the *hidden shape,* of my object; for its production *signifies* and seeks to *express* the *acquisition* of my object. In fact, therefore, you have become for yourself a *means,* an *instrument* of your object, of which your desire is the *servant,* and you have performed menial services in order that the object shall never again do a favour to your desire. If then our mutual thraldom to the object at the beginning of the process is now seen to be in reality the relationship between *master* and *slave,* that is merely the *crude* and *frank* expression of our *essential* relationship.

Our *mutual* value is for us the *value* of our mutual objects. Hence for us man himself is mutually of *no value.*

Let us suppose that we had carried out production as human beings. Each of us would have *in two ways affirmed* himself and the other person. 1) In my *production* I would have objectified my *individuality,* its *specific character,* and therefore enjoyed not only an individual *manifestation of my life* during the activity, but also when looking at the object I would have the individual pleasure of knowing my personality to be *objective, visible to the senses* and hence a power *beyond all doubt.* 2) In your enjoyment or use of my product I

would have the *direct* enjoyment both of being conscious of having satisfied a *human* need by my work, that is, of having objectified *man's* essential nature, and of having thus created an object corresponding to the need of another *man's* essential nature. 3) I would have been for you the *mediator* between you and the species, and therefore would become recognised and felt by you yourself as a completion of your own essential nature and as a necessary part of yourself, and consequently would know myself to be confirmed both in your thought and your love. 4) In the individual expression of my life I would have directly created your expression of your life, and therefore in my individual activity I would have directly *confirmed* and *realised* my true nature, my *human* nature, my *communal nature.*

Our products would be so many mirrors in which we saw reflected our essential nature.

This relationship would moreover be reciprocal; what occurs on my side has also to occur on yours.

Let us review the various factors as seen in our supposition:

My work would be a *free manifestation of life,* hence an *enjoyment of life.* Presupposing private property, my work is an *alienation of life,* for I work *in order to live,* in order to obtain for myself the *means* of life. My work *is not* my life.

Secondly, the *specific nature* of my individuality, therefore, would be affirmed in my labour, since the latter would be an affirmation of my *individual* life. Labour therefore would be *true, active property.* Presupposing private property, my individuality is alienated to such a degree that this *activity* is instead *hateful* to me, a *torment,* and rather the *semblance* of an activity. Hence, too, it is only a *forced* activity and one imposed on me only through an *external* fortuitous need, *not* through an *inner, essential* one.

My labour can appear in my object only as what it is. It cannot appear as something which by its nature it is *not.* Hence it appears only as the expression of my *loss of self* and of my *powerlessness* that is objective, sensuously perceptible, obvious and therefore put beyond all doubt. |XXXIII||[53]

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Printed according to the manuscript

# [ECONOMIC AND PHILOSOPHIC MANUSCRIPTS OF 1844[54]]

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# Preface

[XXXIX] I have already announced in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* the critique of jurisprudence and political science in the form of a critique of the *Hegelian* philosophy of law.[a] While preparing it for publication, the intermingling of criticism directed only against speculation with criticism of the various subjects themselves proved utterly unsuitable, hampering the development of the argument and rendering comprehension difficult. Moreover, the wealth and diversity of the subjects to be treated could have been compressed into *one* work only in a purely aphoristic style; whilst an aphoristic presentation of this kind, for its part, would have given the *impression* of arbitrary systematism. I shall therefore publish the critique of law, ethics, politics, etc., in a series of distinct, independent pamphlets, and afterwards try in a special work to present them again as a connected whole showing the interrelationship of the separate parts, and lastly attempt a critique of the speculative elaboration of that material. For this reason it will be found that the interconnection between political economy and the state, law, ethics, civil life, etc., is touched upon in the present work only to the extent to which political economy itself expressly touches upon these subjects.

It is hardly necessary to assure the reader conversant with political economy that my results have been attained by means of a wholly empirical analysis based on a conscientious critical study of political economy.

⟨Whereas the uninformed reviewer[b] who tries to hide his complete ignorance and intellectual poverty by hurling the "*uto-*

[a] See this volume, pp. 175-87.—*Ed.*
[b] Bruno Bauer.—*Ed.*

*pian phrase"* at the positive critic's head, or again such phrases as "quite pure, quite resolute, quite critical criticism", the "not merely legal but social—utterly social—society", the "compact, massy mass", the "outspoken spokesmen of the massy mass",[55] this reviewer has yet to furnish the first proof that besides his theological family affairs he has anything to contribute to a discussion of *worldly* matters.〉

It goes without saying that besides the French and English socialists I have also used German socialist works. The only *original* German works of substance in this science, however—other than Weitling's writings—are the essays by *Hess* published in *Einundzwanzig Bogen*[56] and *Umrisse zu einer Kritik der Nationalökonomie* by *Engels*[a] in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, where also the basic elements of this work [*Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*] have been indicated by me in a very general way.

〈Besides being indebted to these authors who have given critical attention to political economy, positive criticism as a whole—and therefore also German positive criticism of political economy—owes its true foundation to the discoveries of *Feuerbach*, against whose *Philosophie der Zukunft* and *Thesen zur Reform der Philosophie* in the *Anekdota*,[b] despite the tacit use that is made of them, the petty envy of some and the veritable wrath of others seem to have instigated a regular conspiracy of *silence*.〉

It is only with *Feuerbach* that *positive*, humanistic and naturalistic criticism begins. The less noise they make, the more certain, profound, extensive, and enduring is the effect of *Feuerbach*'s writings, the only writings since Hegel's *Phänomenologie* and *Logik* to contain a real theoretical revolution.

In contrast to the *critical theologian*[c] of our day, I have deemed the concluding chapter of this work—a critical discussion of *Hegelian dialectic* and philosophy as a whole—to be absolutely necessary, ||XLI a task not yet performed. This *lack of thoroughness* is not accidental, since even the *critical* theologian remains a *theologian*. Hence, either he has to start from certain presuppositions of philosophy accepted as authoritative; or, if in the process of criticism and as a result of other people's discoveries doubts about these philosophical presuppositions have arisen in him, he abandons them in a cowardly and unwarrantable fashion, *abstracts* from them, thus showing his servile dependence on these presup-

[a] See this volume, pp. 418-43.—*Ed.*
[b] *Anekdota zur neuesten deutschen Philosophie und Publicistik.*—*Ed.*
[c] Marx has in mind Bruno Bauer.—*Ed.*

positions and his resentment at this servility merely in a negative, unconscious and sophistical manner.

⟨He does this either by constantly repeating assurances concerning the *purity* of his own criticism, or by trying to make it seem as though all that was left for criticism to deal with now was some other limited form of criticism outside itself—say eighteenth-century criticism—and also the limitations of the *masses*, in order to divert the observer's attention as well as his own from the *necessary* task of settling accounts between *criticism* and its point of origin—Hegelian *dialectic* and German philosophy as a whole—that is, from this necessary raising of modern criticism above its own limitation and crudity. Eventually, however, whenever discoveries (such as *Feuerbach*'s) are made regarding the nature of his own philosophic presuppositions, the critical theologian partly makes it appear as if *he* were the one who had accomplished this, producing that appearance by taking the results of these discoveries and, without being able to develop them, hurling them in the form of *catch-phrases* at writers still caught in the confines of philosophy. He partly even manages to acquire a sense of his own superiority to such discoveries by asserting in a mysterious way and in a veiled, malicious and sceptical fashion elements of the Hegelian *dialectic* which he still finds lacking in the criticism of that dialectic (which have not yet been critically served up to him for his use) against such criticism—not having tried to bring such elements into their proper relation or having been capable of doing so, asserting, say, the category of mediating proof against the category of positive, self-originating truth, [...][a] in a way *peculiar* to Hegelian dialectic. For to the theological critic it seems quite natural that everything has to be *done* by philosophy, so that he can *chatter away* about purity, resoluteness, and quite critical criticism; and he fancies himself the true *conqueror of philosophy* whenever he happens to *feel* some element[57] in Hegel to be lacking in Feuerbach—for however much he practises the spiritual idolatry of *"self-consciousness"* and *"mind"* the theological critic does not get beyond feeling to consciousness.⟩

On close inspection *theological criticism*—genuinely progressive though it was at the inception of the movement—is seen in the final analysis to be nothing but the culmination and consequence of the old *philosophical*, and especially the *Hegelian, transcendentalism*, twisted into a *theological caricature*. This interesting example of historical justice, which now assigns to theology, ever philosophy's

[a] Three words in the manuscript cannot be deciphered.— *Ed.*

spot of infection, the further role of portraying in itself the negative dissolution of philosophy, i.e., the process of its decay—this historical nemesis I shall demonstrate on another occasion.[58]

⟨How far, on the other hand, *Feuerbach*'s discoveries about the nature of philosophy still, for their *proof* at least, called for a critical discussion of philosophical dialectic will be seen from my exposition itself.⟩ |XL||

## [*First Manuscript*]

### WAGES OF LABOUR

||I,1|| *Wages* are determined through the antagonistic struggle between capitalist and worker. Victory goes necessarily to the capitalist. The capitalist can live longer without the worker than can the worker without the capitalist. Combination among the capitalists is customary and effective; workers' combination is prohibited and painful in its consequences for them. Besides, the landowner and the capitalist can make use of industrial advantages to augment their revenues; the worker has neither rent nor interest on capital to supplement his industrial income. Hence the intensity of the competition among the workers. Thus only for the workers is the separation of capital, landed property, and labour an inevitable, essential and detrimental separation. Capital and landed property need not remain fixed in this abstraction, as must the labour of the workers.

*The separation of capital, rent, and labour is thus fatal for the worker.*

The lowest and the only necessary wage rate is that providing for the subsistence of the worker for the duration of his work and as much more as is necessary for him to support a family and for the race of labourers not to die out. The ordinary wage, according to Smith, is the lowest compatible with common humanity,[59] that is, with cattle-like existence.

*The demand for men necessarily governs the production of men, as of every other commodity.* Should supply greatly exceed demand, a section of the workers sinks into beggary or starvation. The worker's existence is thus brought under the same condition as the existence of every other commodity. The worker has become a commodity, and it is a bit of luck for him if he can find a buyer. And the demand on which the life of the worker depends, depends on the whim of the

rich and the capitalists. Should supply ex[ceed][a] demand, then one of the consti[tuent] parts of the price — profit, rent or wages — is paid below its *rate*, [a part of these] factors is therefore withdrawn from this application, and thus the market price gravitates [towards the] natural price as the centre-point. But (1) where there is considerable division of labour it is most difficult for the worker to direct his labour into other channels; (2) because of his subordinate relation to the capitalist, he is the first to suffer.

*Thus in the gravitation of market price to natural price it is the worker who loses most of all and necessarily.* And it is just the capacity of the capitalist to direct his capital into another channel which either renders the worker,[b] who is restricted to some particular branch of labour, destitute, or forces him to submit to every demand of this capitalist.

||II,1| The accidental and sudden fluctuations in market price hit rent less than they do that part of the price which is resolved into profit and wages; but they hit profit less than they do wages. In most cases, for every wage that rises, one remains *stationary* and one *falls.*

*The worker need not necessarily gain when the capitalist does, but he necessarily loses when the latter loses.* Thus, the worker does not gain if the capitalist keeps the market price above the natural price by virtue of some manufacturing or trading secret, or by virtue of monopoly or the favourable situation of his land.

Furthermore, *the prices of labour are much more constant than the prices of provisions.* Often they stand in inverse proportion. In a dear year wages fall on account of the decrease in demand, but rise on account of the increase in the prices of provisions — and thus balance. In any case, a number of workers are left without bread. In cheap years wages rise on account of the rise in demand, but decrease on account of the fall in the prices of provisions—and thus balance.

Another respect in which the worker is at a disadvantage:

*The labour prices of the various kinds of workers show much wider differences than the profits in the various branches in which capital is applied.* In labour all the natural, spiritual, and social variety of individual activity is manifested and is variously rewarded, whilst dead capital always keeps the same pace and is indifferent to *real* individual activity.

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[a] The letters and words enclosed in square brackets in this sentence are indecipherable as they are covered by an inkspot.— *Ed.*

[b] Here and occasionally later Marx uses the French word *ouvrier.*—*Ed.*

In general we should observe that in those cases where worker and capitalist equally suffer, the worker suffers in his very existence, the capitalist in the profit on his dead mammon.

The worker has to struggle not only for his physical means of subsistence; he has to struggle to get work, i. e., the possibility, the means, to perform his activity.

Let us take the three chief conditions in which society can find itself and consider the situation of the worker in them:

(1) If the wealth of society declines the worker suffers most of all, and for the following reason: although the working class cannot gain so much as can the class of property owners in a prosperous state of society, *no one suffers so cruelly from its decline as the working class.*[a]

||III,1| (2) Let us now take a society in which wealth is increasing. This condition is the only one favourable to the worker. Here competition between the capitalists sets in. The demand for workers exceeds their supply. But:

*In the first place,* the raising of wages gives rise to *overwork* among the workers. The more they wish to earn, the more must they sacrifice their time and carry out slave-labour, completely losing all their freedom, in the service of greed. Thereby they shorten their lives. This shortening of their life-span is a favourable circumstance for the working class as a whole, for as a result of it an ever-fresh supply of labour becomes necessary. This class has always to sacrifice a part of itself in order not to be wholly destroyed.

*Furthermore*: When does a society find itself in a condition of advancing wealth? When the capitals and the revenues of a country are growing. But this is only possible:

(α) As the result of the accumulation of much labour, capital being accumulated labour; as the result, therefore, of the fact that more and more of his products are being taken away from the worker, that to an increasing extent his own labour confronts him as another man's property and that the means of his existence and his activity are increasingly concentrated in the hands of the capitalist.

(β) The accumulation of capital increases the division of labour, and the division of labour increases the number of workers. Conversely, the number of workers increases the division of labour, just as the division of labour increases the accumulation of capital. With this division of labour on the one hand and the accumulation of capital on the other, the worker becomes ever more exclusively dependent on labour, and on a particular, very one-sided, machine-like labour at that. Just as he is thus depressed spiritually and

[a] Cf. Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations,* Vol. I, p. 230 (Garnier, t. II, p. 162).—*Ed.*

physically to the condition of a machine and from being a man becomes an abstract activity and a belly, so he also becomes ever more dependent on every fluctuation in market price, on the application of capital, and on the whim of the rich. Equally, the increase in the ||IV,1| class of people wholly dependent on work intensifies competition among the workers, thus lowering their price. In the factory system this situation of the worker reaches its climax.

(γ) In an increasingly prosperous society only the richest of the rich can continue to live on money interest. Everyone else has to carry on a business with his capital, or venture it in trade. As a result, the competition between the capitalists becomes more intense. The concentration of capital increases, the big capitalists ruin the small, and a section of the erstwhile capitalists sinks into the working class, which as a result of this supply again suffers to some extent a depression of wages and passes into a still greater dependence on the few big capitalists. The number of capitalists having been diminished, their competition with respect to the workers scarcely exists any longer; and the number of workers having been increased, their competition among themselves has become all the more intense, unnatural, and violent. Consequently, a section of the working class falls into beggary or starvation just as necessarily as a section of the middle capitalists falls into the working class.

Hence even in the condition of society most favourable to the worker, the inevitable result for the worker is overwork and premature death, decline to a mere machine, a bond servant of capital, which piles up dangerously over and against him, more competition, and starvation or beggary for a section of the workers.

||V,1| The raising of wages excites in the worker the capitalist's mania to get rich, which he, however, can only satisfy by the sacrifice of his mind and body. The raising of wages presupposes and entails the accumulation of capital, and thus sets the product of labour against the worker as something ever more alien to him. Similarly, the division of labour renders him ever more one-sided and dependent, bringing with it the competition not only of men but also of machines. Since the worker has sunk to the level of a machine, he can be confronted by the machine as a competitor. Finally, as the amassing of capital increases the amount of industry and therefore the number of workers, it causes the same amount of industry to manufacture a *larger amount of products*, which leads to over-production and thus either ends by throwing a large

section of workers out of work or by reducing their wages to the most miserable minimum.

Such are the consequences of a state of society most favourable to the worker—namely, of a state of *growing, advancing* wealth.

Eventually, however, this state of growth must sooner or later reach its peak. What is the worker's position now?

3) "In a country which had acquired that full complement of riches [...] both the wages of labour and the profits of stock would probably be very low [...] the competition for employment would necessarily be so great as to reduce the wages of labour to what was barely sufficient to keep up the number of labourers, and, the country being already fully peopled, that number could never be augmented." [a]

The surplus would have to die.

Thus in a declining state of society—increasing misery of the worker; in an advancing state—misery with complications; and in a fully developed state of society—static misery.

||VI,1|| Since, however, according to Smith, a society is not happy, of which the greater part suffers [b]—yet even the wealthiest state of society leads to this suffering of the majority—and since the economic system [60] (and in general a society based on private interest) leads to this wealthiest condition, it follows that the goal of the economic system is the *unhappiness* of society.

Concerning the relationship between worker and capitalist we should add that the capitalist is more than compensated for rising wages by the reduction in the amount of labour time, and that rising wages and rising interest on capital operate on the price of commodities like simple and compound interest respectively.

Let us put ourselves now wholly at the standpoint of the political economist, and follow him in comparing the theoretical and practical claims of the workers.

He tells us that originally and in theory the *whole product* of labour belongs to the worker. But at the same time he tells us that in actual fact what the worker gets is the smallest and utterly indispensable part of the product—as much, only, as is necessary for his existence, not as a human being, but as a worker, and for the propagation, not of humanity, but of the slave class of workers.

The political economist tells us that everything is bought with labour and that capital is nothing but accumulated labour; but at the same time he tells us that the worker, far from being able to buy everything, must sell himself and his humanity.

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[a] Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I, p. 84 (Garnier, t. I, p. 193).—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I, p. 70 (Garnier, t. I, pp. 159-60).—*Ed.*

Whilst the rent of the idle landowner usually amounts to a third of the product of the soil, and the profit of the busy capitalist to as much as twice the interest on money, the "something more" which the worker himself earns at the best of times amounts to so little that of four children of his, two must starve and die.

||VII,1-3| Whilst according to the political economists it is solely through labour that man enhances the value of the products of nature, whilst labour is man's active possession, according to this same political economy the landowner and the capitalist, who *qua* landowner and capitalist are merely privileged and idle gods, are everywhere superior to the worker and lay down the law to him.

Whilst according to the political economists labour is the sole unchanging price of things, there is nothing more fortuitous than the price of labour, nothing exposed to greater fluctuations.

Whilst the division of labour raises the productive power of labour and increases the wealth and refinement of society, it impoverishes the worker and reduces him to a machine. Whilst labour brings about the accumulation of capital and with this the increasing prosperity of society, it renders the worker ever more dependent on the capitalist, leads him into competition of a new intensity, and drives him into the headlong rush of over-production, with its subsequent corresponding slump.

Whilst the interest of the worker, according to the political economists, never stands opposed to the interest of society, society always and necessarily stands opposed to the interest of the worker.

According to the political economists, the interest of the worker is never opposed to that of society: (1) because the rising wages are more than compensated by the reduction in the amount of labour time, together with the other consequences set forth above; and (2) because in relation to society the whole gross product is the net product, and only in relation to the private individual has the net product any significance.

But that labour itself, not merely in present conditions but insofar as its purpose in general is the mere increase of wealth—that labour itself, I say, is harmful and pernicious—follows from the political economist's line of argument, without his being aware of it.

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In theory, rent of land and profit on capital are *deductions* suffered by wages. In actual fact, however, wages are a deduction

which land and capital allow to go to the worker, a concession from the product of labour to the workers, to labour.

When society is in a state of decline, the worker suffers most severely. The specific severity of his burden he owes to his position as a worker, but the burden as such to the position of society.

But when society is in a state of progress, the ruin and impoverishment of the worker is the product of his labour and of the wealth produced by him. The misery results, therefore, from the *essence* of present-day labour itself.

Society in a state of maximum wealth—an ideal, but one which is approximately attained, and which at least is the aim of political economy as of civil society—means for the workers *static misery*.

It goes without saying that the *proletarian*, i. e., the man who, being without capital and rent, lives purely by labour, and by a one-sided, abstract labour, is considered by political economy only as a *worker*. Political economy can therefore advance the proposition that the proletarian, the same as any horse, must get as much as will enable him to work. It does not consider him when he is not working, as a human being; but leaves such consideration to criminal law, to doctors, to religion, to the statistical tables, to politics and to the poor-house overseer.

Let us now rise above the level of political economy and try to answer two questions on the basis of the above exposition, which has been presented almost in the words of the political economists:

(1) What in the evolution of mankind is the meaning of this reduction of the greater part of mankind to abstract labour?

(2) What are the mistakes committed by the piecemeal reformers, who either want to *raise* wages and in this way to improve the situation of the working class, or regard *equality* of wages (as Proudhon does) as the goal of social revolution?

In political economy *labour* occurs only in the form of *activity as a source of livelihood.*[a]

||VIII, 1| "It can be asserted that those occupations which presuppose specific talents or longer training have become on the whole more lucrative; whilst the proportionate reward for mechanically monotonous activity in which one person can be trained as easily and quickly as another has fallen with growing competition, and was inevitably bound to fall. And it is just *this* sort of work which in the present state of the organisation of labour is still by far the commonest. If therefore a worker in the first category now earns seven times as much as he did, say, fifty years ago, whilst the earnings of another in the second category have remained unchanged, then of course both are earning *on the average* four times as much. But if the first category comprises only a thousand workers in a particular

[a] In the manuscript a blank space is left here.—*Ed.*

country, and the second a million, then 999,000 are no better off than fifty years ago—and they are *worse off* if at the same time the prices of the necessaries of life have risen. With such superficial *calculations of averages* people try to deceive themselves about the most numerous class of the population. Moreover, the size of the *wage* is only one factor in the estimation of the *worker's income*, because it is essential for the measurement of the latter to take into account the certainty of its *duration*—which is obviously out of the question in the anarchy of so-called free competition, with its ever-recurring fluctuations and periods of stagnation. Finally, the *hours of work* customary formerly and now have to be considered. And for the English cotton-workers these have been increased, as a result of the entrepreneurs' mania for profit, ||IX,1| to between twelve and sixteen hours a day during the past twenty-five years or so—that is to say, precisely during the period of the introduction of labour-saving machines; and this increase in one country and in one branch of industry inevitably asserted itself elsewhere to a greater or lesser degree, for the right of the unlimited exploitation of the poor by the rich is still universally recognised." (Wilhelm Schulz, *Die Bewegung der Production*, p. 65.)

"But even if it were as true as it is false that the average income of *every* class of society has increased, the income-differences and *relative* income-distances may nevertheless have become greater and the contrasts between wealth and poverty accordingly stand out more sharply. For just *because* total production rises—and in the same measure as it rises—needs, desires and claims also multiply and thus *relative* poverty can increase whilst *absolute* poverty diminishes. The Samoyed living on fish oil and rancid fish is not poor because in his secluded society all have the same needs. But in a *state that is forging ahead*, which in the course of a decade, say, increased by a third its total production in proportion to the population, the worker who is getting as much at the end of ten years as at the beginning has not remained as well off, but has become poorer by a third." (op. cit., pp. 65-66.)

But political economy knows the worker only as a working animal—as a beast reduced to the strictest bodily needs.

"To develop in greater spiritual freedom, a people must break their bondage to their bodily needs—they must cease to be the slaves of the body. They must, above all, have *time* at their disposal for spiritual creative activity and spiritual enjoyment. The developments in the labour organism gain this time. Indeed, with new motive forces and improved machinery, a single worker in the cotton mills now often performs the work formerly requiring a hundred, or even 250 to 350 workers. Similar results can be observed in all branches of production, because external natural forces are being compelled to participate ||X,1| to an ever-greater degree in human labour. If the satisfaction of a given amount of material needs formerly required a certain expenditure of time and human effort which has later been reduced by half, then without any loss of material comfort the scope for spiritual activity and enjoyment has been simultaneously extended by as much.... But again the way in which the booty, that we win from old Cronus himself in his most private domain, is shared out is still decided by the dice-throw of blind, unjust Chance. In France it has been calculated that at the present stage in the development of production an average working period of five hours a day by every person capable of work could suffice for the satisfaction of all the material interests of society.... Notwithstanding the time saved by the perfecting of machinery, the duration of the slave-labour performed by a large population in the factories has only increased." (Schulz, op. cit., pp. 67, 68.)

"The transition from compound manual labour rests on a break-down of the latter into its simple operations. At first, however, only *some* of the uniformly-recurring operations will devolve on machines, while some will devolve on men. From the nature of things, and from confirmatory experience, it is clear that unendingly monotonous activity of this kind is as harmful to the mind as to the body; thus this *combination* of machinery with mere division of labour among a greater number of hands must inevitably show all the disadvantages of the latter. These disadvantages appear, among other things, in the greater mortality of factory ||XI,1| workers.... Consideration has not been given... to this big distinction as to how far men work *through* machines or how far *as* machines." (op. cit., p. 69.)

"In the future life of the peoples, however, the inanimate forces of nature working in machines will be our slaves and serfs." (op. cit., p. 74.)

"The English spinning mills employ 196,818 women and only 158,818 men. For every 100 male workers in the cotton mills of Lancashire there are 103 female workers, and in Scotland as many as 209. In the English flax mills of Leeds, for every 100 male workers there were found to be 147 female workers. In Druden[a] and on the east coast of Scotland as many as 280. In the English silk mills... many female workers; male workers predominate in the woollen mills where the work requires greater physical strength. In 1833, no fewer than 38,927 women were employed alongside 18,593 men in the North American cotton mills. As a result of the changes in the labour organism, a wider sphere of gainful employment has thus fallen to the share of the female sex.... Women now occupying an economically more independent position ... the two sexes are drawn closer together in their social conditions." (op. cit., pp. 71-72.)

"Working in the English steam- and water-driven spinning mills in 1835 were: 20,558 children between the ages of eight and twelve; 35,867 between the ages of twelve and thirteen; and, lastly, 108,208 children between the ages of thirteen and eighteen.... Admittedly, further advances in mechanisation, by more and more removing all monotonous work from human hands, are operating in the direction of a gradual ||XII,1| elimination of this evil. But standing in the way of these more rapid advances is the very circumstance that the capitalists can, in the easiest and cheapest fashion, appropriate the energies of the lower classes down to the children, to be used *instead* of mechanical devices." (op. cit., pp. 70-71.)

"Lord Brougham's call to the workers—'Become capitalists'. ... This is the evil that millions are able to earn a bare subsistence for themselves only by strenuous labour which shatters the body and cripples them morally and intellectually; that they are even obliged to consider the misfortune of finding *such* work a piece of good fortune." (op. cit., p. 60.)

"In order to live, then, the non-owners are obliged to place themselves, directly or indirectly, *at the service* of the owners—to put themselves, that is to say, into a position of dependence upon them."[b] (Pecqueur, *Théorie nouvelle d'économie soc., etc.*, p. 409.)

*Servants—pay; workers—wages; employees—salary* or *emoluments.*[c] (loc. cit., pp. 409, 410.)

"To hire out one's labour", "to lend one's labour at interest", "to work in another's place".[d]

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[a] This is probably a misspelling of Dundee.—*Ed.*

[b] "Pour vivre donc, les non-propriétaires sont obligés de se mettre directement ou indirectement *au service* des propriétaires, c.-à.-d. sous leur dépendance."—*Ed.*

[c] *Domestiques—gages; ouvriers—salaires; employés—traitement* ou *émoluments.*—*Ed.*

[d] "louer son travail", "prêter son travail à l'intérêt", "travailler à la place d'autrui".—*Ed.*

"To hire out the materials of labour", "to lend the materials of labour at interest", "to make others work in one's place".[a] (op. cit., p. 411.)

‖XIII,1‖ "Such an economic order condemns men to occupations so mean, to a degradation so devastating and bitter, that by comparison savagery seems like a kingly condition...."[b] (op. cit., pp. 417, 418.) "Prostitution of the non-owning class in all its forms."[c] (op. cit., p. 421 f.) Ragmen.

*Charles Loudon,* in the book *Solution du problème de la population, etc.*, Paris, 1842,[61] declares the number of prostitutes in England to be between sixty and seventy thousand. The number of women of doubtful virtue is said to be equally large (p. 228).

"The average life of these unfortunate creatures on the streets, after they have embarked on their career of vice, is about six or seven years. To maintain the number of sixty to seventy thousand prostitutes, there must be in the three kingdoms at least eight to nine thousand women who commit themselves to this abject profession each year, or about twenty-four new victims each day—an average of *one* per hour; and it follows that if the same proportion holds good over the whole surface of the globe, there must constantly be in existence one and a half million unfortunate women of this kind."[d] (op. cit., p. 229.)

"The numbers of the poverty-stricken grow with their poverty, and at the extreme limit of destitution human beings are crowded together in the greatest numbers contending with each other for the right to suffer.... In 1821 the population of Ireland was 6,801,827. In 1831 it had risen to 7,764,010—an increase of 14 per cent in ten years. In Leinster, the wealthiest province, the population increased by only 8 per cent; whilst in Connaught, the most poverty-stricken province, the increase reached 21 per cent. (*Extract from the Enquiries Published in England on Ireland,* Vienna, 1840.)"[e] (Buret, *De la misère, etc.*, t. I, pp. 36, 37.)

Political economy considers labour in the abstract as a thing; labour is a commodity. If the price is high, then the commodity is

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[a] "Louer la matière du travail", "prêter la matière du travail à l'intérêt", "faire travailler autrui à sa place".—*Ed.*

[b] "Cette constitution économique condamne les hommes à des métiers tellement abjects, à une dégradation tellement désolante et amère, que la sauvagerie apparaît, en comparaison, comme une royale condition."—*Ed.*

[c] "La prostitution de la chair non-propriétaire sous toutes les formes."—*Ed.*

[d] "La moyenne vie de ces infortunées créatures sur le pavé, après qu'elles sont entrées dans la carrière du vice, est d'environ six ou sept ans. De manière que pour maintenir le nombre de 60 à 70 000 prostituées, il doit y avoir, dans les 3 royaumes, au moins 8 à 9000 femmes qui se vouent à cet infâme métier chaque année, ou environ vingt-quatre nouvelles victimes par jour, ce qui est la moyenne *d'une* par heure; et conséquemment, si la même proportion a lieu sur toute la surface du globe, il doit y avoir constamment un million et demi de ces malheureuses."—*Ed.*

[e] "La population des misérables croît avec leur misère, et c'est à la limite extrême du dénûment que les êtres humains se pressent en plus grand nombre pour se disputer le droit de souffrir.... En 1821, la population de l'Irlande était de 6801827. En 1831, elle s'était élevée à 7764010; c'est 14 p. % d'augmentation en dix ans. Dans le Leinster, province où il y a le plus d'aisance, la population n'a augmenté que de 8 p. %, tandis que, dans le Connaught, province la plus misérable, l'augmentation s'est élevée à 21 p. %. (*Extraits des Enquêtes publiées en Angleterre sur l'Irlande,* Vienne, 1840.)"—*Ed.*

in great demand; if the price is low, then the commodity is in great supply: the price of labour as a commodity must fall lower and lower. (Buret, op. cit., p. 43.) This is made inevitable partly by the competition between capitalist and worker, partly by the competition amongst the workers.

"The working population, the seller of labour, is necessarily reduced to accepting the most meagre part of the product.... Is the theory of labour as a commodity anything other than a theory of disguised bondage?"[a] (op. cit., p. 43.) "Why then has nothing but an exchange-value been seen in labour?"[b] (op. cit., p. 44.)

The large workshops prefer to buy the labour of women and children, because this costs less than that of men. (op. cit.)

"The worker is not at all in the position of a *free seller vis-à-vis* the one who employs him.... The capitalist is always free to employ labour, and the worker is always forced to sell it. The value of labour is completely destroyed if it is not sold every instant. Labour can neither be accumulated nor even be saved, unlike true [commodities].

||XIV, 1| "Labour is life, and if life is not each day exchanged for food, it suffers and soon perishes. To claim that human life is a commodity, one must, therefore, admit slavery."[c] (op. cit., pp. 49, 50.)

If then labour is a commodity it is a commodity with the most unfortunate attributes. But even by the principles of political economy it is no commodity, for it is not the "*free result of a free transaction*". [op. cit., p. 50.] The present economic regime

"simultaneously lowers the price and the remuneration of labour; it perfects the worker and degrades the man".[d] (op. cit., pp. 52-53.) "Industry has become a war, and commerce a gamble."[e] (op. cit., p. 62.)

"The cotton-working machines"[f] (in England) alone represent 84,000,000 manual workers. [op. cit., p. 193, note].

Up to the present, industry has been in a state of war, a war of conquest:

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[a] "...La population ouvrière, marchande de travail, est forcément réduite à la plus faible part du produit... la théorie du travail marchandise est-elle autre chose qu'une théorie de servitude déguisée?"—*Ed.*

[b] "Pourquoi donc n'avoir vu dans le travail qu'une valeur d'échange?"—*Ed.*

[c] "Le travailleur n'est point vis-à-vis de celui qui l'emploie dans la position d'un *libre vendeur* ... le capitaliste est toujours libre d'employer le travail, et l'ouvrier est toujours forcé de le vendre. La valeur du travail est complètement détruite, s'il n'est pas vendu à chaque instant. Le travail n'est susceptible ni d'accumulation, ni même d'épargne, à la différence des véritables [marchandises].

Le travail c'est la vie, et si la vie ne s'échange pas chaque jour contre des aliments, elle souffre et périt bientôt. Pour que la vie de l'homme soit une marchandise, il faut donc admettre l'esclavage."—*Ed.*

[d] "Abaisse à la fois et le prix et la rémunération du travail; il perfectionne l'ouvrier et dégrade l'homme".—*Ed.*

[e] "L'industrie est devenue une guerre et le commerce un jeu."—*Ed.*

[f] "Les machines à travailler le coton".—*Ed.*

"It has squandered the lives of the men who made up its army with the same indifference as the great conquerors. Its aim was the possession of wealth, not the happiness of men."[a] (Buret, op. cit., p. 20.) "These interests" (that is, economic interests), "freely left to themselves ... must necessarily come into conflict; they have no other arbiter but war, and the decisions of war assign defeat and death to some, in order to give victory to the others.... It is in the conflict of opposed forces that science seeks order and equilibrium: *perpetual war*, according to it, is the sole means of obtaining peace; that war is called competition."[b] (op. cit., p. 23.)

"The industrial war, to be conducted with success, demands large armies which it can amass on one spot and profusely decimate. And it is neither from devotion nor from duty that the soldiers of this army bear the exertions imposed on them, but only to escape the hard necessity of hunger. They feel neither attachment nor gratitude towards their bosses, nor are these bound to their subordinates by any feeling of benevolence. They do not know them as men, but only as instruments of production which have to yield as much as possible with as little cost as possible. These populations of workers, ever more crowded together, have not even the assurance of always being employed. Industry, which has called them together, only lets them live while it needs them, and as soon as it can get rid of them it abandons them without the slightest scruple; and the workers are compelled to offer their persons and their powers for whatever price they can get. The longer, more painful and more disgusting the work they are given, the less they are paid. There are those who, with sixteen hours' work a day and unremitting exertion, scarcely buy the right not to die." (op. cit., pp. 68-69.)

||XV,1| "We are convinced ... as are the commissioners charged with the inquiry into the condition of the hand-loom weavers, that the large industrial towns would in a short time lose their population of workers if they were not all the time receiving from the neighbouring rural areas constant recruitments of healthy men, a constant flow of fresh blood."[c] (op. cit., p. 362.) |XV||

## PROFIT OF CAPITAL

### 1. CAPITAL

||I, 2|What is the basis of *capital*, that is, of private property in the products of other men's labour?

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[a] "Elle a prodigué la vie des hommes qui composaient son armée avec autant d'indifférence que les grands conquérants. Son but était la possession de la richesse, et non le bonheur des hommes."—*Ed.*

[b] "Ces intérêts" (sc. économiques), "librement abandonnés à eux-mêmes... doivent nécessairement entrer en conflit; ils n'ont d'autre arbitre que la guerre, et les décisions de la guerre donnent aux uns la défaite et la mort, pour donner aux autres la victoire... C'est dans le conflit des forces opposées que la science cherche l'ordre et l'équilibre: la *guerre perpétuelle* est selon elle le seul moyen d'obtenir la paix; cette guerre s'appelle la concurrence."—*Ed.*

[c] "Nous avons la conviction... partagée par les commissaires chargés de l'enquête sur la condition des tisserands à la main, que les grandes villes industrielles perdraient, en peu de temps, leur population de travailleurs, si elles ne recevaient, à chaque instant des campagnes voisines, des recrues continuelles d'hommes sains, de sang nouveau."—*Ed.*

"Even if capital itself does not merely amount to theft or fraud, it still requires the co-operation of legislation to sanctify inheritance." (Say, [*Traité d'économie politique*,] t. I, p. 136, note.)[62]

How does one become a proprietor of productive stock? How does one become owner of the products created by means of this stock?

By virtue of *positive law*. (Say, t. II, p. 4.)

What does one acquire with capital, with the inheritance of a large fortune, for instance?

"The person who [either acquires, or] succeeds to a great fortune, does not necessarily [acquire or] succeed to any political power [....] The power which that possession immediately and directly conveys to him, is the *power of purchasing*; a certain command over all the labour, or over all the produce of labour, which is then in the market." (*Wealth of Nations*, by Adam Smith, Vol. I, pp. 26-27 [Garnier, t. I, p. 61].)[63]

Capital is thus the *governing power* over labour and its products. The capitalist possesses this power, not on account of his personal or human qualities, but inasmuch as he is an *owner* of capital. His power is the *purchasing* power of his capital, which nothing can withstand.

Later we shall see first how the capitalist, by means of capital, exercises his governing power over labour, then, however, we shall see the governing power of capital over the capitalist himself.

What is capital?

"A certain quantity of *labour stocked* and stored up to be employed." (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 295 [Garnier, t. II, p. 312].)

Capital is *stored-up labour*.

(2) *Fonds*, or stock,[a] is any accumulation of products of the soil or of manufacture. Stock is called *capital* only when it yields to its owner a revenue or profit. (Adam Smith, op. cit., p. 243 [Garnier, t. II, p. 191].

## 2. THE PROFIT OF CAPITAL

The *profit* or *gain of capital* is altogether different from the *wages of labour*. This difference is manifested in two ways: in the first place, the profits of capital are regulated altogether by the value of the capital employed, although the labour of inspection and direction associated with different capitals may be the same. Moreover in large works the whole of this labour is committed to some principal clerk, whose salary bears no regular proportion to the ‖II,2| capital of which he oversees the management. And although the labour of the proprietor is here reduced almost to nothing, he still demands profits in proportion to his capital. (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 43 [Garnier, t. I, pp. 97-99].)[64]

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[a] Marx uses the English word "stock".—*Ed.*

Why does the capitalist demand this proportion between profit and capital?

He would have no *interest* in employing the workers, unless he expected from the sale of their work something more than is necessary to replace the stock advanced by him as wages and he would have no *interest* to employ a great stock rather than a small one, unless his profits were to bear some proportion to the extent of his stock. (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 42 [Garnier, t. I, pp. 96-97].)

The capitalist thus makes a profit, first, on the wages, and secondly on the raw materials advanced by him.

What proportion, then, does profit bear to capital?

If it is already difficult to determine the usual average level of wages at a particular place and at a particular time, it is even more difficult to determine the profit on capitals. A change in the price of the commodities in which the capitalist deals, the good or bad fortune of his rivals and customers, a thousand other accidents to which commodities are exposed both in transit and in the warehouses—all produce a daily, almost hourly variation in profit. (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 78-79 [Garnier, t. I, pp. 179-180].)

But though it is impossible to determine with precision what are the profits on capitals, some notion may be formed of them from the *interest of money*. Wherever a great deal can be made by the use of money, a great deal will be given for the use of it; wherever little can be made by it, little will be given. (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 79 [Garnier, t. I p. 181].)

The proportion which the usual market rate of interest ought to bear to the rate of clear profit, necessarily varies as profit rises or falls. Double interest is in Great Britain reckoned what the merchants call a *good, moderate, reasonable profit*, terms which mean no more than a *common and usual profit*. (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 87 [Garnier. t. I, p. 198].)

What is the *lowest* rate of profit? And what the *highest*?

The *lowest rate* of ordinary profit on capital must always be *something more* than what is sufficient to compensate the occasional losses to which every employment of stock is exposed. It is this surplus only which is neat or clear profit. The same holds for the lowest rate of interest. (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 86 [Garnier, t. I, p. 196].)

||III,2| The *highest rate* to which ordinary profits can rise is that which in the price of the greater part of commodities *eats up the whole of the rent of the land*, and reduces the wages of labour contained in the commodity supplied to the *lowest rate*, the bare subsistence of the labourer during his work. The worker must always be fed in some way or other while he is required to work; rent can disappear entirely. For example: the servants of the East India Company in Bengal. (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 86-87 [Garnier, t. I, pp. 197-98].)

Besides all the advantages of limited competition which the capitalist may *exploit* in this case, he can keep the market price above the natural price by quite decorous means.

*For one thing*, by keeping *secrets in trade* if the market is at a great distance from those who supply it, that is, by concealing a price change, its rise above the natural

level. This concealment has the effect that other capitalists do not follow him in investing their capital in this branch of industry or trade.

*Then* again by keeping *secrets in manufacture*, which enable the capitalist to reduce the costs of production and supply his commodity at the same or even at lower prices than his competitors while obtaining a higher profit. (Deceiving by keeping secrets is not immoral? Dealings on the Stock Exchange.) *Furthermore*, where production is restricted to a particular locality (as in the case of a rare wine), and where the *effective demand* can never be satisfied. *Finally*, through *monopolies* exercised by individuals or companies. Monopoly price is the highest possible. (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 53-54 [Garnier, t. I, pp. 120-24].)

Other fortuitous causes which can raise the profit on capital:

The acquisition of new territories, or of new branches of trade, often increases the profit on capital even in a wealthy country, because they withdraw some capital from the old branches of trade, reduce competition, and cause the market to be supplied with fewer commodities, the prices of which then rise: those who deal in these commodities can then afford to borrow at a higher rate of interest. (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 83 [Garnier, t. I, p. 190].)

The more a commodity comes to be manufactured—the more it becomes an object of manufacture—the greater becomes that part of the price which resolves itself into wages and profit in proportion to that which resolves itself into rent. In the progress of the manufacture of a commodity, not only the number of profits increases, but every subsequent profit is greater than the foregoing; because the capital from which ||IV,2| it is derived must always be greater. The capital which employs the weavers, for example, must always be greater than that which employs the spinners; because it not only replaces that capital with its profits, but pays, besides, the wages of weavers; and the profits must always bear some proportion to the capital. (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 45 [Garnier, t. I, pp. 102-03].)

Thus the advance made by human labour in converting the product of nature into the manufactured product of nature increases, not the wages of labour, but in part the number of profitable capital investments, and in part the size of every subsequent capital in comparison with the foregoing.

More about the advantages which the capitalist derives from the division of labour, later.

He profits doubly—first, by the division of labour; and secondly, in general, by the advance which human labour makes on the natural product. The greater the human share in a commodity, the greater the profit of dead capital.

In one and the same society the average rates of profit on capital are much more nearly on the same level than the wages of the different sorts of labour. (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 100 [Garnier, t. I, p. 228].) In the different employments of capital, the ordinary rate of profit varies with the certainty or uncertainty of the returns.

The ordinary profit of stock, though it rises with the risk, does not always seem to rise in proportion to it. (op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 99-100 [Garnier, t. I, pp. 226-27].)

It goes without saying that profits also rise if the means of circulation become less expensive or easier available (e.g., paper money).

### 3. THE RULE OF CAPITAL OVER LABOUR AND THE MOTIVES OF THE CAPITALIST

The consideration of his own private profit is the sole motive which determines the owner of any capital to employ it either in agriculture, in manufactures, or in some particular branch of the wholesale or retail trade. The different quantities of *productive labour* which it may put into motion, ‖V,2| and the different values which it may add to the annual produce of the land and labour of his country, according as it is employed in one or other of those different ways, never enter into his thoughts. (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 335 [Garnier, t. II, pp. 400-01].)

The most useful employment of capital for the capitalist is that which, risks being equal, yields him the greatest profit. This employment is not always the most useful for society; the most useful employment is that which utilises the productive powers of nature. (Say, t. II, pp. 130-31.)

The plans and speculations of the employers of capitals regulate and direct all the most important operations of labour, and *profit* is the end proposed by all those plans and projects. But the rate of profit does not, like rent and wages, rise with the prosperity and fall with the decline of the society. On the contrary, it is naturally low in rich and high in poor countries, and it is always highest in the countries which are going fastest to ruin. The interest of this class, therefore, has not the same connection with the general interest of the society as that of the other two.... The particular interest of the dealers in any particular branch of trade or manufactures is always in some respects different from, and frequently even in sharp opposition to, that of the public. To widen the market and to narrow the sellers' competition is always the interest of the dealer.... This is a class of people whose interest is never exactly the same as that of society, a class of people who have generally an interest to deceive and to oppress the public. (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 231-32 [Garnier, t. II, pp. 163-65].)

### 4. THE ACCUMULATION OF CAPITALS AND THE COMPETITION AMONG THE CAPITALISTS

The *increase of stock,* which raises wages, tends to lower the capitalists' profit, because of the *competition* amongst the capitalists. (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 78 [Garnier, t. I, p. 179].)

If, for example, the capital which is necessary for the grocery trade of a particular town "is divided between two different grocers, their competition will tend to make both of them sell cheaper than if it were in the hands of one only; and if it were divided among twenty, ‖VI,2| their competition would be just so much the greater, and the chance of their combining together, in order to raise the price, just so much the less". (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 322 [Garnier, t. II, pp. 372-73].)

Since we already know that monopoly prices are as high as possible, since the interest of the capitalists, even from the point of view commonly held by political economists, stands in hostile opposition to society, and since a rise of profit operates like compound interest on the price of the commodity (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 87-88 [Garnier, t. I, pp. 199-201]), it follows that the sole defence against the capitalists is *competition,* which according to the evidence of political economy acts beneficently by

both raising wages and lowering the prices of commodities to the advantage of the consuming public.

But competition is only possible if capital multiplies, and is held in many hands. The formation of many capital investments is only possible as a result of multilateral accumulation, since capital comes into being only by accumulation; and multilateral accumulation necessarily turns into unilateral accumulation. Competition among capitalists increases the accumulation of capital. Accumulation, where private property prevails, is the *concentration* of capital in the hands of a few, it is in general an inevitable consequence if capital is left to follow its natural course, and it is precisely through competition that the way is cleared for this natural disposition of capital.

We have been told that the profit on capital is in proportion to the size of the capital. A large capital therefore accumulates more quickly than a small capital in proportion to its size, even if we disregard for the time being deliberate competition. |VI||

||VIII, 2|[65] Accordingly, the accumulation of large capital proceeds much more rapidly than that of smaller capital, quite irrespective of competition. But let us follow this process further.

With the increase of capital the profit on capital diminishes, because of competition. The first to suffer, therefore, is the small capitalist.

The increase of capitals and a large number of capital investments presuppose, further,[a] a condition of advancing wealth in the country.

"In a country which had acquired its full complement of riches [...] the ordinary rate of clear profit would be very small, so the usual [market] rate of interest which could be afforded out of it would be so low as to render it impossible for any but the very wealthiest people to live upon the interest of their money. All people of [...] middling fortunes would be obliged to superintend themselves the employment of their own stocks. It would be necessary that almost every man should be a man of business, or engage in some sort of trade." (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 86 [Garnier, t. I, pp. 196-97].)[b]

This is the situation most dear to the heart of political economy.

"The proportion between capital and revenue, therefore, seems everywhere to regulate the proportion between industry and idleness; wherever capital predominates, industry prevails; wherever revenue, idleness." (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 301 [Garnier, t. II, p. 325].)

What about the employment of capital, then, in this condition of increased competition?

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[a] "Further" is not clearly decipherable in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[b] After this paragraph Marx crossed out the sentence: "The less capitals are loaned at interest and the more they are thrown into manufacturing business or commerce, the stronger grows the competition between the capitalists."—*Ed.*

"As stock increases, the quantity of stock to be lent at interest grows gradually greater and greater. As the quantity of stock to be lent at interest increases, the interest ... diminishes...." (i) because the market price of things commonly diminishes as their quantity increases. ... and (ii) because *with the increase of capitals in any country, "it becomes gradually more and more difficult* to find within the country a profitable method of employing any new capital. There arises in consequence a competition between different capitals, the owner of one endeavouring to get possession of that employment which is occupied by another. But upon most occasions he can hope to jostle that other out of this employment by no other means but by dealing upon more reasonable terms. He must not only sell what he deals in somewhat cheaper, but in order to get it to sell, he must sometimes, too, buy it dearer. The demand for productive labour, by the increase of the funds which are destined for maintaining it, grows every day greater and greater. Labourers easily find employment, {IX, 2}‖but the owners of capitals find it difficult to get labourers to employ. Their competition raises the wages of labour and sinks the profits of stock." (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 316 [Garnier, t. II, pp. 358-59].)

Thus the small capitalist has the choice: (1) either to consume his capital, since he can no longer live on the interest—and thus cease to be a capitalist; or (2) to set up a business himself, sell his commodity cheaper, buy dearer than the wealthier capitalist, and pay higher wages—thus ruining himself, the market price being already very low as a result of the intense competition presupposed. If, however, the big capitalist wants to squeeze out the smaller capitalist, he has all the advantages over him which the capitalist has as a capitalist over the worker. The larger size of his capital compensates him for the smaller profits, and he can even bear temporary losses until the smaller capitalist is ruined and he finds himself freed from this competition. In this way, he accumulates the small capitalist's profits.

Furthermore: the big capitalist always buys cheaper than the small one, because he buys bigger quantities. He can therefore well afford to sell cheaper.

But if a fall in the rate of interest turns the middle capitalists from rentiers into businessmen, the increase in business capital and the resulting smaller profit produce conversely a fall in the rate of interest.

"When the profits which can be made by the use of a capital are [...] diminished [...] the price which can be paid for the use of it [...] must necessarily be diminished with them." (Adam Smith, loc. cit., Vol. I, p. 316 [Garnier, t. II, p. 359].)

"As riches, improvement, and population have increased, interest has declined", and consequently the profits of capitalists, "after these [profits] are diminished, stock may not only continue to increase, but to increase much faster than before. [...] A great stock though with small profits, generally increases faster than a small stock with great profits. Money, says the proverb, makes money." (op. cit., Vol. I,p. 83 [Garnier, t. I, p. 189].)

When, therefore, this large capital is opposed by small capitals

with small profits, as it is under the presupposed condition of intense competition, it crushes them completely.

The necessary result of this competition is a general deterioration of commodities, adulteration, fake production and universal poisoning, evident in large towns.

||X,2| An important circumstance in the competition of large and small capital is, furthermore, the relation between *fixed capital* and *circulating capital.*[a]

*Circulating capital* is a capital which is "employed in raising" provisions, "manufacturing, or purchasing goods, and selling them again. [...] The capital employed in this manner yields no revenue or profit to its employer, while it either remains in his possession, or continues in the same shape. [...] His capital is continually going from him in one shape, and returning to him in another, and it is only by means of such circulation, or successive exchanges" and transformations "that it can yield him any profit". *Fixed capital* consists of capital invested "in the improvement of land, in the purchase of useful machines and instruments of trade, or in such-like things". (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 243-44 [Garnier, t. II, pp. 197-98].)

"Every saving in the expense of supporting the fixed capital is an improvement of the net revenue of the society. The whole capital of the undertaker of every work is necessarily divided between his fixed and his circulating capital. While his whole capital remains the same, the smaller the one part, the greater must necessarily be the other. It is the circulating capital which furnishes the materials and wages of labour, and puts industry into motion. Every saving, therefore, in the expense of maintaining the fixed capital, which does not diminish the productive powers of labour, must increase the fund which puts industry into motion." (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 257 [Garnier, t. II, p. 226].)

It is clear from the outset that the relation of fixed capital and circulating capital is much more favourable to the big capitalist than to the smaller capitalist. The extra fixed capital required by a very big banker as against a very small one is insignificant. Their fixed capital amounts to nothing more than the office. The equipment of the bigger landowner does not increase in proportion to the size of his estate. Similarly, the credit which a big capitalist enjoys compared with a smaller one means for him all the greater saving in fixed capital—that is, in the amount of ready money he must always have at hand. Finally, it is obvious that where industrial labour has reached a high level, and where therefore almost all manual labour has become factory labour, the entire capital of a small capitalist does not suffice to provide him even with the necessary fixed capital. *On sait que les travaux de la grande culture n'occupent habituellement qu'un petit nombre de bras.*[b]

It is generally true that the accumulation of large capital is also

[a] Marx uses the French terms *capital fixe* and *capital circulant.*—*Ed.*

[b] As is well known, large-scale cultivation usually provides employment only for a small number of hands.—*Ed.*

accompanied by a proportional concentration and simplification of fixed capital, as compared to the smaller capitalists. The big capitalist introduces for himself some kind ||XI, 2| of organisation of the instruments of labour.

"Similarly, in the sphere of industry every manufactory and mill is already a comprehensive combination of a large material fortune with numerous and varied intellectual capacities and technical skills serving the *common* purpose of production.... Where legislation preserves landed property in large units, the surplus of a growing population flocks into trades, and it is therefore as in Great Britain in the field of industry, principally, that proletarians aggregate in great numbers. Where, however, the law permits the continuous division of the land, the number of small, debt-encumbered proprietors increases, as in France; and the continuing process of fragmentation throws them into the class of the needy and the discontented. When eventually this fragmentation and indebtedness reaches a higher degree still, big landed property once more swallows up small property, just as large-scale industry destroys small industry. And as larger estates are formed again, large numbers of propertyless workers not required for the cultivation of the soil are again driven into industry." (Schulz, *Bewegung der Production*, pp. 58, 59.)

"Commodities of the same kind change in character as a result of changes in the method of production, and especially as a result of the use of machinery. Only by the exclusion of human power has it become possible to spin from a pound of cotton worth 3 shillings and 8 pence 350 hanks of a total length of 167 English miles (i.e., 36 German miles), and of a commercial value of 25 guineas." (op. cit., p. 62.)

"On the average the prices of cotton-goods have decreased in England during the past 45 years by eleven-twelfths, and according to Marshall's calculations the same amount of manufactured goods for which 16 shillings was still paid in 1814 is now supplied at 1 shilling and 10 pence. The greater cheapness of industrial products expands both consumption at home and the market abroad, and because of this the number of workers in cotton has not only not fallen in Great Britain after the introduction of machines but has risen from forty thousand to one and a half million. ||XII, 2| As to the earnings of industrial entrepreneurs and workers; the growing competition between the factory owners has resulted in their profits necessarily falling relative to the amount of products supplied by them. In the years 1820-33 the Manchester manufacturer's gross profit on a piece of calico fell from four shillings $1^1/_3$ pence to one shilling 9 pence. But to make up for this loss, the volume of manufacture has been correspondingly increased. The consequence of this is that separate branches of industry experience over-production to some extent, that frequent bankruptcies occur causing property to fluctuate and vacillate unstably *within* the class of capitalists and masters of labour, thus throwing into the proletariat some of those who have been ruined economically; and that, frequently and suddenly, close-downs or cuts in employment become necessary, the painful effects of which are always bitterly felt by the class of wage-labourers." (op. cit., p. 63.)

"To hire out one's labour is to begin one's enslavement. To hire out the materials of labour is to establish one's freedom.... Labour is man; the materials, on the other hand, contain nothing human."[a] (Pecqueur, *Théorie sociale, etc.*, pp. 411-12.)

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[a] "Louer son travail, c'est commencer son esclavage; louer la matière du travail, c'est constituer sa liberté.... Le travail est l'homme, la matière au contraire n'est rien de l'homme."—*Ed.*

"The material element, which is quite incapable of creating wealth without the other element, *labour*, acquires the magical virtue of being fertile for them [who own this material element] as if by their own action they had placed there this indispensable element."[a] (op. cit.)

"Supposing that the daily labour of a worker brings him on the average 400 francs a year and that this sum suffices for every adult to live some sort of crude life, then any proprietor receiving 2,000 francs in interest or rent, from a farm, a house, etc., compels indirectly five men to work for him; an income of 100,000 francs represents the labour of 250 men, and that of 1,000,000 francs the labour of 2,500 individuals[b] (hence, 300 million [Louis Philippe] therefore the labour of 750,000 workers)." (op. cit., pp. 412-13.)

"The human law has given owners the right to use and to abuse—that is to say, the right to do what they will with the materials of labour.... They are in no way obliged by law to provide work for the propertyless when required and at all times, or to pay them always an adequate wage, etc."[c] (loc. cit., p. 413.) "Complete freedom concerning the nature, the quantity, the quality and the expediency of production; concerning the use and the disposal of wealth; and full command over the materials of all labour. Everyone is free to exchange what belongs to him as he thinks fit, without considering anything other than his own interest as an individual."[d] (op. cit., p. 413.)

"Competition is merely the expression of the freedom to exchange, which itself is the immediate and logical consequence of the individual's right to use and abuse all the instruments of production. The right to use and abuse, freedom of exchange, and arbitrary competition—these three economic moments, which form one unit, entail the following consequences; each produces what he wishes, as he wishes, when he wishes, where he wishes, produces well or produces badly, produces too much or not enough, too soon or too late, at too high a price or too low a price; none knows whether he will sell, to whom he will sell, how he will sell, when he will sell, where he will sell. And it is the same with regard to purchases. ||XIII, 2| The producer is ignorant of needs and resources, of demand and supply. He sells when he wishes, when he can, where he wishes, to whom he wishes, at the price he wishes. And he buys in the same way. In all this he is ever the plaything of chance, the slave of the law of the strongest, of the least harassed, of the richest.... Whilst at one place there is scarcity, at another there is glut and waste. Whilst one producer sells a lot or at a very high price, and at an enormous

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[a] "L'élément matière, qui ne peut rien pour la création de la richesse sans l'autre élément *travail*, reçoit la vertu magique d'être fécond pour eux comme s'ils y avaient mis de leur propre fait cet indispensable élément."—*Ed.*

[b] "En supposant que le travail quotidien d'un ouvrier lui rapporte en moyenne 400 fr. par an, et que cette somme suffise à chaque adulte pour vivre d'une vie grossière, tout propriétaire de 2000 fr. de rente, de fermage, de loyer, etc., force donc indirectement 5 hommes à travailler pour lui: 100 000 fr. de rente représentent le travail de 250 hommes, et 1000000 le travail de 2500 individus."—*Ed.*

[c] "Les propriétaires ont recu de la loi des hommes le droit d'user et d'abuser, c.-à-d. de faire ce qu'ils veulent de la matière de tout travail ... ils sont nullement obligés par la loi de fourhir à propos et toujours du travail aux non-propriétaires, ni de leur payer un salaire toujours suffisant etc."—*Ed.*

[d] "Liberté entière quant à la nature, à la quantité, à la qualité, à l'opportunité de la production, à l'usage, à la consommation des richesses, à la disposition de la matière de tout travail. Chacun est libre d'échanger sa chose comme il l'entend, sans autre considération que son propre intérêt d'individu."—*Ed.*

profit, the other sells nothing or sells at a loss.... The supply does not know the demand, and the demand does not know the supply. You produce, trusting to a taste, a fashion, which prevails amongst the consuming public. But by the time you are ready to deliver the commodity, the whim has already passed and has settled on some other kind of product.... The inevitable consequences: bankruptcies occurring constantly and universally; miscalculations, sudden ruin and unexpected fortunes, commercial crises, stoppages, periodic gluts or shortages; instability and depreciation of wages and profits, the loss or enormous waste of wealth, time and effort in the arena of fierce competition."[a] (op. cit., pp. 414-16.)

*Ricardo* in his book[b] (rent of land[c]): Nations are merely production-shops; man is a machine for consuming and producing; human life is a kind of capital; economic laws blindly rule the world. For Ricardo men are nothing, the product everything. In the 26th chapter of the French translation it says:

"To an individual with a capital of £20,000 whose profits were £2,000 per annum, it would be a matter quite indifferent whether his capital would employ a hundred or a thousand men.... Is not the real interest of the nation similar? Provided its net real income, its rent and profits be the same, it is of no importance whether the nation consists of ten or twelve millions of inhabitants."[d] [t. II,

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[a] "La concurrence n'exprime pas autre chose que l'échange facultatif, qui lui-même est la conséquence prochaine et logique du droit individuel d'user et d'abuser des instruments de toute production. Ces trois moments économiques, lesquels n'en font qu'un: le droit d'user et d'abuser, la liberté d'échanges et la concurence arbitraire, entraînent les conséquences suivantes: chacun produit ce qu'il veut, comme il veut, quand il veut, où il veut; produit bien ou produit mal, trop ou pas assez, trop tôt ou trop tard, trop cher ou à trop bas prix; chacun ignore s'il vendra, à qui il vendra, comment il vendra, quand il vendra, où il vendra: et il en est de même quant aux achats. Le producteur ignore les besoins et les ressources, les demandes et les offres. Il vend quand il veut, quand il peut, où il veut, à qui il veut, au prix qu'il veut. Et il achète de même. En tout cela, il est toujours le jouet du hasard, l'esclave de la loi du plus fort, du moins pressé, du plus riche... Tandis que sur un point il y a disette d'une richesse, sur l'autre il y a trop-plein et gaspillage. Tandis qu'un producteur vend beaucoup ou très cher, et à bénéfice énorme, l'autre ne vend rien ou vend à perte... L'offre ignore la demande, et la demande ignore l'offre. Vous produisez sur la foi d'un goût, d'une mode qui se manifeste dans le public des consommateurs; mais déjà, lorsque vous êtes prêts à livrer la marchandise, la fantaisie a passé et s'est fixée sur un autre genre de produit ... conséquences infaillibles la permanence et l'universalisation des banqueroutes, les mécomptes, les ruines subites et les fortunes improvisées; les crises commerciales, les chômages, les encombrements ou les disettes périodiques; l'instabilité et l'avilissement des salaires et des profits, la déperdition ou le gaspillage énorme de richesses, de temps et d'efforts dans l'arène d'une concurrence acharnée."—*Ed.*

[b] *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation.*—*Ed.*

[c] These words are in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[d] "Il serait tout-à-fait indifférent pour une personne qui sur un capital de 20 000 fr. ferait 2000 fr. par an de profit, que son capital employât cent hommes ou mille... L'intérêt réel d'une nation n'est-il pas le même? pourvu que son revenu net et réel, et que ses fermages et ses profits soient les mêmes, qu'importe qu'elle se compose de dix ou de douze millions d'individus?"—*Ed.*

pp. 194, 195.] "In fact, says M. Sismondi ([*Nouveaux principes d'économie politique*,] t. II, p. 331), nothing remains to be desired but that the King, living quite alone on the island, should by continuously turning a crank cause automatons to do all the work of England."[a] 66

"The master who buys the worker's labour at such a low price that it scarcely suffices for the worker's most pressing needs is responsible neither for the inadequacy of the wage nor for the excessive duration of the labour: he himself has to submit to the law which he imposes.... Poverty is not so much caused by men as by the power of things."[b] (Buret, op. cit., p. 82.)

"The inhabitants of many different parts of Great Britain have not capital sufficient to improve and cultivate all their lands. The wool of the southern[c] counties of Scotland is, a great part of it, after a long land carriage through very bad roads, manufactured in Yorkshire, for want of capital to manufacture it at home. There are many little manufacturing towns in Great Britain, of which the inhabitants have not capital sufficient to transport the produce of their own industry to those distant markets where there is demand and consumption for it. If there are any merchants among them, ||XIV,2| they are properly only the agents of wealthier merchants who reside in some of the greater commercial cities." (Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I, pp. 326-27 [Garnier, t. II, p. 382].)

"The annual produce of the land and labour of any nation can be increased in its value by no other means but by increasing either the *number of its productive labourers*, or the *productive powers of those labourers* who had before been employed.... In either case an additional capital is almost always required."[d] (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 306-07 [Garnier, t. II, p. 338].)

"As the *accumulation* of stock must, in the nature of things, be previous to the division of labour, so labour can be more and more subdivided in proportion only as stock is previously more and more accumulated. The quantity of materials which the same number of people can work up, increases in a great proportion as labour comes to be more and more subdivided; and as the operations of each workman are gradually reduced to a greater degree of simplicity, a variety of new machines come to be invented for facilitating and abridging those operations. As the division of labour advances, therefore, in order to give constant employment to an equal number of workmen, an equal stock of provisions, and a greater stock of materials and tools than what would have been necessary in a ruder state of things, must be accumulated beforehand. But the number of workmen in every branch of business generally increases with the division of labour in that branch, or rather it is the increase of their number which enables them to class and subdivide themselves in this manner." (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 241-42 [Garnier, t. II, pp. 193-94].)

"As the accumulation of stock is previously necessary for carrying on this great

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[a] "En vérité, dit M. de Sismondi, il ne reste plus qu'à désirer que le roi, demeuré tout seul dans l'île, en tournant constamment une manivelle, fasse accomplir, par des automates, tout l'ouvrage de l'Angleterre."—*Ed.*

[b] "Le maître, qui achète le travail de l'ouvrier à un prix si bas, qu'il suffit à peine aux besoins les plus pressants, n'est responsable ni de l'insuffisance des salaires, ni de la trop longue durée du travail: il subit lui-même la loi qu'il impose ... ce n'est pas tant des hommes que vient la misère, que de la puissance des choses."—*Ed.*

[c] In the manuscript: "eastern".—*Ed.*

[d] "Pour augmenter la valeur du produit annuel de la terre et du travail, il n'y a pas d'autres moyens que d'augmenter, quant au *nombre, les ouvriers productifs*, ou d'augmenter, quant à la puissance, la *faculté productive des ouvriers* précédemment employés... Dans l'un et dans l'autre cas il faut presque toujours un surcroît de capital."—*Ed.*

improvement in the productive powers of labour, so that accumulation naturally leads to this improvement. The person who employs his stock in maintaining labour, necessarily wishes to employ it in such a manner as to produce as great a quantity of work as possible. He endeavours, therefore, both to make among his workmen the most proper distribution of employment, and to furnish them with the best machines [...]. His abilities in both these respects ||XV, 2| are generally in proportion to the extent of his stock, or to the number of people whom it can employ. The quantity of industry, therefore, not only increases in every country with the *increase of the stock* which employs it, but, in consequence of that increase, the same quantity of industry produces a much greater quantity of work." (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 242 [Garnier, t. II, pp. 194-95].)

Hence *over-production.*

"More comprehensive combinations of productive forces ... in industry and trade by uniting more numerous and more diverse human and natural powers in larger-scale enterprises. Already here and there, closer association of the chief branches of production. Thus, big manufacturers will try to acquire also large estates in order to become independent of others for at least a part of the raw materials required for their industry; or they will go into trade in conjunction with their industrial enterprises, not only to sell their own manufactures, but also to purchase other kinds of products and to sell these to their workers. In England, where a single factory owner sometimes employs ten to twelve thousand workers ... it is already not uncommon to find such combinations of various branches of production controlled by *one* brain, such smaller states or provinces within the state. Thus, the mine owners in the *Birmingham* area have recently taken over the *whole* process of iron production, which was previously distributed among various entrepreneurs and owners. (See "Der bergmännische Distrikt bei Birmingham", *Deutsche Vierteljahrs-Schrift* No. 3, 1838.) Finally in the large joint-stock enterprises which have become so numerous, we see far-reaching combinations of the financial resources of *many* participants with the scientific and technical knowledge and skills of others to whom the carrying-out of the work is handed over. The capitalists are thereby enabled to apply their savings in more diverse ways and perhaps even to employ them simultaneously in agriculture, industry and commerce. As a consequence their interest becomes more comprehensive, ||XVI,2| and the contradictions between agricultural, industrial, and commercial interests are reduced and disappear. But this increased possibility of applying capital profitably in the most diverse ways cannot but intensify the antagonism between the propertied and the non-propertied classes." (Schulz, op. cit., pp. 40-41.)

The enormous profit which the landlords of houses make out of poverty. House rent stands in inverse proportion to industrial poverty.

So does the interest obtained from the vices of the ruined proletarians. (Prostitution, drunkenness, pawnbroking.)

The accumulation of capital increases and the competition between capitalists decreases, when capital and landed property are united in the same hand, also when capital is enabled by its size to combine different branches of production.

Indifference towards men. Smith's twenty lottery-tickets.[67]

Say's net and gross revenue. |XVI||

## RENT OF LAND

||I, 3| *Landlords' right* has its origin in robbery. (Say, t. I, p. 136, note.) The landlords, like all other men, love to reap where they never sowed, and demand a rent even for the natural produce of the earth. (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 44 [Garnier, t. I, p. 99].)

"The rent of land, it may be thought, is frequently no more than a reasonable profit or interest for the stock laid out by the landlord upon its improvement. This, no doubt, may be partly the case upon some occasions.... The landlord demands" (1) "a rent even for unimproved land, and the supposed interest or profit upon the expense of improvement is generally an addition to this original rent." (2) "Those improvements, besides, are not always made by the stock of the landlord, but sometimes by that of the tenant. When the lease comes to be renewed, however, the landlord commonly demands the same augmentation of rent as if they had been all made by his own." (3) "He sometimes demands rent for what is altogether incapable of human improvement." (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 131 [Garnier, t. I, pp. 300-01].)

Smith cites as an instance of the last case kelp,[a]

"a species of seaweed, which, when burnt, yields an alkaline salt, useful for making glass, soap, etc. It grows in several parts of Great Britain, particularly in Scotland, upon such rocks only as lie within the high-water mark, which are twice every day covered with the sea, and of which the produce, therefore, was never augmented by human industry. The landlord, however, whose estate is bounded by a kelp shore of this kind, demands a rent for it as much as for his corn fields. The sea in the neighbourhood of the Islands of Shetland[b] is more than commonly abundant in fish, which make a great part of the subsistence of their inhabitants. ||III, 3| But in order to profit by the produce of the water they must have a habitation upon the neighbouring land. The rent of the landlord is in proportion, not to what the farmer can make by the land, but to what he can make both by the land and by the water." (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 131 [Garnier, t. I, pp. 301-02].)

"This rent may be considered as the produce of those *powers of nature*, the use of which the landlord lends to the farmer. It is greater or smaller according to the supposed extent of those powers, or in other words, according to the supposed natural or improved fertility of the land. It is the work of nature which remains after deducting or compensating everything which can be regarded as the work of man." (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 324-25 [Garnier, t. II, pp. 377-78].)

"The *rent of land*, therefore, considered as the price paid for the use of the land, is naturally a *monopoly price*. It is not at all proportioned to what the landlord may have laid out upon the improvement of the land, or to what he can afford to take; but to what the farmer can afford to give." (Adam Smith, op. cit., p. 131 [Garnier, t. I, p. 302].)

Of the three original classes, that of the landlords is the one "whose revenue costs them neither labour nor care, but comes to them, as it were, of its own accord, and independent of any plan or project[c] of their own". (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 230 [Garnier, t. II, p. 161].)

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[a] Adam Smith uses the general term "kelp". Marx writes "*Salzkraut* (*Seekrapp, Salicorne*)" which indicates species of saltwort (*Salsola*) or glasswort (*Salicornia*).— *Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript: "Scotland".— *Ed.*

[c] In the manuscript *Einsicht* (understanding) instead of *Absicht* (purpose, intention, project).— *Ed.*

We have already learnt that the size of the rent depends on the degree of *fertility* of the land.

Another factor in its determination is *situation.*

"The rent of land not only varies with its *fertility*, whatever be its produce, but with its *situation*, whatever be its fertility." (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 133 [Garnier, t. I, p. 306].)

"The produce of land, mines, and fisheries, when their natural fertility is equal, is in proportion to the extent and proper ||III,3| application of the capitals employed about them. When the capitals are equal and equally well applied, it is in proportion to their natural fertility." (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 249 [Garnier, t. II, p. 210].)

These propositions of Smith are important, because, given equal costs of production and capital of equal size, they reduce the rent of land to the greater or lesser fertility of the soil. Thereby showing clearly the perversion of concepts in political economy, which turns the fertility of the land into an attribute of the landlord.

Now, however, let us consider the rent of land as it is formed in real life.

The rent of land is established as a result of the *struggle between tenant and landlord.* We find that the hostile antagonism of interests, the struggle, the war is recognised throughout political economy as the basis of social organisation.

Let us see now what the relations are between landlord and tenant.

"In adjusting the terms of the lease, the landlord endeavours to leave him no greater share of the produce than what is sufficient to keep up the stock from which he furnishes the seed, pays the labour, and purchases and maintains the cattle and other instruments of husbandry, together with the ordinary profits of farming stock in the neighbourhood. This is evidently the smallest share with which the tenant can content himself without being a loser, and the landlord seldom means to leave him any more. Whatever part of the produce, or, what is the same thing, whatever part of its price is over and above this share, he naturally endeavours to reserve to himself as the rent of his land, which is evidently the highest the tenant can afford to pay in the actual circumstances of the land. ||IV,3| [...] This portion, however, may still be considered as the natural rent of land, or the rent for which it is naturally meant that land should for the most part be let." (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 130-31 [Garnier, t. I, pp. 299-300].)

"The landlords," says Say, "operate a certain kind of monopoly against the tenants. The demand for their commodity, site and soil, can go on expanding indefinitely; but there is only a given, limited amount of their commodity.... The bargain struck between landlord and tenant is always advantageous to the former in the greatest possible degree.... Besides the advantage he derives from the nature of the case, he derives a further advantage from his position, his larger fortune and greater credit and standing. But the first by itself suffices to enable him and him *alone* to profit from the favourable circumstances of the land. The opening of a canal, or a road; the increase of population and of the prosperity of a district, always raises the rent.... Indeed, the tenant himself may improve the ground at his own expense; but he only derives the profit from this capital for the duration of

his lease, with the expiry of which it remains with the proprietor of the land; henceforth it is the latter who reaps the interest thereon, without having made the outlay, for there is now a proportionate increase in the rent." (Say, t. II, pp. 142-43.)

"Rent, considered as the price paid for the use of land, is naturally the highest which the tenant can afford to pay in the actual circumstances of the land." (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 130 [Garnier, t. I, p. 299].)

"The rent of an estate above ground commonly amounts to what is supposed to be a third of the gross produce; and it is generally a rent certain and independent of the occasional variations ||V,3| in the crop." (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 153 [Garnier, t. I, p. 351].) This rent "is seldom less than a fourth ... of the whole produce". (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 325 [Garnier, t. II, p. 378].)

## *Rent* cannot be paid on all commodities. For instance, in many districts[a] no rent is paid for stones.

"Such parts only of the produce of land can commonly be brought to market of which the ordinary price is sufficient to replace the stock which must be employed in bringing them thither, together with its ordinary profits. If the ordinary price is more than this, the surplus part of it will naturally go to the rent of the land. If it is not more, though the commodity may be brought to market, it can afford no rent to the landlord. Whether the price is or is not more depends upon the demand." (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 132 [Garnier, t. I, pp. 302-03].)

"Rent, it is to be observed, therefore, enters into the composition of the *price of commodities* in a *different way* from wages and profit. *High or low wages and profit* are the *causes* of high or low price; high or low rent is the *effect* of it." (Adam Smith, loc. cit., Vol. I, p. 132 [Garnier, t. I, pp. 303-04].)

## *Food* belongs to the *products* which always yield a *rent.*

As men, like all other animals, naturally multiply in proportion to the means of their subsistence, food is always, more or less, in demand. It can always purchase or command a greater or smaller ||VI,3| quantity of labour, and somebody can always be found who is willing to do something in order to obtain it. The quantity of labour, indeed, which it can purchase is not always *equal* to what it could maintain, if managed in the most economical manner, on account of the high wages which are sometimes given to labour. But it can always purchase such a quantity of labour as it can maintain, according to the rate at which the sort of labour is commonly maintained in the neighbourhood.

"But land, in almost any situation, produces a greater quantity of food than what is sufficient to maintain all the labour necessary for bringing it[b] to market [....] The surplus, too, is always more than sufficient to replace the stock which employed that labour, together with its profits. Something, therefore, always remains for a rent to the landlord." (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 132-33 [Garnier, t. I, pp. 305-06].)

"Food is in this manner not only the original source of rent, but every other part of the produce of land which afterwards affords rent derives that part of its value from the improvement of the powers of labour in producing food by means of the improvement and cultivation of land." (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 150 [Garnier, t. I, p. 345].)

"Human food seems to be the only produce of land which always and

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[a] In the manuscript *Gegenständen* (objects) instead of *Gegen* (districts).—*Ed.*

[b] "It" refers to *food*, the manuscript however has *Arbeit* (labour).—*Ed.*

necessarily affords some rent to the landlord." (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 147 [Garnier, t. I, p. 337].)

"Countries are populous not in proportion to the number of people whom their produce can clothe and lodge, but in proportion to that of those whom it can feed." (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 149 [Garnier, t. I, p. 342].)

"After food, clothing and lodging are the two great wants of mankind." They usually yield a rent, but not inevitably. (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 147 [Garnier, t. I, pp. 337-38].) | VI ||

||VIII,3|[68] Let us now see how the landlord exploits everything from which society benefits.

(1) The rent of land increases with population. (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 146 [Garnier, t. I, p. 335].)

(2) We have already learnt from Say how the rent of land increases with railways, etc., with the improvement, safety, and multiplication of the means of communication.

(3) "Every improvement in the circumstances of the society tends either *directly* or *indirectly* to raise the real rent of land, to increase the real wealth of the landlord, his power of purchasing the labour, or the produce of the labour of other people.

"The extension of improvement and cultivation tends to raise it directly. The landlord's share of the produce necessarily increases with the increase of the produce.

"That rise in the real price of those parts of the rude produce of land [...] the rise in the price of cattle, for example, tends too to raise the rent of land directly, and in a still greater proportion. The real value of the landlord's share, his real command of the labour of other people, not only rises with the real value of the produce, but the proportion of his share to the whole produce rises with it. That produce, after the rise in its real price, requires no more labour to collect it than before. A smaller proportion of it will, therefore, be sufficient to replace, with the ordinary profit, the stock which employs that labour. A greater proportion of it must, consequently, belong to the landlord." (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 228-29 [Garnier, t. II, pp. 157-59].)

||IX,3| The greater demand for raw produce, and therefore the rise in value, may in part result from the increase of population and from the increase of their needs. But every new invention, every new application in manufacture of a previously unused or little-used raw material, augments rent. Thus, for example, there was a tremendous rise in the rent of coal mines with the advent of the railways, steamships, etc.

Besides this advantage which the landlord derives from manufacture, discoveries, and labour, there is yet another, as we shall presently see.

(4) "All those improvements in the productive powers of labour, which tend directly to reduce the real price of manufactures, tend indirectly to raise the real rent of land. The landlord exchanges that part of his rude produce, which is over and above his own consumption, or what comes to the same thing, the price of that part of it, for manufactured produce. Whatever reduces the real price of the latter,

raises that of the former. An equal quantity of the former becomes thereby equivalent to a greater quantity of the latter; and the landlord is enabled to purchase a greater quantity of the conveniencies, ornaments, or luxuries, which he has occasion for." (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 229 [Garnier, t. II, p. 159].)

But it is silly to conclude, as Smith does, that since the landlord exploits every benefit which comes to society ||X,3| the interest of the landlord is always identical with that of society. (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 230 [Garnier, t. II, p. 161].) In the economic system, under the rule of private property, the interest which an individual has in society is in precisely inverse proportion to the interest society has in him—just as the interest of the usurer in the spendthrift is by no means identical with the interest of the spendthrift.

We shall mention only in passing the landlord's obsession with monopoly directed against the landed property of foreign countries, from which the Corn Laws,[69] for instance, originate. Likewise, we shall here pass over medieval serfdom, the slavery in the colonies, and the miserable condition of the country folk, the day-labourers, in Great Britain. Let us confine ourselves to the propositions of political economy itself.

(1) The landlord being interested in the welfare of society means, according to the principles of political economy, that he is interested in the growth of its population and manufacture, in the expansion of its needs—in short, in the increase of wealth; and this increase of wealth is, as we have already seen, identical with the increase of poverty and slavery. The relation between increasing house rent and increasing poverty is an example of the landlord's interest in society, for the ground rent, the interest obtained from the land on which the house stands, goes up with the rent of the house.

(2) According to the political economists themselves, the landlord's interest is inimically opposed to the interest of the tenant farmer—and thus already to a significant section of society.

||XI,3| (3) As the landlord can demand all the more rent from the tenant farmer the less wages the farmer pays, and as the farmer forces down wages all the lower the more rent the landlord demands, it follows that the interest of the landlord is just as hostile to that of the farm workers as is that of the manufacturers to their workers. He likewise forces down wages to the minimum.

(4) Since a real reduction in the price of manufactured products raises the rent of land, the landowner has a direct interest in lowering the wages of industrial workers, in competition amongst the capitalists, in over-production, in all the misery associated with industrial production.

(5) While, thus, the landlord's interest, far from being identical with the interest of society, stands inimically opposed to the interest of tenant farmers, farm labourers, factory workers and capitalists, on the other hand, the interest of one landlord is not even identical with that of another, on account of the competition which we will now consider.

In general the relationship of large and small landed property is like that of big and small capital. But in addition, there are special circumstances which lead inevitably to the accumulation of large landed property and to the absorption of small property by it.

||XII,3| (1) Nowhere does the relative number of workers and implements decrease more with increases in the size of the stock than in landed property. Likewise, the possibility of all-round exploitation, of economising production costs, and of effective division of labour, increases nowhere more with the size of the stock than in landed property. However small a field may be, it requires for its working a certain irreducible minimum of implements (plough, saw, etc.), whilst the size of a piece of landed property can be reduced far below this minimum.

(2) Big landed property accumulates to itself the interest on the capital which the tenant farmer has employed to improve the land. Small landed property has to employ its own capital, and therefore does not get this profit at all.

(3) While every social improvement benefits the big estate, it harms small property, because it increases its need for ready cash.

(4) Two important laws concerning this competition remain to be considered:

(α) The rent of the cultivated[a] land, of which the produce is human food, regulates the rent of the greater part of other cultivated land. (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 144 [Garnier, t. I, p. 331].)

Ultimately, only the big estate can produce such food as cattle, etc. Therefore it regulates the rent of other land and can force it down to a minimum.

The small landed proprietor working on his own land stands then to the big landowner in the same relation as an artisan possessing his *own* tool to the factory owner. Small property in land has become a mere instrument of labour. ||XVI,1|[70] Rent entirely disappears for the small proprietor; there remains to him at the most the interest on his capital, and his wages. For rent can be driven down by competition till it is nothing more than the interest on capital not invested by the proprietor.

(β) In addition, we have already learnt that with equal fertility

[a] The manuscript has "produced" instead of "cultivated".— *Ed.*

and equally efficient exploitation of lands, mines and fisheries, the produce is proportionate to the size of the capital. Hence the victory of the big landowner. Similarly, where equal capitals are employed the product is proportionate to the fertility. Hence, where capitals are equal, victory goes to the proprietor of the more fertile soil.

(γ) "A mine of any kind may be said to be either fertile or barren, according as the quantity of mineral which can be brought from it by a certain quantity of labour is greater or less than what can be brought by an equal quantity from the greater part of other mines of the same kind." (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 151 [Garnier, t. I, pp. 345-46].)

"The most fertile coal-mine, too, regulates the price of coals[a] at all the other mines in its neighbourhood. Both the proprietor and the undertaker of the work find, the one that he can get a greater rent, the other that he can get a greater profit, by somewhat underselling all their neighbours. Their neighbours are soon obliged to sell at the same price, though they cannot so well afford it, and though it always diminishes, and sometimes takes away altogether both their rent and their profit. Some works are abandoned altogether; others can afford no rent, and can be wrought only by the proprietor." (Adam Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 152-53 [Garnier, t. I, p. 350].)

"After the discovery of the mines of Peru, the silver mines of Europe were, the greater part of them, abandoned.... This was the case, too, with the mines of Cuba and St. Domingo, and even with the ancient mines of Peru, after the discovery of those of Potosi." (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 154 [Garnier, t. I, p. 353].)

What Smith here says of mines applies more or less to landed property generally:

(δ) "The ordinary market price of land, it is to be observed, depends everywhere upon the ordinary market rate of interest.... If the rent of land should fall short of the interest of money by a greater difference, nobody would buy land, which would soon reduce its ordinary price. On the contrary, if the advantages should much more than compensate the difference, everybody would buy land, which again would soon raise its ordinary price." (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 320 [Garnier, t. II, pp. 367-68].)

From this relation of rent of land to interest on money it follows that rent must fall more and more, so that eventually only the wealthiest people can live on rent. Hence the evergreater competition between landowners who do not lease their land to tenants. Ruin of some of these; further accumulation of large landed property.

‖XVII,2| This competition has the further consequence that a large part of landed property falls into the hands of the capitalists and that capitalists thus become simultaneously landowners, just as the smaller landowners are on the whole already nothing more than capitalists. Similarly, a section of large landowners become at the same time industrialists.

[a] The manuscript has "mine" instead of "coals".— *Ed.*

The final consequence is thus the abolition of the distinction between capitalist and landowner, so that there remain altogether only two classes of the population—the working class and the class of capitalists. This huckstering with landed property, the transformation of landed property into a commodity, constitutes the final overthrow of the old and the final establishment of the money aristocracy.

(1) We will not join in the sentimental tears wept over this by romanticism. Romanticism always confuses the shamefulness of *huckstering the land* with the perfectly rational consequence, inevitable and desirable within the realm of private property, of the *huckstering of private property* in land. In the first place, feudal landed property is already by its very nature huckstered land—the earth which is estranged from man and hence confronts him in the shape of a few great lords.

The domination of the land as an alien power over men is already inherent in feudal landed property. The serf is the adjunct of the land. Likewise, the lord of an entailed estate, the first-born son, belongs to the land. It inherits him. Indeed, the dominion of private property begins with property in land—that is its basis. But in feudal landed property the lord at least *appears* as the king of the estate. Similarly, there still exists the semblance of a more intimate connection between the proprietor and the land than that of mere *material* wealth. The estate is individualised with its lord: it has his rank, is baronial or ducal with him, has his privileges, his jurisdiction, his political position, etc. It appears as the inorganic body of its lord. Hence the proverb *nulle terre sans maître*, which expresses the fusion of nobility and landed property. Similarly, the rule of landed property does not appear directly as the rule of mere capital. For those belonging to it, the estate is more like their fatherland. It is a constricted sort of nationality.

||XVIII,2| In the same way, feudal landed property gives its name to its lord, as does a kingdom to its king. His family history, the history of his house, etc.—all this individualises the estate for him and makes it literally his house, personifies it. Similarly those working on the estate have not the position of *day-labourers*; but they are in part themselves his property, as are serfs; and in part they are bound to him by ties of respect, allegiance, and duty. His relation to them is therefore directly political, and has likewise a human, *intimate* side. Customs, character, etc., vary from one estate to another and seem to be one with the land to which they belong; whereas later, it is only his purse and not his character, his individuality, which connects a man with an estate. Finally, the

feudal lord does not try to extract the utmost advantage from his land. Rather, he consumes what is there and calmly leaves the worry of producing to the serfs and the tenants. Such is *nobility*'s relationship to landed property, which casts a romantic glory on its lords.

It is necessary that this appearance be abolished—that landed property, the root of private property, be dragged completely into the movement of private property and that it become a commodity; that the rule of the proprietor appear as the undisguised rule of private property, of capital, freed of all political tincture; that the relationship between proprietor and worker be reduced to the economic relationship of exploiter and exploited; that all [...][a] personal relationship between the proprietor and his property cease, property becoming merely *objective*, material wealth; that the marriage of convenience should take the place of the marriage of honour with the land; and that the land should likewise sink to the status of a commercial value, like man. It is essential that that which is the root of landed property—filthy self-interest—make its appearance, too, in its cynical form. It is essential that the immovable monopoly turn into the mobile and restless monopoly, into competition; and that the idle enjoyment of the products of other people's blood and sweat turn into a bustling commerce in the same commodity. Lastly, it is essential that in this competition landed property, in the form of capital, manifest its dominion over both the working class and the proprietors themselves who are either being ruined or raised by the laws governing the movement of capital. The medieval proverb *nulle terre sans seigneur* is thereby replaced by that other proverb, *l'argent n'a pas de maître*, wherein is expressed the complete domination of dead matter over man.

||XIX,2| (2) Concerning the argument of division or non-division of landed property, the following is to be observed.

The *division of landed property* negates the *large-scale monopoly* of property in land—abolishes it; but only by *generalising* this monopoly. It does not abolish the source of monopoly, private property. It attacks the existing form, but not the essence, of monopoly. The consequence is that it falls victim to the laws of private property. For the division of landed property corresponds to the movement of competition in the sphere of industry. In addition to the economic disadvantages of such a dividing-up of the instruments of labour, and the dispersal of labour (to be clearly distinguished from the division of labour: in separated

[a] A word in the manuscript cannot be deciphered.— *Ed.*

labour the work is not shared out amongst many, but each carries on the same work by himself, it is a multiplication of the same work), this division [of land], like that competition [in industry], necessarily turns again into accumulation.

Therefore, where the division of landed property takes place, there remains nothing for it but to return to monopoly in a still more malignant form, or to negate, to abolish the division of landed property itself. To do that, however, is not to return to feudal ownership, but to abolish private property in the soil altogether. The first abolition of monopoly is always its generalisation, the broadening of its existence. The abolition of monopoly, once it has come to exist in its utmost breadth and inclusiveness, is its total annihilation. Association, applied to land, shares the economic advantage of large-scale landed property, and first[a] brings to realisation the original tendency inherent in [land] division, namely, equality. In the same way association also re-establishes, now on a rational basis, no longer mediated by serfdom, overlordship and the silly mysticism of property, the intimate ties of man with the earth, since the earth ceases to be an object of huckstering, and through free labour and free enjoyment becomes once more a true personal property of man. A great advantage of the division of landed property is that the masses, which can no longer resign themselves to servitude, perish through property in a different way than in industry.

As for large landed property, its defenders have always, sophistically, identified the economic advantages offered by large-scale agriculture with large-scale landed property, as if it were not precisely as a result of the abolition of property that this advantage, for one thing, would receive its ||XX,2| greatest possible extension, and, for another, only then would be of social benefit. In the same way, they have attacked the huckstering spirit of small landed property, as if large landed property did not contain huckstering latent within it, even in its feudal form—not to speak of the modern English form, which combines the landlord's feudalism with the tenant farmer's huckstering and industry.

Just as large landed property can return the reproach of monopoly levelled against it by partitioned land, since partitioned land is also based on the monopoly of private property, so can partitioned landed property likewise return to large landed property the reproach of partition, since partition also prevails there, though in a rigid and frozen form. Indeed, private property rests

[a] In the manuscript the word "first" (*erst*) cannot be clearly deciphered.— *Ed.*

altogether on partitioning. Moreover, just as division of the land leads back to large landed property as a form of capital wealth, so must feudal landed property necessarily lead to partitioning or at least fall into the hands of the capitalists, turn and twist as it may.

For large landed property, as in England, drives the overwhelming majority of the population into the arms of industry and reduces its own workers to utter wretchedness. Thus, it engenders and enlarges the power of its enemy, capital, industry, by throwing poor people and an entire activity of the country on to the other side. It makes the majority of the people of the country industrial and thus opponents of large landed property. Where industry has attained to great power, as in England at the present time, it progressively forces from large landed property its monopoly against foreign countries[a] and throws it into competition with landed property abroad. For under the sway of industry landed property could keep its feudal grandeur secure only by means of monopolies against foreign countries, thereby protecting itself against the general laws of trade, which are incompatible with its feudal character. Once thrown into competition, landed property obeys the laws of competition, like every other commodity subjected to competition. It begins thus to fluctuate, to decrease and to increase, to fly from one hand to another; and no law can keep it any longer in a few predestined hands. ||XXI,2| The immediate consequence is the splitting up of the land amongst many hands, and in any case subjection to the power of industrial capitals.

Finally, large landed property which has been forcibly preserved in this way and which has begotten by its side a tremendous industry leads to crisis even more quickly than the partitioning of land, in comparison with which the power of industry remains constantly of second rank.

Large landed property, as we see in England, has already cast off its feudal character and adopted an industrial character insofar as it is aiming to make as much money as possible. To the owner it yields the utmost possible rent, to the tenant farmer the utmost possible profit on his capital. The workers on the land, in consequence, have already been reduced to the minimum, and the class of tenant farmers already represents within landed property the power of industry and capital. As a result of foreign competition, rent in most cases can no longer form an independent income. A large number of landowners are forced to displace

[a] Originally it was "against the monopoly of foreign countries", then Marx crossed out "the monopoly of".— *Ed.*

tenant farmers, some of whom in this way [...][a] sink into the proletariat. On the other hand, many tenant farmers will take over landed property; for the big proprietors, who with their comfortable incomes have mostly given themselves over to extravagance and for the most part are not competent to conduct large-scale agriculture, often possess neither the capital nor the ability for the exploitation of the land. Hence a section of this class, too, is completely ruined. Eventually wages, which have already been reduced to a minimum, must be reduced yet further, to meet the new competition. This then necessarily leads to revolution.

Landed property had to develop in each of these two ways so as to experience in both its necessary downfall, just as industry both in the form of monopoly and in that of competition had to ruin itself so as to learn to believe in man. |XXI||

## [ESTRANGED LABOUR]

||XXIII| We have proceeded from the premises of political economy. We have accepted its language and its laws. We presupposed private property, the separation of labour, capital and land, and of wages, profit of capital and rent of land—likewise division of labour, competition, the concept of exchange-value, etc. On the basis of political economy itself, in its own words, we have shown that the worker sinks to the level of a commodity and becomes indeed the most wretched of commodities; that the wretchedness of the worker is in inverse proportion to the power and magnitude of his production; that the necessary result of competition is the accumulation of capital in a few hands, and thus the restoration of monopoly in a more terrible form; and that finally the distinction between capitalist and land rentier, like that between the tiller of the soil and the factory worker, disappears and that the whole of society must fall apart into the two classes—the *property owners* and the propertyless *workers*.

Political economy starts with the fact of private property; it does not explain it to us. It expresses in general, abstract formulas the *material* process through which private property actually passes, and these formulas it then takes for *laws*. It does not *comprehend* these

[a] Here one word in the manuscript cannot be deciphered.—*Ed.*

laws, i.e., it does not demonstrate how they arise from the very nature of private property. Political economy throws no light on the cause of the division between labour and capital, and between capital and land. When, for example, it defines the relationship of wages to profit, it takes the interest of the capitalists to be the ultimate cause, i.e., it takes for granted what it is supposed to explain. Similarly, competition comes in everywhere. It is explained from external circumstances. As to how far these external and apparently accidental circumstances are but the expression of a necessary course of development, political economy teaches us nothing. We have seen how exchange itself appears to it as an accidental fact. The only wheels which political economy sets in motion are *greed* and the *war amongst the greedy—competition.*[a]

Precisely because political economy does not grasp the way the movement is connected, it was possible to oppose, for instance, the doctrine of competition to the doctrine of monopoly, the doctrine of the freedom of the crafts to the doctrine of the guild, the doctrine of the division of landed property to the doctrine of the big estate — for competition, freedom of the crafts and the division of landed property were explained and comprehended only as accidental, premeditated and violent consequences of monopoly, of the guild system, and of feudal property, not as their necessary, inevitable and natural consequences.

Now, therefore, we have to grasp the intrinsic connection between private property, avarice, the separation of labour, capital and landed property; the connection of exchange and competition, of value and the devaluation of men, of monopoly and competition, etc.— we have to grasp this whole estrangement connected with the *money* system.

Do not let us go back to a fictitious primordial condition as the political economist does, when he tries to explain. Such a primordial condition explains nothing; it merely pushes the question away into a grey nebulous distance. The economist assumes in the form of a fact, of an event, what he is supposed to deduce—namely, the necessary relationship between two things—between, for example, division of labour and exchange. Thus the theologian explains the origin of evil by the fall of man; that is, he assumes as a fact, in historical form, what has to be explained.

We proceed from an *actual* economic fact.

The worker becomes all the poorer the more wealth he produces,

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[a] After the paragraph the following sentence is crossed out in the manuscript: "We now have to examine the nature of this *material* movement of property."—*Ed.*

the more his production increases in power and size. The worker becomes an ever cheaper commodity the more commodities he creates. The *devaluation* of the world of men is in direct proportion to the *increasing value* of the world of things. Labour produces not only commodities: it produces itself and the worker as a *commodity*—and this at the same rate at which it produces commodities in general.

This fact expresses merely that the object which labour produces—labour's product—confronts it as *something alien*, as a *power independent* of the producer. The product of labour is labour which has been embodied in an object, which has become material: it is the *objectification* of labour. Labour's realisation is its objectification. Under these economic conditions this realisation of labour appears as *loss of realisation* for the workers[71]; objectification as *loss of the object and bondage to it*; appropriation as *estrangement, as alienation.*[72]

So much does labour's realisation appear as loss of realisation that the worker loses realisation to the point of starving to death. So much does objectification appear as loss of the object that the worker is robbed of the objects most necessary not only for his life but for his work. Indeed, labour itself becomes an object which he can obtain only with the greatest effort and with the most irregular interruptions. So much does the appropriation of the object appear as estrangement that the more objects the worker produces the less he can possess and the more he falls under the sway of his product, capital.

All these consequences are implied in the statement that the worker is related to the *product of his labour* as to an *alien* object. For on this premise it is clear that the more the worker spends himself, the more powerful becomes the alien world of objects which he creates over and against himself, the poorer he himself—his inner world—becomes, the less belongs to him as his own. It is the same in religion. The more man puts into God, the less he retains in himself. The worker puts his life into the object; but now his life no longer belongs to him but to the object. Hence, the greater this activity, the more the worker lacks objects. Whatever the product of his labour is, he is not. Therefore the greater this product, the less is he himself. The *alienation* of the worker in his product means not only that his labour becomes an object, an *external* existence, but that it exists *outside him*, independently, as something alien to him, and that it becomes a power on its own confronting him. It means that the life which he has conferred on the object confronts him as something hostile and alien.

||XXIII/ Let us now look more closely at the *objectification*, at the production of the worker; and in it at the *estrangement*, the *loss* of the object, of his product.

The worker can create nothing without *nature*, without the *sensuous external world*. It is the material on which his labour is realised, in which it is active, from which and by means of which it produces.

But just as nature provides labour with [the] *means of life* in the sense that labour cannot *live* without objects on which to operate, on the other hand, it also provides the *means of life* in the more restricted sense, i.e., the means for the physical subsistence of the *worker* himself.

Thus the more the worker by his labour *appropriates* the external world, sensuous nature, the more he deprives himself of *means of life* in two respects: first, in that the sensuous external world more and more ceases to be an object belonging to his labour—to be his labour's *means of life*; and secondly, in that it more and more ceases to be *means of life* in the immediate sense, means for the physical subsistence of the worker.

In both respects, therefore, the worker becomes a servant of his object, first, in that he receives an *object of labour*, i.e., in that he receives *work*; and secondly, in that he receives *means of subsistence*. This enables him to exist, first, as a *worker*; and, second, as a *physical subject*. The height of this servitude is that it is only as a *worker* that he can maintain himself as a *physical subject*, and that it is only as a *physical subject* that he is a worker.

(According to the economic laws the estrangement of the worker in his object is expressed thus: the more the worker produces, the less he has to consume; the more values he creates, the more valueless, the more unworthy he becomes; the better formed his product, the more deformed becomes the worker; the more civilised his object, the more barbarous becomes the worker; the more powerful labour becomes, the more powerless becomes the worker; the more ingenious labour becomes, the less ingenious becomes the worker and the more he becomes nature's servant.)

*Political economy conceals the estrangement inherent in the nature of labour by not considering the* **direct** *relationship between the* **worker** (labour) *and production.* It is true that labour produces wonderful things for the rich—but for the worker it produces privation. It produces palaces—but for the worker, hovels. It produces beauty—but for the worker, deformity. It replaces labour by machines, but it throws one section of the workers back to a barbarous type of labour, and it turns the other section into a machine. It produces intelligence—but for the worker, stupidity, cretinism.

*The direct relationship of labour to its products is the relationship of the worker to the objects of his production.* The relationship of the man of means to the objects of production and to production itself is only a *consequence* of this first relationship—and confirms it. We shall consider this other aspect later. When we ask, then, what is the essential relationship of labour we are asking about the relationship of the *worker* to production.

Till now we have been considering the estrangement, the alienation of the worker only in one of its aspects, i.e., the worker's *relationship to the products of his labour.* But the estrangement is manifested not only in the result but in the *act of production,* within the *producing activity* itself. How could the worker come to face the product of his activity as a stranger, were it not that in the very act of production he was estranging himself from himself? The product is after all but the summary of the activity, of production. If then the product of labour is alienation, production itself must be active alienation, the alienation of activity, the activity of alienation. In the estrangement of the object of labour is merely summarised the estrangement, the alienation, in the activity of labour itself.

What, then, constitutes the alienation of labour?

First, the fact that labour is *external* to the worker, i.e., it does not belong to his intrinsic nature; that in his work, therefore, he does not affirm himself but denies himself, does not feel content but unhappy, does not develop freely his physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind. The worker therefore only feels himself outside his work, and in his work feels outside himself. He feels at home when he is not working, and when he is working he does not feel at home. His labour is therefore not voluntary, but coerced; it is *forced labour.* It is therefore not the satisfaction of a need; it is merely a *means* to satisfy needs external to it. Its alien character emerges clearly in the fact that as soon as no physical or other compulsion exists, labour is shunned like the plague. External labour, labour in which man alienates himself, is a labour of self-sacrifice, of mortification. Lastly, the external character of labour for the worker appears in the fact that it is not his own, but someone else's, that it does not belong to him, that in it he belongs, not to himself, but to another. Just as in religion the spontaneous activity of the human imagination, of the human brain and the human heart, operates on the individual independently of him—that is, operates as an alien, divine or diabolical activity—so is the worker's activity not his spontaneous activity. It belongs to another; it is the loss of his self.

As a result, therefore, man (the worker) only feels himself freely

active in his animal functions—eating, drinking, procreating, or at most in his dwelling and in dressing-up, etc.; and in his human functions he no longer feels himself to be anything but an animal. What is animal becomes human and what is human becomes animal.

Certainly eating, drinking, procreating, etc., are also genuinely human functions. But taken abstractly, separated from the sphere of all other human activity and turned into sole and ultimate ends, they are animal functions.

We have considered the act of estranging practical human activity, labour, in two of its aspects. (1) The relation of the worker to the *product of labour* as an alien object exercising power over him. This relation is at the same time the relation to the sensuous external world, to the objects of nature, as an alien world inimically opposed to him. (2) The relation of labour to the *act of production* within the *labour* process. This relation is the relation of the worker to his own activity as an alien activity not belonging to him; it is activity as suffering, strength as weakness, begetting as emasculating, the worker's *own* physical and mental energy, his personal life—for what is life but activity?—as an activity which is turned against him, independent of him and not belonging to him. Here we have *self-estrangement*, as previously we had the estrangement of the *thing*.

||XXIV| We have still a third aspect of *estranged labour* to deduce from the two already considered.

Man is a species-being,[73] not only because in practice and in theory he adopts the species (his own as well as those of other things) as his object, but—and this is only another way of expressing it—also because he treats himself as the actual, living species; because he treats himself as a *universal* and therefore a free being.

The life of the species, both in man and in animals, consists physically in the fact that man (like the animal) lives on inorganic nature; and the more universal man (or the animal) is, the more universal is the sphere of inorganic nature on which he lives. Just as plants, animals, stones, air, light, etc., constitute theoretically a part of human consciousness, partly as objects of natural science, partly as objects of art—his spiritual inorganic nature, spiritual nourishment which he must first prepare to make palatable and digestible—so also in the realm of practice they constitute a part of human life and human activity. Physically man lives only on these products of nature, whether they appear in the form of food, heating, clothes, a dwelling, etc. The universality of man appears in practice precisely in the universality which makes all nature his *inorganic* body—both inasmuch as nature is (1) his direct means of life, and (2) the

material, the object, and the instrument of his life activity. Nature is man's *inorganic body*—nature, that is, insofar as it is not itself human body. Man *lives* on nature—means that nature is his *body*, with which he must remain in continuous interchange if he is not to die. That man's physical and spiritual life is linked to nature means simply that nature is linked to itself, for man is a part of nature.

In estranging from man (1) nature, and (2) himself, his own active functions, his life activity, estranged labour estranges the *species* from man. It changes for him the *life of the species* into a means of individual life. First it estranges the life of the species and individual life, and secondly it makes individual life in its abstract form the purpose of the life of the species, likewise in its abstract and estranged form.

For labour, *life activity, productive life* itself, appears to man in the first place merely as a *means* of satisfying a need—the need to maintain physical existence. Yet the productive life is the life of the species. It is life-engendering life. The whole character of a species—its species-character—is contained in the character of its life activity; and free, conscious activity is man's species-character. Life itself appears only as a *means to life.*

The animal is immediately one with its life activity. It does not distinguish itself from it. It is *its life activity.* Man makes his life activity itself the object of his will and of his consciousness. He has conscious life activity. It is not a determination with which he directly merges. Conscious life activity distinguishes man immediately from animal life activity. It is just because of this that he is a species-being. Or it is only because he is a species-being that he is a conscious being, i.e., that his own life is an object for him. Only because of that is his activity free activity. Estranged labour reverses this relationship, so that it is just because man is a conscious being that he makes his life activity, his *essential being,* a mere means to his *existence.*

In creating a *world of objects* by his practical activity, in his *work upon* inorganic nature, man proves himself a conscious species-being, i.e., as a being that treats the species as its own essential being, or that treats itself as a species-being. Admittedly animals also produce. They build themselves nests, dwellings, like the bees, beavers, ants, etc. But an animal only produces what it immediately needs for itself or its young. It produces one-sidedly, whilst man produces universally. It produces only under the dominion of immediate physical need, whilst man produces even when he is free from physical need and only truly produces in freedom therefrom. An animal produces only itself, whilst man reproduces the whole of nature. An animal's product belongs immediately to its physical

body, whilst man freely confronts his product. An animal forms objects only in accordance with the standard and the need of the species to which it belongs, whilst man knows how to produce in accordance with the standard of every species, and knows how to apply everywhere the inherent standard to the object. Man therefore also forms objects in accordance with the laws of beauty.

It is just in his work upon the objective world, therefore, that man really proves himself to be a *species-being*. This production is his active species-life. Through this production, nature appears as *his* work and his reality. The object of labour is, therefore, the *objectification of man's species-life*: for he duplicates himself not only, as in consciousness, intellectually, but also actively, in reality, and therefore he sees himself in a world that he has created. In tearing away from man the object of his production, therefore, estranged labour tears from him his *species-life*, his real objectivity as a member of the species, and transforms his advantage over animals into the disadvantage that his inorganic body, nature, is taken away from him.

Similarly, in degrading spontaneous, free activity to a means, estranged labour makes man's species-life a means to his physical existence.

The consciousness which man has of his species is thus transformed by estrangement in such a way that species[-life] becomes for him a means.

Estranged labour turns thus:

(3) *Man's species-being*, both nature and his spiritual species-property, into a being *alien* to him, into a *means* for his *individual existence*. It estranges from man his own body, as well as external nature and his spiritual aspect, his *human* aspect.

(4) An immediate consequence of the fact that man is estranged from the product of his labour, from his life activity, from his species-being is the *estrangement of man* from *man*. When man confronts himself, he confronts the *other* man. What applies to a man's relation to his work, to the product of his labour and to himself, also holds of a man's relation to the other man, and to the other man's labour and object of labour.

In fact, the proposition that man's species-nature is estranged from him means that one man is estranged from the other, as each of them is from man's essential nature.

The estrangement of man, and in fact every relationship in which man [stands] to himself, is realised and expressed only in the relationship in which a man stands to other men.

Hence within the relationship of estranged labour each man views the other in accordance with the standard and the relationship in which he finds himself as a worker.

||XXV| We took our departure from a fact of political economy—the estrangement of the worker and his product. We have formulated this fact in conceptual terms as *estranged, alienated* labour. We have analysed this concept—hence analysing merely a fact of political economy.

Let us now see, further, how the concept of estranged, alienated labour must express and present itself in real life.

If the product of labour is alien to me, if it confronts me as an alien power, to whom, then, does it belong?

If my own activity does not belong to me, if it is an alien, a coerced activity, to whom, then, does it belong?

To a being *other* than myself.

Who is this being?

The *gods*? To be sure, in the earliest times the principal production (for example, the building of temples, etc., in Egypt, India and Mexico) appears to be in the service of the gods, and the product belongs to the gods. However, the gods on their own were never the lords of labour. No more was *nature*. And what a contradiction it would be if, the more man subjugated nature by his labour and the more the miracles of the gods were rendered superfluous by the miracles of industry, the more man were to renounce the joy of production and the enjoyment of the product to please these powers.

The *alien* being, to whom labour and the product of labour belongs, in whose service labour is done and for whose benefit the product of labour is provided, can only be *man* himself.

If the product of labour does not belong to the worker, if it confronts him as an alien power, then this can only be because it belongs to some *other man than the worker*. If the worker's activity is a torment to him, to another it must give *satisfaction* and pleasure. Not the gods, not nature, but only man himself can be this alien power over man.

We must bear in mind the previous proposition that man's relation to himself only becomes for him *objective* and *actual* through his relation to the other man. Thus, if the product of his labour, his labour objectified, is for him an *alien, hostile,* powerful object independent of him, then his position towards it is such that someone else is master of this object, someone who is alien, hostile, powerful, and independent of him. If he treats his own activity as an unfree activity, then he treats it as an activity

performed in the service, under the dominion, the coercion, and the yoke of another man.

Every self-estrangement of man, from himself and from nature, appears in the relation in which he places himself and nature to men other than and differentiated from himself. For this reason religious self-estrangement necessarily appears in the relationship of the layman to the priest, or again to a mediator, etc., since we are here dealing with the intellectual world. In the real practical world self-estrangement can only become manifest through the real practical relationship to other men. The medium through which estrangement takes place is itself *practical.* Thus through estranged labour man not only creates his relationship to the object and to the act of production as to powers[a] that are alien and hostile to him; he also creates the relationship in which other men stand to his production and to his product, and the relationship in which he stands to these other men. Just as he creates his own production as the loss of his reality, as his punishment; his own product as a loss, as a product not belonging to him; so he creates the domination of the person who does not produce over production and over the product. Just as he estranges his own activity from himself, so he confers upon the stranger an activity which is not his own.

We have until now considered this relationship only from the standpoint of the worker and later we shall be considering it also from the standpoint of the non-worker.

Through *estranged, alienated labour,* then, the worker produces the relationship to this labour of a man alien to labour and standing outside it. The relationship of the worker to labour creates the relation to it of the capitalist (or whatever one chooses to call the master of labour). *Private property* is thus the product, the result, the necessary consequence, of *alienated labour,* of the external relation of the worker to nature and to himself.

*Private property* thus results by analysis from the concept of *alienated labour,* i.e., of *alienated man,* of estranged labour, of estranged life, of *estranged* man.

True, it is as a result of the *movement of private property* that we have obtained the concept of *alienated labour* (*of alienated life*) in political economy. But analysis of this concept shows that though private property appears to be the reason, the cause of alienated labour, it is rather its consequence, just as the gods are *originally* not

[a] In the manuscript *Menschen* (men) instead of *Mächte* (powers).— *Ed.*

the cause but the effect of man's intellectual confusion. Later this relationship becomes reciprocal.

Only at the culmination of the development of private property does this, its secret, appear again, namely, that on the one hand it is the *product* of alienated labour, and that on the other it is the *means* by which labour alienates itself, the *realisation of this alienation.*

This exposition immediately sheds light on various hitherto unsolved conflicts.

(1) Political economy starts from labour as the real soul of production; yet to labour it gives nothing, and to private property everything. Confronting this contradiction, Proudhon has decided in favour of labour against private property.[74] We understand, however, that this apparent contradiction is the contradiction of *estranged labour* with itself, and that political economy has merely formulated the laws of estranged labour.

We also understand, therefore, that *wages* and *private property* are identical. Indeed, where the product, as the object of labour, pays for labour itself, there the wage is but a necessary consequence of labour's estrangement. Likewise, in the wage of labour, labour does not appear as an end in itself but as the servant of the wage. We shall develop this point later, and meanwhile will only draw some con- ||XXVI| clusions.[75]

An enforced *increase of wages* (disregarding all other difficulties, including the fact that it would only be by force, too, that such an increase, being an anomaly, could be maintained) would therefore be nothing but better *payment for the slave,* and would not win either for the worker or for labour their human status and dignity.

Indeed, even the *equality of wages,* as demanded by Proudhon, only transforms the relationship of the present-day worker to his labour into the relationship of all men to labour. Society is then conceived as an abstract capitalist.

Wages are a direct consequence of estranged labour, and estranged labour is the direct cause of private property. The downfall of the one must therefore involve the downfall of the other.

(2) From the relationship of estranged labour to private property it follows further that the emancipation of society from private property, etc., from servitude, is expressed in the *political* form of the *emancipation of the workers*; not that *their* emancipation alone is at stake, but because the emancipation of the workers contains universal human emancipation—and it contains this, because the whole of human servitude is involved in the relation of the worker to production, and all relations of servitude are but modifications and consequences of this relation.

Just as we have derived the concept of *private property* from the concept of *estranged, alienated labour* by *analysis*, so we can develop every *category* of political economy with the help of these two factors; and we shall find again in each category, e.g., trade, competition, capital, money, only a *particular* and *developed expression* of these first elements.

Before considering this phenomenon, however, let us try to solve two other problems.

(1) To define the general *nature of private property*, as it has arisen as a result of estranged labour, in its relation to *truly human* and *social property*.

(2) We have accepted the *estrangement of labour*, its *alienation*, as a fact, and we have analysed this fact. How, we now ask, does *man* come to *alienate*, to estrange, his *labour*? How is this estrangement rooted in the nature of human development? We have already gone a long way to the solution of this problem by *transforming* the question of the *origin of private property* into the question of the relation of *alienated labour* to the course of humanity's development. For when one speaks of *private property*, one thinks of dealing with something external to man. When one speaks of labour, one is directly dealing with man himself. This new formulation of the question already contains its solution.

*As to (1): The general nature of private property and its relation to truly human property.*

Alienated labour has resolved itself for us into two components which depend on one another, or which are but different expressions of one and the same relationship. *Appropriation* appears as *estrangement*, as *alienation*; and *alienation* appears as *appropriation, estrangement* as truly *becoming a citizen.*[76]

We have considered the one side—*alienated* labour in relation to the worker himself, i.e., the *relation of alienated labour to itself*. The product, the necessary outcome of this relationship, as we have seen, is the *property relation of the non-worker to the worker and to labour. Private property*, as the material, summary expression of alienated labour, embraces both relations—the *relation of the worker to labour and to the product of his labour and to the non-worker*, and the relation of the *non-worker to the worker and to the product of his labour.*

Having seen that in relation to the worker who *appropriates* nature by means of his labour, this appropriation appears as estrangement, his own spontaneous activity as activity for another and as activity of another, vitality as a sacrifice of life, production of the object as loss of the object to an alien power, to an *alien* person—we shall now consider the relation to the worker, to

labour and its object of this person who is *alien* to labour and the worker.

First it has to be noted that everything which appears in the worker as an *activity of alienation, of estrangement,* appears in the non-worker as a *state of alienation, of estrangement.*

Secondly, that the worker's *real, practical attitude* in production and to the product (as a state of mind) appears in the non-worker confronting him as a *theoretical* attitude.

||XXVII| *Thirdly,* the non-worker does everything against the worker which the worker does against himself; but he does not do against himself what he does against the worker.

Let us look more closely at these three relations.[a] |XXVII||

[a] At this point the first manuscript breaks off unfinished.— *Ed.*

# [*Second Manuscript*]

## [ANTITHESIS OF CAPITAL AND LABOUR. LANDED PROPERTY AND CAPITAL]

[...] ||XL| forms the interest on his capital.[a] The worker is the subjective manifestation of the fact that capital is man wholly lost to himself, just as capital is the objective manifestation of the fact that labour is man lost to himself. But the *worker* has the misfortune to be a *living* capital, and therefore an *indigent* capital, one which loses its interest, and hence its livelihood, every moment it is not working. The *value* of the worker as capital rises according to demand and supply, and *physically* too his *existence,* his *life,* was and is looked upon as a supply of a *commodity* like any other. The worker produces capital, capital produces him—hence he produces himself, and man as *worker,* as a *commodity,* is the product of this entire cycle. To the man who is nothing more than a *worker*—and to him as a worker—his human qualities only exist insofar as they exist for capital *alien* to him. Because man and capital are alien, foreign to each other, however, and thus stand in an indifferent, external and accidental relationship to each other, it is inevitable that this foreignness should also appear as something *real.* As soon, therefore, as it occurs to capital (whether from necessity or caprice) no longer to be for the worker, he himself is no longer for himself: he has *no* work, hence *no* wages, and since he has no existence *as a human being* but only *as a worker,* he can go and bury himself, starve to death, etc. The worker exists as a worker only when he exists *for himself* as capital; and he exists as capital only when some *capital* exists *for him.* The existence of

[a] With these words page XL of the second manuscript begins; the preceding pages have not been preserved.— *Ed.*

capital is *his* existence, his *life*; as it determines the tenor of his life in a manner indifferent to him.

Political economy, therefore, does not recognise the unemployed worker, the workingman, insofar as he happens to be outside this labour relationship. The rascal, swindler, beggar, the unemployed, the starving, wretched and criminal workingman—these are *figures* who do not exist *for political economy* but only for other eyes, those of the doctor, the judge, the grave-digger, and bum-bailiff, etc.; such figures are spectres outside its domain. For it, therefore, the worker's needs are but the one *need*—to maintain *him whilst he is working* and insofar as may be necessary to prevent the *race of labourers* from [dying] out. The wages of labour have thus exactly the same significance as the *maintenance* and *servicing* of any other productive instrument, or as the *consumption of capital* in general, required for its reproduction with interest, like the oil which is applied to wheels to keep them turning. Wages, therefore, belong to capital's and the capitalist's necessary *costs*, and must not exceed the bounds of this necessity. It was therefore quite logical for the English factory owners, before the Amendment Bill of 1834,[a] to deduct from the wages of the worker the public charity which he was receiving out of the Poor Rate and to consider this to be an integral part of wages.[77]

Production does not simply produce man as a *commodity*, the *human commodity*, man in the role of *commodity*; it produces him in keeping with this role as a *mentally* and physically *dehumanised* being.— Immorality, deformity, and dulling of the workers and the capitalists.— Its product is the *self-conscious and self-acting commodity* ... the *human* commodity.... Great advance of Ricardo, Mill, etc., on Smith and Say, to declare the *existence* of the human being—the greater or lesser human productivity of the commodity—to be *indifferent* and even *harmful*. Not how many workers are maintained by a given capital, but rather how much interest it brings in, the sum-total of the annual *savings*, is said to be the true purpose of production.

It was likewise a great and consistent advance of modern ||XLI| English political economy, that, whilst elevating *labour* to the position of its *sole* principle, it should at the same time expound with complete clarity the *inverse* relation between wages and interest on capital, and the fact that the capitalist could normally *only* gain by pressing down

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[a] See this volume, pp. 194-95.—*Ed.*

wages, and vice versa. Not the defrauding of the consumer, but the capitalist and the worker taking advantage of each other, is shown to be the *normal* relationship.

The relations of private property contain latent within them the relation of private property as *labour*, the relation of private property as *capital*, and the *mutual relation* of these two to one another. There is the production of human activity as *labour*—that is, as an activity quite alien to itself, to man and to nature, and therefore to consciousness and the expression of life—the *abstract* existence of man as a mere *workman* who may therefore daily fall from his filled void into the absolute void—into his social, and therefore actual, non-existence. On the other hand, there is the production of the object of human activity as *capital*—in which all the natural and social characteristic of the object is *extinguished*; in which private property has lost its natural and social quality (and therefore every political and social illusion, and is not associated with any *apparently* human relations); in which the *selfsame* capital remains the *same* in the most diverse natural and social manifestations, totally indifferent to its *real* content. This contradiction, driven to the limit, is of necessity the limit, the culmination, and the downfall of the whole private-property relationship.

It is therefore another great achievement of modern English political economy to have declared rent of land to be the difference in the interest yielded by the worst and the best land under cultivation; to have [exposed][a] the landowner's romantic illusions—his alleged social importance and the identity of his interest with the interest of society, a view still maintained by *Adam Smith* after the Physiocrats; and to [have] anticipated and prepared the movement of the real world which will transform the landowner into an ordinary, prosaic capitalist, and thus simplify and sharpen the contradiction [between capital and labour] and hasten its resolution. *Land* as *land*, and *rent* as *rent*, have lost their *distinction of rank* and become insignificant *capital* and *interest*—or rather, *capital* and *interest* that signify only money.

The *distinction* between capital and land, between profit and rent, and between both and wages, and *industry*, and *agriculture*, and *immovable* and *movable* private property—this distinction is not rooted in the nature of things, but is a *historical* distinction, a *fixed* historical moment in the formation and development of the contradiction between capital and labour. In industry, etc., as opposed to immovable landed property, is only expressed the way in which [industry] came into being and the contradiction to agriculture

[a] The manuscript is damaged here.—*Ed.*

in which industry developed. This distinction only continues to exist as a *special* sort of work—as an *essential, important* and *life-embracing* distinction—so long as industry (town life) develops *over* and *against* landed property (aristocratic feudal life) and itself continues to bear the feudal character of its opposite in the form of monopoly, craft, guild, corporation, etc., within which labour still has a *seemingly social* significance, still the significance of the *real* community, and has not yet reached the stage of *indifference* to its content, of complete being-for-self,[78] i. e., of abstraction from all other being, and hence has not yet become *liberated* capital.

||XLII| But liberated *industry,* industry constituted for itself as such, and *liberated capital,* are the necessary *development* of labour. The power of industry over its opposite is at once revealed in the emergence of *agriculture* as a real industry, while previously it left most of the work to the soil and to the *slave* of the soil, through whom the land cultivated itself. With the transformation of the slave into a *free* worker—i. e., into a *hireling*—the landlord himself is transformed into a captain of industry, into a capitalist—a transformation which takes place at first through the intermediacy of the *tenant farmer.* The *tenant farmer,* however, is the landowner's representative—the landowner's revealed *secret*: it is only through him that the landowner has his *economic* existence—his existence as a private proprietor—for the rent of his land only exists due to the competition between the farmers.

Thus, in the person of the *tenant farmer* the landlord *has* already become in essence a *common* capitalist. And this must come to pass, too, in actual fact: the capitalist engaged in agriculture—the tenant—must become a landlord, or vice versa. The tenant's *industrial hucksterism* is the *landowner's* industrial hucksterism, for the being of the former postulates the being of the latter.

But mindful of their contrasting origin, of their line of descent, the landowner knows the capitalist as his insolent, liberated, enriched slave of yesterday and sees himself as a *capitalist* who is threatened by him. The capitalist knows the landowner as the idle, cruel, egotistical master of yesterday; he knows that he injures him as a capitalist, but that it is to industry that he owes all his present social significance, his possessions and his pleasures; he sees in him a contradiction to *free* industry and to *free* capital—to capital independent of every natural limitation. This contradiction is extremely bitter, and each side tells the truth about the other. One need only read the attacks of immovable on movable property and vice versa to obtain a clear picture of their respective worthlessness. The landowner lays stress on the noble lineage of his property, on

feudal souvenirs or reminiscences, the poetry of recollection, on his romantic disposition, on his political importance, etc.; and when he talks economics, it is *only* agriculture that he holds to be productive. At the same time he depicts his adversary as a sly, hawking, carping, deceitful, greedy, mercenary, rebellious, heartless and spiritless person who is estranged from the community and freely trades it away, who breeds, nourishes and cherishes competition, and with it pauperism, crime, and the dissolution of all social bonds, an extorting, pimping, servile, smooth, flattering, fleecing, dried-up *rogue* without honour, principles, poetry, substance, or anything else. (Amongst others see the Physiocrat *Bergasse*, whom Camille Desmoulins flays in his journal, *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*[79]; see von Vincke, Lancizolle, Haller, Leo, Kosegarten* and also *Sismondi*.)

Movable property, for its part, points to the miracles of industry and progress. It is the child of modern times, whose legitimate, native-born son it is. It pities its adversary as a simpleton, *unenlightened* about his own nature (and in this it is completely right), who wants to replace moral capital and free labour by brute, immoral violence and serfdom. It depicts him as a Don Quixote, who under the guise of *bluntness, respectability,* the *general interest,* and *stability,* conceals incapacity for progress, greedy self-indulgence, selfishness, sectional interest, and evil intent. It declares him an artful *monopolist*; it pours cold water on his reminiscences, his poetry, and his romanticism by a historical and sarcastic enumeration of the baseness, cruelty, degradation, prostitution, infamy, anarchy and rebellion, of which romantic castles were the workshops.

||XLIII|| It claims to have obtained political freedom for everybody; to have loosed the chains which fettered civil society; to have linked together different worlds; to have created trade promoting friendship between the peoples; to have created pure morality and a pleasant culture; to have given the people civilised needs in place of their crude wants, and the means of satisfying them. Meanwhile,

* See on the other hand the garrulous, old-Hegelian theologian *Funke* who tells, after Herr Leo, with tears in his eyes how a slave had refused, when serfdom was abolished, to cease being the *property of the gentry*.[80] See also the *patriotic visions of Justus Möser*, which distinguish themselves by the fact that they never for a moment [...][a] abandon the respectable, petty-bourgeois "*home-baked*", *ordinary*, narrow horizon of the philistine, and which nevertheless remain *pure* fancy. This contradiction has given them such an appeal to the German heart.— *Note by Marx.*

[a] A few words cannot be deciphered here.— *Ed.*

it claims, the landowner—this idle, parasitic grain-profiteer—raises the price of the people's basic necessities and so forces the capitalist to raise wages without being able to increase productivity,[a] thus impeding [the growth of] the nation's annual income, the accumulation of capital, and therefore the possibility of providing work for the people and wealth for the country, eventually cancelling it, thus producing a general decline—whilst he parasitically exploits *every* advantage of modern civilisation without doing the least thing for it, and without even abating in the slightest his feudal prejudices. Finally, let him—for whom the cultivation of the land and the land itself exist only as a source of money, which comes to him as a present—let him just take a look at his *tenant farmer* and say whether he himself is not a *downright, fantastic, sly* scoundrel who in his heart and in actual fact has for a long time belonged to *free* industry and to *lovely* trade, however much he may protest and prattle about historical memories and ethical or political goals. Everything which he can really advance to justify himself is true only of the *cultivator of the land* (the capitalist and the labourers), of whom the *landowner* is rather the *enemy*. Thus he gives evidence against himself. [Movable property claims that] *without* capital landed property is dead, worthless matter; that its civilised victory has discovered and made human labour the source of wealth in place of the dead thing. (See Paul Louis Courier, Saint-Simon, Ganilh, Ricardo, Mill, McCulloch and Destutt de Tracy and Michel Chevalier.)

The *real* course of development (to be inserted at this point) results in the necessary victory of the *capitalist* over the *landowner*—that is to say, of developed over undeveloped, immature private property—just as in general, movement must triumph over immobility; open, self-conscious baseness over hidden, unconscious baseness; *cupidity* over *self-indulgence*; the avowedly restless, adroit self-interest of *enlightenment* over the parochial, worldly-wise, respectable, idle and fantastic *self-interest of superstition*; and *money* over the other forms of private property.

Those states which sense something of the danger attaching to fully developed free industry, to fully developed pure morality and to fully developed philanthropic trade, try, but in vain, to hold in check the capitalisation of landed property.

*Landed property* in its distinction from capital is private property—capital—still afflicted with *local* and political prejudices; it is capital which has not yet extricated itself from its entanglement with the world and found the form proper to itself—capital *not*

[a] "Productivity" has been used here to render *Produktionskraft*.—*Ed.*

yet *fully developed.* It must achieve its abstract, that is, its *pure,* expression in the course of its *cosmogony.*

The character of *private property* is expressed by labour, capital, and the relations between these two. The movement through which these constituents have to pass is:

*First. Unmediated* or *mediated unity of the two.*

Capital and labour are at first still united. Then, though separated and estranged, they reciprocally develop and promote each other as *positive* conditions.

[*Second.*] *The two in opposition,* mutually excluding each other. The worker knows the capitalist as his own non-existence, and vice versa: each tries to rob the other of his existence.

[*Third.*] *Opposition* of each *to* itself. Capital=stored-up labour=labour. As such it splits into *capital itself* and its *interest,* and this latter again into *interest and profit.* The capitalist is completely sacrificed. He falls into the working class, whilst the worker (but only exceptionally) becomes a capitalist. Labour as a moment of capital—its *costs.* Thus the wages of labour—a sacrifice of capital.

Splitting of labour into *labour itself* and the *wages of labour.* The worker himself a capital, a commodity.

*Clash of mutual contradictions.* |XLIII||

## [*Third Manuscript*][81]

### [PRIVATE PROPERTY AND LABOUR. POLITICAL ECONOMY AS A PRODUCT OF THE MOVEMENT OF PRIVATE PROPERTY]

||I|| Re p. XXXVI[a] The *subjective essence* of private property — *private property* as activity for itself,[82] as *subject,* as *person* — is *labour.* It is therefore evident that only the political economy which acknowledged *labour* as its principle—*Adam Smith*—and which therefore no longer looked upon private property as a mere *condition* external to man — that it is this political economy which has to be regarded on the one hand as a product of the real *energy* and the real *movement* of private property (it is a movement of private property become independent for itself in consciousness—the modern industry as Self—as a product of modern *industry*—and on the other hand, as a force which has quickened and glorified the energy and development of modern *industry* and made it a power in the realm of *consciousness.*

To this enlightened political economy, which has discovered — within private property — the *subjective essence* of wealth, the adherents of the monetary and mercantile system, who look upon private property *only as an objective* substance confronting men, seem therefore to be *fetishists, Catholics. Engels* was therefore right to call *Adam Smith* the *Luther of Political Economy.*[b] Just as Luther recognised *religion — faith* — as the substance of the external *world* and in consequence stood opposed to Catholic paganism — just as he superseded *external* religiosity by making religiosity the *inner* substance of man — just as he negated the priests outside the layman because he transplanted the priest into laymen's hearts, just so with

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[a] This refers to the missing part of the second manuscript.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. Frederick Engels, "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy" (see this volume, p. 422).—*Ed.*

wealth: wealth as something outside man and independent of him, and therefore as something to be maintained and asserted only in an external fashion, is done away with; that is, this *external, mindless objectivity* of wealth is done away with, with private property being incorporated in man himself and with man himself being recognised as its essence. But as a result man is brought within the orbit of private property, just as with Luther he is brought within the orbit of religion. Under the semblance of recognising man, the political economy whose principle is labour rather carries to its logical conclusion the denial of man, since man himself no longer stands in an external relation of tension to the external substance of private property, but has himself become this tense essence of private property. What was previously *being external to oneself*—man's actual externalisation—has merely become the act of externalising—the process of alienating. This political economy begins by seeming to acknowledge man (his independence, spontaneity, etc.); then, locating private property in man's own being, it can no longer be conditioned by the local, national or other *characteristics of private property* as of *something existing outside itself*. This political economy, consequently, displays a *cosmopolitan*, universal energy which overthrows every restriction and bond so as to establish itself instead as the *sole* politics, the sole universality, the sole limit and sole bond. Hence it must throw aside this *hypocrisy* in the course of its further development and come out *in its complete cynicism*. And this it does—untroubled by all the apparent contradictions in which it becomes involved as a result of this theory—by developing the idea of *labour* much *more one-sidedly*, and therefore *more sharply* and *more consistently*, as the sole *essence of wealth*; by proving the implications of this theory to be *anti-human* in character, in contrast to the other, original approach. Finally, by dealing the death-blow to *rent*—that last, *individual, natural* mode of private property and source of wealth existing independently of the movement of labour, that expression of feudal property, an expression which has already become wholly economic in character and therefore incapable of resisting political economy. (The *Ricardo* school.) There is not merely a relative growth in the *cynicism* of political economy from Smith through Say to Ricardo, Mill, etc., inasmuch as the implications of *industry* appear more developed and more contradictory in the eyes of the last-named; these later economists also advance in a positive sense constantly and consciously further than their predecessors in their estrangement from man. They do so, however, *only* because their science develops more consistently and truthfully. Because they make private property in its

active form the subject, thus simultaneously turning man into the essence — and at the same time turning man as non-essentiality into the essence — the contradiction of reality corresponds completely to the contradictory being which they accept as their principle. Far from refuting it, the ruptured ||II| *world of industry* confirms their *self-ruptured* principle. Their principle is, after all, the principle of this rupture.

The physiocratic doctrine of *Dr. Quesnay* forms the transition from the mercantile system to Adam Smith. *Physiocracy* represents directly the decomposition of feudal property in *economic* terms, but it therefore just as directly represents its *economic metamorphosis* and restoration, save that now its language is no longer feudal but economic. All wealth is resolved into *land* and *cultivation* (agriculture). Land is not yet *capital*: it is still a *special* mode of its existence, the validity of which is supposed to lie in, and to *derive from*, its natural peculiarity. Yet land is a general natural *element*, whilst the mercantile system admits the existence of wealth only in the form of *precious metal*. Thus the *object* of wealth—its matter—has straightway obtained the highest degree of universality within the *bounds of nature*, insofar as even as *nature*, it is immediate objective wealth. And land only exists for *man* through labour, through agriculture.

Thus the subjective essence of wealth has already been transferred to labour. But at the same time agriculture is the *only productive* labour. Hence, labour is not yet grasped in its generality and abstraction: it is still bound to a particular *natural element as its matter*, and it is therefore only recognised in a *particular mode of existence determined by nature*. It is therefore still only a *specific, particular* alienation of man, just as its product is likewise conceived nearly [as] a specific form of wealth—due more to nature than to labour itself. The land is here still recognised as a phenomenon of nature independent of man—not yet as capital, i.e., as an aspect of labour itself. Labour appears, rather, as an aspect of the *land*. But since the fetishism of the old external wealth, of wealth existing only as an object, has been reduced to a very simple natural element, and since its essence — even if only partially and in a particular form — has been recognised within its subjective existence, the necessary step forward has been made in revealing the *general nature* of wealth and hence in the raising up of *labour* in its total absoluteness (i.e., its abstraction) as the *principle*. It is argued against physiocracy that *agriculture*, from the economic point of view—that is to say, from the only valid point of view—does not differ from any other industry; and that the *essence* of wealth, therefore, is not a *specific* form of labour bound

to a particular element—a particular expression of labour—but *labour in general.*

Physiocracy denies *particular,* external, merely objective wealth by declaring labour to be the *essence* of wealth. But for physiocracy labour is at first only the *subjective essence* of landed property. (It takes its departure from the type of property which historically appears as the dominant and acknowledged type.) It turns only landed property into *alienated man.* It annuls its feudal character by declaring *industry* (agriculture) as its *essence.* But it disavows the world of industry and acknowledges the feudal system by declaring *agriculture* to be the *only* industry.

It is clear that if the *subjective essence* of industry is now grasped (of industry in opposition to landed property, i.e., of industry constituting itself as industry), this essence includes within itself its opposite. For just as industry incorporates annulled landed property, the *subjective* essence of industry at the same time incorporates the subjective essence of *landed property.*

Just as landed property is the first form of private property, with industry at first confronting it historically merely as a special kind of property—or, rather, as landed property's liberated slave—so this process repeats itself in the scientific analysis of the *subjective* essence of private property, *labour.* Labour appears at first only as *agricultural labour*; but then asserts itself as *labour* in general.

||III| All wealth has become *industrial* wealth, the *wealth* of *labour*; and *industry* is accomplished labour, just as the *factory system* is the perfected essence of *industry,* that is of labour, and just as *industrial capital* is the accomplished objective form of private property.

We can now see how it is only at this point that private property can complete its dominion over man and become, in its most general form, a world-historical power.

## [PRIVATE PROPERTY AND COMMUNISM]

Re p. XXXIX.[a] The antithesis between *lack of property* and *property,* so long as it is not comprehended as the antithesis of *labour* and *capital,* still remains an indifferent antithesis, not

[a] This refers to the missing part of the second manuscript.—*Ed.*

grasped in its *active connection,* in its *internal* relation, not yet grasped as a *contradiction.* It can find expression in this *first* form even without the advanced development of private property (as in ancient Rome, Turkey, etc.). It does not yet *appear* as having been established by private property itself. But labour, the subjective essence of private property as exclusion of property, and capital, objective labour as exclusion of labour, constitute *private property* as its developed state of contradiction — hence a dynamic relationship driving towards resolution.

*Re the same page.* The transcendence of self-estrangement follows the same course as self-estrangement. *Private property* is first considered only in its objective aspect—but nevertheless with labour as its essence. Its form of existence is therefore *capital,* which is to be annulled "as such" (Proudhon). Or a *particular form* of labour—labour levelled down, fragmented, and therefore unfree—is conceived as the source of private property's *perniciousness* and of its existence in estrangement from men. For instance, *Fourier,* who, like the Physiocrats, also conceives *agricultural labour* to be at least the *exemplary* type, whereas *Saint-Simon* declares in contrast that *industrial labour* as such is the essence, and accordingly aspires to the *exclusive* rule of the industrialists and the improvement of the workers' condition. Finally, *communism* is the *positive* expression of annulled private property — at first as *universal* private property. By embracing this relation as a *whole,* communism is:

(1) In its first form only a *generalisation* and *consummation* of it [of this relation]. As such it appears in a twofold form: on the one hand, the dominion of *material* property bulks so large that it wants to destroy *everything* which is not capable of being possessed by all as *private property.* It wants to disregard talent, etc., in an *arbitrary* manner. For it the sole purpose of life and existence is direct, physical *possession.* The category of the *worker* is not done away with, but extended to all men. The relationship of private property persists as the relationship of the community to the world of things. Finally, this movement of opposing universal private property to private property finds expression in the brutish form of opposing to *marriage* (certainly a *form of exclusive private property*) the *community of women,* in which a woman becomes a piece of *communal* and *common* property. It may be said that this idea of the *community of women gives away the secret* of this as yet completely crude and thoughtless communism.[83] Just as

woman passes from marriage to general prostitution,* so the entire world of wealth (that is, of man's objective substance) passes from the relationship of exclusive marriage with the owner of private property to a state of universal prostitution with the community. This type of communism—since it negates the *personality* of man in every sphere—is but the logical expression of private property, which is this negation. General *envy* constituting itself as a power is the disguise in which *greed* re-establishes itself and satisfies itself, only in *another* way. The thought of every piece of private property as such is *at least* turned against *wealthier* private property in the form of envy and the urge to reduce things to a common level, so that this envy and urge even constitute the essence of competition. Crude communism[a] is only the culmination of this envy and of this levelling-down proceeding from the *preconceived* minimum. It has a *definite, limited* standard. How little this annulment of private property is really an appropriation is in fact proved by the abstract negation of the entire world of culture and civilisation, the regression to the *unnatural* ‖IV| simplicity of the *poor* and crude man who has few needs and who has not only failed to go beyond private property, but has not yet even reached it.

The community is only a community of *labour*, and equality of *wages* paid out by communal capital—by the *community* as the universal capitalist. Both sides of the relationship are raised to an *imagined* universality—*labour* as the category in which every person is placed, and *capital* as the acknowledged universality and power of the community.

In the approach to *woman* as the *spoil* and handmaid of communal lust is expressed the infinite degradation in which man exists for himself, for the secret of this approach has its *unambiguous*, decisive, *plain* and undisguised expression in the relation of *man* to *woman* and in the manner in which the *direct* and *natural* species-relationship is conceived. The direct, natural, and necessary relation of person to person is the *relation of man to woman.* In this *natural* species-relationship man's relation to nature is immediately his relation to man, just as his relation to man is immediately his relation to nature—his own *natural* destination. In

* Prostitution is only a *specific* expression of the *general* prostitution of the *labourer*, and since it is a relationship in which falls not the prostitute alone, but also the one who prostitutes—and the latter's abomination is still greater—the capitalist, etc., also comes under this head.—*Note by Marx.*[84]

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[a] The manuscript has "*Kommunist*".—*Ed.*

this relationship, therefore, is *sensuously manifested*, reduced to an observable *fact*, the extent to which the human essence has become nature to man, or to which nature to him has become the human essence of man. From this relationship one can therefore judge man's whole level of development. From the character of this relationship follows how much *man* as a *species-being*, as *man*, has come to be himself and to comprehend himself; the relation of man to woman is the *most natural* relation of human being to human being. It therefore reveals the extent to which man's *natural* behaviour has become *human*, or the extent to which the *human* essence in him has become a *natural* essence—the extent to which his *human nature* has come to be *natural* to him. This relationship also reveals the extent to which man's *need* has become a *human* need; the extent to which, therefore, the *other* person as a person has become for him a need—the extent to which he in his individual existence is at the same time a social being.

The first positive annulment of private property—*crude* communism—is thus merely a *manifestation* of the vileness of private property, which wants to set itself up as the *positive community system*.

(2) Communism (α) still political in nature—democratic or despotic; (β) with the abolition of the state, yet still incomplete, and being still affected by private property, i. e., by the estrangement of man. In both forms communism already is aware of being reintegration or return of man to himself, the transcendence of human self-estrangement; but since it has not yet grasped the positive essence of private property, and just as little the *human* nature of need, it remains captive to it and infected by it. It has, indeed, grasped its concept, but not its essence.

(3) *Communism* as the *positive* transcendence of *private property* as *human self-estrangement*, and therefore as the real *appropriation* of the *human* essence by and for man; communism therefore as the complete return of man to himself as a *social* (i. e., human) being—a return accomplished consciously and embracing the entire wealth of previous development. This communism, as fully developed naturalism, equals humanism, and as fully developed humanism equals naturalism; it is the *genuine* resolution of the conflict between man and nature and between man and man—the true resolution of the strife between existence and essence, between objectification and self-confirmation, between freedom and necessity, between the individual and the species. Communism

is the riddle of history solved, and it knows itself to be this solution.

||V| The entire movement of history, just as its [communism's] *actual* act of genesis—the birth act of its empirical existence—is, therefore, also for its thinking consciousness the *comprehended* and *known* process of its *becoming*. Whereas the still immature communism seeks an *historical* proof for itself—a proof in the realm of what already exists—among disconnected historical phenomena opposed to private property, tearing single phases from the historical process and focusing attention on them as proofs of its historical pedigree (a hobby-horse ridden hard especially by Cabet, Villegardelle, etc.). By so doing it simply makes clear that by far the greater part of this process contradicts its own claim, and that, if it has ever existed, precisely its being in the *past* refutes its pretension to *reality*.

It is easy to see that the entire revolutionary movement necessarily finds both its empirical and its theoretical basis in the movement of *private property*—more precisely, in that of the economy.

This *material*, immediately *perceptible* private property is the material perceptible expression of *estranged human* life. Its movement—production and consumption—is the *perceptible* revelation of the movement of all production until now, i. e., the realisation or the reality of man. Religion, family, state, law, morality, science, art, etc., are only *particular* modes of production, and fall under its general law. The positive transcendence of *private property*, as the appropriation of *human* life, is therefore the positive transcendence of all estrangement—that is to say, the return of man from religion, family, state, etc., to his *human*, i. e., *social*, existence. Religious estrangement as such occurs only in the realm of *consciousness*, of man's inner life, but economic estrangement is that of *real life*; its transcendence therefore embraces both aspects. It is evident that the *initial* stage of the movement amongst the various peoples depends on whether the true *recognised* life of the people manifests itself more in consciousness or in the external world — is more ideal or real. Communism begins from the outset (*Owen*) with atheism; but atheism is at first far from being *communism*; indeed, that atheism is still mostly an abstraction.

The philanthropy of atheism is therefore at first only *philosophical*, abstract philanthropy, and that of communism is at once *real* and directly bent on *action*.

We have seen how on the assumption of positively annulled private property man produces man—himself and the other man:

how the object, being the direct manifestation of his individuality, is simultaneously his own existence for the other man, the existence of the other man, and that existence for him. Likewise, however, both the material of labour and man as the subject, are the point of departure as well as the result of the movement (and precisely in this fact, that they must constitute the *point of departure,* lies the historical *necessity* of private property). Thus the *social* character is the general character of the whole movement: *just as* society itself produces *man as man,* so is society *produced* by him. Activity and enjoyment, both in their content and in their *mode of existence,* are *social*: *social*[a] activity and *social* enjoyment. The *human* aspect of nature exists only for *social* man; for only then does nature exist for him as a *bond* with *man*—as his existence for the other and the other's existence for him—and as the life-element of human reality. Only then does nature exist as the *foundation* of his own *human* existence. Only here has what is to him his *natural* existence become his *human* existence, and nature become man for him. Thus *society* is the complete unity of man with nature—the true resurrection of nature—the accomplished naturalism of man and the accomplished humanism of nature.

||VI| Social activity and social enjoyment exist by no means *only* in the form of some *directly* communal activity and directly *communal* enjoyment, although *communal* activity and *communal* enjoyment—i. e., activity and enjoyment which are manifested and affirmed in *actual* direct *association* with other men—will occur wherever such a *direct* expression of sociability stems from the true character of the activity's content and is appropriate to the nature of the enjoyment.

But also when I am active *scientifically,* etc.—an activity which I can seldom perform in direct community with others—then my activity is *social,* because I perform it as a *man.* Not only is the material of my activity given to me as a social product (as is even the language in which the thinker is active): my *own* existence *is* social activity, and therefore that which I make of myself, I make of myself for society and with the consciousness of myself as a social being.

My *general* consciousness is only the *theoretical* shape of that of which the *living* shape is the *real* community, the social fabric, although at the present day *general* consciousness is an abstraction from real life and as such confronts it with hostility. The *activity* of

[a] This word is crossed out in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

my general consciousness, as an activity, is therefore also my *theoretical* existence as a social being.

Above all we must avoid postulating "society" again as an abstraction *vis-à-vis* the individual. The individual *is the social being.* His manifestations of life—even if they may not appear in the direct form of *communal* manifestations of life carried out in association with others—*are* therefore an expression and confirmation of *social life.* Man's individual and species-life are not *different,* however much—and this is inevitable—the mode of existence of the individual is a more *particular* or more *general* mode of the life of the species, or the life of the species is a more *particular* or more *general* individual life.

In his *consciousness of species* man confirms his real *social life* and simply repeats his real existence in thought, just as conversely the being of the species confirms itself in species consciousness and exists for itself in its generality as a thinking being.

Man, much as he may therefore be a *particular* individual (and it is precisely his particularity which makes him an individual, and a real *individual* social being), is just as much the *totality*—the ideal totality—the subjective existence of imagined and experienced society for itself; just as he exists also in the real world both as awareness and real enjoyment of social existence, and as a totality of human manifestation of life.

Thinking and being are thus certainly *distinct,* but at the same time they are in *unity* with each other.

*Death* seems to be a harsh victory of the species over the *particular* individual and to contradict their unity. But the particular individual is only a *particular species-being,* and as such mortal.

⟨(4)[a] Just as *private property* is only the perceptible expression of the fact that man becomes *objective* for himself and at the same time becomes to himself a strange and inhuman object; just as it expresses the fact that the manifestation of his life is the alienation of his life, that his realisation is his loss of reality, is an *alien* reality: so, the positive transcendence of private property—i. e., the *perceptible* appropriation for and by man of the human essence and of human life, of objective man, of human *achievements*—should not be conceived merely in the sense of *immediate,* one-sided *enjoyment,* merely in the sense of *possessing,* of *having.* Man appropriates his comprehensive essence in a comprehensive manner, that is to say, as a whole man. Each of his *human* relations to the world—seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, feeling, thinking,

[a] In the manuscript: "5".—*Ed.*

observing, experiencing, wanting, acting, loving—in short, all the organs of his individual being, like those organs which are directly social in their form, ||VII| are in their *objective* orientation, or in their *orientation to the object*, the appropriation of the object, the appropriation of *human* reality. Their orientation to the object is the *manifestation of the human reality*,* it is human *activity* and human *suffering*, for suffering, humanly considered, is a kind of self-enjoyment of man.

Private property has made us so stupid and one-sided that an object is only *ours* when we have it—when it exists for us as capital, or when it is directly possessed, eaten, drunk, worn, inhabited, etc.,—in short, when it is *used* by us. Although private property itself again conceives all these direct realisations of possession only as *means of life*, and the life which they serve as means is the *life of private property*—labour and conversion into capital.

In the place of *all* physical and mental senses there has therefore come the sheer estrangement of *all* these senses, the sense of *having*. The human being had to be reduced to this absolute poverty in order that he might yield his inner wealth to the outer world. (On the category of "*having*", see *Hess*[a] in the *Einundzwanzig Bogen*.)

The abolition of private property is therefore the complete *emancipation* of all human senses and qualities, but it is this emancipation precisely because these senses and attributes have become, subjectively and objectively, *human*. The eye has become a *human* eye, just as its *object* has become a social, *human* object—an object made by man for man. The *senses* have therefore become directly in their practice *theoreticians*. They relate themselves to the *thing* for the sake of the thing, but the thing itself is an *objective human* relation to itself and to man,** and vice versa. Need or enjoyment has consequently lost its *egotistical* nature, and nature has lost its mere *utility* by use becoming *human* use.

In the same way, the senses and enjoyment of other men have become my *own* appropriation. Besides these direct organs, therefore, *social* organs develop in the *form* of society; thus, for

* For this reason it is just as highly varied as the *determinations* of human *essence* and *activities*.—*Note by Marx.*

** In practice I can relate myself to a thing humanly only if the thing relates itself humanly to the human being.—*Note by Marx.*

[a] Moses Hess, "Philosophie der Tat".—*Ed.*

instance, activity in direct association with others, etc., has become an organ for *expressing* my own *life*, and a mode of appropriating *human* life.

It is obvious that the *human* eye enjoys things in a way different from the crude, non-human eye; the human *ear* different from the crude ear, etc.

We have seen that man does not lose himself in his object only when the object becomes for him a *human* object or objective man. This is possible only when the object becomes for him a *social* object, he himself for himself a social being, just as society becomes a being for him in this object.

On the one hand, therefore, it is only when the objective world becomes everywhere for man in society the world of man's essential powers—human reality, and for that reason the reality of his *own* essential powers—that all *objects* become for him the *objectification* of himself, become objects which confirm and realise his individuality, become *his* objects: that is, *man himself* becomes the object. The *manner* in which they become *his* depends on the *nature of the objects* and on the nature of the *essential power* corresponding to *it*; for it is precisely the *determinate nature* of this relationship which shapes the particular, *real* mode of affirmation. To the *eye* an object comes to be other than it is to the *ear*, and the object of the eye *is* another object than the object of the *ear*. The specific character of each essential power is precisely its *specific essence*, and therefore also the specific mode of its objectification, of its *objectively actual*, living *being*. Thus man is affirmed in the objective world not only in the act of thinking, ||VIII| but with *all* his senses.

On the other hand, let us look at this in its subjective aspect. Just as only music awakens in man the sense of music, and just as the most beautiful music has *no* sense for the unmusical ear—is [no] object for it, because my object can only be the confirmation of one of my essential powers—it can therefore only exist for me insofar as my essential power exists for itself as a subjective capacity; because the meaning of an object for me goes only so far as *my* sense goes (has only a meaning for a sense corresponding to that object)—for this reason the *senses* of the social man *differ* from those of the non-social man. Only through the objectively unfolded richness of man's essential being is the richness of subjective *human* sensibility (a musical ear, an eye for beauty of form—in short, *senses* capable of human gratification, senses affirming themselves as essential powers of *man*) either cultivated or brought into being. For not only the five senses but also the

so-called mental senses, the practical senses (will, love, etc.), in a word, *human* sense, the human nature of the senses, comes to be by virtue of *its* object, by virtue of *humanised* nature. The *forming* of the five senses is a labour of the entire history of the world down to the present. The *sense* caught up in crude practical need has only a *restricted* sense.〉 For the starving man, it is not the human form of food that exists, but only its abstract existence as food. It could just as well be there in its crudest form, and it would be impossible to say wherein this feeding activity differs from that of *animals*. The care-burdened, poverty-stricken man has no *sense* for the finest play; the dealer in minerals sees only the commercial value but not the beauty and the specific character of the mineral: he has no mineralogical sense. Thus, the objectification of the human essence, both in its theoretical and practical aspects, is required to make man's *sense human*, as well as to create the *human sense* corresponding to the entire wealth of human and natural substance.

〈Just as through the movement of *private property*, of its wealth as well as its poverty—of its material and spiritual wealth and poverty—the budding society finds at hand all the material for this *development*, so *established* society produces man in this entire richness of his being—produces the *rich* man *profoundly endowed with all the senses*—as its enduring reality.〉

We see how subjectivity and objectivity, spirituality and materiality, activity and suffering, lose their antithetical character, and thus their existence as such antitheses only within the framework of society; 〈we see how the resolution of the *theoretical* antitheses is *only* possible in a *practical* way, by virtue of the practical energy of man. Their resolution is therefore by no means merely a problem of understanding, but a *real* problem of life, which *philosophy* could not solve precisely because it conceived this problem as *merely* a theoretical one.

We see how the history of *industry* and the established *objective* existence of industry are the *open* book of *man's essential powers*, the perceptibly existing human *psychology*. Hitherto this was not conceived in its connection with man's *essential being*, but only in an external relation of utility, because, moving in the realm of estrangement, people could only think of man's general mode of being—religion or history in its abstract-general character as politics, art, literature, etc.—‖IX| as the reality of man's essential powers and *man's species-activity*. We have before us the *objectified essential powers* of man in the form of *sensuous, alien, useful objects*, in the form of estrangement, displayed in *ordinary material industry*

(which can be conceived either as a part of that general movement, or that movement can be conceived as a *particular* part of industry, since all human activity hitherto has been labour—that is, industry—activity estranged from itself).

A *psychology* for which this book, the part of history existing in the most perceptible and accessible form, remains a closed book, cannot become a genuine, comprehensive and *real* science.〉 What indeed are we to think of a science which *airily* abstracts from this large part of human labour and which fails to feel its own incompleteness, while such a wealth of human endeavour, unfolded before it, means nothing more to it than, perhaps, what can be expressed in one word—"*need*", "*vulgar need*"?

The *natural sciences* have developed an enormous activity and have accumulated an ever-growing mass of material. Philosophy, however, has remained just as alien to them as they remain to philosophy. Their momentary unity was only a *chimerical illusion.* The will was there, but the power was lacking. Historiography itself pays regard to natural science only occasionally, as a factor of enlightenment, utility, and of some special great discoveries. But natural science has invaded and transformed human life all the more *practically* through the medium of industry; and has prepared human emancipation, although its immediate effect had to be the furthering of the dehumanisation of man. *Industry* is the *actual,* historical relationship of nature, and therefore of natural science, to man. If, therefore, industry is conceived as the *exoteric* revelation of man's *essential powers,* we also gain an understanding of the *human* essence of nature or the *natural* essence of man. In consequence, natural science will lose its abstractly material—or rather, its idealistic—tendency, and will become the basis of *human* science, as it has already become—albeit in an estranged form—the basis of actual human life, and to assume *one* basis for life and a different basis for *science* is as a matter of course a lie. 〈The nature which develops in human history—the genesis of human society—is man's *real* nature; hence nature as it develops through industry, even though in an *estranged* form, is true *anthropological* nature.〉

*Sense-perception* (see Feuerbach) must be the basis of all science. Only when it proceeds from sense-perception in the twofold form of *sensuous* consciousness and *sensuous* need—that is, only when science proceeds from nature—is it *true* science. All history is the history of preparing and developing "*man*" to become the object of *sensuous* consciousness, and turning the requirements of "man as man" into his needs. History itself is a *real* part of *natural*

*history*—of nature developing into man. Natural science will in time incorporate into itself the science of man, just as the science of man will incorporate into itself natural science: there will be *one* science.

|| X| *Man* is the immediate object of natural science; for immediate, *sensuous nature* for man is, immediately, human sensuousness (the expressions are identical)—presented immediately in the form of the *other* man sensuously present for him. Indeed, his own sense-perception first exists as human sensuousness for himself through the *other* man. But *nature* is the immediate object of the *science of man*: the first object of man—man—is nature, sensuousness; and the particular human sensuous essential powers can only find their self-understanding in the science of the natural world in general, just as they can find their objective realisation only in *natural* objects. The element of thought itself—the element of thought's living expression—*language*—is of a sensuous nature. The *social* reality of nature, and *human* natural science, or the *natural science of man*, are identical terms.

⟨It will be seen how in place of the *wealth* and *poverty* of political economy come the *rich human being* and the rich *human* need. The *rich* human being is simultaneously the human being *in need of* a totality of human manifestations of life—the man in whom his own realisation exists as an inner necessity, as *need*. Not only *wealth*, but likewise the *poverty* of man—under the assumption of socialism[85]—receives in equal measure a *human* and therefore social significance. Poverty is the passive bond which causes the human being to experience the need of the greatest wealth—the *other* human being. The dominion of the objective being in me, the sensuous outburst of my life activity, is *passion*, which thus becomes here the *activity* of my being.⟩

(5) A *being* only considers himself independent when he stands on his own feet; and he only stands on his own feet when he owes his *existence* to himself. A man who lives by the grace of another regards himself as a dependent being. But I live completely by the grace of another if I owe him not only the maintenance of my life, but if he has, moreover, *created* my *life*—if he is the *source* of my life. When it is not of my own creation, my life has necessarily a source of this kind outside of it. The *Creation* is therefore an idea very difficult to dislodge from popular consciousness. The fact that nature and man exist on their own account is *incomprehensible* to it, because it contradicts everything *tangible* in practical life.

The creation of the *earth* has received a mighty blow from *geognosy*—i. e., from the science which presents the formation of the

earth, the development of the earth, as a process, as a self-generation. *Generatio aequivoca* is the only practical refutation of the theory of creation.[86]

Now it is certainly easy to say to the single individual what Aristotle has already said: You have been begotten by your father and your mother; therefore in you the mating of two human beings—a species-act of human beings—has produced the human being. You see, therefore, that even physically man owes his existence to man. Therefore you must not only keep sight of the *one* aspect—the *infinite* progression which leads you further to inquire: Who begot my father? Who his grandfather? etc. You must also hold on to the *circular movement* sensuously perceptible in that progress by which man repeats himself in procreation, *man* thus always remaining the subject. You will reply, however: I grant you this circular movement; now grant me the progress which drives me ever further until I ask: Who begot the first man, and nature as a whole? I can only answer you: Your question is itself a product of abstraction. Ask yourself how you arrived at that question. Ask yourself whether your question is not posed from a standpoint to which I cannot reply, because it is wrongly put. Ask yourself whether that progress as such exists for a reasonable mind. When you ask about the creation of nature and man, you are abstracting, in so doing, from man and nature. You postulate them as *non-existent*, and yet you want me to prove them to you as *existing*. Now I say to you: Give up your abstraction and you will also give up your question. Or if you want to hold on to your abstraction, then be consistent, and if you think of man and nature as *non-existent*, ||XI| then think of yourself as non-existent, for you too are surely nature and man. Don't think, don't ask me, for as soon as you think and ask, your *abstraction* from the existence of nature and man has no meaning. Or are you such an egotist that you conceive everything as nothing, and yet want yourself to exist?

You can reply: I do not want to postulate the nothingness of nature, etc. I ask you about its *genesis*, just as I ask the anatomist about the formation of bones, etc.

But since for the socialist man the *entire so-called history of the world* is nothing but the creation of man through human labour, nothing but the emergence of nature for man, so he has the visible, irrefutable proof of his *birth* through himself, of his *genesis*. Since the *real existence* of man and nature has become evident in practice, through sense experience, because man has thus become evident for man as the being of nature, and nature for man as the being of man, the question about an *alien* being, about a being above nature and

man—a question which implies the admission of the unreality of nature and of man—has become impossible in practice. *Atheism*, as the denial of this unreality, has no longer any meaning, for atheism is a *negation of God*, and postulates the *existence of man* through this negation; but socialism as socialism no longer stands in any need of such a mediation. It proceeds from the *theoretically and practically sensuous consciousness* of man and of nature as the *essence*. Socialism is man's *positive self-consciousness*, no longer mediated through the abolition of religion, just as *real life* is man's positive reality, no longer mediated through the abolition of private property, through *communism*. Communism is the position as the negation of the negation, and is hence the *actual* phase necessary for the next stage of historical development in the process of human emancipation and rehabilitation. *Communism* is the necessary form and the dynamic principle of the immediate future, but communism as such is not the goal of human development, the form of human society.[87] |XI||

## [HUMAN REQUIREMENTS AND DIVISION OF LABOUR UNDER THE RULE OF PRIVATE PROPERTY]

|[XIV[[88] (7) We have seen what significance, given socialism, the *wealth* of human needs acquires, and what significance, therefore, both a *new mode of production* and a new *object* of production obtain: a new manifestation of the forces of *human* nature and a new enrichment of *human* nature. Under private property their significance is reversed: every person speculates on creating a *new* need in another, so as to drive him to fresh sacrifice, to place him in a new dependence and to seduce him into a new mode of *enjoyment* and therefore economic ruin. Each tries to establish over the other an *alien* power, so as thereby to find satisfaction of his own selfish need. The increase in the quantity of objects is therefore accompanied by an extension of the realm of the alien powers to which man is subjected, and every new product represents a new *potentiality* of mutual swindling and mutual plundering. Man becomes ever poorer as man, his need for *money* becomes ever greater if he wants to master the hostile power. The power of his *money* declines in inverse proportion to the increase in the volume of production: that is, his neediness grows as the *power* of money increases.

The need for money is therefore the true need produced by the economic system, and it is the only need which the latter produces. The *quantity* of money becomes to an ever greater degree its sole *effective* quality. Just as it reduces everything to its abstract form, so it reduces itself in the course of its own movement to *quantitative* being. *Excess* and *intemperance* come to be its true norm.

Subjectively, this appears partly in the fact that the extension of products and needs becomes a *contriving* and ever-*calculating* subservience to inhuman, sophisticated, unnatural and *imaginary* appetites. Private property does not know how to change crude need into *human* need. Its *idealism* is *fantasy*, *caprice* and *whim*; and no eunuch flatters his despot more basely or uses more despicable means to stimulate his dulled capacity for pleasure in order to sneak a favour for himself than does the industrial eunuch—the producer—in order to sneak for himself a few pieces of silver, in order to charm the golden birds out of the pockets of his dearly beloved neighbours in Christ. He puts himself at the service of the other's most depraved fancies, plays the pimp between him and his need, excites in him morbid appetites, lies in wait for each of his weaknesses—all so that he can then demand the cash for this service of love. (Every product is a bait with which to seduce away the other's very being, his money; every real and possible need is a weakness which will lead the fly to the glue-pot. General exploitation of communal human nature, just as every imperfection in man, is a bond with heaven—an avenue giving the priest access to his heart; every need is an opportunity to approach one's neighbour under the guise of the utmost amiability and to say to him: Dear friend, I give you what you need, but you know the *conditio sine qua non*; you know the ink in which you have to sign yourself over to me; in providing for your pleasure, I fleece you.)

This estrangement manifests itself in part in that the sophistication of needs and of the means [of their satisfaction] on the one side produces a bestial barbarisation, a complete, crude, abstract simplicity of need, on the other; or rather in that it merely reproduces itself in its opposite. Even the need for fresh air ceases to be a need for the worker. Man returns to a cave dwelling, which is now, however, contaminated with the pestilential breath of civilisation, and which he continues to occupy only *precariously*, it being for him an alien habitation which can be withdrawn from him any day—a place from which, if he does ||XV| not pay, he can be thrown out any day. For this mortuary he has to *pay*. A dwelling in the *light*, which Prometheus in Aeschylus designated as one of the greatest boons, by means of which he made the savage into a human

being,[a] ceases to exist for the worker. Light, air, etc.—the simplest *animal* cleanliness—ceases to be a need for man. *Filth*, this stagnation and putrefaction of man—the *sewage* of civilisation (speaking quite literally)—comes to be the *element of life* for him. Utter, *unnatural* depravation, putrefied nature, comes to be his *life-element*. None of his senses exist any longer, and [each has ceased to function] not only in its human fashion, but in an *inhuman* fashion, so that it does not exist even in an animal fashion. The crudest *methods* (and *instruments*) of human labour are coming back: the *treadmill* of the Roman slaves, for instance, is the means of production, the means of existence, of many English workers. It is not only that man has no human needs—even his *animal* needs cease to exist. The Irishman no longer knows any need now but the need to *eat*, and indeed only the need to eat *potatoes*—and *scabby potatoes* at that, the worst kind of potatoes. But in each of their industrial towns England and France have already a *little* Ireland. The savage and the animal have at least the need to hunt, to roam, etc.—the need of companionship. The simplification of the machine, of labour is used to make a worker out of the human being still in the making, the completely immature human being, the *child*—whilst the worker has become a neglected child. The machine accommodates itself to the *weakness* of the human being in order to make the *weak* human being into a machine.

〈How the multiplication of needs and of the means [of their satisfaction] breeds the absence of needs and of means is demonstrated by the political economist (and by the capitalist: in general it is always *empirical* businessmen we are talking about when we refer to political economists, [who represent] their *scientific* creed and form of existence) as follows:

(1) By reducing the worker's need to the barest and most miserable level of physical subsistence, and by reducing his activity to the most abstract mechanical movement; thus he says: Man has no other need either of activity or of enjoyment. For he declares that this life, *too*, is *human* life and existence.

(2) By *counting* the most *meagre* form of life (existence) as the standard, indeed, as the general standard—general because it is applicable to the mass of men. He turns the worker into an insensible being lacking all needs, just as he changes his activity into a pure abstraction from all activity. To him, therefore, every *luxury* of the worker seems to be reprehensible, and everything that goes beyond the most abstract need—be it in the realm of passive enjoyment, or a

[a] Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*.—*Ed.*

manifestation of activity—seems to him a luxury. Political economy, this science of *wealth*, is therefore simultaneously the science of renunciation, of want, of *saving*—and it actually reaches the point where it *spares* man the *need* of either fresh *air* or physical *exercise*. This science of marvellous industry is simultaneously the science of *asceticism*, and its true ideal is the *ascetic* but *extortionate* miser and the *ascetic* but *productive* slave. Its moral ideal is the *worker* who takes part of his wages to the savings-bank, and it has even found ready-made a servile *art* which embodies this pet idea: it has been presented, bathed in sentimentality, on the stage. Thus political economy—despite its wordly and voluptuous appearance—is a true moral science, the most moral of all the sciences. Self-renunciation, the renunciation of life and of all human needs, is its principal thesis. The less you eat, drink and buy books; the less you go to the theatre, the dance hall, the public house; the less you think, love, theorise, sing, paint, fence, etc., the more you *save*—the *greater* becomes your treasure which neither moths nor rust will devour—your *capital*. The less you *are*, the less you express your own life, the more you *have*, i.e., the greater is your *alienated* life, the greater is the store of your estranged being. Everything [[XVI] which the political economist takes from you in life and in humanity, he replaces for you in *money* and in *wealth*; and all the things which you cannot do, your money can do. It can eat and drink, go to the dance hall and the theatre; it can travel, it can appropriate art, learning, the treasures of the past, political power—all this it *can* appropriate for you—it can buy all this: it is true *endowment*. Yet being all this, it *wants* to do nothing but create itself, buy itself; for everything else is after all its servant, and when I have the master I have the servant and do not need his servant. All passions and all activity must therefore be submerged in *avarice*. The worker may only have enough for him to want to live, and may only want to live in order to have that.>

It is true that a controversy now arises in the field of political economy. The one side (Lauderdale, Malthus, etc.) recommends *luxury* and execrates thrift. The other (Say, Ricardo, etc.) recommends thrift and execrates luxury. But the former admits that it wants luxury in order to produce *labour* (i. e., absolute thrift); and the latter admits that it recommends thrift in order to produce *wealth* (i. e., luxury). The Lauderdale-Malthus school has the *romantic* notion that avarice alone ought not to determine the consumption of the rich, and it contradicts its own laws in advancing *extravagance* as a direct means of enrichment. Against it, therefore, the other side very earnestly and circumstantially proves

that I do not increase but reduce my *possessions* by being extravagant. The Say-Ricardo school is hypocritical in not admitting that it is precisely whim and caprice which determine production. It forgets the "refined needs"; it forgets that there would be no production without consumption; it forgets that as a result of competition production can only become more extensive and luxurious. It forgets that, according to its views, a thing's value is determined by use, and that use is determined by fashion. It wishes to see only "useful things" produced, but it forgets that production of too many useful things produces too large a *useless* population. Both sides forget that extravagance and thrift, luxury and privation, wealth and poverty are equal.

And you must not only stint the gratification of your immediate senses, as by stinting yourself of food, etc.: you must also spare yourself all sharing of general interests, all sympathy, all trust, etc., if you want to be economical, if you do not want to be ruined by illusions.

〈You must make everything that is yours *saleable,* i. e., useful. If I ask the political economist: Do I obey economic laws if I extract money by offering my body for sale, by surrendering it to another's lust? (The factory workers in France call the prostitution of their wives and daughters the nth working hour, which is literally correct.)—Or am I not acting in keeping with political economy if I sell my friend to the Moroccans? (And the direct sale of men in the form of a trade in conscripts, etc., takes place in all civilised countries.)—Then the political economist replies to me: You do not transgress my laws; but see what Cousin Ethics and Cousin Religion have to say about it. My *political economic* ethics and religion have nothing to reproach you with, but—But whom am I now to believe, political economy or ethics?—The ethics of political economy is *acquisition,* work, thrift, sobriety—but political economy promises to satisfy my needs.—The political economy of ethics is the opulence of a good conscience, of virtue, etc.; but how can I live virtuously if I do not live? And how can I have a good conscience if I do not know anything? It stems from the very nature of estrangement that each sphere applies to me a different and opposite yardstick—ethics one and political economy another; for each is a specific estrangement of man and〉 ‖XVII‖ focuses attention on a particular field of estranged essential activity, and each stands in an estranged relation to the other. Thus M. *Michel Chevalier* reproaches Ricardo with having ignored ethics.[a] But

[a] Cf. Michel Chevalier, *Des intérêts matériels en France.—Ed.*

Ricardo is allowing political economy to speak its own language, and if it does not speak ethically, this is not Ricardo's fault. M. Chevalier takes no account of political economy insofar as he moralises, but he really and necessarily ignores ethics insofar as he practises political economy. The relationship of political economy to ethics, if it is other than an arbitrary, contingent and therefore unfounded and unscientific relationship, if it is not being posited for the sake of *appearance* but is meant to be *essential*, can only be the relationship of the laws of political economy to ethics. If there is no such connection, or if the contrary is rather the case, can Ricardo help it? Moreover, the opposition between political economy and ethics is only an *apparent* opposition and just as much no opposition *as it is* an opposition. All that happens is that political economy expresses moral laws *in its own way*.

〈 Frugality as the principle of political economy is *most brilliantly* shown in its *theory of population*. There are too *many* people. Even the existence of men is a pure luxury; and if the worker is *"ethical"*, he will be *sparing* in procreation. (Mill suggests public acclaim for those who prove themselves continent in their sexual relations, and public rebuke for those who sin against such barrenness of marriage....[a] Is this not ethics, the teaching of asceticism?) The production of people appears as public destitution.〉

The meaning which production has in relation to the rich is seen *revealed* in the meaning which it has for the poor. Looking upwards the manifestation is always refined, veiled, ambiguous — outward appearance; downwards, it is rough, straightforward, frank — the real thing. The worker's *crude* need is a far greater source of gain than the *refined* need of the rich. The cellar dwellings in London bring more to those who let them than do the palaces; that is to say, with reference to the landlord they constitute *greater wealth*, and thus (to speak the language of political economy) greater *social* wealth.

Industry speculates on the refinement of needs, it speculates however just as much on their *crudeness*, but on their artificially produced crudeness, whose true enjoyment, therefore, is *self-stupefaction* — this *illusory* satisfaction of need — this civilisation contained *within* the crude barbarism of need. The English gin

[a] James Mill, *Elements of Political Economy*, London, 1821, p. 44 (Marx quotes from the French edition, *Élémens d'économie politique*. Trad. par. J. T. Parisot, Paris, 1823, p. 59).—*Ed.*

shops are therefore the *symbolical* representations of private property. Their *luxury* reveals the true relation of industrial luxury and wealth to man. They are therefore rightly the only Sunday pleasures of the people which the English police treats at least mildly. |XVII||

||XVIII|[89] We have already seen how the political economist establishes the unity of labour and capital in a variety of ways: (1) Capital is *accumulated labour.* (2) The purpose of capital within production—partly, reproduction of capital with profit, partly, capital as raw material (material of labour), and partly, as an automatically *working instrument* (the machine is capital directly equated with labour)—is *productive labour.* (3) The worker is a capital. (4) Wages belong to costs of capital. (5) In relation to the worker, labour is the reproduction of his life-capital. (6) In relation to the capitalist, labour is an aspect of his capital's activity.

Finally, (7) the political economist postulates the original unity of capital and labour as the unity of the capitalist and the worker; this is the original state of paradise. The way in which these two aspects, ||XIX| as two persons, confront each other is for the political economist an *accidental* event, and hence only to be explained by reference to external factors. (See Mill.[a])

The nations which are still dazzled by the sensuous glitter of precious metals, and are therefore still fetish-worshippers of metal money, are not yet fully developed money-nations. Contrast of France and England.

The extent to which the solution of theoretical riddles is the task of practice and effected through practice, the extent to which true practice is the condition of a real and positive theory, is shown, for example, in *fetishism.* The sensuous consciousness of the fetish-worshipper is different from that of the Greek, because his sensuous existence is different. The abstract enmity between sense and spirit is necessary so long as the human feeling for nature, the human sense of nature, and therefore also the *natural* sense of *man,* are not yet produced by man's own labour.

*Equality* is nothing but a translation of the German "Ich=Ich"[b 90] into the French, i.e., political, form. Equality as the *basis* of communism is its *political* justification, and it is the same as when the German justifies it by conceiving man as *universal self-consciousness.* Naturally, the transcendence of the estrangement

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[a] James Mill, *Elements of Political Economy,* p. 45 sqq. (Parisot, p. 60 sqq.).—*Ed.*
[b] The English equivalent of *ich* is "I".—*Ed.*

always proceeds from that form of the estrangement which is the *dominant* power: in Germany, *self-consciousness*; in France, *equality*, because it is politics; in England, real, material, *practical* need taking only itself as its standard. It is from this standpoint that Proudhon is to be criticised and appreciated.

If we characterise *communism* itself because of its character as negation of the negation, as the appropriation of the human essence through the intermediary of the negation of private property—as being not yet the *true*, self-originating position but rather a position originating from private property [...][a] in old-German fashion—in the way of Hegel's phenomenology—[...] finished as a *conquered moment* and [...] one might be satisfied by it, in his consciousness [...] of the human being only by *real* [...] transcendence of his thought now as before [...], since with him[b] therefore the real estrangement of the life of man remains, and remains all the more, the more one is conscious of it as such, hence it [the negation of this estrangement] can be accomplished solely by bringing about communism.

In order to abolish the *idea* of private property, the *idea* of communism is quite sufficient. It takes *actual* communist action to abolish actual private property. History will lead to it; and this movement, which *in theory* we already know to be a self-transcending movement, will constitute in actual fact a very rough and protracted process. But we must regard it as a real advance to have at the outset gained a consciousness of the limited character as well as of the goal of this historical movement—and a consciousness which reaches out beyond it.

When communist *artisans* associate with one another, theory, propaganda, etc., is their first end. But at the same time, as a result of this association, they acquire a new need—the need for society—and what appears as a means becomes an end. In this practical process the most splendid results are to be observed whenever French socialist workers[c] are seen together. Such things as smoking, drinking, eating, etc., are no longer means of contact or means that bring them together. Association, society and conversation, which again has association as its end, are enough for them; the brotherhood of man is no mere phrase with them, but a fact of life, and the nobility of man shines upon us from their work-hardened bodies.

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[a] A part of this section of the manuscript is torn off.—*Ed.*
[b] Or maybe "it"—the German pronoun *ihm* can be either.—*Ed.*
[c] In the manuscript: *ouvriers*.—*Ed.*

||XXI ⟨When political economy claims that demand and supply always balance each other, it immediately forgets that according to its own claim (theory of population) the supply of *people* always exceeds the demand, and that, therefore, in the essential result of the whole production process—the existence of man—the disparity between demand and supply gets its most striking expression.

The extent to which money, which appears as a means, constitutes true *power* and the sole *end*—the extent to which in general *the means* which turns me into a being, which gives me possession of the alien objective being, is an *end in itself* ... can be clearly seen from the fact that landed property, wherever land is the source of life, and *horse* and *sword,* wherever these are the *true means of life,* are also acknowledged as the true political powers in life. In the Middle Ages a social estate is emancipated as soon as it is allowed to carry the *sword.* Amongst nomadic peoples it is the *horse* which makes me a free man and a participant in the life of the community.

We have said above that man is regressing to the *cave dwelling,* etc.—but he is regressing to it in an estranged, malignant form. The savage in his cave—a natural element which freely offers itself for his use and protection—feels himself no more a stranger, or rather feels as much at home as a *fish* in water. But the cellar dwelling of the poor man is a hostile element, "a dwelling which remains an alien power and only gives itself up to him insofar as he gives up to it his own blood and sweat"—a dwelling which he cannot regard as his own hearth—where he might at last exclaim: "Here I am at home"—but where instead he finds himself in *someone else*'s house, in the house of a *stranger* who always watches him and throws him out if he does not pay his rent. He is also aware of the contrast in quality between his dwelling and a human dwelling that stands in the *other* world, in the heaven of wealth.

Estrangement is manifested not only in the fact that *my* means of life belong to *someone else,* that which *I* desire is the inaccessible possession of *another,* but also in the fact that everything is itself something *different* from itself—that my activity is *something else* and that, finally (and this applies also to the capitalist), all is under [the sway][a] of *inhuman* power.

There is a form of inactive, extravagant wealth given over wholly to pleasure, the enjoyer of which on the one hand *behaves*

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[a] The manuscript is damaged here.—*Ed.*

as a mere *ephemeral* individual frantically spending himself to no purpose, and also regards the slave-labour of others (human *sweat and blood*) as the prey of his cupidity. He therefore knows man himself, and hence also his own self, as a sacrificed and futile being. With such wealth contempt of man makes its appearance, partly as arrogance and as squandering of what can give sustenance to a hundred human lives, and partly as the infamous illusion that his own unbridled extravagance and ceaseless, unproductive consumption is the condition of the other's *labour* and therefore of his *subsistence*. He regards the realisation of the *essential powers* of man only as the realisation of his own excesses, his whims and capricious, bizarre notions. This wealth which, on the other hand, again knows wealth as a mere means, as something that is good for nothing but to be annihilated and which is therefore at once slave and master, at once magnanimous and base, capricious, presumptuous, conceited, refined, cultured and witty—this wealth has not yet experienced *wealth* as an utterly *alien power* over itself: it sees in it, rather, only its own power, and [not][a] wealth but *enjoyment* [is its final][a] aim.

This [...][b] ||XXI| and the glittering illusion about the nature of wealth, blinded by sensuous appearances, is confronted by the *working, sober, prosaic, economical* industrialist who is quite enlightened about the nature of wealth, and who, while providing a wider sphere for the other's self-indulgence and paying fulsome flatteries to him in his products (for his products are just so many base compliments to the appetites of the spendthrift), knows how to appropriate for himself in the only *useful* way the other's waning power. If, therefore, industrial wealth appears at first to be the result of extravagant, fantastic wealth, yet its motion, the motion inherent in it, ousts the latter also in an active way. For the fall in the *rate of interest* is a necessary consequence and result of industrial development. The extravagant rentier's means therefore dwindle day by day in *inverse* proportion to the increasing possibilities and pitfalls of pleasure. Consequently, he must either consume his capital, thus ruining himself, or must become an industrial capitalist.... On the other hand, there is a direct, constant rise in the *rent of land* as a result of the course of industrial development; nevertheless, as we have already seen, there must come a time when landed property, like every other

[a] The manuscript is damaged here.—*Ed.*

[b] A part of this page of the manuscript is ripped off, about three lines are missing.—*Ed.*

kind of property, is bound to fall within the category of profitably self-reproducing capital[a]—and this in fact results from the same industrial development. Thus the squandering landowner, too, must either consume his capital, and thus be ruined, or himself become the farmer of his own estate—an agricultural industrialist.

The diminution in the interest on money, which Proudhon regards as the annulling of capital and as a tendency to socialise capital, is therefore in fact rather only a symptom of the total victory of working capital over squandering wealth—i. e., the transformation of all private property into industrial capital. It is a total victory of private property over all those of its qualities which are still in *appearance* human, and the complete subjection of the owner of private property to the essence of private property—*labour.* To be sure, the industrial capitalist also takes his pleasures. He does not by any means return to the unnatural simplicity of need; but his pleasure is only a side-issue—recreation—something subordinated to production; at the same time it is a *calculated* and, therefore, itself an *economical* pleasure. For he debits it to his capital's expense account, and what is squandered on his pleasure must therefore amount to no more than will be replaced with profit through the reproduction of capital. Pleasure is therefore subsumed under capital, and the pleasure-taking individual under the capital-accumulating individual, whilst formerly the contrary was the case. The decrease in the interest rate is therefore a symptom of the annulment of capital only inasmuch as it is a symptom of the growing domination of capital—of the estrangement which is growing and therefore hastening to its annulment. This is indeed the only way in which that which exists affirms its opposite.〉

The quarrel between the political economists about luxury and thrift is, therefore, only the quarrel between that political economy which has achieved clarity about the nature of wealth, and that political economy which is still afflicted with romantic, anti-industrial memories. Neither side, however, knows how to reduce the subject of the controversy to its simple terms, and neither therefore can make short work of the other. |XXI||

||XXXIV|[91] Moreover, *rent of land qua* rent of land has been overthrown, since, contrary to the argument of the Physiocrats which maintains that the landowner is the only true producer,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 265-70.—*Ed.*

modern political economy has proved that the landowner as such is rather the only completely unproductive rentier. According to this theory, agriculture is the business of the capitalist, who invests his capital in it provided he can expect the usual profit. The claim of the Physiocrats—that landed property, as the sole productive property, should alone pay state taxes and therefore should alone approve them and participate in the affairs of state—is transformed into the opposite position that the tax on the rent of land is the only tax on unproductive income, and is therefore the only tax not detrimental to national production. It goes without saying that from this point of view also the political privilege of landowners no longer follows from their position as principal tax-payers.

Everything which Proudhon conceives as a movement of labour against capital is only the movement of labour in the determination of capital, of *industrial capital,* against capital not consumed *as* capital, i. e., not consumed industrially. And this movement is proceeding along its triumphant road—the road to the victory of *industrial* capital. It is clear, therefore, that only when *labour* is grasped as the essence of private property, can the economic process as such be analysed in its real concreteness.

*Society,* as it appears to the political economist, is *civil society*[92] in which every individual is a totality of needs and only ||XXXVI| exists for the other person, as the other exists for him, insofar as each becomes a means for the other. The political economist reduces everything (just as does politics in its *Rights of Man*) to man, i. e., to the individual whom he strips of all determinateness so as to class him as capitalist or worker.

The *division of labour* is the economic expression of the *social character of labour* within the estrangement. Or, since *labour* is only an expression of human activity within alienation, of the manifestation of life as the alienation of life, the *division of labour,* too, is therefore nothing else but the *estranged, alienated* positing of human activity as a *real activity of the species* or as *activity of man as a species-being.*

As for the *essence of the division of labour*—and of course the division of labour had to be conceived as a major driving force in the production of wealth as soon as *labour* was recognised as the *essence of private property*—i.e., as for the *estranged and alienated form of human activity as an activity of the species*—the political economists are very vague and self-contradictory about it.

*Adam Smith*: "This *division of labour* [...] is not originally the effect of any human wisdom [...]. It is the necessary, [...] slow and gradual consequence of [...] the

propensity to truck, barter, and exchange one thing for another. [...] This propensity" to trade is probably a "necessary consequence of the use of reason and of speech [...]. It is common to all men, and to be found in no other race of animals." The animal, when it is grown up, is entirely independent. "Man has almost constant occasion for the help of others, and it is in vain for him to expect it from their benevolence only. He will be more likely to prevail if he can appeal to their personal interest, and show them that it is for their own advantage to do for him what he requires of them. [...] We address ourselves, not to their *humanity* but to their *self-love*, and never talk to them of *our own necessities* but of *their advantages*. [...]

"As it is by treaty, by barter, and by purchase that we obtain from one another the greater part of those mutual good offices which we stand in need of, so it is this same *trucking* disposition which originally gives occasion to the *division of labour*. In a tribe of hunters or shepherds a particular person makes bows and arrows, for example, with more readiness and dexterity than any other. He frequently exchanges them for cattle or for venison with his companions; and he finds at last that he can in this manner get more cattle and venison than if he himself went to the field to catch them. From a regard to his own interest, therefore, the making of bows, etc., grows to be his chief business [....]

"The difference of *natural talents* in different men [...] is not [...] so much the *cause* as the *effect* of the division of labour.... Without the disposition to truck [...] and exchange, every man must have procured to himself every necessary and conveniency of life [....] All must have had [...] the *same work* to do, and there could have been no such *difference of employment* as could alone give occasion to any great difference of talents.

"As it is this disposition which forms that difference of talents [...] among men [...] so it is this same disposition which renders that difference useful. Many tribes of animals [...] of the same species derive from nature a much more remarkable distinction of genius, than what, antecedent to custom and education, appears to take place among men. By nature a philosopher is not in talent and in intelligence half so different from a street porter, as a mastiff is from a greyhound, or a greyhound from a spaniel, or this last from a shepherd's dog. Those different tribes of animals, however, though all of the same species, are of scarce any use to one another. The mastiff cannot add to the advantages of his strength ||XXXVI|| by making use of the swiftness of the greyhound, etc. The effects of these different talents or grades of intelligence, for want of the power or disposition to barter and exchange, cannot be brought into a common stock, and do not in the least contribute to the better *accommodation* and *conveniency* of the *species*. Each animal is still obliged to support and defend itself, separately and independently, and derives no sort of advantage from that variety of talents with which nature has distinguished its fellows. Among men, on the contrary, the most dissimilar geniuses are of use to one another; the *different produces* of their respective talents, by the general disposition to truck, barter, and exchange, being brought, as it were, into a common stock, where every man may purchase whatever part of the produce of other men's industry he has occasion for. [...]

"As it is the power of *exchanging* that gives occasion to the *division of labour*, so the *extent of this division* must always be limited by the *extent of that power*, or, in other words, by the *extent of the market*. When the market is very small, no person can have any encouragement to dedicate himself entirely to one employment, for want of the power to exchange all that surplus part of the produce of his own labour, which is over and above his own consumption, for such parts of the produce of other men's labour as he has occasion for...."

In an *advanced* state of society "every man thus lives by exchanging and becomes in some measure a *merchant*, and the *society itself* grows to be what is properly a *commercial* society". (See Destutt de Tracy [*Élémens d'idéologie*, Paris, 1826, pp. 68 and 78]: "Society is a series of reciprocal exchanges; *commerce* contains the whole essence of society.") ... The accumulation of capitals mounts with the division of labour, and vice versa."

So much for *Adam Smith.*[a]

"If every family produced all that it consumed, society could keep going although no exchange of any sort took place; *without* being *fundamental*, exchange is indispensable in our advanced state of society. The division of labour is a skilful deployment of man's powers; it increases society's production—its power and its pleasures—but it curtails, reduces the ability of every person taken individually. Production cannot take place without exchange."

Thus J. B. *Say.*[b]

"The powers inherent in man are his intelligence and his physical capacity for work. Those which arise from the condition of society consist of the capacity to *divide up labour* and to *distribute different jobs amongst different people* ... and the *power* to exchange *mutual services* and the products which constitute these means. The motive which impels a man to give his services to another is self-interest—he requires a reward for the services rendered. The right of exclusive private property is indispensable to the establishment of exchange amongst men." "Exchange and division of labour reciprocally condition each other."

Thus *Skarbek.*[c]

*Mill* presents developed exchange—*trade*—as a *consequence of the division of labour.*

"The agency of man can be traced to very simple elements. He can, in fact, do nothing more than produce motion. He can move things towards one another, and he can separate them from one another: ||XXXVII| the properties of matter perform all the rest." "In the employment of labour and machinery, it is often found that the effects can be increased by skilful distribution, by separating all those operations which have any tendency to impede one another, and by bringing together all those operations which can be made in any way to aid one another. As men in general cannot perform many different operations with the same quickness and dexterity with which they can by practice learn to perform a few, it is always an advantage to limit as much as possible the number of operations imposed upon each. For dividing labour, and distributing the powers of men and machinery, to the greatest advantage, it is in most cases necessary to operate upon a large scale; in other words, to produce the commodities in greater masses. It is this advantage which gives existence to the great manufactories; a few of which, placed in the most convenient situations, frequently supply not one country, but many countries, with as much as they desire of the commodity produced."

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[a] Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Book I, Chs. II-IV, pp. 12-25. (Garnier, t. 1, l. I, Chs. II-IV, pp. 29-46), quoted with omissions and alterations.—*Ed.*

[b] Jean-Baptiste Say, *Traité d'économie politique*, Paris, 1817, t. I, pp. 300, 76-77; t. II, p. 6.—*Ed.*

[c] Frédéric Skarbek, *Théorie des richesses sociales*, Paris, 1829, t. I, pp. 25-27, 75 and 121-32.—*Ed.*

Thus *Mill.*[a]

The whole of modern political economy agrees, however, that division of labour and wealth of production, division of labour and accumulation of capital, mutually determine each other; just as it agrees that only private property which is *at liberty* to follow its own course can produce the most useful and comprehensive division of labour.

*Adam Smith's* argument can be summarised as follows: Division of labour bestows on labour infinite productive capacity. It stems from the *propensity to exchange* and *barter,* a specifically human propensity which is probably not accidental, but is conditioned by the use of reason and speech. The motive of those who engage in exchange is not *humanity* but *egoism.* The diversity of human talents is more the effect than the cause of the division of labour, i.e., of exchange. Besides, it is only the latter which makes such diversity useful. The particular attributes of the different breeds within a species of animal are by nature much more marked than the degrees of difference in human aptitude and activity. But because animals are unable to engage in *exchange,* no individual animal benefits from the difference in the attributes of animals of the same species but of different breeds. Animals are unable to combine the different attributes of their species, and are unable to contribute anything to the *common* advantage and comfort of the species. It is otherwise with *men,* amongst whom the most dissimilar talents and forms of activity are of use to one another, *because* they can bring their *different* products together into a common stock, from which each can purchase. As the division of labour springs from the propensity to *exchange,* so it grows and is limited by the *extent of exchange*—by the *extent of the market.* In advanced conditions, every man is a *merchant,* and society is a *commercial society.*

*Say* regards *exchange* as accidental and not fundamental. Society could exist without it. It becomes indispensable in the advanced state of society. Yet *production* cannot take place *without it.* Division of labour is a *convenient, useful* means—a skilful deployment of human powers for social wealth; but it reduces the *ability of each person* taken *individually.* The last remark is a step forward on the part of Say.

*Skarbek* distinguishes the *individual* powers *inherent in man*—intelligence and the physical capacity for work—from the

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[a] James Mill, *Elements of Political Economy,* pp. 5-6 and 8-9 (Parisot, pp. 7, 11-12).—*Ed.*

powers *derived* from society—*exchange* and *division of labour*, which mutually condition one another. But the necessary premise of exchange is *private property*. Skarbek here expresses in an objective form what Smith, Say, Ricardo, etc., say when they designate *egoism* and *self-interest* as the basis of exchange, and *buying and selling* as the *essential* and *adequate* form of exchange.

*Mill* presents *trade* as the consequence of the *division of labour*. With him *human* activity is reduced to *mechanical motion*. Division of labour and use of machinery promote wealth of production. Each person must be entrusted with as small a sphere of operations as possible. Division of labour and use of machinery, in their turn, imply large-scale production of wealth, and hence of products. This is the reason for large manufactories.

||XXXVIII| The examination of *division of labour* and *exchange* is of extreme interest, because these are *perceptibly alienated* expressions of human *activity* and *essential power* as a *species* activity and species power.

To assert that *division of labour* and *exchange* rest on *private property* is nothing but asserting that *labour* is the essence of private property—an assertion which the political economist cannot prove and which we wish to prove for him. Precisely in the fact that *division of labour* and *exchange* are aspects of private property lies the twofold proof, on the one hand that *human* life required *private property* for its realisation, and on the other hand that it now requires the supersession of private property.

*Division of labour* and *exchange* are the two *phenomena* which lead the political economist to boast of the social character of his science, while in the same breath he gives unconscious expression to the contradiction in his science—the motivation of society by unsocial, particular interests.

The factors we have to consider are: Firstly, the *propensity to exchange*—the basis of which is found in egoism—is regarded as the cause or reciprocal effect of the division of labour. Say regards exchange as not *fundamental* to the nature of society. Wealth—production—is explained by division of labour and exchange. The impoverishment of individual activity, and its loss of character as a result of the division of labour, are admitted. Exchange and division of labour are acknowledged as the sources of the great *diversity of human talents*—a diversity which in its turn becomes *useful* as a result of exchange. Skarbek divides man's essential powers of production—or productive powers—into two parts: (1) those which are individual and inherent in him—his intelligence and his special disposition, or capacity, for work; and

(2) those *derived* from society and not from the actual individual—division of labour and exchange.

Furthermore, the division of labour is limited by the *market.* Human labour is simple *mechanical motion*: the main work is done by the material properties of the objects. The fewest possible operations must be apportioned to any one individual. Splitting up of labour and concentration of capital; the insignificance of individual production and the production of wealth in large quantities. Meaning of free private property within the division of labour. |XXXVIII||[a].

## [THE POWER OF MONEY]

||XLI|[93] If man's *feelings,* passions, etc., are not merely anthropological phenomena in the [narrower][b] sense, but truly *ontological*[94] affirmations of being (of nature), and if they are only really affirmed because their *object* exists for them as a *sensual* object, then it is clear that:

(1) They have by no means merely one mode of affirmation, but rather that the distinct character of their existence, of their life, is constituted by the distinct mode of their affirmation. In what manner the object exists for them, is the characteristic mode of their *gratification.*

(2) Wherever the sensuous affirmation is the direct annulment of the object in its independent form (as in eating, drinking, working up of the object, etc.), this is the affirmation of the object.

(3) Insofar as man, and hence also his feeling, etc., is *human,* the affirmation of the object by another is likewise his own gratification.

(4) Only through developed industry—i.e., through the medium of private property—does the ontological essence of human passion come into being, in its totality as well as in its humanity; the science of man is therefore itself a product of man's own practical activity.

(5) The meaning of private property—apart from its estrangement—is the *existence of essential objects* for man, both as objects of enjoyment and as objects of activity.

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[a] That part of the third manuscript which serves as a supplement to p. XXXIX of the second manuscript breaks off at this point on the left side of p. XXXVIII. The right-hand side of p. XXXVIII is empty. Then follows the "Introduction" (pp. XXXIX-XL) and the passage on money (pp. XLI-XLIII).—*Ed.*

[b] This word cannot be clearly deciphered in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

By possessing the *property* of buying everything, by possessing the property of appropriating all objects, *money* is thus the *object* of eminent possession. The universality of its *property* is the omnipotence of its being. It is therefore regarded as omnipotent.... Money is the *procurer* between man's need and the object, between his life and his means of life. But *that which* mediates *my* life for me, also *mediates* the existence of other people for me. For me it is the *other* person.

"What, man! confound it, hands and feet
And head and backside, all are yours!
And what we take while life is sweet,
Is that to be declared not ours?
Six stallions, say, I can afford,
Is not their strength my property?
I tear along, a sporting lord,
As if their legs belonged to me."

Goethe: *Faust* (Mephistopheles)[a]

Shakespeare in *Timon of Athens*:

"Gold? Yellow, glittering, precious gold? No, Gods,
I am no idle votarist! ...
Thus much of this will make black white, foul fair,
Wrong right, base noble, old young, coward valiant.
... Why, this
Will lug your priests and servants from your sides,
Pluck stout men's pillows from below their heads:
This yellow slave
Will knit and break religions, bless the accursed;
Make the hoar leprosy adored, place thieves
And give them title, knee and approbation
With senators on the bench: This is it
That makes the wappen'd widow wed again;
She, whom the spital-house and ulcerous sores
Would cast the gorge at, this embalms and spices
To the April day again. Come, damned earth,
Thou common whore of mankind, that put'st odds
Among the rout of nations."

And also later:

"O thou sweet king-killer, and dear divorce
'Twixt natural son and sire! thou bright defiler
Of Hymen's purest bed! thou valiant Mars!
Thou ever young, fresh, loved and delicate wooer,
Whose blush doth thaw the consecrated snow
That lies on Dian's lap! Thou *visible God*!

[a] Goethe, *Faust*, Part 1, Faust's Study; (the English translation is taken from Goethe's *Faust*, Part 1, translated by Philip Wayne, Penguin, 1949, p. 91).—*Ed.*

That solder'st *close impossibilities,*
And makest them kiss! That speak'st with every tongue,
||XLII| To every purpose! O thou touch of hearts!
Think, thy slave man rebels, and by thy virtue
Set them into confounding odds, that beasts
May have the world in empire!"[a]

Shakespeare excellently depicts the real nature of *money.* To understand him, let us begin, first of all, by expounding the passage from Goethe.

That which is for me through the medium of *money*—that for which I can pay (i. e., which money can buy)—that am *I myself,* the possessor of the money. The extent of the power of money is the extent of my power. Money's properties are my—the possessor's—properties and essential powers. Thus, what I *am* and *am capable of* is by no means determined by my individuality. I *am* ugly, but I can buy for myself the *most beautiful* of women. Therefore I am not *ugly,* for the effect of *ugliness*—its deterrent power—is nullified by money. I, according to my individual characteristics, am *lame,* but money furnishes me with twenty-four feet. Therefore I am not lame. I am bad, dishonest, unscrupulous, stupid; but money is honoured, and hence its possessor. Money is the supreme good, therefore its possessor is good. Money, besides, saves me the trouble of being dishonest: I am therefore presumed honest. I am *brainless,* but money is the *real brain* of all things and how then should its possessor be brainless? Besides, he can buy clever people for himself, and is he who has[b] power over the clever not more clever than the clever? Do not I, who thanks to money am capable of *all* that the human heart longs for, possess all human capacities? Does not my money, therefore, transform all my incapacities into their contrary?

If *money* is the bond binding me to *human* life, binding society to me, connecting me with nature and man, is not money the bond of all *bonds*? Can it not dissolve and bind all ties? Is it not, therefore, also the universal *agent of separation*? It is the *coin* that really *separates* as well as the real *binding agent*—the [...][c] *chemical* power of society.

Shakespeare stresses especially two properties of money:

(1) It is the visible divinity—the transformation of all human and natural properties into their contraries, the universal confounding and distorting of things: impossibilities are soldered together by it.

(2) It is the common whore, the common procurer of people and nations.

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[a] Shakespeare, *Timon of Athens,* Act IV, Scene 3. (Marx quotes the Schlegel-Tieck translation.)—*Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript: "is".—*Ed.*

[c] In the manuscript one word cannot be deciphered.—*Ed.*

The distorting and confounding of all human and natural qualities, the fraternisation of impossibilities—the *divine* power of money—lies in its *character* as men's estranged, alienating and self-disposing *species-nature.* Money is the alienated *ability of mankind.*

That which I am unable to do as a *man,* and of which therefore all my individual essential powers are incapable, I am able to do by means of *money.* Money thus turns each of these powers into something which in itself it is not—turns it, that is, into its *contrary.*

If I long for a particular dish or want to take the mail-coach because I am not strong enough to go by foot, money fetches me the dish and the mail-coach: that is, it converts my wishes from something in the realm of imagination, translates them from their meditated, imagined or desired existence into their *sensuous, actual* existence—from imagination to life, from imagined being into real being. In effecting this mediation, [money] is the *truly creative* power.

No doubt the *demand* also exists for him who has no money, but his demand is a mere thing of the imagination without effect or existence for me, for a third party, for the [others], ||XLIII| and which therefore remains even for me *unreal* and *objectless.* The difference between effective demand based on money and ineffective demand based on my need, my passion, my wish, etc., is the difference between *being* and *thinking,* between the idea which merely *exists* within me and the idea which exists as a *real object* outside of me.

If I have no money for travel, I have no *need*—that is, no real and realisable need—to travel. If I have the *vocation* for study but no money for it, I have *no* vocation for study—that is, no *effective,* no *true* vocation. On the other hand, if I have really *no* vocation for study but have the will *and* the money for it, I have an *effective* vocation for it. *Money* as the external, universal *medium* and *faculty* (not springing from man as man or from human society as society) for turning an *image into reality* and *reality into a mere image,* transforms the *real essential powers of man and nature* into what are merely abstract notions and therefore *imperfections* and tormenting chimeras, just as it transforms *real imperfections and chimeras*—essential powers which are really impotent, which exist only in the imagination of the individual—into *real essential powers* and *faculties.* In the light of this characteristic alone, money is thus the general distorting of *individualities* which turns them into their opposite and confers contradictory attributes upon their attributes.

Money, then, appears as this *distorting* power both against the individual and against the bonds of society, etc., which claim to be

*entities* in themselves. It transforms fidelity into infidelity, love into hate, hate into love, virtue into vice, vice into virtue, servant into master, master into servant, idiocy into intelligence, and intelligence into idiocy.

Since money, as the existing and active concept of value, confounds and confuses all things, it is the general *confounding* and *confusing* of all things—the world upside-down—the confounding and confusing of all natural and human qualities.

He who can buy bravery is brave, though he be a coward. As money is not exchanged for any one specific quality, for any one specific thing, or for any particular human essential power, but for the entire objective world of man and nature, from the standpoint of its possessor it therefore serves to exchange every quality for every other, even contradictory, quality and object: it is the fraternisation of impossibilities. It makes contradictions embrace.

Assume *man* to be *man* and his relationship to the world to be a human one: then you can exchange love only for love, trust for trust, etc. If you want to enjoy art, you must be an artistically cultivated person; if you want to exercise influence over other people, you must be a person with a stimulating and encouraging effect on other people. Every one of your relations to man and to nature must be a *specific expression,* corresponding to the object of your will, of your *real individual* life. If you love without evoking love in return—that is, if your loving as loving does not produce reciprocal love; if through a *living expression* of yourself as a loving person you do not make yourself a *beloved one,* then your love is impotent—a misfortune. ||XLIII|

## [CRITIQUE OF THE HEGELIAN DIALECTIC AND PHILOSOPHY AS A WHOLE]

||XI| (6) This is perhaps the place at which, by way of explanation and justification, we might offer some considerations in regard to the Hegelian dialectic generally and especially its exposition in the *Phänomenologie* and *Logik,*[a] and also, lastly, the relation [to it] of the modern critical movement.[95]

So powerful was modern German criticism's preoccupation with the past—so completely was its development entangled with the

[a] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes* and *Wissenschaft der Logik.—Ed.*

subject-matter—that there prevailed a completely uncritical attitude to the method of criticising, together with a complete lack of awareness about the *apparently formal*, but really *vital* question: how do we now stand as regards the Hegelian *dialectic*? This lack of awareness about the relationship of modern criticism to the Hegelian philosophy as a whole and especially to the Hegelian dialectic has been so great that critics like *Strauss* and *Bruno Bauer* still remain within the confines of the Hegelian logic; the former completely so and the latter at least implicitly so in his *Synoptiker*[a] (where, in opposition to Strauss, he replaces the substance of "abstract nature" by the "self-consciousness" of abstract man), and even in *Das entdeckte Christenthum*. Thus in *Das entdeckte Christenthum*, for example, you get:

> "As though in positing the world, self-consciousness does not posit that which is different [from itself] and in what it is creating it does not create itself, since it in turn annuls the difference between what it has created and itself, since it itself has being only in creating[b] and in the movement—as though its purpose were not this movement?" etc.; or again: "They" (the French materialists) "have not yet been able to see that it is only as the movement of self-consciousness that the movement of the universe has actually come to be for itself, and achieved unity with itself." [Pp. 113, 114-15.]

Such expressions do not even show any verbal divergence from the Hegelian approach, but on the contrary repeat it word for word.

||XII| How little consciousness there was in relation to the Hegelian dialectic during the act of criticism (Bauer, the *Synoptiker*), and how little this consciousness came into being even after the act of material criticism, is proved by Bauer when, in his *Die gute Sache der Freiheit*, he dismisses the brash question put by Herr Gruppe—"What about logic now?"—by referring him to future critics.[96]

But even now—now that *Feuerbach* both in his "Thesen" in the *Anekdota*[c] and, in detail, in the *Philosophie der Zukunft* has in principle overthrown the old dialectic and philosophy; now that that school of criticism, on the other hand, which was incapable of accomplishing this, has all the same seen it accomplished and has proclaimed itself pure, resolute, absolute criticism that has come into the clear with itself; now that this criticism, in its spiritual

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[a] Bruno Bauer, *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker*.—*Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript: "in movement".—*Ed.*

[c] Ludwig Feuerbach, "Vorläufige Thesen zur Reformation der Philosophie" in *Anekdota zur neuesten deutschen Philosophie und Publicistik*.—*Ed.*

pride, has reduced the whole process of history to the relation between the rest of the world and itself (the rest of the world, in contrast to itself, falling under the category of the "masses") and dissolved all dogmatic antitheses into the *single* dogmatic antithesis of its own cleverness and the stupidity of the world—the antithesis of the critical Christ and Mankind, the "*rabble*"; now that daily and hourly it has demonstrated its own excellence against the dullness of the masses; now, finally, that it has proclaimed the critical *Last Judgment* in the shape of an announcement that the day is approaching when the whole of decadent humanity will assemble before it and be sorted by it into groups, each particular mob receiving its *testimonium paupertatis*[a]; now that it has made known in print[b] its superiority to human feelings as well as its superiority to the world, over which it sits enthroned in sublime solitude, only letting fall from time to time from its sarcastic lips the ringing laughter of the Olympian Gods—even now, after all these delightful antics of idealism (i. e., of Young Hegelianism) expiring in the guise of criticism—even now it has not expressed the suspicion that the time was ripe for a critical settling of accounts with the mother of Young Hegelianism—the Hegelian dialectic—and even had nothing to say about its critical attitude towards the Feuerbachian dialectic. This shows a completely uncritical attitude to itself.

*Feuerbach* is the only one who has a *serious, critical* attitude to the Hegelian dialectic and who has made genuine discoveries in this field. He is in fact the true conqueror of the old philosophy. The extent of his achievement, and the unpretentious simplicity with which he, Feuerbach, gives it to the world, stand in striking contrast to the opposite attitude [of the others].

Feuerbach's great achievement is:

(1) The proof that philosophy is nothing else but religion rendered into thought and expounded by thought, i. e., another form and manner of existence of the estrangement of the essence of man; hence equally to be condemned;

(2) The establishment of *true materialism* and of *real science,* by making the social relationship of "man to man" the basic principle of the theory;

(3) His opposing to the negation of the negation, which claims to be the absolute positive, the self-supporting positive, positively based on itself.

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[a] Certificate of poverty.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung.*—*Ed.*

Feuerbach explains the Hegelian dialectic (and thereby justifies starting out from the positive facts which we know by the senses) as follows:

Hegel sets out from the estrangement of substance (in logic, from the infinite, the abstractly universal)—from the absolute and fixed abstraction; which means, put in a popular way, that he sets out from religion and theology.

*Secondly,* he annuls the infinite, and posits the actual, sensuous, real, finite, particular (philosophy, annulment of religion and theology).

*Thirdly,* he again annuls the positive and restores the abstraction, the infinite—restoration of religion and theology.

Feuerbach thus conceives the negation of the negation *only* as a contradiction of philosophy with itself—as the philosophy which affirms theology (the transcendent, etc.) after having denied it, and which it therefore affirms in opposition to itself.

The positive position or self-affirmation and self-confirmation contained in the negation of the negation is taken to be a position which is not yet sure of itself, which is therefore burdened with its opposite, which is doubtful of itself and therefore in need of proof, and which, therefore, is not a position demonstrating itself by its existence—not an acknowledged ||XIII| position; hence it is directly and immediately confronted by the position of sense-certainty based on itself.*

But because Hegel has conceived the negation of the negation, from the point of view of the positive relation inherent in it, as the true and only positive, and from the point of view of the negative relation inherent in it as the only true act and spontaneous activity of all being, he has only found the *abstract, logical, speculative* expression for the movement of history, which is not yet the *real* history of man as a given subject, but only the *act of creation,* the *history of the origin* of man.

We shall explain both the abstract form of this process and the difference between this process as it is in Hegel in contrast to modern criticism, in contrast to the same process in Feuerbach's *Wesen des Christenthums,* or rather the *critical* form of this in Hegel still uncritical process.

Let us take a look at the Hegelian system. One must begin with Hegel's *Phänomenologie,* the true point of origin and the secret of the Hegelian philosophy.

* Feuerbach also defines the negation of the negation, the definite concept, as thinking surpassing itself in thinking and as thinking wanting to be directly awareness, nature, reality.—*Note by Marx.*[97]

*Phenomenology.*

A. *Self-consciousness.*

I. *Consciousness.*(α) Certainty at the level of sense-experience; or the "this" and "*meaning*". (β) *Perception,* or the thing with its properties, and *deception.* (γ) Force and understanding, appearance and the supersensible world.

II. *Self-consciousness.* The truth of certainty of self. (a) Independence and dependence of self-consciousness; lordship and bondage. (b) Freedom of self-consciousness. Stoicism, scepticism, the unhappy consciousness.

III. *Reason.* Reason's certainty and reason's truth. (a) Observation as a process of reason. Observation of nature and of self-consciousness. (b) Realisation of rational self-consciousness through its own activity. Pleasure and necessity. The law of the heart and the insanity of self-conceit. Virtue and the course of the world. (c) The individuality which is real in and for itself. The spiritual animal kingdom and the deception or the real fact. Reason as lawgiver. Reason which tests laws.

B. *Mind.*

I. *True* mind; ethics. II. Mind in self-estrangement, culture. III. Mind certain of itself, morality.

C. Religion. *Natural* religion; *religion of art*; *revealed* religion.

D. *Absolute Knowledge.*

Hegel's *Enzyklopädie,*[a] beginning as it does with logic, with *pure speculative thought,* and ending with *absolute knowledge*—with the self-conscious, self-comprehending philosophic or absolute (i. e., superhuman) abstract mind—is in its entirety nothing but the *display,* the self-objectification, of the *essence* of the philosophic mind, and the philosophic mind is nothing but the estranged mind of the world thinking within its self-estrangement—i. e., comprehending itself abstractly.

*Logic*—mind's *coin of the realm,* the speculative or *mental value* of man and nature—its essence which has grown totally indifferent to all real determinateness, and hence unreal—is *alienated thinking,* and therefore thinking which abstracts from nature and from real man: *abstract* thinking.

Then: *The externality of this abstract thinking ... nature,* as it is for this abstract thinking. Nature is external to it—its self-loss; and it apprehends nature also in an external fashion, as abstract thought, but as alienated abstract thinking. Finally, *mind,* this thinking

[a] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse.—Ed.*

returning home to its own point of origin—the thinking which as the anthropological, phenomenological, psychological, ethical, artistic and religious mind is not valid for itself, until ultimately it finds itself, and affirms itself, as *absolute* knowledge and hence absolute, i. e., abstract, mind, thus receiving its conscious embodiment in the mode of existence corresponding to it. For its real mode of existence is *abstraction.*

There is a double error in Hegel.

The first emerges most clearly in the *Phänomenologie,* the birth-place of the Hegelian philosophy. When, for instance, wealth, state power, etc., are understood by Hegel as entities estranged from the *human* being, this only happens in their form as thoughts.... They are thought-entities, and therefore merely an estrangement of *pure,* i. e., abstract, philosophical thinking. The whole process therefore ends with absolute knowledge. It is precisely abstract thought from which these objects are estranged and which they confront with their presumption of reality. The *philosopher*—who is himself an abstract form of estranged man—takes himself as the *criterion* of the estranged world. The whole *history of the alienation process* and the whole *process of the retraction* of the alienation is therefore nothing but the *history of the production* of abstract (i. e., absolute) ||XVII|[98] thought—of logical, speculative thought. The *estrangement,* which therefore forms the real interest of this alienation and of the transcendence of this alienation, is the opposition of *in itself* and *for itself,* of *consciousness and self-consciousness,* of *object and subject*—that is to say, it is the opposition between abstract thinking and sensuous reality or real sensuousness within thought itself. All other oppositions and movements of these oppositions are but the *semblance,* the *cloak,* the *exoteric* shape of these oppositions which alone matter, and which constitute the *meaning* of these other, profane oppositions. It is not the fact that the human being *objectifies himself inhumanly,* in opposition to himself, but the fact that he *objectifies himself* in *distinction* from and in *opposition* to abstract thinking, that constitutes the posited essence of the estrangement and the thing to be superseded.

||XVIII| The appropriation of man's essential powers, which have become objects—indeed, alien objects—is thus in the first place only an *appropriation* occurring in *consciousness,* in *pure thought,* i. e., in *abstraction*: it is the appropriation of these objects as *thoughts* and as *movements of thought.* Consequently, despite its thoroughly negative and critical appearance and despite the genuine criticism contained in it, which often anticipates far later

development, there is already latent in the *Phänomenologie* as a germ, a potentiality, a secret, the uncritical positivism and the equally uncritical idealism of Hegel's later works—that philosophic dissolution and restoration of the existing empirical world.

*In the second place*: the vindication of the objective world for man—for example, the realisation that *sensuous* consciousness is not an *abstractly* sensuous consciousness but a *humanly* sensuous consciousness, that religion, wealth, etc., are but the estranged world of *human* objectification, of *man's* essential powers put to work and that they are therefore but the *path* to the true *human* world—this appropriation or the insight into this process appears in Hegel therefore in this form, that *sense, religion,* state power, etc., are *spiritual* entities; for only *mind* is the *true* essence of man, and the true form of mind is thinking mind, the logical, speculative mind. The *human character* of nature and of the nature created by history—man's products—appears in the form that they are *products* of abstract mind and as such, therefore, phases of *mind—thought-entities.* The *Phänomenologie* is, therefore, a hidden, mystifying and still uncertain criticism; but inasmuch as it depicts man's *estrangement,* even though man appears only as mind, there lie concealed in it *all* the elements of criticism, already *prepared* and *elaborated* in a manner often rising far above the Hegelian standpoint. The "unhappy consciousness", the "honest consciousness", the struggle of the "noble and base consciousness", etc., etc.—these separate sections contain, but still in an estranged form, the *critical* elements of whole spheres such as religion, the state, civil life, etc. Just as *entities, objects,* appear as thought-entities, so the *subject* is always *consciousness* or *self-consciousness*; or rather the object appears only as *abstract* consciousness, man only as *self-consciousness*: the distinct forms of estrangement which make their appearance are, therefore, only various forms of consciousness and self-consciousness. Just as *in itself* abstract consciousness (the form in which the object is conceived) is merely a moment of distinction of self-consciousness, what appears as the result of the movement is the identity of self-consciousness with consciousness—absolute knowledge—the movement of abstract thought no longer directed outwards but proceeding now only within its own self: that is to say, the dialectic of pure thought is the result. |XVIII||

||XXIIII[99] The outstanding achievement of Hegel's *Phänomenologie* and of its final outcome, the dialectic of negativity as the moving and generating principle, is thus first that Hegel conceives the self-creation of man as a process, conceives objectifi-

cation as loss of the object, as alienation and as transcendence of this alienation; that he thus grasps the essence of *labour* and comprehends objective man—true, because real man—as the outcome of man's *own labour*. The *real, active* orientation of man to himself as a species-being, or his manifestation as a real species-being (i. e., as a human being), is only possible if he really brings out all his *species-powers*—something which in turn is only possible through the co-operative action of all of mankind, only as the result of history—and treats these powers as objects: and this, to begin with, is again only possible in the form of estrangement.

We shall now demonstrate in detail Hegel's one-sidedness and limitations as they are displayed in the final chapter of the *Phänomenologie*, "Absolute Knowledge"—a chapter which contains the condensed spirit of the *Phänomenologie*, the relationship of the *Phänomenologie* to speculative dialectic, and also Hegel's *consciousness* concerning both and their relationship to one another.

Let us provisionally say just this much in advance: Hegel's standpoint is that of modern political economy.[100] He grasps *labour* as the *essence* of man—as man's essence which stands the test: he sees only the positive, not the negative side of labour. Labour is *man's coming-to-be for himself* within *alienation*, or as *alienated* man. The only labour which Hegel knows and recognises is *abstractly mental* labour. Therefore, that which constitutes the *essence* of philosophy—the *alienation of man who knows himself*, or *alienated* science *thinking itself*—Hegel grasps as its essence; and in contradistinction to previous philosophy he is therefore able to combine its separate aspects, and to present his philosophy as *the* philosophy. What the other philosophers did—that they grasped separate phases of nature and of human life as phases of self-consciousness, namely, of abstract self-consciousness—is *known* to Hegel as the *doings* of philosophy. Hence his science is absolute.

Let us now turn to our subject.

*"Absolute Knowledge". The last chapter of the "Phänomenologie".*

The main point is that the *object of consciousness* is nothing else but *self-consciousness*, or that the object is only *objectified self-consciousness*—self-consciousness as object. (Positing of man=self-consciousness.)

The issue, therefore, is to surmount the *object of consciousness*. *Objectivity* as such is regarded as an *estranged* human relationship which does not correspond to the *essence of man*, to self-consciousness. The *reappropriation* of the objective essence of man, produced within the orbit of estrangement as something alien,

therefore denotes not only the annulment of *estrangement,* but of *objectivity* as well. Man, that is to say, is regarded as a *non-objective, spiritual* being.

The movement of *surmounting the object of consciousness* is now described by Hegel in the following way:

The *object* reveals itself not merely as *returning* into the *self*—this is according to Hegel the *one-sided* way of apprehending this movement, the grasping of only one side. Man is equated with self. The self, however, is only the *abstractly* conceived man—man created by abstraction. Man *is* selfish. His eye, his ear, etc., are *selfish.* In him every one of his essential powers has the quality of *selfhood.* But it is quite false to say on that account "*self-consciousness* has eyes, ears, essential powers". *Self-consciousness* is rather a quality of human nature, of the human eye, etc.; it is not human nature that is a quality of ||XXIV| *self-consciousness.*

The self-abstracted entity, fixed for itself, is man as *abstract egoist*—*egoism* raised in its pure abstraction to the level of thought. (We shall return to this point later.)

For Hegel the *human being*—*man*—equals *self-consciousness.* All estrangement of the human being is therefore *nothing* but *estrangement of self-consciousness.* The estrangement of self-consciousness is not regarded as an *expression*—reflected in the realm of knowledge and thought—of the *real* estrangement of the human being. Instead, the *actual* estrangement—that which appears real—is according to its *innermost,* hidden nature (which is only brought to light by philosophy) nothing but the *manifestation* of the estrangement of the real human essence, of *self-consciousness.* The science which comprehends this is therefore called *phenomenology.* All reappropriation of the estranged objective essence appears, therefore, as incorporation into self-consciousness: The man who takes hold of his essential being is *merely* the self-consciousness which takes hold of objective essences. Return of the object into the self is therefore the reappropriation of the object.

Expressed in *all its aspects,* the *surmounting of the object of consciousness* means:

(1) That the object as such presents itself to consciousness as something vanishing.

(2) That it is the alienation of self-consciousness which posits thinghood.[101]

(3) That this alienation has not merely a *negative* but a *positive* significance.

(4) That it has this meaning not merely *for us* or intrinsically, but *for self-consciousness itself.*

(5) *For self-consciousness,* the negative of the object, or its annulling of itself, has *positive* significance—or it *knows* this futility of the object—because of the fact that it alienates itself, for in this alienation it posits *itself* as object, or, for the sake of the indivisible unity of *being-for-self,* posits the object as itself.

(6) On the other hand, this contains likewise the other moment, that self-consciousness has also just as much superseded this alienation and objectivity and resumed them into itself, being thus *at home* in *its* other-being *as such.*

(7) This is the movement of consciousness and this is therefore the totality of its moments.

(8) Consciousness must similarly be related to the object in the totality of its determinations and have comprehended it in terms of each of them. This totality of its determinations makes the object *intrinsically a spiritual being*; and it becomes so in truth for consciousness through the apprehending of each one of the determinations as *self* or through what was called above the *spiritual* attitude to them.[102]

As to (1): That the object as such presents itself to consciousness as something vanishing—this is the above-mentioned *return of the object into the self.*

As to (2): The *alienation of self-consciousness* posits *thinghood.* Because man equals self-consciousness, his alienated, objective essence, or *thinghood,* equals *alienated self-consciousness,* and *thinghood* is thus posited through this alienation (thinghood being *that* which is an *object for man* and an object for him is really only that which is to him an essential object, therefore his *objective* essence. And since it is not *real man,* nor therefore *nature*—man being *human nature*—who as such is made the subject, but only the abstraction of man, self-consciousness, so thinghood cannot be anything but alienated self-consciousness). It is only to be expected that a living, natural being equipped and endowed with objective (i.e., material) essential powers should of his essence have *real natural objects*; and that his self-alienation should lead to the positing of a *real,* objective world, but within the framework of *externality,* and, therefore, an overwhelming world not belonging to his own essential being. There is nothing incomprehensible or mysterious in this. It would be mysterious, rather, if it were otherwise. But it is equally clear that a *self-consciousness* by its alienation can posit only *thinghood,* i.e., only an abstract thing, a thing of abstraction and not a *real* thing. It is ||XXVI|[103] clear, further, that thinghood is therefore utterly without any *independence,* any *essentiality* vis-à-vis self-consciousness; that on the contrary it is a mere creature—something *posited* by

self-consciousness. And what is posited, instead of confirming itself, is but confirmation of the act of positing which for a moment fixes its energy as the product, and gives it the *semblance*—but only for a moment—of an independent, real substance.

Whenever real, corporeal *man*, man with his feet firmly on the solid ground, man exhaling and inhaling all the forces of nature, *posits* his real, objective *essential powers* as alien objects by his externalisation, it is not the *act of positing* which is the subject in this process: it is the subjectivity of *objective* essential powers, whose action, therefore, must also be something *objective*. An objective being acts objectively, and he would not act objectively if the objective did not reside in the very nature of his being. He only creates or posits objects, because he is posited by objects—because at bottom he is *nature*. In the act of positing, therefore, this objective being does not fall from his state of "pure activity" into a *creating of* the *object*; on the contrary, his *objective* product only confirms his *objective* activity, his activity as the activity of an objective, natural being.

Here we see how consistent naturalism or humanism is distinct from both idealism and materialism, and constitutes at the same time the unifying truth of both. We see also how only naturalism is capable of comprehending the action of world history.

〈*Man* is directly a *natural being*. As a natural being and as a living natural being he is on the one hand endowed with *natural powers, vital powers*—he is an *active* natural being. These forces exist in him as tendencies and abilities—as *instincts*. On the other hand, as a natural, corporeal, sensuous, objective being he is a *suffering*, conditioned and limited creature, like animals and plants. That is to say, the *objects* of his instincts exist outside him, as *objects* independent of him; yet these objects are *objects* that he *needs*—essential *objects*, indispensable to the manifestation and confirmation of his essential powers. To say that man is a *corporeal*, living, real, sensuous, objective being full of natural vigour is to say that he has *real, sensuous objects* as the object of his being or of his life, or that he can only *express* his life in real, sensuous objects. *To be* objective, natural and sensuous, and at the same time to have object, nature and sense outside oneself, or oneself to be object, nature and sense for a third party, is one and the same thing.〉 *Hunger* is a natural *need*; it therefore needs a *nature* outside itself, an *object* outside itself, in order to satisfy itself, to be stilled. Hunger is an acknowledged need of my body for an *object* existing outside it, indispensable to its integration and to the expression of its essential being. The sun is the *object* of the plant—an indispensable object to it, confirming its life—just as the

plant is an object of the sun, being an *expression* of the life-awakening power of the sun, of the sun's *objective* essential power.

A being which does not have its nature outside itself is not a *natural* being, and plays no part in the system of nature. A being which has no object outside itself is not an objective being. A being which is not itself an object for some third being has no being for its *object*; i.e., it is not objectively related. Its being is not objective.

||XXVII| A non-objective being is a *non-being*.

Suppose a being which is neither an object itself, nor has an object. Such a being, in the first place, would be the *unique* being: there would exist no being outside it—it would exist solitary and alone. For as soon as there are objects outside me, as soon as I am not *alone*, I am *another—another reality* than the object outside me. For this third object I am thus a *different reality* than itself; that is, I am *its* object. Thus, to suppose a being which is not the object of another being is to presuppose that *no* objective being exists. As soon as I have an object, this object has me for an object. But a *non-objective* being is an unreal, non-sensuous thing—a product of mere thought (i.e., of mere imagination)—an abstraction. To be *sensuous*, that is, to be really existing, means to be an object of sense, to be a *sensuous* object, and thus to have sensuous objects outside oneself—objects of one's sensuousness. To be sensuous is to *suffer*.

Man as an objective, sensuous being is therefore a *suffering* being—and because he feels that he suffers, a *passionate* being. Passion is the essential power of man energetically bent on its object.

<But man is not merely a natural being: he is a *human* natural being. That is to say, he is a being for himself. Therefore he is a *species-being*, and has to confirm and manifest himself as such both in his being and in his knowing. Therefore, *human* objects are not natural objects as they immediately present themselves, and neither is *human sense* as it immediately *is*—as it is objectively—*human* sensibility, human objectivity. Neither nature objectively nor nature subjectively is directly given in a form adequate to the *human* being.> And as everything natural has to *come into being*, *man* too has his act of origin—*history*—which, however, is for him a known history, and hence as an act of origin it is a conscious self-transcending act of origin. History is the true natural history of man (on which more later).

Thirdly, because this positing of thinghood is itself only an illusion, an act contradicting the nature of pure activity, it has to be cancelled again and thinghood denied.

*Re 3, 4, 5 and 6.* (3) This externalisation of consciousness has not

merely a *negative* but a *positive* significance, and (4) it has this meaning not merely *for us* or intrinsically, but for consciousness itself. (5) *For consciousness* the negative of the object, its annulling of itself, has *positive* significance—i.e., consciousness *knows* this nullity of the object—because it alienates *itself*; for in this alienation it *knows* itself as object, or, for the sake of the indivisible unity of *being-for-itself*, the object as itself. (6) On the other hand, there is also this other moment in the process, that consciousness has also just as much superseded this alienation and objectivity and resumed them into itself, being thus *at home* in its *other-being as such*.

As we have already seen, the appropriation of what is estranged and objective, or the annulling of objectivity in the form of *estrangement* (which has to advance from indifferent strangeness to real, antagonistic estrangement), means likewise or even primarily for Hegel that it is *objectivity* which is to be annulled, because it is not the *determinate* character of the object, but rather its *objective* character that is offensive and constitutes estrangement for self-consciousness. The object is therefore something negative, self-annulling—a *nullity*. This nullity of the object has not only a negative but a *positive* meaning for consciousness, since this *nullity* of the object is precisely the *self-confirmation* of the non-objectivity, of the ||XXVIII| *abstraction* of itself. For *consciousness itself* the nullity of the object has a positive meaning because it *knows* this nullity, the objective being, as its *self-alienation*; because it knows that it exists only as a result of its own self-alienation....

The way in which consciousness is, and in which something is for it, is *knowing*. Knowing is its sole act. Something therefore comes to be for consciousness insofar as the latter *knows* this *something*. Knowing is its sole objective relation.

It [consciousness] then knows the nullity of the object (i.e., knows the non-existence of the distinction between the object and itself, the non-existence of the object for it) because it knows the object as its *self-alienation*; that is, it knows itself—knows knowing as object—because the object is only the *semblance* of an object, a piece of mystification, which in its essence, however, is nothing else but knowing itself, which has confronted itself with itself and hence has confronted itself with a *nullity*—a something which has *no* objectivity outside the knowing. Or: knowing knows that in relating itself to an object it is only *outside* itself—that it only externalises itself; that *it itself* only *appears* to itself as an object—or that that which appears to it as an object is only itself.

On the other hand, says Hegel, there is here at the same time this other moment, that consciousness has just as much annulled

and reabsorbed this externalisation and objectivity, being thus *at home* in its *other-being as such.*

In this discussion all the illusions of speculation are brought together.

*First of all*: consciousness, self-consciousness, is *at home* in *its other-being as such.* It is therefore—or if we here abstract from the Hegelian abstraction and put the self-consciousness of man instead of self-consciousness—it is *at home* in its *other-being as such.* This implies, for one thing, that consciousness (knowing as knowing, thinking as thinking) pretends to be directly the *other* of itself—to be the world of sense, the real world, life—thought surpassing itself in thought (Feuerbach).[104] This aspect is contained herein, inasmuch as consciousness as mere consciousness takes offence not at estranged objectivity, but at *objectivity as such.*

Secondly, this implies that self-conscious man, insofar as he has recognised and superseded the spiritual world (or his world's spiritual, general mode of being) as self-alienation, nevertheless again confirms it in this alienated shape and passes it off as his true mode of being—re-establishes it, and pretends to be *at home in his other-being as such.* Thus, for instance, after superseding religion, after recognising religion to be a product of self-alienation, he yet finds confirmation of himself in *religion as religion.* Here *is* the root of Hegel's *false* positivism, or of his merely *apparent* criticism: this is what Feuerbach designated as the positing, negating and re-establishing of religion or theology—but it has to be expressed in more general terms. Thus reason is at home in unreason as unreason. The man who has recognised that he is leading an alienated life in law, politics, etc., is leading his true human life in this alienated life as such. Self-affirmation, self-confirmation *in contradiction* with itself—in contradiction with both the knowledge and the essential being of the object—is thus true *knowledge* and *life.*

There can therefore no longer be any question about an act of accommodation on Hegel's part *vis-à-vis* religion, the state, etc., since this lie is the lie of his principle.

‖XXIX| If I *know* religion as *alienated* human self-consciousness, then what I know in it as religion is not my self-consciousness, but my alienated self-consciousness confirmed in it. I therefore know my self-consciousness that belongs to itself, to its very nature, confirmed not in *religion* but rather in *annihilated* and *superseded* religion.

In Hegel, therefore, the negation of the negation is not the confirmation of the true essence, effected precisely through

negation of the pseudo-essence. With him the negation of the negation is the confirmation of the pseudo-essence, or of the self-estranged essence in its denial; or it is the denial of this pseudo-essence as an objective being dwelling outside man and independent of him, and its transformation into the subject.

A peculiar role, therefore, is played by the act of *superseding* in which denial and preservation, i.e., affirmation, are bound together.

Thus, for example, in Hegel's philosophy of law, *civil law* superseded equals *morality*, morality superseded equals the *family*, the family superseded equals *civil society*, civil society superseded equals the *state*, the state superseded equals *world history*. In the *actual world* civil law, morality, the family, civil society, the state, etc., remain in existence, only they have become *moments*—modes of the existence and being of man—which have no validity in isolation, but dissolve and engender one another, etc. They have become *moments of motion*.

In their actual existence this *mobile* nature of theirs is hidden. It appears and is made manifest only in thought, in philosophy. Hence my true religious existence is my existence in the *philosophy of religion*; my true political existence is my existence in the *philosophy of law*; my true natural existence, existence in the *philosophy of nature*; my true artistic existence, existence in the *philosophy of art*; my true *human* existence, my *existence in philosophy*. Likewise the true existence of religion, the state, nature, art, is the *philosophy* of religion, of nature, of the state and of art. If, however, the philosophy of religion, etc., is for me the sole true existence of religion then, too, it is only as a *philosopher of religion* that I am truly religious, and so I deny *real* religious sentiment and the really *religious* man. But at the same time I *assert* them, in part within my own existence or within the alien existence which I oppose to them—for this *is* only their *philosophic* expression—and in part I assert them in their distinct original shape, since for me they represent merely the *apparent* other-being, allegories, forms of their own true existence (i.e., of my *philosophical* existence) hidden under sensuous disguises.

In just the same way, *quality* superseded equals *quantity*, quantity superseded equals *measure*, measure superseded equals *essence*, essence superseded equals *appearance*, appearance superseded equals *actuality*, actuality superseded equals the *concept*, the concept superseded equals *objectivity*, objectivity superseded equals the *absolute idea*, the absolute idea superseded equals *nature*, nature superseded equals *subjective* mind, subjective mind superseded

equals *ethical* objective mind, ethical mind superseded equals *art,* art superseded equals *religion,* religion superseded equals *absolute knowledge.*[105]

On the one hand, this act of superseding is a transcending of a conceptual entity; thus, private property *as a concept* is transcended in the *concept* of morality. And because thought imagines itself to be directly the other of itself, to be *sensuous reality*—and therefore takes its own action for *sensuous, real* action—this superseding in thought, which leaves its object in existence in the real world, believes that it has really overcome it. On the other hand, because the object has now become for it a moment of thought, thought takes it in its reality too to be self-confirmation of itself—of self-consciousness, of abstraction.

[|XXX| From the one point of view the entity which Hegel *supersedes* in philosophy is therefore not *real* religion, the *real* state, or *real* nature, but religion itself already as an object of knowledge, i.e., *dogmatics*; the same with *jurisprudence, political science* and *natural science.* From the one point of view, therefore, he stands in opposition both to the *real* thing and to immediate, unphilosophic *science* or the unphilosophic *conceptions* of this thing. He therefore contradicts their conventional conceptions.[a]

On the other hand, the religious, etc., man can find in Hegel his final confirmation.

It is now time to formulate the *positive* aspects of the Hegelian dialectic within the realm of estrangement.

(a) *Supersession* as an objective movement of *retracting* the alienation *into self.* This is the insight, expressed within the estrangement, concerning the *appropriation* of the objective essence through the supersession of its estrangement; it is the estranged insight into the *real objectification* of man, into the real appropriation of his objective essence through the annihilation of the *estranged* character of the objective world, through the supersession of the objective world in its estranged mode of being. In the same way atheism, being the supersession of God, is the advent of theoretical humanism, and communism, as the supersession of private property, is the vindication of real human life as man's possession and thus the advent of practical humanism, or atheism is humanism mediated with itself through the supersession of religion, whilst communism is humanism mediated with itself through the supersession of private property. Only through the supersession of this mediation—which is itself, however, a necessary

[a] The conventional conceptions of theology, jurisprudence, political science, natural science, etc.—*Ed.*

premise—does positively self-deriving humanism, *positive* humanism, come into being.

But atheism and communism are no flight, no abstraction, no loss of the objective world created by man—of man's essential powers born to the realm of objectivity; they are not a returning in poverty to unnatural, primitive simplicity. On the contrary, they are but the first real emergence, the actual realisation for man of man's essence and of his essence as something real.

Thus, by grasping the *positive* meaning of self-referred negation (although again in estranged fashion) Hegel grasps man's self-estrangement, the alienation of man's essence, man's loss of objectivity and his loss of realness as self-discovery, manifestation of his nature, objectification and realisation. ⟨In short, within the sphere of abstraction, Hegel conceives labour as man's act of *self-genesis*—conceives man's relation to himself as an alien being and the manifestation of himself as an alien being to be the emergence of *species-consciousness* and *species-life.*⟩

(b) However, apart from, or rather in consequence of, the reversal already described, this act appears in Hegel:

First as a *merely formal,* because abstract, act, because the human being itself is taken to be only an *abstract, thinking being,* conceived merely as self-consciousness. And,

Secondly, because the exposition is *formal* and *abstract,* the supersession of the alienation becomes a confirmation of the alienation; or for Hegel this movement of *self-genesis* and *self-objectification* in the form of *self-alienation and self-estrangement* is the *absolute,* and hence final, *expression of human life*—with itself as its aim, at peace with itself, and in unity with its essence.

This movement, in its abstract ||XXXI| form as dialectic, is therefore regarded as *truly human life,* and because it is nevertheless an abstraction—an estrangement of human life—it is regarded as a *divine process,* but as the divine process of man, a process traversed by man's abstract, pure, absolute essence that is distinct from himself.

*Thirdly,* this process must have a bearer, a subject. But the subject only comes into being as a result. This result—the subject knowing itself as absolute self-consciousness—is therefore *God, absolute Spirit, the self-knowing and self-manifesting idea.* Real man and real nature become mere predicates—symbols of this hidden, unreal man and of this unreal nature. Subject and predicate are therefore related to each other in absolute reversal—a *mystical subject-object* or a *subjectivity reaching beyond the object—absolute subject* as a *process,* as *subject alienating* itself and returning from alienation

into itself, but at the same time retracting this alienation into itself, and the subject as this process; a pure, *incessant* revolving within itself.

*First. Formal and abstract* conception of man's act of self-creation or self-objectification.

Hegel having posited man as equivalent to self-consciousness, the estranged object—the estranged essential reality of man—is nothing but *consciousness,* the thought of estrangement merely—estrangement's *abstract* and therefore empty and unreal expression, *negation.* The supersession of the alienation is therefore likewise nothing but an abstract, empty supersession of that empty abstraction—the *negation of the negation.* The rich, living, sensuous, concrete activity of self-objectification is therefore reduced to its mere abstraction, *absolute negativity*—an abstraction which is again fixed as such and considered as an independent activity—as sheer activity. Because this so-called negativity is nothing but the *abstract, empty* form of that real living act, its content can in consequence be merely a *formal* content produced by abstraction from all content. As a result therefore one gets general, abstract *forms of abstraction* pertaining to every content and on that account indifferent to, and, consequently, valid for, all content—the thought-forms or logical categories torn from *real* mind and from *real* nature. (We shall unfold the *logical* content of absolute negativity further on.)

Hegel's positive achievement here, in his speculative logic, is that the *definite concepts,* the universal *fixed thought-forms* in their independence *vis-à-vis* nature and mind are a necessary result of the general estrangement of the human being and therefore also of human thought, and that Hegel has therefore brought these together and presented them as moments of the abstraction-process. For example, superseded being is essence, superseded essence is concept, the concept superseded is ... absolute idea. But what, then, is the absolute idea? It supersedes its own self again, if it does not want to perform once more from the beginning the whole act of abstraction, and to satisfy itself with being a totality of abstractions or the self-comprehending abstraction. But abstraction comprehending itself as abstraction knows itself to be nothing: it must abandon itself—abandon abstraction—and so it arrives at an entity which is its exact opposite—at *nature.* Thus, the entire logic is the demonstration that abstract thought is nothing in itself; that the absolute idea is nothing for itself; that only *nature* is something.

||XXXII| The absolute idea, the abstract idea, which

"*considered* with regard to its unity with itself is *intuiting*" (Hegel, *Encyclopädie,*

3rd edition, p. 222 [§244]), and which (loc. cit.) "in its own absolute truth *resolves* to let the moment of its particularity or of initial characterisation and other-being, the *immediate idea*, as its reflection, *go forth* freely *from itself* as *nature*" (loc. cit.),

this whole idea which behaves in such a strange and bizarre way, and which has given the Hegelians such terrible headaches, is from beginning to end nothing else but *abstraction* (i.e., the abstract thinker), which, made wise by experience and enlightened concerning its truth, resolves under various (false and themselves still abstract) conditions to *abandon itself* and to replace its self-absorption (nothingness), generality and indeterminateness by its other-being, the particular, and the determinate; resolves to let *nature*, which it held hidden in itself only as an abstraction, as a thought-entity, *go forth freely from itself*: that is to say, this idea resolves to forsake abstraction and to have a look at nature *free* of abstraction. The abstract idea, which without mediation becomes *intuiting*, is indeed nothing else but abstract thinking that gives itself up and resolves on *intuition*. This entire transition from logic to natural philosophy is nothing else but the transition—so difficult to effect for the abstract thinker, who therefore describes it in such a far-fetched way—from *abstracting* to *intuiting*. The *mystical* feeling which drives the philosopher forward from abstract thinking to intuiting is *boredom*—the longing for a content.

(The man estranged from himself is also the thinker estranged from his *essence*—that is, from the natural and human essence. His thoughts are therefore fixed mental forms dwelling outside nature and man. Hegel has locked up all these fixed mental forms together in his logic, interpreting each of them first as negation—that is, as an *alienation* of *human* thought—and then as negation of the negation—that is, as a superseding of this alienation, as a *real* expression of human thought. But as this still takes place within the confines of the estrangement, this negation of the negation is in part the restoring of these fixed forms in their estrangement; in part a stopping at the last act—the act of self-reference in alienation—as the true mode of being of these fixed mental forms*; and in part, to the extent that this abstrac-

* (This means that what Hegel does is to put in place of these fixed abstractions the act of abstraction which revolves in its own circle. We must therefore give him the credit for having indicated the source of all these inappropriate concepts which originally appertained to particular philosophers; for having brought them together; and for having created the entire compass of abstraction as the object of criticism, instead of some specific abstraction.) (Why Hegel separates thought from the *subject* we shall see later; at this stage it is already clear, however, that when man is not, his characteristic expression cannot be human either, and so neither could thought be grasped as an expression of man as a human and natural subject endowed with eyes, ears, etc., and living in society, in the world, and in nature.)—*Note by Marx.*

tion apprehends itself and experiences an infinite weariness with itself, there makes its appearance in Hegel, in the form of the resolution to recognise *nature* as the essential being and to go over to intuition, the abandonment of abstract thought—the abandonment of thought revolving solely within the orbit of thought, of thought sans eyes, sans teeth, sans ears, sans everything.)

||XXXIII| But *nature* too, taken abstractly, for itself—nature fixed in isolation from man—is *nothing* for man. It goes without saying that the abstract thinker who has committed himself to intuiting, intuits nature abstractly. Just as nature lay enclosed in the thinker in the form of the absolute idea, in the form of a thought-entity—in a shape which was obscure and enigmatic even to him—so by letting it emerge from himself he has really let emerge only this *abstract nature*, only nature as a *thought-entity*—but now with the significance that it is the other-being of thought, that it is real, intuited nature—nature distinguished from abstract thought. Or, to talk in human language, the abstract thinker learns in his intuition of nature that the entities which he thought to create from nothing, from pure abstraction—the entities he believed he was producing in the divine dialectic as pure products of the labour of thought, for ever shuttling back and forth in itself and never looking outward into reality—are nothing else but *abstractions* from *characteristics of nature*. To him, therefore, the whole of nature merely repeats the logical abstractions in a sensuous, external form. He once more *resolves* nature into these abstractions. Thus, his intuition of nature is only the act of confirming his abstraction from the intuition of nature[a]—is only the conscious repetition by him of the process of creating his abstraction. Thus, for example, time equals negativity referred to itself (op. cit.,[b] p. 238). To the superseded becoming as being there corresponds, in natural form, superseded movement as matter. Light is *reflection-in-itself*, the *natural* form. Body as *moon* and *comet* is the *natural* form of the *antithesis* which according to logic is on the one side the *positive resting on itself* and on the other side the *negative* resting on itself. The earth is the *natural* form of the logical *ground*, as the negative unity of the antithesis, etc.

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[a] The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: "Let us consider for a moment Hegel's characteristics of nature and the transition from nature to the mind. Nature has resulted as the idea in the form of the other-being. Since the id [ea]...."—*Ed.*

[b] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*.—*Ed.*

*Nature as nature*—that is to say, insofar as it is still sensuously distinguished from that secret sense hidden within it—nature isolated, distinguished from these abstractions, is *nothing*—a *nothing proving itself to be nothing*—is *devoid of sense*, or has only the sense of being an externality which has to be annulled.

"In the finite-*teleological* position is to be found the correct premise that nature does not contain within itself the absolute purpose." P. 225 [§ 245].

Its purpose is the confirmation of abstraction.

"Nature has shown itself to be the idea in the *form of other-being*. Since the *idea* is in this form the negative of itself or *external to itself*, nature is not just relatively external *vis-à-vis* this idea, but *externality* constitutes the form in which it exists as nature." P. 277 [§ 247].

*Externality* here is not to be understood as the *world of sense* which *manifests* itself and is accessible to the light, to the man endowed with senses. It is to be taken here in the sense of alienation, of a mistake, a defect, which ought not to be. For what is true is still the idea. Nature is only the *form* of the idea's *other-being*. And since abstract thought is the *essence*, that which is external to it is by its essence something merely *external*. The abstract thinker recognises at the same time that *sensuousness—externality* in contrast to thought shuttling back and forth *within itself*—is the essence of nature. But he expresses this contrast in such a way as to make this *externality of nature*, its *contrast* to thought, its *defect*, so that inasmuch as it is distinguished from abstraction, nature is something defective. ||XXXIV| An entity which is defective not merely for me or in my eyes but in itself—intrinsically—has something outside itself which it lacks. That is, its essence is different from it itself. Nature has therefore to supersede itself for the abstract thinker, for it is already posited by him as a potentially *superseded* being.

"*For us*, mind has *nature* for its *premise*, being nature's *truth* and for that reason its *absolute prius*. In this truth nature *has vanished*, and mind has resulted as the idea arrived at being-for-itself, the *object* of which, as well as the *subject*, is the *concept*. This identity is *absolute negativity*, for whereas in nature the concept has its perfect external objectivity, this its alienation has been superseded, and in this alienation the concept has become identical with itself. But it is this identity, therefore, only in being a return out of nature." P. 392 [§ 381].

"As the *abstract* idea, *revelation* is unmediated transition to, the *coming-to-be* of, nature; as the revelation of the mind, which is free, it is the *positing* of nature as the *mind's* world—a positing which, being reflection, is at the same time a *presupposing* of the world as independently existing nature. Revelation in conception is the creation of nature as the mind's being, in which the mind procures the *affirmation* and the *truth* of its freedom". "*The absolute is mind*. This is the highest definition of the absolute." [P. 393, § 384.] |XXXIV||

# LETTERS

## October 1843-August 1844

# 1843

## 1
## TO LUDWIG FEUERBACH
### IN BRUCKBERG[106]

Kreuznach, October 3, 1843

Dear Sir,

A few months ago while passing through [Bruckberg], Dr. Ruge informed you of our plan to publish Franco-German *Jahrbücher* and asked at the same time for your collaboration. It has now been already settled that *Paris* is to be the place for printing and publication and that the first monthly number is to appear by the end of November.

Before I leave for Paris in a few days time I feel obliged to make a brief *epistolary* approach to you since I have not had the privilege of making your personal acquaintance.

You were one of the first writers who expressed the need for a Franco-German scientific alliance. You will, therefore, assuredly be one of the first to support an enterprise aimed at bringing such an alliance into being. For German and French articles are to be published *promiscue*[a] in the *Jahrbücher*. The best Paris writers have agreed to co-operate. Any contribution from you will be most welcome and there is probably something at your disposal that you have already written.

From your preface to the 2nd edition of *Das Wesen des Christenthums,* I am almost led to conclude that you are engaged on a fuller work on *Schelling* or that you have something about this windbag in mind.[107] Now that would be a marvellous beginning.

Schelling, as you know, is the 38th member of the [German] Confederation.[108] The entire German police is at his disposal as I myself once experienced when I was editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. That is, a censorship order can prevent anything against

[a] Mixed, alternately.— *Ed.*

the holy Schelling [...][a] from getting through. Hence it is almost impossible in Germany to attack Schelling except in books of over 21 sheets, and books of over 21 sheets are not books read by the people.[109] *Kapp's* book[b] is very commendable but it is too circumstantial and rather inaptly separates judgment from facts. Moreover, our governments have found a means of making such works ineffective. They must not be mentioned. They are ignored or the few official reviews dismiss them with a few contemptuous words. The great Schelling himself pretends he knows nothing about these attacks and he succeeded in diverting attention from Kapp's book by making a tremendous *fiscal* to-do about old Paulus' soup.[c][110] That was a diplomatic master stroke!

But just imagine Schelling exposed in Paris, before the French literary world! His vanity will not be able to restrain itself, this will wound the Prussian Government to the quick, it will be an attack on Schelling's sovereignty abroad, and a *vain* monarch sets much greater store by his *sovereignty abroad* than at home.

How cunningly Herr von Schelling enticed the French, first of all the weak, eclectic *Cousin,* then even the gifted *Leroux.* For Pierre Leroux and his like still regard Schelling as the man who replaced transcendental idealism by rational realism, abstract thought by thought with flesh and blood, specialised philosophy by world philosophy! To the French romantics and mystics he cries: "I, the union of philosophy and theology", to the French materialists: "I, the union of flesh and idea", to the French sceptics: "I, the destroyer of dogmatism", in a word, "I ... Schelling!"

Schelling has not only been able to unite philosophy and theology, but philosophy and diplomacy too. He has turned philosophy into a general diplomatic science, into a diplomacy for all occasions. Thus an attack on Schelling is indirectly an attack on our entire policy, and especially on Prussian policy. Schelling's philosophy is Prussian policy *sub specie philosophiae.*

You would therefore be doing a great service to our enterprise, but even more to truth, if you were to contribute a characterisation of Schelling to the very first issue. You are just the man for this because you are *Schelling in reverse.* The *sincere thought*—we may believe the best of our opponent—of the *young* Schelling for the realisation of which however he did not possess the necessary

[a] A word here is indecipherable.—*Ed.*

[b] [Ch. Kapp,] *Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling....*—*Ed.*

[c] H. E. G. Paulus, *Die endlich offenbar gewordene positive Philosophie der Offenbarung.*—*Ed.*

qualities except imagination, he had no energy but vanity, no driving force but opium, no organ but the irritability of a feminine perceptivity, this sincere thought of his youth, which in his case remained a fantastic youthful dream, has become truth, reality, manly seriousness in your case. Schelling is therefore an *anticipated caricature* of you, and as soon as reality confronts the caricature the latter must dissolve into thin air. I therefore regard you as the necessary, natural—that is, nominated by Their Majesties Nature and History—opponent of Schelling. Your struggle with him is the struggle of the imagination of philosophy with philosophy itself.

I confidently expect a contribution from you in the form you may find most convenient.[111] My address is: "Herr Mäurer. Rue Vanneau No. 23, Paris, for the attention of Dr. Marx." Although she does not know you, my wife sends greetings. You would not believe how many followers you have among the fair sex.

Yours very truly,

*Dr. Marx*

First published in part in: K. Grün, *Ludwig Feuerbach in seinem Briefwechsel und Nachlass, sowie in seiner Philosophischen Charakterentwicklung*, Bd. I, Leipzig und Heidelberg, 1874; in full in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, second Russ. ed., Vol. 27, 1962

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The full text is published in English for the first time

## 2

## TO JULIUS FRÖBEL[112]

IN ZURICH

Paris, November 21, 1843
rue Vanneau, No. 31, Faub. St. Germain

Dear Friend,

Your letter has just arrived, but with some very strange symptoms.

1) *Everything* which you say you enclosed is missing with the exception of *Engels' article.*[a] This, however, is all in pieces and is therefore useless. It begins with No. 5.

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[a] Frederick Engels, "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy" (see this volume, pp. 418-43).—*Ed.*

2) The letters for Mäurer and myself were wrapped up in the enclosed envelope which is post-marked St. Louis. The few pages of Engels' article were in the same wrapper.

3) Mäurer's letter, which, like mine, I found open in the enclosed envelope, is also superscribed in a strange hand. I enclose the page with the writing.

Hence there are only two possibilities.

Either the *French* Government opened and seized your letters and your packet. In which case return the enclosed addresses. We will then not only initiate *proceedings* against the *French Post-Office* but, at the same time, publicise this fact in all the opposition papers. In any event it would be better if you addressed all packets to a *French bookshop*. However, we do not believe that the French Government has perpetrated the kind of *infamy* which so far only the Austrian Government has permitted itself.

There thus remains the *second possibility,* that your *Bluntschli* and associates have played this police-spy trick. If this is so, then (1) You must bring proceedings against the Swiss and (2) Mäurer as a *French citizen* will protest to the Ministry.

As far as the business itself is concerned, it is now necessary:

α) To ask Schüller not to issue the aforesaid document for the time being, as this must be the principal ornament of our first number.[a]

β) Send the whole of the contents to Louis Blanc's address: No. 2 or 3, rue Taitbout.

γ) Ruge is not yet here. I cannot very well begin with the printing until he has arrived. I have had to reject the articles so far sent to me by the local people (Hess, Weill, etc.) after many protracted discussions. But Ruge is probably coming at the end of this month, and if at that time we also have the document you promised, we can begin with the printing. I have written to Feuerbach,[b] Kapp and Hagen. Feuerbach has already replied.[113]

δ) Holland seems to me to be the most suitable place providing that your police spies have not already been in direct touch with the government.

If your Swiss people have perpetrated the infamy I will not only attack them in the *Réforme,* the *National,* the *Démocratie pacifique,* the *Siècle, Courrier, La Presse, Charivari, Commerce* and the *Revue indépendante,* but in the *Times* as well, and, if you wish, in a pamphlet written in French.

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[a] Of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher.*— *Ed.*

[b] See previous letter.— *Ed.*

These pseudo-Republicans will have to learn that they are not dealing with young cowhands, or tailors' apprentices.

As to the *office* I will try to acquire one along with the new lodging into which I intend moving. This will be convenient from the business and financial viewpoint.

Please excuse this scraggy letter. I can't write for indignation.

Yours, *Marx*

In any case, whether the Paris doctrinaires or the Swiss peasant lads were responsible for the trick, we will get *Arago* and *Lamartine* to make an intervention in the Chamber. If these gentlemen want to make a scandal, *ut scandalum fiat.*[a] Reply quickly for the matter is pressing. Since Mäurer is a *French citizen*, the plot on the part of the Zurichers would be a violation of international law, with which the cowhands shall not get away.

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Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

[a] Scandal they shall have.— *Ed.*

# 1844

## 3
## TO LUDWIG FEUERBACH[114]
### IN BRUCKBERG

Paris, August 11 [1844]
rue Vanneau 38

Dear Sir,

Since I just have the opportunity, I take the liberty of sending you an article of mine in which some elements of my critical philosophy of law[a] are outlined. I had already finished it once but have since revised it in order to make it more generally comprehensible. I don't attribute any exceptional value to this essay but I am glad to have an opportunity of assuring you of the great respect and—if I may use the word—love, which I feel for you. Your *Philosophie der Zukunft,* and your *Wesen des Glaubens,* in spite of their small size, are certainly of greater weight than the whole of contemporary German literature put together.

In these writings you have provided—I don't know whether intentionally—a philosophical basis for socialism and the Communists have immediately understood them in this way. The unity of man with man, which is based on the real differences between men, the concept of the human species brought down from the heaven of abstraction to the real earth, what is this but the concept of *society*!

Two translations of your *Wesen des Christenthums,* one in English and one in French, are in preparation and almost ready for printing. The first will be published in Manchester (Engels has been supervising it) and the second in Paris[115] (the Frenchman Dr. Guerrier and the German Communist *Ewerbeck* have translated it with the help of a French literary expert).[b]

At present, the French will immediately pounce on the book, for

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[a] "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction" (see this volume, pp. 175-87).—*Ed.*

[b] This paragraph is in square brackets in the original.—*Ed.*

both parties—priests, and Voltairians and materialists—are looking about for help from outside. It is a remarkable phenomenon that, in contrast to the eighteenth century, religiosity has now passed to the middle and upper classes while on the other hand irreligiosity—but an irreligiosity of men regarding themselves as men—has descended to the French proletariat. You would have to attend one of the meetings of the French workers to appreciate the pure freshness, the nobility which burst forth from these toil-worn men. The English proletarian is also advancing with giant strides but he lacks the cultural background of the French. But I must not forget to emphasise the theoretical merits of the German artisans in Switzerland, London and Paris. The German artisan is still however too much of an artisan.

But in any case it is among these "barbarians" of our civilised society that history is preparing the practical element for the emancipation of mankind.

For me the difference between the French character and our German character was never demonstrated so sharply and convincingly as in a Fourierist work which begins with the following sentences:

"It is in his *passions* that *man* reveals himself completely." "Have you ever met a person who *thought in order to think,* who *remembered in order to remember,* who *imagined in order to imagine,* who *wished in order to wish?* Has this ever happened to you?... No, obviously not!"[a]

The main driving force of nature as of society is, therefore, the *magical,* the *passionate,* the non-*reflecting attraction* and

"everything which exists, man, plant, animal or planet, has received an amount of power corresponding to its mission in the system of the universe".[b]

From this there follows: "The *attractive powers* are proportional to the *destinies.*"[c]

Do not all these sentences give the impression that the Frenchman has deliberately set his passion against the pure activity of German thought? One does not think in order to think, etc.

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[a] "*L'homme* est tout entier dans ses *passions.*" "Avez-vous jamais rencontré un homme qui *pensât pour penser,* qui se *ressouvint pour se ressouvenir,* qui *imaginât pour imaginer?* qui *voulait pour vouloir?* cela vous est-il jamais arrivé à vous même? ... non, évidemment non!"

All French passages occurring in this letter are translated in the text and the French original given in footnotes. The quotations are taken from *Exposition de la science sociale, constituée par C. Fourier,* by E de Pompery, Paris, 1840, pp. 13 and 29.—*Ed.*

[b] "Tout être, homme, plante, animal ou globe a reçu une somme des forces en rapport avec sa mission dans l'ordre universel".—*Ed.*

[c] "Les *attractions* sont proportionnelles aux *destinées.*"—*Ed.*

In his critical Berlin *Literatur-Zeitung*,[a] *Bruno Bauer*, my friend of many years standing—but now rather estranged—has provided fresh proof of how difficult it is for Germans to extricate themselves from the contrary one-sidedness. I don't know if you have read the journal. It contains much covert polemic against you.

The character of the *Literatur-Zeitung* can be reduced to the following: "Criticism" is transformed into a transcendental being. These Berliners do not regard themselves as *men* who *criticise*, but as *critics* who, *incidentally*, have the misfortune of being men. They therefore acknowledge only one *real* need, the need of *theoretical* criticism. People like Proudhon are therefore accused of having made some *"practical" "need"* their point of departure. This criticism therefore lapses into a sad and supercilious intellectualism. *Consciousness* or *self-consciousness* is regarded as the *only* human quality. Love, for example, is rejected, because the loved one is only an *"object"*. Down with the object. This criticism thus regards itself as the only *active* element in history. It is confronted by the whole of humanity as a *mass*, an inert mass, which has value only as the antithesis of intellect. It is therefore regarded as the greatest crime if the critic displays *feeling* or *passion*, he must be an *ironical ice-cold* σοφός.[b]

Thus Bauer says literally:

> "The critic should participate neither in the sufferings nor in the joys of society; he should know neither friendship and love, nor hate and envy; he should be enthroned in a solitude, where only the laughter of the Olympian Gods over the topsy-turviness of the world resounds occasionally from his lips."[116]

The tone of Bauer's *Literatur-Zeitung* is therefore one of dispassionate *contempt* and he makes it all the easier for himself by flinging the results of your work and of our time as a whole at other people's heads. He only exposes contradictions and, satisfied with this occupation, he departs with a contemptuous "Hm". He declares that criticism does not *give* anything, it is far too spiritual for that. Indeed, he plainly expresses the hope:

> "the time is not distant when the whole of degenerate mankind will rally against criticism"—and *criticism* means *Bauer* and *company*—"they will then sort out this mass into different groups and distribute the *testimonium paupertatis* to all of them".

It seems that Bauer has fought against *Christ* out of *rivalry*. I am going to publish a small booklet attacking this aberration of criticism. It would be of the *greatest* value to me if *you* would let me know in

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[a] *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung.—Ed.*

[b] Sage.—*Ed.*

[c] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Holy Family*. See this edition, Vol. 4.—*Ed.*

advance *your* opinion, and in general some speedy sign of life from you would make me happy. The German artisans in Paris, i. e., the Communists amongst them, several hundreds, have been having lectures twice a week throughout this summer on your *Wesen des Christenthums* from their secret leaders,[a] and have been remarkably responsive. The short extract from the letter of a German lady which appeared in the feuilleton of *Vorwärts!* (No. 64)[b] without the knowledge of the writer, is taken from a letter of my wife, who is now visiting her mother[c] in Trier.

With best wishes for your well-being.

Yours,

*Karl Marx*

First published in the journal *Probleme des Friedens und des Sozialismus* No. 2, 1958

Printed according to the original

Translated from the German and French

[a] Of the League of the Just.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 580.—*Ed.*

[c] Karoline von Westphalen.—*Ed.*

# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

# FROM THE *MEMOIRES DE R. LEVASSEUR (DE LA SARTHE)*. Paris, 1829, etc. In 4 volumes

## Volume 1 [117]

[EXCERPTS]

"So what we today assume to have been the frenzy of a few excited maniacs, was the general feeling of a whole people and in a way its manner of life." P. 21.

"*Later one saw different opinions dividing the nation; but it was not like this in 1788*: all those in France who were not making a living out of abuses were united in a unanimous wish to destroy a rule of the sword; all those who were not devourers of the national wealth wished to see its management entrusted to the representatives of the people; all those who were not members of the privileged castes wished to see the law applied equally to all and to make all citizens liable to the same burdens." P. 27.

"The Constitution was revised" (after the King's flight) "in a less popular way than it had been originally drawn up; the changes made were not very important but they sufficed to make the Assembly lose all its popularity and the Constitution its most desirable sanction, that of the nation." P. 32.

"The session of the Legislative Assembly was nothing but a barely concealed war of the popular power against the royal authority. A war in which each of the two contenders used the Constitution in turn either as a sword or as a shield. An implacable war in which the Constitution, ceaselessly invoked by both sides, was for both sides only an empty word in which nobody believed. For the rest, this impotent Assembly, wrapped by the Constitution in swaddling-clothes, was unable to *do anything useful*... consequently the numerous events which happened *during its lifetime did not originate from this body*. Constitutionally speaking, or according to the limits of their legal powers, the court and the Assembly *could do nothing, and they did nothing*. These two great colossi regarded one another in silence and demanded of *secret conspiracies* what they could not expect from the law." Pp. 37, 38.

"Neither the one nor the other" (party) "was honest.... Hence the crisis in which France had been left by the Constituent Assembly could only be solved in one of two ways: the toppling of the throne or the return to the old regime. Thus for each of the two parties it was a question of their very existence." P. 38.

"This great epoch of 1791 to 1792 which decided France's destiny was not marked by outstanding parliamentary struggles. It was between the *people* and the *rulers* that the battle continued to be waged. June 20, Pétion's triumph on July 14, and the movements which marked the entry of the volunteers from Marseilles into Paris, these events led to important results [118] without the Assembly playing the least part in them.

The deputies acted as *conspirators* and not as *deputies*. Even the declaration of war, the major event of this period, was decided by the Jacobins."[119] P. 39.

*La Fayette.*[120] P. 40.

*August 10.*[121] P. 41.

"The *insurrection,* which had *replaced all existing authorities* on August 10, continued ... it was an active force and it crushed the enemies of liberty. P. 43.

"The only force which existed in France during the interregnum which began on August 10[122] was the popular élan, insurrection, anarchy.... The only means of salvation still remaining was, therefore, to make use of the resources offered by anarchy and to direct against our enemies the brutal force which it aroused." Pp. 43, 44.

"The decrees which it" (the Legislative Assembly) "issued had not the slightest authority. The Ministry, product of an impotent Assembly, was not itself a real power.... The government therefore passed into the hands of those who knew how to separate themselves from it, that is, to the *popular societies* and the *municipalities.* But these improvised centres of government, *products of anarchy itself* and having no basis in law or in the Constitution, were simply the leaders of the people, powerful as long as they restricted themselves to directing the line of march of the people and giving effect to its wishes; they would not have been able to enforce obedience had they come into conflict with the people and wished to impose on it the *rule of law.*" Pp. 44, 45.

"It is the *Gironde* which has separated itself from us. It is Buzot who left the place he had occupied in the Constituent Assembly; it is Vergniaud who abandoned the seat he had recently occupied in the Legislative Assembly" (i.e., on the left). P. 49. "We were far from seeking *divisions*.... Pétion was nominated President [of the Convention] almost unanimously; the other members of the committee[123] were chosen from amongst the most influential deputies of the previous Assembly[a]" P. 49.

The new deputies (belonging to the Mountain) knew nothing of the internal split. P. 50.

"Thus when we met, the new deputies ... who formed the great majority in the Mountain, did not even know that there were two camps and that the Republicans were not all inspired by the same sentiments and the same aspirations." P. 51.

"The *Centre* was made up of all those who have the constant habit of declaring themselves in favour of the winning side and who, before they show their colours, look for ways of not compromising themselves and without incurring any risk await further developments. This kind of deputy, who first concealed himself in the Centre, later became an ardent Montagnard and then an even more ardent reactionary. There were also ... men of talent: *Barère* ... Sieyès, Dulaure ... Boissy d'Anglas." P. 52.

"The only party which came to the Convention with a complete system and a previously worked-out plan took their place on the seats on the right." (The Girondists.) P. 52. "By swarming on to the seats opposite ours, they declared war on us, before they even knew us." P. 53.

The main speakers for the Girondists [were] lawyers from the Bordeaux Bar; the Girondists [were] all-powerful in the Legislative Assembly where they [had] controlled the majority; they also dominated the Jacobin Club, that is, public opinion; at the time of the insurrection of August 10 [they] believed they had France in their

[a] i.e., the Legislative Assembly.— *Ed.*

hands; when the National Convention was convoked they concluded therefore that no majority independent of them could come about. But the forty-two-day interregnum changed the position. The energy which the Legislative Assembly, that is, the Girondists, had displayed in the struggle with the Crown vanished after August 10. "Feeble and irresolute as soon as the helm of the state was indisputably in their hands" ... [In their] speeches, declamations, they divorced themselves from public opinion without being able to prevent disorder, "merely depriving themselves of the means available to them for controlling the torrent. The Jacobin Club then became the thermometer of public opinion. It very rarely happened that the majority of Frenchmen opposed its decisions". For a long time the word of the Girondists had been law in the Jacobin Club; even before the end of the Constituent Assembly they expelled the Lameths and drove the Constitutionals "into the unpopular precincts of the Feuillants".[124] After August 10 they were superseded and went into opposition to the Jacobins. The Provisional Council of Ministers, entrusted with executive power by the Gironde on August 10, was powerless "since the party on which it depended had made itself unpopular", "executive power was in fact exercised by the Communes, especially by the *Commune of Paris*, composed of men of vigour and beloved of the people. *The elections* in the capital took place under the influence of the Commune whose leading members were elected". Pp. 53, 54. Hence the hostile attitude of the Girondists. "On their arrival in Paris all the deputies who were known to have energy and patriotism were admitted to the Jacobin Club in which the Commune had great influence. These deputies sat on the left-hand side, which was sufficient to make the men of the Gironde take their seats on the right. The Jacobins, having spurned their authority, had become their enemies", and also those deputies who sat on the side of the Commune and the deputies of Paris. P. 55.

"Thus at the *beginning* of the session, the Convention was not divided into parties.... But there arose in its midst an ambitious clique which wished to impose its opinions on the assembly and prepared to fight to avenge the wounds which its self-conceit had suffered and to satisfy its particular resentments." P. 55

## *Danton*, pp. 56, 57. *Robespierre, Marat*, pp. 57, 58.[125]

"The majority of the party of the Gironde were by no means traitors but some were concealed in its ranks. No, it did not desire the ruin of the Republic, but its theories led in that direction." P. 59. The Girondists were the aggressors, the Montagnards were at first on the defensive. ibid.

On September 21. 1792, the session of the Convention begins. The President is *Pétion*.

## *Danton*, pp. 60, 61, 62.[a]

The first two decrees passed by the assembly had been proposed by *Danton:* 1) "No Constitution without the approval of the people."[b] 2) "Safety of persons and property to be protected by the nation." Unanimous adoption of *Grégoire's* motion: 3) Abolition of the monarchy.

## The *Girondists* begin the struggle. P. 63.

"On *September 24, Kersaint*, speaking of the dangers facing the Convention in the capital, proposes to surround it [the Convention] with a force drawn from the Departments. P. 63. The Girondists are against the Commune, which has been

[a] This refers to a speech of Danton (see this volume, p. 368).— *Ed*

[b] This sentence is in German in the manuscripts.— *Ed.*

effacing them since August 10, as well as against Danton, who dominated the Executive Council. [P. 64.] Before the convocation of the Convention the [members of the] deputation of Paris had nearly all been part of the Commune of August 10. P. 63.

Hence the wrath of the Girondists "against that redoubtable Commune and particularly against the deputation of Paris". Pp. 63, 64.

Thus one sees: the Girondists wanted to avenge themselves for their defeat and insignificance during the interregnum beginning on August 10.

*Joseph Egalité [Duke of] Orléans* and *Jean Paul Marat.* Pp. 64, 65.[a]

"Such a man" (Marat) "would never have exercised the least influence if the Girondists had not increased his importance by attacking in his person the very principle of energy and provided him with the opportunity at least to display the calmness, the consistency, *sang-froid* and contempt for insults characteristic of real conviction and devotion." P. 65.

*September 24.* Concealed attack on the Commune and on a number of Paris deputies "for seeking to organise a dictatorship".

*September 25.* Barbaroux and Rebecqui accuse Robespierre.[b] *Danton* pleads for harmony. Pp. 66, 67. The Girondists continue with their denunciations. Vergniaud against Marat. P. 67.

*Marat,* pp. 68, 69.[126]

The dissensions continue every day: "the differences between the Ministers Roland and Danton, the offences ascribed to the Commune of Paris, Marat's posters, were the pretexts for these useless struggles". P. 69. Victory seemed almost always to go to the Girondists. P. 70. The majority are as yet not firmly organised and vacillate undecidedly. "Thus for a long time a large number of firm Republicans voted with the Right—they included Philippeaux, Cambon, Cambacérès, etc." P. 70.[c]

*September 29.* Roland, elected deputy of the Somme Department, announces to the Convention his intention of resigning his position as Minister of the Interior. *Buzot* demands "that the Minister be invited to remain at his post; all the Girondists support him". Philippeaux proposes "to ask Danton to support this invitation". Danton is against this: "the only possible way in which Roland can be retained in his post is to pronounce his election invalid".

Struggle, Roland's letter, etc. Pp. 70, 71[c].

Decree dissolving the Commune of Paris. Pp. 73, 74, 75.[d]

"The mutual accusations were repeated each day with renewed fury. The Right always began the attack, basing itself on facts that occurred prior to the meeting of the Convention, constantly exploiting the kind of repugnance which *Marat* aroused in the assembly as a whole in order to incriminate the entire Mountain." P. 78, cf. p. 79. "... inter-party strife in the course of which the elected representatives of the people wasted precious time and consumed energies which they ought to have directed entirely against the enemies of France." P. 79.

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[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 368-69.—*Ed.*
[b] Cf. this volume, p. 369.—*Ed.*
[c] Cf. this volume, p. 369.—*Ed.*
[d] Cf. this volume, p. 369.—*Ed.*

*October 29. Roland's, Louvet's* accusation against Robespierre. P. 80 sqq.

"... he" (*Louvet*) "and *Barbaroux* were, quite undoubtedly, the only *men of action* in their party". P. 81.

"*The long-winded and garrulous eloquence* of the latter" (Robespierre). P. 82.[127]

"The committees of the Convention and the Convention itself dealt with all the branches of administration and performed through decrees numerous and frequent acts of executive authority. On the other hand, the municipalities had also taken over a large section of the administration. Civil power, military power, even judicial power, nothing was properly organised.... As soon as, for any reason whatsoever, a gathering of citizens was called upon to deal with a matter of public concern, it would at the same time interfere in matters quite unconnected with the task it had been given.... If there existed an infinity of *powers in practice*, a single collective entity, the *Convention, legally united in itself all the authority of the social body*, and it frequently used it: it acted as the *legislative authority* through its decrees, as the administration through its committees, and besides it exercised judicial power through the manner in which it extended the right of indictment." P. 85.

"As a transitional state between the monarchy which had been destroyed and the Republic which was being organised, as a weapon of war against the aristocracy, the emigration and foreign invaders, this concentration of all powers was a happy symptom and, I would say, even indispensable." P. 86.

"It is they" (*the Girondists*) "who demanded bills of indictment against their colleagues; it is they who in handing over Marat to the Revolutionary Tribunal violated the immunity of the elected representatives of the people." P. 87.[a]

*December 16. Buzot's* motion for the expulsion of [the Duke of] Orléans and his sons; Buzot was supported by Louvet and Lanjuinais.[128]

*Roland's intrigues.* Pp. 88, 89.[b]

"In spite of their prejudices against us, *Louvet, Roland, Guadet, Pétion, Gensonné* were true and sincere Republicans." P. 90.

About the Girondists, pp. 90, 91.[129]

"The dissensions which hampered the deliberations of the National Convention soon manifested themselves in the *Executive Council*. When Servan was compelled to relinquish the Ministry of War on account of ill health, the Convention, on Roland's suggestion, unhesitatingly appointed citizen Pache, then working in the Ministry of the Interior, to take his place. The new Minister did not share the aversions and the views of his patron." P. 91.

"During these interminable quarrels, the *committees* of the Convention were not as inactive as the Convention itself. The Committee of National Defence, under the influence of *Carnot*, assisted our armies and paved the way for our victories; the Committee of Accounts, for which *Cambon* was the regular reporter, created resources with the aid of the paper money, which under the name of assignats was so greatly and so frequently devalued, and by the sale of national property." Pp. 92, 93.

"By the end of January 1793 ... the Montagnards had abandoned the defensive which they had maintained perhaps too long and gone over in their turn to the attack on the Gironde." P. 100.

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[a] Cf. this volume, p. 373.— *Ed.*

[b] Cf. this volume, p. 370-371.— *Ed.*

After the death of Michel de Le Peletier Saint-Fargeau ... "the Girondists ceased to have an assured majority". P. 101.

*Danton*, p. 143 sqq.[a]

## THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE MONTAGNARDS AND THE GIRONDISTS

An interregnum begins on *August 10*, 1792. Impotence of the Legislative Assembly, impotence of the Ministry to which it had given rise. Government passes over to the *public meetings* and *municipalities*; improvised centres of government, products of anarchy, they were bound to be the expression of the popular movement, for their power was only the power of popular opinion (pp. 44, 45). From now on division amongst those with influence.

One party wishes to re-establish the order disrupted by August 10 and to ensure the implementation of the existing laws. The principal members of the Ministry and of the Legislative Assembly are the leaders of this party.

The other party sees in anarchy the only mobile d'action[b], in the enthusiasm which it produces the substitute for a ready-made organisation, the only power of resistance externally and internally. These men are the masters of the Commune of Paris and of nearly all other municipalities in France, they possess one voice (Danton) in the Ministry (pp. 45, 46).

The *Girondists* (the first party) do not oppose any effective means to the popular movement. Their theories are limited in practice to speeches and declamations, which make their unpopularity almost universal without having the slightest effect on developments.

"During this period, the Commune of Paris drives the citizens towards the frontiers; the alarm guns, thundering away hour after hour, proclaim the public danger; all citizens enrol in the sections in order to march against the enemy."

During this period occur the *September days*.[130]

Had they been quelled, all public life would have been extinguished (pp. 46, 47).

The provinces detest the September murders but they are grateful to the men who are maintaining the *insurrectionary fever* in order to fill the army camps with citizen soldiers.

The Girondists are despised; lacking the courage to drive the citizens against the foreign troops, they do not even know how to organise an energetic resistance to the crimes which they denounce and which they use as a means of recrimination against their vigorous enemy.

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[a] Cf. this volume, p. 373-74.—*Ed.*

[b] Driving force.—*Ed.*

The elections took place during this stormy period.

When the Convention opened, Paris was still in the grip of the insurrectionary movement and the Commune was all-powerful.

*The Girondists were the first to separate themselves from the Montagnards.* The almost unanimous election of *Pétion* as President of the Convention shows how little the newly-arrived men of the Mountain were looking for divisions; the other members of the committee were likewise elected from amongst the most influential members of the previous Assembly.[a] Almost all the newly-arrived deputies knew nothing of the inner dissensions. Robespierre and Pétion, Danton and Guadet equally enjoyed their respect.

The only party which came to the assembly with a complete system and a previously worked-out plan (the Girondists), took their place on the right-hand side. By leaving their former seats (on the left) and rushing *en masse* to the right-hand side, they declared war on the newly-arrived Republicans who surged on to the left as the traditional side of patriotism.

The Girondists had controlled the majority in the *assemblée legislative* as well as in the Jacobin Club. They thought they had France in their hands at the time of August 10. In summoning the National Convention they never suspected for a moment that a majority independent of them could arise. But the forty-two-day interregnum altered the state of affairs and the character of the elections.

"The Legislative Assembly, that is, the Girondists, had displayed some energy in the struggle against the Court. They showed themselves to be weak and irresolute as soon as they obtained undisputed control of the state. They did not know how to restrain the current unleashed by August 10; they were inept enough to oppose it with declamations. They isolated themselves from public opinion without being able to prevent any disorder whatsoever. They only deprived themselves of the means they had to direct events. The *Jacobin Club* was the thermometer of public opinion at that time. [...] The word of the Gironde had been law there for a long time. Even before the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly they had dethroned the Lameths and driven the Constitutionals into the unpopular precincts of the Feuillants. After August 10, they allowed themselves in their turn to be superseded: they lost their popularity, nearly all of them left a society whose merits they had loudly proclaimed as long as it applauded their views but which they regarded as nothing more than a den of rebels as soon as it thought differently than they did.

"The Gironde had, moreover, on August 10 vested executive power in a Provisional Council of Ministers. Without any support in the nation, this Council was powerless as soon as the party to which it belonged became unpopular. The executive power was in fact exercised by the Communes, and especially by the Commune of Paris, composed of vigorous men of the people. The elections in the capital took place under the influence of the Commune. Its leading members were elected [to the Convention]."

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[a] i.e., the Legislative Assembly.— *Ed.*

Hence the hostile attitude of the Girondists from the very first moments of the Convention.

"All new deputies who were known to have energy or patriotism, were admitted on their arrival to the Jacobin Club, in which the Commune had great influence. These deputies took their seats on the left side. This sufficed to drive the Girondists to the right. The Jacobins [...] had become their enemies [...]; they called their new opponents Jacobins. [...] Originally only enemies of the Commune and of the deputation of Paris, they extended their hatred to include all who sat on the side used by the Jacobins and who were ardent Republicans. Thus at the beginning of the session, the Convention was not divided; a solid mass of Republicans united by a common feeling, in other respects however differing on many points. But an ambitious clique arose in its midst, which wished to impose its opinions on the assembly and prepared to fight to avenge the wounds which its self-conceit had suffered and to satisfy its private resentments."

The majority of the Girondists were not traitors, but there were traitors in their ranks; the ruin of the Republic was not their aim but the consequence of their theories; the few Royalists in the Convention therefore joined forces with them. They were the attackers; the Mountain was on the defensive for a long time; the Girondists were unable to sacrifice their egotism for the public cause (pp. 47-59).

On *September 21*, 1792, opening of the Convention. *Pétion* President. *Danton* resigns his post as Minister of Justice. A conciliatory speech. No Constitution could exist unless it was accepted by a majority of the primary meetings. A declaration regarding security of property ought to be decreed. Both Danton's proposals became decrees (the first decrees promulgated by the Convention). In his speech Danton declared that the popular agitation was temporarily necessary; now, however, the constituted power of the Convention should replace it, excesses should be abandoned.

Unanimous abolition of the monarchy on Grégoire's motion.

The first session of the Convention shows the desire of the Mountain for general reconciliation in the interests of order and of freedom. The Girondists immediately demonstrate their urge to take revenge.

On *September 24, Kersaint,* speaking of the dangers in the capital, proposes to surround it [the Convention] with *force recruited from the Departments.* This is the first declaration of war by the Girondists who are full of anger against the deputation of Paris because the Girondists who had been members of the Legislative Assembly were annihilated as a result of the activities of the Commune and because of Danton's domination in the Executive Council.

*Jean Paul Marat* and *Joseph Egalité* in particular gave the Girondists the opportunity of making spiteful charges against the

Mountain, charges of blood-thirstiness and anarchy on the one side and of ambition and Royalism on the other.

*September 24.* Indirect accusations that the Commune of Paris is striving for a dictatorship.

*September 25*: *Rebecqui and Barbaroux* name Robespierre as the candidate of the dictatorship. Danton again preaches concord and defends the Commune: an extra-legal power had been necessary under the weak leadership of the *assemblée legislative,* now there should be a return to order. Girondists do not pay attention to Danton's admonitions; they keep returning to the past in order to seek continual grounds for recrimination.

Vergniaud and Boileau attack Marat. Marat's courageous reply. The assembly turns to the business of the day. But the hostilities already initiated are continued.

"While [the Assembly] waited for a decisive act and a split between Roland and Danton, the alleged outrages by the Commune of Paris and Marat's posters served as pretexts for these useless conflicts. Victory seemed almost always to favour the side of the Girondists. The majority was not yet organised during these first conflicts, swaying uncertainly this way and that. For a considerable time many firm Republicans, e. g., *Philippeaux, Cambon, Cambacérès,* voted with the Right.

*September 29*: Roland, elected deputy of the Somme Department, informs the Assembly that he would relinquish his position as Minister of the Interior. Those on the right express their regrets. Buzot proposes to request Roland to remain at his post, Philippeaux would like Danton to support this request; Danton opposes; an invitation is below the dignity of the Convention; the only way to keep Roland at his post is to declare his election null and void. The Girondists insist on an invitation. Valazé declares that Roland's name is holy to him. Louvet, Barbaroux overwhelm him with praise. This time the men of the Centre, Barère, Lacroix, Tureau,[a] who often provided the Right with a majority without actually belonging to them, are against Buzot's proposal.

*September 30*: Roland writes a letter to the Convention in which he states that he wants to remain Minister, he praises himself a great deal in this letter, lectures his opponents, accuses Danton indirectly; all these reproaches against Danton and the Commune refer to facts which occurred prior to the meeting of the Convention; evidence of the hatred of a vanquished party for the victors.

Each day the Right persecutes the Commune, which is defended by the deputies of Paris. Finally this revolutionary authority is ordered to dissolve; it is requested to give an account of itself. New source of strife emerges. The *comité de surveillance* of the Commune gives notice to the Convention of the seizure of important papers

[a] This is evidently a misprint, it refers to Thuriot.—*Ed.*

which will throw light on the treacheries of the Court, in which several deputies will find themselves compromised. It asks that it should not be compelled to part with these documents and to be allowed to continue to function until a favourable moment for their use. [...] The Girondists regard this as an open wish on the part of the Commune to perpetuate its functions; the Montagnards see in their opponents people interested in stifling the truth. The discussion confirms each party in its prejudices. [...] The documents are finally handed over to a commission of 25 representatives, which comprises no members either of the Commune and the deputation of Paris, or of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies.

Nothing emerges either against the Commune or against the Gironde. Even the report of *Joseph Delaunay* (a Girondist deputy) comes out, in the main, in favour of the Commune.

"The mutual accusations are repeated daily with renewed fury, the Right always initiating the attack, basing themselves on facts which occurred before the convocation of the Convention. [...] Freedom of opinion is always misconstrued when a representative of the Left wishes to speak; Robespierre was driven from the rostrum by uproar and insults."

Marat was only able to make his reply by dint of perseverance.

Up to now the Right has always had a majority; the Mountain votes with it whenever questions of principle, establishment of order, implementation of laws, etc., are involved.

In his reports to the Convention, Roland constantly repeats that the crimes of the interregnum still have to be punished, and introduces indirect accusations against Robespierre and Danton, and also against the deputation of Paris.

Roland is furious because Danton's supremacy in the Council has crushed him.

On *October 29* Roland makes a report to the Convention in which Robespierre is again accused. While on the rostrum seeking to defend himself, Robespierre is interrupted by the clamour of the Girondists and by constant interjections by President *Guadet.*

*Louvet*'s attack on Robespierre.

*November 5.*[a] Robespierre's reply.

"Return to the order of the day demanded on all sides, even Vergniaud, Guadet and Pétion support this. Only Salles, Barbaroux, Lanjuinais, Lariviére stand by Louvet [...]. The return to the agenda is adopted almost unanimously. Barbaroux still demands the floor in order to support the accusations [...] and then goes down to the bar and wants to speak as plaintiff and even as the accused. This unseemly scene is prolonged and, as usual, ends without the assembly having made any decisions whatsoever" (pp. 60-83).

*December 16.* Thuriot brings about the proclamation of the unity and indivisibility of the Republic. *Buzot* proposes a motion for the expulsion of the Duke of Orléans and his sons and is supported by Louvet and Lanjuinais. In this way the Girondists make the first attempt to decimate the National Assembly. Incidentally, the

[a] Marx has: "November 6", apparently a slip of the pen.—*Ed.*

Girondists are on friendly terms with Orléan's creatures—Dumouriez, Sillery, Biron, Valence.

The Ministers showed open bias in favour of the Girondists.

"When Louvet accused Robespierre, the Convention ordered the printing of both the indictment and the defence. Roland had Louvet's speech distributed in large quantities with the words: *Imprimé par ordre de la Convention,*[a] and restricted the distribution of Robespierre's speech to members of the Convention. Thus the impression was to be produced among the public that a kind of censure had been pronounced on Robespierre. A similar knavish trick was repeated over the decree concerning the banishment of the Bourbons. Before the reading of the minutes, which signified its adoption, i.e., before the final wording had been approved by majority decision as was the rule, its printing was speeded up and its dispatch to the 84 Departments carefully arranged by Roland, while the postponement of any decision regarding the fate of Philippe Egalite was not given the same publicity. Thus one could believe that the supporters of Orléans brought about the repeal of a decree which concerned him by a surprise move on the next morning [...]."

The dissensions which interfered with the deliberations of the National Convention soon crept into the *Executive Council* itself. Servan retiring on account of ill health, the Convention on *Roland*'s recommendation appointed *Pache,* then working in the Ministry of the Interior. Pache wanted to be independent, in addition he associated with the Jacobins. Pache was a good patriot but a bad Minister of War. By accusing him of treason, the Girondists caused a redoubling of the recriminations which for a long time had been levelled against Roland.

*Assignats, law concerning the practice of worship* (cf. p. 93), *decree concerning food,* compare Levasseur's speech, p. 94 sqq.[131]

Shortly after the decree on *means of subsistence,* discussions in connection with the trial of Louis XVI. This occasioned further acrimony.

*End of January 1793.* Baseless animosities, just as at the beginning of the Convention. But a big change has taken place in the temper of the assembly. The Mountain has now gone over from the defensive to the offensive. The war of the parties is at fever heat.

"There is a feeling that from now on it is impossible to advance towards any organisation of the Republic without the complete destruction of one of the two parties.

"*The assassination of Michel de Le Peletier Saint-Fargeau* led to an argument and an open breach between the two extremes."

The *Marsh,* tired of the capricious intrigues and the conceit of the Girondists, frequently allies itself with the Mountain against them. Roland's resignation accepted.

*January 28*: *Buzot* denounces the *comité de sûreté générale*[b] (in

[a] Printed by order of the Convention.—*Ed.*

[b] Committee of Public Safety.—*Ed.*

which apart from the Girondists there are several Montagnards—Tallien, Chabot, Bazire) on account of the arrest of a journalist and demands its dissolution.

"The Girondists were in the habit of sacrificing any institution rather than allow it to flourish in the hands of their opponents" (pp. 84-103).

*March 8.* Great agitation because of the military set-backs in Belgium under Dumouriez. Commissioners are sent to all the sections [of] Paris to call the citizens to arms, and also to the Departments.

*March 9.* The Commissioners present their reports. Guarantees are demanded against internal conspiracies. Decree for the establishment of an extraordinary criminal court, from whose findings there is no appeal, for the hearing of all cases involving traitors, conspirators and counter-revolutionaries. Great excitement in the capital. The printing-presses belonging to Gorsas are smashed up; he is forced to flee. The people were so worked up that it required a decree of the Convention to get the bakers to return to the bakeries and the Post-Office clerks to the telegraph office.

*March 10.* Debates about the organisation of the Revolutionary Tribunal.

Great excitement in Paris. Evening session of the Convention at 9 o'clock. The seats on the right almost empty. After midnight the combined crowds in the Champs Elysées assume a rebellious character. They go to the Jacobin and Cordelier Clubs, they preach insurrection against the Convention. These proposals are rejected by the Montagnards.[132]

*March 11.* Decree relating to the Revolutionary Tribunal.

*March 12. Marat* speaks against the assaults made on the 10th.

*March 13.* Complaints and attacks by the Girondists in connection with March 10.

"The rebellious movements of March 10 in Paris were nurtured by all the parties, because all of them took part in the agitation—an agitation stirred up in order to drive the people to the frontiers; the scenes on March 10 were a necessary consequence of this impassioned state. The Mountain, sitting alone in the Chamber, had quietened the threatening disorders in a few hours. Pache and Santerre [...] were praised for their ardour; Marat and Dubois-Crancé pacified both the Jacobin and the Cordelier Clubs and persuaded them to abandon their sinister plans. Marat first of all denounced the March 10 disorders, he initiated a decree of indictment against Fournier l'Américain, one of their instigators; La Source, an impassioned Girondist, addressed eulogies to him during the March 12 session. Finally, [...] a member of the Right who had insulted Marat during the same sitting [...] was censured and it was unanimously decided to enter this in the official record despite the revolting partisanship against the *ami du peuple* which people were in the habit of displaying" [pp. 122-23].

When it was first established, the *comité de sûreté générale* was composed overwhelmingly of Girondists.

A few days after March 10, the Girondists wanted to shift responsibility for it on to the Mountain.

"Stormy sessions became the customary state of affairs in the Convention. Tumultuous scenes. [...] The galleries often participated in these scandalous interruptions. Then the Girondists screamed that they were no longer safe in Paris, they called the Departmental forces to their aid. The Mountain, from their side, accused their opponents of preaching civil war. Sometimes whole days and nights passed in these wretched debates" [p. 127].

Nevertheless the immunity of deputies was still respected on all sides until now. The Right was the first to depart from this rule. On Guadet's motion, Marat was committed for trial. The Legislation Committee prepared a bill of indictment in which his condemnation was anticipated. Marat was unanimously acquitted by the Revolutionary Tribunal, and led back to the Convention by the people in triumph [pp. 127-29].

This event had important results. Party conflicts of the deputies assumed the form of legal proceedings. The persecution of Marat was the immediate prelude to May 31.[133]

*March 18.* Defeat of Dumouriez near Neerwinden; his letters to the Executive Council contain insults against the Convention (Danton's opinion regarding Dumouriez, p. 133).[134] The Girondists applaud his insolent letters.

*March 29.* A letter from Dumouriez evokes the greatest indignation. Decree ordering Dumouriez to appear before the bar of the House, etc. The treason of Dumouriez.

*April 3.* La Source dares to denounce Danton as an accomplice of Dumouriez. (Cf. p. 137.) Danton declares war on the Girondists. Danton's speech makes great impression. Danton had tried to bring about a reconciliation between the two sides of the assembly.

"Although he was sitting on the summit of the Mountain, he was, to some extent, the leader of the Marsh. He had often criticised the passion of the Montagnards, fought against Robespierre's suspicions, maintained that instead of fighting the Girondists one should compel them to support the Mountain in order jointly to save the common cause. Even a few days before La Source's attack, Danton had had a conference with the chief leaders of the Right at which agreement was reached to work together in harmony and to concentrate on the struggle against the foreigners and the aristocrats. The whole of the Mountain loved Danton but the majority thought that he misjudged the situation if he hoped to establish an alliance between the Mountain and the Gironde." [p. 143].

"The discussions assumed a much more serious character toward the end of April and the beginning of May. No more parliamentary bickering but a life and death struggle. Each side began to seek help from outside in order to win. But [...] the Mountain, in spite of this internal discord, paid serious attention to matters concerning France while the Gironde only thought about the destruction of its opponents and abandoned completely the direction of the state. During these two months the question of the *maximum* was dealt with.[135] [...] The Right fought [...] this measure by means of slanders. It made accusations about violation of the right to own property and threats to the life of property owners. These declamations

were aimed at turning the *middle classes* against the Mountain. The maximum was adopted" [p. 147, 150].

The Girondists always had the majority when party wrangling was involved, as, for example, when such questions as the impeachment of Marat, the March disorders, the petitions of the sections, the Commission of the Twelve, were being discussed. The Mountain had the majority when big questions of general interest were involved, such as the maximum, means for revolutionary recruitment, the extraordinary tribunal, forced loans, etc.

An incident occurred during the discussion of the maximum. *Ducos* was on the rostrum criticising the proposed measure, counterposing the sansculottes to the middle classes, when a violent uproar broke out in one of the public galleries. Guadet demands the transfer of the Convention to Versailles. Acclamation on the right. Levasseur demands that the rules should be observed and the galleries cleared. Resistance by the Right. Philippeaux, Danton, Lacroix vainly call on the assembly to remember its dignity and its urgent obligations. In vain they demand that matters of the greatest importance should not be interrupted on account of an insignificant incident. The Girondists had to give vent to their rage. Animated discussion, attacks on the Paris authorities, threats that the provinces would take vengeance.

Thus the tocsin of civil war was sounded at the very moment when it was a question of interests which had roused the people. The intention was to incite the two classes of the people against one another. The Mountain went with the party of the popular masses, where the sinewy arms and strong devotion are to be found [pp. 152-53].

Disorders in the Vendée had developed into a real civil war. New enrolments and renewed expenditure of funds became necessary. Danton, Desmoulins, Philippeaux, Couthon tried to find means to make this possible. The only possible means of meeting the urgent expenditure was the mobilisation of the national wealth, an *emprunt force*[a] (cf. p. 161 sqq.), which was derived from superfluous wealth in the hands of citizens.

The Girondists, who denounced the measures of the Mountain, did not even propose an alternative plan. They did nothing at all.

Written at the end of 1843 and the beginning of 1844

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Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French and German

Published in English for the first time

[a] A forced loan.—*Ed.*

# SUMMARY OF FREDERICK ENGELS' ARTICLE "OUTLINES OF A CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY" PUBLISHED IN *DEUTSCH-FRANZÖSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER*[136]

*Private property.* Its immediate consequence — *trade* — like every activity, is a *direct* source of gain for the trader. The next category to which trade gives rise is *value.* Abstract real value and exchange-value. For *Say* utility is the determining feature of real value, for Ricardo and Mill[a] — the *cost of production.* For the Englishmen, competition as against the cost of production represents utility; for Say, it is the cost of production. *Value* is the ratio of the *production costs* to *utility.* Its immediate application: the *decision* whether to produce at all, whether utility outweighs the cost of production. The practical application of the concept of value is limited to the decision about production. The distinction between *real value and exchange-value* is based on the fact that the *equivalent* given in trade is *no equivalent. Price*: the relationship [between] cost of production and competition. Only that which can be monopolised has *price.* Ricardo's definition of *rent of land* is incorrect because it presupposes that a fall in demand instantly reacts on rent and at once puts out of cultivation a corresponding quantity of the worst cultivated land. This is incorrect. This definition leaves out competition, that of Adam Smith leaves out fertility. *Rent* is the relationship between *productivity of the soil* and *competition.* The *value of land*[b] is to be measured by the productiveness of equal areas using equal amounts of labour.

The separation of capital from labour. The separation of capital and profit. The division of profit into profit and interest.... Profit, the weight that capital puts in the scales when the costs of

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[a] Engels writes "McCulloch" (see this volume, p. 424).—*Ed.*

[b] Engels stipulates: provided private property is abolished (see this volume, pp. 429-30).—*Ed.*

production are determined, remains inherent in capital, and the latter reverts to labour[a]. The separation of labour and wages. The significance of wages. The significance of labour in determining the production costs. The split between land and the human being. Human labour[b] divided into labour and capital.

Written in the first half of 1844

First published in: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe,* Abt. 1, Bd. 3, 1932

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[a] Engels discusses the role of profit after the abolition of private property (see this volume, p. 431).—*Ed.*

[b] Engels has: "human activity" (see this volume, p. 432).—*Ed.*

# FREDERICK ENGELS

## WORKS

May 1843-June 1844

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# LETTERS FROM LONDON[137]

## I

[*Schweizerischer Republikaner* No. 39, May 16, 1843]

The democratic party in England is making rapid progress. While Whiggism and Toryism, the moneyed aristocracy and the landed aristocracy are engaged in a boring verbal battle over trifles in the "national talkshop", as the Tory Thomas Carlyle calls it, or in the "House which claims to represent the parishes of England", as the Chartist Feargus O'Connor says, while the Established Church exerts all its influence on the bigoted inclinations of the nation in order to maintain its decaying edifice a little longer, while the Anti-Corn Law League[138] squanders hundreds of thousands in the irrational hope to see in return millions flowing into the pockets of the cotton-manufacturing lords — during this time despised and derided socialism marches forward calmly and confidently and gradually compels the attention of public opinion. During this time, too, a new party of countless numbers has taken shape in a few years under the banner of the People's Charter[139] and has carried out such vigorous agitation that compared with it O'Connell and the League are bunglers and blunderers. It is well known that in England parties coincide with social ranks and classes; that the Tories are identical with the aristocracy and the bigoted, strictly orthodox section of the Church of England; that the Whigs consist of manufacturers, merchants and dissenters, of the upper middle class as a whole; that the lower middle class constitute the so-called "radicals", and that, finally, Chartism has its strength in the working men, the proletarians. Socialism does not form a closed political party, but on the whole it derives its supporters from the lower middle class and the proletarians. Thus, in England, the remarkable fact is seen that the lower the

position of a class in society, the more "uneducated" it is in the usual sense of the word, the more closely is it connected with progress, and the greater is its future. In general, this is a feature of every revolutionary epoch, as was seen in particular in the religious revolution of which the outcome was Christianity: "blessed are the poor",[a] "the wisdom of this world is foolishness",[b] etc. But this portent of a great revolution has probably never been so clearly expressed and so sharply delineated as now in England. In Germany, the movement proceeds from the class which is not only educated but even learned; in England, for three hundred years the educated and all the learned people have been deaf and blind to the signs of the times. Well known throughout the world is the pitiful routine of the English universities, compared with which our German colleges are like gold; but on the Continent people cannot even imagine the kind of works produced by the foremost English theologians and even by some of the foremost English natural scientists, and what miserable reactionary publications form the bulk of the weekly "list of new books". England is the homeland of political economy, but what about the level of scholarship among professors and practical politicians? Adam Smith's free trade has been pushed to the insane conclusions of the Malthusian theory of population and has produced nothing but a new, more civilised form of the old monopoly system, a form which finds its representatives among the present-day Tories, and which successfully combated the Malthusian nonsense, but in the end arrived once more at Malthus' conclusions. Everywhere there is inconsistency and hypocrisy, while the striking economic tracts of the Socialists and partly also of the Chartists are thrown aside with contempt and find readers only among the lower classes. Strauss' *Das Leben Jesu* was translated into English. Not a single "respectable" book publisher wanted to print it; finally it appeared in separate parts, 3d. per part, and that was done by the publishing house of a minor but energetic antiquarian.[140] The same thing occurred with translations of Rousseau, Voltaire, Holbach, etc. Byron and Shelley are read almost exclusively by the lower classes; no "respectable" person could have the works of the latter on his desk without his coming into the most terrible disrepute. It remains true: blessed are the poor, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven and, however long it may take, the kingdom of this earth as well.

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[a] Matthew 5:3.—*Ed.*
[b] 1 Corinthians 1:20.—*Ed.*

Parliament now has before it Sir James Graham's Bill on the education of children working in factories, in accordance with which their hours of work are to be restricted, compulsory education introduced, and the High Church entrusted with supervision of the schools.[141] This Bill has, of course, given rise to general commotion and has provided the parties with a fresh opportunity for testing their strength. The Whigs want to have the Bill rejected completely because it ousts the dissenters from the education of the young and, by restricting the working hours of children, causes difficulties for the manufacturers. Among the Chartists and Socialists, on the other hand, there is considerable agreement with the general humane tendency of the Bill, except for the provisions relating to the High Church. Lancashire, the main factory centre, is also, of course, the main centre of agitation in regard to the Bill. Here, the Tories are quite powerless in the towns; moreover, their meetings in this connection were not held in public. The congregations of the dissenters first of all met in order to put forward a petition against the Bill, and then arranged for town meetings in alliance with the liberal manufacturers. A town meeting of this kind is summoned by the highest urban official, is completely public, and every inhabitant has the right to speak at it. Here, therefore, if the meeting hall is sufficiently large, only the strongest and most energetic party can be victorious. And at all the town meetings so far convened, the Chartists and Socialists have won. The first such meeting was in Stockport, where the resolutions put forward by the Whigs received only one vote, while the entire meeting voted for those of the Chartists, so that the Mayor of Stockport, a Whig, as chairman of the meeting had to sign a Chartist petition and send it to a Chartist M.P. (Duncombe) for presentation to Parliament. The second meeting was in Salford, a sort of suburb of Manchester, with a population of about 100,000; I attended it. The Whigs had taken every precaution to ensure victory for themselves. The borough reeve[a] took the chair and talked a great deal about impartiality; but when a Chartist asked whether a discussion would be allowed, he was given the reply: yes, when the meeting is over! It was intended to have the first resolution smuggled through, but the Chartists were on the alert and prevented this. When one of the Chartists climbed on to the platform, a clergyman dissenter came forward and tried to throw him off! However, everything went well until, finally, a petition on Whig lines was proposed. Then a Chartist

[a] Engels uses the English term.—*Ed.*

spoke and proposed an amendment; thereupon the chairman and his whole retinue of Whigs rose and left the hall. But the meeting continued, and the Chartist petition was put to the vote; but police officers, who had already intervened several times on the side of the Whigs, put out the lights just at the right moment and forced the meeting to disperse. Nevertheless, the Whigs caused all their resolutions to be published, as carried, in the next issue of the local newspaper, and the borough reeve[a] was dishonest enough to sign his name "on behalf of and on the instructions of the meeting"! So much for Whig fairness! The third meeting took place two days later in Manchester, and here the radical parties likewise achieved a most brilliant victory. Although the time was so chosen that the majority of the factory workers could not be present, there was nevertheless a considerable majority of Chartists and Socialists in the hall. The Whigs confined themselves solely to the points which they had in common with the Chartists; a Socialist and a Chartist spoke from the platform and bore witness that the Whigs on this occasion had behaved like good Chartists. The Socialist told them frankly that he had come with the intention of creating opposition if there was the slightest occasion for it, but everything had gone according to his wishes. So it has turned out, therefore, that Lancashire, and particularly Manchester, the stronghold of Whiggism, the centre of the Anti-Corn Law League, is able to show a brilliant majority in favour of radical democracy and thereby the power of the "liberals" is completely held in check.

## II

[*Schweizerischer Republikaner* No. 41, May 23, 1843]

The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* has a liberal correspondent (*) in London who writes favourably about the manoeuvres of the Whigs in horribly long and boring articles. "The Anti-Corn Law League is now the power in the land," declares this oracle and thereby utters the greatest lie ever told by a partisan correspondent.[142] The League—the power in the land! Where is this power? In the Ministry? In it are Peel, Graham and Gladstone, the bitterest enemies of the League. In Parliament? But there every one of its proposals is rejected by a majority rarely equalled in the annals of the English Parliament. Where then is this power? In the public, in the nation? This question can only be answered in the affirmative by such an

[a] Engels gives this term in English.—*Ed.*

empty-headed, frivolous correspondent, for whom Drury Lane is the public and a drummed-up meeting is public opinion. If this sagacious correspondent is so blind as to be incapable of seeing in broad daylight — this is the legacy of the Whigs — then I will tell him how matters stand with the power of the League. It has been driven out of the Ministry and Parliament by the Tories, and out of public opinion by the Chartists. Feargus O'Connor has triumphantly routed it in all the towns of England, everywhere he has challenged it to a public debate and the League has never picked up the gage. The League cannot call a single public meeting without being most ignominiously trounced by the Chartists. Or does the Augsburg correspondent really not know that the pompous January meetings in Manchester and the meetings now being held in the Drury Lane theatre in London, where the liberal gentlemen tell one another lies and try to deceive themselves about their inner instability — does he really not know these are "whited sepulchres"? Who are admitted to these meetings? *Only members of the League or persons to whom the League gives tickets.* Hence no hostile party can have a chance of successful opposition there, and therefore no one applies for tickets; no matter what cunning it resorted to, it could not manage to smuggle in even a hundred of its supporters. The League has been organising such meetings, which are afterwards called "public", for some years past and at them it congratulates itself on its "progress". It is very becoming that at these "public" ticket meetings, the League rails against the "spectre of Chartism", especially since it knows that at *truly* public meetings O'Connor, Duncombe, Cooper, etc., are giving a straightforward reply to those attacks. Up to now the Chartists have shattered every public meeting of the League by a brilliant majority, but the League has never been able to disrupt a Chartist meeting. Hence the League's hatred of the Chartists, hence the clamour about the "disorder" caused by the Chartists at a meeting — that is to say, the rebellion of the majority against the minority, which from the platform tries to make use of the majority for its own ends. Where then is the power of the League? — In its imagination and — in its purse. The League is wealthy, by the abolition of the Corn Laws it hopes to conjure up a trade boom and therefore throws a sprat to catch a mackerel. Its subscriptions bring in considerable sums of money which cover the expenditure on all the pompous meetings and the rest of the appearance and tawdry finery. But behind this glittering exterior there is nothing real. The National Charter Association[a] — the Chartists' organisation[143] — has

[a] Engels gives this name in English.—*Ed.*

a greater number of members, and it will soon be seen that it can also collect more money, although it consists only of poor workers, while the League has all the rich manufacturers and merchants in its ranks. And the reason is that the Chartist Association gets its money — even if only in pennies — from nearly every one of its members, whereas although considerable sums of money are contributed to the League, they come only from certain individuals. The Chartists can easily collect *a million pennies*[144] weekly; it is very questionable whether the League could sustain this. The League opened a subscription list for £50,000 and received about £70,000. Feargus O'Connor is about to open a subscription list of *£125,000* for one project[145] and soon afterwards perhaps another for an equal amount — he will certainly get it — and what does the League then intend to do with its "huge funds"?

Why the Chartists are in opposition to the League will be dealt with on another occasion.[146] For the present only one further remark, viz., that the efforts and work of the League have *one* good side. This is the movement which is being aroused by the Anti-Corn Law agitation in a hitherto entirely stable class of society — the agricultural population. Up to now the latter has taken no interest in public affairs; dependent on the landowners who can put an end to the lease agreement any year, the farmers, phlegmatic and ignorant, have sent only Tories to Parliament year after year — 251 out of the 658 members of the House of Commons — and up to now this has been the strong basis of the reactionary party. If an individual farmer wanted to come out against this traditional vote, he found no support among his fellow farmers and the landlord could easily give him notice. Now, however, a considerable alertness among this class of the population is evident; there already exist liberal farmers, and among them there are people who realise that in very many cases the interests of the landlord and those of the tenant are directly opposed. Three years ago, particularly in England herself, no one could have said this to a tenant without being laughed at or even beaten up. Among this class the work of the League will bear fruit, but quite certainly the fruit will be different from what the League expects, for while it is probable that the mass of the tenants will gradually go over to the Whigs, it is still more probable that the mass of the agricultural labourers will be impelled to take the side of the Chartists. One without the other is impossible, and thus here, too, the League will obtain only feeble compensation for the decisive and total withdrawal from it of the working class which the League has suffered during the past five years in the towns and factory districts owing to Chartism. The kingdom of the *juste-milieu* has had its day

and the "power in the land" has become divided into two extremes. In view of these undeniable facts, however, I ask the correspondent of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*: Where is the "power of the League"?

## III

[*Schweizerischer Republikaner* No. 46, June 9, 1843]

The English Socialists are far more principled and practical than the French, which is especially due to the fact that they are engaged in an open struggle against the various churches and do not want to have anything to do with religion. In the larger towns they usually maintain a hall[a] where every Sunday they listen to speeches which are often polemical against Christianity and atheistic, but often also deal with some aspect of the workers' life; of their lecturers (preachers) Watts in Manchester seems at any rate to be an outstanding man, who has written some very talented pamphlets on the existence of God and on political economy. The lecturers have a very good manner of arguing; they always start out from experience and from verifiable or obvious facts and at the same time the exposition is carried out in such a systematic way that it is very difficult to fight them on the ground they have chosen. If anyone tries to carry the argument into a different sphere they laugh in his face. If, for example, I say: For man the existence of God does not depend on facts for its proof, they retort: "What a ridiculous proposition you put forward: if God does not manifest Himself through facts, why should we want to trouble ourselves about Him? From your proposition it follows directly that it is a matter of indifference to people whether God exists or does not exist. And since we have thousands of other things to care about, we leave to you the good God above the clouds, where perhaps He exists, or perhaps does not exist. What we do not know through facts does not concern us at all; we keep to the basis of 'real facts', where there can be no question of such fantastic things as God and religious theories." So the rest of their communist propositions are supported by proof based on facts, in accepting which they are indeed careful. The stubbornness of these people is indescribable, and how the clergy are going to win them over—heaven alone knows. In Manchester, for instance, the communist community has 8,000 members openly registered at

[a] This word is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

the hall and paying their subscriptions to it. The assertion that half of the working classes of Manchester share their views on property is no exaggeration; because when Watts says from the platform (for the Communists the platform is what the pulpit is for the Christians): Today I am going to one or other meeting, you can count on it that the motion put by the lecturer will have a majority.

But among the Socialists, too, there are theoreticians or, as the Communists call them, *complete* atheists, while the former are called *practical* atheists. Of these theoreticians the most famous is Charles Southwell in Bristol, who published a polemical journal *The Oracle of Reason* and was punished for that by a year's imprisonment and a fine of about £100. Of course, the fine was quickly covered by subscriptions, for every Englishman subscribes to *his* newspaper, helps *his* leaders to pay fines, pays for *his* chapel or hall, attends *his* meetings. But Charles Southwell is already in prison again; in fact the hall in Bristol had to be sold because there are not so many Socialists in Bristol and among them few are rich, whereas such a hall is a fairly expensive thing. It was bought by a Christian denomination and converted into a chapel. When this new chapel was consecrated, the Socialists and Chartists crowded into it to see and hear the ceremony. But when the clergyman began to praise God that all the wicked doings had been ended, and that where formerly God had been defamed, praises would now be sung to the Almighty, they regarded this as an attack, and since according to English notions every attack demands resistance, they raised a shout of Southwell, Southwell! Let Southwell speak in opposition! Southwell therefore got up and began to make a speech. Now, however, clergymen of the Christian denomination put themselves at the head of the columns of their parishioners and hurled themselves on Southwell; other members of the denomination called in the police, because Southwell was said to have disturbed a Christian religious service; the clergymen laid hold of him, struck him (as often happens in such cases) and handed him over to a policeman. Southwell himself ordered his supporters not to offer physical resistance; when he was led away, some 6,000 people followed him crying "hurrah" and cheering him.

The founder of the socialist movement, Owen, writes in his numerous booklets like a German philosopher, i.e., very badly, but at times he has his lucid moments and then his obscure writings become readable; moreover, his views are comprehensive. According to Owen "marriage, religion and property are the sole causes

of all the calamity that has existed since the world began" (!!),[147] all his writings teem with outbursts of rage against the theologians, lawyers and doctors, all of whom he lumps together. "The law-courts are the seat of a class of people which is still completely theological and *therefore prejudiced*; the laws also are imbued with theology and must therefore be abolished together with the jury."

While the Church of England lived in luxury, the Socialists did an incredible amount to educate the working classes in England. At first one cannot get over one's surprise on hearing in the Hall of Science[a] the most ordinary workers speaking with a clear understanding on political, religious and social affairs; but when one comes across the remarkable popular pamphlets and hears the lecturers of the Socialists, for example Watts in Manchester, one ceases to be surprised. The workers now have good, cheap editions of translations of the French philosophical works of the last century, chiefly Rousseau's *Contrat social,* the *Système de la Nature*[148] and various works by Voltaire, and in addition the exposition of communist principles in penny and twopenny pamphlets and in the journals. The workers also have in their hands cheap editions of the writings of Thomas Paine and Shelley. Furthermore, there are also the Sunday lectures, which are very diligently attended; thus during my stay in Manchester I saw the Communist Hall, which holds about 3,000 people, crowded every Sunday, and I heard there speeches which have a direct effect, which are made from the special viewpoint of the people, and in which witty remarks against the clergy occur. It happens frequently that Christianity is directly attacked and Christians are called "our enemies".

In their form, these meetings partly resemble church gatherings; in the gallery a choir accompanied by an orchestra sings social hymns; these consist of semi-religious or wholly religious melodies with communist words, during which the audience stands. Then, quite nonchalantly, without removing his hat, a lecturer comes on to the platform, on which there is a table and chairs; after raising his hat by way of greeting those present, he takes off his overcoat and then sits down and delivers his address, which usually gives much occasion for laughter, for in these speeches the English intellect expresses itself in superabundant humour. In one corner of the hall is a stall where books and pamphlets are sold and in another a booth with oranges and refreshments, where everyone can obtain what he needs or to

[a] This term is given in English in the original.—*Ed.*

which he can withdraw if the speech bores him. From time to time tea-parties are arranged on Sunday evenings at which people of both sexes, of all ages and classes, sit together and partake of the usual supper of tea and sandwiches; on working days dances and concerts are often held in the hall, where people have a very jolly time; the hall also has a café.

How does it happen that all this kind of thing is tolerated? Firstly, under the Whig Ministry the Communists secured the passage of an Act of Parliament and in general achieved such a strong position at that time that now, as being a corporation, it is no longer possible to take any steps against them. Secondly, the authorities would very much like to attack prominent individuals, but they know that this would only redound to the advantage of the Socialists by drawing public attention to them, which is what the Socialists want. If they were to become martyrs for their cause (and how many of them would be ready for that at any time), it would give rise to agitation. But agitation is a means of making their cause still more widely known, whereas at present a large part of the nation takes no notice of them, regarding them as a sect like any other. The Whigs knew very well that repressive measures have a stronger effect in favour of a cause than agitation for the cause itself, and hence they gave the Communists an opportunity to exist and take form; but every form is a bond. The Tories, on the other hand, take some action against them when the atheistic publications seem too outrageous, but every time it is to the advantage of the Communists. In December 1840, Southwell and others were punished for blasphemy; immediately three new periodicals appeared: one was *The Atheist,* another *The Atheist and Republican,* and the third, published by the lecturer Watts, *The Blasphemer.* A few issues of *The Blasphemer* caused a great sensation, and the authorities tried in vain to discover how this trend could be suppressed. They left it alone, and lo and behold, all three papers ceased to exist!

Thirdly, the Socialists, like all the other parties, save themselves by circumventing the law and resorting to verbal quibbles, which is the regular practice here.

Thus everything here displays life and cohesion, a solid basis and action; thus everything here is assuming a definite external shape; whereas we imagine that we know something if we have swallowed the dull, miserable contents of Stein's book,[a] or that we

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[a] Lorenz von Stein, *Der Socialismus und Communismus des heutigen Frankreichs.—Ed.*

are of some importance if somewhere or other we utter an opinion perfumed with attar of roses.

In the Socialists, English energy is very clearly evident, but what astonished me more was the good-natured character of these people, I almost called them lads, which, however, is so far removed from weakness that they laugh at the mere Republicans, because a republic would be just as hypocritical, just as theological, just as unjust in its laws, as a monarchy; but for the reform of society they are ready to sacrifice their worldly goods and life itself together with their wives and children.

## IV

[*Schweizerischer Republikaner* No. 51, June 27, 1843]

One hears nothing now but talk about O'Connell and the Irish Repeal[a] (abolition of the Union of Ireland and England).[149] O'Connell, the cunning old lawyer, who during the Whig government sat calmly in the House of Commons and helped to pass "liberal" measures in order to be rejected by the House of Lords, O'Connell has suddenly left London and absented himself from the parliamentary debates and is now raising again his old question of repeal. No one was thinking about it any more; and then Old Dan[b] turns up in Dublin and is again raking up the stale obsolete lumber. It is not surprising that the old yeast is now producing remarkable air-bubbles. The cunning old fox is going from town to town, always accompanied by a bodyguard such as no king ever had—two hundred thousand people always surround him! How much could have been done if a sensible man possessed O'Connell's popularity or if O'Connell had a little more understanding and a little less egoism and vanity! Two hundred thousand men—and what men! People who have nothing to lose, two-thirds of whom are clothed in rags, genuine proletarians and sansculottes and, moreover, Irishmen, wild, headstrong, fanatical Gaels. One who has never seen Irishmen cannot know them. Give me two hundred thousand Irishmen and I will overthrow the entire British monarchy. The Irishman is a carefree, cheerful, potato-eating child of nature. From his native heath, where he grew up, under a broken-down roof, on weak tea and meagre food, he is suddenly thrown into our civilisation. Hunger drives

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[a] Here and later Engels uses the English word "repeal".—*Ed.*
[b] In the original "Old Dan", i.e., Daniel O'Connell.—*Ed.*

him to England. In the mechanical, egoistic, ice-cold hurly-burly of the English factory towns, his passions are aroused. What does this raw young fellow—whose youth was spent playing on moors and begging at the roadside—know of thrift? He squanders what he earns, then he starves until the next pay-day or until he again finds work. He is accustomed to going hungry. Then he goes back, seeks out the members of his family on the road where they had scattered in order to beg, from time to time assembling again around the teapot, which the mother carries with her. But in England the Irishman saw a great deal, he attended public meetings and workers' associations, he knows what Repeal is and what Sir Robert Peel stands for, he quite certainly has often had fights with the police and could tell you a great deal about the heartlessness and disgraceful behaviour of the "Peelers"[a] (the police). He has also heard a lot about Daniel O'Connell. Now he once more returns to his old cottage with its bit of land for potatoes. The potatoes are ready for harvesting, he digs them up, and now he has something to live on during the winter. But here the principal tenant[150] appears, demanding the rent. Good God, where's the money to come from? The principal tenant is responsible to the landowner for the rent, and therefore has his property attached. The Irishman offers resistance and is thrown into gaol. Finally, he is set free again, and soon afterwards the principal tenant or someone else who took part in the attachment of the property is found dead in a ditch.

That is a story from the life of the Irish proletarians which is of daily occurrence. The half-savage upbringing and later the completely civilised environment bring the Irishman into contradiction with himself, into a state of permanent irritation, of continually smouldering fury, which makes him capable of anything. In addition he bears the burden of five centuries of oppression with all its consequences. Is it surprising that, like any other half-savage, he strikes out blindly and furiously on every opportunity, that his eyes burn with a perpetual thirst for revenge, a destructive fury, for which it is altogether a matter of indifference what it is directed against, so long as it can strike out and destroy? But that is not all. The violent national hatred of the Gaels against the Saxons, the orthodox Catholic fanaticism fostered by the clergy against Protestant-episcopal arrogance—with these elements anything can be accomplished. And all these elements are in O'Connell's hands. And what a multitude of people are at his disposal!

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[a] This word is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

The day before yesterday in Cork—150,000 men, yesterday in Nenaph—200,000, today in Kilkenny—400,000, and so it goes on. A triumphal procession lasting a fortnight, a triumphal procession such as no Roman emperor ever had. And if O'Connell really had the welfare of the people in view, if he were really concerned to abolish poverty—if his miserable, petty *juste-milieu* aims were not behind all the clamour and the agitation for Repeal—I should truly like to know what Sir Robert Peel could refuse him if he demanded it while at the head of such a force as he now has. But what does he achieve with all his power and his millions of valiant and desperate Irishmen? He is unable to accomplish even the wretched Repeal of the Union; of course solely because he is not serious about it, because he is misusing the impoverished, oppressed Irish people in order to embarrass the Tory Ministers and to put back into office his *juste-milieu* friends. Sir Robert Peel, too, knows this well enough, and hence 25,000 soldiers are quite enough to keep all Ireland in check. If O'Connell were really the man of the people, if he had sufficient courage *and were not himself afraid of the people,* i.e., if he were not a double-faced Whig, but an upright, consistent democrat, then the last English soldier would have left Ireland long since, there would no longer be any idle Protestant priest in purely Catholic districts, or any Old-Norman baron in his castle. But there is the rub. If the people were to be set free even for a moment, then Daniel O'Connell and his moneyed aristocrats would soon be just as much left high and dry as he wants to leave the Tories high and dry. That is the reason for Daniel's close association with the Catholic clergy, that is why he warns his Irishmen against dangerous socialism, that is why he rejects the support offered by the Chartists,[151] although for appearances sake he now and again talks about democracy—just as Louis Philippe in his day talked about Republican institutions—and that is why he will never succeed in achieving anything but the political education of the Irish people, which in the long run is to no one more dangerous than to himself.

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THE
NEW MORAL WORLD:
AND
GAZETTE OF THE RATIONAL SOCIETY.
*Enrolled under Acts of Parliament*, 10 *Geo. IV. c.* 56, *and* 4, 5, *Will. IV. c.* 40.

"ANY GENERAL CHARACTER, FROM THE BEST TO THE WORST, FROM THE MOST IGNORANT TO THE MOST ENLIGHTENED, MAY BE GIVEN TO ANY COMMUNITY, EVEN TO THE WORLD AT LARGE, BY THE APPLICATION OF PROPER MEANS, WHICH MEANS ARE TO A GREAT EXTENT AT THE COMMAND AND UNDER THE CONTROL OF THOSE WHO HAVE INFLUENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF MEN."—ROBERT OWEN.

W. JOHNSTON, PRINTER, LITTLE RED LION COURT, CHARTERHOUSE LANE, LONDON.

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# PROGRESS OF SOCIAL REFORM ON THE CONTINENT[152]

[*The New Moral World* No. 19, November 4, 1843]

It has always been in some degree surprising to me, ever since I met with English Socialists, to find that most of them are very little acquainted with the social movement going on in different parts of the continent. And yet there are more than half a million of Communists in France, not taking into account the Fourierists, and other less radical Social reformers; there are Communist associations in every part of Switzerland, sending forth missionaries to Italy, Germany, and even Hungary; and German philosophy, after a long and troublesome circuit, has at last settled upon Communism.

Thus, the three great and civilised countries of Europe—England, France, and Germany, have all come to the conclusion, that a thorough revolution of social arrangements, based on community of property, has now become an urgent and unavoidable necessity. This result is the more striking, as it was arrived at by each of the above nations independently of the others; a fact, than which there can be no stronger proof, that Communism is not the consequence of the particular position of the English, or any other nation, but that it is a necessary conclusion, which cannot be avoided to be drawn from the premises given in the general facts of modern civilisation.

It must, therefore, appear desirable, that the three nations should understand each other, should know how far they agree, and how far they disagree; because there must be disagreement also, owing to the different origin of the doctrine of Community in each of the three countries. The English came to the conclusion *practically*, by the rapid increase of misery, demoralisation, and pauperism in their own country: the French *politically*, by first

asking for political liberty and equality; and, finding this insufficient, joining social liberty, and social equality to their political claims: the Germans became Communists *philosophically*, by reasoning upon first principles. This being the origin of Socialism in the three countries, there must exist differences upon minor points; but I think I shall be able to show that these differences are very insignificant, and quite consistent with the best feeling on the part of the Social reformers of each country towards those of the other. The thing wanted is, that they should know each other; this being obtained, I am certain, they all will have the best wishes for the success of their foreign brother Communists.

## I

## FRANCE

France is, since the Revolution, the exclusively political country of Europe. No improvement, no doctrine can obtain national importance in France, unless embodied in some political shape. It seems to be the part the French nation have to perform in the present stage of the history of mankind, to go through all the forms of political development, and to arrive, from a merely political beginning, at the point where all nations, all different paths, must meet at Communism. The development of the public mind in France shows this clearly, and shows at the same time, what the future history of the English Chartists must be.

The French Revolution was the rise of democracy in Europe. Democracy is, as I take all forms of government to be, a contradiction in itself, an untruth, nothing but hypocrisy (theology, as we Germans call it), at the bottom. Political liberty is sham-liberty, the worst possible slavery; the appearance of liberty, and therefore the reality of servitude. Political equality is the same; therefore democracy, as well as every other form of government, must ultimately break to pieces: hypocrisy cannot subsist, the contradiction hidden in it must come out; we must have either a regular slavery—that is, an undisguised despotism, or real liberty, and real equality—that is, Communism. Both these consequences were brought out in the French Revolution; Napoleon established the first, and Babeuf the second. I think I may be short upon the subject of Babouvism, as the history of his conspiracy, [written] by Buonarroti,[a] has been translated into the English language.[153] The Communist plot did not succeed, because

[a] Ph. Buonarroti, *Conspiration pour l'égalité dite de Babeuf, suivie du procès auquel elle donna lieu, et des pièces justificatives, etc.—Ed.*

the then Communism itself was of a very rough and superficial kind; and because, on the other hand, the public mind was not yet far enough advanced.

The next French Social reformer was Count de Saint-Simon. He succeeded in getting up a sect, and even some establishments; none of which succeeded. The general spirit of the Saint-Simonian doctrines is very much like that of the Ham-Common Socialists, in England[154]; although, in the *detail* of the arrangements and ideas, there is a great difference. The singularities and eccentricities of the Saint-Simonians very soon became the victims of French wit and satire; and everything once made ridiculous is inevitably lost in France. But, besides this, there were other causes for the failure of the Saint-Simonian establishments; all the doctrines of this party were enveloped in the clouds of an unintelligible mysticism, which, perhaps, in the beginning, attract the attention of the people; but, at last, must leave their expectations disappointed. Their economical principles, too, were not unexceptionable; the share of each of the members of their communities in the distribution of produce was to be regulated, firstly, by the amount of work he had done; and, secondly, the amount of talent he displayed. A German Republican, Boerne, justly replied to this principle, that talent, instead of being rewarded, ought rather to be considered as a natural preference; and, therefore, a deduction ought to be made from the share of the talented, in order to restore equality.

Saint-Simonism, after having excited, like a brilliant meteor, the attention of the thinking, disappeared from the Social horizon. Nobody now thinks of it, or speaks of it; its time is past.

Nearly at the same time with Saint-Simon, another man directed the activity of his mighty intellect to the social state of mankind—*Fourier*. Although Fourier's writings do not display those bright sparks of genius which we find in Saint-Simon's and some of his disciples; although his style is hard, and shows, to a considerable extent, the toil with which the author is always labouring to bring out his ideas, and to speak out things for which no words are provided in the French language—nevertheless, we read his works with greater pleasure; and find more real value in them, than in those of the preceding school. There is mysticism, too, and as extravagant as any, but this you may cut off and throw it aside, and there will remain something not to be found among the Saint-Simonians—scientific research, cool, unbiassed, systematic thought; in short, *social philosophy*; whilst Saint-Simonism can only be called *social poetry*. It was Fourier, who, for the first time, established the great axiom of social philosophy, that every indi-

vidual having an inclination or predilection for some particular kind of work, the sum of all these inclinations of all individuals must be, upon the whole, an adequate power for providing for the wants of all. From this principle, it follows, that if every individual is left to his own inclination, to do and to leave what he pleases, the wants of all will be provided for, without the forcible means used by the present system of society. This assertion looks bold, and yet, after Fourier's mode of establishing it, is quite unassailable, almost self-evident—the egg of Columbus. Fourier proves, that every one is born with an inclination for some kind of work, that *absolute idleness* is nonsense, a thing which never existed, and cannot exist: that the essence of the human mind is to be active itself, and to bring the body into activity; and that, therefore, there is no necessity for making the people active by force, as in the now existing state of society, but only to give their natural activity the right direction. He goes on proving the identity of labour and enjoyment, and shows the irrationality of the present social system, which separates them, making labour a toil, and placing enjoyment above the reach of the majority of the labourers; he shows further, how, under rational arrangements, labour may be made, what it is intended to be, an enjoyment, leaving every one to follow his own inclinations. I cannot, of course, follow Fourier through the whole of his theory of *free labour*, and I think this will be sufficient to show the English Socialists that Fourierism is a subject well worthy of their attention.[155]

Another of the merits of Fourier is to have shown the advantages—nay, the necessity of association. It will be sufficient only to mention this subject, as I know the English to be fully aware of its importance.

There is one inconsistency, however, in Fourierism, and a very important one too, and that is, his nonabolition of private property. In his *Phalanstères* or associative establishments, there are rich and poor, capitalists and working men. The property of all members is placed into a joint stock, the establishment carries on commerce, agricultural and manufacturing industry, and the proceeds are divided among the members; one part as wages of labour, another as reward for skill and talent, and a third as profits of capital. Thus, after all the beautiful theories of association and free labour; after a good deal of indignant declamation against commerce, selfishness, and competition, we have in practice the old competitive system upon an improved plan, a poor-law bastile on more liberal principles! Certainly, here we cannot stop; and the French, too, have not stopped here.

The progress of Fourierism in France was slow, but regular. There are not a great many Fourierists, but they count among their numbers a considerable portion of the intellect now active in France. Victor Considérant is one of their cleverest writers. They have a newspaper, too, the *Phalange*, published formerly three times a week, now daily.[156]

As the Fourierists are now represented in England also by Mr. Doherty, I think I may have said enough concerning them, and now pass to the most important and most radical party in France, the *Communists*.

I said before, that everything claiming national importance in France must be of a political nature, or it will not succeed. Saint-Simon and Fourier did not touch politics at all, and their schemes, therefore, became not the common property of the nation, but only subjects of private discussion. We have seen how Babeuf's Communism arose out of the democracy of the first revolution. The second revolution, of 1830, gave rise to another and more powerful Communism. The "great week" of 1830[a] was accomplished by the union of the middle and working classes, the liberals and the republicans. After the work was done, the working classes were dismissed, and the fruits of the revolution were taken possession of by the middle classes only. The working men got up several insurrections, for the abolition of political monopoly, and the establishment of a republic,[157] but were always defeated; the middle class having not only the army on their side, but forming themselves the national guard besides. During this time (1834 or 1835) a new doctrine sprang up among the republican working men. They saw that even after having succeeded in their democratic plans, they would continue [to be] the dupes of their more gifted and better educated leaders, and that their social condition, the cause of their political discontent, would not be bettered by any political change whatsoever. They referred to the history of the great revolution, and eagerly seized upon Babeuf's Communism. This is all that can, with safety, be asserted concerning the origin of modern Communism in France; the subject was first discussed in the dark lanes and crowded alleys of the Parisian suburb, Saint-Antoine, and soon after in the secret assemblies of conspirators. Those who know more about its origin are very careful to keep their knowledge to themselves, in order to avoid the "strong arm of the law". However, Communism spread rapidly over Paris, Lyons, Toulouse, and the other large and

[a] That is, from July 27 to August 20, the peak of the July revolution.—*Ed.*

manufacturing towns of the realm; various secret associations followed each other, among which the "Travailleurs Egalitaires", or Equalitarian Working Men, and the Humanitarians,[158] were the most considerable. The Equalitarians were rather a "rough set", like the Babouvists of the great revolution; they purposed making the world a working-man's community, putting down every refinement of civilisation, science, the fine arts, etc., as useless, dangerous, and aristocratic luxuries, a prejudice necessarily arising from their total ignorance of history and political economy. The Humanitarians were known particularly for their attacks on marriage, family, and other similar institutions. Both these, as well as two or three other parties, were very short-lived, and the great bulk of the French working classes adopted, very soon, the tenets propounded by M. Cabet, "Père Cabet" (Father C.), as he is called, and which are known on the continent under the name of Icarian Communism.

This sketch of the History of Communism in France shows, in some measure, what the difference of French and English Communism must be. The origin of Social reform, in France, is a political one; it is found, that democracy cannot give real equality, and therefore the Community scheme is called to its aid. The bulk of the French Communists are, therefore, republicans besides; they want a community state of society, under a republican form of government. Now, I do not think that the English Socialists would have serious objections to this; because, though they are more favourable to an elective monarchy, I know them to be too enlightened to force their kind of government upon a people totally opposed to it. It is evident, that to try this would involve this people in far greater disorders and difficulties than would arise from their own democratic mode of government, even supposing this to be bad.

But there are other objections that could be made to the French Communists. They intend overthrowing the present government of their country by force, and have shown this by their continual policy of secret associations. This is true. Even the Icarians, though they declare in their publications that they abhor physical revolutions and secret societies, even they are associated in this manner, and would gladly seize upon any opportunity to establish a republic by force.[159] This will be objected to, I dare say, and rightly, because, at any rate, secret associations are always contrary to common prudence, inasmuch as they make the parties liable to unnecessary legal persecutions. I am not inclined to defend such a line of policy, but it has to be explained, to be accounted for; and

it is fully done so by the difference of the French and English national character and government. The English constitution has now been, for about one hundred and fifty years, uninterruptedly, the law of the land; every change has been made by legal means, by constitutional forms; therefore the English must have a strong respect for their laws. But, in France, during the last fifty years, one forced alteration has followed the other; all constitutions, from radical democracy to open despotism, all kinds of laws were, after a short existence, thrown away and replaced by others; how can the people then respect their laws? And the result of all these convulsions, as now established in the French constitution and laws, is the oppression of the poor by the rich, an oppression kept up by force—how can it be expected that the oppressed should love their public institutions, that they should not resort to the old tricks of 1792? They know that, if they are anything, they are it by meeting force by force, and having, at present, no other means, why should they hesitate a moment to apply this? It will be said further: why do not the French Communists establish communities, as the English have done? My reply is, because they *dare* not. If they did, the first experiment would be put down by soldiers. And if they were suffered to do so, it would be of no use to them. I always understood the Harmony Establishment to be only an experiment, to show the possibility of Mr. Owen's plans,[160] if put into practice, to force public opinion to a more favourable idea of the Socialist schemes for relieving public distress. Well, if that be the case, such an experiment would be of no avail in France. Show the French, not that your plans are practical, because that would leave them cool and indifferent. Show them that your communities will not place mankind under an "iron-bound despotism", as Mr. Bairstow the Chartist said, in his late discussion with Mr. Watts.[161] Show them that real liberty and real equality will be only possible under Community arrangements, show them that *justice* demands such arrangements, and then you will have them all on your side.

But to return to the social doctrines of the Icarian Communists. Their "holy book" is the *Voyage en Icarie* (Travels in Icaria) of Father Cabet, who, by-the-by, was formerly Attorney-General, and Member of the Chamber of Deputies. The general arrangements for their Communities are very little different to those of Mr. Owen. They have embodied in their plans everything rational they found in Saint-Simon and Fourier; and, therefore, are very much superior to the old French Communists. As to marriage, they perfectly agree with the English. Everything possible is done

to secure the liberty of the individual. Punishments are to be abolished, and to be replaced by education of the young, and rational mental treatment of the old.

It is, however, curious, that whilst the English Socialists are generally opposed to Christianity, and have to suffer all the religious prejudices of a really Christian people, the French Communists, being a part of a nation celebrated for its infidelity, are themselves Christians. One of their favourite axioms is, that Christianity *is* Communism, "*le Christianisme c'est le Communisme*". This they try to prove by the bible, the state of community in which the first Christians are said to have lived, etc. But all this shows only, that these good people are not the best Christians, although they style themselves so; because if they were, they would know the bible better, and find that, if some few passages of the bible may be favourable to Communism, the general spirit of its doctrines is, nevertheless, totally opposed to it, as well as to every rational measure.

The rise of Communism has been hailed by most of the eminent minds in France; Pierre Leroux, the metaphysician; George Sand, the courageous defender of the rights of her sex; Abbé de Lamennais, author of the *Words of a Believer*,[a] and a great many others, are, more or less, inclined towards the Communist doctrines. The most important writer, however, in this line is Proudhon, a young man, who published two or three years ago his work: *What is Property?* (*Qu'est ce que la Propriété?*) where he gave the answer: "*La propriété c'est le vol*", Property is robbery. This is the most philosophical work, on the part of the Communists, in the French language; and, if I wish to see any French book translated into the English language, it is this. The right of private property, the consequences of this institution, competition, immorality, misery, are here developed with a power of intellect, and real scientific research, which I never since found united in a single volume. Besides this, he gives very important remarks on government, and having proved that every kind of government is alike objectionable, no matter whether it be democracy, aristocracy, or monarchy, that all govern by force; and that, in the best of all possible cases, the force of the majority oppresses the weakness of the minority, he comes, at last, to the conclusion: "*Nous voulons l'anarchie!*" What we want is anarchy; the rule of nobody, the responsibility of every one to nobody but himself.

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[a] F. R. de Lamennais, *Paroles d'un croyant, 1833.—Ed.*

Upon this subject I shall have to speak more, when I come to the German Communists. I have now only to add, that the French Icarian Communists are estimated at about half a million in number, women and children not taken into account. A pretty respectable phalanx, isn't it? They have a monthly paper, the *Populaire*, edited by Father Cabet; and, besides this, P. Leroux publishes a periodical, the *Independent Review*,[a] in which the tenets of Communism are philosophically advocated.

Manchester, Oct. 23, 1843

## II

### GERMANY AND SWITZERLAND

[*The New Moral World* No. 21, November 18, 1843]

*Germany* had her Social Reformers as early as the Reformation. Soon after Luther had begun to proclaim church reform and to agitate the people against spiritual authority, the peasantry of Southern and Middle Germany rose in a general insurrection against their temporal lords. Luther always stated his object to be, to return to original christianity in doctrine and practice; the peasantry took exactly the same standing, and demanded, therefore, not only the ecclesiastical, but also the social practice of primitive christianity. They conceived a state of villainy and servitude, such as they lived under, to be inconsistent with the doctrines of the Bible; they were oppressed by a set of haughty barons and earls, robbed and treated like their cattle every day, they had no law to protect them, and if they had, they found nobody to enforce it. Such a state contrasted very much with the communities of early christians and the doctrines of Christ, as laid down in the Bible. Therefore they arose and began a war against their lords, which could only be a war of extermination. Thomas Münzer, a preacher, whom they placed at their head, issued a proclamation,[162] full, of course, of the religious and superstitious nonsense of the age, but containing also among others, principles like these: That according to the Bible, no christian is entitled to hold any property whatever exclusively for himself; that community of property is the only proper state for a society of christians; that it is not allowed to any good christian to have any authority or command over other christians, nor to hold any office of government or hereditary power, but on the contrary, that, as all men

[a] *La Revue indépendante.— Ed.*

are equal before God, so they ought to be on earth also. These doctrines were nothing but conclusions drawn from the Bible and from Luther's own writings; but the Reformer was not prepared to go as far as the people did; notwithstanding the courage he displayed against the spiritual authorities, he had not freed himself from the political and social prejudices of his age; he believed as firmly in the right divine of princes and landlords to trample upon the people, as he did in the Bible. Besides this, he wanted the protection of the aristocracy and the protestant princes, and thus he wrote a tract against the rioters,[a] disclaiming not only every connection with them, but also exhorting the aristocracy to put them down with the utmost severity, as rebels against the laws of God. "Kill them like dogs!" he exclaimed. The whole tract is written with such an animosity, nay, fury and fanaticism against the people, that it will ever form a blot upon Luther's character; it shows that, if he began his career as a man of the people, he was now entirely in the service of their oppressors. The insurrection, after a most bloody civil war, was suppressed, and the peasants reduced to their former servitude.

If we except some solitary instances, of which no notice was taken by the public, there has been no party of Social Reformers in Germany, since the peasants' war, up to a very recent date. The public mind during the last fifty years was too much occupied with questions of either a merely political or merely metaphysical nature—questions, which had to be answered, before the social question could be discussed with the necessary calmness and knowledge. Men, who would have been decidedly opposed to a system of community, if such had been proposed to them, were nevertheless paving the way for its introduction.

It was among the working class of Germany that Social Reform has been of late made again a topic of discussion. Germany having comparatively little manufacturing industry, the mass of the working classes is made up by handicraftsmen, who previous to their establishing themselves as little masters, travel for some years over Germany, Switzerland, and very often over France also. A great number of German workmen is thus continually going to and from Paris, and must of course there become acquainted with the political and social movements of the French working classes. One of these men, William Weitling, a native of Magdeburg in

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[a] This is a reference to Luther's *Wyder die mördische unnd reubischenn Rottenn der Paurenn.—Ed.*

Prussia, and a simple journeyman-tailor, resolved to establish communities in his own country.

This man, who is to be considered as the founder of German Communism, after a few years' stay in Paris, went to Switzerland, and, whilst he was working in some tailor's shop in Geneva, preached his new gospel to his fellow-workmen. He formed Communist Associations in all the towns and cities on the Swiss side of the lake of Geneva, most of the Germans who worked there becoming favourable to his views. Having thus prepared the public mind, he issued a periodical, the *Young Generation*,[a] for a more extensive agitation of the country. This paper, although written for working men only, and by a working man, has from its beginning been superior to most of the French Communist publications, even to Father Cabet's *Populaire*. It shows that its editor must have worked very hard to obtain that knowledge of history and politics which a public writer cannot do without, and which a neglected education had left him deprived of. It shows, at the same time, that Weitling was always struggling to unite his various ideas and thoughts on society into a complete system of Communism. The *Young Generation* was first published in 1841; in the following year, Weitling published a work: *Guarantees of Harmony and Liberty*,[b] in which he gave a review of the old social system and the outlines of a new one. I shall, perhaps, some time give a few extracts from this book.

Having thus established the nucleus of a Communist party in Geneva and its neighbourhood, he went to Zurich, where, as in other towns of Northern Switzerland, some of his friends had already commenced to operate upon the minds of the working men. He now began to organise his party in these towns. Under the name of Singing Clubs, associations were formed for the discussion of Social reorganisation. At the same time Weitling advertised his intention to publish a book,—*The Gospel of the Poor Sinners*.[163] But here the police interfered with his proceedings.

In June last, Weitling was taken into custody, his papers and his book were seized, before it left the press. The Executive of the Republic appointed a committee to investigate the matter, and to report to the Grand Council, the representatives of the people. This report has been printed a few months since.[c] It appears from it, that

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[a] *Die junge Generation.—Ed.*

[b] Wilhelm Weitling, *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit.—Ed.*

[c] [J. C. Bluntschli,] *Die Kommunisten in der Schweiz nach den bei Weitling vorgefundenen Papieren.—Ed.*

a great many Communist associations existed in every part of Switzerland, consisting mostly of German working men; that Weitling was considered as the leader of the party, and received from time to time reports of progress; that he was in correspondence with similar associations of Germans in Paris and London, and that all these societies, being composed of men who very often changed their residence, were so many seminaries of these "dangerous and Utopian doctrines", sending out their elder members to Germany, Hungary, and Italy, and imbuing with their spirit every workman who came within their reach. The report was drawn up by Dr. Bluntschli, a man of aristocratic and fanatically christian opinions, and the whole of it therefore is written more like a party denunciation, than like a calm, official report. Communism is denounced as a doctrine dangerous in the extreme, subversive of all existing order, and destroying all the sacred bonds of society. The pious doctor, besides, is at a loss for words sufficiently strong to express his feelings as to the frivolous blasphemy with which these infamous and ignorant people try to justify their wicked and revolutionary doctrines, by passages from the Holy Scriptures. Weitling and his party are, in this respect, just like the Icarians in France, and contend that christianity is Communism.

The result of Weitling's trial did very little to satisfy the anticipations of the Zurich government. Although Weitling and his friends were sometimes very incautious in their expressions, yet the charge of high treason and conspiracy against him could not be maintained; the criminal court sentenced him to six months' imprisonment, and eternal banishment from Switzerland; the members of the Zurich associations were expelled the Canton; the report was communicated to the governments of the other Cantons and to the foreign embassies, but the Communists in other parts of Switzerland were very little interfered with. The prosecution came too late, and was too little assisted by the other Cantons; it did nothing at all for the destruction of Communism, and was even favourable to it, by the great interest it produced in all countries of the German tongue. Communism was almost unknown in Germany, but became by this an object of general attention.

Besides this party there exists another in Germany, which advocates Communism. The former, being thoroughly a popular party, will no doubt very soon unite all the working classes of Germany; that party which I now refer to is a philosophical one,

unconnected in its origin with either French or English Communists, and arising from that philosophy which, since the last fifty years, Germany has been so proud of.

The political revolution of France was accompanied by a philosophical revolution in Germany. Kant began it by overthrowing the old system of Leibnitzian metaphysics, which at the end of last century was introduced in all Universities of the Continent. Fichte and Schelling commenced rebuilding, and Hegel completed the new system. There has never been, ever since man began to think, a system of philosophy as comprehensive as that of Hegel. Logic, metaphysics, natural philosophy, the philosophy of mind, the philosophy of law, of religion, of history, all are united in one system, reduced to one fundamental principle. The system appeared quite unassailable from without, and so it was; it has been overthrown from *within* only, by those who were Hegelians themselves. I cannot, of course, give here a complete development either of the system or of its history, and therefore must restrain myself to the following remarks. The progress of German philosophy from Kant to Hegel was so consistent, so logical, so necessary, if I may say so, that no other systems besides those I have named could subsist. There are two or three of them, but they found no attention; they were so neglected, that nobody would even do them the honour to overthrow them. Hegel, notwithstanding his enormous learning and his deep thought, was so much occupied with abstract questions, that he neglected to free himself from the prejudices of his age—an age of restoration for old systems of government and religion. But his disciples had very different views on these subjects. Hegel died in 1831, and as early as 1835 appeared Strauss' *Life of Jesus*, the first work showing some progress beyond the limits of orthodox Hegelianism. Others followed; and in 1837 the Christians rose against what they called the New Hegelians, denouncing them as Atheists, and calling for the interference of the state. The state, however, did not interfere, and the controversy went on. At that time, the New, or Young Hegelians, were so little conscious of the consequences of their own reasoning, that they all denied the charge of Atheism, and called themselves Christians and Protestants, although they denied the existence of a God who was not man, and declared the history of the gospels to be a pure mythology. It was not until last year, in a pamphlet,[a] by the writer of these lines, that the charge of Atheism was allowed to be just. But the development went

[a] Frederick Engels, *Schelling and Revelation* (see this edition, Vol. 2).—*Ed.*

on. The Young Hegelians of 1842 were declared Atheists and Republicans; the periodical of the party, the *German Annals*,[a] was more radical and open than ever before; a political paper[b] was established, and very soon the whole of the German liberal press was entirely in our hands. We had friends in almost every considerable town of Germany; we provided all the liberal papers with the necessary matter, and by this means made them our organs; we inundated the country with pamphlets, and soon governed public opinion upon every question. A temporary relaxation of the censorship of the press added a great deal to the energy of this movement, quite novel to a considerable part of the German public. Papers, published under the authorisation of a government censor, contained things which, even in France, would have been punished as high treason, and other things which could not have been pronounced in England, without a trial for blasphemy being the consequence of it. The movement was so sudden, so rapid, so energetically pursued, that the government as well as the public were dragged along with it for some time. But this violent character of the agitation proved that it was not founded upon a strong party among the public, and that its power was produced by the surprise and consternation only of its opponents. The governments, recovering their senses, put a stop to it by a most despotic oppression of the liberty of speech. Pamphlets, newspapers, periodicals, scientific works were suppressed by dozens, and the agitated state of the country soon subsided. It is a matter of course that such a tyrannical interference will not check the progress of public opinion, nor quench the principles defended by the agitators; the entire persecution has been of no use whatever to the ruling powers; because, if *they* had not put down the movement, it would have been checked by the apathy of the public at large, a public as little prepared for radical changes as that of every other country; and, if even this had not been the case, the republican agitation would have been abandoned by the agitators themselves, who now, by developing farther and farther the consequences of their philosophy, became Communists. The princes and rulers of Germany, at the very moment when they believed to have put down for ever republicanism, saw the rise of Communism from the ashes of political agitation; and this new doctrine appears to them even more dangerous and formidable than that in whose apparent destruction they rejoiced.

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[a] *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst.—Ed.*
[b] *Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe.—Ed.*

As early as autumn, 1842, some of the party contended for the insufficiency of political change, and declared their opinion to be, that a *Social* revolution based upon common property, was the only state of mankind agreeing with their abstract principles. But even the leaders of the party, such as Dr. Bruno Bauer, Dr. Feuerbach, and Dr. Ruge, were not then prepared for this decided step. The political paper of the party, the *Rhenish Gazette*,[a] published some papers advocating Communism, but without the wished-for effect. Communism, however, was such a *necessary* consequence of New Hegelian philosophy, that no opposition could keep it down, and, in the course of this present year, the originators of it had the satisfaction of seeing one republican after the other join their ranks. Besides Dr. Hess, one of the editors of the now suppressed *Rhenish Gazette*, and who was, in fact, the first Communist of the party, there are now a great many others; as Dr. Ruge, editor of the *German Annals*, the scientific periodical of the Young Hegelians, which has been suppressed by resolution of the German Diet [164]; Dr. Marx, another of the editors of the *Rhenish Gazette*; George Herwegh, the poet whose letter to the King of Prussia was translated, last winter, by most of the English papers,[165] and others: and we hope that the remainder of the republican party will, by-and-by, come over too.

Thus, philosophical Communism may be considered for ever established in Germany, notwithstanding the efforts of the governments to keep it down. They have annihilated the press in their dominions, but to no effect; the progress parties profit by the free press of Switzerland and France, and their publications are as extensively circulated in Germany, as if they were printed in that country itself. All persecutions and prohibitions have proved ineffectual, and will ever do so; the Germans are a philosophical nation, and will not, cannot abandon Communism, as soon as it is founded upon sound philosophical principles: chiefly if it is derived as an unavoidable conclusion from their *own* philosophy. And this is the part we have to perform now. Our party has to prove that either all the philosophical efforts of the German nation, from Kant to Hegel, have been useless—worse than useless; or, that they must end in Communism; that the Germans must either reject their great philosophers, whose names they hold up as the glory of their nation, or that they must adopt Communism. And this *will* be proved; this dilemma the Germans *will* be forced into, and there can scarcely be any doubt as to which side of the question the people will adopt.

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[a] *Rheinische Zeitung.—Ed.*

There is a greater chance in Germany for the establishment of a Communist party among the educated classes of society, than anywhere else. The Germans are a very disinterested nation; if in Germany principle comes into collision with interest, principle will almost always silence the claims of interest. The same love of abstract principle, the same disregard of reality and self-interest, which have brought the Germans to a state of political nonentity, these very same qualities guarantee the success of philosophical Communism in that country. It will appear very singular to Englishmen, that a party which aims at the destruction of private property is chiefly made up by those who have property; and yet this is the case in Germany. We can recruit our ranks from those classes only which have enjoyed a pretty good education; that is, from the universities and from the commercial class; and in either we have not hitherto met with any considerable difficulty.

As to the particular doctrines of our party, we agree much more with the English Socialists than with any other party. Their system, like ours, is founded upon philosophical principle; they struggle, as we do, against religious prejudices whilst the French reject philosophy and perpetuate religion by dragging it over with themselves into the projected new state of society. The French Communists could assist us in the first stages only of our development, and we soon found that we knew more than our teachers; but we shall have to learn a great deal yet from the English Socialists. Although our fundamental principles give us a broader base, inasmuch as we received them from a system of philosophy embracing every part of human knowledge; yet in everything bearing upon practice, upon the *facts* of the present state of society, we find that the English Socialists are a long way before us, and have left very little to be done. I may say, besides, that I have met with English Socialists with whom I agree upon almost every question.

I cannot now give an exposition of this Communist system without adding too much to the length of this paper; but I intend to do so some time soon, if the Editor of the *New Moral World*[a] will allow me the space for it.[166] I therefore conclude by stating that, notwithstanding the persecutions of the German governments (I understand that, in Berlin, Mr. Edgar Bauer is being prosecuted for a Communist publication [167]; and in Stuttgart another gentleman has

[a] G. A. Fleming.—*Ed.*

been committed for the novel crime of "Communist correspondence"!), notwithstanding this, I say, every necessary step is taken to bring about a successful agitation for Social Reform, to establish a new periodical, and to secure the circulation of all publications advocating Communism.

Written on October 23 and at the beginning of November 1843

First published in *The New Moral World*, Third Series, Nos. 19 and 21, November 4 and 18, 1843

Signed: *F. Engels*

Printed according to the newspaper

# PROGRESS OF COMMUNISM IN GERMANY. PERSECUTION OF THE COMMUNISTS IN SWITZERLAND[168]

Frankfort, November 26. The associations of the working classes for the purpose of introducing practically the ideas of socialism, or rather communism, by means of revolutionary reform, become daily more frequent and more dangerous. The governments are daily issuing decrees against the wandering customs of artisans and apprentices; they especially prohibited their visiting Switzerland, which is considered as the home of these revolutionary ideas. Several apostles of socialism have been arrested.[a]

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The *Basle Gazette* of the 29th states the Supreme Tribunal of Zurich has passed judgment on the appeal of M. Weitling, who was found guilty in the first instance of disaffection, and sentenced to several months' imprisonment[b] and five years' banishment; first, for having excited the people to revolt; and, secondly, for having entered into secret associations[169] notwithstanding the laws of the country concerning refugees. He was acquitted of the charges brought against him of bringing religion into contempt.

First published in *The Northern Star* No. 317, December 9, 1843 and in *The New Moral World*, December 16, 1843

Printed according to the newspaper *The Northern Star*

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[a] In *The New Moral World* the following paragraph was added: "Several apostles of Socialism have been arrested; but a better means than those of compulsion has been thought of; it consists in the organisation of a great association for the purpose of bestowing sound instruction to the working classes by propagating useful lectures among them. A reading company (*Leseverein*) has been established here in Frankfort, and several hundreds of the working classes are already enrolled in it."

[b] See this volume, p. 403.—*Ed.*

# THE *TIMES* ON GERMAN COMMUNISM

## *To the Editor of the New Moral World*

Sir.—Seeing the paper from the *Times* on the Communists in Germany, republished in *The New Moral World*,[170] I thought it better not to let it pass without some commentatory remarks, which you perhaps will find worth inserting.

The *Times* hitherto enjoyed on the continent the reputation of a well-informed newspaper, but a few more articles like that on German Communism must very soon destroy that opinion. Every one who has the slightest knowledge of the social movements in France and Germany, must at once perceive that the author of the paper alluded to speaks of a subject of which he is thoroughly ignorant. He knows not even so much about it as would enable him to expose the weaker parts of the party he attacks. If he wanted to decry Weitling, he could have found in his writings passages much more fitted for his purpose than those he translates. If he only would have given himself the trouble to read the report of the Zurich committee,[a] which he professes to have read, but evidently has not, he would have found plenty of matter for slander, lots of garbled passages collected expressly for the purpose. It is very curious, after all, that the Communists themselves must furnish their opponents with arms for the combat; but, standing upon the broad base of philosophical argument, they can afford to do so.

The correspondent of the *Times* begins by describing the Communist party as very weak in France, and doubts whether the insurrection of 1839, in Paris,[171] was got up by them, or, which he

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[a] [J. C. Bluntschli,] *Die Kommunisten in der Schweiz nach den bei Weitling vorgefundenen Papieren* (see also this volume, pp. 402-03).—*Ed.*

thinks very likely, by the "powerful" republican party. My well-informed informer of the English public, do you consider a party very weak which numbers about half a million of adult males? Do you know that the "powerful" republican party in France is, and has been these last nine years, in a state of utter dissolution and increasing decay? Do you know that the *National* newspaper, the organ of this "powerful" party, has a more limited circulation than any other Paris paper? Must I, a foreigner, remind you of the republican subscription for the Irish repeal fund, got up by the *National* last summer, and amounting to less than one hundred pounds, although the republicans affected considerable sympathy for the Irish repealers?[172] Do you not know that the mass of the republican party, the working classes, have seceded from their richer partisans long since, and not joined, no, *established* the Communist party, long before Cabet commenced to advocate Communism? Do you not know that all the "power" of the French republicans consists in the reliance they have in the Communists, who wish to see a republic established before they begin putting Communism into practice? It seems you are ignorant of all these things, and yet you ought to know them, in order to form a correct opinion of continental Socialism.

As to the insurrection of 1839, I do not consider such things creditable to any party; but I have it from parties actively engaged in this *émeute*, that it was plotted and executed by the Communists.[173]

The well-informed correspondent goes on to state that

> "Fourier's and Cabet's doctrines seemed more to occupy the minds of some literary and scientific characters, than to gain general favour with the people".

Of Fourier this is true, as I had occasion to show in a former number of this paper[a]; but Cabet! Cabet, the author of almost nothing but small pamphlets,—Cabet, who is always called Father Cabet, a name not likely to be given by "literary and scientific characters",—Cabet, whose greatest fault is superficiality and want of regard for the just claims of scientific research,—Cabet, the editor of a paper[b] calculated for the information of those who are able to *read* only—that this man's doctrines should occupy the mind of a professor of the Parisian university, like Michelet, or Quinet, whose boast is a deepness deeper than mysticism? It is too ludicrous.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 394-96.—*Ed.*
[b] *Le Populaire de 1841.*—*Ed.*

The correspondent then speaks of the celebrated German nocturnal meeting at Hambach and Steinholzli,[174] and expresses his opinion

"that this bore rather a political than a social revolutionary character".

I hardly know where to begin in exposing the blunders of this sentence. Firstly, "nocturnal meetings" are quite unknown on the continent: we have no torch-light Chartists' or nocturnal Rebeccaite assemblages.[175] The Hambach meeting was held in open day, under the eyes of the authorities. Secondly, Hambach is a place in Bavaria, and Steinholzli in Switzerland, some hundred miles from Hambach; yet our correspondent speaks of the "Hambach *and* Steinholzli meeting". Thirdly, these two meetings were separated by a considerable extent, not only of space, but of time also. The Steinholzli meeting took place several years after the other. Fourthly, these meetings not only *seemed*, but in reality did bear a merely political character; they were held before the Communists appeared in the field.

The sources from which our correspondent got his invaluable information, were "the report of the (Zurich) Commission, the published and unpublished Communist writings discovered at the arrest of Weitling, and personal inquiry". Now it is evident, from the ignorance of our correspondent, that he never read the report; it is evident that "*published* communistical writings" could not be *"discovered"* at the arrest of anybody, as the very fact of their "publication" destroys every possibility of a "discovery". The attorney-general of Zurich certainly would not boast of the "discovery" of books which every bookseller could have furnished him with! As to the "unpublished" writings, for the suppression of which the prosecution was commenced, the Zurich senators would have been inconsistent indeed, had they, as our correspondent appears to believe, afterwards published them themselves! They did no such thing. In fact, in all the report of our correspondent, there is nothing produced, which he could have procured from this source and from that of personal inquiry, if it be not the two novel facts, that the German Communists got their doctrine chiefly from Cabet and Fourier, whom they attack; as our correspondent could have read in the same book from which he so extensively quotes (Weitling's *Guarantees*,[a] p. 228); and that "they consider as their four evangelists, Cabet, Proudhon, Weitling, and—and—Constant"! Benjamin Constant, the friend of Madame de Staël, died long ago, and never thought of anything connected with

[a] Wilhelm Weitling, *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit.*— *Ed.*

social reform. Evidently our correspondent means Considérant, the Fourierist, editor of the *Phalange*, now the *Démocratie Pacifique*, who is not at all connected with the Communists.

"The Communist doctrine is at present more negative than positive"

and immediately after this assertion is given, our correspondent cuts its throat by laying down, in twelve paragraphs, an outline of Weitling's proposed arrangements for a new social state, which arrangements are altogether positive, and do not even mention the destruction of the present social system.

These extracts, however, are given in a very confused manner, showing that our correspondent did in several cases fail to hit upon the vital point of the question, and gave in its stead some rather insignificant details. Thus he omits to state the chief point in which Weitling is superior to Cabet, namely, the abolition of all government by force and by majority, and the establishment in its stead of a mere administration, organising the different branches of labour, and distributing its produce; he omits the proposal to nominate all officers of this administration, and in every particular Branch, not by a majority of the community at large, but by those only who have a knowledge of the particular kind of work the future officer has to perform; and, one of the most important features of the plan, that the nominators are to select the fittest person, by means of some kind of prize essays, without knowing the author of any of these essays; the names to be sealed up, and that paper only to be opened which contains the name of the successful competitor; obviating by this all personal motives which could bias the minds of the electors.

As to the remainder of the extracts from Weitling, I leave it to the readers of this periodical to judge, whether they contain such contemptible stuff as our correspondent thinks them to be; or whether they do not advocate in most, if not in all cases, the same principles and proposals, for the propagation of which this paper was established. At any rate, if the *Times* should wish to comment again on German Communism, it would do well to provide another correspondent.

I am, Sir, yours truly,

*F. Engels*

Written on January 13, 1844

First published in *The New Moral World*, Third Series, No. 30, January 20, 1844

Printed according to the newspaper

# FRENCH COMMUNISM

## *To the Editor of the New Moral World*

Manchester, January 28, 1844

DEAR SIR,—In my letter to you in the *New Moral World* of the 13th instant I committed an error. I considered the correspondent of the *Times* wrong in naming a M. Constant as a Communist[a]; but since I wrote, I have received some French Communist publications, in which an Abbé Constant is named as a partisan of the Community System. At the same time, Mr. Goodwyn Barmby had the kindness to give me some further information about the Abbé Constant, who, he says, has been imprisoned for his principles, and is the author of several Communist works. His creed is thus expressed in his own words: I am a christian and I take christianity to be community only.

Requesting you, therefore, to correct the above error in your next number,

I am, dear Sir, yours respectfully,

*F. Engels*

Written on January 28, 1844

First published in *The New Moral World*, Third Series, No. 32, February 3, 1844

Printed according to the newspaper

[a] See this volume, pp. 412-13.—*Ed.*

## CONTINENTAL MOVEMENTS

The well-known novel of Eugène Sue, *The Mysteries of Paris*, has made a deep impression upon the public mind, especially in Germany; the forcible manner in which this book depicts the misery and demoralisation falling to the share of the "lower orders" in great cities, could not fail to direct public attention to the state of the poor in general. The Germans begin to discover, as the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, the *Times* of Germany, says, that the style of novel writing has undergone a complete revolution during these last ten years; that instead of kings and princes, who formerly were the heroes of similar tales, it is now the poor, the despised class, whose fates and fortunes, joys and sufferings, are made the topic of romance; they are finding out at last that this new class of novel writers, such as G. Sand, E. Sue, and Boz,[a] is indeed a sign of the times. The good Germans always thought, that misery and destitution existed in Paris and Lyons, London and Manchester only, and that Germany was entirely free from such excrescences of over-civilisation and of excessive manufacturing industry. Now, however, they begin to see that they also may muster a considerable amount of social disease; the Berlin papers confess, that the "Voigtland" of that town is not inferior in this respect to St. Giles'[176] or any other abode of the pariahs of civilisation; they confess, that, although trades' unions and strikes have hitherto been unknown in Germany, yet help is much needed, in order to avoid the occurrence of similar things among their own countrymen. Dr. Mundt, a lecturer at the Berlin university, has commenced a course of public lectures on the different systems of Social Re-organisation; and although he is not

[a] Charles Dickens.—*Ed.*

the man to form a correct and impartial judgment upon such things, yet these lectures must do a great deal of good. It may easily be conceived, how favourable this moment is for the commencement of a more extensive social agitation in Germany, and what will be the effect of a new periodical advocating a thorough social reform. Such a periodical has been established in Paris under the title of *German and French Annals*[a]; its editors, Dr. Ruge and Dr. Marx, as well as its other contributors, belong to the "learned Communists" of Germany, and are supported by the most distinguished Socialist authors of France. The periodical, which is to be published in monthly numbers, and to contain French as well as German articles, could not, indeed, commence at a more favourable moment, and its success may be considered as certain, even before the first number is issued.[177]

*F. E.*

Written late in January 1844

First published in *The New Moral World*, Third Series, No. 32, February 3, 1844

Printed according to the newspaper

[a] *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher.—Ed.*

# THE PRESS AND THE GERMAN DESPOTS

Our readers are aware of the rapid progress in Germany of Republican and Communist principles, which progress has of late excited unusual terror amongst the crowned brigands and their advisers of that great confederation of nations.[a] Additional measures of repression are, therefore, being called into operation to check the growth of these "dangerous doctrines", particularly in Prussia. It appears that in the year 1834, a secret Conference of Plenipotentiaries was held at Vienna, when a Protocol was agreed to, but which has only recently been published, imposing most absolute restrictions upon the press, and proclaiming and enforcing the "right divine" of Princes over all legislative and other popular bodies whatsoever. As a specimen of the "Holy Alliance" principle of this atrocious Protocol, we may state that the eighteenth article provides that

> "Princes who are menaced on the part of their states by any infringement of the orders laid down by the decree of the Diet of 1832, are to dissolve these states, and to obtain military aid in support from the rest of the confederation." [178]

We may add, as a proof of how the fairness and freedom of the press is understood in Prussia, that strict orders have been given to the censors at Cologne, Münster, and other Catholic towns, not to permit the republication of any parts of the Irish trials now in progress.[179] One German journal wished to send a reporter or correspondent to Dublin; but there was no hope of being allowed to publish even his letter. No matter, liberty shall yet be triumphant, despite their dungeons and bayonets.

Written at the end of January and the beginning of February 1844

First published in *The Northern Star* No. 325, February 3, 1844

Printed according to the newspaper

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[a] i.e., the German Confederation.—*Ed.*

# OUTLINES OF A CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY[180]

Political economy came into being as a natural result of the expansion of trade, and with its appearance elementary, unscientific huckstering was replaced by a developed system of licensed fraud, an entire science of enrichment.

This political economy or science of enrichment born of the merchants' mutual envy and greed, bears on its brow the mark of the most detestable selfishness. People still lived in the naive belief that gold and silver were wealth, and therefore considered nothing more urgent than the prohibition everywhere of the export of the "precious" metals. The nations faced each other like misers, each clasping to himself with both arms his precious money-bag, eyeing his neighbours with envy and distrust. Every conceivable means was employed to lure from the nations with whom one had commerce as much ready cash as possible, and to retain snugly within the customs-boundary all which had happily been gathered in.

If this principle had been rigorously carried through trade would have been killed. People therefore began to go beyond this first stage. They came to appreciate that capital locked up in a chest was dead capital, while capital in circulation increased continuously. They then became more sociable, sent off their ducats as call-birds to bring others back with them, and realised that there is no harm in paying A too much for his commodity so long as it can be disposed of to B at a higher price.

On this basis the *mercantile system* was built. The avaricious character of trade was to some extent already beginning to be hidden. The nations drew slightly nearer to one another, concluded trade and friendship agreements, did business with one

another and, for the sake of larger profits, treated one another with all possible love and kindness. But in fact there was still the old avarice and selfishness and from time to time this erupted in wars, which in that day were all based on trade jealousy. In these wars it also became evident that trade, like robbery, is based on the law of the strong hand. No scruples whatever were felt about exacting by cunning or violence such treaties as were held to be the most advantageous.

The cardinal point in the whole mercantile system is the theory of the balance of trade. For as it still subscribed to the dictum that gold and silver constitute wealth, only such transactions as would finally bring ready cash into the country were considered profitable. To ascertain this, exports were compared with imports. When more had been exported than imported, it was believed that the difference had come into the country in ready cash, and that the country was richer by that difference. The art of the economists, therefore, consisted in ensuring that at the end of each year exports should show a favourable balance over imports; and for the sake of this ridiculous illusion thousands of men have been slaughtered! Trade, too, has had its crusades and inquisitions.

The eighteenth century, the century of revolution, also revolutionised economics. But just as all the revolutions of this century were one-sided and bogged down in antitheses—just as abstract materialism was set in opposition to abstract spiritualism, the republic to monarchy, the social contract to divine right—likewise the economic revolution did not get beyond antithesis. The premises remained everywhere in force: materialism did not attack the Christian contempt for and humiliation of Man, and merely posited Nature instead of the Christian God as the Absolute confronting Man. In politics no one dreamt of examining the premises of the state as such. It did not occur to economics to question the *validity of private property.* Therefore, the new economics was only half an advance. It was obliged to betray and to disavow its own premises, to have recourse to sophistry and hypocrisy so as to cover up the contradictions in which it became entangled, so as to reach the conclusions to which it was driven not by its premises but by the humane spirit of the century. Thus economics took on a philanthropic character. It withdrew its favour from the producers and bestowed it on the consumers. It affected a solemn abhorrence of the bloody terror of the mercantile system, and proclaimed trade to be a bond of friendship and union among nations as among individuals. All was pure splendour and magnificence—yet the premises reasserted themselves soon enough,

and in contrast to this sham philanthropy produced the Malthusian population theory—the crudest, most barbarous theory that ever existed, a system of despair which struck down all those beautiful phrases about philanthropy and world citizenship. The premises begot and reared the factory system and modern slavery, which yields nothing in inhumanity and cruelty to ancient slavery. Modern economics—the system of free trade based on Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*—reveals itself to be that same hypocrisy, inconsistency and immorality which now confront free humanity in every sphere.

But was Smith's system, then, not an advance? Of course it was, and a necessary advance at that. It was necessary to overthrow the mercantile system with its monopolies and hindrances to trade, so that the true consequences of private property could come to light. It was necessary for all these petty, local and national considerations to recede into the background, so that the struggle of our time could become a universal human struggle. It was necessary for the theory of private property to leave the purely empirical path of merely objective inquiry and to acquire a more scientific character which would also make it responsible for the consequences, and thus transfer the matter to a universally human sphere. It was necessary to carry the immorality contained in the old economics to its highest pitch, by attempting to deny it and by the hypocrisy introduced (a necessary result of that attempt). All this lay in the nature of the case. We gladly concede that it is only the justification and accomplishment of free trade that has enabled us to go beyond the economics of private property; but we must at the same time have the right to expose the utter theoretical and practical nullity of this free trade.

The nearer to our time the economists whom we have to judge, the more severe must our judgment become. For while Smith and Malthus found only scattered fragments, the modern economists had the whole system complete before them: the consequences had all been drawn; the contradictions came clearly enough to light; yet they did not come to examining the premises, and still accepted the responsibility for the whole system. The nearer the economists come to the present time, the further they depart from honesty. With every advance of time, sophistry necessarily increases, so as to prevent economics from lagging behind the times. This is why *Ricardo*, for instance, is more guilty than *Adam Smith*, and *McCulloch* and *Mill* more guilty than *Ricardo*.

Even the mercantile system cannot be correctly judged by modern economics since the latter is itself one-sided and as yet burdened with that very system's premises. Only that view which

rises above the opposition of the two systems, which criticises the premises common to both and proceeds from a purely human, universal basis, can assign to both their proper position. It will become evident that the protagonists of free trade are more inveterate monopolists than the old mercantilists themselves. It will become evident that the sham humanity of the modern economists hides a barbarism of which their predecessors knew nothing; that the older economists' conceptual confusion is simple and consistent compared with the double-tongued logic of their attackers, and that neither of the two factions can reproach the other with anything which would not recoil upon themselves.

This is why modern liberal economics cannot comprehend the restoration of the mercantile system by List, whilst for us the matter is quite simple. The inconsistency and ambiguity of liberal economics must of necessity dissolve again into its basic components. Just as theology must either regress to blind faith or progress towards free philosophy, free trade must produce the restoration of monopolies on the one hand and the abolition of private property on the other.

The only *positive* advance which liberal economics has made is the elaboration of the laws of private property. These are contained in it, at any rate, although not yet fully elaborated and clearly expressed. It follows that on all points where it is a question of deciding which is the shortest road to wealth—i. e., in all strictly economic controversies—the protagonists of free trade have right on their side. That is, needless to say, in controversies with the monopolists—not with the opponents of private property, for the English Socialists have long since proved both practically and theoretically that the latter are in a position to settle economic questions more correctly even from an economic point of view.

In the critique of political economy, therefore, we shall examine the basic categories, uncover the contradiction introduced by the free-trade system, and bring out the consequences of both sides of the contradiction.

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The term national wealth has only arisen as a result of the liberal economists' passion for generalisation. As long as private property exists, this term has no meaning. The "national wealth" of the English is very great and yet they are the poorest people under the sun. One must either discard this term completely, or accept such premises as give it meaning. Similarly with the terms

national economy and political or public economy. In the present circumstances that science ought to be called *private* economy, for its public connections exist only for the sake of private property.

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The immediate consequence of private property is *trade*—exchange of reciprocal requirements—buying and selling. This trade, like every activity, must under the dominion of private property become a direct source of gain for the trader; i. e., each must seek to sell as dear as possible and buy as cheap as possible. In every purchase and sale, therefore, two men with diametrically opposed interests confront each other. The confrontation is decidedly antagonistic, for each knows the intentions of the other—knows that they are opposed to his own. Therefore, the first consequence is mutual mistrust, on the one hand, and the justification of this mistrust—the application of immoral means to attain an immoral end—on the other. Thus, the first maxim in trade is secretiveness—the concealment of everything which might reduce the value of the article in question. The result is that in trade it is permitted to take the utmost advantage of the ignorance, the trust, of the opposing party, and likewise to impute qualities to one's commodity which it does not possess. In a word, trade is legalised fraud. Any merchant who wants to give truth its due can bear me witness that actual practice conforms with this theory.

The mercantile system still had a certain artless Catholic candour and did not in the least conceal the immoral nature of trade. We have seen how it openly paraded its mean avarice. The mutually hostile attitude of the nations in the eighteenth century, loathsome envy and trade jealousy, were the logical consequences of trade as such. Public opinion had not yet become humanised. Why, therefore, conceal things which resulted from the inhuman, hostile nature of trade itself?

But when the *economic Luther*,[a] Adam Smith, criticised past economics things had changed considerably. The century had been humanised; reason had asserted itself; morality began to claim its eternal right. The extorted trade treaties, the commercial wars, the strict isolation of the nations, offended too greatly against advanced consciousness. Protestant hypocrisy took the place of Catholic candour. Smith proved that humanity, too, was

[a] Cf. Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, p. 290 of this volume.—*Ed.*

rooted in the nature of commerce; that commerce must become "among nations, as among individuals, a bond of union and friendship" instead of being "the most fertile source of discord and animosity" (cf. *Wealth of Nations*, Bk. 4, Ch. 3, § 2); that after all it lay in the nature of things for trade, taken overall, to be advantageous to *all* parties concerned.

Smith was right to eulogise trade as humane. There is nothing absolutely immoral in the world. Trade, too, has an aspect wherein it pays homage to morality and humanity. But what homage! The law of the strong hand, the open highway robbery of the Middle Ages, became humanised when it passed over into trade; and trade became humanised when its first stage characterised by the prohibition of the export of money passed over into the mercantile system. Then the mercantile system itself was humanised. Naturally, it is in the interest of the trader to be on good terms with the one from whom he buys cheap as well as with the other to whom he sells dear. A nation therefore acts very imprudently if it fosters feelings of animosity in its suppliers and customers. The more friendly, the more advantageous. Such is the humanity of trade. And this hypocritical way of misusing morality for immoral purposes is the pride of the free-trade system. "Have we not overthrown the barbarism of the monopolies?" exclaim the hypocrites. "Have we not carried civilisation to distant parts of the world? Have we not brought about the fraternisation of the peoples, and reduced the number of wars?" Yes, all this you have done—but *how*! You have destroyed the small monopolies so that the *one* great basic monopoly, property, may function the more freely and unrestrictedly. You have civilised the ends of the earth to win new terrain for the deployment of your vile avarice. You have brought about the fraternisation of the peoples—but the fraternity is the fraternity of thieves. You have reduced the number of wars—to earn all the bigger profits in peace, to intensify to the utmost the enmity between individuals, the ignominious war of competition! When have you done anything out of pure humanity, from consciousness of the futility of the opposition between the general and the individual interest? When have you been moral without being interested, without harbouring at the back of your mind immoral, egoistical motives?

By dissolving nationalities, the liberal economic system had done its best to universalise enmity, to transform mankind into a horde of ravenous beasts (for what else are competitors?) who devour one another just *because* each has identical interests with all the others—after this preparatory work there remained but one step

to take before the goal was reached, the dissolution of the family. To accomplish this, economy's own beautiful invention, the factory system, came to its aid. The last vestige of common interests, the community of goods in the possession of the family, has been undermined by the factory system and—at least here in England—is already in the process of dissolution. It is a common practice for children, as soon as they are capable of work (i. e., as soon as they reach the age of nine), to spend their wages themselves, to look upon their parental home as a mere boarding-house, and hand over to their parents a fixed amount for food and lodging. How can it be otherwise? What else can result from the separation of interests, such as forms the basis of the free-trade system? Once a principle is set in motion, it works by its own impetus through all its consequences, whether the economists like it or not.

But the economist does not know himself what cause he serves. He does not know that with all his egoistical reasoning he nevertheless forms but a link in the chain of mankind's universal progress. He does not know that by his dissolution of all sectional interests he merely paves the way for the great transformation to which the century is moving—the reconciliation of mankind with nature and with itself.

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The next category established by trade is *value*. There is no dispute between the old and the modern economists over this category, just as there is none over all the others, since the monopolists in their obsessive mania for getting rich had no time left to concern themselves with categories. All controversies over such points stem from the modern economists.

The economist who lives by antitheses has also of course a *double* value—abstract or real value and exchange-value. There was a protracted quarrel over the nature of real value between the English, who defined the costs of production as the expression of real value, and the Frenchman Say, who claimed to measure this value by the utility of an object. The quarrel hung in doubt from the beginning of the century, then became dormant without a decision having been reached. The economists cannot decide anything.

The English—McCulloch and Ricardo in particular—thus assert that the abstract value of a thing is determined by the costs of production. *Nota bene* the abstract value, not the exchange-value,

the *exchangeable value*,[a] value in exchange—that, they say, is something quite different. Why are the costs of production the measure of value? Because—listen to this!—because no one in ordinary conditions and leaving aside the circumstance of competition would sell an object for less than it costs him to produce it. Would sell? What have we to do with "selling" here, where it is not a question of value in *exchange*? So we find trade again, which we are specifically supposed to leave aside—and what trade! A trade in which the cardinal factor, the circumstance of competition, is not to be taken into account! First, an abstract value; now also an abstract trade—a trade without competition, i. e., a man without a body, a thought without a brain to produce thoughts. And does the economist never stop to think that as soon as competition is left out of account there is no guarantee at all that the producer will sell his commodity just at the cost of production? What confusion!

Furthermore: Let us concede for a moment that everything is as the economist says. Supposing someone were to make with tremendous exertion and at enormous cost something utterly useless, something which no one desires—is that also worth its production costs? Certainly not, says the economist: Who will want to buy it? So we suddenly have not only Say's much decried utility but alongside it—with "buying"—the circumstance of competition. It can't be done—the economist cannot for one moment hold on to his abstraction. Not only what he painfully seeks to remove—competition—but also what he attacks—utility—crops up at every moment. Abstract value and its determination by the costs of production are, after all, only abstractions, nonentities.

But let us suppose once more for a moment that the economist is correct—how then will he determine the costs of production without taking account of competition? When examining the costs of production we shall see that this category too is based on competition, and here once more it becomes evident how little the economist is able to substantiate his claims.

If we turn to Say, we find the same abstraction. The utility of an object is something purely subjective, something which cannot be decided absolutely, and certainly something which cannot be decided at least as long as one still roams about in antitheses. According to this theory, the necessities of life ought to possess more value than luxury articles. The only possible way to arrive at a more or less objective, *apparently* general decision on the greater

[a] English term quoted by Engels.—*Ed.*

or lesser utility of an object is, under the dominion of private property, by competition; and yet it is precisely that circumstance which is to be left aside. But if competition is admitted production costs come in as well; for no one will sell for less than what he has himself invested in production. Thus, here, too, the one side of the opposition passes over involuntarily into the other.

Let us try to introduce clarity into this confusion. The value of an object includes both factors, which the contending parties arbitrarily separate—and, as we have seen, unsuccessfully. Value is the relation of production costs to utility. The first application of value is the decision as to whether a thing ought to be produced at all; i.e., as to whether utility counterbalances production costs. Only then can one talk of the application of value to exchange. The production costs of two objects being equal, the deciding factor determining their comparative value will be utility.

This basis is the only just basis of exchange. But if one proceeds from this basis, who is to decide the utility of the object? The mere opinion of the parties concerned? Then in any event *one* will be cheated. Or are we to assume a determination grounded in the inherent utility of the object independent of the parties concerned, and not apparent to them? If so, the exchange can only be effected by *coercion*, and each party considers itself cheated. The contradiction between the real inherent utility of the thing and the determination of that utility, between the determination of utility and the freedom of those who exchange, cannot be superseded without superseding private property; and once this is superseded, there can no longer be any question of exchange as it exists at present. The practical application of the concept of value will then be increasingly confined to the decision about production, and that is its proper sphere.

But how do matters stand at present? We have seen that the concept of value is violently torn asunder, and that each of the separate sides is declared to be the whole. Production costs, distorted from the outset by competition, are supposed to be value itself. So is mere subjective utility—since no other kind of utility can exist at present. To help these lame definitions on to their feet, it is in both cases necessary to have recourse to competition; and the best of it is that with the English competition represents utility, in contrast to the costs of production, whilst inversely with Say it introduces the costs of production in contrast to utility. But what kind of utility, what kind of production costs, does it introduce? Its utility depends on chance, on fashion, on the whim

of the rich; its production costs fluctuate with the fortuitous relationship of demand and supply.

The difference between real value and exchange-value is based on a fact—namely, that the value of a thing differs from the so-called equivalent given for it in trade; i.e., that this equivalent is not an equivalent. This so-called equivalent is the *price* of the thing, and if the economist were honest, he would employ this term for "value in exchange". But he has still to keep up some sort of pretence that price is somehow bound up with value, lest the immorality of trade become too obvious. It is, however, quite correct, and a fundamental law of private property, that *price* is determined by the reciprocal action of production costs and competition. This purely empirical law was the first to be discovered by the economist; and from this law he then abstracted his "real value", i.e., the price at the time when competition is in a state of equilibrium, when demand and supply cover each other. Then, of course, what remains over are the costs of production and it is these which the economist proceeds to call "real value", whereas it is merely a definite aspect of price. Thus everything in economics stands on its head. Value, the primary factor, the source of price, is made dependent on price, its own product. As is well known, this inversion is the essence of abstraction; on which see Feuerbach.

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According to the economists, the production costs of a commodity consist of three elements: the rent for the piece of land required to produce the raw material; the capital with its profit, and the wages for the labour required for production and manufacture. But it becomes immediately evident that capital and labour are identical, since the economists themselves confess that capital is "stored-up labour". We are therefore left with only two sides—the natural, objective side, land; and the human, subjective side, labour, which includes capital and, besides capital, a third factor which the economist does not think about—I mean the mental element of invention, of thought, alongside the physical element of sheer labour. What has the economist to do with inventiveness? Have not all inventions fallen into his lap without any effort on his part? Has *one* of them cost him anything? Why then should he bother about them in the calculation of production costs? Land, capital and labour are for him the conditions of wealth, and he requires nothing else. Science is no concern of his.

What does it matter to him that he has received its gifts through Berthollet, Davy, Liebig, Watt, Cartwright, etc.—gifts which have benefited him and his production immeasurably? He does not know how to calculate such things; the advances of science go beyond his figures. But in a rational order which has gone beyond the division of interests as it is found with the economist, the mental element certainly belongs among the elements of production and will find its place, too, in economics among the costs of production. And here it is certainly gratifying to know that the promotion of science also brings its material reward; to know that a single achievement of science like James Watt's steam-engine has brought in more for the world in the first fifty years of its existence than the world has spent on the promotion of science since the beginning of time.

We have, then, two elements of production in operation—nature and man, with man again active physically and mentally, and can now return to the economist and his production costs.

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What cannot be monopolised has no value, says the economist—a proposition which we shall examine more closely later on. If we say "has no *price*", then the proposition is valid for the order which rests on private property. If land could be had as easily as air, no one would pay rent. Since this is not the case, but since, rather, the extent of a piece of land to be appropriated is limited in any particular case, one pays rent for the appropriated, i.e., the monopolised land, or one pays down a purchase price for it. After this enlightenment about the origin of the value of land it is, however, very strange to have to hear from the economist that the rent of land is the difference between the yield from the land for which rent is paid and from the worst land worth cultivating at all. As is well known, this is the definition of rent fully developed for the first time by Ricardo. This definition is indeed correct in practice if one presupposes that a fall in demand reacts *instantaneously* on rent, and at once puts a corresponding amount of the worst cultivated land out of cultivation. This, however, is not the case, and the definition is therefore inadequate. Moreover, it does not cover the causation of rent, and is therefore even for that reason untenable. In opposition to this definition, Col. T. P. Thompson, the champion of the Anti-Corn Law League,[181] revived Adam Smith's definition, and substantiated it. According to him, rent is the relation between the competition of those striving for the use of the land and the limited quantity of available land.

Here at least is a return to the origin of rent; but this explanation does not take into account the varying fertility of the soil, just as the previous explanation leaves out competition.

Once more, therefore, we have two one-sided and hence only partial definitions of a single object. As in the case of the concept of value, we shall again have to combine these two definitions so as to find the correct definition which follows from the development of the thing itself and thus embraces all practice. Rent is the relation between the productivity of the land, the natural side (which in turn consists of *natural* fertility and *human* cultivation—labour applied to effect improvement), and the human side, competition. The economists may shake their heads over this "definition"; they will discover to their horror that it embraces everything relevant to this matter.

The *landowner* has nothing with which to reproach the merchant.

He practises robbery in monopolising the land. He practises robbery in exploiting for his own benefit the increase in population which increases competition and thus the value of his estate; in turning into a source of personal advantage that which has not been his own doing—that which is his by sheer accident. He practises robbery in *leasing his land,* when he eventually seizes for himself the improvements effected by his tenant. This is the secret of the ever-increasing wealth of the big landowners.

The axioms which qualify as robbery the landowner's method of deriving an income—namely, that each has a right to the product of his labour, or that no one shall reap where he has not sown—are not advanced by us. The first excludes the duty of feeding children; the second deprives each generation of the right to live, since each generation starts with what it inherits from the preceding generation. These axioms are, rather, consequences of private property. One should either put into effect the consequences or abandon private property as a premise.

Indeed, the original act of appropriation itself is justified by the assertion of the still earlier existence of *common* property rights. Thus, wherever we turn, private property leads us into contradictions.

To make land an object of huckstering—the land which is our one and all, the first condition of our existence—was the last step towards making oneself an object of huckstering. It was and is to this very day an immorality surpassed only by the immorality of self-alienation. And the original appropriation—the monopolisation of the land by a few, the exclusion of the rest from that which

is the condition of their life—yields nothing in immorality to the subsequent huckstering of the land.

If here again we abandon private property, rent is reduced to its truth, to the rational notion which essentially lies at its root. The value of the land divorced from it as rent then reverts to the land itself. This value, to be measured by the productivity of equal areas of land subjected to equal applications of labour, is indeed taken into account as part of the production costs when determining the value of products; and like rent, it is the relation of productivity to competition—but to *true* competition, such as will be developed when its time comes.

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We have seen that capital and labour are initially identical; we see further from the explanations of the economist himself that, in the process of production, capital, the result of labour, is immediately transformed again into the substratum, into the material of labour; and that therefore the momentarily postulated separation of capital from labour is immediately superseded by the unity of both. And yet the economist separates capital from labour, and yet clings to the division without giving any other recognition to their unity than by his definition of capital as "stored-up labour". The split between capital and labour resulting from private property is nothing but the inner dichotomy of labour corresponding to this divided condition and arising out of it. And after this separation is accomplished, capital is divided once more into the original capital and profit—the increment of capital, which it receives in the process of production; although in practice profit is immediately lumped together with capital and set into motion with it. Indeed, even profit is in its turn split into interest and profit proper. In the case of interest, the absurdity of these splits is carried to the extreme. The immorality of lending at interest, of receiving without working, merely for making a loan, though already implied in private property, is only too obvious, and has long ago been recognised for what it is by unprejudiced popular consciousness, which in such matters is usually right. All these subtle splits and divisions stem from the original separation of capital from labour and from the culmination of this separation—the division of mankind into capitalists and workers—a division which daily becomes ever more acute, and which, as we shall see, is *bound* to deepen. This separation, however, like the separation already considered of land from capital and labour, is

in the final analysis an impossible separation. What share land, capital and labour each have in any particular product cannot be determined. The three magnitudes are incommensurable. The land produces the raw material, but not without capital and labour. Capital presupposes land and labour. And labour presupposes *at least* land, and usually also capital. The functions of these three elements are completely different, and are not to be measured by a fourth common standard. Therefore, when it comes to dividing the proceeds among the three elements under existing conditions, there is no inherent standard; it is an entirely alien and with regard to them fortuitous standard that decides—competition, the cunning right of the stronger. Rent implies competition; profit on capital is solely determined by competition; and the position with regard to wages we shall see presently.

If we abandon private property, then all these unnatural divisions disappear. The difference between interest and profit disappears; capital is nothing without labour, without movement. The significance of profit is reduced to the weight which capital carries in the determination of the costs of production; and profit thus remains inherent in capital, in the same way as capital itself reverts to its original unity with labour.

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*Labour*—the main factor in production, the "source of wealth", free human activity—comes off badly with the economist. Just as capital has already been separated from labour, so labour is now in turn split for a second time: the product of labour confronts labour as wages, is separated from it, and is in its turn as usual determined by competition—there being, as we have seen, no firm standard determining labour's share in production. If we do away with private property, this unnatural separation also disappears. Labour becomes its own reward, and the true significance of the wages of labour, hitherto alienated, comes to light—namely, the significance of labour for the determination of the production costs of a thing.

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We have seen that in the end everything comes down to competition, so long as private property exists. It is the economist's principal category—his most beloved daughter, whom he ceaselessly caresses—and look out for the Medusa's head which she will show you!

The immediate consequence of private property was the split of production into two opposing sides—the natural and the human sides, the soil which without fertilisation by man is dead and sterile, and human activity, the first condition of which is that very soil. Furthermore we have seen how human activity in its turn was dissolved into labour and capital, and how these two sides antagonistically confronted each other. Thus we already had the struggle of the three elements against one another, instead of their mutual support; now we have to add that private property brings in its wake the fragmentation of each of these elements. One piece of land stands confronted by another, one capital by another, one labourer by another. In other words, because private property isolates everyone in his own crude solitariness, and because, nevertheless, everyone has the same interest as his neighbour, one landowner stands antagonistically confronted by another, one capitalist by another, one worker by another. In this discord of identical interests resulting precisely from this identity is consummated the immorality of mankind's condition hitherto; and this consummation is competition.

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The opposite of *competition* is *monopoly*. Monopoly was the war-cry of the Mercantilists; competition the battle-cry of the liberal economists. It is easy to see that this antithesis is again a quite hollow antithesis. Every competitor *cannot but* desire to have the monopoly, be he worker, capitalist or landowner. Each smaller group of competitors cannot but desire to have the monopoly for itself against all others. Competition is based on self-interest, and self-interest in turn breeds monopoly. In short, competition passes over into monopoly. On the other hand, monopoly cannot stem the tide of competition—indeed, it itself breeds competition; just as a prohibition of imports, for instance, or high tariffs positively breed the competition of smuggling. The contradiction of competition is exactly the same as that of private property. It is in the interest of each to possess everything, but in the interest of the whole that each possess an equal amount. Thus, the general and the individual interest are diametrically opposed to each other. The contradiction of competition is that each cannot but desire the monopoly, whilst the whole as such is bound to lose by monopoly and must therefore remove it. Moreover, competition already presupposes monopoly—namely, the monopoly of property (and here the hypocrisy of the liberals comes once more to light); and so long as the monopoly of property exists, for so long the

possession of monopoly is equally justified—for monopoly, once it exists, is also property. What a pitiful half-measure, therefore, to attack the small monopolies, and to leave untouched the basic monopoly! And if we add to this the economist's proposition mentioned above, that nothing has value which cannot be monopolised—that nothing, therefore, which does not permit of such monopolisation can enter this arena of competition—then our assertion that competition presupposes monopoly is completely justified.

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The law of competition is that demand and supply always strive to complement each other, and therefore never do so. The two sides are torn apart again and transformed into flat opposition. Supply always follows close on demand without ever quite covering it. It is either too big or too small, never corresponding to demand; because in this unconscious condition of mankind no one knows how big supply or demand is. If demand is greater than supply the price rises and, as a result, supply is to a certain degree stimulated. As soon as it comes on to the market, prices fall; and if it becomes greater than demand, then the fall in prices is so significant that demand is once again stimulated. So it goes on unendingly—a permanently unhealthy state of affairs—a constant alternation of over-stimulation and flagging which precludes all advance—a state of perpetual fluctuation without ever reaching its goal. This law with its constant adjustment, in which whatever is lost here is gained there, is regarded as something excellent by the economist. It is his chief glory—he cannot see enough of it, and considers it in all its possible and impossible applications. Yet it is obvious that this law is purely a law of nature and not a law of the mind. It is a law which produces revolution. The economist comes along with his lovely theory of demand and supply, proves to you that "one can never produce too much", and practice replies with trade crises, which reappear as regularly as the comets, and of which we have now on the average one every five to seven years. For the last eighty years these trade crises have arrived just as regularly as the great plagues did in the past—and they have brought in their train more misery and more immorality than the latter. (Compare Wade: *History of the Middle and Working Classes,* London, 1835, p. 211.) Of course, these commercial upheavals confirm the law, confirm it exhaustively—but in a manner different from that which the economist would have us believe to be the case. What are we to think of a

law which can only assert itself through periodic upheavals? It is certainly a natural law based on the unconsciousness of the participants. If the producers as such knew how much the consumers required, if they were to organise production, if they were to share it out amongst themselves, then the fluctuations of competition and its tendency to crisis would be impossible. Carry on production consciously as human beings—not as dispersed atoms without consciousness of your species—and you have overcome all these artificial and untenable antitheses. But as long as you continue to produce in the present unconscious, thoughtless manner, at the mercy of chance—for just so long trade crises will remain; and each successive crisis is bound to become more universal and therefore worse than the preceding one; is bound to impoverish a larger body of small capitalists, and to augment in increasing proportion the numbers of the class who live by labour alone, thus considerably enlarging the mass of labour to be employed (the major problem of our economists) and finally causing a social revolution such as has never been dreamt of in the philosophy[a] of the economists.

The perpetual fluctuation of prices such as is created by the condition of competition completely deprives trade of its last vestige of morality. It is no longer a question of *value*; the same system which appears to attach such importance to value, which confers on the abstraction of value in money form the honour of having an existence of its own—this very system destroys by means of competition the inherent value of all things, and daily and hourly changes the value-relationship of all things to one another. Where is there any possibility remaining in this whirlpool of an exchange based on a moral foundation? In this continuous up-and-down, everyone *must* seek to hit upon the most favourable moment for purchase and sale; everyone must become a speculator—that is to say, must reap where he has not sown; must enrich himself at the expense of others, must calculate on the misfortune of others, or let chance win for him. The speculator always counts on disasters, particularly on bad harvests. He utilises everything—for instance, the New York fire in its time[182]—and immorality's culminating point is the speculation on the Stock Exchange, where history, and with it mankind, is demoted to a means of gratifying the avarice of the calculating or gambling speculator. And let not the honest "respectable" merchant rise above the gambling on the Stock Exchange with a Pharisaic "I

[a] Cf. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene 5, lines 166-67.—*Ed.*

thank thee, O Lord...", etc. He is as bad as the speculators in stocks and shares. He speculates just as much as they do. He has to: competition compels him to. And his trading activity therefore implies the same immorality as theirs. The truth of the relation of competition is the relation of consumption to productivity. In a world worthy of mankind there will be no other competition than this. The community will have to calculate what it can produce with the means at its disposal; and in accordance with the relationship of this productive power to the mass of consumers it will determine how far it has to raise or lower production, how far it has to give way to, or curtail, luxury. But so that they may be able to pass a correct judgment on this relationship and on the increase in productive power to be expected from a rational state of affairs within the community, I invite my readers to consult the writings of the English Socialists, and partly also those of Fourier.

Subjective competition—the contest of capital against capital, of labour against labour, etc.—will under these conditions be reduced to the spirit of emulation grounded in human nature (a concept tolerably set forth so far only by Fourier), which after the transcendence of opposing interests will be confined to its proper and rational sphere.

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The struggle of capital against capital, of labour against labour, of land against land, drives production to a fever-pitch at which production turns all natural and rational relations upside-down. No capital can stand the competition of another if it is not brought to the highest pitch of activity. No piece of land can be profitably cultivated if it does not continuously increase its productivity. No worker can hold his own against his competitors if he does not devote all his energy to labour. No one at all who enters into the struggle of competition can weather it without the utmost exertion of his energy, without renouncing every truly human purpose. The consequence of this over-exertion on the one side is, inevitably, slackening on the other. When the fluctuation of competition is small, when demand and supply, consumption and production, are almost equal, a stage must be reached in the development of production where there is so much superfluous productive power that the great mass of the nation has nothing to live on, that the people starve from sheer abundance. For some considerable time England has found herself in this crazy position, in this living absurdity. When production is subject to greater fluctuations, as it

is bound to be in consequence of such a situation, then the alternation of boom and crisis, over-production and slump, sets in. The economist has never been able to find an explanation for this mad situation. In order to explain it, he invented the population theory, which is just as senseless—indeed even more senseless than the contradiction of coexisting wealth and poverty. The economist *could not afford* to see the truth; he could not afford to admit that this contradiction is a simple consequence of competition; for in that case his entire system would have fallen to bits.

For us the matter is easy to explain. The productive power at mankind's disposal is immeasurable. The productivity of the soil can be increased *ad infinitum* by the application of capital, labour and science. According to the most able economists and statisticians (cf. Alison's *Principles of Population,* Vol. I, Chs. 1 and 2), "over-populated" Great Britain can be brought within ten years to produce a corn yield sufficient for a population six times its present size. Capital increases daily; labour power grows with population; and day by day science increasingly makes the forces of nature subject to man. This immeasurable productive capacity, handled consciously and in the interest of all, would soon reduce to a minimum the labour falling to the share of mankind. Left to competition, it does the same, but within a context of antitheses. One part of the land is cultivated in the best possible manner, whilst another part—in Great Britain and Ireland thirty million acres of good land—lies barren. One part of capital circulates with colossal speed; another lies dead in the chest. One part of the workers works fourteen or sixteen hours a day, whilst another part stands idle and inactive, and starves. Or the partition leaves this realm of simultaneity: today trade is good; demand is very considerable; everyone works; capital is turned over with miraculous speed; farming flourishes; the workers work themselves sick. Tomorrow stagnation sets in. The cultivation of the land is not worth the effort; entire stretches of land remain untilled; the flow of capital suddenly freezes; the workers have no employment, and the whole country labours under surplus wealth and surplus population.

The economist cannot afford to accept this exposition of the subject as correct; otherwise, as has been said, he would have to give up his whole system of competition. He would have to recognise the hollowness of his antithesis of production and consumption, of surplus population and surplus wealth. To bring fact and theory into conformity with each other—since this fact simply could not be denied—the population theory was invented.

Malthus, the originator of this doctrine, maintains that population is always pressing on the means of subsistence; that as soon as production increases, population increases in the same proportion; and that the inherent tendency of the population to multiply in excess of the available means of subsistence is the root of all misery and all vice. For, when there are too many people, they have to be disposed of in one way or another: either they must be killed by violence or they must starve. But when this has happened, there is once more a gap which other multipliers of the population immediately start to fill up once more: and so the old misery begins all over again. What is more, this is the case in all circumstances—not only in civilised, but also in primitive conditions. In New Holland,[a] with a population density of *one* per square mile, the savages suffer just as much from over-population as England. In short, if we want to be consistent, we must admit *that the earth was already over-populated when only one man existed.* The implications of this line of thought are that since it is precisely the poor who are the surplus, nothing should be done for them except to make their dying of starvation as easy as possible, and to convince them that it cannot be helped and that there is no other salvation for their whole class than keeping propagation down to the absolute minimum. Or if this proves impossible, then it is after all better to establish a state institution for the painless killing of the children of the poor, such as "Marcus"[183] has suggested, whereby each working-class family would be allowed to have two and a half children, any excess being painlessly killed. Charity is to be considered a crime, since it supports the augmentation of the surplus population. Indeed, it will be very advantageous to declare poverty a crime and to turn poor-houses into prisons, as has already happened in England as a result of the new "liberal" Poor Law.[184] Admittedly it is true that this theory ill conforms with the Bible's doctrine of the perfection of God and of His creation; but "it is a poor refutation to enlist the Bible against facts".

Am I to go on any longer elaborating this vile, infamous theory, this hideous blasphemy against nature and mankind? Am I to pursue its consequences any further? Here at last we have the immorality of the economist brought to its highest pitch. What are all the wars and horrors of the monopoly system compared with this theory! And it is just this theory which is the keystone of the liberal system of free trade, whose fall entails the downfall of the entire edifice. For if here competition is proved to be the cause of

[a] The old name for Australia.—*Ed.*

misery, poverty and crime, who then will still dare to speak up for it?

In his above-mentioned work, Alison has shaken the Malthusian theory by bringing in the productive power of the land, and by opposing to the Malthusian principle the fact that each adult can produce more than he himself needs—a fact without which mankind could not multiply, indeed could not even exist; if it were not so how could those still growing up live? But Alison does not go to the root of the matter, and therefore in the end reaches the same conclusion as Malthus. True enough, he proves that Malthus' principle is incorrect, but cannot gainsay the facts which have impelled Malthus to his principle.

If Malthus had not considered the matter so one-sidedly, he could not have failed to see that surplus population or labour-power is invariably tied up with surplus wealth, surplus capital and surplus landed property. The population is only too large where the productive power as a whole is too large. The condition of every over-populated country, particularly England, since the time when Malthus wrote, makes this abundantly clear. These were the facts which Malthus ought to have considered in their totality, and whose consideration was bound to have led to the correct conclusion. Instead, he selected one fact, gave no consideration to the others, and therefore arrived at his crazy conclusion. The second error he committed was to confuse means of subsistence with [means of] employment. That population is always pressing on the means of employment—that the number of people produced depends on the number of people who can be employed—in short, that the production of labour-power has been regulated so far by the law of competition and is therefore also exposed to periodic crises and fluctuations—this is a fact whose establishment constitutes Malthus' merit. But the means of employment are not the means of subsistence. Only in their end-result are the means of employment increased by the increase in machine-power and capital. The means of subsistence increase as soon as productive power increases even slightly. Here a new contradiction in economics comes to light. The economist's "demand" is not the real demand; his "consumption" is an artificial consumption. For the economist, only that person really demands, only that person is a real consumer, who has an equivalent to offer for what he receives. But if it is a fact that every adult produces more than he himself can consume, that children are like trees which give superabundant returns on the outlays invested in them—and these certainly are facts, are they not?—then it must be assumed that each worker ought to be able to produce far

more than he needs and that the community, therefore, ought to be very glad to provide him with everything he needs; one must consider a large family to be a very welcome gift for the community. But the economist, with his crude outlook, knows no other equivalent than that which is paid to him in tangible ready cash. He is so firmly set in his antitheses that the most striking facts are of as little concern to him as the most scientific principles.

We destroy the contradiction simply by transcending it. With the fusion of the interests now opposed to each other there disappears the contradiction between excess population here and excess wealth there; there disappears the miraculous fact (more miraculous than all the miracles of all the religions put together) that a nation has to starve from sheer wealth and plenty; and there disappears the crazy assertion that the earth lacks the power to feed men. This assertion is the pinnacle of Christian economics—and that our economics is essentially Christian I could have proved from every proposition, from every category, and shall in fact do so in due course.[185] The Malthusian theory is but the economic expression of the religious dogma of the contradiction of spirit and nature and the resulting corruption of both. As regards religion, and together with religion, this contradiction was resolved long ago, and I hope that in the sphere of economics I have likewise demonstrated the utter emptiness of this contradiction. Moreover, I shall not accept as competent any defence of the Malthusian theory which does not explain to me on the basis of its own principles how a people can starve from sheer plenty and bring this into harmony with reason and fact.

At the same time, the Malthusian theory has certainly been a necessary point of transition which has taken us an immense step further. Thanks to this theory, as to economics as a whole, our attention has been drawn to the productive power of the earth and of mankind; and after overcoming this economic despair we have been made for ever secure against the fear of over-population. We derive from it the most powerful economic arguments for a social transformation. For even if Malthus were completely right, this transformation would have to be undertaken straight away; for only this transformation, only the education of the masses which it provides, makes possible that moral restraint of the propagative instinct which Malthus himself presents as the most effective and easiest remedy for over-population. Through this theory we have come to know the deepest degradation of mankind, their dependence on the conditions of competition. It has shown us how in the last instance private property has turned man

into a commodity whose production and destruction also depend solely on demand; how the system of competition has thus slaughtered, and daily continues to slaughter, millions of men. All this we have seen, and all this drives us to the abolition of this degradation of mankind through the abolition of private property, competition and the opposing interests.

Yet, so as to deprive the universal fear of over-population of any possible basis, let us once more return to the relationship of productive power to population. Malthus establishes a formula on which he bases his entire system: population is said to increase in a geometrical progression—1+2+4+8+16+32, etc.; the productive power of the land in an arithmetical progression—1+2+3+4+5+6. The difference is obvious, is terrifying; but is it correct? Where has it been proved that the productivity of the land increases in an arithmetical progression? The extent of land is limited. All right! The labour-power to be employed on this land-surface increases with population. Even if we assume that the increase in yield due to increase in labour does not always rise in proportion to the labour, there still remains a third element which, admittedly, never means anything to the economist—science—whose progress is as unlimited and at least as rapid as that of population. What progress does the agriculture of this century owe to chemistry alone—indeed, to two men alone, Sir Humphry Davy and Justus Liebig! But science increases at least as much as population. The latter increases in proportion to the size of the previous generation, science advances in proportion to the knowledge bequeathed to it by the previous generation, and thus under the most ordinary conditions also in a geometrical progression. And what is impossible to science? But it is absurd to talk of over-population so long as "there is enough waste land in the valley of the Mississippi for the whole population of Europe to be transplanted there"[a]; so long as no more than one-third of the earth can be considered cultivated, and so long as the production of this third itself can be raised sixfold and more by the application of improvements already known.

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Thus, competition sets capital against capital, labour against labour, landed property against landed property; and likewise each of these elements against the other two. In the struggle the stronger wins; and in order to predict the outcome of the struggle,

[a] A. Alison, loc. cit., p. 548.—*Ed.*

we shall have to investigate the strength of the contestants. First of all, labour is weaker than either landed property or capital, for the worker must work to live, whilst the landowner can live on his rent, and the capitalist on his interest, or, if the need arises, on his capital or on capitalised property in land. The result is that only the very barest necessities, the mere means of subsistence, fall to the lot of labour; whilst the largest part of the products is shared between capital and landed property. Moreover, the stronger worker drives the weaker out of the market, just as larger capital drives out smaller capital, and larger landed property drives out smaller landed property. Practice confirms this conclusion. The advantages which the larger manufacturer and merchant enjoy over the smaller, and the big landowner over the owner of a single acre, are well known. The result is that already under ordinary conditions, in accordance with the law of the stronger, large capital and large landed property swallow small capital and small landed property—i.e., centralisation of property. In crises of trade and agriculture, this centralisation proceeds much more rapidly.

In general large property increases much more rapidly than small property, since a much smaller portion is deducted from its proceeds as property-expenses. This law of the centralisation of private property is as immanent in private property as all the others. The middle classes must increasingly disappear until the world is divided into millionaires and paupers, into large landowners and poor farm labourers. All the laws, all the dividing of landed property, all the possible splitting-up of capital, are of no avail: this result must and will come, unless it is anticipated by a total transformation of social conditions, a fusion of opposed interests, an abolition of private property.

Free competition, the key-word of our present-day economists, is an impossibility. Monopoly at least intended to protect the consumer against fraud, even if it could not in fact do so. The abolition of monopoly, however, opens the door wide to fraud. You say that competition carries with it the remedy for fraud, since no one will buy bad articles. But that means that everyone has to be an expert in every article, which is impossible. Hence the necessity for monopoly, which many articles in fact reveal. Pharmacies, etc., *must* have a monopoly. And the most important article—money—requires a monopoly most of all. Whenever the circulating medium has ceased to be a state monopoly it has invariably produced a trade crisis; and the English economists, Dr. Wade among them, do concede in this case the necessity for monopoly. But monopoly is no protection against counterfeit

money. One can take one's stand on either side of the question: the one is as difficult as the other. Monopoly produces free competition, and the latter, in turn, produces monopoly. Therefore, both must fall, and these difficulties must be resolved through the transcendence of the principle which gives rise to them.

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Competition has penetrated all the relationships of our life and completed the reciprocal bondage in which men now hold themselves. Competition is the great mainspring which again and again jerks into activity our aging and withering social order, or rather disorder; but with each new exertion it also saps a part of this order's waning strength. Competition governs the numerical advance of mankind; it likewise governs its moral advance. Anyone who has any knowledge of the statistics of crime must have been struck by the peculiar regularity with which crime advances year by year, and with which certain causes produce certain crimes. The extension of the factory system is followed everywhere by an increase in crime. The number of arrests, of criminal cases—indeed, the number of murders, burglaries, petty thefts, etc., for a large town or for a district—can be predicted year by year with unfailing precision, as has been done often enough in England. This regularity proves that crime, too, is governed by competition; that society creates a *demand* for crime which is met by a corresponding *supply*; that the gap created by the arrest, transportation or execution of a certain number is at once filled by others, just as every gap in population is at once filled by new arrivals; in other words, that crime presses on the means of punishment just as the people press on the means of employment. How just it is to punish criminals under these circumstances, quite apart from any other considerations, I leave to the judgment of my readers. Here I am merely concerned in demonstrating the extension of competition into the moral sphere, and in showing to what deep degradation private property has brought man.

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In the struggle of capital and land against labour, the first two elements enjoy yet another special advantage over labour—the assistance of science; for in present conditions science, too, is directed against labour. Almost all mechanical inventions, for instance, have been occasioned by the lack of labour-power; in particular Hargreaves', Crompton's and Arkwright's cotton-spinning machines. There has never been an intense demand for labour which did not result in an invention that increased labour

productivity considerably, thus diverting demand away from human labour. The history of England from 1770 until now is a continuous demonstration of this. The last great invention in cotton-spinning, the self-acting mule, was occasioned solely by the demand for labour, and rising wages. It doubled machine-labour, and thereby cut down hand-labour by half; it threw half the workers out of employment, and thereby reduced the wages of the others by half; it crushed a plot of the workers against the factory owners, and destroyed the last vestige of strength with which labour had still held out in the unequal struggle against capital. (Cf. Dr. Ure, *Philosophy of Manufactures,* Vol. 2.) The economist now says, however, that in its final result machinery is favourable to the workers, since it makes production cheaper and thereby creates a new and larger market for its products, and thus ultimately re-employs the workers put out of work. Quite right. But is the economist forgetting, then, that the production of labour-power is regulated by competition; that labour-power is always pressing on the means of employment, and that, therefore, when these advantages are due to become operative, a surplus of competitors for work is already waiting for them, and will thus render these advantages illusory; whilst the disadvantages—the sudden withdrawal of the means of subsistence from one half of the workers and the fall in wages for the other half—are not illusory? Is the economist forgetting that the progress of invention never stands still, and that these disadvantages, therefore, perpetuate themselves? Is he forgetting that with the division of labour, developed to such a high degree by our civilisation, a worker can only live if he can be used at this particular machine for this particular detailed operation; that the change-over from one type of employment to another, newer type is almost invariably an absolute impossibility for the adult worker?

In turning my attention to the effects of machinery, I am brought to another subject less directly relevant—the factory system; and I have neither the inclination nor the time to treat this here. Besides, I hope to have an early opportunity to expound in detail the despicable immorality of this system, and to expose mercilessly the economist's hypocrisy which here appears in all its brazenness.[186]

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Signed: *Frederick Engels in Manchester*

# THE CONDITION OF ENGLAND[187]

*Past and Present* by Thomas Carlyle, London, 1843

Of all the fat books and thin pamphlets which have appeared in England in the past year for the entertainment or edification of "educated society", the above work is the only one which is worth reading. All the multi-volume novels with their sad and amusing intricacies, all the edifying and meditative, scholarly and unscholarly Bible commentaries—and novels and books of edification are the two staples of English literature—all these you may with an easy conscience leave unread. Perhaps you will find some books on geology, economics, history or mathematics which contain a small grain of novelty—however these are matters which one studies, but does not *read*, they represent dry, specialised branches of science, arid botanising, plants whose roots were long ago torn out of the general soil of humanity from which they derived their nourishment. Search as you will, Carlyle's book is the only one which strikes a human chord, presents human relations and shows traces of a human point of view.

It is remarkable how greatly the upper classes of society, such as the Englishman calls *"respectable people"*, or *"the better sort of people"*,[a] etc., have intellectually declined and lost their vigour in England. All energy, all activity, all substance are gone; the landed aristocracy goes hunting, the moneyed aristocracy makes entries in the ledger and at best dabbles in literature which is equally empty and insipid. Political and religious prejudices are inherited from one generation to another; everything is now made easy and there is no longer any need to worry about principles as one had to formerly; they are now picked up already in the cradle, ready-

[a] The words in inverted commas are given by Engels in English.—*Ed.*

made, one has no notion where they come from. What more does one need? One has enjoyed a good education, that is, one has been tormented to no avail with the Romans and Greeks at school, for the rest one is "respectable", that is, one has so many thousand pounds to one's name and thus does not have to bother about anything except marrying, if one does not already have a wife.

And now, to cap it all, this bugbear which people call "intellect"! Where should intellect come from, in such a life, and if it did come, where might it find a home with them? Everything there is as fixed and formalised as in China—woe be to the man who oversteps the narrow bounds, woe, thrice woe to the man who offends against a time-honoured prejudice, nine times woe to him if it is a religious prejudice. For all questions they have just two answers, a Whig answer and a Tory answer; and these answers were long ago prescribed by the sage supreme masters of ceremony of both parties, you have no need of deliberation and circumstantiality, everything is cut and dried, Dicky Cobden or Lord John Russell has said this, and Bobby Peel or *the* Duke, that is, the Duke of Wellington, has said that, and that is an end of the matter.

You good Germans are told year in, year out by the liberal journalists and parliamentarians what wonderful people, what independent men the English are, and all on account of their free institutions, and from a distance it all looks quite impressive. The debates in the Houses of Parliament, the free press, the tumultuous popular meetings, the elections, the jury system—these cannot fail to impress the timid spirit of the average German, and in his astonishment he takes all these splendid appearances for true coin. But ultimately the position of the liberal journalist and parliamentarian is really far from being elevated enough to provide a comprehensive view, whether it be of the development of mankind or just that of a single nation. The English Constitution was quite good in its day and has achieved a fair number of good things, indeed since 1828 it has set to work on its greatest achievement—that is to say, on its own destruction[188]—but it has not achieved what the liberal attributes to it. It has not made independent men of the English. The English, that is, the educated English, according to whom the national character is judged on the Continent, these English are the most despicable slaves under the sun. Only that part of the English nation which is unknown on the Continent, only the workers, the pariahs of England, the poor, are really respectable, for all their roughness

and for all their moral degradation. It is from them that England's salvation will come, they still comprise flexible material; they have no education, but no prejudices either, they still have the strength for a great national deed—they still have a future. The aristocracy—and nowadays that also includes the middle classes—has exhausted itself; such ideas as it had, have been worked out and utilised to their ultimate logical limit, and its rule is approaching its end with giant strides. The Constitution is its work, and the immediate consequence of this work was that it entangled its creators in a mesh of institutions in which any free intellectual movement has been made impossible. The rule of public prejudice is everywhere the first consequence of so-called free political institutions, and in England, the politically freest country in Europe, this rule is stronger than anywhere else—except for North America, where public prejudice is legally acknowledged as a power in the state by lynch law. The Englishman crawls before public prejudice, he immolates himself to it daily—and the more liberal he is, the more humbly does he grovel in the dust before his idol. Public prejudice in "educated society" is however either of Tory or of Whig persuasion, or at best radical—and even that no longer has quite the odour of propriety. If you should go amongst educated Englishmen and say that you are Chartists or democrats—the balance of your mind will be doubted and your company fled. Or declare you do not believe in the divinity of Christ, and you are done for; if moreover you confess that you are atheists, the next day people will pretend not to know you. And when the independent Englishman for once—and this happens rarely enough—really begins to think and shakes off the fetters of prejudice he has absorbed with his mother's milk, even then he has not the courage to speak out his convictions openly, even then he feigns an opinion before society that is at least tolerated, and is quite content if occasionally he can discuss his views with some like-minded person in private.

Thus the minds of the educated classes in England are closed to all progress and only kept to some degree in movement by the pressure of the working class. It cannot be expected that the literary diet of their decrepit culture should be different from these classes themselves. The whole of fashionable literature moves in a never-ending circle and is just as boring and sterile as this blasé and effete fashionable society.

When Strauss' *Das Leben Jesu* and its fame crossed the Channel, no respectable man dared to translate the book, nor any bookseller of repute to print it. Finally it was translated by a socialist

"lecturer" (there is no German word for this propagandist term)—a man, therefore, in one of the world's least fashionable situations—a small socialist printer printed it in instalments at a penny each,[189] and the workers of Manchester, Birmingham and London were the only readers Strauss had in England.

If, by the way, either of the two parties into which the educated section of the English people is split deserves any preference, it is the Tories. In the social circumstances of England the Whig is himself too much of an interested party to be able to judge; industry, that focal point of English society, is in his hands and makes him rich; he can find no fault in it and considers its expansion the only purpose of all legislation, for it has given him his wealth and his power. The Tory on the other hand, whose power and unchallenged dominance have been broken by industry and whose principles have been shaken by it, hates it and sees in it at best a necessary evil. This is the reason for the formation of that group of philanthropic Tories whose chief leaders are Lord Ashley, Ferrand, Walter, Oastler, etc., and who have made it their duty to take the part of the factory workers against the manufacturers. Thomas Carlyle too was originally a Tory and still stands closer to that party than to the Whigs. This much is certain: a Whig would never have been able to write a book that was half so humane as *Past and Present.*

Thomas Carlyle has become known in Germany through his efforts to make German literature accessible to the English. For several years he has been mainly occupied with the social conditions of England—the only educated man of his country to do so!—and as early as 1838 he wrote a brief work entitled *Chartism.* At that time the Whigs were in office and proclaimed with much trumpeting that the "spectre" of Chartism, which had arisen round 1835, was now destroyed. Chartism was the natural successor to the old radicalism which had been appeased for a few years by the Reform Bill[190] and reappeared in 1835-36 with new strength and with its ranks more solid than ever before. The Whigs thought they had suppressed this Chartism, and Thomas Carlyle took this as his cue to expound the real causes of Chartism and the impossibility of eradicating it before these causes were eradicated. It is true that as a whole the position taken by that book is the same as in *Past and Present,* though with rather stronger Tory colouring, but this is perhaps merely a result of the fact that the Whigs as the ruling party were the most open to criticism. At all events, everything that is in the smaller book is to be found in *Past and Present,* with greater clarity, with the argument

further developed, and with an explicit description of the consequences, and therefore makes a critical analysis of *Chartism* on our part superfluous.

*Past and Present* is a parallel between England in the twelfth and in the nineteenth centuries and consists of four sections, entitled "Proem", "The Ancient Monk", "The Modern Worker" and "Horoscope". Let us consider these sections in turn; I cannot resist the temptation to translate the finest of the book's often marvellously fine passages.—Criticism will no doubt take care of itself.

The first chapter of the "Proem" is called "Midas".

"The condition of England ... is justly regarded as one of the most ominous, and withal one of the strangest, ever seen in this world. England is full of wealth [...] in every kind; yet England is dying of inanition. With unabated bounty the land of England blooms and grows; waving with yellow harvests; thick-studded with workshops, industrial implements, with fifteen millions of workers, understood to be the strongest, the cunningest and the willingest our Earth ever had; these men are here; the work they have done, the fruit they have realised is here, abundant, exuberant on every hand of us: and behold, some baleful fiat as of Enchantment has gone forth, saying, 'Touch it not, ye workers, ye master-workers, ye master-idlers; none of you can touch it, no man of you shall be the better for it; this is enchanted fruit!'"[a]

This fiat falls on the workers first. In 1842 England and Wales counted 1,430,000 paupers, of whom 222,000 were incarcerated in workhouses—Poor-law Bastilles the common people call them.—Thanks to the humanity of the Whigs! Scotland has no poor law, but poor people in plenty. Ireland, incidentally, can boast of the gigantic number of 2,300,000 paupers.

"At Stockport Assizes" (Cheshire) "a Mother and a Father are arraigned and found guilty of poisoning three of their children, to defraud a 'burial-society' of some 3l. 8s. due on the death of each child: [...] and the official authorities, it is whispered, hint that perhaps the case is not solitary, that perhaps you had better not probe farther into that department of things.... Such instances are like the highest mountain apex emerged into view; under which lies a whole mountain region and land, not yet emerged. A human Mother and Father had said to themselves, What shall we do to escape starvation? We are deep sunk here, in our dark cellar; and help is far.—Yes, in the Ugolino Hunger-tower stern things happen; best-loved little Gaddo fallen dead on his Father's knees!—The Stockport Mother and Father think and hint: Our poor little starveling *Tom*, who cries all day for victuals, who will see only evil and not good in this world: if he were out of misery at once; ... and the rest of us perhaps kept alive? It is thought, and hinted; at last it is done. And now Tom being killed, and all spent and eaten, Is it poor little starveling Jack that must go, or poor little starveling Will?—What an inquiry of ways and means!

"In starved sieged cities, in the uttermost doomed ruin of old Jerusalem fallen under the wrath of God, it was prophesied and said, 'The hands of the pitiful

[a] *Past and Present*, London, 1843, p. 1.—*Ed.*

women have sodden their own children.' The stern Hebrew imagination could conceive no blacker gulf of wretchedness; that was the ultimatum of degraded god-punished man. And we here, in modern England, exuberant with supply of all kinds, [...] are *we* reaching that?—How come these things? Wherefore are they, wherefore should they be?"[a]

This happened in 1841. I would add that five months ago Betty Eules of Bolton was hanged in Liverpool; she had poisoned three children of her own and two stepchildren for the same reason.

So much for the poor. How do things stand with the rich?

"This successful industry of England, with its plethoric wealth, has as yet made nobody rich; it is an enchanted wealth, and belongs yet to nobody. [...] We can spend thousands where we once spent hundreds; but can purchase nothing good with them. [...] Many men eat finer cookery, drink dearer liquors, [...] what increase of blessedness is there? Are they better, beautifuller, stronger, braver? Are they even what they call 'happier'?"[b]

The master-worker is not happier, the master-idler—that is, the aristocratic landowner—is not happier.

"To whom, then, is this wealth of England wealth? Who is it that it blesses; makes happier, wiser, beautifuller, [...] better? [...] As yet no one. [...] Our successful industry is hitherto unsuccessful; [...] In the midst of plethoric plenty, the people perish; with gold walls, and full barns, no man feels himself safe or satisfied. [...]

"Midas longed for gold, and insulted the Olympians. He got gold, so that whatsoever he touched became gold,—and he, with his long ears, was little the better for it. Midas had misjudged the celestial music-tones; Midas had insulted Apollo and the gods: the gods gave him his wish, and a pair of long ears, which also were a good appendage to it. What a truth in these old Fables!"[c]

"How true," he continues in the second chapter, "is that other old Fable of the Sphinx [....] Nature, like the Sphinx, [...] is a goddess, but one not yet disimprisoned", still half encased in brutishness, in the inarticulate—there is order and wisdom on the one hand, but also darkness, ferocity and fatality.[d]

Sphinx-like nature—German mysticism, say the English, when they read this chapter—has a question to put to every man and every age—happy is the man who answers it aright; he who does not answer it or answers wrongly, falls a prey to that part of the Sphinx which is brutish and ferocious, instead of the beautiful bride he finds a devouring lioness. And so it is with nations too: can you solve the riddle of destiny? And all unfortunate peoples, like all unfortunate individuals, have answered the question wrongly, have taken the semblance for the truth, have abandoned the eternal inner facts of the universe in favour of transient outer appearances, and England too has done this. England, as Carlyle

[a] Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present*, London, 1843, pp. 4, 5, 6.—*Ed.*
[b] op. cit., p. 6.—*Ed.*
[c] op. cit., pp. 7-8.—*Ed.*
[d] op. cit., p. 9.—*Ed.*

later puts it, has fallen a prey to atheism and its present condition is the necessary consequence of that. We shall have occasion to speak of this later, for the present let us simply observe that the parable of the Sphinx, if it is to be accepted in the above pantheistic sense reminiscent of the older Schelling, could well have been developed somewhat further by Carlyle—the answer to the riddle today is, as it was in the myth: man; indeed he is the answer in the widest possible sense. That too will be settled.

The next chapter gives us the following description of the Manchester insurrection of August 1842.[191]

"A million of hungry operative men [...] rose all up, came all out into the streets, and—stood there. What other could they do? Their wrongs and griefs were bitter, insupportable, their rage against the same was just: but who are they that cause these wrongs, who that will [...] make effort to redress them? Our enemies are we know not who or what; our friends are we know not where! How shall we attack any one, shoot or be shot by any one? O, if the accursed invisible Nightmare, that is crushing out the life of us and ours, would take a shape; approach us like the Hyrcanian[a] tiger, the Behemoth of Chaos, the Archfiend himself; in any shape that we could see, and fasten on!"[b]

But the misfortune of the workers in the summer insurrection of 1842 was precisely that they did not know whom to fight against. The evil they suffered was social—and social evils cannot be abolished as the monarchy or privileges are abolished. Social evils cannot be cured by People's Charters,[192] and the people sensed this—otherwise the People's Charter would be today the basic law of England. Social evils need to be studied and understood, and this the mass of the workers has not yet done up till now. The great achievement of the uprising was that England's most vital question, the question of the final destiny of the working class, was, as Carlyle says, raised in a manner audible to every thinking ear in England. The question can now no longer be evaded. England must answer it or perish.

Let us pass over the final chapters of this section, and for the moment too the whole of that which follows, and let us straightaway take the third section which treats of "*The Modern Worker*", so that we may have before us all of a piece the description of the condition of England which was begun in the "Proem".

We have abandoned, Carlyle continues, the piety of the Middle Ages and acquired nothing in its place: we have

"forgotten God [....] We have quietly closed our eyes to the eternal Substance of things, and opened them only to the Shews and Shams of things. We quietly believe this Universe to be intrinsically a great unintelligible Perhaps; extrinsically,

[a] In the original: *syrkanisch.—Ed.*
[b] Carlyle, op. cit., p. 20.—*Ed.*

clear enough, it is a great, most extensive Cattlefold and Workhouse, with most extensive Kitchen-ranges,[a] Dining-tables,—whereat he is wise who can find a place! All the Truth of this Universe is uncertain; only the profit and loss of it, the pudding and praise of it, are and remain very visible to the practical man.

"There is no longer any God for us! God's Laws are become a Greatest-Happiness Principle, a Parliamentary Expediency: the Heavens overarch us only as an Astronomical Time-keeper; a butt for Herschel-telescopes to shoot science at, to shoot sentimentalities at[b]:—in our and old Jonson's dialect, man has lost the soul out of him; and now [...] begins to find the want of it! This is verily the plague-spot; centre of the universal Social Gangrene [....] There is no religion; there is no God; man has lost his soul, and vainly seeks antiseptic salt. Vainly: in killing Kings, in [passing] Reform Bills,[c] in French Revolutions, Manchester Insurrections, is found no remedy. The foul [...] leprosy, alleviated for an hour, reappears in new force and desperateness next hour."[d]

Since however the place of the old religion could not remain entirely vacant, we have acquired a new gospel in its stead, a gospel that accords with the hollowness and lack of substance of the age—the gospel of Mammon. The Christian heaven and the Christian hell have been abandoned, the former as doubtful, and the latter as absurd—and you have acquired a new hell; the hell of modern England is the consciousness of "not succeeding, of not making money".

"True [...] we [...] with our Mammon-Gospel, have come to strange conclusions. We call it a *Society*; and go about professing[e] openly the totalest separation, isolation. Our life is not a mutual helpfulness; but rather, cloaked under due laws-of-war, named 'fair competition' and so forth, it is a mutual hostility. We have profoundly forgotten [...] that Cash-payment is not the sole relation of human beings; [...] 'My starving workers?' answers the rich Mill-owner: 'Did not I hire them fairly in the market? Did I not pay them, to the last sixpence, the sum covenanted for? What have I to do with them more?'—Verily Mammon-worship is a melancholy creed."[f]

"A poor Irish Widow [...] of Edinburgh, went forth with her three children [...] to solicit help from the Charitable Establishments of that City." At every establishment "she was refused; [...] her strength and heart failed her: she sank down in typhus-fever; died, and infected her Lane with fever, so that 'seventeen other persons' died of fever there in consequence. The humane Physician" who tells this story—Dr. W. P. Alison—"asks thereupon [...] Would it not have been *economy* to help this poor Widow? She took typhus-fever, and killed seventeen of you!—Very curious. The forlorn Irish Widow applies to her fellow-creatures [...] 'Behold I am sinking, bare of help: ye must help me! I am your sister, bone of your bone; *one* God made us: ye must help me!' They answer, 'No; impossible: thou art no sister of ours.' But she proves her

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[a] Engels has: "Kitchen-buildings".—*Ed.*

[b] Engels has: "the heaven is an astronomical clock, a hunting-ground for Herschel-telescopes, where one hunts scientific results and sentimentalities".—*Ed.*

[c] Engels has: "in French Revolutions, in Reform Bills".—*Ed.*

[d] Carlyle, op. cit., pp. 185-86.—*Ed.*

[e] Engels has: "establishing".—*Ed.*

[f] Carlyle, op. cit., p. 198.—*Ed.*

sisterhood; her typhus-fever kills *them*: they actually were her brothers, though denying it! Had man ever to go lower for a proof?"[a]

Carlyle, incidentally, is in error here, as is Alison. The rich have no sympathy, no interest in the death of the "seventeen". Is it not a public blessing that the "surplus population" should be reduced by seventeen? If only it were a few million instead of a miserly "seventeen", it would be by so much the better.—This is the reasoning of wealthy English Malthusians.

And then there is the other, even worse gospel of dilettantism which has produced a government which does not govern; this gospel has deprived people of all seriousness and impels them to want to appear that which they are not—the striving for "happiness", that is, for good food and drink; this gospel has lifted crude matter on to the throne and destroyed all spiritual substance; what shall be the consequence of all this?

"But what will reflective readers say of a Governing Class[b] such as ours, addressing its Workers with an indictment of 'Over-production'! Over-production: runs it not so? 'Ye miscellaneous [...] manufacturing individuals, ye have produced too much! We accuse you of making above two-hundred thousand shirts for the bare backs of mankind. Your trousers too, which you have made, of fustian, of cassimere, of Scotch-plaid, of [...] nankeen and woollen broadcloth, are they not manifold? Of hats [...], of shoes [...], of stools to sit on, spoons to eat with—Nay [....] You produce gold-watches, jewelleries, silver-forks [...], commodes, chiffoniers, stuffed sofas—Heavens, the Commercial Bazaar and multitudinous Howel-and-Jameses cannot contain you. You have produced, produced;—he that seeks your indictment, let him look around. Millions of shirts, and empty pairs of breeches, hang there in judgment against you. We accuse you of over-producing: you are criminally guilty of producing shirts, breeches, hats, shoes and commodities, in a frightful over-abundance. And now there is a glut, and your operatives cannot be fed!'"[c]

My lords and gentlemen, of what do you accuse those poor workers? "My lords and gentlemen,—why, it was you that were appointed [...] to guard against 'gluts' [....] you were appointed to preside over the Distribution and Apportionment of the Wages of Work done; and to see well that there went no labourer without his hire, were it of money-coins, were it of hemp gallows-ropes: that function was yours, and from immemorial time has been [...].These poor shirt-spinners have forgotten much, which by the virtual unwritten law of their position they should have remembered: but by any *written* recognised law of their position, what have they forgotten? They were set to make shirts. The Community [...] commanded them, saying, 'Make shirts';—and there the shirts are! Too many shirts? Well, that is a novelty, in this intemperate Earth, with its nine-hundred millions of bare backs! But the Community commanded you", my lords and gentlemen, "saying, 'See that the shirts are well apportioned [...]';—and where is the apportionment? Two million shirtless or ill-shirted workers sit [...] in Workhouse Bastilles, five million more [...] in Ugolino Hunger-cellars; and for remedy, you say [...] 'Raise *our* rents!' [...] You continue [...] in [...] a [...] triumphant

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[a] Carlyle, op. cit., pp. 201-02.—*Ed.*
[b] Engels has: "And what are we to say to a government".—*Ed.*
[c] Carlyle, op. cit., p. 230.—*Ed.*

manner: 'Will you bandy[a] accusations, will you accuse *us* of over-production? We take the Heavens and the Earth to witness that we have produced nothing at all. [...] In the wide domains of created Nature, circulates no shirt or thing of our producing. [...] We are innocent of producing;—ye ungrateful, what mountains of things have we not, on the contrary, had to "consume", and make away with! [...] have they not disappeared before us; as if we had the talent of ostriches [...] and a kind of divine faculty to eat? Ye ungrateful!—and did you not grow under the shadow of our wings? Are not your filthy mills built on these fields of *ours* [...]? And we shall not offer you our own wheat at the price that pleases us [...]? What would become of you, if we'" who own the soil of England "'chose [...] to decide on growing no wheat more?'"[b]

This attitude of the aristocracy, this barbaric question, what would become of you if we did not deign to allow corn to grow, has produced the "mad and miserable Corn Laws"[193]; the Corn Laws which are so insane that no arguments can be brought against them but such as "must needs make an Angel in Heaven and an Ass on Earth weep". The Corn Laws prove that the aristocracy has not yet learned to do no mischief, to sit still and do nothing, to say nothing of doing good, and yet this, according to Carlyle, is their duty:

"You are bound to furnish guidance and governance to England! That is the law of your position." And every worker in the workhouse has the right to ask *them* above all, "'Why am I here?' His appeal is audible in Heaven; and will become audible enough on Earth too, if it remain unheeded here. His appeal is against you", my lords and gentlemen; "you stand in the front-rank of the accused; you, by the very place you hold, have first of all to answer him [...]"[c]

"The fate of the Idle Aristocracy, as one reads its horoscope hitherto in Corn-Laws and such like, is an abyss that fills one with despair. Yes, my rosy fox-hunting brothers [...] through those fresh buxom countenances of yours, through your Corn-Law Majorities, *Sliding-Scales*,[d] Protecting-Duties, Bribery-Elections and triumphant Kent-ish-fire, a thinking eye discerns ghastly images of ruin, too ghastly for words; a hand-writing as of Mene, Mene.[e] [...] Good God! did not a French Donothing Aristocracy, hardly above half a century ago, declare in like manner [...] 'We cannot exist, and continue to dress and parade ourselves, on the [...] rent of the soil [...] we must have farther payment than rent of the soil, we must be exempted from taxes too,'—we must have a Corn-Law to extend our rent? This was in 1789; in four years more"—have you heard of "the Tanneries of Meudon, and the long-naked making for themselves breeches of human skins! May the merciful Heavens avert the omen; may we be wiser, that so we be less wretched."[f]

And the working aristocracy is caught in the partridge nets of the idle aristocracy and with its "Mammonism" eventually finds itself in dire straits too.

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[a] Engels has: "concoct".—*Ed.*
[b] Carlyle, op. cit., pp. 231-32.—*Ed.*
[c] op. cit., p. 238.—*Ed.*
[d] Engels gives this term in English.—*Ed.*
[e] A phantom handwriting proclaiming imminent doom.—*Ed.*
[f] Carlyle, op. cit., pp. 240-41.—*Ed.*

"The Continental people it would seem, are 'exporting our machinery, beginning to spin cotton and manufacture for themselves, to cut us out of this market and then out of that!' Sad news indeed; [...]—by no means the saddest news. The saddest news is, that we should find our National Existence, as I sometimes hear it said, depend on selling manufactured cotton at a farthing an ell cheaper than any other People. A most narrow stand for a great Nation to base itself on! A stand which, with all the Corn-Law Abrogations conceivable, I do not think will be capable of enduring."[a]

"No great Nation can stand on the apex of such a pyramid; screwing itself higher and higher; balancing itself on its great-toe!"[b] "In brief, all this Mammon-Gospel", with its Hell of "failing to make money", "of Supply-and-demand, Competition", free-trade, "*Laissez-faire*,[194] and Devil take the hindmost, begins to be [...] the shabbiest Gospel ever preached on Earth".[c]

"Yes, were the Corn-Laws ended tomorrow, there is nothing yet ended; there is only room made for all manner of things beginning. The Corn-Laws gone, and Trade made free, it is [...] certain this paralysis of industry will pass away. We shall have another period of commercial enterprise, of victory and prosperity [...]. The strangling band of Famine will be loosened from our necks; we shall have room again to breathe; time to bethink ourselves, to repent and consider! A [...] thrice-precious space of years; wherein to struggle as for life in reforming our foul ways; in alleviating, instructing, regulating our people [...] that something like spiritual food be imparted them, some real governance and guidance be provided them! It will be a priceless time. For our new period [...] of commercial prosperity will and can,[d] on the old methods of 'Competition and Devil take the hindmost', prove but a paroxysm: [...] likely enough, [...] our last. [...] If our Trade in twenty years [...] double itself; yet then also [...] our Population is doubled: we shall then be as we are, only twice as many of us, twice and ten times as unmanageable!"[e]

"Ah me, into what [...] latitudes, in this Time-Voyage, have we wandered; [...]—where the men go about as if by galvanism,[f] with meaningless glaring eyes, and have no soul, but only a beaver-faculty and stomach! The haggard despair of Cotton-factory, Coal-mine [operatives], Chandos Farm-labourers, in these days, is painful to behold; but not so painful [...] to the inner sense, as that brutish godforgetting Profit-and-Loss Philosophy, and Life-theory, which we hear jangled on all hands of us, in senate-houses, spouting-clubs, leading-articles, pulpits and platforms, everywhere as the Ultimate Gospel and candid Plain-English of Man's Life."[g]

"And yet I will venture to believe that in no time, since the beginnings of Society, was the lot of those same dumb millions of toilers so entirely unbearable as it is [...] now [...]. It is not to die, or even to die of hunger, that makes a man wretched [...] all men must die,—the last exit of us all is in a Fire-Chariot of Pain. But it is to live miserable we know not why; to work sore and yet gain nothing; to be heart-worn, weary, yet isolated, unrelated, girt in with a cold universal *Laissez-faire*: it is to die slowly all our life long, imprisoned in a deaf, dead, Infinite Injustice, as in the accursed [iron] belly of a Phalaris' Bull! This is and remains forever intolerable to all men whom God has

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[a] Carlyle, op. cit., pp. 246-47.—*Ed.*
[b] op. cit., p. 248.—*Ed.*
[c] op. cit., pp. 247-48 (Engels has summarised this passage).—*Ed.*
[d] Engels has: "must".—*Ed.*
[e] Carlyle, op. cit., pp. 249-50.—*Ed.*
[f] Engels has: "like galvanised corpses".—*Ed.*
[g] Carlyle, op. cit., pp. 251-52.—*Ed.*

made. Do we wonder at French Revolutions, Chartisms, Revolts of Three Days[a]? The times, if we will consider them, are really unexampled."[b]

If in such unexampled times the aristocracy shows itself incapable of guiding public affairs, it is necessary to expel it. Hence democracy.

"To what extent Democracy has now reached, how it advances irresistible with ominous, ever-increasing speed, he that will open his eyes on any province of human affairs may discern. [...] From the thunder of Napoleon battles, to the jabbering of Open-vestry in St. Mary Axe, all things announce Democracy."[c]

But what, after all, is democracy?

Nothing but the absence of masters who could govern you, and the acceptance of this unavoidable absence, the attempt to manage without them. "No man oppresses thee, O free and independent Franchiser: but does not this stupid Porter-pot oppress thee? No Son of Adam can bid thee come or go; but this absurd Pot of *Heavy-wet*,[d] this can and does! Thou art the thrall not of Cedric the Saxon, but of thy own brutal appetites [....] And thou pratest of thy 'liberty'? Thou entire blockhead!"[e]

"The notion that a man's liberty consists in giving his vote at election-hustings, and saying, 'Behold now I too have my twenty-thousandth part of a Talker in our National Palaver; will not all the gods be good to me?'—is one of the pleasantest! [...] The liberty especially which has to purchase itself by social isolation, and each man standing separate from the other, having 'no business with him' but a cash account. [...] This liberty turns out, before it have long continued in action, [...] to be, for the Working Millions a liberty to die by want of food; for the Idle Thousands and Units [...] a [...] liberty to *live in want of work*[f] [....] Brethren, we know but imperfectly yet, after ages of Constitutional Government, what Liberty is and Slavery is. Democracy [...] shall go its full course [...]. The Toiling Millions [...], in most vital need and passionate instinctive desire of Guidance, shall cast away False-Guidance; and hope, for an hour, that No-Guidance will suffice them: but it can be for an hour only. [...] The oppression of man by his Mock-Superiors [...] let him shake off [...]; I blame him not, I pity and commend him. But oppression by your Mock-Superiors well shaken off, the grand problem yet remains to solve: That of finding government by your Real-Superiors!"[g]

The leadership, as it now exists, is, to be sure, wretched enough. "In the case of the late Bribery Committee" of Parliament "it seemed to be the conclusion of the soundest practical minds that Bribery could not be put down; that Pure Election was a thing we had seen the last of, and must now go on without, as we best could."

"A Parliament, [...] which proclaims itself elected and eligible by bribery [....] What Legislating can you get out of" that? [...] "Bribery means not only length of purse, [...] but it means dishonesty, and even impudent dishonesty;—brazen insensibility to lying and to making others lie [....] What an improvement, were there once fairly,

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[a] Engels has: "a French Revolution, a 'great week',[195] an English Chartism".—*Ed.*

[b] Carlyle, op. cit., p. 283.—*Ed.*

[c] op. cit., p. 289.—*Ed.*

[d] Engels gives "Heavy-wet" in English.—*Ed.*

[e] Carlyle, op. cit., p. 292.—*Ed.*

[f] In the original a pun: *Freiheit des Verfaulens* (liberty of rotting) *für die faulen* (for the idle).—*Ed.*

[g] Carlyle, op. cit., pp. 293-95.—*Ed.*

in Downing-street, an Election-Office opened,[a] with a Tariff of Boroughs! Such and such a population, amount of property-tax, ground-rental [...] returns two Members, returns one Member, for so much money down: Ipswich so many thousands, Nottingham so many,—[...] now at least you have it fairly by length of purse, and leave the dishonesty, the impudence, the unveracity all handsomely aside."[b]

"Our [...] Parliament announces itself elected and eligible in this manner [....] What is to become of a Parliament elected or eligible in this manner? Unless Belial and Beelzebub have got possession of the throne of this Universe, such Parliament is preparing itself for new Reform-bills. We shall have to try it by Chartism, or any conceivable *ism*, rather than put up with this! [...] A Parliament working with a lie in its mouth, will have to take itself away. [...] At all hours of the day and night, some Chartism[c] is advancing, some armed Cromwell is advancing, to apprise such Parliament: 'Ye are no Parliament. In the name of God,—go!'"[d]

This is the condition of England, according to Carlyle. An idle landowning aristocracy which "have not yet learned even to sit still and do no mischief", a working aristocracy submerged in Mammonism, who, when they ought to be collectively the leaders of labour, "captains of industry", are just a gang of industrial buccaneers and pirates. A Parliament elected by bribery, a philosophy of simply looking on, of doing nothing, of *laissez-faire*, a worn-out, crumbling religion, a total disappearance of all general human interests, a universal despair of truth and humanity, and in consequence a universal isolation of men in their own "brute individuality", a chaotic, savage confusion of all aspects of life, a war of all against all, a general death of the spirit, a dearth of "soul", that is, of truly human consciousness: a disproportionately strong working class, in intolerable oppression and wretchedness, in furious discontent and rebellion against the old social order, and hence a threatening, irresistibly advancing democracy—everywhere chaos, disorder, anarchy, dissolution of the old ties of society, everywhere intellectual insipidity, frivolity, and debility.—That is the condition of England. Thus far, if we discount a few expressions that have derived from Carlyle's particular standpoint, we must allow the truth of all he says. He, alone of the "respectable" class, has kept his eyes open at least towards the facts, he has at least correctly apprehended the immediate present, and that is indeed a very great deal for an "educated" Englishman.

How does the future appear? Matters will not and cannot remain as they are now. We have seen that Carlyle has, as he himself admits, no "Morison's pill",[196] no panacea for curing the

[a] Engels has: "Be honest, open an election office in Downing-street".—*Ed.*
[b] Carlyle, op. cit., pp. 338-39.—*Ed.*
[c] Engels has: "Chartist".—*Ed.*
[d] Carlyle, op. cit., p. 340.—*Ed.*

ills of society. In that too he is right. All social philosophy, as long as it still propounds a few principles as its final conclusion, as long as it continues to administer Morison's pills, remains very imperfect; it is not the bare conclusions of which we are in such need, but rather *study*; the conclusions are nothing without the reasoning that has led up to them; this we have known since Hegel; and the conclusions are worse than useless if they are final in themselves, if they are not turned into premises for further deductions. But the conclusions must also assume a distinct form for a time, they must in the course of development evolve from vague imprecision into clear ideas, and then of course, in the case of such an exclusively empirical nation as the English are, they cannot avoid becoming "Morison's pills". Carlyle himself, although he has absorbed much that is German and is quite far removed from crass empiricism, would probably have a few pills to hand if he were less vague and hazy about the future.

Meanwhile he declares everything to be useless and unprofitable as long as mankind persists in atheism, as long as it has not recovered its "soul". Not that traditional Catholicism can be restored in its vigour and vitality, nor that today's religion can be maintained—he knows very well that rituals, dogmas, litanies and Sinai thunder cannot help, that all the thunder of Sinai does not make the truth any truer, nor does it frighten any sensible person, that we are far beyond the religion of fear, but religion itself must be restored, we ourselves see where "two centuries of Atheist Government"—since the "blessed" restoration of Charles II—have brought us, and we shall gradually also be obliged to recognise that this atheism is beginning to show signs of wear and tear. But we have seen what Carlyle calls atheism: it is not so much disbelief in a personal God, as disbelief in the inner essence, in the infinity of the universe, disbelief in reason, despair of the intellect and the truth; his struggle is not against disbelief in the revelation of the Bible, but against the most frightful disbelief, the disbelief in the "Bible of Universal History". That is the eternal book of God in which every man, while his spirit and the light of his eyes are yet with him, may see God's finger write. To make mockery of this is disbelief like none other, a disbelief you would punish, not by burning at the stake, but nevertheless with the most imperative command to keep one's silence until one has something better to say. Why should blissful silence be broken by loud noise, just to proclaim such stuff? If there is no divine reason in the past, but merely diabolic unreason, it will pass away for ever, speak no more of it; we whose fathers were all hanged, should not talk of ropes!

"But modern England cannot believe in history." The eye sees of all things only so much as it can see by its own inherent capacity. A godless century cannot comprehend epochs filled with God. It sees in the past (the Middle Ages) only empty strife, the universal rule of brute force, it does not see that in the last analysis might and right coincide, it just sees stupidity, savage unreason, more fitting to Bedlam than to a human world. From this it naturally follows that the same qualities should continue to prevail in our own time. Millions held in Bastille workhouses; Irish widows who prove that they are human beings by typhus-fever: what would you have? It was ever so, or worse. Has history not always been the exploitation of obdurate stupidity by successful mountebanks? There was no God in the past; nothing but mechanisms and chaotic brute-gods:—how shall the poor "philosophic historian", to whom his own century is all godless, "see any God in other centuries"?

And yet our age is not so utterly forsaken.

"Nay, in our poor distracted[a] Europe itself, in these newest times, have there not religious voices risen,—with a religion new and yet the oldest; entirely indisputable to all hearts of men? Some I do know, who did not call or think themselves 'Prophets' [...]; but who were, in very truth, melodious Voices from the eternal Heart of Nature once again; souls forever venerable to all that have a soul. A French Revolution is one phenomenon; as complement and spiritual exponent thereof, a Poet Goethe and German Literature is to me another. The old Secular or Practical World [...] having gone up in fire, is not here the prophecy and dawn of a new Spiritual World, parent of far nobler, wider, new Practical Worlds? A Life of Antique devoutness, Antique veracity and heroism, has again become possible, is again seen actual there, for the most modern man. A phenomenon, as quiet as it is, comparable for greatness to no other! [...] Touches there are [...] of new Sphere-melody; audible once more, in the infinite jargoning discords [...] of the thing called Literature."[b]

Goethe is the prophet of the "religion of the future", and its cult is work.

"For there is a perennial nobleness, and even sacredness, in Work. Were he never so benighted, forgetful of his high calling, there is always hope in a man that actually and earnestly works: in Idleness alone is there perpetual despair. Work, never so Mammonish, mean, is in communication with Nature; the real desire to get Work done will itself lead one more and more to truth, to Nature's appointments and regulations....

"An endless significance lies in Work; a man perfects himself by working. Foul jungles are cleared away, fair seedfields rise instead, and stately cities; and withal the man himself first ceases to be a jungle and foul unwholesome desert thereby. Consider how, even in the meanest sorts of Labour, the whole soul of a man is composed into a kind of real harmony, the instant he sets himself to work! Doubt,

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[a] Engels has "fragmented".—*Ed.*
[b] Carlyle, op. cit., pp. 316-17.—*Ed.*

Desire, Sorrow, Remorse,[a] Indignation, Despair itself, all these like helldogs lie beleaguering the soul of the poor dayworker, as of every man: but he bends himself with free valour against his task, and [...] all these shrink murmuring far off into their caves. The man is now a man. The blessed glow of Labour in him, is it not as purifying fire, wherein all poison is burnt up, and of sour smoke itself there is made bright blessed flame!"[b]

"Blessed is he who has found his work; let him ask no other blessedness. He has a work, a life-purpose; he has found it, and will follow it! How, as a free-flowing channel, dug [...] through the sour mud-swamp of one's existence, [...] it[c] runs and flows;—draining off the sour festering water, gradually from the root of the remotest grass-blade; making, instead of pestilential swamp, a green fruitful meadow [....] Labour is Life [....] Properly thou hast no other knowledge but what thou hast got by working: the rest is yet all a hypothesis [...] a thing to be argued of in schools, a thing floating in the clouds, in endless logic-vortices, till we try it and fix it. 'Doubt, of whatever kind, can be ended by Action alone.'"[d]

"Admirable was that saying[e] of the old Monks, '*Laborare est Orare,* Work is Worship.' Older than all preached Gospels was this unpreached, inarticulate, but ineradicable, forever-enduring Gospel: Work, and therein have wellbeing. Man [...] lies there not, in the innermost heart of thee, a Spirit of active Method, a Force for Work;—and burns like a painfully smouldering fire, giving thee no rest till thou unfold it, till thou write it down in beneficent Facts around thee! What is immethodic, waste, thou shalt make methodic, regulated, arable; obedient and productive to thee. Wheresoever thou findest Disorder, there is thy eternal enemy; attack him swiftly, subdue him; make Order of him, the subject not of Chaos, but of Intelligence, Divinity and Thee! [...] But above all, where thou findest Ignorance, Stupidity, Brute-mindedness [...] attack it, I say; smite it wisely, unweariedly, and rest not while thou livest and it lives; but smite, smite, in the name of God! [....] Thou [...] shalt work while it is called Today. For the Night cometh, wherein no man can work.

"All true Work is sacred [....] Sweat of the brow; [...] sweat of the brain, sweat of the heart; which includes all Kepler calculations, Newton meditations, all Sciences, all spoken Epics, all acted Heroisms, Martyrdoms,—up to that 'Agony of bloody sweat', which all men have called divine! [...] If this is not 'worship' [...] the more pity for worship [...]. Who art thou that complainest of thy life of toil? Complain not. [...] To thee Heaven, though severe, is not unkind; Heaven is kind,—as a noble Mother; as that Spartan Mother, saying while she gave her son his shield, 'With it, my son, or upon it!' [...] Complain not; the very Spartans did not complain."

"*One* monster there is in the world: the idle man. What is his 'Religion'? That Nature is a Phantasm [...]. That God is a lie; and that Man and his Life are a lie."[f]

But work too has been dragged into the furious vortex of disorder and chaos, the principle which was to cleanse, enlighten, *e*volve, has succumbed to *in*volution, confusion and obscurity. This really leads to the main issue, the future of work.

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[a] Engels has *Unruhe*—"disquiet", "anxiety".—*Ed.*

[b] Carlyle, op. cit., pp. 264-65.—*Ed.*

[c] Engels has "his life" instead of "it".—*Ed.*

[d] Carlyle, op. cit., p. 266.—*Ed.*

[e] Carlyle has just "that" instead of "that saying", and means "that religion".—*Ed.*

[f] Carlyle, op. cit., pp. 270-73.—*Ed.*

"What a business will this be, which our Continental friends, groping this long while somewhat absurdly about it and about it, call 'Organisation of Labour';—which must be taken out of the hands of absurd windy persons, and put into the hands of wise, laborious [...] and valiant men,[a] to begin with it straightway; to proceed with it, and succeed in it more and more, if Europe, at any rate if England, is to continue habitable much longer. Looking at the kind of most noble Corn-Law Dukes [or Practical Duces] we have, and also of right reverend Soul-Overseers, Christian Spiritual Duces 'on a minimum of four thousand five hundred', one's hopes are a little chilled. Courage, nevertheless; there are many brave men in England! My indomitable Plugson,[b]—nay is there not even in thee some hope? Thou art hitherto a Bucanier [...] but in that grim brow, in that indomitable heart which can conquer Cotton, do there not perhaps lie other ten times nobler conquests?"[c]

"Look around you. Your world-hosts are all in mutiny, in confusion, destitution; on the eve of fiery wreck and madness! They will not march farther for you, on the sixpence a day and supply-and-demand principle: they will not; nor ought they, nor can they.[d] [...] Their souls are driven nigh mad; let yours be [...] saner. Not as a bewildered bewildering mob; but as a firm regimented mass, with real captains over them, will these men march any more. All human interests, combined human endeavours [...] have, at a certain stage of their development, required organising: and Work, the grandest of human interests, does now require it."[e]

In order to effect this organisation, in order to put true guidance and true government in the place of false guidance, Carlyle longs for a "true aristocracy", a "hero-worship", and puts forward the second great problem to discover the ἄριστοι, the best, whose task it is to combine "with inevitable Democracy indispensable Sovereignty".

From these excerpts Carlyle's position emerges fairly clearly. His whole outlook is essentially pantheistic, and, more specifically, pantheistic with German overtones. The English have no pantheism but merely scepticism; the conclusion of all English philosophising is the despair of reason, the confessed inability to solve the contradictions with which one is ultimately faced, and consequently on the one hand a relapse into faith and on the other devotion to pure practice, without a further thought for metaphysics, etc. Carlyle with his pantheism derived from German literature is therefore a "phenomenon" in England, and for the practical and sceptical English a pretty incomprehensible one. People gape at him, speak of "German mysticism" and distorted English; others claim there is at bottom something in it, his

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[a] Engels has: "valiant, wise, laborious men".—*Ed.*
[b] Engels has: "you indomitable factory-lord".—*Ed.*
[c] Carlyle, op. cit., pp. 262-63.—*Ed.*
[d] Engels has: "they will not and that is their right".—*Ed.*
[e] Carlyle, op. cit., p. 368.—*Ed.*

English, though unusual, is very fine, he is a prophet, etc.—but nobody really knows what to make of it all.

For us Germans, who know the antecedents of Carlyle's position, the matter is clear enough. On the one hand vestiges of Tory romanticism and humane attitudes originating with Goethe, and on the other sceptical-empirical England, these factors are sufficient for one to deduce the whole of Carlyle's view of the world from them. Like all pantheists, Carlyle has not yet resolved the contradiction, and Carlyle's dualism is aggravated by the fact that though he is acquainted with German literature, he is not acquainted with its necessary corollary, German philosophy, and all his views are in consequence ingenuous, intuitive, more like Schelling than Hegel. With Schelling—that is to say, with the old Schelling, not the Schelling of the philosophy of revelation[197]—Carlyle really has a great deal in common; with Strauss, whose outlook is similarly pantheistic, he is on common ground in his "hero-worship" or "cult of genius".

The critique of pantheism has recently been so exhaustively set forth in Germany that little more remains to be said. Feuerbach's "Theses" in the *Anekdota*[a] and Bruno Bauer's works contain all the relevant material. We will therefore be able to confine ourselves simply to following up the implications of Carlyle's position and showing that it is basically only a first step towards the position adopted by this journal.

Carlyle complains about the emptiness and hollowness of the age, about the inner rottenness of all social institutions. The complaint is fair; but by simply complaining one does not dispose of the matter; in order to redress the evil, its cause must be discovered; and if Carlyle had done this, he would have found that this desultoriness and hollowness, this "soullessness", this irreligion and this "atheism" have their roots in religion itself. Religion by its very essence drains man and nature of substance, and transfers this substance to the phantom of an other-worldly God, who in turn then graciously permits man and nature to receive some of his superfluity. Now as long as faith in this other-worldly phantom is vigorous and alive, thus long man will acquire in this roundabout way at least some substance. The strong faith of the Middle Ages did indeed give the whole epoch considerable energy in this way, but it was energy that did not come from without but was already present within human nature,

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[a] Ludwig Feuerbach, "Vorläufige Thesen zur Reformation der Philosophie" in *Anekdota zur neuesten deutschen Philosophie und Publicistik.—Ed.*

though as yet unperceived and undeveloped. Faith gradually weakened, religion crumbled in the face of the rising level of civilisation, but still man did not perceive that he had worshipped and deified his own being in the guise of a being outside himself. Lacking awareness and at the same time faith, man can have no substance, he is *bound* to despair of truth, reason and nature, and this hollowness and lack of substance, the despair of the eternal facts of the universe will last until mankind perceives that the being it has worshipped as God was its own, as yet unknown being, until—but why should I copy Feuerbach.

The hollowness has long been there, for religion represents man's action of making himself hollow; and you are surprised that now, when the purple that concealed it has faded, when the fog that enveloped it has passed away, that now, to your consternation, it emerges in the full light of day?

Carlyle accuses the age furthermore—this is the immediate consequence of the foregoing—of hypocrisy and lying. Naturally the hollowness and enervation must be decently concealed and kept upright by accessories, padded clothes and whalebone stays! We too attack the hypocrisy of the present Christian state of the world; the struggle against it, our liberation from it and the liberation of the world from it are ultimately our sole occupation; but because through the development of philosophy we are able to discern this hypocrisy, and because we are waging the struggle scientifically, the nature of this hypocrisy is no longer so strange and incomprehensible to us as it admittedly still is to Carlyle. This hypocrisy is traced back by us to religion, the first word of which is a lie—or does religion not begin by showing us something human and claiming it is something superhuman, something divine? But because we know that all this lying and immorality follows from religion, that religious hypocrisy, theology, is the archetype of all other lies and hypocrisy, we are justified in extending the term "theology" to the whole untruth and hypocrisy of the present, as was originally done by Feuerbach and Bruno Bauer. Carlyle should read their works if he wishes to know the origin of the immorality that plagues our whole society.

A new religion, a pantheistic hero-worship, a cult of work, ought to be set up or is to be expected; but this is impossible; all the possibilities of religion are exhausted; after Christianity, after absolute, i.e., abstract, religion, after "religion as such", no other form of religion can arise. Carlyle himself realises that Catholic, Protestant or any other kind of Christianity is irresistibly moving towards its downfall; if he knew the nature of Christianity, he

would realise that after it no other religion is possible. Not even pantheism! Pantheism itself is another consequence of Christianity and cannot be divorced from its antecedent, at least that is true of modern pantheism, of Spinoza's, Schelling's, Hegel's and also Carlyle's pantheism. Once more, Feuerbach relieves me of the trouble of providing proof of this.

As I have said, we too are concerned with combating the lack of principle, the inner emptiness, the spiritual deadness, the untruthfulness of the age; we are waging a war to the death against all these things, just as Carlyle is, and there is a much greater probability that we shall succeed than that he will, because we know what we want. We want to put an end to atheism, as Carlyle portrays it, by giving back to man the substance he has lost through religion; not as divine but as human substance, and this whole process of giving back is no more than simply the awakening of self-consciousness. We want to sweep away everything that claims to be supernatural and superhuman, and thereby get rid of untruthfulness, for the root of all untruth and lying is the pretension of the human and the natural to be superhuman and supernatural. For that reason we have once and for all declared war on religion and religious ideas and care little whether we are called atheists or anything else. If however Carlyle's pantheistic definition of atheism were correct, it is not we but our Christian opponents who would be the true atheists. We have no intention of attacking the "eternal inner Facts of the universe", on the contrary, we have for the first time truly substantiated them by proving their perpetuity and rescuing them from the omnipotent arbitrariness of an inherently self-contradictory God. We have no intention of pronouncing "the world, man and his life a lie"; on the contrary, our Christian opponents are guilty of this act of immorality when they make the world and man dependent on the grace of a God who in reality was only created from the reflected image of man in the crude *hyle* of his own undeveloped consciousness. We have no intention whatever of doubting or despising the "revelation of history", for history is all and everything to us and we hold it more highly than any other previous philosophical trend, more highly than Hegel even, who after all used it only as a case against which to test his logical problem.

It is the other side that scorns history and disregards the development of mankind; it is the Christians again who, by putting forward a separate "History of the Kingdom of God" deny that real history has any inner substantiality and claim that this substantiality belongs exclusively to their other-worldly, ab-

stract and, what is more, fictitious history; who, by asserting that the culmination of the human species is their Christ, make history attain an imaginary goal, interrupt it in mid-course and are now obliged, if only for the sake of consistency, to declare the following eighteen hundred years to be totally nonsensical and utterly meaningless. *We* lay claim to the meaning of history; but we see in history not the revelation of "God" but of man and only of man. We have no need, in order to see the splendour of the human character, in order to recognise the development of the human species through history, its irresistible progress, its ever-certain victory over the unreason of the individual, its overcoming of all that is apparently supernatural, its hard but successful struggle against nature until the final achievement of free, human self-consciousness, the discernment of the unity of man and nature, and the independent creation—voluntarily and by its own effort—of a new world based on purely human and moral social relationships—in order to recognise all that in its greatness, we have no need first to summon up the abstraction of a "God" and to attribute to it everything beautiful, great, sublime and truly human; we do not need to follow this roundabout path, we do not need first to imprint the stamp of the "divine" on what is truly human, in order to be sure of its greatness and splendour. On the contrary, the "more divine", in other words, the more inhuman, something is, the less we shall be able to admire it. Only the *human* origin of the content of all religions still preserves for them here and there some claim to respect; only the consciousness that even the wildest superstition nevertheless has within it at bottom the eternal determinants of human nature, in however dislocated and distorted a form, only this awareness saves the history of religion, and particularly of the Middle Ages, from total rejection and *eternal* oblivion, which would otherwise certainly be the fate of these "godly" histories. The more "godly" they are, the more inhuman, the more bestial, and the "godly" Middle Ages did indeed produce the culmination of human bestiality, serfdom, *jus primae noctis,* etc. The god*lessness* of our age, of which Carlyle so much complains, is precisely its *saturation* with God. From this it also becomes clear why, above, I gave man as the solution to the riddle of the Sphinx. The question has previously always been: what is God? and German philosophy has answered the question in this sense: God is man. Man has only to understand himself, to take himself as the measure of all aspects of life, to judge according to his being, to organise the world in a truly human manner according to the demands of his own nature, and he will

have solved the riddle of our time. Not in other-worldly, non-existent regions, not beyond time and space, not with a "God" immanent in or opposed to the world, is the truth to be found, but much nearer, in man's own breast. Man's own substance is far more splendid and sublime than the imaginary substance of any conceivable "God", who is after all only the more or less indistinct and distorted image of man himself. So when Carlyle follows Ben Jonson in saying, man has lost his soul and is only now beginning to notice the want of it, the right formulation would be: in religion man has lost his own substance, has alienated his humanity, and now that religion, through the progress of history, has begun to totter, he notices his emptiness and instability. But there is no other salvation for him, he cannot regain his humanity, his substance, other than by thoroughly overcoming all religious ideas and returning firmly and honestly, not to "God", but to himself.

All of this may also be found in Goethe, the "prophet", and anyone who has his eyes open can read this between the lines. Goethe did not like to be concerned with "God"; the word made him uncomfortable, he felt at home only in human matters, and this humanity, this emancipation of art from the fetters of religion is precisely what constitutes Goethe's greatness. Neither the ancients nor Shakespeare can measure up to him in this respect. But this consummate humanity, this overcoming of the religious dualism can only be apprehended in its full historical significance by those who are not strangers to that other aspect of German national development, philosophy. What Goethe could only express spontaneously, and therefore, it is true, in a certain sense "prophetically", has been developed and substantiated in contemporary German philosophy. Carlyle too embodies assumptions which, logically, must lead to the position set forth above. Pantheism itself is but the last, preliminary step towards a free and human point of view. History, which Carlyle presents as the real "revelation", contains only what is human, and only by an arbitrary act can its content be taken away from humanity and credited to the account of a "God". Work, free activity, in which Carlyle similarly sees a "cult", is again a purely human matter and can only be linked with "God" in an arbitrary manner. What is the point of continually pushing to the fore a word which *at best* only expresses the boundlessness of indetermination and, what is more, maintains the illusion of dualism, a word which in itself is the denial of nature and humanity?

So much for the inward, religious aspect of Carlyle's standpoint. It serves as a point of departure for the assessment of the

outward, politico-social aspect; Carlyle has still enough religion to remain in a state of unfreedom; pantheism still recognises something higher than man himself. Hence his longing for a "true aristocracy", for "heroes"; as if these heroes could at best be more than *men*. If he had understood man as man in all his infinite complexity, he would not have conceived the idea of once more dividing mankind into two lots, sheep and goats, rulers and ruled, aristocrats and the rabble, lords and dolts, he would have seen the proper social function of talent not in ruling by force but in acting as a stimulant and taking the lead. The role of talent is to convince the masses of the truth of its ideas, and it will then have no need further to worry about their application, which will follow entirely of its own accord. Mankind is surely not passing through democracy to arrive back eventually at the point of departure.—What Carlyle says about democracy, incidentally, leaves little to be desired, if we discount what we have just been referring to, his lack of clarity about the goal, the purpose of modern democracy. Democracy, true enough, is only a transitional stage, though not towards a new, improved aristocracy, but towards real human freedom; just as the irreligiousness of the age will eventually lead to complete emancipation from everything that is religious, superhuman and supernatural, and not to its restoration.

Carlyle recognises the inadequacy of "competition, demand" and "supply, Mammonism", etc., and is far removed from asserting the absolute justification of landownership. So why has he not drawn the straightforward conclusion from all these assumptions and rejected the whole concept of property? How does he think he will destroy "competition", "supply and demand", Mammonism, etc., as long as the root of all these things, private property, exists? "Organisation of labour" cannot help in this respect, it cannot even be applied without a certain identity of interests. Why then does he not act consistently and decisively, proclaiming the identity of interests the only truly human state of affairs, and thereby putting an end to all difficulties, all imprecision and lack of clarity?

In all Carlyle's rhapsodies, there is not a syllable mentioning the English Socialists. As long as he adheres to his present point of view, which is admittedly infinitely far in advance of that of the mass of educated people in England but still abstract and theoretical, he will indeed not be able to view their efforts with particular sympathy. The English Socialists are purely practical and therefore also propose remedies, home-colonies,[198] etc., rather in the manner of Morison's pills; their philosophy is truly English, sceptical, in

other words they despair of theory, and for all practical purposes they cling to the materialism upon which their whole social system is based; all this will have little appeal for Carlyle, but he is as one-sided as they. Both have only overcome the contradiction *within* the contradiction; the Socialists within the sphere of practice, Carlyle within the sphere of theory, and even there only spontaneously, whereas the Socialists, by means of reasoning, have definitely overcome the practical aspect of the contradiction. The Socialists are still Englishmen, when they ought to be simply men, of philosophical developments on the Continent they are only acquainted with materialism but not with German philosophy, that is their only shortcoming, and they are directly engaged on the rectification of this deficiency by working for the removal of national differences. We have no need to be very hasty in forcing German philosophy on them, they will come to it of their own accord and it could be of little use to them now. But in any case they are the only party in England which has a future, relatively weak though they may be. Democracy, Chartism must soon be victorious, and then the mass of the English workers will have the choice only between starvation and socialism.

For Carlyle and his standpoint, ignorance of German philosophy is not a matter of such indifference. He is himself a theoretician of the German type, and yet at the same time his nationality leads him to empiricism; he is beset by a flagrant contradiction which can only be resolved if he continues to develop his German-theoretical viewpoint to its final conclusion, until it is totally reconciled with empiricism. To surmount the contradiction in which he is working, Carlyle has only *one* more step to take, but as all experience in Germany has shown, it is a difficult one. Let us hope that he will take it, and although he is no longer young, he will still probably be capable of it, for the progress shown in his last book[a] proves that his views are still developing.[199]

All this shows that Carlyle's book is ten thousand times more worth translating into German than all the legions of English novels which every day and every hour are imported into Germany, and I can only advocate such a translation. But let our hack translators just keep their hands off it! Carlyle writes a very particular English, and a translator who does not thoroughly understand English and references to English conditions would make the most absurd howlers.

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[a] Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present.—Ed.*

Following this somewhat general introduction, I shall examine in greater detail in the following numbers of this journal the condition of England and the essential part of it, the condition of the working class. The condition of England is of immense importance for history and for all other countries; for as regards social matters England is of course far in advance of all other countries.

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# THE CONDITION OF ENGLAND[200]

## I.

### THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

[*Vorwärts!* No. 70, August 31, 1844]

The century of revolution has to all appearances passed England by, causing little change. While on the Continent an entire old world was shattered, while a twenty-five-year war[201] cleared the air, in England everything remained calm, neither state nor church were in any way threatened. And yet since the middle of the last century England has experienced a greater upheaval than any other country—an upheaval which is all the more momentous the more quietly it is brought about, and it will therefore in all probability attain its goal more readily in practice than the political revolution in France or the philosophical revolution in Germany. The revolution in England is a social one and therefore more comprehensive and far-reaching than any other. There are no fields—however remote—of human knowledge and no conditions of life which have not contributed to it and which in turn have not been affected by it. The only true revolution is a social revolution, to which political and philosophical revolution must lead; and this social revolution has already been in progress in England for seventy or eighty years and is rapidly approaching its crisis at this very time.

The eighteenth century was the assembling, the gathering of mankind from the fragmentation and isolation into which it had been driven by Christianity; it was the penultimate step towards the self-understanding and self-liberation of mankind, but just because it was the penultimate step it was still partial and remained within the contradictions. The eighteenth century collated the results of the past, which had previously been scattered and appeared to be fortuitous, and laid bare their necessity

and inner connection. The jumble of countless scientific discoveries was put in order, classified and the causal connections shown; knowledge became science, and the sciences approached their perfection, that is to say, they took philosophy on the one hand and practice on the other as their point of departure. Before the eighteenth century science did not exist; the study of nature assumed its scientific form only in the eighteenth century or, in some fields, a few years earlier. Newton created scientific astronomy with the law of gravitation, scientific optics with the decomposition of light, scientific mathematics with the binomial theorem and the theory of infinity, and scientific mechanics with the analysis of the nature of forces. Physics likewise acquired its scientific character in the eighteenth century; chemistry was only brought into being by Black, Lavoisier and Priestley; geography became a science with the establishment of the form of the earth and the many voyages which only now were of benefit to science; with Buffon and Linné natural history too became a science; even geology gradually began to struggle free from the whirl of fantastic hypotheses which threatened to engulf it. The concept of the Encyclopaedia was typical of the eighteenth century; it was based on the awareness that all these sciences were interconnected but it was not yet able to show these connections, so that only a simple juxtaposition could be achieved. History was in a similar position; now for the first time we find voluminous compilations of world history, as yet without any critical comment, and entirely without a philosophical approach, but nevertheless universal history instead of the previous historical fragments limited both in time and place. Politics was given a human foundation, and political economy was reformed by Adam Smith. The culmination of science in the eighteenth century was materialism, the first system of natural philosophy and the consequence of this development of the natural sciences. The struggle against the abstract subjectivity of Christianity forced the philosophy of the eighteenth century to the other extreme; it opposed subjectivity with objectivity, the mind with nature, spiritualism with materialism, the abstract individual with the abstract universal or substance. The eighteenth century represents the revival of the spirit of antiquity as against that of Christianity. Materialism and the republic; the philosophy and politics of the ancient world, arose anew, and the French, the exponents of the ethos of antiquity *within* Christianity, assumed the historical initiative for a time.

The eighteenth century thus did not resolve the great antithesis which has been the concern of history from the beginning and

whose development constitutes history, the antithesis of substance and subject, nature and mind, necessity and freedom; but it set the two sides against each other, fully developed and in all their sharpness, and thereby made it necessary to overcome the antithesis. The consequence of this clear final evolution of the antithesis was general revolution which spread over various nations and whose imminent completion will at the same time resolve the antithesis of history up to the present. The Germans, the nation of Christian spiritualism, experienced a philosophical revolution; the French, the nation of classical materialism and hence of politics, had to go through a political revolution; the English, a nation that is a mixture of German and French elements, who therefore embody both sides of the antithesis and are for that reason more universal than either of the two factors taken separately, were for that reason drawn into a more universal, a social revolution.

This will need to be elaborated in greater detail, for the position of nations, at least with regard to recent times, has in our philosophy of history so far been dealt with very inadequately, or rather not at all.

That Germany, France and England are the three foremost countries at the present moment in history, I can doubtless take for granted; that the Germans represent the Christian spiritual principle, the French that of classical materialism, in other words, that the former represent religion and the church and the latter politics and the state, is equally obvious or will be made so in due course; the significance of the English in recent history is less conspicuous and yet for our present purpose it is the most important. The English nation was formed from Germanic and Romance people at a time when the two nations had only just separated from one another and their development towards the two sides of the antithesis had scarcely begun. The Germanic and Romance elements developed alongside one another and eventually formed one nation which contains the two unmediated sides. Germanic idealism retained abundant scope so that it was even able to turn into its opposite, abstract externalism; the fact that women and children may still be legally sold, and indeed the whole mercantile spirit of the English, must definitely be attributed to the Germanic element. In a similar fashion, Romance materialism turned into abstract idealism, inwardness and piety; hence the phenomenon of Romance Catholicism persisting *within* Germanic Protestantism, the Established Church, the papacy of the sovereign and the thoroughly Catholic manner of disposing of religion with mere formalities. The English nation is characterised

by this unresolved contradiction and the mingling of the sharpest contrasts. The English are the most religious nation on earth and at the same time the most irreligious; they worry more about the next world than any other nation, and at the same time they live as though this world were all that mattered to them; their expectation of heaven does not hinder them in the slightest from believing equally firmly in the "hell of making no money". Hence the everlasting inner restlessness of the English, which is caused by the sense of being unable to resolve the contradiction and which drives them out of themselves and into activity. The sense of contradiction is the source of energy, but merely externalised energy, and this sense of contradiction was the source of colonisation, seafaring, industry and the immense practical activity of the English in general. The inability to resolve the contradiction runs like a thread through the whole of English philosophy and forces it into empiricism and scepticism. Because Bacon could not resolve the contradiction between idealism and realism with *his* intellect, the intellect as such had to be incapable of solving it, idealism was simply discarded and empiricism regarded as the only remedy. From the same source derives the critical analysis of cognition and the whole psychological tendency within whose bounds English philosophy has moved from the outset, and in the end, after many unsuccessful attempts at resolving the contradiction, philosophy declares it to be insoluble and the intellect to be inadequate, and seeks a way out either in religious faith or in empiricism. Humean scepticism is still the form all irreligious philosophising takes in England today. We cannot know, this viewpoint argues, whether a God exists; if one exists, he is incapable of any communication with us, and we have therefore so to arrange our practical affairs as if he did not exist. We cannot know whether the mind is distinct from the body and immortal; we therefore live as if this life were the only one we have and do not bother about things that go beyond our understanding. In short, this scepticism is in practice exactly the same as French materialism, but in metaphysical theory it never advances beyond the inability of arriving at any definitive conclusion.

However because the English embodied within them both the elements which were responsible for historical progress on the Continent, they were therefore able, even without having much contact with the Continent, to keep abreast of development there and at times even to be ahead of it. The English revolution of the seventeenth century provides the exact model for the French one of 1789. In the "Long Parliament" the three stages which in

France took the form of Constituent and Legislative Assembly and National Convention, are easy to distinguish; the transition from constitutional monarchy to democracy, military despotism, restoration and *juste-milieu* revolution[a] is sharply delineated in the English revolution. Cromwell is Robespierre and Napoleon rolled into one; the Presbyterians, Independents and Levellers correspond to the Gironde, the Montagnards and the Hébertists and Babouvists; in both cases the political outcome is rather pitiable, and the whole parallel, which could be elaborated in much greater detail, incidentally also proves that a religious and an irreligious revolution, as long as they remain political, will in the final analysis amount to the *same* thing. Admittedly, this lead the English had over the Continent was only temporary and was gradually evened out again; the English revolution ended in *juste-milieu* and the creation of two national parties, whilst the French one is not yet complete and cannot be so until it achieves the result which the German philosophical and the English social revolutions have to achieve as well.

The English national character is thus substantially different both from the German and from the French character; the despair of overcoming the contradiction and the consequent total surrender to empiricism are its peculiar characteristics. The pure Germanic element converted its abstract inwardness into abstract outwardness, but this outwardness never lost the mark of its origin and always remained subordinate to inwardness and spiritualism. The French too are to be found on the side of materialism and empiricism; but because this empiricism is the primary national tendency and not a secondary consequence of a national consciousness divided within itself, it asserts itself nationally, generally and finds expression in political activity. The Germans asserted the absolute justification of spiritualism and hence sought to set forth the universal interests of mankind in religious and later in philosophic terms. The French opposed this spiritualism with materialism as something absolutely justified and consequently considered that the state was the eternal manifestation of these interests. The English however *have* no universal interests, they cannot mention them without touching that sore spot, the contradiction, they despair of them and have only individual interests. This absolute subjectivity, the fragmentation of the universal into the many individual parts, is admittedly of Germanic origin, but, as we have said, it is cut off from its roots and

[a] The French revolution of July 1830.—*Ed.*

therefore only takes effect *empirically,* which is precisely what distinguishes English social empiricism from French political empiricism. France's actions were always national, conscious of their entireness and universality from the start; England's actions were the work of independent coexisting individuals—the movement of disconnected atoms—who rarely acted together as one whole, and even then only from *individual* motives, and whose lack of unity is at this very time exposed to the light of day in the universal misery and complete fragmentation of society.

In other words, only England has a *social* history. Only in England have individuals as such, without consciously standing for universal principles, furthered national development and brought it near to its conclusion. Only here have the masses acted as masses, for the sake of their interests as individuals; only here have principles been turned into interests before they were able to influence history. The French and the Germans are gradually attaining a social history too, but they have not got one yet. On the Continent too there have been poverty, misery and social oppression, this however has had no effect on national development; but the misery and poverty of the working class in present-day England has national and even world-historical importance. On the Continent the social aspect is still completely hidden by the political aspect and has not yet become detached from it, whilst in England the social aspect has gradually prevailed over the political one and has made it subservient. The whole of English politics is fundamentally social in nature, and social questions are expressed in a political way only because England has not yet advanced beyond the state, and because politics is a necessary expedient there.

As long as church and state are the only forms in which the universal characteristics of human nature are realised, there can be no question of social history. Antiquity and the Middle Ages were also therefore without social development; only the Reformation, the first, as yet biassed and blundering attempt at a reaction against the Middle Ages, brought about a major social change, the transformation of serfs into "free" workers. But even this change remained without much enduring effect on the Continent, indeed it really took root there only after the revolution of the eighteenth century; whereas in England the category of serfs was transformed during the Reformation into villeins, bordars and cottars[a] and thus into a class of workers enjoying personal freedom,[202] and as

[a] Engels gives the words "villeins", "bordars" and "cottars" in English.—*Ed.*

early as the eighteenth century the consequences of this revolution became evident there. Why this happened only in England is explained above.

[*Vorwärts!* No. 71, September 4, 1844]

Antiquity, which as yet knew nothing of the rights of the individual, whose whole outlook was essentially abstract, universal and material, could therefore not exist without slavery. The Christian-Germanic view of the world, by contrast with antiquity, set up abstract subjectivity, and hence arbitrariness, inwardness and spiritualism, as the basic principle. However this subjectivity, precisely because it was abstract and one-sided, was bound to turn at once into its opposite and to engender, not the freedom of the individual, but the enslavement of the individual. Abstract inwardness became abstract outwardness, the rejection and alienation of man, and the first consequence of the new principle was the restoration of slavery in another form, that of serfdom, which was less offensive but for that reason hypocritical and more inhuman. The dissolution of the feudal system, the political Reformation, in other words, the *apparent* acknowledgement of reason, and hence really the culmination of unreason, *appeared* to abolish this serfdom, but in reality only made it more inhuman and more universal. It was the first to declare that mankind should no longer be held together by force, that is, by *political* means, but by self-interest, that is, by *social* means, and through this new principle it laid the foundation for social advance. But although it thus negated the state, on the other hand it actually revived the state by restoring to it the content which had previously been usurped by the church, and thus gave the state, which in the Middle Ages had been an empty form of little consequence, the strength for further development. The Christian state, the culmination of the political aspect of the Christian world order, arose from the ruins of feudalism; another aspect of the Christian world order attained its culmination by elevating interestedness to a general principle. For interest is essentially subjective and egoistical, it is the interest of the individual, and as such the highest point of the Germanic and Christian principle of subjectivity and particularisation. The consequence of elevating interest to the nexus of man to man—that is as long as interest remains directly subjective and purely egoistical—is bound to be universal fragmentation, the concentration of each individual upon himself, isolation, the transformation of mankind into a collection of

mutually repelling atoms; and this particularisation is again the ultimate consequence of the Christian principle of subjectivity, the culmination of the Christian world order.

Moreover, as long as private property, the basic form of alienation, exists, interest must necessarily be the interest of the individual and its domination will be the domination of property. The abolition of feudal servitude has made "cash-payment the sole relation of human beings".[a] Property, a natural, spiritless principle, as opposed to the human and spiritual principle, is thus enthroned, and ultimately, to complete this alienation, money—the alienated, empty abstraction of property—is made master of the world. Man has ceased to be the slave of men and has become the slave of *things*; the perversion of the human condition is complete; the servitude of the modern commercial world, this highly developed, total, universal venality, is more inhuman and more all-embracing than the serfdom of the feudal era; prostitution is more immoral and more bestial than the *jus primae noctis.*

The Christian world order cannot be taken any further than this; it must collapse under its own weight and make way for a humane, rational order. The Christian state is merely the last possible manifestation of the state as such; its demise will necessarily mean the demise of the state as such. The disintegration of mankind into a mass of isolated, mutually repelling atoms in itself means the destruction of all corporate, national and indeed of any particular interests and is the last necessary step towards the free and spontaneous association of men. The supremacy of money as the culmination of the process of alienation is an inevitable stage which has to be passed through, if man is to return to himself, as he is now on the verge of doing.

These consequences of the abolition of the feudal system have been taken to such lengths by the social revolution in England that the crisis which will destroy the Christian world order can no longer be far away, and indeed that the time of this crisis can be predicted with certainty, even if not quantitatively, in years, at least qualitatively; for this crisis must begin when the Corn Laws are repealed and the People's Charter introduced,[203] in other words, when the aristocracy of birth has been politically overcome by the money aristocracy and the latter in turn by working-class democracy.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had brought into being all the preconditions for social revolution, they had destroyed the

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[a] Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present*, p. 198.—*Ed.*

Middle Ages, established social, political and religious Protestantism, created England's colonies, sea-power and trade, and set up alongside the aristocracy a growing and already quite powerful middle class. Social conditions gradually settled down after the disturbances of the seventeenth century and acquired a stable form which they retained until about 1780 or 1790.

There were at that time three classes of landowners, the aristocratical landlords, still the only, and unchallenged, nobility of the kingdom, who leased their estates in parcels and consumed the income in London or while travelling; the non-aristocratical landlords or country gentlemen (usually called squires[a]), who lived at their country-seats, put out their land on lease and enjoyed among their tenants and other local inhabitants the aristocratic esteem which was denied to them in the town on account of their humble origin, lack of education and unpolished country manners. This class has now totally disappeared. The old squires who ruled with patriarchal authority the countryfolk of the district and acted as advisers, arbiters and everything rolled into one, are quite extinct; their descendants call themselves the untitled aristocracy of England, as regards education and fine manners, luxury and aristocratic demeanour they vie with the aristocracy, which has little advantage left over them, and all they have in common with their rude and unpolished forefathers are their estates.

The third class of landowners was that of the yeomen,[b] who owned small plots of land which they worked themselves, usually in the good old careless manner of their forebears; this class too has disappeared from the face of England, the social revolution has expropriated it and brought about the curious situation, that at the same time as in France the large landed estates were being forcibly parcelled out, in England the parcels were being attracted by the large landed estates and swallowed up by them. Alongside the yeomen there were small tenant farmers who were usually engaged in weaving as well as farming; they too are no longer to be found in modern England; almost all the land belongs now to a small number of large estates and is thus let on lease. The competition of the large tenant farmers drove the small tenant farmers and yeomen out of the market and impoverished them; they became agricultural day-labourers and weavers dependent on wages and supplied the masses whose influx caused the towns to grow with such amazing rapidity.

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[a] Engels gives the words "country gentlemen" and "squires" in English.—*Ed.*
[b] Engels gives this word in English.—*Ed.*

The farmers of those days led a quiet and placid life of godliness and propriety, they lived with few cares, but also without any changes, without general interests, without culture and mental activity; they were still at the prehistoric stage. The position in the towns was not very different. Only London was an important centre of trade; Liverpool, Hull, Bristol, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds and Glasgow were still insignificant. The main industries, spinning and weaving, were carried on chiefly in the country or at least not within the towns, but in their vicinity; the production of metal and pottery wares was still at the handicraft stage of development; not much was therefore likely to happen in the towns. The extreme simplicity of the electoral system relieved the townsfolk of any political cares, they were nominally Whig or Tory, but knew very well that it really made no difference, for they did not have the vote; small merchants, shopkeepers and craftsmen made up the whole urban population and led that familiar life of the small provincial town which is so totally incomprehensible to the English today. Little use was as yet made of the mines; iron, copper and tin lay more or less undisturbed below ground, and coal was only used for domestic purposes. In short, the situation in England was then similar to that which, alas, still exists in most of France and particularly in Germany, that is, a state of antediluvian apathy towards all general and intellectual interests, a state of social infancy, in which society does not as yet exist, where there is as yet no life, no consciousness, no activity. This state is in fact a continuation of feudalism and of medieval thoughtlessness, and will only be overcome with the arrival of modern feudalism, with the division of society into owners of property and non-owners. We on the Continent, as we have said, are still deeply immersed in this state; the English fought against it for eighty years and overcame it forty years ago. If civilisation is a matter of practice, a social quality, then the English are indeed the most civilised people in the world.

I mentioned above that the sciences had assumed their scientific form in the eighteenth century and were consequently connected on the one hand with philosophy and on the other with practice. The result of taking philosophy as the point of departure was materialism (for which Newton was just as much a prerequisite as Locke), the Enlightenment and the French political revolution. The result of taking practice as the point of departure was the English social revolution.

In 1760 George III began his reign, drove out the Whigs—who had held office almost uninterruptedly since the reign of George I

but had of course governed in a thoroughly conservative manner—and laid the foundation of the Tory monopoly which lasted until 1830. The government thereby regained its inner truth; in a politically conservative period in England, it was quite appropriate that the conservative party should rule. From then on social developments absorbed the energies of the nation and ousted political interests, indeed destroyed them, for all domestic politics is from then on just concealed socialism, the form that social issues take to succeed in asserting themselves generally and nationally.

In 1763 Dr. James Watt of Greenock began working on the design of the steam-engine, and completed it in 1768.

In 1763 Josiah Wedgwood laid the foundations of the English pottery industry by the introduction of scientific principles. By his efforts a desolate area of Staffordshire has been turned into an industrial region—the Potteries—which now employs 60,000 people and has played a very important part in the social and political movement of recent years.

In 1764 in Lancashire James Hargreaves invented the spinning-jenny, a machine operated by one worker, which enabled him to spin sixteen times as much yarn as on the old spinning-wheel.[a]

In 1768 Richard Arkwright, a barber from Preston in Lancashire, invented the spinning-throstle, the first spinning-machine which was designed from the outset for mechanical power. It produced water-twist, that is, yarn used for warps in weaving.

In 1776 in Bolton, Lancashire, Samuel Crompton invented the spinning-mule by combining the mechanical principles applied in the jenny and the throstle. The mule, like the jenny, spins the mule-twist, that is, the weaver's weft; all three machines are designed for the working-up of cotton.

In 1787 Dr. Cartwright invented the power-loom, which however still had to undergo a number of improvements and could not be used in practice until 1801.

These inventions stimulated social development. Their most immediate consequence was the rise of English industry, or more specifically of cotton manufacture in the first instance. The jenny had, it is true, made the production of yarn cheaper, and by the expansion of the market that followed from this, it had given the first impetus to industry; but it left the social aspect, the character of the industrial enterprise, more or less unaffected. It was Ark-

[a] Engels gives most of the technical terms in this and the following two paragraphs in English.—*Ed.*

wright's and Crompton's machines and Watt's steam engine that first set the movement going, by creating the factory system. Smaller factories, driven by horses or water-power, arose first, but were soon displaced by the larger factories driven by water or steam. The first steam spinning-mill was set up by Watt in Nottinghamshire in 1785; others followed it, and soon the new system became general. The spread of the steam spinning-mill, like all the other industrial improvements introduced simultaneously or later, proceeded with enormous speed. The import of raw cotton, which in 1770 was still less than five million pounds a year, rose to 54 million pounds (1800) and 360 million pounds (1836). Then the steam-loom was actually introduced and gave a new impetus to industrial progress; all the machines underwent countless small but, when taken together, very significant improvements, and each new improvement encouraged the spread of the industrial system as a whole. All branches of the cotton industry were revolutionised; printing was immensely improved by the introduction of mechanical aids and simultaneously by the advances made in chemistry, by which dyeing and bleaching profited as well. Hosiery manufacture too was carried along by this current; and since 1809 machines were used to manufacture fine cotton goods, tulle, lace, etc. I have not the space here to pursue the progress of cotton manufacture through all the details of its history; I can only indicate the outcome, and that, when compared with the antediluvian cotton industry with its four million pounds of imported cotton, with its spinning-wheel, hand-carding and hand-loom, cannot fail to impress.

In 1833, 10,264 million skeins of yarn were spun in Britain, their length amounting to over 5,000 million miles, and 350 million ells of cotton fabric were printed; 1,300 cotton mills were in operation, which employed 237,000 spinners and weavers; over 9 million spindles, 100,000 steam-looms and 240,000 hand-looms, 33,000 hosiery looms and 3,500 bobbinet machines were in operation; cotton-manufacturing machinery used 33,000 h.p. of steam-power and 11,000 h.p. of water-power, and one and a half million people lived directly or indirectly from this industry. Lancashire derives its subsistence solely and Lanarkshire largely from the spinning and weaving of cotton; the subsidiary branches of the cotton industry are chiefly located in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Leicestershire. The quantity of exported cotton goods has increased eightfold since 1801; the amount consumed in the country itself has increased a great deal more.

[*Vorwärts!* No. 72, September 7, 1844]

The impetus given to cotton manufacturing was soon communicated to other branches of industry. The *woollen* industry had until then been the most important branch of industry; it was now displaced by cotton, but instead of declining, it also grew. In 1785 the whole wool crop of three preceding years lay unused; the spinners could not work it up as long as they had no alternative to their crude spinning-wheel. Then people began to apply the machines for spinning cotton to wool, and this, after a few modifications, was entirely successful; then the wool industry experienced the same rapid growth as we have already observed in the case of cotton manufacture. The import of raw wool rose from 7 million pounds (1801) to 42 million pounds (1835); in the latter year 1,300 woollen mills employing 71,300 workers were in operation, not counting a host of hand-weavers who worked at home, and printers, dyers, bleachers, etc., etc., who also live indirectly from the wool industry. This industry is chiefly located in the West Riding of Yorkshire and the west of England (especially Somerset, Wiltshire, etc.).

The *linen* industry was formerly located chiefly in Ireland. The first factories for the processing of flax were built towards the end of the last century in Scotland. The machinery was however still very far from perfect; the material gave rise to difficulties which necessitated significant modifications in the machines. They were first improved by the Frenchman Girard (1810); but these improvements acquired practical importance first of all in England. The introduction of steam-looms into the linen industry took place even later; and from this point on linen manufacture expanded at immense speed, although it suffered from the competition of cotton. In England Leeds became the centre of the linen industry, in Scotland Dundee and in Ireland Belfast. Dundee alone imported 3,000 tons of flax in 1814 and 19,000 tons in 1834. The export of linen from Ireland, where hand-weaving continued to exist alongside power-weaving, rose by 20 million yards from 1800 to 1825, almost all of which went to England, and from there some of it was re-exported. Exports from the whole of Britain to foreign countries rose by 27 million yards between 1820 and 1833; in 1835 there were 347 flax mills in operation, 170 of these in Scotland; 33,000 workers were employed in these mills, not counting the many Irish artisans.

The *silk* industry only became important after 1824 with the abolition of the heavy customs duties; since then the import of raw

silk has doubled and the number of factories increased to 266, employing 30,000 workers. This industry is chiefly located in Cheshire (Macclesfield, Congleton and district), then follow Manchester, and Paisley in Scotland. The centre of ribbon-making is Coventry in Warwickshire.

These four industries which produce yarn and fabrics were thus totally revolutionised. Domestic industry was replaced by collective labour in large buildings; manual labour was supplanted by steam-power and the use of machinery. With the aid of the machine a child of eight was now able to produce more than twenty grown men before. Six hundred thousand factory workers, of whom half are children and more than half female, are doing the work of one hundred and fifty million people.

But that is only the beginning of the industrial revolution. We have seen that dyeing, printing and bleaching expanded as a result of the advance in spinning and weaving and consequently sought the assistance of engineering and chemistry. Since the application of the steam-engine and of metal cylinders in printing, one man does the work of two hundred; the use of chlorine instead of oxygen in bleaching has reduced the time required for this operation from a few months to a few hours. While the industrial revolution thus affected the processes to which the product was subjected *after* spinning and weaving, its repercussions on the materials used by the new industry were even more significant. It was only through the steam-engine that the inexhaustible coal fields beneath the surface of England acquired their great importance; new coal mines were opened in large numbers and the old ones worked with redoubled energy. The manufacture of spinning-machines and looms also began to constitute a separate branch of industry and reached a degree of perfection unattained by any other nation. The machines were made by machines, and by a division of labour extending to the minutest detail, it was possible to achieve the precision and exactitude which distinguish English machines. The machine-building industry in its turn influenced iron and copper mining, which however received their chief impetus from another direction, but this too was caused by the original revolution effected by Watt and Arkwright.

The consequences of an industrial impetus, once given, are endless. The progress made in one industry is communicated to all the others. The newly-created forces demand nourishment, as we have just seen; the newly-created working population brings in its wake new conditions of life and new needs. The mechanical

advantages of factory production reduce the price of manufactured articles, and therefore make the necessities of life and in consequence wages in general cheaper; all other products can be sold more cheaply and thereby reach a wider market in proportion to their cheapness. Once the advantageous application of mechanical devices has been demonstrated, it is gradually imitated throughout industry; the advance in civilisation, which is the inevitable consequence of all industrial improvements, generates new needs, new industries and thus again new improvements. The consequence of the revolution in cotton-spinning was necessarily a revolution in the whole of industry; and if we cannot always trace how the motive forces are imparted to the more remote branches of the industrial system, only the absence of statistical and historical information is to blame. But we shall see everywhere that the introduction of mechanical devices and of scientific principles in general has been the mainspring of progress.

After spinning and weaving, *metal*-working is the most important industry in England. It is chiefly located in Warwickshire (Birmingham) and Staffordshire (Wolverhampton). Steam-power was very soon employed in this industry and this, together with division of labour, cut the production costs of metal goods by three-quarters. On the other hand, exports multiplied fourfold from 1800 to 1835. In the former year 86,000 cwt. of iron goods and the same quantity of copper goods were exported, in the latter year 320,000 cwt. of iron and 210,000 cwt. of copper and brass goods. The export of bar-iron and pig-iron became significant at the same time; in 1800, 4,600 tons of bar-iron were exported, in 1835, 92,000 tons of bar-iron and 14,000 tons of pig-iron.

English cutlery is made exclusively in Sheffield. The use of steam-power, especially for grinding and polishing blades, the conversion of iron into steel, which only then became important, and the newly-invented method of casting steel, brought about a complete revolution here too. Sheffield alone consumes annually 500,000 tons of coal and 12,000 tons of iron, of which 10,000 tons come from abroad (particularly from Sweden).

The use of cast-iron goods also dates from the second half of the last century and has attained its present importance only in the last few years. Gas-lighting (introduced, in effect, since 1804) created an enormous demand for cast-iron pipes; the railways, suspension bridges, etc., machinery, etc., increased this demand still more. In 1780 puddling was invented, that is, the conversion of cast into wrought iron by heating and removing the carbon, and this gave new importance to the English iron-ore mines. For

lack of charcoal the English had until then to obtain all their wrought iron from abroad. Since 1790 nails have been made by machine, and screws since 1810; in Sheffield Huntsman invented crucible steel-making in 1760; wire was drawn by machinery, and generally a host of new machines was introduced throughout the iron and brass industry, manual labour was ousted and, insofar as the nature of the business permitted, the factory system was established.

The increase in mining was only the necessary consequence of this. Until 1788 all iron-ore had been smelted with charcoal and iron extraction had therefore been limited by the small quantity of fuel available. After 1788 coke (coked coal) began to be used instead of charcoal and the amount produced annually was as a result multiplied by six in six years. In 1740, the annual output was 17,000 tons, in 1835, 553,000 tons. Extraction from the tin and copper mines has trebled since 1770. But along with the iron mines the coal mines are the most important in England. The growth of coal production since the middle of the last century cannot be assessed. The vast quantity of coal which is now consumed by the countless steam-engines working in the factories and mines, by the forges, by the smelting-furnaces and casting-works and by the domestic heating of a population that has doubled, bears no relation whatever to the amount consumed one hundred or eighty years ago. The smelting of pig-iron alone devours over three million tons a year (at twenty cwt. a ton).

The most immediate consequence of the creation of industry was the improvement of the means of communication. In the last century the roads in England were just as bad as elsewhere and remained so until the celebrated McAdam based road-building on scientific principles and thereby gave a new impetus to the advance of civilisation. From 1818 to 1829 new highways with a total length of 1,000 English miles were laid down in England and Wales, not counting smaller country lanes, and almost all the old roads were reconstructed according to McAdam's principles. In Scotland the public works authorities have built over 1,000 bridges since 1803. In Ireland, the wide, desolate bogs of the south, inhabited by half-wild robbers, were traversed by roads. By these means the remotest localities in the country, which had previously had no contact with the outside world, were now made accessible; in particular the Celtic-speaking areas of Wales, the Scottish Highlands and the south of Ireland were thereby compelled to make acquaintance with the outside world and accept the civilisation imposed upon them.

In 1755 the first canal of any note was constructed in Lancashire; in 1759 the Duke of Bridgewater started to build a canal from Worsley to Manchester. Since then canals have been constructed to a total length of 2,200 miles; in addition England has another 1,800 miles of navigable rivers, which for the most part have also been opened up only recently.

Since 1807, steam-power has been used for the propulsion of ships, and since the construction of the first British steamship (1811), 600 others have been built. In 1835 there were some 550 steamships sailing from British ports.

The first public railway was built in Surrey in 1801; but only with the opening of the Liverpool-Manchester railway (1830) did the new form of transport become important. Six years later, 680 miles of railway had been constructed and four major lines—from London to Birmingham, Bristol and Southampton, and from Birmingham to Manchester and Liverpool—were in operation. Since then the network has been extended over the whole of England; London is the junction of nine railways, and Manchester of five.*

This revolution through which British industry has passed is the foundation of every aspect of modern English life, the driving force behind all social development. Its first consequence was, as we have already indicated, the elevation of self-interest to a position of dominance over man. Self-interest seized the newly-created industrial powers and exploited them for its own purposes; these powers, which by right belong to mankind, became, owing to the influence of private property, the monopoly of a few rich capitalists and the means to the enslavement of the masses. Commerce absorbed industry into itself and thereby became omnipotent, it became the nexus of mankind; all personal and national intercourse was reduced to commercial intercourse, and—which amounts to the same thing—property, things, became master of the world.

[*Vorwärts!* No. 73, September 11, 1844]

The domination of property was bound to turn first against the state and to destroy it, or, at least, as it cannot do without it, to undermine it. Adam Smith began this undermining at the very time of the industrial revolution by publishing in 1776 his *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* and thereby

* The above statistical data are mainly drawn from *The Progress of the Nation* by G. Porter, a Board of Trade official under the Whig Ministry, that is, from official sources.—*Note by Engels.*[204]

created the science of finance. Up to now all finance had been entirely national; the economy had been regarded as a mere branch of affairs of the state as a whole and subordinated to the state as such; Adam Smith subordinated cosmopolitanism to national aims and raised the economy of the state to the very essence and purpose of the state. He reduced politics, parties, religion, indeed everything, to economic categories and thereby recognised property as the essence of the state and enrichment as its purpose. On the other hand, William Godwin (*Political Justice*, 1793[a]) supported the republican political system, propounded, at the same time as J. Bentham, the principle of utility, whereby the republican *salus publica suprema lex*[b] was taken to its legitimate conclusions, and attacked the very essence of the state itself with his aphorism that the state is an evil. Godwin still defines the principle of utility quite generally as the duty of the citizen to live only for the general good without regard to his individual interest; Bentham, on the contrary, takes the essentially social nature of this principle further and in accordance with the national trend of that time makes the individual interest the basis of the general interest: he recognises that the two are identical in the proposition, which his pupil Mill in particular developed, that charity is nothing but enlightened egoism, and he substitutes the greatest happiness of the greatest number for the "general good". Bentham here makes the same error in his empiricism as Hegel made in his theory; he does not seriously try to overcome the contradictions, he turns the subject into the predicate, subordinates the whole to the part and in so doing stands everything on its head. First he says that the general and individual interests are inseparable and then he stays unilaterally at the crudest individual interest. His proposition is only the empirical expression of another one, namely, that man is mankind, but because it is expressed empirically it grants the rights of the species not to the free, self-conscious, creative man, but to the crude and blind man who remains within the confines of the contradictions. Bentham makes free competition the essence of morality, regulates human relations according to the laws of property, of things, according to the laws of nature, and thus represents the culmination of the old, naturally evolved Christian world order, the highest point of alienation, and not the beginning of a new order to be created by self-conscious man in full freedom. He does not advance beyond the state, but strips it of all

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[a] *An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice.—Ed.*
[b] The public good is the supreme law.—*Ed.*

meaning, substitutes social principles for political ones, turns the political organisation into the form of the social content and thus carries the contradiction to its extreme limit.

The democratic party originated at the same time as the industrial revolution. In 1769 J. Horne Tooke founded the Society of the Bill of Rights, in which, for the first time since the republic,[a] democratic principles were discussed again. As in France, the democrats were exclusively men with a philosophical education, but they soon found that the upper and middle classes were opposed to them and only the working class lent a ready ear to their principles. Amongst the latter class they soon founded a party, which by 1794 was already fairly strong[205] and yet still only strong enough to act by fits and starts. From 1797 to 1816 it disappeared from view; in the turbulent years from 1816 to 1823 it was again very active but then subsided once more into inactivity until the July revolution. From then on it has maintained its importance alongside the old parties and is making steady progress, as we shall later see.

The most important effect of the eighteenth century for England was the creation of the proletariat by the industrial revolution. The new industry demanded a constantly available mass of workers for the countless new branches of production, and moreover workers such as had previously not existed. Up to 1780 England had few proletarians, a fact which emerges inevitably from the social condition of the nation as described above. Industry concentrated work in factories and towns; it became impossible to combine manufacturing and agricultural activity, and the new working class was reduced to complete dependence on its labour. What had hitherto been the exception became the rule and spread gradually outside the towns too. Small-scale farming was ousted by the large tenant farmers and thus a new class of agricultural labourers was created. The population of the towns trebled and quadrupled and almost the whole of this increase consisted solely of workers. The expansion of mining likewise required a large number of new workers, and these too lived solely from their daily wage.

On the other hand, the middle class rose to become definitely aristocratic. During the industrial advance manufacturers multiplied their capital in an amazingly rapid fashion; the merchants likewise received their share, and the capital created by this rev-

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[a] Of 1649-60.—*Ed.*

olution was the means by which the English aristocracy fought the French Revolution.

The result of this whole development was that England is now split into three parties, the landed aristocracy, the monied aristocracy, and working-class democracy. These are the only parties in England, they alone act as driving forces, and *how* they act we will perhaps try to describe in a later article.

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# THE CONDITION OF ENGLAND

## II

### THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION[206]

[*Vorwärts!* No. 75, September 18, 1844]

In the previous article we elaborated the criteria for assessing the present position of the British Empire in the history of civilisation, and gave the relevant facts concerning the development of the English nation insofar as they are indispensable to this purpose but are little known on the Continent; having thus justified our initial assumptions, we can now proceed without more ado to the object of our investigation.

The position of England has hitherto seemed enviable to all other nations of Europe, and indeed so it is to anyone who dwells on the surface and observes simply with the eyes of a politician. Britain is an empire of such a kind as is possible today, and such as all other empires in essence were as well; for the empires of Alexander and Caesar too represented, like the British, the rule of civilised nations over barbarians and colonies. No other country in the world can measure up to England in terms of power and wealth, and this power and wealth do not lie in the hands of a single despot, as was the case in Rome, but belong to the educated part of the nation. The fear of despotism and the struggle against the power of the Crown came to an end a hundred years ago; England is undeniably the freest, in other words, the least unfree, country in the world, not excepting North America, and the educated Englishman consequently has about him a degree of innate independence such as no Frenchman, to say nothing of German, can boast of. The political activity, the free press, the maritime supremacy and the colossal industry of England have so fully developed the energy inherent in the national character, the combination of the most resolute force and the calmest delibera-

tion, in almost every individual that in this respect too the continental nations trail infinitely far behind the English. The history of the British Army and Navy is a series of brilliant victories, whilst England has scarcely seen an enemy on its shores for the past eight hundred years; the stature of its literature can only be rivalled by the literature of ancient Greece and Germany; England has produced at least two great names—Bacon and Locke—in philosophy, and innumerable ones in the empirical sciences, and if it is a question of which nation has *done* most, no one can deny that the English are that nation.

These are the things of which England can be proud, in which she surpasses the Germans and the French, and which I have listed here at the outset, so that the good Germans may convince themselves of my "impartiality" at the very start; for I know full well that in Germany it is much more acceptable to make inconsiderate statements about the Germans than about any other nation. And, broadly speaking, the things I have just listed form the subject-matter of that whole literature, so voluminous and yet so very unproductive and unnecessary, which has been churned out about England on the Continent. It has not occurred to anyone to investigate the nature of English history and of the English national character, and just how paltry all the literature about England is, is revealed by the simple fact that Herr von Raumer's paltry work about England[a] is still, as far as I know, held to be the best on the subject in Germany.

Since England has hitherto only been considered from the political angle, let us begin with that. Let us examine the English Constitution, which, as the Tories put it, is "the most perfect product of English reason", and let us, as another favour to the politician, for the present proceed quite empirically.

The *juste-milieu* esteem it a particular beauty of the English Constitution that it has developed "historically"; that means, in plain German, that the old basis created by the revolution of 1688 has been preserved, and this foundation, as they call it, further built on. We shall soon see what characteristics the English Constitution has acquired in consequence; for the moment a simple comparison of the Englishman of 1688 with the Englishman of 1844 will suffice to prove that an identical constitutional foundation for both of them is an absurdity and an impossibility. Even disregarding the general progress of civilisation, the political character of the nation alone is quite different from what it was

[a] *England im Jahre 1835.—Ed.*

then. The Test Act, the Habeas Corpus Act and the Bill of Rights[a] were Whig measures which arose from the weakness and defeat of the Tories at that time and were directed against these Tories, in other words, against absolute monarchy and open or concealed Catholicism.[207] But within the next fifty years the old Tories disappeared and their descendants adopted the principles which were hitherto the property of the Whigs; since George I ascended the throne, the monarchical, Catholic Tories have become an aristocratic, High-Church party, and since the French Revolution, which first woke them up, the positive precepts of Toryism have evaporated increasingly into abstract "conservatism", the undisguised, unthinking defence of the *status quo*—indeed even this stage has already been left behind. Through Sir Robert Peel Toryism has decided to acknowledge change, it has realised that the English Constitution cannot be defended, and is making concessions simply to maintain that tottering structure as long as possible.

The Whigs have undergone an equally important development, a new democratic party has arisen, and yet the foundation of 1688 is still supposed to be adequate for 1844! Now the inevitable consequence of this "historical development" is that the inner contradictions which are characteristic features of constitutional monarchy and which were sufficiently exposed even at the time when modern German philosophy still upheld a republican viewpoint—that these contradictions attain their most extreme form in the modern English monarchy. In fact the English constitutional monarchy is the culmination of constitutional monarchy as such, it is the only state where, insofar as this is still possible at the present time, a *real* aristocracy of birth has held its position alongside a comparatively highly developed public consciousness, and consequently where that trinity of legislative power really exists which on the Continent has been artificially restored and is maintained only with difficulty.

If the essence of the state, as of religion, is mankind's fear of itself, this fear reaches its highest pitch in constitutional, and particularly in the English, monarchy. The experience of three millennia has not made men wiser but on the contrary more confused and more prejudiced, it has made them mad, and the result of this madness is the political condition of present-day Europe. The pure monarchy arouses terror—people think of

[a] Engels uses the English term "Bill of Rights".—*Ed.*

Oriental and Roman despotism. Pure aristocracy is no less frightening—the patricians of Rome and the feudalism of the Middle Ages, the nobili of Venice and Genoa have not been in vain. Democracy is more dreadful than either; Marius and Sulla, Cromwell and Robespierre, the bloody heads of two kings, proscription lists and dictatorship speak loudly enough of the "horrors" of democracy. What is more, it is generally known that none of these forms has ever been able to survive for long. What then was to be done? Instead of proceeding on a straight course, instead of concluding from the imperfection or rather inhumanity of all forms of the state that the state itself is the cause of all these inhumanities and is itself inhuman, instead of that people took comfort in the view that immorality only adheres to particular *forms* of the state, they deduced from the above premises that the result of three immoral factors can be a moral product, and created the constitutional monarchy.

The first axiom of constitutional monarchy is that of the balance of powers, and this axiom is the most perfect expression of mankind's fear of itself. It is not my intention to comment on the absurd irrationality and total impracticability of this axiom, I will merely examine whether it is applied in the English Constitution; as I promised, I shall stick exclusively to empirical facts, so much so indeed that it will perhaps be too much even for our political empiricists. I shall therefore not take the English Constitution as it figures in Blackstone's *Commentaries*,[a] in de Lolme's fantasies[b] or in the long series of constituent statutes from "Magna Carta" to the Reform Bill, but as it is in reality.[208]

First, the monarchic element. Everyone knows the real significance of the sovereign king of England, whether male or female. The power of the Crown is reduced in practice to nil, and if this situation, notorious the world over, needed any further proof, the fact that the whole struggle against the Crown ceased over a hundred years ago and that even the radical democratic Chartists know their time is better spent on other things than on this struggle, should be sufficient proof. What then becomes of that third part of the legislative power which in theory is assigned to the Crown? Nevertheless—and in this, fear reaches its climax—the English Constitution cannot exist without the monarchy. Remove the Crown, the "subjective apex", and the whole artificial structure comes tumbling down. The English Constitution

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[a] W. Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws and Constitution of England*.—*Ed.*

[b] J. L. Delolme, *La Constitution de l'Angleterre*.—*Ed.*

is an inverted pyramid; the apex is at the same time the base. And the less important the monarchic element became in reality, the more important did it become for the Englishman. Nowhere, as we all know, is a non-ruling personage more revered than in England. The English press surpasses the German by far in slavish servility. But this loathsome cult of the king as such, the veneration of an empty idea—or rather not an idea but the *word* "king"—stripped of all content, is the culmination of monarchy, just as the veneration of the mere *word* "God" is the culmination of religion. The word "king" is the essence of the state, just as the word "God" is the essence of religion, even though neither word has any meaning at all. The essential thing about both of them is to make sure that the essential thing, that is, man, who is behind these words, is not discussed.

Then, the aristocratic element. At least in the sphere assigned to it by the Constitution, it fares little better than the Crown. If the mockery which has continuously been heaped on the House of Lords for more than a hundred years has gradually become so much a part of public opinion that this branch of the legislature is generally regarded as a home for superannuated statesmen and the offer of a peerage as an insult by any not yet totally worn-out member of the House of Commons, it may easily be imagined in what esteem the second of the political powers established by the Constitution is held. In fact the activity of the Lords in the Upper House has been reduced to a mere empty formality, rising only rarely to a kind of force of inertia such as was displayed during the Whig Ministry of 1830 to 1840—and even then the Lords are not strong in themselves but through the Tories, the party whose most genuine representatives they are; and the House of Lords, whose main advantage in constitutional theory is supposed to be the fact that it is equally independent of the Crown and of the people, is in reality dependent on a party, that is, on the state of public opinion, and also on the Crown, because of its right to create peers. But the weaker the Upper House was, the firmer was its position in public opinion. The constitutional parties, the Tories, Whigs and Radicals, shrink with equal horror from the idea of abolishing this empty formality, and the Radicals go no further than to observe that the Lords, as the only power in the Constitution that is answerable to no one, are an anomaly and that therefore the hereditary peerage should be replaced by an elected peerage. Once more it is the fear of humanity which maintains this empty form, and the Radicals, who are demanding a purely democratic basis for the House of Commons, take this fear even

further than the other two parties by attempting to breathe new life into the worn-out, antiquated House of Lords by an infusion of popular blood, so as to avoid abandoning it altogether. The Chartists have a better idea of what they must do; they know that before the assault of a democratic House of Commons, the whole rotten structure, Crown, Lords and so forth, must collapse of its own accord, and unlike the Radicals they therefore do not worry about the reform of the peerage.

And just as the veneration for the Crown has grown in proportion as the power of the Crown diminished, so the aristocracy has risen all the higher in popular esteem the more the political influence of the House of Lords declined. It is not just that the most humiliating formalities of the feudal era have been retained, that the members of the House of Commons, when they appear in an official capacity before the Lords, have to stand cap in hand before the seated and behatted Lords and that the official mode of addressing a nobleman is "may it please your lordship",[a] etc.; the worst of it is that all these formalities really are the expression of public opinion, which regards a Lord as a being of a superior kind and harbours a respect for pedigrees, sonorous titles, old family mementoes, etc., which is as repugnant and nauseating to us continentals as the cult of the Crown. In this aspect of the English character too we have again the same veneration for an empty, meaningless word, the utterly insane, fixed idea that a great nation, that the human race and the universe, could not exist without the word "aristocracy".

For all that, the aristocracy nevertheless has an important influence in reality; but just as the power of the Crown is the power of the Ministers, in other words, of the representatives of the majority of the House of Commons, and has thus taken quite a different turn from that intended by the Constitution, so the power of the aristocracy consists in something quite other than its right to an hereditary seat in the legislature. The aristocracy is strong because of its vast estates, its wealth in general, and it therefore shares this strength with all other, non-aristocratic men of wealth; the power of the Lords is effective not in the House of Lords but in the House of Commons, and this brings us to that component of the legislature which according to the Constitution is supposed to represent the democratic element.

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[a] Engels gives this phrase both in German and in English.— *Ed.*

[*Vorwärts!* No. 76, September 21, 1844]

If the Crown and the House of Lords are powerless, it follows that all power must necessarily be concentrated in the House of Commons, and this is the case. In reality the House of Commons makes the laws and administers them through the Ministers, who are but a committee of the House. The House of Commons being thus omnipotent, England ought to be a pure democracy, even if nominally the other two branches of the legislature continue to exist, provided the democratic element itself were truly democratic. But there is no question of this. The local organisations were quite unaffected by the constitutional settlement after the revolution of 1688; the cities, boroughs and constituencies which had previously had the right to send a member retained it; and this right was by no means one of the democratic "universal human rights", but an entirely feudal privilege, which as late as Elizabeth's reign was conferred quite arbitrarily by the grace and favour of the Crown on many towns which had not previously been represented. Even the representative character which the elections to the House of Commons at least originally had, was soon lost through "historical development". The composition of the old House of Commons is well known. In the towns the return of a member was either in the hands of an individual or of an exclusive corporation co-opting its own members; only a few boroughs were open, in other words, had a fairly large electorate, and here the most brazen bribery put paid to the last vestiges of true representation. The closed boroughs were mostly in the pocket of one individual, usually a lord; and in the rural constituencies the all-powerful big landowners suppressed any free, spontaneous stirring there might be among the people, who were moreover politically inert. The old House of Commons was no more than an exclusive medieval corporation independent of the people, the culmination of the "historical" right, incapable of adducing even a single genuinely or apparently rational argument for its existence, existing in defiance of all reason and hence denying in 1794 through its committee that it was an assembly of representatives and that England was a representative state.* In comparison with such a Constitution, the theory of representative government, even of an ordinary constitutional monarchy with a chamber of deputies, must have appeared thoroughly revolutionary and reprehensible,

* Second Report of the Committee of Secrecy, to whom the Papers referred to in His Majesty's Message on the 12 May 1794, were delivered (Réport on the London Revolutionary Societies, London, 1794). Page 68 ff.— *Note by Engels.*

and the Tories were therefore quite right when they described the Reform Bill as a measure diametrically opposed to the spirit and the letter of the Constitution and which undermined the Constitution. The Reform Bill, however, went through, and it is now our task to see what it has made of the English Constitution and particularly of the House of Commons. In the first place, the conditions for the election of members in the countryside have remained exactly the same. The electors are here almost exclusively tenant farmers, and they are utterly dependent on their landlord since the latter, who has no contractual relationship with them, may at any time terminate the lease. The members for the counties (as opposed to the towns) remain, as they were before, deputies of the landowners, since it is only at times of the greatest unrest, as in 1831,[209] that the tenant farmers dare to vote against the landowners. Indeed, the Reform Bill only aggravated the evil, since it increased the number of county members. Of the 252 county members, the Tories can consequently always count on at least 200, except when there is general unrest among the tenant farmers which would make any intervention by the landowners unwise. In the towns representation was introduced, at least formally, and every man occupying a house of at least ten pounds sterling annual rental value and paying direct taxes (poor-rate, etc.) received the vote. By this means the enormous majority of the working classes is excluded; for in the first place it is naturally only the married who live in separate houses, and even if a significant number of these houses have an annual rent of ten pounds, almost all the occupiers avoid the payment of direct taxes and are therefore not electors. Universal suffrage as advocated by the Chartists would at least treble the number of persons entitled to vote. The towns are thus in the hands of the middle class, and this in its turn is in the smaller towns very frequently—directly or indirectly—dependent on the landlords, via the tenant farmers, who are the main customers of the tradesmen and craftsmen. Only in the large towns does the middle class really achieve supremacy, and in the smaller factory towns, especially in Lancashire, where the middle class lacks significant numbers and the country people significant influence, where therefore even a minority of the working class has a decisive effect on the outcome, the illusory representation approaches true representation in some measure. These towns, e.g., Ashton, Oldham, Rochdale, Bolton, etc., consequently send almost exclusively Radicals to Parliament. In these places, as in all factory towns generally, an extension of the franchise on Chartist principles would enable this party to gain a

majority of votes. Apart from these various and in practice very complex influences, various local interests also make themselves felt, and finally, a very significant influence—bribery. In the first article of the present series,[a] we already mentioned that the House of Commons, through its Bribery Committee, declared that it was elected by bribery, and Thomas Duncombe, the only thoroughgoing Chartist member, long ago told the House of Commons plainly that not a single member of the whole assembly, not even he himself, could say that he had secured his seat by the free vote of his constituents without bribery.[210] Last summer, Richard Cobden, member for Stockport and leader of the Anti-Corn Law League, declared at a public meeting in Manchester that bribery had reached greater proportions than ever, that in the Tory Carlton Club and the Liberal Reform Club in London the representation of towns was positively auctioned to the highest bidder, and that these clubs acted as contractors—for so many pounds we guarantee you a certain position, etc.—And on top of all this we must not forget the fine manner in which the elections are held, the general drunkenness amid which the votes are cast, the public houses where the electors become intoxicated at the candidates' expense, the disorder, the brawling, the howling of the crowds at the voting-booths; thus putting the finishing touches to the hollowness of representation which is valid for *seven* years.

[*Vorwärts!* No. 77, September 25, 1844]

We have seen that the Crown and the House of Lords have lost their importance; we have seen how the all-powerful House of Commons is recruited; the question is now: who then actually rules in England? Property rules. Property enables the aristocracy to control the election of deputies for rural areas and small towns; property enables the merchants and manufacturers to choose the members for the large and to some extent also for the small towns; property enables both to increase their influence by bribery. The rule of property is explicitly recognised in the Reform Bill by the property qualification incorporated in it. And to the extent that property and the influence conferred by property constitute the essence of the middle class, to the extent therefore that the aristocracy brings its property to bear in the elections and thus does not act as an aristocracy but puts itself on

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[a] See this volume, pp. 455-56.— *Ed.*

a level with the middle class, to the extent that the influence of the actual middle class is on the whole much greater than that of the aristocracy, to that extent the middle class does indeed rule. But how and why does it rule? Because the people do not as yet really understand the nature of property, because they are in general—at least in the countryside—still intellectually dead and therefore tolerate the tyranny of property. England is admittedly a democracy, but in the same way as Russia is a democracy; as the people unwittingly rules everywhere, and the government in every state is but another expression for the level of education of the people.

It will be difficult to retrace our steps from the practice of the English Constitution to the theory of it. There is the most flagrant contradiction between the theory and the practice; the two are so estranged from one another that they no longer have any similarity. On the one hand the trinity of the legislature—on the other the tyranny of the middle class; on the one hand a two-chamber system—on the other the all-powerful House of Commons; on the one hand the royal prerogative—on the other a government chosen by the Commons; on the one hand an independent House of Lords with hereditary legislators—on the other a home for antiquated members of the Commons. Each of the three components of the legislature has had to surrender its power to another element: the Crown to the Ministers, in other words to the majority of the House of Commons, the Lords to the Tory party, that is, to a popular element, and to the Ministers who create the peers, in other words, basically to a popular element too, and the Commons to the middle class, or, which amounts to the same thing, to the people that has not yet come of age politically. In reality the English Constitution has ceased to exist at all, the whole wearisome process of legislation is a mere farce; the contradiction between theory and practice has become so glaring that it cannot possibly persist for long, and even if the vitality of this ailing Constitution appears to have been somewhat increased by the emancipation of the Catholics,[211] of which we shall have cause to speak further,[a] and by the parliamentary and municipal reform, these measures—which in themselves are an admission that hope of preserving the Constitution has been given up—introduce into it elements which unquestionably contradict the fundamental principles of the Constitution and thus further intensify the conflict by making the theory contradict itself.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 501-03.—*Ed.*

We have seen that the organisation of powers in the English Constitution depends entirely on fear. This fear is even more evident in the rules by which legislation proceeds, the so-called Standing Orders.[a] Every Bill must pass three readings in each of the two Houses, at stated intervals; after the second reading it is referred to a Committee which discusses it in detail; in cases of some importance, the House becomes a Committee of the whole House to discuss the Bill and appoints a reporter, who afterwards with great solemnity presents a report on the discussion to the very House that discussed the Bill. Incidentally, is this not the most splendid example of "the transcendent within the immanent and the immanent within the transcendent" that a Hegelian could possibly wish for? "The knowledge the House of Commons has of the committee is the knowledge the committee has of itself", and the reporter is "the absolute personification of the intermediary, in whom the two are identical". Every Bill is thus discussed eight times before it can receive the royal assent. Once more it is of course fear of humanity that underlies this absurd procedure. They realise that progress is the essence of humanity but have not the courage to proclaim progress openly; they pass laws which are supposed to have absolute validity and which therefore put barriers in the way of progress; and by reserving the right to amend laws, the progress which they have just denied is allowed in again through the backdoor. But care must be taken not to proceed too fast, not to be over-hasty! Progress is revolutionary, it is dangerous, and there must therefore be a powerful brake on it; before they decide to acknowledge it, they must ponder the matter eight times. But this fear, which is futile in itself, and only proves that those who are filled with it are themselves not yet real, free men, is bound to lead to the introduction of inappropriate measures. Instead of ensuring a comprehensive examination of the Bills, the repeated reading of them becomes quite superfluous in practice and a mere formality. The main argument is usually concentrated in the first or second reading, sometimes also in the debates in committee, according to what suits the opposition best. The whole futility of this multiplication of debates becomes evident when one considers that the fate of each Bill is already decided at the outset, and where it is *not* decided, the debate concerns not the particular Bill but the existence of a Cabinet. The outcome of all these antics, which are repeated eight times, is thus not a calmer discussion in the House itself, but something quite

[a] Here and below Engels gives this term in English.— *Ed.*

different which was by no means the intention of those who introduced these antics. The protracted nature of the deliberations gives public opinion time to form an opinion about the proposed measure and if need be to oppose it by means of meetings and petitions, and often—as last year in the case of Sir James Graham's Education Bill[a]—successfully. But this, as we have said, was not the original purpose and could be achieved far more simply.

While we are now on the subject of the Standing Orders, we may mention a few more points which betray the fear that is part of the English Constitution and the original corporate character of the House of Commons. The debates in the House of Commons are not public; admission is a privilege and is usually secured only by written order of a member. During divisions the galleries are cleared; despite this absurd secretiveness, the abolition of which the House has always vigorously opposed, the names of the members who have voted for and against are in all the newspapers on the following day. The Radical members have never been able to get approval for an authentic publication of the minutes—a fortnight ago a motion to this end failed[212]—and as a consequence the printer of the parliamentary reports that appear in the papers is solely responsible for their content and can be sued, according to the law even by the government, for the publication of defamatory statements by anyone who feels insulted by a remark by a Member of Parliament, while the author of the defamation is protected from any prosecution by his parliamentary privilege. These and a host of other points in the Standing Orders show the exclusive, anti-popular character of the reformed Parliament; and the tenacity with which the House of Commons holds to these customs shows clearly enough that it has no desire to transform itself from a privileged, corporative body into an assembly of representatives of the people.

[*Vorwärts!* No. 78, September 28, 1844]

Another proof of this is the privilege enjoyed by Parliament, the exceptional position of its members *vis-à-vis* the courts and the right of the House of Commons to have anyone it wishes arrested. Originally aimed against infringements by the Crown, which has since that time been deprived of all its power, this privilege has in recent times only been used against the people. In 1771 the House was angered by the insolence of the newspapers which had

[a] See this volume, p. 381.—*Ed.*

published its debates, a thing which after all only the House itself was entitled to do, and tried to put a stop to this insolence by arresting the printers and then the officials who had released these printers. Of course this was unsuccessful; but the attempt shows the nature of the privileges Parliament enjoys, and its failure shows that even the House of Commons, despite its being exalted over the people, is nevertheless dependent on the latter, in other words, that the House of Commons does not rule either.

In a country where "Christianity is part and parcel of the laws of the land"[a] the *Established Church* is necessarily part of the Constitution. According to her Constitution, England is essentially a Christian state, indeed a fully developed and powerful Christian state; state and church merge entirely with one another and are inseparable. This unity of church and state can however only exist in *one* Christian denomination, to the exclusion of all others, and these excluded sects are of course thereby branded as heretical and are victims of religious and political persecution. So it is in England. These sects were thus all along thrown together as one class, excluded, as nonconformists or dissenters, from all participation in the state, harassed and hampered in their worship and prosecuted by penal laws. The more fervently they declared themselves against the unity of church and state, the more violently was this unity defended by the ruling party and exalted to a vital concern of the state. When the Christian state in England was still in its heyday, the persecution of the dissenters and more especially of the Catholics was therefore a daily occurrence, a persecution which was admittedly less violent but more universal and persistent than that of the Middle Ages. The disease ceased to be acute and became chronic, the sudden, blood-thirsty outbursts of anti-Catholic fury were transformed into cold political calculation which sought to exterminate heterodoxy by gentler but sustained pressure. Persecution was transferred to the secular sphere and thereby made harder to bear. Disbelief in the Thirty-Nine Articles[213] ceased to be blasphemy, instead it was made a crime against the state.

But the progress of history was not to be halted; the discrepancy between the legislation of 1688 and public opinion as it existed in 1828 was so great that in the latter year even the House of Commons found itself obliged to revoke the most oppressive laws against the dissenters. The Test Act and the religious clauses of the Corporation Act[214] were abolished; the emancipation of the

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[a] Engels gives this phrase both in German and in English.— *Ed.*

Catholics[215] followed in the next year, despite the furious opposition of the Tories. The Tories, the exponents of the Constitution, were perfectly correct in their opposition, as not one of the liberal parties, not even the Radicals, attacked the Constitution itself. The Constitution was to remain the foundation for them too, and on the basis of the Constitution only the Tories were consistent. They realised, and said so, that the above measures would inevitably bring about the downfall of the Anglican Church and necessarily that of the Constitution too; that to give the dissenters the civil rights would mean the *de facto* destruction of the Anglican Church and the sanctioning of the attacks on the Anglican Church; that it is a dangerous inconsistency towards the state itself to allow a Catholic a share in administration and legislation since he recognises the authority of the Pope over the power of the state. Their arguments could not be answered by the Liberals; nevertheless, the emancipation went through and the prophecies of the Tories are already beginning to be fulfilled.

So in this way the Anglican Church has become an empty name and now only differs from the other denominations by virtue of the three million pounds it draws annually, and a few small privileges which are just sufficient to sustain the struggle against it. Amongst these are the ecclesiastical courts in which the Anglican bishop exercises sole but quite unimportant jurisdiction and whose oppressiveness consists particularly in the law costs; and then there are also the local church rates which are used for the maintenance of the buildings available for the use of the Established Church; the dissenters come under the jurisdiction of these courts and are equally liable for payment of these rates.

But it is not just the legislation *against* the church but also the legislation *for* it which has contributed towards making the Established Church an empty name. The Church of Ireland has always been a mere name, a perfect established or government church, a complete hierarchy from the archbishop down to the vicar, lacking nothing except a congregation, and whose occupation consists in preaching, praying and singing off litanies to the empty pews. The Church of England has an audience, it is true, although it too, especially in Wales and the factory districts, has been to a considerable degree dislodged by the dissenters, but then the well-paid pastors trouble themselves little about their sheep. If you wish to bring a caste of priests into disrepute and cause its downfall, then pay it well, says Bentham, and the English and Irish churches testify to the truth of this statement. In the

countryside and in the towns of England nothing is more hateful and more contemptible to the people than a Church of England parson.[a] And in the case of as pious a people as the English, that is really saying something.

It is self-evident that the emptier and more meaningless the name of the Anglican Church becomes, the more firmly does the conservative party and indeed the confirmed constitutional party become attached to it; the separation of church and state might draw tears even from Lord John Russell; it is equally self-evident that the emptier the name becomes, the harsher and the more strongly felt does its oppressiveness become. The Irish Church particularly, because it is the most insignificant, is the most hated; it has no other purpose than to embitter the people, than to remind them that they are a subjugated people upon whom the conqueror forces his religion and his institutions.

Hence England is now at a stage of transition from a determinate to an indeterminate Christian state, to a state which bases itself not on one determinate denomination but on an indeterminate Christianity, a mean of all existing denominations. Naturally the old, determinate, Christian state defended itself against unbelief, and the Apostasy Act of 1699 punishes it with the loss even of the passive civil rights and with imprisonment; this Act has never been annulled, but is no longer ever applied. Another law, originating in Elizabeth's times, lays down that anyone who fails to attend church on Sunday without a proper excuse (if I am not mistaken, even the episcopal church is laid down, because Elizabeth acknowledged no dissenting chapels) is to be made to attend it by a fine or imprisonment. In the countryside this law is still frequently applied; even here, in civilised Lancashire, a few hours travel from Manchester, there are some bigoted Justices of the Peace who—as Mr. Gibson, member for Manchester, alleged a fortnight ago in the House of Commons[216]—have sentenced a large number of people, sometimes to six weeks imprisonment, for failing to attend church. However the main laws against unbelief are those which disqualify from taking an oath anyone who does not believe in a God or in any reward or punishment in the afterlife, and make blasphemy a punishable offence. Blasphemy is everything which aims to bring the Bible or the Christian religion into contempt, and equally the direct denial of the existence of God; the penalty for this is imprisonment—usually one year, and a fine.

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[a] The words "Church of England parson" are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

[*Vorwärts!* No. 80, October 5, 1844]

But the indeterminate Christian state too is moving towards its downfall, even before it has been officially recognised by legislation. The Apostasy Act is, as we have said, entirely obsolete; the requirement of church attendance is likewise rather antiquated and it is only enforced in exceptional cases; the blasphemy law is likewise beginning—thanks to the fearlessness of the English Socialists and particularly of Richard Carlile—to become antiquated and is only applied here and there in particularly bigoted localities such as Edinburgh, and even a refusal of the oath is avoided where possible. The Christian party has become so weak that it realises itself that a strict operation of these laws would bring about their repeal before long, and it therefore prefers to remain passive so that the Damocles sword of Christian legislation may at least remain suspended over the heads of the unbelievers and perhaps continue to be effective as a threat and deterrent.

Apart from the political institutions proper which we have so far considered, there are several other matters which may be included in the sphere of the Constitution. There has so far been scarcely any mention of the rights of the citizen; within the Constitution strictly speaking, the individual has no rights in England. These rights exist either through custom or by virtue of individual statutes which are quite unconnected with the Constitution. We shall see how this strange separation has arisen; for the moment we move on to a critique of these rights.

The first is the right that any man may publish his opinion without hindrance and without the previous permission of the government—the freedom of the press. Taken as a whole it is true that nowhere is the freedom of the press more extensive than in England; and yet this freedom is still very limited here. The law of libel, the law of high treason and the law of blasphemy weigh heavily on the press, and if the press is rarely prosecuted, *that is not due to the law* but to the government's fear of the inevitable unpopularity which would follow measures taken against the press. English newspapers of all parties commit press offences every day, both against the government and against individuals, but they are allowed to pass with impunity, until it is possible to launch a political trial, and then the occasion is used to deal with the press as well. That is how it turned out with the Chartists in 1842 and just recently with the Irish Repealers.[217] The freedom of the press in England has been living just as much on grace and favour for the past hundred years as it did in Prussia from 1842.

The second "birthright"[a] of the Englishman is the right of popular assembly, a right which no other nation in Europe has enjoyed to date. This right, although very ancient, was subsequently made explicit in a statute as the right of the people to assemble for the purpose of discussing grievances and petitioning the legislature for their remedy. This wording contains a limitation. If no petition results from a meeting, the latter thereby acquires if not precisely an illegal character, then at least a very ambiguous one. In O'Connell's trial the Crown particularly emphasised that the meetings which were described as illegal were not convened for the deliberation of petitions. The main limitation however is imposed by the police; the central or local government can prohibit any meeting in advance, or interrupt and dissolve it, and it has done this often enough, not just at Clontarf but actually in England in the case of Chartist and Socialist meetings.[218] This however is not considered an attack on the Englishman's birthrights because the Chartists and Socialists are poor devils and thus have no rights; no one cares two hoots about it except the *Northern Star* and the *New Moral World,* and therefore one hears nothing about it on the Continent.

Then the right of association. All associations which pursue lawful aims by lawful means are permitted; but in any given case, only one big society is allowed, and this may not include branch associations. The formation of societies divided into local branches, each with its own organisation, is only permitted for charitable, or pecuniary purposes in general, and may only be embarked upon in England on the issue of a certificate by an official appointed for this purpose. The Socialists obtained such a certificate for their organisation by declaring their purpose was of this nature; it was denied to the Chartists, although they copied the statutes of the socialist society word for word in their own. They are now forced to circumvent the law and are thus put in a position where a single slip of the pen by a single member of the Chartist association[219] may entangle the whole society in the snares of the law. But even apart from that, the right of association, in its full extent, is a privilege of the rich; an association needs money first of all, and it is easier for the rich Anti-Corn Law League[220] to raise hundreds of thousands than for the poor Chartist society or the Union of British Miners to meet the bare expenses of association. And an association which has no funds at its disposal is not likely to have much effect and cannot conduct any agitation.

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[a] Engels gives this term both in German and in English.— *Ed.*

[*Vorwärts!* No. 83, October 16, 1844]

The right of Habeas Corpus, that is, the right of any accused person (high treason constitutes an exception) to be released on bail pending the start of the trial, this much-praised right is once more a privilege of the rich. The poor man cannot offer surety and therefore must go to prison.

The last of these rights of the individual is the right of each man to be tried only by his peers, and that too is a privilege of the rich man. The poor man is not tried by his peers, he is without exception tried by his born enemies, for in England the rich and the poor are openly at war with one another. The jury must have certain qualifications, and their nature is evident from the fact that the jury list in Dublin, a city of 250,000 inhabitants, contains only 800 qualified persons. At the most recent Chartist trials at Lancaster, Warwick and Stafford,[221] the workers were tried by landlords and tenant farmers, who are mostly Tories, and by manufacturers or merchants, who are mostly Whigs, but in any case they are the enemies of the Chartists and the workers. But that is not all. A so-called impartial jury does not exist. When O'Connell was tried four weeks ago in Dublin, every member of the jury, being a Protestant and Tory, was his enemy. "His peers" would have been Catholics and Repealers—and not even they, for they were his friends. A Catholic in the jury would have prevented the verdict, he would have made any verdict impossible, except an acquittal. This case is a particularly blatant example; but fundamentally it is the same in any case. Trial by jury is in essence a political and not a legal institution; but because all law is essentially political in origin, the *reality* of legal practice is revealed in it, and the English trial by jury, because it is the most highly developed, is the consummation of juridical mendacity and immorality. The starting point is the fiction of the "impartial juryman"; it is impressed upon the jury that they must forget everything relating to the current case that they may have heard before the trial, and judge only by the evidence brought before the Court—as though such a thing were possible. The second fiction is that of the "impartial judge", whose task is to expound the law and bring together the arguments presented by both sides, without partiality, quite "objectively"—as though that were possible! It is moreover required of the judge that he should especially and in spite of everything exert no influence on the verdict of the jury and should not put the verdict into their mouths—in other words, he must present the premises as they need to be presented for the

conclusion to be drawn; but he should not draw the conclusion himself, he may not even draw it for himself, for that would have an effect on his presentation of the premises—all these and a hundred other impossibilities, inhumanities and stupidities are demanded, simply so as decently to conceal the original stupidity and inhumanity. But there is no deceiving actual practice, in practice all this rubbish is ignored, the judge gives the jury clearly enough to understand what sort of verdict it is to pronounce, and that verdict is then regularly brought in by the obedient jury.

But next! The defendant must be protected in every way, the defendant, like the king, is sacred and inviolable and can do no wrong, in other words, he can do nothing at all, and if he does do anything, it has no validity. The defendant may confess his crime, it will avail him not at all. The law decides that he is not trustworthy; I believe it was in 1819 that a man arraigned his wife for adultery after she had confessed to her husband, during an illness she thought would prove fatal, that she had committed adultery—but the defence counsel for the wife objected that the defendant's confession was no evidence, and the charge was dismissed.* The sanctity of the defendant is furthermore sustained in the legal formalities which surround the English jury, and which offer such a very fertile field to the cavilling wiles of the barristers. That a trivial technical blunder can upset a whole trial verges on the incredible. In 1800 a man was found guilty of forgery but released because his defence counsel discovered before the sentence was pronounced that on the forged banknote the name was written in the abbreviated form Bartw, while in the bill of indictment Bartholomew was written in full. The judge, as I have said, accepted the objection as adequate and released the convicted man.** In 1827 a woman was charged with infanticide in Winchester but acquitted because in the verdict of the coroner's jury the latter declared "upon their oath" (The jurors of our Lord the King upon their oath present that, etc.[a]) that such and such had happened, whereas this jury of thirteen men had sworn not one oath but thirteen oaths and the verdict therefore ought to have read "upon their oaths".*** A year ago in Liverpool a boy who stole a handkerchief out of someone's pocket one Sunday evening was caught in the act and arrested. His father objected that the

* Wade, *British History*, London, 1838.— *Note by Engels.*

** Ibid.— *Note by Engels.*

*** Ibid.— *Note by Engels.*

[a] Given by Engels in English.— *Ed.*

police officer had arrested him unlawfully because there is a law which says no one may perform on Sunday the work by which he earns his living; the police, therefore, may not arrest anyone on Sunday. The judge agreed with this, but continued to examine the boy, and when the latter confessed he was a thief by profession, he was fined five shillings because he had followed his profession on a Sunday. For each of these examples I could give a hundred more, but they speak for themselves well enough. English law sanctifies the defendant and is applied against the society for whose protection it really exists. As in Sparta, it is not the crime but the stupidity with which it is committed that is punished. Any form of protection is turned against the person whom it is intended to protect; the law is intended to protect society and attacks it; it is intended to protect the defendant and injures him—for it is obvious that any man who is too poor to oppose the official pettifogging with a counsel equally skilled in pettifogging has against him all the forms which were created for his protection. Any man who is too poor to provide a defence counsel or an appropriate number of witnesses has no hope in any suit that is in the least degree doubtful. Before the trial he can read only the indictment and the statements originally made to the magistrate and therefore does not know the details of what is to be brought against him (and this is most dangerous precisely for the man who is innocent); he must answer at once when the prosecutor has concluded his case and may only speak once; if he does not deal with everything, or if a witness whom he had not regarded as necessary is absent, then he is lost.

[*Vorwärts!* No. 84, October 19, 1844]

But the culmination of the whole system is the rule that the twelve jurors must be unanimous in their verdict.

They are locked in a room and are not let out until they are agreed or the judge realises that they cannot be brought to unanimity. It is however thoroughly inhuman and to such an extent contrary to human nature that it is quite ridiculous to demand that twelve people should be of exactly the same opinion on a particular issue. But it is consistent. The procedure of the Inquisition is to torture the accused physically or mentally; the jury system declares the accused sacred and tortures the witnesses with a cross-examination in no way less formidable than that of the Inquisition; it even tortures the jury; it must have a verdict, though the heavens should fall in the process; the jury is punished

by imprisonment until it produces a verdict; and if it should be so capricious as to wish to adhere to its oath, a new jury is appointed, there is a retrial, and so on until either the prosecution or the jury becomes weary of the struggle and surrenders unconditionally. Proof enough that the whole legal system cannot exist without torture and is in any case barbaric. But there is no other possibility; if one wants to have mathematical certainty in matters which do not admit of such certainty, one cannot but end up in absurdity and barbarism. Practice once again brings to light what lies behind all these things; in practice the jury takes the easy way out and, there being no alternative, breaks its oath with perfect composure. In 1824, a jury in Oxford could not agree. One man said: guilty; eleven: not guilty. Finally they reached a settlement; the one dissenter wrote "guilty" on the bill of indictment and withdrew; then came the foreman with the other jurors, picked up the paper and wrote "not" in front of the word "guilty" (Wade, *British History*).

Another case is recounted by Fonblanque, editor of the *Examiner,* in his work *England under Seven Administrations.* In this instance too a jury could not reach a decision, and eventually the jurors had recourse to the drawing of lots; they took two straws and drew; the opinion of the party which drew the longer straw was adopted.

While we are concerned with the legal institutions, we may examine the matter a little more closely in order to complete our survey of the legal situation in England. It is well known that the English Penal Code is the most severe in Europe. As recently as 1810 it was in no way inferior in barbarity to that of the Carolina[222]; burning, breaking on the wheel, quartering, disembowelment while the person was still alive, etc., were widely used types of punishment. Since then, it is true, the most outrageous atrocities have been abolished, but there still remain numerous instances of brutality and infamy unamended on the statute-book. The death penalty applies to seven crimes (murder, high treason, rape, sodomy, breaking and entering, robbery with violence and arson with intent to kill); only in 1837 was the formerly much more widely applicable death penalty limited to this number; and in addition, English penal law knows two forms of punishment of particularly choice barbarity—transportation, or debasement through association, and solitary confinement, or debasement through isolation. Neither could be more cruelly or more vilely chosen to ruin systematically and consistently the victims of the law physically, intellectually and morally and to reduce them to below

the level of beasts. The criminal who is transported finds himself in such an abyss of degradation and loathsome bestiality that the best of men cannot but succumb there in six months; anyone who wishes to read the reports of eyewitnesses about New South Wales and Norfolk Island will agree when I maintain that everything I have said earlier falls far short of the actual truth. The prisoner in solitary confinement is driven insane; the model gaol in London, after only three months of existence, had already three lunatics to transfer to Bedlam, to say nothing of the religious mania which is still usually regarded as sanity.

The penal laws against political crimes are drawn up in almost exactly the same terms as in Prussia; particularly "exciting discontent"[a] and "seditious language" are phrased in the same vague way which gives so much latitude to the judge and jury. In this field too the penalties are harsher than elsewhere; transportation is the main form.

If these severe penalties and these ill-defined political crimes are less significant in practice than it might seem according to the law, this is, on the one hand, a failing in the law itself, which is so confused and unclear that a clever barrister can raise objections in the defendant's favour at every turn. English law is either common law, in other words, unwritten law such as existed at the time when statutes were first gathered and later collated by legal authorities; on the most important points this law is naturally uncertain and ambiguous; or else it is statute law, which consists of an infinite number of individual acts of Parliament gathered over five hundred years, which contradict each other and represent not a "state of law", but a state of complete lawlessness. The barrister is everything here; anyone who has wasted a lot of his time on this legal jungle, on this chaos of contradictions is all-powerful in an English law-court. The uncertainty of the law naturally led to belief in the authority of decisions taken by past judges in similar cases, and this only aggravates the uncertainty, since these decisions also contradict one another, and the outcome of the proceedings depends again on the learning and presence of mind of the barrister. On the other hand, lack of importance of English penal law is however just a matter of clemency, etc., and regard for public opinion, which the law by no means obliges the government to have; and the vigorous opposition to all law-reforms shows that the legislature is by no means inclined to

[a] Engels gives some of the legal terms in this and the following paragraph both in German and in English.— *Ed.*

change this state of affairs. But it should never be forgotten that property rules and that in consequence this clemency is only practised towards "respectable" criminals; it is on the poor man, on the pariah, on the proletarian that the full force of the law's barbarity descends, and no one cares a brass farthing about it.

This favouritism towards the rich is moreover explicitly stated in the law. While all serious crimes are liable to the severest penalties, fines are stipulated for almost all minor[a] offences, fines which are of course the same for the poor and the rich but which affect the rich man little or not at all, while in nine cases out of ten the poor man cannot pay them and is then committed without more ado to the treadmill for a few months "in default of payment".[b] One only needs to read the police reports in the first English newspaper that comes to hand to be convinced of the truth of this statement. The maltreatment of the poor and the preferential treatment of the rich in all the courts of law is so universal, is practised so openly and brazenly, and is reported so shamelessly by the newspapers that one can rarely read a paper without being filled with indignation. Such a rich man is always treated with uncommon courtesy, and however brutal his offence may have been, "the judges are always very sorry" that they have to sentence him to what is usually a quite paltry fine. The administration of the law is in this respect still more inhuman than the law itself; "law grinds the poor and rich men rule the law"[b] and "there is one law for the poor and another for the rich"[b] are completely true sayings that have long since become proverbial. But how can it be otherwise? The magistrates and the jury alike are themselves rich, are chosen from the middle class and are thus biassed towards their own kind and are born enemies of the poor. And if the social effect of property, which we cannot go into now, is taken into account, then indeed nobody can be surprised at such a barbaric state of affairs.

The question of *direct* social legislation in which this infamy culminates, will be dealt with later.[223] In any case it could not be described in its full significance at this point.

Let us summarise the conclusions of this critique of the law in England. Whatever objections may be raised to it from the viewpoint of the "constitutional state" are a matter of supreme indifference. The fact that England is not officially a democracy

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[a] *Vorwärts!* has: "more oppressive".—*Ed.*

[b] Given by Engels in English.—*Ed.*

cannot prejudice *us* against her institutions. For us there is only *one* matter of importance: that we have found everywhere theory and practice in flagrant contradiction with each other. All the powers of the Constitution, the Crown, the House of Lords and the House of Commons, have dissolved before our eyes; we have seen that the Established Church and all the so-called birthrights of the British are empty names, that even trial by jury is in reality only an outward show, that even the law has no existence, in short, that a state, which has given itself a clearly defined legal foundation, denies and abuses this foundation. The Englishman is not free on account of the law but despite the law, if one can say at all that he is free.

We have seen furthermore what a jungle of lies and immorality follows from this state of affairs; people prostrate themselves before empty names and deny reality, they do not want to know anything about it and are reluctant to acknowledge what really exists, what they have themselves created; they deceive themselves and invent a language of conventions with artificial concepts, each of which is a parody of reality, and cling fearfully to these hollow abstractions, so as to avoid having to own to themselves that what matters in real life, in practice, are quite different things. The whole English Constitution and the whole of constitutional public opinion is nothing but a big lie which is constantly supported and concealed by a number of small lies whenever at one point or another its true nature appears a little too openly in the light of day. And even if a person comes to the realisation that the whole of this construction is but untruth and fiction, even then he still adheres to it, indeed more tenaciously than ever, so that the empty words, the few meaninglessly assembled letters, should not fall apart, for these words are after all the pivot on which the world turns, and with them the world and mankind would of necessity plunge into the darkness of chaos! One cannot but turn away in deep disgust from this tissue of blatant and concealed lies, of hypocrisy and self-deception.

Can such a state of affairs last long? There is no chance of that. The struggle of practice against theory, of reality against abstraction, of life against hollow words devoid of meaning, in short, of man against inhumanity, must be decided, and there is no question as to which side will be victorious.

The struggle is already on. The Constitution is shaken to its foundations. What form the immediate future will take emerges from what has just been said. The new, alien elements in the Constitution are democratic in nature; it will become evident that

public opinion too is developing in a democratic direction; the immediate future of England will be democracy.

But what a democracy! Not that of the French Revolution, whose antithesis was the monarchy and feudalism, but *the* democracy whose antithesis is the middle class and property. The whole of the preceding development shows this. The middle class and property are dominant; the poor man has no rights, is oppressed and fleeced, the Constitution repudiates him and the law mistreats him; the struggle of democracy against the aristocracy in England is the struggle of the poor against the rich. The democracy towards which England is moving is a *social* democracy.

But democracy by itself is not capable of curing social ills. Democratic equality is a chimera, the fight of the poor against the rich cannot be fought out on a basis of democracy or indeed of politics as a whole. This stage too is thus only a transition, the last purely political remedy which has still to be tried and from which a new element is bound to develop at once, a principle transcending everything of a political nature.

This principle is the principle of socialism.

Written in March 1844

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VOL. VII. NO. 338. SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1844. PRICE FOURPENCE HALFPENNY Five Shillings per Quarter.

# LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE *NORTHERN STAR*[224]

I propose furnishing you with reports concerning the progress of the movement party on the Continent for the *Star*, extracts from the German papers, and of my correspondence with well-informed men in Paris and Germany. I see with pleasure, that your paper contains more and better information about the state of public opinion in France than all other English papers together; and I should like to place you in the same position as far as regards Germany. The political state of Germany is becoming more important every day. We shall have a revolution there very shortly, which cannot but end in establishment of a Federal Republic.[225] At the same time, I shall not confine myself to Germany, but report to you everything about Switzerland, Austria, Italy, Russia, &c., which will be likely to prove interesting to your readers; and I shall leave it entirely to yourself to make what use you think proper of the materials furnished by me.

Written late in April 1844

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Printed according to the newspaper

## [THE SITUATION IN PRUSSIA]

When Frederick William IV ascended the throne there was not a more popular monarch in all Europe. Now, there is none more unpopular; not one, not even Nicholas of Russia, who is at least worshipped by the dumb beastly stupidity of his degraded serfs. The Prussian King, who calls himself emphatically "the Christian King", and has made his court a most ludicrous assemblage of whining saints and piety-feigning courtiers, has done everything in his power to open the eyes of the nation, and not in vain. He commenced with a show of liberality, then passed over to feudality; and ended in establishing the government of the police-spy. The press is laid down by a rigorous censorship, and by prosecutions in courts of law, before judges, paid by the king, and removable by the king, who conduct trials without juries, and with closed doors. Oppression is very rife. The students at Berlin commenced holding meetings and discussing political subjects; these meetings were stopped by the police, the speakers arrested, prosecuted, and several of them expelled the University. Dr. Nauwerck, lecturer at the University, who lectured on modern politics, and hesitated not to proclaim his Republican opinions, had his lectures visited by the minister's spies, and at last stopped by the illegal interference of the minister, about a month ago. The University protested against such an obstruction, and some of their members published the protest; for this heinous crime they are now under prosecution. At some public demonstrations of the students, which happened in February, cheers were given for Professor Hoffman, who had been dismissed for his having published some satirical poetry. The consequence of this was, that again half-a-dozen students were expelled, and by this disabled to

take any Government office, or to exercise the medical profession. At Dusseldorf, on the Rhine, the annual public masquerade during the Carnival was stopped by the police, on account of some political allusions, and the poor Dusseldorfians were even hindered from going to Cologne, and partaking in the procession there. These are only a few of the oppressive measures by which the Government has shown its mind; and they have had a miraculous effect on the development of public opinion. They have awakened the nation from a state of political lethargy, and thrown them into such an excitement that even the oldest and most loyal supporters of the "Christian King" begin to entertain fears for the stability of the present order of things. Dissatisfaction is increasing everywhere, and has become almost universal in the Rhenish provinces, in Eastern Prussia, Posen, Berlin, and all the large towns. The people are resolved to have a free press and constitution to begin with. But there is so much combustible matter heaped up in all Germany, and the shades of opinion are so various, that it is impossible to predict where the movement, if once fairly commenced, may stop. However, it will be in the direction towards democracy; thus much is evident.

Written late in April 1844

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## [NEWS FROM GERMANY]

In the Chamber of Deputies of the Grand Duchy of Baden, Mr. Welcker, a liberal member and the Lord John Russell of that country, implored the government to do something in order to satisfy the discontented feelings of the people:

"for", said he, "I have been travelling much in all parts of Germany, and have been visited there by a great number of men of all ranks and from all parts of the country; and I should lie, I should fail in my duty as a representative of the people, if I did not state that everywhere the principle of monarchical government is daily losing its ground more and more in the minds of all classes of the German nation. I therefore implore the ministers to oppose no longer the current of public opinion; for if something is not done soon; if the breach between the governments of our fatherland and the people is allowed to become wider, then nobody can doubt for a moment what the consequence will be."

And Mr. Welcker's evidence, as to the spread of Republicanism in Germany, may be admitted as the most unquestionable that can be given, because this progress frightens him even more than it does the government; and because it is quite contrary to his own expectations.

M. Frederic Steinmann who has for some time been under prosecution for a book he published, in which he assailed the Austrian government,[a] has been condemned to eight months imprisonment in a fortress, though he lives in Prussia, and published his book there. He was not prosecuted by the Austrian, but by the Prussian government, and in a Prussian court of law.

Dr. Strauss, the author of the *Life of Jesus*,[b] is occupied with a similar work, on the *Acts of the Apostles*,[226] which book he, of

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[a] F. A. Steinmann, *Caricaturen und Silhouetten des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*.—*Ed*.
[b] D. F. Strauss, *Das Leben Jesu*.— *Ed*.

course, will treat in the same manner as he did the gospels in his former work.

The Russian Diplomacy is very active at present at the different courts of Germany, in order to effect some measures against the violence with which the German press treats the policy of the Czar. The anti-Russian feeling, which is now quite universal in Germany, has vented itself for some time past in all newspapers, and in a great many pamphlets, which makes the autocrat uneasy. But, fortunately, he will not be able to stop these publications.

*Serious riots at Munich.*— There were riots at Munich on the 3rd inst., on account of a rise in the price of beer. The tumult was serious, and was not quelled without a somewhat sanguinary use of the soldiery, who by express orders of the King,[a] fired on the unarmed people, killing several, and wounding others. The following later particulars show the people have triumphed, and the King succumbed; the cause being that the royal man-slayer *feared that his own tools, the troops, would turn against him!*

"*Munich, May 5.*—Tranquillity has been re-established in our town, but it cannot be denied that the royal authority has suffered a good deal in the transaction. The King, after having shown himself greatly opposed to any sort of conciliation or compromise, after having himself ordered the soldiery to charge the people, and that in his own presence, ended by requiring of the brewers that they should yield to the popular demands. This morning notice was stuck up at the corners of all the streets, that the increase in the price of beer would not take place, and the people appeared satisfied, but they at the same time retain a secret animosity against the King for having ordered them to be fired upon—an order which cost the lives of several of the people of this town. It appears that the King yielded principally on account of the small degree of devotion shown towards him by the troops, who did not appear at all willing to fire upon the people."

Written in the first half of May 1844

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[a] Ludwig I of Bavaria.—*Ed.*

# FATE OF A TRAITOR

Count Adam Gurowski, who took an active part in the revolution of 1830, afterwards deserted his party, was allowed to return to his country, and became notorious in a very unenviable manner by some publications,[227] in which he advised his countrymen to consider the annihilation of their independence as a judgment of God, to which they must humbly submit, and seek shelter at the throne of the mighty Czar, in whose hands God had laid their fates. He told them that Poland could not have met with a better luck than it had done by being subdued under the Russian yoke; that it was their duty to abandon all hopes of independence; and that, *in fine*, the Czar's government was the very best that could be found on the face of the earth. He expected, of course, to be rewarded by Nicholas, but the autocrat was too prudent to trust a traitor. He used him and abandoned him; he gave him a subordinate office, which Gurowski resigned, when he saw that he had no hope of being promoted; he could not even get the rights of a nation which, by his participation in the insurrection, were forfeited; and at last he has chosen to leave Poland again to take shelter in Prussia, and to go to Breslau, where he has requested the authorities to be treated as a military deserter. Despised by his countrymen, whose cause he deserted, scorned by all parties in Europe, abandoned by the Czar, he intends going to America, hoping, perhaps, that his reputation will not follow him across the ocean.

The iron sway with which Russian despotism rules Poland, is at present as unrelenting as ever. Every thing is done to remind the unfortunate Pole at every step that he is a slave. Even the fingerposts on the road sides must have inscriptions in Russian

language and characters; not a word of Polish is allowed. The Polish language is banished from all courts of law. A German song, "the gipsy-boy in the North", containing not the slightest allusion to either Russia or Poland, but expressing only a strong desire to return to their native country, was translated into Polish, but suppressed by the Russian censor, as a patriotic, and therefore, of course, criminal song. No wonder, then, that Nicholas should wish to have the German press silenced, the only channel through which the world becomes acquainted with such facts as those. I must, however, not forget one fact: six Poles, soldiers of a Russian regiment at the frontier, deserted, but were caught before they reached Prussia. They were condemned to fifteen hundred lashes each; the punishment was inflicted; their relations were forced to assist at it; three only of the six survived the flogging.

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# BEER RIOTS IN BAVARIA

The Bavarian Beer is the most celebrated of all kinds of this drink brewed in Germany, and, of course, the Bavarians are much addicted to its consumption in rather large quantities. The government laid a new duty of about 100s. *ad valorem* on beer, and in consequence of this an outbreak occurred, which lasted more than four days. The working men assembled in large masses, paraded through the streets, assailed the public houses, smashing the windows, breaking the furniture, and destroying everything in their reach, in order to take revenge for the enhanced price of their favourite drink. The military was called in, but a regiment of horse-guards, when commanded to mount on horseback, *refused to do so.* The police, being, as everywhere, obnoxious to the people, were severely beaten and ill-treated by the rioters, and every station formerly occupied by police-officers had to be occupied by soldiers, who, being upon good terms with the people, were considered less hostile and showed *an evident reluctance to interfere.* They only did interfere when the palace of the King was attacked, and then they merely took up such a position as was sufficient to keep the rioters back. On the second evening (the 2nd of May) the King, in whose family a marriage had just been celebrated, and who for this reason had many illustrious visitors at his court, visited the theatre; but when, after the first act, a crowd assembled before the theatre and threatened to attack it, every one left the house to see what the matter was, and His Majesty, with his illustrious visitors, was obliged to follow them, or else he would have been left alone in his place. The French papers assert that the King on this occasion ordered the military stationed before the theatre to fire upon the people, *and that the soldiers refused.* The

German papers do not mention this, as may be expected from their being published under censorship; but as the French papers are sometimes rather ill-informed about foreign matters, we cannot vouch for the truth of their assertion. From all this, however, it appears, that the Poet King (Ludwig, King of Bavaria, is the author of three volumes of unreadable Poems, of a Traveller's Guide to one of his public buildings,[228] &c. &c.) has been in a very awkward position during these outbreaks. In Munich, a town full of soldiers and police, the seat of a royal court, a riot lasts four days, notwithstanding all the array of the military,—and at last the rioters force their object. The King restored tranquillity by an ordinance, reducing the price of the quart of beer from ten kreutzers ($3^1/_4$d) to nine kreutzers (3d). If the people once know that they can frighten the government out of their taxing system, they will soon learn that it will be as easy to frighten them as far as regards more serious affairs.

Written in mid-May 1844

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# [PARSONOCRACY IN PRUSSIA]

The parsonocracy of this country, enjoying the peculiar protection and favour of the present government, assume every day a more haughty position. It has, for instance, lately occurred in Berlin, that one parson after the other refused to perform marriage ceremonies on a Saturday, alleging as his reason for this refusal, that the parties would in all probability not rise on Sunday morning in a fit state of mind for the celebration of the Lord's day, if they were married on the previous day! Of course the Berliners, who care very little about a due celebration of the Sunday, and on the contrary make it the merriest day of the week, are crying out that the governing party was going to introduce among them *"the English Sunday"*, than which they know nothing more formidable. Indeed, the English Sunday is most repugnant to the feelings and habits of all continental nations.

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## [NEWS FROM St. PETERSBURG]

Considerable ministerial changes have occurred in St. Petersburg. The Minister of Finance, M. Cancrin, has fallen into disgrace, and the same is reported concerning the Police Minister, the well-known Count Benkendorff. Nicholas is evidently struggling to keep up a system which is rapidly ruining itself. The anti-Russian feeling in Germany and the other continental states is upon the increase, notwithstanding all the efforts of Nicholas's paid literary army. The financial state of the government is one great difficulty; the pomp of the court, the innumerable army of policemen and spies, the expenses of diplomatists, spies, reporters, of secret intrigues, and bribery all over Europe, the army and navy, and the endless wars against the Circassians,[229] have eaten up everything that taxes and loans could bring together. The restrictive commercial policy of M. Cancrin has made foreign trade in some parts of the empire almost impossible, and has failed to establish a system of national industry at home. Among the nobility, three parties are to be traced distinctly—the court, the old country nobility, and the officers of the army. They are intriguing constantly against each other, their object of course being nothing else but exclusive dominion over the person of the Emperor, who, as all despots, is, after all, only the tool of his favourites.

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# THE CIVIL WAR IN THE VALAIS

The valley of the River Rhone, from its source at the foot of the *glacier du Rhone* to the Lake Leman,[a] is one of the finest countries in the world. On its sides are the highest mountains of Europe, two uninterrupted chains of a mean height of 12,000 feet, covered with eternal snow, from which spring the numberless rivulets which feed the Rhone and fertilise the meadows and fields of the valley. Here, within a few hours' walk from eternal winter, the chestnut and the vine are found thriving under a sun as powerful almost in its warmth as that of the evergreen plains of Lombardy. This valley is called the Valais,[b] and inhabited partly by Germans, partly by Frenchmen. The Germans, entering the country from the north-east, occupy the higher and more mountainous part of the valley, where the country is unfavourable to agriculture, but excellent for the breeding of cattle; consequently this part of the population remains up to this time in almost the same state of nature in which their forefathers occupied the Upper Valais. Political and religious education is left entirely in the hands of a few aristocratic families and of the priesthood, who, of course, keep the people as stupid and superstitious as possible. On the contrary, the French settled in the Lower Valais, where the widening of the valley admits of introducing agriculture and other pursuits of industry. The French have founded the more considerable towns of the Valais, are educated and civilised, and by their bordering on the lake and the Radical canton of Vaud,[230] are brought into connection with the outer world, and enabled to keep

[a] Lake of Geneva.— *Ed.*
[b] The German name for it is Wallis.— *Ed.*

up with the progress of their neighbour's ideas. Nevertheless, the rough mountaineers of the Upper Valais had, I know not how, many hundred years ago, subdued the French Lower Valais, and continued to consider this part of the country as a conquered province, and to exclude its inhabitants from any participation in government. In 1798, when the French overthrew the old aristocratic system of Swiss patrician despotism,[231] the Lower Valais got its share of government, but not to the full extent it was entitled to. In 1830, when the democratic party in all Switzerland was in the ascendant, the constitution was re-modelled upon fair and democratic principles[232]; but the priest-ridden cow-herds of Upper Valais, and the sovereign rulers of their minds, the parsons, have ever since tried to bring about a change in favour of the old system of injustice. The Radical party, in order to guard against this, formed an association called *Young Switzerland — la jeune Suisse* — among themselves and the Radicals of Vaud. They were most violently assailed and calumniated by the priesthood, and usually attacked upon the ground of being infidels, which, however, on the continent is a charge more laughed at than shuddered at. In 1840 the first outbreak against *Young Switzerland* took place, but, finding the democrats well prepared, the dupes of superstition and ignorance retreated to their unassailable mountain passes, in order to break forth again in March, 1844. They have now succeeded in taking the Radicals by surprise, in profiting by the general reaction in favour of Conservative principles; and of the leading canton (the seat of the federal Government for the time being) Luzern, being a Conservative Canton. The democratic party in Valais is for the moment overwhelmed. The interference of the federal Government will be required; it remains to be seen what profit the priests, who accompanied the Conservative army and headed it, will make of their victory; but at any rate there is no chance, even now, to re-establish anything like the old system, or to keep the Lower Valais and its spirited inhabitants in a state of subjection. A few years, nay, months, may bring back the ascendancy of the democratic party.[233]

Written in the first half of June 1844

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## [NEWS FROM FRANCE]

There has been a serious turn-out of colliers at Rive de Jier, near Lyons, for wages and other grievances. This affair offered upon the whole the same features as the English strikes: processions with banners, meetings, molesting of knobsticks, &c. The strike lasted about six weeks; several of the men were imprisoned for conspiracy, though no serious disturbance appears to have occurred. At last the men are reported to have returned to their pits, though it is not stated whether the object of the strike was accomplished.

*Republican Demonstration.*— The following account of the gathering of the Republican forces upon the occasion of the funeral of the deceased M. Laffitte from the pen of the correspondent of the *Weekly Dispatch* will be found interesting, as showing the great strength of the Republicans in Paris, and the certainty of a speedy revolution in that country.

"Although no disturbance occurred at the funeral of the celebrated Jacques Laffitte, on the 30th ult.,[a] the Republican party nevertheless made a powerful demonstration of its strength. Five thousand students belonging to the schools of law and medicine, assembled to do honour to a man whose whole life (with one fatal exception) had been devoted to the cause of political liberty. For that one error—viz., conferring the Crown upon Louis Philippe[234]—he partially atoned in the Chamber of Deputies, by imploring pardon of God and of man for the grievous injury he had been instrumental in inflicting upon France and the civilised world. The five thousand students who followed him to his last home, are all staunch Republican spirits—all glowing for political liberty. These noble-minded young men, together with the military students of the Polytechnic Schools, are the hope of young France. Let them eradicate from their breasts that absurd animosity towards England, which would lead them to plunge into war, for the mere purpose of settling the question of national rivalry over again—let them

[a] May 30, 1844.— *Ed.*

learn to respect their island-ally as a power advancing with them hand-in-hand in the road of civilisation—and those young men—the rising generation whom the Conservative press of both nations affect to despise—will one day be called upon to decide the destinies of France. In the Revolution of 1830, military students of sixteen and eighteen years of age became the generals of the people in that dreadful struggle with the royal troops. At the death of Louis Philippe the Republicans will no doubt proclaim their principles to be those alone adapted to France and French interests; and the young students of Paris must co-operate with, and advise the people in the political arena, as readily and faithfully as they led them on to victory fourteen years ago. But the demonstration of Republican strength on the occasion of the funeral of M. Laffitte, was not confined to the law and medical students. The Secret Societies were not idle. The members of those formidable political combinations assembled in immense numbers. They are for the most part respectable tradesmen, mechanics, and artisans, and are by no means the despicable rabble and low character which *The Times* and *Journal des Débats* have on various occasions represented them to be. They formed a column four deep, and marched immediately in front of the students. A third section of the Republican party also followed Laffitte to the cemetery of Père La Chaise. This was composed of operatives, all neatly attired, respectable in appearance, and exemplary in behaviour. The friends of liberty, therefore, mustered strong upon this occasion. Indeed, it is absurd for the Conservative press to deny the fact that the numerical strength, and the moral influences of the French Republican party are immense. Ranking amongst its numbers some of the most exalted names in France—names respectively famous in the spheres of war, literature, art, science, and policy—gaining strength daily by the acquisition of those whom the tyranny of the King alienates from the Orleans cause, and professing principles which accord with the new interests and new wants of civilisation, the Republican party is the one to which all eyes will be turned the moment any unforeseen accident or natural occurrence disturbs the reign of the Orleans dynasty."

*The "Holy War".*—The Emperor of Morocco[a] has declared a "holy war" against France and Frenchmen, and is rousing the various peoples and tribes within and contiguous to his dominions to arms [in] defence of the one faith, and for the extermination of the "Infidels". Abd-el-Kader, the African Wallace, is the leader of this national enterprise for the overthrow and expulsion of the French conquerors.[235] The latest accounts represent the advanced section of the Moorish army as being within sight of the French forces.

From accounts received from Constantine, it appears that the Duke d'Aumale has met with some reverses, which seem to have been the result of his own imprudence and want of experience. It will be seen from the subjoined extracts, that a small body of troops, left in charge of Biskra, has been surprised, the French garrison killed, and the whole of the baggage, ammunition, and stores, carried away by the natives.

A Toulon letter of the 3rd says:—

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[a] Abd ur-Rahman II.—*Ed.*

"We have received most afflicting news from the province of Constantine, dated the 20th ult. The Duke d'Aumale had left at Biskra a very small garrison, composed only of Lieutenant Petitgand, commandant, Sub-Lieutenant Crochard, and Aide-Surgeon Major Arcelin, with about forty men, from the battalion of the Constantine Fusileers. This small corps was intended to form the nucleus of a new battalion, to be raised from among the tribes in the environs of Biskra. Of all these, only a serjeant-major, named Pelisse, escaped. The new recruits opened the gates of the Casbah during the night to Mahommed Seghir, the Calif[236] of Abd-el-Kader, and his followers, who surprised our men in their sleep, and killed them all. Plunder became general, and 70,000 fr. left with the commandant to pay his men, and all the cannon, muskets, ammunition, and other stores, were carried off. This unfortunate affair is said to have encouraged the surrounding tribes to take up arms. The fatal news having reached the Prince[a] while in the mountains of the Ouled Sultau, he instantly marched to Biskra with a column of 3,000 men. He arrived on the 18th, but the Calif had left on the preceding day. The third battalion of the African Light Infantry marched from Constantine on the 24th for Biskra, to form its garrison."

On Friday, the Chamber of Deputies voted by a majority of 190 to 53 a sum of 7,500,000 f. to defray the expense of increasing the present military force of France in Algeria (96,000, by 15,000 more; thus raising the number of bayonets in Algeria to 111,000).

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[a] Duke d'Aumale.— *Ed.*

## [NEWS FROM PRUSSIA]

The people have achieved a great triumph; they have by their steady and protracted opposition forced the King[a] to abandon his pet measure, the proposed new law of divorce.[237] The present law in this respect is very liberal, and, of course, never pleased the Christian King. Ever since his accession to the throne, he was big with an amended law, by which a divorce was to be granted in very few cases only. The holiness of the marriage bond was to be enforced as strictly as possible, and another door to be opened to the parsons to meddle with the family affairs of other people. The spirit of the nation, however, arose against such a law; the press opposed it, and when a democratic paper[b] succeeded in getting and publishing an authentic abstract of the proposed law, a general outcry was raised against it from one end of the country to the other.[238] Nevertheless, the King persisted in his intention. The bill was laid before the Privy Council, in order to be prepared for the provincial Parliaments,[239] the advice of which is necessary, according to the Prussian constitution. Whether there was already a strong opposition in the Privy Council, or whether the King saw that this measure would never pass the provincial Parliaments, may be difficult to decide; it is enough, that an ordinance dated the 11th instant has been directed to the Council, withdrawing the bill, abandoning entirely its principle, and declaring that the King will be satisfied with the alteration of a few formalities of the present law. This most important triumph of the opposition must strengthen permanently the popular party, and will be received

[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*
[b] *Rheinische Zeitung.—Ed.*

with cheers in every hamlet of the realm. It will show the people that they are strong, and that if united, they may defeat any measure they do not like; nay that by merely using their strength, they may frighten the government into any thing they please. In the manufacturing district of Silesia very serious riots have occurred[a]; the workpeople of the neighbourhood, depending almost entirely upon the linen-manufacture and suffering great distress, not being able to stand the competition against the English machine-made article, have for some time been in a condition similar to that of the English hand-loom weavers. Oppressed by competition, machinery, and greedy manufacturers, they at last arose in Peterswalden (Silesia), demolished the house of a manufacturer, and were only dispersed by the appearance of the military. In Langenbielau, outrages of a similar nature were committed; the military were repelled by the people, and could only restore the peace after having received reinforcements and fired on the rioters, of whom several were killed. In other districts tumultuous assemblages took place, and even in the capital of the province (Breslau), the peace was disturbed. Thus it is evident that the consequences of the factory system, of the progress of machinery, &c., for the working classes are quite the same on the continent as they are in England: oppression and toil for the many, riches and wealth for the few; insecurity of fortune, discontent, and riot exist among the hills of Silesia, as well as in the crowded cities of Lancashire and Yorkshire.[240]

Written in mid-June 1844

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Printed according to the newspaper

[a] See this volume, p. 201.—*Ed.*

# FURTHER PARTICULARS OF THE SILESIAN RIOTS

The riots commenced, as stated in my last,[a] at Peterswalden, in the District of Reichenbach, the centre of the manufacturing part of Silesia. The weavers assembled before the house of one of the most respectable manufacturers, of the name of Zwanziger, singing a song, in which the behaviour of this individual towards his workmen was animadverted upon, and which seems to have been manufactured for the occasion.[241] Mr. Zwanziger sent for the police, and got several of the ringleaders arrested; the people assembled in growing numbers before his door, threatened to rescue them, and, the prisoners not being liberated, they immediately commenced the work of destruction. The doors were forced, the windows smashed, the crowd entered the house, and destroyed every thing within their reach. Zwanziger's family had hardly time to save themselves, and the throwing of stones at them was so incessant that it was found necessary to wrap up in bedding the female part of the family, and have them carried in a coach to Schweidnitz. To this place messengers also were sent to call in the aid of the military, but the commanding officer replied he could do nothing without orders from the provincial authorities at Breslau. The people, in the meantime, entirely demolished the dwelling house of Mr. Zwanziger, and proceeded then to the warehouse, where they destroyed all books, bills of exchange and other documents, and threw the cash they found, amounting to upwards of £1,000, upon the street, where it was picked up by a lot of Bohemian smugglers, who had passed the frontier to see whether they could not profit by the riots. The bales of cotton and

[a] See previous article.— *Ed.*

bags, as well as all the manufactured yarn and goods, were, as far as possible, destroyed or made useless, and the machinery in the adjoining factory, entirely broke. Having finished up here, they left the ruins of the demolished buildings and proceeded to Langenbielau, the men of which town joined them immediately, and where Mr. Dierig's factory and warehouse was attacked. Mr. Dierig first tried to buy them off, but after having paid part of his bargain, he was informed that the military were on the road, and he immediately refused to pay the remainder. The crowd immediately forced their way to the premises, and demolished them in the same way as they had done at Peterswalden; while they were engaged in this, a detachment of about 160 foot soldiers arrived, with the civil authorities; the Riot Act was read, the people replied by throwing stones at the military, then the word to fire was given, and twelve of the rioters were killed and many wounded. But the enraged crowd rushed on against the soldiers, and wounded such a number of them by stones, that the commanding officer, who had been dragged from his horse and severely beaten, retreated with them, to await reinforcements, while the destruction of property continued going on. At last two battalions of infantry, a company of rifles, some cavalry and artillery appeared, and dispersed the rioters. Further attempts at similar proceedings were stifled by the military keeping the town and surrounding places occupied, and, as usual, when everything was over, the proper authorities came forward with proclamations and such like, declaring the district in a state of siege, and threatened the most horrible punishments for every breach of the peace. The riots were not confined to these two towns; in Alt-Friedland and Leutmansdorf similar scenes took place, though not characterised by such a violent manifestation of feeling towards the manufacturers; some arms were broke and some windows were smashed before the military could restore tranquility. The people throughout the district profited on this occasion by giving to the manufacturers such a display of their feelings as could not be mistaken. The causes of these affrays were the incredible sufferings of these poor weavers, produced by low wages, machinery, and the avarice and greediness of the manufacturers. It will scarcely be believed that the wages of this oppressed class, in a family where father, mother, and children worked, all of them at the loom, amounted to a sum which would buy no more than six shillings would in England. Besides, they were all in debt, which is not at all a matter of surprise, when wages are so low; and the manufacturers gladly advanced them small sums, which

the men could never pay, but which were sufficient to give the masters an absolute sovereignty over them, and to make them the slaves of the manufacturers. Then there was, besides that, the competition of the English article, which had an advantage over them from the superior machinery of the English factories and the low wages there, and which tended to bring down their wages too. In short, it was the factory system with all its consequences that pressed upon the Silesian weavers in the same manner as it has done, and now does, upon the English factory workers and hand-loom weavers and which has occasioned more dissatisfaction and riotous outbreaks within this country than anything else. It is to be noticed, that during all these disturbances, according to the statements of all German papers, not one single robbery has been committed by the starving weavers. They threw the money on the street; they did not convert it to their own use. They left the stealing and plunder to the Bohemian smugglers and poachers.

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# SUPPLEMENT

## Frederick Engels

### *COLA DI RIENZI*[242]

### ACT ONE

#### Scene One

*The Forum in Rome, with the Capitol in the background. Enter Colonna with other Patricians, and, soon after, the people, led by Battista.*

PATRICIANS

Away, Colonna, the people crowd us.
Come, flee from the wrath of the howling mob!

COLONNA

Flee? A Colonna flee the dregs
Of the people whose necks he so often trod
And trampled on?
Flee, cowardlings, flee! I'll brave their fury!

PATRICIANS

See you them surging along the street?
Can you not hear them raging? Come!

*The people, with Battista at their head, crowd onto the stage.*

BATTISTA

How are you, fine sirs, today?
Must you make such haste to go?
Surely you'd be glad to stay?

COLONNA (*to the Patricians*)

Can you let them mock you so?

BATTISTA

See their faces, how they plead!
Stay with us, we humbly pray!

COLONNA AND PATRICIANS

Hence, you insolent ones, away!

BATTISTA

Just to serve you is our need!

COLONNA (*to the Patricians*)

Draw, Patricians!

BATTISTA

We would treat you as our parents,
We would never mutiny,
We would never speak too free,
Leave our families in your care.
All our goods you need not spare;
You may torture, thrash or flail us,
Crush, bait, shackle us and gaol us,
For our sins you may impale us,
All we ask you is, please stay!

COLONNA (*to the Patricians*)

Well, my lords, what do you say?

PATRICIANS

Hence, you insolent ones, away!

COLONNA

Hence, you insolent, filthy rabble!
Know you not this voice's thunder
That has rent you oft asunder?
Know you not how this foot treads
When it walks upon your heads?
Know you not your lord and master?

*Scene One revised*

*Colonna, Orsini, Orlando Orsini. The people in the background. Enter Patricians; they remain standing on one side.*

ORSINI

Come, Colonna, let us hurry,
For the mob approaches, see!

COLONNA

I shall stand and face their fury.
Never was I known to flee!

ORSINI

Yield, just once, or we'll pay dear.
We were mad to tarry longer.

ORLANDO

We must go, or else I fear
We shall not escape their anger.

COLONNA

No! I'll walk, though I die here,
Through their midst, defying danger!

BATTISTA

(*He comes out from among the people. The people draw nearer.*)

How are you, fine sirs, today?
Must you make such haste to go?
Surely you'd be glad to stay?

ORSINI

Can you let them mock you so?

BATTISTA

See their faces, how they plead.
Stay with us, we humbly pray!

COLONNA, ORSINI, ORLANDO

Hence, you insolent ones, away!

BATTISTA

Just to serve you is our need!

COLONNA (*to the Patricians*)

Draw, Patricians!

BATTISTA

We would treat you as our parents,
We would never mutiny,
Never speak too evilly,
Leave our families in your care.
All our goods you need not spare;
You may torture, thrash or flail us,
Crush, bait, shackle us and gaol us,
For our sins you may impale us,
All we ask you is, please stay!

COLONNA (*to the Patricians*)

Well, my lords, what do you say?

COLONNA, ORSINI, ORLANDO

Hence, you insolent ones, away!

COLONNA

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Know you not this voice's thunder
That has rent you oft asunder?
Know you not how this foot treads
When it walks upon your heads?
Know you not your lord and master?

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PEOPLE

Down with you!

COLONNA (*to the Patricians*)

Draw your swords! Our lives are at stake!

PEOPLE

Down with you! We are free!

BATTISTA

Do stay with us, we beg you!

PATRICIANS

Away! Just let us flee their rage
Until revenge's hour shall strike!

COLONNA

Let us give in for now.
Rave, you rabble, rave on!
One day we shall return,
Then tremble before our wrath!

PEOPLE

Down with you!

*(Exeunt Colonna and Patricians. The people gradually divide into two choruses, the first of which is bigger than the second.)*

BATTISTA

See, they quail, those noble lords,
Cowering back with unsheathed swords,
Count and Baron, Marquis and Prince,
Needs must hastily hie them hence!
But what use, if ten small devils
Leave us, and the worst of evils—
Yes, the Prince of Hell, none other—
Comes and takes the whole place over?
Granted those ones are a curse,
Still the Tribune plagues us worse!

FIRST CHORUS

Hail to the Tribune, the people's liberator!
Who dares to revile him?

SECOND CHORUS

Down with him!

BATTISTA

He is as evil and as good
As yonder lords of noble blood.
He ever speaks words passing fair,
Yet to the people shuts his ear.
Tyrants out, a despot in—
'Twill end as it did first begin.

FIRST CHORUS

Silence, slanderer!

SECOND CHORUS

No, say on!

BATTISTA

He is as evil and as good
As yonder lords of noble blood.

FIRST CHORUS

Traitor! Defame not the liberator! Hail to the Tribune!
Hail to Rienzi! Traitor! Away with you!
Beat him, beat him!

SECOND CHORUS

Down with him, the tyrant! Curse Rienzi!
Death to the Tribune! We will protect
you!

BATTISTA

To you he speaks, etc.
Tyrants out, etc.

(*Confusion. The music of a triumphal procession is heard in the distance. Cannon-fire. All are startled.*)

BOTH CHORUSES

He comes! Let us meet him!

FIRST CHORUS

Hail to the liberator.

SECOND CHORUS

He'll fall to our revenge
Soon, as did those others,
However firm he stands.

BOTH CHORUSES

To meet him!

(*Exeunt omnes.*)

## Scene Two

*Colonna's palace, Camilla's chamber.*

CAMILLA

Why that turmoil? What's the meaning
Of that roaring mob out there;
All that raving, running, screaming,
Bloody flags waved in the air?
And I hear a wild throng gathered
At the palace steps: they're crying
Out the name of my own father,
Threatening and vilifying.

Will you escape, father, safe and sound
From the crazed people that riot and swarm?
Will Holy Mary, Protectress, look down
Like a good star and preserve you from harm?
Fear is upon me, black and ineffable,
Father, all for your sake!
Spare me this suffering, dreadful, unbearable,
Father, oh please come back!

All the servants, in their terror,
Leaving me, have run away,
And I stand here white with horror
In the palace on my own.
But—Oh God! for here comes Walter—
Heart, O heart, be still, I pray!—
Now he sees me quail and falter,
Through the gates he runs alone!

*Enter Montreal.*

CAMILLA

By all the Saints in Heaven, Montreal, you dare—

MONTREAL (*going down on his knees*)

O Camilla! My Camilla!

CAMILLA

You dare set foot inside this house
Denied to you forever by my father?
Let him but meet you here, and from his sword
Your life's in danger!

MONTREAL

Sweet lady, do you mind no more
The love that bound us lastingly,
The vows that by the stars we swore,
The tears you used to shed for me?

CAMILLA

Leave me! O Saints, my poor heart
Is bursting in my breast!

MONTREAL

Beloved, see the hectic fever
That drives the blood into my face.
Am I now strange to you forever
Who on your breast once found my peace?

CAMILLA

I must not look you in the eye,
Being beholden to forswear you.
My wretched heart will break, but I,
Alas, I must not dare come near you.

MONTREAL

O see me begging at your feet,
My only dearest love are you!
But lock your heart against me, sweet,
And Heaven locks its portals too!

CAMILLA

My breast is heaving up and down,
From him I cannot stay apart.
Once more in true love's toils I'm bound.
Walter—forever yours my heart!

BOTH

O true love's blessed victory!
No matter what else may conspire
Against us, what can mar our sky
When each belongs to each entire?
Though we be shunned the whole world over,
Our bond disparaged as a bane,
If we do not desert each other,
Indeed our star can never wane!

CAMILLA

But tell me, Walter, what arouses
The mob on the streets to such violent rage?
And, above all, my father, my father—
Where is he?

MONTREAL

Fear not! Your father is in safety,
Debating flight with the city nobles
In the Orsinis' palace.
The Tribune approached; rejoicing, the people
All went to meet him. Like lightning he moved,
And, ere the nobles could guess what was happening,
He stood at the gates of the city.
Your father will soon be here with his trusted friends,
To lead you from here to a place of safety.
But look! his suite comes over there,
With trumpets sounding, banners waving!
Yes, I can see his silver hair!
He comes, and so I must be leaving.

CAMILLA

My Walter, go away from me,
But for my love you need not fear.
I shall yearn for you constantly,
My heart shall ever hold you dear!

WALTER

My joy—until we meet again!
The Saints be with you—I will come
Back to you, love, a nobler man,
To carry you, my Princess, home!

Great things to do some day I mean.
My life on it: the time will come,
I'll raise you to the throne as queen
And you shall reign with me in Rome.

CAMILLA

My loving heart content would be
If I were simply your poor wife.
It were the height of bliss for me
To serve you, body and soul, for life!

BOTH

O true love's blessed victory!
etc.

## Scene Three

*The people swarm onto the stage and range themselves in the background, while Battista [stands] in front with the chorus of malcontents. Triumphal procession.*

CHORUS OF PEOPLE

Hail to the Tribune, the people's liberator!
Hail to Rienzi, Father of the Fatherland!

*The procession grows.*

BATTISTA

With mercenaries he moves in,
The people's freedom claims to win!
He's scared of his own countrymen.
This joke will soon come to an end!

*Chorus as above.* BATTISTA

They fill the air with joyful cries.
Suffering soon will make them wise!

CHORUS OF MALCONTENTS

Down with the foreign mercenaries!
Down with the Tribune!
Curse you, the people's oppressor,
Curse you, desecrator of holy places!
Away with the foreigners, away!

CHORUS OF PEOPLE

Hail to the Tribune on high!
Long live the Father of the Fatherland!

BATTISTA

See, he looks arrogant enough,
Now that his clever trick's come off.
See how defiant he goes there,
Now that he's caught us in his snare.
He will not long remain so proud
When common sense dawns on the crowd.

*Chorus of people as above.*

RIENZI (*on the rostrum*)

So stand I once again amongst you,
O noble Romans! Again I see
All Rome's holy places—the Capitol,
The eternal Forum! You are welcoming me,
And so my gratitude shall not be wanting.
I swear before God's countenance
To consecrate my whole life to your freedom,
That Ancient Rome shall rise again
As great and free as ever from her ruins!
I shall not rest, nor tarry,
Till Rome in all her ancient splendour,
And in her ancient majesty,
Shines before all the peoples of this Earth!
Even as the phoenix, prouder, more magnificent,
Soars up aloft from its own funeral pyre,
So may the bygone age of world conquest
Return once more, new and imperishable!

CHORUS OF PEOPLE (*as above*)

*Curtain*

## ACT TWO

### Scene One

*Palestrina. A chamber in Colonna's house. At the beginning, shots are heard from time to time.*
*Colonna, Camilla.*

CAMILLA

Father, for Jesus' sake, what is afoot?
With anxious faces your friends are leaving,
Deserting you; the besiegers' cannon
Are thundering closer and fiercer than ever—
Are we then lost, my father, oh tell me!

COLONNA

Camilla, be calm and listen.
The ambitious Orsini wanted
No more to obey me, the chosen leader,
But stand beside me, give orders like me!
I stuck to my rights;
The rift between us was irremediably wide.
His son stepped forward. Fathers, said he,
Be not divided in danger's hour,
When unity is our foremost need.
I want to reunite you!
Give me, Colonna, your daughter in marriage.
Long have I loved her, the fair Camilla.
If, through your children, you are united
By holy bonds,
Strife no longer shall split you asunder
Over the power in the land.
Then his father spoke up as follows:
So be it! But if you refuse, Colonna,
Tomorrow I shall withdraw my troops
And come to terms with the Tribune.
Then try and hold the fortress alone!
Those were his words. And so, my daughter,
Even before the sun goes down
You'll go—as I told him—to young Orsini
And join him in wedlock. So make you ready.

CAMILLA

Oh God, what shall I do?

COLONNA

You seem unwilling to give in.
I'd long intended that you should win
A better thing on your brow to set
Than Count Orsini's coronet.
Whoever might your hand in marriage merit
At least a princedom should inherit—
Or so I thought. Things worked out differently.
What choice have we?

CAMILLA

So it is settled, then:
I'll be the sacrifice.
For peace between you men,
My own peace I must lose.
Am I so much alone
That he I most despise
Must be my husband—one
I would not freely choose?
Father, I beg you, spare me your fury!
Just for you, I
Would gladly die,
But Count Orsini I never shall marry!

COLONNA

What evil spirit has made you so wild?
You even choose
My wish to refuse?
I, I command you, iniquitous child!

CAMILLA

Command of me whatever you will,
But the vow that I swore
To the man I adore,
I honour it still!

COLONNA

To Montreal I'm to give you away?
I thought the hope of his winning your hand

Had long, long since been gone from your mind.
A fine son-in-law for me, I must say!
Since when have plunderers,
Robbers and murderers
Won the Colonnas' womenfolk, pray?

CAMILLA

Ere I should prove
False to my vow,
Let the Earth now
Swallow me up, or the blackness of night.
Walter, our love
Nothing can blight,
True ones in woe
Live to the day when their darkness turns bright!

COLONNA

Can you not see the threat that surrounds us?
Iron balls
Pound down the walls,
The enemy stranglehold tightens around us.
Think of what's going to happen to you
At the dread hour
When turret and tower
Fall, and foeman comes swarming through.
Who will protect you and save you from force
When the wild soldiers clutch you with their claws?

CAMILLA

My Walter will shield me, he surely will come!
If he comes not, a dagger will save me
From shame!

COLONNA

Did not this Montreal of yours
First put us in this sorry plight,
Sending the Tribune his own force
To harass us by day and night?
Yet this same Montreal
You'd choose before them all?

CAMILLA

I shall stay true to him forever!

COLONNA

Will you not think and have some sense?

CAMILLA

What I've said I won't gainsay.

COLONNA

Intractable one, then get you hence,
I'll tame this obduracy!

CAMILLA

What I've sworn I should forswear?

COLONNA

Yes. Before this day is through—

CAMILLA

Empty then my promise were!

COLONNA

I will see you change your view.

CAMILLA

These my passions—

COLONNA

I'll suppress!

CAMILLA

This my love—

COLONNA

cannot survive.

CAMILLA

Such devotion to repress—

COLONNA

that will be child's play to me!

CAMILLA

I shall not betray him, never!

COLONNA, CAMILLA

{ Ha, / Yes, } it may cost { you your / me my } life.

CAMILLA

I'll be true to him forever.
His I am and e'er shall be!

CAMILLA, COLONNA

All upon it I would stake,
Though it may cost { you your / me my } life.

{ This your vow you must forsake / This my vow I'll not forsake }
And obey { me / him } constantly!

A SERVANT (*entering*)

My Lord, a stranger waits outside.
He has important news to bring you,
But only to you he'll give his name.

COLONNA

Let him come in!

(*Exit servant. Enter Montreal in cloak and hat. He doffs his hat and flings back his cloak.*)

CAMILLA

Oh Heavens! Walter!

COLONNA

Montreal! You dare to enter my house,
You, whose soldiers besiege us now,
You, that have taken the enemy's side,
You, that have stolen my daughter's heart
From me? What is your purpose here?

MONTREAL

Softly, dear sir, and listen to me!
Do you remember, you turned me away
When I was seeking Camilla's hand?

Now I revenge myself, as befits a knight.
My soldiers have you completely surrounded,
Their guns rock Palestrina's towers.
A sign from me, and the whole wild horde streams in,
And then you are lost. For who will save you?
Well, I will save you, if you so wish!
Palestrina need not fall, and I shall lead you
In pomp and ceremony back to Rome!

COLONNA

So you would treacherously leave the Tribune?
That is hardly a knightly deed—
I'll have no part in it at all.

MONTREAL

What treachery's here? My brothers, not I,
Sent the troops to join the Tribune.
I never sanctioned the deed at all.
Who's to prevent me withdrawing my soldiers?
That I'll do. This only I ask:
Give me what I could anyway win for myself!

COLONNA

What do you want of me?

MONTREAL

In Romagna, in the March of Ancona
Are thousands obedient to my word.
I have no land, and yet I am
The most powerful man in Italy.
I come to you, and I demand:
Agree to let me assume the title
Of Roman *Podestà* and take your daughter
As wife beside me on the Throne!

(*Colonna paces up and down in thought.*)

CAMILLA

Did I not say he'd rescue us,
Hearing that I was in distress?
Did I not know he'd think of me
In times of danger or of stress?

MONTREAL

How could I ever desert my beloved
Or my beloved's father in need?

COLONNA

So be it! I'll sacrifice Orsini.
He always envied me, being vain.
He and his house may fall, but I shall rise!
My son, here is my daughter! She's yours!
Be *Podestà* of Rome with her beside you!

Camilla, past returning
Are hate and enmity.
I have appeased your yearning,
Look up, look up at me!

CAMILLA

Flowers of love's joy so tender
From harsh adversity
Have blossomed in their splendour—
O wondrous Destiny!

MONTREAL

And now what do we care
That once we burned so long,
Wrestling with despair,
And grief, and pain, and wrong!

CAMILLA

O day of joy for lovers!

MONTREAL

O gift of love so true!

CAMILLA

O bliss when suffering's over!

COLONNA

Now take you each the other,
May life be good to you!

ALL THREE

We'll go unhesitating
To meet our destiny,
The Future contemplating
Serene, and gay, and free,
Through harsh pain sanctified,
After long strife together—
Love's flames thus purified
Shall burn and burn forever!

## Scene Two

*A room in Rienzi's home.*

RIENZI (*paper in hand*)

Curse the traitors! For turning the people
Away from me, for reviling me.
As if I'd fatten myself on the poor!
Curse them! If only the people stay loyal,
The future shall see me gloriously vindicated.
My people all, for whom I've gladly
Been cursed, reviled, imprisoned, banned,
For whom I've braved the Tyrants, loudly
Crying amongst them: Hold your hand!
My people, you will not go under
Shamed and abused, like cowards base;
You shall arise in all your grandeur,
A proud and a victorious race!

You know not the many trials,
Cares and anguish I went through;
You know not the many perils
That I faced because of you!
Long years, hesitating never,
Through the thorns I struggled on,
Yet you may not thank me ever
For the good that I have done!

But no! I wanted Rome to free
That fell, a victim to dissension.
Restore her ancient dignity—
Is that no fine and great intention?

O Ancient Rome, do but once show
Yourself to me in your past might,
And I have lived enough, can go
Happy into the grave's dark night!

NINA (*entering*)

Oh Cola, tell me, is it true
That foes are plotting against you?
Is danger hanging over
The head so dear to me?

RIENZI

Calm yourself, my dearest wife.
A few power-seeking, envious ones,
And Walter von Montreal, that traitor,
Are stirring up the people against me,
Hoping to bring about my downfall.
Helped by God and a loyal people,
I shall outwit the treacherous ones.
Before they even sense the danger,
Their heads will roll for their own crimes.
How could these schemes of theirs unnerve me?
Are they as strong as I am here,
With my true-loving wife to serve me,
And with my senses calm and clear?

NINA

Cola, why can't I put to flight
The fears with which I am consumed?
In dreams I've seen your face all white
Since you the purple robe assumed.

RIENZI

My dearest wife, come, fear no more!
We are not in the slightest danger;
Untroubled can the eagle soar
Clear of the snakes that hiss with anger.

NINA

I cannot think what I would do,
If I should lose you, love, one day.

Whoever left me without you,
Would steal my very life away.

COLA

Oh, put aside all fear and care,
For what inspires me is sublime.
I can't go under—do not dare—
Until I have achieved my aim,

Until Rome's might triumphantly
Is born again, and Freedom shakes
The dust off, and the world can see
In trembling how the lion wakes.

If, in the heat of battle, I stood
Alone, in peril of my life,
Deserted and abandoned, would
You not stay by me, dearest wife?

NINA

Dearest, as some God may decree,
So let it be, then, for us two.
I cannot, and I will not, flee,
In need and death I'll stand by you!

BOTH

Firmly together, on our own,
We shall face treachery and lies.
Though in this world we stood alone,
Our true love ever would suffice!

## Scene Three

*A hall in the Colonnas' palace, festively arrayed for a banquet.*

*Montreal, Battista, Chorus of guests.*

MONTREAL

Your health, good sirs! Let gaiety
And the wine goblet reign this night!
Think not how late the hour may be,
While the wine laughs in beaker bright.

Let song resound
These halls around
Till the dawn breaks with radiant light!

CHORUS

Drink all the brimming cup may hold,
Quaff merrily the flowing wine;
The goblet filled with liquid gold
Revives man's heart at any time.
Let song resound
These halls around
Until the light of dawn doth shine!

BATTISTA

Ho, there! A song, who'll sing a song?

MONTREAL

Hey, boy, hand me that lute of yours.
Let me sing you a song of Provence
After the fashion of my native land—
The song of a high-born troubadour.

(*Here follows a love-song, to be inserted later.*)

BATTISTA

Long life to all the ladies!

CHORUS

Long life to the ladies! In sparkling wine
We think about them all the time!
Long life to all the ladies!

MONTREAL

Ho, butler, fill the glasses!
Lachrymae Christi, Monte Falerno,
Bring us the best Falernian wine!
Now let us drink and let us sing!

CHORUS

Drink all the brimming cup, etc.

(*The Capitol bell sounds.*)

BATTISTA

What is happening? Hear you the Capitol bell?

MONTREAL

What could it be? Nothing to trouble us!
Let us be merry! It's nothing to alarm us!

BATTISTA

I drink this, noble sir, to you,
And to your gallant following too!
That the Tribune by you may be
Relieved of his authority!
Loudly I cry to one and all:
Long live Walter von Montreal!

CHORUS

Loud ring our voices one and all:
Long live our gracious host!
Long live Walter von Montreal!

CHOIR OF MONKS (*off*)

Requiem aeternam dona eis,
Domine! Et lux perpetua
luceat eis!

MONTREAL

What has come over you, friends?
Let the priests whine of graves and of death,
Life is red-blooded while we draw breath!

(CHOIR OF MONKS *in the background*: Dies irae, dies illa.)

I thank you all, my friends!
Let us drown out those wailing monks
With joyous cries!
Long live Rome, the eternal city!

CHORUS

Long live Rome, the eternal city!
Drink all the brimming cup, etc.

(CHOIR, *off*: Ne me perdas illa die! quia pius es!)

MONTREAL

And here's a toast to the Tribune's downfall,
The traitor who, on the people's sweat,
Carouses there in the Capitol!
Revenge will be on him before he knows it.
Down with him!

CHORUS

Down with the Tribune, be our word—
Let him reap his treason's reward!

*(Three bangs on the door. Confusion.)*

MONTREAL

Enter, you uninvited guests!

*(Enter the Tribune in purple and ermine, followed by men-at-arms.)*

*Pause.*

RIENZI

Are you so gay, then, Montreal,
When the Capitol bell outside
And the chanting priests tell you the tidings
That your brothers are being led to execution?
Let you and the rest all know this!

CHOIR

Judex ergo nunc tedebit
etc.

[RIENZI]

At last your hour has struck,
And your traitor's reward is settled!

*(Montreal and Battista are led off.)*

*Curtain*

## ACT THREE

### Scene One

*A room in Rienzi's home.*

NINA (*hastening in, breathless*)

Help, Holy Mary!
Help, Father in Heaven!
Oh, what a rabble
Comes down the streets tearing,
Roaring, rampaging,
Many-voiced, raging;
They're bursting through breaches
And soon they will reach us.
Our palace they're nearing!
In wild agitation
They threaten destruction
And grim devastation;
In savage eruption
The rabble draws nigh!

Our deliverance please send,
Ye most blessed ones on high;
Let the angels' wings extend
Over us protectingly.
Hear, oh hear my anguished plea,
Come to us, shield us from danger.
Please, oh please let us not be
Victims of the mob's blind anger!

Nearer and nearer
The rabble is teeming,
Higher and higher
The flood is streaming.
Swords are glittering,
Spear-points flickering,
Flashing bright!

Ever nearer and more mighty,
Death enfolds us with his arm.
Help, O Mary! Help, Almighty!
Do not let us come to harm!

RIENZI (*entering*)

It's happened—something I never feared!
The maddened people have risen against me,
Howling vengeance for Montreal's death
And for Battista's too.

NINA

O dearest Cola!
Danger is pressing nearer and nearer,
O save us both!

RIENZI

Keep calm, beloved wife!
Danger is not so very near.
Still in the flush of youth am I,
And with a face unyielding, proud,
I shall go out there to defy
The fury of the crowd!

My eye is swift as lightning blast,
My brow unmarred by life's abuse,
Like swords, my words are keen and fast—
So let all Hell break loose!

Let Hell break loose—still I shall brave it.
I raised myself up to the throne,
Now I must stand my ground and save it.
I'll calm their anger down!

NINA

Oh, let us yield, I humbly pray,
Let us seek refuge from their fury.
Cola, just once, hear what I say,
O Cola, let us hurry!

RIENZI

In cowardice? Not while I draw breath!

NINA

Cola, while still there's time—decide!

RIENZI

I'll stand and face it out with death,
Though he press in from every side!

NINA

Oh, come! The mob does not deserve
So great a sacrifice—oh, no!

RIENZI

If ruin strikes, my death shall serve
Before the whole wide world to show
I did not shrink to dedicate
My life that Rome once more be great.

NINA

So, husband, you'll not run away?
Then from your side I shall not go,
As in good times, likewise in woe
And wretched fortune, I shall stay.

RIENZI

Come to my breast, O marvellous wife!
The reward of striving constantly
Blooms in your love, God's joy, for me,
Though reached I not my goal in life!

NINA

So big, so strong you are, my mate!
Held in your warm embrace, to fall
With you, most wonderful of all—
Oh what a high and blissful fate!

COLA, NINA

And so we go forth joyously,
Embracing one another tight,
Bathed in the glow of true love's light,
To meet whate'er our fate may be!
Though death outside await us twain,
Through fire and sword, both unaffrighted
We go, together and united,
To face what Fortune may ordain!

## Scene Two

*Before the Capitol.*

CAMILLA (*hair unbound, sword in hand*)

So it has come, then,
For what I so languish,
The hour of revenge
For my sorrow and anguish.
The hour of revenge!
His blood shall be shed
In atonement for yours,
My murdered, my dear one,
Though I strike him dead
With this, my own hand.
True love has been murdered,
Burn hatred, burn more,
And stain, blood of tyrants,
My thirsting sword-blade
With purple-red gore.
Not woman, but Fury
Henceforth be my name;
With steel I shall sever
The veins of that same
Vile traitor who sent
My love to his grave!
Away with compassion
And womanly weakness!
Vengeance, ay, vengeance
For that shameful crime
Is all that I crave!
The crowds are all swarming
And gathering together,
More frenzied than ever
I'm going to make them.
Fall, then, Rienzi,
From the throne to your doom—
Your victim, my lover,
Awaits you in the tomb!

(*To the people, who have gathered round her.*)

Vengeance I cry! Vengeance I cry!
For the tyrant's execution,

For the grimmest retribution,
Storm into the Capitol!
From his rooms in all their glory
Drag him hither bodily,
To his end so grim and gory;
Dying, he'll atone for all!

CHORUS

Vengeance! Vengeance!—To the Capitol.

CAMILLA

On his guilty head let roll
Curses, death, calamity.
Liberty from us he stole,
Now it is his reckoning time.
At our feet in terror, he
Shall like any traitor die.
Red his blood shall flow and free
For his most perfidious crime.

CHORUS

At our feet in terror, etc.

*Enter Rienzi, Nina following him.*

RIENZI

Citizens of Rome! Why do you gather here
In milling crowds, with spear and sword
Before the Capitol?
Do you not trust me now, whom you elected
And on whose shoulders you it was that laid
This purple? What have I done to harm you?
Let me finish my task.
Let me restore our ancient glory
And you'll be lords of the Earth
And free, with laws of your own making.
Listen not to the voice of slander,
Judge me by deeds alone!

CAMILLA

Do not listen to him speaking,
Let yourselves be not misled.

Be intent alone on wreaking
Vengeance for lost liberty!

CHORUS

By your flattery, by your speaking,
We'll no longer be misled.
Now we only think of wreaking
Vengeance for lost liberty!

*They press towards him.*

NINA

God!

RIENZI

Hence, insolent ones, away!

NINA

See you not the tears I shed?

CAMILLA

Ha, Triumph! Now the vengeance-seeking
Flames I've kindled, as I see.

CHORUS

Now we only think of wreaking
Vengeance for lost liberty!

NINA

Would you spill the blood of him
Whom you owe your fortune to?
If it's blood you want, take mine:
I'll atone for every sin.

CAMILLA

Only vengeance for his crime,
Push compassion far from you!

NINA

Hear my weeping and lamenting,
He did good—give that a thought!

CAMILLA

Think, you Romans, unrelenting,
Of the suffering he brought!

CHORUS

Yes, we're mindful, unrelenting,
Of the suffering he brought.

NINA

Please have mercy!

CAMILLA

Think of vengeance!

NINA

Spare this noble man, I say.

CAMILLA

On the tyrant wreak your vengeance
For your freedom snatched away.

CHORUS

Vengeance on the tyrant, vengeance,
For our freedom snatched away!

NINA

Do not let yourselves be blinded
By your fury's raging fire!

CAMILLA

Ha! Now shall his life be ended
By the people's burning ire!

NINA

Show us mercy!

CAMILLA

Think of vengeance.

NINA

Please have mercy.

CAMILLA

Hear her not.

CHORUS

Ha, you traitor, this our vengeance
And our wrath escape you not!

Written at the end of 1840 and the beginning of 1841

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# APPENDICES

# MARRIAGE CONTRACT

*between*
*Herr Carl Marx, Doctor of Philosophy,*
*resident in Cologne,*
*and Fräulein Johanna Bertha Julie Jenny von Westphalen,*
*without occupation, resident in Kreuznach,*
*June 12, 1843*

No. 715

*We, Frederick William,*
*by the Grace of God*
*King of Prussia,*
*Grand Duke of Lower Rhine, etc., etc.,*

*herewith give notice and let it be known that:*

Before the Undersigned Wilhelm Christian Heinrich *Burger*, royal Prussian notary in the residence of the town of *Kreuznach*, in the provincial-court district of *Coblenz*, and in the presence of the two witnesses named below, there appeared Herr *Karl Marx*, Doctor of Philosophy, resident in *Cologne*, on the one hand, and Fräulein *Johanna Bertha Julie Jenny von Westphalen*, without occupation, resident in *Kreuznach*, on the other hand.

The declarants stated that they intended to marry and in view of their future marriage, the celebration of which is to take place as soon as possible, they have mutually agreed and laid down the clauses and conditions and the consequences in civil law as follows:

*Firstly.* Legal common ownership of property shall be established between the future marriage partners insofar as this is not specially amended by the following articles.

*Secondly.* This common ownership shall also apply to all future fixed assets of the spouses by the future spouses hereby declaring all fixed assets which they will inherit in the future, or which will later fall to the lot of one or other of them, to be movable property, and putting these future fixed assets, which they give wholly into common ownership, on a par with movable property,

whereby in accordance with Article fifteen hundred and five of the Civil Code their transformation into movable assets (:*ameublissement*:) takes place.

*Thirdly.* Each spouse shall for his or her own part pay the debts he or she has made or contracted, inherited or otherwise incurred before marriage; in consequence whereof these debts shall be excluded from the common ownership of property.

Thus everything has been agreed and settled between the future spouses. Concerning which the present marriage contract was adopted, which has been clearly read out to the interested parties.

Done at *Kreuznach* in the dwelling of the widow Frau *von Westphalen, June* twelfth of the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-three, in the presence of the attendant witnesses, personally known to the notary, Johann Anton *Rickes*, private gentleman, and Peter *Beltz*, tailor, both resident in *Kreuznach*. And in witness thereof the present document has been signed first by the above-mentioned declarants, the name, position and residence of whom is known to the notary, and after them by the above-mentioned witnesses and the notary.

The original, which has remained in the possession of the notary, and on which a stamp of two talers has been affixed, has been signed by:

"*Dr. Karl Marx, Jenny von Westphalen, J. A. Rickes, Peter Beltz*, and *Burger*, notary."

At the same time We order and instruct all executors of courts of justice on request to put into operation the present act; Our Procurators-General and Our Procurators at provincial courts of justice to administer the same; all officers and commandants of the armed forces or their representatives to lend a powerful helping hand if legally requested to do so.

In confirmation thereof the present main copy has been signed by the notary and furnished with his seal of office.

Vouching for the correctness of this main copy

*Burger, notary*[a]

First published in: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Bd. 1, Hb. 2, 1929

Printed according to a copy of the document
Published in English for the first time

[a] The notary's round seal is attached to the document and also a receipt for 6 talers and 15 groschen.— *Ed.*

## EXTRACT FROM THE REGISTER OF MARRIAGES OF THE REGISTRY OFFICE OF BAD KREUZNACH FOR THE YEAR 1843

*Municipality: Kreuznach. District: Kreuznach.*
*Administrative district: Coblenz*

No. 51

In the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-three, on the nineteenth of the month of June, at 10 a.m., there appeared before me, Franz Buss, Chief Burgomaster of Kreuznach, Registrar for Births, Deaths and Marriages, Karl *Marx*, aged twenty-five, born in Trier, administrative district of Trier, Doctor of Philosophy, resident in Cologne, administrative district of Cologne, major son of Heinrich Marx, deceased, in his lifetime King's Counsel, resident in Trier, administrative district of Trier, and of Henriette Pressburg, of no profession, resident in Trier, administrative district of Trier.

And Johanna Bertha Julie Jenny von Westphalen, aged twenty-nine, born at Salzwedel, administrative district of Magdeburg, of no particular occupation, resident in Kreuznach, administrative district of Coblenz, major daughter of Johann Ludwig von Westphalen, deceased, in his lifetime Privy Councillor, resident in Trier, administrative district of Trier, and of Carolina Heubel, of no profession, resident in Kreuznach, administrative district of Coblenz.

The bridegroom's mother consents to the intended marriage by the deed of consent quoted below and the bride's mother by her personal presence. In the deed of consent of the bridegroom's mother the Christian name of the bride's father is given as Ferdinand, but it is Johann Ludwig, as follows from the sworn declaration made before us by the bride and the four witnesses present, after they had previously declared that they knew him closely and well.

The same requested me to perform legally the marriage agreed upon between them. As the prescribed public announcements of this marriage were actually read twice before the main door of the Kreuznach Town Hall, namely, the first on Sunday, the twenty-first of May, and the second on the following Sunday, the twenty-eighth of May, one thousand eight hundred and forty-three, and as the documents of the announcement were duly posted up

publicly and no objection to the marriage was lodged, I, in order to comply with the said request, read out the following documents:

a) the birth certificate of the bridegroom, and

b) the death certificate of his father, both certificates drawn up by Chief Burgomaster Görtz and Assistant Thanisch in Trier under the date of the thirtieth and twenty-eighth of January this year;

c) the deed of consent of his mother, recorded by Notary Funck in Trier under the date of the twenty-eighth of January this year;

d) the birth certificate of the bride, furnished by the Royal Consistorial Councillor and Pastor of the Church of Saint Mary at Salzwedel under the date of the eleventh of February this year;

e) the death certificate of her father, furnished by Assistant Thanisch in Trier under the date of the twenty-third of February this year;

f) the attestation of the announcement in Cologne, furnished by the Registrar for Births, Deaths and Marriages Schenk in that city under the date of the fourteenth of June this year;

g) the attestation of the announcement in Bonn, furnished by the Registrar for Births, Deaths and Marriages Gerhard in that city under the date of the sixteenth of the current month and year, and read out aloud Chapter Six of the part dealing with marriage in the Civil Code of Law and thereupon asked the above-named bridegroom and bride whether they wished to be joined in wedlock.

As each of them separately answered this question affirmatively, I declared in the name of the law that Karl Marx and Johanna Bertha Julie Jenny von Westphalen were legally married.

Of this I drew up the present document in the presence of Dr. Karl Engelmann, aged thirty-five, a physician, resident in Kreuznach, a friend of the newly married couple; of Heinrich Balthasar Christian Clevens, aged thirty, a probationer notary, resident in Kreuznach, a friend of the newly married couple; of Elias Mayer, aged sixty-four, man of private means, resident in Kreuznach, a friend of the newly married couple; and of Valentin Keller, aged fifty-six, innkeeper, resident in Kreuznach, a friend of the newly married couple. Then the persons present signed the document with me after it had been read out to them.

Dr. Karl Marx.———— Jenny von Westphalen.————
Caroline von Westphalen. Dr. Carl Engelmann. H. Clevens.
Valentin Keller.———— E. Mayer. ———— Buss.————

Published for the first time

Printed according to a copy of the document

# JENNY MARX TO KARL MARX

## IN PARIS [243]

[Trier, about June 21, 1844]

You see, dear heart, that I don't deal with you according to the law and demand an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and a letter for a letter; I am generous and magnanimous, but I hope that my twofold appearance before you will soon yield me golden fruit, a few lines in return, for which my heart is yearning, a few words to tell me that you are well and are longing for me a little. I should so like to know that you miss me and to hear you say you want me. But now quickly, before the holding of the daily court begins again, a bulletin about our little one,[a] for after all she is now the chief person in our alliance and, being at once yours and mine, is the most intimate bond of our love. The poor little doll was quite miserable and ill after the journey, and turned out to be suffering not only from constipation but downright overfeeding. We had to call in the fat pig,[b] and his decision was that it was essential to have a wet-nurse since with artificial feeding she would not easily recover. You can imagine my anxiety. But that is all over now, the dear little Clever Eyes is being fed magnificently by a healthy young wet-nurse, a girl from Barbeln,[c] the daughter of the boatman with whom dear Papa[d] so often sailed. In better times, Mother[e] once provided a complete outfit of clothes for this girl, when she was still a child, and what a coincidence — this poor child, to whom Papa used to give a kreutzer every day, is now giving life and health to our baby. It was not easy to save her life, but she is now almost out of any danger. In spite of all her

[a] Their daughter Jenny.— *Ed.*
[b] Schleicher.— *Ed.*
[c] Gretchen.— *Ed.*
[d] Ludwig von Westphalen.— *Ed.*
[e] Caroline von Westphalen.— *Ed.*

sufferings, she looks remarkably pretty and is as flower-white, delicate and transparent as a little princess. In Paris we would never have got her through the illness, so this trip has already been well worth while. Besides, I am now again with my good, poor mother, who only with the greatest struggle can put up with our being separated.

She has had a very bad time at the Wettendorfs'.[244] They are rather coarse people. Ah, if I had only known how things were with poor Mother on many occasions during the winter! But I often wept and was miserable when thinking of her, and you were always so considerate and patient. Another good thing about this wet-nurse is that she is also very useful as a maid, is willing to accompany [us] and, as it happens, served three years in Metz and therefore also speaks French. Hence my return journey is fully assured. What a stroke of luck it is, is it not? Only at present poor Mother has to bear too many expenses and is after all very poor. Edgar[a] robs her of all she has and then writes one nonsensical letter after another, rejoices over the approaching revolutions and the overthrow of all existing conditions, instead of beginning by revolutionising his own conditions, which then always evokes unpleasant discussions and indirect attacks on the mad revolutionary youth. In general, nowhere does a longing for a transformation of the existing state of things arise more strongly than when one sees the surface looking so drearily flat and even, and yet knows what a commotion and ferment is taking place in the depths of mankind.

But let us leave the revolution and come back to our wet-nurse. I shall pay the monthly sum of four talers from the remainder of the journey money, from which I will pay also for the medicine and doctor. True, Mother does not want me to do so, but for food alone she has to bear more than she can. In spite of poverty, she keeps everything about her in decent condition. People in Trier are really behaving excellently towards her and that placates me a little. Moreover, I do not need to visit anyone, for they all come to me and I hold court from morning to night. I cannot give you the names of all of them. Today I also disposed of the patriot Lehmann, who is very well disposed by the way, and is only afraid that your thorough scientific studies might suffer over there. Incidentally, I behave towards everyone in a lordly fashion and my external appearance fully justifies this. For once I am more elegant than any of them and never in my life have I looked better and more blooming than I do now. Everyone is unanimous

[a] Edgar von Westphalen, Jenny's brother.—*Ed.*

about that. And people constantly repeat Herwegh's compliment asking me "when my confirmation has taken place". I think to myself, too, what would be the good of behaving humbly; it does not help anyone out of a difficulty, and people are so happy if they can express their regret. Despite the fact that my whole being expresses satisfaction and *affluence*, everyone still hopes that you will decide after all to obtain a permanent post. O, you asses, as if all of you were standing on firm ground. I know that we are not exactly standing on rock, but where is there any firm foundation now? Can one not see everywhere signs of earthquake and the undermining of the foundations on which society has erected its temples and shops? I think that time, the old mole, will soon stop burrowing underground—indeed in Breslau there have been thunderstorms again.[245] If we can only hold out for a time, until our little one has grown big. As to that, you'll put my mind at ease, won't you, my dear sweet angel, my one and only heart's beloved? How my heart went out to you on June 19![a] How strongly and intimately it beat out of love for you.

But to return to the account of events. It was not until our wedding-day that our dear little baby was well again and sucked healthily and lustily. Then I set out on my difficult journey—you know where to. I wore my nice Paris frock and my face glowed with anxiety and excitement. When I rang, my heart was beating almost audibly. Everything went through my mind. The door opened and Jettchen[b] appeared. She embraced and kissed me and led me into the drawing-room where your mother[c] and Sophie[d] were sitting. Both immediately embraced me, your mother called me "thou", and Sophie sat me on the sofa beside her. She has been terribly ravaged by illness, looks like C×C, and is hardly likely to get well again. And yet Jettchen is in an almost worse state. Only your mother looks well and flourishing, and is cheerfulness itself, almost gay and frolicsome. Alas, this gaiety seems somehow sinister. All the girls were equally affectionate, especially little Caroline.[e] Next morning your mother came already at 9 o'clock to see the baby. In the afternoon Sophie came, and this morning little Caroline also paid a visit to our little angel. Can you imagine such a change?[246] I am very glad about it and Mother as well, but how has it come about so suddenly? What a difference

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[a] The anniversary of their marriage.— *Ed.*
[b] Marx's sister Henriette.— *Ed.*
[c] Henriette Marx.— *Ed.*
[d] Marx's sister.— *Ed.*
[e] Marx's sister.— *Ed.*

success makes, or in our case rather the *appearance* of success, which by the subtlest tactics I know how to maintain.

That's strange news, isn't it? Just think, how the time runs and even the fattest pigs as well; Schleicher, too, is no longer a politician, and a Socialist, that is to say, like Schmiriaks from the organism of labour, etc. It is enough to make one sick, as the Frankenthaler says. He partly considers that your clique is mad, but he thinks it is high time you attacked Bauer.[a] Ah, Karl, what you are going to do, do it soon.[247] And also do give me soon some sign of your life. I am being treated with great tenderness by the most gentle loving mother, my little one is being properly looked after and cared for, the whole of Trier gapes, stares, admires, and pays court, and yet my heart and soul are turned towards you. Ah, if only I could see you now and again, and ask you: what is that for? Or sing for you: "Do you know also when it will be the day after tomorrow?" Dear heart of mine, how I should like to kiss you, for such cold collations are no good, isn't that true, my dearest one? However, you should read the *Trier'sche Zeitung*, it is quite good now. How do things look with you? It is now already eight days I have been away from you. Even here, with better-quality milk, it would not have been possible to get our baby over her illness without a wet-nurse. Her whole stomach was upset. Today Schleicher has assured me that she is now saved. O, if only poor Mother did not have so many worries, and particularly because of Edgar, who makes use of all the great signs of the times, and all the sufferings of society, in order to cover up and whitewash his own worthlessness. Now the vacation is coming again and then once again nothing will come of the examination. All his essays are ready. It is unpardonable. Mother must deny herself everything, while he has a good time in Cologne going to all the operas, as he himself writes. He speaks with the utmost tenderness of his little sister, his little Jenny, but I find it impossible to be tender towards the scatterbrain.

Dearest heart, I am often greatly worried about our future, both that near at hand and later on, and I think I am going to be punished for my exuberance and cockiness here. If you can, do set my mind at rest about this. There is too much talk on all sides about a *steady* income. I reply then merely by means of my rosy cheeks, my clear skin, my velvet cloak, feather hat and smart coiffure. That has the best and deepest effect, and if as a result I become depressed, nobody sees it. Our baby has such a beautiful

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[a] Bruno Bauer.— *Ed.*

white colour that everyone wonders at it, and she is so fine and delicate. Schleicher is very solicitous and very nice to the child. Today he did not want to go away at all, then there came God's Wrath, and then Reverchon, then Lehmann, and then Poppey, and so it goes on all the time. Yesterday the Tree-frog,[a] too, was here with his parchment better half. I did not see them. The members of your family have just paid a call in passing, including Sophie in full fig. But how ill she looks!!! — Give greetings from me to Siebenkäs and the Heines, if you see them. I shall have news of you soon, isn't that so? And are you bravely singing the postillion of Longjumeau?

Only don't write with too much rancour and irritation. You know how much more effect your other articles have had. Write either in a matter-of-fact and subtle way or humorously and lightly. Please, dear heart of mine, let your pen run over the paper, even if it should on occasion stumble and fall, and the sentence with it. Your thoughts all the same stand erect like the grenadiers of the old guard, so honourably firm and courageous, and they could say like the old guard: *elle meurt mais elle ne se rend pas.*[b] What does it matter if occasionally the uniform hangs a bit loosely and is not so tightly buttoned up? What is so very nice about the French soldiers is their free and easy appearance. When you think of our stilted Prussians, doesn't it make you shudder? — Just slacken the strappings and remove the cravat and helmet — let the participles take their course and set down the words just as they come of themselves. Such an army does not have to march in such strict order. And your troops are taking the field, are they not? Good luck to the general, my dusky master! Good-bye, dearest heart, my beloved, my entire life. For the present I am in my little Germany, with everything around me, including my little one and my mother, and yet my heart is sad because you are absent; it yearns for you, and it hopes for you and your black messengers.

Good-bye,

Your *Schipp* and *Schribb*

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[a] An illegible word follows in the original.— *Ed.*

[b] It dies, but does not surrender.— *Ed.*

## JENNY MARX TO KARL MARX

### IN PARIS[248]

[Trier, between August 4 and 10, 1844]

My dearest,

I received your letter at the very moment when all the bells were ringing, the guns firing, and the pious crowd flocking into the temples to convey their hallelujahs to the heavenly Lord for having so miraculously saved their earthly Lord.[a] You can imagine with what peculiar feeling I read Heine's poems during the celebration and also chimed in with my hosannas. Did not your Prussian heart also quiver with horror at the news of that crime, that shocking, unthinkable crime? Alas, for the *lost virginity*, the lost honour! Such are the Prussian catchwords. When I heard the little green grasshopper, cavalry captain X., declaiming about the lost virginity, I could only believe that he meant the holy immaculate virginity of Mother Mary, for that after all is the only one officially confirmed. But as for the virginity of the Prussian state! No, I lost any belief in that long ago. As regards the terrible event, one consolation remains for the pure Prussian people, viz., that the motive for the deed was not any political fanaticism, but a purely personal desire for revenge. They console themselves with that—lucky for them—but it is precisely a new proof that a political revolution is impossible in Germany, whereas all the seeds of a social revolution are present. While there has never been a political fanatic there who dared to go to the extreme, the first one to risk an attempt at assassination[b] was driven to it by want, dire want. For three days the man had been begging in vain in Berlin in constant danger of death from starvation—hence it was a social attempt at assassination! If something does break out, it will start from this direction—that is the most sensitive spot, and in this respect a German heart also is vulnerable!

First published in *Vorwärts!* No. 64, August 10, 1844

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[b] H. L. Tshech—*Ed.*

## JENNY MARX TO KARL MARX

### IN PARIS

[Trier, between August 11 and 18, 1844]

My dearest, unique Karl,

You cannot believe, darling of my heart, how very happy you make me by your letters,[249] and how your last pastoral letter, you high priest and bishop of my heart, has once again restored soothing calm and peace to your poor lamb. It is certainly wrong and silly to torture oneself with all sorts of cares and glimpses of dark distant perspectives. I am very well aware of that myself in those self-tormenting moments—but although the spirit is willing, the flesh is weak, and so it is always only with your help that I am able to exorcise those demons. Your latest news truly brought me such real and tangible solace that it would be quite wrong to start brooding again. I expect now that it is going to happen as in a game of cards, and I hope that some external circumstance will determine the time of my return home. Perhaps Edgar's[a] arrival or some similar [external][b] occasion. I touch on this painful [point][b] very unwillingly, and it is only in Edgar's presence that I shall return to this matter for a decision. In any case I shall be coming before the winter, how could I indeed resist such dear, heart-warming friendliness as that which shines on me from your lines. And then in the background are dark feelings of anxiety and fear, the real menace of unfaithfulness, the seductions and attractions of a capital city—all those are powers and forces whose effect on me is more powerful than anything else. How I am looking forward after such a long time to rest comfortably and happily once more close to your heart, in your arms. What a lot I shall have to chatter with you about, and what trouble you will have to bring me again *à la hauteur des principes* for in partitioned Germany it is not easy to remain *au courant.*

How glad you will be to see the little creature.[c] I am convinced that you will not be able to recognise our child, unless her little eyes and black crest of hair reveal the secret to you. Everything else is really quite different now, only the resemblance to you becomes ever more obvious. During the last few days she has begun to eat a little broth made from the herbs which I have

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[a] Edgar von Westphalen.— *Ed.*
[b] Part of the word is covered by an inkspot.— *Ed.*
[c] Their daughter Jenny.— *Ed.*

brought with me, and she relishes it greatly. In the bath she splashes with her little hands so much that the whole room is flooded, and then she dips her tiny finger in the water and afterwards licks it hastily. Her little thumb, which she has always kept bent and then made to peep out between her fingers, has become so unusually supple and flexible owing to this habit that one cannot help being astonished by it. She can become a little piano player—I believe she can do magic tricks with her little thumb. When she cries, we quickly draw her attention to the flowers in the wall-paper, and then she becomes quiet as a mouse and gazes so long that tears come into her eyes. We must not talk to her for too long because it makes her over-exert herself. She wants to imitate every sound and answer it, and the fact that her forehead swells and reddens is a sign of excessive strain. Incidentally, she is the acme of cheerfulness. Every kind of look you give her makes her laugh. You ought to see what a darling little creature I shall bring with me. When she hears anyone speaking she at once looks in that direction and goes on looking until something fresh happens. You can't have any idea of the liveliness of the child. For whole nights through her little eyes refuse to close in sleep, and if one looks at her she laughs out loud. She is happiest when she sees a light or the fire. By that means one can allay her heaviest storm. Karl dear, how long will our little doll play a solo part? I fear, I fear, that when her papa and mama are together once again, and live in common ownership, the performance will soon become a duet. Or should we set about it in the good Parisian style? Usually one finds the greatest number of children where the means are smallest. Recently a poor man with ten children asked for relief from Chief Burgomaster Görtz. When he was reproached for having produced so many children, his only reply was to say: there is a parish fête once a year even in the tiniest and most insignificant village. Then he was given assistance, and no doubt he will be celebrating the eleventh parish fête.

We have not seen your relatives for a long time. First the great illustrious visit and now the important arrangements for the marriage,[a] so that one's presence is inopportune, one does not receive any calls and is oneself modest enough not to visit them again. The marriage is on August 28. On Sunday the banns were called for the first time. In spite of all the magnificence, Jettchen's health becomes worse every day, her cough and hoarseness are increasing. She can hardly walk any longer. She goes about like a

[a] Marriage of Marx's sister Henriette (Jettchen) and Theodor Simons.—*Ed.*

ghost, but married she must be. It is generally regarded as terrible and unscrupulous. Rocholl, however, is said to be in favour of it in order to secure something for his nephew.[a] I don't know whether that can turn out well. If at least they were going to live in a town—but in a miserable village, and in winter at that. I can't imagine how your relatives can be cheerful and happy about it. If fate did not somewhat dampen their spirits, there could be no escape from their haughtiness. And the boasting about grand parties and brooches, ear-rings and shawls! I cannot understand your mother. She herself has told us that she thinks Jettchen is consumptive, and yet she lets her marry. But Jettchen is said to want it very strongly. I am curious to know how it will all turn out.

In Trier there is already such a stir and bustle as I have never seen. There is activity everywhere.[250] All the shops have been newly smartened up, everyone is arranging rooms for lodging. We, too, have got a room ready. The whole of Coblenz is coming here and the cream of society is joining in the procession. All the hotels are already full up. 210 new pubs have been established, as well as circuses, theatres, menageries, dioramas, international theatres, in short, everything one could think of is already announcing its presence. The entire palace square is covered with tents. Entire wooden houses have been erected outside the gates. Trier marches on Sunday. Everyone has to join a procession and then come the villages. Every day some 16,000 people. Frau Stein has already sold 400 talers' worth of tiny copies of the sacred linen cloth, made out of old strips of ribbon. Rosaries, worth from six pfennigs to one hundred talers, are displayed at every house. I, too, have bought a little medallion for my little one, and yesterday she herself obtained a small rosary. You cannot imagine the bustling activity that is going on here. Next week half Luxemburg is coming; cousin Michel has also announced his arrival. All the people seem to be mad. What is one to think about it? Is it a good sign of the times that everything has to go to extremes, or are we still a long way from our goal?

Where you are, too, all hell is being let loose. Will things be patched up once more? And tell me, what did the blockhead[b] say about your article?[c] Has he given tit for tat, replied or kept silent? Jung really is an exceptionally noble characher.[251]

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[a] Theodor Simons.—*Ed.*

[b] Arnold Ruge.—*Ed.*

[c] "Critical Marginal Notes on the Article 'The King of Prussia and Social Reform By a Prussian'" (see this volume, pp. 189-206).—*Ed.*

What a good thing it is that you are now a little bit in funds again. Only always bear in mind, when the purse is full, how quickly it becomes empty again, and how difficult it is to fill it. You dear good Karl, darling of my heart. How I love you, how my heart yearns for you. I should like so very much that Edgar could still see his charming niece. If only he became an uncle barrister—then I could earlier talk to Mother about my departure. Our little doll is just eating her soup. Just think, she does not want to lie down at all any more, she wants to sit upright all the time. She is then better able to look around her. Tell me, dear heart, for some time past I have noticed that you no longer mention Guerrier. Has anything happened in connection with the worthy cousin? And is there no news of the divine Georg[a]?

I am very eager to know what the Pomeranian[b] is going to do now. Will he keep silent or will he make a row? It is peculiar that from Cologne there never comes anything unpleasant, but always the best. After all, how loyal our friends are, how solicitous, tactful and considerate. Even if it is painful to have to ask for money, in relation to these people it surely ceases to be at all unpleasant and onerous. I can hardly go on writing, the baby keeps distracting my attention with her delicious chuckles and attempts at speech. You cannot have any idea of the beauty of her forehead, the transparency of her skin and the wonderful delicacy of her tiny hands.

Dear good heart of my heart. Do write to me again quite soon. I am so very happy when I see your handwriting. You dear, good. sweet, little wild boar. You dear father of my little doll.

Adieu, heart of my heart.

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[a] Georg Herwegh.— *Ed.*
[b] Arnold Ruge.— *Ed.*

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] Marx mentions his intention of critically analysing Hegel's views on the state and law as far back as in the spring of 1842. In a letter to Arnold Ruge of March 5 he writes that he is preparing an article on Hegel's legal and political views in which he intends first of all to criticise Hegel's apology on behalf of the constitutional monarchy (see this edition, Vol. 1). The above-mentioned article is not extant and it is unknown whether he actually wrote it, but the subject-matter continued to attract his attention. As Marx's theoretical views developed and he gradually adopted a materialist standpoint, largely due to Feuerbach's influence, his plans of writing a critique of Hegel's philosophy became more extensive and profound and finally he conceived the idea of counterposing the materialist conception of social phenomena to their idealist interpretation. For Marx the basic problem was the interdependence of material social relations, property relations and so on—which Hegel called "civil society"—and the political system of society, the state.

Marx began to work on his plan during his stay from May to October 1843 in Kreuznach (where his bride Jenny von Westphalen, whom he married in June 1843, lived with her mother). Here, apparently, he wrote the original version of the work. In the process of writing it he felt the need for greater concrete historical material, and with this aim in view he began to study problems related not only to the theory and history of the state as a whole but to the history of individual countries (England, France, Germany, the United States, Italy, Sweden) and major world-historical events, in particular the Great French Revolution, as can be seen from his five notebooks containing excerpts (the Kreuznach Notebooks). Later on, he wrote an introduction to that work which was published in February 1844 in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. But Marx did not manage to prepare the main sections of his work for publication because he turned to other studies and conceived other literary plans (economic studies, preparation of a book against the Young Hegelians, work on the history of the Convention and so on). However, his work on the manuscript dealing with the criticism of the Hegelian philosophy of law played a major role in his spiritual development and was an important stage in the formation of his materialist views. Marx himself pointed to this in 1859 in the Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Engels, for his part, in his article "Karl Marx" (1869) described the conclusions arrived at by his friend as a result of the critical analysis of

Hegel's views in the following way: "Proceeding from the Hegelian philosophy of law, Marx came to the conclusion that it was not the state which Hegel had described as the 'top of the edifice' but 'the civil society' which Hegel had regarded with disdain that was the sphere in which a key to the understanding of the process of historical development of mankind should be looked for."

The extant manuscript consists of 39 big sheets numbered in Roman figures by the author (II-XL), apparently after the work had been finished. The first sheet is missing. Each sheet is folded in two to form four pages, which are numbered in Arabic figures from sheet I-XXII. The manuscript contains a critical analysis of paragraphs 261-313 of G. W. F. Hegel's *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*. These paragraphs comprise the subsection "Internal State Law" in the third part of Hegel's work. The missing first sheet apparently dealt with §§ 257-260 as can be seen from the extant text. The manuscript bears the imprint of an unfinished work. Some problems which the author promises to deal with below have not been treated by him in the extant part. The title of the work given by the author, which is missing in the manuscript, is reproduced from the above-mentioned introduction published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. In one of the notebooks written by Marx in Bonn in 1842 there are some notes connected with this manuscript. The date of writing the notes is not established. The notes contain some subheadings, the first of which refers to the non-extant part of the manuscript and contains references to the sheets and pages of the manuscript of the *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law*. The content of the notes is as follows: "Duplication of the Development System. I. 3,4. *Logical Mysticism*. II, 8. III, 9 [see this volume, pp. 7, 8].

"Mystical way of presentation.

"Ibid. Example, § 267. IV, pp. 13, 14 [see this volume, pp. 10, 11].

"*Idea as Subject*. IV, pp. 15, 16 [see this volume, pp. 11-13]. (Real subjects become mere names.) P. 17, p. 18, pp. 20, 21, pp. 24, 26, 27, p. 28, p. 40, p. 57, pp. 75, 78 [see this volume, pp. 13, 14-15, 16-18, 20-21, 22-24, 33-34, 48-49, 60, 62-63]. XXVI, 2. XXVIII. XXX, 3. XXXI, 3. XXXII, 2. XXXIV, 2, 3, 4. P. XXXVII, 2 [see this volume p. 82-83, 89-90, 98-99, 101-02, 109-10, 114-15]. Opposites. XXXIX [see this volume, p. 121-24]."

Marx's manuscript was first published in Moscow by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

This work was first published in English in part in the book *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, New York, 1967, and in full as a separate edition entitled *Critique of Hegel's 'Philosophy of Right'* by Karl Marx. Translated from the German by Annette Jolin and Joseph O'Malley, Cambridge, 1970.

In translating the term "Hegelsche Rechtsphilosophie", the translators and editors, being aware of the difficulty of its rendering into English, proceeded from the interpretation of this and similar concepts in the works of Marx and Engels written in English. Thus, in the English authorised edition of Engels' work *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, Hegel's expression "Begriff des Rechts" is translated in one of the notes as "concept of law" (see Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, p. 115).

In this manuscript as in the other works published in this volume Marx frequently uses two similar German terms, "Entäusserung" and "Entfremdung", to express the notion of "alienation". In the present edition the former is generally translated as "alienation", the latter as "estrangement", because in the later economic works (*Theories of Surplus-Value*) Marx himself used the word "alienation" as the English equivalent of the term "Entäusserung". p. 3

[2] Here and below Marx quotes Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts oder Naturrecht und Staatswissenschaft im Grundrisse*, according to the edition *Georg*

*Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Werke*, Bd. 8, hrsg. von Dr. Eduard Gans, Berlin, 1833. Sometimes Marx quotes with omissions which he does not always indicate with dots. Similarly, he does not always reproduce italics, frequently italicising instead other words and passages in the quotations. In the present edition emphasis in the quotations from Hegel's work reproduced by Marx is rendered by italics, whereas passages emphasised by Marx are printed in bold italics. In individual cases where there are no indications in the manuscript, the editors give in square brackets references to the corresponding paragraphs of Hegel's work. p. 5

[3] Marx did not return to this question anywhere else in the extant manuscript. p. 15

[4] Apparently this refers to G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*, Erster Theil, Die Wissenschaft der Logik. p. 18

[5] This possibly refers to Saint-Simon and his followers, who considered that in the future society the state would turn from an instrument for administering people into an instrument for administering things, i.e., would lose its political character. p. 30

[6] In the extant manuscript an analysis of the Addition to § 290 of Hegel's work is missing. p. 42

[7] The *Prussian Common Law* (Preussische Landrecht)—the laws of the provinces in the kingdom of Prussia codified in 1794. It reflected the backwardness of feudal Prussia in the sphere of law and court procedure. p. 44

[8] The extant manuscript does not deal with this question. p. 59

[9] This section is from the third, concluding part of Hegel's *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, comprising §§ 182-256. It precedes the section "Der Staat", the paragraphs of which (§§ 261-313) are analysed in this manuscript. There is no special analysis of this section in the extant part of the manuscript though Marx repeatedly touches on Hegel's views on civil society when examining § 308 (see, in particular, pp. 111-15 of this volume). p. 81

[10] This refers to *la Charte bâclée* (the Constitutional Charter) introduced after the July 1830 revolution in France. p. 113

[11] This problem is not dealt with in the extant part of the manuscript. p. 121

[12] This apparently refers to the same problem which Marx mentioned above, on page 121, as a problem to be analysed later on (see Note 11). p. 123

[13] This note was written by Marx in connection with his reading and summarising of the journal *Historisch-politische Zeitschrift*, edited by Leopold Ranke. Hamburg, 1832, Bd. 1, Heft 1. Marx was interested, in particular, in Ranke's article, "Über die Restauration in Frankreich". This note is to be found in the fourth Kreuznach Notebook which contains Marx's historical excerpts relating to July-August 1843 (see Note 1). The thoughts expressed in it on the inconsistency of the Hegelian idealist conception of the relation between the abstract idea of the state and its concrete historical forms, etc., are directly connected with Marx's work *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law* (see pp. 75-80 and 82-83 of this volume). p. 130

[14] This refers to the Constitutional Charter of 1814, the basic law of the Bourbons returned to power, and the Charter published on August 14, 1830, after the bourgeois revolution in France. The Constitutional Charter of 1830 was the basic law of the July monarchy. It repeated the main principles of the 1814

Charter but the preamble of the 1814 Charter, speaking of the constitution being granted (*octroyée*) by the king, was omitted from the 1830 Constitution and the rights of the Upper and Lower Chambers were extended at the expense of some of the monarch's prerogatives. Under the new constitution the monarch was regarded only as the head of the executive and was deprived of the right to repeal or suspend laws. p. 130

[15] Early in the spring of 1843 Marx conceived the idea of launching a new journal as the organ of the German and French democrats. He intended to publish it in collaboration with the Young Hegelian Arnold Ruge, editor of the journal *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, which had been suppressed by the government (see Marx's letter to Ruge of March 13, 1843, this edition, Vol. 1). At the end of May 1843 Marx went to Dresden to see Ruge on this question. In the course of the preliminary talks, two tendencies became apparent in respect of the line of the future journal. Ruge pursued chiefly educational goals and planned to turn the journal into a means for an exchange of ideas in the sphere of philosophy (primarily German philosophy) and social and political sciences (above all, French), whereas Marx sought to link the theoretical tasks of the journal as closely as possible with the actual revolutionary struggle against the feudal-absolutist order in Germany, to use the journal as an ideological weapon in the struggle for restructuring society. The different approaches to the journal's programme were reflected in the materials prepared for it and in the correspondence between its prospective editors. Marx's intention to turn the journal into a more radical and militant organ is felt also in the given draft programme of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, which Marx wrote after he had received Ruge's programmes in German and French in August 1843. Marx used these programmes but changed some formulations, especially those of the second and partly of the third point which in Ruge's programmes read as follows:

*French Text of Ruge's Programme*

"2) Reviews of the newspapers, which will give a calm but just and strict appraisal of the periodicals of our day, the spirit inspiring them, their actions and tendencies and also their impact on public opinion.

"3) Critical reviews of books published on both sides of the Rhine."

*German Text of Ruge's Programme*

"2) Reviews of the newspapers and journals which express their attitude to the problems of the day.

"3) Reviews of old-time writings and *belles-lettres* in Germany as well as reviews of books published in the two countries which open or continue the new epoch."

In elaborating the final text of the programme, Ruge was to take into account the draft written by Marx and reproduce, wholly or in part, some of his formulations. For the sake of comparison we quote below the text printed in issue No. 1-2 of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, Paris, 1844:

"This journal is a critical publication, but it is not a German literary newspaper. We shall publish excerpts from French and German sources:

"1. On men and systems which are of significance and enjoy influence, on topical questions, on the constitution, legislation, political economy, morals and institutions. Instead of the divine policy of the heavenly kingdom it will reflect the true science of human affairs.

"2. Reviews of newspapers and journals which express their attitude to the problems of our day.

"3. Reviews of old-time writings and *belles-lettres* in Germany which of necessity will subject to criticism the old German spirit in its transcendent, now moribund existence; as well as reviews of books of the two countries which open or continue the new epoch which we are entering." p. 131

[16] The journal *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* was to contribute to rallying various representatives of progressive democratic and socialist thought in France and Germany, and to become the organ of "a Franco-German scientific alliance" as Marx wrote in a letter to Ludwig Feuerbach on October 3, 1843 (see p. 349 of this volume). Invitations to contribute to the journal were extended to Frederick Engels, Ludwig Feuerbach, Heinrich Heine, Moses Hess, Karl Bernays, Julius Fröbel, Pierre Joseph Proudhon, Félicité de Lamennais, Alphonse de Lamartine, Louis Blanc, Pierre Leroux, Étienne Cabet and others. This letter of the editorial board of the future journal, which was signed by Marx and Ruge, was published in the Fourierist newspaper *Démocratie pacifique* in reply to an unsigned item, written by Lamartine, which appeared on December 10, 1843, in the newspaper *Bien Public*. p. 132

[17] This refers to a letter of November 16, from Leipzig, which was published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* on November 20, 1843. p. 132

[18] These letters written by Marx form part of his correspondence with Ruge at the time of their preparations for publishing the journal *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*; they were published in the journal in the section "From the Correspondence of 1843", where letters by Ruge, Bakunin and Feuerbach were also printed. In these letters Marx in fact formulated his revolutionary views on the programme of the journal which went further than the tasks of disseminating abstract philosophical ideas and bourgeois-democratic political views, set by its other editor, Ruge.

Marx's letters to Ruge from the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* were first published in English in the book *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, New York, 1967.

Despite considerable organisational and material difficulties (the journal was edited in Paris and printed in Zurich) the editorial board managed to put out the first double issue (No. 1-2) of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* at the end of February 1844. The main trend of the journal was determined by Marx's letters and articles ("On the Jewish Question", "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction") and Engels' articles ("Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy", "The Condition of England. *Past and Present* by Thomas Carlyle"), which were published in it and were imbued with revolutionary-communist spirit. However, the publication of the journal was discontinued (for the reason see this volume, p. 188, and Note 36).

By its sharp political presentation of material the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* attracted the attention of the progressive sections of society in Germany, France and other countries but at the same time evoked indignation of the conservative press. On March 10, 1844, the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* wrote: "The criticism to which the new Paris journal resorts knows no mercy, in its polemics it disregards all aesthetic standards, and its satirical tone, though it does not stab like a dagger, punches like a huge fist." The Prussian Government considered the political line of the journal extremely "dangerous", banned its import to Germany and issued warrants for the arrest of Marx, Ruge, Heine and the other contributors in the event of their coming to Prussia. About two-thirds out of the total of three thousand copies fell into the hands of the police. p. 133

[19] This figure of speech was used by analogy with the satirical poem of the German humanist Sebastian Brant, *Das Narrenschiff* (The Ship of Fools), published in 1494. In a letter to Ruge in May 1843 Marx repeated this metaphor (see p. 139 of this volume). p. 134

[20] In a letter to Marx written from Berlin in March 1843, Ruge complained about the absence of any signs of revolutionary ferment in Germany, about the spirit of servility, submission to despotism and allegiance that had been prevalent in the country for many years. This letter was published in the section "From the Correspondence of 1843" in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher.* p. 134

[21] Marx alludes to the patronage and support which Frederick William IV, while still Crown Prince, extended to the journal *Berliner politisches Wochenblatt* (1831-41) which was the mouthpiece for the ideas of feudal reaction and conservative romanticism.

The coronation of Frederick William IV, which took place on June 7, 1840, in Königsberg, was surrounded with the pageantry of medieval knighthood. p. 139

[22] In a letter to Marx in August 1843 (published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*) Ruge informed him of the final decision to have the journal published in Paris. Earlier there had been no unanimity on this point, besides Paris other places had been suggested, in particular Switzerland and Strasbourg. p. 142

[23] Marx's departure for Paris was delayed. He arrived there with Jenny at the end of October 1843. p. 142

[24] This article was written in reply to the Young Hegelian Bruno Bauer, who in his works on this subject reduced the problem of the emancipation of the Jews to their emancipation from Judaism. Being an idealist, Bauer considered the overcoming of religious prejudices as the decisive means for eliminating national contradictions. Polemics with him over this question provided Marx with an occasion for considering from the materialist point of view the broader problem of emancipating not only the Jews but the whole of mankind from economic, political and religious fetters.

When quoting from the works of Bruno Bauer and others Marx sometimes slightly departs from the text of the source; the emphasis, as a rule, is Marx's, but in quoting from Hegel's book *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts* he reproduces also the author's emphasis. Quotations from books and documents in French are given by Marx in the French language. In the present work these are given in French in the text, and the corresponding English texts are given in the footnotes.

The first English translation of this article was published in the book: Karl Marx, *Selected Essays*; London, Parsons, 1926. p. 146

[25] The text of the French Constitution of 1791 (which was preceded by the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen) is quoted by Marx from the book: W. Wachsmuth, *Geschichte Frankreichs im Revolutionszeitalter*, Bd. 1, Hamburg, 1840 (documents in the book are cited in French). Excerpts from the Constitution of 1793 are quoted from the documentary publication in many volumes by P. J. B. Buchez and P. C. Roux entitled *Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française*, Vol. 31, Paris, 1837. Below, when quoting constitutional documents of the period of the French Revolution, Marx uses the same sources, mainly the work of Buchez and Roux. p. 161

[26] The quotation from the Constitution of 1795 is taken from Vol. 36 of the *Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française* by P. J. B. Buchez and P. C. Roux. p. 163

[27] The first quotation is taken from the book: W. Wachsmuth, *Geschichte Frankreichs im Revolutionszeitalter*, the second from Vol. 31 of the *Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française* by P. J. B. Buchez and P. C. Roux. p. 164

[28] Quoted from Thomas Münzer's pamphlet directed against Martin Luther: *Hoch verursachte Schutzrede und Antwort wider das geistlose, sanftlebende Fleisch zu Wittenberg, welches mit verkehrter Weise durch den Diebstahl der heiligen Schrift die erbärmliche Christenheit also ganz jämmerlich besudelt hat.* The pamphlet was published in 1524. Marx quotes it from Leopold Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation*, Berlin, 1839. p. 172

[29] According to Marx's intention, this article was to serve as an introductory section to a detailed work in which he planned to make a critical analysis of Hegel's idealist philosophy and political views (see Note 1). While working on the "Introduction" Marx did not confine himself to the criticism of Hegel's philosophy; he set himself the task of defining his attitude not only to the existing ideological trends but also to the actual revolutionary processes.

The first English translation of this work was published in the book: Karl Marx, *Selected Essays*, London, Parsons, 1926. p. 175

[30] This remark testifies to Marx's intention to complete his criticism of the Hegelian philosophy of law which he had begun earlier, to finish and prepare for publication the rough draft of the manuscript of 1843 on this subject. However, after the publication of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* had been discontinued, Marx gradually abandoned his plan because he was busy with other work, primarily, the study of economic relations. Marx also had other reasons, which he mentioned in the Preface to the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, namely, his dissatisfaction with the chosen form of combining a criticism of Hegel's views on different subjects with a critical analysis of these subjects as such, his growing conviction that in this form his work would give "the impression of arbitrary systematism" (see p. 231 of this volume).

Proceeding from these considerations, Marx arrived at the conclusion that it would be better to give a critical analysis of law, ethics, politics, etc., in separate booklets and to crown it all with a critical work summing up his views on the idealist, speculative philosophy. Soon, however, the need arose of first coming out against the Young Hegelians and Marx's plans again underwent a change. He began to connect his elaboration of the principles of a new, revolutionary-materialist world outlook primarily with a criticism of the idealist world outlook of the Young Hegelians and other representatives of German bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. This task was fulfilled by Marx and Engels in their joint works: *The Holy Family* and *The German Ideology*. p. 176

[31] The *historical school of law*—a trend in the historical and legal science which arose in Germany at the end of the 18th century. The representatives of this school (Gustav Hugo, Friedrich Karl von Savigny and others) attempted to justify the privileges of the nobility and feudal institutions on the grounds of stability of historical traditions. For a description of this school see Marx's article "The Philosophical Manifesto of the Historical School of Law" (this edition, Vol. 1). p. 177

[32] This refers to the liberal circles of Germany, representatives of the liberal opposition in the Landtags, liberal publicists of various descriptions, and others, who demanded constitutional reforms. p. 180

[33] This refers to the Young Hegelians. They drew radical atheistic conclusions from Hegel's philosophy but at the same time detached philosophy from reality and turned it into a self-contained and determining force. In fact the Young Hegelians were withdrawing more and more from the practical revolutionary struggle. p. 181

[34] The *September laws* promulgated by the French Government in September 1835 restricted the rights of the jury and introduced severe measures against the press. They provided for increased money deposits for periodical publications and introduced imprisonment and large fines for publishing statements against private property and the existing state system. The enactment of these laws in conditions of the July constitutional monarchy, which formally proclaimed freedom of the press, emphasised the anti-democratic nature and hypocrisy of the bourgeois system. p. 184

[35] The *Holy Roman Empire of the German nation* (962-1806) comprised at different times German, Italian, Austrian, Hungarian and Czech lands, Switzerland and the Netherlands and was a loose confederation of feudal kingdoms and principalities, church domains and free cities with different political systems, laws and traditions. p. 184

[36] The printing of the journal was carried out in Zurich by the publishing house Das literarische Comptoir founded by Julius Fröbel in 1842. Besides the reason mentioned in the letter, disagreements between Marx and Arnold Ruge were largely responsible for the journal ceasing to be published. These disagreements boiled down to the fact that the bourgeois radical Ruge opposed Marx's revolutionary-communist world outlook. The final break between Marx and Ruge took place in March 1844. Ruge's hostile attitude towards the revolutionary struggle of the masses, which became evident at the time of the Silesian uprising of June 1844, induced Marx to come out in the press against his former co-editor. p. 188

[37] This article was written in reply to Ruge's article signed "Ein Preusse", which was published in the newspaper *Vorwärts!* on July 27, 1844, under the title "Der König von Preussen und die Sozialreform". In his article Ruge represented the Silesian weavers' uprising (June 4-6, 1844) as a futile revolt of the helpless poor people driven to despair. Unlike Ruge, Marx saw it as the first big battle of the German proletariat against the bourgeoisie, as the manifestation of the growth of class-consciousness of the German workers.

With the publication of this article, Marx began to contribute to the newspaper *Vorwärts!*, which prior to that, during the initial period of its publication—from early 1844 to the summer of the same year—was of a moderate liberal trend due to the influence of its publisher, the German businessman Heinrich Börnstein, and its editor Adalbert von Bornstedt. However, when a friend of Marx, Karl Bernays, a revolutionary-minded radical, became its editor in the summer of 1844, the newspaper began to assume a democratic character. Having become a contributor to the newspaper, Marx began to influence its editorial policy and in September became one of its editors. On his proposal Engels, who had published in it two articles in the series "The Condition of England", was also included on the editorial board. Among its other contributors were Heine, Herwegh, Ewerbeck and Bakunin. Under Marx's influence the newspaper began to express communist views. It sharply criticised Prussian absolutism and moderate German liberalism. To comply with the demand of the Prussian Government, the Guizot ministry took repressive measures against its editors and contributors in January 1845 and its publication ceased.

In the quotations from the article by Ruge the emphasis is Marx's. Works of other authors—French and English (in their publications in French)—were quoted by Marx in German, apparently in his own translation.

This article was first published in English in the book: Karl Marx, *Selected Essays*, London, Parsons, 1926. p. 189

[38] The editorial of the French democratic newspaper *La Réforme* of July 20, 1844, dealt with the Cabinet order of the Prussian King Frederick William IV to display concern for the poor. This Cabinet order was prompted by the fear caused by the Silesian weavers' uprising. The author of the article was inclined to take the Prussian King's demagogy for a serious intention to carry out social reforms. p. 189

[39] Marx refers to the Cabinet order of the Prussian King Frederick William IV of July 18, 1843, issued in connection with the participation of government officials in a banquet arranged in Düsseldorf by the liberals to mark the seventh Rhenish Landtag; the order prohibited the government officials to take part in manifestations of this kind. p. 190

[40] This refers to the *Corn Laws*—a series of laws in England (the first of which dated back to the 15th century) which imposed high duties on imported corn with the aim of maintaining high prices on it on the home market. In the first third of the 19th century several laws were passed (in 1815, 1822 and later) changing the conditions of corn imports, and in 1828 a sliding-scale was introduced, which raised import duties on corn when prices fell on the home market and, vice versa, lowered import duties when prices rose.

In 1838 the Manchester factory owners Cobden and Bright founded the Anti-Corn Law League, which widely exploited the popular discontent at rising corn prices. While agitating for the abolition of the corn duties and demanding complete freedom of trade, the League strove to weaken the economic and political positions of the landed aristocracy and to lower workers' wages.

The struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the Corn Laws ended in their repeal in 1846. p. 192

[41] Marx quotes Francis Bacon according to the French translation of McCulloch's book *A Discourse on the Rise, Progress, Peculiar Objects, and Importance, of Political Economy* (J. R. MacCulloch, *Discours sur l'origine, les progrès, les objets particuliers, et l'importance de l'économie politique*, Genève-Paris, 1825, pp. 131-32). p. 193

[42] This quotation from Dr. Kay's pamphlet published anonymously in 1839 is cited by Marx in his own free translation with omissions from the two-volume edition of Eugène Buret, *De la misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France...*, T. 1, pp. 396, 398, 401. p. 193

[43] The decree of the National Convention of May 11 (22 Floréal), 1794, ordered the compilation of a *Livre de la bienfaisance nationale* (Book of National Charity) in which were to be entered invalids, orphans, the incapacitated and so forth, who were entitled to certain grants. It was one of the palliative measures for fighting the misery of the popular masses, introduced by the Jacobin government before its fall on July 27 (9 Thermidor), 1794.

The irruption of a crowd of hungry women into the building of the National Convention on May 20 (1 Prairial), 1795, marked the beginning of an uprising by the plebeian and proletarian masses of Paris against the Thermidor reaction; they put forward the slogan, "Bread and the Constitution of 1793!" Like the

preceding uprising in Germinal (April) of the same year, the Prairial uprising was suppressed by military force. p. 197

[44] Marx refers to the revolutionary song *Das Blutgericht* which was popular among the Silesian weavers on the eve of the revolt. p. 201

[45] This refers to the revolts of the Lyons weavers in November 1831 and April 1834. p. 204

[46] The Cabinet order of Frederick William IV quoted here and below was published on August 9, 1844, in the *Allgemeine Preussische Zeitung*. It was caused by an abortive attempt on the life of the king on July 26, 1844, in Berlin, by the former burgomaster of the town of Storkow, H. L. Tschech, acting on personal grounds. p. 207

[47] This refers to the proposals submitted by the Prussian diplomat Bunsen to Frederick William IV in the spring and summer of 1844 concerning the proposed reform of the Prussian political system. According to Bunsen, his project was drawn up in "the monarchical and conservative spirit" and provided for the institution of an English-type bicameral Prussian parliament (Landtag) with an aristocratic upper chamber and a lower chamber elected on the estates principle. p. 210

[48] These comments are made by Marx in his conspectus of James Mill's book *Elements of Political Economy* (Marx used the French translation published in 1823 under the title *Élémens d'économie politique*), which forms part of the fourth and fifth of the nine notebooks of excerpts made by Marx during his stay in Paris from the end of 1843 till January 1845. The Paris Notebooks reflect Marx's intense work on political economy. The books summarised by Marx include works by J. B. Say, Adam Smith, David Ricardo, McCulloch, James Mill, Destutt de Tracy, Sismondi, Jeremy Bentham, Boisguillebert, Lauderdale, Schütz, List, Skarbek and Buret. At the time Marx used mainly French translations of the English authors. In a number of his conspectuses Marx added his own comments to the excerpts or to his summaries of passages from the books he was studying. However, most of these comments are of a fragmentary nature. Many ideas set forth in them are reproduced in one form or another, and frequently in a more developed form, in the extant sections of the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*. The most detailed and systematised comments are those from his conspectus of Mill's book, which form two lengthy digressions from the text he was summarising. In their ideas they are close to the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* and it is possible that they anticipated the thoughts expounded in the missing pages of the second manuscript of this work.

The first author's digression in the conspectus follows a considerable number of excerpts from Mill's book, which, like the other excerpts or summaries of passages in the concluding part of the conspectus, are not given in this edition. The full text of the conspectus was published in: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Erste Abteilung, Band 3, Berlin, 1932. However, the excerpts from Mill' book made by Marx in between these two digressions, which by their content constitute a link between these comments, are published in full. Marx quotes excerpts from Mill's book and from other French publications partly in French, but mainly in his own translation into German, alternating German text with French. In the present edition the texts quoted or paraphrased by Marx are given in English, exact quotations are reproduced from the original edition:

James Mill, *Elements of Political Economy*, London, 1821. The emphasis in the quotations is Marx's.

The first English translation of this article was published, in part, in the book: *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, New York, 1967.

p. 211

[49] The text of this comment in the conspectus is immediately preceded by the following excerpts from James Mill's book:

"...A medium of exchange ... is some one commodity, which, in order to effect an exchange between two other commodities, is first received in exchange for the one, and is then given in exchange for the other." (P. 93.) Gold, silver, *money*.

"By *value of money*, is here to be understood the proportion in which it exchanges for other commodities, or the quantity of it which exchanges for a certain quantity of other things."

"This proportion is determined by the *total* amount of money existing in a given country." (P. 95.)

"What regulates the quantity of money?"

"Money is made under two sets of circumstances: Government either leaves the increase or diminution of it free; or it controls the quantity, making it greater or smaller as it pleases.

"When the increase or diminution of money is left free, government opens the mint to the public, making bullion into money for as many as require it. Individuals possessed of bullion will desire to convert it into money only when it is their interest to do so; that is, when their bullion, converted into money, will be more valuable than in its original form. This can only happen when money is peculiarly valuable, and when the same quantity of metal, in the state of coin, will exchange for a greater quantity of other articles than in the state of bullion. As the value of money depends upon the quantity of it, it has a greater value when it is in short supply. It is then that bullion is made into coin. But precisely because of this conversion, the old ratio is restored. Therefore, if the value of money rises above that of the metal of which it is made, the interest of individuals operates immediately, in a state of freedom, to restore the balance by augmenting the quantity of money." (Pp. 99-101.)

"Whenever the coining of money, therefore, is free, its quantity is regulated by the value of the metal, it being the interest of individuals to increase or diminish the quantity, in proportion as the value of the metal in coins is greater or less than its value in bullion.

"But if the *quantity of money* is determined by the *value of the metal*, it is still necessary to inquire what it is which determines the value of the metal.... Gold and silver are in reality commodities. They are commodities for the attaining of which labour and capital must be employed. It is cost of production, therefore, which determines the value of these, as of other ordinary productions." (P. 101.)

p. 211

[50] The *monetary system*—an early type of mercantilism. Its adherents believed that wealth consisted in money, in amassing bullion reserves, hence the prohibition of gold and silver exports, the policy of securing an active trade balance.

p. 213

[51] This passage (which in the original reads as follows: "Durch die wechselseitige Entäusserung oder Entfremdung des Privateigentums ist das *Privateigentum* selbst in die Bestimmung des *entäusserten* Privateigentums geraten") shows that when using the terms "Entäusserung" and "Entfremdung" to denote alienation

Marx imparted to them an identical or nearly identical meaning. On the translation of these terms in this edition see Note 1. p. 219

[52] This refers primarily to James Mill, who divided his system of political economy into four independent sections: Production, Distribution, Exchange and Consumption. p. 221

[53] The rest of the conspectus contains further excerpts from Mill's book. Concerning his excerpts from pages 261-66, on which Mill examines the question of the rent of land, profit on capital and wages as sources of taxation and the state revenue, Marx made the following brief comment:

"Es versteht sich, dass Mill wie Ricardo dagegen protestiert, irgend einem Gouvernement den Gedanken einflössen zu wollen, die Grundrente zur einzigen Quelle der Steuern zu machen, da sie parteiisch ungerechte Belastung einer besonder Klasse von Individuen. *Aber*—und dies ist ein gewichtiges heimtückisches Aber—aber die Steuer auf die Grundrente ist die einzige, vom nationalökonomischen Standpunkt aus nicht *schädliche*, also die einzig *nationalökonomisch gerechte Steuer*. Ja, das einzige Bedenken, was die Nationalökonomie aufstellt, ist mehr anlockend als abschreckend, nämlich: dass in einem selbst nur gewöhnlich bevölkerten und ausgedehnten Lande, die Höhe der Grundrente das Bedürfnis der Regierung übersteigen würde." ("Needless to say, Mill, like Ricardo, denies that he wishes to impress on any government the idea that land rent should be made the sole source of taxes, since this would be a partisan measure placing an unfair burden on a particular class of individuals. *But*—and this is a momentous, insidious but—but the tax on land rent is the only tax that is not *harmful* from the standpoint of political economy, hence the only *just tax from the point of view of political economy*. Indeed, the one doubt raised by political economy is rather an attraction than a cause for apprehension, namely, that even in a country with an ordinary number of population and of ordinary size the amount yielded by land rent would exceed the needs of the government.") p. 228

[54] The *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* is the first work in which Marx tried to systematically elaborate problems of political economy from the standpoint of his maturing dialectical-materialist and communist views and also to synthesise the results of his critical review of prevailing philosophic and economic theories. Apparently, Marx began to write it in order to clarify the problems for himself. But in the process of working on it he conceived the idea of publishing a work analysing the economic system of bourgeois society in his time and its ideological trends. Towards the end of his stay in Paris, on February 1, 1845, Marx signed a contract with Carl Leske, a Darmstadt publisher, concerning the publication of his work entitled *A Critique of Politics and of Political Economy*. It was to be based on his *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* and perhaps also on his earlier manuscript *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law*. This plan did not materialise in the 1840s because Marx was busy writing other works and, to some extent, because the contract with the publisher was cancelled in September 1846, the latter being afraid to have transactions with such a revolutionary-minded author. However, in the early 1850s Marx returned to the idea of writing a book on economics. Thus, the manuscripts of 1844 are connected with the conception of a plan which led many years later to the writing of *Capital*.

The *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* is an unfinished work and in part a rough draft. A considerable part of the text has not been preserved. What

remains comprises three manuscripts, each of which has its own pagination (in Roman figures). The first manuscript contains 27 pages, of which pages I-XII and XVII-XXVII are divided by two vertical lines into three columns supplied with headings written in beforehand: "Wages of Labour", "Profit of Capital" (this section has also subheadings supplied by the author) and "Rent of Land". It is difficult to tell the order in which Marx filled these columns. All the three columns on p. VII contain the text relating to the section "Wages of Labour". Pages XIII to XVI are divided into two columns and contain texts of the sections "Wages of Labour" (pp. XIII-XV), "Profit of Capital" (pp. XIII-XVI) and "Rent of Land" (p. XVI). On pages XVII to XXI, only the column headed "Rent of Land" is filled in. From page XXII to page XXVII, on which the first manuscript breaks off, Marx wrote across the three columns disregarding the headings. The text of these pages is published as a separate section entitled by the editors according to its content "Estranged Labour".

Of the second manuscript only the last four pages have survived (pp. XL-XLIII).

The third manuscript contains 41 pages (not counting blank ones) divided into two columns and numbered by Marx himself from I to XLIII (in doing so he omitted two numbers, XXII and XXV). Like the extant part of the second manuscript, the third manuscript has no author's headings; the text has been arranged and supplied with the headings by the editors.

Sometimes Marx departed from the subject-matter and interrupted his elucidation of one question to analyse another. Pages XXXIX-XL contain the Preface to the whole work which is given in the present volume before the text of the first manuscript. The text of the section dealing with the critical analysis of Hegel's dialectic, to which Marx referred in the Preface as the concluding chapter and which was scattered on various pages, is arranged in one section and put at the end in accordance with Marx's indications.

In order to give the reader a better visual idea of the structure of the work, the text reproduces in vertical lines the Roman numbers of the sheets of the manuscripts, and the Arabic numbers of the columns in the first manuscript. The notes indicate where the text has been rearranged. Passages crossed out by Marx with a vertical line are enclosed in pointed brackets; separate words or phrases crossed out by the author are given in footnotes only when they supplement the text. The general title and the headings of the various parts of the manuscripts enclosed in square brackets are supplied by the editors on the basis of the author's formulations. In some places the text has been broken up into paragraphs by the editors. Quotations from the French sources cited by Marx in French or in his own translation into German, are given in English in both cases and the French texts as quoted by Marx are given in the footnotes. Here and elsewhere Marx's rendering of the quotations or free translation is given in small type but without quotation marks. Emphasis in quotations, belonging, as a rule, to Marx, as well as that of the quoted authors, is indicated everywhere by italics.

The *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* was first published by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow in the language of the original: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Bd. 3, 1932.

In English this work was first published in 1959 by the Foreign Languages Publishing House (now Progress Publishers), Moscow, translated by Martin Milligan.

p. 229

[55] This refers to Bruno Bauer's reviews of books, articles and pamphlets on the Jewish question, including Marx's article on the subject in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, which were published in the monthly *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*

(issue No. I, December 1843, and issue No. IV, March 1844) under the title "Von den neuesten Schriften über die Judenfrage". Most of the expressions quoted are taken from these reviews. The expressions "utopian phrase" and "compact mass" can be found in Bruno Bauer's unsigned article, "Was ist jetzt der Gegenstand der Kritik?", published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, issue No. VIII, July 1844. A detailed critical appraisal of this monthly was later on given by Marx and Engels in the book *Die heilige Familie, oder Kritik der kritischen Kritik* (see this edition, Vol. 4, *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism*). p. 232

[56] Marx apparently refers to Weitling's works: *Die Menschheit, wie sie ist und wie sie sein sollte*, 1838, and *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit*, Vivis, 1842.

Moses Hess published three articles in the collection *Einundzwanzig Bogen aus der Schweiz* (Twenty-One Sheets from Switzerland), Erster Teil (Zürich und Winterthur, 1843), issued by Georg Herwegh. These articles, entitled "Sozialismus und Kommunismus", "Philosophie der Tat" and "Die Eine und die ganze Freiheit", were published anonymously. The first two of them had a note—"Written by the author of 'Europäische Triarchie'". p. 232

[57] The term "element" in the Hegelian philosophy means a vital element of thought. It is used to stress that thought is a process, and that therefore elements in a system of thought are also phases in a movement. The term "feeling" (Empfindung) denotes relatively low forms of mental life in which no distinction is made between the subjective and objective. p. 233

[58] Shortly after writing this Preface Marx fulfilled his intention in *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism*, written in collaboration with Engels (see this edition, Vol. 4). p. 234

[59] The expression "common humanity" (in the manuscript in French, "simple humanité") was borrowed by Marx from the first volume (Chapter VIII) of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, which he used in Garnier's French translation (*Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations*, Paris, 1802, t. I, p. 138). All the subsequent references were given by Marx to this publication, the synopsis of which is contained in his Paris Notebooks with excerpts on political economy. In the present volume wherever there are references to or quotations from this work by Adam Smith the corresponding pages of the English edition are given and references to Garnier's edition are reproduced in square brackets, e.g., Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Everyman's Library edition, Vol. I, pp. 58-60 [Garnier, t. I, pp. 132-36]. p. 235

[60] Marx uses the German term "Nationalökonomie" to denote both the economic system in the sense of science or theory, and the economic system itself. p. 239

[61] Loudon's work was a translation into French of an English manuscript apparently never published in the original. The author did publish in English a short pamphlet—*The Equilibrium of Population and Sustenance Demonstrated*, Leamington, 1836. p. 244

[62] Unlike the quotations from a number of other French writers such as Constantin Pecqueur and Eugène Buret, which Marx gives in French in this work, the excerpts from J. B. Say's book are given in his German translation. p. 247

[63] From this page of the manuscript quotations from Adam Smith's book (in the French translation), which Marx cited so far sometimes in French and sometimes

in German, are, as a rule, given in German. In this volume the corresponding pages of the English edition are substituted for the French by the editors and Marx's references are given in square brackets (see Note 59). p. 247

[64] The text published in small type here and below is not an exact quotation from Smith but a summary of the corresponding passages from his work. Such passages are subsequently given in small type but without quotation marks. p. 247

[65] The preceding page (VII) of the first manuscript does not contain any text relating to the sections "Profit of Capital" and "Rent of Land" (see Note 54). p. 251

[66] The whole paragraph, including the quotation from Ricardo's book in the French translation by Francisco Solano Constancio: *Des principes de l'économie politique, et de l'impôt*, 2-e éd., Paris, 1835, T. II, pp. 194-95 (see the corresponding English edition *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, London, 1817), and from Sismondi's *Nouveaux principes d'économie politique...*, Paris, 1819, T. II, p. 331, is an excerpt from Eugène Buret's book *De la misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France...*, Paris, 1840, T. I, pp. 6-7, note. p. 257

[67] The allusion is to the following passage: "In a perfectly fair lottery, those who draw the prizes ought to gain all that is lost by those who draw the blanks. In a profession where twenty fail for one that succeeds, that one ought to gain all that should have been gained by the unsuccessful twenty." (Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I, Bk. I, p. 94.) p. 258

[68] See Note 65. p. 262

[69] The *Corn Laws*—see Note 40. p. 263

[70] Pages XIII to XV are divided into two columns and not three like the other pages of the first manuscript; they contain no text relating to the section "Rent of Land". On page XVI, which also has two columns, this text is in the first column, while on the following pages it is in the second. p. 264

[71] Marx, still using Hegel's terminology and his approach to the unity of the opposites, counterposes the term "Verwirklichung" (realisation) to "Entwirklichung" (loss of realisation). p. 272

[72] Re the translation of the terms "Entfremdung" and "Entäusserung" which express the concept of alienation see Note 1. p. 272

[73] The term "species-being" (Gattungswesen) is derived from Ludwig Feuerbach's philosophy where it is applied to man and mankind as a whole. p. 275

[74] Apparently Marx refers to Proudhon's book *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?*, Paris, 1841. p. 280

[75] This passage shows that Marx here uses the category of wages in a broad sense, as an expression of antagonistic relations between the classes of capitalists and of wage-workers. Under "the wages" he understands "the wage-labour", the capitalist system as such. This idea was apparently elaborated in detail in that part of the manuscript which is not extant. p. 280

[76] This apparently refers to the conversion of individuals into members of civil society which is considered as the sphere of property, of material relations that determine all other relations. In this case Marx refers to the material rela-

tions of society based on private property and the antagonism of different classes. p. 281

[77] The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 deprived poor people considered able to work (including children) of any public relief except a place in the workhouse, where they were compelled to work. p. 284

[78] In the manuscript "sein für sich selbst" which is an expression of Hegel's term "für sich" (for itself) as opposed to "an sich" (in itself). In the Hegelian philosophy the former means roughly explicit, conscious or defined in contrast to "an sich", a synonym for immature, implicit or unconscious. p. 286

[79] This refers to *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*, par Camille Desmoulins. Second Trimestre, contenant mars, avril et mai, Paris, l'an 1ier ,1790, N. 16, p. 139 sq.; N. 23, p. 425 sqq.; N. 26, p. 580 sqq. p. 287

[80] This refers to Georg Ludwig Wilhelm Funke, *Die aus der unbeschränkten Theilbarkeit des Grundeigenthums hervorgehenden Nachtheile*, Hamburg und Gotha, 1839, p. 56, in which there is a reference to Heinrich Leo, *Studien und Skizzen zu einer Naturlehre des Staates*, Halle, 1833, p. 102. p. 287

[81] The third manuscript is a thick notebook the last few pages of which are blank. The pages are divided into two columns by a vertical line, not for the purpose of dividing the text according to the headings but for purely technical reasons. The text of the first three sections comprises pp. I-XI, XIV-XXI, XXXIV-XXXVIII and was written as a supplement to the missing pages of the second manuscript. Pages XI-XIII, XVII, XVIII, XXIII, XXIV, XXVI-XXXIV contain the text of the concluding chapter dealing with the criticism of Hegel's dialectic (on some pages it is written alongside the text of other sections). In some places the manuscript contains the author's remarks testifying to his intention to unite into a single whole various passages of this section separated from each other by the text of other sections. Pages XXIX-XL comprise the draft Preface. Finally, the text on the last pages (XLI-XLIII), is a self-contained essay on the power of money in bourgeois society. p. 290

[82] The manuscript has "als für sich seiende Tätigkeit". For the meaning of the terms "für sich" and "an sich" in Hegel's philosophy see Note 78. p. 290

[83] Marx refers to the rise of the primitive, crude equalitarian tendencies among the representatives of utopian communism at the early stages of its development. Among the medieval religious communistic communities, in particular, there was current a notion of the common possession of women as a feature of the future society depicted in the spirit of consumer communism ideals. In 1534-35 the German Anabaptists, who seized power in Münster, tried to introduce polygamy in accordance with this view. Tommaso Campanella, the author of *Civitas Solis* (early 17th century), rejected monogamy in his ideal society. The primitive communistic communities were also characterised by asceticism and a hostile attitude to science and works of art. Some of these primitive equalitarian features, the negative attitude to the arts in particular, were inherited by the communist trends of the first half of the 19th century, for example, by the members of the French secret societies of the 1830s and 1840s ("worker-egalitarians", "humanitarians", and so on) comprising the followers of Babeuf (for a characterisation of these see Engels, "Progress of Social Reform on the Continent", pp. 396-97 of this volume). p. 294

[84] This note is given by Marx on page V of the manuscript where it is separated by a horizontal line from the main text, but according to its meaning it refers to this sentence. p. 295

[85] This part of the manuscript shows clearly the peculiarity of the terminology used by Marx in his works. At the time he had not worked out terms adequately expressing the conceptions of scientific communism he was then evolving and was still under the influence of Feuerbach in that respect. Hence the difference in the use of words in his early and subsequent, mature writings. In the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* the word "socialism" is used to denote the stage of society at which it has carried out a revolutionary transformation, abolished private property, class antagonisms, alienation and so on. In the same sense Marx used the expression "communism equals humanism". At that time he understood the term "communism as such" not as the final goal of revolutionary transformation but as the process of this transformation, development leading up to that goal, a lower stage of the process. p. 304

[86] This expression apparently refers to the theory of the English geologist Sir Charles Lyell who, in his three-volume work *The Principles of Geology* (1830-33), proved the evolution of the earth's crust and refuted the popular theory of cataclysms. Lyell used the term "historical geology" for his theory. The term "geognosy" was introduced by the 18th-century German scientist Abraham Werner, a specialist in mineralogy, and it was used also by Alexander Humboldt. p. 305

[87] This statement is interpreted differently by researchers. Many of them maintain that Marx here meant crude equalitarian communism, such as that propounded by Babeuf and his followers. While recognising the historic role of that communism, he thought it impossible to ignore its weak points. It seems more justifiable, however, to interpret this passage proceeding from the peculiarity of terms used in the manuscript (see Note 85). Marx here used the term "communism" to mean not the higher phase of classless society (which he at the time denoted as "socialism" or "communism equalling humanism") but movement (in various forms, including primitive forms of equalitarian communism at the early stage) directed at its achievement, a revolutionary transformation process of transition to it. Marx emphasised that this process should not be considered as an end in itself, but that it is a necessary, though a transitional, stage in attaining the future social system, which will be characterised by new features distinct from those proper to this stage. p. 306

[88] Page XI (in part) and pages XII and XIII are taken up by a text relating to the concluding chapter (see Note 81). p. 306

[89] The greater part of this page as well as part of the preceding page (XVII) comprises a text relating to the concluding chapter (see Note 81). p. 312

[90] Apparently Marx refers to a formula of the German philosopher Fichte, an adherent of subjective idealism. p. 312

[91] The preceding pages starting from p. XXI, which is partly taken up by a text relating to this section, contain the text of the concluding chapter. p. 316

[92] In some of his early writings Marx already uses the term "bürgerliche Gesellschaft" to mean two things: (1) in a broader sense, the economic system of society regardless of the historical stage of its development, the sum total of material relations which determine political institutions and ideology, and (2) in the narrow sense, the material relations of bourgeois society (later on, that society as a whole), of capitalism. Hence, the term has been translated according

to its concrete meaning in the context as "civil society" in the first case and "bourgeois society" in the second. p. 317

[93] The two previous pages of the manuscript contain the draft Preface to the whole work, which is published on pages 231-34. p. 322

[94] *Ontology*—in some philosophical systems a theory about being, about the nature of things. p. 322

[95] Originally the section on the Hegelian dialectic was apparently conceived by Marx as a philosophical digression in the section of the third manuscript which is published under the heading "Private Property and Communism" and was written together with other sections as an addition to separate pages of the second manuscript (see pp. 293-306 of this volume). Therefore Marx marked the beginning of this section (p. XI in the manuscript) as point 6, considering it to be the continuation of the five points of the preceding section. He marked as point 7 the beginning of the following section, headed "Human Requirements and Division of Labour Under the Rule of Private Property", on page XIV of the manuscript. However, when dealing with this subject on subsequent pages of his manuscript, Marx decided to collect the whole material into a separate, concluding chapter and mentioned this in his draft Preface. The chapter, like a number of other sections of the manuscript, was not finished. While writing it, Marx made special excerpts from the last chapter ("Absolute Knowledge") of Hegel's *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, which are in the same notebook as the third manuscript (these excerpts are not reproduced in this edition). p. 326

[96] The reference is not quite accurate. On page 193 of the work mentioned, Bruno Bauer polemises not against the anti-Hegelian Herr Gruppe but against the Right Hegelian Marheineke. p. 327

[97] Marx here refers to Feuerbach's critical observations on Hegel in §§ 29-30 of his *Grundsätze der Philosophie der Zukunft*.

This note is given at the bottom of page XIII of the third manuscript without any indication what it refers to. The asterisk after the sentence to which it seems to refer is given by the editors. p. 329

[98] Here on page XVII of the third manuscript (part of which comprises a text relating to the section "Human Requirements and Division of Labour Under the Rule of Private Property") Marx gave the note: "see p. XIII", which proves that this text is the continuation of the section dealing with the critical analysis of the Hegelian dialectic begun on pp. XI-XIII. p. 331

[99] At the end of page XVIII of the third manuscript there is a note by Marx: "continued on p. XXII". However number XXII was omitted by Marx in paging (see Note 54). The text of the given chapter is continued on the page marked by the author as XXIII, which is also confirmed by his remark on it: "see p. XVIII". p. 332

[100] Marx apparently refers here not only to the identity of Hegel's views on labour and some other categories of political economy with those of the English classical economists but also to his profound knowledge of economic writings.

In lectures he delivered at Jena University in 1803-04 Hegel cited Adam Smith's work. In his *Philosophie des Rechts* (§ 189) he mentions Smith, Say and Ricardo and notes the rapid development of economic thought. p. 333

[101] Hegel uses the term "thinghood" (Dingheit) in his work *Phänomenologie des Geistes* to denote an abstract, universal, mediating link in the process of cognition; "thinghood" reveals the generality of the specific properties of individual things. The synonym for it is "pure essence" (das reine Wesen). p. 334

[102] These eight points of the "surmounting of the object of consciousness", expressed "in all its aspects", are copied nearly word for word from §§ 1 and 3 of the last chapter ("Absolute Knowledge") of Hegel's *Phänomenologie des Geistes*. p. 335

[103] Number XXV was omitted by Marx in paging the third manuscript. p. 335

[104] Marx refers to § 30 of Feuerbach's *Grundsätze der Philosophie der Zukunft*, which says: "Hegel is a thinker who *surpasses* himself in thinking". p. 339

[105] This enumeration gives the major categories of Hegel's *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften* in the order in which they are examined by Hegel. Similarly, the categories reproduced by Marx above (on p. 340) from "civil law" to "world history", are given in the order in which they appear in Hegel's *Philosophie des Rechts*. p. 341

[106] This letter was written soon after the termination of the talks which Marx had with Arnold Ruge from March to September 1843, on the question of publishing the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* (see Note 15). The letter was connected with Marx's intention to enlist advanced German and French intellectuals to contribute to the journal. At the end of October 1843 Marx went from Kreuznach to Paris, where the journal was to be published.

This letter was first published in English in abridged form in the book *Karl Marx. Early Texts*, translated and edited by David McLellan, Oxford, 1971. p. 349

[107] As follows from Feuerbach's reply to Marx on October 25, 1843, Feuerbach when mentioning a book against Schelling, which was soon to appear, referred not to his own work, but to that of his friend and follower Kapp: *Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling*, Leipzig, 1843. p. 349

[108] Marx ironically calls Schelling the 38th member of the German Confederation. The Confederation uniting 33 German states and 4 free cities was established at the 1815 Congress of Vienna with a view to ending feudal disunity in Germany. p. 349

[109] According to the Prussian censorship instructions all publications of 21 signatures and more were not subject to preliminary censorship. p. 350

[110] The reference is to German public opinion on the controversy over the book of the German theologian Paulus about Schelling's philosophy of revelation. After this book was published in 1843 Schelling brought in several law-suits against the author demanding that dues should be paid to him for quotations from his lectures. The proceedings were widely commented in the press. This incident prompted Heinrich Heine to write his satirical poem *Kirchenrat Prometheus*. p. 350

[111] Although in his letter of October 25, 1843, Feuerbach fully agreed with the appraisal of the political tendencies of Schelling's philosophy given by Marx in his letter, he nevertheless refused to send an article on Schelling for the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* on the plea that he was occupied with other plans. p. 351

[112] This letter concerns the circumstances of publication of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* which was printed in the printshop of the publisher Fröbel. Apparently some of the manuscripts were forwarded directly to Fröbel. p. 351

[113] See Note 111. p. 352

[114] This letter was first published in English in the book: *Karl Marx. Early Texts*, translated and edited by David McLellan, Oxford, 1971. p. 354

[115] The English translation of Feuerbach's *Wesen des Christenthums* was apparently never published. The French translation was published in the book: A. H. Ewerbeck, *Qu'est-ce que la religion d'après la nouvelle philosophie allemande*, Paris, 1850. p. 354

[116] The statements quoted here and some lines below were taken by Marx from articles published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, issues V and VI, 1844. Marx criticised them in chapters seven and nine of *The Holy Family* (see this edition, Vol. 4). p. 356

[117] The summary of the first volume of the Jacobin Levasseur's *Memoirs* was compiled by Marx in connection with his plans to write a work on the history of the French Revolution. Marx began to be interested in the revolutionary events in France at the end of the eighteenth century as early as the summer of 1843, as can be seen from his excerpts from special works on this subject by the German historians Wachsmuth and Ludwig contained in the Kreuznach Notebooks. As evidenced by A. Ruge (Ruge's letters to Feuerbach of May 15, 1844, to Fleischer of May 20 and July 9, 1844—see *A. Ruges Briefwechsel und Tagebuchblätter*, Bd. I, Berlin, 1886), after he had moved to Paris in the autumn of 1843, Marx planned to write a work on the history of the French Convention. He worked on it during several months of 1844, reading a lot of material, including the press of the time, memoirs of contemporaries, etc. In 1845 the radical *Trier'sche Zeitung* also wrote about these plans of Marx, which were never realised, in connection with Marx's banishment from France. Excerpts from Levasseur's *Memoirs* were published in the newspaper *Vorwärts!* in 1844, evidently on Marx's advice.

The time when this conspectus was compiled apparently coincided with the beginning of Marx's economic research: it is contained in the third notebook of the series with excerpts from the works of economists which Marx made since his arrival in Paris to August 1844. Besides the summary of Levasseur's *Memoirs*, the notebook contains the end of the excerpts from the French translation of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* begun in the second notebook.

The pages of the notebook are divided into two columns by a vertical line. On the left-hand side Marx wrote direct quotations from the book in French (only one quotation is in German) or gave brief rendering in German of separate passages. Marx's own text consists of laconic comments and references which are typed in long primer in this edition. On the right-hand side there is more coherent rendering of the book's contents to which Marx gave the title: "The Struggle Between the Montagnards and the Girondists". The whole text is in

German with the exception of some French terms and expressions which are given in the original in this edition. In some cases, especially when assessing events and public figures, Marx also quotes from Levasseur's text word for word or almost word for word in German. These passages are typed in small type (the quotation marks being the editors').

In this edition we publish first the text of the left columns under the subheading "Excerpts", and then the text of the summary proper, written in the right columns. The italics are Marx's. p. 361

[118] On June 20, 1792, a mass manifestation took place in Paris in front of the Legislative Assembly and the royal palace of the Tuileries. The participants demanded cancellation of the royal veto on the decree of the establishment of a camp of Marseilles volunteers (fédérés) near Paris and restoration to their ministerial posts of the Girondist leaders dismissed by the king. The actual refusal to meet these demands made the atmosphere still more tense. The Mayor of Paris, the Girondist Pétion, dismissed from his post for supporting the manifestation, was recalled under the pressure of the Parisian sections in mid-July 1792. During the month of July 1792, despite the royal veto, detachments of fédérés continued to arrive in Paris from Marseilles and other towns. This strengthened the movement for the abolition of the monarchy and made for an energetic rebuff to the external enemies of the revolution. p. 361

[119] On April 20, 1792, the Legislative Assembly voted the decree on the declaration of war on Austria, which marked the beginning of revolutionary France's prolonged armed struggle against the coalition of counter-revolutionary states. This act was preceded by intense war propaganda on the part of the Jacobin Club (Appeals of February 15 and 17, 1792) conducted under the influence of Girondists. Representatives of the Left wing of the Club (Robespierre and others), on the contrary, considered it necessary to put off as long as possible the inevitable military conflict with the aim of gaining time for strengthening revolutionary order.

The *Jacobin Club* ("Société des amis de la constitution") founded in October 1789, initially united the representatives of different political trends in the anti-absolutist camp. In July 1791, following the internal struggle, the moderate constitutionalists left the Club, and after the uprising of August 10, 1792, the Girondists followed suit. The influence of the revolutionary-democratic circles (Jacobins) then prevailed entirely. Having become their party centre, the Club, with its branches in the provinces, played an outstanding part in making revolutionary transformations. p. 362

[120] On the page mentioned Levasseur writes about the ambiguous position of General Lafayette, one of the leaders of the moderate liberal constitutionalists, on the eve of the uprising of August 10, 1792. He enjoyed the confidence neither of the royal court nor of the revolutionary-patriotic camp. p. 362

[121] *August 10, 1792*—the day of the overthrow of the monarchy in France as a result of a popular uprising. p. 362

[122] *Interregnum*—the period between the uprising of August 10, 1792, and the convocation of the Convention on September 20, 1792, lasting 42 days (the first open session was held on the 21st of September). It was marked by acute struggle between the Legislative Assembly and the revolutionary Paris Commune, which was formed instead of the former municipal council during the uprising of August 10 and directed the actions of the insurgents. p. 362

[123] The *Convention Committee* consisted of a President to be re-elected every fortnight and six secretaries. p. 362

[124] *Feuillants*—moderate liberal constitutionalists whose representatives (the Lameth brothers and others) left the Jacobin Club on July 16, 1791, after it adopted a petition for the dethroning of the king (see Note 119), and formed their own political club (they met in a house formerly occupied by the religious order bearing the name of the Feuillants, which was abolished in 1789). Having a considerable influence among the members of the Legislative Assembly, they strove in the interests of the big bourgeoisie and the liberal nobility to prevent the development of the revolution. p. 363

[125] On these pages Levasseur refutes the Girondists' accusations against the leaders of the Montagnards that they had been bribed by the émigrés and foreign agents. He characterises Danton, Robespierre and Marat (the latter with the reservation that he does not agree with his "wild" theories) as unselfish leaders devoted to the revolution. p. 363

[126] On these pages Levasseur cites Marat's speech in his self-defence in the Convention on September 25, 1792. In this speech Marat succeeded in proving the groundlessness of the Girondist accusation of incitement to revolt against the Convention and in defeating the proposal that his activity should be censured. Although Levasseur disliked Marat, he was compelled to admit the courage and composure with which he fought this campaign of slander and hatred launched by his opponents. p. 364

[127] In Levasseur's book: "It was difficult for the long-winded and garrulous eloquence of the latter to compete with the empty trumpery of Louvet." Further Levasseur speaks about the unsubstantiated accusations that Robespierre aimed at dictatorship and instigated reprisals against royalist prisoners in September 1792. In his speech in the Convention on November 5, 1792, Robespierre fully disproved these Girondist insinuations. p. 365

[128] The discussion of Buzot's proposal which envisaged that the decree on the expatriation of the dethroned Bourbons should apply to the secondary branch of the dynasty as well—the family of the Duke of Orléans—was postponed by a majority vote. Levasseur states that many members of the Convention feared that expatriation of the former Duke of Orléans, Philippe Égalité, would be a dangerous precedent of violating a deputy's immunity. p. 365

[129] On these pages Levasseur characterises the Girondists as a party whose activity objectively played into the hands of counter-revolutionary forces. "Though they were ardent republicans, they, unfortunately, fought on the side of the royalists, and, what is worse, concealed some of the royalists amidst themselves." p. 365

[130] On *September 2-5, 1792*, when the enemy armies were launching an offensive, in an atmosphere of disturbing rumours of counter-revolutionary conspiracies and preparations of reprisals against the families of patriots who fought the foreign enemies, the popular masses of Paris stormed the prisons, organised improvised courts and executed about a thousand prisoners who were supporters of the monarchy. These spontaneous terroristic actions of the people were used by the Girondists to accuse the Jacobins of organising the September massacres. p. 366

[131] The question of *performance of religious rites* arose in the Convention in connection with the discussion of the report on the primary education on December 12 and 14, 1792. The proposal to introduce religious education in the primary schools was rejected during the debate, but at the same time prominent Montagnard leaders (Robespierre, Danton) came out against some deputies who proposed the general prohibition of religious rites.

Under the *Decree on Means of Subsistence* is meant the repeal of the corn trade restrictions and the decision on the armed suppression of the movement for fixed prices adopted by the Convention under pressure of the Girondists in December 1792. These measures strongly infringed the interests of the masses who were suffering from shortage of food and the soaring prices. During this period the Montagnards did not support the popular demands for fixed prices on bread and other products but at the same time they rejected the principle of unrestricted freedom of trade upheld by the Girondists. Thus, speaking on the food question on December 2, 1792, Levasseur advocated the necessity of compulsory measures against sabotage by the farmers and grain merchants.

p. 371

[132] On *March 10, 1793*, representatives of the most radical plebeian trend in the revolutionary camp, called "les enragés", who wanted fixed prices, social measures against poverty, punishment of profiteers, etc., attempted to stir up a rebellion. Participants in the rebellion, during which two Girondist printshops were smashed up, wrote a petition in which they demanded the expulsion of the Girondists from the Convention. However, not being supported by the Jacobins, who were afraid to oppose the Girondists openly, "les enragés" did not attain their goal.

The *Cordelier Club* ("Société des amis droits de l'homme et du citoyen")—one of the most radical democratic organisations during the French Revolution, founded in 1790. The Left-wing Jacobins had a majority in the Club. Despite the fact that "les enragés" took part in its activities, it did not support their action of March 10, 1793. p. 372

[133] On *May 31* and *June 2, 1793*, a popular uprising took place in Paris resulting in the expulsion of the Girondists from the Convention. A revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the Jacobins supported by the masses was established. The success of the uprising was achieved through the unity of the revolutionary forces (Jacobins, "les enragés") in their struggle against the political supremacy of the Girondist Party which became an exponent of the counter-revolutionary tendencies of the big bourgeoisie. p. 373

[134] According to Levasseur's statement Danton described Dumouriez as an extremely talented general, but having political convictions which were doubtful from the point of view of the republicans. Danton pointed to Dumouriez' extreme ambition, his obvious reluctance to submit to the Convention's control and his tendency to surround himself with flatterers and plotters. p. 373

[135] The aggravation of the food crisis, the growing discontent of the masses and the agitation of "les enragés" for fixed prices compelled the Convention to discuss the food question again in the spring of 1793. Taking into consideration the sentiments of the people, the Jacobins this time spoke in favour of fixing the *maximum* prices on corn. Despite the Girondists' resistance the decree on maximum corn prices was adopted on May 4, 1793. p. 373

[136] The summary of Engels' article "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy" is in the fifth notebook of excerpts from the works of economists made by Marx when he was in Paris (concerning the Paris Notebooks see Note 48). The conspectuses and excerpts in the fifth notebook were probably made in the first half of 1844. p. 375

[137] *Letters from London*—a series of articles written by Engels and printed in May-June 1843 in the progressive journal *Schweizerischer Republikaner* published by German emigrants (Fröbel and others) in Zurich. They were actually the continuation of Engels' reports on the social and political conflicts in England which he published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* at the end of 1842, soon after his arrival in that country (see this edition, Vol. 2). In early 1843 Engels temporarily interrupted his activity as a journalist owing, on the one hand, to his intensive study of social conditions in England, the English labour movement and English socialist literature and, on the other, to the closure of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in the spring of 1843. Later, especially from the autumn of 1843, Engels began to contribute to the labour and socialist newspapers in England and on the Continent.

Only the fourth article from the series *Letters from London* was published in English, in the collection: Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Moscow, 1971. p. 379

[138] The *Anti-Corn Law League*—see Note 40. p. 379

[139] The *People's Charter*, containing the demands of the Chartists, was published on May 8, 1838, in the form of a bill to be submitted to Parliament. It consisted of six points: universal suffrage (for men over 21), annual parliaments, vote by ballot, equal electoral districts, abolition of the property qualifications for M. P.s, and remuneration of M.P.s. p. 379

[140] The English edition of Strauss' book *Das Leben Jesu* was put out by Hetherington Publishers in 1842 in weekly instalments. p. 380

[141] Graham's Bill "For Regulating the Employment of Children and Young Persons in Factories, and for the Better Education of Children in Factory Districts" was submitted to the House of Commons on March 7, 1843 (see *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*: Third series, Vol. LXVII, Second Volume of the Session, London, 1843, p. 422 sqq.). p. 381

[142] Engels quotes from an article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 110, April 20, 1843, datelined: "London, 13 April". p. 382

[143] The *National Charter Association*, founded in July 1840, was the first mass workers' party in the history of the labour movement, numbering up to 50 thousand members in the years of the rise of the Chartist movement. The lack of ideological and tactical unity among its members and the petty-bourgeois ideology of the majority of the Chartist leaders affected the activities of the Association. After the defeat of Chartism in 1848, the Association declined and it ceased its activity in the 1850s. p. 383

[144] The editorial board of the *Schweizerische Republikaner* gave the following note to this passage: "This comprises 1,767,500 Rhenish Fl., a sum which, according to our continental notions of 'the poor' is scarcely probable." p. 384

[145] The reference is apparently to the project to establish a special fund for buying plots of land and distributing them among workers. This plan was proposed by

the Chartist leader Feargus O'Connor as early as 1838; he tried more than once to put it into effect; in 1845, with this aim in view, he founded the Chartist Land Co-operative Society, which was also a failure. p. 384

146 No article by Engels on this subject was published in the *Schweizerische Republikaner*. Later Engels wrote about the Chartists' attitude towards the Anti-Corn Law League in his book *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (Chapter "Labour Movements", see this edition, Vol. 4). p. 384

147 The reference is to the following passage from Robert Owen's work *The Marriage System of the New Moral World*, Leeds, 1838: "I resume the subject of marriage because it is the source of more demoralisation, crime, and misery than any other single cause, with the exception of religion and private property; and these three together form the great trinity of causes of crime and immorality among mankind." (P. 54.) p. 387

148 An apparent reference to the following editions: J. J. Rousseau, *An Inquiry into the Nature of the Social Contract, or Principles of Political Right*, 184 [...]; [Holbach,] *System of Nature*, London, 1817. Announcements of popular and cheap editions of the classics of French philosophy were published in Owen's weekly *The New Moral World*. p. 387

149 The *Act of Union* with England was imposed on Ireland by the English Government after the suppression of the Irish rebellion in 1798. The Union, which came into force on January 1, 1801, abolished an autonomous Irish Parliament and made Ireland still more dependent on England. The demand for the repeal of the Union became a most popular watchword in Ireland after the 1820s. However, the Irish liberals who were at the head of the national liberation movement (O'Connell and others) considered the agitation for the repeal of the Union only as a means of obtaining concessions for the Irish bourgeoisie and landowners from the English Government. In 1835 O'Connell came to an agreement with the English Whigs and stopped agitation altogether. Under the impact of the mass movement, however, the Irish liberals were compelled in 1840 to found an Association of Repealers, which they tried to direct onto the path of compromise with the English ruling classes. p. 389

150 The *principal tenant*—a middleman who leased land directly from the landowner and then let it in small plots to subtenants, who in their turn often parcelled out these plots and let them too. p. 390

151 The second Chartist petition demanding the adoption of the People's Charter was written by the Executive Committee of the National Charter Association and submitted to Parliament in May 1842. It also demanded for Ireland the right to annul the forced Act of Union of 1801. Despite this, the Irish liberals, far from supporting the Chartists' agitation, took a hostile attitude towards the Chartists. p. 391

152 With the article "Progress of Social Reform on the Continent" Engels started contributing to the London socialist weekly *The New Moral World: and Gazette of the Rational Society* founded by Robert Owen. The article was supplied with notes (reproduced at the end of this volume). Almost at the same time the article was published in an abridged form in the Chartist newspaper *The Northern Star* Nos. 313 and 315, November 11 and 25, 1843.

The article was welcomed in English proletarian and socialist circles. The editor of the weekly, Fleming, noted in 1844 that the English readers had got

to know some representatives of continental socialism, in particular Wilhelm Weitling, thanks to the appearance at the end of the previous year of a series of articles ably written by a German living in England (*The New Moral World*, 1844, No. 14, p. 110). The editorial board of *The Northern Star* assessed Engels' article as "an interesting ... exposition of '*Continental Communism*' from the pen of one who was master of his subject, because he knew the facts with which he made the public acquainted" (*The Northern Star* No. 386, May 4, 1844).

Engels continued to contribute to the organ of the English Owenists after he left England in August 1844 up to May 1845. p. 392

153 The English translation of Buonarroti's book was published in London in 1836 under the title *Buonarroti's History of Babeuf's Conspiracy for Equality; with the Author's Reflections on the Causes and Character of the French Revolution, and His Estimate of the Leading Men and Events of that Epoch.* The translation was made by Bronterre O'Brien, one of the leaders and theoreticians of Chartism. p. 393

154 The reference is to the group of English Utopian Socialists who in 1842 founded the colony-commune Concordium in Ham Common near London; followers of the English mystic J. P. Greaves, the Ham Common Socialists preached moral self-perfection and an ascetic way of life. The colony did not survive long. p. 394

155 The editors of *The New Moral World* supplied the following note to this passage: "A few years since we gave a complete exposition of the system in a series of articles in this Journal." The author of the note meant two large series of articles: "Socialism in France. Charles Fourier" and "Fourierism"; the first was published in *The New Moral World* in 1839 (Nos. 45-46, 48, 49), the second in 1839-40 (Nos. 53, 55, 57, 61-63, 71, 73-75). p. 395

156 The editors of *The New Moral World* gave the following note to this passage: "Now entitled *Démocratie Pacifique.*" Besides the daily newspaper *La Démocratie Pacifique*, published since August 1843, the Fourierists continued to publish *La Phalange* as a theoretical journal. p. 396

157 Engels refers here to a series of armed actions by the French proletariat directed against the regime of the bourgeois July monarchy and also to the workers' active participation in the uprisings led by the republican secret societies. The major events in the 1830s were: the uprisings of Lyons workers at the end of November 1831 and in April 1834, and also republican revolts in Paris on June 5, 1832, April 13-14, 1834, and May 12, 1839, the main participants in which were workers. p. 396

158 *"Travailleurs Égalitaires"*—a secret society of the French Communists-Babouvists, which sprang up in 1840 and consisted mainly of workers. *Humanitarians*—a secret society of Communists-Babouvists, who in 1841 rallied around the newspaper *L'Humanitaire.* These two societies were under the ideological influence of Théodore Dézamy and belonged to the revolutionary and materialist trend in French utopian communism. p. 397

159 The editors of *The New Moral World* gave the following note to this sentence: "It is proper to reiterate that the Icarian Communists, in their organ, the *Populaire*, have, in the strongest manner, disowned all participation in secret societies, and affixed the names of their leaders to public documents, expositions of their principles and objects." p. 397

[160] *Harmony*—the name of a communistic colony founded by the followers of Robert Owen in Hampshire in 1841; the colony survived till the beginning of 1846. p. 398

[161] The public debate between J. Watts, who was at that time an active proponent of Owenism, and the Chartist speaker J. Bairstow took place in Manchester on October 11, 12 and 13, 1843. Engels apparently attended it. p. 398

[162] Münzer's communist revolutionary ideas, which are mentioned below, were expounded in a series of pamphlets issued by him on the eve and during the Peasant War in Germany (1524-25), in particular in the proclamation: "Ausgedrückte Entblössung des falschen Glaubens der ungetreuen Welt durchs Zeugnis des Evangelions Lucae, vorgetragen der elenden erbärmlichen Christenheit zur Erinnerung ihres Irrsals", published in the autumn of 1524 in Mülhausen. Later Engels called this pamphlet "a highly inciting paper" (see F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*, Ch. II; this edition, Vol. 10). p. 400

[163] Engels' statement is based on the prospectus of Wilhelm Weitling's book *Das Evangelium der armen Sünder* which was published at that time. The book itself was published only in 1845 in Berne under the title *Das Evangelium eines armen Sünders*. p. 402

[164] The *Federal Diet*—the supreme body of the German Confederation (1815-66) consisting of representatives of the German states; it defended the conservative monarchical regime in Germany. p. 406

[165] The reference is to a letter written by the democratic poet Georg Herwegh to Frederick William IV in which he accused the king of breaking his promise to introduce the freedom of the press and, in particular, of banning the radical monthly *Der deutsche Bote aus der Schweiz*, which was being prepared for printing at the time. Herwegh's letter appeared in the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* on December 24, 1842; this led to the banning of the newspaper and Herwegh's banishment from Paris. In England the letter was published in *The Times* on January 16, 1843, in *The Morning Herald* on January 17, 1843, and in other newspapers. p. 406

[166] Engels' article on this subject did not appear in *The New Moral World*. p. 407

[167] Edgar Bauer was sentenced to four years' imprisonment for his book *Der Streit der Kritik mit Kirche und Staat*, Charlottenburg, 1843, confiscated by the Prussian Government. p. 407

[168] During his stay in England Engels attended meetings organised by members of the Chartist movement and tried to establish personal contacts with its leaders. In the autumn of 1843 he visited Leeds, where the central Chartist organ, *The Northern Star*, was published at the time, and got acquainted with its editor George Julian Harney, a prominent figure in the revolutionary wing of the Chartist Party. Engels introduced himself, Harney recalled, as a permanent reader of *The Northern Star*, who was very much interested in the Chartist movement. As a result of this meeting Engels started contributing to the Chartist press, but at first only incidentally. On November 11 and 25, 1843, *The Northern Star* reprinted with some abridgements Engels' article "Progress of Social Reform on the Continent" immediately after its first publication in the weekly *The New Moral World*. Two weeks later these notes connected with the above-mentioned article appeared in the Chartist paper. They also appeared in

*The New Moral World.* In this volume they are published as one article. Closely connected with these is the short report "The Press and the German Despots" published in *The Northern Star* on February 3, 1844 (see this volume, p. 417). Later Engels proposed to the editors that he would systematically contribute to the paper reports about events on the Continent (see his letter to the editor of *The Northern Star*, p. 514 of this volume). From that time on Engels' articles and reports were regularly published in the newspaper. After his departure from England in August 1844 his reports ceased to appear in the paper but were resumed in the autumn of 1845. (In the summer of that year Engels visited England once more and again met Harney.) He contributed to *The Northern Star* till 1850. p. 409

169 The reference is to the *League of the Just*, a secret revolutionary organisation founded in 1836 by German proletarianised emigrant craftsmen in Paris. Besides France, League branches existed in Germany, England and Switzerland. A great role in their organisation was played by Weitling. Various theories of utopian communism and socialism, in particular Weitlingism, formed the ideological foundation of the League. The emigrant workers of other nationalities also participated in the League's activities. The internationalisation of the League and the evolution of its members' views under the influence of the ideas of Marx and Engels led to its reorganisation into the Communist League in 1847.

By the time of the publication of this article the final verdict of the Weitling case was not yet pronounced. At the end of December 1843, the Supreme Court of Appeal of the Swiss Bund sentenced Weitling to 10 months of imprisonment and 5-year exile from Switzerland on the basis of the appeal of the prosecutor who protested the decision of the court of the Zurich canton. p. 409

170 The reference is to the anonymous article *The Communists in Germany* published in *The Times* on December 29, 1843, and reprinted in *The New Moral World* No. 28 on January 6, 1844. Engels cites from this article below. p. 410

171 The reference is to the Paris uprising of May 12, 1839, prepared by the secret republican socialist *Société des Saisons* headed by Louis Auguste Blanqui and Armand Barbès; the uprising was suppressed by troops and the National Guard. p. 410

172 *Repealers*—see Note 149. p. 411

173 Engels alludes to prominent members of the League of the Just: the type-setter Karl Schapper, the watchmaker Joseph Moll and others, connected with the Blanquist secret *Société des Saisons* which organised the Paris uprising of May 12, 1839. Schapper and Moll took part in the uprising, were prosecuted by the French authorities and compelled to leave for England, where they headed local branches of the League. Engels made their acquaintance in the spring of 1843 in London, as he wrote later in his article "On the History of the Communist League". p. 411

174 On May 27, 1832, a political manifestation took place near the castle of Hambach in Bavarian Pfalz, which was organised by representatives of the German liberal and radical bourgeoisie. Participants of the "Hambach festival" launched an appeal to fight for the unification of Germany, for the bourgeois freedoms and constitutional reforms.

On July 27, 1834, on the occasion of the anniversary of the July revolution in France a large meeting in defence of the idea of German unification was held in Steinhölzli near Berne (Switzerland) on the initiative of the German emigrants. p. 412

175 *Rebeccaites*—members of the peasant movement in South Wales in 1843-44 demanding the removal of tollgates. The leader of the movement acted under the assumed name of Rebecca, a personage from the Bible. The Rebeccaites acted at night dressed in women's clothes. p. 412

176 *Voigtland*—the name given to one of the working-class districts in Berlin. *Saint Giles'*—a district of London populated by poor people. p. 415

177 The double issue of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* (No. 1-2) was put out at the end of February 1844. p. 416

178 The Final Protocol of the 1834 Vienna Conference of the ministers of the states of the German Confederation envisaged measures for suppressing the liberal and democratic movement in Germany, stricter censorship and mutual support of the states in the struggle against the liberal and radical opposition. This Protocol as well as the decisions of the Federal Diet (the supreme body of the German Confederation) issued in June-July 1832 on the prohibition of popular societies and meetings and also on rendering military aid to those German states which were in danger of an uprising of their subjects was the answer of the ruling circles of Germany to the unrest in the country caused by the July revolution of 1830 in France. The chief inspirer of these police measures was the Austrian Chancellor Metternich.

The Protocol of the Vienna Conference and the reactionary decision of the 1819 Karlsbad Conference of the representatives of the German states, which had been kept secret, were published by the German liberal publicist and historian K. G. Welcker in his book *Wichtige Urkunden für den Rechtszustand der deutschen Nation*, Mannheim, 1844. Even before the book was put out the contents of the Protocol had been known to democratic circles and published in the German emigrant press, in particular in the Paris *Vorwärts!* in January 1844. The text was also reprinted in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* at the end of February 1844. p. 417

179 The reference is to the trial of O'Connell and eight other leaders of the Repeal movement which started in January 1844. Taking advantage of the waverings among the Irish liberal leaders fearing the scope of the movement, the Tory government wanted to deal a smashing blow at the movement by staging this trial. In February 1844 O'Connell and his followers were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment up to twelve months. However, under the impact of mass protest the House of Lords soon quashed the sentence. p. 417

180 The *Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy* is the first economic work written by Engels. It was one of the principal works published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, and together with the programme articles written by Marx it determined the journal's communist trend. Marx was very much interested in this work of Engels and wrote a summary of it (see pp. 375-76 of this volume). Later on he mentioned this work more than once in his writings. In the Preface to the first edition of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859) Marx called it a "brilliant essay on the critique of economic categories". Despite the fact that the work contained some traits of immaturity which are inevitable at the earlier stage of the formation of ideas: the influence

of Feuerbach's abstract humanism which had not yet been completely overcome, a one-sided appraisal of the labour theory of value, etc.—shortcomings about which Engels wrote in a general way in his letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht on April 13, 1876—the work contained profound anticipation of some propositions in the new, materialist economic teaching.

The work also produced a strong impression on other representatives of progressive circles. For example, the Berlin physician Julius Waldeck, stressing in his letter to Johann Jacoby the maturity and boldness of the ideas expounded in this work, exclaimed: "Engels has worked a real miracle!" (G. Mayer, *Friedrich Engels. Eine Biographie*, Bd. 1, S. 171.)

In English the *Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy* was first published as an appendix to the book: Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959. p. 418

[181] The *Anti-Corn Law League*—see Note 40. p. 428

[182] The reference is to the New York fire of December 16, 1835. p. 434

[183] Several pamphlets signed "Marcus" appeared in England, in particular: *On the Possibility of Limiting Populousness*, printed by John Hill, Black Horse Court, Fleet Street, 1838, and *The Theory of Painless Extinction*, the publication of which was announced in *The New Moral World* on August 29, 1840. They expounded the Malthusian misanthropic theory of population. The principal ideas of "Marcus" were also summed up in the anonymous pamphlet: *An Essay on Populousness, printed for private circulation; printed for the author*, 1838. p. 437

[184] The reference is to the Poor Law Amendment act of 1834, under which the poor were placed in workhouses named by the people "Poor Law Bastilles". The repeal of this law was one of the main demands of the Chartists.

A characterisation of this law is given in Marx's work "Critical Marginal Notes on the Article 'The King of Prussia and Social Reform. By a Prussian'" (see pp. 194-95 of this volume). p. 437

[185] It is difficult to judge by the available material to which literary plan this statement refers. Possibly Engels had in mind a work on English social history which he intended to write and which he mentions at the end of this work (see p. 443 of this volume). In his series of articles, *The Condition of England*, which is a brief preliminary outline of this work, Engels characterises the economic teaching of Adam Smith and the utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham and James Mill as a theoretical expression of the domination of private property, egoism, alienation of man, which represent the consummation of the principles following from the Christian world outlook and world order (see pp. 485-87 of this volume). It is probable, however, that he had in mind a plan of some special work on economics. A year later, in particular, Engels worked on a pamphlet about the German economist List (see his letter to Marx of November 19, 1844). p. 439

[186] Engels has in mind a work on English social history which he planned to write and for which he collected material during his stay in England (November 1842-August 1844). He intended to devote a whole chapter of this work to the condition of the working class in England. Later he changed his plans and decided to write a special work on the English proletariat, which he did upon his return to Germany. His book *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* was published in Leipzig in 1845 (see this edition, Vol. 4). p. 443

[187] Engels intended to write *The Condition of England* as a series of articles for the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. The critical analysis of Carlyle's book *Past and Present* was the beginning of it, a sort of introduction, which was to be followed, according to the author's plans, by the main sections under the same general title (see p. 468 of this volume). However, two other articles written by Engels on the same subject for the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* were never printed in the journal as its publication ceased. These articles were published in two parts in the Paris *Vorwärts!* some months later, after Engels met Marx in Paris at the end of August 1844 and with the help of his friend became an editor of and a contributor to the newspaper.

The part of the work published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* aroused considerable interest, as Engels himself stated, among the readers in Germany (see Engels' letter to Marx of early October 1844).

Engels cites from Thomas Carlyle's book in his own translation into German. In so doing he often abridges the text and does not always mark the omissions by leaders. In some cases he merely renders the contents of some passage or another; the italics in quotations as a rule belong to Engels. Engels gives no references to page numbers; for the readers' convenience page numbers are given in footnotes in this edition. p. 444

[188] The reference is to the repeal in 1828 of the Test Act of 1673 and some other acts under which only members of the Church of England could occupy governmental or elective posts, and also to the subsequent abolition of some religious restrictions and of the privileges of the top aristocracy (the Act of Emancipation of 1829, which granted Catholics the right to be elected to Parliament; the Reform Act of 1832). Engels wrote about this in greater detail in the last of the series of his articles *The Condition of England* (see pp. 490-91 of this volume). p. 445

[189] Concerning the English translation of David Strauss' book see Note 140. p. 447

[190] The *Reform Act* passed by the British Parliament in June 1832 was directed against the political monopoly of the landed and financial aristocracy and made membership of Parliament open to representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie. The proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, which formed the main force in the struggle for the reform, did not get any electoral rights. p. 447

[191] In August 1842 Manchester was the centre of Chartist agitation and of a powerful strike movement. p. 450

[192] The *People's Charter*—see Note 139. p. 450

[193] The *Corn Laws*—see Note 40. p. 453

[194] *Laissez-faire, laissez-aller*—the formula of the economists who advocated free trade and non-intervention by the state in the sphere of economic relations. p. 454

[195] By the "*great week*" is meant the bourgeois July revolution of 1830 in France. The major events took place between July 27 and August 2. p. 455

[196] *Morison's pills*—pills invented by the English quack James Morison and widely advertised by him in the mid-twenties of the nineteenth century as a remedy for all ailments. They were prepared from the juice of certain tropical plants. p. 456

197 Engels has in mind the last period of Schelling's life and activity when, having renounced many of his progressive ideas, he started preaching a mystical philosophy of open irrationalism. At that time Schelling was invited to Berlin University to oppose the influence of the Hegelian school (end of 1841-42). For more detail see Engels' *Schelling and Revelation* (this edition, Vol. 2). p. 461

198 *Home-colonies*—the name Robert Owen gave to his communist societies. p. 466

199 Engels expressed the same hope for subsequent evolution of Carlyle's views in the radical direction in his note to the concluding chapter of his book: *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (1845) (see this edition, Vol. 4). However, his hopes were not justified and he decided to make the following addition to this note in the second German edition (1892): "But the February Revolution made him [Carlyle] an out-and-out reactionary. His righteous wrath against the Philistines turned into sullen Philistine grumbling at the tide of history that cast him ashore." p. 467

200 This and the following article are the continuation of *The Condition of England* published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* (see Note 187). Both articles were evidently written not later than February-March 1844, as can be judged by their contents and, in particular, the references to some facts (rejection of the motion to publish parliamentary minutes, O'Connell's trial) as events that had taken place several weeks before (see pp. 500 and 506 of this volume). It is possible that Engels ceased writing this series because of the closure of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. From the last lines of the preceding article we see that the central theme of this series was to be the condition of the working class in England.

In English the article was first published in the book: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles on Britain*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. p. 469

201 The reference is to the coalition wars of European states against revolutionary and Napoleonic France lasting from 1792 till 1815. England was an active member of these coalitions. p. 469

202 According to later historical investigations, in the 15th-17th centuries copyholders (a category of peasants holding land by copy, life and hereditary tenants who paid feudal rent) comprised the majority of the English peasants who had freed themselves from serf bondage. Modern science uses the terms *villeins, bordars* and *cottars* to denote the various categories of serf peasants in medieval England. p. 474

203 The *People's Charter*—see Note 139. p. 476

204 In the Introduction to the second German edition (1892) of his book *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (see this edition, Vol. 4), Engels made the following addition to the analogous note: "The historical outline of the industrial revolution given above is not exact in certain details; but in 1843-44 no better sources were available." The more precise information gained from later investigations includes, in particular, the fact that Arkwright was not the inventor of the spinning-jenny but used a number of inventions made by others. Judging by the corresponding passages in *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, Engels here made use of other books besides Porter's work: E. Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain*, London, 1835; A. Ure,

*The Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain, Systematically Investigated and Illustrated*, Vols. 1-2, London, 1836. p. 485

[205] The reference is to the democratic correspondence societies organised in various English towns in the 90s of the eighteenth century under the influence of the French revolution. The first—the London Correspondence Society—was founded in 1792. In the autumn of 1793 an attempt was made to unite these organisations by convening a congress in Edinburgh which assumed the name of the Convention. The government answered with reprisals; some members of the Convention were condemned to penal servitude. In 1794 the leaders of the London Correspondence Society (Thomas Hardy, Horne Tooke and others) were arrested. By the end of the 90s the activity of the correspondence societies ceased; however, their ideas and traditions had a great influence on the further development of the radical movement in England, especially in the period of intensive agitation for the democratic reorganisation of its political system in 1816-23. p. 487

[206] In English this article was published in the book: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles on Britain*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. p. 489

[207] The *Test Act* of 1673 demanded recognition of the dogmas of the Church of England by persons occupying governmental posts. At first directed against attempts to re-establish Catholicism, this Act was subsequently applied against various religious sects and trends which deviated from the dogmas of the Established Church.

The *Habeas Corpus Act* was passed by the English Parliament in 1679. Concerning this Act see p. 506 of this volume.

The *Bill of Rights*, passed by the English Parliament in 1689, restricted the rights of the King in Parliament and confirmed the compromise between the landed aristocracy and the top financial and commercial bourgeoisie which had been achieved as a result of the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688. p. 491

[208] The *Magna Carta Libertatum*—a document signed by the English King John Lackland on June 15, 1215, under pressure from the rebellious barons. It restricted the rights of the King, mainly in the interests of the big feudal lords, and contained some concessions to the knights and to the towns.

The *Reform Act*—see Note 190. p. 492

[209] The reference is to the mass campaign for the electoral reform, the peak year being 1831. The Reform Act was passed as a result of this campaign. (Concerning the Reform Act see Note 190.) p. 496

[210] The reference is to Thomas Duncombe's speech in the House of Commons on August 9, 1832 (see *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 1832, Vol. XIV, pp. 1159-1161). p. 497

[211] The *Act of Emancipation*—see Note 188. p. 498

[212] The reference is to the rejection by the House of Commons on February 12, 1844, of the motion by the radical M.P.s, Christie, Duncombe and others, concerning publication of minutes of the parliamentary debates (see *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 1844, Vol. LXXII, pp. 580-600). p. 500

[213] The *Thirty-Nine Articles*—the symbol of faith of the Church of England passed by the English Parliament in 1571. p. 501

[214] The *Corporation Act*, passed in 1661, demanded recognition of the dogmas of the Church of England by persons holding elective posts (mostly in municipal administration). It was repealed in 1828.
Concerning the repeal of the Test Act see Note 188. p. 501

[215] See Note 188. p. 502

[216] The reference is to Thomas Gibson's speech in the House of Commons on February 14, 1844 (see *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 1844, Vol. LXXII, p. 798). p. 503

[217] *Repealers*—see Note 149. p. 504

[218] The reference is to the banning by the English authorities of the mass meeting in Clontarf fixed by the Irish Repealers for October 5, 1843. The government concentrated troops in the region to prevent the protest demonstration. In these circumstances O'Connell and his followers decided to cancel the meeting; this encouraged the English authorities, who regarded it as a sign of weakness, and they decided to bring the Irish leaders to trial. The trial took place in January-February 1844 (concerning the trial see Note 179). p. 505

[219] The reference is to the National Charter Association, concerning which see Note 143. p. 505

[220] The *Anti-Corn Law League*—see Note 40. p. 505

[221] The reference is to the trials of the leaders of the National Charter Association and the participants in the strike movement of August 1842, ordered by the authorities in various towns of England after the suppression of the movement. There were mass reprisals. Out of more than 1,500 persons (mostly workers) arrested more than a half were put on trial. Sentences as a rule were very severe. Thus in Stafford (October 1842) fifty accused were sentenced to transportation (many of them for life) and 180 to various terms of imprisonment. A large group of Chartist leaders headed by Feargus O'Connor were also sentenced, their trial being held in March 1843 in Lancaster (later the sentence was quashed owing to mass pressure). Besides the towns mentioned by Engels trials were held in Chester, Liverpool and some other places in the autumn of 1842. p. 506

[222] *Carolina*—the criminal code of the Emperor Charles V (*Constitutio criminalis Carolina*) passed by the Reichstag in Regensburg in 1532; it was marked by the extreme severity of the penalties which it prescribed. p. 509

[223] This passage proves that Engels intended to continue the series *The Condition of England* (see Note 200). He evidently planned to describe the condition of the English working class and examine the social, including labour, legislation that existed in England. p. 511

[224] This letter written by Engels to the editor of *The Northern Star* is incomplete: only the part of it which was published in the newspaper's editorial article on May 4, 1844, "The 'Movement', at Home and Abroad", has survived. Without mentioning the author's name, the editor of *The Northern Star* introduced him to the readers as the author of an essay on "Continental Communism" (they had in mind Engels' article: "Progress of Social Reform on the Continent" which had been reprinted in the newspaper). Engels' offer to contribute to the newspaper met the intentions of its editor Harney, who wanted to impart an international character to the newspaper by extending information on foreign

affairs, as the editorial article mentioned above stated. From that moment Engels worked as an official reporter of the Chartist newspaper. The same issue carried Engels' note on the situation in Prussia marked: "From our own Correspondent", which (sometimes with slight alterations) was used in respect of all the material he sent to *The Northern Star*. Articles written by Engels were printed in the section: "Movements Abroad" under the editorial headings denoting the country the information referred to ("Germany", "Prussia", "Bavaria", "Poland", "Russia", "Switzerland", "France", etc.). Sometimes several articles by Engels were printed in the same issue under different headings (e. g., on May 18 and 25, 1844). It is possible that in such cases the editors themselves divided the material of a single report into several parts. p. 514

225 In the course of his further study of the position in Germany Engels came to the conclusion that in the historical conditions obtaining the establishment of a centralised and not of a federal republic would meet the aims of the consistent struggle against political disunion and the remnants of medieval particularism in all spheres of social life. During the revolution of 1848-49 Marx and Engels, in contraposition to the petty-bourgeois republicans, who adhered to the principle of federalism, upheld the demand of transforming Germany into a single democratic republic. p. 514

226 The work under this title was not published by David Strauss. p. 517

227 The reference is apparently to the following pamphlets by Adam Gurowski: *La vérité sur la Russie*, 1834 and *La civilisation et la Russie*, 1840. p. 519

228 One of the public buildings of Ludwig of Bavaria, built in 1841 near Regensburg, was named by him "Walhalla" after the legendary posthumous abode of the German mythological heroes. The palace contained a collection of sculptures of famous men in Germany. The King himself wrote a guide book for it: *Walhalla's Genossen, geschildert durch König Ludwig den Ersten von Bayern, dem Gründer Walhalla's*, München, 1842. Poems written by Ludwig of Bavaria provide a sample of meaningless and pretentious poetry; they were published in 1842. p. 522

229 The reference is to the wars waged by the tsarist government against the peoples of the North Caucasus (Adyghei, Chechens, Avars, Lezghins, etc.) fighting for their independence. In the 1820s the liberation struggle of these peoples against the tsarist colonisers and the arbitrary rule of the local feudal lords was headed by Shamil, who was proclaimed Imam of Daghestan in 1834. The movement reached its peak in the 40s of the nineteenth century and was suppressed in 1859. p. 524

230 The canton of Vaud (German: Waadt) was known for its democratic traditions. p. 525

231 Prior to 1798 Switzerland was a union of small autonomous cantons in which political sway was exercised by the mountain patriarchal cantons headed by an aristocratic oligarchy. In 1798 a Helvetic Republic dependent on France was set up in Switzerland which was at the time occupied by the troops of the French Directory. Political privileges of the old cantons were abolished. However, the Treaty of Alliance of 1814 was approved by the Congress of Vienna, 1814-15, which restored the former sovereignty of the cantons; in the majority of them the clerical aristocratic elements again came to the fore. p. 526

232 In 1830 the movement for democratic reforms in Switzerland became more widespread under the influence of the July revolution in France. In the twelve

north-western cantons, which were more advanced, the power went to the bourgeoisie, but its aspirations for the unification of the country encountered resistance from the backward mountain cantons. p. 526

233 This prevision of Engels came true in three years. In November 1847 a civil war broke out in Switzerland between the aristocratic cantons united into a separate confederation known as the Sonderbund (the treaty was concluded at the end of 1845) and the north-western bourgeois cantons, in the course of which the Sonderbund was defeated. Bourgeois reforms were carried out in the Swiss cantons. Under the Constitution of 1848 Switzerland became a confederation.

In 1844, under the influence of the ruling clerical aristocratic circles the canton of Valais entered the Sonderbund. Radicals in Valais again came to power after the Sonderbund broke up.

Engels' article "The Civil War in Switzerland" was a response to the events of 1847 (see this edition, Vol. 6). p. 526

234 During the July revolution of 1830, which led to the downfall of the Bourbon dynasty, Jacques Laffitte, a representative of moderate liberal circles of the financial bourgeoisie and a member of the Chamber, which assumed power in Paris, helped to secure the accession to the throne of Louis Philippe, the Duke of Orléans. p. 527

235 The liberation struggle of the Algerians led by Emir Abd-el-Kader against the French colonisers lasted with interruptions from 1832 to 1847. Taking advantage of their military superiority, the French conquered Abd-el-Kader's state in Western Algeria in the period between 1839 and 1844. However, Abd-el-Kader continued the struggle, resorting to guerrilla warfare and relying on the help of the Sultan of Morocco. When the latter was defeated in the Franco-Moroccan war in 1844, Abd-el-Kader hid in the oases of the Sahara. An uprising in Western Algeria in 1845-47, which was suppressed by the French colonisers, was the last stage of this struggle. p. 528

236 *Caliphs*—local rulers in Abd-el-Kader's state, subject to the central government. p. 529

237 The reference is to the Divorce Bill drafted in 1842 by Friedrich Savigny, one of the founders of the reactionary historical school of law, who from 1842 to 1848 was High Chancellor of Prussia. p. 530

238 Although the Divorce Bill was kept secret, the *Rheinische Zeitung* edited by Marx published the Bill on October 20, 1842, thus initiating a broad discussion on the subject. On December 19, Marx's article "The Divorce Bill" (see this edition, Vol. 1), in which he criticised the Bill, was published. The publication of the Bill in the *Rheinische Zeitung* was one of the reasons for the persecution of the paper, which finally led to its banning in March 1843. p. 530

239 *Landtags*—provincial and local assemblies of estates established in Prussia in 1823; they consisted in the main of representatives of the nobility; urban and village communities had very small representation. Landtags were convened by the King and their functions were restricted to discussion of bills and to questions of local economy and administration. p. 530

240 This report had the following paragraph added to it by the editors: "In addition to the above, we give the following paragraph from the *Sun*:

"'We learn from Breslau on the 9th inst. that the weavers have returned to their work after having obtained an increase of wages. They burst in, during

their excursions, the doors of several wood-rangers' houses, and carried off the fowling-pieces and ammunition, but without touching anything else.'" p. 531

241 On the song of Silesian weavers, sung by the participants of the uprising of June 4-6, 1844, see Note 44. p. 532

242 This draft of the young Engels' verse drama *Cola di Rienzi* only became known after Volume 2, containing his early works, letters and literary experiments, had already gone to press. This draft is therefore being published in the present volume as a supplement, although chronologically it belongs to Volume 2.

The draft manuscript was discovered among the posthumous papers of the German poet Adolf Schults, a native of Elberfeld, by Michael Knieriem, director of Frederick Engels House in Wuppertal. Schults belonged to a group of Wuppertal writers and art-lovers which included many of Engels' fellow pupils from the Elberfeld high school who kept in touch with him during his residence (from July 1838 to March 1841) in Bremen, where he was gaining practical experience with a commercial firm and was also engaged in literary activities. Knieriem arranged the first publication of this drama in co-operation with Hans Pelger, director of Karl Marx House in Trier (see Michael Knieriem, *Friedrich Engels: Cola di Rienzi. Ein unbekannter dramatischer Entwurf. Herausgegeben vom Friedrich-Engels-Haus, Wuppertal, und Karl-Marx-Haus, Trier*, Trier, 1974). The draft was evidently intended for an opera libretto, as may be gathered from a letter of September 30, 1840, sent by Engels' schoolfriend Carl de Haas to Schults and other Elberfeld writers in which there is a reference to Engels' intention of writing the text of an opera at the request of one of his Elberfeld friends. This is also borne out by the style of the work, parts of which are specially adapted for performance (duets, trios, and settings for chorus), and in which provision is made for the insertion of musical episodes. The draft was in all probability written between the end of 1840 and the beginning of 1841, since one page of the manuscript bears a short passage in Hebrew from the Old Testament which was also quoted in a letter of February 22, 1841, from Engels to Friedrich Graeber (see present edition, Vol. 2, p. 526).

Engels took the plot for his drama from events in Rome in the middle of the 14th century—the struggle which developed between the feudal aristocracy on the one hand and the merchant and artisan population on the other. In May 1347, as a result of a popular uprising, a republic was proclaimed in Rome with "people's tribune" Cola di Rienzi at its head. With Rienzi, firm measures against the nobility and a desire to affirm the principle of popular sovereignty and achieve the unification of Italy were combined with fantastic notions about the restoration of ancient Rome's grandeur and world domination. Banished from Rome at the end of 1347 as a result of intrigues by the feudal magnates, Rienzi was reinstated in August 1354 with the aid of mercenary troops commanded by foreign *condottieri*. The people rose against Rienzi, however, resenting his despotic behaviour, his ambitiousness, and the increased tax burden, a measure which was forced on him by the costs of paying the mercenaries and conducting the war with the aristocrats. On October 8, 1354, an insurrection flared up against him and he was killed. The action in Engels' drama deals with the second period of Rienzi's rule.

The manuscript is a rough draft. In several places, there are author's corrections, erasures and additions in the margin. On one page, the initials "F.E." and Engels' signature are to be seen in the margin. Some drawings made by the author on several pages refer to the plot of the drama, while others are unconnected with it (there are also some cartoons). The last pages

contain a variant of the beginning of Act One, Scene One (in the present edition, this has been printed after the corresponding first version and has been separated from it, as from the continuation, by a horizontal line). p. 537

[243] In mid-June 1844 Jenny Marx with her baby girl Jenny born on May 1 left Paris, where she had lived with her husband since October 1843, for Trier to visit her mother Caroline von Westphalen. Jenny with her daughter and a wet-nurse returned to Paris in September 1844. p. 575

[244] At the end of 1843 Caroline von Westphalen left Kreuznach, where she had lived after the death of her husband, Ludwig von Westphalen, for Trier. Apparently, she lived in Trier for a time in the house of the tax-collector Wettendorf. p. 576

[245] An allusion to the reverberations of the Silesian uprising of weavers of June 4-6, 1844. In Breslau, the capital of Silesia (Polish: Wrocław), new popular disturbances took place on June 6 and 7. p. 577

[246] Jenny had in mind the strained relations between Marx and his mother caused by Marx's refusal to enter the civil service and his choice, after graduating from the University, of a type of activity which from his mother's point of view could bring neither material welfare nor a stable social position. The fame brought to Marx by the publication of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* and a certain improvement in his material condition made Henriette Marx slightly change her attitude towards Marx and his family. p. 577

[247] An apparent reference to the work Marx was planning to write on Bruno Bauer and other Young Hegelians (see Note 30). This plan was realised later, when together with Engels he wrote *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism* (see this edition, Vol. 4). p. 578

[248] Only that part of this letter has survived which Marx decided to publish in the Paris newspaper *Vorwärts!*, without mentioning the author's name, under the title "From the Letter of a German Lady". In his letter to Ludwig Feuerbach of August 11, 1844, he wrote that the excerpt had been taken from his wife's letter (see this volume, p. 357). The publication of this letter was prompted by an attempt made on King Frederick William IV on July 26, 1844, by H. L. Tschech (see Note 46). p. 580

[249] Marx's letters to his wife mentioned here have not been found. p. 581

[250] The reference is to the traditional religious rites connected with the cult of the so-called Holy Coat of Trier (supposedly stripped off Christ before his crucifixion) kept in Trier Catholic Cathedral. This cult attracted many pilgrims from other German towns. p. 583

[251] The German radical publicist Georg Jung and other friends of Marx in Cologne took upon themselves to sell a certain number of copies of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* which Marx had received instead of author's emoluments and instead of wages for his work as an editor. Some of the copies sent from Switzerland by boat were confiscated by the Baden authorities. On July 31, 1844, Jung wrote to Marx that he had posted Marx 800 francs in compensation of the confiscated copies. p. 583

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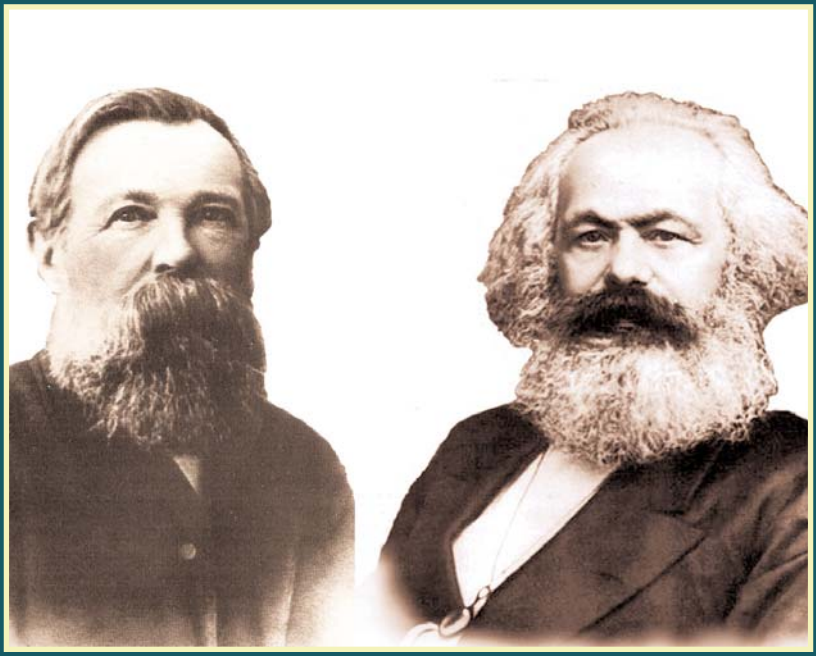

## VOLUME 4

### Marx and Engels 1844-45

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 4

## Marx and Engels 1844-45

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BARBARA RUHEMANN: Peuchet: On Suicide

CHRISTOPHER UPWARD: Description of Recently Founded Communist Colonies Still in Existence

FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY: *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*

# Preface

The fourth volume of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels includes their works written from the time when their close friendship was first established (late August-early September 1844) to the autumn of 1845. Beginning with the present volume, works of both Marx and Engels will be published in this edition in the chronological order in which they were written.

The meeting of Marx and Engels in Paris in August 1844 inaugurated their lifelong partnership. Each of them had independently traversed a difficult path of intellectual development from idealism to materialism, from revolutionary democracy to communism. By the time they met in Paris each was a convinced revolutionary and Communist. With this shared standpoint, their work, while preserving the individual features of each, developed thereafter in a spirit of the unbreakable unity of two thinkers. At the same time, their creative co-operation opened up immediately a new stage in the development of their views. Not only did they go on to achieve, during the year that followed their meeting, greater concreteness in the dialectical and materialist principles both had advanced in their works of 1843 and 1844, but they broadened the whole range of their ideas and set themselves and tackled new problems of elaborating the theoretical foundations of the revolutionary world outlook of the proletariat.

Marx and Engels continued their study of existing philosophical, economic and socialist ideas, and their painstaking research into the actual social-economic reality and the working-class movement of the time. They maintained close contacts with democratic and socialist circles in Germany, France, Belgium and other countries,

with representatives of the Chartist movement in England, and with members of the League of the Just. And all this increasingly convinced them that the practice of revolutionary struggle demanded profound and comprehensive theoretical work, the creation of an entirely new and self-consistent theory which would be of relevance in all the basic fields of human knowledge. It was to the fulfilment of this task that Marx and Engels together directed their efforts. They sought not only to establish the scientific basis for communism, but to spread communist ideas among the working class and revolutionary intellectuals of Europe. For them, the new revolutionary theory could be consolidated only in struggle against the various non-proletarian trends which had taken shape by that time, and by dissociating itself from them.

A primary task in the autumn of 1844 was to deal with the Young Hegelians, who had given up their former radical convictions and swung to the Right. Indeed, a campaign against socialism and communism was being mounted by the monthly *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, edited by the Bauer brothers.

What Marx had had to say in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* about the proletariat's historical mission was declared "uncritical", and working people written off as an inert and passive "mass", a hindrance to social progress. The Bauer brothers and their fellow-thinkers announced that the sole active element in the world-historical process was their own theoretical activity, to which they gave the name of "Critical Criticism".

Marx had first expressed his intention to come out against the philosophical views of the Young Hegelians in 1843, in his articles *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction* and *On the Jewish Question* (see present edition, Vol. 3). And he returned to the idea in the summer of 1844, among other occasions in his conversations with Engels in Paris. The outcome was the decision by Marx and Engels to write a book together against the Young Hegelians. "A war has been declared," Engels wrote sometime later, "against those of the German philosophers, who refuse to draw from their mere theories practical inferences, and who contend that man has nothing to do but to speculate upon metaphysical questions" (see p. 240 of this volume).

This fourth volume of the *Collected Works* begins with the first joint work of Marx and Engels, *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Co.* Its idea and general plan were agreed upon by the two friends, but the major part of the text was in fact written by Marx. This work, mainly philosophical in content, occupies an important place in the formation of Marx's

and Engels' philosophical and social-political views. It attacks from a consistently materialist standpoint both the subjectivist views of the Young Hegelians and Hegel's idealist philosophical system as a whole, on which they had based them. At the same time, it demonstrates in sharp polemic that the subjective idealism of the Young Hegelians was a step backward in comparison with Hegel's philosophy.

Marx and Engels had already in previous works begun to work out the principles of the materialist conception of history. In *The Holy Family* these were further developed. A new step forward was made, particularly as compared with Marx's "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844", in clarifying the decisive role of material production in social development. Marx now saw in it the basis of the whole of mankind's historical progress. He wrote, in particular, that it was impossible to understand a single historical period "without knowing ... the industry of that period, the immediate mode of production of life itself" (see p. 150 of this volume).

Formulated in this work are very profound thoughts on the correspondence of the political system of a given society with the economic structure, their dialectical connection and mutual influence.

Closely connected with the exposition of the initial principles of the materialist conception of history is the clear statement in *The Holy Family* of the decisive role of the popular masses in historical development and the growth of this role as the development proceeds. Marx declared that mankind was facing the task of further profound social transformations, in the course of which "together with the thoroughness of the historical action, the size of the mass whose action it is will therefore increase" (see p. 82 of this volume).

In developing the idea of the world-historical role of the proletariat as the force destined to carry out the future socialist revolution, Marx shows in *The Holy Family* that this historical destiny of the working class is the inevitable result of its position in capitalist society. "The conditions of life of the proletariat," Marx writes, "sum up all the conditions of life of society today in their most inhuman form." The proletariat, as a class, by virtue of its historical existence "can and must emancipate itself" (see pp. 36-37 of this volume). Marx also declared that the social emancipation of the proletariat would mean the emancipation of the whole of society from exploitation. He therefore stressed the universal human significance, the genuinely humanistic meaning of the proletariat's

class struggle. Thus the basic Marxist idea of the leading role of the proletariat in the anti-capitalist revolutionary and liberation movement was formulated for the first time in *The Holy Family*. Lenin later described it as a work containing "Marx's view—already almost fully developed—concerning the revolutionary role of the proletariat" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 26).

*The Holy Family* contains, moreover, Marx and Engels' materialist interpretation of the role of ideas in history. Analysing more deeply the conception of the transformation of theory into a material force which he had put forward in *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law*, Marx showed how ideas become an effective force of social development when they correspond to the requirements of real life by expressing the interests of progressive classes. He demonstrated this by taking as an example the history of philosophy from the seventeenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Analysing the struggle of the two basic trends, materialism and idealism, he reveals the significance of materialism as the progressive philosophy in social life, particularly in its having created the ideological prerequisites for the French bourgeois revolution at the end of the eighteenth century; he points out the organic link between the development of materialist ideas and the achievements of the natural sciences, and emphasises that further creative development of materialist philosophical thought must inevitably lead to communist conclusions.

While building on the progressive philosophical traditions of the past, Marx and Engels by no means intended to stop at the achievements of previous materialism. *The Holy Family* reflects the endeavour to develop and re-interpret in a materialist way the rational element in Hegel's philosophy—its dialectics—and organically to unite dialectics which, on the whole, previous materialist philosophers lacked, with materialism. The creative development of dialectics, the dialectical approach to both social-economic and ideological phenomena, the study in social and intellectual processes of the operation of the basic objective laws of dialectics, especially the law of the unity and struggle of opposites—these run through the whole content of *The Holy Family*.

Although it marks so significant a stage accomplished in the creation of the theoretical foundation of the proletarian world outlook, *The Holy Family* nevertheless belongs to the period when Marxism was still in formation and when the basic principles of the materialist conception of history and of scientific communism had not yet been fully stated. Marx and Engels had not yet completely crossed the divide between themselves and their

ideological predecessors. In particular, they had not yet entirely and in all respects overcome the influence of the weaker aspects of Feuerbach's philosophy. It is true that in declaring themselves his followers, "real humanists", supporters of Feuerbach's "anthropological" materialism, Marx and Engels were actually coming out as revolutionary Communists and materialist dialecticians, and so filling his terminology with a new content. Their obvious dissatisfaction with the metaphysical character and inconsistency of all previous materialism soon developed, however, into an understanding of the fundamental difference between Feuerbach's speculative philosophy and the proletarian outlook that was taking shape. That is why, in April 1845, in his "Theses on Feuerbach", Marx came out so trenchantly against Feuerbachianism (these Theses, together with other works related to *The German Ideology*, will be included in the fifth volume of the present edition).

The fourth volume also contains Engels' fundamental work, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. This was the fruit of his careful study of and theoretical generalisation from vast factual data drawn from official documents, from both bourgeois and working-class newspapers, and from special investigations made by economists, sociologists, historians, etc. But above all, the book reflects (and this lends it its particular authenticity) the results of Engels' own observation of the working and living conditions of the workers during his almost two years' stay in Manchester.

In substance, this work of Engels continues his previous articles devoted to studying capitalist development in England (see present edition, Vols. 2 and 3). In the scale of the problems it deals with and the depth and thoroughness with which they are clarified, it considerably surpasses, however, his previous writings. As regards the ideas informing it, this work is close to *The Holy Family*. It shows by the whole of its content that in working out their revolutionary theory the founders of Marxism based themselves on a scientific concrete sociological analysis of the existing reality.

*The Condition of the Working-Class in England* provides evidence that Engels arrived, at the same time as Marx, at an understanding of the role of the economic factor in social development, and that he made his own independent contribution to the materialist analysis of social phenomena. One of the central features of this work is his study of the social-economic consequences of the industrial revolution in England. Engels brought out the decisive influence of changes in social production on the condition of whole classes and the entire life of society. And he came to the

all-important conclusion that the industrial revolution in England had resulted in the formation of a new revolutionary class—the proletariat. The position of this class in modern capitalist society "is the real basis and point of departure of all social movements of the present because it is the highest and most unconcealed pinnacle of the social misery existing in our day" (see p. 302 of this volume).

Engels was able to deduce from the example of England, the most advanced country in the capitalist world at the time, the characteristic features of the capitalist system as a whole. He demonstrated the typical features of capitalist industrialisation, and its inevitable consequences—the ruin, and in England the almost complete disappearance, of the artisans and working peasantry, the pauperisation of the former small proprietors and the proletarianisation of a considerable part of the population. In what must rank as a classical characterisation, Engels drew his picture of the big towns as the offspring of capitalist industry, a focus of social evils, and at the same time as centres of the proletarian masses' resistance to oppression and exploitation. And he vividly depicted phenomena inherent in capitalism—the anarchy of production, the periodic crises, the deepening of class antagonisms, and the formation and growth of a reserve army of labour, or in other words, chronic unemployment. Engels' book is no specialist theoretical economic study, and yet it defines with deadly accuracy many aspects of the economic structure of capitalist society and its inherent laws and tendencies. Not without reason did Marx write later in the first volume of *Capital* that the author of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* "completely understood the nature of the capitalist mode of production".

Engels' masterly picture of the condition of the English proletariat is an unanswerable indictment of the capitalist system as it then existed. But this is not the distinguishing feature of his book, the one which sets it apart from all other socialist writings of the time. Many utopian Socialists or authors who merely sympathised with the working people had already vividly described their unfortunate condition. But they had shown the working class only as a suffering mass, not as a revolutionary force. The enduring significance of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* lies in the fact that, as Lenin noted, in it "Engels was the *first* to say that the proletariat is *not only* a suffering class; that it is, in fact, the disgraceful economic condition of the proletariat that drives it irresistibly forward and compels it to fight

for its ultimate emancipation. And the fighting proletariat *will help itself*" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 22).

As in Marx's works of this time, the world-historical revolutionary role of the working class is deduced in Engels' book from the social conditions in capitalist society and the proletarians' position in it. There was evident, Engels concludes, an inexorable tendency towards the sharpening of the contradictions inherent in capitalism, towards polarisation of the class forces, and the transformation of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie into the principal factor in the life of society. The social revolution to overthrow the existing system had become historically inevitable. The proletariat, the class in which "reposes the strength and the capacity of development of the nation" (see p. 529 of this volume), precisely by virtue of its position in capitalist society, has the historic mission of destroying it and accomplishing the socialist revolution.

For the first time in socialist literature, Engels systematically analysed the development of the proletariat's emancipation movement and showed the historical significance of this process, which, in the final account, will lead to the communist transformation of society. Engels demonstrated the regular and progressive character of the development of the working-class movement, the inevitability of the transition from primitive spontaneous forms of revolutionary protest to higher and more organised forms of struggle—from local and sporadic actions against individual employers to systematic resistance of the workers to the exploiters and to struggle against the capitalist system itself; from uniting the proletarian forces within the framework of separate trades to creating nationwide class organisations. He elucidated the role of strikes, and of the trade unions as schools of class struggle. At the same time, he stressed that only by taking the path of *political* struggle would the working class be able to deal the decisive blow against the rule of the capitalist class as a whole and achieve genuine emancipation. That was the reason he so much stressed and lavished such praise on the activity of the English Chartists, who transferred the struggle against the bourgeoisie to political ground and began a mass proletarian political movement. Engels saw in Chartism the concentrated form of working-class opposition to the bourgeoisie.

Yet Engels discerned at the same time the crucial weakness of the Chartist movement in its inability to understand the socialist aim of the working-class revolutionary struggle, which was reflected in a certain ideological narrow-mindedness on the part of

its leaders. The English working-class movement, he concluded, must find the way to acquire socialist consciousness. The need was to unite the Chartist movement with socialism—not with Robert Owen's utopian socialism, divorced as it was from genuine class struggle, but with militant proletarian socialism.

*The Condition of the Working-Class in England* nevertheless reflects to a certain extent the fact that the scientific outlook of the proletariat had not yet been completely shaped. Engels himself later regarded this book as a stage in the "embryonic" development of scientific socialism, when there were still visible "traces" of its descent from German classical philosophy. As an example of such immaturity, reflecting the influence of the abstract humanism of Feuerbach and of utopian socialism, he pointed to the proposition that the bourgeoisie itself had an interest in the social advantages of the communist system. Such delusions, especially in respect of the German bourgeoisie, which was often alleged to be far more disinterested than the English, are also apparent in other works by Engels belonging to the same period (see p. 230 of this volume). And as he himself later admitted in the Preface to the second German edition (1892), his idea that England was not far from a socialist revolution was also much too optimistic.

Alongside the two big works of Marx and Engels already named, this volume includes a group of their journalistic works, with manuscript outlines, and so on. Nearly all these works were written by Marx in Brussels, after he had been obliged to move there early in February 1845, when the French authorities closed down the Paris newspaper *Vorwärts!* and deported a number of its contributors and editors. Until the beginning of the revolution in Europe in 1848, Marx pursued his theoretical and political work in the Belgian capital. Engels wrote some of his journalistic works at the same time as *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*—during his stay in Barmen from September 1844 to April 1845. He continued to contribute reports on the state of the revolutionary movement and of communist propaganda on the Continent from Barmen to the Owenites' *New Moral World.* Another group of articles and reports by Engels, including his contributions to the Chartist newspaper *The Northern Star,* which he resumed in the autumn of 1845, were written in Brussels, where he stayed for a time from April 1845.

The content of the articles and reports written by Marx and Engels in this period corresponded to the tasks they set themselves in the two major works. They were all devoted to exposing the capitalist system, passionately defending the interests of the work-

ing class, spreading revolutionary communist ideas, and criticising ideological trends hostile to the communist movement.

The socialist journals *Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform*, *Deutsches Bürgerbuch*, *Gesellschaftsspiegel*, and *Das Westphälische Dampfboot*, which were published in Germany at that time and for which Marx and Engels intended many of their articles, were all to a greater or lesser extent mouthpieces for the ideas of petty-bourgeois "true socialism", alien to the revolutionary communist outlook. Attempts to influence the trend of some of these periodicals, in particular Engels' efforts to impart a revolutionary critical character to the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*, did not succeed. The collaboration of Marx and Engels with these publications could only be incidental and of short duration. They soon broke entirely with some, and wrote elsewhere in opposition to them. Nevertheless, their contributions, even in these publications, played no small part in formulating and spreading communist views and in the birth of the revolutionary proletarian trend in the socialist movement of the time, drawing the line between revolutionary communism and other, non-proletarian trends. A group of their first adherents already began to unite around Marx and Engels in Brussels.

Marx's article on the book *Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie*, by the German economist Friedrich List, was intended for one of the above-named periodicals, but remained unpublished. The present volume includes a recently discovered draft of this article, which contains a trenchant criticism of the views held by List as an apologist of the German bourgeoisie, which was then seeking by protective tariffs to defend itself against competition from the more developed capitalist countries. Marx stresses that List's views reflected the physiognomy of the German bourgeois: his desire to cover up his greedy exploitation and lust for profit with pompous talk about the national interest, coupled with his abject servility towards the aristocracy. But Marx did not confine himself to merely criticising List's views. The draft published in this volume bears witness to his intense work in thinking over the theoretical problems, the materialist interpretation of basic economic and sociological categories such as "labour", "worker", "exchange value", "productive forces", and others. In the course of his analysis Marx reveals the difference in principle between the "human kernel" of factory and plant production which creates "the proletariat, and in the shape of the proletariat the power of a new world order", and its capitalist "dirty outer shell" which has to be broken to free the productive forces of society from their

fetters (see p. 282 of this volume). The thoughts set forth by Marx in this draft were developed in his subsequent philosophical and economic works.

The article "Peuchet: On Suicide" provides proof that in criticising bourgeois society Marx sought not only to lay bare its economic contradictions, but also to expose bourgeois morality, customs and way of living. Making use of material on suicides and their motives, which he obtained from the memoirs of the police archives custodian in Paris, Marx showed that the bourgeois world is ruled by egoism, violation of the human personality, trampling on natural feelings, monstrous family relations.

Engels' articles published in this volume: "Continental Socialism", "Rapid Progress of Communism in Germany", "Speeches in Elberfeld", and others, belong to the Barmen period of his work. They present a picture of the social discontent in Germany in the forties, the growth of opposition to the feudal and absolutist system, and the social dissatisfaction of the working people reflected in the wide propagation of communist and socialist ideas. These articles contain remarkable biographical material and illustrate the mercurial enthusiasm with which young Engels set about his organisational, agitational and journalistic activity in the Rhine Province of Prussia.

In the "Speeches in Elberfeld", Engels pronounced a detailed condemnation of the capitalist system eroded by internal contradictions, and laid bare the economic roots of the class struggle, basing himself both on his experiences in England and a thorough study of conditions in Germany. He spoke of the "contradiction between a few rich people on the one hand, and many poor on the other", and foretold that it would go on deepening "as long as the present basis of society is retained". To the world of cruel exploitation, barbarous squandering of human resources, ruthless competition, war of all against all, Engels opposed a communist society, humanely and economically organised, in which "the interests of individuals are not opposed to one another but, on the contrary, are united" (see pp. 244, 246 of this volume). Engels likewise endeavoured to demonstrate the superiority of the communist system in the article "Description of Recently Founded Communist Colonies Still in Existence". He did not share the views of utopian Socialists who thought that the entire social system could be peacefully transformed by the diffusion of these experimental colonies; he saw their significance rather in their example, which proved that it was possible to organise social and economic relations more justly and rationally on a collective basis.

Among the works written by Engels in Brussels is his "A Fragment of Fourier's on Trade", which contains his translation of extracts from Fourier's work *Des trois unités externes* accompanied by an introduction and a conclusion written by himself. It was no accident that Engels took the trouble to translate this outstanding representative of utopian socialism. He placed a high value on Fourier's criticism of existing society, and intended to include his works in the "Library of the Best Foreign Socialist Writers", the publication of which he and Marx had planned (see p. 667 of this volume). The excerpts from Fourier's writings which he selected expose the cupidity, money-grubbing and deceit reigning in the sphere of finance and trade. This work of Engels was also the first public attack against petty-bourgeois "true socialism", which debased socialist teaching into something sentimental, eclectic, abstract and divorced from the requirements of revolutionary struggle.

Engels' article on Fourier and his intention to publish the works of other Socialists show that Marx and himself held their ideological forerunners in high respect. Criticism of the weaknesses of utopian socialism did not prevent them from seeing in it the rational elements appreciation of which would contribute to the workers' education and help them to acquire the revolutionary proletarian world outlook.

Close to the book *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* are Engels' articles "An English Turnout" and "History of the English Corn Laws". These articles throw additional light on the acute class struggle which had developed in England between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The second describes the workers' demonstrations in August 1842, and the provocative role played in these events by the bourgeois adherents of free trade united in the Anti-Corn Law League.

This volume also contains several articles by Engels published in September and October 1845 in *The Northern Star*. Engels informed his English Chartist readers that, in comparison with the middle-of-the-road and irresolute positions adopted by bourgeois liberal circles in Germany, the German working class was distinguished by greater radicalism and receptivity to revolutionary views. One of the basic ideas expounded in these reports was the need for ideological and political independence for the working class, "who have a movement of their own—a knife-and-fork movement" (see p. 648 of this volume).

In the section of this volume "From the Preparatory Materials" are published draft plans revealing the broad scope of Marx's

intentions and the variety of fields which his searching mind explored (problems concerning the state, the history of the French Revolution, and so on). The Appendices include, besides other biographical documents, Marx's contract with the Leske publishing house for the publication of his projected work in two volumes *Kritik der Politik und Nationalökonomie*. It was out of this plan, which was partially implemented in the "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844", that the idea of *Capital* later crystallised.

* * *

Some of the works included in this volume have been translated into English for the first time. Among these are such writings by Marx as "Draft of an Article on Friedrich List's Book *Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie*", "Peuchet: On Suicide", "Plan of the Library of the Best Foreign Socialist Writers", and all the items contained in the Appendices.

Among the works of Engels the following articles have not been previously translated into English: "Description of Recently Founded Communist Colonies Stillin Existence", "Speeches in Elberfeld", "A Fragment of Fourier's on Trade", "History of the English Corn Laws", and the prospectus of the *Gesellschaftsspiegel* (published as an Appendix, since it was written in co-authorship with Hess). Reprinted for the first time in the language of the original are Engels' two articles from *The Northern Star*: "'Young Germany' in Switzerland" and "Persecution and Expulsion of Communists". Engels' book *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* is published in the English translation by Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky which Engels himself authorised in the 1880s. The most important differences between the original and the translation which affect the meaning are particularised in footnotes.

Those works which have previously been published in English are either rendered in new translations or previous translations have been checked with the original. The special features in the presentation of individual works, in particular manuscripts, are described in the Notes.

Most of the works published in this volume have been translated from the German. If the translation is from another language, or if the text was written by the authors in English, mention is made of this at the end of the particular work.

The volume was compiled and the preface and notes written by Tatyana Yeremeyeva and edited by Lev Golman (Institute of

Marxism-Leninism of the C.C., C.P.S.U.). Valentina Kholopova (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C., C.P.S.U.) prepared the Name Index, the Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature and the Index of Periodicals, and Yevgenia Zastenker the Subject Index.

The new translations are by Jack Cohen, Richard Dixon, Clemens Dutt, Barbara Ruhemann and Christopher Upward, and edited by Margaret Mynatt, Pat Sloan and Alick West (Lawrence & Wishart), Richard Dixon, Yelena Chistyakova and Victor Schnittke (Progress Publishers) and Vladimir Mosolov, scientific editor (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C., C.P.S.U.).

The volume was prepared for the press by the editor Nadezhda Rudenko and the assistant-editor Tatyana Shimanovskaya, for Progress Publishers.

# KARL MARX
and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## WORKS

September 1844-November 1845

# Die heilige Familie,

oder

# Kritik

der

# kritischen Kritik.

Gegen Bruno Bauer & Consorten.

Von

**Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx.**

Frankfurt a. M.
Literarische Anstalt.
(J. Rütten.)
1845.

Title-page of the first edition of *The Holy Family*

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

# THE HOLY FAMILY
# OR
# CRITIQUE OF CRITICAL CRITICISM

## AGAINST BRUNO BAUER AND COMPANY[1]

Written in September-November 1844

First published as a separate book
in 1845 in Frankfurt am Main

Signed: *Frederick Engels* and *Karl Marx*

Translated from the German
edition of 1845

# Foreword

*Real humanism* has no more dangerous enemy in Germany than *spiritualism* or *speculative idealism,* which substitutes "*self-consciousness*" or the "*spirit*" for the *real individual man* and with the evangelist teaches: "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing." Needless to say, this incorporeal spirit is spiritual only in its imagination. What we are combating in *Bauer's* criticism is precisely *speculation* reproducing itself as a *caricature.* We see in it the most complete expression of the *Christian-Germanic* principle, which makes its last effort by transforming "*criticism*" itself into a transcendent power.

Our exposition deals first and foremost with *Bruno Bauer's Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*—the first eight numbers are here before us—because in it Bauer's criticism, and with it the nonsense of *German speculation in general,* has reached its peak. The more completely Critical Criticism (the criticism of the *Literatur-Zeitung*) distorts reality into an obvious comedy through philosophy, the more instructive it is.—For examples see *Faucher* and *Szeliga.*—The *Literatur-Zeitung* offers material by which even the broad public can be enlightened on the illusions of speculative philosophy. That is the aim of our book.

Our exposition is naturally determined by its *subject.* Critical Criticism is in all respects *below* the level already attained by German theoretical development. The nature of our subject therefore justifies our refraining *here* from further *discussion* of that development itself.

Critical Criticism makes it necessary rather to assert, in contrast to it, the already achieved results *as such.*

We therefore give this polemic as a preliminary to the independent works in which we—each of us for himself, of course—shall present our positive view and thereby our positive attitude to the more recent philosophical and social doctrines.

*Paris*, September 1844

*Engels, Marx*

## Chapter I

## "CRITICAL CRITICISM IN THE FORM OF A MASTER-BOOKBINDER", OR CRITICAL CRITICISM AS HERR REICHARDT

Critical Criticism, however superior to the mass it deems itself, nevertheless has boundless pity for the mass. And Criticism so loved the mass that it sent its only begotten son, that all who believe in him may not be lost, but may have Critical life. Criticism was made mass and dwells amongst us and we behold its glory, the glory of the only begotten son of the father. In other words, Criticism becomes socialistic and speaks of "works on pauperism".[2] It does not regard it as a crime to be equal to God but alienates itself and takes the form of a master-bookbinder and humiliates itself to the extent of nonsense — indeed even to Critical nonsense in foreign languages. It, whose heavenly virginal purity shrinks from contact with the sinful leprous mass, overcomes itself to the extent of taking notice of "*Bodz*"[a] and "*all* original writers on pauperism" and "has for years been following this evil of the present time step by step"; it scorns writing for experts, it writes for the general public, banning all outlandish expressions, all "Latin intricacies, all professional jargon". It bans all that from the works of *others,* for it would be too much to expect Criticism itself to submit to "this administrative regulation". And yet it does do so partly, renouncing with admirable ease, if not the words themselves, at least their content. And who will reproach it for using "the huge heap of unintelligible foreign words" when it repeatedly proves that it does not understand those words itself? Here are a few samples[3]:

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[a] Reichardt's distortion of Charles Dickens' pseudonym: Boz.—*Ed.*

"That is why the *institutions of mendicancy* inspire them with horror."

"A doctrine of responsibility in which every motion *of human thought becomes an image of Lot's wife.*"

"On the keystone of this really *profound edifice of art.*"

"This is the main content of Stein's political testament, which the great statesman handed in even before retiring from the active service of the government *and from all its transactions.*"

"This people had *not yet any dimensions* at that time for such extensive freedom."

"By *palavering* with fair assurance at the end of his publicistic work that only confidence was still lacking."

"To the manly state-elevating understanding, rising above routine and pusillanimous fear, reared on history and nurtured with a live perception of foreign public state system."

"The education of general national welfare."

"Freedom lay dead *in the breast of the Prussian national mission* under the control of the authorities."

"*Popular-organic* publicism."

"The people to whom even Herr Brüggemann delivers the *baptismal certificate of its adulthood.*"

"A rather glaring contradiction to the other *certitudes* which are expressed in the work on the professional capacities of the people."

"Wretched self-interest quickly dispels all the *chimeras of the national will.*"

"Passion for great gains, etc., was the spirit that pervaded the whole of the Restoration period and which, with a *fair quantity of indifference, adhered* to the new age."

"The obscure idea of political significance to be found in the *Prussian countrymanship nationality rests on the memory of a great history.*"

"The antipathy disappeared and turned into a completely exalted condition."

"In this wonderful transition each one in his own way still *put forward in prospect* his own special *wish.*"

"A catechism with unctuous Solomon-like language the words of which rise gently like a dove—chirp! chirp!—to the regions of pathos and *thunder-like aspects.*"

"All the *dilettantism of thirty-five years of neglect.*"

"The *too sharp thundering* at the citizens by one of their former town authorities could have been suffered with the calmness of mind characteristic of our representatives if Benda's view of the Town Charter of 1808 had not laboured under a *Mussulman conceptual affliction* with regard to the essence and the application of the Town Charter."

In Herr Reichardt, the audacity of style always corresponds to the audacity of the thought. He makes transitions like the following:

"Herr Brüggemann ... 1843 ... state theory ... every upright man ... the great modesty of our Socialists ... natural marvels ... demands to be made on Germany ... supernatural marvels ... Abraham ... Philadelphia ... manna ... baker ... but *since* we are speaking of *marvels, Napoleon* brought," etc.

After these samples it is no wonder that Critical Criticism gives us a further "explanation" of a sentence which it itself describes as expressed in "popular language", for it "arms its eyes with organic power to penetrate chaos". And here it must be said that then even

"popular language" cannot remain unintelligible to Critical Criticism. It is aware that the way of the writer must necessarily be a crooked one if the individual who sets out on it is not strong enough to make it straight; and therefore it naturally ascribes "mathematical operations" to the author.

It is self-evident—and history, which proves everything which is self-evident, also proves this—that Criticism does not become mass in order to remain mass, but in order to redeem the mass from its mass-like mass nature, that is, to raise the popular language of the mass to the critical language of Critical Criticism. It is the lowest grade of degradation for Criticism to learn the popular language of the mass and transfigure that vulgar jargon into the high-flown intricacy of the dialectics of Critical Criticism.

## Chapter II

### "CRITICAL CRITICISM" AS A "MILL-OWNER", OR CRITICAL CRITICISM AS HERR JULES FAUCHER[4]

After rendering most substantial services to self-consciousness by humiliating itself to the extent of nonsense in foreign languages, and thereby at the same time freeing the world from pauperism, Criticism still further humiliates itself to the extent of *nonsense* in *practice* and *history*. It masters *"English questions of the day"* and gives us a genuinely *critical outline of the history of English industry*.

Criticism, which is self-sufficient, and complete and perfect in itself, naturally cannot recognise history as it really took place, for that would mean recognising the base Mass in all its mass-like mass nature, whereas the problem is precisely to redeem the Mass from its mass nature. History is therefore freed from its mass nature, and Criticism, which has a *free* attitude to its object, calls to history: *"You ought to have happened in such and such a way!"* All the laws of Criticism have *retrospective* force: *prior to* the decrees of Criticism, history behaved quite differently from how it did *after* them. Hence mass-type history, so-called *real* history, deviates considerably from *Critical* history, as it takes place in Heft VII of the *Literatur-Zeitung* from page 4 onwards.

In mass-type history there were *no factory towns* before there were *factories;* but in Critical history, in which, as already in *Hegel,* the son begets his father, *Manchester, Bolton* and *Preston* were flourishing factory towns before factories were even thought of. In real history the *cotton industry* was founded mainly on *Hargreaves' jenny* and *Arkwright's throstle, Crompton's mule* being only an improvement of the spinning jenny according to the new principle discovered by Arkwright. But Critical history knows how to make distinctions: it scorns the one-sidedness of the jenny and the

throstle, and gives the crown to the mule as the speculative identity of the extremes. In reality, the invention of the throstle and the mule immediately made possible the *application of water-power* to those machines, but Critical Criticism sorts out the principles lumped together by crude history and makes this application come only later, as something quite special. In reality the invention of the steam-engine *preceded* all the above-mentioned inventions; according to Criticism it is the crown of them all and the *last.*

In reality the *business ties* between Liverpool and Manchester in their present scope were the result of the export of English goods; according to Criticism they are the *cause* of the export and both are the result of the proximity of the two towns. In reality nearly all goods from Manchester go to the Continent via *Hull,* according to Criticism via *Liverpool.*

In reality all *grades of wages* exist in English factories, from 1s 6d to 40s and more; but according to Criticism only *one* rate is paid — 11s. In reality the *machine* replaces *manual labour*; according to Criticism it replaces *thought.* In reality the *association* of workers for wage rises is allowed in *England,* but according to Criticism it is prohibited, for when the Mass wants to allow itself anything it must first ask Criticism. In reality *factory labour* is extremely *tiring* and gives rise to specific diseases — there are even special medical works on them; according to Criticism "excessive exertion cannot be a hindrance to work, for the power is provided by the machine". In reality the machine is a machine; according to Criticism it has a *will,* for as it does not rest, neither can the worker, and he is subordinated to an alien will.

But that is still nothing at all. Criticism cannot be content with the *mass-type parties* in England; it creates new ones, including a *"factory party",* for which history may be thankful to it. On the other hand, it lumps together the factory-owners and the factory workers in *one* massive heap — why bother about such trifles! — and decrees that the factory workers refused to contribute to the Anti-Corn-Law League[5] not out of ill-will or because of Chartism, as the stupid factory-owners maintain, but merely because they were poor. It further decrees that with the repeal of the English Corn Laws agricultural labourers will have to put up with a lowering of wages, in regard to which, however, we must most submissively remark that that destitute class cannot be deprived of another penny without being reduced to absolute starvation. It decrees that the working day in English factories is *sixteen* hours, although a silly un-Critical English law has fixed a

maximum of twelve hours. It decrees that England is to become a huge workshop for the world, although the un-Critical mass of Americans, Germans and Belgians are ruining one market after another for the English by their competition. Lastly, it decrees that neither the propertied nor the non-propertied classes in England are aware of the *centralisation of property* and its consequences for the working classes, although the stupid Chartists think they are well aware of them; the *Socialists* maintain that they expounded those consequences in detail long ago, and even Tories and Whigs like *Carlyle, Alison* and *Gaskell* have proved their knowledge of them in their works.

Criticism decrees that Lord *Ashley's Ten Hour Bill*[6] is a half-hearted *juste-milieu* measure and Lord Ashley himself "a true illustration of constitutional action",[a] while the factory-owners, the Chartists, the landowners—in short, all that makes up the mass nature of England—have so far considered this measure as an expression, the mildest possible one admittedly, of a downright radical principle, since it would lay the axe at the root of foreign trade and thereby at the root of the factory system—nay, not merely lay the axe to it, but cut deeply into it. Critical Criticism knows better. It knows that the ten hour question was discussed before a "commission" of the Lower House, although the un-Critical newspapers try to make us believe that this "commission" was the *House itself, "a Committee of the Whole House"*[7]; but Criticism must needs do away with that eccentricity of the English Constitution.

Critical Criticism, which itself *begets* its *opposite,* the *stupidity of the Mass,* also produces the stupidity of Sir James Graham: by a Critical understanding of the English language it puts things in his mouth which the un-Critical Home Secretary never said, just to allow Critical wisdom to shine brighter in comparison with his stupidity. Graham, according to Criticism, says that the machines in the factories wear out in about twelve years whether they work ten hours a day or twelve, and that therefore a Ten Hour Bill would make it impossible for the capitalists to reproduce in twelve years through the work of their machines the capital laid out on them. Criticism proves that it has thus put a false conclusion in the mouth of Sir James Graham, for a machine that works one-sixth of the time less every day will naturally remain usable longer.

However correct this observation of Critical Criticism against its own false conclusion, it must, on the other hand, be conceded that

[a] Here and below the quotations are taken from the continuation of Faucher's article, published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung,* Heft VIII, July 1844.—*Ed.*

Sir James Graham said that under a Ten Hour Bill the machine would have to work quicker in the proportion that its working time was reduced (Criticism itself quotes this in [Heft] VIII, page 32) and that in that case the time when it would be worn out would be the same—twelve years.[8] This must all the more be acknowledged as the acknowledgement contributes to the glory and exaltation of "*Criticism*"; for only Criticism both made the false conclusion and then refuted it. Criticism is just as magnanimous towards Lord *John Russell*, to whom it imputes the wish to change the political form of the state and the electoral system. From this we must conclude either that Criticism's urge to produce stupidities is uncommonly powerful or that Lord John Russell must have become a Critical Critic within the past week.

But Criticism only becomes truly magnificent in its fabrication of stupidities when it discovers that the English workers—who in April and May held meeting after meeting, drew up petition after petition, and all for the Ten Hour Bill, and displayed more agitation throughout the factory districts than at any time during the past two years—that those workers take only a "*partial* interest" in this question, although it is evident that "legislation limiting the working day has also occupied their attention". Criticism is truly magnificent when it finally makes the great, the glorious, the unheard-of discovery that

> "the apparently more immediate help from the repeal of the Corn Laws absorbs most of the wishes of the workers and will do so until no longer doubtful realisation of those wishes practically proves the futility of the repeal"—

proves it to workers who drag Anti-Corn-Law agitators down from the platform at every public meeting, who have seen to it that the Anti-Corn-Law League no longer dares to hold a public meeting in any English industrial town, who consider the League to be their only enemy and who, during the debate of the Ten Hour Bill—as nearly always before in similar matters—had the support of the Tories. Criticism is superb, too, when it discovers that "the workers still let themselves be lured by the sweeping promises of the *Chartist movement*", which is nothing but the political expression of public opinion among the workers. Criticism is superb, too, when it realises, in the depths of its Absolute Spirit, that

> "the two party groupings, the political one and that of the landowners and mill-owners, *no longer* wish to merge or coincide".

It was so far not known that the party grouping of the landowners and the mill-owners, because of the numerical small-

ness of either class of owners and the equal political rights of each (with the exception of the few peers), was so comprehensive that it was completely identical with the political party groupings, and not their most consistent expression, their peak. Criticism is splendid when it suggests that the Anti-Corn-Law Leaguers do not know that, *ceteris paribus*,[a] a drop in the price of bread must be followed by a drop in wages, so that all would remain as it was; whereas these people expect that, granted there is a drop in wages and a consequent lowering of production costs, the result will be an expansion of the market. This, they expect, would lead to a reduction of competition among the workers, and consequently wages would still be kept a little higher in comparison with the price of bread than they are now.

Freely creating its opposite — nonsense — and moving in artistic rapture, Criticism, which only two years ago exclaimed "Criticism speaks German, theology speaks Latin!",[b] has now learnt *English* and calls the estate-owners "*Landeigner*" (landowners), the factory-owners "*Mühleigner*" (mill-owners) — in English a mill means any factory with machinery driven by steam or water-power — and the workers "*Hände*" (hands). Instead of "*Einmischung*" it says *Interferenz* (interference); and in its infinite mercy for the English language, the sinful mass nature of which is abundantly evident, it condescends to improve it by doing away with the pedantry with which the English place the title "Sir" before the *Christian* name of knights and baronets. Where the Mass says "Sir James Graham", it says "Sir Graham".

That Criticism reforms *English* history and the *English* language out of *principle* and not out of *levity* will presently be proved by the *thoroughness* with which it treats the *history of Herr Nauwerck*.

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[a] Other things remaining the same.—*Ed.*

[b] Bruno Bauer, *Die Gute Sache der Freiheit und meine eigene Angelegenheit*, Zürich u. Winterthur, 1842.—*Ed.*

## Chapter III

### "THE THOROUGHNESS OF CRITICAL CRITICISM", OR CRITICAL CRITICISM AS HERR J. (JUNGNITZ?)[9]

Criticism cannot ignore Herr *Nauwerck's* infinitely important dispute with the Berlin Faculty of Philosophy. It has indeed had a similar experience and it must take Herr Nauwerck's fate as a background in order to put its own *dismissal from Bonn*[10] in sharper relief. Criticism, being accustomed to considering the Bonn affair as the event of the century, and having already written the "philosophy of the deposition of criticism", could be expected to give a similar detailed philosophical construction of the Berlin "collision". Criticism proves *a priori* that everything had to happen in such a way and no other. It proves:

1) Why the Faculty of Philosophy was bound to come into "collision" not with a logician or metaphysician, but with a philosopher of the state;

2) Why that collision could not be so sharp and decisive as Criticism's conflict with theology in Bonn;

3) Why that collision was, properly speaking, a stupid business, since Criticism had already concentrated all principles and all content in its Bonn collision, so that world history could only become a plagiarist of Criticism;

4) Why the Faculty of Philosophy considered attacks on the works of Herr Nauwerck as attacks on itself;

5) Why no other course remained for Herr N. but to retire of his own accord;

6) Why the Faculty had to defend Herr N. if it did not want to disavow itself;

7) Why the "inner split in the Faculty had necessarily to manifest itself in such a way" that the Faculty declared both N. and the Government right and wrong at the same time;

8) Why the Faculty finds in N.'s works no reason for dismissing him;

9) What determined the lack of clarity of the whole verdict;

10) Why the Faculty "deems itself (!) entitled (!) as a scientific authority (!) to examine the essence of the matter", and finally;

11) Why, nevertheless, the Faculty does not want to write in the same way as Herr N.

Criticism disposes of these important questions with rare thoroughness in four pages, proving by means of Hegel's logic why everything had to happen as it did and why no god could have prevented it. In another place Criticism says that there has not yet been full knowledge of a single epoch in history; modesty prevents it from saying that it has full knowledge of at least its own collision and Nauwerck's, which, although they are not epochs, appear to Criticism to be epoch-*making*.

Having "abolished" in itself the "element" of *thoroughness*, Critical Criticism becomes "*the tranquillity of knowledge*".[11]

## Chapter IV

## "CRITICAL CRITICISM" AS THE TRANQUILLITY OF KNOWLEDGE, OR "CRITICAL CRITICISM" AS HERR EDGAR

### 1) FLORA TRISTAN'S *UNION OUVRIÈRE*[12]

The French Socialists maintain that the worker makes everything, produces everything and yet has no rights, no possessions, in short, nothing at all. Criticism answers in the words of Herr *Edgar*, the personification of the *tranquillity of knowledge*:

"To be able to create everything, a stronger consciousness is needed than that of the worker. Only the opposite of the above proposition would be true: the worker makes nothing, therefore he has nothing; but the reason why he makes nothing is that his work is always individual, having as its object his most personal needs, and is everyday work."

Here Criticism achieves a height of abstraction in which it regards only the creations of its own thought and generalities which contradict all reality as "something", indeed as "*everything*". The worker creates nothing because he creates only "individual", that is, perceptible, palpable, spiritless and un-Critical objects, which are an abomination in the eyes of pure Criticism. Everything that is real and living is un-Critical, of a mass nature, and therefore "nothing"; only the ideal, fantastic creatures of Critical Criticism are "*everything*".

The worker creates nothing, because his work remains individual, having only his individual needs as its object, that is, because in the present world system the individual interconnected branches of labour are separated from, and even opposed to, one another; in short, because labour is not *organised*. Criticism's own proposition, if taken in the only reasonable sense it can possibly have, demands the organisation of labour. Flora Tristan, in an assessment of whose work this great proposition appears, puts forward the same demand and is treated *en canaille*[a] for her insolence in anticipating Critical Criticism. Anyhow, the proposition that the

[a] Contemptuously.— *Ed.*

worker creates nothing is absolutely crazy except in the sense that the *individual* worker produces nothing *whole*, which is tautology. Critical Criticism creates nothing, the worker creates everything; and so much so that even his intellectual creations put the whole of Criticism to shame; the English and the French workers provide proof of this. The worker creates even *man*; the critic will never be anything but sub-human[a] though on the other hand, of course, he has the satisfaction of being a Critical critic.

"Flora Tristan is an example of the feminine dogmatism which must have a formula and constructs it out of the categories of what exists."

Criticism does nothing but "construct formulae out of the categories of what exists", namely, out of the existing *Hegelian* philosophy and the existing social aspirations. Formulae, nothing but formulae. And despite all its invectives against dogmatism, it condemns itself to dogmatism and even to *feminine* dogmatism. It is and remains an old woman—faded, widowed *Hegelian* philosophy which paints and adorns its body, shrivelled into the most repulsive abstraction, and ogles all over Germany in search of a wooer.

### 2) BÉRAUD ON PROSTITUTES[13]

Herr Edgar, taking pity on social questions, meddles also in "*conditions of prostitutes*" (Heft V, p. 26).[b]

He criticises Paris Police Commissioner Béraud's book on prostitution because he is concerned with the "*point of view*" from which "Béraud considers the attitude of prostitutes to society". The "tranquillity of knowledge" is surprised to see that a policeman adopts the point of view of the police, and it gives the Mass to understand that that point of view is quite wrong. But it does not reveal its own point of view. Of course not! When Criticism takes up with prostitutes it cannot be expected to do so in public.

### 3) LOVE

In order to complete its transformation into the "tranquillity of knowledge", Critical Criticism must first seek to dispose of *love*. Love is a passion, and nothing is more dangerous for the

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[a] In the German text there is a pun on the words "Mensch" (man) and "Unmensch" (brute).—*Ed.*

[b] *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft V, April 1844.—*Ed.*

tranquillity of knowledge than passion. That is why, speaking of Madame von Paalzow's novels, which, he assures us, he has "thoroughly *studied*", Herr Edgar is amazed at "a *childish thing* like *so-called love*".[14] It is a horror and abomination and excites the wrath of Critical Criticism, makes it almost as bitter as gall, indeed, insane.

"Love ... is a cruel goddess, and like every deity she wishes to possess the whole of man and is not satisfied until he has surrendered to her not merely his soul, but his physical self. The worship of love is suffering, the peak of this worship is self-immolation, suicide."

In order to change love into "Moloch", the devil incarnate, Herr Edgar first changes it into a goddess. When love has become a goddess, i. e., a theological object, it is of course submitted to *theological criticism*; moreover, it is known that god and the devil are not far apart. Herr Edgar changes love into a "goddess", a "cruel goddess" at that, by changing *man who loves*, the love of *man*, into a man of *love*; by making "*love*" a being apart, separate from man and as such independent. By this simple process, by changing the predicate into the subject, all the attributes and manifestations of human nature can be Critically transformed into their *negation* and into *alienations* of human nature.[a] Thus, for example, Critical Criticism makes criticism, as a predicate and activity of man, into a subject apart, criticism which relates itself to itself and is therefore *Critical Criticism*: a "Moloch", the worship of which consists in the self-immolation, the suicide of man, and in particular of his *ability to think*.

"*Object*," exclaims the tranquillity of knowledge, "object is the right expression, for the beloved is important to the lover [*denn der Geliebte ist dem Liebenden*] (there is no feminine) only as *this external object* of the *emotion of his soul*, as the object in which he wishes to see his selfish feeling satisfied."

*Object!* Horrible! There is nothing more damnable, more profane, more mass-like than an *object—à bas*[b] the object! How could absolute subjectivity, the *actus purus*,[c] *"pure"* Criticism, not see in love its *bête noire*,[d] that Satan incarnate, in love, which first really teaches man to believe in the objective world outside himself,

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[a] A pun in the original: "*alle Wesensbestimmungen und Wesensäusserungen des Menschen* (all the attributes and manifestations of human nature) are transformed into "*Unwesen*" (fantastic creatures, monsters) and into "*Wesensentäusserungen*" (alienations of human essence).—*Ed.*

[b] Down with.—*Ed.*

[c] Pure act.—*Ed.*

[d] Object of special detestation.—*Ed.*

which not only makes man into an object, but even the object into a man!

Love, continues the tranquillity of knowledge, beside itself, is not even content with turning man into the *category* of "*object*" for another man, it even makes him into a *definite, real* object, into *this* bad-individual (see Hegel's *Phänomenologie*[a] on the categories "This" and "That", where there is also a polemic against the bad "*This*"), *external* object, which does not remain internal, hidden in the brain, but is sensuously manifest.

Love
Lives not *only* in the *brain* immured.

No, the beloved is a *sensuous object*, and if Critical Criticism is to condescend to recognition of an object, it demands at the very least a *senseless* object. But love is an *un-Critical, unchristian materialist.*

Finally, love even makes one human being "*this external object of the emotion of the soul*" of another, the object in which the *selfish* feeling of the other finds its satisfaction, a *selfish* feeling because it *looks for its own essence* in the other, and that must not be. Critical Criticism is so *free* from all *selfishness* that for it the whole range of human essence is exhausted *by its own self.*

Herr Edgar, of course, does not tell us in what way the beloved differs from the other "external objects of the emotion of the soul in which the selfish feelings of men find their satisfaction". The spiritually profound, meaningful, highly expressive object of love means nothing to the tranquillity of knowledge but the abstract formula: "this external object of the emotion of the soul", much as the comet means nothing to the speculative natural philosopher but "negativity". By making man the external object of the emotion of his soul, man does in fact attach "importance" to him, Critical Criticism itself admits, but only *objective importance*, so to speak, while the importance which Criticism attaches to objects is none other than that which it attaches to itself. Hence this importance lies not in "bad *external being*", but in the "*Nothing*" of the Critically important object.

If the tranquillity of knowledge has no *object* in real man, it has, on the other hand, a *cause* in *humanity*. Critical love "*is careful* above all not to forget the *cause* behind the personality, for that cause is none other than the cause of humanity". Un-Critical love does not separate humanity from the personal, individual man.

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes.—Ed.*

"Love itself, as an *abstract* passion, which comes we know not whence and goes we know not whither, is incapable of having an interest in *internal* development."

In the eyes of the tranquillity of knowledge, love is an abstract passion according to the *speculative* terminology in which the concrete is called abstract and the abstract concrete.

The maid was not born in that valley,
But where she came from, no one knew.
And soon all trace of her did vanish
Once she had bidden them adieu.[a]

For abstraction, love is "the maid from a foreign land" who has no dialectical passport and is therefore expelled from the country by the Critical police.

The passion of love is incapable of having an interest in *internal* development because it cannot be construed *a priori*, because its development is a real one which takes place in the world of the senses and between real individuals. But the main interest of speculative construction is the "Whence" and the "Whither". The "Whence" is the "*necessity* of a concept, its proof and deduction" (Hegel). The "Whither" is the determination "by which each individual link of the speculative circular course, as the animated content of the method, is at the same time the beginning of a new link" (Hegel). Hence, only if its "Whence" and its "Whither" could be construed *a priori* would love deserve the "interest" of speculative Criticism.

What Critical Criticism combats here is not merely love but everything living, everything which is immediate, every sensuous experience, any and every *real* experience, the "Whence" and the "Whither" of which one never *knows* beforehand.

By overcoming love, Herr Edgar has completely *asserted* himself as the "tranquillity of knowledge", and now by his treatment of *Proudhon*, he can show great virtuosity in knowledge, the "*object*" of which is no longer "*this external object*", and a still greater *lack of love* for the French language.

### 4) PROUDHON

It was not *Proudhon* himself, but "Proudhon's *point of view*", Critical Criticism informs us, that wrote *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?*

"I begin my exposition of Proudhon's point of view by characterising its" (the point of view's) "work, *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?*"[15]

As only the works of the Critical point of view possess a character of their own, the Critical characterisation necessarily

[a] From Schiller's *Das Mädchen aus der Fremde.*—*Ed.*

begins by giving a character to Proudhon's work. Herr Edgar gives this work a character by *translating* it. He naturally gives it a *bad* character, for he turns it into an *object* of "Criticism".

Proudhon's work, therefore, is subjected to a double attack by Herr Edgar—an *unspoken* one in his characterising translation and an *outspoken* one in his Critical comments. We shall see that Herr Edgar is more devastating when he translates than when he comments.

### *Characterising Translation No. 1*

"I do not wish" (says the Critically translated Proudhon) "to give any system of the new; I wish for nothing but the abolition of privilege, the abolition of slavery.... Justice, nothing but justice, that is what I mean."

The characterised Proudhon confines himself to will and opinion, because "good will" and unscientific "opinion" are characteristic attributes of the un-Critical Mass. The characterised Proudhon behaves with the humility that is fitting for the Mass and subordinates what he wishes to what he does *not* wish. He does not presume to wish to give a system of the new, he wishes less, he even wishes for *nothing* but the abolition of privilege, etc. Besides this Critical subordination of the will he has to the will he has not, his very first word is marked by a characteristic lack of logic. A writer who begins his book by saying that he does not wish to give any system of the new, should then tell us what he does wish to give: whether it is a systematised old or an unsystematised new. But does the characterised Proudhon, who does not wish to *give* any system of the new, wish to give the abolition of privilege? No. He just *wishes* it.

The *real* Proudhon says: "*Je ne fais pas de système; je demande la fin du privilège,*"[a] etc. I make no system, I demand, etc., that is to say, the real Proudhon declares that he does not pursue any abstract scientific aims, but makes immediately practical demands on society. And the demand he makes is not an arbitrary one. It is motivated and justified by his whole argument and is the summary of that argument for, he says, "*justice, rien que justice; tel est le resumé de mon discours.*"[b] With his "justice, nothing but justice, that is what I mean", the characterised Proudhon gets himself into a position which is all the more embarrassing as he means much more. According to Herr Edgar, for example, he "*means*" that philosophy has not been practical enough, he "*means*" to refute Charles Comte, and so forth.

[a] "I make no system, I demand an end of privilege."—*Ed.*

[b] "Justice, nothing but justice; that is the summary of what I say."—*Ed.*

The Critical Proudhon asks: "Ought *man* then always to be unhappy?" In other words, he asks whether unhappiness is man's moral destiny. The real Proudhon is a light-minded Frenchman and he asks whether unhappiness is a material necessity, a *must.* (*L'homme doit-il être éternellement malheureux?* [a])

The mass-type Proudhon says:

"Et, sans m'arrêter aux explications à toute fin des entrepreneurs de réformes, accusant de la détresse générale, ceux-ci la lâcheté et l'impéritie du pouvoir, ceux-là les conspirateurs et les émeutes, d'autres l'ignorance et la corruption générale", etc.[b]

The expression *"à toute fin"* being a bad mass-type expression that is not in the mass-type German dictionaries, the Critical Proudhon naturally omits this more exact definition of the "explanations". This term is taken from mass-type French jurisprudence, and "*explications à toute fin*" means explanations which preclude any objection. The Critical Proudhon censures the "*Reformists*", a French Socialist Party[16]; the mass-type Proudhon censures the initiators of reforms. The mass-type Proudhon distinguishes various classes of "*entrepreneurs de réformes*". These (*ceux-ci*) say *one thing*, those (*ceux-là*) say *another*, others (*d'autres*) a *third*. The Critical Proudhon, on the other hand, makes *the same reformists* "accuse now one, then another, then a third", which in any case is proof of their inconstancy. The real Proudhon, who follows mass-type French practice, speaks of "*les conspirateurs et les émeutes*", i.e., first of the conspirators and then of their activity, revolts. The Critical Proudhon, on the other hand, who has lumped together the various classes of reformists, classifies the rebels and hence says: the conspirators and the *rebels*. The mass-type Proudhon speaks of *ignorance* and *"general corruption"*. The Critical Proudhon changes ignorance into stupidity, "corruption" into "depravity", and finally, as a Critical critic, makes the stupidity *general*. He himself gives an immediate example of it by putting "*générale*" in the singular instead of the plural. He writes: "*l'ignorance et la corruption générale*" for general stupidity and depravity. According to un-Critical French grammar this should be: *l'ignorance et la corruption générales.*

The characterised Proudhon, who speaks and thinks otherwise than the mass-type one, necessarily went through quite a different

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[a] *Must* man for ever be unhappy?—*Ed.*

[b] "Without dwelling on the explanations precluding all objections given by the initiators of reforms, some of whom blame for the general distress the cowardice and incapacity of the government, others—conspirators and revolts, others again—ignorance and general corruption", etc.—*Ed.*

*course of education.* He "questioned the masters of science, read hundreds of volumes of philosophy and law, etc., and *at last*" he "realised that we have never yet grasped the meaning of the words Justice, Equity, Freedom". The real Proudhon thought he had realised *at first* (*je crus d'abord reconnaître*[a]) what the Critical Proudhon realised only *"at last"*. The Critical alteration of *d'abord* into *enfin* is necessary because the Mass may not think it realises anything "at first". The mass-type Proudhon tells explicitly how he was staggered by the unexpected result of his studies and distrusted it. Hence he decided to carry out a *"countertest"* and asked himself: "Is it possible that mankind has so long and so universally been mistaken over the principles of the application of morals? How and why was it mistaken?" etc. He made the correctness of his observations dependent on the solution of these questions. He found that in morals, as in all other branches of knowledge, errors *"are stages of science"*. The Critical Proudhon, on the other hand, immediately trusted the first impression that his studies of political economy, law and the like made upon him. Needless to say, the Mass cannot proceed in any *thorough* way; it is bound to raise the first results of its investigations to the level of indisputable truths. It has "reached the end before it has started, before it has measured itself with its opposite". Hence, "it is seen" later "that it is not yet at the beginning when it thinks it has reached the end".

The Critical Proudhon therefore continues his reasoning in the most untenable and incoherent way.

> "Our knowledge of moral laws is not complete from the beginning; *thus* it can for some time suffice for social progress, but in the long run it will lead us on a false path."

The Critical Proudhon does not give any reason why incomplete knowledge of moral laws can suffice for social progress even for a single day. The real Proudhon, having asked himself whether and why mankind could universally and so long have been mistaken and having found as the solution that all errors are stages of science and that our most imperfect judgments contain a sum of truths sufficient for a certain number of inductions and for a certain area of practical life, beyond which number and which area they lead theoretically to the absurd and practically to decay, is in a position to say that even imperfect knowledge of moral laws can suffice for social progress for a time.

The Critical Proudhon says:

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[a] I thought *at first* I had recognised.— *Ed.*

"But if new knowledge has become necessary, a bitter struggle arises between the old prejudices and the new idea."

How can a struggle arise against an opponent who does *not yet* exist? Admitted, the Critical Proudhon has told us that a new idea has become necessary but he has not said that it has already *come into existence.*

The mass-type Proudhon says:

"Once higher knowledge has become indispensable it *is never lacking*", it is therefore ready at hand. "*It is then* that the struggle begins."

The Critical Proudhon asserts: "It is man's destiny to learn step by step", as if man did not have a quite different destiny, namely, that of being man, and as if that learning "step by step" necessarily brought him a step farther. I can go step by step and arrive at the very point from which I set out. The un-Critical Proudhon speaks, not of "destiny", but of the *condition* (*condition*) for man to learn not *step by step* (*pas à pas*), but *by degrees* (*par degrés*). The Critical Proudhon says to himself:

"Among the principles upon which society rests there is one which society does not understand, which is spoilt by society's ignorance and is the cause of all evil. Nevertheless, man honours *this* principle" and "wills it, for otherwise it would have no influence. Now this principle which is true in its *essence* but is false in the way we conceive it ... what is it?"

In the first sentence the Critical Proudhon says that the principle is spoilt, misunderstood by society, hence that it is correct in itself. In the second sentence he admits superfluously that it is true in its essence; nevertheless he reproaches society with willing and honouring "this principle". The mass-type Proudhon, on the other hand, reproaches society with willing and honouring not this principle, but this principle *as* falsified by our ignorance (*"Ce principe ... tel que notre ignorance l'a fait, est honoré."* [a]). The Critical Proudhon finds the *essence* of the principle in its untrue form *true.* The mass-type Proudhon finds that the essence of the falsified principle is our incorrect conception, but that it is true in its *object* (*objet*), just as the essence of alchemy and astrology is our imagination, but their objects—the movement of the heavenly bodies and the chemical properties of substances—are true.

The Critical Proudhon continues his monologue:

"The object of our investigation is the law, the definition of the social principle. Now the politicians, i.e., the men of social science, are a prey to complete lack of clarity ...; but as there is a reality at the basis of every error, in their books we shall find the truth, which they have brought into the world without knowing it."

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[a] "This principle ... as our ignorance has made it, is honoured."—*Ed.*

The Critical Proudhon has a most fantastic way of reasoning. From the fact that the politicians are ignorant and unclear, he goes on in the most arbitrary fashion to say that a reality lies at the basis of every error, which can all the less be doubted as there is a reality at the basis of every error—in the person of the one who errs. From the fact that a reality lies *at the basis* of every error he goes on to conclude that truth is to be found *in the books* of politicians. And finally he even makes out that the politicians have brought this truth into the *world.* Had they brought it into the *world* we should not need to look for it in their *books.*

The mass-type Proudhon says:

"The politicians do not understand one another (*ne s'entendent pas*); their error is therefore a subjective one, having its origin in them (*donc c'est en eux qu'est l'erreur*)." Their mutual misunderstanding proves their one-sidedness. They confuse "their private opinion with common sense", and "as", according to the previous deduction, "every error has a true reality as its *object,* their books must contain the truth, which they unconsciously have put there"—i.e., in their books—"but have not brought into the world" (*dans leurs livres doit se trouver la vérité, qu'à leur insu ils y auront mise*).

The Critical Proudhon asks himself: "What is justice, what is its essence, its character, its meaning?" As if it had some meaning apart from its essence and character. The un-Critical Proudhon asks: What is its principle, its character and its formula (*formule*)? The formula is the principle as a principle of scientific reasoning. In the mass-type French language there is an essential difference between *formule* and *signification.* In the Critical French language there is none.

After his highly irrelevant disquisitions, the Critical Proudhon pulls himself together and exclaims:

"Let us try to get somewhat closer to our object."

The un-Critical Proudhon, on the other hand, who arrived at his object long ago, tries to attain more precise and more positive definitions of his object (*d'arriver à quelque chose de plus précis et de plus positif*).

For the Critical Proudhon "the law is a *definition* of what is right", for the un-Critical Proudhon it is a *"statement" (déclaration)* of it. The un-Critical Proudhon disputes the view that right is made by law. But a "definition of the law" can mean that the law is defined just as it can mean that it defines. Previously, the Critical Proudhon himself spoke about the definition of the social principle in this latter sense. To be sure, it is unseemly of the mass-type Proudhon to make such nice distinctions.

Considering these differences between the Critically character-

ised Proudhon and the real Proudhon, it is no wonder that Proudhon No. 1 seeks to *prove* quite different things than Proudhon No. 2.

The Critical Proudhon

"*seeks to prove* by the *experience of history*" that "if the idea that we have of what is just and right is false, *evidently*" (he tries to prove it in spite of its evidence) "all its applications in law must be bad, all our institutions must be defective".

The mass-type Proudhon is far from wishing to prove what is evident. He says instead:

"If the idea that we have of what is just and right were badly defined, if it were incomplete or even false, it is *evident* that all our legislative applications would be bad", etc.

What, then, does the un-Critical Proudhon wish to prove?

"This hypothesis," he continues, "of the perversion of justice in our understanding, and as a necessary consequence in our actions, would be an established fact if the opinions of men concerning the concept of justice and its applications had not remained constantly the same, if at different times they had undergone modifications; in a word, if there had been progress in ideas."

And precisely that inconstancy, that change, that progress "is what *history* proves by the most striking testimonies". And the un-Critical Proudhon quotes these striking testimonies of history. His Critical double, who proves a completely different proposition by the experience of history, also presents that experience itself in a different way.

According to the real Proudhon, "the wise" (*les sages*), according to the Critical Proudhon, "the philosophers", foresaw the fall of the Roman Empire. The Critical Proudhon can of course consider only philosophers to be wise men. According to the real Proudhon, Roman "rights were consecrated by ten centuries of law practice" or "administration of justice" (*ces droits consacrés par une justice dix fois séculaire*); according to the Critical Proudhon, Rome had "rights consecrated by ten centuries of *justice*".

According to the same Proudhon No. 1, the Romans reasoned as follows:

"Rome ... was victorious through its policy and its gods; any reform in worship or public spirit would be stupidity and profanation" (according to the Critical Proudhon, *sacrilège* means not the profanation or desecration of a holy thing, as in the mass-type French language, but just profanation). "Had it wished to free the peoples, it would thereby have renounced its right." "Rome had thus fact and right in its favour," Proudhon No. 1 adds.

According to the un-Critical Proudhon, the Romans reasoned more logically. The *fact* was set out in detail:

"The slaves are the most fertile source of its wealth; the freeing of the peoples would therefore be *the ruin of its finance*."

And the mass-type Proudhon adds, referring to law: "Rome's claims were justified by the law of nations (*droit des gens*)." This way of proving the right of subjugation was completely in keeping with the Roman view on law. See the mass-type pandects: *"jure gentium servitus invasit"* (Fr. 4. D. I. I).[a]

According to the Critical Proudhon, "idolatry, slavery and softness" were "the basis of Roman institutions", of all its institutions without exception. The real Proudhon says: "Idolatry in religion, slavery in the state and Epicureanism in private life" (*épicurisme* in the ordinary French language is not synonymous with *mollesse,* softness) "were the basis of the institutions." Within that Roman situation there "appeared", says the mystic Proudhon, "the Word of God", whereas according to the real, rationalistic Proudhon, it was "a man who *called* himself the Word of God". In the real Proudhon this man calls the priests "vipers" (*vipères*); in the Critical Proudhon he speaks more courteously with them and calls them "serpents". In the former he speaks in the Roman way of "advocates" [*Advokaten*], in the latter in the German way of "lawyers" [*Rechtsgelehrte*].

The Critical Proudhon calls the spirit of the French Revolution a spirit of contradiction, and adds:

> "That is enough to realise that the new which replaced the old had on itself [*an sich*] nothing methodical and considered."

He cannot refrain from repeating mechanically the favourite categories of Critical Criticism, the "old" and the "new". He cannot refrain from the senseless demand that the "new" should have *on* itself [*an* sich] something methodical and considered, just as one might have a stain on oneself [an sich]. The real Proudhon says:

> "That is enough to prove that the new order of things which was substituted for the old was *in* itself [*in* sich] without method or reflection."

Carried away by the memory of the French Revolution, the Critical Proudhon *revolutionises* the French language so much that he translates *un fait physique*[b] by "a fact of physics", and *un fait intellectuel*[c] by "a fact of the intellect". By this revolution in the French language the Critical Proudhon manages to put physics in possession of all the facts to be found in nature. Raising natural science unduly on one side, he debases it just as much on the

[a] "Slavery was spread *by the law of nations.*" (*Corpus iuris civilis,* Vol. 1. Digesta[17]: Liber primus, titulus I, fragmentum 4.)—*Ed.*

[b] A physical fact.—*Ed.*

[c] An intellectual fact.—*Ed.*

other by depriving it of intellect and distinguishing between a fact of physics and a fact of the intellect. To the same extent he makes all further psychological and logical investigation unnecessary by raising the intellectual fact directly to the level of a fact of the intellect.

Since the Critical Proudhon, Proudhon No. 1, has not the slightest idea what the real Proudhon, Proudhon No. 2, wishes to prove by his historical deduction, neither does the real content of that deduction exist for him, namely, the proof of the change in the views on law and of the continuous *implementation* of justice by the *negation* of historical actual right.

"La société fut sauvée par la *négation* de ses ... principes ... et la *violation des droits* les plus sacrés."[a]

Thus the real Proudhon proves how the negation of Roman law led to the widening of right in the Christian *conception,* the negation of the right of conquest to the right of the communes and the negation of the whole feudal law by the French Revolution to the present more comprehensive system of law.

Critical Criticism could not possibly leave Proudhon the glory of having discovered the law of the implementation of a principle by its negation. In this conscious formulation, this idea was a real revelation for the French.

### *Critical Comment No. 1*

As the first criticism of any science is necessarily influenced by the premises of the science it is fighting against, so Proudhon's treatise *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* is the criticism of *political economy* from the standpoint of political economy.—We need not go more deeply into the juridical part of the book, which criticises law from the standpoint of law, for our main interest is the criticism of political economy.—Proudhon's treatise will therefore be scientifically superseded by a criticism of *political economy,* including Proudhon's conception of political economy. This work became possible only owing to the work of Proudhon himself, just as Proudhon's criticism has as its premise the criticism of the mercantile system by the physiocrats, Adam Smith's criticism of the physiocrats, Ricardo's criticism of Adam Smith, and the works of Fourier and Saint-Simon.

All treatises on political economy take *private property* for

[a] "Society was saved by the *negation* of its principles ... and the *violation* of the most sacred *rights*."—*Ed.*

granted. This basic premise is for them an incontestable fact to which they devote no further investigation, indeed a fact which is spoken about only "*accidentellement*", as *Say* naively admits.[a] But Proudhon makes a critical investigation — the first resolute, ruthless, and at the same time scientific investigation — of the basis of political economy, *private property*. This is the great scientific advance he made, an advance which revolutionises political economy and for the first time makes a real science of political economy possible. Proudhon's treatise *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* is as important for modern political economy as Sieyès' work *Qu'est-ce que le tiers état?*[b] for modern politics.

Proudhon does not consider the further creations of private property, e.g., wages, trade, value, price, money, etc., as forms of private property in themselves, as they are considered, for example, in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* (see *Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy* by F. Engels[c]), but uses these economic premises in arguing against the political economists; this is fully in keeping with his historically justified standpoint to which we referred above.

Accepting the relationships of private property as human and rational, political economy operates in permanent contradiction to its basic premise, private property, a contradiction analogous to that of the theologian who continually gives a human interpretation to religious conceptions, and by that very fact comes into constant conflict with his basic premise, the superhuman character of religion. Thus in political economy wages appear at the beginning as the proportional share of the product due to labour. Wages and profit on capital stand in the most friendly, mutually stimulating, apparently most human relationship to each other. Afterwards it turns out that they stand in the most hostile relationship, in *inverse* proportion to each other. Value is determined at the beginning in an apparently rational way, by the cost of production of an object and by its social usefulness. Later it turns out that value is determined quite fortuitously and that it does not need to bear any relation to either the cost of production or social usefulness. The size of wages is determined at the beginning by *free* agreement between the free worker and the free capitalist. Later it turns out that the worker is compelled to allow the capitalist to determine it, just as the capitalist is compelled to

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[a] J.-B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique*, t. II, p. 471.— *Ed.*
[b] *What Is the Third Estate?* — *Ed.*
[c] See present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 418-43.— *Ed.*

fix it as low as possible. *Freedom* of the contracting parties has been supplanted by *compulsion.* The same holds good of trade and all other economic relationships. The economists themselves occasionally feel these contradictions, the development of which is the main content of the conflict between them. When, however, the economists become conscious of these contradictions, *they themselves* attack *private property* in one or other *particular* form as the falsifier of what is in itself (i.e., in their imagination) rational wages, in itself rational value, in itself rational trade. Adam Smith, for instance, occasionally polemises against the capitalists, Destutt de Tracy against the money-changers, Simonde de Sismondi against the factory system, Ricardo against landed property, and nearly all modern economists against the *non-industrial* capitalists, among whom property appears as a mere *consumer.*

Thus, as an exception—when they attack some special abuse—the economists occasionally stress the semblance of humanity in economic relations, but sometimes, and as a rule, they take these relations precisely in their clearly pronounced *difference* from the human, in their strictly economic sense. They stagger about within this contradiction completely unaware of it.

Now *Proudhon* has put an end to this unconsciousness once for all. He takes the *human semblance* of the economic relations seriously and sharply opposes it to their *inhuman reality.* He forces them to be in reality what they imagine themselves to be, or rather to give up their own idea of themselves and confess their real inhumanity. He therefore consistently depicts as the falsifier of economic relations not this or that particular kind of private property, as other economists do, but private property as such and in its entirety. He has done all that criticism of political economy from the standpoint of political economy can do.

Herr Edgar, who wishes to *characterise* the *standpoint* of the treatise *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?*, naturally does not say a word either of political economy or of the distinctive character of this book, which is precisely that it has made the *essence of private property* the vital question of political economy and jurisprudence. This is all self-evident for Critical Criticism. Proudhon, it says, has done nothing new by his negation of private property. He has only let out a secret which Critical Criticism did not want to divulge.

"Proudhon," Herr Edgar continues immediately after his characterising translation, "therefore finds something absolute, an eternal foundation in history, a god that guides mankind—justice."

Proudhon's book, written in France in 1840, does not adopt the standpoint of German development in 1844. It is Proudhon's standpoint, a standpoint which is shared by countless diametrically opposed French writers, which therefore gives Critical Criticism the advantage of having characterised the most contradictory standpoints with a single stroke of the pen. Incidentally, to be relieved from this Absolute in history as well one has only to apply consistently the law formulated by Proudhon himself, that of the implementation of justice by its negation. If Proudhon does not carry consistency as far as that, it is only because he had the misfortune of being born a Frenchman, not a German.

For Herr Edgar, Proudhon has become a *theological* object by his Absolute in history, his belief in justice, and Critical Criticism, which is *ex professo* a criticism of theology, can now set to work on him in order to expatiate on "religious conceptions".

"It is a characteristic of every religious conception that it sets up as a dogma a situation in which at the end one of the opposites comes out victorious as the only truth."

We shall see how religious Critical Criticism sets up as a dogma a situation in which at the end one of the opposites, "*Criticism*", comes out victorious over the other, the "Mass", as the only truth. By seeing in mass-type justice an Absolute, a god of history, Proudhon committed an injustice that is all the greater because just Criticism has *explicitly* reserved for itself the role of that Absolute, that god in history.

### *Critical Comment No. 2*

"The fact of misery, of poverty, makes Proudhon one-sided in his considerations; he sees in it a *contradiction* to equality and justice; it provides him with a weapon. Hence this fact becomes for him absolute and justified, whereas the fact of property becomes unjustified."

The tranquillity of knowledge tells us that Proudhon sees in the fact of poverty a contradiction to justice, that is to say, finds it unjustified; yet in the same breath it assures us that this fact becomes for him absolute and justified.

Hitherto political economy proceeded from *wealth*, which the movement of private property supposedly creates for the *nations*, to its considerations which are an apology for private property. Proudhon proceeds from the opposite side, which political economy sophistically conceals, from the poverty bred by the movement of private property to his considerations which negate private property. The first criticism of private property proceeds,

of course, from the fact in which its contradictory essence appears in the form that is most perceptible and most glaring and most directly arouses man's indignation—from the fact of poverty, of misery.

"Criticism, on the other hand, joins the two facts, poverty and property, in a single unity, grasps the inner link between them and makes them a single whole, which it investigates as such to find the preconditions for its existence."

Criticism, which has hitherto understood nothing of the facts of property and of poverty, uses, "on the other hand", the deed which it has accomplished in its imagination as an argument against Proudhon's real deed. It unites the *two* facts in a *single* one, and having made *one* out of *two*, grasps the inner link between the *two*. Criticism cannot deny that Proudhon, too, is aware of an inner link between the facts of poverty and of property, since because of that very link he abolishes property in order to abolish poverty. Proudhon did even more. He proved in detail *how* the movement of capital produces poverty. But Critical Criticism does not bother with such trifles. It recognises that poverty and private property are *opposites*—a rather widespread recognition. It *makes* poverty and wealth *a single whole*, which it "investigates *as such* to find the preconditions for its existence"; an investigation which is all the more superfluous since it has just *made* "the whole as such" and therefore its *making* is in itself the precondition for the existence of this whole.

By investigating "the whole as such" to find the preconditions for its existence, Critical Criticism is searching in the genuine theological manner *outside* the "whole" for the preconditions for its existence. Critical speculation operates outside the object which it pretends to deal with. Whereas the *whole antithesis* is nothing but the *movement of both its sides*, and the precondition for the existence of the whole lies in the very nature of the two sides. But Critical Criticism dispenses with the study of this real movement which forms the whole in order to be able to declare that it, Critical Criticism as the tranquillity of knowledge, is above both extremes of the antithesis, and that its activity, which has made "the whole as such", is now alone in a position to abolish the abstraction of which it is the maker.

Proletariat and wealth are opposites; as such they form a single whole. They are both creations of the world of private property. The question is exactly what place each occupies in the antithesis. It is not sufficient to declare them two sides of a single whole.

Private property as private property, as wealth, is compelled to maintain *itself*, and thereby its opposite, the proletariat, in *existence*.

That is the *positive* side of the antithesis, self-satisfied private property.

The proletariat, on the contrary, is compelled as proletariat to abolish itself and thereby its opposite, private property, which determines its existence, and which makes it proletariat. It is the *negative* side of the antithesis, its restlessness within its very self, dissolved and self-dissolving private property.

The propertied class and the class of the proletariat present the same human self-estrangement. But the former class feels at ease and strengthened in this self-estrangement, it recognises estrangement as *its own power* and has in it the *semblance* of a human existence. The latter feels annihilated in estrangement; it sees in it its own powerlessness and the reality of an inhuman existence. It is, to use an expression of Hegel, in its abasement the *indignation* at that abasement, an indignation to which it is necessarily driven by the contradiction between its human *nature* and its condition of life, which is the outright, resolute and comprehensive negation of that nature.

Within this antithesis the private property-owner is therefore the *conservative* side, the proletarian the *destructive* side. From the former arises the action of preserving the antithesis, from the latter the action of annihilating it.

Indeed private property drives itself in its economic movement towards its own dissolution, but only through a development which does not depend on it, which is unconscious and which takes place against the will of private property by the very nature of things, only inasmuch as it produces the proletariat *as* proletariat, poverty which is conscious of its spiritual and physical poverty, dehumanisation which is conscious of its dehumanisation, and therefore self-abolishing. The proletariat executes the sentence that private property pronounces on itself by producing the proletariat, just as it executes the sentence that wage-labour pronounces on itself by producing wealth for others and poverty for itself. When the proletariat is victorious, it by no means becomes the absolute side of society, for it is victorious only by abolishing itself and its opposite. Then the proletariat disappears as well as the opposite which determines it, private property.

When socialist writers ascribe this world-historic role to the proletariat, it is not at all, as Critical Criticism pretends to believe, because they regard the proletarians as *gods*. Rather the contrary. Since in the fully-formed proletariat the abstraction of all humanity, even of the *semblance* of humanity, is practically complete; since the conditions of life of the proletariat sum up all the conditions

of life of society today in their most inhuman form; since man has lost himself in the proletariat, yet at the same time has not only gained theoretical consciousness of that loss, but through urgent, no longer removable, no longer disguisable, absolutely imperative *need*—the practical expression of *necessity*—is driven directly to revolt against this inhumanity, it follows that the proletariat can and must emancipate itself. But it cannot emancipate itself without abolishing the conditions of its own life. It cannot abolish the conditions of its own life without abolishing *all* the inhuman conditions of life of society today which are summed up in its own situation. Not in vain does it go through the stern but steeling school of *labour*. It is not a question of what this or that proletarian, or even the whole proletariat, at the moment *regards* as its aim. It is a question of *what the proletariat is*, and what, in accordance with this *being*, it will historically be compelled to do. Its aim and historical action is visibly and irrevocably foreshadowed in its own life situation as well as in the whole organisation of bourgeois society today. There is no need to explain here that a large part of the English and French proletariat is already *conscious* of its historic task and is constantly working to develop that consciousness into complete clarity.

"Critical Criticism" can all the less admit this since it has proclaimed itself the exclusive creative element in history. To it belong the historical antitheses, to it belongs the task of abolishing them. That is why it issues the following *notification* through its incarnation, Edgar:

> "Education and lack of education, property and absence of property, these *antitheses*, if they are not to *be desecrated*, must *be wholly and entirely the concern* of Criticism."

Property and absence of property have received metaphysical consecration as Critical speculative antitheses. That is why only the hand of Critical Criticism can touch them without committing a sacrilege. Capitalists and workers must not interfere in their mutual relationship.

Far from having any idea that his Critical conception of antitheses could be touched, that this holy thing could be desecrated, Herr Edgar lets his opponent make an objection that he alone could make to himself.

> "Is it then possible," the imaginary opponent of Critical Criticism asks, "to use other concepts than those already existing—liberty, equality, etc.? I answer" (note Herr Edgar's answer) "that Greek and Latin perished as soon as the range of thoughts that they served to express was exhausted."

It is now clear why Critical Criticism does not give a single thought in *German*. The language of its thoughts has not yet come into being in spite of all that Herr Reichardt by his Critical handling of foreign words, Herr Faucher by his handling of English, and Herr Edgar by his handling of French, have done to prepare the *new Critical* language.

### *Characterising Translation No. 2*

The Critical Proudhon says:

"The husbandmen divided the land among themselves; equality consecrated only possession; on this occasion it consecrated property."

The Critical Proudhon makes landed property arise simultaneously with the division of land. He effects the transition from possession to property by the expression "on this occasion".

The real Proudhon says:

"Husbandry was the basis of *possession of the land*.... It was not enough to ensure for the tiller the fruit of his labour without ensuring for him at the same time the instruments of production. To guard the weaker against the encroachments of the stronger ... it was felt necessary to establish permanent demarcation lines between owners."

On this occasion, therefore, it is *possession* that equality consecrated in the first place.

"Every year saw the population increase and the greed of the settlers grow; it was thought ambition should be checked by new insuperable barriers. Thus the land became property owing to the need for equality ... doubtless the division was never geographically equal ... but the principle nevertheless remained the same; equality had consecrated possession, equality consecrated property."

According to the Critical Proudhon

"the ancient founders of property, absorbed with concern for their needs, overlooked the fact that to the right of property corresponded at the same time the right to alienate, to sell, to give away, to acquire and to lose, which destroyed the equality from which they started out."

According to the real Proudhon it was not that the founders of property overlooked this course of its development in their concern for their needs. It was rather that they did not foresee it; but even if they had been able to foresee it, their actual need would have gained the upper hand. Besides, the real Proudhon is too mass-minded to counterpose the right to alienate, sell, etc., to the "*right of property*", i.e., to counterpose the varieties to the species. He contrasts the "right to *keep* one's heritage" to the "right to *alienate* it, etc.", which constitutes a real opposition and a real step forward.

## *Critical Comment No. 3*

"On what then does Proudhon base his proof of the impossibility of property? Difficult as it is to believe it—on the same principle of equality!"

A short consideration would have sufficed to arouse the belief of Herr Edgar. He must be aware that Herr Bruno Bauer based all his arguments on "*infinite* self-consciousness" and that he also saw in this principle the creative principle of the gospels which, by their infinite unconsciousness, appear to be in direct contradiction to infinite self-consciousness. In the same way Proudhon conceives equality as the creative principle of private property, which is in direct contradiction to equality. If Herr Edgar compares French *equality* with German "self-consciousness" for an instant, he will see that the latter principle expresses *in German*, i.e., in abstract thought, what the former says *in French*, that is, in the language of politics and of thoughtful observation. Self-consciousness is man's equality with himself in pure thought. Equality is man's consciousness of himself in the element of practice, i.e., man's consciousness of other men as his equals and man's attitude to other men as his equals. Equality is the French expression for the unity of human essence, for man's consciousness of his species and his attitude towards his species, for the practical identity of man with man, i.e., for the social or human relation of man to man. Hence, just as destructive criticism in Germany, before it had progressed in *Feuerbach* to the consideration of *real man*, tried to resolve everything definite and existing by the principle of *self-consciousness*, destructive criticism in France tried to do the same by the principle of *equality*.

"Proudhon is angry with philosophy, for which, in itself, we cannot blame him. But why is he angry? Philosophy, he maintains, has not yet been practical enough; it has mounted the high horse of *speculation* and from up there *human beings* have seemed much too small. I think that philosophy is overpractical, i.e., it has so far been nothing but the abstract expression of the existing state of things; it has always been captive to the premises of the existing state of things, which it has accepted as absolute."

The opinion that philosophy is the abstract expression of the existing state of things does not belong originally to Herr Edgar. It belongs to *Feuerbach*, who was the first to describe philosophy as speculative and mystical empiricism and to prove it. But Herr Edgar manages to give this opinion an original, Critical twist. While Feuerbach concludes that philosophy must come down from the heaven of speculation to the depth of human misery, Herr Edgar, on the contrary, informs us that philosophy is over-practical. However, it seems rather that philosophy, precisely

because it was only the transcendent, abstract expression of the actual state of things, by reason of its transcendentalism and abstraction, by reason of its *imaginary difference* from the world, must have imagined it had left the actual state of things and real human beings far below itself. On the other hand, it seems that because philosophy was not *really* different from the world it could not pronounce any *real judgment* on it, it could not bring any real differentiating force to bear on it and could therefore not interfere *practically*, but had to be satisfied at most with a practice *in abstracto*. Philosophy was overpractical only in the sense that it soared above practice. Critical Criticism, by lumping humanity together in a spiritless mass, gives the most striking proof how infinitely small real human beings seem to speculation. In this the old speculation agrees with Critical Criticism, as the following sentence out of Hegel's *Rechtsphilosophie* shows:

"From the standpoint of needs, it is the concrete object of the idea that is called *man*; therefore what we are concerned with here, and *properly speaking only* here, is man in this sense." [a]

In other cases in which speculation speaks of man it does not mean the *concrete*, but the *abstract*, the *idea*, the *spirit*, etc. The way in which philosophy expresses the actual state of things is strikingly exemplified by Herr Faucher in connection with the actual English situation and by Herr Edgar in connection with the actual situation of the French language.

"Thus Proudhon also is practical because, finding that the concept of equality is the basis of the proofs in favour of property, he argues from the same concept against property."

Proudhon here does exactly the same thing as the German critics who, finding that the proofs of the existence of God are based on the idea of man, argue from that idea against the existence of God.

"If the consequences of the principle of equality are more powerful than equality itself, how does Proudhon intend to help that principle to acquire its sudden power?"

Self-consciousness, according to Herr Bruno Bauer, lies at the basis of all religious ideas. It is, he says, the creative principle of the gospels. Why, then, were the consequences of the principle of self-consciousness more powerful than self-consciousness itself? Because, the answer comes after the German fashion, self-consciousness is indeed the creative principle of religious ideas,

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[a] G.W.F. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, § 190.—*Ed.*

but only as self-consciousness outside itself, in contradiction to itself, alienated and estranged. Self-consciousness that has come to itself, that understands itself, that apprehends its essence, therefore governs the creations of its self-alienation. Proudhon finds himself in exactly the same case, with the difference, of course, that he speaks French whereas we speak German, and he therefore expresses in a French way what we express in a German way.

Proudhon asks himself why equality, although as the creative principle of reason it underlies the institution of property and as the ultimate rational foundation is the basis of all arguments in favour of property, nevertheless does not exist, while its negation, private property, does. He accordingly considers the fact of property in itself. He proves "that, in truth, property, as an institution and a principle, is *impossible*"[a] (p. 34), i.e., that *it contradicts itself* and abolishes itself in all points; that, to put it in the German way, it is the existence of alienated, self-contradicting, self-estranged equality. The real state of things in France, like the recognition of this estrangement, suggests correctly to Proudhon the necessity of the real abolition of this estrangement.

While negating private property, Proudhon feels the need to justify the existence of private property *historically*. His argument, like all first arguments of this kind, is pragmatic, i.e., he assumes that earlier generations wished consciously and with reflection to realise in their institutions that equality which for him represents the human essence.

"We always come back to the same thing.... Proudhon writes in the interest of the proletarians."

He does not write in the interest of self-sufficient Criticism or out of any abstract, self-made interest, but out of a mass-type, real, historic interest, an interest that goes beyond *criticism*, that will go as far as a *crisis*. Not only does Proudhon write in the interest of the proletarians, he is himself a proletarian, an *ouvrier*.[b] His work is a scientific manifesto of the French proletariat and therefore has quite a different historical significance from that of the literary botch work of any Critical Critic.

"Proudhon writes in the interest of those who have nothing; to have and not to have are for him absolute categories. To have is for him the highest, because at the same time not to have is for him the highest object of thought. Every man ought to

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[a] "*Est impossible, mathématiquement*" (Proudhon, *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?*, p. 34.)—*Ed.*

[b] A worker.—*Ed.*

have, but no more or less than another, Proudhon thinks. But one should bear in mind that of all I have, only what I have exclusively, or what I have more of than other people have, is interesting for me. With equality, both to have and equality itself will be a matter of indifference to me."

According to Herr Edgar, *having* and *not having* are for Proudhon absolute *categories.* Critical Criticism sees nothing but categories everywhere. Thus, according to Herr Edgar, having and not having, wages, salary, want and need, and work to satisfy that need, are nothing but categories.

If society had to free itself only from the *categories* of having and not having, how easy would the "overcoming" and "abolition" of those categories be made for it by any dialectician, even if he were weaker than Herr Edgar! Indeed, Herr Edgar considers this such a trifle that he does not think it worth the trouble to give even an *explanation* of the categories of having and not having as an argument against Proudhon. But not having is not a mere category, it is a most dismal reality; today the man who has nothing is nothing, for he is cut off from existence in general, and still more from a human existence, for the condition of not having is the condition of the complete separation of man from his objectivity. Therefore not having seems quite justified in being the highest object of thought for Proudhon; all the more since so little thought had been given to this subject prior to him and the socialist writers in general. Not having is the most despairing *spiritualism,* a complete unreality of the human being, a complete reality of the dehumanised being, a very positive having, a having of hunger, of cold, of disease, of crime, of debasement, of hebetude, of all inhumanity and abnormity. But every object which for the first time is made the object of thought with full consciousness of its importance is the *highest object of thought.*

Proudhon's wish to abolish not having and the old way of having is quite identical with his wish to abolish the practically estranged relation of man to his *objective essence* and the *economic* expression of human self-estrangement. But since his criticism of political economy is still captive to the premises of political economy, the re-appropriation of the objective world itself is still conceived in the economic form of *possession.*

Proudhon does not oppose having to not having, as Critical Criticism makes him do; he opposes *possession* to the old way of having, to *private property.* He proclaims possession to be a "*social function*". What is "interesting" in a function, however, is not to "exclude" the other person, but to affirm and to realise the forces of my own being.

Proudhon did not succeed in giving this thought appropriate development. The idea of "*equal* possession" is the economic and therefore itself still estranged expression for the fact that the *object* as *being for man*, as the *objective being of man*, is at the same time the *existence of man for other men*, his *human relation to other men*, the *social behaviour of man to man*. Proudhon abolishes economic estrangement *within* economic estrangement.

### *Characterising Translation No. 3*

The Critical Proudhon has a *Critical property-owner*, too, according to whose

"*own* admission those who had to work for him lost what he appropriated".

The mass-type Proudhon says to the mass-type property-owner:

"You have worked! Ought you never to have let others work for you? How, then, have they lost while working for you, what you were able to acquire while not working for them?"

By "*richesse naturelle*",[a] the Critical Proudhon makes Say understand "natural *possessions*" although Say, to preclude any error, states explicitly in the *Épitomé* to his *Traité d'économie politique*[b] that by *richesse* he understands neither property nor possession, but a "sum of values". Of course, the Critical Proudhon reforms Say just as he himself is reformed by Herr Edgar. He makes Say "infer immediately a right to take a field as property" because land is easier to appropriate than air or water. But Say, far from inferring from the greater possibility of appropriating land a property *right* to it, says instead quite explicitly:

"Les *droits* des propriétaires de terres—remontent à une *spoliation*."[c] (*Traité d'économie politique*, édition III, t. I., p. 136, Nota.)

That is why, in Say's opinion, there must be "*concours de la législation*"[d] and "*droit positif*"[e] to provide a basis for the *right* to landed property. The real Proudhon does not make Say "immediately" *infer* the right of landed property from the easier appropriation of land. He reproaches him with basing himself on possibility *instead of* right and *confusing* the question of possibility with the question of right:

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[a] "Natural wealth."—*Ed.*
[b] Treatise of Political Economy.—*Ed.*
[c] "The *rights* of landed proprietors are to be traced to *plunder*."—*Ed.*
[d] "Co-operation of legislation."—*Ed.*
[e] "Positive right."—*Ed.*

"Say prend la possibilité *pour* le droit. On ne demande pas pourquoi la terre a été plutôt appropriée que la mer et les airs; on veut savoir, en vertu de quel *droit* l'homme s'est approprié cette richesse." [a]

The Critical Proudhon continues:

"The *only* remark to be made on this is that with the appropriation of a piece of land the other elements—air, water and fire—are also appropriated: *terra, aqua, aëre et igne interdicti sumus.*" [b]

Far from making "*only*" this remark, the real Proudhon says, on the contrary, that he draws "attention" to the appropriation of air and water incidentally (*en passant*). The Critical Proudhon makes an unaccountable use of the Roman formula of banishment. He forgets to say who the "*we*" are who have been banished. The real Proudhon addresses the non-property-owners:

"Proletarians... property *excommunicates* us: *terra, etc. interdicti sumus.*"

The Critical Proudhon polemises against Charles Comte as follows:

"Charles Comte thinks that, in order to live, man needs air, food and clothing. Some of these things, like air and water, are inexhaustible and therefore always remain common property; but others are available in smaller quantities and become private property. Charles Comte therefore bases his proof on the concepts of limitedness and unlimitedness; he would perhaps have come to a different conclusion had he made the concepts of dispensability and indispensability his main categories."

How childish the Critical Proudhon's polemic is! He expects Charles Comte to give up the categories he uses for his proof and to jump over to others so as to come, not to his own conclusions, but "*perhaps*" to those of the Critical Proudhon.

The real Proudhon does not make any such demands on Charles Comte; he does not dispose of him with a "perhaps", but defeats him with his own categories.

Charles Comte, Proudhon says, proceeds from the indispensability of air, food, and, in certain climates, clothing, not in order to live, but in order not to stop living. Hence (according to Charles Comte) in order to maintain himself, man constantly needs to appropriate things of various kinds. These things do not all exist in the same proportion.

"The light of the heavenly bodies, air and water exist in such quantities that man can neither increase nor decrease them appreciably; hence everyone can

[a] "Say takes possibility *for* right. The question is not why land has been appropriated rather than sea or air, but by what *right* man has appropriated this wealth."—*Ed.*

[b] We are banished from land, water, air and fire.—*Ed.*

appropriate as much of them as his needs require, *without prejudice to the enjoyment of others*".[a]

Proudhon proceeds from Comte's own definitions. First of all he proves to him that land is also an object of primary necessity, the usufruct of which must therefore remain free to everyone, within the limits of Comte's clause, namely: "*without prejudice to the enjoyment of others.*" Why then has land become private property? Charles Comte answers: because it is *not unlimited.* He should have concluded, on the contrary, that because land is *limited* it may not be appropriated. The appropriation of air and water causes no prejudice to anybody because, as they are unlimited, there is always enough left. The arbitrary appropriation of land, on the other hand, prejudices the enjoyment of others precisely because the land is *limited.* The use of the land must therefore be regulated in the interests of *all.* Charles Comte's method of proving refutes his own thesis.

"Charles Comte, so Proudhon" (the Critical one, of course) "reasons, proceeds from the view that a nation can be the owner of a land; yet if property involves the right to use and misuse—*jus utendi et abutendi re sua*—even a nation cannot be adjudged the right to use and misuse a land."

The real Proudhon does not speak of *jus utendi et abutendi* that the right of property "*involves*". He is too mass-minded to speak of a right of property that the right of property involves. *Jus utendi et abutendi re sua* is, in fact, the right of property itself. Hence Proudhon directly refuses a people the right of property over its territory. To those who find that exaggerated, he replies that in all epochs the imagined right of national property gave rise to suzerainty, tribute, royal prerogatives, corvée, etc.

The real Proudhon reasons against Charles Comte as follows: Comte wishes to expound how property arises and he begins with the hypothesis of a nation as owner. He thus falls into a *petitio principii.*[b] He makes the state sell lands, he lets industrialists buy those estates, that is to say, he presupposes the *property* relations that he wishes to prove.

The Critical Proudhon scraps the French *decimal system.* He keeps the *franc* but replaces the *centime* by the "*Dreier*".[c]

"If I cede a piece of land, Proudhon" (the Critical one) "continues, I not only rob myself of one harvest; I deprive my children and children's children of a

[a] The quotation from Comte's *Traité de la propriété* is given according to Proudhon's *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* p. 93.—*Ed.*

[b] The fallacy of seeking to prove a conclusion by presupposing it as the premise.—*Ed.*

[c] A small coin worth three pfennigs.—*Ed.*

lasting good. Land has value not only today, it has also the value of its capacity and its future."

The real Proudhon does not speak of the fact that land has value not only today but also tomorrow: he contrasts the full present value to the value of its capacity and its future, which depends on my skill in exploiting the land. He says:

"Destroy the land, or, what comes to the same thing for you, sell it; you not only deprive yourself of one, two or more harvests; you annihilate all the produce you could have obtained from it, you, your children and your children's children."

For Proudhon the question is not one of stressing the contrast between one harvest and the lasting good—the money I get for the field can, as capital, also become a "lasting good"—but the contrast between the present value and the value the land can acquire through continuous cultivation.

"The new value, Charles Comte says, that I give to a thing by my work is my property. Proudhon" (the Critical one) "thinks he can refute him in the following way: *Then* a man must cease to be a property-owner as soon as he ceases to work. Ownership of the product can by no means involve ownership of the material from which the product was made."

The real Proudhon says:

"Let the worker appropriate the products of his work, but I do not understand how ownership of the products involves ownership of the matter. Does the fisherman who manages to catch more fish than the others on the same bank become by this skill the owner of the place where he fishes? Was the skill of a hunter ever considered a title to ownership of the game in a canton? The same applies to agriculture. In order to transform *possession* into *property, another condition* is necessary besides work, or a man would cease to be a property-owner as soon as he ceased to be a worker."

*Cessante causa cessat effectus.*[a] When the owner is owner *only* as a worker, he ceases to be an owner as soon as he ceases to be a worker.

"According to *law*, it is *prescription* which creates ownership; *work* is only the perceptible sign, the material act by which occupation is *manifested.*"

"The system of appropriation through work," Proudhon goes on, "is therefore *contrary* to *law*; and when the supporters of that system put it forward as an explanation of the laws they are *contradicting themselves.*"

To say further, according to this opinion, that the cultivation of the land, for example, "creates full ownership of the same" is a *petitio principii.* It is a fact that a new productive capacity of the matter has been created. But what has to be proved is that ownership of the matter itself has thereby been created. Man has not created the matter itself. And he cannot even create any productive capacity if the matter does not exist beforehand.

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[a] When the cause ceases, the effect ceases.—*Ed.*

The Critical Proudhon makes *Gracchus Babeuf* a partisan of *freedom,* but for the mass-minded Proudhon he is a partisan of *equality* (*partisan de l'égalité*).

The *Critical Proudhon,* who wanted to estimate *Homer*'s fee for the *Iliad,* says:

"The fee which I pay Homer should be equal to what he *gives me.* But how is the value of what he gives to be determined?"

The Critical Proudhon is too superior to the trifles of political economy to know that the *value* of an object and what that object *gives* somebody else are two different things. The real Proudhon says:

"The fee of the poet should be equal to his *product*: what then is the value of that product?"

The real Proudhon supposes that the *Iliad* has an infinite *price* (or exchange value, *prix*), while the Critical Proudhon supposes that it has an infinite *value.* The real Proudhon counterposes the value of the *Iliad, its value* in the *economic* sense (*valeur intrinsèque*), to its exchange value (*valeur échangeable*); the Critical Proudhon counterposes its "value for exchange" to its "intrinsic value", i.e., its value as a poem.

The real Proudhon says:

"Between material reward and talent there is no common measure. In *this* respect the situation of all producers is the same. Consequently any comparison between them, any classification according to fortune is impossible." ("Entre une récompense matérielle et le talent il n'existe pas de commune mesure; sous *ce* rapport la condition de tous les producteurs est égale; conséquemment toute comparaison entre eux et toute distinction de fortunes est impossible.")

The Critical Proudhon says:

"*Relatively,* the position of all producers is the same. Talent cannot be weighed materially.... Any comparison of the producers among themselves, any *external distinction* is impossible."

In the Critical Proudhon we read that

"the man of science must *feel* himself *equal* in society, because his talent and his insight are *only* a product of the insight of society".

The real Proudhon does not speak anywhere about the feelings of talent. He says that talent must lower itself to the level of society. Nor does he at all assert that the man of talent is *only* a product of society. On the contrary, he says:

"The man of talent has contributed to produce in himself a useful instrument.... There exist in him a free worker *and* an accumulated social capital."

The Critical Proudhon goes on to say:

"Besides, he must be thankful to society for releasing him from other work so that he can apply himself to science."

The real Proudhon nowhere resorts to the gratitude of the man of talent. He says:

"The artist, the scientist, the poet, receive their just reward by the mere fact that society allows them to apply themselves exclusively to science and art."

Finally, the Critical Proudhon achieves the miracle of making a society of 150 workers able to maintain a "*marshal*" and, therefore, probably, an *army*. In the real Proudhon the marshal is a "*farrier*" (*maréchal*).

### *Critical Comment No. 4*

"If he" (Proudhon) "retains the concept of wages, if he sees in society an institution that gives us work and pays us for it, he has all the less right to recognise time as the measure for payment as he but shortly before, agreeing with *Hugo Grotius*, professed that time has no bearing on the *validity* of an object."

This is the only point on which Critical Criticism attempts to solve its problem and to prove to Proudhon that from the standpoint of political economy he is arguing wrongly against political economy. Here Criticism *disgraces* itself in truly Critical fashion.

Proudhon agrees with Hugo Grotius in arguing that *prescription* is no title to change *possession* into *property* or a "*legal principle*" into another principle, any more than time can change the truth that the three angles of a triangle are together equal to two right angles into the truth that they are equal to three right angles.

"Never," exclaims Proudhon, "will you succeed in making length of time, which of itself creates nothing, changes nothing, modifies nothing, able to *change* the *user* into a *proprietor*."

Herr Edgar's conclusion is: since Proudhon said that mere time cannot *change* one legal principle into another, that by itself it cannot change or modify anything, he is inconsistent when he makes *labour time* the measure of the economic *value* of the product of labour. Herr Edgar achieves this Critically Critical remark by translating "*valeur*"[a] by "*Geltung*"[b] so that he can use the word for validity of a legal principle in the same sense as for the commercial value of a product of labour. He achieves it by identifying empty length of time with time filled with labour. Had

[a] Value.—*Ed.*
[b] Validity.—*Ed.*

Proudhon said that time cannot change a fly into an elephant, Critical Criticism could have said with the same justification: he has therefore no right to make labour time the measure of wages.

Even Critical Criticism must be capable of grasping that the *labour time expended* on the production of an object is included in the *cost of production* of that object, that the *cost of production* of an object is what it *costs*, and therefore what it can be *sold* for, abstraction being made of the influence of *competition*. Besides the labour time and the material of labour, economists include in the cost of production the rent paid to the owner of the land, interest and the profit of the capitalist. The latter are excluded by Proudhon because he excludes private property. Hence there remain only the labour time and the expenses. By making labour time, the immediate existence of human activity as activity, the measure of wages and the determinant of the value of the product, Proudhon makes the human side the decisive factor. In old political economy, on the other hand, the decisive factor was the material power of capital and of landed property. In other words, Proudhon reinstates man in his rights, but still in an economic and therefore contradictory way. How right he is from the standpoint of political economy can be seen from the fact that *Adam Smith*, the founder of modern political economy, in the very first pages of his book, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, develops the idea that *before* the invention of private property, that is to say, presupposing the *non-existence of private property, labour time* was the measure of *wages* and of the *value of the product of labour*, which was not yet distinguished from wages.

But even let Critical Criticism suppose for an instant that Proudhon did not proceed from the premise of wages. Does it believe that the *time* which the production of an object requires will *ever* not be an essential factor in the "*validity*" of the object? Does it believe that time will lose its *costliness*?

As far as immediate material production is concerned, the decision whether an object is to be produced or not, i.e., the decision on the *value* of the object, will depend essentially on the labour time required for its production. For it depends on time whether society has time to develop in a human way.

And even as far as *intellectual* production is concerned, must I not, if I proceed reasonably in other respects, consider the time necessary for the production of an intellectual work when I determine its scope, its character and its plan? Otherwise I risk at least that the object that is in my idea will never become an object

in reality, and can therefore acquire only the value of an imaginary object, i.e., an *imaginary value.*

The criticism of political economy from the standpoint of political economy recognises all the essential determinants of human activity, but only in an estranged, alienated form. Here, for example, it converts the importance of time for *human labour* into its importance for *wages*, for wage-labour.

Herr Edgar continues:

"In order to force talent to accept that measure, Proudhon *misuses* the concept of *free contract* and asserts that society and its individual members have the right to reject the products of talent."

Among the *followers of Fourier* and *Saint-Simon,* talent puts forward exaggerated *fee claims* on an economic basis and makes its imagined notion of its infinite value the measure of the *exchange value* of its products. Proudhon answers it in exactly the same way as political economy answers any claim for a price much higher than the so-called natural price, that is, higher than the cost of production of the object offered. He answers by freedom of contract. But Proudhon does not *misuse* this relation in the sense of political economy; on the contrary, he assumes that to be real which the economists consider to be only nominal and illusory—the *freedom* of the contracting parties.

### *Characterising Translation No. 4*

The Critical Proudhon finally reforms *French society* by as deep a transformation of the French proletarians as of the French bourgeoisie.

He denies the French proletarians "*strength*" because the real Proudhon reproaches them with a lack of *virtue (vertu)*. He makes their *skill* in work problematic—"you are *perhaps* skilled in work"—because the real Proudhon unconditionally recognises it ("*prompts au travail vous êtes,*"[a] etc.). He converts the French bourgeoisie into *dull* burghers whereas the real Proudhon counterposes the ignoble bourgeois (*bourgeois ignobles*) to the blemished nobles (*nobles flétris*). He converts the bourgeois from happy-medium burghers (*bourgeois juste-milieu*)[18] into "our *good* burghers", for which the French bourgeoisie can be grateful. Hence, where the real Proudhon says the "*ill will*" of the French bourgeoisie (*la malveillance de nos bourgeois*) is growing, the Critical

[a] "You are smart at work."—*Ed.*

Proudhon consistently makes the "*carefreeness* of our burghers" grow. The real Proudhon's bourgeois is so far from being carefree that he calls out to himself: "*N'ayons pas peur! N'ayons pas peur!*"[a] Those are the words of a man who wishes to reason himself out of fear and worry.

By creating the Critical Proudhon through its translation of the real Proudhon, Critical Criticism has revealed to the Mass what a Critically perfect translation is. It has given directions for "translation as it ought to be". It is therefore rightly against bad, mass-type translations.

"The German public wants the booksellers' wares ridiculously cheap, so the publisher needs a cheap translation; the translator does not want to starve at his work, he cannot even perform it with mature reflection" (with all the tranquillity of knowledge) "because the publisher must anticipate rivals by quick delivery of translations; even the translator has to fear competition, has to fear that someone else will produce the ware cheaper and quicker; he therefore dictates his manuscript offhand to some poor scribe—as quickly as he can in order not to pay the scribe his hourly wage for nothing. He is more than happy when he can next day adequately satisfy the harassing type-setter. For the rest, the translations with which we are flooded are but a manifestation of the present-day *impotence* of German literature", etc. (*Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft VIII, p. 54.[19])

### *Critical Comment No. 5*

"The proof of the impossibility of property that Proudhon draws from the fact that mankind ruins itself particularly by the interest and profit system and by the disproportion between consumption and production lacks its counterpart, namely, the proof that private property is historically possible."

Critical Criticism has the fortunate instinct not to go into Proudhon's reasoning on the interest and profit system, etc., i.e., into the most important part of his argument. The reason is that on this point not even a semblance of criticism of Proudhon can be offered without absolutely positive knowledge of the movement of private property. Critical Criticism tries to make up for its impotence by observing that Proudhon has not proved the historical possibility of property. Why does Criticism, which has nothing but words to give, expect others to give it *everything*?

"Proudhon proves the impossibility of property by the fact that the worker cannot buy back the product of his work out of his wage. Proudhon does not give an exhaustive proof of this by expounding the essence of capital. The worker cannot buy back his product because it is always a joint product, whereas he is never anything but an individual paid man."

Herr Edgar, in contrast to Proudhon's deduction, could have expressed himself still more exhaustively to the effect that the

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[a] "Let us not be afraid! Let us not be afraid!"—*Ed.*

worker can*not* buy back his product because in general he must *buy* it *back*. The definition of buying already implies that he regards his product as an object that is no longer his, an estranged object. Among other things, Herr Edgar's exhaustive argument does not exhaust the question why the capitalist, who himself is *nothing* but an *individual* man, and what is more, a man *paid* by profit and interest, can buy back not only the product of labour, but still more than this product. To explain this Herr Edgar would have to explain the relationship between labour and capital, that is, to expound the essence of capital.

The above quotation from Criticism shows most palpably how Critical Criticism immediately makes use of what it has learnt from a writer to pass it off as wisdom it has itself discovered and use it with a Critical twist against the same writer. For it is from Proudhon himself that Critical Criticism drew the argument that it says Proudhon did not give and that Herr Edgar did. Proudhon says:

> "*Divide et impera* ... separate the workers from one another, and it is quite possible that the daily wage paid to each one may exceed the value of each individual product; but that is not the point at issue.... Although you have paid for all the individual powers you have still not paid for the collective power."

Proudhon was the *first* to draw attention to the fact that the sum of the wages of the individual workers, even if each individual labour be paid for completely, does not pay for the collective power objectified in its product, that therefore the worker is not paid as a *part* of the *collective labour power* [*gemeinschaftlichen Arbeitskraft*]. Herr Edgar twists this into the assertion that the worker is nothing but an individual paid man. Critical Criticism thus opposes a *general* thought of Proudhon's to the further *concrete* development that Proudhon himself gives to the same thought. It takes possession of this thought after the fashion of Criticism and expresses the secret of *Critical socialism* in the following sentence:

> "The modern worker *thinks* only of himself, i.e., he allows himself to be paid only for his own person. It is he *himself* who fails to take into account the enormous, the immeasurable power which arises from his co-operation with other powers."

According to Critical Criticism, the whole evil lies only in the workers' "*thinking*". It is true that the English and French workers have formed associations in which they exchange opinions not only on their immediate needs as *workers*, but on their needs as *human beings*. In their associations, moreover, they show a very

thorough and comprehensive consciousness of the "enormous" and "immeasurable" power which arises from their co-operation. But these *mass-minded,* communist workers, employed, for instance, in the Manchester or Lyons workshops, do not believe that by "*pure thinking*" they will be able to argue away their industrial masters and their own practical debasement. They are most painfully aware of the *difference* between *being* and *thinking,* between *consciousness* and *life.* They know that property, capital, money, wage-labour and the like are no ideal figments of the brain but very practical, very objective products of their self-estrangement and that therefore they must be abolished in a practical, objective way for man to become man not only in *thinking,* in *consciousness,* but in mass *being,* in life. Critical Criticism, on the contrary, teaches them that they cease in reality to be wage-workers if in thinking they abolish the thought of wage-labour; if in thinking they cease to regard themselves as wage-workers and, in accordance with that extravagant notion, no longer let themselves be paid for their person. As absolute idealists, as ethereal beings, they will then naturally be able to live on the ether of pure thought. Critical Criticism teaches them that they abolish real capital by overcoming in *thinking* the category Capital, that they *really* change and transform themselves into real human beings by changing their "*abstract ego*" in consciousness and scorning as an un-Critical operation all *real* change of their real existence, of the real conditions of their existence, that is to say, of their *real ego.* The "*spirit*", which sees in reality only categories, naturally reduces all human activity and practice to the dialectical process of thought of Critical Criticism. That is what distinguishes *its* socialism from *mass-type* socialism and communism.

After his great argumentation, Herr Edgar must, of course, declare Proudhon's criticism "devoid of consciousness".

"Proudhon, *however,* wishes to be *practical too.*" "He thinks he has grasped." "And nevertheless," cries the tranquillity of knowledge triumphantly, "we cannot even now credit him with the *tranquillity of knowledge.*" "We quote a few passages to show how little he has thought out his attitude to society."

Later we shall also quote a few passages from the works of Critical Criticism (see the *Bank for the Poor* and the *Model Farm*)[a] to show that it has not yet become acquainted with the most elementary economic relationships, let alone thought them out, and hence with its characteristic Critical tact has felt itself called upon to pass judgment on Proudhon.

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[a] See pp. 197-200 of this volume.—*Ed.*

Now that Critical Criticism as the tranquillity of knowledge has *"made" all the mass-type "antitheses its concern"*, has mastered all reality in the form of categories and dissolved all human activity into speculative dialectics, we shall see it produce the world again out of speculative dialectics. It goes without saying that if the miracles of the Critically speculative creation of the world are not to be "desecrated", they can be presented to the profane Mass only in the form of *mysteries*. Critical Criticism therefore appears in the incarnation of Vishnu-Szeliga as a *mystery-monger*.

## Chapter V

### "CRITICAL CRITICISM" AS A MYSTERY-MONGER, OR "CRITICAL CRITICISM" AS HERR SZELIGA[20]

"Critical Criticism" in its *Szeliga-Vishnu* incarnation provides an apotheosis of the *Mystères de Paris*. Eugène Sue is proclaimed a "Critical Critic". Hearing this, he may exclaim like Molière's *Bourgeois gentilhomme*:

> "Par ma foi, il y a plus de quarante ans que je dis de la prose, sans que j'en susse rien: et je vous suis le plus obligé du monde de m'avoir appris cela."[a]

Herr Szeliga prefaces his criticism with an *aesthetic* prologue. "The aesthetic prologue" gives the following explanation of the general meaning of the "Critical" epic and in particular of the *Mystères de Paris*:

> "The epic gives rise to the thought that the present in itself is nothing, and not only" (*nothing* and not only!) "the eternal *boundary* between *past* and *future*, but" (nothing, and not only, but) "but the *gap* that separates *immortality* from *transience* and *must* continually be *filled*.... *Such* is the *general meaning* of the *Mystères de Paris*."

The "aesthetic prologue" further asserts that "if the *Critic* wished he could also be a *poet*".

The whole of Herr Szeliga's criticism will prove that assertion. It is "*poetic fiction*" in every respect.

It is also a product of "*free* art" according to the definition of the latter given in the "aesthetic prologue"—it "invents *something quite new, something that absolutely never existed before*".

Finally, it is even a *Critical epic*, for it is "the gap that separates immortality"—Herr Szeliga's Critical Criticism—from "transience"—Eugène Sue's novel—and "must continually be filled".

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[a] "Faith, I have been speaking prose for more than forty years without knowing it. I am infinitely grateful to you for telling me so." (Molière, *Bourgeois gentilhomme*, Act II, Scene 6.)—*Ed.*

### 1) "THE MYSTERY OF DEGENERACY IN CIVILISATION" AND "THE MYSTERY OF RIGHTLESSNESS IN THE STATE"

*Feuerbach*, we know, conceived the Christian ideas of the Incarnation, the Trinity, Immortality, etc., as the mystery of the Incarnation, the mystery of the Trinity, the mystery of Immortality. Herr Szeliga conceives all present world conditions as mysteries. But whereas *Feuerbach* disclosed *real mysteries*, Herr *Szeliga* makes *mysteries* out of real *trivialities*. His art is not that of disclosing what is hidden, but of hiding what is disclosed.

Thus he proclaims as *mysteries* degeneracy (criminals) within civilisation and rightlessness and inequality in the state. This means that socialist literature, which has revealed these mysteries, is still a mystery to Herr Szeliga, or that he wants to convert the best-known findings of that literature into a private mystery of "Critical Criticism".

We therefore need not go more deeply into Herr Szeliga's discourse on these mysteries; we shall merely draw attention to a few of the most brilliant points.

"Before the law and the judge everything is *equal*, the high and the low, the rich and the poor. This proposition stands at the head of the credo of *the state*."

Of the state? The credo of most states starts, on the contrary, by making the high and the low, the rich and the poor *unequal* before the *law*.

"The gem-cutter Morel in his naive probity most clearly expresses the mystery" (the mystery of the antithesis of poor and rich) "when he says: If only the rich knew! If only the rich knew! The misfortune is that they do not know what poverty is."

Herr Szeliga does not know that Eugène Sue commits an *anachronism* out of courtesy to the French bourgeoisie when he puts the motto of the burghers of Louis XIV's time "*Ah! si le roi le savait!*"[a] in a modified form: "*Ah! si le riche le savait!*"[b] into the mouth of the working man Morel who lived at the time of the *Charte vérité*.[21] In England and France, at least, this *naive* relation between rich and poor has ceased to exist. There the scientific representatives of wealth, the economists, have spread a very detailed understanding of the physical and moral misery of poverty. They have made up for that by proving that misery must remain because the present state of things must remain. In their solicitude they have even calculated the *proportions* in which the

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[a] "Ah! if the king knew it!"—*Ed.*

[b] "Ah! if the rich knew it!"—*Ed.*

poor must be reduced in number by deaths for the good of the rich and for their own welfare.

If Eugène Sue depicts the taverns, hide-outs and language of *criminals*, Herr Szeliga discloses the "*mystery*" that what the "author" wanted was not to depict that language or those hide-outs, but

> "to teach us the mystery of the mainsprings of evil, etc." "It is precisely in the most crowded places ... that criminals feel *at home*."

What would a natural scientist say if one were to prove to him that the bee's cell does not interest him as a bee's cell, that it has no mystery for one who has not studied it, because the bee "feels at home precisely" in the open air and on the flower? The hide-outs of the criminals and their language reflect the character of the criminal, they are part of his existence, their description is part of his description just as the description of the *petite maison* is part of the description of the *femme galante*.

For Parisians in general and even for the Paris police the hide-outs of criminals are such a "mystery" that at this very moment broad light streets are being laid out in the *Cité* to give the police access to them.

Finally, Eugène Sue himself states that in the descriptions mentioned above he was counting "*sur la curiosité craintive*"[a] of his readers. M. Eugène Sue has counted on the timid curiosity of his readers in all his novels. It is sufficient to recall *Atar Gull, Salamandre, Plick and Plock*, etc.

### 2) THE MYSTERY OF SPECULATIVE CONSTRUCTION

The mystery of the Critical presentation of the *Mystères de Paris* is the mystery of *speculative*, of *Hegelian construction*. Once Herr Szeliga has proclaimed that "degeneracy within civilisation" and rightlessness in the state are "mysteries", i.e., has dissolved them in the category "*mystery*", he lets "mystery" begin its *speculative career*. A few words will suffice to characterise speculative construction *in general*. Herr Szeliga's treatment of the *Mystères de Paris* will give the application *in detail*.

If from real apples, pears, strawberries and almonds I form the general idea "*Fruit*", if I go further and *imagine* that my abstract idea "*Fruit*", derived from real fruit, is an entity existing outside me, is indeed the *true* essence of the pear, the apple, etc., then—

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[a] On the timid curiosity.—*Ed.*

in the *language of speculative* philosophy—I am declaring that "*Fruit*" is the "*Substance*" of the pear, the apple, the almond, etc. I am saying, therefore, that to be a pear is not essential to the pear, that to be an apple is not essential to the apple; that what is essential to these things is not their real existence, perceptible to the senses, but the essence that I have abstracted from them and then foisted on them, the essence of my idea—"*Fruit*". I therefore declare apples, pears, almonds, etc., to be mere forms of existence, *modi*, of "*Fruit*". My finite understanding supported by my senses does of course *distinguish* an apple from a pear and a pear from an almond, but my speculative reason declares these sensuous differences inessential and irrelevant. It sees in the apple *the same* as in the pear, and in the pear the same as in the almond, namely "*Fruit*". Particular real fruits are no more than *semblances* whose true essence is "*the* substance"—"*Fruit*".

By this method one attains no particular *wealth of definition.* The mineralogist whose whole science was limited to the statement that all minerals are really "*the* Mineral" would be a mineralogist only in *his imagination.* For every mineral the speculative mineralogist says "*the* Mineral", and his science is reduced to repeating this word as many times as there are real minerals.

Having reduced the different real fruits to the *one* "fruit" of abstraction—"*the* Fruit", speculation must, in order to attain some semblance of real content, try somehow to find its way back from "*the* Fruit", from the *Substance* to the *diverse,* ordinary real fruits, the pear, the apple, the almond, etc. It is as hard to produce real fruits from the abstract idea "*the* Fruit" as it is easy to produce this abstract idea from real fruits. Indeed, it is impossible to arrive at the *opposite* of an abstraction without *relinquishing* the abstraction.

The speculative philosopher therefore relinquishes the abstraction "*the* Fruit", but in a *speculative, mystical* fashion—with the appearance of *not* relinquishing it. Thus it is really only in appearance that he rises above his abstraction. He argues somewhat as follows:

If apples, pears, almonds and strawberries are really nothing but "*the* Substance", "*the* Fruit", the question arises: Why does "*the* Fruit" manifest itself to me sometimes as an apple, sometimes as a pear, sometimes as an almond? Why this *semblance of diversity* which so obviously contradicts my speculative conception of *Unity,* "*the* Substance", "*the* Fruit"?

This, answers the speculative philosopher, is because "*the* Fruit" is not dead, undifferentiated, motionless, but a living, self-

differentiating, moving essence. The diversity of the ordinary fruits is significant not only for *my* sensuous understanding, but also for "*the* Fruit" itself and for speculative reason. The different ordinary fruits are different manifestations of the life of the "*one* Fruit"; they are crystallisations of "*the* Fruit" itself. Thus in the apple "*the* Fruit" gives itself an apple-like existence, in the pear a pear-like existence. We must therefore no longer say, as one might from the standpoint of the Substance: a pear is "*the* Fruit", an apple is "*the* Fruit", an almond is "*the* Fruit", but rather "*the* Fruit" presents itself as a pear, "*the* Fruit" presents itself as an apple, "*the* Fruit" presents itself as an almond; and the differences which distinguish apples, pears and almonds from one another are the self-differentiations of "*the Fruit*" and make the particular fruits different members of the life-process of "*the* Fruit". Thus "*the* Fruit" is no longer an empty undifferentiated unity; it is oneness as *allness,* as "*totality*" of fruits, which constitute an "*organically linked series of members*". In every member of that series "*the* Fruit" gives itself a more developed, more explicit existence, until finally, as the "*summary*" of all fruits, it is at the same time the living *unity* which contains all those fruits dissolved in itself just as it produces them from within itself, just as, for instance, all the limbs of the body are constantly dissolved in and constantly produced out of the blood.

We see that if the Christian religion knows only *one* Incarnation of God, speculative philosophy has as many incarnations as there are things, just as it has here in every fruit an incarnation of the Substance, of the Absolute Fruit. The main interest for the speculative philosopher is therefore to produce the *existence* of the real ordinary fruits and to say in some mysterious way that there are apples, pears, almonds and raisins. But the apples, pears, almonds and raisins that we rediscover in the speculative world are nothing but *semblances* of apples, *semblances* of pears, *semblances* of almonds and *semblances* of raisins, for they are moments in the life of "*the* Fruit", this abstract *creation of the mind,* and therefore themselves abstract *creations of the mind.* Hence what is delightful in this speculation is to rediscover all the real fruits there, but as fruits which have a higher mystical significance, which have grown out of the ether of your brain and not out of the material earth, which are incarnations of "*the* Fruit", of the *Absolute Subject.* When you return from the abstraction, the *supernatural* creation of the mind, "*the* Fruit", to real *natural* fruits, you give on the contrary the natural fruits a supernatural significance and transform them into sheer abstractions. Your main interest is then to point out the

*unity* of "*the* Fruit" in all the manifestations of its life—the apple, the pear, the almond—that is, to show the *mystical interconnection* between these fruits, how in each one of them "*the* Fruit" realises itself by *degrees* and *necessarily* progresses, for instance, from its existence as a raisin to its existence as an almond. Hence the value of the ordinary fruits *no longer* consists in their *natural* qualities, *but* in their *speculative* quality, which gives each of them a definite place in the life-process of "*the* Absolute Fruit".

The ordinary man does not think he is saying anything extraordinary when he states that there are apples and pears. But when the philosopher expresses their existence in the speculative way he says something *extraordinary.* He performs a *miracle* by producing the real *natural objects,* the apple, the pear, etc., out of the unreal *creation of the mind* "*the* Fruit", i.e., by *creating* those fruits out of his *own abstract reason,* which he considers as an Absolute Subject outside himself, represented here as "*the* Fruit". And in regard to every object the existence of which he expresses, he accomplishes an act of creation.

It goes without saying that the speculative philosopher accomplishes this continuous creation only by presenting universally known qualities of the apple, the pear, etc., which exist in reality, as determining features *invented* by him, by giving the *names* of the real things to what abstract reason alone can create, to abstract formulas of reason, finally, by declaring his *own* activity, by which *he passes* from the idea of an apple to the idea of a pear, to be the *self-activity* of the Absolute Subject, "*the* Fruit".

In the speculative way of speaking, this operation is called comprehending *Substance* as *Subject,* as an *inner process,* as an *Absolute Person,* and this comprehension constitutes the essential character of *Hegel's* method.

These preliminary remarks were necessary to make Herr Szeliga intelligible. Only now, after dissolving real relations, e.g., law and civilisation, in the category of mystery and thereby making "*Mystery*" into Substance, does he rise to the true speculative, *Hegelian* height and transforms "*Mystery*" into a self-existing Subject *incarnating* itself in real situations and persons so that the manifestations of its life are countesses, marquises, grisettes, porters, notaries, charlatans, and love intrigues, balls, wooden doors, etc. Having produced the category "*Mystery*" out of the real world, he produces the real world out of this category.

The mysteries of *speculative construction* in Herr Szeliga's presentation will be all the *more visibly* disclosed as he has an indisputable *double* advantage over *Hegel.* On the one hand, Hegel with

masterly sophistry is able to present as a process of the imagined creation of the mind itself, of the Absolute Subject, the process by which the philosopher through sensory perception and imagination passes from one subject to another. On the other hand, however, Hegel very often gives a *real* presentation, embracing the *thing* itself, within the *speculative* presentation. This real development *within* the speculative development misleads the reader into considering the speculative development as real and the real as speculative.

With Herr Szeliga both these difficulties vanish. His dialectics have no hypocrisy or dissimulation. He performs his tricks with the most laudable honesty and the most ingenuous straightforwardness. But then he *nowhere* develops any *real content*, so that his speculative construction is free from all disturbing accessories, from all ambiguous disguises, and appeals to the eye in its naked beauty. In Herr Szeliga we also see a brilliant illustration of how speculation on the one hand apparently freely creates its object *a priori* out of itself and, on the other hand, precisely because it wishes to get rid by sophistry of the rational and natural dependence on the *object*, falls into the most irrational and unnatural *bondage* to the object, whose most accidental and most individual attributes it is obliged to construe as absolutely necessary and general.

### 3) "THE MYSTERY OF EDUCATED SOCIETY"

After leading us through the lowest strata of society, for example through the criminals' taverns, Eugène Sue transports us to "*haute volée*",[a] to a *ball* in the Quartier Saint-Germain.

This *transition* Herr Szeliga construes as follows:

> "*Mystery* tries to evade examination by a ... twist: so far it appeared as the absolutely enigmatic, elusive and negative, in contrast to the true, real and positive; now it withdraws into the latter as its *invisible content*. But by doing so it gives up the unconditional possibility[b] of becoming known."

"Mystery" which has so far appeared in contrast to the "true", the "real", the "positive", that is, to law and education, "now withdraws into the latter", that is, into the realm of education. It is certainly a *mystère for* Paris, if not *of* Paris, that "*haute volée*" is the exclusive realm of education. Herr Szeliga does not pass from the

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[a] High society.—*Ed.*

[b] "Impossibility" in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

mysteries of the criminal world to those of aristocratic society; instead, "*Mystery*" becomes the "invisible content" of educated society, its *real essence*. It is "*not a new twist*" of Herr Szeliga's designed to enable him to proceed to further examination; "*Mystery*" itself takes this "new twist" in order to escape examination.

Before really following Eugène Sue where his heart leads him — to an aristocratic ball, Herr Szeliga resorts to the *hypocritical* twists of speculation which makes *a priori* constructions.

"One can *naturally foresee* what a solid shell 'Mystery' will *choose* to hide in; *it seems, in fact,* that it is of *insuperable impenetrability* ... that ... *hence* it may *be expected* that *in general* ... *nevertheless* a new attempt to pick out the kernel is *here indispensable*."

Enough. Herr Szeliga has gone so far that the

"*metaphysical* subject, *Mystery*, now steps forward, light, self-confident and jaunty".

In order now to change aristocratic society into a "mystery", Herr Szeliga gives us a few considerations on "*education*". He presumes aristocratic society to have all sorts of qualities that no man would look for in it, in order later to find the "mystery" that it does not possess those qualities. Then he presents this discovery as the "mystery" of educated society. Herr Szeliga wonders, for example, whether "*general* reason" (does he mean speculative logic?) constitutes the content of its "*drawing-room talk*", whether "the *rhythm* and *measure* of love *alone* makes" it a "harmonious whole", whether "what we call *general education* is the form of the *general*, the *eternal*, the *ideal*", i.e., whether what we call education is a metaphysical illusion. It is not difficult for Herr Szeliga to prophesy *a priori* in answer to his questions:

"It is to be *expected, however* ... that the answer will be in the negative."

In Eugène Sue's novel, the transition from the low world to the aristocratic world is a normal transition for a novel. The *disguises of Rudolph*, Prince of Geroldstein, give him entry into the lower strata of society as his title gives him access to the highest circles. On his way to the aristocratic ball he is by no means engrossed in the contrasts of contemporary life; it is the contrasts of his *own* disguises that he finds *piquant*. He informs his obedient companions how extraordinarily interesting he finds himself in the various situations.

"Je trouve," he says, "assez de piquant dans ces contrastes: un jour peintre en éventails, m'établant dans un bouge de la rue aux Fèves; ce matin commis

marchand offrant un verre de cassis à Madame Pipelet, et ce soir ... un des privilégiés par la grâce de dieu, qui règnent sur ce monde."[a]

When Critical Criticism is ushered into the ball-room, it sings:

Sense and reason forsake me near,
In the midst of the potentates here![b]

It pours forth in *dithyrambs* as follows:

"Here magic brings the brilliance of the sun at night, the verdure of spring and the splendour of summer in winter. We immediately feel in a mood to believe in the miracle of the divine presence in the breast of man, especially when beauty and grace uphold the conviction that we are in the immediate proximity of ideals." (!!!)

Inexperienced, credulous *Critical country parson*! Only your Critical ingenuousness can be raised by an elegant Parisian ball-room "to a mood" in which you believe in "the miracle of the divine presence in the breast of man", and see in Parisian lionesses "immediate ideals" and angels corporeal!

In his *unctuous* naivety the Critical parson listens to the two "most beautiful among the beautiful", Clémence d'Harville and Countess Sarah MacGregor. One can guess what he wishes to "*hear*" from them:

"In what way we can be the *blessing* of beloved children and the *fullness* of happiness of a husband"!... "We hark ... we wonder ... we do not trust our ears."

We secretly feel a malicious pleasure when the listening parson is disappointed. The ladies converse neither about "blessing", nor "fullness", nor "general reason", but about "an infidelity of Madame d'Harville to her husband".

We get the following naive revelation about one of the ladies, Countess MacGregor:

She was "*enterprising enough* to become *mother to a child as the result* of a secret marriage".

Unpleasantly affected by the *enterprising spirit* of the Countess, Herr Szeliga has sharp words for her:

"We find that all the strivings of the Countess are for her personal, selfish advantage."

Indeed, he expects nothing good from the attainment of her purpose—marriage to the Prince of Geroldstein:

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[a] "I find these contrasts piquant enough: one day a painter of fans established in a hovel in the *rue aux Fèves*; this morning a salesman offering a glass of black currant wine to Madame Pipelet, and this evening ... one of the privileged by the grace of God who reign over the world."—*Ed.*

[b] A paraphrase of a couplet from Goethe's *Faust*, Part I, Scene 6 (*The Witches' Kitchen*).—*Ed.*

"concerning which we can *by no means* expect that she will avail herself of it for the *happiness* of the Prince of Geroldstein's *subjects*."

The puritan ends his admonitory sermon with "profound earnestness":

"Sarah" (the *enterprising* lady), "*incidentally, is hardly* an exception in this brilliant circle, *although* she is one of its *summits*."

Incidentally, hardly! Although! And is not the "summit" of a circle an exception?

Here is what we learn about the character of two other ideals, the Marquise d'Harville and the Duchess of Lucenay:

They "'lack satisfaction of the heart'. They have not found in marriage the object of love, so they seek it outside marriage. In marriage, love has remained a *mystery* for them, and the imperative urge of the heart drives them to unravel this mystery. *So* they give themselves up to *secret love*. These 'victims' of 'loveless marriage' are 'driven against their will to debase love to something external, to a so-called affair, and take the romantic, the *secrecy*, for the internal, the vivifying, the essential element of love'".

The merit of this dialectical reasoning is to be assessed all the higher as it is of more general application.

He, for example, who is not allowed to *drink* at home and yet feels the need to drink looks for the "object" of drinking "*outside*" the house, and "so" takes to *secret drinking*. Indeed, he will be driven to consider secrecy an essential ingredient of drinking, although he will not debase drink to a mere "external" indifferent thing, any more than those ladies did with love. For, according to Herr Szeliga himself, it is not love, but marriage without love, that they debase to what it really is, to something external, to a so-called affair.

Herr Szeliga goes on to ask: "What is the '*mystery*' of love?"

We have just had the speculative construction that "mystery" is the *"essence"* of this kind of love. How is it that we now come to be looking for the mystery of the mystery, the essence of the essence?

"Not the shady paths in the thickets," declaims the parson, "not the *natural* semi-obscurity of moonlight night nor the artificial semi-obscurity of costly curtains and draperies; not the soft and enrapturing notes of the harps and the organs, not the attraction of what is forbidden...."

Curtains *and* draperies! Soft *and* enrapturing notes! Even the *organ*! Let the reverend parson stop thinking of *church*! Who would bring an organ to a love tryst?

"All this" (curtains, draperies and organs) "is only the *mysterious*."

And is not the *mysterious* the "mystery" of mysterious love? By no means:

"The mysterious in it is what excites, what intoxicates, what enraptures, the *power of sensuality*."

In the "soft and *enrapturing*" notes, the parson already had what enraptures. Had he brought turtle soup and champagne to his love tryst instead of curtains and organs, the "*exciting* and *intoxicating*" would have been present too.

"It is true we do not like to admit," the reverend gentleman argues, "the power of sensuality; but it has such tremendous power over us only because we cast it out of us and will not recognise it as our own nature, which we should then be in a position to dominate if it tried to assert itself at the expense of reason, of true love and of will-power."

The parson advises us, after the fashion of speculative theology, to *recognise* sensuality as our *own* nature, in order afterwards to be able to *dominate* it, i.e., to retract recognition of it. True, he wishes to dominate it only when it tries to assert itself at the expense of *Reason*—will-power and love as *opposed* to sensuality are only the will-power and love of *Reason*. The unspeculative Christian also recognises *sensuality* as long as it does not assert itself at the expense of true reason, i.e., of faith, of true love, i.e., of love of God, of true will-power, i.e., of will in Christ.

The parson immediately betrays his real meaning when he continues:

"If then love ceases to be the essential element of marriage and of morality in general, *sensuality* becomes the mystery of love, of morality, of educated society—sensuality both in its *narrow* meaning, in which it is a *trembling in the nerves* and a *burning stream* in the veins, and in the broader meaning, in which it is elevated to a *semblance* of spiritual power, to lust for power, ambition, craving for glory.... Countess MacGregor represents" the latter meaning "of sensuality as the mystery of educated society."

The parson hits the nail on the head. To overcome *sensuality* he must first of all overcome the *nerve currents* and the quick *circulation of the blood*.—Herr Szeliga believes in the "narrow" meaning that greater warmth in the body comes from the heat of the blood in the veins; he does not know that *warm-blooded animals* are so called because the temperature of their blood, apart from slight modifications, always remains at a constant level.—As soon as there is no more nerve current and the blood in the veins is no longer hot, the *sinful body*, this seat of sensual lust, becomes a *corpse* and the souls can converse unhindered about "general reason", "true love", and "pure morals". The parson debases sensuality to such an extent that he abolishes the very elements of sensual love which inspire it—the rapid circulation of the blood, which proves that man does not love by insensitive phlegm; the nerve currents which connect the organ that is the main seat of

sensuality with the brain. He reduces true sensual love to the *mechanical secretio seminis* and lisps with a notorious German theologian:

"Not for the sake of sensual love, not for the lust of the flesh, but because the Lord said: Increase and multiply."

Let us now compare the speculative construction with Eugène Sue's novel. It is not *sensuality* which is presented as the secret of love, but mysteries, adventures, obstacles, fears, dangers, and especially the attraction of what is forbidden.

"Pourquoi," says Eugène Sue, "beaucoup de femmes prennent-elles pourtant des hommes qui ne valent pas leurs maris? Parce que le *plus grand charme de l'amour* est l'attrait affriandant *du fruit défendu* ... avancez que, en retranchant de cet amour les craintes, les angoisses, les difficultés, les mystères, les dangers, il ne reste rien ou peu de chose, c'est-à-dire, l'amant ... dans sa simplicité première ... en un mot, ce serait toujours plus ou moins l'aventure de cet homme à qui l'on disait: 'Pourquoi n'épousez-vous donc pas cette veuve, votre maîtresse?'—'Hélas, j'y ai bien pensé'—répondit-il'—'mais alors je ne saurais plus où aller passer mes soirées.'"[a]

Whereas Herr Szeliga says explicitly that the mystery of love is not in the *attraction of what is forbidden*, Eugène Sue says just as explicitly that it is the "greatest charm of love" and the reason for all love adventures *extra muros*.

"La prohibition et la contrebande sont inséparables en amour comme en marchandise."[b]

Eugène Sue similarly maintains, contrary to his speculative commentator, that

"the propensity to pretence and craft, the liking for mysteries and intrigues, is an essential quality, a natural propensity and an imperative instinct of woman's nature".

The only thing which embarrasses Eugène Sue is that this propensity and this liking are directed against *marriage*. He would like to give the instincts of woman's nature a more harmless, more useful application.

Herr Szeliga makes Countess MacGregor a representative of the kind of *sensuality* which "is elevated to a semblance of spiritual

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[a] "Why do many women take as lovers men who are of less worth than their husbands? Because the *greatest charm of love* is the tempting attraction of the *forbidden fruit*.... Grant that if the fears, anxieties, difficulties, mysteries and dangers are taken away from that love nothing or very little remains, that is to say, the lover ... in his original simplicity ... in a word, it would always be more or less the adventure of the man who was asked, 'Why do you not marry that widow, your mistress?' 'Alas, I have thought a good deal about that,' he answered, 'but then I would not know where to spend my evenings.'"—*Ed.*

[b] "Prohibition and smuggling are as inseparable in love as in trade."—*Ed.*

power", but in Eugène Sue she is a *person of abstract reason.* Her "ambition" and her "pride", far from being forms of sensuality, are born of an abstract reason which is completely independent of sensuality. That is why Eugène Sue explicitly notes that

"the fiery impulses of love could never make her *icy* breast heave; *no* surprise of the *heart* or the *senses* could upset the pitiless calculations of this crafty, selfish, ambitious woman".

This woman's essential character lies in the egoism of abstract *reason* that never suffers from the sympathetic senses and on which the blood has no influence. Her soul is therefore described as "dry and hard", her mind as "artfully wicked", her character as "treacherous" and—what is very typical of a person of abstract reason—as "absolute", her dissimulation as "profound".—It is to be noted incidentally that Eugène Sue motivates the career of the Countess just as stupidly as that of most of his characters. An old nurse gives her the idea that she must become a "crowned head". Convinced of this, she undertakes journeys to capture a crown through marriage. Finally she commits the inconsistency of considering a petty German "*Serenissimus*"[a] as a "crowned head".

After his outpourings against *sensuality*, our Critical saint deems it necessary to show why Eugène Sue introduces us to *haute volée* at a ball, a method which is used by nearly all French novelists, whereas the *English* do so more often at the chase or in a country mansion.

"For this" (i.e., Herr Szeliga's) "conception it cannot be indifferent there" (in Herr Szeliga's construction) "and merely accidental that Eugène Sue introduces us to high society at a ball."

Now the horse has been given a free rein and it trots briskly towards the necessary end through a series of conclusions reminding one of the late Wolff.

"*Dancing* is the most common manifestation of *sensuality as a mystery.* The immediate *contact,* the embracing of the two sexes" (?) "necessary to form a couple are allowed in dancing because, in spite of appearances, and the really" (really, Mr. Parson?) "perceptible pleasant sensation, it is not considered as *sensual* contact and embracing" (but probably as connected with universal reason?).

And then comes a closing sentence which at best staggers rather than dances:

"*For* if it were *in actual fact* considered *as such it would be impossible to understand why* society is so lenient only as regards dancing *while it, on the contrary,* so severely condemns *that which,* if exhibited with similar freedom *elsewhere,* incurs branding and merciless casting out as a most unpardonable offence against morals and modesty."

The reverend parson speaks here neither of the *cancan* nor of the *polka,* but of *dancing* in general, of the *category* Dancing, which

[a] The title for a German prince.—*Ed.*

is not performed anywhere except in his Critical cranium. Let him see a dance at the Chaumière in Paris, and his Christian-German soul would be outraged by the boldness, the frankness, the graceful petulance and the music of that most sensual movement. His own "really perceptible pleasant sensation" would make it "perceptible" to him that "in actual fact it would be impossible to understand why the dancers themselves, while on the contrary they" give the spectator the uplifting impression of frank human sensuality—"which, if exhibited in the same way elsewhere"—namely in Germany—"would be severely condemned as an unpardonable offence", etc., etc.—why those dancers, at least so to speak in their own eyes, not only should not and may not, but of necessity canot and must not be frankly sensual human beings!!

The Critic introduces us to the *ball* for the sake of the *essence of dancing*. He encounters a great difficulty. True, there is dancing at this ball, but only in imagination. The fact is that Eugène Sue does not say a word describing the dancing. He does not mix among the throng of dancers. He makes use of the ball only as an opportunity for bringing together his characters from the upper aristocracy. In despair, "Criticism" comes to help out and *supplement* the author, and its own "fancy" easily provides a description of ball incidents, etc. If, as prescribed by Criticism, Eugène Sue was not directly interested in the criminals' hide-outs and language when he described them, the dance, on the other hand, which *not he* but his "fanciful" Critic describes, necessarily interests him infinitely.

Let us continue.

"*Actually*, the secret of sociable tone and tact—the secret of that extremely unnatural thing—is the longing to return to nature. That is why the appearance of a person like *Cecily* in educated society has such an electrifying effect and is crowned with such extraordinary success. She grew up a slave among slaves, without any education, and the only source of life she has to rely upon is her nature. Suddenly transported to a court and subjected to its constraint and customs, she soon learns to see through the secret of the latter.... In this sphere, which she can undoubtedly hold in sway because her power, the power of her nature, has an enigmatic magic, Cecily must necessarily stray into losing all sense of measure, whereas formerly, when she was still a slave, the same nature taught her to resist any unworthy demand of the powerful master and to remain true to her love. *Cecily* is the *mystery of educated society disclosed.* The scorned senses finally break down the barriers and surge forth completely uncurbed", etc.

Those of Herr Szeliga's readers who have not read Sue's novel will certainly think that Cecily is the lioness of the ball that is described. In the novel she is in a German gaol while the dancing goes on in Paris.

Cecily, as a slave, remains true to the Negro doctor David

because she loves him "passionately" and because her owner, Mr. Willis, is *"brutal"* in courting her. The reason for her change to a dissolute life is a very simple one. Transported into the "European world", she "blushes" at being "married to a Negro". On arriving in Germany she is *"at once"* seduced by a wicked man and her "Indian blood" comes into its own. This the hypocritical M. Sue, for the sake of *douce morale*[a] and *doux commerce*,[b] is bound to describe as *"perversité naturelle"*.[c]

The secret of Cecily is that she is a *half-breed.* The secret of her sensuality is the *heat of the tropics.* Parny sang praises of the half-breed in his beautiful lines to Eleonore.[d] Over a hundred sea-faring tales tell us how dangerous she is to sailors.

"Cecily était le type incarné de la sensualité brûlante, qui ne s'allume qu'au feu des tropiques.... Tout le monde a entendu parler de ces filles de couleur, pour ainsi dire mortelles aux Européens, de ces vampyrs enchanteurs, qui, enivrant leurs victimes de séductions terribles ... ne lui laissent, selon l'énergique expression du pays, que ses larmes à boire, que son coeur à ronger."[e]

Cecily was far from producing such a magical effect precisely on people aristocratically educated, *blasé*...

"les femmes de l'espèce de Cecily exercent une action soudaine, une omnipotence magique sur les hommes de *sensualité brutale* tels que *Jacques Ferrand*".[f]

Since when have men like Jacques Ferrand been representative of fine society? But Critical Criticism must speculatively make *Cecily* a factor in the life-process of Absolute Mystery.

### 4) "THE MYSTERY OF PROBITY AND PIETY"

"*Mystery*, as *that* of educated society, withdraws, *it is true*, from the *antithesis* into the *inner* sphere. *Nevertheless*, high society *once again* has exclusively *its own* circles in which it preserves the holy. It is, *as it were*, the chapel for this holy of holies. *But* for people in the forecourt, the chapel itself is the *mystery*. Education, *therefore*, in its exclusive position is the same thing for the people ... as vulgarity is for the educated."

*It is true, nevertheless, once again, as it were, but, therefore*—those are the magic hooks which hold together the links of the *chain of*

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[a] Sweet morality.—*Ed.*

[b] Tender commerce.—*Ed.*

[c] "Natural perversity."—*Ed.*

[d] E. D. Parny, *Poésies érotiques.*—*Ed.*

[e] "Cecily was the incarnation of the burning sensuality which only the heat of the tropics can kindle.... Everybody has heard of those coloured girls who are fatal, so to speak, to Europeans; of those charming vampires who intoxicate their victim with terrible seductions ... and leave him nothing, as the forceful expression of the country says, but his tears to drink and his heart to gnaw."—*Ed.*

[f] "Women of the type of Cecily have a sudden effect, a magic omnipotence over men of *brutal sensuality* like *Jacques Ferrand.*"—*Ed.*

*speculative reasoning*. Herr Szeliga has made *Mystery* withdraw from the world of criminals into high society. Now he has to construct the mystery that high society has its *exclusive* circles and that the mysteries of those circles are mysteries for the people. Besides the magic hooks already mentioned, this construction requires the transformation of a *circle* into a *chapel* and the transformation of non-aristocratic society into a *forecourt* of that chapel. Again it is a mystery *for* Paris that all the spheres of bourgeois society are only a forecourt of the chapel of high society.

Herr Szeliga pursues two aims. Firstly, *Mystery* which has become incarnate in the exclusive circle of high society must be declared *"common property of the world"*. Secondly, the *notary Jacques Ferrand* must be construed as a link in the life of Mystery. Here is the way Herr Szeliga reasons:

> "Education as yet is unable and unwilling to bring all estates and distinctions into its circle. Only *Christianity* and *morality* are able to found universal kingdoms on earth."

Herr Szeliga identifies education, civilisation, with *aristocratic* education. That is why he cannot see that *industry and trade* found universal kingdoms quite different from Christianity and morality, domestic happiness and civic welfare. But how do we come to the *notary Jacques Ferrand*? Quite simply!

Herr Szeliga transforms *Christianity* into an *individual* quality, "*piety*", and *morality* into another *individual* quality, "*probity*". He combines these two qualities in *one* individual whom he christens *Jacques Ferrand*, because Jacques Ferrand does not possess these two qualities but only pretends to. Thus Jacques Ferrand becomes the "mystery of probity and piety". His "testament", on the other hand, is "the mystery of *seeming* piety and probity", and therefore no longer of piety and probity themselves. If Critical Criticism had wanted speculatively to construe this testament as a mystery, it should have declared the seeming probity and piety to be the mystery of this testament, and not the other way round, this testament as the mystery of the seeming probity.

Whereas the Paris college of notaries considered Jacques Ferrand as a malicious libel against itself and through the theatrical censorship had this character removed from the stage performance of the *Mystères de Paris*, Critical Criticism, at the very time when it *"polemises against the airy kingdom of conceptions"*, sees in a Paris notary not a Paris notary but religion and morality, probity and piety. The trial of the notary *Lehon* ought to have taught it better. The position held by the *notary* in Eugène Sue's novel is closely connected with his official position.

"Les notaires sont au temporel ce qu'au spirituel sont les curés; ils sont les *dépositaires de nos secrets*"[a] (Monteil, *Hist[oire] des français des div[ers] états*," etc. t. ix, p. 37).

The notary is the secular confessor. He is a *puritan* by profession, and "honesty", Shakespeare says, is "no Puritan".[b] He is at the same time the go-between for all possible purposes, the manager of all civil intrigues and plots.

With the notary Ferrand, whose whole mystery consists in his hypocrisy and his profession, we do not seem to have made a single step forward yet. But listen:

"If for the notary hypocrisy is a matter of the most complete consciousness, and for Madame Roland it is, *as it were*, instinct, *then* between them there is the great mass of those who cannot get to the bottom of the mystery and yet involuntarily feel a desire to do so. It is therefore not superstition that leads the high and the low to the sombre dwelling of the charlatan Bradamanti (Abbé Polidori); no, it is the search for *Mystery*, to justify themselves to the world."

"The high and the low" flock to Polidori not to find out a definite mystery which is justified to the whole world, but to look for *Mystery* in general, Mystery as the Absolute Subject, *in order to* justify themselves to the world; as if to chop wood one looked, not for an axe, but for *the* Instrument *in abstracto.*

All the mysteries that Polidori possesses are limited to a means for abortion and a poison for murder.—In a speculative frenzy Herr Szeliga makes the *"murderer"* resort to Polidori's poison "because he wants to be not a murderer, but respected, loved and honoured". As if in an act of murder it was a question of respect, love or honour and not of one's *neck*! But the *Critical* murderer does not bother about his neck, but only about "*Mystery*".—As not everyone commits murder or becomes pregnant illegitimately, how is Polidori to put *everyone* in the desired possession of Mystery? Herr Szeliga probably confuses the charlatan Polidori with the scholar *Polydore Virgil* who lived in the sixteenth century and who, although he did not discover any mysteries, tried to make the history of those who did, the *inventors*, the "common property of the world" (see *Polidori Virgilii liber de rerum inventoribus*, Lugduni MDCCVI).

*Mystery*, Absolute Mystery, as it has finally established itself as the "common property of the world", consists therefore in the mystery of abortion and poisoning. *Mystery* could not make itself

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[a] "Notaries are in the temporal realm what priests are in the spiritual: they are the *depositories of our secrets*."—*Ed.*

[b] Shakespeare, *All's Well that Ends Well*, Act I, Scene 3.—*Ed.*

"the common property of the world" more skilfully than by turning itself into mysteries which are mysteries to no one.

### 5) "MYSTERY, A MOCKERY"

"*Mystery* has *now* become common property, the mystery of the whole world and of every individual. Either it is my art or my instinct, or I can buy it as a purchasable commodity."

*What* mystery has now become the common property of the world? Is it the mystery of rightlessness in the state, or the mystery of educated society, or the mystery of adulterating wares, or the mystery of making eau-de-cologne, or the mystery of "Critical Criticism"? None of all these, but *Mystery in abstracto*, the category Mystery!

Herr Szeliga intends to depict the *servants* and the *porter Pipelet and his wife* as the incarnation of Absolute Mystery. He wants speculatively to construct the *servant* and the porter of "*Mystery*". How does he manage to make the headlong descent from *pure category* down to the *"servant"* who *"spies at a locked door"*, from *Mystery as the Absolute Subject*, which is enthroned above the *roof* in the cloudy heavens of abstraction, down to the ground floor where the porter's lodge is situated?

First he subjects the category Mystery to a speculative process. When by the aid of means for abortion and poisoning Mystery has become the common property of the world, it is

"*therefore by no means any longer concealment* and *inaccessibility itself*, but *it conceals itself*, or better still" (always better!) "I conceal it, *I make it inaccessible*".

With this transformation of Absolute Mystery from *essence* into *concept*, from the *objective* stage, in which it is concealment itself, into the *subjective* stage, in which it conceals itself, or better still, in which *I* conceal *it*, we have not made a single step forward. On the contrary, the difficulty seems to grow, for a mystery in man's head or breast is more inaccessible and concealed than at the bottom of the sea. That is why Herr Szeliga comes to the aid of his *speculative* progress *directly* by means of an *empirical* progress.

"*It is behind locked doors*"—hark! hark!—"that *henceforth*"—henceforth!—"*Mystery*, is hatched, brewed and perpetrated."

Herr Szeliga has "*henceforth*" changed the speculative *ego* of Mystery into a very empirical, very *wooden* reality—a *door*.

"*But with that*"—i.e., with the locked door, not with the transition from the closed essence to the concept—"there exists *also the possibility* of my overhearing, eavesdropping, and spying on it."

It is not *Herr Szeliga* who discovered the "mystery" that one can eavesdrop at locked doors. The mass-type proverb even says that walls have ears. On the other hand it is a quite Critical speculative mystery that only "*henceforth*", after the descent into the hell of the criminals' hide-outs and the ascent into the heaven of educated society, and after Polidori's miracles, mysteries can be brewed *behind* locked doors and overheard *through* closed doors. It is just as great a Critical mystery that locked doors are a *categorical necessity* for hatching, brewing and perpetrating mysteries — how many mysteries are hatched, brewed, and perpetrated behind bushes! — as well as for spying them out.

After this brilliant dialectical feat of arms, Herr Szeliga naturally goes on from *spying* itself to the *reasons for spying*. Here he reveals the mystery that *malicious gloating* is the reason for it. From malicious gloating he goes on to the *reason for malicious gloating*.

"Everyone wishes to be better than the others," he says, "because he keeps secret the mainsprings not only of his good actions, but of his bad ones too, which he tries to hide in impenetrable darkness."

The sentence should be the other way round: Everyone not only keeps the mainsprings of his good actions secret, but tries to conceal his bad ones in impenetrable darkness because he wishes to be better than the others.

Thus it seems we have gone from *Mystery that conceals itself* to the *ego* that conceals it, from the *ego* to the *locked door*, from the *locked door* to *spying*, from *spying* to the *reason for spying*, malicious gloating; from *malicious gloating* to the *reason for malicious gloating*, the *desire to be better than the others*. We shall soon have the pleasure of seeing the *servant* standing at the locked door. For the general desire to be better than the others leads us directly to this: that "everyone is inclined to find out the mysteries of another", and this is followed easily by the witty remark:

"In this respect *servants* have the *best opportunity*."

Had Herr Szeliga read the records from the Paris police archives, Vidocq's memoirs, the *Livre noir*[a] and the like, he would know that in this respect the *police* has still greater opportunity than the "best opportunity" that servants have; that it uses servants only for crude jobs, that it does not stop at the door or where the masters are in *negligé*, but creeps under their sheets next to their naked body in the shape of a *femme galante* or even of a legitimate wife. In Sue's novel the police spy *"Bras rouge"* plays a leading part in the story.

[a] Black book.— *Ed.*

What "henceforth" annoys Herr Szeliga in servants is that they are not *"disinterested"* enough. This *Critical misgiving* leads him to the *porter Pipelet and his wife.*

"The porter's position, on the other hand, gives him relative independence so that he can pour out free, disinterested, although vulgar and injurious, mockery on the mysteries of the house."

At first this speculative construction of the porter is put into a great difficulty because in many Paris houses the servant and the porter are one and the same person for some of the tenants.

The following facts will enable the reader to form an opinion of the Critical fantasy concerning the relatively independent, disinterested position of the porter. The porter in Paris is the representative and spy of the landlord. He is generally paid not by the landlord but by the tenants. Because of that precarious position he often combines the functions of commission agent with his official duties. During the Terror, the Empire and the Restoration, the porter was one of the main agents of the secret police. General Foy, for instance, was watched by his porter, who took all the letters addressed to the general to be read by a police agent not far away (see Froment, *La police dévoilée*). As a result "*portier*"[a] and "*épicier*"[b] are considered insulting names and the porter prefers to be called "*concierge*".[c]

Far from being depicted as "disinterested" and harmless, Eugène Sue's Madame Pipelet immediately cheats Rudolph when giving him his change; she recommends to him the dishonest money-lender living in the house and describes Rigolette to him as an acquaintance who may be pleasant to him. She teases the major because he pays her badly and haggles with her — in her vexation she calls him a "*commandant de deux liards*"[d]— "*ca t'apprendra à ne donner que douze francs par mois pour ton ménage.*"[e]— and because he has the "*petitesse*"[f] as to keep a check on his firewood, etc. She herself gives the reason for her "independent" behaviour: the major only pays her twelve francs a month.

According to Herr Szeliga, "Anastasia Pipelet has, *to some extent,* to declare a small war on *Mystery*".

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[a] Porter.— *Ed.*

[b] Grocer.— *Ed.*

[c] Caretaker.— *Ed.*

[d] A twopenny major.— *Ed.*

[e] That'll teach you to give only twelve francs a month for your housekeeping.— *Ed.*

[f] Pettiness.— *Ed.*

According to Eugène Sue, Anastasia Pipelet is a typical *Paris Portière.* He wants "to dramatise the *Portière,* whom Henri Monier portrayed with such mastery". But Herr Szeliga feels bound to transform one of Madame Pipelet's qualities—"*médisance*"[a]—into a separate being and then to make her a representative of that being.

"The husband," Herr Szeliga continues, "the porter Alfred Pipelet, helps her, but with less luck."

To console him for this bad luck, Herr Szeliga makes him also into an *allegory.* He represents the *"objective"* side of Mystery, "*Mystery as Mockery*".

"The mystery which defeats him is a mockery, a joke, that is played on him."

Indeed, in its infinite pity divine dialectic makes the "unhappy, old, childish man" a *"strong man"* in the *metaphysical sense,* by making him represent a very worthy, very happy and very decisive factor in the life-process of Absolute Mystery. The victory over Pipelet is

"*Mystery's most decisive defeat.*" "A cleverer, courageous man would not let himself be duped by a *joke.*"

### 6) TURTLE-DOVE (RIGOLETTE)

"There is still one step left. Through *its own consistent development,* Mystery, as we saw in Pipelet and Cabrion, is driven to debase itself to mere clowning. The *one* thing necessary *now* is that the individual should no longer agree to play that silly comedy. *Turtle-dove* takes that step in the most nonchalant way in the world."

Anyone in two minutes can see through the mystery of this speculative clowning and learn to practise it himself. We will give brief directions in this respect.

*Problem.* You must give me the speculative construction showing how man becomes master over animals.

*Speculative solution.* Given are half a dozen animals, such as the lion, the shark, the snake, the bull, the horse and the pug. From these six animals abstract the category: *the* "Animal". Imagine *the* "Animal" to be an independent being. Regard the lion, the shark, the snake, etc., as disguises, incarnations, of *the* "Animal". Just as you made your imagination, *the* "Animal" of your abstraction, into a real being, now make the real animals into beings of abstraction, of your imagination. You see that the "Animal", which in the *lion* tears man to pieces, in the *shark* swallows him up, in the *snake* stings him with venom, in the *bull* tosses him with its horns and in the *horse* kicks him, only barks at him when it presents itself as a

[a] Backbiting.—*Ed.*

*pug*, and converts the fight against man into the mere *semblance of a fight.* Through its *own consistent development, the* "Animal" is driven, as we have seen in the *pug*, to debase itself to a *mere clown.* When a child or a childish man runs away from a pug, the only thing is for the individual no longer to agree to play the silly comedy. The individual X takes this step in the most nonchalant way in the world by using his bamboo cane on the pug. You see how *"Man"*, through the agency of the individual X and the pug, has become master over *the* "Animal", and consequently over animals, and in the *Animal as a pug* has defeated the *lion as an animal.*

Similarly Herr Szeliga's "turtle-dove" defeats the mysteries of the present state of the world through the intermediary of Pipelet and Cabrion. More than that! She is herself a manifestation of the category *"Mystery"*.

"She herself is not yet conscious of her high moral value, therefore she is still a mystery to herself."

The mystery of *non*-speculative Rigolette is revealed in Eugène Sue's book by Murph. She is *"une fort jolie grisette"*.[a] Eugène Sue described in her the lovely human character of the Paris *grisette.* Only owing to his devotion to the bourgeoisie and his own tendency to high-flown exaggeration, he had to idealise the *grisette morally.* He had to gloss over the essential point of her situation in life and her character, to be precise, her disregard for the form of marriage, her naive attachment to the Etudiant[b] or the Ouvrier.[c] It is precisely in that attachment that she constitutes a really human contrast to the hypocritical, narrow-hearted, self-seeking wife of the bourgeois, to the whole circle of the bourgeoisie, that is, to the official circle.

### 7) THE WORLD SYSTEM OF THE MYSTERIES OF PARIS

"This world of mysteries is *now* the general world system, in which the individual action of the *Mysteries of Paris* is set."

Before, "however", Herr Szeliga "passes on to the *philosophical reproduction* of the epic event", he must "assemble in a general picture the sketches previously jotted down separately".

It must be considered as a real confession, a revelation of Herr

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[a] A very pretty *grisette.*—*Ed.*

[b] Student.—*Ed.*

[c] Worker.—*Ed.*

Szeliga's Critical Mystery, when he says that he wishes to pass on to the "philosophical reproduction" of the epic event. He has so far been "philosophically reproducing" the world system.

Herr Szeliga continues his confession:

"From our presentation it appears that the individual mysteries dealt with have not their value in themselves, each separate from the others, and are in no way magnificent novelties for gossip, but that their value consists in their constituting an *organically linked sequence*, the *totality* of which is "*Mystery*".

In his mood of sincerity, Herr Szeliga goes still further. He admits that the *"speculative sequence"* is not the *real* sequence of the *Mystères de Paris.*

"Granted, the mysteries do not appear in our epic in the relationship of this *self-knowing sequence*" (to cost prices?). "*But* we are *not* dealing with the *logical*, obvious, *free organism of criticism*, but with a *mysterious vegetable existence.*"

We shall pass over Herr Szeliga's summary and go on immediately to the point that constitutes the "transition". In Pipelet we saw the "self-mockery of Mystery".

"In self-mockery, Mystery passes judgment on itself. *Thereby* the mysteries, annihilating themselves in their final consequence, challenge every strong character to independent examination."

*Rudolph*, Prince of Geroldstein, *the man of "pure Criticism"*, is destined to carry out this examination and the *"disclosure of the mysteries."*

If we deal with Rudolph and his deeds only later, after diverting our attention from Herr Szeliga for some time,[a] it can already be foreseen, and to a certain degree the reader can sense, indeed even surmise without presumption, that instead of treating him as a *"mysterious vegetable existence"*, which he is in the Critical *Literatur-Zeitung*, we shall make him a "*logical*, obvious, *free* link" in the "*organism of Critical Criticism.*"

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[a] See pp. 162-209 of this volume.—*Ed.*

# Chapter VI

## ABSOLUTE CRITICAL CRITICISM, OR CRITICAL CRITICISM AS HERR BRUNO

### 1) ABSOLUTE CRITICISM'S FIRST CAMPAIGN

#### a) "Spirit" and "Mass"

So far Critical Criticism has seemed to deal more or less with the Critical treatment of various *mass*-type objects. We now find it dealing with the absolutely Critical object, *with itself*. So far it has derived its relative glory from Critical debasement, rejection and transformation of *definite* mass-type objects and persons. It now derives its *absolute* glory from the Critical debasement, rejection and transformation of the Mass in general. Relative Criticism was faced with relative limits. Absolute Criticism is faced with an absolute limit, the limit of the Mass, the Mass as limit. Relative Criticism in its opposition to definite limits was itself necessarily a *limited* individual. Absolute Criticism, in its opposition to the *general* limit, to limit in general, is necessarily an *absolute* individual. As the various mass-type objects and persons have merged in the *impure* pulp of the "*Mass*", so has still seemingly objective and personal Criticism changed into "*pure Criticism*". So far Criticism has appeared to be more or less a *quality* of the Critical individuals: Reichardt, Edgar, Faucher, etc. Now it is the *Subject* and Herr Bruno is its incarnation.

So far *mass character* has seemed to be more or less the quality of the objects and persons criticised; now objects and persons have become the "*Mass*", and the "*Mass*" has become object and person. All previous Critical attitudes have been dissolved in the attitude of absolute Critical wisdom to absolute mass-type stupidity. This *basic attitude* appears as the *meaning*, the *tendency* and the *keyword* of Criticism's previous deeds and struggles.

In accordance with its absolute character, "pure" Criticism, as soon as it appears, will pronounce the differentiating "*cue*"; nevertheless, as Absolute Spirit it must go through a dialectical process. Only at the end of its heavenly motion will its original concept be truly realised (see Hegel, *Enzyklopädie*).

"Only a few months ago," Absolute Criticism announces, "the Mass believed itself to be of gigantic strength and destined to world mastery within a time that it could count on its fingers."

It was precisely Herr *Bruno Bauer,* in *Die gute Sache der Freiheit*[a] (his *"own"* cause, of course), in *Die Judenfrage,*[22] etc., who counted on his fingers the time until the approaching world mastery, although he admitted he could not give the exact date. To the record of the sins of the Mass he adds the mass of his own sins.

"The Mass thought itself in possession of so many truths which seemed obvious to it." "But one *possesses a truth* completely only ... when one follows it through *its* proofs."

For Herr Bauer, as for Hegel, truth is an *automaton* that proves itself. Man must *follow* it. As in Hegel, the result of real development is nothing but the *truth proven,* i.e., brought to *consciousness.* Absolute Criticism may therefore ask with the most narrow-minded theologian:

"*What* would be the purpose of *history* if its task were not precisely to *prove* these simplest of all truths (such as the movement of the earth round the sun)?"

Just as, according to the earlier teleologists, plants exist to be eaten by animals, and animals to be eaten by men, history exists in order to serve as the act of consumption of theoretical eating—*proving.* Man exists so that history may exist, and history exists so that the *proof of truths* exists. In this *Critically* trivialised form is repeated the speculative wisdom that man exists, and history exists, so that *truth* may arrive at *self-consciousness.*

That is why *history,* like *truth,* becomes a person apart, a metaphysical subject of which the real human individuals are merely the bearers. That is why Absolute Criticism uses phrases like these:

"*History* does not allow itself to be mocked at ... *History* has exerted *its* greatest efforts to ... *History* has been engaged ... what would be the purpose of History?... *History* provides the explicit proof ... *History* puts forward truths," etc.

If, as Absolute Criticism asserts, history has so far been occupied with only a *few* such truths—the simplest of all—which in the end are self-evident, this inadequacy to which Absolute Criticism reduces previous human experiences proves first of all only its *own* inadequacy. From the un-Critical standpoint the result of history is, on the contrary, that the most complicated truth, the quintessence of all truth, *man,* is self-evident in the end.

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[a] *The Good Cause of Freedom.—Ed.*

"But truths," Absolute Criticism continues to argue, "which *seem* to the mass to be so crystal-clear that they are self-evident *from the start* ... and that the mass regards proof of them as superfluous, are not worth history supplying explicit proof of them; they are in general no part of the problem which history is engaged in solving."

In its holy zeal against the mass, Absolute Criticism pays it the finest compliment. If a truth is *crystal-clear* because it *seems* crystal-clear to the mass; if history's *attitude* to truths *depends* on the *opinion* of the mass, then the verdict of the mass is absolute, infallible, the *law* of history, and history proves only what does *not* seem crystal-clear to the mass, and therefore needs proof. It is the mass, then, that prescribes history's "task" and "occupation".

Absolute Criticism speaks of "truths which are self-evident *from the start*". In its Critical naivety it invents an absolute "*from the start*" and an abstract, immutable "*nass*". There is just as little difference, in the eyes of Absolute Criticism, between the "from the start" of the sixteenth-century mass and the "from the start" of the nineteenth-century mass as there is between those masses themselves. It is precisely the characteristic feature of a truth which has become *true* and *obvious* and is self-evident that it is "self-evident *from the start*". Absolute Criticism's polemic against truths which are self-evident from the start is a polemic against truths which are "self-evident" in general.

A truth which is self-evident has lost its savour, its meaning, its *value* for Absolute Criticism as it has for divine *dialectic*. It has become flat, like stale water. On the one hand, therefore, Absolute Criticism proves everything which is self-evident and, in addition, many things which have the luck to be incomprehensible and therefore will never be self-evident. On the other hand, it considers as self-evident everything which needs some elaboration. Why? Because it is *self*-evident that *real problems* are *not* self-evident.

Since, *the* "Truth", like history, is an ethereal subject separate from the material mass, it addresses itself not to the empirical man but to the "*innermost depths of the soul*"; in order to be "*truly apprehended*" it does not act on his *vulgar body*, which may live deep down in an English cellar or at the top of a French block of flats; it "stretches" "from end to end" through his idealistic intestines. Absolute Criticism does certify that "the mass" has so far in its own way, i.e., superficially, been affected by the truths that history has been so gracious as to "put forward"; but at the same time it prophesies that

"the *attitude* of the *mass* to *historical progress* will "*completely change*".

It will not be long before the mysterious meaning of this Critical prophecy becomes "crystal-clear" to us.

"All great actions of previous history," we are told, "were failures *from the start* and had no effective success because the mass became *interested* in and *enthusiastic* over them—or, they were bound to come to a pitiful end because the idea underlying them was such that it had to be content with a superficial comprehension and therefore to rely on the approval of the mass."

It seems that the comprehension which suffices for, and therefore corresponds to, an idea ceases to be superficial. It is only for *appearance's sake* that Herr Bruno brings out a *relation* between an *idea* and its *comprehension,* just as it is only for *appearance's sake* that he brings out a *relation* between unsuccessful historical *action* and the *mass.* If, therefore, Absolute Criticism condemns something as "superficial", it is simply previous history, the actions and ideas of which were those of the "masses". It rejects *mass-type* history to replace it by *Critical* history (see Herr Jules Faucher on English problems of the day).[a] According to previous *un-Critical* history, i.e., history not conceived in the sense of Absolute Criticism, it must further be precisely distinguished to what extent the *mass* was "*interested*" in aims and to what extent it was "*enthusiastic*" over them. The "*idea*" always disgraced itself insofar as it differed from the "*interest*". On the other hand, it is easy to understand that every mass-type "*interest*" that asserts itself historically goes far beyond its real limits in the "*idea*" or "*imagination*" when it first comes on the scene and is confused with *human* interest in general. This *illusion* constitutes what *Fourier* calls the *tone* of each historical epoch. The *interest* of the bourgeoisie in the 1789 Revolution, far from having been a "*failure*", "*won*" everything and had "*most effective success*", however much its "*pathos*" has evaporated and the "*enthusiastic*" flowers with which that interest adorned its cradle have faded. That *interest* was so powerful that it was victorious over the pen of Marat, the guillotine of the Terror and the sword of Napoleon as well as the crucifix and the blue blood of the Bourbons. The Revolution was a "failure" only for the mass which did not have in the *political* "idea" the idea of its real "*interest*", i.e., whose true life-principle did not coincide with the life-principle of the Revolution, the mass whose real conditions for emancipation were essentially different from the conditions within which the bourgeoisie could emancipate itself and society. If the Revolution, which can exemplify all great historical "actions", was a failure, it was so because the mass within whose living conditions it

[a] See pp. 12-16 of this volume.—*Ed.*

essentially came to a stop, was an *exclusive, limited* mass, not an all-embracing one. If the Revolution was a failure it was not because the mass was *"enthusiastic"* over it and *"interested"* in it, but because the most numerous part of the mass, the part distinct from the bourgeoisie, did not have its *real* interest in the principle of the Revolution, did not have a revolutionary principle of its *own,* but *only* an *"idea",* and hence only an object of momentary *enthusiasm* and only seeming *uplift.*

Together with the thoroughness of the historical action, the size of the mass whose action it is will therefore increase. In Critical history, according to which in historical actions it is not a matter of the acting masses, of empirical action, or of the empirical *interest* of this action, but instead is only "a matter of an *idea in them*", things must naturally take a different course.

*"In the mass,"* Criticism teaches us, *"not somewhere else,* as its former liberal spokesmen believed, *is the true enemy of the spirit to be found."*

The enemies of progress *outside* the mass are precisely those *products* of *self-debasement, self-rejection* and *self-alienation* of the *mass* which have been endowed with independent being and a life of their *own.* The mass therefore turns against its *own* deficiency when it turns against the independently existing *products* of its *self-debasement,* just as man, turning against the existence of God, turns against his *own religiosity.* But as those *practical* self-alienations of the mass exist in the real world in an outward way, the mass must fight them in an *outward* way. It must by no means hold these products of its self-alienation for mere *ideal* fantasies, mere *alienations of self-consciousness,* and must not wish to abolish *material* estrangement by purely *inward spiritual* action. As early as 1789 Loustalot's journal bore the motto:

> Les grands ne nous paraissent grands
> Que parce que nous sommes à genoux
> ——— Levons nous! ——[a]

But to rise it is not enough to do so in *thought* and to leave hanging over one's *real sensuously perceptible* head the *real sensuously perceptible* yoke that cannot be subtilised away with ideas. Yet *Absolute Criticism* has learnt from Hegel's *Phänomenologie* at least *the* art of converting *real objective* chains that exist *outside me* into *merely ideal,* merely *subjective* chains, existing merely *in me* and thus

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[a] The great appear great in our eyes
Only because we are kneeling.
Let us rise! — *Ed.*

of converting all *external* sensuously perceptible struggles into pure struggles of thought.

This Critical transformation is the basis of the *pre-established harmony* between *Critical Criticism* and the *censorship*. From the Critical point of view, the writer's fight against the censor is not a fight of "man against man". The censor is nothing but *my own tact personified* for me by the solicitous police, my own tact struggling against my tactlessness and un-Criticalness. The struggle of the writer with the censor is only seemingly, only in the eyes of wicked sensuousness, anything else than the *inner* struggle of the writer *with himself. Insofar as* the censor is *really individually different* from myself, a *police executioner* who mishandles the product of my mind by applying an external standard alien to the matter in question, he is a mere *mass-type* fantasy, an *un-Critical figment of the brain.* When Feuerbach's *Thesen zur Reform der Philosophie*[23] were prohibited by the censorship, it was not the official barbarity of the censorship that was to blame but the uncultured character of Feuerbach's *Thesen.* "*Pure*" Criticism, unsullied by mass or matter, too, has in the censor a purely "ethereal" form, divorced from all mass-type reality.

Absolute Criticism has declared the "*Mass*" to be the *true enemy of the Spirit.* It develops this in more detail as follows:

> "The Spirit now knows where to *look* for *its* only *adversary*—in the self-deception and the pithlessness of the Mass."

Absolute Criticism proceeds from the *dogma* of the absolute competency of *the "Spirit"*. Furthermore, it proceeds from the *dogma* of the *extramundane* existence of the Spirit, i.e., of its existence outside the mass of humanity. Finally, it transforms "*the* Spirit", *"Progress"*, on the one hand, and "*the Mass*", on the other, into *fixed* entities, into concepts, and then relates them to one another as such given rigid extremes. It does not occur to Absolute Criticism to investigate *the "Spirit"* itself, to find out whether it is not in its spiritualistic nature, in its airy pretensions, that the "phrase", "self-deception" and "pithlessness" are rooted. No, the Spirit is *absolute,* but unfortunately at the same time it continually turns into *spiritlessness;* it continually reckons without its host. Hence it must necessarily have an *adversary* that intrigues against it. That *adversary* is the Mass.

The position is the same with "*Progress*". In spite of the pretensions of "*Progress*", continual *retrogressions* and *circular movements* occur. Far from suspecting that the category *"Progress"* is completely empty and abstract, Absolute Criticism is so profound

as to recognise *"Progress"* as being absolute, so as to explain retrogression by assuming a "*personal adversary*" of Progress, *the Mass. As "the Mass"* is nothing but the "*opposite of the Spirit*", of *Progress*, of "*Criticism*",[a] it can accordingly be defined only by this imaginary opposition; apart from that opposition all that Criticism can say about the *meaning* and the existence of the Mass is only something *meaningless*, because completely undefined:

"The Mass, in *that sense* in which the *'word' also* embraces the *so-called* educated world."

"Also" and "so-called" suffice for a Critical definition. *The* "Mass" is therefore distinct from the *real* masses and exists as *the* "*Mass*" only for "*Criticism*".

All communist and socialist writers proceeded from the observation that, on the one hand, even the most favourably brilliant deeds seemed to remain without brilliant results, to end in trivialities, and, on the other, *all progress of the Spirit* had so far been *progress against the mass of mankind*, driving it into an ever more *dehumanised* situation. They therefore declared "*progress*" (see *Fourier*) to be an inadequate, abstract *phrase*; they assumed (see *Owen* among others) a fundamental flaw in the civilised world; that is why they subjected the *real* foundations of contemporary society to incisive *criticism*. This communist criticism had practically at once as its counterpart the movement of the *great mass*, in opposition to which history had been developing so far. One must know the studiousness, the craving for knowledge, the moral energy and the unceasing urge for development of the French and English workers to be able to form an idea of the *human* nobility of this movement.

How infinitely *profound* then is "Absolute Criticism", which, in face of these intellectual and practical facts, sees in a one-sided way only *one* aspect of the relationship, the continual foundering of the Spirit, and, vexed at this, seeks in addition an *adversary* of *the* "Spirit", which it finds in *the* "Mass"! In the end this great Critical *discovery* amounts to a *tautology*. According to Criticism, *the* Spirit has so far had a limit, an obstacle, in other words, an *adversary, because* it has had an *adversary*. Who, then, is the adversary of the *Spirit*? *Spiritlessness*. For the Mass is defined only as the "opposite" of the Spirit, as *spiritlessness* or, to take the more precise definitions of spiritlessness, as "indolence", "superficiali-

[a] In the German text: *des* Fortschritts *der* "Kritik" (the Progress of Criticism)—probably a misprint.—*Ed.*

ty", "self-complacency". What a fundamental superiority over the communist writers it is not to have traced spiritlessness, indolence, superficiality and self-complacency to their places of origin, but to have denounced them *morally* and *exposed* them as the opposite of the Spirit, of Progress! If these qualities are proclaimed qualities of *the* Mass, as of a *subject* still distinct from them, that distinction is nothing but a "Critical" *semblance* of distinction. Only in *appearance* has Absolute Criticism a *definite* concrete subject besides the abstract qualities of spiritlessness, indolence, etc., for "*the Mass*" in the Critical conception is *nothing* but those abstract qualities, another *word* for them, a *fantastic personification* of them.

The relation between "Spirit and Mass" has, however, also a *hidden* meaning which will be completely revealed in the course of the reasoning. We only indicate it here. That relation *discovered* by Herr Bruno is, in fact, nothing but a *Critically caricatured consummation of Hegel's conception of history,* which, in turn, is nothing but the *speculative* expression of the *Christian-Germanic* dogma of the antithesis between *Spirit* and *Matter,* between *God* and the *world.* This antithesis finds expression in history, in the human world itself in such a way that a few chosen *individuals* as the *active* Spirit are counterposed to the rest of mankind, as the *spiritless Mass,* as *Matter.*

*Hegel's* conception of history presupposes an *Abstract* or *Absolute Spirit* which develops in such a way that mankind is a mere *mass* that bears the Spirit with a varying degree of consciousness or unconsciousness. Within *empirical,* exoteric history, therefore, Hegel makes a speculative, esoteric history, develop. The history of mankind becomes the history of the *Abstract Spirit* of mankind, hence a *spirit far removed* from the real man.

Parallel with this doctrine of Hegel's there developed in France the theory of the *doctrinaires*[24] proclaiming the *sovereignty of reason* in opposition to the *sovereignty of the people,* in order to exclude the masses and rule *alone.* This was quite consistent. If the activity of *real* mankind is nothing but the activity of a *mass* of human individuals, then *abstract generality, Reason, the* Spirit, on the contrary, must have an abstract expression restricted to a few individuals. It then depends on the situation and imaginative power of each individual whether he will claim to be this representative of "*the* Spirit".

Already in *Hegel* the *Absolute Spirit* of history has its material in the *Mass* and finds its appropriate expression only in *philosophy. The* philosopher, however, is only the organ through which the maker of history, the Absolute Spirit, arrives at self-consciousness

*retrospectively* after the movement has ended. The participation of the philosopher in history is reduced to this retrospective consciousness, for the real movement is accomplished by the Absolute Spirit *unconsciously*. Hence the philosopher appears on the scene *post festum*.[a]

Hegel is guilty of being doubly half-hearted: firstly in that, while declaring that philosophy is the mode of existence of the Absolute Spirit, he refuses to recognise the *actual philosophical individual* as the *Absolute* Spirit; secondly, in that he lets the Absolute Spirit as Absolute Spirit make history only *in appearance*. For since the Absolute Spirit becomes *conscious* of itself as the creative World Spirit only *post festum* in the philosopher, its making of history exists only in the consciousness, in the opinion and conception of the philosopher, i.e., only in the speculative imagination. Herr Bruno Bauer overcomes Hegel's half-heartedness.

*Firstly*, he proclaims *Criticism* to be the Absolute Spirit and *himself* to be *Criticism*. Just as the element of Criticism is banished from the Mass, so the element of the Mass is banished from Criticism. Therefore *Criticism* sees itself incarnate not in a *mass*, but exclusively in a *handful* of chosen men, in Herr *Bauer* and his disciples.

Herr Bauer furthermore overcomes Hegel's other half-heartedness. No longer, like the Hegelian Spirit, does he make history *post festum* and in imagination. He *consciously* plays the part of the *World Spirit* in opposition to the mass of the rest of mankind; he enters into a contemporary *dramatic* relation with that mass; he invents and executes history with a purpose and after mature reflection.

On the one side is the Mass as the passive, spiritless, unhistorical, *material* element of history. On the other is *the* Spirit, *Criticism*, Herr Bruno and Co. as the active element from which all *historical* action proceeds. The act of transforming society is reduced to the *cerebral activity* of Critical Criticism.

Indeed, the relation of Criticism, and hence of Criticism incarnate, Herr Bruno and Co., to the Mass is in truth the *only* historical relation of the present time. The whole of present-day history is reduced to the movement of these two sides against each other. All antitheses have been dissolved in this *Critical* antithesis.

Critical Criticism, which becomes *objective* to itself only in relation to its antithesis, to the Mass, to *stupidity*, is consequently obliged continually *to produce* this antithesis for itself, and Herren

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[a] After the event.— *Ed.*

Faucher, Edgar and Szeliga have supplied sufficient proof of their virtuosity in their speciality, the *mass stupefaction* of persons and things.

Let us now accompany Absolute Criticism in its *campaigns* against the *Mass*.

### b) The Jewish Question No. 1. The Setting of the Questions

The "Spirit", contrary to the Mass, behaves from the outset in a *Critical* way by considering its own narrow-minded work, Bruno Bauer's *Die Judenfrage*, as absolute, and only the opponents of that work as sinners. In Reply No. 1 [25] to attacks on that treatise, he does not show any inkling of its defects; on the contrary, he declares he has set forth the "true", "*general*" (!) significance of the Jewish question. In later replies we shall see him obliged to admit his "*oversights*".[a]

"The reception my book has had is the *beginning* of the proof that the very ones who so far have advocated freedom, and still advocate it, must rise against the Spirit more than any others; the defence of my book which I am now going to undertake will supply further proof how thoughtless the *spokesmen of the Mass* are; they have God knows what a great opinion of themselves for supporting emancipation and the dogma of the '*rights of man*'."

On the occasion of a treatise by Absolute Criticism, the "Mass" must necessarily have *begun* to prove its antithesis to the Spirit; for it is its antithesis to Absolute Criticism that *determines* and *proves* its very *existence*.

The polemic of a few liberal and rationalist Jews against Herr Bruno's *Die Judenfrage* has naturally a Critical meaning quite different from that of the mass-type polemic of the liberals against philosophy and of the rationalists against Strauss. Incidentally, the originality of the above-quoted remark can be judged by the following passage from *Hegel*:

"We can here note the particular form of bad conscience manifest in the kind of eloquence with which that shallowness" (of the liberals) "plumes itself, and first of all in the fact that it speaks most of *Spirit* where its speech has the *least spirit*, and uses the word *life*", etc., "where it is most dead and withered."[b]

As for the "*rights of man*", it has been proved to Herr Bruno ("On the Jewish Question", *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*[c]) that it

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[a] See pp. 95-96, 106-07 of this volume.—*Ed.*

[b] G.W.F. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts. Vorrede.*—*Ed.*

[c] See present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 146-74.—*Ed.*

is "*he himself*", not the *spokesmen of the Mass*, who has misunderstood and dogmatically mishandled the essence of those rights. Compared to his discovery that the rights of man are not "*inborn*"—a discovery which has been made innumerable times in England during the last 40-odd years—Fourier's assertion that the right to fish, to hunt, etc., are inborn rights of men is one of genius.

We give only a few examples of Herr Bruno's fight against *Philippson, Hirsch* and others. Even such poor opponents as these are not disposed of by Absolute Criticism. It is by no means preposterous of Herr *Philippson*, as Absolute Criticism maintains, to say:

"Bauer conceives a peculiar kind of state ... a *philosophical ideal* of a *state*."

Herr Bruno, who confuses the state with humanity, the rights of man with man and political emancipation with human emancipation, was bound, if not to conceive, at least to imagine a peculiar kind of state, a philosophical ideal of a state.

"Instead of writing his laboured statement, the rhetorician" (Herr Hirsch) "would have done better to refute my proof that the *Christian state*, having as its vital principle a definite religion, cannot allow adherents of another particular religion ... complete equality with its own social estates."

Had the rhetorician *Hirsch* really refuted Herr Bruno's proof and shown, as is done in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, that the state of social estates and of exclusive Christianity is not only an incomplete state but an incomplete *Christian* state, Herr Bruno would have answered as he does to that refutation:

"Objections in this matter are meaningless."[26]

Herr Hirsch is quite correct when in answer to Herr Bruno's statement:

"By pressure against the mainsprings of history the Jews provoked counter-pressure",

he recalls:

"Then they must have counted for something in the making of history, and if Bauer himself asserts this, he has no right to assert, on the other hand, that they did not contribute anything to the making of modern times."

Herr Bruno answers:

"An eyesore is something too—does that mean it contributes to develop my eyesight?"

Something which has been an eyesore to me from birth, as the Jews have been to the Christian world, and which persists and develops with the eye is not an ordinary sore, but a wonderful one, one that really belongs to my eye and must even contribute to a highly original development of my eyesight. The Critical

"*eyesore*" does not therefore hurt the rhetorician "*Hirsch*". Incidentally, the criticism quoted above revealed to Herr Bruno the significance of Jewry in "the *making* of modern times".

The theological mind of Absolute Criticism feels so offended by a *deputy of the Rhenish Landtag* stating that "the Jews are *queer* in their own Jewish way, not in our so-called Christian way", that it is still "calling him *to order* for using that argument".

Concerning the assertion of another deputy that "*civil* equality of the Jews can be implemented only where Jewry no longer exists", Herr Bruno comments:

> "Correct! That is correct if Criticism's other proposition, which I put forward in my treatise, is not omitted", namely the proposition that Christianity also must have ceased to exist.

We see that in its Reply No. 1 to the attacks upon *Die Judenfrage,* Absolute Criticism still regards the abolition of religion, atheism, as the condition for *civil* equality. In its first stage it has therefore not *yet* acquired any deeper insight into the essence of the state than into the "*oversights*" of its "*work*".

Absolute Criticism feels offended when one of its *intended* "latest" scientific discoveries is betrayed as something already generally recognised. A Rhenish deputy remarks:

> "No one has yet maintained that France and Belgium were distinguished by particular clarity in recognising principles in the organisation of their political affairs."

Absolute Criticism could have objected that that assertion transferred the present into the past by representing as traditional the now trivial view of the inadequacy of French political principles. Such a relevant objection would not be profitable for Absolute Criticism. On the contrary, it must assert the obsolete view to be that at present prevailing, and proclaim the now prevailing view a Critical mystery which *its* investigation still has to reveal to the Mass. Hence it must say:

> "It" (the antiquated prejudice) "has been asserted *by very many*" (of the Mass): "*but* a *thorough investigation* of history *will* provide the proof that *even* after the great work done by France to comprehend the principles, *much still remains to be achieved.*"

That means that a thorough investigation of history will not itself "*achieve*" the comprehension of the principles. It will only *prove* in its thoroughness that "*much still remains to be achieved*". A great achievement, especially after the works of the Socialists! Nevertheless Herr Bruno *already* achieves *much* for the comprehension of the present social state of things by his remark:

"The *certainty* prevailing at present is *uncertainty*."

If Hegel says that the prevailing *Chinese* certainty is "Being", that the prevailing *Indian* certainty is "Nothing", etc., Absolute Criticism joins him in the "pure" way when it resolves the character of the present time in the logical category "*Uncertainty*", and all the purer since "Uncertainty", like "Being" and "Nothing", belongs to the first chapter of speculative logic, the chapter on "*Quality*".

We cannot leave No. 1 of *Die Judenfrage* without a general remark.

One of the chief pursuits of Absolute Criticism consists in first bringing all questions of the day into their *right setting*. For it does not answer the *real* questions—it substitutes *quite different* ones. As it makes everything, it must also first *make* the "questions of the day", make them *its own* questions, questions of Critical Criticism. If it were a question of the Code Napoléon, it would prove that it is *properly* a question of the *Pentateuch*.[27] Its *setting* of "questions of the day" is Critical *distortion* and *misrepresentation* of them. It thus distorted the "Jewish question", too, in such a way that it did not need to investigate *political emancipation*, which is the subject-matter of that question, but could instead confine itself to a criticism of the Jewish religion and a description of the Christian-Germanic state.

This method, too, like all Absolute Criticism's originalities, is the repetition of a *speculative* verbal trick. *Speculative* philosophy, namely, *Hegel's* philosophy, had to transpose all questions from the form of common sense to the form of speculative reason and convert the real question into a *speculative* one to be able to answer it. Having distorted *my* question on my lips and, like the catechism, put *its own* question into my mouth, it could, of course, like the catechism, have its ready answer to all my questions.

### c) Hinrichs No. 1. Mysterious Hints on Politics, Socialism and Philosophy

"*Political!*" Absolute Criticism is literally horrified at the presence of this word in Professor *Hinrichs*' lectures.[28]

"Whoever has followed the development of modern times and knows history will *also* know that the political movements at present taking place have a significance *quite different*" (!) "from a *political* one: at their base" (at their base! ... now for basic wisdom) "they have a *social*" (!) "significance, which, as we know" (!) "is such" (!) "that *all* political interests appear *insignificant*" (!) "in comparison with it."

A few months before the Critical *Literatur-Zeitung* began to be published, there appeared, *as we know* (!), Herr Bruno's fantastic political treatise: *Staat, Religion und Parthei*!

If *political* movements *have social significance,* how can political interests appear *"insignificant"* in comparison with their own social significance?

"Herr Hinrichs does not know his way about either in his own house or anywhere else in the world.... He could not be at home anywhere *because ... because* Criticism, which in the last four years has begun and carried on its *by no means 'political'* but *'social'*" (!) "work, has remained *completely*" (!) "unknown to him."

*Criticism,* which according to the opinion of the Mass carried on "by no means *political*" but "in *all* respects *theological*" work, is still content with the *word "social"*, even now when it has uttered this *word* for the first time, not just in the last four years, but since its literary birth.

Since socialist writings spread in Germany the recognition that *all* human aspirations and actions without exception have *social* significance, Herr Bruno can call his theological works *social* too. But what a *Critical* demand it is that Professor Hinrichs should have derived socialism from an *acquaintance* with *Bauer*'s works, considering that all Bruno Bauer's works published up to the appearance of Hinrichs' lectures, when they do draw practical conclusions, draw *political* ones! It was impossible, un-Critically speaking, for Professor Hinrichs to supplement Herr Bruno's published works with his as yet unpublished ones. From the Critical point of view, the Mass is, of course, obliged to interpret all Absolute Criticism's mass-type "movements", as well as "political" ones, from the angle of the future and of Absolute Progress! But in order that Herr Hinrichs, after becoming acquainted with the *Literatur-Zeitung*, may never again forget the word *"social"* or fail to recognise the *"social"* character of *Criticism*, *Criticism* prohibits the word *"political"* for the third time before the whole world and solemnly repeats the word *"social"* for the third time.

"If the *true* tendency of modern history is considered it is *no longer a question of political, but*—but of *social* significance", etc.

Just as Professor Hinrichs is the scapegoat for the former "political" movements, so is he also for the *"Hegelian"* movements and expressions which Absolute Criticism used intentionally up to the publication of the *Literatur-Zeitung*, and continues to use unintentionally in it.

Once *"real Hegelian"* and twice *"Hegelian philosopher"* are thrown in Hinrichs' face as catchwords. Herr Bruno even *"hopes"*

that the "banal expressions so tiresomely circulated in all the books of the *Hegelian* school" (in particular in his own books) will, *in view of* their great *"exhaustion"* as seen in Professor Hinrichs' lectures, soon reach the end of their journey. From the *"exhaustion" of Professor Hinrichs,* Herr Bruno hopes for the dissolution of *Hegel's philosophy* and thereby *his own redemption* from it.

Thus in its *first campaign* Absolute Criticism overthrows its own long-worshipped gods, "*Politics*" and "*Philosophy*", declaring them idols of Professor Hinrichs.

Glorious first campaign!

## 2) ABSOLUTE CRITICISM'S SECOND CAMPAIGN

### a) Hinrichs No. 2. "Criticism" and "Feuerbach". Condemnation of Philosophy

As the result of its first campaign, *Absolute Criticism* can regard *"philosophy"* as having been dealt with and term it outright an ally of the *"Mass"*.

"*Philosophers* were predestined to fulfil the heart's desires of the '*Mass*'". For "the Mass *wants* simple concepts, in order to have nothing to do with the thing itself, shibboleths, so as to have finished with everything from the start, phrases by which *Criticism* can be done away with."[29]

And "philosophy" fulfils this longing of the "Mass"!

Dizzy after its victories, Absolute Criticism breaks out in *Pythian* frenzy against philosophy. *Feuerbach's Philosophie der Zukunft*[a] is the concealed cauldron[b] whose fumes inspire the frenzy of Absolute Criticism's victory-intoxicated head. It read Feuerbach's work in March. The fruit of that reading, and at the same time the criterion of the earnestness with which it was undertaken, is Article No. 2 against Professor Hinrichs.

In this article Absolute Criticism, which has never freed itself from the cage of the Hegelian way of viewing things, storms at the iron bars and walls of its prison. The "simple concept", the terminology, the whole mode of thought of philosophy, indeed, the whole of philosophy, is rejected with disgust. In its place we suddenly find the "*real wealth of human relations*", the "*immense content of history*", the "*significance of man*", etc. "*The mystery of the system*" is declared "*revealed*".

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[a] L. Feuerbach, *Grundsätze der Philosophie der Zukunft.—Ed.*

[b] Engels here makes a pun on "*Feuerbach*" (literally stream of fire) and '*Feuerkessel*' (boiler).—*Ed.*

But who, then, revealed the mystery of the "system"? *Feuerbach.* Who annihilated the dialectics of concepts, the war of the gods that was known to the philosophers alone? *Feuerbach.* Who substituted for the old lumber and for "infinite self-consciousness" if not, indeed, "*the significance of man*"—as though man had another significance than that of being man!—at any rate "*Man*"? *Feuerbach,* and only *Feuerbach.* And he did more. Long ago he did away with the very categories with which "*Criticism*" now operates—the "real wealth of human relations, the immense content of history, the struggle of history, the fight of the Mass against the Spirit", etc., etc.

Once man is recognised as the essence, the basis of all human activity and situations, only *"Criticism"* can invent *new categories* and transform *man* himself into a category and into the principle of a whole series of categories, as it is doing now. It is true that in so doing it takes the only road to salvation that has remained for frightened and persecuted *theological* inhumanity. *History* does *nothing,* it "possesses *no* immense wealth", it "wages *no* battles". It is *man,* real, living man who does all that, who possesses and fights; "history" is not, as it were, a person apart, using man as a means to achieve *its own* aims; history is *nothing but* the activity of man pursuing his aims. If *Absolute* Criticism, after *Feuerbach*'s brilliant expositions, still dares to reproduce all the old trash in a new form, at the same time abusing it as "*mass-type*" trash—which it has all the less right to do as it never stirred a finger to dissolve philosophy—that fact alone is sufficient to bring the *"mystery"* of *Criticism* to light and to assess the Critical naivety with which it says the following to Professor Hinrichs, whose *"exhaustion"* once did it such a great service:

"The *damage* is to those who have not gone through any development and therefore *could not alter themselves even if they wished to,* and at most to the *new* principle—but no! The new *cannot* be made *into a phrase, separate turns of speech cannot be borrowed from it.*"

Absolute Criticism prides itself that, in contrast to Professor Hinrichs, it has solved *"the mystery of the faculty sciences".* Has it then solved the "mystery" of philosophy, jurisprudence, politics, medicine, political economy and so forth? Not at all! It has—be it noted!—shown in *Die gute Sache der Freiheit* that science as a source of livelihood and free science, freedom of teaching and faculty statutes, contradict each other.

If "Absolute Criticism" were honest it would have admitted where its pretended illumination on the "Mystery of Philosophy" comes from. It is a good thing all the same that it does not put

into *Feuerbach*'s mouth such nonsense as the misunderstood and distorted propositions that it borrowed from him, as it has done with other people. By the way, it is characteristic of "Absolute Criticism's" *theological* viewpoint that, whereas the German philistines are now beginning to understand *Feuerbach* and to adopt his conclusions, it is unable to grasp a single sentence of his correctly or to use it properly.

Criticism achieves a real advance over its feats of the first campaign when it "defines" the struggle of "*the Mass*" against the "*Spirit*" as "*the aim*" of all previous history, when it declares that "*the Mass*" is the "*pure nothing*" of "misery"; when it calls the Mass purely and simply "*Matter*" and contrasts "*the Spirit*" as truth to "Matter". Is not Absolute Criticism therefore *genuinely Christian-Germanic*? After the old antithesis between spiritualism and materialism has been fought out on all sides and overcome once for all by *Feuerbach*, "*Criticism*" again makes a basic dogma of it in its most loathsome form and gives the victory to the "*Christian-Germanic spirit*".

Finally, it must be considered as a development of Criticism's mystery concealed in its first campaign when it now identifies the antithesis between *Spirit* and *Mass* with the antithesis between "*Criticism*" and the Mass. Later it will go on to identify *itself* with "*Criticism*" and therefore to represent itself as "*the Spirit*", the Absolute and Infinite, and the Mass, on the other hand, as finite, coarse, brutal, dead and inorganic—for that is what "*Criticism*" understands by matter.

How immense is the wealth of history that is exhausted in the relationship of humanity to *Herr Bauer*!

### b) The Jewish Question No. 2
### Critical Discoveries on Socialism, Jurisprudence and Politics (Nationality)

To the material, mass-type Jews is preached the *Christian* doctrine of *freedom of the Spirit, freedom in theory*, that *spiritualistic* freedom which *imagines* itself to be free even in chains, and whose soul is satisfied with "*the idea*" and only embarrassed by any mass-type existence.

> "The Jews are *emancipated* to the extent they have now reached in *theory*, they are *free* to the extent that they *wish to be free*."[30]

From this proposition one can immediately measure the Critical gap which separates *mass-type*, profane communism and socialism

from *absolute* socialism. The first proposition of profane socialism rejects emancipation *in mere theory* as an illusion and for *real* freedom it demands besides the idealistic "*will*" very tangible, very material conditions. How low "*the* Mass" is in comparison with holy Criticism, the Mass which considers material, practical upheavals necessary even to win the time and means required merely to occupy itself with "*theory*"!

Let us leave purely spiritual socialism an instant for *politics*!

Herr *Riesser* maintains against Bruno Bauer that *his* state (i.e., the *Critical* state) must exclude "Jews" and "Christians". Herr Riesser is right. Since Herr Bauer confuses *political* emancipation with *human* emancipation, since the state can react to antagonistic elements—and Christianity and Judaism are described as treasonable elements in *Die Judenfrage*—only by forcible exclusion of the *persons* representing them (as the Terror, for instance, wished to do away with hoarding by guillotining the hoarders[31]), Herr Bauer must have both Jews and Christians hanged in his "Critical state". Having confused political emancipation with human emancipation, he had to be consistent and confuse the *political means* of emancipation with the *human means*. But as soon as Absolute Criticism is told the *definite* meaning of its deductions, it gives the answer that *Schelling* once gave to all his opponents who substituted *real* thoughts for his phrases:

> "*Criticism*'s opponents are its opponents because they not only measure it with their *dogmatic* yardstick but regard Criticism itself as *dogmatic*; they oppose Criticism because it does not recognise their dogmatic distinctions, definitions and evasions."

It is, of course, to adopt a dogmatic attitude to Absolute Criticism, as also to Herr *Schelling*, if one assumes it to have *definite*, real meaning, thoughts and views. In order to be accommodating and to prove to Herr Riesser its humanity, "*Criticism*", however, decides to resort to dogmatic distinctions, definitions and especially to "*evasions*".

Thus we read:

> "Had I in that work" (*Die Judenfrage*) "had the *will* or the *right* to go *beyond* criticism, I *ought*" (!) "to *have spoken*" (!) "not of the *state*, but of '*society*', which excludes no one but from which only those exclude themselves who do not wish to take part in its development."

Here Absolute Criticism makes a *dogmatic distinction* between what it ought to have done, if it had not done the contrary, and what it actually did. It explains the narrowness of its work *Die Judenfrage* by the "*dogmatic evasions*" of having the *will* and the *right*

which prohibited it from going "*beyond criticism*". What? "*Criticism*" should go *beyond* "*criticism*"? This quite *mass-type* notion occurs to Absolute Criticism because of the dogmatic necessity for, on the one hand, asserting its conception of the Jewish question as absolute, as "*Criticism*", and on the other hand, admitting the possibility of a more comprehensive conception.

The *mystery* of its "*not having the will*" and "*not having the right*" will later be revealed as the Critical *dogma* according to which all apparent limitations of "Criticism" are nothing but necessary *adaptations* to the powers of comprehension of the Mass.

It had not the *will*! It *had* not the *right* to go beyond its narrow conception of the Jewish question! But what would it have done *had* it *had* the *will* or the *right*?—It would have given a *dogmatic definition.* It would have spoken of *"society"* instead of the "state", that is to say, it would not have studied the *real* relation of Jewry to *present-day civil* society! It would have given a *dogmatic definition* of *"society"* as distinct from the "state", in the sense that if the *state* excludes, on the other hand *they exclude* themselves from society who do not wish to take part in its development!

Society behaves just as exclusively as the state, only in a more polite form: it does not throw you out, but it makes it so uncomfortable for you that you go out of your own will.

Basically, the state does not behave otherwise, for it does not exclude anybody who complies with all *its* demands and orders and *its* development. In its *perfection* it even closes its eyes and declares *real* contradictions to be *non-political* contradictions which do not disturb it. Besides, Absolute Criticism itself has argued that the state excludes Jews because and in so far as the Jews exclude the state and hence exclude *themselves* from the state. If this reciprocal relationship has a more polite, a more hypocritical, a more insidious form in *Critical* "society", this only proves that *"Critical" "society"* is more hypocritical and less developed.

Let us follow Absolute Criticism deeper in its "dogmatic distinctions" and "definitions", and, in particular, in its "*evasions*".

Herr Riesser, for example, demands of the critic "that he *distinguish* what belongs to the domain of law" from "what is beyond its sphere".

*The* Critic is indignant at the impertinence of this *juridical* demand.

"So far, *however,*" he retorts, "both feeling and conscience have interfered in law, always supplemented it, and because of its character, based on its *dogmatic form*" (not, therefore, on its dogmatic *essence*?), "have always had to supplement it."

*The* Critic forgets only that *law*, on the other hand, *distinguishes itself* quite explicitly from "feeling and conscience", that this distinction is based on the one-sided *essence* of *law* as well as on its dogmatic *form*, and is even one of the *main dogmas* of law; that, finally, the practical implementation of that distinction is just as much the peak of the *development of law* as the separation of religion from all profane content makes it *abstract, absolute* religion. The fact that "feeling and conscience" interfere in law is sufficient reason for the "Critic" to speak of feeling and conscience when it is a matter of *law*, and of *theological* dogmatism when it is a matter of *juridical* dogmatism.

The "definitions and distinctions of Absolute Criticism" have prepared us sufficiently to hear its latest *"discoveries"* on *"society"* and *"law"*.

"The world form that *Criticism* is preparing, and the *thought* of which it is *even only* just preparing, is not a *merely legal* form but" (collect yourself, reader) "a *social* one, about which *at least* this much" (this little?) "*can* be said: whoever has not made his contribution to its development and does not live with his conscience and feeling in it, cannot feel at home in it or take part in its history."

The world form that *"Criticism"* is preparing is defined as *not merely* legal, *but* social. This definition can be interpreted in two ways. The sentence quoted may be taken as "*not* legal *but* social" or as "not merely legal, but *also* social". Let us consider its content according to both readings, beginning with the first. Earlier, Absolute Criticism defined the new "world form" distinct from the "*state*" as "society". Now it defines the noun "*society*" by the adjective "*social*". If Herr Hinrichs was three times given the *word* "*social*" in contrast to his "*political*", Herr Riesser is now given *social society* in contrast to his "*legal*" society. If the *Critical* explanations for Herr Hinrichs reduced themselves to the formula "social" + "social" + "social" = 3a, Absolute Criticism in its second campaign passes from *addition* to *multiplication* and Herr Riesser is referred to society multiplied by itself, society to the *second* power, social society $= a^2$. In order to complete its deductions on society, all that now remains for Absolute Criticism to do is to go on to fractions, to extract the *square root* of society, and so forth.

If, on the other hand, we take the second reading: the "*not merely* legal, *but also* social" world form, this hybrid world form is nothing but the *world form* existing *today*, the world form of *present-day society*. It is a great, a meritorious *Critical miracle* that "*Criticism*" in its pre-world thinking is only just *preparing* the *future* existence of the world form which *exists today*. But however

matters stand with "not merely legal but social society", *Criticism* can for the time being say no more about it than "*fabula docet*",[a] the *moral* application. Those who do not live in that society with their feeling and their conscience will "not *feel* at home" in it. In the end, no one will live in that society except "pure feeling" and "pure conscience", that is, "the Spirit", "*Criticism*" and its *supporters.* The *Mass* will be excluded from it in one way or another so that "mass-type society" will exist outside "social society".

In a word, this society is nothing but the *Critical heaven* from which the real world is excluded as being the *un-Critical hell.* In its pure thinking, Absolute Criticism is preparing this transfigured *world form* of the contradiction between "*Mass*" and "*Spirit*".

Of the same *Critical* depth as these explanations on "*society*" are the explanations Herr Riesser is given on the destiny of *nations.*

The Jews' desire for emancipation and the desire of the Christian states to "classify" the Jews in "their government scheme"—as though the Jews had not long ago been classified in the Christian government scheme!—lead Absolute Criticism to prophecies on the *decay of nationalities.* See by what a complicated detour Absolute Criticism arrives at the present historical movement—namely, by the *detour of theology.* The following illuminating oracle shows us what great results Criticism achieves in this way:

> "The *future* of all nationalities—*is*—*very*—*obscure!*"

But let the future of nationalities be as obscure as it may be, for Criticism's sake. The one essential thing is *clear*: the *future* is the *work of Criticism.*

> "*Destiny,*" it exclaims, "may decide as it will: we now know that it is *our work.*"

As God leaves *his creation,* man, his *own will,* so *Criticism* leaves destiny, which is *its creation,* its *own will. Criticism,* of which destiny is the work, is, like God, *almighty.* Even the "resistance" which it "*finds*" outside itself is its own work. "*Criticism makes* its adversaries." The "*mass indignation*" against it is therefore "dangerous" only for "the Mass" itself.

But if Criticism, like God, is *almighty,* it is also, like God, *all-wise* and is capable of combining its almightiness with the *freedom,* the *will* and the *natural determination* of human individuals.

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[a] The fable teaches.—*Ed.*

"It would not be the *epoch-making* force if it did not have the effect of *making each one* what he *wills* to be and showing each one irrevocably the standpoint *corresponding to his nature* and *his will.*"

*Leibniz* could not have given a happier presentation of the pre-established harmony between the almightiness of God and the freedom and natural determination of man.

If *"Criticism"* seems to clash with psychology by *not distinguishing* between the *will* to be something and the *ability* to be something, it must be borne in mind that it has decisive grounds to declare this "*distinction*" "*dogmatic*".

Let us steel ourselves for the third campaign! Let us recall once more that "*Criticism makes* its adversary"! But how could it make its adversary, *the* "*phrase*", if it were not a phrase-monger?

### 3) ABSOLUTE CRITICISM'S THIRD CAMPAIGN

#### a) Absolute Criticism's Self-Apology. Its "Political" Past

*Absolute* Criticism begins its third campaign against the *"Mass"* with the question:

*"What is now the object of criticism?"*[32]

In the same number of the *Literatur-Zeitung* we find the information:

"*Criticism* wishes *nothing* but to know *things.*"

According to this, all things are the *object* of Criticism. It would be senseless to inquire about some particular, definite object peculiar to Criticism. The contradiction is easily resolved when one remembers that all things "merge" into Critical things and all Critical things into *the Mass*, as *the* "*Object*" of "*Absolute Criticism*".

First of all, Herr Bruno describes his *infinite pity* for the "*Mass.*" He makes "*the gap* that separates him from the *crowd*" an object of "*persevering study.*" He wants "*to find out the significance of that gap for the future*" (this is what above was called knowing "*all*" things) and at the same time "*to abolish it*". In truth he therefore already knows the *significance* of that gap. It consists in being *abolished* by him.

As each man's self is nearest to him, "*Criticism*" first sets about abolishing its *own mass nature,* like the Christian ascetics who begin the campaign of the spirit against the flesh with the mortification of their *own* flesh. The "*flesh*" of Absolute Criticism is its *really*

*massive* literary *past,* amounting to 20-30 volumes. Herr Bauer must therefore free the literary biography of "*Criticism*"—which coincides exactly with his own literary biography—from its *mass-like appearance*; he must retrospectively *improve* and *explain* it and by this *apologetic* commentary "*place its earlier works in safety*".

He begins by explaining by a double cause the error of the *Mass,* which until the end of the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* and the *Rheinische Zeitung*[33] regarded Herr Bauer as one of *its* supporters. Firstly the mistake was made of regarding the literary movement as *not* "*purely literary*". At the same time the opposite mistake was made, that of regarding the literary movement as "a merely" or "purely" *literary* movement. There is no doubt that the "Mass" was mistaken in any case, if only because it made two mutually incompatible errors *at the same time.*

Absolute Criticism takes this opportunity of exclaiming to those who ridiculed the "German nation" as a "*blue stocking*":

"Name even a single historical epoch which was not authoritatively *outlined beforehand by the 'pen'* and had not to allow itself to be shattered by a stroke of the pen."

In his Critical naivety Herr Bruno separates "*the pen*" from the *subject who writes,* and the subject who writes as "abstract *writer*" from the living *historical man* who wrote. This allows him to go into ecstasy over the *wonder-working* power of the "*pen*". He might just as well have demanded to be told of a historical movement which was not outlined beforehand by "poultry" or the "goose girl".

Later we shall be told by the same Herr Bruno that so far not one historical epoch, not a single one, has become known. How could the "*pen*", which so far has been unable to *outline* "*any single*" historical epoch *after* the event, have been able to *outline them all beforehand*?

Nevertheless, Herr Bruno proves the correctness of his view by *deeds,* by himself "*outlining beforehand*" his own "past" with *apologetic* "*strokes of the pen*".

*Criticism,* which was involved on all sides not only in the *general* limitation of the world and of the epoch, but in quite particular and personal limitations, and which nevertheless assures us that it has been "*absolute, perfect and pure*" Criticism in all its works for as long as man can think, has only *accommodated* itself to the *prejudices* and *power of comprehension* of the Mass, as God is wont to do in his revelations to man.

"It was bound to come," Absolute Criticism informs us, "to a breach of *Theory* with its *seeming ally.*"

But because *Criticism,* here called *Theory* for a change, comes to *nothing,* but everything, on the contrary, comes from it; because it develops not inside but *outside* the world, and has predestined everything in its divine immutable consciousness, the *breach* with its former ally was a "*new* turn" only in *appearance,* only for others, not in itself and not for *Criticism* itself.

"But this turn '*properly speaking*' was not even new. *Theory* had continually worked on *criticism of itself*" (we know how much effort has been expended on it to force it to criticise itself); "it had never flattered the Mass" (but itself all the more); "it had always *taken care* not to get itself ensnared in the premises of its opponent."

"The Christian theologian must tread *cautiously.*" (Bruno Bauer, *Das entdeckte Christenthum,* p. 99.) How did it happen that "cautious" Criticism nevertheless did get ensnared and did not already at that time express its "proper" meaning clearly and audibly? Why did it not speak out bluntly? Why did it let the illusion of its brotherhood with the Mass persist?

"'Why hast thou done this to me?' said Pharaoh to Abraham as he restored to him Sarah his wife. 'Why didst thou say she was thy sister?'" (*Das entdeckte Christenthum* by Bruno Bauer, p. 100.)

"'Away with reason and language!' says the theologian, 'for otherwise Abraham would be a liar. It would be a mortal insult to Revelation!'" (loc. cit.)

"Away with reason and language!" says the Critic. For had Herr Bauer *really* and not just apparently been ensnared with the Mass, Absolute Criticism would not be absolute in its revelations, it would be mortally insulted.

"It is *only,*" Absolute Criticism continues, "that its" (Absolute Criticism's) "efforts *had not been noticed,* and *there was moreover* a stage of Criticism when it was *forced sincerely* to consider its opponent's premises and to take them seriously for an instant; a stage, in short, when it was *not yet fully* capable of taking away from the Mass the latter's conviction that it had the same cause and the same interest as Criticism."

"*Criticism*'s efforts had just not been noticed; therefore the Mass was to blame. On the other hand, Criticism admits that its efforts *could* not be noticed because it itself was not yet "*capable*" *of making* them *noticeable.* Criticism *therefore appears* to be to blame.

God help us! *Criticism* was "forced"—violence was used against it—"sincerely to consider its opponent's premises and to take them seriously for an instant". A fine sincerity, a truly theological sincerity, which does not really take a thing seriously but only "*takes it* seriously *for an instant*"; which has always, therefore *every instant,* been careful not to get itself ensnared in its opponent's premises, and nevertheless, "for *an instant*" "sincerely" takes these very premises into consideration. Its "sincerity" is still greater in the closing part of the sentence. It was in the same instant when

Criticism "sincerely took into consideration the premises of the Mass" that it "was not yet fully *capable*" of destroying the illusion about the unity of *its* cause and the cause of the *Mass*. It was *not yet capable,* but it already had the *will* and the *thought* of it. It *could* not yet *outwardly* break with the Mass but the break was already *complete inside it,* in its *mind*—complete in the same instant when it *sincerely* sympathised with the Mass!

In its involvement with the prejudices of the Mass, Criticism was not *really* involved in *them*; on the contrary, it was, *properly speaking,* free from its own limitation and was only *"not yet completely* capable" of informing the Mass of this. Hence all the limitation of "Criticism" was pure *appearance*; an appearance which without the limitation of the Mass would have been superfluous and would therefore not have existed at all. It is therefore *again* the Mass that is to blame.

*Insofar* as this *appearance,* however, was supported by "the inability", "the impotence" of Criticism to express its thought, Criticism itself was *imperfect.* This it admits in its own way, which is as sincere as it is apologetic.

"In spite of having subjected liberalism itself to devastating criticism, it" (Criticism) "could *still* be regarded as a peculiar kind of liberalism, *perhaps* as its extreme form; *in spite of* its true and decisive arguments having gone beyond politics, it *nevertheless* was *still* bound to give an *appearance* of *engaging in politics,* and this *incomplete appearance* won it most of the friends mentioned above."

Criticism won its friends through its *incomplete appearance* of engaging in politics. Had it *completely appeared* to engage in politics, it would inevitably have lost its *political* friends. In its *apologetic anxiety* to wash itself free of all sin, it accuses the *false appearance* of having been an *incomplete false appearance,* not a *complete false one.* By substituting one appearance for the other, "Criticism" can console itself with the thought that if it had the "complete appearance" of wishing to engage in politics, it does not have, on the other hand, even the "incomplete appearance" of anywhere or at any time having dissolved politics.

Not completely satisfied with the "incomplete appearance", Absolute Criticism again asks itself:

"How did it happen that *Criticism* at that time became involved in 'mass-linked, political' interests, that *it—even*" (!)—"*was obliged*" (!)—"*to engage in politics*" (!).

Bauer the *theologian* takes it *as a matter of course* that *Criticism* had to indulge endlessly in *speculative theology* for *he,* "Criticism", is indeed a theologian *ex professo.* But to *engage in politics*? That must be motivated by very special, political, personal circumstances!

Why, then, had "*Criticism*" to *engage* even in *politics*? "It was accused — *that is the answer to the question.*" At least the "mystery" of "*Bauer's politics*" is thereby disclosed; at least the *appearance,* which in Bruno Bauer's *Die gute Sache der Freiheit* und *meine eigene Sache* links *its* "*own* cause" to the *mass-linked* "cause of freedom" by means of an "*and*", cannot be called *non-political.* But if Criticism pursued not its "own *cause*" in the *interest of politics,* but *politics* in the *interest of its own cause,* it must be admitted that not Criticism was taken in by politics, but politics by Criticism.

So Bruno Bauer was to be dismissed from his chair of theology[34]: he was *accused*; "*Criticism*" had to engage in politics, that is to say, to *conduct* "*its*", i.e., Bruno Bauer's, suit. Herr Bauer did not conduct Criticism's suit, "*Criticism*" conducted Herr Bauer's suit. Why did "Criticism" *have* to conduct its suit?

"In order to justify itself!" *It may well be*; only "*Criticism*" is far from limiting itself to such a personal, vulgar reason. It may well be; but *not solely* for that reason, "*but mainly* in order to bring out the contradictions of its opponents", and, Criticism could add, in order to have bound together in a single *book* old essays against various theologians — see among other things the wordy bickering with *Planck,*[35] that family affair between "Bauer-theology" and Strauss-theology.

Having got a load off its heart by admitting the real interest of its "*politics*", Absolute Criticism remembers its "*suit*" and again chews the old *Hegelian* cud (see the struggle between Enlightenment and faith[36] in the *Phänomenologie,* see *the whole of* the *Phänomenologie*) that "the old which resists the new is no longer really the old", the cud which it has already chewed over at length in *Die gute Sache der Freiheit.* Critical Criticism is a ruminant animal. It keeps on warming up a few crumbs dropped by Hegel, like the above-quoted proposition about the "old" and the "new", or again that about the "development of the extreme out of its opposite extreme", and the like, without ever feeling the need to deal with "*speculative dialectic*" in any other way than by the exhaustion of Professor Hinrichs. Hegel, on the contrary, it continually transcends "Critically" by repeating him. For example:

> "Criticism, by appearing and giving the investigation a new form, i.e., giving it *the* form which is *no longer* susceptible of being *transformed* into an *external limitation,*" etc.

When I *transform* something I make it something essentially different. Since every form is also an "*external limitation*", *no* form is "susceptible" of being *transformed* into an "external limitation"

any more than an apple of being "transformed" into an apple. Admittedly, the form which "Criticism" gives to the investigation is not susceptible of being transformed into any "external limitation" for quite *another* reason. Beyond every "external limitation" it is blurred into an ash-grey, dark-blue vapour of nonsense.

"It" (the struggle between the old and the new) "would, *however, be quite impossible even then*" (namely at the moment when Criticism "gives" the investigation "the new form") "if the old were to deal with the question of compatibility or incompatibility ... *theoretically*."

But why does not the old deal with this question theoretically? Because "this, *however*, is *least of all* possible for it in the beginning, *since* at *the moment of surprise*" (i.e., in the beginning) it "knows neither itself nor the new", i.e., it deals *theoretically* neither with itself nor with the new. It would be quite impossible if "impossibility", unfortunately, were not impossible!

When *the* "Critic" from the theological faculty further "admits that he erred *intentionally*, that he committed the mistake deliberately and after mature reflection" (all that Criticism has experienced, learnt, and done *is transformed* for it into a free, pure and intentional product of its reflection) this confession of the Critic has only an "incomplete appearance" of truth. Since the *Kritik der Synoptiker*[a] has a completely *theological* foundation, since it is through and through *theological* criticism, Herr Bauer, university lecturer in theology, could write and teach it "without mistake or error". The mistake and error were rather on the part of the theological faculties, which did not realise how strictly Herr Bauer had kept his promise, the promise he gave in *Kritik der Synoptiker*, Bd. I, Foreword, p. xxiii.

"If the *negation* may appear still too sharp and far-reaching in this first volume too, we must remember that the truly *positive* can be born only if the negation has been serious and general.... *In the end* it will be seen that only the most devastating criticism of the world can teach us the creative *power of Jesus* and of his *principle*."

Herr Bauer intentionally separates the Lord "Jesus" and his "principle" in order to free the *positive* meaning of his promise from all semblance of ambiguity. And Herr Bauer has really made the "*creative*" power of the Lord Jesus and of his principle so evident that his "*infinite self-consciousness*" and the "*Spirit*" are nothing but *creations* of Christianity.

If Critical Criticism's dispute with the Bonn theological faculty explained so well its "politics" at that time, why did Critical

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[a] B. Bauer, *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker*.—*Ed.*

Criticism continue to engage in politics after the dispute had been settled? Listen to this:

"At this point 'Criticism' *should have* either *come to a halt* or immediately *proceeded further* to examine the essence of politics and depict it as its adversary;—if only it had been possible for it to be able to come to a halt in the struggle at that time and if, on the *other* hand, there had not been a far too strict historical law that when a principle measures itself for the first time with its opposite it must let itself be repressed by it...."

What a delightful apologetic phrase! "Criticism *should have* come to a halt" if only it had been possible ... "to be able to come to a halt"! Who "*should*" come to a halt? And who should have done what "it would not have been possible ... to be able to do"? On the other hand! Criticism should have proceeded "if *only*, on the other hand, there had *not* been a far *too* strict historical law," etc. Historical laws are also "*far too strict*" with Absolute Criticism! If *only* they did *not* stand on the *opposite* side to Critical Criticism, how brilliantly the latter would proceed! But *à la guerre comme à la guerre*! In history, Critical Criticism must allow itself to be made a sorry "story" of!

"If Criticism" (still Herr Bauer) "had to ... it will *at the same time* be *admitted* that it always felt *uncertain* when it gave in to demands of this" (political) "kind, and that as a result of these demands it came into contradiction with its *true elements*, a contradiction that had *already* found its *solution* in those *elements*."

Criticism was forced into political weaknesses by the all too strict laws of history, but—it entreats—*it will at the same time be admitted* that it was above those weaknesses, if not in reality, at least *in itself*. Firstly, it had overcome them, "*in feeling*", for "it always felt uncertain in its demands"; it felt *ill at ease* in politics, it could not make out what was the matter with it. More than that! It came into contradiction with its *true elements*. And finally the greatest thing of all! The contradiction with its true *elements* into which it came found its solution not in the course of Criticism's *development*, but "*had*", on the contrary, "*already*" found its solution in Criticism's true *elements* existing independently of the contradiction! These Critical elements can claim with pride: before Abraham was, we were. Before the opposite to us was produced by development, it lay yet *unborn* in our chaotic womb, dissolved, dead, ruined. But since Criticism's contradiction with its true elements "had *already* found its solution" in the true elements of Criticism, and since a *solved* contradiction is *not* a contradiction, it found itself, to be precise, in *no* contradiction with its true elements, in *no* contradiction with itself, and—the general aim of self-apology seems attained.

Absolute Criticism's self-apology has a whole *apologetical* dictionary at its disposal:

"not even properly speaking", "only not noticed", "there was besides", "not yet complete", "although—nevertheless", "not only—but mainly", "just as much, properly speaking, only", "Criticism should have if only it had been possible and if on the other hand", "*if* ... it will *at the same time* be admitted", "was it not natural, was it not inevitable", "neither ..." etc.

Not so very long ago Absolute Criticism said the following about apologetic phrases of this kind:

"'Although' and 'nevertheless', 'indeed' and 'but', a heavenly 'Nay', and an earthly 'Yea', are the main pillars of modern theology, the stilts on which it strides along, the artifice to which its whole wisdom is reduced, the phrase which recurs in all its phrases, its alpha and omega" (*Das entdeckte Christenthum,* p. 102).

## b) The Jewish Question No. 3

"Absolute Criticism" does not stop at proving by its autobiography its own singular almightiness which "*properly speaking, first creates the old,* just as much as the *new*". It does not stop at writing *in person* the apology of its past. It now sets third persons, the rest of the secular world, the Absolute "Task", the "task which is *much more* important *now*", the *apologia* for Bauer's deeds and "works".

The *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* published a criticism of Herr Bauer's *Die Judenfrage.*[a] His basic error, the confusion of "*political*" with "*human* emancipation", was revealed. True, the old Jewish question was not first brought into its "*correct setting*"; the "Jewish question" was rather dealt with and solved in the setting which recent developments have given to *old questions of the day*, and as a result of which the latter have become "questions" of the present instead of "questions" of the past.

Absolute Criticism's *third* campaign, it seems, is intended to reply to the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher.* First of all, Absolute Criticism *admits*:

"In *Die Judenfrage* the same '*oversight*' was made—that of identifying the *human* with the *political* essence."

Criticism remarks:

"it would be too late to *reproach* criticism for the stand which it still maintained partially *two* years ago." "*The question is rather* to *explain* why *criticism* ... even had to engage in politics."

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[a] K. Marx, *On the Jewish Question.* See present edition, Vol. 3.—*Ed.*

"*Two* years ago?" We must reckon according to the *absolute* chronology, from the *birth* of the Critical Redeemer of the world, Bauer's *Literatur-Zeitung*! The Critical world redeemer was born anno *1843*. In the same year the second, enlarged edition of *Die Judenfrage* was published. The "Critical" treatment of the "Jewish question" in *Einundzwanzig Bogen aus der Schweiz* appeared later in the same year, 1843 old style.[37] *After the end* of the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* and the *Rheinische Zeitung*, in the same momentous year 1843 old style, or anno 1 of the Critical era, appeared Herr Bauer's fantastic-political work *Staat, Religion und Parthei*, which exactly repeated his old errors on the "*political* essence". The apologist is forced to falsify *chronology*.

The "*explanation*" why Herr Bauer "*even had to*" engage in politics is a matter of general interest only under certain conditions. If the infallibility, purity and absoluteness of Critical Criticism are assumed as *basic dogma*, then, of course, the facts contradicting that dogma turn into riddles which are just as difficult, profound and mysterious as the apparently ungodly deeds of God are for theologians.

If, on the other hand, "*the Critic*" is considered as a finite individual, if he is not separated from the *limitations* of his time, one does not have to answer the question *why he* had to develop *even* within the world, because the *question* itself does not exist.

If, however, Absolute Criticism insists on its demand, one can offer to provide a little scholastic treatise dealing with the following "*questions of the times*":

"Why had the Virgin Mary's conception by the Holy Ghost to be proved by no other than Herr Bruno Bauer?" "Why had Herr Bauer to prove that the angel that appeared to Abraham was a *real* emanation of God, an emanation which, nevertheless, lacked the consistency necessary to *digest food*?" "Why had Herr Bauer to provide an apologia for the Prussian royal house and to raise the Prussian state to the rank of *absolute* state?" "Why had Herr Bauer, in his *Kritik der Synoptiker*, to substitute '*infinite self-consciousness*' for *man*?" "Why had Herr Bauer in his *Das entdeckte Christenthum* to repeat the *Christian theory of creation* in a *Hegelian* form?" "Why had Herr Bauer to demand of himself and others an '*explanation*' of the miracle that he was bound to be mistaken?"

While waiting for proofs of these necessities, which are just as "Critical" as they are "Absolute", let us listen once more to "*Criticism*'s" apologetic evasions.

"The Jewish question ... had ... first to be brought into its *correct* setting, as a *religious* and *theological* and as a *political* question." "As to the treatment and solution of both these questions, *Criticism* is *neither religious nor political.*"

The point is that the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* declares Bauer's treatment of the "Jewish question" to be *really* theological and *fantastic*-political.

First, "*Criticism*" replies to the "reproach" of *theological* limitation.

"The Jewish question *is* a *religious* question. The *Enlightenment* claimed to solve it by describing the *religious contradiction* as *insignificant* or even by denying it. *Criticism,* on the contrary, had to present it in its purity."

When we come to the *political* part of the Jewish question we shall see that in politics, too, Herr Bauer the theologian is not concerned with politics but with theology.

But when the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* attacked his treatment of the Jewish question as "*purely religious*", it was concerned especially with his article in *Einundzwanzig Bogen,* the title of which was:

"*Die Fähigkeit der heutigen Juden und Christen, frei zu werden*".[a]

This article has nothing to do with the old "Enlightenment". It contains Herr Bauer's *positive* view on the ability of the present-day Jews to be emancipated, that is, on the possibility of their emancipation.

"Criticism" says:

"The Jewish question is a *religious* question."

The question is: *What is* a *religious* question? and, in particular, *what is* a religious question today?

The *theologian* will judge by *appearances* and see a *religious* question in a *religious* question. But "Criticism" must remember the explanation it gave Professor *Hinrichs* that the *political* interests of the present time have *social* significance, that it is "*no longer* a question" of *political interests.*[b]

The *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* with equal right said to Criticism: *Religious* questions of the day have at the present time a *social* significance. It is no longer a question of *religious* interests as *such.* Only the *theologian* can believe it is a question of religion as religion. Granted, the *Jahrbücher* committed the *error* of not stopping at the *word* "*social*". It characterised the *real* position of the Jews in civil society today. Once Jewry was stripped bare of the

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[a] "The Ability of Present-Day Jews and Christians to Obtain Freedom."—*Ed.*

[b] See pp. 90-91 of this volume.—*Ed.*

*religious* shell and its empirical, worldly, practical kernel was revealed, the practical, *really social* way in which this kernel is to be abolished could be indicated. Herr Bauer was content with a "religious question" being a "religious question".

It was by no means denied, as Herr Bauer *makes out*, that the Jewish question is also a *religious* question. On the contrary, it was shown that Herr Bauer grasps *only the religious* essence of Jewry, but not the *secular, real basis* of that religious essence. He combats *religious consciousness* as if it were something independent. Herr Bauer therefore explains the *real* Jews by the *Jewish religion*, instead of explaining the mystery of the Jewish religion by the *real Jews*. Herr Bauer therefore understands the Jew only insofar as he is an immediate object of *theology* or a *theologian*.

Consequently Herr Bauer has no inkling that real *secular* Jewry, and hence *religious* Jewry *too*, is being continually produced by the *present-day civil life* and finds its final development in the *money system*. He could not have any inkling of this because he did not know Jewry as a part of the real world but only as a part of *his* world, *theology*; because he, a pious, godly man, considers not the active *everyday Jew* but the hypocritical *Jew of the Sabbath* to be the *real* Jew. For Herr Bauer, as a theologian of the *Christian faith*, the *world-historic* significance of Jewry had to cease the *moment* Christianity was *born*. Hence he had to repeat the old orthodox view that it has maintained itself *in spite* of history; and the old theological superstition that Jewry exists only as a *confirmation* of the divine curse, as a *tangible proof* of the Christian revelation had to recur with him in the *Critical-theological* form that it exists and has existed only as *crude religious doubt* about the supernatural origin of Christianity, i.e., as a *tangible proof* against Christian revelation.

On the other hand, it was proved that Jewry has maintained itself and developed *through* history, *in* and *with* history, and that this development is to be perceived not by the eye of the theologian, but only by the eye of the man of the world, because it is to be found, not in *religious theory*, but only in *commercial* and *industrial practice*. It was explained *why* practical Jewry attains its full development only in the fully developed *Christian* world, why indeed it is the fully developed *practice* of the *Christian world itself*. The existence of the *present-day* Jew was not explained by his religion — as though this religion were something apart, independently existing — but the tenacious survival of the Jewish religion was explained by practical features of civil society which are *fantastically* reflected in that religion. The emancipation of the Jews into human beings, or the human emancipation of Jewry,

was therefore not conceived, as by Herr Bauer, as the special task of the Jews, but as a general practical task of the present-day world, which is *Jewish* to the core. It was proved that the task of abolishing the essence of Jewry is actually the task of abolishing the *Jewish character of civil society,* abolishing the inhumanity of the present-day practice of life, the most extreme expression of which is the *money system.*

Herr Bauer, as a *genuine,* although *Critical, theologian* or *theological* Critic, could not get beyond the *religious contradiction.* In the attitude of the Jews to the Christian world he could see *only* the attitude of the *Jewish religion* to the *Christian religion.* He even had to restore the religious contradiction in a *Critical way*—in the *antithesis* between the attitudes of the Jew and the Christian to *Critical* religion—*atheism,* the last stage of *theism,* the *negative* recognition of God. Finally, in his *theological fanaticism* he had to *restrict* the ability of the "present-day Jews and Christians", i.e., of the present-day world, "to obtain freedom" to their ability to grasp "the Criticism" of theology and apply it themselves. For the orthodox theologian the whole world is dissolved in "religion and theology". (He could just as well dissolve it in politics, political economy, etc., and call *theology* heavenly *political economy,* for example, since it is the theory of the production, distribution, exchange and consumption of "*spiritual wealth*" and of the treasures of heaven!) Similarly, for the radical, Critical theologian, the *ability* of the world to achieve freedom, is dissolved in the *single* abstract ability to criticise "religion and theology" as "religion and theology". The only struggle he knows is the struggle against the *religious* limitations of self-consciousness, whose Critical "*purity*" and "*infinity*" is just as much a theological limitation.

Herr Bauer, therefore, dealt with the *religious* and *theological* question in the *religious* and *theological* way, if only because he saw in the "religious" question of the time a "*purely religious*" question. His "*correct setting* of the question" set the question "correctly" only in respect of his "*own ability*"—to answer!

Let us now go on to the political part of the *Jewish question.*

The *Jews* (like the Christians) *are* fully *politically emancipated* in various states. Both Jews and Christians are far from being *humanly* emancipated. Hence there must be a *difference* between *political* and *human* emancipation. The essence of *political* emancipation, i.e., of the developed, modern state, must therefore be studied. On the other hand, states which cannot yet *politically* emancipate the Jews must be rated by comparison with the perfected political state and shown to be under-developed states.

That is the point of view from which the "*political* emancipation" of the Jews should have been dealt with and is dealt with in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher.*

Herr Bauer offers the following defence of "Criticism's" *Die Judenfrage.*

"The Jews were shown that they laboured under an illusion about *the system* from which they demanded freedom."

Herr Bauer did show that the illusion of *the German* Jews was to demand the right to partake in the political community life in a land where there was no political community and to demand *political rights* where only political privileges existed. On the other hand, Herr Bauer was shown that he himself, no less than the Jews, laboured under "illusions" about the "German political system". For he explained the position of the Jews in the German states as being due to the inability of "*the Christian state*" to emancipate the Jews politically. Flying in the face of the facts, he depicted the state of *privilege*, the *Christian-Germanic* state, as the Absolute Christian state. It was proved to him, on the contrary, that the politically perfected, modern state that knows no religious privileges is also the fully developed *Christian* state, and that therefore the fully developed Christian state, not only *can* emancipate the Jews but has emancipated them and by its very nature must emancipate them.

"The Jews are shown ... that they are under the greatest illusion about themselves when they think they are demanding *freedom* and the recognition of *free humanity*, whereas for them it is, and can be, only a question of a special *privilege.*"

*Freedom! Recognition of free humanity! Special privilege!* Edifying words by which to by-pass certain questions apologetically!

*Freedom?* It was a question of *political* freedom. Herr Bauer was shown that when the Jew demands freedom and nevertheless refuses to renounce his religion, he "*is engaging in politics*" and sets no condition that is contrary to *political* freedom. Herr Bauer was shown that it is by no means contrary to political emancipation to *divide* man into the non-religious *citizen* and the religious *private individual.* He was shown that just as the state emancipates itself from religion by emancipating itself from *state religion* and leaving religion to itself within civil society, so the individual emancipates himself *politically* from religion by regarding it no longer as a *public* matter but as a *private matter.* Finally, it was shown that the *terroristic* attitude of the French *Revolution* to *religion*, far from refuting this conception, bears it out.

Instead of studying the real attitude of the *modern* state to religion, Herr Bauer thought it necessary to imagine a *Critical* state, a state which is nothing but the *Critic of theology inflated into a state* in Herr Bauer's imagination. If Herr Bauer is caught up in *politics* he continually makes politics a prisoner of his faith, *Critical* faith. Insofar as he deals with the state he always makes out of it an *argument* against "*the* adversary", *un-Critical* religion and theology. The state acts as executor of *Critical-theological* cherished desires.

When Herr Bauer had first freed himself from *orthodox*, un-Critical *theology, political authority* took for him the place of *religious authority*. His faith in Jehovah changed into faith in the Prussian state. In Bruno Bauer's work *Die evangelische Landeskirche,*[a] not only the Prussian state, but, quite consistently, the Prussian royal house too, was made into an *absolute*. In reality Herr Bauer had no *political* interest in that state; its merit, in the eyes of "Criticism", was rather that it abolished dogmas by means of the *Unified* Church[38] and suppressed the dissenting sects with the help of the police.

The political movement that began in the year 1840 redeemed Herr Bauer from *his conservative politics* and raised him for a moment to *liberal* politics. But here again politics was in reality only a *pretext* for theology. In his work *Die gute Sache der Freiheit und meine eigene Angelegenheit*, the free state is the Critic of the theological faculty in Bonn and an argument against religion. In *Die Judenfrage* the contradiction between state and religion is the main interest, so that the criticism of political emancipation changes into a criticism of the Jewish religion. In his latest political work, *Staat, Religion und Parthei*, the most secret cherished desire of the Critic inflated into a state is at last expressed. *Religion* is *sacrificed* to *the state* or rather the state is only the *means* by which the opponent of "*Criticism*", un-Critical religion and theology, is done to death. Finally, after *Criticism* has been redeemed, if only apparently, from all politics by the socialist ideas, which have been spreading in Germany from 1843 onwards, in the same way as it was redeemed from its conservative politics by the political movement after 1840, it is finally able to proclaim its writings against *un-Critical* theology to be social and to indulge unhindered in its own *Critical* theology, the contrasting of Spirit and Mass, as the annunciation of the Critical Saviour and Redeemer of the world.

Let us return to our subject!

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[a] [B. Bauer,] *Die evangelische Landeskirche Preussens und die Wissenschaft.—Ed.*

*Recognition of free humanity?* "Free humanity", recognition of which the Jews did not merely think they wanted, but really did want, is the same "free humanity" which found *classic* recognition in the so-called universal *rights of man.* Herr Bauer himself explicitly treated the Jews' efforts for recognition of their free humanity as their efforts to obtain the universal *rights of man.*

In the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* it was demonstrated to Herr Bauer that this "free humanity" and the "recognition" of it are nothing but the recognition of the *egoistic civil individual* and of the *unrestrained* movement of the spiritual and material elements which are the content of his life situation, the content of *present-day* civil life; that the *rights of man* do not, therefore, free man from religion, but give him *freedom of religion*; that they do not free him from property, but procure for him *freedom of property*; that they do not free him from the filth of gain, but rather give him *freedom of gainful occupation.*

It was shown that the *recognition of the rights of man* by the *modern state* has no other meaning than the *recognition of slavery* by the *state of antiquity* had. In other words, just as the ancient state had slavery as its *natural basis,* the *modern state* has as its *natural basis* civil society and the *man* of civil society, i.e., the independent man linked with other men only by the ties of private interest and *unconscious* natural necessity, the *slave* of labour for gain and of his own as well as other men's *selfish* need. The modern state has recognised this its natural basis as such in the *universal rights of man.* It did not create it. As it was the product of civil society driven beyond the old political bonds by its own development, the modern state, for its part, now recognised the womb from which it sprang and its basis by the *declaration* of the *rights of man.* Hence, the *political* emancipation of the Jews and the granting to them of the "*rights of man*" is an act the two sides of which are mutually dependent. Herr *Riesser* correctly expresses the meaning of the Jews' desire for recognition of their free humanity when he demands, among other things, the freedom of movement, sojourn, travel, earning one's living, etc. These manifestations of "*free humanity*" are explicitly recognised as such in the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. The Jew has all the more right to the recognition of his "free humanity" as "free civil society" is of a thoroughly commercial and Jewish nature, and the Jew is a necessary member of it. The *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* further demonstrated why the member of civil society is called, *par excellence,* "Man" and why the rights of man are called "inborn rights".

The only Critical thing *Criticism* could say about the rights of man was that they are *not* inborn but arose in the course of history. That much *Hegel* had already told us. Finally, to its assertion that both Jews and Christians, in order to grant or receive the universal rights of man, *must sacrifice the privilege of faith*—the Critical theologian supposes his *one* fixed idea at the basis of all things—there was specially counterposed the fact contained in all un-Critical declarations of the rights of man that the *right* to believe what one wishes, the right to practise any religion, is explicitly recognised as a *universal right of man.* Besides, "*Criticism*" should have known that Hébert's party in particular was defeated on the pretext that it attacked the rights of man by attacking *freedom of religion,*[39] and that similarly the rights of man were invoked later when freedom of worship was restored.[40]

"As far as *political* essence is concerned, *Criticism* followed its contradictions to the point where the *contradiction between theory and practice* had been most thoroughly elaborated during the past fifty years—to the *French representative system,* in which the freedom of theory is disavowed by practice and the freedom of practical life seeks in vain its expression in theory.

"Now that the basic illusion has been done away with, *the contradiction* proved in the *debates in the French Chamber,* the contradiction between *free theory* and the *practical validity of privileges,* between the legal validity of privileges and a *public system* in which the *egoism of the pure individual* tries to dominate the *exclusivity of the privileged,* should be conceived as a *general contradiction* in this sphere."

The contradiction that *Criticism* proved in the debates in the French Chamber was nothing but a contradiction of *constitutionalism.* Had Criticism grasped it as a *general* contradiction it would have grasped the general contradiction of constitutionalism. Had it gone still further than in its opinion it "should have" gone, had it, to be precise, gone as far as the *abolition* of this general contradiction, it would have proceeded correctly from constitutional *monarchy* to arrive at the *democratic representative state,* the perfected modern state. Far from having criticised the essence of political emancipation and proved its definite relation to the essence of man, it would have arrived only at the *fact* of political emancipation, at the fully developed modern state, that is to say, only at the point where the existence of the modern state conforms to its essence and where, therefore, not only the relative, but the absolute *imperfections,* those which constitute its very essence, can be observed and described.

The above-quoted "Critical" passage is all the more valuable as it proves beyond any doubt that at the very moment when *Criticism* sees the "*political essence*" far below itself, it is, on the contrary, far below the political essence; it still needs to find in the

latter the solution of *its own* contradictions and it still persists in not giving a thought to the *modern principle of the state.*

To "*free theory*" Criticism contrasts the "*practical validity of privileges*"; to the "*legal validity of privileges*" it contrasts the "*public system*".

In order not to misinterpret the opinion of *Criticism,* let us recall the contradiction it proved in the debates in the French Chamber, the very contradiction which "should have been conceived" as a *general* one. One of the questions dealt with was the fixing of a day in the week on which children would be freed from work. *Sunday* was suggested. One deputy moved to leave out mention of Sunday in the law as being unconstitutional. The Minister Martin (du Nord) saw in this motion an attempt to proclaim that Christianity had ceased to exist. Monsieur Crémieux declared on behalf of the French Jews that the Jews, out of respect for the religion of the great majority of Frenchmen, did not object to Sunday being mentioned. Now, according to free theory, Jews and Christians are equal, but according to this practice Christians have a privilege over Jews; for otherwise how could the Sunday of the Christians have a place in a law made for all Frenchmen? Should not the Jewish Sabbath have the same right, etc.? Or in the practical life of the French too, the Jew is not really oppressed by Christian privileges; but the law does not dare to express this practical equality. All the contradictions in the political essence expounded by Herr Bauer in *Die Judenfrage* are of this kind—contradictions of *constitutionalism,* which is, in general, the contradiction between the modern representative state and the old state of privileges.

Herr Bauer is committing a very serious oversight when he thinks he is rising from the *political* to the *human* essence by conceiving and criticising this contradiction as a "general" one. He would thus only rise from partial political emancipation to full political emancipation, from the constitutional state to the democratic representative state.

Herr Bauer thinks that by the abolition of *privilege* the *object* of privilege is also abolished. Concerning the statement of Monsieur Martin (du Nord), he says:

> "*There is no longer any religion* when *there is no longer any privileged religion.* Take from religion its exclusive power and it will no longer exist."[a]

Just as *industrial activity* is not abolished when the *privileges of the*

[a] This passage from B. Bauer's *Die Judenfrage* (p. 66) is quoted by Marx in his article "On the Jewish Question" (see present edition, Vol. 3, p. 149).—*Ed.*

*trades,* guilds and corporations are abolished, but, on the contrary, real *industry* begins only after the abolition of these privileges; just as *ownership of the land* is not abolished when *privileged* land-ownership is abolished, but, on the contrary, begins its universal movement only with the abolition of privileges and with the free division and free sale of land; just as *trade* is not abolished by the abolition of *trade privileges,* but finds its true realisation in free trade; so religion develops in its *practical* universality only where there is no *privileged* religion (cf. the North American States).

The modern "*public system*", the developed modern state, is not based, as *Criticism* thinks, on a society of privileges, but on a society in which *privileges have been abolished* and *dissolved,* on developed *civil society* in which the vital elements which were still politically bound under the privilege system have been set free. Here *no "privileged exclusivity,"* stands opposed either to any other exclusivity or to the public system. Free industry and free trade abolish privileged exclusivity and thereby the struggle between the privileged exclusivities. They replace exclusivity with man freed from privilege — which isolates from the general totality but at the same time unites in a smaller exclusive totality — man no longer bound to other men even by the *semblance* of a common bond. Thus they produce the universal struggle of man against man, individual against individual. In the same way *civil society* as a whole is this war against one another of all individuals, who are no longer isolated from one another by anything but their *individuality,* and the universal unrestrained movement of the elementary forces of life freed from the fetters of privilege. The contradiction between the *democratic representative state* and *civil society* is the completion of the *classic* contradiction between public *commonweal* and *slavery.* In the modern world each person is *at the same time* a member of slave society and of the public commonweal. Precisely the *slavery of civil society* is *in appearance* the greatest *freedom* because it is in appearance the fully developed *independence* of the individual, who considers as his *own* freedom the uncurbed movement, no longer bound by a common bond or by man, of the estranged elements of his life, such as property, industry, religion, etc., whereas actually this is his fully developed slavery and inhumanity. *Law* has here taken the place of *privilege.*

It is therefore only here, where we find no contradiction between free theory and the practical validity of privilege, but, on the contrary, the practical abolition of privilege, *free* industry, *free* trade, etc., conform to "free theory", where the public system is

*not* opposed by any privileged exclusivity, where the contradiction expounded by Criticism is *abolished*—only here is the *fully developed modern state to be found.*

Here also reigns the *reverse* of the law which Herr Bauer, on the occasion of the debates in the French Chamber, formulated in perfect agreement with Monsieur Martin (du Nord):

"Just as M. Martin (du Nord) saw the proposal to omit mention of *Sunday* in the *law* as a motion to declare that Christianity has ceased to exist, with equal reason (*and this reason is very well founded*)—the declaration that the *law of the Sabbath* is no longer binding on the Jews would be *a proclamation abolishing Judaism.*"[a]

It is just *the opposite* in the developed modern state. The state declares that religion, like the other elements of civil life, only *begins* to exist in its full scope when the state declares it to be *non-political* and therefore leaves it to itself. To the dissolution of the *political* existence of these elements, as for example, the dissolution of *property* by the abolition of the *property qualification for electors,* the dissolution of *religion* by the abolition of the *state church,* to this proclamation of their civil death corresponds their most vigorous life, which henceforth obeys its own laws undisturbed and develops to its full scope.

*Anarchy* is the law of civil society emancipated from divisive privileges, and the *anarchy of civil society* is the basis of the modern *public system,* just as the public system in its turn is the guarantee of that anarchy. To the same great extent that the two are opposed to each other they also determine each other.

It is clear how capable *Criticism* is of assimilating the "new". But if we remain within the bounds of "pure Criticism", the question arises: Why did Criticism not conceive as a *universal* contradiction the contradiction which it disclosed in connection with the debates in the French Chamber, although in its own opinion that is what "*should have*" been done?

"That step *was,* however, then *impossible*—not only because ... not only because ... *but also* because without that *last remnant* of inner involvement with its opposite Criticism *was impossible* and *could not have come to the point* from which only *one step* remained to be taken."[b]

It was impossible ... because ... it was impossible! *Criticism* assures us, moreover, that the fateful "*one step*" necessary "to come to the point from which only *one step* remained to be taken"

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[a] This passage from B. Bauer's *Die Judenfrage* (p. 71) is quoted by Marx in his article "On the Jewish Question" (see present edition, Vol. 3, p. 149).—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below quotations are taken from the article "*Was ist jetzt der Gegenstand der Kritik?*" (*Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung,* Heft VIII).—*Ed.*

was impossible. Who will dispute that? In order to be able to come to a point from which only "*one step*" remains to be taken, it is absolutely impossible to take that "*one step*" more which leads over the point beyond which still "*one step*" remains to be taken.

All's well that ends well! At the end of the encounter with the *Mass*, which is hostile to Criticism's *Die Judenfrage*, "*Criticism*" admits that *its* conception of the "*rights of man*", *its*

"appraisal of religion in the French Revolution", the "free political essence *it* pointed to occasionally *at the conclusion of its* considerations", in short, the whole "period of the French Revolution, was for *Criticism* neither more nor less than a symbol—that is to say, not the period of the revolutionary efforts of the French in the exact and prosaic sense—a symbol and therefore only a fantastic expression of the shapes which it saw at the end".

We shall not deprive *Criticism* of the consolation that when it sinned politically it did so only at the "conclusion" and at the "end" of its works. A notorious drunkard used to console himself with the thought that he was never drunk before midnight.

In the sphere of the "Jewish question", *Criticism* has indisputably been winning more and more ground from *the* Enemy. In No. 1 of the "Jewish question", the treatise of "*Criticism*" defended by Herr Bauer was still absolute and revealed the "*true*" and "*general*" significance of the "Jewish question". In No. 2 *Criticism* had neither the "*will*" nor the "*right*" to go beyond *Criticism*. In No. 3 it *had* still to take "*one step*", but that step was "impossible"—because it was—"impossible". It was not its "will or right" but its involvement in its "opposite" that prevented it from taking that "*one step*". It would very much have liked to clear the last obstacle, but unfortunately a *last remnant* of *Mass* stuck to its Critical seven-league boots.

### c) Critical Battle Against the French Revolution

The *narrow-mindedness of the Mass* forced *the* "Spirit", *Criticism*, Herr Bauer, to consider the *French Revolution* not as the time of the revolutionary efforts of the French in the "*prosaic* sense" but "*only*" as the "*symbol* and *fantastic expression*" of the Critical figments of his own brain. *Criticism* does *penance* for its "*oversight*" by submitting the *Revolution* to a *fresh examination*. At the same time it punishes the seducer of its innocence—"the Mass"—by communicating to it the results of this "fresh examination".

"The *French Revolution* was an experiment which still belonged entirely to the eighteenth century."

The chronological truth that an experiment of the eighteenth century like the French Revolution is still entirely an experiment of the eighteenth century, and not, for example, an experiment of the nineteenth, seems "still entirely" to be one of those truths which "are self-evident from the start". But in the terminology of *Criticism,* which is very prejudiced against "crystal-clear" truths, a truth like that is called an "*examination*" and therefore naturally has its place in a "fresh examination of the Revolution".

"The ideas to which the French Revolution gave rise did not, however, lead beyond the *order of things* that it wanted to abolish by force."

*Ideas* can never lead beyond an old world order but only beyond the ideas of the old world order. Ideas *cannot carry out anything* at all. In order to carry out ideas men are needed who can exert practical force. In its literal *sense* the Critical sentence is therefore another truth that is self-evident, and therefore another "*examination*".

Undeterred by this examination, the French Revolution gave rise to ideas which led beyond the *ideas* of the entire old world order. The revolutionary movement which began in 1789 in the *Cercle social,*[41] which in the middle of its course had as its chief representatives *Leclerc* and *Roux,* and which finally with *Babeuf*'s conspiracy was temporarily defeated, gave rise to the *communist* idea which *Babeuf*'s friend *Buonarroti* re-introduced in France after the Revolution of 1830. This idea, consistently developed, is the *idea* of the *new world order.*

"After the Revolution had therefore" (!) "abolished the feudal barriers in the life of the people, it was compelled to satisfy and even to inflame the pure egoism of the nation and, on the other hand, to curb it by its necessary complement, the recognition of a supreme being, by this higher confirmation of the general state system, which has to hold together the individual self-seeking atoms."

The egoism of the nation is the natural egoism of the general state system, as opposed to the egoism of the feudal classes. The supreme being is the higher confirmation of the general state system, and hence also of the nation. Nevertheless, the supreme being is supposed to *curb* the egoism of the nation, that is, of the general state system! A really Critical task, to curb egoism by means of its confirmation and even of its *religious* confirmation, i.e., by recognising that it is of a superhuman nature and therefore free of human restraint! The creators of the supreme being were not aware of this, their Critical intention.

Monsieur *Buchez,* who bases national fanaticism on religious fanaticism, understands his hero *Robespierre* better.[42]

Nationalism [*Nationalität*] led to the downfall of Rome and Greece. *Criticism* therefore says nothing specific about the French Revolution when it maintains that nationalism caused its downfall, and it says just as little about the nation when it defines its egoism as *pure*. This pure egoism appears rather to be a very dark, spontaneous egoism, combined with flesh and blood, when compared, for example, with the pure egoism of *Fichte*'s "*ego*". But if, in contrast to the egoism of the feudal classes, its purity is only relative, no "fresh examination of the revolution" was needed to see that the egoism which has a nation as its content is more general or purer than that which has as its content a particular social class or a particular corporation.

*Criticism*'s explanations about the general state system are no less instructive. They are confined to saying that the general state system must hold together the individual self-seeking atoms.

Speaking exactly and in the prosaic sense, the members of civil society are not *atoms*. The *specific property* of the atom is that it has *no* properties and is therefore not connected with beings outside it by any relationship determined by its own *natural necessity*. The atom *has no needs*, it is *self-sufficient*; the world outside it is an absolute *vacuum*, i.e., is contentless, senseless, meaningless, just because the atom has *all fullness* in itself. The egoistic individual in civil society may in his non-sensuous imagination and lifeless abstraction inflate himself into an *atom*, i.e., into an unrelated, self-sufficient, wantless, *absolutely full*, blessed being. Unblessed *sensuous reality* does not bother about his imagination, each of his senses compels him to believe in the existence[a] of the world and of individuals outside him, and even his *profane* stomach reminds him every day that the world *outside* him is not *empty*, but is what really *fills*. Every activity and property of his being, every one of his vital urges, becomes a *need*, a *necessity*, which his *self-seeking* transforms into seeking for other things and human beings outside him. But since the need of one individual has no self-evident meaning for another egoistic individual capable of satisfying that need, and therefore no direct connection with its satisfaction, each individual has to create this connection; it thus becomes the intermediary between the need of another and the objects of this need. Therefore, it is *natural necessity*, the *essential human properties* however estranged they may seem to be, and *interest* that hold the members of civil society together; *civil*, not *political* life is their *real*

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[a] There is evidently an error in the original: "an den Sinn" instead of "an das Sein".—*Ed.*

tie. It is therefore not the *state* that holds the *atoms* of civil society together, but the fact that they are *atoms* only in *imagination*, in the *heaven* of their fancy, but in *reality* beings tremendously different from atoms, in other words, not *divine egoists*, but *egoistic human beings*. Only *political superstition* still imagines today that civil life must be held together by the state, whereas in reality, on the contrary, the state is held together by civil life.

"*Robespierre's* and *Saint-Just's* tremendous idea of making a *'free people'* which would live only according to the rules of *justice* and *virtue*—see, for example, Saint-Just's report on Danton's crimes and his other report on the general police—could be maintained for a certain time only by terror and was a *contradiction against which* the vulgar, self-seeking elements of *the popular community* reacted in the cowardly and insidious way that was only to be expected from them."

This phrase of *Absolute Criticism*, which describes a "free people" as a *"contradiction" against* which the elements of the *"popular community"* are bound to react, is absolutely hollow, for according to Robespierre and Saint-Just *liberty, justice* and *virtue* could, on the contrary, be only manifestations of the life of the "*people*" and only properties of the "popular community". Robespierre and Saint-Just spoke explicitly of "liberty, justice and virtue" of *ancient times*, belonging only to the "*popular community*". *Spartans, Athenians* and *Romans* at the time of their greatness were "free, just and virtuous peoples".

"What," asks Robespierre in his speech on the principles of public morals (sitting of the Convention on February 5, 1794), "is the *fundamental principle* of democratic or popular government? It is *virtue*, I mean *public* virtue, which worked such miracles in *Greece* and *Rome* and which will work still greater ones in republican France; virtue which is nothing but love of one's country and its laws."[43]

Robespierre then explicitly calls the *Athenians* and *Spartans* "*peuples libres*".[a] He continually recalls the ancient *popular community* and quotes its heroes as well as its corrupters—Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Miltiades, Aristides, Brutus and Catilina, Caesar, Clodius and Piso.

In his report on Danton's arrest (referred to by Criticism) *Saint-Just* says explicitly:

"The world has been empty since the *Romans*, and only their memory fills it and still prophesies *liberty*."[44]

His accusation is composed in the ancient style and directed against *Danton* as against *Catilina*.

In *Saint-Just's* other report, the one on the *general police*,[45] the

[a] Free peoples.—*Ed.*

*republican* is described exactly in the *ancient* sense, as *inflexible, modest, simple* and so on. The *police* should be an institution of the same nature as the Roman *censorship.*—He does not fail to mention Codrus, Lycurgus, Caesar, Cato, Catilina, Brutus, Antonius, and Cassius. Finally, *Saint-Just* describes the "*liberty,* justice and virtue" that he demands in *a single word* when he says:

"Que les hommes révolutionnaires soient des *Romains.*"[a]

Robespierre, Saint-Just and their party fell because they confused the ancient, *realistic-democratic commonweal* based on *real slavery* with the *modern spiritualistic-democratic representative state,* which is based on *emancipated slavery, bourgeois society.* What a terrible illusion it is to have to recognise and sanction in the *rights of man* modern bourgeois society, the society of industry, of universal competition, of private interest freely pursuing its aims, of anarchy, of self-estranged natural and spiritual individuality, and at the same time to want afterwards to annul the *manifestations of the life* of this society in particular individuals and simultaneously to want to model the *political head* of that society in the manner of *antiquity*!

The illusion appears tragic when Saint-Just, on the day of his execution, pointed to the large table of the *Rights of Man* hanging in the hall of the *Conciergerie* and said with proud dignity: "*C'est pourtant moi qui ai fait cela.*"[b] It was just this table that proclaimed the *right* of a *man* who cannot be the man of the ancient commonweal any more than his *economic* and *industrial* conditions are those of *ancient* times.

This is not the place to vindicate the illusion of the *Terrorists* historically.

"After the fall of Robespierre the *political enlightenment* and *movement* hastened to the point where they became the prey of *Napoleon* who, shortly after 18 Brumaire, could say: 'With my prefects, gendarmes and priests I can do what I like with France.'"

*Profane* history, on the other hand, reports: After the fall of Robespierre, the *political* enlightenment, which formerly had been *overreaching* itself and had been *extravagant,* began for the first time to develop *prosaically.* Under the government of the *Directory,*[46] *bourgeois society,* freed by the Revolution itself from the trammels of feudalism and officially recognised in spite of the *Terror's* wish to sacrifice it to an ancient form of political life,

[a] "Let revolutionary men be *Romans.*"—*Ed.*
[b] "Yet it was I who made that."—*Ed.*

broke out in powerful streams of life. A storm and stress of commercial enterprise, a passion for enrichment, the exuberance of the new bourgeois life, whose first self-enjoyment is pert, light-hearted, frivolous and intoxicating; a *real* enlightenment of the *land* of France, the feudal structure of which had been smashed by the hammer of the Revolution and which, by the first feverish efforts of the numerous new owners, had become the object of all-round cultivation; the first moves of industry that had now become free—these were some of the signs of life of the newly emerged bourgeois society. *Bourgeois society* is *positively* represented by the *bourgeoisie.* The bourgeoisie, therefore, *begins* its rule. The *rights of man* cease to exist *merely* in *theory.*

It was not the revolutionary movement as a whole that became the prey of Napoleon on 18 Brumaire, as *Criticism* in its faith in a Herr von Rotteck or Welcker believes[47]; it was the *liberal bourgeoisie.* One only needs to read the speeches of the legislators of the time to be convinced of this. One has the impression of coming from the National Convention into a modern Chamber of Deputies.

*Napoleon* represented the last battle of *revolutionary terror* against the *bourgeois society* which had been proclaimed by this same Revolution, and against its policy. Napoleon, of course, already discerned the essence of the *modern state;* he understood that it is based on the unhampered development of bourgeois society, on the free movement of private interest, etc. He decided to recognise and protect this basis. He was no terrorist with his head in the clouds. Yet at the same time he still regarded the *state* as an *end in itself* and civil life only as a treasurer and his *subordinate* which must have no *will of its own.* He *perfected* the *Terror* by *substituting permanent war* for *permanent revolution.* He fed the egoism of the French nation to complete satiety but demanded also the sacrifice of bourgeois business, enjoyments, wealth, etc., whenever this was required by the political aim of conquest. If he despotically suppressed the liberalism of bourgeois society—the political idealism of its daily practice—he showed no more consideration for its essential *material* interests, trade and industry, whenever they conflicted with his political interests. His scorn of industrial *hommes d'affaires* was the complement to his scorn of *ideologists.* In his home policy, too, he combated bourgeois society as the opponent of the state which in his own person he still held to be an absolute aim in itself. Thus he declared in the State Council that he would not suffer the owner of extensive estates to cultivate them or not as he pleased. Thus, too, he conceived the plan of subordinating

trade to the state by appropriation of *roulage.*[a] French businessmen took steps to anticipate the event that first shook Napoleon's power. Paris exchange brokers forced him by means of an artificially created famine to delay the opening of the Russian campaign by nearly two months and thus to launch it too late in the year.

Just as the liberal bourgeoisie was opposed once more by revolutionary terror in the person of Napoleon, so it was opposed once more by counter-revolution in the Restoration in the person of the Bourbons. Finally, in 1830 the bourgeoisie put into effect its wishes of the year 1789, with the only difference that its *political enlightenment* was now *completed,* that it no longer considered the constitutional representative state as a means for achieving the ideal of the state, the welfare of the world and universal human aims but, on the contrary, had acknowledged it as the *official* expression of its own *exclusive* power and the *political* recognition of its own *special* interests.

The history of the French Revolution, which dates from 1789, did not come to an end in 1830 with the victory of one of its components enriched by the consciousness of its own *social* importance.

### d) Critical Battle Against French Materialism

"*Spinozism* dominated the eighteenth century both in its later French variety, which made matter into substance, and in deism, which conferred on matter a more spiritual name.... *Spinoza's French school* and the supporters of deism were but two sects disputing over the true meaning of *his system*.... The simple fate of this Enlightenment was its decline in *romanticism* after being obliged to surrender to the reaction which began after the French movement."

That is what *Criticism* says.

To the Critical history of French materialism we shall oppose a brief outline of its ordinary, mass-type history. We shall acknowledge with due respect the abyss between history as it really happened and history as it takes place according to the decree of "*Absolute Criticism*", the creator equally of the old and of the new. And finally, obeying the prescriptions of *Criticism,* we shall make the "Why?", "Whence?" and "Whither?" of Critical history the "object of a persevering study".

"Speaking *exactly* and in the *prosaic sense*", the French Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, and in particular *French*

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[a] Road haulage.—*Ed.*

*materialism,* was not only a struggle against the existing political institutions and the existing religion and theology; it was just as much an *open, clearly expressed* struggle against the *metaphysics of the seventeenth century,* and against *all metaphysics,* in particular that of *Descartes, Malebranche, Spinoza* and *Leibniz. Philosophy* was counterposed to *metaphysics,* just as *Feuerbach,* in his first resolute attack on *Hegel,* counterposed *sober philosophy* to *wild speculation.* Seventeenth century *metaphysics,* driven from the field by the French Enlightenment, notably, by *French materialism* of the eighteenth century, experienced a *victorious and substantial restoration* in *German philosophy,* particularly in the *speculative German philosophy* of the nineteenth century. After *Hegel* linked it in a masterly fashion with all subsequent metaphysics and with German idealism and founded a metaphysical universal kingdom, the attack on theology again corresponded, as in the eighteenth century, to an attack on *speculative metaphysics* and *metaphysics in general.* It will be defeated for ever by *materialism,* which has now been perfected by the work of *speculation* itself and coincides with *humanism.* But just as *Feuerbach* is the representative of *materialism* coinciding with *humanism* in the *theoretical* domain, French and English *socialism* and *communism* represent *materialism* coinciding with *humanism* in the *practical* domain.

"Speaking *exactly* and in the *prosaic sense*", there are *two trends* in *French materialism*; one traces its origin to *Descartes,* the other to *Locke.* The latter is *mainly* a *French* development and leads directly to *socialism.* The former, *mechanical* materialism, merges with French *natural science* proper. The two trends intersect in the course of development. We have no need here to go more deeply into the French materialism that derives directly from *Descartes,* any more than into the French school of *Newton* and the development of French natural science in general.

We shall therefore merely say the following:

*Descartes* in his *physics* endowed *matter* with self-creative power and conceived *mechanical* motion as the manifestation of its life. He completely separated his *physics* from his *metaphysics. Within* his physics, *matter* is the sole *substance,* the sole basis of being and of knowledge.

*Mechanical* French materialism adopted *Descartes' physics* in opposition to his metaphysics. His followers were by profession *anti-metaphysicians,* i.e., *physicists.*

This school begins with the *physician Le Roy,* reaches its zenith with the physician *Cabanis,* and the physician *La Mettrie* is its centre. Descartes was still living when Le Roy, like *La Mettrie* in

the eighteenth century, transposed the Cartesian structure of the *animal* to the human soul and declared that the soul is a *modus of the body* and *ideas* are *mechanical motions.* Le Roy even thought Descartes had kept his real opinion secret. Descartes protested. At the end of the eighteenth century *Cabanis* perfected Cartesian materialism in his treatise: *Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme.*[48]

*Cartesian* materialism still exists today in France. It has achieved great successes in *mechanical natural science* which, "speaking *exactly* and in the *prosaic sense*", will be least of all reproached with *romanticism.*

The *metaphysics* of the seventeenth century, represented in France by *Descartes,* had *materialism* as its *antagonist* from its very birth. The latter's opposition to Descartes was personified by *Gassendi,* the restorer of *Epicurean* materialism. French and English materialism was always closely related to *Democritus* and *Epicurus.* Cartesian metaphysics had another opponent in the *English* materialist *Hobbes.* Gassendi and Hobbes triumphed over their opponent long after their death at the very time when metaphysics was already officially dominant in all French schools.

*Voltaire* pointed out that the indifference of the French of the eighteenth century to the disputes between the Jesuits and the Jansenists[49] was due less to philosophy than to *Law*'s financial speculations. So the downfall of seventeenth-century metaphysics can be explained by the materialistic theory of the eighteenth century only in so far as this theoretical movement itself is explained by the practical nature of French life at that time. This life was turned to the immediate present, to worldly enjoyment and worldly interests, to the *earthly* world. Its anti-theological, anti-metaphysical, materialistic practice demanded corresponding anti-theological, anti-metaphysical, materialistic theories. Metaphysics had *in practice* lost all credit. Here we have only to indicate briefly the *theoretical* course of events.

In the seventeenth century metaphysics (cf. Descartes, Leibniz, and others) still contained a *positive,* secular element. It made discoveries in mathematics, physics and other exact sciences which seemed to come within its scope. This semblance was done away with as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century. The positive sciences broke away from metaphysics and marked out their independent fields. The whole wealth of metaphysics now consisted only of beings of thought and heavenly things, at the very time when real beings and earthly things began to be the centre of all interest. Metaphysics had become insipid. In the very

year in which Malebranche and Arnauld, the last great French metaphysicians of the seventeenth century, died, *Helvétius* and *Condillac* were born.

The man who deprived seventeenth-century metaphysics and metaphysics in general of all *credit* in the domain of *theory* was *Pierre Bayle.* His weapon was *scepticism,* which he forged out of metaphysics' own magic formulas. He himself proceeded at first from Cartesian metaphysics. Just as *Feuerbach* by combating speculative theology was driven further to combat *speculative philosophy,* precisely because he recognised in speculation the last prop of theology, because he had to force theology to retreat from pseudo-science to *crude,* repulsive *faith,* so Bayle too was driven by religious doubt to doubt about the metaphysics which was the prop of that faith. He therefore critically investigated metaphysics in its entire historical development. He became its historian in order to write the history of its death. He refuted chiefly *Spinoza* and *Leibniz.*

*Pierre Bayle* not only prepared the reception of materialism and of the philosophy of common sense in France by shattering metaphysics with his scepticism. He heralded the *atheistic society* which was soon to come into existence by *proving* that a society consisting only of atheists is *possible,* that an atheist *can* be a man worthy of respect, and that it is not by atheism but by superstition and idolatry that man debases himself.

To quote a French writer, *Pierre Bayle* was *"the last metaphysician in the sense of the seventeenth century* and *the first philosopher in the sense of the eighteenth century".*

Besides the negative refutation of seventeenth-century theology and metaphysics, a *positive, anti-metaphysical* system was required. A book was needed which would systematise and theoretically substantiate the life practice of that time. *Locke*'s treatise *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding* came from across the Channel as if in answer to a call. It was welcomed enthusiastically like a long-awaited guest.

The question arises: Is *Locke* perhaps a disciple of *Spinoza*? "Profane" history can answer:

Materialism is the *natural-born* son of *Great Britain.*[50] Already the British schoolman, *Duns Scotus,* asked, *"whether it was impossible for matter to think?"*

In order to effect this miracle, he took refuge in God's omnipotence, i.e., he made *theology* preach *materialism.* Moreover, he was a *nominalist.*[51] Nominalism, the *first form* of materialism, is chiefly found among the *English* schoolmen.

The real progenitor of *English materialism* and all *modern experimental* science is *Bacon.* To him natural philosophy is the only true philosophy, and *physics* based upon the experience of the senses is the chiefest part of natural philosophy. *Anaxagoras* and his *homoeomeriae*[52], *Democritus* and his atoms, he often quotes as his authorities. According to him the *senses* are infallible and the *source* of all knowledge. All science is based on *experience,* and consists in subjecting the data furnished by the senses to a *rational method* of investigation. Induction, analysis, comparison, observation, experiment, are the principal forms of such a rational method. Among the qualities inherent in *matter, motion* is the first and foremost, not only in the form of *mechanical* and *mathematical* motion, but chiefly in the form of an *impulse,* a *vital spirit, a tension*—or a *'Qual',*[52a] to use a term of Jakob Böhme's—of matter. The primary forms of matter are the living, individualising *forces of being* inherent in it and producing the distinctions between the species.

In *Bacon,* its first creator, materialism still holds back within itself in a naive way the germs of a many-sided development. On the one hand, matter, surrounded by a sensuous, poetic glamour, seems to attract man's whole entity by winning smiles. On the other, the aphoristically formulated doctrine pullulates with inconsistencies imported from theology.

In its further evolution, materialism becomes *one-sided. Hobbes* is the man who *systematises Baconian* materialism. Knowledge based upon the senses loses its poetic blossom, it passes into the abstract experience of the *geometrician. Physical* motion is sacrificed to *mechanical* or *mathematical* motion; *geometry* is proclaimed as the queen of sciences. Materialism takes to *misanthropy.* If it is to overcome its opponent, *misanthropic, fleshless* spiritualism, and that on the latter's own ground, materialism has to chastise its own flesh and turn *ascetic.* Thus it passes into an *intellectual entity;* but thus, too, it evolves all the consistency, regardless of consequences, characteristic of the intellect.

Hobbes, as Bacon's continuator, argues thus: if all human knowledge is furnished by the senses, then our concepts, notions, and ideas are but the phantoms of the real world, more or less divested of its sensual form. Philosophy can but give names to these phantoms. One name may be applied to more than one of them. There may even be names of names. But it would imply a contradiction if, on the one hand, we maintained that all ideas had their origin in the world of sensation, and, on the other, that a word was more than a word; that besides the beings known to us

by our senses, beings which are one and all individuals, there existed also beings of a general, not individual, nature. An *unbodily substance* is the same absurdity as an *unbodily body. Body, being, substance,* are but different terms for the same *reality.* It is impossible to separate thought from matter *that* thinks. This matter is the substratum of all changes going on in the world. The word *infinite* is *meaningless,* unless it states that our mind is capable of performing an endless process of addition. Only material things being perceptible, knowable to us, we cannot know *anything* about the existence of God. My own existence alone is certain. Every human passion is a mechanical movement which has a beginning and an end. The objects of impulse are what we call good. Man is subject to the same laws as nature. Power and freedom are identical.

Hobbes had systematised Bacon without, however, furnishing a proof for Bacon's fundamental principle, the origin of all human knowledge and ideas from the world of sensation.

It was *Locke* who, in his *Essay on the Humane Understanding,* supplied this proof.

Hobbes had shattered the *theistic* prejudices of Baconian materialism; Collins, Dodwell, Coward, Hartley, Priestley, similarly shattered the last theological bars that still hemmed in Locke's sensationalism. At all events, for materialists, deism is but an easy-going way of getting rid of religion.

We have already mentioned how opportune Locke's work was for the French. Locke founded the philosophy of *bon sens,* of common sense; i.e., he said indirectly that there cannot be any philosophy at variance with the healthy human senses and reason based on them.

Locke's *immediate* pupil, *Condillac,* who translated him into *French,* at once applied Locke's sensualism against seventeenth-century *metaphysics.* He proved that the French had rightly rejected this metaphysics as a mere botch work of fancy and theological prejudice. He published a refutation of the systems of *Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz* and *Malebranche.*

In his *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines* he expounded Locke's ideas and proved that not only the soul, but the senses too, not only the art of creating ideas, but also the art of sensuous perception, are matters of *experience* and *habit.* The whole development of man therefore depends on *education* and *external circumstances.* It was only by *eclectic* philosophy that Condillac was ousted from the French schools.

The difference between *French* and *English* materialism reflects

the difference between the two nations. The French imparted to English materialism wit, flesh and blood, and eloquence. They gave it the temperament and grace that it lacked. They *civilised* it.

In *Helvétius,* who also based himself on Locke, materialism assumed a really French character. Helvétius conceived it immediately in its application to social life (Helvétius, *De l'homme*).[53] The sensory qualities and self-love, enjoyment and correctly understood personal interest are the basis of all morality. The natural equality of human intelligences, the unity of progress of reason and progress of industry, the natural goodness of man, and the omnipotence of education, are the main features in his system.

In *La Mettrie*'s works we find a synthesis of Cartesian and English materialism. He makes use of Descartes' physics in detail. His *L'homme machine* is a treatise after the model of Descartes' animal-machine. The physical part of Holbach's *Système de la nature* is also a result of the combination of French and English materialism, while the moral part is based essentially on the morality of Helvétius.[54] *Robinet* (*De la nature*), the French materialist who had the most connection with metaphysics and was therefore praised by Hegel, refers explicitly to *Leibniz.*

We need not dwell on Volney, Dupuis, Diderot and others, any more than on the physiocrats, after we have proved the dual origin of French materialism from Descartes' physics and English materialism, and the opposition of French materialism to seventeenth-century *metaphysics,* to the metaphysics of Descartes, Spinoza, Malebranche, and Leibniz. This opposition only became evident to the Germans after they themselves had come into opposition to *speculative metaphysics.*

Just as *Cartesian* materialism passes into *natural science proper,* the other trend of French materialism leads directly to *socialism* and *communism.*

There is no need for any great penetration to see from the teaching of materialism on the original goodness and equal intellectual endowment of men, the omnipotence of experience, habit and education, and the influence of environment on man, the great significance of industry, the justification of enjoyment, etc., how necessarily materialism is connected with communism and socialism. If man draws all his knowledge, sensation, etc., from the world of the senses and the experience gained in it, then what has to be done is to arrange the empirical world in such a way that man experiences and becomes accustomed to what is truly human in it and that he becomes aware of himself as man. If correctly understood interest is the principle of all morality, man's

private interest must be made to coincide with the interest of humanity. If man is unfree in the materialistic sense, i.e., is free not through the negative power to avoid this or that, but through the positive power to assert his true individuality, crime must not be punished in the individual, but the anti-social sources of crime must be destroyed, and each man must be given social scope for the vital manifestation of his being. If man is shaped by environment, his environment must be made human. If man is social by nature, he will develop his true nature only in society, and the power of his nature must be measured not by the power of the separate individual but by the power of society.

These and similar propositions are to be found almost literally even in the oldest French materialists. This is not the place to assess them. The apologia of vices by *Mandeville*, one of Locke's early English followers, is typical of the socialist tendencies of materialism. He proves that in *modern* society vice is *indispensable* and *useful*.[a] This was by no means an apologia for modern society.

*Fourier* proceeds directly from the teaching of the French materialists. The *Babouvists* were crude, uncivilised materialists, but developed communism, too, derives *directly* from *French materialism*. The latter returned to its mother-country, *England*, in the form *Helvétius* gave it. *Bentham* based his system of *correctly understood interest* on Helvétius' morality, and *Owen* proceeded from *Bentham's* system to found English communism. Exiled to England, the Frenchman *Cabet* came under the influence of communist ideas there and on his return to France became the most popular, if the most superficial, representative of communism. Like Owen, the more scientific French Communists, *Dézamy*, *Gay* and others, developed the teaching of *materialism* as the teaching of *real humanism* and the *logical* basis of *communism*.

Where, then, did Herr Bauer or, *Criticism*, manage to acquire the documents for the Critical history of French materialism?

1) Hegel's *Geschichte der Philosophie*[b] presents French materialism as the *realisation* of the Substance of Spinoza, which at any rate is far more comprehensible than "the French school of Spinoza".

2) Herr *Bauer* read Hegel's *Geschichte der Philosophie* as saying that French materialism was the *school* of Spinoza. Then, as he found in another of Hegel's works that deism and materialism are *two parties* representing *one and the same* basic principle, he

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[a] Bernard de Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits*.—*Ed.*

[b] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie*.—*Ed.*

concluded that Spinoza had *two* schools which disputed over the meaning of his system. Herr Bauer could have found the supposed explanation in Hegel's *Phänomenologie*, where it is said:

"Regarding that Absolute Being, *Enlightenment* itself falls out with itself ... and is divided between the views of *two parties*.... The one ... calls *Absolute Being* that predicateless Absolute ... the other calls it *matter* .... Both are entirely the *same* notion—the distinction lies not in the objective fact, but purely in the diversity of starting-point adopted by the two developments" (Hegel, *Phänomenologie*, pp. 420, 421, 422).[a]

3) Finally Herr Bauer could find, again in Hegel, that when Substance does not develop into a concept and self-consciousness, it degenerates into "romanticism". The journal *Hallische Jahrbücher* at one time developed a similar theory.

But at all costs *the "Spirit"* had to decree a *"foolish destiny"* for its "*adversary*", *materialism.*

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*Note.* French materialism's connection with Descartes and Locke and the opposition of eighteenth-century philosophy to seventeenth-century metaphysics are presented in detail in most recent *French* histories of philosophy. In this respect, we had only to repeat against Critical Criticism what was already known. But the connection of eighteenth-century materialism with English and French *communism* of the nineteenth century still needs to be presented in detail. We confine ourselves here to quoting a few typical passages from Helvétius, Holbach and Bentham.

1) *Helvétius.* "Man is not wicked, but he is subordinate to his interests. One must not therefore complain of the wickedness of man but of the ignorance of the legislators, who have always placed the particular interest in opposition to the general interest."—"The moralists have so far had no success because we have to dig into legislation to pull out the roots which create vice. In New Orleans women have the right to repudiate their husbands as soon as they are tired of them. In countries like that women are not faithless, because they have no interest in being so."—"Morality is but a frivolous science when not combined with politics and legislation."—"The hypocritical moralists can be recognised on the one hand by the equanimity with which they consider vices which undermine the state, and on the other by the fury with which they condemn private vice."—"Human beings are born neither good nor bad but ready to become one or the other according as a common interest unites or divides them."—"If citizens could not achieve their own particular good without achieving the general good, there would be no vicious people except fools" (*De l'esprit*, t. I, Paris, 1822,[55] pp. 117, 240, 241, 249, 251, 369 and 339).

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[a] English text taken from the translation by J. B. Baille, published by Allen and Unwin, 1931, pp. 591, 592, 593.—*Ed.*

As, according to Helvétius, it is education, by which he means (cf. loc. cit., p. 390) not only education in the ordinary sense but the totality of the individual's conditions of life, which forms man, if a reform is necessary to abolish the contradiction between particular interests and those of society, so, on the other hand, a transformation of consciousness is necessary to carry out such a reform:

"Great reforms can be implemented only by weakening the stupid respect of the peoples for old laws and customs" (loc. cit., p. 260)

or, as he says elsewhere, by abolishing ignorance.

2) *Holbach.* "Ce n'est que lui-même que l'homme peut aimer dans les objets qu'il aime: ce n'est que lui-même qu'il peut affectionner dans les êtres de son espèce." "L'homme ne peut jamais se séparer de lui-même dans aucun instant de sa vie; il ne peut se perdre de vue." "C'est toujours notre utilité, notre intérêt ... qui nous fait hair ou aimer les objets".[a] (*Système social,* t. 1, Paris, 1822,[56] pp. 80, 112), but "L'homme pour son propre intérêt doit aimer les autres hommes puisqu'ils sont nécessaires à son bien-être... La morale lui prouve, que de tous les êtres le *plus nécessaire à l'homme c'est l'homme*".[b] (p. 76). "La vraie morale, ainsi que la vraie politique, est celle qui cherche à approcher les hommes, afin de les faire travailler par des efforts réunis à leur bonheur mutuel. Toute morale qui sépare *nos intérêts de ceux de nos associés* est fausse, insensée, contraire à la nature"[c] (p. 116). "Aimer les autres ... c'est *confondre nos intérêts avec ceux de nos associés,* afin de travailler à *l'utilité commune... La vertu* n'est que *l'utilité des hommes réunis en société*[d] (p. 77). "Un homme sans passions ou sans désirs cesserait d'être un homme... Parfaitement détaché de lui-même, comment pourrait-on le déterminer à s'attacher à d'autres? Un homme, indifférent pour tout, privé de passions, qui se suffirait à lui-même, ne serait plus un être sociable... La vertu n'est que la *communication du bien*"[e] (loc. cit., p. 118). "La morale religieuse ne servit jamais à rendre les mortels plus sociables"[f] (loc. cit., p. 36).

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[a] "Man can only love himself in the objects he loves: he can have affection only for himself in the other beings of his kind." "Man can never separate himself from himself for a single instant in his life; he cannot lose sight of himself." "It is always our convenience, our interest ... that makes us hate or love things."—*Ed.*

[b] "In his own interest man must love other men, because they are necessary to his welfare.... Morality proves to him that of all beings the *most necessary to man is man.*"—*Ed.*

[c] "True morality, and true politics as well, is that which seeks to bring men nearer to one another to make them work by united efforts for their common happiness. Any morality which separates *our interests from those of our associates,* is false, senseless, unnatural."—*Ed.*

[d] "To love others ... is to *merge our interests with those of our associates,* to work *for the common benefit.... Virtue* is but *the usefulness of men united in society.*"—*Ed.*

[e] "A man without desires or passions would cease to be a man.... Perfectly detached from himself, how could one make him decide to attach himself to others? A man indifferent to everything and having no passions, sufficient to himself, would cease to be a social being.... Virtue is but the *communication of good.*"—*Ed.*

[f] "Religious morality never served to make mortals more sociable."—*Ed.*

3) *Bentham.* We only quote one passage from Bentham in which he opposes "*intérêt général* in the political sense". "L'intérêt des individus ... doit céder à l'intérêt public. Mais ... qu'est-ce que cela signifie? Chaque individu n'est-il pas partie du public autant que chaque autre? Cet intérêt public, que vous personnifiez, n'est qu'un terme abstrait: il ne représente que la masse des intérêts individuels... S'il était bon de sacrifier la fortune d'un individu pour augmenter celle des autres, il serait encore mieux d'en sacrifier un second, un troisième, sans qu'on puisse assigner aucune limite.... Les intérêts individuels sont les seuls intérêts réels"[a] (Bentham, *Théorie des peines et des récompenses*, Paris, 1826, 3eme éd., II, p. [229], 230).

## e) Final Defeat of Socialism

"The French set up a series of *systems* of *how* the *mass* should be *organised*, but they had to resort to *fantasy* because they considered the mass, as it is, to be usable material."

Actually, the French and the English have proved, and proved in great detail, that the present social system organises the "mass *as it is*" and is therefore its *organisation. Criticism*, following the example of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, disposes of all socialist and communist systems by means of the *fundamental* word "*fantasy*".[57]

Having thus shattered foreign socialism and communism, *Criticism* transfers its war-like operations to Germany.

"When the *German Enlighteners* suddenly found themselves disappointed in their hopes of 1842 and, in their embarrassment, did not know *what to do*, *news* of the recent *French* systems came in the nick of time. They were henceforth able to speak of raising the lower classes of the people and at that price they were able to dispense with the question whether they did not themselves belong to the mass, which is to be found not only in the lowest strata."

*Criticism* has obviously so exhausted its entire provision of well meaning motives in the apologia for Bauer's literary past that it can find no other explanation for the German socialist movement than the "embarrassment" of the Enlighteners in 1842. "Fortunately they received news of the recent *French* systems." Why not of the *English*? For the decisive *Critical* reason that Herr Bauer received no news of the recent English systems through *Stein*'s book: *Der Communismus und Socialismus des heutigen Frankreichs.* This is also the decisive reason why only *French systems* ever exist for *Criticism* in all its talk about socialist systems.

The German Enlighteners, Criticism goes on to explain, commit-

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[a] "The interest of individuals ... must give way to the public interest. But ... what does that mean? Is not each individual part of the public as much as any other? This public interest that you personify is but an abstract term: it represents but the mass of individual interests.... If it were good to sacrifice the fortune of one individual to increase that of others, it would be better to sacrifice that of a second, a third, and so on ad infinitum.... Individual interests are the only real interests."—*Ed.*

ted a sin against the Holy Ghost. They busied themselves with the "lower classes of the people", already in existence in 1842, in order to *get rid of* the question, which did *not* yet exist then, as to what rank they were destined to occupy in the *Critical world system* that was to be instituted in anno 1843: sheep or goat, Critical Critic or impure Mass, *Spirit* or *Matter*. But above all they should have thought seriously of the Critical *salvation of their own souls*, for of what profit is it to me if I gain the whole world, including the lower classes of the people, and suffer the loss of my own soul?

"But a spiritual being cannot be raised to a higher level unless it is altered, and it cannot be altered before it has experienced extreme resistance."

Were *Criticism* better acquainted with the movement of the lower classes of the people it would know that the extreme resistance that they have experienced from practical life is changing them every day. Modern prose and poetry emanating in England and France from the lower classes of the people would show it that the lower classes of the people know how to raise themselves spiritually even without being directly *overshadowed* by the *Holy Ghost of Critical Criticism*.

"They," Absolute Criticism continues to indulge in fancy, "whose *whole wealth* is the word '*organisation of the mass*'", etc.

A lot has been said about "organisation of labour", although even this "catchword" came not from the Socialists themselves but from the politically radical party in France, which tried to be an intermediary between politics and socialism.[58] But nobody before Critical Criticism spoke of "organisation of the mass" as of a question yet to be solved. It was proved, on the contrary, that *bourgeois society*, the dissolution of the old *feudal* society, *is* this organisation of the mass.

*Criticism* puts its discovery in quotation marks [*Gänsefüsse*[a]]. The goose that cackled to Herr Bauer the watchword for saving the Capitol[59] is none but his *own goose, Critical Criticism*. It organised the mass anew by speculatively constructing it as the Absolute Opponent of *the* Spirit. The antithesis between spirit and mass is the Critical "organisation of society", in which *the* Spirit, or *Criticism*, represents the organising *work*, the mass—the *raw material*, and history—the *product*.

After Absolute Criticism's great victories over revolution, materialism and socialism in its third campaign, we may ask: What is the *final result* of these Herculean feats? Only that these

[a] *Gänsefüsse* (=goose-feet) is a German word for quotation marks.—*Ed.*

movements *perished* without any result because they were still *criticism adulterated by mass* or *spirit adulterated by matter.* Even in Herr Bauer's own literary past *Criticism* discovered manifold adulterations of *criticism* by the mass. But *here* it writes an apologia instead of a criticism, "*places in safety*" instead of *surrendering*; instead of seeing in the *adulteration of the spirit* by the *flesh* the death of the spirit too, it reverses the case and finds in the adulteration of the *flesh by the spirit* the life even of *Bauer*'s flesh. On the other hand, it is all the more ruthless and decisively *terroristic* as soon as imperfect criticism still adulterated by mass is no longer the *work* of Herr Bauer but of whole peoples and of a number of ordinary Frenchmen and Englishmen; as soon as imperfect criticism is no longer entitled *Die Judenfrage,* or *Die gute Sache der Freiheit,* or *Staat, Religion und Parthei,* but revolution, materialism, socialism or communism. Thus *Criticism* did away with the adulteration of spirit by matter and of criticism by mass by sparing its own flesh and crucifying the flesh of others.

One way or the other, the "spirit adulterated by flesh" or "Criticism adulterated by mass" has been cleared out of the way. Instead of this un-Critical adulteration, there appears absolutely Critical *disintegration* of spirit and flesh, criticism and mass, their pure opposition. This opposition in its *world-historic* form in which it constitutes the true historical interest of the present time, is the opposition of Herr Bauer and Co., or *the* Spirit, to the rest of the human race as Matter.

Revolution, materialism and communism *therefore* have fulfilled their historic mission. By their *downfall* they have prepared the way for the Critical *Lord.* Hosanna!

### f) The Speculative Cycle of Absolute Criticism and the Philosophy of Self-Consciousness

*Criticism,* having supposedly attained *perfection* and purity in *one* domain, *therefore* committed only one *oversight,* "only" one "inconsistency", that of not being "pure" and "perfect" in *all* domains. The "one" Critical domain is none other than that of *theology.* The *pure* area of this domain extends from the *Kritik der Synoptiker* by Bruno Bauer to *Das entdeckte Christenthum* by Bruno Bauer, as the farthest frontier post.

"Modern Criticism," we are told, "had finally dealt with Spinozism; it was therefore inconsistent of it naively to presuppose *Substance* in one domain, even if only in individual, falsely expounded points."

*Criticism*'s earlier admission that it had been involved in *political* prejudice was immediately followed by the extenuating circumstance that this involvement had been "*basically so slight!*" Now the admission of *inconsistency* is tempered by the parenthesis that it was committed only in *individual, falsely expounded points.* It was not Herr Bauer who was to blame, but the *false points* which *ran away with Criticism* like recalcitrant mounts.

A few quotations will show that by overcoming *Spinozism Criticism* ended up in *Hegelian idealism,* that from "*Substance*" it arrived at another *metaphysical monster, the* "*Subject*", "*Substance as a process*", "*infinite self-consciousness*", and that the final result of "perfect" and "pure" Criticism is the *restoration of the Christian theory of creation* in a *speculative, Hegelian* form.

Let us first open the *Kritik der Synoptiker.*

"Strauss remains true to the view that *Substance* is the Absolute. Tradition in this form of universality, which has not yet attained the real and rational certitude of universality, that certitude which can be attained only in *self-consciousness,* in the *oneness* and *infinity* of self-consciousness, is nothing but *Substance* which has emerged from its logical simplicity and has assumed a definite form of existence as the *power of the community*" (*Kritik der Synoptiker,* Vol. I, Preface, pp. vi [-vii]).

Let us leave to their fate "*the* universality which attains certitude", the "oneness and infinity" (the Hegelian *Notion*).— Instead of saying that the view put forward in *Strauss*' theory on the "power of the community" and "tradition" has its *abstract* expression, its logical and metaphysical *hieroglyphic,* in the Spinozist conception of *Substance,* Herr Bauer makes "*Substance emerge* from its *logical simplicity* and assume a definite form of existence in the power of the community". He applies the *Hegelian* miracle apparatus by which the "*metaphysical categories*"—abstractions extracted out of *reality*—emerge from *logic,* where they are dissolved in the "*simplicity*" of thought, and assume "a definite form" of physical or human existence; he makes them become incarnate. Help, *Hinrichs*!

"Mysterious," *Criticism* continues its argument against Strauss, "mysterious is this view because whenever it wishes to explain and make visible the process to which the gospel history owes its origin, it can only bring out the *semblance* of a process [...] The sentence: 'The gospel history has its source and origin in tradition', posits the same thing *twice*—'tradition' and the 'gospel history'; admittedly it does posit a relation between them, but it does not tell us to what *internal process of Substance* the development and exposition owe their origin."[a]

According to *Hegel, Substance* must be conceived as an *internal*

[a] This is also a quotation from B. Bauer's book *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker.*— *Ed.*

*process.* He characterises *development* from the viewpoint of Substance as follows:

"But if we look more closely at this *expansion*, we find that it has not come about by one and the same principle taking shape in diverse ways; it is only the shapeless *repetition of one and the same thing* ... keeping up a tedious *semblance* of diversity" (*Phänomenologie*, Preface, p. 12).

*Help, Hinrichs!*

"Criticism," Herr Bauer continues, "according to this, must turn against itself and look for the solution of the *mysterious substantiality* ... in what the *development of Substance itself* leads to, in the universality and certitude of the idea and its real existence, in *infinite self-consciousness.*"

*Hegel*'s criticism of the substantiality view continues:

"The compact solidity of Substance is to be opened up and Substance raised to *self-consciousness*" (loc. cit., p. 7).

Bauer's *self-consciousness*, too, is *Substance raised* to self-consciousness or *self-consciousness* as *Substance*; self-consciousness is transformed from an *attribute of man* into a *self-existing subject.* This is the *metaphysical-theological* caricature of man in his *severance* from nature. The *being* of this self-consciousness is therefore not *man*, but *the idea* of which self-consciousness is the *real existence.* It is the idea *become man*, and therefore it is *infinite.* All *human* qualities are thus transformed in a *mysterious way* into qualities of imaginary "*infinite self-consciousness*". Hence, Herr Bauer says *expressly* that *everything* has its *origin* and its *explanation* in this "infinite self-consciousness", i.e., finds in it the *basis* of its *existence.* Help, *Hinrichs*!

Herr Bauer continues:

"The power of the *substantiality relation* lies in its impulse, which leads us to the concept, the idea and self-consciousness."

*Hegel* says:

"Thus the *concept* is the *truth* of the substance." "The transition of the *substantiality relation* takes place through its own immanent necessity and consists in this only, that *the* concept is the truth of the substance." "The *idea* is the adequate concept." "The concept ... having achieved *free* existence ... is nothing but the *ego* or *pure self-consciousness*" (*Logik*, Hegel's *Werke*, 2nd ed., Vol. 5, pp. 6, 9, 229, 13).

Help, *Hinrichs*!

It seems comic in the extreme when Herr Bauer says in his *Literatur-Zeitung*:

"*Strauss* came to grief because he was unable to *complete the criticism of Hegel*'s *system*, although he proved by his half-way criticism the necessity for its completion", etc.[60]

It was not a *complete criticism* of Hegel's system that Herr Bauer himself thought he was giving in his *Kritik der Synoptiker* but at the most the *completion of Hegel's system*, at least in its application to theology.

He describes his criticism (*Kritik der Synoptiker*, Preface, p. xxi) as "the last act of a definite system", which is no other than *Hegel's* system.

The dispute between *Strauss* and *Bauer* over *Substance* and *Self-Consciousness* is a dispute *within Hegelian* speculation. In *Hegel* there are *three* elements, *Spinoza's Substance, Fichte's Self-Consciousness* and *Hegel's* necessarily antagonistic *unity* of the two, the *Absolute Spirit.* The first element is metaphysically disguised *nature separated* from man; the second is metaphysically disguised *spirit separated* from nature; the third is the metaphysically disguised *unity* of both, *real man* and the real *human species.*

Within the domain of theology, *Strauss* expounds *Hegel* from *Spinoza's point of view*, and Bauer does so from *Fichte's point of view*, both quite consistently. They both *criticised* Hegel insofar as with him each of the two elements was *falsified* by the other, whereas they carried each of these elements to its *one-sided* and hence consistent development.— Both of them therefore go *beyond* Hegel in their criticism, but both also remain *within* his speculation and each represents only *one* side of his system. *Feuerbach*, who completed and criticised *Hegel from Hegel's point of view* by resolving the metaphysical *Absolute* Spirit into "*real man on the basis of nature*", was the first to complete the *criticism of religion* by sketching in a grand and masterly manner the *basic features* of the *criticism of Hegel's speculation* and hence *of all metaphysics.*

With Herr Bauer it is, admittedly, no longer the *Holy Ghost*, but nevertheless *infinite self-consciousness* that dictates the writings of the evangelist.

"We ought not any longer to conceal the fact that the correct conception of the gospel history also has its *philosophical basis, namely, the philosophy of self-consciousness*" (Bruno Bauer, *Kritik der Synoptiker*, Preface, p. xv).

This philosophy of Herr Bauer, the *philosophy of self-consciousness*, like the *results* he achieved by his criticism of theology, must be characterised by a few extracts from *Das entdeckte Christenthum*, his *last* work on the philosophy of religion.

Speaking of the *French materialists*, he says:

"When the *truth* of materialism, the *philosophy* of *self-consciousness*, is revealed and *self-consciousness* is recognised as the *Universe*, as the solution of the riddle of *Spinoza's substance* and as the true *causa sui*[a] ..., what is the purpose of *the Spirit?*

[a] Cause of itself.—*Ed.*

*What is the purpose of self-consciousness?* As if *self-consciousness,* by positing the *world,* did not posit *distinction,* and did not produce *itself* in all it produces, since it does away again with *the distinction of what it produced from itself,* and since, consequently it is itself only in production and in movement—as if self-consciousness in this movement, which is itself, had not its purpóse and did not possess itself!" (*Das entdeckte Christenthum,* p. 113.)

"The French materialists did, indeed, conceive the movement of self-consciousness as the movement of the universal being, matter, but they could *not yet* see that the *movement of the universe* became *real* for itself and achieved unity with itself *only* as the *movement* of *self-consciousness*" (l. c., pp. [114-] 115).

Help, *Hinrichs*!

In plain language the *first* extract means: the truth of *materialism* is the *opposite* of materialism, *absolute,* i.e., exclusive, unmitigated *idealism.* Self-consciousness, *the Spirit,* is the *Universe.* Outside of it there is *nothing.* "Self-consciousness", "*the Spirit*", is the almighty creator of the world, of heaven and earth. The *world* is a manifestation of the life of self-consciousness which has to *alienate* itself and take on *the form of a slave,* but the difference between the world and self-consciousness is only an *apparent difference.* Self-consciousness distinguishes *nothing real* from itself. The world is, rather, only a metaphysical *distinction,* a phantom of its ethereal brain and an *imaginary* product of the latter. Hence self-consciousness does away again with the appearance, which it conceded for a moment, that something exists outside of it, and it recognises in what it has "produced" no real object, i.e., no object which in reality is distinct from it. By this movement, however, *self-consciousness* first produces itself as absolute, for the *absolute* idealist, in order to be an absolute idealist, must necessarily constantly go through the *sophistical process* of first transforming the world *outside himself* into an *appearance,* a mere fancy of *his* brain, and afterwards declaring this *fantasy* to be what it really is, i.e., a mere fantasy, so as finally to be able to proclaim his sole, exclusive existence, which is no longer disturbed even by the semblance of an external world.

In plain language the *second* extract means: The French materialists did, of course, conceive the movements of matter as movements involving spirit, but they were not yet able to see that they are not *material,* but *ideal* movements, movements of self-consciousness, consequently pure movements of thought. They were not yet able to see that the real movement of the universe became true and real only as the *ideal* movement of self-consciousness free and freed from *matter,* that is, from *reality*; in other words, that a *material* movement distinct from ideal brain movement exists only *in appearance.* Help, *Hinrichs*!

This speculative *theory of creation* is almost word for word in *Hegel*; it can be found in his *first* work, his *Phänomenologie.*

"The alienation *of self-consciousness* itself establishes *thinghood*.... In this alienation self-consciousness establishes itself as *object*, or sets up the object as *itself*. On the other hand, there is also this other moment in the process that it has just as much *abolished* this *alienation* and *objectification* and resumed them into itself.... This is the *movement of consciousness*" (Hegel, *Phänomenologie*, pp. 574-75).

"Self-consciousness has a *content*, which it distinguishes *from itself*.... This content in its *distinction* is itself the *ego*, for it is the *movement* of superseding itself.... More precisely stated, this content is nothing but the *very movement just spoken of*; for the content is *the Spirit* which traverses the whole range of its own being, and does this *for itself* as *Spirit*" (loc. cit., pp. [582-] 583).[a]

Referring to this theory of creation of Hegel's, *Feuerbach* observes:

"Matter is the self-alienation of the spirit. Thereby matter itself acquires spirit and reason—but at the same time it is assumed as a *nothingness*, an *unreal* being, inasmuch as being producing itself from this alienation, i.e., being divesting itself of matter, of sensuousness, is pronounced to be being in its perfection, in its true shape and form. Therefore the natural, the material, the sensuous, is what is to be *negated* here too, as *nature poisoned by original sin* is in theology" (*Philosophie der Zukunft*, p. 35).[b]

Herr Bauer therefore defends materialism against *un-Critical theology*, at the same time as he reproaches it with "not yet" being *Critical theology, theology of reason, Hegelian speculation. Hinrichs! Hinrichs!*

Herr Bauer, who in *all* domains carries through *his* opposition to *Substance, his philosophy of self-consciousness* or of *the* Spirit, must therefore in all domains have only the *figments* of his own *brain* to deal with. In his hands, *Criticism* is the instrument to sublimate into mere *appearance* and *pure* thought all that affirms a *finite* material existence *outside infinite self-consciousness.* What he combats in Substance is not the *metaphysical illusion* but its *mundane* kernel—*nature*; nature both as it exists *outside* man and as man's nature. Not to presume *Substance* in any domain—he still uses this language—means therefore for him not to recognise any *being* distinct from thought, any *natural energy* distinct from the *spontaneity of the spirit*, any *power of human nature* distinct from *reason*, any *passivity* distinct from *activity*, any *influence of others* distinct from *one's own action*, any *feeling* or *willing* distinct from *knowing*, any *heart* distinct from the *head*, any *object* distinct from the *subject*, any *practice* distinct from *theory*, any *man* distinct from the *Critic*, any

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[a] See the English edition of Hegel's *Works*, pp. 789, 790.—*Ed.*
[b] Ludwig Feuerbach, *Grundsätze der Philosophie der Zukunft*.—*Ed.*

*real community* distinct from *abstract generality,* any *Thou* distinct from *I.* Herr Bauer is therefore consistent when he goes on to identify *himself* with *infinite self-consciousness,* with the *Spirit,* i.e., to replace these creations of his by their creator. He is just as consistent in rejecting as *stubborn mass* and *matter* the *rest of the world* which obstinately insists on being something *distinct* from what *he,* Herr Bauer, has produced. And so he hopes:

> It will not be long
> Before all bodies perish.[a]

His *own* ill-humour at so far being unable to master "the *something* of this *clumsy* world" he interprets equally consistently as the *self-discontent* of this world, and the indignation of his Criticism at the development of mankind as the *mass-type* indignation of mankind against *his* Criticism, against *the* Spirit, against Herr Bruno Bauer and Co.

Herr Bauer was a *theologian* from the very beginning, but no ordinary one; he was a *Critical theologian* or a *theological Critic.* While still the extreme representative of *old Hegelian* orthodoxy who put in a speculative form all *religious* and *theological nonsense,* he constantly proclaimed *Criticism* his *private domain.* At that time he called *Strauss'* criticism *human* criticism and *expressly* asserted the right of *divine* criticism in opposition to it. He later stripped the great *self-reliance* or *self-consciousness,* which was the hidden kernel of this divinity, of its religious shell, made it self-existing as an independent being, and raised it, under the trade-mark "*Infinite Self-consciousness*", to the rank of the principle of Criticism. Then he accomplished in his *own* movement the movement that the "philosophy of self-consciousness" describes as the absolute act of life. He abolished anew the "distinction" between "the product", *infinite self-consciousness,* and the producer, *himself,* and acknowledged that infinite self-consciousness in its movement "*was only he himself*", and that therefore the movement of the universe only becomes *true* and *real* in his ideal self-movement.

*Divine* criticism in its *return into itself* is restored in a rational, conscious, Critical way; *being in-itself* is transformed into *being in-and-for-itself* and only at the *end* does the fulfilled, realised, revealed *beginning* take place. *Divine* criticism, as *distinct* from *human* criticism, reveals itself as *Criticism, pure Criticism, Critical Criticism.* The apologia for the Old and the New Testament is replaced by the apologia for the old and new works of Herr

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[a] J. W. Goethe, *Faust,* Part I, Scene 3 ("Faust's Study").—*Ed.*

Bauer. The *theological* antithesis of God and man, spirit and flesh, infinity and finiteness is transformed into the *Critical-theological* antithesis *of the Spirit, Criticism,* or Herr *Bauer,* and the *matter* of the *mass,* or the secular world. The theological antithesis of faith and reason has been resolved into the Critical-theological antithesis of *common sense* and pure Critical thought. The *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie* has been transformed into the Critical *Literatur-Zeitung. The religious redeemer of the world* has finally become a reality in the *Critical redeemer of the world,* Herr *Bauer.*

Herr Bauer's last stage is not an anomaly in his development; it is the *return* of his development *into* itself from its *alienation.* Naturally, the point at which *divine* Criticism *alienated* itself and came out of itself coincided with the point at which it became partly untrue to itself and created something *human.*

Returning to its starting-point, *Absolute Criticism* has ended the *speculative cycle* and thereby its own *life's career.* Its further movement is *pure,* lofty *circling within itself,* above all interest of a *mass nature* and therefore devoid of any further interest for the Mass.

## Chapter VII

## CRITICAL CRITICISM'S CORRESPONDENCE

### 1) THE CRITICAL MASS

Où peut-on être mieux
Qu'au sein de sa famille?[a]

In its *Absolute* existence as Herr *Bruno*, Critical Criticism has declared the *mass* of mankind, the whole of mankind that is not Critical Criticism, to be its *opposite*, its *essential object*; *essential*, because the Mass exists *ad majorem gloriam dei*,[b] the glory of *Criticism*, of *the* Spirit; *its object*, because it is only the *matter* on which Critical Criticism operates. Critical Criticism has proclaimed its relationship to the Mass as the *world-historic relationship* of the present time.

No *world-historic opposition* is formed, however, by the statement that one is in opposition to the whole world. One can imagine that one is a stumbling-block for the world because one is clumsy enough to stumble everywhere. But for a world-historic opposition it is not enough for me to declare the world *my* opposite; the *world* for its part must declare me to be its essential opposite, and must treat and *recognise* me as such. Critical Criticism ensures itself this recognition by its *correspondence*, which is called upon to *bear witness* before the world to Criticism's function of redeemer and equally to the general *irritation* of the world at the Critical gospel. Critical Criticism is its own object as the *object of the world*. The correspondence is intended to *show it as such*, as the *world interest* of the present time.

Critical Criticism is in its own eyes the *Absolute Subject*. The Absolute Subject requires a cult. A *real* cult requires other believing individuals. The *Holy Family of Charlottenburg* therefore receives from its correspondents the cult due to it. The correspondents tell it *what* it *is* and what its adversary, the Mass, *is not*.

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[a] Where can one feel better than in the bosom of one's family? (From J. F. Marmontel's one-act comedy *Lucile*, Scene 4.)—*Ed.*

[b] For the greater glory of God.—*Ed.*

However, Criticism falls into an inconsistency by thus having its opinion of itself represented as the opinion of the world and by its *concept* being converted into *reality*. *Within Criticism itself* a sort of *Mass* is forming, a Critical Mass whose simple function is untiringly to echo the stock phrases of Criticism. For consistency's sake this inconsistency may be forgiven. Not feeling at home in the sinful world, Critical Criticism must set up a sinful world in its own home.

The path of Critical Criticism's correspondent, a member of the Critical Mass, is not a rosy one. It is a difficult, thorny path, a Critical path. Critical Criticism is a spiritualistic lord, pure spontaneity, *actus purus*, intolerant of any influence *from without*. The correspondent can therefore be a *subject* only *in appearance*, can only *seem* to behave *independently* towards Critical Criticism, can only *seemingly* want to communicate something new and of his own to it. In *reality* he is Critical Criticism's own *product*, its perception of its own voice made for an instant *objective* and self-existing.

That is why the correspondents do not fail to assert incessantly that Critical Criticism itself *knows, realises, understands, grasps*; and *experiences* what at the same moment is being communicated to it for *appearance*'s sake.[61] Thus *Zerrleder*, for instance, uses the expressions: "Do you grasp it? You know. You know for the second and third time. You have probably heard enough to be able to see for yourself."

So too the Breslau correspondent *Fleischhammer* says: "But the fact," etc., "will be as little of a puzzle to you as to me." Or the Zurich correspondent *Hirzel*: "You will probably find out for yourself." The Critical correspondent has such anxious respect for the absolute understanding of *Critical Criticism* that he attributes understanding to it even where there is absolutely nothing to understand. For example, *Fleischhammer* says:

> "You will *perfectly* [!] *understand* [!] me when I tell you that one can hardly go out without meeting young Catholic priests in their long black cowls and cloaks."

Indeed, in their *fear* the correspondents *hear* Critical Criticism *saying, answering, exclaiming, deriding*!

*Zerrleder*, for example, says: "But—you *say*. Well, then, listen." And *Fleischhammer*: "Yes, I hear what *you say*—I *only* mean that...." And *Hirzel*: "Good for you, you *will exclaim*!" And a Tübingen correspondent: "*Do not laugh at* me!"

The correspondents, therefore, also express themselves as though they were communicating *facts* to Critical Criticism and

expect from it the *spiritual interpretation*; they provide it with *premises* and leave the *conclusion* to it, or they even *apologise* for repeating things Criticism has known for a long time.

*Zerrleder*, for example, says:

"Your correspondent can only give a picture, a description of the facts. The *Spirit* which animates these things is *certainly* not unknown to *you*." Or again: "Now you will *surely* draw the *conclusion for yourself*."

And *Hirzel* says:

"*I shall not presume* to entertain you with the speculative proposition that every creation arises out of its extreme opposite."

Sometimes, too, the *experiences* of the correspondents are merely the *fulfilment* and *confirmation* of Criticism's *prophecies*.

*Fleischhammer*, for example, says:

"Your *prediction* has come true."

And *Zerrleder*:

"Far from being disastrous, the tendencies that I have described to you as gaining ever greater scope in Switzerland, are very *fortunate*; they *only confirm* the *thought you* have already often expressed," etc.

Critical Criticism sometimes feels urged to express the condescension involved by its participation in the correspondence and motivates this condescension by the fact that the correspondent has successfully carried out some *task*. Thus Herr Bruno writes to the Tübingen correspondent:

"It is really inconsistent on my part to answer your letter.—On the other hand, you have again ... made such an *apt remark* that I ... *cannot refuse* the explanation you request."[62]

Critical Criticism has letters written to it *from the provinces*; not the provinces in the political sense, which, as we know, do not exist anywhere in Germany, but from the *Critical provinces* of which Berlin is the capital, *Berlin*, the seat of the Critical patriarchs and of the Holy Critical Family, whereas the provinces are where the Critical Mass resides. The *Critical provincials* dare not engage the attention of the *supreme Critical authority* without bows and apologies.

Thus, someone writes anonymously to Herr *Edgar*, who, being a member of the Holy Family, is also an eminent personage:

"Honourable Sir, I hope you will *excuse* these lines on the grounds that young people like to unite in common strivings (there is not more than two years' *difference* in our *ages*)."

The coeval of Herr Edgar describes *himself* incidentally as *the essence of modern philosophy*. Is it not in the nature of things that *Criticism* should correspond with *the essence* of philosophy? If Herr

Edgar's coeval affirms that he has already lost his *teeth*, that is only an allusion to his *allegorical* essence. This "essence of modern philosophy" has "learned from *Feuerbach* to set the factor of education in objective view". It at once gives a sample of its *education* and *views* by assuring Herr Edgar that it has acquired a "*complete view* of his short story", "Es leben feste Grundsätze!"[a] At the same time it openly admits that Herr Edgar's point of view is by no means quite clear to it, and finally invalidates the assurance concerning the complete view by the question: "Or have I *completely misunderstood* you?" After this sample it will be found quite normal that the essence of modern philosophy, referring to the Mass, should say:

"*We* must at least once *condescend* to examine and untie the magic knot which bars *common human reason* from access to the *unrestricted flood of thought*."

In order to get a complete view of the Critical Mass one should read the *correspondence* of Herr *Hirzel* from Zurich (Heft V). This unfortunate man memorises the stock phrases of Criticism with really touching docility and praiseworthy power of recall, not omitting Herr Bruno's favourite phrases about the battles he has waged and the campaigns he has planned and led. But Herr *Hirzel* exercises his profession as a member of the Critical Mass especially by raging against the *profane Mass* and its attitude to *Critical Criticism*.

He speaks of the Mass claiming a part in history, "of the pure Mass", of "pure Criticism", of the "purity of this contradiction"—"a contradiction purer than any that history has provided"—of the "*discontented being*", of the "perfect emptiness, ill humour, dejection, heartlessness, timidity, fury and bitterness of the Mass towards Criticism"; of "the Mass which only exists in order by its resistance to make Criticism sharper and more vigilant". He speaks of "creation from the extreme opposite", of how Criticism is above *hate* and similar profane sentiments. The whole of Herr *Hirzel*'s contribution to the *Literatur-Zeitung* is confined to this profusion of Critical stock phrases. While reproaching the *Mass* for being satisfied with mere "disposition", "good will", "the phrase", "faith", etc., he himself, as a member of the *Critical Mass*, is content with phrases, expressions of his "Critical disposition", his "Critical faith", his "Critical good will" and leaves "action, work, struggle" and "works" to Herr Bruno and Co.

Despite the terrible picture of the world-historic tension between

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[a] "Long live firm principles!" A. Weill und E. Bauer, *Berliner Novellen*.—*Ed.*

the profane world and "Critical Criticism" which the members of the "Critical Mass" outline, for the non-believer at least not even the fact of the matter is stated, the factual existence of this *world-historic* tension. The obliging and un-Critical repetition of Criticism's "imaginations" and "pretensions" by the correspondents only proves that the fixed ideas of the master are the fixed ideas of the servant as well. It is true that one of the Critical correspondents[a] makes an attempt at a proof based on *fact.*

"You see," he writes to the Holy Family, "that the *Literatur-Zeitung* is fulfilling its purpose, i.e., that it meets with *no approval.* It could meet with approval only if it sounded in unison with the general thoughtlessness, if you strode proudly before it with the jingling of hackneyed phrases of a whole janissary band of current categories."

The jingling of hackneyed phrases of a whole janissary band of current categories! It is evident that the Critical correspondent does his best to keep pace with non-"current" hackneyed phrases. But his explanation of the fact that the *Literatur-Zeitung* meets with no approval must be rejected as purely *apologetic.* This fact could be better explained in just the opposite way by saying that Critical Criticism is in *unison* with the great *mass,* to be precise, the great mass of scribblers who meet with *no* approval.

It is therefore not enough for the *Critical* correspondent to address Critical hackneyed phrases to the Holy Family as "prayers" and at the same time to the Mass as "anathemas". *Un-Critical, mass-type* correspondents, *real* delegates of the *Mass* to Critical Criticism, are needed to show the *real* tension between the Mass and Criticism.

That is why Critical Criticism also assigns a place to the *un-Critical Mass.* It makes unbiased *representatives* of the latter *correspond* with it, acknowledge the opposition to itself, Criticism, as important and absolute, and utter a *fearful cry* for redemption from this opposition.

## 2) THE "UN-CRITICAL MASS" AND "CRITICAL CRITICISM"

### a) The "Obdurate Mass" and the "Unsatisfied Mass"

The hardness of heart, the obduracy and blind unbelief of "the Mass" has one rather determined representative. This representa-

[a] The reference is to the author of an anonymous report published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung,* Heft VI, May 1844, in the section "Correspondenz aus der Provinz".—*Ed.*

tive speaks of the exclusively "Hegelian philosophical education of the Berlin Couleur".[63]

"The only true progress that we can make," he says, "lies in the acknowledgement of reality. But we learn from you that our knowledge was not knowledge of reality but of something unreal."

He calls "natural science" the basis of philosophy.

"A good naturalist stands in the same relation to the philosopher as the philosopher to the theologian."

Further he comments as follows on the "Berlin Couleur".

"I do not think it would be exaggerating to try to explain the state of these people by saying that, although they have gone through a process of spiritual moulting, they have not yet altogether got rid of their old skin in order to be able to absorb the elements of renovation and rejuvenation." "We must yet assimilate this" (natural-scientific and industrial) "knowledge". "The knowledge of the world and of man, which we need most of all, cannot be acquired only by acuity of thought; all the senses must collaborate and all the aptitudes of man must be applied as indispensable instruments; otherwise contemplation and knowledge will always remain defective—and will lead to *moral death*."

This correspondent, however, sweetens the pill that he hands out to Critical Criticism. He "makes *Bauer's words* find their correct application", he has "followed *Bauer's thoughts*", he agrees that "*Bauer has spoken* the truth" and in the end he seems to polemise, not against *Criticism* itself, but against a "Berlin Couleur" which is distinct from it.

Critical Criticism, feeling itself hit and, moreover, being as sensitive as an old maid in all *matters of faith*, is not taken in by these distinctions and this semi-homage.

"You are *mistaken*," it answers, "if you have taken the party you described at the beginning of your letter for *your opponent*. Rather *admit*" (and now comes the crushing sentence of excommunication) "that *you are an opponent of Criticism itself*!"

The miserable wretch! The man of the Mass! An opponent of *Criticism itself*! But as far as the content of that *mass-type* polemic is concerned, Critical Criticism declares its *respect* for its critical attitude to *natural science* and *industry*.

"*All respect for natural science! All respect* for James Watt and" (a really noble turn!) "no respect at all for the millions that he made for his relatives."

All respect for the respect of Critical Criticism! In the same letter in which Critical Criticism reproaches the above-mentioned *Berlin Couleur* with too easily disposing of thorough and solid works without studying them and having *finished* with a work when they have merely remarked that it is epoch-making, etc.—in that same letter *Criticism itself disposes* of the whole of natural

science and *industry* by merely declaring its respect for them. The clause which it appends to its declaration of respect for *natural science* reminds one of the first fulminations of the deceased knight *Krug* against natural philosophy.

"Nature is not the only reality *because we eat and drink it in its individual products.*"

Critical Criticism knows this much about the *individual products* of nature that "we *eat and drink* them". All respect for the natural science of Critical Criticism!

Criticism is consistent in countering the embarrassingly importunate demand to study "nature" and "industry" with the following indisputably witty rhetorical exclamation:

"Or" (!) "do you think that the knowledge of *historical* reality is *already complete?* Or" (!) "do you know of any single period in history which is already *actually* known?"

Or does Critical Criticism believe that it has reached even the *beginning* of a knowledge of historical reality so long as it excludes *from* the historical movement the theoretical and practical relation of man to nature, i.e., natural science and industry? Or does it think that it actually knows any period without knowing, for example, the industry of that period, the immediate mode of production of life itself? Of course, spiritualistic, *theological* Critical Criticism only knows (at least it imagines it knows) the main political, literary and theological acts of history. Just as it separates thinking from the senses, the soul from the body and itself from the world, it separates history from natural science and industry and sees the origin of history not in vulgar *material* production on the earth but in vaporous clouds in the heavens.

The representative of the "obdurate" and "hard-hearted" Mass with his trenchant reproofs and counsels is disposed of as a *mass-type materialist.* Another correspondent, not so malicious or mass-like, who places his hopes in Critical Criticism but finds them unsatisfied, fares no better. The representative of the "*unsatisfied*" Mass writes:

"I must, however, admit that the first number of your paper was *by no means satisfying.* We expected something else."

The *Critical patriarch* answers in person:

"I knew beforehand that it would not satisfy expectations, because I could rather easily imagine those expectations. One is so exhausted that one wishes to have *everything at once.* Everything? No! If possible everything and nothing at the same time. An everything that costs no trouble, an everything that one can absorb without going through any development, an everything that is contained in a single word."

In his vexation at the undue demands of the "Mass", which demands *something*, indeed *everything*, from Criticism, which by principle and disposition *"gives nothing"*, the Critical patriarch relates an *anecdote* in the way that old men do. Not long ago a Berlin *acquaintance* complained bitterly of the verbosity and profusion of detail of his works — Herr Bruno is known to make a bulky work out of the tiniest semblance of a thought. He was consoled with the promise of being sent the ink necessary for the printing of the book in a small pellet so that he could easily absorb it. The patriarch explains the length of his "works" by the bad spreading of the ink, as he explains the nothingness of his *Literatur-Zeitung* by the emptiness of the "profane Mass", which, in order to be full, wants to swallow everything and nothing at the same time.

Just as it is difficult to deny the importance of what has so far been related, it is equally difficult to see a *world-historic contradiction* in the fact that a mass-type acquaintance of Critical Criticism considers Criticism empty, while Criticism, for its part, declares him to be un-Critical; that a second acquaintance does not find that the *Literatur-Zeitung* satisfies his expectations, and that a *third* acquaintance and friend of the family finds Criticism's works too bulky. However, acquaintance No. 2, who entertains expectations, and friend of the family No. 3, who wishes at least to find out the secrets of Critical Criticism, constitute the transition to a *more substantial* and tenser relationship between Criticism and the "un-Critical Mass". Cruel as *Criticism* is to the "hard-hearted" Mass which has only "common human reason", we shall find it condescending to the Mass that is pining for *redemption* from contradiction. The Mass which approaches Criticism with a contrite heart, a spirit of repentance and a humble mind will be rewarded for its honest striving with many a *wise, prophetic and outspoken* word.

### b) The "Soft-Hearted" Mass "Pining for Redemption"

The representative of the *sentimental, soft-hearted Mass pining for redemption* cringes and implores Critical Criticism for a kind word with effusions of the heart, deep bows and rolling of the eyes, as follows:

"Why am I writing this to you? Why am I justifying myself before you? Because I *respect* you and therefore *desire* your *respect*; because I owe you deepest *thanks* for my development and therefore *love* you. *My heart* impels me to *justify myself* before you ... who have upbraided me.... *Far be it* from me to *obtrude* upon you; judging *by*

*myself,* I thought you *might be pleased* to have proof of *sympathy* from a man who is still little known to you. I *make no claim whatsoever* that you should answer my letter: I wish *neither* to take up your time, of which you can make better use, *nor* to be irksome to you, *nor* to expose myself to the mortification of seeing something that I hoped for remain *unfulfilled.* You *may* interpret my letter as *sentimentality, importunity* or *vanity*" (!) "or whatever you like; you may answer me or not, I cannot resist the *impulse* to send it and I only hope that you will realise the *friendly feeling* which inspired it" (!!).

Just as from the beginning God has had mercy on the *poor in spirit,* this mass-like but humble correspondent, too, who whimpers for mercy from Critical Criticism, has his wish *fulfilled.* Critical Criticism gives him a kind answer. More than that! It gives him *most profound* explanations on the objects of his curiousity.

"Two years ago," Critical Criticism teaches, "it was opportune to remember the Enlightenment of the French in the eighteenth century in order to be able to make use of those *light troops,* too, at a place in the battle that was then being waged. The situation is now *quite different.* Truths now change very quickly. What was then *opportune* is now an *oversight.*"

Of course it was only "an *oversight*" then too, but an *"opportune"* one, when the Absolute Critical All-high itself (cf. *Anekdota,* Book II, p. 89)[a] called those *light troops "our saints"*, our *"prophets"*, *"patriarchs"*, etc. Who would call *light troops a troop of "patriarchs"*? It was an "opportune" oversight when it spoke with enthusiasm of the self-denial, moral energy and inspiration with which these *light* troops "thought, worked—and studied—throughout their lives for the truth". It was an "oversight" when, in the preface to *Das entdeckte Christenthum,* it was stated that these *"light"* troops "seemed invincible and *any one well-informed* would have wagered that they would *put the world out of joint*" and that "it seemed beyond doubt that they would succeed in giving *the world a new shape*". *Those light troops?*

Critical Criticism continues to teach the inquisitive representative of the "*cordial* Mass":

"Although it was a *new* historical merit of the French to attempt to set up a social theory, they are *none the less now exhausted*; their new theory was not yet *pure,* their social fantasies and their *peaceful democracy* are by no means free from the assumptions of the old state of things."

Criticism is talking here about *Fourierism*—if it is talking about anything—and in particular of the Fourierism of *La Démocratie pacifique.* But this is far from being the "social theory" of the French. The French have *social theories,* but not *a* social theory; the

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[a] B. Bauer, "Leiden und Freuden des theologischen Bewusstseins". *Anekdota zur neuesten deutschen Philosophie und Publicistik,* Bd. 2.—*Ed.*

diluted Fourierism that *La Démocratie pacifique* preaches is nothing but the social doctrine of a section of the philanthropic bourgeoisie. The people is *communistic*, and, as a matter of fact, split into a multitude of different groups; the true movement and the elaboration of these different social shades is not only not *exhausted*, it is really only *beginning*. But it will not end in pure, i.e., abstract, *theory* as Critical Criticism would like it to; it will end in a quite *practical practice* that will not bother at all about the categorical categories of Criticism.

"No nation," Criticism chatters on, "has *so far* any advantage over another. If one can succeed in winning some spiritual superiority over the others, it will be the one which is in a position to criticise itself and the others and to discover the causes of the universal decay."

*Every* nation has *so far some advantage* over another. But if the Critical prophecy is right, no nation *will* have any advantage over another, because all the civilised peoples of Europe—the English, the Germans, the French—now "*criticise* themselves and others" and "are in a position to discover the causes of the universal decay". Finally, it is high-sounding *tautology* to say that "criticising", "discovering", i.e., *spiritual* activities, give a *spiritual superiority*, and Criticism, which in its infinite self-consciousness places itself above the nations and expects them to kneel at its feet and implore it for enlightenment, only shows by this caricatured Christian-Germanic idealism that it is still up to its neck in the mire of *German nationalism*.

The criticism of the French and the English is not an abstract, preternatural personality outside mankind; it is the *real human activity* of individuals who are active members of society and who suffer, feel, think and act as human beings. That is why their criticism is at the same time practical, their communism a socialism in which they give practical, concrete measures, and in which they not only think but even more act, it is the living, real criticism of existing society, the recognition of the causes of "the decay".

After Critical Criticism's explanations for the inquisitive member of the Mass, it is entitled to say of its *Literatur-Zeitung*:

"Here Criticism that is *pure*, graphic, relevant and adds nothing is practised."

Here "*nothing self-existing* is given"; here *nothing* at all *is given* except *criticism that gives nothing*, that is, criticism which culminates in extreme non-criticism. *Criticism* has underlined passages printed and reaches its full bloom in *excerpts*. *Wolfgang Menzel* and *Bruno Bauer* stretch a brotherly hand to each other and Critical Criticism stands where the *philosophy of identity* stood at the beginning of this

century, when *Schelling* protested against the mass-like supposition that he wanted to give something, anything except *pure, entirely philosophical* philosophy.[64]

### c) Grace Bestowed on the Mass

The soft-hearted correspondent whose instruction we have just witnessed stood in a *comfortable* relationship to Criticism. In his case there was only an idyllic hint of the tension between the *Mass* and *Criticism*. Both sides of the *world-historic* contradiction behaved *kindly* and *politely*, and therefore *exoterically*, to each other.

Critical Criticism, in its *unhealthy*, soul-shattering effect on the Mass, is seen first in regard to a correspondent who has one foot already in Criticism and the other still in the profane world. He represents the "Mass" in its *inner* struggle with Criticism.

At times it seems to him "that Herr Bruno and his friends do not understand *mankind*", that "they are the ones who are really blinded". Then he immediately corrects himself:

> "Yes, it is *as clear as daylight* to me that you are right and that your thoughts are correct; but *excuse* me, the people is *not* wrong *either*.... Oh *yes*! The people is right.... I cannot deny that you are right.... I really do not know what it will all lead to: you will say ... well, stay at home.... *Alas*, I can no longer stand it.... *Alas*! One might otherwise go *mad* in the end.... *Kindly* accept... Believe me, the knowledge one has acquired sometimes makes one feel as *stupid* as if a mill-wheel were turning in one's head."

Another correspondent, too, writes that he "is *occasionally disconcerted*". One can see that *Critical grace* is about *to be bestowed* on this mass-type correspondent. The poor wretch! The sinful Mass is tugging at him on one side and Critical Criticism on the other. It is not the knowledge he has acquired that reduces this pupil of Critical Criticism to a state of stupor; it is the question of *faith* and *conscience*; Critical Christ or the people, God or the world, Bruno Bauer and his friends or the profane Mass! But just as bestowal of *divine* grace is preceded by extreme wretchedness of the sinner, *Critical* grace is preceded by a crushing *stupefaction*. And when it is at last bestowed, the chosen one loses not stupidity but the *consciousness of stupidity*.

## 3) THE UN-CRITICALLY CRITICAL MASS OR "CRITICISM" AND THE "BERLIN COULEUR"

Critical Criticism has not succeeded in depicting itself as the *essential opposite*, and hence at the same time as the *essential object*, of the mass of humanity. Apart from the representatives of the

*obdurate* Mass which reproaches Critical Criticism for its *objectlessness* and gives it to understand in the most courteous possible way that it has not yet gone through the *process* of its spiritual "*moult*" and must first of all acquire solid knowledge, there is the *soft-hearted* correspondent. He is no *opposite* at all, but then the actual reason for his approach to Critical Criticism is a *purely personal* one. As we can see a little further on in his letter, he really only wants to reconcile his devotion to Herr Arnold Ruge with his devotion to Herr *Bruno Bauer*. This attempt at reconciliation does credit to his kind heart, but it in no way constitutes an *interest of a mass nature*. Finally, the last correspondent to appear was no longer a *real* member of the Mass, he was only a catechumen of Critical Criticism.

In general, the *Mass* is an *indefinite* object, and therefore can neither carry out a definite action nor enter into a definite relationship. *The* Mass, as the object of Critical Criticism, has nothing in common with the *real* masses who, for their part, form among themselves oppositions of a pronounced mass nature. *Critical Criticism*'s mass is "made" by Criticism itself, as would be the case if a naturalist, instead of speaking of definite classes, contrasted *the* Class to himself.

Hence, in order to have an opposite of a really mass nature, *Critical Criticism* needs, besides this *abstract* Mass which is the figment of its own brain, a *definite Mass* that can be empirically demonstrated and not just conjured up. This Mass must see in Critical Criticism both its *essence* and *the annihilation of its essence*. It must *wish* to be Critical Criticism, non-Mass, without *being able to*. This Critically un-Critical Mass is the above-mentioned "*Berlin Couleur*". The *mass* of humanity which is seriously concerned with Critical Criticism is confined to a Berlin Couleur.

The "Berlin Couleur", the "*essential object*" of Critical Criticism, of which it is always thinking and which, Critical Criticism imagines, is always thinking of Critical Criticism, consists, as far as we know, of a few *ci-devant*[a] *Young Hegelians* in whom Critical Criticism claims to inspire partly a *horror vacui*[b] and partly a feeling of *futility*. We are not investigating the actual state of affairs, we rely on what *Criticism* says.

The *Correspondence* is mainly intended to expound *at length* to the public this *world-historic* relation of *Criticism* to the "Berlin Couleur", to reveal its profound significance, to show why Criti-

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[a] Former.—*Ed.*

[b] Horror of emptiness.—*Ed.*

cism must necessarily be cruel towards this "Mass", and finally to make it appear that *the whole world* is in fearful agitation over this opposition, expressing itself now in favour of, and then against the actions of *Criticism.* For example, *Absolute* Criticism writes to a correspondent who sides with the "Berlin Couleur":

"I have *already* heard things like that *so often* that I have made up my mind not to take any more notice of them."

The world has no idea how often it has dealt with Critical things *like that.*

Let us now hear what a member of the *Critical* Mass reports on the Berlin Couleur:

"'If anyone recognises the Bauers'" (the Holy Family must always be recognised *pêle-mêle*) "began his answer[a]—'*I* am the one. But the *Literatur-Zeitung*! Let us be quite fair!' It was interesting for me to hear what one of those radicals, those clever men of *anno* 42, thought of you...."

The correspondent goes on to report that the unfortunate man had all sorts of reproaches to make to the *Literatur-Zeitung.*

Herr Edgar's short story, *Die drei Biedermänner,*[b] he found lacking in polish and exaggerated. He could not understand that *censorship* is not so much a fight of man against man, an external fight, as an internal one. They do not take the trouble to bethink themselves and to replace the *phrase the censor objects to* by a *cleverly* expressed and thoroughly developed *Critical thought.* He found Herr Edgar's essay on Béraud[c] lacking in thoroughness. The Critical reporter thinks it was thorough. True he admitted himself: "I have *not* read Béraud's book." But he *believes* that Herr Edgar has *succeeded,* etc., and belief, we know, is bliss. "In general," the Critical believer continues, "he" (the one from the Berlin Couleur) "is *not at all satisfied* with Herr Edgar's works." He also finds that "*Proudhon* is not dealt with *thoroughly* enough".[d] And here the reporter gives Herr Edgar a testimonial:

"*It is true*" (!?) "*that I am acquainted with* Proudhon. I *know* that Edgar's presentation took the *characteristic* points from him and set them out clearly."

The only reason why Herr Edgar's *excellent* criticism of Proudhon is not liked, the reporter says, can only be that Herr Edgar does *not fulminate* against property. And just imagine it, the opponent

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[a] The reference is to the answer given by an adherent to the Berlin Couleur to one of the authors of the anonymous report "Aus der Provinz" published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung,* Heft VI, May 1844.—*Ed.*

[b] Published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung,* Heft III-V.—*Ed.*

[c] See p. 20 of this volume.—*Ed.*

[d] See pp. 23-54 of this volume.—*Ed.*

finds Herr Edgar's essay on the "*Union ouvrière*"[a] *unimportant.* To console Herr Edgar the reporter says:

"Of course, it does not give anything *independent,* and these people have really gone back to *Gruppe*'s point of view, which, to be sure, they have *always maintained. Criticism* must give, give and *give!*"

As though Criticism had not given quite new linguistic, historical, philosophical, economic, and juridical discoveries! And it is so modest as to let itself be told that it has not given anything *independent*! Even our Critical correspondent gave mechanics something that it had not hitherto known when he made people *go back to the same* point of view which they had always *maintained.* It is clumsy to recall *Gruppe*'s point of view. In his pamphlet, which is otherwise miserable and not worth mentioning, Gruppe asked Herr Bruno what criticism he could give on *speculative logic.*[65] Herr Bruno referred him to future generations and—

"a fool is waiting for an answer".[b]

As God punished the unbelieving Pharaoh by hardening his heart and did *not think* him *worthy* of being enlightened, so the reporter assures us:

"They are therefore *not at all worthy* of seeing or knowing the contents of your *Literatur-Zeitung.*"

And instead of advising his friend Edgar to acquire thoughts and knowledge he gives him the following advice:

"Let Edgar get a *bag of phrases* and draw blindly out of it when he writes essays in future, in order to acquire a style in harmony with the public."

Besides assurances of "a certain fury, ill-favour, emptiness, thoughtlessness, an inkling of something which they are not able to fathom, and a feeling of nullity" (all these epithets apply, of course, to the Berlin Couleur), eulogies like the following are made of the Holy Family:

"Lightness of treatment penetrating the matter, command of the categories, insight acquired by study, in a word, *command* of *the* Objects. He" (of the Berlin Couleur) "takes an easy attitude to the thing, you make the thing easy." Or: "Your criticism in the *Literatur-Zeitung* is pure, graphic and relevant."

Finally it is stated:

"I have written it all to you at such length because I know that I shall give you *pleasure* by reporting the opinions of my friend. From this you can see that the *Literatur-Zeitung* is fulfilling its purpose."

Its purpose is opposition to the Berlin Couleur. Having just

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[a] See pp. 19-20 of this volume.—*Ed.*
[b] H. Heine, *Die Nordsee* (second cycle "Fragen").—*Ed.*

witnessed the *Berlin Couleur's polemic* against Critical Criticism and the reproof it received for that polemic, we are now given a double picture of its efforts to obtain mercy from Critical Criticism.

One correspondent writes:

"My acquaintances in Berlin told me when I was there at the beginning of the year that you repel all and keep all at a distance; that you keep yourself to yourself and let nobody approach you, assiduously avoiding all intercourse. I, of course, cannot tell which side is to blame."

*Absolute* Criticism replies:

"Criticism does *not* form any *party* and will have no party of its own; it is *solitary* because it is engrossed in *its*" (!) "object and opposes itself to it. It *isolates itself from everything*."

Critical Criticism thinks it rises above all dogmatic antitheses by substituting for the real antitheses the imaginary antithesis between *itself and the world*, between the *Holy Ghost* and the *profane Mass*. In the same way it thinks it rises *above parties* by falling *below the party point of view*, by counterposing itself as a *party* to the rest of mankind and concentrating all interest in the personality of Herr Bruno and Co. The truth of Criticism's *admission* that it sits enthroned in the solitude of *abstraction*, that even when it seems to be occupied with some *object* it does not come out of its objectless solitude into a truly *social* relation to a *real object*, because *its object* is only the object of *its imagination*, only an imaginary object—the truth of this Critical *admission* is proved by the whole of our exposition. Equally correctly Criticism defines its *abstraction* as *absolute* abstraction, in the sense that "it *isolates* itself *from everything*", and precisely this isolation of *nothing from everything*, from *all* thought, contemplation, etc., is *absolute nonsense*. Incidentally, the solitude which it achieves by isolating and abstracting itself from *everything* is no more free from the object from which it abstracts itself than *Origen* was from the *genital organ* that he *isolated* from himself.

Another correspondent begins by describing *one* of the members of the "Berlin Couleur", whom he saw and spoke with, as "gloomy", "depressed", "no longer able to open his mouth" (although he was formerly always "ready with a quite *impudent* word"), and "despondent". This member of the "Berlin Couleur" related the following to the correspondent, who in turn reported it to Criticism:

"He cannot grasp how people like you two, who formerly respected the principle of humanity, can behave in such an aloof, repelling, indeed arrogant

manner." He does not know "why there are some people who, it seems, intentionally cause a split. Have we not all the same point of view? Do we not all *pay homage* to the extreme, to Criticism? Are we not all capable, if not of producing, at least of grasping and applying an extreme thought?" He "finds that this split is motivated by no other principle than egoism and arrogance".

Then the correspondent puts in a good word:

"Have not at least some of our friends grasped *Criticism*, or perhaps *the good will of Criticism ... 'ut desint vires, tamen est laudanda voluntas'*."[a]

*Criticism* replies with the following *antitheses* between itself and the Berlin Couleur:

"There are *various* standpoints on criticism." The members of the Berlin Couleur "thought they had criticism in their pocket", but Criticism "really knows and applies the force of criticism", i.e., does not keep it in its pocket. For the former, criticism is pure form, whereas for Criticism, on the other hand, it is the "*most substantial* or rather the only *substantial thing*". Just as Absolute Thought considers itself the whole of reality, *so* does Critical Criticism. That is why it sees no content *outside itself* and is therefore not the criticism of *real* objects existing outside the Critical subject; on the contrary, it *makes* the object, it is the Absolute *Subject-Object*. Further! "The former kind of criticism disposes of everything, of the investigation of things, by means of phrases. The latter isolates itself *from everything* by means of phrases." The former is *"clever in ignorance"*, the latter is "learning". The latter, at any rate, is not clever, it learns *par ça, par là*,[b] but only in appearance, only in order to be able to fling what it has superficially learnt from the Mass back at the Mass in the form of a "catchword", as wisdom that it itself has discovered, and to resolve it into the nonsense of Critical Criticism.

"For the former, words such as 'extreme', 'proceed', 'not go far enough' are of importance and highly revered categories; the latter *investigates the standpoints* and does not apply to them the *measures* of those abstract categories."

The exclamations of Criticism No. 2 that it is no longer a question of politics, that philosophy is done away with, and its dismissal of social systems and developments by means of words like "fantastic", "utopian", etc.— what is all that if not a *Critically revised* version of "proceeding" and "not going far enough"? And are not its "measures", such as "*History*", "*Criticism*", "summing up of objects", "the old and the new", "Criticism and Mass", "investigation of standpoints"—in a word, are not all its catch-

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[a] "The strength may be lacking, but the will is praiseworthy."—*Ed.*
[b] Here and there.—*Ed.*

words *categorical measures* and abstractly categorical ones at that!?

"The former is theological, spiteful, envious, petty, presumptuous, the latter is the *opposite* of all that."

After thus praising itself a dozen times in one breath and ascribing to itself all that the Berlin Couleur lacks, just as God *is* all that *man is not, Criticism* bears witness to itself that:

"It has achieved a clarity, a thirst for learning, a tranquillity in which it is *unassailable* and *invincible*."

Hence it can "at the most treat" its opponent, the Berlin Couleur, "with *Olympic laughter*". This *laughter*—it explains with its customary thoroughness what it is and what it is not—"this laughter is not arrogance". By no means! It is the negation of the negation. It is "*only the process* that *the Critic must apply* in all ease and equanimity against a *subordinate standpoint* which *thinks* itself *equal* to him" (what conceit!). When *the* Critic laughs, therefore, he is *applying a process*! And "in all equanimity" he applies the *process of laughter* not against *persons*, but against a *standpoint*! Even *laughter* is a *category* which he applies and even *must* apply!

*Extramundane* Criticism is not an *essential activity* of the *human subject* who is *real* and therefore lives and suffers in *present-day* society, sharing in its pains and pleasures. The *real* individual is only an *accidental feature*, an earthly vessel of *Critical Criticism*, which reveals itself in it as *eternal Substance*. The subject is not the human individual's criticism, but the *non-human individual of Criticism*. Criticism is not a *manifestation of man*, but man is an *alienation of Criticism*, and that is why the Critic lives completely outside society.

"Can the Critic live in the society which he criticises?"

It should be asked instead: Must he not live in that society? Must he not himself be a manifestation of the life of that society? Why does the Critic *sell* the products of his mind, for thereby he makes the worst law of present-day society his own law?

"*The* Critic must not even dare to mix *personally* with society."

That is why he creates for himself a *Holy Family*, just as the solitary God endeavours in the Holy Family to end his tedious isolation from society. If the Critic *wants to free himself* from *bad society* he must first of all free himself from *his own society*.

"Thus the Critic dispenses with *all the pleasures of society*, but *its sufferings*, too, stay remote from him. He knows neither *friendship*" (except that of Critical friends)

"nor love" (except *self-love*) "but on the other hand calumny is powerless against him; nothing can offend him; no hatred, no envy can affect him; vexation and grief are *feelings unknown* to him."

In short, the Critic is free from all *human passions*, he is a *divine person*; he can apply to himself the song of the nun.

I think not of a lover,
I think not of a spouse.
I think of God the Father
For he my life endows.[a]

Criticism cannot write a single passage without contradicting itself. Thus it tells us finally:

"The Philistinism that stones the Critic" (he has to be stoned by analogy with the Bible), "that misjudges him and ascribes *impure* motives to him" (ascribes *impure* motives to *pure* Criticism!) "in order to make *him equal to itself*" (the conceit of equality reproved above!), "is *not laughed at* by him, because it is not worth it, but is seen through and calmly relegated to its own insignificant significance."

Earlier the Critic *had to* apply the *process of laughter* to the "subordinate standpoint that thought itself equal to him". Critical Criticism's unclarity about its mode of procedure with the godless "Mass" seems almost to indicate an interior irritation, a sort of bile to which "feelings" are not "unknown".

However, there should be no misunderstanding. Having waged a Herculean struggle *to free* itself from the un-Critical "profane Mass" and "everything", Critical Criticism has at last succeeded in achieving its *solitary, god-like, self-sufficient, absolute* existence. If in its first pronouncement in this, its "new phase", the old world of *sinful feelings* seems still to have some power over it, we shall now see Criticism find aesthetic relaxation and *transfiguration* in an "*artistic form*" and complete its *penance* so it can finally as a second triumphant *Christ* accomplish the *Critical last judgment* and after its victory over the dragon ascend calmly to heaven.

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[a] From the German folk-song *Die Nonne* published in the book by F. K. Freiherr von Erlach, *Die Volkslieder der Deutschen*, Bd. IV.—*Ed.*

## Chapter VIII

# THE EARTHLY COURSE AND TRANSFIGURATION OF "CRITICAL CRITICISM", OR "CRITICAL CRITICISM" AS RUDOLPH, PRINCE OF GEROLDSTEIN[a]

*Rudolph*, Prince of Geroldstein, *does penance* in his *earthly course* for a *double* crime: his *personal* crime and that of *Critical Criticism*. In a furious dialogue he drew his sword against his father; Critical Criticism, also in a furious dialogue, let itself be carried away by sinful feelings against the Mass. Critical Criticism did *not* reveal *a single* mystery. Rudolph does penance for that and reveals *all* mysteries.

Rudolph, Herr Szeliga informs us, is the *first* servant of the *state* of humanity (the *Humanitätsstaat* of the Swabian *Egidius*. See *Konstitutionelle Jahrbücher* by Dr. Karl Weil, 1844, Bd. 2 [66]).

For *the world not to be destroyed*, Herr Szeliga asserts, it is necessary that

> "men of ruthless criticism appear.... Rudolph is *such* a man.... Rudolph grasps the thought of *pure criticism*. And that thought is more fruitful for him and mankind than *all* the experiences of the latter in its *history*, than *all* the knowledge that Rudolph, guided even by the most reliable teacher, was able to derive from that history.... The impartial judgment by which Rudolph perpetuates his *earthly course* is, *in fact*, nothing but
>
> ***the revelation of the mysteries of society.***"

He is: ***"the revealed mystery of all mysteries."***

Rudolph has far more *external* means at his disposal than the other men of Critical Criticism. But the latter consoles itself:

> "Unattainable for those less favoured by destiny are Rudolph's *results*" (!), "not unattainable is the splendid goal (!)."

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[a] In this chapter Marx continues his criticism of Szeliga's article "Eugène Sue: Die Geheimnisse von Paris" (see pp. 55-77 of this volume).—*Ed.*

That is why Criticism leaves the *realisation* of its own *thoughts* to Rudolph, who is so favoured by destiny. It sings to him:

> *Hahnemann*, go on ahead.
> You've waders on, you won't get wet![a]

Let us accompany Rudolph in his Critical earthly course, which "is *more fruitful* for *mankind* than *all the experiences* of the latter in its history, than *all the knowledge*" etc., and which *twice* saves the world from *destruction*.

### 1) CRITICAL TRANSFORMATION OF A BUTCHER INTO A DOG, OR CHOURINEUR[b]

*Chourineur* was a butcher by trade. Owing to a concourse of circumstances, this mighty son of nature becomes a murderer. Rudolph comes across him accidentally just when he is molesting Fleur de Marie. Rudolph gives the dexterous brawler a few impressive, masterly punches on the head, and thus wins his respect. Later, in the tavern frequented by criminals, Chourineur's kind-hearted disposition is revealed. "You still have heart and honour," Rudolph says to him. By these words he instils in Chourineur respect for himself. Chourineur is reformed or, as Herr Szeliga says, is transformed into a "*moral being*". Rudolph takes him under his protection. Let us follow the course of Chourineur's education under the guidance of Rudolph.

*1st Stage.* The first lesson Chourineur receives is a lesson in hypocrisy, faithlessness, craft and *dissimulation*. Rudolph uses the reformed Chourineur in exactly the same way as *Vidocq* used the criminals he had reformed, i.e., he makes him a *mouchard*[c] and *agent provocateur*. He advises him to "*pretend*" to the "*maître d'école*"[d] that he has altered his "principle of not stealing" and to suggest a robbery so as to lure him into a trap set by Rudolph. Chourineur feels that he is being made a fool of. He protests against the suggestion of playing the role of *mouchard* and *agent provocateur*. Rudolph easily convinces the son of nature by the "*pure*" *casuistry* of Critical Criticism that a foul trick is not foul when it is done for "*good, moral*" reasons. Chourineur, as an *agent provocateur* and under the pretence of friendship and confidence, lures his former companion to destruction. For the *first time* in his life he commits an act of *infamy*.

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[a] From the German folk-tale *Sieben Schwaben* published in *Volksbücher*, hrsg. v. G. O. Marbach.—*Ed.*

[b] *Chourineur* is French thieves' slang for a murderous ruffian.—*Ed.*

[c] *Police spy.*—*Ed.*

[d] The "maître d'école", a nickname given by his fellow criminals.—*Ed.*

*2nd Stage.* We next find Chourineur acting as *garde-malade*[a] to Rudolph, whom he has saved from mortal danger.

Chourineur has become such a *respectable moral* being that he rejects the Negro doctor David's suggestion to sit on the floor, for fear of dirtying the carpet. He is indeed too *shy* to sit on a chair. He first lays the chair on its back and then sits on the front legs. He never fails to apologise when he addresses Rudolph, whom he saved from a mortal danger, as "friend" or "*Monsieur*" instead of "*Monseigneur*".

What a wonderful training of the ruthless son of nature! Chourineur expresses the innermost secret of his Critical transformation when he admits to Rudolph that he has the same attachment for him as a *bulldog* for its master: "Je me sens pour vous, comme qui dirait *l'attachement* d'un *bouledogue* pour *son maître.*" The former butcher is transformed into a dog. Henceforth all his virtues will be reduced to the virtue of a dog, pure "*dévouement*" to its master. His independence, his individuality will disappear completely. But just as bad painters have to label their pictures to say what they are supposed to represent, Eugène Sue has to put a label on "*bulldog*" Chourineur, who constantly affirms: "The two words, 'You still have heart and honour', made a *man* out of me." Until his very last breath, Chourineur will find the motive for his actions, not in his human individuality, but in that label. As proof of his moral reformation he will often reflect on his own excellence and the wickedness of other individuals. And every time he throws out moral sentences, Rudolph will say to him: "I like to hear you *speak* like that." Chourineur has not become an ordinary *bulldog* but a *moral one.*

*3rd Stage.* We have already admired the *petty-bourgeois respectability* which has taken the place of Chourineur's *coarse* but *daring* unceremoniousness. We now learn that, as befits a "*moral being*", he has also adopted the gait and demeanour of the *petty bourgeois.*

"A le voir marcher—on l'eût pris pour le *bourgeois* le plus inoffensif du monde."[b]

Still sadder than this form is the content that Rudolph gives his Critically reformed life. He sends him to Africa "to serve as a living and salutary example of repentance to the world of unbelievers". In future, he will have to represent, not his own human nature, but a Christian dogma.

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[a] Sick attendant.—*Ed.*

[b] "To see him walk you would have taken him for the most harmless *bourgeois* in the world."—*Ed.*

*4th Stage.* The Critically moral transformation has made Chourineur a quiet, cautious man who behaves according to the rules of fear and worldly wisdom.

"Le Chourineur", reports Murph, who in his indiscreet simplicity continually tells tales out of school "n'a pas dit un mot de l'exécution du maître d'école, de *peur* de *se* trouver compromis."[a]

So Chourineur knows that the punishment of the *maître d'école* was an illegal act. But he does not talk about it for fear of compromising himself. *Wise* Chourineur!

*5th Stage.* Chourineur has carried his moral education to such perfection that he gives his *dog-like* attitude to Rudolph a civilised form — he becomes conscious of it. After saving *Germain* from a mortal danger he says to him:

"I have a protector who is to me what *God* is to *priests* — he is such as to make one kneel before him."

And in imagination he kneels before his God.

"Monsieur Rudolph," he says to Germain, "protects you. I say '*Monsieur*' though I should say '*Monseigneur*'. But I am used to calling him '*Monsieur* Rudolph', and he allows me to."

"Magnificent awakening and flowering!" exclaims Szeliga in Critical delight.

*6th Stage.* Chourineur worthily ends his career of pure *dévouement*, or moral bulldogishness, by finally letting himself be stabbed to death for his gracious lord. At the moment when Squelette threatens the prince with his knife, Chourineur stays the murderer's arm. Squelette stabs him. But, dying, Chourineur says to Rudolph:

"I was right when I said that a *lump of earth*" (a bulldog) "like me can sometimes be useful to a *great and gracious master* like you."

To this dog-like utterance, which sums up the whole of Chourineur's Critical life like *an* epigram, the label put in his mouth adds:

"We are quits, Monsieur Rudolph. You told me that I had heart and honour."

Herr Szeliga cries as loud as he can:

"What a merit it was for Rudolph to have restored the *Schurimann*[b]" (?) "to *mankind* (?)!"

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[a] "Chourineur said nothing of the punishment meted out to the *maître d'école* for fear of compromising himself." — *Ed.*

[b] Schurimann is a Germanised form of Chourineur. — *Ed.*

## 2) REVELATION OF THE MYSTERY OF CRITICAL RELIGION, OR FLEUR DE MARIE

### a) The Speculative "Marguerite"[a]

A word more about Herr Szeliga's speculative "Marguerite" before we go on to Eugène Sue's Fleur de Marie.

The speculative "Marguerite" is above all a *correction*. The fact is that the reader could conclude from Herr Szeliga's construction that Eugène Sue had

> "separated the presentation of the objective basis" (of the "world system") "from the development of the acting individual forces which can be understood only against that background".

Besides the task of correcting this erroneous conjecture that the reader may have made from Herr Szeliga's presentation, Marguerite has also a metaphysical mission in our, or rather Herr Szeliga's, "epic".

> "The *world system* and an epic event *would still not be* artistically united in a really *single* whole if they were only interspersed in a motley mixture — now here a bit of world system and then there some stage play. If *real unity* is to result, both things, the mysteries of this prejudiced *world* and the clarity, frankness and confidence with which *Rudolph* penetrates and reveals them, must clash in a *single* individual.... This is the task of Marguerite."

Herr Szeliga speculatively constructs Marguerite by analogy with *Bauer's* construction of the *Mother of God.*

On one side is the "*divine element*" (*Rudolph*) to which "all power and freedom" are attributed, the only *active* principle. On the other side is the passive "*world system*" and the human beings belonging to it. The world system is the "ground of reality". If this ground is not to be "entirely abandoned" or "the last remnant of the natural condition is not to be abolished"; if the world itself is to have some share in the "principle of development" that Rudolph, in contrast to the world, concentrates in himself; if "the human element is not to be represented simply as unfree and inactive", Herr Szeliga is bound to fall into the "contradiction of religious consciousness". Although he tears apart the world system and its activity as the dualism of a dead Mass and Criticism (Rudolph), he is nevertheless obliged to concede some attributes of divinity to the world system and the mass and to give in Marguerite a speculative construction of the unity of the two, Rudolph and the world (see *Kritik der Synoptiker*, Band I, p. 39).

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[a] "Fleur de Marie" is translated by the authors into German as "Marien-Blume" which means Marguerite.— *Ed.*

Besides the real relations of the *house-owner*, the acting "individual force", to his *house* (the "objective basis"), mystical speculation, and speculative aesthetics too, need a third *concrete, speculative unity*, a *Subject-Object* which is the house and the house-owner in *one*. As speculation does not like natural mediations in their extensive circumstantiality, it does not realise that the same "bit of world system", the house, for example, which for one, the house-owner, for example, is an "objective basis", is for the other, the builder of the house, an "epic event". In order to get a "really single whole" and "real unity", Critical Criticism, which reproaches "romantic art" with the "dogma of unity", replaces the natural and human connection between the world system and world events by a fantastic connection, a mystical Subject-Object, just as *Hegel replaces* the real connection between man and nature by an absolute Subject-Object which is at one and the same time the whole of nature and the whole of humanity, the *Absolute Spirit*.

In the Critical Marguerite "the universal guilt of the time, the guilt of mystery", becomes the "*mystery of guilt*", just as the universal debt[a] of mystery becomes the *mystery of debts* in the indebted *Epicier*.[b]

According to the Mother-of-God construction, Marguerite should *really* have been the *mother of Rudolph*, the redeemer of the world. Herr Szeliga expressly says:

> "According to the *logical sequence*, Rudolph should have been the *son* of Marguerite."

Since, however, he is not her son, but her father, Herr Szeliga finds in this "the new mystery that the present often bears in its womb the long departed past instead of the future". He even reveals another mystery, a still greater one, a mystery which directly contradicts mass-type statistics, the mystery that

> "a child, if it does not, in its turn, become a father or mother, but goes to its grave pure and innocent, is ... *essentially* ... a *daughter*".

Herr Szeliga faithfully follows Hegel's speculation when, according to the "*logical* sequence", he regards the daughter as the mother of her father. In Hegel's philosophy of history, as in his philosophy of nature, the son engenders the mother, the spirit nature, the Christian religion paganism, the result the beginning.

After proving that according to the "*logical* sequence" Marguerite ought to have been Rudolph's mother, Herr Szeliga proves the opposite:

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[a] Here the authors have a pun on the word "*Schuld*" which means "guilt" and "debt".— *Ed.*

[b] Grocer.— *Ed.*

"in order to conform fully to the *idea* she embodies in *our* epic, she *must never become a mother*".

This shows at least that the idea of our epic and Herr Szeliga's logical sequence are mutually contradictory.

The speculative Marguerite is nothing but the "*embodiment of an idea*". But what idea?

"She has the task of representing, *as it were,* the last tear of grief that the past sheds prior to its final passing away."

She is the representation of an allegorical tear, and even this little that she is, *is* only "*as it were*".

We shall not follow Herr Szeliga in his further description of Marguerite. We shall leave her the satisfaction, according to Herr Szeliga's prescription, of "constituting *the most decisive* antithesis to *everyone*", a mysterious antithesis, as mysterious as the attributes of God.

Neither shall we delve into the "*true mystery*" that is "deposited *by God* in the breast of man" and at which the speculative Marguerite "as it were" hints. We shall pass from Herr Szeliga's Marguerite to Eugène Sue's Fleur de Marie and to the Critical miraculous cures Rudolph accomplishes on her.

### b) Fleur de Marie

We meet Marie surrounded by criminals, as a prostitute in bondage to the proprietress of the criminals' tavern. In this debasement she preserves a human nobleness of soul, a human unaffectedness and a human beauty that impress those around her, raise her to the level of a poetical flower of the criminal world and win for her the name of Fleur de Marie.

We must observe Fleur de Marie attentively from her first appearance in order to be able to compare her *original form* with her *Critical transformation.*

In spite of her frailty, Fleur de Marie at once gives proof of vitality, energy, cheerfulness, resilience of character—qualities which alone explain her human development in her *inhuman* situation.

When Chourineur ill-treats her, she defends herself with her scissors. That is the situation in which we first find her. She does not appear as a defenceless lamb who surrenders without any resistance to overwhelming brutality; she is a girl who can vindicate her rights and put up a fight.

In the criminals' tavern in the Rue aux Fèves she tells Chourineur and Rudolph the story of her life. As she does so she

*laughs* at Chourineur's wit. She blames herself because on being released from prison she spent the 300 francs she had earned there on amusements instead of looking for work. "But," she said, "I had no one to advise me." The memory of the catastrophe of her life—her selling herself to the proprietress of the criminals' tavern—puts her in a melancholy mood. It is the first time since her childhood that she has recalled these events.

"Le fait est, que ça me chagrine de regarder ainsi derrière moi ... ça doit être bien bon d'être honnête."[a]

When Chourineur makes fun of her and tells her she must become honest, she exclaims:

"Honnête, mon dieu! et avec quoi donc veux-tu que je sois honnête?"[b]

She insists that she is not one "to have fits of tears": "*Je ne suis pas pleurnicheuse*"[c]; but her position in life is sad—"*Ça n'est pas gai.*"[d] Finally, contrary to Christian *repentance,* she pronounces on the past the human sentence, at once *Stoic* and *Epicurean,* of a free and strong nature:

"*Enfin ce qui est fait, est fait.*"[e]

Let us accompany Fleur de Marie on her first outing with Rudolph.

"The consciousness of your terrible situation has probably often distressed you," Rudolph says, itching to moralise.

"Yes," she replies, "more than once I looked over the embankment of the Seine; but then I would gaze at the flowers and the sun and say to myself: the river will always be there and I am not yet seventeen years old. Who can say? Dans ces moments-là il me semblait que mon sort n'était pas mérité, qu'il y avait en moi quelque chose de bon. Je me disais, on m'a bien tourmenté, mais au moins je n'ai jamais fait de mal à personne."[f]

Fleur de Marie considers her situation not as one she has freely created, not as the expression of her own personality, but as a fate she has not deserved. Her bad fortune can change. She is still young.

*Good* and *evil,* as Marie conceives them, are not the *moral abstractions* of good and evil. She is *good* because she has never caused *suffering* to anyone, she has always been *human* towards her

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[a] "The fact is that it grieves me when I look back in this way ... it must be lovely to be honest."—*Ed.*

[b] "Honest! My God! What do you want me to be honest with?"—*Ed.*

[c] "I am no crybaby."—*Ed.*

[d] "It isn't a happy one."—*Ed.*

[e] "Well, what is done is done."—*Ed.*

[f] "On such occasions it seemed to me that I had not deserved my fate, that I had something good in me. People have tormented me enough, I used to say to myself, but at least I have never done any harm to anyone."—*Ed.*

inhuman surroundings. She is *good* because the sun and the flowers reveal to her her own sunny and blossoming nature. She is *good* because she is still *young*, full of hope and vitality. Her situation is *not good*, because it puts an unnatural constraint on her, because it is not the expression of her human impulses, not the fulfilment of her human desires; because it is full of torment and without joy. She measures her situation in life by her *own individuality*, her *essential nature*, not by the *ideal of what is good*.

In *natural* surroundings, where the chains of bourgeois life fall away and she can freely manifest her own nature, Fleur de Marie bubbles over with love of life, with a wealth of feeling, with human joy at the beauty of nature; these show that her social position has only grazed the surface of her and is a mere misfortune, that she herself is neither good nor bad, but *human*.

"Monsieur Rodolphe, quel bonheur ... de l'herbe, des champs! Si vous vouliez me permettre de descendre, il fait si beau ... j'aimerais tant à courir dans ces prairies!"[a]

Alighting from the carriage, she plucks flowers for Rudolph, "can hardly speak for joy", etc., etc.

Rudolph tells her that he is going to take her to *Madame George's farm*. There she can see dove-cotes, cow-stalls and so forth; there they have milk, butter, fruit, etc. Those are real *blessings* for this child. She will be *merry*, that is her main thought. "*C'est à n'y pas croire ... comme je veux m'amuser!*"[b] She explains to Rudolph in the most unaffected way her own *share* of responsibility for her misfortune. "*Tout mon sort est venu de ce que je n'ai pas économisé mon argent!*"[c] She therefore advises him to be thrifty and to put money in the savings-bank. Her fancy runs wild in the castles in the air that Rudolph builds for her. She becomes sad only because she

"has forgotten the *present*" and "the contrast of that present with the dream of a joyous and laughing existence reminds her of the cruelty of her situation".

So far we have seen Fleur de Marie in her original un-Critical form. Eugène Sue has risen above the horizon of his narrow world outlook. He has slapped bourgeois prejudice in the face. He will hand over Fleur de Marie to the hero Rudolph to atone for his temerity and to reap applause from all old men and women, from the whole of the Paris police, from the current religion and from "Critical Criticism".

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[a] "Monsieur Rudolph, what happiness! ... grass, fields! If you would allow me to get out, the weather is so fine ... I should love so much to run about in these meadows."—*Ed.*

[b] "You can't believe how I am longing for some fun!"—*Ed.*

[c] "My whole fate is due to the fact that I did not save up my money."—*Ed.*

Madame George, to whom Rudolph entrusts Fleur de Marie, is an unhappy, hypochondriacal religious woman. She immediately welcomes the child with the unctuous words: "*God* blesses those who love and fear him, who have been unhappy and who *repent*." Rudolph, the man of "pure Criticism", has the wretched priest *Laporte*, whose hair has greyed in superstition, called in. He has the mission of accomplishing Fleur de Marie's Critical reform.

Joyfully and unaffectedly Marie approaches the old priest. In his Christian brutality, *Eugène Sue* makes a "marvellous instinct" at once whisper in her ear that "*shame* ends where *repentance* and *penance* begin", that is, in the church, which alone saves. He forgets the unconstrained merriness of the outing, a merriness which nature's grace and Rudolph's friendly sympathy had produced, and which was troubled only by the thought of having to go back to the criminals' landlady.

The priest Laporte immediately adopts a *supermundane* attitude. His first words are:

> "*God's* mercy is infinite, my dear child! He has proved it to you by not abandoning you in your severe trials.... The magnanimous man who saved you fulfilled the *word of the Scriptures*" (note—the word of the Scriptures, not a human purpose!): "Verily the Lord is nigh to those who invoke him; he will fulfil their desires ... he will hear their voice and will save them ... the Lord will accomplish *his* work."

Marie cannot yet understand the *evil* meaning of the priest's exhortations. She answers:

> "I shall pray for those who pitied me and brought me back to God."

Her first thought is *not* for God, it is for her *human* saviour and she wants to pray for *him*, not for her *own* absolution. She attributes to her prayer some influence on the salvation of others. Indeed, she is still so naive that she supposes she has *already been brought back* to God. The priest feels it is his duty to destroy this unorthodox illusion.

> "Soon," he says, interrupting her, "soon you will deserve absolution, absolution from your great errors ... for, to quote the prophet once more, the Lord holdeth up those who are on the brink of falling."

One should not fail to see the inhuman expressions the priest uses. Soon you will deserve absolution. Your sins are *not yet forgiven.*

As Laporte, when he receives the girl, bestows on her the *consciousness of her sins*, so Rudolph, when he leaves her, presents her with a gold *cross*, the symbol of the *Christian crucifixion* awaiting her.

Marie has already been living for some time on Madame

George's farm. Let us first listen to a dialogue between the old priest Laporte and Madame George.

He considers "marriage" out of the question for Marie "because no man, in spite of the priest's guarantee, will have the courage to face the past that has soiled her youth". He adds: "she has great errors to atone for, her moral sense ought to have kept her upright."

He proves, as the commonest of bourgeois would, that she could have remained good: "There are many virtuous people in Paris today." The hypocritical priest knows quite well that at any hour of the day, in the busiest streets, those virtuous people of Paris pass indifferently by little girls of seven or eight years who sell *allumettes*[a] and the like until about midnight as Marie herself used to do and who, almost without exception, will have the same fate as Marie.

The priest has made up his mind concerning Marie's *penance*; in his own mind he has already *condemned* her. Let us follow Marie when she is accompanying Laporte home in the evening.

"See, my child," he begins with unctuous eloquence, "the boundless horizon the limits of which are no longer visible" (for it is evening), "it seems to me that the calm and the vastness almost give us an idea of eternity.... I am telling you this, Marie, because you are sensitive to the beauties of creation.... I have often been moved by the religious admiration which they inspire in you—you who for so long were deprived of religious feeling."

The priest has already succeeded in changing Marie's immediate naive pleasure in the beauties of nature into a *religious* admiration. For her, *nature* has already become devout, *Christianised* nature, debased to *creation*. The transparent sea of space is desecrated and turned into the dark symbol of stagnant *eternity*. She has already learnt that all human manifestations of her being were "*profane*", devoid of religion, of real consecration, that they were impious and godless. The priest must soil her in her own eyes, he must trample underfoot her natural, spiritual resources and means of grace, in order to make her receptive to the supernatural means of grace he promises her, *baptism*.

When Marie wants to make a confession to him and asks him to be lenient he answers:

"The *Lord* has shown you that he is merciful."

In the clemency which she is shown Marie must not see a natural, self-evident attitude of a related human being to her, another human being. She must see in it an extravagant, supernatural,

[a] Matches.—*Ed.*

superhuman mercy and condescension; in *human leniency* she must see *divine mercy*. She must transcendentalise all human and natural relationships by making them *relationships to God*. The way Fleur de Marie in her answer accepts the priest's chatter about divine mercy shows how far she has already been spoilt by religious doctrine.

As soon as she entered upon her improved situation, she said, she had felt only her *new happiness*.

"Every instant I thought of Monsieur Rudolph. I often raised my eyes to heaven, to look there, not for God, but for Monsieur Rudolph, and to thank him. Yes, *I confess*, Father, *I thought more* of him than of God; for *he* did for me what God alone could have done.... I was *happy*, as happy as someone who has escaped a great danger for ever."

Fleur de Marie already finds it wrong that she took a new happy situation in life simply for what it *really* was, that she felt it as a new happiness, that her attitude to it was a natural, not a supernatural one. She accuses herself of seeing in the man who rescued her what he *really* was, her rescuer, instead of supposing some imaginary saviour, *God*, in his place. She is already caught in religious hypocrisy, which takes away from *another man* what he has deserved in respect of me in order to give it to God, and which in general regards everything human in man as alien to him and everything inhuman in him as *really* belonging to him.

Marie tells us that the *religious transformation* of her thoughts, her sentiments, her attitude to life was effected by Madame George and Laporte.

"When Rudolph took me away from the *Cité*, I already had a vague consciousness of my degradation. But the education, the advice and examples I got from you and Madame George made me understand ... that I had been more guilty than unfortunate.... You and Madame George made me *realise the infinite depth of my damnation*."

That is to say she owes to the priest Laporte and Madame George the replacement of the human and therefore bearable consciousness of her degradation by the Christian and hence unbearable consciousness of eternal damnation. The priest and the bigot have taught her to judge herself from the *Christian point of view*.

Marie feels the depth of the spiritual misfortune into which she has been cast. She says:

"Since the consciousness of good and evil had to be so frightful for me, why was I not left to my wretched lot?... Had I not been snatched away from infamy, misery and blows would soon have killed me. At least I should have died in ignorance of a purity that I shall always wish for in vain."

The heartless priest replies:

"Even the most noble nature, were it to be plunged only for a day in the filth from which you have been saved, would be *indelibly branded.* That is the *immutability of divine justice!*"

Deeply wounded by this *priestly curse* uttered in such honeyed tones, Fleur de Marie exclaims:

"You see therefore, I must despair!"

The grey-headed slave of religion answers:

"You must renounce hope of effacing this desolate page from your life, but you must trust in the *infinite mercy of God.* Here *below,* my poor child, you will have tears, remorse and penance, but one day *up above,* forgiveness and *eternal bliss!*"

Marie is not yet stupid enough to be satisfied with eternal bliss and forgiveness up above.

"Pity, pity, my God!" she cries. "I am so young.... *Malheur à moi!*"[a]

Then the hypocritical sophistry of the priest reaches its peak:

"On the contrary, happiness for you, Marie; happiness for you to whom the Lord sends this bitter but saving remorse! It shows the *religious* susceptibility of your soul.... Each of your sufferings is counted up above. Believe me, God left you awhile on the path of evil only to reserve for you the *glory of repentance* and the eternal reward due to *atonement.*"

From this moment Marie is *enslaved by the consciousness of sin.* In her former most unhappy situation in life she was able to develop a lovable, human individuality; in her outward debasement she was conscious that *her human* essence was *her true essence.* Now the filth of modern society, which has touched her externally, becomes her innermost being, and continual hypochondriacal self-torture because of that filth becomes her duty, the task of her life appointed by God himself, the self-purpose of her existence. Formerly she said of herself "*Je ne suis pas pleurnicheuse*" and knew that "*ce qui est fait, est fait*". Now self-torment will be her *good* and remorse will be her *glory.*

It turns out later that Fleur de Marie is Rudolph's daughter. We come across her again as Princess of Geroldstein. We overhear a conversation she has with her father:

"En vain je prie Dieu de me délivrer de ces obsessions, de remplir uniquement mon cœur de son pieux amour, de ses saintes espérances, de me prendre enfin toute entière, puisque je veux me donner toute entière à lui ... il n'exauce pas mes vœux—sans doute, parce que mes préoccupations *terrestres* me rendent indigne d'entrer en commun avec lui."[b]

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[a] "Woe unto me!"—*Ed.*

[b] "In vain I pray to God to deliver me from these obsessions, to fill my heart solely with his pious love and his holy hopes; in a word, to take me entirely,

When man has realised that his transgressions are *infinite* crimes against God he can be sure of *salvation* and *mercy* only if he gives himself *wholly* to God and becomes *wholly* dead to the world and worldly concerns. When Fleur de Marie realises that her delivery from her inhuman situation in life was a miracle of *God* she *herself* has to become a *saint* in order to be worthy of such a *miracle*. Her human love must be transformed into religious love, the striving for happiness into striving for eternal bliss, worldly satisfaction into holy hope, communion with people into communion with God. God must take her entirely. She herself reveals to us why he does not take her entirely. She has not yet *given* herself entirely to him, her heart is still preoccupied and engaged with earthly affairs. This is the last flickering of her strong nature. She gives herself entirely up to God by becoming wholly dead to the world and entering a *convent*.

A monastery is no place for him
Who has no stock of sins laid in,
So numerous and great
That be it early, be it late
He may not miss the sweet delight
Of penance for a heart contrite.
(Goethe)[a]

In the convent Fleur de Marie is promoted to *abbess* through the intrigues of Rudolph. At first she refuses to accept this appointment because she feels unworthy. The old abbess persuades her:

"Je vous dirai plus, ma chère fille, avant d'entrer au bercail, votre existence aurait été aussi égarée, qu'elle a été au contraire pure et louable ... que les *vertus évangéliques*, dont vous avez donné l'exemple depuis votre séjour ici, expieraient et rachèteraient encore aux yeux du Seigneur un passé si coupable qu'il fût."[b]

From what the abbess says, we see that Fleurr de Marie's earthly virtues have changed into evangelical virtues, or rather that her real virtues can no longer appear otherwise than as evangelical caricatures.

Marie answers the abbess:

"Sainte mère — je crois maintenant pouvoir accepter."[c]

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because I wish to give myself entirely to him ... he does not grant my wishes, doubtless because my *earthly* preoccupations make me unworthy of communion with him."—*Ed.*

[a] J. W. Goethe, *Zahme Xenien*, IX.—*Ed.*

[b] "I shall say more, my dear daughter: if before entering the fold your life had been as full of error as, on the contrary, it was pure and praiseworthy ... the *evangelical virtues* of which you have given an example since you have been here would have atoned for and redeemed your past in the eyes of the Lord, no matter how sinful it was."—*Ed.*

[c] "Holy Mother, I now believe that I can accept."—*Ed.*

Convent life does not suit Marie's individuality—she dies. Christianity consoles her only in imagination, or rather her Christian consolation is precisely the annihilation of her real life and essence—her death.

So Rudolph first changed Fleur de Marie into a repentant sinner, then the repentant sinner into a nun and finally the nun into a corpse. At her funeral not only the Catholic priest, but also the *Critical* priest Szeliga preaches a sermon over her grave.

Her "*innocent*" existence he calls her "*transient*" existence, opposing it to "eternal and unforgettable guilt". He praises the fact that her "*last breath*" was a "prayer for forgiveness and pardon". But just as the protestant Minister, after expounding the necessity of the Lord's mercy, the participation of the deceased in universal original sin and the intensity of his consciousness of sin, must praise the virtues of the departed in *earthly* terms, so, too, Herr Szeliga uses the expression:

"And yet *personally*, she has nothing to ask forgiveness for."

Finally he throws on Marie's grave the most faded flower of pulpit eloquence:

"Inwardly pure as human beings seldom are, she has closed her eyes to this world."

Amen!

### 3) REVELATION OF THE MYSTERIES OF LAW

#### a) The *Maître d'école*, or the New Penal Theory. The Mystery of Solitary Confinement Revealed. Medical Mysteries

The *maître d'école* is a criminal of Herculean strength and great intellectual vigour. He was brought up an educated and well-schooled man. This passionate athlete comes into conflict with the laws and customs of bourgeois society, whose universal yardstick is mediocrity, delicate morals and quiet trade. He becomes a murderer and abandons himself to all the excesses of a violent temperament that can nowhere find a fitting human occupation.

Rudolph captures this criminal. He wants to reform him critically and set him up as an example for the world of *law*. He quarrels with the world of law not over "*punishment*" itself, but over *kinds and methods* of punishment. He invents, as the Negro doctor David aptly expresses it, a penal theory which would be

worthy of the "*greatest German criminal expert*", and which has since had the good fortune to be defended by a German criminal expert with German earnestness and German thoroughness. Rudolph has not the slightest idea that one can rise *above* criminal experts: his ambition is to be "*the greatest criminal expert*", *primus inter pares.*[a] He has the *maître d'école blinded* by the Negro doctor David.

At first Rudolph repeats all the trivial objections to capital punishment: that it has no effect on the criminal and no effect on the people, for whom it seems to be an entertaining spectacle.

Further Rudolph establishes a difference between the *maître d'école* and the *soul* of the *maître d'école.* It is not the man, not the *real maître d'école* whom he wishes to save; he wants the *spiritual salvation* of his *soul.*

"The salvation of a soul," he teaches, "is something holy.... Every crime can be *atoned for* and redeemed, the Saviour said, but only if the criminal earnestly desires to repent and *atone.* The transition from the court to the scaffold is too short.... You" (the *maître d'école*) "have criminally misused your *strength.* I shall *paralyse* your strength ... you will tremble before the weakest, your punishment will be equal to your crime ... but this terrible punishment will at least leave you the boundless horizon of *atonement....* I shall cut you off only from the outer world in order to plunge you into impenetrable night and leave you *alone* with the memory of your ignominious deeds.... You will be forced to look into yourself ... your intelligence, which you have degraded, will be roused and will lead you to atonement."

Since Rudolph regards the *soul* as *holy* and man's *body* as *profane,* since he thus considers only the soul to be the true essence, because—according to Herr Szeliga's Critical description of humanity—it belongs to heaven, the body and the strength of the *maître d'école* do not belong to humanity, the manifestation of their essence cannot be given human form or claimed for humanity and cannot be treated as essentially human. The *maître d'école* has misused his strength; Rudolph paralyses, lames, destroys that strength. There is no more *Critical* means of getting rid of the perverse manifestations of a human essential strength than the destruction of this essential strength. This is the Christian means—plucking out the eye if it offends or cutting off the hand if it offends, in *a* word, killing the body if the body gives offence; for the eye, the hand, the body are really only superfluous sinful appendages of man. Human nature must be killed in order to heal its ailments. Mass-type jurisprudence, too, in agreement here with the Critical, sees in the *laming* and paralysing of human strength the antidote to the objectionable manifestations of that strength.

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[a] The first among equals.—*Ed.*

What Rudolph, the man of pure Criticism, objects to in profane criminal justice is the too swift transition from the court to the scaffold. He, on the other hand, wants to link *vengeance* on the criminal with *penance* and *consciousness of sin* in the criminal, corporal punishment with spiritual punishment, sensuous torture with the non-sensuous torture of remorse. Profane punishment must at the same time be a means of Christian moral education.

This penal theory, which links *jurisprudence* with *theology*, this "revealed mystery of the mystery", is no other than the penal theory of the *Catholic* Church, as already expounded at length by *Bentham* in his work *Punishments and Rewards.*[a] In that book Bentham also proved the moral futility of the punishments of today. He calls legal penalties "*legal parodies*".

The punishment that Rudolph imposed on the *maître d'école* is the same as that which *Origen* imposed on himself. He *emasculates* him, robs him of a *productive organ,* the eye. "The eye is the light of the body."[b] It does great credit to Rudolph's religious instinct that he should hit, of all things, upon the idea of *blinding*. This punishment was current in the thoroughly Christian empire of Byzantium and came to full flower in the vigorous youthful period of the Christian-Germanic states of England and France. Cutting man off from the perceptible outer world, throwing him back into his abstract inner nature in order to correct him — blinding — is a necessary consequence of the Christian doctrine according to which the consummation of this cutting off, the pure isolation of man in his spiritualistic "*ego*", is *good itself.* If Rudolph does not shut the *maître d'école* up in a real monastery, as was the case in Byzantium and in Franconia, he at least shuts him up in an ideal monastery, in the cloister of an impenetrable night which the light of the outer world cannot pierce, the cloister of an idle conscience and consciousness of sin filled with nothing but the phantoms of memory.

A certain speculative bashfulness prevents Herr Szeliga from discussing openly the penal theory of his hero Rudolph that worldly punishment must be linked with Christian repentance and atonement. Instead he imputes to him — naturally as a mystery which is only just being revealed to the world — the theory that punishment must make the criminal the "*judge*" of his "*own*" crime.

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[a] *Théorie des peines et des récompenses.— Ed.*

[b] *New Testament,* Matthew, 6:22.— *Ed.*

The mystery of this revealed mystery is *Hegel*'s penal theory. According to Hegel, the criminal in his punishment passes sentence on himself. *Gans* developed this theory at greater length. In Hegel this is the *speculative disguise* of the old *jus talionis*,[a] which *Kant* expounded as the *only juridical* penal theory. For Hegel, self-judgment of the criminal remains a mere "*Idea*", a mere speculative interpretation of the *current empirical punishments for criminals.* He thus leaves the mode of application to the respective stage of development of the state, i.e., he leaves punishment as it is. Precisely in that he shows himself more critical than his Critical echo. A *penal* theory which at the same time sees in the criminal the *man* can do so only in *abstraction,* in imagination, precisely because *punishment, coercion,* is contrary to *human* conduct. Moreover, this would be impossible to carry out. Purely subjective arbitrariness would take the place of the abstract law because it would always depend on the official, "honourable and decent" men to adapt the penalty to the individuality of the criminal. Plato long ago realised that the *law* must be one-sided and *take no account* of the individual. On the other hand, under *human* conditions punishment will *really* be nothing but the sentence passed by the culprit on himself. No one will want to convince him that *violence* from *without,* done to him by others, is violence which he had done to himself. On the contrary, he will see in *other* men his natural saviours from the punishment which he has imposed on himself; in other words, the relation will be reversed.

Rudolph expresses his innermost thought—the purpose of blinding the *maître d'école*—when he says to him:

"*Chacune de tes paroles sera une prière.*"[b]

He wants to teach him to *pray.* He wants to convert the Herculean robber into a *monk* whose only work is prayer. Compared with this Christian cruelty, how humane is the ordinary penal theory that just chops a man's head off when it wants to destroy him. Finally, it goes without saying that whenever real mass-type legislation was seriously concerned with improving the criminal it acted incomparably more sensibly and humanely than the German Harun al-Rashid. The four Dutch agricultural colonies and the Ostwald penal colony in Alsace are truly human attempts in comparison with the blinding of the *maître d'école.* Just as

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[a] The right of retaliation—an eye for an eye.—*Ed.*
[b] "Every word you say will be a prayer."—*Ed.*

Rudolph kills Fleur de Marie by handing her over to the priest and consciousness of sin, just as he kills Chourineur by robbing him of his human independence and degrading him into a bulldog, so he kills the *maître d'école* by having his eyes gouged out in order that he can learn to *"pray"*.

This is, of course, the way in which all reality emerges *"simply"* out of *"pure Criticism"*, namely, as a distortion and *senseless abstraction* of reality.

Immediately after the blinding of the *maître d'école* Herr Szeliga causes a *moral miracle* to take place.

"The terrible *maître d'école,*" he reports, "*suddenly* recognises the power of honesty and decency and says to Schurimann: '*Yes, I can trust you, you have never stolen anything*'."

Unfortunately Eugène Sue recorded a statement of the *maître d'école* about Chourineur which contains the same recognition and cannot be the effect of his having been blinded, since it was made *earlier*. In talking to Rudolph alone, the *maître d'école* said about Chourineur:

"Du reste il n'est pas capable de vendre un ami. Non: il a du bon ... il a toujours eu des idées singulières." [a]

This would seem to do away with Herr Szeliga's moral miracle. Now we shall see the *real* results of Rudolph's *Critical* cure.

We next meet the *maître d'école* as he is going with a woman called Chouette to Bouqueval farm to play a foul trick on Fleur de Marie. The thought that dominates him is, of course, the thought of *revenge* on Rudolph. But the only way he knows of wreaking vengeance on him is metaphysically, by thinking and hatching *"evil"* to spite him.

"Il m'a ôté la vue, il ne m'a pás ôté la pensée du mal." [b]

He tells Chouette why he had sent for her:

"I was *bored* all alone with those honest people."

When Eugène Sue satisfies his monkish, bestial lust in the *self-humiliation* of man to the extent of making the *maître d'école* implore on his knees the old hag Chouette and the little imp Tortillard not to abandon him, the great moralist forgets that that

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[a] "Besides, he is not capable of betraying a friend. No, there's something good in him ... he has always had strange ideas."—*Ed.*

[b] "He has taken away my sight but not the thought of evil."—*Ed.*

is the height of diabolical satisfaction for Chouette. Just as Rudolph, precisely by the *violent act* of *blinding* the criminal, proved to him the power of *physical force*, which he wants to show him is insignificant, so Eugène Sue now teaches the *maître d'école* really to recognise the *full* power of the *senses*. He teaches him to understand that without it man is *unmanned* and becomes a helpless object of mockery for children. He convinces him that the world deserved his crimes, for he had only to lose his sight to be ill-treated by it. He robs him of his last human illusion, for so far the *maître d'école* believed in Chouette's attachment to him. He had said to Rudolph: "She would let herself be thrown into the fire for me." Eugène Sue, on the other hand, has the satisfaction of hearing the *maître d'école* cry out in the depths of despair:

*"Mon dieu! Mon dieu! Mon dieu!"*

He has learnt to "*pray*"! In this "appel *involontaire* de la commisération divine," Eugène Sue sees "*quelque chose de providentiel*".[a]

The first result of Rudolph's Criticism is this *spontaneous prayer*. It is followed immediately by an *involuntary atonement* at Bouqueval farm, where the ghosts of those whom the *maître d'école* murdered appear to him in a dream.

We shall not give a detailed description of this dream. We next find the Critically reformed *maître d'école* fettered in the cellar of the "Bras rouge", half devoured by rats, half starving and half insane as a result of being tortured by Chouette and Tortillard, and roaring like a beast. Tortillard had delivered Chouette to him. Let us watch the treatment he inflicts on her. He *copies* the hero *Rudolph* not only outwardly, by scratching out Chouette's *eyes*, but *morally* too by repeating Rudolph's hypocrisy and embellishing his cruel treatment with pious phrases. As soon as the *maître d'école* has Chouette in his power he gives vent to "*une joie effrayante*"[b] and his voice trembles with rage.

"Tu sens bien," he says, "que je ne veux pas en finir tout de suite ... torture pour torture ... il faut que je te parle longuement avant de te tuer ... ca va être affreux pour toi. D'abord, vois-tu ... depuis ce rêve de la ferme de Bouqueval, qui m'a remis sous les yeux tous nos crimes, depuis ce rêve, qui a manqué de me rendre fou ... qui me rendra fou ... il s'est passé en moi un changement étrange ... J'ai eu horreur de ma férocité passée ... d'abord je ne t'ai pas permis de martyriser la goualeuse, cela n'était rien encore ... en m'entraînant ici dans cette cave, en m'y faisant souffrir le froid et la faim ... tu m'as laissé tout à l'épouvante de mes réflexions ... Oh! tu ne sais pas ce que c'est

[a] "*Spontaneous* appeal for divine mercy ... something providential."—*Ed.*

[b] "A terrifying joy."—*Ed.*

que d'être seul ... l'isolement m'a purifié. Je ne l'aurais pas cru possible ... une preuve que je suis peut-être moins scélérat qu'autrefois ... ce que j'éprouve une joie infinie à te tenir là ... monstre ... non pour me venger, mais ... mais pour venger nos victimes ... oui, j'aurai accompli un devoir quand de ma propre main j'aurai puni ma complice ... j'ai maintenant horreur de mes meurtres passés, et pourtant ... trouves-tu pas cela bizarre? c'est sans crainte, c'est avec sécurité que je vais commettre sur toi un meurtre affreux avec des raffinements affreux ... dis ... dis ... conçois-tu cela?"[a]

In those few words the *maître d'école* goes through a whole gamut of *moral casuistry.*

His first words are a *frank* expression of his desire for vengeance. He wants to give torture for torture. He wants to murder Chouette and he wants to prolong her agony by a long sermon. And—delightful sophistry!—the speech with which he tortures her is a *sermon on morals.* He asserts that his dream at Bouqueval has improved him. At the same time he reveals the real effect of the dream by admitting that it almost drove him mad and that it will actually do so. He gives as a proof of his reform that he prevented Fleur de Marie from being tortured. Eugène Sue's personages—earlier Chourineur and now the *maître d'école*—must express, as the result of *their* thoughts, as the conscious motive of their actions, his own intention as a writer, which causes him to make them behave in a certain way and no other. They must continually say: I have reformed myself in this, in that, etc. Since their life has no real content, their words must give vigorous tones to insignificant features like the protection of Fleur de Marie.

Having reported the *salutary* effect of his Bouqueval dream, the *maître d'école* must explain why Eugène Sue had him locked up in a cellar. He must find the novelist's procedure reasonable. He

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[a] "You realise that I do not want to get it over at once.... Torture for torture.... I must have a long talk with you before killing you.... It is going to be terrible for you. First of all, you see ... since that dream at Bouqueval farm which brought all our crimes back before me, since that dream which nearly drove me mad ... and which will drive me mad ... a strange change has come over me.... I have become horrified at my past cruelty.... At first I would not let you torture the songstress [Fleur de Marie], but that was nothing.... By bringing me to this cellar and making me suffer cold and hunger.... you left me to the terror of my own thoughts.... Oh, you don't know what it is to be alone.... Isolation purified me. I should not have thought it possible ... a proof that I am perhaps less of a blackguard than before ... what an infinite joy I feel to have you in my power, you monster ... not in order to revenge myself but ... to avenge our victims.... Yes, I shall have done my duty when I have punished my accomplice with my own hand.... I am now horrified at my past murders, and yet ... don't you find it strange? ... it is without fear and quite calmly that I am going to commit a terrible murder on you, with terrible refinements ... tell me, tell me ... do you understand that?"—*Ed.*

must say to Chouette: by locking me up in a cellar, causing me to be gnawed by rats and to suffer hunger and thirst, you have completed my reform. Solitude has *purified* me.

The beastly roar, the wild fury, the terrible lust for vengeance with which the *maître d'école* welcomes Chouette are in complete contradiction to this moralising talk. They betray what kind of thoughts occupied him in his dungeon.

The *maître d'école* himself seems to realise this, but being a *Critical moralist*, he will know how to reconcile the contradictions.

He declares that the "infinite joy" of having Chouette in his power is precisely a sign of his reform, for his lust for vengeance is not a *natural* one but a *moral* one. He wants to avenge, not himself, but the common *victims* of Chouette and himself. If he murders her, he does not commit *murder*, he fulfils a *duty*. He does not *avenge* himself on her, he *punishes* his accomplice like an impartial judge. He shudders at his past murders and, nevertheless, marvelling at his own casuistry, he asks Chouette: "Don't you find it strange? Without fear and quite calmly I am going to kill you." On moral grounds that he does not reveal, he gloats at the same time over the picture of the murder that he is going to commit, as being a *meurtre affreux*, a *meurtre avec des raffinements affreux*.[a]

It is in accord with the character of the *maître d'école* that he should murder Chouette, especially after the cruelty with which she treated him. But that he should commit murder on moral grounds, that he should give a moral interpretation to his savage pleasure in the *meurtre affreux* and the *raffinements affreux*, that he should show his remorse for the past murders precisely by committing a fresh one, that from a simple murderer he should become *a murderer in a double sense*, a *moral murderer*—all this is the glorious result of Rudolph's Critical cure.

Chouette tries to get away from the *maître d'école*. He notices it and holds her fast.

"Tiens-toi donc, la chouette, il faut que je finisse de t'expliquer comment peu à peu j'en suis venu à me repentir ... cette révélation te sera odieuse ... et elle te prouvera aussi combien je dois être impitoyable dans la vengeance, que je veux exercer sur toi au nom de nos victimes ... Il faut que je me hâte ... la joie de te tenir là me fait boudir le sang ... j'aurai le temps de te rendre les approches de la mort effroyables en te forcant de m'entendre ... Je suis aveugle ... et ma pensée prend une forme, un corps pour me représenter incessamment d'une manière visible, presque palpable ... les traits de mes victimes ... les idées s'imagent presque

[a] Terrible murder ... murder with terrible refinements.—*Ed.*

matériellement dans le cerveau. Quand au repentir se joint une expiation d'une effrayante sévérité ... une expiation qui change notre vie en une longue insomnie remplie d'hallucinations vengeresses ou de réflexions désespérées ... peut-être alors le pardon des hommes succède au remords et à l'expiation."[a]

The *maître d'école* continues with his hypocrisy which every minute betrays itself as such. Chouette must hear how he came by degrees to repentance. This revelation will be hateful to her, for it will prove that it is his *duty* to take a pitiless revenge on her, not in his own name, but in the name of their common victims. Suddenly the *maître d'école* interrupts his didactic lecture. He must, he says, "hurry" with his lecture, for the pleasure of having her in his hands makes the blood pound in his veins; that is a moral reason for cutting the lecture short! Then he calms his blood again. The long time that he takes in preaching her a moral sermon is not wasted for his revenge. It will "make the approach of death terrifying" for her. That is a different moral reason, one for protracting his sermon! And having such moral reasons he can safely resume his moral text where he left off.

The *maître d'école* describes correctly the condition to which isolation from the outer world reduces a man. For one to whom the *sensuously perceptible world* becomes a *mere idea*, for him mere ideas are transformed into *sensuously perceptible beings*. The figments of his brain assume corporeal form. A world of tangible, palpable ghosts is begotten within his mind. That is the secret of all pious visions and at the same time it is the general form of insanity. When the *maître d'école* repeats Rudolph's words about the "power of repentance and atonement linked with terrible torments", he does so in a state of semi-madness, thus proving in fact the connection between Christian consciousness of sin and insanity. Similarly, when the *maître d'école* considers the transformation of *life* into a *night of dream* filled with ghosts as the real result of repentance and atonement, he is expressing the

[a] "Keep still, Chouette, I must finish explaining to you how I gradually came to repentance.... This revelation will be hateful to you ... and it will also show you how pitiless I must be in the vengeance I want to wreak on you in the name of our victims.... I must hurry.... The joy of having you here in my hands makes the blood pound in my veins.... I shall have time to make the approach of your death terrifying to you by forcing you to listen to me.... I am blind ... and my thoughts take a shape, a body, such that they incessantly present to me visibly, almost palpably ... the features of my victims.... The ideas are reflected almost materially in my brain. When repentance is linked with an atonement of terrifying severity, an atonement that changes our life into a long sleeplessness filled with hallucinations of revenge or desperate reflections ... then, perhaps, the pardon of men follows remorse and atonement."—*Ed.*

true mystery of pure Criticism and of Christian reform, which consists in changing man into a ghost and his life into a *life of dream.*

At this point Eugène Sue realises how the *salutary thoughts* which he makes the blind robber prate after Rudolph will be made ridiculous by the robber's treatment of Chouette. That is why he makes the *maître d'école* say:

"La salutaire influence de ces pensées est telle que ma fureur s'apaise."[a]

So the *maître d'école* now admits that his *moral wrath* was nothing but *profane rage.*

"Le courage ... la force ... la volonté me manquent pour te tuer ... non, ce n'est pas à moi de verser ton sang ... ce serait ... un *meurtre*" (he calls things by their names) ... "meurtre excusable peut-être ... mais ce serait toujours un meurtre."[b]

Chouette wounds the *maître d'école* with a dagger just in time. Eugène Sue can now let him kill her without any further moral casuistry.

"Il poussa un cri de douleur ... les ardeurs féroces de sa vengeance, de ses rages, ses instincts sanguinaires, brusquement réveillés et exaspérés par cette attaque, firent une explosion soudaine, terrible, où s'abîma sa raison déjà fortement ébranlée ... Ah vipère! ... j'ai senti ta dent ... tu seras comme moi *sans yeux.*"[c]

And he scratches her eyes out.

When the nature of the *maître d'école,* which has been only hypocritically, sophistically disguised, only ascetically repressed by Rudolph's cure, breaks out, the *outburst* is all the more violent and terrifying. We must be grateful to Eugène Sue for his admission that the reason of the *maître d'école* was badly shaken by all the events which Rudolph has prepared.

"The last spark of his reason was extinguished in that cry of terror, in that cry of a damned soul" (he sees the ghosts of his murdered victims) "... the *maître d'école* rages and roars like a *frenzied beast....* He tortures Chouette to death."

Herr Szeliga mutters under his breath:

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[a] "The salutary influence of these thoughts is such that my rage is appeased."—*Ed.*

[b] "I lack courage ... strength ... will to kill you.... No, it is not for me to shed your blood ... it would be ... *murder....* Excusable murder, perhaps, but murder all the same."—*Ed.*

[c] "He uttered a cry of pain ... his fierce passion of vengeance, of rage and of bloodthirsty instinct, suddenly aroused and exacerbated by this attack, had a sudden and terrible outburst in which his already badly shaken reason was shattered.... Viper! I have felt your fang ... you will be *sightless* as I am."—*Ed.*

"With the *maître d'école* there cannot be such a *swift*" (!) "and *fortunate*" (!) "*transformation*" (!) "as with *Schurimann.*"

Just as Rudolph sends Fleur de Marie into a convent, he makes the *maître d'école* an inmate of the *Bicêtre* asylum. He has paralysed his *spiritual* as well as his physical strength. And rightly. For the *maître d'école* sinned with his spiritual as well as his physical strength, and according to Rudolph's penal theory the *sinning forces* must be annihilated.

But Eugène Sue has not yet consummated the "repentance and atonement linked with a terrible revenge". The *maître d'école* recovers his reason, but fearing to be delivered to justice he remains in Bicêtre and *pretends* to be mad. Monsieur Sue forgets that "every word he said was to be a *prayer*", whereas finally it is much more like the inarticulate howling and raving of a madman. Or does Monsieur Sue perhaps ironically put these manifestations of life on the *same* level as praying?

The idea underlying the punishment that Rudolph carried out in blinding the *maître d'école*—the isolation of the man and his soul from the outer world, the combination of legal punishment with theological torture—finds its ultimate expression in *solitary confinement.* That is why Monsieur Sue glorifies this system.

"How many centuries had to pass before it was realised that there is *only one* means of overcoming the rapidly spreading leprosy" (i.e., the corruption of morals in prisons) "which is threatening the body of society: isolation."

Monsieur Sue shares the opinion of the worthy people who explain the spread of crime by the organisation of prisons. To remove the criminal from bad society he is left to his own society.

Eugène Sue says:

"I should consider myself lucky if my weak voice could be heard among all those which so rightly and so insistently demand the *complete* and *absolute* application of solitary confinement."

Monsieur Sue's wish has been only *partially* fulfilled. In the debates on solitary confinement in the Chamber of Deputies this year, even the official supporters of that system had to acknowledge that it leads sooner or later to insanity in the criminal. All sentences of imprisonment for more than ten years had therefore to be converted into deportation.

Had Messieurs Tocqueville and Beaumont studied Eugène Sue's novel thoroughly they would certainly have secured complete and absolute application of solitary confinement.

If Eugène Sue deprives criminals with a sane mind of society in

order to make them insane, he gives insane persons society to make them sane.

"L'expérience prouve que pour les aliénés l'isolement est aussi funeste qu'il est salutaire pour les détenus criminels."[a]

If Monsieur Sue and his Critical hero Rudolph have not made *law* poorer by any mystery, whether through the *Catholic penal theory* or the *Methodist solitary confinement*, they have, on the other hand, enriched medicine with new mysteries, and after all, it is just as much of a service to *discover new* mysteries as to *disclose old* ones. In its report on the blinding of the *maître d'école*, Critical Criticism fully agrees with Monsieur Sue:

"When he is told he is deprived of the light of his eyes he does not even believe it."

The *maître d'école* could not believe in the loss of his sight because in reality he could still see. Monsieur Sue is describing a new kind of cataract and is reporting a real mystery for mass-type, un-Critical *ophthalmology*.

The *pupil* is *white* after the operation, so it is a case of *cataract of the crystalline lens*. So far, this could, of course, be caused by injury to the envelope of the lens without causing much pain, though not entirely without pain. But as doctors achieve this result only by *natural*, not by *Critical* means, the only resort was to wait until inflammation set in after the injury and the exudation dimmed the lens.

A still greater *miracle* and greater *mystery* befall the *maître d'école* in the third chapter of the third book.

The man who has been blinded *sees* again.

"La Chouette, le maître d'école et Tortillard *virent* le prêtre et Fleur de Marie."[b]

If we do not interpret this restoration of the *maître d'école*'s ability to see as an *author's miracle* after the method of the *Kritik der Synoptiker*, the *maître d'école* must have had his cataract operated on again. Later he is blind again. So he used his eyes too soon and the irritation of the light caused inflammation which ended in paralysis of the *retina* and incurable *amaurosis*. It is another *mystery* for un-Critical ophthalmology that this process takes place here in a *single* second.

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[a] "Experience proves that isolation is as fatal for the insane as it is salutary for imprisoned criminals."—*Ed.*

[b] "Chouette, the *maître d'école* and Tortillard *saw* the priest and Fleur de Marie."—*Ed.*

### b) Reward and Punishment. Double Justice
(with a Table)

The hero Rudolph reveals a new theory to keep society upright by *rewarding the good* and *punishing the wicked.* Un-Critically considered, this theory is nothing but the theory of society as it is today. How little lacking it is in rewards for the good and punishments for the wicked! Compared with this revealed mystery, how un-Critical is the mass-type Communist *Owen,* who sees in punishment and reward the consecration of differences in social rank and the complete expression of a servile abasement.

It could be considered as a *new* revelation that Eugène Sue makes rewards derive from the judiciary — from a new appendix to the Penal Code — and not satisfied with *one* jurisdiction he invents a *second.* Unfortunately this revealed mystery, too, is the repetition of an old theory expounded in detail by *Bentham* in his work already mentioned.[a] On the other hand, we cannot deny Monsieur Eugène Sue the honour of having motivated and developed Bentham's suggestion in an incomparably more Critical way than the latter. Whereas the mass-type Englishman keeps his feet on the ground, Sue's deduction rises to the Critical region of the heavens. His argument is as follows:

> "The supposed effects of heavenly wrath are materialised to deter the wicked. Why should not the effect of the divine reward of the good be similarly materialised and anticipated on earth?"

In the *un-Critical* view it is the other way round: the heavenly criminal theory has only idealised the earthly theory, just as divine reward is only an idealisation of human wage service. It is absolutely necessary that society should not reward all good people so that divine justice will have some advantage over human justice.

In depicting his Critical rewarding justice, Monsieur Sue gives "an example of the *feminine dogmatism* that must have a formula and forms it according to the categories of *what exists*",[b] dogmatism which was censured with all the "tranquillity of knowledge" by Herr Edgar in Flora Tristan. For each point of the present *penal code,* which he retains, Monsieur Sue projects the addition of a counterpart in a *reward code* copied from it to the last detail. For easier survey we shall give his description of the complementary pairs in tabular form:

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[a] *Théorie des peines et des récompenses.—Ed.*

[b] See pp. 19-20 of this volume.—*Ed.*

## *Table of Critically Complete Justice*

| *Existing Justice* | *Critically Supplementing Justice* |
|---|---|
| Name: Justice *Criminelle*[a] | Name: Justice *Vertueuse*[b] |
| *Description*: holds in its hand a *sword* to shorten the wicked by a head. | *Description*: holds in its hand a *crown* to raise the good by a head. |
| *Purpose*: Punishment of the wicked—imprisonment, infamy, deprivation of life.<br><br>The people is notified of the terrible chastisements for the wicked. | *Purpose*: Reward of the good, free board, honour, maintenance of life.<br><br>The people is notified of the brilliant triumphs for the good. |
| *Means of discovering the wicked*: Police spying, *mouchards*, to keep watch over the wicked. | *Means of discovering the good*: *Espionnage de vertu, mouchards*[c] to keep watch over the virtuous. |
| *Method of ascertaining whether someone is wicked*: *Les assises du crime*, criminal assizes. The public ministry points out and indicts the crimes of the accused for public vengeance. | *Method of ascertaining whether someone is good*: *Assises de la vertu*, virtue assizes. The public ministry points out and proclaims the noble deeds of the accused for public recognition. |
| *Condition of the criminal after sentence*: Under *surveillance de la haute police*.[d] Is fed in prison. The state defrays expenses. | *Condition of the virtuous after sentence*: Under *surveillance de la haute charité morale*.[e] Is fed at home. The state defrays expenses. |
| *Execution*: The criminal stands on the *scaffold*. | *Execution*: Immediately opposite the scaffold of the criminal a *pedestal* is erected on which the *grand homme de bien*[f] stands.—*A pillory of virtue.* |

[a] *Criminal* justice.—*Ed.*
[b] *Virtuous* justice.—*Ed.*
[c] Spying out virtue, informers.—*Ed.*
[d] Supervision of the supreme police.—*Ed.*
[e] Supervision of supreme moral charity.—*Ed.*
[f] Man of great virtue.—*Ed.*

Moved by the sight of this picture, Monsieur Sue exclaims:

"Hélas, c'est une utopie, mais supposez qu'une société soit *organisée* de telle sorte!"[a]

That would be the *Critical organisation of society.* We must defend this organisation against Eugène Sue's reproach that up to now it has remained a utopia. Sue has again forgotten the "*Virtue Prize*" which is awarded every year in Paris and which he himself mentions. This prize is even organised in duplicate: the material *prix Montyon* for noble acts of men and women, and the *prix rosière* for girls of highest morality. There is even the *wreath* of roses demanded by Eugène Sue.

As far as *espionnage de vertu* and the *surveillance de haute charité morale* are concerned, they were organised long ago by the Jesuits. Moreover, the *Journal des Débats, Siècle, Petites affiches de Paris,* etc., point out and proclaim the virtues, noble acts and merits of all the Paris stockjobbers[b] daily and at cost price not counting the pointing out and proclamation of political noble acts, for which each party has its own organ.

Old Voss remarked long ago that Homer is better than his gods. The "revealed mystery of all mysteries", Rudolph, can therefore be made responsible for Eugène Sue's ideas.

In addition, Herr *Szeliga* reports:

"Besides, the passages in which Eugène Sue interrupts the narration and introduces or concludes episodes are very numerous, and all are *Critical.*"

### c) Abolition of Degeneracy Within Civilisation and of Rightlessness in the State

The juridical *preventive means* for the abolition of crime and hence of degeneracy within civilisation consists in the

"protective guardianship assumed by the state over the children of executed criminals or of those condemned to a life sentence".

Sue wants to organise the subdivision of crime in a more liberal way. No family should any longer have a hereditary privilege to crime; free competition in crime should triumph over monopoly.

Monsieur Sue abolishes "rightlessness in the state" by reforming the section of the *Code pénal* on *abus de confiance,*[c] and especially by the institution of *paid lawyers for the poor.* He finds that in

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[a] Alas! It is a utopia! But suppose a society were *organised* in this way!
[b] This word is in English in the original.—*Ed.*
[c] Breach of trust.—*Ed.*

Piedmont, Holland, etc., where there are lawyers for the poor, rightlessness in the state has been abolished. The only failing of French legislation is that it does not provide for payment of lawyers for the poor, has no lawyers restricted to serving the poor, and makes the legal limits of poverty too narrow. As if rightlessness did not begin in the very *lawsuit* itself, and as if it had not already been known for a long time in France that the *law* gives nothing, but only sanctions what exists. The already trivial differentiation between *droit* and *fait* seems still to be a *mystère de Paris* for the Critical novelist.

If we add to the Critical revelation of the mysteries of law the great reforms which Eugène Sue wants to institute in respect of *huissiers*,[a] we shall understand the Paris journal *Satan*. There we see the residents of a district in the city write to the "*grand réformateur à tant la ligne*"[b] that there is no gaslight yet in their streets. Monsieur Sue replies that he will deal with this shortcoming in the sixth volume of his *Juif errant*.[c] Another part of the city complains of the shortcomings of preliminary education. He promises a preliminary education reform for that district of the city in the tenth volume of *Juif errant*.

### 4) THE REVEALED MYSTERY OF THE "STANDPOINT"

"Rudolph does not remain at his lofty" (!) "*standpoint* ... he does not shirk the trouble of adopting by free choice the *standpoints* on the right and on the left, above and below" (*Szeliga*).

One of the principal mysteries of Critical Criticism is the "*standpoint*" and *judgment from the standpoint of the standpoint*. For Criticism every man, like every product of the spirit, is turned into a standpoint.

Nothing is easier than to see through the mystery of the standpoint when one has seen through the general mystery of Critical Criticism, that of warming up old speculative trash.

First of all, let *Criticism* itself expound its theory of the "standpoint" in the words of its patriarch, Herr *Bruno Bauer*.

"Science ... *never* deals with a *given single individual* or a *given definite standpoint*.... It will not fail, of course, *to do away with the limitations of a standpoint* if it is worth the trouble and if these limitations have really general human significance; but it conceives them as *pure category and determinateness of self-consciousness* and accordingly speaks only for those who have the courage to rise to

[a] Bailiffs.—*Ed.*
[b] "Great reformer at so much a line."—*Ed.*
[c] *The Wandering Jew*.—*Ed.*

the *generality of self-consciousness*, i.e., who do not wish with all their strength to remain within those limitations" (*Anekdota*, t. II, p. 127).[a]

The *mystery* of this courage of Bauer's is *Hegel's Phänomenologie*. Because Hegel here substitutes *self-consciousness* for *man*, the *most varied* manifestations of human reality appear only as *definite* forms, as *determinateness of self-consciousness*. But mere determinateness of self-consciousness is a "*pure category*", a mere "thought", which I can consequently also transcend in "pure" thought and overcome through pure thought. In Hegel's *Phänomenologie* the *material, sensuously perceptible, objective* foundations of the various estranged forms of human self-consciousness are allowed to *remain*. The whole destructive work results in the *most conservative philosophy* because it thinks it has overcome the *objective world*, the sensuously perceptible real world, by transforming it into a "Thing of Thought", a mere *determinateness of self-consciousness*, and can therefore also dissolve its opponent, which has become *ethereal*, in the "*ether of pure thought*". The *Phänomenologie* is therefore quite consistent in that it ends by replacing human reality by "*absolute knowledge*"—*knowledge*, because this is the only mode of existence of self-consciousness, and because self-consciousness is considered the only mode of existence of man—*absolute* knowledge for the very reason that self-consciousness knows *only itself* and is no longer disturbed by any objective world. Hegel makes man the *man of self-consciousness* instead of making self-consciousness the *self-consciousness of man*, of real man, i.e., of man living also in a real, objective world and determined by that world. He stands the world *on its head* and can therefore *in his head* also dissolve all limitations, which nevertheless remain in existence *for bad sensuousness*, for *real* man. Moreover, everything that betrays the *limitations of general self-consciousness*—all sensuousness, reality, individuality of men and of their world—is necessarily held by him to be a limit. The whole of the *Phänomenologie* is intended to prove that *self-consciousness* is the *only reality* and *all reality*.

Herr Bauer has recently re-christened absolute knowledge *Criticism*, and given the more profane sounding name *standpoint* to the determinateness of self-consciousness. In the *Anekdota* both names are still to be found side by side, and standpoint is still explained as the determinateness of self-consciousness.

Since the "*religious world as such*" exists only as the world of *self-consciousness*, the Critical Critic—the theologian *ex profes-*

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[a] B. Bauer, *Leiden und Freuden des theologischen Bewusstseins*.—*Ed*.

*so*—cannot by any means entertain the thought that there is a world in which *consciousness* and *being* are distinct; a world which continues to exist when I merely abolish its existence in thought, its existence as a category or as a standpoint; i.e., when I modify my own subjective consciousness without altering the objective reality in a really objective way, that is to say, without altering my own *objective* reality and that of other men. Hence the speculative *mystical identity* of *being* and *thinking* is repeated in Criticism as the equally mystical identity of *practice* and *theory*. That is why Criticism is so vexed with practice which wants to be something distinct from theory, and with theory which wants to be something other than the dissolution of a definite *category* in the "*boundless generality of self-consciousness*". Its own theory is confined to stating that everything determinate is an opposite of the boundless generality of self-consciousness and is, therefore, of no significance; for example, the state, private property, etc. It must be shown, on the contrary, how the state, private property, etc., turn human beings into abstractions, or are products of *abstract* man, instead of being the reality of individual, concrete human beings.

Finally, it goes without saying that whereas Hegel's *Phänomenologie*, in spite of its speculative original sin, gives in many instances the elements of a true description of human relations, Herr Bruno and Co., on the other hand, provide only an empty caricature, a caricature which is satisfied with deriving any determinateness out of a product of the spirit or even out of real relations and movements, changing this determinateness into a determinateness of thought, into a *category*, and making out that this category is the *standpoint* of the product, of the relation and the movement, in order then to be able to look down on this determinateness triumphantly with old-man's wisdom from the standpoint of abstraction, of the general category and of general self-consciousness.

Just as in Rudolph's opinion all human beings maintain the standpoint of good or bad and are judged by these two immutable conceptions, so for Herr Bauer and Co. all human beings adopt the standpoint of *Criticism* or that of the *Mass*. But both turn *real human beings* into *abstract standpoints*.

### 5) REVELATION OF THE MYSTERY OF THE UTILISATION OF HUMAN IMPULSES, OR CLEMENCE D'HARVILLE

So far Rudolph has been unable to do more than reward the good and punish the wicked in his own way. We shall now see an example

of how he makes the *passions* useful and "gives the good natural disposition of Clémence d'Harville an appropriate development".

"Rudolph," says Herr Szeliga, "draws her attention to the *entertaining* aspect of *charity*, a thought which testifies to a knowledge of human beings that can *only* arise in the soul of Rudolph after it has been through trial."

The expressions which Rudolph uses in his conversation with Clémence:

"faire *attrayant*", "*utiliser le goût naturel*", "*régler l'intrigue*", "*utiliser les penchants à la dissimulation et à la ruse*", "changer en qualités généreuses des instincts impérieux, inexorables" [a] *etc.*,

these expressions just as much as the *impulses* themselves, which are mostly attributed here to woman's nature, *betray* the secret source of Rudolph's wisdom — *Fourier*. He has come across some popular presentation of Fourier's theory.

The *application* is again just as much Rudolph's Critical own as is the exposition of Bentham's theory given above.

It is not in charity *as such* that the young marquise is to find the satisfaction of her essential human nature, a human content and purpose of her activity, and hence entertainment. Charity offers rather only the external occasion, only the *pretext*, only the *material*, for a kind of entertainment that could just as well use any other material as its content. Misery is exploited consciously to procure the charitable person "the piquancy of a novel, the satisfaction of curiosity, adventure, disguise, enjoyment of his or her own excellence, violent nervous excitement", and the like.

Rudolph has thereby unconsciously expressed the mystery which was revealed long ago, that human misery itself, the infinite abjectness which is obliged to receive alms, must serve the aristocracy of money and education as a *plaything* to satisfy its self-love, tickle its arrogance and amuse it.

The numerous charitable associations in Germany, the numerous charitable societies in France and the great number of charitable quixotic societies in England, the concerts, balls, plays, meals for the poor, and even the public subscriptions for victims of accidents, have no other object. It seems then that along these lines charity, too, has long been *organised* as entertainment.

The sudden, unmotivated transformation of the marquise at the mere word *"amusant"* makes us doubt the durability of her cure;

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[a] "To make *attractive*", "*to utilise natural taste*", "*to regulate intrigue*", "*to utilise the propensity to dissimulation and craft*", "to change imperious, inexorable instincts into noble qualities".— *Ed.*

or rather this transformation is sudden and unmotivated only in appearance and is caused only in appearance by the description of *charité* as an amusement. The marquise *loves* Rudolph and Rudolph wants to disguise himself *along with her*, to intrigue and to indulge in charitable adventures. Later, when the marquise pays a charity visit to the prison of Saint-Lazare, her jealousy of Fleur de Marie becomes apparent and out of charity towards her jealousy she conceals from Rudolph the fact of Marie's detention. At the best, Rudolph has succeeded in teaching an unhappy woman to play a silly comedy with unhappy beings. The mystery of the *philanthropy* he has hatched is betrayed by the Paris fop who invites his partner to supper after the dance in the following words:

"Ah, Madame! ce n'est pas assez d'avoir dansé au bénéfice des ces pauvres Polonais ... soyons philanthropes jusqu'au bout ... allons *souper* maintenant au *profit des pauvres*!"[a]

### 6) REVELATION OF THE MYSTERY OF THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN, OR LOUISE MOREL

On the occasion of the arrest of *Louise Morel*, Rudolph indulges in reflections which he sums up as follows:

"The master often ruins the maid, either by fear, surprise or other use of the opportunities provided by the nature of *the servants' condition*. He reduces her to misery, shame and crime. The *law is not concerned* with this.... The criminal who has in fact driven a girl to infanticide is not *punished*."

Rudolph's reflections do not go so far as to make the *servants' condition* the object of his most gracious Criticism. Being a *petty* ruler, he is a *great* patroniser of servants' conditions. Still less does he go so far as to understand that the general position of women in modern society is inhuman. Faithful in all respects to his previous theory, he deplores only that there is no *law which punishes* a seducer and links repentance and atonement with terrible chastisement.

Rudolph has only to take a look at the existing legislation in other countries. *English* laws fulfil all his wishes. In their delicacy, which *Blackstone* so highly praises, they go so far as to declare it a *felony* to seduce even a prostitute.

Herr Szeliga exclaims with a *flourish*:

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[a] "Ah, Madame, it is not enough to have danced for the benefit of these poor Poles.... Let us be philanthropic to the end.... Let us have *supper* now for the *benefit of the poor*!"—*Ed*.

*"So"* (!)— *"thinks"* (!)— *"Rudolph"* (!)—"and now compare *these thoughts* with your *fantasies* about the *emancipation of woman.* The act of this emancipation can be *almost* physically grasped from them, but you are much too practical to start with, and that is why your attempts have failed so often."

In any case we must thank Herr Szeliga for revealing the mystery that an act can be almost physically grasped from thoughts. As for his ridiculous comparison of Rudolph with men who taught the emancipation of woman, compare Rudolph's *thoughts* with the following "fantasies" of *Fourier*:

"Adultery, seduction, are a credit to the seducer, are good tone.... But, poor girl! Infanticide! What a crime! If she prizes her honour she must efface all traces of dishonour. But if she sacrifices her child to the prejudices of the world her ignominy is all the greater and she is a victim of the prejudices of the law.... That is the *vicious circle* which every civilised mechanism describes."

"Is not the young daughter a ware held up for sale to the first bidder who wishes to obtain exclusive ownership of her?... De même qu'en grammaire deux négations valent une affirmation, l'on peut dire qu'en *négoce conjugal deux prostitutions valent une vertu.*" [a]

"The change in a historical epoch can always be determined by women's progress towards freedom, because here, in the relation of woman to man, of the weak to the strong, the victory of human nature over brutality is most evident. The degree of emancipation of woman is the natural measure of general emancipation."

"The humiliation of the female sex is an essential feature of civilisation as well as of barbarism. The only difference is that the civilised system raises every vice that barbarism practises in a simple form to a compound, equivocal, ambiguous, hypocritical mode of existence.... No one is punished more severely for keeping woman in slavery than man himself" (*Fourier*).[67]

It is superfluous to contrast Rudolph's thoughts with Fourier's masterly characterisation of *marriage,* or with the works of the materialist section of French communism.[68]

The most pitiful off-scourings of socialist literature, a sample of which is to be found in this novelist, reveal "mysteries" still unknown to Critical Criticism.

### 7) REVELATION OF POLITICAL ECONOMIC MYSTERIES

#### a) Theoretical Revelation of Political Economic Mysteries

*First revelation*: Wealth often leads to waste, waste to ruin.

*Second revelation*: The above-mentioned effects of wealth arise from a lack of instruction in rich youth.

*Third revelation*: *Inheritance* and *private property* are and *must* be inviolable and sacred.

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[a] "Just as in grammar two negations are the equivalent of an affirmation, we can say that in the *marriage trade two prostitutions are the equivalent of virtue.*" — *Ed.*

*Fourth revelation*: The rich man is *morally* responsible to the workers for the way he uses his fortune. A large fortune is a hereditary deposit—a *feudal tenement* —entrusted to clever, firm, skilful and magnanimous hands, which are at the same time charged with making it fruitful and using it in such a way that everything which has the *good luck* to be within the range of the dazzling and wholesome radiation of that large fortune is fructified, vitalised and improved.

*Fifth revelation*: The state must give inexperienced rich youth the *rudiments* of *individual economy*. It must give a moral character to riches.

*Sixth revelation*: Finally, the state must tackle the vast question of *organisation of labour*. It must give the wholesome example of the *association of capitals and labour*, of an association which is honest, intelligent and fair, which ensures the well-being of the *worker without* prejudice to the *fortune of the rich*, which establishes *links* of sympathy and gratitude *between* these *two classes* and thus ensures tranquillity in the state *for ever*.

Since the state at present does not yet accept this theory *Rudolph* himself gives some practical examples. They reveal the mystery that the most generally known *economic relations* are still "mysteries" for Monsieur Sue, Monsieur Rudolph and Critical Criticism.

### b) "The Bank for the Poor"

Rudolph institutes a *Bank for the Poor*. The statute of this *Critical* Bank for the Poor is as follows:

It must give support during periods of unemployment to honest workers with families. It must replace alms and pawnshops. It has at its disposal an annual income of 12,000 francs and distributes interest-free assistance loans of 20 to 40 francs. At first it extends its activity only to the *seventh arrondissement* of Paris, where most of the workers live. Working men and women applying for relief must have a certificate from their last employer vouching for their good behaviour and giving the cause and date of the interruption of work. These loans are to be paid off in monthly instalments of one-sixth or one-twelfth of the sum at the choice of the borrower, counting from the day on which he finds employment again. The loan is guaranteed by the borrower's word of honour. Moreover, the latter's *parole jurée*[a] must be guaranteed by two other workers.

[a] Sworn word.—*Ed.*

As the Critical purpose of the Bank for the Poor is to remedy one of the most grievous misfortunes in the life of the worker—*interruption in employment*—assistance would be given only to unemployed manual workers. Monsieur Germain, the manager of this institution, draws a yearly salary of 10,000 francs.

Let us now cast a mass-type glance at the practice of Critical political economy. The annual income is 12,000 francs. The amount loaned per person is from 20 to 40 francs, hence an average of 30 francs. The number of workers in the seventh *arrondissement* who are officially recognised as "needy" is at least 4,000. Hence, in a year only 400, or one-tenth, of the neediest workers in the seventh *arrondissement* can receive relief. If we estimate the *average length* of unemployment in Paris at 4 months, i.e., 16 weeks, we shall be considerably below the actual figure. Thirty francs divided over 16 weeks gives somewhat less than 37 sous and 3 centimes a week, not even 27 centimes a day. The daily expense on *one prisoner* in France is on the average a little over 47 centimes, somewhat over 30 centimes being spent on food alone. But the worker to whom Monsieur Rudolph pays relief has a family. Let us take the average family as consisting of man, wife and only two children; that means that 27 centimes must be divided among four persons. From this we must deduct rent—a minimum of 15 centimes a day—so that 12 centimes remain. The average amount of *bread* eaten by a *single* prisoner costs about 14 centimes. Therefore, even disregarding all other needs, the worker and his family will not be able to buy even a quarter of the bread they need with the help obtained from the Critical Bank for the Poor. They will certainly starve if they do not resort to the means that the bank is intended to obviate—the pawnshop, begging, thieving and prostitution.

The manager of the Bank for the Poor, on the other hand, is all the more brilliantly provided for by the man of ruthless Criticism. The income he administers is 12,000 francs, his salary is 10,000. The management therefore costs 85 per cent of the total, nearly three times as much as the mass-type administration of poor relief in Paris, which costs about 17 per cent of the total.

Let us suppose for a moment that the assistance that the Bank for the Poor provides is real, not just illusory. In that case the institution of the revealed mystery of all mysteries rests on the illusion that only a different *distribution* of wages is required to enable the workers to live through the year.

Speaking in the prosaic sense, the income of 7,500,000 French workers averages no more than 91 francs per head, that of

another 7,500,000 is only 120 francs per head; hence for at least 15,000,000 it is less than is absolutely necessary for life.

The idea of the Critical Bank for the Poor, if it is rationally conceived, amounts to this: during the time the worker is employed as much will be deducted from his wages as he needs for his living during unemployment. It comes to the same thing whether I advance him a certain sum during his unemployment and he gives it back when he has employment, or he gives up a certain sum when he has employment and I give it back to him when he is unemployed. In either case he gives me when he is working what he gets from me when he is unemployed.

Thus, the "pure" *Bank for the Poor* differs from the mass-type *savings-banks* only in two very original, very Critical qualities. The first is that the Bank for the Poor lends money *"à fonds perdus"*[a] on the senseless assumption that the worker could pay back if he wanted to and that he would always want to pay back if he could. The second is that it pays no *interest* on the sum put aside by the worker. As this sum is given the form of an advance, the Bank for the Poor thinks it is doing the worker a favour by not charging him any interest.

The difference between the Critical Bank for the Poor and the mass-type savings-banks is therefore that the worker loses his interest and the Bank its capital.

### c) Model Farm at Bouqueval

Rudolph founds a *model farm* at *Bouqueval.* The choice of the place is all the more fortunate as it preserves memories of feudal times, namely of a *château seigneurial.*[b]

Each of the six men employed on this farm is paid 150 écus, or 450 francs a year, while the women get 60 écus, or 180 francs. Moreover they get board and lodging free. The ordinary daily fare of the people at Bouqueval consists of a "formidable" plate of ham, an equally formidable plate of mutton and, finally, a no less massive piece of veal supplemented by two kinds of winter salad, two large cheeses, potatoes, cider, etc. Each of the six men does *twice* the work of the ordinary French agricultural labourer.

As the total annual income produced by France, if divided equally, would come to no more than 93 francs per person, and as the total number of inhabitants employed directly in agriculture is

[a] Not to be repaid.—*Ed.*

[b] A feudal manor.—*Ed.*

two-thirds of the population of France, it will be seen what a revolution the general imitation of the German caliph's model farm would cause not only in the distribution, but also in the production of the national wealth.

According to what has been said, Rudolph achieved this enormous increase in production solely by making each labourer work twice as much and eat six times as much as before.

Since the French peasant is very industrious, labourers who work *twice* as much must be *superhuman athletes*, as the "formidable" meat dishes also seem to indicate. Hence we may assume that each of the six men eats at least a pound of meat a day.

If all the meat produced in France were distributed equally there would not be even a quarter of a pound per person per day. It is therefore obvious what a revolution Rudolph's example would cause in this respect too. The agricultural population *alone* would consume more meat than is produced in France, so that as a result of this Critical reform France would be left without any livestock.

The fifth part of the gross product which Rudolph, according to the report of the manager of Bouqueval, Father Chatelain, allows the labourers, in addition to the high wage and sumptuous board, is nothing else than his *rent*. It is assumed that, on the average, after deduction of all production costs and profit on the working capital, one-fifth of the gross product remains for the French landowner, that is to say, the ratio of the rent to the gross product is one to five. Although it is beyond doubt that Rudolph decreases the profit on his working capital beyond all proportion by increasing the expenditure for the labourers beyond all proportion—according to Chaptal (*De l'industrie francaise*, t. I, p. 239) the average yearly income of the French agricultural labourer is 120 francs—although Rudolph gives his whole rent away to the labourers, Father Chatelain nevertheless reports that the prince thereby increases his revenue and thus inspires un-Critical landowners to farm in the same way.

The Bouqueval model farm is nothing but a fantastic illusion; its *hidden fund* is not the *natural* land of the Bouqueval estate, it is a magic purse of Fortunatus that Rudolph has!

In this connection Critical Criticism exultantly declares:

"You can see from the *whole* plan at a *first glance* that it is *not a utopia*."

Only Critical Criticism can see at a first glance at a *Fortunatus' purse* that it is not a utopia. The first glance of Criticism is—the glance of "the evil eye"!

## 8) RUDOLPH, "THE REVEALED MYSTERY OF ALL MYSTERIES"

The miraculous means by which Rudolph accomplishes all his redemptions and miracle cures is not his fine words but his *ready money*. That is what the moralists are like, says Fourier. You must be a millionaire to be able to imitate their heroes.

*Morality* is "*impuissance mise en action*".[a] Every time it fights a vice it is defeated. And Rudolph does not even rise to the standpoint of independent morality, which is based at least on the consciousness of *human dignity*. His morality, on the contrary, is based on the consciousness of human weakness. His is the *theological* morality. We have investigated in detail the heroic feats that he accomplished with his *fixed, Christian* ideas, by which he measures the world, with his "*charité*", "*dévouement*", "*abnégation*", "*repentir*", "*bons*" and "*méchants*", "*récompense*" and "*punition*", "*châtiments terribles*", "*isolement*", "*salut de l'âme*",[b] etc. We have proved that they are mere Eulenspiegel tricks. All that we still have to deal with here is the *personal* character of Rudolph, the "revealed mystery of all mysteries" or the revealed mystery of "*pure* Criticism".

The antithesis of "good" and "evil" confronts the Critical Hercules when he is still a youth in two personifications, *Murph* and *Polidori*, both of them Rudolph's teachers. The former educates him in good and is "the *Good One*". The latter educates him in evil and is "the *Evil One*". So that this conception should by no means be inferior in triviality to similar conceptions in other novels, Murph, the personification of "*the good*", cannot be "*savant*" or "particularly endowed intellectually". But he is *honest, simple,* and *laconic*; he feels himself great when he applies to evil such monosyllabic words as "*foul*" or "*vile*", and he has a *horreur* of anything which is *base*. To use Hegel's expression, he honestly sets the melody of the good and the true in an equality of tones, i.e., on *one note*.

*Polidori*, on the contrary, is a prodigy of cleverness, knowledge and education, and at the same time of the "most dangerous immorality", having, in particular, what Eugène Sue, as a member of the young pious French bourgeoisie, could not forget— "*le plus*

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[a] "*Impotence in action.*" Ch. Fourier, *Théorie des quatre mouvements et des destinées générales*, Part II, Epilogue.—*Ed.*

[b] "*Charity*", "*devotion*", "*self-denial*", "*repentance*", the "*good*" and the "*wicked*" people, "*reward*" and "*punishment*", "*terrible chastisements*", "*isolation*", "*salvation of the soul*".—*Ed.*

*effrayant scepticisme*".[a] We can judge the spiritual energy and education of Eugène Sue and his hero by their panic fear of *scepticism.*

"Murph," says Herr Szeliga, "is at the same time the perpetuated guilt of January 13[b] and the perpetual redemption of that guilt by his incomparable love and self-sacrifice for the person of Rudolph."

Just as Rudolph is the *deus ex machina* and the mediator of the world, so Murph, for his part, is the personal *deus ex machina* and mediator of Rudolph.

"Rudolph and the salvation of mankind, Rudolph and the realisation of man's essential perfections, are for Murph an inseparable unity, a unity to which he dedicates himself not with the stupid dog-like devotion of the slave, but knowingly and independently."

So Murph is an enlightened, knowing and independent slave. Like every prince's valet, he sees in his master the salvation of mankind personified. *Graun* flatters Murph with the words: "*intrépide garde du corps*".[c] Rudolph himself calls him *modèle d'un valet*[d] and truly he is a *model servant.* Eugène Sue tells us that Murph scrupulously addresses Rudolph as "Monseigneur" when alone with him. In the presence of others he calls him *Monsieur* with his lips to keep his incognito, but "Monseigneur" with his heart.

"Murph helps to raise the veil from the mysteries, but only for Rudolph's sake. He helps in the work of destroying the power of mystery."

The denseness of the veil which conceals the simplest conditions of the world from Murph can be seen from his conversation with the envoy Graun. From the legal right of self-defence in case of emergency he concludes that Rudolph, as *judge of the secret court,* was entitled to blind the *maître d'école,* although the latter was in chains and "defenceless". His description of how Rudolph will tell of his "noble" actions before the assizes, will make a display of eloquent phrases, and will let his great heart pour forth, is worthy of a grammar-school boy who has just read Schiller's *Raüber.* The only mystery which Murph lets the world solve is whether he blacked his face with coal-dust or black paint when he played the *charbonnier.*[e]

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[a] "*The most frightful scepticism*".—*Ed.*

[b] On this day, Rudolph, in a fit of anger, made an attempt on the life of his father, but repented and gave the word to do good.—*Ed.*

[c] "*Fearless bodyguard*".—*Ed.*

[d] *A model servant.*—*Ed.*

[e] Coal-man.—*Ed.*

"The angels shall come forth and sever the wicked from among the just" (Mat. 13:49). "Tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil...; But glory, honour, and peace, to every man that worketh good" (Rom. 2:9-10).

Rudolph makes himself one of those *angels*. He goes forth into the world to sever the wicked from among the just, to punish the wicked and reward the good. The conception of good and evil has sunk so deep into his weak brain that he really believes in a corporeal Satan and wants to catch the devil alive, as at one time Professor *Sack* wanted to in Bonn.[69] On the other hand, he tries to copy on a small scale the opposite of the devil, *God*. He likes "*de jouer un peu le rôle de la providence*".[a] Just as in *reality all* differences become merged more and more in the difference between *poor* and *rich*, so *all* aristocratic differences become dissolved in *idea* in the opposition between *good* and *evil*. This distinction is the last form that the aristocrat gives to his prejudices. Rudolph regards himself as a good man and thinks that the wicked exist to afford him the self-satisfaction of his own excellence. Let us consider this personification of "the good" a little more closely.

Herr Rudolph indulges in charity and extravagance like the Caliph of Baghdad in the Arabian Nights. He cannot possibly lead that kind of life without sucking the blood out of his little principality in Germany to the last drop like a vampire. As Monsieur Sue tells us, he would have been one of the mediatised German princes[70] had he not been saved from involuntary abdication by the protection of a French *marquis*. This gives us an idea of the size of his territory. We can form a further idea of how *Critically* Rudolph appraises *his own situation* by the fact that he, a minor German *Serenissimus*, thinks it necessary to live semi-incognito in Paris in order not to attract attention. He specially takes with him one of his *chancellors* for the Critical purpose of the latter representing for him "*le côté théâtral et puéril du pouvoir souverain*"[b] as though a minor German *Serenissimus* needed another representative of the theatrical and childish side of sovereign power besides himself and his mirror. Rudolph has succeeded in imposing on his suite the same *Critical self-delusion*. Thus his servant *Murph* and his envoy *Graun* do not notice that the Parisian *homme d'affaires*,[c] Monsieur *Badinot*, makes fun of them when he pretends to take their private instructions as matters of state and sarcastically chatters about

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[a] "To play the role of Providence a little".—*Ed.*
[b] "The theatrical and childish side of sovereign power".—*Ed.*
[c] Household manager.—*Ed.*

"rapports occultes qui peuvent exister entre les intérêts les plus divers et les *destinés des empires*".[a] "Yes," says Rudolph's envoy, "he has the impudence to say to me sometimes: 'How many complications unknown to the people there are in the government of a state! Who would think, Herr Baron, that the notes which I deliver to you doubtless have their influence on the course of *European affairs*?'"

The envoy and Murph do not find it impudent that influence on European affairs is ascribed to them, but that Badinot idealises his lowly occupation in such a way.

Let us first recall a scene from *Rudolph*'s domestic life. Rudolph tells Murph "he was having moments of pride and bliss". Immediately afterwards he becomes furious because Murph will not answer a question of his. "*Je vous ordonne de parler.*"[b] Murph will not let himself be ordered. Rudolph says: "*Je n'aime pas les réticences.*"[c] He forgets himself so far as to be base enough to remind Murph that he *pays* him for all his services. He will not be calmed until Murph reminds him of January 13. Murph's servile nature reasserts itself after its momentary abeyance. He tears out his "hair", which he luckily has not got, and is desperate at having been somewhat rude to his exalted master who calls him "a model servant", "his good old faithful Murph".

After these samples of evil in him, Rudolph repeats his fixed ideas on "good" and "evil" and reports the progress he is making in regard to the good. He calls alms and compassion the chaste and pious consolers of *his* wounded soul. It would be horrible, impious, a *sacrilege*, to prostitute them to abject, unworthy beings. Of course alms and compassion are the consolers of *his* soul. That is why it would be a sacrilege to desecrate them. It would be "to inspire doubt in God, and he who gives must make people believe in Him". To give alms to one abject is unthinkable!

Rudolph considers every motion of his soul as infinitely important. That is why he constantly observes and appraises them. Thus the simpleton consoles himself as far as his outburst against Murph is concerned by the fact that he was moved by Fleur de Marie. "I was moved to tears, and I am accused of being *blasé*, hard and inflexible!" After thus proving *his own goodness*, he waxes furious over "*evil*", over the wickedness of Marie's unknown mother, and says with the greatest possible solemnity to Murph:

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[a] "Occult relations that can exist between the most varying interests and the destinies of empires".—*Ed.*

[b] "I order you to speak."—*Ed.*

[c] "I do not like reticences."—*Ed.*

"*Tu le sais—certaines vengeances me sont bien chères, certaines souffrances bien* précieuses".[a]

In speaking, he makes such diabolical grimaces that his faithful servant cries out in fear: "Hélas, Monseigneur!" This great lord is like the members of *Young England,*[71] who also wish to reform the world, perform noble deeds, and are subject to similar hysterical fits.

The explanation of the adventures and situations in which Rudolph finds himself involved is to be found above all in Rudolph's *adventurous disposition.* He loves "the piquancy of novels, distractions, adventures, disguise"; his "curiosity" is "insatiable", he feels a "need for vigorous, stimulating sensations", he is "eager for *violent nervous excitement*".

This disposition of Rudolph is reinforced by his craze for *playing the role of Providence* and arranging the world according to his fixed ideas.

His attitude to other persons is determined either by an abstract fixed idea or by quite personal, fortuitous motives.

He frees the Negro doctor David and his beloved, for example, not because of the direct human sympathy which they inspire, not to free *them,* but to play *Providence* to the slave-owner Willis and to punish him for *not believing in God.* In the same way the *maître d'école* seems to him a godsent opportunity for *applying* the penal theory that he invented so long ago. Murph's conversation with the envoy Graun enables us from another aspect to see deeply into the purely personal motives that determine Rudolph's noble acts.

The prince's interest in Fleur de Marie is based, as Murph says, "apart from" the pity which the poor girl inspires, on the fact that the daughter whose loss caused him such bitter grief would now be of the same age. Rudolph's sympathy for the Marquise d'Harville has, "apart from" his philanthropic idiosyncrasies, the personal ground that without the old Marquise d'Harville and his friendship with the Emperor Alexander, Rudolph's father would have been deleted from the line of German sovereigns.

His kindness towards Madame George and his interest in Germain, her son, have the same motive. Madame George belongs to the d'Harville family.

"C'est non moins à ses malheurs et à ses vertus qu'à *cette parenté* que la pauvre Madame George a dû les incessantes bontés de son Altesse."[b]

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[a] "You know—some vengeances are very dear to me, some sufferings very precious."—*Ed.*

[b] "It is no less to her misfortunes and her virtues than *to this relationship* that poor Madame George owes the ceaseless kindness of His Highness."—*Ed.*

The apologist Murph tries to gloss over the ambiguity of Rudolph's motives by such expressions as: "*surtout, à part, non moins que*".[a]

The whole of Rudolph's character is finally summed up in the "*pure*" *hypocrisy* by which he manages to see and make others see the *outbursts of his evil passions* as *outbursts against the passions of the wicked,* in a way similar to that in which Critical Criticism represents *its own stupidities* as the *stupidities* of the *Mass,* its spiteful rancour at the progress of the world outside itself as the rancour of the world outside itself at progress, and finally its egoism, which thinks it has absorbed all Spirit in itself, as the egoistic opposition of the Mass to the Spirit.

We shall prove *Rudolph*'s "pure" hypocrisy in his attitude to the *maître d'école,* to Countess *Sarah MacGregor* and to the notary *Jacques Ferrand.*

In order to lure the *maître d'école* into a trap and seize him, Rudolph persuades him to break into his apartment. The interest he has in this is a purely personal one, not a general human one. The fact is that the *maître d'école* has a *portfolio* belonging to *Countess MacGregor,* and Rudolph is greatly interested in gaining possession of *it.* Speaking of Rudolph's *tête-à-tête* with the *maître d'école,* the author says explicitly:

> "Rodolphe se trouvait dans une anxiété cruelle; s'il laissait *échapper cette occasion de s'emparer du maître d'école,* il ne la retrouverait sans doute jamais; ce brigand *emporterait les secrets* que Rodolphe avait tant d'intérêt a savoir."[b]

With the *maître d'école,* Rudolph obtains possession of Countess MacGregor's *portfolio*; he *seizes* the *maître d'école* out of purely personal interest; he has him *blinded* out of personal passion.

When Chourineur tells Rudolph of the struggle of the *maître d'école* with Murph and gives as the reason for his resistance the fact that he knew what was in store for him, Rudolph replies: "He did not know", and he says it "*d'un air sombre, les traits contractés par cette expression presque féroce, dont nous avons parlé.*"[c] The thought of vengeance flashes across his mind, he anticipates the savage pleasure that the barbarous punishment of the *maître d'école* will afford him.

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[a] "Above all", "apart from" and "no less than".—*Ed.*

[b] "Rudolph was cruelly anxious; if he *let slip this opportunity of seizing the maître d'école,* he would probably never have another; the brigand would *carry away the secrets* that Rudolph was so keen to find out."—*Ed.*

[c] "With a sombre mien, his features contracted by the almost ferocious expression of which we have spoken".—*Ed.*

On the entrance of the Negro doctor David, whom he intends to make the instrument of his *revenge*, Rudolph cries out:

"'*Vengeance!...* Vengeance!' s'écria Rodolphe avec une *fureur froide* et *concentrée.*"[a]

A cold and concentrated fury is seething in him. Then he whispers his plan in the doctor's ear, and when the latter recoils at it, he immediately finds a "pure" theoretical motive to substitute for *personal vengeance.* It is only a case, he says, of "*applying an idea*" that has often flashed across his noble mind, and he does not forget to add unctuously: "He will still have before him the boundless horizon of atonement." He follows the example of the Spanish Inquisition which, when handing over to civil justice the victim condemned to be burnt at the stake, added a hypocritical request for mercy for the repentant sinner.

Of course, when the interrogation and sentencing of the *maître d'école* is to take place, His Highness is seated in a most comfortable study in a long, deep black dressing-gown, his features impressively pale, and in order to copy the court of justice more faithfully, he is sitting at a long table on which are the exhibits of the case. He must now discard the expression of rage and revenge with which he told Chourineur and the doctor of his plan for blinding the *maître d'école.* He must show himself "calm, sad and composed", and display the extremely comic, solemn attitude of a self-styled world judge.

In order to leave no doubt as to the "pure" motive of the blinding, the silly *Murph* admits to the envoy Graun:

"The cruel punishment of the *maître d'école* was intended *chiefly* to give me my *revenge* against the *assassin.*"

In a *tête-à-tête* with Murph, Rudolph says:

"Ma haine des méchants... est devenue plus vivace, mon aversion pour *Sarah* augmente en raison sans doute du chagrin que me cause la mort de ma fille."[b]

Rudolph tells us how much stronger his hatred of the wicked has become. Needless to say, his hatred is a Critical, pure, moral hatred — hatred of the wicked *because* they are wicked. That is why he regards this hatred as his own progress in the good.

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[a] "'*Revenge! ...* Revenge!' Rudolph cries out with *cold* and *concentrated fury.*" — *Ed.*

[b] "My hatred of the wicked ... has become stronger, my aversion for *Sarah* increases, doubtless because of the grief caused by the death of my daughter." — *Ed.*

At the same time, however, he betrays that this growth of moral hatred is nothing but a *hypocritical justification* to excuse the growth of his *personal aversion* for Sarah. The vague moral idea of his increasing hatred of the wicked is only a mask for the definite immoral fact of his increased aversion for Sarah. This aversion has a very natural and a very personal basis, his personal grief, which is also the measure of his aversion. *Sans doute!*[a]

Still more repugnant is the hypocrisy to be seen in Rudolph's meeting with the dying Countess MacGregor.

After the revelation of the mystery that Fleur de Marie is the daughter of Rudolph and the Countess, Rudolph goes up to her "*l'air menaçant, impitoyable*".[b] She begs for mercy.

"Pas de grâce," he replies, "malédiction sur vous ... vous ... mon mauvais génie et celui de ma race."[c]

So it is his "race" that he wishes to avenge. He goes on to inform the Countess how, to atone for his attempted murder of his father, he has taken upon himself a world crusade for the reward of the good and the punishment of the wicked. He tortures the Countess, he abandons himself to his *rage,* but in his *own* eyes he is only carrying out the task which he took upon himself after January 13, of "*poursuivre le mal*".[d]

As he is leaving, Sarah cries out:

"'Pitié! Je meurs!' 'Mourez donc, maudite!' dit Rodolphe effrayant de fureur".[e]

The last words "*effrayant de fureur*" betray the pure, Critical and moral motives of his actions. It was the same rage that made him draw his sword against his father, his *blessed* father, as Herr Szeliga calls him. Instead of fighting this evil in himself he fights it, like a pure Critic, in others.

In the end, Rudolph himself discards his Catholic penal theory. He wanted to abolish capital punishment, to change punishment into penance, but only as long as the murderer murdered strangers and spared members of Rudolph's family. He adopts the death penalty as soon as one of his kin is murdered; he needs a double set of laws, one for his own person and one for ordinary persons.

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[a] Doubtless!—*Ed.*

[b] "Looking threatening and pitiless."—*Ed.*

[c] "No mercy. A curse on you ... you ... my evil genius and the evil genius of my race."—*Ed.*

[d] "Prosecuting evil."—*Ed.*

[e] "'Have pity! I am dying!' 'Die then, accursed one!' replies Rudolph, terrible in his rage."—*Ed.*

He learns from Sarah that Jacques Ferrand was the cause of the death of Fleur de Marie. He says to himself:

"No, it is not enough!... What a burning desire for revenge!... What a thirst for blood!... What calm, deliberate rage!... *Until I knew* that *one* of the monster's victims was *my child* I said to myself: this man's death would be fruitless.... Life without money, life without satisfaction of his frenzied sensuality will be a long and double torture.... ***But it is my daughter!***... I shall ***kill*** this man!"

And he rushes out to kill him, but finds him in a state which makes murder superfluous.

The "good" Rudolph! Burning with desire for revenge, thirsting for blood, with calm, deliberate rage, with a hypocrisy which excuses every evil impulse with its casuistry, he has all the *evil* passions for which he gouges out the eyes of others. Only accidental strokes of luck, money and rank in society save this "*good*" man from the *penitentiary*.

"The *power of Criticism*", to compensate for the otherwise complete nullity of this Don Quixote, makes him "bon locataire", "bon voisin", "bon ami", "bon père", "bon bourgeois", "bon citoyen", "bon prince",[a] and so on, according to Herr Szeliga's gamut of eulogy. *That is more than all the results* that "*mankind* in its *entire history*" has achieved. That is enough for *Rudolph* to *save* "the *world*" twice from "*downfall*"!

[a] A "good tenant", a "good neighbour", a "good friend", a "good father", a "good bourgeois", a "good citizen", a "good prince".—*Ed.*

## Chapter IX

## THE CRITICAL LAST JUDGMENT

Through *Rudolph,* Critical Criticism has twice saved the world from downfall, but only that it may now *itself* decree the *end of the world.*

And I saw and heard a mighty angel, Herr *Hirzel,* flying from Zurich across the heavens. And he had in his hand a little book open like the fifth number of the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*; and he set his right foot upon the Mass and his left foot upon Charlottenburg; and he cried with a loud voice as when a lion roareth, and his words rose like a dove—chirp! chirp!—to the regions of pathos and thunder-like aspects of the *Critical Last Judgment.*

"When, finally, *all* is united against Criticism and—*verily, verily I say unto you*[a]—this time is no longer far off—when the whole world in dissolution—*to it it was given to fight against the Holy*—groups around Criticism for the last onslaught; *then* the courage of Criticism and its significance will have found the greatest recognition. We can have no fear of the outcome. It will all end by our settling accounts with the various groups—*and we shall separate them from one another as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats; and we shall set the sheep on our right hand and the goats on our left*—and we shall give a general certificate of poverty to the hostile knights—*they are spirits of the devil, they go out into the breadth of the world and they gather to fight on the great day of God the Almighty—and all who dwell on earth will wonder.*"

And when the angel had cried, seven thunders uttered their voices:

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[a] The words in italics between dashes are Marx's ironical insertions.—*Ed.*

Dies irae, dies illa
Solvet saeclum in favilla.
Judex ergo cum sedebit,
Quidquid latet, adparebit,
Nil inultum remanebit.
Quid sum, miser, tunc dicturus? etc.[a]

Ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars. All this must first of all come to pass. For there shall rise false Christs and false prophets, Messieurs *Buchez* and *Roux* from Paris, Herr *Friedrich Rohmer* and *Theodor Rohmer* from Zurich, and they will say: Here is Christ! But then the sign of the *Bauer* brothers will appear in Criticism and the words of the Scripture on *Bauer's work*[b] will be accomplished:

Quand les bœufs vont deux à deux
Le *labourage* en va mieux![c]

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## HISTORICAL EPILOGUE

As we learned later, it was not the world, but the Critical *Literatur-Zeitung* that came to an end.

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[a] That day of wrath
Will reduce the world to ashes.
When the judge takes his seat
All that is hidden will come to light,
Nothing will remain unpunished.
What shall I, wretch, say then?—*Ed.*

[b] The author says "*Bauernwerk*", which literally means "peasant's work".—*Ed.*

[c] With the oxen paired together.
*Ploughing* goes much better!
(From a French drinking song.)—*Ed.*

THE
NEW MORAL WORLD:
AND
GAZETTE OF THE RATIONAL SOCIETY.
*Enrolled under Acts of Parliament, 10 Geo. IV. c. 56, and 4, 5, Will. IV. c. 40.*

"ANY GENERAL CHARACTER, FROM THE BEST TO THE WORST, FROM THE MOST IGNORANT TO THE MOST ENLIGHTENED, MAY BE GIVEN TO ANY COMMUNITY, EVEN TO THE WORLD AT LARGE, BY THE APPLICATION OF PROPER MEANS, WHICH MEANS ARE TO A GREAT EXTENT AT THE COMMAND AND UNDER THE CONTROL OF THOSE WHO HAVE INFLUENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF MEN."—ROBERT OWEN.

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# Frederick Engels

## [CONTINENTAL SOCIALISM][72]

Continental Socialism seems to deserve and to obtain a considerable portion of public attention at present. I forward you a few extracts from a letter addressed me from Barmen in Prussia, by a former contributor to the *New Moral World.*

"In Paris, on my way home, I visited a Communist Club of the mystic school. I was introduced by a Russian who speaks French and German perfectly,[a] and who very cleverly opposed Feuerbach's reasoning,* to them. They mean just as much by the term God as the Ham Common folks[73] by *Love-Spirit.* They however declared this a secondary question, and to all practical intents agreed with us, and said, "*enfin, l'athéisme c'est votre religion*":—In the end, atheism is your religion. Religion, in French, means *conviction, feeling*, not worship. They affirmed, that the noise and hubbub of the *Bourgeois*, or middle class, against England, is all nonsense; and they were very anxious to convince us, that they had not the slightest national prejudice, that the working men of France care nothing about Morocco,[74] but know that the *ouvriers*, workers, of all countries are allies, having the same interests. The French middle class are quite as egotistical, as avaricious, and quite as insupportable in society as the English, but the French *ouvriers* are fine fellows. We have made much progress among the Russians at Paris. There are three or four noblemen and proprietors of serfs now at Paris who are radical Communists and Atheists. We have in Paris a German Communist Paper, the

* The resolution of the God idea into man.—*Note by Engels.*

[a] Evidently, by M. A. Bakunin.—*Ed.*

*Vorwärts!*, published twice-a-week. In Belgium there is an active Communist agitation going on, and a paper, the *Débat Social*, published at Brussels. In Paris there are about half-a-dozen Communist papers. *Socialiste*, *Socialitaire*, are very fashionable names in France; and Louis Philippe, the arch-*bourgeois*, supports the *Démocratie Pacifique* with money and protection. The religious exterior of the French Socialists is mostly hypocritical; the people are thoroughly irreligious, and the first victims of the next revolution will be the parsons. The Cologne folks have made enormous progress. When we assembled in a public house we filled a good room with our company, mostly lawyers, medical men, artists etc., also three or four lieutenants in the artillery, one of whom is a very clever fellow. In Düsseldorf we have a few men, amongst them a very talented poet. In Elberfeld, about half-a-dozen of my friends and some others are Communists. In fact there is scarcely a town in Northern Germany where we have not some radical Anti-Proprietarians and Atheists. Edgar Bauer, of Berlin, has just been sentenced to three years imprisonment for his last book."[a]

Thinking the above facts would be interesting to your readers, I forward them for insertion in your paper.

Written about September 20, 1844

First published in the newspaper *The New Moral World* No. 15, October 5, 1844
Signed: *Anglo-German*

Printed according to the newspaper

[a] E. Bauer, *Der Streit der Kritik mit Kirche und Staat.*—*Ed.*

## Frederick Engels

# DESCRIPTION OF RECENTLY FOUNDED COMMUNIST COLONIES STILL IN EXISTENCE[75]

When one talks to people about socialism or communism, one very frequently finds that they entirely agree with one regarding the substance of the matter and declare communism to be a very fine thing; "but", they then say, "it is impossible ever to put such things into practice in real life". One encounters this objection so frequently that it seems to the writer both useful and necessary to reply to it with a few facts which are still very little known in Germany and which completely and utterly dispose of this objection. For communism, social existence and activity based on community of goods, is not only possible but has actually already been realised in many communities in America and in one place in England, with the greatest success, as we shall see.

Incidentally, if one goes into this objection somewhat more deeply, one finds that it is made up of two further objections; these are, firstly: no workers would be prepared to carry out the menial and unpleasant manual tasks; and secondly, with everyone having an equal claim to the communal possessions, people would quarrel about these possessions, and in this way the community would break up again. The first objection is overcome very simply, as follows: these tasks, being now within the community, are no longer menial; and furthermore they can be almost entirely dispensed with by improved facilities, machines and so forth. For instance, in a large hotel in New York, the boots are cleaned by steam, and in the communist colony at Harmony in England (see below) not merely are the water-closets, which are so conveniently

fitted out in the English fashion, cleaned automatically, but they are also provided with pipes which take the waste directly to the great dung-pit.—Regarding the second objection, however, all communist colonies so far have become so enormously rich after ten or fifteen years that they have everything they can desire in greater abundance than they can consume, so that no grounds for dispute exist.

The reader will discover that most of the colonies that will be described in this article had their origins in all kinds of religious sects most of which have quite absurd and irrational views on various issues; the author just wants to point out briefly that these views have nothing whatsoever to do with communism. It is in any case obviously a matter of indifference whether those who prove by their actions the practicability of communal living believe in *one* God, in twenty or in none at all; if they have an irrational religion, this is an obstacle in the way of communal living, and if communal living is successful in real life despite this, how much more feasible must it be with others who are free of such inanities. Of the more recent colonies, almost all are in any case quite free of religious nonsense, and nearly all the English Socialists are despite their great tolerance quite without religion, for which very reason they are particularly ill-spoken of and slandered in sanctimonious England. However, when it comes to providing proof, even their opponents have to admit that there is no foundation for all the evil things that are said of them.

The first people to set up a society on the basis of community of goods in America, indeed in the whole world, were the so-called Shakers. These people are a distinct sect who have the strangest religious beliefs, do not marry and allow no intercourse between the sexes, and these are not their only peculiarities of this kind. But this does not concern us here. The sect of the Shakers originated some seventy years ago. Its founders were poor people who united in order to live together in brotherly love and community of goods and to worship their God in their own way. Although their religious views and particularly the prohibition on marriage deterred many, they nevertheless attracted support and now have *ten large communities*, each of which is between three and eight hundred members strong. Each of these communities is a fine, well laid-out town, with dwelling houses, factories, workshops, assembly buildings and barns; they have flower and vegetable gardens, fruit trees, woods, vineyards, meadows and arable land in abundance; then, livestock of all kinds, horses and beef-cattle, sheep, pigs and poultry, in excess of their needs, and

of the very best breeds. Their granaries are always full of corn, their store-rooms full of clothing materials, so that an English traveller who visited them said he could not understand why these people still worked, when after all they possessed an abundance of everything; unless it was that they worked simply as a pastime, having nothing else to do. Amongst these people no one is obliged to work against his will, and no one seeks work in vain. They have no poor-houses and infirmaries, having not a single person poor and destitute, nor any abandoned widows and orphans; all their needs are met and they need fear no want. In their ten towns there is not a single gendarme or police officer, no judge, lawyer or soldier, no prison or penitentiary; and yet there is proper order in all their affairs. The laws of the land are not for them and as far as they are concerned could just as well be abolished and nobody would notice any difference for they are the most peaceable citizens and *have never yielded a single criminal for the prisons.* They enjoy, as we said, the most absolute community of goods and have no trade and no money among themselves. One of these towns, Pleasant Hill near Lexington in the State of Kentucky, was visited last year by an English traveller named Finch, who gives the following description of it.

"Pleasant Hill consists of a great number of large, handsome hewn stone and brick houses, manufactories, workshops, farm buildings, all in the neatest order, some of the best in Kentucky; the Shaker farm-land was easily known by the fine stone wall fences by which it was enclosed, and by its superior cultivation; a great number of fat cows and sheep were grazing in the fields, and numerous fat swine were picking up fallen fruit in the orchards. The Shakers possess nearly four thousand acres of land here, of which about two-thirds is under cultivation. This colony was commenced by a single family about the year 1806; others joined afterwards and they gradually increased in numbers; some brought a little capital and others none at all. They had many difficulties to contend with, and suffered many privations at the first, being generally very poor persons; but by diligence, economy and temperance, they have overcome all and now have a great abundance of everything and owe nothing to any man. This Society consists at present of about three hundred individuals, out of which some fifty to sixty are children under sixteen years of age. They have no masters—no servants; far less do they have slaves; they are free, wealthy and happy. They have two schools, a Boys' and a Girls' School, in which are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and the principles of their religion; they do not teach science to the children as they believe science is not necessary to salvation. As they tolerate no marriages, they would inevitably die out, if new members were not always joining them; but although the prohibition on marriage deters many thousands and many of their best members leave again for that reason, so many new members nevertheless still come that their number constantly increases. They rear livestock and variously cultivate the fields, and themselves produce flax, wool and silk, spinning and weaving them in their own manufactories. What they produce in excess of their needs they sell or exchange amongst their neighbours. They generally labour from sunrise to sunset.

The board of trustees keeps all the books and accounts in a public office, and the books are open for all members to see, as often as they choose. They do not know themselves how wealthy they are, as they never take account of their stock; they are satisfied to know that all they have is their own, for they are in debt to no one. All they do is to make out a list of the debts their neighbours have with them once a year.

"The Church is divided into five families (divisions) of from forty to eighty in each; each family has a separate domestic establishment and lives together in a large, handsome mansion; and *all get every article required, and as much as they want from the common stores of the Society, and without any payment.* A deacon is appointed to each family, whose business is to see that all are provided with every thing they want, and to anticipate their wants as far as possible. They all clothe in Quaker-fashion—plain, clean and neat; they have *a great variety* of articles of food and all of the very *best description.* If a new member seeks admission, he must, according to the laws of the Society, give up every thing he has to the community and is never allowed to claim it back, even if he leaves; nevertheless it is their practice to give back to each as much as he brought in. If a person leaves who has brought in no capital, he is not allowed by the laws to claim any thing for services either, as he has been fed and clothed at general expense whilst he was working; nevertheless it is their custom in this case too to make parting presents to every person if they leave in a kind and proper manner.

"Their government is established in the manner of the first Christians. There is a male and a female minister in each Society, and each has an assistant. These four ministers are the highest power in the whole Society and decide all cases of contention. There are also two elders in each family of the Society, with two assistants and a deacon or administrator. The property of the Society is vested in the board of trustees, which consists of three persons, oversees the whole establishment, directs labour and carries on transactions with neighbours. They have no power to buy or sell any land without the consent of the Society. There are of course also foremen and managers in each department of labour; however they have made it a rule *that no commands are ever given by any one, but all are to be persuaded by kindness.*"[a]

Another colony of Shakers, New Lebanon in the State of New York, was visited by a second English traveller, by the name of *Pitkeithly*, in the year 1842. Mr. Pitkeithly most thoroughly inspected the whole town, which numbers some eight hundred inhabitants and owns between seven and eight thousand acres of land, he examined its workshops and factories, its tanneries, sawmills and so on, and declares the whole arrangement to be *perfect.* He too is surprised at the wealth of these people who began with nothing and are now becoming richer with each passing year, and he says:

"They are happy and gay among themselves; there is no quarrelling but on the contrary friendliness and love prevail throughout their habitation, in every part of which reigns an orderliness and regularity which have not their equal."[76]

So much regarding the Shakers. As we said, they enjoy complete

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[a] Finch, Letter V, *The New Moral World,* Feb. 10, 1844.—*Ed.*

community of goods and have ten such communities in the United States of North America.

Apart from the Shakers, however, there are other settlements in America based on community of goods. In particular the *Rappites* are to be mentioned here. *Rapp* is a minister from *Württemberg* who in about 1790 dissociated himself and his congregation from the Lutheran Church and, being persecuted by the government, went to America in 1802. His followers went after him in 1804, and thus he settled in Pennsylvania with about one hundred families. Their combined fortune amounted to about 25,000 dollars, and with this they bought land and tools. Their land was uncultivated virgin forest and cost them their total fortune; however they only paid for it in stages. They now joined together in community of goods [*Gütergemeinschaft*], and made the following agreement:

1) Each member surrenders all his possessions to the community, without gaining any privileges from this. All are equal within the community.

2) The laws and regulations of the society are equally binding on all.

3) Each member works only for the benefit of the whole society and not each for himself alone.

4) Whoever leaves the society has no claim to compensation for his work, but is given back everything he put in; and those who have put nothing in and depart in peace and friendship receive a parting gratuity.

5) In exchange the community undertakes to provide each member and his family with the necessities of life and the necessary care in sickness and old age, and if the parents die or withdraw, leaving their children behind, the community will bring up these children.

In the first years of their communal life, when they had to put a wilderness under the plough and also pay off some 7,000 dollars of the purchase price of the land each year, times were naturally hard for them. Several of the more wealthy were deterred by this, withdrew and took out their money, which much aggravated the colonists' troubles. But most held out faithfully and in this way had paid off all their debts in 1810, within just five years. In 1815 for various reasons they sold up their whole colony and once more bought twenty thousand acres of virgin forest in the State of Indiana. Here they built the fine town of *New Harmony* after a few years and put most of the land under the plough, established vineyards and corn-fields, built a wool- and cotton-mill, and

became richer with each passing day. In 1825 they sold up their whole colony to Mr. Robert Owen for twice one hundred thousand dollars and set off for the third time into the virgin forest. This time they settled by the great river Ohio and built the town of *Economy*, which is larger and more handsome than any in which they had previously lived. In 1831 Count Leon came to America with a company of some thirty Germans to join them. They received these new arrivals gladly, but the Count stirred up some of the members against Rapp, and for this reason it was decided at a meeting of the whole community that Leon and his followers should leave. Those remaining behind paid those who were dissatisfied more than *one hundred and twenty thousand dollars*, and with this money Leon founded a second colony, which failed, however, on account of mismanagement; its members dispersed and *Count Leon* died shortly afterwards as a *tramp* in Texas. *Rapp*'s settlement, on the other hand, has flourished to the present day. The above-mentioned traveller Finch reports about its present circumstances:

"The town of *Economy* consists of three long wide streets and five equally broad streets that cross these three at right angles; it has a church, a public hotel, a woollen factory, a cotton factory, and a silk-mill, a cocoonery for rearing silkworms, public stores for selling to strangers and for the supply of the members, a museum of natural curiosities, workshops for the various trades, agricultural buildings and large, handsome houses for the various families, with a large garden by each house. The farm-land belonging to it is about six miles in length and about one mile wide, contains large vineyards, an orchard of thirty-seven acres, and grain and pasture lands. The number of members is about four hundred and fifty, all well clothed, well fed and splendidly lodged, cheerful, contented, happy, and moral people who for many years have not known want.

"For a time marriage was greatly discouraged among them too, but they now marry and have families and are very desirous of increasing the number of members if proper persons would present themselves. Their religion is the New Testament, but *they have no special creed and do not interfere with the opinions of the members*, so long as they let the others be and abstain from sowing dissension on matters of faith. They call themselves *Harmonists*. They have no paid priests; Mr. Rapp, who is above eighty years of age, acts both as priest and governor. They like to make music and occasionally have concerts and music-meetings in the evenings. They commenced their harvest the day before my arrival with a grand concert in the fields. In their schools they teach reading, writing, arithmetic and grammar; but, like the Shakers, they do not teach any of the sciences. They labour much longer than they need, from sunrise till sunset all the year; all labour and those who cannot work in the factories in winter find employment with threshing and feeding cattle, etc. They have 75 milking cows, large flocks of sheep, and great numbers of horses, hogs and poultry, and from what they have saved, they have lent large sums to businessmen and bankers; through bankruptcies they have lost a great deal that they lent, but they have still a great amount of *useless money* which is constantly increasing.

"Their endeavour was always to make themselves every article they required so

that they should need to buy from others as little as they could and eventually made more than they needed; later they acquired a flock of 100 merino sheep to improve the strain of their sheep, paying fifteen thousand dollars for them. They were among the first in establishing the woollen manufacture in America. Then they began to plant the vine, grow flax, erect a cotton factory and rear silkworms for manufacture. However in all things they first take care to abundantly supply their own wants before they sell anything.

"They live in families of from twenty to forty individuals, each of which has a separate house and domestic establishment. The family gets its supplies as much as it requires from the common stores. *They have an abundance for all and they get as much as they wish without charge.* When they need clothing, they apply to the head tailor, the head seamstress or shoemaker and are furnished with it made to their taste. Flesh meat and the other foods are divided among the families according to the number of individuals in each, and they have everything *in abundance and plenitude.*"[a]

Another settlement enjoying community of goods was established at *Zoar* in the State of Ohio. These people are also *Separatists from Württemberg* who detached themselves from the Lutheran Church at the same time as Rapp and, after being persecuted for ten years by it and by the government, likewise emigrated. They were very poor and were only able to reach their destination with the support of philanthropic Quakers in London and America. Led by their minister, *Bäumler,* they arrived in Philadelphia in the autumn of 1817 and bought from a Quaker the land which they still own today and which is seven thousand acres in area. The purchase price, which amounted to some six thousand dollars, was to be paid off gradually. When they arrived at the site and counted their money, they found that they had just six dollars per person. That was all; not a penny of the purchase price of the land had yet been paid, and out of these few dollars they had to buy seed-corn, farm-tools and provisions until the next harvest. They were confronted with a forest with a few log cabins, and this they had to put under the plough; but they set to work with a will, soon had their fields ready for ploughing and in the very next year built a corn-mill. *Initially they divided their land into fairly small pieces,* each of which was farmed by one family on its own account and as its *private property. But they soon saw that this would not do,* because since each one was only working *for himself,* they could not clear the forest fast enough and put it under the plough, they could give each other no *proper assistance* at all, and in this way many got into debt and *were in danger of becoming quite impoverished.* After a year and a half therefore, in April 1819, *they joined together in community of goods,* worked out a constitution and unanimously chose

[a] Finch, Letters VI and VII. *The New Moral World,* Feb. 17 and Feb. 24, 1844.—*Ed.*

their minister, Bäumler, as Director. They then paid all the members' debts, were allowed two years extension on the purchase price of the land and worked with redoubled enthusiasm and united efforts. With this new arrangement they did so well that they had paid off the whole purchase price of their land together with the interest four whole years before the appointed time, and how they are faring in other respects, the following description of two eyewitnesses will show:

An American businessman who comes to Zoar very frequently portrays the place as a perfect model of cleanliness, order and beauty, with a splendid inn, a mansion for the aged Bäumler to live in, a fine public garden of two acres, with a large greenhouse, and fine, well-built houses and gardens. He portrays the people as very happy and contented, industrious and respectable. His description was published in the Pittsburg (Ohio) newspaper (*Pittsburg Daily Advocate and Advertiser*, July 17th 1843).[a]

*Finch*, whom we have mentioned several times, declares this settlement to be the most perfectly organised of all those living in community of goods in America. He gives a long list of their wealth, and says that they have a flax-spinning mill and a woollen-mill, a tannery, iron-foundries, two corn-mills, two sawmills, two threshing-machines and a host of workshops for every conceivable trade. He also says that their arable land is better farmed than anything else he had seen in America. The *Pfennig Magazin* estimates the Separatists' property at between one hundred and seventy and one hundred and eighty thousand dollars, all of which has been earned in twenty-five years, since they began with nothing at all except six dollars a head. There are about two hundred of them. They too had prohibited marriages for a time, but like the Rappites they have gone back on that and now they do marry.

Finch reproduces the Constitution of these Separatists, which consists principally in the following:

All the Society's officers are elected, in fact by all its members who are above twenty-one years of age, from amongst their own number. These officers comprise:

1) *Three managers*, one of whom is re-elected each year, and who may be dismissed by the Society at any time. They administer all the property of the Society and provide the members with the necessities of life, dwelling, clothing and food, as well as circumstances permit

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[a] Here and below in the description of the Separatists' colony, use is made of Finch, Letters VIII and IX. *The New Moral World*. March 2 and 9, 1844.—*Ed.*

and without favour for anyone. They appoint assistant managers for the different kinds of work, settle small disputes and may, jointly with the Council of the Society, promulgate new regulations, which, however, must never conflict with the Constitution.

2) The *Director,* who remains in office as long as he enjoys the confidence of the Society and manages all business as chief officer. He has the right to buy and sell, and to conclude contracts, but in all matters of importance he can only act with the consent of the three managers.

3) The *Council of the Society,* which consists of five members, one of whom resigns each year, and which enjoys the highest power in the Society, promulgates laws with the Managers and the Director, supervises the other officers and settles disputes when the parties are not satisfied with the Managers' decision; and

4) The *Paymaster,* who is elected for four years and who alone of all the members and officers has the right to have *money* in his keeping.

Besides this, the Constitution decrees that an educational establishment shall be set up, that all members shall surrender all their possessions to the community for ever and can never demand them back, that new members may only be accepted after they have lived with the Society for a year and if all the members vote for them, and the Constitution can only be altered if two-thirds of the members are in favour.

These descriptions could easily be much expanded, for almost all the travellers who go into the American interior visit one or other of the above-mentioned colonies, and *almost all accounts of these journeys* describe them. But *not even a single one* has been able to report any ill of these people, on the contrary, they all have only praise for them and the most they can find to criticise are the religious prejudices, especially of the Shakers, which, however, clearly have nothing to do with the ideal of community of goods. I could thus also quote the works of Miss Martineau, Messrs. Melish and Buckingham and many others; but as sufficient has been said above and these people anyway all tell the same tale, this is not necessary.

The success enjoyed by the Shakers, Harmonists and Separatists, and also the general urge for a new order in human society and the efforts of the Socialists and Communists that this has given rise to, have caused many other people in America to undertake similar experiments in recent years. Thus Herr *Ginal,* a *German minister* in Philadelphia, has founded a society which has bought 37,000 acres of forest in the State of Philadelphia, built more than 80 houses there and already settled some five hundred people, *mostly Germans,* there.

They have a large tannery and pottery, many workshops and storehouses, and they are really thriving. It goes without saying that they live in *community of goods,* as is the case with all the following examples. A Mr. *Hizby,* an ironmaster of Pittsburg (Ohio) has set up in his native town a similar society which last year bought some 4,000 acres of land in the vicinity of the town and is planning to establish a settlement there based on community of goods.— In addition there is a similar settlement in the State of New York at *Skaneateles* which was founded by *J. A. Collins,* an English Socialist, in the spring of 1843[a] with thirty members; then at *Minden* in the State of Massachusetts, where about a hundred people have been settled since 1842; then *two* in *Pike County* in the State of Pennsylvania, which were also recently set up; then one at *Brook Farm,* Massachusetts, where fifty members and thirty pupils live on about two hundred acres and have set up an excellent school under the leadership of the Unitarian[77] minister *G. Ripley;* and then one at Northampton, in the same State, which has been in existence since 1842 and provides work for one hundred and twenty members on five hundred acres of land, in arable and livestock farming as well as in sawmills, silk-mills and dyeing, and finally a colony of emigrant English Socialists at *Equality* near *Milwaukee* in the State of *Wisconsin,* which was started last year by *Thomas Hunt* and is making rapid progress. Apart from these, several other communities are said to have been founded recently, but there is as yet no news of them.— This much is however certain: the Americans, and particularly the poor workers in the large towns of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, etc., have taken the matter to their hearts and founded a large number of societies for the establishment of such colonies, and all the time new communities are being set up. The Americans are tired of continuing as the slaves of the few rich men who feed on the labour of the people; and it is obvious that with the great energy and endurance of this nation, community of goods will soon be introduced over a significant part of their country.

However, it is not just in America but in England too that attempts have been made to realise community of goods. Here the philanthropist *Robert Owen* has been preaching this ideal for thirty years, he has sunk the whole of his large fortune in it and given everything he had in order to found the present colony at *Harmony* in *Hampshire.* After he had founded a society with this aim, the latter bought up an estate of 1,200 acres and established a

[a] In the original: 1813 (probably a misprint).—*Ed.*

community there based on Owen's suggestions. It now numbers over one hundred members, who all live together in a large building and have been mainly engaged so far in arable farming. As it was to be set up from the start as a perfect model for the new order of society, considerable capital was required for this, and up to now some two hundred thousand talers have already been put into it. Some of this money was borrowed and had to be paid back from time to time, with the result that many difficulties ensued from this, and for lack of money many of the installations could not be completed and made profitable. And as the members of the community were not the sole owners of the establishment, but were governed by the Directors of the Society of Socialists, to whom the establishment belongs, misunderstandings and dissatisfaction arose at intervals from this too. But despite all this, the matter is proceeding on its course, the members get on exceedingly well with each other, as every visitor testifies, help each other on, and for all the difficulties, the existence of the establishment is nevertheless now secured. The main thing is that all the difficulties arise not from within the community but from the fact that the community has not yet been fully realised. For if it were, the members would not have to use all their earnings to pay off interest and borrowed money but could use them to finish equipping the establishment and run it better; and then they would elect their managers themselves as well and not be always dependent on the Directors of the Society.

The following description of the establishment itself is given by a practising economist who has travelled the length and breadth of England to acquaint himself with the state of agriculture and report on it to the London newspaper *Morning Chronicle*, signing as "One who has whistled at the Plough" [a] (*Morning Chronicle*, Dec. 13th, 1842).

After passing through a very poorly cultivated district, where more weeds than corn were growing, in a nearby village he heard speak for the first time in his life of the Socialists at Harmony. A prosperous man there told him that they were farming a large estate, and doing it very well too, that all the lying rumours spread about them were untrue, that it would be very much to the credit of the parish if but half of its inhabitants would conduct themselves with as much propriety as these Socialists and that it would be equally desirable that the big landowners of the

[a] Pseudonym of Alexander Somerville.—*Ed.*

neighbourhood would give the poor as much and as beneficial employment as these people. They had their own views on property, but for all that they conducted themselves very well and set the whole neighbourhood a good example. He added: Their religious opinions vary: some go to this and others to that church, and they never speak about religion or politics with the people of the village. Two of them replied to my inquiries that there was no specific religious opinion among them and each man could believe what he wished. We were all very disturbed when we heard they were coming here; but now we find that they are very good neighbours, set our people a good example of morality, employ many of our poor, and as they never try to impose their opinions on us, we have no cause to be dissatisfied with them. They are all distinguished by respectable and well-bred behaviour, and no one here in the neighbourhood would dare criticise their moral conduct.

Our reporter heard the same from others too, and then went to Harmony. After once more passing through poorly cultivated fields, he came across a very well farmed turnip field with an abundant, fine crop, and said to his friend, a local tenant-farmer: If those are socialist turnips, they promise well. Shortly after, he encountered seven hundred socialist sheep, which were likewise in splendid condition, and then came to the large, handsome and solid dwelling-house. However, everything was still unfinished, bricks and timber, half-completed walls and the ground undug. They entered, were received in a courteous and friendly manner, and shown round the building. On the ground-floor there was a large dining-hall and the kitchen, from which the full dishes were taken by a machine to the dining-hall and the empty ones back to the kitchen. Some children showed the strangers this machine, and they were noticeable for clean, neat clothing, healthy appearance and proper behaviour. The women in the kitchen likewise looked very tidy and decent, and the visitor was most surprised that amid all the unwashed dishes—the midday meal was just over—they could still look so smart and clean. The fittings in the kitchen itself were finer than words could describe, and the London master-builder who had made it declared that even in London very few kitchens were so perfectly and expensively fitted, a remark with which our visitor concurs. Next to the kitchen were convenient washhouses, baths, cellars, and separate rooms where each member could wash on returning from work.

On the next floor was a large ball-room and above that the bedrooms, all very comfortably furnished.

The garden, twenty-seven acres in extent, was in perfect condition, and in general there was great activity to be observed on every side. Bricks were being made, lime burnt, builders were at work and roads were being laid down; a hundred acres of wheat had already been sown, and still more land was to be put under wheat; a pond to take liquid manure was being dug, and from the copse situated on the estate, humus was being gathered for spreading as fertiliser; in short, everything was done to increase the fertility of the soil.

Our visitor concludes:

"I believe their land to be well worth £3" (twenty-one talers) "per acre of rent, and they only pay 15s." (five talers). "They have an excellent bargain, if they manage it well; and whatever may be said of their social crotchets, it must be said of them that their style of farming is of a superior kind."

Let us add to this description something about the domestic arrangements of this community. The members live together in a large house, each with a separate bedroom, which is most comfortably furnished; the housekeeping is done for all of them together by some of the women, and this of course saves a great deal of expense, time and trouble, which would be wasted with a large number of small homes, and allows for many comforts which are quite impossible in small households. For example, the kitchen fire heats all the rooms in the building simultaneously with warm air, and there are pipes taking warm and cold water to each room, and other such agreeable and practical features which are only possible in a communal institution. The children are sent to the school which is connected with the establishment and educated there at communal expense. The parents can see them when they wish and the education is designed both for physical and intellectual development and for life in the community. The children are not tormented with religious and theological controversies, nor with Greek and Latin; instead they become the better acquainted with nature, their own bodies and their intellectual capacities, and in the fields they relax from the small amount of sitting that is expected of them; for the classes are held as often in the open air as in enclosed rooms, and work is part of their education. Their moral education is restricted to the application of the one principle: Do not do to others what you would not háve them do to you, in other words, the practice of complete equality and brotherly love.

As we said, the colony is under the management of the President and Directors of the Society of Socialists; these directors are chosen annually by the congress, to which each local Society

sends a member, and they have full, unrestricted powers within the Statutes of the Society, and are responsible to the congress. The community is thus governed by people who live outside it, and in these circumstances there cannot fail to be misunderstandings and irritations; but even if the experiment at Harmony were to fail in consequence of this and of financial problems, which however is not in the slightest degree in prospect, this would only be one further argument for community of goods, as these two difficulties have their cause only in the fact that the community has not yet been fully realised. But despite all this the existence of the colony is assured, and even if it cannot progress and reach completion very rapidly, at least the opponents of the community will not enjoy the triumph of seeing it collapse.

We see then that community of goods is by no means an impossibility but that on the contrary all these experiments have been entirely successful. We also see that the people who are living communally live better with less work, have more leisure for the development of their minds, and that they are better, more moral people than their neighbours who have retained private property. And all this has already been acknowledged by the Americans, British, French and Belgians and by a large number of Germans. In every country there are a number of people who are busy spreading the ideal and have already taken up the communal cause.

If this question is important for everyone, it is most particularly so for the poor workers who own nothing, who tomorrow consume the wage they earn today and may at any time become destitute through unforeseen and unavoidable contingencies. To them it offers the prospect of an independent, secure existence without anxiety, of complete equality of rights with those who can now through their wealth turn the worker into their slave. These workers are the ones to whom the question matters most. In other countries the workers form the core of the party which is demanding community of goods, and it is the duty of the German workers also to take the question seriously to their hearts.

If the workers are united among themselves, hold together and pursue *one* purpose, they are infinitely stronger than the rich. And if, moreover, they have set their sights upon such a rational purpose, and one which desires the best for all mankind, as community of goods, it is self-evident that the better and more intelligent among the rich will declare themselves in agreement with the workers and

support them. And there are already many prosperous and educated people in all parts of Germany who have openly declared for community of goods and defend the people's claims to the good things of this earth which have been appropriated by the wealthy class.

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# Frederick Engels

## RAPID PROGRESS OF COMMUNISM IN GERMANY[78]

### I

[*The New Moral World* No. 25, December 13, 1844]

Hoping, as I do, that your countrymen will be glad to hear something on the progress of our common cause on this side of the channel, I send you a few lines for your paper.[a] At the same time, I rejoice in being able to show that the German people, though, as usual, rather late in mooting the question of Social Reform, are now exerting themselves to make up for lost time. Indeed, the rapidity with which Socialism has progressed in this country is quite miraculous. Two years ago, there were but two solitary individuals who cared at all about Social questions; a year ago, the first Socialist publication was printed.[b] It is true, there were some hundreds of German Communists in foreign countries; but being working men, they had little influence, and could not get their publications circulated among the "upper classes". Besides, the obstacles in the way of Socialism were enormous; the censorship of the press, no right of public meeting, no right of association, and despotic laws and secret courts of law, with paid judges to punish every one who in any way dared to set the people about thinking. And notwithstanding all this, what is the state of things in Germany now? Instead of the two poor devils who wrote about Socialism to a public no ways acquainted with, or interested in the question, we have dozens of clever writers preaching the new gospel to thousands who are anxious to hear everything connected with the subject; we have several papers as radically Socialist as the censorship will allow, principally the *Trier'sche Zeitung* (Gazette of Trier), and the *Sprecher* (Speaker) of

[a] *The New Moral World.—Ed.*

[b] *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher.—Ed.*

Wesel; we have a paper published under the free press of Paris,[a] and there is no periodical, save those under the immediate influence of the governments, but comments every day, and in very creditable terms, upon Socialism and the Socialists. Our very opponents want the moral courage to speak their full minds against us. Even the governments are obliged to favour all *legal* movements in the direction towards Socialism. Societies are forming everywhere for ameliorating the condition of the working people, as well as for giving them the means to cultivate their minds, and some of the highest officers of the Prussian Government have taken an active part in those associations. In short, Socialism is the question of the day in Germany, and in the space of a year, a strong Socialist party has grown up, which already now commands the respect of all political parties, and is principally courted by the liberals of this country. Up to the present time our stronghold is the middle class, a fact which will perhaps astonish the English reader, if he do not know that this class in Germany is far more disinterested, impartial, and intelligent, than in England, and for the very simple reason, because it is poorer. We, however, hope to be in a short time supported by the working classes, who always, and everywhere, must form the strength and body of the Socialist party, and who have been aroused from their lethargy by misery, oppression, and want of employment, as well as by the manufacturing riots in Silesia and Bohemia.[79] Let me on this occasion mention a painting by one of the best German painters, Hübner, which has made a more effectual Socialist agitation than a hundred pamphlets might have done. It represents some Silesian weavers bringing linen cloth to the manufacturer, and contrasts very strikingly cold-hearted wealth on one side, and despairing poverty on the other. The well-fed manufacturer is represented with a face as red and unfeeling as brass, rejecting a piece of cloth which belongs to a woman; the woman, seeing no chance of selling the cloth, is sinking down and fainting, surrounded by her two little children, and hardly kept up by an old man; a clerk is looking over a piece, the owners of which are with painful anxiety waiting for the result; a young man shows to his desponding mother the scanty wages he has received for his labour; an old man, a girl, and a boy, are sitting on a stone bench, and waiting for their turn; and two men, each with a piece of rejected cloth on his back, are just leaving the room, one of whom is clenching his fist in rage, whilst the other, putting his hand on

[a] *Vorwärts!—Ed.*

his neighbour's arm, points up towards heaven, as if saying: be quiet, there is a judge to punish him. This whole scene is going on in a cold and unhomely-looking lobby, with a stone floor: only the manufacturer stands upon a piece of carpeting; whilst on the other side of the painting, behind a bar, a view is opened into a luxuriously furnished counting-house, with splendid curtains and looking-glasses, where some clerks are writing, undisturbed by what is passing behind them, and where the manufacturer's son, a young, dandy-like gentleman, is leaning over the bar, with a horsewhip in his hand, smoking a cigar, and coolly looking at the distressed weavers. The painting has been exhibited in several towns of Germany, and, of course, prepared a good many minds for Social ideas. At the same time, we have had the triumph of seeing the first historical painter of this country, Charles Lessing, become a convert to Socialism. In fact, Socialism occupies at this moment already a ten times prouder position in Germany than it does in England. This very morning, I read an article in a liberal paper, the *Cologne Journal*,[a] the author of which had for some reasons been attacked by the Socialists, and in which article he gives his defence[80]; and to what amounts it? He professes himself a Socialist, with the only difference that he wants political reforms to begin with, whilst we want to get all at once. And this *Cologne Journal* is the second newspaper of Germany in influence and circulation. It is curious, but, at least in the north of Germany, you cannot go on board a steamer, or into a railway-carriage, or mail-coach, without meeting somebody who has imbibed at least some Social idea, and who agrees with you, that something must be done to reorganise society. I am just returning from a trip to some neighbouring towns, and there was not a single place where I did not find at least half-a-dozen or a dozen of out-and-out Socialists. Among my own family—and it is a very pious and loyal one—I count six or more, each of which has been converted without being influenced by the remainder. We have partisans among all sorts of men—commercial men, manufacturers, lawyers, officers of the government and of the army, physicians, editors of newspapers, farmers, etc., a great many of our publications are in the press, though hardly three or four have as yet appeared; and if we make as much progress during the next four or five years as we have done in the past twelve months, we shall be able to erect forthwith a Community. You see, we German theorists are getting practical men of business. In fact, one of our

[a] *Kölnische Zeitung.—Ed.*

number has been invited to draw up a plan of organisation and regulations for a practical Community, with reference to the plans of Owen, Fourier, etc., and profiting of the experience gained by the American Communities and your own experiment at Harmony,[a] which I hope goes on prosperously. This plan will be discussed by the various localities and printed with the amendments. The most active literary characters among the German Socialists are:—Dr. Charles Marx, at Paris; Dr. M. Hess, at present at Cologne; Dr. Ch. Grün, at Paris; Frederick Engels, at Barmen (Rhenan Prussia); Dr. O. Lüning, Rheda, Westphalia; Dr. H. Püttmann, Cologne; and several others. Besides those, Henry Heine, the most eminent of all living German poets, has joined our ranks, and published a volume of political poetry, which contains also some pieces preaching Socialism. He is the author of the celebrated *Song of the Silesian Weavers*, of which I give you a prosaic translation, but which, I am afraid, will be considered blasphemy in England. At any rate, I will give it you, and only remark, that it refers to the battle-cry of the Prussians in 1813:—"With God for King and fatherland!" which has been ever since a favourite saying of the loyal party. But for the song, here it is[81]:—

Without a tear in their grim eyes,
They sit at the loom, the rage of despair in their faces;
"We have suffered and hunger'd long enough;
Old Germany, we are weaving a shroud for thee
And weaving it with a triple curse.
"We are weaving, weaving!

"The first curse to the God, the blind and deaf god
Upon whom we relied, as children on their father;
In whom we hoped and trusted withal,
He has mocked us, he has cheated us nevertheless.
"We are weaving, weaving!

"The second curse for the King of the rich,
Whom our distress could not soften nor touch;
The King, who extorts the last penny from us,
And sends his soldiers, to shoot us like dogs.
"We are weaving, weaving!

"A curse to the false fatherland,
That has nothing for us but distress and shame,
Where we suffered hunger and misery—
We are weaving thy shroud, Old Germany!
"We are weaving, weaving!"

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[a] See pp. 223-27 of this volume.—*Ed.*

With this song, which in its German original is one of the most powerful poems I know of, I take leave from you for this time, hoping soon to be able to report on our further progress and social literature.

Yours sincerely,

*An old friend of yours in Germany*

[*The New Moral World* No. 37, March 8, 1845]

Barmen, Feb. 2nd, 1845[82]

Since I last addressed you, the cause of Communism has been making the same rapid progress as during the latter part of the year 1844. A short time ago I visited several towns on the Rhine, and everywhere I found that our ideas had gained, and were daily gaining more vantage ground than when I last left those places. Everywhere I found fresh proselytes, displaying as much energy in discussing and spreading the idea of Communism as could possibly be desired. A great many public meetings have been held in all the towns of Prussia, for the purpose of forming associations to counteract the growing pauperism, ignorance and crime among the great mass of the population.[83] These meetings, at first supported, but when becoming too independent, checked by the Government, have, nevertheless, forced the Social question upon the public attention, and have done a great deal towards the dissemination of our principles. The meeting at Cologne was struck so much by the speeches of the leading Communists, that a committee for drawing up the rules of the association was elected, the majority of which consisted of thorough Communists. The abstract of rules was, of course, founded upon Communist principles; organisation of labour, protection of labour against the power of capital, &c., and those rules were adopted almost unanimously by the meeting. Of course the sanction of Government, which is necessary in this country for all associations, has been refused; but since those meetings have been held, the question of communities has been discussed everywhere through-

out Cologne. At Elberfeld, it was pronounced as the fundamental principle of the association, *that all men had an equal right to education, and ought to participate in the fruits of science.* The rules of the association, however, have not yet been confirmed by the Government, and in all probability they will share in the lot of the Cologne rules, as the parsons got up an association of their own as soon as their plan, to make the Society a branch of the town mission, had been rejected by the meeting. The liberal association will be prohibited, and the parsons' association will be supported by Government. This, however, is of the little importance as the question having been mooted once, is now generally discussed throughout the town. Other associations have been formed at Munster, Cleve, Düsseldorf, etc., and it remains to be seen what the results will be. As to Communist literature, a collection of papers relating to this subject has been published by H. Püttmann, of Cologne, containing among the rest, an account of the American communities, as well as of your own Hampshire Establishment, which has done very much towards annihilating the prejudice of the impracticability of our ideas.[84] Mr. Püttmann, at the same time, has issued the prospectus of a quarterly review,[85] the first number of which he intends issuing in May next, and which will be exclusively dedicated to the promulgation of our ideas. Another monthly periodical[86] will be commenced by Messrs. Hess of Cologne, and Engels of Barmen, the first number to be published on the first of April next; this periodical will contain *facts* only, showing the state of civilised society, and preaching the necessity of a radical reform by the eloquence of facts. A new work by Dr. Marx, containing a review of the principles of Political Economy, and politics in general, will be published shortly. Dr. Marx himself has been forced by the French Conservative Government, to quit his abode at Paris.[87] He intends to go to Belgium, and if the vengeance of the Prussian Government (which has induced the French Ministers to expel Marx) follows him even there, he must go to England. But the most important fact which has come to my knowledge since my last, is, that Dr. Feuerbach, the most eminent philosophical genius in Germany at the present time, has declared himself a Communist. A friend of ours lately visited him in his retired country seat, in a remote corner of Bavaria, and to him he declared his full conviction that Communism was only a necessary consequence of the principles he had proclaimed, and that Communism was, in fact, only the *practice* of what he had proclaimed long before theoretically. Feuerbach said, he had never been delighted so much with any other book, as with

the first part of Weitling's *Guarantees*.[a] I never dedicated, he said, a book to anybody, but I feel much inclined to dedicate to Weitling my next work. Thus the union between the German philosophers, of whom Feuerbach is the most eminent representative, and the German working men represented by Weitling, an union which, a year ago, had been predicted by Dr. Marx,[b] is all but accomplished. With the philosophers to think, and the working men to fight for us, will any earthly power be strong enough to resist our progress?

*An old friend of yours in Germany*

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[a] W. Weitling, *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit*.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction* (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 175-87).—*Ed.*

## III

[*The New Moral World* No. 46, May 10, 1845]

Dear sir,

Having been unable, for a time, from certain causes, to write you on the state of affairs in Germany, I now continue my reports, hoping that they will interest your readers, and follow each other more uninterruptedly than heretofore. I am glad of being enabled to tell you that we are making the same rapid and steady progress which we made up to my last report. Since I wrote to you last, the Prussian Government have found it unsafe to continue their support to the "Associations for the Benefit of the Working Classes". They have found that everywhere these associations became infected with something like Communism, and therefore they have done everything in their power to suppress, or at least obstruct, the progress of these associations. On the other hand, the majorities of the members of those societies, being composed of middle-class men, were totally at a loss with regard to the steps they might take to benefit the working people. All their measures—savings-banks, premiums and prizes for the best workers, and such like,—were instantly proved by the Communists to be good for nothing, and held up to public laughter. Thus the intention of the middle classes, to dupe the working classes, by hypocrisy and sham philanthropy, has been totally frustrated; while to us it gave an opportunity which is rather rare in a country of patriarchal police government: thus the trouble of the matter has been with the Government and the moneyed men, while we have had all the profit.

But not only these meetings were taken profit of for Communist agitation: at Elberfeld, the centre of the manufacturing district of

Rhenan Prussia, regular Communist meetings were held. The Communists of this town were invited by some of the most respectable citizens to discuss their principles with them. The first of these meetings took place in February, and was more of a private character. About forty or fifty individuals assisted, including the attorney-general of the district, and other members of the courts of law, as well as representatives of almost all the leading commercial and manufacturing firms. Dr. Hess, whose name I have had more than once an opportunity of mentioning in your columns, opened the proceedings by proposing Mr. Koettgen, a Communist, as chairman, to which no opposition was made. Dr. Hess then read a lecture on the present state of society, and the necessity of abandoning the old system of competition, which he called a system of downright robbery. The lecture was received with much applause (the majority of the audience being Communists); after which Mr. Frederick Engels (who some time ago had some papers on Continental Communism[a] printed in your columns) spoke at some length on the practicability and the advantages of the Community system.[b] He also gave some particulars of the American colonies and your own establishment at Harmony in proof of his assertions. After which a very animated discussion took place, in which the Communist side was advocated by the foregoing speakers and several others; while the opposition was maintained by the attorney-general, by Dr. Benedix, a literary character, and some others. The proceedings, which commenced about nine o'clock in the evening, were continued until one in the morning.

The second meeting took place a week after, in the large room of the first hotel in the town. The room was filled with the "respectables" of the place. Mr. Koettgen, chairman of the former meeting, read some remarks on the future state and prospects of society, as imagined by the Communists, after which Mr. Engels delivered a speech[c] in which he proved (as may be concluded from the fact, that not a word was offered in reply), that the present state of Germany was such as could not but produce in a very short time a social revolution; that this imminent revolution was not to be averted by any possible measures for promoting commerce and manufacturing industry; and that the only means

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[a] F. Engels, *Progress of Social Reform on the Continent* (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 392-408).—*Ed.*

[b] See pp. 243-55 of this volume.—*Ed.*

[c] See pp. 256-64 of this volume.—*Ed.*

to prevent such a revolution—a revolution more terrible than any of the mere subversions of past history—was the introduction of, and the preparation for, the Community system. The discussion, in which some gentlemen of the profession of the bar, who had come from Cologne and Düsseldorf for the purpose, took part on the Communist side, was again very animated, and prolonged till after midnight. Some Communist poems, by Dr. Müller of Düsseldorf, who was present, were also read.

A week afterwards a third meeting took place in which Dr. Hess again lectured, and besides, some particulars about the American communities were read from a printed paper.[a] The discussion was repeated before the close of the meeting.

Some days afterwards a rumour was spread through the town that the next meeting was to be dispersed by the police, and the speakers to be arrested. The mayor of Elberfeld, indeed, went to the hotel-keeper, and threatened to withdraw the licence, if any such meetings in future should be allowed to take place in his house. The Communists instantly communicated with the mayor about the matter, and received, the day before the next meeting, a circular directed to Messrs. Hess, Engels and Koettgen, by which the provincial Government, with a tremendous amount of quotations from ancient and written laws, declared such meetings to be illegal, and threatened to put a stop to them by force, if they should not be abandoned. The meeting took place next Saturday,[b] the mayor and the attorney-general (who after the first meeting had absented himself) were present, supported by a troop of armed police, who had been sent by railroad from Düsseldorf. Of course, under such circumstances, no public addresses were delivered: the meeting occupied themselves with beef-steaks and wine, and gave the police no handle for interference.

These measures, however, could not but serve our cause: those who had not yet heard of the matter were now induced to ask for information about it from the importance ascribed to it by the Government; and a great many of those who had come to the discussion ignorant or scoffing at our proposals, went home with a greater respect for Communism. This respect was also partially produced by the respectable manner in which our party was represented; nearly every patrician and moneyed family of the town had one of its members or relatives present at the large table occupied by the Communists. In short the effect produced by these meetings upon the public mind of the whole manufacturing

[a] See pp. 214-28 of this volume.—*Ed.*
[b] March 1, 1845.—*Ed.*

district was truly wonderful; and in a few days afterwards those who had publicly advocated our cause were overrun by numbers of people who asked for books and papers from which they might get a view of the whole system. We understand that the whole proceedings will shortly be published.

As to Communist literature, there has been exhibited a great activity in this branch of agitation. The public literally long for information: they devour every book published in this line. Dr. Püttmann has published a collection of essays,[a] containing an excellent paper by Dr. Hess, on the distress of modern society, and the means of redressing it[b]; a detailed description of the distressing state of the working people of Silesia, with a history of the riots of last spring; some other articles descriptive of the state of society in Germany; and, finally, an account of the American and Harmony communities (from Mr. Finch's letters and that of "One who has whistled at the Plough"[c]), by F. Engels. The book, though prosecuted by the Prussian Government, met with a rapid sale in all quarters. A number of monthly periodicals have been established: the *Westphalian Steamboat,*[d] published at Bielefeld, by Lüning, containing popular essays on Socialism and reports on the state of the working people; the *People's Journal,*[e] at Cologne, with a more decided Socialist tendency; and the *Gesellschaftsspiegel* (Mirror of Society), at Elberfeld, by Dr. Hess, founded expressly for the publication of facts characteristic of the present state of society, and for the advocacy of the rights of the working classes. A quarterly review, the *Rheinische Jahrbücher* (Rhenish Annals), by Dr. Püttmann, has also been established; the first number is now in the press and will shortly be published.

On the other hand, a war has been declared against those of the German philosophers, who refuse to draw from their mere theories practical inferences, and who contend that man has nothing to do but to speculate upon metaphysical questions. Messrs. Marx and Engels have published a detailed refutation of the principles advocated by B. Bauer[f]; and Messrs. Hess and Bürgers are engaged in refuting the theory of M. Stirner: — Bauer

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[a] *Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1845.—Ed.*

[b] M. Hess, *Über die Noth in unserer Gesellschaft und deren Abhülfe.— Ed.*

[c] See pp. 214-28 of this volume. "One who has whistled at the Plough" is Alexander Somerville's pseudonym.—*Ed.*

[d] *Das Westphälische Dampfboot.—Ed.*

[e] *Allgemeines Volksblatt.—Ed.*

[f] See pp. 7-211 of this volume.—*Ed.*

and Stirner being the representatives of the ultimate consequences of *abstract* German philosophy, and therefore the only important philosophical opponents of Socialism — or rather Communism, as in this country the word Socialism means nothing but the different vague, undefined, and undefinable imaginations of those who see that something must be done, and who yet cannot make up their minds to go the whole length of the Community system.

In the press are also — Dr. Marx's *Review of Politics and Political Economy*; Mr. F. Engels' *Condition of the Working Classes of Great-Britain*[a]; *Anecdota, or a Collection of Papers on Communism*[88]; and in a few days will be commenced a translation of the best French and English works on the subject of Social Reform.[89]

In consequence of the miserable political state of Germany, and the arbitrary proceedings of her patriarchal governments, there is hardly a chance of any but a literary connection between the Communists of the different localities. The periodicals, principally the *Rhenish Annals*, offer a centre for those who, by the press, advocate Communism. Some connection is kept up by travellers, but this is all. Associations are illegal, and even correspondence is unsafe, as the "secret offices"[90] of late have displayed an unusual activity. Thus it is only by the newspapers that we have received the news of the existence of two Communist associations in Posen and the Silesian mountains. It is reported that at Posen, the capital of Prussian Poland, a number of young men had formed themselves into a secret society, founded upon Communist principles, and with the intention of taking possession of the town; that the plot was discovered, and its execution prevented: this is all we know about the matter. This much, however, is certain, that a great many young men of aristocratic and wealthy Polish families, have been arrested; that since (more than two months) all watch posts are doubled and provided with ball cartridge; and that two youths (of 12 and 19 years respectively), the brothers Rymarkiewicz, have absconded, and not yet been got hold of by the authorities. A great number of the prisoners are youths of from 12 to 20 years. The other so-called conspiracy, in the Silesian mountains, is said to have been very extensive, and also for a Communist purpose: they are reported to have intended to take the fortress of Schweidnitz, to occupy the whole range of mountains, and to appeal from thence to the suffering workpeople of all Germany. How far this may be true, nobody is able to judge; but in this unfortunate district, also, arrests have taken place on the

[a] See pp. 295-583 of this volume.— *Ed.*

depositions of a police spy; and a wealthy manufacturer, Mr. Schlöffel, has been transported to Berlin, where he is now under trial, as the supposed head of the conspiracy.

The associations of German Communists of the working classes in Switzerland, France and England continue to be very active; though in France, and some parts of Switzerland, they have much to suffer from the police. The papers announce that about sixty members of the Communist association of Geneva have been expelled from the town and canton. A. Becker, one of the cleverest of the Swiss Communists, has published a lecture delivered at Lausanne, entitled, "What do the Communists Want?"[a] which belongs to the best and most spirited things of the sort we know of. I dare say it would merit an English translation, and I should be glad if any of your readers were acquainted enough with the German language to undertake it. It is, of course, only a small pamphlet.

I expect to continue my reports from time to time, and remain, etc.

*An old friend of yours in Germany*

Written between November 9, 1844, and April 5, 1845

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Printed according to the newspaper

[a] A. Becker, "Was wollen die Kommunisten?"—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## SPEECHES IN ELBERFELD[91]

FEBRUARY 8, 1845

Gentlemen!

As you have just heard and as, moreover, I may assume it to be generally known, we live in a world of free competition. Let us then look a little closer at this free competition and at the world order to which it has given rise. In our present-day society, each man works on his own, each strives for his own enrichment and is not in the least concerned with what the rest are doing; rational organisation, or distribution of jobs, is out of the question; on the contrary, each seeks to get the better of the other, seeks to exploit any favourable opportunity for his own private advantage and has neither time nor inclination to think about the fact that, at bottom, his own interests coincide with those of all other people. The individual capitalist is involved in struggle with all the other capitalists; the individual worker with all the other workers; all capitalists fight against the workers just as the mass of workers in their turn have, of necessity, to fight against the mass of capitalists. In this war of all against all, in this general confusion and mutual exploitation, the essence of present-day bourgeois society is to be found. But, gentlemen, such an unregulated economic system must, in the long run, lead to the most disastrous results for society; the disorder which lies at its basis, the disregard for the real, general well-being must sooner or later make itself felt in the most striking fashion. The ruin of the small middle class, that estate which constituted the main foundation of states during the last century, is the first result of this struggle. Daily we see how this class in society is crushed by the power of capital, how, for example, the individual master tailors and cabinet-makers lose their best customers to shops selling ready-made clothes and

furniture and from being small capitalists, members of the *propertied* class, are transformed into dependent proletarians working for others, into members of the *propertyless* class. The ruin of the middle class is a much deplored consequence of our much lauded freedom of occupation, it is a necessary result of the advantages which the big capitalist has over his less affluent competitors; it is the most vigorous living expression of capital's tendency to become concentrated in a few hands. This tendency is likewise widely recognised; there is general lamentation about the fact that property is being accumulated daily in fewer hands and that on the contrary the great majority of the nation is becoming more and more impoverished. Thus there arises the glaring contradiction between a few rich people on the one hand, and many poor on the other; a contradiction which has already risen to a menacing point in England and France and is daily growing sharper in our country too. And as long as the present basis of society is retained, so long will it be impossible to halt the progressing enrichment of a few individuals and the impoverishment of the great majority: the contradiction will develop more and more sharply until finally necessity compels society to reorganise itself on more rational principles.

But these, gentlemen, are far from being all the consequences of free competition. Since each man produces and consumes on his own without concerning himself much about what others are producing and consuming, a crying disproportion between production and consumption must, of necessity, quickly develop. Since present-day society entrusts the distribution of the goods produced to merchants, speculators and shopkeepers, each one of whom has only his own advantage in mind, similarly in the distribution — even apart from the fact that it is impossible for the propertyless man to secure for himself a sufficient share — similarly in the distribution of the products the same disproportion will arise. How is the manufacturer to discover how much of his products are needed in this or that market, and even if he could discover this, how could he get to know how much his competitors are sending to each of these markets? How can he — who in most cases does not even know where the goods he is just producing will go — possibly know how much his foreign competitors will send to each of the markets in question? He knows nothing about all this; like his competitors, he manufactures at haphazard and consoles himself with the thought that the others must do likewise. He has no other guide than the constantly fluctuating level of prices which, in the case of distant markets, is quite different at

the moment when he dispatches his goods from what it was when the letter informing him about it was written, and which again is different at the time the goods arrive from what it was when they were despatched. Where you have such irregularity of production it is also quite natural that at every moment there are interruptions to trade, which naturally must be all the more serious the more advanced the industry and trade of a given country is. In this regard England—the country with the most developed industry—provides us with the most striking examples. Due to the expansion of trade, to the many speculators and commission agents who have forced themselves in between the producing manufacturer and the actual consumers, it is becoming much more difficult for the English than for the German manufacturer to obtain even the remotest idea of the relationship between the stocks available and production on the one hand and consumption on the other; in addition he has to supply nearly all the markets in the world, but in hardly a single case does he know where his goods go and thus, with the gigantic productive power of British industry, it very frequently happens that all the markets are suddenly glutted. Trade comes to a standstill, factories work half-time or stop altogether; a series of bankruptcies begins, stocks must be sold off at ridiculously low prices and a great part of the capital, accumulated with great effort, is lost again as a result of this kind of trade crisis. We have had a whole series of such trade crises in England since the beginning of this century, and one every five or six years in the last twenty years.[92] The last two, gentlemen, those of 1837 and 1842, will still be vividly remembered by most of you. And if our industry were as big, our sales as extensive as the industry and trade of England, then we would experience the same results, whereas at present the effect of competition in industry and in trade is making itself felt here in a general, continuous depression in all branches of business, in a miserable half-way position between a definite boom and complete decline, in a situation of mild stagnation, i.e., of stability.

Gentlemen, what is the real reason of this deplorable state of affairs? What gives rise to the ruin of the middle class, to the glaring contradiction between rich and poor, to stagnation in trade and the waste of capital resulting therefrom? Nothing else than the divergence of interests. All of us work each for his own advantage, unconcerned about the welfare of others and, after all, it is an obvious, self-evident truth that the interest, the well-being, the happiness of every individual is inseparably bound up with that of his fellow-men. We must all acknowledge that we cannot

do without our fellow-men, that our interests, if nothing else, bind us all to one another, and yet by our actions we fly in the face of this truth: and yet we arrange our society as if our interests were not identical but completely and utterly opposed. We have seen what the results of this fundamental mistake were; if we want to eliminate these unpleasant consequences then we must correct this fundamental mistake, and that is precisely the aim of communism.

In communist society, where the interests of individuals are not opposed to one another but, on the contrary, are united, competition is eliminated. As is self-evident, there can no longer be any question of the ruin of particular classes, nor of the very existence of classes such as the rich and the poor nowadays. As soon as private gain, the aim of the individual to enrich himself on his own, disappears from the production and distribution of the goods necessary to life, trade crises will also disappear of themselves. In communist society it will be easy to be informed about both production and consumption. Since we know how much, on the average, a person needs, it is easy to calculate how much is needed by a given number of individuals, and since production is no longer in the hands of private producers but in those of the community and its administrative bodies, it is a trifling matter *to regulate production according to needs.*

Thus we see how the main evils of the present social situation disappear under communist organisation. If, however, we go into a little more detail, we will find that the advantages of such a social organisation are not limited to this but also include the elimination of a host of other defects. I shall only touch today on a few of the economic drawbacks. From the economic point of view the present arrangement of society is surely the most irrational and unpractical we can possibly conceive. The opposition of interests results in a great amount of labour power being utilised in a way from which society gains nothing, and in a substantial amount of capital being unnecessarily lost without reproducing itself. We already see this in the commercial crises; we see how masses of goods, all of which men have produced with great effort, are thrown away at prices which cause loss to the sellers; we see how masses of capital, accumulated with great effort, disappear before the very eyes of their owners as a result of bankruptcies. Let us, however, discuss present-day trade in a little more detail. Consider through how many hands every product must go before it reaches the actual consumer. Consider, gentlemen, how many speculating, swindling superfluous middlemen have now forced themselves in between the producer and the consumer! Let

us take, for example, a bale of cotton produced in North America. The bale passes from the hands of the planter into those of the agent on some station or other on the Mississippi and travels down the river to New Orleans. Here it is sold — for a second time, for the agent has already bought it from the planter — sold, it might well be, to the speculator, who sells it once again, to the exporter. The bale now travels to Liverpool where, once again, a greedy speculator stretches out his hands towards it and grabs it. This man then trades it to a commission agent who, let us assume, is a buyer for a German house. So the bale travels to Rotterdam, up the Rhine, through another dozen hands of forwarding agents, being unloaded and loaded a dozen times, and only then does it arrive in the hands, not of the consumer, but of the manufacturer, who first makes it into an article of consumption, and who perhaps sells his yarn to a weaver, who disposes of what he has woven to the textile printer, who then does business with the wholesaler, who then deals with the retailer, who finally sells the commodity to the consumer. And all these millions of intermediary swindlers, speculators, agents, exporters, commission agents, forwarding agents, wholesalers and retailers, who actually contribute nothing to the commodity itself — they all want to live and make a profit — and they do make it too, on the average, otherwise they could not subsist. Gentlemen, is there no simpler, cheaper way of bringing a bale of cotton from America to Germany and of getting the product manufactured from it into the hands of the real consumer than this complicated business of ten times selling and a hundred times loading, unloading and transporting it from one warehouse to another? Is this not a striking example of the manifold waste of labour power brought about by the divergence of interests? Such a complicated way of transport is out of the question in a rationally organised society. To keep to our example, just as one can easily know how much cotton or manufactured cotton goods an individual colony needs, it will be equally easy for the central authority to determine how much all the villages and townships in the country need. Once such statistics have been worked out — which can easily be done in a year or two — average annual consumption will only change in proportion to the increasing population; it is therefore easy at the appropriate time to determine in advance what amount of each particular article the people will need — the entire great amount will be ordered direct from the source of supply; it will then be possible to procure it directly, without middlemen, without more delay and unloading than is really required by the nature of the

journey, that is, with a great saving of labour power; it will not be necessary to pay the speculators, the dealers large and small, their rake-off. But this is still not all — in this way these middlemen are not only made harmless to society, they are, in fact, made useful to it. Whereas they now perform to the disadvantage of everyone else a kind of work which is, at best, superfluous but which, nevertheless, provides them with a living, indeed, in many cases even with great riches, whereas they are thus at present directly prejudicial to the general good, they will then become free to engage in useful labour and to take up an occupation in which they can prove themselves as actual members, not merely apparent, sham members, of human society, and as participants in its activity as a whole.

Present-day society, which breeds hostility between the individual man and everyone else, thus produces a social war of all against all which inevitably in individual cases, notably among uneducated people, assumes a brutal, barbarously violent form — that of crime. In order to protect itself against crime, against direct acts of violence, society requires an extensive, complicated system of administrative and judicial bodies which requires an immense labour force. In communist society this would likewise be vastly simplified, and precisely because — strange though it may sound — precisely because the administrative body in this society would have to manage not merely individual aspects of social life, but the whole of social life, in all its various activities, in all its aspects. We eliminate the contradiction between the individual man and all others, we counterpose social peace to social war, we put the axe to the *root* of crime — and thereby render the greatest, by far the greatest, part of the present activity of the administrative and judicial bodies superfluous. Even now crimes of passion are becoming fewer and fewer in comparison with calculated crimes, crimes of interest — crimes against *persons* are declining, crimes against *property* are on the increase. Advancing civilisation moderates violent outbreaks of passion even in our present-day society, which is on a war footing; how much more will this be the case in communist, peaceful society! Crimes against property cease of their own accord where everyone receives what he needs to satisfy his natural and his spiritual urges, where social gradations and distinctions cease to exist. Justice concerned with criminal cases ceases of itself, that dealing with civil cases, which are almost all rooted in the property relations or at least in such relations as arise from the situation of social war, likewise disappears; conflicts can then be only rare exceptions, whereas they are now the

natural result of general hostility, and will be easily settled by arbitrators. The activities of the administrative bodies at present have likewise their source in the continual social war — the police and the entire administration do nothing else but see to it that the war remains concealed and indirect and does not erupt into open violence, into crimes. But if it is infinitely easier to maintain peace than to keep war within certain limits, so it is vastly more easy to administer a communist community rather than a competitive one. And if civilisation has already taught men to seek their interest in the maintenance of public order, public security, and the public interest, and therefore to make the police, administration and justice as superfluous as possible, how much more will this be the case in a society in which community of interests has become the basic principle, and in which the public interest is no longer distinct from that of each individual! What already exists now, *in spite of* the social organisation, how much more will it exist when it is no longer hindered, but supported by the social institutions! We may thus also in this regard count on a considerable increase in the labour force through that part of the labour force of which society is deprived by the present social condition.

One of the most expensive institutions which present-day society cannot dispense with are the standing armies, by which the nation is deprived of the most vigorous and useful section of the population and compelled to feed it since it thereby becomes unproductive. We know from our own budget what the standing army costs — twenty-four million a year and the withdrawal from production of twice one hundred thousand of the most muscular arms. In communist society it would not occur to anyone to have a standing army. What for, anyhow? To maintain peace in the country? As we saw above, it will not occur to anyone to disturb internal peace. Fear of revolutions is, of course, the consequence only of the opposition of interests; where the interests of all coincide, such fears are out of the question.— For aggressive wars? But how could a communist society conceive the idea of undertaking an aggressive war? — this society which is perfectly well aware that in war it will only lose men and capital while the most it could gain would be a couple of recalcitrant provinces, which would as a consequence be disruptive of social order.— For a war of defence? For that there is no need of a standing army, as it will be easy to train every fit member of society, in addition to his other occupations, in real, not barrack-square handling of arms to the degree necessary for the defence of the country. And, gentlemen, consider this, that in the event of a war, which anyway could *only*

*be waged against anti-communist* nations, the member of such a society has a *real* Fatherland, a *real* hearth and home to defend, so that he will fight with an enthusiasm, endurance and bravery before which the mechanically trained soldiers of a modern army must be scattered like chaff. Consider what wonders were worked by the enthusiasm of the revolutionary armies from 1792 to 1799, which only fought for an *illusion,* for the *semblance of a Fatherland,* and you will be bound to realise how powerful an army must be which fights, not for an illusion, but for a tangible reality. Thus these immense masses of labour power of which the civilised nations are now deprived by the armies, would be returned to labour in a communist society; they would not only produce as much as they consume, but would be able to supply to the public storehouses a great many more products than those necessary for their own sustenance.

An even worse wastage of labour power is to be seen in our existing society in the way the rich exploit their social position. I will say nothing of all the useless and quite ridiculous luxury which arises only from the passion for display and occupies a great deal of labour power. But, gentlemen, just go into the house, the inmost sanctuary, of a rich man and tell me if it is not the most senseless waste of labour power when you have a number of people waiting on one single individual, spending their time in idleness or, at best, in work which results from the isolation of a single man inside his own four walls? This crowd of maids, cooks, lackeys, coachmen, domestic servants, gardeners and whatever they are called, what do they really do? For how *few moments* during the day they are occupied in making the lives of their masters *really* pleasant, in facilitating the free development and exercise of their human nature and inborn capacities—and *how many hours* during the day they are occupied in tasks which arise only from the bad arrangement of our social relations—standing at the back of the carriage, serving their employers' every whim, carrying lap-dogs, and other absurdities. In a rationally organised society, where everyone will be in a position to live without pandering to the whims of the rich and without lapsing into any such whims himself—in such a society, the labour power now thus wasted on the provision of luxury can naturally be used to the advantage of all and to its own.

A further waste of labour power occurs in our present society quite directly as a result of competition, for this creates a large number of destitute workers who *would* gladly work, but *cannot* get any work. Since society is not by any means arranged so as to be

able to pay attention to the real utilisation of the labour force, since it is left to every individual to look for a source of gain, it is quite natural that when really or apparently useful work is being distributed, a number of workers are left without any. This is all the more the case as the competitive struggle compels everyone to strain his power to the utmost, to utilise all available advantages, to replace dearer labour by cheaper for which advancing civilisation provides more and more means or, in other words, everyone has to work at making others destitute, at displacing other people's labour by one means or another. Thus in every civilised society there are large numbers of unemployed people who would gladly work but cannot find work and their number is larger than is commonly believed. And so we find these people *prostituting* themselves in one way or another, begging, sweeping the streets, standing on corners, only barely keeping body and soul together by occasional small jobs, hawking and peddling all manner of petty wares or, as we saw a couple of poor girls doing this evening, going from place to place with a guitar, playing and singing for money, compelled to put up with all kinds of shameless talk, every insulting suggestion in order to earn a couple of *groschen.* How many finally fall victims to *real* prostitution! Gentlemen, the number of these destitute people who have no other course open but to prostitute themselves in one way or another is very large—our Poor Relief authorities can tell you all about this—and don't forget that society nevertheless feeds these people in one way or another despite their uselessness. If, then, society has to bear the cost of their maintenance, it should also make it possible for these unemployed to earn their keep *honourably.* But the present competitive society *cannot* do this.

If you think about all this, gentlemen—and I could have given you many other examples of how our present society wastes its labour force—if you think about this, you will find that human society has an abundance of productive forces at its disposal which only await a rational organisation, regulated distribution, in order to go into operation to the greatest benefit for all. After this you will be able to judge how totally unfounded is the fear that, given a just distribution of social activity, individuals would have to bear such a load of labour as would make it impossible for them to engage in anything else. On the contrary, we can assume that given this kind of organisation, the present customary labour time of the individual will be reduced by half simply by making use of the labour which is either not used at all or used disadvantageously.

However, the benefits which communist organisation offers through the *utilisation of wasted labour power* are *not yet the most significant.* The greatest saving of labour power lies in the *fusing of the individual powers* into social collective power and in the kind of organisation which is based on this concentration of powers hitherto opposed to one another. Here I should like to subscribe to the proposals of *Robert Owen,* the English Socialist, since these are the most practical and most fully worked out. Owen proposes that instead of the present towns and villages with their separate individual houses standing in each other's way, we should construct large palaces which, built in the form of a square some 1,650 feet in length and breadth, would enclose a large garden and comfortably accommodate from two to three thousand people. It is obvious that such a building, while providing its occupants with the amenities of the best contemporary housing, is far cheaper and easier to erect than the generally worse individual dwellings required under the present system for the same number of people. The many rooms which now remain empty in almost every decent house, or are only used once or twice a year, disappear without any inconvenience; the saving in space for store-rooms, cellars, etc., is also very great.—But it is only when we go into domestic economy in detail that we will really grasp the advantages of community housing. What an amount of labour and material is squandered under the present system of separate housing—in heating for example! Every room needs to have a separate stove, every stove has to be specially heated, kept alight, supervised, the fuel for heating has to be brought to all the different places, the ashes removed; how much simpler and cheaper it would be to install, instead of the present separate heating, large-scale central heating with, for example, steam pipes and a single, central heating unit, as is already done in big public buildings, factories, churches, etc. Gaslighting, again, is expensive at present because even the thinner pipes have to be laid underground and owing to the large areas to be illuminated in our towns the pipes have to be disproportionately long, whereas under the proposed arrangement everything would be concentrated in an area of a 1,650 foot square and the number of gas burners would nevertheless be as great, so that the result would be at least as beneficial as in a moderately-sized town. And then the preparation of meals—what a waste of space, ingredients, labour, is involved in the present, separate households, where every family cooks its little bit of food on its own, has its own supply of crockery, employs its own cook, must fetch its own supplies separately from the market, from the

garden, from the butcher and the baker! One can safely assume that under a communal system of preparing and serving meals, two-thirds of the labour force now engaged in this work will be saved, and the remaining third will nevertheless be able to perform it better and more attentively than is the case at present. And finally, the housework itself! Will not such a building be infinitely easier to keep clean and in good condition when, as is possible, this kind of work also is organised and regularly shared out, than the two to three hundred separate houses which would be the equivalent under the present housing system?

These, gentlemen, are a few of the innumerable economic advantages which are bound to result from the communist organisation of human society. It is not possible for us in a couple of hours and in a few words to elucidate our principle and duly substantiate it from all points of view. Nor is this by any means our intention. All we can and want to do is to shed light on a few points and to induce those to whom the matter is still strange to study it. And we hope at least that we have made it clear this evening that communism is not contrary to human nature, reason, or the human heart, and that it is not a theory which, taking no account whatever of reality, is rooted in pure fantasy.

People ask how this theory is to be translated into reality, what measures we propose to prepare its introduction. There are various ways to this end; the English will probably begin by setting up a number of colonies and leaving it to every individual whether to join or not; the French, on the other hand, will be likely to prepare and implement communism on a national basis. Not much can be said about how the Germans will start since the social movement in Germany is new. Meanwhile, among the many possible ways of preparing, I would like to mention only one which has recently been much discussed—the carrying through of three measures which are bound to result in practical communism.

The first would be the *general education* of all children without exception at the expense of the state—an education which is equal for all and continues until the individual is capable of emerging as an independent member of society. This measure would be only an act of justice to our destitute fellow creatures, for clearly, every man has the right to the full development of his abilities and society wrongs individuals twice over when it makes ignorance a necessary consequence of poverty. It is obvious that society gains more from educated than from ignorant, uncultured members,

and while, as may be well expected, an educated proletariat will not be disposed to remain in the oppressed condition in which our present proletariat finds itself, the calm and composure necessary for the peaceful transformation of society can also be expected only from an *educated* working class. But that the *uneducated* proletariat likewise has no wish to remain in its present condition is proved also for Germany—not to speak of other peoples—by the disorders in Silesia and Bohemia.[93]

The second measure would be a complete *reorganisation of the Poor Relief System*, so that all destitute citizens would be housed in colonies where they would be employed in agriculture and industry and their work organised for the benefit of the whole colony. Poor Relief capital has, up to now, been lent out at interest, thus providing the rich with new means for exploiting the propertyless. Let this capital at last work for the benefit of the poor, let the whole yield of this capital, not simply its 3 per cent interest, be used for the poor, and thus give a splendid example of the association of capital and labour! In this way, the labour power of all destitute people would be utilised for the benefit of society and the destitute themselves transformed from demoralised, oppressed paupers into moral, independent, active people whose condition would very soon come to be regarded as enviable by isolated workers and would prepare a thoroughgoing reorganisation of society.

Both these measures require money. In order to raise it and at the same time replace all the present, unjustly distributed taxes, the present reform plan proposes a general, progressive tax on capital, at a rate increasing with the size of the capital. In this way, the burden of public administration would be shared by everyone according to his ability and would no longer fall mainly on the shoulders of those least able to bear it, as has hitherto been the case in all countries. For the principle of taxation is, after all, a purely communist one, since the right to levy taxes is derived in all countries from so-called national property. For either private property is sacrosanct, in which case there is no such thing as national property and the state has no right to levy taxes, or the state has this right, in which case private property is not sacrosanct, national property stands above private property, and the state is the true owner. This latter principle is the one generally accepted—well then, gentlemen; for the present we demand only that this principle be taken seriously, that the state proclaim itself the common owner and, as such, administer public property for the public good, and that as the first step, it introduce a system of

taxation based solely on each individual's ability to pay taxes and on the real public good.

So you see, gentlemen, that it is not intended to introduce common ownership [*Gütergemeinschaft*] overnight and against the will of the nation, but that it is only a matter of establishing the *aim* and the *ways* and *means* of advancing towards it. But that the communist principle will be that of the future is attested by the course of development of all civilised nations, it is attested by the swiftly advancing dissolution of all hitherto existing social institutions; it is attested by common sense and, above all, by the human heart.

FEBRUARY 15, 1845

Gentlemen!

At our last meeting I was accused of taking my examples and illustrations almost exclusively from foreign countries, namely from England. It was said that England and France were of no concern to us, we lived in Germany and it was our business to prove the necessity and advantages of communism for Germany. We were likewise accused of not having sufficiently demonstrated the historical necessity of communism in general. This is quite correct and it was not possible to do otherwise. A historical necessity cannot be demonstrated in as short a time as the congruence of two triangles. It can only be done by study and inquiry into all kinds of far-reaching presuppositions. I will, however, today do my best to answer these two accusations. I will try to show that communism is, if not a historical, at any rate *an economic necessity* for *Germany*.

Let us, first of all, consider the present social situation in Germany. It is known that a great deal of poverty exists among us. Silesia and Bohemia have spoken for themselves. The *Rheinische Zeitung* had much to tell us about the poverty existing in the Mosel and Eifel areas.[a] Large-scale and continuous poverty has prevailed in the Erzgebirge from time immemorial. It is no better in the Senne and in the Westphalian linen districts. There are complaints from all parts of Germany and nothing else is to be expected. Our proletariat is numerous and must be so, as we must realise from the most superficial examination of our social situation. It is in the

[a] Karl Marx, "Justification of the Correspondent from the Mosel" (see present edition, Vol. 1, pp. 332-58).—*Ed.*

nature of things that there should be a numerous proletariat in the *industrial districts*. Industry cannot exist without a large number of workers who are wholly at its disposal, work exclusively for it and renounce every other way of making a living. Under conditions of competition, industrial employment makes any other employment impossible. For this reason we find in all industrial districts a proletariat too numerous and too obvious for its existence to be denied.— But in the *agricultural districts*, on the other hand, many people assert, no proletariat exists. But how is this possible? In areas where big landownership prevails such a proletariat is necessary; the big farms need farm-hands and servant girls and cannot exist without proletarians. In areas where the land has been parcelled out the rise of a propertyless class cannot be avoided either; the estates are divided up to a certain point, then the division comes to an end; and as then only one member of the family can take over the farm the others must, of course, become proletarians, propertyless workers. This dividing up usually proceeds until the farm becomes too small to feed a family and so a class of people comes into existence which, like the small middle class in the towns, is in transition from the possessing to the non-possessing class, and which is prevented by its property from taking up any other occupation, and yet cannot live on it. In this class, too, great poverty prevails.

That this proletariat is bound steadily to increase in numbers is guaranteed by the increasing impoverishment of the middle classes of which I spoke in detail last week, and by the tendency of capital to become concentrated in a few hands. I do not need to return to these points today, and will only remark that these causes which continually produce and multiply the proletariat will remain the same and will have the same consequences as long as there is competition. The proletariat must under all circumstances not only continue to exist but also enlarge itself continually, become an ever more threatening power in our society as long as we continue to produce each on his own and in opposition to everyone else. But one day the proletariat will attain a level of power and of insight at which it will no longer tolerate the pressure of the entire social structure always bearing down on its shoulders, when it will demand a more even distribution of social burdens and rights; and then — unless human nature has changed by that time — a social revolution will be inevitable.

This is a question which our economists have not as yet gone into at all. They do not concern themselves with the distribution but only with the production of the national wealth. However, let

us leave aside for the moment the fact that, as we have just demonstrated, a social revolution is the consequence of competition; let us consider the individual forms in which competition appears, the different economic possibilities for Germany, and see what the consequences of each must be.

Germany—or the German Customs Union,[94] to be more precise—has a *juste-milieu* customs tariff at the moment. Our duties are too low to constitute a real protective tariff and too high for free trade. So three things are possible. Either we go over to free trade completely, or we protect our industry by adequate tariffs, or we retain the existing system. Let us examine each of these possibilities.

If we proclaim *free trade* and do away with our tariffs, then our whole industry with the exception of a few branches will be ruined. There can *then* be no question whatsoever of cotton spinning, of mechanised weaving, of most branches of the cotton and woollen industry, of important branches of the silk industry, of almost all production and processing of iron. The workers suddenly made destitute in all these branches would be hurled in masses into agriculture and the debris of industry, pauperism would grow out of the very ground everywhere, the centralisation of property in the hands of a few would be speeded up by such a crisis and, judging by the events in Silesia, the result of this crisis would of necessity be a social revolution.

Or we provide ourselves with *protective tariffs*. These have lately become the darlings of most of our industrialists and therefore deserve closer examination. Herr *List* has brought the wishes of our capitalists into a system[a] and I should like to deal for a little while with this system, now almost generally adopted by them as a credo. Herr List proposes gradually increasing protective tariffs which are finally to become high enough to guarantee the home market for the manufacturers; they should then remain at that level for a time and then be gradually reduced again so that finally, after a number of years, all tariffs are abolished. Let us assume for a moment that this plan is adopted and increasing protective tariffs are decreed. Industry will expand, idle capital will rush into industrial undertakings, the demand for workers will increase and so will wages along with it, the poor-houses will empty, and to all appearances everything will be in a most flourishing state. This will continue until our industry has suffi-

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[a] Friedrich List, *Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie* (for a detailed analysis of this work see Marx's article on pp. 265-93 of this volume).—*Ed.*

ciently expanded to supply the home market. It cannot expand any further, for since it cannot maintain its hold on the *home* market without protection it will be even less able to do anything against foreign competition in neutral markets. But, says Herr List, by then home industry will be strong enough to require less protection and the reduction of tariffs can commence. Let us agree with this for a moment. The tariffs are reduced. Protection is decreased to such an extent—if not by the first reduction then certainly by the second or third—that foreign, let us say right away, English, industry can compete with our own in the German market. Herr List himself wishes this. But what will be the result of all this? From then on, German industry will have to endure, along with the English, all the fluctuations, all the crises, of the latter. As soon as the overseas markets are glutted with English goods, the English will throw the whole of their surplus stocks on the German market, the nearest one available, just as they are doing now, and as Herr List reports with great emotion, and so transform the German Customs Union into their "second-hand shop" once more. Then English industry will soon rise again because it has the whole world for its market, because the whole world cannot do without it, while German industry is not indispensable even for its own market and has to fear English competition in its own house and is labouring under a profusion of English goods thrown to its customers during the crisis. Then our industry will have to taste to the dregs all the bad times experienced by the English industry while being able to have only a modest share in the latter's boom periods—in short, we shall be in exactly the same position as we are now. And to come straightaway to the final result, there will then ensue the same depression in which our half-protected industries now find themselves, then one establishment after another will go under without new ones arising, then our machines will become obsolete without our being able to replace them with new and better ones, then the standstill will be transformed into retrogression and, according to Herr List's own assertion, one industry after another will decay and finally collapse altogether. But then we shall have a numerous proletariat which will have been created by industry and will now have no food, no work; and then, gentlemen, this proletariat will confront the propertied class with the demand to be given work and to be fed.

This is what will happen if the protective tariffs are reduced. Let us now assume that they are not reduced but remain in operation and that it is proposed to wait until competition between

the home manufacturers makes them illusory and then to reduce them. The result of this will be that as soon as German industry is in a position to supply the German market completely it will stand still. New establishments will not be needed since the existing ones suffice for the market and, as has been said above, new markets are out of the question so long as protection is needed at all. But an industry which does not *expand* cannot *improve* itself. It remains stationary both internally and externally. For it there is no such thing as improving the machinery. The old machines cannot just be scrapped, and there are no new establishments which could make use of new ones. Meanwhile other nations go forward, and the standstill in our industry again becomes retrogression. The English, as a result of their advance, will soon be in a position to produce so cheaply that they can compete with our backward industry in our own market *despite* the protective tariffs, and since in competition as in every other kind of struggle victory always goes to the strongest, our ultimate defeat is certain. The same situation then arises about which I have just been speaking: the artificially created proletariat will demand from the property-owners something which, so long as they wish to remain exclusive owners, they are unable to provide, and social revolution begins.

There is yet another possibility, namely, the very improbable one that we Germans will be able owing to protective tariffs to bring our industry to a point at which it can compete with the English without protection. Let us assume that this is so, what would be the result? As soon as we begin to compete with the English in foreign, neutral markets, a life-and-death struggle will arise between our industry and that of the English. They will muster all their strength to keep us out of the markets they have supplied hitherto; they will have to do so because now they will be attacked at their life's source, at the most dangerous spot. And with all the means at their disposal, with all the advantages of a hundred-year-old industry, they will succeed in defeating us. They will keep our industry limited to our own market and thus make it stationary — and then the same situation will arise which has already been outlined; we shall remain stationary, the English will stride forward, and our industry, in view of its unavoidable decay, will not be in a position to feed the proletariat it will have artificially created — the social revolution begins.

But assuming that we could beat the English even in neutral markets, that we were to win from them one trade outlet after another — what would we have gained in this well-nigh impossible case? At best we should repeat the industrial development which

England went through before us, and sooner or later we should arrive at the point which England has now reached — namely the eve of the social revolution. But in all probability it would not take as long as that. As a result of the continual victories of German industry that of the English would necessarily be ruined and this would only speed up the mass uprising of the proletariat against the propertied classes, which is imminent in England in any case. Rapidly spreading destitution would drive the English workers to revolution, and as things stand now, such a social revolution would have enormous repercussions in the continental countries, notably in France and Germany, which must be all the greater the more a proletariat is artificially produced by forcing the pace of industrial development in Germany. Such a revolution would immediately become a European one and would violently upset our manufacturers' dreams of a German industrial monopoly. And that German and English industry should exist peacefully side by side is made impossible if only by competition. I repeat, every industry must advance in order not to lag behind and go under; it must expand, conquer new markets, become enlarged by the addition of new establishments in order to be able to advance. But as no new markets are being won since the opening up of China,[95] and only better exploitation of the existing markets is possible, and as the expansion of industry will therefore proceed more slowly in future than it has done up to now, England can tolerate a competitor even less now than it could in the past. It must hold down the industry of all other countries in order to protect its own industry from ruin. For England the maintenance of industrial monopoly is no longer merely a question of a greater or lesser profit, it has become *a question of life or death.* The competitive struggle between nations is, in any case, much fiercer, much more decisive than that between individuals, because it is a more concentrated struggle, a struggle between masses, which can only be ended by the decisive victory of one side and the decisive defeat of the other. And for this reason, such a struggle between us and the English, no matter what the outcome, would be of no benefit either to our or to the English industrialists but, as I have shown, would only bring a social revolution in its train.

We have thus seen, gentlemen, what Germany can expect in all possible cases both from free trade and from protection. We still have, however, one economic possibility open to us, namely, that we continue with the *juste-milieu* tariffs now in operation. But we have already seen what the results would be. One branch of our industry after another would collapse, the industrial workers

would become destitute, and when the destitution reached a certain point they would explode into a revolution against the propertied classes.

So you see, gentlemen, substantiated also in detail what in the beginning, proceeding from competition in general, I set out in general terms — namely, that the unavoidable result of our existing social relations, under all circumstances, and in all cases, will be a *social revolution.* With the same certainty with which we can develop from given mathematical principles a new mathematical proposition, with the same certainty we can deduce from the existing economic relations and the principles of political economy the imminence of social revolution. Let us, however, look at this upheaval a little closer; what form will it take, what will be its results, in what ways will it differ from the previous violent upheavals? A social revolution, gentlemen, is something quite different from the political revolutions which have taken place so far. It is not directed, as these have been, against the property of monopoly, but against the monopoly of property; a social revolution, gentlemen, is *the open war of the poor against the rich.* And such a struggle, in which all the mainsprings and causes, which in previous historical conflicts lay dark and hidden at the bottom, operate openly and without concealment, such a struggle, to be sure, threatens to be far fiercer and bloodier than all those that preceded it. The result of this struggle can be twofold. Either the rebellious party only attacks the appearance, not the essence, only the form, not the thing itself, or it goes for the thing itself, grasps the evil itself by the root. In the first case private property will be allowed to continue and will only be distributed differently, so that the causes which have led to the present situation remain in operation and must sooner or later bring about a similar situation and another revolution. But, gentlemen, is this possible? Has there been a revolution which did not really carry out what it was out for? The English revolution realised both the religious and the political principles whose suppression by Charles I caused it to break out; the French bourgeoisie in its fight against the aristocracy and the old monarchy achieved everything that it aimed for, made an end to all the abuses which drove it to insurrection. And should the insurrection of the poor cease before poverty and its causes have been eliminated? It is not possible, gentlemen; it would be flying in the face of all historical experience to suppose such a thing. Furthermore, the level of education of the workers, especially in England and France, forbids us to consider this possible. There only remains, then, the other alternative, namely,

that the future social revolution will deal with the real causes of want and poverty, of ignorance and crime, that it will therefore carry through a real social reform. And this can only happen by the proclamation of the principles of communism. Just consider, gentlemen, the ideas which actuate the worker in those countries where the worker too thinks. Look at France, at the different sections of the labour movement, whether they are not *all* communistic; go to England and listen to the kind of proposals being made to the workers for the improvement of their position—are they not *all* based on the principle of common property; study the different systems of social reform and how many will you find that are not communistic? Of all the systems which are still of any importance today, the only one which is not communistic is that of Fourier, who devoted more attention to the social organisation of human activity than to the distribution of its products. All these facts justify the conclusion that a future social revolution will end with the implementation of the principles of communism and hardly permit any other possibility.

If, gentlemen, these conclusions are correct, if the social revolution and practical communism are the necessary result of our existing conditions—then we will have to concern ourselves above all with the measures by which we can avoid a violent and bloody overthrow of the social conditions. And there is only *one* means, namely, the peaceful introduction or at least preparation of communism. If we do not want the *bloody* solution of the social problem, if we do not want to permit the daily growing contradiction between the education and the condition of our proletarians to come to a head, which, according to all our experience of human nature, will mean that this contradiction will be solved by brute force, desperation and thirst for revenge, then, gentlemen, we must apply ourselves seriously and without prejudice to the social problem; then we must make it our business to contribute our share towards humanising the condition of the modern helots. And if it should perhaps appear to some of you that the raising of the hitherto abased classes will not be possible without an abasement of your own condition, then you ought to bear in mind that what is involved is to create for *all people* such a condition that everyone can freely develop his human nature and live in a human relationship with his neighbours, and has no need to fear any violent shattering of his condition; it must be borne in mind that what some individuals have to sacrifice is not their real human enjoyment of life, but only the semblance of this enjoyment produced by our bad conditions, something which conflicts

with the reason and the heart of those who now enjoy these apparent advantages. Far from wishing to destroy real human life with all its requirements and needs, we wish on the contrary really to bring it into being. And if, even apart from this, you will only seriously consider for a moment what the consequences of our present situation are bound to be, into what labyrinths of contradictions and disorders it is leading us—then, gentlemen, you will certainly find it worth the trouble to study the social question seriously and thoroughly. And if I can induce you to do this, I shall have achieved the purpose of my talk.

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# Karl Marx

## DRAFT OF AN ARTICLE ON FRIEDRICH LIST'S BOOK *DAS NATIONALE SYSTEM DER POLITISCHEN OEKONOMIE*[96]

### [*1. General Characterisation of List*]

... [2] that awareness of the death of the bourgeoisie has already penetrated the consciousness even of the German bourgeois, so the German bourgeois is naive enough himself to admit this "sad fact".

"For this reason also it is *so sad* that the evils which in our day accompany industry are advanced as a reason for rejecting industry itself. There exist far greater evils than a social estate [Stand] of *proletarians*: an empty exchequer—national impotence—national slavery—national death" (p. LXVII).

It is truly sadder that the proletariat already exists and already advances claims, and already inspires fear, before the German bourgeois has yet achieved the development of industry. As far as the proletarian himself is concerned, he will certainly find his social situation [Stand] a happy one when the ruling bourgeoisie has a full exchequer and national might. Herr List only speaks about what is *sadder* for the bourgeois. And we admit that for him it is very sad that he wants to establish the domination of industry precisely at the unsuitable moment when the slavery of the majority resulting from this domination has become a generally known fact. The German bourgeois is the *knight of the rueful countenance,* who wanted to introduce knight-errantry just when the police and money had come to the fore.

3. A great inconvenience (obstacle)[97] affecting the German bourgeois in his striving for industrial wealth is his *idealism* professed hitherto. How is it that this nation of the *"spirit"* suddenly comes to find the supreme blessings of mankind in calico, knitting yarn, the self-acting mule, in a mass of factory slaves, in the materialism of machinery, in the full money-bags of

Messrs. the factory-owners? The empty, shallow, sentimental idealism of the German bourgeois, beneath which lies hidden (is concealed) the pettiest, dirtiest and most cowardly shopkeeper's spirit (soul), has arrived at the epoch when this bourgeois is inevitably compelled to divulge his secret. But again he divulges it in a truly German, highflown manner. He divulges it with an idealistic-Christian sense of shame. He disavows wealth while striving for it. He clothes spiritless materialism in an idealistic disguise and only then ventures to pursue it.

The whole theoretical part of List's system is nothing but a [. . . . . .][a] disguising of the industrial materialism of frank political economy in idealistic phrases. Everywhere he allows the thing to remain in existence but idealises the expression of it. We shall trace this in detail. It is just this empty idealistic phraseology that enables him to ignore the *real* barriers standing in the way of his pious wishes and to indulge in the most absurd fantasies (what would have become of the English and French bourgeoisie if it had first to ask a high-ranking nobility, an esteemed bureaucracy and the ancient ruling dynasties for permission to give "industry" the "force of law"?).

The German bourgeois is religious even when he is an industrialist. He shrinks from speaking about the nasty exchange values which he covets and speaks about productive forces [von Produktivkräften]; he shrinks from speaking about competition and speaks of a national confederation of national productive forces; he shrinks from speaking of his private interest and speaks about the national interest. When one looks at the frank, classic cynicism with which the English and French bourgeoisie, as represented by its first — at least at the beginning of its domination — scientific spokesmen of political economy, elevated wealth into a god and ruthlessly sacrificed everything else to it, to this Moloch, in science as well, and when, on the other hand, one looks at the idealising, phrase-mongering, bombastic manner of Herr List, who in the midst of political economy despises the wealth of "righteous men" and knows loftier aims, one is bound to find it "also sad" that the present day is no longer a day for wealth.

Herr List always speaks in Molossus metre.[98] He continually shows off in a clumsy and verbose rhetoric, the troubled waters of which always drive him in the end on to a sandbank, and the essence of which consists of constant repetitions about protective

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[a] There are three illegible words in the manuscript here, apparently meaning "fallen in front of him".—*Ed.*

tariffs and true German ["teutsche"] factories. He is continually sensuously supersensuous.

The German idealising philistine who wants to become wealthy must, of course, first create for himself a new theory of wealth, one which makes wealth worthy of his striving for it. The bourgeois in France and England see the approach of the storm which will destroy in practice the *real* life of what has hitherto been called wealth, but the German bourgeois, who has not yet arrived at this inferior wealth, tries to give a new, "spiritualistic" interpretation of it. He creates for himself an "idealising" political economy, which has nothing in common with profane French and English political economy, in order to justify to himself and the world that he, too, wants to become wealthy. The German bourgeois begins his creation of wealth with the creation of a highflown hypocritically idealising political economy.

3.[99] How Herr List interprets history and what attitude he adopts towards Smith and his school.

Humble as is Herr List's attitude to the nobility, the ancient ruling dynasties and the bureaucracy, he is to the same degree "audacious" in opposing French and English political economy, of which Smith is the protagonist, and which has cynically betrayed the *secret* of "wealth" and made impossible all illusions about its nature, tendency and movement. Herr List lumps them all together by calling them "the School". For since the German bourgeois is concerned with protective tariffs, the whole development of political economy since Smith has, of course, no meaning for him, because all its most outstanding representatives presuppose the present-day bourgeois society of competition and free trade.

The German philistine here reveals his "national" character in many ways.

1) In the whole of political economy, he sees only systems concocted in academic study rooms. That the development of a science such as political economy is connected with the real movement of society, or is only its theoretical [3] expression, Herr List, of course, does not suspect. A German theoretician.

2) Since his own work (theory) conceals a secret aim, he suspects secret aims everywhere.

Being a true German philistine, Herr List, instead of studying real history, looks for the secret, bad aims of individuals, and, owing to his cunning, he is very well able to discover them (puzzle them out). He makes great discoveries, such as that Adam Smith wanted to deceive the world by his theory, and that the whole

world let itself be deceived by him until the great Herr List woke it from its dream, rather in the way that a certain Düsseldorf Counsellor of Justice made out that Roman history had been invented by medieval monks in order to justify the domination of Rome.

But just as the German bourgeois knows no better way of opposing his enemy than by casting a moral slur on him, casting aspersions on his frame of mind, and seeking bad motives for his actions, in short, by bringing him into *bad repute* and making him personally an object of suspicion, so Herr List also casts aspersions on the English and French economists, and retails gossip about them. And just as the German philistine does not disdain the pettiest profit-making and swindling in trade, so Herr List does not disdain to juggle with words from the quotations he gives in order to make them profitable. He does not disdain to stick the trade-mark of his rival on to his own bad products, in order to bring his rival's products into disrepute by falsifying them, or even to invent downright lies about his competitor in order to discredit him.

We shall give a few samples of Herr List's mode of procedure.

It is well known that the German priests believed they could inflict no more deadly blow on the Enlightenment than by telling us the stupid anecdote and lie that on his death-bed Voltaire had renounced his views. Herr List, too, takes us to Adam Smith's death-bed and informs us that it turned out that Smith had not been sincere in his teaching. However, listen to Herr List himself and his further verdict on Smith. We put alongside List's words the source of his wisdom.

*List:*
[*National System of Political Economy, Vol. I: International Trade, Trade Policy and the German Customs Union.* Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1841:]

"I recalled from the biography by Dugald Stewart how this great mind [Adam Smith] could not die in peace before all his manuscripts had been burned, by which I wanted to make it understood how serious is the suspicion that these papers contained proofs against his sincerity" (p. LVIII). "I showed that the English Ministers [...] made use of his theory in order to throw dust into the eyes of other nations for the benefit of England" (loc.

*Ferrier, F.L.A., Du gouvernement considéré dans ses rapports avec le commerce,* Paris, 1805:

"Is it possible that Smith was sincere in heaping up so many false arguments in favour of free trade?... Smith had as his secret aim to spread in Europe principles the adoption of which he knew very well would give his country the world market" (pp. 385, 386). "One is even justified in assuming that Smith did not always propound one and the same doctrine; and how otherwise is one to explain the torment he suffered on his death-bed because of the fear

cit.). "As regards its relation to national and international conditions, Adam Smith's theory is a mere continuation of the physiocratic system. Like the latter, it ignores the nature of the nations [...] and presupposes eternal peace and universal union as already in existence" (p. 475).

that the manuscripts of his lectures would survive him" (p. 386). He [Ferrier] loc. cit. (p. 388) reproaches Smith for having been a *commissaire des douanes*.[a] "Smith almost always argued like the economists" (physiocrats), "without taking into account the divergence between the interests of the different nations, and on the assumption of a situation where there would be only one society in the world" (p. 381). "Let us set aside all these projects of union" (p. 15).

(Monsieur Ferrier was an *inspecteur des douanes*[b] under Napoleon and loved his profession.)

J.-B. Say's political economy is interpreted by Herr List as an unsuccessful speculation. We shall give below in full his categorical verdict on the life of Say. But before doing so, one more example of the way in which List copies from other authors and in copying falsifies them in order to hit at his opponents.

*List:*

"*Say* and *McCulloch* seem not to have seen or read more than the title of this book" (that of Antonio Serra from Naples); "both loftily throw it aside with the remark: it treats only of money, and the title by itself proves that the author laboured under the delusion that the precious metals were the sole objects of wealth. If they had read on further," etc. (p. 456).

Count *Pecchio, History of Political Economy in Italy, etc.* Paris, 1830[c]:

"Foreigners tried to rob Serra of the merit of having been the first founder of the principles of this science" (political economy). "What I have just said cannot be applied at all to Monsieur *Say*, who while always reproaching Serra for having regarded only the materials of gold and silver as wealth, nevertheless allowed him the glory of having been the first to make known the productive power of industry.... My reproach is addressed to Mr. McCulloch.... If Mr. McCulloch had read a little more than the title [of Serra's book]", etc. (pp. 76, 77).

One sees how Herr List *deliberately* falsifies Pecchio, from whom he copies, in order to discredit Monsieur Say. No less false is the biographical information given about Say.

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[a] Customs officer.—*Ed.*

[b] Customs inspector.—*Ed.*

[c] Pecchio, J. (comte), *Histoire de l'économie politique en Italie*, Paris, 1830. (In the manuscript the title of the book is given in German.)—*Ed.*

Herr List says about him:

"First a merchant, then a factory-owner, then an unsuccessful politician, Say took up political economy, as people take up some new enterprise when the old one no longer succeeds.... Hatred of the Continental System, which ruined his factory, and of the originator of this system, who drove him out of the Tribunate, caused him to come out in support of absolute freedom of trade" (pp. 488, 489).

So Say supported the system of free trade *because* his factory was ruined by the Continental System! But what if he had written his *Traité d'économie politique*[a] *before* he owned a factory? Say became a supporter of the system of free trade because Napoleon drove him out of the Tribunate![100] But what if he had written his book *while he was a tribune*? What if Say, who according to Herr List was an unsuccessful businessman who saw in literature only a branch of business, had from his early youth played a part in the French literary world?

Where did Herr List obtain his new information? From the *Historical Note on the Life and Works of J.-B. Say* by *Charles Comte*,[101] which was published as an introduction to Say's *Cours complet d'économie politique*. What does this note tell us? It contains the opposite of all List's statements. Listen:

"J.-B. Say was intended by his father, who was a merchant, [4] to engage in trade. However, his inclination drew him to literature. In 1789 he published a pamphlet in behalf of freedom of the press. From the outset of the revolution he contributed to the newspaper *Courrier de Provence*, published by Mirabeau. He also worked in the office of the Minister Clavière. His penchant 'for the moral and political sciences', as also his father's bankruptcy, caused him to give up trade completely and to make scientific activity his sole occupation. In 1794 he became editor-in-chief of the *Décade philosophique, littéraire et politique*. In 1799 Napoleon appointed him a member of the Tribunate. The spare time left him from his function as tribune he used to work on his *Traité politique*, which he published in 1803. He was dismissed from the Tribunate because he belonged to the few who dared to be in opposition. He was offered a lucrative post in the finance department, but he refused although *chargé de six enfants et n'ayant presque point de fortune*[b]..., since he would not have been able to carry out the duties of the post offered him without taking part in implementing a system which he had condemned as being disastrous for France. He preferred to start up a cotton-spinning mill, etc."

If the slur which Herr List here casts on J.-B. Say owes its origin to falsification, this is no less the case with the praise List bestows on the brother, Louis Say. To prove that *Louis Say* shares the crafty [*listig*][c] view, List falsifies a passage from this author.

Herr List says on p. 484:

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[a] Published in 1803.—*Ed.*

[b] Burdened with six children and having almost no fortune.—*Ed.*

[c] A pun: "listig" means crafty, but could also be an adjective from "List".—*Ed.*

"In his" (Louis Say's) "opinion, the wealth of nations consists not in material goods and their exchange value, but in the *ability continually to produce these goods.*"

According to Herr List, the following are Louis Say's own words:

*The Louis Say of Herr List*:

"La richesse ne consiste pas dans les choses qui satisfont nos besoins ou nos goûts, mais dans le pouvoir d'en jouir annuellement" (*Études sur la richesse des nations*, p. 10).[a]

*The real Louis Say*:

"Quoique la richesse ne consiste pas dans les choses qui satisfont nos besoins ou nos goûts, mais dans *le revenu ou* dans le pouvoir d'en jouir annuellement."[b]

Thus, Say is not speaking of the ability to produce, but of the ability to enjoy, of the ability which provides the "income" (*revenu*) of a nation. From the disproportion between the growing productive force and the income of the nation as a whole, and of all its classes in particular, there arose precisely the theories most inimical to Herr List as, for example, those of Sismondi and Cherbuliez.

Let us now give an example of Herr List's ignorance in his verdict on the "School". He says about Ricardo (List on productive forces):

"In general, since Adam Smith, the School has been unfortunate in its researches into the nature of rent. Ricardo, and following him Mill, McCulloch and others, hold that rent is paid for the natural productivity inherent in plots of land. Ricardo based a whole system on this view.... Since he considered only English conditions, he was misled into the erroneous view that these English ploughed fields and meadows, for the apparently natural productivity of which such fine rent is paid at the present time, have been the very same ploughed fields and meadows at all times" (p. 360).

*Ricardo* says:

"If the surplus produce which land affords in the form of rent be an advantage, it is desirable that, every year, the machinery newly constructed should be less efficient than the old, as that would undoubtedly give a greater exchangeable value to the goods manufactured ... in the kingdom; and a rent would be paid to all those who possessed the most productive machinery." "Rent increases most rapidly, as the disposable land decreases in its productive powers. Wealth increases most rapidly in those countries ... where through agricultural improvements, productions can be multiplied without any increase in the proportional quantity of labour, and where consequently the progress of rent is slow." (Ricardo, *Principles of Political Economy*, etc. Paris, 1835, Vol. I, pp. 77 and 80-82.)[c]

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[a] "Wealth consists not in the objects which satisfy our requirements or our tastes, but in the possibility of enjoying them annually." (*Researches into the Wealth of Nations*, p. 10.)—*Ed.*

[b] "Although wealth consists not in the objects which satisfy our requirements or our tastes, but in *income*, or in the possibility of enjoying it annually."—*Ed.*

[c] David Ricardo, *Des principes de l'économie politique et de l'impôt.* Traduit de l'anglais par Constancio. In the manuscript Marx gives an abridged German translation of the title.—*Ed.*

According to Ricardo's theory, rent, far from being the consequence of the natural productivity inherent in the soil, is rather a consequence of the constantly increasing *unproductiveness* of the soil, a consequence of civilisation and the increasing population. According to Ricardo, as long as the most fertile land is still available in an unlimited amount, there is still no land rent. Hence rent is determined by the ratio of the population to the amount of available land.

Ricardo's theory, which serves as the theoretical basis for the whole Anti-Corn-Law League[a] in England and the anti-rent movement in the free states of North America,[102] had to be falsified by Herr List—assuming he had more than hearsay knowledge of it—if only because it proves how little the "free, mighty and wealthy bourgeois" are inclined to work "diligently" for [the increase of] "land rents" and to bring them [the landowners] honey from the hive.[103] Ricardo's theory of land rent is nothing but the economic expression of a life-and-death struggle of the industrial bourgeois against the landowners.

Herr List instructs us further about Ricardo as follows:

"At the present time the theory of exchange value has fallen into such impotence ... that Ricardo ... could say: 'to determine the laws by which the yield from land is distributed between landowners, tenant-farmers and workers is the chief task of political economy'" (p. 493).

The necessary observations on this are to be made in the appropriate place.[b]

[5] Herr List reaches the height of infamy in his verdict on Sismondi.

*List:*

"He" (Sismondi) "wants, for example, the spirit of inventiveness to be curbed and bridled" (p. xxix).

*Sismondi:*

"My objections are not to machines, not to inventions, not to civilisation, but only to *the modern organisation of society*, which deprives the working man of any property other than his hands, and gives him no guarantee against competition, of which he will inevitably become a victim. Suppose that all people share equally in the product of the labour in which they have participated, then every technical invention will in all possible cases be a blessing for all of them" (*Nouveaux principes d'économie politique*, Paris, 1827, t. II, p. 433).

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[a] Here and below Marx gives the name of the League in English.—*Ed.*

[b] See pp. 284-88 of this volume.—*Ed.*

Whereas Herr List casts moral aspersions on Smith and Say he can only explain the theory of Monsieur Sismondi from the latter's *bodily* defects. He says:

"Monsieur de Sismondi sees with his bodily eyes everything red as black; it seems that his spiritual sight in matters of political economy suffers from the same defect" (p. xxix).

In order to appreciate to the full the vileness of this outburst, one must know the passage from which Herr List derived his remark. Sismondi says in his *Études sur l'économie politique*, where he speaks of the devastation of the Roman Campagna:

"The rich tints of the Roman Campagna ... even entirely escape our eyes, for which the red ray is non-existent" (p. 6). Brussels reprint, 1838 [Vol. II].

Sismondi explains this by saying: "the charm which attracts all other travellers to Rome" is destroyed for him and he "therefore has eyes that are all the more open to see the real, miserable condition of the inhabitants of the Campagna."

If de Sismondi did not see the rosy tints of the sky which magically illumine the whole (factory) industry for Herr List, he did see the *red cock* on the gables (roofs) of these factories. We shall have an opportunity later[a] [to examine] List's verdict that

"Monsieur de Sismondi's writings on international trade and trade policy are without any value" [p. xxix].

Whereas Herr List explains Smith's system from the latter's personal vanity (p. 476) and the hidden English shopkeeper's mentality, and Say's system from a desire for revenge and as a business enterprise, in regard to Sismondi he descends so low as to explain Sismondi's system from the defects of his bodily constitution.

## [5] 4. Herr List's Originality

It is highly characteristic of Herr List that, despite all his boasting, he has put forward *not a single proposition* that had not been advanced long before him not only by the defenders of the prohibitive system, but even by writers of the "School" invented by Herr List—if Adam Smith is the theoretical starting-point of political economy, then its real point of departure, its real school, is "civil society" [*die bürgerliche Gesellschaft*], of which the different phases of development can be accurately traced in political economy. Only the illusions and idealising language (phrases)

[a] Apparently, the reference is to a part of the manuscript which is missing.—*Ed.*

belong to Herr List. We consider it important to give detailed proof of this to the reader and must claim his attention for this tedious labour. He will derive from it the conviction that the German bourgeois comes on the scene *post festum*, that it is just as impossible for him to advance further the political economy exhaustively developed by the English and French as it would probably be for them to contribute anything new to the development of philosophy in Germany. The German bourgeois can only add his illusions and phrases to the French and English reality. But little possible as it is for him to give a new development to political economy, it is still more impossible for him to achieve in practice a further advance of industry, of the by now almost exhausted development on the present foundations of society.

5. We therefore restrict our criticism to the theoretical part of List's book, and in fact only to his main discoveries.

What are the main propositions which Herr List has to prove? Let us inquire into the aim he wants to achieve.

1) The bourgeois wants protective tariffs from the state in order to lay his hands on state power and wealth. But since [in Germany], unlike in England and France, he does not have state power at his disposal and therefore cannot arbitrarily guide it as he likes, but has to resort to requests, it is necessary for him in relation to the state, the activity (mode of action) of which he wants to control for his own benefit, to depict his demand from it as a *concession* that he makes to the state, whereas [in reality] he demands *concessions* from the state. Therefore, through the medium of Herr List, he [the German bourgeois] proves to the state that his theory differs from all others in that he allows the state to interfere in and control industry, in that he has the highest opinion of the economic wisdom of the state, and only asks it to give full scope for its wisdom, on condition, of course, that this wisdom is limited to providing "strong" protective tariffs. His demand that the state should act in accordance with his interests is depicted by him as recognition of the state, recognition that the state has the right to interfere in the sphere of civil society.

2) The bourgeois [Bürger] wants to become *rich*, to make money; but at the same time he must come to terms with the present idealism of the German public and with his own conscience. Therefore he tries to prove that he does not strive for unrighteous material goods, but for a *spiritual essence*, for an infinite *productive force*, instead of bad, finite *exchange values*. Of course, this spiritual essence involves the circumstance that the "citizen" ["*Bürger*"] takes this opportunity to fill his own pockets with worldly exchange values.

[6][a] Since the bourgeois now hopes to become rich mainly through "protective tariffs", and since protective tariffs can enrich him only insofar as no longer Englishmen, but the German bourgeois himself, will *exploit* his *fellow-countrymen*, indeed exploit them even *more* than they were exploited from abroad, and since protective tariffs demand a sacrifice of exchange values from the consumers (chiefly from the workers who are to be superseded by machines, from all those who draw a fixed income, such as officials, recipients of land rent, etc.), the industrial bourgeois has therefore to prove that, far from hankering after material goods, he wants nothing else but the sacrifice of exchange values, material goods, for a spiritual essence. Fundamentally, therefore, it is solely a matter of *self-sacrifice*, of *asceticism*, of Christian *grandeur of the soul*. It is pure accident that *A* makes the sacrifice, but *B* puts the sacrifice in his pocket. The German bourgeois is much too unselfish to think in this connection of his private gain, which accidentally proves to be linked with this *sacrifice*. But if it should turn out that a class whose permission the German bourgeois thinks he requires for his emancipation, cannot go along with this spiritual theory, then this theory must be abandoned and, in opposition to the School [which advocates freedom of trade], precisely the theory of exchange values be brought into play.

3) Since the whole desire of the bourgeoisie amounts, in essence, to bringing the factory system to the level of "English" prosperity and making industrialism the regulator of society, i.e., to bringing about the disorganisation of society, the bourgeois has to prove that he is only concerned for the harmonisation of all social production, and for the organisation of society. He restricts foreign trade by means of protective tariffs, while agriculture, he maintains, will rapidly attain its highest prosperity owing to manufacturing industry. The organisation of society, therefore, is summed up in the factories. They are the organisers of society, and the system of competition which they bring into being is the finest confederation of society.[104] The organisation of society which the factory system creates is the *true organisation of society*.

The bourgeoisie is certainly right in conceiving in general its interests as identical interests, just as the *wolf* as a *wolf* has an identical interest with his fellow wolves, however much it is to the interest of each individual wolf that he and not another should pounce on the prey.

6. Finally, it is characteristic of Herr List's theory, as also of the

[a] The manuscript here has a new sheet marked 2.—*Ed.*

entire German bourgeoisie, that in order to defend their desires to exploit they are compelled everywhere to resort to "socialist" phrases and thus forcibly to maintain a deception that has long been refuted. We shall show in various passages[a] that Herr List's phrases, if the consequences are drawn from them, are *communistic.* We, of course, are far from accusing someone like Herr List and his German bourgeoisie of communism, but this affords us fresh proof of the internal weakness, falsity and infamous hypocrisy of the "good-natured", "idealistic" bourgeois. It proves to us that his idealism in practice is nothing but the unscrupulous, unthinking disguise of a repulsive materialism.

Finally, it is characteristic that the German bourgeoisie begins with the lie with which the French and English bourgeoisie *ends,*—after reaching a position where it is compelled to apologise for itself, to offer excuses for its existence.

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7. Since Herr List distinguishes the present, ostensibly cosmopolitan, political economy from his own (national-political) economy by the former being based on exchange values and the latter on productive forces, we have to start with this theory. Furthermore, since the confederation of productive forces is supposed to represent the nation in its unity, we have also to examine this theory prior to the above-mentioned distinction. These two theories form the *real* basis of [List's] national economy as distinct from political economy.[b]

* * *

It can never occur to Herr List that the real organisation of society is a soulless materialism, an individual spiritualism, individualism. It can never occur to him that the political economists have only given this social state of affairs a corresponding theoretical expression. Otherwise, he would have to direct his criticism against the present *organisation of society* instead of against the political economists. He accuses them of not having found any

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[a] The reference is to parts of the manuscript which either were not written or have not been found.—*Ed.*

[b] This paragraph is followed in the manuscript by an incomplete third of the third page of the sixth sheet and a blank whole page (the fourth of the sixth sheet). The first chapter, which ends here, is followed immediately by a separate unnumbered sheet containing a small fragment to which the author has given no title and which is placed in this edition after three asterisks inserted by the editors.—*Ed.*

embellishing expression for a cheerless reality. Hence he wants to leave this reality everywhere just as it is and only change the expression of it. Nowhere does he criticise real society, but like a true German, he criticises the theoretical expression of this society and reproaches it for expressing the real thing and not an imaginary notion of the real thing.

The factory is transformed into a goddess, the goddess of manufacturing power.

The factory-owner is the priest of this power.[a]

## [7] *II. The Theory of Productive Forces and the Theory of Exchange Values*

1) ⟨ Herr List's theory of "productive forces" is limited to the following main propositions:

a) The *causes* of wealth are something quite different from wealth itself; the force capable of creating wealth is infinitely more important than wealth itself [p. 201];⟩

⟨ b) List is far from rejecting the theory of cosmopolitan economy; he is merely of the opinion that political economy also should be scientifically developed [p. 187];

c) What then is the cause of labour?..., what impels these minds and these arms and hands to undertake production and what gives efficacy to these efforts? What else can it be but the *spirit* which animates the individuals, the social system which makes their activity fruitful, the natural forces the use of which is at their disposal? [p. 205].⟩

⟨ 6) Smith "went astray by explaining spiritual forces from material conditions" [p. 207].⟩

⟨ 7) "That science which teaches how *productive forces* are aroused and cultivated and how they are suppressed or destroyed" (ibid.).⟩

8) An example [of the distinction] between two fathers of families, Christian religion, monogamy,[105] etc. [pp. 208-209].

⟨9) "One can establish the concepts of value and capital, profit, wages, land rent, resolve them into their component parts, and speculate about what could influence their rise and fall, etc., without in so doing taking into account the political conditions of the nations" [p. 211].⟩

Transition.

10) Workshops and factories are the mothers and children of scientific (civic) freedom [p. 212].[106]

11) The theory of productive and non-productive classes. The former produce exchange values, the latter produce productive forces [p. 215].

12) Foreign trade must not be judged solely from the standpoint of the theory of values [p. 216].

13) The nation must sacrifice material forces in order to acquire spiritual or social forces. Protective tariffs for raising manufacturing power [pp. 216-217].

14) "If therefore a sacrifice of *values* is made owing to protective tariffs, that sacrifice is compensated by the acquisition of productive forces, and this not only

[a] Here this fragment written on a separate unnumbered sheet breaks off.—*Ed.*

ensures the nation an infinitely greater sum of material goods for the future, but also industrial independence in the event of war" [p. 217].

15) "In all these respects, however, the chief thing depends on the state of the society in which the individual takes shape, on whether crafts and sciences flourish" (p. 206).

2) Herr List is so much a prey to the economic prejudices of the old political economy—more so, as we shall see, than other economists of the "School"—that for him "material goods" and "exchange values" completely coincide. But exchange value is entirely independent of the specific nature of the "material goods". It is independent of both the quality and the quantity of material goods. Exchange value falls when the quantity of material goods rises, although both before and afterwards these bear the same relation to human needs. Exchange value is not connected with quality. The most useful things, such as knowledge, have no exchange value. Herr List therefore ought to have understood that the conversion of material goods into exchange values is a result of the existing social system, of the society of developed private property. The *abolition of exchange value* is the *abolition* of *private property* and of *private acquisition.* Herr List, on the other hand, is so naive as to admit that by means of the theory of exchange values

"one can establish the concepts of value and capital, profit, wages, land rent, resolve them into their component parts, and speculate about what could influence their rise and fall, etc., without in so doing taking into account the political conditions of the nations" (p. 211).

Hence, without taking into account the "theory of productive forces" and the "political conditions of the nations", all this can be "established". What is established thereby? Reality. What is established, for example, by wages? The life of the worker. Furthermore, it is established thereby that the worker is the slave of capital, that he is a "*commodity*", an exchange value, the higher or lower level of which, the rise or fall of which, depends on competition, on supply and demand; it is established thereby that his activity is not a free manifestation of his human life, that it is, rather, a huckstering sale of his forces, an alienation (sale) to capital of his one-sidedly developed abilities, in a word, that it is "*labour*". One is supposed to forget this. "*Labour*" is the living basis of private property, it is private property as the creative source of itself. Private property is nothing but *objectified* labour. If it is desired to strike a mortal blow at private property, one must attack it not only as a *material state of affairs*, but also as *activity*, as *labour.* It is one of the greatest misapprehensions to speak of free,

human, social labour, of labour without private property. "Labour" by its very nature is unfree, unhuman, unsocial activity, determined by private property and creating private property. Hence the abolition of private property will become a reality only when it is conceived as the abolition of "*labour*" (an abolition which, of course, has become possible only as a result of labour itself, that is to say, has become possible as a result of the material activity of society and which should on no account be conceived as the replacement of one category by another).[107] An "organisation of labour", therefore, is a contradiction. *The* best organisation that labour can be given is the present organisation, free competition, the dissolution of all its previous apparently "social" organisation.

Thus, if wages can be "established" according to the theory of values, if it is thereby "established" that man himself is an exchange value, that the overwhelming majority of people in the nations constitutes a *commodity*, which can be determined without taking "the political conditions of the nations" into account, what does all this prove but that this overwhelming majority of people in the nations does not have to take "political conditions" into account, that these are for it a sheer *illusion*, that a theory which in reality sinks to this sordid materialism of making the majority of people in the nations into a "commodity", into an "exchange value", and of subjecting this majority to the wholly material conditions of exchange value, is an infamous hypocrisy and idealistic eye-wash (embellishment), when in relation to other nations it looks down contemptuously on the bad "materialism" of "exchange values", and is itself ostensibly only concerned with "productive forces"? Furthermore, if the conditions of capital, land rent, etc., can be "established" without taking the "political conditions" of the nations into account, what does this prove but that the industrial capitalist and the recipient of land rent are guided in their actions in real life by profit, exchange values, and not by considerations about "political conditions" and "productive forces", and that their talk about civilisation and productive forces is only an embellishment of narrow-minded egoistic tendencies?

The bourgeois says: Of course, the theory of exchange values should not be undermined within the country, the majority of the nation should remain a mere "exchange value", a "commodity", one which must find its own buyer, one which is not sold, but which sells itself. In relation to you proletarians, and even in our mutual relations, we regard ourselves as exchange values, here the law of universal *huckstering* holds good. But in relation to other

nations we must interrupt the operation of this law. As a nation we cannot huckster ourselves to other nations. Since the majority of people in the nations has become subject to the laws of huckstering "without taking into account" the "political conditions of the nations", that proposition has no other meaning than the following: We German bourgeois do not want to be exploited by the English bourgeois in the way that you German proletarians are exploited by us and that we exploit one another. We do not want to subject ourselves to the same laws of exchange value as those to which we subject you. We do not want any longer to recognise outside the country the economic laws which we recognise inside the country.

[8] What then does the German philistine want? He wants to be a *bourgeois*, an exploiter, inside the country, but he wants also not to be exploited outside the country. He puffs himself up into being the "nation" in relation to foreign countries and says: I do not submit to the laws of competition; that is contrary to my national dignity; as the nation I am a being superior to huckstering.

The nationality of the worker is neither French, nor English, nor German, it is *labour, free slavery, self-huckstering*. His government is neither French, nor English, nor German, it is *capital*. His native air is neither French, nor German, nor English, it is *factory air*. The land belonging to him is neither French, nor English, nor German, it lies a few feet *below the ground*. Within the country, money is the fatherland of the industrialist. Thus, the German philistine wants the laws of competition, of exchange value, of huckstering, to lose their power at the frontier barriers of his country! He is willing to recognise the power of bourgeois society only in so far as it is in accord with *his interests*, the interests of his class! He does not want to fall victim to a power to which he wants to *sacrifice* others, and to which he sacrifices himself inside his own country! Outside the country he wants to show himself and be treated as a different being from what he is within the country and how he himself behaves within the country! He wants to leave the *cause* in existence and to abolish one of its *effects*! We shall prove to him that selling oneself out inside the country has as its necessary consequence selling out outside, that competition, which gives him his power inside the country, cannot prevent him from becoming powerless outside the country; that the state, which he subordinates to bourgeois society inside the country, cannot protect him from the action of bourgeois society outside the country.

However much the individual bourgeois fights against the others, as a *class* the bourgeois have a common interest, and this community of interest, which is directed against the proletariat inside the country, is directed against the bourgeois of other nations outside the country. This the bourgeois calls his *nationality.*

2)[a] It is possible, of course, to regard industry from a completely different point of view than that of sordid huckstering interest, from which it is nowadays regarded not only by the individual merchant and the individual manufacturer, but also by the manufacturing nations and the trading nations. Industry can be regarded as a great workshop in which man first takes possession of his own forces and the forces of nature, objectifies himself and creates for himself the conditions for a human existence. When industry is regarded in this way, one *abstracts* from the *circumstances* in which it operates today, and in which it exists *as industry*; one's standpoint is *not* from within the industrial epoch, but *above* it; industry is regarded not by what it is for *man* today, but by what present-day man is for *human history,* what he is historically; it is not its present-day *existence* (not *industry* as such) that is recognised, but rather the power which industry has without knowing or willing it and which *destroys* it and creates the basis for a *human* existence. (To hold that every nation goes through this development internally would be as absurd as the idea that every nation is bound to go through the political development of France or the philosophical development of Germany. What the nations have done as nations, they have done for human society; their whole value consists only in the fact that each single nation has accomplished for the benefit of other nations one of the main historical aspects (one of the main determinations) in the framework of which mankind has accomplished its development, and therefore after industry in England, politics in France and philosophy in Germany have been developed, they have been developed for the world, and their world-historic significance, as also that of these nations, has thereby come to an end.)

This assessment of industry is then at the same time the recognition that the hour has come for it to be done away with, or for the abolition of the material and social conditions in which mankind has had to develop its abilities as a slave. For as soon as industry is no longer regarded as a huckstering interest, but as the development of man, man, instead of huckstering interest, is made

[a] In the manuscript point 2 occurs twice in this chapter.—*Ed.*

the principle and what in industry could develop only in contradiction with industry itself is given the basis which is in harmony with that which is to be developed.

But the wretched individual who [in his ideas] remains within the present system, who desires only to raise it to a level which it has not yet reached in his own country, and who looks with greedy envy on another nation that has reached this level—has this wretched individual the right to see in industry anything else but huckstering interest? Has he the right to say that he is concerned only for the development of man's abilities and man's mastery of the forces of nature? For this is just as *vile* as if a slave-driver were to boast that he flourished his whip over his slaves in order that the slaves should have the pleasure of exercising their *muscular power.* The German philistine is the slave-driver who flourishes the whip of protective tariffs in order to instil in his nation the spirit of "industrial education" [108] and teach it to exercise its muscular powers.

The *Saint-Simon* school has given us an instructive example of what it leads to if the *productive force* that industry creates unconsciously and against its will is put to the credit of present-day industry and the two are confused: *industry* and the *forces* which industry brings into being unconsciously and without its will, but which will only become human forces, man's power, when industry is abolished. This is as much an absurdity as if the bourgeois wanted to take the credit for *his* industry creating the proletariat, and in the shape of the proletariat the power of a new world order. The forces of nature and the social forces which industry brings into being (conjures up), stand in the same relation to it as the proletariat. Today they are still the slaves of the bourgeois, and in them he sees nothing but the instruments (the bearers) of his dirty (selfish) lust for profit; tomorrow they will break their chains and reveal themselves as the bearers of human development which will blow him sky-high together with his industry, which assumes the dirty outer shell—which he regards as its essence—only until the human kernel has gained sufficient strength to burst this shell and appear in its own shape. Tomorrow they will burst the chains by which the bourgeois separates them from man and so distorts (transforms) them from a real social bond into fetters of society.

The Saint-Simon school glorified in dithyrambs the productive power of industry. The forces which industry calls into being it lumped together with industry itself, that is to say, with the present-day conditions of existence that industry gives to these

forces. We are of course far from putting the Saint-Simonists on the same level as someone like List or the German philistine. The first step towards breaking the spell cast on industry was to abstract from the conditions, the money fetters, in which the forces of industry operate today and to examine these forces in themselves. This was the first call to the people to emancipate their industry from huckstering and to understand present-day industry as a transitional epoch. The Saint-Simonists, moreover, did *not stop* at this interpretation. They went further—to attack exchange value, private property, the organisation of present-day society. They put forward association in place of competition. But they were punished for their original error. Not only did the above-mentioned confusion lead them further into the illusion of seeing the dirty bourgeois as a priest, but it also caused them [9], after the first external struggles, to fall back into the old illusion (confusion)—but now hypocritically, because precisely in the course of the struggle the contradiction of the two forces which they had confused became manifest. Their glorification of industry (of the productive forces of industry) became a glorification of the bourgeoisie, and Monsieur Michel Chevalier, Monsieur Duveyrier, Monsieur Dunoyer have pilloried themselves and the bourgeoisie in the eyes of the whole of Europe—after which the rotten eggs that history throws in their faces became transformed by the magic of the bourgeoisie into golden eggs—since the first of those named above has retained the old phrases but has endowed them with the content of the present-day bourgeois regime, the second is himself engaged in huckstering on a wholesale scale and presides over the selling-out of French newspapers, while the third has become the most rabid apologist for the present state of affairs and surpasses in inhumanity (in shamelessness) all previous English and French economists.—The German bourgeois and Herr List begin where the Saint-Simon school left off—with *hypocrisy, deception* and *phrase-mongering*.

England's industrial tyranny over the world is the domination of industry over the world. England dominates us because industry dominates us. We can free ourselves from England abroad only if we free ourselves from industry at home. We shall be able to put an end to England's domination in the sphere of competition only if we overcome competition within our borders. England has power over us because we have made industry into a power over us.

3) That the industrial social order is the best world for the bourgeois, the order most suitable for developing his "abilities" as

a bourgeois and the ability to exploit both people and nature—who will dispute this *tautology*? Who will dispute that all that is nowadays called "virtue", individual or social virtue, is a source of profit for the bourgeois? Who will dispute that political power is a means for his enrichment, that even science and intellectual pleasures are his slaves? Who will dispute it? That for him everything is excellently [adapted[a]]? That for him everything has become a means of wealth, a "productive force of wealth"?

4) Modern political economy starts out from the social system of competition. Free labour, that is to say, indirect slavery which offers itself for sale, is its principle. Its primary propositions are division of labour and the machine. And this can be given its highest development only in the factories, as modern political economy itself admits. Thus political economy today starts out from the factories as its creative principle. It presupposes present-day social conditions. Hence it does not need to expatiate on "manufacturing force".[109]

If the "School" made no "*scientific elaboration*"[110] of the theory of productive forces *alongside* and *separately* from the theory of exchange values, it acted in this way because such a separation is an arbitrary abstraction, because it is impossible and cannot go beyond general phrases.

5) "The causes of wealth are something quite different from wealth itself. The force capable of creating wealth is infinitely more important than wealth itself" [List, op. cit., p. 201].

Productive force appears as an entity infinitely superior to exchange value. This force claims the position of inner essence, whereas exchange value claims that of a transient phenomenon. The force appears as infinite, exchange value as finite, the former as non-material, the latter as material—and we find all these antitheses in Herr List. Hence the supernatural world of forces takes the place of the material world of exchange values. Whereas the baseness of a nation sacrificing itself for exchange values, of people being sacrificed for things, is quite obvious, forces, on the other hand, appear to be independent spiritual essences—phantoms—and pure personifications, deities, and after all one may very well demand of the German people that it should sacrifice the bad exchange values for phantoms! An exchange value, money, always seems to be an external aim, but productive force seems to be an aim which arises from my very nature, a self-aim. Thus, what I sacrifice in the form of exchange values is

[a] There are one or two illegible words in the manuscript here.—*Ed.*

something external to me; what I gain in the form of productive forces is my self-acquisition.—That is how it *seems* if one is satisfied with a word or, like an idealising German, does not worry about the dirty reality which lies behind this grandiloquent word.

In order to destroy the mystical radiance which transfigures "productive force", one has only to consult any book of statistics. There one reads about water-power, steam-power, manpower, horse-power. All these are "productive forces". Is it a high appreciation of man for him to figure as a "force" alongside horses, steam and water?

Under the present system, if a crooked spine, twisted limbs, a one-sided development and strengthening of certain muscles, etc., make you more capable of working (more productive), then your crooked spine, your twisted limbs, your one-sided muscular movement are a productive force. If your intellectual vacuity is more productive than your abundant intellectual activity, then your intellectual vacuity is a productive force, etc., etc. If the monotony of an occupation makes you better suited for that occupation, then monotony is a productive force.

Is the bourgeois, the factory-owner, at all concerned for the worker developing all his abilities, exercising his productive capacities, fulfilling himself as a human being, and thereby at the same time fulfilling his human nature?

We will leave it to the English *Pindar* of the factory system, Mr. Ure, to reply to this question:

"It is, in fact, the constant aim and tendency of every improvement in machinery to supersede human labour altogether, or to diminish its cost, by substituting the industry of women and children for that of men; or that of ordinary labourers, for trained artisans" (*Philosophie des manufactures, etc.*, Paris, 1836, t. I, p. 34). "By the infirmity of human nature it happens, that the more skilful the workman, the more self-willed and intractable he is apt to become, and, of course, the less fit a component of a *mechanical* system ... therefore [the main point] of the modern manufacturer is, through the union of capital and science, to reduce the task of his work-people to the exercise of vigilance and dexterity, etc." (loc. cit., t. I, p. 30).

## Force, Productive Force, Causes

"The causes of wealth are something quite different from wealth itself."

But if the effect is different from the cause, must not the nature of the effect be contained already in the cause? The cause must already carry with it the determining feature that is manifested later in the effect. Herr List's philosophy goes as far as knowing that cause and effect are "something quite different".

["The force capable of creating wealth is infinitely more important than wealth itself."]

It is a fine recognition of man that degrades him to a "*force*" capable of creating wealth! The bourgeois sees in the proletarian not a *human being*, but a *force* capable of creating wealth, a force which moreover he can then compare with other productive forces—an animal, a machine—and if the comparison proves unfavourable to man, the force of which man is the bearer must give place to the force of which the bearer is an animal or a machine, although in that case man still has (enjoys) the honour of figuring as a "productive force".

If I characterise man as an "exchange value", this expression already implies that social conditions have transformed him into a "thing". If I treat him as a "productive force", I am putting in the place of the real subject a different subject, I am substituting another person for him, and he now exists only as a cause of wealth.

The whole of human society becomes merely a machine for the creation of wealth.

The cause is in no way superior to the *effect*. The effect is merely the openly *manifested* cause.

List pretends that he is everywhere interested in productive forces for their own sake, quite apart from bad exchange values.

Some light is already thrown for us on the essence of the present-day "productive forces" by the fact that in the present state of affairs productive force consists not only in, for instance, making man's labour more efficient or natural and social forces more effective, but just as much in making labour cheaper or *more unproductive* for the worker. Hence productive force is from the outset determined by exchange value. It is just as much an increase of....[a]

## [*III. From Chapter Three*]
## [The Problem of Land Rent]

...[22] land rent disappears. These higher grain prices—since the worker always consumes a certain amount of grain, however dear it may be, and therefore his nominal wage increases even when in reality it decreases—must be deducted from the profits of Messrs. the industrialists; Ricardo is wise enough to assume that

[a] Here the text occupying the fourth page of the ninth manuscript sheet ends. Sheets 10-21 have not come down to us. These missing sheets should contain the end of Chapter II and the beginning of Chapter III.—*Ed.*

wages cannot be depressed further. Hence, when there is a rise in the price of grain, there follows a reduction in profits and an increase in wages, without the latter increasing in reality. However, the increase in the price of grain raises the production costs of the industrialists, thereby making accumulation and competition more difficult for them, in a word, cripples the *productive force* of the country. Therefore the bad "exchange value", which falls in the form of land rent into the pockets of the landowners without *any advantage* (to the greatest detriment) to the country's productive force, must in one way or another be *sacrificed* to the general good—by free trade in grain, by shifting all taxes on to land rent, or by outright appropriation of land rent, i.e. of landed property, by the state (this conclusion has been drawn by, among others, [James] Mill, Hilditch and Cherbuliez).

Herr List, of course, did not dare to tell the German landed aristocracy of this frightening consequence of industrial productive force for landed property. Hence he berates Ricardo, who disclosed such unpleasant truths, and ascribes to him the opposite view, that of the physiocrats, according to which land rent is nothing but a proof of the natural productive force of land, and falsifies him.

*List:*

"In general, since Adam Smith, the School has been unfortunate in its researches into the nature of rent. Ricardo, and following him Mill, McCulloch and others, hold that rent is paid for the *natural productivity* inherent in plots of land. Ricardo based a whole system on this view.... Since he considered only English conditions, he was misled into the erroneous view that these English ploughed fields and meadows, for the apparently natural productivity of which such fine rent is paid at the present time, have been the very same ploughed fields and meadows at all times" (p. 360).

*Ricardo:*

"If the surplus produce which land affords in the form of rent be an advantage, it is desirable that, every year, the machinery newly constructed should be *less efficient* than the old, as that would undoubtedly give a greater exchangeable value to the goods manufactured ... in the kingdom; and a rent would be paid to all those who possessed the most productive machinery" (*Des principes de l'économie politique*, etc., Paris, 1835, t. I, p. 77).

"Wealth increases most rapidly in those countries ... where through agricultural *improvements*, productions can be multiplied without any increase in the proportional quantity of labour, and where consequently the progress of rent is only gradual" (p. 81 et seq.).[a]

[a] Marx quoted these passages from List and Ricardo above (see pp. 12-13). In repeating the quotation from Ricardo, Marx translated the end differently.—*Ed.*

Hence, in relation to the higher nobility, Herr List does not dare to keep up his shadow play with "productive forces". He wants to lure this nobility with "exchange values" and therefore slanders the School of Ricardo, who neither judges land rent from the standpoint of productive force, nor judges the latter from the standpoint of the modern large-scale factory system.

Thus Herr List is doubly a liar. Nevertheless we must not do Herr List an injustice in this matter. In one large Württemberg factory (Köchlin, if we are not mistaken) the King of Württemberg[a] himself participates, having invested a large sum in it. In the Württemberg factories, and to a greater or lesser extent in those of Baden as well, the landed nobility plays an important role by holding shares. Here, therefore, the nobility participates monetarily in the "manufacturing force", not as landowners but as bourgeois and manufacturers themselves, and[b]...

...[24] "productive forces" and the "continuity and permanence of production" of a whole generation arises—the disguised Communist List teaches this as well—and is therefore also a hereditary feature of the generation *and not* of Messrs. the industrialists (see, for example, Bray[111]).

In England, high land rents were ensured for the landlords only through ruining the tenant-farmers and reducing the farm labourers to the level (of real beggars) of an Irish poverty. All this in spite of the various Corn Laws, and apart from the fact that the landlords in receipt of rent were often compelled to allow the tenant-farmers a remission of one-third to one-half of the rent. Since 1815, three various Corn Laws have been passed to improve the position of the tenant-farmers and encourage them. During this period, five parliamentary committees were appointed to establish the existence of the distressed state of agriculture and to investigate its causes. The continual ruin of the tenant-farmers, on the one hand, in spite of the total (full) exploitation of the farm labourers and the utmost possible reduction of their wages, and, on the other hand, the frequent necessity for the landowners to forego part of the rent, are themselves proof that not even in England—in spite of all its manufacturing industry—have high land rents been produced. For, from the economic point of view, it cannot be regarded as land rent when part of the costs of production,[112] by means of agreements and other circumstances lying outside the sphere of economics, is drawn into the pocket

[a] The reference is to Wilhelm I, King of Württemberg.—*Ed.*

[b] The text breaks off here, as the 23rd manuscript sheet is missing.—*Ed.*

of the landlord instead of that of the tenant-farmer. If the landowner himself cultivated his land, he would certainly take care not to enter part of the ordinary profit of working capital under the heading "land rent".

Writers of the 16th, 17th and even the first two-thirds of the 18th century, still regarded the export of grain by England as the main source of its wealth. The old English industry—the main branch of which was the woollen industry, and the less important branches of which processed mostly materials supplied by the main branch itself—was wholly *subordinated* to agriculture. Its chief raw material was the product of English agriculture. As a matter of course, therefore, this industry promoted agriculture. Later, when the factory system proper developed, already in a short space of time the necessity for customs duties on corn began to be felt. But they remained nominal. The rapid growth of the population, the abundance of fertile land which had yet to be made cultivable, the inventions, at first, of course, raised also the level of agriculture. It especially profited from the war against Napoleon, which established a regular system of prohibition for it. But 1815 revealed how little the "productive force" of agriculture had really increased. A general outcry arose among landowners and tenant-farmers, and the present Corn Laws were enacted.[113] It is in the nature of modern factory industry, firstly, to estrange industry from the native soil since it processes mainly raw materials from abroad and bases itself on foreign trade. It is in the nature of this industry [secondly] to cause the population to grow in a ratio which, under the system of private property, does not correspond to the exploitation of the soil. It is furthermore in its nature, if it gives rise to Corn Laws, as it has always done in Europe up to now, to convert the peasants into the very poorest proletarians through high rents and factory methods of exploiting landed property. If, on the other hand, it succeeds in preventing the passing of Corn Laws, it puts a mass of land out of cultivation, subjects the price of grain to external contingencies, and completely alienates the country [*entäussert das Land völlig*] by making its most essential means of subsistence dependent on trade, which undermines *landed property* as an independent source of property. This last feature is the aim of the Anti-Corn-Law League in England and the anti-rent movement in North America, for *land rent* is the economic expression of *landed property*. Therefore the Tories continually draw attention to the danger of England being made dependent for its means of subsistence on, for example, *Russia*.

Large-scale factory industry — of course, countries like North America which have a huge amount of land still to be brought under cultivation (and protective duties by no means increase the amount of land) do not count here — certainly has a tendency to *paralyse* the productive force of the soil, as soon as its exploitation has reached a certain level, just as, on the other hand, the conduct of agriculture on factory lines has a tendency to oust people and to convert all the land — of course, within certain limits — into pasture, so that cattle take the place of people.

Ricardo's theory of land rent, in a few words, amounts to the following:

*Land rent* adds nothing to the productivity of land. On the contrary, rising land rent is proof that the productive force of land is falling. It is in fact determined by the relation of the area of land suitable for cultivation to the number of the population and to the level of civilisation in general. The price of grain is determined by the cost of production on the least fertile land that has to be cultivated because of the needs of the population. If land of a poorer quality has to be resorted to, or if amounts of capital have to be applied with a lesser yield to the same piece of land, then the owner of the most fertile land sells his product as dearly as the peasant who has the worst. He pockets the difference between the cost of production on the best land and that on the most infertile. Thus, the less productive the land that is put into cultivation, or the less the yield from second and third amounts of capital applied to the same piece of land, in short, the more the relative productive force of the land decreases, the higher the land rent rises. The land made fruitful everywhere....[a]

## *IV. Herr List and Ferrier*[b]

The book by *Ferrier, sous-inspecteur des douanes*[c] under Napoleon, *Du gouvernement considéré dans ses rapports avec le commerce*, Paris, 1805, is the work from which Herr List copied. In List's book there is not a single basic idea that has not been stated, and better stated, in Ferrier's book.

Ferrier was one of Napoleon's officials. He defended the Continental System. He does not speak about the *system of protection*

[a] The text of the fourth page of the last numbered sheet in Marx's manuscript breaks off here.—*Ed.*

[b] This chapter of the manuscript occupies four pages of an unnumbered sheet.—*Ed.*

[c] Sub-inspector of customs.—*Ed.*

but about the *prohibitive system.* He is far from making phrases about a *union* of all nations or *eternal peace* within the country. Nor, of course, has he any socialist phrases yet. We shall give a short extract from his book in order to throw light on this secret source of List's wisdom. Whereas Herr List falsifies *Louis Say* so as to be able to present him as his ally, nowhere, on the other hand, does he quote Ferrier, whom he has copied out everywhere. He wanted to lead the reader on a false trail.

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We have already quoted Ferrier's judgment on Smith.[a] Ferrier still adheres to the old prohibitive system, but more honestly.

*State Intervention. The Thrift of Nations*

"There is a thrift and an extravagance (*prodigalité*) of nations, but a nation is extravagant or thrifty only in its relations with *other* peoples" (p. 143).

"It is untrue that the most profitable use of capital for the person who owns it is necessarily also the most profitable for industry.... The interest of the capitalists, far from coinciding with the general interest, is almost always in opposition to it" (pp. 168, 169).

"There is a thrift of nations, but it is very different from Smith's.... It consists in buying foreign products only in so far as they can be paid for by one's own products. Sometimes it consists in completely foregoing them" (pp. [174], 175).

*Productive Forces and Exchange Value*

"The principles of the thrift of nations which Smith laid down (set) are all based on the distinction between productive and unproductive labour.... This distinction is essentially incorrect. There is no unproductive labour" (p. 141).

"He" (Garnier) "saw in *silver* only the *value* of the silver, without thinking about its *property,* as silver, to make *circulation* more active and, consequently, to multiply the products of labour" (p. 18). "Therefore, when governments seek to prevent the outflow of money ... this is not on account of its *value* ..., but because the *value* that is received in exchange for it cannot have the same effect in circulation ..., because it cannot cause a new creation at each transition" (pp. 22, 23). "The word 'wealth', as applied to money that circulates as money, must be understood from the acts of reproduction that it facilitates ..., and in this sense a country enriches itself when it increases the quantity of its money, because with this increase of money all the *productive forces* of labour increase" (p. 71). "When it is said that a country can lay out (expend) an income of two milliards, ... what is meant is that the country has the *means,* with the aid of these two milliards, to support a circulation 10, 20, 30 times greater in values or, what is the same thing, that it can *produce* these values. It is these *means of production,* which the country owes to money, that are called wealth" (p. 22).

You see: Ferrier distinguishes the *exchange value* possessed by money from the *productive force* of money. Apart from the fact that

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[a] See pp. 268-69 of this volume.—*Ed.*

in general he calls the means of production wealth, there was in any case nothing easier than to apply to all capital the distinction which he drew between the *value* and the *productive force* of money.

But Ferrier goes still farther, he defends the prohibitive system, in general on the grounds that it safeguards for the nations their *means of production*:

"Thus prohibitions are useful whenever they make it easier for nations to acquire the *means* to satisfy their needs.... I compare a nation which with its money buys abroad commodities it can make itself, although of poorer quality, with a gardener who, dissatisfied with the fruit he gathers, would buy juicier fruits from his neighbours, giving them his gardening tools in exchange" (p. 288). "Foreign trade is always profitable when it endeavours to enlarge *productive capital.* It is unprofitable when instead of multiplying capital it demands its alienation" (pp. 395-96).

*Agriculture, Manufacture, Trade*

"Should a government promote trade and factories in preference to agriculture? This question is still one of those on which governments and writers cannot agree" (p. 73).

"The progress of industry and trade is bound up with that of civilisation, the arts, the sciences, and shipping. A government, which can do almost nothing for agriculture, can do almost everything for industry. If a nation has habits or tastes capable of holding back its development, the government must use all its means to combat them" (p. 84).

"The true means of encouraging agriculture is the encouragement of manufactures" (p. 225). "Its domain" (that of industry, by which M. Ferrier means manufacturing industry) "is not limited, whether in its successes or in its means of improvement.... Far-reaching like imagination, and like imagination mobile and fruitful, its creative power has no limits other than those of the human mind itself, from which it daily receives fresh *eclat*" (p. 85).

"The true source of wealth for an agricultural-manufacturing nation is *reproduction* and labour. It must apply its capital to this end and be concerned to transport and sell its own commodities before it can engage in transporting and selling those of other nations" (p. 186). "This growth of man's wealth is to be ascribed primarily to internal trade, which long preceded the exchange of nation with nation" (p. 145). "According to Smith himself, of two capitals, one of which is invested in home trade and the other in foreign trade, the first gives the country's industry 24 times greater support and encouragement" (p. [145]-146).

But M. Ferrier at least understands that home trade cannot exist without foreign trade (loc. cit.).

"If some private persons import from England 50,000 pieces of velvet, they will make a great deal of money by this transaction and will be very well able to market their wares. But they reduce the home industry and put 10,000 workers out of work" (p. 170; cf. pp. 155, 156).

Like List, M. Ferrier draws attention to the difference between towns engaged in manufacture and trade and towns which only

consume (p. 91), but in so doing he is at least honest enough to refer to Smith himself. He refers to the *Methuen Treaty*,[114] so dear to Herr List, and the subtlety of Smith's judgment of that treaty (p. 159). We have already seen how in general his judgment of Smith coincides almost word for word with List's. See also on *carrying trade* (p. 186 et passim).

The difference between Ferrier and List is that the former writes in support of an undertaking of world-historic importance—the Continental System, whereas the latter writes in support of a petty, weak-minded bourgeoisie.

The reader will admit that the whole of Herr List is contained in *nuce* in the extracts quoted from Ferrier. If, moreover, one adds the phrases he borrows from the development of political economy since Ferrier, then all that remains as his share is empty *idealising*, the productive force of which consists in words—and the clever hypocrisy of the German bourgeois striving for domination.

Written in March 1845

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Published from the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

Frederick Engels

# THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING-CLASS IN ENGLAND

## FROM PERSONAL OBSERVATION AND AUTHENTIC SOURCES[115]

Written September 1844 to March 1845
Published in Leipzig in 1845
Signed: *Frederick Engels*

Printed according to the text of the authorised English edition of 1892, checked with the German editions of 1845 and 1892

## TO THE WORKING-CLASSES OF GREAT-BRITAIN[116]

Working Men!

To you I dedicate a work, in which I have tried to lay before my German Countrymen a faithful picture of your condition, of your sufferings and struggles, of your hopes and prospects. I have lived long enough amidst you to know something about your circumstances; I have devoted to their knowledge my most serious attention, I have studied the various official and non-official documents as far as I was able to get hold of them — I have not been satisfied with this, I wanted more than a mere *abstract* knowledge of my subject, I wanted to see you in your own homes, to observe you in your every-day life, to chat with you on your condition and grievances, to witness your struggles against the social and political power of your oppressors. I have done so: I forsook the company and the dinner-parties, the port-wine and champaign of the middle-classes, and devoted my leisure-hours almost exclusively to the intercourse with plain Working-Men; I am both glad and proud of having done so. Glad, because thus I was induced to spend many a happy hour in obtaining a knowledge of the realities of life — many an hour, which else would have been wasted in fashionable talk and tiresome etiquette; proud, because thus I got an opportunity of doing justice to an oppressed and calumniated class of men who with all their faults and under all the disadvantages of their situation, yet command the respect of every one but an English money-monger; proud, too, because thus I was placed in a position to save the English people from the growing contempt which on the Continent has

been the necessary consequence of the brutally selfish policy and general behaviour of your ruling middle-class.

Having, at the same time, ample opportunity to watch the middle-classes, your opponents, I soon came to the conclusion that you are right, perfectly right in expecting no support whatever from them. Their interest is diametrically opposed to yours, though they always will try to maintain the contrary and to make you believe in their most hearty sympathy with your fates. Their doings give them the lie. I hope to have collected more than sufficient evidence of the fact, that—be their words what they please—the middle-classes intend in reality nothing else but to enrich themselves by your labour while they can sell its produce, and to abandon you to starvation as soon as they cannot make a profit by this indirect trade in human flesh. What have they done to prove their professed good-will towards you? Have they ever paid any serious attention to your grievances? Have they done more than paying the expenses of half-a-dozen commissions of inquiry, whose voluminous reports are damned to ever-lasting slumber among heaps of waste paper on the shelves of the Home Office? Have they even done as much as to compile from those rotting blue-books a single readable book from which everybody might easily get some information on the condition of the great majority of "free-born Britons"? Not they indeed, those are things they do not like to speak of—they have left it to a foreigner to inform the civilised world of the degrading situation you have to live in.

A foreigner to *them,* not to *you,* I hope. Though my English may not be pure, yet, I hope, you will find it *plain* English. No working-man in England—nor in France either, by-the-by—ever treated me as a foreigner. With the greatest pleasure I observed you to be free from that blasting curse, national prejudice and national pride, which after all means nothing but *wholesale selfishness*—I observed you to sympathise with every one who earnestly applies his powers to human progress—may he be an Englishman or not—to admire every thing great and good, whether nursed on your native soil or not—I found you to be more than mere *English*men, members of a single, isolated nation, I found you to be *Men,* members of the great and universal family of Mankind, who know their interest and that of all the human race to be the same. And as such, as members of this Family of "One and Indivisible" Mankind, as Human Beings in the most emphatical meaning of the word, as such I, and many others on the Continent, hail your progress in every direction and wish you speedy success.

# Die Lage
der
# arbeitenden Klasse
in
# England.

Nach eigner Anschauung und authentischen Quellen

von

**Friedrich Engels.**

Leipzig.
Druck und Verlag von Otto Wigand.
1845.

Cover of the first edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*

Go on then, as you have done hitherto. Much remains to be undergone; be firm, be undaunted—your success is certain, and no step you will have to take in your onward march, will be lost to our common cause, the cause of Humanity!

Barmen (Rhenan Prussia)
March 15th, 1845

*Frederick Engels*

# Preface[117]

The book prefaced by the following pages treats of a subject which I originally intended to deal with in a single chapter of a more comprehensive work on the social history of England.[118] However, the importance of that subject soon made it necessary for me to investigate it separately.

The condition of the working-class is the real basis and point of departure of all social movements of the present because it is the highest and most unconcealed pinnacle of the social misery existing in our day. French and German working-class Communism are its direct, Fourierism and English Socialism, as well as the Communism of the German educated bourgeoisie, are its indirect products. A knowledge of proletarian conditions is absolutely necessary to be able to provide solid ground for socialist theories, on the one hand, and for judgments about their right to exist, on the other; and to put an end to all sentimental dreams and fancies pro and con. But proletarian conditions exist in their *classical form,* in their perfection, only in the British Empire, particularly in England proper. Besides, only in England has the necessary material been so completely collected and put on record by official enquiries as is essential for any in the least exhaustive presentation of the subject.

Twenty-one months I had the opportunity to become acquainted with the English proletariat, its strivings, its sorrows and its joys, to see them from near, from personal observation and personal intercourse, and at the same time to supplement my observations by recourse to the requisite authentic sources. What I have seen, heard and read has been worked up in the present book. I am prepared to see not only my standpoint attacked in

many quarters but also the facts I have cited, particularly when the book gets into the hands of the English. I know equally well that here and there I may be proved wrong in some particular of no importance, something that in view of the comprehensive nature of the subject and its far-reaching assumptions even an Englishman might be unable to avoid; so much the more so since even in England there exists as yet not a single piece of writing which, like mine, takes up *all* the workers. But without a moment's hesitation I challenge the English bourgeoisie to prove that even in a single instance of any consequence for the exposition of my point of view as a whole I have been guilty of any inaccuracy, and to prove it by data as authentic as mine.

A description of the classical form which the conditions of existence of the proletariat have assumed in Britain is very important, particularly for Germany and precisely at the present moment. German Socialism and Communism have proceeded, more than any other, from theoretical premises; we German theoreticians still knew much too little of the real world to be driven directly by the real relations to reforms of this "bad reality". At any rate almost none of the avowed champions of such reforms arrived at Communism otherwise than by way of the Feuerbachian dissolution of Hegelian speculation. The real conditions of the life of the proletariat are so little known among us that even the well-meaning "societies for the uplift of the working-classes",[119] in which our bourgeoisie is now mistreating the social question, constantly start out from the most ridiculous and preposterous judgments concerning the condition of the workers. We Germans more than anybody else stand in need of a knowledge of the facts concerning this question. And while the conditions of existence of Germany's proletariat have not assumed the classical form that they have in England, we nevertheless have, at bottom, the same social order, which sooner or later must necessarily reach the same degree of acuteness as it has already attained across the North Sea, unless the intelligence of the nation brings about in time the adoption of measures that will provide a new basis for the whole social system. The root-causes whose effect in England has been the misery and oppression of the proletariat exist also in Germany and in the long run must engender the same results. In the meantime, however, the established fact of wretched conditions in *England* will impel us to establish also the fact of wretched conditions in *Germany* and will provide us with a yardstick wherewith to measure their extent and the magnitude of the danger—brought to light by the Silesian and Bohemian

disturbances[120]—which directly threatens the tranquillity of Germany from that quarter.

Finally, there are still two remarks I wish to make. Firstly, that I have used the word *Mittelklasse* all along in the sense of the English word middle-class (or middle-classes, as is said almost always). Like the French word *bourgeoisie* it means the possessing class, specifically that possessing class which is differentiated from the so-called aristocracy—the class which in France and England is directly and in Germany, figuring as "public opinion", indirectly in possession of political power. Similarly, I have continually used the expressions working-men (*Arbeiter*) and proletarians, working-class, propertyless class and proletariat as equivalents. Secondly, that in the case of most of the quotations I have indicated the party to which the respective authors belong, because in nearly every instance the Liberals try to emphasise the distress in the rural areas and to argue away that which exists in the factory districts, while the Conservatives, conversely, acknowledge the misery in the factory districts but disclaim any knowledge of it in the agricultural areas. For the same reason, whenever I lacked official documents for describing the condition of the industrial workers, I always preferred to present proof from *Liberal* sources in order to defeat the liberal bourgeoisie by casting their own words in their teeth. I cited Tories or Chartists in my support only when I could confirm their correctness from personal observation or was convinced of the truthfulness of the facts quoted because of the personal or literary reputation of the authorities I referred to.

Barmen, March 15, 1845

*F. Engels*

# TO THE WORKING CLASSES

OF

# GREAT-BRITAIN.

Working Men!

To you I dedicate a work, in which I have tried to lay before my German Countrymen a faithful picture of your condition, of your sufferings and struggles, of your hopes and prospects. I have lived long enough amidst you to know something about your circumstances; I have devoted to their knowledge my most serious attention, I have studied the various official and non-official documents as far as I was able to get hold of them — I have not been satisfied with this, I wanted more than a mere *abstract* knowledge of my subject, I wanted to see you in your own homes, to observe you in your every-day life, to chat with you on your condition and grievances, to witness your struggles against the social and political power of your oppressors. I have done so: I forsook the company and the dinner-parties, the port-wine and champaign of the middle-classes, and devoted my leisure-hours almost exclusively to the intercourse with plain Working Men; I am both glad and proud of having done so. Glad, because thus I was induced to spend many a happy hour in obtaining a knowledge of the realities of life — many an hour,

First page of Engels' address
*To the Working-Classes of Great-Britain*

# INTRODUCTION

The history of the proletariat[a] in England begins with the second half of the last century, with the invention of the steam-engine and of machinery for working cotton. These inventions gave rise, as is well known, to an industrial revolution, a revolution which altered the whole civil society; one, the historical importance of which is only now beginning to be recognised. England is the classic soil of this transformation, which was all the mightier, the more silently it proceeded; and England is, therefore, the classic land of its chief product also, the proletariat. Only in England can the proletariat be studied in all its relations and from all sides.

We have not, here and now, to deal with the history of this revolution, nor with its vast importance for the present and the future. Such a delineation must be reserved for a future, more comprehensive work. For the moment, we must limit ourselves to the little that is necessary for understanding the facts that follow, for comprehending the present state of the English proletariat.

Before the introduction of machinery, the spinning and weaving of raw materials was carried on in the working-man's home. Wife and daughter spun the yarn that the father wove or that they sold, if he did not work it up himself. These weaver families lived in the country in the neighbourhood of the towns, and could get on fairly well with their wages, because the home market was almost the only one,[b] and the crushing power of competition that came

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "the working-class".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 enlarge on this phrase: "because the home market was still the decisive one as regards the demand for fabrics and almost the only one."—*Ed.*

later, with the conquest of foreign markets and the extension of trade, did not yet press upon wages. There was, further, a constant increase in the demand for the home market, keeping pace with the slow increase in population and employing all the workers; and there was also the impossibility of vigorous competition of the workers among themselves, consequent upon the rural dispersion of their homes. So it was that the weaver was usually in a position to lay by something, and rent a little piece of land, that he cultivated in his leisure hours, of which he had as many as he chose to take, since he could weave whenever and as long as he pleased. True, he was a bad farmer and managed his land inefficiently, often obtaining but poor crops; nevertheless, he was no proletarian, he had a stake in the country, he was permanently settled, and stood one step higher in society than the English workman of today.

So the workers vegetated throughout a passably comfortable existence, leading a righteous and peaceful life in all piety and probity; and their material position was far better than that of their successors. They did not need to overwork; they did no more than they chose to do, and yet earned what they needed. They had leisure for healthful work in garden or field, work which, in itself, was recreation for them, and they could take part besides in the recreations and games of their neighbours, and all these games—bowling, cricket,[a] football, etc., contributed to their physical health and vigour. They were, for the most part, strong, well-built people, in whose physique little or no difference from that of their peasant neighbours was discoverable. Their children grew up in the fresh country air, and, if they could help their parents at work, it was only occasionally; while of eight or twelve hours work for them there was no question.

What the moral and intellectual character of this class was may be guessed. Shut off from the towns, which they never entered, their yarn and woven stuff being delivered to travelling agents for payment of wages—so shut off that old people who lived quite in the neighbourhood of the town never went thither until they were robbed of their trade by the introduction of machinery and obliged to look about them in the towns for work—the weavers stood upon the moral and intellectual plane of the yeomen with whom they were usually immediately connected through their little holdings. They regarded their squire, the greatest landholder of

[a] The word "cricket" does not occur in the German editions of 1845 and 1892.—*Ed.*

the region, as their natural superior; they asked advice of him, laid their small disputes before him for settlement, and gave him all honour, as this patriarchal relation involved. They were "respectable" people, good husbands and fathers, led moral lives because they had no temptation to be immoral, there being no groggeries or low houses in their vicinity, and because the host, at whose inn they now and then quenched their thirst, was also a respectable man, usually a large tenant-farmer who took pride in his good order, good beer, and early hours. They had their children the whole day at home, and brought them up in obedience and the fear of God; the patriarchal relationship remained undisturbed so long as the children were unmarried. The young people grew up in idyllic simplicity and intimacy with their playmates until they married; and even though sexual intercourse before marriage almost unfailingly took place, this happened only when the moral obligation of marriage was recognised on both sides, and a subsequent wedding made everything good. In short, the English industrial workers of those days lived and thought after the fashion still to be found here and there in Germany, in retirement and seclusion, without mental activity and without violent fluctuations in their position in life. They could rarely read and far more rarely write; went regularly to church, never talked politics, never conspired, never thought, delighted in physical exercises, listened with inherited reverence when the Bible was read, and were, in their unquestioning humility, exceedingly well-disposed towards the "superior" classes. But intellectually, they were dead; lived only for their petty, private interest, for their looms and gardens, and knew nothing of the mighty movement which, beyond their horizon, was sweeping through mankind. They were comfortable in their silent vegetation, and but for the industrial revolution they would never have emerged from this existence, which, cosily romantic as it was, was nevertheless not worthy of human beings. In truth, they were not human beings; they were merely toiling machines in the service of the few aristocrats who had guided history down to that time. The industrial revolution has simply carried this out to its logical end by making the workers machines pure and simple, taking from them the last trace of independent activity, and so forcing them to think and demand a position worthy of men. As in France politics, so in England manufacture and the movement of civil society in general drew into the whirl of history the last classes which had remained sunk in apathetic indifference to the universal interests of mankind.

The first invention which gave rise to a radical change in the state of the English workers was the jenny, invented in the year 1764 by a weaver, James Hargreaves, of Stanhill,[a] near Blackburn, in North Lancashire. This machine was the rough beginning of the later invented mule, and was moved by hand. Instead of one spindle like the ordinary spinning-wheel, it carried sixteen or eighteen manipulated by a single workman. This invention made it possible to deliver more yarn than heretofore. Whereas, though one weaver had employed three spinners, there had never been enough yarn, and the weaver had often been obliged to wait for it, there was now more yarn to be had than could be woven by the available workers. The demand for woven goods, already increasing, rose yet more in consequence of the cheapness of these goods, which cheapness, in turn, was the outcome of the diminished cost of producing the yarn. More weavers were needed, and weavers' wages rose. Now that the weaver could earn more at his loom, he gradually abandoned his farming, and gave his whole time to weaving. At that time a family of four grown persons and two children (who were set to spooling) could earn, with eight[b] hours' daily work, four pounds sterling[c] in a week, and often more if trade was good and work pressed. It happened often enough that a single weaver earned two pounds a week at his loom. By degrees the class of farming weavers wholly disappeared, and was merged in the newly arising class of weavers who lived wholly upon wages, had no property whatever, not even the pretended property of a holding, and so became working-men,[d] proletarians. Moreover, the old relation between spinner and weaver was destroyed. Hitherto, so far as this had been possible, yarn had been spun and woven under one roof. Now that the jenny as well as the loom required a strong hand, men began to spin, and whole families lived by spinning, while others laid the antiquated, superseded spinning-wheel aside; and, if they had not means of purchasing a jenny, were forced to live upon the wages of the father alone. Thus began with spinning and weaving that division of labour which has since been so infinitely perfected.

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[a] In the editions which appeared during Engels' lifetime the name of this place was given wrongly as Standhill (as in Ure's book *The Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain*).—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "ten".—*Ed.*

[c] After this the German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "(28 Prussian talers)."—*Ed.*

[d] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give this word in English in brackets after the word "proletarians".—*Ed.*

While the industrial proletariat was thus developing with the first still very imperfect machine, the same machine gave rise to the agricultural proletariat. There had, hitherto, been a vast number of small landowners, yeomen, who had vegetated in the same unthinking quiet as their neighbours, the farming weavers. They cultivated their scraps of land quite after the ancient and inefficient fashion of their ancestors, and opposed every change with the obstinacy peculiar to such creatures of habit, after remaining stationary from generation to generation. Among them were many small holders also, not tenants in the present sense of the word, but people who had their land handed down from their fathers, either by hereditary lease, or by force of ancient custom, and had hitherto held it as securely as if it had actually been their own property. When the industrial workers withdrew from agriculture, a great number of small holdings fell idle, and upon these the new class of large tenants established themselves, tenants-at-will,[a] holding fifty, one hundred, two hundred or more acres,[b] liable to be turned out at the end of the year, but able by improved tillage and larger farming to increase the yield of the land. They could sell their produce more cheaply than the yeoman, for whom nothing remained when his farm no longer supported him but to sell it, procure a jenny or a loom, or take service as an agricultural labourer in the employ of a large farmer. His inherited slowness and the inefficient methods of cultivation bequeathed by his ancestors, and above which he could not rise, left him no alternative when forced to compete with men who managed their holdings on sounder principles and with all the advantages bestowed by farming on a large scale and the investment of capital for the improvement of the soil.

Meanwhile, the industrial movement did not stop here. Single capitalists began to set up spinning jennies in great buildings and to use water-power for driving them, so placing themselves in a position to diminish the number of workers, and sell their yarn more cheaply than single spinners could do who moved their own machines by hand. There were constant improvements in the jenny, so that machines continually became antiquated, and must be altered or even laid aside; and though the capitalists could hold out by the application of water-power even with the old machinery, for the single spinner this was impossible. And the factory

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have this expression in English.—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "Morgen" instead of "acres". One Morgen is rather less than 2/3 of an acre.—*Ed.*

system, the beginning of which was thus made, received a fresh extension in 1767, through the spinning throstle invented by Richard Arkwright, a barber, in Preston, in North Lancashire. After the steam-engine, this is the most important mechanical invention of the 18th century.[a] It was calculated from the beginning for mechanical motive power, and was based upon wholly new principles. By the combination of the peculiarities of the jenny and throstle, Samuel Crompton, of Firwood, Lancashire, contrived the mule in 1785,[b] and as Arkwright invented the carding engine, and preparatory ("slubbing and roving")[c] frames about the same time, the factory system became the prevailing one for the spinning of cotton. By means of trifling modifications these machines were gradually adapted to the spinning[d] of flax, and so to the superseding of hand-work here, too. But even then, the end was not yet. In the closing years of the last century, Dr. Cartwright, a country parson, had invented the power-loom, and about 1804 had so far perfected it, that it could successfully compete with the hand-weaver; and all this machinery was made doubly important by James Watt's steam-engine, invented in 1764 and used for supplying motive power for spinning since 1785.

With these inventions, since improved from year to year, the victory of machine-work over hand-work in the chief branches of English industry was won; and the history of the latter from that time forward simply relates how the hand-workers have been driven by machinery from one position after another. The consequences of this were, on the one hand, a rapid fall in price of all manufactured commodities, prosperity of commerce and manufacture, the conquest of nearly all the unprotected foreign markets, the sudden multiplication of capital and national wealth; on the other hand, a still more rapid multiplication of the proletariat, the destruction of all property-holding and of all security of employment for the working-class, demoralisation, political excitement, and all those facts so highly repugnant to Englishmen in comfortable circumstances, which we shall have to consider in the following pages. Having already seen what a transformation in the social condition of the lower classes a single

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "usually called Kettenstuhl in German" to explain the word spinning throstle given above in English.—*Ed.*

[b] 1779 according to more precise data.—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have no words given in brackets.—*Ed.*

[d] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "of wool and later (in the first decade of the present century) also" after "to the spinning".—*Ed.*

such clumsy machine as the jenny had wrought, there is no cause for surprise as to that which a complete and interdependent system of finely adjusted machinery has brought about, machinery which receives raw material and turns out woven goods.

Meanwhile, let us trace the development of English manufacture* somewhat more minutely, beginning with[a] the cotton industry. In the years 1771-1775, there were annually imported into England rather less than 5,000,000 pounds of raw cotton; in the year 1841 there were imported 528,000,000 pounds, and the import for 1844 will reach at least 600,000,000 pounds. In 1834 England exported 556,000,000 yards of woven cotton goods, 76,500,000 pounds of cotton yarn, and cotton hosiery to the value of £1,200,000. In the same year over 8,000,000 mule spindles were at work, 110,000 power and 250,000 hand-looms, throstle spindles not included, in the service of the cotton industry; and, according to McCulloch's reckoning,[b] nearly a million and a half human beings were supported by this branch,[c] of whom but 220,000 worked in the mills; the power used in these mills was steam, equivalent to 33,000 horse-power, and water, equivalent to 11,000 horse-power. At present these figures are far from adequate, and it may be safely assumed that, in the year 1845, the power and number of the machines and the number of the workers is greater by one-half than it was in 1834. The chief centre of this industry is Lancashire, where it originated; it has thoroughly revolutionised this county, converting it from an obscure, ill-cultivated swamp into a busy, lively region, multiplying its population tenfold in eighty years, and causing giant cities such as Liverpool and Manchester, containing together 700,000 inhabitants, and their neighbouring towns, Bolton with 60,000, Rochdale with 75,000, Oldham with 50,000, Preston with 60,000, Ashton and Stalybridge with 40,000, and a whole list of other manufacturing towns to spring up as if by a magic touch. The history of South Lancashire contains some of the greatest marvels of modern

* According to Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, London, 1836, Vol. I; 1838, Vol. II; 1843, Vol. III (official data), and other sources, chiefly official.— *Note by Engels.*

(1892) The historical outline of the industrial revolution given above is not exact in certain details; but in 1843-44 no better sources were available.— *Added by Engels in the German edition of 1892.*

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[a] Here the German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "its main branch".—*Ed.*

[b] J. R. McCulloch, *A Dictionary of Commerce.*—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "directly or indirectly".—*Ed.*

times, yet no one ever mentions them and all these miracles are the product of the cotton industry. Glasgow, too, the centre[a] for the cotton district of Scotland, for Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire, has increased in population from 30,000 to 300,000 since the introduction of the industry. The hosiery manufacture of Nottingham and Derby also received one fresh impulse from the lower price of yarn, and a second one from an improvement of the stocking loom, by means of which two stockings could be woven at once. The manufacture of lace, too, became an important branch of industry after the invention of the lace machine in 1777; soon after that date Lindley invented the point-net machine, and in 1809 Heathcoat invented the bobbin-net machine, in consequence of which the production of lace was greatly simplified, and the demand increased proportionately in consequence of the diminished cost, so that now, at least 200,000 persons are supported by this industry. Its chief centres are Nottingham, Leicester, and the West of England, Wiltshire, Devonshire, etc. A corresponding extension has taken place in the branches dependent upon the cotton industry, in dyeing, bleaching, and printing. Bleaching by the application of chlorine in place of the oxygen of the atmosphere, dyeing and printing by the rapid development of chemistry, and printing by a series of most brilliant mechanical inventions, received a yet greater advance which, with the extension of these branches caused by the growth of the cotton industry, raised them to a previously unknown degree of prosperity.

The same activity manifested itself in the manufacture of wool. This had hitherto been the leading department of English industry, but the quantities formerly produced are as nothing in comparison with that which is now manufactured. In 1782 the whole wool crop of the preceding three years lay unused for want of workers, and would have continued so to lie if the newly invented machinery had not come to its assistance and spun it. The adaptation of this machinery to the spinning of wool was most successfully accomplished. Then began the same sudden development in the wool districts which we have already seen in the cotton districts. In 1738 there were 75,000 pieces of woollen cloth produced in the West Riding of Yorkshire; in 1817 there were 490,000 pieces, and so rapid was the extension of the industry that in 1834, 450,000 more pieces were produced[b] than

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "a second centre".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "exported" instead of "produced".—*Ed.*

in 1825. In 1801, 101,000,000 pounds of wool (7,000,000 pounds of it imported) were worked up; in 1835, 180,000,000 pounds were worked up, of which 42,000,000 pounds were imported. The principal centre of this industry is the West Riding of Yorkshire, where, especially at Bradford, long English wool is converted into worsted yarns, etc., while in the other cities, Leeds, Halifax, Huddersfield, etc., short wool is converted into hard-spun yarn and cloth. Then come the adjacent part of Lancashire, the region of Rochdale, where in addition to the cotton industry much flannel is produced, and the West of England, which supplies the finest cloths. Here also the growth of population is worthy of observation:

| | | in 1801 | and | in 1831 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bradford | contained | 29,000, | | 77,000 | inhabitants |
| Halifax | " | 63,000, | " | 110,000 | " |
| Huddersfield | " | 15,000, | " | 34,000 | " |
| Leeds | " | 53,000, | " | 123,000 | " |
| And the whole West Riding | " | 564,000, | " | 980,000 | " |

A population which, since 1831, must have increased at least 20 to 25 per cent further. In 1835 the spinning of wool employed in the United Kingdom 1,313 mills, with 71,300 workers, these last being but a small portion of the multitude who are supported directly or indirectly by the manufacture of wool, and excluding nearly all weavers.

Progress in the linen trade developed later, because the nature of the raw material made the application of spinning machinery very difficult. Attempts had been made in the last years of the last century in Scotland, but the Frenchman Girard, who introduced flax spinning in 1810, was the first who succeeded practically, and even Girard's machines first attained on British soil the importance they deserved by means of improvements which they underwent in England, and of their universal application in Leeds, Dundee, and Belfast. From this time the British linen trade rapidly extended. In 1814, 3,000 tons* of flax were imported[a]; in 1833, nearly 19,000 tons of flax and 3,400 tons of hemp. The export of Irish linen to Great Britain rose from 32,000,000 yards in 1800 to 53,000,000 in 1825, of which a large part was

* The English ton weighs 2,240 English pounds, almost 1,000 kilogrammes.—*Note by Engels to the 1845 German edition* (the last three words being added in the 1892 German edition—*Ed.*).

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "to Dundee".—*Ed.*

re-exported. The export of English and Scotch woven linen goods rose from 24,000,000 yards in 1820 to 51,000,000 yards in 1833. The number of flax spinning establishments in 1835 was 347, employing 33,000 workers, of which one-half were in the South of Scotland, more than 60 in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Leeds, and its environs, 25 in Belfast, Ireland, and the rest in Dorset and Lancashire. Weaving is carried on in the South of Scotland, here and there in England, but principally in Ireland.

With like success did the English turn their attention to the manufacture of silk. Raw material was imported from Southern Europe and Asia ready spun, and the chief labour lay in the twisting of fine threads.[a] Until 1824 the heavy import duty, four shillings per pound on raw material, greatly retarded the development of the English silk industry, while only the markets of England and the Colonies were protected for it. In that year the duty was reduced to one penny, and the number of mills at once largely increased. In a single year the number of throwing spindles rose from 780,000 to 1,180,000; and, although the commercial crisis of 1825 crippled this branch of industry for the moment, yet in 1827 more was produced than ever, the mechanical skill and experience of the English having secured their twisting machinery the supremacy over the awkward devices of their competitors. In 1835 the British Empire possessed 263 twisting mills, employing 30,000 workers, located chiefly in Cheshire, in Macclesfield, Congleton, and the surrounding districts, and in Manchester and Somersetshire. Besides these, there are numerous mills for working up waste, from which a peculiar article known as spun silk[b] is manufactured, with which the English supply even the Paris and Lyons weavers. The weaving of the silk so twisted and spun is carried on in Paisley and elsewhere in Scotland, and in Spitalfields, London, but also in Manchester and elsewhere.

Nor is the gigantic advance achieved in English manufacture since 1760 restricted to the production of clothing materials. The impulse, once given, was communicated to all branches of industrial activity, and a multitude of inventions wholly unrelated to those here cited received double importance from the fact that they were made in the midst of the universal movement. But as soon as

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here in brackets the German word "*Tramieren*".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give this English term in brackets.—*Ed.*

the immeasurable importance of mechanical power was practically demonstrated, every energy was concentrated in the effort to exploit this power in all directions, and to exploit it in the interest of individual inventors and manufacturers; and the demand for machinery, fuel, and materials called a mass of workers and a number of trades into redoubled activity. The steam-engine first gave importance to the broad coal-fields of England; the production of machinery began now for the first time, and with it arose a new interest in the iron mines which supplied raw material for it. The increased consumption of wool stimulated English sheep breeding, and the growing importation of wool, flax, and silk called forth an extension of the British ocean carrying trade. Greatest of all was the growth of production of iron. The rich iron deposits of the English hills had hitherto been little developed; iron had always been smelted by means of charcoal, which became gradually more expensive[a] as agriculture improved and forests were cut away. The beginning of the use of coke[b] in iron smelting had been made in the last century, and in 1780 a new method was invented of converting into available wrought-iron coke-smelted iron, which up to that time had been convertible into cast-iron only. This process, known as "puddling", consisted in withdrawing the carbon which had mixed with the iron during the process of smelting, and opened a wholly new field for the production of English iron. Smelting furnaces were built fifty times larger than before, the process of smelting was simplified by the introduction of hot blasts, and iron could thus be produced so cheaply that a multitude of objects which had before been made of stone or wood were now made of iron.

In 1788, Thomas Paine, the famous democrat, built in Yorkshire the first iron bridge,[121] which was followed by a great number of others, so that now nearly all bridges, especially for railroad traffic, are built of cast-iron, while in London itself a bridge across the Thames, the Southwark bridge, has been built of this material. Iron pillars, supports for machinery, etc., are universally used, and since the introduction of gas-lighting and railroads, new outlets for English iron products are opened. Nails and screws gradually came to be made by machinery. Huntsman, a Sheffielder, discovered in 1740 a method for casting steel, by which much labour was saved, and the production of wholly new

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "and scarce".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have the English word in brackets after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

cheap goods rendered practicable; and through the greater purity of the material placed at its disposal, and the more perfect tools, new machinery and minute division of labour, the metal trade of England now first attained importance. The population of Birmingham grew from 73,000 in 1801 to 200,000 in 1844; that of Sheffield from 46,000 in 1801 to 110,000 in 1844, and the consumption of coal in the latter city alone reached in 1836, 515,000 tons. In 1805 there were exported 4,300 tons of iron products and 4,600 tons of pig-iron; in 1834, 16,200 tons of iron products and 107,000 tons of pig-iron, while the whole iron product, reaching in 1740 but 17,000 tons, had risen in 1834 to nearly 700,000 tons. The smelting of pig-iron alone consumes yearly more than 3,000,000 tons of coal,[122] and the importance which coal-mining has attained in the course of the last 60 years can scarcely be conceived. All the English and Scotch deposits are now worked, and the mines of Northumberland and Durham alone yield annually more than 5,000,000 tons for shipping, and employ from 40 to 50,000 men. According to the *Durham Chronicle*, there were worked in these two counties:

In 1753, 14 mines; in 1800, 40 mines; in 1836, 76 mines; in 1843, 130 mines.

Moreover, all mines are now much more energetically worked than formerly. A similarly increased activity was applied to the working of tin, copper, and lead, and alongside of the extension of glass manufacture arose a new branch of industry in the production of pottery, rendered important by the efforts of Josiah Wedgwood, about 1763. This inventor placed the whole manufacture of stoneware on a scientific basis, introduced better taste, and founded the potteries of North Staffordshire, a district of eight English miles square, which, formerly a desert waste, is now sown with works and dwellings, and supports more than 60,000 people.

Into this universal whirl of activity everything was drawn. Agriculture made a corresponding advance. Not only did landed property pass, as we have already seen, into the hands of new owners and cultivators, agriculture was affected in still another way. The great holders applied capital to the improvement of the soil, tore down needless fences, drained, manured, employed better tools, and applied a rotation of crops.[a] The progress of science came to their assistance also; Sir Humphry Davy applied chemistry to agriculture with success, and the development of

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have in brackets the English term "cropping by rotation" after the corresponding German term.—*Ed.*

mechanical science bestowed a multitude of advantages upon the large farmer. Further, in consequence of the increase of population, the demand for agricultural products increased in such measure that from 1760 to 1834, 6,840,540 acres of waste land were reclaimed; and, in spite of this, England was transformed from a grain exporting to a grain importing country.

The same activity was developed in the establishment of communication. From 1818 to 1829, there were built in England and Wales, 1,000 English miles of roadway of the width prescribed by law, 60 feet, and nearly all the old roads were reconstructed on the new system of McAdam. In Scotland, the Department of Public Works built since 1803 nearly 900 miles of roadway and more than 1,000 bridges, by which the population of the Highlands was suddenly placed within reach of civilisation. The Highlanders had hitherto been chiefly poachers and smugglers; they now became farmers[a] and hand-workers. And, though Gaelic schools were organised for the purpose of maintaining the Gaelic language, yet Gaelic-Celtic customs and speech are rapidly vanishing before the approach of English civilisation. So, too, in Ireland; between the counties of Cork, Limerick, and Kerry, lay hitherto a wilderness wholly without passable roads, and serving, by reason of its inaccessibility, as the refuge of all criminals and the chief protection of the Celtic Irish nationality in the South of Ireland. It has now been cut through by public roads, and civilisation has thus gained admission even to this savage region. The whole British Empire, and especially England, which, sixty years ago, had as bad roads as Germany or France then had, is now covered by a network of the finest roadways; and these, too, like almost everything else in England, are the work of private enterprise, the State having done very little in this direction.

Before 1755 England possessed almost no canals. In that year a canal was built in Lancashire from Sankey Brook to St. Helen's; and in 1759, James Brindley built the first important one, the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal from Manchester and the coal-mines of the district to the mouth of the Mersey passing, near Barton, by aqueduct, over the river Irwell. From this achievement dates the canal building of England, to which Brindley first gave importance. Canals were now built, and rivers made navigable in all directions. In England alone, there are 2,200 miles of canals and 1,800 miles of navigable river. In Scotland, the Caledonian Canal was cut directly across the country, and in Ireland several canals

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "industrious farmers".—*Ed.*

were built. These improvements, too, like the railroads and roadways, are nearly all the work of private individuals and companies.

The railroads have been only recently built. The first great one was opened from Liverpool to Manchester in 1830, since which all the great cities have been connected by rail. London with Southampton, Brighton, Dover, Colchester, Exeter,[a] and Birmingham; Birmingham with Gloucester, Liverpool, Lancaster (via Newton and Wigan, and via Manchester and Bolton); also with Leeds (via Manchester and Halifax, and via Leicester, Derby, and Sheffield); Leeds with Hull and Newcastle (via York). There are also many minor lines building or projected, which will soon make it possible to travel from Edinburgh to London in one day.

As it had transformed the means of communication by land, so did the introduction of steam revolutionise travel by sea. The first steamboat was launched in 1807, in the Hudson, in North America; the first in the British Empire, in 1811, on the Clyde. Since then, more than 600 have been built in England; and in 1836 more than 500 were plying to and from British ports.

Such, in brief, is the history of English industrial development in the past sixty years, a history which has no counterpart in the annals of humanity. Sixty, eighty years ago, England was a country like every other, with small towns, few and simple industries, and a thin but *proportionally* large agricultural population. Today it is a country like *no* other, with a capital of two and a half million inhabitants; with vast manufacturing cities; with an industry that supplies the world, and produces almost everything by means of the most complex machinery; with an industrious, intelligent, dense population, of which two-thirds are employed in trade and commerce,[b] and composed of classes wholly different; forming, in fact, with other customs and other needs, a different nation from the England of those days. The industrial revolution is of the same importance for England as the political revolution for France, and the philosophical revolution for Germany; and the difference between England in 1760 and in 1844 is at least as great as that between France under the *ancien régime* and during the revolution of July. But the mightiest result of this industrial transformation is the English proletariat.

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "Colchester, Cambridge, Exeter (via Bristol)".—*Ed.*

[b] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the words "and commerce" do not occur.—*Ed.*

We have already seen how the proletariat was called into existence by the introduction of machinery. The rapid extension of manufacture demanded hands, wages rose, and troops of workmen migrated from the agricultural districts to the towns. Population multiplied enormously, and nearly all the increase took place in the proletariat. Further, Ireland had entered upon an orderly development only since the beginning of the eighteenth century. There, too, the population, more than decimated by English cruelty in earlier disturbances, now rapidly multiplied, especially after the advance in manufacture began to draw masses of Irishmen towards England. Thus arose the great manufacturing and commercial cities of the British Empire, in which at least three-fourths of the population belong to the working-class, while the lower middle-class consists only of small shop-keepers, and very very few handicraftsmen. For, though the rising manufacture first attained importance by transforming tools into machines, work-rooms into factories, and consequently, the toiling lower middle-class into the toiling proletariat, and the former large merchants into manufacturers, though the lower middle-class was thus early crushed out, and the population reduced to the two opposing elements, workers and capitalists, this happened outside of the domain of manufacture proper, in the province of handicraft and retail trade as well. In the place of the former masters and apprentices, came great capitalists and working-men who had no prospect of rising above their class. Hand-work was carried on after the fashion of factory work, the division of labour was strictly applied, and small employers who could not compete with great establishments were forced down into the proletariat. At the same time the destruction of the former organisation of hand-work, and the disappearance of the lower middle-class deprived the working-man of all possibility of rising into the middle-class himself. Hitherto he had always had the prospect of establishing himself somewhere as master artificer, perhaps employing journeymen and apprentices; but now, when master artificers were crowded out by manufacturers, when large capital had become necessary for carrying on work independently, the working-class became, for the first time, an integral, permanent class of the population, whereas it had formerly often been merely a transition leading to the bourgeoisie. Now, he who was born to toil had no other prospect than that of remaining a toiler all his life. Now, for the first time, therefore, the proletariat was in a position to undertake an independent movement.

In this way were brought together those vast masses of working-

men who now fill the whole British Empire, whose social condition forces itself every day more and more upon the attention of the civilised world.

The condition of the working-class is the condition of the vast majority of the English people. The question: What is to become of those destitute millions, who consume today what they earned yesterday; who have created the greatness of England by their inventions and their toil; who become with every passing day more conscious of their might, and demand, with daily increasing urgency, their share of the advantages of society?—This, since the Reform Bill,[123] has become the national question. All Parliamentary debates, of any importance, may be reduced to this; and, though the English middle-class will not as yet admit it, though they try to evade this great question, and to represent their own particular interests as the truly national ones, their action is utterly useless. With every session of Parliament the working-class gains ground, the interests of the middle-class diminish in importance; and, in spite of the fact that the middle-class is the chief, in fact, the only power in Parliament, the last session of 1844 was a continuous debate upon subjects affecting the working-class, the Poor Relief Bill, the Factory Act, the Masters' and Servants' Act[a]; and Thomas Duncombe, the representative of the working-men in the House of Commons, was the great man of the session; while the Liberal middle-class with its motion for repealing the Corn Laws, and the Radical middle-class with its resolution for refusing the taxes, played pitiable rôles. Even the debates about Ireland were at bottom debates about the Irish proletariat, and the means of coming to its assistance. It is high time, too, for the English middle-class to make some concessions to the working-men who no longer plead but threaten[b]; for in a short time it may be too late.

In spite of all this, the English middle-class, especially the manufacturing class, which is enriched directly by means of the poverty of the workers, persists in ignoring this poverty. This class, feeling itself the mighty representative class of the nation, is ashamed to lay the sore spot of England bare before the eyes of the world; will not confess, even to itself, that the workers are in distress, because it, the property-holding, manufacturing class, must bear the moral responsibility for this distress. Hence the

[a] Concerning the Parliamentary Session of 1844 see below, pp. 464-65, 569-70, 578.—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "threaten and demand".—*Ed.*

scornful smile which intelligent Englishmen (and they, the middle-class, alone are known on the Continent) assume when any one begins to speak of the condition of the working-class; hence the utter ignorance on the part of the whole middle-class of everything which concerns the workers; hence the ridiculous blunders which men of this class, in and out of Parliament, make when the position of the proletariat comes under discussion; hence the absurd freedom from anxiety, with which the middle-class dwells upon a soil that is honeycombed, and may any day collapse, the speedy collapse of which is as certain as a mathematical or mechanical demonstration; hence the miracle that the English have as yet no single book upon the condition of their workers, although they have been examining and mending the old state of things no one knows how many years. Hence also the deep wrath of the whole working-class, from Glasgow to London, against the rich, by whom they are systematically plundered and mercilessly left to their fate, a wrath which before too long a time goes by, a time almost within the power of man to predict,[a] must break out into a revolution in comparison with which the French Revolution, and the year 1794, will prove to have been child's play.

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "calculate" instead of "predict".—*Ed.*

## THE INDUSTRIAL PROLETARIAT

The order of our investigation of the different sections of the proletariat follows naturally from the foregoing history of its rise. The first proletarians were connected with manufacture, were engendered by it, and accordingly, those employed in manufacture, in the working up of raw materials, will first claim our attention. The production of raw materials and of fuel for manufacture attained importance only in consequence of the industrial change, and engendered a new proletariat, the coal and metal miners. Then, in the third place, manufacture influenced agriculture, and in the fourth, the condition of Ireland; and the fractions of the proletariat belonging to each, will find their place accordingly. We shall find, too, that with the possible exception of the Irish, the degree of intelligence of the various workers is in direct proportion to their relation to manufacture; and that the factory-hands are most enlightened as to their own interests, the miners somewhat less so, the agricultural labourers scarcely at all. We shall find the same order again among the industrial workers, and shall see how the factory-hands, eldest children of the industrial revolution, have from the beginning to the present day formed the nucleus of the Labour Movement, and how the others have joined this movement just in proportion as their handicraft has been invaded by the progress of machinery.[a] We shall thus learn from the example which England offers, from the equal

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "the industrial revolution" instead of "the progress of machinery".—*Ed.*

pace which the Labour Movement has kept with the movement of industrial development, the historical significance of manufacture.

Since, however, at the present moment, pretty much the whole industrial proletariat is involved in the movement, and the condition of the separate sections has much in common, because they all are industrial, we shall have first to examine the condition of the industrial proletariat as a whole, in order later to notice more particularly each separate division with its own peculiarities.

It has been already suggested that manufacture centralises property in the hands of the few. It requires large capital with which to erect the colossal establishments that ruin the petty trading bourgeoisie and with which to press into its service the forces of Nature, so driving the hand-labour of the independent workman out of the market. The division of labour, the application of water and especially steam, and the application of machinery, are the three great levers with which manufacture, since the middle of the last century, has been busy putting the world out of joint. Manufacture, on a small scale, created the middle-class; on a large scale, it created the working-class, and raised the elect of the middle-class to the throne, but only to overthrow them the more surely when the time comes. Meanwhile, it is an undenied and easily explained fact that the numerous petty middle-class of the "good old times" has been annihilated by manufacture, and resolved into rich capitalists on the one hand and poor workers on the other.*

The centralising tendency of manufacture does not, however, stop here. Population becomes centralised just as capital does; and, very naturally, since the human being, the worker, is regarded in manufacture simply as a piece of capital for the use of which the manufacturer pays interest under the name of wages. A manufacturing establishment[a] requires many workers employed together in a single building, living near each other and forming a village of themselves in the case of a good-sized factory. They have needs for satisfying which other people are necessary; handicraftsmen, shoemakers, tailors, bakers, carpenters, stonemasons, settle at

* Compare on this point my "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy" in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. In this essay "free competition" is the starting-point; but industry is only the practice of free competition and the latter is only the principle on which industry is based.—*Note by Engels*. (The American and English authorised editions give only the first sentence of this footnote. See present edition, Vol. 3.—*Ed.*)

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "A big manufacturing establishment".—*Ed.*

hand. The inhabitants of the village, especially the younger generation, accustom themselves to factory work, grow skilful in it, and when[a] the first mill can no longer employ them all, wages fall, and the immigration of fresh manufacturers is the consequence. So the village grows into a small town, and the small town into a large one. The greater the town, the greater its advantages. It offers roads, railroads, canals; the choice of skilled labour increases constantly, new establishments can be built more cheaply, because of the competition among builders and machinists who are at hand, than in remote country districts, whither timber, machinery, builders, and operatives must be brought; it offers a market[b] to which buyers crowd, and direct communication with the markets supplying raw material or demanding finished goods. Hence the marvellously rapid growth of the great manufacturing towns. The country, on the other hand, had the advantage that wages are usually lower than in town, and so town and country are in constant competition; and, if the advantage is on the side of the town today, wages sink so low in the country tomorrow that new investments are most profitably made there. But the centralising tendency of manufacture continues in full force, and every new factory built in the country bears in it the germ of a manufacturing town. If it were possible for this mad rush of manufacture to go on at this rate for another century, every manufacturing district of England would be one great manufacturing town, and Manchester and Liverpool would meet at Warrington or Newton; for in commerce, too, this centralisation of the population works in precisely the same way, and hence it is that one or two great harbours, such as Hull and Liverpool, Bristol and London, monopolise almost the whole maritime commerce of Great Britain.

Since commerce and manufacture attain their most complete development in these great towns, their influence upon the proletariat is also most clearly observable here. Here the centralisation of property has reached the highest point; here the morals and customs of the good old times are most completely obliterated; here it has gone so far that the name Merry Old England[c] conveys no meaning, for Old England itself is unknown to memory and to the tales of our grandfathers. Hence, too, there exist here only a rich and a poor class, for the lower middle-class vanishes more completely with every passing day. Thus the class

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "as is natural".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "a stock exchange".—*Ed.*

[c] Given in English in the German editions of 1845 and 1892.—*Ed.*

formerly most stable has become the most restless one. It consists today of a few remnants of a past time, and a number of people eager to make fortunes, industrial Micawbers[a] and speculators of whom one may amass a fortune, while ninety-nine become insolvent, and more than half of the ninety-nine live by perpetually repeated failure.

But in these towns the proletarians are the infinite majority, and how they fare, what influence the great town exercises upon them, we have now to investigate.

[a] Instead of "Micawbers" (from *David Copperfield* by Ch. Dickens) the German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "knights of industry".—*Ed.*

## THE GREAT TOWNS

A town, such as London, where a man may wander for hours together without reaching the beginning of the end, without meeting the slightest hint which could lead to the inference that there is open country within reach, is a strange thing. This colossal centralisation, this heaping together of two and a half millions of human beings at one point, has multiplied the power of this two and a half millions a hundredfold; has raised London to the commercial capital of the world, created the giant docks and assembled the thousand vessels that continually cover the Thames. I know nothing more imposing than the view which the Thames offers during the ascent from the sea to London Bridge. The masses of buildings, the wharves on both sides, especially from Woolwich upwards, the countless ships along both shores, crowding ever closer and closer together, until, at last, only a narrow passage remains in the middle of the river, a passage through which hundreds of steamers shoot by one another; all this is so vast, so impressive, that a man cannot collect himself, but is lost in the marvel of England's greatness before he sets foot upon English soil.*

But the sacrifices which all this has cost become apparent later. After roaming the streets of the capital a day or two, making

* This applies to the time of sailing vessels. The Thames now is a dreary collection of ugly steamers.—F. E.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887* (reproduced in the English edition of 1892—*Ed.*).

(1892) This was written nearly fifty years ago, in the days of the picturesque sailing vessels. In so far as such ships still ply to and from London they are now to be found only in the docks, while the river itself is covered with ugly, sooty steamers.—*Note by Engels to the German edition of 1892.*

headway with difficulty through the human turmoil and the endless lines of vehicles, after visiting the slums of the metropolis, one realises for the first time that these Londoners have been forced to sacrifice the best qualities of their human nature, to bring to pass all the marvels of civilisation which crowd their city; that a hundred powers which slumbered within them have remained inactive, have been suppressed in order that a few might be developed more fully and multiply through union with those of others. The very turmoil of the streets has something repulsive, something against which human nature rebels. The hundreds of thousands of all classes and ranks crowding past each other, are they not all human beings with the same qualities and powers, and with the same interest in being happy? And have they not, in the end, to seek happiness in the same way, by the same means? And still they crowd by one another as though they had nothing in common, nothing to do with one another, and their only agreement is the tacit one, that each keep to his own side[a] of the pavement, so as not to delay the opposing streams of the crowd, while it occurs to no man to honour another with so much as a glance. The brutal indifference, the unfeeling isolation of each in his private interest, becomes the more repellent and offensive, the more these individuals are crowded together, within a limited space. And, however much one may be aware that this isolation of the individual, this narrow self-seeking, is the fundamental principle of our society everywhere, it is nowhere so shamelessly barefaced, so self-conscious as just here in the crowding of the great city. The dissolution of mankind into monads, of which each one has a separate principle,[b] the world of atoms, is here carried out to its utmost extreme.

Hence it comes, too, that the social war, the war of each against all, is here openly declared. Just as in Stirner's recent book,[c] people regard each other only as useful objects; each exploits the other, and the end of it all is that the stronger treads the weaker under foot; and that the powerful few, the capitalists, seize everything for themselves, while to the weak many, the poor, scarcely a bare existence remains.

What is true of London, is true of Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, is true of all great towns. Everywhere barbarous indiffer-

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "to the right side".—*Ed.*
[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "and a separate purpose".—*Ed.*
[c] Max Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum.*—*Ed.*

ence, hard egotism on one hand, and nameless misery on the other, everywhere social warfare, every man's house in a state of siege, everywhere reciprocal plundering under the protection of the law, and all so shameless, so openly avowed that one shrinks before the consequences of our social state as they manifest themselves here undisguised, and can only wonder that the whole crazy fabric still hangs together.

Since capital, the direct or indirect control of the means of subsistence and production, is the weapon with which this social warfare is carried on, it is clear that all the disadvantages of such a state must fall upon the poor. For him no man has the slightest concern. Cast into the whirlpool, he must struggle through as well as he can. If he is so happy as to find work, i.e., if the bourgeoisie does him the favour to enrich itself by means of him, wages await him which scarcely suffice to keep body and soul together; if he can get no work he may steal, if he is not afraid of the police, or starve, in which case the police will take care that he does so in a quiet and inoffensive manner.[a] During my residence in England, at least twenty or thirty persons have died of simple starvation under the most revolting circumstances, and a jury has rarely been found possessed of the courage to speak the plain truth in the matter. Let the testimony of the witnesses be never so clear and unequivocal, the bourgeoisie, from which the jury is selected, always finds some backdoor through which to escape the frightful verdict, death from starvation. The bourgeoisie dare not speak the truth in these cases, for it would speak its own condemnation. But indirectly, far more than directly, many have died of starvation, where long-continued want of proper nourishment has called forth fatal illness,[b] when it has produced such debility that causes which might otherwise have remained inoperative brought on severe illness and death. The English working-men call this "social murder", and accuse our whole society of perpetrating this crime perpetually. Are they wrong?

True, it is only individuals who starve, but what security has the working-man that it may not be his turn tomorrow? Who assures him employment, who vouches for it that, if for any reason or no reason his lord and master discharges him tomorrow, he can struggle along with those dependent upon him, until he may find

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "without offending the bourgeoisie".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "and thus snatched away its victim".—*Ed.*

some one else "to give him bread"? Who guarantees that willingness to work shall suffice to obtain work, that uprightness, industry, thrift, and the rest of the virtues recommended by the bourgeoisie, are really his road to happiness? No one. He knows that he has something today and that it does not depend upon himself whether he shall have something tomorrow. He knows that every breeze that blows, every whim of his employer, every bad turn of trade may hurl him back into the fierce whirlpool from which he has temporarily saved himself, and in which it is hard and often impossible to keep his head above water. He knows that, though he may have the means of living today, it is very uncertain whether he shall tomorrow.

Meanwhile, let us proceed to a more detailed investigation of the position in which the social war has placed the non-possessing class. Let us see what pay for his work society does give the working-man in the form of dwelling, clothing, food, what sort of subsistence it grants those who contribute most to the maintenance of society; and, first, let us consider the dwellings.

Every great city has one or more slums, where the working-class is crowded together. True, poverty often dwells in hidden alleys close to the palaces of the rich; but, in general, a separate territory has been assigned to it, where, removed from the sight of the happier classes, it may struggle along as it can. These slums are pretty equally arranged in all the great towns of England, the worst houses in the worst quarters of the towns; usually one- or two-storied cottages[a] in long rows, perhaps with cellars used as dwellings, almost always irregularly built. These houses of three or four rooms and a kitchen[b] form, throughout England, some parts of London excepted, the general dwellings of the working-class. The streets are generally unpaved, rough, dirty, filled with vegetable and animal refuse, without sewers or gutters, but supplied with foul, stagnant pools instead. Moreover, ventilation is impeded by the bad, confused method of building of the whole quarter, and since many human beings here live crowded into a small space, the atmosphere that prevails in these working-men's quarters may readily be imagined. Further, the streets serve as drying grounds in fine weather; lines are stretched across from house to house, and hung with wet clothing.

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "brick buildings" instead of "cottages".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "are called cottages and".—*Ed.*

Let us investigate some of the slums in their order. London comes first,* and in London the famous rookery[a] of St. Giles which is now, at last, about to be penetrated by a couple of broad streets.[b] St. Giles is in the midst of the most populous part of the town, surrounded by broad, splendid avenues in which the gay world of London idles about, in the immediate neighbourhood of Oxford Street, Regent Street, of Trafalgar Square and the Strand. It is a disorderly collection of tall, three- or four-storied houses, with narrow, crooked, filthy streets, in which there is quite as much life as in the great thoroughfares of the town, except that, here, people of the working-class only are to be seen. A vegetable market is held in the street, baskets with vegetables and fruits, naturally all bad and hardly fit to use obstruct the sidewalk still further, and from these, as well as from the fish-dealers' stalls, arises a horrible smell. The houses are occupied from cellar to garret, filthy within and without, and their appearance is such that no human being could possibly wish to live in them. But all this is nothing in comparison with the dwellings in the narrow courts and alleys between the streets, entered by covered passages between the houses, in which the filth and tottering ruin surpass all description. Scarcely a whole window-pane can be found, the walls are crumbling, door-posts and window-frames loose and broken, doors of old boards nailed together, or altogether wanting in this thieves' quarter, where no doors are needed, there being nothing to steal. Heaps of garbage and ashes lie in all directions, and the foul liquids emptied before the doors gather in stinking pools. Here live the poorest of the poor, the worst paid workers with thieves and the victims of prostitution[c] indiscriminately huddled together, the majority Irish, or of Irish extraction, and those who have not yet sunk in the whirlpool of moral ruin which surrounds

* The description given below had already been written when I came across an article in the *Illuminated Magazine* (October 1844) dealing with the working-class districts in London which coincides — in many places almost literally and everywhere in general tenor — with what I had said. The article was entitled "The Dwellings of the Poor, from the notebook of an M.D." — *Note by Engels.* (This note is reproduced in the German edition of 1892 but is missing in the American edition of 1887 and the English edition of 1892.—*Ed.*)

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[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this English word is given in brackets after the corresponding German word.—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "and thus done away with".—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "with thieves, rogues and victims of prostitution".—*Ed.*

them, sinking daily deeper, losing daily more and more of their power to resist the demoralising influence of want, filth, and evil surroundings.

Nor is St. Giles the only London slum. In the immense tangle of streets, there are hundreds and thousands of alleys and courts lined with houses too bad for anyone to live in, who can still spend anything whatsoever upon a dwelling fit for human beings. Close to the splendid houses of the rich such a lurking-place of the bitterest poverty may often be found. So, a short time ago, on the occasion of a coroner's inquest, a region close to Portman Square, one of the very respectable squares, was characterised as an abode "of a multitude of Irish demoralised by poverty and filth". So, too, may be found in streets, such as Long Acre and others, which, though not fashionable, are yet "respectable", a great number of cellar dwellings out of which puny children and half-starved, ragged women emerge into the light of day. In the immediate neighbourhood of Drury Lane Theatre, the second in London, are some of the worst streets of the whole metropolis, Charles, King, and Park Streets, in which the houses are inhabited from cellar to garret exclusively by poor families. In the parishes of St. John and St. Margaret[a] there lived in 1840, according to the *Journal of the Statistical Society*, 5,366 working-men's families in 5,294 "dwellings" (if they deserve the name!), men, women, and children thrown together without distinction of age or sex, 26,830 persons all told; and of these families three-fourths possessed but one room. In the aristocratic parish of St. George, Hanover Square, there lived, according to the same authority, 1,465 working-men's families, nearly 6,000 persons, under similar conditions, and here, too, more than two-thirds of the whole number crowded together at the rate of one family in one room. And how the poverty of these unfortunates, among whom even thieves find nothing to steal, is exploited by the property-holding class in lawful ways! The abominable dwellings in Drury Lane, just mentioned, bring in the following rents: two cellar dwellings, 3s.[b]; one room, ground-floor, 4s.; second-storey, 4s. 6d.; third-floor, 4s.; garret-room, 3s. weekly, so that the starving occupants of Charles Street alone, pay the house-owners a yearly tribute of £2,000,[c] and the 5,366 families above mentioned in Westminster, a yearly rent of £40,000.[124]

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "in Westminster".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 here give "1 taler" in brackets.—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give in brackets 14,000 taler after £2,000 and 270,000 taler after £40,000.—*Ed.*

The most extensive working-people's district lies east of the Tower in Whitechapel and Bethnal Green, where the greatest masses of London working-people live. Let us hear Mr. G. Alston, preacher of St. Philip's, Bethnal Green, on the condition of his parish. He says:

"It contains 1,400 houses, inhabited by 2,795 families, comprising a population of 12,000. The space within which this large amount of population are living is less than 400 yards square (1,200 feet), and it is no uncommon thing for a man and his wife, with four or five children, and sometimes the grandfather and grandmother, to be found living in a room from ten to twelve feet square, and which serves them for eating and working in. I believe that till the Bishop of London called the attention of the public to the state of Bethnal Green, about as little was known at the West-end of the town of this most destitute parish as the wilds of Australia or the islands of the South Seas. If we really desire to find out the most destitute and deserving, we must lift the latch of their doors, and find them at their scanty meal; we must see them when suffering from sickness and want of work; and if we do this from day to day in such a neighbourhood as Bethnal Green, we shall become acquainted with a mass of wretchedness and misery such as a nation like our own ought to be ashamed to permit. I was Curate of a parish near Huddersfield during the three years of the greatest manufacturing distress; but I never witnessed such a thorough prostration of the poor as I have seen since I have been in Bethnal Green. There is not one father of a family in ten throughout the entire district that possesses any clothes but his working dress, and that too commonly in the worst tattered condition; and with many this wretched clothing forms their only covering at night, with nothing better than a bag of straw or shavings to lie upon."[125]

The foregoing description furnishes an idea of the aspect of the interior of the dwellings. But let us follow the English officials, who occasionally stray thither, into one or two of these working-men's homes.

On the occasion of an inquest held Nov. 16th, 1843, by Mr. Carter, coroner for Surrey, upon the body of Ann Galway, aged 45 years, the newspapers related the following particulars concerning the deceased[126]: She had lived at No. 3 White Lion Court, Bermondsey Street, London, with her husband and a nineteen-year-old son in a little room, in which neither a bedstead nor any other furniture was to be seen. She lay dead beside her son upon a heap of feathers which were scattered over her almost naked body, there being neither sheet nor coverlet. The feathers stuck so fast over the whole body that the physician could not examine the corpse until it was cleansed, and then found it starved and scarred from the bites of vermin. Part of the floor of the room was torn up, and the hole used by the family as a privy.

On Monday, Jan. 15th, 1844, two boys were brought before the

police magistrate[a] because, being in a starving condition, they had stolen and immediately devoured a half-cooked calf's foot from a shop. The magistrate felt called upon to investigate the case further, and received the following details from the policeman: The mother of the two boys was the widow of an ex-soldier, afterwards policeman, and had had a very hard time since the death of her husband, to provide for her nine children. She lived at No. 2 Pool's Place, Quaker Court, Spitalfields, in the utmost poverty. When the policeman came to her, he found her with six of her children literally huddled together in a little back room, with no furniture but two old rush-bottomed chairs with the seats gone, a small table with two legs broken, a broken cup, and a small dish. On the hearth was scarcely a spark of fire, and in one corner lay as many old rags as would fill a woman's apron, which served the whole family as a bed. For bed clothing they had only their scanty day clothing. The poor woman told him that she had been forced to sell her bedstead the year before to buy food. Her bedding she had pawned with the victualler for food. In short, everything had gone for food. The magistrate ordered the woman a considerable provision from the poor-box.

In February, 1844, Theresa Bishop, a widow 60 years old, was recommended, with her sick daughter, aged 26, to the compassion of the police magistrate in Marlborough Street. She lived at No. 5 Brown Street, Grosvenor Square, in a small back room no larger than a closet, in which there was not one single piece of furniture. In one corner lay some rags upon which both slept; a chest served as table and chair. The mother earned a little by charring. The owner of the house said that they had lived in this way since May, 1843, had gradually sold or pawned everything that they had, and had still never paid any rent. The magistrate assigned them £1 from the poor-box.[127]

I am far from asserting that *all* London working-people live in such want as the foregoing three families. I know very well that ten are somewhat better off, where one is so totally trodden under foot by society; but I assert that thousands of industrious and worthy people — far worthier and more to be respected than all the rich of London — do find themselves in a condition unworthy of human beings; and that every proletarian, everyone, without exception, is exposed to a similar fate without any fault of his own and in spite of every possible effort.

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "in Worship Street, London".—*Ed.*

But in spite of all this, they who have some kind of a shelter are fortunate, fortunate in comparison with the utterly homeless. In London fifty thousand human beings get up every morning, not knowing where they are to lay their heads at night. The luckiest of this multitude, those who succeed in keeping a penny or two until evening, enter a lodging-house, such as abound in every great city, where they find a bed. But what a bed! These houses are filled with beds from cellar to garret, four, five, six beds in a room; as many as can be crowded in. Into every bed four, five, or six human beings are piled, as many as can be packed in, sick and well, young and old, drunk and sober, men and women, just as they come, indiscriminately. Then come strife, blows, wounds, or, if these bedfellows agree, so much the worse; thefts are arranged and things done which our language, grown more humane than our deeds, refuses to record. And those who cannot pay for such a refuge? They sleep where they find a place, in passages, arcades, in corners where the police and the owners leave them undisturbed. A few individuals find their way to the refuges which are managed, here and there, by private charity, others sleep on the benches in the parks close under the windows of Queen Victoria. Let us hear the London *Times*:

"It appears from the report of the proceedings at Marlborough Street Police Court in our columns of yesterday, that there is an average number of 50 human beings of all ages, who huddle together in the parks every night, having no other shelter than what is supplied by the trees and a few hollows of the embankment. Of these, the majority are young girls who have been seduced from the country by the soldiers and turned loose on the world in all the destitution of friendless penury, and all the recklessness of early vice.

"This is truly horrible! Poor there must be everywhere. Indigence will find its way and set up its hideous state in the heart of a great and luxurious city. Amid the thousand narrow lanes and by-streets of a populous metropolis there must always, we fear, be much suffering—much that offends the eye—much that lurks unseen.

"But that within the precincts of wealth, gaiety, and fashion, nigh the regal grandeur of St. James, close on the palatial splendour of Bayswater, on the confines of the old and new aristocratic quarters, in a district where the cautious refinement of modern design has refrained from creating one single tenement for poverty; which seems, as it were, dedicated to the exclusive enjoyment of wealth, that *there* want, and famine, and disease, and vice should stalk in all their kindred horrors, consuming body by body, soul by soul!

"It is indeed a monstrous state of things! Enjoyment the most absolute, that bodily ease, intellectual excitement, or the more innocent pleasures of sense can supply to man's craving, brought in close contact with the most unmitigated misery! Wealth, from its bright saloons, laughing—an insolently heedless laugh—at the unknown wounds of want! Pleasure, cruelly but unconsciously mocking the pain that moans below! All contrary things mocking one another—all contrary, save the vice which tempts and the vice which is tempted!

"But let all men remember this—that within the most courtly precincts of the richest city of God's earth, there may be found, night after night, winter after winter, women—young in years—old in sin and suffering—outcasts from society—ROTTING FROM FAMINE, FILTH, AND DISEASE. Let them remember this, and learn not to theorise but to act. God knows, there is much room for action nowadays."*

I have referred to the refuges for the homeless. How greatly overcrowded these are, two examples may show. A newly erected Refuge for the Houseless[a] in Upper Ogle Street, that can shelter three hundred persons every night, has received since its opening, January 27th to March 17th, 1844, 2,740 persons for one or more nights; and, although the season was growing more favourable, the number of applicants in this, as well as in the asylums of Whitecross Street and Wapping, was strongly on the increase, and a crowd of the homeless had to be sent away every night for want of room. In another refuge, the Central Asylum in Playhouse Yard, there were supplied on an average 460 beds nightly, during the first three months of the year 1844, 6,681 persons being sheltered, and 96,141 portions of bread were distributed. Yet the committee of directors declare this institution began to meet the pressure of the needy to a limited extent only when the Eastern Asylum also was opened.[128]

Let us leave London and examine the other great cities of the three kingdoms in their order. Let us take Dublin first, a city the approach to which from the sea is as charming as that of London is imposing. The Bay of Dublin is the most beautiful of the whole British Island Kingdom, and is even compared by the Irish with the Bay of Naples. The city, too, possesses great attractions, and its aristocratic districts are better and more tastefully laid out than those of any other British city. By way of compensation, however, the poorer districts of Dublin are among the most hideous and repulsive to be seen in the world. True, the Irish character, which, under some circumstances, is comfortable only in the dirt, has some share in this; but as we find thousands of Irish in every great city in England and Scotland, and as every poor population must gradually sink into the same uncleanliness, the wretchedness of Dublin is nothing specific, nothing peculiar to Dublin, but something common to all great towns. The poor quarters of Dublin are extremely extensive, and the filth, the uninhabitable-

* *Times*, Oct. 12th, 1843.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887 and the English edition of 1892.* (The German editions of 1845 and 1892 refer, before this citation, to the *Times*, October 1843, without any date.—*Ed.*)

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give this in English.—*Ed.*

ness of the houses and the neglect of the streets surpass all description. Some idea of the manner in which the poor are here crowded together may be formed from the fact that, in 1817, according to the report of the Inspector of Workhouses,* 1,318 persons lived in 52 houses with 390 rooms in Barrack Street, and 1,997 persons in 71 houses with 393 rooms in and near Church Street; that:

"foul lanes, courts, and yards, are interposed between this and the adjoining streets.... There are many cellars which have no light but from the door.... In some of these cellars the inhabitants sleep on the floors which are all earthen; but in general, they have bedsteads.... Nicholson's Court ... contains 151 persons in 28 small apartments ... their state is very miserable, there being only two bedsteads and two blankets in the whole court."

The poverty is so great in Dublin, that a single benevolent institution, the Mendicity Association,[a] gives relief to 2,500 persons or one per cent of the population daily, receiving and feeding them for the day and dismissing them at night.

Dr. Alison describes a similar state of things in Edinburgh, whose superb situation, which has won it the title of the modern Athens, and whose brilliant aristocratic quarter in the New Town, contrast strongly with the foul wretchedness of the poor in the Old Town. Alison asserts that this extensive quarter is as filthy and horrible as the worst districts of Dublin, while the Mendicity Association would have as great a proportion of needy persons to assist in Edinburgh as in the Irish capital. He asserts, indeed, that the poor in Scotland, especially in Edinburgh and Glasgow, are worse off than in any other region of the three kingdoms, and that the poorest are not Irish, but Scotch. The preacher of the Old Church of Edinburgh, Dr. Lee, testified in 1836, before the Commission of Religious Instruction, that:

"I have never seen such a concentration of misery as in this parish," where the people are without furniture, without everything. "I frequently see the same room occupied by two married couples. I have been in one day in seven houses where there was no bed, in some of them not even straw. I found people of eighty years of age lying on the boards. Many sleep in the same clothes which they wear during the day. I may mention the case of two Scotch families living in a cellar, who had come from the country within a few months.... Since they came they had had

* Quoted by Dr. W. P. Alison, F.R.S.E., Fellow and late President of the Royal College of Physicians, etc., etc. *Observations on the Management of the Poor in Scotland and its Effects on the Health of Great Towns*, Edinburgh, 1840. The author is a religious Tory, brother of the historian, Archibald Alison.—*Note by Engels.*

[a] Here and below the name of this association is given in English in the German original.—*Ed.*

two children dead, and another apparently dying. There was a little bundle of dirty straw in one corner, for one family, and in another for the other. In the place they inhabit it is impossible at noonday to distinguish the features of the human face without artificial light. An ass stood in one corner.—It would almost make a heart of adamant bleed to see such an accumulation of misery in a country like this."

In the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal,*[a] Dr. Hennen reports a similar state of things. From a Parliamentary Report,* it is evident that in the dwellings of the poor of Edinburgh a want of cleanliness reigns, such as must be expected under these conditions. On the bed-posts chickens roost at night, dogs and horses share the dwellings of human beings, and the natural consequence is a shocking stench, with filth and swarms of vermin. The prevailing construction of Edinburgh favours these atrocious conditions as far as possible. The Old Town is built upon both slopes of a hill, along the crest of which runs the High Street. Out of the High Street there open downwards multitudes of narrow, crooked alleys, called wynds[b] from their many turnings, and these wynds form the proletarian district of the city. The houses of the Scotch cities, in general, are five or six-storied buildings, like those of Paris, and in contrast with England where, so far as possible, each family has a separate house.[c] The crowding of human beings upon a limited area is thus intensified.

"...the houses," says an English journal in an article upon the sanitary condition of the working-people in cities,** "are often so close together, that persons may step from the window of one house to that of the house opposite—so high, piled story after story, that the light can scarcely penetrate to the court beneath. In this part of the town there are neither sewers nor any private conveniences whatever belonging to the dwellings; and hence the excrementitious and other refuse of at least 50,000 persons is, during the night, thrown into the gutters, causing (in spite of the scavengers' daily labours) an amount of solid filth and foetid exhalation disgusting

* *Report to the Home Secretary from the Poor-Law Commissioner, on an Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Classes in Great Britain, with Appendix.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament in July, 1842, 3 vols. Folio. Assembled and arranged from medical reports by Edwin Chadwick, Secretary of the Poor-Law Commissioners.—*Note by Engels.* (The last sentence is omitted in the American edition of 1887 and in the English edition of 1892.—*Ed.*)

** *The Artisan,* October, 1843. A monthly journal.—*Note by Engels.* ("A monthly journal" is omitted in the American edition of 1887 and the English edition of 1892.—*Ed.*)

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[a] Vol. 14, 1818.—*Ed.*

[b] This word is in English in the German original.—*Ed.*

[c] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the end of the sentence reads: "and in contrast with England, where, as far as possible, each family has a separate house, are occupied by a number of families".—*Ed.*

to both sight and smell, as well as exceedingly prejudicial to health. Can it be wondered that, in such localities, health, morals, and common decency should be at once neglected? No; all who know the private condition of the inhabitants will bear testimony to the immense amount of their disease, misery, and demoralisation. Society in these quarters has sunk to a state indescribably vile and wretched.... The dwellings of the poorer classes are generally very filthy, apparently never subjected to any cleaning process whatever, consisting, in most cases, of a single room, ill-ventilated and yet cold, owing to broken, ill-fitting windows, sometimes damp and partially under ground, and always scantily furnished and altogether comfortless, heaps of straw often serving for beds, in which a whole family—male and female, young and old, are huddled together in revolting confusion. The supplies of water are obtained only from the public pumps, and the trouble of procuring it of course favours the accumulation of all kinds of abominations."

In the other great seaport towns the prospect is no better. Liverpool, with all its commerce, wealth, and grandeur yet treats its workers with the same barbarity. A full fifth of the population, more than 45,000 human beings, live in narrow, dark, damp, badly-ventilated cellar dwellings, of which there are 7,862 in the city. Besides these cellar dwellings there are 2,270 courts, small spaces built up on all four sides and having but one entrance, a narrow, covered passage-way,[a] the whole ordinarily very dirty and inhabited exclusively by proletarians. Of such courts we shall have more to say when we come to Manchester. In Bristol, on one occasion, 2,800 families were visited,[129] of whom 46 per cent occupied but one room each.

Precisely the same state of things prevails in the factory towns. In Nottingham there are in all 11,000 houses, of which between 7,000 and 8,000 are built back to back with a rear party-wall so that no through ventilation is possible, while a single privy usually serves for several houses. During an investigation made a short time since, many rows of houses were found to have been built over shallow drains covered only by the boards of the ground-floor. In Leicester, Derby, and Sheffield, it is no better. Of Birmingham, the article above cited from the *Artisan* states:

"In the older parts of the town there are many inferior streets and courts, which are dirty and neglected, filled with stagnant water and heaps of refuse. The courts of Birmingham are very numerous in every direction, exceeding 2,000, and comprising the residence of a large portion of the working-classes. They are for the most part narrow, filthy, ill-ventilated, and badly drained, containing from eight to twenty houses each, the houses being built against some other tenement and the end of the courts being pretty constantly occupied by ashpits, etc., the filth of which would defy description. It is but just, however, to remark that the courts of more modern date are built in a more rational manner, and kept tolerably respectable;

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "allowing *no* ventilation at all".—*Ed.*

and the cottages, even in old courts, are far less crowded than in Manchester and Liverpool, the result of which is, that the inhabitants, in epidemic seasons, have been much less visited by death than those of Wolverhampton, Dudley, and Bilston, at only a few miles distance. Cellar residences, also, are unknown in Birmingham, though some few are, very improperly, used as workshops. The low lodging-houses are pretty numerous (somewhat exceeding 400), chiefly in courts near the centre of the town; they are almost always loathsomely filthy and close, the resorts of beggars, trampers,[a] thieves and prostitutes, who here, regardless alike of decency or comfort, eat, drink, smoke and sleep in an atmosphere unendurable by all except the degraded, besotted inmates."

Glasgow is in many respects similar to Edinburgh, possessing the same wynds, the same tall houses. Of this city the *Artisan* observes:

The working-class forms here some 78 per cent of the whole population (about 300,000), and lives in parts of the city "which, in abject wretchedness, exceed the lowest purlieus of St. Giles' or Whitechapel, the liberties of Dublin, or the wynds of Edinburgh. Such localities exist most abundantly in the heart of the city—south of the Trongate and west of the Saltmarket, as well as in the Calton, off the High Street, etc.—endless labyrinths of narrow lanes or wynds, into which almost at every step debouche courts or closes formed by old, ill-ventilated, towering houses crumbling to decay, destitute of water and crowded with inhabitants, comprising three or four families (perhaps twenty persons) on each flat, and sometimes each flat let out in lodgings that confine—we dare not say accommodate—from fifteen to twenty persons in a single room. These districts are occupied by the poorest, most depraved, and most worthless portion of the population, and they may be considered as the fruitful source of those pestilential fevers which thence spread their destructive ravages over the whole of Glasgow."

Let us hear how J. C. Symons, Government Commissioner for the investigation of the condition of the hand-weavers, describes these portions of the city*:

"I have seen human degradation in some of its worst phases, both in England and abroad, but I did not believe until I visited the wynds of Glasgow, that so large an amount of filth, crime, misery, and disease existed in any civilised country. In the lower lodging-houses ten, twelve, and sometimes twenty persons of both sexes and all ages sleep promiscuously on the floor in different degrees of nakedness. These places are, generally, as regards dirt, damp and decay, such as no person would stable his horse in." [130]

And in another place:

"The wynds of Glasgow house a fluctuating population of between 15,000 and 30,000 persons. This district is composed of many narrow streets and square courts and in the middle of each court there is a dung-hill. Although the outward appearance of these places was revolting, I was nevertheless quite unprepared for

* *Arts and Artisans at Home and Abroad*, by J. C. Symons, Edinburgh, 1839. The author, as it seems, himself a Scotchman, is a Liberal, and consequently fanatically opposed to every independent movement of working-men. The passages here cited are to be found p. 116 *et seq.—Note by Engels.*

[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the quotation is broken by the author's remark "(concerning the exact meaning of this word see below)".—*Ed.*

the filth and misery that were to be found inside. In some of these bedrooms we [i.e. Police Superintendent Captain Miller and Symons] visited at night we found a whole mass of humanity stretched out on the floor. There were often 15 to 20 men and women huddled together, some being clothed and others naked. Their bed was a heap of musty straw mixed with rags. There was hardly any furniture there and the only thing which gave these holes the appearance of a dwelling was fire burning on the hearth. Thieving and prostitution are the main sources of income of these people. No one seems to have taken the trouble to clean out these Augean stables, this pandemonium, this nucleus of crime, filth and pestilence in the second city of the empire. A detailed investigation of the most wretched slums of other towns has never revealed anything half so bad as this concentration of moral iniquity, physical degradation and gross overcrowding.... In this part of Glasgow most of the houses have been condemned by the Court of Guild as dilapidated and uninhabitable—but it is just these dwellings which are filled to overflowing, because, by law no rent can be charged on them."

The great manufacturing district in the centre of the British Islands, the thickly peopled stretch of West Yorkshire and South Lancashire, with its numerous factory towns, yields nothing to the other great manufacturing centres. The wool district of the West Riding of Yorkshire is a charming region, a beautiful green hill country, whose elevations grow more rugged towards the west until they reach their highest point in the bold ridge of Blackstone Edge, the watershed between the Irish Sea and the German Ocean. The valleys of the Aire, along which stretches Leeds, and of the Calder, through which the Manchester-Leeds railway runs, are among the most attractive in England, and are strewn in all directions with the factories, villages, and towns. The houses of rough grey stone look so neat and clean in comparison with the blackened brick buildings of Lancashire, that it is a pleasure to look at them. But on coming into the towns themselves, one finds little to rejoice over. Leeds lies, as the *Artisan* describes it,[a] and as I found confirmed upon examination:

"on a slope running down towards the river Aire, which meanders about a-mile-and-a-half* through the town, and is liable to overflows during thaws or after heavy rains. The higher or western districts are clean for so large a town, but the lower parts contiguous to the river and its becks or rivulets are dirty, confined, and, in themselves, sufficient to shorten life, especially infant life; add to this the disgusting state of the lower parts of the town about Kirk-gate, March-lane, Cross-street and Richmond-road, principally owing to a general want of paving and draining, irregularity of building, the abundance of courts and blind alleys, as well

* Whenever miles are mentioned in the text the author refers—unless otherwise specified—to English miles; $69^1/_2$ of these correspond to one degree of the Equator, hence 5 English miles roughly equal one German mile.—*Note by Engels.* (This note is omitted from the American edition of 1887 and the English edition of 1892.—*Ed.*)

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here in brackets: "elsewhere".—*Ed.*

as the almost total absence of the commonest means for promoting cleanliness, and we have then quite sufficient data to account for the surplus mortality in these unhappy regions of filth and misery.... In consequence of the floods from the Aire" (which, it must be added, like all other rivers in the service of manufacture, flows into the city at one end clear and transparent, and flows out at the other end thick, black, and foul, smelling of all possible refuse), "the dwelling-houses and cellars are not infrequently so inundated that the water has to be pumped out by hand-pumps, on to the surface of the streets; and at such times, even where there are sewers, the water rises through them into the cellars,* creating miasmatic exhalations, strongly charged with sulphuretted hydrogen, and leaving offensive refuse, exceedingly prejudicial to human health. Indeed, during a season of inundation in the spring of 1839, so fatal were the effects of such an engorgement of the sewers, that the registrar of the North district made a report, that during that quarter there were, in that neighbourhood, two births to three deaths, whilst in all the other districts there were three to two deaths." Other populous districts are wholly without sewers, or so inadequately provided as to derive no advantage therefrom. "In some rows of houses, the cellar dwellings are seldom dry"; in certain districts there are several streets covered with soft mud a foot deep. "The inhabitants have from time to time vainly attempted to repair these streets with shovelfuls of ashes; and soil, refuse-water, etc., stand in every hole, there to remain until absorbed by wind or sun....** An ordinary cottage, in Leeds, extends over no more than about five yards square, and consists usually of a cellar, a sitting-room, and a sleeping chamber. This small size of the houses crammed with human beings both day and night, is another point dangerous alike to the morals and the health of the inhabitants."

And how greatly these cottages are crowded, the Report on the Health of the Working-Classes, quoted above,[a] bears testimony:

"In Leeds, brothers and sisters, and lodgers of both sexes, are found occupying the same sleeping-room with the parents, and consequences occur which humanity shudders to contemplate."

So, too, Bradford, which, but seven miles from Leeds at the junction of several valleys, lies upon the banks of a small, coal-black, foul-smelling stream. On week-days the town is enveloped in a grey cloud of coal smoke, but on a fine Sunday it offers a superb picture, when viewed from the surrounding heights. Yet within reigns the same filth and discomfort as in Leeds. The older portions of the town are built upon steep hillsides, and are narrow and irregular. In the lanes, alleys, and courts lie filth and *débris* in heaps; the houses are ruinous, dirty, and miserable, and in the immediate vicinity of the river and the valley bottom I found many a one whose ground-floor, half-buried

* It must be borne in mind that these cellars are not mere storing-rooms for rubbish, but dwellings of human beings.—*Note by Engels.*

** Compare Report of the Town Council in the *Statistical Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 404.—*Note by Engels.* (In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this reference is given in the text as an author's remark.—*Ed.*)

[a] See p. 339 of this volume.—*Ed.*

in the hillside, was totally abandoned. In general, the portions of the valley bottom in which working-men's cottages have crowded between the tall factories, are among the worst-built and dirtiest districts of the whole town. In the newer portions of this, as of every other factory town, the cottages are more regular, being built in rows, but they share here, too, all the evils incident to the customary method of providing working-men's dwellings, evils of which we shall have occasions to speak more particularly in discussing Manchester. The same is true of the remaining towns of the West Riding, especially of Barnsley, Halifax, and Huddersfield. The last named, the handsomest by far of all the factory towns of Yorkshire and Lancashire by reason of its charming situation and modern architecture, has yet its bad quarter; for a committee appointed by a meeting of citizens to survey the town reported August 5th, 1844:

> "It is notorious that there are whole streets in the town of Huddersfield, and many courts and alleys, which are neither flagged, paved, sewered, nor drained; where garbage and filth of every description are left on the surface to ferment and rot; where pools of stagnant water are almost constant, where the dwellings adjoining are thus necessarily caused to be of an inferior and even filthy description; thus where disease is engendered, and the health of the whole town perilled." [131]

If we cross Blackstone Edge or penetrate it with the railroad, we enter upon that classic soil on which English manufacture has achieved its masterwork and from which all labour movements emanate, namely, South Lancashire with its central city Manchester. Again we have beautiful hill country, sloping gently from the watershed westwards towards the Irish Sea, with the charming green valleys of the Ribble, the Irwell, the Mersey, and their tributaries, a country which, a hundred years ago chiefly swamp land, thinly populated, is now sown with towns and villages, and is the most densely populated strip of country in England. In Lancashire, and especially in Manchester, English manufacture finds at once its starting-point and its centre. The Manchester Exchange is the thermometer for all the fluctuations of trade. The modern art of manufacture has reached its perfection in Manchester. In the cotton industry of South Lancashire, the application of the forces of Nature, the superseding of hand-labour by machinery (especially by the power-loom and the self-acting mule), and the division of labour, are seen at the highest point; and, if we recognise in these three elements that which is characteristic of modern manufacture, we must confess that the cotton industry has remained in advance of all other branches of industry from the beginning down to the present day. The effects of modern

manufacture upon the working-class must necessarily develop here most freely and perfectly, and the manufacturing proletariat present itself in its fullest classic perfection. The degradation to which the application of steam-power, machinery and the division of labour reduce the working-man, and the attempts of the proletariat to rise above this abasement, must likewise be carried to the highest point and with the fullest consciousness. Hence because Manchester is the classic type of a modern manufacturing town, and because I know it as intimately as my own native town, more intimately than most of its residents know it, we shall make a longer stay here.

The towns surrounding Manchester vary little from the central city, so far as the working-people's quarters are concerned, except that the working-class forms, if possible, a larger proportion of their population. These towns are purely industrial and conduct all their business through Manchester upon which they are in every respect dependent, whence they are inhabited only by working-men and petty tradesmen, while Manchester has a very considerable commercial population, especially of commission and "respectable" retail dealers. Hence Bolton, Preston, Wigan, Bury, Rochdale, Middleton, Heywood, Oldham, Ashton, Stalybridge, Stockport, etc., though nearly all towns of thirty, fifty, seventy to ninety thousand inhabitants, are almost wholly working-people's districts, interspersed only with factories, a few thoroughfares lined with shops, and a few lanes along which the gardens and houses of the manufacturers are scattered like villas. The towns themselves are badly and irregularly built with foul courts, lanes, and back alleys, reeking of coal smoke, and especially dingy from the originally bright red brick, turned black with time, which is here the universal building material. Cellar dwellings are general here; wherever it is in any way possible, these subterranean dens are constructed, and a very considerable portion of the population dwells in them.

Among the worst of these towns after Preston and Oldham is Bolton, eleven miles north-west of Manchester. It has, so far as I have been able to observe in my repeated visits, but one main street, a very dirty one, Deansgate, which serves as a market, and is even in the finest weather a dark, unattractive hole in spite of the fact that, except for the factories, its sides are formed by low one and two-storied houses. Here, as everywhere, the older part of the town is especially ruinous and miserable. A dark-coloured body of water, which leaves the beholder in doubt whether it is a brook or a long string of stagnant puddles, flows through the

town and contributes its share to the total pollution of the air, by no means pure without it.

There is Stockport, too, which lies on the Cheshire side of the Mersey, but belongs nevertheless to the manufacturing district of Manchester. It lies in a narrow valley along the Mersey, so that the streets slope down a steep hill on one side and up an equally steep one on the other, while the railway from Manchester to Birmingham passes over a high viaduct above the city and the whole valley. Stockport is renowned throughout the entire district as one of the duskiest, smokiest holes, and looks, indeed, especially when viewed from the viaduct, excessively repellent. But far more repulsive are the cottages and cellar dwellings of the working-class, which stretch in long rows through all parts of the town from the valley bottom to the crest of the hill. I do not remember to have seen so many cellars used as dwellings in any other town of this district.

A few miles north-east of Stockport is Ashton-under-Lyne, one of the newest factory towns of this region. It stands on the slope of a hill at the foot of which are the canal and the river Tame, and is, in general, built on the newer, more regular plan. Five or six parallel streets stretch along the hill, intersected at right angles by others leading down into the valley. By this method, the factories would be excluded from the town proper, even if the proximity of the river and the canal-way did not draw them all into the valley where they stand thickly crowded, belching forth black smoke from their chimneys. To this arrangement Ashton owes a much more attractive appearance than that of most factory towns; the streets are broader and cleaner, the cottages look new, bright red, and comfortable. But the modern system of building cottages for working-men has its own disadvantages; every street has its concealed back lane to which a narrow paved path leads, and which is all the dirtier. And, although I saw no buildings, except a few on entering, which could have been more than fifty years old, there are even in Ashton streets in which the cottages are getting bad, where the bricks in the house-corners are no longer firm but shift about, in which the walls have cracks and will not hold the chalk whitewash inside; streets, whose dirty, smoke-begrimed aspect is nowise different from that of the other towns of the district, except that in Ashton this is the exception, not the rule.

A mile eastward lies Stalybridge, also on the Tame. In coming over the hill from Ashton, the traveller has, at the top, both right and left, fine large gardens with superb villa-like houses in their midst, built usually in the Elizabethan style, which is to the Gothic precisely what the Anglican Church is to the Apostolic Roman

Catholic. A hundred paces farther and Stalybridge shows itself in the valley, in sharp contrast with the beautiful country seats, in sharp contrast even with the modest cottages of Ashton! Stalybridge lies in a narrow, crooked ravine, much narrower even than the valley at Stockport, and both sides of this ravine are occupied by an irregular group of cottages, houses, and mills. On entering, the very first cottages are narrow, smoke-begrimed, old and ruinous; and as the first houses, so the whole town. A few streets lie in the narrow valley bottom, most of them run criss-cross, pell-mell, up hill and down, and in nearly all the houses, by reason of this sloping situation, the ground-floor is half-buried in the earth; and what multitudes of courts, back lanes, and remote nooks arise out of this confused way of building may be seen from the hills, whence one has the town, here and there, in a bird's-eye view almost at one's feet. Add to this the shocking filth, and the repulsive effect of Stalybridge, in spite of its pretty surroundings, may be readily imagined.

But enough of these little towns. Each has its own peculiarities, but in general, the working-people live in them just as in Manchester. Hence I have especially sketched only their peculiar construction, and would observe that all more general observations as to the condition of the labouring population in Manchester are fully applicable to these surrounding towns as well.[a]

Manchester lies at the foot of the southern slope of a range of hills, which stretch hither from Oldham,[b] their last peak, Kersallmoor, being at once the racecourse and the Mons Sacer of Manchester.[132] Manchester proper lies on the left bank of the Irwell, between that stream and the two smaller ones, the Irk and the Medlock, which here empty into the Irwell. On the right bank of the Irwell, bounded by a sharp curve of the river, lies Salford, and farther westward Pendleton; northward from the Irwell lie Upper and Lower Broughton; northward of the Irk, Cheetham Hill; south of the Medlock lies Hulme; farther east Chorlton on Medlock; still farther, pretty well to the east of Manchester, Ardwick. The whole assemblage of buildings is commonly called Manchester, and contains about four hundred thousand inhabitants, rather more than less. The town itself is peculiarly built, so that a person may live in it for years, and go in and out daily without coming into contact with a working-people's quarter or

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here one more sentence: "We now turn our attention to the principal town."—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "between the valleys of the Irwell and the Medlock".—*Ed.*

even with workers, that is, so long as he confines himself to his business or to pleasure walks. This arises chiefly from the fact, that by unconscious tacit agreement, as well as with outspoken conscious determination, the working-people's quarters are sharply separated from the sections of the city reserved for the middle-class; or, if this does not succeed, they are concealed with the cloak of charity. Manchester contains, at its heart, a rather extended commercial district, perhaps half a mile long and about as broad, and consisting almost wholly of offices and warehouses. Nearly the whole district is abandoned by dwellers, and is lonely and deserted at night; only watchmen and policemen traverse its narrow lanes with their dark lanterns. This district is cut through by certain main thoroughfares upon which the vast traffic concentrates, and in which the ground level is lined with brilliant shops. In these streets the upper floors are occupied, here and there, and there is a good deal of life upon them until late at night. With the exception of this commercial district, all Manchester proper, all Salford and Hulme, a great part of Pendleton and Chorlton, two-thirds of Ardwick, and single stretches of Cheetham Hill and Broughton are all unmixed working-people's quarters, stretching like a girdle, averaging a mile and a half in breadth, around the commercial district. Outside, beyond this girdle, lives the upper and middle bourgeoisie, the middle bourgeoisie in regularly laid out streets in the vicinity of the working quarters, especially in Chorlton and the lower lying portions of Cheetham Hill; the upper bourgeoisie in remoter villas with gardens in Chorlton and Ardwick, or on the breezy heights of Cheetham Hill, Broughton, and Pendleton, in free, wholesome country air, in fine, comfortable homes, passed once every half or quarter hour by omnibuses going into the city. And the finest part of the arrangement is this, that the members of this money aristocracy can take the shortest road through the middle of all the labouring districts to their places of business without ever seeing that they are in the midst of the grimy misery that lurks to the right and the left. For the thoroughfares leading from the Exchange in all directions out of the city are lined, on both sides, with an almost unbroken series of shops, and are so kept in the hands of the middle and lower bourgeoisie, which, out of self-interest, cares for a decent and cleanly external appearance and *can* care for it. True, these shops bear some relation to the districts which lie behind them, and are more elegant in the commercial and residential quarters than when they hide grimy working-men's dwellings; but they suffice to conceal from the eyes of the wealthy men and women of strong

stomachs and weak nerves the misery and grime which form the complement of their wealth.[a] So, for instance, Deansgate, which leads from the Old Church directly southward, is lined first with mills and warehouses, then with second-rate shops and alehouses; farther south, when it leaves the commercial district, with less inviting shops, which grow dirtier and more interrupted by beerhouses and gin-palaces the farther one goes, until at the southern end the appearance of the shops leaves no doubt that workers and workers only are their customers. So Market Street running south-east from the Exchange; at first brilliant shops of the best sort, with counting-houses or warehouses above; in the continuation, Piccadilly, immense hotels and warehouses; in the farther continuation, London Road, in the neighbourhood of the Medlock, factories, beerhouses, shops for the humbler bourgeoisie and the working population[b]; and from this point onward, large gardens and villas of the wealthier merchants and manufacturers. In this way any one who knows Manchester can infer the adjoining districts from the appearance of the thoroughfare, but one is seldom in a position to catch from the street a glimpse of the real labouring districts. I know very well that this hypocritical plan is more or less common to all great cities; I know, too, that the retail dealers are forced by the nature of their business to take possession of the great highways; I know that there are more good buildings than bad ones upon such streets everywhere, and that the value of land is greater near them than in remoter districts; but at the same time I have never seen so systematic a shutting out of the working-class from the thoroughfares, so tender a concealment of everything which might affront the eye and the nerves of the bourgeoisie, as in Manchester. And yet, in other respects, Manchester is less built according to a plan, after official[c] regulations, is more an outgrowth of accident than any other city; and when I consider in this connection the eager assurances of the middle-class, that the working-class is doing famously, I cannot help feeling that the Liberal manufacturers, the "Big Wigs"[d] of Manchester, are not so innocent after all, in the matter of this shameful method of construction.

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "wealth and luxury".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "then along Ardwick Green are houses for the higher and middle bourgeoisie".—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "police" instead of "official".—*Ed.*

[d] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have these two words in English.—*Ed.*

I may mention just here that the mills almost all adjoin the rivers or the different canals that ramify throughout the city, before I proceed at once to describe the labouring quarters. First of all, there is the Old Town of Manchester, which lies between the northern boundary of the commercial district and the Irk. Here the streets, even the better ones, are narrow and winding, as Todd Street, Long Millgate, Withy Grove, and Shude Hill, the houses dirty, old, and tumble-down, and the construction of the side streets utterly horrible. Going from the Old Church to Long Millgate, the stroller has at once a row of old-fashioned houses at the right, of which not one has kept its original level; these are remnants of the old pre-manufacturing Manchester, whose former inhabitants have removed with their descendants into better-built districts, and have left the houses, which were not good enough for them, to a population strongly mixed with Irish blood. Here one is in an almost undisguised working-men's quarter, for even the shops and beerhouses hardly take the trouble to exhibit a trifling degree of cleanliness. But all this is nothing in comparison with the courts and lanes which lie behind, to which access can be gained only through covered passages, in which no two human beings can pass at the same time. Of the irregular cramming together of dwellings in ways which defy all rational plan, of the tangle in which they are crowded literally one upon the other, it is impossible to convey an idea. And it is not the buildings surviving from the old times of Manchester which are to blame for this; the confusion has only recently reached its height when every scrap of space left by the old way of building has been filled up and patched over until not a foot of land is left to be further occupied.

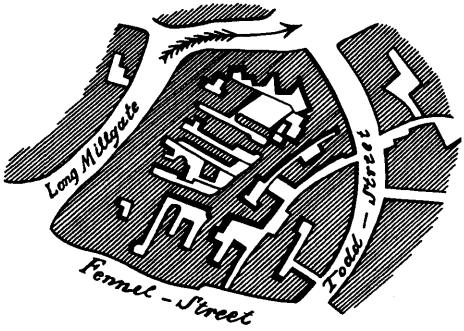


To confirm my statement I have drawn here a small section of the plan of Manchester—not the worst spot and not one-tenth of the whole Old Town.[a]

[a] The drawings reproduced in the book as well as the relevant texts here and below are taken from the German editions of 1845 and 1892. In the American edition of 1887 and the English edition of 1892 they are omitted.—*Ed.*

This drawing will suffice to characterise the irrational manner in which the entire district was built, particularly the part near the Irk.

The south bank of the Irk is here very steep and between fifteen and thirty feet high. On this declivitous hillside there are planted three rows of houses, of which the lowest rise directly out of the river, while the front walls of the highest stand on the crest of the hill in Long Millgate. Among them are mills on the river, in short, the method of construction is as crowded and disorderly here as in the lower part of Long Millgate. Right and left a multitude of covered passages lead from the main street into numerous courts, and he who turns in thither gets into a filth and disgusting grime, the equal of which is not to be found—especially in the courts which lead down to the Irk, and which contain unqualifiedly the most horrible dwellings which I have yet beheld. In one of these courts there stands directly at the entrance, at the end of the covered passage, a privy without a door, so dirty that the inhabitants can pass into and out of the court only by passing through foul pools of stagnant urine and excrement. This is the first court on the Irk above Ducie Bridge—in case any one should care to look into it. Below it on the river there are several tanneries which fill the whole neighbourhood with the stench of animal putrefaction. Below Ducie Bridge the only entrance to most of the houses is by means of narrow, dirty stairs and over heaps of refuse and filth. The first court below Ducie Bridge, known as Allen's Court, was in such a state at the time of the cholera that the sanitary police ordered it evacuated, swept, and disinfected with chloride of lime. Dr. Kay gives a terrible description of the state of this court at that time.* Since then, it seems to have been partially torn away and rebuilt; at least looking down from Ducie Bridge, the passer-by sees several ruined walls and heaps of *débris* with some newer houses. The view from this bridge, mercifully concealed from mortals of small stature by a parapet as high as a man, is characteristic for the whole district. At the bottom flows, or rather stagnates, the Irk, a narrow, coal-black, foul-smelling stream, full of *débris* and refuse, which it deposits on the shallower right bank. In dry weather, a long string of the most disgusting, blackish-green, slime pools are left standing on this

* *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester.* By James Ph. Kay, M.D. 2nd Ed. 1832.

Dr. Kay confuses the working-class in general with the factory workers, otherwise an excellent pamphlet.—*Note by Engels.*

bank, from the depths of which bubbles of miasmatic gas constantly arise and give forth a stench unendurable even on the bridge forty or fifty feet above the surface of the stream. But besides this, the stream itself is checked every few paces by high weirs, behind which slime and refuse accumulate and rot in thick masses. Above the bridge are tanneries,[a] bonemills, and gasworks, from which all drains and refuse find their way into the Irk, which receives further the contents of all the neighbouring sewers and privies. It may be easily imagined, therefore, what sort of residue the stream deposits. Below the bridge you look upon the piles of *débris*, the refuse, filth, and offal from the courts on the steep left bank; here each house is packed close behind its neighbour and a piece of each is visible, all black, smoky, crumbling, ancient, with broken panes and window-frames. The background is furnished by old barrack-like factory buildings. On tne lower right bank stands a long row of houses and mills; the second house being a ruin without a roof, piled with *débris*; the third stands so low that the lowest floor is uninhabitable, and therefore without windows or doors. Here the background embraces the pauper burial-ground, the station of the Liverpool and Leeds railway, and, in the rear of this, the Workhouse, the "Poor-Law Bastille" of Manchester, which, like a citadel, looks threateningly down from behind its high walls and parapets on the hilltop, upon the working-people's quarter below.

Above Ducie Bridge, the left bank grows more flat and the right bank steeper, but the condition of the dwellings on both banks grows worse rather than better. He who turns to the left here from the main street, Long Millgate, is lost; he wanders from one court to another, turns countless corners, passes nothing but narrow, filthy nooks and alleys, until after a few minutes he has lost all clue, and knows not whither to turn. Everywhere half or wholly ruined buildings, some of them actually uninhabited, which means a great deal here; rarely a wooden or stone floor to be seen in the houses, almost uniformly broken, ill-fitting windows and doors, and a state of filth! Everywhere heaps of *débris*, refuse, and offal; standing pools for gutters, and a stench which alone would make it impossible for a human being in any degree civilised to live in such a district. The newly built extension of the Leeds railway, which crosses the Irk here, has swept away some of these courts and lanes, laying others completely open to view. Immediately

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "dye-works" after "tanneries".—*Ed.*

under the railway bridge there stands a court, the filth and horrors of which surpass all the others by far, just because it was hitherto so shut off, so secluded that the way to it could not be found without a good deal of trouble. I should never have discovered it myself, without the breaks made by the railway, though I thought I knew this whole region thoroughly. Passing along a rough bank, among stakes and washing-lines, one penetrates into this chaos of small one-storied, one-roomed huts, in most of which there is no artificial floor; kitchen, living and sleeping-room all in one. In such a hole, scarcely five feet long by six broad, I found two beds—and such bedsteads and beds! —which, with a staircase and chimney-place, exactly filled the room. In several others I found absolutely nothing, while the door stood open, and the inhabitants leaned against it. Everywhere before the doors refuse and offal; that any sort of pavement lay underneath could not be seen but only felt, here and there, with the feet. This whole collection of cattle-sheds for human beings was surrounded on two sides by houses and a factory, and on the third by the river, and besides the narrow stair up the bank, a narrow doorway alone led out into another almost equally ill-built, ill-kept labyrinth of dwellings.

Enough! The whole side of the Irk is built in this way, a planless, knotted chaos of houses, more or less on the verge of uninhabitableness, whose unclean interiors fully correspond with their filthy external surroundings. And how could the people be clean with no proper opportunity for satisfying the most natural and ordinary wants? Privies are so rare here that they are either filled up every day, or are too remote for most of the inhabitants to use. How can people wash when they have only the dirty Irk water at hand, while pumps and water pipes can be found in decent parts of the city alone? In truth, it cannot be charged to the account of these helots of modern society if their dwellings are not more cleanly than the pig-sties which are here and there to be seen among them. The landlords are not ashamed to let dwellings like the six or seven cellars on the quay directly below Scotland Bridge, the floors of which stand at least two feet below the low-water level of the Irk that flows not six feet away from them; or like the upper floor of the corner-house on the opposite shore directly above the bridge, where the ground-floor, utterly uninhabitable, stands deprived of all fittings for doors and windows, a case by no means rare in this region, when this open ground-floor is used as a privy by the whole neighbourhood for want of other facilities!

If we leave the Irk and penetrate once more on the opposite side from Long Millgate into the midst of the working-men's dwellings, we shall come into a somewhat newer quarter, which stretches from St. Michael's Church to Withy Grove and Shude Hill. Here there is somewhat better order. In place of the chaos of buildings, we find at least long straight lanes and alleys or courts, built according to a plan and usually square. But if, in the former case, every house was built according to caprice, here each lane and court is so built, without reference to the situation of the adjoining ones. The lanes run now in this direction, now in that, while every two minutes the wanderer gets into a blind alley, or, on turning a corner, finds himself back where he started from; certainly no one who has not lived a considerable time in this labyrinth can find his way through it.

If I may use the word at all in speaking of this district, the ventilation of these streets and courts is, in consequence of this confusion, quite as imperfect as in the Irk region; and if this quarter may, nevertheless, be said to have some advantage over that of the Irk, the houses being newer and the streets occasionally having gutters, nearly every house has, on the other hand, a cellar dwelling, which is rarely found in the Irk district, by reason of the greater age and more careless construction of the houses. As for the rest, the filth, *débris*, and offal heaps, and the pools in the streets are common to both quarters, and in the district now under discussion, another feature most injurious to the cleanliness of the inhabitants, is the multitude of pigs walking about in all the alleys, rooting into the offal heaps, or kept imprisoned in small pens. Here, as in most of the working-men's quarters of Manchester, the pork-raisers rent the courts and build pig-pens in them. In almost every court one or even several such pens may be found, into which the inhabitants of the court throw all refuse and offal, whence the swine grow fat; and the atmosphere, confined on all four sides, is utterly corrupted by putrefying animal and vegetable substances. Through this quarter, a broad and measurably decent street has been cut, Millers Street, and the background has been pretty successfully concealed. But if any one should be led by curiosity to pass through one of the numerous passages which lead into the courts, he will find this piggery repeated at every twenty paces.

Such is the Old Town of Manchester, and on re-reading my description, I am forced to admit that instead of being exaggerated, it is far from black enough to convey a true impression of the filth, ruin, and uninhabitableness, the defiance of all consider-

ations of cleanliness, ventilation, and health which characterise the construction of this single district, containing at least twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants. And such a district exists in the heart of the second city of England, the first manufacturing city of the world. If any one wishes to see in how little space a human being can move, how little air — and *such* air! — he can breathe, how little of civilisation he may share and yet live, it is only necessary to travel hither. True, this is the *Old* Town, and the people of Manchester emphasise the fact whenever any one mentions to them the frightful condition of this Hell upon Earth; but what does that prove? Everything which here arouses horror and indignation is of recent origin, belongs to the *industrial epoch* The couple of hundred houses, which belong to old Manchester, have been long since abandoned by their original inhabitants; the industrial epoch alone has crammed into them the swarms of workers whom they now shelter; the industrial epoch alone has built up every spot between these old houses to win a covering for the masses whom it has conjured hither from the agricultural districts and from Ireland; the industrial epoch alone enables the owners of these cattlesheds to rent them for high prices to human beings, to plunder the poverty of the workers, to undermine the health of thousands, in order that they *alone*, the owners, may grow rich. In the industrial epoch alone has it become possible that the worker scarcely freed from feudal servitude could be used as mere material, a mere chattel; that he must let himself be crowded into a dwelling too bad for every other, which he for his hard-earned wages buys the right to let go utterly to ruin. This manufacture has achieved, which, without these workers, this poverty, this slavery could not have lived. True, the original construction of this quarter was bad, little good could have been made out of it; but, have the landowners, has the municipality done anything to improve it when rebuilding? On the contrary, wherever a nook or corner was free, a house has been run up; where a superfluous passage remained, it has been built up; the value of land rose with the blossoming out of manufacture, and the more it rose, the more madly was the work of building up carried on, without reference to the health or comfort of the inhabitants, with sole reference to the highest possible profit on the principle that *no hole is so bad but that some poor creature must take it who can pay for nothing better.* However, it is the Old Town, and with this reflection the bourgeoisie is comforted. Let us see, therefore, how much better it is in the *New Town.*

The *New Town,* known also as Irish Town, stretches up a hill of clay, beyond the Old Town, between the Irk and St. George's Road. Here all the features of a city are lost. Single rows of houses or groups of streets stand, here and there, like little villages on the naked, not even grass-grown clay soil; the houses, or rather cottages, are in bad order, never repaired, filthy, with damp, unclean, cellar dwellings; the lanes are neither paved nor supplied with sewers, but harbour numerous colonies of swine penned in small sties or yards, or wandering unrestrained through the neighbourhood. The mud in the streets is so deep that there is never a chance, except in the dryest weather, of walking without sinking into it ankle deep at every step. In the vicinity of St. George's Road, the separate groups of buildings approach each other more closely, ending in a continuation of lanes, blind alleys, back lanes and courts, which grow more and more crowded and irregular the nearer they approach the heart of the town. True, they are here oftener paved or supplied with paved sidewalks and gutters; but the filth, the bad order of the houses, and especially of the cellars, remain the same.

It may not be out of place to make some general observations just here as to the customary construction of working-men's quarters in Manchester. We have seen how in the Old Town pure accident determined the grouping of the houses in general. Every house is built without reference to any other, and the scraps of space between them are called courts for want of another name. In the somewhat newer portions of the same quarter, and in other working-men's quarters, dating from the early days of industrial activity, a somewhat more orderly arrangement may be found. The space between two streets is divided into more regular, usually square courts.

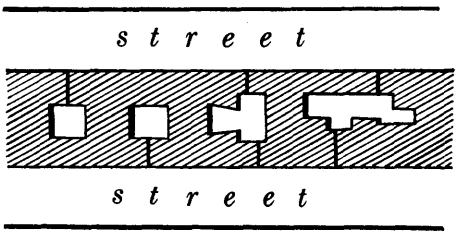


These courts were built in this way from the beginning,[a] and communicate with the streets by means of covered passages. If the totally planless construction is injurious to the health of the workers by preventing ventilation, this method of shutting them up in courts surrounded on all sides by buildings is far more so. The air simply cannot escape; the chimneys of the houses are the

[a] The accompanying drawing is reproduced according to the German editions of 1845 and 1892.—*Ed.*

sole drains for the imprisoned atmosphere of the courts, and they serve the purpose only so long as fire is kept burning.* Moreover, the houses surrounding such courts are usually built back to back, having the rear wall in common; and this alone suffices to prevent any sufficient through ventilation. And, as the police charged with care of the streets does not trouble itself about the condition of these courts, as everything quietly lies where it is thrown, there is no cause for wonder at the filth and heaps of ashes and offal to be found here. I have been in courts, in Millers Street, at least half a foot below the level of the thoroughfare, and without the slightest drainage for the water that accumulates in them in rainy weather!

More recently another different method of building was adopted, and has now become general. Working-men's cottages are almost never built singly, but always by the dozen or score; a single contractor building up one or two streets at a time. These are then arranged as follows: One front is formed of cottages of the best class, so fortunate as to possess a back door and small court, and these command the highest rent. In the rear of these cottages runs a narrow alley, the back street, built up at both ends, into which either a narrow roadway or a covered passage leads from one side. The cottages which face this back street command least rent, and are most neglected. These have their rear walls in common with the third row of cottages, which face a second street and command less rent than the first row and more than the second. The streets are laid out somewhat in the following manner:[a]

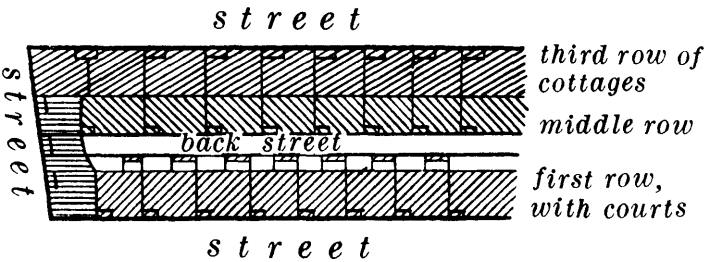


* And yet an English Liberal wiseacre asserts, in the *Report of the Children's Employment Commission*, that these courts are the masterpiece of municipal architecture, because, like a multitude of little parks, they improve ventilation, the circulation of air! Certainly, if each court had two or four broad open entrances facing each other, through which the air could pour; but they never have two, rarely one, and usually only a narrow covered passage.—*Note by Engels.* (The reference is to Grainger's assertion concerning Birmingham courts.—*Ed.*)

[a] The drawing and the words referring to it are reproduced according to the German editions of 1845 and 1892.—*Ed.*

By this method of construction, comparatively good ventilation can be obtained for the first row of cottages, and the third row is no worse off than in the former method. The middle row, on the other hand, is at least as badly ventilated as the houses in the courts, and the back street is always in the same filthy, disgusting condition as they. The contractors prefer this method because it saves them space, and furnishes the means of fleecing better-paid workers through the higher rents of the cottages in the first and third rows.

These three different forms of cottage building are found all over Manchester and throughout Lancashire and Yorkshire, often mixed up together, but usually separate enough to indicate the relative age of parts of towns. The third system, that of the back alleys, prevails largely in the great working-men's district east of St. George's Road and Ancoats Street,[a] and is the one most often found in the other working-men's quarters of Manchester and its suburbs.

In the last-mentioned broad district included under the name Ancoats, stand the largest mills of Manchester lining the canals, colossal six and seven-storied buildings towering with their slender chimneys far above the low cottages of the workers. The population of the district consists, therefore, chiefly of mill-hands, and in the worst streets, of hand-weavers. The streets nearest the heart of the town are the oldest, and consequently the worst; they are, however, paved, and supplied with drains. Among them I include those nearest to and parallel with Oldham Road and Great Ancoats Street. Farther to the north-east lie many newly built-up streets; here the cottages look neat and cleanly, doors and windows are new and freshly painted, the rooms within newly whitewashed; the streets themselves are better aired, the vacant building lots between them larger and more numerous. But this can be said of a minority of the houses only, while cellar dwellings are to be found under almost every cottage; many streets are unpaved and without sewers; and, worse than all, this neat appearance is all pretence, a pretence which vanishes within the first ten years. For the construction of the cottages individually is no less to be condemned than the plan of the streets. All such cottages look neat and substantial at first; their massive brick walls deceive the eye, and, on passing through a *newly built* working-men's street, without remembering the back alleys and the con-

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 read as follows: "east of St. George's Road on both sides of Oldham Road and Great Ancoats Street".—*Ed.*

struction of the houses themselves, one is inclined to agree with the assertion of the Liberal manufacturers that the working population is nowhere so well housed as in England. But on closer examination, it becomes evident that the walls of these cottages are as thin as it is possible to make them. The outer walls, those of the cellar, which bear the weight of the ground-floor and roof, are one whole brick thick at most, the bricks lying with their long sides touching ( 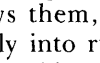 ); but I have seen many a cottage of the same height, some in process of building, whose outer walls were but one-half brick thick, the bricks lying not sidewise but lengthwise, their narrow ends touching ( 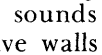 ).[a] The object of this is to spare material, but there is also another reason for it; namely, the fact that the contractors never own the land but lease it, according to the English custom, for twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, or ninety-nine years, at the expiration of which time it falls, with everything upon it, back into the possession of the original holder, who pays nothing in return for improvements upon it. The improvements are therefore so calculated by the lessee as to be worth as little as possible at the expiration of the stipulated term. And as such cottages are often built but twenty or thirty years before the expiration of the term, it may easily be imagined that the contractors make no unnecessary expenditures upon them. Moreover, these contractors, usually carpenters and builders, or manufacturers, spend little or nothing in repairs, partly to avoid diminishing their rent receipts, and partly in view of the approaching surrender of the improvement to the landowner; while in consequence of commercial crises and the loss of work that follows them, whole streets often stand empty, the cottages falling rapidly into ruin and uninhabitableness. It is calculated in general that working-men's cottages last only forty years on the average. This sounds strangely enough when one sees the beautiful, massive walls of newly built ones, which seem to give promise of lasting a couple of centuries; but the fact remains that the niggardliness of the original expenditure, the neglect of all repairs, the frequent periods of emptiness, the constant change of inhabitants, and the destruction carried on by the dwellers during the final ten years, usually Irish families, who do not hesitate to use the wooden portions for firewood — all this, taken together, accomplishes the complete ruin of the cottages by the end of forty years. Hence it comes that Ancoats, built chiefly since the sudden

[a] The drawings are reproduced according to the German editions of 1845 and 1892.—*Ed.*

growth of manufacture, chiefly indeed within the present century, contains a vast number of ruinous houses, most of them being, in fact, in the last stages of inhabitableness. I will not dwell upon the amount of capital thus wasted, the small additional expenditure upon the original improvement and upon repairs which would suffice to keep this whole district clean, decent, and inhabitable for years together. I have to deal here with the state of the houses and their inhabitants, and it must be admitted that no more injurious and demoralising method of housing the workers has yet been discovered than precisely this. The working-man is constrained to occupy such ruinous dwellings because he cannot pay for others, and because there are no others[a] in the vicinity of his mill; perhaps, too, because they belong to the employer, who engages him only on condition of his taking such a cottage. The calculation with reference to the forty years' duration of the cottage is, of course, not always perfectly strict; for, if the dwellings are in a thickly built-up portion of the town, and there is a good prospect of finding steady occupants for them, while the ground-rent is high, the contractors do a little something to keep the cottages inhabitable after the expiration of the forty years. They never do anything more, however, than is absolutely unavoidable, and the dwellings so repaired are the worst of all. Occasionally when an epidemic threatens, the otherwise sleepy conscience of the sanitary police is a little stirred, raids are made into the working-men's districts, whole rows of cellars and cottages are closed, as happened in the case of several lanes near Oldham Road; but this does not last long: the condemned cottages soon find occupants again, the owners are much better off by letting them, and the sanitary police won't come again so soon. These east and north-east sides of Manchester are the only ones on which the bourgeoisie has not built, because ten or eleven months of the year the west and south-west wind drives the smoke of all the factories hither,[b] and that the working-people alone may breathe.

Southward from Great Ancoats Street, lies a great, straggling, working-men's quarter, a hilly, barren stretch of land, occupied by detached, irregularly built rows of houses or squares, between these, empty building lots, uneven, clayey, without grass and scarcely passable in wet weather. The cottages are all filthy and

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "no better ones" instead of "no others".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "—and there is plenty of it—".—*Ed.*

old,[a] and recall the New Town to mind. The stretch cut through by the Birmingham railway is the most thickly built-up and the worst. Here flows the Medlock with countless windings through a valley, which is, in places, on a level with the valley of the Irk. Along both sides of the stream, which is coal-black, stagnant and foul,[b] stretches a broad belt of factories and working-men's dwellings, the latter all in the worst condition. The bank is chiefly declivitous and is built over to the water's edge, just as we saw along the Irk; while the houses are equally bad, whether built on the Manchester side or in Ardwick, Chorlton, or Hulme. But the most horrible spot (if I should describe all the separate spots in detail I should never come to the end) lies on the Manchester side, immediately south-west of Oxford Road, and is known as Little Ireland. In a rather deep hole, in a curve of the Medlock and surrounded on all four sides by tall factories and high embankments, covered with buildings, stand two groups of about two hundred cottages, built chiefly back to back, in which live about four thousand human beings, most of them Irish. The cottages are old, dirty, and of the smallest sort, the streets uneven, fallen into ruts and in part without drains or pavement; masses of refuse, offal and sickening filth lie among standing pools in all directions; the atmosphere is poisoned by the effluvia from these, and laden and darkened by the smoke of a dozen tall factory chimneys. A horde of ragged women and children swarm about here, as filthy as the swine that thrive upon the garbage heaps and in the puddles. In short, the whole rookery furnishes such a hateful and repulsive spectacle as can hardly be equalled in the worst court on the Irk. The race that lives in these ruinous cottages, behind broken windows, mended with oilskin, sprung doors, and rotten doorposts, or in dark, wet cellars, in measureless filth and stench, in this atmosphere penned in as if with a purpose, this race must really have reached the lowest stage of humanity. This is the impression and the line of thought which the exterior of this district forces upon the beholder. But what must one think when he hears that in each of these pens, containing at most two rooms, a garret and perhaps a cellar, on the average twenty human beings live; that in the whole region, for each one hundred and twenty persons, one usually inaccessible privy is provided; and that in

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "often lie in hollows".— *Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "from where it enters the town until it joins the Irwell".— *Ed.*

spite of all the preachings of the physicians, in spite of the excitement into which the cholera epidemic plunged the sanitary police by reason of the condition of Little Ireland, in spite of everything, in this year of grace 1844, it is in almost the same state as in 1831! Dr. Kay asserts* that not only the cellars but the first floors of all the houses in this district are damp; that a number of cellars once filled up with earth have now been emptied and are occupied once more by Irish people; that in one cellar the water constantly wells up through a hole stopped with clay, the cellar lying below the river level, so that its occupant, a hand-loom weaver, had to bale out the water from his dwelling every morning and pour it into the street!

Farther down, on the left side of the Medlock, lies Hulme, which properly speaking, is one great working-people's district, the condition of which coincides almost exactly with that of Ancoats; the more thickly built-up regions chiefly bad and approaching ruin, the less populous of more modern structure, but generally sunk in filth.[a] On the other side of the Medlock, in Manchester proper, lies a second great working-men's district which stretches on both sides of Deansgate as far as the business quarter, and in certain parts rivals the Old Town. Especially in the immediate vicinity of the business quarter, between Bridge and Quay Streets, Princess and Peter Streets, the crowded construction exceeds in places the narrowest courts of the Old Town. Here are long, narrow lanes between which run contracted, crooked courts and passages, the entrances to which are so irregular that the explorer is caught in a blind alley at every few steps, or comes out where he least expects to, unless he knows every court and every alley exactly and separately. According to Dr. Kay, the most demoralised class of all Manchester lived in these ruinous and filthy districts, people whose occupations are thieving and prostitution; and, to all appearances, his assertion is still true at the present moment. When the sanitary police made its expedition hither in 1831, it found the uncleanness as great as in Little Ireland or along the Irk (that it is not much better today, I can testify); and, among other items, they found in Parliament Street for three

* Dr. Kay, loc. cit.—*Note by Engels.* (It is omitted in the English and American editions.—*Ed.*)

[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the end of the sentence reads as follows: "of more modern structure, better ventilated, but generally sunk in filth". Then follows one more sentence omitted in the authorised American and English editions: "In both places the site of the cottages is damp and the type of building includes back alleys and cellar dwellings".—*Ed.*

hundred and eighty persons, and in Parliament Passage for thirty thickly populated houses, but a single privy.

If we cross the Irwell to Salford, we find on a peninsula formed by the river a town of eighty thousand inhabitants, which, properly speaking, is one large working-men's quarter, penetrated by a single wide avenue. Salford, once more important than Manchester, was then the leading town of the surrounding district to which it still gives its name, Salford Hundred. Hence it is that an old and therefore very unwholesome, dirty, and ruinous locality is to be found here, lying opposite the Old Church of Manchester, and in as bad a condition as the Old Town on the other side of the Irwell. Farther away from the river lies the newer portion, which is, however, already beyond the limit of its forty years of cottage life,[a] and therefore ruinous enough. All Salford is built in courts or narrow lanes, so narrow, that they remind me of the narrowest I have ever seen, the little lanes of Genoa. The average construction of Salford is in this respect much worse than that of Manchester, and so, too, in respect to cleanliness. If, in Manchester, the police, from time to time, every six or ten years, makes a raid upon the working-people's districts, closes the worst dwellings, and causes the filthiest spots in these Augean stables to be cleansed, in Salford it seems to have done absolutely nothing. The narrow side lanes and courts of Chapel Street, Greengate, and Gravel Lane have certainly never been cleansed since they were built. Of late, the Liverpool railway has been carried through the middle of them, over a high viaduct, and has abolished many of the filthiest nooks; but what does that avail? Whoever passes over this viaduct and looks down, sees filth and wretchedness enough; and, if any one takes the trouble to pass through these lanes and glance through the open doors and windows into the houses and cellars, he can convince himself afresh with every step that the workers of Salford live in dwellings in which cleanliness and comfort are impossible. Exactly the same state of affairs is found in the more distant regions of Salford, in Islington, along Regent Road, and back of the Bolton railway. The working-men's dwellings between Oldfield Road and Cross Lane, where[b] a mass of courts and alleys are to be found in the worst possible state, vie with the dwellings of the Old Town in filth and overcrowding. In this district I found a man, apparently about sixty years old, living

[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the words "of cottage life" do not occur.—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "on both sides of Hope Street".—*Ed.*

in a cow-stable. He had constructed a sort of chimney for his square pen, which had neither windows, floor, nor ceiling, had obtained a bedstead and lived there, though the rain dripped through his rotten roof. This man was too old and weak for regular work, and supported himself by removing manure with a hand-cart; the dung-heaps lay next door to his palace!

Such are the various working-people's quarters of Manchester as I had occasion to observe them personally during twenty months. If we briefly formulate the result of our wanderings, we must admit that 350,000 working-people of Manchester and its environs live, almost all of them, in wretched, damp, filthy cottages, that the streets which surround them are usually in the most miserable and filthy condition, laid out without the slightest reference to ventilation, with reference solely to the profit secured by the contractor. In a word, we must confess that in the working-men's dwellings of Manchester, no cleanliness, no convenience, and consequently no comfortable family life is possible; that in such dwellings only a physically degenerate race, robbed of all humanity, degraded, reduced morally and physically[a] to bestiality, could feel comfortable and at home. And I am not alone in making this assertion. We have seen that Dr. Kay gives precisely the same description; and, though it is superfluous, I quote further the words of a Liberal, recognised and highly valued as an authority by the manufacturers, and a fanatical opponent of all independent movements of the workers*:

"But when I went through their [i.e., the Manchester operatives'] habitations in Irish Town, and Ancoats, and Little Ireland, my only wonder was that tolerable health could be maintained by the inmates of such houses. These towns, for such they are in extent and population, have been erected by small speculators with an utter disregard to everything except immediate profit. A carpenter and a bricklayer club to buy a patch of ground [i.e., they lease it for a number of years], and cover it with what they call houses. In one place we saw a whole street following the course of a ditch, in order to have deeper cellars (cellars for people, not for lumber) without the expense of excavations. *Not a house in this street escaped cholera.*[b] And generally speaking, throughout these suburbs the streets are unpaved, with a dung-hill or a pond in the middle; the houses built back to back, without ventilation or drainage; and whole families occupy a corner of a cellar or of a garret."

* Nassau W. Senior, *Letters on the Factory Act to the Rt. Hon., the President of the Board of Trade* (Chas. Poulett Thomson, Esq.), London, 1837, p. 24.—*Note by Engels.*

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "intellectually" instead of "physically".—*Ed.*

[b] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

I have already referred to the unusual activity which the sanitary police manifested during the cholera visitation. When the epidemic was approaching, a universal terror seized the bourgeoisie of the city. People remembered the unwholesome dwellings of the poor, and trembled before the certainty that each of these slums would become a centre for the plague, whence it would spread desolation in all directions through the houses of the propertied class. A Health Commission was appointed at once to investigate these districts, and report upon their condition to the Town Council. Dr. Kay, himself a member of this Commission, who visited in person every separate police district except one, the eleventh, quotes extracts from their reports: There were inspected, in all, 6,951 houses—naturally in Manchester proper alone, Salford and the other suburbs being excluded. Of these, 2,565 urgently needed whitewashing within; 960 were out of repair[a]; 939 had insufficient drains; 1,435 were damp; 452 were badly ventilated; 2,221 were without privies. Of the 687 streets inspected, 248 were unpaved, 53 but partially paved, 112 ill-ventilated, 352 containing standing pools, heaps of *débris*, refuse, etc. To cleanse such an Augean stable before the arrival of the cholera was, of course, out of the question. A few of the worst nooks were therefore cleansed, and everything else left as before. In the cleansed spots, as Little Ireland proves, the old filthy condition was naturally restored in a couple of months. As to the internal condition of these houses, the same Commission reports a state of things similar to that which we have already met with in London, Edinburgh, and other cities.*

"A whole Irish family is often accommodated on a single bed, and sometimes a heap of filthy straw and a covering of old sacking hide them in one undistinguished heap, debased alike by penury, want of economy and dissolute habits. Frequently the inspectors found two families crowded into one small house, containing only two apartments, one in which they slept, and another in which they eat; and often more than one family lived in a damp cellar, containing only one room, in whose pestilential atmosphere from twelve to sixteen persons were crowded. To these fertile sources of disease were sometimes added the keeping of the pigs and other animals in the house, with other nuisances of the most revolting character."

We must add that many families, who had but one room for themselves, receive boarders and lodgers in it, that such lodgers of

* Kay, loc. cit., p. 32.—*Note by Engels.* (The word "Irish" in the quotation below was added by Engels.—*Ed.*)

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give the English expression "were out of repair" in brackets.—*Ed.*

both sexes by no means rarely sleep in the same bed with the married couple; and that the single case of a man and his wife and his adult sister-in-law sleeping in one bed was found, according to the "Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population", six times repeated in Manchester. Common lodging-houses, too, are very numerous; Dr. Kay gives their number in 1831 as 267 in Manchester proper, and they must have increased greatly since then. Each of these receives from twenty to thirty guests, so that they shelter all told, nightly, from five to seven thousand human beings. The character of the houses and their guests is the same as in other cities. Five to seven beds in each room lie on the floor — without bedsteads, and on these sleep, mixed indiscriminately, as many persons as apply. What physical and moral atmosphere reigns in these holes I need not state. Each of these houses is a focus of crime, the scene of deeds against which human nature revolts, which would perhaps never have been executed but for this forced centralisation of vice. Gaskell * gives the number of persons living in cellars in Manchester proper as 20,000. The *Weekly Dispatch* gives the number, "according to official reports", as twelve per cent of the working-class, which agrees with Gaskell's number; the workers being estimated at 175,000, 21,000 would form twelve per cent of it.[133] The cellar dwellings in the suburbs are at least as numerous, so that the number of persons living in cellars in Manchester — using its name in the broader sense — is not less than forty to fifty thousand. So much for the dwellings of the workers in the largest cities and towns. The manner in which the need of a shelter is satisfied furnishes a standard for the manner in which all other necessities are supplied. That in these filthy holes a ragged, ill-fed population alone can dwell is a safe conclusion, and such is the fact. The clothing of the working-people, in the majority of cases, is in a

* P. Gaskell, *The Manufacturing Population of England: its Moral, Social and Physical Condition, and the Changes which have arisen from the Use of Steam Machinery; with an Examination of Infant Labour. Fiat Justitia,* 1833.— Depicting chiefly the state of the working-class in Lancashire. The author is a Liberal, but wrote at a time when it was not a feature of Liberalism to chant the happiness of the workers. He is therefore unprejudiced, and can afford to have eyes for the evils of the present state of things, and especially for the factory system. On the other hand, he wrote before the Factories Enquiry Commission, and adopts from untrustworthy sources many assertions afterwards refuted by the report of the Commission. This work, although on the whole a valuable one, can therefore only be used with discretion, especially as the author, like Kay, confuses the whole working-class with the mill-hands. The history of the development of the proletariat contained in the introduction to the present work, is chiefly taken from this work of Gaskell's.— *Note by Engels.*

very bad condition. The material used for it is not of the best adapted. Wool and linen have almost vanished from the wardrobe of both sexes, and cotton has taken their place. Shirts are made of bleached or coloured cotton goods; the dresses of the women are chiefly of cotton print goods, and woollen petticoats are rarely to be seen on the washline. The men wear chiefly trousers of fustian or other heavy cotton goods, and jackets or coats of the same. Fustian has become the proverbial costume of the working-men, who are called "fustian jackets",[a] and call themselves so in contrast to the gentlemen who wear broadcloth, which latter words are used as characteristic for the middle-class. When Feargus O'Connor, the Chartist leader, came to Manchester during the insurrection of 1842,[b] he appeared, amidst the deafening applause of the working-men, in a fustian suit of clothing. Hats are the universal head-covering in England, even for working-men, hats of the most diverse forms, round, high, broad-brimmed, narrow-brimmed, or without brims—only the younger men in factory towns wearing caps. Any one who does not own a hat folds himself a low, square paper cap.

The whole clothing of the working-class, even assuming it to be in good condition, is little adapted to the climate. The damp air of England, with its sudden changes of temperature, more calculated than any other to give rise to colds, obliges almost the whole middle-class to wear flannel next to the skin, about the body, and flannel scarfs and shirts are in almost universal use. Not only is the working-class deprived of this precaution, it is scarcely ever in a position to use a thread of woollen clothing; and the heavy cotton goods, though thicker, stiffer, and heavier than woollen clothes, afford much less protection against cold and wet, remain damp much longer because of their thickness and the nature of the stuff, and have nothing of the compact density of fulled woollen cloths. And, if a working-man once buys himself a woollen coat for Sunday, he must get it from one of the "cheap shops" where he finds bad, so-called "Devil's-dust"[c] cloth, manufactured for sale and not for use, and liable to tear or grow threadbare in a fortnight, or he must buy of an old clothes'-dealer a half-worn coat which has seen its best days, and lasts but a few weeks.

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[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this expression is given in English; the word "broadcloth" is given in brackets after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

[b] See below, pp. 508, 512-14, 520-22.—*Ed.*

[c] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this expression is given in English.—*Ed.*

Moreover, the working-man's clothing is, in most cases, in bad condition, and there is the oft-recurring necessity for placing the best pieces in the pawnbroker's shop. But among very large numbers, especially among the Irish, the prevailing clothing consists of perfect rags often beyond all mending, or so patched that the original colour can no longer be detected. Yet the English and Anglo-Irish go on patching, and have carried this art to a remarkable pitch, putting wool or bagging on fustian, or the reverse—it's all the same to them. But the true, transplanted Irish hardly ever patch except in the extremest necessity, when the garment would otherwise fall apart. Ordinarily the rags of the shirt protrude through the rents in the coat or trousers. They wear, as Thomas Carlyle says,—*

> "a suit of tatters, the getting on or off which is said to be a difficult operation, transacted only in festivals and the high tides of the calendar."

The Irish have introduced, too, the custom, previously unknown in England, of going barefoot. In every manufacturing town there is now to be seen a multitude of people, especially women and children, going about barefoot, and their example is gradually being adopted by the poorer English.

As with clothing, so with food. The workers get what is too bad for the property-holding class. In the great towns of England everything may be had of the best, but it costs money; and the workman, who must keep house on a couple of pence, cannot afford much expense. Moreover, he usually receives his wages on Saturday evening, for, although a beginning has been made in the payment of wages on Friday, this excellent arrangement is by no means universal; and so he comes to market at five or even seven o'clock,[a] while the buyers of the middle-class have had the first choice during the morning, when the market teems with the best of everything. But when the workers reach it, the best has vanished, and, if it was still there, they would probably not be able to buy it. The potatoes which the workers buy are usually poor, the vegetables wilted, the cheese old and of poor quality, the bacon rancid, the meat lean, tough, taken from old, often diseased, cattle, or such as have died a natural death, and not fresh even then, often half decayed. The sellers are usually small

* Thomas Carlyle, *Chartism*, London, 1840, p. 28. Concerning Thomas Carlyle see below.—*Note by Engels.* (In the American edition of 1887 and the English edition of 1892 the last phrase is omitted.—*Ed.*)

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "at four, five or even seven o'clock".—*Ed.*

hucksters who buy up inferior goods, and can sell them cheaply by reason of their badness. The poorest workers are forced to use still another device to get together the things they need with their few pence. As nothing can be sold on Sunday, and all shops must be closed at twelve o'clock on Saturday night, such things as would not keep until Monday are sold at any price between ten o'clock and midnight. But nine-tenths of what is sold at ten o'clock is past using by Sunday morning, yet these are precisely the provisions which make up the Sunday dinner of the poorest class. The meat which the workers buy is very often past using; but having bought it, they must eat it. On the 6th of January, 1844 (if I am not greatly mistaken), a court leet[a] was held in Manchester, when eleven meat-sellers were fined for having sold tainted meat. Each of them had a whole ox or pig, or several sheep, or from fifty to sixty pounds of meat, which were all confiscated in a tainted condition. In one case, fifty-four stuffed Christmas geese were seized which had proved unsaleable in Liverpool, and had been forwarded to Manchester, where they were brought to market foul and rotten. All the particulars, with names and fines, were published at the time in the *Manchester Guardian*.[134] In the six weeks, from July lst to August 14th [1844], the same sheet reported three similar cases. According to the *Guardian* for July 3rd, a pig, weighing 200 pounds, which had been found dead and decayed, was cut up and exposed for sale by a butcher at Heywood, and was then seized. According to the number for July 31st, two butchers at Wigan, of whom one had previously been convicted of the same offence, were fined £2 and £4 respectively, for exposing tainted meat for sale; and, according to the number for August 10th, twenty-six tainted hams seized at a dealer's in Bolton, were publicly burnt, and the dealer fined twenty shillings. But these are by no means all the cases; they do not even form a fair average for a period of six weeks, according to which to form an average for the year. There are often seasons in which every number of the semi-weekly *Guardian* mentions a similar case found in Manchester or its vicinity. And when one reflects upon the many cases which must escape detection in the extensive markets that stretch along the front of every main street, under the slender supervision of the market inspectors—and how else can one explain the boldness with which whole animals are exposed for sale?—when one considers how great the temptation

[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this English term is given in brackets.—*Ed.*

must be, in view of the incomprehensibly small fines mentioned in the foregoing cases; when one reflects what condition a piece of meat must have reached to be seized by the inspectors, it is impossible to believe that the workers obtain good and nourishing meat as a usual thing. But they are victimised in yet another way by the money-greed of the middle-class. Dealers and manufacturers adulterate all kinds of provisions in an atrocious manner, and without the slightest regard to the health of the consumers. We have heard the *Manchester Guardian* upon this subject, let us hear another organ of the middle-class—I delight in the testimony of my opponents—let us hear the *Liverpool Mercury*:

"Salt butter is moulded into the form of pounds of fresh butter, and cased over with fresh. In other instances a pound of fresh is conspicuously placed to be tasted; but that pound is not sold; and in other instances salt butter, washed, is moulded and sold as fresh.... Pounded rice and other cheap materials are mixed in sugar, and sold at full monopoly price. A chemical substance—the refuse of the soap manufactories—is also mixed with other substances and sold as sugar.... Chicory is mixed in good coffee. Chicory, or some similarly cheap substance, is skilfully moulded into the form of the coffee berry, and is mixed with the bulk very liberally.... Cocoa is extensively adulterated with fine brown earth, wrought up with mutton fat, so as to amalgamate with portions of the real article.... The leaves of tea are mingled with sloe leaves and other abominations. Used leaves are also re-dried, and re-coloured on hot copper plates, and sold as tea. Pepper is adulterated with dust from husks etc.; port wine is altogether manufactured" (from spirits, dyes, etc.) "it being notorious that more port wine is drunk in this country than is made in Portugal. Nasty things of all sorts are mixed with the weed tobacco in all its manufactured forms".[135]

I can add that several of the most respected tobacco dealers in Manchester announced publicly last summer, that, by reason of the universal adulteration of tobacco, no firm could carry on business without adulteration, and that no cigar costing less than threepence is made wholly from tobacco. These frauds are naturally not restricted to articles of food, though I could mention a dozen more, the villainy of mixing gypsum or chalk with flour among them. Fraud is practised in the sale of articles of every sort: flannel, stockings, etc., are stretched, and shrink after the first washing; narrow cloth is sold as being from one and a half to three inches broader than it actually is; stoneware is so thinly glazed that the glazing is good for nothing and cracks at once, and a hundred other rascalities, *tout comme chez nous*. But the lion's share of the evil results of these frauds falls to the workers. The rich are less deceived, because they can pay the high prices of the large shops which have a reputation to lose, and would injure themselves more than their customers if they kept poor or

adulterated wares; the rich are spoiled, too, by habitual good eating, and detect adulteration more easily with their sensitive palates. But the poor, the working-people, to whom a couple of farthings are important, who must buy many things with little money, who cannot afford to inquire too closely into the quality of their purchases, and cannot do so in any case because they have had no opportunity of cultivating their taste—to their share fall all the adulterated, poisoned provisions. They must deal with the small retailers, must buy perhaps on credit, and these small retail dealers who cannot sell even the same quality of goods so cheaply as the largest retailers, because of their small capital and the large proportional expenses of their business, must knowingly or unknowingly buy adulterated goods in order to sell at the lower prices required, and to meet the competition of the others. Further, a large retail dealer who has extensive capital invested in his business is ruined with his ruined credit if detected in a fraudulent practice; but what harm does it do a small grocer, who has customers in a single street only, if frauds are proved against him? If no one trusts him in Ancoats, he moves to Chorlton or Hulme, where no one knows him, and where he continues to defraud as before; while legal penalties attach to very few adulterations unless they involve revenue frauds. Not in the quality alone, but in the quantity of his goods as well, is the English working-man defrauded. The small dealers usually have false weights and measures, and an incredible number of convictions for such offences may be read in the police reports. How universal this form of fraud is in the manufacturing districts, a couple of extracts from the *Manchester Guardian* may serve to show. They cover only a short period, and, even here, I have not all the numbers at hand:

*Guardian*, June 15, 1844, Rochdale Sessions.—Four dealers fined five to ten shillings for using light weights. Stockport Sessions.—Two dealers fined one shilling, one of them having seven light weights and a false scale, and both having been warned.

*Guardian*, June 19, Rochdale Sessions.—One dealer fined five, and two farmers ten shillings.

*Guardian*, June 22, Manchester Justices of the Peace.—Nineteen dealers fined two shillings and sixpence to two pounds.

*Guardian*, June 26, Ashton Sessions.—Fourteen dealers and farmers fined two shillings and sixpence to one pound. Hyde Petty Sessions.—Nine farmers and dealers condemned to pay costs and five shillings fines.

*Guardian*, July 6, Manchester.—Sixteen dealers condemned to pay costs and fines not exceeding ten shillings.

*Guardian*, July 13, Manchester.—Nine dealers fined from two shillings and sixpence to twenty shillings.

*Guardian*, July 24, Rochdale.—Four dealers fined ten to twenty shillings.

*Guardian*, July 27, Bolton.—Twelve dealers and innkeepers condemned to pay costs.

*Guardian*, August 3, Bolton.—Three dealers fined two shillings and sixpence, and five shillings.

*Guardian*, August 10, Bolton.—One dealer fined five shillings.

And the same causes which make the working-class the chief sufferers from frauds in the quality of goods make them the usual victims of frauds in the question of quantity too.

The habitual food of the individual working-man naturally varies according to his wages. The better-paid workers, especially those in whose families every member is able to earn something, have good food as long as this state of things lasts; meat daily and bacon and cheese for supper. Where wages are less, meat is used only two or three times a week,[a] and the proportion of bread and potatoes increases. Descending gradually, we find the animal food reduced to a small piece of bacon cut up with the potatoes; lower still, even this disappears, and there remain only bread, cheese, porridge, and potatoes, until on the lowest round of the ladder, among the Irish, potatoes form the sole food. As an accompaniment, weak tea, with perhaps a little sugar, milk, or spirits, is universally drunk. Tea is regarded in England, and even in Ireland, as quite as indispensable as coffee in Germany, and where no tea is used, the bitterest poverty reigns. But all this presupposes that the workman has work. When he has none, he is wholly at the mercy of accident, and eats what is given him, what he can beg or steal. And, if he gets nothing, he simply starves, as we have seen. The quantity of food varies, of course, like its quality, according to the rate of wages, so that among ill-paid workers, even if they have no large families,[b] hunger prevails in spite of full and regular work; and the number of the ill-paid is very large. Especially in London, where the competition of the workers rises with the increase of population, this class is very numerous, but it is to be found in other towns as well. In these cases all sorts of devices are

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "on Sundays or two or three times a week".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "especially if they have large families".—*Ed.*

used; potato parings, vegetable refuse, and rotten vegetables* are eaten for want of other food, and everything greedily gathered up which may possibly contain an atom of nourishment. And, if the week's wages are used up before the end of the week, it often enough happens that in the closing days the family gets only as much food, if any, as is barely sufficient to keep off starvation. Of course such a way of living unavoidably engenders a multitude of diseases, and when these appear, when the father from whose work the family is chiefly supported, whose physical exertion most demands nourishment, and who therefore first succumbs—when the father is utterly disabled, then misery reaches its height, and then the brutality with which society abandons its members, just when their need is greatest, comes out fully into the light of day.

To sum up briefly the facts thus far cited. The great towns are chiefly inhabited by working-people, since in the best case there is one bourgeois for two workers, often for three, here and there for four; these workers have no property whatsoever of their own, and live wholly upon wages, which usually go from hand to mouth. Society, composed wholly of atoms, does not trouble itself about them; leaves them to care for themselves and their families, yet supplies them no means of doing this in an efficient and permanent manner. Every working-man, even the best, is therefore constantly exposed to loss of work and food, that is to death by starvation, and many perish in this way. The dwellings of the workers are everywhere badly planned, badly built, and kept in the worst condition, badly ventilated, damp, and unwholesome. The inhabitants are confined to the smallest possible space, and at least one family usually sleeps in each room. The interior arrangement of the dwellings is poverty-stricken in various degrees, down to the utter absence of even the most necessary furniture. The clothing of the workers, too, is generally scanty, and that of great multitudes is in rags. The food is, in general, bad; often almost unfit for use, and in many cases, at least at times, insufficient in quantity, so that, in extreme cases, death by starvation results. Thus the working-class of the great cities offers a graduated scale of conditions in life, in the best cases a temporarily endurable existence for hard work and good wages,[a]

* *Weekly Dispatch*, April or May, 1844, according to a report by Dr. Southwood Smith on the condition of the poor in London.—*Note by Engels.* (In the American edition of 1887 and in the English edition of 1892 this note is omitted.—*Ed.*)

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "good housing and generally good food".—*Ed.*

good and endurable, that is, from the worker's standpoint; in the worst cases, bitter want, reaching even homelessness and death by starvation. The average is much nearer the worst case than the best. And this series does not fall into fixed classes, so that one can say, this fraction of the working-class is well off,[a] has always been so, and remains so. If that is the case here and there, if single branches of work have in general an advantage over others, yet the condition of the workers in each branch is subject to such great fluctuations that a single working-man may be so placed as to pass through the whole range from comparative comfort to the extremest need, even to death by starvation, while almost every English working-man can tell a tale of marked changes of fortune. Let us examine the causes of this somewhat more closely.

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "and that fraction is badly off".—*Ed.*

## COMPETITION

We have seen in the introduction how competition created the proletariat at the very beginning of the industrial movement by increasing the wages of weavers in consequence of the increased demand for woven goods, so inducing the weaving peasants to abandon their farms and earn more money by devoting themselves to their looms. We have seen how it crowded out the small farmers by means of the large farm system, reduced them to the rank of proletarians, and attracted them in part into the towns; how it further ruined the small bourgeoisie in great measure and reduced its members also to the ranks of the proletariat; how it centralised capital in the hands of the few, and population in the great towns. Such are the various ways and means by which competition, as it reached its full manifestation and free development in modern industry, created and extended the proletariat. We shall now have to observe its influence on the working-class already created. And here we must begin by tracing the results of competition of single workers with one another.

Competition is the completest expression of the battle of all against all which rules in modern civil society. This battle, a battle for life, for existence, for everything, in case of need a battle of life and death, is fought not between the different classes of society only, but also between the individual members of these classes. Each is in the way of the other, and each seeks to crowd out all who are in his way, and to put himself in their place. The workers are in constant competition among themselves as the members of the bourgeoisie among themselves. The power-loom weaver is in competition with the hand-loom weaver, the unem-

ployed or ill-paid hand-loom weaver with him who has work or is better paid, each trying to supplant the other. But this competition of the workers among themselves is the worst side of the present state of things in its effect upon the worker, the sharpest weapon against the proletariat in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Hence the effort of the workers to nullify this competition by associations, hence the hatred of the bourgeoisie towards these associations, and its triumph in every defeat which befalls them.

The proletarian is helpless; left to himself, he cannot live a single day. The bourgeoisie has gained a monopoly of all means of existence in the broadest sense of the word. What the proletarian needs, he can obtain only from this bourgeoisie, which is protected in its monopoly by the power of the state. The proletarian is, therefore, in law and in fact, the slave of the bourgeoisie, which can decree his life or death. It offers him the means of living, but only for an "equivalent", for his work. It even lets him have the appearance of acting from a free choice, of making a contract with free, unconstrained consent, as a responsible agent who has attained his majority.

Fine freedom, where the proletarian has no other choice than that of either accepting the conditions which the bourgeoisie offers him, or of starving, of freezing to death, of sleeping naked among the beasts of the forests! A fine "equivalent" valued at pleasure by the bourgeoisie! And if one proletarian is such a fool as to starve rather than agree to the "equitable" propositions of the bourgeoisie, his "natural superiors",* another is easily found in his place; there are proletarians enough in the world, and not all so insane as to prefer dying to living.

Here we have the competition of the workers among themselves. If *all* the proletarians announced their determination to starve rather than work for the bourgeoisie, the latter would have to surrender its monopoly. But this is not the case — is, indeed, a rather impossible case — so that the bourgeoisie still thrives. To this competition of the workers there is but one limit; no worker will work for less than he needs to subsist. If he must starve, he will prefer to starve in idleness rather than in toil. True, this limit is relative; one needs more than another, one is accustomed to more comfort than another; the Englishman, who is still somewhat civilised, needs more than the Irishman, who goes in rags, eats

* A favourite expression of the English manufacturers.—*Note by Engels*. (In the American edition of 1887 and the English edition of 1892 this note is omitted.—*Ed.*)

potatoes, and sleeps in a pig-sty. But that does not hinder the Irishman's competing with the Englishman, and gradually forcing the rate of wages, and with it the Englishman's level of civilisation, down to the Irishman's level. Certain kinds of work require a certain grade of civilisation, and to these belong almost all forms of industrial occupation; hence the interest of the bourgeoisie requires in this case that wages should be high enough to enable the workman to keep himself upon the required plane.

The newly immigrated Irishman, encamped in the first stable that offers, or[a] turned out in the street after a week because he spends everything upon drink and cannot pay rent, would be a poor mill-hand. The mill-hand must, therefore, have wages enough to enable him to bring up his children to regular work; but no more, lest he should be able to get on without the wages of his children, and so make something else of them than mere working-men. Here, too, the limit, the minimum wage, is relative. When every member of the family works, the individual worker can get on with proportionately less, and the bourgeoisie has made the most of the opportunity of employing and making profitable the labour of women and children afforded by machine-work. Of course it is not in every family that every member can be set to work, and those in which the case is otherwise would be in a bad way if obliged to exist upon the minimum wage possible to a wholly employed family. Hence the usual wages form an average according to which a fully employed family gets on pretty well, and one which embraces few members able to work, pretty badly. But in the worst case, every working-man prefers surrendering the trifling luxury to which he was accustomed to not living at all; prefers a pig-pen to no roof, wears rags in preference to going naked, confines himself to a potato diet in preference to starvation. He contents himself with half-pay and the hope of better times rather than be driven into the street to perish before the eyes of the world, as so many have done who had no work whatever. This trifle, therefore, this something more than nothing, is the minimum of wages. And if there are more workers at hand than the bourgeoisie thinks well to employ—if at the end of the battle of competition there yet remain workers who find nothing to do, they must simply starve; for the bourgeois will hardly give them work if he cannot sell the produce of their labour at a profit.

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here: "or, even if he has a tolerable dwelling, is turned" etc.—*Ed.*

From this it is evident what the minimum of wages is. The maximum is determined by the competition of the bourgeoisie among themselves; for we have seen how they, too, must compete with each other. The bourgeois can increase his capital only in commerce and manufacture, and in both cases he needs workers. Even if he invests his capital at interest, he needs them indirectly; for without commerce and manufacture, no one would pay him interest upon his capital, no one could use it. So the bourgeois certainly needs workers, not indeed for his immediate living, for at need he could consume his capital, but as we need an article of trade or a beast of burden—as a means of profit. The proletarian produces the goods which the bourgeois sells with advantage. When, therefore, the demand for these goods increases so that all the competing working-men are employed, and a few more might perhaps be useful, the competition among the workers falls away, and the bourgeoisie begin to compete among themselves. The capitalist in search of workmen knows very well that his profits increase as prices rise in consequence of the increased demand for his goods, and pays a trifle higher wages rather than let the whole profit escape him. He sends the butter to fetch the cheese, and getting the latter, leaves the butter ungrudgingly to the workers.[a] So one capitalist after another goes in chase of workers, and wages rise; but only as high as the increasing demand permits. If the capitalist, who willingly sacrificed a part of his extraordinary profit, runs into danger of sacrificing any part of his ordinary average profit, he takes very good care not to pay more than average wages.

From this we can determine the average rate of wages. Under average circumstances, when neither workers nor capitalists have reason to compete, especially among themselves, when there are just as many workers at hand as can be employed in producing precisely the goods that are demanded, wages stand a little above the minimum. How far they rise above the minimum will depend upon the average needs and the grade of civilisation of the workers. If the workers are accustomed to eat meat several times in the week, the capitalists must reconcile themselves to paying wages enough to make this food attainable; not less, because the workers are not competing among themselves and have no occasion to content themselves with less; not more, because the

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have instead of this sentence: "He gives the worker the butter to make profits sooner, and when he gets them he ungrudgingly leaves the worker the butter."—*Ed.*

capitalists, in the absence of competition among themselves, have no occasion to attract working-men by extraordinary favours.

This standard of the average needs and the average civilisation of the workers has become very complicated by reason of the complications of English industry, and is different for different sorts of workers, as has been pointed out. Most industrial occupations demand a certain skill and regularity, and for these qualities, which involve a certain grade of civilisation, the rate of wages[a] must be such as to induce the worker to acquire such skill and subject himself to such regularity. Hence it is that the average wages of industrial workers are higher than those of mere porters, day-labourers, etc., higher especially than those of agricultural labourers, a fact to which the additional cost of the necessities of life in cities contributes somewhat. In other words, the worker is, in law and in fact, the slave of the property-holding class,[b] so effectually a slave that he is sold like a piece of goods, rises and falls in value like a commodity. If the demand for workers increases, the price of workers rises; if it falls, their price falls. If it falls so greatly that a number of them become unsaleable, if they are left in stock, they are simply left idle; and as they cannot live upon that, they die of starvation. For, to speak in the words of the economists, the expense incurred in maintaining them would not be reproduced, would be money thrown away, and to this end no man advances capital; and, so far, Malthus was perfectly right in his theory of population. The only difference as compared with the old, outspoken slavery is this, that the worker of today seems to be free because he is not sold once for all, but piecemeal by the day, the week, the year, and because no one owner sells him to another, but he is forced to sell himself in this way instead, being the slave of no particular person, but of the whole property-holding class. For him the matter is unchanged at bottom, and if this semblance of liberty necessarily gives him some real freedom on the one hand, it entails on the other the disadvantage that no one guarantees him a subsistence, he is in danger of being repudiated at any moment by his master, the bourgeoisie, and left to die of starvation, if the bourgeoisie ceases to have an interest in his employment, his existence. The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, is far better off under the present arrangement than under the old slave system; it can dismiss its employees at discretion

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "average wages" instead of "rate of wages".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "the bourgeoisie" after "class".—*Ed.*

without sacrificing invested capital, and gets its work done much more cheaply than is possible with slave labour, as Adam Smith comfortingly pointed out.*

Hence it follows, too, that Adam Smith was perfectly right in making the assertion:

"That the demand for men, like that for any *other commodity*, necessarily regulates the production of men, quickens it when it goes on too slowly, and stops it when it advances too fast."

*Just as in the case of any other commodity!* If there are too few labourers on hand, prices, i.e., wages, rise, the workers are more prosperous, marriages multiply, more children are born and more live to grow up, until a sufficient number of labourers has been secured. If there are too many on hand, prices fall, want of work, poverty, and starvation, and consequent diseases arise, and the "surplus population" is put out of the way. And Malthus, who carried the foregoing proposition of Smith farther, was also right, in his way, in asserting that there is always a "surplus population"; that there are always too many people in the world; he is wrong only when he asserts that there are more people on hand than can be maintained from the available means of subsistence.[a] Surplus population is engendered rather by the competition of the workers among themselves, which forces each separate worker to labour as much each day as his strength can possibly admit. If a manufacturer can employ ten hands nine hours daily, he can employ nine if each works ten hours, and the tenth goes hungry. And if a manufacturer can force the nine hands to work an extra hour

* Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, I., McCulloch's edition in one volume, sect. 8, p. 36: "The wear and tear of a slave, it has been said, is at the expense of his master, but that of a free servant is at his own expense. The wear and tear of the latter, however, is, in reality, as much at the expense of his master as that of the former. The wages paid to journeymen and servants of every kind, must be such as may enable them, one with another, to continue the race of journeymen and servants, according as the increasing, diminishing, or stationary demand of the society may happen to require. But though the wear and tear of a free servant be equally at the expense of his master, it generally costs him much less than that of a slave. The fund for replacing or repairing, if I may say so, the wear and tear of the slave, is commonly managed by the negligent master or careless overseer."—*Note by Engels.* (The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give this quotation according to the four-volume edition of 1828, Vol. I, p. 134.—*Ed.*)

[a] This sentence is given according to the German editions of 1845 and 1892. In the American and English editions it is given abridged: "And Malthus, who carried the foregoing proposition of Smith farther, was also right, in his way, in asserting that there are always more people on hand than can be maintained from the available means of subsistence."—*Ed.*

daily[a] for the same wages by threatening to discharge them at a time when the demand for hands is not very great, he discharges the tenth and saves so much wages. This is the process on a small scale, which goes on in a nation on a large one. The productiveness of each hand raised to the highest pitch by the competition of the workers among themselves, the division of labour, the introduction of machinery, the subjugation of the forces of Nature, deprive a multitude of workers of bread. These starving workers are then removed from the market, they can buy nothing, and the quantity of articles of consumption previously required by them is no longer in demand, need no longer be produced; the workers previously employed in producing them are therefore driven out of work, and are also removed from the market, and so it goes on, always the same old round, or rather, so it would go if other circumstances did not intervene. The introduction of the industrial forces already referred to for increasing production leads, in the course of time, to a reduction of prices of the articles produced and to consequent increased consumption, so that a large part of the displaced workers finally, after long suffering, find work again.[b] If, in addition to this, the conquest of foreign markets constantly and rapidly increases the demand for manufactured goods, as has been the case in England during the past sixty years, the demand for hands increases, and, in proportion to it, the population. Thus, instead of diminishing, the population of the British Empire has increased with extraordinary rapidity, and is still increasing. Yet, in spite of the extension of industry, in spite of the demand for working-men which, in general, has increased, there is, according to the confession of all the official political parties (Tory, Whig, and Radical), permanent surplus, superfluous population; the competition among the workers is constantly greater than the competition to secure workers.

Whence comes this incongruity? It lies in the nature of industrial competition and the commercial crises which arise from it. In the present unregulated production and distribution of the means of subsistence, which is carried on not directly for the sake of supplying needs, but for profit, in the system under which every one works for himself to enrich himself, disturbances inevitably arise at every moment. For example, England supplies a number of countries with most diverse goods. Now, although the manufac-

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have after this "i.e., in our example, ten hours".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have after this "in new branches of labour".—*Ed.*

turer may know how much of each article is consumed in each country annually, he cannot know how much is on hand at every given moment, much less can he know how much his competitors export thither. He can only draw most uncertain inferences from the perpetual fluctuations in prices, as to the quantities on hand and the needs of the moment. He must trust to luck in exporting his goods. Everything is done blindly, as guess-work, more or less at the mercy of accident. Upon the slightest favourable report, each one exports what he can, and before long such a market is glutted, sales stop, capital remains inactive, prices fall, and English manufacture has no further employment for its hands. In the beginning of the development of manufacture, these checks were limited to single branches and single markets; but the centralising tendency of competition, which drives the hands thrown out of one branch into such other branches as are most easily accessible, and transfers the goods which cannot be disposed of in one market to other markets, has gradually brought the single minor crises nearer together and united them into one periodically recurring crisis. Such a crisis usually recurs once in five years after a brief period of activity and general prosperity[136]; the home market, like all foreign ones, is glutted with English goods, which it can only slowly absorb, the industrial movement comes to a standstill in almost every branch, the small manufacturers and merchants who cannot survive a prolonged inactivity of their invested capital fail, the larger ones suspend business during the worst season, close their mills[a] or work short time, perhaps half the day; wages fall by reason of the competition of the unemployed, the diminution of working-time and the lack of profitable sales; want becomes universal among the workers, the small savings, which individuals may have made, are rapidly consumed, the philanthropic institutions are overburdened, the poor-rates are doubled, trebled, and still insufficient, the number of the starving increases, and the whole multitude of "surplus" population presses in terrific numbers into the foreground. This continues for a time; the "surplus" exist as best they may, or perish; philanthropy and the Poor Law help many of them to a painful prolongation of their existence. Others find scant means of subsistence here and there in such kinds of work as have been least open to competition, are most remote from manufacture. And with how little can a human being keep body and soul together for a time! Gradually the state of things improves; the accumulations of goods are

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "stop their machines" instead of "close their mills".—*Ed.*

consumed, the general depression among the men of commerce and manufacture prevents a too hasty replenishing of the markets, and at last rising prices and favourable reports from all directions restore activity. Most of the markets are distant ones; demand increases and prices rise constantly while the first exports are arriving; people struggle for the first goods, the first sales enliven trade still more, the prospective ones promise still higher prices; expecting a further rise, merchants begin to buy upon speculation, and so to withdraw from consumption the articles intended for it, just when they are most needed. Speculation forces prices still higher, by inspiring others to purchase, and appropriating new importations at once. All this is reported to England, manufacturers begin to produce with a will, new mills are built, every means is employed to make the most of the favourable moment. Speculation arises here, too, exerting the same influence as upon foreign markets, raising prices, withdrawing goods from consumption, spurring manufacture in both ways to the highest pitch of effort. Then come the daring speculators working with fictitious capital, living upon credit, ruined if they cannot speedily sell; they hurl themselves into this universal, disorderly race for profits, multiply the disorder and haste by their unbridled passion, which drives prices and production to madness. It is a frantic struggle, which carries away even the most experienced and phlegmatic; goods are spun, woven, hammered, as if all mankind were to be newly equipped, as though two thousand million new consumers had been discovered in the moon. All at once the shaky speculators abroad, who must have money, begin to sell, below market price, of course, for their need is urgent; one sale is followed by others, prices fluctuate, speculators throw their goods upon the market in terror, the market is disordered, credit shaken, one house after another stops payments, bankruptcy follows bankruptcy, and the discovery is made that three times more goods are on hand or under way than can be consumed. The news reaches England, where production has been going on at full speed meanwhile, panic seizes all hands, failures abroad cause others in England, the panic crushes a number of firms, all reserves are thrown upon the market here, too, in the moment of anxiety, and the alarm is still further exaggerated. This is the beginning of the crisis, which then takes precisely the same course as its predecessor, and gives place in turn to a season of prosperity. So it goes on perpetually,—prosperity, crisis, prosperity, crisis, and this perennial round in which English industry moves is, as has been before observed, usually completed once in five or six years.

From this it is clear that English manufacture must have, at all times save the brief periods of highest prosperity, an unemployed reserve army of workers, in order to be able to produce the masses of goods required by the market in the liveliest months. This reserve army is larger or smaller, according as the state of the market occasions the employment of a larger or smaller proportion of its members. And if at the moment of highest activity of the market the agricultural districts and the branches least affected by the general prosperity[a] temporarily supply to manufacture a number of workers, these are a mere minority, and these too belong to the reserve army, with the single difference that the prosperity of the moment was required to reveal their connection with it. When they enter upon the more active branches of work, their former employers draw in somewhat, in order to feel the loss less, work longer hours, employ women and younger workers, and when the wanderers discharged at the beginning of the crisis return, they find their places filled and themselves superfluous—at least in the majority of cases. This reserve army, which embraces an immense multitude during the crisis and a large number during the period which may be regarded as the average between the highest prosperity and the crisis, is the "surplus population" of England, which keeps body and soul together by begging, stealing, street-sweeping, collecting manure, pushing hand-carts, driving donkeys, peddling, or performing occasional small jobs. In every great town a multitude of such people may be found.[b] It is astonishing in what devices this "surplus population" takes refuge. The London crossing-sweepers are known all over the world; but hitherto the principal streets in all the great cities, as well as the crossings, have been swept by people out of other work, and employed by the Poor Law guardians or the municipal authorities for the purpose. Now, however, a machine has been invented which rattles through the streets daily, and has spoiled this source of income for the unemployed. Along the great highways leading into the cities, on which there is a great deal of waggon traffic, a large number of people may be seen with small carts, gathering fresh horse-dung at the risk of their lives among the passing coaches and omnibuses, often paying a couple of shillings a week to the authorities for the

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "the agricultural districts, Ireland and the branches least affected by the general prosperity".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have after this "who keep body and soul together," as the English say, "by performing small occasional jobs".—*Ed.*

privilege. But this occupation is forbidden in many places, because the ordinary street-sweepings thus impoverished cannot be sold as manure. Happy are such of the "surplus" as can obtain a push-cart and go about with it. Happier still those to whom it is vouchsafed to possess an ass in addition to the cart. The ass must get his own food or is given a little gathered refuse, and can yet bring in a trifle of money.

Most of the "surplus" betake themselves to huckstering. On Saturday afternoons, especially, when the whole working population is on the streets, the crowd who live from huckstering and peddling may be seen. Shoe and corset laces, braces, twine, cakes, oranges, every kind of small articles are offered by men, women, and children; and at other times also, such peddlers are always to be seen standing at the street corners, or going about with cakes and ginger-beer or nettle-beer.* Matches and such things, sealing-wax, and patent mixtures for lighting fires are further resources of such vendors. Others, so-called jobbers,[a] go about the streets seeking small jobs. Many of these succeed in getting a day's work, many are not so fortunate.

"At the gates of each of the [London] docks," says the Rev. W. Champneys, preacher of the East End, "hundreds of poor men may be seen before day-break waiting for the opening of the gates in the hope of obtaining a day's work; and when the youngest and most able-bodied, and those best known, have been engaged, hundreds still may be seen returning to their destitute families with that sickness of heart which arises from hope deferred."[137]

When these people find no work and will not rebel against society, what remains for them but to beg? And surely no one can wonder at the great army of beggars, most of them able-bodied men, with whom the police carries on perpetual war. But the beggary of these men has a peculiar character. Such a man usually goes about with his family singing a pleading song in the streets or appealing, in a speech, to the benevolence of the passers-by. And it is a striking fact that these beggars are seen almost exclusively in the working-people's districts, that it is almost exclusively the gifts of the poor from which they live. Or the family takes up its position in a busy street, and without uttering a word, lets the mere sight of its helplessness plead for it. In this case, too, they reckon upon the sympathy of the workers alone, who know from

* Two cooling effervescent drinks, the former made of water, sugar and some ginger, the latter of water, sugar and nettles. They are much liked by the workers, especially the teetotallers.—*Note by Engels.* (This note is omitted in the American and English editions.—*Ed.*)

[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this word is given in English.—*Ed.*

experience how it feels to be hungry, and are liable to find themselves in the same situation at any moment; for this dumb, yet most moving appeal, is met with almost solely in such streets as are frequented by working-men, and at such hours as working-men pass by; but especially on summer[a] evenings, when the "secrets" of the working-people's quarters are generally revealed,[b] and the middle-class withdraws as far as possible from the district thus polluted. And he among the "surplus" who has courage and passion enough openly to resist society, to reply with declared war upon the bourgeoisie to the disguised war which the bourgeoisie wages upon him, goes forth to rob, plunder, murder, and burn![c]

Of this surplus population there are, according to the reports of the Poor Law commissioners, on an average, a million and a half in England and Wales; in Scotland the number cannot be ascertained for want of Poor Law regulations, and with Ireland we shall deal separately. Moreover, this million and a half includes only those who actually apply to the parish for relief; the great multitude who struggle on without recourse to this most hated expedient, it does not embrace. On the other hand, a good part of the number belongs to the agricultural districts, and does not enter into the present discussion. During a crisis this number naturally increases markedly, and want reaches its highest pitch. Take, for instance, the crisis of 1842, which, being the latest, was the most violent; for the intensity of the crisis increases with each repetition, and the next, which may be expected not later than 1847,* will probably be still more violent and lasting. During this crisis the poor-rates rose in every town to a hitherto unknown height. In Stockport, among other towns, for every pound paid in house-rent, eight shillings of poor-rate had to be paid, so that the rate alone formed forty per cent of the house-rent. Moreover, whole streets stood vacant, so that there were at least twenty thousand fewer inhabitants than usual, and on the doors of the empty houses might be read: "Stockport to let."[d] In Bolton,

* And it came in 1847.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887 and the English edition of 1892.*

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "on Saturday evenings".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "in the main streets".—*Ed.*

[c] The words "and burn" do not occur in the German editions of 1845 and 1892.—*Ed.*

[d] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 these words are given in English and in German.—*Ed.*

where, in ordinary years, the rents from which rates are paid average £86,000, they sank to £36,000. The number of the poor to be supported rose, on the other hand, to 14,000, or more than twenty per cent of the whole number of inhabitants. In Leeds, the Poor Law guardians had a reserve fund of £10,000. This, with a contribution of £7,000, was wholly exhausted before the crisis reached its height. So it was everywhere. A report drawn up in January, 1843, by a committee of the Anti-Corn Law League, on the condition of the industrial districts in 1842, which was based upon detailed statements of the manufacturers, asserts that the poor-rate was, taking the average, twice as high as in 1839, and that the number of persons requiring relief has trebled, even quintupled, since that time; that a multitude of applicants belong to a class which had never before solicited relief; that the working-class commands more than two-thirds less of the means of subsistence than from 1834-1836; that the consumption of meat had been decidedly less, in some places twenty per cent, in others reaching sixty per cent less; that even handicraftsmen, smiths, bricklayers, and others, who usually have full employment in the most depressed periods, now suffered greatly from want of work and reduction of wages; and that, even now, in January, 1843, wages are still steadily falling. And these are the reports of manufacturers!

The starving workmen, whose mills were idle, whose employers could give them no work, stood in the streets in all directions, begged singly or in crowds, besieged the sidewalks in armies, and appealed to the passers-by for help; they begged, not cringing like ordinary beggars, but threatening by their numbers, their gestures, and their words. Such was the state of things in all the industrial districts, from Leicester to Leeds, and from Manchester to Birmingham. Here and there disturbances arose, as in the Staffordshire potteries,[a] in July. The most frightful excitement prevailed among the workers until the general insurrection broke out throughout the manufacturing districts in August. When I came to Manchester in November, 1842, there were crowds of unemployed working-men at every street corner, and many mills were still standing idle. In the following months these unwilling corner loafers gradually vanished, and the factories came into activity once more.

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "potteries of North Staffordshire".—*Ed.*

To what extent want and suffering prevail among these unemployed during such a crisis, I need not describe. The poor-rates are insufficient, vastly insufficient; the philanthropy of the rich is a rain-drop in the ocean, lost in the moment of falling, beggary can support but few among the crowds. If the small dealers did not sell to the working-people on credit at such times as long as possible — paying themselves liberally afterwards, it must be confessed — and if the working-people did not help each other, every crisis would remove a multitude of the surplus through death by starvation. Since, however, the most depressed period is brief, lasting, at worst, but one, two, or two and a half years, most of them emerge from it with their lives after dire privations. But indirectly by disease, etc., every crisis finds a multitude of victims, as we shall see. First, however, let us turn to another cause of abasement to which the English worker is exposed, a cause permanently active in forcing the whole class downwards.

# IRISH IMMIGRATION

We have already referred several times in passing to the Irish who have immigrated into England; and we shall now have to investigate more closely the causes and results of this immigration.

The rapid extension of English industry could not have taken place if England had not possessed in the numerous and impoverished population of Ireland a reserve at command. The Irish had nothing to lose at home, and much to gain in England; and from the time when it became known in Ireland that the east side of St. George's Channel offered steady work and good pay for strong arms, every year has brought armies of the Irish hither. It has been calculated that more than a million have already immigrated, and not far from fifty thousand still come every year, nearly all of whom enter the industrial districts, especially the great cities, and there form the lowest class of the population. Thus there are in London, 120,000; in Manchester, 40,000; in Liverpool, 34,000; Bristol, 24,000; Glasgow, 40,000; Edinburgh, 29,000, poor Irish people.* These people having grown up almost without civilisation, accustomed from youth to every sort of privation, rough, intemperate, and improvident, bring all their brutal habits with them among a class of the English population which has, in truth, little inducement to cultivate education and morality. Let us hear Thomas Carlyle upon this subject**:

* Archibald Alison, *The Principles of Population, and their Connection with Human Happiness*, two vols., 1840. This Alison is the historian of the French Revolution, and, like his brother, Dr. W. P. Alison, a religious Tory.—*Note by Engels.*

** *Chartism*, pp. 28, 31, etc.—*Note by Engels.*

"The wild Milesian* features, looking false ingenuity, restlessness, unreason, misery, and mockery, salute you on all highways and byways. The English coachman, as he whirls past, lashes the Milesian with his whip, curses him with his tongue; the Milesian is holding out his hat to beg. He is the sorest evil this country has to strive with. In his rags and laughing savagery, he is there to undertake all work that can be done by mere strength of hand and back—for wages that will purchase him potatoes. He needs only salt for condiment, he lodges to his mind in any pig-hutch or dog-hutch, roosts in outhouses, and wears a suit of tatters, the getting on and off of which is said to be a difficult operation, transacted only in festivals and the high tides of the calendar. The Saxon-man, if he cannot work on these terms, finds no work. The uncivilised Irishman, not by his strength, but by the opposite of strength, drives the Saxon native out, takes possession in his room. There abides he, in his squalor and unreason, in his falsity and drunken violence, as the ready-made nucleus of degradation and disorder. Whoever struggles, swimming with difficulty, may now find an example how the human being can exist not swimming, but sunk.... That the condition of the lower multitude of English labourers approximates more and more to that of the Irish, competing with them in all the markets: that whatsoever labour, to which mere strength with little skill will suffice, is to be done, will be done not at the English price, but at an approximation to the Irish price; at a price superior as yet to the Irish, that is, superior to scarcity of potatoes for thirty weeks yearly; superior, yet hourly, with the arrival of every new steamboat, sinking nearer to an equality with that."

If we except his exaggerated and one-sided condemnation of the Irish national character, Carlyle is perfectly right. These Irishmen who migrate for fourpence[a] to England, on the deck of a steamship on which they are often packed like cattle, insinuate themselves everywhere. The worst dwellings are good enough for them; their clothing causes them little trouble, so long as it holds together by a single thread; shoes they know not; their food consists of potatoes and potatoes only; whatever they earn beyond these needs they spend upon drink. What does such a race want with high wages? The worst quarters of all the large towns are inhabited by Irishmen. Whenever a district is distinguished for especial filth and especial ruinousness, the explorer may safely count upon meeting chiefly those Celtic faces which one recognises at the first glance as different from the Saxon physiognomy of the native, and the singing, aspirate brogue which the true Irishman never loses. I have occasionally heard the Irish-Celtic language spoken in the most thickly populated parts of Manchester. The majority of the families who live in cellars are almost everywhere of Irish origin. In short, the Irish have, as Dr. Kay says,

* Milesian—the name of an ancient family of Celtic kings of Ireland.—*Note by Engels* (omitted in the American and English editions—*Ed.*).

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "$3^1/_3$ silver groschen" in brackets.—*Ed.*

discovered the minimum of the necessities of life, and are now making the English workers acquainted with it. Filth and drunkenness, too, they have brought with them. The lack of cleanliness, which is not so injurious in the country, where population is scattered, and which is the Irishman's second nature, becomes terrifying and gravely dangerous through its concentration here in the great cities. The Milesian deposits all garbage and filth before his house door here, as he was accustomed to do at home, and so accumulates the pools and dirt-heaps which disfigure the working-people's quarters and poison the air. He builds a pig-sty against the house wall as he did at home, and if he is prevented from doing this, he lets the pig sleep in the room with himself. This new and unnatural method of cattle-raising in cities is wholly of Irish origin. The Irishman loves his pig as the Arab his horse, with the difference that he sells it when it is fat enough to kill. Otherwise, he eats and sleeps with it, his children play with it, ride upon it, roll in the dirt with it, as any one may see a thousand times repeated in all the great towns of England. The filth and comfortlessness that prevail in the houses themselves it is impossible to describe. The Irishman is unaccustomed to the presence of furniture; a heap of straw, a few rags, utterly beyond use as clothing, suffice for his nightly couch. A piece of wood, a broken chair, an old chest for a table, more he needs not; a tea-kettle, a few pots and dishes, equip his kitchen, which is also his sleeping and living room. When he is in want of fuel, everything combustible within his reach, chairs, door-posts, mouldings, flooring, finds its way up the chimney. Moreover, why should he need much room? At home in his mud-cabin there was only one room for all domestic purposes; more than one room his family does not need in England. So the custom of crowding many persons into a single room, now so universal, has been chiefly implanted by the Irish immigration. And since the poor devil must have one enjoyment, and society has shut him out of all others, he betakes himself to the drinking of spirits. Drink is the only thing which makes the Irishman's life worth having, drink and his cheery care-free temperament; so he revels in drink to the point of the most bestial drunkenness. The southern facile character of the Irishman, his crudity, which places him but little above the savage, his contempt for all humane enjoyments, in which his very crudeness makes him incapable of sharing, his filth and poverty, all favour drunkenness. The temptation is great, he cannot resist it, and so when he has money he gets rid of it down his throat. What else should he do? How can society blame him when it places him in a

position in which he almost of necessity becomes a drunkard; when it leaves him to himself, to his savagery?

With such a competitor the English working-man has to struggle, with a competitor upon the lowest plane possible in a civilised country, who for this very reason requires less wages than any other. Nothing else is therefore possible than that, as Carlyle says, the wages of English working-man should be forced down further and further in every branch in which the Irish compete with him. And these branches are many. All such as demand little or no skill are open to the Irish. For work which requires long training or regular, pertinacious application, the dissolute, unsteady, drunken Irishman is on too low a plane. To become a mechanic,[a] a mill-hand, he would have to adopt the English civilisation, the English customs, become, in the main, an Englishman. But for all simple, less exact work, wherever it is a question more of strength than skill, the Irishman is as good as the Englishman. Such occupations are therefore especially overcrowded with Irishmen: hand-weavers, bricklayers, porters, jobbers, and such workers, count hordes of Irishmen among their number, and the pressure of this race has done much to depress wages and lower the working-class. And even if the Irish, who have forced their way into other occupations, should become more civilised, enough of the old habits would cling to them to have a strong, degrading influence upon their English companions in toil, especially in view of the general effect of being surrounded by the Irish. For when, in almost every great city, a fifth or a quarter of the workers are Irish, or children of Irish parents, who have grown up among Irish filth, no one can wonder if the life, habits, intelligence, moral status—in short, the whole character of the working-class assimilates a great part of the Irish characteristics. On the contrary, it is easy to understand how the degrading position of the English workers, engendered by our modern history,[b] and its immediate consequences, has been still more degraded by the presence of Irish competition.

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here in brackets: "a mechanic is the name given in England to any worker engaged in producing machinery".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "industry" instead of "history".—*Ed.*

# RESULTS

Having now investigated, somewhat in detail, the conditions under which the English working-class lives,[a] it is time to draw some further inferences from the facts presented, and then to compare our inferences with the actual state of things. Let us see what the workers themselves have become under the given circumstances, what sort of people they are, what their physical, mental, and moral status.

When one individual inflicts bodily injury upon another such injury that death results, we call the deed manslaughter; when the assailant knew in advance that the injury would be fatal, we call his deed murder. But when society* places hundreds of pro-

* When as here and elsewhere I speak of society as a responsible whole, having rights and duties, I mean, of course, the ruling power of society, the class which at present holds social and political control, and bears, therefore, the responsibility for the condition of those to whom it grants no share in such control. This ruling class in England, as in all other civilised countries, is the bourgeoisie. But that this society, and especially the bourgeoisie, is charged with the duty of protecting every member of society, at least, in his life, to see to it, for example, that no one starves, I need not now prove to my *German* readers. If I were writing for the English bourgeoisie, the case would be different.—*Note by Engels to the German edition of 1845.*

And so it is now in Germany. Our German capitalists are fully up to the English level, in this respect at least, in the year of grace, 1886.—*Added by Engels to the American edition of 1887* (reproduced in the English edition of 1892—*Ed.*).

(1892) How things have changed in the last fifty years! Today there are members of the English middle-classes who recognise that society has duties to the individual citizen—but as for the German middle-classes?!?—*Added by Engels to the German edition of 1892.*

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "the English urban factory workers".—*Ed.*

letarians in such a position that they inevitably meet a too early and an unnatural death, one which is quite as much a death by violence as that by the sword or bullet; when it deprives thousands of the necessaries of life, places them under conditions in which they *cannot* live — forces them, through the strong arm of the law, to remain in such conditions until that death ensues which is the inevitable consequence — knows that these thousands of victims must perish, and yet permits these conditions to remain, its deed is murder just as surely as the deed of the single individual; disguised, malicious murder, murder against which none can defend himself, which does not seem what it is, because no man sees the murderer,[a] because the death of the victim seems a natural one, since the offence is more one of omission than of commission. But murder it remains. I have now to prove that society in England daily and hourly commits what the working-men's organs, with perfect correctness, characterise as social murder, that it has placed the workers under conditions in which they can neither retain health nor live long; that it undermines the vital force of these workers gradually, little by little, and so hurries them to the grave before their time. I have further to prove that society knows how injurious such conditions are to the health and the life of the workers, and yet does nothing to improve these conditions. That it *knows* the consequences of its deeds; that its act is, therefore, not mere manslaughter, but murder, I shall have proved, when I cite official documents, reports of Parliament and of the Government, in substantiation of my charge.

That a class which lives under the conditions already sketched and is so ill-provided with the most necessary means of subsistence, cannot be healthy and can reach no advanced age, is self-evident. Let us review the circumstances once more with especial reference to the health of the workers. The centralisation of population in great cities exercises of itself an unfavourable influence; the atmosphere of London can never be so pure, so rich in oxygen, as the air of the country; two and a half million pairs of lungs, two hundred and fifty thousand fires, crowded upon an area three to four miles square,[b] consume an enormous amount of oxygen, which is replaced with difficulty, because the method of building cities in itself impedes ventilation. The

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "because everyone is responsible for the murder and yet no one is responsible".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "geographical square miles" (the German mile is 7.42 km, or 4.64 English miles).—*Ed.*

carbonic acid gas, engendered by respiration and fire, remains in the streets by reason of its specific gravity, and the chief air current passes over the roofs of the city. The lungs of the inhabitants fail to receive the due supply of oxygen, and the consequence is mental and physical lassitude and low vitality. For this reason, the dwellers in cities are far less exposed to acute, and especially to inflammatory, affections than rural populations, who live in a free, normal atmosphere; but they suffer the more from chronic affections. And if life in large cities is, in itself, injurious to health, how great must be the harmful influence of an abnormal atmosphere in the working-people's quarters, where, as we have seen, everything combines to poison the air. In the country, it may, perhaps, be comparatively innoxious to keep a dung-heap adjoining one's dwelling, because the air has free ingress from all sides; but in the midst of a large town, among closely built lanes and courts that shut out all movement of the atmosphere, the case is different. All putrefying vegetable and animal substances give off gases decidedly injurious to health, and if these gases have no free way of escape, they inevitably poison the atmosphere. The filth and stagnant pools of the working-people's quarters in the great cities have, therefore, the worst effect upon the public health, because they produce precisely those gases which engender disease; so, too, the exhalations from contaminated streams. But this is by no means all. The manner in which the great multitude of the poor is treated by society today is revolting. They are drawn into the large cities where they breathe a poorer atmosphere than in the country; they are relegated to districts which, by reason of the method of construction, are worse ventilated than any others; they are deprived of all means of cleanliness, of water itself, since pipes are laid only when paid for, and the rivers so polluted that they are useless for such purposes; they are obliged to throw all offal and garbage, all dirty water, often all disgusting drainage and excrement into the streets, being without other means of disposing of them; they are thus compelled to infect the region of their own dwellings. Nor is this enough. All conceivable evils are heaped upon the heads of the poor. If the population of great cities is too dense in general, it is they in particular who are packed into the least space. As though the vitiated atmosphere of the streets were not enough, they are penned in dozens into single rooms, so that the air which they breathe at night is enough in itself to stifle them. They are given damp dwellings, cellar dens that are not waterproof from below, or garrets that leak from above. Their houses are so built that the

clammy air cannot escape. They are supplied bad, tattered, or rotten clothing, adulterated and indigestible food. They are exposed to the most exciting changes of mental condition, the most violent vibrations between hope and fear; they are hunted like game, and not permitted to attain peace of mind and quiet enjoyment of life. They are deprived of all enjoyments except that of sexual indulgence and drunkenness, are worked every day to the point of complete exhaustion of their mental and physical energies, and are thus constantly spurred on to the maddest excess in the only two enjoyments at their command. And if they surmount all this,[a] they fall victims to want of work in a crisis when all the little is taken from them that had hitherto been vouchsafed them.

How is it possible, under such conditions, for the lower class to be healthy and long lived? What else can be expected than an excessive mortality, an unbroken series of epidemics, a progressive deterioration in the physique of the working population? Let us see how the facts stand.

That the dwellings of the workers in the worst portions of the cities, together with the other conditions of life of this class, engender numerous diseases, is attested on all sides. The article already quoted from the *Artisan* asserts with perfect truth, that lung diseases must be the inevitable consequence of such conditions, and that, indeed, cases of this kind are disproportionately frequent in this class. That the bad air of London, and especially of the working-people's districts, is in the highest degree favourable to the development of consumption, the hectic appearance of great numbers of persons sufficiently indicates. If one roams the streets a little in the early morning, when the multitudes are on their way to their work, one is amazed at the number of persons who look wholly or half-consumptive. Even in Manchester the people have not the same appearance; these pale, lank, narrow-chested, hollow-eyed ghosts, whom one passes at every step, these languid, flabby faces, incapable of the slightest energetic expression, I have seen in such startling numbers only in London, though consumption carries off a horde of victims annually in the factory towns of the North. In competition with consumption stands typhus, to say nothing of scarlet fever,[b] a disease which brings most frightful devastation into the ranks of the working-

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "And if this is not enough, if they survive all this".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "to say nothing of other lung diseases and scarlet fever".—*Ed.*

class. Typhus, that universally diffused affliction, is attributed by the official report on the sanitary condition of the working-class, directly to the bad state of the dwellings in the matters of ventilation, drainage, and cleanliness. This report compiled, it must not be forgotten, by the leading physicians of England from the testimony of other physicians, asserts that a single ill-ventilated court, a single blind alley without drainage, is enough to engender fever, and usually does engender it[138] especially if the inhabitants are greatly crowded.[a] This fever has the same character almost everywhere, and develops in nearly every case into specific typhus. It is to be found in the working-people's quarters of all great towns and cities, and in single ill-built, ill-kept streets of smaller places,[b] though it naturally seeks out single victims in better districts also. In London it has now prevailed for a considerable time; its extraordinary violence in the year 1837 gave rise to the report already referred to. According to the annual report of Dr. *Southwood Smith* on the London Fever Hospital, the number of patients in 1843 was 1,462, or 418 more than in any previous year.[139] In the damp, dirty regions of the north, south, and east districts of London, this disease raged with extraordinary violence. Many of the patients were working-people from the country, who had endured the severest privation while migrating, and, after their arrival, had slept hungry and half-naked in the streets, and so fallen victims to the fever. These people were brought into the hospital in such a state of weakness, that unusual quantities of wine, cognac, and preparations of ammonia and other stimulants were required for their treatment; $16^1/_2$ per cent of all patients died. This malignant fever is to be found in Manchester; in the worst quarters of the Old Town, Ancoats, Little Ireland, etc., it is rarely extinct; though here, as in the *English* towns generally, it prevails to a less extent than might be expected. In Scotland and Ireland, on the other hand, it rages with a violence that surpasses all conception. In Edinburgh and Glasgow it broke out in 1817, after the famine,[c] and in 1826 and 1837 with especial violence, after the commercial crisis, subsiding somewhat each time after having raged about

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "and if organic refuse is allowed to decay there".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "where its effects are, of course, felt most severely".—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "during the period of dearth" instead of "after the famine".—*Ed.*

three years. In Edinburgh about 6,000 persons were attacked by the fever during the epidemic of 1817, and about 10,000 in that of 1837, and not only the number of persons attacked but the violence of the disease[a] increased with each repetition.*

But the fury of the epidemic in all former periods seems to have been child's play in comparison with its ravages after the crisis of 1842. One-sixth of the whole indigent population of Scotland was seized by the fever, and the infection was carried by wandering beggars with fearful rapidity from one locality to another. It did not reach the middle and upper classes of the population, yet in two months there were more fever cases than in twelve years before. In Glasgow, twelve per cent of the population were seized in the year 1843; 32,000 persons, of whom thirty-two per cent perished, while this mortality in Manchester and Liverpool does not ordinarily exceed eight per cent. The illness reached a crisis on the seventh and fifteenth days; on the latter, the patient usually became yellow, which our authority regards as an indication that the cause of the malady was to be sought in mental excitement and anxiety.** In Ireland, too, these fever epidemics have become domesticated. During twenty-one months of the years 1817-1818, 39,000 fever patients passed through the Dublin hospital; and in a more recent year, according to Sheriff Alison, 60,000.*** In Cork the fever hospital received one-seventh of the population in 1817-1818, in Limerick in the same time one-fourth, and in the bad quarter of Waterford, nineteen-twentieths of the whole population were ill of the fever at one time.****

When one remembers under what conditions the working-people live, when one thinks how crowded their dwellings are, how every nook and corner swarms with human beings, how sick and well sleep in the same room, in the same bed, the only wonder is that a contagious disease like this fever does not spread

* Dr. Alison, *Management of the Poor in Scotland.—Note by Engels.*

** Dr. Alison in an article read before the British Association for the Advancement of Science. October, 1844, in York.—*Note by Engels.*

*** Alison, *Principles of Population,* vol. ii.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887* (reproduced in the English edition of 1892; in the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the reference is given in the text—*Ed.*).

**** Dr. Alison, *Management of the Poor in Scotland.—Note by Engels.* (This note is not given in the 1887 American and 1892 English editions.—*Ed.*)

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "and the mortality rate".—*Ed.*

yet farther. And when one reflects how little medical assistance the sick have at command, how many are without any medical advice whatsoever, and ignorant of the most ordinary precautionary measures,[a] the mortality seems actually small. Dr. Alison, who has made a careful study of this disease, attributes it directly to the want and the wretched condition of the poor, as in the report already quoted. He asserts that privations and the insufficient satisfaction of vital needs are what prepare the frame for contagion and make the epidemic widespread and terrible. He proves that a period of privation, a commercial crisis or a bad harvest, has each time produced the typhus epidemic in Ireland as in Scotland, and that the fury of the plague has fallen almost exclusively on the working-class. It is a noteworthy fact, that according to his testimony, the majority of persons who perish by typhus are fathers of families, precisely the persons who can least be spared by those dependent upon them; and several Irish physicians whom he quotes bear the same testimony.

Another category of diseases arises directly from the food rather than the dwellings of the workers. The food of the labourer, indigestible enough in itself, is utterly unfit for young children, and he has neither means nor time to get his children more suitable food. Moreover, the custom of giving children spirits, and even opium, is very general; and these two influences, with the rest of the conditions of life prejudicial to bodily development, give rise to the most diverse affections of the digestive organs, leaving life-long traces behind them. Nearly all workers have stomachs more or less weak, and are yet forced to adhere to the diet which is the root of the evil. How should they know what is to blame for it? And if they knew, how could they obtain a more suitable regimen so long as they cannot adopt a different way of living and are not better educated? But new disease arises during childhood from impaired digestion. Scrofula is almost universal among the working-class, and scrofulous parents have scrofulous children, especially when the original influences continue in full force to operate upon the inherited tendency of the children. A second consequence of this insufficient bodily nourishment, during the years of growth and development, is rachitis,[b] which is

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "rules of diet" instead of "precautionary measures".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here in brackets: "The English disease: knotty excrescences on the joints".—*Ed.*

extremely common among the children of the working-class. The hardening of the bones is delayed, the development of the skeleton in general is restricted, and deformities of the legs and spinal column are frequent, in addition to the usual rachitic affections. How greatly all these evils are increased by the changes to which the workers are subject in consequence of fluctuations in trade, want of work, and the scanty wages in time of crisis, it is not necessary to dwell upon. Temporary want of sufficient food, to which almost every working-man is exposed at least once in the course of his life, only contributes to intensify the effects of his usually sufficient but bad diet. Children who are half-starved, just when they most need ample and nutritious food — and how many such there are during every crisis and even when trade is at its best — must inevitably become weak, scrofulous and rachitic in a high degree. And that they do become so, their appearance amply shows. The neglect to which the great mass of working-men's children are condemned leaves ineradicable traces and brings the enfeeblement of the whole race of workers with it. Add to this the unsuitable clothing of this class, the impossibility of precautions against colds, the necessity of toiling so long as health permits, want made more dire when sickness appears, and the only too common lack of all medical assistance; and we have a rough idea of the sanitary condition of the English working-class. The injurious effects peculiar to single employments as now conducted, I shall not deal with here.

Besides these, there are other influences which enfeeble the health of a great number of workers, intemperance most of all. All possible temptations, all allurements combine to bring the workers to drunkenness. Liquor is almost their only source of pleasure, and all things conspire to make it accessible to them. The working-man comes from his work tired, exhausted, finds his home comfortless, damp, dirty, repulsive; he has urgent need of recreation, he *must* have something to make work worth his trouble, to make the prospect of the next day endurable. His unnerved, uncomfortable, hypochondriac state of mind and body arising from his unhealthy condition, and especially from indigestion, is aggravated beyond endurance by the general conditions of his life, the uncertainty of his existence, his dependence upon all possible accidents and chances, and his inability to do anything towards gaining an assured position. His enfeebled frame, weakened by bad air and bad food, violently demands some external stimulus; his social need can be gratified only in the public-house, he has absolutely no other place where he can meet

his friends. How can he be expected to resist the temptation?[a] It is morally and physically inevitable that, under such circumstances, a very large number of working-men should fall into intemperance. And apart from the chiefly physical influences which drive the working-man into drunkenness, there is the example of the great mass, the neglected education, the impossibility of protecting the young from temptation, in many cases the direct influence of intemperate parents, who give their own children liquor, the certainty of forgetting for an hour or two the wretchedness and burden of life, and a hundred other circumstances so mighty that the workers can, in truth, hardly be blamed for yielding to such overwhelming pressure. Drunkenness has here ceased to be a vice, for which the vicious can be held responsible; it becomes a phenomenon, the necessary, inevitable effect of certain conditions upon an object possessed of no volition in relation to those conditions. They who have degraded the working-man to a mere object have the responsibility to bear. But as inevitably as a great number of working-men fall a prey to drink, just so inevitably does it manifest its ruinous influence upon the body and mind of its victims. All the tendencies to disease arising from the conditions of life of the workers are promoted by it, it stimulates in the highest degree the development of lung and digestive troubles, the rise and spread of typhus epidemics.

Another source of physical mischief to the working-class lies in the impossibility of employing skilled physicians in cases of illness. It is true that a number of charitable institutions strive to supply this want, that the infirmary in Manchester, for instance, receives or gives advice and medicine to 22,000 patients annually. But what is that in a city in which, according to Gaskell's calculation,* three-fourths of the population need medical aid every year? English doctors charge high fees, and working-men are not in a position to pay them. They can therefore do nothing, or are compelled to call in cheap charlatans, and use quack remedies, which do more harm than good. An immense number of such quacks thrive in every English town, securing their *clientèle* among the poor by means of advertisements, posters, and other such

* *The Manufacturing Population of England*, ch. 8.—*Note by Engels.*

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have instead of this sentence: "How can the worker be expected not to have the strongest temptation of intemperance, to be able to resist the attraction of drink?"—*Ed.*

devices. Besides these, vast quantities of patent medicines[a] are sold, for all conceivable ailments: Morrison's Pills, Parr's Life Pills, Dr. Mainwaring's Pills, and a thousand other pills, essences, and balsams, all of which have the property of curing all the ills that flesh is heir to. These medicines rarely contain actually injurious substances, but, when taken freely and often, they affect the system prejudicially; and as the unwary purchasers are always recommended to take as much as possible, it is not to be wondered at that they swallow them wholesale whether wanted or not.

It is by no means unusual for the manufacturer of Parr's Life Pills to sell twenty to twenty-five thousand boxes of these salutary pills in a week, and they are taken for constipation by this one, for diarrhoea by that one, for fever, weakness, and all possible ailments. As our German peasants are cupped or bled at certain seasons, so do the English working-people now consume patent medicines to their own injury and the great profit of the manufacturer. One of the most injurious of these patent medicines is a drink prepared with opiates, chiefly laudanum, under the name Godfrey's Cordial.[b] Women who work at home, and have their own and other people's children to take care of, give them this drink to keep them quiet, and, as many believe, to strengthen them. They often begin to give this medicine to newly born children, and continue, without knowing the effects of this "heart's-ease", until the children die. The less susceptible the child's system to the action of the opium, the greater the quantities administered. When the cordial ceases to act, laudanum alone is given, often to the extent of fifteen to twenty drops at a dose. The Coroner of Nottingham testified before a Parliamentary Commission * that one apothecary had, according to his own statement,

* *Report of Commission of Inquiry into the Employment of Children and Young Persons in Mines and Collieries and in the Trades and Manufactures in which numbers of them work together, not being included under the terms of the Factories' Regulation Act.* First and Second Reports, Grainger's Report. Second Report, usually cited as *Children's Employment Commission's Report,* is one of the best official reports of its kind and contains an immense quantity of evidence which is both valuable and horrifying. First Report, 1841; Second Report, 1843.—*Note by Engels.* (The assessment of the report is omitted in the American edition of 1887 and the English edition of 1892.—*Ed.*)

[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the words "patent medicines" are given in brackets.—*Ed.*

[b] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the name of the medicine is given in English.—*Ed.*

used thirteen hundredweight of treacle in one year in the preparation of Godfrey's Cordial. The effects upon the children so treated may be readily imagined. They are pale, feeble, wilted, and usually die before completing the second year. The use of this cordial is very extensive in all great towns and industrial districts in the kingdom.

The result of all these influences is a general enfeeblement of the frame in the working-class. There are few vigorous, well-built, healthy persons among the workers, i.e. among the factory operatives, who are employed in confined rooms, and we are here discussing these only. They are almost all weakly, of angular but not powerful build, lean, pale, and of relaxed fibre, with the exception of the muscles especially exercised in their work. Nearly all suffer from indigestion, and consequently from a more or less hypochondriac, melancholy, irritable, nervous condition.[a] Their enfeebled constitutions are unable to resist disease, and are therefore seized by it on every occasion. Hence they age prematurely, and die early. On this point the mortality statistics supply unquestionable testimony.

According to the Report of Registrar-General Graham, the annual death-rate of all England and Wales is something less than $2^1/_4$ per cent. That is to say, out of forty-five persons, one dies every year.* This was the average for the year 1839-40. In 1840-41 the mortality diminished somewhat, and the death-rate was but one in forty-six. But in the great cities the proportion is wholly different. I have before me official tables of mortality (*Manchester Guardian*, July 31st, 1844[140]), according to which the death-rate of several large towns is as follows:—In Manchester, including Chorlton and Salford, one in 32.72; and excluding Chorlton and Salford, one in 30.75. In Liverpool, including West Derby (suburb), 31.90, and excluding West Derby, 29.90; while the average of all the districts of Cheshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire cited, including a number of wholly or partially rural districts and many small towns, with a total population of 2,172,506 for the whole, is one death in 39.80 persons. How unfavourably the workers are placed in the great cities, the mortality for Prescott in Lancashire shows: a district inhabited by miners, and showing a lower sanitary

* *Fifth Annual Report of the Reg. Gen. of Births, Deaths, and Marriages.—Note by Engels.*

[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the second part of this sentence reads: "and consequently are more or less hypochondriac and of a gloomy, uneasy disposition".—*Ed.*

condition than that of the agricultural districts, mining being by no means a healthful occupation. But these miners live in the country, and the death-rate among them is but one in 47.54, or nearly two-and-a-half per cent better than that for all England. All these statements are based upon the mortality tables for 1843. Still higher is the death-rate in the Scotch cities; in Edinburgh, in 1838-39, one in 29; in 1831, in the Old Town alone, one in 22. In Glasgow, according to Dr. Cowan,* the average has been, since 1830, one in 30; and in single years, one in 22 to 24. That this enormous shortening of life falls chiefly upon the working-class, that the general average is improved by the smaller mortality of the upper and middle-classes, is attested upon all sides. One of the most recent depositions is that of a physician, Dr. P. H. Holland, in Manchester, who investigated Chorlton-on-Medlock, a suburb of Manchester, under official commission. He divided the houses and streets into three classes each, and ascertained the following variations in the death-rate:

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| First | class | of streets. | Houses | I. class. | Mortality | one | in | 51 |
| " | " | " | " | II. " | " | " | " | 45 |
| " | " | " | " | III. " | " | " | " | 36 |
| Second | " | " | " | I. " | " | " | " | 55 |
| " | " | " | " | II. " | " | " | " | 38 |
| " | " | " | " | III. " | " | " | " | 35 |
| Third | " | " | " | I. " | Wanting | — | " | — |
| " | " | " | " | II. " | Mortality | " | " | 35 |
| " | " | " | " | III. " | " | " | " | 25 |

It is clear from other tables given by Holland that the mortality in the *streets* of the second class is 18 per cent greater, and in the streets of the third class 68 per cent greater than in those of the first class; that the mortality in the *houses* of the second class is 31 per cent greater, and in the third class 78 per cent greater than in those of the first class; that the mortality in those bad streets which were improved, decreased 25 per cent. He closes with the remark, very frank for an English bourgeois**:

"When we find the rate of mortality four times as high in some streets as in others, and twice as high in whole classes of streets as in other classes, and further find that it is all but invariably high in those streets which are in bad condition, and

* Dr. Cowan, *Vital Statistics of Glasgow.*[141]—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887* (reproduced in the English edition of 1892; in the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the reference is given in the text—*Ed.*).

** *Report of Commission of Inquiry into the State of Large Towns and Populous Districts.* First Report, 1844. Appendix.—*Note by Engels.*

almost invariably low in those whose condition is good, we cannot resist the conclusion that multitudes of our fellow-creatures, *hundreds of our immediate neighbours*, are annually destroyed for want of the most evident precautions."

The Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Working-Class contains information which attests the same fact. In Liverpool, in 1840, the average longevity of the upper classes, gentry, professional men, etc., was thirty-five years; that of the business men and better-placed handicraftsmen, twenty-two years; and that of the operatives, day-labourers, and serviceable class in general, but fifteen years. The Parliamentary reports contain a mass of similar facts.

The death-rate is kept so high chiefly by the heavy mortality among young children in the working-class. The tender frame of a child is least able to withstand the unfavourable influences of an inferior lot in life; the neglect to which they are often subjected, when both parents work or one is dead, avenges itself promptly, and no one need wonder that in Manchester, according to the report last quoted, more than fifty-seven per cent of the children of the working-class perish before the fifth year, while but twenty per cent of the children of the higher classes, and not quite thirty-two per cent of the children of all classes in the country die under five years of age.* The article of the *Artisan*, already several times referred to, furnishes exacter information on this point, by comparing the city death-rate in single diseases of children with the country death-rate, thus demonstrating that, in general, epidemics in Manchester and Liverpool are three times more fatal than in country districts; that affections of the nervous system are quintupled, and stomach troubles trebled,[a] while deaths from affections of the lungs in cities are to those in the country as $2^1/_2$ to 1. Fatal cases of small-pox, measles, scarlet fever, and whooping cough, among small children, are four times more frequent; those of water on the brain are trebled, and convulsions ten times more frequent. To quote another acknowledged authority, I append the following table. Out of 10,000 persons, there die—**

* *Factories' Inquiry Commission's Reports*, 3rd vol. Report of Dr. Hawkins on Lancashire, in which Dr. Roberton is cited—the "Chief Authority for Statistics in Manchester".—*Note by Engels.*

** Quoted by Dr. Wade from the Report of the Parliamentary Factories' Commission of 1832, in his *History of the Middle and Working-Classes*, London, 1835, 3rd ed.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887* (reproduced in the English edition of 1892; the German editions of 1845 and 1892 give the reference in the text—*Ed.*).

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "doubled".—*Ed.*

| | Under 5 years. | 5-19, | 20-39, | 40-59, | 60-69, | 70-79, | 80-89, | 90-99, | 100 x |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| In Ruthlandshire, a healthy agricultural district ..... | 2,865 | 891 | 1,275 | 1,299 | 1,189 | 1,428 | 938 | 112 | 3 |
| Essex, marshy agricultural district ..... | 3,159 | 1,110 | 1,526 | 1,413 | 963 | 1,019 | 630 | 77 | 3 |
| Town of Carlisle, 1779-1787, before introduction of mills ..... | 4,408 | 911 | 1,006 | 1,201 | 940 | 826 | 533 | 153 | 22 |
| Town of Carlisle, after the introduction of mills ..... | 4,738 | 930 | 1,261 | 1,134 | 677 | 727 | 452 | 80 | 1 |
| Preston, factory town | 4,947 | 1,136 | 1,379 | 1,114 | 553 | 532 | 298 | 38 | 3 |
| Leeds, factory town... | 5,286 | 927 | 1,228 | 1,198 | 593 | 512 | 225 | 29 | 2 |

Apart from the diverse diseases which are the necessary consequence of the present neglect and oppression of the poorer classes, there are other influences which contribute to increase the mortality among small children. In many families the wife, like the husband, has to work away from home, and the consequence is the total neglect of the children, who are either locked up or given out to be taken care of. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at if hundreds of them perish through all manner of accidents. Nowhere are so many children run over, nowhere are so many killed by falling, drowning, or burning, as in the great cities and towns of England. Deaths from burns and scalds are especially frequent, such a case occurring nearly every week during the winter months in Manchester, and very frequently in London, though little mention is made of them in the papers. I have at hand a copy of the *Weekly Dispatch* of December 15th, 1844, according to which, in the week from December lst to December 7th inclusive, *six* such cases occurred. These unhappy children, perishing in this terrible way, are victims of our social disorder, and of the property-holding classes interested in maintaining and prolonging this disorder. Yet one is left in doubt whether even this terribly torturing death is not a blessing for the children in rescuing them from a long life of

toil and wretchedness, rich in suffering and poor in enjoyment. So far has it gone in England; and the bourgeoisie reads these things every day in the newspapers and takes no further trouble in the matter. But it cannot complain if, after the official and non-official testimony here cited which must be known to it, I broadly accuse it of social murder. Let the ruling class see to it that these frightful conditions are ameliorated, or let it surrender the administration of the common interests to the labouring-class. To the latter course it is by no means inclined; for the former task, so long as it remains the bourgeoisie crippled by bourgeois prejudice, it has not the needed power. For if, at last, after hundreds of thousands of victims have perished, it manifests some little anxiety for the future, passing a "Metropolitan Buildings Act",[142] under which the most unscrupulous overcrowding of dwellings is to be, at least in some slight degree, restricted; if it points with pride to measures which, far from attacking the root of the evil, do not by any means meet the demands of the commonest sanitary police, it cannot thus vindicate itself from the accusation. The English bourgeoisie has but one choice, either to continue its rule under the unanswerable charge of murder and in spite of this charge, or to abdicate in favour of the labouring-class. Hitherto it has chosen the former course.

Let us turn from the physical to the mental state of the workers. Since the bourgeoisie vouchsafes them only so much of life as is absolutely necessary, we need not wonder that it bestows upon them only so much education as lies in the interest of the bourgeoisie; and that, in truth, is not much. The means of education in England are restricted out of all proportion to the population. The few day schools at the command of the working-class are available only for the smallest minority, and are bad besides. The teachers, worn-out workers, and other unsuitable persons who only turn to teaching in order to live, are usually without the indispensable elementary knowledge, without the moral discipline so needful for the teacher, and relieved of all public supervision. Here, too, free competition rules, and, as usual, the rich profit by it, and the poor, for whom competition is *not* free, who have not the knowledge needed to enable them to form a correct judgment, have the evil consequences to bear. Compulsory school attendance does not exist. In the mills it is, as we shall see, purely nominal; and when in the session of 1843 the Ministry was disposed to make this nominal compulsion effective, the manufacturing bourgeoisie opposed the measure with all its might, though the working-class was outspokenly in favour of

compulsory school attendance. Moreover, a mass of children work the whole week through in the mills or at home, and therefore cannot attend school. The evening schools, supposed to be attended by children who are employed during the day, are almost abandoned or attended without benefit. It is asking too much, that young workers, who have been using themselves up twelve hours in the day, should go to school from eight to ten at night. And those who try it usually fall asleep, as is testified by hundreds of witnesses in the Children's Employment Commission's Report. Sunday schools have been founded, it is true, but they, too, are most scantily supplied with teachers, and can be of use to those only who have already learnt something in the day schools. The interval from one Sunday to the next is too long for an ignorant child to remember in the second sitting what it learned in the first, a week before. The Children's Employment Commission's Report furnishes a hundred proofs, and the Commission itself most emphatically expresses the opinion, that neither the week-day nor the Sunday schools, in the least degree, meet the needs of the nation. This Report gives evidence of ignorance in the working-class of England, such as could hardly be expected in Spain or Italy. It cannot be otherwise; the bourgeoisie has little to hope, and much to fear, from the education of the working-class. The Ministry, in its whole enormous budget of £55,000,000, has only the single trifling item of £40,000 for public education, and, but for the fanaticism of the religious sects which does at least as much harm as good, the means of education would be yet more scanty. As it is, the State Church manages its national schools[a] and the various sects their sectarian[b] schools for the sole purpose of keeping the children of the brethren of the faith within the congregation, and of winning away a poor childish soul here and there from some other sect. The consequence is that religion, and precisely the most unprofitable side of religion, polemical discussion, is made the principal subject of instruction, and the memory of the children overburdened with incomprehensible dogmas and theological distinctions; that sectarian hatred and bigotry are awakened as early as possible, and all rational mental and moral training shamefully neglected. The working-class has repeatedly demanded of Parliament a system of strictly secular public education, leaving religion to the ministers of the sects; but, thus far, no

[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the words "national schools" are given in English.—*Ed.*

[b] The word "sectarian" does not occur in the German editions of 1845 and 1892.—*Ed.*

Ministry has been induced to grant it. The Minister is the obedient servant of the bourgeoisie, and the bourgeoisie is divided into countless sects; but each would gladly grant the workers the otherwise dangerous education on the sole condition of their accepting, as an antidote, the dogmas peculiar to the especial sect in question. And as these sects are still quarrelling among themselves for supremacy, the workers remain for the present without education. It is true that the manufacturers boast of having enabled the majority to read, but the quality of the reading is appropriate to the source of the instruction, as the Children's Employment Commission proves. According to this report, he who knows his letters can read enough to satisfy the conscience of the manufacturers. And when one reflects upon the confused orthography of the English language which makes reading one of the arts, learned only under long instruction, this ignorance is readily understood. Very few working-people write readily; and writing orthographically is beyond the powers even of many "educated" persons. The Sunday schools of the State Church, of the Quakers, and, I think, of several other sects, do not teach writing, "because it is too worldly an employment for Sunday". The quality of the instruction offered the workers in other directions may be judged from a specimen or two, taken from the Children's Employment Commission's Report, which unfortunately does not embrace mill-work proper[143]:

In Birmingham, says Commissioner Grainger, the children examined by me are, as a whole, utterly wanting in all that could be in the remotest degree called a useful education. Although in almost all the schools religious instruction alone is furnished, the profoundest ignorance even upon that subject prevailed.— In Wolverhampton, says Commissioner Horne, I found, among others, the following example: A girl of eleven years who had attended both day and Sunday school "had never learnt of another world, nor of heaven, nor of another life". A boy, seventeen years old, "did not know how many two and two made, nor how many farthings[a] there were in twopence, even when the money was placed in his hand". Several boys had never heard of London nor of Willenhall, though the latter was but an hour's walk from their homes, and in the closest relations with Wolverhampton. Several had never heard the name of the Queen nor other names, such as Nelson, Wellington, Bonaparte; but it was noteworthy that those who had never heard even of St. Paul, Moses, or Solomon, were very well instructed as to the life, deeds, and character of Dick Turpin, and especially of Jack Sheppard.[b] A youth of sixteen did not know "how many twice two make", nor "how much money four farthings make". A youth of seventeen asserted that "ten

[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the word "farthings" is given in English, followed in brackets by the explanation "1/4 penny".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "the highwayman" after Dick Turpin and "the thief and gaol-breaker" after Jack Sheppard.—*Ed.*

farthings make ten halfpence"; a third, seventeen years old, answered several very simple questions with the brief statement, that "he was ne jedge o' nothin'."* These children, who are crammed with religious doctrines for four or five years at a stretch, know as little at the end as at the beginning. One child had "attended a Sunday school regularly for five years; does not know who Jesus Christ was, but has heard the name. Never heard of the twelve apostles. Never heard of Samson, nor of Moses, nor Aaron, etc." ** Another "attended a Sunday school regularly six years. Knows who Jesus Christ was, he died on the cross to shed his blood, to save our Saviour. Never heard of St. Peter or St. Paul." *** A third, "attended the Sunday schools of different kinds about seven years; can read, only in the thin books, easy words of one syllable; has heard of the apostles, does not know if St. Peter was one, nor if St. John was one, unless it was St. John Wesley." **** To the question who Christ was, Horne received, among others, the following answers, "Yes, Adam," "He was an apostle," "He was the Saviour's Lord's Son,"[a] and from a youth of sixteen: "Jesus Christ was a king of London a long time ago." In Sheffield, Commissioner Symons let the children from the Sunday school read aloud; they could not tell what they had read, or what sort of people the apostles were, of whom they had just been reading. After he had asked them all one after the other about the apostles without securing a single correct answer, one sly-looking little fellow, with great glee, called out: "Please sir, they were the lepers!" ***** From the pottery districts and from Lancashire the reports are similar.

This is what the bourgeoisie and the State are doing for the education and improvement of the working-class. Fortunately the conditions under which this class lives are such as give it a sort of practical training, which not only replaces school cramming, but renders harmless the confused religious notions connected with it, and even places the workers in the vanguard of the national movement of England. Necessity is the mother of invention, and what is still more important, of thought and action. The English working-man who can scarcely read and still less write, nevertheless knows very well where his own interest and that of the nation lies. He knows, too, what the especial interest of the bourgeoisie is, and what he has to expect of that bourgeoisie. If he cannot write

* *Children's Employment Commission's Report*. App. Part II. Q. 18, Nos. 216, 217, 226, 233, etc. Horne.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887*. (This and other notes to this passage are reproduced in the English edition of 1892; in the German editions of 1845 and 1892 all these references are given in the text.—*Ed.*)

** Ibid., evidence, pp. 9, 39; 133.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

*** Ibid., pp. 9, 36; 146.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

**** Ibid., pp. 34; 158.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.* (The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "founder of the Methodists" in brackets.—*Ed.*)

***** *Symons' Rep.* App. Part I, pp. E, 22, *et seq.*—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give this answer in English in brackets.—*Ed.*

he can speak, and speak in public; if he has no arithmetic, he can, nevertheless, reckon with the Political Economists enough to see through a Corn-Law-repealing bourgeois, and to get the better of him in argument; if celestial matters remain very mixed for him in spite of all the effort of the preachers, he sees all the more clearly into terrestrial, political, and social questions. We shall have occasion to refer again to this point; and pass now to the moral characteristics of our workers.

It is sufficiently clear that the instruction in morals can have no better effect than the religious teaching, with which in all English schools it is mixed up. The simple principles which, for plain human beings, regulate the relations of man to man, brought into the direst confusion by our social state, our war of each against all, necessarily remain confused and foreign to the working-man when mixed with incomprehensible dogmas, and preached in the religious form of an arbitrary and dogmatic commandment. The schools contribute, according to the confession of all authorities, and especially of the Children's Employment Commission, almost nothing to the morality of the working-class. So short-sighted, so stupidly narrow-minded is the English bourgeoisie in its egotism, that it does not even take the trouble to impress upon the workers the morality of the day, which the bourgeoisie has patched together in its own interest for its own protection! Even this precautionary measure is too great an effort for the enfeebled and sluggish bourgeoisie. A time must come when it will repent its neglect, too late. But it has no right to complain that the workers know nothing of its system of morals, and do not act in accordance with it.

Thus are the workers cast out and ignored by the class in power, morally as well as physically and mentally. The only provision made for them is the law, which fastens upon them when they become obnoxious to the bourgeoisie. Like the dullest of the brutes, they are treated to but one form of education, the whip, in the shape of force, not convincing but intimidating. There is, therefore, no cause for surprise if the workers, treated as brutes, actually become such; or if they can maintain their consciousness of manhood only by cherishing the most glowing hatred, the most unbroken inward rebellion against the bourgeoisie in power. They are men so long only as they burn with wrath against the reigning class. They become brutes the moment they bend in patience under the yoke, and merely strive to make life endurable while abandoning the effort to break the yoke.

This, then, is all that the bourgeoisie has done for the education of the proletariat—and when we take into consideration all the

circumstances in which this class lives, we shall not think the worse of it for the resentment which it cherishes against the ruling class. The moral training which is not given to the worker in school is not supplied by the other conditions of his life; that moral training, at least, which alone has worth in the eyes of the bourgeoisie; his whole position and environment involves the strongest temptation to immorality. He is poor, life offers him no charm, almost every enjoyment is denied him, the penalties of the law have no further terrors for him; why should he restrain his desires, why leave to the rich the enjoyment of his birthright,[a] why not seize a part of it for himself? What inducement has the proletarian not to steal? It is all very pretty and very agreeable to the ear of the bourgeois to hear the "sacredness of property" asserted; but for him who has none, the sacredness of property dies out of itself. Money is the god of this world; the bourgeois takes the proletarian's money from him and so makes a practical atheist of him. No wonder, then, if the proletarian retains his atheism and no longer respects the sacredness and power of the earthly God. And when the poverty of the proletarian is intensified to the point of actual lack of the barest necessaries of life, to want and hunger, the temptation to disregard all social order does but gain power. This the bourgeoisie for the most part recognises. Symons* observes that poverty exercises the same ruinous influence upon the mind which drunkenness exercises upon the body; and Dr. Alison explains to property-holding readers, with the greatest exactness, what the consequences of social oppression must be for the working-class.** Want leaves the working-man the choice between starving slowly, killing himself speedily, or taking what he needs where he finds it—in plain English, stealing. And there is no cause for surprise that most of them prefer stealing to starvation and suicide.

True, there are, within the working-class, numbers too moral to steal even when reduced to the utmost extremity, and these starve or commit suicide. For suicide, formerly the enviable privilege of the upper classes, has become fashionable among the English workers, and numbers of the poor kill themselves to avoid the misery from which they see no other means of escape.

But far more demoralising than his poverty in its influence

* *Arts and Artisans.—Note by Engels.*

** *Principles of Population*, vol. ii, pp. 196, 197.—*Note by Engels.*

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "the enjoyment of his riches" instead of "the enjoyment of his birthright".—*Ed.*

upon the English working-man is the insecurity of his position, the necessity of living upon wages from hand to mouth, that in short which makes a proletarian of him. The smaller peasants in Germany are usually poor, and often suffer want, but they are less at the mercy of accident, they have at least something secure. The proletarian, who has nothing but his two hands, who consumes today what he earned yesterday, who is subject to every possible chance, and has not the slightest guarantee for being able to earn the barest necessities of life, whom every crisis, every whim of his employer may deprive of bread, this proletarian is placed in the most revolting, inhuman position conceivable for a human being. The slave is assured of a bare livelihood by the self-interest of his master, the serf has at least a scrap of land on which to live; each has at worst a guarantee for life itself. But the proletarian must depend upon himself alone, and is yet prevented from so applying his abilities as to be able to rely upon them. Everything that the proletarian can do to improve his position is but a drop in the ocean compared with the floods of varying chances to which he is exposed, over which he has not the slightest control. He is the passive subject of all possible combinations of circumstances, and must count himself fortunate when he has saved his life even for a short time; and his character and way of living are naturally shaped by these conditions. Either he seeks to keep his head above water in this whirlpool, to rescue his manhood, and this he can do solely in rebellion* against the class which plunders him so mercilessly and then abandons him to his fate, which strives to hold him in this position so demoralising to a human being; or he gives up the struggle against his fate as hopeless, and strives to profit, so far as he can, by the most favourable moment. To save is unavailing, for at the utmost he cannot save more than suffices to sustain life for a short time, while if he falls out of work, it is for no brief period. To accumulate lasting property for himself is impossible; and if it were not, he would only cease to be a working-man and another would take his place. What better thing can he do, then, when he gets high wages, than live well upon them? The English bourgeoisie is violently scandalised at the extravagant living of the workers when wages are high; yet it is not only very natural but very sensible of them to enjoy life when they can, instead of laying up treasures which are of no lasting use

* We shall see later how the rebellion of the working-class against the bourgeoisie in England is legalised by the right of coalition.—*Note by Engels*. (In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this passage reads: "in rebellion against the bourgeoisie, against the class", etc.—*Ed.*)

to them, and which in the end moth and rust (i.e., the bourgeoisie) get possession of. Yet such a life is demoralising beyond all others. What Carlyle says of the cotton spinners is true of all English industrial workers *:

"Their trade, now in plethoric prosperity, anon extenuated into inanition and 'short time', is of the nature of gambling; they live by it like gamblers, now in luxurious superfluity, now in starvation. Black, mutinous discontent devours them; simply the miserablest feeling that can inhabit the heart of man. English commerce, with its world-wide, convulsive fluctuations, with its immeasurable Proteus Steam demon, makes all paths uncertain for them, all life a bewilderment; sobriety, steadfastness, peaceable continuance, the first blessings of man are not theirs.—This world is for them no home, but a dingy prison-house, of reckless unthrift, rebellion, rancour, indignation against themselves and against all men. Is it a green, flowery world, with azure everlasting sky stretched over it, the work and government of a God; or a murky, simmering Tophet, of copperas fumes, cotton fuzz, gin riot, wrath and toil, created by a Demon, governed by a Demon?"

And elsewhere**:

"Injustice, infidelity to truth and fact and Nature's order, being properly the one evil under the sun, and the feeling of injustice the one intolerable pain under the sun, our grand question as to the condition of these working-men would be: Is it just? And, first of all, what belief have they themselves formed about the justice of it? The words they promulgate are notable by way of answer; their actions are still more notable. Revolt, sullen, revengeful humour of revolt against the upper classes, decreasing respect for what their temporal superiors command, decreasing faith for what their spiritual superiors teach, is more and more the universal spirit of the lower classes. Such spirit may be blamed, may be vindicated, but all men must recognise it as extant there, all may know that it is mournful, that unless altered it will be fatal."

Carlyle is perfectly right as to the facts and wrong only in censuring the wild rage of the workers against the higher classes. This rage, this passion, is rather the proof that the workers feel the inhumanity of their position, that they refuse to be degraded to the level of brutes, and that they will one day free themselves from servitude to the bourgeoisie. This may be seen in the case of those who do not share this wrath; they either bow humbly before the fate that overtakes them, live a respectful private life as well as they can, do not concern themselves as to the course of public affairs, help the bourgeoisie to forge the chains of the workers yet more securely and stand upon the plane of intellectual nullity that prevailed before the industrial period began; or they are tossed about by fate, lose their moral hold upon themselves as they have already lost their economic hold, live along from day to day, drink

* *Chartism*, p. 34, *et seq.—Note by Engels.*

** Ibid., p. 40.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887* (reproduced in the English edition of 1892; in the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the reference is given in the text—*Ed.*).

and fall into licentiousness; and in both cases they are brutes. The last-named class contributes chiefly to the "rapid increase of vice", at which the bourgeoisie[a] is so horrified after itself setting in motion the causes which give rise to it.

Another source of demoralisation among the workers is their being condemned to work. As voluntary, productive activity is the highest enjoyment known to us, so is compulsory toil the most cruel, degrading punishment. Nothing is more terrible than being constrained to do some one thing every day from morning until night against one's will. And the more a man the worker feels himself, the more hateful must his work be to him, because he feels the constraint, the aimlessness of it for himself. Why does he work? For love of work? From a natural impulse? Not at all! He works for money, for a thing which has nothing whatsoever to do with the work itself[b]; and he works so long, moreover, and in such unbroken monotony, that this alone must make his work a torture in the first weeks if he has the least human feeling left. The division of labour has multiplied the brutalising influences of forced work. In most branches the worker's activity is reduced to some paltry, purely mechanical manipulation, repeated minute after minute, unchanged year after year.* How much human feeling, what abilities can a man retain in his thirtieth year, who has made needle points or filed toothed wheels twelve hours every day from his early childhood, living all the time under the conditions forced upon the English proletarian? It is still the same thing since the introduction of steam.[c] The worker's activity is made easy, muscular effort is saved, but the work itself becomes unmeaning and monotonous to the last degree. It offers no field for mental activity, and claims just enough of his attention to keep him from thinking of anything else.[d] And a sentence to such work, to work which takes his whole time for itself, leaving him scarcely time to eat and sleep, none for physical exercise in the open air,

* Shall I call bourgeois witnesses to bear testimony for me here, too? I select one only, whom every one may read, namely, Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations* (McCulloch's four volume edition), vol. iii, book 5, chap. 1, p. 297.—*Note by Engels.*

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "the sentimental bourgeoisie".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "he works because he has to work".—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "and machinery".—*Ed.*

[d] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "if he wants to do it properly".—*Ed.*

or the enjoyment of Nature, much less for mental activity, how can such a sentence help degrading a human being to the level of a brute? Once more the worker must choose, must either surrender himself to his fate, become a "good" workman, heed "faithfully" the interest of the bourgeoisie, in which case he most certainly becomes a brute, or else he must rebel, fight for his manhood to the last, and this he can only do in the fight against the bourgeoisie.

And when all these conditions have engendered vast demoralisation among the workers, a new influence is added to the old, to spread this degradation more widely and carry it to the extremest point. This influence is the centralisation of the population. The writers of the English bourgeoisie are crying murder at the demoralising tendency of the great cities; like perverted Jeremiahs, they sing dirges, not over the destruction, but the growth of the cities. Sheriff Alison attributes almost everything, and Dr. Vaughan, author of *The Age of Great Cities,* still more to this influence. And this is natural, for the propertied class has too direct an interest in the other conditions which tend to destroy the worker body and soul. If they should admit that poverty, insecurity, overwork, forced work, are the chief ruinous influences, they would have to draw the conclusion, then let us give the poor property, guarantee their subsistence, make laws against overwork, and this the bourgeoisie dare not formulate. But the great cities have grown up so spontaneously, the population has moved into them so wholly of its own motion, and the inference that manufacture and the middle-class which profits from it alone have created the cities is so remote, that it is extremely convenient for the ruling class to ascribe all the evil to this apparently unavoidable source; whereas the great cities really only secure a more rapid and certain development for evils already existing in the germ. Alison is humane enough to admit this; he is no thoroughbred Liberal manufacturer, but only a half developed Tory bourgeois, and he has, therefore, an open eye, now and then, where the full-fledged bourgeois is still stone blind. Let us hear him.*

It is in the great cities that "vice has spread her temptations, and pleasure her seductions, and folly her allurements; that guilt is encouraged by the hope of impunity, and idleness fostered by the frequency of example. It is to these great marts of human corruption that the base and the profligate resort from the simplicity of country life; it is here that they find victims whereon to practise their iniquity, and gains to reward the dangers that attend them. Virtue is here depressed from the obscurity in which it is involved. Guilt is matured from the difficulty of its detection; licentiousness is rewarded by the immediate enjoyment

* *Principles of Population*, vol. ii, p. 76, *et seq.*, p. 82, p. 135.—*Note by Engels* (in the German editions of 1845 and 1892 these quotations are abridged—*Ed.*).

which it promises. If any person will walk through St. Giles's, the crowded alleys of Dublin, or the poorer quarters of Glasgow by night, he will meet with ample proof of these observations; he will no longer wonder at the disorderly habits and profligate enjoyments of the lower orders; his astonishment will be, not that there is so much, but that there is so little crime in the world. The great cause of human corruption in these crowded situations is the contagious nature of bad example and the extreme difficulty of avoiding the seductions of vice when they are brought into close and daily proximity with the younger part of the people. Whatever we may think of the strength of virtue, experience proves that the higher orders are indebted for their exemption from atrocious crime or disorderly habits chiefly to their fortunate removal from the scene of temptation; and that where they are exposed to the seductions which assail their inferiors, they are noways behind them in yielding to their influence. It is the peculiar misfortune of the poor in great cities that they cannot fly from these irresistible temptations, but that, turn where they will, they are met by the alluring forms of vice, or the seductions of guilty enjoyment. It is the experienced impossibility of concealing the attractions of vice from the younger part of the poor in great cities which exposes them to so many causes of demoralisation.[a] All this proceeds not from any unwonted or extraordinary depravity in the character of these victims of licentiousness, but from the almost irresistible nature of the temptations to which the poor are exposed. The rich, who censure their conduct, would in all probability yield as rapidly as they have done to the influence of similar causes. There is a certain degree of misery, a certain proximity to sin, which virtue is rarely able to withstand, and which the young, in particular, are generally unable to resist. The progress of vice in such circumstances is almost as certain and often nearly as rapid as that of physical contagion."

And elsewhere:

"When the higher orders for their own profit have drawn the labouring-classes in great numbers into a small space, the contagion of guilt becomes rapid and unavoidable. The lower orders, situated as they are in so far as regards moral or religious instruction, are frequently hardly more to be blamed for yielding to the temptations which surround them than for falling victims to the typhus fever."

Enough! The half-bourgeois Alison betrays to us, however narrow his manner of expressing himself, the evil effect of the great cities upon the moral development of the workers. Another, a bourgeois *pur sang*,[b] a man after the heart of the Anti-Corn Law League, Dr. Andrew Ure,* betrays the other side. He tells us that life in great cities facilitates cabals among the workers and confers power on the Plebs. If here the workers are not educated (i.e., to obedience to the bourgeoisie), they may view matters one-sidedly, from the standpoint of a sinister selfishness, and may readily permit themselves to be hoodwinked by sly demagogues; nay, they

* *Philosophy of Manufactures*, London, 1835, p. 406, *et seq.* We shall have occasion to refer further to this reputable work.—*Note by Engels.*

[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the quotation is interrupted with a sentence by Engels "After a long description of morals, the author continues".—*Ed.*

[b] Pure-blooded.—*Ed.*

might even be capable of viewing their greatest benefactors, the frugal and enterprising capitalists, with a jealous and hostile eye. Here proper training alone can avail, or national bankruptcy and other horrors must follow, since a revolution of the workers could hardly fail to occur. And our bourgeois is perfectly justified in his fears. If the centralisation of population stimulates and develops the property-holding class, it forces the development of the workers yet more rapidly. The workers begin to feel as a class, as a whole; they begin to perceive that, though feeble as individuals, they form a power united; their separation from the bourgeoisie, the development of views peculiar to the workers and corresponding to their position in life, is fostered, the consciousness of oppression awakens, and the workers attain social and political importance. The great cities are the birthplaces of labour movements; in them the workers first began to reflect upon their own condition, and to struggle against it; in them the opposition between proletariat and bourgeoisie first made itself manifest; from them proceeded the Trades Unions, Chartism, and Socialism. The great cities have transformed the disease of the social body, which appears in chronic form in the country, into an acute one, and so made manifest its real nature and the means of curing it. Without the great cities and their forcing influence upon the popular intelligence, the working-class would be far less advanced than it is. Moreover, they have destroyed the last remnant of the patriarchal relation between working-men and employers, a result to which manufacture on a large scale has contributed by multiplying the employees dependent upon a single employer. The bourgeoisie deplores all this, it is true, and has good reason to do so; for, under the old conditions, the bourgeois was comparatively secure against a revolt on the part of his hands. He could tyrannise over them and plunder them to his heart's content, and yet receive obedience, gratitude, and assent from these stupid people by bestowing a trifle of patronising friendliness which cost him nothing, and perhaps some paltry present, all apparently out of pure, self-sacrificing, uncalled-for goodness of heart, but really not one-tenth part of his duty. As an individual bourgeois, placed under conditions which he had not himself created, he might do his duty at least in part; but, as a member of the ruling class, which, by the mere fact of its ruling, is responsible for the condition of the whole nation,[a] he did nothing of what his position

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "and undertakes to ensure the general interest".—*Ed.*

involved. On the contrary, he plundered the whole nation for his own individual advantage. In the patriarchal relation that hypocritically concealed the slavery of the worker, the latter must have remained an intellectual zero, totally ignorant of his own interest, a mere private individual. Only when estranged from his employer, when convinced that the sole bond between employer and employee is the bond of pecuniary profit, when the sentimental bond between them, which stood not the slightest test, had wholly fallen away, then only did the worker begin to recognise his own interests and develop independently; then only did he cease to be the slave of the bourgeoisie in his thoughts, feelings, and the expression of his will. And to this end manufacture on a grand scale and in great cities has most largely contributed.

Another influence of great moment in forming the character of the English workers is the Irish immigration already referred to. On the one hand it has, as we have seen, degraded the English workers, removed them from civilisation, and aggravated the hardship of their lot; but, on the other hand, it has thereby deepened the chasm between workers and bourgeoisie, and hastened the approaching crisis. For the course of the social disease from which England is suffering is the same as the course of a physical disease; it develops according to certain laws, has its own crises, the last and most violent of which determines the fate of the patient. And as the English nation cannot succumb under the final crisis, but must go forth from it, born again, rejuvenated, we can but rejoice over everything which accelerates the course of the disease. And to this the Irish immigration further contributes by reason of the passionate, mercurial Irish temperament, which it imports into England and into the English working-class. The Irish and English are to each other much as the French and the Germans; and the mixing of the more facile, excitable, fiery Irish temperament with the stable, reasoning, persevering English must, in the long run, be productive only of good for both. The rough egotism of the English bourgeoisie would have kept its hold upon the working-class much more firmly if the Irish nature, generous to a fault, and ruled primarily by sentiment, had not intervened, and softened the cold, rational English character in part by a mixture of the races, and in part by the ordinary contact of life.

In view of all this, it is not surprising that the working-class has gradually become a race wholly apart from the English bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie has more in common with every other nation of the earth than with the workers in whose midst it lives. The workers speak other dialects, have other thoughts and ideals, other customs

and moral principles, a different religion and other politics than those of the bourgeoisie. Thus they are two radically dissimilar nations, as unlike as difference of race could make them, of whom we on the Continent have known but one, the bourgeoisie. Yet it is precisely the other, the people, the proletariat, which is by far the more important for the future of England.*

Of the public character of the English working-man, as it finds expression in associations and political principles, we shall have occasion to speak later; let us here consider the results of the influences cited above, as they affect the private character of the worker. The workman is far more humane in ordinary life than the bourgeois. I have already mentioned the fact that the beggars are accustomed to turn almost exclusively to the workers, and that, in general, more is done by the workers than by the bourgeoisie for the maintenance of the poor. This fact, which any one may prove for himself any day, is confirmed, among others, by Dr. Parkinson, Canon of Manchester, who says**:

> "The poor give more to each other than the rich give to the poor. I am confirmed in this assertion by the testimony of one of our oldest, most learned, and most observant physicians Dr. Bardsley, whose humanity is as conspicuous as his learning and talent, and who has often publicly declared that the aggregate sum given in each year by the poor to each other exceeds that contributed by the rich in the same period."

In other ways, too, the humanity of the workers is constantly manifesting itself pleasantly. They have experienced hard times themselves, and can therefore feel for those in trouble,[a] whence they are more approachable, friendlier, and less greedy for money, though they need it far more than the property-holding class. For them money is worth only what it will buy, whereas for the bourgeois it has an especial inherent value, the value of a god, and makes the bourgeois the mean, low money-grubber that he is. The working-man who knows nothing of this feeling of reverence for money is therefore less grasping than the bourgeois, whose whole activity is for the purpose of gain, who sees in the accumulations of his money-bags the end and aim of life. Hence

* (1892) The idea that large-scale industry has split the English into two different nations has, as is well known, been carried out about the same time also by Disraeli in his novel, *Sybil, or the Two Nations.—Note by Engels to the German edition of 1892.*

** *On the Present Condition of the Labouring Poor in Manchester*, etc. By the Rev. Rd. Parkinson, Canon of Manchester, 3rd ed., London and Manchester, 1841. Pamphlet.—*Note by Engels.*

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "to them every person is a human being, while the worker is less than a human being to the bourgeois".—*Ed.*

the workman is much less prejudiced, has a clearer eye for facts as they are than the bourgeois, and does not look at everything through the spectacles of personal selfishness. His faulty education saves him from religious prepossessions, he does not understand religious questions, does not trouble himself about them, knows nothing of the fanaticism that holds the bourgeoisie bound; and if he chances to have any religion, he has it only in name, not even in theory. Practically he lives for this world, and strives to make himself at home in it. All the writers of the bourgeoisie are unanimous on this point, that the workers are not religious, and do not attend church. From the general statement are to be excepted the Irish, a few elderly people, and the half-bourgeois, the overlookers, foremen, and the like. But among the masses there prevails almost universally a total indifference to religion, or at the utmost, some trace of Deism too undeveloped to amount to more than mere words, or a vague dread of the words infidel, atheist, etc. The clergy of all sects is in very bad odour with the working-men, though the loss of its influence is recent. At present, however, the mere cry: "He's a parson!"[a] is often enough to drive one of the clergy from the platform of a public meeting. And like the rest of the conditions under which he lives, his want of religious and other culture contributes to keep the working-man more unconstrained, freer from inherited stable tenets and cut-and-dried opinions, than the bourgeois who is saturated with the class prejudices poured into him from his earliest youth. There is nothing to be done with the bourgeois; he is essentially conservative in however liberal a guise, his interest is bound up with that of the property-holding class,[b] he is dead to all active movement; he is losing his position in the forefront of England's historical development. The workers are taking his place, in rightful claim first, then in fact.

All this, together with the correspondent public action of the workers, with which we shall deal later, forms the favourable side of the character of this class; the unfavourable one may be quite as briefly summed up, and follows quite as naturally out of the given causes. Drunkenness, sexual irregularities, brutality, and disregard for the rights of property are the chief points with which the bourgeois charges them. That they drink heavily is to be expected. Sheriff Alison asserts that in Glasgow some thirty thousand

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "infidel" and "He's a parson" in English, followed by the German translation.—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "the existing system" instead of "the property-holding class".—*Ed.*

working-men get drunk every Saturday night, and the estimate is certainly not exaggerated; and that in that city in 1830, one house in twelve, and in 1840, one house in ten, was a public-house; that in Scotland, in 1823, excise was paid upon 2,300,000 gallons; in 1837, upon 6,620,000 gallons; in England, in 1823, upon 1,976,000 gallons, and in 1837, upon 7,875,000 gallons of spirits.* The Beer Act of 1830, which facilitated the opening of beerhouses (jerry-shops), whose keepers are licensed to sell beer to be drunk on the premises, facilitated the spread of intemperance by bringing a beerhouse, so to say, to everybody's door. In nearly every street there are several such beerhouses, and among two or three neighbouring houses in the country one is sure to be a jerry-shop. Besides these, there are hush-shops[a] in multitudes, i.e., secret drinking-places which are not licensed, and quite as many secret distilleries which produce great quantities of spirits in retired spots, rarely visited by the police, in the great cities. Gaskell estimates these secret distilleries in Manchester alone at more than a hundred, and their product at 156,000 gallons at the least. In Manchester there are, besides, more than a thousand public-houses selling all sorts of alcoholic drinks,[b] or quite as many in proportion to the number of inhabitants as in Glasgow. In all other great towns, the state of things is the same. And when one considers, apart from the usual consequences of intemperance, that men and women, even children, often mothers with babies in their arms, come into contact in these places with the most degraded victims of the bourgeois regime, with thieves, swindlers, and prostitutes; when one reflects that many a mother gives the baby on her arm gin to drink, the demoralising effects of frequenting such places cannot be denied.

On Saturday evenings, especially when wages are paid and work stops somewhat earlier than usual, when the whole working-class pours from its own poor quarters into the main thoroughfares, intemperance may be seen in all its brutality. I have rarely come out of Manchester on such an evening without meeting numbers of people staggering and seeing others lying in the gutter. On Sunday evening the same scene is usually repeated, only less

* *Principles of Population*, passim.—*Note by Engels.* (This note is not given in the English and American editions.—*Ed.*)

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give "a jerry-shop" and "hush-shops" in English.—*Ed.*

[b] The words "selling all sorts of alcoholic drinks" are not in the German editions of 1845 and 1892.—*Ed.*

noisily. And when their money is spent, the drunkards go to the nearest pawnshop, of which there are plenty in every city—over sixty in Manchester, and ten or twelve in a single street of Salford, Chapel Street—and pawn whatever they possess. Furniture, Sunday clothes where such exist, kitchen utensils in masses are fetched from the pawnbrokers on Saturday night only to wander back, almost without fail, before the next Wednesday, until at last some accident makes the final redemption impossible, and one article after another falls into the clutches of the usurer, or until he refuses to give a single farthing more upon the battered, used up pledge. When one has seen the extent of intemperance among the workers in England, one readily believes Lord Ashley's statement* that this class annually expends something like twenty-five million pounds sterling upon intoxicating liquor; and the deterioration in external conditions, the frightful shattering of mental and physical health, the ruin of all domestic relations which follow may readily be imagined. True, the temperance societies have done much, but what are a few thousand teetotallers[a] among the millions of workers? When Father Mathew, the Irish apostle of temperance, passes through the English cities, from thirty to sixty thousand workers take the pledge[b]; but most of them break it again within a month. If one counts up the immense numbers who have taken the pledge in the last three or four years in Manchester, the total is greater than the whole population of the town—and still it is by no means evident that intemperance is diminishing.

Next to intemperance in the enjoyment of intoxicating liquors, one of the principal faults of English working-men is sexual licence. But this, too, follows with relentless logic, with inevitable necessity out of the position of a class left to itself, with no means of making fitting use of its freedom. The bourgeoisie has left the working-class only these two pleasures, while imposing upon it a multitude of labours and hardships, and the consequence is that the working-men, in order to get something from life, concentrate their whole energy upon these two enjoyments, carry them to excess, surrender to them in the most unbridled manner. When people are placed under conditions which appeal to the brute only, what remains to them but to rebel or to succumb to utter

* Sitting of the Lower House on Feb. 28, 1843.—*Note by Engels*. (Omitted in the American and English editions.—*Ed*.)

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give this word in English.—*Ed*.

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give this word in English, followed by the German translation.—*Ed*.

brutality? And when, moreover, the bourgeoisie does its full share in maintaining prostitution—and how many of the 40,000 prostitutes who fill the streets of London* every evening live upon the virtuous bourgeoisie! How many of them owe it to the seduction of a bourgeois, that they must offer their bodies to the passers-by in order to live?—surely it has least of all a right to reproach the workers with their sexual brutality.

The failings of the workers in general may be traced to an unbridled thirst for pleasure, to want of providence, and of flexibility in fitting into the social order, to the general inability to sacrifice the pleasure of the moment to a remoter advantage. But is that to be wondered at? When a class can purchase few and only the most sensual pleasures by its wearying toil, must it not give itself over blindly and madly to those pleasures? A class about whose education no one troubles himself, which is a playball to a thousand chances, knows no security in life—what incentives has such a class to providence, to "respectability", to sacrifice the pleasure of the moment for a remoter enjoyment, most uncertain precisely by reason of the perpetually varying, shifting conditions under which the proletariat lives? A class which bears all the disadvantages of the social order without enjoying its advantages, one to which the social system appears in purely hostile aspects—who can demand that such a class respect this social order? Verily that is asking much! But the working-man cannot escape the present arrangement of society so long as it exists, and when the individual worker resists it, the greatest injury falls upon himself.

Thus the social order makes family life almost impossible for the worker. In a comfortless, filthy house, hardly good enough for mere nightly shelter, ill-furnished, often neither rain-tight nor warm, a foul atmosphere filling rooms overcrowded with human beings, no domestic comfort is possible. The husband works the whole day through, perhaps the wife also and the elder children, all in different places; they meet night and morning only, all under perpetual temptation to drink; what family life is possible under such conditions? Yet the working-man cannot escape from the family, must live in the family, and the consequence is a perpetual succession of family troubles, domestic quarrels, most demoralising for parents and children alike. Neglect of all domestic duties, neglect of the children, especially, is only too common

* Sheriff Alison, *Principles of Population*, vol. ii.—*Note by Engels.* (Omitted in the American and English editions.—*Ed.*)

among the English working-people, and only too vigorously fostered by the existing institutions of society. And children growing up in this savage way, amidst these demoralising influences,[a] are expected to turn out goody-goody and moral in the end! Verily the requirements are naïve, which the self-satisfied bourgeois makes upon the working-man!

The contempt for the existing social order is most conspicuous in its extreme form—that of offences against the law. If the influences demoralising to the working-man act more powerfully, more concentratedly than usual, he becomes an offender as certainly as water abandons the fluid for the vaporous state at 80 degrees, Réaumur. Under the brutal and brutalising treatment of the bourgeoisie, the working-man becomes precisely as much a thing without volition as water, and is subject to the laws of Nature with precisely the same necessity; at a certain point all freedom ceases. Hence with the extension of the proletariat, crime has increased in England, and the British nation has become the most criminal in the world. From the annual criminal tables of the Home Secretary, it is evident that the increase of crime in England has proceeded with incomprehensible rapidity. The numbers of arrests for *criminal* offences reached in the years: 1805, 4,605, 1810, 5,146; 1815, 7,818; 1820, 13,710; 1825, 14,437; 1830, 18,107; 1835, 20,731; 1840, 27,187; 1841, 27,760; 1842, 31,309 in England and Wales alone.[144] That is to say, they increased sevenfold in thirty-seven years. Of these arrests, in 1842, 4,497 were made in Lancashire alone, or more than 14 per cent of the whole; and 4,094 in Middlesex, including London, or more than 13 per cent. So that two districts which include great cities with large proletarian populations, produced one-fourth[b] of the total amount of crime, though their population is far from forming one-fourth of the whole. Moreover, the criminal tables prove directly that nearly all crime arises within the proletariat; for, in 1842, taking the average, out of 100 criminals, 32.35 could neither read nor write; 58.32 read and wrote imperfectly; 6.77 could read and write well; 0.22 had enjoyed a higher education, while the degree of education of 2.34 could not be ascertained. In Scotland, crime has increased yet more rapidly. There were but 89 arrests for criminal offences in 1819, and as early as 1837 the number had risen to 3,126, and in 1842 to 4,189. In Lanarkshire, where

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "including often enough the parents themselves".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "over one-fourth".—*Ed.*

Sheriff Alison himself made out the official report, population has doubled once in thirty years, and crime once in five and a half, or six times more rapidly than the population. The offences, as in all civilised countries, are, in the great majority of cases, against property, and have, therefore, arisen from want in some form; for what a man has, he does not steal. The proportion of offences against property to the population, which in the Netherlands is as 1:7,140, and in France, as 1:1,804, was in England, when Gaskell wrote, as 1:799. The proportion of offences against persons to the population is, in the Netherlands, 1:28,904; in France, 1:17,573; in England, 1:23,395; that of crimes in general to the population in the agricultural districts, as 1:1,043; in the manufacturing districts as 1:840.* In the whole of England today the proportion is 1:660**; though it is scarcely ten years since Gaskell's book appeared!

These facts are certainly more than sufficient to bring any one, even a bourgeois, to pause and reflect upon the consequences of such a state of things. If demoralisation and crime multiply twenty years longer in this proportion (and if English manufacture in these twenty years should be less prosperous than heretofore, the progressive multiplication of crime can only continue the more rapidly), what will the result be? Society is already in a state of visible dissolution; it is impossible to pick up a newspaper without seeing the most striking evidence of the giving way of all social ties. I look at random into a heap of English journals lying before me; there is the *Manchester Guardian* for October 30, 1844, which reports for three days. It no longer takes the trouble to give exact details as to Manchester, and merely relates the most interesting cases: that the workers in a mill have struck for higher wages without giving notice, and been condemned by a Justice of the Peace to resume work; that in Salford a couple of boys had been caught stealing, and a bankrupt tradesman tried to cheat his creditors. From the neighbouring towns the reports are more detailed: in Ashton, two thefts, one burglary, one suicide; in Bury, one theft; in Bolton, two thefts, one revenue fraud; in Leigh, one theft; in Oldham, one strike for wages, one theft, one fight between Irish women, one non-Union hatter assaulted by Union men, one mother beaten by her son,[a] one attack upon the police,

* *The Manufacturing Population of England,* chap. 10.—*Note by Engels.*

** The total of population, about fifteen millions, divided by the number of *convicted* criminals (22,733).—*Note by Engels.*

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "in Rochdale a number of fights".—*Ed.*

one robbery of a church; in Stockport, discontent of working-men with wages, one theft, one fraud, one fight, one wife beaten by her husband; in Warrington, one theft, one fight; in Wigan, one theft, and one robbery of a church. The reports of the London papers are much worse; frauds, thefts, assaults, family quarrels crowd one another. A *Times* of September 12, 1844, falls into my hand, which gives a report of a single day, including a theft, an attack upon the police, a sentence upon a father requiring him to support his illegitimate son, the abandonment of a child by its parents, and the poisoning of a man by his wife. Similar reports are to be found in all the English papers. In this country, social war is under full headway, every one stands for himself, and fights for himself against all comers, and whether or not he shall injure all the others who are his declared foes, depends upon a cynical calculation as to what is most advantageous for himself. It no longer occurs to any one to come to a peaceful understanding with his fellow-man; all differences are settled by threats violence, or in a law-court. In short, every one sees in his neighbour an enemy to be got out of the way, or, at best, a tool to be used for his own advantage. And this war grows from year to year, as the criminal tables show, more violent, passionate, irreconcilable. The enemies are dividing gradually into two great camps[a]—the bourgeoisie on the one hand, the workers on the other. This war of each against all, of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, need cause us no surprise, for it is only the logical sequel of the principle involved in free competition. But it may very well surprise us that the bourgeoisie remains so quiet and composed in the face of the rapidly gathering storm-clouds, that it can read all these things daily in the papers without, we will not say indignation at such a social condition, but fear of its consequences, of a universal outburst of that which manifests itself symptomatically from day to day in the form of crime. But then it is the bourgeoisie, and from its standpoint cannot even see the facts, much less perceive their consequences. One thing only is astounding, that class prejudice and preconceived opinions can hold a whole class of human beings in such perfect, I might almost say, such mad blindness. Meanwhile, the development of the nation goes its way whether the bourgeoisie has eyes for it or not, and will surprise the property-holding class one day with things not dreamed of in its philosophy.

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "two great camps fighting each other".—*Ed.*

## SINGLE BRANCHES OF INDUSTRY

### FACTORY-HANDS[a]

In dealing now with the more important branches of the English manufacturing proletariat, we shall begin, according to the principle already laid down,[b] with the factory-workers, i.e., those who are comprised under the Factory Act. This law regulates the length of the working-day in mills in which wool, silk, cotton, and flax are spun or woven by means of water or steam-power, and embraces, therefore, the more important branches of English manufacture. The class employed by them is the most intelligent and energetic of all the English workers, and, therefore, the most restless and most hated by the bourgeoisie. It stands as a whole, and the cotton-workers pre-eminently stand, at the head of the labour movement, as their masters the manufacturers, especially those of Lancashire, take the lead of the bourgeois agitation.

We have already seen in the introduction how the population employed in working up the textile materials were first torn from their former way of life.[c] It is, therefore, not surprising that the progress of mechanical invention in later years also affected precisely these workers most deeply and permanently. The history

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "factory-hands in the narrower sense".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give the reference to the page on which the chapter "The Industrial Proletariat" begins (see p. 324 of this volume). Concerning the Factory Laws see pp. 442, 459, 461, 464 of this volume.—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "through the new machinery".—*Ed.*

of cotton manufacture as related by Ure,* Baines,** and others is the story of improvements in every direction, most of which have become domesticated in the other branches of industry as well. Hand-work is superseded by machine-work almost universally, nearly all manipulations are conducted by the aid of steam or water, and every year is bringing further improvements.

In a well-ordered state of society, such improvements could only be a source of rejoicing; in a war of all against all, individuals seize the benefit for themselves, and so deprive the majority of the means of subsistence. Every improvement in machinery throws workers out of employment, and the greater the advance, the more numerous the unemployed; each great improvement produces, therefore, upon a number of workers the effect of a commercial crisis, creates want, wretchedness, and crime. Take a few examples. The very first invention, the jenny, worked by one man, produced at least sixfold what the spinning-wheel had yielded in the same time; thus every new jenny threw five spinners out of employment. The throstle, which, in turn, produced much more than the jenny, and, like it, was worked by one man, threw still more people out of employment. The mule, which required yet fewer hands in proportion to the product, had the same effect, and every improvement in the mule, every multiplication of its spindles, diminished still further the number of workers employed. But this increase of the number of spindles in the mule is so great that whole armies of workers have been thrown out of employment by it. For, whereas one spinner, with a couple of children for piecers, formerly set six hundred spindles in motion, he could now manage fourteen hundred to two thousand spindles upon two mules, so that two adult spinners and a part of the piecers whom they employed were thrown out. And since self-acting mules have been introduced into a very large number of spinning-mills, the spinners' work is wholly performed by the machine. There lies before me a book from the pen of James Leach,*** one of the recognised leaders of the Chartists in Manchester. The author has worked for years in various branches of industry, in mills and coal-mines, and is known to me

* *The Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain*, by Dr. A. Ure, 1836.—*Note by Engels.*

** *History of the Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain* by E. Baines, Esq.—*Note by Engels.*

*** *Stubborn Facts from the Factories by a Manchester Operative.* Published and dedicated to the working-classes, by Wm. Rashleigh, M. P., London, Ollivier, 1844, p. 28, *et seq.*—*Note by Engels.*

personally as an honest, trustworthy, and capable man. In consequence of his political position, he had at command extensive detailed information as to the different factories, collected by the workers themselves, and he publishes tables from which it is clear that in 1841, in 35 factories, 1,083 fewer mule spinners were employed than in 1829, though the number of spindles in these 35 factories had increased by 99,429. He cites five factories in which no spinners whatever are employed, self-actors only being used. While the number of spindles increased by 10 per cent, the number of spinners diminished more than 60 per cent. And Leach adds that since 1841, so many improvements have been introduced by double-decking[a] and other means, that in some of the factories named, half the operatives have been discharged. In one factory alone, where eighty spinners were employed a short time ago, there are now but twenty left; the others having been discharged or set at children's work for children's wages. Of Stockport Leach tells a similar story, that in 1835, 800 spinners were employed, and in 1843 but 140, though the manufacture of Stockport has greatly increased during the last eight or nine years. Similar improvements have now been made in carding-frames, by which one-half the operatives have been thrown out of employment. In one factory improved frames have been set up, which have thrown four hands out of eight out of work, besides which the employer reduced the wages of the four retained from eight shillings to seven. The same process has gone on in the weaving industry; the power-loom has taken possession of one branch of hand-weaving after another, and since it produces much more than the hand-loom, while one weaver can work two looms, it has superseded a multitude of working-people. And in all sorts of manufacture, in flax and wool-spinning, in silk-twisting, the case is the same. The power-loom, too, is beginning to appropriate one branch after another of wool and linen-weaving; in Rochdale alone, there are more power than hand-looms in flannel and other wool-weaving branches. The bourgeoisie usually replies to this, that improvements in machinery, by decreasing the cost of production, supply finished goods at lower prices, and that these reduced prices cause such an increase in consumption that the unemployed operatives soon find full employment in newly

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give the English terms "double-decking", "spinners", "self-actors" and "doffers" in English, sometimes in brackets, after their German equivalents.—*Ed.*

founded factories.* The bourgeoisie is so far correct that under certain conditions favourable for the general development of manufacture, every reduction in price of goods *in which the raw material is cheap*, greatly increases consumption, and gives rise to the building of new factories; but every further word of the assertion is a lie. The bourgeoisie ignores the fact that it takes years for these results of the decrease in price to follow and for new factories to be built; it is silent upon the point that every improvement in machinery throws the real work, the expenditure of force, more and more upon the machine, and so transforms the work of full-grown men into mere supervision, which a feeble woman or even a child can do quite as well, and does for half or two-thirds wages; that, therefore, grown men are constantly more and more supplanted and *not re-employed* by the increase in manufacture; it conceals the fact that whole branches of industry fall away, or are so changed that they must be learned afresh; and it takes good care not to confess what it usually harps upon, whenever the question of forbidding the work of children is broached, that factory-work must be learned in earliest youth[a] in order to be learned properly. It does not mention the fact that the process of improvement goes steadily on, and that as soon as the operative has succeeded in making himself at home in a new branch, if he actually does succeed in so doing, this, too, is taken from him, and with it the last remnant of security which remained to him for winning his bread. But the bourgeoisie gets the benefit of the improvements in machinery; it has a capital opportunity for piling up money during the first years while many old machines are still in use, and the improvement not yet universally introduced; and it would be too much to ask that it should have an open eye for the disadvantages inseparable from these improvements.

The fact that improved machinery reduces wages has also been as violently disputed by the bourgeoisie, as it is constantly reiterated by the working-men. The bourgeoisie insists that although the price of piece-work has been reduced, yet the total of wages for the week's work has rather risen than fallen, and the condition of the operatives rather improved than deteriorated. It is hard to get to the bottom of the matter, for the operatives

* Compare Factories' Inquiry Commission's Report.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887* (reproduced in the English edition of 1892; the German editions of 1845 and 1892 give the reference in the text below—*Ed.*).

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "indeed before the age of ten" and a reference to the Factories' Inquiry Commission's Report.—*Ed.*

usually dwell upon the price of piece-work. But it is certain that the weekly wage, also, has, in many branches of work, been reduced by the improvement of machinery. The so-called fine spinners (who spin fine mule yarn), for instance, do receive high wages, thirty to forty shillings a week, because they have a powerful association for keeping wages up, and their craft requires long training; but the coarse spinners who have to compete against self-actors (which are not as yet adapted for fine spinning), and whose association was broken down by the introduction of these machines, receive very low wages. A mule spinner told me that he does not earn more than fourteen shillings a week, and his statement agrees with that of Leach, that in various factories the coarse spinners earn less than sixteen shillings and sixpence a week, and that a spinner, who years ago[a] earned thirty shillings, can now hardly scrape up twelve and a half, and had not earned more on an average in the past year. The wages of women and children may perhaps have fallen less, but only because they were not high from the beginning. I know several women, widows with children, who have trouble enough to earn eight to nine shillings a week; and that they and their families cannot live decently upon that sum, every one must admit who knows the price of the barest necessaries of life in England. That wages in general have been reduced by the improvement of machinery is the unanimous testimony of the operatives. The bourgeois assertion that the condition of the working-class has been improved by machinery is most vigorously proclaimed a falsehood in every meeting of working-men in the factory districts. And even if it were true that the relative wage, the price of piece-work only, has fallen, while the absolute wage, the sum to be earned in the week, remained unchanged, what would follow? That the operatives have had quietly to look on while the manufacturers filled their purses from every improvement without giving the hands the smallest share in the gain. The bourgeois forgets, in fighting the working-man, the most ordinary principles of his own Political Economy. He who at other times swears by Malthus, cries out in his anxiety before the workers: "Where could the millions by which the population of England has increased find work, without the improvements in machinery?"* As though the bourgeois did not know well enough

* This is the question posed by J. C. Symons, in *Arts and Artisans.—Note by Engels*. (In the German editions of 1845 and 1892, this question is followed by: "Nonsense!"—*Ed.*)

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "who three years ago".—*Ed.*

that without machinery and the expansion of industry which it produced, these "millions" would never have been brought into the world and grown up! The service which machinery has rendered the workers is simply this: that it has brought home to their minds the necessity of a social reform by means of which machinery shall no longer work against but for them. Let the wise bourgeois ask the people who sweep the streets in Manchester and elsewhere (though even this is past now, since machines for the purpose have been invented and introduced), or sell salt, matches, oranges, and shoe-strings on the streets, or even beg, what they were formerly, and he will see how many will answer: Mill-hands thrown out of work by machinery. The consequences of improvement in machinery under our present social conditions are, for the working-man, solely injurious, and often in the highest degree oppressive. Every new advance brings with it loss of employment, want, and suffering, and in a country like England where, without that, there is usually a "surplus population", to be discharged from work is the worst that can befall the operative. And what a dispiriting, unnerving influence this uncertainty of his position in life, consequent upon the unceasing progress of machinery,[a] must exercise upon the worker, whose lot is precarious enough without it! To escape despair, there are but two ways open to him; either inward and outward revolt against the bourgeoisie or drunkenness and general demoralisation. And the English operatives are accustomed to take refuge in both. The history of the English proletariat relates hundreds of uprisings against machinery and the bourgeoisie; we have already spoken of the moral dissolution which, in itself, is only another form of despair.

The worst situation is that of those workers who have to compete against a machine that is making its way. The price of the goods which they produce adapts itself to the price of the kindred product of the machine, and as the latter works more cheaply, its human competitor has but the lowest wages. The same thing happens to every operative employed upon an old machine in competition with later improvements. And who else is there to bear the hardship? The manufacturer will not throw out his old apparatus, nor will he sustain the loss upon it; out of the dead mechanism he can make nothing, so he fastens upon the living worker, the universal scapegoat of society. Of all the workers in competition with machinery, the most ill-used are the hand-loom cotton weavers. They receive the most trifling wages, and, with full

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "and the unemployment resulting from it".—*Ed.*

work, are not in a position to earn more than ten shillings a week. One class of woven goods after another is annexed by the power-loom, and hand-weaving is the last refuge of workers thrown out of employment in other branches, so that the trade is always overcrowded. Hence it comes that, in average seasons, the hand-weaver counts himself fortunate if he can earn six or seven shillings a week, while to reach this sum he must sit at his loom fourteen to eighteen hours a day. Most woven goods require moreover a damp weaving-room, to keep the weft from snapping, and in part for this reason, in part because of their poverty, which prevents them from paying for better dwellings, the work-rooms of these weavers are usually without wooden or paved floors. I have been in many dwellings of such weavers, in remote, vile courts and alleys, usually in cellars. Often half-a-dozen of these hand-loom weavers, several of them married, live together in a cottage with one or two work-rooms, and one large sleeping-room. Their food consists almost exclusively of potatoes, with perhaps oatmeal porridge, rarely milk, and scarcely ever meat. Great numbers of them are Irish or of Irish descent. And these poor hand-loom weavers, first to suffer from every crisis, and last to be relieved from it, must serve the bourgeoisie as a handle in meeting attacks upon the factory system. See, cries the bourgeois, triumphantly, see how these poor creatures must famish, while the mill operatives are thriving, and *then* judge the factory system!* As though it were not precise y the factory system and the machinery belonging to it which had so shamefully crushed the hand-loom weavers, and as though the bourgeoisie did not know this quite as well as ourselves! But the bourgeoisie has interests at stake, and so a falsehood or two and a bit of hypocrisy won't matter much.

Let us examine somewhat more closely the fact that machinery more and more supersedes the work of men. The human labour, involved in both spinning and weaving, consists chiefly in piecing broken threads, as the machine does all the rest. This work requires no muscular strength, but only flexibility of finger. Men are, therefore, not only not needed for it, but actually, by reason of the greater muscular development of the hand, less fit for it than women and children, and are, therefore, naturally almost superseded by them. Hence, the more the use of the arms, the expenditure of strength, can be transferred[a] to steam or water-

* See Dr. Ure in *The Philosophy of Manufactures.—Note by Engels.*

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "through the introduction of machinery".—*Ed.*

power, the fewer men need be employed; and as women and children work more cheaply, and in these branches better than men, they take their places. In the spinning-mills women and girls are to be found in almost exclusive possession of the throstles; among the mules one man, an adult spinner (with self-actors, he, too, becomes superfluous), and several piecers for tying the threads, usually children or women, sometimes young men of from eighteen to twenty years, here and there an old spinner* thrown out of other employment. At the power-looms women, from fifteen to twenty years, are chiefly employed, and a few men; these, however, rarely remain at this trade after their twenty-first year. Among the preparatory machinery, too, women alone are to be found, with here and there a man to clean and sharpen the carding-frames. Besides all these, the factories employ numbers of children—doffers—for mounting and taking down bobbins, and a few men as overlookers, a mechanic and an engineer for the steam-engines, carpenters, porters, etc.; but the actual work of the mills is done by women and children. This the manufacturers deny.

They published last year elaborate tables to prove that machinery does not supersede adult male operatives. According to these tables, rather more than half of all the factory-workers employed, viz., 52 per cent, were females and 48 per cent males, and of these operatives more than half were over eighteen years old.[145] So far, so good. But the manufacturers are very careful not to tell us, how many of the adults were men and how many women. And this is just the point. Besides this, they have evidently counted the mechanics, engineers, carpenters, all the men employed in any way in the factories, perhaps even the clerks, and still they have not the courage to tell the whole truth. These publications teem generally with falsehoods, perversions, crooked statements, with calculations of averages, that prove a great deal for the uninitiated reader and nothing for the initiated, and with suppressions of facts bearing on the most important points; and they prove only the selfish blindness and want of uprightness of the manufacturers concerned. Let us take some of the statements of a speech with which Lord Ashley introduced the Ten Hours' Bill, March 15th, 1844, into the House of Commons. Here he gives some data as to

* Report of Factory Inspector, L. Horner. October, 1843: "There is at present a very anomalous state of things in regard to wages in some departments of cotton mills in Lancashire; for there are hundreds of young men, between 20 and 30 years of age, employed as piecers and otherwise, who are receiving not more than eight or nine shillings a week; while under the same roof, children of 13 years of age are getting five shillings, and young women between 16 and 20 are getting from ten to twelve shillings a week."—*Note by Engels.*

the relations of sex and age of the operatives, not yet refuted by the manufacturers, whose statements, as quoted above, cover moreover only a part of the manufacturing industry of England. Of 419,590 factory operatives of the British Empire in 1839, 192,887, or nearly half, were under eighteen years of age, and 242,296 of the female sex, of whom 112,192 were less than eighteen years old. There remain, therefore, 80,695 male operatives under eighteen years, and 96,599 adult male operatives, *or not one full quarter*[a] of the whole number. In the cotton factories, $56^1/_4$ per cent; in the woollen mills, $69^1/_2$ per cent; in the silk mills, $70^1/_2$ per cent; in the flax-spinning mills, $70^1/_2$ per cent of all operatives are of the female sex. These numbers suffice to prove the crowding out of adult males. But you have only to go into the nearest mill to see the fact confirmed. Hence follows of necessity that inversion of the existing social order which, being forced upon them, has the most ruinous consequences for the workers. The employment of women at once breaks up the family; for when the wife spends twelve or thirteen hours every day in the mill, and the husband works the same length of time there or elsewhere, what becomes of the children? They grow up like wild weeds; they are put out to nurse for a shilling or eighteenpence a week, and how they are treated may be imagined. Hence the accidents to which little children fall victims[b] multiply in the factory districts to a terrible extent. The lists of the Coroner of Manchester* showed for nine months: 69 deaths from burning, 56 from drowning, 23 from falling, 67 from other causes, or a total of 215 deaths from accidents,** while in non-manufacturing Liverpool during twelve months there were but 146 fatal accidents. The mining accidents are excluded in both cases; and since the Coroner of Manchester has no authority in Salford, the population of both places mentioned in the comparison is about the same. The *Manchester Guardian* reports one or more deaths by

* Report of Factories' Inquiry Commission. Testimony of Dr. Hawkins, p. 3.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887* (reproduced in the English edition of 1892; the German editions of 1845 and 1892 give this reference in the text—*Ed.*).

** In 1842, among the accidents brought to the Infirmary in Manchester, one hundred and eighty-nine were from burning. How many were fatal is not stated. *Note by Engels.* (The last sentence is omitted in the authorised English edition.—*Ed.*)

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "or 23 per cent, i.e., *not one full quarter*".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "due to lack of supervision".—*Ed.*

burning in almost every number. That the general mortality among young children must be increased by the employment of the mothers is self-evident, and is placed beyond all doubt by notorious facts. Women often return to the mill three or four days after confinement, leaving the baby, of course; in the dinner-hour they must hurry home to feed the child and eat something, and what sort of suckling that can be is also evident. Lord Ashley repeats the testimony of several workwomen:

"M. H., twenty years old, has two children, the youngest a baby that is tended by the other, a little older. The mother goes to the mill shortly after five o'clock in the morning, and comes home at eight at night; all day the milk pours from her breasts, so that her clothing drips with it." "H. W. has three children, goes away Monday morning at five o'clock, and comes back Saturday evening; has so much to do for the children then that she cannot get to bed before three o'clock in the morning; often wet through to the skin, and obliged to work in that state." She said: "My breasts have given me the most frightful pain, and I have been dripping wet with milk."[146]

The use of narcotics to keep the children still is fostered by this infamous system, and has reached a great extent in the factory districts. Dr. Johns, Registrar in Chief for Manchester, is of opinion that this custom is the chief source of the many deaths from convulsions. The employment of the wife dissolves the family utterly and of necessity, and this dissolution, in our present society, which is based upon the family, brings the most demoralising consequences for parents as well as children. A mother who has no time to trouble herself about her child, to perform the most ordinary loving services for it during its first year, who scarcely indeed sees it, can be no real mother to the child, must inevitably grow indifferent to it, treat it unlovingly like a stranger. The children who grow up under such conditions are utterly ruined for later family life, can never feel at home in the family which they themselves found, because they have always been accustomed to isolation, and they contribute therefore to the already general undermining of the family in the working-class. A similar dissolution of the family is brought about by the employment of the children. When they get on far enough to earn more than they cost their parents from week to week, they begin to pay the parents a fixed sum for board and lodging, and keep the rest for themselves. This often happens from the fourteenth or fifteenth year.* In a word, the children emancipate themselves,

* Factories' Inquiry Commission's Report, Power's Report on Leeds, passim; Tufnell Report on Manchester, p. 17, etc.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887* (reproduced in the English edition of 1892; the German editions of 1845 and 1892 give the reference in the text—*Ed.*).

and regard the paternal dwelling as a lodging-house, which they often exchange for another, as suits them.

In many cases the family is not wholly dissolved by the employment of the wife, but turned upside down. The wife supports the family, the husband sits at home, tends the children, sweeps the room and cooks. This case happens very frequently; in Manchester alone, many hundred such men could be cited, condemned to domestic occupations. It is easy to imagine the wrath aroused among the working-men by this reversal of all relations within the family,[a] while the other social conditions remain unchanged. There lies before me a letter from an English working-man, Robert Pounder, Baron's Buildings, Woodhouse, Moorside, in Leeds (the bourgeoisie may hunt him up there; I give the exact address for the purpose), written by him to Oastler.*

He relates how another working-man, being on tramp, came to St. Helens, in Lancashire, and there looked up an old friend. He found him in a miserable, damp cellar, scarcely furnished.

"And when my poor friend went in, there sat poor Jack near the fire, and what did he, think you? Why he sat and mended his wife's stockings with the bodkin; and as soon as he saw his old friend at the door-post, he tried to hide them. But Joe, that is my friend's name, had seen it, and said: 'Jack, what the devil art thou doing? Where is the missus? Why, is that thy work?' and poor Jack was ashamed, and said: 'No, I know this is not my work, but my poor missus is i' th' factory; she has to leave at half-past five and works till eight at night, and then she is so knocked up that she cannot do aught when she gets home, so I have to do everything for her what I can, for I have no work, nor had any for more nor three years, and I shall never have any more work while I live;' and then he wept a big tear. Jack again said: 'There is work enough for women folks and childer hereabouts, but none for men: thou mayest sooner find a hundred pound on the road than work for men—but I should never have believed that either thou or any one else would have seen me mending my wife's stockings, for it is bad work. But she can hardly stand on her feet; I am afraid she will be laid up, and then I don't know what is to become of us, for it's a good bit that she has been the man in the house and I the woman; it is bad work, Joe;' and he cried bitterly, and said, 'It has not been always so.' 'No,' said Joe; 'but when thou hadn't no work, how hast thou not shifted?' 'I'll tell thee, Joe, as well as I can, but it was bad enough; thou knowest when I got married I had work plenty, and thou knows I was not lazy.' 'No, that thou wert not.' 'And we had

* This letter is re-translated from the German, no attempt being made to reproduce either the spelling or the original Yorkshire dialect.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887 and the English edition of 1892.* (After "written bv him to Oastler" the German editions of 1845 and 1892 have: "and the naivety of which I can only partly render. The spelling can, if need be, but the Yorkshire dialect in no way, be imitated in German." The contents of the beginning of the letter are given in greater detail in the German version.—*Ed.*)

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "the just wrath aroused among the working-men by this virtual castration, and the reversal of all relations within the family".—*Ed.*

a good furnished house, and Mary need not go to work. I could work for the two of us; but now the world is upside down. Mary has to work and I have to stop at home, mind the childer, sweep and wash, bake and mend; and, when the poor woman comes home at night, she is knocked up. Thou knows, Joe, it's hard for one that was used different.' 'Yes, boy, it is hard.' And then Jack began to cry again, and he wished he had never married, and that he had never been born; but he had never thought, when he wed Mary, that it would come to this. 'I have often cried over it,' said Jack. Now when Joe heard this, he told me that he had cursed and damned the factories, and the masters, and the Government, with all the curses that he had learned while he was in the factory from a child."[147]

Can any one imagine a more insane state of things than that described in this letter? And yet this condition, which unsexes the man and takes from the woman all womanliness without being able to bestow upon the man true womanliness, or the woman true manliness—this condition which degrades, in the most shameful way, both sexes, and, through them, Humanity, is the last result of our much-praised civilisation, the final achievement of all the efforts and struggles of hundreds of generations to improve their own situation and that of their posterity. We must either despair of mankind, and its aims and efforts, when we see all our labour and toil result in such a mockery, or we must admit that human society has hitherto sought salvation in a false direction; we must admit that so total a reversal of the position of the sexes can have come to pass only because the sexes have been placed in a false position from the beginning. If the reign of the wife over the husband, as inevitably brought about by the factory system, is inhuman, the pristine rule of the husband over the wife must have been inhuman too. If the wife can now base her supremacy[a] upon the fact that she supplies the greater part, nay, the whole of the common possession, the necessary inference is that this community of possession is no true and rational one, since one member of the family boasts offensively of contributing the greater share. If the family of our present society is being thus dissolved, this dissolution merely shows that, at bottom, the binding tie of this family was not family affection, but private interest lurking under the cloak of a pretended community of possessions.* The same

* How numerous married women are in the factories is seen from information furnished by a manufacturer.[148] In 412 factories in Lancashire, 10,721 of them were employed; of the husbands of these women, but 5,314 were also employed in the factories, 3,927 were otherwise employed, 821 were unemployed, and information was wanting as to 659; or two, if not three men for each factory, are supported by the work of their wives.—*Note by Engels.*

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "as the husband did formerly".—*Ed.*

relation exists on the part of those children who support unemployed parents when they do not directly pay board as already referred to. Dr. Hawkins testified in the Factories' Inquiry Commission's Report that this relation is common enough, and in Manchester it is notorious. In this case the children are the masters in the house, as the wife was in the former case, and Lord Ashley gives an example of this in his speech*: A man berated his two daughters for going to the public-house, and they answered that they were tired of being ordered about, saying, "Damn you, we have to keep you."[a] Determined to keep the proceeds of their work for themselves, they left the family dwelling, and abandoned their parents to their fate.

The unmarried women, who have grown up in mills, are no better off than the married ones. It is self-evident that a girl who has worked in a mill from her ninth year is in no position to understand domestic work, whence it follows that female operatives prove wholly inexperienced and unfit as housekeepers. They cannot knit or sew, cook or wash, are unacquainted with the most ordinary duties of a housekeeper, and when they have young children to take care of, have not the vaguest idea how to set about it. The Factories' Inquiry Commission's Report gives dozens of examples of this, and Dr. Hawkins, Commissioner for Lancashire, expresses his opinion as follows**:

> A girl marries early and recklessly; "she has had no time, no means, no opportunities of learning the common duties of domestic life; and even if she had acquired the knowledge she has still no time to practise them.... There is the young mother absent from her child above twelve hours daily. Who has the charge of the infant in her absence? Usually some little girl or aged woman, who is hired for a trifle and whose services are equivalent to the reward. Too often the dwelling of the factory family is no home; it sometimes is a cellar, which includes no cooking, no washing, no making, no mending, no decencies of life, no invitations to the fireside. I cannot help on these and on other grounds, especially for the better preservation of infant life, expressing my hope that a period may arrive when married women shall be rarely employed in a factory.***

* House of Commons, March 15th, 1844.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.* (This reference, like the others in this chapter, are reproduced in the English edition of 1892; the German editions of 1845 and 1892 give them in the text.—*Ed.*)

** Factories' Inquiry Commission's Report, p. 4.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

*** For further examples and information compare Factories' Inquiry Commission's Report. Cowell Evidence, pp. 37, 38, 39, 72, 77, 82; Tufnell Evidence, pp. 9, 15, 45, 54, etc.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give the words in quotes in English.—*Ed.*

But that is the least of the evil. The moral consequences of the employment of women in factories are even worse. The collecting of persons of both sexes and all ages in a single work-room, the inevitable contact, the crowding into a small space of people, to whom neither mental nor moral education has been given, is not calculated for the favourable development of the female character. The manufacturer, if he pays any attention to the matter, can interfere only when something scandalous actually happens; the permanent, less conspicuous influence of persons of dissolute character upon the more moral, and especially upon the younger ones, he cannot ascertain, and consequently cannot prevent. But precisely this influence is the injurious. The language used in the mills is characterised by many witnesses in the report of 1833, as "indecent", "bad", "filthy", etc.* It is the same process upon a small scale which we have already witnessed upon a large one in the great cities. The centralisation of population has the same influence upon the same persons, whether it affects them in a great city or a small factory. The smaller the mill the closer the packing, and the more unavoidable the contact; and the consequences are not wanting. A witness in Leicester said that he would rather let his daughter beg than go into a factory; that they are perfect gates of hell; that most of the prostitutes of the town had their employment in the mills to thank for their present situation.** Another, in Manchester, "did not hesitate to assert that three-fourths of the young factory employees, from fourteen to twenty years of age, were unchaste".*** Commissioner Cowell expresses it as his opinion, that the morality of the factory operatives is somewhat below the average of that of the working-class in general.**** And Dr. Hawkins***** says:

"An estimate of sexual morality is scarcely possible to be reduced into figures; but if I may trust my own observations, and the general opinion of those with whom I have conversed, and the spirit of our evidence, then a most discouraging view of the influence of the factory life upon the morality of female youth obtrudes itself."

It is, besides, a matter of course that factory servitude, like any other, and to an even higher degree, confers the *jus primae noctis* upon the master. In this respect also the employer is sovereign

* Cowell Evidence, pp. 35, 37, and elsewhere.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

** Power Evidence, p. 8.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

*** Cowell Evidence, p. 57.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

**** Cowell Evidence, p. 82.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

***** Factories Inquiry Commission s Report, p. 4, Hawkins.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

over the persons and charms of his employees. The threat of discharge suffices to overcome all resistance in nine cases out of ten, if not in ninety-nine out of a hundred, in girls who, in any case, have no strong inducements to chastity. If the master is mean enough, and the official report mentions several such cases, his mill is also his harem; and the fact that not all manufacturers use their power, does not in the least change the position of the girls. In the beginning of manufacturing industry, when most of the employers were upstarts without education or consideration for the hypocrisy of society, they let nothing interfere with the exercise of their vested rights.

To form a correct judgment of the influence of factory-work upon the health of the female sex, it is necessary first to consider the work of children, and then the nature of the work itself. From the beginning of manufacturing industry, children have been employed in mills, at first almost exclusively by reason of the smallness of the machines, which were later enlarged. Even children from the workhouses were employed in multitudes, being rented out for a number of years to the manufacturers as apprentices. They were lodged, fed, and clothed in common, and were, of course, completely the slaves of their masters, by whom they were treated with the utmost recklessness and barbarity. As early as 1796, the public objection to this revolting system found such vigorous expression through Dr. Percival and Sir Robert Peel (father of the Cabinet Minister, and himself a cotton manufacturer), that in 1802 Parliament passed an Apprentices' Bill,[a] by which the most crying evils were removed.[149] Gradually the increasing competition of free workpeople crowded out the whole apprentice system; factories were built in cities, machinery was constructed on a larger scale, and work-rooms were made more airy and wholesome; gradually, too, more work was found for adults and young persons. The number of children in the mills diminished somewhat, and the age at which they began to work rose a little; few children under eight or nine years were now employed. Later, as we shall see, the power of the state intervened several times to protect them from the money-greed of the bourgeoisie.

The great mortality among children of the working-class, and especially among those of the factory operatives, is proof enough of the unwholesome conditions under which they pass their first years. These influences are at work, of course, among the children

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give the title of the Bill in English.—*Ed.*

who survive, but not quite so powerfully as upon those who succumb. The result in the most favourable case is a tendency to disease, or some check in development, and consequent less than normal vigour of the constitution. A nine years old child of a factory operative that has grown up in want, privation, and changing conditions, in cold and damp, with insufficient clothing and unwholesome dwellings, is far from having the working force of a child brought up under healthier conditions. At nine years of age it is sent into the mill to work $6^1/_2$ hours (formerly 8, earlier still, 12 to 14, even 16 hours) daily, until the thirteenth year; then twelve hours until the eighteenth year. The old enfeebling influences continue, while the work is added to them. It is not to be denied that a child of nine years, even an operative's child, can hold out through $6^1/_2$ hours' daily work, without any one being able to trace visible bad results in its development directly to this cause; but in no case can its presence in the damp, heavy air of the factory, often at once warm and wet, contribute to good health; and, in any case, it is unpardonable to sacrifice to the greed of an unfeeling bourgeoisie the time of children which should be devoted solely to their physical and mental development, withdraw them from school and the fresh air, in order to wear them for the benefit of the manufacturers. The bourgeoisie says: If we do not employ the children in the mills, they only remain under conditions unfavourable to their development; and this is true on the whole. But what does this mean if it is not a confession that the bourgeoisie first places the children of the working-class under unfavourable conditions, and then exploits these bad conditions for its own benefit, appeals to that which is as much its own fault as the factory system, excuses the sin of today with the sin of yesterday? And if the Factory Act did not in some measure fetter their hands, how this "humane", this "benevolent" bourgeoisie, which has built its factories solely for the good of the working-class, would take care of the interests of these workers! Let us hear how they acted before the factory inspector was at their heels. Their own admitted testimony shall convict them in the Report of the Factories' Inquiry Commission of 1833.

The report of the Central Commission relates that the manufacturers began to employ children rarely of five years, often of six, very often of seven, usually of eight to nine years; that the working-day often lasted fourteen to sixteen hours, exclusive of meals and intervals; that the manufacturers permitted overlookers to flog and maltreat children, and often took an active part in so doing themselves. One case is related of a Scotch manufacturer,

who rode after a sixteen years old runaway, forced him to return, running after[a] the employer as fast as the master's horse trotted, and beat him the whole way with a long whip.* In the large towns where the operatives resisted more vigorously, such things naturally happened less often. But even this long working-day failed to satisfy the greed of the capitalists. Their aim was to make the capital invested in the building and machinery produce the highest return, by every available means, to make it work as actively as possible. Hence the manufacturers introduced the shameful system of night-work. Some of them employed two sets of operatives, each numerous enough to fill the whole mill, and let one set work the twelve hours of the day, and the other the twelve hours of the night. It is needless to picture the effect upon the frames of young children, and even upon the health of young persons and adults, produced by permanent loss of sleep at night, which cannot be made good by any amount of sleep during the day. Irritation of the whole nervous system, with general lassitude and enfeeblement of the entire frame, were the inevitable results, with the fostering of temptation to drunkenness and unbridled sexual indulgence. One manufacturer testifies** that during the two years in which night-work was carried on in his factory, the number of illegitimate children born was doubled, and such general demoralisation prevailed that he was obliged to give up night-work. Other manufacturers were yet more barbarous, requiring many hands to work thirty to forty hours at a stretch, several times a week, letting them get a couple of hours sleep only, because the night-shift was not complete, but calculated to replace a part of the operatives only.

The reports of the Commission touching this barbarism surpass everything that is known to me in this line. Such infamies, as are here related, are nowhere else to be found—yet we shall see that the bourgeoisie constantly appeals to the testimony of the Commission as being in its own favour. The consequences of these cruelties became evident quickly enough. The Commissioners mention a crowd of cripples who appeared before them, who clearly owed their distortion to the long working-hours. This distortion usually consists of a curving of the spinal column and

* Stuart Evidence, p. 35.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

** Tufnell Evidence, p. 91.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "in front of" instead of "after".—*Ed.*

legs, and is described as follows by Francis Sharp, M.R.C.S., of Leeds*:

"Before I came to Leeds, I had never seen the peculiar twisting of the ends of the lower part of the thigh bone. At first I considered it might be rickets, but from the numbers which presented themselves, particularly at an age beyond the time when rickets attack children (between 8 and 14), and finding that they had commenced since they began work at the factory I soon began to change my opinion. I now may have seen of such cases nearly 100, and I can most decidedly state they were the result of too much labour. So far as I know they all belong to factories, and have attributed their disease to this cause themselves." "Of distortions of the spine, which were evidently owing to the long standing at their labour, perhaps the number of cases might not be less than 300."

Precisely similar is the testimony of Dr. Hey, for eighteen years physician in the hospital in Leeds**:

"Diseases of the spine amongst people employed in factories presented themselves very frequently. Some were the result of pure labour; others were the result of labour on a constitution perhaps congenitally weak, or rendered feeble by bad food. The deformities of the limbs appear to be more frequent than the spinal diseases... the bending in of the knees, relaxation of the ligaments of the ankles was very frequent, and the bending of the large bones. The heads of the large bones have especially been increased and twisted to a considerable extent; and these cases I have found to have come from those mills and factories where long hours have been said to be common."

Surgeons Beaumont and Sharp, of Bradford, bear the same testimony. The reports of Drinkwater, Power, and Dr. Loudon contain a multitude of examples of such distortions, and those of Tufnell and Sir David Barry, which are less directed to this point, give single examples.*** The Commissioners for Lancashire, Cowell, Tufnell, and Hawkins, have almost wholly neglected this aspect of the physiological results of the factory system, though this district rivals Yorkshire in the number of cripples. I have seldom traversed Manchester without meeting three or four of them, suffering from precisely the same distortions of the spinal columns and legs as that described, and I have often been able to observe them closely. I know one personally who corresponds exactly with

* Dr. Loudon Evidence, pp. 12, 13.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

** Dr. Loudon Evidence, p. 16.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

*** Drinkwater Evidence, pp. 72, 80, 146, 148, 150 (two brothers); 69 (two brothers); 155, and many others.

Power Evidence, pp. 63, 66, 67 (two cases); 68 (three cases); 69 (two cases); in Leeds, pp. 29, 31, 40, 43, 53, *et seq.*

Loudon Evidence, pp. 4, 7 (four cases); 8 (several cases), etc.

Sir D. Barry Evidence, pp. 6, 8, 13, 21, 22, 44, 55 (three cases), etc.

Tufnell Evidence, pp. 5, 6, 16, etc.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

the foregoing description of Dr. Hey, and who got into this condition in Mr. Douglas' factory in Pendleton, an establishment which enjoys an unenviable notoriety among the operatives by reason of the former long working periods continued night after night. It is evident, at a glance, whence the distortions of these cripples come; they all look exactly alike. The knees are bent inward and backwards,[a] the ankles deformed and thick, and the spinal column often bent forwards or to one side. But the crown belongs to the philanthropic manufacturers of the Macclesfield silk district. They employed the youngest children of all, even from five to six years of age. In the supplementary testimony of Commissioner Tufnell, I find the statement of a certain factory manager Wright, both of whose sisters were most shamefully crippled, and who had once counted the cripples in several streets, some of them the cleanest and neatest streets of Macclesfield. He found in Townley Street ten, George Street five, Charlotte Street four, Watercots fifteen, Bank Top three, Lord Street seven, Mill Lane twelve, Great George Street two, in the workhouse two, Park Green one, Peckford Street two, whose families all unanimously declared that the cripples had become such in consequence of overwork in the silk-twisting mills. One boy is mentioned so crippled as not to be able to go upstairs, and girls deformed in back and hips.

Other deformities also have proceeded from this overwork, especially flattening of the foot, which Sir D. Barry* frequently observed, as did the physicians and surgeons in Leeds.** In cases, in which a stronger constitution, better food, and other more favourable circumstances enabled the young operative to resist this effect of a barbarous exploitation, we find, at least, pain in the back, hips, and legs, swollen joints, varicose veins, and large, persistent ulcers in the thighs and calves. These affections are almost universal among the operatives. The reports of Stuart, Mackintosh, and Sir D. Barry contain hundreds of examples; indeed, they know almost no operative who did not suffer from some of these affections; and in the remaining reports, the occurrence of the same phenomena is attested by many physicians.

* Factories' Inquiry Commission's Report, 1833, Sir D. Barry Evidence, p. 21 (two cases).—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

** Factories' Inquiry Commission's Report, 1833, Loudon Evidence, pp. 13, 16, etc.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "the feet bent inwards".—*Ed.*

The reports covering Scotland place it beyond all doubt, that a working-day of thirteen hours, even for men and women from eighteen to twenty-two years of age, produces at least these consequences, both in the flax-spinning mills of Dundee and Dunfermline, and in the cotton mills of Glasgow and Lanark.

All these affections are easily explained by the nature of factory-work, which is, as the manufacturers say, very "light", and precisely by reason of its lightness, more enervating than any other. The operatives have little to do, but must stand the whole time.[a] Any one who sits down, say upon a window-ledge or a basket, is fined, and this perpetual upright position, this constant mechanical pressure of the upper portions of the body upon spinal column, hips, and legs, inevitably produces the results mentioned. This standing is not required by the work itself, and at Nottingham chairs have been introduced,[b] with the result that these affections disappeared, and the operatives ceased to object to the length of the working-day. But in a factory where the operative works solely for the bourgeois, and has small interest in doing his work well, he would probably use the seats more than would be agreeable and profitable to the manufacturer; and in order that somewhat less raw material may be spoiled for the bourgeois, the operative must sacrifice health and strength.* This long protracted upright position, with the bad atmosphere prevalent in the mills, entails, besides the deformities mentioned, a marked relaxation of all vital energies, and, in consequence, all sorts of other affections general rather than local. The atmosphere of the factories is, as a rule, at once damp and warm, usually warmer than is necessary, and, when the ventilation is not *very* good, impure, heavy, deficient in oxygen, filled with dust and the smell of the machine oil, which almost everywhere smears the floor, sinks into it, and becomes rancid. The operatives are lightly clad by reason of the warmth, and would readily take cold in case of irregularity of the temperature; a draught is distasteful to them, the general enervation which gradually takes possession of all the physical functions diminishes the animal warmth: this must be replaced from without, and nothing is therefore more agreeable to

* In the spinning-room of a mill at Leeds, too, chairs had been introduced. Drinkwater Evidence, p. 85.—*Note by Engels.*

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "and cannot sit down".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "in the carding-rooms at least".—*Ed.*

the operative than to have all the doors and windows closed, and to stay in his warm factory air. Then comes the sudden change of temperature on going out into the cold and wet or frosty atmosphere, without the means of protection from the rain, or of changing wet clothing for dry, a circumstance which perpetually produces colds. And when one reflects that, with all this, not one single muscle of the body is really exercised, really called into activity, except perhaps those of the legs; that nothing whatsoever counteracts the enervating, relaxing tendency of all these conditions; that every influence is wanting which might give the muscles strength, the fibres elasticity and consistency; that from youth up, the operative is deprived of all fresh-air recreation, it is impossible to wonder at the almost unanimous testimony of the physicians in the Factories' Report, that they find a great lack of ability to resist disease, a general depression in vital activity, a constant relaxation of the mental and physical powers. Let us hear Sir D. Barry first*:

The unfavourable influences of mill-work upon the hands are the following: "(1) The indispensable necessity of forcing both their mental and bodily exertions to keep exact pace with the motions of machinery propelled by an unvarying, unceasing power. (2) The continuance of an erect posture for periods unnaturally prolonged and too quickly repeated. (3) The privation of sleep" (in consequence of too long working-hours, pain in the legs, and general physical derangement). "To these causes are often added low, crowded, dusty, or damp rooms; impure air, heated atmospheres, constant perspiration. Hence it is that male children particularly, after they have worked some time in mills lose—with very few exceptions indeed—the rosy chubbiness of boyhood, and become paler and thinner than boys not so employed generally are. Even the draw-boy who stands with his bare feet on the earthen floor of his master's shop preserves his appearance much better than the mill-boys," because he occasionally goes into the fresh air for a time. "But the mill-worker never has a moment's respite except at meals, and never gets into the open air except when he is going to look for them. All the adult male spinners are pale and thin; they are subject to capricious appetite and dyspepsia; all the spinners have been brought up in the mills from their very childhood, it is fair to conclude that their mode of life is not favourable to the development of the manly forms, seeing that few, or none of them are tall athletic men. Females are much less deteriorated in their appearance by mill-work than males." (Very naturally. But we shall see that they have their own diseases.)

So, too, Power**:

"I can have no hesitation in stating my belief that a large mass of deformity has been produced at Bradford by the factory system.... The effect of long and continuous work upon the frame and limbs is not indicated by actual deformity alone; a more common indication of it is found in a stunted growth, relaxed muscles, and slender conformation."

* General report by Sir D. Barry.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

** Power Report, p. 74.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

So, too, F. Sharp, in Leeds, the surgeon * already quoted:

When I moved from Scarborough to Leeds, "the general appearance of the children in Leeds immediately struck me as much more pallid, and also the firmness of the fibre as much inferior as what I had seen in Scarborough and the adjacent country. Observed also many to be more diminutive for their age.... Innumerable cases of scrofula, affections of the lungs, mesenteric diseases, and dyspepsia, have also occurred, which I have no doubt, as a professional man, were owing to the same cause", the mill-work. "The nervous energy of the body I consider to be weakened by the very long hours, and a foundation laid for many diseases. Were it not for the individuals who join the mills from the country, the factory people would soon be deteriorated."

So, too, Beaumont, surgeon in Bradford:

"I also consider the system of working in the factories in and around here induces for the most part a peculiar laxity of the whole system, rendering the children highly susceptible of either prevailing epidemics or casual medical disorders.... I certainly consider the want of wholesome regulations in the most of the factories, whether as to ventilation or cleanliness, to be productive in a great measure of that peculiar tendency or susceptibility of morbid affections of which my own practice affords ample experience."

Similar testimony is borne by Dr. Hey:

(1) "I have had an opportunity of observing the effect of the factory system in the health of children under the most advantageous circumstances" (in Wood's mill, in Bradford, the best arranged of the district, in which he was factory surgeon). (2) "This effect is decidedly, and, to a great extent, injurious, even under those favourable circumstances. (3) During the year 1832, three-fifths of all the children employed in Wood's mill had medical assistance from me; (4) The most injurious effect is not in the prevalency of deformed bodies, but debilitated and diseased constitutions." (5) All this is greatly improved since the working-hours of children have been reduced at Wood's to ten.

The Commissioner, Dr. Loudon himself, who sites these witnesses, says:

"I think it has been clearly proved that children have been worked a most unreasonable and cruel length of time daily, and that even adults have been expected to do a certain quantity of labour which scarcely any human being is able to endure. The result of this has been, that many have met with a premature death; many have been affected constitutionally for life; and the idea of a posterity being injured from the shattered frames of the survivors is, physiologically speaking, but too well founded."

And, finally, Dr. Hawkins, in speaking of Manchester:

"I believe that most travellers are struck by the lowness of stature, the leanness, and the paleness which present themselves so commonly to the eye at Manchester,

* The surgeons in England are scientifically educated as well as the physicians, and have, in general, medical as well as surgical practice. They are, in general, for various reasons, preferred to the physicians.—*Note by Engels*. (In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the words "surgeons" and "physicians" are given in English in brackets.—*Ed.*)

and above all, among the factory classes. I have never been in any town in Great Britain nor in Europe in which degeneracy of form and colour from the national standard has been so obvious. The married women fall remarkably short of the usual characteristics of the English wife.... I cannot help remarking, that the boys and girls whom I examined from the Manchester factories very generally exhibited a depressed look, and a pallid complexion; none of the alacrity, activity, and hilarity of early life shone on their countenances and gestures. A large number of both, in reply to my questions, declared that they had no wish to play about on the Saturday afternoon and on the Sunday, but that they preferred remaining quiet."

I add, at once, another passage of Hawkins' report, which only half belongs here, but may be quoted here as well as anywhere else:

"Intemperance, debauchery and improvidence are the chief blemishes on the character of the factory workpeople, and those evils may easily be traced to habits formed under the present system, and springing from it almost inevitably. On all sides it is admitted that indigestion, hypochondriasis and languor affect this class of the population very widely. After twelve hours of monotonous labour, it is but too natural to seek for stimulants of one kind or another; but when we superadd the morbid states above alluded to, the transition to spirits is rapid and perpetual."

For all this testimony of the physicians and commissioners, the report itself offers hundreds of cases of proof. That the growth of young operatives is stunted, by their work, hundreds of statements testify; among others, Cowell gives the weight of 46 youths of 17 years of age, from one Sunday school, of whom 26 employed in mills, averaged 104.5 pounds, and 20 not employed in mills,[a] 117.7 pounds. One of the largest manufacturers of Manchester, leader of the opposition against the working-men, I think Robert Hyde Greg himself, said, on one occasion, that if things went on as at present, the operatives of Lancashire would soon be a race of pigmies.* A recruiting officer** testified that operatives are little adapted for military service, looked thin and nervous, and were frequently rejected by the surgeons as unfit. In Manchester he could hardly get men of five feet eight inches; they were usually only five feet six to seven, whereas in the agricultural districts, most of the recruits were five feet eight.[b]

The men wear out very early in consequence of the conditions

* This statement is not taken from the report.[150]—*Note by Engels.*

** Tufnell, p. 59.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "but belonging to the working-class".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here in brackets: "the difference between English and Prussian measures is about 2 inches for 5 feet, the English measure being shorter."—*Ed.*

under which they live and work. Most of them are unfit for work at forty years, a few hold out to forty-five, almost none to fifty years of age. This is caused not only by the general enfeeblement of the frame, but also very often by a failure of the sight, which is a result of mule-spinning, in which the operative is obliged to fix his gaze upon a long row of fine, parallel threads, and so greatly to strain the sight.

Of 1,600 operatives employed in several factories in Harpur and Lanark, but 10 were over 45 years of age; of 22,094 operatives in diverse factories in Stockport and Manchester, but 143 were over 45 years old. Of these 143, 16 were retained as a special favour, and one was doing the work of a child. A list of 131 spinners contained but seven over 45 years, and yet the whole 131 were rejected by the manufacturers, to whom they applied for work, as "too old",[a] and were without means of support by reason of old age! Mr. Ashworth, a large manufacturer, admits in a letter to Lord Ashley, that, towards the fortieth year, the spinners can no longer prepare the required quantity of yarn, and are therefore "sometimes" discharged; he calls operatives forty years of age "old people"!* Commissioner Mackintosh expresses himself in the same way in the report of 1833:

"Although prepared by seeing childhood occupied in such a manner, it is very difficult to believe the ages of the men advanced in years as given by themselves, so complete is their premature old age."

Surgeon Smellie of Glasgow, who treated operatives chiefly, says that forty years is old age for them.** And similar evidence may be found elsewhere.*** In Manchester, this premature old age among the operatives is so universal that almost every man of forty would be taken for ten to fifteen years older, while the prosperous classes, men as well as women, preserve their appearance exceedingly well if they do not drink too heavily.

* All taken from Lord Ashley's speech (sitting of Lower House, March 15, 1844).—*Note by Engels* (omitted in the American and English editions—*Ed.*).

** Stuart Evidence, p. 101.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.* (In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the words "old age" are given in English in brackets.—*Ed.*)

*** Tufnell Evidence, pp. 3, 6, 15; Hawkins Report, p. 4; Evidence, p. 11, etc., etc.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

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[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the sentence follows: "Of fifty worked-out spinners in Bolton only two were over 50 and the rest did not yet average 40 —and all were" etc.—*Ed.*

The influence of factory-work upon the female physique also is marked and peculiar. The deformities entailed by long hours of work are much more serious among women. Protracted work frequently causes deformities of the pelvis, partly in the shape of abnormal position and development of the hip bones, partly of malformation of the lower portion of the spinal column.

"Although," says Dr. Loudon in his report, "no cases presented themselves of deformed pelvis, and some others of the diseases which have been described, yet their ailments are such as every medical man must expect to be the probable consequences" of such working-hours for young people, "and they are recorded by men of the highest professional and moral character".

That factory operatives undergo more difficult confinement than other women is testified to by several midwives and accoucheurs, and also that they are more liable to miscarriage.* Moreover, they suffer from the general enfeeblement common to all operatives, and, when pregnant, continue to work in the factory up to the hour of delivery, because otherwise they lose their wages and are made to fear that they may be replaced if they stop away too soon. It frequently happens that women are at work one evening and delivered the next morning, and the case is none too rare of their being delivered in the factory among the machinery. And if the gentlemen of the bourgeoisie find nothing particularly shocking in this, their wives will perhaps admit that it is a piece of cruelty, an infamous act of barbarism, indirectly to force a pregnant woman to work twelve or thirteen hours daily (formerly still longer), up to the day of her delivery, in a standing position, with frequent stoopings. But this is not all. If these women are not obliged to resume work within two weeks, they are thankful, and count themselves fortunate. Many come back to the factory after eight, and even after three to four days, to resume full work. I once heard a manufacturer ask an overlooker: "Is so and so not back yet?" "No." "How long since she was confined?" "A week." "She might surely have been back long ago. That one over there only stays three days." Naturally, fear of being discharged, dread of starvation drives her to the factory in spite of her weakness, in defiance of her pain. The interest of the manufacturer will not brook that his employees stay at home by reason of illness; they must not be ill, they must not venture to lie still through a long confinement, or he must stop his machinery or trouble his supreme head with a temporary change of arrangements; and

* Hawkins Evidence, pp. 11, 13.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

rather than do this, he discharges his people when they begin to be ill. Listen*:

A girl feels very ill, can scarcely do her work. "Why don't you ask for leave to stay away?" "Well, sir, the master is queer at letting us off; if we are off a quarter of a day we stand a chance of being turned away."

Or Sir D. Barry**:

Thomas McDurt, workman, has slight fever. "Cannot venture to be off work more than four days, for fear of losing his work."

And so it goes on in almost all the factories. The employment of young girls produces all sorts of irregularities during the period of development. In some, especially those who are better fed, the heat of the factories hastens this process, so that in single cases, girls of thirteen and fourteen[a] are wholly mature. Roberton, whom I have already cited (mentioned in the Factories' Inquiry Commission's Report as the "eminent" gynaecologist of Manchester), relates in the *North of England Medical and Surgical Journal,* that he had seen a girl of eleven years who was not only a wholly developed woman, but pregnant, and that it was by no means rare in Manchester for women to be confined at fifteen years of age).[151] In such cases, the influence of the warmth of the factories is the same as that of a tropical climate, and, as in such climates, the abnormally early development revenges itself by correspondingly premature age and debility. On the other hand, retarded development of the female constitution occurs, the breasts mature late or not at all.*** Menstruation first appears in the seventeenth or eighteenth, sometimes in the twentieth year, and is often wholly wanting.**** Irregular menstruation, coupled with great pain and numerous affections, especially with anaemia, is very frequent, as the medical reports unanimously state.

Children of such mothers, particularly of those who are obliged to work during pregnancy, cannot be vigorous. They are, on the contrary, described in the report, especially in Manchester, as very feeble; and Barry alone asserts that they are healthy, but says further, that in Scotland, where his inspection lay, almost no married women worked in factories. Moreover, most of the factories there are in the country (with the exception of Glasgow),

* Cowell Evidence, p. 77.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

** Sir D. Barry Evidence, p. 44.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

*** Cowell, p. 35.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

**** Dr. Hawkins Evidence, p. 11; Dr. Loudon, p. 14, etc.; Sir D. Barry, p. 5, etc.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "of twelve to fourteen".—*Ed.*

a circumstance which contributes greatly to the invigoration of the children. The operatives' children in the neighbourhood of Manchester are nearly all thriving and rosy, while those within the city look pale and scrofulous; but with the ninth year the colour vanishes suddenly, because all are then sent into the factories, when it soon becomes impossible to distinguish the country from the city children.

But besides all this, there are some branches of factory-work which have an especially injurious effect. In many rooms of the cotton and flax-spinning mills, the air is filled with fibrous dust, which produces chest affections, especially among workers in the carding and combing-rooms. Some constitutions can bear it, some cannot; but the operative has no choice. He must take the room in which he finds work, whether his chest is sound or not. The most common effects of this breathing of dust are blood-spitting, hard, noisy breathing, pains in the chest, coughs, sleeplessness—in short, all the symptoms of asthma ending in the worst cases in consumption.* Especially unwholesome is the wet spinning of linen-yarn which is carried on by young girls and boys. The water spirts over them from the spindle, so that the front of their clothing is constantly wet through to the skin; and there is always water standing on the floor. This is the case to a less degree in the doubling-rooms of the cotton mills, and the result is a constant succession of colds and affections of the chest. A hoarse, rough voice is common to all operatives, but especially to wet spinners and doublers. Stuart, Mackintosh, and Sir D. Barry express themselves in the most vigorous terms as to the unwholesomeness of this work, and the small consideration shown by most of the manufacturers for the health of the girls who do it. Another effect of flax-spinning is a peculiar deformity of the shoulder, especially a projection of the right shoulder-blade, consequent upon the nature of the work. This sort of spinning and the throstle-spinning of cotton frequently produce diseases of the knee-pan, which is used to check the spindle during the joining of broken threads. The frequent stooping and the bending to the low machines common to both these branches of work have, in general, a stunting effect upon the growth of the operative. In the throstle-room of the cotton mill at Manchester, in which I was employed, I do not remember to have seen one single tall,

* Compare Stuart, pp. 13, 70, 101; Mackintosh, p. 24, etc.; Power Report on Nottingham, on Leeds; Cowell, p. 33, etc.; Barry, p. 12 (five cases in one factory), pp. 17, 44, 52, 60, etc.; Loudon, p. 13.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

well-built girl; they were all short, dumpy, and badly-formed, decidedly ugly in the whole development of the figure. But apart from all these diseases and malformations, the limbs of the operatives suffer in still another way. The work between the machinery gives rise to multitudes of accidents of more or less serious nature, which have for the operative the secondary effect of unfitting him for his work more or less completely. The most common accident is the squeezing off of a single joint of a finger, somewhat less common the loss of the whole finger, half or a whole hand, an arm, etc., in the machinery. Lockjaw very often follows, even upon the lesser among these injuries, and brings death with it. Besides the deformed persons, a great number of maimed ones may be seen going about in Manchester; this one has lost an arm or a part of one, that one a foot, the third half a leg; it is like living in the midst of an army just returned from a campaign. But the most dangerous portion of the machinery is the strapping which conveys motive power from the shaft to the separate machines, especially if it contains buckles, which, however, are rarely used now. Whoever is seized by the strap is carried up with lightning speed, thrown against the ceiling above and floor below with such force that there is rarely a whole bone left in the body, and death follows instantly. Between June 12th and August 3rd, 1844, the *Manchester Guardian* reported the following serious accidents (the trifling ones it does not notice): June 12th, a boy died in Manchester of lockjaw, caused by his hand being crushed between wheels. June 15th, a youth in Saddleworth seized by a wheel and carried away with it; died, utterly mangled. June 29th, a young man at Green Acres Moor, near Manchester, at work in a machine shop, fell under the grindstone, which broke two of his ribs and lacerated him terribly. July 24th, a girl in Oldham died, carried around fifty times by a strap; no bone unbroken. July 27th, a girl in Manchester seized by the blower (the first machine that receives the raw cotton), and died of injuries received. August 3rd, a bobbins turner died in Dukenfield, caught in a strap, every rib broken. In the year 1842, the Manchester Infirmary treated 962 cases of wounds and mutilations caused by machinery, while the number of all other accidents within the district of the hospital was 2,426, so that for five accidents from all other causes, two were caused by machinery. The accidents which happened in Salford are not included here, nor those treated by surgeons in private practice. In such cases, whether or not the accident unfits the victim for further work, the employer, at best, pays the doctor, or, in very exceptional cases, he

may pay wages during treatment; what becomes of the operative afterwards, in case he cannot work, is no concern of the employer.

The Factory Report says on this subject, that employers must be made responsible for all cases, since children cannot take care, and adults will take care in their own interest. But the gentlemen who write the report are bourgeois, and so they must contradict themselves and bring up later all sorts of bosh on the subject of the culpable temerity of the operatives.[a]

The state of the case is this: If children cannot take care, the employment of children must be forbidden. If adults are reckless, they must be mere overgrown children on a plane of intelligence which does not enable them to appreciate the danger in its full scope; and who is to blame for this but the bourgeoisie which keeps them in a condition in which their intelligence cannot develop? Or the machinery is ill-arranged, and must be surrounded with fencing, to supply which falls to the share of the bourgeoisie. Or the operative is under inducements which outweigh the threatened danger; he must work rapidly to earn his wages, has no time to take care, and for this, too, the bourgeoisie is to blame. Many accidents happen, for instance, while the operatives are cleaning machinery in motion. Why? Because the bourgeois would otherwise oblige the worker to clean the machinery during the free hours while it is not going, and the worker naturally is not disposed to sacrifice any part of his free time. Every free hour is so precious to the worker that he often risks his life twice a week rather than sacrifice one of them to the bourgeois. Let the employer take from working-hours the time required for cleaning the machinery, and it will never again occur to an operative to clean machinery in motion. In short, from whatever point of view, the blame falls ultimately on the manufacturer, and of him should be required, at the very least, life-long support of the incapacitated operative, and support of the victim's family in case death follows the accident. In the earliest period of manufacture, the accidents were much more numerous in proportion than now, for the machinery was inferior, smaller, more crowded, and almost never fenced. But the number is still large enough, as the foregoing cases prove, to arouse the grave question as to a state of things which permits so many deformities and mutilations for the benefit of a single class, and plunges so many

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "But it makes no difference", and give the words "culpable temerity" in English in brackets.—*Ed.*

industrious working-people into want and starvation by reason of injuries undergone in the service and through the fault of the bourgeoisie.

A pretty list of diseases engendered purely by the hateful money-greed of the manufacturers! Women made unfit for child-bearing, children deformed, men enfeebled, limbs crushed, whole generations wrecked, afflicted with disease and infirmity, purely to fill the purses of the bourgeoisie. And when one reads of the barbarism of single cases, how children are seized naked in bed by the overlookers, and driven with blows and kicks to the factory, their clothing over their arms,* how their sleepiness is driven off with blows, how they fall asleep over their work nevertheless, how one poor child sprang up, still asleep, at the call of the overlooker, and mechanically went through the operations of its work after its machine was stopped; when one reads how children, too tired to go home, hide away in the wool in the drying-room to sleep there, and could only be driven out of the factory with straps; how many hundreds came home so tired every night, that they could eat no supper for sleepiness and want of appetite, that their parents found them kneeling by the bedside, where they had fallen asleep during their prayers; when one reads all this and a hundred other villainies and infamies in this one report, all testified to on oath, confirmed by several witnesses, deposed by men whom the commissioners themselves declare trustworthy; when one reflects that this is a Liberal report, a bourgeois report, made for the purpose of reversing the previous Tory report, and rehabilitating the pureness of heart of the manufacturers, that the commissioners themselves are on the side of the bourgeoisie, and report all these things against their own will, how can one be otherwise than filled with wrath and resentment against a class which boasts of philanthropy and self-sacrifice, while its one object is to fill its purse *à tout prix*? Meanwhile, let us listen to the bourgeoisie speaking through the mouth of its chosen apostle,[a] Dr. Ure, who relates in his *Philosophy of Manufactures*** that the workers have been told that their wages bore no proportion to their sacrifices, the good understanding between masters and men being thus disturbed. Instead of this,

* Stuart, p. 39.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

** *Philosophy of Manufactures,* by Dr. Andrew Ure, p. 277, *et seq.*—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "lackey" instead of "apostle".—*Ed.*

the working-men should have striven to recommend themselves by attention and industry, and should have rejoiced in the prosperity of their masters. They would then become overseers, superintendents, and finally partners, and would thus—(Oh! Wisdom, thou speakest as the dove!)—"have increased at the same time the demand for their companions' labour in the market!"

"Had it not been for the violent collisions and interruptions resulting from erroneous views among the operatives, the factory system would have been developed still more rapidly and beneficially."*

Hereupon follows a long Jeremiad upon the spirit of resistance of the operatives, and on the occasion of a strike of the best-paid workers, the fine spinners, the following naive observation**

"In fact, it was their high wages which enabled them to maintain a stipendiary committee in affluence, and to pamper themselves into nervous ailments, by a diet too rich and exciting for their indoor employments."

Let us hear how the bourgeois describes the work of children***:

"I have visited many factories, both in Manchester and in the surrounding districts, during a period of several months, entering the spinning-rooms unexpectedly, and often alone, at different times of the day, and I never saw a single instance of corporal chastisement inflicted on a child; nor, indeed, did I ever see children in ill-humour. They seemed to be always cheerful and alert; taking pleasure in the light play of their muscles, enjoying the mobility natural to their age. The scene of industry, so far from exciting sad emotions, in my mind, was always exhilarating. It was delightful to observe the nimbleness with which they pieced broken ends, as the mule carriage began to recede from the fixed roller beam, and to see them at leisure, after a few seconds' exercise of their tiny fingers, to amuse themselves in any attitude they chose, till the stretch and winding on were once more completed. The work of these lively elves seemed to resemble a sport, in which habit gave them a pleasing dexterity. Conscious of their skill, they were delighted to show it off to any stranger. As to exhaustion by the day's work, they evinced no trace of it on emerging from the mill in the evening; for they immediately began to skip about any neighbouring play-ground, and to commence their little games with the same alacrity as boys issuing from a school."

Naturally! As though the immediate movement of every muscle were not an urgent necessity for frames grown at once stiff and relaxed! But Ure should have waited to see whether this momentary excitement had not subsided after a couple of minutes. And

* Ibid., p. 277.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

** Ibid., p. 298.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

*** Ibid., p. 301.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.* (The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give this quotation abridged, with the words "cheerful", "taking pleasure", "delightful" and "lively" in brackets in English after their German equivalents.—*Ed.*)

besides, Ure could see this whole performance only in the afternoon after five or six hours' work, but not in the evening! As to the health of the operatives, the bourgeois has the boundless impudence to cite the report of 1833 just quoted in a thousand places, as testimony for the excellent health of these people; to try to prove by detached and garbled quotations that no trace of scrofula can be found among them, and, what is quite true, that the factory system frees them from all acute diseases (that they have every variety of chronic affection instead he naturally conceals). To explain the impudence with which our friend Ure palms off the grossest falsehoods upon the English public, it must be known that the report consists of three large folio volumes, which it never occurs to a well-fed English bourgeois to study through. Let us hear further how he expresses himself as to the Factory Act of 1833, passed by the Liberal bourgeoisie, and imposing only the most meagre limitations upon the manufacturers, as we shall see. This law, especially its compulsory education clause, he calls an absurd and despotic measure directed against the manufacturers, through which all children under twelve years of age have been thrown out of employment; and with what results? The children thus discharged from their light and useful occupation receive no education whatsoever; cast out from the warm spinning-room into a cold world, they subsist only by begging and stealing, a life in sad contrast with their steadily improving condition in the factory and in Sunday school. Under the mask of philanthropy, this law intensifies the sufferings of the poor, and will greatly restrict the conscientious manufacturer in his useful work, if, indeed, it does not wholly stop him.*

The ruinous influence of the factory system began at an early day to attract general attention. We have already alluded to the Apprentices' Act of 1802. Later, towards 1817, Robert Owen, then a manufacturer in New Lanark, in Scotland, afterwards founder of English Socialism, began to call the attention of the Government, by memorials and petitions, to the necessity of legislative guarantees for the health of the operatives, and especially of children. The late Sir Robert Peel and other philanthropists united with him, and gradually secured the Factory Acts of 1819, 1825, and 1831, of which the first two were never enforced,[152] and the last only here and there. This law of 1831, based upon the motion of Sir J. C. Hobhouse, provided that in cotton mills no one under

* Dr. Andrew Ure, *Philosophy of Manufactures*, pp. 405, 406, *et seq.*—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

twenty-one should be employed between half-past seven at night and half-past five in the morning; and that in all factories young persons under eighteen should work no longer than twelve hours daily, and nine hours on Saturday. But since operatives could not testify against their masters without being discharged, this law helped matters very little. In the great cities, where the operatives were more restive, the larger manufacturers came to an agreement among themselves to obey the law; but even there, there were many who, like the employers in the country, did not trouble themselves about it. Meanwhile, the demand for a ten hours' law had become lively among the operatives; that is, for a law which should forbid all operatives under eighteen years of age to work longer than ten hours daily; the Trades Unions, by their agitation, made this demand general throughout the manufacturing population; the philanthropic section of the Tory party, then led by Michael Sadler, seized upon the plan, and brought it before Parliament. Sadler obtained a parliamentary committee for the investigation of the factory system, and this committee reported in 1832.[153] Its report was emphatically partisan, composed by strong enemies of the factory system, for party ends. Sadler permitted himself to be betrayed by his noble enthusiasm into the most distorted and erroneous statements, drew from his witnesses by the very form of his questions, answers which contained the truth, but truth in a perverted form. The manufacturers themselves, incensed at a report which represented them as monsters, now demanded an official investigation; they knew that an exact report must, in this case, be advantageous to them; they knew that Whigs, genuine bourgeois, were at the helm, with whom they were upon good terms, whose principles were opposed to any restriction upon manufacture. They obtained a commission, in due order, composed of Liberal bourgeois, whose report I have so often cited. This comes somewhat nearer the truth than Sadler's, but its deviations therefrom are in the opposite direction. On every page it betrays sympathy with the manufacturers, distrust of the Sadler report, repugnance to the working-men agitating independently and the supporters of the Ten Hours' Bill. It nowhere recognises the right of the working-man to a life worthy of a human being, to independent activity, and opinions of his own. It reproaches the operatives that in sustaining the Ten Hours' Bill they thought, not of the children only, but of themselves as well; it calls the working-men engaged in the agitation demagogues, ill-intentioned, malicious, etc., is written, in short, on the side of the bourgeoisie; and still it cannot whitewash the manufacturers, and still it leaves

such a mass of infamies upon the shoulders of the employers, that even after this report, the agitation for the Ten Hours' Bill, the hatred against the manufacturers, and the committee's severest epithets applied to them are all fully justified. But there was the one difference, that whereas the Sadler report accuses the manufacturers of open, undisguised brutality, it now became evident that this brutality was chiefly carried on under the mask of civilisation and humanity. Yet Dr. Hawkins, the medical commissioner for Lancashire, expresses himself decidedly in favour of the Ten Hours' Bill in the opening lines of his report, and Commissioner Mackintosh explains that his own report does not contain the whole truth, because it is very difficult to induce the operatives to testify against their employers, and because the manufacturers, besides being forced into greater concessions towards their operatives by the excitement among the latter, are often prepared for the inspection of the factories, have them swept, the speed of the machinery reduced, etc. In Lancashire especially they resorted to the device of bringing the overlookers of work-rooms before the commissioners, and letting them testify as working-men to the humanity of the employers, the wholesome effects of the work, and the indifference, if not the hostility of the operatives, towards the Ten Hours' Bill. But these are not genuine working-men; they are deserters from their class, who have entered the service of the bourgeoisie for better pay, and fight in the interests of the capitalists against the workers. Their interest is that of the capitalists, and they are, therefore, almost more hated by the workers than the manufacturers themselves.

And yet this report suffices wholly to exhibit the most shameful recklessness of the manufacturing bourgeoisie towards its employees, the whole infamy of the industrial exploiting system in its full inhumanity. Nothing is more revolting than to compare the long register of diseases and deformities engendered by overwork, in this report, with the cold, calculating political economy of the manufacturers, by which they try to prove that they, and with them all England, must go to ruin, if they should be forbidden to cripple so and so many children every year. The language of Dr. Ure alone, which I have quoted, would be yet more revolting if it were not so preposterous.

The result of this report was the Factory Act of 1833, which forbade the employment of children under nine years of age (except in silk mills), limited the working-hours of children between 9-13 years to 48 per week, or 9 hours in any one day at the utmost; that of young persons from 14-18 years of age to 69

per week, or 12 on any one day as the maximum, provided for an hour and a half as the minimum interval for meals, and repeated the total prohibition of night-work for persons under eighteen years of age. Compulsory school attendance two hours daily was prescribed for all children under fourteen years, and the manufacturer declared punishable in case of employing children without a certificate of age from the factory surgeon, and a certificate of school attendance from the teacher. As recompense, the employer was permitted to withdraw one penny from the child's weekly earnings to pay the teacher. Further, surgeons and inspectors were appointed to visit the factories at all times, take testimony of operatives on oath, and enforce the law by prosecution before a Justice of the Peace. This is the law against which Dr. Ure inveighs in such unmeasured terms!

The consequence of this law, and especially of the appointment of inspectors, was the reduction of working-hours to an average of twelve to thirteen, and the superseding of children as far as possible. Hereupon some of the most crying evils disappeared almost wholly. Deformities arose now only in cases of weak constitution, and the effects of overwork became much less conspicuous. Nevertheless, enough testimony remains to be found in the Factory Report, that the lesser evils, swelling of the ankles, weakness and pain in the legs, hips, and back, varicose veins, ulcers on the lower extremities, general weakness, especially of the pelvic region, nausea, want of appetite alternating with unnatural hunger, indigestion, hypochondria, affections of the chest in consequence of the dust and foul atmosphere of the factories, etc., etc., all occur among employees subject to the provisions of Sir J. C. Hobhouse's Law (of 1831), which prescribes twelve to thirteen hours as the maximum. The reports from Glasgow and Manchester are especially worthy of attention in this respect. These evils remained too, after the law of 1833, and continue to undermine the health of the working-class to this day. Care has been taken to give the brutal profit-greed of the bourgeoisie a hypocritical, civilised form, to restrain the manufacturers through the arm of the law from too conspicuous villainies, and thus to give them a pretext for self-complacently parading their sham philanthropy. That is all. If a new commission were appointed today, it would find things pretty much as before. As to the extemporised compulsory attendance at school, it remained wholly a dead letter, since the Government failed to provide good schools. The manufacturers employed as teachers worn-out operatives, to whom they sent the children two hours daily, thus complying with the

letter of the law; but the children learned nothing. And even the reports of the factory inspectors, which are limited to the scope of the inspector's duties, i.e., the enforcement of the Factory Act, give data enough to justify the conclusion that the old evils inevitably remain. Inspectors Horner and Saunders,[154] in their reports for October and December, 1843, state that, in a number of branches in which the employment of children can be dispensed with or superseded by that of adults,[a] the working-day is still fourteen to sixteen hours, or even longer. Among the operatives in these branches they found numbers of young people who had just outgrown the provisions of the law. Many employers disregard the law, shorten the meal times, work children longer than is permitted, and risk prosecution, knowing that the possible fines are trifling in comparison with the certain profits derivable from the offence. Just at present especially, while business is exceptionally brisk, they are under great temptation in this respect.

Meanwhile the agitation for the Ten Hours' Bill by no means died out among the operatives; in 1839 it was under full headway once more, and Sadler's place, he having died, was filled in the House of Commons by Lord Ashley* and[b] Richard Oastler, both Tories. Oastler especially, who carried on a constant agitation in the factory districts, and had been active in the same way during Sadler's life, was the particular favourite of the working-men. They called him their "good old king", "the king of the factory children", and there is not a child in the factory districts that does not know and revere him, that does not join the procession which moves to welcome him when he enters a town. Oastler vigorously opposed the New Poor Law also, and was therefore imprisoned for debt by a Mr. Thornhill,[c] on whose estate he was employed as agent, and to whom he owed money. The Whigs offered repeatedly to pay his debt and confer other favours upon him if he would

* Afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, died 1885.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887* (reproduced in the English edition of 1892 but omitted in the German edition of 1892—*Ed.*).

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "who were otherwise unemployed".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "and, outside the House, by Richard Oastler".—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "Mr. Thornhill, a Whig". Concerning the New Poor Law, see below, pp. 571-73.—*Ed.*

only give up his agitation against the Poor Law. But in vain; he remained in prison, whence he published his Fleet Papers against the factory system and the Poor Law.

The Tory Government of 1841 turned its attention once more to the Factory Acts. The Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, proposed, in 1843, a bill restricting the working-hours of children to six and one-half, and making the enactments for compulsory school attendance more effective, the principal point in this connection being a provision for better schools. This bill was, however, wrecked by the jealousy of the dissenters[155]; for, although compulsory religious instruction was not extended to the children of dissenters, the schools provided for were to be placed under the general supervision of the Established Church, and the Bible made the general reading-book, religion being thus made the foundation of all instruction, whence the dissenters felt themselves threatened. The manufacturers and the Liberals generally united with them, the working-men were divided by the Church question, and therefore inactive. The opponents of the bill, though outweighed in the great manufacturing towns, such as Salford and Stockport, and able in others, such as Manchester, to attack certain of its points only, for fear of the working-men, collected nevertheless nearly two million signatures for a petition against it, and Graham allowed himself to be so far intimidated as to withdraw the whole bill. The next year he omitted the school clauses, and proposed that, instead of the previous provisions, children between eight and thirteen years should be restricted to six and one-half hours, and so employed as to have either the whole morning or the whole afternoon free; that young people between thirteen and eighteen years, and all females, should be limited to twelve hours; and that the hitherto frequent evasions of the law should be prevented. Hardly had he proposed this bill, when the ten hours' agitation was begun again more vigorously than ever. Oastler had just then regained his liberty; a number of his friends and a collection among the workers had paid his debt, and he threw himself into the movement with all his might. The defenders of the Ten Hours' Bill in the House of Commons had increased in numbers, the masses of petitions supporting it which poured in from all sides brought them allies, and on March 19th, 1844, Lord Ashley carried, with a majority of 179 to 170, a resolution that the word "Night" in the Factory Act should express the time from six at night to six in the morning, whereby the prohibition of night-work came to mean the limitation of working-hours to twelve, including free hours, or ten hours of

actual work a day. But the Ministry did not agree to this. Sir James Graham began to threaten resignation from the Cabinet, and at the next vote on the bill the House rejected by a small majority both ten and twelve hours. Graham and Peel now announced that they should introduce a new bill, and that if this failed to pass they should resign. The new bill was exactly the old Twelve Hours' Bill with some changes of form, and the same House of Commons which had rejected the principal points of this bill in March, now[a] swallowed it whole. The reason of this was that most of the supporters of the Ten Hours' Bill were Tories who let fall the bill rather than the Ministry; but be the motives what they may, the House of Commons by its votes upon this subject, each vote reversing the last, has brought itself into the greatest contempt among all the workers, and proved most brilliantly the Chartists' assertion of the necessity of its reform. Three members, who had formerly voted against the Ministry, afterwards voted for it and rescued it. In all the divisions, the bulk of the opposition voted *for* and the bulk of its own party *against* the Ministry.* The foregoing propositions of Graham touching the employment of children six and one-half and of all other operatives twelve hours[b] are now legislative provisions, and by them and by the limitation of overwork for making up time lost through breakdown of machinery or insufficient water-power by reason of frost or drought,[c] a working-day of more than twelve hours has been made well-nigh impossible. There remains, however, no doubt that, in a very short time, the Ten Hours' Bill will really be adopted.[157] The manufacturers are naturally all against it; there are perhaps not ten who are for it; they have used every honourable and dishonourable means against this dreaded measure, but with no other result than that of drawing down upon them the ever-deepening hatred of the working-men. The bill will pass. What the working-men will do they can do, and that they will have this bill they proved last spring. The economic arguments of the manufacturers that a Ten Hours' Bill would increase the cost

* It is notorious that the House of Commons made itself ridiculous a second time in the same session in the same way on the Sugar Question,[156] when it first voted against the Ministry and then for it, after an application of the ministerial whip.— *Note by Engels.*

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "in May".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "concerning a $6^1/_2$-and 12-hour working-day respectively for the two categories of workers".— *Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "and other less important limitations".—*Ed.*

of production and incapacitate the English producers for competition in foreign markets, and that wages must fall, are all *half* true; but they prove nothing except this, that the industrial greatness of England can be maintained only through the barbarous treatment of the operatives, the destruction of their health, the social, physical, and mental decay of whole generations. Naturally, if the Ten Hours' Bill were a final measure, it must ruin England; but since it must inevitably bring with it other measures which must draw England into a path wholly different from that hitherto followed, it can only prove an advance.

Let us turn to another side of the factory system which cannot be remedied by legislative provisions so easily as the diseases now engendered by it. We have already alluded in a general way to the nature of the employment, and enough in detail to be able to draw certain inferences from the facts given. The supervision of machinery, the joining of broken threads, is no activity which claims the operative's thinking powers, yet it is of a sort which prevents him from occupying his mind with other things. We have seen, too, that this work affords the muscles no opportunity for physical activity. Thus it is, properly speaking, not work, but tedium, the most deadening, wearing process conceivable. The operative is condemned to let his physical and mental powers decay in this utter monotony, it is his mission to be bored every day and all day long from his eighth year. Moreover, he must not take a moment's rest; the engine moves unceasingly; the wheels, the straps, the spindles hum and rattle in his ears without a pause, and if he tries to snatch one instant, there is the overlooker at his back with the book of fines. This condemnation to be buried alive in the mill, to give constant attention to the tireless machine is felt as the keenest torture by the operatives, and its action upon mind and body is in the long run stunting in the highest degree. There is no better means of inducing stupefaction than a period of factory-work, and if the operatives have, nevertheless, not only rescued their intelligence, but cultivated and sharpened it more than other working-men, they have found this possible only in rebellion against their fate and against the bourgeoisie, the sole subject on which under all circumstances they can think and feel while at work. Or, if this indignation against the bourgeoisie does not become the supreme passion of the working-man, the inevitable consequence is drunkenness and all that is generally called demoralisation. The physical enervation and the sickness, universal in consequence of the factory system, were enough to induce Commissioner Hawkins to attribute this demoralisation thereto as

inevitable; how much more when mental lassitude is added to them, and when the influences already mentioned which tempt every working-man to demoralisation, make themselves felt here too! There is no cause for surprise, therefore, that in the manufacturing towns especially, drunkenness and sexual excesses have reached the pitch which I have already described.*

Further, the slavery in which the bourgeoisie holds the proletariat chained, is nowhere more conspicuous than in the factory system. Here ends all freedom in law and in fact. The operative must be in the mill at half-past five in the morning; if he comes a couple of minutes too late, he is fined; if he comes ten minutes too late, he is not let in until breakfast is over, and a quarter of the day's wages is withheld, though he loses only two and one-half hours' work out of twelve. He must eat, drink, and sleep at command. For satisfying the most imperative needs, he is vouchsafed the least possible time absolutely required by them. Whether his dwelling is a half-hour or a whole one removed from the factory does not concern his employer. The despotic bell calls him from his bed, his breakfast, his dinner.

What a time he has of it, too, inside the factory! Here the employer is absolute law-giver; he makes regulations at will, changes and adds to his codex at pleasure, and even, if he inserts the craziest stuff, the courts say to the working-man:

"You were your own master, no one forced you to agree to such a contract if you did not wish to; but now, when you have freely entered into it, you must be bound by it."

And so the working-man only gets into the bargain the mockery of the Justice of the Peace who is a bourgeois himself, and of the law which is made by the bourgeoisie. Such decisions have been

* Let us hear another competent judge: "When this example [i.e., of the Irish] is considered in connexion with the unremitted labour of the whole population engaged in the various branches of the cotton manufacture, our wonder will be less excited by their fatal demoralisation. Prolonged and exhausting labour, continued from day to day, and from year to year, is not calculated to develop the intellectual or moral faculties of man. The dull routine of a ceaseless drudgery, in which the same mechanical process is incessantly repeated, resembles the torment of Sisyphus—the toil, like the rock, recoils perpetually on the wearied operative. The mind gathers neither stores nor strength from the constant extension and retraction of the same muscles. The intellect slumbers in supine inertness; but the grosser parts of our nature attain a rank development. To condemn man to such severity of toil is, in some measure, to cultivate in him the habits of an animal. He becomes reckless. He disregards the distinguishing appetites and habits of his species. He neglects the comforts and delicacies of life. He lives in squalid wretchedness, on meagre food, and expends his superfluous gains in debauchery."—Dr. J. Kay.—*Note by Engels*.

given often enough. In October, 1844, the operatives of Kennedy's mill, in Manchester, struck. Kennedy prosecuted them on the strength of a regulation placarded in the mill, that at no time more than two operatives in one room may quit work at once. And the court decided in his favour, giving the working-men the explanation cited above.* And such rules as these usually are! For instance: 1. The doors are closed ten minutes after work begins, and thereafter no one is admitted until the breakfast hour; whoever is absent during this time forfeits 3d. per loom. 2. Every power-loom weaver detected absenting himself at another time, while the machinery is in motion, forfeits for each hour and each loom, 3d. Every person who leaves the room during working-hours, without obtaining permission from the overlooker, forfeits 3d. 3. Weavers who fail to supply themselves with scissors forfeit, per day, 1d. 4. All broken shuttles, brushes, oil-cans, wheels, window-panes, etc., must be paid for by the weaver. 5. No weaver to stop work without giving a week's notice. The manufacturer may dismiss any employee without notice for bad work or improper behaviour. 6. Every operative detected speaking to another, singing or whistling, will be fined 6d.; for leaving his place during working-hours, 6d. Another copy of factory regulations lies before me, according to which every operative who comes three minutes too late, forfeits the wages for a quarter of an hour, and every one who comes twenty minutes too late, for a quarter of a day. Every one who remains absent until breakfast forfeits a shilling on Monday, and sixpence every other day of the week, etc., etc. This last is the regulation of the Phoenix Works in Jersey Street, Manchester.** It may be said that such rules are necessary in a great, complicated factory, in order to insure the harmonious working of the different parts; it may be asserted that such a severe discipline is as necessary here as in an army. This may be so, but what sort of a social order is it which cannot be maintained without such shameful tyranny? Either the end sanctifies the means, or the inference of the badness of the end from the badness of the means is justified. Every one who has served as a soldier knows what it is to be subjected even for a short time to military discipline. But these operatives are condemned from their ninth year to their death to live under the sword, physically and mentally. They are worse slaves than the Negroes in America, for

* *Manchester Guardian,* October 30th.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

** *Stubborn Facts,* p. 9 *et seq.*— *Note by Engels.*

they are more sharply watched, and yet it is demanded of them that they shall live like human beings, shall think and feel like men! Verily, this they can do only under glowing hatred towards their oppressors, and towards that order of things which places them in such a position, which degrades them to machines. But it is far more shameful yet, that according to the universal testimony of the operatives, numbers of manufacturers collect the fines imposed upon the operatives with the most heartless severity, and for the purpose of piling up extra profits out of the farthings thus extorted from the impoverished proletarians. Leach asserts, too, that the operatives often find the factory clock moved forward a quarter of an hour and the doors shut, while the clerk moves about with the fines-book inside, noting the many names of the absentees. Leach claims to have counted ninety-five operatives thus shut out, standing before a factory, whose clock was a quarter of an hour slower than the town clocks at night, and a quarter of an hour faster in the morning. The Factory Report relates similar facts. In one factory the clock was set back during working-hours, so that the operatives worked overtime without extra pay; in another, a whole quarter of an hour overtime was worked; in a third, there were two clocks, an ordinary one and a machine clock, which registered the revolutions of the main shaft; if the machinery went slowly, working-hours were measured by the machine clock until the number of revolutions due in twelve hours was reached; if work went well, so that the number was reached before the usual working-hours were ended, the operatives were forced to toil on to the end of the twelfth hour. The witness adds that he had known girls who had good work, and who had worked overtime, who, nevertheless, betook themselves to a life of prostitution rather than submit to this tyranny.* To return to the fines, Leach relates having repeatedly seen women in the last period of pregnancy fined 6d. for the offence of sitting down a moment to rest. Fines for bad work are wholly arbitrary; the goods are examined in the wareroom, and the supervisor charges the fines upon a list without even summoning the operative, who only learns that he has been fined when the overlooker pays his wages, and the goods have perhaps been sold, or certainly been placed beyond his reach. Leach has in his possession such a fines list, ten feet long, and amounting to £35 17s. 10d. He relates that in the factory where this list was made, a new supervisor was dismissed for fining too little, and so bringing in five pounds too little

* Drinkwater Evidence, p. 80.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

weekly.* And I repeat that I know Leach to be a thoroughly trustworthy man incapable of a falsehood.

But the operative is his employer's slave in still other respects. If his wife or daughter finds favour in the eyes of the master, a command, a hint suffices, and she must place herself at his disposal. When the employer wishes to supply with signatures a petition in favour of bourgeois interests, he need only send it to his mill. If he wishes to decide a Parliamentary election, he sends his enfranchised operatives in rank and file to the polls, and they vote for the bourgeois candidate whether they will or no. If he desires a majority in a public meeting, he dismisses them half-an-hour earlier than usual, and secures them places close to the platform, where he can watch them to his satisfaction.

Two further arrangements contribute especially to force the operative under the dominion of the manufacturer; the Truck system and the Cottage system.[a] The truck system, the payment of the operatives in goods, was formerly universal in England. The manufacturer opens a shop, "for the convenience of the operatives, and to protect them from the high prices of the petty dealers". Here goods of all sorts are sold to them on credit[b]; and to keep the operatives from going to the shops where they could get their goods more cheaply—the "Tommy shops" usually charging twenty-five to thirty per cent more than others—wages are paid in requisitions on the shop instead of money. The general indignation against this infamous system led to the passage of the Truck Act in 1831, by which, for most employees, payment in truck orders was declared void and illegal, and was made punishable by fine; but, like most other English laws, this has been enforced only here and there. In the towns it is carried out comparatively efficiently; but in the country, the truck system, disguised or undisguised, flourishes. In the town of Leicester, too, it is very common. There lie before me nearly a dozen convictions for this offence, dating from the period between November, 1843, and June, 1844, and reported, in part, in the *Manchester Guardian* and, in part, in the *Northern Star*. The system is, of course, less openly

* *Stubborn Facts*, pp. 13-17.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.* (The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have after "five pounds" the German equivalent "34 talers" in brackets.—*Ed.*)

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give the terms "Truck system", "Cottage system", "Tommy-shops" and "Truck Act" in English.—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "on his account" instead of "on credit".—*Ed.*

carried on at present; wages are usually paid in cash, but the employer still has means enough at command to force him to purchase his wares in the truck shop and nowhere else. Hence it is difficult to combat the truck system, because it can now be carried on under cover of the law,[a] provided only that the operative receives his wages in money. The *Northern Star* of April 27th, 1844, publishes a letter from an operative of Holmfirth, near Huddersfield, in Yorkshire, which refers to a manufacturer of the name of Bowers, as follows:

"It is almost strainge to see that the accursed truck sistim should exist to the enormoust extent that it dose in Holmfirth, and no one to be found to have the moral courage to attempt to put a stop to it. Thaire are a greate many honest handloome weavers that is suffering by that accurssed sistim. This is one specimen. Out of the many of that precious freetraid crew,* thaire is one manufacturer that as the curse of the whole neighbourhood upon im, for is baseness towards is weavers. When they finnish a warp, which comes to £1 14s, or £1 16s, he gives them £1, and the rest in goods, wearing apparel, at 40 or 50 per sent dearer then at the regular shopkeeppers, and many a time the goods are rotton. But as the Free-Trade *Mercury*** says by the factory labour, 'they are not bound to take it; its quite optional'. O, yes; but thay must eather take it or starve. If thay whant any more than the £1 os od, thay must wait of a warp a week or a fortnight; but if thay take the £1, os od and the goods, thaire is always a warp for them. This is free traidism. Lord Brougham says 'we should lay something by in our young days, that we may be independent in our old age of parochial relief'. Must we lay by these rotton goods? If this did not come from a lord, thay would think is brains wear as rotton as the goods wee got for our labour. When the unstampt newspapers wear in circulation thaire wear no lack of informers in Holmfirth. Thaire wear the Blyths, the Estwoods, &,: but wear are they now? O, but this is quite different. Our truckster is one of the free trading pious crew. He goes to the church twise every Sunday, and repeats after the parson very fervently: 'we have left undone those things wich we hought to have done; we have done those things wich we hought not to have done; and thaire is no help in us; but spare us, good Lord.'"[b] "Yes, spare us wile morning, and we will pay our weavers wages in rotton goods again."

The Cottage system looks much more innocent and arose in a much more harmless way, though it has the same enslaving influence upon the employee. In the neighbourhood of the mills in the country, there is often a lack of dwelling accommodation

* Supporters of the Anti-Corn Law League.—*Note by Engels* (omitted in the authorised English edition—*Ed.*).

** *Leeds Mercury*, a radical bourgeois newspaper.—*Note by Engels* (omitted in the authorised English edition—*Ed.*).

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have, instead of the foregoing sentence: "Hence it is rarely possible to get at the manufacturers who practise the Truck system, since they can now pursue their infamous practices under cover of the law."—*Ed.*

[b] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the author explains that these words are taken from the Anglican litany.—*Ed.*

for the operatives. The manufacturer is frequently obliged to build such dwellings and does so gladly, as they yield great advantages, besides the interest upon the capital invested.[a] If any owner of working-men's dwellings averages about six per cent on his invested capital, it is safe to calculate that the manufacturer's cottages yield twice this rate; for so long as his factory does not stand perfectly idle he is sure of occupants, and of occupants who pay punctually. He is therefore spared the two chief disadvantages under which other house-owners labour; his cottages never stand empty, and he runs no risk. But the rent of the cottages is as high as though these disadvantages were in full force, and by obtaining the same rent as the ordinary house-owner, the manufacturer, at cost of the operatives, makes a brilliant investment at twelve to fourteen per cent. For it is clearly unjust that he should make twice as much profit as other competing house-owners, who at the same time are excluded from competing with him. But it implies a double wrong, when he draws his fixed profit from the pockets of the non-possessing class, which must consider the expenditure of every penny. He is used to that, however, he whose whole wealth is gained at the cost of his employees. But this injustice becomes an infamy when the manufacturer, as often happens, forces his operatives, who must occupy his houses on pain of dismissal, to pay a higher rent than the ordinary one, or even to pay rent for houses in which they do not live! The *Halifax Guardian,* quoted by the Liberal *Sun,** asserts that hundreds of operatives in Ashton-under-Lyne, Oldham, and Rochdale, etc., are forced by their employers to pay house-rent whether they occupy the house or not.[158] The cottage system is universal in the country districts; it has created whole villages, and the manufacturer usually has little or no competition against his houses, so that he can fix his price regardless of any market rate, indeed at his pleasure. And what power does the cottage system give the employer over his operatives in disagreements between master and men? If the latter strike, he need only give them notice to quit his premises, and the notice need only be a week; after that time the operative is not only without bread but without a shelter, a vagabond at the mercy of the law which sends him, without fail, to the treadmill.[b]

* *Sun,* a London daily; end of November, 1843.—*Note by Engels.*

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[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the end of the sentence reads as follows: "since they bring him a good profit upon the capital he has invested".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "to the treadmill "for a month".—*Ed.*

Such is the factory system sketched as fully as my space permits, and with as little partisan spirit as the heroic deeds of the bourgeoisie against the defenceless workers permit—deeds towards which it is impossible to remain indifferent, towards which indifference were a crime. Let us compare the condition of the free Englishman of 1845 with the Saxon serf under the lash of the Norman barons of 1145. The serf was *glebae adscriptus,* bound to the soil, so is the free working-man through the cottage system. The serf owed his master the *jus primae noctis,* the right of the first night—the free working-man must, on demand, surrender to his master not only that, but the right of *every* night. The serf could acquire no property; everything that he gained, his master could take from him; the free working-man has no property, can gain none by reason of the pressure of competition, and what even the Norman baron did not do, the modern manufacturer does. Through the truck system, he assumes every day the administration in detail of the things which the worker requires for his immediate necessities. The relation of the lord of the soil to the serf was regulated by the prevailing customs and by laws which were obeyed, because they corresponded to them.[a] The free working-man's relation to his master is regulated by laws which are *not* obeyed, because they correspond neither with the interests of the employer nor with the prevailing customs. The lord of the soil could not separate the serf from the land, nor sell him apart from it, and since almost all the land was fief and there was no capital, practically could not sell him at all. The modern bourgeois forces the working-man to sell himself. The serf was the slave of the piece of land on which he was born, the working-man is the slave of his own necessaries of life and of the money with which he has to buy them—both are *slaves of a thing.* The serf had a guarantee for the means of subsistence in the feudal order of society in which every member had his own place. The free working-man has no guarantee whatsoever, because he has a place in society only when the bourgeoisie can make use of him; in all other cases he is ignored, treated as non-existent. The serf sacrificed himself for his master in war, the factory operative in peace. The lord of the serf was a barbarian who regarded his villain as a head of cattle; the employer of operatives is civilised and regards his "hand" as a machine. In short, the position of the two is not far

[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this sentence reads as follows: "The relation of the serf to the lord of the soil was regulated by laws, which were obeyed because they corresponded to the customs, and by the customs themselves."—*Ed.*

from equal, and if either is at a disadvantage, it is the free working-man. Slaves they both are, with the single difference that the slavery of the one is undissembled, open, honest; that of the other cunning, sly, disguised, deceitfully concealed from himself and every one else, a hypocritical[a] servitude worse than the old. The philanthropic Tories were right when they gave the operatives the name white slaves. But the hypocritical disguised slavery recognises the right to freedom, at least in outward form; bows before a freedom-loving public opinion, and herein lies the historic progress as compared with the old servitude, that the *principle* of freedom is affirmed, and the oppressed will one day see to it that this principle is carried out.[b]

At the close a few stanzas of a poem which voices the sentiments of the workers themselves about the factory system. Written by Edward P. Mead of Birmingham, it is a correct expression of the views prevailing among them.[159]

There is a King, and a ruthless King;
Not a King of the poet's dream;
But a tyrant fell, white slaves know well,
And that ruthless King is Steam.

He hath an arm, an iron arm,
And tho' he hath but one,
In that mighty arm there is a charm,
That millions hath undone.

Like the ancient Moloch grim, his sire
In Himmon's vale that stood,
His bowels are of living fire,
And children are his food.

His priesthood are a hungry band,
Blood-thirsty, proud, and bold;
'Tis they direct his giant hand,
In turning blood to gold.

For filthy gain in their servile chain
All nature's rights they bind;
They mock at lovely woman's pain,
And to manly tears are blind.

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "theological" instead of "hypocritical". Lower "white slaves" is given in English, followed by the German equivalent.— *Ed.*

[b] The following paragraph and the poem were omitted from the 1887 American and 1892 English editions, which, however, included the Author's note to this passage.— *Ed.*

Ein König lebt, ein zorniger Fürst,
Nicht des Dichters geträumtes Königsbild,
Ein Tyrann, den der weiße Sklave kennt,
Und der Dampf ist der König wild.

Er hat einen Arm, einen eisernen Arm,
Und obgleich er nur Einen trägt;
In dem Arme schafft eine Zauberkraft,
Die Millionen schlägt.

Wie der Moloch grimm, sein Ahn, der einst
Im Thale Himmon saß,
Ist Feuersgluth sein Eingeweid',
Und Kinder sind sein Fraß.

Seine Priesterschaar, der Menschheit bar,
Voll Blutdurst, Stolz und Wuth,
Sie lenken — o Schand'! — seine Riesenhand
Und zaubern Gold aus Blut.

Sie treten in Staub das Menschenrecht
Für das schnöde Gold, ihren Gott,
Des Weibes Schmerz ist ihnen Scherz,
Des Mannes Thrän' ihr Spott.

Musik ist ihrem Ohr das Schrei'n
Des Armen im Todeskampf;
Skelette von Jungfraun und Knaben füll'n
Die Höllen des König Dampf.

Die Höll'n auf Erd'! sie verbreiten Tod,
Seit der Dampf herrscht, rings im Reich,
Denn des Menschen Leib und Seele wird
Gemordet drin zugleich.

Drum nieder den Dampf, den Moloch wild,
Arbeitende Tausende, all',
Bind't ihm die Hand, oder unser Land
Bringt er über Nacht zu Fall!

Und seine Vögte grimm, die Mill-Lords stolz,
Goldstrotzend und blutigroth,
Stürzen muß sie des Volkes Zorn,
Wie das Scheusal, ihren Gott! *)

*) Ich habe weder Zeit noch Raum, mich weitläufig auf die Entgegnungen der



A page from
*The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (1845),
with Edward Mead's poem "The Steam King"
translated by Engels

The sighs and groans of Labour's sons
Are music in their ear,
And the skeleton shades, of lads and maids,
In the Steam King's hell appear.

Those hells upon earth, since the Steam King's birth,
Have scatter'd around despair;
For the human mind for Heav'n design'd,
With the body, is murdered there.

Then down with the King, the Moloch King,
Ye working millions all;
O chain his hand, or our native land
Is destin'd by him to fall.

And his Satraps abhor'd, each proud Mill Lord,
Now gorg'd with gold and blood,
Must be put down by the nation's frown,
As well as their monster God.*

* I have neither time nor space to deal in detail with the replies of the manufacturers to the charges made against them for twelve years past. These men will not learn because their supposed interest blinds them. As, moreover, many of their objections have been met in the foregoing, the following is all that it is necessary for me to add:

You come to Manchester, you wish to make yourself acquainted with the state of affairs in England. You naturally have good introductions to respectable people. You drop a remark or two as to the condition of the workers. You are made acquainted with a couple of the first Liberal manufacturers, Robert Hyde Greg, perhaps, Edmund Ashworth, Thomas Ashton, or others. They are told of your wishes. The manufacturer understands you, knows what he has to do. He accompanies you to his factory in the country; Mr. Greg to Quarrybank in Cheshire, Mr. Ashworth to Turton near Bolton, Mr. Ashton to Hyde. He leads you through a superb, admirably arranged building, perhaps supplied with ventilators, he calls your attention to the lofty, airy rooms, the fine machinery, here and there a healthy-looking operative. He gives you an excellent lunch, and proposes to you to visit the operatives' homes; he conducts you to the cottages, which look new, clean and neat, and goes with you into this one and that one, naturally only to overlookers, mechanics, etc., so that you may see "families who live wholly from the factory". Among other families you might find that only wife and children work, and the husband darns stockings. The presence of the employer keeps you from asking indiscreet questions; you find every one well-paid, comfortable, comparatively healthy by reason of the country air; you begin to be converted from your exaggerated ideas of misery and starvation. But, that the cottage system makes slaves of the operatives, that there may be a truck shop in the neighbourhood, that the people hate the manufacturer, this they do not point out to you, because he is present. He has built a school, church, reading-room, etc. That he uses the school to train children to subordination, that he tolerates in the reading-room such prints only as represent the interests of the bourgeoisie, that he dismisses his employees if they read Chartist or Socialist papers or books, this is all concealed from you. You see an easy, patriarchal relation, you see the life of the overlookers, you see what the bourgeoisie *promises* the workers if they become its slaves, mentally and morally. This "country manufacture" has always been what the employers like to show, because in it the disadvantages of the factory system, especially from the point of

view of health, are, in part, done away with by the free air and surroundings, and because the patriarchal servitude of the workers can here be longest maintained. Dr. Ure sings a dithyramb upon the theme. But woe to the operatives to whom it occurs to think for themselves and become Chartists! For them the paternal affection of the manufacturer comes to a sudden end. Further, if you should wish to be accompanied through the working-people's quarters of Manchester, if you should desire to see the development of the factory system in a factory town, you may wait long before these rich bourgeoisie will help you! These gentlemen do not know in what condition their employees are nor what they want, and they dare not know things which would make them uneasy or even oblige them to act in opposition to their own interests. But, fortunately, that is of no consequence: what the working-men have to carry out, they carry out for themselves.— *Note by Engels.*

## THE REMAINING BRANCHES OF INDUSTRY

We were compelled to deal with the factory system somewhat at length, as it is an entirely novel creation of the industrial period; we shall be able to treat the other workers the more briefly, because what has been said either of the industrial proletariat in general, or of the factory system in particular, will wholly, or in part, apply to them. We shall, therefore, merely have to record how far the factory system has succeeded in forcing its way into each branch of industry, and what other peculiarities these may reveal.

The four branches comprised under the Factory Act are engaged in the production of clothing stuffs. We shall do best if we deal next with those workers who receive their materials from these factories; and, first of all, with the stocking weavers of Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester. Touching these workers, the Children's Employment Commission reports that the long working-hours, imposed by low wages, with a sedentary life and the strain upon the eyes involved in the nature of the employment, usually enfeeble the whole frame, and especially the eyes. Work at night is impossible without a very powerful light produced by concentrating the rays of the lamp, making them pass through glass globes, which is most injurious to the sight. At forty years of age, nearly all wear spectacles. The children employed at spooling and hemming usually suffer grave injuries to the health and constitution. They work from the sixth, seventh, or eighth year ten to twelve hours daily in small, close rooms. It is not uncommon for them to faint at their work, to become too feeble for the most ordinary household occupation, and so near-sighted as to be obliged to wear glasses during childhood. Many were found by the commissioners to exhibit all the symptoms of a scrofulous constitu-

tion, and the manufacturers usually refuse to employ girls who have worked in this way as being too weak. The condition of these children is characterised as "a disgrace to a Christian country", and the wish expressed for legislative interference.* The Factory Report adds that the stocking weavers are the worst paid workers in Leicester, earning six, or with great effort, seven shillings a week, for sixteen to eighteen hours' daily work. Formerly they earned twenty to twenty-one shillings, but the introduction of enlarged frames has ruined their business; the great majority still work with old, small, single frames, and compete with difficulty with the progress of machinery. Here, too, every progress is a disadvantage for the workers. Nevertheless, Commissioner Power speaks of the pride of the stocking weavers that they are free, and have no factory bell to measure out the time for their eating, sleeping, and working. Their position today is no better than in 1833, when the Factory Commission made the foregoing statements; the competition of the Saxon stocking weavers, who have scarcely anything to eat, takes care of that. This competition is too strong for the English in nearly all foreign markets, and for the lower qualities of goods even in the English market. It must be a source of rejoicing for the patriotic German stocking weaver that his starvation wages force his English brother to starve too! And, verily, will he not starve on, proud and happy, for the greater glory of German industry, since the honour of the Fatherland demands that his table should be bare, his dish half-empty? Ah! it is a noble thing this competition, this "race of the nations". In the *Morning Chronicle,* another Liberal sheet, the organ of the bourgeoisie par excellence, there were published[a] some letters from a stocking weaver in Hinckley, describing the condition of his fellow-workers. Among other things, he reports 50 families, 321 persons, who were supported by 109 frames; each frame yielded on an average $5^1/_2$ shillings; each family earned an average of 11s. 4d. weekly. Out of this there was required for house rent, frame rent, fuel, light, soap, and needles, together 5s. 10d., so that there remained for food, per head daily, $1^1/_2$d.,[b] and for clothing nothing.

* Grainger Report. Appendix, Part I, p. F 15, sect. 132-142.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887* (reproduced in the English edition of 1892; the German editions of 1845 and 1892 give this and similar references in the text—*Ed.*).

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "in December 1843".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here in German "15 Prussian pfennigs".—*Ed.*

"Eye hath not seen," says the stocking weaver, "ear hath not heard, the heart cannot conceive the half of the suffering endured by this poverty-stricken people." [160]

Beds were wanting either wholly or in part, the children ran about ragged and barefoot; the men said, with tears in their eyes: "We never tasted meat this many a day"—"We have almost forgotten its taste"; and, finally, some of them worked on Sunday, though public opinion pardons anything else more readily than this, and the rattling noise of the frame is audible throughout the neighbourhood.

"Look at my children," said one of them, "and ask no more. It is because my poverty compels me; I cannot and will not hear my children cry for bread without taking the only means honestly to get it. Last Monday morning I rose at two o'clock and worked till near midnight. I rose at six o'clock each succeeding morning and worked until between eleven and twelve each night. I cannot do it longer. I shall go to an untimely grave if I do; I will therefore end my labours at ten o'clock each night and make up the time lost by labouring on the Sunday."

Neither in Leicester, Nottingham, nor Derby have wages risen since 1833; and the worst of it is that in Leicester the truck system prevails to a great extent, as I have mentioned. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that the weavers of this region take a very active part in all working-men's movements, the more active and effective because the frames are worked chiefly by men.

In this stocking weavers' district the lace industry also has its headquarters. In the three counties mentioned there are in all 2,760 lace frames in use, while in all the rest of England there are but 787. The manufacture of lace is greatly complicated by a rigid division of labour, and embraces a multitude of branches. The yarn is first spooled by girls fourteen years of age and upwards, winders[a]; then the spools are set up on the frames by boys, eight years old and upwards, threaders, who pass the thread through fine openings, of which each machine has an average of 1,800, and bring it towards its destination; then the weaver weaves the lace which comes out of the machine like a broad piece of cloth and is taken apart by very little children who draw out the connecting threads. This is called running or drawing lace, and the children themselves lace-runners. The lace is then made ready for sale. The winders, like the threaders, have no specified working-time, being called upon whenever the spools on a frame are empty, and are liable, since the weavers work at night, to be required at any time in the factory or work-room. This irregulari-

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give brackets the English names of this and the other occupations mentioned here.—*Ed.*

ty, the frequent night-work, the disorderly way of living consequent upon it, engender a multitude of physical and moral ills, especially early and unbridled sexual licence, upon which point all witnesses are unanimous. The work is very bad for the eyes, and although a permanent injury in the case of the threaders is not universally observable, inflammations of the eye, pain, tears, and momentary uncertainty of vision during the act of threading are engendered. For the winders, however, it is certain that their work seriously affects the eye, and produces, besides the frequent inflammations of the cornea, many cases of amaurosis and cataract. The work of the weavers themselves is very difficult, as the frames have constantly been made wider, until those now in use are almost all worked by three men in turn, each[a] working eight hours, and the frame being kept in use the whole twenty-four. Hence it is that the winders and threaders are so often called upon during the night, and must work to prevent the frame from standing idle. The filling in of 1,800 openings with thread occupies three children at least two hours. Many frames are moved by steam-power, and the work of men thus superseded; and, as the Children's Employment Commission's Report mentions only lace factories to which the children are summoned, it seems to follow either that the work of the weavers has been removed to great factory rooms of late, or that steam-weaving has become pretty general; a forward movement of the factory system in either case. Most unwholesome of all is the work of the runners, who are usually children of seven, and even of five and four, years old. Commissioner Grainger actually found one child of two years old employed at this work. Following a thread which is to be withdrawn by a needle from an intricate texture, is very bad for the eyes, especially when, as is usually the case, the work is continued fourteen to sixteen hours. In the least unfavourable case, aggravated near-sightedness follows; in the worst case, which is frequent enough, incurable blindness from amaurosis. But, apart from that, the children, in consequence of sitting perpetually bent up, become feeble, narrow-chested, and scrofulous from bad digestion. Disordered functions of the uterus are almost universal among the girls, and curvature of the spine also, so that "all the runners may be recognised from their gait". The same consequences for the eyes and the whole constitution are produced by the

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "each of whom is relieved after four hours, so that all together they work twenty-four, each eight hours a day".—*Ed.*

embroidery of lace. Medical witnesses are unanimously of the opinion that the health of all children employed in the production of lace suffers seriously, that they are pale, weak, delicate, undersized, and much less able than other children to resist disease. The affections from which they usually suffer are general debility, frequent fainting, pains in the head, sides, back, and hips, palpitation of the heart, nausea, vomiting and want of appetite, curvature of the spine, scrofula, and consumption. The health of the female lace-makers especially, is constantly and deeply undermined; complaints are universal of anaemia, difficult child-birth, and miscarriage.* The same subordinate official of the Children's Employment Commission reports further that the children are very often ill-clothed and ragged, and receive insufficient food, usually only bread and tea, often no meat for months together. As to their moral condition, he reports:**

"In the town of Nottingham all parties, police, clergy, manufacturers, work-people, and parents of the children agree that the present system of labour is a most fertile source of immorality. The threaders, who are usually boys, and the winders, who are generally girls, are called out of their parents' houses at all hours of the night, and as it is quite uncertain how long they may be required, a ready and unanswerable excuse for staying out is furnished and they have every facility for forming improper connections. This must have contributed, in no slight degree, to the immorality which, according to the opinion universally expressed, prevails to a most awful extent in Nottingham. In addition to the immediate evils to the children themselves, the domestic peace and comfort of the families to which they are members are sacrificed to this most unnatural state of things."

Another branch of lace-making, bobbin-lacework, is carried on in the agricultural shires of Northampton, Oxford, and Bedford,[a] chiefly by children and young persons, who complain universally of bad food, and rarely taste meat. The employment itself is most unwholesome. The children work in small, ill-ventilated, damp rooms, sitting always bent over the lace cushion. To support the body in this wearying position, the girls wear stays with a wooden busk, which, at the tender age of most of them, when the bones are still very soft, wholly displace the ribs, and make narrow chests universal. They usually die of consumption after suffering the severest forms of digestive disorders, brought on by sedentary work in a bad atmosphere. They are almost wholly without education, least of all do they receive moral training. They love finery,

* Grainger's whole Report.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

** Grainger Children's Employment Commission's Report.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "and Buckingham".—*Ed.*

and in consequence of these two influences their moral condition is most deplorable, and prostitution almost epidemic among them.*

This is the price at which society purchases for the fine ladies of the bourgeoisie the pleasure of wearing lace; a reasonable price truly! Only a few thousand blind working-men, some consumptive labourers' daughters, a sickly generation of the vile multitude bequeathing its debility to its equally "vile" children and children's children. But what does that come to? Nothing, nothing whatsoever! Our English bourgeoisie will lay the report of the Government Commission aside indifferently, and wives and daughters will deck themselves with lace as before. It is a beautiful thing, the composure of an English bourgeois.

A great number of operatives are employed in the cotton-printing establishments of Lancashire, Derbyshire, and the West of Scotland. In no branch of English industry has mechanical ingenuity produced such brilliant results as here, but in no other has it so crushed the workers. The application of engraved cylinders driven by steam-power, and the discovery of a method of printing four to six colours at once with such cylinders, has as completely superseded hand-work as did the application of machinery to the spinning and weaving of cotton, and these new arrangements in the printing-works have superseded the hand-workers much more than was the case in the production of the fabrics. One man, with the assistance of one child, now does with a machine the work done formerly by 200 block printers; a single machine yields 28 yards[a] of printed cloth per minute. The calico printers are in a very bad way in consequence; the shires of Lancaster, Derby, and Chester produced (according to a petition of the printers to the House of Commons), in the year 1842, 11,000,000 pieces of printed cotton goods: of these, 100,000 were printed by hand exclusively, 900,000 in part with machinery and in part by hand, and 10,000,000 by machinery alone, with four to six colours.[b] As the machinery is chiefly new and undergoes constant improvement, the number of hand-printers is far too great for the available quantity of work, and many of them are therefore starving; the petition puts the number at one-quarter of the whole, while the rest are employed but one or two, in the best

* Burns, Children's Employment Commission's Report.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here in brackets "80 feet".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "from one to six colours".—*Ed.*

case three days in the week, and are ill-paid. Leach * asserts of one print-works (Deeply Dale, near Bury, in Lancashire), that the hand-printers did not earn on an average more than five shillings, though he knows that the machine-printers were pretty well paid. The print-works are thus wholly affiliated with the factory system, but without being subject to the legislative restrictions placed upon it. They produce an article subject to fashion, and have therefore no regular work. If they have small orders, they work half-time; if they make a hit with a pattern, and business is brisk, they work twelve hours, perhaps all night.[a] In the neighbourhood of my home, near Manchester, there was a print-works that was often lighted when I returned late at night; and I have heard that the children were obliged at times to work so long there, that they would try to catch a moment's rest and sleep on the stone steps and in the corners of the lobby. I have no legal proof of the truth of the statement, or I should name the firm. The Report of the Children's Employment Commission is very cursory upon this subject, stating merely that in England, at least, the children are mostly pretty well clothed and fed (relatively, according to the wages of the parents), that they receive no education whatsoever, and are morally on a low plane. It is only necessary to remember that these children are subject to the factory system, and then, referring the reader to what has already been said of that, we can pass on.

Of the remaining workers employed in the manufacture of clothing stuffs little remains to be said; the bleachers' work is very unwholesome, obliging them to breathe chlorine, a gas injurious to the lungs. The work of the dyers is in many cases very healthful,[b] since it requires the exertion of the whole body; how these workers are paid is little known, and this is ground enough for the inference that they do not receive less than the average wages, otherwise they would make complaint. The fustian cutters, who, in consequence of the large consumption of cotton velvet, are comparatively numerous, being estimated at from 3,000 to 4,000, have suffered very severely, indirectly, from the influence of the factory system. The goods formerly woven with hand-looms, were not perfectly uniform, and required a practised hand in cutting

* Leach, *Stubborn Facts from the Factories*, p. 47.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "they work till ten or twelve, even the whole night".—*Ed.*

[b] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this sentence reads: "The work of the dyers is healthier, in many cases very healthful", etc.—*Ed.*

the single rows of threads. Since power-looms have been used, the rows run regularly; each thread of the weft is exactly parallel with the preceding one, and cutting is no longer an art. The workers thrown out of employment by the introduction of machinery turn to fustian cutting, and force down wages by their competition; the manufacturers discovered that they could employ women and children, and the wages sank to the rate paid them, while hundreds of men were thrown out of employment. The manufacturers found that they could get the work done in the factory itself more cheaply than in the cutters' work-room, for which they indirectly paid the rent. Since this discovery, the low upper-storey cutters' rooms stand empty in many a cottage, or are let for dwellings, while the cutter has lost his freedom of choice of his working-hours, and is brought under the dominion of the factory bell. A cutter of perhaps forty-five years of age told me that he could remember a time when he had received 8d. a yard for work, for which he now received 1d.; true, he can cut the more regular texture more quickly than the old, but he can by no means do twice as much in an hour as formerly, so that his wages have sunk to less than a quarter of what they were. Leach* gives a list of wages paid in 1827 and in 1843 for various goods, from which it appears that articles paid in 1827 at the rate of 4d., $2^1/_4$d., $2^3/_4$d., and 1d. per yard, were paid in 1843 at the rate of $1^1/_2$d., 1d., $^3/_4$d., and $^3/_8$d. per yard, cutters' wages. The average weekly wage, according to Leach, was as follows: 1827, £1 6s. 6d.; £1 2s. 6d.; £1; £1 6s. 6d.; and for the same goods in 1843, 10s.; 7s.; 6s. 8d.; 10s.; while there are hundreds of workers who cannot find employment even at these last-named rates. Of the hand-weavers of the cotton industry we have already spoken; the other woven fabrics are almost exclusively produced on hand-looms. Here most of the workers have suffered as the weavers[a] have done from the crowding in of competitors displaced by machinery, and are, moreover, subject like the factory operatives to a severe fine system for bad work. Take, for instance, the silk weavers. Mr. Brocklehurst, one of the largest silk manufacturers in all England laid before a committee of Members of Parliament lists taken from his books, from which it appears that for goods for which he paid wages in 1821 at the rate of 30s., 14s.; $3^1/_2$s., $^3/_4$s., $1^1/_{10}$s., 10s.; he paid in 1831 but 9s., $7^1/_2$s., $2^1/_4$s., $^1/_3$s., $^1/_2$s., $6^1/_4$s., while in this case

* Leach, *Stubborn Facts from the Factories*, p. 35.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "fustian cutters".—*Ed.*

no improvement in the machinery has taken place. But what Mr. Brocklehurst does may very well be taken as a standard for all. From the same lists it appears that the average weekly wage of his weavers, after all deductions, was, in 1821, 16½s., and, in 1831, but 6s. Since that time wages have fallen still further. Goods which brought in 4d.[a] weavers' wages in 1831, bring in but 2½d. in 1843 (single sarsnets[b]), and a great number of weavers in the country can get work only when they undertake these goods at 1½d.-2d. Moreover, they are subject to arbitrary deductions from their wages. Every weaver who receives materials is given a card, on which is usually to be read that the work is to be returned at a specified hour of the day; that a weaver who cannot work by reason of illness must make the fact known at the office within three days, or sickness will not be regarded as an excuse; that it will not be regarded as a sufficient excuse if the weaver claims to have been obliged to wait for yarn; that for certain faults in the work (if, for example, more weft-threads are found within a given space than are prescribed), not less than half the wages will be deducted; and that if the goods should not be ready at the time specified, one penny will be deducted for every yard returned. The deductions in accordance with these cards are so considerable that, for instance, a man who comes twice a week to Leigh, in Lancashire, to gather up woven goods, brings his employer at least £15[c] fines every time. He asserts this himself, and he is regarded as one of the most lenient. Such things were formerly settled by arbitration; but as the workers were usually dismissed if they insisted upon that, the custom has been almost wholly abandoned, and the manufacturer acts arbitrarily as prosecutor, witness, judge, law-giver, and executive in one person. And if the workman goes to a Justice of the Peace, the answer is: "When you accepted your card you entered upon a contract, and you must abide by it." The case is the same as that of the factory operatives. Besides, the employer obliges the workman to sign a document in which he declares that he agrees to the deductions made. And if a workman rebels, all the manufacturers in the town know at once that he is a man who, as Leach says,*

* Leach, *Stubborn Facts from the Factories*, pp. 37-40.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give "⅓ s. or 4 d.".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give this term in English.—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give in brackets the German equivalent "100 Prussian talers".—*Ed.*

"is an enemy to all ticket-made law and social order and has the impudence to dispute the wisdom of those whom he ought to know are his superiors in society."

Naturally, the workers are perfectly free; the manufacturer does not force them to take his materials and his cards, but he says to them what Leach translates into plain English with the words:

"If you don't like to be frizzled in my frying-pan, you can take a walk into the fire."[a]

The silk weavers of London, and especially of Spitalfields, have lived in periodic distress for a long time, and that they still have no cause to be satisfied with their lot is proved by their taking a most active part in English labour movements in general, and in London ones in particular. The distress prevailing among them gave rise to the fever which broke out in East London, and called forth the Commission for Investigating the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Class. But the last report of the London Fever Hospital shows that this disease is still raging.

After the textile fabrics, by far the most important products of English industry are the metal-wares. This trade has its headquarters at Birmingham, where the finer metal goods of all sorts are produced, at Sheffield for cutlery, and in Staffordshire, especially at Wolverhampton, where the coarser articles, locks, nails, etc., are manufactured. In describing the position of the workers employed in these trades, let us begin with Birmingham. The disposition of the work has retained in Birmingham, as in most places where metals are wrought, something of the old handicraft character; the small employers are still to be found, who work with their apprentices in the shop at home, or when they need steam-power, in great factory buildings which are divided into little shops, each rented to a small employer, and supplied with a shaft moved by the engine, and furnishing motive power for the machinery. Léon Faucher, author of a series of articles[b] in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, which at least betray study, and are better than what has hitherto been written upon the subject by Englishmen or Germans,[161] characterises this relation in contrast with the manufacture of Lancashire as *Démocratie industrielle*, and observes that it produces no very favourable results for master or men. This observation is perfectly correct, for the many small employers cannot well

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give this sentence in German and the original English in brackets.—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "concerning working-class conditions in England".—*Ed.*

subsist on the profit divided amongst them, determined by competition, a profit under other circumstances absorbed by a single manufacturer. The centralising tendency of capital holds them down. For one who grows rich ten are ruined, and a hundred placed at greater disadvantage than ever, by the pressure of the one upstart who can afford to sell more cheaply than they. And in the cases where they have to compete from the beginning against great capitalists, it is self-evident that they can only toil along with the greatest difficulty. The apprentices are, as we shall see, quite as badly off under the small employers as under the manufacturers, with the single difference that they, in turn, may become small employers, and so attain a certain independence—that is to say, they are at best less directly exploited by the bourgeoisie than under the factory system. Thus these small employers are neither genuine proletarians, since they live in part upon the work of their apprentices,[a] nor genuine bourgeois, since their principal means of support is their own work. This peculiar midway position of the Birmingham iron-workers is to blame for their having so rarely joined wholly and unreservedly in the English labour movements. Birmingham is a politically radical, but not a Chartist, town. There are, however, numerous larger factories belonging to capitalists; and in these the factory system reigns supreme. The division of labour, which is here carried out to the last detail (in the needle industry, for example), and the use of steam-power, admit of the employment of a great multitude of women and children, and we find here* precisely the same features reappearing which the Factories' Report presented,—the work of women up to the hour of confinement, incapacity as housekeepers, neglect of home and children, indifference, actual dislike to family life, and demoralisation; further, the crowding out of men from employment, the constant improvement of machinery, early emancipation of children, husbands supported by their wives and children, etc., etc. The children are described as half-starved and ragged, the half of them are said not to know what it is to have enough to eat, many of them get nothing to eat before the midday meal, or even live the whole day upon a pen-

* Children's Employment Commission's Report.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here: "and sell not the labour itself, but the ready product." Mention of the sale of labour was perhaps omitted in the American edition of 1887 and the English edition of 1892 in connection with the later opinion of Marxist political economy that the worker sells his labour-power, and not his labour, to the capitalist.—*Ed.*

nyworth[a] of bread for a noonday meal—there were actually cases in which children received no food from eight in the morning until seven at night. Their clothing is very often scarcely sufficient to cover their nakedness, many are barefoot even in winter. Hence they are all small and weak for their age, and rarely develop with any degree of vigour. And when we reflect that with these insufficient means of reproducing the physical forces, hard and protracted work in close rooms is required of them, we cannot wonder that there are few adults in Birmingham fit for military service.

The working-men, says a recruiting surgeon, "are shorter, more puny, and altogether inferior in their physical powers. Many of the men presented for examinations, are distorted in the spine and chest."

According to the assertion of a recruiting sergeant, the people of Birmingham are smaller than those anywhere else, being usually 5 feet 4 to 5 inches tall; out of 613 recruits, but 238 were found fit for service. As to education, a series of depositions and specimens taken from the metal districts have already been given,[b] to which the reader is referred. It appears further, from the Children's Employment Commission's Report, that in Birmingham more than half the children, between five and fifteen years attend no school whatsoever, that those who do are constantly changing, so that it is impossible to give them any training of an enduring kind, and that they are all withdrawn from school very early and set to work. The report makes it clear what sort of teachers are employed. One teacher, in answer to the question whether she gave moral instruction, said, No, for threepence a week school fees that was too much to require, but that she took a great deal of trouble to instil good principles into the children.[c] (And she made a decided slip in her English in saying it.) In the schools the commissioner found constant noise and disorder. The moral state of the children is in the highest degree deplorable. Half of all the criminals are children under fifteen, and in a single year ninety ten-years'-old offenders, among them forty-four serious criminal

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here in brackets "10 Prussian pfennigs".—*Ed.*

[b] The American edition of 1887 and the English edition of 1892 give reference to the respective pages. (See pp. 408-10 of this volume.)—*Ed.*

[c] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this passage reads as follows: "One teacher, in answer to the question whether she gave moral instruction, said, No, for threepence a week school fees that was too much to require; several others did not even understand this question and still others did not consider this part of their duty. One of the teachers said that she gave no moral instruction but that she took a great deal of trouble to instil good principles into the children."—*Ed.*

cases, were sentenced. Unbridled sexual intercourse seems, according to the opinion of the commissioner, almost universal, and that at a very early age.*

In the iron district of Staffordshire the state of things is still worse. For the coarse wares made here neither much division of labour (with certain exceptions) nor steam-power or machinery can be applied. In Wolverhampton, Willenhall, Bilston, Sedgeley, Wednesfield, Darlaston, Dudley, Walsall, Wednesbury, etc., there are, therefore, fewer factories. But chiefly single forges, where the small masters work alone, or with one or more apprentices, who serve them until reaching the twenty-first year. The small employers are in about the same situation as those of Birmingham; but the apprentices, as a rule, are much worse off. They get almost exclusively meat from diseased animals or such as have died a natural death, or tainted meat, or fish to eat, with veal from calves killed too young, and pork from swine smothered during transportation, and such food is furnished not by small employers only, but by large manufacturers, who employ from thirty to forty apprentices. The custom seems to be universal in Wolverhampton, and its natural consequence is frequent bowel complaints and other diseases. Moreover, the children usually do not get enough to eat, and have rarely other clothing than their working rags, for which reason, if for no other, they cannot go to Sunday school. The dwellings are bad and filthy, often so much so that they give rise to disease; and in spite of the not materially unhealthy work, the children are puny,[a] weak, and, in many cases, severely crippled. In Willenhall, for instance, there are countless persons who have, from perpetually filing at the lathe, crooked backs and one leg crooked, "hind-leg" as they call it, so that the two legs have the form of a K; while it is said that more than one-third of the working-men there are ruptured. Here, as well as in Wolverhampton, numberless cases were found of retarded puberty among girls (for girls, too, work at the forges), as well as among boys, extending even to the nineteenth year. In Sedgeley and its surrounding district, where nails form almost the sole product, the nailers live and work in the most wretched stable-like huts, which for filth can scarcely be equalled. Girls and boys work from the tenth or twelfth year, and are accounted fully skilled only when they make a thousand nails a day. For twelve hundred nails the

* Grainger Report and Evidence.— *Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have, instead of "puny", "small, badly built". Below, "hind-leg" is given in English.— *Ed.*

pay is $5^3/_4$d.[a] Every nail receives twelve blows, and since the hammer weighs $1^1/_4$ pounds, the nailer must lift 18,000 pounds to earn this miserable pay. With this hard work and insufficient food, the children inevitably develop ill-formed, undersized frames, and the commissioners' depositions confirm this. As to the state of education in this district, data have already been furnished in the foregoing chapters. It is upon an incredibly low plane; half the children do not even go to Sunday school, and the other half go irregularly; very few, in comparison with the other districts, can read, and in the matter of writing the case is much worse. Naturally, for between the seventh and tenth years, just when they are beginning to get some good out of going to school, they are set to work, and the Sunday school teachers, smiths or miners, frequently cannot read, and write their names with difficulty. The prevailing morals correspond with these means of education. In Willenhall, Commissioner Horne asserts, and supplies ample proofs of his assertion, that there exists absolutely no moral sense among the workers. In general, he found that the children neither recognised duties to their parents nor felt any affection for them. They were so little capable of thinking of what they said, so stolid, so hopelessly stupid, that they often asserted that they were well treated, were coming on famously, when they were forced to work twelve to fourteen hours, were clad in rags, did not get enough to eat, and were beaten so that they felt it several days afterwards. They knew nothing of a different kind of life than that in which they toil from morning until they are allowed to stop at night, and did not even understand the question never heard before, whether they were tired.*

In Sheffield wages are better, and the external state of the workers also. On the other hand, certain branches of work are to be noticed here, because of their extraordinarily injurious influence upon health. Certain operations require the constant pressure of tools against the chest, and engender consumption in many cases; others, file-cutting among them, retard the general development of the body and produce digestive disorders; bone-cutting for knife handles brings with it headache, biliousness, and among girls, of whom many are employed, anaemia. By far the most unwholesome work is the grinding of knife-blades and forks, which, especially when done with a dry stone, entails certain early death. The unwholesomeness of this work lies in part in the bent

* Horne Report and Evidence.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here the explanation "or not quite 5 silver groschen".—*Ed.*

posture, in which chest and stomach are cramped; but especially in the quantity of sharp-edged metal dust particles freed in the cutting, which fill the atmosphere, and are necessarily inhaled. The dry grinders' average life is hardly thirty-five years, the wet grinders' rarely exceeds forty-five. Dr. Knight, in Sheffield, says*:

I can convey some idea of the injuriousness of this occupation only by asserting that "the greatest drinkers among the grinders are sometimes the longest lived, owing to their more frequent absence from their work". Altogether the grinders in Sheffield "amount to about two thousand five hundred, of this number about one hundred and fifty, viz. eighty men and seventy boys, are fork grinders—these die from twenty-eight to thirty-two years of age. The razor grinders, grind both wet, and dry, and they die from forty to forty-five years of age. The table-knife grinders work on wet stones, and they live to betwixt forty and fifty years of age."

The same physician gives the following description of the course of the disease called grinders' asthma:

"Those who are to be brought up grinders, usually begin to work when they are about fourteen years old. Grinders, who have good constitutions seldom experience much inconvenience from their trade until they arrive at about twenty years of age: about that time the symptoms of their peculiar complaint begin to steal upon them, their breathing becomes more than usually embarrassed on slight exertions, particularly on going upstairs or ascending a hill; their shoulders are elevated in order to relieve their constant and increasing dyspnoea; they stoop forward, and appear to breathe the most comfortably in that posture in which they are accustomed to sit at their work. Their complexions assume a muddy, dirty appearance; their countenance indicates anxiety; they complain of a sense of tightness across the chest; their voice is rough, and hoarse; their cough loud, and as if the air were drawn through wooden tubes; they occasionally expectorate considerable quantities of dust, sometimes mixed up with mucus, at other times in globular or cylindrical masses enveloped in a thin film of mucus. Haemoptysis, inability to lie down, night sweats, colignative diarrhoea, extreme emaciation, together with all the usual symptoms of pulmonary consumption at length carry them off; but not until they have lingered through months, and even years of suffering, incapable of working so as to support either themselves or their families." I must add that "all the attempts which have hitherto been made, to prevent or to cure the grinders' asthma, have utterly failed."

All this Knight wrote ten years ago[162]; since then the number of grinders and the violence of the disease have increased, though attempts have been made to prevent it by covered grindstones and carrying off the dust by artificial draught. These methods have been at least partially successful, but the grinders do not desire their adoption, and have even destroyed the contrivance here and there, in the belief that more workers may be attracted to the business and wages thus reduced; they are for a short life and a merry one. Dr. Knight has often told grinders who came to him with the first symptoms of asthma that a return to grinding means

* Dr. Knight, Sheffield.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

certain death, but with no avail. He who is once a grinder falls into despair, as though he had sold himself to the devil. Education in Sheffield is upon a very low plane; a clergyman, who had occupied himself largely with the statistics of education, was of the opinion that of 16,500 children of the working-class who are in a position to attend school, scarcely 6,500 can read. This comes of the fact that the children are taken from school in the seventh, and, at the very latest, in the twelfth year, and that the teachers are good for nothing; one was a convicted thief who found no other way of supporting himself after being released from jail than teaching school! Immorality among young people seems to be more prevalent in Sheffield than anywhere else. It is hard to tell which town ought to have the prize, and in reading the report one believes of each one that this certainly deserves it! The younger generation spend the whole of Sunday lying in the street tossing coins or fighting dogs, go regularly to the gin palace, where they sit with their sweethearts until late at night, when they take walks in solitary couples. In an ale-house which the commissioner visited, there sat forty to fifty young people of both sexes, nearly all under seventeen years of age, and each lad beside his lass. Here and there cards were played, at other places dancing was going on, and everywhere drinking. Among the company were openly avowed professional prostitutes. No wonder, then, that, as all the witnesses testify, early, unbridled sexual intercourse, youthful prostitution, beginning with persons of fourteen to fifteen years, is extraordinarily frequent in Sheffield. Crimes of a savage and desperate sort are of common occurrence; one year before the commissioner's visit, a band, consisting chiefly of young persons, was arrested when about to set fire to the town, being fully equipped with lances and inflammable substances. We shall see later that the labour movement in Sheffield has this same savage character.*

Besides these two main centres of the metal industry, there are needle factories in Warrington, Lancashire, where great want, immorality, and ignorance prevail among the workers, and especially among the children; and a number of nail forges in the neighbourhood of Wigan, in Lancashire, and in the east of Scotland. The reports from these latter districts tell almost precisely the same story as those of Staffordshire. There is one more branch of this industry carried on in the factory districts, especially in Lancashire, the essential peculiarity of which is the production of machinery by machinery, whereby the workers,

* Symons Report and Evidence.— *Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

crowded out elsewhere, are deprived of their last refuge, the creation of the very enemy which supersedes them. Machinery for planing and boring, cutting screws, wheels, nuts, etc., with power lathes, has thrown out of employment a multitude of men who formerly found regular work at good wages; and whoever wishes to do so may see crowds of them in Manchester.

North of the iron district of Staffordshire lies an industrial region to which we shall now turn our attention, the Potteries,[a] whose headquarters are in the borough of Stoke, embracing Henley, Burslem, Lane End, Lane Delph, Etruria, Coleridge, Langport, Tunstall, and Golden Hill, containing together 70,000 inhabitants. The Children's Employment Commission reports upon this subject that in some branches of this industry, in the production of stoneware, the children have light employment in warm, airy rooms; in others, on the contrary, hard, wearing labour is required, while they receive neither sufficient food nor good clothing. Many children complain: "Don't get enough to eat, get mostly potatoes with salt, never meat, never bread, don't go to school, haven't got no clothes." "Haven't got nothin' to eat today for dinner, don't never have dinner at home, get mostly potatoes and salt, sometimes bread." "This is all the clothes I have, no Sunday suit at home." Among the children whose work is especially injurious are the mould-runners, who have to carry the moulded article with the form to the drying-room, and afterwards bring back the empty form, when the article is properly dried. Thus they must go to and fro the whole day, carrying burdens heavy in proportion to their age, while the high temperature in which they have to do this increases very considerably the exhaustiveness of the work. These children, with scarcely a single exception, are lean, pale, feeble, stunted; nearly all suffer from stomach troubles, nausea, want of appetite, and many of them die of consumption. Almost as delicate are the boys called "jiggers", from the "jigger" wheel which they turn. But by far the most injurious is the work of those who dip the finished article into a fluid containing great quantities of lead, and often of arsenic, or have to take the freshly dipped article up with the hand. The hands and clothing of these workers, adults and children, are always wet with this fluid, the skin softens and falls off under the constant contact with rough objects, so that the fingers often bleed, and are constantly in a state most favourable for the absorption of this dangerous substance. The consequence is violent pain,

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give the name Potteries and below "mould-runners" and "jiggers" in English.—*Ed.*

and serious disease of the stomach and intestines, obstinate constipation, colic, sometimes consumption, and, most common of all, epilepsy among children. Among men, partial paralysis of the hand muscles, colica pictorum,[a] and paralysis of whole limbs are ordinary phenomena. One witness relates that two children who worked with him died of convulsions at their work; another who had helped with the dipping two years while a boy, relates that he had violent pains in the bowels at first, then convulsions, in consequence of which he was confined to his bed two months, since when the attacks of convulsions have increased in frequency, are now daily, accompanied often by ten to twenty epileptic fits, his right arm is paralysed, and the physicians tell him that he can never regain the use of his limbs. In one factory were found in the dipping-house four men, all epileptic and afflicted with severe colic, and eleven boys, several of whom were already epileptic. In short, this frightful disease follows this occupation universally: and that, too, to the greater pecuniary profit of the bourgeoisie! In the rooms in which the stoneware is scoured, the atmosphere is filled with pulverised flint, the breathing of which is as injurious as that of the steel dust among the Sheffield grinders. The workers lose breath, cannot lie down, suffer from sore throat and violent coughing, and come to have so feeble a voice that they can scarcely be heard. They, too, all die of consumption. In the Potteries district, the schools are said to be comparatively numerous, and to offer the children opportunities for instruction; but as the latter are so early set to work for twelve hours and often more per day, they are not in a position to avail themselves of the schools, so that three-fourths of the children examined by the commissioner could neither read nor write, while the whole district is plunged in the deepest ignorance. Children who have attended Sunday school for years could not tell one letter from another, and the moral and religious education, as well as the intellectual, is on a very low plane.*

In the manufacture of glass, too, work occurs which seems little injurious to men, but cannot be endured by children. The hard labour, the irregularity of the hours, the frequent night-work, and especially the great heat of the working place (100 to 130 Fahrenheit), engender in children general debility and disease, stunted growth, and especially affections of the eye, bowel complaint, and rheumatic and bronchial affections. Many of the

* Scriven Report and Evidence.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

[a] A professional disease of dyers.—*Ed.*

children are pale, have red eyes, often blind for weeks at a time, suffer from violent nausea, vomiting, coughs, colds, and rheumatism. When the glass is withdrawn from the fire, the children must often go into such heat that the boards on which they stand catch fire under their feet. The glass-blowers usually die young of debility and chest affections.*

As a whole, this report testifies to the gradual but sure introduction of the factory system into all branches of industry, recognisable especially by the employment of women and children. I have not thought it necessary to trace in every case the progress of machinery and the superseding of men as workers. Every one who is in any degree acquainted with the nature of manufacture can fill this out for himself, while space fails me to describe in detail an aspect of our present system of production, the result of which I have already sketched in dealing with the factory system. In all directions machinery is being introduced, and the last trace of the working-man's independence thus destroyed. In all directions the family is being dissolved by the labour of wife and children, or inverted by the husband's being thrown out of employment and made dependent upon them for bread[a]; everywhere inevitable machinery bestows upon the great capitalist command of trade and of the workers with it. The centralisation of capital[b] strides forward without interruption, the division of society into great capitalists and non-possessing workers is sharper every day, the industrial development of the nation advances with giant strides towards the inevitable crisis.

I have already stated that in the handicrafts the power of capital, and in some cases the division of labour too, has produced the same results, crushed the small tradesmen, and put great capitalists and non-possessing workers in their place. As to these handicraftsmen there is little to be said, since all that relates to them has already found its place where the proletariat in general[c] was under discussion. There has been but little change here in the

* Leifchild Report Append., Part II., p. L 2, ss. 11, 12; Franks Report Append., Part II., p. K 7, s. 48; Tancred Evid. Append., Part II., p. I 76, etc. } Children's Employment Commission's Rep't.
*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 do not have the phrase "and made dependent upon them for bread".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "property" instead of "capital".—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "the industrial proletariat in general".—*Ed.*

nature of the work and its influence upon health since the beginning of the industrial movement. But the constant contact with the factory operatives, the pressure of the great capitalists, which is much more felt than that of the small employer to whom the apprentice still stood in a more or less personal relation, the influences of life in towns, and the fall of wages, have made nearly all the handicraftsmen active participators in labour movements. We shall soon have more to say on this point, and turn meanwhile to one section of workers in London who deserve our attention by reason of the extraordinary barbarity with which they are exploited by the money-greed of the bourgeoisie. I mean the dress-makers and sewing-women.

It is a curious fact that the production of precisely those articles which serve the personal adornment of the ladies of the bourgeoisie involves the saddest consequences for the health of the workers. We have already seen this in the case of the lace-makers, and come now to the dress-making establishments of London for further proof. They employ a mass of young girls — there are said to be 15,000 of them in all — who sleep and eat on the premises, come usually from the country, and are therefore absolutely the slaves of their employers. During the fashionable season, which lasts some four months, working-hours, even in the best establishments, are fifteen, and, in very pressing cases, eighteen a day; but in most shops work goes on at these times without any set regulation, so that the girls never have more than six, often not more than three or four, sometimes, indeed, not more than two hours in the twenty-four, for rest and sleep, working nineteen to twenty-two hours, if not the whole night through, as frequently happens! The only limit set to their work is the absolute physical inability to hold the needle another minute. Cases have occurred in which these helpless creatures did not undress during nine consecutive days and nights, and could only rest a moment or two here and there upon a mattress, where food was served them ready cut up in order to require the least possible time for swallowing. In short, these unfortunate girls are kept by means of the moral whip of the modern slave-driver,[a] the threat of discharge, to such long and unbroken toil as no strong man, much less a delicate girl of fourteen to twenty years, can endure. In addition to this, the foul air of the work-room and sleeping-places, the bent posture, the often bad and indigestible food, all these causes,[b]

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "the moral slave-driver's whip".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "but above all the long hours of work".—*Ed.*

combined with almost total exclusion from fresh air, entail the saddest consequences for the health of the girls. Enervation, exhaustion, debility, loss of appetite, pains in the shoulders, back, and hips, but especially headache, begin very soon; then follow curvatures of the spine, high, deformed shoulders, leanness, swelled, weeping, and smarting eyes, which soon become short-sighted; coughs, narrow chests, and shortness of breath, and all manner of disorders in the development of the female organism. In many cases the eyes suffer so severely that incurable blindness[a] follows; but if the sight remains strong enough to make continued work possible, consumption usually soon ends the sad life of these milliners and dress-makers. Even those who leave this work at an early age retain permanently injured health, a broken constitution; and, when married, bring feeble and sickly children into the world. All the medical men interrogated by the commissioner[b] agreed that no method of life could be invented better calculated to destroy health and induce early death.

With the same cruelty, though somewhat more indirectly, the rest of the needle-women of London are exploited. The girls employed in stay-making have a hard, wearing occupation, trying to the eyes. And what wages do they get? I do not know; but this I know, that the middleman who has to give security for the material delivered, and who distributes the work among the needle-women, receives $1^1/_2$d.[c] per piece. From this he deducts his own pay, at least $^1/_2$d., so that 1d. at most reaches the pocket of the girl. The girls who sew neckties must bind themselves to work sixteen hours a day, and receive $4^1/_2$s. a week.* But the shirt-makers' lot is the worst. They receive for an ordinary shirt $1^1/_2$d., formerly 2d.-3d.; but since the workhouse of St. Pancras, which is administered by a Radical board of guardians, began to undertake work at $1^1/_2$d., the poor women outside have been compelled to do the same. For fine, fancy shirts, which can be made in one day of eighteen hours, 6d. is paid.[d] The weekly wage of these sewing-

* See *Weekly Dispatch*, March 17th, 1844.—*Note by Engels*. (The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "i.e., $1^1/_2$ Prussian talers, but this sum can buy no more than 20 silver groschen can in the most expensive German town."—*Ed.*)

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 also have here "complete disablement of the eye".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give here in brackets "Ch. Empl. Comm.".—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "i.e., 15 Prussian pfennigs".—*Ed.*

[d] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "i.e., 5 silver groschen".—*Ed.*

women according to this and according to testimony from many sides, including both needle-women and employers, is 2s. 6d. to 3s. for most strained work continued far into the night. And what crowns this shameful barbarism is the fact that the women must give a money deposit for a part of the materials entrusted to them, which they naturally cannot do unless they pawn a part of them (as the employers very well know), redeeming them at a loss; or if they cannot redeem the materials, they must appear before a Justice of the Peace, as happened to a sewing-woman in November, 1843. A poor girl who got into this strait and did not know what to do next, drowned herself in a canal in 1844.[a] These women usually live in little garret rooms in the utmost distress, where as many crowd together as the space can possibly admit, and where, in winter, the animal warmth of the workers is the only heat obtainable. Here they sit bent over their work, sewing from four or five in the morning until midnight, destroying their health in a year or two and ending in an early grave, without being able to obtain the poorest necessities of life meanwhile.* And below them roll the brilliant equipages of the upper bourgeoisie, and perhaps ten steps away some pitiable dandy loses more money in one evening at faro than they can earn in a year.

* * *

Such is the condition of the English manufacturing proletariat. In all directions, whithersoever we may turn, we find want and disease permanent or temporary, and demoralisation arising from the condition of the workers[b]; in all directions slow but sure undermining, and final destruction of the human being physically as well as mentally. Is this a state of things which can last? It cannot and will not last. The workers, the great majority of the nation, will not endure it. Let us see what they say of it.

* Thomas Hood, the most talented of all the English humorists now living, and, like all humorists, full of human feeling, but wanting in mental energy, published at the beginning of 1844 a beautiful poem, *The Song of the Shirt*, which drew sympathetic but unavailing tears from the eyes of the daughters of the bourgeoisie. Originally published in *Punch*, it made the round of all the papers. As discussions of the condition of the sewing-women filled all the papers at the time, special extracts are needless.—*Note by Engels.* (The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "when accounts of the distress among the sewing-women filled all the papers" after "at the beginning of 1844" and "I have not sufficient space to reproduce the poem here" after "the daughters of the bourgeoisie".—*Ed.*)

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "in August 1844".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "we find want, permanent or temporary, disease caused by their condition or their work, demoralisation".—*Ed.*

## LABOUR MOVEMENTS

It must be admitted, even if I had not proved it so often in detail, that the English workers cannot feel happy in this condition; that theirs is not a state in which a man or a whole class of men can think, feel, and live as human beings. The workers must therefore strive to escape from this brutalising condition, to secure for themselves a better, more human position; and this they cannot do without attacking the interest of the bourgeoisie which consists in exploiting them. But the bourgeoisie defends its interests with all the power placed at its disposal by wealth and the might of the State. In proportion as the working-man determines to alter the present state of things, the bourgeois becomes his avowed enemy.

Moreover, the working-man is made to feel at every moment that the bourgeoisie treats him as a chattel, as its property, and for this reason, if for no other, he must come forward as its enemy. I have shown in a hundred ways in the foregoing pages, and could have shown in a hundred others, that, in our present society, he can save his manhood only in hatred and rebellion against the bourgeoisie. And he can protest with most violent passion against the tyranny of the propertied class, thanks to his education, or rather want of education, and to the abundance of hot Irish blood that flows in the veins of the English working-class. The English working-man is no Englishman nowadays; no calculating money-grubber like his wealthy neighbour. He possesses more fully developed feelings, his native northern coldness is overborne by the unrestrained development of his passions and their control over him. The cultivation of the understanding which so greatly strengthens the selfish tendency of the English bourgeois, which

has made selfishness his predominant trait and concentrated all his emotional power upon the single point of money-greed, is wanting in the working-man, whose passions are therefore strong and mighty as those of the foreigner. English nationality is annihilated in the working-man.

Since, as we have seen, no single field for the exercise of his manhood is left him, save his opposition to the whole conditions of his life, it is natural that exactly in this opposition he should be most manly, noblest, most worthy of sympathy. We shall see that all the energy, all the activity of the working-men is directed to this point, and that even their attempts to attain general education all stand in direct connection with this. True, we shall have single acts of violence and even of brutality to report, but it must always be kept in mind that the social war is avowedly raging in England; and that, whereas it is in the interest of the bourgeoisie to conduct this war hypocritically, under the disguise of peace and even of philanthropy, the only help for the working-men consists in laying bare the true state of things and destroying this hypocrisy; that the most violent attacks of the workers upon the bourgeoisie and its servants are only the open, undisguised expression of that which the bourgeoisie perpetrates secretly, treacherously against the workers.

The revolt of the workers began soon after the first industrial development, and has passed through several phases. The investigation of their importance in the history of the English people I must reserve for separate treatment,[163] limiting myself meanwhile to such bare facts as serve to characterise the condition of the English proletariat.

The earliest, crudest, and least fruitful form of this rebellion was that of crime. The working-man lived in poverty and want, and saw that others were better off than he. It was not clear to his mind why he, who did more for society than the rich idler, should be the one to suffer under these conditions. Want conquered his inherited respect for the sacredness of property, and he stole. We have seen how crime increased with the extension of manufacture; how the yearly number of arrests bore a constant relation to the number of bales of cotton annually consumed.

The workers soon realised that crime did not help matters. The criminal could protest against the existing order of society only singly, as one individual; the whole might of society was brought to bear upon each criminal, and crushed him with its immense superiority. Besides, theft was the most primitive[a] form of

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "and the most instinctive".—*Ed.*

protest, and for this reason, if for no other, it never became the universal expression of the public opinion of the working-men, however much they might approve of it in silence. As a class, they first manifested opposition to the bourgeoisie when they resisted the introduction of machinery at the very beginning of the industrial period. The first inventors, Arkwright and others, were persecuted in this way and their machines destroyed. Later, there took place a number of revolts against machinery, in which the occurrences were almost precisely the same as those of the printers' disturbances in Bohemia in 1844[164]; factories were demolished and machinery destroyed.

This form of opposition also was isolated, restricted to certain localities, and directed against one feature only of our present social arrangements. When the momentary end was attained, the whole weight of social power fell upon the unprotected evil-doers and punished them to its heart's content, while the machinery was introduced none the less. A new form of opposition had to be found.

At this point help came in the shape of a law enacted by the old, unreformed, oligarchic-Tory Parliament, a law which never could have passed the House of Commons later, when the Reform Bill had legally sanctioned the distinction between bourgeoisie and proletariat, and made the bourgeoisie the ruling class. This was enacted in 1824, and repealed all laws by which coalitions between working-men for labour purposes had hitherto been forbidden. The working-men obtained a right previously restricted to the aristocracy and bourgeoisie, the right of free association. Secret coalitions had, it is true, previously existed, but could never achieve great results. In Glasgow[a] as Symons* relates, a general strike of weavers had taken place in 1812, which was brought about by a secret association. It was repeated in 1822, and on this occasion vitriol was thrown into the faces of the two working-men who would not join the association, and were therefore regarded by the members as traitors to their class. Both the assaulted lost the use of their eyes in consequence of the injury. So, too, in 1818, the association of Scottish miners was powerful enough to carry on a general strike. These associations required their

* *Arts and Artisans*, p. 137, *et seq.*—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887* (reproduced in the English edition of 1892; in the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this and similar references are, generally, given in the text—*Ed.*).

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "In Scotland".—*Ed.*

members to take an oath of fidelity and secrecy, had regular lists, treasurers, book-keepers, and local branches. But the secrecy with which everything was conducted crippled their growth. When, on the other hand, the working-men received in 1824 the right of free association, these combinations were very soon spread over all England and attained great power. In all branches of industry Trades Unions[a] were formed with the outspoken intention of protecting the single working-man against the tyranny and neglect of the bourgeoisie. Their objects were to deal,[b] *en masse*, as a power, with the employers; to regulate the rate of wages according to the profit of the latter, to raise it when opportunity offered, and to keep it uniform in each trade throughout the country. Hence they tried to settle with the capitalists a scale of wages to be universally adhered to, and ordered out on strike the employees of such individuals as refused to accept the scale. They aimed further to keep up the demand for labour by limiting the number of apprentices, and so to keep wages high; to counteract, as far as possible, the indirect wages reductions which the manufacturers brought about by means of new tools and machinery; and finally, to assist unemployed working-men financially. This they do either directly or by means of a card to legitimate the bearer as a "society man", and with which the working-man wanders from place to place, supported by his fellow-workers, and instructed as to the best opportunity for finding employment. This is tramping, and the wanderer a tramp. To attain these ends, a President and Secretary are engaged at a salary (since it is to be expected that no manufacturer will employ such persons), and a committee collects the weekly contributions and watches over their expenditure for the purposes of the association. When it proved possible and advantageous, the various trades of single districts united in a federation and held delegate conventions at set times. The attempt has been made in single cases to unite the workers of one branch over all England in one great Union; and several times (in 1830 for the first time) to form one universal trades association for the whole United Kingdom, with a separate organisation for each trade. These associations, however, never held together long, and were seldom realised even for the moment, since an exceptionally

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give the words: "Trades Unions", "the tramp", "strike", "turnout", "knobsticks" "thugs", etc., in English, often in brackets after the German equivalents.—*Ed.*

[b] The German edition of 1845 and 1892 have here: "Their objects were to fix wages and to deal", etc.—*Ed.*

universal excitement is necessary to make such a federation possible and effective.

The means usually employed by these Unions for attaining their ends are the following: If one or more employers refuse to pay the wage specified by the Union, a deputation is sent or a petition forwarded (the working-men, you see, know how to recognise the absolute power of the lord of the factory in his little State); if this proves unavailing, the Union commands the employees to stop work, and all hands go home. This strike is either partial when one or several, or general when all employers in the trade refuse to regulate wages according to the proposals of the Union. So far go the lawful means of the Union, assuming the strike to take effect after the expiration of the legal notice, which is not always the case. But these lawful means are very weak when there are workers outside the Union, or when members separate from it for the sake of the momentary advantage offered by the bourgeoisie. Especially in the case of partial strikes can the manufacturer readily secure recruits from these black sheep (who are known as knobsticks), and render fruitless the efforts of the united workers. Knobsticks are usually threatened, insulted, beaten, or otherwise maltreated by the members of the Union; intimidated, in short, in every way. Prosecution follows, and as the law-abiding bourgeoisie has the power in its own hands, the force of the Union is broken almost every time by the first unlawful act, the first judicial procedure against its members.

The history of these Unions is a long series of defeats of the working-men, interrupted by a few isolated victories. All these efforts naturally cannot alter the economic law according to which wages are determined by the relation between supply and demand in the labour market. Hence the Unions remain powerless against all *great* forces which influence this relation. In a commercial crisis the Union itself must reduce wages or dissolve wholly; and in a time of considerable increase in the demand for labour, it cannot fix the rate of wages higher than would be reached spontaneously by the competition of the capitalists among themselves. But in dealing with minor, single influences they are powerful. If the employer had no concentrated, collective opposition to expect, he would in his own interest gradually reduce wages to a lower and lower point; indeed, the battle of competition which he has to wage against his fellow-manufacturers would force him to do so, and wages would soon reach the minimum. But this competition of the manufacturers among themselves is, *under average conditions,* somewhat restricted by the opposition of the working-men.

Every manufacturer knows that the consequence of a reduction not justified by conditions to which his competitors also are subjected, would be a strike, which would most certainly injure him, because his capital would be idle as long as the strike lasted, and his machinery would be rusting, whereas it is very doubtful whether he could, in such a case, enforce his reduction. Then he has the certainty that if he should succeed, his competitors would follow him, reducing the price of the goods so produced, and thus depriving him of the benefit of his policy. Then, too, the Unions often bring about a more rapid increase of wages after a crisis than would otherwise follow. For the manufacturer's interest is to delay raising wages until forced by competition, but now the working-men demand an increased wage as soon as the market improves, and they can carry their point by reason of the smaller supply of workers at his command under such circumstances. But, for resistance to more considerable forces which influence the labour market, the Unions are powerless. In such cases hunger gradually drives the strikers to resume work on any terms, and when once a few have begun, the force of the Union is broken, because these few knobsticks, with the reserve supplies of goods in the market, enable the bourgeoisie to overcome the worst effects of the interruption of business. The funds of the Union are soon exhausted by the great numbers requiring relief, the credit which the shopkeepers give at high interest is withdrawn after a time, and want compels the working-man to place himself once more under the yoke of the bourgeoisie. But strikes end disastrously for the workers mostly, because the manufacturers, in their own interest (which has, be it said, become their interest only through the resistance of the workers), are obliged to avoid all useless reductions, while the workers feel in every reduction imposed by the state of trade a deterioration of their condition, against which they must defend themselves as far as in them lies.

It will be asked, "Why, then, do the workers strike in such cases, when the uselessness of such measures is so evident?" Simply because they *must* protest against every reduction, even if dictated by necessity; because they feel bound to proclaim that they, as human beings, shall not be made to bow to social circumstances, but social conditions ought to yield to them as human beings; because silence on their part would be a recognition of these social conditions, an admission of the right of the bourgeoisie to exploit the workers in good times and let them starve in bad ones. Against this the working-men must rebel so long as they have not lost all human feeling, and that they protest in this way and no other,

comes of their being practical English people, who express themselves in *action*, and do not, like German theorists, go to sleep as soon as their protest is properly registered and placed *ad acta*, there to sleep as quietly as the protesters themselves. The active resistance of the English working-men has its effect in holding the money-greed of the bourgeoisie within certain limits, and keeping alive the opposition of the workers to the social and political omnipotence of the bourgeoisie, while it compels the admission that something more is needed than Trades Unions and strikes to break the power of the ruling class. But what gives these Unions and the strikes arising from them their real importance is this, that they are the first attempt of the workers to abolish competition. They imply the recognition of the fact that the supremacy of the bourgeoisie is based wholly upon the competition of the workers among themselves; i.e., upon their want of cohesion.[a] And precisely because the Unions direct themselves against the vital nerve of the present social order,[b] however one-sidedly, in however narrow a way, are they so dangerous to this social order. The working-men cannot attack the bourgeoisie, and with it the whole existing order of society, at any sorer point than this. If the competition of the workers among themselves is destroyed, if all determine not to be further exploited by the bourgeoisie, the rule of property is at an end. Wages depend upon the relation of demand to supply, upon the accidental state of the labour market, simply because the workers have hitherto been content to be treated as chattels, to be bought and sold. The moment the workers resolve to be bought and sold no longer, when, in the determination of the value of labour, they take the part of men possessed of a will as well as of working-power, at that moment the whole Political Economy of today is at an end.[c]

The laws determining the rate of wages would, indeed, come into force again in the long run, if the working-men did not go beyond this step of abolishing competition among themselves. But they must go beyond that unless they are prepared to recede again and to allow competition among themselves to reappear. Thus once advanced so far, necessity compels them to go farther; to abolish not only one kind of competition, but competition itself altogether, and that they will do.

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "and "the setting of individual workers against one another".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "against competition, against the vital nerve", etc.—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "the whole Political Economy of today and the laws determining wages are at an end".—*Ed.*

The workers are coming to perceive more clearly with every day how competition affects them; they see far more clearly than the bourgeois that competition of the capitalists among themselves presses upon the workers too, by bringing on commercial crises, and that this kind of competition, too, must be abolished. They will soon learn *how* they have to go about it.

That these Unions contribute greatly to nourish the bitter hatred of the workers against the property-holding class need hardly be said. From them proceed, therefore, with or without the connivance of the leading members, in times of unusual excitement, individual actions which can be explained only by hatred wrought to the pitch of despair, by a wild passion overwhelming all restraints. Of this sort are the attacks with vitriol mentioned in the foregoing pages, and a series of others, of which I shall cite several. In 1831, during a violent labour movement, young Ashton, a manufacturer in Hyde, near Manchester, was shot one evening when crossing a field, and no trace of the assassin discovered. There is no doubt that this was a deed of vengeance of the working-men.[165] Incendiarisms and attempted explosions are very common. On Friday, September 29th, 1843, an attempt was made to blow up the saw-works of Padgin, in Howard Street, Sheffield. A closed iron tube filled with powder was the means employed, and the damage was considerable. On the following day, a similar attempt was made in Ibbetson's knife and file works at Shales Moor, near Sheffield. Mr. Ibbetson had made himself obnoxious by an active participation in bourgeois movements, by low wages, the exclusive employment of knobsticks, and the exploitation of the Poor Law for his own benefit. He had reported, during the crisis of 1842, such operatives as refused to accept reduced wages, as persons who could find work but would not take it, and were, therefore, not deserving of relief, so compelling the acceptance of a reduction. Considerable damage was inflicted by the explosion, and all the working-men who came to view it regretted only "that the whole concern was not blown into the air". On Friday, October 6th, 1843, an attempt to set fire to the factory of Ainsworth and Crompton, at Bolton, did no damage; it was the third or fourth attempt in the same factory within a very short time. In the meeting of the Town Council of Sheffield, on Wednesday, January 10th, 1844, the Commissioner of Police exhibited a cast-iron machine, made for the express purpose of producing an explosion, and found filled with four pounds of powder, and a fuse which had been lighted but had not taken effect, in the works of Mr. Kitchen, Earl Street, Sheffield.

On Sunday, January 21st, 1844, an explosion caused by a package of powder took place in the sawmill of Bentley & White, at Bury, in Lancashire, and produced considerable damage. On Thursday, February 1st, 1844, the Soho Wheel Works, in Sheffield, were set on fire and burnt up.

Here are six such cases in four months, all of which have their sole origin in the embitterment of the working-men against the employers. What sort of a social state it must be in which such things are possible I need hardly say. These facts are proof enough that in England, even in good business years, such as 1843, the social war is avowed and openly carried on, and still the English bourgeoisie does not stop to reflect! But the case which speaks most loudly is that of the Glasgow Thugs,* which came up before the Assizes from the 3rd to the 11th of January, 1838. It appears from the proceedings that the Cotton-Spinners' Union, which existed here from the year 1816, possessed rare organisation and power. The members were bound by an oath to adhere to the decision of the majority, and had during every turnout a secret committee which was unknown to the mass of the members, and controlled the funds of the Union absolutely. This committee fixed a price upon the heads of knobsticks and obnoxious manufacturers and upon incendiarisms in mills. A mill was thus set on fire in which female knobsticks were employed in spinning in the place of men; a Mrs. M'Pherson, mother of one of these girls, was murdered, and both murderers sent to America at the expense of the association. As early as 1820, a knobstick named M'Quarry was shot at and wounded, for which deed the doer received twenty pounds from the Union, but was discovered and transported for life.[a] Finally, in 1837, in May, disturbances occurred in consequence of a turnout in the Oatbank and Mile End factories, in which perhaps a dozen knobsticks were maltreated. In July, of the same year, the disturbances still continued, and a certain Smith, a knobstick, was so maltreated that he died. The committee was now arrested, an investigation begun, and the leading members found guilty of participation in conspiracies, maltreatment of knobsticks, and incendiarism in the mill of James

* So called from the East Indian tribe, whose only trade is the murder of all the strangers who fall into its hands.—*Note by Engels.*

[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this passage reads: "for which the doer received fifteen pounds from the Union. Later a certain Graham was shot at; the doer received twenty pounds, but was discovered and transported for life."—*Ed.*

and Francis Wood, and they were transported for seven years. What do our good Germans say to this story?*

The property-holding class, and especially the manufacturing portion of it which comes into direct contact with the working-men, declaims with the greatest violence against these Unions, and is constantly trying to prove their uselessness to the working-men upon grounds which are economically perfectly correct, but for that very reason partially mistaken, and for the working-man's understanding totally without effect. The very zeal of the bourgeoisie shows that it is not disinterested in the matter; and apart from the direct loss involved in a turnout, the state of the case is such that whatever goes into the pockets of the manufacturers comes of necessity out of those of the worker. So that even if the working-men did not know that the Unions hold the emulation of their masters in the reduction of wages, at least in a measure, in check, they would still stand by the Unions, simply to the injury of their enemies, the manufacturers. In war the injury of one party is the benefit of the other, and since the working-men are on a war footing towards their employers, they do merely what the great potentates do when they get into a quarrel. Beyond all other bourgeois is our friend Dr. Ure, the most furious enemy of the Unions. He foams with indignation at the "secret tribunals" of the cotton-spinners, the most powerful section of the workers, tribunals which boast their ability to paralyse every disobedient manufacturer,** "and so bring ruin on the man who had given them profitable employment for many a year". He speaks of a time*** "when the inventive head and the sustaining heart of trade were held in bondage by the unruly lower members". A pity that the English working-men will not let themselves be pacified so easily with thy fable as the Roman Plebs, thou modern Menenius Agrippa![166] Finally, he relates the following: At one time the

* "What kind of wild justice must it be in the hearts of these men that prompts them, with cold deliberation, in conclave assembled, to doom their brother workman, as the deserter of his order and his order's cause, to die as a traitor and deserter; and have him executed, since not by any public judge and hangman, then by a private one;—like your old Chivalry *Femgericht*, and Secret-Tribunal, suddenly in this strange guise become new; suddenly rising once more on the astonished eye, dressed now not in mail-shirts, but in fustian jackets, meeting not in Westphalian forests but in the paved Gallowgate of Glasgow!... Such temper must be widespread, virulent among the many, when even in its worst acme, it can take such a form in a few."—Carlyle, *Chartism*, p. 40.—*Note by Engels.*

** Dr. Ure, *Philosophy of Manufactures*, p. 282.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

*** Ibid., p. 282.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

coarse mule-spinners had misused their power beyond all endurance. High wages, instead of awakening thankfulness towards the manufacturers and leading to intellectual improvement (in harmless study of sciences useful to the bourgeoisie, of course), in many cases produced pride and supplied funds for supporting rebellious spirits in strikes, with which a number of manufacturers were visited one after the other in a purely arbitrary manner. During an unhappy disturbance of this sort in Hyde, Dukinfield, and the surrounding neighbourhood, the manufacturers of the district, anxious lest they should be driven from the market by the French, Belgians, and Americans, addressed themselves to the machine-works of Sharp, Roberts & Co., and requested Mr. Sharp to turn his inventive mind to the construction of an automatic mule in order "to emancipate the trade from galling slavery and impending ruin".*

"He produced in the course of a few months, a machine apparently instinct with the thought, feeling, and tact of the experienced workman—which even in its infancy displayed a new principle of regulation, ready in its mature state to fulfil the functions of a finished spinner.[a] Thus, the Iron Man, as the operatives fitly call it, sprang out of the hands of our modern Prometheus at the bidding of Minerva—a creation destined to restore order among the industrious classes, and to confirm to Great Britain the empire of art. The news of this Herculean prodigy spread dismay through the Union, and even long before it left its cradle, so to speak, it strangled the Hydra of misrule."**

Ure proves further that the invention of the machine, with which four and five colours are printed at once, was a result of the disturbances among the calico printers; that the refractoriness of the yarn-dressers in the power-loom weaving mills gave rise to a new and perfected machine for warp-dressing, and mentions several other such cases. A few pages earlier this same Ure gives himself a great deal of trouble to prove in detail that machinery is beneficial to the workers! But Ure is not the only one; in the Factory Report, Mr. Ashworth, the manufacturer, and many another, lose no opportunity to express their wrath against the Unions. These wise bourgeois, like certain governments, trace every movement which they do not understand to the influence of ill-intentioned agitators, demagogues, traitors, spouting idiots, and

* Dr. Ure, *Philosophy of Manufactures*, p. 367.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

** Ibid., p. 366, *et seq.*—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.* (In the German editions this footnote is given to the words "several other such cases".—*Ed.*)

[a] The German editions give the quotation abridged, the part of the sentence following the dash being omitted.—*Ed.*

ill-balanced youth.[a] They declare that the paid agents of the Unions are interested in the agitation because they live upon it, as though the necessity for this payment were not forced upon them by the bourgeois, who will give such men no employment!

The incredible frequency of these strikes proves best of all to what extent the social war has broken out all over England. No week passes, scarcely a day, indeed, in which there is not a strike in some direction, now against a reduction, then against a refusal to raise the rate of wages, again by reason of the employment of knobsticks or the continuance of abuses, sometimes against new machinery, or for a hundred other reasons. These strikes, at first skirmishes, sometimes result in weighty struggles; they decide nothing, it is true, but they are the strongest proof that the decisive battle between bourgeoisie and proletariat is approaching. They are the military school of the working-men in which they prepare themselves for the great struggle which cannot be avoided; they are the pronunciamentos of single branches of industry that these too have joined the labour movement. And when one examines a year's file of the *Northern Star,* the only sheet which reports all the movements of the proletariat, one finds that all the proletarians of the towns and of country manufacture have united in associations, and have protested from time to time, by means of a general strike, against the supremacy of the bourgeoisie. And as schools of war, the Unions are unexcelled. In them is developed the peculiar courage of the English. It is said on the Continent that the English, and especially the working-men, are cowardly, that they cannot carry out a revolution because, unlike the French, they do not riot at intervals, because they apparently accept the bourgeois *régime* so quietly. This is a complete mistake. The English working-men are second to none in courage; they are quite as restless as the French, but they fight differently. The French, who are by nature political, struggle against social evils with political weapons; the English, for whom politics exist only as a matter of interest, solely in the interest of bourgeois society, fight, not against the Government, but directly against the bourgeoisie; and for the time, this can be done only in a peaceful manner. Stagnation in business, and the want consequent upon it, engendered the revolt at Lyons, in 1834, in favour of the Republic: in 1842, at Manchester, a similar cause gave rise to a universal turnout for the Charter and higher wages. That

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "to the influence of ill-intentioned agitators, malefactors, demagogues, spouting idiots and young people".—*Ed.*

courage is required for a turnout, often indeed much loftier courage, much bolder, firmer determination than for an insurrection, is self-evident. It is, in truth, no trifle for a working-man who knows want from experience, to face it with wife and children, to endure hunger and wretchedness for months together, and stand firm and unshaken through it all. What is death, what the galleys which await the French revolutionist, in comparison with gradual starvation, with the daily sight of a starving family, with the certainty of future revenge on the part of the bourgeoisie, all of which the English working-man chooses in preference to subjection under the yoke of the property-holding class? We shall meet later an example of this obstinate, unconquerable courage of men who surrender to force only when all resistance would be aimless and unmeaning. And precisely in this quiet perseverance, in this lasting determination which undergoes a hundred tests every day, the English working-man develops that side of his character which commands most respect. People who endure so much to bend one single bourgeois will be able to break the power of the whole bourgeoisie.

But apart from that, the English working-man has proved his courage often enough. That the turnout of 1842 had no further results came from the fact that the men were in part forced into it by the bourgeoisie, in part neither clear nor united as to its object. But aside from this, they have shown their courage often enough when the matter in question was a specific social one. Not to mention the Welsh insurrection of 1839, a complete battle was waged in Manchester in May, 1843, during my residence there.[167] Pauling & Henfrey, a brick firm, had increased the size of the bricks without raising wages, and sold the bricks, of course, at a higher price. The workers, to whom higher wages were refused, struck work, and the Brickmakers' Union declared war upon the firm. The firm, meanwhile, succeeded with great difficulty in securing hands from the neighbourhood, and among the knobsticks, against whom in the beginning intimidation was used; the proprietors set twelve men to guard the yard, all ex-soldiers and policemen, armed with guns. When intimidation proved unavailing, the brick-yard, which lay scarcely four hundred paces from an infantry barracks, was stormed at ten o'clock one night by a crowd of brickmakers, who advanced in military order, the first ranks armed with guns.* They forced their way in, fired upon the

* At the corner of Cross Lane and Regent Road. See map of Manchester.—*Note by Engels* (not given in the American and English editions—*Ed.*).

watchmen as soon as they saw them, stamped out the wet bricks spread out to dry, tore down the piled-up rows of those already dry, demolished everything which came in their way, pressed into a building, where they destroyed the furniture and maltreated the wife of the overlooker who was living there. The watchmen, meanwhile, had placed themselves behind a hedge, whence they could fire safely and without interruption. The assailants stood before a burning brick-kiln, which threw a bright light upon them, so that every ball of their enemies struck home, while every one of their own shots missed its mark. Nevertheless, the firing lasted half-an-hour, until the ammunition was exhausted, and the object of the visit—the demolition of all the destructible objects in the yard—was attained. Then the military approached, and the brickmakers withdrew to Eccles, three miles from Manchester. A short time before reaching Eccles they held roll-call, and each man was called according to his number in the section when they separated, only to fall the more certainly into the hands of the police, who were approaching from all sides. The number of the wounded must have been very considerable, but those only could be counted who were arrested. One of these had received three bullets (in the thigh, the calf, and the shoulder), and had travelled in spite of them more than four miles on foot. These people have proved that they, too, possess revolutionary courage, and do not shun a rain of bullets. And when an unarmed multitude, without a precise aim common to them all, are held in check in a shut-off market-place, whose outlets are guarded by a couple of policemen and dragoons, as happened in 1842, this by no means proves a want of courage. On the contrary, the multitude would have stirred quite as little if the servants of public (i.e., of the bourgeois) order had not been present. Where the working-people have a specific end in view, they show courage enough; as, for instance, in the attack upon Birley's mill, which had later to be protected by artillery.[168]

In this connection, a word or two as to the respect for the law in England. True, the law is sacred to the bourgeois, for it is his own composition, enacted with his consent, and for his benefit and protection. He knows that, even if an individual law should injure him, the whole fabric protects his interests; and more than all, the sanctity of the law, the sacredness of order as established by the active will of one part of society, and the passive acceptance of the other, is the strongest support of his social position. Because the English bourgeois finds himself reproduced in his law, as he does in his God, the policeman's truncheon which, in a certain measure,

*Das commerzielle Viertel ist zur Unterscheidung von der linken zur rechten Hand abwärts schraffirt.*

Map of Manchester

is his own club, has for him a wonderfully soothing power. But for the working-man quite otherwise! The working-man knows too well, has learned from too oft-repeated experience, that the law is a rod which the bourgeois has prepared for him; and when he is not compelled to do so, he never appeals to the law. It is ridiculous to assert that the English working-man fears the police, when every week in Manchester policemen are beaten, and last year an attempt was made to storm a station-house secured by iron doors and shutters. The power of the police in the turnout of 1842 lay, as I have already said, in the want of a clearly defined object on the part of the working-men themselves.[a]

Since the working-men do not respect the law, but simply submit to its power when they cannot change it, it is most natural that they should at least propose alterations in it, that they should wish to put a proletarian law in the place of the legal fabric of the bourgeoisie. This proposed law is the People's Charter,[b] which in form is purely political, and demands a democratic basis for the House of Commons. Chartism is the compact form of their opposition to the bourgeoisie. In the Unions and turnouts opposition always remained isolated: it was single working-men or sections who fought a single bourgeois. If the fight became general, this was scarcely by the intention of the working-men; or, when it did happen intentionally, Chartism was at the bottom of it. But in Chartism it is the whole working-class which arises against the bourgeoisie, and attacks, first of all, the political power, the legislative rampart with which the bourgeoisie has surrounded itself. Chartism has proceeded from the Democratic party which arose between 1780 and 1790 with and in the proletariat, gained strength during the French Revolution, and came forth after the peace as the Radical party. It had its headquarters then in Birmingham and Manchester, and later[c] in London; extorted the Reform Bill from the Oligarchs of the old Parliament by a union with the Liberal bourgeoisie, and has steadily consolidated itself, since then, as a more and more pronounced working-men's party in opposition to the bourgeoisie. In 1838 a committee of the General Working-men's Association of London,[169] with William

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "in the helplessness of the workers themselves".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give such terms and expressions as the "People's Charter", "Working-men's Association", "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work", "universal suffrage", "complete suffrage", etc. in English in brackets, following their German equivalents.—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "earlier".—*Ed.*

Lovett at its head, drew up the People's Charter, whose six points are as follows: (1) Universal suffrage for every man who is of age, sane and unconvicted of crime; (2) Annual Parliaments; (3) Payment of members of Parliament, to enable poor men to stand for election; (4) Voting by ballot to prevent bribery and intimidation by the bourgeoisie; (5) Equal electoral districts to secure equal representation; and (6) Abolition of the even now merely nominal property qualification of £300 in land for candidates in order to make every voter eligible.[170] These six points, which are all limited to the reconstitution of the House of Commons, harmless as they seem, are sufficient to overthrow the whole English Constitution, Queen and Lords included. The so-called monarchical and aristocratic elements of the Constitution can maintain themselves only because the bourgeoisie has an interest in the continuance of their sham existence; and more than a sham existence neither possesses today. But as soon as real public opinion in its totality backs the House of Commons, as soon as the House of Commons incorporates the will, not of the bourgeoisie alone, but of the whole nation, it will absorb the whole power so completely that the last halo must fall from the head of the monarch and the aristocracy. The English working-man respects neither Lords nor Queen. The bourgeois, while in reality allowing them but little influence, yet offers to them personally a sham worship. The English Chartist is politically a republican, though he rarely or never mentions the word, while he sympathises with the republican parties of all countries, and calls himself in preference a democrat. But he is more than a mere republican, his democracy is not simply political.

Chartism was from the beginning of 1835 chiefly a movement among the working-men, though not yet sharply separated from the bourgeoisie.[a] The Radicalism of the workers went hand in hand with the Radicalism of the bourgeoisie; the Charter was the shibboleth of both. They held their National Convention every year in common, seeming to be one party. The lower middle-class was just then in a very bellicose and violent state of mind in consequence of the disappointment over the Reform Bill and of the bad business years of 1837-1839, and viewed the boisterous Chartist agitation with a very favourable eye. Of the vehemence of this agitation no one in Germany has any idea. The people were called upon to arm themselves, were frequently urged to revolt; pikes were got ready, as in the French Revolution, and in 1838,

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "the radical petty-bourgeoisie".—*Ed.*

one Stephens, a Methodist parson, said to the assembled working-people of Manchester:

"You have no need to fear the power of Government, the soldiers, bayonets, and cannon that are at the disposal of your oppressors; you have a weapon that is far mightier than all these, a weapon against which bayonets and cannon are powerless, and a child of ten years can wield it. You have only to take a couple of matches and a bundle of straw dipped in pitch, and I will see what the Government and its hundreds of thousands of soldiers will do against this one weapon if it is used boldly." *

As early as that year the peculiarly social character of the working-men's Chartism manifested itself. The same Stephens said, in a meeting of 200,000 men on Kersall Moor, the Mons Sacer of Manchester:

"Chartism, my friends, is no political movement, where the main point is your getting the ballot. Chartism is a knife and fork question: the Charter means a good house, good food and drink, prosperity, and short working-hours." [171]

The movements against the New Poor Law and for the Ten Hours' Bill were already in the closest relation to Chartism. In all the meetings of that time the Tory Oastler was active, and hundreds of petitions for improvements of the social conditions of the workers were circulated along with the national petition for the People's Charter adopted in Birmingham. In 1839 the agitation continued as vigorously as ever, and when it began to relax somewhat at the end of the year, Bussey, Taylor, and Frost hastened to call forth uprisings simultaneously in the North of England, in Yorkshire, and Wales. Frost's plan being betrayed, he was obliged to open hostilities prematurely.[a] Those in the North heard of the failure of his attempt in time to withdraw. Two months later, in January, 1840, several so-called spy outbreaks[b] took place in Sheffield and Bradford, in Yorkshire, and the excitement gradually subsided.[172] Meanwhile the bourgeoisie turned its attention to more practical projects, more profitable for itself, namely the Corn Laws. The Anti-Corn-Law Association was formed in Manchester, and the consequence was a relaxation of the tie between the Radical bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The working-men soon perceived that for them the abolition of the Corn Laws could be of little use, while very advantageous to the bourgeoisie; and they could therefore not be won for the project.

* We have seen that the workers took this advice seriously.— *Note by Engels* (not given in the American and English editions —*Ed.*).

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "and therefore suffered a defeat".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give this English term in brackets.—*Ed.*

The crisis of 1842 came on. Agitation was once more as vigorous as in 1839. But this time the rich manufacturing bourgeoisie, which was suffering severely under this particular crisis, took part in it. The Anti-Corn Law League, as it was now called, assumed a decidedly revolutionary tone. Its journals and agitators used undisguisedly revolutionary language, one very good reason for which was the fact that the Conservative party had been in power since 1841. As the Chartists had previously done, these bourgeois leaders called upon the people to rebel; and the working-men who had most to suffer from the crisis were not inactive, as the year's national petition for the Charter with its three and a half million signatures proves. In short, if the two Radical parties had been somewhat estranged, they allied themselves once more. At a meeting of Liberals and Chartists held in Manchester, February 14th, 1842, a petition urging the repeal of the Corn Laws and the adoption of the Charter was drawn up. The next day it was adopted by both parties. The spring and summer passed amidst violent agitation and increasing distress. The bourgeoisie was determined to carry the repeal of the Corn Laws with the help of the crisis, the want which it entailed, and the general excitement. At this time, the Conservatives being in power, the Liberal bourgeoisie half abandoned their law-abiding habits; they wished to bring about a revolution with the help of the workers. The working-men were to take the chestnuts from the fire to save the bourgeoisie from burning their own fingers. The old idea of a "holy month", a general strike, broached in 1839 by the Chartists, was revived. This time, however, it was not the working-men who wished to quit work, but the manufacturers who wished to close their mills and send the operatives into the country parishes upon the property of the aristocracy, thus forcing the Tory Parliament and the Tory Ministry to repeal the Corn Laws. A revolt would naturally have followed, but the bourgeoisie stood safely in the background and could await the result without compromising itself if the worst came to the worst. At the end of July business began to improve; it was high time. In order not to lose the opportunity, three firms in Staleybridge reduced wages in spite of the improvement.* Whether they did so of their own motion or in agreement with other manufacturers, especially those of the League, I do not know. Two withdrew after a time, but the third, William Bailey & Brothers, stood firm, and told the

* Compare Report of Chambers of Commerce of Manchester and Leeds at the end of July and beginning of August.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

objecting operatives that "if this did not please them, they had better go and play a bit". This contemptuous answer the hands received with jeers. They left the mill, paraded through the town, and called upon all their fellows to quit work. In a few hours every mill stood idle, and the operatives marched to Mottram Moor to hold a meeting. This was on August 5th. August 8th they proceeded to Ashton and Hyde five thousand strong, closed all the mills and coal-pits, and held meetings, in which, however, the question discussed was not, as the bourgeoisie had hoped, the repeal of the Corn Laws, but, "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work". August 9th they proceeded to Manchester, unresisted by the authorities (all Liberals), and closed the mills; on the 11th they were in Stockport, where they met with the first resistance as they were storming the workhouse, the favourite child of the bourgeoisie. On the same day there was a general strike and disturbance in Bolton, to which the authorities here, too, made no resistance. Soon the uprising spread throughout the whole manufacturing district, and all employments, except harvesting and the production of food, came to a standstill. But the rebellious operatives were quiet. They were driven into this revolt without wishing it. The manufacturers, with the single exception of the Tory Birley, in Manchester, had, *contrary to their custom,* not opposed it. The thing had begun without the working-men's having any distinct end in view, for which reason they were all united in the determination not to be shot at for the benefit of the Corn Law repealing bourgeoisie. For the rest, some wanted to carry the Charter, others who thought this premature wished merely to secure the wages rate of 1840. On this point the whole insurrection was wrecked. If it had been from the beginning an intentional, determined working-men's insurrection, it would surely have carried its point; but these crowds who had been driven into the streets by their masters, against their own will, and with no definite purpose, could do nothing. Meanwhile the bourgeoisie, which had not moved a finger to carry the alliance of February 15th into effect, soon perceived that the working-men did not propose to become its tools, and that the illogical manner in which it had abandoned its law-abiding standpoint threatened danger. It therefore resumed its law-abiding attitude, and placed itself upon the side of Government as against the working-men.[a]

It swore in trusty retainers as special constables (the German

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "whom it had itself provoked and later forced to revolt".—*Ed.*

merchants in Manchester took part in this ceremony, and marched in an entirely superfluous manner through the city with their cigars in their mouths and thick truncheons in their hands). It gave the command to fire upon the crowd in Preston, so that the unintentional revolt of the people stood all at once face to face, not only with the whole military power of the Government, but with the whole property-holding class as well. The working-men, who had no especial aim, separated gradually, and the insurrection came to an end without evil results. Later, the bourgeoisie was guilty of one shameful act after another, tried to whitewash itself by expressing a horror of popular violence by no means consistent with its own revolutionary language of the spring; laid the blame of insurrection upon Chartist instigators, whereas it had itself done more than all of them together to bring about the uprising; and resumed its old attitude of sanctifying the name of the law with a shamelessness perfectly unequalled. The Chartists, who were all but innocent of bringing about this uprising, who simply did what the bourgeoisie meant to do when they made the most of their opportunity, were prosecuted and convicted, while the bourgeoisie escaped without loss, and had, besides, sold off its old stock of goods with advantage during the pause in work.

The fruit of the uprising was the decisive separation of the proletariat from the bourgeoisie. The Chartists had not hitherto concealed their determination to carry the Charter at all costs, even that of a revolution; the bourgeoisie, which now perceived, all at once, the danger with which any violent change threatened its position, refused to hear anything further of physical force, and proposed to attain its end by moral force, as though this were anything else than the direct or indirect threat of physical force. This was one point of dissension, though even this was removed later by the assertion of the Chartists (who are at least as worthy of being believed as the bourgeoisie[a]) that they, too, refrained from appealing to physical force. The second point of dissension and the main one, which brought Chartism to light in its purity, was the repeal of the Corn Laws. In this the bourgeoisie[b] was directly interested, the proletariat not. The Chartists therefore divided into two parties whose political programmes agreed literally, but which were nevertheless thoroughly different and incapable of union. At the Birmingham National Convention, in January, 1843, Sturge, the representative of the Radical bourgeoisie, proposed that the

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "liberal bourgeoisie".—*Ed.*
[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "radical bourgeoisie".—*Ed*

name of the Charter be omitted from the rules of the Chartist Association,[173] nominally because this name had become connected with recollections of violence during the insurrection, a connection, by the way, which had existed for years, and against which Mr. Sturge had hitherto advanced no objection. The working-men refused to drop the name, and when Mr. Sturge was outvoted, that worthy Quaker suddenly became loyal, betook himself out of the hall, and founded a "Complete Suffrage Association" within the Radical bourgeoisie. So repugnant had these recollections become to the Jacobinical bourgeoisie, that he altered even the name Universal Suffrage into the ridiculous title, Complete Suffrage. The working-men laughed at him and quietly went their way.

From this moment Chartism was purely a working-men's cause freed from all bourgeois elements. The "Complete" journals, the *Weekly Dispatch, Weekly Chronicle, Examiner*, etc., fell gradually into the sleepy tone of the other Liberal sheets, espoused the cause of Free Trade, attacked the Ten Hours' Bill and all exclusively working-men's demands, and let their Radicalism as a whole fall rather into the background. The Radical bourgeoisie joined hands with the Liberals against the working-men in every collision, and in general made the Corn Law question, which for the English is the Free Trade question,[a] their main business. They thereby fell under the dominion of the Liberal bourgeoisie, and now play a most pitiful role.

The Chartist working-men, on the contrary, espoused with redoubled zeal all the struggles of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Free competition has caused the workers suffering enough to be hated by them; its apostles, the bourgeoisie, are their declared enemies. The working-man has only disadvantages to await from the complete freedom of competition. The demands hitherto made by him, the Ten Hours' Bill, protection of the workers against the capitalist, good wages, a guaranteed position, repeal of the New Poor Law, all of the things which belong to Chartism quite as essentially as the "Six Points", are directly opposed to free competition and Free Trade. No wonder, then, that the working-men will not hear of Free Trade and the repeal of the Corn Laws (a fact incomprehensible to the whole English bourgeoisie), and while at least wholly indifferent to the Corn Law question, are most deeply embittered against its advocates. This

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "a question of free competition".—*Ed.*

question is precisely the point at which the proletariat separates from the bourgeoisie, Chartism from Radicalism; and the bourgeois understanding cannot comprehend this, because it cannot comprehend the proletariat.

Therein lies the difference between Chartist democracy and all previous political bourgeois democracy. Chartism is of an essentially social nature, a class movement.[a] The "Six Points" which for the Radical bourgeois are the beginning and end of the matter, which are meant, at the utmost, to call forth certain further reforms of the Constitution, are for the proletarian a mere means to further ends.[b] "Political power our means, social happiness our end", is now the clearly formulated war-cry of the Chartists. The "knife and fork question" of the preacher Stephens was a truth for a part of the Chartists only, in 1838; it is a truth for all of them in 1845. There is no longer a mere politician among the Chartists, and even though their Socialism is very little developed, though their chief remedy for poverty has hitherto consisted in the land-allotment system, which was superseded* by the introduction of manufacture,[174] though their chief practical propositions[c] are apparently of a reactionary nature, yet these very measures involve the alternative that they must either succumb to the power of competition once more and restore the old state of things, or they must themselves entirely overcome competition and abolish it. On the other hand, the present indefinite state of Chartism, the separation from the purely political party, involves that precisely the characteristic feature, its social aspect, will have to be further developed. The approach to Socialism cannot fail, especially when the next crisis directs the working-men by force of sheer want to social instead of political remedies. And a crisis must follow the present active state of industry and commerce in 1847** at the latest, and probably in 1846; one, too, which will far exceed in extent and violence all former crises. The working-men will carry their Charter, naturally; but meanwhile they will learn to see

* See Introduction.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.*

** (1892) This prophecy has been exactly fulfilled.—*Note by Engels to the German edition of 1892.*

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 do not have the words "a class movement".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 do not have the words "to further ends".—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have in brackets "protection for the worker, etc.".—*Ed.*

clearly with regard to many points which they can make by means of it and of which they now know very little.

Meanwhile the Socialist agitation also goes forward. English Socialism comes under our consideration so far only as it affects the working-class. The English Socialists demand the gradual introduction of possession in common in home colonies[175] embracing two to three thousand persons who shall carry on both agriculture and manufacture and enjoy equal rights and equal education. They demand greater facility of obtaining divorce, the establishment of a rational government, with complete freedom of conscience and the abolition of punishment, the same to be replaced by a rational treatment of the offender. These are their practical measures, their theoretical principles do not concern us here. English Socialism arose with Owen, a manufacturer, and proceeds therefore with great consideration toward the bourgeoisie and great injustice toward the proletariat in its methods, although it culminates in demanding the abolition of the class antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat.[a]

The Socialists are thoroughly tame and peaceable, accept our existing order, bad as it is, so far as to reject all other methods but that of winning public opinion. Yet they are so dogmatic[b] that success by this method is for them, and for their principles as at present formulated, utterly hopeless. While bemoaning the demoralisation of the lower classes, they are blind to the element of progress in this dissolution of the old social order, and refuse to acknowledge that the corruption wrought by private interests and hypocrisy in the property-holding class is much greater. They acknowledge no historic development, and wish to place the nation in a state of Communism at once, overnight,[c] not by the unavoidable march of its political development up to the point at which this transition becomes both possible and necessary. They understand, it is true, why the working-man is resentful against the bourgeois, but regard as unfruitful this class hatred, which is, after all, the only moral incentive by which the worker can be brought nearer the goal. They preach instead, a philanthropy and universal love

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "although essentially it goes beyond the framework of the antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "abstract" instead of "dogmatic".—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give the end of this sentence as follows: "overnight, without pursuing the political struggle to the end, at which it dissolves itself [*sich selbst auflöst*]."—*Ed.*

far more unfruitful for the present state of England. They acknowledge only a psychological development, a development of man in the abstract, out of all relation to the Past, whereas the whole world rests upon that Past, the individual man included. Hence they are too abstract, too metaphysical, and accomplish little. They are recruited in part from the working-class, of which they have enlisted but a very small fraction representing, however, its most educated and solid elements. In its present form, Socialism can never become the common creed of the working-class; it must condescend to return for a moment to the Chartist standpoint. But the true proletarian Socialism having passed through Chartism, purified of its bourgeois elements, assuming the form which it has already reached in the minds of many Socialists and Chartist leaders (who are nearly all Socialists*), must, within a short time, play a weighty part in the history of the development of the English people. English Socialism, the basis of which is much more ample than that of the French, is behind it in theoretical[a] development, will have to recede for a moment to the French standpoint in order to proceed beyond it later. Meanwhile the French, too, will develop farther. English Socialism affords the most pronounced expression of the prevailing absence of religion among the working-men, an expression so pronounced indeed that the mass of the working-men, being unconsciously and merely practically irreligious, often draw back before it. But here, too, necessity will force the working-men to abandon the remnants of a belief which, as they will more and more clearly perceive, serves only to make them weak and resigned to their fate, obedient and faithful to the vampire property-holding class.

Hence it is evident that the working-men's movement is divided into two sections, the Chartists and the Socialists. The Chartists are theoretically[b] the more backward, the less developed, but they are genuine proletarians all over, the representatives of their class. The Socialists are more far-seeing, propose practical remedies against distress, but, proceeding originally from the bourgeoisie, are for this reason unable to amalgamate completely with the

* (1892) Socialists, naturally, in the general, not the specifically Owenistic sense.—*Note by Engels to the German edition of 1892.*

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 do not have the word "theoretical", and above, instead of "than that of the French" they have "than French Communism".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 do not have the word "theoretically".—*Ed.*

working-class. The union of Socialism with Chartism, the reproduction of French Communism in an English manner, will be the next step, and has already begun. Then only, when this has been achieved, will the working-class be the true intellectual[a] leader of England. Meanwhile, political and social development will proceed, and will foster this new party, this new departure of Chartism.

These different sections of working-men, often united, often separated, Trades Unionists, Chartists, and Socialists, have founded on their own hook numbers of schools and reading-rooms for the advancement of education. Every Socialist, and almost every Chartist institution, has such a place, and so too have many trades. Here the children receive a purely proletarian education, free from all the influences of the bourgeoisie; and, in the reading-rooms, proletarian journals and books alone, or almost alone, are to be found. These arrangements are very dangerous for the bourgeoisie, which has succeeded in withdrawing several such institutes, "Mechanics' Institutes",[176] from proletarian influences, and making them organs for the dissemination of the sciences useful to the bourgeoisie. Here the natural sciences are now taught, which may draw the working-men away from the opposition to the bourgeoisie, and perhaps place in their hands the means of making inventions which bring in money for the bourgeoisie; while for the working-man the acquaintance with the natural sciences is utterly useless *now* when it too often happens that he never gets the slightest glimpse of Nature in his large town with his long working-hours. Here Political Economy is preached, whose idol is free competition, and whose sum and substance for the working-man is this, that he cannot do anything more rational than resign himself to starvation. Here all education is tame, flabby, subservient to the ruling politics and religion, so that for the working-man it is merely a constant sermon upon quiet obedience, passivity, and resignation to his fate.

The mass of working-men naturally have nothing to do with these institutes, and betake themselves to the proletarian reading-rooms and to the discussion of matters which directly concern their own interests, whereupon the self-sufficient bourgeoisie says its *Dixi et salvavi*,[b] and turns with contempt from a class which "prefers the angry ranting of ill-meaning demagogues to the advantages of solid education". That, however, the working-men

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 do not have the word "intellectual".—*Ed.*

[b] *Dixi et salvavi (animam meam)*: I have spoken and saved (my soul).—*Ed.*

appreciate solid education when they can get it unmixed with the interested cant of the bourgeoisie, the frequent lectures upon scientific, aesthetic, and economic subjects prove which are delivered especially in the Socialist institutes,[a] and very well attended. I have often heard working-men, whose fustian jackets scarcely held together, speak upon geological, astronomical, and other subjects, with more knowledge than most "cultivated" bourgeois in Germany possess. And in how great a measure the English proletariat has succeeded in attaining independent education is shown especially by the fact that the epoch-making products of modern philosophical, political, and poetical literature are read by working-men almost exclusively. The bourgeois, enslaved by social conditions and the prejudices involved in them, trembles, blesses, and crosses himself before everything which really paves the way for progress; the proletarian has open eyes for it, and studies it with pleasure and success. In this respect the Socialists, especially, have done wonders for the education of the proletariat. They have translated the French materialists, Helvétius, Holbach, Diderot, etc., and disseminated them, with the best English works, in cheap editions.[177] Strauss' *Life of Jesus* and Proudhon's *Property* also circulate among the working-men only.[178] Shelley, the genius, the prophet, Shelley, and Byron, with his glowing sensuality and his bitter satire upon our existing society, find most of their readers in the proletariat; the bourgeoisie owns only castrated editions, family editions, cut down in accordance with the hypocritical morality of today. The two great practical philosophers of latest date, Bentham and Godwin, are, especially the latter, almost exclusively the property of the proletariat; for though Bentham has a school within the Radical bourgeoisie, it is only the proletariat and the Socialists who have succeeded in developing his teachings a step forward. The proletariat has formed upon this basis a literature, which consists chiefly of journals and pamphlets, and is far in advance of the whole bourgeois literature in intrinsic worth. On this point more later.[179]

One more point remains to be noticed. The factory operatives, and especially those of the cotton district, form the nucleus of the labour movement. Lancashire, and especially Manchester, is the seat of the most powerful Unions, the central point of Chartism, the place which numbers most Socialists. The more the factory system has taken possession of a branch of industry, the more the

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "in all proletarian institutes, especially the socialist ones".—*Ed.*

working-men employed in it participate in the labour movement; the sharper the opposition between working-men and capitalists, the clearer the proletarian consciousness in the working-men. The small masters of Birmingham, though they suffer from the crises, still stand upon an unhappy middle ground between proletarian Chartism and shopkeepers' Radicalism. But, in general, all the workers employed in manufacture are won for one form or the other of resistance to capital and bourgeoisie; and all are united upon this point, that they, as working-men,[a] a title of which they are proud, and which is the usual form of address in Chartist meetings, form a separate class, with separate interests and principles, with a separate way of looking at things in contrast with that of all property-owners; and that in this class reposes the strength and the capacity of development of the nation.

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give the word "working-men" in English.—*Ed.*

## THE MINING PROLETARIAT

The production of raw materials and fuel for a manufacture so colossal as that of England requires a considerable number of workers. But of all the materials needed for its industries (except wool, which belongs to the agricultural districts), England produces only the minerals: the metals and the coal. While Cornwall possesses rich copper, tin, zinc, and lead mines, Staffordshire, Wales,[a] and other districts yield great quantities of iron, and almost the whole North and West of England, central Scotland, and certain districts of Ireland, produce a superabundance of coal.*

* According to the census of 1841, the number of working-men employed in mines in Great Britain, without Ireland, was:

| | Men over 20 years | Men under 20 years | Women over 20 years | Women under 20 years | Together |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Coal-mines | 83,408 | 32,475 | 1,185 | 1,165 | 118,233 |
| Copper mines | 9,866 | 3,428 | 913 | 1,200 | 15,407 |
| Lead ,, | 9,427 | 1,932 | 40 | 20 | 11,419 |
| Iron ,, | 7,773 | 2,679 | 424 | 73 | 10,949 |
| Tin ,, | 4,602 | 1,349 | 68 | 82 | 6,101 |
| Various the mineral not specified | 24,162 | 6,591 | 472 | 491 | 31,716 |
| Total | 139,238 | 48,454 | 3,102 | 3,031 | 193,825 |

As the coal and iron mines are usually worked by the same people, a part of the miners attributed to the coal-mines, and a very considerable part of those mentioned under the last heading are to be attributed to the iron mines.—*Note by Engels.*

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "North Wales".—*Ed.*

In the Cornish mines about 19,000 men, and 11,000 women and children are employed, in part above and in part below ground. Within the mines below ground, men and boys above twelve years old are employed almost exclusively. The condition of these workers seems, according to the Children's Employment Commission's Report, to be comparatively endurable, materially, and the English often enough boast of their strong, bold miners, who follow the veins of mineral below the bottom of the very sea. But in the matter of the health of these workers, this same Children's Employment Commission's Report judges differently. It shows in Dr. Barham's intelligent report how the inhalation of an atmosphere containing little oxygen, and mixed with dust and the smoke of blasting powder, such as prevails in the mines, seriously affects the lungs, disturbs the action of the heart, and diminishes the activity of the digestive organs; that wearing toil, and especially the climbing up and down of ladders, upon which even vigorous young men have to spend in some mines more than an hour a day, and which precedes and follows daily work, contributes greatly to the development of these evils, so that men who begin this work in early youth are far from reaching the stature of women who work above ground; that many die young of galloping consumption, and most miners at middle age of slow consumption; that they age prematurely and become unfit for work between the thirty-fifth and forty-fifth years; that many are attacked by acute inflammations of the respiratory organs when exposed to the sudden change from the warm air of the shaft (after climbing the ladder in profuse perspiration) to the cold wind above ground; and that these acute inflammations are very frequently fatal. Work above ground, breaking and sorting the ore, is done by girls and children, and is described as very wholesome, being done in the open air.

In the North of England, on the borders of Northumberland and Durham, are the extensive lead-mines of Alston Moor. The reports from this district* agree almost wholly with those from Cornwall. Here, too, there are complaints of want of oxygen, excessive dust, powder smoke, carbonic acid gas, and sulphur, in the atmosphere of the workings. In consequence, the miners here, as in Cornwall, are small of stature, and nearly all suffer from the thirtieth year throughout life from chest affections, which end,

* Also found in the Children's Employment Commission's Report; Commissioner Mitchell's Report.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887.* (In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the reference is given in the text.—*Ed.*)

especially when this work is persisted in, as is almost always the case, in consumption, so greatly shortening the average of life of these people. If the miners of this district are somewhat longer lived than those of Cornwall, this is the case, because they do not enter the mines before reaching the nineteenth year, while in Cornwall, as we have seen, this work is begun in the twelfth year. Nevertheless, the majority die here, too, between forty and fifty years of age, according to medical testimony. Of 79 miners, whose death was entered upon the public register of the district, and who attained an average of 45 years, 37 had died of consumption and 6 of asthma. In the surrounding districts, Allendale, Stanhope, and Middleton, the average length of life was 49, 48, and 47 years respectively, and the deaths from chest affections composed 48, 54, and 56 per cent of the whole number.[a] Let us compare these figures with the so-called Swedish tables, detailed tables of mortality embracing all the inhabitants of Sweden, and recognised in England as the most correct standard hitherto attainable for the average length of life of the British working-class. According to them, male persons who survive the nineteenth year attain an average of $57^1/_2$ years; but, according to this, the North of England miners are robbed by their work of an average of ten years of life. Yet the Swedish tables are accepted as the standard of longevity of the *workers*, and present, therefore, the average chances of life as affected by the unfavourable conditions in which the proletariat lives, a standard of longevity less than the normal one. In this district we find again the lodging-houses and sleeping-places with which we have already become acquainted in the towns, and in quite as filthy, disgusting, and overcrowded a state as there. Commissioner Mitchell visited one such sleeping barrack, 18 feet long, 15 feet wide, and arranged for the reception of 42 men and 14 boys, or 56 persons altogether, one-half of whom slept above the other in berths as on shipboard.[b] There was no opening for the escape of the foul air; and, although no one had slept in this pen for three nights preceding the visit, the smell and the atmosphere were such that Commissioner Mitchell could not endure it a moment. What must it be through a hot summer night, with fifty-six occupants? And this is not the steerage of an American slave ship, it is the dwelling of free-born Britons!

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here: "It must be borne in mind that all the data refer only to miners who did not begin to work *until they were nineteen years old*."—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "56 persons in 14 berths, half of them *above* the others as in ships".—*Ed.*

Let us turn now to the most important branch of British mining, the iron and coal-mines, which the Children's Employment Commission treats in common, and with all the detail which the importance of the subject demands. Nearly the whole of the first part of this report is devoted to the condition of the workers employed in these mines. After the detailed description which I have furnished of the state of the industrial workers, I shall, however, be able to be as brief in dealing with this subject as the scope of the present work requires.

In the coal and iron mines which are worked in pretty much the same way, children of four, five, and seven years are employed.[a] They are set to transporting the ore or coal loosened by the miner from its place to the horse-path or the main shaft, and to opening and shutting the doors (which separate the divisions of the mine and regulate its ventilation[b]) for the passage of workers and material. For watching the doors the smallest children are usually employed, who thus pass twelve hours daily, in the dark, alone, sitting usually in damp passages without even having work enough to save them from the stupefying, brutalising tedium of doing nothing. The transport of coal and iron-stone, on the other hand, is very hard labour, the stuff being shoved in large tubs, without wheels, over the uneven floor of the mine; often over moist clay, or through water, and frequently up steep inclines and through paths so low-roofed that the workers are forced to creep on hands and knees. For this more wearing labour, therefore, older children and half-grown girls are employed. One man or two boys per tub are employed, according to circumstances; and, if two boys, one pushes and the other pulls. The loosening of the ore or coal, which is done by men or strong youths of sixteen years or more, is also very weary work. The usual working-day is eleven to twelve hours, often longer; in Scotland it reaches fourteen hours, and double time is frequent, when all the employees are at work below ground twenty-four, and even thirty-six hours at a stretch. Set times for meals are almost unknown, so that these people eat when hunger and time permit.

The standard of living of the miners is in general described as fairly good and their wages high in comparison with those of the agricultural labourers surrounding them (who, however, live at

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "but most of them are over eight".—*Ed.*

[b] The words "and regulate its ventilation" do not occur in the German editions of 1845 and 1892.—*Ed.*

starvation rates), except in certain parts of Scotland and in the Irish mines, where great misery prevails. We shall have occasion to return later to this statement, which, by the way, is merely relative, implying comparison to the poorest class in all England. Meanwhile, we shall consider the evils which arise from the present method of mining, and the reader may judge whether any pay in money can indemnify the miner for such suffering.

The children and young people who are employed in transporting coal and iron-stone all complain of being overtired. Even in the most recklessly conducted industrial establishments there is no such universal and exaggerated overwork. The whole report proves this, with a number of examples on every page. It is constantly happening that children throw themselves down on the stone hearth or the floor as soon as they reach home, fall asleep at once without being able to take a bite of food, and have to be washed and put to bed while asleep; it even happens that they lie down on the way home, and are found by their parents late at night asleep on the road. It seems to be a universal practice among these children to spend Sunday in bed to recover in some degree from the overexertion of the week. Church and school are visited by but few, and even of these the teachers complain of their great sleepiness and the want of all eagerness to learn. The same thing is true of the elder girls and women. They are overworked in the most brutal manner. This weariness, which is almost always carried to a most painful pitch, cannot fail to affect the constitution. The first result of such overexertion is the diversion of vitality to the one-sided development of the muscles, so that those especially of the arms, legs, and back, of the shoulders and chest, which are chiefly called into activity in pushing and pulling, attain an uncommonly vigorous development, while all the rest of the body suffers and is atrophied from want of nourishment. More than all else the stature suffers, being stunted and retarded; nearly all miners are short, except those of Leicestershire and Warwickshire, who work under exceptionally favourable conditions. Further, among boys as well as girls, puberty is retarded, among the former often until the eighteenth year; indeed, a nineteen years old boy appeared before Commissioner Symons, showing no evidence beyond that of the teeth, that he was more than eleven or twelve years old. This prolongation of the period of childhood is at bottom nothing more than a sign of checked development, which does not fail to bear fruit in later years. Distortions of the legs, knees bent inwards and feet bent outwards, deformities of the spinal column and other malforma-

tions, appear the more readily in constitutions thus weakened, in consequence of the almost universally constrained position during work; and they are so frequent that in Yorkshire and Lancashire, as in Northumberland and Durham, the assertion is made by many witnesses, not only by physicians, that a miner may be recognised by his shape among a hundred other persons. The women seem to suffer especially from this work, and are seldom, if ever, as straight as other women. There is testimony here, too, to the fact that deformities of the pelvis and consequent difficult, even fatal, child-bearing arise from the work of women in the mines. But apart from these local deformities, the coal-miners suffer from a number of special affections[a] easily explained by the nature of the work. Diseases of the digestive organs are first in order; want of appetite, pains in the stomach, nausea, and vomiting, are most frequent, with violent thirst, which can be quenched only with the dirty, lukewarm water of the mine; the digestion is checked and all the other affections are thus invited. Diseases of the heart, especially hypertrophy, inflammation of the heart and pericardium, contraction of the auriculo-ventricular communications and the entrance of the aorta are also mentioned repeatedly as diseases of the miners, and are readily explained by overwork; and the same is true of the almost universal rupture which is a direct consequence of protracted overexertion. In part from the same cause and in part from the bad, dust-filled atmosphere mixed with carbonic acid and hydrocarbon gas, which might so readily be avoided, there arise numerous painful and dangerous affections of the lungs, especially asthma, which in some districts appears in the fortieth, in others in the thirtieth year in most of the miners, and makes them unfit for work in a short time. Among those employed in wet workings the oppression in the chest naturally appears much earlier; in some districts of Scotland between the twentieth and thirtieth years, during which time the affected lungs are especially susceptible to inflammations and diseases of a feverish nature. The peculiar disease of workers of this sort is "black spittle",[b] which arises from the saturation of the whole lung with coal particles, and manifests itself in general debility, headache, oppression of the chest, and thick, black mucous expectoration. In some districts this disease appears in a mild form; in others, on the contrary, it is wholly incurable,

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "which are the same as those of other miners and are", etc.—*Ed.*

[b] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this English term is given in brackets.—*Ed.*

especially in Scotland. Here, besides the symptoms just mentioned, which appear in an intensified form, short, wheezing breathing, rapid pulse (exceeding 100 per minute), and abrupt coughing, with increasing leanness and debility, speedily make the patient unfit for work. Every case of this disease ends fatally. Dr. Mackellar, in Pencaitland, East Lothian, testified that in all the coal-mines which are properly ventilated this disease is unknown, while it frequently happens that miners who go from well- to ill-ventilated mines are seized by it. The profit-greed of mine owners which prevents the use of ventilators is therefore responsible for the fact that this working-men's disease exists at all. Rheumatism, too, is, with the exception of the Warwick and Leicestershire workers, a universal disease of the coal-miners, and arises especially from the frequently damp working-places. The consequence of all these diseases is that, in all districts *without exception*, the coal-miners age early and become unfit for work soon after the fortieth year, though this is different in different places. A coal-miner who can follow his calling after the 45th or 50th year is a very great rarity indeed. It is universally recognised that such workers enter upon old age at forty. This applies to those who loosen the coal from the bed; the loaders, who have constantly to lift heavy blocks of coal into the tubs, age with the twenty-eighth or thirtieth year, so that it is proverbial in the coal-mining districts that the loaders are old before they are young. That this premature old age is followed by the early death of the colliers is a matter of course, and a man who reaches sixty is a great exception among them. Even in South Staffordshire, where the mines are comparatively wholesome, few men reach their fifty-first year. Along with this early superannuation of the workers we naturally find, just as in the case of the mills, frequent lack of employment of the elder men, who are often supported by very young children. If we sum up briefly the results of the work in coal-mines, we find, as Dr. Southwood Smith, one of the commissioners, does, that through prolonged childhood on the one hand and premature age on the other, that period of life in which the human being is in full possession of his powers, the period of manhood, is greatly shortened, while the length of life in general is below the average. This, too, on the debit side of the bourgeoisie's reckoning!

All this deals only with the average of the English coal-mines. But there are many in which the state of things is much worse, those, namely, in which thin seams of coal are worked. The coal would be too expensive if a part of the adjacent sand and clay

were removed; so the mine owners permit only the seams to be worked; whereby the passages which elsewhere are four or five feet high and more are here kept so low that to stand upright in them is not to be thought of. The working-man lies on his side and loosens the coal with his pick; resting upon his elbow as a pivot, whence follow inflammations of the joint, and in cases where he is forced to kneel, of the knee also. The women and children who have to transport the coal crawl upon their hands and knees, fastened to the tub by a harness and chain (which frequently passes between the legs), while a man behind pushes with hands and head. The pushing with the head engenders local irritations, painful swellings, and ulcers. In many cases, too, the shafts are wet, so that these workers have to crawl through dirty or salt water several inches deep, being thus exposed to a special irritation of the skin. It can be readily imagined how greatly the diseases already peculiar to the miners are fostered by this especially frightful, slavish toil.

But these are not all the evils which descend upon the head of the coal-miner. In the whole British Empire there is no occupation in which a man may meet his end in so many diverse ways as in this one. The coal-mine is the scene of a multitude of the most terrifying calamities, and these come directly from the selfishness of the bourgeoisie. The hydrocarbon gas which develops so freely in these mines, forms, when combined with atmospheric air, an explosive which takes fire upon coming into contact with a flame, and kills every one within its reach. Such explosions take place, in one mine or another, nearly every day; on September 28th, 1844, one killed 96 men in Haswell Colliery, Durham. The carbonic acid gas, which also develops in great quantities, accumulates in the deeper parts of the mine, frequently reaching the height of a man, and suffocates every one who gets into it. The doors which separate the sections of the mines are meant to prevent the propagation of explosions and the movement of the gases; but since they are entrusted to small children, who often fall asleep or neglect them, this means of prevention is illusory. A proper ventilation of the mines by means of fresh air-shafts could almost entirely remove the injurious effects of both these gases. But for this purpose the bourgeoisie has no money to spare, preferring to command the working-men to use the Davy lamp, which is wholly useless because of its dull light, and is, therefore, usually replaced by a candle. If an explosion occurs, the recklessness of the miner is blamed, though the bourgeois might have made the explosion well-nigh impossible by supplying good ventilation.

Further, every few days the roof of a working falls in, and buries or mangles the workers employed in it. It is the interest of the bourgeois to have the seams worked out as completely as possible, and hence the accidents of this sort. Then, too, the ropes by which the men descend into the mines are often rotten, and break, so that the unfortunates fall, and are crushed. All these accidents, and I have no room for special cases, carry off yearly, according to the *Mining Journal*, some fourteen hundred human beings.[180] The *Manchester Guardian* reports at least two or three accidents every week for Lancashire alone. In nearly all mining districts the people composing the coroner's juries are, in almost all cases, dependent upon the mine owners, and where this is not the case, immemorial custom insures that the verdict shall be: "Accidental Death". Besides, the jury takes very little interest in the state of the mine, because it does not understand anything about the matter. But the Children's Employment Commission does not hesitate to make the mine owners directly responsible for the greater number of these cases.

As to the education and morals of the mining population, they are, according to the Children's Employment Commission, pretty good in Cornwall, and excellent in Alston Moor; in the coal districts, in general, they are, on the contrary, reported as on an excessively low plane. The workers live in the country in neglected regions, and if they do their weary work, no human being outside the police force troubles himself about them. Hence, and from the tender age at which children are put to work, it follows that their mental education is wholly neglected. The day schools are not within their reach, the evening and Sunday schools mere shams, the teachers worthless. Hence, few can read and still fewer write. The only point upon which their eyes are as yet open is the fact that their wages are far too low for their hateful and dangerous work. To church they go seldom or never; all the clergy complain of their irreligion as beyond comparison. As a matter of fact, their ignorance of religious and of secular things, alike, is such that the ignorance of the factory operatives, shown in numerous examples in the foregoing pages, is trifling in comparison with it. The categories of religion are known to them only from the terms of their oaths. Their morality is destroyed by their work itself. That the overwork of all miners must engender drunkenness is self-evident. As to their sexual relations, men, women, and children work in the mines, in many cases, wholly naked, and in most cases, nearly so, by reason of the prevailing heat, and the consequences in the dark, lonely mines may be imagined. The number of

illegitimate children is here disproportionately large, and indicates what goes on among the half-savage population below ground; but proves too, that the illegitimate intercourse of the sexes has not here, as in the great cities, sunk to the level of prostitution. The labour of women entails the same consequences as in the factories, dissolves the family, and makes the mother totally incapable of household work.

When the Children's Employment Commission's Report was laid before Parliament, Lord Ashley hastened to bring in a bill wholly forbidding the work of women in the mines, and greatly limiting that of children. The bill was adopted,[181] but has remained a dead letter in most districts, because no mine inspectors were appointed to watch over its being carried into effect. The evasion of the law is very easy in the country districts in which the mines are situated; and no one need be surprised that the Miners' Union laid before the Home Secretary an official notice, last year, that in the Duke of Hamilton's coal-mines in Scotland, more than sixty women were at work; or that the *Manchester Guardian* reported that a girl perished in an explosion in a mine near Wigan, and no one troubled himself further about the fact that an infringement of the law was thus revealed. In single cases the employment of women may have been discontinued, but in general the old state of things remains as before.

These are, however, not all the afflictions known to the coal-miners. The bourgeoisie, not content with ruining the health of these people, keeping them in danger of sudden loss of life, robbing them of all opportunity for education, plunders them in other directions in the most shameless manner. The truck system is here the rule, not the exception, and is carried on in the most direct and undisguised manner. The cottage system, likewise, is universal, and here almost a necessity; but it is used here, too, for the better plundering of the workers. To these means of oppression must be added all sorts of direct cheating.[a] While coal is sold by weight, the worker's wages are reckoned chiefly by measure; and when his tub is not perfectly full he receives no pay whatever, while he gets not a farthing for overmeasure. If there is more than a specified quantity of dust in the tub, a matter which depends much less upon the miner than upon the nature of the seam, he not only loses his whole wage but is fined besides. The fine system in general is so highly perfected in the coal-mines, that

[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this sentence reads "To these must be added various other forms of fraud."—*Ed.*

a poor devil who has worked the whole week and comes for his wages, sometimes learns from the overseer, who fines at discretion and without summoning the workers, that he not only has no wages but must pay so and so much in fines extra! The overseer has, in general, absolute power over wages; he notes the work done, and can please himself as to what he pays the worker, who is forced to take his word. In some mines, where the pay is according to weight, false decimal scales are used, whose weights are not subject to the inspection of the authorities; in one coal-mine there was actually a regulation that any workman who intended to complain of the falseness of the scales *must give notice to the overseer three weeks in advance!* In many districts, especially in the North of England, it is customary to engage the workers by the year; they pledge themselves to work for no other employer during that time, but the mine owner by no means pledges himself to give them work, so that they are often without it for months together, and if they seek elsewhere, they are sent to the treadmill for six weeks for breach of contract. In other contracts, work to the amount of 26s. every 14 days, is promised the miners, but not furnished; in others still, the employers advance the miners small sums to be worked out afterwards, thus binding the debtors to themselves. In the North, the custom is general of keeping the payment of wages one week behindhand, chaining the miners in this way to their work. And to complete the slavery of these enthralled workers, nearly all the Justices of the Peace in the coal districts are mine owners themselves, or relatives or friends of mine owners, and possess almost unlimited power in these poor, uncivilised regions where there are few newspapers, these few in the service of the ruling class, and but little other agitation.[a] It is almost beyond conception how these poor coal-miners have been plundered and tyrannised over by Justices of the Peace acting as judges in their own cause.

So it went on for a long time. The workers did not know any better than that they were there for the purpose of being swindled out of their very lives. But gradually, even among them, and especially in the factory districts, where contact with the more intelligent operatives could not fail of its effect, there arose a spirit of opposition to the shameless oppression of the "coal kings". The men began to form Unions and strike from time to time. In civilised districts they joined the Chartists body and soul. The great coal district of the North of England, shut off from all

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "political agitation".—*Ed.*

industrial intercourse, remained backward until, after many efforts, partly of the Chartists and partly of the more intelligent miners themselves, a general spirit of opposition arose in 1843. Such a movement seized the workers of Northumberland and Durham that they placed themselves at the forefront of a general Union of coal-miners throughout the kingdom, and appointed W. P. Roberts, a Chartist solicitor, of Bristol, their "Attorney General", he having distinguished himself in earlier Chartist trials. The Union soon spread over a great majority of the districts; agents were appointed in all directions, who held meetings everywhere and secured new members; at the first conference of delegates, in Manchester, in 1844,[a] there were 60,000 members represented, and at Glasgow, six months later, at the second conference, 100,000. Here all the affairs of the coal-miners were discussed and decisions as to the greater strikes arrived at. Several journals were founded, especially the *Miner's Advocate*,[b] at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, for defending the rights of the miners. On March 31st, 1844, the contracts of all the miners of Northumberland and Durham expired. Roberts was empowered to draw up a new agreement, in which the men demanded: (1) Payment by weight instead of measure; (2) Determination of weight by means of ordinary scales subject to the public inspectors; (3) Half-yearly renewal of contracts; (4) Abolition of the fines system and payment according to work actually done; (5) The employers to guarantee to miners in their exclusive service at least four days' work per week, or wages for the same. This agreement was submitted to the "coal kings", and a deputation appointed to negotiate with them; they answered, however, that for them the Union did not exist, that they had to deal with single workmen only, and should never recognise the Union. They also submitted an agreement of their own which ignored all the foregoing points, and was, naturally, refused by the miners. War was thus declared. On March 31st, 1844, 40,000 miners laid down their picks, and every mine in the county stood empty. The funds of the Union were so considerable that for several months a weekly contribution of 2s. 6d. could be assured to each family. While the miners were thus putting the patience of their masters to the test, Roberts organised with incomparable perseverance both strike and agitation, arranged for the holding of meetings, traversed England from one end to the

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "in January 1844".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 here have "the monthly *Miner's Advocate*".—*Ed.*

other,[a] preached peaceful and legal agitation, and carried on a crusade against the despotic Justices of the Peace and truck masters, such as had never been known in England. This he had begun at the beginning of the year. Wherever a miner had been condemned by a Justice of the Peace, he obtained a *habeas corpus* from the Court of Queen's bench, brought his client to London, and always secured an acquittal.[182] Thus, January 13th, Judge Williams of Queen's bench acquitted three miners condemned by the Justices of the Peace of Bilston, South Staffordshire; the offence of these people was that they refused to work in a place which threatened to cave in, and had actually caved in before their return! On an earlier occasion, Judge Patteson had acquitted six working-men, so that the name Roberts began to be a terror to the mine owners.[b] In Preston four of his clients were in jail. In the first week of January[c] he proceeded thither to investigate the case on the spot, but found, when he arrived, the condemned all released before the expiration of the sentence. In Manchester there were seven in jail; Roberts obtained a *habeas corpus* and acquittal for all from Judge Wightman. In Prescott nine coal-miners were in jail, accused of creating a disturbance in St. Helens, South Lancashire, and awaiting trial; when Roberts arrived upon the spot, they were released at once. All this took place in the first half of February. In April, Roberts released a miner from jail in Derby, four in Wakefield,[d] and four in Leicester. So it went on for a time until these Dogberries[e] came to have some respect for the miners. The truck system shared the same fate. One after another Roberts brought the disreputable mine owners before the courts, and compelled the reluctant Justices of the Peace to condemn them; such dread of this "lightning" "Attorney General" who seemed to be everywhere at once spread among them, that at Belper,[f] for instance, upon Roberts' arrival, a truck firm published the following notice:

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "made collections in aid of the strikers", etc.—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "who were Justices of the Peace".—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give "February".—*Ed.*

[d] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give "Yorkshire" in brackets.—*Ed.*

[e] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "as these Justices of the Peace were called after the famous character in Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*", etc.—*Ed.*

[f] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "at Belper, near Derby".—*Ed.*

NOTICE!

"Pentrich Colliery

"Messrs. Haslam think it right (to prevent mistake), to give notice that all men employed at their colliery will receive their wages wholly in money, and be at liberty to spend it where they like. If they buy at Messrs. Haslam's shop they will be supplied (as heretofore) at wholesale prices; but they are not expected to buy there, and will have the same work and wages whether they go to that shop or any other."

This triumph aroused the greatest jubilation throughout the English working-class, and brought the Union a mass of new members. Meanwhile the strike in the North was proceeding. Not a hand stirred, and Newcastle, the chief coal port, was so stripped of its commodity that coal had to be brought from the Scotch coast, in spite of the proverb.[a] At first, while the Union's funds held out, all went well, but towards summer the struggle became much more painful for the miners. The greatest want prevailed among them; they had no money, for the contributions of the workers of all branches of industry in England availed little among the vast number of strikers, who were forced to borrow from the small shop-keepers at a heavy loss. The whole press, with the single exception of the few proletarian journals, was against them; the bourgeois, even the few among them who might have had enough sense of justice to support the miners, learnt from the corrupt Liberal and Conservative sheets only lies about them. A deputation of twelve miners who went to London received a sum from the proletariat there, but this, too, availed little among the mass who needed support. Yet, in spite of all this, the miners remained steadfast, and what is even more significant, were quiet and peaceable in the face of all the hostilities and provocation of the mine owners and their faithful servants. No act of revenge was carried out, not a renegade was maltreated, not one single theft committed. Thus the strike had continued well on towards four months, and the mine owners still had no prospect of getting the upper hand. One way was, however, still open to them. They remembered the cottage system; it occurred to them that the houses of the rebellious spirits were THEIR property. In July, notice to quit was served the workers, and, in a week, the whole forty thousand were put out of doors. This measure was carried out with revolting cruelty. The sick, the feeble, old men and little

[a] In the German text the last phrase is expanded as follows: "although in English 'to carry coals to Newcastle' means the same as in Greek 'to carry owls to Athens', namely, to do something entirely superfluous".—*Ed.*

children, even women in child-birth, were mercilessly turned from their beds and cast into the roadside ditches. One agent dragged by the hair from her bed, and into the street, a woman in the pangs of child-birth. Soldiers and police in crowds were present, ready to fire at the first symptom of resistance, on the slightest hint of the Justices of the Peace, who had brought about the whole brutal procedure. This, too, the working-men endured without resistance. The hope had been that the men would use violence; they were spurred on with all force to infringements of the laws, to furnish an excuse for making an end of the strike by the intervention of the military. The homeless miners, remembering the warnings of their Attorney General, remained unmoved, set up their household goods upon the moors or the harvested fields, and held out. Some, who had no other place, encamped on the roadsides and in ditches, others upon land belonging to other people, whereupon they were prosecuted, and, having caused "damage of the value of a halfpenny", were fined a pound, and, being unable to pay it, worked it out on the treadmill. Thus they lived eight weeks and more of the wet fag-end of last[a] summer under the open sky with their families, with no further shelter for themselves and their little ones than the calico curtains of their beds; with no other help than the scanty allowances of their Union and the fast shrinking credit with the small dealers. Hereupon Lord Londonderry, who owns considerable mines in Durham, threatened the small tradesmen in "his" town of Seaham with his most high displeasure if they should continue to give credit to "his" rebellious workers. This "noble" lord made himself the first clown of the turnout in consequence of the ridiculous, pompous, ungrammatical ukases addressed to the workers, which he published from time to time, with no other result than the merriment of the nation.* When none of their efforts produced any effect, the mine owners imported, at great expense, hands from Ireland and such remote parts of Wales as have as yet no labour movement. And when the competition of workers against workers was thus restored, the strength of the strikers collapsed. The mine owners obliged them to renounce the Union, abandon Roberts, and accept the conditions laid down by the employers. Thus ended at the close[b] of September the great five months' battle of

* (1892) Nothing new under the sun, at least in Germany. Our "König Stumm" are only copies of long-past English originals which are now impossible in their native country.—*Note by Engels to the German edition of 1892.*

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give "1844" in brackets.—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "at the beginning".—*Ed.*

the coal-miners against the mine owners, a battle fought on the part of the oppressed with an endurance, courage, intelligence, and coolness which demands the highest admiration. What a degree of true human culture, of enthusiasm and strength of character, such a battle implies on the part of men[a] who, as we have seen in the Children's Employment Commission's Report, were described as late as 1840, as being thoroughly brutal and wanting in moral sense! But how hard, too, must have been the pressure which brought these forty thousand colliers to rise as one man and to fight out the battle like an army not only well-disciplined but enthusiastic, an army possessed of one single determination, with the greatest coolness and composure, to a point beyond which further resistance would have been madness. And what a battle! Not against visible, mortal enemies, but against hunger, want, misery, and homelessness, against their own passions provoked to madness by the brutality of wealth. If they had revolted with violence, they, the unarmed and defenceless, would have been shot down, and a day or two would have decided the victory of the owners. This law-abiding reserve was no fear of the constable's staff, it was the result of deliberation, the best proof of the intelligence and self-control of the working-men.

Thus were the working-men forced once more, in spite of their unexampled endurance, to succumb to the might of capital. But the fight had not been in vain. First of all, this nineteen weeks' strike had torn the miners of the North of England forever from the intellectual death in which they had hitherto lain; they have left their sleep, are alert to defend their interests, and have entered the movement of civilisation, and especially the movement of the workers. The strike, which first brought to light the whole cruelty of the owners, has established the opposition of the workers here, forever, and made at least two-thirds of them Chartists; and the acquisition of thirty thousand such determined, experienced men is certainly of great value to the Chartists. Then, too, the endurance and law-abiding which characterised the whole strike, coupled with the active agitation which accompanied it, has fixed public attention upon the miners. On the occasion of the debate upon the export duty on coal, Thomas Duncombe, the only decidedly Chartist member of the House of Commons, brought up the condition of the coal-miners, had their petition read, and by his speech forced the bourgeois journals to publish, at least in their reports of Parliamentary proceedings, a correct statement of

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "a mass of 40,000 men".—*Ed.*

the case.[183] Immediately after the strike, occurred the explosion at Haswell; Roberts went to London, demanded an audience with Peel, insisted as representative of the miners upon a thorough investigation of the case, and succeeded in having the first geological and chemical notabilities of England, Professors Lyell and Faraday, commissioned to visit the spot. As several other explosions followed in quick succession, and Roberts again laid the details before the Prime Minister, the latter promised to propose the necessary measures for the protection of the workers, if possible, in the next session of Parliament, i. e., the present one of 1845. All this would not have been accomplished if these workers had not, by means of the strike, proved themselves freedom-loving men worthy of all respect, and if they had not engaged Roberts as their counsel.

Scarcely had it become known that the coal-miners of the North had been forced to renounce the Union and discharge Roberts, when the miners of Lancashire formed a Union of some ten thousand men, and guaranteed their Attorney General a salary of £1,200 a year. In the autumn of last year they collected more than £700, rather more than £200 of which they expended upon salaries and judicial expenses, and the rest chiefly in support of men out of work, either through want of employment or through dissensions with their employers. Thus the working-men are constantly coming to see more clearly that, united, they too are a respectable power, and can, in the last extremity, defy even the might of the bourgeoisie. And this insight, the gain of all labour movements, has been won for all the miners of England by the Union and the strike of 1844. In a very short time the difference of intelligence and energy which now exists in favour of the factory operatives will have vanished, and the miners of the kingdom will be able to stand abreast of them in every respect. Thus one piece of standing ground after another is undermined beneath the feet of the bourgeoisie; and how long will it be before their whole social and political edifice collapses with the basis upon which it rests?*

But the bourgeoisie will not take warning. The resistance of the miners does but embitter it the more. Instead of appreciating this forward step in the general movement of the workers,[a] the

* The coal-miners have at this moment, 1886, six of their body sitting in the House of Commons.— *Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887* (reproduced in the English edition of 1892—*Ed.*).

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "instead of being brought to their senses by this movement", etc.—*Ed.*

property-holding class saw in it only a source of rage against a class of people who are fools enough to declare themselves no longer submissive to the treatment they had hitherto received. It saw in the just demands of the non-possessing workers only impertinent discontent, mad rebellion against "Divine and human order", and, in the best case, a success (to be resisted by the bourgeoisie with all its might) won by "ill-intentioned demagogues who live by agitation and are too lazy to work". It sought, of course, without success, to represent to the workers that Roberts and the Union's agents, whom the Union very naturally had to pay, were insolent swindlers, who drew the last farthing from the working-men's pockets. When such insanity prevails in the property-holding class, when it is so blinded by its momentary profit that it no longer has eyes for the most conspicuous signs of the times, surely all hope of a peaceful solution of the social question for England must be abandoned. The only possible solution is a violent revolution, which cannot fail to take place.

## THE AGRICULTURAL PROLETARIAT

We have seen in the introduction how, simultaneously with the small bourgeoisie and the modest independence of the former workers, the small peasantry also was ruined when the former Union of industrial and agricultural work was dissolved, the abandoned fields thrown together into large farms, and the small peasants superseded by the overwhelming competition of the large farmers. Instead of being landowners or leaseholders, as they had been hitherto, they were now obliged[a] to hire themselves as labourers to the large farmers or the landlords. For a time this position was endurable, though a deterioration in comparison with their former one. The extension of industry kept pace with the increase of population until the progress of manufacture began to assume a slower pace, and the perpetual improvement of machinery made it impossible for manufacture to absorb the whole surplus of the agricultural population. From this time forward, the distress which had hitherto existed only in the manufacturing districts, and then only at times, appeared in the agricultural districts too. The twenty-five years' struggle with France came to an end at about the same time[184]; the diminished production at the various seats of the wars, the shutting off of imports, and the necessity of providing for the British army in Spain, had given English agriculture an artificial prosperity, and had besides withdrawn to the army vast numbers of workers from their ordinary occupations. This check upon the import trade, the opportunity

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "obliged to give up their owr farms and".—*Ed.*

for exportation, and the military demand for workers, now suddenly came to an end; and the necessary consequence was what the English call agricultural distress.[a] The farmers had to sell their corn at low prices, and could, therefore, pay only low wages. In 1815, in order to keep up prices, the Corn Laws were passed, prohibiting the importation of corn so long as the price of wheat continued less than 80 shillings per quarter. These naturally ineffective laws were several times modified, but did not succeed in ameliorating the distress in the agricultural districts. All that they did was to change the disease, which, under free competition from abroad, would have assumed an acute form, culminating in a series of crises, into a chronic one which bore heavily but uniformly upon the farm labourers.

For a time after the rise of the agricultural proletariat, the patriarchal relation between master and man, which was being destroyed for manufacture, developed here the same relation of the farmer to his hands which still exists almost everywhere in Germany. So long as this lasted, the poverty of the farm-hands was less conspicuous; they shared the fate of the farmer, and were discharged only in cases of the direst necessity. But now all this is changed. The farm-hands have become day-labourers almost everywhere, are employed only when needed by the farmers, and, therefore, often have no work for weeks together, especially in winter. In the patriarchal time, the hands and their families lived on the farm, and their children grew up there, the farmer trying to find occupation on the spot for the oncoming generation; day-labourers, then, were the exception, not the rule. Thus there was, on every farm, a larger number of hands than were strictly necessary. It became, therefore, the interest of the farmers to dissolve this relation, drive the farm-hand from the farm, and transform him into a day-labourer. This took place pretty generally towards the year 1830,[b] and the consequence was that the hitherto latent[c] over-population was set free, the rate of wages forced down, and the poor-rate enormously increased. From this time the agricultural districts became the headquarters of permanent, as the manufacturing districts had long been of periodic,

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give "agricultural distress" in English, followed by the German equivalent.—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "towards the end of the twenties of the present century".—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "to use an expression from physics".—*Ed.*

pauperism[a]; and the modification of the Poor Law was the first measure which the State was obliged to apply to the daily increasing impoverishment of the country parishes. Moreover, the constant extension of farming on a large scale, the introduction of threshing and other machines, and the employment of women and children (which is now so general that its effects have recently been investigated by a special official commission), threw a large number of men out of employment. It is manifest, therefore, that here, too, the system of industrial production has made its entrance, by means of farming on a large scale, by the abolition of the patriarchal relation, which is of the greatest importance just here, by the introduction of machinery, steam, and the labour of women and children. In so doing, it has swept the last and most stationary portion of working humanity into the revolutionary movement. But the longer agriculture had remained stationary, the heavier now became the burden upon the worker, the more violently broke forth the results of the disorganisation of the old social fabric. The "over-population" came to light all at once, and could not, as in the manufacturing districts, be absorbed by the needs of an increasing production. New factories could always be built, if there were consumers for their products, but new land could not be created. The cultivation of waste common land was too daring a speculation for the bad times following the conclusion of peace.[b] The necessary consequence was that the competition of the workers among each other reached the highest point of intensity, and wages fell to the minimum. So long as the Old Poor Law existed, the workers received relief from the rates; wages naturally fell still lower, because the farmers forced the largest possible number of labourers to claim relief. The higher poor-rate, necessitated by the surplus population, was only increased by this measure, and the New Poor Law, of which we shall have more to say later, was now enacted as a remedy. But this did not improve matters. Wages did not rise, the surplus population could not be got rid of, and the cruelty of the new law did but serve to embitter the people to the utmost. Even the poor-rate, which diminished at first after the passage of the new law, attained its old height after a few years. Its only effect was that whereas previously three to

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[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this sentence reads: "From this time the agricultural districts became the main seats of *permanent*, as the manufacturing districts of *periodic, pauperism*."—*Ed.*

[b] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892, this sentence reads: "The cultivation of waste common land was too risky a speculation for big capital to be invested in it following the conclusion of peace."—*Ed.*

four million half-paupers had existed, a million of total paupers now appeared, and the rest, still half-paupers, merely went without relief. The poverty in the agricultural districts has increased every year. The people live in the greatest want, whole families must struggle along with 6, 7, or 8 shillings a week, and at times have nothing. Let us hear a description of this population given by a Liberal member of Parliament as early as 1830*:

"That is an English peasant or pauper; for the words are synonymous. His sire was a pauper, and his mother's milk wanted nourishment. From infancy his food has been bad as well as insufficient; and he now feels the pains of unsatisfied hunger nearly whenever he is awake. But half-clothed, and never supplied with more warmth than suffices to cook his scanty meals, cold and wet come to him, and stay by him with the weather. He is married, but he has not tasted the highest joys of husband and father. His partner, and little ones being, like himself, often hungry, seldom warm, sometimes sick without aid, and always sorrowful without hope, are greedy, selfish, and vexing; so, to use his own expression, he 'hates the sight of them', and resorts to his hovel, only because a hedge affords less shelter from the wind and rain." He must support his family, though he cannot do so. "This brings begging, trickery, and quarrelling; and ends in settled craft. Though he have the inclination, he wants the courage to become, like more energetic men of his class, a poacher or smuggler on a large scale; but he pilfers occasionally, and teaches his children to lie and steal. His subdued and slavish manner towards his great neighbours shows that they treat him with suspicion and harshness. Consequently, he at once dreads and hates them; but he will never harm them by violent means. Too degraded to be desperate, he is thoroughly depraved. His miserable career will be short; rheumatism and asthma are conducting him to the workhouse, where he will breathe his last without one pleasant recollection, and so make room for another wretch who may live and die in the same way."[a]

Our author adds that besides this class of agricultural labourers, there is still another, somewhat more energetic and better endowed physically, mentally, and morally; those, namely, who live as wretchedly, but were not born to this condition. These he represents as better in their family life, but smugglers and poachers who get into frequent bloody conflicts with the gamekeepers and revenue officers of the coast, become more embittered against society during the prison life which they often undergo, and so stand abreast of the first class in their hatred of the property-holders.

* E. G. Wakefield, M. P., *Swing Unmasked; or, the Causes of Rural Incendiarism*, London, 1831. Pamphlet. The foregoing extracts may be found pp. 9-13, the passages dealing in the original with the then still existing Old Poor Law being here omitted.—*Note by Engels*.

[a] After the words "English peasant" at the beginning of the quotation the German editions of 1845 and 1892 have in brackets "i.e., agricultural labourer"; the words "hates the sight of them" are given in brackets after the German equivalent. —*Ed.*

"By courtesy," he says, in closing, "the entire body is called 'the bold peasantry of England'."[a]

Down to the present time, this description applies to the greater portion of the agricultural labourers of England. In June, 1844, the *Times* sent a correspondent into the agricultural districts to report upon the condition of this class, and the report which he furnished agreed wholly with the foregoing.[185] In certain districts wages were not more than six shillings a week; not more, that is, than in many districts in Germany, while the prices of all the necessaries of life are at least twice as high. What sort of life these people lead may be imagined; their food scanty and bad, their clothing ragged, their dwellings cramped and desolate, small, wretched huts, with no comforts whatsoever; and, for young people, lodging-houses, where men and women are scarcely separated, and illegitimate intercourse thus provoked. One or two days without work in the course of a month must inevitably plunge such people into the direst want. Moreover, they cannot combine to raise wages, because they are scattered, and if one alone refuses to work for low wages, there are dozens out of work, or supported by the rates,[b] who are thankful for the most trifling offer, while to him who declines work, every other form of relief than the hated workhouse is refused by the Poor Law guardians as to a lazy vagabond; for the guardians are the very farmers from whom or from whose neighbours and acquaintances alone he can get work. And not from one or two special districts of England do such reports come. On the contrary, the distress is general, equally great in the North and South, the East and West. The condition of the labourers in Suffolk and Norfolk corresponds with that of Devonshire, Hampshire, and Sussex. Wages are as low in Dorsetshire and Oxfordshire as in Kent and Surrey, Buckinghamshire and Cambridgeshire.

One especially barbaric cruelty against the working-class[c] is embodied in the Game Laws, which are more stringent[d] than in

[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the words "by courtesy" and "the bold peasantry of England" are given in English in brackets after their German equivalents. Engels attributed the phrase "the bold peasantry of England" to Shakespeare, an inaccuracy which was corrected in the American and English editions. In fact, the phrase "a bold peasantry, their country's pride" appears in Goldsmith's *The Deserted Village*.—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "out of work and workhouse inmates".—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "agricultural proletariat" instead of the "working-class".—*Ed.*

[d] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "in England".—*Ed.*

any other country, while the game is plentiful beyond all conception. The English peasant who, according to the old English custom and tradition, sees in poaching only a natural and noble expression of courage and daring, is stimulated still further by the contrast between his own poverty and the *car tel est notre plaisir*[a] of the lord, who preserves thousands of hares and game birds for his private enjoyment. The labourer lays snares, or shoots here and there a piece of game. It does not injure the landlord as a matter of fact, for he has a vast superfluity, and it brings the poacher a meal for himself and his starving family. But if he is caught he goes to jail, and for a second offence receives at the least seven years' transportation. From the severity of these laws arise the frequent bloody conflicts with the gamekeepers, which lead to a number of murders every year. Hence the post of gamekeeper is not only dangerous, but of ill-repute and despised. Last year, in two cases, gamekeepers shot themselves rather than continue their work. Such is the moderate price at which the landed aristocracy purchases the noble sport of shooting; but what does it matter to the lords of the soil[b]? Whether one or two more or less of the "surplus" live or die matters nothing, and even if in consequence of the Game Laws half the surplus population could be put out of the way, it would be all the better for the other half—according to the philanthropy of the English landlords.

Although the conditions of life in the country, the isolated dwellings, the stability of the surroundings and occupations, and consequently of the thoughts, are decidedly unfavourable to all development, yet poverty and want bear their fruits even here. The manufacturing and mining proletariat emerged early from the first stage of resistance to our social order, the direct rebellion of the individual by the perpetration of crime; but the peasants are still in this stage at the present time. Their favourite method of social warfare is incendiarism. In the winter which followed the Revolution of July, in 1830-31, these incendiarisms first became general. Disturbances had taken place, and the whole region of Sussex and the adjacent counties had been brought into a state of excitement in October, in consequence of an increase of the coastguard (which made smuggling much more difficult and "ruined the coast"—in the words of a farmer), changes in the Poor Law, low wages, and the introduction of machinery. In the

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[a] For such is our pleasure.—*Ed.*

[b] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this expression is given in English.—*Ed.*

winter the farmers' hay and corn-stacks were burnt in the fields, and the very barns and stables under their windows. Nearly every night a couple of such fires blazed up, and spread terror among the farmers and landlords. The offenders were rarely discovered, and the workers attributed the incendiarism to a mythical person whom they named "Swing". Men puzzled their brains to discover who this Swing could be and whence this rage among the poor of the country districts. Of the great motive power, Want, Oppression, only a single person here and there thought, and certainly no one in the agricultural districts. Since that year the incendiarisms have been repeated every winter, with each recurring unemployed season of the agricultural labourers. In the winter of 1843-44, they were once more extraordinarily frequent. There lies before me a series of numbers of the *Northern Star* of that time, each one of which contains a report of several incendiarisms, stating in each case its authority. The numbers[a] wanting in the following list I have not at hand; but they, too, doubtless contain a number of cases. Moreover, such a sheet cannot possibly ascertain all the cases which occur. November 25th, 1843, two cases; several earlier ones are discussed. December 16th, in Bedfordshire, general excitement for a fortnight past in consequence of frequent incendiarisms, of which several take place every night. Two great farm-houses burnt down within the last few days; in Cambridgeshire four great farm-houses, Hertfordshire one, and besides these, fifteen other incendiarisms in different districts. December 30th, in Norfolk one, Suffolk two, Essex two, Cheshire one, Lancashire one, Derby, Lincoln, and the South twelve. January 6th, 1844, in all ten. January 13th, seven. January 20th, four incendiarisms. From this time forward, three of four incendiarisms per week are reported, and not as formerly until the spring only, but far into July and August. And that crimes of this sort are expected to increase in the approaching hard season of 1844-45, the English papers already indicate.[b]

What do my readers think of such a state of things in the quiet, idyllic country districts of England? Is this social war, or is it not? Is it a natural state of things which can last? Yet here the landlords and farmers are as dull and stupefied, as blind to

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "of this weekly".—*Ed.*

[b] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this sentence reads: "The English papers I have received since then and the reports in German papers prove that crimes of this sort increased with the approach of the hard season of 1844-45."—*Ed.*

everything which does not directly put money into their pockets, as the manufacturers and the bourgeoisie in general in the manufacturing districts. If the latter promise their employees salvation through the repeal of the Corn Laws, the landlords and a great part of the farmers promise theirs Heaven upon earth from the maintenance of the same laws. But in neither case do the property-holders succeed in winning the workers to the support of their pet hobby. Like the operatives, the agricultural labourers are thoroughly indifferent to the repeal or non-repeal of the Corn Laws. Yet the question is an important one for both. That is to say—by the repeal of the Corn Laws, free competition, the present social economy is carried to its extreme point; all further development within the present order comes to an end, and the only possible step farther is a radical transformation of the social order.* For the agricultural labourers the question has, further, the following important bearing: Free importation of corn involves (how, I cannot explain *here*) the emancipation of the farmers from the landlords, their transformation into Liberals. Towards this consummation the Anti-Corn Law League has already largely contributed, and this is its only real service. When the farmers become Liberals, i.e., conscious bourgeois, the agricultural labourers will inevitably become Chartists and Socialists[a]; the first change involves the second. And that a new movement is already beginning among the agricultural labourers is proved by a meeting which Earl Radnor, a Liberal landlord, caused to be held in October, 1844, near Highworth, where his estates lie, to pass resolutions against the Corn Laws. At this meeting, the labourers, perfectly indifferent as to these laws, demanded something wholly different, namely small holdings, at low rent, for themselves, telling Earl Radnor all sorts of bitter truths to his face. Thus the movement of the working-class is finding its way into the remote, stationary, mentally dead agricultural districts; and, thanks to the general distress, will soon be as firmly rooted and energetic as in the manufacturing districts.**

* This has been literally fulfilled. After a period of unexampled extension of trade, Free Trade has landed England in a crisis, which began in 1878, and is still increasing in energy in 1886.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887* (reproduced in the English edition of 1892—*Ed.*).

** The agricultural labourers have now a Trade's Union; their most energetic representative, Joseph Arch, was elected M. P. in 1885.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887* (reproduced in the English edition of 1892—*Ed.*).

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "i.e., conscious proletarians".—*Ed.*

As to the religious state of the agricultural labourers, they are, it is true, more pious than the manufacturing operatives; but they, too, are greatly at odds with the Church—for in these districts members of the Established Church almost exclusively are to be found. A correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle,* who, over the signature, "One who has whistled at the plough",[a] reports his tour through the agricultural districts, relates, among other things, the following conversation with some labourers after service:

"I inquired if the clergyman who had preached was the one who usually ministered there? 'Yes, blast him! he be our own parson sure enough—he be always a-begging; he be always, sin' ever I knowed him.'" (The sermon had been upon a mission to the heathen.) "'And sin' I knowed him,' said another, 'I never knowed a parson as wasn't a-begging for summat or tother.' 'Ah!' says a woman who came just out of the church: 'And look at wages a comin' down, look at them rich wagerbonds as the parsons hunt and dine and drink with! So help me God, we bes more fitter to be taken into the union and starved, than pay for parsons to go abroad.' 'Why don't they,' said another, 'send them parsons as be chantering every day in Salisbury Cathedral to nobody but the bare stones, why don't *they* go?' '*They* don't go,' said the old man who spoke first, 'because they be so rich as to have so much land all over, they wants the money to send away the poor uns; I knows what they want; I been knowing them too long not to know that.' 'But my good friends,' said I, 'you surely don't go to church always and come out of it with such bitter dislike to the parsons. If you do, why go at all?' 'Why go at all?' said the woman, 'we be like to go, and we wouldn't lose everything, work and all; we be like to go.' I learned later that they 'could get a few privileges in regard to fuel and ground for potatoes' (to be paid for!) if they went to church."

After describing their poverty and ignorance, the correspondent closes by saying:

"Now I assert fearlessly that the condition of these people, their poverty, their hatred of the churches, their outward compliance with, but inward bitterness towards, its dignitaries, is the rule throughout rural England; and that anything to the contrary is the exception."[186]

If the peasantry of England shows the consequences which a numerous agricultural proletariat in connection with large farming involves for the country districts, Wales illustrates the ruin of the small holders. If the English country parishes reproduce the antagonism between capitalist and proletarian, the state of the Welsh peasantry corresponds to the progressive ruin of the small bourgeoisie in the towns. In Wales are to be found, almost exclusively, small holders, who cannot with like profit sell their products as cheaply as the larger, more favourably situated English farmers, with whom, however, they are obliged to compete. Moreover, in some places the quality of the land admits of

[a] The pen-name of Alexander Somerville.—*Ed.*

the raising of livestock only, which is but slightly profitable. Then, too, these Welsh farmers, by reason of their separate nationality, which they retain pertinaciously, are much more stationary than the English farmers. But the competition among themselves and with their English neighbours (and the increased mortgages upon their land consequent upon this) has reduced them to such a state that they can scarcely live at all; and because they have not recognised the true cause of their wretched condition, they attribute it to all sorts of small causes, such as high tolls, etc., which do check the development of agriculture and commerce, but are taken into account as standing charges by every one who takes a holding, and are therefore really ultimately paid by the landlord. Here, too, the New Poor Law is cordially hated by the tenants, who hover in perpetual danger of coming under its sway. In 1843,[a] the famous "Rebecca" disturbances broke out among the Welsh peasantry; the men dressed in women's clothing, blackened their faces, and fell in armed crowds upon the toll-gates, destroyed them amidst great rejoicing and firing of guns, demolished the toll-keepers' houses, wrote threatening letters in the name of the imaginary "Rebecca", and once went so far as to storm the workhouse of Carmarthen. Later, when the militia was called out and the police strengthened, the peasants drew them off with wonderful skill upon false scents, demolished toll-gates at one point while the militia, lured by false signal bugles, was marching in some opposite direction; and betook themselves finally, when the police was too thoroughly reinforced, to single incendiarisms and attempts at murder. As usual, these greater crimes were the end of the movement. Many withdrew from disapproval, others from fear, and peace was restored of itself. The Government appointed a commission to investigate the affair and its causes, and there was an end of the matter. The poverty of the peasantry continues, however, and will one day, since it cannot under existing circumstances grow less, but must go on intensifying, produce more serious manifestations than these humorous Rebecca masquerades.

If England illustrates the results of the system of farming on a large scale and Wales on a small one, Ireland exhibits the consequences of overdividing the soil. The great mass of the population of Ireland consists of small tenants who occupy a sorry hut without partitions, and a potato patch just large enough to

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "In February 1843".—*Ed.*

supply them most scantily with potatoes through the winter. In consequence of the great competition which prevails among these small tenants, the rent has reached an unheard-of height, double, treble, and quadruple that paid in England. For every agricultural labourer seeks to become a tenant-farmer, and though the division of land has gone so far, there still remain numbers of labourers in competition for plots. Although in Great Britain 34,000,000 acres of land are cultivated, and in Ireland but 14,000,000; although Great Britain produces[a] agricultural products to the value of £150,000,000, and Ireland of but £36,000,000, there are in Ireland 75,000 agricultural proletarians *more* than in the neighbouring island.* How great the competition for land in Ireland must be is evident from this extraordinary disproportion, especially when one reflects that the labourers in Great Britain are living in the utmost distress. The consequence of this competition is that it is impossible for the tenants to live much better than the labourers, by reason of the high rents paid. The Irish people is thus held in crushing poverty, from which it cannot free itself under our present social conditions. These people live in the most wretched clay huts, scarcely good enough for cattle-pens, have scant food all winter long, or, as the report above quoted expresses it, they have potatoes half enough thirty weeks in the year, and the rest of the year nothing. When the time comes in the spring at which this provision reaches its end, or can no longer be used because of its sprouting, wife and children go forth to beg and tramp the country with their kettle in their hands. Meanwhile the husband, after planting potatoes for the next year, goes in search of work either in Ireland or England, and returns at the potato harvest to his family. This is the condition in which nine-tenths of the Irish country folks live. They are poor as church mice, wear the most wretched rags, and stand upon the lowest plane of intelligence possible in a half-civilised country. According to the report quoted, there are, in a population of $8^1/_2$ millions, 585,000 heads of families in a state of total destitution[b]; and according to other authorities, cited by Sheriff Alison,**

* Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for Ireland. Parliamentary Session of 1837.—*Note by Engels.*

** *Principles of Population*, vol. ii.—*Note by Engels.*

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "annually produces".—*Ed.*

[b] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the word "destitution" is given in English in brackets after the German equivalent.—*Ed.*

there are in Ireland 2,300,000 persons who could not live without public or private assistance — or 27 per cent of the whole population paupers!

The cause of this poverty lies in the existing social conditions, especially in competition here found in the form of the subdivision of the soil. Much effort has been spent in finding other causes. It has been asserted that the relation of the tenant to the landlord who lets his estate in large lots to tenants, who again have their sub-tenants, and sub-sub-tenants, in turn, so that often ten middlemen come between the landlord and the actual cultivator — it has been asserted that the shameful law which gives the landlord the right of expropriating the cultivator who may have paid his rent duly, if the first tenant fails to pay the landlord, that this law is to blame for all this poverty. But all this determines only the form in which the poverty manifests itself. Make the small tenant a landowner himself and what follows? The majority could not live upon their holdings even if they had no rent to pay, and any slight improvement which might take place would be lost again in a few years in consequence of the rapid increase of population. The children would then live to grow up under the improved conditions who now die in consequence of poverty in early childhood. From another side comes the assertion that the shameless oppression inflicted by the English is the cause of the trouble. It is the cause of the somewhat earlier appearance of this poverty, but not of the poverty itself. Or the blame is laid on the Protestant Church forced upon a Catholic nation; but divide among the Irish what the Church takes from them, and it does not reach six shillings[a] a head. Besides, tithes are a tax upon landed property, not upon the tenant, though he may nominally pay them; now, since the Commutation Bill of 1838,[187] the landlord pays the tithes directly and reckons so much higher rent, so that the tenant is none the better off. And in the same way a hundred other causes of this poverty are brought forward, all proving as little as these. This poverty is the result of our social conditions; apart from these, causes may be found for the manner in which it manifests itself, but not for the fact of its existence. That poverty manifests itself in Ireland thus and not otherwise, is owing to the character of the people, and to their historical development. The Irish are a people related in their whole character to the Latin nations, to the French, and especially to the Italians. The bad features of their character we have already had

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "two talers".—*Ed.*

depicted by Carlyle. Let us now hear an Irishman,[a] who at least comes nearer to the truth than Carlyle, with his prejudice in favour of the Teutonic character*:

"They are restless yet indolent, shrewd and indiscreet, impetuous, impatient and improvident, instinctively brave, thoughtlessly generous; quick to resent and forgive offences, to form and renounce friendships. With genius they are profusely gifted; with judgment sparingly."

With the Irish, feeling and passion predominate; reason must bow before them. Their sensuous, excitable nature prevents reflection and quiet, persevering activity from reaching development—such a nation is utterly unfit for manufacture as now conducted. Hence they held fast to agriculture, and remained upon the lowest plane even of that. With the small subdivisions of land, which were not here artificially created, as in France and on the Rhine, by the division of great estates,** but have existed from time immemorial, an improvement of the soil by the investment of capital was not to be thought of; and it would, according to Alison, require 120 million pounds sterling to bring the soil up to the not very high state of fertility already attained in England. The English immigration, which might have raised the standard of Irish civilisation, has contented itself with the most brutal plundering of the Irish people; and while the Irish, by their immigration into England, have furnished England a leaven which will produce its own results in the future, they have little for which to be thankful to the English immigration.

The attempts of the Irish to save themselves from their present ruin, on the one hand, take the form of crimes. These are the order of the day in the agricultural districts, and are nearly always directed against the most immediate enemies, the landlords' agents, or their obedient servants, the Protestant intruders, whose large farms are made up of the potato patches of hundreds of ejected families. Such crimes are especially frequent in the South and West. On the other hand, the Irish hope for relief by means of the agitation for the repeal of the Legislative Union with England.[188] From all the foregoing, it is clear that the uneducated

* *The State of Ireland*, London, 1807; 2nd ed., 1821. Pamphlet.—*Note by Engels.*

** (1892) Mistake. Small-scale agriculture had been the prevailing form of farming ever since the Middle Ages. Thus the small peasant farms existed even before the Revolution. The only thing the latter changed was their *ownership*; that it took away from the feudal lords and transferred, directly or indirectly, to the peasants.—*Note by Engels to the German edition of 1892.*

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[a] John Wilson Croker.—*Ed.*

Irish must see in the English their worst enemies; and their first hope of improvement in the conquest of national independence. But quite as clear is it, too, that Irish distress cannot be removed by any Act of Repeal. Such an Act would, however, at once lay bare the fact that the cause of Irish misery, which now seems to come from abroad, is really to be found at home. Meanwhile, it is an open question whether the accomplishment of repeal will be necessary to make this clear to the Irish. Hitherto, neither Chartism nor Socialism has had marked success in Ireland.

I close my observations upon Ireland at this point the more readily, as the Repeal Agitation of 1843 and O'Connell's trial[189] have been the means of making the Irish distress more and more known in Germany.

We have now followed the proletariat of the British Islands through all branches of its activity, and found it everywhere living in want and misery under totally inhuman conditions. We have seen discontent arise with the rise of the proletariat, grow, develop, and organise; we have seen open bloodless and bloody battles of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. We have investigated the principles according to which the fate, the hopes, and fears of the proletariat are determined, and we have found that there is no prospect of improvement in their condition.

We have had an opportunity, here and there, of observing the conduct of the bourgeoisie towards the proletariat, and we have found that it considers only itself, has only its own advantage in view. However, in order not to be unjust, let us investigate its mode of action somewhat more exactly.

## THE ATTITUDE OF THE BOURGEOISIE TOWARDS THE PROLETARIAT

In speaking of the bourgeoisie I include the so-called aristocracy, for this is a privileged class, an aristocracy, only in contrast with the bourgeoisie, not in contrast with the proletariat. The proletarian sees in both only the property-holder—i.e., the bourgeois. Before the privilege of property all other privileges vanish. The sole difference is this, that the bourgeois proper stands in active relations with the manufacturing, and, in a measure, with the mining proletarians, and, as farmer, with the agricultural labourers, whereas the so-called aristocrat comes into contact with the agricultural labourer only.[a]

I have never seen a class so deeply demoralised, so incurably debased by selfishness, so corroded within, so incapable of progress, as the English bourgeoisie; and I mean by this, especially the bourgeoisie proper, particularly the Liberal, Corn Law repealing bourgeoisie. For it nothing exists in this world, except for the sake of money, itself not excluded.[b] It knows no bliss save that of rapid gain, no pain save that of losing gold.* In the presence of this

* Carlyle gives in his *Past and Present* (London, 1843) a splendid description of the English bourgeoisie and its disgusting money-greed. Part of this description I translated for the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, to which I refer the reader.—*Note by Engels*. (The last sentence is not given in the American edition of 1887 and the English edition of 1892.—*Ed.*)

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[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the end of the sentence reads: "comes into contact with part of the mining and with the argicultural labourers only".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "for it lives only to make money".—*Ed.*

avarice and lust of gain, it is not possible for a single human sentiment or opinion to remain untainted. True, these English bourgeois are good husbands and family men, and have all sorts of other private virtues, and appear, in ordinary intercourse, as decent and respectable as all other bourgeois; even in business they are better to deal with than the Germans; they do not higgle and haggle so much as our own pettifogging merchants; but how does this help matters? Ultimately it is self-interest, and especially money gain, which alone determines them. I once went into Manchester with such a bourgeois, and spoke to him of the bad, unwholesome method of building, the frightful condition of the working-people's quarters, and asserted that I had never seen so ill-built a city. The man listened quietly to the end, and said at the corner where we parted: "And yet there is a great deal of money made here[a]; good morning, sir." It is utterly indifferent to the English bourgeois whether his working-men starve or not, if only he makes money. All the conditions of life are measured by money, and what brings no money is nonsense, unpractical, idealistic bosh. Hence, Political Economy, the Science of Wealth, is the favourite study of these bartering Jews. Every one of them is a Political Economist. The relation of the manufacturer to his operatives has nothing human in it; it is purely economic. The manufacturer is Capital, the operative Labour. And if the operative will not be forced into this abstraction, if he insists that he is not Labour, but a man, who possesses, among other things, the attribute of labour-force,[b] if he takes it into his head that he need not allow himself to be sold and bought in the market, as the commodity "Labour", the bourgeois reason comes to a standstill. He cannot comprehend that he holds any other relation to the operatives than that of purchase and sale; he sees in them not human beings, but hands, as he constantly calls them to their faces; he insists, as Carlyle says, that "Cash Payment is the only nexus between man and man." Even the relation between himself and his wife is, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, mere "Cash Payment".[c] Money determines the worth of the man; he is "worth

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[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this remark is given in English followed by the German translation.—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "the ability to work" instead of "the attribute of labour-force".—*Ed.*

[c] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the sentence follows: "The shameful slavery in which money holds the bourgeoisie is imprinted even on the language through the rule of the bourgeoisie."—*Ed.*

ten thousand pounds".[a] He who has money is of "the better sort of people", is "influential", and what *he* does counts for something in his social circle. The huckstering spirit penetrates the whole language, all relations are expressed in business terms, in economic categories. Supply and demand are the formulas according to which the logic of the English bourgeois judges all human life. Hence free competition in every respect, hence the *régime* of *laissez-faire, laissez-aller*[190] in government, in medicine, in education, and soon to be in religion, too, as the State Church collapses more and more. Free competition will suffer no limitation, no State supervision; the whole State is but a burden to it. It would reach its highest perfection in a wholly ungoverned anarchic society, where each might exploit the other to his heart's content.[b] Since, however, the bourgeoisie cannot dispense with government, but must have it to hold the equally indispensable proletariat in check, it turns the power of government against the proletariat and keeps out of its way as far as possible.

Let no one believe, however, that the "cultivated" Englishman openly brags with his egotism. On the contrary, he conceals it under the vilest hypocrisy. What? The wealthy English fail to remember the poor? They who have founded philanthropic institutions, such as no other country can boast of! Philanthropic institutions forsooth! As though you rendered the proletarians a service in first sucking out their very life-blood and then practising your self-complacent, Pharisaic philanthropy upon them, placing yourselves before the world as mighty benefactors of humanity when you give back to the plundered victims the hundredth part of what belongs to them! Charity which degrades him who gives more than him who takes; charity which treads the downtrodden still deeper in the dust, which demands that the degraded, the pariah cast out by society, shall first surrender the last that remains to him, his very claim to manhood, shall first beg for mercy before your mercy deigns to press, in the shape of an alms, the brand of degradation upon his brow. But let us hear the English bourgeoisie's own words. It is not yet a year since I read in the *Manchester Guardian* the following letter to the editor, which

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[a] The German edition of 1845 and 1892 have here "i.e., he owns that much". The expressions "he is worth ten thousand pounds", "the better sort of people", and "influential", are given in English with their German equivalents.—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "as, e.g., in friend Stirner's 'society'".—*Ed.*

was published without comment as a perfectly natural, reasonable thing:

"MR. EDITOR,—For some time past our main streets are haunted by swarms of beggars, who try to awaken the pity of the passers-by in a most shameless and annoying manner, by exposing their tattered clothing, sickly aspect, and disgusting wounds and deformities. I should think that when one not only pays the poor-rate, but also contributes largely to the charitable institutions, one had done enough to earn a right to be spared such disagreeable and impertinent molestations. And why else do we pay such high rates for the maintenance of the municipal police, if they do not even protect us so far as to make it possible to go to or out of town in peace? I hope the publication of these lines in your widely-circulated paper may induce the authorities to remove this nuisance; and I remain,—Your obedient servant,

*"A Lady."*

There you have it! The English bourgeoisie is charitable out of self-interest; it gives nothing outright, but regards its gifts as a business matter, makes a bargain with the poor, saying: "If I spend this much upon benevolent institutions, I thereby purchase the right not to be troubled any further, and you are bound thereby to stay in your dusky holes and not to irritate my tender nerves by exposing your misery. You shall despair as before, but you shall despair unseen, this I require, this I purchase with my subscription of twenty pounds for the infirmary!" It is infamous, this charity of a Christian bourgeois! And so writes "A Lady"; she does well to sign herself such, well that she has lost the courage to call herself a woman! But if the "Ladies" are such as this, what must the "Gentlemen" be? It will be said that this is a single case; but no, the foregoing letter expresses the temper of the great majority of the English bourgeoisie, or the editor would not have accepted it, and some reply would have been made to it, which I watched for in vain in the succeeding numbers. And as to the efficiency of this philanthropy, Canon Parkinson himself says[a] that the poor are relieved much more by the poor than by the bourgeoisie; and such relief given by an honest proletarian who knows himself what it is to be hungry, for whom sharing his scanty meal is really a sacrifice, but a sacrifice borne with pleasure, such help has a wholly different ring to it from the carelessly-tossed alms of the luxurious bourgeois.

In other respects, too, the bourgeoisie assumes a hypocritical, boundless philanthropy, but only when its own interests require it; as in its Politics and Political Economy. It has been at work now

[a] R. Parkinson, *On the Present Condition of the Labouring Poor in Manchester.—Ed.*

well on towards five years to prove to the working-men that it strives to abolish the Corn Laws solely in their interest. But the long and short of the matter is this: the Corn Laws keep the price of bread higher than in other countries, and thus raise wages; but these high wages render difficult competition of the manufacturers against other nations in which bread, and consequently wages, are cheaper. The Corn Laws being repealed, the price of bread falls, and wages gradually approach those of other European countries, as must be clear to every one from our previous exposition of the principles according to which wages are determined. The manufacturer can compete more readily, the demand for English goods increases, and, with it, the demand for labour. In consequence of this increased demand wages would actually rise somewhat, and the unemployed workers be re-employed; but for how long? The "surplus population" of England, and especially of Ireland, is sufficient to supply English manufacture with the necessary operatives, even if it were doubled; and, in a few years, the small advantage of the repeal of the Corn Laws would be balanced, a new crisis would follow, and we should be back at the point from which we started, while the first stimulus to manufacture would have increased population meanwhile. All this the proletarians understand very well, and have told the manufacturers to their faces; but, in spite of that, the manufacturers have in view solely the immediate advantage which the repeal of the Corn Laws would bring them. They are too narrow-minded to see that, even for themselves, no permanent advantage can arise from this measure, because their competition with each other would soon force the profit of the individual back to its old level; and thus they continue to shriek to the working-men that it is purely for the sake of the starving millions that the rich members of the Liberal party pour hundreds and thousands of pounds into the treasury of the Anti-Corn Law League, while every one knows that they are only sending the butter after the cheese, that they calculate upon earning it all back in the first ten years after the repeal of the Corn Laws.[a] But the workers are no longer to be misled by the bourgeoisie, especially since the insurrection of 1842. They demand of every one who presents himself as interested in their welfare, that he should declare himself in favour of the People's Charter as proof of the sincerity of his professions, and in so

[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the end of the sentence reads: "upon earning it all back ten- and a hundredfold in the first years after the repeal of the Corn Laws".—*Ed.*

doing, they protest against all outside help, for the Charter is a demand for the power to help themselves. Whoever declines so to declare himself they pronounce their enemy, and are perfectly right in so doing, whether he be a declared foe or a false friend. Besides, the Anti-Corn Law League has used the most despicable falsehoods and tricks to win the support of the workers. It has tried to prove to them that the money price of labour is in inverse proportion to the price of corn; that wages are high when grain is cheap, and vice versa, an assertion which it pretends to prove with the most ridiculous arguments, and one which is, in itself, more ridiculous than any other that has proceeded from the mouth of an Economist. When this failed to help matters, the workers were promised bliss supreme in consequence of the increased demand in the labour market; indeed, men went so far as to carry through the streets two models of loaves of bread, on one of which, by far the larger, was written: "American Eightpenny Loaf, Wages Four Shillings per Day", and upon the much smaller one: "English Eightpenny Loaf, Wages Two Shillings a Day". But the workers have not allowed themselves to be misled. They know their lords and masters too well.

But rightly to measure the hypocrisy of these promises, the practice of the bourgeoisie must be taken into account. We have seen in the course of our report how the bourgeoisie exploits the proletariat in every conceivable way for its own benefit! We have, however, hitherto seen only how the single bourgeois maltreats the proletariat upon his own account. Let us turn now to the manner in which the bourgeoisie as a party, as the power of the State, conducts itself towards the proletariat.[a] Laws are necessary only because there are persons in existence who own nothing; and although this is directly expressed in but few laws, as, for instance, those against vagabonds and tramps, in which the proletariat as such is outlawed, yet enmity to the proletariat is so emphatically the basis of the law that the judges, and especially the Justices of the Peace, who are bourgeois themselves, and with whom the proletariat comes most in contact, find this meaning in the laws without further consideration. If a rich man is brought up, or rather summoned, to appear before the court, the judge regrets that he is obliged to impose so much trouble, treats the matter as favourably as possible, and, if he is forced to condemn the

[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the sentence follows "It is quite obvious that all legislation is calculated to protect those who possess property against those who do not."—*Ed.*

accused, does so with extreme regret, etc., etc., and the end of it all is a miserable fine, which the bourgeois throws upon the table with contempt and then departs. But if a poor devil gets into such a position as involves appearing before the Justice of the Peace — he has almost always spent the night in the station-house with a crowd of his peers — he is regarded from the beginning as guilty; his defence is set aside with a contemptuous "Oh! we know the excuse", and a fine imposed which he cannot pay and must work out with several months on the treadmill. And if nothing can be proved against him, he is sent to the treadmill, none the less, "as a rogue and a vagabond".[a] The partisanship of the Justices of the Peace, especially in the country, surpasses all description, and it is so much the order of the day that all cases which are not too utterly flagrant are quietly reported by the newspapers, without comment. Nor is anything else to be expected. For on the one hand, these Dogberries do merely construe the law according to the intent of the farmers,[b] and, on the other, they are themselves bourgeois, who see the foundation of all true order in the interests of their class. And the conduct of the police corresponds to that of the Justices of the Peace. The bourgeois may do what he will and the police remain ever polite, adhering strictly to the law, but the proletarian is roughly, brutally treated; his poverty both casts the suspicion of every sort of crime upon him and cuts him off from legal redress against any caprice of the administrators of the law; for him, therefore, the protecting forms of the law do not exist, the police force their way into his house without further ceremony, arrest and abuse him; and only when a working-men's association, such as the miners, engages a Roberts, does it become evident how little the protective side of the law exists for the working-man, how frequently he has to bear all the burdens of the law without enjoying its benefits.

Down to the present hour, the property-holding class in Parliament still struggles against the better feelings of those not yet fallen a prey to egotism, and seeks to subjugate the proletariat still further. One piece of common land after another is appropriated and placed under cultivation, a process by which the general cultivation is furthered, but the proletariat greatly injured. Where there were still commons, the poor could pasture an ass, a pig, or

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give "a rogue and a vagabond" in English in brackets followed by the remark: "these words almost always go together". —*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "construe the law according to its original meaning".—*Ed.*

geese, the children and young people had a place where they could play and live out of doors; but this is gradually coming to an end. The earnings of the worker are less, and the young people, deprived of their play-ground, go to the beer-shops. A mass of acts for enclosing and cultivating commons is passed at every session of Parliament. When the Government determined during the session of 1844 to force the all monopolising railways to make travelling possible for the workers by means of charges proportionate to their means, a penny a mile,[a] and proposed therefore to introduce such a third class train upon every railway daily, the "Reverend Father in God", the Bishop of London, proposed that Sunday, the only day upon which working-men in work *can* travel, be exempted from this rule, and travelling thus be left open to the rich and shut off from the poor. This proposition was, however, too direct, too undisguised to pass through Parliament, and was dropped. I have no room to enumerate the many concealed attacks of even one single session upon the proletariat. One from the session of 1844 must suffice. An obscure member of Parliament, a Mr. Miles, proposed a bill regulating the relation of master and servant which seemed comparatively unobjectionable. The Government became interested in the bill, and it was referred to a committee. Meanwhile the strike among the miners in the North broke out, and Roberts made his triumphal passage through England with his acquitted working-men. When the bill was reported by the committee, it was discovered that certain most despotic provisions had been interpolated in it, especially one conferring upon the employer the power to bring before any[b] Justice of the Peace every working-man who had contracted verbally or in writing to do any work whatsoever, in case of refusal to work or other misbehaviour, and have him condemned to prison with hard labour for two months, upon the oath of the employer or his agent or overlooker, i.e., upon the oath of the accuser. This bill aroused the working-men to the utmost fury, the more so as the Ten Hours' Bill was before Parliament at the same time, and had called forth a considerable agitation. Hundreds of meetings were held, hundreds of working-men's petitions forwarded to London to Thomas Duncombe, the representative of the interests of the proletariat. This man was, except Ferrand, the

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "about 5 silver groschen a German mile".—*Ed.*

[b] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the words "any" here and "misbehaviour" below are given in English in brackets after the corresponding German words.—*Ed.*

representative of "Young England",[191] the only vigorous opponent of the bill; but when the other Radicals saw that the people were declaring against it, one after the other crept forward and took his place by Duncombe's side; and as the Liberal bourgeoisie had not the courage to defend the bill in the face of the excitement among the working-men,[a] it was ignominiously lost.

Meanwhile the most open declaration of war of the bourgeoisie upon the proletariat is Malthus' Law of Population and the New Poor Law framed in accordance with it. We have already alluded several times to the theory of Malthus. We may sum up its final result in these few words, that the earth is perennially over-populated, whence poverty, misery, distress, and immorality must prevail; that it is the lot, the eternal destiny of mankind, to exist in too great numbers, and therefore in diverse classes, of which some are rich, educated, and moral, and others more or less poor, distressed, ignorant, and immoral. Hence it follows in practice, and Malthus himself drew this conclusion, that charities and poor-rates are, properly speaking, nonsense, since they serve only to maintain, and stimulate the increase of, the surplus population whose competition crushes down wages for the employed; that the employment of the poor by the Poor Law Guardians is equally unreasonable, since only a fixed quantity of the products of labour can be consumed, and for every unemployed labourer thus furnished employment, another hitherto employed must be driven into enforced idleness, whence private undertakings suffer at cost of Poor Law industry; that, in other words, the whole problem is not how to support the surplus population, but how to restrain it as far as possible. Malthus declares in plain English that the right to live, a right previously asserted in favour of every man in the world, is nonsense. He quotes the words of a poet, that the poor man comes to the feast of Nature and finds no cover laid for him, and adds that "she bids him begone",[b] for he did not before his birth ask of society whether or not he is welcome.[c] This is now the pet theory of all genuine English bourgeois, and very naturally, since it is the most specious excuse for them, and has, moreover, a good deal of truth in it under existing conditions. If, then, the problem is not to make the "surplus population" useful, to

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "and as nobody had any lively interest in defending it against the people", etc.—*Ed.*

[b] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this English phrase is given in brackets after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

[c] Th. R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population.*—*Ed.*

transform it into available population, but merely to let it starve to death in the least objectionable way and to prevent its having too many children, this, of course, is simple enough, provided the surplus population perceives its own superfluousness and takes kindly to starvation. There is, however, in spite of the violent exertions of the humane bourgeoisie, no immediate prospect of its succeeding in bringing about such a disposition among the workers. The workers have taken it into their heads that they, with their busy hands, are the necessary, and the rich capitalists, who do nothing, the surplus population.

Since, however, the rich hold all the power, the proletarians must submit, if they will not good-temperedly perceive it for themselves, to have the law actually declare them superfluous. This has been done by the New Poor Law. The Old Poor Law which rested upon the Act of 1601 (the 43rd of Elizabeth), naively started from the notion that it is the duty of the parish to provide for the maintenance of the poor. Whoever had no work received relief, and the poor man regarded the parish as pledged to protect him from starvation. He demanded his weekly relief as his right, not as a favour, and this became, at last, too much for the bourgeoisie. In 1833, when the bourgeoisie had just come into power through the Reform Bill, and pauperism in the country districts had just reached its full development, the bourgeoisie began the reform of the Poor Law according to its own point of view. A commission was appointed, which investigated the administration of the Poor Laws, and revealed a multitude of abuses. It was discovered that the whole working-class in the country was pauperised and more or less dependent upon the rates, from which they received relief when wages were low; it was found that this system by which the unemployed were maintained, the ill-paid and the parents of large families relieved, fathers of illegitimate children required to pay alimony, and poverty, in general, recognised as needing protection, it was found that this system was ruining the nation, was—

"a check to industry, a reward for improvident marriages, a stimulant to population, and a blind to its effects on wages;' a national institution for discountenancing the industrious and honest, and for protecting the idle, the improvident and the vicious; the destroyer" of the bonds of family life; "a system for preventing the accumulation of capital, for destroying that which exists, and for reducing the rate-payer to pauperism; and a premium for illegitimate children" in the provision of aliment. (Words of the Report of the Poor Law Commissioners.)*

* Extracts from Information received from the Poor Law Commissioners. Published by authority. London, 1833.—*Note by Engels.*

This description of the action of the Old Poor Law is certainly correct; relief fosters laziness and increase of "surplus population". Under present social conditions it is perfectly clear that the poor man is compelled to be an egotist, and when he can choose, living equally well in either case, he prefers doing nothing to working. But what follows therefrom? That our present social conditions are good for nothing, and not as the Malthusian Commissioners conclude, that poverty is a crime, and, as such, to be visited with heinous penalties which may serve as a warning to others.[a]

But these wise Malthusians were so thoroughly convinced of the infallibility of their theory that they did not for one moment hesitate to cast the poor into the Procrustean bed of their economic notions and treat them with the most revolting cruelty. Convinced with Malthus and the rest of the adherents of free competition that it is best to let each one take care of himself,[b] they would have preferred to abolish the Poor Laws altogether. Since, however, they had neither the courage nor the authority to do this, they proposed a Poor Law constructed as far as possible in harmony with the doctrine of Malthus, which is yet more barbarous than that of *laissez-faire*, because it interferes actively in cases in which the latter is passive. We have seen how Malthus characterises poverty, or rather the want of employment, as a crime under the title "superfluity", and recommends for it punishment by starvation. The commissioners were not quite so barbarous; death outright by starvation was something too terrible even for a Poor Law Commissioner. "Good," said they, "we grant you poor a right to exist, but only to exist; the right to multiply you have not, nor the right to exist as befits human beings. You are a pest, and if we cannot get rid of you as we do of other pests, you shall feel, at least, that you are a pest, and you shall at least be held in check, kept from bringing into the world other 'surplus', either directly or through inducing in others laziness and want of employment. Live you shall, but live as an awful warning to all those who might have inducements to become 'superfluous'."

They accordingly brought in the New Poor Law, which was passed by Parliament in 1834, and continues in force down to the present day. All relief in money and provisions was abolished; the

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 word the end of the sentence as follows: "that poverty should be treated as a crime according to the theory of determent".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "to pursue a consistent *laissez-faire* policy".—*Ed.*

only relief allowed was admission to the workhouses immediately built. The regulations for these workhouses, or, as the people call them, Poor Law Bastilles,[a] is such as to frighten away every one who has the slightest prospect of life without this form of public charity. To make sure that relief be applied for only in the most extreme cases and after every other effort had failed, the workhouse has been made the most repulsive residence which the refined ingenuity of a Malthusian can invent. The food is worse than that of the most ill-paid working-man while employed, and the work harder, or they might prefer the workhouse to their wretched existence outside. Meat, especially fresh meat, is rarely furnished, chiefly potatoes, the worst possible bread and oatmeal porridge, little or no beer. The food of criminal prisoners is better, as a rule, so that the paupers frequently commit some offence for the purpose of getting into jail. For the workhouse is a jail too; he who does not finish his task gets nothing to eat; he who wishes to go out must ask permission, which is granted or not, according to his behaviour or the inspector's whim; tobacco is forbidden, also the receipt of gifts from relatives or friends outside the house; the paupers wear a workhouse uniform, and are handed over, helpless and without redress, to the caprice of the inspectors. To prevent their labour from competing with that of outside concerns, they are set to rather useless tasks: the men break stones, "as much as a strong man can accomplish with effort in a day"; the women, children, and aged men pick oakum, for I know not what insignificant use. To prevent the "superfluous" from multiplying, and "demoralised" parents from influencing their children, families are broken up; the husband is placed in one wing, the wife in another, the children in a third, and they are permitted to see one another only at stated times after long intervals, and then only when they have, in the opinion of the officials, behaved well. And in order to shut off the external world from contamination by pauperism within these bastilles, the inmates are permitted to receive visits only with the consent of the officials, and in the reception-rooms; to communicate in general with the world outside only by leave and under supervision.

Yet the food is supposed to be wholesome and the treatment humane with all this. But the intent of the law is too loudly outspoken for this requirement to be in any wise fulfilled. The Poor Law Commissioners and the whole English bourgeoisie

[a] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the words "workhouses" and "Poor Law Bastilles" are given in brackets following their German equivalents.—*Ed.*

deceive themselves if they believe the administration of the law possible without these results. The treatment, which the letter of the law prescribes, is in direct contradiction of its spirit. If the law in its essence proclaims the poor criminals, the workhouses prisons, their inmates beyond the pale of the law, beyond the pale of humanity, objects of disgust and repulsion, then all commands to the contrary are unavailing. In practice, the spirit and not the letter of the law is followed in the treatment of the poor, as in the following few examples[192]:

In the workhouse at Greenwich, in the summer of 1843, a boy five years old was punished by being shut into the dead-room,[a] where he had to sleep upon the lids of the coffins. In the workhouse at Herne, the same punishment was inflicted upon a little girl for wetting the bed at night, and this method of punishment seems to be a favourite one. This workhouse, which stands in one of the most beautiful regions of Kent, is peculiar, in so far as its windows open only upon the court, and but two, newly introduced, afford the inmates a glimpse of the outer world. The author who relates this in the *Illuminated Magazine*,[b] closes his description with the words:

"If God punished men for crimes as man punishes man for poverty, then woe to the sons of Adam!"[193]

In November, 1843, a man died at Leicester, who had been dismissed two days before from the workhouse at Coventry. The details of the treatment of the poor in this institution are revolting. The man, George Robson, had a wound upon the shoulder, the treatment of which was wholly neglected; he was set to work at the pump, using the sound arm; was given only the usual workhouse fare, which he was utterly unable to digest by reason of the unhealed wound and his general debility; he naturally grew weaker, and the more he complained, the more brutally he was treated. When his wife[c] tried to bring him her drop of beer, she was reprimanded, and forced to drink it herself in the presence of the female warder. He became ill, but received no better treatment. Finally, at his own request, and under the most insulting epithets, he was discharged, accompanied by his wife. Two days later he died at Leicester, in consequence of the

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "for three nights".—*Ed.*

[b] Douglas Jerrold.—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "who was also in the workhouse".—*Ed.*

neglected wound and of the food given him, which was utterly indigestible for one in his condition, as the surgeon present at the inquest testified. When he was discharged, there were handed to him letters containing money, which had been kept back six weeks, and opened, according to a rule of the establishment, by the inspector! In Birmingham such scandalous occurrences took place, that finally, in 1843,[a] an official was sent to investigate the case. He found that four tramps[b] had been shut up naked under a stair-case in a black hole, eight to ten days, often deprived of food until noon, and that at the severest season of the year. A little boy had been passed through all grades of punishment known to the institution; first locked up in a damp, vaulted, narrow, lumber-room; then in the dog-hole twice, the second time three days and three nights; then the same length of time in the old dog-hole, which was still worse; then the tramp-room, a stinking, disgustingly filthy hole, with wooden sleeping stalls, where the official, in the course of his inspection, found two other tattered boys, shrivelled with cold, who had been spending three days there. In the dog-hole there were often seven, and in the tramp-room, twenty men huddled together. Women, also, were placed in the dog-hole, because they refused to go to church and one was shut four days into the tramp-room, with God knows what sort of company, and that while she was ill and receiving medicine! Another woman was placed in the insane department for punishment, though she was perfectly sane. In the workhouse at Bacton, in Suffolk, in January, 1844, a similar investigation revealed the fact that a feeble-minded woman was employed as nurse, and took care of the patients accordingly[c]; while sufferers, who were often restless at night, or tried to get up, were tied fast with cords passed over the covering and under the bedstead, to save the nurses the trouble of sitting up at night. One patient was found dead, bound in this way. In the St. Pancras workhouse in London (where the cheap shirts already mentioned are made[d]), an epileptic died of suffocation during an attack in bed, no one coming to his relief; in the same house, four to six, sometimes eight children, slept in one bed. In

[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "in December 1843".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 note here in brackets that this word ("trampers" in the German original) was explained above. (See p. 504 of this volume.) The words "black hole" are also given in English in brackets after the German équivalent.—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "was employed as nurse and did all sorts of inconceivable things to the patients".—*Ed.*

[d] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 do not have the words: "already mentioned" (the reference is to p. 499 of this volume).—*Ed.*

Shoreditch workhouse a man was placed, together with a fever patient violently ill, in a bed teeming with vermin. In Bethnal Green workhouse, London, a woman in the sixth month of pregnancy was shut up in the reception-room with her two-year-old child, from February 28th to March 19th, without being admitted into the workhouse itself, and without a trace of a bed or the means of satisfying the most natural wants. Her husband, who was brought into the workhouse, begged to have his wife released from this imprisonment, whereupon he received twenty-four hours imprisonment, with bread and water, as the penalty of his insolence. In the workhouse at Slough, near Windsor, a man lay dying in September, 1844. His wife journeyed to him, arriving at midnight; and hastening to the workhouse, was refused admission. She was not permitted to see her husband until the next morning,[a] and then only in the presence of a female warder, who forced herself upon the wife at every succeeding visit, sending her away at the end of half-an-hour. In the workhouse at Middleton, in Lancashire, twelve, and at times eighteen, paupers, of both sexes, slept in one room. This institution is not embraced by the New Poor Law, but is administered under an old special act (Gilbert's Act[194]). The inspector had instituted a brewery in the house for his own benefit. In Stockport, July 31st, 1844, a man, seventy-two years old, was brought before the Justice of the Peace for refusing to break stones, and insisting that, by reason of his age and a stiff knee, he was unfit for this work. In vain did he offer to undertake any work adapted to his physical strength; he was sentenced to two weeks upon the treadmill. In the workhouse at Basford, an inspecting official found[b] that the sheets had not been changed in thirteen weeks, shirts in four weeks, stockings in two to ten months, so that of forty-five boys but three had stockings, and all their shirts were in tatters. The beds swarmed with vermin, and the tableware was washed in the slop-pails. In the west of London workhouse, a porter who had infected four girls with syphilis was not discharged, and another who had concealed a deaf and dumb girl four days and nights in his bed was also retained.

As in life, so in death. The poor are dumped into the earth like infected cattle. The pauper burial-ground of St. Brides, London, is a bare morass, in use as a cemetery since the time of Charles II., and filled with heaps of bones; every Wednesday the paupers are

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "and then only for half-an-hour".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "in February 1844".—*Ed.*

thrown into a ditch fourteen feet deep; a curate rattles through the Litany at the top of his speed; the ditch is loosely covered in, to be reopened the next Wednesday, and filled with corpses as long as one more can be forced in. The putrefaction thus engendered contaminates the whole neighbourhood. In Manchester, the pauper burial-ground lies opposite to the Old Town, along the Irk; this, too, is a rough, desolate place. About two years ago a railroad was carried through it. If it had been a respectable cemetery, how the bourgeoisie and the clergy would have shrieked over the desecration! But it was a pauper burial-ground, the resting-place of the outcast and superfluous, so no one concerned himself about the matter. It was not even thought worth while to convey the partially decayed bodies to the other side of the cemetery; they were heaped up just as it happened, and piles were driven into newly made graves, so that the water oozed out of the swampy ground, pregnant with putrefying matter, and filled the neighbourhood with the most revolting and injurious gases. The disgusting brutality which accompanied this work I cannot describe in further detail.

Can any one wonder that the poor decline to accept public relief under these conditions? That they starve rather than enter these bastilles? I have the reports of five cases in which persons actually starving, when the guardians refused them outdoor relief, went back to their miserable homes and died of starvation rather than enter these hells. Thus far have the Poor Law Commissioners attained their object. At the same time, however, the workhouses have intensified, more than any other measure of the party in power, the hatred of the working-class against the property-holders, who very generally admire the New Poor Law.

From Newcastle to Dover, there is but one voice among the workers—the voice of hatred against the new law. The bourgeoisie has formulated so clearly in this law its conception of its duties towards the proletariat, that it has been appreciated even by the dullest. So frankly, so boldly has the conception never yet been formulated, that the non-possessing class exists solely for the purpose of being exploited, and of starving when the property-holders can no longer make use of it. Hence it is that this New Poor Law has contributed so greatly to accelerate the labour movement, and especially to spread Chartism; and, as it is carried out most extensively in the country, it facilitates the development of the proletarian movement which is arising in the agricultural districts.

Let me add that a similar law in force in Ireland since 1838, affords a similar refuge for eighty thousand paupers. Here, too, it

has made itself disliked, and would have been intensely hated if it had attained anything like the same importance as in England. But what difference does the ill-treatment of eighty thousand proletarians make in a country in which there are two and a half millions of them? In Scotland there are, with local exceptions, no Poor Laws.

I hope that after this picture of the New Poor Law and its results, no word which I have said of the English bourgeoisie will be thought too stern. In this public measure, in which it acts *in corpore* as the ruling power, it formulates its real intentions, reveals the animus of those smaller transactions with the proletariat, of which the blame apparently attaches to individuals. And that this measure did not originate with any one section of the bourgeoisie, but enjoys the approval of the whole class, is proved by the Parliamentary debates of 1844. The Liberal party had enacted the New Poor Law; the Conservative party, with its Prime Minister Peel at the head, defends it, and only alters some pettifogging trifles in the Poor Law Amendment Bill of 1844. A Liberal majority carried the bill, a Conservative majority approved it, and the "Noble Lords" gave their consent each time. Thus is the expulsion of the proletariat from State and society outspoken, thus is it publicly proclaimed that proletarians are not human beings, and do not deserve to be treated as such. Let us leave it to the proletarians of the British Empire to reconquer their human rights.*

* To prevent misconstructions and consequent objections, I would observe that I have spoken of the bourgeoisie as a *class*, and that all such facts as refer to individuals serve merely as evidence of the way of thinking and acting of a *class*. Hence I have not entered upon the distinctions between the diverse sections, subdivisions and parties of the bourgeoisie, which have a mere historical and theoretical significance. And I can, for the same reason, mention but casually the few members of the bourgeoisie who have shown themselves honourable exceptions. These are, on the one hand, the pronounced Radicals, who are almost Chartists, such as a few members of the House of Commons, the manufacturers Hindley of Ashton, and Fielden of Todmorden (Lancashire), and, on the other hand, the philanthropic Tories, who have recently constituted themselves "Young England", among whom are the Members of Parliament, Disraeli, Borthwick, Ferrand, Lord John Manners, etc., Lord Ashley, too, is in sympathy with them. The hope of "Young England" is a restoration of the old "merry England" with its brilliant features and its romantic feudalism. This object is of course unattainable and ridiculous, a satire upon all historic development; but the good intention, the courage to resist the existing state of things and prevalent prejudices, and to recognise the vileness of our present condition, is worth something anyhow. Wholly isolated is the half-German Englishman, Thomas Carlyle, who, originally a Tory, goes beyond all those hitherto mentioned. He has sounded the social disorder more deeply than any other English bourgeois, and demands the organisation of labour.

Such is the state of the British working-class as I have come to know it in the course of twenty-one months, through the medium of my own eyes, and through official and other trustworthy reports. And when I call this condition, as I have frequently enough done in the foregoing pages, an utterly unbearable one, I am not alone in so doing. As early as 1833, Gaskell declared that he despaired of a peaceful issue, and that a revolution can hardly fail to follow. In 1838, Carlyle explained Chartism and the revolutionary activity of the working-men as arising out of the misery in which they live, and only wondered that they have sat so quietly eight long years at the Barmecide feast,[195] at which they have been regaled by the Liberal bourgeoisie with empty promises. And in 1844 he declared that the work of organising labour must be begun at once

> "if Europe, at any rate if England, is to continue inhabitable much longer."[a]

And the *Times*, the "first journal of Europe", said in June, 1844:

> "War to the mansion, peace to the cottage—is a watchword of terror which may yet ring through the land. Let the wealthy beware!"[196]

Meanwhile, let us review once more the chances of the English bourgeoisie.[b] In the worst case, foreign manufacture, especially that of America, may succeed in withstanding English competition, even after the repeal of the Corn Laws, inevitable in the course of a few years. German manufacture is now making great efforts, and that of America has developed with giant strides. America, with its inexhaustible resources, with its unmeasured coal and iron fields, with its unexampled wealth of water-power and its navigable rivers, but especially with its energetic, active population, in comparison with which the English are phlegmatic dawdlers,—America has in less than ten years created a manufacture

I hope that Carlyle, who has found the right path, will be capable of following it. He has my best wishes and those of many other Germans.— *Note by Engels.* (The last two sentences were omitted in the American edition of 1887 and the English edition of 1892.—*Ed.*)

(1892) But the February Revolution made him an out-and-out reactionary. His righteous wrath against the Philistines turned into sullen Philistine grumbling at the tide of history that cast him ashore.—*Added by Engels to the German edition of 1892.*

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[a] T. Carlyle, *Past and Present.*—*Ed.*

[b] In the German edition of 1845 the concluding section does not begin with this passage, but with the first paragraph on this page. In the German edition of 1892 it is not separated at all from the rest.—*Ed.*

which already competes with England in the coarser cotton goods,[a] has excluded the English from the markets of North and South America, and holds its own in China, side by side with England.[b] If any country is adapted to holding a monopoly of manufacture, it is America. Should English manufacture be thus vanquished—and in the course of the next twenty years, if the present conditions remain unchanged, this is inevitable—the majority of the proletariat must become forever superfluous, and has no other choice than to starve or to rebel. Does the English bourgeoisie reflect upon this contingency? On the contrary; its favourite economist, McCulloch, teaches from his student's desk, that a country so young as America, which is not even properly populated, cannot carry on manufacture successfully or dream of competing with an old manufacturing country like England. It were madness in the Americans to make the attempt, for they could only lose by it; better far for them to stick to their agriculture, and when they have brought their whole territory under the plough, a time may perhaps come for carrying on manufacture with a profit. So says the wise economist, and the whole bourgeoisie worships him, while the Americans take possession of one market after another, while a daring American speculator recently even sent a shipment of American cotton goods to England, where they were sold for re-exportation!

But assuming that England retained the monopoly of manufactures, that its factories perpetually multiply, what must be the result? The commercial crises would continue, and grow more violent, more terrible, with the extension of industry and the multiplication of the proletariat. The proletariat would increase in geometrical proportion, in consequence of the progressive ruin of the lower middle-class and the giant strides with which capital is concentrating itself in the hands of the few; and the proletariat would soon embrace the whole nation, with the exception of a few millionaires. But in this development there comes a stage at which the proletariat perceives how easily the existing power may be overthrown, and then follows a revolution.

Neither of these supposed conditions may, however, be expected to arise. The commercial crises, the mightiest levers for all independent development of the proletariat, will probably shorten

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here in brackets "the main product of English industry".—*Ed.*

[b] In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the sentence follows: "The position is the same in other branches of industry."—*Ed.*

the process, acting in concert with foreign competition and the deepening ruin of the lower middle-class. I think the people will not endure more than one more crisis. The next one, in 1846 or 1847, will probably bring with it the repeal of the Corn Laws* and the enactment of the Charter. What revolutionary movements the Charter may give rise to remains to be seen. But, by the time of the next following crisis, which, according to the analogy of its predecessors, must break out in 1852 or 1853, unless delayed perhaps by the repeal of the Corn Laws or hastened by other influences, such as foreign competition—by the time this crisis arrives, the English people will have had enough of being plundered by the capitalists and left to starve when the capitalists no longer require their services. If, up to that time, the English bourgeoisie does not pause to reflect—and to all appearance it certainly will not do so—a revolution will follow with which none hitherto known can be compared. The proletarians, driven to despair, will seize the torch which Stephens has preached to them; the vengeance of the people will come down with a wrath of which the rage of 1793 gives no true idea. The war of the poor against the rich will be the bloodiest ever waged. Even the union of a part of the bourgeoisie with the proletariat, even a general reform of the bourgeoisie, would not help matters. Besides, the change of heart of the bourgeoisie could only go as far as a lukewarm *juste-milieu*; the more determined, uniting with the workers, would only form a new Gironde, and succumb in the course of the mighty development. The prejudices of a whole class cannot be laid aside like an old coat: least of all, those of the stable, narrow, selfish English bourgeoisie. These are all inferences which may be drawn with the greatest certainty: conclusions, the premises for which are undeniable facts, partly of historical development, partly facts inherent in human nature. Prophecy is nowhere so easy as in England, where all the component elements of society are clearly defined and sharply separated. The revolution must come; it is already too late to bring about a peaceful solution; but it can be made more gently than that prophesied in the foregoing pages. This depends, however, more upon the development of the proletariat than upon that of the bourgeoisie. In proportion, as the proletariat absorbs socialistic and communistic elements, will the revolution diminish in bloodshed, revenge, and savagery. Communism stands, in principle, above the breach between

* And it did.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887* (reproduced in the English edition of 1892—*Ed.*).

bourgeoisie and proletariat, recognises only its historic significance for the present, but not its justification for the future: wishes, indeed, to bridge over this chasm, to do away with all class antagonisms[a] Hence it recognises as justified, so long as the struggle exists, the exasperation of the proletariat towards its oppressors as a necessity, as the most important lever for a labour movement just beginning; but it goes beyond this exasperation, because Communism is a question of humanity and not of the workers alone. Besides, it does not occur to any Communist to wish to revenge himself upon individuals, or to believe that, in general, the single bourgeois can act otherwise, under existing circumstances, than he does act. English Socialism, i.e., Communism, rests directly upon the irresponsibility of the individual. Thus the more the English workers absorb communistic ideas, the more superfluous becomes their present bitterness, which, should it continue so violent as at present, could accomplish nothing; and the more their action against the bourgeoisie will lose its savage cruelty. If, indeed, it were possible to make the whole proletariat communistic before the war breaks out, the end would be very peaceful; but that is no longer possible, the time has gone by. Meanwhile, I think that before the outbreak of open, declared war of the poor against the rich,[b] there will be enough intelligent comprehension of the social question among the proletariat, to enable the communistic party, with the help of events, to conquer the brutal element of the revolution and prevent a "Ninth Thermidor". In any case, the experience of the French will not have been undergone in vain, and most of the Chartist leaders are, moreover, already Communists. And as Communism stands above the strife between bourgeoisie and proletariat, it will be easier for the better elements of the bourgeoisie (which are, however, deplorably few, and can look for recruits only among the rising generation) to unite with it than with purely proletarian Chartism.

If these conclusions have not been sufficiently established in the course of the present work, there may be other opportunities for demonstrating that they are necessary consequences of the historical development of England. But this I maintain, the war of the poor against the rich now carried on in detail and indirectly will

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[a] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 do not have the phrase "to do away with all class antagonisms".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "which has now become inevitable in England".—*Ed.*

become direct and universal. It is too late for a peaceful solution. The classes are divided more and more sharply, the spirit of resistance penetrates the workers, the bitterness intensifies, the guerilla skirmishes become concentrated in more important battles, and soon a slight impulse will suffice to set the avalanche in motion. Then, indeed, will the war-cry resound through the land: "War to the mansion, peace to the cottage!"—but then it will be too late for the rich to beware.

# Frederick Engels

## Postscript to *THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING-CLASS IN ENGLAND*[197]

### AN ENGLISH TURNOUT[a]

In my book on the above subject I was unable to give factual proof of individual points. In order not to make the book too thick and indigestible, I had to consider my statements sufficiently proven when I had confirmed them by quotations from official documents, impartial writers or the writings of the parties whose interests I was attacking. This sufficed to guard me against contradiction in those cases where I was unable to speak from personal observation when describing particular living conditions. But it was not sufficient to produce in the reader the incontestable certainty which can only be given by striking, irrefutable *facts*, and which, especially in an age in which we are obliged by the infinite "wisdom of the fathers" to be sceptical, can never be generated by mere reasoning, no matter how good the authorities. Above all when it is a question of important consequences, of facts coalescing into principles, when it is not the condition of separate, small sections of the people that has to be described, but the position of whole classes in relation to each other, then facts are absolutely essential. For the reasons just mentioned, I was unable to provide these in all cases in my book. I will now make good this unavoidable deficiency and, from time to time, will present facts as I find them in the sources available to me. In order, at the same time, to demonstrate that my account is still correct today, I will only use facts which have taken place since I left England last year, and have become known to me only since my book was published.

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[a] The author gives this term in English.—*Ed.*

Readers of my book will remember that I was chiefly concerned to describe the position of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in relation to each other and the necessity of struggle between these two classes; and that I attached especial importance to proving how completely justified the proletariat was in waging this struggle, and to rebutting the English bourgeoisie's fine phrases by means of their ugly deeds. From the first page to the last, I was writing a bill of indictment against the English bourgeoisie. I will now provide a few more choice pieces of evidence. However, since I have already displayed enough passion over these English bourgeois it is not my intention to work myself up over them once again and, so far as I can, I will keep my temper.

The first good citizen and worthy *paterfamilias* we are going to meet is an old friend, or rather there are two of them. By 1843 Messrs. Pauling & Henfrey had already had Lord knows how many conflicts with their workers, who, refusing to be dissuaded even by the best of arguments from their demand that they should receive increased wages for increased work, stopped work. Pauling & Henfrey, who are important building contractors and employ many brickmakers, carpenters, and so on, took on other workers; this led to a conflict and in the end to a bloody battle with guns and cudgels in Pauling & Henfrey's brickyard, which resulted in the transportation of half a dozen workers to Van Diemen's Land,[198] all of which is dealt with at length in my book.[a] But Messrs. Pauling & Henfrey have to try something on with their workers every year, otherwise they are not happy; so they began baiting them again in October 1844. This time it was the carpenters whose well-being the philanthropic building contractors were anxious to promote. From time immemorial the custom had prevailed among the carpenters of Manchester and the surrounding area of not "striking a light" from Candlemas[b] to November 17, i.e., of working from six in the morning till six in the evening during the long days, and of starting as soon as it was light and finishing as soon as it began to get dark during the short days. Then from November 17 onwards the lights were lit and work carried on for the full time. Pauling & Henfrey, who had long had enough of this "barbaric" custom, decided to put an end to this relic of the "Dark Ages" with the help of gas lighting, and when one evening before six o'clock the carpenters could not see any longer and put away their tools and went for their coats, the foreman lit the gas

[a] See pp. 513-14 of this volume.—*Ed.*

[b] February 2.—*Ed.*

and said that they had to work till six o'clock. The carpenters, whom this did not suit, called a general meeting of the workers in their trade. Mr. Pauling, much astonished, asked his workers if they were dissatisfied about something since they had called a meeting. Some of the workers said that it was not they who were directly responsible for calling the meeting, but the committee of the craft union, to which Mr. Pauling replied that he didn't care a fig for the craft union, but he would like to put a proposition to them: if they would agree to the lights being lit he would be prepared in return to give them three hours off on Saturdays, and — generous fellow — also to allow them to work an extra quarter of an hour every day for which they would get extra pay! They on their part should work half an hour longer when all other workshops began to put on their lights. The workers considered this proposal and calculated that as a result Messrs. Pauling & Henfrey would gain a whole working hour every day during the short days, that each worker would have to work altogether 92 hours, i.e., $9^1/_4$ days extra without getting a farthing in return, and that taking into account all the workers employed by the firm, the above-named gentlemen would save £400 (2,100 taler) in wages during the winter months. So the workers held their meeting and explained to their fellow-workers that if one firm succeeded in putting this through, all the other firms would follow suit and, as a result, there would be a general indirect reduction in wages which would rob the carpenters in the district of about £4,000 a year. It was decided that on the following Monday all the carpenters employed by Pauling & Henfrey should hand in their 3-months' notice and if their employers did not change their minds, should stop work when this notice expired. The union on its part promised to support them by a general levy in the event of a stoppage of work.

On Monday, October 14, the workers went and gave in their notice, whereupon they were told that they could leave right away, which of course they did. The same evening another meeting of all the building workers took place, at which all categories of building workers pledged their support to the strikers. On the Wednesday and Thursday following, all the carpenters in the vicinity employed by Pauling & Henfrey also stopped work and the *strike* was thus in full swing.

The building employers, left so suddenly high and dry, immediately sent people out in all directions, even as far as Scotland, to recruit workers since in the whole vicinity there was not a soul willing to work for them. In a few days thirteen men did arrive

from Staffordshire. But as soon as the strikers found an opportunity of talking to them and explaining the dispute and the reasons why they had stopped work, several of the new arrivals refused to continue working. But the masters had an effective way of dealing with this: they had the recalcitrants, along with those who led them astray, brought before *Daniel Maude*, Esquire, Justice of the Peace. But before we follow them there, we must first put the virtues of Daniel Maude, Esq., in their proper light.

Daniel Maude, Esq., is the "stipendiary magistrate"[a] or paid Justice of the Peace in Manchester. The English magistrates are usually rich bourgeois or landowners, occasionally also clergymen, who are appointed by the Ministry. But since these Dogberries understand nothing about the law, they make the most flagrant blunders, bring the bourgeoisie into ridicule and do it harm, since, even when faced with a worker, they are frequently reduced to a state of confusion if he is defended by a skilful lawyer, and either neglect some legal form when sentencing him, which results in a successful appeal, or let themselves be misled into acquitting him. Besides, the rich manufacturers in the big towns and industrial areas have no time to spare for passing days of boredom in a court of law and prefer to instal a *remplacant*.[b] As a result in these towns, on the initiative of the towns themselves, paid magistrates are usually appointed, men versed in law, who are able to take advantage of all the twists and subtle distinctions of English law, and when necessary to supplement and improve it for the benefit of the bourgeoisie. Their efforts in this respect are illustrated by the following example.

Daniel Maude, Esq., is one of those liberal justices of the peace who were appointed in large numbers under the Whig Government. Among his heroic exploits, inside and outside the arena of the Manchester Borough Court,[c] we will mention two. When in 1842 the manufacturers succeeded in forcing the workers of South Lancashire into an insurrection, which broke out in Stalybridge and Ashton at the beginning of August, some 10,000 workers, with *Richard Pilling*, the Chartist, at their head, marched on August 9 from there to Manchester

"to meet their masters on the Exchange and to see how the Manchester market was".[199]

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[a] "Stipendiary magistrate" is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

[b] Substitute.—*Ed.*

[c] "Borough Court" is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

When they reached the outskirts of the town, they were met by Daniel Maude, Esq., with the whole estimable police force, a detachment of cavalry and a company of riflemen. But this was all only for the sake of appearances since it was in the interest of the manufacturers and liberals that the insurrection should spread and force the repeal of the Corn Laws. In this Daniel Maude, Esq., was in complete agreement with his worthy colleagues, and he began to come to terms with the workers and allowed them to enter the town on their promise to "keep the peace" and follow a prescribed route. He knew very well that the insurgents would not do this nor did he in the least wish them to—he could have nipped the whole contrived insurrection in the bud with a little energy but, had he done so, he would not have been acting in the interest of his Anti-Corn Law friends but in the interest of Sir Robert Peel. So he withdrew the soldiers and allowed the workers to enter the town, where they immediately brought all the factories to a standstill. But as soon as the insurrection proved to be definitely directed *against* the liberal bourgeoisie and completely ignored the "hellish Corn Laws", Daniel Maude, Esq., once more assumed his judicial office and had workers arrested by the dozen and marched off to prison without mercy for "breach of the peace"—so that he first caused the breaches and then punished them. Another characteristic feature in the career of this Manchester Solomon is revealed by the following. Since the Anti-Corn Law League was several times beaten up in public in Manchester, it holds private meetings, admission to which is by ticket only—but the decisions and petitions of which are presented to the public as those of public meetings, and as manifestations of Manchester "public opinion". In order to put a stop to this fraudulent boasting by the liberal manufacturers, three or four Chartists, among them my good friend *James Leach*, secured tickets for themselves and went to one of these meetings. When Mr. *Cobden* rose to speak, James Leach asked the Chairman whether this was a public meeting. Instead of answering, the Chairman called the police and had Leach arrested without more ado. A second Chartist asked the question again, then a third, and a fourth, all were set upon one after the other by the "bluebottles" (police) who stood massed at the door, and packed off to the Town Hall. They appeared the next morning before Daniel Maude, Esq., who was already fully informed about everything. They were charged with having caused a disturbance at a meeting, were hardly allowed to say a word, and then had to listen to a solemn speech by Daniel Maude, Esq., who told them that he

knew them, that they were political vagabonds who did nothing but cause uproar at meetings and disturb decent, law-abiding *citizens* and a stop must be put to this kind of thing. Therefore — and Daniel Maude, Esq., knew very well that he could not impose any real punishment on them — therefore, he would sentence them to pay the costs this time.

It was before this same Daniel Maude, Esq., whose bourgeois virtues we have just described, that the recalcitrant workers from Pauling & Henfrey's were hauled. But they had brought a lawyer with them as a precaution. First to be heard was the worker newly arrived from Staffordshire who had refused to continue working at a place where others had stopped work in self-defence. Messrs. Pauling & Henfrey had a written contract signed by the workers from Staffordshire, and this was submitted to the magistrate.* The defending lawyer interjected that this agreement had been signed on a Sunday and was therefore invalid. With much dignity Daniel Maude, Esq., admitted that "business transactions" concluded on a Sunday were not valid, but said that he could not believe that Messrs. Pauling & Henfrey regarded this as a "business transaction"! So without spending very much time asking the worker whether he "regarded" the document as a "business transaction", he told the poor devil that he must either continue working or amuse himself on the treadmill for three months.—O Solomon of Manchester! — After this case had been dealt with, Messrs. Pauling & Henfrey brought forward the second accused. His name was *Salmon*, and he was one of the firm's old workers who had stopped work. He was accused of having intimidated the new workers into taking part in the strike. The witness — one of these latter — stated that Salmon had taken him by the arm and spoken to him. Daniel Maude, Esq., asked whether the accused had perhaps used threats or beaten him? — No, said the witness. Daniel Maude, Esq., delighted at having found an opportunity to demonstrate his impartiality — after having just fulfilled his duty to the bourgeoisie — declared that there was nothing in the case incriminating the accused. He had every right to take a walk on the public highway and to talk to other people as long as he did not

* This contract contained the following: the worker pledged himself to work for Pauling & Henfrey for *six months* and *to be satisfied with the wages which they would give him*; but Pauling & Henfrey were not bound to keep him for six months and could dismiss him *at any moment* with a week's notice, and although Pauling & Henfrey would pay his travelling expenses from Staffordshire to Manchester, they were to recover them by a weekly deduction of 2 shillings (20 silver groschen) from his wages. How do you like that really marvellous contract?—*Note by Engels*.

indulge in intimidating words or actions—he was therefore acquitting him. But Messrs. Pauling & Henfrey had at least had the satisfaction, by paying the costs of the case, of having the said Salmon sent to the lock-up for a night—and that was something after all. Nor did Salmon's happiness last long. For after having been discharged on Thursday, October 31, he was up again before Daniel Maude, Esq., on Tuesday, November 5th, charged with having assaulted Messrs. Pauling & Henfrey in the street. On that same Thursday on which Salmon had been acquitted, a number of Scotsmen arrived in Manchester, decoyed by false statements that the disputes were over and that Pauling & Henfrey could not find enough workers in their district to cope with their extensive contracts. On the Friday a number of Scottish joiners who had been working for some time in Manchester, came to explain the cause of the stoppage to their countrymen. A large number of their fellow-workers—some 400—gathered around the inn where the Scots were quartered. But these Scotsmen were kept there like prisoners with a foreman on guard at the door. After some time, Messrs. Pauling & Henfrey arrived in order to escort in person their new workers to their place of work. When the group came out, those gathered outside called to the Scots not to take work against the Manchester rules of the trade and not to disgrace their fellow-countrymen. Two of the Scots did in fact lag behind a little and Mr. Pauling himself ran back to drag them forward. The crowd remained quiet, only prevented the group from moving too quickly and called to the Scots not to interfere in other people's business, to go back home, etc. Mr. Henfrey finally lost his temper; he saw several of his old workers in the crowd, among them Salmon, and in order to put an end to the affair, he gripped the latter by the arm. Mr. Pauling seized him by the other arm and both shouted for the police with all their might. The police inspector came up and asked what charge was being made against the man, at which both partners were greatly embarrassed. But they said, "We know the man." "Oh," said the inspector, "that's enough then, we can let him go for the time being." Messrs. Pauling & Henfrey, needing to bring some kind of charge against Salmon, considered the matter for several days until finally, on the advice of their lawyer, they lodged the above charge. After all the witnesses against Salmon had been heard, *W. P. Roberts*, the "Miners' Attorney General", the terror of all magistrates, suddenly rose up on behalf of the accused and asked whether he should still call his witnesses, since nothing had been brought against Salmon. Daniel Maude, Esq., let him question his witnesses, who testified

that Salmon had behaved calmly until Mr. Henfrey took hold of him. When the proceedings for and against had been concluded, Daniel Maude, Esq., said that he would pass sentence on Saturday. Clearly, the presence of "Attorney General" Roberts led him to think twice before he spoke once.

On Saturday, Messrs. Pauling & Henfrey brought an additional *criminal* charge of conspiracy and intimidation against three of their old workers — *Salmon, Scott* and *Mellor.* By this they hoped to deliver a mortal blow to the craft union and, in order to be secure against the dreaded Roberts, they called in a distinguished barrister from London, Mr. *Monk.* As his first witness, Mr. Monk produced *Gibson,* one of the newly engaged Scotsmen, who had also acted as witness against Salmon the previous Tuesday. He declared that on Friday, November 1, as he and his companions came out of the inn, they were surrounded by a crowd of people who pushed and pulled them and that the three accused were among the crowd. Roberts now began to cross-question this witness, confronted him with another worker, and asked whether he, Gibson, had not told this worker the previous night that he had not known *he was under oath* when he was giving his evidence the previous Tuesday and that he had not really understood what he was supposed to do and say in court. Gibson replied that he did not know the man, he had been with two men the previous evening but could not say whether this man was one of them as it had been dark. *It was possible that he said something of the sort* since the form of oath in Scotland was different from that in England; he couldn't quite remember. Mr. Monk then rose and declared that Mr. Roberts had no right to put questions like that, to which Mr. Roberts replied that objections of that kind were quite in place when one was representing a bad cause, but that he had the right to ask what he wanted, not only where the witness was born but also where he had stayed every day since that time, and what he had had to eat every day. Daniel Maude, Esq., confirmed that Mr. Roberts had this right but gave him the fatherly advice to keep to the point as much as possible. Then, after Mr. Roberts had obtained from the witness a statement that he only really began working for Pauling & Henfrey on the day after the incident on which the charge was based, that is, on November 2, he dismissed him. Then Mr. Henfrey himself appeared as a witness and repeated what Gibson had said about the incident. At this, Mr. Roberts asked him: Are you not looking for an unfair advantage over your competitors? Mr. Monk again objected to this question.

Very well, said Mr. Roberts, I will put it more clearly. Mr. Henfrey, do you know that the working hours of the carpenters in Manchester are fixed by certain rules?

*Mr. Henfrey*: I have nothing to do with those rules, I have the right to make my own rules.

*Mr. Roberts*: Quite so. On oath, Mr. Henfrey, do you not demand longer working hours from your workers than other building contractors and master carpenters?

*Mr. Henfrey*: Yes.

*Mr. Roberts*: How many hours, approximately?

*Mr. Henfrey* did not know exactly and took out his notebook in order to calculate.

*Daniel Maude, Esq.*: You need not spend a long time working it out, just tell us roughly how many.

*Mr. Henfrey*: Well, about an hour in the mornings and an hour in the evenings for six weeks before the time when the lights are usually turned on, and the same for six weeks after the day when it is usual to stop putting on the lights.

*Daniel Maude, Esq.*: So every one of your workers has to work an extra 72 hours before the lights are turned on and 72 hours after, that is, 144 hours in 12 weeks?

*Mr. Henfrey*: Yes.

This statement was received with signs of great indignation by the public. Mr. Monk looked angrily at Mr. Henfrey and Mr. Henfrey looked at his barrister in confusion and Mr. Pauling tugged at Mr. Henfrey's coat-tails—but it was too late; Daniel Maude, Esq., who obviously saw that he would have to play at being impartial again that day, had heard the admission and made it public.

After two unimportant witnesses had been heard, Mr. Monk said that his evidence against the accused was now concluded.

Daniel Maude, Esq., then said that the plaintiff had not made out any case for a criminal investigation against the accused, not having shown that the threatened Scots had been taken on by Pauling & Henfrey before November 1, since there was no proof of a hire contract or employment of the men concerned before November *2*, while charge had been lodged on November *Ist.* Thus on this date the men were not yet employed by Pauling & Henfrey and the accused had every right to try and deter them by every legal means from going to work for Pauling & Henfrey. In reply to this, Mr. Monk said that the defendants had been engaged from the moment they left Scotland and boarded the steamer. Daniel Maude, Esq., remarked that it had indeed been

stated that such hire contract had been made out but this document had not been produced. Mr. Monk replied that the document was in Scotland and he asked Mr. Maude to adjourn the case until it could be laid before the court. Mr. Roberts intervened here to say: this was something new to him. Evidence for the plaintiff had been declared concluded and now the plaintiff was demanding that the case be adjourned in order to introduce new evidence. He insisted that the case proceed. Daniel Maude, Esq., decided that both pleas were superfluous since no substantiated charge was before the court—upon which the accused were dismissed.

Meanwhile the workers had likewise not been inactive. Week after week they held meetings in the Carpenters' Hall or the Socialist Hall, called for aid from the different craft unions, which was given in plenty, never ceased to make known everywhere the behaviour of Pauling & Henfrey and finally sent delegates in all directions in order to inform their fellow craftsmen in all the areas where Pauling & Henfrey were recruiting workers, of the reasons for this recruitment and to prevent them taking work with this firm. Only a few weeks after the strike began there were seven delegates on their way and posters on the street corners in all the big towns in the country warned unemployed carpenters about Pauling & Henfrey. On November 9 some of the delegates who had returned reported on their mission. One of these, named *Johnson,* who had been in Scotland, described how Pauling & Henfrey's representative had recruited thirty workers in Edinburgh but as soon as they heard from him the real facts of the case they decided they would sooner starve than go to Manchester in such circumstances. A second delegate had been in Liverpool keeping watch on the arriving steamers, but not a single man had arrived and so he found that he had nothing to do. A third man had been in Cheshire but wherever he went he found he had nothing more to do, for the *Northern Star,* the workers' paper, had broadcast the real state of affairs far and wide and had put an end to any desire people had of going to Manchester. Indeed in one town, Macclesfield, the carpenters had already taken a collection in support of the strikers and promised to contribute a further shilling per man should the necessity arise. In other places he was able to stimulate the local craftsmen to initiate such contributions.

In order to provide Messrs. Pauling & Henfrey with another opportunity of coming to an agreement with the workers, all the craftsmen employed in the building trade gathered at the Carpenters' Hall on Monday, November 18th, elected a deputation to present an address to these gentlemen and marched in procession

with flags and emblems to the premises of Pauling & Henfrey. First came the deputation followed by the strike committee, then the carpenters, the brick-moulders and kiln-workers, the day labourers, bricklayers, sawyers, glaziers, plasterers, painters, a band, stonemasons, cabinetmakers. They passed the hotel where their "Attorney General", Roberts, was staying and greeted him with loud hurrahs as they marched by. Arrived at the premises, the deputation fell out while the crowd marched on to Stevenson Square where they were to hold a public meeting. The deputation was received by the police who demanded their names and addresses before allowing them to proceed any further. When they had entered the office, the partners *Sharps & Pauling* told them that they would accept no written address from a crowd of workers brought together merely for the purpose of intimidation. The deputation denied that this was their aim, since the procession had not even stopped, but had at once gone on its way. While this procession of 5,000 workers continued its march, the deputation was finally received and taken into a room in which were present the Chief Constable, an officer and three newspaper reporters. Mr. Sharps, a partner in Pauling & Henfrey, usurped the Chairman's seat, remarking that the deputation should be careful what it said as everything would be duly recorded and, in certain circumstances, would be used against them in court.—They now began to ask the deputation what they were complaining about, etc., and said that they wanted to give the men work according to the rules customary in Manchester. The deputation asked if the men picked up in Staffordshire and Scotland were working according to the regulations for craftsmen prevailing in Manchester.

No, was the answer, we have a special arrangement with these men. Then your people are to be given work again, and on the usual conditions? Oh, we are not going to negotiate with any deputation but just let the men come and they will find out on what conditions we are willing to give them work.

Mr. Sharps added that all firms with which he was connected had always treated their workers well and paid them the highest wages. The deputation replied that if, as they had heard, he was associated with the firm of Pauling & Henfrey, this firm had fiercely opposed the best interests of the workers.— A brickmaker, a member of the deputation, was asked what the members of his craft had to complain about.—

Oh, nothing just now, but we've had enough.*

* See above—the bloody fight at Pauling & Henfrey's brickyard.—*Note by Engels*.

Oh, you've had enough, have you? answered Mr. Pauling with a sneer, and then took the opportunity of delivering them a long lecture about craft unions, strikes, etc., and the misery to which they brought the workers—whereupon one of the deputation remarked they were not by any means disposed to allow their rights to be taken away from them bit by bit, and, for example, to work 144 hours a year for nothing, as was now being demanded.—Mr. Sharps remarked that they ought also to take into account the loss incurred by those taking part in the procession because they were not working that day, as well as the cost of the strike, the loss of wages suffered by the strikers, etc. One of the deputation said:

> That's nobody's business but ours and we won't ask you to contribute a farthing from your pocket.

With that the deputation left and reported to the assembled workers in the Carpenters' Hall, where it was revealed that not only had all those in the area working for Pauling & Henfrey (those who were not carpenters and were therefore not on strike) come to take part in the procession, but that many of the newly imported Scotsmen had also struck that very morning. A painter also declared that Pauling & Henfrey had made the same unjust demands on the painters as they had on the joiners but that they too intended to resist. In order to simplify the whole business and shorten the struggle it was decided that all building workers employed by Pauling & Henfrey should stop work. This they did. The painters stopped work on the following Saturday and the glaziers on the Monday, and on the new theatre for which Pauling & Henfrey had received the contract only two bricklayers and four day labourers were working after a few days instead of 200 men. Some of the new arrivals also stopped work.

Pauling & Henfrey foamed with rage. When three more of the new arrivals stopped work they were hauled before Daniel Maude, Esq., on Friday, November 22. The previous reverses had had no effect. A worker called *Read* was the first to be dealt with, charged with breach of contract; a contract which the accused had signed in Derby was laid before the court. Roberts, who was again defending, stated at once that there was not the slightest connection between the contract and the charge, they were two quite different things. Daniel Maude, Esq., saw the point right away once the formidable Roberts had made it, but it took him a long, harassing time to make it clear to the Counsel for the other side. Finally, the latter asked permission to alter the charge and after a while he came back with one that was much worse than the first.

When he saw that this would not do either, he asked for a further adjournment of the case and Daniel Maude, Esq., gave him until Friday, November 29, that is, a whole week, to consider the matter. I have not been able to find out whether or not he succeeded because the one issue of the paper which must have contained a report of the verdict is missing from my files. Meanwhile, Roberts went over to the offensive and had several of the recruited workers and one of Pauling & Henfrey's foremen brought before the court for forcing their way into the house of one of the strikers and assaulting his wife; in two other cases some of the workers on strike had been attacked. To his great regret, Daniel Maude, Esq., had to find all the accused guilty but he dealt with them as leniently as he possibly could and only bound them over to keep the peace themselves in future.

Finally, at the end of December, Messrs. Pauling & Henfrey succeeded in getting sentence against two of their opponents, likewise on charges of assault against one of their workers. But this time the court was not so lenient. Without more ado, it sentenced them to a month's imprisonment and bound them over to keep the peace after their release.

From here on news about the strike becomes meagre. It was still in full swing on January 18. I have found no later reports.[200] It has probably come to an end like most others; in the course of time Pauling & Henfrey will have secured a sufficient number of workers from distant parts and from a few turncoats from the workers' side; after a longer or shorter strike and its accompanying misery, for which the strikers will have been consoled by the consciousness that they have nothing to reproach themselves with and that they have helped to maintain the level of wages of their fellow workers, the majority of them will have found jobs elsewhere. And as for the points in dispute, Messrs. Pauling & Henfrey will have learnt that they cannot impose their will so rigorously, since for them also the strike involved considerable loss, and the other employers, after such a fierce struggle, will not think of changing the old rules of the craftsmen carpenters so soon.

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Signed: *F. Engels*

Printed according to the journal

# Karl Marx

## PEUCHET: ON SUICIDE[201]

*French* criticism of *society* has, at least, in part the great merit of having shown up the contradictions and unnaturalness of modern life not only in the relationships of particular classes, but in all circles and forms of modern intercourse. And it has done that in accounts evincing the warmth of life itself, broadness of view, refined subtlety, and bold originality of spirit, which one will seek in vain in any other nation. Compare the critical writings of Owen and Fourier, for example, so far as they concern the relationships of life, to gain an idea of this superiority of the French. It is by no means only to the French "socialist" writers proper that one must look for the critical presentation of social conditions; but to writers in every sphere of literature, and in particular of novels and memoirs. In a few excerpts on *suicide* from the "*Mémoires tirés des Archives de la Police etc.*" *par Jacques Peuchet* I shall give an example of this French criticism. It may at the same time show what grounds there are for the idea of the philanthropic bourgeois that it is only a question of providing a little bread and a little education for the proletarians, and that only the worker is stunted by the present state of society, but otherwise the existing world is the best of all possible worlds.

With Jacques Peuchet, as with many of the older, now almost extinct, French professional men, who have lived through the numerous upheavals since 1789, the numerous disappointments, enthusiasms, constitutions, rulers, defeats and victories, criticism of the existing property, family, and other private relations, in a word of *private life,* appears as the necessary outcome of their political experiences.

Jacques Peuchet (born 1760) proceeded from belles lettres to medicine, from medicine to law, from law to administration and the police. Before the outbreak of the French Revolution he was working with Abbé Morellet on a *Dictionnaire du commerce,* of which, however, only the prospectus was published, and at that time he was occupied mainly with political economy and administration. Peuchet was an adherent of the French Revolution for only a very short time; he very soon turned to the royalist party, for a time held the editorship of the *Gazette de France* and later even took over the notorious royalist *Mercure* from *Mallet du Pan.* Nevertheless, he wound his way very cleverly through the revolution, sometimes persecuted, sometimes occupied in the Department of Administration and the Police. The *Géographie commerçante,* 5 vol. in folio, which he published in 1800, attracted the attention of *Bonaparte,* the First Consul, and he was appointed a member of the *Conseil de commerce et des arts.* Later he occupied a higher position in the administration under the ministry of François de Neufchâteau. In 1814 the Restoration appointed him censor. During the 100 days[202] he retired. At the restoration of the Bourbons he was given the post of keeper of archives in the Paris police prefecture, which he held until 1827. *Peuchet* was not without influence, both directly and as a writer, on the speakers in the Constituent Assembly, the Convention, the Tribunate,[203] and the Chambers of Deputies under the Restoration. The best known of his many, mostly economic, works apart from the *Geography of Commerce* already referred to, is his statistics of France[a] (1807).

*Peuchet* wrote his memoirs, the materials for which he gathered partly from the Paris police archives, partly from his long practical experience in police and administration, as an *old man* and had them published only *after his death,* so that in no circumstances can he be counted among the "*hasty*" Socialists and Communists, who are known to lack so completely the marvellous thoroughness and comprehensive knowledge of the general run of our writers, officials and professional citizens.

Let us listen to our archive-keeper of the Paris police prefecture on *suicide*!

"The annual number of suicides, which is, as it were, normal and recurrent among us, must be regarded as a symptom of the faulty organisation of our society; for at times when industry is at a standstill and in crisis, in periods of dear food and hard winters, this symptom is always more conspicuous and assumes an epidemic character. Prostitution and theft then increase in the same proportion. Although poverty is the greatest source of suicide, we find it in all classes, among

[a] J. Peuchet, *Statistique élémentaire de la France.—Ed.*

# Deutsches Bürgerbuch

für 1845.

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the idle rich as well as among artists and politicians. The variety of the causes which give rise to it seems to mock the monotonous and callous condemnation of the moralists.

"Consumptive diseases, towards which science is at present indifferent and ineffectual, abused friendship, deceived love, frustrated ambition, family suffering, repressed rivalry, dissatisfaction with a monotonous life, suppressed enthusiasm, are indubitably the causes of suicide in more generously endowed natures, and the love of life itself, this energetic driving force of personality, very often leads to putting an end to a detestable existence.

"Madame *de Staël*,[a] whose greatest merit is to have expressed commonplaces in brilliant style, has attempted to show that suicide is an act contrary to nature, and that it cannot be regarded as a deed of courage; she claims in particular that to fight despair is more worthy than to succumb to it. Such arguments little affect souls which are overwhelmed by misfortune. If they are religious, they look forward to a better world; if, on the contrary, they do not believe in anything, they seek the calm of Nothing. Philosophical tirades have no value in their eyes and are a poor refuge from suffering. It is above all in bad taste to maintain that an act so frequently committed is contrary to nature; suicide is in no way contrary to nature, since we witness it daily. What is against nature does not happen. On the contrary, it is *in the nature of our society* to produce many suicides, while Tartars do not kill themselves. *Hence all societies do not have the same products.* That is what we must tell ourselves, so as to work for the reform of our society and make it rise to a higher stage. As for courage, if it is considered courageous to defy death in broad daylight on the battlefield, under the domination of every form of excitement, there is nothing to prove lack of courage in one who administers death to himself in dark solitude. Such a debatable question is not disposed of by insulting the dead.

"Everything that has been said against suicide goes round and round in the same circle of ideas. People cite against it the decrees of Providence, but the existence of suicide is itself an open protest against her indecipherable decrees. They talk to us of our duties to this society without explaining or implementing our own claims on society, and finally they exalt the thousand times greater merit of overcoming pain rather than succumbing to it, a merit as sad as the prospects it opens up. In short, they make of suicide an act of cowardice, a crime against the law, society and honour.[b]

"Why is it that in spite of so many anathemas people kill themselves? Because the blood of men in despair does not run through their veins in the same way as that of the cold beings who take the time to coin all those fruitless phrases. *Man seems to be a mystery to man; he can only be blamed, he is not known.* When we see how light-mindedly the institutions under whose domination Europe lives dispose of the blood and life of the nations, how civilised justice surrounds itself lavishly with prisons, chastisements and instruments of death so as to sanction its insecure decisions; when we see the numerical immensity of the classes which on all sides are left in misery, and the social pariahs who are battered by brutal contempt, meant to be preventive, perhaps to save the trouble of lifting them out of their squalor; when we see all this, we fail to understand what entitles us to command the individual to respect in himself an existence which our customs, our prejudices, our laws and our morals generally trample underfoot.

"It was thought that it would be possible to prevent suicide by degrading punishments and by branding the memory of the culprit with infamy. What can

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[a] Marx's italics here and below.—*Ed.*

[b] The word "society" is added by Marx.—*Ed.*

one say of the unworthiness of such branding of people who are no longer there to plead their case? The unfortunates, by the way, are little worried by that; and if suicide accuses anybody, it accuses above all the people who are left behind, because there is not one in this multitude who deserves that anyone should stay alive for him. Have the childish and cruel means devised been victorious against the whisperings of despair? What does he who wants to flee the world care about the insults which the world promises to his corpse? He only sees in them yet another act of cowardice on the part of the living. *What kind of society is it, indeed, where one finds the profoundest solitude in the midst of millions; where one can be overwhelmed by an irrepressible desire to kill oneself without anybody being aware of it? This society is no society,* it is *as Rousseau* says, *a desert inhabited by wild animals* In the positions which I held in the police administration suicides were part of my responsibility; I wished to learn whether among the causes motivating them there were any whose effect could be obviated. I undertook extensive work on the subject." I found that any attempts short of a *total reform of the present order of society* would be in vain.[a]

"Among the causes of despair which induce nervous, very excitable persons, passionate beings with deep feelings, to seek death, I discovered as the predominant factor the maltreatment, the injustices, the secret punishments, which hard parents and superiors inflict on persons dependent on them. *The revolution has not overthrown all tyrannies; the evils of which the arbitrary authorities were accused persist in the family, where they cause crises analogous to those of revolutions.*

"The relations between interests and temperaments, the true relations among individuals, have first to be created among ourselves *from the very foundations* and *suicide is only one of the thousand and one symptoms of the universal social struggle which is for ever spurring on to fresh deeds* and from which so many fighters withdraw because they are tired of being counted among the victims, or because they rebel against the thought of occupying a place of honour among the hangmen. If you want a few examples, I will cull them from authentic protocols.

"In the month of July 1816 the daughter of a tailor became engaged to a butcher, a young man of good morals, thrifty and hardworking, very devoted to his beautiful bride, who in turn was very fond of him. The young girl was a seamstress; she enjoyed the respect of all who knew her, and the bridegroom's parents loved her dearly. These good people missed no opportunity to hasten the day when they would have her as their daughter-in-law; they gave parties at which she was the queen and idol.

"The time of the marriage approached; all arrangements between the two families had been made and the contracts concluded. On the eve of the day fixed for the visit to the registrar, the young daughter and her parents were to have supper with the family of the bridegroom; an insignificant incident unexpectedly prevented this. Orders which had to be met for rich customers kept the tailor and his wife at home. They sent their apologies; but the butcher's mother came herself to fetch her daughter-in-law, who was given permission to go with her.

"Despite the absence of two of the principal guests the meal was one of the gayest. Many family jokes were told, which the prospect of a marriage makes permissible. They drank, they sang; they spoke about the future. The joys of a good marriage were eagerly discussed. They were still at table very late at night. By an easily explained indulgence the parents of the young man closed their eyes to

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[a] This conclusion from the arguments of the author of the *Mémoires* is formulated by Marx himself. Instead of this sentence Peuchet says: "Without engaging in any theoretical investigation, I shall try to adduce facts."—*Ed.*

the silent understanding of the engaged couple. Their hands sought each other, love and intimacy went to their heads. Besides, the marriage was considered as accomplished and these young people had been visiting each other for quite a long time without giving cause for the slightest reproach. The emotion of the bridegroom's parents, the advanced hour, the mutual longing desire, loosed by the indulgence of their mentors, the unrestrained gaiety which always prevails at such meals, all this combined with the opportunity which offered itself smilingly, and the wine which was effervescing in the head, everything favoured an outcome which may be imagined. The lovers met again in the dark, when the lights had gone out. Everyone pretended not to notice, to suspect nothing. Their happiness had only friends here, no enviers.

"The young daughter only returned to her parents the next morning. A proof of how little guilty she believed herself to be lies in the fact that she returned alone. She slipped into her room and prepared her toilette; but no sooner did her parents notice her, than with fury they heaped the most shameful names and abuses on their daughter. The neighbourhood witnessed it, the scandal had no bounds. Imagine the shock which this child suffered from her modesty and the outrageous violation of her secret. In vain did the bewildered girl put it to her parents that they themselves were bringing her into disrepute, that she admitted her wrong, her folly, her disobedience, but that everything could be put right again. Her arguments and her grief failed to disarm the tailor couple."

The most cowardly, unresisting people become implacable as soon as they *can exercise their absolute parental authority. The abuse of this authority* is, as it were, *a crude compensation* for all the submissiveness and dependence to which they abase themselves willy-nilly in bourgeois society.

"Busybodies of both sexes came running to the scene and joined in the clamour. The feeling of shame caused by this abominable scene brought the child to the decision to take her own life. She hurried downstairs, through the crowd of the abusive and swearing neighbours; her eyes clouded with madness," she rushed to the Seine "and threw herself into the river. Boatmen brought her out of the water, dead, still in her wedding finery. Needless to say, those who at first had shouted against the daughter at once turned against her parents; this catastrophe frightened their empty souls.[a] A few days later the parents came to the police to claim a golden chain which the child had worn round her neck, a present from the future father-in-law, a silver watch and various other small pieces of jewelry, all of which had been deposited with the police. I did not fail to reproach these people energetically for their stupidity and barbarity. To say to these mad people that they would have to render account to God would have made very little impression on them in view of their egoistic prejudices and the peculiar kind of religiosity which prevails in the lower mercantile classes.

"Greed had brought them to me, not the desire to possess two or three keepsakes; I thought I could punish them through their greed. They were claiming their daughter's jewels; I refused these to them; I kept the certificates which they needed to reclaim these effects from the office where they had been deposited according to custom. So long as I held this post, their claims were in vain, and I found pleasure in defying their insults.

"In the same year there appeared in my office a young creole of attractive

[a] Peuchet has "this catastrophe struck fear into their souls".—*Ed.*

appearance from one of the richest families of Martinique. He objected most emphatically to the handing over of the corpse of a young woman, his sister-in-law, to the claimant, his own brother and her husband. She had drowned herself. This kind of suicide is the commonest. Her body had been found not far from the Grève d'Argenteuil by the officials employed to recover corpses. From one of the well-known instincts of modesty which prevail in women even in the blindest despair, the drowned woman had wound the seam of her skirt carefully round her feet. This modest precaution proved her suicide beyond doubt. As soon as she had been found she was taken to the morgue. Her beauty, her youth, her rich apparel gave rise to a thousand speculations as to the cause of this catastrophe. The despair of her husband, who was the first to identify her, was boundless; he did not fathom this calamity, at least so I was told. I myself had not seen him before. I put it to the creole that the claims of the husband had precedence over all others; he was already having a magnificent marble tombstone erected for his unfortunate wife. 'After he has killed her, the monster!' shouted the creole, rushing to and fro in his rage.

"From the excitement and despair of this young man, from his urgent pleading to grant his request, from his tears, I believed I could conclude that he was in love with her, and I told him so. He admitted his love; but with the most ardent assurances that his sister-in-law had never known of it. He swore to that. He wanted to bring to light the barbarities of his brother, even if it meant putting himself in the dock, only to save the reputation of his sister-in-law, whose suicide public opinion would, as usual, attribute to an intrigue. He begged me for my support. What I could gather from his fragmentary, passionate declarations was this: Monsieur de M..., his brother, rich and a connoisseur of the arts, a friend of luxury and high society, had married this young woman about a year earlier, apparently from mutual inclination; they were the most beautiful couple you could see. After the marriage a blood defect, perhaps hereditary, in the constitution of the young husband had broken out suddenly and violently. Formerly so proud of his handsome appearance and his elegant figure, an excellence, a matchless perfection of form, this man suddenly fell a prey to an unknown scourge against whose devastations science was powerless; from head to foot he was most horribly disfigured. He had lost all his hair, his spine had grown crooked. Day by day emaciation and wrinkles changed him most strikingly, at least for others; for his self-love tried to deny the obvious. Yet all this did not make him take to his bed; an iron strength seemed to triumph over the attacks of the scourge. He vigorously survived his own ruination. His body became a wreck, and his soul remained buoyant. He continued to give banquets, to preside over hunting parties and to lead the rich and magnificent way of life which seemed to be the law of his character and his nature. But the insults, the jibes, the taunts of schoolboys and street urchins when he exercised his horse in the promenades, the rude and mocking laughter, solicitous warnings of friends about the countless occasions on which he exposed himself to ridicule by insisting on gallant manners towards ladies, eventually dispelled his illusion and made him cautious about himself. As soon as he admitted to himself his ugliness and deformity, as soon as he was conscious of it, his character became embittered; he became dejected. He seemed less keen on taking his wife to parties, to balls, to concerts; he fled to his country residence; he put an end to all invitations, avoided people under a thousand pretexts, and the compliments his friends paid to his wife, which he had tolerated as long as his pride gave him the certainty of his superiority, made him jealous, suspicious and violent. He detected in all who insisted on visiting him the firm resolve to conquer the heart of his wife, who was his last pride and his last consolation. At this time the creole arrived from Martinique with business whose success seemed to be

favoured by the restoration of the Bourbons to the French throne. His sister-in-law received him with cordiality, and in the shipwreck of innumerable connections which she had contracted the newcomer preserved the advantage which his title of brother quite naturally gave him with Monsieur de M.... The creole foresaw the loneliness which would surround the household both as a result of the direct quarrels which his brother had with several of his friends and through a thousand indirect incidents which drove away and discouraged visitors. Without being clearly aware of the motives of love which made him jealous too, the creole approved these measures of isolation and encouraged them by his own advice. Monsieur de M... finished up by withdrawing entirely into a beautiful house in Passy, which in a short time became a desert. Jealousy feeds on the smallest things; when it does not know whereon to fasten, it turns against itself and becomes inventive; everything serves to sustain it. Perhaps the young woman longed for the pleasures of her age. Walls obstructed the view of neighbouring residences; the shutters were closed from morning to night."

The unfortunate wife was sentenced to the most intolerable slavery, and this slavery was only enforced by Monsieur de M... on the basis of the *Code civil* and the right of property, on the basis of social conditions which render love independent of the free sentiments of the lovers and allow the jealous husband to surround his wife with locks as the miser does his coffers; for she is only a part of his inventory.

"At night Monsieur de M... prowled round the house armed, making his rounds with dogs. He imagined he saw tracks in the sand and was misled into strange suspicions on the occasion of a ladder having been moved by a gardener. The gardener himself, a drunkard of almost 60, was placed as guard at the gate. The spirit of exclusion knows no bounds to its extravagances, it goes on to the absurd. The brother, innocent accomplice in all this, at last understood that he was assisting in making the misfortune of the young woman who, day by day kept under guard, insulted, bereft of everything which can divert a rich and happy imagination, became as gloomy and melancholy as she had been free and gay. She cried and concealed her tears, but their traces were visible. The creole was plagued by his conscience. Determined to declare himself openly to his sister-in-law and to make amends for his mistake, which had surely originated in his furtive feeling of love, he crept one morning into a small wooded pleasure garden where the prisoner went from time to time to get fresh air and look after her flowers. We must take it that availing herself of this very limited freedom she knew that she remained under the eyes of her jealous husband; for on seeing her brother-in-law, who for the first time had come face to face with her unexpectedly, the young woman displayed the greatest dismay. She wrung her hands. 'Go away, in heaven's name,' she cried to him in fright, 'go away!'

"And indeed, scarcely had he time to hide in a greenhouse, when Monsieur de M... suddenly appeared. The creole heard cries, he tried to listen; the beating of his heart prevented him from understanding the least word of an explanation to which his concealment, should the husband discover it, could give a deplorable outcome. This event spurred on the brother-in-law; he saw the need henceforth to be the protector of a victim. He resolved to abandon all restraint of his love. Love can sacrifice everything but its right to protect, for this last sacrifice would be that of a coward. He continued to visit his brother, ready to speak to him openly, to

reveal himself to him, to tell him everything. Monsieur de M... had as yet no suspicion of him, but his brother's insistence aroused it. Without being entirely clear on the causes of this interest, Monsieur de M... mistrusted them, anticipating where it might lead. The creole soon saw that his brother was not always absent, as he afterwards maintained, when people rang in vain at the gate of the house in Passy. A locksmith's apprentice made him keys after the models of those which his master had made for Monsieur de M.... After an interval of ten days, the creole, embittered by fear and tormented by the maddest imaginings, climbed the walls at night, smashed a railing in front of the main yard, reached the roof by a ladder and slid down the drain-pipe to below the window of a store-room. Violent cries caused him to creep unnoticed as far as a glass door. What he saw rent his heart. The light of a lamp shone in an alcove. Behind the bed-curtains, hair dishevelled and face purple with fury, Monsieur de M..., crouching half-naked near his wife on the bed which she dared not leave though half and half wresting herself from him, was heaping on her the most biting reproaches and seemed like a tiger ready to tear her to pieces. 'Yes,' he said to her, 'I am ugly, I am a monster and, I know it only too well, I inspire fear in you. You wish to be freed of me so that the sight of me may no longer be a burden to you. You are longing for the moment which will make you free. And don't tell me the opposite, I guess your thoughts in your fright and your resistance. You blush at the unworthy laughter which I arouse, you inwardly rebel against me! You no doubt count the minutes, one by one, which must elapse until I no longer beleaguer you with my weaknesses and my presence. Stop! I am seized with horrible desires, the frenzied wish to make you like myself, to disfigure you, so that you can no longer hope to console yourself with lovers for the misfortune of having known me. I shall break all the mirrors in this house so that they shall not reproach me with the contrast, so that they cease to nurture your pride. Perhaps I should take you out into the world, or let you go there, to see how everybody encourages you to hate me? No, no, you shall not leave this house until you have killed me. Kill me, anticipate what I am tempted to do every day!' And the savage rolled on the bed with loud cries, gnashing his teeth, foaming at the mouth, with a thousand symptoms of madness, and striking himself in his fury, near this unfortunate woman who wasted on him the tenderest caresses and the most pathetic entreaties. At last she calmed him. No doubt, pity had replaced love, but that was not enough for this man who had become so terrible to look at, whose passion had retained so much energy. A long spell of depression was the sequel to this scene, which petrified the creole. He shuddered and did not know to whom to turn to save the unfortunate woman from this deadly martyrdom. This scene was apparently repeated every day, since for the convulsions which followed Madame de M. had recourse to bottles of medicine prepared for the purpose of restoring a little calm to her torturer.

"The creole was the only representative of the family of Monsieur de M. in Paris at the time. It is in such cases above all that one wants to curse the slowness of judicial procedure and the callousness of the laws which nothing can divert from their nicely arranged routine, particularly when it is a question only of a woman, a being whom the legislator surrounds with the least guarantees. A warrant for an arrest, some drastic measure, would alone have prevented the disaster which the witness of this madness foresaw too well. He decided, however, to risk everything, to take all consequences upon himself, since his wealth enabled him to make enormous sacrifices and not to fear responsibility for any risk involved. Already several doctors among his friends, determined like himself, were preparing to obtain entrance into Monsieur de M.'s house so as to diagnose these fits of madness and to separate the two spouses by direct force, when the occurrence of the suicide justified the belated preparations and put an end to the problem.

"Certainly, for anybody who does not limit the entire spirit of words to their letter, this suicide was a *treacherous murder* committed by the husband; but it was also the outcome of an extraordinary fit of jealousy. The jealous man needs a slave, the jealous man can love, but the love he feels is only a luxurious counterpart for jealousy; *the jealous man is above all a private property-owner.*[a] I prevented the creole from making a useless and dangerous scandal, dangerous above all to the memory of his loved one, for the idle public would have accused the victim of an adulterous connection with her husband's brother. I witnessed the funeral. Nobody but the brother and myself knew the truth. Around me I heard discreditable murmurings about this suicide and I despised them. One blushes for public opinion when one sees it close at hand with its cowardly embitterment and its dirty insinuations. Opinion is too much divided by people's isolation, too ignorant, too corrupt, because each is a stranger to himself and all are strangers to one another.[b]

"Incidentally, few weeks passed without bringing me more revelations of the same kind. In the same year I registered love liaisons caused by the parents' refusal to give their consent, and which ended with a double pistol shot.

"I also recorded suicides of men of the world reduced to impotence in the flowering of their age, whom the abuse of enjoyment had thrown into insuperable melancholy.

"Many people, after long and useless torture by harmful prescriptions, end their days dominated by the belief that medicine is incapable of freeing them from their ills.

"One could make a remarkable collection of quotations from famous authors and of poems written by despairing people preparing for their death with a certain ostentation. During the marvellously cold-blooded moment which follows the decision to die, a kind of infectious enthusiasm is exhaled from these souls and flows on to paper, even among classes which are bereft of all education. While they compose themselves for the sacrifice, whose depth they are pondering, all their strength is concentrated so as to gush out in a warm and characteristic expression.

"Some of these poems, which are buried in the archives, are masterpieces. A ponderous bourgeois, who puts his soul into his business and his god into commerce, may find all this very romantic and by his scornful laughter deny suffering which he does not understand: his disdain does not surprise us."

What else can one expect of three-percenters, who do not even suspect that daily, hourly, piece by piece, they are murdering themselves, their human nature!

"But what shall one say of the good people who pass for devout and educated, and who echo such filth? Without doubt it is of great importance that the poor devils should endure life, if only in the interests of the privileged classes of this world, which a general suicide of the trash would ruin; but is there no other means of making the existence of this class bearable than insults, sneers and fine words? Besides, there must exist a certain greatness of soul in these wretches who, determined as they are to die, destroy themselves and do not take the way of suicide by the detour of the scaffold. It is true that, the more our commercial

[a] This sentence was taken by Marx from the description of another case of suicide given by Peuchet below (cf. t. IV, p. 159).—*Ed.*

[b] The last sentence is taken by Marx from the description of another case of suicide given by Peuchet below (cf. t. IV, p. 167). Marx gave a free rendering and added the concluding words: "because each is a stranger to himself and all are strangers to one another."—*Ed.*

epoch[a] progresses, the rarer these noble suicides of misery become. Conscious hostility takes their place, and the miserable one inconsiderately runs the risk of theft and murder. It is easier to receive the death penalty than to get work.

"In rummaging through the police archives I have come across only one single case of cowardice in the list of suicides. That was a young American, Wilfrid Ramsay, who killed himself in order to escape a duel.

"The classification of the various causes of suicide would be the classification of the *very defects of our society*. One killed himself because he was robbed of an invention by intriguers, on which occasion the inventor, thrown into the direst poverty as a consequence of the lengthy scientific investigations to which he had to devote himself, was not even in a position to buy himself a patent. Another killed himself to avoid the enormous costs and the degrading legal prosecution consequent on monetary embarrassments which, by the way, are so common that men entrusted with the conduct of the general interest are not in the least concerned about them. Another again killed himself because he could not find work, after he had groaned for a long time under the insults and the stinginess of those in our midst who are the arbitrary distributors of work. [...][b]

"One day a doctor consulted me about a death of which he accused himself of having been the cause.

"One evening, returning to Belleville, where he lived, he was stopped by a veiled woman in the dark, in a narrow street from which his house stood off aside. She begged him in a tremulous voice to listen to her. At some distance a person whose features he could not distinguish was walking up and down. She was being watched by a man. 'Sir,' she told the doctor, 'I am pregnant, and when this is discovered I shall be disgraced. My family, public opinion, people of honour will not pardon me. The woman whose confidence I have betrayed would lose her reason, and without doubt would divorce her husband. I am not defending my case. I am the centre of a scandal which only my death could prevent from becoming public. I wanted to kill myself, people want me to live. I have been told that you have compassion, and this convinced me that you will not want to be an accomplice in the murder of a child, even if this child is not yet in the world. You see, it is a question of an abortion. I shall not debase myself by pleading extenuation for something I regard as the most reprehensible crime. In presenting myself to you I have merely yielded to the pleadings of others; for I shall know how to die. I shall summon death myself, and I need nobody for that. One can pretend to find pleasure in watering the garden; one can put on wooden clogs for it; one can choose a slippery plac where one fetches water every day; one can arrange to disappear in the depth the well; and people will say that it was an 'accident'. I have foreseen everythi Sir. I wish it could be the morning after, I would like to go with all my hea .. Everything has been prepared so that it will happen just like that. I have be d to say this to you, and I have done so. You have to decide whether one mu er shall occur or two. Because of my cowardice I had to swear that I would without reservation abide by your decision. Decide!'

"'This choice,' the doctor continued, 'horrified me. The voice of this woman had a pure and harmonious sound; her hand, which I held in mine, was fine and delicate; her frank and determined despair bespoke an excellent spirit. But the point at issue was one that really made me shudder; although in a thousand cases, in difficult deliveries, for example, when the surgeon's choice lies between saving

[a] Peuchet writes: "*les époques d'incrédulité*".—*Ed.*

[b] Marx omits the description of the case given by Peuchet in his *Mémoires*, t. IV, pp. 143-68; the text that follows is taken by Marx from the concluding part of the chapter, p. 169 *et seq.*—*Ed.*

the mother or the child, either politics or humaneness decides at will, without scruple.'

"'Flee abroad,' I said. 'Impossible,' she replied, 'it is not to be contemplated.'

"'Take the proper precautions.'

"'I can't, I sleep in the same alcove as the woman whose friendship I have betrayed.' 'She is your relative?' 'I must not tell you any more.'

"'I would have given my heart's blood,' the doctor continued, 'to save this woman from suicide or crime, or that she might escape this conflict without needing me. I charged myself with barbarism because I shrank from complicity in a murder. The struggle was terrible. Then a demon whispered to me that one does not kill oneself merely because one wishes to die; that compromised people can be forced to renounce their vices if their power to do evil is taken from them. I guessed luxury from the embroideries with which her fingers played, and the resources of wealth from the elegant diction of her speech. We believe that we owe less compassion to the rich; my self-esteem revolted against the thought of being tempted with gold, although up till then this matter had not been touched on, which was one more sign of delicacy and proof that my character was respected. My reply was a *refusal*; the lady went quickly away; the noise of a cabriolet convinced me that I would be unable to remedy what I had done.

"'A fortnight later the newspapers gave me the solution of the mystery. The young niece of a Paris *banker*, 18 years old at the most, the beloved ward of her aunt, who since the death of her mother had not let the girl out of her sight, had slipped and fallen into a brook on the estate of her guardians at Villemomble and had drowned. Her guardian was inconsolate; in his capacity of uncle the cowardly seducer could give way to his grief before the world.'

"One perceives that for want of something better, suicide is the extreme resort against the evils of private life.

"Among the causes of suicide I have very often found dismissal from office, refusal of work, or a sudden reduction in salary, as a consequence of which families can no longer procure the means of subsistence, the more so since most of them live from hand to mouth.

"At the time when the guards in the royal palace were being reduced, a good man was dismissed like the rest without more ado. His age and his lack of influence made it impossible for him to have himself transferred back into the army; industry was closed to him by his lack of knowledge. He tried to enter the civil service; competitors, numerous here as everywhere, stood in his way. He fell into gloomy distress and killed himself. In his pocket were found a letter and information about his circumstances. His wife was a poor seamstress; their two daughters, 16 and 18 years old, worked with her. *Tarnau*, our suicide, said in the papers he left behind that, 'since he could no longer be of use to his family and was compelled to be a burden on his wife and children, he considered it his duty to take his life so as to relieve them of this additional burden. He recommended his children to the Duchess of Angoulême; he hoped that in her goodness this princess would have compassion on so much misery.' I made a report to police prefect Anglès, and when the necessary formalities were completed the duchess had 600 francs sent to the unfortunate *Tarnau* family.

"Sad aid indeed, after such a loss. But how could one family[a] help all the unfortunate, since when everything is taken into account, the whole of France in its present state could not feed them. The charity of the rich would not suffice even if our whole nation were religious, which is far from the case. *Suicide solves the worst of the difficulty, the scaffold the rest. Sources of income and real wealth can be expected only*

[a] Peuchet writes "the royal family".—*Ed.*

*from a recasting of our general system of agriculture and industry.* It is easy to proclaim constitutions on paper, the right of every citizen to education, to work, and above all to a minimum of the means of subsistence. But it is not enough to write these generous wishes on paper, the proper task is to fructify these liberal ideas with material and intelligent social[a] institutions.

"The ancient world, paganism, has thrown up magnificent creations on the earth; will modern liberty lag behind her rival? Who will weld together these two splendid elements of might?"

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Thus far *Peuchet*.

In conclusion we shall give one of his tables on the annual suicides in Paris.

From another of the tables given by *Peuchet* we learn that from 1817 to 1824 (inclusive) 2,808 suicides occurred in Paris.[b] Actually, of course, the figure was larger. In particular, as regards drowned persons whose bodies are exhibited in the morgue it is known in only very rare cases whether they were suicides or not.

*Table of Suicides in Paris in the year 1824*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Number | 1st half year | 198 | Total ..... 371 |
| | 2nd " " | 173 | |
| Of whom the attempt at suicide was survived by | | | 125 |
| " " " " " " " not survived by | | | 246 |
| Of the male sex | | | 239 |
| " " female sex | | | 132 |
| Unmarried | | | 207 |
| Married | | | 164 |
| Manner of death | Voluntary heavy fall | | 47 |
| | Strangulation | | 38 |
| | By cutting instruments | | 40 |
| | " firearms | | 42 |
| | " poisoning | | 28 |
| | " coal fumes | | 61 |
| | Suffocation by voluntary plunge into water | | 115 |
| Motives | Passionate love, domestic quarrels and grief | | 71 |
| | Illness, weariness of life, unsound mind | | 128 |
| | Misbehaviour, gaming, lotteries, fear of accusations and punishments | | 53 |
| | Misery, poverty, loss of position, loss of job | | 59 |
| | Unknown | | 60 |

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Published in English for the first time

[a] The word "social" was added by Marx.—*Ed.*
[b] Peuchet writes "in the Seine Department".—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## A FRAGMENT OF FOURIER'S ON TRADE[204]

The Germans are gradually beginning to spoil the communist movement too. Here also being as always the last and most inactive, they believe they can conceal their somnolence by contempt for their predecessors and empty philosophical boasting. Communism has hardly come into existence in Germany before it is being seized on by a whole host of speculative minds who imagine they have performed miracles by translating into the language of Hegelian logic propositions that long ago became commonplaces in France and England and now offering this new wisdom to the world as something unprecedented, as "true German theory", in order to be able to throw mud to their heart's content at the "bad practice" and "ridiculous" social systems of the narrow-minded French and English. This always ready German theory, which has had the boundless good fortune to get a whiff of Hegel's philosophy of history and to become embodied in the scheme of the eternal categories by some dried-up Berlin professor, and which then perhaps leafed through Feuerbach, a few German communist writings and Herr Stein's book on French socialism,[a] this German theory of the very worst sort has already, without the slightest difficulty, reconstrued French socialism and communism according to Herr Stein, has allotted it a subordinate position, has "*overcome*" it, and "*elevated*" it to the "higher stage of development" of the always ready "German theory".[205] It has never occurred to it, of course, to acquaint itself to any extent with

[a] Lorenz von Stein, *Der Socialismus und Communismus des heutigen Frankreichs. Ein Beitrag zur Zeitgeschichte.—Ed.*

the things to be elevated themselves, to take a look at Fourier, Saint-Simon, Owen and the French Communists—Herr Stein's meagre extracts are quite sufficient to bring about this brilliant victory of German theory over the wretched efforts of foreigners.

In contrast to this comical arrogance of German theory, which is incapable of dying, it is absolutely necessary to show the Germans what a lot they owe to foreigners since they became concerned with social questions. Among all the pompous phrases now loudly proclaimed in German literature as the basic principles of true, pure, German, theoretical communism and socialism, there has so far not been a single idea which has grown on German soil. What the French or the English said as long as ten, twenty and even forty years ago—and said very well, very clearly, in very fine language—the Germans have now at last during the past year become acquainted with in bits and have Hegelianised, or at best belatedly rediscovered it and published it in a much worse, more abstract form as a completely new discovery. I make no exception here of my own writings. What is peculiar to the Germans is only the bad, abstract, unintelligible and clumsy form in which they have expressed these ideas. And as befits genuine theoreticians, from what the French have produced—they still know almost nothing at all of the English—they have so far found worthy of their attention, apart from the *most general* principles, only what is worst and most theoretical: the schematic plans of future society, the *social systems*. The best aspect, the *criticism of existing society*, the real basis, the main task of any investigation of social questions, they have calmly pushed aside. Not to mention the fact that these wise theoreticians are accustomed also to speak contemptuously of, or to ignore altogether, the only German who has *really* achieved something, namely: *Weitling*.

I want to put before these wise gentlemen a short chapter from Fourier, which they could take as an example. It is true that Fourier did not start out from the Hegelian theory and for this reason unfortunately could not attain knowledge of absolute truth, not even of absolute socialism. It is true that owing to this shortcoming Fourier unfortunately allowed himself to be led astray and to substitute the method of series for the absolute method and thereby arrived at such speculative constructions as the conversion of the sea into lemonade, the *couronnes boréale* and *australe*,[a] the anti-lion, and the conjunction of the planets.[206] But, if it has to be, I shall prefer to believe with the cheerful Fourier in

[a] Northern and southern coronas.—*Ed.*

all these stories rather than in the realm of the absolute spirit, where there is no lemonade at all, in the identity of Being and Nothing and the conjunction of the eternal categories. French nonsense is at least cheerful, whereas German nonsense is gloomy and profound. And then, Fourier has criticised existing social relations so sharply, with such wit and humour that one readily forgives him for his cosmological fantasies, which are also based on a brilliant world outlook.

The fragment which I am reproducing here was found among Fourier's works after his death and was printed in the first number of the periodical *Phalange*,* published by the Fourierists from the beginning of 1845. I am omitting what relates to Fourier's positive system and what otherwise is of no interest, and in general am making such free use of the text as is absolutely necessary with the foreign Socialists in order to make the things they wrote with definite aims in view readable to a public which is alien to these aims. This fragment is by no means the most brilliant of Fourier's writings, nor is it the best of what he wrote about trade—and yet no German Socialist or Communist, with the exception of Weitling, has so far written anything remotely comparable to this rough sketch.

To save the German public the trouble of reading the *Phalange* itself, I should mention that this periodical is a purely monetary speculation on the part of the Fourierists, and Fourier's manuscripts published in it are of very unequal value. Messieurs the Fourierists who publish this review are germanised, pompous theoreticians who have replaced the humour with which their teacher unmasked the world of the bourgeoisie by a holy, thoroughgoing theoretical, learned seriousness, for which they are deservedly ridiculed in France and prized in Germany. The description of the imaginary triumphs of Fourierism which they present in the first issue of the *Phalange* could send a professor of the absolute method into raptures.

I begin my reproductions with a passage which has already been reprinted in the *Théorie des quatre mouvements*. This is the case with considerable sections of the present fragment of which, however, I shall give only what is most essential.

* *La Phalange*. Revue de la science sociale, XIV$^{e}$ année, 1$^{re}$ série in 8°, Paris, aux Bureaux de la Phalange, 1845.—Publication des Manuscrits de Fourier: "Section ébauchée des trois unités externes", pp. 1-42 of the January and February issue.—*Note by Engels.*

I[207]

"We now touch on civilisation's most sensitive spot; it is an unpleasant task to raise one's voice against the folly of the day, against chimeras that are downright epidemical.

"To speak against the absurdities of trade today means to expose oneself to anathemas just as much as if one had spoken against the tyranny of the popes and the barons in the twelfth century. If it were a matter of choosing between two dangerous roles, I think it would be less dangerous to offend a sovereign with bitter truths than to offend the mercantile spirit which now rules as a despot over civilisation and even over sovereigns.

"And yet a superficial analysis will prove that our commercial systems debase and disorganise civilisation, and that in trade as in all other things we are going astray more and more under the guidance of the inexact sciences.

"The controversy on trade is hardly half a century old and has already produced thousands of volumes; and yet its originators have not seen that the trade mechanism is organised in such a way that it is a slap in the face for all common sense. It has subordinated the whole of society to one class of parasitical and unproductive people, the merchants. All the essential classes of society—the proprietor,* the farmer, the manufacturer, and even the government—find themselves dominated by an inessential, accessory class, the merchant, who should be their subordinate, their employed agent, removable and accountable, and who, nevertheless, directs and obstructs at will all the mainsprings of circulation.

"In respect of errors other than those of trade, public opinion and the learned bodies are, indeed, more tractable; it is pretty well agreed that the philosophical systems are dangerous illusions, that experience belies our boasting of perfection, that our theories of freedom do not square with civilisation, that our virtues are social comedies and our legislations labyrinths; there are even jokes about a fashionable controversy, ideology.[208] But tongue-wagging about commerce, with its theories of imports and exports, counterbalance, balance, and guarantee, has become the Ark of the Covenant before which everything bows down. This, then, is the illusion which we have to dispel.

"First of all we must show that our trade systems, which are now gaped at with stupid veneration, are the antipodes of truth, of justice, and therefore also of unity.

"It is difficult to make clear to a century that precisely that operation which it considers to be the masterpiece of all wisdom is nothing but the seal of ignorance stamped on its entire policy. Let us but look at the already known results: maritime monopoly, fiscal monopoly, growing national debts, bankruptcies in unbroken succession resulting from paper money, increasing villainy in all business relations. Already now we can stigmatise the mechanism of *free trade*, i.e., *of free lying*,[a] that veritable industrial anarchy, that monstrous power in society.

"How is it that the *most lying* class in the social body is most protected by the *'apostles of truth'*? How does it happen that today learned men who preach contempt of vile wealth praise only the class which pursues wealth *per fas et nefas*,[b] the class of stock exchange gamblers and corner-men? Formerly the philosophers were unanimous in censuring certain corporations which defended with flexibility of conscience the proposition that there is a difference between taking and stealing. How then have the same philosophers now become the apologists of a class which

* It must not be forgotten that Fourier was not a Communist.—*Note by Engels*.

[a] Engels' italics here and below.—*Ed*.

[b] By legal or illegal means.—*Ed*.

affirms, with still greater immorality, that haggling is not lying, that to dupe the buyer is not the same as robbing him, that stockjobbing and cornering are by no means plundering the productive class, in brief, that one must work only for money, not for fame; — for that is the refrain which the merchants sing in chorus: We don't pursue business *pour la gloire!** Is it then to be wondered at that the modern sciences went astray when they espoused the cause of those who openly profess such principles?"

Trade takes various forms according to the various social stages; for as it is the pivot of all social life, it exists as soon as there is any social condition in general. A people becomes social, forms a society, from the moment when it begins to carry out exchange. For this reason trade exists already among the *savages*, where it takes the form of direct barter. Under *patriarchy* it becomes indirect commerce; in *barbarism* the basis of the commercial method is formed by the monopolies, the fixing of maximums and prices and forcible government requisitions, and in *civilisation* by individual competition or lying and bewildering struggle.[a]

"There is no need for us to dwell on direct barter among the savages who have no knowledge of money. One man is lucky at the hunt and exchanges a piece of game for arrows made by another, who has not been hunting and needs eatables. This method is not even trade, it is barter."

The second method, indirect commerce, is "primitive trade. It is carried on through a go-between, who *becomes the owner of something which he did not produce and does not intend to consume.* This method, although it is bad and leaves room for arbitrariness, is nevertheless highly advantageous in the following three cases:

"1) in young countries, where only agriculture exists without industry; this is the state in which all colonies find themselves at the beginning;

"2) in harsh lands, as in Siberia and the African deserts; a merchant who defies heat and cold to carry objects of necessity to distant parts is a very useful man;

"3) in oppressed and constricted lands, where the Bedouin plunder caravans, exact ransom from merchants and often murder them — every kind of protection is due to him who braves these dangers in order to bring supplies to a distant land. When such a merchant becomes rich he certainly deserves it.

"In these three cases the merchants are neither Stock Exchange gamblers nor corner-men; they do not hawk, one speculator to another, the objects intended for consumption. On their arrival they offer them openly to the consumer in a bazaar or public market; they are the accelerators of industrial movement. They want to earn — nothing is more reasonable in the civilised world: he who has sown deserves to harvest. But it is very rare that the merchants content themselves with this function of theirs; singly or in alliance they scheme to obstruct the circulation of commodities in order to make prices immediately soar.

"*Trade becomes pernicious from the moment the go-betweens, due to their excessive number, become parasites [on the social body]*[b] and are ready to conceal goods, to let them rise in price under the pretext of an artificially produced scarcity, in brief, to rob simultaneously the producer and the consumer through speculation tricks instead of serving both as simple, open go-betweens. We still see this openness at our small markets in villages and towns. The man who buys a hundred calves or

* This expression exists in literally the same form also among German merchants.— *Note by Engels.*

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[a] In this paragraph Engels gives in his own words the content of Fourier's Table: *De l'echelle des méthodes commerciales appliquées aux diverses périodes.—Ed.*

[b] The words in brackets were added by Engels.—*Ed.*

sheep is a useful intermediary for twenty peasants, who would otherwise lose whole working days to bring them to market in town. When, on arriving at the market, he publicly offers his animals for sale, he thereby renders a service also to the consumers; but when by means of heaven knows what tricks he agrees with other 'friends of trade'[a] to hide three-quarters of the sheep, to tell the butchers that sheep are scarce, that he can only supply a few *friends*, to sell them half as dear again under this pretext, to alarm the buyers, and then to bring the hidden sheep out one after the other, to sell them at inflated prices in the atmosphere of alarm previously created and thus to extort a high ransom from the consumers—then this is no longer simple commerce, open offering of commodities free from any intrigue, it is compound commerce, whose endlessly changing tricks give birth to the thirty-six typical vices of our trade system and are tantamount to a legal monopoly. When one lays hands on the total product by ruse in order to make it dearer, that is robbing more by means of intrigues than the monopoly does by armed force.

"I shall not dwell any longer on the method of the barbarians. It comprises fixing of maximums, forcible requisitions and monopolies, which are still quite customary also in the civilised state. As I have already said elsewhere,[b] the various methods of individual periods overlap; one must not wonder, therefore, that civilisation borrows individual features from both higher and lower stages. Our civilised trade mechanism is thus an amalgamation of the characters of all periods, with those of the civilised stage, however, predominating—and these are much more despicable still than those of barbarism, because our trade is nothing but organised and legitimised robbery under the mask of legality. As a result, the racketeers and intermediaries can unite to cause artificial dearth of any foodstuffs and thus plunder both producers and consumers to heap up in a hurry scandalous fortunes of fifty millions, whose owners nevertheless complain that there is no protection of trade, that the merchants cannot subsist, that nothing is done, and that the state is being ruined if the merchant is reduced to the inability to make more than fifty millions!

"Meanwhile we are taught by a new[c] science that these people should be granted complete freedom. Let the merchants do their job, we are told; without this freedom the corner-man, who even so has earned only fifty million, would perhaps not even have made a single million, and his respectable family would have to manage on fifty thousand francs revenue—

"*Dii, talem avertite casum!*[d]

"... Contempt of commerce, a contempt inborn in all peoples, was prevalent in all nations considered to be honourable except for a few coastal clans of hucksters who derived benefit from commercial extortions and villainies. Athens, Tyre and Carthage, which profited by commerce, could not mock at it; everybody refrains from mocking at the ways in which he has enriched himself, and the financier least of all will mock at the art of adding ciphers to bills, or allowing the enemy to take away the ledgers and putting the cash in safety while reporting it also as having been taken by the enemy.

"In reality with ancient as well as with modern peoples commerce has always been an object of mockery on the part of all honourable classes. How can one have

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[a] Quotes by Engels here and below.—*Ed.*

[b] Charles Fourier, *Théorie de l'unité universelle*, t. 2.—"Prolégomène".—*Ed.*

[c] The word "new" was added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[d] Ye gods, ward off such an occurrence! (A paraphrase from Virgil's poem *Aeneid*, Book III.)—*Ed.*

any esteem for an out-and-out rascally profession or a class of people who lie with every word they say and by means of this magic art earn millions while the honest landowner who cultivates his piece of land with great effort and exertion, using the best of his experience, barely achieves an insignificant increase in its yield?

"Meanwhile, for a century a new science called Economics has been exalting hucksters, stockjobbers, corner-men, usurers, bankrupts, monopolisers and commercial parasites to the peak of honours: the governments, daily deeper and deeper in debt, always intent on finding means of borrowing money, have found themselves forced to conceal their contempt and to spare this class of mercantile blood-suckers which keeps the money-coffers locked to civilisation and pumps out all the treasures of agricultural and industrial diligence under the pretext of serving it. It is not denied that trade ensures transportation, victualling, and distribution, but it does so like a servant who performs service actually worth a thousand francs annually and on the other hand robs his master of ten thousand francs, or ten times as much as he produces.

"As a young spendthrift secretly despises the Jew to whom he goes every week to get himself fleeced, but still always greets him very politely, so also the modern governments have, with obvious contempt, concluded an armistice with trade, which is doing all the better for the fact that it knows how to have itself lumped together with the very manufacturers whom it plunders. The economists, who have found in this merchants' hotch-potch a nursery of new dogmas, a mine of systems, have overthrown morality with all its high-sounding talk of truth in order to enthrone their favourites, the stockjobbers and bankrupts. Thereupon all the scholars rivalled in self-abasement; in the beginning science admitted those 'friends of trade' as its equals—Voltaire dedicated a tragedy to an English merchant.[a] Today these stockjobbers would have a good laugh if a scholar presumed to dedicate a tragedy to them! Stockjobbing has discarded the mask, it no longer needs the incense of the scholars; it wants secret—*and soon legal—participation in government*! And indeed we have seen the Aachen Congress unable to decide anything until two bankers arrived.[209]

"Despite the fact that the economic systems have exalted the Golden Calf of trade, they have been unable to put an end to the natural contempt which the nations feel towards it. It remains despised by the nobility, the clergy, the propertied classes, the officials, the lawyers, the scholars, despised by artists, soldiers, and every class worthy of respect. In vain has trade heaped sophism on sophism to prove to them that the stockjobbing blood-sucker should be respected—a natural disdain for this class of upstarts still prevails. Everybody yields to the upswing of a dogma favoured by fortune, but everybody continues in secret to despise the mercantile hydra, which takes no notice of this and pursues the course of its conquests.

"How is it that our century has made public the crimes of so many classes, even those of the Federates,[210] who only existed for a month in 1815, whence comes it that it has never occurred to this century, which has spared neither kings nor popes in its collections on crimes, to make public the crimes of the merchants? Yet writers are unanimous in complaining that they suffer from a lack of material. To show them how fruitful this material is, I shall make a methodical analysis of only a single one of the" (thirty-six) "crimes of civilised trade. These thirty-six reprehensible features of our trade under the domination of individual competition and of bewildering and lying struggle are the following:

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[a] Voltaire, *Zaïre* (a tragedy dedicated to E. Falkner, an admirer and friend of the author).—*Ed.*

### *Synoptical Table of the Features of Civilised Trade*[a]

Pivotal points: Intermediate ownership and the dismemberment of agriculture.

"1) The two-sidedness of trade.
2) Arbitrary determination of value.
3) Freedom of fraudulence.
4) Insolidarity, lack of mutual liability.[b]
5) Theft, removal of capital.
6) *Decrease in wages.*
7) *Artificial obstruction of supply sources.*
8) *Oppressive surpluses.*
9) Perverse interferences.
10) Destructive policy.
11) *Torpidness or general lack of credit* (recoil, repercussion).
12) *Fictitious money.*
13) Financial confusion.
14) *Epidemical crime.*
15) Obscurantism.
16) *Parasitism.*
17) *Cornering* (accaparement).
18) *Stockjobbing.*
19) *Usury.*
20) *Unfruitful work.*
21) Industrial lotteries (speculation on risk).
22) Indirect corporative monopoly.
23) *Fiscal monopoly, state administration enforced by falsification.*
24) The exotic, or *colonial monopoly.*
25) *Maritime monopoly.*
26) *Feudal,* caste *monopoly.*
27) Baseless provocation.
28) Loss.
29) *Falsification.*
30) Ruin of health.
31) *Bankruptcy.*
32) *Smuggling.*
33) Piracy.
34) Fixing of maximums and requisitions.
35) *Speculative slavery.*
36) *Universal egoism.*"

Of these thirty-six features we shall consider in detail only one, bankruptcy; before that I shall say a few words about some others.

## II

## FALSENESS OF THE ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES ON CIRCULATION

*(Proved by three features of the Table, Nos. 7, 8 and 12: artificial obstruction of supply sources, oppressive surpluses and fictitious money)*

"Our century, which has been so prolific of theories about the movement of industry, still cannot distinguish circulation from obstruction. It confuses circulation interrupted in places with that which is uninterrupted, simple circulation with

[a] In his work Fourier gives this table in the introductory section.—*Ed.*

[b] The words "lack of mutual liability" were added by Engels.—*Ed.*

compound. However, let us leave these dull distinctions; the facts may speak and serve us as a basis for principles which are directly opposed to those of economics.

"Both governments and peoples agree that forgers, both of money and of public securities, should be punished with death. Those who counterfeit coins and bank-notes are indeed condemned to death. A very wise precautionary measure. *But why does trade enjoy the right to forge money when this practice brings other people to the gallows?*

"Every bill of exchange made out by a merchant bears the seed of counterfeit, for it is extremely uncertain whether it will ever be paid. Everyone who steers a course towards bankruptcy floods circulation with his bills of exchange without intending ever to pay them. In this way he in fact makes and spreads counterfeit money.

"Will it be objected that everyone else enjoys the same privilege, that a property-owner, like a merchant, can put bills of exchange into circulation?

"That is not true. A property-owner cannot do that. A right is illusory when it cannot be exercised. Witness the constitutional right of the people to sovereignty, a pompous prerogative in spite of which the plebeian cannot even get his midday meal if he has not a sou in his pocket. And yet how far from the pretension to sovereignty is the claim to a midday meal. Many rights exist thus on paper, but not in reality, and their granting is an insult to him who cannot even ensure himself rights a hundred times less important.

"So it is with the property-owner as regards the issuing of bills of exchange. He has the right to issue them as the plebeian has the right to claim sovereignty; but to possess the right and to exercise it are two very different things. When the property-owner makes out a bill of exchange he will not find anybody who will accept it without a guarantee, and he will be treated as one who forges money. He will be required to hypothecate a completely debt-free immovable property and to pay a usurious rate of interest into the bargain. His bills of exchange would be accepted at this price, and with such a security they would be money with real value, not fictitious money like those of a second-hand dealer who, by virtue of his title as a 'friend of trade, finds means of putting into circulation 'good'[a] bills to the value of a million when he does not possess even the hundredth part of that sum, even 10,000 francs as guarantee for that million.

"How beautifully those governments let themselves be cheated who deprive themselves of this ability and guarantee it for the merchant! A merchant who has ten thousand francs security issues bills of exchange to the amount of a million when he pleases; he is protected and authorised to do so; he has the right to set this mass of paper in circulation without the law being entitled to investigate how he places his capital and what securities he has. The Treasury, offering a guarantee of say ten million, would have to be able, according to this ratio, to issue securities up to a thousand million. But if a government tries to do so without consulting public opinion, without informing it of the move, it will see its credit ruined and its country exposed to political disturbances; and yet it is only doing the same, only availing itself of the same privilege which is enjoyed by so many schemers, who often cannot offer the hundredth part of these guarantees and cannot run their business.

"It will be answered that these schemers know how to talk over the foolish and insinuate themselves into their confidence; it is therefore set up as a principle of commerce that the art of duping and plundering good-natured, credulous people deserves to be protected in every way and that this protection must be limited to the merchant and not be enjoyed by the government. I do not maintain that this fine art should be allowed to both, but on the contrary that it should be denied both to rulers and to merchants.

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[a] The word "good" has been inserted by Engels.—*Ed.*

"From this it follows that the merchant enjoys the ability to *issue fictitious money in the form of bills of exchange* (twelfth feature)—a crime which is equivalent to forging money, for which the other categories of rascals are sent to the gallows—and that the trade system of civilised people legalises and protects *competition of fraudulence* (third feature).

"The accusation of forging money, like the other points of the accusation, will be answered as follows: there must be merchants in order to ensure circulation, and business would become impossible if these agents were placed under restraint; the state would disrupt the public credit and place the whole of its industry in jeopardy.

"It is true enough that a quality of trade is that it *forges our fetters still tighter whenever the social body shows any signs of resistance.* As soon as any administrative measure hampers the machinations of trade, trade restricts credit and paralyses circulation, while the state, which wanted to eliminate an old disorder, in the end adds new ones. This effect is called repercussion (eleventh feature) in the Table.

"This danger is used as the basis for establishing the principle: Let the merchants do their job, their complete freedom is the guarantee of circulation. An exceedingly false principle, for it is precisely this complete freedom which gives rise to all the tricks that are so obstructive to circulation: stockjobbing, cornering, bankruptcy, and so on, the consequences of which are the two features:

"7. Artificial obstruction of supply sources.

"8. Oppressive surpluses.

"Let us see what influence these two features have on circulation."

Trade does not content itself with delivering commodities from the producer to the consumer,[a] "it schemes by means of cornering and stockjobbing speculation to produce an artificial dearth of those food articles which are not exactly plentiful. In 1807 a stockjobbing manoeuvre suddenly raised the price of sugar to five francs in the month of May, and the same sugar dropped to two francs in July, although not the slightest new supplies had arrived. But the stockjobbing had been countered by means of false information and thus the sugar had been brought down to its value; the scheming and artificially aroused fears that there would be no supply had been disposed of. These schemes and artificial fears play their tricks every day with some food article and *make* it scarce without a real scarcity existing. In 1812, when the harvest was assured and the corner-men were disappointed in their hopes, enormous quantities of grain and flour were suddenly seen coming from their warehouses. So there had been no shortage at all and absolutely no danger of famine, if only these foodstuffs had been distributed rationally." But trade has the peculiarity that even *before* there is a danger, with an eye to its possibility, it diverts supplies, stops circulation, arouses panicky fears, produces artificial food shortage.

"The same effect is produced in times of surplus, when trade obstructs supplies out of affected fear of profusion. In the former case it operates positively, by buying up foodstuffs in anticipation; in the latter case negatively, by not buying and thus causing prices to drop so low that the peasant does not even get his production costs refunded. Hence arises the eighth feature, oppressive surpluses.

"Trade will retort that it does not need to buy when it foresees no profit, and that it will not be so insane as to overload itself with grain which offers no probability at all of a surcharge, while it, trade, can invest its capital far more usefully in such commodities as hold out profit for it because of their scarcity, which can easily be increased by cornering.

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[a] Here Fourier refers to the third method (*le trafic ou négoce indirect intermédiaire*) quoted in his Table: *De l'echelle des méthodes commerciales appliquées aux diverses périodes.*—*Ed.*

"There you have convenient and pleasant principles in a social system in which people talk about nothing but mutual guarantees. Trade is therefore exempted whenever it pleases from serving the social body. It acts like an army which would be authorised to refuse to fight whenever danger were present, and to do service only in its own interest, without any consideration for the state interest. Such is our mercantile policy, so one-sidedly does it determine all obligations.

"In 1820 the price of grain dropped below three francs in various provinces in which a price of four francs hardly covered the costs. This would not have occurred had French trade bought in advance six months' food supplies for thirty million persons," as it would have had to do under a system of mutuality adapting itself to the interests of both parties.[a] "This reserve stock, withdrawn from circulation and locked up in granaries, would have kept up the price of the rest, and the peasant would not have suffered from the depreciation and the impossibility to market his products. But our trade system works exactly in the opposite direction: it aggravates the pressure of surplus and the evils of famine and thus has a destructive effect on both sides.[b]

"I have chosen the eighth feature, oppressive surplus, to show that the existing mode of trade has both negative and positive defects, and that it often sins by non-intervention, by omitting a service which it could easily render. For when in a time of famine the sum of five hundred million is required to buy up the corn, it is immediately available; but if this sum is needed for precautionary measures to increase stocks in times of surplus, not even five hundred talers[c] can be scraped together. There is neither mutuality nor guarantee in the contract concluded between the social body and the commercial body. The latter serves only its own interest, not that of society, and hence the abundant capital which it uses *is a robbery perpetrated against industry as a whole*. In the Table I have listed this robbery as the fifth feature: 'Removal of capital."

Thus, on both sides of trade "there is not the slightest sense of obligation towards the social body, which surrenders itself, bound hand and foot, to the Minotaur, to whom it guarantees despotic power over capitals and foodstuffs." Yes, indeed, despotic power! "After so many declamations against despotism we still have not discovered *the real one*, which is no other than *the despotism of trade*, that real satrap of the civilised world![d]

"To sum up, it follows from this that the civilised mechanism guarantees the merchants complete impunity for the crime of forging money, for which other classes are punished with death—and that this impunity is based on the pretence of help which they allegedly render to circulation but in reality refuse—positively by artificial obstruction of supply sources and negatively by oppressive profusion.

"To this falsity in the results must be added the lack of any principles. The economists admit that their science has absolutely no fixed principles; and it is indeed the height of unprincipledness to grant complete freedom to a class of so exceedingly depraved agents as the merchants.

"The consequence of all this is that the commercial movement proceeds by fits and starts, in spasms, surprises and excesses of all descriptions, as can be seen every day in the present trade mechanism, which can achieve only a periodically interrupted circulation, without regular graduation, without balance and guarantees.

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[a] This summarises the ideas contained in the two preceding paragraphs of Fourier's work, which Engels omitted.—*Ed.*

[b] The last sentence is given by Engels abridged.—*Ed.*

[c] Fourier has "écus".—*Ed.*

[d] Engels gives the text of this paragraph in a somewhat abridged form.—*Ed.*

"An amusing result of this disorder is that people have the courage to reproach the government with financial abuses which they never dare to reproach trade with. Witness the two bankruptcies—that of Law's bank-notes and that of the assignats.[211] These were gradual bankruptcies, they were seen approaching from afar; with a timely partial sacrifice they could have been guarded against. Despite these extenuating circumstances the public gave no quarter. It rightly declared Law's notes and the assignats to be forgery, armed plunder.

"Why then does the same public good-naturedly tolerate the issue of counterfeit money by the merchants when it does not allow it for governments, even when these are cautious enough to prepare for the bankruptcy by a slow depreciation which affords the holders of the papers the possibility to evade it? This possibility does not exist for the holders of the securities issued by trade. Bankruptcy strikes them like a thunderclap. Many a man goes to sleep tonight in possession of 300,000 francs and wakes up tomorrow with no more than 100,000 as a result of a bankruptcy. The National Convention copied this manoeuvre in the operation of the Consolidated Third[212]; people did not tire of reproaching it with this as a fully established robbery. And yet every merchant is allowed the right to commit still more vexatious robberies and to steal by bankruptcy two-thirds of what he received, whereas the Convention withheld two-thirds of sums it had never received. How outrageous the crimes of trade become when compared with other, and even the biggest, political infamies![a]

"The following details will demonstrate that modern politics, by handing over trade to completely free merchants exempt from any kind of obligation, has set the wolf among the fold and provoked robberies of all kinds."

Let us now go on to bankruptcy to describe it in somewhat greater detail.

## III
## HIERARCHY OF BANKRUPTCY

"When a crime becomes very frequent, one gets accustomed to it and witnesses it with indifference.[213] In Italy or Spain people remain quite cool at the sight of a hired assassin stabbing his designated victim and taking refuge in a church, where he enjoys immunity. In Italy one sees fathers mutilate and murder their children to improve their voice, while the servants of 'the God of peace' encourage them to perpetrate these brutalities so as to obtain good singers for their choirs. Such abominations would arouse the indignation of all other civilised nations if they occurred amongst them," but on the other hand they "have other outrageous customs which would make the Italians' blood boil.

"If the customs and opinions within civilisation differ so much from nation to nation, how much more must they differ from one social epoch to another; how hateful would the vices which are tolerated in civilisation seem in less imperfect social stages! One can hardly believe that countries which call themselves well ordered can tolerate for a moment such abominations as bankruptcy.[b]

"Bankruptcy is the most ingenious and shameless villainy that has ever existed; it guarantees every merchant the ability to rob the public of a sum proportionate to his fortune or his credit, so that a rich man can say: 'I set up as a tradesman in 1808; on such and such a day in the year 1810 I will steal so and so many millions, whoever they may belong to.'

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[a] Fourier has "such as the infamies of the Convention", which Engels omits.—*Ed.*

[b] The last sentence is given by Engels abridged.—*Ed.*

"Let us leave aside a present development, the new French code[214] and its intention to punish bankruptcy. There is no unanimity in respect of the success of this intention and means of evading the new laws are already being suggested. Therefore we shall first let practice decide and meanwhile base our arguments on already known facts; consider the disorders which result from the philosophical system and the principle: Leave the merchants complete freedom, without demanding any guarantee of the cleverness, the honesty or the solvency of each individual.

"From these arises, alongside other abuses, bankruptcy, a still more heinous robbery than highway robbery. However, people have become accustomed to it and put up with it so well that they even recognise *honest bankruptcies* — those in which the speculator steals only half.

"Let us go on to a detailed description of this kind of heroism, which was little known in antiquity. Since then it has experienced a brilliant upswing. It presents analysts with a series of developments which testify to our progress towards perfectibility.

*Hierarchy of Bankruptcy.—Feature 31.—The Crimes of Trade.—A Free Series in Three Orders, Nine Genera, and Thirty-Six Species*[215]

"*Right or ascending wing. Light hues.*

I. *The Innocent.*

1) Child bankruptcy.
2) Daredevil bankruptcy.
3) Stealthy bankruptcy.
4) Posthumous bankruptcy.

II. *The Honourable.*

5) Goose bankruptcy.
6) Ecstatic bankruptcy.
7) Unprincipled bankruptcy.

III. *The Seductive.*

8) Amiability bankruptcy.
9) Bankruptcy *de bon ton.*
10) Amorous bankruptcy.
11) Bankruptcy by favour.
12) Sentimental bankruptcy.

"*Centre of the Series. Grandiose Hues.*

IV. *The Tacticians.*

13) Fat bankruptcy.
14) Cosmopolitan bankruptcy.
15) Hopeful bankruptcy.
16) Transcendent bankruptcy.
17) Graded bankruptcy.

V. *The Manoeuvrers.*

18) Running fire bankruptcy.
19) Close-column bankruptcy.
20) Marching-in-file bankruptcy.
21) Skirmisher bankruptcy.

VI. *The Agitators.*

22) Bankruptcy in grand style.
23) Large-scale bankruptcy.
24) Attila bankruptcy.

"*Left or Descending Wing. Dirty Hues.*

VII. *The Cunning Sneakers.*

25) Compensation bankruptcy.
26) Bankruptcy out of rank.
27) Crescendo bankruptcy.
28) Godly bankruptcy.

VIII. *The Bunglers*

29) Fools' bankruptcy.
30) Invalids' bankruptcy.
31) Crushing bankruptcy.
32) Swinish bankruptcy.

IX. *The False Brothers.*

33) Villains' bankruptcy.
34) Gallows-bird bankruptcy.
35) Fugitive bankruptcy.
36) Bankruptcy for fun.

## IV

## ASCENDING WING OF BANKRUPTS

"In a very depraved, very grasping century one would be a general laughing-stock if one declaimed in a schoolmaster's tone against the accredited vices, against bankruptcy. It is much more sensible to chime in the dominant tone and to see the funny side of social crimes. So I shall try to prove that bankruptcy is an even much more laughable villainy than it is believed to be by its promoters and protectors, who see nothing but well-behaved trifles in its mercantile plunder.

"Everything is relative, in vice as in virtue. Even robbers have their standards of justice and honour. It is therefore no wonder that among themselves bankrupts admit principles and degrees in rascality. I have sought to use these as a basis for my division. I have divided them according to the custom in three corps, the first of which contains the light, graceful hues, the second the imposing, lofty characters, and the third the rather inconspicuous, trivial genera. The right wing will open the march-past."

### *The Innocent*

"I. *Child bankruptcy* is that of the greenhorn who is making his debut in the career, and inconsiderately, without any preparatory tactics, indulges in the mad prank of going bankrupt. The notary easily puts the affair in order. He presents it as a folly of youth and says: 'Youth counts on your indulgence, Messieurs the Creditors.' The annoying business is wound up to the merriment of the public, for

these greenhorn bankruptcies are always interlarded with amusing incidents: duped usurers, mystified skinflints,[a] etc.

"The bankrupt of this genus can risk masses of shabby affairs: appropriation of goods, scandalous loans, thefts from relatives, friends, neighbours—everything is washed away by the argument of a relative who says to the irate creditors: 'What can you expect—he is a child without any knowledge of business; one must close one's eyes where young people are concerned, he will improve with time.'

"These child bankrupts have a strong support on their side, namely mockery. One likes to mock in trade; one is inclined to mock at those who are duped rather than to censure the villains, and when a bankrupt has the laughers on his side he is sure to see the majority of his creditors capitulate immediately and to win his composition by assault.

"2. *Daredevil bankruptcy*; that of certain beginners who play double or quits, people who gallop off at full speed, speculate and manage their affairs like mad, make ducks and drakes with huge sums of money and play the grand gentleman to achieve by storm a temporary credit which they manage to secure by some secret sacrifice. When these daredevils once get going they heap blunder on blunder and usually end up in flight. The affair will be excused as botch work and easily arranged, for it provides material for mockery like the preceding one.

"These daredevils are extremely common in France and are here honoured with the title of speculators. They are very sure of their game if they hasten the discovery so that they can turn their somersault at the very moment when they are believed to have hardly got going, when everybody is ready to grant them credit for a first deal and thinks: 'he will certainly not come a cropper in the very first year.'

"3. *Stealthy bankruptcy*, the type carried out underhand, is one in which the embarrassed debtor proposes 'a small arrangement', a rebate of 25 per cent or coverage in goods to be over-assessed by 25 per cent. The mediator remarks to the creditors that this is very advantageous for them, for if they press the debtor and oblige him to go bankrupt they will lose at least 50 per cent.

"This kind of relative calculation is very much insisted upon in trade. One often comes across villains who, after they have robbed you of 30 per cent, try to prove that you are making an enormous profit because they are not fleecing you of 50 per cent. Others maintain that they have to bear heavy losses because they are earning no more than 40 per cent on you and actually should be earning 60 per cent. This apparently ridiculous way of reckoning is recognised everywhere in commerce; it has its greatest triumph in underhand bankruptcy. People insist that this small rebate of 25 per cent is a clear net profit compared with the 50 per cent that bankruptcy would cost. Shaken by the force of this argument, the creditors agree to the 'small arrangement'. He who was to receive 4,000 francs gets 3,000, and that is by no means called bankruptcy.

"4. *Posthumous bankruptcy*, which is adjudicated after the hero's death; it becomes a plea in defence of the deceased who hoped to set his business in order again and would certainly have been a credit to it if he had but lived. After that his excellent qualities are praised and his poor orphans sincerely pitied. Surely the creditors will not wish to worry a tearful widow! If she is beautiful that would be altogether barbaric! Meanwhile, the widow, with the help of a few persons of trust, has managed some sizable defalcations before the sealing. The deficiencies will be charged to the deceased, who did not have time to put his affairs in order and who will not come back to disprove this little fib. If there was a deficit of 25 per cent it will easily be increased to 50 per cent, it does not cost any more once one has made a beginning; besides, how stupid it would be to go bankrupt with a 25 per cent

[a] Here Fourier has "Harpagons" instead of "skinflints".—*Ed.*

deficit when people with one of 50 per cent are still considered honest—especially when the fault lies with a highly respectable deceased person, whose memory it would be abominable to discredit!"

### *The Honourable*

"The four species mentioned are those of fictitious innocence. We now let those of real innocence pass in review. It would be unfair to brand bankrupts *en masse* because nine-tenths of them are scoundrels. I shall adduce three truly excusable classes. We shall have but too many guilty ones to accuse; so let us first seek some honest people among this confraternity, which has become so numerous since the revolution[a] that in some towns one no longer asks who has, but who has *not* gone bankrupt.

"5. *Goose bankruptcy* is that of an unfortunate one who does not peculate a mite, hands everything over to the creditors and throws himself on their mercy without any deception. The other bankrupts mock at him and declare him to be a simpleton[b] for not at least feathering his nest; and in fact such a loyal man is unworthy of our century of perfectibility.

"6. *Ecstatic bankruptcy* is the work of a man who is desperate, considers himself dishonoured and sometimes shoots himself or jumps into the water. It means one is well behind the times if one wishes to be an honest man in the 19th century, and moreover in trade!

"All the same it is a pleasure for me to have to say that one still comes across such people in trade, but they are few and far between—*rari nautes in gurgite vasto.*[c] Everybody foretells them their fate, so well known is the fact that out of ten villains that plunge into trade nine make their fortune, whereas out of ten honest people nine are ruined.

"7. *Unprincipled bankruptcy* is that of a booby who lets justice intervene and pronounce sentence branding him and stripping him naked instead of doing as so many clever people do, who manage to emerge from this predicament with honour and profit.—These three honest knights are so little worthy of the exalted confraternity that I pass over them quickly. We now come to a sort which is more capable of earning the applause of experts."

### *The Seductive*

"Why should one not let oneself be seduced by bankrupts as one is by so many other wicked classes? We shall now inspect a clique which possesses every kind of charm and is made to conquer all hearts.

"8. *Amiability bankruptcy*, economical bankruptcy, is that of a little man as sweet as honey who desires nothing but the good of his creditors, would be desperate if he had to put them out of pocket, and presses them to negotiate for 50 per cent in order to avoid the intervention of justice which would devour the lot. He has the creditors notified that he wants to treat them as friends whose interests are dear to him. Full of gratitude for the friendly services they have rendered him, he trembles at the thought of having to cause them lawsuit costs. These smooth words and other guiles seduce some while others yield for fear of justice swallowing up the lot.

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[a] Here Fourier has "*la régénération*". (He associated with the French Revolution a rebirth of the trade system which goes with civilisation.)—*Ed.*

[b] Fourier has "Jocrisse"—the simpleton in the popular French theatre and in Molière's comedy *Sganarelle.*—*Ed.*

[c] Rare swimmers in a vast gulf (Virgil, *Aeneid).*—*Ed.*

"9. *Bankruptcy de bon ton* is that of people who are very much liked in refined society and maintain their household on an excellent footing till the last moment. As they are *comme il faut* in all respects, they have abundant protection and when they are not at more than 60 per cent in deficit they easily get a composition; especially when the lady and the daughters of the house can be used as pleaders and avail themselves of the decision of a Sanchez[216] who allows them to wear a very transparent scarf when they go soliciting in important matters.

"10. *Amorous bankruptcy* is that of pretty ladies; it is not decent to complain about it, the fair sex is entitled to consideration. A pretty woman has a business, goes bankrupt,[a] robs you of a thousand talers[b]; if you pester her it only goes to show that you have no *savoir vivre*; she is right when she has no patience with the intractable. I heard one such lady say about a creditor: 'What a man! They even say he is still grumbling; I advise him, indeed, to complain about his fifty louis, I should have chalked him up for twice as much!' He had had certain intimacies with the lady, she had the right to treat him as ungrateful.

"11. *Bankruptcy by favour*, in the case of which it is obvious that the creditors derive profit—and how does that happen? When the bankrupt steals only a little, 40 per cent, and provides security, a very substantial caution, for the rest. This is considered so fortunate that the notary congratulates the assembled creditors, congratulates them on an excellent piece of business, a 'real favour'. To lose only four thousand francs out of ten thousand and to get six thousand paid back is a real advantage. Somebody not accustomed to commerce would be unable to appreciate this favour; he would want to have all of his ten thousand and would think he had been robbed of four thousand. What bad manners! To claim that a man robs you when he deducts 40 per cent discount and otherwise treats you in a friendly way!

"12. *Sentimental bankruptcy* occurs with certain people who deliver speeches to break your heart and pour out such floods of feeling and virtue over the creditor that he would be a barbarian if he did not instantly surrender, did not esteem himself happy to oblige such fine people who tenderly love all those whose money they cause to disappear. People of this kind pay with excellent excuses and very flattering eulogies, they catch the creditor by his feelings, converse with him only about his and their virtues; you feel so much improved when the conversation is over; you discover in yourself a multitude of virtues which amply outweigh the sum abstracted. You have a few thousand francs less but all the more virtues; it is a clear profit for beautiful souls.

"One of those actors[c] said to me one day: 'I was so sorry for the gentlemen, they are very fine, very respectable people'—and the good young man, as proof of his respect, robbed them[d] at once in the first deal with a bill of exchange which he gave them as a present and a token of welcome. He had drawn the sum in order to come into contact with them, and a month later he went bankrupt. What a joy for these gentlemen to have received his *respect* as a security for ten thousand francs!

"I have kept my word, I had promised a seductive company. There is nothing but friendship, favour, *bon ton*, and tender feelings in all bankruptcies of this truly amiable series. But if it is calculated to win hearts, others will command wonder, give rise to brilliant upswings, transcendent characters, and represent the heroes of their genus."

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[a] The words "has a business, goes bankrupt" were added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] Fourier has "écus".—*Ed.*

[c] Fourier has "histrions"—literally actors in Ancient Rome; later it came to mean buffoons or comedians; figuratively—charlatans.—*Ed.*

[d] Fourier has "of 10,000 francs".—*Ed.*

## V

## CENTRE.—GRANDIOSE HUES

"We now come to the magnificent manifestations of the spirit of commerce, to the extensive operations which demonstrate the century's immense progress towards rebirth and perfectibility. Bankruptcy will here unfold its mastery and operate according to far-reaching plans, the exposition of which will prove the wisdom of the principle: Let the merchants do their job, leave them complete freedom for their lofty conceptions of deceit and plunder."

### *The Tacticians*

"13. *Fat bankruptcy* is that of speculators of high standing who possess the genius of trade. Banker Dorante[217] has two million and wishes to achieve as soon as possible by some means a fortune of four to five million. By virtue of his known capital he receives credit amounting to eight million in bills of exchange, goods, etc., so he has a fund of ten million to play with. He plunges into grand speculation and deals in goods and state securities. At the end of the year he may have lost his two million instead of doubling them; you consider him as ruined—not at all, he will have the four million just as if he had transacted good business; for he still has the eight million that he has received and by means of an 'honest' bankruptcy he arranges to pay half of this over several years. So it happens that after losing his own two million he finds himself in possession of four million that he has abstracted from the public. What a wonderful thing, this free trade! Do you now grasp why one hears it said every day of a merchant: 'He is doing very well since his bankruptcy'?

"A further opportunity for the bankrupt: Dorante, after a peculation of four million, retains intact his honour and public respect, not as a lucky villain, but as an unlucky merchant. Let us explain this.

"Dorante obtained control over public opinion while he was pondering his bankruptcy: his fêtes in town, his country parties secured him warm supporters; the gilded youth is for him; the *belles* sympathise with his misfortune—misfortune today is a synonym for bankruptcy; there is praise for his noble character, which deserves a better lot. It almost seems, according to what his defenders say, that the bankrupt has come off worse than those whose fortune he has destroyed. It is all blamed on political events, the unfavourable conditions and other verbiage current among notaries who are adepts at holding off attacks by irate creditors. After the first storm Dorante brings in a few middlemen, a few opportunely distributed wads of money, and soon public opinion is so well hedged in that anybody who dares to speak against Dorante is declared to be a cannibal. And besides, those whom he robbed of the biggest sums are a hundred or two hundred miles[a] away, in Hamburg or in Amsterdam; they will cool down in time, they do not matter much, their distant yapping does not affect opinion in Paris. Moreover, Dorante only causes them to lose half of their money, and custom has it that he who steals only half is more unfortunate than guilty; so that in the public mind Dorante stands clean from the start. After a month public attention is diverted by other bankruptcies which create a bigger sensation and in which between two-thirds and three-quarters went west. New splendour for Dorante, who took only half, and then it is an old forgotten story. Dorante's house begins gradually to open to the public again, his cook recovers his old sway over hearts and minds and unheeded are the cries of

[a] Fourier has "*lieues*".—*Ed.*

some black-galled creditors who have no sympathy for misfortune and have no regard for the consideration due to good society.

"Thus in less than six months ends the operation by which Dorante and those of his kind rob the public of millions, ruin families whose fortunes they hold in their hands, hurl honest merchants into bankruptcy which assimilates them to villains. Bankruptcy is the only social crime which spreads epidemically and plunges the honest man into the same disgrace as the rascal. The more honest merchant who has suffered from the bankruptcies of twenty knaves is himself forced in the end to cease his payments.

"Hence it comes that the villainous bankrupts, i.e., nine-tenths of the tribe, claim to be honest people who have been unfortunate and shout in chorus: We are to be pitied more than blamed. If you listen to them, they are all little saints, like galley-slaves, who all claim to have done nothing wrong.

"To this the supporters of free commerce will retort with talk of repressive laws, of tribunals; yes, indeed! Tribunals for people who steal several million at one go! Incidentally, the saying that petty thieves are hanged while the big ones go scot-free[a] is false as regards trade, for even the smallest bankruptcy evades justice under the protection of the merchants.

"14. *Cosmopolitan bankruptcy*. This is an alliance of the commercial mind with the philosophical. A bankrupt is a true cosmopolite if after exploiting one kingdom he goes through a series of bankruptcies in several others. This is a safe speculation. On arrival one is unknown, if necessary one changes one's name, as Jews do, and receives credit at once on the strength of the capital amassed as a result of an earlier bankruptcy. It is a delightful idea of modern politics to hand over the general administration of the industrial product to people who are not tied by any solid link, any big landed estate to their native country and who, as cosmopolites, can reckon on half a dozen successive bankruptcies in Paris, London, Hamburg, Trieste, Naples and Cadiz. I shall depict this bankruptcy under the heading of running fire, which has a cosmopolite as the pivotal point of its manoeuvre.

"15. *Hopeful bankruptcy*. This dates really from after the revolution[b] and is hardly half a century old. Young people formerly did not make their debut in commerce so early, they were never chiefs before their thirtieth year. Now at the age of eighteen they run a house and at twenty they can have their first bankruptcy, which justifies great hopes for the future. There are some who before they are thirty have already been bankrupt three times and more than once got through one hundred talers belonging to their sleeping partner. When one sees them one says: 'he is very young to have such fame, but we are living in the age of young people.'

"16. *Transcendent bankruptcy* requires a far-reaching plan, an immense upswing, an office with thirty to forty clerks, numerous ships, colossal interests in all countries, then a sudden crash, a terrible somersault the counterblasts of which echo in the four corners of the world, and a chaos of liquidations on the fat of which businessmen can thrive for ten years. It is an operation in which the mercantile genius is unfolded in all its brilliance; it must entail a loss of at least three-quarters, for in this mighty picture everything must be laid out magnificently.

"17. *Graded bankruptcy* is that of a speculator who, by wisely directing his operation, can achieve a career of seven or eight successive bankruptcies. In this case he must adopt a different course than the one who aims at only one or two.

"The principles are:

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[a] The words "the big ones go scot-free" were added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] Fourier has "*la régénération*".—*Ed.*

"1) in the first bankruptcy to plunder only with measure; 50 per cent is sufficient, one must not make the people wild from the start, and the second bankruptcy would be too difficult if one discredited oneself at the first trial stroke through too great covetousness;

"2) in the second bankruptcy to plunder only very little, not more than 30 per cent, in order to prove that the bankrupt has learned something, that he already operates more skilfully and cautiously, and that he will become an accomplished merchant, a worthy 'friend of trade', when he has recovered from this second blow;

"3) in the third to plunder abundantly, at least 80 per cent, claiming that it is no ordinary deficit, but one caused by extraordinary mischance; to see it through by pleading some critical circumstances, to draw attention to one's good behaviour in the second bankruptcy in order to prove that the blame lies entirely with events;

"4) in the fourth to plunder only 50 per cent in order to prove that one is a cautious man and knows how to remain within the appropriate bounds when not swept away by circumstances;

"5) in the fifth one can go as far as 60 per cent, because the public is accustomed to it; 10 per cent more or less spoils no speculation of this kind when public opinion has become accustomed to it; for it is known that whoever has had four bankruptcies will also have a fifth and a sixth. I have seen one bankrupt who was laughed at after his fourth bankruptcy because he wore a clerical hat as a sign of piety and good morals; he did not let himself be put off and prepared the fifth.

"The sixth and seventh are *ad libitum*, one has them only as age draws on and when one thinks of resting on one's laurels. Nothing is easier than to excuse a sixth bankruptcy; one is too old to change, nobody is surprised any longer. For the rest, it is argued that the government refuses to protect trade and is the cause of these little setbacks of honest businessmen.

"Let no one be surprised if I give here a few principles to be used in bankruptcy; it is a quite new art which, like economics, from which it sprang, has as yet no fixed principles, nor even a methodical nomenclature. For instance, titles have been given only to the first four stages in graded bankruptcy.

"The man who has had his first bankruptcy is simply a 'Knight',

"At the second he receives the title of 'Prince',

"At the third the title of 'King',

"At the fourth 'Emperor'.

"For the fifth, sixth and seventh grade there are not yet any names among the members of the trade. A true 'friend of trade' must rise to the full octave. In order to be a 'harmonious' bankrupt one must have had seven 'honest' bankruptcies with average losses of 50 per cent, and then a reinforced, a complete bankruptcy, as the pivotal point in the series; it is then allowed to plunder to the extent of at least 80 per cent as an indemnity for the moderation shown in the others; the fifty per cent of earlier bankruptcies is only the honest tariff, a quite small slice, giving nobody the right to censure, because it is the accepted rate for bankruptcies, a fixed price, exactly like the price of tartlets or coach fares."

### *The Manoeuvrers*

"In this item we deal with the mass evolutions which require co-operation of different bankrupts for the good of trade and the triumph of lofty truth. These collective manoeuvres will show us four sorts of evolution artists.

"18. *Running fire bankruptcy*. This is generally caused by counterblasts, through a concatenation of bankruptcies, one caused by another. I shall describe one of the medium sort, the bourgeois kind, because they are most understandable for the

bulk of readers. We shall take one of the cosmopolitan artists, whose definition I have postponed, as the pivotal point of the running fire manoeuvre.

"Judas Iscariot arrives in France[218] with 100,000 francs[a] capital, which he earned in his first bankruptcy; he establishes himself as a merchant in a town where he has six respected and accredited houses as rivals. In order to take away their clientele and their good reputation, Iscariot immediately begins to sell his wares at cost price, a sure way of attracting the multitude. Soon his rivals clamour in a most pitiful way about him; he laughs at their complaints and continues all the more to sell off everything at cost price.

"Thereupon the people shout so that it is a pleasure to hear them: Long live competition, long live the Jews, long live philosophy and fraternity! All commodities have become cheaper since Iscariot's arrival, and the public say to his rivals: You, Gentlemen, are the real Jews, you want to earn too much; Iscariot alone is an honest man, he is content with a moderate profit, because he runs no brilliant household as you do.—Vain are all the representations made by the old houses that Iscariot is a villain in disguise who sooner or later will come to grief; the public accuse them of jealousy and calumny and crowd more and more to the Jew.

"The calculation that this thief makes is as follows: By selling at cost price he loses only the interest on his capital, let it come to 10,000 francs annually, but ensures a good outlet for himself, makes a name for himself in the maritime towns as a good consumer and by prompt payment gets big credit. This trick is pursued for two years, after which Iscariot has earned nothing, though he has sold enormous quantities. His manoeuvre remains undetected, because Jews have only Jewish office staff, people who are the secret enemies of all nations and will never betray a villainy thought up by their 'own' people.

"When all is ripe for development, Iscariot puts in his whole credit, places giant orders in all maritime towns, buys goods on credit for the sum of 5-600,000 francs. He sends his wares abroad and sells his whole stock dirt cheap. When he has exchanged everything for money the good Iscariot vanishes with his briefcase and returns to Germany, where he has despatched the goods he bought on credit, sells them quickly and is four times as rich when he leaves France as he was on his arrival; he has 400,000 francs, and he goes to London or Leghorn to get a third bankruptcy under way.

"Now the veil suddenly falls and people come to their senses in the town where he struck his blow. People realise how dangerous it is to permit Jews to trade, those vagabonds who are not tied to anything. But this bankruptcy of Iscariot is only the first act of the farce; let us follow the running fire.

"The Jew has six rivals; we shall call them *A, B, C, D, E, F.*

"*A* had been in straits for a long time, he held out without capital, only by virtue of his good reputation; but through the arrival of the Jew he is robbed of all his clients, he could pursue the race only for a year, and, not mature for these new philosophical systems which protect vagabonds, he finds himself compelled to bow down before Iscariot's tactics and to *declare himself bankrupt.*

"*B* endured the blow longer; he already saw the Jew's villainy from afar and waited for the storm to pass in order to win back his clientele which the rascal Iscariot had taken away. But meanwhile he is involved in a bankruptcy abroad; that is enough to accelerate his fall; he thought he could hold out for two years but he is obliged to *go bankrupt* after only fifteen months.

"*C* was associated with a foreign house which is ruined by another Iscariot—for they are to be found in all towns; *C* is brought down by the fall of his associate,

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[a] Here and elsewhere Fourier has "*livres*".—*Ed.*

and after making sacrifices for eighteen months to hold out against the competition from the Jewish blackguard, he finds himself forced to *go bankrupt*.

"*D* seems more honest than he is in reality. He still has the means to hold out, although he has been suffering from the Jew's competition for twenty months; but embittered by the losses which the latter has caused him, he lets himself be carried away by the vice of which he sees so many examples. He realises that three of his confraternity have opened up the march and that he will pass as a fourth in the alliance, pretexting real or fictitious misfortunes. Thus *D*, wearied by twenty months of struggle against Iscariot, sees that there is nothing cleverer for him than to *go bankrupt*.

"*E* had advanced considerable sums to his four successively bankrupt colleagues; he thought they were all solvent, and they were indeed, until Iscariot's manoeuvre spoilt their business for them. *E* finds himself stripped by the bankruptcies of these four houses; besides, he himself has no more clients; the entire public crowd to Iscariot, who sells off goods at cost price. *E* sees his funds annihilated, his credit destroyed, he is pressed, and as he can no more meet his commitments, he puts an end to it by *going bankrupt*.

"*F* has sufficient means, but as a result of the five previous bankruptcies, which warrant the conclusion that his will soon follow, he has lost his credit in all the maritime towns. Moreover, some of the bankrupts, having achieved a composition, are now selling at very low prices to be able to afford their payments when the first terms expire. In order to accelerate their sales, they lose one-tenth of the value and yet earn four-tenths, because they settled at 50 per cent. This entirely crushes *F*, and there is nothing left for him but to *go bankrupt* like his rivals.

"So the establishment of one vagabond or one Jew is sufficient to disorganise the whole merchant body of a large town and to draw the most honest people into crime; for every bankruptcy is more or less a crime, no matter how much it is extenuated by excellent pretexts such as those with which I have tinted these six bankruptcies, and there is hardly ever a word of truth in any of them. The truth of the matter is that everybody avidly seizes the opportunity to commit a theft if it remains unpunished.

"Occasionally running fire takes the form of ricochet fire, which is effective at a distance and involves a dozen houses in different countries simultaneously. They have common interests and the fall of the main house causes all the subsidiary houses concerned to crash, like a row of tin soldiers when the man at the end of the row is pushed.[a] This is a serious combination, worthy of figuring among the great manoeuvres, and in any case this ricochetting at a distance will have to form a special genus in a more accurate classification.

"19. *Close-column bankruptcy* requires favourable circumstances which serve as excuses, and prompt masses of merchants to risk the fateful leap. In this case they find support one in the other and are saved because of their number, like a regiment in close-column formation forces a way for itself with bayonets. Thus, when a favourable opportunity presents itself, bankrupts must close their ranks and post up a column of bankruptcies every day at the Stock Exchange; they must have them succeeding one another so quickly that public opinion is confused and compositions become easy to achieve in consideration of the difficult circumstances. These bankruptcies are seen occurring periodically in London; Paris too made a very beautiful attempt in close column in 1800, and it ended very happily for many 'friends of trade'.

"20. *Marching-in-file bankruptcy* is a series of bankruptcies which are linked

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[a] Fourier has "*comme une file de capucins de carte*".—*Ed.*

together, but break out at suitable intervals of two to three months. Contrary to the close columns, which follow one another day after day, marching-in-file bankruptcies require mutual agreement so that one goes bankrupt when one's turn comes, at the very instant when the predecessor has squared his composition. For instance, *A* has achieved his composition three months after bankruptcy and *B* must instantaneously declare himself insolvent because the mediators now find the public well disposed and can say: it is the same story as in the case of *A*, one was bound to lead to the other, the same composition must be made. Just the same for *C*, who will go bankrupt three months later, then *D*, *E*, *F*, and *G*; if they maintain their co-operation properly and succeed in keeping to the interval, they achieve the same composition for all. Marching in file is a very safe manoeuvre when it is cleverly directed; but it does not fit all circumstances, and only the genius of the prospective bankrupt can determine in which cases it is applicable.

"21. *Skirmisher bankruptcy* involves at the start those starving wretches who initiate a great movement and here and there cause small bankruptcies in their retail trade. From this one concludes that business will be difficult and the campaign a fierce one. And indeed soon after that the heavy artillery is heard, bankruptcies involving millions break out and hold public attention for a long time. Then the movement ends with the rearguard skirmishers, the retailer bankrupts, the grocers in small towns, who bring the session to an end with their plunges."

## *The Agitators*

"What! Is there not yet enough vexation and can you show us something still worse than the litany already described?

"I have only named the most honest. We are approaching the descending, despicable wing and can place here the bankrupts who operate according to far-reaching plans but disregard moral methods and compromise the lofty corporation.

"22. *Bankruptcy in grand style* affects all classes of society down to the smallest people, domestics and others, who deposit their modest savings with a hypocrite. Soon bankruptcy plunders landowners, the smaller middle class and the good-natured people in their hundreds. An entire town becomes involved. In general this type of bankruptcy affects particularly the non-trading classes of society and does significant harm to the corporation by arousing in the people and the petty bourgeoisie reflections which are hardly flattering for the respectable confraternity of the merchants.

"23. *Large-scale bankruptcy* is that of some obscure upstart who, without funds or backing, succeeds in breaking into big business and pulls off just as enormous a bankruptcy as the high and mighty bankers. It is generally wondered how this camp-follower could manage to strike up such acquaintances and to organise such a fat bankruptcy.

"This individual is the opposite of the preceding one; he takes a different road to attain the same goal, namely to excite public opinion against the tricks of the merchants and the preposterous laws which leave this scum complete freedom.

"24. *Attila bankruptcy* raises the fame of the bankrupts to the clouds and lays a country waste as if a whole army of vandals had swept across it. One can cite in this genus a brilliant bankruptcy pulled off in 1810 in Orleans by an amateur named T. He went bankrupt with a deficit of 16 million so excellently distributed over Orleans that the whole unfortunate town was laid low by it. All classes of citizens suffered from the devastation. Fugitives went as far as Lyons and spread the tidings: Orleans is destroyed, we are all ruined, T. is plunging everything into the abyss.

According to detailed reports, he had carried out his scheme so well that he had hoodwinked and plundered all classes, from rich capitalists to poor domestics who had saved a few talers[a] in their whole life and deposited them with the mercantile dealer and let themselves be robbed by him—under the protection of the fine principle: Let the merchants do their job, they know best what is in their interest.

"What robberies! What multiformity of crime in a single branch of commercial heroism! A single one, for let it be noted that bankruptcy is only the thirty-first feature of this lying trade for which science demands complete freedom under the pretext that the merchants know best what is in their interest—they know that indeed all too well, but they know only too little what is in the interest of the state and of industry, and so we are mystified by science and its theories on the absolute freedom of merchants.[b]"

## VI

## DESCENDING WING.—DIRTY HUES

"From the description of great feats of heroism we go on to more modest trophies. Not everything is great in bankruptcy like the three categories of the centre. Still, in the left wing too we shall bring together a remarkable collection, bankrupts in softened shades, people whose more burgherly virtues and failings will do good to the eye after the vivid brilliance of so many heroic deeds; we shall still find cohorts capable of cheering the reader—especially the last, that of the false brothers, who bring ill fame on the corps of bankrupts.—Let us begin with a more serious hue."

### *The Cunning Sneakers*

"25. *Compensation bankruptcy* is declared to obtain compensation for some accident. For instance, a speculator loses a lawsuit today which costs him 100,000 francs. So tomorrow he declares himself bankrupt, and this brings him 200,000. Thus he wins the sum in litigation instead of losing it. This capacity of trade to compensate itself for the disfavour of circumstances is one of its finest qualities; it can find its interest in every mishap on land and sea.[c] If a shipowner experiences a shipwreck, he rehabilitates himself the next day by a good bankruptcy; and this type of bankruptcy is accepted without any contradiction because the notary says: 'It is not his fault, events forced him to it, he is more to be pitied than blamed.'

"To this a landowner whose deposit thus goes west will answer: 'I cannot get compensation when hail or a flood ruin my crops, I have nobody to fall back on.'—A fine argument! Should not landowners know that under the present order of things they are a dependent class, dependent on the unproductive people called merchants who dig their claws into every product of industry to get themselves paid at the expense of the masses like a volunteer corps which, for lack of an enemy to plunder, strips its own friends and the good people? Such is the merchant, a *veritable cossack of industry*[d] whose motto is: 'I do not work *pour la gloire*, I must have something to rake in.' Every merchant wants to rake in, and if somebody

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[a] Fourier has "écus".—*Ed.*

[b] The last two sentences as given by Engels differ somewhat from the original.—*Ed.*

[c] The words "on land and sea" were added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[d] Fourier has "*cosaques industriels*".—*Ed.*

hopes to rake anything in from him by a lawsuit or otherwise, the merchant has his resources at hand and rakes in from others by means of a compensation bankruptcy.

"26. *Bankruptcy out of rank* is that of a wise man who has foreseen everything and put something aside with which he can face the storm and tame the intractable. If he wants to earn 200,000 francs by bankruptcy, he puts 300,000 aside, placing a third of it in useful hand-outs, presents, etc.; he knows how to quieten the most loud-mouthed, how to paralyse justice; a wad here, a wad there, and his case is briskly carried through. His bankruptcy brings him in the end a good number of friends, who get their piece of the cake and say that he is a man *comme il faut* who knows business inside out.

"27. *Crescendo bankruptcy* plays a farce in several acts which increase in interest as they develop. To start with, the affair is presented as a slight embarrassment, a case of shortage of disposable capital with a discount of 30 per cent necessary to prevent a crash. The creditors become worried and negotiate on the quiet, for they have been given to understand that things could take a bad turn and that the man in question must be supported. Meanwhile, in three months he is tottering again. Again the creditors are visited and made to fear his ruin; it is admitted that things are worse than was thought and that 50 per cent must be agreed to. Some of the creditors are vexed, the matter becomes entangled and bankruptcy is declared—and indeed on such terms that 80-90 per cent is lost instead of 50 per cent and the rest can be paid up only after some years. But the composition is still easy to bring about because the creditors, who have been skilfully handled and have successively become accustomed to a loss of 30, then 50, then 70 per cent, are weary of war; they sign and give the cursed business up as altogether lost, although it was said at the beginning that only 30 per cent was going to be lost. This method is not the worst and can be recommended to speculators who stick to principles.

"28. *Godly bankruptcy* is that of a holy man who belongs to all the confraternities and holds the cordon of the canopy at processions.[219] He easily finds credit and depositors and can prepare a far-reaching bankruptcy underhand. I have seen some bankruptcies of this type when the loss was 90 per cent. The advantage in such a case is that the bankrupt finds enough people who excuse him: 'Ah, he is a very pious man; if he has had no luck in business it is because he sets no store by the goods of this world.'—This piety is held up in order to hasten the composition, by which the pious apostle retains a good part of the goods of this world, together with the prospects of those of the other."

## *The Bunglers*

"In every profession one finds ignoramuses who work without any principles and can produce only a bad job with the best material. So among bankrupts too there are dunces who can do nothing else but change gold into copper and ruin themselves in a very stupid manner where others would do splendid business. I want to adduce and deal briefly with four genera, for this really honest category has nothing entertaining. I only let them march past for the sake of completeness of our analysis.

"29. *Fools' bankruptcy* is that of those befooled people who, enticed by fashionable catchwords, venture into trade without knowing its tricks and naturally scorch their wings like moths in the candlelight. Since 1789 there have been many big property-owners who had no need whatever to get involved in this turmoil; they have been seen to lose a rich heritage and end up in bankruptcy by which they parted with their fortune and their honour. It must be noted incidentally that only the honest

man loses his honour in bankruptcy, whereas the rascal, who knows the great principles of trade, can manage his bankruptcies in such a way that he acquires wealth and honour. But the great gentlemen who found themselves in this wasps' nest of trade wanted to negotiate honestly; they were surrounded by intriguers, played with like a ball and forced to end up with the bankruptcy of their illusions. Many small landowners have made the same mistake. Swept along by the mercantile race, they have abandoned their field, sold their small plot of land to set up a shop in town and meet their inevitable ruin.

"30. *Invalids' bankruptcy* is that of an incorrigible who wants to die with arms in hand. One sees many who ought to retire and who, weakened by age, can do nothing but bungle, are ignorant of the latest achievements and in their old age lose a slowly amassed fortune and obstinately hold out until repeated blunders make bankruptcy inevitable. How is one to describe a man of eighty who is a bachelor and has a fortune of two million, indeed sufficient for a single and aged man, and still obstinately continues huckstering at an age when he should retire and weep over his sins? When such a man gets himself ruined and loses his brilliant fortune in his eightieth year he is truly a mercantile fanatic. Such a man was the invalid bankrupt who is the prototype of this paragraph; for I have a prototype to show for all these species* so that I shall not be accused of exaggerating. Incidentally, many of these aged fanatics are to be found in every town; because they insist on continuing their trade, they deserve to be shamefully ruined, for today, when everything is raised to its quintessence, the need, in trade as in war, is for young people educated in modern tactics; and if bankruptcy is regarded as a harmless game for young people, it is indeed shameful for wealthy old men who should have thought of retiring twenty years ago.

"31. *Crushing bankruptcy* is that of enraged competitors who consciously rush towards ruin and indeed ruin themselves to dispute a small share of profit from a rival. One sees a great number of these who work at a loss in the hope that their rival will be ruined before they are, and that they themselves will remain masters of the battlefield. This disorder is prevalent particularly in the carrying trade and in the cloth markets such as Beaucaire,[220] and it leads to the 'crushed' being forced to go bankrupt.

"32. *Swinish bankruptcy* is that of a greenhorn who, instead of operating according to the principles, ruins himself, his wife and children and moreover exposes himself to the talons of justice and the contempt of the 'friends of trade', who respect only fat bankrupts who conform to the principles. In the jargon of commercial knaves they say of a bankrupt who thus ruins himself, his wife and children: That is indeed really swinish.—If he had had a fat bankruptcy, they would have called him a smart young man, a clever brain."

### *The False Brothers*

"I give the name of false brothers to those who expose the honourable clan of the bankrupts to the contempt of the public. Some of them provoke indignation, others laughter. I do not include in this class the transcendents, who steal by the million—these are always respectable and never compromise the clan; a great thief has never been contemptible in civilisation, whereas the small ones are the people to be hanged, and when they excite public opinion against villains and small bankruptcies they are unworthy of admission to the corporation and deserve to be styled as false brothers.

* The names of these prototypes are given by Fourier in the original.—*Note by Engels.*

"33. *Villains' bankruptcy* is that of small-scale blackguards who commit such obnoxious petty thefts in their bankruptcy that the neighbourhood says they ought to be hanged. That would not be the case with thefts of 100,000 talers; but thefts of 100 talers[a] suggest the idea of the gallows. Incidentally these ideas are not dangerous for the knave, because the confraternity of the bankrupts[b] never allows its colleagues to be molested; otherwise justice would soon feel authorised to pass on from the petty thieves to the big ones, which would be very awkward for those who act according to great principles and have found a place in good society after an 'honest' bankruptcy.

"34. *Gallows-bird bankruptcy* is that by which besides dirty tricks, the man concerned commits also learned acts of perfidy, for instance, robs himself to provide an occasion for sentimental tactics.

"Scapin, a petty crook,[221] indulges in a scaramouch bankruptcy involving only 40,000 francs; he steals 30,000 francs, which constitutes the profit on the operation, and then offers the creditors the remainder, amounting to 10,000 francs. When he is asked about the deficit of 30,000 francs, he says that he does not know book-keeping like big merchants, and that he has been 'unlucky'. Perhaps you believe Scapin will be punished because he is a petty thief who steals only 30,000 francs—but do not the creditors know that if justice intervenes it will eat up the remaining 10,000 francs just for breakfast? And even when these 10,000 francs have disappeared, nothing will be settled; if they want to have Scapin hanged, it will cost them perhaps an additional 10,000 francs and it is still not known whether they will succeed. It is therefore better in any case to accept the moderate sum of 10,000 francs than to lose it and still have to pay just as much over and above. Through his notary Scapin puts forward this argument, *so that the bankrupt himself threatens his creditors with justice.* And why should Scapin's creditors be furious with him? Some of them think of following his noble example, the others are already ahead of him in their career. So, as wolf does not eat wolf, Scapin soon finds a number of signatories who declare themselves satisfied with his proposals; others sign for fear that justice may intervene; others again are intractable and speak of sacrificing all to have a blackguard sent to the galleys. Then Scapin sends them his wife and children, who implore his mercy with well-practised wailings, and so in a few days Scapin and his notary receive the majority of signatures. Thereupon the obstreperous, who are no longer needed, are made fun of. Their rage is laughed at. Scapin answers them with ingratiating words and profound bows, and immediately after the happy issue of the first bankruptcy, he starts to think of a new one.

"35. *Fugitive bankruptcy* is customary among small tenants in large towns. As the date of payment approaches they bolt and bring their wretched movables to safety 'under cover of the night.' It is very much in vogue among the silk weavers in Lyons; it is also resorted to by all elegant individuals of both sexes who order the very best things at restaurants, the tailor's and the shoemaker's, and are very accommodating as far as the price goes because they intend to pay with fine words and to bolt as soon as their creditors begin to get unpleasant.

"This kind of bankruptcy is droll and shows the corporation in a bad light. When one scoffs at a man who has cheated twenty petty shopkeepers, one easily becomes accustomed to scoffing at a man *comme il faut* whose bankruptcy ruins twenty families. These freedoms of criticism must be suppressed in order not to imperil the respect due to the honourable bankrupts among the 'friends of trade'.

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[a] Here Fourier has "*écus*" and further on "*livres*", which Engels translates as "*francs*".—*Ed.*

[b] Fourier has "*la corporation des banqueroutiers*".—*Ed.*

"36. *Bankruptcy for fun* is that of a small retailer who goes bankrupt according to the very best form just like the high and mighty bankers and does not give his creditors more than five per cent. Among others, a Lyons actor, distinguished for his comical roles and therefore very much loved by the public, went bankrupt in this way. In all due form he offered his creditors the sum of *three per cent.* Some of them were vexed and wanted to send the bailiff to him; but he mystified justice as he mystified it on the stage in the *Avocat Patelin,* and all the public were on his side. His bankruptcy was a highly amusing comedy, which afforded many a priceless scene. The creditors could swear, the public only laughed at them as they did at Guillaume in the *Avocat Patelin.*

"I have now gone rapidly through all these definitions. However, my list is so incomplete that it can be considered as a mere outline to which everybody can supply the missing features.[a] There are masses of remarkable ones. Only a few days ago the Paris papers reported a brilliant bankruptcy, that of a certain Y., who established a pompously publicised agency with no more than 10,000 francs. I believe it was an office for the regeneration of trade or some other pompous title, by means of which he obtained a million from a few jackanapes, whom he paid as usual with a good bankruptcy. In a word, the number of bankruptcy genera which I have collected here can easily be doubled."

## VII

## CONCLUSION[b]

"When one reflects that bankruptcy is only a single one of the thirty-six features of trade, one finds difficulty in explaining why this so fearful mine of crimes, this mechanism of trade, has not yet been analysed; and that in this century, which is so uncompromising towards the crimes of all classes in society and has made public the crimes of kings and popes.

"When one reads this collection of merchants' filth, one cannot help wondering how it comes that a century which calls itself the friend of lofty truth has been able in all seriousness to grow enthusiastic over this lying trade, arguing that after all one cannot do without trade; as if for that reason one must accept fraud and theft such as those which we have listed in one single crime of trade, namely bankruptcy.

"However, let us finish what we have to say about this.

"The saying that justice sends only petty thieves to the gallows is proved false in trade. The bankrupt, even the smallest, evades prosecution, protected by the merchants themselves. We saw that under the last category (false brothers), which is that of miniature bankrupts.

"It would be vain to quote the punishment of a few fraudulent bankrupts; ninety-nine manage to get away with it, and if the hundredth fails he must be a stupid devil and not know how to pursue his intrigue. For the operation is so simple nowadays that the old precautionary measures have long ago been forgotten. Formerly a bankrupt used to flee to Trient, Liège or Carouge, but since the rebirth of 1789 this custom has been abandoned. Everybody now goes bankrupt *en famille.* The matter is quietly prepared, and when it explodes, one goes for a month to the country, to the intimacy of one's relatives and friends;

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[a] At the beginning and the end of this paragraph Fourier's text is somewhat paraphrased by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] Fourier has "Conclusion on Bankruptcy".—*Ed.*

the notary meanwhile puts everything in order. After a few weeks one reappears, and the public is so accustomed to this kind of story that it regards it as a pleasant joke; it is called 'being confined' and one says quite dispassionately: 'So-and-so is back, he has just had his confinement.'

"I have noted that bankruptcy is the only social crime which becomes epidemical and forcibly carries the honest man along the road of the scoundrel. If to bankruptcy we add stockjobbing and so many other infamies, we shall find that I was right when I affirmed that civilised people had never committed so many political follies as since they plunged into trade. Never have the philosophers, who dream of nothing but counterbalance and guarantees, thought of providing the social body with the guarantee which governments, judiciously enough, demand of their fiscal agents! A prince assures himself of the rectitude of his treasurer by means of a cash security and the prospect of inevitable punishment if he were to dare risk or squander the public monies deposited with him. Why does it not happen that the collectors of public monies appropriate the revenues from taxes and write letters of lamentation to the government saying: The misfortunes of the times, the critical circumstances, the deplorable accidents, etc., in a word, I have gone bankrupt, insolvent, or whatever you call it. Your treasury should contain ten million; I offer you half of that sum, five million, payable in five years. Allow yourself to be moved by the misfortune of a lamentable treasurer, maintain me in your confidence and the administration of your treasury, without which I am not even able to pay you the half which I now offer you; but if you leave me my position and my income, I shall endeavour to discharge my obligations towards you honourably, that is, to treat you to a second bankruptcy as soon as the treasury is full again.

"Such in brief is the content of all bankrupts' letters. If treasurers do not follow this example, it is because they know that no philosophical theory can save them from the punishment which the bankrupt evades—under the protection of the principle: 'Leave the merchants complete freedom without demanding any guarantee against their machinations.'"

* * *

So writes Fourier. The continuation of this article in the second issue of the *Phalange* contains three chapters on Stock Exchange operations, speculative purchase (*accaparement*) and parasitism, the greater part of which, however, has already been reprinted in the *Quatre mouvements*.[222] Partly for this reason, partly because the fragment given above is fully adequate for my purpose, I break it off here.

Let the learned German Herren, who so zealously sail the "stormy sea" of bottomless[a] theories, and above all fish for the "*principle*" of "socialism", follow the example of the *commis marchand*[b] Fourier. Fourier was no philosopher, he had a great hatred of philosophy and savagely ridiculed it in his writings and in this connection said a multitude of things which our German

[a] The German word "grundlos" can mean both "bottomless" and "without foundation".—*Ed.*

[b] Salesman.—*Ed.*

"philosophers of socialism" would do well to take to heart. True, they will object that Fourier, too, was abstract, that by means of his series he speculatively constructed God and the world in defiance of Hegel, but that will not save them. Fourier's eccentricities, which are, after all, products of genius, are no excuse for the boring so-called systematic expositions of arid German theory. Fourier speculativelv constructs the future, after correctly understanding the past and the present; German theory first of all arranges past history according to its liking and then prescribes to the future, too, what direction it should take. Compare, for example, Fourier's epochs of social development (savagery, patriarchate, barbarism, civilisation) and his characterisation of them with Hegel's Absolute Idea, which laboriously makes its way through the labyrinth of history and despite the *four* world empires[223] at the end, but still grunting and groaning, achieves the semblance of a trichotomy—not to speak of the post-Hegelian speculative constructions. For, although Hegel's speculative construction still made some sense, even if it is turned upside-down, that of the post-Hegelian system manufacturers no longer makes any sense at all.

It is truly high time that the Germans at last stopped making such a fuss about their thoroughness. With a few meagre data they are capable not only of concocting any kind of theory, but also of linking it with world history. On the basis of the first fact that happens to reach them at third hand, concerning which they do not even know at all whether it occurred in such and such a way or some other, they will prove to you that it *must* have occurred in this particular way and no other. Has anyone in Germany written on social questions without also saying something about Fourier by which German thoroughness has most thoroughly exposed itself to ridicule! Among them is a Herr Kaiser,[a] who immediately used "L. Stein's excellent work"[b] for a world-historic speculative construction, the only pity about which is that all the facts it is based on are false. German theory has already at least twenty times allotted Fourier his "place in the development of the Absolute Idea"—each time a different place—and each time German theory relied for the facts on Herr Stein or other dubious sources. For this very reason, too, German "absolute socialism" is such terribly poor stuff. A little "humanitarianism", as the thing is called nowadays, a little "realisation" of this humanitarianism or, rather, monstrosity, a very little about property from Proudhon—at third or fourth

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[a] H. W. Kaiser, *Die Persönlichkeit des Eigenthums.—Ed.*

[b] L. Stein, *Der Socialismus und Communismus des heutigen Frankreichs.—Ed.*

hand—a little moaning about the proletariat, and a little about the organisation of labour and wretched associations for raising the lower classes of the people[224]—together with boundless ignorance of political economy and the real character of society—that is the sum total of all this "socialism", which moreover loses its last drop of blood, the last trace of energy and strength through its non-partisanship in matters of theory, its "absolute tranquillity of thought". And with this tedious stuff they want to revolutionise Germany, set the proletariat in motion, and make the masses think and act!

If our German half or fully communist university lecturers had only taken the trouble to have a look at Fourier's main writings, which after all are as easy for them to obtain as any German book—what a treasure-trove of material for speculative construction and other uses they would have found in them! What a mass of new ideas—still new for Germany even today—would have offered itself to them there! Up to now these good people find nothing to reproach present-day society with except the condition of the proletariat, and even about that they are not capable of saying very much. Of course, the condition of the proletariat is the main point, but does that exhaust the criticism of present-day society? Fourier, who, except in his later works, hardly touches on this point at all, provides the proof that even without it existing society can be seen to be thoroughly reprehensible, and that by criticism of the bourgeoisie alone—namely of the bourgeoisie in its inner relationships, apart from its attitude to the proletariat—one can arrive at the necessity of a social reconstruction. For this aspect of criticism, Fourier up to now remains unique. Fourier inexorably exposes the hypocrisy of respectable society, the contradiction between its theory and its practice, the dullness of its entire mode of life; he ridicules its philosophy, its striving for *perfection de la perfectibilité perfectibilisante*[a] and *auguste vérité*[b]; he ridicules its "pure morality", its uniform social institutions, and contrasts all this with its practice, *le doux commerce*, which he criticises in a masterly manner, its dissolute delights which are no delights, its organisation of adultery in marriage, its general chaos. All these are aspects of contemporary society which have never yet been mentioned in Germany. True, there has been talk here and there about free love, about the position of woman and her emancipation; but what has been the result? A few confused

[a] Perfecting the perfectibility which is in process of becoming perfect.—*Ed.*

[b] August truth.—*Ed.*

phrases, a few blue-stockings, a little hysteria and a good deal of moaning about the German family — not even one bastard came out of it!

Let the Germans first acquaint themselves with the social movement abroad, both practical and literary—the practical movement includes the whole of English and French history during the last eighty years, English industry and the French Revolution—let them then do as much as their neighbours as regards practice and literature, and *only after that* will the time have come to raise such idle questions as that of the greater or lesser achievement of the various nations. But by then there will no longer be any audience for these sophistical disquisitions.

Until then it would be best for the Germans above all to acquaint themselves with what has been achieved abroad. All the books about this that have so far appeared are without exception *bad.* Anyhow, brief summaries of that kind can at best give only a criticism of those works, not the works themselves. The latter are partly rare and unobtainable in Germany, partly too voluminous, and in part mixed with matters which are now only of historical or literary interest and no longer interest the German public of 1845. To make available those works, the valuable contents of which are even now still new for Germany, requires a selection and editorial treatment such as the French, being in such matters also much more practical than we are, carry out in respect of all material coming to them from abroad. Such editions of the epoch-making socialist literature from abroad will shortly begin to be published. A number of German Communists, among them the best brains of the movement, who could just as easily produce works of their own, have joined in this undertaking,[225] which, it is to be hoped, will show the wise German theoreticians that all their wisdom is old stuff, the pros and cons of which have already been thoroughly discussed on the other side of the Rhine and the English Channel long ago. Only after they have seen what was done *before* them will they have an opportunity to show what *they themselves* can do.

Brussels

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Signed: *F. Engels*

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Frederick Engels

# THE LATE BUTCHERY AT LEIPZIG.—THE GERMAN WORKING MEN'S MOVEMENT[226]

The massacre at Leipzig,[227] which you commented on in your last number, and of which you gave a more detailed account some weeks ago, is continuing to occupy the attention of the German papers. This massacre,—surpassed in infamy by that of Peterloo[228] only,—is by far the most villainous act of scoundrelism that military despotism ever devised in this country. When the people were shouting, "Ronge for ever! down with Popery!" Prince John of Saxony, who, by-the-bye, is another of our many rhyming and book-writing princes, having published a very bad translation of the Italian poet Dante's "Hell"; this "hellish" translator tried to add military glory to his literary fame by planning a most dastardly campaign against the unarmed masses. He ordered the battalion of rifles, called in by the authorities, to divide into several detachments and to block up the passages to the hotel in which his literary "royal highness" had taken up his quarters. The soldiers obeyed, and pressed the people by enclosing them in a narrow circle, and advancing upon them into the gateway of the hotel; and from this unavoidable entering of the people into the sacred gateway of the royal residence, brought on by the military acting under Prince John's orders; from this very circumstance the pretext was taken to fire upon the people; by this very circumstance the firing has been tried to be justified by the Government papers! Nor is this all; the people were taken between the several detachments, and the plan of his royal highness was executed by a cross fire upon the defenceless masses; wherever they turned they met with a repeated volley from the

rifles, and had not the soldiers, more humane than Prince John, fired mostly over the heads of the people, the slaughter would have been terrible. The indignation created by this piece of scoundrelism is general; the most loyal subjects, the warmest supporters of the present order of things, share in it, and pronounce their utter disgust at such proceedings. The affair will do a great deal of good in Saxony, a part of Germany that before all others, has always evinced an inclination for *talking*, and where action was sadly wanted. The Saxons, with their little constitutional government, their talking houses of parliament, their liberal deputies, liberal and enlightened parsons, etc., were, in Northern Germany, the representatives of moderate Liberalism, of German Whiggery; and yet, with all that, greater slaves of the King of Prussia than the Prussians themselves. Whatever the Prussian Government resolved, the Saxon ministry had to execute; nay, of late, the Prussian Government did not even take the trouble to apply to the Saxon ministry, but direct to the Saxon inferior authorities, as if they were not Saxon, but their own employees! Saxony is governed in Berlin, not in Dresden! and with all their talking and boasting the Saxons know very well that the leaden hand of Prussia presses hard enough upon them. To all this talking and boasting, to all this self-conceit and contentment which would make the Saxons a peculiar nation opposed to the Prussian, etc., this Leipzig massacre will put an end. The Saxons must see, now, that they are under the same military rule as all other Germans, and that, with all their constitution, liberal laws, liberal censorship, and liberal king's speeches,[a] martial law is the only one that has any practical existence in their little country. And there is another thing to aid this Leipzig affair in spreading the spirit of rebellion in Saxony; notwithstanding all the talking of the Saxon Liberals, the great majority of the Saxon people are only beginning to talk; Saxony is a manufacturing country, and among her linen-weavers, frame-work-knitters, cotton-spinners, pillow-lace-makers, coal and metal-miners, there has been, from time immemorial, an appalling amount of distress. The proletarian movement, which, from the Silesian riots, the weavers' battle as it is called, in June, 1844,[229] has spread all over Germany, has not left Saxony untouched. There have been movements at several places among the railway constructing workmen, and also among the calico-printers some time ago, and it is more than likely, though positive evidence cannot now be given, that communism is making

[a] Frederick Augustus II.— *Ed.*

its progress there as well as everywhere else, among the working people; and if the workers of Saxony enter the field, they are sure not to be satisfied with talking like their employers, the liberal "bourgeois".

Let me direct your attention somewhat more to the working class movement in Germany. In your paper of last week,[a] you predict a glorious revolution,—not such a one as that of 1688,[230]—to this country. In this you are perfectly right—I only would beg to correct, or rather to more clearly define your expression, that it is the youth of Germany that will bring about such a change. This youth is not to be looked for among the middle classes. It is from the very heart of our working people that revolutionary action in Germany will commence. It is true, there are among our middle classes a considerable number of Republicans and even Communists, and young men too, who, if a general outbreak occurred now, would be very useful in the movement, but these men are "bourgeois", profit-mongers, manufacturers by profession; and who will guarantee us that they will not be demoralised by their trade, by their social position, which forces them to live upon the toil of other people, to grow fat by being the leeches, the "exploiteurs" of the working classes? And if they remain proletarians in mind, though bourgeois in profession, their number will be infinitely small in comparison with the real number of the middle-class men, who stick to the existing order of things through interest, and care for nothing but the filling of their purses. Fortunately, we do not count on the middle classes at all. The movement of the proletarians has developed itself with such astonishing rapidity, that in another year or two we shall be able to muster a glorious array of working Democrats and Communists—for in this country Democracy and Communism are, as far as the working classes are concerned, quite synonymous. The Silesian weavers, in 1844, gave the signal; the Bohemian and Saxon calico-printers and railway constructors, the Berlin calico-printers, and, indeed, the manufacturing classes of almost all parts of Germany, responded by turnouts and partial riots; the latter of which were almost always produced by the laws prohibiting combinations. The movement is now almost general throughout the country, and goes on quietly, but steadily, whilst the middle classes spend their time with agitating for "Constitutions", "Liberty of the Press", "Protective Duties", "German Catholicity", and "Protestant Church Reform". All these middle-class move-

[a] *The Northern Star* No. 408, September 6, 1845.—*Ed.*

ments, although not without some merit, do not touch the working classes at all, who have a movement of their own—a knife-and-fork movement. In my next letter more on this subject.[231]

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Printed according to the newspaper

## Frederick Engels

# VICTORIA'S VISIT.— THE "ROYALS" AT LOGGERHEADS.— ROW BETWIXT VIC AND THE GERMAN BOURGEOISIE.— THE CONDEMNATION OF THE PARIS CARPENTERS

Your little Queen has made a pretty mess of her visit to the Prussians. She treated the king[a] with such contempt, that he was glad to get rid of her, and showed that very plainly after her departure. The middle classes too are highly incensed at the contemptuous way she treated the daughters of the "*haute bourgeoisie*" of Cologne. The daughter of the Mayor of Cologne had to present "her Majesty" with a cup of tea, and Vic took not the cup, because touched by the hand of one not "noble". (!) She only took the spoon, and with it sipped the tea; at the same time turning her head aside, and treating the girl with the most marked contempt. The poor girl stood trembling awfully, not knowing whether to stand or to go away. Served her right; these purse-proud *bourgeois*, with all their cunning, are with their worship of kings and queens but *spoons* after all, and as such deserve to be treated. Your Queen carried her contempt so far as to rouse what little spirit they possess to show some resistance. She had subscribed 3,500 dollars (£500), to the building fund of the Cologne Cathedral, and the insulted Bourgeois of Cologne got up a meeting to discuss the propriety of returning her the money! The meeting was dispersed by the police and military. I hear, however, that they still contemplate subscribing the money amongst themselves, and sending it to England or Ireland, to relieve your starving poor. I hope they will do so. John Bull has been made to bleed pretty freely for bloodsucking German princes, and it is only fair that the German bourgeoisie should return a little of what poor John has been shamefully drained. The marked contempt with

[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

which your Queen treated our precious King and his court, arose, I hear, from the fact of the limping Queen of Prussia[a] refusing the arm of Prince Albert, and preferring that of Archduke Frederick at Austria, as being of higher birth. It is very comical to see these princes at loggerheads amongst themselves, and the bourgeoisie at loggerheads with the princes; all the time not seeing the movement arising in the lowest depths around them—not seeing their danger until too late.

You never gave in the *Star* the judgment of the Paris Tribunal against the carpenters on strike, accused of combination—Vincent, the chief, was sentenced to three years, two others to a year, some more to six months, I believe (imprisonment). However, they are keeping out at least those whose masters won't give way. Two-thirds of the masters have acceded to the workmen's demands, and in consequence of the above sentence, the sawyers (*scieurs-à-long*) and other trades connected with building, have turned out too. This affair does a tremendous deal of good.

Written between September 14 and 18, 1845

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Printed according to the newspaper

[a] Elisabeth.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## "YOUNG GERMANY" IN SWITZERLAND.[232] (Conspiracy Against Church and State!)

The *Constitutionnel Neuchâtelois* gives a long, apparently official, report on a "vast conspiracy of atheists spread all over Switzerland". We take from it the following extracts:—

"After the discovery made some time ago of the Communist secret society, in the canton of Neuchâtel, another far more dangerous association has been discovered—an association extending its nets all over the Swiss confederacy, and purposing to overthrow, *by means of Atheism*, the fundamental principles of morality, and to revolutionize Germany by any means, *Regicide not excepted*. The members of this Association, which is known by the name of *Young Germany*, or the *Leman Confederacy*, are almost without exception German working men, with some of the old political refugees. In consequence of some information at the headquarters of the conspiracy, Lausanne, the chiefs of the great club of La Chaux-de-Fonds were apprehended, and a commission of inquiry appointed, the results of which are the following disclosures. This secret society exists since 1838, and has at its head Messrs. Standau and Döleke, professors of the German language, Wm. Marr, editor of their paper[a]; and Hoffmann, druggist. Dr. Fein and Dr. Rauschenplatt, German refugees; the first imprisoned at Lucerne on account of his having taken part in the late civil war[233]—the second at Strasburg, appear also to be connected with this society. The rules of the association contain the following articles:

The society is essentially and necessarily a secret one, its end being political propaganda. Every member obliges himself to remain within the association until forty years of age, to devote all his powers to the attainment of its aims, and not to stand in fear of any sacrifice. Every member engages himself to destroy all written documents, by which the association or its members might be traced. In Switzerland a central office is formed, corresponding with all those members that are returned to Germany, and leading the whole of the operations. None to be admitted as members who do not profess themselves *atheists and revolutionists*.

By the incredible activity of its members among the German working men—of whom there is a floating population of about 25,000 in Switzerland—this society

[a] *Blätter der Gegenwart für soziales Leben.—Ed.*

has succeeded in establishing its branch-clubs in 26 towns in Switzerland, viz.: — Carouge, Nyon, Rolle, Aubonne, Morges, Lausanne, Aigle, Vevey, Yverdon, Moudon, Payerne, Chaux-de-Fonds, Fleurier, Berne, Biel, St. Imer, Porentruy, Burgdorf, Chur, Zug, Zurich, Winterthur, Basel, Lucerne, Friburg, and Geneva, besides two clubs in France, in Strasburg and Marseilles. Every six months the deputies of these clubs assemble in one of the localities, which for the next six months is then charged with the management of the general business. The incredible activity, and the really diabolic means brought into bearing by these propagandists for attracting the Germans, are frightful indeed. One of them, writing from Zurich to the central office, says:

"We are obliged to use great caution, on account of most of the newly arriving men being frightened by the ordinances and intimidations of the German governments. They will never enter a club unless they are told that it is not a political one. Thus we are obliged to treat them very cautiously, to bring them bit by bit into the right road, and the principal thing in this respect is to show them that religion is nothing but a pile of rubbish and dung. The only thing we can do is to prepare them here for the clubs in French Switzerland, and there we send those who intend leaving Zurich."

When the Morges club wanted to get into connection with the whitesmiths of that town, none of whom was a member, they instantly wrote to the central office, to send them a whitesmith who might be clever enough to bring those workmen into the society. The clubs were all in correspondence with each other, as well as with the central office. This correspondence has been partly seized, and shows by its contents how much the whole conspiracy was pervaded by a revolutionary spirit. Every club had a committee for preparing the subjects of discussion. The debates extended over all political, social, and religious questions. Some clubs were comparatively rich, and possessed libraries, newsrooms, pianos, &c; they were furnished with everything which might attract the workmen. The most powerful clubs were those of Geneva, Berne, Zurich, Lausanne, and La Chaux-de-Fonds; the last named club numbered (in a very small town) 200 members; and if we consider that in this same town, besides Young Germany, there existed a very numerous Communist club, we may think ourselves entitled to say, that Atheists and Communists in Switzerland are to be numbered by thousands. The association had a secret agitation committee, which was generally not known to the members at large; but every club contained one or two of those "Propagandists", whose business it was to keep up the steam, to direct the proceedings, and to develop the spirit of Atheism and revolutionism. Unfortunately, they succeeded but too well in this, as is proved by the fact, that the "infernal" periodical of Young Germany, published by Marr, numbered above 500 subscribers among the working people only. The paper openly proclaims Atheism as its principle.— "Germany," says this paper, "wants a political, religious, and social revolution; and if religion and politics should, during the course of this revolution, end in smoke, so much the better; socialised man will come forth purer and better from this purgatory."

Thus far the report, which is altogether written in an infamous and calumniatory style. Young Germany had existed in Switzerland since 1831, when, in consequence of the many insurrections in Germany, great numbers of young men, students, workmen, &c.; were obliged to leave their country. After a period of considerable activity this association collapsed towards 1837, when the general Bourgeoisie Government throughout Europe suc-

ceeded in suppressing the spirit of political agitation. Soon afterwards, however, the Communist clubs commenced to form themselves in the old home of Young Germany, on the shores of the Leman Lake, and to commence an animated debate with that merely political association. This debate ended in a settled quarrel, and decided enmity of the two parties; the main result, however, was, that Young Germany was obliged to extend its field of action, and not only to better define their political principles, as those of Radical, Republic, and Democratic, but also to take up social questions. While the middle classes of Germany kill their time; with "German Catholicity" and "Protestant Reforms" while they run after Ronge, and play the "Friends of Light"[234]; thus making it their chief business to effect some very little, almost invisible, good-for-nothing (but a Bourgeois) reform in religious matters, the working people of our country read and digest the writings of the greatest German philosophers such as Feuerbach, &c., and embrace the result of their inquiries, as radical as this result may appear. The people of Germany have no religion. How else would it have been possible to convert masses of them, not only in Switzerland, but in France, England, and at home, within the short space of a year? I refer to what I said last week but one on Bourgeoise movements and working-class movements[a]; I think these disclosures are a full confirmation of my statement.

Written between September 20 and 26, 1845

Published in the newspaper *The Northern Star* No. 411, September 27, 1845 with an editorial note "From our German correspondent"

Printed according to the newspaper

[a] See pp. 645-48 of this volume.—*Ed.*

## Frederick Engels

# PERSECUTION AND EXPULSION OF COMMUNISTS

Germany.—On the 11th instant, the authorities of the Grand Dukedom of Hesse, seized at Darmstadt, at the publisher's premises, the first number of a Communist Magazine, the *Rhenish Annals*,[a] edited by Püttmann. There were, however, only fifty-five copies found, the remainder of the edition having been previously sold. The publisher, Mr. Leske, was at the same time informed that the Magazine was placed under the control of the police, he having to produce every number before it was issued, to the police, and to procure a license for issuing the same, under a penalty, in case of non-compliance, of 500 florins (forty-five pounds sterling), or, according to the merits of the case, imprisonment. This blow aimed at the Communists, and at the same time at that little bit of a free press we have in Germany, will, however, prove useless. There are hundreds of means to elude this unconstitutional interference, which, no doubt, has been proceeded to at the instigation of the hated Prussian Government. This same Prussian Government has procured from the Saxon authorities the expulsion of several public authors from Leipsic, among whom is Mr. W. Marr, one of the heads of that Young German Conspiracy in Switzerland mentioned in my last.[b] In his case, as well as that of Weitling last year,[235] the authorities were afraid of imprisoning and bringing to judgment the party, although they had every legal pretence; they were satisfied with driving them away.

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[a] *Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform.—Ed.*

[b] See pp. 651-653 of this volume.—*Ed.*

Switzerland.—The Democratic Government of the Pays de Vaud has expelled from the canton Mr. A. Becker, a talented German Communist writer, as well as Mr. S. Schmidt and Dr. Kuhlmann, belonging to the same party, and dissolved the German Communist Club at Lausanne. The Radical Government of Zurich has likewise expelled Dr. Püttmann, editor of the above-named *Rhenish Annals*, and belonging, too, to the Communist party.[a]

Written in the middle of October 1845

Published in the newspaper *The Northern Star* No. 415, October 25, 1845 with an editorial note: "From our own correspondent"

Printed according to the newspaper

[a] [A German friend informs us that the above announcement, as regards the expulsion of Mr. S. Schmidt, is premature. That, as yet, Mr. Schmidt has not been expelled from the Pays de Vaud.—*Ed. N. S.*]

# Frederick Engels

## HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CORN LAWS[236]

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 193, December 1845]

Until the middle of the last century England exported grain almost every year and very seldom needed to import this foodstuff from abroad. Since that time, however, the situation has been reversed. Under these circumstances the price of grain, on the one hand, was necessarily low and that of meat, on the other, was high, much arable land was converted into cattle pasture, while at the same time industry, and with it the population, owing to the invention of important machines, experienced an unprecedented growth. Hence England was first compelled to give up exporting corn and later had to import it from abroad. The twenty-five years' war against France during the revolution, which made imports difficult, compelled England more or less to restrict itself to its own soil. The obstacles which the war put in the way of imports had the same effect as a protective tariff. Grain prices rose, ground-rents likewise rose, in most cases to double the previous figure, and in some cases even fivefold. The result was that a large part of the area that had recently been converted into pasture was again used for corn. This increase in their incomes tempted the English landowners, who, incidentally, consist of a few hundred lords and some 60,000 baronets and squires not belonging to the nobility, to adopt an extravagant mode of living and a mutual emulation in luxury for which very soon even their increased rents no longer sufficed. Before long the estates were encumbered with a heavy burden of debt. When in 1814 peace removed the obstacles to import, the price of corn fell and the tenant-farmers, in view of the high rents, could no longer cover the cost of producing their corn. Only two ways out were possible: either that the landowners should reduce the rent or that a real

protective tariff should be imposed instead of the nominal one. The landowners, who not only dominated the Upper House and the Ministry but also (prior to the Reform Bill[237]) possessed fairly unrestricted power in the Lower House, naturally chose the latter course and in 1815 introduced the Corn Laws amid the furious outcry of the middle classes and the people, at that time still guided by the latter, and under the protection of bayonets. The first Corn Law of 1815 prohibited import of corn altogether as long as the price of corn in England remained under 80 shillings a quarter. At this price or over,[a] foreign corn could be imported freely. But this law was not in accord with the interests of either the industrial or the agricultural population, and in 1822 it was somewhat modified. However, this modification never came into practical effect, for during the next few years prices always remained low and never reached the level at which the import of foreign corn was allowed. Despite all the improvements in the law and despite the investigations of several parliamentary committees, the tenant-farmers were unable to cover their production costs. Finally, therefore, Huskisson and Canning invented their famous sliding scale,[b] which their successors in the Ministry embodied in the law.[238] By this scale, the import duty rose as the price of home-produced corn fell and vice versa. By this means the English farmer was to be ensured a high and constant price for his corn, so that he could comfortably cope with his high ground-rent. But this measure was of no avail either. The system became increasingly untenable; the middle classes, whose representatives were predominant in the Lower House after the Reform Bill, became more and more opposed to the Corn Laws, and within a year after Sir Robert Peel's entry into the Ministry he found himself compelled to lower the import tariff.

Meanwhile, opposition to the Corn Laws had become organised. The industrial middle class, which had to pay its workers higher wages because of the increase in the price of corn, resolved to do its utmost to secure at any cost the abolition of these hated laws—the last survivals of the old dominance of the agricultural interests, which at the same time facilitated foreign competition against English industry. Towards the end of 1838, some of the leading Manchester manufacturers founded an anti-Corn Law association, which soon spread in the neighbourhood and in other factory districts, adopted the name of Anti-Corn Law League,

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[a] The original has "under".—*Ed.*

[b] In the original the words "sliding scale" are given in English.—*Ed.*

started a subscription fund, founded a journal (the *Anti-Bread-Tax Circular*), sent paid speakers from place to place and set in motion all the means of agitation customary in England for achieving its aim. During its first years, which coincided with a four-years' slump in business, the Anti-Corn-Law League was extremely active. When, however, at the beginning of 1842, the business slump turned into a downright commercial crisis which threw the working class into the most atrocious poverty, the Anti-Corn-Law League became definitely revolutionary. It took as its motto the saying of Jeremiah: "They that be slain with the sword are better than they that be slain with hunger."[a] Its journal in clear language called on the people to revolt and threatened the landowners with the "pick-axe and the torch". Its itinerant agitators ranged the whole country and preached in a language no way less forceful than that of the journal. Meeting after meeting was held, petition after petition to Parliament was circulated, and when Parliament opened its session, a Congress of League representatives assembled simultaneously in the immediate neighbourhood of the Houses of Parliament. When, in spite of all this, Peel failed to abolish the Corn Laws, but only modified them, the Congress declared:

"The people has nothing more to expect from the government; it must rely only on itself; the wheels of the government machinery must be halted all at once and on the spot; the time for talking is over, the time has come for action. It is to be hoped that the people will no longer be willing to starve for the benefit of an aristocracy living in luxury; and if naught else avails, there is still a means by which the government can be compelled to give way: we must" (stated this Congress of leading manufacturers and municipal officials of the great factory towns) "we must throw the people on to the agricultural districts which have produced all the pauperism; but the people must not go there like a crowd of humble '*paupers*', but as if they had to 'quarter themselves on a mortal enemy'."[b]

This great means in the hands of the manufacturers, by which they wished in 24 hours to bring together a meeting of 500,000 persons on the Manchester racecourse and to raise an insurrection against the Corn Laws, consisted in *closing down their factories.*

[*Telegraph für Deutschland* No. 194, December 1845]

In July, business began to improve. The manufacturers received increased orders and they noted that the crisis was coming to an end. The people was still in a highly excited state and distress was

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[a] *Lamentations of Jeremiah*, 4:9.—*Ed.*

[b] This passage has been retranslated from the German since it was not possible to trace the English original.—*Ed.*

universal; but if anything was to happen, it was high time for action. And so, when an increase in wages was to be expeeted owing to the improvement in business a manufacturer in Stalybridge suddenly reduced the wages of his workers, thereby compelling them to strike in order to maintain their wages at the previous level. The workers, to whom the signal for an insurrection was thus given, brought all the factories in the town and its environs to a standstill, which was easy for them to do since the manufacturers (all members of the Anti-Corn Law League), contrary to their custom, offered no resistance at all. The workers held meetings presided over by the manufacturers themselves, who tried to draw the people's attention to the Corn Laws. On August 9, 1842, four days after the outbreak of the insurrection, the workers marched to Manchester, where they met with no resistance at all, and brought all the factories to a standstill. The only manufacturer who opposed them was a conservative and hostile to the League. The insurrection spread to all the factory districts; nowhere did the urban authorities (on whom *everything* depends in England in such cases, as is well known), who were all members of the Anti-Corn [Law] League, offer any resistance. So far *everything* proceeded as the League wanted. But in one respect it had miscalculated. The people, whom it had driven into insurrection in order to force the abolition of the Corn Laws, did not care in the least about these laws. They demanded the wages of 1840 and the People's Charter.[239] As soon as the League noticed this, it turned against its allies. All its members were sworn in as special constables and formed a new army for the suppression of the insurrection, at the service of the government that was hostile to them. The involuntary insurrection of the people, who were not yet at all prepared for anything of the sort, was soon suppressed; the Corn Laws remained in force, and both the middle class and the people were given a profitable lesson. The Anti-Corn Law League, in order to furnish conspicuous proof that it had not been defeated by the failure of the insurrection, started a new large-scale campaign in 1843, with the demand for contributions from its members amounting to £50,000, and it amassed more than this sum in the course of a year. It began its agitation afresh, but it soon found itself compelled to seek a new audience. It always made a great boast that it found nothing more to do in the factory districts after 1843 and could therefore turn to the agricultural districts. But there was a snag to this. After the insurrection of 1842 it could no longer hold any public meetings in the factory districts without its representatives being most

ignominiously driven from the platform and literally beaten up by the angry people whom it had so shamefully betrayed. Consequently, if it wanted to propagate its doctrines, it was compelled to go to the agricultural districts. Here the League was of some real service by arousing among the tenant-farmers a certain feeling of shame at their dependence hitherto on the landowners, and by making the agricultural class aware of more general interests. In 1844, encouraged by its success with previous contributions, the League opened a new subscription list of £100,000. On the following day the manufacturers in Manchester assembled and within half an hour had subscribed £12,000. By November 1844, £82,000 had been collected, of which £57,000 had already been spent. A few months later the League opened an exhibition in London, which also must have brought in enormous sums. If now one asks what has been the motive of this colossal movement, which has spread from Manchester to the whole of England and has carried with it the vast majority of the English middle class, but which—we repeat—has not received an atom of sympathy from the working class, it must be acknowledged that this motive is the private interest of the industrial and commercial middle class of Great Britain. For this class it is of the greatest importance to have a system which, as it believes at least, ensures it for all time a world monopoly of trade and industry by enabling it to pay just as low wages as its competitors and to exploit all the advantages that England possesses as a result of its 80 years' start in the development of modern industry. From this point of view the middle class alone, and not the people, benefits from the abolition of the Corn Laws. Secondly, the middle class demands this measure as a supplementary law to the Reform Bill. Through the Reform Bill, which introduced suffrage based on a property qualification and abolished the old electoral privileges of particular individuals and corporations, the monied middle class had come, in principle, to power. In reality, however, the landowning class still retained a considerable preponderance in Parliament since it sends there *directly* 143 members for the counties and *indirectly* almost all the members representing small towns, and is represented in addition by the Tory members from the towns. In 1841, this majority of the agricultural interest brought *Peel* and the *Tories* into the cabinet. The abolition of the Corn Laws would deal a fatal blow to the political power of the landowners in the Lower House, and hence in fact in the whole English legislature, since it would make the tenant-farmers independent of the landowners. It would proclaim capital to be the supreme power in England, but at the

same time it would shake the English Constitution to its foundations; it would rob an essential constituent of the legislative body, viz. the landed aristocracy, of all wealth and all power, and thereby exert a different and greater influence on the future of England than many other political measures. Once again, however, we find that from this aspect too the abolition of the Corn Laws' offers no advantage to the people.

Written in the autumn of 1845

First published in the journal *Telegraph für Deutschland* Nos. 193 and 194, December 1845

The name of the author is given in the editorial note

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first time

# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

# Karl Marx

## HEGEL'S CONSTRUCTION OF THE PHENOMENOLOGY[240]

1) Self-consciousness instead of man. Subject—object.

2) The *differences* of things are unimportant, because substance is conceived as self-distinction or because self-distinction, the distinguishing, the mental activity is regarded as the essential. Within the framework of speculation Hegel therefore makes distinctions that really grasp the vital point.

3) Abolition of *estrangement* is identified with abolition of *objectivity* (an aspect evolved by Feuerbach in particular).

4) Your *abolition* of the imagined object, of the object as object of consciousness, is identified with the *real objective* abolition, with sensuous *action*, *practice* and *real activity* as distinct from thinking. (Has still to be developed.)

Written presumably in November 1844

First published in: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Bd. 5, 1932

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx

## DRAFT PLAN FOR A WORK ON THE MODERN STATE[241]

1) The *history of the origin of the modern state* or the *French Revolution*.

The self-conceit of the political sphere—to mistake itself for the ancient state. The attitude of the revolutionaries towards civil society. All elements exist in duplicate form, as civic elements and [those of] the state.

2) The *proclamation* of the *rights of man* and the *constitution of the state*. Individual freedom and public authority.

*Freedom*, *equality* and unity. Sovereignty of the people.

3) *State* and *civil society*.

4) The *representative state* and the *charter*.

The constitutional representative state, the democratic representative state.

5) *Division of power*. Legislative and executive power.

6) *Legislative power* and the legislative bodies. Political clubs.

7) *Executive power*. Centralisation and hierarchy. Centralisation and political civilisation. Federal system and industrialism. *State administration* and *local government*.

8') *Judicial power* and *law*.

8'') *Nationality* and the *people*.

9') The *political parties*.

9'') *Suffrage*, the fight for the *abolition* of the state and of bourgeois society.

Written presumably in November 1844

First published in: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Bd. 5, 1932

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Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx

## PLAN OF THE "LIBRARY OF THE BEST FOREIGN SOCIALIST WRITERS"[242]

Morelly
Mably
Babeuf
*Buonarroti*

*Cercle soc[ial]*[243]
*Hébert*
*Jac. Roux*[a]
*Leclerc*

*Bentham*
*Godwin*

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*Holbach*
*Fourier*

*Helvétius*
*St. Simon*

*Owen*

(*Lalande*)

*Considérant*

*Writings* of the School

*Producteur. Globe.*

*Cabet*

*Dézamy. Gay.* and x

"Fraternité", l'égalitaire, etc.
l'humanitaire[244]

Proudhon

Written between March 7 and 17, 1845

First published in: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Bd. 5, 1932

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

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[a] In the manuscript: Léroux. Presumably a slip of the pen.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## FROM THE NOTEBOOK[245]

*The divine egoist as opposed to egoistical man.*

*The delusion regarding the ancient state prevailing during the revolution.*

"*Concept*" and "*substance*".

*The revolution-history of the origin of the modern state.*

Written presumably in April 1845

First published in: German in Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Bd. 5, 1932

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# APPENDICES

1

# TO THE READERS OF AND CONTRIBUTORS TO THE *GESELLSCHAFTSSPIEGEL*[246]

The noble striving to hasten to the aid of suffering humanity, which, to the credit of the 19th century, manifests itself everywhere at the present time, has not yet in Germany a central press organ giving publicity on the one hand to the evils which must be remedied, and on the other to the proposed or already implemented measures for their redress, and casting light on their success or failure. We hereby submit to the public the first issue of such an organ, and hope that every friend of humanity will feel prompted to support the *Gesellschaftsspiegel* with appropriate reports.

In order to discover and apply the means for the radical and permanent elimination of the various and moreover artificially concealed evils in our social life, it is necessary first of all to find out what these evils are. For this reason the *Gesellschaftsspiegel* will cite before its forum all the maladies of the social body; it will publish general descriptions, monographs, statistical items, and individual typical cases serving to set the social relations of all the classes in their true light and to help the *associations* which are being formed to eliminate the social evils; it will stand exclusively on the ground of fact, and carry only facts and arguments based directly on facts, arguments the conclusions from which are also obvious facts.

*The condition of the working classes* will be first and foremost the object of our attention, for their condition is the most glaring of all evils in present-day civilised society. Descriptions, statistical data, individual striking facts from all parts of Germany, especially from those in which unusual distress prevails, will be welcome. Also reports on the numerical relation of the needy classes, the

propertyless classes in general, to the propertied; on the growth of pauperism, and so on.

We shall include in the range of our survey the spiritual, intellectual and moral condition of the workers as well as their physical condition, and shall readily accept reports on the state of their health insofar as it is determined by the social conditions, and on the state of education and morality of the proletarians. Statistics on crime and prostitution, especially when accompanied by comparison of different periods of time, localities or living conditions, will also be given close attention.

The most fruitful fields for the purposes of the *Gesellschaftsspiegel* in this respect are:

1) *The large towns*, which cannot exist without a numerous propertyless class crowded together in a small area. Besides the usual consequences which the absence of property entails everywhere, we shall have to consider here the effect which this centralisation of the population has on the physical, intellectual, and moral condition of the working classes. Descriptions, statistical, medical, and other reports along with individual facts casting light on the "*disreputable areas*", mostly shrouded in darkness, of our towns, large and small, will be welcome.

2) *The industrial and factory districts*, whose existence also requires a numerous propertyless class. In this respect we wish to draw the attention of our contributors particularly to the following points:

(a) *The nature of work* in itself: individual kinds of work which owing to their character or to the unsuitable way in which they are carried out or to the excessively long working hours are injurious to health; child and woman labour in factories and its consequences; neglect of working and non-working children and wives of proletarians, breaking up of the family, supplanting of adult male labour by women and children, accidents caused by machinery, and so on.

(b) *Dependence of the workers on their employers*. In respect of this point we shall make it our duty to represent the interests of the defenceless working class against the power and especially against the unfortunately too frequent encroachments of the capitalists. We shall pitilessly hold up for public censure every single case of oppression of workers and shall be particularly grateful to our correspondents for most accurate reports on this subject giving names, places and dates. If in factories working hours are too long or night work is resorted to, if workers are obliged to clean machines in their spare time, if factory-owners are brutal or tyrannical towards their workers, lay down tyrannical working

regulations, pay wages in goods instead of money—we shall especially fight this infamous truck system[a] wherever and in whatever forms or disguises it occurs—if workers are forced to work in unhealthy premises or to live in unsatisfactory lodgings belonging to the factory-owner—in a word, whenever any act of injustice is committed by the capitalists against the workers, we ask everybody who is in a position to do so to inform us on this score as soon and as exactly as possible. We want to make known to the public in the most exact and shameful details each and every violation of the laws that have been issued to protect the poor from the rich. Only in this way can the laws, which have so far existed mostly on paper, be made really effective.

(c) *Neglect of the workers* by society in general when, as a result of competition, the introduction of more efficient machinery, the employment of women and children, the fluctuations of trade and foreign competition the workers are deprived of employment, or when due to illness, injury or old age they are unable to work, as well as all deteriorations in the workers' living conditions due to lowering of wages.

Besides the *propertyless*, we shall also describe the *propertied class* in its outer and inner conditions. We shall have to prove with facts that *free competition between private businessmen without organisation of labour and commerce impoverishes the middle class*, concentrating property in the hands of a few and thus indirectly restoring the monopoly; that the parcelling out of landed property ruins the small landowner and indirectly restores big landed property; that the competitive struggle, in which we are all being involved, *undermines the foundations of society* and *demoralises the whole of society* by brutal self-interest.

The *Gesellschaftsspiegel* will not confine itself to describing material misery, or spiritual and moral misery only when it goes hand in hand with the former; on the contrary, it will describe misery in all its forms, and therefore also the misery of the higher classes; and in this description it will not confine itself to statistical articles and accounts of real facts taken from life; it will open its columns to fiction in prose and in verse, but only to such as depicts life *truly*. Descriptions *based on* life will be no less welcome than descriptions *taken from* life.

Let those to whom such a pitiless exposure of the condition of our industrial as well as agricultural and other population—a condition which has so far been for the most part hypocritically glossed

[a] The words "truck system" are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

over or concealed—those to whom so frank a presentation of our entire social condition as the one the *Gesellschaftsspiegel* intends to give causes too great head and heartache for them to be favourably disposed to our undertaking, let them reflect that in the long run the courage required to look an evil in the face and the calm derived from a clear knowledge of things have a more beneficial effect on mind and heart than the cowardly idealising sentimentality which seeks consolation from disconsolate reality in the falsehood of its ideal, which neither exists *nor can exist* because it is based on *illusions*! Such idealising sentimentality indeed displays hypocritical sympathy for the sufferings of humanity when these eventually develop into a *political scandal*—as we saw all the newspapers and journals overflowing with so-called socialism in connection with the Silesian disturbances[247]—but as soon as the *disturbances* are over, it *quietly* lets the poor go on starving.

Finally, the *Gesellschaftsspiegel* will carry reports on the efforts being made to remedy the social evils and the disorders of society, that is, on the one hand, *the work of the associations now being formed*,[248] and on the other, the coercive measures which hold some evils in check, but only to produce others. These include the pernicious effects of the degrading sentences which place a criminal for ever outside the pale of society, of intercourse with hardened criminals in ordinary prisons and of solitary confinement in Pennsylvania-type prisons, the numerous murders resulting from the laws against poaching; the state and operation of the poor laws and the sanitary police; the typical crimes, and so on.

In appealing to all who are in a position to send us reports on the above-mentioned and similar points to be laid before the forum of the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*, in particular to priests, schoolteachers, doctors and officials, for friendly co-operation in the interest of the cause, we guarantee that whenever it is desired names will be kept secret and we shall hold our correspondents *responsible* only for the *correctness of the facts of which they inform us*. The editorial board assumes the responsibility for publication.

Written at the end of January 1845

Published in the annual *Gesellschaftsspiegel*, Bd. 1, 1845

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first time

## 2

## CONTRACT

## BETWEEN MARX AND THE LESKE PUBLISHERS IN DARMSTADT ON THE PUBLICATION OF *KRITIK DER POLITIK UND NATIONALÖKONOMIE*[249]

Between Herr Dr. Marx, at present residing in Paris, on the one hand, and the C.W. Leske Publishers in Darmstadt, on the other, the following Contract has been concluded today.

§ 1. Herr Dr. Marx gives the C.W. Leske Publishers the exclusive right to publish his work entitled *Kritik der Politik und Nationalökonomie*, which will comprise two volumes in octavo, each of more than twenty printed sheets.

§ 2. The Author, Dr. Marx, undertakes not to publish in another publishing house any work which could compete with the work named herein.

§ 3. In return, the Leske Publishers will pay Herr Dr. Marx the sum of francs 3,000 (three thousand francs) as royalties for the entire work, the first half of this sum to be paid when the complete Manuscript is handed in, and the second half on completion of the printing. The Publishers also undertake to deliver twelve copies free of charge to the Author.

§ 4. The Publishers will begin the printing of the work as soon as the Manuscript is handed in and will see to it that it appears in a suitable get-up.

§ 5. The edition of the *Kritik der Politik und Nationalökonomie* is fixed at 2,000 copies.

§ 6. This Contract is valid only for the first edition of the work. Should a second edition become necessary, a new contract will be concluded. It goes without saying, however, that in the event of a second edition the Leske Publishers retain a preferential right.

This Contract has been drawn up in duplicate and is signed by both contracting parties.

Paris, February 1, 1845

Dr. Karl Marx
C. Leske

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3

## MARX TO LEOPOLD I, KING OF BELGIUM, IN BRUSSELS[250]

Brussels, February 7, 1845
24, Place du petit sablon

Sire,

The undersigned, Charles Marx, Doctor of Philosophy, aged 26, from Trier, in the Kingdom of Prussia, intending to settle with his wife and child in Your Majesty's domains, respectfully takes the liberty of requesting Your Majesty to grant him permission to establish his residence in Belgium. He has the honour to be, with deepest respect,

Your Majesty's most humble and obedient servant,

*Dr. Charles Marx*

First published in *L'Europe Nouvelle* No. 346, 1924

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

4

## MARX'S UNDERTAKING NOT TO PUBLISH ANYTHING IN BELGIUM ON CURRENT POLITICS[251]

To obtain permission to reside in Belgium I agree to pledge myself, on my word of honour, not to publish in Belgium any work on current politics.

March 22, 1845 *Dr. Karl Marx*

First published in *L'Europe Nouvelle* No. 346, 1924

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

## 5

## MARX TO CHIEF BURGOMASTER GÖRTZ IN TRIER[252]

Brussels, October 17 [1845]
Rue de l'Alliance 5, hors de la Porte du Louvain

Your Excellency,

I most respectfully request you kindly to obtain for me from the esteemed royal government administration in Trier a certificate for emigration to the United States of North America. My discharge papers from royal Prussian military service[253] are to be found in the office of the Chief Burgomaster in Trier or of the royal government administration there.

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

*Dr. Karl Marx*

First published in the pamphlet: H. Schiel, *Die Umwelt des jungen Karl Marx*, Trier, 1954

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

## 6

## MARX TO CHIEF BURGOMASTER GÖRTZ IN TRIER

*To His Excellency Herr Görtz, Royal Prussian Landrat and Chief Burgomaster*

Your Excellency,

In reply to your esteemed letter of the 8th of this month I hereby state that my request of the 17th of the previous month for release from citizenship of the Kingdom of Prussia for the purpose of emigration to the United States of North America related solely to my own person, but, *if it should be necessary for granting consent,* I request that the release should be extended to my family as well.

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

*Dr. Karl Marx*

Brussels, November 10, 1845

First published in the pamphlet: H. Schiel, *Die Umwelt des jungen Karl Marx*, Trier, 1954

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Co.* is the first joint work of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. At the end of August 1844, Engels, on his way back from Manchester to Barmen, stopped over in Paris, where he had his second meeting with Marx, a meeting which marked the beginning of their collaboration as authors.

During the ten days which Engels spent in Paris, he and Marx agreed to publish a criticism of the representatives of the Young Hegelian trend. They drew up the plan of a book which they at first called *A Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Co.*, divided the sections between themselves and wrote the Foreword. Engels wrote his sections before leaving Paris. Marx, whose share comprised the bigger part of the book, continued to work on it till the end of November 1844, considerably increasing the size of the book and drawing on his "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts", on which he had been working during the spring and summer of 1844, as well as on his studies of the history of the French Revolution and his notes and summaries. During the printing of the book, Marx, on the advice of the publisher Löwenthal, added to the title the words "The Holy Family". The book was published in February 1845 in Frankfurt am Main by the Literarische Anstalt (J. Rütten) publishers. The table of contents (see contents of this volume, pp. v-xi) showed which sections had been written by Marx and which by Engels. The fact that the book, though of small format, exceeded twenty printed sheets in volume, exempted it from preliminary censorship in accordance with the regulations operating at the time in a number of German states.

"The Holy Family" is a sarcastic nickname for the Bauer brothers and their followers who supported the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* published in Charlottenburg from the end of 1843 to October 1844. While attacking the Bauers and other Young Hegelians, Marx and Engels at the same time critically analysed the idealist philosophy of Hegel himself.

Marx had shown his disagreement with the Young Hegelians already in the autumn of 1842 when, as an editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, he opposed the publication of superficial and pretentious articles submitted by the outwardly ultra-radical Berlin circle of "The Free" (Edgar Bauer, Max Stirner, Eduard Meyen and others). During the two years which had elapsed since Marx's clash with "The Free", Marx's and Engels' disagreement with the Young Hegelians on questions of

theory and politics had deepened still more. This was accounted for not only by the transition of Marx and Engels to materialism and communism, but also by the evolution which had taken place during that time in the ideas of the Bauer brothers and their fellow-thinkers. In the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* Bauer and his group renounced the "radicalism of 1842" and, besides professing subjective idealist views, and counterposing chosen personalities, the bearers of „pure Criticism", to the allegedly sluggish and inert masses, they began spreading the ideas of moderate liberal philanthropy. Marx's draft of the Preface of his "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts" shows that already in the summer of 1844 he saw in the evolution of the Young Hegelians' views a degeneration of that initially progressive trend, a deepening of the features of mysticism and transcendentalism peculiar to Hegel's idealism, the disintegration of the Hegelian school (see present edition, Vol. 3, p. 233).

It was to exposure of the Young Hegelians' views in the form which they had acquired in 1844 and to defence of their own new materialistic and communistic outlook that Marx and Engels decided to devote their first joint work.

The appearance of *The Holy Family* evoked a lively response in the German press. It was pointed out that this work was the most profound and the most forceful of all that Marx and Engels had recently written (*Mannheimer Abend-Zeitung*, March 25, 1845), that it expressed socialist views, since it criticised the "inadequacy of any half-measures directed at eliminating the social ailments of our time" (*Kölnische Zeitung*, March 21, 1845).

Reactionary circles immediately discerned the book's revolutionary trend. As early as December 1844, when the work was still printing, it was denounced in reports by Metternich's agents. The conservative *Allgemeine Zeitung*, polemising against the assessment of *The Holy Family* given by the *Kölnische Zeitung*, wrote with irritation on April 8, 1845, that in this book "every line preaches revolt ... against the state, the church, the family, legality, religion and property", that in it "prominence is given to the most radical and the most open communism, and this is all the more dangerous as Mr. Marx cannot be denied either extremely broad knowledge or the ability to make use of the polemical arsenal of Hegel's logic, what is customarily called 'iron logic'". A month and a half later, on May 23, 1845, the *Allgemeine Zeitung* again censured the *Kölnische Zeitung* for publishing a favourable opinion of *The Holy Family*.

Bruno Bauer's attempt to refute the criticism publicly (in the article "Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs", published in *Wigand's Vierteljahrsschrift*, Leipzig, 1845, Bd. III) boiled down essentially to asserting that he had not been correctly understood. Marx replied to this "anti-criticism" of Bauer's with an article published in the journal *Gesellschaftsspiegel*, Elberfeld, January 1846 (see present edition, Vol. 5), which partly coincided in content with the section "Der Heilige Bruno gegen die Autoren der 'Heiligen Familie'" in Chapter 2 ("Der Heilige Bruno") of the first volume of *The German Ideology* (see present edition, Vol. 5).

During the lifetimes of Marx and Engels *The Holy Family* was not published in English. Only part of subsection d), "Critical Battle Against French Materialism", of Chapter VI, was reproduced by Engels in the Introduction to the 1892 English edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (the German version of this introduction was published in *Die Neue Zeit* in 1895 under the title "Über den französischen Materialismus des XVIII. Jahrhunderts").

In the English language *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism*, was published for the first time in 1956 by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, now Progress Publishers, Moscow, in the translation by Richard Dixon. The literary features of the work include the broad use of citations from French authors (Eugène

Sue, Pierre Joseph Proudhon, and others) in the language of the original, alongside citations translated into German, as well as the use of individual expressions in foreign languages, especially French. This feature is preserved in the present edition, the translations of the citations being given in footnotes. Emphasis in the citations (printed in clear-face italics or bold-face italics in cases of special emphasis) mostly belongs to Marx and Engels, who often translated the citations with abridgments. Title-page

[2] The reference is to the review made by the bookbinder C. Reichardt of A. T Woeniger's *Publicistische Abhandlungen*, Berlin, 1843. The review was published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft I, December 1843 and Heft II, January 1844, under the general title "Schriften über den Pauperismus" and mentioned the author's profession. The short excerpts and individual expressions quoted by Engels below and at the end of Chapter I are taken from this review. p. 9

[3] Here and elsewhere Engels quotes Reichardt's reviews of C. Brüggemann's book, *Preussens Beruf in der deutschen Staats-Entwickelung, und die nächsten Bedingungen zu seiner Erfüllung*, Berlin, 1843 and A. Benda's *Katechismus für wahlberechtigte Bürger in Preussen*, Berlin, 1843. Both reviews were published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft VI, May 1844. p. 9

[4] The chapter contains a critical analysis of Julius Faucher's article, "Englische Tagesfragen", which was published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft VII, June 1844, Heft VIII, July 1844 (with the subtitle "Fortsetzung. Lord Ashley's Amendment") and Heft IX, August 1844 (with the subtitle "Fortsetzung. Ricardos Motion in Betreff der Einfuhrzölle"). The excerpts and expressions cited below were taken by Engels from this article.

The word *Mühleigner*, a literal translation of the English "mill-owner", does not exist in German. Engels here ridicules J. Faucher's way of using in his articles words which he himself coins after the English manner (see p. 16 of this volume). p. 12

[5] *The national Anti-Corn Law League* was founded in 1838 by the Manchester manufacturers Cobden and Bright. The English Corn Laws, first adopted in the 15th century, imposed high tariffs on agricultural imports in order to maintain high prices for them on the home market. In the first third of the 19th century, 1815, 1822, and later several laws were passed changing the conditions for corn imports, and in 1828 a sliding scale was introduced which raised import tariffs on corn when prices in the home market declined and, on the other hand, lowered tariffs when the home market prices rose.

The League widely exploited the popular discontent over the raising of corn prices. In its efforts to obtain the repeal of the Corn Laws and the establishment of complete freedom of trade, it aimed at weakening the economic and political positions of the landed aristocracy and lowering the cost of living thus making possible a lowering of the workers' wages.

The struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the Corn Laws ended in 1846 with the repeal of these laws. p. 13

[6] The struggle for legislation limiting the working day to ten hours started in England as early as the late 18th century and spread by the 1830s to the mass of the industrial workers. The representatives of the landed aristocracy saw their chance to use this popular slogan against the industrial bourgeoisie and supported the Ten Hour Bill in Parliament; the "Tory philanthropist" Lord Ashley headed the supporters of the Bill in Parliament from 1833. The Ten Hour Bill, applicable only to youths and women, was not passed until 1847. p. 14

[7] When an important question is being discussed, the House of Commons sits in "Committee of the Whole House", which is tantamount to a closed sitting; in this case the function of committee chairman is performed by one of the Members named in the list of committee chairmen and appointed by the speaker. p. 14

[8] The reference is to the speech made during the debate on the Ten Hour Bill in the House of Commons on March 15, 1844, by Sir James Graham, Home Secretary in Sir Robert Peel's Tory cabinet (*Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*. Third Series, Vol. LXXIII). p. 15

[9] It was with the letter "J", the first letter of "Jungnitz", that the article "Herr Nauwerck und die philosophische Fakultät", published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft VI, May 1844, was signed. The publication of this article was preceded by E. Jungnitz's review of Karl Nauwerck's book *Über die Teilnahme am Staate*, Leipzig, 1844 (*Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft IV, March 1844). Engels took the short excerpts given below from this article. p. 17

[10] The reference is to the dismissal of Bruno Bauer, whom the Prussian Government deprived, temporarily in October 1841 and permanently in March 1842, of the right to lecture in Bonn University because of his works criticising the Bible. p. 17

[11] The excerpts cited in this paragraph are from the anonymous article "Proudhon" published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft V, April 1844. Its author was Edgar Bauer. Marx gives a detailed critical analysis of this article in section 4 of Chapter IV. E. Bauer's phrase "the tranquillity of knowledge" was ironically played up also in other sections of this chapter written by Marx and Engels. p. 18

[12] In this section Engels analyses and cites a review by Edgar Bauer in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft V, April 1844, of Flora Tristan's *Union ouvrière*, Paris, 1843. p. 19

[13] In this section Engels deals with Edgar Bauer's review of F. F. A. Béraud's *Les filles publiques de Paris et la police qui les régit*, t. I-II, Paris et Leipzig, 1839. This review was published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft V, April 1844, under the title "Béraud über die Freudenmädchen". p. 20

[14] In this section Marx criticised and cited Edgar Bauer's article "Die Romane der Verfasserin von Godwie Castle", published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft II, January 1844, and devoted to an analysis of the works of the German novelist Henriette von Paalzow. p. 21

[15] Marx compares with Edgar Bauer's article "Proudhon" (*Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft V, April 1844), which he criticises and cites in this section, excerpts from the second, 1841, edition of Proudhon's *Qu'est-ce que la propriété? ou Recherches sur le principe du droit et du gouvernement. Premier mémoire* (the first edition appeared in 1840 in Paris). Marx quotes Proudhon's book sometimes from the French original, sometimes in his own German translation.

Marx later made a comprehensive critical appraisal of this work of Proudhon's in his article "Über Proudhon", which was published as a letter to Schweitzer, editor of the *Social-Demokrat*, in 1865. p. 23

[16] The "Reformists" were a party of radical opponents of the July monarchy. The party consisted of democratic republicans and petty-bourgeois Socialists grouped

round the Paris newspaper *La Réforme*. The leaders of the Réforme party included Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc. p. 25

[17] *Digests* or Pandects were part of a compendium of Roman civil law (*Corpus iuris civilis*) compiled in 528-34 by Emperor Justinian I of the Eastern Roman Empire. They contained extracts from the works of prominent Roman jurists on civil law. p. 30

[18] Here and to the end of the subsection "Characterising Translation No. 4" Marx compared citations from Bauer's article with excerpts from another work by Proudhon, *Avertissement aux propriétaires, ou Lettre à M. Considérant, rédacteur de la Phalange, sur une défense de la propriété*. In content this book was close to Proudhon's *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?*, the closing section of which, "*Deuxième mémoire. Lettre à M. Blanqui, professeur d'économie politique au conservatoire des arts et métiers. Sur la propriété*", is quoted above. p. 50

[19] The quotations are from an anonymous review of Thiers' book *Geschichte der französischen Revolution* which was published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft VIII, July 1844. In "Critical Comment No. 5", Marx continues giving quotations from Edgar Bauer's article on Proudhon (*Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft V), comparing them with extracts from Proudhon's book *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* p. 51

[20] This chapter deals with and quotes from the review written by the Young Hegelian Szeliga (the pen-name of F. Z. Zychlinski) on the French writer Eugène Sue's novel *Les mystères de Paris*, which was published in 1843 and became well known as a sample of sentimental social fantasy woven into an adventure plot.

Szeliga's review was printed in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft VII, June 1844, under the title: "Eugen Sue: Die Geheimnisse von Paris. Kritik von Szeliga". Marx continues the critical analysis of this article in Chapter VIII.

The excerpts from Sue's novel in the two chapters are given by Marx either in French or in German translation. p. 55

[21] The reference is to the *Charte constitutionnelle* which was adopted in France after the bourgeois revolution of 1830 and was the basic law of the July monarchy.

In its fundamental principles the *Charte constitutionnelle* reproduced the constitutional charter of 1814, but the preamble of the 1814 charter, which spoke of the constitution being granted ("*octroyée*") by the king, was omitted and the rights of the upper and lower chambers were extended at the expense of certain royal prerogatives. According to the new constitution the king was considered only as the head of the executive authority and was deprived of the right to abrogate or suspend laws.

The expression "*Charte vérité*" is an ironical allusion to the concluding words of Louis Philippe's proclamation of July 31, 1830: "henceforth the charter shall be the truth." p. 56

[22] Here and elsewhere quotations are made from Bruno Bauer's anonymous article, "Neueste Schriften über die Judenfrage", which was published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft I, December 1843. This article was Bruno Bauer's reply to criticism in the press of his book *Die Judenfrage*, Braunschweig, 1843, which was a reprint, with some additions, of his articles on the same subject published in the journal *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst* in November 1842.

Marx gave a critical analysis of this book in his article "On the Jewish Question", which was carried by the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* (see present edition, Vol.

3). Later Bauer replied to criticism of his book in an article he published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*. In *The Holy Family* Marx ironically designates that article as "The Jewish Question No. 1", and the following articles as "The Jewish Question No. 2" and "The Jewish Question No. 3". p. 79

23 Ludwig Feuerbach's "Vorläufige Thesen zur Reformation der Philosophie" was written in January 1842 and prohibited by the censor in Germany. It was published in 1843 in Switzerland in the second volume of the collection, *Anekdota zur neuesten deutschen Philosophie und Publicistik*. This two-volume collection also contained articles by Karl Marx, Bruno Bauer, Friedrich Köppen, Arnold Ruge, and others. p. 83

24 *Doctrinaires*—a group of French bourgeois politicians during the Restoration (1815-1830). They were constitutional monarchists, enemies of the democratic and revolutionary movement and wished to unite the bourgeoisie and the nobility. Their ideal was a political system after the English model, formalising these two privileged classes' monopoly of governmental power in opposition to the broad "uneducated" and propertyless sections. The best known Doctrinaires were the historian François Guizot and the philosopher Pierre Paul Royer-Collard. p. 85

25 Concerning Reply No. 1, Bruno Bauer's first article against critics of his *Die Judenfrage*, see Note 22. In this article Bauer polemises with the authors of a number of reviews on his book, as well as with the authors of books and pamphlets, including the following: *Die Judenfrage von Bruno Bauer näher beleuchtet*, by Dr. Gustav Philippson, Dessau, 1843; *Briefe zur Beleuchtung der Judenfrage von Bruno Bauer*, by Dr. Samuel Hirsch, Leipzig, 1843; *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1843, No. 25 & ff. (Recension der Judenfrage von Bruno Bauer und der Briefe von Hirsch); *Der Israelit des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, published by Dr. M. Hess, 1843, and others. p. 87

26 This quotation is from Bruno Bauer's third article in reply to criticisms of his book *Die Judenfrage*. The article, a polemic against Marx and his work "Zur Judenfrage", published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, was printed anonymously in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft VIII, July 1844, under the title: "Was ist jetzt der Gegenstand der Kritik?" Below Marx resumes his quotations from and criticism of Bruno Bauer's first article, "Neueste Schriften über die Judenfrage" published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft I, December 1843. p. 88

27 The allusion here is to the five Napoleonic codes. p. 90

28 Here and elsewhere Marx criticises and quotes Bruno Bauer's review of the first volume of a course of lectures by the right Hegelian Hinrichs: *Politische Vorlesungen*, Bd. I-II, Halle, 1843. This review appeared anonymously in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft I, December 1843. Subsequently the same monthly (Heft V, April 1844) carried Bauer's reviews of the second volume of lectures, which is analysed in the same chapter of *The Holy Family* under the title: "Hinrichs No. 2. 'Criticism' and 'Feuerbach'. Condemnation of Philosophy." p. 90

29 Here and elsewhere Engels quotes and analyses Bauer's anonymous review of the second volume of Hinrichs' lectures. The review was printed in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft V, April 1844. p. 92

30 Here and elsewhere Marx quotes and analyses Bauer's second article in reply to criticism of his *Die Judenfrage*. It was printed anonymously under the same title as the first—"Neueste Schriften über die Judenfrage"—in the *Allgemeine Literatur-*

*Zeitung*, Heft IV, March 1844. The article analyses four polemical works, including *Die Judenfrage. Gegen Bruno Bauer*, by Dr. Gabriel Riesser in Hamburg, which appeared in Weil's *Konstitutionelle Jahrbücher*, 1843, Bd. 2 and 3. p. 94

[31] The reference is to the measures taken by the Convention against speculators in foodstuffs. In September 1793 the Convention decreed the establishment of a general maximum — fixed prices for the main food products and consumer articles; the death penalty was introduced for speculation in and concealment of products. p. 95

[32] "Was ist jetzt der Gegenstand der Kritik?" was the title of an article by Bruno Bauer printed anonymously in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft VIII, July 1844. It was the third polemical article against critics of his *Die Judenfrage*, in this case primarily against Marx's article "Zur Judenfrage" in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. This article of Bauer's is quoted and analysed by Marx not only under the title "Absolute Criticism's Self-Apology. Its 'Political' Past" but also under the other titles in the section "Absolute Criticism's Third Campaign". p. 99

[33] In January 1843 the Young Hegelians' journal *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst*, then appearing in Leipzig (up to July 1841 it had been published in the Prussian town of Halle under the title *Hallische Jahrbücher für Deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst*), was closed down by the government of Saxony and prohibited throughout Germany by a decree of the Federal Diet. On January 19 of the same year the Prussian Government decided to forbid as of April 1, 1843, the publication of the *Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*, which had been appearing in Cologne since January 1, 1842, and which, under the editorship of Marx (from October 1842), had acquired a revolutionary-democratic trend. Marx's resignation from the editorship on March 18, 1843, did not cause the government to rescind its decision, and the last issue appeared on March 31, 1843. p. 100

[34] Concerning Bruno Bauer's dismissal from the chair of theology, see Note 10. Bauer replied to the Government's repressive measures by the publication in Zurich and Winterthur in 1842 of the pamphlet: *Die gute Sache der Freiheit und meine eigene Angelegenheit*. p. 103

[35] The reference is to the review by Karl Christian Planck of Bauer's *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker*, Bd. 1-2, Leipzig, 1841, Bd. 3, Braunschweig, 1842. ("Synoptics" is the name given in the history of religion to the compilers of the first three Gospels.) The review was published in the *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, Berlin, June 1842, Nos. 107-114. Planck disputed Bauer's Young Hegelian theory on the origin of Christianity from the positions of the more moderate criticism of the Gospel sources given by Strauss. p. 103

[36] Marx has in mind the section of Hegel's book *Phänomenologie des Geistes* entitled "Die Kampf der Aufklärung mit dem Aberglauben". p. 103

[37] The article in question is Bruno Bauer's "Die Fähigkeit der heutigen Juden und Christen, frei zu werden", which was published in the collection *Einundzwanzig Bogen aus der Schweiz*, Zurich and Winterthur, 1843; along with the book *Die Judenfrage* (an enlarged edition of Bauer's articles on this subject first published in 1842), this article was subjected to a critical analysis by Marx in his article "Zur Judenfrage" in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. p. 107

[38] The reference is to the attempt to unite the various Lutheran trends by means of the forced *Union of 1817*, when the Lutherans were united with the Reformed

(Calvinist) Church to form the Evangelical Church. The Old Lutherans, who opposed this union, seceded to form their own trend defending the "true" Lutheran Church. p. 112

[39] The reference is to the policy of de-christianisation pursued in France by Hébert and his supporters in the autumn of 1793. Outwardly it was expressed in the closing of churches and the renunciation of Catholic rites. The forcible methods used to implement these measures outraged believers, especially among the peasants. p. 114

[40] In their efforts to consolidate the Jacobin dictatorship, Robespierre and his supporters opposed the policy of de-christianisation. A decree of the Convention on December 6, 1793, prohibited "all violence or threats directed against the freedom of worship". p. 114

[41] *Cercle social*—an organisation established by democratic intellectuals in Paris in the first years of the French Revolution. Its chief spokesman, Claude Fauchet, demanded an equalitarian division of the land, restrictions on large fortunes and employment for all able-bodied citizens. The criticism to which Fauchet and his supporters subjected the formal equality proclaimed in the documents of the French Revolution prepared the ground for bolder action in defence of the destitute by Jacques Roux, Théophile Leclerc and other members of the radical-plebeian "*Enragés*". p. 119

[42] Marx has in mind the *Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française*, t. 1-40, Paris, 1834-38, published by the French historian and publicist Ph. J. Buchez jointly with P. C. Roux-Lavergne. It consisted of numerous documents. The introductory articles by Buchez, a former Republican and pupil of Saint-Simon, who adopted the views of Christian Socialism in the 1830s, praised the Jacobins' activity and their revolutionary traditions but censured the steps taken by them against the Catholic clergy. p. 119

[43] Robespierre's speech, "Rapport sur les principes de morale politique qui doivent guider la Convention nationale dans l'administration intérieure de la République, fait au nom du comité de salut public, à la séance du 5 février (17 Pluviôse) 1794", is quoted according to the German translation of the *Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française*, by Buchez and Roux-Lavergne, t. 31, Paris, 1837. p. 121

[44] The report made by Saint-Just in the name of the Committees of Public Safety and of General Security at the Convention's sitting of March 31 (11 Germinal), 1794, is quoted according to the German translation of the *Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française*, by Buchez and Roux-Lavergne, t. 32, Paris, 1837. p. 121

[45] The text of the report made by Saint-Just on the police at the Convention's sitting of April 15 (26 Germinal), 1794, was published in the *Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française*, by Buchez and Roux-Lavergne, t. 32, Paris, 1837. p. 121

[46] The *Directory*—the regime established in France as a result of the overthrow of the Jacobin government on July 27 (9 Thermidor), 1794, and the introduction on November 4, 1795, by the Thermidor Convention, of a new anti-democratic constitution. Supreme executive power was concentrated in the hands of five Directors. The Directory, whose rule was marked by the flowering of enterprise and speculation, remained in existence until the *coup d'état* of November 9 (18 Brumaire), 1799, which completed the bourgeois counter-revolution and led to the personal rule of General Napoleon Bonaparte. p. 122

[47] The reference is apparently to the relevant articles in the *Staats-Lexikon, oder Encyklopädie der Staatswissenschaften*, Bd. 1-15, 1834-48, published by the German liberal historian C. Rotteck and the German liberal jurist C. Welcker. Rotteck was also the author of the four-volume *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte für alle Stände, von den frühesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1831*, Stuttgart, 1833. p. 123

[48] The first complete edition of the work of P.J.G. Cabanis appeared in Paris in 1802. But a considerable part had been published in 1798 and 1799 in the Transactions of the French Academy, under the title: *Traité du physique et du moral de l'homme.* p. 126

[49] The *Jansenists*—named after the Dutch theologian Cornelius Jansen—were an opposition trend among French Catholics in the 17th and early 18th centuries. Their views were vigorously resisted by official Catholicism. p. 126

[50] A large excerpt from this subsection of *The Holy Family*, beginning with this sentence and ending with the words: "... deism is but an easy-going way of getting rid of religion" (see p. 129 of this volume), was subsequently included with a few changes by Engels in his Introduction to the 1892 English edition of his *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific.* Accordingly the passage is here given in Engels' translation except for the changes which he made. p. 127

[51] The *Nominalists* were adherents of a trend in medieval scholasticism, generally considered heretical and dangerous, which maintained that only individual things exist and that generality belongs only to *words.* They criticised the traditional "realist" doctrine, derived from Plato, that universals or "ideas" have real existence above and independent of individual things, and likewise the "conceptualist" view that while universals do not exist outside the mind they do exist in the mind as general conceptions. The doctrine of Nominalism was later forcefully taken up and developed by the English materialist philosopher Thomas Hobbes. p. 127

[52] *Homoeomeriae*, according to the teaching of the ancient Greek philosopher Anaxagoras, are tiny qualitatively determined material particles which are infinite in number and variety and form the primary basis of all that exists; their combinations constitute all the variety of things. p. 128

[52a] In his Introduction to the 1892 English edition of his *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, Engels gives the following explanation of this term: "'Qual' is a philosophical play upon words. Qual literally means torture, a pain which drives to action of some kind; at the same time the mystic Böhme puts into the German word something of the meaning of the Latin *qualitas*; his 'qual' was the activating principle arising from, and promoting in its turn, the spontaneous development of the thing, relation, or person subject to it, in contradistinction to a pain inflicted from without." p. 128

[53] Claude Adrien Helvétius, *De l'homme, de ses facultés intellectuelles et de son éducation*, London, 1773. The first edition of this work, published after the author's death, appeared in London due to the efforts of the Russian ambassador in Holland, D.A. Golitsyn. p. 130

[54] Many of the works by the philosophers mentioned were vigorously denounced by the Church and the Government authorities. La Mettrie's book, *L'homme machine*, published anonymously in Leyden in 1748, was burned and its author was banished

from Holland, where he had emigrated from France in 1745. When the first edition of Holbach's *Système de la Nature, ou des Loix du Monde physique et du Monde moral* was put out in 1770, the name of the author was given as J. B. Mirabeau, secretary of the French Academy who had died in 1760. p. 130

55 The first edition of Helvétius' book *De l'esprit* was published anonymously in Paris in 1758 and was burned by the public executioner in 1759. p. 132

56 The first edition of Holbach's *Système social, ou principes naturels de la morale et de la politique* was published anonymously in three volumes in 1773. p. 133

57 This is an allusion to the hostile campaign conducted for a number of years by the conservative Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* against socialism and communism. In October 1842, this paper accused the *Rheinische Zeitung*, whose editor was Marx, of spreading communist views. In reply Marx published his article "Communism and the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*" (see present edition, Vol. 1). p. 134

58 The reference is to members of a political grouping which formed in France around the newspaper *La Réforme* (see Note 16). One of the leaders of this grouping, the petty-bourgeois Socialist Louis Blanc, put out in 1839-40 a pamphlet entitled *L'organisation du travail*, which became widely known. p. 135

59 This is an ironic allusion to the ancient Roman tradition about the geese whose cackling saved Rome in 390 B.C. by waking the guards at the approach of the Gauls who had laid siege to the Capitol. p. 135

60 The quotation is taken from Bruno Bauer's review of the book *Leben und Wirken Friedrich von Sallet's, nebst Mittheilungen aus dem literarischen Nachlasse Desselben*, Breslau, 1844. The review was published anonymously in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft VIII, July 1844. p. 138

61 Below Marx gives excerpts from the following reports: Zerrleder, "Correspondenz aus Bern" (*Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft III, February 1844, Heft VI, May 1844); E. Fleischhammer, "Correspondenz aus Breslau" (ibid., Heft IV, March 1844); Hirzel, "Correspondenz aus Zürich" (ibid., Heft IV, March 1844, Heft V, April 1844); "Correspondenz aus der Provinz" (ibid., Heft VI, May 1844). p. 145

62 Bruno Bauer's reply (on behalf of the paper's editorial board) to the Tübingen correspondent was published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft VI, May 1844, under the heading "Correspondenz aus der Provinz". Excerpts from the reports published under this heading in the same issue are given below. p. 146

63 *Berlin Couleur* was the name by which the correspondent of the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* mentioned above designated the Berlin Young Hegelians who did not belong to Bruno Bauer's group and criticised the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* on a number of petty points. Max Stirner was one of them.

The excerpts quoted in this and the concluding subsection of the chapter are from the anonymous letters published under the heading "Correspondenz aus der Provinz" in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft VI, May 1844, as are also the editors' replies to these letters. p. 149

64 By the "philosophy of identity" is meant Schelling's early philosophical views which he expounded at the beginning of the 19th century. These views were based on the idea of the absolute identity of thinking and being, consciousness and matter as the root of everything which exists. These views represented a transitional stage in the

development of German classical philosophy, from the subjective idealism of Fichte to the absolute idealism of Hegel. But Schelling himself, in whose philosophical outlook religiosity and mysticism later came to dominate, not only condemned Hegel's philosophy in his subsequent pronouncements, and particularly in his lectures on the "Philosophy of Revelation" in Berlin University in 1841-42 (which were critically analysed by the young Engels in his pamphlet *Schelling and Revelation*); he even renounced the rational elements of his own "philosophy of identity" (see present edition, Vol. 2). p. 154

65 The reference is to F. Gruppe's pamphlet *Bruno Bauer und die akademische Lehrfreiheit*, Berlin, 1842, directed against Bruno Bauer and the Young Hegelians. Marx had criticised this polemical pamphlet, which was written from a conservative standpoint (see present edition, Vol. 1, pp. 211-14). p. 157

66 The reference is to the article "Emigranten und Märtyrer. Ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik der *Deutsch-Französischen Jahrbücher*", by H. L. Egidius, published in the journal *Konstitutionelle Jahrbücher*, 1844, Bd. II. p. 162

67 The quotations from Fourier's works *Le nouveau monde industriel et sociétaire, Théorie des quatre mouvements et des destinées, générales* (the first edition was published in 1808) are given by Marx in his own translation and the quotation from *Théorie de l'unité universelle* is in French. p. 196

68 Marx had in mind Théodore Dézamy, Jules Gay and their supporters, whose materialistic outlook he characterised in Chapter VI of *The Holy Family* (see p. 131 of this volume). The revolutionary and materialistic trend of French utopian communism included also the secret Babouvist societies of the 1840s influenced by Dézamy: the "*travailleurs égalitaires*", which consisted mainly of workers and published the journal *l'Égalitaire*, and the "*humanitaires*", supporters of the journal *l'Humanitaire*. In 1843 Engels wrote about the criticism of bourgeois marriage and family relations by representatives of these societies in his article "Progress of Social Reform on the Continent" (see present edition, Vol. 3, p. 392) p. 196

69 This is an allusion to the leading role played by K. H. Sack, a professor of Bonn University, in the campaign waged by reactionary theological circles against the Young Hegelians, which began in connection with Bruno Bauer's transfer as a privat-dozent from Berlin to Bonn in 1839. Especially sharp attacks were made against Bauer's criticism of the Gospel sources and the atheistic conclusions following from his views on the origin of Christianity. In March 1842, Bauer was dismissed from Bonn University. The theological opponents of the Young Hegelians were ridiculed in Engels' satirical poem "The Insolently Threatened Yet Miraculously Rescued Bible", in which Sack figures under the ironical name of Beutel (in German, *Sack* means sack, *Beutel*—pouch) (see present edition, Vol. 2, pp. 313-51). p. 203

70 The reference is to the petty German princes who lost their power and saw their possessions annexed by larger German states as a result of the reshaping of the political map of Germany during the Napoleonic wars and at the Vienna Congress (1814-15). p. 203

71 "*Young England*" was a group of conservative writers and politicians, including Disraeli and Lord John Manners, who were close to the Tory philanthropists and formed a separate group in the House of Commons in 1841. Voicing the landed

aristocracy's dissatisfaction at the political and economic strengthening of the bourgeoisie, they criticised the capitalist system and supported half-hearted philanthropic measures for improving the condition of the workers. "Young England" disintegrated as a political group in 1845 and ceased to exist as a literary trend in 1848. In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* Marx and Engels characterised the views of "Young England" as "feudal socialism" (see present edition, Vol. 6). See Engels' characterisation of it in the footnote on p. 578 of this volume. p. 205

[72] Engels' article on "Continental Socialism" was written in the form of a private letter, which the addressee forwarded to the editorial office of the weekly *The New Moral World*, preceded and followed by accompanying texts (it appeared in this form in the paper). However, there are grounds for assuming that the introductory and concluding texts, written in the third person, were also written by Engels, who had his reasons for resorting to this indirect way of publishing his writings. This assumption is supported by the fact that the accompanying text is signed with the pen-name "Anglo-German", most probably pointing to Engels, who had lived some two years in England and had a good knowledge of conditions there. Apparently the note to the text of the letter was also by Engels. p. 212

[73] *Ham Common folks*—a group of English Utopian Socialists who organised the Concordium Colony at Ham Common, near London, in 1842; followers of the English mystic James Pierrepont Greaves (1777-1842), the Ham Common Socialists preached moral perfection and an ascetic way of life; the colony broke up after only a short existence. p. 212

[74] The reference is to the attempt made by France during her conquest of Algeria to bring neighbouring Morocco also under her control. In August 1844, accusing the Sultan of Morocco of helping Abd-el-Kader, the chief of the Algerian tribes who were resisting French rule, the French started hostilities against Morocco. The Sultan was defeated and forced to cease his assistance to Abd-el-Kader and in 1845 sign a treaty advantageous to France. p. 212

[75] The "Description of Recently Founded Communist Colonies Still in Existence" was compiled by Engels on the basis of materials published in *The New Moral World*, *The Northern Star* and other publications. The main source was a series of 29 letters written by the Owenite John Finch and published in *The New Moral World* between January 13 and October 19, 1844, under the title "Notes of Travel in the United States". Engels gives some excerpts from Finch's letters in his own, rather free, German translation and italicises certain words and passages (the features of his method of quoting are taken into account in the present edition). In describing the communist colony of Harmony Hall in Hampshire, which was founded by Owen's followers in 1841 and existed until the beginning of 1846, Engels drew on Somerville's essay *A Journey to Harmony Hall, in Hampshire; with some particulars of the Socialist Community, to which the attention of the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy is earnestly requested.* This essay was published in *The Morning Chronicle* on December 13, 1842, and signed "One who has whistled at the Plough".

Engels' "Description" was published in the annual *Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1845* without any signature. Engels' authorship is confirmed by his own reference to this material in a series of articles on the progress of communism in Germany published in the spring of 1845 in *The New Moral World* (see p. 240 of this volume). p. 214

[76] The quotation is taken from the correspondence of Lawrence Pitkeithly of Huddersfield, "Where to, and how to proceed. Description of the Shaker Villages" (*The Northern Star* No. 286, May 6, 1843). p. 217

[77] The *Unitarians* (or *Anti-Trinitarians*) reject the dogma of the "Holy Trinity". The Unitarian Church first arose in England and America in the 17th century, and its teachings emphasise the moral and ethical side of the Christian religion in contrast to its external ritualist aspect. p. 223

[78] The series of articles "Rapid Progress of Communism in Germany" was Engels' last contribution to the London Owenite weekly *The New Moral World*. The series was written in the form of three letters to the editors, and printed in that form in the newspaper, only the first of them bearing a title. The numbering of the articles in the present edition is by the editors. p. 229

[79] The riot of the Silesian weavers took place on June 2-4, 1844, and was described by Marx in his article, "Critical Marginal Notes on the Article 'The King of Prussia and Social Reform. By a Prussian'", and by Engels in his reports "News from Prussia", and "Further Particulars of the Silesian Riots" (see present edition, Vol. 3). Soon after the Silesian events, in the second half of June 1844, there was a rising of textile workers in Prague, which led to workers' uprisings in a number of other Bohemian industrial areas, including Reichenberg (now called Liberec) and Böhmisch Leipa (now called Česka Lipa). The workers' movement, which was accompanied by the wrecking of factories and the destruction of machinery, was suppressed by government troops. p. 230

[80] The reference is to the article "Ein 'socialistischer' Spuk", which was published unsigned in a supplement to the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 314, November 9, 1844. p. 231

[81] The translation was made by Engels after the earlier version of Heine's poem "Die Schlesischen Weber". Unlike the text first published in the newspaper *Vorwärts!* No. 55, July 10, 1844, the first stanza of this translation has an additional line, the third. A later version, edited by the author, with the additional, fifth stanza, was published in 1847. p. 232

[82] In *The New Moral World* the letter was dated February 22. But Engels reports on events which he witnessed or took part in between February 2 and 22, in particular the communist meeting at Elberfeld on February 8, not in this, but in the following article of the series (see pp. 237-38 of this volume). Hence either the dating is a misprint, or else was deliberately changed by the editors in order to disguise the time lag between the writing of the article and its publication. p. 234

[83] The reference is to the "*Associations for the Benefit of the Working Classes*" which were formed in a number of Prussian towns in 1844-45 on the initiative of the German liberal bourgeoisie, which had been alarmed by the *rising of the Silesian weavers*, in the summer of 1844 (see Note 79). They hoped by this means to divert the German workers from militant forms of struggle. But despite the efforts of the bourgeoisie and the governmental authorities to give these associations an innocent and philanthropical appearance, their establishment only gave fresh impetus to the urban masses' political activity and drew the attention of broad sections of German society to the social question. The scope of the movement to establish such associations was especially great in the towns of the industrial Rhine province, where the antagonisms between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat were acute and Prussian absolutism was faced with a radical-democratic opposition. The revolu-

tionary-democratic intelligentsia used meetings called to set up associations and discuss their statutes for the purpose of popularising radical ideas and counteracting the influence of the clergy and the liberal bourgeoisie. Seeing that the associations had taken so unlooked for a direction, the Prussian Government hastily cut short their activity in the spring of 1845 by refusing to approve their statutes and forbidding them to continue their work.

In *Elberfeld* in November 1844 an Educational Society was founded. From the very beginning its organisers had to fight attempts by the local clergy to bring it under their influence and give its activity a religious colouring. Engels and his friends wished to use the society's meetings and its committee to spread communist views. The statute of the society was not approved by the authorities and the society itself ceased to exist in the spring of 1845. p. 234

[84] The reference is to the annual *Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1845*, established in Darmstadt by the radical publicist H. Püttmann in December 1844. Besides several articles of the German or "true" socialist trend which was then emerging, the journal carried works by such revolutionary-democratic writers as W. Wolff and the poet G. Weerth. It also contained Engels' essay "Description of Recently Founded Communist Colonies Still in Existence" (see pp. 214-28 of this volume and Note 75). The next issue of the *Deutsches Bürgerbuch*, which appeared in Mannheim in the summer of 1846, contained Engels' translation of "A Fragment of Fourier's on Trade", which he made in summer and autumn 1845, with an introduction and a conclusion censuring for the first time the tendencies inherent in "true socialism" (see pp. 613, 642-43 of this volume). The "true Socialists" and the publications spreading their views, among them the *Deutsches Bürgerbuch*, were later criticised in detail by Marx and Engels in *The German Ideology* and other works (see present edition, Vol. 5). p. 235

[85] What is meant is the prospectus of H. Püttmann's projected journal *Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform*. Only two issues appeared, the first in Darmstadt in August 1845, the second in the small town of Bellevue, on the German-Swiss border, at the end of 1846. Marx and Engels used them to spread their communist views in Germany. The first issue carried the texts of Engels' speeches at meetings in Elberfeld on February 8 and 15, 1845 (see pp. 243-64 of this volume), and the second contained his article "Festival of Nations in London" (see present edition, Vol. 6). It was for this journal that Marx prepared in the spring of 1845 a long article on the German economist List (see pp. 265-93 of this volume). However, the journal was dominated by the "true Socialists", and Marx and Engels afterwards severely criticised it in *The German Ideology* (see present edition, Vol. 5). p. 235

[86] The reference is to the monthly *Gesellschaftsspiegel*. Engels helped to organise this publication and compile its prospectus (see pp. 671-74 of this volume), but did not become one of its editors. The journal, which began to appear in 1845 in Elberfeld, edited by M. Hess, carried in January 1846 Marx's article "Peuchet: On Suicide" (see pp. 597-612 of this volume). But articles by "true Socialists" predominated. p. 235

[87] On January 16, 1845, the French authorities decided to banish from France Marx, Heine, Bürgers, Bakunin and other contributors to *Vorwärts!* The Prussian Government had already made repeated attempts to persuade the Guizot cabinet to close down the paper, and had launched a campaign against it in the reactionary press. Under pressure from public opinion the French Government was forced to

annul its decision to expel Heine. But, on February 3, Marx was obliged to leave Paris and settle in Brussels.

Before his departure, on February 1, 1845, Marx concluded a contract with the Darmstadt publisher K.F.J. Leske for the publication of his two-volume work *Kritik der Politik und Nationalökonomie* (see the Appendices to this volume). p. 235

88 The reference is to the collection *Neue Anekdota*, which was published in Darmstadt in May 1845. It contained newspaper articles by M. Hess, K. Grün, O. Lüning and others, written mainly in the first half of 1844, which had been banned by the censor. Soon after the publication of the collection, Marx and Engels made a number of severely critical remarks about its contents, as can be seen from Grün's letters to Hess. p. 241

89 The reference is to the projected publication in German of the "Library of the Best Foreign Socialist Writers", which, as we learn from Engels' letters to Marx from Barmen in February and March 1845, was repeatedly discussed by the two friends.

A list, written by Marx, of authors whose works he proposed for inclusion in the "Library" is still extant (see p. 667 of this volume). But the project was not realised. The only work completed was "A Fragment of Fourier's on Trade" compiled by Engels with an introduction and a conclusion by him (see pp. 613-44 of this volume). p. 241

90 "*Secret offices*" or "black offices" were establishments under the postal departments in France, Prussia, Austria and a number of other countries to deal with the inspection of correspondence. They had been in existence since the time of the absolute monarchies in Europe. p. 241

91 On February 8, 15 and 22, 1845, meetings to discuss communism were held in Elberfeld and aroused considerable public interest. The second and third meetings attracted especially large attendances — from 130 to 200. Discussion of lectures and of readings from socialist literature, including poetry by Shelley and other authors, lasted many hours. As well as socialist-minded intellectuals, the audiences consisted largely of bourgeois from Barmen and Elberfeld with a sprinkling of visitors from other towns in the Rhine province of Prussia (Cologne and Düsseldorf). "All of Elberfeld and Barmen, from the monied aristocracy to small shopkeepers, were represented, the proletariat being the only exception," Engels wrote to Marx on February 22 about the third meeting, which had just taken place. He also described the two preceding ones. The meetings upset the local authorities, who took steps to put an end to public discussions on the subject.

Engels spoke on February 8 and 15. On February 22 excerpts were read from the essay on Communist Colonies which he had compiled and published about that time (see pp. 214-28 of this volume). An account of the meetings is included in the third report in his series on the progress of communism in Germany, published in *The New Moral World* (see pp. 237-39 of this volume).

The texts of Engels' speeches, prepared for publication by the author, were published together with excerpts from other speakers (M. Hess, G. A. Köttgen) in August 1845 in the first issue of *Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform* (pp. 45-62 and 71-86). The title "Speeches in Elberfeld" has been taken from Engels' letter to Marx on March 17, 1845, in which he himself uses it. p. 243

92 In 1892 Engels returned, in the Preface to the English edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, to the problem of the cyclical character of economic crises in the early 19th century. "The recurring period of the great industrial crises

is stated in the text as five years," he wrote. "This was the period apparently indicated by the course of events from 1825 to 1842. But the industrial history from 1842 to 1868 has shown that the real period is one of ten years; that the intermediate revulsions were secondary, and tended more and more to disappear." p. 245

[93] See Note 79. p. 254

[94] *The Customs Union* (*Zollverein*) of the German states (initially they numbered 18), which established a common customs frontier, was founded in 1834 and headed by Prussia. By the 1840s the Union embraced most of the German states, with the exception of Austria, the Hansa cities (Bremen, Lubeck, Hamburg) and a few small states. Brought into being by the demand for an all-German market, the Customs Union contributed to Germany's eventual political unification. p. 258

[95] In 1842, as a result of the so-called first Opium War, which Britain had been waging against China since 1839, the unequal Nanking Treaty was imposed; one of the clauses envisaged the opening to English trade of five Chinese cities: Canton, Shanghai, Amoy, Ninbo and Fuchou. p. 261

[96] This work—a draft of an article against the German economist Friedrich List—was recently discovered among Marx's manuscripts which remained for a long time in the keeping of the grandchildren of his eldest daughter, Jenny Longuet. Marx and Engels had reacted critically to List's book (published in 1841) as early as February 1844 in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* (see present edition, Vol. 3, 178, 421). Later they concluded that a full-scale criticism should be published of his views as typifying the attitudes of the German bourgeoisie—its striving for complete freedom of action to exploit the German workers without prejudice to the privileges of the nobility and its support of the feudal-monarchical political system while seeking to force the government to protect bourgeois interests against foreign competition. In a letter to Marx on November 19, 1844, Engels mentioned that he intended writing a pamphlet on List, and in another letter, on March 17, 1845, he greatly approved of Marx's own plans to publish in the journal *Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform*, projected by Püttmann, a critical analysis of List's views. In his pamphlet Engels proposed to expand the critical remarks on List's practical suggestions (introduction of a protective system) which he had made in the second of his "Speeches in Elberfeld" (see pp. 258-62 of this volume). However, Engels did not write that pamphlet.

Neither did Marx's article on List appear in print. The extant drafts of the manuscript, abounding in abbreviations, erasures, corrections and insertions, are incomplete. The first sheet, apparently containing the author's title of the article and of the first chapter, is missing. Sheets 10-21 and 22 have also not been found. The extant part consists of large-size sheets numbered by Marx himself. Of these, numbers 2-5, containing four pages of text each, and sheet 6, containing text on the first three pages, belong to the first chapter. Following them is a small fragment on a separate unnumbered sheet. The second chapter, with the author's title, has reached us more complete and comprises sheets 7-9, containing four pages each. Of the third chapter only sheet 22 (two fragments filling two pages) and sheet 24 (four pages of text) are extant. The fourth chapter has the author's title and fills one unnumbered sheet (four pages).

In his manuscript Marx analyses and quotes the first volume of List's book according to the 1841 edition—Friedrich List, *Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie. Erster Band. Der internationale Handel, die Handelspolitik und der deutsche*

*Zollverein*, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1841. At the beginning of 1845 Marx made numerous excerpts from this edition which he used in his work. He quotes French sources in his own German translation, with the exception of one excerpt, from a work by Louis Say, which he purposely quotes in French to show List's deliberately inaccurate way of quoting. The emphasis in the quotations belongs for the most part to Marx.

In publishing the work in this edition, obvious slips of the pen in the manuscript have been corrected, editorial insertions have been made (in square brackets) where meaning might otherwise be obscure and some passages have been divided into paragraphs additional to those given by the author. Where the author's titles to chapters are missing, titles (in square brackets) have been supplied by the editors. The numbers of the sheets in the manuscript are given in Arab figures in square brackets. Words and phrases crossed out in the manuscript are not reproduced, although some of them have been taken into account in deciphering illegible passages. In the second chapter a number of paragraphs were crossed out by the author with a vertical line. Marx usually did that when he was using the crossed out passage in another place or in another variant of the work. Since the pages of the manuscript to which these passages could have been transferred are missing, the passages crossed out are reproduced in the context in question in angle brackets. p. 265

[97] The word "obstacle" is written in the manuscript over the word "inconvenience". And later in the text Marx repeatedly uses this method of proposing variants. In the translation such words are given in brackets after the word over which the variant is written. p. 265

[98] A *Molossus* in ancient prosody was a foot of three long syllables (———). Marx uses the term ironically to describe List's heavy style. p. 266

[99] In numbering this point 3 Marx probably made a slip, since the preceding point is also numbered 3. The next point in the manuscript is numbered 4 (see below, p. 273). p. 267

[100] The *Tribunate* was one of the four legislative institutions introduced in France by the Constitution of 1799 after the *coup d'état* of 18-19 Brumaire (9-10 November), 1799, which established the dictatorship of Napoleon Bonaparte. The Tribunate was abolished in 1807. p. 270

[101] The *Notice historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de J.-B. Say* was prefaced to the seventh, supplementary, volume of Say's course in Political Economy, which was published soon after the author's death under the title: *Cours complet d'économie politique pratique. Volume complémentaire. Mélanges et correspondance d'économie politique; ouvrage posthume de J.-B. Say, publié par Charles Comte, son gendre*, Paris, 1833. Marx quotes with abridgments separate passages from pp. iii-xii of the "Notice historique" by Charles Comte. p. 270

[102] *The Anti-Corn Law League*—see Note 5.

The movement for land reform, free allotment of plots to every worker and other democratic reforms arose in the 1840s in the United States of America and was headed by the National Reform Association. p. 272

[103] Ironical allusions to List's arguments and use of words. The words enclosed in inverted commas by Marx—"freie, mächtige und reiche Bürger"—allude to List's expression "das Aufkommen eines freien, industriellen und reichen

Bürgertums" (the rise of a free, industrial and rich bourgeoisie) on page lxvi of his book. On page lxiv List claims credit for having shown the German gentry how profitable for them was the existence of an industrial bourgeoisie "zealously" working to increase the rents of their estates. p. 272

104 "*Confederation*" is one of List's favourite words. He speaks of "the confederation of various activities", "the confederation of various knowledge", "the confederation of various forces" (see List, op. cit., p. 223). p. 275

105 On page 208 of his book, List illustrates his teaching on productive forces and exchange values by the example of two fathers, each of whom has five sons and owns an estate bringing 1,000 talers net annual income in excess of what he expends to support his family. One of them places his 1,000 talers in a bank at interest and forces his sons to perform hard unskilled labour; the other uses his 1,000 talers to give his sons a higher education, so that they become highly skilled agronomists or engineers. According to List, the first father shows concern for the increase of exchange values, the second for the increase of productive forces. On page 209 List speaks of the Christian religion and monogamy as "rich sources of productive force". p. 277

106 List says: "Workshops and factories are the mothers and children of civic freedom, education, the arts and sciences...." p. 277

107 Below Marx makes clear that he understands "the abolition of labour" to mean the elimination of the existing forms of exploitation of labour, the enslavement and alienation of the working man, and emphasises the need to create social conditions under which industrial labour and industry would cease to be an object and instrument of oppression but would serve as a means for man to use his capacities and to master the forces of nature (see pp. 280-82 of this volume). p. 279

108 An allusion to the expression "industrial education", which is frequently used by List. p. 282

109 By *manufacturing force* ("die Manufakturkraft") List understands the productive power of factory industry. But he often uses this expression simply in the sense of factory industry. p. 284

110 An allusion to List's statement that his "theory of the productive forces" should be *worked out scientifically* ("wissenschaftlich auszubilden sei") side by side with "the theory of exchange values" developed by the "Smith-Say school" (List, op. cit., p. 187). p. 284

111 The reference is to List's argument, in Chapter 24 of his book, about the importance of "continuity" and "uninterruptedness of production" in the development of factory industry, the preservation and perfection of its technical means and the production skills of the workers. In comparing these arguments with those of J. F. Bray, Marx had in mind the latter's book, *Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy; or the Age of Might and the Age of Right*, Leeds, 1839, which proved the injustice of the hereditary property of capitalists and landowners as non-productive and parasitic classes. In *The Poverty of Philosophy* (1847) Marx characterised Bray's views as communist (see present edition, Vol. 6). p. 288

112 The term *costs of production* ("Produktionskosten") is used by Marx in the sense of value of the product. p. 288

[113] See Note 5. p. 289

[114] The *Methuen Treaty* was a trade treaty concluded on December 27, 1703, between England and Portugal (by Lord Methuen for the English)—allies in the War of Spanish Succession (fought by the Anglo-Austro-Dutch coalition against France and Spain). The treaty opened wide access in Portugal for English woollens, in return for which Portugal received the right to export its wines to England on privileged terms. In his book List emphasised that this treaty was unfavourable to Portugal. p. 293

[115] Engels' plans to produce a big work on the social history of England were formed while he was still living in that country (from November 1842 to August 1844). Initially he intended to implement them in the form of a series of articles in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* under the general title of *The Condition of England*. The February 1844 issue of the journal carried the first article in this series, and the other articles were published later in the Paris *Vorwärts!* (August-October, 1844—see present edition, Vol. 3) since the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* had ceased to be published. The series, however, remained incomplete. In the articles he wrote Engels was able merely to touch upon his main theme—the condition of the working class in England. He intended to amplify it later in one of the central chapters of his intended book on the social history of England, but in the end his realisation of the proletariat's special role in bourgeois society prompted him to make the condition of the English working class the object of a special study.

Upon his return to Barmen early in September 1844, Engels at once set about the accomplishment of his revised plan, using material he had collected while in England. "I am buried up to the neck in English newspapers and books from which I am compiling my book on the condition of English proletarians", he informed Marx on November 19, 1844. In January 1845 the work was appreciably advanced and, informing Marx of this on January 20, Engels told him of his intention to start, once it was finished, on a new work: *On the Historical Development of England and English Socialism*. In mid-March 1845 the manuscript was completed and sent to the Leipzig publisher Wigand. It appeared at the beginning of June 1845, when Engels had already moved to Brussels, where Marx, banished from France, had been since February of that year.

The response in the German press was lively. Many newspapers and journals, in particular the *Allgemeine Preussische Zeitung*, the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, the *Janus. Jahrbücher deutscher Gesinnung, Bildung und That*, 1845, the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*, Jg. 1845, and a number of others carried reviews of the book. And in socialist circles it was received with great approval. Weydemeyer wrote that Engels' book was "without doubt one of the most important phenomena in our recent literature" ("Dies Buch gehört dem Volke", 1845). O. Lüning noted that the book instilled not only "hatred of and wrath against the oppressors", but also "a feeling of hope and faith in the final victory of reason and justice, in the eternal reason of mankind, which, despite all dangers and storms, will secure a beautiful future" (*Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1846*). Revolutionary workers were educated on Engels' book. F. Lessner, a German worker who subsequently became an active member of the Communist League, recalled, for example, that it "was the first book I acquired and from which I first obtained an idea of the working-class movement".

Bourgeois critics, while acknowledging the accurate observation and the literary merit of the book, nevertheless deplored its revolutionary conclusions. Thus, in a review of recent literature published in the Berlin journal *Janus*.

*Jahrbücher deutscher Gesinnung*, in 1845 (Bd. 2, Heft 18), Professor F. A. H. Huber accused the author of making his work "a call for murder and arson written with bile, blood and passion". The polemic over Engels' book continued in the following years. For instance, the prominent German economist B. Hildebrand devoted to its analysis a considerable part of his work *Die Nationalökonomie oder Gegenwart und Zukunft*, Frankfurt am Main, 1848. Acknowledging the author's talent and the originality of his research, this critic took great exception to his communist ideas and declared his characterisation of English bourgeois society to be true in detail but incorrect as a whole.

Engels' book became well known also outside Germany. As early as July 1845, a few weeks after it was published, reviews appeared in Russia (*Literaturnaya Gazeta* No. 25, July 5, 1845). Engels' work was highly rated by revolutionary democrats. N. V. Shelgunov, in an article published in the journal *Sovremennik* in 1861, demonstrated the groundlessness of Hildebrand's attacks on Engels, whom he called "one of the best and noblest of Germans". The article summarised with approval the main content of Engels' work (*Sovremennik*, LXXXV, Sec. 1).

Marx, in his own economic researches, based himself in many respects on the material and conclusions of his friend's work, which he quoted in many passages of *Capital*. But later, Engels himself was very critical of his book. Acknowledging that it was written with genuinely youthful inspiration, "freshly and passionately, with bold anticipation" (see his letter to Marx of April 9, 1863), he at the same time found in it certain weaknesses typical of the initial stage in the development of scientific communism.

In later editions he took steps to warn the reader of its shortcomings. Thus, in the Appendix to the American edition (1887), which was included in the Preface to the English and German editions of 1892, Engels wrote: "... This book exhibits everywhere the traces of the descent of modern Socialism from one of its ancestors—the German philosophy. Thus great stress is laid on the dictum that Communism is not a mere party doctrine of the working class, but a theory compassing the emancipation of society at large, including the capitalist class, from its present narrow conditions. This is true enough in the abstract, but absolutely useless, and sometimes worse, in practice. So long as the wealthy classes not only do not feel the want of any emancipation, but strenuously oppose the self-emancipation of the working class, so long the social revolution will have to be prepared and fought out by the working class alone." Engels went on to explain why his assumption in 1845 that the social revolution in England was imminent had not been borne out. Among the causes for this he emphasised the decline of Chartism after 1848 and the temporary preponderance of reformist tendencies in the English working-class movement—bred out of England's industrial monopoly on the world market, which had turned out to be much more lasting than he had assumed.

*The Condition of the Working-Class in England* had several editions during the author's lifetime. As early as 1848, Wigand's publishing house in Leipzig put out a new impression of the work, marked "Second Edition" on the title page, although it was merely a reprint of the first.

The book was published in English for the first time in New York in 1887 in a translation made by the American Socialist Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky. The American edition is the authorised one. Engels edited the translation, made a number of changes in the text, omitted the address "To the Working-Classes of Great-Britain" and the Preface to the first German edition of 1845, and provided the book with the new Preface of 1887 addressed to the American reader together with an Afterword (the Appendix written in 1886) dealing with changes that

had since taken place in the condition of the English working class. He included in this Afterword the text of the article "England in 1845 and in 1885", which he had written in 1885. The title of the book was altered to *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*; in the table of contents only the titles of the chapters were preserved, without the enumeration of the questions discussed in them which had appeared in the German edition of 1845 (at the same time a short subject index was added); some drawings and the plan of Manchester were omitted, a number of references to sources in the text were given as footnotes, etc.

The text of the American edition was reproduced almost without change in the authorised English edition which was published in London in 1892. Engels wrote another special Preface, including in it almost without change the Afterword to the American edition of 1887, while the Preface for American readers was omitted. In the same year the Dietz publishing house in Stuttgart published the authorised second German edition, the text of which reproduced in the main that of 1845. Engels wrote for it a new Preface, identical on the whole with that of the 1892 English edition, but with additions in the concluding part and a number of new footnotes.

The present edition reproduces the English translation made by Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky and edited by Engels himself. This text has also been collated with the original German edition and the major different readings affecting the meaning are given as footnotes. Some parts of the text which were omitted by Engels when he edited the English translation (for instance, the address to the English reader, the Preface to the first edition, the poem "The Steam King" by Edward Mead, the enumeration of subjects in the table of contents, etc.) have been restored according to the German edition, the relevant indications being given in footnotes or Notes at the end of the volume. The title of the book has also been given according to the first edition. Slips and omissions made by Florence Wischnewetzky have been corrected; in particular, she did not have at her disposal a number of English sources used by Engels and she gave quotations from them in retranslation from the German (in the American and English editions of 1887 and 1892 this was specially mentioned in the Translator's Note). In the present edition the texts of English sources quoted by Engels have been given according to the original, taking into account the author's method of quoting (abridgments, re-arrangement of the text, and so on). Errors in dates and in names of persons and places have been corrected, account being taken of the corrections introduced in the book: Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. Translated and edited by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, New York, 1958. Use has been made of some original texts from rare sources quoted in the above-mentioned edition.

The author's prefaces to subsequent editions and the Afterword to the American edition of 1887 will be included in the relevant volumes of the present edition according to the dates of their writing. p. 295

116 The address "To the Working-Classes of Great-Britain" was written by Engels in English with the intention, as he informed Marx in his letter of November 19, 1844, of having it printed separately and sent to "English party leaders, literary men and Members of Parliament". In the 1845 and 1892 German editions of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* the address was reproduced in English; it was not included in the American (1887) and English (1892) editions. In the present volume it is reproduced according to the German edition of 1892. p. 297

[117] Engels' Preface to the first German edition of his book was not reproduced in the American (1887) or the English (1892) edition. However, it was included in the 1892 German edition. In the present volume it is given in translation from the German editions published in the author's lifetime. p. 302

[118] This intention was not carried out, although in the ensuing years, up to the beginning of the 1848 Revolution, Engels several times returned to it. During his stay in Brussels from April 1845 to August 1846, and in the following months, which he spent in Paris, Engels continued collecting material on England in addition to what he had collected in the preceding years. In July and August 1845, during trips to London and Manchester with Marx, he researched on this subject in the libraries of those cities. Three notebooks are extant, full of bibliographical notes and excerpts from originals (G. R. Porter, *The Progress of the Nation*, Vol. III, London, 1843; N. Godwin, *History of the Commonwealth of England*, Vol. I, London, 1824; T. Tooke, *A History of Prices*, Vol. II, London, 1838; F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor*, Vols. I-III, London, 1797; [J. Aikin], *A Description of the Country from thirty to forty Miles round Manchester*, London, 1795; J. Butterworth, *The Antiquities of the Town, and a Complete History of the Trade of Manchester*, Manchester, 1822; J. W. Gilbart, *The History and Principles of Banking*, London, 1834, etc. For greater detail see Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Bd. 4, S. 503-15). By the end of 1847 Engels' work had apparently made considerable headway; a short article printed on November 14 that year in the *Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung*, with which Engels and Marx collaborated, mentioned his intention to put out a book under the title *On the History of the English Bourgeoise*. But this plan was not carried out. Nevertheless, in his articles and reports of those years Engels constantly touched upon various aspects of the social and political history of England. p. 302

[119] See Note 83. p. 303

[120] See Note 79. p. 304

[121] Actually, the first iron bridge in England was built in 1779 in Shropshire, over the Severn at Coalbrookdale. The bridge constructed according to Thomas Paine's design was cast near Rotherham in Yorkshire, but never erected by Paine. Its components, however, were used to build the second great iron bridge, over the river Wear (1796). p. 317

[122] This figure, taken from G. R. Porter's book *The Progress of the Nation*, Vol. I, London, 1836 (p. 345), applies to the mid-1830s. In Vol. III of his book, published in 1843 (op. cit., Vol. III, p. 86), Porter gives a higher figure 4,877,000 tons for the use of coal in iron-smelting in England in the forties. p. 318

[123] The *Reform Act* passed by the British Parliament in June 1832 was directed against the political monopoly of the landed and finance aristocracy, and reformed the basis of Parliamentary representation in favour of the industrial bourgeoisie and "middle classes". The proletariat and sections of the petty bourgeoisie, who had provided the main support in the preceding campaigns for reform, received no electoral rights. p. 322

[124] The data given were taken by Engels from the *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*; in particular, the description of working-class districts in Westminster is based on the "Report of the Committee of the Statistical Society of London, on the State of the Working Classes in the Parishes of St. Margaret and St. John"

(Vol. III, 1840) and the description of the district around Hanover Square on C. R. Weld's article: "On the condition of the working classes in the Inner Ward of St. George's Parish, Hanover Square" (Vol. VI, 1843). The number of inmates in the working-class houses in the parishes of St. John and St. Margaret is given according to the report by G. Alston quoted below. The *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. III gives another figure—16,176 persons. p. 333

[125] The report by the Rev. G. Alston, initially published in the radical paper *The Weekly Dispatch*, was reprinted in the Chartist newspaper *The Northern Star* No. 338, May 4, 1844. Engels quotes from this paper. p. 334

[126] The description was given in *The Times*, November 17, 1843, and in *The Northern Star* No. 315, November 25, 1843. p. 334

[127] The facts described in this and the preceding paragraph were apparently taken from a report published in *The Times*, January 16 and February 12, 1844. p. 335

[128] The data quoted were apparently taken from materials published in *The Times*, November 24 and December 22, 1843, February 5, 9, and 12, 1844, and *The Northern Star*, December 23 and 30, 1843. p. 337

[129] The figures were apparently taken from C. B. Fripp's "Report of an Inquiry into the Condition of the Working Classes of the City of Bristol" published in the *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. II (1839). They are somewhat inaccurately quoted: the 2,800 families constitute 46 per cent of the Bristol working-class families investigated who occupied only one room or part of one (the total number investigated was 5,981). p. 340

[130] The quotation is from another work by J. C. Symons, namely the "Report from Assistant Hand-Loom Weavers' Commissioners", which he compiled and which was published in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1839, Vol. XLII, No. 159, p. 51. The following quotation is from the book quoted by Engels in his footnote: J. C. Symons, *Arts and Artisans at Home and Abroad*, the pages being those given in the footnote. p. 341

[131] The report, quoted by Engels, of the committee elected at Huddersfield on July 19, 1844, to investigate the town's sanitary conditions was printed in *The Northern Star* No. 352, August 10, 1844. p. 344

[132] Engels gives this name to Kersall-moor—a hill near Manchester where the workers held meetings—by analogy with the Mons Sacer in ancient Rome, to which, tradition has it, the plebeians withdrew in 494 B.C. when they rose against the patricians. p. 347

[133] The data given here were taken from the article "Wild beasts and rational beings", published in *The Weekly Dispatch*, May 5, 1844. p. 366

[134] The case against the eleven butchers in Manchester was tried somewhat earlier than Engels reports from memory. A report on it was published in *The Manchester Guardian*, May 10, 1843. The session of the Court Leet (in the 1845 and 1892 German editions Engels calls it the "market court"), which heard cases of this kind, took place twice a year. p. 369

[135] The *Liverpool Mercury* of February 9, 1844, is quoted with considerable abridgments, and in the 1845 and 1892 German editions in free translation.

In the present edition here, as in other cases, the abridgments have been preserved. p. 370

[136] On the changes in the length of the crisis cycles see Note 92. p. 382

[137] The report by the Rev. W. Champneys, quoted by Engels, on the condition of the East End poor employed by the day in the London docks, was first published in *The Weekly Dispatch* and then reprinted in *The Northern Star* No. 338, May 4, 1844. p. 385

[138] The author presumably has in mind the *Report On the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* (1842) by E. Chadwick or Dr. T. Southwood Smith's two reports to the Poor Law Commissioners on sanitary conditions in the East End of London in 1838 (see, for instance, p. 339). p. 397

[139] The facts adduced here and below were apparently taken from the article "Frightful spread of Fever from Destitution", published in *The Northern Star* No. 328, February 24, 1844. p. 397

[140] The information following is taken from the article "Quarterly Table of Mortality" (*The Manchester Guardian*, July 31, 1844), containing tables on the number of inhabitants (in 1841) and deaths (in 1843) in several towns. p. 403

[141] R. Cowan's article "Vital Statistics of Glasgow" was published in the *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. III, 1840. p. 404

[142] The *Metropolitan Buildings Act*, a special law regulating building in London, was passed by Parliament in 1844. p. 407

[143] Engels refers to the almost complete absence in the report under consideration of information on the textile industrial districts of Lancashire, Cheshire and the West Riding of Yorkshire. p. 409

[144] The figures on crime quoted here and below were taken by Engels from G. R. Porter's book, *The Progress of the Nation*, Vol. III, London, 1843, Section VII, Chapter II, and from the *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. VI, 1843 (J. Fletcher, "Progress of Crime in the United Kingdom"). p. 425

[145] The information was taken from materials submitted by a "Deputation of Master Manufacturers and Millowners in the County of Lancaster" and published in *The Manchester Guardian*, May 1, 1844. The figures concern 412 firms in the industrial county of Lancaster employing 116,281 workers. p. 435

[146] Lord Ashley's speech was apparently quoted from *The Times* No. 18559, March 16, 1844, p. 4. p. 437

[147] The letter quoted was printed in *The Fleet Papers*, a journal published by R. Oastler, Vol. IV, No. 35, August 31, 1844. Engels quotes an excerpt in German. This was re-translated from the German in the American (1887) and the English (1892) editions, and the beginning of the quotation was abridged and paraphrased. The beginning of the original excerpt reads as follows: "A shot time since a friend of mine that was out of work and who ust to work with me, at a former pearead, but who had being out of Wark for a Long time wor Compeld to go, on what we Labouring men Call, the tramp and having got to a place Calld Sant Hellins (I think it is in Lonckshire) and meeting with no sucsess, he thought that he would, bend is way towards Monchester, and just as he was Leaving the place,

he herd of one of his old mateys Leaving Close on the way—so he resolved that he would make him out if poseble—for he wishd to see him, thinking that he might perhaps help him to a job, and if not, he might give him a mouthful of something to Eat, and a nights Lodgings, has he said he was very heard-up." p. 439

148 See Note 145. p. 439

149 *The Health and Morals of Apprentices Act* (1802) limited the working time of child-apprentices to twelve hours and prohibited their employment at night. This law applied only to the cotton and wool industries; it made no provision for control by factory inspectors and was practically disregarded by the mill-owners. p. 442

150 R. H. Greg's words were apparently reproduced by Engels from Lord Ashley's speech in the House of Commons on March 15, 1844, in support of the Ten Hour Bill. (See *The Times* No. 18559, March 16, 1844, p. 4.) p. 450

151 The article mentioned, J. Roberton's "An inquiry respecting the period of puberty in women", was printed in the *North of England Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol. I (August 1830-May 1831). Engels possibly used the account of this article in P. Gaskell's book, *The Manufacturing Population of England*, London, 1833. p. 453

152 The *Factory Act of 1819* forbade the employment of children under nine years of age in cotton spinning and weaving mills and also night work of children up to sixteen; for this category the working day was limited to twelve hours, not counting breaks for meals; since these were arranged by mill-owners as they thought fit, the working day often lasted fourteen hours or more.

The *Factory Act of 1825* ruled that breaks for meals were not to total more than $1^1/_2$ hours a day so that the working day would not come to more than $13^1/_2$ hours. Like the Act of 1819, that of 1825 did not provide for any control by the factory inspectors and was ignored by the mill-owners. p. 459

153 What is meant is the "Report from the Select Committee on the 'Bill to regulate the Labour of Children in the Mills and Factories of the United Kingdom'", 8th August, 1832 (*Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. XV, 1831-32). p. 460

154 The reference is to "Reports of the Inspectors of Factories for the half-year ending 31st December, 1843." p. 463

155 *Dissenters* were members of Protestant religious sects and trends in England who rejected to any extent the dogmas and rituals of the official Anglican Church. p. 464

156 The reference here is to the proposal made by the Peel cabinet to lower the customs duty on sugar imported from the West Indies in order to open the market for sugar imports from India and other countries. p. 465

157 Engels' prediction came true. On June 8, 1847, the Ten Hour Bill applicable to women and youths working in factories was passed by Parliament. p. 465

158 What is meant is the article entitled "The Truck System Extraordinary", which was published in the *Halifax Guardian*, November 4, 1843. It was reprinted in *The Sun*, from which it was reproduced in *The Northern Star* No. 315, November 25, 1843. p. 472

159 The poem by Edward P. Mead, "The Steam King" was printed in *The Northern Star* No. 274, February 11, 1843. The German translation of the poem was made

by Engels himself. The poem ends with the following two stanzas, which Engels omitted:

The cheap bread crew will murder you
By bludgeon, ball or brand;
Then your Charter gain and the power will be vain
Of the Steam King's bloody band.

Then down with the King, the Moloch King
And the satraps of his might:
Let right prevail, then Freedom hail
When might shall stoop to right. p. 474

160 The first letter, published in *The Morning Chronicle*, December 1, 1843, under the title "Distress at Hinckley", was reprinted in *The Northern Star* No. 317, December 9, 1843. Below Engels quotes also the second letter ("Letters to the Editor"), which was published in *The Morning Chronicle*, December 9, 1843. p. 481

161 The author refers to the series of articles by Léon Faucher published under various titles from October 1843 to July 1844, in the journal *Revue des deux Mondes*. Later they were published by the author in a collection under the title *Etudes sur l'Angleterre*, Vols. 1-2, Paris, 1845. The term "*démocratie industrielle*" quoted below occurs in Vol. 2, p. 147. p. 488

162 The quotation given above is from the article by A. Knight, "On the grinders' asthma", which was published in the *North of England Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol. I, August 1830-May 1831. The second half of the preceding quotation is from the same source; the first half is from Knight's testimony to the Children's Employment Commission (Appendix to 2nd Report, Part I, 1842). The same publication contains extracts from his earlier mentioned article, which were possibly used by Engels. p. 493

163 See Note 118. p. 502

164 See Note 79. p. 503

165 The description of this event was taken by Engels from P. Gaskell's book, *The Manufacturing Population of England*, which appeared in 1833. The author pointed out that the murderers had not been found. But soon after the book's publication, the murderers of mill-owner Ashton's son — Joseph and William Mosley and William Garside — were apprehended, and in 1834 two of them were hanged in London.

The account of the following facts is based mainly on newspaper material (published in *The Northern Star*, *The Manchester Guardian*, *The Times*, and other papers). p. 508

166 Tradition has it that the Roman patrician Menenius Agrippa persuaded the plebeians who had rebelled and withdrawn to the Mons Sacer in 494 B.C. to submit by telling them the fable about the other parts of the human body revolting against the stomach because, they said, it consumed food and did no work, but afterwards becoming convinced that they could not exist without it. p. 510

167 The reference is to the rising of the Welsh miners organised by the Chartists in Newport and its environs in November 1839. The rising was caused by the miners' hard condition and the growing discontent among them over Parliament's rejection

of the Chartists' petition and the arrest of Chartist agitators. The Newport Rising, possibly intended to be the signal for a general armed struggle for the People's Charter, was put down by troops and used as a pretext for severe repressions. Later Engels again returned to this rising (see p. 519 of this volume).

The events of 1843 in Manchester were reported by Engels in his article "An English Turnout" (see pp. 584-96 of this volume). p. 513

168 A detailed account of the strike at Birley's mill was given in *The Northern Star* No. 248, August 13, 1842, p. 5. p. 514

169 This body, better known as the *London Working-men's Association*, the first Chartist organisation, was formally established on June 16, 1836. A project of parliamentary reform which became known as the People's Charter was published at the beginning of May 1838. (In all the editions of Engels' book which appeared during his lifetime, 1835 is given as the year when this document was drawn up; this was probably the result of a slip, and is corrected in the present edition.) At the Chartist meeting in Birmingham in August 1838 it was decided to fight for the People's Charter to be given the force of law. This demand was set forth in a petition to Parliament. p. 517

170 Under a law of 1710 candidates to Parliament in borough seats had to own landed property yielding an income of at least £300 annually and in county seats £600 annually. p. 518

171 The speech made by Stephens at the Chartist meeting of September 24, 1838, at Kersall-moor, near Manchester, was published in *The Northern Star* No. 46, September 29. Engels reproduced the relevant passage with abridgments. p. 519

172 The author refers to the clashes between the Chartists and the police in Sheffield, Bradford and other towns. They were said to have been caused by provocateurs. p. 519

173 The reference is to the *National Charter Association*, founded in July 1840, the first mass workers' party in the history of the working-class movement. In the years of upsurge it counted up to 50,000 members. The work of the Association was hindered by the absence of unity in ideas and tactics among its members and by the petty-bourgeois ideology of most of its leaders. After the defeat of the Chartists in 1848 the Association fell into decline and it ceased its activity in the fifties. p. 523

174 Engels refers here to the agrarian plans of F. O'Connor and other Chartist leaders who shared the utopian view that the workers could be freed from exploitation and other social evils by returning them to the land. In 1845 the Chartist Land Co-operative Society was formed for this purpose on the initiative of F. O'Connor (later it operated under the name of National Land Company). It tried to buy up land with the contributions of workmen-shareholders and to rent it out to its members in small plots on easy terms. The scheme was not successful. p. 524

175 *Home colonies* was the name given by Robert Owen and his supporters to their model communist colonies. For details about them see Engels' article "Description of Recently Founded Communist Colonies Still in Existence" (pp. 214-28 of this volume). p. 525

176 *Mechanics' Institutes* were evening schools in which workers were taught general and technical subjects; such schools first appeared in Britain in 1823, in London and Glasgow. In the early 1840s there were over 200 of them, mainly in

the factory towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire. The bourgeoisie used these institutions to train skilled workers for industry and to bring them under the influence of bourgeois ideas, though initially this was resisted by the working-class activists. p. 527

[177] The following books were published in English: [Holbach], *Système de la nature* in 1817, Helvétius' *De l'esprit* in 1807, and *De l'homme* in 1777. Announcements of popular and inexpensive editions of the classics of French philosophy were carried by the Owenites' weekly *The New Moral World.* p. 528

[178] The English edition of Strauss' book *Das Leben Jesu* was published by Henry Hetherington in 1842 in a series of weekly instalments. p. 528

[179] It was apparently a question of Engels' intention to give a characterisation of English bourgeois political and economic writings in his planned work on the social history of England. (Concerning this intention see Note 118.) p. 528

[180] These data were given in *The Mining Journal,* Vol. 13, No. 420, September 9, 1843. p. 538

[181] The law forbidding the employment underground of women and of children under ten years of age was passed by Parliament on August 10, 1842, and came into force in March 1843. p. 539

[182] The *Court of Queen's Bench* is one of the oldest courts in England; in the 19th century (up to 1873) it was an independent supreme court for criminal and civil cases, competent to review the decisions of lower judicial bodies.

A *Writ of Habeas Corpus* is the name given in English judicial procedure to a document enjoining the relevant authorities to present an arrested person before a court on the demand of persons interested to check the legitimacy of the arrest. Having considered the reasons for the arrest, the court either frees the person arrested, sends him back to prison or releases him on bail or guarantee. This procedure, laid down by an Act of Parliament of 1679, does not apply to persons accused of high treason and can be suspended by decision of Parliament. p. 542

[183] The speech in question was made by Thomas Duncombe in the House of Commons on June 4, 1844. The report on it was first published in *The Times,* June 5, 1844, p. 2, and later reprinted in the Chartist *Northern Star* No. 343, June 8, 1844, p. 8. p. 546

[184] The reference is to the wars of the coalitions of European states against France under the Revolution and under Napoleon, wars which lasted from 1792 to 1815 with a short interruption in 1802-1803. Britain was an active member of these coalitions. p. 548

[185] The facts adduced are quoted from *The Times,* June 7, 10, and 21, 1844. p. 552

[186] The quotations are from an essay by A. Somerville published in *The Morning Chronicle,* July 6, 1843. p. 556

[187] Before the Commutation Act of 1838 Irish peasants renting land paid tithes to the Established Church of Ireland. Under the Act of 1838 the tithe was

reduced by 25 per cent and commuted into a tax exacted from landlords and landowners. The latter in turn transferred this tax to the tenants, thus raising the rent. p. 559

188 The *Union of Ireland with Great Britain* was imposed on Ireland by the British Government after the suppression of the Irish rising of 1798. The Union, which entered into force on January 1, 1801, abolished the autonomy of the Irish Parliament and made the country still more dependent on England. The demand for the repeal of the Union became the most popular slogan in Ireland from the 1820s. Its leader, Daniel O'Connell, founder of the Repeal Association (1840), tried to steer the movement toward compromise with the British ruling classes. The agitation revived in the early 1840s. p. 560

189 The reference is to the trial of O'Connell and eight other leaders of the Repeal movement in 1844. The Tory government intended by this trial to deal it a decisive blow. O'Connell and his supporters were sentenced to up to twelve months imprisonment in February 1844, but the sentence was soon quashed by the House of Lords. p. 561

190 "*Laissez-faire, laissez-aller*" was the formula of the advocates of free trade and non-intervention of the state in economic relations. p. 564

191 See Note 71. p. 570

192 A considerable number of the facts adduced here were taken from *The Northern Star*. Engels made use, in particular, of the following articles and reports: "Brutality at a Workhouse", No. 295, July 8, 1843; "Inhuman Conduct of the Master of a Union Workhouse", No. 334, April 6, 1844; "Murder! Hellish Treatment of the Poor in the Coventry Bastille", No. 315, November 25, 1843; "Atrocities at the Birmingham Workhouse", No. 317, December 9, 1843; "Secrets of the Union Workhouse", No. 326, February 10, 1844; "St. Pancras Scoundrelism Again!", No. 328, February 24, 1844; "Infamous Treatment of an Englishman and his Family in Bethnal-Green Workhouse", No. 333, March 30, 1844; "Infernal Workhouse Cruelties", No. 359, September 28, 1844; "The Poor Laws.—Disgusting Treatment of the Poor", No. 328, February 24, 1844; "Horrible Profligacy in the West London Union Workhouse", No. 334, April 6, 1844. p. 574

193 The reference is to the article by Douglas Jerrold "The Two Windows", published in *The Illuminated Magazine*, Vol. III, May-October, 1844. p. 574

194 The *Gilbert Act of 1782* was one of the Poor Laws. It authorised the formation, on the demand of the rate-payers paying two-thirds of the value of rates, in any parish or group of parishes, of a Board of Guardians to control poor relief. However, unlike the workhouses of the New Poor Law of 1834, which were also administered by Boards of Guardians, the workhouses in "Gilbert Unions" contained only the impotent poor and pauper children. The Gilbert Act was not finally repealed until the early 1870s. p. 576

195 *Barmecide feast*—an expression taken from "The Arabian Nights". One of the Barmaks, a noble Persian family, derided a hungry beggar by telling him of an imaginary banquet. The expression was used by T. Carlyle in his *Chartism*, the first edition of which appeared in 1840, which is what Engels here alludes to. p. 579

196 Quoted from *The Northern Star* No. 344, June 15, 1844. In an article headlined "Horrible Condition of the Agricultural Labourers" it reproduced with a commentary material on the occurrence which was published in *The Times*, June 7, 1844, under the title "Effect of the New Poor Law upon Wages". p. 579

197 This article was written by Engels in the spring and summer of 1845 after he had completed *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* and moved to Brussels. Judging by the title and subtitle, which is numbered I, and by the first paragraph, it was intended as the beginning of a series to supplement *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* with concrete illustrations. The article was published in the January and February issues of the journal *Das Westphälische Dampfboot* in 1846. However, the continuation did not follow and the article was not included by Engels in any of the editions of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* published during his lifetime. It was first published in English in 1958 as an Appendix to the book: Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England.* Translated and edited by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, New York, 1958. Engels wrote this article basing himself mainly on material published in *The Northern Star* Nos. 362-369, 371, 372, 375 from November 1844 to January 1845, which carried detailed reports on the strike described. p. 584

198 *Van Diemen's Land*—the name initially given by Europeans to the island of Tasmania, which was a British penal colony up to 1853. p. 585

199 These words were taken from a resolution passed by a meeting of workers at Ashton-under-Lyne on August 9, 1842, which decided on the action at Manchester. p. 587

200 According to a report published by *The Manchester Guardian* on December 24, 1844, the strike of the Pauling and Henfrey building workers ended the day before. The report admitted that the firm was forced to promise to observe the same working conditions as operated on the other building sites of the city. p. 596

201 This work was written by Marx to expose certain repulsive aspects of bourgeois society, its morals and customs, using documentary evidence provided by one of its representatives, the French jurist and economist, custodian of the Paris police archives, Jacques Peuchet. Marx carried out his intention by translating into German and publishing excerpts from *Mémoires tirés des archives de la police de Paris, pour servir à l'histoire de la morale et de la police, depuis Louis XIV jusqu'à nos jours.* Par J. Peuchet, Archiviste de la Police. T. I-IV, Paris, 1838, giving his own comments in an introductory section and occasional digressions. The excerpts were taken from Chapter LVIII "*Du suicide et de ses causes*" (t. IV, pp. 116-82). Marx gives the text with abridgments and sometimes in free rendering, without indicating by suspension periods the passages omitted. He left out altogether the material on pages 143-68, taking only a few phrases (see pp. 159 and 164), which he joined according to the sense to the excerpts from the beginning of the section. Some passages from Peuchet were given by Marx in his own formulation, emphasising their critical trend. The information on the author given by Marx in the introductory section was taken from the Introduction by A. Levasseur, the editor of the *Mémoires* (t. I, Introduction, pp. i-xx).

In the present edition Marx's own text (introductory and closing sections and the digressions in which he sums up) are printed in larger type and the excerpts

from Peuchet's book in small type. Cases of substantial paraphrasing and other digressions from the original as well as re-arrangements made by Marx in quoting are pointed out in footnotes. The emphasis in the quotations is Marx's in all cases. p. 597

202 The *Hundred Days* is the second period of Napoleon's rule, from his restoration to the imperial throne on March 20 (after his return from the island of Elba) to his second abdication on June 22, 1815, four days after his defeat at Waterloo. p. 598

203 See Note 100. p. 598

204 The translation of the fragment from the manuscript of Charles Fourier was made by Engels as a first contribution to the plan which he and Marx had formed at the beginning of 1845 to publish in Germany a "Library of the Best Foreign Socialist Writers" with a general introduction and commentaries to each issue (see Engels' letters to Marx of February 22-26, March 7 and 17, 1845). The draft plan of this publication, drawn up by Marx (see p. 667 of this volume), shows that it was conceived as a representative series of works of French and English authors. But the plan was not carried out because of publishing difficulties. The translation of a few chapters of Fourier's *Des trois unités externes* was the only one carried out in the framework of the plan. It was begun by Engels evidently after he had moved from Barmen to Brussels in April 1845. The introduction and the conclusion were most probably written not before August, since they were a reply to the works of some of the "true Socialists" published at that time. Engels' translation and commentary were not printed until the middle of 1846 (in the annual *Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1846*).

The fragment selected by Engels comprises the first seven chapters of Fourier's unfinished manuscript *Des trois unités externes* (written, apparently, between 1807 and 1821), most of which was published for the first time after the author's death in the Fourierist journal *La Phalange*, in the first two issues (January-February and March-April) of 1845. Some passages in the manuscript coincide with passages in the first, anonymous, publication (1808) of Fourier's work *Théorie des quatre mouvements et des destinées générales*. In the 1845 publication of *Des trois unités externes* they were replaced by suspension periods and references to pages of that work. In his translation Engels restored these passages according to the edition of the *Théorie des quatre mouvements* of 1841 (in the present edition all these cases are pointed out in the Notes).

The text of the seven chapters is given by Engels with abridgments, omissions not always being indicated by suspension periods, and in some cases fragments translated are joined by Engels' insertions. Some passages are translated with abridgments or in the form of a paraphrase, and sometimes the content is given in Engels' own words.

In the present edition the translation of Fourier's manuscript is reproduced in the form in which it was produced for publication by Engels. All his digressions from the original have been preserved. The whole of the translation — as distinct from Engels' introduction and conclusion — is printed in small type. The insertions made by Engels and the passages given in his rendering are printed without quotes. The most important cases of paraphrasing are pointed out in footnotes. The italics in the quoted text are mostly by Engels. p. 613

205 By "German theory of the very worst sort" Engels means "true socialism", which in 1844-45 was spreading among German intellectuals and craftsmen. It was a

mixture of the idealistic aspects of Feuerbachianism with French utopian socialism in an emasculated form. As a result, socialist teaching was turned into abstract sentimental moralising divorced from real needs. The vulgarisation of the French Utopian Socialists' views by "true socialism", combined with an arrogant and deprecatory attitude towards them, was especially marked in Grün's book *Die soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien* published in Darmstadt in August 1845.

This work of Engels reflects the intention which by then had matured in his and Marx's minds to dissociate themselves publicly from "true socialism" and to criticise its representatives. Marx and Engels gave a detailed criticism of "true socialism" in *The German Ideology*. p. 613

206 Here the author has in mind Fourier's fantastic descriptions of the changes which according to his vision of the future were destined to take place in nature: a change in the unpleasant taste of sea water, which would turn into lemonade, the appearance of heat-radiating coronas over the North and South Poles, the transformation of beasts of prey into animals useful to man, and so on.

The *method of series* is a method of classification typical of Fourier and applied by him in analysing various natural and social phenomena. By means of this method Fourier tried to develop a new social science according to which the social and psychological factor — the attraction and repulsion of passions — would be demonstrated as the main principle of social development (the passions, in turn, were divided into groups or series). In this method and its application by Fourier, unscientific and fantastic elements were combined with rational observations and spontaneous manifestations of dialectics. p. 614

207 Engels included in the first section material from the introduction ("Setting of the Question") and from the first chapter of Fourier's manuscript, to which the author gave the title "Successive Series of Trade Methods".

The beginning of the fragments from the words "We now touch on civilisation's most sensitive spot" to "the mainsprings of circulation" is taken from the *Théorie des quatre mouvements*, Paris, 1841, pp. 331-32. However, unlike the other passages which coincide textually with passages in *Théorie des quatre mouvements* and which were omitted in the journal *La Phalange*, the text of this passage was reproduced in the journal too. p. 616

208 By "*ideology*" and "*ideologists*" Fourier means a group of imitators of the French philosophy of the 18th century which was headed by the liberal thinker, economist and politician Antoine L. C. Destutt de Tracy (1754-1836), author of the five-volume *Eléments d'idéologie*, published in 1804. p. 616

209 At the Aachen Congress (1818) of the states of the Holy Alliance (Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia) the heads of the biggest banking houses in Europe were enlisted to help work out the terms of France's payment of the contribution imposed on her after the defeat of Napoleon. It was decided to carry out the credit operations for the payment of this contribution through the English Baring Bank and the Anglo-Dutch Hope Bank. Apparently it was these two bankers that Fourier had in mind in this passage. p. 619

210 *The Federates of 1815* were volunteers who supported Napoleon during his short period of rule in 1815, from his return from Elba till his defeat at Waterloo (the Hundred Days). p. 619

211 The author has in mind the bank-notes issued in France in 1716 with the Government's permission by a special bank founded by the adventurer John Law,

who had decamped from England in 1720 after becoming bankrupt. As he had transferred his bank to the state beforehand, its ruin was a concealed form of state bankruptcy.

*Assignats* were paper money issued during the French Revolution from December 1789 and backed by the revenue from the sale of property confiscated from the feudal aristocracy and the church (national estates). As a result of emissions and speculation, which were particularly intensified after the counter-revolutionary coup in July 1794 (9 Thermidor), they quickly depreciated. In December 1796 their issue was stopped. p. 624

212 Fourier mistakenly attributes this operation to the Convention. It was carried out on September 30, 1797, by the Directory—the highest government body of the regime which replaced the Convention. The Directory reduced the value of all state bonds by two-thirds and recognised as payable only one-third, which received the name of Consolidated Third. p. 624

213 The text from the words "when a crime becomes very frequent, one gets accustomed to it and witnesses it with indifference" to "in which the speculator steals only half" was taken from the *Théorie des quatre mouvements*, pp. 341-43. Subsequently, Engels follows the text published in *La Phalange*. p. 624

214 By the new French code Fourier means the *Code civile* of Napoleon, which was introduced in 1804. p. 625

215 In the list of varieties of bankruptcy in Fourier's manuscript the names of bankrupt businessmen were given. But the publishers of the work in *La Phalange* omitted these, leaving in the subsequent description of each variety only names which were imaginary or borrowed from literary works. Engels himself points this out in a footnote (see p. 638 of this volume). p. 625

216 An allusion to the *Disputationes de sancto matrimonii sacramento*, by Tomas Sanchez, a Spanish Jesuit and theologian at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century. The book was notable for its refined casuistry and, at the same time, its freedom verging on pornography. p. 629

217 The text from the words "Banker Dorante has two million" to the end of point 13 ("for people who steal several millions at one go") was taken from the *Théorie des quatre mouvements*, pp. 343-46. p. 630

218 The text from the words "Judas Iscariot arrives in France" to "everybody avidly seizes the opportunity to commit a theft if it remains unpunished" was taken from the *Théorie des quatre mouvements*, pp. 348-51. p. 633

219 During certain Catholic services the *Blessed Sacrament* is solemnly carried under a portable canopy. p. 637

220 The small town of Beaucaire in the south of France became famous for its big annual fair. p. 638

221 The text from the words "Scapin, a petty crook" to the end of point 34 ("after the happy issue of the first bankruptcy, he starts to think of a new one") was taken from the *Théorie des quatre mouvements*, pp. 346-47. p. 639

222 The March-April issue of *La Phalange* carried, besides the three chapters of *Des trois unités externes* (Chapters VIII-X) mentioned by Engels, also Chapters

XI-XVIII ("Conclusions from What Has Been Proved About Trade", "The Tendency of the Trade System to Seven Monopolies", "On Sea Monopoly of Coarse or Destructive Hoisting", "On the Navigation Monopoly of a Simple United Structure", "On the Navigation Monopoly of a Complex United Structure", "Conclusion on Fraudulent Trade", "On the Trade Unity of People of Harmonic Structure", "On the Administrative Unity of People of Harmonic Structure"). The text coinciding with passages from the *Théorie des quatre mouvements* was omitted. p. 641

223 Engels ironically compares the picture of historic development given by Hegel in his *Philosophie der Geschichte* with the medieval Christian-feudal periodisation of world history according to the four empires: Assyrio-Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Greco-Macedonian, and Roman (the "Roman", in its various forms, including the Germanic Holy Roman Empire, was supposedly to last till the end of time). According to Hegel's conception, world history, the basis of which is the process of self-knowledge of the Absolute Idea or the world spirit, has gone through three main stages, namely, the history of Asia Minor and Ancient Egypt, the history of the Greco-Roman world, and the history of the German peoples. The nations whose history did not fit into this three-stage system were called "non-historical" by Hegel. p. 642

224 See Note 83. p. 643

225 The reference is to the project of a "Library of the Best Foreign Socialist Writers" (see Note 89). For this purpose Marx and Engels intended to enlist other members of the socialist movement, including M. Hess. But the fact that the latter had meanwhile embraced "true socialism" and become one of its spokesmen, made it practically impossible to collaborate with him, as also with a number of other editors and publishers of various German journals, and was one of the reasons why the "Library" did not materialise. p. 644

226 Engels' contributions to *The Northern Star* began late in 1843 and became regular from May 1844 (see present edition, Vol. 3). However, as a result of his departure from England in August 1844 and of his work on *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, he discontinued his reports temporarily in the late summer of 1844. In July 1845, Marx and Engels left Brussels for England, where they spent about a month and a half (from July 12 to August 21) in Manchester and in London; they acquainted themselves with English social and political literature and expanded their contacts with the working-class movement. In London, on his way back from Manchester, Engels agreed with G. J. Harney, the editor of *The Northern Star*, to resume his work with the paper. From September 1845 up to the revolution of 1848 he regularly contributed articles and reports on the various Continental countries and the growth of the revolutionary, and above all, the working-class movement there. The article "The Late Butchery at Leipzig.— The German Working Men's Movement" was the first in this new series of reports. p. 645

227 The *massacre at Leipzig* was the shooting down of a popular demonstration by Saxon troops in Leipzig on August 12, 1845. The demonstration, on the occasion of a military parade welcoming the arrival of Crown Prince Johann, was in protest against the Saxon Government's persecution of the "German Catholics" movement and one of its leaders, the priest J. Ronge. The "German Catholics" movement, which arose in a number of German states in 1844, embraced a

considerable section of the middle and petty bourgeoisie; rejecting the supremacy of the Pope and many of the dogmas and rites of the Catholic Church, the "German Catholics" sought to adapt Catholicism to the needs of the developing German bourgeoisie.

*The Northern Star* took notice several times of the events in Leipzig. It carried information on them in Nos. 404 and 406, August 9 and 23, 1845, and in the report "Germany. The New Reformation", published in No. 408, September 6, 1845 (Engels refers to it at the beginning and the end of his article). The shooting in Leipzig was interpreted as a sign of the ripening of revolution in Germany. p. 645

228 *Peterloo* was the name given, by analogy with the battle of Waterloo, to the massacre by troops on August 16, 1819, of unarmed participants in a mass meeting in support of electoral reform at St. Peter's Fields, near Manchester. p. 645

229 See Note 79. p. 646

230 The reference is to the revolution of 1688 (the overthrow of the Stuart dynasty and the enthronement of William III of Orange), after which constitutional monarchy was consolidated in England on the basis of a compromise between the landed aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. p. 647

231 This theme was not developed in detail at the time in Engels' reports. He merely touched upon it in his article "'Young Germany' in Switzerland", which was published in *The Northern Star* two weeks later, on September 27, 1845 (see pp. 651-53 of this volume). Nevertheless Engels did not abandon his intention of describing the development of the German working-class movement in the 1840s in the columns of the Chartist newspaper, as is borne out by the series of articles on "The State of Germany" which he began in October 1845 but did not complete and carried only to the beginning of the 1840s (see present edition, Vol. 6). p. 648

232 "*Young Germany*" was a revolutionary conspiratorial organisation of German émigrés in Switzerland in the 1830s and 1840s. Initially it comprised mainly petty-bourgeois intellectuals, whose object was to set up a democratic republic in Germany, but soon it came more under the influence of the trade unions and socialist clubs. In the mid-1830s, the Swiss Government, under pressure from Austria and Prussia, deported the German revolutionaries; the craftsmen's unions were closed. "Young Germany" virtually ceased to exist, though several groups of its followers still remained in the cantons of Geneva and Vaud. In the 1840s "Young Germany" was revived, when its members, under the influence of Ludwig Feuerbach's ideas, carried on mainly atheistic propaganda among the German émigrés, sharply opposing the communist trends, especially that of Weitling, although some of the members of "Young Germany" were more and more attracted by social questions. In 1845 "Young Germany" was again crushed.

The report "On the 'Discovery of the Conspiracy' of 'Young Germany'" which is quoted by Engels in abridged form in English was published in the *Constitutionnel Neuchâtelois* No. 109, September 11, 1845. The emphasis in the text is by Engels; in the newspaper only the words "Regicide not excepted" were stressed, and they were reproduced in italics by Engels. p. 651

[233] The reference is to the armed clash between clerical-patriarchal elements opposed to bourgeois reforms and the democratic forces of the Valais canton in March 1844. With the support of conservative circles in Lucerne and other cantons, the clericals temporarily gained the upper hand. Concerning these events see Engels' article "The Civil War in the Valais" (present edition, Vol. 3, p. 525). p. 651

[234] On the "German Catholics" see Note 227.

"*Friends of Light*" was a religious trend directed against the pietism which, supported by Junker circles, was predominant in the official church and was distinguished by its extreme reactionary and hypocritical character. The "Friends of Light" movement was an expression of German bourgeois discontent with the reactionary order in Germany in the 1840s. p. 653

[235] Weitling and his supporters were arrested in June 1843 by the Zurich authorities and put on trial for communist activity considered dangerous to the state and public order. The trial took place in September, and the public prosecutor failed to secure conviction on the charge of high treason and conspiracy. Weitling was, however, condemned to six months imprisonment for inciting to crimes against property and insulting religion (the court of appeal, on the demand of the public prosecutor, increased the term to ten months) and to deportation from Switzerland; his followers were banished from the canton of Zurich. Weitling's trial was described by Engels in his article "Progress of Social Reform on the Continent" (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 392-408). p. 654

[236] The article was sent to the Hamburg journal *Telegraph für Deutschland* through Reichardt's Newspaper-Correspondence Bureau in Brussels, which provided the progressive German press with reports by German émigrés. Engels himself contributed to this paper only in his younger years, from 1839 to 1841 (see present edition, Vol. 2); he discontinued his collaboration because he was dissatisfied with the ideological and political stand and especially the liberal half-measures of the literary group of "Young Germany", whose press organ this journal was. In publishing the article the editors accompanied it with a note revealing its source. "As the author of this interesting article," the note said, "we can name the well-known Engels." In content the article coincides in part with the corresponding passages in the chapter on the labour movements in *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (characterisation of the workers' unrest in Lancashire in summer 1842, see pp. 520-21 of this volume), and in part supplements some other sections of that book. p. 656

[237] What is meant is the Reform Act of 1832, see Note 123. p. 657

[238] The Bill introducing the sliding scale was drafted by Canning's Tory cabinet in 1827 and carried through Parliament the following year in a somewhat revised form by the Tory cabinet under Wellington. p. 657

[239] The *People's Charter*, containing the demands of the Chartists, was published on May 8, 1838, as a Bill to be submitted to Parliament. It consisted of six points: universal suffrage (for men on reaching the age of 21), annual elections to Parliament, secret ballot, equal electoral areas, abolition of the property qualification for Parliamentary candidates, a salary for Members of Parliament. p. 659

[240] Marx's note entitled "Hegel's Construction of the Phenomenology" is at the beginning of his Notebook for 1844-1847 (the first of his surviving Notebooks).

The basic ideas contained in the four points were developed in *The Holy Family*, in particular in the sections where, criticising the Young Hegelians' tendency to replace the revolutionary transformation of existing reality by abstract theoretical criticism of what exists, Marx showed that this tendency was based on Hegel's idealist conception developed in his *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (see pp. 85-86, 195-97 of this volume). p. 665

241 This draft has no author's title and is near the beginning of Marx's Notebook for 1844-1847. The main points of the draft coincide with the points of the subject indexes compiled by Marx as early as the summer of 1843 for his "Kreuznach Notebooks" on world history, including the history of the French Revolution. In resuming his study of these problems after his arrival in Paris in the autumn of that year, Marx intended to write a *History of the Convention*. For this purpose he compiled a summary of the memoirs of the Jacobin Levasseur (see present edition, Vol. 3). The materials he collected, most of which have not come down to us, were used in part in *The Holy Family*. It was probably in connection with his plan to write a work on the French Revolution (he did not abandon this idea even in 1845 after his expulsion from Paris to Belgium, as is borne out by a report in the *Trier'sche Zeitung* of February 6, 1845) that he compiled this draft. In it Marx did not merely reproduce the text of the subject indexes to the "Kreuznach Notebooks", he made a substantial addition to point 9, adding the words "the fight for the abolition [*Aufhebung*] of the state and of bourgeois society", i.e., the fight to abolish the exploiter state and the whole existing system of social-economic relations. p. 666

242 The Plan of the "Library of the Best Foreign Socialist Writers" is in Marx's Notebook for 1844-1847, among the notes relating to March 1845. (Concerning Marx and Engels' intention to put out such a publication and the causes which prevented its realisation see Note 89.) As is seen from further entries in his Notebook, Marx returned to this plan in the following months, recording the names of authors whose works should be added to the "Library" (in particular the names of Thompson, Campanella, Lamennais), and also the persons to be enlisted in the proposed publication (M. Hess was to translate the works of Buonarroti, Dézamy and others).

In listing the names of the Socialists Marx also mentions Lalande. This is probably a slip of the pen. He might have meant de Labord. True, further on in his Notebook Marx mentions Lalande's *De L'Association*, but in *Capital*, Vol. 1, he quotes Labord's book *De l'esprit d'association dans tous les intérêts de la Communauté*, Paris, 1818. p. 667

243 See Note 41. p. 667

244 The reference is to the *travailleurs égalitaires* and the *humanitaires*, see Note 68. p. 667

245 These entries in Marx's Notebook for 1844-1847 immediately precede the famous "Theses on Feuerbach", written in April 1845 (see present edition, Vol. 5). In content the notes correspond to the first point of the "Draft Plan for a Work on the Modern State" given above—evidence that in the first months of his stay in Brussels Marx had not abandoned the plan of writing a work on the French Revolution, but still could not carry it out at that stage. The ideas briefly recorded in his notes have much in common with a number of those developed in *The Holy Family* (see pp. 122-28, 140-47 of this volume). p. 668

[246] This address to the readers of and contributors to the Elberfeld journal *Gesellschaftsspiegel* was written by Engels and Hess. Engels took a part in preparing the publication of the journal, in drawing up its programme, and, as is seen from his letter to Marx of January 20, 1845, in compiling the prospectus published in the first issue in the form of this editorial address. As Engels wrote in one of his reports, "Rapid Progress of Communism in Germany", published in *The New Moral World* (see p. 234 of this volume), it was initially proposed that he should be one of the editors. The prospectus reflected Engels' intention that the journal would expose the evils of the capitalist system and defend the interests of the workers by criticising half-measures and advocating a radical transformation of the social system. Indeed, the concrete plan worked out by Engels for investigating the condition of the workers corresponded in many respects with the tasks he had set himself in writing *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. But at the same time, not a few abstract philanthropic sentiments in the spirit of "true socialism", coming from Hess, had found a place in the prospectus. Dissatisfaction with the position adopted by Hess was apparently one of the causes of Engels' refusal to become one of the editors. In the third of the mentioned reports in *The New Moral World*, written in early April 1845, he named Hess alone as the publisher of the *Gesellschaftsspiegel* (see p. 240 of this volume). Under the editorship of Hess the journal very soon departed from the line envisaged by Engels in the prospectus and became a mouthpiece of the reformist and sentimental ideas of "true socialism". p. 671

[247] The reference is to the riot of the Silesian weavers. See Note 79. p. 674

[248] The reference is to the Associations for the Benefit of the Working Classes in Germany (see Note 83). These associations are characterised in Engels' article "Rapid Progress of Communism in Germany" (pp. 234, 237 of this volume). p. 674

[249] Marx studied political economy from the end of 1843, and by the spring of 1844 had set himself the task of writing a criticism of bourgeois political economy from the standpoint of materialism and communism; the draft "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844" (see present edition, Vol. 3) written at this time have reached us incomplete. Work on *The Holy Family* in the autumn of 1844 forced Marx temporarily to interrupt his study of political economy; he returned to it only in December 1844; in February 1845, just before his expulsion from Paris, he concluded the publication contract with Leske. In Brussels Marx continued to study English, French, German, Italian and other economists and added to his Paris notebooks of quotations several more notebooks. In the autumn of 1845 he again turned to other work: he had concluded that a criticism of political economy should be preceded by an exposition of his new principles of general methodology and a critical review of current philosophical doctrines, and therefore concentrated on writing, jointly with Engels, *The German Ideology*. On the other hand, he firmly rejected (see his letter to Leske of August 1, 1846) the publisher's attempts to get him to adapt the projected work to the conditions of the reactionary censorship. On September 9, 1846, Leske informed Marx that, in view of rigorous censorship and police persecution, he would not be able to publish his work. In February 1847 the contract was cancelled. p. 675

[250] This request was written four days after Marx's arrival in Brussels upon his expulsion from France by the French Government for taking part in editing *Vorwärts!* (see Note 87). Shortly after his arrival his wife joined him, with their eldest daughter, Jenny, who had been born in Paris.

Marx received no reply to his request. The Royal Belgian Government was reluctant to grant political asylum to revolutionary émigrés. Marx was immediately placed under secret surveillance as a "dangerous democrat and Communist". p. 676

[251] On March 22, 1845, Marx was summoned to the police administration in Brussels and asked to sign an undertaking as a condition for being allowed to stay in Brussels. Marx himself informed Heinrich Heine of this in a letter of March 24, 1845. p. 677

[252] Marx's two letters (October 17 and November 10, 1845) to Görtz, the Chief Burgomaster of Trier, were connected with his attempts to obtain the official documents required for emigration to the United States of America. As is clear from the second document, the request was motivated by the fact that after Marx's arrival in Brussels the Prussian Government, on whose insistence the French authorities had expelled him from Paris, began to try to get him deported from Belgium too. It was apparently in order to deprive the Prussian authorities of a formal pretext for interfering in his affairs, that Marx went to the trouble of requesting permission to emigrate to the U.S.A., the receipt of which would have been equivalent to release from his obligations as a Prussian citizen. There are no other documents to indicate that he had any intention at the time to emigrate with his family to North America. Regardless of the outcome of these steps, which most probably failed, Marx officially renounced Prussian citizenship in December 1845. p. 678

[253] In 1838 Marx was excused reporting for military service in Berlin because of a lung disease, and in 1841 he was pronounced unfit for military service. p. 678

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*Leon, Graf (Bernhard Müller)*—German colonist in America, founder of the New Jerusalem communist colony in Philipsburgh—219

*Leopold I* (1790-1865)—King of Belgium (1831-65)—676

*Leroux, Pierre* (1797-1871)—French writer, Utopian Socialist—667

*Le Roy* (in Dutch—*De Roy*, in Latin, *Regius*), *Henry* (1598-1679)—Dutch physician and philosopher—125, 126

*Leske, Karl Friedrich Julius* (1821-1886)—German publisher; in the 1840s and 1850s was head of the publishing firm founded in 1821 in Darmstadt by his father Karl Wilhelm Leske, whose name he used to sign papers—654, 675, 676

*Lessing, Karl Friedrich* (1808-1880)—German artist of democratic tendencies—231

*Lindley, John*—inventor of the point-net machine—314

*List, Friedrich* (1789-1846)—German economist, advocated protectionism—258, 259, 265-78, 283-92

*Locke, John* (1632-1704)—English philosopher and economist—125, 127, 129-30, 131, 132

*Londonderry, Charles William Stewart (Vane), 3rd Marquess of* (1778-1854)—big English landowner, served in the army and in diplomacy—544

*Loudon, Charles* (1801-1844)—English physician, member of the Factories Inquiry Commission in 1833—445-46, 449, 452-54

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715)—56

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of France (1830-48)—213

*Loustalot, Elisée* (1762-1790)—French journalist, democrat, took part in the French Revolution, a Jacobin—82

*Lovett, William* (1800-1877)—English radical, participant in the Chartist movement; adherent of "moral force" and collaboration with the bourgeoisie—517-18

*Lüning, Otto* (1818-1868)—German physician and journalist, "true Socialist" in the mid-1840s—232, 240

*Lyell, Charles* (1797-1875)—British chemist and geologist—546

M

*Mably, Gabriel Bonnot de* (1709-1785)—French sociologist, proponent of utopian egalitarian communism—667

*Mackellar*—physician in Pencaitland (Scotland)—536

*Mackintosh, Robert*—member of the Factories Inquiry Commission in 1833—446, 451, 454, 461

*Malebranche, Nicolas de* (1638-1715)—French philosopher—125, 127, 129, 130

*Mallet du Pan, Jacques* (1749-1800)—Swiss journalist, monarchist, was connected with French counter-revolutionary émigrés, author of memoirs—598

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, founder of the misanthropic theory of population—379, 380, 432, 570, 572

*Mandeville, Bernard de* (1670-1733)—English democratic writer, moralist and economist—131

*Manners, John James Robert, Lord*—see *Rutland, John*

*Marat, Jean Paul* (1743-1793)—leading figure in the French Revolution, prominent Jacobin—81

*Marbach, Oswald* (1810-1890)—German writer and poet, author of adaptations of German medieval epics and publisher of German *Volksbücher* (popular books)—163

*Marmontel, Jean François* (1723-1799)—French writer, representative of the moderate wing of the Enlighteners, member of the Paris Academy of Sciences from 1763—144

*Marr, Wilhelm* (1819-1904)—German journalist, one of the leaders of the "Young Germany" secret society in Switzerland, and editor of its paper *Blätter der Gegenwart für soziales Leben*—651, 652, 654

*Martin du Nord, Nicolas Ferdinand Marie Louis Joseph* (1790-1847)—French lawyer and politician, Minister of

Justice and Cults during the July monarchy (since 1840)—115, 117

*Martineau, Harriet* (1802-1876)—English writer, supporter of moderate social reforms—222

*Marx, Jenny* (née *von Westphalen*) (1814-1881)—Karl Marx's wife—676

*Marx, Jenny* (1844-1883)—Karl Marx's daughter—676

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883)—2, 4, 8, 87, 106, 115, 117, 210, 232, 235-36, 240, 241, 256, 260, 287, 290, 597, 665, 666, 667, 668, 675-79

*Mathew, Theobald* (1790-1856)—Irish Catholic clergyman—423

*Maude, Daniel*—Justice of the Peace in Manchester—587-93, 595, 596

*McAdam, John Loudon* (1756-1836)—Scottish inventor, expert in highroad building—319

*McCulloch, John Ramsay* (1789-1864)—British economist who vulgarised David Ricardo's theories—269, 271, 287, 313, 380, 415, 580

*McDurt, Thomas*—worker at a cotton mill in Glasgow—453

*Mead, Edward P.*—English workers' poet; contributed to the Chartist newspaper *The Northern Star*—474

*Melish, John* (1771-1822)—English writer, geographer and traveller; he described communist colonies in America—222

*Mellor*—worker at the Pauling and Henfrey brick firm in Manchester—591

*Menenius, Agrippa* (d. 493 B.C.)—Roman patrician—510

*Menzel, Wolfgang* (1798-1873)—German conservative writer and literary critic —153

*Miles, William* (1797-1878)—English financier, Member of Parliament—569

*Mill, James* (1773-1836)—English philosopher and economist, adherent of Ricardo's theory—271, 287

*Miller*—Police Superintendent in Glasgow, Captain—342

*Miltiades* (c. 550 or 540-489 B.C.)—Athenian general and statesman during the Greco-Persian wars—121

*Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel Victor Riqueti, Comte de* (1749-1791)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, constitutional monarchist—270

*Mitchell, James* (c. 1786-1844)—English public figure, author of several popular science works, member of the Children's Employment Commission in 1841—531, 532

*Molière* (real name: *Jean Baptiste Poquelin*) (1622-1673)—French dramatist—55, 627, 628

*Monier de la Sizeranne, Paul Jean Ange Henri, Comte* (1797-1878)—French journalist and dramatist—75

*Monk*—London barrister—591-93

*Monteil* (*Montheil*), *Amans Alexis* (1769-1850)—French historian—71

*Montyon, Antoine Jean Baptiste Robert Auget, Baron de* (1733-1820)—French philanthropist, one of the sponsors of "Virtue Prize"—190

*Morellet, André* (1727-1819)—French philosopher and economist, contributed to the Encyclopaedia—598

*Morelly* (18th cent.)—representative of utopian egalitarian communism in France—667

*M'Quarry*—Glasgow worker, strikebreaker—509

*Müller, Wilhelm* (literary pseudonym: *Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter*) (1816-1873)—German poet, physician in Düsseldorf (1845)—239

N

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815)—10, 81, 123-24, 269, 270, 289, 290, 409, 598

*Nauwerck, Karl Ludwig Theodor* (1810-1891)—German journalist, Young Hegelian—16-18

*Nelson, Horatio Nelson, Viscount* (1758-1805)—English admiral—409

*Newton, Sir Isaac* (1642-1727)—English physicist, astronomer and mathematician—125

O

*Oastler, Richard* (1789-1861)—English politician, Tory philanthropist—438, 463, 464, 519

*O'Connell, Daniel* (1775-1847)—Irish lawyer and politician, leader of the liberal wing in the national liberation movement—561

*O'Connor, Feargus Edward* (1794-1855)—a leader of the Chartist Left, editor-in-chief of *The Northern Star*—367

*Origen* (Latin: *Origenes*) (c. 185-c. 254)—Christian theologian, one of the Fathers of the Church—158, 178

*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—British Utopian Socialist—84, 131, 188, 219, 223-24, 232, 252, 459, 525, 597, 614, 667

P

*Paalzow, Henriette von* (1788-1847)—German writer—21

*Padgin*—manufacturer in Sheffield—508

*Paine, Thomas* (1737-1809)—English writer, Republican, took part in the American War of Independence and in the French Revolution—317

*Parkinson, Richard* (1797-1858)—English clergyman, and journalist, philanthropist—420, 565

*Parny, Evariste Désiré de Forges, Vicomte de* (1753-1814)—French poet—69

*Patteson, Sir John* (1790-1861)—English jurist, member of the Queen's Bench (1830-52)—542

*Pauling*—manufacturer in Manchester—513, 585-86, 589-96

*Pecchio, Giuseppe* (1785-1835)—Italian man of letters and economist—269

*Peel, Sir Robert* (1750-1830)—English cotton manufacturer, Member of Parliament, Tory—442, 459

*Peel, Sir Robert* (1788-1850)—English statesman, Tory, Prime Minister (1841-46), repealed the Corn Laws in 1846—442, 465, 546, 578, 588, 657, 658, 660

*Percival, Thomas* (1740-1804)—English physician, philanthropist—442

*Peuchet, Jacques* (1758-1830)—French writer, economist, monarchist—597-98, 604, 609-12

*Philippson, Gustav* (1814-1880)—German pedagogue and writer—88

*Pilling, Richard* (b. 1800)—Chartist, cotton-mill worker, one of the leaders of a strike in Ashton and Stalybridge (1842)—587

*Pindar* (c. 522-443 B.C.)—Greek lyric poet, author of solemn odes—285

*Piso, Lucius Calpurnius Carsoninus* (b. 101 B.C.)—Roman consul in 58 B.C., supporter of Julius Caesar—122

*Pitkeithly, Lawrence*—English traveller, Chartist, visited and described the communist colony of Shakers in New Lebanon (New York state)—217

*Planck, Karl Christian* (1819-1880)—German Protestant theologian, philosopher—103

*Plato* (c. 427-c. 347 B.C.)—Greek philosopher—179

*Porter, George Richardson* (1792-1852)—English economist and statistician—313

*Pounder, Robert*—Leeds worker—438

*Power A.*—member of the Factories Inquiry Commission in England in 1833—437, 441, 445, 448, 454, 480

*Priestley, Joseph* (1733-1804)—English chemist and philosopher, public figure—129

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist, one of the founders of anarchism—23-35, 38-53, 156, 528, 642, 667

*Püttmann, Hermann* (1811-1894)—German radical poet and journalist, in the

mid-1840s representative of "true socialism"—232, 235, 240, 654, 655

R

*Radnor, Earl of*—see *Bouverie, William Pleydell*

*Rapp, George* (1757-1847)—German Socialist, founder of the sect of Christian Communists in the state of Ohio, North America—218-20

*Rashleigh, William*—English politician, Member of Parliament, publisher of the book *Stubborn Facts from the Factories by a Manchester Operative*—429

*Rauschenplatt, Johann Ernst Hermann von* (1807-1868)—German politician, emigrated to Switzerland, a member of the "Young Germany" secret society—651

*Read*—worker at the Pauling and Henfrey brick firm in Manchester—595

*Reichardt, Carl Ernst*—bookbinder in Berlin, follower of Bruno Bauer, contributor to the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*—9, 10, 38, 78

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—English economist—31, 33, 271, 286, 290

*Riesser, Gabriel* (1806-1863)—German journalist of Jewish descent, advocate of equality for the Jews—95-98, 113

*Ripley, George* (1802-1880)—American Unitarian clergyman, in 1842 founded a communist colony in Brook Farm (Massachusetts)—223

*Roberton, John* (1797-1876)—English physician—405, 453

*Roberts*—owner of the machine-works in Manchester—511

*Roberts, William Prowling* (1806-1871)—English jurist connected with the Chartist and trade union movements—541-42, 544, 546, 547, 568, 569, 590-96

*Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de* (1758-1794)—leading figure in the French Revolution, leader of the Jacobins, head of the revolutionary government (1793-94)—119, 121, 122

*Robinet, Jean Baptiste René* (1735-1820)—French philosopher—130

*Robson, George*—inmate of the workhouse in Coventry, died in 1843—574

*Rohmer, Friedrich* (1814-1856)—German philosopher—211

*Rohmer, Theodor* (1820-1856)—German journalist, F. Rohmer's brother—211

*Ronge, Johannes* (1813-1887)—German clergyman, one of the initiators of the "German Catholics" movement—645, 653

*Rotteck, Carl Wenzeslaus Redecker von* (1775-1840)—German historian and liberal politician—123

*Rousseau, Jean Jacques* (1712-1778)—French philosopher and writer of the Enlightenment—604

*Roux, Jacques* (1752-1794)—prominent figure in the French Revolution. One of the leaders of the revolutionary plebeian trend (*Enragés*)—119, 667

*Roux-Lavergne, Pierre Célestin* (1802-1874)—French historian and philosopher—211

*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian—155

*Russell, John Russell, 1st Earl of* (1792-1878)—English statesman, Whig leader, Prime Minister (1846-52 and 1865-66), Foreign Secretary (1852-53 and 1859-65)—15

*Rutland, John James Robert Manners, 7th Duke of* (1818-1906)—English aristocrat, Tory, author of pamphlets on the condition of factory workers, member of the "Young England" group—578

*Rymarkiewicz, Leon* (born c. 1825)—participant in the revolutionary conspiracy of the Polish patriots in Posnan in 1844-45—241

*Rymarkiewicz, Maximilian* (born c. 1832)—participant in the revolutionary conspiracy of the Polish patriots in Posnan in 1844-45, brother of L. Rymarkiewicz—241

S

*Sack, Karl Heinrich* (1789-1875)—German Protestant theologian, professor in Bonn, advocate of religious orthodoxy—203

*Sadler, Michael Thomas* (1780-1835)—English economist and politician, philanthropic Tory—460-61, 463

*Saint-Just, Antoine Louis Léon de Richebourg de* (1767-1794)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, a Jacobin leader—121-22

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de* (1760-1825)—French Utopian Socialist—31, 50, 282, 283, 614, 667

*Salmon*—worker at the Pauling and Henfrey brick firm in Manchester—589-91

*Sanchez (Tomas)* (1550-1610)—Spanish theologian—629

*Saunders, Robert John*—English factory inspector in the 1840s—463

*Say, Jean Baptiste* (1767-1832)—French economist, one of the founders of the "three production factors" theory (an apology of capitalist exploitation)—32, 43, 269, 270, 273

*Say, Louis Auguste* (1774-1840)—French economist, brother and follower of J.-B. Say—270, 291

*Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von* (1775-1854)—German philosopher—95, 154

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher—23, 202

*Schlöffel, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1800-1870)—Silesian manufacturer, democrat—242

*Schmidt, Simon*—German tanner, one of the organisers of the League of the Just in Switzerland, follower of Weitling—655

*Scott*—worker at the Pauling and Henfrey brick firm in Manchester—591

*Scriven, Samuel S.*—member of the Children's Employment Commission in England in 1841—496

*Senior, Nassau William* (1790-1864)—English economist, vulgarised Ricardo's theory, opposed shortening the working day—364

*Serra, Antonio* (16th-17th cent.)—Italian economist, one of the first representatives of mercantilism—269

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English poet and dramatist—71, 542, 552

*Sharp, Francis*—member of the Royal Society of English Surgeons, physician in Leeds—445, 449

*Sharp*—owner of the machine-works in Manchester—511

*Sharps*—shareholder of the Pauling and Henfrey firm in Manchester—594-95

*Shelley, Percy Bysshe* (1792-1822)—English poet, revolutionary romantic—528

*Sheppard, John (Jack)* (1702-1724)—English thief, known for his escapes from prison, executed in London in 1724—409

*Sieyès, Emmanuel Joseph* (1748-1836)—leading figure in the French Revolution; abbot, deputy to the Convention, moderate constitutionalist (*Feuillant*)—32

*Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de* (1773-1842)—Swiss economist, representative of economic romanticism—33, 271-73

*Smellie, James*—Glasgow surgeon—451

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—British economist—31, 33, 49, 267-69, 271, 273, 277, 287, 291-93, 380, 415

*Smith, John*—Glasgow worker, strikebreaker—509

*Smith, Thomas Southwood* (1788-1861)—English physician, member of the Children's Employment Commission in 1841—373, 397, 536

*Solomon*—King of the Hebrews (c. 974-c. 937 B.C.)—409, 588, 589

*Somerville, Alexander* (1811-1885)—English radical journalist, wrote under the pen-name of "One who has whistled at the Plough"—224, 240, 556

*Spinoza (Baruch* or *Benedictus) de* (1632-1677)—Dutch philosopher—124-25, 127, 129-32, 136-37, 139

*Staël, Madame de (Anne Louise Germaine, born Necker, Baronne de Staël-Holstein)* (1766-1817)—French romantic writer —603

*Standau, Julius*—teacher of German, took part in the democratic movement in Germany in the 1830s-1840s, one of the leaders of the "Young Germany" secret society in Switzerland—651

*Stein, Heinrich Friedrich Karl, Baron vom und zum* (1757-1831)—Prussian statesman, held various responsible posts in the government (1804-08), initiator of moderate reforms—10

*Stein, Lorenz von* (1815-1890)—German lawyer and historian, author of works on the socialist movement, supporter of "social monarchy"—134, 613, 614, 642

*Stephens, Joseph Rayner* (1805-1879)—English clergyman, took an active part in the Chartist movement in Lancashire (1837-39)—519, 524, 581

*Stewart, Dugald* (1753-1828)—Scottish philosopher, representative of what is known as "philosophy of common sense"—268

*Stirner, Max* (real name: *Johann Caspar Schmidt*) (1806-1856)—German philosopher, Young Hegelian, one of the ideologists of individualism and anarchism—240, 241, 329, 564

*Strauss, David Friedrich* (1808-1874)—German philosopher and writer, Young Hegelian—87, 103, 137-39, 142, 528

*Stuart, James* (1775-1849)—English physician and writer, Whig, factory inspector in 1833—444, 446, 451, 454, 457

*Stumm-Halberg, Karl Ferdinand, Freiherr von* (1836-1901)—German manufacturer and conservative politician—544

*Sturge, Joseph* (1793-1859)—English politician, free trader; joined the Chartists with a view to bringing the working class under the influence of the radical bourgeoisie—523

*Sue, Eugène Marie Joseph* (1804-1857)—French writer, author of sentimental social novels—55-57, 62, 66-68, 70, 73-76, 162, 166, 168, 170, 171, 180-82, 185-88, 190-91, 197, 202-03

*Symons, Jelinger Cookson* (1809-1860)—English liberal journalist, member of the Children's Employment Commission in 1841—341-42, 410, 412, 432, 494, 503, 534

*Szeliga*—see *Zychlinski, Franz*

T

*Tancred, Thomas*—member of the Children's Employment Commission in England in 1841—497

*Taylor, John* (1804-1841)—English physician, member of the Left wing of the Chartist movement—519

*Thomson, Charles Edward Poulett, Baron Sydenham* (1799-1841)—English statesman, Whig—364

*Thornhill, Thomas*—English landowner, Whig—463

*Tocqueville, Alexis Charles Henri Maurice Clérel de* (1805-1859)—French liberal historian and politician—186

*Tristan, Flora Célestine Thérèse Henriette* (1803-1844)—French authoress, proponent of utopian socialism—19, 188

*Tufnell, Edward Carlton*—member of the Factories Inquiry Commission in England in 1833—437, 440, 444, 445, 450, 451

*Turpin, Richard (Dick)* (1706-1739)—English robber, executed in 1739—409

U

*Ure, Andrew* (1778-1857)—English chemist and economist, free trader—285, 310, 417, 429, 434, 457-59, 461, 462, 478, 510, 511

V

*Vaughan, Robert* (1795-1868)—English clergyman, historian and journalist—416

*Victoria* (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901)—336, 518, 649, 650

*Vidocq, François Eugène* (1775-1857)—French secret police agent, presumed author of *Memoirs*; his name was used to denote a cunning sleuth and rogue—73, 163

*Vincent*—leader of a carpenters' strike in Paris (September 1845)—650

*Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro)* (70-19 B.C.)—Roman poet—618, 628

*Virgil, Polydore* (c. 1470-1555)—English historian of Italian descent—71

*Volney, Constantin François Chasseboeuf, Comte de* (1757-1820)—French philosopher of the Enlightenment—130

*Voltaire, François Marie Arouet de* (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment—126, 268, 619

*Voss, Johann Heinrich* (1751-1826)—German poet, translator of works by Homer, Virgil and other ancient poets—190

W

*Wade, John* (1788-1875)—English writer, economist and historian—405

*Wakefield, Edward Gibbon* (1796-1862)—English writer, statesman, and economist; author of a colonisation theory—551

*Watt, James* (1736-1819)—Scottish engineer, inventor of the steam-engine—149, 312

*Wedgwood, Josiah* (1730-1795)—English pottery manufacturer, who devised improved pottery techniques—318

*Weil, Carl* (1806-1878)—German liberal journalist, editor of the *Konstitutionelle Jahrbücher* (1842-46); from 1851 official in Austria—162

*Weill, Alexander* (1811-1899)—German democratic journalist, in the 1840s emigrated to France, contributed to German and French newspapers—147

*Weitling, Wilhelm Christian* (1808-1871)—one of the early leaders of the working-class movement in Germany, tailor by trade, one of the theoreticians of utopian egalitarian communism—236, 614, 615, 654

*Welcker, Carl Theodor* (1790-1869)—German lawyer, liberal journalist, Landtag deputy in Baden—123

*Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of* (1769-1852)—British general and statesman, Tory, Prime Minister (1828-30)—409

*Wesley, John* (1703-1791)—English clergyman, founder of Methodism—410

*Wightman, Sir William* (1784-1863)—English jurist, from 1841 member of the Queen's Bench—542

*Wilhelm I* (1781-1864)—King of Württemberg (1816-64)—288

*Williams, Sir John* (1777-1846)—English jurist, from 1834 member of the King's (later Queen's) Bench, liberal—542

*Wolff, Christian, Freiherr von* (1679-1754)—German philosopher, naturalist, economist and jurist—67

*Wood, James and Francis*—manufacturers in Bradford—449, 509-10

*Wright, John*—factory overseer in Macclesfield—446

Z

*Zerrleder*—presumed pseudonym of Bruno Bauer—145, 146

*Zychlinski, Franz Zychlin von* (1816-1900)—Prussian officer, Young Hegelian, contributed to periodicals published by B. Bauer under the pseudonym of Szeliga—7, 53-57, 60-67, 68, 69, 70, 71-77, 86, 162, 163, 165-68, 176-78, 180, 185, 190, 191, 194, 195-96, 202, 208, 209

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*Abraham* (Bib.)—10, 101, 105, 107

*Adam* (Bib.) —410, 574

*Badinot*—character in Eugène Sue's novel *Les Mystères de Paris*.—203

*Bradamanti*. See *Polidori*

*Bras rouge*—character in Eugène Sue's novel *Les Mystères de Paris*.—73, 181

*Cabrion*—character in Eugène Sue's novel *Les Mystères de Paris*.—75, 76

*Cecily*—character in Eugène Sue's novel *Les Mystères de Paris*.—68-69

*Chatelain*—character in Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*.—200

*Chouette*—character in Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*.—180-85, 187

*Chourineur*—character in Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*.—163-65, 168, 169, 180, 182, 206, 207

*Christ, Jesus* (Bib.)—65, 104, 154, 161, 410

*Codrus*—according to legend, the King of Athens, who lived in the 11th century B.C.—122

*David*—character in Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*.—68, 164, 176-77, 205, 207

*Don Quixote*—hero of Cervantes' novel by the same name.—209

*Dorante*—character in Molière's play *Le bourgeois gentilhomme*.—630, 631

*Eleonore*—character in Parny's *Poésies érotiques*.—69

*Ferrand, Jacques*—character in Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*.—69-71, 206, 209

*Fleur de Marie*—character in Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*.—163, 166-76, 180-82, 186, 187, 204, 205, 208, 209

*Fortunatus*—hero of a German folk tale, who possessed a miraculous inexhaustible purse and a magic cap.—200

*George, Madame*—character in Eugène Sue's novel *Les Mystères de Paris*.—171-73, 205

*Germain*—character in Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*.—165, 198, 205

*Graun*—character in Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*.—202, 203, 205

*Guillaume*—character in the medieval French comedy *L'Avocat Patelin*.—640

*Hahnemann*—character in the German comic folk tale *Sieben Schwaben*.—163

*Harpagon*—a character in Molière's comedy *l'Avare*.—627

*Harville, Clémence, Marquise d'*—character in Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*.—63, 64, 193-95, 205

*Heracles* (*Hercules*)—the most popular hero in Greek and Roman mythology, son of Zeus, celebrated for his great strength and valour.—135, 161, 176, 179, 201, 511

*Jehovah* (Bib.)—112

*Jeremiah*—biblical character, one of the Hebrew prophets, who wrote the Lamentations of Jeremiah on the occasion of the destruction of Jerusalem.—658

*Jocrisse*—the name of the simpleton in the French popular theatre, a character in Molière's comedy *Sganarelle*.—628

*John, Saint, the Apostle*—one of the twelve apostles to whom Christian tradition ascribes the authorship of the Book of Revelation, the Fourth Gospel

and three Epistles actually written by different persons.—410

*Judas Iscariot* (Bib.)—one of the twelve apostles, the betrayer of Christ.—633-34

*Laporte*—character from Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*.—171-73, 187

*Lot*—a character in the Old Testament (Genesis), who was rescued by God from the burning city of Sodom.—10

*Zucenay, Duchesse de*—character from Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*.—64

*Lycurgus*—legendary Spartan legislator of the 9th-8th cent. B.C.—121-22

*MacGregor, Sarah*—character in Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*.—63-66, 206, 209

*Maître d'école*—character in Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*.—163, 165, 176-87, 202, 205-07

*Mary* (Bib.)—107

*Micawber*—character in Dickens' novel *David Copperfield*.—327

*Minerva* (Rom. Myth.)—the goddess of wisdom.—511

*Minotaur* (Gr. Myth.)—fabulous monster living on Crete, devouring youths and maidens sacrificed to it.—623

*Moloch*—the Sun-God in Carthage and Phoenicia, whose worship was accompanied by human sacrifices.—21, 266, 474

*Morel*—character in Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*.—56

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*The Illuminated Magazine*—English liberal literary magazine published in London from 1843 to 1845—332, 574

*Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*—French daily newspaper founded in Paris in 1789; during the July monarchy it was published by the government—190

*Journal of the Statistical Society of London*—English monthly statistical journal published in London from 1838—333, 343

*Kölnische Zeitung*—German daily published under this title from 1802 to 1945; organ of the liberal bourgeoisie—231

*Konstitutionelle Jahrbücher*—German liberal journal published three times a year in Stuttgart from 1843 to 1847—162

*The Leeds Mercury*—English weekly (until 1861) founded in Leeds in 1718; in the 1840s became the organ of the Radicals—471

*Literatur-Zeitung*. See *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*

*Liverpool Mercury*—English liberal daily published in Liverpool from 1811—370

*The Manchester Guardian*—English daily, organ of the free traders, from the middle of the 19th century organ of the Liberal Party; founded in Manchester in 1821—369-72, 403, 426, 436, 455, 468, 471, 538, 539, 564

*Mercure de France*—French monthly published in Paris in 1672-1820; from 1793 it was edited by Jacques Peuchet—598

*The Miner's Advocate*—English monthly, organ of the Miners' Union of Great Britain, published in Newcastle in the 1840s—541

*The Mining Journal*—English weekly journal dealing with commercial and technical problems, founded in London in 1835—538

*The Morning Chronicle*—English daily published in London from 1770 to 1862; in the 1840s became the organ of the Whigs—224, 480, 556

*The New Moral World: and Gazette of the Rational Society*—English weekly founded by Robert Owen; organ of Utopian Socialists; published from 1834 to 1846, first in Leeds, then in London; Engels contributed to it from November 1843 to May 1845—212, 213, 217, 220, 221, 229, 234, 237, 242

*The Northern Star*—English weekly newspaper, central organ of the Chartists; published from 1837 to 1852, first in Leeds, then in London. Its founder and editor was Feargus O'Connor, George Harney being one of its co-editors. Engels contributed to the paper from 1843 to 1850—471, 512, 554, 593, 647, 648, 650, 653, 655

*North of England Medical and Surgical Journal*—English journal published in London and Manchester from 1830 to 1831—453

*Petites Affiches de Paris*—French periodical founded in Paris in 1612; an information bulletin carrying various announcements and notices—190

*Das Pfennig-Magazin*—German educational weekly of liberal tendencies published in Leipzig from 1833 to 1855—221

*La Phalange. Revue de la science sociale*—organ of the Fourierists, published in Paris from 1832 to 1849; it repeatedly changed its title, frequency of publication and size—615, 641

*Pittsburg Daily Advocate and Advertiser*. See *Daily Advocate and Advertiser*

*Le Producteur, Journal philosophique de l'Industrie, des Sciences et des Beaux-Arts*—French weekly published in Paris from 1825 to 1826; first printed organ of the Saint-Simonists—667

*Punch, or the London Charivari*—English comic weekly paper of a liberal trend, founded in London in 1841—500

*Révolutions de Paris*—French revolutionary and democratic weekly published in Paris from July 1789 to February 1794; till September 1790 the paper was edited by Elisée Loustalot—82

*Revue des deux Mondes*—French biweekly literary and political journal published in Paris since 1829—488

*Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform*—German magazine, organ of the "true Socialists", published by Hermann Püttmann; altogether two issues appeared: the first in Darmstadt in August 1845, and the second in Bellevue, a place on the German-Swiss border, at the end of 1846; the magazine carried Engels' Elberfeld speeches—235, 240, 241, 264, 654, 655

*Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*—German daily paper founded on January 1, 1842, as an organ of the oppositional circles of the Rhenish bourgeoisie, and published in Cologne till March 31, 1843; Marx was its editor from October 15, 1842, to March 17, 1843; under his influence the paper assumed a pronounced revolutionary and democratic character, which led to its suppression by the government—100, 107, 256

*Le Satan*—French satirical weekly of liberal tendencies, published in Paris from 1842 to 1844—191

*Le Siècle*—French daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939. In the 1840s it was an oppositional organ which demanded electoral and other reforms—190

*Der Sprecher oder: Rheinisch-Westphälischer Anzeiger*—German democratic newspaper founded in Dortmund in 1798 and appearing until 1863; in the 1840s it was published in Wesel; Karl Grün, who later became a "true Socialist", was one of its editors from 1842 to November 1844—229-30

*Statistical Journal*. See *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*

*The Sun*—English liberal daily published in London from 1798 to 1876—472

*Telegraph für Deutschland*—German literary magazine founded by Karl Gutzkow; in 1837 it appeared in Frankfort on the Main, and from 1838 to 1848 in Hamburg. In the late thirties and early forties of the 19th century the magazine was the mouthpiece of the "Young Germany" group. Engels contributed to it from March 1839 to 1841—656, 658, 661

*The Times*—English daily founded in London in 1785—336, 337, 427, 552, 579

*Trier'sche Zeitung*—German daily founded in 1757 and published under this title until 1815; in the early forties of the 19th century it became a radical organ and later was influenced by the ideas of "true socialism"—229

*Volksblatt*. See *Allgemeines Volksblatt*

*Vorwärts! Pariser deutsche Zeitschrift*—German newspaper published in Paris twice a week from January to December 1844; organ of the moderate and from May 1844 of radical-democratic elements among German émigrés. Marx and Engels contributed to it, thus intensifying its revolutionary tendencies—212-13, 230

*The Weekly Chronicle*—English radical weekly published in London from 1836 to 1865—523

*The Weekly Dispatch*—English radical weekly published under this title in London from 1801 to 1928—366, 373, 406, 499, 523

*Das Westphälische Dampfboot*—German monthly, organ of the "true Socialists", published under the editorship of Otto Lüning in Bielefeld from January 1845 to December 1846 and in Paderborn from January 1847 to March 1848. Some of Marx and Engels' works were published in it—240, 596

*Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie*—German theoretical journal of Hegelian tendencies, published in Berlin from 1836 to 1838 under the editorship of Bruno Bauer—143

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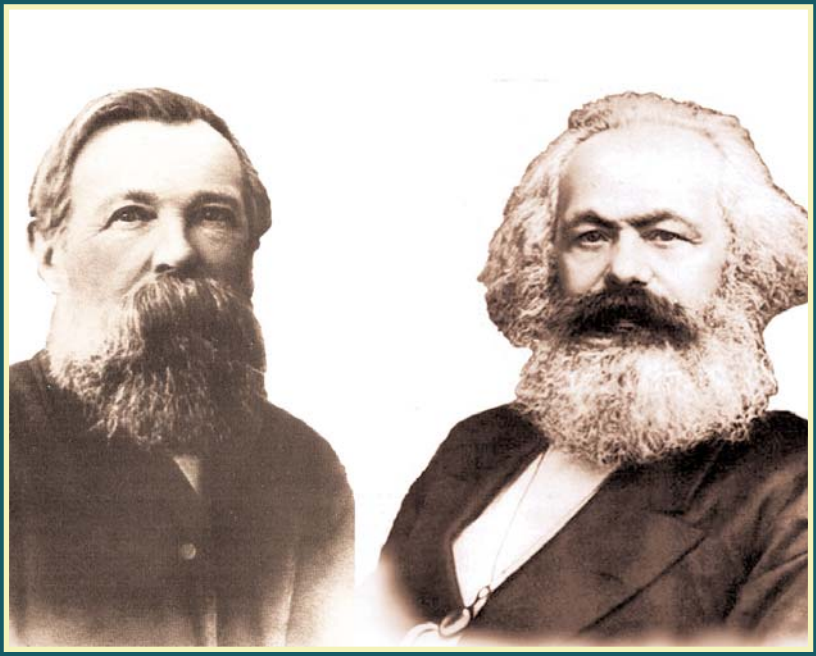

## VOLUME 5

### Marx and Engels 1845-47

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 5

## Marx and Engels 1845-47

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TRANSLATORS:

CLEMENS DUTT: *The German Ideology* (Volume I, "The Leipzig Council") and "The True Socialists"

W. LOUGH: *The German Ideology* (Volume I, Chapter I, "Feuerbach")

C. P. MAGILL: *The German Ideology* (Volume II)

# Preface

The fifth volume of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels contains a major joint work of the founders of Marxism, *The German Ideology*, together with the writings immediately connected with it.

They were all written between the spring of 1845 and the spring of 1847, during Marx's stay in Brussels, where he moved in February 1845 following his deportation from France by the Guizot government. Engels came to Brussels from Barmen in April 1845 and remained till August 1846. This was the period when Marxism was finally evolved as the scientific world outlook of the revolutionary proletariat. Marx and Engels had arrived at the decisive stage in working out the philosophical principles of scientific communism.

It was in *The German Ideology* that the materialist conception of history, historical materialism, was first formulated as an integral theory. Engels said later that this theory, which uncovered the genuine laws of social development and revolutionised the science of society, embodied the first of Marx's great discoveries (the second being the theory of surplus value) which played the main role in transforming socialism from a utopia into a science. *The German Ideology* is in effect the first mature work of Marxism. It immediately preceded the first published mature Marxist writings—*The Poverty of Philosophy* and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

During the period when *The German Ideology* and the works closely connected with it were being written, Marx and Engels devoted their main efforts to joint theoretical and practical work aimed at setting out the revolutionary communist teaching and rallying around it the progressive elements of the proletariat and the revolutionary intelligentsia. Summing up the tasks they set themselves at that time,

Engels wrote later, in his work "On the History of the Communist League": "We were both already deeply involved in the political movement, and possessed a certain following in the educated world, especially of Western Germany, and abundant contact with the organised proletariat. It was our duty to provide a scientific foundation for our view, but it was equally important for us to win over the European and in the first place the German proletariat to our conviction."

Early in 1846, Marx and Engels founded the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee, which took steps to establish international contacts between the participants in the working-class movement, to spread the new communist ideas and to prepare the ground for the creation of a revolutionary proletarian party. In August 1846, Engels, on the Committee's instructions, moved to Paris to develop revolutionary propaganda among the German and French workers.

The new revolutionary outlook of Marx and Engels was hammered out in struggle with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. They directed their criticism in the first place against the idealist conception of history inherent in German post-Hegelian philosophy, including that of Ludwig Feuerbach, whose materialist views were inconsistent and essentially metaphysical.

The volume opens with Marx's "Theses on Feuerbach", of which Engels wrote in 1888 that they are "invaluable as the first document in which is deposited the brilliant germ of the new world outlook" (Foreword to *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*).

The "Theses on Feuerbach" were written in connection with the project of *The German Ideology* and represent the initial draft of a number of general ideas for the first chapter of this work. Nearly all the basic propositions of the "Theses" were further developed in *The German Ideology*. Essentially, they counterpose against contemplative and passive pre-Marxian materialism the dialectical materialist conception of the decisive role of material practice in human cognition. Practice, Marx stressed, is the starting point, the basis, the criterion and the purpose of all cognition, including philosophical theory. And in order to become an effective and active factor of social development, theory must be embodied in living revolutionary practical activity.

In the "Theses on Feuerbach" Marx put forward the materialist conception of "the essence of man". In opposition to Feuerbach, who had only an abstract conception of "man" in isolation from social relations and historical reality, Marx emphasised that real

men could only be understood as products of social relations. Marx then went much further than Feuerbach in the critical comprehension of religion and the ways of overcoming it. He pointed out that it was not enough to understand the earthly basis of religion. The condition for eliminating religion, the "Theses" underline, is the revolutionary elimination of the social contradictions which give rise to it.

Particularly important is the eleventh thesis, which says: "The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in various ways; the point is to *change* it" (see this volume, p. 5). Marx himself separated this thesis from the preceding ten, as though underlining its summarising character. We must understand the world in order to change it, instead of interpreting it one way or another in order to reconcile ourselves with what exists. Such in substance is the true meaning of this thesis. Organically connected with it is another thought. The world cannot be changed by merely changing our notions of it, by theoretically criticising what exists; it must be understood, and then, proceeding from this, transformed by effective action, material revolutionary practice. This thesis concisely formulates the fundamental difference of Marxist philosophy from all earlier philosophy, including pre-Marxian materialism. It concentrates into a single sentence the effective, transforming character of the revolutionary theory created by Marx and Engels, its inseparable connection with revolutionary practice.

The basic principles of the new scientific world outlook, which Marx had formulated in the "Theses on Feuerbach", were developed in *The German Ideology*. This work comprises two volumes. Volume I is devoted to criticism of the views of Ludwig Feuerbach, Bruno Bauer and Max Stirner, and Volume II to criticism of "true socialism". Despite all the efforts of Marx and Engels to have *The German Ideology* published, it did not appear in print during their lifetime, except for one chapter of Volume II. This circumstance does not, however, diminish its significance. In working on *The German Ideology*, Marx and Engels first and foremost clarified to themselves the basic aspects of the new world outlook. "We abandoned the manuscript to the gnawing criticism of the mice all the more willingly as we had achieved our main purpose—self-clarification," Marx wrote in 1859 in the preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. The conclusions Marx and Engels reached constituted the theoretical basis for all their further scientific and political activity. They were able to impart them to their closest associates—future prominent proletarian revolu-

tionaries. And they soon found an opportunity of making their conclusions public after giving them a more finished and perfect form. This was done in *The Poverty of Philosophy*, by Marx, and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, by Marx and Engels.

*The German Ideology* is remarkable for the great wealth and variety of its content, since the ideas developed in it relate to many aspects of the revolutionary teaching which was taking shape. Thus profound thoughts were expressed on questions pertaining to the theory and history of the state and of law, to linguistics, aesthetics and literary criticism. Not only were post-Hegelian philosophy and "true socialism" subjected to a detailed critical analysis, but digressions were also made into the history of philosophy and of socialist theories. And the new materialist interpretation of the history of social thought was in particular reflected in the positive treatment of the great social thinkers of the past.

*The German Ideology* is the continuation of previous works by Marx and Engels, mainly of the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* and *The Holy Family*, and in a sense synthesises the ideas contained in them. At the same time, an immense step forward was made to a qualitatively new stage in the development of the philosophical foundations of the revolutionary proletarian outlook. It was in this work that for the first time the materialist way of understanding history became an integral conception of the structure of society and of historical periodisation. By virtue of the general dialectical law of the transformation of theory into method and of the unity of world outlook and method, organically inherent in the new revolutionary teaching, this conception appears in *The German Ideology* not only as the *theory* of society, but also as the *method* of understanding social and historical phenomena. Marx and Engels gave science a powerful weapon for the knowledge of social life, a means of elucidating both the general course of social development and the existing social relations. Thus they made possible the comprehension of social processes which is necessary for active and revolutionary interference in them. Marx himself saw in this work the methodological prerequisite for a new political economy. In a letter to the German publisher Leske on August 1, 1846, he pointed out that the publication of a polemical work against the German philosophers was necessary in order to prepare readers for his point of view in the field of economic science.

*The German Ideology* is a polemical work. Criticism of views hostile to the proletarian world outlook occupies a predominant place in it, often couched in a biting satirical form which gives it particular force and expressiveness. In the course of their attacks,

Marx and Engels continually counterposed their own point of view to the views they were criticising.

Chapter I of Volume I of *The German Ideology* occupies a special place in the work as a whole. Unlike the other chapters, which are mainly polemical, it was conceived as a general introduction expounding the materialist conception of history. The basic theoretical content of the whole work is indeed concentrated in this chapter.

First of all Marx and Engels formulate the "premises" of the materialist conception of history. These premises are the real living people, their activity and the material conditions under which they live, both the conditions which they find already existing and those produced by their activity. Thus, what is underlined here is the historical character of the material conditions themselves, which are increasingly influenced by people's activity. And there are two sides to it. First, production (people's active relation to nature, their influence on it), and, secondly, intercourse (people's relations to one another in their activity). Production and intercourse determine each other, but the decisive side of this mutual action is production. Subsequently, Marx and Engels introduced the term "relations of production" to distinguish the social relations people enter into in production, which are the basic relations underlying everything included under the term "intercourse".

In *The German Ideology* Marx and Engels not only developed in all its aspects the thesis of the decisive role of material production in the life of society, which they had already formulated in their previous works, they also revealed for the first time the dialectics of the development of the productive forces and the relations of production. This most important discovery was formulated here as the dialectics of the productive forces and the form of intercourse. It illuminated the whole conceptual system of historical materialism and made it possible to expound the substance of the materialist way of understanding history as an integral scientific conception.

This discovery can be reduced to the following propositions. The productive forces determine the form of intercourse (social relations). At a certain stage of their development, the productive forces come into contradiction with the existing form of intercourse. This contradiction is resolved by social revolutions. In the place of the previous form of intercourse, which has become a fetter, a new one is evolved which corresponds to the more developed productive forces. Subsequently, this new form of intercourse in its turn ceases to correspond to the developing productive forces, turns into their fetter and is replaced by an ensuing, historically more progressive

form of intercourse. Thus, in the course of the entire historical development a link of continuity is established between successive stages. In disclosing the laws of social development, Marx and Engels arrived at a conclusion of immense significance: "... All collisions in history have their origin, according to our view, in the contradiction between the productive forces and the form of intercourse" (see this volume, p. 74).

The discovery of the laws of social development provided the key to the scientific understanding of the entire historical process. It served as the point of departure for the scientific periodisation of history. Thus, as Lenin commented: "His [Marx's] historical materialism was a great achievement in scientific thinking. The chaos and arbitrariness that had previously reigned in views on history and politics were replaced by a strikingly integral and harmonious scientific theory, which shows how, in consequence of the growth of the productive forces, out of one system of social life another and higher system develops—how capitalism, for instance, grows out of feudalism" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 25).

In *The German Ideology* Marx and Engels investigated the basic determinants of the sequence of phases in the historical development of social production. They showed that the outward expression of the level of development of the productive forces is always to be found in that of the division of labour. Each stage in the division of labour determines a corresponding form of property and, as Marx subsequently pointed out, the property relations are but "the legal expression" of the relations of production. The transition from primary historical relations to the ensuing stage in social development was determined by the development of the productive forces, resulting in the transition from an initial, natural division of labour to the social division of labour in the form which is expressed in the division of society into classes. This was the transition from pre-class to class society.

Along with the social division of labour there develop such derivative historical phenomena as private property, the state and the "estrangement" of social activity. Just as the natural division of labour in primitive society determines the first, tribal (family) form of property so the increasing social division of labour determines the further development and change of the forms of property. The second form of property is the "ancient communal and state property", the third form is "feudal or estate property" and the fourth is "bourgeois property". The singling out and analysis of forms of property which successively replace one another and dominate at different stages of historical development provided the

basis for the scientific Marxist theory of the social formations, the successive replacement of which is the principal feature of the whole historical process.

Marx and Engels examined the last, the bourgeois, form of private property in greater detail than the other historical forms of property, tracing its transition from the guild-system to manufacture and large-scale industry. This was the first time that these two principal stages in the development of bourgeois society, the manufacture period and the period of large-scale industry, had been singled out and analysed. Marx had already demonstrated in the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* that the emergence of private property was historically conditioned, that it must necessarily come into being at a certain stage in the development of human society, and also that it must inevitably be subsequently abolished. It was proved in *The German Ideology* that it is only with the development of large-scale industry that the material conditions are created for the abolition of private property in the means of production. And it becomes evident that this abolition is necessary.

Proceeding from production to the sphere of intercourse, i.e., of social relations, the social system, Marx and Engels gave a materialist interpretation of the class structure of society and demonstrated the role of classes and the class struggle in social life. In *The German Ideology*, as compared with the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* and *The Holy Family*, the Marxist theory of classes and class struggle acquired mature features—those very features which, as Marx noted in his letter to Weydemeyer of March 5, 1852, distinguished this theory from the progressive bourgeois historians' understanding of class struggle. It was demonstrated that the division of society into antagonistic classes and the existence of classes are connected with definite stages in the development of production, that the development of the class struggle must necessarily lead to a communist revolution carried out by the proletariat, and that this revolution will result in the abolition of classes and the creation of a classless society.

In *The German Ideology* considerable attention is devoted to the political superstructure, and in particular to the relation of the state and law to property. For the first time the essence of the state in general and the bourgeois state in particular was revealed. "... The state is the form in which the individuals of a ruling class assert their common interests, and in which the whole civil society of an epoch is epitomised" (see this volume, p. 90). In analysing the class nature and the main functions of the state at the capitalist stage of development,

Marx and Engels pointed out that the bourgeois state "is nothing more than the form of organisation which the bourgeois are compelled to adopt, both for internal and external purposes, for the mutual guarantee of their property and interests" (see this volume, p. 90).

In dealing with the various forms of social consciousness, the ideological superstructure, Marx and Engels made clear the general correlation between the material sphere and the sphere of consciousness. Of particular importance is the classical formulation of the materialist solution to this basic question of philosophy: "Consciousness [*das Bewusstsein*] can never be anything else than conscious being [*das bewusste Sein*], and the being of men is their actual life-process.... It is not consciousness that determines life, but life that determines consciousness" (see this volume, pp. 36-37). The formation of consciousness is immensely influenced by the class structure of society. In their work Marx and Engels disclosed the class origins of the various forms of consciousness and showed that in a class society the dominating consciousness is the consciousness of the ruling class.

Summing up the substance of the materialist conception of history, Marx and Engels wrote: "This conception of history thus relies on expounding the real process of production—starting from the material production of life itself—and comprehending the form of intercourse connected with and created by this mode of production, i.e., civil society in its various stages, as the basis of all history; describing it in its action as the state, and also explaining how all the different theoretical products and forms of consciousness, religion, philosophy, morality, etc., etc., arise from it, and tracing the process of their formation from that basis; thus the whole thing can, of course, be depicted in its totality (and therefore, too, the reciprocal action of these various sides on one another). It has not, like the idealist view of history, to look for a category in every period, but remains constantly on the real *ground* of history; it does not explain practice from the idea but explains the formation of ideas from material practice, and accordingly it comes to the conclusion that ... not criticism but revolution is the driving force of history, also of religion, of philosophy and all other kinds of theory" (see this volume, pp. 53-54).

In their subsequent scientific work, Marx and Engels constantly developed and deepened their materialist conception of history and perfected the method of historical materialism by applying it in the various fields of the social sciences. The whole system of concepts—which in *The German Ideology* still bears the stamp of the

formation process of the conception itself—was thus elaborated and made more precise, and the basic explanatory ideas of historical materialism were expressed in a more adequate terminology. In later works of Marx and Engels the various aspects of the concept "mode of production", a basic term in historical materialism, were expounded; the internal law of development of the modes of production began to be formulated in terms of the dialectical interaction of productive forces and relations of production, and the latter were shown to play the main, decisive role—as was made clear already in *The German Ideology*—in the system of social relations. The term "social formation" first appeared in Marx's economic manuscript of 1857-58, *Critique of Political Economy* (the so-called *Grundrisse*), and the concept "social-economic formation" was first thoroughly expounded in the preface to his *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859), thus providing for the better understanding of the successive replacement of social formations, the general outline of which was given in *The German Ideology*. It should be noted, too, that in the light of the subsequent development of the theory of scientific communism it becomes evident that, in speaking in *The German Ideology* of the "abolition of the division of labour", and even of the "abolition of labour", in communist society, Marx and Engels had in mind only the division of labour in the conditions of class-divided society—with its antithesis between mental and physical labour and people being tied down to certain occupations and professions—and, in particular, the capitalist form of the exploitation of labour, not work and its organisation in general.

The classical formulation of the basic propositions of the materialist conception of history was later set down by Marx in the already-mentioned preface to his book *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

This scientific materialist theory of social development served Marx and Engels as the theoretical foundation for their conclusions about the communist transformation of society. The principal conclusion from the materialist conception of history, already substantiated in *The German Ideology*, is the historical necessity of a proletarian, communist revolution. Marx and Engels stressed that "for the *practical* materialist, i.e., the *communist*, it is a question of revolutionising the existing world, of practically coming to grips with and changing the things found in existence" (see this volume, pp. 38-39).

The development of the productive forces within bourgeois society, Marx and Engels pointed out, provides the two basic material premises of a communist revolution. These are: first, a high

level of production, which is incompatible with private property and at the same time is necessary for the organisation of society on a communist basis; and, secondly, mass proletarianisation, the formation of the proletariat, the most revolutionary class in modern society. This definition of the premises of a communist revolution is one of the fundamental conclusions of scientific communism contained in *The German Ideology*.

It was in *The German Ideology* that Marx and Engels first spoke of the necessity for the proletariat to conquer political power as the only way of carrying out a communist revolution. They pointed out: "... Every class which is aiming at domination, even when its domination, as is the case with the proletariat, leads to the abolition of the old form of society in its entirety and of all domination, must first conquer political power" (see this volume, p. 47). Thus we find expressed for the first time the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, though as yet only in a most general form.

Marx and Engels stressed that a communist revolution is a dual process: a change in people's conditions of life, and at the same time a change in the people themselves who carry out the revolution. This thought, already contained in the "Theses on Feuerbach", was given its classical formulation in *The German Ideology*: "... The revolution is necessary, therefore, not only because the *ruling* class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class *overthrowing* it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew" (see this volume, p. 53).

*The German Ideology* expounds the basic features of future communist society—the abolition of private property, of the class division of labour and of classes themselves, the transformation of production and all the social relations, and the disappearance of the state, the instrument of class domination. People's own activity will cease to confront them as a power alien to them. The antagonism between town and country and between mental and physical labour will be eliminated. Labour will be transformed from activity people perform under compulsion into the genuine self-activity of free people. The real liberation and all-round development of every individual will be the highest aim of the communist organisation of society.

This view of the future communist society is presented in *The German Ideology* for the first time as an integral theory, free from all the artificial, dogmatic construing of the future system which was typical of the utopian Socialists despite all the brilliant conjectures they made. The foresight of Marx and Engels was based on an

analysis of the real tendencies of social development and was the result of comprehension of its real laws. By expounding the specific features of future communism, Marx and Engels were laying the foundations of the scientific forecasting of social processes.

Not only the positive aspect of *The German Ideology*, the exposition of the authors' views, but also the critical content of this work was of great significance in shaping the new revolutionary world outlook. This criticism was mainly directed against the idealist conceptions of German post-Hegelian philosophy. And by subjecting the views of the German philosophers to a critical analysis, Marx and Engels in fact presented a radical and scientifically based criticism of previous philosophical thought as a whole. They demonstrated the untenability of the idealist interpretations of history inherent in all previous philosophy, sociology and historiography. The thinkers working in these fields could never understand the real social processes and their true character. At best they could grasp and more or less correctly describe only individual aspects of these processes without seeing the general connections determining them. The idealist interpretation of history, *The German Ideology* underlined, leads to only a superficial and illusory perception of the historical process, and explains it in an illusory way. The socialist theories based on a similar interpretation were likewise incapable of going beyond the bounds of fantastic notions and utopias.

A large part of *The German Ideology* is occupied by criticism of the Young Hegelians Bruno Bauer and Max Stirner. The need for such criticism arose, as Engels pointed out, from the fact that Bauer and Stirner were "the representatives of the ultimate consequences of *abstract* German philosophy, and therefore the only important philosophical opponents of Socialism—or rather Communism ..." (see present edition, Vol. 4, p. 241).

*The German Ideology* completes the criticism, begun in *The Holy Family*, of the subjective-idealist views of Bruno Bauer, with their mystification of the historical process and contraposition of the outstanding individuals, who were supposed to be the sole makers of history, to the "passive and inert" masses. By citations from the latest writings of Bruno Bauer and other Young Hegelians, Marx and Engels drove home their characterisation, given in *The Holy Family*, of Young Hegelian ideas as unscientific and anti-revolutionary. In this respect there is partial textual coincidence between the corresponding chapter in *The German Ideology* and the article "A Reply to Bruno Bauer's Anti-Critique" written by Marx and Engels in refutation of the Young Hegelian leader's attempt to dispute their criticism of his views in *The Holy Family*.

Most of the first volume of *The German Ideology* is taken up by a critical examination of the philosophical and sociological views of Max Stirner, formulated in his book *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum* (*The Unique and His Property*). Stirner was a typical exponent of individualism and one of the first ideologists of anarchism. His views, reflecting a petty-bourgeois protest against the bourgeois system, enjoyed a considerable success among petty-bourgeois intellectuals and to some extent influenced the immature outlook of craftsmen who were becoming proletarians, while his failure to understand the role of the proletariat, whom he identified with paupers, and also his attacks on communism, made a resolute exposure of his views indispensable.

Marx and Engels demonstrated the artificial and far-fetched character of Stirner's philosophical and sociological constructions and the fallacy of his theory that the way to the liberation of the individual lay through the destruction of the state and the implementation of every individual's egoistic right to self-assertion. They pointed out that Stirner's voluntaristic appeals to the rights of the individual did not in any way affect the existing social relations and their economic basis, and so, in effect, continued to sanction the preservation of the bourgeois social conditions which are the main source of inequality and oppression of the individual. Stirner's seemingly revolutionary phrases were in fact a disguise for an apologia of the bourgeois system.

The exposure of Stirner's anarchist views in *The German Ideology* was essentially a criticism of all such individualistic theories which substitute fruitless rebellion by isolated individuals for participation in the real revolutionary movement and preach total negation and destruction instead of the positive communist aims of struggle. Marx and Engels pointed out that the path outlined by Stirner and his like could by no means lead to the liberation of the individual. Only a communist revolution, carried out by the working class in the interests of all the working people, can break the fetters with which the individual is shackled by the existing capitalist system, and can lead to the genuine freedom and free development of the individual, to harmonious unity of public and personal interests.

The second volume of *The German Ideology* and Engels' manuscript "The True Socialists", which is its direct continuation, further show that, in substance, German "true socialism" was only a philistine variety of earlier petty-bourgeois social utopianism and that, under the pretence of "universal love for man", the "true socialists" were spreading ideas of class peace, renouncing the struggle for democratic freedoms and revolutionary change. This was particular-

ly dangerous at the time in Germany, where the struggle of all the democratic forces against absolutism and feudal relations was growing sharper while at the same time the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie were becoming more and more acute. Marx and Engels likewise subjected to devastating criticism the German nationalism of the "true socialists" and their arrogant attitude to other nations. They criticised in detail the philosophical views of the "true socialists", their aesthetic views, and the tendency of some of them to give socialism a religious tinge and to impart to it the character of a religious prophecy.

Both by its positive ideas and by its criticism of ideological trends hostile to the proletarian world outlook, including those couched in pseudo-revolutionary and socialist phrases, *The German Ideology* represented an important landmark in the development of Marxism. This work signified a decisive stage in the philosophical and sociological grounding of the theory of scientific communism, in the scientific demonstration of the world-historic role of the working class as the social force whose historical mission is to overthrow the exploiting capitalist system and create the new communist society.

* * *

The works contained in this volume have been translated from the original German text. *The German Ideology*, which forms the greater part of this volume, was never published in the authors' lifetimes, except for one chapter, nor arranged by them for publication, and has come down to us incomplete. The text of *The German Ideology* has been re-checked and re-arranged in accordance with the researches of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with a view to presenting it in a form corresponding as closely as possible to the layout and content of the manuscript. In particular, Chapter I, "Feuerbach", which was not finished by the authors and has reached us only in the form of several separate manuscripts, is presented in accordance with the new arrangement and subdivision of the text prepared by Georgi Bagaturia and edited by Vladimir Brushlinsky (first published in English in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969, Vol. 1, and also separately under the title Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Feuerbach: Opposition of the Materialist and Idealist Outlooks*, Lawrence & Wishart, London 1973).

The whole work on this volume has been finalised by Lev Churbanov. He also prepared the Preface, the Notes and the Subject

Index, which have been edited by Lev Golman (both of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism).

The Name Index, the Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature and the Index of Periodicals were prepared by Nina Loiko, of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

The English translation of the bulk of *The German Ideology*, i.e., "The Leipzig Council", and also Engels' essay "The True Socialists", was made by Clemens Dutt. The translation of Chapter I, "Feuerbach", Volume I, was made by W. Lough, and that of Volume II by C. P. Magill, these two sections having been edited by Roy Pascal for the English edition published by Lawrence & Wishart, London, in 1938.

The English translations were edited for this volume by Maurice Cornforth, E. J. Hobsbawm and Margaret Mynatt for Lawrence & Wishart, and Salo Ryazanskaya, for Progress Publishers, and finally passed for the press by the editors Lydia Belyakova, Nadezhda Rudenko and Victor Schnittke, Progress Publishers.

The scientific editing was done by Georgi Bagaturia and Norair Ter-Akopyan (Institute of Marxism-Leninism).

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## WORKS

April 1845-April 1847

# Karl Marx

## [THESES ON FEUERBACH[a]]

### 1) *ad* FEUERBACH [1]

1

The chief defect of all previous materialism (that of Feuerbach included) is that things [*Gegenstand*], reality, sensuousness are conceived only in the form of the *object, or of contemplation*, but not as *sensuous human activity, practice*, not subjectively. Hence, in contradistinction to materialism, the *active* side was set forth abstractly by idealism—which, of course, does not know real, sensuous activity as such. Feuerbach wants sensuous objects, really distinct from conceptual objects, but he does not conceive human activity itself as *objective* activity. In *Das Wesen des Christenthums*, he therefore regards the theoretical attitude as the only genuinely human attitude, while practice is conceived and defined only in its dirty-Jewish form of appearance.[2] Hence he does not grasp the significance of "revolutionary", of "practical-critical", activity.

2

The question whether objective truth can be attributed to human thinking is not a question of theory but is a *practical* question. Man must prove the truth, i.e., the reality and power, the this-worldliness of his thinking in practice. The dispute over the reality or non-reality of thinking which is isolated from practice is a purely *scholastic* question.

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[a] Original version.—*Ed.*

3

The materialist doctrine concerning the changing of circumstances and upbringing forgets that circumstances are changed by men and that the educator must himself be educated. This doctrine must, therefore, divide society into two parts, one of which is superior to society.

The coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity or self-change can be conceived and rationally understood only as *revolutionary practice.*

4

Feuerbach starts out from the fact of religious self-estrangement, of the duplication of the world into a religious world and a secular one. His work consists in resolving the religious world into its secular basis. But that the secular basis lifts off from itself and establishes itself as an independent realm in the clouds can only be explained by the inner strife and intrinsic contradictoriness of this secular basis. The latter must, therefore, itself be both understood in its contradiction and revolutionised in practice. Thus, for instance, once the earthly family is discovered to be the secret of the holy family, the former must then itself be destroyed in theory and in practice.

5

Feuerbach, not satisfied with *abstract thinking*, wants [*sensuous*] *contemplation*; but he does not conceive sensuousness as *practical,* human-sensuous activity.

6

Feuerbach resolves the essence of religion into the essence of *man.* But the essence of man is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of the social relations.

Feuerbach, who does not enter upon a criticism of this real essence, is hence obliged:

1. To abstract from the historical process and to define the religious sentiment [*Gemüt*] by itself, and to presuppose an abstract—*isolated*—human individual.

2. Essence, therefore, can be regarded only as "species", as an inner, mute, general character which unites the many individuals *in a natural way.*

7

Feuerbach, consequently, does not see that the "religious sentiment" is itself a social product, and that the abstract individual which he analyses belongs to a particular form of society.

8

All social life is essentially *practical.* All mysteries which lead theory to mysticism find their rational solution in human practice and in the comprehension of this practice.

9

The highest point reached by contemplative materialism, that is, materialism which does not comprehend sensuousness as practical activity, is the contemplation of single individuals and of civil society.

10

The standpoint of the old materialism is civil society; the standpoint of the new is human society, or social humanity.

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11

The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in various ways; the point is to *change* it.

Written in the spring of 1845

Printed according to the manuscript

This version was first published in 1924—in German and in Russian—by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in *Marx-Engels Archives,* Book I, Moscow

# Karl Marx

## [THESES ON FEUERBACH[a]]

### MARX ON FEUERBACH

*(Written in Brussels in the spring of 1845)*

1

The chief defect of all previous materialism—that of Feuerbach included—is that things [*Gegenstand*], reality, sensuousness are conceived only in the form of the *object*, or of *contemplation*, but not as *human sensuous activity, practice*, not subjectively. Hence it happened that the *active* side, in contradistinction to materialism, was set forth by idealism—but only abstractly, since, of course, idealism does not know real, sensuous activity as such. Feuerbach wants sensuous objects, really distinct from conceptual objects, but he does not conceive human activity itself as *objective* activity. In *Das Wesen des Christenthums*, he therefore regards the theoretical attitude as the only genuinely human attitude, while practice is conceived and defined only in its dirty-Jewish form of appearance. Hence he does not grasp the significance of "revolutionary", of practical-critical, activity.

2

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[a] Edited by Engels.— *Ed.*

3

The materialist doctrine that men are products of circumstances and upbringing, and that, therefore, changed men are products of other circumstances and changed upbringing, forgets that it is men who change circumstances and that the educator must himself be educated. Hence, this doctrine is bound to divide society into two parts, one of which is superior to society (in Robert Owen, for example).

The coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity can be conceived and rationally understood only as revolutionising practice.

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Feuerbach starts out from the fact of religious self-estrangement, of the duplication of the world into a religious, imaginary world and a real one. His work consists in resolving the religious world into its secular basis. He overlooks the fact that after completing this work, the chief thing still remains to be done. For the fact that the secular basis lifts off from itself and establishes itself in the clouds as an independent realm can only be explained by the inner strife and intrinsic contradictoriness of this secular basis. The latter must itself, therefore, first be understood in its contradiction and then, by the removal of the contradiction, revolutionised in practice. Thus, for instance, once the earthly family is discovered to be the secret of the holy family, the former must then itself be criticised in theory and transformed in practice.

5

Feuerbach, not satisfied with *abstract thinking*, appeals to *sensuous contemplation*; but he does not conceive sensuousness as practical, human-sensuous activity.

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Feuerbach resolves the essence of religion into the essence of man. But the essence of man is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of the social relations.

Feuerbach, who does not enter upon a criticism of this real essence, is hence obliged:

1. To abstract from the historical process and to define the religious sentiment [*Gemüt*] regarded by itself, and to presuppose an abstract—*isolated*—human individual.

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Feuerbach, consequently, does not see that the "religious sentiment" is itself a *social product,* and that the abstract individual which he analyses belongs in reality to a particular form of society.

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Social life is essentially *practical.* All mysteries which mislead theory into mysticism find their rational solution in human practice and in the comprehension of this practice.

9

The highest point attained by *contemplative* materialism, that is, materialism which does not comprehend sensuousness as practical activity, is the contemplation of single individuals in "civil society".

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The standpoint of the old materialism is *"civil"* society; the standpoint of the new is *human* society, or associated humanity.

11

The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it.

Written in the spring of 1845

Printed according to the book

First published by Engels
in the Appendix to the separate
edition of his *Ludwig Feuerbach*
*und der Ausgang der klassischen*
*deutschen Philosophie,* Stuttgart, 1888

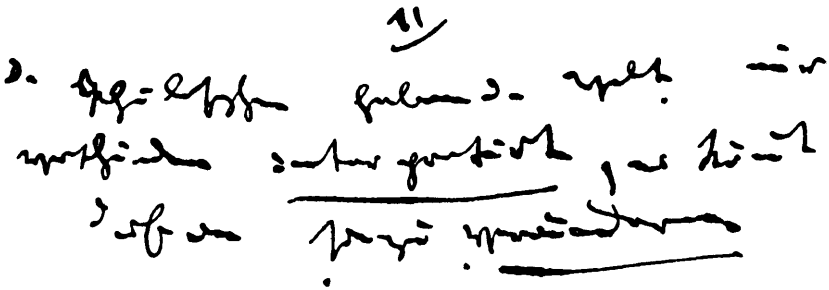

11

Die Philosophen haben die Welt nur verschieden *interpretirt,*
es kommt drauf an sie zu *verändern.*

Facsimile of Thesis 11 on Feuerbach. From Marx's notebook

# Frederick Engels

## FEUERBACH[3]

a) The entire philosophy of Feuerbach amounts to 1. philosophy of nature—passive adoration of nature and enraptured kneeling down before its splendour and omnipotence. 2. Anthropology, namely α) physiology, where nothing new is added to what the materialists have already said about the unity of body and soul, but it is said less mechanically and with rather more exuberance, β) psychology, which amounts to dithyrambs glorifying love, analogous to the cult of nature, apart from that nothing new. 3. Morality, the demand to live up to the concept of "man",[a] *impuissance mise en action.*[b] Compare §54, p. 81: "The ethical and rational attitude of man to his stomach consists in treating it not as something bestial but as something human."—§61: "Man ... as a moral being" and all the talk about morality in *Das Wesen des Christenthums.*

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b) The fact that at the present stage of development men can satisfy their needs only within society, that in general from the very start, as soon as they came into existence, men needed one another and could only develop their needs and abilities, etc., by entering into intercourse[c] with other men, this fact is expressed by Feuerbach in the following way:

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[a] Cf. Ludwig Feuerbach, *Grundsätze der Philosophie der Zukunft,* § 52.—*Ed.*

[b] Powerlessness set in motion. Charles Fourier, *Théorie des quatre mouvements, et des destinées générales,* deuxième partie. Epilogue.—*Ed.*

[c] See Note 11.—*Ed.*

"Isolated man *by himself* has *not* the *essence* of man *in himself*"; "the *essence* of man is contained only in the community, in the *unity of man and man*, a unity, however, which depends only on the *reality* of the *difference* between I and you.—Man by himself is man (in the ordinary sense), man *and* man, the unity *of I and you, is God*" (i.e., man in the supraordinary sense) (§§ 61, 62, p. 83).

Philosophy has reached a point when the trivial fact of the necessity of intercourse between human beings—a fact without a knowledge of which the second generation that ever existed would never have been produced, a fact already involved in the sexual difference—is presented by philosophy at the end of its entire development as the greatest result. And presented, moreover, in the mysterious form of "the unity of I and you". This phrase would have been quite impossible had Feuerbach not κατ' ἐξοχήν[a] thought of the sexual act, the conjugal act, the community of I and you.* And insofar as his community becomes *real* it is moreover limited to the sexual act and to arriving at an understanding about philosophical ideas and problems, to "true dialectics" (§ 64), to dialogue, to "the *procreation* of man, both spiritual and physical man" (p. 67). What this "*procreated*" man does afterwards, apart from again "spiritually" and "physically" "procreating men", is not mentioned. Feuerbach only knows intercourse between *two beings*,

"the truth that no being on its own is a true, perfect, absolute being, that truth and perfection is only the association, the unity of *two* beings that are essentially alike" (pp. 83, 84).

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c) The beginning of the *Philosophie der Zukunft* immediately shows the difference between us and him:

§ 1: "The task of modern times was the realisation and humanisation of God, the transformation and dissolution of theology into anthropology." Cf. "The negation of theology is the *essence* of modern times" (*Philosophie der Zukunft*, p. 23).

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* For, since the human being = brain + heart, and two are necessary to represent the human being, one of them personifies the *brain* in their intercourse, the other the *heart*—*man* and *woman*. Otherwise it would be impossible to understand why *two* persons are more human than one.[b] Saint-Simonist individual.[4]

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[a] Mainly.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. Ludwig Feuerbach, *Grundsätze der Philosophie der Zukunft*, § 58.—*Ed.*

d) The distinction that Feuerbach makes between Catholicism and Protestantism in § 2—Catholicism: "theology" "is concerned with what God is in himself", it has a "tendency towards speculation and contemplation"; Protestantism is merely Christology, it leaves God to himself and speculation and contemplation to philosophy—this distinction is nothing but a division of labour arisen from a need appropriate to immature science. Feuerbach explains Protestantism merely from this need *within theology*, whereupon an independent history of philosophy naturally follows.

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e) "Being is not a general concept which can be separated from things. It is *identical* with the things that exist.... Being is posited by essence. *What my essence is, is my being*. The fish is in the water, but its essence cannot be separated from this being. Even language identifies being and essence. It is only in human life that being is divorced from essence—*but only in exceptional, unfortunate cases*—only there is it possible that a person's essence is not in the place where he is, but it is precisely because of this division that his spirit is not truly in the place where his body actually is. Only where your heart is, there *you are*. But all things—*apart from abnormal cases* – like to be in the place where they are, and like to be what they are" (p. 47).

A fine panegyric upon the existing state of things! Apart from abnormal cases, a few exceptional cases, you like to work from your seventh year as a door-keeper in a coal-mine, remaining alone in the dark for fourteen hours a day, and because it is your being therefore it is also your essence. The same applies to a piecer[a] at a self-actor.[a] It is your "essence" to be subservient to a branch of labour. Cf. *Das Wesen des Glaubens*, p. 11, "unsatisfied hunger" [...][b]

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f) § 48, p. 73. "*Time* is the only *means* that makes it possible without contradiction to combine opposite or contradictory determinations in a single being. This applies at all events to living beings. Only thus does here—for example in man—the *contradiction* make its appearance that now *this* determination, this resolution, dominates and occupies me, and then a quite different and diametrically opposed determination."

Feuerbach describes this as 1) a contradiction, 2) a combination of contradictions, and 3) alleges that time brings this about. Indeed time

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[a] This word is in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[b] Engels did not finish this sentence. A similar idea is expressed in Chapter I of *The German Ideology* (cf. p. 58 of this volume).—*Ed.*

"filled" with events, but still time, and not that which takes place during this time.[a] The proposition amounts to the statement: it is only in time that change is possible.

Written probably in the autumn of 1845

Printed according to the manuscript

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[a] Ludwig Feuerbach, *Grundsätze der Philosophie der Zukunft*, § 12.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels
## [A REPLY TO BRUNO BAUER'S ANTI-CRITIQUE[5]]

*Brussels*, November 20. In *Wigand's Vierteljahrsschrift*, Vol. III, p. 138 ff., *Bruno Bauer* stammers out a few words in answer to *Die heilige Familie, oder Kritik der kritischen Kritik*, 1845, by *Engels* and *Marx*.[a] At the outset *Bruno Bauer* declares that *Engels* and *Marx* have misunderstood him; with unaffected naïveté he repeats his old pretentious phrases, which have long since been reduced to nothing, and regrets that these writers do not know his catchwords about "the constant struggle and victory, the destruction and creation of criticism", which is the "only historical force", his assertions that "the critic and only the critic has *smashed* religion in its entirety and the state in its various manifestations", that "the critic has worked and still works", and similar high-sounding protestations and lofty effusions. In his reply *Bauer* immediately provides new and striking proof of "*how the critic has worked and still works*". For the "hard-working" critic considers that it serves his *purpose* better not to make the book by *Engels* and *Marx* the object of his exclamations and quotations, but a mediocre and confused *review of this book* published in the *Westphälische Dampfboot* (May issue, p. 206 ff.)[6]—a *conjuring trick*, which, with critical prudence, he conceals from the reader.

While *Bauer* is *copying* from the *Dampfboot*, he interrupts his "*arduous work*" only with laconic, but highly ambiguous shrugging of his shoulders. Critical criticism has limited itself to shrugging its shoulders since it has no more to say. It finds salvation in the *shoulder-blades* despite its hatred of the *sensuous world*, which it can

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 3-211.—*Ed.*

only conceive in the shape of a "*stick*" (see *Wigand's Vierteljahrsschrift*, p. 130), an instrument for chastising its theological bareness.

In his superficial haste the Westphalian reviewer gives a ridiculous summary which is utterly at variance with the book he is reviewing. The "*hard-working*" critic copies the fabrications of the reviewer, attributes them to *Engels* and *Marx* and triumphantly shouts to the uncritical mass—which he annihilates with one eye, while with the other he flirtatiously invites it to come nearer—*see, these are my opponents!*

Let us now place side by side the words of these documents.

The reviewer writes in the *Westphälische Dampfboot*:

"In order to kill the Jews he" (*Bruno Bauer*) "transforms them into theologians, and the problem of political emancipation into that of human emancipation; to annihilate *Hegel* he transforms him into Herr *Hinrichs*; to get rid of the French Revolution, communism and Feuerbach he shouts 'mass, mass, mass!' and again 'mass, mass, mass!' and crucifies it to the glory of the spirit, which is criticism, the true incarnation of the absolute idea in Bruno of Charlottenburg" (*Das Westphälische Dampfboot*, l. c., p. 212).

The "*hard-working*" *critic* writes:

"The critic of critical criticism" becomes "in the end childish", "plays the Harlequin on the *theatro mundi*" and "would have us believe", "*asserting* in all seriousness, that *Bruno Bauer* in order to kill the Jews", etc., etc.—there follows *verbatim* the whole passage from the *Westphälische Dampfboot*, which is nowhere to be found in *Die heilige Familie* (*Wigand's Vierteljahrsschrift*, p. 142).

Compare this with the attitude of critical criticism to the Jewish question and to political emancipation in *Die heilige Familie, inter alia*, pp. 163-85; regarding its attitude to the French Revolution cf. pp. 185-95; and its attitude to socialism and communism, pp. 22-74, p. 211 ff., pp. 243-44 and the whole chapter on critical criticism in the person of Rudolph, *Prince* of Geroldstein, pp. 258-333.[a] Regarding the attitude of critical criticism to *Hegel* see the mystery of "speculative construction" and the following explanation on p. 79 ff., also pp. 121 and 122, 126-28, 136-37, 208-09, 215-27 and 304-08; on the attitude of critical criticism to *Feuerbach* see pp. 138-41, and finally on the result and the trend of the critical fight against the French Revolution, materialism and socialism see pp. 214-15.[b]

One can see from these quotations that the Westphalian reviewer has given a completely distorted and only imaginary summary

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 106-18, 118-24, 23-72, 134 ff., 151-53, 162-209.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 57 ff., 82 and 83, 85-87, 91-92, 131-32, 136-43, 191-93, 92-94, 135-36.—*Ed.*

showing that he has absurdly misunderstood the arguments. It is this summary which with "creative and devastating" agility the "*pure*" and "*hard-working*" critic *substitutes* for the original.

Furthermore.

*The reviewer* writes in the *Westphälische Dampfboot*:

"To his" (that is, *Bruno Bauer's*) "*silly self-apotheosis*, in which he seeks to prove that wherever he was formerly in thrall to the prejudices of the mass, this enthralment was merely a necessary guise of criticism, *Marx* replies by offering to provide the following *little scholastic treatise*: 'Why the conception of the Virgin Mary had to be proved by no other than Herr *Bruno Bauer*'" etc., etc. (*Dampfboot*, p. 213).

*The "hard-working" critic*:

"He" (the critic of critical criticism) "wants to *make us believe*, and in the end himself *believes* his humbug, that wherever *Bauer* was formerly in thrall to the prejudices of the mass he wants to present this enthralment merely as a necessary guise of criticism and not on the contrary as the result of the necessary development of criticism; in *reply* to this *'silly self-apotheosis'* he therefore offers the following little scholastic treatise: 'Why the conception of the Virgin Mary'" etc., etc. (*Wigand's Vierteljahrsschrift*, pp. 142-43).

The reader will find in *Die heilige Familie*, pp. 150-63,[a] a special section on *Bruno Bauer's self-apology*, but unfortunately *nothing* is written there about the little scholastic treatise, which is therefore by no means offered in reply to *Bruno Bauer's* self-apology, as the Westphalian reviewer writes; and the obliging *Bruno Bauer* copies this—even enclosing some words in *inverted commas*—assuming it to be a quotation from *Die heilige Familie*. The little treatise is mentioned in a different section and in a different context (see *Die heilige Familie*, pp. 164 and 165[b]). What it signifies there the reader may find out for himself and again admire the "pure" cunning of the "hard-working critic".

In the end the "*hard-working*" *critic* exclaims:

"*This*" (namely the quotations which *Bruno Bauer* has borrowed from the *Westphälische Dampfboot* and *attributed* to the authors of *Die heilige Familie*) "has of course reduced *Bruno Bauer* to silence and brought criticism to its senses. *On the contrary, Marx* has presented us with a spectacle by finally himself appearing in the role of the amusing comedian" (*Wigand's Vierteljahrsschrift*, p. 143).

To understand this "*on the contrary*" one has to know that the *Westphalian reviewer*, for whom *Bruno Bauer* works as a *copyist*, dictates the following to his critical and hard-working scribe:

"The world-historic drama" (that is, the fight of *Bauer's* criticism against the mass) "quite simply disintegrates into the *most amusing comedy*" (*Das Westphälische Dampfboot*, p. 213).

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 99-106.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 106-08.—*Ed.*

Here the hapless copyist jumps to his feet: to transcribe his own condemnation is beyond his power. "*On the contrary,*" he cries interrupting the dictation of the Westphalian reviewer, "*on the contrary ... Marx ... is the most amusing comedian!*" and he wipes the cold sweat from his brow.

By resorting to incompetent *jugglery,* to the most deplorable conjuring trick, *Bruno Bauer* has in the final analysis confirmed the death sentence passed upon him by *Engels* and *Marx* in *Die heilige Familie.*

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Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

# THE GERMAN IDEOLOGY

CRITIQUE OF MODERN GERMAN PHILOSOPHY
ACCORDING TO ITS REPRESENTATIVES
FEUERBACH, B. BAUER AND STIRNER,
AND OF GERMAN SOCIALISM
ACCORDING TO ITS VARIOUS PROPHETS[7]

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and August 1846
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Volume I

# CRITIQUE

# OF MODERN GERMAN PHILOSOPHY ACCORDING TO ITS REPRESENTATIVES FEUERBACH, B. BAUER AND STIRNER

# Preface

Hitherto men have always formed wrong ideas about themselves, about what they are and what they ought to be. They have arranged their relations according to their ideas of God, of normal man, etc. The products of their brains have got out of their hands. They, the creators, have bowed down before their creations. Let us liberate them from the chimeras, the ideas, dogmas, imaginary beings under the yoke of which they are pining away. Let us revolt against this rule of concepts. Let us teach men, says one,[a] how to exchange these imaginations for thoughts which correspond to the essence of man; says another,[b] how to take up a critical attitude to them; says the third,[c] how to get them out of their heads; and existing reality will collapse.

These innocent and child-like fancies are the kernel of the modern Young-Hegelian philosophy, which not only is received by the German public with horror and awe, but is announced by our *philosophic heroes* with the solemn consciousness of its world-shattering danger and criminal ruthlessness. The first volume of the present publication has the aim of uncloaking these sheep, who take themselves and are taken for wolves; of showing that their bleating merely imitates in a philosophic form the conceptions of the German middle class; that the boasting of these philosophic commentators only mirrors the wretchedness of the real conditions in Germany. It is its aim to ridicule and discredit the philosophic struggle with the

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[a] Ludwig Feuerbach.— *Ed.*
[b] Bruno Bauer.— *Ed.*
[c] Max Stirner.— *Ed.*

shadows of reality, which appeals to the dreamy and muddled German nation.

Once upon a time a valiant fellow had the idea that men were drowned in water only because they were possessed with the *idea of gravity*. If they were to get this notion out of their heads, say by avowing it to be a superstitious, a religious concept, they would be sublimely proof against any danger from water. His whole life long he fought against the illusion of gravity, of whose harmful consequences all statistics brought him new and manifold evidence. This valiant fellow was the type of the new revolutionary philosophers in Germany.*

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] There is no specific difference between German idealism and the ideology of all the other nations. The latter too regards the world as dominated by ideas, ideas and concepts as the determining principles, and certain notions as the mystery of the material world accessible to the philosophers.

Hegel completed positive idealism. He not only turned the whole material world into a world of ideas and the whole of history into a history of ideas. He was not content with recording thought entities, he also sought to describe the act of creation.

Roused from their world of fancy, the German philosophers protest against the world of ideas to which they [...] the conception of the real, material [...]

All the German philosophical critics assert that the real world of men has hitherto been dominated and determined by ideas, images, concepts, and that the real world is a product of the world of ideas. This has been the case up to now, but it ought to be changed. They differ from each other in the manner in which they intend to deliver mankind, which in their opinion is groaning under the weight of its own fixed ideas; they differ in respect of what they proclaim to be fixed ideas; they agree in their belief in the hegemony of ideas, they agree in the belief that the action of their critical reason must bring about the destruction of the existing order of things: whether they consider their isolated rational activity sufficient or want to conquer universal consciousness.

The belief that the real world is the product of the ideal world, that the world of ideas [...]

Having lost their faith in the Hegelian world of ideas, the German philosophers protest against the domination of thoughts, ideas, and concepts which, according to their opinion, i.e., according to *Hegel's illusion*, have hitherto produced, determined and dominated the real world. They make their protest and expire [...]

According to the Hegelian system ideas, thoughts and concepts have produced, determined, dominated the real life of men, their material world, their actual relations. His rebellious disciples take this [...]

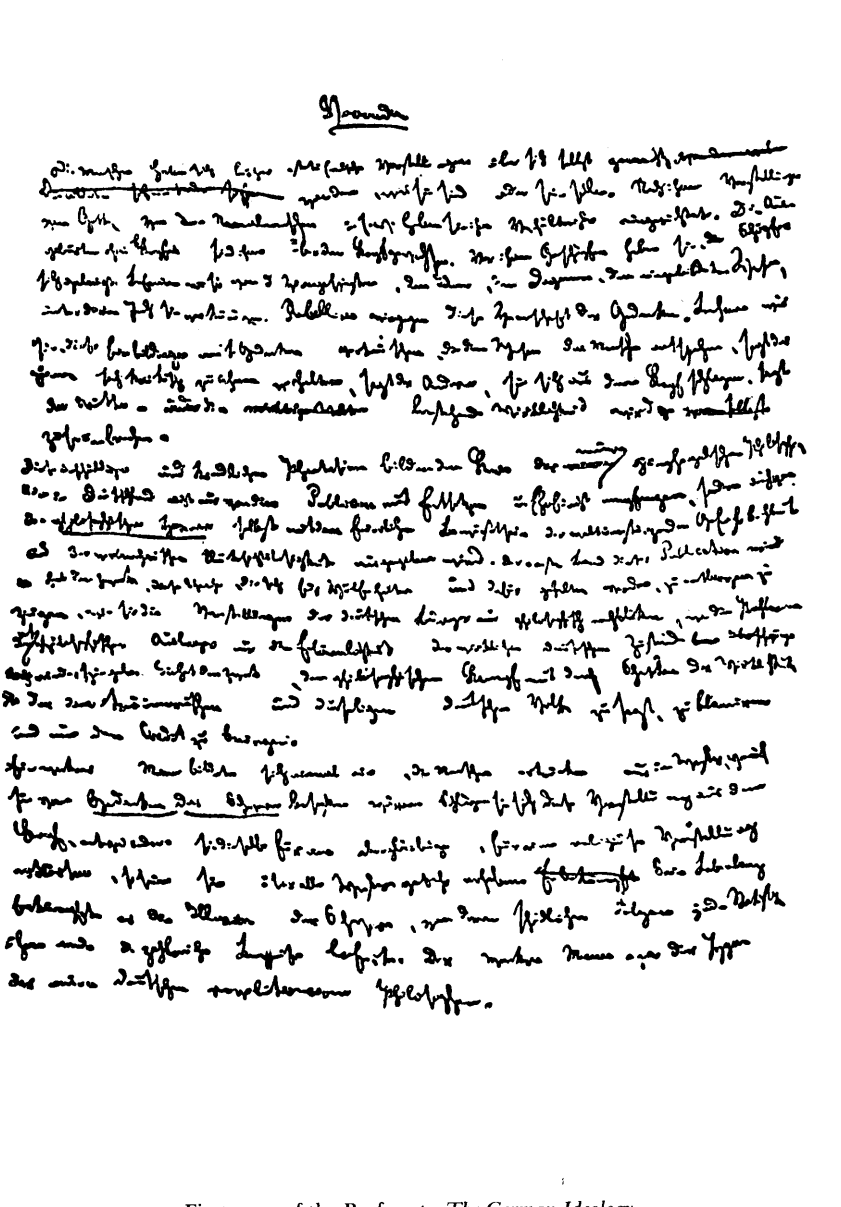

First page of the Preface to *The German Ideology*
in Marx's handwriting

# I

# FEUERBACH

## OPPOSITION OF THE MATERIALIST AND IDEALIST OUTLOOKS[8]

### [I]

|sh.1| According to German ideologists, Germany has in the last few years gone through an unparalleled revolution. The decomposition of the Hegelian system, which began with Strauss,[9] has developed into a universal ferment into which all the "powers of the past" are swept. In the general chaos mighty empires have arisen only to meet with immediate doom, heroes have emerged momentarily to be again hurled into obscurity by bolder and stronger rivals. It was a revolution beside which the French Revolution was child's play, a world struggle beside which the struggles of the Diadochi[10] appear insignificant. Principles ousted one another, intellectual heroes overthrew each other with unheard-of rapidity, and in the three years 1842-45 more was cleared away in Germany than at other times in three centuries.

All this is supposed to have taken place in the realm of pure thought.

Certainly it is an interesting event we are dealing with: the putrescence of the absolute spirit. When the last spark of its life had failed, the various components of this *caput mortuum*[a] began to decompose, entered into new combinations and formed new substances. The industrialists of philosophy, who till then had lived on the exploitation of the absolute spirit, now seized upon the new combinations. Each with all possible zeal set about retailing his apportioned share. This was bound to give rise to competition, which, to start with, was carried on in moderately civil and staid

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[a] Literally: dead head; a term used in chemistry for the residuum left after distillation; here: remainder, residue.— *Ed.*

fashion. Later, when the German market was glutted, and the commodity in spite of all efforts was not favourably received in the world market, the business was spoiled in the usual German manner by cheap and spurious production, deterioration in quality, adulteration of the raw materials, falsification of labels, fictitious purchases, bill-jobbing and a credit system devoid of any real basis. The competition turned into a bitter struggle, which is now being extolled and interpreted to us as an upheaval of world significance, the begetter of the most prodigious results and achievements.

If we wish to rate at its true value this philosophic charlatanry, which awakens even in the breast of the righteous German citizen a glow of patriotic feeling, if we wish to bring out clearly the pettiness, the parochial narrowness of this whole Young-Hegelian movement and in particular the tragicomic contrast between the illusions of these heroes about their achievements and the actual achievements themselves, we must look at the whole spectacle from a standpoint beyond the frontiers of Germany.*

## [1.] IDEOLOGY IN GENERAL, GERMAN IDEOLOGY IN PARTICULAR

|sh.2| German criticism has, right up to its latest efforts, never left the realm of philosophy. It by no means examines its general philosophic premises, but in fact all its problems originate in a definite philosophical system, that of Hegel. Not only in its answers, even in its questions there was a mystification. This dependence on Hegel is the reason why not one of these modern critics has even

* [In the first version of the clean copy there follows a passage, which is crossed out:] |p. 2|

We preface therefore the specific criticism of individual representatives of this movement with a few general observations, elucidating the ideological premises common to all of them. These remarks will suffice to indicate the standpoint of our criticism insofar as it is required for the understanding and the motivation of the subsequent individual criticisms. We oppose these remarks |p. 3| to *Feuerbach* in particular because he is the only one who has at least made some progress and whose works can be examined *de bonne foi*.

*1. Ideology in General, and Especially German Philosophy*

A. We know only a single science, the science of history. One can look at history from two sides and divide it into the history of nature and the history of men. The two sides are, however, inseparable; the history of nature and the history of men are dependent on each other so long as men exist. The history of nature, called natural

attempted a comprehensive criticism of the Hegelian system, however much each professes to have advanced beyond Hegel. Their polemics against Hegel and against one another are confined to this—each takes one aspect of the Hegelian system and turns this against the whole system as well as against the aspects chosen by the others. To begin with they took pure, unfalsified Hegelian categories such as "substance" and "self-consciousness",[a] later they secularised these categories by giving them more profane names such as "species", "the unique", "man",[b] etc.

The entire body of German philosophical criticism from Strauss to Stirner is confined to criticism of *religious* conceptions.* The critics started from real religion and theology proper. What religious consciousness and religious conception are was subsequently defined in various ways. The advance consisted in including the allegedly dominant metaphysical, political, juridical, moral and other conceptions under the category of religious or theological conceptions; and similarly in declaring that political, juridical, moral consciousness was religious or theological consciousness, and that the political, juridical, moral man—"Man" in the last resort—was religious. The dominance of religion was presupposed. Gradually every dominant relationship was declared to be a religious relationship and transformed into a cult, a cult of law, a cult of the state, etc. It was throughout merely a question of dogmas and belief in dogmas. The world was sanctified to an ever-increasing extent till at last the venerable Saint Max[c] was able to canonise it *en bloc* and thus dispose of it once for all.

The Old Hegelians had *understood* everything as soon as it was

science, does not concern us here; but we will have to examine the history of men, since almost the whole ideology amounts either to a distorted conception of this history or to a complete abstraction from it. Ideology is itself only one of the aspects of this history.

[There follows a passage dealing with the premises of the materialist conception of history. It is not crossed out and in this volume it is reproduced as Section 2; see pp. 31-32.]

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] claiming to be the absolute redeemer of the world from all evil. Religion was continually regarded and treated as the arch-enemy, as the ultimate cause of all relations repugnant to these philosophers.

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[a] The basic categories of David Friedrich Strauss and Bruno Bauer.— *Ed.*

[b] The basic categories of Ludwig Feuerbach and Max Stirner.— *Ed.*

[c] Max Stirner.— *Ed.*

reduced to a Hegelian logical category. The Young Hegelians *criticised* everything by ascribing religious conceptions to it or by declaring that it is a theological matter. The Young Hegelians are in agreement with the Old Hegelians in their belief in the rule of religion, of concepts, of a universal principle in the existing world. Except that the one party attacks this rule as usurpation, while the other extols it as legitimate.

Since the Young Hegelians consider conceptions, thoughts, ideas, in fact all the products of consciousness, to which they attribute an independent existence, as the real chains of men (just as the Old Hegelians declare them the true bonds of human society), it is evident that the Young Hegelians have to fight only against these illusions of consciousness. Since, according to their fantasy, the relations of men, all their doings, their fetters and their limitations are products of their consciousness, the Young Hegelians logically put to men the moral postulate of exchanging their present consciousness for human, critical or egoistic consciousness,[a] and thus of removing their limitations. This demand to change consciousness amounts to a demand to interpret the existing world in a different way, i.e., to recognise it by means of a different interpretation. The Young-Hegelian ideologists, in spite of their allegedly "world-shattering"[b] phrases, are the staunchest conservatives. The most recent of them have found the correct expression for their activity when they declare they are only fighting against "*phrases*". They forget, however, that they themselves are opposing nothing but phrases to these phrases, and that they are in no way combating the real existing world when they are combating solely the phrases of this world. The only results which this philosophic criticism was able to achieve were a few (and at that one-sided) elucidations of Christianity from the point of view of religious history; all the rest of their assertions are only further embellishments of their claim to have furnished, in these unimportant elucidations, discoveries of world-historic importance.

It has not occurred to any one of these philosophers to inquire into the connection of German philosophy with German reality, the connection of their criticism with their own material surroundings.[c]

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[a] A reference to Ludwig Feuerbach, Bruno Bauer and Max Stirner, whose basic categories were, respectively, "man", "criticism" and "ego".—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. "Ueber das Recht des Freigesprochenen ..." published anonymously in *Wigand's Vierteljahrsschrift*, 1845, Bd. IV.—*Ed.*

[c] The rest of this page of the manuscript is left blank. The text following on the next page of the manuscript is reproduced in this volume as Section 3; see pp. 32-35.—*Ed.*

## [2. PREMISES OF THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY[a]]

|p. 3| The premises from which we begin are not arbitrary ones, not dogmas, but real premises from which abstraction can only be made in the imagination. They are the real individuals, their activity and the material conditions of their life, both those which they find already existing and those produced by their activity. These premises can thus be |p. 4| verified in a purely empirical way.

The first premise of all human history is, of course, the existence of living human individuals.* Thus the first fact to be established is the physical organisation of these individuals and their consequent relation to the rest of nature. Of course, we cannot here go either into the actual physical nature of man, or into the natural conditions in which man finds himself—geological, oro-hydrographical, climatic and so on.** All historical writing must set out from these natural bases and their modification in the course of history through the action of men.

Men can be distinguished from animals by consciousness, by religion or anything else you like. They themselves begin to distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to *produce* their means of subsistence, a step which is conditioned by their physical organisation. By producing their means of subsistence men are indirectly producing their material life.

The way in which men produce their means of subsistence depends first of all on the nature of the means of subsistence they actually find in existence and have to reproduce.

|p. 5| This mode of production must not be considered simply as being the reproduction of the physical existence of the individuals. Rather it is a definite form of activity of these individuals, a definite form of expressing their life, a definite *mode of life* on their part. As individuals express their life, so they are. What they are, therefore, coincides with their production, both with *what* they produce and

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] The first *historical* act of these individuals distinguishing them from animals is not that they think, but that they begin *to produce their means of subsistence.*

** [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] These conditions determine not only the original, spontaneous organisation of men, especially racial differences, but also the entire further development, or lack of development, of men up to the present time.

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[a] The text of the following section has been taken from the first version of the clean copy.—*Ed.*

with *how* they produce. Hence what individuals are depends on the material conditions of their production.

This production only makes its appearance with the *increase of population.* In its turn this presupposes the *intercourse* [*Verkehr*][11] of individuals with one another. The form of this intercourse is again determined by production.

### [3. PRODUCTION AND INTERCOURSE. DIVISION OF LABOUR AND FORMS OF PROPERTY—TRIBAL, ANCIENT, FEUDAL]

[sh.3] The relations of different nations among themselves depend upon the extent to which each has developed its productive forces, the division of labour and internal intercourse. This proposition is generally recognised. But not only the relation of one nation to others, but also the whole internal structure of the nation itself depends on the stage of development reached by its production and its internal and external intercourse. How far the productive forces of a nation are developed is shown most manifestly by the degree to which the division of labour has been carried. Each new productive force, insofar as it is not merely a quantitative extension of productive forces already known (for instance, the bringing into cultivation of fresh land), causes a further development of the division of labour.

The division of labour inside a nation leads at first to the separation of industrial and commercial from agricultural labour, and hence to the separation of *town* and *country* and to the conflict of their interests. Its further development leads to the separation of commercial from industrial labour. At the same time through the division of labour inside these various branches there develop various divisions among the individuals co-operating in definite kinds of labour. The relative position of these individual groups is determined by the way work is organised in agriculture, industry and commerce (patriarchalism, slavery, estates, classes). These same conditions are to be seen (given a more developed intercourse) in the relations of different nations to one another.

The various stages of development in the division of labour are just so many different forms of property, i.e., the existing stage in the division of labour determines also the relations of individuals to one another with reference to the material, instrument and product of labour.

The first form of property is tribal property [*Stammeigentum*].[12]

It corresponds to the undeveloped stage of production, at which a people lives by hunting and fishing, by cattle-raising or, at most, by agriculture. In the latter case it presupposes a great mass of uncultivated stretches of land. The division of labour is at this stage still very elementary and is confined to a further extension of the natural division of labour existing in the family. The social structure is, therefore, limited to an extension of the family: patriarchal chieftains, below them the members of the tribe, finally slaves. The slavery latent in the family only develops gradually with the increase of population, the growth of wants, and with the extension of external intercourse, both of war and of barter.

The second form is the ancient communal and state property, which proceeds especially from the union of several tribes into a *city* by agreement or by conquest, and which is still accompanied by slavery. Beside communal property we already find movable, and later also immovable, private property developing, but as an abnormal form subordinate to communal property. The citizens hold power over their labouring slaves only in their community, and even on this account alone they are bound to the form of communal property. It constitutes the communal private property of the active citizens who, in relation to their slaves, are compelled to remain in this spontaneously derived form of association. For this reason the whole structure of society based on this communal property, and with it the power of the people, decays in the same measure in which immovable private property evolves. The division of labour is already more developed. We already find the opposition of town and country; later the opposition between those states which represent town interests and those which represent country interests, and inside the towns themselves the opposition between industry and maritime commerce. The class relations between citizens and slaves are now completely developed.

With the development of private property, we find here for the first time the same relations which we shall find again, only on a more extensive scale, with modern private property. On the one hand, the concentration of private property, which began very early in Rome (as the Licinian agrarian law proves) and proceeded very rapidly from the time of the civil wars and especially under the emperors [13]; on the other hand, coupled with this, the transformation of the plebeian small peasantry into a proletariat, which, however, owing to its intermediate position between propertied citizens and slaves, never achieved an independent development.

The third form is feudal or estate property. If antiquity started out

from the *town* and its small territory, the Middle Ages started out from the *country*. This different starting-point was determined by the sparseness of the population at that time, which was scattered over a large area and which received no large increases from the conquerors. In contrast to Greece and Rome, feudal development, therefore, begins over a much wider territory, prepared by the Roman conquests and the spread of agriculture at first associated with them. The last centuries of the declining Roman Empire and its conquest by the barbarians destroyed a considerable part of the productive forces; agriculture had declined, industry had decayed for want of a market, trade had died out or been violently interrupted, the rural and urban population had decreased. These conditions and the mode of organisation of the conquest determined by them, together with the influence of the Germanic military constitution, led to the development of feudal property. Like tribal and communal property, it is also based on a community; but the directly producing class standing over against it is not, as in the case of the ancient community, the slaves, but the enserfed small peasantry. As soon as feudalism is fully developed, there also arises antagonism to the towns. The hierarchical structure of landownership, and the armed bodies of retainers associated with it, gave the nobility power over the serfs. This feudal organisation was, just as much as the ancient communal property, an association against a subjected producing class; but the form of association and the relation to the direct producers were different because of the different conditions of production.

This feudal structure of landownership had its counterpart in the *towns* in the shape of corporative property, the feudal organisation of trades. Here property consisted |sh.4| chiefly in the labour of each individual. The necessity for associating against the association of the robber-nobility, the need for communal covered markets in an age when the industrialist was at the same time a merchant, the growing competition of the escaped serfs swarming into the rising towns, the feudal structure of the whole country: these combined to bring about the *guilds*. The gradually accumulated small capital of individual craftsmen and their stable numbers, as against the growing population, evolved the relation of journeyman and apprentice, which brought into being in the towns a hierarchy similar to that in the country.

Thus property during the feudal epoch primarily consisted on the one hand of landed property with serf labour chained to it, and on the other of the personal labour of the individual who with his small capital commands the labour of journeymen. The organisation of

materially, and hence as they work under definite material limits, presuppositions and conditions independent of their will.*

The production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men—the language of real life. Conceiving, thinking, the mental intercourse of men at this stage still appear as the direct efflux of their material behaviour. The same applies to mental production as expressed in the language of the politics, laws, morality, religion, metaphysics, etc., of a people. Men are the producers of their conceptions, ideas, etc., that is, real, active men, as they are conditioned by a definite development of their productive forces and of the intercourse corresponding to these, up to its furthest forms.** Consciousness [*das Bewusstsein*] can never be anything else than conscious being [*das bewusste Sein*], and the being of men is their actual life-process. If in all ideology men and their relations appear upside-down as in a *camera obscura,* this phenomenon arises just as much from their historical life-process as the inversion of objects on the retina does from their physical life-process.

In direct contrast to German philosophy which descends from heaven to earth, here it is a matter of ascending from earth to heaven. That is to say, not of setting out from what men say, imagine, conceive, nor from men as narrated, thought of, imagined, conceived, in order to arrive at men in the flesh; but setting out from real, active men, and on the basis of their real life-process demonstrating the development of the ideological reflexes and echoes of this life-process. The phantoms formed in the brains of men are also, necessarily, sublimates of their material life-process, which is empirically verifiable and bound to material premises. Morality, religion, metaphysics, and all the rest of ideology as well as the forms of consciousness corresponding to these, thus no longer

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] The ideas which these individuals form are ideas either about their relation to nature or about their mutual relations or about their own nature. It is evident that in all these cases their ideas are the conscious expression—real or illusory—of their real relations and activities, of their production, of their intercourse, of their social and political conduct. The opposite assumption is only possible if in addition to the spirit of the real, materially evolved individuals a separate spirit is presupposed. If the conscious expression of the real relations of these individuals is illusory, if in their imagination they turn reality upside-down, then this in its turn is the result of their limited material mode of activity and their limited social relations arising from it.

** [The manuscript originally had:] Men are the producers of their conceptions, ideas, etc., and precisely men conditioned by the mode of production of their material life, by their material intercourse and its further development in the social and political structure.

retain the semblance of independence. They have no history, no development; but men, developing their material production and their material intercourse, alter, along with this their actual world, also their thinking and the products of their thinking. It is not consciousness that determines life, but life that determines consciousness. For the first manner of approach the starting-point is consciousness taken as the living individual; for the second manner of approach, which conforms to real life, it is the real living individuals themselves, and consciousness is considered solely as *their* consciousness.

This manner of approach is not devoid of premises. It starts out from the real premises and does not abandon them for a moment. Its premises are men, not in any fantastic isolation and fixity, but in their actual, empirically perceptible process of development under definite conditions. As soon as this active life-process is described, history ceases to be a collection of dead facts, as it is with the empiricists (themselves still abstract), or an imagined activity of imagined subjects, as with the idealists.

Where speculation ends, where real life starts, there consequently begins real, positive science, the expounding of the practical activity, of the practical process of development of men. Empty phrases about consciousness end, and real knowledge has to take their place. When the reality is described, a self-sufficient philosophy [*die selbständige Philosophie*] loses its medium of existence. At the best its place can only be taken by a summing-up of the most general results, abstractions which are derived from the observation of the historical development of men. These abstractions in themselves, divorced from real history, have no value whatsoever. They can only serve to facilitate the arrangement of historical material, to indicate the sequence of its separate strata. But they by no means afford a recipe or schema, as does philosophy, for neatly trimming the epochs of history. On the contrary, the difficulties begin only when one sets about the examination and arrangement of the material—whether of a past epoch or of the present—and its actual presentation. The removal of these difficulties is governed by premises which certainly cannot be stated here, but which only the study of the actual life-process and the activity of the individuals of each epoch will make evident. We shall select here some of these abstractions, which we use in contradistinction to ideology, and shall illustrate them by historical examples.[a]

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[a] The clean copy ends here. The text that follows in this edition are the three parts of the rough copy of the manuscript.—*Ed.*

## [II]

### [1. PRECONDITIONS OF THE REAL LIBERATION OF MAN]

|1| We shall, of course, not take the trouble to explain to our wise philosophers that the "liberation" of "man" is not advanced a single step by reducing philosophy, theology, substance and all the rubbish to "self-consciousness" and by liberating "man" from the domination of these phrases, which have never held him in thrall.* Nor shall we explain to them that it is possible to achieve real liberation only in the real world and by real means, that slavery cannot be abolished without the steam-engine and the mule jenny, serfdom cannot be abolished without improved agriculture, and that, in general, people cannot be liberated as long as they are unable to obtain food and drink, housing and clothing in adequate quality and quantity. "Liberation" is a historical and not a mental act, and it is brought about by historical conditions, the [level] of industry, com[merce], [agri]culture, [intercourse...][a] |2| then subsequently, in accordance with the different stages of their development, [they make up] the nonsense of substance, subject, self-consciousness and pure criticism, as well as religious and theological nonsense, and later they get rid of it again when their development is sufficiently advanced.** In Germany, a country where only a trivial historical development is taking place, these mental developments, these glorified and ineffective trivialities, naturally serve as a substitute for the lack of historical development, and they take root and have to be combated. But this fight is of *local* importance.***

### [2. FEUERBACH'S CONTEMPLATIVE AND INCONSISTENT MATERIALISM]

[...][b] |8| in reality and for the *practical* materialist, i.e., the *communist*, it is a question of revolutionising the existing world, of practically coming to grips with and changing the things found in

* [Marginal notes by Marx:] Philosophic liberation and real liberation.—*Man.* The *unique.* The *individual.*—Geological, hydrographical, etc., conditions. The human body. Needs and labour.

** [Marginal note by Marx:] Phrases and real movement. The importance of phrases in Germany.

*** [Marginal note by Marx:] Language is the language of re[ality].

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[a] The manuscript is damaged here: the lower part of the sheet is torn off; one line of the text is missing.—*Ed.*

[b] Five pages of the manuscript are missing.—*Ed.*

existence. When occasionally we find such views with Feuerbach, they are never more than isolated surmises and have much too little influence on his general outlook to be considered here as anything but embryos capable of development. Feuerbach's "conception" of the sensuous world is confined on the one hand to mere contemplation of it, and on the other to mere feeling; he posits "Man" instead of "real historical man".[14] "Man" is really "the German". In the first case, the *contemplation* of the sensuous world, he necessarily lights on things which contradict his consciousness and feeling, which disturb the harmony he presupposes, the harmony of all parts of the sensuous world and especially of man and nature.* To remove this disturbance, he must take refuge in a double perception, a profane one which perceives "only the flatly obvious" and a higher, philosophical, one which perceives the "true essence" of things. He does not see that the sensuous world around him is not a thing given direct from all eternity, remaining ever the same, but the product of industry and of the state of society; and, indeed [a product] in the sense that it is an historical product, the result of the activity of a whole succession of generations, each standing on the shoulders of the preceding one, developing its industry and its intercourse, and modifying its social system according to the changed needs. Even the objects of the simplest "sensuous certainty" are only given him through social development, industry and commercial intercourse. The cherry-tree, like almost all fruit-trees, was, as is well known, only a few centuries ago transplanted by *commerce* into our zone, and therefore only |9| *by* this action of a definite society in a definite age has it become "sensuous certainty" for Feuerbach.

Incidentally, when things are seen in this way, as they really are and happened, every profound philosophical problem is resolved, as will be seen even more clearly later, quite simply into an empirical fact. For instance, the important question of the relation of man to nature (Bruno goes so far as to speak of "the antitheses in nature and history" (p. 110),[a] as though these were two separate "things" and man did not always have before him an historical nature and a

* NB. F[euerbach's] error is not that he subordinates the flatly obvious, the sensuous *appearance* to the sensuous reality established by detailed investigation of the sensuous facts, but that he cannot in the last resort cope with the sensuous world except by looking at it with the "eyes", i.e., through the "spectacles", of the *philosopher*.

[a] Bruno Bauer, "Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs".— *Ed.*

natural history), which gave rise to all the "unfathomably lofty works"[a] on "substance" and "self-consciousness", crumbles of itself when we understand that the celebrated "unity of man with nature" has always existed in industry and has existed in varying forms in every epoch according to the lesser or greater development of industry, and so has the "struggle" of man with nature, right up to the development of his productive forces on a corresponding basis. Industry and commerce, production and the exchange of the necessities of life in their turn determine distribution, the structure of the different social classes and are, in turn, determined by it as to the mode in which they are carried on; and so it happens that in Manchester, for instance, Feuerbach sees only factories and machines, where a hundred years ago only spinning-wheels and weaving-looms were to be seen, or in the Campagna di Roma he finds only pasture lands and swamps, where in the time of Augustus he would have found nothing but the vineyards and villas of Roman capitalists. Feuerbach speaks in particular of the perception of natural science; he mentions secrets which are disclosed only to the eye of the physicist and chemist; but where would natural science be without industry and commerce? Even this "pure" natural science is provided with an aim, as with its material, only through trade and industry, through the sensuous activity of men. So much is this activity, this unceasing sensuous labour and creation, this production, the foundation of the whole sensuous world as it now exists that, were it interrupted only for a year, Feuerbach would not only find an enormous change in the natural world, but would very soon find that the whole world of men and his own perceptive faculty, nay his own existence, were missing. Of course, in all this the priority of external nature remains unassailed, and all this has no |10| application to the original men produced by *generatio aequivoca*[b]; but this differentiation has meaning only insofar as man is considered to be distinct from nature. For that matter, nature, the nature that preceded human history, is not by any means the nature in which Feuerbach lives, it is nature which today no longer exists anywhere (except perhaps on a few Australian coral islands of recent origin) and which, therefore, does not exist for Feuerbach either.

|9| Certainly Feuerbach has |10| a great advantage over the "pure" materialists since he realises that man too is an "object of the

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[a] Paraphrase of a line from Goethe's *Faust*, "Prolog im Himmel".—*Ed.*
[b] Spontaneous generation.—*Ed.*

senses". But apart from the fact that he only conceives him as an "object of the senses", not as "sensuous activity", because he still remains in the realm of theory and conceives of men not in their given social connection, not under their existing conditions of life, which have made them *what* they are, he never arrives at the actually existing, active men, but stops at the abstraction "man", and gets no further than recognising "the actual, individual, corporeal man" emotionally, i.e., he knows no other "human relations" "of man to man" than love and friendship, and even then idealised. He gives no criticism of the present conditions of life. Thus he never manages to conceive the sensuous world as the total living sensuous *activity* of the individuals composing it; therefore when, for example, he sees instead of healthy men a crowd of scrofulous, overworked and consumptive starvelings, he is compelled to take refuge in the "higher perception" and in the ideal "compensation in the species", and thus to relapse into idealism at the very point where the communist materialist sees the necessity, and at the same time the condition, of a transformation both of industry and of the social structure.

As far as Feuerbach is a materialist he does not deal with history, and as far as he considers history he is not a materialist. With him materialism and history diverge completely, a fact which incidentally already follows from what has been said.*

### [3. PRIMARY HISTORICAL RELATIONS, OR THE BASIC ASPECTS OF SOCIAL ACTIVITY: PRODUCTION OF THE MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE, PRODUCTION OF NEW NEEDS, REPRODUCTION OF MEN (THE FAMILY), SOCIAL INTERCOURSE, CONSCIOUSNESS]

|11|** Since we are dealing with the Germans, who are devoid of premises, we must begin by stating the first premise of all human existence and, therefore, of all history, the premise, namely, that men must be in a position to live in order to be able to "make history".[a] But life involves before everything else eating and

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] The reason why we nevertheless discuss history here in greater detail is that the words "history" and "historical" usually mean everything possible to the Germans except reality, a brilliant example of this is in particular Saint Bruno with his "pulpit eloquence".

** [Marginal note by Marx:] *History.*

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[a] See this volume, pp. 56-57.—*Ed.*

drinking, housing, clothing and various other things.* The first historical act is thus the production of the means to satisfy these needs, the production of material life itself. And indeed this is an historical act, a fundamental condition of all history, which today, as thousands of years ago, must daily and hourly be fulfilled merely in order to sustain human life. Even when the sensuous world is reduced to a minimum, to a stick[a] as with Saint Bruno, it presupposes the action of producing this stick. Therefore in any conception of history one has first of all to observe this fundamental fact in all its significance and all its implications and to accord it its due importance. It is well known that the Germans have never done this, and they have never, therefore, had an *earthly* basis for history and consequently never a historian. The French and the English, even if they have conceived the relation of this fact with so-called history only in an extremely one-sided fashion, especially since they remained in the toils of political ideology, have nevertheless made the first attempts to give the writing of history a materialistic basis by being the first to write histories of civil society, of commerce and industry.[16]

The second point is [12] that the satisfaction of the first need, the action of satisfying and the instrument of satisfaction which has been acquired, leads to new needs; and this creation of new needs is the first historical act. Here we recognise immediately the spiritual ancestry of the great historical wisdom of the Germans who, when they run out of positive material and when they can serve up neither theological nor political nor literary rubbish, assert that this is not history at all, but the "prehistoric age". They do not, however, enlighten us as to how we proceed from this nonsensical "prehistory" to history proper; although, on the other hand, in their historical speculation they seize upon this "prehistory" with especial eagerness because they imagine themselves safe there from interference on the part of "crude facts", and, at the same time, because there they can give full rein to their speculative impulse and set up and knock down hypotheses by the thousand.

The third circumstance which, from the very outset, enters into historical development, is that men, who daily re-create their own life, begin to make other men, to propagate their kind: the relation

* [Marginal note by Marx:] *Hegel.* Geological, hydrographical, etc., conditions.[15] Human bodies. Needs, labour.

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[a] See Bruno Bauer's article "Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs". Cf. this volume, pp. 94, 104.—*Ed.*

between man and woman, parents and children, the *family*. The family, which to begin with is the only social relation, becomes later, when increased needs create new social relations and the increased population new needs, a subordinate one (except in Germany), and must then be treated and analysed according to the existing empirical data, not according to "the concept of the family", as is the custom in Germany.

These three aspects of social activity are not of course to be taken as three different stages, but just as three aspects or, to make it clear to the Germans, three "moments", which have existed simultaneously since the dawn of history and the first men, and which still assert themselves in history today.

The production of life, both of one's own in labour and of fresh life in procreation, now appears as a twofold | 13 | relation: on the one hand as a natural, on the other as a social relation — social in the sense that it denotes the co-operation of several individuals, no matter under what conditions, in what manner and to what end. It follows from this that a certain mode of production, or industrial stage, is always combined with a certain mode of co-operation, or social stage, and this mode of co-operation is itself a "productive force". Further, that the aggregate of productive forces accessible to men determines the condition of society, hence, the "history of humanity" must always be studied and treated in relation to the history of industry and exchange. But it is also clear that in Germany it is impossible to write this sort of history, because the Germans lack not only the necessary power of comprehension and the material but also the "sensuous certainty", for across the Rhine one cannot have any experience of these things since there history has stopped happening. Thus it is quite obvious from the start that there exists a materialist connection of men with one another, which is determined by their needs and their mode of production, and which is as old as men themselves. This connection is ever taking on new forms, and thus presents a "history" irrespective of the existence of any political or religious nonsense which would especially hold men together.

Only now, after having considered four moments, four aspects of primary historical relations, do we find that man also possesses "consciousness".* But even from the outset this is not "pure" consciousness. The "mind" is from the outset afflicted with | 14 | the

* [Marginal note by Marx:] Men have history because they must *produce* their life, and because they must produce it moreover in a *certain* way: this is determined by their physical organisation; their consciousness is determined in just the same way.

curse of being "burdened" with matter, which here makes its appearance in the form of agitated layers of air, sounds, in short, of language. Language is as old as consciousness, language *is* practical, real consciousness that exists for other men as well, and only therefore does it also exist for me; language, like consciousness, only arises from the need, the necessity, of intercourse with other men.* Where there exists a relationship, it exists for me: the animal does not "*relate*" itself to anything, it does not "*relate*" itself at all. For the animal its relation to others does not exist as a relation. Consciousness is, therefore, from the very beginning a social product, and remains so as long as men exist at all. Consciousness is at first, of course, merely consciousness concerning the *immediate* sensuous environment and consciousness of the limited connection with other persons and things outside the individual who is growing self-conscious. At the same time it is consciousness of nature, which first confronts men as a completely alien, all-powerful and unassailable force, with which men's relations are purely animal and by which they are overawed like beasts; it is thus a purely animal consciousness of nature (natural religion) precisely because nature is as yet hardly altered by history—on the other hand, it is man's consciousness of the necessity of associating with the individuals around him, the beginning of the consciousness that he is living in society at all. This beginning is as animal as social life itself at this stage. It is mere herd-consciousness, and at this point man is distinguished from sheep only by the fact that with him consciousness takes the place of instinct or that his instinct is a conscious one.** This sheep-like or tribal consciousness receives its further development and extension through increased productivity, the increase of needs, and, what is fundamental to both of these, |15| the increase of population. With these there develops the division of labour, which was originally nothing but the division of labour in the sexual act, then the division of labour which develops spontaneously or "naturally" by virtue of natural predisposition (e.g., physical strength), needs, accidents, etc., etc.*** Division of labour only becomes truly such from the moment

* [The following words are crossed out in the manuscript:] My relation to my surroundings is my consciousness.

** [Marginal note by Marx:] We see here immediately: this natural religion or this particular attitude to nature is determined by the form of society and vice versa. Here, as everywhere, the identity of nature and man also appears in such a way that the restricted attitude of men to nature determines their restricted relation to one another, and their restricted attitude to one another determines men's restricted relation to nature.

*** [Marginal note by Marx, which is crossed out in the manuscript:] Men's consciousness develops in the course of actual historical development.

when a division of material and mental labour appears.* From this moment onwards consciousness *can* really flatter itself that it is something other than consciousness of existing practice, that it *really* represents something without representing something real; from now on consciousness is in a position to emancipate itself from the world and to proceed to the formation of "pure" theory, theology, philosophy, morality, etc. But even if this theory, theology, philosophy, morality, etc., come into contradiction with the existing relations, this can only occur because existing social relations have come into contradiction with existing productive forces; moreover, in a particular national sphere of relations this can also occur through the contradiction, arising not within the national orbit, but between this national consciousness and the practice of other nations,** i.e., between the national and the general consciousness of a nation (as is happening now in Germany); but since this contradiction appears to exist only as a contradiction within the national consciousness, it seems to this nation that the struggle too is confined to this |16| national muck, precisely because this nation represents this muck as such.

Incidentally, it is quite immaterial what consciousness starts to do on its own: out of all this trash we get only the one inference that these three moments, the productive forces, the state of society and consciousness, can and must come into contradiction with one another, because the *division of labour* implies the possibility, nay the fact, that intellectual and material activity,*** that enjoyment and labour, production and consumption, devolve on different individuals, and that the only possibility of their not coming into contradiction lies in negating in its turn the division of labour. It is self-evident, moreover, that "spectres", "bonds", "the higher being", "concept", "scruple", are merely idealist, speculative, mental expressions, the concepts apparently of the isolated individual, the mere images of very empirical fetters and limitations, within which move the mode of production of life, and the form of intercourse coupled with it.****

* [Marginal note by Marx:] The first form of ideologists, *priests*, is coincident

** [Marginal note by Marx:] *Religions*. The Germans and *ideology* as such.

*** [Marginal note by Marx, which is crossed out in the manuscript:] activity and thinking, i.e., action without thought and thought without action.

**** [The following sentence is crossed out in the manuscript:] This idealist expression of actually present economic limitations exists not only purely theoretically but also in the practical consciousness, i.e., consciousness which emancipates itself and comes into contradiction with the existing mode of production devises not only religions and philosophies but also states.

### [4. SOCIAL DIVISION OF LABOUR AND ITS CONSEQUENCES: PRIVATE PROPERTY, THE STATE, "ESTRANGEMENT" OF SOCIAL ACTIVITY]

The division of labour in which all these contradictions are implicit, and which in its turn is based on the natural division of labour in the family and the separation of society into individual families opposed to one another, simultaneously implies the *distribution,* and indeed the *unequal* distribution, both quantitative and qualitative, of labour and its products, hence property, |17| the nucleus, the first form of which lies in the family, where wife and children are the slaves of the husband. This latent slavery in the family, though still very crude, is the first form of property, but even at this stage it corresponds perfectly to the definition of modern economists, who call it the power of disposing of the labour-power of others. Division of labour and private property are, after all, identical expressions: in the one the same thing is affirmed with reference to activity as is affirmed in the other with reference to the product of the activity.

Further, the division of labour also implies the contradiction between the interest of the separate individual or the individual family and the common interest of all individuals who have intercourse with one another. And indeed, this common interest does not exist merely in the imagination, as the "general interest", but first of all in reality, as the mutual interdependence of the individuals among whom the labour is divided.[a]

Out of this very contradiction between the particular and the common interests, the common interest assumes an independent form as the *state,* which is divorced from the real individual and collective interests, and at the same time as an illusory community, always based, however, on the real ties existing in every family conglomeration and tribal conglomeration—such as flesh and blood, language, division of labour on a larger scale, and other interests—and especially, as we shall show later, on the classes, already implied by the division of labour, which in every such mass of men separate out, and one of which dominates all the others. It follows from this that all struggles within the state, the struggle between democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy, the struggle for the franchise, etc., etc., are merely the illusory forms—altogether the general

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[a] The following two paragraphs are written in the margin: the first by Engels and the second by Marx.— *Ed.*

interest is the illusory form of common interests—in which the real struggles of the different classes are fought out among one another (of this the German theoreticians have not the faintest inkling, although they have received a sufficient initiation into the subject in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*[17] and *Die heilige Familie*). Further, it follows that every class which is aiming at domination, even when its domination, as is the case with the proletariat, leads to the abolition of the old form of society in its entirety and of domination in general, must first conquer political power in order to represent its interest in turn as the general interest, which in the first moment it is forced to do.

Just because individuals seek *only* their particular interest, which for them does not coincide with their common interest, the latter is asserted as an interest "alien" ["*fremd*"] to them, and |18| "independent" of them, as in its turn a particular and distinctive "general" interest; or they themselves must remain within this discord, as in democracy. On the other hand, too, the *practical* struggle of these particular interests, which *actually* constantly run counter to the common and illusory common interests, necessitates *practical* intervention and restraint by the illusory "general" interest in the form of the state.

|17| And finally, the division of labour offers us the first example of the fact that, as long as man remains in naturally evolved society, that is, as long as a cleavage exists between the particular and the common interest, as long, therefore, as activity is not voluntarily, but naturally, divided, man's own deed becomes an alien power opposed to him, which enslaves him instead of being controlled by him. For as soon as the division of labour comes into being, each man has a particular, exclusive sphere of activity, which is forced upon him and from which he cannot escape. He is a hunter, a fisherman, a shepherd, or a critical critic, and must remain so if he does not want to lose his means of livelihood; whereas in communist society, where nobody has one exclusive sphere of activity but each can become accomplished in any branch he wishes, society regulates the general production and thus makes it possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticise after dinner, just as I have a mind, without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, shepherd or critic.

|18| This fixation of social activity, this consolidation of what we ourselves produce into a material power above us, growing out of our control, thwarting our expectations, bringing to naught our calculations, is one of the chief factors in historical development up

till now.[a] The social power, i.e., the multiplied productive force, which arises through the co-operation of different individuals as it is caused by the division of labour, appears to these individuals, since their co-operation is not voluntary but has come about naturally, not as their own united power, but as an alien force existing outside them, of the origin and goal of which they are ignorant, which they thus are no longer able to control, which on the contrary passes through a peculiar series of phases and stages independent of the will and the action[18] of man, nay even being the prime governor of these. How otherwise could for instance property have had a history at all, have taken on different forms, and landed property, for example, according to the different premises given, have proceeded in France from parcellation to centralisation in the hands of a few, in England from centralisation in the hands of a few to parcellation, as is actually the case today? Or how does it happen that trade, which after all is nothing more than the exchange of products of various individuals and countries, rules the whole world through the relation of supply and demand—a relation which, as an English economist says, hovers over the earth like the fate of the ancients, and with invisible hand allots fortune and misfortune to men, sets up empires |19| and wrecks empires, causes nations to rise and to disappear—whereas with the abolition of the basis, private property, with the communistic regulation of production (and, implicit in this, the abolition of the alien attitude [*Fremdheit*] of men to their own product), the power of the relation of supply and demand is dissolved into nothing, and men once more gain control of exchange, production and the way they behave to one another?

### [5. DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES AS A MATERIAL PREMISE OF COMMUNISM]

|18| This "estrangement" ["*Entfremdung*"] (to use a term which will be comprehensible to the philosophers) can, of course, only be abolished given two *practical* premises. In order to become an "unendurable" power, i.e., a power against which men make a revolution, it must necessarily have rendered the great mass of humanity "propertyless", and moreover in contradiction to an existing world of wealth and culture; both these premises presuppose a great increase in productive power, a high degree of its development.

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[a] Here Marx added a passage in the margin which is given in this edition as the first two paragraphs of Section 5.— *Ed.*

And, on the other hand, this development of productive forces (which at the same time implies the actual empirical existence of men in their *world-historical*, instead of local, being) is an absolutely necessary practical premise, because without it privation, *want* is merely made general, and with *want* the struggle for necessities would begin again, and all the old filthy business would necessarily be restored; and furthermore, because only with this universal development of productive forces is a *universal* intercourse between men established, which on the one side produces in *all* nations simultaneously the phenomenon of the "propertyless" mass (universal competition), making each nation dependent on the revolutions of the others, and finally puts *world-historical*, empirically universal individuals in place of local ones. Without this, 1) communism could only exist as a local phenomenon; 2) the *forces* of intercourse themselves could not have developed as *universal*, hence unendurable powers: they would have remained home-bred "conditions" surrounded by superstition; and 3) each extension of intercourse would abolish local communism. Empirically, communism is only possible as the act of the dominant peoples "all at once" and simultaneously,[19] which presupposes the universal development of productive forces and the world intercourse bound up with them.*

|19| Moreover, the mass of workers who are *nothing but workers*—labour-power on a mass scale cut off from capital or from even a limited satisfaction [of their needs] and, hence, as a result of competition their utterly precarious position, the no longer merely temporary loss of work as a secure source of life—presupposes the *world market*. The proletariat can thus only exist *world-historically*, just as communism, its activity, can only have a "world-historical" existence. World-historical existence of individuals, i.e., existence of individuals which is directly linked up with world history.

|18| Communism is for us not a *state of affairs* which is to be established, an *ideal* to which reality [will] have to adjust itself. We call communism the *real* movement which abolishes the present state of things. The conditions of this movement result from the now existing premise.[a]

* * *

* [Above the continuation of this passage, which follows on the next page of the manuscript, Marx wrote:] *Communism.*

[a] In the manuscript this paragraph was written down by Marx in a free space above the paragraph starting with the words: This "estrangement".— *Ed.*

|19| The form of intercourse determined by the existing productive forces at all previous historical stages, and in its turn determining these, is *civil society.* The latter, as is clear from what we have said above, has as its premise and basis the simple family and the multiple, called the tribe, and the more precise definition of this society is given in our remarks above. Already here we see that this civil society is the true focus and theatre of all history, and how absurd is the conception of history held hitherto, which neglects the real relations and confines itself to spectacular historical events.[20]

In the main we have so far considered only one aspect of human activity, the *reshaping of nature* by men. The other aspect, the *reshaping of men by men....**

Origin of the state and the relation of the state to civil society.[a]

### [6. CONCLUSIONS FROM THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY: HISTORY AS A CONTINUOUS PROCESS, HISTORY AS BECOMING WORLD HISTORY, THE NECESSITY OF COMMUNIST REVOLUTION]

|20| History is nothing but the succession of the separate generations, each of which uses the materials, the capital funds, the productive forces handed down to it by all preceding generations, and thus, on the one hand, continues the traditional activity in completely changed circumstances and, on the other, modifies the old circumstances with a completely changed activity. This can be speculatively distorted so that later history is made the goal of earlier history, e.g., the goal ascribed to the discovery of America is to further the eruption of the French Revolution. Thereby history receives its own special goals and becomes "a person ranking with other persons" (to wit: "self-consciousness, criticism, the unique", etc.), while what is designated with the words "destiny", "goal", "germ", or "idea" of earlier history is nothing more than an abstraction from later history, from the active influence which earlier history exercises on later history.

The further the separate spheres, which act on one another, extend in the course of this development and the more the original isolation of the separate nationalities is destroyed by the advanced

* [Marginal note by Marx:] Intercourse and productive power.

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[a] The end of this page of the manuscript is left blank. The next page begins with an exposition of the conclusions from the materialist conception of history.— *Ed.*

mode of production, by intercourse and by the natural division of labour between various nations arising as a result, the more history becomes world history. Thus, for instance, if in England a machine is invented which deprives countless workers of bread in India and China, and overturns the whole form of existence of these empires, this invention becomes a world-historical fact. Or again, take the case of sugar and coffee, which have proved their world-historical importance in the nineteenth century by the fact that the lack of these products, occasioned by the Napoleonic Continental System,[21] caused the Germans [21] to rise against Napoleon, and thus became the real basis of the glorious Wars of Liberation of 1813. From this it follows that this transformation of history into world history is by no means a mere abstract act on the part of "self-consciousness", the world spirit, or of any other metaphysical spectre, but a quite material, empirically verifiable act, an act the proof of which every individual furnishes as he comes and goes, eats, drinks and clothes himself.

In history up to the present it is certainly likewise an empirical fact that separate individuals have, with the broadening of their activity into world-historical activity, become more and more enslaved under a power alien to them (a pressure which they have conceived of as a dirty trick on the part of the so-called world spirit, etc.), a power which has become more and more enormous and, in the last instance, turns out to be the *world market.* But it is just as empirically established that, by the overthrow of the existing state of society by the communist revolution (of which more below) and the abolition of private property which is identical with it, this power, which so baffles the German theoreticians, will be dissolved; and that then the liberation of each single individual will be accomplished in the measure in which history becomes wholly transformed into world history.* From the above it is clear that the real intellectual wealth of the individual depends entirely on the wealth of his real connections. Only this will liberate the separate individuals from the various national and local barriers, bring them into practical connection with the production (including intellectual production) of the whole world and make it possible for them to acquire the capacity to enjoy this all-sided production of the whole earth (the creations of man). *All-round* dependence, this primary natural form of the *world-historical* co-operation of individuals, will be transformed by [22] this communist revolution into the control and conscious mastery of these powers, which, born of the action of men on one another, have

* [Marginal note by Marx:] *On the production of consciousness.*

till now overawed and ruled men as powers completely alien to them. Now this view can be expressed again in a speculative-idealistic, i.e., fantastic, way as "self-generation of the species" ("society as the subject"), and thereby the consecutive series of interrelated individuals can be regarded as a single individual, which accomplishes the mystery of generating itself. In this context it is evident that individuals undoubtedly make *one another*, physically and mentally, but do not make themselves, either in the nonsense of Saint Bruno, or in the sense of the "unique", of the "made" man.

Finally, from the conception of history set forth by us we obtain these further conclusions: 1) In the development of productive forces there comes a stage when productive forces and means of intercourse are brought into being which, under the existing relations, only cause mischief, and are no longer productive but destructive forces (machinery and money); and connected with this a class is called forth which has to bear all the burdens of society without enjoying its advantages, which is ousted from society and [23] forced into the sharpest contradiction to all other classes; a class which forms the majority of all members of society, and from which emanates the consciousness of the necessity of a fundamental revolution, the communist consciousness, which may, of course, arise among the other classes too through the contemplation of the situation of this class. 2) The conditions under which definite productive forces can be applied are the conditions of the rule of a definite class of society, whose social power, deriving from its property, has its *practical*-idealistic expression in each case in the form of the state and, therefore, every revolutionary struggle is directed against a class which till then has been in power.* 3) In all previous revolutions the mode of activity always remained unchanged and it was only a question of a different distribution of this activity, a new distribution of labour to other persons, whilst the communist revolution is directed against the hitherto existing *mode* of activity, does away with *labour*,** and abolishes the rule of all classes with the classes themselves, because it is carried through by the class which no longer counts as a class in society, which is not recognised as a class, and is in itself the expression of the dissolution of all classes, nationalities, etc., within present society; and 4) Both for the production on a mass scale of this communist consciousness,

* [Marginal note by Marx:] These men are interested in maintaining the present state of production.

** [The following words are crossed out in the manuscript:] the modern form of activity under the rule of [...].

and for the success of the cause itself, the alteration of men on a mass scale is necessary, an alteration which can only take place in a practical movement, a *revolution*; the revolution is necessary, therefore, not only because the *ruling* class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class *overthrowing* it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew.*

### [7. SUMMARY OF THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY]

|24| This conception of history thus relies on expounding the real process of production—starting from the material production of life itself—and comprehending the form of intercourse connected with and created by this mode of production, i.e., civil society in its various stages, as the basis of all history; describing it in its action as the state, and also explaining how all the different theoretical products and forms of consciousness, religion, philosophy, morality, etc., etc., arise from it, and tracing the process of their formation from that basis; thus the whole thing can, of course, be depicted in its totality (and therefore, too, the reciprocal action of these various sides on one another). It has not, like the idealist view of history, to look for a category in every period, but remains constantly on the real *ground* of

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] Whereas all communists in France as well as in England and Germany have long since agreed on the necessity of the revolution, Saint Bruno quietly continues to dream, opining that "real humanism", i. e., communism, is to take "the place of spiritualism" (which has no place) only in order that it may gain respect. Then, he continues in his dream, "salvation" would indeed "be attained, the earth becoming heaven, and heaven earth". (The theologian is still unable to forget heaven.) "Then joy and bliss will resound in celestial harmonies to all eternity" (p. 140).[a] The holy father of the church will be greatly surprised when judgment day overtakes him, the day when all this is to come to pass — a day when the reflection in the sky of burning cities will mark the dawn, when together with the "celestial harmonies" the tunes of the *Marseillaise* and *Carmagnole* will echo in his ears accompanied by the requisite roar of cannon, with the guillotine beating time; when the infamous "masses" will shout *ça ira, ça ira* and suspend "self-consciousness" by means of the lamp-post.[22] Saint Bruno has no reason at all to draw an edifying picture "of joy and bliss to all eternity". We forego the pleasure of *a priori* forecasting Saint Bruno's conduct on judgment day. Moreover, it is really difficult to decide whether the *prolétaires en révolution* have to be conceived as "substance", as "mass", desiring to overthrow criticism, or as an "emanation" of the spirit which is, however, still lacking the consistency necessary to digest Bauer's ideas.

[a] Bruno Bauer, "Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs".—*Ed.*

history; it does not explain practice from the idea but explains the formation of ideas from material practice, and accordingly it comes to the conclusion that all forms and products of consciousness cannot be dissolved by mental criticism, by resolution into "self-consciousness" or transformation into "apparitions", "spectres", "whimsies",[a] etc., but only by the practical overthrow of the actual social relations which gave rise to this idealistic humbug; that not criticism but revolution is the driving force of history, also of religion, of philosophy and all other kinds of theory. It shows that history does not end by being resolved into "self-consciousness" as "spirit of the spirit",[b] but that each stage contains a material result, a sum of productive forces, a historically created relation to nature and of individuals to one another, which is handed down to each generation from its predecessor; a mass of productive forces, capital funds and circumstances, which on the one hand is indeed modified by the new generation, but on the other also prescribes for it its conditions of life and gives it a definite development, a special character. It shows that circumstances make [25] men just as much as men make circumstances.

This sum of productive forces, capital funds and social forms of intercourse, which every individual and every generation finds in existence as something given, is the real basis of what the philosophers have conceived as "substance" and "essence of man", and what they have deified and attacked: a real basis which is not in the least disturbed, in its effect and influence on the development of men, by the fact that these philosophers revolt against it as "self-consciousness" and the "unique". These conditions of life, which different generations find in existence, determine also whether or not the revolutionary convulsion periodically recurring in history will be strong enough to overthrow the basis of everything that exists. And if these material elements of a complete revolution are not present—namely, on the one hand the existing productive forces, on the other the formation of a revolutionary mass, which revolts not only against separate conditions of the existing society, but against the existing "production of life" itself, the "total activity" on which it was based—then it is absolutely immaterial for practical development whether the *idea* of this revolution has been expressed a hundred times already, as the history of communism proves.

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[a] These terms are used by Max Stirner in *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum*. Cf. pp. 157-63 of this volume.—*Ed.*

[b] The terms are used by Bruno Bauer in "Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs".—*Ed.*

## [8. THE INCONSISTENCY OF THE IDEALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY IN GENERAL AND OF GERMAN POST-HEGELIAN PHILOSOPHY IN PARTICULAR]

In the whole conception of history up to the present this real basis of history has either been totally disregarded or else considered as a minor matter quite irrelevant to the course of history. History must, therefore, always be written according to an extraneous standard; the real production of life appears as non-historical, while the historical appears as something separated from ordinary life, something extra-superterrestrial. With this the relation of man to nature is excluded from history and hence the antithesis of nature and history is created. The exponents of this conception of history have consequently only been able to see in history the spectacular political events and religious and other theoretical struggles, and in particular with regard to each historical epoch they were compelled to *share the illusion of that epoch*. For instance, if an epoch imagines itself to be actuated by purely "political" or "religious" motives, although "religion" and "politics" are only forms of its true motives, the historian accepts this opinion. The "fancy", the "conception" of the people in question about their real practice is transformed into the sole determining and effective force, which dominates and determines their practice. When the crude form of the division of labour which is to be found among the Indians and Egyptians calls forth the caste-system in their state and religion, the historian believes that the caste-system [26] is the power which has produced this crude social form.

While the French and the English at least stick to the political illusion, which is after all closer to reality, the Germans move in the realm of the "pure spirit", and make religious illusion the driving force of history. The Hegelian philosophy of history is the last consequence, reduced to its "clearest expression", of all this German historiography for which it is not a question of real, nor even of political, interests, but of pure thoughts, which must therefore appear to Saint Bruno as a series of "thoughts" that devour one another and are finally swallowed up in "self-consciousness"*; and even more consistently the course of history must appear to Saint Max Stirner, who knows not a thing about real history, as a mere "tale of knights, robbers and ghosts",[24] from whose visions he can, of course, only save himself by "unholiness". This conception is truly religious: it postulates religious man as the primitive man, the starting-point of

* [Marginal note by Marx:] So-called *objective* historiography[23] consisted precisely in treating the historical relations separately from activity. Reactionary character.

history, and in its imagination puts the religious production of fancies in the place of the real production of the means of subsistence and of life itself.

This whole conception of history, together with its dissolution and the scruples and qualms resulting from it, is a purely *national* affair of the Germans and has merely *local* interest for Germany, as for instance the important question which has been under discussion in recent times: how exactly one "passes from the realm of God to the realm of Man"[a]—as if this "realm of God" had ever existed anywhere save in the imagination, and the learned gentlemen, without being aware of it, were not constantly living in the "realm of Man" to which they are now seeking the way; and as if the learned pastime (for it is nothing more) of explaining the mystery of this theoretical bubble-blowing did not on the contrary lie in demonstrating its origin in actual earthly relations. For these Germans, it is altogether simply a matter of resolving the ready-made nonsense they find into [27] some other freak, i.e., of presupposing that all this nonsense has a special *sense* which can be discovered; while really it is only a question of explaining these theoretical phrases from the actual existing relations. The real, practical dissolution of these phrases, the removal of these notions from the consciousness of men, will, as we have already said, be effected by altered circumstances, not by theoretical deductions. For the mass of men, i.e., the proletariat, these theoretical notions do not exist and hence do not require to be dissolved, and if this mass ever had any theoretical notions, e.g., religion, these have now long been dissolved by circumstances.

The purely national character of these questions and solutions is moreover shown by the fact that these theorists believe in all seriousness that chimeras like "the God-Man", "Man", etc., have presided over individual epochs of history (Saint Bruno even goes so far as to assert that only "criticism and critics have made history",[b] and when they themselves construct historical systems, they skip over all earlier periods in the greatest haste and pass immediately from "Mongolism"[c] to history "with meaningful content", that is to say, to the history of the *Hallische* and *Deutsche Jahrbücher* and the dissolution of the Hegelian school into a general squabble. They forget all other nations, all real events, and the *theatrum mundi* is

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[a] Ludwig Feuerbach, "Ueber das 'Wesen des Christenthums'...".—*Ed.*

[b] Bruno Bauer, "Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs".—*Ed.*

[c] Max Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum*. Cf. this volume, pp. 130-36. and pp. 163-70.—*Ed.*

confined to the Leipzig book fair and the mutual quarrels of "criticism", "man", and "the unique".[a] If for once these theorists treat really historical subjects, as for instance the eighteenth century, they merely give a history of ideas, separated from the facts and the practical development underlying them; and even that merely in order to represent that period as an imperfect preliminary stage, the as yet limited predecessor of the truly historical age, i.e., the period of the German philosophic struggle from 1840 to 1844. As might be expected when the history of an earlier period is written with the aim of accentuating the brilliance of an unhistoric person and his fantasies, all the really historic events, even the really historic interventions of politics in history, receive no mention. Instead we get a narrative based not on research but on arbitrary constructions and literary gossip, such as Saint Bruno provided in his now forgotten history of the eighteenth century.[b] These pompous and arrogant hucksters of ideas, who imagine themselves infinitely exalted above all national prejudices, are thus in practice far more national than the beer-swilling philistines who dream of a united Germany. They do not recognise the deeds of other nations as historical; they live in Germany, within Germany |28| and for Germany; they turn the Rhine-song[25] into a religious hymn and conquer Alsace and Lorraine by robbing French philosophy instead of the French state, by Germanising French ideas instead of French provinces. Herr Venedey is a cosmopolitan compared with the Saints Bruno and Max, who, in the universal dominance of theory, proclaim the universal dominance of Germany.

### [9. IDEALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY AND FEUERBACH'S QUASI-COMMUNISM]

It is also clear from these arguments how grossly Feuerbach is deceiving himself when (*Wigand's Vierteljahrsschrift*, 1845, Band 2) by virtue of the qualification "common man" he declares himself a communist,[26] transforms the latter into a predicate of "Man", and thinks that it is thus possible to change the word "communist", which in the real world means the follower of a definite revolutionary party, into a mere category. Feuerbach's whole deduction with regard to the relation of men to one another is only aimed at proving that men need and *always have needed* each other. He wants to

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[a] I. e., Bruno Bauer, Ludwig Feuerbach and Max Stirner.—*Ed.*

[b] Bruno Bauer, *Geschichte der Politik, Cultur und Aufklärung des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*.—*Ed.*

establish consciousness of this fact, that is to say, like the other theorists, he merely wants to produce a correct consciousness about an *existing* fact; whereas for the real Communist it is a question of overthrowing the existing state of things. We fully appreciate, however, that Feuerbach, in endeavouring to produce consciousness of just *this* fact, is going as far as a theorist possibly can, without ceasing to be a theorist and philosopher. It is characteristic, however, that Saint Bruno and Saint Max immediately put in place of the real communist Feuerbach's conception of the communist; they do this partly in order to be able to combat communism too as "spirit of the spirit", as a philosophical category, as an equal opponent and, in the case of Saint Bruno, also for pragmatic reasons.

As an example of Feuerbach's acceptance and at the same time misunderstanding of existing reality, which he still shares with our opponents, we recall the passage in the *Philosophie der Zukunft* where he develops the view that the being of a thing or a man is at the same time its or his essence,[a] that the determinate conditions of existence, the mode of life and activity of an animal or human individual are those in which its "essence" feels itself satisfied. Here every exception is expressly conceived as an unhappy chance, as an abnormality which cannot be altered. Thus if millions of proletarians feel by no means contented with their living conditions, if their "being" |29| does not in the least correspond to their "essence", then, according to the passage quoted, this is an unavoidable misfortune, which must be borne quietly. These millions of proletarians or communists, however, think quite differently and will prove this in time, when they bring their "being" into harmony with their "essence" in a practical way, by means of a revolution. Feuerbach, therefore, never speaks of the world of man in such cases, but always takes refuge in external nature, and moreover in *nature* which has not yet been subdued by men. But every new invention, every advance made by industry, detaches another piece from this domain, so that the ground which produces examples illustrating such Feuerbachian propositions is steadily shrinking. The "essence" of the fish is its "being", water—to go no further than this one proposition. The "essence" of the freshwater fish is the water of a river. But the latter ceases to be the "essence" of the fish and is no longer a suitable medium of existence as soon as the river is made to serve industry, as soon as it is polluted by dyes and other waste products and navigated by steamboats, or as soon as its water is diverted into canals where simple drainage can deprive the

[a] Cf. this volume, p. 13.—*Ed.*

fish of its medium of existence. The explanation that all such contradictions are inevitable abnormalities does not essentially differ from the consolation which Saint Max Stirner offers to the discontented, saying that this contradiction is their own contradiction and this predicament their own predicament, whereupon they should either set their minds at ease, keep their disgust to themselves, or revolt against it in some fantastic way. It differs just as little from Saint Bruno's allegation that these unfortunate circumstances are due to the fact that those concerned are stuck in the muck of "substance", have not advanced to "absolute self-consciousness", and do not realise that these adverse conditions are spirit of their spirit.[a]

## [III]

### [1. THE RULING CLASS AND THE RULING IDEAS. HOW THE HEGELIAN CONCEPTION OF THE DOMINATION OF THE SPIRIT IN HISTORY AROSE]

[30] The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the ruling *material* force of society is at the same time its ruling *intellectual* force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, consequently also controls the means of mental production, so that the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are on the whole subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relations, the dominant material relations grasped as ideas; hence of the relations which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance. The individuals composing the ruling class possess among other things consciousness, and therefore think. Insofar, therefore, as they rule as a class and determine the extent and compass of an historical epoch, it is self-evident that they do this in its whole range, hence among other things rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age: thus their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch. For instance, in an age and in a country where royal power, aristocracy and bourgeoisie are contending for domination and where, therefore, domination is shared, the doctrine of the separation of powers proves to be the dominant idea and is expressed as an "eternal law".

The division of labour, which we already saw above (pp. [15-18])[b] as one of the chief forces of history up till now, manifests itself also in

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[a] Bruno Bauer, "Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs".—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 44-48.—*Ed.*

the ruling class as the division of mental and [31] material labour, so that inside this class one part appears as the thinkers of the class (its active, conceptive ideologists, who make the formation of the illusions of the class about itself their chief source of livelihood), while the others' attitude to these ideas and illusions is more passive and receptive, because they are in reality the active members of this class and have less time to make up illusions and ideas about themselves. Within this class this cleavage can even develop into a certain opposition and hostility between the two parts, but whenever a practical collision occurs in which the class itself is endangered they automatically vanish, in which case there also vanishes the appearance of the ruling ideas being not the ideas of the ruling class and having a power distinct from the power of this class. The existence of revolutionary ideas in a particular period presupposes the existence of a revolutionary class; about the premises of the latter sufficient has already been said above (pp. [18-19, 22-23]).[a]

If now in considering the course of history we detach the ideas of the ruling class from the ruling class itself and attribute to them an independent existence, if we confine ourselves to saying that these or those ideas were dominant at a given time, without bothering ourselves about the conditions of production and the producers of these ideas, if we thus ignore the individuals and world conditions which are the source of the ideas, then we can say, for instance, that during the time the aristocracy was dominant, the concepts honour, loyalty, etc., were dominant, during the dominance of the bourgeoisie the concepts freedom, equality, etc. The ruling class itself on the whole imagines this to be so. This conception of history, which is common to all historians, particularly since the eighteenth century, will necessarily come up against [32] the phenomenon that ever more abstract ideas hold sway, i.e., ideas which increasingly take on the form of universality. For each new class which puts itself in the place of one ruling before it is compelled, merely in order to carry through its aim, to present its interest as the common interest of all the members of society, that is, expressed in ideal form: it has to give its ideas the form of universality, and present them as the only rational, universally valid ones. The class making a revolution comes forward from the very start, if only because it is opposed to a *class*, not as a class but as the representative of the whole of society, as the whole mass of society confronting the one ruling class.* It can do this

* [Marginal note by Marx:] (Universality corresponds to 1) the class versus the estate, 2) the competition, world intercourse, etc., 3) the great numerical strength

[a] See this volume, pp. 48-49 and 52-53.—*Ed.*

because initially its interest really is as yet mostly connected with the common interest of all other non-ruling classes, because under the pressure of hitherto existing conditions its interest has not yet been able to develop as the particular interest of a particular class. Its victory, therefore, benefits also many individuals of other classes which are not winning a dominant position, but only insofar as it now enables these individuals to raise themselves into the ruling class. When the French bourgeoisie overthrew the rule of the aristocracy, it thereby made it possible for many proletarians to raise themselves above the proletariat, but only insofar as they became bourgeois. Every new class, therefore, achieves domination only on a broader basis than that of the class ruling previously; on the other hand the opposition of the non-ruling class to the new ruling class then develops all the more sharply and profoundly. Both these things determine the fact that the struggle to be waged against this new ruling class, in its turn, has as its aim a more decisive and more radical negation of the previous conditions of society than [33] all previous classes which sought to rule could have.

This whole appearance, that the rule of a certain class is only the rule of certain ideas, comes to a natural end, of course, as soon as class rule in general ceases to be the form in which society is organised, that is to say, as soon as it is no longer necessary to represent a particular interest as general or the "general interest" as ruling.

Once the ruling ideas have been separated from the ruling individuals and, above all, from the relations which result from a given stage of the mode of production, and in this way the conclusion has been reached that history is always under the sway of ideas, it is very easy to abstract from these various ideas "the Idea", the thought, etc., as the dominant force in history, and thus to consider all these separate ideas and concepts as "forms of self-determination" of the Concept developing in history. It follows then naturally, too, that all the relations of men can be derived from the concept of man, man as conceived, the essence of man, Man. This has been done by speculative philosophy. Hegel himself confesses at the end of the *Geschichtsphilosophie*[a] that he "has considered the progress of *the concept* only" and has represented in history the "true *theodicy*" (p. 446). Now one can go back again to the producers of "the con-

of the ruling class, 4) the illusion of the *common* interests, in the beginning this illusion is true, 5) the delusion of the ideologists and the division of labour.)

[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte.*—*Ed.*

cept", to the theorists, ideologists and philosophers, and one comes then to the conclusion that the philosophers, the thinkers as such, have at all times been dominant in history: a conclusion, as we see,[27] already expressed by Hegel.

The whole trick of proving the hegemony of the spirit in history (hierarchy Stirner calls it) is thus confined to the following three attempts.

|34| No. 1. One must separate the ideas of those ruling for empirical reasons, under empirical conditions and as corporeal individuals, from these rulers, and thus recognise the rule of ideas or illusions in history.

No. 2. One must bring an order into this rule of ideas, prove a mystical connection among the successive ruling ideas, which is managed by regarding them as "forms of self-determination of the concept" (this is possible because by virtue of their empirical basis these ideas are really connected with one another and because, conceived as *mere* ideas, they become self-distinctions, distinctions made by thought).

No. 3. To remove the mystical appearance of this "self-determining concept" it is changed into a person—"self-consciousness"—or, to appear thoroughly materialistic, into a series of persons, who represent the "concept" in history, into the "thinkers", the "philosophers", the ideologists, who again are understood as the manufacturers of history, as the "council of guardians", as the rulers.* Thus the whole body of materialistic elements has been eliminated from history and now full rein can be given to the speculative steed.

This historical method which reigned in Germany, and especially the reason why, must be explained from its connection with the illusion of ideologists in general, e.g., the illusions of the jurists, politicians (including the practical statesmen), from the dogmatic dreamings and distortions of these fellows; this is explained perfectly easily from their practical position in life, their job, and the division of labour.

|35| Whilst in ordinary life every shopkeeper[a] is very well able to distinguish between what somebody professes to be and what he really is, our historiography has not yet won this trivial insight. It takes every epoch at its word and believes that everything it says and imagines about itself is true.

* [Marginal note by Marx:] Man=the "thinking human spirit".

[a] This word is in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

## [IV]

### [1. INSTRUMENTS OF PRODUCTION AND FORMS OF PROPERTY]

[...][a] |40| From the first point, there follows the premise of a highly developed division of labour and an extensive commerce; from the second, the locality. In the first case the individuals must have been brought together, in the second they are instruments of production alongside the given instrument of production.

Here, therefore, emerges the difference between natural instruments of production and those created by civilisation. The *field* (water, etc.) can be regarded as a natural instrument of production. In the first case, that of the natural instrument of production, individuals are subservient to nature; in the second, to a product of labour. In the first case, therefore, property (landed property) appears as direct natural domination, in the second, as domination of labour, particularly of accumulated labour, capital. The first case presupposes that the individuals are united by some bond: family, tribe, the land itself, etc.; the second, that they are independent of one another and are only held together by exchange. In the first case, what is involved is chiefly an exchange between men and nature in which the labour of the former is exchanged for the products of the latter; in the second, it is predominantly an exchange of men among themselves. In the first case, average human common sense is adequate—physical activity and mental activity are not yet separated; in the second, the division between physical and mental labour must already have been effected in practice. In the first case, the domination of the proprietor over the propertyless may be based on personal relations, on a kind of community; in the second, it must have taken on a material shape in a third party—money. In the first case, small-scale industry exists, but determined by the utilisation of the natural instrument of production and therefore without the distribution of labour among various individuals; in the second, industry exists only in and through the division of labour.

|41| Our investigation hitherto started from the instruments of production, and it has already shown that private property was a necessity for certain industrial stages. In *industrie extractive*[28] private property still coincides with labour; in small-scale industry and all agriculture up till now property is the necessary consequence of the existing instruments of production; the contradiction between the instrument of production and private property is only the product of

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[a] Four pages of the manuscript are missing.—*Ed.*

large-scale industry, which, moreover, must be highly developed to produce this contradiction. Thus only with large-scale industry does the abolition of private property become possible.

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### [2. THE DIVISION OF MATERIAL AND MENTAL LABOUR. SEPARATION OF TOWN AND COUNTRY. THE GUILD-SYSTEM]

The most important division of material and mental labour is the separation of town and country. The contradiction between town and country begins with the transition from barbarism to civilisation, from tribe to state, from locality to nation, and runs through the whole history of civilisation to the present day (the Anti-Corn Law League [29]).

The advent of the town implies, at the same time, the necessity of administration, police, taxes, etc., in short, of the municipality [*des Gemeindewesens*], and thus of politics in general. Here first became manifest the division of the population into two great classes, which is directly based on the division of labour and on the instruments of production. The town is in actual fact already the concentration of the population, of the instruments of production, of capital, of pleasures, of needs, while the country demonstrates just the opposite fact, isolation and separation. The contradiction between town and country can only exist within the framework of private property. It is the most crass expression of the subjection of the individual under the division of labour, under a definite activity forced upon him—a subjection which makes one man into a restricted town-animal, another into a restricted country-animal, and daily creates anew the conflict between their interests. Labour is here again the chief thing, power *over* individuals, and as long as this power exists, private property must exist. The abolition of the contradiction between town and country is one of the first conditions |42| of communal life, a condition which again depends on a mass of material premises and which cannot be fulfilled by the mere will, as anyone can see at the first glance. (These conditions have still to be set forth.) The separation of town and country can also be understood as the separation of capital and landed property, as the beginning of the existence and development of capital independent of landed property—the beginning of property having its basis only in labour and exchange.

In the towns which, in the Middle Ages, did not derive ready-made from an earlier period but were formed anew by the serfs who had

become free, the particular labour of each man was his only property apart from the small capital he brought with him, consisting almost solely of the most necessary tools of his craft. The competition of serfs constantly escaping into the town, the constant war of the country against the towns and thus the necessity of an organised municipal military force, the bond of common ownership in a particular kind of labour, the necessity of common buildings for the sale of their wares at a time when craftsmen were also traders, and the consequent exclusion of the unauthorised from these buildings, the conflict among the interests of the various crafts, the necessity of protecting their laboriously acquired skill, and the feudal organisation of the whole of the country: these were the causes of the union of the workers of each craft in guilds. In this context we do not have to go further into the manifold modifications of the guild-system, which arise through later historical developments. The flight of the serfs into the towns went on without interruption right through the Middle Ages. These serfs, persecuted by their lords in the country, came separately into the towns, where they found an organised community, against which they were powerless and in which they had to subject themselves to the station assigned to them by the demand for their labour and the interest of their organised urban competitors. These workers, entering separately, were never able to attain to any power, since, if their labour was of the guild type which had to be learned, the guildmasters bent them to their will and organised them according to their interest; or if their labour was not such as had to be learned, and therefore not of the guild type, they were day-labourers, never managed to organise, but remained an unorganised rabble. The need for day-labourers in the towns created the rabble.

These towns were true "unions",[30] called forth by the direct |43| need of providing for the protection of property, and of multiplying the means of production and defence of the separate members. The rabble of these towns was devoid of any power, composed as it was of individuals strange to one another who had entered separately, and who stood unorganised over against an organised power, armed for war, and jealously watching over them. The journeymen and apprentices were organised in each craft as it best suited the interest of the masters. The patriarchal relations existing between them and their masters gave the latter a double power—on the one hand because of the direct influence they exerted on the whole life of the journeymen, and on the other because, for the journeymen who worked with the same master, it was a real bond which held them together against the journeymen of other masters and separated

them from these. And finally, the journeymen were bound to the existing order even by their interest in becoming masters themselves. While, therefore, the rabble at least carried out revolts against the whole municipal order, revolts which remained completely ineffective because of its powerlessness, the journeymen never got further than small acts of insubordination within separate guilds, such as belong to the very nature of the guild-system. The great risings of the Middle Ages all radiated from the country, but equally remained totally ineffective because of the isolation and consequent crudity of the peasants.[31]—

Capital in these towns was a naturally evolved capital, consisting of a house, the tools of the craft, and the natural, hereditary customers; and not being realisable, on account of the backwardness of intercourse and the lack of circulation, it had to be handed down from father to son. Unlike modern capital, which can be assessed in money and which may be indifferently invested in this thing or that, this capital was directly connected with the particular work of the owner, inseparable from it and to this extent *estate* capital.—

In the towns, the division of labour between the [44] individual guilds was as yet very little developed and, in the guilds themselves, it did not exist at all between the individual workers. Every workman had to be versed in a whole round of tasks, had to be able to make everything that was to be made with his tools. The limited intercourse and the weak ties between the individual towns, the lack of population and the narrow needs did not allow of a more advanced division of labour, and therefore every man who wished to become a master had to be proficient in the whole of his craft. Medieval craftsmen therefore had an interest in their special work and in proficiency in it, which was capable of rising to a limited artistic sense. For this very reason, however, every medieval craftsman was completely absorbed in his work, to which he had a complacent servile relationship, and in which he was involved to a far greater extent than the modern worker, whose work is a matter of indifference to him.—

### [3. FURTHER DIVISION OF LABOUR. SEPARATION OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY. DIVISION OF LABOUR BETWEEN THE VARIOUS TOWNS. MANUFACTURE]

The next extension of the division of labour was the separation of production and intercourse, the formation of a special class of merchants; a separation which, in the towns bequeathed by a former

period, had been handed down (among other things with the Jews) and which very soon appeared in the newly formed ones. With this there was given the possibility of commercial communications transcending the immediate neighbourhood, a possibility the realisation of which depended on the existing means of communication, the state of public safety in the countryside, which was determined by political conditions (during the whole of the Middle Ages, as is well known, the merchants travelled in armed caravans), and on the cruder or more advanced needs (determined by the stage of culture attained) of the region accessible to intercourse.

With intercourse vested in a particular class, with the extension of trade through the merchants beyond the immediate surroundings of the town, there immediately appears a reciprocal action between production and intercourse. The towns enter into relations *with one another,* new tools are brought from one town into the other, and the separation between production and intercourse soon calls forth a new division of production between |45| the individual towns, each of which is soon exploiting a predominant branch of industry. The local restrictions of earlier times begin gradually to be broken down.—

It depends purely on the extension of intercourse whether the productive forces evolved in a locality, especially inventions, are lost for later development or not. As long as there exists no intercourse transcending the immediate neighbourhood, every invention must be made separately in each locality, and mere chances such as irruptions of barbaric peoples, even ordinary wars, are sufficient to cause a country with advanced productive forces and needs to have to start right over again from the beginning. In primitive history every invention had to be made daily anew and in each locality independently. That even with a relatively very extensive commerce, highly developed productive forces are not safe from complete destruction, is proved by the Phoenicians, whose inventions were for the most part lost for a long time to come through the ousting of this nation from commerce, its conquest by Alexander and its consequent decline. Likewise, for instance, glass staining in the Middle Ages. Only when intercourse has become world intercourse and has as its basis large-scale industry, when all nations are drawn into the competitive struggle, is the permanence of the acquired productive forces assured.—

The immediate consequence of the division of labour between the various towns was the rise of manufactures, branches of production which had outgrown the guild-system. Intercourse with foreign nations was the historical premise for the first flourishing of manufactures, in Italy and later in Flanders. In other countries,

England and France for example, manufactures were at first confined to the home market. Besides the premises already mentioned manufactures presuppose an already advanced concentration of population, particularly in the countryside, and of capital, which began to accumulate in the hands of individuals, partly in the guilds in spite of the guild regulations, partly among the merchants.

|46| The kind of labour which from the first presupposed machines, even of the crudest sort, soon showed itself the most capable of development. Weaving, earlier carried on in the country by the peasants as a secondary occupation to procure their clothing, was the first labour to receive an impetus and a further development through the extension of intercourse. Weaving was the first and remained the principal manufacture. The rising demand for clothing materials, consequent on the growth of population, the growing accumulation and mobilisation of natural capital through accelerated circulation, and the demand for luxuries called forth by this and favoured generally by the gradual extension of intercourse, gave weaving a quantitative and qualitative stimulus, which wrenched it out of the form of production hitherto existing. Alongside the peasants weaving for their own use, who continued, and still continue, with this sort of work, there emerged a new class of weavers in the towns, whose fabrics were destined for the whole home market and usually for foreign markets too.

Weaving, an occupation demanding in most cases little skill and soon splitting up into countless branches, by its whole nature resisted the trammels of the guild. Weaving was, therefore, carried on mostly in villages and market centres, without guild organisation, which gradually became towns, and indeed the most flourishing towns in each land.

With guild-free manufacture, property relations also quickly changed. The first advance beyond naturally derived estate capital was provided by the rise of merchants, whose capital was from the beginning movable, capital in the modern sense as far as one can speak of it, given the circumstances of those times. The second advance came with manufacture, which again mobilised a mass of natural capital, and altogether increased the mass of movable capital as against that of natural capital.

At the same time, manufacture became a refuge of the peasants from the guilds which excluded them or paid them badly, just as earlier the guild-towns had served the peasants as a refuge |47| from the landlords.—

Simultaneously with the beginning of manufactures there was a period of vagabondage caused by the abolition of the feudal bodies

of retainers, the disbanding of the armies consisting of a motley crowd that served the kings against their vassals, the improvement of agriculture, and the transformation of large strips of tillage into pasture land. From this alone it is clear that this vagabondage is strictly connected with the disintegration of the feudal system. As early as the thirteenth century we find isolated epochs of this kind, but only at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth does this vagabondage make a general and permanent appearance. These vagabonds, who were so numerous that, for instance, Henry VIII of England had 72,000 of them hanged,[32] were only prevailed upon to work with the greatest difficulty and through the most extreme necessity, and then only after long resistance. The rapid rise of manufactures, particularly in England, absorbed them gradually.—

With the advent of manufacture the various nations entered into competitive relations, a commercial struggle, which was fought out in wars, protective duties and prohibitions, whereas earlier the nations, insofar as they were connected at all, had carried on an inoffensive exchange with each other. Trade had from now on a political significance.

With the advent of manufacture the relations between worker and employer changed. In the guilds the patriarchal relations between journeyman and master continued to exist; in manufacture their place was taken by the monetary relations between worker and capitalist—relations which in the countryside and in small towns retained a patriarchal tinge, but in the larger, the real manufacturing towns, quite early lost almost all patriarchal complexion.

Manufacture and the movement of production in general received an enormous impetus through the extension of intercourse which came with the discovery of America and the sea-route to the East Indies. The new products imported thence, particularly the masses of gold and silver which came into circulation, had totally changed the position of the classes towards one another, dealing a hard blow to feudal landed property and to the workers; the expeditions of adventurers, colonisation, and above all the extension of markets into a world market, which had now become possible and was daily becoming more and more a fact, called forth a new phase |48| of historical development, into which in general we need not here enter further. Through the colonisation of the newly discovered countries the commercial struggle of the nations against one another was given new fuel and accordingly greater extension and animosity.

The expansion of commerce and manufacture accelerated the accumulation of movable capital, while in the guilds, which were not

stimulated to extend their production, natural capital remained stationary or even declined. Commerce and manufacture created the big bourgeoisie; in the guilds was concentrated the petty bourgeoisie, which no longer was dominant in the towns as formerly, but had to bow to the might of the great merchants and manufacturers.* Hence the decline of the guilds, as soon as they came into contact with manufacture.

The relations between nations in their intercourse took on two different forms in the epoch of which we have been speaking. At first the small quantity of gold and silver in circulation occasioned the ban on the export of these metals; and industry, made necessary by the need for employing the growing urban population and for the most part imported from abroad, could not do without privileges which could be granted not only, of course, against home competition, but chiefly against foreign. The local guild privilege was in these original prohibitions extended over the whole nation. Customs duties originated from the tributes which the feudal lords exacted from merchants passing through their territories as protection money against robbery, tributes later imposed likewise by the towns, and which, with the rise of the modern states, were the Treasury's most obvious means of raising money.

The appearance of American gold and silver on the European markets, the gradual development of industry, the rapid expansion of trade and the consequent rise of the non-guild bourgeoisie and the increasing importance of money, gave these measures another significance. The state, which was daily less and less able to do without money, now retained the ban on the export of gold and silver out of fiscal considerations; the bourgeois, for whom these quantities of money which were hurled on to the market became the chief object of speculative buying, were thoroughly content with this; privileges established earlier became a source of income for the government and were sold for money; in the customs legislation there appeared export duties which, since they only hampered industry, |49| had a purely fiscal aim.—

The second period began in the middle of the seventeenth century and lasted almost to the end of the eighteenth. Commerce and navigation had expanded more rapidly than manufacture, which played a secondary role; the colonies were becoming considerable consumers; and after long struggles the various nations shared out the opening world market among themselves. This period begins with the Navigation Laws[33] and colonial monopolies. The competi-

* [Marginal note by Marx:] Petty bourgeoisie — Middle class — Big bourgeoisie.

tion of the nations among themselves was excluded as far as possible by tariffs, prohibitions and treaties; and in the last resort the competitive struggle was carried on and decided by wars (especially naval wars). The mightiest maritime nation, the English, retained preponderance in commerce and manufacture. Here, already, we find concentration in one country.

Manufacture was all the time sheltered by protective duties in the home market, by monopolies in the colonial market, and abroad as much as possible by differential duties. The working-up of home-produced material was encouraged (wool and linen in England, silk in France), the export of home-produced raw material forbidden (wool in England), and the [working-up] of imported raw material neglected or suppressed (cotton in England). The nation dominant in maritime trade and colonial power naturally secured for itself also the greatest quantitative and qualitative expansion of manufacture. Manufacture could not be carried on without protection, since, if the slightest change takes place in other countries, it can lose its market and be ruined; under reasonably favourable conditions it may easily be introduced into a country, but for this very reason can easily be destroyed. At the same time through the mode in which it is carried on, particularly in the eighteenth century in the countryside, it is to such an extent interwoven with the conditions of life of a great mass of individuals, that no country dare jeopardise their existence by permitting free competition. Consequently, insofar as manufacture manages to export, it depends entirely on the extension or restriction of commerce, and exercises a relatively very small reaction [on the latter]. Hence its secondary [role] and the influence of [the merchants] in the eighteenth century. [50] It was the merchants and especially the shipowners who more than anybody else pressed for state protection and monopolies; the manufacturers also demanded and indeed received protection, but all the time were inferior in political importance to the merchants. The commercial towns, particularly the maritime towns, became to some extent civilised and acquired the outlook of the big bourgeoisie, but in the factory towns an extreme petty-bourgeois outlook persisted. Cf. Aikin, etc.[a] The eighteenth century was the century of trade. Pinto says this expressly: "*Le commerce fait la marotte du siècle*";[b]

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[a] John Aikin, *A Description of the Country from Thirty to Forty Miles round Manchester.—Ed.*

[b] "Commerce is the rage of the century." Isaac Pinto, "Lettre sur la jalousie du commerce" (published in Pinto's book *Traité de la circulation et du crédit*).—*Ed.*

and: "*depuis quelque temps il n'est plus question que de commerce, de navigation et de marine.*"[a]

The movement of capital, although considerably accelerated, still remained, however, relatively slow. The splitting-up of the world market into separate parts, each of which was exploited by a particular nation, the prevention of competition between the different nations, the clumsiness of production and the fact that finance was only evolving from its early stages, greatly impeded circulation. The consequence of this was a haggling, mean and niggardly spirit which still clung to all merchants and to the whole mode of carrying on trade. Compared with the manufacturers, and above all with the craftsmen, they were certainly big bourgeois; compared with the merchants and industrialists of the next period they remain petty bourgeois. Cf. Adam Smith.[b]—

This period is also characterised by the cessation of the bans on the export of gold and silver and the beginning of money trade, banks, national debts, paper money, speculation in stocks and shares, stockjobbing in all articles and the development of finance in general. Again capital lost a great part of the natural character which had still clung to it.

### [4. MOST EXTENSIVE DIVISION OF LABOUR. LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRY]

The concentration of trade and manufacture in one country, England, developing irresistibly in the seventeenth century, gradually created for this country a relative world market, and thus a demand for the manufactured products of this country which could no longer be met by the industrial productive forces hitherto existing. This demand, outgrowing the productive forces, was the motive power which, by producing large-scale industry—the application of elemental forces to industrial ends, machinery and the most extensive division of labour—called into existence the third |51| period of private property since the Middle Ages. There already existed in England the other preconditions of this new phase: freedom of competition inside the nation, the development of theoretical mechanics, etc. (indeed, mechanics, perfected by Newton, was altogether the most popular science in France and England in the eighteenth century). (Free competition inside the nation itself had

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[a] "For some time now people have been talking only about commerce, navigation and the navy" (ibid.).—*Ed.*

[b] Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.*—*Ed.*

everywhere to be won by a revolution—1640 and 1688 in England, 1789 in France.)

Competition soon compelled every country that wished to retain its historical role to protect its manufactures by renewed customs regulations (the old duties were no longer any good against large-scale industry) and soon after to introduce large-scale industry under protective duties. In spite of these protective measures large-scale industry universalised competition (it is practical free trade; the protective duty is only a palliative, a measure of defence *within* free trade), established means of communication and the modern world market, subordinated trade to itself, transformed all capital into industrial capital, and thus produced the rapid circulation (development of the financial system) and the centralisation of capital. By universal competition it forced all individuals to strain their energy to the utmost. It destroyed as far as possible ideology, religion, morality, etc., and, where it could not do this, made them into a palpable lie. It produced world history for the first time, insofar as it made all civilised nations and every individual member of them dependent for the satisfaction of their wants on the whole world, thus destroying the former natural exclusiveness of separate nations. It made natural science subservient to capital and took from the division of labour the last semblance of its natural character. It altogether destroyed the natural character, as far as this is possible with regard to labour, and resolved all natural relations into money relations. In the place of naturally grown towns it created the modern, large industrial cities which have sprung up overnight. It destroyed the crafts and all earlier stages of industry wherever it gained mastery. It completed the victory of the town over the country. Its [basis] is the automatic system. It produced a mass of productive forces, for which private property became just as much a fetter [52] as the guild had been for manufacture and the small, rural workshop for the developing handicrafts. These productive forces receive under the system of private property a one-sided development only, and for the majority they become destructive forces; moreover, a great many of these forces can find no application at all within the system of private property. Generally speaking, large-scale industry created everywhere the same relations between the classes of society, and thus destroyed the peculiar features of the various nationalities. And finally, while the bourgeoisie of each nation still retained separate national interests, large-scale industry created a class which in all nations has the same interest and for which nationality is already dead; a class which is really rid of all the old world and at the same time stands pitted

against it. For the worker it makes not only his relation to the capitalist, but labour itself, unbearable.

It is evident that large-scale industry does not reach the same level of development in all districts of a country. This does not, however, retard the class movement of the proletariat, because the proletarians created by large-scale industry assume leadership of this movement and carry the whole mass along with them, and because the workers excluded from large-scale industry are placed by it in a still worse situation than the workers in large-scale industry itself. The countries in which large-scale industry is developed act in a similar manner upon the more or less non-industrial countries, insofar as the latter are swept by world intercourse into the universal competitive struggle.

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These different forms [of production] are just so many forms of the organisation of labour, and hence of property. In each period a unification of the existing productive forces takes place, insofar as this has been rendered necessary by needs.

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### [5. THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES AND THE FORM OF INTERCOURSE AS THE BASIS OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION]

The contradiction between the productive forces and the form of intercourse, which, as we saw, has occurred several times in past history, without, however, endangering its basis, necessarily on each occasion burst out in a revolution, taking on at the same time various subsidiary forms, such as all-embracing collisions, collisions of various classes, contradictions of consciousness, battle of ideas, political struggle, etc. From a narrow point of view one may isolate one of these subsidiary forms and consider it as the basis of these revolutions; and this is all the more easy as the individuals who started the revolutions had illusions about their own activity according to their degree of culture and the stage of historical development.

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Thus all collisions in history have their origin, according to our view, in the contradiction between the productive forces and the form |53| of intercourse. Incidentally, to lead to collisions in a

country, this contradiction need not necessarily have reached its extreme limit in that particular country. The competition with industrially more advanced countries, brought about by the expansion of international intercourse, is sufficient to produce a similar contradiction in countries with a less advanced industry (e.g., the latent proletariat in Germany brought into more prominence by the competition of English industry).

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### [6. COMPETITION OF INDIVIDUALS AND THE FORMATION OF CLASSES. CONTRADICTION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS AND THEIR CONDITIONS OF LIFE. THE ILLUSORY COMMUNITY OF INDIVIDUALS IN BOURGEOIS SOCIETY AND THE REAL UNION OF INDIVIDUALS UNDER COMMUNISM. SUBORDINATION OF THE SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF LIFE TO THE POWER OF THE UNITED INDIVIDUALS]

Competition separates individuals from one another, not only the bourgeois but still more the workers, in spite of the fact that it brings them together. Hence it is a long time before these individuals can unite, apart from the fact that for the purpose of this union—if it is not to be merely local—the necessary means, the big industrial cities and cheap and quick communications, have first to be produced by large-scale industry. Hence every organised power standing over against these isolated individuals, who live in conditions daily reproducing this isolation, can only be overcome after long struggles. To demand the opposite would be tantamount to demanding that competition should not exist in this definite epoch of history, or that the individuals should banish from their minds conditions over which in their isolation they have no control.

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The building of houses. With savages each family has as a matter of course its own cave or hut like the separate family tent of the nomads. This separate domestic economy is made only the more necessary by the further development of private property. With the agricultural peoples a communal domestic economy is just as impossible as a communal cultivation of the soil. A great advance was the building of towns. In all previous periods, however, the abolition [*Aufhebung*][a] of individual economy, which is inseparable from the

[a] *Aufhebung*—a term used by Hegel to denote the negation of an old form while preserving its positive content in the new, which supersedes it.—*Ed.*

abolition of private property, was impossible for the simple reason that the material conditions required were not present. The setting up of a communal domestic economy presupposes the development of machinery, the use of natural forces and of many other productive forces—e.g., of water-supplies, |54| gas-lighting, steam-heating, etc., the supersession [*Aufhebung*] of town and country. Without these conditions a communal economy would not in itself form a new productive force; it would lack material basis and rest on a purely theoretical foundation, in other words, it would be a mere freak and would amount to nothing more than a monastic economy.—What was possible can be seen in the towns brought into existence by concentration and in the construction of communal buildings for various definite purposes (prisons, barracks, etc.). That the supersession of individual economy is inseparable from the supersession of the family is self-evident.

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(The statement which frequently occurs with Saint Sancho that each man is all that he is through the state[a] is fundamentally the same as the statement that the bourgeois is only a specimen of the bourgeois species; a statement which presupposes that the bourgeois *class* existed before the individuals constituting it.*)

In the Middle Ages the citizens in each town were compelled to unite against the landed nobility to defend themselves. The extension of trade, the establishment of communications, led separate towns to establish contacts with other towns, which had asserted the same interests in the struggle with the same antagonist. Out of the many local communities of citizens in the various towns there arose only gradually the middle *class*. The conditions of life of the individual citizens became—on account of their contradiction to the existing relations and of the mode of labour determined by this—conditions which were common to them all and independent of each individual. The citizens created these conditions insofar as they had torn themselves free from feudal ties, and were in their turn created by them insofar as they were determined by their antagonism to the feudal system which they found in existence. With the setting up of intercommunications between the individual towns, these common conditions developed into class conditions. The same conditions, the same contradiction, the same interests were bound to call forth on the

* [Marginal note by Marx:] With the philosophers *pre-existence* of the class.

[a] Max Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum.—Ed.*

whole similar customs everywhere. The bourgeoisie itself develops only gradually together with its conditions, splits according to the division of labour into various sections and finally absorbs all propertied classes it finds in existence * (while it develops the majority of the earlier propertyless and a part of the hitherto propertied classes into a new class, the proletariat) in the measure to which all property found in existence is transformed into industrial or commercial capital.

The separate individuals form a class only insofar as [55] they have to carry on a common battle against another class; in other respects they are on hostile terms with each other as competitors. On the other hand, the class in its turn assumes an independent existence as against the individuals, so that the latter find their conditions of life predetermined, and have their position in life and hence their personal development assigned to them by their class, thus becoming subsumed under it. This is the same phenomenon as the subjection of the separate individuals to the division of labour and can only be removed by the abolition of private property and of labour[a] itself. We have already indicated several times that this subsuming of individuals under the class brings with it their subjection to all kinds of ideas, etc.

If this development of individuals, which proceeds within the common conditions of existence of estates and classes, historically following one another, and the general conceptions thereby forced upon them—if this development is considered from a *philosophical* point of view, it is certainly very easy to imagine that in these individuals the species, or man, has evolved, or that they evolved man—and in this way one can give history some hard clouts on the ear. One can then conceive these various estates and classes to be specific terms of the general expression, subordinate varieties of the species, or evolutionary phases of man.

This subsuming of individuals under definite classes cannot be abolished until a class has evolved which has no longer any particular class interest to assert against a ruling class.

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The transformation, through the division of labour, of personal powers (relations) into material powers, cannot be dispelled by

* [Marginal note by Marx:] To begin with, it absorbs the branches of labour directly belonging to the state and then all ± [more or less] ideological professions.

[a] Regarding the meaning of "abolition of labour" (*Aufhebung der Arbeit*) see this volume, pp. 52-53, 80, 85-89.—*Ed.*

dismissing the general idea of it from one's mind, but can only be abolished by the individuals again subjecting these material powers to themselves and abolishing the division of labour.* This is not possible without the community. Only within the community has each individual |56| the means of cultivating his gifts in all directions; hence personal freedom becomes possible only within the community. In the previous substitutes for the community, in the state, etc., personal freedom has existed only for the individuals who developed under the conditions of the ruling class, and only insofar as they were individuals of this class. The illusory community in which individuals have up till now combined always took on an independent existence in relation to them, and since it was the combination of one class over against another, it was at the same time for the oppressed class not only a completely illusory community, but a new fetter as well. In the real community the individuals obtain their freedom in and through their association.

Individuals have always proceeded from themselves, but of course from themselves within their given historical conditions and relations, not from the "pure" individual in the sense of the ideologists. But in the course of historical development, and precisely through the fact that within the division of labour social relations inevitably take on an independent existence, there appears a cleavage in the life of each individual, insofar as it is personal and insofar as it is determined by some branch of labour and the conditions pertaining to it. (We do not mean it to be understood from this that, for example, the rentier, the capitalist, etc., cease to be persons; but their personality is conditioned and determined by quite definite class relations, and the cleavage appears only in their opposition to another class and, for themselves, only when they go bankrupt.) In the estate (and even more in the tribe) this is as yet concealed: for instance, a nobleman always remains a nobleman, a commoner always a commoner, a quality inseparable from his individuality irrespective of his other relations. The difference between the private individual and the class individual, the accidental nature of the conditions of life for the individual, appears only with the emergence of the class, which is itself a product of the bourgeoisie. This accidental character as such is only engendered and developed |57| by competition and the struggle of individuals among themselves. Thus, in imagination, individuals seem freer under the dominance of the

* [Marginal note by Engels:] (Feuerbach: being and essence). [Cf. this volume, pp. 58-59.]—*Ed.*

bourgeoisie than before, because their conditions of life seem accidental; in reality, of course, they are less free, because they are to a greater extent governed by material forces. The difference from the estate comes out particularly in the antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. When the estate of the urban burghers, the corporations, etc., emerged in opposition to the landed nobility, their condition of existence—movable property and craft labour, which had already existed latently before their separation from the feudal institutions—appeared as something positive, which was asserted against feudal landed property, and, therefore, in its own way at first took on a feudal form. Certainly the fugitive serfs treated their previous servitude as something extraneous to their personality. But here they only were doing what every class that is freeing itself from a fetter does; and they did not free themselves as a class but individually. Moreover, they did not break loose from the system of estates, but only formed a new estate, retaining their previous mode of labour even in their new situation, and developing it further by freeing it from its earlier fetters, which no longer corresponded to the development already attained.

For the proletarians, on the other hand, the condition of their life, labour, and with it all the conditions of existence of modern society, have become something extraneous, something over which they, as separate individuals, have no control, and over which no *social* organisation can give them control. The contradiction between the individuality of each separate proletarian and labour, the condition of life forced upon him, becomes evident to him, for he is sacrificed from youth onwards and, within his own class, has no chance of arriving at the conditions which would place him in the other class.—

|58| NB. It must not be forgotten that the serf's very need of existing and the impossibility of a large-scale economy involved the distribution of allotments[a] among the serfs and very soon reduced the services of the serfs to their lord to an average of payments in kind and labour-services. This made it possible for the serf to accumulate movable property and hence facilitated his escape from his lord and gave him the prospect of making his way as a townsman; it also created gradations among the serfs, so that the runaway serfs were already half burghers. It is likewise obvious that the serfs who were versed in a craft had the best chance of acquiring movable property.—

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[a] This word is in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

Thus, while the fugitive serfs only wished to have full scope to develop and assert those conditions of existence which were already there, and hence, in the end, only arrived at free labour, the proletarians, if they are to assert themselves as individuals, have to abolish the hitherto prevailing condition of their existence (which has, moreover, been that of all society up to then), namely, labour. Thus they find themselves directly opposed to the form in which, hitherto, the individuals, of which society consists, have given themselves collective expression, that is, the state; in order, therefore, to assert themselves as individuals, they must overthrow the state.

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It follows from all we have been saying up till now that* the communal relation into which the individuals of a class entered, and which was determined by their common interests as against a third party, was always a community to which these individuals belonged only as average individuals, only insofar as they lived within the conditions of existence of their class—a relation in which they participated not as individuals but as members of a class. With the community of revolutionary proletarians, on the other hand, who take their conditions |59| of existence and those of all members of society under their control, it is just the reverse; it is as individuals that the individuals participate in it. For it is the association of individuals (assuming the advanced stage of modern productive forces, of course) which puts the conditions of the free development and movement of individuals under their control—conditions which were previously left to chance and had acquired an independent existence over against the separate individuals precisely because of their separation as individuals and because their inevitable association, which was determined by the division of labour, had, as a result of their separation, become for them an alien bond. Up till now association (by no means an arbitrary one, such as is expounded for example in the *Contrat social*,[a] but a necessary one) was simply an agreement about those conditions, within which the individuals were free to enjoy the freaks of fortune (compare, e.g., the formation of the North American state and the South American republics). This right to the undisturbed enjoyment,

* [The following is crossed out in the manuscript:] the individuals who freed themselves in any historical epoch merely developed further the conditions of existence which were already present and which they found in existence.

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[a] Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Du Contrat social*.—*Ed.*

within certain conditions, of fortuity and chance has up till now been called personal freedom.—These conditions of existence are, of course, only the productive forces and forms of intercourse at any particular time.

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Communism differs from all previous movements in that it overturns the basis of all earlier relations of production and intercourse, and for the first time consciously treats all naturally evolved premises as the creations of hitherto existing men, strips them of their natural character and subjugates them to the power of the united individuals. Its organisation is, therefore, essentially economic, the material production of the conditions of this unity; it turns existing conditions into conditions of unity. The reality which communism creates is precisely the true basis for rendering it impossible that anything should exist independently of individuals, insofar as reality is nevertheless only a product of the preceding intercourse of individuals. Thus the Communists in practice treat the conditions created up to now by production and intercourse as inorganic conditions, without, however, imagining that it was the plan or the destiny of previous generations to give them material, and without believing that these conditions were inorganic for the individuals creating them.

### [7. CONTRADICTION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS AND THEIR CONDITIONS OF LIFE AS CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES AND THE FORM OF INTERCOURSE. DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES AND THE CHANGING FORMS OF INTERCOURSE]

[60] The difference between the individual as a person and whatever is extraneous to him is not a conceptual difference but a historical fact. This distinction has a different significance at different times—e.g., the estate as someting extraneous to the individual in the eighteenth century, and so too, more or less, the family. It is not a distinction that we have to make for each age, but one which each age itself makes from among the different elements which it finds in existence, and indeed not according to any idea, but compelled by material collisions in life.

What appears accidental to a later age as opposed to an earlier—and this applies also to the elements handed down by an earlier age—is a form of intercourse which corresponded to a definite

stage of development of the productive forces. The relation of the productive forces to the form of intercourse is the relation of the form of intercourse to the occupation or activity of the individuals. (The fundamental form of this activity is, of course, material, on which depend all other forms—mental, political, religious, etc. The different forms of material life are, of course, in every case dependent on the needs which are already developed, and the production, as well as the satisfaction, of these needs is an historical process, which is not found in the case of a sheep or a dog (Stirner's refractory principal argument[a] *adversus hominem*), although sheep and dogs in their present form certainly, but in spite of themselves, are products of an historical process). The conditions under which individuals have intercourse with each other, so long as this contradiction is absent, are conditions appertaining to their individuality, in no way external to them; conditions under which alone these definite individuals, living under definite relations, can produce their material life and what is connected with it, are thus the conditions of their self-activity and are produced by this self-activity.* The definite condition under which they produce thus corresponds, as long as [61] the contradiction has not yet appeared, to the reality of their conditioned nature, their one-sided existence, the one-sidedness of which only becomes evident when the contradiction enters on the scene and thus exists solely for those who live later. Then this condition appears as an accidental fetter, and the consciousness that it is a fetter is imputed to the earlier age as well.

These various conditions, which appear first as conditions of self-activity, later as fetters upon it, form in the whole development of history a coherent series of forms of intercourse, the coherence of which consists in this: an earlier form of intercourse, which has become a fetter, is replaced by a new one corresponding to the more developed productive forces and, hence, to the advanced mode of the self-activity of individuals—a form which in its turn becomes a fetter and is then replaced by another. Since these conditions correspond at every stage to the simultaneous development of the productive forces, their history is at the same time the history of the evolving productive forces taken over by each new generation, and is therefore the history of the development of the forces of the individuals themselves.

* [Marginal note by Marx:] Production of the form of intercourse itself.

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[a] Cf. Max Stirner. "Recensenten Stirners", and also this volume, pp. 95-96.—*Ed.*

Since this development takes place spontaneously, i.e., is not subordinated to a general plan of freely combined individuals, it proceeds from various localities, tribes, nations, branches of labour, etc., each of which to start with develops independently of the others and only gradually enters into relation with the others. Furthermore, this development proceeds only very slowly; the various stages and interests are never completely overcome, but only subordinated to the prevailing interest and trail along beside the latter for centuries afterwards. It follows from this that even within a nation the individuals, even apart from their pecuniary circumstances, have quite diverse developments, and that an earlier interest, the peculiar form of intercourse of which has already been ousted by that belonging to a later interest, remains for a long time afterwards in possession of a traditional power in the illusory community (state, law), which has won an existence independent of the individuals; a power which in the last resort can only be broken by a revolution. This explains why, with reference to individual points [62] which allow of a more general summing-up, consciousness can sometimes appear further advanced than the contemporary empirical conditions, so that in the struggles of a later epoch one can refer to earlier theoreticians as authorities.

On the other hand, in countries like North America, which start from scratch in an already advanced historical epoch, the development proceeds very rapidly. Such countries have no other natural premises than the individuals who have settled there and were led to do so because the forms of intercourse of the old countries did not correspond to their requirements. Thus they begin with the most advanced individuals of the old countries, and, therefore, with the correspondingly most advanced form of intercourse, even before this form of intercourse has been able to establish itself in the old countries. This is the case with all colonies, insofar as they are not mere military or trading stations. Carthage, the Greek colonies, and Iceland in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, provide examples of this. A similar relationship issues from conquest, when a form of intercourse which has evolved on another soil is brought over complete to the conquered country: whereas in its home it was still encumbered with interests and relations left over from earlier periods, here it can and must be established completely and without hindrance, if only to assure the conquerors' lasting power. (England and Naples after the Norman conquest,[34] when they received the most perfect form of feudal organisation.)

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[8. THE ROLE OF VIOLENCE (CONQUEST) IN HISTORY]

This whole conception of history appears to be contradicted by the fact of conquest. Up till now violence, war, pillage, murder and robbery, etc., have been accepted as the driving force of history. Here we must limit ourselves to the chief points and take, therefore, only the most striking example—the destruction of an old civilisation by a barbarous people and the resulting formation of an entirely new organisation of society. (Rome and the barbarians; feudalism and Gaul; the Byzantine Empire and the Turks.)

[63] With the conquering barbarian people war itself is still, as indicated above,[a] a regular form of intercourse, which is the more eagerly exploited as the increase in population together with the traditional and, for it, the only possible crude mode of production gives rise to the need for new means of production. In Italy, on the other hand, the concentration of landed property (caused not only by buying-up and indebtedness but also by inheritance, since loose living being rife and marriage rare, the old families gradually died out and their possessions fell into the hands of a few) and its conversion into grazing-land (caused not only by the usual economic factors still operative today but by the importation of plundered and tribute corn and the resultant lack of demand for Italian corn) brought about the almost total disappearance of the free population; the slaves died out again and again, and had constantly to be replaced by new ones. Slavery remained the basis of the entire production process. The plebeians, midway between freemen and slaves, never succeeded in becoming more than a proletarian rabble. Rome indeed never became more than a city; its connection with the provinces was almost exclusively political and could, therefore, easily be broken again by political events.

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Nothing is more common than the notion that in history up till now it has only been a question of *taking*. The barbarians *take* the Roman Empire, and this fact of taking is made to explain the transition from the old world to the feudal system. In this taking by barbarians, however, the question is whether the nation which is conquered has evolved industrial productive forces, as is the case with modern peoples, or whether its productive forces are based for

[a] Probably a reference to one of the missing pages of the manuscript (see this volume, p. 63). A similar idea is expressed in the clean copy; see this volume, p. 34.—*Ed.*

the most part merely on their concentration and on the community. Taking is further determined by the object taken. A banker's fortune, consisting of paper, cannot be taken at all without the taker's submitting to the conditions of production and intercourse of the country taken. Similarly the total industrial capital of a modern industrial country. And finally, everywhere there is very soon an end to taking, and when there is nothing more to take, you have to set about producing. From this necessity of producing, which very soon asserts itself, it follows |64| that the form of community adopted by the settling conquerors must correspond to the stage of development of the productive forces they find in existence; or, if this is not the case from the start, it must change according to the productive forces. This, too, explains the fact, which people profess to have noticed everywhere in the period following the migration of the peoples, namely that the servant was master, and that the conquerors very soon took over language, culture and manners from the conquered.

The feudal system was by no means brought complete from Germany, but had its origin, as far as the conquerors were concerned, in the martial organisation of the army during the actual conquest, and this evolved only after the conquest into the feudal system proper through the action of the productive forces found in the conquered countries. To what an extent this form was determined by the productive forces is shown by the abortive attempts to realise other forms derived from reminiscences of ancient Rome (Charlemagne, etc.).

To be continued.—

### [9. CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES AND THE FORM OF INTERCOURSE UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRY AND FREE COMPETITION. CONTRADICTION BETWEEN LABOUR AND CAPITAL]

In large-scale industry and competition the whole mass of conditions of existence, limitations, biases of individuals, are fused together into the two simplest forms: private property and labour. With money every form of intercourse, and intercourse itself, becomes fortuitous for the individuals. Thus money implies that all intercourse up till now was only intercourse of individuals under particular conditions, not of individuals as individuals. These conditions are reduced to two: accumulated labour or private

property, and actual labour. If both or one of these ceases, then intercourse comes to a standstill. The modern economists themselves, e.g., Sismondi, Cherbuliez, etc., oppose *association des individus* to *association des capitaux*.[a] On the other hand, the individuals themselves are entirely subordinated to the division of labour and hence are brought into the most complete dependence on one another. Private property, insofar as within labour it confronts labour, evolves out of the necessity of accumulation, and is in the beginning still mainly a communal form, but in its further development it approaches more and more the modern form of private property. The division of labour implies from the outset the division of the *conditions* of labour, of tools and materials, and thus the fragmentation of accumulated capital among different owners, and thus, also, the fragmentation between capital and labour, and the different forms of property itself. The more the division of labour develops [65] and accumulation grows, the further fragmentation develops. Labour itself can only exist on the premise of this fragmentation.

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(Personal energy of the individuals of various nations—Germans and Americans—energy even as a result of miscegenation—hence the cretinism of the Germans; in France, England, etc., foreign peoples transplanted to an already developed soil, in America to an entirely new soil; in Germany the indigenous population quietly stayed where it was.)

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Thus two facts are here revealed.* First the productive forces appear as a world for themselves, quite independent of and divorced from the individuals, alongside the individuals; the reason for this is that the individuals, whose forces they are, exist split up and in opposition to one another, whilst, on the other hand, these forces are only real forces in the intercourse and association of these individuals. Thus, on the one hand, we have a totality of productive forces, which have, as it were, taken on a material form and are for the individuals themselves no longer the forces of the individuals but of private property, and hence of the individuals only insofar as they are owners of private property. Never, in any earlier period, have the productive forces taken on a form so indifferent to the

* [Marginal note by Engels:] Sismondi.

[a] Antoine Elvisée Cherbuliez, *Riche ou Pauvre*.—*Ed.*

intercourse of individuals *as* individuals, because their intercourse itself was still a restricted one. On the other hand, standing against these productive forces, we have the majority of the individuals from whom these forces have been wrested away, and who, robbed thus of all real life-content, have become abstract individuals, who are, however, by this very fact put into a position to enter into relation with one another *as individuals.*

Labour, the only connection which still links them with the productive forces and with their own existence, has lost all semblance of self-activity and only sustains their [66] life by stunting it. While in the earlier periods self-activity and the production of material life were separated since they devolved on different persons, and while, on account of the narrowness of the individuals themselves, the production of material life was considered a subordinate mode of self-activity, they now diverge to such an extent that material life appears as the end, and what produces this material life, labour (which is now the only possible but, as we see, negative form of self-activity), as the means.

### [10. THE NECESSITY, PRECONDITIONS AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE ABOLITION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY]

Thus things have now come to such a pass that the individuals must appropriate the existing totality of productive forces, not only to achieve self-activity, but, also, merely to safeguard their very existence.

This appropriation is first determined by the object to be appropriated, the productive forces, which have been developed to a totality and which only exist within a universal intercourse. Even from this aspect alone, therefore, this appropriation must have a universal character corresponding to the productive forces and the intercourse. The appropriation of these forces is itself nothing more than the development of the individual capacities corresponding to the material instruments of production. The appropriation of a totality of instruments of production is, for this very reason, the development of a totality of capacities in the individuals themselves.

This appropriation is further determined by the persons appropriating. Only the proletarians of the present day, who are completely shut off from all self-activity, are in a position to achieve a complete and no longer restricted self-activity, which consists in the appropriation of a totality of productive forces and in the development of a totality of capacities entailed by this. All earlier revolutionary

appropriations were restricted; individuals, whose self-activity was restricted by a crude instrument of production and a limited intercourse, appropriated this crude instrument |67| of production, and hence merely achieved a new state of limitation. Their instrument of production became their property, but they themselves remained subordinate to the division of labour and their own instrument of production. In all appropriations up to now, a mass of individuals remained subservient to a single instrument of production; in the appropriation by the proletarians, a mass of instruments of production must be made subject to each individual, and property to all. Modern universal intercourse cannot be controlled by individuals, unless it is controlled by all.

This appropriation is further determined by the manner in which it must be effected. It can only be effected through a union, which by the character of the proletariat itself can again only be a universal one, and through a revolution, in which, on the one hand, the power of the earlier mode of production and intercourse and social organisation is overthrown, and, on the other hand, there develops the universal character and the energy of the proletariat, which are required to accomplish the appropriation, and the proletariat moreover rids itself of everything that still clings to it from its previous position in society.

Only at this stage does self-activity coincide with material life, which corresponds to the development of individuals into complete individuals and the casting-off of all natural limitations. The transformation of labour into self-activity corresponds to the transformation of the previously limited intercourse into the intercourse of individuals as such. With the appropriation of the total productive forces by the united individuals, private property comes to an end. Whilst previously in history a particular condition always appeared as accidental, now the isolation of individuals and each person's particular way of gaining his livelihood have themselves become accidental.

The individuals, who are no longer |68| subject to the division of labour, have been conceived by the philosophers as an ideal, under the name "man", and the whole process which we have outlined has been regarded by them as the evolutionary process of "man", so that at every historical stage "man" was substituted for the individuals existing hitherto and shown as the motive force of history. The whole process was thus conceived as a process of the self-estrangement [*Selbstentfremdungsprozess*] of "man",* and this was essentially

* [Marginal note by Marx:] Self-estrangement.

due to the fact that the average individual of the later stage was always foisted on to the earlier stage, and the consciousness of a later age on to the individuals of an earlier. Through this inversion, which from the first disregards the actual conditions, it was possible to transform the whole of history into an evolutionary process of consciousness.

* * *

Civil society embraces the whole material intercourse of individuals within a definite stage of the development of productive forces. It embraces the whole commercial and industrial life of a given stage and, insofar, transcends the state and the nation, though, on the other hand again, it must assert itself in its external relations as nationality and internally must organise itself as state. The term "civil society"[35] emerged in the eighteenth century, when property relations had already extricated themselves from the ancient and medieval community. Civil society as such only develops with the bourgeoisie; the social organisation evolving directly out of production and intercourse, which in all ages forms the basis of the state and of the rest of the idealistic[a] superstructure, has, however, always been designated by the same name.

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### [11.] THE RELATION OF STATE AND LAW TO PROPERTY

The first form of property, in the ancient world as in the Middle Ages, is tribal property, determined with the Romans chiefly by war, with the [69] Germans by the rearing of cattle. In the case of the ancient peoples, since several tribes live together in one city, tribal property appears as state property, and the right of the individual to it as mere "possession" which, however, like tribal property as a whole, is confined to landed property only. Real private property began with the ancients, as with modern nations, with movable property. (Slavery and community) (*dominium ex jure Quiritum*[b]).—In the case of the nations which grew out of the Middle Ages, tribal property evolved through various stages—feudal landed property, corporative movable property, capital invested in manufacture—to modern capital, determined by large-scale industry and universal competition, i.e., pure private property, which has cast

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[a] I. e., ideal, ideological.—*Ed.*

[b] Ownership in accordance with the law applying to full Roman citizens.—*Ed.*

off all semblance of a communal institution and has shut out the state from any influence on the development of property. To this modern private property corresponds the modern state, which, purchased gradually by the owners of property by means of taxation, has fallen entirely into their hands through the national debt, and its existence has become wholly dependent on the commercial credit which the owners of property, the bourgeois, extend to it, as reflected in the rise and fall of government securities on the stock exchange. By the mere fact that it is a *class* and no longer an *estate*, the bourgeoisie is forced to organise itself no longer locally, but nationally, and to give a general form to its average interests. Through the emancipation of private property from the community, the state has become a separate entity, alongside and outside civil society; but it is nothing more than the form of organisation which the bourgeois are compelled to adopt, both for internal and external purposes, for the mutual guarantee of their property and interests. The independence of the state is only found nowadays in those countries where the estates have not yet completely developed into classes, where the estates, done away with in more advanced countries, still play a part and there exists a mixture, where consequently no section of the population can achieve dominance over the others. This is the case particularly in Germany. The most perfect example of the modern state is North |70| America. The modern French, English and American writers all express the opinion that the state exists only for the sake of private property, so that this view has also been generally accepted by the average man.

Since the state is the form in which the individuals of a ruling class assert their common interests, and in which the whole civil society of an epoch is epitomised, it follows that all common institutions are set up with the help of the state and are given a political form. Hence the illusion that law is based on the will, and indeed on the will divorced from its real basis—on *free* will. Similarly, justice is in its turn reduced to statute law.

Civil law develops simultaneously with private property out of the disintegration of the natural community. With the Romans the development of private property and civil law had no further industrial and commercial consequences, because their whole mode of production did not alter.* With modern peoples, where the feudal community was disintegrated by industry and trade, there began with the rise of private property and civil law a new phase, which was capable of further development. The very first town which carried

* [Marginal note by Engels:] (Usury!)

on an extensive maritime trade in the Middle Ages, Amalfi, also developed maritime law.[36] As soon as industry and trade developed private property further, first in Italy and later in other countries, the highly developed Roman civil law was immediately adopted again and raised to authority. When later the bourgeoisie had acquired so much power that the princes took up its interests in order to overthrow the feudal nobility by means of the bourgeoisie, there began in all countries—in France in the sixteenth century—the real development of law, which in all |71| countries except England proceeded on the basis of the Roman code of laws. In England, too, Roman legal principles had to be introduced to further the development of civil law (especially in the case of movable property). (It must not be forgotten that law has just as little an independent history as religion.)

In civil law the existing property relations are declared to be the result of the general will. The *jus utendi et abutendi*[a] itself asserts on the one hand the fact that private property has become entirely independent of the community, and on the other the illusion that private property itself is based solely on the private will, the arbitrary disposal of the thing. In practice, the *abuti* has very definite economic limitations for the owner of private property, if he does not wish to see his property and hence his *jus abutendi* pass into other hands, since actually the thing, considered merely with reference to his will, is not a thing at all, but only becomes a thing, true property, in intercourse, and independently of the law (*a relationship*, which the philosophers call an idea*). This juridical illusion, which reduces law to the mere will, necessarily leads, in the further development of property relations, to the position that a man may have a legal title to a thing without really having the thing. If, for instance, the income from a piece of land disappears owing to competition, then the proprietor has certainly his legal title to it along with the *jus utendi et abutendi*. But he can do nothing with it: he owns nothing as a landed proprietor if he has not enough capital elsewhere to cultivate his land. This illusion of the jurists also explains the fact that for them, as for every code, it is altogether fortuitous that individuals enter into relations among themselves (e.g., contracts); it explains why they consider that these relations [can] be entered into or not at will,

* [Marginal note by Marx:] For the *philosophers relationship = idea*. They only know the relation of "Man" to himself and hence for them all real relations become ideas.

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[a] The right of use and of disposal.—*Ed.*

|72| and that their content [rests] purely on the individual free will of the contracting parties.

Whenever, through the development of industry and commerce, new forms of intercourse have been evolved (e.g., insurance companies, etc.), the law has always been compelled to admit them among the modes of acquiring property.[a]

### [12. FORMS OF SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS]

The influence of the division of labour on science.

The role of *repression* with regard to the state, law, morality, etc.

It is precisely because the bourgeoisie rules as a class that in the law it must give itself a general expression.

Natural science and history.

There is no history of politics, law, science, etc., of art, religion, etc.*

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*Why the ideologists turn everything upside-down.*

Clerics, jurists, politicians.

Jurists, politicians (statesmen in general), moralists, clerics.

For this ideological subdivision within a class: 1) *The occupation assumes an independent existence owing to division of labour.* Everyone believes his craft to be the true one. Illusions regarding the connection between their craft and reality are the more likely to be cherished by them because of the very nature of the craft. In consciousness—in jurisprudence, politics, etc.—relations become concepts; since they do not go beyond these relations, the concepts of the relations also become fixed concepts in their mind. The judge, for example, applies the code, he therefore regards legislation as the real, active driving force. Respect for their goods, because their craft deals with general matters.

Idea of law. Idea of state. The matter is turned upside-down in *ordinary* consciousness.

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* [Marginal note by Marx:] To the "community" as it appears in the ancient state, in feudalism and in the absolute monarchy, to this bond correspond especially the religious conceptions.

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[a] The following notes, written by Marx, were intended for further elaboration.— *Ed.*

Religion is from the outset *consciousness of the transcendental* arising from *actually existing* forces.

This more popularly.

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Tradition, with regard to law, religion, etc.

* * *

[73][a] Individuals always proceeded, and always proceed, from themselves. Their relations are the relations of their real life-process. How does it happen that their relations assume an independent existence over against them? and that the forces of their own life become superior to them?

In short: *division of labour*, the level of which depends on the development of the productive power at any particular time.

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Landed property. Communal property. Feudal. Modern.

Estate property. Manufacturing property. Industrial capital.

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[a] This, the last, page is not numbered in the manuscript. It contains notes relating to the beginning of the authors' exposition of the materialist conception of history. The ideas outlined here are set forth in the clean copy, Section 3 (see this volume, pp. 32-35).—*Ed.*

# THE LEIPZIG COUNCIL[37]

In the third volume of the *Wigand'sche Vierteljahrsschrift* for 1845 the battle of the Huns, prophetically portrayed by Kaulbach,[38] actually takes place. The spirits of the slain, whose fury is not appeased even in death, raise a hue and crv, which sounds like the thunder of battles and war-cries, the clatter of swords, shields and iron waggons. But it is not a battle over earthly things. The holy war is being waged not over protective tariffs, the constitution, potato blight,[39] banking affairs and railways, but in the name of the most sacred interests of the spirit, in the name of "substance", "self-consciousness", "criticism", the "unique" and the "true man". We are attending a council of church fathers. As these church fathers are the last specimens of their kind, and as here, it is to be hoped, the cause of the Most High, alias the Absolute, is being pleaded for the last time, it is worth while taking a verbatim report of the proceedings.

Here, first of all, is *Saint Bruno*, who is easily recognised by his *stick* ("become sensuousness, become a *stick*", *Wigand*, p. 130).[a] His head is crowned with a halo of "pure criticism" and, full of contempt for the world, he wraps himself in his "self-consciousness". He has "*smashed* religion in its entirety and the state in its manifestations" (p. 138), by violating the concept of "substance" in the name of the most high self-consciousness. The ruins of the church and "debris" of the state lie at his feet, while his glance "strikes down" the "masses" into the dust. He is like God, he has neither father nor mother, he is "his own creation, his own product" (p. 136). In short, he is the "Napoleon" of the spirit, in spirit he is "Napoleon". His spiritual exercises consist in constantly "examining himself, and in this self-examination he finds the impulse to self-determination"

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[a] Bruno Bauer, "Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs".— *Ed.*

(p. 136); as a result of such wearisome self-recording he has obviously become emaciated. Besides "examining" himself—from time to time he "examines" also, as we shall see, the *Westphälische Dampfboot.*[a]

Opposite him stands *Saint Max,* whose services to the Kingdom of God consist in asserting that he has established and proved—on approximately 600 printed pages[b]—his identity, that he is not just anyone, not some "Tom, Dick or Harry", but precisely Saint Max and no other. About his halo and other marks of distinction only one thing can be said: that they are "his object and thereby his property", that they are "unique" and "incomparable" and that they are "inexpressible" (p. 148).[c] He is simultaneously the "phrase" and the "owner of the phrase", simultaneously Sancho Panza and Don Quixote. His ascetic exercises consist of sour thoughts about thoughtlessness, of considerations throughout many pages about inconsiderateness and of the sanctification of unholiness. Incidentally, there is no need for us to elaborate on his virtues, for concerning all the qualities ascribed to him—even if there were more of them than the names of God among the Muslims—he is in the habit of saying: I am all this and something more, I am the all of this nothing and the nothing of this all. He is favourably distinguished from his gloomy rival in possessing a certain solemn "*light-heartedness*" and from time to time he interrupts his serious ponderings with a "*critical hurrah*".

These two grand masters of the Holy Inquisition summon the heretic Feuerbach, who has to defend himself against the grave charge of gnosticism. The heretic Feuerbach, "thunders" Saint Bruno, is in possession of *hyle,*[d] substance, and refuses to hand it over lest my infinite self-consciousness be reflected in it. Self-consciousness has to wander like a ghost until it has taken back into itself all things which arise from it and flow into it. It has already swallowed the whole world, except for this *hyle,* substance, which the gnostic Feuerbach keeps under lock and key and refuses to hand over.

Saint Max accuses the gnostic of doubting the dogma revealed by the mouth of Saint Max himself, the dogma that "every goose, every dog, every horse" is "the perfect, or, if one prefers the superlative degree, the most perfect, man". (*Wigand,* p. 187: "The aforesaid does not lack a tittle of what makes man a man. Indeed, the *same* applies also to every goose, every dog, every horse.")

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[a] See this volume, pp. 112-13.—*Ed.*
[b] Max Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum.*—*Ed.*
[c] See Max Stirner, "Recensenten Stirners".—*Ed.*
[d] Matter, substance.—*Ed.*

Besides the hearing of these important indictments, sentence is also pronounced in the case brought by the two saints against Moses Hess and in the case brought by Saint Bruno against the authors of *Die heilige Familie.* But as these accused have been busying themselves with "worldly affairs" and, therefore, have failed to appear before the Santa Casa,[40] they are sentenced in their absence to eternal banishment from the realm of the spirit for the term of their natural life.

Finally, the two grand masters are again starting some strange intrigues among themselves and against each other.*

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] On the plea that he is an "unusually cunning and politic mind" (*Wigand,* p. 192) *Dottore Graziano,* alias Arnold Ruge, appears in the background. [This seems to indicate that originally a chapter on Ruge was also planned (see Note 7).]

# II
# SAINT BRUNO

## 1. "CAMPAIGN" AGAINST FEUERBACH

Before turning to the solemn discussion which Bauer's self-consciousness has with itself and the world, we should reveal one secret. Saint Bruno uttered the battle-cry and kindled the war only because he had to "safeguard" himself and his stale, soured criticism against the ungrateful forgetfulness of the public, only because he had to show that, in the changed conditions of 1845, criticism always remained itself and unchanged. He wrote the second volume of the "good cause and his own cause"[a]: he stands his ground, he fights *pro aris et focis*.[b] In the true theological manner, however, he conceals this aim of his by an appearance of wishing to "characterise" Feuerbach. Poor Bruno was quite forgotten, as was best proved by the polemic between Feuerbach and Stirner,[c] in which no notice at all was taken of him. For just this reason he seized on this polemic in order to be able to proclaim himself, as the antithesis of the antagonists, their higher unity, the Holy Spirit.

Saint Bruno opens his "campaign" with a burst of artillery fire against Feuerbach, that is to say, with a revised and enlarged reprint of an article which had already appeared in the *Norddeutsche Blätter*.[d] Feuerbach is made into a knight of "*substance*" in order that Bauer's "*self-consciousness*" shall stand out in stronger relief. In this tran-

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[a] Bruno Bauer's article "Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs" is here ironically called the second volume of Bauer's book *Die gute Sache der Freiheit und meine eigene Angelegenheit* (The Good Cause of Freedom and My Own Cause).— *Ed.*

[b] Literally: for altars and hearths, used in the sense of: for house and home—that is, pleading his own cause.—*Ed.*

[c] Feuerbach, "Ueber das 'Wesen des Christenthums' in Beziehung auf den 'Einzigen und sein Eigenthum'".—*Ed.*

[d] I. e., Bruno Bauer's article "Ludwig Feuerbach".—*Ed.*

substantiation of Feuerbach, which is supposed to be proved by all the writings of the latter, our holy man jumps at once from Feuerbach's writings on Leibniz and Bayle[a] to the *Wesen des Christenthums*, leaving out the article against the "positive philosophers"[41] in the *Hallische Jahrbücher*.[b] This "oversight" is "in place". For there Feuerbach revealed the whole wisdom of "self-consciousness" as against the positive representatives of "substance", at a time when Saint Bruno was still indulging in speculation on the immaculate conception.

It is hardly necessary to mention that Saint Bruno still continues to prance about on his old-Hegelian war horse. Listen to the first passage in his latest revelations from the Kingdom of God:

"Hegel combined into one Spinoza's substance and Fichte's ego; the unity of both, the combination of these opposing spheres, etc., constitutes the peculiar interest but, at the same time, the weakness of Hegel's philosophy. [...] This contradiction in which Hegel's system was entangled had to be resolved and destroyed. But he could only do this by making it impossible for all time to put the question: what is the relation of *self-consciousness* to the *absolute spirit*.... This was possible in two ways. Either self-consciousness had to be burned again in the flames of substance, i.e., the pure substantiality relation had to be firmly established and maintained, or it had to be shown that personality is the creator of its own attributes and essence, that it belongs to the *concept* of personality *in general* to posit itself" (the "concept" or the "personality"?) "as limited, and again to abolish this limitation which it posits by its *universal essence*, for precisely this essence is *only the result* of its *inner self-distinction*, of its activity" (*Wigand*, pp. 86, 87, 88).[c]

In *Die heilige Familie* (p. 220)[d] Hegelian philosophy was represented as a union of Spinoza and Fichte and at the same time the contradiction involved in this was emphasised. The specific peculiarity of Saint Bruno is that, unlike the authors of *Die heilige Familie*, he does not regard the question of the relation of self-consciousness to substance as "a point of controversy within Hegelian speculation", but as a world-historic, even an absolute question. This is the sole form in which he is capable of expressing the conflicts of the present day. He really believes that the triumph of self-consciousness over substance has a most essential influence not only on European equilibrium but also on the whole future development of the Oregon problem. As to the extent to which the abolition of the Corn Laws in England depends on it, very little has so far transpired.[42]

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[a] The reference is to the following works of Feuerbach: *Geschichte der neuern Philosophie. Darstellung, Entwicklung und Kritik der Leibnitz'schen Philosophie* and *Pierre Bayle*.—*Ed.*

[b] Ludwig Feuerbach, "Zur Kritik der 'positiven Philosophie'".—*Ed.*

[c] Bruno Bauer, "Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs".—*Ed.*

[d] See present edition, Vol. 4, p. 139.—*Ed.*

The abstract and nebulous expression into which a real collision is distorted by Hegel is held by this "critical" mind to be the real collision itself. Bruno accepts the *speculative* contradiction and upholds one part of it against the other. A philosophical *phrase* about a real question is for him the real question itself. Consequently, on the one hand, instead of real people and their real consciousness of their social relations, which apparently confront them as something independent, he has the mere abstract expression: *self-consciousness*, just as, instead of real production, he has the *activity of this self-consciousness, which has become independent.* On the other hand, instead of real nature and the actually existing social relations, he has the philosophical summing-up of all the philosophical categories or names of these relations in the expression: *substance*; for Bruno, along with all philosophers and ideologists, erroneously regards thoughts and ideas—the independent intellectual expression of the existing world—as the basis of this existing world. It is obvious that with these two abstractions, which have become senseless and empty, he can perform all kinds of tricks without knowing anything at all about real people and their relations. (See, in addition, what is said about substance in connection with Feuerbach and concerning "humane liberalism"[a] and the "holy" in connection with Saint Max.) Hence, he does not forsake the speculative basis in order to solve the contradictions of speculation; he manoeuvres while remaining on that basis, and he *himself* still stands so much on the specifically Hegelian basis that the relation of "self-consciousness" to the "absolute spirit" still gives him no peace. In short, we are confronted with the *philosophy of self-consciousness* that was announced in the *Kritik der Synoptiker*, carried out in *Das entdeckte Christenthum* and which, unfortunately, was long ago anticipated in Hegel's *Phänomenologie.* This new philosophy of Bauer's was completely disposed of in *Die heilige Familie* on page 220 et seq. and on pages 304-07.[b] Here, however, Saint Bruno even contrives to caricature himself by smuggling in "personality", in order to be able, with *Stirner*, to portray the single individual as "his own product", and *Stirner* as *Bruno's product.* This step forward deserves a brief notice.

First of all, let the reader compare this caricature with the original, the explanation given of self-consciousness in *Das entdeckte Christenthum*, page 113, and then let him compare this explanation with its prototype, with Hegel's *Phänomenologie*, pages 575, 583 and so on. (Both these passages are reproduced in *Die heilige Familie*, pages

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[a] See this volume, pp. 40, 54, 232-39, 282-301.—*Ed.*
[b] See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 139 et seq. and 191-93.—*Ed.*

221, 223, 224.[a]) But now let us turn to the caricature! "Personality in general"! "Concept"! "Universal essence"! "To posit itself as limited and again to abolish the limitation"! "Inner self-distinction"! What tremendous "results"! "Personality in general" is either nonsense "in general" or the abstract concept of personality. Therefore, it is part of the "concept" of the concept of personality to "posit itself as limited". This limitation, which belongs to the "concept" of its concept, personality directly afterwards posits "by its universal essence". And after it has again abolished this limitation, it turns out that "precisely this essence" is "the *result* of its inner self-distinction". The entire grandiose result of this intricate tautology amounts, therefore, to Hegel's familiar trick of the self-distinction of man in thought, a self-distinction which the unfortunate Bruno stubbornly proclaims to be the sole activity of "personality in general". A fairly long time ago it was pointed out to Saint Bruno that there is nothing to be got from a "personality" whose activity is restricted to these, by now trivial, logical leaps. At the same time the passage quoted contains the naive admission that the essence of Bauer's "personality" is the concept of a concept, the abstraction of an abstraction.

Bruno's criticism of Feuerbach, insofar as it is new, is restricted to hypocritically representing Stirner's reproaches against Feuerbach *and Bauer* as Bauer's reproaches against Feuerbach. Thus, for example, the assertions that the "essence of man is essence in general and something holy", that "man is the God of man", that the human species is "the Absolute", that Feuerbach splits man "into an essential and an inessential ego" (although Bruno always declares that the abstract is the essential and, in his antithesis of criticism and the mass, conceives this split as far more monstrous than Feuerbach does), that a struggle must be waged against the "predicates of God", etc. On the question of selfish and selfless love, Bruno, polemising with Feuerbach, copies Stirner almost word for word for three pages (pp. 133-35) just as he very clumsily copies Stirner's phrases: "every man is his own creation", "truth is a ghost", and so on. In addition, in Bruno the "creation" is transformed into a "product". We shall return to this exploitation of Stirner by Saint Bruno.

Thus, the first thing that we discovered in Saint Bruno was his continual dependence on Hegel. We shall not, of course, dwell further on the remarks he has copied from Hegel, but shall only put together a few more passages which show how firmly he believes in the power of the philosophers and how he shares their illusion that a

[a] See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 139-41.—*Ed.*

modified consciousness, a new turn given to the interpretation of existing relations, could overturn the whole hitherto existing world. Imbued with this faith, Saint Bruno also has one of his pupils certify—in issue IV of Wigand's quarterly, p. 327—that his phrases on personality given above, which were proclaimed by him in issue III, were "world-shattering ideas".[a]

Saint Bruno says (*Wigand*, p. 95)[b]:

"Philosophy has never been anything but theology reduced to its most general form and given its most rational expression."

This passage, aimed *against* Feuerbach, is copied almost word for word from Feuerbach's *Philosophie der Zukunft* (p. 2):

"Speculative philosophy is true, consistent, *rational* theology."

Bruno continues:

"Philosophy, in alliance with religion, has always striven for the absolute dependence of the individual and has *actually achieved this* by demanding and causing the absorption of the individual life in universal life, of the accident in substance, of man in the absolute spirit."

As if Bruno's "philosophy", "in alliance with" Hegel's, and his still continuing forbidden association with theology, did not "demand", if not "cause", the "absorption of man" in the idea of one of his "accidents", that of self-consciousness, as "substance"! Moreover, one sees from this whole passage with what joy the church father with his "pulpit eloquence" continues to proclaim his "world-shattering" faith in the mysterious power of the holy theologians and philosophers. Of course, in the interests of the "good cause of freedom and his own cause".[c]

On page 105 our godfearing man has the insolence to reproach Feuerbach:

"Feuerbach *made* of the individual, of the depersonalised man of Christianity, not a man, not a true" (!) "real" (!!) "personal" (!!!) "man" (these predicates owe their origin to *Die heilige Familie* and Stirner), "but an emasculated man, a slave"—

and thereby utters, *inter alia*, the nonsense that he, Saint Bruno, can *make* people by means of the *mind*.

Further on in the same passage he says:

"According to Feuerbach the individual has to subordinate himself to the species, serve it. The species of which Feuerbach speaks is Hegel's Absolute, and it, too, exists nowhere."

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[a] "Ueber das Recht des Freigesprochenen...".—*Ed.*

[b] Bruno Bauer, "Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs".—*Ed.*

[c] An ironical allusion to Bauer's book *Die gute Sache der Freiheit und meine eigene Angelegenheit*.—*Ed.*

Here, as in all the other passages, Saint Bruno does not deprive himself of the glory of making the actual relations of individuals dependent on the philosophical interpretation of these relations. He has not the slightest inkling of the correlation which exists between the concepts of Hegel's "absolute spirit" and Feuerbach's "species" on the one hand and the existing world on the other.

On page 104 the holy father is mightily shocked by the heresy with which Feuerbach transforms the holy trinity of reason, love and will into something that "is *in* individuals and *over* individuals", as though, in our day, every inclination, every impulse, every need did not assert itself as a force "in the individual and *over* the individual", whenever circumstances hinder their satisfaction. If the holy father Bruno experiences hunger, for example, without the means of appeasing it, then even his stomach will become a force "*in* him and *over* him". Feuerbach's mistake is not that he stated this fact but that in idealistic fashion he endowed it with independence instead of regarding it as the product of a definite and surmountable stage of historical development.

Page 111: "Feuerbach is a slave and his servile nature does not allow him to fulfil the work of a *man*, to recognise the essence of religion" (what a fine "work of a man"!).... "He does not perceive the essence of religion because he does not know the *bridge* over which he can make his way to the *source* of religion."

Saint Bruno still seriously believes that religion has its own "essence". As for the "bridge", "*over which*" one makes one's way to the "*source* of religion", this asses' bridge[a] must certainly be an *aqueduct.* At the same time Saint Bruno establishes himself as a curiously modernised Charon who has been retired owing to the building of the bridge, becoming a tollkeeper[b] who demands a halfpenny[b] from every person crossing the bridge to the spectral realm of religion.

On page 120 the saint remarks:

"How could Feuerbach exist if there were no *truth* and truth were only a *spectre*" (Stirner, help![c]) "of which hitherto man has been afraid?"

The "man" who fears the "spectre" of "truth" is no other than the worthy Bruno himself. Ten pages earlier, on p. 110, he had already let out the following world-shattering cry of terror at the sight of the "spectre" of truth:

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[a] A pun in the original: *Eselsbrücke* (asses' bridge)—an expedient used by dull or lazy people to understand a difficult problem.—*Ed.*

[b] This word is in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[c] A paraphrase of the expression "Samuel, hilf!" (Samuel, help!) from Carl Maria von Weber's opera *Der Freischütz* (libretto by Friedrich Kind), Act II, Scene 6.—*Ed.*

"Truth which is never of itself encountered as a ready-made object and which develops *itself* and reaches unity only in the unfolding of personality."

Thus, we have here not only truth, this spectre, transformed into a person which develops itself and reaches unity, but in addition this trick is accomplished in a third personality outside it, after the manner of the tapeworm. Concerning the holy man's former love affair with truth, when he was still young and the lusts of the flesh still strong in him—see *Die heilige Familie*, p. 115 et seq.[a]

How purified of all fleshly lusts and earthly desires our holy man now appears is shown by his vehement polemic against Feuerbach's *sensuousness*. Bruno by no means attacks the highly restricted way in which Feuerbach recognises *sensuousness*. He regards Feuerbach's unsuccessful attempt, since it is an attempt to escape ideology, as—a *sin*. Of course! Sensuousness is lust of the eye, lust of the flesh and arrogance[b]—horror and abomination[c] in the eyes of the Lord! Do you not know that to be fleshly minded is death, but to be spiritually minded is life and peace; for to be fleshly minded is hostility to criticism, and everything of the flesh is of this world. And do you not know that it is written: the works of the flesh are manifest, they are adultery, fornication, uncleanness, obscenity, idolatry, witchcraft, enmity, strife, envy, anger, quarrelsomeness, discord, sinful gangs, hatred, murder, drunkenness, gluttony and the like.[d] I prophesy to you, as I prophesied before, that those who do such works will not inherit the kingdom of criticism; but woe to them for in their thirst for delights they are following the path of Cain and are falling into the error of Balaam, and will perish in a rebellion, like that of Korah. These lewd ones feast shamelessly on your alms, and fatten themselves. They are clouds without water driven by the wind; bare, barren trees, twice dead and uprooted; wild ocean waves frothing their own shame; errant stars condemned to the gloom of darkness for ever.[e] For we have read that in the last days there will be terrible times, people will appear who think much of themselves, lewd vilifiers who love voluptuousness[f] more than criticism, makers of sinful gangs, in short, slaves of the flesh. Such people are shunned by Saint Bruno, who is spiritually minded and loathes the stained covering of the flesh[g] and for this reason he condemns Feuerbach, whom he re-

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 4, p. 79 et seq.—*Ed.*
[b] Cf. 1 John 2 : 16.—*Ed.*
[c] Cf. Ezekiel 11 : 18.—*Ed.*
[d] Cf. Galatians 5:19-21.—*Ed.*
[e] Cf. Jude 11-13.—*Ed.*
[f] Cf. 2 Timothy 3 : 1-4.—*Ed.*
[g] Cf. Jude 23.—*Ed.*

gards as the Korah of the gang, to remain outside together with the dogs, the magicians, the debauched and the assassins.[a] "Sensuousness"—ugh! Not only does it throw the saintly church father into the most violent convulsions, but it even makes him sing, and on page 121 he chants the "song of the end and the end of the song". Sensuousness—do you know, unfortunate one, what sensuousness is? Sensuousness is—a "stick" (p. 130). Seized with convulsions, Saint Bruno even wrestles on one occasion with one of his own theses, just as Jacob of blessed memory wrestled with God, with the one difference that God twisted Jacob's thigh, while our saintly epileptic twists all the limbs and ties of his own thesis, and so, by a number of striking examples, makes clear the identity of subject and object:

"Feuerbach may say what he likes ... all the same he *destroys*" (!) "*man*... for he transforms the *word* man into a mere *phrase* ... for he *does not wholly make*" (!) "*and create*" (!) "*man, but* raises the whole of mankind to the Absolute, for *in addition* he declares *not* mankind, *but rather* the senses to be the organ of the Absolute, and stamps the sensuous—the object of the senses, of perception, of sensation—as the Absolute, the indubitable and the immediately certain. Whereby Feuerbach—such is Saint Bruno's opinion—"can undoubtedly shake layers of the air, but he cannot *smash the phenomena of human essence*, because his *innermost*" (!) "essence and his vitalising spirit [...] already destroys the *external*" (!) "sound *and* makes it empty *and* jarring" (p. 121).

Saint Bruno himself gives us mysterious but decisive disclosures about the causes of his nonsensical attitude:

"As though my ego does not also possess just this particular *sex, u n i q u e, compared with all others*, and these particular, unique sex organs." (Besides his "unique sex organs", this noble-minded man also possesses a special "unique sex"!)

This unique sex is explained on page 121 in the sense that:

"sensuousness, like a vampire, sucks all the marrow and blood from the *life* of man; it is the insurmountable barrier against which man has to deal himself a mortal *blow*".

But even the saintliest man is not pure! They are all sinners and lack the glory that they should have before "self-consciousness". Saint Bruno, who in his lonely cell at midnight struggles with "substance", has his attention drawn by the frivolous writings of the heretic Feuerbach to women and female beauty. Suddenly his sight becomes less keen; his pure self-consciousness is besmirched, and a reprehensible, sensuous fantasy plays about the frightened critic with lascivious images. The spirit is willing but the flesh is weak.[b] Bruno stumbles, he falls, he forgets that he is the power that "with its strength binds, frees and dominates the world",[c] he forgets that these products of his imagination are "spirit of his spirit", he loses all

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[a] Cf. Revelation 22:15.—*Ed.*
[b] Cf. Matthew 26:41.—*Ed.*
[c] Cf. ibid. 16:19.—*Ed.*

"self-control" and, intoxicated, stammers a dithyramb to female beauty, to its "tenderness, softness, womanliness", to the "full and rounded limbs" and the "surging, undulating, seething, rushing and hissing, wave-like structure of the body"[a] of woman. Innocence, however, always reveals itself—even where it sins. Who does not know that a "*surging, undulating*, wave-like *structure* of the body" is something that no eye has ever seen, or ear heard? Therefore—hush, sweet soul, the spirit will soon prevail over the rebellious flesh and set an insurmountable "barrier" to the overflowing, seething lusts, "against which" they will soon deal themselves a "mortal blow".

"Feuerbach"—the saint finally arrives at this through a critical understanding of *Die heilige Familie*—"is a materialist tempered with and corrupted by humanism, i.e., a materialist who is unable to endure the earth and its being" (Saint Bruno knows the being of the earth as distinct from the earth itself, and knows how one should behave in order to "*endure the being* of the earth"!) "but wants to spiritualise himself and rise into heaven; and at the same time he is a humanist who cannot think and build a spiritual world, but one who is impregnated with materialism", and so on (p. 123).

Just as for Saint Bruno humanism, according to this, consists in "thinking" and in "building a spiritual world", so materialism consists in the following:

"The materialist recognises only the existing, actual being, *matter*" (as though man with all his attributes, including thought, were not an "*existing, actual being*"), "and recognises *it* as actively extending and realising *itself* in multiplicity, *nature*" (p. 123).

First, *matter* is an existing, actual being, but only in itself, concealed; only when it "actively extends and realises itself in multiplicity" (an "existing, *actual* being" "*realises* itself"!!), only then does it become *nature*. First there exists the *concept* of matter, an abstraction, an idea, and this latter realises itself in actual nature. Word for word the Hegelian theory of the pre-existence of the creative categories. From this point of view it is understandable that Saint Bruno mistakes the philosophical phrases of the materialists concerning matter for the actual kernel and content of their world outlook.

## 2. SAINT BRUNO'S VIEWS ON THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN FEUERBACH AND STIRNER

Having thus admonished Feuerbach with a few weighty words, Saint Bruno takes a look at the struggle between Feuerbach and the unique. The first evidence of his interest in this struggle is a methodical, triple smile.

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[a] Marx and Engels have inserted the words "seething, rushing and hissing"—which occur in Schiller's poem Der Taucher ("The Diver")—into the passage they quote from Bruno Bauer's article "Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs".—*Ed.*

"The critic pursues his path irresistibly, confident of victory, and victorious. He is slandered—he *smiles.* He is called a heretic—he *smiles.* The old world starts a crusade against him—he *smiles.*"

Saint Bruno—this is thus established—pursues his path but he does not pursue it like other people, he follows a critical course, he accomplishes this important action with a *smile.*

"He does smile his face into more lines than are in the new map, with the augmentation of the Indies. I know my lady will strike him: if she do, he'll smile and take't for a great art"[a]—like Shakespeare's Malvolio.

Saint Bruno himself does not lift a finger to refute his two opponents, he knows a better way of ridding himself of them, he leaves them—*divide et impera*—to their own quarrel. He confronts Stirner with Feuerbach's man (p. 124), and Feuerbach with Stirner's unique (p. 126 et seq.); he knows that they are as incensed against each other as the two Kilkenny cats in Ireland, which so completely devoured each other that finally only their tails remained.[43] And Saint Bruno passes sentence on these tails, declaring that they are "*substance*" and, consequently, condemned to eternal damnation.

In confronting Feuerbach with Stirner he repeats what Hegel said of Spinoza and Fichte, where, as we know, the punctiform ego is represented as one, and moreover the most stable, aspect of substance. However much Bruno formerly raged against egoism, which he even considered the *odor specificus* of the masses, on page 129 he accepts egoism from Stirner—only this should be "not that of Max Stirner", but, of course, that of Bruno Bauer. He brands Stirner's egoism as having the moral defect "that his ego for the support of its egoism requires hypocrisy, deception, external violence". For the rest, he believes (see p. 124) in the critical miracles of Saint Max and sees in the latter's struggle (p. 126) "a real effort to radically destroy substance". Instead of dealing with Stirner's criticism of Bauer's "pure criticism", he asserts on p. 124 that Stirner's criticism could affect him just as little as any other, "because *he himself* is *the critic*".

Finally Saint Bruno refutes both of them, Saint Max and Feuerbach, applying almost literally to Feuerbach and Stirner the antithesis drawn by Stirner between the critic Bruno Bauer and the dogmatist.

*Wigand*, p. 138: "Feuerbach puts himself in opposition to, and *thereby*" (!) "*stands in opposition to*, the unique. He is a *communist* and wants to be one. The unique is an *egoist*

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[a] Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, Act III, Scene 2. Marx and Engels quote these lines from the German translation by August Wilhelm von Schlegel. But they have substituted the word *Kunst* (art) for the word *Gunst* (favour).—*Ed.*

and has to be one; he is the *holy one*, the other the *profane one*, he is the *good one*, the other the *evil one*, he is God, the other is man. Both are *dogmatists*."

The point is, therefore, that he accuses both of dogmatism.

*Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum*, p. 194: "The critic is afraid of becoming dogmatic or of putting forward dogmas. Obviously, he would then become the opposite of a critic, a dogmatist; he who as a critic was *good*, would now become *evil*, or from being *unselfish*" (a Communist) "would become an *egoist*, etc. Not a single dogma!—that is his dogma."

## 3. SAINT BRUNO VERSUS THE AUTHORS OF *DIE HEILIGE FAMILIE*

Saint Bruno, who has disposed of Feuerbach and Stirner in the manner indicated and who has "cut the unique off from all progress", now turns against the apparent "consequences of Feuerbach", the German Communists and, especially, the authors of *Die heilige Familie*. The expression "real humanism", which he found in the preface to this polemic treatise,[a] provides the main basis of his hypothesis. He will recall a passage from the Bible:

"And I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal" (in our case it was just the opposite), "even as unto babes in Christ. I have fed you with milk, and not with meat: for hitherto ye were not able to bear it" (1 Corinthians, 3 : 1-2).

The first impression that *Die heilige Familie* made on the worthy church father was one of profound distress and serious, respectable sorrow. The one good side of the book is that it

"showed what Feuerbach *had* to become, and the position his philosophy *can* adopt, if it *desires* to fight against criticism" (p. 138),

that, consequently, it combined in an easy-going way "desiring" with "what can be" and "what must be", but this good side does not outweigh its many distressing sides. Feuerbach's philosophy, which strangely enough is presupposed here,

"*dare not* and *cannot* understand the critic, *dare not* and *cannot* know and perceive criticism in its development, *dare not* and *cannot* know that, in relation to all that is transcendental, criticism is a constant struggle and victory, a continual destruction and creation, the *sole*" (!) "creative and productive principle. It *dare not* and *cannot* know how the critic has worked, and still works, to posit and to *make*" (!) "the transcendental forces, which up to now have suppressed mankind and not allowed it to breathe and live, into what they *really are*, the spirit of the spirit, the innermost of the innermost, a native thing" (!) "out of and in the native soil, products and creations of self-consciousness. It *dare not* and *cannot* know that the critic and only the critic has smashed religion in its entirety, and the state in its various manifestations, etc." (pp. 138, 139).

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 4, p. 7.—*Ed.*

Is this not an exact copy of the ancient Jehovah, who runs after his errant people who found greater delight in the cheerful pagan gods, and cries out:

"Hear me, Israel, and close not your ear, Judah! Am I not the Lord your God, who led you out of the land of Egypt into the land flowing with milk and honey, and behold, from your earliest youth you have done evil in my sight and angered me with the work of my hands and turned your back unto me and not your face towards me, though I invariably tutored you; and you have brought abominations into my house to defile it, and built the high places of Baal in the valley of the son of Himmon, which I did not command, and it never entered my head that you should do such abominations; and I have sent to you my servant Jeremiah, to whom I did address my word, beginning with the thirteenth year of the reign of King Josiah, son of Amon, unto this day—and for twenty-three years now he has been zealously preaching to you, but ye have not harkened. Therefore says the Lord God: Who has ever heard the like of the virgin of Israel doing such an abomination. For rain water does not disappear so quickly as my people forgets me. O earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord!" [a]

Thus, in a lengthy speech on "to dare" and "to be able", Saint Bruno asserts that his communist opponents have misunderstood him. The way in which he describes criticism in this recent speech, the way in which he transforms the former forces that suppressed "the life of mankind" into "transcendental forces", and these transcendental forces into the "spirit of the spirit", and the way in which he presents "criticism" as the sole branch of production proves that the apparent misconception is nothing but a disagreeable conception. We proved that Bauer's criticism is beneath all criticism, owing to which we have inevitably become dogmatists. He even in all seriousness reproaches us for our insolent disbelief in his ancient phrases. The whole mythology of independent concepts, with Zeus the Thunderer—self-consciousness—at the head, is paraded here once again to the "jingling of hackneyed phrases of a whole janissary band of current categories". (*Literatur-Zeitung*, cf. *Die heilige Familie*, p. 234[b]). First of all, of course, the myth of the creation of the world, i.e., of the hard "*l a b o u r*" of the critic, which is "the sole creative and productive principle, a constant struggle and victory, a continual destruction and creation", "working" and "having worked". Indeed, the reverend father even reproaches *Die heilige Familie* for understanding "criticism" in the same way as he understands it himself in the present rejoinder. After taking back "substance" "into the land of its birth, self-consciousness, the criticising and" (since *Die heilige*

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[a] Cf. Jeremiah 2 : 6, 32 : 22, 30, 33-35, 25 : 3, 19 : 3, 18 : 13, 14, 22 : 29.—*Ed.*

[b] The passage from "Correspondenz aus der Provinz" published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* was quoted in *The Holy Family* (see present edition, Vol. 4, p. 148).—*Ed.*

*Familie* also) "the criticised man, and *discarding* it" (self-consciousness here seems to take the place of an ideological lumber-room), he continues:

> "It" (the alleged philosophy of Feuerbach) "dare not know that criticism *and* the critics, as long as they have existed" (!)"have guided and made history, that even their opponents and all the movements and agitations of the present time are their creation, that it is they alone who hold *power in their hands, because strength is in their consciousness,* and because they derive power *from themselves,* from their deeds, *from criticism,* from their opponents, from their creations; that only by the act of criticism is man freed, and thereby men also, and man is *created*" (!) "and thereby mankind as well".

Thus, criticism *and* the critics are first of all two wholly different subjects, existing and operating apart from each other. The critic is a subject different from criticism, and criticism is a subject different from the critic. This personified criticism, criticism as a subject, is precisely that "critical criticism" against which *Die heilige Familie* was directed. "Criticism and the critics, as long as they have existed, have guided and made history." It is clear that they could not do so "as long as they" did not "exist", and it is equally clear that "as long as they have existed" they "made history" in their own fashion. Finally, Saint Bruno goes so far as to "dare and be able" to give us one of the most profound explanations about the state-shattering power of criticism, namely, that "criticism and the critics hold *power in their hands,* because" (a fine "because"!) "*strength is in their consciousness*", and, secondly, that these great manufacturers of history "hold power in their hands", because they "derive power from themselves and from criticism" (i.e., again from themselves)—whereby it is still, unfortunately, not proven that it is possible to "derive" anything at all from there, from "themselves", from "criticism". On the basis of criticism's own words, one should at least believe that it must be difficult to "derive" from there anything more than the category of "substance" "discarded" there. Finally, criticism also "derives" "from criticism" "power" for a highly monstrous oracular dictum. For it reveals to us a secret that was hidden[a] from our fathers and unknown to our grandfathers, the secret that "only by the act of criticism is man created, and thereby mankind as well"—whereas, up to now, criticism was erroneously regarded as an act of people who existed prior to it owing to quite different acts. Hence it seems that Saint Bruno himself came "into the world, from the world, and to the world" through "criticism", i.e., by *generatio aequivoca.*[b] All this is, perhaps, merely another interpretation of the following passage

[a] Cf. Colossians 1 : 26.—*Ed.*
[b] Spontaneous generation.—*Ed.*

from the Book of Genesis: And Adam *knew*, i.e., criticised, Eve his wife: and she conceived,[a] etc.

Thus we see here the whole familiar critical criticism, which was already sufficiently characterised in *Die heilige Familie*, confronting us again with all its trickery as though nothing had happened. There is no need to be surprised at this, for the saint himself complains, on page 140, that *Die heilige Familie* "cuts criticism off from all progress". With the greatest indignation Saint Bruno reproaches the authors of *Die heilige Familie* because, by means of a chemical process, they evaporated Bauer's criticism from its *"fluid"* state into a "*crystalline*" state.

It follows that "institutions of mendicancy", the "baptismal certificate of adulthood", the "regions of pathos and thunder-like aspects", the "Mussulman conceptual affliction" (*Die heilige Familie*, pp. 2, 3, 4[b] according to the critical *Literatur-Zeitung*)—all this is nonsense only if it is understood in the "crystalline" manner. And the twenty-eight historical howlers of which criticism was proved guilty in its excursion on "Englische Tagesfragen"[c]—are they not errors when looked at from the "fluid" point of view? Does criticism insist that, from the fluid point of view, it prophesied *a priori* the Nauwerck conflict[44]—long after this had taken place before its eyes—and did not construct it *post festum*?[d] Does it still insist that the word *maréchal* could mean "*farrier*" from the "crystalline" point of view, but from the "fluid" point of view at any rate must mean "*marshal*"? Or that although in the "crystalline" conception "*un fait physique*" may mean "a physical fact", the true "fluid" translation should be "a fact of physics"? Or that "*la malveillance de nos bourgeois juste-milieux*"[e] in the "fluid" state still means "the carefreeness of our good burghers"? Does it insist that, from the "fluid" point of view, "a child that does not, in its turn, become a father or mother is *essentially a daughter*"? That someone can have the task "of representing, as it were, the last tear of grief shed by the past"? That the various concierges, lions, grisettes, marquises, scoundrels and wooden doors in Paris in their "fluid" form are nothing but phases

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[a] Cf. Genesis 4 : 1.—*Ed.*

[b] The expressions quoted are from Carl Reichardt's reviews, published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, of the following books: Karl Heinrich Brüggemann, *Preussens Beruf in der deutschen Staats-Entwicklung*..., and Daniel Benda, *Katechismus für wahlberechtigte Bürger in Preussen*. They are also quoted in *The Holy Family* (see present edition, Vol. 4, p. 10).—*Ed.*

[c] An article by Julius Faucher.—*Ed.*

[d] An allusion to the article by [E.] J[ungnitz] "Herr Nauwerk und die philosophische Facultät" published in *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

[e] The ill will of our middle-of-the-road bourgeois.—*Ed.*

of the mystery "in whose concept in general it belongs to posit itself as limited and again to abolish this limitation which is posited by its universal essence, for precisely this essence is only the result of its inner self-distinction, its activity"[a]? That critical criticism in the "fluid" sense "pursues its path irresistibly, victorious and confident of victory", when in dealing with a question it first asserts that it has revealed its "true and general significance" and then admits that it "had neither the will nor the right to go beyond criticism", and finally admits that "it had still to take one step but that step was impossible because—it was impossible" (*Die heilige Familie*, p. 184[b])? That from the "fluid" point of view "the future is still the work" of criticism, although "fate may *decide* as it will"[c]? That from the fluid point of view criticism achieved nothing superhuman when it "came into *contradiction* with its *true elements*—a *contradiction* which had *already* found its *solution* in *these same elements*"[d]?

The authors of *Die heilige Familie* have indeed committed the frivolity of conceiving these and hundreds of other statements as statements expressing firm, "crystalline" *nonsense*—but the synoptic gospels should be read in a "fluid" way, i.e., according to the sense of their authors, and on no account in a "crystalline" way, i.e., according to their actual nonsense, in order to arrive at true faith and to admire the harmony of the critical household.

"Engels and Marx, therefore, know only the criticism of the *Literatur-Zeitung*"[e]

—a deliberate lie, proving how "fluidly" our saint has read a book in which his latest works are depicted merely as the culmination of all the "work he has done". But the church father lacked the calm to read in a crystalline way, for he fears his opponents as rivals who contest his canonisation and "want to deprive him of his sanctity, in order to make *themselves* sanctified".

Let us, incidentally, note the fact that, according to Saint Bruno's present statement, his *Literatur-Zeitung* by no means aimed at founding "social society" or at "representing, as it were, the last tear of grief" shed by German ideology, nor did it aim at putting mind in the sharpest opposition to the mass and developing critical criticism in all its purity, but only—at "depicting the liberalism and radicalism of 1842 and their echoes in their half-heartedness and phrase-mongering", hence at combating the "echoes" of what has long disap-

[a] Bruno Bauer, "Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs".—*Ed.*
[b] See present edition, Vol. 4, p. 118.—*Ed.*
[c] B. Bauer, "Neueste Schriften über die Judenfrage".—*Ed.*
[d] B. Bauer, "Was ist jetzt der Gegenstand der Kritik?"—*Ed.*
[e] Bruno Bauer, "Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs".—*Ed.*

peared. *Tant de bruit pour une omelette!*[a] Incidentally, it is just here that the conception of history peculiar to German theory is again shown in its "purest" light. The year 1842 is held to be the period of the greatest brilliance of German liberalism, because at that time philosophy took part in politics. Liberalism vanishes for the critic with the cessation of the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* and the *Rheinische Zeitung*, the organs of liberal and radical theory. After that, apparently, there remain only the "echoes"—whereas in actual fact only now, when the German bourgeoisie feels a real need for political power, a need produced by economic relations, and is striving to satisfy it, has liberalism in Germany an actual existence and thereby the chance of some success.

Saint Bruno's profound distress over *Die heilige Familie* did not allow him to criticise this work "out of himself, through himself and with himself". To be able to master his pain he had first to obtain the work in a "fluid" form. He found this fluid form in a confused review, teeming with misunderstandings, in the *Westphälische Dampfboot*, May issue, pp. 206-14.[b] All his quotations are taken from passages quoted in the *Westphälische Dampfboot* and he quotes nothing that is not quoted there.

The language of the saintly critic is likewise determined by the language of the Westphalian critic. In the first place, all the statements from the Foreword which are quoted by the Westphalian (*Dampfboot*, p. 206) are transferred to the *Wigand'sche Vierteljahrsschrift* (pp. 140, 141). This transference forms the chief part of Bauer's criticism, according to the old principle already recommended by Hegel:

> "To trust common sense and, moreover, in order to keep up with the times and advance with philosophy, to read *reviews* of philosophical works, perhaps even their *prefaces* and introductory paragraphs; for the latter give the general principles on which everything turns, while the former give, along with the historical information, also an appraisal which, because it is an appraisal, even goes beyond that which is appraised. This beaten track can be followed in one's dressing-gown; but the elevated feeling of the eternal, the sacred, the infinite, pursues its path in the vestments of a high priest, a path" which, as we have seen, Saint Bruno also knows how to "pursue" while "striking down" (Hegel, *Phänomenologie*, p. 54).

The *Westphalian* critic, after giving a few quotations from the preface, continues:

> "Thus the preface itself leads to the *battlefield* of the book", etc. (p. 206).

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[a] Much ado about an omelette! An exclamation which Jacques Vallée, Sieur des Barreaux, is supposed to have made when a thunderstorm occurred while he was eating an omelette on a fast-day.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 15.—*Ed.*

The *saintly* critic, having transferred these quotations into the *Wigand'sche Vierteljahrsschrift*, makes a more subtle distinction and says:

"Such is the *terrain* and the *enemy* which Engels and Marx have created for *battle*."

From the discussion of the critical proposition: "the worker creates nothing", the *Westphalian* critic gives only the summarising *conclusion*.

The *saintly* critic actually believes that this is all that was said about the proposition, copies out the Westphalian quotation on page 141 and rejoices at the discovery that only "assertions" have been put forward in opposition to criticism.

Of the examination of the critical outpourings about love, the *Westphalian* critic on page 209 first writes out the *corpus delicti* in part and then a few disconnected sentences from the refutation, which he desires to use as an authority for his nebulous, sickly-sweet sentimentality.

On pages 141-42 the *saintly* critic copies him out word for word, sentence by sentence, in the same order as his predecessor quotes.

The *Westphalian* critic exclaims over the corpse of Herr Julius Faucher: "Such is the fate of the beautiful on earth!"[a]

The *saintly* critic cannot finish his "hard work" without appropriating this exclamation to use irrelevantly on page 142.

The *Westphalian* critic on page 212 gives a would-be summary of the arguments which are aimed against Saint Bruno himself in *Die heilige Familie*.

The *saintly* critic cheerfully and literally copies out all this stuff together with all the Westphalian exclamations. He has not the slightest idea that *nowhere* in the whole of this polemic discourse does anyone reproach him for "transforming the problem of political emancipation into that of human emancipation", for "wanting to kill the Jews", for "transforming the Jews into theologians", for "transforming Hegel into Herr Hinrichs", etc. Credulously, the *saintly* critic repeats the *Westphalian* critic's allegation that in *Die heilige Familie Marx* volunteers to provide some sort of little scholastic treatise "in reply to Bauer's *silly self-apotheosis*". Yet the words "silly self-apotheosis", which Saint Bruno gives as a *quotation*, are nowhere to be found in the whole of *Die heilige Familie*, but they do occur with the Westphalian critic. Nor is the little treatise offered as a reply to the "self-*apology*" of criticism on pages 150-63 of *Die heilige Familie*, but only in the following section on page 165,[b] in

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[a] Schiller, *Wallenstein's Tod*, Act IV, Scene 12.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 99-106 and 107.—*Ed.*

connection with the world-historic question: "Why did Herr Bauer *have to* engage in politics?"

Finally on page 143 Saint Bruno presents *Marx* as an "*amusing comedian*", here again following his Westphalian model, who resolved the "world-historic drama of critical criticism", on page 213, into a "*most amusing comedy*".

Thus one sees how the opponents of critical criticism "dare and can" "know *how the critic has worked, and still works*"!

### 4. OBITUARY FOR "M. HESS"

"What Engels and Marx could *not yet* do, M. Hess has accomplished."

Such is the great, divine transition which—owing to the relative "can" and "cannot" be done of the evangelists—has taken so firm a hold of the holy man's fingers that it has to find a place, relevantly or irrelevantly, in every article of the church father.

"What Engels and Marx could not yet do, M. Hess has accomplished." But what is this "what" that "Engels and Marx could not yet do"? Nothing more nor less, indeed, than—to criticise Stirner. And why was it that Engels and Marx "could *not yet*" criticise Stirner? For the sufficient reason that—Stirner's book *had not yet appeared* when they wrote *Die heilige Familie.*

This speculative trick—of joining together everything and bringing the most diverse things into an apparent causal relation—has truly taken possession not only of the head of our saint but also of his fingers. With him it has become devoid of any contents and degenerates into a burlesque manner of uttering tautologies with an important mien. For example, already in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* (I, 5) we read:

> "The difference between my work and the pages which, for example, a Philippson covers with writing" (that is, the *empty* pages on which, "for example, a Philippson" writes) "*must, therefore, be so constituted as in fact it is*"!!![a]

"M. Hess", for whose writings Engels and Marx take absolutely no responsibility, seems such a strange phenomenon to the saintly critic that he is only capable of copying long excerpts from *Die letzten Philosophen* and passing the judgment that "on some points this criticism has not understood Feuerbach *or also*" (O theology!) "the vessel wishes to rebel against the potter". Cf. Epistle to the Romans, 9:20-21. Having once more performed the "hard work" of quoting, our saintly critic finally arrives at the conclusion that Hess copies

[a] B. Bauer, "Neueste Schriften über die Judenfrage".—*Ed.*

from *Hegel*, since he uses the two words "united" and "development". Saint Bruno, of course, had in a round-about way to try to turn against Feuerbach the proof given in *Die heilige Familie* of his own complete dependence on Hegel.

"See, that is how Bauer had to end! He fought as best he could against all the Hegelian categories", with the exception of self-consciousness — particularly in the glorious struggle of the *Literatur-Zeitung* against Herr Hinrichs. How he fought and conquered them we have already seen. For good measure, let us quote *Wigand*, page 110, where he asserts that

the "true" (1) "*solution*" (2) "*of contradictions*" (3) "in nature and history" (4), the "*true unity*" (5) "of separate relations" (6), the "genuine" (7) "basis" (8) "and abyss" (9) "of religion, the truly *infinite*" (10), "irresistible, self-creative" (11) "personality" (12) "has not yet been found".

These three lines contain not two doubtful Hegelian categories, as in the case of Hess, but a round dozen of "true, infinite, irresistible" Hegelian categories which reveal themselves as such by "the true unity of separate relations"—"see, that is how Bauer had to end"! And if the holy man thinks that in Hess he has discovered a Christian believer, not because Hess "hopes"— as Bruno says — but because he does *not* hope and because he talks of the "resurrection", then our great church father enables us, on the basis of this same page 110, to demonstrate his very pronounced *Judaism*. He declares there

"that the *true, living man in the flesh has not yet been born*"!!! (a new elucidation about the determination of the "unique sex") "and the mongrel produced" (*Bruno Bauer?!?*) "is not yet able to master all *dogmatic formulas*", etc.

That is to say, the *Messiah* is not yet born, the *son of man* has first to come into the world and this world, being the world of the Old Testament, is still under the rod of the *law*, of "dogmatic formulas".

Just as Saint Bruno, as shown above, made use of "Engels and Marx" for a transition to Hess, so now the latter serves him to bring Feuerbach finally into causal connection with his excursions on Stirner, *Die heilige Familie* and *Die letzten Philosophen.*

"See, that is how Feuerbach had to end!" "Philosophy had to end *picusly*", etc. (*Wigand*, p. 145.)

The true causal connection, however, is that this exclamation is an imitation of a passage from Hess' *Die letzten Philosophen* aimed against Bauer, among others (Preface, p. 4):

"Thus [...] and in no other way had the last offspring of the Christian ascetics [...] to take farewell of the world."

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Saint Bruno ends his speech for the prosecution against Feuerbach and his alleged accomplices with the reproach to Feuerbach that all he can do is to "trumpet", to "blow blasts on a trumpet", whereas Monsieur B. Bauer or Madame la critique, the "mongrel produced", to say nothing of the continual "destruction", "*drives forth in his triumphal chariot and gathers new triumphs*" (p. 125), "hurls down from the throne" (p. 119), "slays" (p. 111), "strikes down like thunder" (p. 115), "destroys once and for all" (p. 120), "shatters" (p. 121), allows nature merely to "vegetate" (p. 120), builds "stricter" (!) "prisons" (p. 104) and, finally, with "crushing" pulpit eloquence expatiates, on p. 105, in a brisk, pious, cheerful and free[a] fashion on the "stably-strongly-firmly-existing", hurling "rock-like matter and rocks" at Feuerbach's head (p. 110) and, in conclusion, by a side thrust vanquishes Saint Max as well, by adding "the most abstract abstractness" and "the hardest hardness" (on p. 124) to "critical criticism", "social society" and "rock-like matter and rocks".

All this Saint Bruno accomplished "through himself, in himself and with himself", because he is "He himself"; indeed, he is "himself always the greatest and can always be the greatest" (*is* and *can* be!) "through himself, in himself and with himself" (p. 136). That's that.

Saint Bruno would undoubtedly be dangerous to the female sex, for he is an "irresistible personality", if "in the same measure on the other hand" he did not fear "sensuousness as the barrier against which man has to deal himself a mortal *blow*". Therefore, "through himself, in himself and with himself" he will hardly pluck any flowers but rather allow them to wither in infinite longing and hysterical yearning for the "irresistible personality", who "possesses this unique sex and these unique, particular sex organs".*

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:]

*5. Saint Bruno in His "Triumphal Chariot"*

Before leaving our church father "victorious and confident of victory", let us for a moment mingle with the gaping crowd that comes up running just as eagerly when he "drives forth in his triumphal chariot and gathers new triumphs" as when General Tom Thumb with his four ponies provides a diversion. It is not surprising that we hear the humming of street-songs, for to be welcomed with street-songs "belongs after all to the concept" of triumph "in general".

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[a] "Brisk, pious, cheerful and free" ("*frisch, fromm, fröhlich und frei*")—the initial words of a students' saying, which were turned by Ludwig Jahn into the motto of the sport movement he initiated.—*Ed.*

## III

## SAINT MAX[45]

"Was jehen mir die jrinen Beeme an?"[a]

Saint Max exploits, "employs" or "uses" the Council to deliver a long apologetic commentary on "*the book*", which is none other than "*the* book", the book as such, the book pure and simple, i.e., the perfect book, the Holy Book, the book as something holy, the book as the holy of holies, the book in heaven, viz., *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum.* "The book", as we know, *fell* from the heavens towards the end of 1844 and took on the shape of a servant with O. Wigand in Leipzig.[46] It was, therefore, at the mercy of the vicissitudes of terrestrial life and was attacked by three "unique ones", viz., the mysterious personality of *Szeliga,* the gnostic *Feuerbach* and *Hess.*[b] However much at every moment Saint Max as creator towers over himself as a creation, as he does over his other creations, he nevertheless took pity on his weakly offspring and, in order to defend it and ensure its safety, let out a loud "critical hurrah". In order to fathom in all their significance both this "critical hurrah" and *Szeliga*'s mysterious personality, we must here, to some extent, deal with church history and look more closely at "the book". Or, to use the language of Saint Max: we "shall episodically put" "into this passage" a church-historical "meditation" on *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum* "simply because" "it seems to us that it could contribute to the elucidation of the rest".

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[a] "What are the green trees to me?"—a paraphrase (in the Berlin dialect) of a sentence from Heine's work *Reisebilder,* Dritter Teil "Die Bäder von Lucca", Kapitel IV.—*Ed.*

[b] Szeliga, "Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum"; Feuerbach, "Über das 'Wesen des Christenthums' in Beziehung auf den 'Einzigen und sein Eigenthum'"; Hess, *Die letzten Philosophen.—Ed.*

"Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of Glory shall come in.

"Who is this King of Glory? The War-Lord strong and mighty, the War-Lord mighty in battle.

"Lift up your heads, O ye gates; even lift them up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of Glory shall come in.

"Who is this King of Glory? The Lord Unique,[a] he is the King of Glory," (Psalms, 24:7-10).

[a] In the Bible "The Lord of Hosts".—*Ed.*

## 1. THE UNIQUE AND HIS PROPERTY

The man who "has based his cause on nothing"[a] begins his lengthy "critical hurrah" like a good German, straightway with a jeremiad: "Is there anything that is not to be my cause?" (p. 5 of the "book"). And he continues lamenting heart-rendingly that "everything is to be his cause", that "God's cause, the cause of mankind, of truth and freedom, and in addition the cause of his people, of his lord", and thousands of other good causes, are imposed on him. Poor fellow! The French and English bourgeois complain about lack of markets, trade crises, panic on the stock exchange, the political situation prevailing at the moment, etc.; the German petty bourgeois, whose active participation in the bourgeois movement has been merely an ideal one, and who for the rest exposed only himself to risk, sees his own cause simply as the "good cause", the "cause of freedom, truth, mankind", etc.

Our German school-teacher simply believes this illusion of the German petty bourgeois and on three pages he provisionally discusses all these good causes.

He investigates "God's cause", "the cause of mankind" (pp. 6 and 7) and finds these are "purely egoistical causes", that both "God" and "mankind" worry only about what is *theirs*, that "truth, freedom, humanity, justice" are "only interested in themselves and not in us, only in their own well-being and not in ours"—from which

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[a] Here and below Marx and Engels paraphrase the first lines of Goethe's poem *Vanitas! Vanitatum vanitas!*: "Ich hab' mein' Sach' auf Nichts gestellt." ("I have based my cause on nothing.") "Ich hab' mein' Sach' auf Nichts gestellt" is the heading of Stirner's preface to his book.—*Ed.*

he concludes that all these persons "are thereby exceptionally well-off". He goes so far as to transform these idealistic phrases—God, truth, etc.—into prosperous burghers who "are exceptionally well-off" and enjoy a "*profitable* egoism". But this vexes the holy egoist: "And I?" he exclaims.

> "I, for my part, draw the lesson from this and, instead of continuing to serve these great egoists, I should rather be an egoist myself!" (p. 7)

Thus we see what holy motives guide Saint Max in his transition to egoism. It is not the good things of this world, not treasures which moth and rust corrupt, not the capital belonging to his fellow unique ones, but heavenly treasure, the capital which belongs to God, truth, freedom, mankind, etc., that gives him no peace.

If it had not been expected of him that he should serve numerous good causes, he would never have made the discovery that he also has his "own" cause, and therefore he would never have based this cause of his "on nothing" (i.e., the "book").

If Saint Max had looked a little more closely at these various "causes" and the "owners" of these causes, e.g., God, mankind, truth, he would have arrived at the opposite conclusion: that egoism based on the egoistic mode of action of these persons must be just as imaginary as these persons themselves.

Instead of this, our saint decides to enter into competition with "God" and "truth" and to base his cause on himself—

> "on myself, on the I that is, just as much as God, the nothing of everything else, the I that is everything for me, the I that is the unique.... I am nothing in the sense of void, *but* the creative nothing, the nothing from which I myself, as creator, create everything."

The holy church father could also have expressed this last proposition as follows: I am everything in the void of nonsense, "*but*" I am the nugatory creator, the all, from which I myself, as creator, create nothing.

Which of these two readings is the correct one will become evident later. So much for the preface.

The "book" itself is divided like the book "of old", into the Old and New Testament—namely, into the unique history of man (the Law and the Prophets) and the inhuman history of the unique (the Gospel of the Kingdom of God). The former is history in the framework of logic, the logos confined in the past; the latter is logic in history, the emancipated logos, which struggles against the present and triumphantly overcomes it.

## THE OLD TESTAMENT: MAN[47]

### *1. The Book of Genesis, i.e., A Man's Life*

Saint Max pretends here that he is writing the *biography* of his mortal enemy, *"man"*, and not of a "*unique*" or "real individual". This ties him up in delightful contradictions.

As becomes every normal genesis "a man's life" begins *ab ovo*, with the "child". As revealed to us on page 13, the child

"from the outset lives a life of struggle against the entire world, it resists everything and everything resists it". "Both remain enemies" but "with awe and respect" and "are constantly on the watch, *looking for* each other's *weaknesses*".

This is further amplified, on page 14:

"we", as children, "try to find out the *basis of things* or what lies behind them; *therefore*" (so no longer out of enmity) "we *are trying to discover* everybody's *weaknesses*". (Here the finger of *Szeliga*, the mystery-monger, is evident.[a])

Thus, the *child* immediately becomes a *metaphysician*, trying to find out the "*basis* of things".

This *speculating* child, for whom "the nature of things" lies closer to his heart than his toys, "sometimes" in the long run, succeeds in coping with the "world of things", conquers it and then enters a new phase, the *age of youth*, when he has to face a new "arduous struggle of life", the struggle against reason, for the "*spirit means the first self-discovery*" and: "We are above the world, we are spirit" (p. 15). The point of view of the *youth* is a "heavenly one"; the child merely "*learned*", "he did not dwell on purely logical or theological problems"—*just as* (the child) "Pilate" hurriedly passed over the question: "What is truth?"[b] (p. 17). The youth "tries to master thoughts", he "understands ideas, the *spirit*" and "seeks ideas"; he "is engrossed in thought" (p. 16), he has "absolute thoughts, i.e., *nothing but thoughts*, logical thoughts". The youth who thus "deports himself", instead of chasing after young women and other earthly things, is no other than the young "Stirner", the studious Berlin youth, busy with Hegel's logic and gazing with amazement at the great Michelet. Of *this* youth it is rightly said on page 17:

"to bring to light *pure thought*, to devote oneself to it—in this is the *joy of youth*, and all the bright images of the world of thought—truth, freedom, mankind, *Man*, etc.—illumine and inspire the youthful soul."

This youth then "throws aside" the "object" as well and "occupies himself" exclusively "with his thoughts";

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[a] An allusion to Szeliga's article "Eugen Sue: Die Geheimnisse von Paris. Kritik". Cf. present edition, Vol. 4, p. 55.—*Ed.*

[b] John 18:38.—*Ed.*

"he includes all that is not spiritual under the contemptuous name of *external things*, and if, all the same, he does cling to such external things as, for example, students' customs, etc., it happens only when and because he *discovers* spirit in them, i.e., when they become *symbols* for him". (Who will not "*discover*" "Szeliga" here?)

Virtuous Berlin youth! The beer-drinking ritual of the students' association was for him only a "symbol" and only for the sake of the "symbol" was he after a drinking bout many a time found under the table, where he probably also wished to "discover spirit"!—How virtuous is this good youth, whom old *Ewald*, who wrote two volumes on the "virtuous youth",[a] could have taken as a model, is seen also from the fact that it was "made known" to him (p. 15): "Father and mother should be abandoned, all natural authority should be considered broken." For him, "the rational man, the family as a natural authority does not exist; there follows a renunciation of parents, brothers and sisters, etc."—But they are all "re-born as *spiritual, rational* authority", thanks to which the good youth reconciles obedience and fear of one's parents with his speculating conscience, and everything remains as before. Likewise "it is said" (p. 15): "We ought to obey God rather than men."[b] Indeed, the good youth reaches the highest peak of morality on page 16, where "it is said": "One should obey one's conscience rather than God." This moral exultation raises him even above the "revengeful Eumenides" and even above the "anger of Poseidon"—he is afraid of nothing so much as his "conscience".

Having discovered that "the spirit is the essential" he no longer even fears the following perilous conclusions:

"If, *however*, the spirit is recognised as the essential, *nevertheless* it makes a difference *whether* the spirit is poor or rich, and *therefore*" (!) "*one* strives to become rich in spirit; the *spirit* wishes to expand, to establish its realm, a realm not of this world, which has just been overcome. *In this way*, the spirit strives to become all in all"[c] (*what way* is this?), "i.e., *although* I am spirit, *nevertheless* I am not perfect spirit *and must*" (?) "first seek the perfect spirit" (p. 17).

"Nevertheless *it* makes a difference."—"*It*", what is this? What is the "It" that makes the difference? We shall very often come across this mysterious "It" in our holy man, and it will then turn out that it is the unique from the standpoint of *substance*, the beginning of "unique" logic, and as such the true identity of Hegel's "being" and "nothing". Hence, for everything that this "It" does, says or

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[a] Johann Ludwig Ewald, *Der gute Jüngling, gute Gatte und Vater, oder Mittel, um es zu werden.—Ed.*

[b] The Acts of the Apostles 5:29.—*Ed.*

[c] 1 Corinthians 15:28.—*Ed.*

performs, we shall lay the responsibility on our saint, whose relation to it is that of its creator. First of all, this "It", as we have seen, makes a difference between poor and rich. And why? Because "the spirit is recognised as the essential". Poor "It", which without this recognition would never have arrived at the difference between poor and rich! "And therefore *one* strives", etc. "*One!*" We have here the second impersonal person which, together with the "It", is in Stirner's service and must perform the heaviest menial work for him. How these two are accustomed to support each other is clearly seen here. Since "It" makes a difference whether the spirit is poor or rich, "one" (could anyone but Stirner's faithful servant[a] have had this idea!) — "*one, therefore,* strives to become rich in spirit". "It" gives the signal and immediately "one" joins in at the top of its voice. The division of labour is classically carried out.

Since "one strives to become *rich in spirit, the spirit* wishes to expand, to establish *its realm*", etc. "If however" a connection is present here "it still makes a difference" whether "one" wants to become "*rich in spirit*" or whether "*the spirit* wants to establish its realm". Up to now "*the spirit*" has *not* wanted *anything*, "*the spirit*" has not yet figured as a *person*—it was only a matter of the spirit of the "youth", and not of "*the spirit*" as such, of the spirit as *subject*. But our holy writer now needs a spirit different from that of the youth, in order to place it in opposition to the latter as a foreign, and in the last resort, as a holy spirit. *Conjuring trick* No. 1.

"In this way the spirit strives to become all in all", a somewhat obscure statement, which is then explained as follows:

"Although I am spirit, nevertheless I am not perfect spirit *and must first seek the perfect spirit.*"

But if Saint Max is the "imperfect spirit", "nevertheless it makes a difference" whether he has to "*perfect*" *his* spirit or seek "*the perfect* spirit". A few lines earlier he was in fact dealing only with the "*poor*" and "*rich*" spirit—a quantitative, profane distinction—and now there suddenly appears the "*imperfect*" and "*perfect*" spirit—a qualitative, mysterious distinction. The striving towards the development of one's own spirit can now be transformed into the hunt of the "imperfect spirit" for "*the* perfect spirit". The holy spirit wanders about like a ghost. *Conjuring trick* No. 2.

The holy author continues:

"But thereby" (i.e., by the transformation of the striving towards "perfection" of *my* spirit into the search for "*the* perfect spirit") "I, who have only just found myself

[a] An ironical allusion to F. Szeliga. See this volume, p. 149.—*Ed.*

as spirit, at once lose myself again, in that I bow down before the perfect spirit, as a spirit which is not my own, but a spirit of the *beyond*, and I feel my emptiness " (p. 18).

This is nothing but a further development of conjuring trick No. 2. After the "perfect spirit" has been *assumed* as an *existing being* and opposed to the "imperfect spirit", it becomes obvious that the "imperfect spirit", the youth, painfully feels his "emptiness" to the depths of his soul. Let us go on!

"True, it is all a matter of spirit, *but* is every spirit the right spirit? The right and true spirit is the ideal of the spirit, the 'holy spirit'. It is not my or your spirit but *precisely*" (!)—"an ideal spirit, a spirit of the beyond—'God'. 'God is spirit'"[a] (p. 18).

Here the "perfect spirit" has been suddenly transformed into the "right" spirit, and immediately afterwards into the "right and true spirit". The latter is more closely defined as the "ideal of the spirit, the holy spirit" and this is proved by the fact that it is "not my or your spirit but *precisely*, a spirit of the beyond, an ideal spirit—God". The true spirit is the *ideal* of the spirit, "precisely" because it is *ideal*! It is the holy spirit "precisely" because it is — God! What "virtuosity of thought"! We note also in passing that up to now nothing was said about "your" spirit. Conjuring trick No. 3.

Thus, if I seek to train myself as a mathematician, or, as Saint Max puts it, to "perfect" myself as a mathematician, then I am seeking the "perfect" mathematician, i.e., the "right and true" mathematician, the "ideal" of the mathematician, the "holy" mathematician, who is distinct from me and you (although in my eyes you may be a perfect mathematician, just as for the Berlin youth his professor of philosophy is the perfect spirit); but a mathematician who is "precisely ideal, of the beyond", the mathematician in the heavens, "God". God is a mathematician.

Saint Max arrives at all these great results because "it makes a difference whether the spirit is rich or poor"; i.e., in plain language, it makes a difference whether anyone is rich or poor in spirit, and because his "youth" has discovered this remarkable fact.

On page 18 Saint Max continues:

"*It* divides the *man* from the youth that the former takes the world as it is", etc.

Consequently, we do not learn how the youth arrives at the point where he suddenly takes the world "as it is", nor do we see our holy dialectician making the transition from youth to man, we merely learn that "*It*" has to perform this service and "*divide*" the youth from the man. But even this "It" by itself does not suffice to bring the cumbersome waggonload of unique thoughts into motion. For

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[a] John 4 : 24.— *Ed.*

after "*It*" has "divided the man from the youth", the man all the same relapses again into the youth, begins to occupy himself afresh "exclusively with the spirit" and does not get going until "one" hurries to his assistance with a change of horses. "Only when *one* has grown fond of oneself *corporeally*, etc." (p. 18), "only then" everything goes forward smoothly again, the man discovers that he has a personal interest, and arrives at "the *second self-discovery*", in that he not only "finds himself as spirit", like the youth, "and then at once loses himself again in the universal spirit", but finds himself "as *corporeal* spirit" (p. 19). This "corporeal spirit" finally arrives at having an "interest not only in its own spirit" (like the youth), "but in total satisfaction, in the satisfaction of the whole fellow" (an interest in the satisfaction of the whole fellow!)—he arrives at the point where "he is pleased with himself exactly as he is". Being a German, Stirner's "man" arrives at everything very late. He could see, sauntering along the Paris boulevards or in London's Regent Street, hundreds of "young men", fops and dandies who have not yet found themselves as "corporeal spirits" and are nevertheless "pleased with themselves exactly as they are", and whose main interest lies in the "satisfaction of the whole fellow."

This second "self-discovery" fills our holy dialectician with such enthusiasm that he suddenly forgets his role and begins to speak not of the *man*, but of *himself*, and reveals that he himself, he the unique, is "the man", and that "the man"="the unique". A new conjuring trick.

"How I find myself" (it should read: "how the youth finds himself") "behind the *things*, and indeed as *spirit*, so subsequently, too, I must find myself" (it should read: "the man must find himself") "behind the *thoughts*, i.e., as their creator and owner. In the period of spirits, thoughts outgrew me" (the youth), "although they were the offspring of my brain; like delirious fantasies they floated around me and agitated me greatly, a dreadful power. The thoughts became themselves *corporeal*, they were spectres like God, the Emperor, the Pope, the Fatherland, etc.; by destroying their corporeality, I take them back into my own corporeality and *announce*: I alone am corporeal. And now I take the world as it is for me, as *my* world, as my property: I relate everything to myself."

Thus, the man, identified here with the "unique", having first given thoughts corporeality, i.e., having transformed them into spectres, now destroys this corporeality again, by taking them back into his own body, which he thus makes into a body of spectres. The fact that he arrives at his own corporeality only through the negation of the spectres, shows the nature of this constructed corporeality of the man, which he has first to "announce" to "himself", in order to believe in it. But what he "announces to himself" he does not even "announce" correctly. The fact that apart from his "unique" body

there are not also to be found in his head all kinds of independent bodies, spermatozoa, he transforms into the "*fable*"[a]: I *alone* am corporeal. Another conjuring trick.

Further, the man who, as a youth, stuffed his head with all kinds of nonsense about existing powers and relations such as the Emperor, the Fatherland, the State, etc., and knew them only as his own "delirious fantasies", in the form of his conceptions—this man, *according to Saint Max, actually destroys all these powers* by getting out of his head his false opinion of them. On the contrary: now that he no longer looks at the world through the spectacles of his fantasy, he has to think of the practical interrelations of the world, to get to know them and to act in accordance with them. By destroying the *fantastic* corporeality which the world had for him, he finds its real corporeality outside his fantasy. With the disappearance of the *spectral* corporeality of the Emperor, what disappears for him is not the corporeality, but the *spectral character* of the Emperor, the actual power of whom he can now at last appreciate in all its scope. Conjuring trick No. 3[a].

The youth as a man does not even react critically towards ideas which are valid also for others and are current as categories, but is critical only of those ideas that are the "mere offspring of his brain", i.e., general concepts about existing conditions reproduced in his brain. Thus, for example, he does not even resolve the *category* "Fatherland", but only his personal opinion of this category, after which the *generally valid* category still remains, and even in the sphere of "philosophical thought" the work is only just beginning. He wants, however, to make us believe that he has destroyed the category itself because he has destroyed his emotional personal relation to it—exactly as he has wanted to make us believe that he has destroyed the power of the Emperor by giving up his fantastic conception of the Emperor. Conjuring trick No. 4.

"*And now*," continues Saint Max, "I take the world as it is for me, as my world, as my property."

He takes the world as it is for him, i.e., *as he is compelled to take it*, and thereby he has *appropriated* the world for himself, has made it his property—a mode of acquisition which, indeed, is not mentioned by any of the economists, but the method and success of which will be the more brilliantly disclosed in "the book". Basically, however, he "takes" not the "world", but only his "delirious fantasy" about the world as his own, and makes it his property. He takes the world as his

[a] In German a play on words: *Ich sage*—I say, I announce and *die Sage*—fable, myth, saga.—*Ed.*

conception of the world, and the world as his conception is his imagined property, the property of his conception, his conception as property, his property as conception, his own peculiar conception, or his conception of property; and all this he expresses in the incomparable phrase: "I relate everything to myself."

After the man has recognised, as the saint himself admits, that the world was only populated by spectres, because the youth saw spectres, after the *illusory world* of the youth has disappeared for the man, the latter finds himself in a *real* world, independent of youthful fancies.

And so, it should therefore read, I take the world as it is *independently of myself*, in the form in which it *belongs to itself* ("the man takes"—see page 18—"the world as it is", and not as he would like it to be), in the first place as my non-property (hitherto it was my property only as a spectre); I relate myself to everything and only to that extent do I relate everything to myself.

"If I as spirit rejected the world with the deepest contempt for it, then I as proprietor reject the spectres or ideas into their emptiness. They no longer have power over me, just as no 'earthly force' has power over the spirit" (p. 20).

We see here that the proprietor, Stirner's man, at once enters into possession, *sine beneficio deliberandi atque inventarii*,[a] of the inheritance of the youth which, according to his own statement, consists only of "delirious fantasies" and "spectres". He believes that in the process of changing from a child into a youth he had truly coped with the world of things, and in the process of changing from a youth into a man he had truly coped with the world of the spirit, that now, as a man, he has the whole world in his pocket and has nothing more to trouble him. If, according to the words of the youth which he repeats, no earthly force outside him has any power over the spirit, and hence the spirit is the supreme power on earth—and he, the man, has forced this omnipotent spirit into subjection to himself—is he not then completely omnipotent? He forgets that he has only destroyed the fantastic and spectral form assumed by the idea of "Fatherland", etc., in the brain of the "youth", but that he has still *not touched* these ideas, insofar as they express *actual* relations. Far from having become the master of ideas—he is only now capable of arriving at "ideas".

"Now, let us say in conclusion, it can be clearly seen" (p. 199) that the holy man has brought his interpretation of the different stages of

[a] Without the advantage of deliberation and inventory—the right of deliberation and inventory is an old principle of the law of inheritance, which grants the heir time to decide whether he wants to accept or to reject a legacy.—*Ed.*

life to the desired and predestined goal. He informs us of the result achieved in a thesis that is a spectral shade which we shall now confront with its lost body.

| *Unique* thesis, p. 20. | Owner of the accompanying liberated shade. |
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| "The child was *realistic,* in thrall to the *things of this world,* until little by little he succeeded in penetrating *behind these very things.* The youth was *idealistic,* inspired by thoughts, until he worked his way up to become a man, the egoistic man, who deals with things and thoughts as he pleases and puts his personal interest above everything. Finally, the old man? It will be time enough to speak of this when I become one." | The child was *actually* in thrall *to the world of his things,* until *little by little* (a borrowed conjuring trick standing for development) he succeeded in leaving *these very things behind him.* The youth was *fanciful* and was made thoughtless by his enthusiasm, until he was brought down by the man, the egoistic *burgher,* with whom things and thoughts deal as they please, because his personal interest puts everything above him. Finally, the old man?—"Woman, what have I to do with thee?"[a] |

The entire history of "a man's life" amounts, therefore, "let us say in conclusion", to the following:

1. Stirner regards the various stages of life only as "self-discoveries" of the individual, and these "self-discoveries" are moreover always reduced to a definite relation of consciousness. Thus the variety of *consciousness* is here the life of the individual. The physical and social changes which take place in the individuals and produce an altered consciousness are, of course, of no concern to Stirner. In Stirner's work, therefore, child, youth and man always find the world ready-made, just as they merely "find" "themselves"; absolutely nothing is done to ensure that there should be something which can in fact be found. But even the relation of *consciousness* is not correctly understood either, but only in its speculative distortion. Hence, too, all these figures have a philosophical attitude to the world—"the child is *realistic*", "the youth is *idealistic*", the man is the negative unity of the two, absolute negativity, as is evident from the above-quoted final proposition. Here the secret of "a man's life" is revealed, here it becomes clear that the "*child*" was only a disguise of "*realism*", the "*youth*" a disguise of "*idealism*", the "*man*" of an attempted *solution* of this *philosophical antithesis.* This solution, this "*absolute negativity*", is arrived at—it is now seen—only thanks to the man blindly taking on trust the illusions both of the child and

[a] John 2:4.—*Ed.*

of the youth, *believing* thus to have overcome the world of things and the world of the spirit.

2. Since Saint Max pays no attention to the physical and social "life" of the individual, and says nothing at all about "life", he quite consistently abstracts from historical epochs, nationalities, classes, etc., or, which is the *same thing*, he inflates the *consciousness* predominant in the class nearest to him in his immediate environment into the normal consciousness of "a man's life". In order to rise above this local and pedantic narrow-mindedness he has only to confront "his" youth with the first young clerk he encounters, a young English factory worker or young Yankee, not to mention the young Kirghiz-Kazakhs.

3. Our saint's enormous gullibility—the true spirit of his book—is not content with causing his youth to believe in his child, and his man to believe in his youth. The illusions which some "youths", "men", etc., have or claim to have about themselves, are without any examination accepted by Stirner himself and confused with the "*life*", with the *reality*, of these highly ambiguous youths and men.

4. The prototype of the entire structure of the stages of life has already been depicted in the third part of Hegel's *Encyclopädie*[a] and "in various transformations" in other passages in Hegel as well. Saint Max, pursuing "his own" purposes, had, of course, to undertake certain "transformations" here also. Whereas Hegel, for example, is still to such an extent guided by the empirical world that he portrays the German burgher as the servant of the world around him, Stirner has to make him the master of this world, which he is not even in imagination. Similarly, Saint Max pretends that he does not speak of the old man for empirical reasons; he wishes to wait until he becomes one himself (here, therefore, "a man's life"=his unique life). Hegel briskly sets about constructing the four stages of the human life because, in the real world, the negation is posited twice, i.e., as moon and as comet (cf. Hegel's *Naturphilosophie*[b]), and therefore the quaternity here takes the place of the trinity. Stirner finds his own uniqueness in making moon and comet coincide and so abolishes the unfortunate old man from "a man's life". The reason for this conjuring trick becomes evident as soon as we examine the construction of the unique history of man.

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse. C. Die Philosophie des Geistes.—Ed.*

[b] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Naturphilosophie.—Ed.*

### 2. *The Economy of the Old Testament*

We must here, for a moment, jump from the "Law" to the "Prophets", since at this point already we reveal the secret of unique domestic economy in heaven and on earth. In the Old Testament, too—where the law, man, still is a school-master of the unique (Galatians 3:24)—the history of the kingdom of the unique follows a wise plan fixed from eternity. Everything has been foreseen and preordained in order that the unique could appear in the world, when the time had come[a] to redeem holy people from their holiness.

The first book, "A Man's Life", is also called the "Book of Genesis", because it contains in embryo the entire domestic economy of the unique, because it gives us a prototype of the whole subsequent development up to the moment when the time comes for the end of the world. The entire unique history revolves round three stages: child, youth and man, who return "in various transformations" and in ever widening circles until, finally, the entire history of the world of things and the world of the spirit is reduced to "child, youth and man". Everywhere we shall find nothing but disguised "child, youth and man", just as we already discovered in them three disguised categories.

We spoke above of the German philosophical conception of history. Here, in Saint Max, we find a brilliant example of it. The speculative idea, the abstract conception, is made the driving force of history, and history is thereby turned into the mere history of philosophy. But even the latter is not conceived as, according to existing sources, it actually took place—not to mention how it evolved under the influence of real historical relations—but as it was understood and described by recent German philosophers, in particular Hegel and Feuerbach. And from these descriptions again only that was selected which could be adapted to the given end, and which came into the hands of our saint by tradition. Thus, history becomes a mere history of illusory ideas, a history of spirits and ghosts, while the real, empirical history that forms the basis of this ghostly history is only utilised to provide bodies for these ghosts; from it are borrowed the names required to clothe these ghosts with the appearance of reality. In making this experiment our saint frequently forgets his role and writes an undisguised ghost-story.

In his case we find this method of making history in its most naive, most classic simplicity. Three simple categories—realism, idealism

[a] Galatians 4:4.—*Ed.*

and absolute negativity (here named "*egoism*") as the unity of the two—which we have already encountered in the shape of the child, youth and man, are made the basis of all history and are embellished with various historical signboards; together with their modest suite of auxiliary categories they form the content of all the allegedly historical phases which are trotted out. Saint Max once again reveals here his boundless faith by pushing to greater extremes than any of his predecessors faith in the speculative content of history dished up by German philosophers. In this solemn and tedious construction of history, therefore, all that matters is to find a pompous series of resounding names for three categories that are so hackneyed that they no longer dare to show themselves publicly under their own names. Our anointed author could perfectly well have passed from the "man" (p. 20) immediately to the "ego" (p. 201) or better still to the "unique" (p. 485); but that would have been too simple. Moreover, the strong competition among the German speculative philosophers makes it the duty of each new competitor to offer an ear-splitting historical advertisement for his commodity.

"The force of true development", to use *Dottore Graziano*'s words, "proceeds most forcibly" in the following "transformations":

Basis:

I. Realism.
II. Idealism.
III. The negative unity of the two. "*One*" (p. 485).

First nomenclature:

I. *Child*, dependent on things (realism).
II. *Youth*, dependent on ideas (idealism).
III. *Man*—(as the negative unity)

expressed positively:
the owner of ideas and things
expressed negatively:
free from ideas and things
} (egoism)

*Second, historical nomenclature:*

I. *Negro* (realism, child).
II. *Mongol* (idealism, youth).
III. *Caucasian* (negative unity of realism and idealism, man).

Third, most general nomenclature:

I. Realistic egoist (egoist in the ordinary sense)—child, Negro.
II. Idealist egoist (devotee)—youth, Mongol.
III. True egoist (the unique)—man, Caucasian.

Fourth, historical nomenclature. Repetition of the preceding stages within the category of the Caucasian.

I. The *Ancients.* Negroid Caucasians—childish men—pagans—dependent on things—realists—the world.

*Transition* (child penetrating behind the "things of this world"): Sophists, Sceptics, etc.

II. The *Moderns.* Mongoloid Caucasians—youthful men—Christians—dependent on ideas—idealists—spirit.

1. Pure history of spirits,[a] Christianity as spirit. "The spirit."
2. Impure history of spirits. Spirit in relation to others. "The Possessed".

A. Purely impure history of spirits.

a) *The apparition,* the ghost, the spirit in the Negroid state, as thing-like spirit and spiritual thing—objective being for the Christian, spirit as child.

b) *The whimsy,* the fixed idea, the spirit in the Mongolian condition, as spiritual in the spirit, determination in consciousness, conceptual being in the Christian—spirit as youth.

B. Impurely impure (historical) history of spirits.

a) Catholicism—Middle Ages (the Negro, child, realism, etc.).

b) Protestantism—modern times in modern times—(Mongol, youth, idealism, etc.).

Within Protestantism it is possible to make further subdivisions, for example:

α) English philosophy—realism, child, Negro.

β) German philosophy—idealism, youth, Mongol.

3. *The Hierarchy*—negative unity of the two within the Mongoloid-Caucasian point of view. Such unity appears where historical relations are changed into actually existing relations or where opposites are presented as existing side by side. Here, therefore, we have two co-existing stages:

A. *The "uneducated"*[b] (evil ones, bourgeois, egoists in the ordinary sense)=Negroes, children, Catholics, realists, etc.

B. *The "educated"* (good ones, *citoyens,* devotees, priests, etc.)=Mongols, youths, Protestants, idealists.

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[a] In the German original *Geistergeschichte,* that is, "ghost-story" (*Geister*—ghosts or spirits; *Geschichte*—story or history). In this volume, however, it has usually been rendered as "history of spirits" to bring out more clearly the connection with the words that precede or follow it.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and later the authors ironically use Berlin dialect words for uneducated (*Unjebildete*) and educated (*Jebildete*).—*Ed.*

These two stages exist side by side and hence it follows "easily" that the "educated" rule over the "uneducated"—this is the *hierarchy.* In the further course of historical development there arises then

the non-Hegelian from the "uneducated",
the Hegelian from the "educated",*

from which it follows that the Hegelians rule over the non-Hegelians. In this way Stirner converts the speculative notion of the domination of the speculative idea in history into the notion of the domination of the speculative philosophers themselves. The view of history hitherto held by him—the domination of the idea—becomes in the hierarchy a relation actually existing at present; it becomes the world domination of ideologists. This shows how deeply Stirner has plunged into speculation. This domination of the speculative philosophers and ideologists is finally developing, "for the time has come" for it, into the following, concluding nomenclature:

a) *Political liberalism,* dependent on things, independent of persons—realism, child, Negro, the ancient, apparition, Catholicism, the "uneducated", masterless.
b) Social liberalism, independent of things, dependent on the spirit, without object—idealism, youth, Mongol, the modern, whimsy, Protestantism, the "educated", propertyless.
c) *Humane liberalism,* masterless and propertyless, that is godless, for God is simultaneously the supreme master and the supreme possession, hierarchy—negative unity in the sphere of liberalism and, as such, domination over the world of things and thoughts; at the same time the perfect egoist in the abolition of egoism—the perfect hierarchy. At the same time, it forms the

*Transition* (youth penetrating behind the world of thoughts) to

III. the "*ego*"—i.e., the perfect Christian, the perfect man, the Caucasian Caucasian and true egoist, who—just as the Christian became spirit through the supersession of the ancient world—becomes a corporeal being[a] through the dissolution of the realm of spirits, by entering, *sine beneficio deliberandi et inventarii,* into the inheritance of idealism, the

* "The shaman and the speculative philosopher denote the lowest and the highest point in the scale of the *inner* man, the Mongol" (p. 453).

[a] In German a pun on *der Leibhaftige,* which can mean corporeal being or the devil.—*Ed.*

youth, the Mongol, the modern, the Christian, the possessed, the whimsical, the Protestant, the "educated", the Hegelian and the humane liberal.

NB. 1. "At times" Feuerbachian and other categories, such as reason, the heart, etc., may be also "included episodically", should a suitable occasion arise, to heighten the colour of the picture and to produce new effects. It goes without saying that these, too, are only new disguises of the ever present idealism and realism.

2. The very pious Saint Max, *Jacques le bonhomme,* has nothing real and mundane to say about real mundane history, except that under the name of "nature", the "world of things", the "world of the child", etc., he always opposes it to consciousness, as an object of speculation of the latter, as a world which, in spite of its continual annihilation, continues to exist in a mystical darkness, in order to reappear on every convenient occasion—probably because children and Negroes continue to exist, and hence also their world, the so-called world of things, "easily" continues to exist. Concerning such historical and non-historical constructions, good old *Hegel* wrote with regard to Schelling—the model for all constructors—that one can say the following in this context:

"It is no more difficult to handle the instrument of this monotonous formalism than a painter's palette which has only two colours, say black" (realistic, childish, Negroid, etc.) "and yellow"[a] (idealist, youthful, Mongolian, etc.), "in order to use the former to paint a surface when something historical" (the "world of things") "is required, and the latter when a landscape" ("heaven", spirit, holiness, etc.) "is needed" (*Phänomenologie,* p. 39).

"Ordinary consciousness" has even more pointedly ridiculed constructions of this kind in the following song:

The master sent out John
And told him to cut the hay;
But John did not cut the hay
Nor did he come back home.

Then the master sent out the dog
And told him to bite John;
But the dog did not bite John,
John did not cut the hay
And they did not come back home.

Then the master sent out the stick
And told it to beat the dog;
But the stick did not beat the dog,
The dog did not bite John,
John did not cut the hay
And they did not come back home.

[a] Hegel mentions red and green as examples.— *Ed.*

Then the master sent out fire
And told it to burn the stick;
But the fire did not burn the stick,
The stick did not beat the dog,
The dog did not bite John,
John did not cut the hay
And they did not come back home.

Then the master sent out water
And told it to put out the fire;
But the water did not put out the fire,
The fire did not burn the stick,
The stick did not beat the dog,
The dog did not bite John,
John did not cut the hay
And they did not come back home.

Then the master sent out the ox
And told it to drink the water;
But the ox did not drink the water,
The water did not put out the fire,
The fire did not burn the stick,
The stick did not beat the dog,
The dog did not bite John,
John did not cut the hay
And they did not come back home.

Then the master sent out the butcher
And told him to slaughter the ox;
But the butcher did not slaughter the ox,
The ox did not drink the water,
The water did not put out the fire,
The fire did not burn the stick,
The stick did not beat the dog,
The dog did not bite John,
John did not cut the hay
And they did not come back home.

Then the master sent out the hangman
And told him to hang the butcher;
The hangman did hang the butcher,
The butcher slaughtered the ox,
The ox drank the water,
The water put out the fire,
The fire burnt the stick,
The stick beat the dog,
The dog bit John,
John cut the hay,
And they all came back home.[a]

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[a] A German nursery rhyme.— *Ed.*

We shall now see with what "virtuosity of thought" and with what schoolboyish material Jacques le bonhomme elaborates on this scheme.

### 3. *The Ancients*

Properly speaking we ought to begin here with the Negroes; but Saint Max, who undoubtedly sits in the "Council of Guardians", in his unfathomable wisdom introduces the Negroes only later, and even then "without any claim to thoroughness and authenticity". If, therefore, we make Greek philosophy precede the Negro era, i.e., the campaigns of Sesostris and Napoleon's expedition to Egypt,[48] it is because we are confident that our holy author has arranged everything wisely.

"Let us, therefore, take a look at the activities which tempt" Stirner's ancients.

> "'For the ancients, the world was a truth,' says Feuerbach; but he forgets to make the important addition: a truth, the untruth of which they sought to penetrate and, finally, did indeed penetrate" (p. 22).

"For the ancients", *their* "world" (not *the* world) "was a truth"—whereby, of course, no truth about the ancient world is stated, but only that the ancients did not have a Christian attitude to their world. As soon as *untruth* penetrated their world (i.e., as soon as this world itself disintegrated in consequence of practical conflicts—and to demonstrate this materialistic development empirically would be the only thing of interest), the ancient philosophers sought to penetrate the world of truth or the truth of their world and then, of course, they found that it had become untrue. Their very search was itself a symptom of the internal collapse of this world. Jacques le bonhomme transforms the idealist symptom into the material cause of the collapse and, as a German church father, makes antiquity itself seek its own negation, Christianity. For him this position of antiquity is inevitable because the ancients are "*children*" who seek to penetrate the "world of things". "And that is fairly easy too": by transforming the ancient world into the later consciousness regarding the ancient world, Jacques le bonhomme can, of course, jump in a single leap from the materialistic ancient world to the world of religion, to Christianity. Now the "word of God" immediately emerges in opposition to the real world of antiquity; the Christian conceived as the modern sceptic emerges in opposition to the ancient man conceived as philosopher. His Christian "is never convinced of the vanity of the word of God" and, in consequence of this lack of

conviction, he "believes" "in its eternal and invincible truth" (p. 22). Just as Stirner's ancient is ancient because he is a non-Christian, not yet a Christian or a hidden Christian, so his primitive Christian is a Christian because he is a non-atheist, not yet an atheist or a hidden atheist. Stirner, therefore, causes Christianity to be negated by the ancients and modern atheism by the primitive Christians, instead of the reverse. Jacques le bonhomme, like all other speculative philosophers, seizes everything by its philosophical tail. A few more examples of this child-like gullibility immediately follow.

"The Christian must consider himself a 'stranger on the earth' (Epistle to the Hebrews 11:13)" (p. 23).

On the contrary, the strangers on earth (arising from extremely natural causes e.g., the colossal concentration of wealth in the whole Roman world, etc., etc.) had to consider themselves Christians. It was not their Christianity that made them vagrants, but their vagrancy that made them Christians.

On the same page the holy father jumps straight from Sophocles' *Antigone* and the sacredness of the burial ceremonial connected with it to the Gospel of Matthew, 8:22 (let the dead bury their dead), while Hegel, at any rate in the *Phänomenologie*, gradually passes fróm the *Antigone*, etc., to the Romans. With equal right Saint Max could have passed at once to the Middle Ages and, together with Hegel, have advanced this biblical statement against the Crusaders or even, in order to be quite original, have contrasted the burial of Polynices by Antigone with the transfer of the ashes of Napoleon from St. Helena to Paris. It is stated further:

"In Christianity the inviolable truth of family ties" (which on page 22 is noted as one of the "truths" of the ancients) "is depicted as an untruth which should be got rid of as quickly as possible (Mark, 10:29) and so in everything" (p. 23).

This proposition, in which reality is again turned upside-down, should be put the right way up as follows: the actual untruth of family ties (concerning which, *inter alia*, the still existing documents of pre-Christian Roman legislation should be examined) is depicted in Christianity as an inviolable truth, "and so in everything".

From these examples, therefore, it is superabundantly evident how Jacques le bonhomme, who strives to "get rid as quickly as possible" of empirical history, stands facts on their heads, causes material history to be produced by ideal history, "and so in everything". At the outset we learn only the alleged attitude of the ancients to their world; as dogmatists they are put in opposition to the ancient world, their own world, instead of appearing as its creators; it is a question only of the relation of consciousness to the

object, to truth; it is a question, therefore, only of the philosophical relation of the ancients to their world—ancient history is replaced by the history of ancient philosophy, and this only in the form in which Saint Max imagines it according to Hegel and Feuerbach.

Thus the history of Greece, from the time of Pericles inclusively, is reduced to a struggle of abstractions: reason, spirit, heart, worldliness, etc. These are the Greek parties. In this ghostly world, which is presented as the Greek world, allegorical persons such as Madame Purity of Heart "machinate" and mythical figures like Pilate (who must never be missing where there are children) find a place quite seriously side by side with Timon of Phlius.

After presenting us with some astounding revelations about the Sophists and Socrates, Saint Max immediately jumps to the Sceptics. He discovers that they completed the work which Socrates began. Hence the positive philosophy of the Greeks that followed immediately after the Sophists and Socrates, especially Aristotle's encyclopaedic learning, does not exist at all for Jacques le bonhomme. He strives "to get rid as quickly as possible" of the past and hurries to the transition to the "moderns", finding this transition in the Sceptics, Stoics and Epicureans. Let us see what our holy father has to reveal about them.

"The Stoics wish to realise the ideal of the wise man ... the man who knows how to live ... they find this ideal in contempt for the world, in a life without living development [...] without friendly intercourse with the world, i.e., in a life of isolation [...] not in a life in common with others; the Stoic alone lives, for him everything else is dead. The Epicureans, on the other hand, demand an active life" (p. 30).

We refer Jacques le bonhomme—the man who wants to realise himself and who knows how to live—to, *inter alia*, Diogenes Laertius: there he will discover that the wise man, the *sophos*, is nothing but the idealised Stoic, not the Stoic the realised wise man; he will discover that the *sophos* is by no means only a Stoic but is met with just as much among the Epicureans, the Neo-academists and the Sceptics. Incidentally, the *sophos* is the first form in which the Greek *philosophos* confronts us; he appears mythologically in the seven wise men, in practice in Socrates, and as an ideal among the Stoics, Epicureans, Neo-academists[49] and Sceptics. Each of these schools, of course, has its own σοφός,[a] just as Saint Bruno has his own "unique sex". Indeed, Saint Max can find "*le sage*" again in the eighteenth century in the philosophy of Enlightenment, and even in Jean Paul in the shape of the "wise men" like Emanuel,[b] etc. The Stoical wise man by no means

[a] Wise man.— *Ed.*
[b] Jean Paul, *Hesperus oder 45 Hundsposttage.*— *Ed.*

has in mind "life without living development", but an *absolutely active* life, as is evident even from his concept of nature, which is Heraclitean, dynamic, developing and living, while for the Epicureans the principle of the concept of nature is the *mors immortalis*,[a] as Lucretius says, the atom, and, in opposition to Aristotle's divine energy, divine leisure is put forward as the ideal of life instead of "active life".

"The ethics of the Stoics (their only science, for they were unable to say anything about the spirit except what its relation to the world should be; and about nature—physics—they could say only that the wise man has to assert himself against it) is not a doctrine of the spirit, but merely a doctrine of rejection of the world and of self-assertion against the world" (p. 31).

The Stoics were able to "say about nature" that physics is one of the most important sciences for the philosopher and consequently they even went to the trouble of further developing the physics of Heraclitus; they were "further able to say" that the ὥρα , masculine beauty, is the highest that the individual could represent, and glorified life in tune with nature, although they fell into contradictions in so doing. According to the Stoics, philosophy is divided into three doctrines: "physics, ethics, logic".

"They compare philosophy to the animal and to the egg, logic—to the bones and sinews of the animal, and to the outer shell of the egg, ethics—to the flesh of the animal and to the albumen of the egg, and physics—to the *soul* of the animal and to the yolk of the egg" (Diogenes Laertius, *Zeno*).

From this alone it is evident how little true it is to say that "ethics is the only science of the Stoics". It should be added also that, apart from Aristotle, they were the chief founders of formal logic and systematics in general.

That the "Stoics were unable to say anything about the spirit" is so little true that even *seeing spirits* originated from them, on account of which Epicurus opposes them, as an Enlightener, and ridicules them as "old women",[b] while precisely the Neo-Platonists borrowed part of their tales about spirits from the Stoics. This spirit-seeing of the Stoics arises, on the one hand, from the impossibility of achieving a dynamic concept of nature without the material furnished by empirical natural science, and, on the other hand, from their effort to interpret the ancient Greek world and even religion in a speculative manner and make them analogous to the thinking spirit.

The "ethics of the Stoics" is so much a "doctrine of world rejection and of self-assertion against the world" that, for example, it was

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[a] Immortal death. Lucretius, *De rerum natura libri sex*, Book 3, Verse 882.—*Ed.*
[b] See present edition, Vol. 1, p. 43.—*Ed.*

counted a Stoical virtue to "have a sound fatherland, a worthy friend", that "the beautiful alone" is declared to be "the good", and that the Stoical wise man is allowed to mingle with the world in every way, for example, to commit incest, etc., etc. The Stoical wise man is to such an extent caught up "in a life of isolation and not in a life in common with others" that it is said of him in *Zeno*:

"Let not the wise man wonder at anything that seems wonderful—but neither will the worthy man live in *solitude*, for he is *social* by nature and *active in practice*" (Diogenes Laertius, Book VII, 1).

Incidentally, it would be asking too much to demand that, for the sake of refuting this schoolboyish wisdom of Jacques le bonhomme, one should set forth the very complicated and contradictory ethics of the Stoics.

In connection with the Stoics, Jacques le bonhomme has to note the existence of the *Romans* also (p. 31), of whom, of course, he is unable to say anything, since they have no philosophy. The only thing we hear of them is that *Horace* (!) "did not go beyond the Stoics' worldly wisdom" (p. 32). *Integer vitae, scelerisque purus!*[a]

In connection with the Stoics, *Democritus* is also mentioned in the following way: a muddled passage of Diogenes Laertius (*Democritus*, Book IX, 7, 45), which in addition has been inaccurately translated, is copied out from some textbook, and made the basis for a lengthy diatribe about Democritus. This diatribe has the distinguishing feature of being in direct contradiction to its basis, i.e., to the above-mentioned muddled and inaccurately translated passage, and converts "peace of mind" (Stirner's translation of εὐθυμία , in Low German *Wellmuth*) into "rejection of the world". The fact is that Stirner imagines that Democritus was a Stoic, and indeed of the sort that the unique and the ordinary schoolboyish consciousness conceive a Stoic to be. Stirner thinks that "his whole activity amounts to an endeavour to detach himself from the world", "hence to a rejection of the world", and that in the person of Democritus he can refute the Stoics. That the eventful life of Democritus, who had wandered through the world a great deal, flagrantly contradicts this notion of Saint Max's; that the real source from which to learn about the philosophy of Democritus is Aristotle and not a couple of anecdotes from Diogenes Laertius; that Democritus, far from rejecting the world, was, on the contrary, an empirical natural scientist and the first encyclopaedic mind among the Greeks; that his almost unknown ethics was limited to a few remarks which he is

[a] He of life without flaw, pure from sin. Horace, *The Odes*, Book 1—Ode XXII. Verse 1.—*Ed.*

*alleged* to have made when he was an old, much-travelled man; that his writings on natural science can be called philosophy only *per abusum*,[a] because for him, in contrast to Epicurus, the atom was only a physical hypothesis, an expedient for explaining facts, just as it is in the proportional combinations of modern chemistry (Dalton and others)—all this does not suit the purpose of Jacques le bonhomme. Democritus must be understood in the "unique" fashion, Democritus speaks of euthymia, hence of peace of mind, hence of withdrawal into oneself, hence of rejection of the world. Democritus is a Stoic, and he differs from the Indian fakir mumbling "Brahma" (the word should have been "Om"),[50] only as the comparative differs from the superlative, i.e., "only *in degree*".

Of the Epicureans our friend knows exactly as much as he does of the Stoics, viz., the unavoidable schoolboy's minimum. He contrasts the Epicurean "hedone"[b] with the "ataraxia"[c] of the Stoics and Sceptics, not knowing that this "ataraxia" is also to be found in Epicurus and, moreover, as something placed higher than the "hedone"—in consequence of which his whole contrast falls to the ground. He tells us that the Epicureans "teach *only a different attitude* to the world" from that of the Stoics; but let him show us the (non-Stoic) philosopher of "ancient or modern times" who does not do "only" the same. Finally, Saint Max enriches us with a new dictum of the Epicureans: "the world must be deceived, for it is my enemy". Hitherto it was only known that the Epicureans made statements in the sense that the world must be *disillusioned*, and especially freed from fear of gods, for the world is my *friend*.

To give our saint some indication of the real base on which the philosophy of Epicurus rests, it is sufficient to mention that the idea that the state rests on the mutual agreement of people, on a *contrat social* (συνθήκη[d]), is found for the first time in Epicurus.

The extent to which Saint Max's disclosures about the Sceptics follow the same line is already evident from the fact that he considers their philosophy more radical than that of Epicurus. The Sceptics reduced the theoretical relation of people to things to *appearance*, and in practice they left everything as of old, being guided by this appearance just as much as others are guided by actuality; they merely gave it another name. Epicurus, on the other hand, was the true radical Enlightener of antiquity; he openly attacked the ancient religion, and it was from him, too, that the atheism of the Romans,

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[a] By abuse, i. e., improperly, wrongly.—*Ed.*
[b] Pleasure.—*Ed.*
[c] Equanimity, imperturbability, intrepidity.—*Ed.*
[d] Contract (see present edition, Vol. 1, pp. 409-10).—*Ed.*

insofar as it existed, was derived. For this reason, too, Lucretius praised Epicurus as the hero who was the first to overthrow the gods and trample religion underfoot; for this reason among all church fathers, from Plutarch to Luther, Epicurus has always had the reputation of being the atheist philosopher *par excellence*, and was called a swine; for which reason, too, Clement of Alexandria says that when Paul takes up arms against philosophy he has in mind Epicurean philosophy alone. (*Stromatum*, Book I [chap. XI], p. 295, Cologne edition, 1688.[a]) Hence we see how "cunning, perfidious" and "clever" was the attitude of this open atheist to the world in directly attacking its religion, while the Stoics adapted the ancient religion in their own speculative fashion, and the Sceptics used their concept of "appearance" as the excuse for being able to accompany all their judgments with a *reservatio mentalis*.

Thus, according to Stirner, the Stoics finally arrive at "contempt for the world" (p. 30), the Epicureans at "the same worldly wisdom as the Stoics" (p. 32), and the Sceptics at the point where they "let the world alone and do not worry about it at all". Hence, according to Stirner, all three end in an attitude of indifference to the world, of "contempt for the world" (p. 485). Long before him, Hegel expressed it in this way: Stoicism, Scepticism, Epicureanism "aimed at making the mind indifferent towards everything that actuality has to offer" (*Philosophie der Geschichte*,[b] p. 327).

"The ancients," writes Saint Max, summing up his criticism of the ancient world of ideas, "it is true, had ideas, but they did not know *the idea*" (p. 30). In this connection, "one should recall what was said earlier about our childhood ideas" (ibid.).

The history of ancient philosophy has to conform to Stirner's design. In order that the Greeks should retain their role of children, Aristotle ought not to have lived and his thought in and for itself (ἡ νόησις ἡ καθ'αὑτήν), his self-thinking reason (αὑτόν δὲ νοεῖ ὁ νοῦς) and his self-thinking intellect (ἡ νόησις τῆς νοήσεως) should never have occurred; and in general his *Metaphysics* and the third book of his *Psychology*[c] ought not to have existed.

With just as much right as Saint Max here recalls "what was said earlier about our childhood", when he discussed "our childhood" he could have said: let the reader look up what will be *said* below about the ancients and the Negroes and will *not* be said about Aristotle.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 1, p. 488.—*Ed.*
[b] G.W.F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*.—*Ed.*
[c] Aristoteles, *De anima*.—*Ed.*

In order to appreciate the true meaning of the last ancient philosophies during the dissolution of the ancient world, Jacques le bonhomme had only to look at the real situation in life of their adherents under the world dominion of Rome. He could have found, *inter alia*, in Lucian a detailed description of how the people regarded them as public buffoons, and how the Roman capitalists, proconsuls, etc., hired them as court jesters for their entertainment, so that after squabbling at the table with slaves for a few bones and a crust of bread and after being given a special sour wine, they would amuse the master of the house and his guests with delightful words like "ataraxia", "aphasia",[a] "hedone", etc.*

Incidentally, if our good man wanted to make the history of ancient philosophy into a history of antiquity, then as a matter of course he ought to have merged the Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics in the Neo-Platonists, whose philosophy is nothing but a fantastic combination of the Stoic, Epicurean and Sceptical doctrine with the content of the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. Instead of that, he merges these doctrines directly in Christianity.**

It is not "Stirner" that has left Greek philosophy "behind him", but Greek philosophy that has "Stirner" behind *it* (cf. *Wigand*, p. 186[b]). Instead of telling us *how* "antiquity" arrives at a world of things and "copes" with it, this ignorant school-master causes antiquity blissfully to vanish by means of a quotation from Timon; whereby antiquity the more naturally "arrives at its final goal" since, according to Saint Max, the ancients "found themselves placed by *nature*" in the ancient "communality", which, "let us say in conclusion", "can be understood" the more easily because this communality, the family, etc., are dubbed "the so-called *natural* ties" (p. 33). By means of nature the ancient "world of things" is created, and by means of Timon and Pilate (p. 32) it is destroyed. Instead of describing the "world of things" which provides the material basis of

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] ... just as after the Revolution the French aristocrats became the dancing instructors of the whole of Europe, and the English lords will soon find their true place in the civilised world as stable-hands and kennel-men.

** [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] On the contrary, Stirner should have shown us that Hellenism even after its disintegration still continued to exist for a long time; that next to it the Romans gained world domination, what they really did in the world, how the Roman world developed and declined, and finally how the Hellenic and Roman world perished, spiritually in Christianity and materially in the migration of the peoples.

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[a] Refusal to express any definite opinion.—*Ed.*

[b] Max Stirner, "Recensenten Stirners".—*Ed.*

Christianity, he causes this "world of things" to be annihilated in the world of the spirit, in Christianity.

The German philosophers are accustomed to counterpose antiquity, as the epoch of realism, to Christianity and modern times, as the epoch of idealism, whereas the French and English economists, historians and scientists are accustomed to regard antiquity as the period of idealism in contrast to the materialism and empiricism of modern times. In the same way antiquity can be considered to be idealistic insofar as in history the ancients represent the "*citoyen*", the idealist politician, while in the final analysis the moderns turn into the "bourgeois", the realist *ami du commerce*[a]—or again it can be considered to be realistic, because for the ancients the communality was a "truth", whereas for the moderns it is an idealist "lie". All these abstract counterposings and historical constructions are of very little use.

The "unique thing" we learn from this whole portrayal of the ancients is that, whereas Stirner "knows" very few "things" about the ancient world, he has all the "better seen through" them (cf. *Wigand*, p. 191).

Stirner is truly that same "man child" of whom it is prophesied in the Revelation of St. John, 12:5, that he "was to rule all nations with a rod of iron". We have seen how he sets about the unfortunate heathen with the iron rod of his ignorance. The "moderns" will fare no better.

### 4. *The Moderns*

"Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new" (2 Corinthians 5:17) (p. 33).

By means of this biblical saying the ancient world has now indeed "passed away" or, as Saint Max really wanted to say, "all gone",[b] and with one leap[c] we have jumped over to the new, Christian, youthful, Mongoloid "world of the spirit". We shall see that this, too, will have "all gone" in a very short space of time.

"Whereas it was stated above 'for the ancients, the world was a truth', we must say here 'for the moderns the spirit was a truth', but in neither case should we forget the important addition: 'a truth, the untruth of which they sought to penetrate and, finally, did indeed penetrate'" (p. 33).

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[a] An expression of Fourier (see Ch. Fourier, *Des trois unités externes*).—*Ed.*

[b] Here the authors ironically use the Berlin dialect words *alle jeworden*.—*Ed.*

[c] In German a pun on the word *Satz*, which means a leap, a jump and also a sentence, a proposition.—*Ed.*

While we do not wish to devise any Stirner-like constructions, "we must say here": for the moderns truth was a spirit, namely the holy spirit. Jacques le bonhomme again takes the moderns not in their actual historical connection with the "world of things"—which, despite being "all gone", nevertheless continues to exist—but in their theoretical, and indeed religious, attitude. For him the history of the Middle Ages and modern times again exists only as the history of religion and philosophy; he devoutly believes all the illusions of these epochs and the philosophical illusions about these illusions. Thus, having given the history of the moderns the same turn as he gave that of the ancients, Saint Max can then easily "demonstrate" in it a "similar course to that taken by antiquity", and pass from the Christian religion to modern German philosophy as rapidly as he passed from ancient philosophy to the Christian religion. On page 37 he himself gives a characterisation of his historical illusions, by making the discovery that "the ancients have nothing to offer but *worldly wisdom*" and that "the moderns have never gone, and do not go, beyond *theology*", and he solemnly asks: "What did the *moderns* seek to penetrate?" The ancients and moderns alike do nothing else in history but "seek to penetrate something"—the ancients try to find out what is behind the world of things, the moderns behind the world of the spirit. In the end the ancients are left "without a world" and the moderns "without a spirit"; the ancients wanted to become idealists, the moderns to become realists (p. 485), but both of them were only occupied with the divine (p. 488)—"history up to now" is only the "history of the spiritual man" (what faith!) (p. 442)—in short we have again the child and the youth, the Negro and the Mongol, and all the rest of the terminology of the "various transformations".

At the same time we see a faithful imitation of the speculative manner, by which children beget their father, and what is earlier is brought about by what is later. From the very outset Christians must "seek to penetrate the untruthfulness of their truth", they must immediately be hidden atheists and critics, as was already indicated concerning the ancients. But not satisfied with this, Saint Max gives one more brilliant example of his "virtuosity in" (speculative) "thought" (p. 230):

> "Now, *after* liberalism has acclaimed *man, one* can state that thereby *only the last consequence* of Christianity *has been drawn* and that Christianity *originally set itself no other task* than that of ... realising *man.*"

Since allegedly the last consequence of Christianity has been drawn, "*one*" can state that it has been drawn. As soon as the later

ones have transformed what was earlier "*one* can state" that the earlier ones "originally", namely "*in truth*", in essence, in heaven, as hidden Jews, "set themselves no other task" than that of being transformed by the later ones. *Christianity*, for Jacques le bonhomme, is a self-positing subject, the absolute spirit, which "originally" posits its end as its beginning. Cf. Hegel's *Encyclopädie*, etc.

"Hence" (namely because one can attribute an imaginary task to Christianity) "there follows the delusion" (of course, before Feuerbach it was impossible to know what task Christianity "had originally set itself") "that Christianity attaches infinite value to the ego, as revealed, for example, in the theory of immortality and pastoral work. No, it attaches this value to *man* alone, *man* alone is immortal, and only because I am a *man*, am I also immortal."

If, then, from the whole of Stirner's scheme and formulation of tasks it emerges, already sufficiently clearly, that Christianity can lend immortality only to Feuerbach's "man", we learn here in addition that this comes about also because Christianity does not ascribe this immortality—to *animals* as well.

Let us now also draw up a scheme *à la* Saint Max.

"*Now, after*" modern large-scale landownership, which has arisen from the process of parcellation, has actually "*proclaimed*" primogeniture, "*one can state that thereby only the last consequence*" of the parcellation of landed property "*has been drawn*" "*and that*" parcellation "*in truth originally set itself no other task than that of realising*" primogeniture, true primogeniture. "*Hence there follows the delusion*" that parcellation "*attaches infinite value*" to equal rights of members of the family, "*as revealed, for example*", in the laws of inheritance of the *Code Napoléon*. "*No, it attaches this value solely*" to the eldest son; "*only*" the eldest son, the future owner of the entailed estate, will become a large landowner, "*and only because I am*" the eldest son "*I will also be*" a large landowner.

In this way it is infinitely easy to give history "unique" turns, as one has only to describe its very latest result as the "task" which "in truth originally it set itself". Thereby earlier times acquire a bizarre and hitherto unprecedented appearance. It produces a striking impression, and does not require great production costs. As, for instance, if one says that the real "task" which the institution of landed property "originally set itself" was to replace people by sheep—a consequence which has recently become manifest in Scotland, etc., or that the proclamation of the Capet dynasty[51] "originally in truth set itself the task" of sending Louis XVI to the guillotine and M. Guizot into the Government. The important thing is to do it in a solemn, pious, priestly way, to draw a deep breath, and then suddenly to burst out: "Now, at last, *one* can state it."

What Saint Max says about the moderns in the above section (pp. 33-37) is only the prologue to the spirit history which is in store for us. Here, too, we see how he tries "to rid himself as quickly as possible" of empirical facts and parades before us the same categories as in the case of the ancients—*reason, heart,* spirit, etc.—only they are given different names. The Sophists become sophistical scholastics, "humanists, Machiavellism (the art of printing, the New World", etc.; cf. Hegel's *Geschichte der Philosophie,*[a] III, p. 128) who represent reason; Socrates is transformed into Luther, who extols the heart (Hegel, l.c., p. 227), and of the post-Reformation period we learn that during that time it was a matter of "empty cordiality" (which in the section about the ancients was called "purity of heart", cf. Hegel, l.c., p. 241). All this on page 34. In this way Saint Max "proves" that "Christianity takes a course similar to that of antiquity". After Luther he no longer even troubles to provide names for his categories; he hurries in seven-league boots to modern German philosophy. Four appositions ("until nothing remains but empty cordiality, all the universal love of mankind, love of *man,* consciousness of freedom, 'self-consciousness'", p. 34; Hegel, l.c., pp. 228, 229), four words fill the gulf between Luther and Hegel and "only thus is Christianity completed". This whole argument is achieved in one masterly sentence, with the help of such levers as "at last"—"and from that time"—"since *one*"—"also"—"from day to day"—"until finally", etc., a sentence which the reader can verify for himself on the classic page 34 already mentioned.

Finally Saint Max gives us a few more examples of his faith, showing that he is so little ashamed of the Gospel that he asserts: "We really are nothing but spirit", and maintains that at the end of the ancient world "after long efforts" the "spirit" has really "rid itself of the world". And immediately afterwards he once more betrays the secret of his scheme, by declaring of the Christian spirit that "*like a youth* it entertains plans for improving or saving the world". All this on page 36.

"So he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness: and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy.... And upon her forehead was a name written, Mystery, Babylon the Great ... and I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints", etc. (Revelation of St. John, 17, Verses 3, 5, 6).

The apocalyptic prophet did not prophesy accurately this time. Now at last, after Stirner has acclaimed *man,* one can state that he ought to have said: So he carried me into the wilderness of the spirit. And I saw a man sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of blasphemy

[a] G.W.F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie.— Ed.*

of names ... and upon his forehead was a name written, Mystery, the unique ... and I saw the man drunken with the blood of holy, etc.

So we now enter the wilderness of the spirit.

### *A. The Spirit (Pure History of Spirits)*

The first thing we learn about the "spirit" is that it is not the spirit but "the *realm* of spirits" that "is immensely large". Saint Max has nothing to say immediately of the spirit except that "an immensely large realm of spirits" exists—just as all he knows of the Middle Ages is that this period lasted for "a long time". Having presupposed that this "realm of spirits" exists, he subsequently proves its existence with the help of ten theses.

1. The spirit is not a free spirit until it is not occupied *with itself alone,* until it is not "solely concerned" *with its own* world, the "spiritual" world (first with itself alone and then with its own world).
2. "It is a *free* spirit only *in* a world of its own."
3. "Only *by means of* a spiritual world is the spirit really spirit."
4. "Before the spirit has created its world of spirits, it is not spirit."
5. "Its creations make it spirit."...
6. "Its creations are its world." ...
7. "The spirit is the creator of a spiritual world." ...
8. "The spirit exists only when it creates the spiritual." ...
9. "Only together with the spiritual, which is its creation, is it real."...
10. "*But* the works or offspring of the spirit are nothing but—spirits" (pp. 38-39).

In thesis 1 the "spiritual world" is again immediately presupposed as existing, instead of being deduced, and this thesis 1 is again preached to us in theses 2-9 in eight new transformations. At the end of thesis 9 we find ourselves exactly where we were at the end of thesis 1—and then in thesis 10 a "*but*" suddenly introduces us to "*spirits*", about whom so far nothing has been said.

"*Since* the spirit exists only by creating the spiritual, *we look* around for its first creations" (p. 41).

According to theses 3, 4, 5, 8, and 9, however, the spirit is its own creation. This is now expressed thus, the spirit, i.e., the first creation of the spirit,

"must arise out of nothing" ... "it must first create itself" ... "its first creation is itself, the spirit" (ibid.). "When it has accomplished this creative act there follows from then on a natural reproduction of creations *just as, according to the myth,* only the first human beings had to be created and the rest of the human race was reproduced of itself" (ibid.).

"However mystical this may sound, we nevertheless experience this daily. Are you a thinking person before you think? In creating your *first thought,* you create *yourself,*

*the thinker,* for you do not think until you think, i.e."—i.e.,—"*have* some thought. Is it not your singing alone that makes you a singer, your speech that makes you a speaking person? Well, in the same way only the creation of the spiritual makes you spirit."

Our saintly conjurer assumes that the spirit creates the spiritual in order to draw the conclusion that the spirit creates itself *as spirit*; on the other hand, he assumes it *as spirit* in order to allow it to arrive at its spiritual creations (which, "according to the myth, are reproduced of themselves" and become spirits). So far we have the long-familiar orthodox-Hegelian phrases. The genuinely "unique" exposition of what Saint Max wants to say only begins with the example he gives. That is to say, if Jacques le bonhomme cannot get any further, if even "One" and "It" are unable to float his stranded ship, "Stirner" calls his third serf to his assistance, the "You", who never leaves him in the lurch and on whom he can rely in extremity. This "You" is an individual whom we are not encountering for the first time, a pious and faithful servant,[a] whom we have seen going through fire and water, a worker in the vineyard of his lord, a man who does not allow anything to terrify him, in a word he is: *Szeliga.** When "Stirner" is in the utmost plight in his exposition he cries out: Szeliga, help!—and trusty Eckart Szeliga immediately puts his shoulder to the wheel to get the cart out of the mire. We shall have more to say later about Saint Max's relation to Szeliga.

It is a question of spirit which creates *itself* out of *nothing,* hence it is a question of *nothing,* which *out of nothing* makes itself *spirit.* From this Saint Max derives the creation of Szeliga's spirit from Szeliga. And who else if not Szeliga could "Stirner" count on allowing himself to be put in the place of nothing in the manner indicated above? Who could be taken in by such a trick but Szeliga, who feels highly flattered at being allowed to appear at all as one of the *dramatis personae*? What Saint Max had to prove was not that a given "you", i.e., the given Szeliga, becomes a thinker, speaker, singer from the moment when he begins to think, speak, sing—but that the *thinker* creates *himself out of nothing* by beginning to think, that the *singer* creates *himself out of nothing* by beginning to sing, etc., and it is not even the thinker and the singer, but the *thought* and the *singing* as subjects that create *themselves out of nothing* by beginning to think and to sing. For the rest, "Stirner makes only the extremely simple

* Cf. *Die heilige Familie, oder Kritik der kritischen Kritik,* where the earlier exploits of this man of God have already been set forth.[b]

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[a] Matthew 25:21.—*Ed.*
[b] See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 55-77.—*Ed.*

reflection" and states only the "extremely popular" proposition (cf. *Wigand*, p. 156) that Szeliga develops one of his qualities by developing it. There is, of course, absolutely nothing "to be wondered at" in the fact that Saint Max does not even "make" correctly "such simple reflections", but expresses them incorrectly in order thereby to prove a still much more incorrect proposition with the aid of the most incorrect logic in the world.

Far from it being true that "out of nothing" I make myself, for example, a "speaker", the nothing which forms the basis here is a very manifold something, the real individual, his speech organs, a definite stage of physical development, an existing language and dialects, ears capable of hearing and a human environment from which it is possible to hear something, etc., etc. Therefore, in the development of a property something is created by something out of something, and by no means comes, as in Hegel's *Logik*, from nothing, through nothing to nothing.[a]

Now that Saint Max has his faithful Szeliga close at hand, everything goes forward smoothly again. We shall see how, by means of his "you", he again transforms the spirit into the youth, exactly as he earlier transformed the youth into the spirit; here we shall again find the whole history of the youth repeated almost word for word, only with a few camouflaging alterations—just as the "immensely large realm of spirits" mentioned on page 37 was nothing but the "realm of the spirit", to found and enlarge which was the "aim" of the spirit of the youth (p. 17).

"*Just as* you, however, distinguish yourself from the thinker, singer, speaker, *so* you distinguish yourself no less from the spirit and are well aware that you are something else as well as spirit. However, *just as* in the enthusiasm of thinking it may *easily* happen that sight and hearing fail the thinking ego, *so* the enthusiasm of the spirit has seized you *too, and* you *now* aspire with all your might to become wholly spirit and merged in spirit. The spirit is your ideal, something unattained, something of the beyond: spirit means your—God, 'God is spirit'[b].... You inveigh against yourself, you who cannot get rid of a relic of the non-spiritual. Instead of saying: I am more than spirit, *you say* contritely: I am less than spirit, and I can only envisage spirit, pure spirit, or the spirit which is nothing but spirit, but I am not it, *and since I am not it, then it is an other,* it exists as an other, whom I call 'God'."

After previously for a long time occupying ourselves with the trick of making something out of nothing, we now suddenly, perfectly "naturally", come to an individual who is something else as well as spirit, consequently is something, and wants to become pure spirit,

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[a] Cf. G.W.F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, Th. I, Abt. 2.—*Ed.*
[b] John 4:24.—*Ed.*

i.e., nothing. This much easier problem, i.e., to turn something into nothing, once again poses the whole story of the youth, who "has ye. to seek the perfect spirit", and one needs merely to repeat the old phrases from pages 17-18 to be extricated from all difficulties. Particularly, when one has such an obedient and gullible servant as Szeliga, on whom "Stirner" can impose the idea that *just as* "in the enthusiasm of thinking it may *easily*" (!) "happen that sight and hearing fail" him "Stirner", *so* he, Szeliga, has also been "seized with the enthusiasm of the spirit" and he, Szeliga, "is now aspiring with all his might to *become* spirit", instead of acquiring spirit, that is to say, he now has to play the role of the youth as presented on page 18. Szeliga believes it and in fear and trembling he obeys: he obeys when Saint Max thunders at him: The spirit is your ideal—your God. You do this for me, you do that for me. Now you "inveigh", now "you say", now "you *can* envisage", etc. When "Stirner" imposes on him the idea that "the pure spirit is an other, for he" (Szeliga) "is *not* it", then in truth, it is only Szeliga who is capable of believing him and who gabbles the entire nonsense after him, word for word. Incidentally, the method by which Jacques le bonhomme makes up this nonsense was already exhaustively analysed when dealing with the youth. Since you are well aware that you are something else as well as a mathematician, you aspire to become wholly a mathematician, to become merged in mathematics, the mathematician is your ideal, mathematician means your—God. You say contritely: I am less than a mathematician and I can only envisage the mathematician, and since I am not him, then he is an other, he exists as an other, whom I call "God". Someone else in Szeliga's place would say—Arago.

"Now, at last, after" we have proved Stirner's thesis to be a repetition of the "youth", "one can state" that he "in truth originally set himself no other task" than to identify the spirit of Christian asceticism with spirit in general, and to identify the frivolous esprit, for example, of the eighteenth century with Christian spiritlessness.

It follows, therefore, that the necessity of spirit dwelling in the beyond, i.e., being God, is not to be explained, as Stirner asserts, "because ego and spirit are different names for different things, because ego is not spirit and spirit is not ego" (p. 42). The explanation lies in the "enthusiasm of the spirit" which is ascribed without any grounds to Szeliga and which makes him an ascetic, i.e., a man who wishes to become God (pure spirit), and because he is not able to do this posits God outside himself. But it was a matter of the spirit having first to create *itself* out of nothing and then having to create *spirits* out of itself. Instead of this, Szeliga now produces God (the unique spirit that makes its appearance here) not because he,

Szeliga, is the *spirit*, but because he is Szeliga, i.e., imperfect spirit, unspiritual spirit, and therefore at the same time non-spirit. But Saint Max does not say a word about how the Christian conception of spirit as God arises, although this is now no longer such a clever feat; he assumes the existence of this conception in order to explain it.

The history of the creation of the spirit "has in truth originally set itself no other task" than to put Stirner's stomach among the stars.

| | |
|---|---|
| "Precisely because we are not the *spirit* which dwells within us, for that very reason we had to | Precisely because we are not the *stomach* which dwells within us, for that very reason we had to |

put it outside of ourselves; it was not us, and therefore we could not conceive it as existing except outside of ourselves, beyond us, in the *beyond*" (p. 43).

It was a matter of the spirit having first to create itself and then having to create something other than itself out of itself; the question was: What is this something else? No answer is given to this question, but after the above-mentioned "various transformations" and twists, it becomes distorted into the following new question:

"The spirit is *something other* than the ego. But what is this something other?" (p. 45).

Now, therefore, the question arises: What is the spirit other than the ego? whereas the original question was: What is the spirit, owing to its creation out of nothing, other than itself? With this Saint Max jumps to the next "transformation".

### *B. The Possessed (Impure History of Spirits)*

Without realising it, Saint Max has so far done no more than give instruction in the art of spirit-seeing, by regarding the ancient and modern world only as the "pseudo-body of a spirit", as a spectral phenomenon, and seeing in it only struggles of spirits. Now, however, he consciously and *ex professo* gives instruction in the art of ghost-seeing.

*Instructions in the art of seeing spirits.* First of all one must become transformed into a complete fool, i.e., imagine oneself to be Szeliga, and then say to oneself, as Saint Max does to this Szeliga: "Look around you in the world and say for yourself whether a spirit is not looking at you from everywhere!" If one can bring oneself to imagine this, then the spirits will come "easily", of themselves; in a "flower" one sees only the "creator", in the mountains—a "spirit of loftiness", in water—a "spirit of longing" or the longing of the spirit, and one hears "millions of spirits speak through the mouths of

people". If one has achieved this level, if one can exclaim with Stirner: "*Yes*, ghosts are teeming in the whole world," then "it is not difficult to advance to the point" (p. 93) where one makes the further exclamation: "Only *in* it? *No*, the world itself is an apparition" (let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil,[a] i.e., a logical transition), "it is the wandering pseudo-body of a spirit, it is an apparition." Then cheerfully "look near at hand or into the distance, you are surrounded by a ghostly world.... You see spirits". If you are an ordinary person you can be satisfied with that, but if you are thinking of ranking yourself with Szeliga, then you can also look into yourself and then "you should not be surprised" if, in these circumstances and from the heights of Szeligality, you discover also that "your spirit is a ghost haunting your body", that you yourself are a ghost which "awaits salvation, that is, a spirit". Thereby you will have arrived at the point where you are capable of seeing "spirits" and "ghosts" in "all" people, and therewith spirit-seeing "reaches its final goal" (pp. 46, 47).

The basis of this instruction, only much more correctly expressed, is to be found in Hegel, *inter alia*, in the *Geschichte der Philosophie*, III, pp. 124, 125.

Saint Max has such faith in his own instruction that as a result he himself becomes Szeliga and asserts that

"ever since the word was made flesh,[b] the world *is* spiritualised, bewitched, a ghost" (p. 47).

"Stirner" "sees spirits".

Saint Max intends to give us a phenomenology of the Christian spirit and in his usual way seizes on only one aspect. For the Christian the world was not only *spiritualised* but equally *de*spiritualised as, for example, Hegel quite correctly admits in the passage mentioned, where he brings the two aspects into relation with each other, which Saint Max should also have done if he wanted to proceed historically. As against the world's despiritualisation in the Christian consciousness, the ancients, "who saw gods everywhere", can with equal justification be regarded as the spiritualisers of the world—a conception which our saintly dialectician rejects with the well-meaning warning: "Gods, my dear modern man, are not spirits" (p. 47). Pious Max recognises only the *holy* spirit as spirit.

But even if he had given us this phenomenology (which after Hegel is moreover superfluous), he would all the same have given us

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[a] Matthew 5:37.—*Ed.*
[b] John 1:14.—*Ed.*

nothing. The standpoint at which people are content with such tales about spirits is itself a religious one, because for people who adopt it religion is a satisfactory answer, they regard religion as *causa sui*[a] (for both "self-consciousness" and "man" are still religious) instead of explaining it from the empirical conditions and showing how definite relations of industry and intercourse are necessarily connected with a definite form of society, hence, with a definite form of state and hence with a definite form of religious consciousness. If Stirner had looked at the real history of the Middle Ages, he could have found why the Christian's notion of the world took precisely this form in the Middle Ages, and how it happened that it subsequently passed into a different one; he could have found that "*Christianity*" *has no history whatever* and that all the different forms in which it was visualised at various times were not "self-determinations" and "further developments" "of the religious spirit", but were brought about by wholly empirical causes in no way dependent on any influence of the religious spirit.

Since Stirner "does not stick to the rules" (p. 45), it is possible, before dealing in more detail with spirit-seeing, to say here and now that the various "transformations" of Stirner's people and their world consist merely in the transformation of the entire history of the world into the body of Hegel's philosophy; into ghosts, which only apparently are an "other being" of the thoughts of the Berlin professor. In the *Phänomenologie*, the Hegelian bible, "the book", individuals are first of all transformed into "consciousness" [and the] world into "object", whereby the manifold variety of forms of life and history is reduced to a different attitude of "consciousness" to the "object". This different attitude is reduced, in turn, to three cardinal relations: 1) the relation of consciousness to the object as to truth, or to truth as mere object (for example, sensual consciousness, natural religion, Ionic philosophy, Catholicism, the authoritarian state, etc.); 2) the relation of consciousness as *the true* to the object (reason, spiritual religion, Socrates, Protestantism, the French Revolution); 3) the true relation of consciousness to truth as object, or to the object as truth (logical thinking, speculative philosophy, the spirit as existing for the spirit). In Hegel, too, the first relation is defined as God the Father, the second as Christ, the third as the Holy Spirit, etc. Stirner already used these transformations when speaking of child and youth, of ancient and modern, and he repeats them later in regard to Catholicism and Protestantism, the Negro and the Mongol, etc., and then accepts this series of camouflages of a thought

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[a] Its own cause.—*Ed.*

in all good faith as the world against which he has to assert and maintain himself as a "corporeal individual".

*Second set of instructions in spirit-seeing.* How to transform the world into the spectre of truth, and oneself into something made holy or spectral. A conversation between Saint Max and his servant Szeliga (pp. 47, 48).

*Saint Max*: "You have spirit, for you have thoughts. What are your thoughts?"

*Szeliga*: "Spiritual entities."

*Saint Max*: "Hence they are not things?"

*Szeliga*: "No, but they are the spirit of things, the important element in all things, their innermost essence, their idea."

*Saint Max*: "What you think is, therefore, not merely your thought?"

*Szeliga*: "On the contrary, it is the most real, genuinely true thing in the world: it is truth itself: when I but truly think, I think the truth. I can admittedly be mistaken about the truth and *fail to perceive* it, but when I truly *perceive*, then the object of my perception is the truth."

*Saint Max*: "Thus, you endeavour all the time to perceive the truth?"

*Szeliga*: "For me the truth is sacred[a].... *The truth* I cannot abolish; in the truth I believe, and therefore I investigate into its nature: there is nothing higher than it, it is eternal. The truth is sacred, eternal, it is the holy, the eternal."

*Saint Max* (indignantly): "But you, by allowing yourself to become filled with this holiness, become yourself holy."

Thus, when Szeliga truly perceives some object, the object ceases to be an object and becomes "the truth". This is the first manufacture of spectres on a large scale.—It is now no longer a matter of perceiving objects, but of perceiving the truth: first he perceives objects truly, which he defines as the truth of perception, and he transforms this into perception of the truth. But after Szeliga has thus allowed truth as a spectre to be imposed on him by the threatening saint, his stern master strikes home with a question of conscience, whether he is filled "all the time" with longing for the truth, whereupon the thoroughly confused Szeliga blurts out somewhat prematurely: "For me the truth is sacred." But he immediately notices his error and tries to correct it, by shamefacedly transforming objects no longer into the truth, but into a number of truths, and abstracting "the truth" as the truth of these truths, "the truth" which he can now no longer abolish after he has *distinguished* it from truths which are capable of being abolished. Thereby it becomes "eternal". But not satisfied with giving it predicates such as "sacred, eternal", he transforms it into the holy, the eternal, as subject. After this, of course, Saint Max can explain to him that

[a] Here and in the following passages the German word *heilig* and its derivatives are used, which can mean: holy, pious, sacred, sacredness, saintly, saint, to consecrate, etc.— *Ed.*

having become "filled" with this holiness, he "himself becomes holy" and "should not be surprised" if he now "finds nothing but a spectre" in himself. Then our saint begins a sermon:

"The holy, moreover, is not for your senses" and quite consistently appends by means of the conjunction "*and*": "never will you, as a sensuous being, discover its traces"; that is to say, after sensuous objects are "all gone" and "the truth", "the sacred truth", "the holy" has taken their place. "But"—obviously!—"for your faith or more exactly for your spirit" (for your lack of spirit), "for it is itself *something* spiritual" (*per appositionem*[a]), "*a spirit*" (again *per appos.*), "is *spirit for the spirit*".

Such is the art of transforming the ordinary world, "objects", by means of an arithmetical series of *appositions*, into "spirit for the spirit". Here we can only admire this dialectical method of appositions—later we shall have occasion to explore it and present it in all its classical beauty.[b]

The method of appositions can also be reversed—for example here, after we have once produced "the holy", it does not receive further appositions, but is made the apposition of a new definition; this is combining progression with equation. Thus, as a result of some dialectical process "there remains the idea of another entity" which "I should serve more than myself" (*per appos.*), "which for me should be more important than everything else" (*per appos.*), "in short—a something *in which I should seek my true salvation*" (and finally *per appos.* the return to the first series), and which becomes "something 'holy'" (p. 48). We have here two progressions which are equated to each other and can thus provide the opportunity for a great variety of equations. We shall deal with this later. By this method too, "the sacred", which hitherto we have been acquainted with only as a purely theoretical designation of purely theoretical relations, has acquired a new practical meaning as "something in which I should seek my true salvation", which makes it possible to make the holy the opposite of the egoist. Incidentally we need hardly mention that this entire dialogue with the sermon that follows is nothing but another repetition of the story of the youth already met with three or four times before.

Here, having arrived at the "egoist", we need not stick to Stirner's "rules" either, because, firstly, we have to present his argument in all its purity, free from any intervening intermezzos, and, secondly, because in any case these intermezzi (on the analogy of "a Lazaroni"—*Wigand*, p. 159, the word should be Lazzarone—Sancho would say intermezzi's) will occur again in other parts of the book,

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[a] By means of an apposition.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 274 et seq.—*Ed.*

for Stirner, far from obeying his own requirement "always to draw back into himself", on the contrary expresses himself again and again. We shall only just mention that the question raised on page 45: What is this something distinct from the "ego" that is the spirit? is now answered to the effect that it is the holy, i.e., that which is foreign to the "ego", and that everything that is foreign to the "ego" is—thanks to some unstated appositions, appositions "in themselves"—accordingly without more ado regarded as spirit. Spirit, the holy, the foreign are identical ideas, on which he declares war, in the same way almost word for word as he did at the very outset in regard to the youth and the man. We have, therefore, still not advanced a step further than we had on page 20.

### a) The Apparition

Saint Max now begins to deal seriously with the "spirits" that are "offspring of the spirit" (p. 39), with the ghostliness of everything (p. 47). At any rate, he imagines so. Actually, however, he only substitutes a new name for his former conception of history according to which people were from the outset the representatives of general concepts. These general concepts appear here first of all in the Negroid form as objective spirits having for people the character of objects, and at this level are called spectres or—*apparitions*. The chief spectre is, of course, "man" himself, because, according to what has been previously said, people only exist for one another as representatives of a universal—essence, concept, the holy, the foreign, the spirit—i.e., only as spectral persons, spectres, and because, according to Hegel's *Phänomenologie*, page 255 and elsewhere, the spirit, insofar as for man it has the "form of thinghood", is another man (see below about "the *man*").

Thus, we see here the skies opening and the various kinds of spectres passing before us one after the other. Jacques le bonhomme forgets only that he has already caused ancient and modern times to parade before us like gigantic spectres, compared with which all the harmless fancies about God, etc., are sheer trifles.

Spectre No. 1: the *supreme being*, God (p. 53). As was to be expected from what has preceded, Jacques le bonhomme, whose faith moves all the mountains[a] of world history, believes that "for thousands of years people have set themselves the *task*", "have tired themselves out struggling with the awful impossibility, the endless Danaidean labour"—"to prove the existence of God". We need not waste any more words on this incredible belief.

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[a] Cf. 1 Corinthians 13 : 2.—*Ed.*

Spectre No. 2: *essence.* What our good man says about essence is limited—apart from what has been copied out of Hegel—to "pompous words and miserable thoughts" (p. 53). "The advance from" essence "to" world essence "is not difficult", and this world essence is, of course,

Spectre No. 3: the *vanity of the world.* There is nothing to say about this except that from it "easily" arises

Spectre No. 4: *good and evil beings.* Something, indeed, could be said about this but is not said—and one passes at once to the next:

Spectre No. 5: the *essence and its realm.* We should not be at all surprised that we find here essence for the second time in our honest author, for he is fully aware of his "clumsiness" (*Wigand*, p. 166), and therefore repeats everything several times in order not to be misunderstood. Essence is here in the first place defined as the proprietor of a "realm" and then it is said of it that it is "essence" (p. 54), after which it is swiftly transformed into

Spectre No. 6: "*essences*". To perceive and to recognise them, and them alone, is religion. "Their realm" (of essences) "is—a realm of essences" (p. 54). Here there suddenly appears for no apparent reason

Spectre No. 7: the *God-Man*, Christ. Of him Stirner is able to say that he was "*corpulent*". If Saint Max does not believe in Christ, he at least believes in his "actual corpus". According to Stirner, Christ introduced great distress into history, and our sentimental saint relates with tears in his eyes "how the strongest Christians have racked their brains in order to comprehend him"—indeed,

> "there has never been a spectre that caused such mental anguish, and no shaman, spurring himself into wild frenzy and nerve-racking convulsions, can have suffered such agony as Christians have suffered on account of this most incomprehensible spectre".

Saint Max sheds a sympathetic tear at the grave of the victims of Christ and then passes on to the "horrible being",

Spectre No. 8, *man.* Here our bold writer is seized with immediate "horror"—"he is terrified of himself", he sees in every man a "frightful spectre", a "sinister spectre" in which something "stalks" (pp. 55, 56). He feels highly uncomfortable. The split between phenomenon and essence gives him no peace. He is like Nabal, Abigail's husband, of whom it is written that his essence too was separated from his phenomenal appearance: "And there was a man in Maon, *whose possessions*[a] *were in Carmel*". (1 Samuel 25 : 2.) But

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[a] In German a pun on the word *Wesen* (essence)—in Luther's Bible translation *Wesen* is used in its old meaning: "possession".—*Ed.*

in the nick of time, before the "mental anguish" causes Saint Max in desperation to put a bullet through his head, he suddenly remembers the ancients who "took no notice of anything of the kind in their slaves". This leads him to

Spectre No. 9, *the national spirit* (p. 56), about which too Saint Max, who can no longer be restrained, indulges in "frightful" fantasies, in order to transform

Spectre No. 10, "*everything*", into an apparition and, finally, where all enumeration ends, to hurl together in the class of spectres the "holy spirit", truth, justice, law, the good cause (which he still cannot forget) and half a dozen other things completely foreign to one another.

Apart from this there is nothing remarkable in the whole chapter except that Saint Max's faith moves an historical mountain. That is to say, he utters the opinion (p. 56):

> "Only for the sake of a supreme being has anyone ever been worshipped, only as a spectre has he been regarded as a sanctified, i.e." (*that is!*) "protected and recognised person."

If we shift this mountain, moved by faith alone, back into its proper place, then "it will read": Only for the sake of persons who are protected, i.e., who protect themselves, and who are privileged, i.e., who seize privileges for themselves, have supreme beings been worshipped and spectres sanctified. Saint Max imagines, for example, that in antiquity, when each people was held together by material relations and interests, e.g., by the hostility of the various tribes, etc., when owing to a shortage of productive forces each had either to be a slave or to possess slaves, etc., etc., when, therefore, belonging to a particular people was a matter of "the most natural interest" (*Wigand*, p. [162])—that then it was only the concept people, or "nationality" that gave birth to these interests from itself; he imagines also that in modern times, when free competition and world trade gave birth to hypocritical, bourgeois cosmopolitanism and the notion of man—that here, on the contrary, the later philosophical construction of man brought about those relations as its "revelations" (p. 51). It is the same with religion, with the realm of essences, which he considers the unique realm, but concerning the essence of which he knows nothing, for otherwise he must have known that religion *as such* has neither essence, nor realm. In religion people make their empirical world into an entity that is only conceived, imagined, that confronts them as something foreign. This again is by no means to be explained from other concepts, from "self-consciousness" and similar nonsense, but from the entire hitherto existing mode of production and intercourse, which is just

as independent of the pure concept as the invention of the self-acting mule[a] and the use of railways are independent of Hegelian philosophy. If he wants to speak of an "essence" of religion, i.e., of a material basis of this inessentiality,[b] then he should look for it neither in the "essence of man", nor in the predicates of God, but in the material world which each stage of religious development finds in existence (cf. above *Feuerbach*).[c]

All the "spectres" which have filed before us were concepts. These concepts—leaving aside their real basis (which Stirner in any case leaves aside)—understood as concepts inside consciousness, as thoughts in people's heads, transferred from their objectivity back into the subject, elevated from substance into self-consciousness, are—*whimsies* or *fixed ideas.*

Concerning the origin of Saint Max's history of ghosts, see Feuerbach in *Anekdota* II, p. 66,[d] where it is stated:

"Theology is *belief in ghosts.* Ordinary theology, however, has its ghosts in the sensuous imagination, speculative theology has them in non-sensuous abstraction."

And since Saint Max shares the belief of all critical speculative philosophers of modern times that thoughts, which have become independent, objectified thoughts—ghosts—have ruled the world and continue to rule it, and that all history up to now was the history of theology, nothing could be easier for him than to transform history into a history of ghosts. Sancho's history of ghosts, therefore, rests on the traditional belief in ghosts of the speculative philosophers.

### b) Whimsy

"Man, there are spectres in your head!... You have a fixed idea!" thunders Saint Max at his slave Szeliga. "Don't think I am joking," he threatens him. Don't dare to think that the solemn "Max Stirner" is capable of joking.

The man of God is again in need of his faithful Szeliga in order to pass from the object to the subject, from the apparition to the whimsy.

Whimsy is the hierarchy in the single individual, the domination

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[a] The English term is used in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[b] In German a pun on the words *Wesen*—essence, substance, being—and *Unwesen*—literally inessence. *Unwesen* can be rendered in English as disorder, nuisance, confusion or, in a different context, monster.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 53-54.—*Ed.*

[d] Ludwig Feuerbach, "Vorläufige Thesen zur Reformation der Philosophie".—*Ed.*

of thought "in him over him". After the world has confronted the fantasy-making youth (of page 20) as a world of his "feverish fantasies", as a world of ghosts, "the offsprings of his own head" inside his head begin to dominate him. The world of his feverish fantasies—this is the step forward he has made—now exists as the world of his deranged mind. Saint Max—the man who is confronted by "the world of the moderns" in the form of the fantasy-making youth—has necessarily to declare that "almost the whole of mankind consists of veritable fools, inmates of a mad-house" (p. 57).

The whimsy which Saint Max discovers in the heads of people is nothing but his own whimsy—the whimsy of the "saint" who views the world *sub specie aeterni*[a] and who takes both the hypocritical phrases of people and their illusions for the true motives of their actions; that is why our naive, pious man confidently pronounces the great proposition: "Almost all mankind clings to something higher" (p. 57).

"Whimsy" is "a fixed idea", i.e., "an idea which has subordinated man to itself" or—as is said later in more popular form—all kinds of absurdities which people "*have stuffed into their heads*". With the utmost ease, Saint Max arrives at the conclusion that everything that has subordinated people to itself—for example, the need to produce in order to live, and the relations dependent on this—is such an "absurdity" or "*fixed idea*". Since the child's world is the only "world of things", as we learned in the myth of "a man's life", everything that does not exist "for the child" (at times also for the animal) is in any case an "idea" and "easily also" a "fixed idea". We are still a long way from getting rid of the youth and the child.

The chapter on whimsy aims merely at establishing the existence of the category of whimsy in the history of "man". The actual struggle against whimsy is waged throughout the entire "book" and particularly in the second part. Hence a few examples of whimsy can suffice us here.

On page 59, Jacques le bonhomme believes that

"our newspapers are full of politics, because they are in the grip of the delusion that man was created in order to become a *zoon politikon*"[b].

Hence, according to Jacques le bonhomme, people engage in politics because our newspapers are full of them! If a church father were to glance at the stock exchange reports of our newspapers, he could not judge differently from Saint Max and would have to say: these newspapers are full of stock exchange reports because they are

[a] Under the aspect of eternity (see Benedictus Spinoza, *Ethica*, Pars quinta).—*Ed.*

[b] Political animal—thus Aristotle defines man at the beginning of *De republica*, Book I.—*Ed.*

in the grip of the delusion that man was created in order to engage in financial speculation. Thus, it is not the newspapers that possess whimsies, but whimsies that possess "Stirner".

Stirner explains the condemnation of incest and the institutions of monogamy from "the holy", "they are the holy". If among the Persians incest is not condemned, and if the institution of polygamy occurs among the Turks, then in those places incest and polygamy are "the holy". It is not possible to see any difference between these two "holies" other than that the nonsense with which the Persians and Turks have "stuffed their heads" is different from that with which the Christian Germanic peoples have stuffed their heads.—Such is the church father's manner of "detaching himself" from history "in good time".—Jacques le bonhomme has so little inkling of the real, materialist causes for the condemnation of polygamy and incest in certain social conditions that he considers this condemnation to be merely the dogma of a creed and in common with every philistine imagines that when a man is imprisoned for a crime of this kind, it means that "moral purity" is confining him in a "house of moral correction" (p. 60)—just as jails in general seem to him to be houses for moral correction—in this respect he is at a lower level than the educated bourgeois, who has a better understanding of the matter—cf. the literature on prisons. "Stirner's" "jails" are the most trite illusions of the Berlin burgher which for him, however, hardly deserve to be called a "house of moral correction".

After Stirner, with the help of an "episodically included" "historical reflection", has discovered that

"it had to come to pass that the whole man with all his abilities would prove to be religious" (p. 64) "so, too, in point of fact" "it is not surprising"—"for we are now so thoroughly religious"—"that" the *oath* "of the *members of the jury* condemns us to death and that by means of the *'official oath'* the police constable, as a good Christian, has us put in the clink".

When a gendarme stops him for smoking in the Tiergarten,[52] the cigar is knocked out of his mouth not by the royal Prussian gendarme who is paid to do so and shares in the money from fines, but by the "official oath". In precisely the same way the power of the bourgeois in the jury court becomes transformed for Stirner—owing to the pseudo-holy appearance which the *amis du commerce* assume here—into the power of making a vow, the power of the oath, into the "*holy*". "Verily, I say unto you: I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel." (Matthew 8 : 10.)

"For some persons a thought becomes a maxim, so that it is not the person who possesses the maxim, but rather the latter that possesses him, and with the maxim he again acquires a firm standpoint." But "it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy" (Romans 9 : 16).

Therefore Saint Max has on the same page to receive several thorns in the flesh[a] and must give us a number of maxims: firstly, *the* maxim [to recognise] no maxims, with which goes, secondly, the maxim not to have any firm standpoint; thirdly, the maxim "although we *should* possess spirit, spirit *should* not possess us"; and fourthly, the maxim that one should also be aware of one's flesh, "for only by being aware of his flesh is man fully aware of himself, and only by being fully aware of *himself*, is he aware or rational".

### *C. The Impurely Impure History of Spirits*

#### a) Negroes and Mongols

We now go back to the beginning of the "unique" historical scheme and nomenclature. The child becomes the Negro, the youth—the Mongol. See "The Economy of the Old Testament".

"The historical reflection on our Mongolhood, which I *shall include episodically* at this point, I present *without any claim* to thoroughness *or even* to authenticity, *but solely because it seems to me that it can contribute* to clarifying the rest" (p. 87).

Saint Max tries to "clarify" for himself his phrases about the child and the youth by giving them world-embracing names, and he tries to "clarify" these world-embracing names by replacing them with his phrases about the child and the youth. "The *Negroid character* represents *antiquity*, dependence on *things*" (*child*); "the *Mongoloid character*—the period of dependence on *thoughts*, the *Christian* epoch" (*the youth*). (Cf. "The Economy of the Old Testament".) "The following words are reserved for the future: I am owner of the *world of things*, and I am owner of the *world of thoughts*" (pp. 87, 88). This "future" has already happened once, on page 20, in connection with the *man*, and it will occur again later, beginning with page 226.

*First* "*historical reflection* without claim to thoroughness or even to authenticity": Since Egypt is part of Africa where Negroes live, it follows that "included" "in the Negro era" (p. 88) are the "campaigns of Sesostris", which never took place, and the "significance of Egypt" (the significance it had also at the time of the Ptolemies, Napoleon's expedition to Egypt, Mohammed Ali, the Eastern question, the pamphlets of Duvergier de Haurannes, etc.), "and of North Africa in general" (and therefore of Carthage, Hannibal's campaign against Rome, and "easily also", the significance of Syracuse and Spain, the Vandals, Tertullian, the Moors, Al Hussein Abu Ali Ben Abdallah Ibn Sina, piratical states, the French

[a] 2 Corinthians 12:7.—*Ed.*

in Algeria, Abd-el-Kader, Père Enfantin[53] and the four new toads of the *Charivari*) (p. 88). Consequently, Stirner clarifies the campaigns of Sesostris, etc., by transferring them to the Negro era, and he clarifies the Negro era by "episodically including" it as a historical illustration of his unique thoughts "about our childhood years".

*Second "historical reflection"*: "To the Mongoloid era belong the campaigns of the Huns and Mongols up to the Russians" (and *Wasserpolacken*[54]); thus here again the campaigns of the Huns and Mongols, together with the Russians, are "clarified" by their inclusion in the "Mongoloid era", and the "Mongoloid era"—by pointing out that it is the era of the phrase "dependence on thoughts", which we have already encountered in connection with the *youth*.

*Third "historical reflection"*:

> In the Mongoloid era the "value of my ego cannot possibly be put at a high level because the *hard* diamond of the *non-ego* is too high in price, because it is still too gritty and impregnable for it to be absorbed and consumed by my ego. On the contrary, people are simply exceptionally busy crawling about on this static world, this substance, like parasitic animalcules on a body from whose juices they extract nourishment, but nevertheless do not devour the body. It is the bustling activity of noxious insects, the industriousness of Mongols. Among the Chinese *indeed* everything remains as of old, etc.... *Therefore*" (because among the Chinese everything remains as of old) "in our Mongol era every change has only been reformatory and corrective, and not destructive, devouring or annihilating. The substance, the object remains. All our industriousness is only the activity of ants and the jumping of fleas ... juggling on the tightrope of the objective", etc. (p. 88. Cf. Hegel, *Philosophie der Geschichte*, pp. 113, 118, 119 (unsoftened substance), p. 140, etc., where China is understood as "substantiality").

We learn here, therefore, that in the *true* Caucasian era people will be guided by the maxim that the earth, "substance", the "object", the "static" has to be devoured, "consumed", "annihilated", "absorbed", "destroyed", and along with the earth the solar system that is inseparable from it. World-devouring "Stirner" has already introduced us to the "reformatory or corrective activity" of the Mongols as the youth's and Christian's "plans for the salvation and *correction* of the world" on page 36. Thus we have still not advanced a step. It is characteristic of the entire "unique" conception of history that the highest stage of this Mongol activity earns the title of "*scientific*"—from which already now the conclusion can be drawn, which Saint Max later tells us, that the culmination of the Mongolian heaven is the Hegelian kingdom of spirits.

*Fourth "historical reflection"*. The world on which the Mongols crawl about is now transformed by means of a "flea jump" into the "positive", this into the "precept", and, with the help of a paragraph on page 89, the precept becomes "morality". "Morality appears in its

first form as custom"—hence it comes forward as a *person*, but in a trice it becomes transformed into a sphere:

"To act in accordance with the morals and customs of one's country means *here*" (i.e., in the sphere of morality) "to be moral". "Therefore" (because this occurs in the sphere of morality as a custom) "*pure, moral behaviour in the most straightforward form* is practised in ... *China*!"

Saint Max is unfortunate in his examples. On page 116 in just the same way he attributes to the North Americans the "religion of honesty". He regards the two most rascally nations on earth, the patriarchal swindlers—the Chinese, and the civilised swindlers—the Yankees, as "straightforward", "moral" and "honest". If he had looked up his crib he could have found the North Americans classed as swindlers on page 81 of the *Philosophie der Geschichte* and the Chinese ditto on page 130.

"One"—that friend of the saintly worthy man—now helps him to arrive at *innovation*, and from this an "*and*" brings him back to *custom*, and thus the material is prepared for achieving a master stroke in the

*Fifth historical reflection*: "There is in fact no doubt that by means of custom man protects himself against the importunity of things, of the world"—for example, from hunger;

"*and*"—as quite naturally follows from this—

"*founds a world of his own*"—which "Stirner" has need of now—

"*in which alone he feels in his native element and at home*",—"*alone*", after he has first by "custom" made himself "at home" in the existing "world"—

"*i.e., builds himself a heaven*"—because China is called the Celestial Empire.

"*For indeed heaven has no other significance than that of being the real homeland of man*"—in this context, however, it signifies the imagined unreality of the real homeland—

"*where nothing alien any longer prevails upon him*", i.e., where what is his own prevails upon him as something alien, and all the rest of the old story. "Or rather", to use Saint Bruno's words, or "it is easily possible", to use Saint Max's words, that this proposition should read as follows:

| Stirner's proposition without claim to thoroughness or even to authenticity | Clarified proposition |
|---|---|
| "There is in fact no doubt that by means of custom man protects himself against the importunity of things, of the world, and founds a world of his own, in which alone he feels in his native element and at home, i.e., builds himself a *heaven*. | "There is in fact no doubt" that because China is called the Celestial Empire, because "Stirner" happens to be speaking of China and as he is "accustomed" by means of ignorance "to protect himself against the importunity of things, of the world, and to found a |

For indeed 'heaven' has no other significance than that of being the real homeland of man, where nothing alien any longer prevails upon him and rules over him, no earthly influence any longer estranges him from himself, in short, where earthly dross is thrown aside and the struggle against the world has come to an end, where, therefore, nothing is forbidden him any more" (p. 89).

world of his own, in which alone he feels in his native element and at home"—therefore he "builds himself a heaven" out of the Chinese Celestial Empire. "For indeed" the importunity of the world, of things "has no other significance than that of being the real" hell of the unique, 'in which' everything "prevails upon him and rules over him" as something "alien", but which he is able to transform into a "heaven" by "estranging himself" from all "earthly influences", historical facts and connections, and hence no longer thinks them strange: "in short", it is a sphere 'where the earthly', the historical 'dross is thrown aside", and where Stirner "does not find" in the "end" "of the world" any more "struggle"—and thereby everything has been said.

*Sixth "historical reflection".* On page 90, Stirner imagines that "in China *everything is provided for*; no matter what happens, the Chinese *always knows* how he should behave, and he has no need to decide according *to circumstances; no unforeseen event* will overthrow his celestial calm".

Nor any British bombardment either—he knew exactly "how he should behave", particularly in regard to the unfamiliar steamships and shrapnel-bombs.[55]

Saint Max extracted that from Hegel's *Philosophie der Geschichte*, pages 118 and 127, to which, of course, he had to add something unique, in order to achieve his reflection as given above.

"*Consequently*," continues Saint Max, '*mankind* climbs the first rung of the ladder of education by means of custom, *and since it imagines* that by gaining culture, it has gained heaven, the realm of culture or second nature, it *actually* mounts the first rung of the heavenly ladder" (p. 90).

"Consequently", i.e., because Hegel begins history with China, and because "the Chinese does not lose his equanimity", "Stirner" transforms mankind into a person who 'mounts the first rung of the ladder of culture' and indeed does so "by means of custom", because China has no other meaning for Stirner than that of being the embodiment of "custom". Now it is only a question for our zealot against the holy of transforming the "ladder" into a "heavenly ladder", since China is also called the *Celestial* Empire. "Since mankind imagines" ("wherefrom" does Stirner "know everything that" mankind imagines, see *Wigand*, page 189)—and this ought to have been proved by Stirner—firstly that it transforms "culture" into the "heaven of culture", and secondly that it transforms the "heaven of

culture" into the "culture of heaven"—(an alleged notion on the part of mankind which appears on page 91 as a notion of Stirner's and thereby receives its correct expression)—"so it *actually* mounts the first rung of the heavenly ladder". Since it *imagines* that it mounts the first rung of the heavenly ladder—so—it mounts it *actually*! "*Since*" the "youth" "imagines" that he becomes pure spirit, he does actually become such! See the "youth" and the "Christian" on the transition from the world of things to the world of the spirit, where the simple formula for this heavenly ladder of "unique" ideas already occurs.

*Seventh historical reflection*, page 90. "If Mongolism" (it follows immediately after the heavenly ladder, whereby "Stirner", through the alleged notion on the part of mankind, was able to ascertain the existence of a spiritual essence [*Wesen*]), "if Mongolism has established the existence of spiritual beings [*Wesen*]" (rather—if "Stirner" has established his fancy about the spiritual essence of the Mongols), "*then* the Caucasians have fought for thousands of years against these spiritual beings, in order to get to the bottom of them". (The youth, who becomes a man and "tries all the time" "to penetrate behind thoughts", the Christian, who "tries all the time" "to explore the depths of divinity".) Since the Chinese have noted the existence of God knows what spiritual beings ("Stirner" does not note a single one, apart from his heavenly ladder)—so for thousands of years the Caucasians have to wrangle with "these" Chinese "spiritual beings"; moreover, two lines below Stirner puts on record that they actually "stormed the *Mongolian* heaven, the *tien*", and continues: "When will they destroy this heaven, when will they finally become *actual Caucasians* and *find themselves*?"

Here we have the negative unity, already seen earlier as man, now appearing as the "actual Caucasian", i.e., not Negroid, not Mongolian, but as the *Caucasian Caucasian*. This latter, therefore, as a concept, as essence, is here separated from the actual Caucasians, is counterposed to them as the "ideal of the Caucasian", as a "vocation" in which they should "find themselves", as a "destiny", a "task", as "the holy", as "the holy" Caucasian, "the perfect" Caucasian, "who indeed" is the Caucasian "in heaven—*God*".

"In the sedulous struggle of the Mongolian race, men *had built* a heaven"—so "Stirner" believes (p. 91), forgetting that actual Mongols are much more occupied with sheep than with heaven[a]—"when the people of the Caucasian stock, so long as they ... *have*

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[a] In German a pun based on the words *die Hämmel*—the sheep, and *die Himmel*—the heavens.—*Ed.*

to do with heaven ... *undertook* the business of storming heaven." *Had built* a heaven, when ... so long as they *have*... [they] *undertook*. The unassuming "historical reflection" is here expressed in a *consecutio temporum*[a] which also does not "lay claim" to classic form "or even" to grammatical correctness; the construction of the sentences corresponds to the construction of history. "Stirner's" "claims" "are restricted to this" and "thereby achieve their final goal".

*Eighth historical reflection*, which is the reflection of reflections, the alpha and omega of the whole of Stirner's history: Jacques le bonhomme, as we have pointed out from the beginning, sees in all the movement of nations that has so far taken place merely a sequence of heavens (p. 91), which can also be expressed as follows: successive generations of the Caucasian race up to the present day did nothing but squabble about the concept of morality (p. 92) and "their activity has been restricted to this" (p. 91). If they had got out of their heads this unfortunate morality, this apparition, they would have achieved something; as it was, they achieved nothing, absolutely nothing, and have to allow Saint Max to set them a task as if they were schoolboys. It is completely in accordance with his view of history that at the end (p. 92) he conjures up speculative philosophy so that "in it this heavenly kingdom, the kingdom of spirits and spectres, should find its proper order"—and that in a later passage speculative philosophy should be conceived as the "perfect kingdom of spirits".

Why it is that for those who regard history in the Hegelian manner the result of all preceding history was finally bound to be the kingdom of spirits perfected and brought into order in speculative philosophy—the solution of this secret "Stirner" could have very simply found by recourse to Hegel himself. To arrive at this result "the concept of spirit must be taken as the basis and *then* it must be shown that history is the process of the spirit itself" (*Geschichte der Philosophie*, III, p. 91). After the "concept of spirit" has been imposed on history as its basis, it is very easy, of course, to "show" that it is to be discovered everywhere, and then to make this as a process "find its proper order".

After making everything "find its proper order", Saint Max can now exclaim with enthusiasm: "To desire to win freedom for the spirit, that is Mongolism", etc. (cf. p. 17: "To bring to light pure thought, etc.—that is the joy of the youth", etc.), and can declare hypocritically: "*Hence it is obvious* that Mongolism ... represents non-sensuousness and unnaturalness", etc.—when he ought to have said: it is obvious that the Mongol is only the disguised youth who,

[a] Sequence of tenses.—*Ed.*

being the negation of the world of things, can also be called "unnaturalness", "non-sensuousness", etc.

We have again reached the point where the "youth" can pass into the "man": "But who will transform the spirit into its nothing? *He*, who by means of the spirit represented nature as the futile, the finite, the transitory" (i.e., imagined it as such—and, according to page 16 et seq., this was done by the youth, later the Christian, then the Mongol, then the Mongoloid Caucasian, but properly speaking only by idealism), "he alone can also degrade the spirit" (namely in his imagination) "to the same futility" (therefore the Christian, etc.? No, exclaims "Stirner" resorting to a similar trick as on pages 19-20 in the case of the man). "I can do it, each of you can do it who operates and creates" (in his imagination) "as the unrestricted ego", "in a word, the *egoist* can do it" (p. 93), i.e., the man, the Caucasian Caucasian, who therefore is the perfect Christian, the true Christian, the holy one, the *embodiment* of the holy.

Before dealing with the further nomenclature, we also "should like at this point to include an historical reflection" on the origin of Stirner's "historical reflection about our Mongolism"; our reflection differs, however, from Stirner's in that it definitely "lays claim to thoroughness and authenticity". His whole historical reflection, just as that on the "ancients", is a concoction out of Hegel.

The Negroid state is conceived as "the child" because Hegel says on page 89 of his *Philosophie der Geschichte*:

> "Africa is the *country of the childhood* of history." "In defining the African" (Negroid) "spirit we must entirely discard the *category of universality*" (p. 90)—i.e., although the child or the Negro has ideas, he still does not have *the* idea. "Among the Negroes consciousness has not yet reached a firm objective existence, as for example *God, law*, in which man would have the *perception of his essence*" ... "thanks to which, knowledge of *an absolute being* is totally absent. The Negro represents *natural man* in all his lack of restraint" (p. 90). "Although they must be conscious of their dependence on the natural" (on things, as "Stirner" says), "this, however, does not lead them to the consciousness of something higher" (p. 91).

Here we meet again all Stirner's determinations of the child and the Negro—dependence on things, independence of ideas and especially of "the idea", "the essence", "the absolute" (holy) "being", etc.

He found that in Hegel the Mongols and, in particular, the Chinese appear as the beginning of history and since for Hegel, too, history is a history of spirits (but not in such a childish way as with "Stirner"), it goes without saying that the Mongols brought the spirit into history and are the original representatives of everything "sacred". In particular, on page 110, Hegel describes the "*Mongolian* kingdom" (of the Dalai-Lama) as the "*ecclesiastical*" realm, the

"kingdom of theocratic rule", a "spiritual, religious kingdom"—in contrast to the worldly empire of the Chinese. "Stirner", of course, has to identify China with the Mongols. In Hegel, on page 140, there even occurs the "*Mongolian principle*" from which "Stirner" derived his "*Mongolism*". Incidentally, if he really wanted to reduce the Mongols to the category of "idealism", he could have "found established" in the Dalai-Lama system and Buddhism quite different "spiritual beings" from his fragile "heavenly ladder". But he did not even have time to look properly at Hegel's *Philosophie der Geschichte.* The peculiarity and uniqueness of Stirner's attitude to history consists in the egoist being transformed into a "clumsy" copier of Hegel.

### b) Catholicism and Protestantism (Cf. "The Economy of the Old Testament")

What we here call Catholicism, "Stirner" calls the "Middle Ages", but as he confuses (as "in everything") the pious, religious character of the Middle Ages, the religion of the Middle Ages, with the actual, profane Middle Ages in flesh and blood, we prefer to give the matter its right name at once.

"The Middle Ages" were a "*lengthy period,* in which people were content with the illusion of having the truth" (they did not desire or do anything else), "without seriously thinking about whether one must be true oneself in order to possess the truth".—"In the Middle Ages *people*" (that is, the whole of the Middle Ages) "mortified the *flesh,* in order to become capable of assimilating the holy" (p. 108).

Hegel defines the attitude to the divine in the Catholic church by saying

"that people's attitude to the absolute was as to something purely external" (Christianity in the form of externality) (*Geschichte der Philosophie,* III, p. 148, and elsewhere). Of course, the individual has to be purified in order to assimilate the truth, but "this also occurs in an external way, through redemptions, fasts, self-flagellations, visits to holy places, pilgrimages" (ibid., p. 140).

"Stirner" makes this transition by saying:

"In the same way, *too, as people* strain their eyes in order to see a distant object ... so they mortified the flesh, etc."

Since in "Stirner's" "book" the Middle Ages are identified with Catholicism, they naturally end with *Luther* (p. 108). Luther himself is reduced to the following definition, which has already cropped up in connection with the youth, in the conversation with Szeliga and elsewhere:

"Man, if he wants to attain *truth, must become as true* as truth itself. Only he who already has truth in *faith* can participate in it."

Concerning Lutheranism, Hegel says:

"The *truth* of the gospel exists only in the *true attitude* to it.... The essential attitude of the spirit exists only for the spirit.... Hence the *attitude* of the spirit to the content is that although the content is essential, it is equally essential that the holy and consecrating spirit should stand in relation to this content" (*Geschichte der Philosophie*, III, p. 234) "This then is the Lutheran faith—his" (i.e., man's) "*faith* is required of him and *it alone can truly be taken into account*" (ibid., p. 230). "Luther ... affirms that the divine is divine only insofar as it is apprehended in this subjective spirituality or *faith*" (ibid., p. 138). "The doctrine of the" (Catholic) "church is truth as *existent truth*" (*Philosophie der Religion*,[a] II, p. 331).

"Stirner" continues:

"Accordingly, with Luther the knowledge arises that truth, because it is thought, exists only for the thinking man and this means that with regard to his object—thought—man must adopt a totally different standpoint, a pious" (*per appos.*), "scientific standpoint, or that of thinking" (p. 110).

Apart from the repetition which "Stirner" again "includes" here, only the transition from faith to thinking deserves attention. Hegel makes the transition in the following way:

"But this spirit" (namely, the holy and consecrating spirit) "is, secondly, essentially also thinking spirit. Thinking as such must also have its development in it", etc. ([*Geschichte der Philosophie*,] p. 234).

"Stirner" continues:

"This thought" ("that I am *spirit*, spirit alone") "pervades the history of the Reformation down to the present day" (p. 111).

From the sixteenth century onwards, no other history exists for "Stirner" than the history of the Reformation—and the latter only in the interpretation in which Hegel presents it.

Saint Max has again displayed his gigantic faith. He has again taken as literal truth all the illusions of German speculative philosophy; indeed, he has made them still more speculative, still more abstract. For him there exists only the history of religion and philosophy—and this exists for him only through the medium of Hegel, who with the passage of time has become the universal crib, the reference source for all the latest German speculators about principles and manufacturers of systems.

Catholicism=attitude to truth as thing, child, Negro, the "ancient".

Protestantism=attitude to truth in the spirit, youth, Mongol, the "modern".

The whole scheme was superfluous, since all this was already present in the section on "spirit".

As already mentioned in "The Economy of the Old Testament", it

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[a] G.W.F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion*.—*Ed.*

is now possible to make the child and the youth appear again in new "transformations" within Protestantism, as "Stirner" actually does on page 112, where he conceives English, empirical philosophy as the child, in contrast to German, speculative philosophy as the youth. Here again he copies out *Hegel*, who here, as elsewhere in the "book", frequently appears as "*one*".

"One"—i.e., Hegel—"expelled Bacon from the realm of philosophy." "And, indeed, what is called English philosophy does not seem to have got any farther than the discoveries made by so-called clear intellects such as Bacon and Hume" (p. 112).

Hegel expresses this as follows:

"Bacon is in fact the real leader and representative of what is called philosophy in England and beyond which the English have by no means gone as yet" (*Geschichte der Philosophie*, III, p. 254).

The people whom "Stirner" calls "clear intellects" Hegel (ibid., p. 255) calls "educated men of the world"—Saint Max on one occasion even transforms them into the "simplicity of childish nature", for the English philosophers have to represent the *child*. On the same childish grounds Bacon is not allowed to have "concerned himself with theological problems and cardinal propositions", regardless of what may be said in his writings (particularly *De Augmentis Scientiarum*,[a] *Novum Organum* and the *Essays*[b]). On the other hand, "German thought ... sees life only in cognition itself" (p. 112), for it is the *youth*. *Ecce iterum Crispinus!*[c]

How Stirner transforms Descartes into a German philosopher, the reader can see for himself in the "book", p. 112.

### *D. Hierarchy*

In the foregoing presentation Jacques le bonhomme conceives history merely as the product of abstract thoughts—or, rather, of his notions of abstract thoughts—as governed by these notions, which, in the final analysis, are all resolved into the "holy". This domination of the "holy", of thought, of the Hegelian absolute idea over the empirical world he further portrays as a historical relation existing at the present time, as the domination of the holy ones, the ideologists, over the vulgar world—as a *hierarchy*. In this hierarchy, what previously appeared *consecutively* exists *side by side*, so that one of the two co-existing forms of development rules over the other. Thus, the

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[a] Francis Bacon, *De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum*.—*Ed.*
[b] Francis Bacon, *The Essays or Councels. Civill and Morall*.—*Ed.*
[c] And there is Crispinus again—the opening words of Juvenal's fourth satire.—*Ed.*

youth rules over the child, the Mongol over the Negro, the modern over the ancient, the selfless egoist (*citoyen*) over the egoist in the usual sense of the word (bourgeois), etc.—see "The Economy of the Old Testament". The "destruction" of the "world of things" by the "world of the spirit" appears here as the "domination" of the "world of thoughts" over the "world of things". The outcome, of course, is bound to be that the domination which the "world of thoughts" exercises from the outset in history is at the end of the latter also presented as the real, actually existing domination of the thinkers—and, as we shall see, in the final analysis, as the domination of the speculative philosophers—over the world of things, so that Saint Max has only to fight against thoughts and ideas of the ideologists and to overcome them, in order to make himself "possessor of the world of things and the world of thoughts".

"*Hierarchy is the domination of thought*, the domination of the spirit. We are still hierarchical to this day, we are under the yoke of those who rely on thoughts, and thoughts"—who has failed to notice it long ago?—"are the *holy*" (p. 97). (Stirner has tried to safeguard himself against the reproach that in his whole book he has only been producing "thoughts", i.e., the "holy", by in fact nowhere producing any thoughts in it. Although in the Wigand periodical he ascribes to himself "virtuosity in thinking", i.e., according to his interpretation, virtuosity in the fabrication of the "holy"—and this we shall concede him.)—"Hierarchy is the *supreme domination of spirit*" (p. 467). —"The *medieval* hierarchy was only a weak hierarchy, for it was forced to allow all kinds of profane barbarism to exist unrestricted alongside it" ("how Stirner knows so much about what the hierarchy was forced to do", we shall soon see), "and only the Reformation steeled the power of the hierarchy" (p. 110). "Stirner" indeed thinks that "the domination of spirits was never before so all-embracing and omnipotent" as after the Reformation; he thinks that this domination of spirits "instead of divorcing the religious principle from art, state and science, on the contrary, raised these wholly from actuality into the kingdom of the spirit and made them religious".

This view of modern history merely dilates upon speculative philosophy's old illusion of the domination of spirit in history. Indeed, this passage even shows how pious Jacques le bonhomme in all good faith continually takes the world outlook derived from Hegel, and which has become traditional for him, as the *real world*, and "manoeuvres" on that basis. What may appear as "his own" and "unique" in this passage is the conception of this domination of the spirit as a *hierarchy*—and here, again, we will "include" a brief "historical reflection" on the origin of Stirner's "hierarchy".

Hegel speaks of the philosophy of hierarchy in the following "transformations":

"We have seen in Plato's *Republic* the idea that philosophers should govern; now" (in the Catholic Middle Ages) "the time has come when it is affirmed that the *spiritual should dominate*; but the spiritual has acquired the meaning that the *clerical*, the *clergy*, should dominate. Thus, the spiritual is made a special being, the individual"

(*Geschichte der Philosophie*, III, p. 132).—"Thereby actuality, the mundane, *is forsaken by God* ... a few individual persons are *holy*, the others *unholy*" (ibid., p. 136). "Godforsakenness" is more closely defined thus: "All these forms" (family, work, political life, etc.) "are considered nugatory, *unholy*" (*Philosophie der Religion*, II, p. 343).—"It is a union with worldliness which is unreconciled, *worldliness* which is *crude in itself*" (for this Hegel elsewhere also uses the word "barbarism"; cf., for example, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, III, p. 136) "and, being crude in itself, is simply subjected to domination." (*Philosophie der Religion*, II, pp. 342, 343).—"This domination" (the hierarchy of the Catholic church) "is, therefore, a domination of passion, although it should be the domination of the spiritual" (*Geschichte der Philosophie*, III, p. 134).—"*The true domination of the spirit, however*, cannot be domination of the spirit in the sense that what opposes it should be something subordinate" (ibid., p. 131).—"The true meaning is that the *spiritual as such*" (according to "Stirner" the "holy") "should be *the determining factor, and this has been so until our times; thus*, we see in the *French Revolution*" (*following in the wake* of Hegel, "Stirner" sees it) "that the *abstract idea should dominate*: state constitutions and laws should be determined by it, it should constitute the bond between people, and people should be conscious that *that which they hold as valid are abstract ideas*, liberty and equality, etc." (*Geschichte der Philosophie*, III, p. 132). The true domination of spirit as brought about by Protestantism, in contrast to its imperfect form in the Catholic hierarchy, is defined further in the sense that "the *earthly is made spiritual in itself*" (*Geschichte der Philosophie*, III, p. 185); "that the divine is realised in the sphere of actuality" (the Catholic Godforsakenness of actuality, therefore, ceases to exist—*Philosophie der Religion*, II, p. 344); that the "contradiction" between holiness and worldliness "is resolved in *morality*" (*Philosophie der Religion*, II, p. 343); that "*moral institutions*" (marriage, the family, the state, earning one's livelihood, etc.) are "*divine, holy*" (*Philosophie der Religion*, II, p. 344).

Hegel expresses this true domination of spirit in two forms:

"*State, government, law, property, civic order*" (and, as we know from his other works, art, science, etc., as well), "all this is the *religious*... emerging in the form of the finite" (*Geschichte der Philosophie*, III, p. 185).

And, finally, this domination of the religious, the spiritual, etc., is expressed as the domination of philosophy:

"Consciousness of the spiritual is now" (in the eighteenth century) "essentially the foundation, and *thereby domination has passed to philosophy*" (*Philosophie der Geschichte*, p. 440).

Hegel, therefore, ascribes to the Catholic hierarchy of the Middle Ages the intention of wanting "to be the domination of spirit" and thereupon regards it as a restricted imperfect form of this domination of spirit, the culmination of which he sees in Protestantism and its alleged further development. However unhistorical this may be, nevertheless, Hegel is sufficiently historically-minded not to extend the use of the *name* "hierarchy" beyond the bounds of the Middle Ages. But Saint Max knows from this same Hegel that the later epoch is the "truth" of the preceding one; hence the epoch of the perfect domination of spirit is the truth of that epoch in which the domination of spirit was as yet imperfect, so that Protestantism is the truth of hierarchy and therefore *true hierarchy*. Since,

however, only *true* hierarchy deserves to be called hierarchy, it is clear that the hierarchy of the Middle Ages had to be "weakly", and it is all the easier for Stirner to prove this since in the passages given above and in hundreds of other passages from Hegel the imperfection of the domination of spirit in the Middle Ages is portrayed. He only needed to copy these out, the whole of his "*own*" work consisting in substituting the word "hierarchy" for "domination of spirit". There was no need for him even to formulate the simple argument by means of which domination of spirit as such is transformed by him into hierarchy, since it has become the fashion among German theoreticians to give the name of the cause to the effect and, for example, to put back into the category of theology everything that has arisen out of theology and has not yet fully attained the height of the principles of these theoreticians—e.g., Hegelian speculation, Straussian pantheism, etc.—a trick especially prevalent in 1842. From the above-quoted passages it also follows that Hegel: 1) appraises the French Revolution as a new and more perfect phase of this domination of spirit; 2) regards philosophers as the rulers of the world of the nineteenth century; 3) maintains that now only abstract ideas have validity among people; 4) that he already regards marriage, the family, the state, earning one's livelihood, civic order, property, etc., as "divine and holy", as the "*religious principle*" and 5) that *morality* as worldly sanctity or as sanctified worldliness is represented as the highest and ultimate form of the domination of spirit over the world—all these things are repeated *word for word* in "Stirner".

Accordingly there is no need to say or prove anything more concerning Stirner's hierarchy, apart from why Saint Max copied out Hegel—a fact, however, for the explanation of which further material data are necessary, and which, therefore, is only explicable for those who are acquainted with the Berlin atmosphere. It is another question how the Hegelian idea of the domination of spirit arose, and about this see what has been said above.[a]

Saint Max's adoption of Hegel's world domination of the philosophers and his transformation of it into a hierarchy are due to the extremely uncritical credulity of our saint and to a "holy" or unholy ignorance which is content with "seeing through" history (i.e., with glancing *through* Hegel's historical writings) without troubling to "know" many "things" about it. In general, he was bound to be afraid that as soon as he "learned" he would no longer be able to "abolish and dissolve" (p. 96), and, therefore, remain stuck in the

[a] See this volume, pp. 59-62.—*Ed.*

"bustling activity of noxious insects"—a sufficient reason not to "proceed" to the "abolition and dissolution" of his own ignorance.

If, like Hegel, one designs such a system for the first time, a system embracing the whole of history and the present-day world in all its scope, one cannot possibly do so without comprehensive, positive knowledge, without great energy and keen insight and without dealing at least in some passages with empirical history. On the other hand, if one is satisfied with exploiting an already existing pattern, transforming it for one's "own" purposes and demonstrating this conception of one's own by means of isolated examples (e.g., Negroes and Mongols, Catholics and Protestants, the French Revolution, etc.)—and this is precisely what our warrior against the holy does—then absolutely no knowledge of history is necessary. The result of all this exploitation inevitably becomes comic; most of all comic when a jump is made from the past into the immediate present, examples of which we saw already in connection with "whimsy".[a]

As for the actual hierarchy of the Middle Ages, we shall merely note here that it did not exist for the people, for the great mass of human beings. For the great mass only feudalism existed, and hierarchy only existed insofar as it was itself either feudal or anti-feudal (within the framework of feudalism). Feudalism itself had entirely empirical relations as its basis. Hierarchy and its struggle against feudalism (the struggle of the ideologists of a class against the class itself) are only the ideological expression of feudalism and of the struggles developing within feudalism itself—which include also the struggles of the feudally organised nations among themselves. Hierarchy is the ideal form of feudalism; feudalism is the political form of the medieval relations of production and intercourse. Consequently, the struggle of feudalism against hierarchy can only be explained by elucidating these practical material relations. This elucidation of itself puts an end to the previous conception of history which took the illusions of the Middle Ages on trust, in particular those illusions which the Emperor and the Pope brought to bear in their struggle against each other.

Since Saint Max merely reduces the Hegelian abstractions about the Middle Ages and hierarchy to "pompous words and paltry thoughts", there is no need to examine in more detail the actual, historical hierarchy.

From the above it is now clear that the trick can also be reversed and Catholicism regarded not just as a preliminary stage, but

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[a] See this volume, pp. 160-63.—*Ed.*

also as the negation of the real hierarchy; in which case Catholicism=negation of spirit, non-spirit, sensuousness, and then one gets the great proposition of Jacques le bonhomme—that the *Jesuits* "saved us from the *decay* and *destruction* of sensuousness" (p. 118). What would have happened to "us" if the "destruction" of sensuousness had come to pass, we do not learn. The whole material movement since the sixteenth century, which did not save "us" from the "decay" of sensuousness, but, on the contrary, developed "sensuousness" to a much wider extent, does not exist for "Stirner"—it is the Jesuits who brought about all that. Compare, incidentally, Hegel's *Philosophie der Geschichte*, p. 425.

By carrying over the old domination of the clerics to modern times, Saint Max interprets modern times as "*clericalism*"; and then by regarding this domination of the clerics carried over to modern times as something distinct from the old medieval clerical domination, he depicts it as domination of the ideologists, as "*scholasticism*". Thus clericalism=hierarchy as the domination of the spirit, scholasticism=the domination of the spirit as hierarchy.

"Stirner" achieves this simple transition to clericalism—which is no transition at all—by means of three weighty transformations.

Firstly, he "has" the "concept of clericalism" in anyone "who lives for a great idea, for a good cause" (still the good cause!), "for a doctrine, etc."

Secondly, in his world of illusion Stirner "comes up against" the "age-old illusion of a world that has not yet learned to dispense with clericalism", namely—"to live and create for the sake of an *idea*, etc."

Thirdly, "it is the domination of the idea, i.e., clericalism", that is: "Robespierre, for example" (for example!), "Saint-Just, and so on" (and so on!) "were out-and-out priests", etc. All three transformations in which clericalism is "discovered", "encountered" and "called upon" (all this on p. 100), therefore, express nothing more than what Saint Max has already repeatedly told us, namely, the domination of spirit, of the idea, of the holy, over "life" (ibid.).

After the "domination of the idea, i.e., clericalism" has thus been foisted upon history, Saint Max can, of course, without difficulty find this "clericalism" again in the whole of preceding history, and thus depict "Robespierre, for example, Saint-Just, and so on" as priests and identify them with Innocent III and Gregory VII, and so all uniqueness vanishes in the face of *the unique*. All of them, properly speaking, are merely different *names*, different disguises for *one* person, "clericalism", which made all history from the beginning of Christianity. As to how, with this sort of conception of history, "all cats become grey", since all historical differences are "abolished"

and "resolved" in the "notion of clericalism"—as to this, Saint Max at once gives us a striking example in his "Robespierre, for example, Saint-Just, and so on". Here we are first given Robespierre as an "example" of Saint-Just, and Saint-Just—as an "and-so-on" of Robespierre. It is then said:

"These representatives of holy interests are confronted by a world of innumerable 'personal', earthly interests."

By whom were they confronted? By the Girondists and Thermidorians, who (see "for example" R. Levasseur's *Mémoires*, "and so on", "i.e.", Nougaret, *Histoire des prisons*; Barère; "*Deux amis de la liberté*"[a] (*et du commerce*); Montgaillard, *Histoire de France*; Madame Roland, *Appel à la postérité*; J. B. Louvet's *Mémoires* and even the disgusting *Essais historiques* by Beaulieu, etc., etc., as well as all the proceedings before the revolutionary tribunal, "and so on") constantly reproached them, the real representatives of revolutionary power, i.e., of the class which *alone* was truly revolutionary, the "innumerable" masses, for violating "sacred interests", the constitution, freedom, equality, the rights of man, republicanism, law, *sainte propriété*,[b] "for example" the division of powers, humanity, morality, moderation, "and so on". They were opposed by all the *priests*, who accused them of violating all the main and secondary items of the religious and moral catechism (see "for example" *Histoire du clergé de France pendant la révolution*, by M. R.[c], Paris, libraire catholique, 1828, "and so on"). The historical comment of the bourgeois that during the *règne de la terreur* "Robespierre, for example, Saint-Just, and so on" cut off the heads of *honnêtes gens*[d] (see the numerous writings of the simpleton Monsieur *Peltier*, "for example", *La conspiration de Robespierre* by *Montjoie*, "and so on") is expressed by Saint Max in the following transformation:

"Because the revolutionary priests and school-masters served *Man*, they cut the throats of *men*."

This, of course, saves Saint Max the trouble of wasting even one "unique" little word about the actual, empirical grounds for the cutting off of heads—grounds which were based on extremely worldly interests, though not, of course, of the stockjobbers, but of the "innumerable" masses. An earlier "priest", *Spinoza*, already in the seventeenth century had the brazen audacity to act the "strict

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[a] Two friends of freedom (and of commerce).—*Ed.*
[b] Sacred property.—*Ed.*
[c] Hippolyte Regnier d'Estourbet.—*Ed.*
[d] Respectable people.—*Ed.*

school-master" of Saint Max, by saying: "Ignorance is no argument."[a] Consequently Saint Max loathes the priest Spinoza to such an extent that he accepts his anti-cleric, the priest *Leibniz*, and for all such astonishing phenomena as the terror, "for example", the cutting off of heads, "and so on", produces "sufficient grounds", viz., that "the ecclesiastics stuffed their heads with something of the kind" (p. 98).

Blessed Max, who has found sufficient grounds for everything ("I have now found the ground into which my anchor is eternally fastened,"[b] in the idea, "for example", in the "clericalism", "and so on" of "Robespierre, for example, Saint-Just, and so on", George Sand, Proudhon, the chaste Berlin seamstress,[c] etc.)—this blessed Max "does not blame the class of the bourgeoisie for having asked its egoism how far it should give way to the revolutionary *idea as such*". For Saint Max "the revolutionary idea" which inspired the *habits bleus*[57] and *honnêtes gens* of 1789 is the same "idea" as that of the sansculottes of 1793, *the same* idea concerning which people deliberate whether to "give way" to it—but no further "space can be given"[d] to any "idea" about this point.

We now come to present-day hierarchy, to the domination of the idea in ordinary life. The whole of the second part of "the book" is filled with struggle against this "hierarchy". Therefore we shall deal with it in detail when we come to this second part. But since Saint Max, as in the section on "whimsy", takes delight in anticipating his ideas here and repeats what comes later in the beginning, as he repeats the beginning in what comes later, we are compelled already at this point to note a few examples of his hierarchy. His method of writing a book is the unique "egoism" which we find in the whole book. His self-delight stands in inverse proportion to the delight experienced by the reader.

Since the middle class demand love for *their* kingdom, their regime, they want, according to Jacques le bonhomme, to "establish the kingdom of love on earth" (p. 98). Since they demand respect for their domination and for the conditions in which it is exercised, and therefore want to usurp domination over respect, they demand, according to this worthy man, the domination of *respect* as such, their attitude towards respect is the same as towards the holy spirit dwelling within them (p. 95). Jacques le bonhomme, with his faith

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[a] Benedictus Spinoza, *Ethica*, Pars prima, Appendix.—*Ed.*

[b] The words are from a Protestant hymn.—*Ed.*

[c] Marie Wilhelmine Dähnhardt.—*Ed.*

[d] In German a pun: *Raum geben*—to give way, to yield to, and to give space to something.—*Ed.*

that can move mountains, takes as the actual, earthly basis of the bourgeois world the distorted form in which the sanctimonious and hypocritical ideology of the bourgeoisie voices their particular interests as universal interests. Why this ideological delusion assumes precisely this form for our saint, we shall see in connection with "political liberalism".[a]

Saint Max gives us a new example on page 115, speaking of the family. He declares that, although it is very easy to become emancipated from the domination of one's own family, nevertheless, "refusal of allegiance easily arouses pangs of conscience", and so people retain family affection, the concept of the family, and therefore have the "holy conception of the family", the "holy" (p. 116).

Here again our good man perceives the domination of the holy where entirely empirical relations dominate. The attitude of the bourgeois to the institutions of his regime is like that of the Jew to the law; he evades them whenever it is possible to do so in each individual case, but he wants everyone else to observe them. If the entire bourgeoisie, in a mass and at one time, were to evade bourgeois institutions, it would cease to be bourgeois—a conduct which, of course, never occurs to the bourgeois and by no means depends on their willing or running.[58] The dissolute bourgeois evades marriage and secretly commits adultery; the merchant evades the institution of property by depriving others of property by speculation, bankruptcy, etc.; the young bourgeois makes himself independent of his own family, if he can by in fact abolishing the family as far as he is concerned. But marriage, property, the family remain untouched in theory, because they are the practical basis on which the bourgeoisie has erected its domination, and because in their bourgeois form they are the conditions which make the bourgeois a bourgeois, just as the constantly evaded law makes the religious Jew a religious Jew. This attitude of the bourgeois to the conditions of his existence acquires one of its universal forms in bourgeois morality. One cannot speak at all of the family "*as such*". Historically, the bourgeois gives the family the character of the bourgeois family, in which boredom and money are the binding link, and which also includes the bourgeois dissolution of the family, which does not prevent the family itself from always continuing to exist. Its dirty existence has its counterpart in the holy concept of it in official phraseology and universal hypocrisy. Where the family is *actually* abolished, as with the proletariat, just the opposite of what

[a] See this volume, pp. 193-97.—*Ed.*

"stirner" thinks takes place. There the concept of the family does not exist at all, but here and there family affection based on extremely real relations is certainly to be found. In the eighteenth century the concept of the family was abolished by the philosophers, because the actual family was already in process of dissolution at the highest pinnacles of civilisation. The internal family bond, the separate components constituting the concept of the family were dissolved, for example, obedience, piety, fidelity in marriage, etc.; but the real body of the family, the property relation, the exclusive attitude in relation to other families, forced cohabitation—relations determined by the existence of children, the structure of modern towns, the formation of capital, etc.—all these were preserved, although with numerous violations, because the existence of the family is made necessary by its connection with the mode of production, which exists independently of the will of bourgeois society. That it was impossible to do without it was demonstrated in the most striking way during the French Revolution, when for a moment the family was as good as legally abolished. The family continues to exist even in the nineteenth century, only the process of its dissolution has become more general, not on account of the concept, but because of the higher development of industry and competition; the family still exists although its dissolution was long ago proclaimed by French and English socialists and this has at last penetrated also to the German church fathers, by way of French novels.

One other example of the domination of the idea in everyday life. Since school-masters may be told to find consolation for their scanty pay in the holiness of the cause they serve (which could only occur in Germany), Jacques le bonhomme actually believes that such talk is the reason for their low salaries (p. 100). He believes that "the holy" in the present-day bourgeois world has an actual money value, he believes that the meagre funds of the Prussian state (see, *inter alia*, Browning on this subject[a]) would be so increased by the abolition of "the holy" that every village school-master could suddenly be paid a ministerial salary.

This is the hierarchy of nonsense.

The "keystone of the magnificent cathedral"—as the great Michelet[b] puts it—of hierarchy is "sometimes" the work of "One"

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[a] G. Browning, *The domestic and financial Condition of Great Britain; preceded by a Brief Sketch of her Foreign Policy; and of the Statistics and Politics of France, Russia, Austria and Prussia.— Ed.*

[b] Carl Ludwig Michelet, *Geschichte der letzten Systeme der Philosophie in Deutschland von Kant bis Hegel.— Ed.*

"*One sometimes* divides people into two classes, the educated and the uneducated." (One sometimes divides apes into two classes, the tailed and the tailless.) "The former insofar as they were worthy of their name, occupied themselves with thoughts, with the spirit." They "dominated in the post-Christian epoch and for their thoughts they demanded ... respect". The uneducated (the animal, the child, the Negro) are "powerless" against thoughts and "are dominated by them. That is the meaning of hierarchy."

The "educated" (the youth, the Mongol, the modern) are, therefore, again only occupied with "spirit", pure thought, etc.; they are metaphysicians by profession, in the final analysis Hegelians. "Hence" the "uneducated" are the non-Hegelians.[a] Hegel was indubitably "the most educated" Hegelian and therefore in his case it must "become apparent what a longing for things particularly the most educated man possesses". The point is that the "educated" and "uneducated" are within themselves in conflict with each other, indeed, in every man the "uneducated" is in conflict with the "educated". And since the greatest longing for things, i.e., for that which belongs to the "uneducated", becomes apparent in Hegel, it also becomes apparent here that "the most educated" man is at the same time "the most uneducated".

"There" (in Hegel) "reality should be completely in accordance with thought and no concept be without reality."

This should read: there the ordinary idea of reality should receive its complete philosophical expression, while Hegel imagines, on the contrary, that "consequently" every philosophical expression creates the reality that is in accordance with it. Jacques le bonhomme takes Hegel's illusion about his own philosophy for the genuine coin of Hegelian philosophy.

The Hegelian philosophy, which in the form of the domination of the Hegelians over the non-Hegelians appears as the crown of the hierarchy, now conquers the last world empire.

"Hegel's system was the supreme *despotism* and *autocracy* of thought, the *omnipotence* and *almightiness* of the spirit" (p. 97).

Here, therefore, we find ourselves in the realm of spirits of Hegelian philosophy, which stretches from Berlin to Halle and Tübingen, the realm of spirits whose history was written by Herr Bayrhoffer[b] and for which the great Michelet collected the statistical data.

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[a] Here the authors ironically use Berlin dialect words for educated, uneducated and most educated (*Jebildete, Unjebildete, Allerjebildetste*).—*Ed.*

[b] Karl Theodor Bayrhoffer, *Die Idee und Geschichte der Philosophie*.—*Ed.*

The preparation for this realm of spirits was the French Revolution, which "*did nothing* but transform *things* into *ideas about things*" (p. 115; cf. above Hegel on the revolution, p. [...[a]]).

"So people remained citizens" (in "Stirner", this occurs earlier, but "what Stirner says is not what he has in mind, and what he has in mind cannot be said", *Wigand*, p. 149) and "lived in *reflection*, they had their *eye* on an object, before which" (*per appos.*) "they felt reverence and fear". "Stirner" says in a passage on page 98: "The road to hell is paved with good intentions." But we say: the road to the unique is paved with bad concluding clauses[b], with appositions, which are his "heavenly ladder" borrowed from the Chinese, and his "rope of the objective" (p. 88) on which he makes his "flea-jumps". In accordance with this, for "modern philosophy *or* modern times"—since the emergence of the realm of spirits modern times *are* indeed nothing but modern philosophy—it is an easy matter to "transform the existing objects into notional objects, i.e., into concepts", page 114, a work which Saint Max continues.

We have already seen our knight of the rueful countenance even "before the mountains were brought forth",[c] which he later moved by his faith, right at the beginning of his book, galloping headlong towards the great result of his "magnificent cathedral". His "donkey", apposition, could not jump swiftly enough for him; now, at last, on page 114, he has reached his goal and by means of a mighty "or" has transformed *modern times* into *modern philosophy*.

Thereby ancient times (i.e., the ancient and modern, Negroid and Mongolian but, properly speaking, only pre-Stirnerian times) "reached their final goal". We can now reveal why Saint Max gave the title "*Man*" to the whole of the first part of his book and made out his entire history of miracles, ghosts and knights to be the history of "*man*". The ideas and thoughts of people were, of course, ideas and thoughts about themselves and their relationships, their consciousness of *themselves* and of people *in general*—for it was the consciousness not merely of a single individual but of the individual in his interconnection with the whole of society and about the whole of the society in which they lived. The conditions, independent of them, in which they produced their life, the necessary forms of intercourse connected herewith, and the personal and social relations thereby given, had to take the form—insofar as they were

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[a] See this volume, pp. 174-75.—*Ed.*

[b] In German a pun: *Vorsätze*—intentions, and *Nachsätze*—concluding clauses, conclusions.—*Ed.*

[c] Psalms 90:2.—*Ed.*

expressed in thoughts—of ideal conditions and necessary relations, i.e., they had to be expressed in consciousness as determinations arising from the concept of man *as such*, from human essence, from the nature of man, from man *as such*. What people were, what their relations were, appeared in consciousness as ideas of man *as such*, of his modes of existence or of his immediate conceptual determinations. So, after the ideologists had assumed that ideas and thoughts had dominated history up to now, that the history of these ideas and thoughts constitutes all history up to now, after they had imagined that real conditions had conformed to man *as such* and his ideal conditions, i.e., to conceptual determinations, after they had made the history of people's consciousness of themselves the basis of their actual history, after all this, nothing was easier than to call the history of consciousness, of ideas, of the holy, of established concepts—the history of "man" and to put it in the place of real history. The only distinction between Saint Max and all his predecessors is that he knows *nothing* about these concepts—even in their arbitrary isolation from real life, whose products they were—and his trivial creative work in his copy of Hegelian ideology is restricted to establishing his ignorance even of what he copies.—It is already evident from this how he can counterpose the history of the real individual in the form of *the unique* to his fantasy about the history of man.

The unique history takes place at the beginning in the Stoa in Athens, later almost wholly in Germany, and finally at the Kupfergraben[59] in Berlin, where the despot of "modern philosophy or modern times" set up his imperial residence. That already shows how exclusively national and local is the matter dealt with. Instead of world history, Saint Max gives a few and, what is more, extremely meagre and biased comments on the history of *German* theology and philosophy. If on occasion we appear to go outside Germany, it is only in order to cause the deeds and thoughts of other peoples, e.g., the French Revolution, to "reach their final goal" in Germany, namely, at the Kupfergraben. Only national-German facts are given, they are dealt with and interpreted in a national-German manner, and the result remains a national-German one. But even that is not enough. The views and education of our saint are not only German, but of a Berlin nature through and through. The role allotted to Hegelian philosophy is that which it plays in Berlin, and Stirner confuses Berlin with the world and world history. The "youth" is a Berliner; the good citizens that we encounter throughout the book are Berlin beer-drinking philistines. With such premises for the starting-point, it is natural that the result arrived at is merely one

confined within the national and local framework. "Stirner" and his whole philosophical fraternity, among whom he is the weakest and most ignorant member, afford a practical commentary to the valiant lines of the valiant Hoffmann von Fallersleben:

> In Germany alone, in Germany alone,
> Would I for ever live.[a]

The local Berlin conclusion of our valiant saint—that in Hegelian philosophy the world has "all gone"—enables him now without much expense to arrive at a universal empire of his "own". The Hegelian philosophy transformed everything into thought, into the holy, into apparition, into spirit, into spirits, into spectres. "Stirner" will fight against them, he will conquer them in his imagination and will erect on their dead bodies his "own", "unique", "corporeal" empire, the empire of the "whole fellow".

"For we *wrestle not against flesh and blood,* but against principalities, against powers, against the *rulers* of the darkness *of this world,* against *spiritual wickedness* in high places" (Ephesians 6:12).

Now "Stirner" has his "feet shod with the preparation" for waging the fight against thoughts. He has no need first to "take the shield of faith", for he has never laid it down. Armed with the "helmet" of disaster and the "sword" of spiritlessness (see ibid.[b]), he goes into battle. "And it was given unto him to make war with the holy" but not "to overcome" it. (Revelation of St. John 13:7.)

### 5. *"Stirner" Delighted in His Construction*

We now find ourselves again exactly where we were on page 19 in connection with the youth, who became the man, and on page 90 in connection with the Mongoloid Caucasian, who was transformed into the Caucasian Caucasian and "found himself". We are, therefore, at the third self-finding of the mysterious individual whose "arduous life struggle" Saint Max depicts for us. Only the whole story is now behind us, and, in view of the extensive material we have worked through, we must take a retrospective look at the gigantic corpse of the ruined man.

Though on a later page, where he has long ago forgotten his history, Saint Max asserts that "genius has long since been regarded as the creator of new world-historic productions" (p. 214), we have

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[a] From the poem *Auf der Wanderung* by Hoffmann von Fallersleben.— *Ed.*

[b] Ephesians 6 : 15, 16, 17 (paraphrased).—*Ed.*

already seen that even his bitterest enemies cannot revile *his* history on that score, at any rate, for in it no individuals, let alone geniuses, make their appearance, but only ossified, crippled thoughts and Hegelian changelings.

*Repetitio est mater studiorum.*[a] Saint Max, who expounded his whole history of "philosophy or time" only in order to find an opportunity for a few hurried studies of Hegel, finally repeats once again his whole unique history. However, he does it with a turn towards natural history, offering us important information about "unique" natural science, the reason being that for him, whenever the "world" has to play an important role, it immediately becomes transformed into *nature.* "Unique" natural science begins at once with the admission of its impotence. It does not examine the actual relation of man to nature, determined by industry and natural science, but proclaims a fantastic relation of man to nature.

> "How little can man conquer! He has to allow the sun to trace its course, the sea to roll its waves, the mountains to tower to the sky" (p. 122).

Saint Max who, like all saints, loves miracles, but can only perform a logical miracle, is annoyed because he cannot make the sun dance the cancan, he grieves because he cannot still the ocean, he is indignant because he must allow the mountains to tower to the sky. Although on page 124 the world already becomes "prosaic" at the end of antiquity, it is still, for our saint, highly unprosaic. For him it still is the "sun" and not the earth that traces its course, and to his sorrow he cannot *à la* Joshua command "sun, stand thou still".[b] On page 123, Stirner discovers that

> at the end of the ancient world, "spirit" "again foamed and frothed over irresistibly because *gases*" (spirits) "developed within it and, after the *mechanical impact* from outside became ineffective, *chemical tensions,* which stimulate in the interior, began to come into wonderful play".

This sentence contains the most important data of the "unique" philosophy of nature, which on the previous page had already arrived at the conclusion that for man nature is the "unconquerable". Earthly physics knows nothing about a mechanical impact which becomes ineffective—*unique* physics alone has the merit of this discovery. Earthly chemistry knows no "gases" which stimulate "chemical tensions" and, what is more, "in the interior". Gases which enter into new combinations, into new chemical relations, do not stimulate any "tensions", but at most lead to a fall of tension,

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[a] Repetition is the mother of learning.—*Ed.*
[b] Joshua 10 : 12.—*Ed.*

insofar as they pass into a liquid state of aggregation and thereby their volume decreases to something less than one-thousandth of their former volume. If Saint Max feels "tensions" "in" his own "interior" due to "gases", these are highly "mechanical impacts", and by no means "chemical tensions". They are produced by a chemical transformation, determined by physiological causes, of certain mixtures into others, whereby part of the constituents of the former mixture becomes gaseous, therefore, occupies a larger volume and, in the absence of space for it, causes a "mechanical impact" or pressure towards the outside. [That] these nonexistent "chemical tensions" "come" into extremely "wonderful play" in Saint Max's "interior", namely, this time in his *head*, "we see" from the role they play in "unique" natural science. Incidentally, it is to be desired that Saint Max would no longer withhold from the profane natural scientists what nonsense he has in mind with the crazy expression "chemical tensions", which moreover "stimulate in the interior" (as though a "mechanical impact" on the stomach does not "stimulate it in the interior" as well).

Saint Max wrote his "unique" natural science only because on this occasion he was unable to touch on the ancients in decent fashion without at the same time letting fall a few words about the "world of things", about nature.

At the end of the ancient world the ancients, we are assured here, are all transformed into Stoics, "whom *no* collapse of the world" (how many times is it supposed to have collapsed?) "could put out of countenance" (p. 123). Thus, the ancients become Chinese, who also "cannot be thrown down from the heavens of their tranquillity by any unforeseen event" (or idea[a]) (p. 90). Indeed, Jacques le bonhomme seriously believes that against the last of the ancients "the mechanical impact from outside became ineffective". How far this corresponds to the actual situation of the Romans and Greeks at the end of the ancient world, to their complete lack of stability and confidence, which could hardly oppose any remnant of *vis inertiae* to the "mechanical impact"—on this point compare, *inter alia*, Lucian. The powerful mechanical shocks which the Roman empire received as a result of its division among several Caesars and their wars against one another, as a result of the colossal concentration of property, particularly landed property, in Rome, and the decrease in Italy's population caused by this, and as a result of the [pressure of the] Huns and Teutons—these shocks, in the opinion of our saintly

[a] In the German original a pun: *Fall*—event—and *Einfall*, which can mean idea, brain wave, invasion or collapse.—*Ed.*

historian, "became ineffective"; only the "chemical tensions", only the "gases" which Christianity "stimulated in the interior" overthrew the Roman Empire. The great earthquakes [in the West] and in the East, and other "mechanical impacts" which buried hundreds of thousands of people under the [ruins] of their towns and [which by no] means left the consciousness of people unchanged, were presumably, according to "Stirner", also "ineffective" or were chemical tensions. And "*in fact*" (!) "ancient history ends in this, that I have made the world my property"—which is proved by means of the biblical saying: "All things are delivered unto me" (i.e., Christ) "of my Father."[a] Here, therefore, I=Christ. In this connection, Jacques le bonhomme cannot refrain from believing the Christian that he could move mountains, etc., if he "only wanted to". As a Christian he proclaims himself the lord of the world, but he is this only *as a Christian*; he proclaims himself the "owner of the world". "Thereby egoism won its first full victory, since I elevated myself to be the owner of the world" (p. 124). In order to rise to the level of the perfect Christian, Stirner's ego had only to carry through the struggle to become *poor in spirit* as well (which he succeeded in doing even before the mountains arose). "Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."[b] Saint Max has reached perfection as regards poverty of spirit and even boasts of it in his great rejoicing before the Lord.

Saint Max, poor in spirit, believes in the fantastic gas formations of the Christians arising from the decomposition of the ancient world. The ancient Christian owned nothing in this world and was, therefore, satisfied with his imaginary heavenly property and his divine right to ownership. Instead of making the world the possession of the people, he proclaimed himself and his ragged fraternity to be "God's own possession" (1 Peter 2 : 9). According to "Stirner", the Christian idea of the world is the world into which the ancient world is actually dissolved, although this is at most [a world] of fantasy into which the world of ancient ideas has [been transformed] and in which the Christian [by faith] can move mountains, can feel [all-powerful] and press forward to a position where the "mechanical impact is ineffective". Since for "Stirner" people are no longer determined by the [external] world, are no longer driven forward by the mechanical impact of the need to produce, since, in general, the mechanical impact, and with it the sexual act as well, has ceased to operate, it is only by a miracle that

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[a] Matthew 11 : 27.—*Ed.*
[b] Matthew 5 : 3.—*Ed.*

they have been able to continue to exist. Of course, for German prigs and school-masters with a gaseous content like that of "Stirner", it is far easier to be satisfied with the Christian fantasy about property—which is truly nothing but the property of Christian fantasy—than to describe the transformation of the real property relations and production relations of the ancient world.

That same primitive Christian who, in the imagination of Jacques le bonhomme, was the owner of the ancient world, actually belonged for the most part to the world of owners; he was a slave and could be sold on the market. But "Stirner", delighted in his construction, irrepressibly continues his rejoicing.

"The first property, the first splendour has been won!" (p. 124).

In the same way, Stirner's egoism continues to gain property and splendour and to achieve "complete victories". The theological attitude of the primitive Christian to the ancient world is the perfect prototype of all his property and all his splendour.

The following are the grounds given for this property of the Christian:

"The world has lost its divine character ... it has become prosaic, it is my property, which I dispose of as I (viz., the spirit) choose" (p. 124).

This means: the world has lost its divine character, therefore, it is freed from my fantasies for my own consciousness; it has become prosaic, consequently its relation to me is prosaic and it disposes of me in the prosaic way it favours, by no means to please me. Apart from the fact that "Stirner" here actually thinks that in ancient times the prosaic world did not exist and the divine principle held sway in the world, he even falsifies the Christian concept, which continually bemoans its impotence in relation to the world, and itself depicts its victory over the world *in* its fantasy as merely an ideal one, by transferring it to the day of judgment. Only when a great secular power took possession of Christianity and exploited it, whereupon, of course, it ceased to be unworldly, could Christianity imagine itself to be the owner of the world. Saint Max ascribes to the Christian the same false relation to the ancient world as he ascribes to the youth with regard to the "world of the child"; he puts the egoist in the same relation to the world of the Christian as he puts the man to the world of the youth.

The Christian has now nothing more to do than to become poor in spirit as quickly as possible and perceive the world of spirit in all its vanity—just as he did with the world of things—in order to be able to "dispose as he chooses" of the world of spirit also, whereby he becomes a perfect Christian, an egoist. The attitude of the Christian

to the ancient world serves, therefore, as the standard for the attitude of the egoist to the modern world. The preparation for this spiritual poverty was the content of "almost two thousand years" of life—a life whose main epochs, of course, took place only in Germany.

"*After various transformations* the holy spirit *in the course of time* became the absolute idea, which again in *manifold refractions* split up into the various ideas of love of mankind, civic virtue, rationality, etc." (pp. 125, 126).

The German stay-at-home again turns the thing upside-down. The ideas of love of mankind, etc.—coins whose impressions had already been totally worn away, particularly owing to their great circulation in the eighteenth century—were recast by Hegel in the sublimate of the absolute idea, but after this reminting they were just as little successful in retaining their value abroad as Prussian paper money.

The consistent conclusion—which has already appeared again and again—of Stirner's view of history is as follows:

"Concepts should play the decisive role everywhere, concepts should regulate life, concepts should rule. That is the religious world to which Hegel gave systematic expression" (p. 126),

and which our good-natured philistine so much mistakes for the real world that on the following page (p. 127) he can say:

"Now nothing but spirit rules in the world."

Stuck fast in this world of illusion, he can (on p. 128) build first of all an "altar" and then "erect a church" "round this altar", a church whose "walls" have legs for making progress and "move ever farther forward". "Soon this church embraces the whole earth." He, the unique, and Szeliga, his servant, stand outside, they "wander round these walls, and are driven out to the very edge". "Howling with agonising hunger", Saint Max calls to his servant: "One step more and the world of the holy has conquered." But Szeliga suddenly "*sinks* into the outermost abyss", which lies above him—a literary miracle! For, since the earth is a sphere, the abyss can only lie above Szeliga as soon as the church embraces the whole earth. So he reverses the laws of gravity, ascends backwards into heaven and thereby reflects honour on "unique" natural science, which is all the easier for him since, according to page 126, "the nature of the thing and the concept of relation" are a matter of indifference to "Stirner", "do not guide him in his treatment or conclusion", and the "relationship into which" Szeliga "entered" with gravity "is itself unique" by virtue of Szeliga's "uniqueness", and by no means "depends" on the nature of gravity or on how "others", for instance, natural scientists, "classify it". "Stirner" moreover objects to

Szeliga's "action being separated from the real" Szeliga and "assessed according to human standards".

Having thus arranged for decent accommodation in heaven for his faithful servant, Saint Max passes on to the subject of his own passion. On page 95 he discovers that even the "gallows" has the "colour of the holy"; "people loathe coming into contact with it, there is something uncanny, i.e., unfamiliar, strange about it". In order to transcend this strangeness of the gallows, he transforms it into his own gallows, which he can only do by hanging himself on it. The lion of Juda makes also this last sacrifice to egoism.[a] The holy Christian allows himself to be nailed to the cross, not to redeem the cross, but to redeem people from their impiety; the unholy Christian hangs himself on the gallows in order to redeem the gallows from holiness or to redeem himself from the strangeness of the gallows.

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"The first splendour, the first property has been won, the first complete victory achieved!" The holy warrior has now conquered history, he has transformed it into thoughts, pure thoughts, which are nothing but thoughts—and at the end of time only a host of thoughts confront him. And so Saint Max, having taken his "gallows" on his back, just like an ass that carries a cross, and his servant Szeliga, who was welcomed in heaven with kicks and has returned to his master with his head hanging, set out to fight against this host of thoughts or, rather, against the mere halo of these thoughts. This time it is Sancho Panza, full of moral sayings, maxims and proverbs, who takes on himself the struggle against the holy, and Don Quixote plays the role of his pious and faithful servant. The honest Sancho fights just as bravely as the *caballero Manchego*[b] did in the old days, and like him does not fail several times to mistake a herd of Mongolian sheep for a swarm of spectres. The plump Maritornes "in the course of time, after various transformations in manifold refractions", is transformed into a chaste Berlin seamstress,[c] dying of anaemia, a subject on which Saint Sancho composes an elegy, one which causes all young graduates and Guards lieutenants to remember Rabelais' statement that the world-liberating "soldier's prime weapon is the flap of his trousers".[d]

Sancho Panza achieves his heroic feats by *perceiving* the entire opposing host of thoughts in its nullity and vanity. All his great deed

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[a] Cf. Revelation of John 5:5.—*Ed.*

[b] Knight of La Mancha, i.e., Don Quixote.—*Ed.*

[c] Marie Wilhelmine Dähnhardt.—*Ed.*

[d] Cf. the heading of Chapter 8, Book 3 of Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel*.—*Ed.*

is confined to mere perception which in the end leaves everything existing as it was, changing only his conception, and that not even of things, but of philosophical phrases about things.

Thus, after the ancients have been presented realistically as child, Negro, Negroid Caucasians, animal, Catholics, English philosophy, the uneducated, non-Hegelians, and the world of things, and the moderns have been presented idealistically as youth, Mongol, Mongoloid Caucasians, man, Protestants, German philosophy, the educated, Hegelians, and the world of thoughts—after everything has happened that was from time immemorial decided in the Council of Guardians, the time has at last arrived. The negative unity of the ancient and the modern, which has already figured as the man, the Caucasian, the Caucasian Caucasian, the perfect Christian, in servant's clothing, seen "through a glass darkly" (1 Corinthians 13:12), can now, after the passion and death of Stirner on the gallows and Szeliga's ascent to heaven in full glory, return to the simplest nomenclature and appear in the clouds of heaven endowed with great power and majesty.[a] "And so it is said": what was previously "One" (see "Economy of the Old Testament") has become "*ego*"—the negative unity of realism and idealism, of the world of things and the world of spirit. Schelling calls this unity of realism and idealism "indifference" or, rendered in the Berlin dialect, "Jleich-*jiltigkeit*; in Hegel it becomes the negative unity in which the two moments are transcended. Saint Max who, being a proper German speculative philosopher, is still tormented by the "unity of opposites", is not satisfied with this; he wants this unity to be visible to him in the form of a "corporeal individual", in a "whole fellow", and he is encouraged in this by Feuerbach's views expressed in the *Anekdota*[b] and in the *Philosophie der Zukunft*. This "ego" of Stirner's which is the final outcome of the hitherto existing world is, therefore, not a "corporeal individual", but a category constructed on the Hegelian method and supported by appositions, the further "flea-jumps" of which we shall trace in the New Testament. Here we shall merely add that in the final analysis this ego comes into existence because it has the same illusions about the world of the Christian as the Christian has about the world of things. Just as the Christian takes possession of the world of things by "getting into his head" fantastic nonsense about them, so the "ego"takes possession of the Christian world, the world of thoughts, by means of a series of fantastic ideas about it. What the Christian imagines about his own relation to the world,

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[a] Cf. Matthew 24:30.—*Ed.*

[b] Ludwig Feuerbach, "Vorläufige Thesen zur Reformation der Philosophie".—*Ed.*

"Stirner" accepts in good faith, finds excellent, and good-naturedly repeats after him.

"Therefore we conclude that a man is *justified by faith without the deeds*" (Epistle to the Romans 3 : 28).

*Hegel,* for whom the modern world was also resolved into the world of abstract ideas, defines the task of the modern philosopher, in contrast to that of the ancient, as consisting in the following: instead of, like the ancients, freeing himself from "natural consciousness" and "purging the individual of the immediate, sensuous method and making him into conceived and thinking substance" (into spirit), the modern philosopher should "abolish firm, definite, fixed ideas". This, he adds, is accomplished by "dialectics" (*Phänomenologie,* pp. 26, 27). The difference between "Stirner" and Hegel is that the former achieves the same thing without the help of dialectics.

### *6. The Free Ones*

What role "the free ones" have to play here is stated in the economy of the Old Testament. We cannot help it that the ego, which we had approached so closely, now recedes from us again into the nebulous distance. It is not at all our fault that we did not pass at once to the ego from page 20 of "the book".

### A. Political Liberalism

The key to the criticism of liberalism advanced by Saint Max and his predecessors is the history of the German bourgeoisie. We shall call special attention to some aspects of this history since the French Revolution.

The state of affairs in Germany at the end of the last century is fully reflected in Kant's *Critik der practischen Vernunft.* While the French bourgeoisie, by means of the most colossal revolution that history has ever known, was achieving domination and conquering the Continent of Europe, while the already politically emancipated English bourgeoisie was revolutionising industry and subjugating India politically, and all the rest of the world commercially, the impotent German burghers did not get any further than "good will". Kant was satisfied with "good will" alone, even if it remained entirely without result, and he transferred the *realisation* of this good will, the harmony between it and the needs and impulses of individuals, to *the world beyond.* Kant's good will fully corresponds to the impotence, depression and wretchedness of the German burghers, whose petty

interests were never capable of developing into the common, national interests of a class and who were, therefore, constantly exploited by the bourgeois of all other nations. These petty, local interests had as their counterpart, on the one hand, the truly local and provincial narrow-mindedness of the German burghers and, on the other hand, their cosmopolitan swollen-headedness. In general, from the time of the Reformation German development has borne a completely petty-bourgeois character. The old feudal aristocracy was, for the most part, annihilated in the peasant wars; what remained of it were either imperial petty princes who gradually achieved a certain independence and aped the absolute monarchy on a minute, provincial scale, or lesser landowners who partly squandered their little bit of property at the tiny courts, and then gained their livelihood from petty positions in the small armies and government offices—or, finally, Junkers from the backwoods, who lived a life of which even the most modest English squire[a] or French *gentilhomme de province* would have been ashamed. Agriculture was carried on by a method which was neither parcellation nor large-scale production, and which, despite the preservation of feudal dependence and corvées, never drove the peasants to seek emancipation, both because this method of farming did not allow the emergence of any active revolutionary class and because of the absence of the revolutionary bourgeoisie corresponding to such a peasant class.

As regards the middle class, we can only emphasise here a few significant factors. It is significant that linen manufacture, i.e., an industry based on the spinning wheel and the hand-loom, came to be of some importance in Germany at the very time when in England those cumbersome tools were already being ousted by machines. Most characteristic of all is the position of the German middle class in relation to *Holland.* Holland, the only part of the Hanseatic League[60] that became commercially important, tore itself free, cut Germany off from world trade except for two ports (Hamburg and Bremen) and since then dominated the whole of German trade. The German middle class was too impotent to set limits to exploitation by the Dutch. The bourgeoisie of little Holland, with its well-developed class interests, was more powerful than the far more numerous German middle class with its indifference and its divided petty interests. The fragmentation of interests was matched by the fragmentation of political organisation, the division into small principalities and free imperial cities. How could *political* concentration arise in a country which lacked all the *economic* conditions for it?

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[a] Marx and Engels use the English word.—*Ed.*

The impotence of each separate sphere of life (one can speak here neither of estates nor of classes, but at most of former estates and classes not yet born) did not allow any one of them to gain exclusive domination. The inevitable consequence was that during the epoch of absolute monarchy, which assumed here its most stunted, semi-patriarchal form, the special sphere which, owing to division of labour, was responsible for the administration of public interests acquired an abnormal independence, which became still greater in the bureaucracy of modern times. Thus, the state built itself up into an apparently independent force, and this position, which in other countries was only transitory—a transition stage—it has maintained in Germany until the present day. This position of the state explains both the conscientiousness of the civil servant, which is found nowhere else, and all the illusions about the state which are current in Germany, as well as the apparent independence of German theoreticians in relation to the middle class—the seeming contradiction between the form in which these theoreticians express the interests of the middle class and these interests themselves.

The characteristic form which French liberalism, based on real class interests, assumed in Germany we find again in Kant. Neither he, nor the German middle class, whose whitewashing spokesman he was, noticed that these theoretical ideas of the bourgeoisie had as their basis material interests and a *will* that was conditioned and determined by the material relations of production. Kant, therefore, separated this theoretical expression from the interests which it expressed; he made the materially motivated determinations of the will of the French bourgeois into *pure* self-determinations of "*free will*", of the will in and for itself, of the human will, and so converted it into purely ideological conceptual determinations and moral postulates. Hence the German petty bourgeois recoiled in horror from the practice of this energetic bourgeois liberalism as soon as this practice showed itself, both in the Reign of Terror and in shameless bourgeois profit-making.

Under the rule of Napoleon, the German middle class pushed its petty trade and its great illusions still further. As regards the petty-trading spirit which predominated in Germany at that time, Saint Sancho can, *inter alia*, compare Jean Paul, to mention only works of fiction, since they are the only source open to him. The German citizens, who railed against Napoleon for compelling them to drink chicory[61] and for disturbing their peace with military billeting and recruiting of conscripts, reserved all their moral indignation for Napoleon and all their admiration for England; yet Napoleon rendered them the greatest services by cleaning out

Germany's Augean stables and establishing civilised means of communication, whereas the English only waited for the opportunity to exploit them *à tort et à travers*.[a] In the same petty-bourgeois spirit the German princes imagined they were fighting for the principle of legitimism and against revolution, whereas they were only the paid mercenaries of the English bourgeoisie. In the atmosphere of these universal illusions it was quite in the order of things that the estates privileged to cherish illusions—ideologists, school-masters, students, members of the *Tugendbund*[62]—should talk big and give a suitable highflown expression to the universal mood of fantasy and indifference.

The political forms corresponding to a developed bourgeoisie were passed on to the Germans from outside by the July revolution[b]—as we mention only a few main points we omit the intermediary period. Since German economic relations had by no means reached the stage of development to which these political forms corresponded, the middle class accepted them merely as abstract ideas, principles valid in and for themselves, pious wishes and phrases, Kantian self-determinations of the will and of human beings as they ought to be. Consequently their attitude to these forms was far more moral and disinterested than that of other nations, i.e., they exhibited a highly peculiar narrow-mindedness and remained unsuccessful in all their endeavours.

Finally the ever more powerful foreign competition and world intercourse—from which it became less and less possible for Germany to stand aside—compelled the diverse local interests in Germany to adopt some sort of common attitude. Particularly since 1840, the German middle class began to think about safeguarding these common interests; its attitude became national and liberal and it demanded protective tariffs and constitutions. Thus it has now got almost as far as the French bourgeoisie in 1789.

If, like the Berlin ideologists, one judges liberalism and the state within the framework of local German impressions, or limits oneself merely to criticism of German-bourgeois illusions about liberalism, instead of seeing the correlation of liberalism with the real interests from which it originated and without which it cannot really exist—then, of course, one arrives at the most banal conclusions. This German liberalism, in the form in which it expressed itself up to the most recent period, is, as we have seen, even in its popular form, empty enthusiasm, ideological reflections about *real* liberalism. How easy it is, therefore, to transform its content wholly into philosophy,

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[a] At random, recklessly.—*Ed.*
[b] 1830.—*Ed.*

into pure conceptual determinations, into "rational cognition"! Hence if one is so unfortunate as to know even this bourgeoisified liberalism only in the sublimated form given it by Hegel and the school-masters who depend on him, then one will arrive at conclusions belonging exclusively to the sphere of the holy. Sancho will provide us with a pitiful example of this.

"Recently" in active circles "so much has been said" about the rule of the bourgeois, "that it is not surprising that news of it", if only through the medium of L. Blanc (translated by the Berliner Buhl),[a] etc., "has even penetrated to Berlin" and there attracted the attention of easy-going school-masters (*Wigand*, p. 190). It cannot, however, be said that "Stirner" in his method of appropriating current ideas has "adopted a particularly fruitful and profitable style" (*Wigand*, ibid.)—as was already evident from his exploitation of Hegel and will now be further exemplified.

It has not escaped our school-master that in recent times the liberals have been identified with the bourgeois. Since Saint Max identifies the bourgeois with the good burghers, with the petty German burghers, he does not grasp what has been transmitted to him as it is in fact and as it is expressed by all competent authors—viz., that the liberal phrases are the idealistic expression of the real interests of the bourgeoisie—but, on the contrary, as meaning that the final goal of the bourgeois is to become a perfect liberal, a citizen of the state. For Saint Max the bourgeois is not the truth of the *citoyen*, but the *citoyen* the truth of the bourgeois. This conception, which is as holy as it is German, goes to such lengths that, on page 130, "the middle class" (it should read: the domination of the bourgeoisie) is transformed into a "*thought, nothing but* a thought" and "the state" comes forward as the "true man", who in the "Rights of Man" confers the rights of "Man", the true solemnisation on each individual bourgeois. And all this occurs after the illusions about the state and the rights of man had already been adequately exposed in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*,* a fact

* In the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* this was done, in view of the context, only in relation to the rights of man proclaimed by the French Revolution. [Cf. Karl Marx, "Zur Judenfrage" (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 161-65).—*Ed.*] Incidentally, this whole conception of competition as "the rights of man" can already be found among representatives of the bourgeoisie a century earlier (John Hampden, Petty, Boisguillebert, Child, etc.). On the relation of the theoretical liberals to the bourgeois compare what has been said [above] on the relation of the ideologists of a class to the class itself. [See p. 176 of this volume.—*Ed.*]

[a] The reference is to Louis Blanc, *Histoire de dix ans 1830-1840*, which appeared in Berlin in 1844-45 in Ludwig Buhl's translation under the title *Geschichte der zehn Jahre*.—*Ed.*

which Saint Max notices at last in his "Apologetical Commentary" anno 1845. Hence he can transform the bourgeois—having separated the bourgeois as a liberal from the empirical bourgeois—into a holy liberal, just as he transforms the state into the "holy", and the relation of the bourgeois to the modern state into a holy relation, into a *cult* (p. 131)—and with this, in effect, he concludes his criticism of political liberalism. He has transformed it into the "holy".*

We wish to give here a few examples of how Saint Max embellishes this property of his with historical arabesques. For this purpose he uses the French Revolution, concerning which a small contract to supply him with a few data has been negotiated by his history-broker, Saint Bruno.

On the basis of a few words from Bailly, obtained moreover through the intermediary of Saint Bruno's *Denkwürdigkeiten,*[a] the statement is made that through the convening of the States General "those who hitherto were subjects arrive at the consciousness that they are proprietors" (p. 132). On the contrary, *mon brave*! By the convening of the States General, those who hitherto were proprietors show their consciousness of being no longer subjects—a consciousness which was long ago arrived at, for example in the Physiocrats, and—in polemical form against the bourgeoisie—in Linguet (*Théorie des lois civiles*, 1767), Mercier, Mably, and, in general, in the writings against the Physiocrats. This meaning was also immediately understood at the beginning of the revolution—for example by Brissot, Fauchet, Marat, in the *Cercle social*[63] and by all the democratic opponents of Lafayette. If Saint Max had understood the matter as it took place independently of his history-broker, he would not have been surprised that "Bailly's words certainly *sound* [as if each man were now a proprietor..." and that the bourgeois ... express... the rule of the proprietors ... that now the proprietors have become the bourgeoisie *par excellence.*][64]

[...] "As early as July 8 the statement of the Bishop of Autun[b] and Barère [destroyed] the illusion that [each man], the individual, was of importance in the legislature; it [showed] the utter impotence of the constituents. The majority of the deputies has become master." [Stirner, op. cit., p. 132 f.]

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] For him thereby criticism as a whole "achieves its final goal" and all cats turn grey, thereby he also admits his ignorance of the *real* basis and the real content of the rule of the bourgeoisie.

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[a] A reference to Edgar Bauer's essay "Bailly und die ersten Tage der Französischen Revolution" in *Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte der neueren Zeit seit der Revolution,* by Bruno and Edgar Bauer.—*Ed.*

[b] I.e., Talleyrand, who was Bishop of Autun from 1788 to 1791.—*Ed.*

The "*statement* of the Bishop of Autun and Barère" is a *motion* tabled by the former on July 4 (not 8), with which Barère had nothing to do except that together with many others he supported it on July 8. It was carried on July 9, hence it is not at all clear why Saint Max speaks of "July 8". This motion by no means "destroyed" "the illusion that *each man, the individual,* was of importance", etc.; but it destroyed the binding force of the *Cahiers* given to the deputies, that is, the influence and the "importance", not of "each man, the individual", but of the feudal 177 *bailliages* and 431 *divisions des ordres.* By carrying the motion, the Assembly discarded the characteristic features of the old, feudal *États généraux.*[65] Moreover, it was at that time by no means a question of the correct theory of popular representation, but of highly practical, essential problems. Broglie's army held Paris at bay and drew nearer every day; the capital was in a state of utmost agitation; hardly a fortnight had passed since the *jeu de paume* and the *lit de justice,*[66] the court was plotting with the bulk of the aristocracy and the clergy against the National Assembly; lastly, owing to the still existing feudal provincial tariff barriers, and as a result of the feudal agrarian system as a whole, most of the provinces were in the grip of famine and there was a great scarcity of money. At that moment it was a question of an *assemblée essentiellement active,* as Talleyrand himself put it, while the *Cahiers* of [the] aristocratic and other reactionary groups provided the court with an opportunity to declare [the] decision of the Assembly [void by referring] to the wishes of the constituents. The Assembly proclaimed its independence by carrying Talleyrand's motion and seized the power it required, which in the political sphere could, of course, only be done within the framework of political form and by making use of the existing theories of Rousseau, etc. (Cf. *Le point du jour,* par Barère de Vieuzac, 1789, Nos. 15 and 17.) The National Assembly had to take this step because it was being urged forward by the immense mass of the people that stood behind it. By so doing, therefore, it did not at all transform itself into an "utterly egoistical chamber, completely cut off from the umbilical cord and ruthless" [p. 147]; on the contrary it actually transformed itself thereby into the *true organ* of the vast majority of Frenchmen, who would otherwise have crushed it, as they later crushed "utterly egoistical" deputies who "completely cut themselves off from the umbilical cord". But Saint Max, with the help of his history-broker, sees here merely the solution of a theoretical question; he takes the Constituent Assembly, six days before the storming of the Bastille, for a council of *church fathers* debating a point of dogma! The question regarding the "importance of each man, the individual",

can, moreover, only arise in a democratically elected representative body, and during the revolution it only came up for discussion in the Convention, and for as empirical reasons as earlier the question of the *Cahiers*. A problem which the Constituent Assembly decided *also* theoretically was the distinction between the representative body of a ruling *class* and that of the ruling *estates*; and this political rule of the bourgeois *class* was determined by each individual's position, since it was determined by the relations of production prevailing at the time. The representative system is a very specific product of modern bourgeois society which is as inseparable from the latter as is the isolated individual of modern times.

Just as here Saint Max takes the 177 *bailliages* and 431 *divisions des ordres* for "individuals", so he later sees in the absolute monarch and his *car tel est notre plaisir*[a] the rule of the "individual" as against the constitutional monarch, the "rule of the apparition ["] (p. 141), and in the aristocrat and the guild-member he again sees the "individual" in contrast to the citizen (p. 137).

"The Revolution was not directed against *reality*, but against this reality, against this *definite existence*" (p. 145).

Hence, not against the really existing system of landownership, of taxes, of customs duties which hampered commerce at every turn, and the [...]

[...[b] "Stirner" thinks] it makes no difference ["to 'the good burghers' who defends them] and their principles, whether an absolute or a constitutional king, a republic, etc.—For the "good burghers" who quietly drink their beer in a Berlin beer-cellar this undoubtedly "makes no difference"; but for the historical bourgeois it is by no means a matter of indifference. The "good burgher" "Stirner" here again imagines—as he does throughout this section—that the French, American and English bourgeois are good Berlin beer-drinking philistines. If one translates the sentence above from the language of political illusion into plain language, it means: "it makes no difference" to the bourgeoisie whether it rules unrestrictedly or whether its political and economic power is counterbalanced by other classes. Saint Max believes that an absolute king, or someone else, *could* defend the bourgeoisie just as successfully as it defends itself. And even "its principles", which consist in subordinating state power to "*chacun pour soi, chacun chez*

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[a] For this is our will—the concluding words of royal edicts.—*Ed.*
[b] A gap in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

*soi*"[a] and exploiting it for that purpose—an "absolute monarch" is supposed to be able to do that! Let Saint Max name any country with developed trade and industry and strong competition where the bourgeoisie entrusts its defence to an "absolute monarch".

After this transformation of the historical bourgeois into German philistines devoid of history, "Stirner", of course, does not need to know any other bourgeois than "comfortable burghers and loyal officials"(!!)—two spectres who only dare to show themselves on "holy" German soil—and can lump together the whole class as "obedient servants" (p. 138). Let him just take a look at these obedient servants on the stock exchanges of London, Manchester, New York and Paris. Since Saint Max is well under way, he can now go the whole hog[b] and, believing one of the narrow-minded theoreticians of the *Einundzwanzig Bogen* who says that "liberalism is rational cognition applied to our existing conditions"[c], can declare that the "liberals are fighters for reason". It is evident from these [...] phrases how little the Germans have recovered [from] their original illusions about liberalism. Abraham "against hope believed in hope" ... and his faith "was imputed to him for righteousness" (Romans 4 : 18 and 22).

"The state pays well, so that its good citizens can without danger pay poorly; it provides itself by means of good payment with servants from whom it forms a force—the police—for the protection of good citizens and the good citizens willingly pay high taxes to the state in order to pay so much lower amounts to their workers" (p. 152).

This should read: the bourgeois pay their state well and make the nation pay for it so that without risk they should be able to pay poorly; by good payment they ensure that the state servants are a force available for their protection—the police; they willingly pay, and force the nation to pay high taxes so as to be able without danger to shift the sums they pay on to the workers as a levy (as a deduction from wages). "Stirner" here makes the new economic discovery that wages are a levy, a tax, paid by the bourgeois to the proletarian; whereas the other, mundane economists regard taxes as a tribute which the proletarian pays to the bourgeois.

Our holy church father now passes from the holy middle class to the Stirnerian "unique" proletariat (p. 148). The latter consists of

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[a] Each for himself and the devil take the hindmost.—*Ed.*

[b] The words "the whole hog" are in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[c] From the article "Preussen seit der Einsetzung Arndt's bis zur Absetzung Bauer's" published anonymously in the *Einundzwanzig Bogen aus der Schweiz.*—*Ed.*

"rogues, prostitutes, thieves, robbers and murderers, gamblers, propertyless people with no occupation and frivolous individuals" (ibid.). They form the "dangerous proletariat" and for a moment are reduced by "Stirner" to "individual shouters", and then, finally, to "vagabonds", who find their perfect expression in the "*spiritual* vagabonds" who do not "keep within the bounds of a moderate way of thinking."...

"*So wide a meaning* has the so-called proletariat or" (*per appos.*) "pauperism"! (p. 149).

On page 151 ["on the other hand,] the state sucks the life-blood" of the proletariat. Hence the entire proletariat consists of ruined bourgeois and ruined proletarians, of a collection of *ragamuffins*, who have existed in every epoch and whose existence *on a mass scale* after the decline of the Middle Ages preceded the mass formation of the ordinary proletariat, as Saint Max can ascertain by a perusal of English and French legislation and literature. Our saint has exactly the same notion of the proletariat as the "good comfortable burghers" and, particularly, the "loyal officials". He is consistent also in identifying the proletariat with pauperism, whereas pauperism is the position only of the ruined proletariat, the lowest level to which the proletarian sinks who has become incapable of resisting the pressure of the bourgeoisie, and it is only the proletarian whose whole energy has been sapped who becomes a pauper. Compare Sismondi,[a] Wade,[b] etc. "Stirner" and his fraternity, for example, can in the eyes of the proletarians, in certain circumstances count as paupers but never as proletarians.

Such are Saint Max's "own" ideas about the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. But since with these imaginations about liberalism, good burghers and vagabonds he, of course, gets nowhere, he finds himself compelled in order to make the transition to communism to bring in the actual, ordinary bourgeois and proletarians insofar as he knows about them from hearsay. This occurs on pages 151 and 152, where the lumpen-proletariat becomes transformed into "workers", into ordinary proletarians, while the bourgeois "in course of time" undergoes "occasionally" a series of "various transformations" and "manifold refractions". In one line we read: "*The propertied rule*", i.e., the profane bourgeois; six lines later we read: "The citizen is what he is by the grace of the state", i.e., the holy bourgeois; yet another six lines later: "The state is the *status* of the middle class", i.e., the profane bourgeois; this is then ex-

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[a] Simonde de Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes d'économie politique.—Ed.*

[b] John Wade, *History of the Middle and Working Classes.—Ed.*

plained by saying that "the state gives the propertied" "their property in feudal possession" and that the "money and property" of the "capitalists", i.e., the holy bourgeois, is such "state property" transferred by the state to "feudal possession". Finally, this omnipotent state is again transformed into the "state of the propertied", i.e., of the profane bourgeois, which is in accord with a later passage: "Owing to the revolution the *bourgeoisie became omnipotent*" (p. 156). Even Saint Max would never have been able to achieve these "heart-rending" and "horrible" contradictions—at any rate, he would never have dared to promulgate them—had he not had the assistance of the German word "Bürger" [citizen], which he can interpret at will as "*citoyen*" or as "*bourgeois*" or as the German "good burgher".

Before going further, we must take note of two more great politico-economic discoveries which our simpleton "brings into being" "in the depths of his heart" and which have in common with the "joy of youth" of page 17 the feature of being also "pure thoughts".

On page 150 all the evil of the existing social relations is reduced to the fact that "burghers and workers believe in the 'truth' of money". Jacques le bonhomme imagines that it is in the power of the "burghers" and "workers", who are scattered among all civilised states of the world, suddenly, one fine day, to put on record their "disbelief" in the "truth of money"; he even believes that if this nonsense were possible, something would be achieved by it. He believes that any Berlin writer could abolish the "truth of money" with the same ease as he abolishes in his mind the "truth" of God or of Hegelian philosophy. That money is a necessary product of definite relations of production and intercourse and remains a "truth" so long as these relations exist—this, of course, is of no concern to a holy man like Saint Max, who raises his eyes towards heaven and turns his profane backside to the profane world.

The second discovery is made on page 152 and amounts to this, that "the worker cannot turn his labour to account" because he "falls into the hands" of "those who" have received "some kind of state property" "in feudal possession". This is merely a further explanation of the sentence on page 151 already quoted above where the state sucks the life-blood of the worker. And here everyone will immediately "put forward" "the simple reflection"—that "Stirner" does not do so is not "surprising"—how does it come about that the state has not given the "workers" also some sort of "state property" in "feudal possession". If Saint Max had asked himself this question he would probably have managed to do without his

construction of the "holy" burghers, because he would have been bound to see the relation in which the propertied stand to the modern state.

By means of the opposition of the bourgeoisie and proletariat—as even "Stirner" knows—one arrives at communism. But *how* one arrives at it, *only* "Stirner" knows.

"The workers have the most tremendous power in their hands ... they have *only* to cease work and to *regard* what they have produced by their labour as their property and to enjoy it. This is the meaning of the workers' disturbances which flare up *here and there*" (p. 153).

Workers' disturbances, which even under the Byzantine Emperor Zeno led to the promulgation of a law (Zeno, *de novis operibus constitutio*[a]), which "flared up" in the fourteenth century in the form of the Jacquerie and Wat Tyler's rebellion, in 1518 on the Evil May Day[b] in London, and in 1549 in the great uprising of the tanner Kett,[67] and later gave rise to Act 15 of the second and third year of the reign of Edward VI, and a series of similar Acts of Parliament; the disturbances which soon afterwards, in 1640 and 1659 (eight uprisings in one year), took place in Paris and which already since the fourteenth century must have been frequent in France and England, judging by the legislation of the time; the constant war which since 1770 in England and since the revolution in France has been waged with might and cunning by the workers against the bourgeoisie—all this exists for Saint Max only "here and there", in Silesia, Poznan, Magdeburg and Berlin, "according to German newspaper reports".

What is produced by labour, according to Jacques le bonhomme's imagination, would continue to exist and be reproduced, as an object to be "regarded" and "enjoyed", even if the producers "ceased work".

As he did earlier in the case of money, now again our good burgher transforms "the workers", who are scattered throughout the civilised world, into a private club which has only to adopt a decision in order to get rid of all difficulties. Saint Max does not know, of course, that at least fifty attempts have been made in England since 1830, and at the present moment yet another is being made, to gather all the English workers into a single association and that highly empirical causes have frustrated the success of all these projects. He does not know that even a minority of workers who combine and go on strike very soon find themselves compelled to act in a revolutionary way—a fact he could have learned from the 1842

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[a] Zeno, Decree on New Works.—*Ed.*

[b] The words "Evil May Day" are in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

uprising in England and from the earlier Welsh uprising of 1839, in which year the revolutionary excitement among the workers first found comprehensive expression in the "sacred month", which was proclaimed simultaneously with a general arming of the people.[68] Here again we see how Saint Max constantly tries to pass off his nonsense as "*the* meaning" of historical facts (in which he is successful at best in relation to *his* "one")—historical facts "on which he foists his own meaning, which are thus bound to lead to nonsense" (*Wigand*, p. 194). Incidentally, it would never enter the head of any proletarian to turn to Saint Max for advice about the "meaning" of the proletarian movements or what should be undertaken at the present time against the bourgeoisie.

After this great campaign, our Saint Sancho returns to his Maritornes with the following fanfare:

> "The state rests on the *slavery of labour*. If *labour* were to become *free*, the state would be lost" (p. 153).

The *modern* state, the rule of the bourgeoisie, is based on *freedom of labour*. The idea that along with freedom of religion, state, thought, etc., and hence "occasionally" "also" "perhaps" with freedom of *labour*, not I become free, but only one of my enslavers—this idea was borrowed by Saint Max himself, many times, though in a very distorted form, from the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*.[a] Freedom of labour is free competition of the workers among themselves. Saint Max is very unfortunate in political economy as in *all other* spheres. Labour *is* free in all civilised countries; it is not a matter of freeing labour but of abolishing it.

## B. Communism

Saint Max calls communism "social liberalism", because he is well aware how great is the disrepute of the word liberalism among the radicals of 1842 and the most advanced Berlin "free-thinkers".[69] This transformation gives him at the same time the opportunity and courage to put into the mouths of the "social liberals" all sorts of things which had never been uttered before "Stirner" and the refutation of which is intended to serve also as a refutation of *communism*.

Communism is overcome by means of a series of partly logical and partly historical constructions.

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 3, p. 152.—*Ed.*

*First logical construction.*

Because "we have seen ourselves made into servants of egoists", "we should" not ourselves "become egoists ... but should rather see to it that egoists become impossible. We want to turn them all into ragamuffins, we want no one to possess anything, in order that 'all' should be possessors.—So say the social [liberals].—Who is this person whom you call 'all'? It is 'society'" (p. 153).

With the aid of a few quotation marks Sancho here transforms "all" into a person, society as a person, as a subject=holy society, the holy. Now our saint knows what he is about and can let loose the whole torrent of his flaming anger against "the holy", as the result of which, of course, communism is annihilated.

That Saint Max here again puts *his* nonsense into the mouth of the "social [liberals]", as being the meaning of *their* words, is not "surprising". He identifies first of all "owning" as a private property-owner with "owning" in general. Instead of examining the definite relations between private property and production, instead of examining "owning" as a landed proprietor, as a rentier, as a merchant, as a factory-owner, as a worker—where "owning" would be found to be a quite distinct kind of owning, control over other people's labour—he transforms all these relations into "owning as such".[a]

[...] political liberalism, which made the "nation" the supreme owner. Hence communism has no longer to "abolish" any "personal property" but, at most, has to equalise the distribution of "feudal possessions", to introduce *égalité* there.

On society as "supreme owner" and on the "ragamuffin", Saint Max should compare, *inter alia, L'Égalitaire* for 1840:

"Social property is a contradiction, but social wealth is a consequence of communism. Fourier, in contradistinction to the modest bourgeois moralists, repeats a hundred times that it is not a social evil that some have too much but that all have too little", and therefore draws attention also to the "poverty of the rich", in *La fausse industrie*, Paris, 1835, p. 410.

Similarly as far back as 1839—hence before Weitling's *Garantien*[b]—it is stated in the German communist magazine *Die Stimme des Volks* (second issue, p. 14) published in Paris:

"Private property, the much praised, industrious, comfortable, innocent 'private gain', does obvious harm to the wealth of life."[c]

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[a] Four pages of the manuscript are missing here which contained the end of the "*first logical construction*" and the beginning of the "*second logical construction*".— *Ed.*

[b] Wilhelm Weitling, *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit.—Ed.*

[c] This seems to be a quotation from the article "Politischer und Socialer Umschwung" published in *Blätter der Zukunft*, 1846, No. 5. *Die Stimme des Volks* was probably mentioned by mistake.—*Ed.*

Saint Sancho here takes as communism the ideas of a few liberals tending towards communism, and the mode of expression of some communists who, for very practical reasons, express themselves in a political form.

After "Stirner" has transferred property to "society", all the members of this society in his eyes at once become paupers and ragamuffins, although—even according to *his* idea of the communist order of things—they "own" the "supreme owner".—His benevolent proposal to the communists—"to transform the word 'Lump'[a] into an honourable form of address, just as the revolution did with the word 'citizen' "—is a striking example of how he confuses communism with something which long ago passed away. The revolution even "transformed" the word sansculotte "into an honourable form of address", as against "*honnêtes gens*", which he translates very inadequately as good citizens. Saint Sancho does this in order that there may be fulfilled the words in the book of the prophet Merlin about the three thousand and three hundred slaps which the man who is to come will have to give himself:

> Es menester que Sancho tu escudero
> Se dé tres mil azotes, y trecientos
> En *ambas sus valientes posaderas*
> Al aire descubiertas, y de modo
> Que le escuezan, le amarguen y le enfaden.
>
> (*Don Quijote*, tomo II, cap. 35.)[b]

Saint Sancho notes that the "elevation of society to supreme owner" is a "second *robbery* of the personal element in the interests of humanity", while communism is only the completed robbery of the "robbery of the personal element". "Since he unquestionably regards robbery as detestable", Saint Sancho "therefore believes for example" that he "has branded" communism "already by the" above "proposition" ("the book", p. 102). "Once" "Stirner" has "detected" "even robbery" in communism, "how could he fail to feel 'profound disgust' at it and 'just indignation' "! (*Wigand*, p. 156.) We now challenge "Stirner" to name a bourgeois who has written about communism (or Chartism) and has not put forward the same

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[a] Ragamuffin.—*Ed.*

[b] Needful it is that your squire, Sancho Panza,
Shall deal himself three thousand and three hundred
Lashes upon his two *most ample buttocks*,
Both to the air exposed, and in such sort
That they shall smart, and sting and vex him sorely.

(*Don Quixote*, Vol. II, Ch. 35.)—*Ed.*

absurdity with great emphasis. Communism will certainly carry out "robbery" of what the bourgeois regards as "personal".

*First corollary.*

Page 349: "Liberalism at once came forward with the statement that it is an essential feature of man to be not *property*, but *property-owner*. Since it was a question here of man, and not of an individual, the question of how much, which was precisely what constituted the particular interest of individuals, was left to their discretion. *Therefore*, the egoism of individuals had the widest scope as regards this how much and carried on tireless competition."

That is to say: liberalism, i.e., liberal private property-owners, at the beginning of the French Revolution gave private property a liberal appearance by declaring it one of the rights of man. They were forced to do so if only because of their position as a revolutionising party; they were even compelled not only to give the mass of the French [rural] population the right to property, [but also] to let them *seize actual* property, and they could do all this because thereby their own "how much", which was what chiefly interested them, remained intact and was even made safe.

We find here further that Saint Max makes competition arise from liberalism, a slap that he gives history in revenge for the slaps which he had to give himself above. A "more exact explanation" of the manifesto with which he makes liberalism "*at once* come forward" can be found in Hegel, who in 1820 expressed himself as follows:

"In respect of external things it is rational" (i.e., it becomes me as reason, as a man) "that I should possess property ... what and *how much* I possess is, therefore, legally a matter of chance" (*Rechtsphilosophie*,[a] § 49).

It is characteristic of Hegel that he turns the phrase of the bourgeois into the true concept, into the essence of property, and "Stirner" faithfully imitates him. On the basis of the above analysis, Saint Max now makes the further statement, that communism

"raised the question as to *how much* property, and answered it in the sense that man should have as much as he needs. Can my egoism be satisfied with that?... No. I must rather have as much as I am capable of appropriating" (p. 349).

First of all it should be remarked here that communism has by no means originated from § 49 of Hegel's *Rechtsphilosophie* and its "what and how much". Secondly, "communism" does not dream of wanting to give anything to "man", for "communism" is not at all of the opinion that "man" "needs" anything apart from a brief critical elucidation. Thirdly, Stirner foists on to communism the conception

[a] G.W.F. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*. The preface to this work is dated June 25, 1820.—*Ed.*

of "need" held by the present-day bourgeois; hence he introduces a distinction which, on account of its paltriness, can be of importance only in present-day society and its ideal copy—Stirner's union of "individual shouters" and free seamstresses. "Stirner" has again achieved great "penetration" into the essence of communism. Finally, in his demand to have as much as he is capable of appropriating (if this is not the usual bourgeois phrase that everyone should have as much as his ability[a] permits him, that everyone should have the right of free gain), Saint Sancho assumes communism as having already been achieved in order to be able freely to develop his "ability" and put it into operation, which by no means depends solely on him, any more than his fortune itself, but depends also on the relations of production and intercourse in which he lives. (Cf. the chapter on the "Union".[b]) Incidentally, even Saint Max himself does not behave according to his doctrine, for throughout his "book" he "needs" things and uses things which he was not "capable of appropriating".

*Second corollary.*

"But the social reformers preach a social law to us. The individual thus becomes the slave of society" (p. 246). "In the opinion of the communists, everyone should enjoy the eternal rights of man" (p. 238).

Concerning the expressions "law", "labour", etc., how they are used by proletarian writers and what should be the attitude of criticism towards them, we shall speak in connection with "True Socialism" (see Volume II). As far as law is concerned, we with many others have stressed the opposition of communism to law, both political and private, as also in its most general form as the rights of man. See the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, where privilege, the special right, is considered as something corresponding to private property inseparable from social classes, and law as something corresponding to the state of competition, of free private property (p. 206 and elsewhere); equally, the rights of man themselves are considered as privilege, and private property as monopoly. Further, criticism of law is brought into connection with German philosophy and presented as the consequence of criticism of religion (p. 72); further, it is expressly stated that the legal axioms that are supposed to lead to communism are axioms of private property, and the right of common ownership is an imaginary premise of the right of private

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[a] The German word *Vermögen* used several times in this passage means not only ability, capability but also wealth, fortune, means, property; the authors here play on the various meanings of the word.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 393-94.—*Ed.*

property (pp. 98, 99).[a] Incidentally, even in the works of German communists passages appeared very early—e.g., in the writings of Hess, *Einundzwanzig Bogen aus der Schweiz*, 1843, p. 326[b] and elsewhere—which could be appropriated and distorted "by Stirner" in his criticism of law.

Incidentally, the idea of using the phrase quoted above against Babeuf, of regarding him as the theoretical representative of communism could only occur to a Berlin school-master. "Stirner", however, has the effrontery to assert on page 247 that

> communism, which assumes "that all people by nature have equal rights, refutes its own thesis and asserts that people by nature have no rights at all. For it does not want, for example, to admit that parents have rights in relation to their children; it abolishes the family. In general, this whole revolutionary or Babouvist principle (compare *Die Kommunisten in der Schweiz, Kommissionalbericht,*[c] p. 3) is based on a religious, i.e., false, outlook".

A Yankee comes to England, where he is prevented by a Justice of the Peace from flogging his slave, and he exclaims indignantly: "Do you call this a land of liberty, where a man can't larrup his nigger?"[d]

Saint Sancho here makes himself doubly ridiculous. Firstly, he sees an abolition of the "equal rights of man" in the recognition of the "equal rights by nature" of children in relation to parents, in the granting of *the same* rights of man to children as well as to parents. Secondly, two pages previously Jacques le bonhomme tells us that the state does not interfere when a father beats his son, because it recognises family rights. Thus, what he presents, on the one hand, as a particular right (family right), he includes, on the other hand, among the "equal rights of man by nature". Finally, he admits that he knows Babeuf only from the Bluntschli report, while this report (p. 3), in turn, admits that its wisdom is derived from the worthy L. Stein,[e] Doctor of Law. Saint Sancho's thorough knowledge of communism is evident from this quotation. Just as Saint Bruno is his broker as regards revolution, so Saint Bluntschli is his broker as

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[a] Cf. "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy" by Engels and *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction* and "On the Jewish Question" by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 418, 175, 146.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to Moses Hess' article "Philosophie der That", which was published in *Einundzwanzig Bogen aus der Schweiz.*—*Ed.*

[c] Johann Caspar Bluntschli, *Die Kommunisten in der Schweiz nach den bei Weitling vorgefundenen Papieren.*—*Ed.*

[d] This sentence is in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[e] Lorenz von Stein, *Der Socialismus und Communismus des heutigen Frankreichs.*—*Ed.*

regards communists. With such a state of affairs we ought not to be surprised that a few lines lower down our rustic word of God[a] reduces the *fraternité* of the revolution to "equality of the children of God" (in what Christian dogma is there any talk of *égalité*?).

*Third corollary.*

Page 414: Because the principle of community culminates in communism, therefore, communism="apotheosis of the state founded on love".

From the state founded on love, which is Saint Max's own fabrication, he here derives communism which then, of course, remains an exclusively Stirnerian communism. Saint Sancho knows only egoism on the one hand or the claim to the loving services, pity and alms of people on the other hand. Outside and above this dilemma nothing exists for him at all.

*Third logical construction.*

"Since the most oppressive evils are to be observed in society, it is especially" (!) "the oppressed" (!) who "think that the blame is to be found in society and set themselves the task of discovering the right society" (p. 155).

On the contrary, it is "Stirner" who "sets himself the task" of discovering the "society" which is "right" for *him*, the holy society, the society as the incarnation of the holy. Those who are "oppressed" nowadays "in society", "think" only about how to achieve the society which is *right for them*, and this consists primarily in abolishing the present society on the basis of the existing productive forces. If, e.g., "oppressive evils are to be observed" in a machine, if, for example, it refuses to work, and those who need the machine (for example, in order to make money) find the fault in the machine and try to alter it, etc.—then, in Saint Sancho's opinion, they are setting themselves the task not of putting the machine *right*, but of discovering the *right* machine, the holy machine, the machine as the incarnation of the holy, the holy as a machine, the machine in the heavens. "Stirner" advises them to seek the blame "*in themselves*". Is it not their fault that, for example, they need a hoe and a plough? Could they not use their bare hands to plant potatoes and to extract them from the soil afterwards? The saint, on page 156, preaches to them as follows:

"It is merely an ancient phenomenon that one seeks first of all to lay the blame anywhere but on oneself—and therefore on the state, on the selfishness of the rich, for which, however, we ourselves are to blame."

The "oppressed" who seeks to lay the "blame" for pauperism on the "state" is, as we have noted above, no other than Jacques le

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[a] Cf. August Friedrich Ernst Langbein's poem, *Der Landprediger*.—*Ed.*

bonhomme himself. Secondly, the "oppressed" who comforts himself by causing the "blame" to be laid on the "selfishness of the rich" is again no other than Jacques le bonhomme. He could have learned something better about the other oppressed from the *Facts and Fictions* of John Watts,[a] tailor and doctor of philosophy, from Hobson's *Poor Man's Companion*, etc. And, thirdly, who is the person that should bear the "blame"? Is it, perhaps, the proletarian child who comes into the world tainted with scrofula, who is reared with the help of opium and is sent into the factory when seven years old—or is it, perhaps, the individual worker who is here expected to "revolt" by himself against the world market—or is it, perhaps, the girl who must either starve or become a prostitute? No, not these but only he who seeks "all the blame", i.e., the "blame" for everything in the present state of the world, "in himself", viz., once again no other than Jacques le bonhomme himself. "This is merely the ancient phenomenon" of Christian heart-searching and doing penitence in a German-speculative form, with its idealist phraseology, according to which I, the actual man, do not have to change actuality, which I can only change together with others, but have to change myself in myself. "It is the internal struggle of the writer with himself" (*Die heilige Familie*, p. 122, cf. pp. 73, 121 and 306).[b]

According to Saint Sancho, therefore, those oppressed by society seek the right society. If he were consistent, he should make those who "seek to lay the blame on the state"—and according to him they are *the very same* people—also seek the *right state*. But he cannot do this, because he has heard that the communists want to abolish the state. He has now to construct this abolition of the state, and our Saint Sancho once more achieves this with the aid of his "ass", the apposition, in a way that "looks very simple":

> "Since the workers are in a *state of distress*" [*Notstand*], "the existing *state of affairs*" [*Stand der Dinge*], "i.e., the *state*" [*Staat*] (*status* = state or estate) "must be abolished" (ibid.).

Thus:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| the state of distress | = | the existing state of affairs |
| the existing state of affairs | = | state or estate |
| state, estate | = | *status* |
| *status* | = | the State |

Conclusion: the state of distress = the State.

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[a] John Watts, *The Facts and Fictions of Political Economists*.—*Ed.*
[b] See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 83, 53, 82, 192.—*Ed.*

What could "look simpler"? "It is only surprising" that the English bourgeois in 1688 and the French in 1789 did not "put forward" the same "simple reflections" and equations, since in those times it was much more the case that estate=status=the State. It follows from this that wherever a "state of distress" exists, "the State", which is, of course, the same in Prussia and North America, must be abolished.

As is his custom, Saint Sancho now presents us with a few proverbs of Solomon.

*Proverb of Solomon No. 1.*

Page 163: "That society is no ego, which could give, etc., but an instrument from which we can derive benefit; that we have no social duties, but only interests; that we do not owe any sacrifices to society, but if we do sacrifice something we sacrifice it for ourselves—all this is disregarded by the social [liberals], because they are in thrall to the religious principle and are zealously striving for a—holy society."

The following "penetrations" into the essence of communism result from this:

1. Saint Sancho has quite forgotten that it was he himself who transformed "society" into an "ego" and that consequently he finds himself only in his own "society".

2. He believes that the communists are only waiting for "society" to "give" them something, whereas at most they want to give themselves a society.

3. He transforms society, even before it exists, into an instrument from which he wants to derive benefit, without him and other people by their mutual social relations creating a society, and hence this "instrument".

4. He believes that in communist society there can be a question of "duties" and "interests", of two complementary aspects of an antithesis which exists only in bourgeois society (under the guise of interest the reflecting bourgeois always inserts a third thing between himself and his mode of action—a habit seen in truly classic form in Bentham, whose nose had to have some interest before it would decide to smell anything. Compare "the book" on the *right* to one's nose, page 247).

5. Saint Max believes that the communists want to "make sacrifices" for "society", when they want at most to sacrifice existing society; in this case he should describe their consciousness that their struggle is the common cause of all people who have outgrown the bourgeois system as a sacrifice that they make to themselves.

6. That the social [liberals] are in thrall to the religious principle and

7. that they are striving for a holy society—these points have already been dealt with above. How "zealously" Saint Sancho

"strives" for a "holy society", so as to be able to refute communism by means of it, we have already seen.

*Proverb of Solomon No. 2.*

Page 277: "If interest in the social problem were less passionate and blind, then *one* ... would understand that a society cannot be turned into a new one so long as those of whom it consists *and* who constitute it remain as of old."

"Stirner" believes that the communist proletarians who revolutionise society and put the relations of production and the form of intercourse on a new basis—i.e., on themselves as new people, on their new mode of life—that these proletarians remain "as of old". The tireless propaganda carried on by these proletarians, their daily discussions among themselves, sufficiently prove how little they themselves want to remain "as of old", and how little they want people to remain "as of old". They would only remain "as of old" if, with Saint Sancho, they "sought the blame in themselves"; but they know too well that only under changed circumstances will they cease to be "as of old", and therefore they are determined to change these circumstances at the first opportunity. In revolutionary activity the changing of oneself coincides with the changing of circumstances.—This great saying is explained by means of an equally great example which, of course, is again taken from the world of "the holy".

"If, for example, the Jewish people was to give rise to a *society* which spread a new faith throughout the world, then *these apostles* could not remain Pharisees."

The first Christians = a society for spreading faith (founded *anno* 1).
— *Congregatio de propaganda fide*[70] (founded *anno* 1640).
*Anno 1* = *Anno* 1640.

This society which should arise = These apostles.
These apostles = Non-Jews.
The Jewish people = Pharisees.
Christians = Non-Pharisees.
= Not the Jewish people.

What can look simpler?

Reinforced by these equations, Saint Max calmly utters the great historic words[a]:

"Human beings, by no means intending to achieve their own development, *have always wanted* to form a society."

Human beings, by no means wanting to form a society, have, nevertheless, only achieved the development of society, because they

[a] Paraphrase of a line from Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, Act 1, Scene 3.—*Ed.*

have always wanted to develop only as isolated individuals and therefore achieved their own development only in and through society. Incidentally it would only occur to a saint of the type of our Sancho to separate the development of "human beings" from the development of the "society" in which they live, and then let his fantasy roam on this fantastic basis. Incidentally, he has forgotten his own proposition, inspired by Saint Bruno, in which just previously he set people the moral demand of changing themselves and thereby changing their society—a proposition, therefore, in which he identifies the development of people with the development of their society.

*Fourth logical construction.*

On page 156 he makes the communists say, in opposition to the citizens:

"Our essence" (!) "does not consist in all of us being equal children of the state" (!), "but in that we all exist for one another. We are all equal in that we all exist for one another, that each works for the other, that each of us is a worker." He then regards "to exist as a worker" as equivalent to "each of us exists *only* through the other", so that the other, "for example, works to clothe me, and I to satisfy his need of entertainment, he for my food and I for his instruction. Hence participation in labour is our dignity and our equality.

"What advantage do we derive from citizenship? Burdens. And what value is put on our labour? The lowest possible.... What can you put against us? Again, only labour!" "Only for labour do we owe you a recompense"; "only for what you do that is useful to us" "have you any claim on us". "We want to be only worth so much to you as we perform for you; but you should be valued by us in just the same way." "Deeds which are of some value to us, i.e., work beneficial to the community, determine value.... He who does something useful takes second place to no one, or—all workers (beneficial to the community) are equal. Since however the worker is worthy of his wage[a], then let the wage also be equal" (pp. 157,158).

With "Stirner", "communism" begins with searchings for "*essence*"; being a good "youth" he wants again only to "penetrate behind things". That communism is a highly practical movement, pursuing practical aims by practical means, and that only perhaps in Germany, in opposing the German philosophers, can it spare a moment for the problem of "essence"—this, of course, is of no concern to our saint. This Stirnerian "communism", which yearns so much for "essence", arrives, therefore, only at a philosophical category, i.e., "being-for-one-another", which then by means of a few arbitrary equations:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Being-for-one-another | = | to exist *only* through another |
| | = | to exist as a worker |
| | = | universal community of workers |

[a] Cf. Luke 10:7.— *Ed.*

is brought somewhat closer to the empirical world. We would, moreover, challenge Saint Sancho to indicate, for example, in *Owen* (who, after all, as a representative of English communism can serve as an example of "communism" just as well as, for example, the non-communist Proudhon,* from whom the greater part of the above propositions were abstracted and then rearranged) a passage containing anything of these propositions about "essence", universal community of workers, etc. Incidentally we do not even have to go so far back. The third issue of *Die Stimme des Volks*, the German communist magazine already quoted above, says:

"What is today called labour is only a miserably small part of the vast, mighty process of production; for *religion* and *morality* honour with the name of *labour* only the kind of production that is repulsive and dangerous, and in addition they venture to embellish such labour with all kinds of maxims—as it were words of blessing (or witchcraft)—'labour in the sweat of thy brow' as a test imposed by God; 'labour sweetens life' for encouragement, etc. The morality of the world in which we live takes very good care not to apply the term work to the pleasing and free aspects of human intercourse. These aspects are reviled by morality, although they too constitute production. Morality eagerly reviles them as vanity, vain pleasure, sensuality. Communism has exposed this hypocritical preaching, this miserable morality."[a]

As universal community of workers, Saint Max reduces the whole of communism to equal wages—a discovery which is then repeated in the following three "refractions": on page 351, "Against competition there rises the principle of the society of ragamuffins—*distribution.* Is it possible then that I, who am very resourceful,[b] should have no advantage over one who is resourceless?" Further, on page 363, he speaks of a "universal tax on human activity in communist society". And, finally, on page 350, he ascribes to the communists the view that "labour" is "the only resource" of man. Thus, Saint Max re-introduces into communism private property in its dual form—as

* Proudhon, who was as early as 1841 strongly criticised by the communist workers' journal *La Fraternité* for advocating equal wages, community of workers in general and also the other economic prejudices which can be found in the works of this outstanding writer; Proudhon, from whom the communists have accepted nothing but his criticism of property. [The note was left unfinished.]

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[a] This seems to be a quotation from the article "Politischer und Socialer Umschwung" published in *Blätter der Zukunft*, 1846, No. 5. *Die Stimme des Volks* was probably mentioned by mistake.—*Ed.*

[b] In this section the authors play on the different meanings of the word *Vermögen* and its derivatives *vielvermögend, unvermögend*, etc. *Der Vielvermögende* can denote a person who is able, capable, wealthy, powerful, resourceful, a man of property, etc.; *der Unvermögende* on the other hand, can mean unable, incapable, inept, powerless, impecunious, resourceless, etc.—*Ed.*

distribution and wage-labour. As before in connection with "robbery", Saint Max here again displays the most ordinary and narrow-minded bourgeois views as "his own" "penetrations" into the essence of communism. He shows himself fully worthy of the honour of having been taught by Bluntschli. As a real petty bourgeois, he is then afraid that he, "who is very resourceful", "should have no advantage over one who is resourceless"—although he should fear nothing so much as being left to his own "resources".

Incidentally, he "who is very resourceful" imagines that citizenship is a matter of indifference to the proletarians, after he has first assumed that they *have* it. This is just as he imagined above that for the bourgeoisie the form of government is a matter of indifference. The workers attach so much importance to citizenship, i.e., to *active* citizenship, that where they *have* it, for instance in America, they "make good use" of it, and where they do not have it, they strive to obtain it. Compare the proceedings of the North American workers at innumerable meetings, the whole history of English Chartism, and of French communism and reformism.[71]

*First corollary.*

"The worker, being conscious that the essential thing about him is that he is a worker, keeps himself away from egoism and subordinates himself to the supremacy of a society of workers, just as the bourgeois adhered with devotion" (!) "to the state based on competition" (p. 162).

The worker is at most conscious that for the bourgeois the essential thing about him is that he is a worker, who, therefore, can assert himself against the bourgeois as such. Both these discoveries of Saint Sancho, the "devotion of the bourgeois" and the "*state* based on competition", can be recorded only as fresh proofs of the "resourcefulness" of the "very resourceful" man.

*Second corollary.*

"The aim of communism *is supposed to be* the 'well-being of all'. *This indeed really looks* as though in this way no one need be in an inferior position. But what sort of well-being will this be? Have all one and the same well-being? Do all people feel equally well in one and the same circumstances?... If that is so, then it is a matter of 'true well-being'. Do we not thereby arrive precisely at the point where the tyranny of religion begins?... Society has decreed that a particular sort of well-being is 'true well-being', and if this well-being were, for example, *honestly earned enjoyment*, but you preferred enjoyable idleness, then society ... would prudently refrain from making provision for what is for you well-being. By proclaiming the well-being of all, communism destroys the well-being of those who up to now have lived as rentiers", etc. (pp. 411, 412).

"If that is so", the following equations result from it:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The well-being of all | = | Communism |
| | = | If that is so |
| | = | One and the same well-being of all |
| | = | Equal well-being of all in one and the same circumstances |
| | = | True well-being |
| | = | [Holy well-being, the holy, the rule of the holy, hierarchy][a] |
| | = | Tyranny of religion. |
| Communism | = | Tyranny of religion. |

"This indeed really looks as though" "Stirner" has said the same thing about communism as he has said previously about everything else.

How deeply our saint has "penetrated" into the essence of communism is evident also from the fact that he ascribes to communism the desire to bring about "true well-being" in the shape of "honestly earned enjoyment". Who, except "Stirner" and a few Berlin cobblers and tailors, thinks of "honestly earned enjoyment"!* And, what is more, to put this into the mouth of communists, for whom the basis of this whole opposition between work and enjoyment disappears. Let our highly moral saint put his mind at rest on this score. "Honest earning" will be left to him and those whom, unknown to himself, he represents—his petty handicraftsmen who have been ruined by industrial freedom and are morally "indignant". "Enjoyable idleness", too, belongs wholly to the most trivial bourgeois outlook. But the crowning point of the whole statement is the artful bourgeois scruple that he raises against the communists: that they want to abolish the "well-being" of the rentier and yet talk about the "well-being of all". Consequently, he believes that in communist society there will still be rentiers, whose "well-being" would have to be abolished. He asserts that "well-being" *as rentier* is inherent in the individuals who are at present rentiers, that it is inseparable from their individuality, and he imagines that for these individuals there can exist no other "well-being" than that which is determined by their position as rentiers.

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] Who, except Stirner, is able to attribute such moral absurdities to the immoral revolutionary proletarians, who, as the whole civilised world knows (Berlin, being merely "educated" [*jebildet*], of course does not belong to the civilised world), have the wicked intention not "honestly to earn" their "enjoyment" but to take it by conquest!

[a] This passage is enclosed in square brackets in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

He believes further that a society which has still to wage a struggle against rentiers and the like, is already organised in a communist way.* The communists, at any rate, will have no scruples about overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie and abolishing its "well-being", as soon as they are strong enough to do so.** It does not matter to them at all whether this "well-being" common to their enemies and determined by class relations also appeals as personal "well-being" to a sentimentality which is narrow-mindedly presumed to exist.

*Third corollary.*

On page 190, in communist society

"worry arises again in the form of labour".

The good citizen "Stirner", who is already rejoicing that he will again find his beloved "worry" in communism, has nevertheless miscalculated this time. "Worry" is nothing but the mood of oppression and anxiety which in the middle class is the necessary companion of labour, of beggarly activity for securing scanty earnings. "Worry" flourishes in its purest form among the German good burghers, where it is chronic and "always identical with itself", miserable and contemptible, whereas the poverty of the proletarian assumes an acute, sharp form, drives him into a life-and-death struggle, makes him a revolutionary, and therefore engenders not "worry", but passion. If then communism wants to abolish both the "worry" of the burgher and the poverty of the proletarian, it goes without saying that it cannot do this without abolishing the cause of both, i.e., "labour".

We now come to the *historical constructions* of communism.

*First historical construction.*

"So long as faith was sufficient for the honour and dignity of man, no objection could be raised against any, even the most arduous labour." ... "The oppressed classes

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] And finally he makes the moral demand that the communists should quietly allow themselves to be exploited to all eternity by rentiers, merchants, factory-owners, etc., because they cannot abolish this exploitation without at the same time destroying the "well-being" of these gentlemen. Jacques le bonhomme, who poses here as the champion of the *gros-bourgeois*, can save himself the trouble of preaching moralising sermons to the communists, who can every day hear much better ones from his "good burghers".

** [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] ... and they will have no scruples about it precisely because for them the "well-being of all" regarded as "corporeal individuals" is more important than the "well-being" of the hitherto existing social classes. The "well-being" which the rentier enjoys as *rentier* is not the "well-being" of the individual as such, but of the rentier, not an individual well-being but a well-being that is general within the framework of the class.

could tolerate their misery only so long as they were Christians" (the most that can be said is that they were Christians so long as they tolerated their miserable position), "for Christianity" (which stands behind them with a stick) "keeps their grumbling and indignation in check" (p. 158).

"How 'Stirner' knows so well" what the oppressed classes could do, we learn from the first issue of the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, where "criticism in the form of a master-bookbinder" quotes the following passage from an unimportant book:[a]

"Modern pauperism has assumed a political character; whereas formerly the beggar bore his fate *submissively* and regarded it as *God's will*, the modern *ragamuffin* asks whether he is forced to drag out his life in poverty just because he chanced to be born in rags."

It was due to this power of Christianity that during the liberation of the feudal serfs the most bloody and embittered struggles were precisely those against the *spiritual* feudal lords, and it was carried through despite all the grumbling and indignation of Christianity as embodied in the priests (cf. Eden, *History of the Poor*, Book I[b]; Guizot, *Histoire de la civilisation en France*; Monteil, *Histoire des Français des divers états*, etc.), while, on the other hand, the minor priests, particularly at the beginning of the Middle Ages, incited the feudal serfs to "grumbling" and "indignation" against the temporal feudal lords (cf., *inter alia*, even the well-known capitulary of Charlemagne[72]). Compare also what was written above in connection with the "workers' disturbances which flared up here and there", about the "oppressed classes" and their revolts in the fourteenth century.[c]

The earlier forms of workers' uprisings were connected with the degree of development of labour in each case and the resulting form of property; direct or indirect communist uprisings were connected with large-scale industry. Instead of going into this extensive history, Saint Max accomplishes a holy transition from the *patient* oppressed classes to the *impatient* oppressed classes:

"Now, when everyone *ought to* develop *into a man*" ("how," for example, do the Catalonian workers[73] "know" that "everyone ought to develop into a man"?), "the confining of man to machine labour amounts to slavery" (p. 158).

Hence, prior to Spartacus and the uprising of the slaves, it was Christianity that prevented the "confining of man to machine

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[a] The passage is from August Theodor Woeniger's book *Publicistische Abhandlungen*, quoted by Carl Ernst Reichardt—"the master-bookbinder"—in his article "Schriften über den Pauperismus" (cf. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Holy Family*, in the present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 9-11).—*Ed.*

[b] Frederic Morton Eden, *The State of the Poor: or, an History of the Labouring Classes in England.*—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 204.—*Ed.*

labour" from "amounting to slavery"; and in the days of Spartacus it was only the concept of "man" that removed this relation and brought about slavery. "Or did" Stirner "perhaps" "even" hear something about the connection between modern labour unrest and machine production and wanted here to give an intimation of this? In that case it was not the introduction of machine labour that transformed the workers into rebels, but the introduction of the concept of "man" that transformed machine labour into slavery.—"If that is so" then "it indeed really looks as though" we have here a "unique" history of the workers' movements.

*Second historical construction.*

"The bourgeoisie has preached the gospel of material enjoyment and is now surprised that this doctrine finds supporters among us proletarians" (p. 159).

Just now the workers wanted to realise the concept of "man", the holy; now it is "material enjoyment", the worldly; above it was a question of the "drudgery" of labour, now it is only the labour of enjoyment. Saint Sancho strikes himself here on *ambas sus valientes posaderas*[a]—first of all on material history, and then on Stirner's, holy history. According to material history, it was the aristocracy that first put the gospel of worldly enjoyment in the place of enjoyment of the gospel; it was at first for the aristocracy that the sober bourgeoisie applied itself to work and it very cunningly left to the aristocracy the enjoyment from which it was debarred by its own laws (whereby the power of the aristocracy passed in the form of money into the pockets of the bourgeoisie).

According to Stirner's history, the bourgeoisie was satisfied to seek "the holy", to pursue the cult of the state and to "transform all existing objects into imaginary ones", and it required the Jesuits to "save sensuousness from complete decay". According to this same Stirnerian history, the bourgeoisie usurped all power by means of revolution, consequently also its gospel, that of material enjoyment, although according to the same Stirnerian history we have now reached the point where "ideas alone rule the world". Stirner's hierarchy thus finds itself "*entre ambas posaderas*".

*Third historical construction.*

Page 159: "After the bourgeois had given freedom from the commands and arbitrariness of individuals, there remained the arbitrariness which arises from the conjuncture of conditions and which can be called the fortuitousness of circumstances. There remained—luck and those favoured by luck."

Saint Sancho then makes the communists "find a law and a new order which puts an end to these fluctuations" (the thingumbob),

[a] His two most ample buttocks.— *Ed.*

about which order he knows this much, that the communists should now proclaim: "Let this order henceforth be holy!" (whereas he ought now rather to have proclaimed: Let the disorder of my fantasies be the holy order of the communists). "Here is wisdom" (Revelation of St. John, 13 : 18). "Let him that hath understanding count the number" of absurdities which Stirner—usually so verbose and always repeating himself—[here] squeezes into a few [lines].

In its most general form the first proposition reads: after the bourgeoisie had abolished feudalism, the bourgeoisie remained. Or: after the domination of individuals had been abolished in "Stirner's" imagination, precisely the opposite remained to be done. "It indeed really looks as though" one could bring the two most distant historical epochs into a relationship which is the holy relationship, the relationship as the holy, the relationship in heaven.

Incidentally, this proposition of Saint Sancho's is not satisfied with the above-mentioned *mode simple* of absurdity, it has to bring it to the *mode composé* and *bicomposé*[a] of absurdity. For, firstly, Saint Max believes the bourgeoisie which liberates *itself* that, by liberating *itself* from the commands and arbitrariness of individuals, it has liberated the mass of society as a whole from the commands and arbitrariness of individuals. Secondly, in reality it liberated itself not from the "commands and arbitrariness of individuals", but from the domination of the corporation, the guild, the estates, and hence was now for the first time, as *actual* individual bourgeois, in a position to impose "commands and arbitrariness" on the workers. Thirdly, it only abolished the more or less idealistic appearance of the former commands and former arbitrariness of individuals, in order to establish instead these commands and this arbitrariness in their material crudity. He, the bourgeois, wanted his "commands and arbitrariness" to be no longer restricted by the hitherto existing "commands and arbitrariness" of political power concentrated in the monarch, the nobility and the corporations, but at most restricted only by the general interests of the whole bourgeois class, as expressed in bourgeois legislation. He did nothing more than abolish the commands and arbitrariness *over* the commands and arbitrariness of the individual bourgeois (see "Political Liberalism").

Instead of making a real analysis of the conjuncture of conditions, which with the rule of the bourgeoisie became a totally different conjuncture of totally different conditions, Saint Sancho leaves it in

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[a] These terms were used by Charles Fourier (see Ch. Fourier, *Théorie de l'unité universelle*).—*Ed.*

the form of the general category "conjuncture, etc.", and bestows on it the still more indefinite name of "fortuitousness of circumstances", as though the "commands and arbitrariness of individuals" are not themselves a "conjuncture of conditions". Having thus done away with the real basis of communism, i.e., the *definite* conjuncture of conditions under the bourgeois regime, he can now also transform this airy communism into his holy communism. "It indeed really looks" as though "Stirner" is a "man with only ideal", imagined, historical "wealth"—the "*perfect ragamuffin*". See "the book", p. 362.

This great construction or, rather, its major proposition is once more and with great emphasis repeated on page 189 in the following form:

"Political liberalism abolished the inequality of master and servant; it made people *masterless*, anarchic" (!); "the master was then separated from the individual, from the egoist, to become a *spectre*, the law or the state."

Domination of spectres = (hierarchy) = absence of domination, equivalent to the domination of the "omnipotent" bourgeois. As we see, this domination of spectres is, on the contrary, the domination of the *many* actual masters; hence with equal justification communism could be regarded as liberation from this domination of the many. This, however, Saint Sancho could not do, for then not only his logical constructions of communism but also the whole construction of "the free ones" would be overthrown. But this is how it is throughout "the book". A single conclusion from our saint's own premises, a single historical fact, overthrows the entire series of penetrations and results.

*Fourth historical construction.* On page 350, Saint Sancho derives communism directly from the abolition of serfdom.

I. *Major proposition*:

"Extremely much was gained when people succeeded in being *regarded*" (!) "as property-owners. Thereby serfdom was abolished and everyone who until then had himself been *property* henceforth became a *master*."

(According to the *mode simple* of absurdity this means: serfdom was abolished as soon as it was abolished.) The *mode composé* of this absurdity is that Saint Sancho believes that people became "property-owners" by means of holy contemplation, by means of "regarding" and "being regarded", whereas the difficulty consisted in becoming a "property-owner", and consideration came later of itself. The *mode bicomposé* of the absurdity is that when the abolition of serfdom, which at first was still partial, had begun to develop its consequences and thereby became universal, people ceased to be

able to "succeed" in being "regarded" as *worth* owning (for the property-owners those they owned had become too expensive); consequently the vast mass "who until then had themselves been property", i.e., unfree workers, became as a result not "masters", but free workers.

II. *Minor historical proposition,* which embraces about eight centuries, although one "will of course not perceive how momentous" it is (cf. *Wigand,* p. 194).

"However, *henceforth* your having [*Dein Haben*] and what you have [*Deine Habe*] *no longer* suffices, and is *no longer* recognised; *on the other hand,* your working and your work increases in value. We *now* respect your *mastery* of things as *previously*" (?) "we respected your possession of them. Your labour is your wealth. You are now the master or possessor of what you have obtained by work and not by inheritance" (ibid.).

"Henceforth"—"no longer"—"on the other hand"—"now"—"as previously"—"now"—"or"—"not"—such is the content of this proposition.

Although "Stirner" has "now" arrived at this, that you (viz., Szeliga) are the master of what you have obtained by work and not by inheritance, it "now" occurs to him that just the opposite is the case at present—and so he causes communism to be born as a monster from these two distorted propositions.

III. *Communist conclusion.*

"Since, *however,* ***now*** everything is inherited and every farthing you possess bears not the stamp of work, but of inheritance" (the culminating absurdity), "***SO*** everything must be remoulded."

On this basis Szeliga is able to imagine that he has arrived at both the rise and fall of the medieval communes, and the communism of the nineteenth century. And thereby Saint Max, despite everything "inherited" and "obtained by work", does not arrive at any "mastery of things", but at most at "having" nonsense.

Lovers of constructions can now see in addition on page 421 how Saint Max, after constructing communism from serfdom, then constructs it again in the form of serfdom *under* a liege lord—society—on the same model as he already, above, transformed the means by which we earn something into the "holy", by "grace" of which something is given to us. Now, in conclusion, we shall deal in addition only with a few "penetrations" into the essence of communism, which follow from the premises given above.

First of all, "Stirner" gives a new *theory of exploitation* which consists in this:

"the worker in a pin factory performs only one piece of work, only plays into the hand of another and is used, exploited by that other" (p. 158).

Thus, here "Stirner" makes the discovery that the workers in a factory exploit one another, since they "play into the hands" of one another; whereas the factory-owner, whose hands do not work at all, cannot, therefore, exploit the workers. "Stirner" here gives a striking example of the lamentable position in which communism has put the German theoreticians. Now they have to concern themselves also with mundane things like pin factories, etc., in relation to which they behave like real barbarians, like Ojibbeway Indians and New Zealanders.

Stirnerian communism "on the contrary says" (ibid.):

"All work should have the aim of satisfying 'man'. Therefore, he" ("man") "must become *master* of it, i.e., *be able* to perform it as a totality."

"Man" must become a master!—"Man" remains a maker of pin-heads, but he has the consolation of knowing that the pin-head is part of the pin and that he *is able* to make the whole pin. The fatigue and disgust caused by the eternally repeated making of pin-heads is transformed, by this knowledge, into the "satisfaction of man". O Proudhon!

A further penetration:

"Since communists declare that only *free activity* is the essence" (*iterum Crispinus*[a]) "of man, they, like every *workaday mode of thought*, need a *Sunday*, a time of exaltation and devotion, in addition to their *dull labour*."

Apart from the "essence of man" that is dragged in here, the unfortunate Sancho is forced to convert "free activity", which is for the communists the creative manifestation of life arising from the free development of all abilities of the "whole fellow" (in order to make it comprehensible to "Stirner"), into "dull labour", for our Berliner notices that the question here is not one of the "hard work of thought". By this simple transformation the communists can now also be transposed into the "workaday mode of thought". Then, of course, together with the work-day of the middle class its Sunday also is to be found again in communism.

Page 161: "The Sunday aspect of communism consists in the communist seeing in you the man, the brother."

Thus, the communist appears here as "man" and as "worker". This Saint Sancho calls (loc. cit.) "a dual *employment* of man by the communists—an office of material earning and one of spiritual earning".

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[a] Crispinus again.—*Ed.*

Here, therefore, he brings back even "earning" and bureaucracy into communism which, of course, thereby "attains its final goal" and ceases to be communism. Incidentally he has to do this, because in his "union", which he will construct later, each also is given a "dual position"—as man and as the "unique". For the present he legitimises this dualism by foisting it on communism, a method we shall find again in his theory of feudalism and of utilisation.

On page 344 "Stirner" believes that the "communists" want to "settle the question of property amicably", and on page 413 he even makes them appeal to the self-sacrifice of people [and to] the self-denying disposition of the capitalists!* The few non-revolutionary communist *bourgeois* who made their appearance since the time of Babeuf were a rare occurrence; the vast majority of the communists in all countries are revolutionary. All communists in France reproach the followers of Saint-Simon and Fourier with their peaceableness and differ from the latter chiefly in their having abandoned all hope of an "amicable settlement", just as in Britain it is the same criterion which chiefly distinguishes the Chartists from the socialists. Saint Max could discover the communist view of the "self-denying disposition of the rich" and the "self-sacrifice of people" from a few passages of Cabet, the very communist who most of all could give the impression that he appeals for *dévoûment*, self-sacrifice. These passages are aimed against the republicans and especially against the attacks on communism made by Monsieur Buchez, who still commands the following of a very small number of workers in Paris:

"The same thing applies to self-sacrifice (*dévoûment*); it is the doctrine of Monsieur Buchez, this time divested of its Catholic form, for Monsieur Buchez undoubtedly fears that his Catholicism is repugnant to the mass of the workers, and drives them away. 'In order to fulfil their *duty* (*devoir*) worthily'—says Buchez—'*self-sacrifice* (*dévoûment*) is needed.'—Let those who can understand the difference between *devoir* and *dévoûment*.—'We require self-sacrifice from everyone, both for great national unity and for the workers' association ... it is necessary for us to be united, always devoted (*dévoués*) to one another.'—It is necessary, it is necessary—that is easy to say, and people have been saying it for a long time and they will go on saying it for a very long time yet without any more success, if they cannot devise other means! Buchez complains of the self-seeking of the rich; but what is the use of such complaints? All who are unwilling to sacrifice themselves Buchez declares to be enemies.

"'If,' he says, 'impelled by egoism, a man refuses to sacrifice himself for others, what is to be done?... We have not a moment's hesitation in answering: *society* always

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] Here Saint Max again ascribes to himself the wisdom of seizing and striking, as though his whole harangue about the rebellious proletariat were not an unsuccessful travesty of Weitling and his thieving proletariat—Weitling is one of the few communists whom he knows by the grace of Bluntschli.

has the *right* to take from us what our own duty bids us sacrifice to it.... Self-sacrifice is the only means of fulfilling one's duty. Each one of us must sacrifice himself, always and everywhere. He who out of egoism refuses to fulfil his duty of self-sacrifice must be *compelled* to do it.'—Thus Buchez cries out to all: sacrifice yourselves, sacrifice yourselves! Think only of sacrificing yourselves! Does this not mean to misunderstand human nature and trample it underfoot? Is not this a false view? We might almost say—a *childish, silly* view" (Cabet, *Réfutation des doctrines de l'Atelier*, pp. 19, 20).

Cabet, further, on page 22, demonstrates to the republican Buchez that he inevitably arrives at an "aristocracy of self-sacrifice" with various ranks, and then asks ironically:

"What then becomes of *dévoûment*? What remains of *dévoûment* if people sacrifice themselves only in order to reach the highest pinnacles of *hierarchy*?... Such a system might originate in the mind of a man who would like to become Pope or Cardinal—but in the minds of workers!!!"—"M. Buchez does not want labour to become a *pleasant diversion*, nor that man should work for his own well-being and create new pleasures for himself. He asserts ... 'that man exists on earth only to fulfil a *calling*, a *duty* (*une fonction, un devoir*)'. 'No,' he preaches to the communists, 'man, this great force, has not been created for himself (*n'a point été fait pour lui-même*).... That is a crude idea. Man is a worker (*ouvrier*) in the world, he must accomplish the work (*oeuvre*) which morality imposes on his activity, that is his duty.... Let us never lose sight of the fact that we have to fulfil a *high calling* (*une haute fonction*)—a calling that began with the first day of man's existence and will come to an end only at the same time as humanity.'—But who revealed all these fine things to [M.] Buchez? (*Mais qui a révélé toutes ces belles choses à M. Buchez lui-même*"—which Stirner would have translated: How is it that Buchez knows so well what man should do?)—"*Du reste, comprenne qui pourra.*[a]—Buchez continues: 'What! Man had to wait thousands of centuries in order to learn from you communists that he was created for himself and has no other aim than to live in all possible pleasures.... But one must not fall into such an error. One must not forget that *we are created in order to labour* (*faits pour travailler*), to labour *always*, and that the only thing we can demand is what is *necessary for life* (*la suffisante vie*), i.e., the well-being that suffices for us to carry out our calling properly. Everything that is beyond this boundary is *absurd* and *dangerous*.'—But just prove it, prove it! And do not be satisfied merely with delivering oracles like a prophet! At the very outset you speak of *thousands of centuries*! And then, who asserts that people have been waiting for us down *all* the centuries? But have people perhaps been waiting for you with all your theories about *dévoûment, devoir, nationalité française, association ouvrière*? 'In conclusion,' says Buchez, 'we ask you not to take offence at what we have said.'—We also are polite Frenchmen and we, too, ask you not to take offence" (p. 31).—"'*Believe us*,' says Buchez, 'there exists a *communauté* which was created long ago and of which you too are members.'—Believe us, Buchez," concludes Cabet, "become a communist!"

"Self-sacrifice", "duty", "social obligation", "the right of society", "the calling, the destiny of man", "to be a worker the calling of man", "moral cause", "workers' association", "creation of what is indispensable for life"—are not these the same things for which Saint Sancho reproaches the communists, and for the *absence* of which the communists are reproached by M. Buchez, whose solemn

[a] "However, let him who can understand it."—*Ed.*

reproaches are ridiculed by Cabet? Do we not find here even Stirner's "hierarchy"?

Finally, Saint Sancho deals communism the *coup de grace* on page 169, by uttering the following proposition:

"By taking away also *property*" (!) "the socialists do not take into account that its continuance is safeguarded by the peculiarities of human beings. Are only money and goods property, or is not every opinion also something that is mine, that belongs to me? *Hence*, every opinion must be abolished or made impersonal."

Or does Saint Sancho's opinion, insofar as it does not become the opinion of others as well, give him command over anything, even over another's opinion? By bringing into play against communism the capital of his opinion, Saint Max again does nothing but advance against it the oldest and most trivial bourgeois objections, and he thinks he has said something new because for him, the "educated" Berliner, these hackneyed ideas are new. Destutt de Tracy among, and after, many others said the same thing much better approximately thirty years ago, and also later, in the book quoted below. For example:

"Formal proceedings were instituted against property, and arguments were brought forward for and against it, as though it depended on us to decide whether property should or should not exist in the world; but this is based on a complete misunderstanding of our nature" (*Traité de la volonté*, Paris, 1826, p. 18).

And then M. Destutt de Tracy undertakes to prove that *propriété*, *individualité* and *personnalité* are identical, that the "ego" [*moi*] also includes "mine" [*mien*], and he finds as a natural basis for private property that

"nature has endowed man with an inevitable and inalienable property, property in the form of his own individuality" (p. 17).—The individual "clearly sees that this *ego* is the exclusive owner of the body which it animates, the organs which it sets in motion, all their capacities, all their forces, all the effects they produce, all their passions and actions; for all this ends and begins with this ego, exists only through it, is set in motion through its action; and no other person can make use of these same instruments or be affected in the same way by them" (p. 16). "Property exists, if not precisely everywhere that a sentient individual exists, at least wherever there is a conative individual" (p. 19).

Having thus made private property and personality identical, Destutt de Tracy with a play on the words *propriété* and *propre*[a], like "Stirner" with his play on the words *Mein*[b] and *Meinung*,[c] *Eigentum*[d] and *Eigenheit*,[e] arrives at the following conclusion:

[a] One's own.— *Ed.*
[b] My, mine.— *Ed.*
[c] Opinion, view.—*Ed.*
[d] Property.—*Ed.*
[e] Peculiarity.— *Ed.*

"It is, therefore, quite futile to argue about whether it would not be better for each of us to have nothing of our own (*de discuter s'il ne vaudrait pas mieux que rien ne fût propre à chacun de nous*)... in any case it is equivalent to asking whether it would not be desirable for us to be quite different from what we are, and even to examining whether it would not be better for us not to exist at all" (p. 22).

"These are extremely popular", now already traditional objections to communism, and for that very reason "it is not surprising that Stirner" repeats them.

When the narrow-minded bourgeois says to the communists: by abolishing property, i.e., my existence as a capitalist, as a landed proprietor, as a factory-owner, and your existence as workers, you abolish my individuality and your own; by making it impossible for me to exploit you, the workers, to rake in my profit, interest or rent, you make it impossible for me to exist as an individual.—When, therefore, the bourgeois tells the communists: by abolishing my existence *as a bourgeois*, you abolish my existence *as an individual*; when thus he identifies himself as a bourgeois with himself as an individual, one must, at least, recognise his frankness and shamelessness. For the bourgeois it is actually the case, he believes himself to be an individual only insofar as he is a bourgeois.

But when the theoreticians of the bourgeoisie come forward and give a general expression to this assertion, when they equate the bourgeois's property with individuality in theory as well and want to give a logical justification for this equation, then this nonsense begins to become solemn and holy.

Above "Stirner" refuted the communist abolition of private property by first transforming private property into "having" and then declaring the verb "to have" an indispensable word, an eternal truth, because even in communist society it could happen that Stirner will "have" a stomach-ache. In exactly the same way here his arguments regarding the impossibility of abolishing private property depend on his transforming private property into the concept of property, on exploiting the etymological connection between the words *Eigentum* and *eigen*[a] and declaring the word *eigen* an eternal truth, because even under the communist system it could happen that a stomach-ache will be *eigen* to him. All this theoretical nonsense, which seeks refuge in etymology, would be impossible if the actual private property that the communists want to abolish had not been transformed into the abstract notion of "property". This transformation, on the one hand, saves one the trouble of having to say

[a] Own, peculiar.— *Ed.*

anything, or even merely to know anything, about actual private property and, on the other hand, makes it easy to discover a contradiction in communism, since *after* the abolition of (*actual*) property it is, of course, easy to discover all sorts of things in communism which can be included in the concept "property". In reality, of course, the situation is just the reverse.* In reality I possess private property only insofar as I have something vendible, whereas what is peculiar to me [*meine Eigenheit*] may not be vendible at all. My frock-coat is private property for me only so long as I can barter, pawn or sell it, so long [as it] is [marketable]. If it loses that feature, if it becomes tattered, it can still have a number of features which make it valuable *for me*, it may even become a feature of me and turn me into a tatterdemalion. But no economist would think of classing it as my private property, since it does not enable me to command any, even the smallest, amount of other people's labour. A lawyer, an ideologist of private property, could perhaps still indulge in such twaddle. Private property alienates [*entfremdet*] the individuality not only of people but also of things. Land has nothing to do with rent of land, the machine has nothing to do with profit. For the landed proprietor, land has the significance only of rent of land; he leases his plots of land and receives rent; this is a feature which land can lose without losing a single one of its inherent features, without, for example, losing any part of its fertility; it is a feature the extent and even the existence of which depends on social relations which are created and destroyed without the assistance of individual landed proprietors. It is the same with machines. How little connection there is between money, the most general form of property, and personal peculiarity, how much they are directly opposed to each other was already known to Shakespeare better than to our theorising petty bourgeois:

> Thus much of this will make black, white; foul, fair;
> Wrong, right; base, noble; old, young; coward, valiant.
> This yellow slave...
> Will make the hoar leprosy adored...
> This it is
> That makes the wappened widow wed again;
> She, whom the spital-house and ulcerous sores

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] Actual private property is something extremely general which has nothing at all to do with individuality, which indeed directly nullifies individuality. Insofar as I am regarded as a property-owner I am not regarded as an individual—a statement which is corroborated every day by the marriages for money.

Would cast the gorge at, this embalms and spices
To th' April day again...
Thou visible god,
That solder'st close impossibilities,
And makest them kiss![a]

In a word, rent of land, profit, etc., these actual forms of existence of private property, are *social relations* corresponding to a definite stage of production, and they are "*individual*" only so long as they have not become fetters on the existing productive forces.

According to Destutt de Tracy, the majority of people, the proletarians, must have lost all individuality long ago, although nowadays it looks as if it was precisely among them that individuality is most developed. For the bourgeois it is all the easier to prove on the basis of his language the identity of commercial and individual, or even universal, human relations, as this language itself is a product of the bourgeoisie, and therefore both in actuality and in language the relations of buying and selling have been made the basis of all others. For example, *propriété*—property [*Eigentum*] and characteristic feature [*Eigenschaft*]; property—possession [*Eigentum*] and peculiarity [*Eigentümlichkeit*]; "*eigen*" ["one's own"]—in the commercial and in the individual sense; *valeur*, value, *Wert*[b]; commerce, *Verkehr*[c]; *échange, exchange, Austausch*[d], etc., all of which are used both for commercial relations and for characteristic features and mutual relations of individuals as such. In the other modern languages this is equally the case. If Saint Max seriously applies himself to exploit this ambiguity, he may easily succeed in making a brilliant series of new economic discoveries, without knowing anything about political economy; for, indeed, his new economic facts, which we shall take note of later, lie wholly within this sphere of synonymy.

Our kindly, credulous Jacques takes the bourgeois play on the words *Eigentum* [property] and *Eigenschaft* [characteristic feature] so literally, in such holy earnest, that he even endeavours to behave like a private property-owner in relation to his own features, as we shall see later on.

Finally, on page 421, "Stirner" instructs communism that

"*actually* it" (viz., communism) "does not attack property, but the alienation of property".

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[a] William Shakespeare, *Timon of Athens*, Act IV, Scene 3.—*Ed.*
[b] Worth, value.—*Ed.*
[c] Intercourse, traffic, commerce, communication.—*Ed.*
[d] Exchange, barter, interchange.—*Ed.*

In this new revelation of his, Saint Max merely repeats an old witticism already used repeatedly by, for example, the Saint-Simonists. Cf., for example, *Leçons sur l'industrie et les finances*, Paris, 1832[a], where, *inter alia*, it is stated:

"Property will not be abolished, but its form will be changed ... it will for the first time become *true personification* ... it will for the first time acquire its real, individual character" (pp. 42, 43).

Since this phrase, introduced by the French and particularly enlarged on by Pierre Leroux, was seized on with great pleasure by the German speculative socialists and used for further speculation, and finally gave occasion for reactionary intrigues and sharp practices—we shall not deal with it here where it says nothing, but later on, in connection with true socialism.[b]

Saint Sancho, [following the] example of Woeniger, whom Reichardt [used], takes delight in turning the proletarians, [and hence] also the communists, into "*ragamuffins*". He defines his "ragamuffin" on page 362 as a "man possessing only ideal wealth". If Stirner's "ragamuffins" ever set up a vagabond kingdom, as the Paris beggars did in the fifteenth century, then Saint Sancho will be the vagabond king, for he is the "perfect" ragamuffin, a man possessing not even ideal wealth and therefore living on the interest from the capital of his opinion.

### C. Humane Liberalism

After Saint Max has interpreted liberalism and communism as imperfect modes of existence of philosophical "man", and thereby also of modern German philosophy in general (which he was justified in doing, since in Germany not only liberalism but communism as well was given a petty-bourgeois and at the same time highflown ideological form), after this, it is easy for him to depict the latest forms of German philosophy, what he has called "humane liberalism", as perfect liberalism and communism, and, at the same time, as criticism of both of them.

With the aid of this holy construction we now get the following three delightful transformations (cf. also "The Economy of the Old Testament"):

1. The individual *is* not man, therefore he is of no value—absence of personal will, ordinance—"whose name will be named": "masterless"—political liberalism, which we have already dealt with above.

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[a] The author of these lectures is Isaac Pereire.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 468.—*Ed.*

2. The individual *has* nothing human, therefore no validity attaches to mine and thine or property: "propertyless"—communism, which we have also already dealt with.

3. In criticism the individual should give place to man, now found for the first time: "godless" = identity of "masterless" and "propertyless"—humane liberalism (pp. 180-81).—In a more detailed exposition of this last negative unity, the unshakable orthodoxy of Jacques reaches the following climax (p. 189):

"The egoism of property loses its last possession if even the words 'my God' become meaningless, *for*" (a grand "for"!) "God only exists if he has at heart the salvation of each individual, just as the latter seeks his salvation in God."

According to this, the French bourgeois would only "lose" his "last" "property" if the word *adieu* were banished from the language. In complete accord with the preceding construction, property in God, holy property in heaven, the property of fantasy, the fantasy of property, are here declared to be supreme property and the last sheet-anchor of property.

From these three illusions about liberalism, communism and German philosophy, he now concocts his new—and, thanks be to the "holy", this time the last—transition to the "*ego*". Before following him in this, let us once more glance at his last "arduous life struggle" with "humane liberalism".

After our worthy Sancho in his new role of *caballero andante*,[a] and in fact as *caballero de la tristisima figura*,[b] has traversed the whole of history, everywhere battling and "blowing down" spirits and spectres, "dragons and ostriches, satyrs and hobgoblins, wild beasts of the desert and vultures, bitterns and hedgehogs" (cf. Isaiah, 34: 11-14), how happy he must now be, after his wanderings through all these different lands, to come at last to his island of Barataria,[74] to "the land" as such, where "Man" goes about in *puris naturalibus*[c]! Let us once more recall his great thesis, the dogma imposed on him, on which his whole construction of history rests, to the effect that:

"the truths which arise from the concept of *man* are revered as revelations of precisely this concept and regarded as holy"; "the revelations of this holy concept", even "with the abolition of many a truth manifested by means of this concept, are not deprived of their holiness" (p. 51).

We need hardly repeat what we have already proved to our holy author in respect of all his examples, namely, that empirical

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[a] Knight-errant.—*Ed.*

[b] Knight of the most rueful countenance.—*Ed.*

[c] In the pure natural state.—*Ed.*

relations, created by real people in their real intercourse and not at all by the holy concept of man, are afterwards interpreted, portrayed, imagined, consolidated and justified by people as a revelation of the concept "man". One may also recall his hierarchy. And now on to humane liberalism.

On page 44, where Saint Max "in brief" "contrasts Feuerbach's [theological] view with our view", at first nothing but phrases are advanced against Feuerbach. As we already saw in regard to the manufacture of spirits, where "Stirner" places his stomach among the stars (the third Dioscuros, a patron saint and protector against seasickness[75]), because he and his stomach are "different names for totally different things" (p. 42), so, here, too, essence [*Wesen*[a]] appears first of all as an existing thing, and "so it is now said" (p. 44):

"The supreme being *is*, indeed, the essence of man, but precisely because it is his *essence*, and not man himself, it *makes absolutely no difference* whether we see this essence outside man and perceive it as 'God' or find it in man and call it the 'essence of man' or 'Man'. *I* am neither God nor Man, neither the supreme being nor my essence—and, therefore, in the main, it makes no difference whether I *think* of this essence as inside me or outside me."

Hence, the "essence of man" is presupposed here as an existing thing, it *is* the "supreme being", it *is* not the "ego", and, instead of saying something about "essence", Saint Max restricts himself to the simple statement that it makes "no difference" "whether I *think* of it as inside me or outside me", in this locality or in that. That this indifference to essence is no mere carelessness of style is already evident from the fact that he himself makes the distinction between essential and inessential and that with him even "the *noble essence of* egoism" finds a place (p. 71). Incidentally everything the German theoreticians have said so far about essence and non-essence is to be found already far better said by Hegel in his *Logik*.

We found the boundless orthodoxy of "Stirner" with regard to the illusions of German philosophy expressed in concentrated form in the fact that he constantly foists "Man" on history as the sole *dramatis persona* and believes that "Man" has made history. Now we shall find the same thing recurring in connection with Feuerbach, whose illusions "Stirner" faithfully accepts in order to build further on their foundation.

Page 77: "In general Feuerbach *only transposes subject and predicate*, giving preference to the latter. But since he says himself: 'Love is not holy because it is a predicate of God (nor have people ever held it to be holy for that reason) but it is a predicate of God because it is divine by and for itself,' he was able to conclude that the

[a] *Wesen* can mean either essence or being.—*Ed.*

struggle had to be begun against the predicates themselves, against love and everything holy. How could he hope to turn people away from *God*, once he had left them the *divine*? And if, as Feuerbach says, the main thing for people has never been God, but only his predicates, he could after all have allowed them to keep this tinsel, since the puppet, the real kernel, still remained."

Since, therefore, Feuerbach "*himself*" says this, it is reason enough for Jacques le bonhomme to *believe* him that people have esteemed love because it is "divine by and for itself". If precisely the *opposite* of what Feuerbach says took place—and we "make bold to say this" (*Wigand*, p. 157)—if neither God nor his predicates have ever been the main thing for people, if this itself is only a religious illusion of German theory—it means that the very same thing has happened to our Sancho as happened to him before in Cervantes, when four stumps were put under his saddle while he slept and his ass was led away from under him.

Relying on these statements of Feuerbach, Sancho starts a battle which was likewise already anticipated by Cervantes in the nineteenth chapter, where the *ingenioso hidalgo* fights against the predicates, the mummers, while they are carrying the corpse of the world to the grave and who, entangled in their robes and shrouds, are unable to move and so make it easy for our hidalgo to overturn them with his lance and give them a thorough thrashing. The last attempt to exploit further the criticism of religion as an independent sphere (a criticism which has been flogged to the point of exhaustion), to remain within the premises of German theory and yet to appear to be going beyond them, and to cook from this bone, gnawed away to the last fibres, a thin Rumford beggar's broth[76] [for "the] book"—this last attempt consisted in attacking material relations, not in their actual form, and not even in the form of the mundane illusions of those who are practically involved in the present-day world, but in the heavenly extract of their mundane form as predicates, as emanations from God, as angels. Thus, the heavenly kingdom was now repopulated and abundant new material created for the old method of exploitation of this heavenly kingdom. Thus, the struggle against religious illusions, against God, was again substituted for the real struggle. Saint Bruno, who earns his bread by theology, in his "arduous life struggle" against substance makes the same attempt *pro aris et focis*[a] as a theologian to go beyond the limits of theology. His "substance" is nothing but the predicates of God united under one name; with the exception of personality, which he reserves for himself—these predicates of God are again nothing

[a] For home and hearth.—*Ed.*

but deified names for the ideas of people about their definite, empirical relations, ideas which subsequently they hypocritically retain because of practical considerations. With the theoretical equipment inherited from Hegel it is, of course, not possible even to understand the empirical, material attitude of these people. Owing to the fact that Feuerbach showed the religious world as an illusion of the earthly world—a world which in his writing appears merely as a *phrase*—German theory too was confronted with the question which he left unanswered: how did it come about that people "got" these illusions "into their heads"? Even for the German theoreticians this question paved the way to the materialistic view of the world, a view which is *not without premises*, but which empirically observes the actual material premises as such and for that reason is, for the first time, *actually* a critical view of the world. This path was already indicated in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*—in the *Einleitung zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie* and *Zur Judenfrage*.[a] But since at that time this was done in philosophical phraseology, the traditionally occurring philosophical expressions such as "human essence", "species", etc., gave the German theoreticians the desired reason for misunderstanding the real trend of thought and believing that here again it was a question merely of giving a new turn to their worn-out theoretical garment—just as Dr. Arnold Ruge, the *Dottore Graziano* of German philosophy, imagined that he could continue as before to wave his clumsy arms about and display his pedantic-farcical mask. One has to "leave philosophy aside" (*Wigand*, p. 187, cf. Hess, *Die letzten Philosophen*, p. 8), one has to leap out of it and devote oneself like an ordinary man to the study of actuality, for which there exists also an enormous amount of literary material, unknown, of course, to the philosophers. When, after that, one again encounters people like *Krummacher* or "*Stirner*", one finds that one has long ago left them "behind" and below. Philosophy and the study of the actual world have the same relation to one another as onanism and sexual love. Saint Sancho, who in spite of his absence of thought—which was noted by us patiently and by him emphatically—remains within the world of pure thoughts, can, of course, save himself from it only by means of a moral postulate, the postulate of "*thoughtlessness*" (p. 196 of "the book"). He is a bourgeois who saves himself in the face of commerce by the *banqueroute cochenne*,[77] whereby, of course, he becomes not a proletarian, but an impecunious, bankrupt bourgeois. He does not become a man of the world, but a bankrupt philosopher without thoughts.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 146-87.—*Ed.*

The predicates of God handed down from Feuerbach as real forces over people, as hierarchs, are the monstrosity which is substituted for the empirical world and which "Stirner" finds in existence. So heavily does Stirner's entire "peculiarity" depend merely on "prompting". If "Stirner" (see also p. 63) reproaches Feuerbach for reaching no result because he turns the predicate into the subject and vice versa, he himself is far less capable of arriving at anything, [for] he faithfully accepts these Feuerbachian predicates, transformed into subjects, as real personalities ruling [the world], he faithfully accepts these phrases about relations as actual relations, attaching the predicate "holy" to them, *transforming this predicate into a subject*, the "holy", i.e., doing exactly the same as that for which he reproaches Feuerbach. And so, after he has thus completely got rid of the definite content that was the matter at issue, he begins his struggle—i.e., his "antipathy"—against this "holy", which, of course, always remains the same. Feuerbach has still the consciousness "that for him it is 'only a matter of destroying an illusion'"—and it is this with which Saint Max reproaches him (p. 77 of "the book")—although Feuerbach still attaches much too great importance to the struggle against this illusion. In "Stirner" even this consciousness has "all gone", he actually believes in the domination of the abstract ideas of ideology in the modern world; he believes that in his struggle against "predicates", against concepts, he is no longer attacking an illusion, but the real forces that rule the world. Hence his manner of turning everything upside-down, hence the immense credulity with which he takes at their face value all the sanctimonious illusions, all the hypocritical asseverations of the bourgeoisie. How little, incidentally, the "puppet" is the "real kernel" of the "tinsel", and how lame this beautiful analogy is, can best be seen from "Stirner's" own "puppet"—"the book", which contains no "kernel", whether "real" or not "real", and where even the little that there is in its 491 pages scarcely deserves the name "tinsel".—If, however, we must find some sort of "kernel" in it, then that kernel is the *German petty bourgeois*.

Incidentally, as regards the source of Saint Max's hatred of "predicates", he himself gives an extremely naive disclosure in the "Apologetic Commentary". He quotes the following passage from *Das Wesen des Christenthums* (p. 31): "A true atheist is only one for whom the *predicates* of the divine being, e.g., love, wisdom, justice are nothing, but not one for whom only the *subject* of these predicates is nothing"—and then he exclaims triumphantly: "*Does this not hold good for Stirner*?"—"Here is wisdom." In the above passage Saint Max found a hint as to how one should start in order to go "*farthest*

*of all*". He believes Feuerbach that the above passage reveals the "essence" of the "*true atheist*", and lets Feuerbach set him the "task" of becoming a "true atheist". The "unique" is "the *true atheist*".

Even more credulously than in relation to Feuerbach does he "handle" matters in relation to Saint Bruno or "criticism". We shall gradually see all the things that he allows "criticism" to impose on him, how he puts himself under its police surveillance, how it dictates his mode of life, his "calling". For the time being it suffices to mention as an example of his faith in criticism that on page 186 he treats "Criticism" and the "Mass" as two persons fighting against each other and "striving to free themselves from egoism", and on page 187 he "accepts" both "for what *they ... give themselves out to be*".

With the struggle against humane liberalism, the long struggle of the Old Testament, when man was a school-master of the unique, comes to an end; the time is fulfilled, and the gospel of grace and joy is ushered in for sinful humanity.

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The struggle over "man" is the fulfilment of the word, as written in the twenty-first chapter of Cervantes, which deals with "the high adventure and rich prize of Mambrino's helmet". Our Sancho, who in everything imitates his former lord and present servant, "has sworn to win Mambrino's helmet"—Man—for himself. After having during his various "campaigns"[a] sought in vain to find the longed-for helmet among the ancients and moderns, liberals and communists, "he caught sight of a man on a horse carrying something on his head which shone like gold". And he said to Don Quixote-Szeliga: "If I am not mistaken, there is someone approaching us bearing on his head that helmet of Mambrino, about which I swore the oath you know of." "Take good care of what you say, your worship, and even greater care of what you do," replied Don Quixote, who by now has become wiser. "Tell me, can you not see that knight coming towards us on a dapple-grey steed with a gold helmet on his head?"—"What I see and perceive," replies Don Quixote, "is nothing but a man on a grey ass like yours with something glittering on his head."—"Why, that is Mambrino's helmet," says Sancho.

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[a] In the German original the word *Auszüge* is used which can mean departures, campaigns or extracts, abstracts.— *Ed.*

Meanwhile, at a gentle trot there approaches them *Bruno*, the holy barber, on his small ass, criticism, with his barber's basin on his head; Saint Sancho sets on him lance in hand, Saint Bruno jumps from his ass, drops the basin (for which reason we saw him here at the Council without the basin) and rushes off across country, "for he is the Critic himself". Saint Sancho with great joy picks up the helmet of Mambrino, and to Don Quixote's remark that it looks exactly like a barber's basin he replies: "This famous, enchanted helmet, which has become 'ghostly', undoubtedly fell into the hands of a man who was unable to appreciate its worth, and so he melted down one half of it and hammered out the other half in such a way that, as you say, it appears to be a barber's basin; in any case, whatever it may look like to the vulgar eye, for me, since I know its value, that is a matter of indifference."

"The second splendour, the second property, has now been won!"

Now that he has gained his helmet, "man", he puts himself in opposition to him, behaves towards him as towards his "most irreconcilable enemy" and declares outright to him (why, we shall see later) that he (Saint Sancho) is not "man", but an "unhuman being, the inhuman". In the guise of this "inhuman", he now moves to Sierra-Morena, in order to prepare himself by acts of penitence for the splendour of the New Testament. There he strips himself "stark naked" (p. 184) in order to achieve his peculiarity and surpass what his predecessor in Cervantes does in chapter twenty-five:

> "And hurriedly stripping off his breeches, he stood in his skin and his shirt. And then, without more ado, he took two goat leaps into the air turning head over heels, thereby revealing such things as caused his trusty armour-bearer to turn Rosinante aside, so as not to see them."

The "inhuman" far surpasses its mundane prototype. It "*resolutely turns its back on itself* and thus also turns away from the disquieting critic", and "leaves him behind". The "*inhuman*" then enters into an argument with criticism that has been "left behind"; it "despises itself", it "conceives itself in comparison with another", it "commands God", it "seeks its better self outside itself", it does penance for not yet being unique, it declares itself to be the unique, "the egoistical and the *unique*"—although it was hardly necessary for it to state this after having resolutely turned its back *on itself*. The "inhuman" has accomplished all this by its own efforts (see Pfister, *Geschichte der Teutschen*) and now, purified and triumphant, it rides on its ass into the kingdom of the unique.

End of the Old Testament

## THE NEW TESTAMENT: "EGO"[78]

### *1. The Economy of the New Testament*

Whereas in the Old Testament the object of our edification was "unique" logic in the framework of the *past*, we are now confronted by the *present time* in the framework of "unique" logic. We have already thrown sufficient light on the "unique" in his manifold antediluvian "refractions"—as man, Caucasian Caucasian, perfect Christian, truth of humane liberalism, negative unity of realism and idealism, etc., etc. Along with the historical construction of the "ego", the "ego" itself also collapses. This "ego", the end of the historical construction, is no "corporeal" ego, carnally procreated by man and woman, which needs no construction in order to exist; it is an "ego" spiritually created by two categories, "idealism" and "realism," a merely conceptual existence.

The New Testament, which has already been dissolved together with its premise, the Old Testament, possesses a domestic economy that is literally as wisely designed as that of the Old, namely the same "with various transformations", as can be seen from the following table:

I. *Peculiarity*=the ancients, child, Negro, etc., in their *truth*, i.e., development from the "world of things" to one's "own" outlook and taking possession of this world. Among the ancients this led to riddance of the world, among the moderns—riddance of spirit, among the liberals—riddance of the individual, among the communists—riddance of property, among the humane [liberals]—riddance of God: hence it led in general to the category of riddance (freedom) as the goal. The negated category of *riddance* is *peculiarity*, which of course has no other content than this riddance. Peculiarity is the philosophically constructed quality of all the qualities of Stirner's individual.

II. The *owner*—as such Stirner has penetrated beyond the *untruthfulness* of the world of things and the world of spirit; hence the *moderns*, the phase of Christianity within the logical development: youth, Mongol.—Just as the moderns divide into the triply determined free ones, so the owner falls into three further determinations:

1. *My power*, corresponding to *political liberalism*, where the *truth of right* is brought to light and right as the power of "man" is resolved in power as the right of the "ego". The struggle against the *state as such*.

2. *My intercourse*, corresponding to *communism*, whereby the *truth of society* is brought to light and society (in its forms of prison society, family, state, bourgeois society, etc.) as intercourse mediated by "man" is resolved in the intercourse of the "ego".

3. *My self-enjoyment*, corresponding to critical, *humane liberalism*, in which the *truth of criticism*, the consumption, dissolution and truth of absolute self-consciousness, comes to light as self-consumption, and criticism as dissolution in the interests of man is transformed into dissolution in the interests of the "ego".

The peculiarity of the individuals was resolved, as we have seen, in the universal category of peculiarity, which was the negation of riddance, of freedom in general. A description of the special qualities of the individual, therefore, can again only consist in the negation of this "freedom" in its three "refractions"; each of these negative freedoms is now converted by its negation into a positive quality. Obviously, just as in the Old Testament riddance of the world of things and the world of thoughts was already regarded as the acquisition of both these worlds, so here also it is a matter of course that this peculiarity or acquisition of things and thoughts is in its turn represented as perfect riddance.

The "ego" with its property, its world, consisting of the qualities just "pointed out", is *owner*. As self-enjoying and self-consuming, it is the "ego" raised to the second power, the owner of the owner, it being as much rid of the owner as the owner belongs to it; the result is "absolute negativity" in its dual determination as indifference, "unconcern"[a] and negative relation to itself, the owner. Its property in respect of the world and its riddance of the world is now transformed into this negative relation to itself, into this self-dissolution and self-ownership of the owner. The ego, thus determined, is—

III. *The unique*, who again, therefore, has no other content than that of owner plus the philosophical determination of the "negative relation to himself". The profound Jacques pretends that there is nothing to say about this unique, because it is a corporeal, not constructed individual. But the matter here is rather the same as in the case of Hegel's absolute idea at the end of the *Logik* and of absolute personality at the end of the *Encyklopädie*, about which there is likewise nothing to say because the construction contains everything that can be said about such constructed per-

[a] In the manuscript the Berlin dialect form *Jleichjültigkeit* (unconcern) is used.—*Ed.*

sonalities. Hegel knows this and does not mind admitting it, whereas Stirner hypocritically maintains that his "unique" is also something different from the constructed unique alone, but something that cannot be expressed, viz., a corporeal individual. This hypocritical appearance vanishes if the thing is reversed, if the unique is defined as owner, and it is said of the owner that he has the universal category of peculiarity as his universal determination. This not only says everything that is "*sayable*" about the unique, but also what he *is* in general—minus the fantasy of Jacques le bonhomme about him.

"O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of the unique! How incomprehensible are his thoughts, and his ways past finding out!"[a]

"Lo, these are parts of his ways: but how little a portion is heard of him!" (Job 26 : 14.)

### 2. *The Phenomenology of the Egoist in Agreement with Himself, or the Theory of Justification*

As we have already seen in "The Economy of the Old Testament" and afterwards, Saint Sancho's true egoist in agreement with himself must on no account be confused with the trivial, everyday egoist, the "*egoist in the ordinary sense*". Rather he has as his presupposition both this latter (the one in thrall to the world of things, child, Negro, ancient, etc.) and the selfless egoist (the one in thrall to the world of thoughts, youth, Mongol, modern, etc.). It is, however, part of the nature of the secrets of the unique that this antithesis and the negative unity which follows from it—the "*egoist in agreement with himself*"—can be examined only now, in the New Testament.

Since Saint Max wishes to present the "true egoist" as something quite new, as the goal of all preceding history, he must, on the one hand, prove to the selfless, the advocates of *dévoûment*, that they are egoists against their will, and he must prove to the egoists in the ordinary sense that they are selfless, that they are not true, holy, egoists.—Let us begin with the first, with the selfless.

We have already seen countless times that in the world of Jacques le bonhomme everyone is obsessed by the holy. "Nevertheless it makes a difference" whether "one is educated or uneducated". The educated, who are occupied with pure thought, confront us here as "obsessed" by the holy *par excellence*. They are the "selfless" in their practical guise.

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[a] Romans 11 : 33 (paraphrased).—*Ed.*

"Who then is selfless? Completely" (!) "most" (!!) "likely" (!!!) "he who stakes everything else on *one thing*, one aim, one purpose, one passion.... He is ruled by a passion to which he sacrifices all others. And are these selfless not selfish, perhaps? Since they *possess* only a single ruling passion, they are concerned only with a single satisfaction, but the more ardently on that account. All their deeds and actions are egoistic, but it is a *one-sided, concealed, narrow egoism*; it is—obsession" (p. 99).

Hence, according to Saint Sancho, they *possess* only a *single* ruling passion; ought they to be concerned also with the passions which not *they*, but *others possess*, in order to rise to an all-round, unconcealed, unrestricted egoism, in order to correspond to this *alien* scale of "holy" egoism?

In this passage are incidentally introduced also the "miser" and the "*pleasure-seeker*" (probably because Stirner thinks that he seeks "*pleasure*" as such, holy pleasure, and not all sorts of real pleasures), as also "Robespierre, for example, Saint-Just, and so on" (p.100) as examples of "selfless, obsessed egoists". "From a certain moral point of view it is argued" (i.e., our holy "egoist in agreement with himself" argues from his own point of view in extreme disagreement with himself) "approximately as follows":

"But if I sacrifice other passions to one passion, I still do not thereby sacrifice *myself* to this passion, and I do not sacrifice anything thanks to which I am *truly* I myself" (p. 386).

Saint Max is compelled by these two propositions "in disagreement with each other" to make the "paltry" distinction that one may well sacrifice six "for example", or seven, "and so on", passions to a single other passion without ceasing to be "truly I myself", but by no means ten passions, or a still greater number. Of course, neither Robespierre nor Saint-Just was "*truly* I myself", just as neither was truly "man", but they were *truly* Robespierre and Saint-Just, those unique, incomparable individuals.

The trick of proving to the "selfless" that they are egoists is an old dodge, sufficiently exploited already by Helvétius and Bentham. Saint Sancho's "own" trick consists in the transformation of "egoists in the ordinary sense", the bourgeois, into non-egoists. Helvétius and Bentham, at any rate, prove to the bourgeois that by their narrow-mindedness they *in practice* harm themselves, but Saint Max's "own" trick consists in proving that they do not correspond to the "ideal", the "concept", the "essence", the "calling", etc., of the egoist and that their attitude towards themselves is not that of absolute negation. Here again he has in mind only his German petty bourgeois. Let us point out, incidentally, that whereas on page 99 our saint makes the "miser" figure as a "selfless egoist", on page 78,

on the other hand, the "avaricious one" is included among "egoists in the ordinary sense", among the "impure, unholy".

This second class of the hitherto existing egoists is defined on page 99 as follows:

"These people" (the bourgeois) "are therefore not selfless, not inspired, not ideal, not consistent, not enthusiasts; they are *egoists in the ordinary sense,* selfish people, thinking of their own advantage, sober, calculating, etc."

Since "the book" is not all of a piece, we have already had occasion, in connection with "whimsy" and "political liberalism", to see how Stirner achieves the trick of transforming the bourgeois into non-egoists, chiefly owing to his great ignorance of real people and conditions. This same ignorance serves him here as a lever.

"This" (i.e., Stirner's fantasy about unselfishness) "is repugnant to the stubborn brain of worldly man but for thousands of years he at least succumbed so far that he had to bend his obstinate neck and worship higher powers" (p. 104). The egoists in the ordinary sense "behave half clerically and half in a worldly way, they serve both God and Mammon" (p. 105).

We learn on page 78: "The Mammon of heaven and the God of the world both demand precisely the *same* degree of *self-denial*", hence it is impossible to understand how self-denial for Mammon and self-denial for God can be opposed to each other as "worldly" and "clerical".

On page 105-106, Jacques le bonhomme asks himself:

"How does it happen, then, that the egoism of those who assert their personal interest nevertheless constantly succumbs to a clerical or school-masterly, i.e., an ideal, interest?"

(Here, one must in passing "point out" that in this passage the bourgeois are depicted as representatives of *personal* interests.) It happens because:

"Their personality seems to them too small, too unimportant—as indeed it is—to lay claim to everything and be able to assert itself fully. A sure sign of this is the fact that they divide themselves into two persons, an eternal and a temporal; on Sundays they take care of the eternal aspect and on weekdays the temporal. They have the priest within them, therefore they cannot get rid of him."

Sancho experiences some scruples here; he asks anxiously whether "the same thing will happen" to peculiarity, the egoism in the extraordinary sense.

We shall see that it is not without grounds that this anxious question is asked. Before the cock has crowed twice, Saint Jacob (Jacques le bonhomme) will have "*denied*" himself thrice.[a]

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[a] Cf. Mark 14:30.— *Ed.*

He discovers to his great displeasure that the two sides prominently appearing in history, the private interest of individuals and the so-called general interest, always accompany each other. As usual, he discovers this in a false form, in its holy form, from the aspect of ideal interests, of the holy, of illusion. He asks: how is it that the ordinary egoists, the representatives of personal interests, are at the same time dominated by general interests, by school-masters, by the hierarchy? His reply to the question is to the effect that the bourgeois, etc., "seem to themselves too small", and he discovers a "sure sign" of this in the fact that they behave in a religious way, i.e., that their personality is divided into a temporal and an eternal one, that is to say, he explains their religious behaviour by their religious behaviour, after first transforming the struggle between general and personal interests into a mirror image of the struggle, into a simple reflection inside religious fantasy.

How the matter stands as regards the domination of the ideal, see above in the section on hierarchy.

If Sancho's question is translated from its highflown form into everyday language, then "it now reads":

How is it that personal interests always develop, against the will of individuals, into class interests, into common interests which acquire independent existence in relation to the individual persons, and in their independence assume the form of *general* interests? How is it that as such they come into contradiction with the actual individuals and in this contradiction, by which they are defined as *general* interests, they can be conceived by consciousness as *ideal* and even as religious, holy interests? How is it that in this process of private interests acquiring independent existence as class interests the personal behaviour of the individual is bound to be objectified [*sich versachlichen*], estranged [*sich entfremden*], and at the same time exists as a power independent of him and without him, created by intercourse, and is transformed into social relations, into a series of powers which determine and subordinate the individual, and which, therefore, appear in the imagination as "holy" powers? Had Sancho understood the fact that within the framework of definite *modes of production,* which, of course, are not dependent on the will, alien [*fremde*] practical forces, which are independent not only of isolated individuals but even of all of them together, always come to stand above people—then he could be fairly indifferent as to whether this fact is presented in a religious form or distorted in the fancy of the egoist, above whom everything is placed in imagination, in such a way that he places nothing above himself. Sancho would then have descended from the realm of

speculation into the realm of reality, from what people fancy to what they actually are, from what they imagine to how they act and are bound to act in definite circumstances. What seems to him a product of *thought*, he would have understood to be a product of *life*. He would not then have arrived at the absurdity worthy of him—of explaining the division between personal and general interests by saying that people imagine this division *also* in a religious way and *seem* to themselves to be such and such, which is, however, only another word for "imagining".

Incidentally, even in the banal, petty-bourgeois German form in which Sancho perceives the contradiction of personal and general interests, he should have realised that individuals have always started out from themselves, and could not do otherwise, and that therefore the two aspects he noted are aspects of the personal development of individuals; both are equally engendered by the empirical conditions under which the individuals live, both are only expressions of *one and the same* personal development of people and are therefore only in *seeming* contradiction to each other. As regards the position—determined by the special circumstances of development and by division of labour—which falls to the lot of the given individual, whether he represents to a greater extent one or the other aspect of the antithesis, whether he appears more as an egoist or more as selfless—that was a quite subordinate question, which could only acquire any interest at all if it were raised in definite epochs of history in relation to definite individuals. Otherwise this question could only lead to morally false, charlatan phrases. But as a dogmatist Sancho falls into error here and finds no other way out than by declaring that the Sancho Panzas and Don Quixotes are born such, and that then the Don Quixotes stuff all kinds of nonsense into the heads of the Sanchos; as a dogmatist he seizes on one aspect, conceived in a school-masterly manner, declares it to be characteristic of individuals as such, and expresses his aversion to the other aspect. Therefore, too, as a dogmatist, the other aspect appears to him partly as a mere *state of mind, dévoûment*, partly as a mere "*principle*", and not as a relation necessarily arising from the preceding natural mode of life of individuals. One has, therefore, only to "get this principle out of one's head", although, according to Sancho's ideology, it creates all kinds of empirical things. Thus, for example, on page 180 "social life, all sociability, all fraternity and all that ... was created by the life principle[a] or social principle". It is better the other way round: life created the principle.

[a] Stirner has "love principle".—*Ed.*

*Communism* is quite incomprehensible to our saint because the communists do not oppose egoism to selflessness or selflessness to egoism, nor do they express this contradiction theoretically either in its sentimental or in its highflown ideological form; they rather demonstrate its material source, with which it disappears of itself. The communists do not preach *morality* at all, as Stirner does so extensively. They do not put to people the moral demand: love one another, do not be egoists, etc.; on the contrary, they are very well aware that egoism, just as much as selflessness, *is* in definite circumstances a necessary form of the self-assertion of individuals. Hence, the communists by no means want, as Saint Max believes, and as his loyal *Dottore Graziano* (Arnold Ruge) repeats after him (for which Saint Max calls him "an unusually cunning and politic mind", *Wigand*, p. 192), to do away with the "private individual" for the sake of the "general", selfless man. That is a figment of the imagination concerning which both of them could already have found the necessary explanation in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. Communist theoreticians, the only communists who have time to devote to the study of history, are distinguished precisely by the fact that they alone have *discovered* that throughout history the "general interest" is created by individuals who are defined as "private persons". They know that this contradiction is only a *seeming* one because one side of it, what is called the "general interest", is constantly being produced by the other side, private interest, and in relation to the latter it is by no means an independent force with an independent history—so that this contradiction is in practice constantly destroyed and reproduced. Hence it is not a question of the Hegelian "negative unity" of two sides of a contradiction, but of the materially determined destruction of the preceding materially determined mode of life of individuals, with the disappearance of which this contradiction together with its unity also disappears.

Thus we see how the "egoist in agreement with himself" as opposed to the "egoist in the ordinary sense" and the "selfless egoist", is based from the outset on an illusion about both of these and about the real relations of real people. The representative of personal interests is merely an "egoist in the ordinary sense" because of his necessary contradiction to communal interests which, within the existing mode of production and intercourse, are given an independent existence as general interests and are conceived and vindicated in the form of ideal interests. The representative of the interests of the community is merely "selfless" because of his opposition to personal interests, fixed as private interests, and

because the interests of the community are defined as general and ideal interests.

Both the "selfless egoist" and the "egoist in the ordinary sense" coincide, in the final analysis, in *self-denial.*

Page 78: "Thus, self-denial is common to both the holy and unholy, the pure and impure: the impure *denies* all better feelings, all shame, even natural timidity, and follows only the desire which rules him. The pure renounces his natural relation to the world.... Impelled by the thirst for money, the avaricious person denies all promptings of conscience, all sense of honour, all soft-heartedness and pity; he is blind to all consideration, his desire drives him on. The holy person acts similarly: he makes himself a laughing-stock in the eyes of the world, he is 'hard-hearted' and 'severely just', for he is carried away by his longing."

The "avaricious man", shown here as an impure, unholy egoist, hence as an egoist in the ordinary sense, is nothing but a figure on whom moral readers for children and novels dilate, but that actually occurs only as an exception, and is by no means the representative of the avaricious bourgeois. The latter, on the contrary, have no need to deny the "promptings of conscience", "the sense of honour", etc., or to restrict themselves to the one passion of avarice alone. On the contrary, their avarice engenders a series of other passions—political, etc.—the satisfaction of which the bourgeois on no account sacrifice. Without going more deeply into this matter, let us at once turn to Stirner's "self-denial".

For the self which denies itself, Saint Max here substitutes a different self which exists only in Saint Max's imagination. He makes the "impure" sacrifice general qualities such as "better feelings", "shame", "timidity", "sense of honour", etc., and does not at all ask whether the impure actually possesses these properties. As if the "impure" is necessarily bound to possess all these qualities! But even if the "impure" did possess all of them, the sacrifice of these qualities would still be no *self*-denial, but only confirm the fact—which has to be justified even in morality "in agreement with itself"—that for the sake of one passion several others are sacrificed. And, finally, according to this theory, everything that Sancho does or does not do is "self-denial". He may or may not act in a particular manner [...].*

* [There is a gap here. An extant page, which has been crossed out and greatly damaged, contains the following:] he is an egoist, his own self-denial. If he pursues an interest he denies the indifference to this interest, if he does something he denies idleness. Nothing is easier [...] for Sancho than to prove to the "*egoist in the ordinary sense*"—his stumbling-block—that he always denies himself, because he always denies the opposite of what he does, and never denies his real interest.

In accordance with his theory of self-denial Sancho can exclaim on page 80: "Is perhaps unselfishness unreal and non-existent? On the contrary, nothing is more common!"

Although* on page 420 Saint Max now says:

"Over the portals of our [epoch] are written not the words ... 'know thyself', [but] 'turn yourself to account'" [*Verwerte Dich*]

(here our school-master again transforms the actual turning to account which he finds in existence into a moral precept about turning to account), nevertheless [for the] "egoist in the ordinary [sense' instead of for] the former "selfless egoist", "the [Apollonic" maxim[80] should read:

"Only *know yourselves*], only know what [you] are in reality and give up your foolish endeavour to be something different from what you are!" "For": "This leads to the phenomenon of *deceived* egoism, in which I satisfy not myself, but] only one [of my desires, e.] g., the [thirst for] happiness. [—All] your deeds and [actions are secret], concealed ... [egoism,] *unconscious egoism*, [but] *for that very reason* not egoism, but slavery, service, self-denial. *You are egoists and at the same time not egoists, inasmuch as you deny egoism*" (p. 217).

"No sheep, no dog, endeavours to become a real" egoist (p. 443); "no animal" calls to the others: "Only know yourselves, only know

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We are really very happy [about the "unselfishness"] of the consciousness of the German petty [bourgeois]....

He immediately gives a good example of this unselfishness by [adducing] Orphanage-F[rancke,[79] O'Connell, Saint Boniface, Robespierre, Theodor Körner...].

O'Connell [...], every [child] in Britain knows this. Only in Germany, and particularly in Berlin, is it still possible to believe that O'Connell is "unselfish". O'Connell, who "tirelessly works" to place his illegitimate children and to enlarge his fortune, who has not for love exchanged his lucrative legal practice (£10,000 per annum) for the even more lucrative job of an agitator (£20,000-30,000 per annum) (especially lucrative in Ireland, where he has no competition); O'Connell who, acting as middleman,[a] "hard-heartedly" exploits the Irish peasants making them live with their pigs while he, King Dan, holds court in princely style in his palace in Merrion Square and at the same time laments continually over the misery of these peasants, "for he is carried away by his longing"; O'Connell, who always pushes the movement just as far as is necessary to secure his national tribute[b] and his position as chief, and who every year after collecting the tribute gives up all agitation in order to pamper himself on his estate at Derrynane. Because of his legal charlatanism carried on over many years and his exceedingly brazen exploitation of every movement in which he participated, O'Connell is regarded with contempt even by the English bourgeoisie, despite his usefulness.

It is moreover obvious that Saint Max, the discoverer of true egoism, is strongly interested in proving that unselfishness has hitherto ruled the world. Therefore he puts forward the great proposition (*Wigand*, p. 165) that the world was "not egoistic for millennia". At most he admits that from time to time the "egoist" appeared as Stirner's forerunner and "ruined nations".

* [Marx made the following note at the beginning of this page:] *III. Consciousness.*

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[a] The word is in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[b] These two words are in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

what you are in reality".—"It is your nature to be" egoistical, "you are" egoistical "natures, i. e.", egoists. "But precisely because you are that already, you have no need to become so" (ibid.). To what you are belongs also your consciousness, and since you are egoists you possess also the consciousness corresponding to your egoism, and therefore there is no reason at all for paying the slightest heed to Stirner's moral preaching to look into your heart and do penance.

Here again Stirner exploits the old philosophical device to which we shall return later. The philosopher does not say directly: You are not people. [He says:] You have always been people, but you were not *conscious* of what you were, and for that very reason you were not in reality True People. Therefore your appearance was not appropriate to your essence. You were people and you were not people.

In a roundabout way the philosopher here admits that a definite consciousness is appropriate to definite people and definite circumstances. But at the same time he imagines that his moral demand to people—the demand that they should change their consciousness—will bring about this altered consciousness, and in people who have changed owing to changed empirical conditions and who, of course, now also possess a different consciousness, he sees nothing but a changed [consciousness].—It is just the same [with the consciousness for which you are secretly] longing; [in regard to this] you are [secret, unconscious] egoists—i.e., you are really egoists, insofar as you are *unconscious,* but you are non-egoists, insofar as you are *conscious.* Or: at the root of your present [consciousness lies] a definite being, which is not the [being] which I demand; your consciousness is the consciousness of the egoist such as he should not [be], and therefore it shows that you yourselves are egoists such as egoists should not be—or it shows that you *should be* different from what you *really are.* This entire separation of consciousness from the individuals who are its basis and from their actual conditions, this notion that the egoist of present-day bourgeois society does not possess the consciousness corresponding to his egoism, is merely an old philosophical fad that Jacques le bonhomme here credulously accepts and copies.* Let us deal with Stirner's "touching example" of the avaricious person. He wants to persuade this avaricious person,

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] This fad becomes most ridiculous in history, where the consciousness of a later epoch regarding an earlier epoch naturally differs from the consciousness the latter has of itself, e.g., the Greeks saw themselves through the eyes of the Greeks and not as we see them now; to blame them for not seeing themselves with our eyes—that is, "not being conscious of themselves as they really were"—amounts to blaming them for being Greeks.

who is not an "avaricious person" in general, but the avaricious "Tom or Dick"; a quite individually defined, "unique" avaricious person, whose avarice is not the category of "avarice" (an abstraction of Saint Max's from his all-embracing, complex, "unique" manifestation of life) and "does not depend on the heading under which other people" (for example, Saint Max) "classify it"—he wants to persuade this avaricious person by moral exhortations that he "is satisfying not himself but one of his desires". But "you are you only for a [moment], only as a momentary being are you real. What [is separated from you,] from the momentary being" is something absolutely higher, [e.g., money. But whether] "for you" money is "rather" [a higher pleasure], whether it is for you [something "absolutely higher" or] not [...][a] perhaps ["deny"] myself [?—He] finds that I am possessed [by avarice] day and night, [but] this is so only in his reflection. It is he who makes "day and night" out of the many moments in which I am always the momentary being, always myself, always real, just as he alone embraces in one moral judgment the different moments of my manifestation of life and asserts that they are the satisfaction of avarice. When Saint Max announces that I am satisfying only one of my desires, and not myself, he puts me as a complete and whole being in opposition to me myself. "And in what does this complete and whole being consist? It is certainly not your momentary being, not what you are at the present moment"—hence, according to Saint Max himself, it consists in the holy "being" (*Wigand*, p. 171). When "Stirner" says that I must change my consciousness, then I know for my part that my momentary consciousness also belongs to my momentary being, and Saint Max, by disputing that I have this consciousness, attacks as a covert moralist my whole mode of life.* And then—"do you exist only when you think about yourself, do you exist only owing to self-consciousness?" (*Wigand*, pp. 157-158.) How can I be anything but an egoist? How can Stirner, for example, be anything but an egoist—whether he denies egoism or not? "You are egoists and you are not egoists, inasmuch as you deny egoism,"—that is what you preach.

Innocent, "deceived", "unavowed" school-master! Things are just the reverse. We egoists in the ordinary sense, we bourgeois, know quite well: *Charité bien ordonnée commence par soi-même*,[b] and we have

* [Here Marx repeats the remark:] III (Consciousness).

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[a] The following passage is damaged.—*Ed.*

[b] Charity begins at home.—*Ed.*

long had the motto: love thy neighbour as thyself,[a] interpreted in the sense that each is his own neighbour. But we deny that we are heartless egoists, exploiters, ordinary egoists, whose hearts cannot be lifted up to the exalted feeling of making the interests of their fellow-men their own—which, between ourselves, only means that we declare our interests to be the interests of our fellow-men. [You] deny the "ordinary" [egoism of the] unique egoist [only because] you ["deny]" your ["natural] relations to the [world]". Hence you do not understand why we bring practical egoism to perfection precisely by denying the phraseology of egoism—we who are concerned with realising real egoistical interests, not the holy interest of egoism. Incidentally, it could be foreseen—and here the bourgeois coolly turns his back on Saint Max—that you German school-masters, if you once took up the defence of egoism, would proclaim not real, "mundane and plainly evident" egoism ("the book", p. 455), that is to say, "not what is called" egoism, but egoism in the extraordinary, school-masterly sense, philosophical or vagabond egoism.

The egoist in the extraordinary sense, therefore, is "only now discovered". "Let us examine this new discovery more closely" (p. 11).

From what has been just said it is already clear that the egoists who existed till now have only to change their consciousness in order to become egoists in the extraordinary sense, hence that the egoist in agreement with himself is distinguished from the previous type only by consciousness, i.e., only as a learned man, as a philosopher. It further follows from the whole historical outlook of Saint Max that, because the former egoists were ruled only by the "holy", the true egoist has to fight only against the "holy". "Unique" history has shown us how Saint Max transformed historical conditions into ideas, and then the egoist into a sinner against these ideas; how every egoistic manifestation was transformed into a sin [against these] ideas, [the power of] the privileged into a sin [against the idea] of equality, into the sin of despotism. [Concerning the] idea of freedom [of competition,] therefore, it could be [said in "the book"] that [private property is regarded] by him [(p. 155) as"] the personal" [...] great, [...] [selfless] egoists [...] essential and invincible [...] only to be fought by transforming them into something holy and then asserting that he abolishes the holiness in them, i.e., his holy idea about them, [i.e.,] abolishes them only insofar as they exist in him as *a holy one.*[b]

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[a] Galatians 5 : 14.—*Ed.*

[b] This paragraph is damaged.—*Ed.*

Page 50*: "How you are *at each moment* you are as your creation, and it is precisely in this *creation* that you do not want to lose yourself, the *creator*. You yourself are a higher being than yourself, i.e., you are not merely a creation, but likewise a creator; and it is this that you fail to recognise as an involuntary egoist, and for that reason the higher being is something foreign to you."

In a somewhat different variation, this same wisdom is stated on page 239 of "the book":

"The species is *nothing*" (later it becomes all sorts of things, see "Self-Enjoyment"), "and when the individual rises above the limitations of his individuality, it is precisely here that he himself appears as an individual; he exists only by raising himself, he exists only by not remaining what he is, otherwise he would be done for, dead."

In relation to these propositions, to his "creation", Stirner at once begins to behave as "creator", "by no means losing himself in them":

"You are you only *for a moment*, only as a momentary being are you real.... At each moment I am wholly what I am ... what is separated from you, the momentary being", is "something absolutely higher" ... (*Wigand*, p. 170); and, on page 171 (ibid.), "your being" is defined as "your momentary being".

Whereas in "the book" Saint Max says that besides a momentary being he has also another, higher being, in the "Apologetical Commentary" "the momentary being" [of his] individual is equated with his "complete [and whole] being", and every [being] as a "momentary being" is transformed [into an] "absolutely higher being". In "the book" therefore he is, at every moment, a higher being than what he is at that moment, whereas in the Commentary", everything that he is not directly at a given moment is defined as an "absolutely higher being", a holy being.—And in contrast to all this division we read on page 200 of "the book":

"I know nothing about a division into an *'imperfect'* and a *'perfect'* ego."

"The egoist in agreement with himself" needs no longer sacrifice himself to something higher, since in his own eyes he is himself this higher being, and he transfers this schism between a "higher" and a "lower being" into himself. So, in fact (Saint Sancho contra Feuerbach, "the book", p. 243), "the highest being has undergone nothing but a metamorphosis". The true egoism of Saint Max consists in an egoistic attitude to real egoism, to himself, as he is "at each moment". This egoistic attitude to egoism is selflessness. From this aspect Saint Max as a creation is an egoist in the ordinary sense; as creator he is a selfless egoist. We shall also become acquainted with the opposite aspect, for both these aspects prove to be genuine determinations of reflection since they undergo absolute dialectics in which each of them is the opposite of itself.

* [Marx wrote at the top of this page:] II (Creator and Creation).

Before entering more deeply into this mystery in its esoteric form, one has to observe some of [its arduous] life battles.

[On pages 82, 83 Stirner achieves the feat of] bringing the most general quality, [the egoist,] [into agreement] with himself as creator, [from the standpoint of the world] of spirit:

["Christianity aimed] at [delivering us from natural determination (determination through nature), from desires as a driving force, it consequently wished that man should not allow himself to be] determined [by his desires. This does not mean that] *he* [should *have*] no [desires], but that [desires] should not possess [him,] that [they] should not become fixed, unconquerable, ineradicable. *Could we not* apply these machinations of Christianity against desires to its own precept, that we should be determined by the spirit...? ... Then *this* would signify the dissolution of spirit, the dissolution of all thoughts. As one ought to have said there ... so one would have to say now: We should indeed possess spirit, but spirit should not possess us."

"And they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts" (Galatians 5:24)—thus, according to Stirner, they deal with their crucified affections and lusts like true owners. He accepts Christianity in instalments, but will not let matters rest at the crucified flesh alone, wanting to crucify his spirit as well, consequently, the "whole fellow".

The only reason why Christianity wanted to free us from the domination of the flesh and "desires as a driving force" was because it regarded our flesh, our desires as something foreign to us; it wanted to free us from determination by nature only because it regarded our own nature as not belonging to us. For if I myself am not nature, if my natural desires, my whole natural character, do not belong to myself—and this is the doctrine of Christianity—then all determination by nature—whether due to my own natural character or to what is known as external nature—seems to me a determination by something foreign, a fetter, compulsion used against me, *heteronomy as opposed to autonomy of the spirit.* Stirner accepts this Christian dialectic without examining it and then applies it to our spirit. Incidentally, Christianity has indeed never succeeded in freeing us from the domination of desires, even in that *juste milieu* sense foisted on it by Saint Max; it does not go beyond mere moral injunctions, which remain ineffective in real life. Stirner takes moral injunctions for real deeds and supplements them with the further categorical imperative: "We should indeed possess spirit, but spirit should not possess us"—and consequently all his egoism in agreement with itself is reduced "on closer examination", as Hegel would say, to a moral philosophy that is as delightful as it is edifying and contemplative.

Whether a desire becomes fixed or not, i.e., whether it obtains exclusive [power over us]—which, however, does [not] exclude [further progress]—depends on whether material circumstances, "bad" mundane conditions permit the normal satisfaction of this desire and, on the other hand, the development of a totality of desires. This latter depends, in turn, on whether we live in circumstances that allow all-round activity and thereby the full development of all our potentialities. On the actual conditions, and the possibility of development they give each individual, depends also whether thoughts become fixed or not—just as, for example, the fixed ideas of the German philosophers, these "victims of society", *qui nous font pitié*,[a] are inseparable from the German conditions. Incidentally, in Stirner the domination of desires is a mere phrase, the imprint of the absolute saint. Thus, still keeping to the "touching example" of the avaricious person, we read:

"An avaricious person is not an owner, but a servant, and he can do nothing for his own sake without at the same time doing it for the sake of his master" (p. 400).

No one can do anything without at the same time doing it for the sake of one or other of his needs and for the sake of the organ of this need—for Stirner this means that this need and its organ are made into a master over him, just as earlier he made the *means* for satisfying a need (cf. the sections on political liberalism and communism) into a master over him. Stirner cannot eat without at the same time eating for the sake of his stomach. If the worldly conditions prevent him from satisfying his stomach, then his stomach becomes a master over him, the desire to eat becomes a fixed desire, and the thought of eating becomes a fixed idea—which at the same time gives him an example of the influence of world conditions in fixing his desires and ideas. Sancho's "revolt" against the fixation of desires and thoughts is thus reduced to an impotent moral injunction about self-control and provides new evidence that he merely gives an ideologically high-sounding expression to the most trivial sentiments of the petty bourgeois.*

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] Since they attack the material basis on which the hitherto inevitable fixedness of desires and ideas depended, the communists are the only people through whose historical activity the liquefaction of the fixed desires and ideas is in fact brought about and ceases to be an impotent moral injunction, as it was up to now with all moralists "down to" Stirner. communist organisation has a twofold effect on the desires produced in the

[a] For whom we feel pity.— *Ed.*

Thus, in this first example he fights, on the one hand, against his carnal desires, and on the other against his spiritual thoughts—on the one hand against his flesh, on the other against his spirit—when they, his creations, want to become independent of him, their creator. How our saint conducts this struggle, how he behaves as creator towards his creation, we shall now see.

In the Christian "in the ordinary sense", in the *chrétien "simple"*, to use Fourier's expression,

"*spirit* has undivided power and pays no heed to any persuasion of the '*flesh*'. However, only through the '*flesh*' can I break the tyranny of the *spirit*; for only when man perceives also his *flesh* does he perceive himself wholly, and only when he perceives himself *wholly* does he become perceptive or rational.... But as soon as the *flesh* speaks and—as cannot be otherwise—in a passionate tone ... then he" (the *chrétien simple*) "believes he hears devil voices, voices against the *spirit* ... and with good reason comes out passionately against them. He would not be a Christian if he were prepared to tolerate them" (p. 83).

Hence, when his spirit wishes to acquire independence in relation to him, Saint Max calls his flesh to his aid, and when his flesh

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individual by present-day relations; some of these desires—namely desires which exist under all relations, and only change their form and direction under different social relations—are merely altered by the communist social system, for they are given the opportunity to develop normally; but others—namely those originating solely in a particular society, under particular conditions of [production] and intercourse—are totally deprived of their conditions of existence. Which [of the desires] will be merely changed and [which eliminated] in a communist [society] can [only be determined in a practical] way, by [changing the real], actual ["desires", and not by making comparisons with earlier historical conditions].

The two expressions: ["fixed" and "desires"], which we [have just used in order to be able] to disprove [this "unique" fact of] Stirner's, [are of course] quite inappropriate. The fact that one desire of an individual in modern society can be satisfied at the expense of all others, and that this "ought not to be" and that this is more or less the case with all individuals in the world today and that thereby the free development of the individual as a whole is made impossible—this fact is expressed by Stirner thus: "the desires become fixed" in the egoist in disagreement with himself, for Stirner knows nothing of the empirical connection of this fact with the world as it is today. A desire is already by its mere existence something "fixed", and it can occur only to Saint Max and his like not to allow his sex instinct, for instance, to become "fixed"; it is that already and will cease to be fixed only as the result of castration or impotence. Each need, which forms the basis of a "desire", is likewise something "fixed", and try as he may Saint Max cannot abolish this "fixedness" and for example contrive to free himself from the necessity of eating within "fixed" periods of time. The communists have no intention of abolishing the fixedness of their desires and needs, an intention which Stirner, immersed in his world of fancy, ascribes to them and to all other men; they only strive to achieve an organisation of production and intercourse which will make possible the normal satisfaction of all needs, i.e., a satisfaction which is limited only by the needs themselves.

becomes rebellious, he remembers that he is also spirit. What the Christian does in one direction, Saint Max does in both. He is the *chrétien "composé"*, he once again reveals himself as the perfect Christian.

Here, in this example, Saint Max, as spirit, does not appear as the creator of his flesh and vice versa; he finds his flesh and his spirit both present, and only when one side rebels does he remember that he has also the other, and asserts this other side, as his true ego, against it. Here, therefore, Saint Max is creator only insofar as he is one who is "*also-otherwise-determined*", insofar as he possesses yet another quality besides that which it just suits him to subsume under the category of "creation". His entire creative activity consists here in the good resolution to perceive himself, and indeed to perceive himself *entirely* or be *rational*,* to perceive himself as a "complete, entire being", as a being different from "his momentary being", and even in direct contradiction to the kind of being he is "momentarily".

[Let us now turn to one of the "arduous] life battles" [of our saint]:

[Pages 80, 81: "My zeal] need not [be less than the] most fanatical, [but at the same] time [I remain] towards [it cold as ice, sceptical], and its [most irreconcilable enemy;] I remain [its *judge*, for I am its] owner."

[If one desires to] give [meaning] to what Saint [Sancho] says about himself, then it amounts to this: his creative activity here is limited to the fact that in his zeal he preserves the consciousness of his zeal, that he reflects on it, that he adopts the attitude of the reflecting ego to himself as the real ego. It is to consciousness that he arbitrarily gives the name "creator". He is "creator" only insofar as he possesses *consciousness.*

"Thereupon, you forget yourself in sweet self-oblivion.... But do you exist only when you think of yourself, and *do you vanish when you forget yourself?* Who does not forget himself at every instant, who does not lose sight of himself *a thousand times an hour?*" (*Wigand*, pp. 157, 158).

This, of course, Sancho cannot forgive his "self-oblivion" and therefore "remains at the same time its most irreconcilable enemy".

Saint Max, the creation, burns with immense zeal at the very time when Saint Max, the creator, has already risen above his zeal by means of reflection; or the real Saint Max burns with zeal, and the reflecting Saint Max imagines that he has risen above this zeal. This

* Here, therefore, Saint Max completely justifies Feuerbach's "touching example" of the hetaera and the beloved. In the first case, a man "perceives" *only his flesh* or only her flesh, in the second he perceives *himself entirely* or her *entirely*. See *Wigand*, pp. 170, 171.

rising in reflection above what he actually is, is now amusingly and adventurously described in the phrases of a novel to the effect that he allows his zeal to remain in existence, i.e., he does not draw any serious consequences from his hostility to it, but his attitude towards it is "cold as ice", "sceptical" and that of its "most irreconcilable enemy".

Insofar as Saint Max burns with zeal, i.e., insofar as zeal is his true quality, his attitude to it is not that of creator; and insofar as his attitude is that of creator, he does not really burn with zeal, zeal is foreign to him, not a quality of him. So long as he burns with zeal he is not the owner of zeal, and as soon as he becomes the owner, he ceases to burn with zeal. As an aggregate complex, he is at every instant, in the capacity of creator and owner, the sum total of all his qualities, with the exception of the one quality which he puts in opposition to himself, the embodiment of all the others, as creation and property—so that precisely *that* quality which he stresses as *his own* is always *foreign* to him.

No matter how extravagant Saint Max's true story of his heroic exploits within himself, in his own consciousness, may sound, it is nevertheless an acknowledged fact that there do exist reflecting individuals, who imagine that in and through reflection they have risen above everything,* because in actual fact they never go beyond reflection.

This trick—of declaring oneself against some definite quality as being someone who is also-otherwise-determined, namely, in the present example as being the *possessor of reflection directed towards the opposite*—this trick can be applied with the necessary variations to any quality you choose. For example, my indifference need be no less than that of the most *blasé* person; but at the same time I remain towards it extremely ardent, sceptical and its most irreconcilable enemy, etc.

[It should] not be forgotten that [the aggregate] complex of all his [qualities, the owner]—in which capacity [Saint] Sancho [by reflecting opposes one particular] quality—is in this [case nothing but

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] All this is in fact merely a highflown description of the bourgeois, who controls each of his emotions so that he should not sustain any loss, and on the other hand boasts about numerous qualities, e.g., philanthropic zeal, towards which he must remain "cold as ice, sceptical and an irreconcilable enemy", in order not to lose himself as owner in his philanthropic zeal but to remain the owner of philanthropy. Whereas the bourgeois sacrifices his inclinations and desires always for a definite *real* interest, Saint Max sacrifices the quality towards which he adopts the attitude of the "most irreconcilable enemy" for the sake of his reflecting ego, his reflection.

Sancho's] simple [reflection about this] one quality, [which he has] transformed [into his ego by] putting forward, instead of the whole [complex, one] merely reflecting [quality and] putting forward in opposition to each of his qualities [and to] the series [merely the one] quality of reflection, an ego, and himself as the imagined ego.

Now he himself gives expression to this hostile attitude to himself, this solemn parody of Bentham's book-keeping[81] of his own interests and qualities.

Page 188: "An interest, no matter towards what end it may be directed, acquires a slave in the shape of myself, if I am unable to rid myself of it; it is no longer my property, but I am its property. Let us, therefore, accept the directive of criticism that we should feel happy only in dissolution."

"We!"—Who are "We?" It never occurs to "us" to "accept" the "directive of criticism".—Thus Saint Max, who for the moment is under the police surveillance of "criticism", here demands "the same well-being for all", "equal well-being for all in one and the same [respect]", "the direct tyrannical domination of *religion*".

His interestedness in the extraordinary sense is here revealed as a heavenly disinterestedness.

Incidentally, there is no need here to deal at length with the fact that in existing society it does not at all depend on Saint Sancho whether an "interest" "acquires a slave in the shape of himself" and whether "he is unable to rid himself of it". The fixation of interests through division of labour and class relations is far more obvious than the fixation of "desires" and "thoughts".

In order to outbid critical criticism, our saint should at least have gone as far as the dissolution of dissolution, for otherwise dissolution becomes an interest which he cannot get rid of, which in him acquires a slave. Dissolution is no longer his property, but he is the property of dissolution. Had he wanted to be consistent in the example just given, [he should] [have treated his zeal against his] own "zeal" as [an "interest"] and [behaved] towards it [as an "irreconcilable] enemy". [But he should have] also considered his ["ice-cold" disinterestedness] in relation to his ["ice-cold" zeal] and become [just as wholly "ice-cold"]—and thereby, [obviously, he would have spared] his original ["interest"] and hence himself the "temptation" to turn [in a circle] on the [heel] of speculation.—Instead, he cheerfully continues (ibid.):

"I shall only take care to safeguard my own property for myself" (i.e., to safeguard myself from my property) "and, in order to safeguard it, I take it back into myself at

any time, I destroy in it any inclination towards independence and absorb it before it becomes fixed and can become a fixed idea or passion."

How does Stirner "absorb" the persons who are his property! Stirner has just allowed himself to be given a "vocation" by "criticism". He asserts that he at once absorbs this "vocation" again, by saying on page 189:

"I do this, however, not for the sake of my human vocation, but because I call on myself to do so."

If I do not call on myself to do so, I am, as we have just heard, a slave, not an owner, not a true egoist, I do not behave to myself as creator, as I should do as a true egoist; therefore, insofar as a person wants to be a true egoist, he must call himself to this vocation given him by "criticism". Thus, it is a universal vocation, a vocation for all, not merely *his* vocation, but also his *vocation.*

On the other hand, the true egoist appears here as an ideal which is unattainable by the majority of individuals, for (p. 434) "innately limited intellects unquestionably form the most numerous class of mankind"—and how could these "limited intellects" be able to penetrate the mystery of unlimited absorption of oneself and the world.

Incidentally, all these terrible expressions—to destroy, to absorb etc.—are merely a new variation of the above-mentioned "ice-cold, most irreconcilable enemy".

Now, at last, we are put in a position to obtain an insight into Stirner's objections to communism. They were nothing but a preliminary, concealed legitimisation of his egoism in agreement with itself, in which these objections are resurrected in the flesh. The "*equal well-being of all in one and the same respect*" is resurrected in the demand that "*we* should [only] feel happy in [dissolution". "*Care*]" is resurrected [in the form of the unique "care]" to secure [one's ego] [as one's property]; [but "with the passage of time]" ["care"] again arises as to "how" [one can arrive] at a [unity—] viz., unity [of creator and creation.] And, finally, humanism re[-appears, which in the form of the true] egoist confronts empirical individuals as an unattainable ideal. Hence page 117 of "the book" should read as follows: Egoism in agreement with itself really endeavours to transform every man into a "secret police state". The spy and sleuth "reflection" keeps a strict eye on every impulse of spirit and body, and every deed and thought, every manifestation of life is, for him, a matter of reflection, i.e., a police matter. It is this dismemberment of man into "natural instinct" and "reflection" (the inner plebeian—

creation, and the internal police—creator) which constitutes the egoist in agreement with himself.*

Hess (*Die letzten Philosophen*, p. 26) reproached our saint:

"He is constantly under the secret police surveillance of his critical conscience .... He has not forgotten the 'directive of criticism ... to feel happy only in dissolution'.... The egoist—his critical conscience is always reminding him—should never become so interested in anything as to devote himself entirely to his subject", and so on.

Saint Max "empowers himself" to answer as follows:

When "Hess says of Stirner that he is constantly, etc.—what does this mean except that when he criticises he wants to criticise not at random" (i.e., by the way: in the unique fashion), "not talking twaddle, but criticising properly" (i.e., like a human being)?

"What it means", when Hess speaks of the secret police, etc., is so clear from the passage by Hess quoted above that even Saint Max's "unique" understanding of it can only be explained as a deliberate misunderstanding. His "virtuosity of thought" is transformed here into a virtuosity in lying, for which we do not reproach him since it was his only way out, but which is hardly in keeping with the subtle little distinctions on the right to lie which he sets out elsewhere in "the book". Incidentally, we have already demonstrated—at greater length than he deserves—that "when he criticises", Sancho by no means "criticises properly", but "criticises at random" and "talks twaddle".

Thus, the attitude of the true egoist as creator towards himself as creation was first of all defined in the sense that in opposition to a definition in which he became fixed as a creation—for example, as against himself as thinker, as spirit—he asserts himself as a person also-otherwise-determined, as flesh. Later, he no longer asserts himself as *really* also-otherwise-determined, but as the *mere idea of being also-otherwise-determined* in general—hence, in the above example as someone who also-does-not think, who is thoughtless or indifferent to thought, an idea which he abandons again as soon as its nonsensicalness becomes evident. See above on turning round on the heel of speculation.[a] Hence the creative activity consisted here in the reflection that this single determination, in the present case thought, could also be indifferent for him, i.e., it consisted in reflecting in general; as a result, of course, he creates only reflective

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] Incidentally, if Saint Max makes "a Prussian officer of high rank" say: "Every Prussian carries his gendarme in his heart", it ought to read: the king's gendarme, for only the "egoist in agreement with himself" carries *his own* gendarme in his heart.

[a] See this volume, p. 259. —*Ed.*

definitions, if he creates anything at all (e.g., the idea of antithesis, the simple essence of which is concealed by all kinds of fiery arabesques).

As for the *content* of himself as a creation, we have seen that nowhere does he create this content, these definite qualities, e.g., his thought, his zeal, etc., but only the reflective definition of this content as creation, the idea that these definite qualities are his creations. All his qualities are present in him and whence they come is all the same to him. He, therefore, needs neither to develop them—for example, to learn to dance, in order to have mastery over his feet, or to exercise his thought on material which is not given to everyone, and is not procurable by everyone, in order to become the owner of his thought—nor does he need to worry about the conditions in the world, which in reality determine the extent to which an individual can develop.

Stirner actually only rids himself of one quality by means of another (i.e., the suppression of his remaining qualities by this "other"). In reality, however, [as we] have [already shown,] he does this only insofar as this quality has not only achieved free development, i.e., has not remained merely potential, but also insofar as conditions in the world have permitted him to develop in an equal measure a *totality* of qualities, [that is to say,] thanks to the division of [labour,][a] thus making possible the [predominant pursuit] of a [single passion, e.]g., that of [writing] books. [In general], it is an [absurdity to assume], as Saint [Max does], that one could satisfy one [passion], apart from all others, that one could satisfy it without at the same time satisfying *oneself*, the entire living individual. If this passion assumes an abstract, isolated character, if it confronts me as an alien power, if, therefore, the satisfaction of the individual appears as the one-sided satisfaction of a single passion—this by no means depends on consciousness or "good will" and least of all on lack of reflection on the concept of this quality, as Saint Max imagines.

It depends not on *consciousness*, but on *being*; not on thought, but on life; it depends on the individual's empirical development and manifestation of life, which in turn depends on the conditions obtaining in the world. If the circumstances in which the individual lives allow him only the [one]-sided development of one quality at the expense of all the rest, [if] they give him the material and time to develop only that one quality, then this individual achieves only a one-sided, crippled development. No moral preaching avails here.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 254-55.–*Ed.*

And the manner in which this one, pre-eminently favoured quality develops depends again, on the one hand, on the material available for its development and, on the other hand, on the degree and manner in which the other qualities are suppressed. Precisely because thought, for example, is the thought of a particular, definite individual, it remains *his* definite thought, determined by his individuality and the conditions in which he lives. The thinking individual therefore has no need to resort to prolonged reflection about thought as such in order to declare that his thought is his own thought, his property; from the outset it is his own, peculiarly determined thought and it was precisely his peculiarity which [in the case of Saint] Sancho [was found to be] the "opposite" of this, a peculiarity which is peculiarity "*as such*". In the case of an individual, for example, whose life embraces a wide circle of varied activities and practical relations to the world, and who, therefore, lives a many-sided life, thought has the same character of universality as every other manifestation of his life. Consequently, it neither becomes fixed in the form of abstract thought nor does it need complicated tricks of reflection when the individual passes from thought to some other manifestation of life. From the outset it is always a factor in the total life of the individual, one which disappears and is reproduced as *required.*

In the case of a parochial Berlin school-master or author, however, whose activity is restricted to arduous work on the one hand and the pleasure of thought on the other, whose world extends from Moabit to Köpenick and ends behind the Hamburger Tor,[82] whose relations to this world are reduced to a minimum by his pitiful position in life, when such an individual experiences the need to think, it is indeed inevitable that his thought becomes just as abstract as he himself and his life, and that thought confronts him, who is quite incapable of resistance, in the form of a fixed power, whose activity offers the individual the possibility of a momentary escape from his "bad world", of a momentary pleasure. In the case of such an individual the few remaining desires, which arise not so much from intercourse with the world as from the constitution of the human body, express themselves only through *repercussion,* i.e., they assume in their narrow development the same one-sided and crude character as does his thought, they appear only at long intervals, stimulated by the excessive development of the predominant desire (fortified by immediate physical causes, e.g. [stomach] spasm) and are manifested turbulently and forcibly, with the most brutal suppression of the

ordinary, [natural] desire [—this leads to further] domination over [thought.] As a matter of course, the school-master's [thinking reflects on and speculates about] this empirical [fact in a school]-masterly fashion. [But the mere announcement] that Stirner in general "creates" [his qualities] does not [explain] even their particular form of development. The extent to which these qualities develop on the universal or local scale, the extent to which they transcend local narrow-mindedness or remain within its confines, depends not on Stirner, but on the development of world intercourse and on the part which he and the locality where he lives play in it. That under favourable circumstances some individuals are able to rid themselves of their local narrow-mindedness is by no means due to individuals imagining that they have got rid of, or intend to get rid of their local narrow-mindedness, but is only due to the fact that in their real empirical life individuals, actuated by empirical needs, have been able to bring about world intercourse.*

The only thing our saint achieves with the aid of his arduous reflection about his qualities and passions is that by his constant crotchetiness and scuffling with them he poisons the enjoyment and satisfaction of them.

Saint Max creates, as already said, only himself as a creation, i.e., he is satisfied with placing himself in this category of created entity. His activity [as] creator consists in regarding himself as a creation, and he does not even go on to resolve this division of himself into [creator and] creation, which is his own [product]. The division [into the "essential" and] the "inessential" becomes [for him a] permanent life process, [hence mere appearance,] i.e., his real life exists only [in "pure"] reflection, is [not] even actual existence; [for since this latter is at every] instant outside [him and his reflection], he tries [in vain to] present [reflection as] essential.

"But [since] this enemy" (viz., the true egoist as a creation) "begets himself in his defeat, since consciousness, by becoming fixed on him, does not free itself from him, but instead always dwells on him and always sees itself besmirched, and since this

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] This specifically revolutionary attitude of the communists to the hitherto existing conditions of the life of the individuals has already been described above [see this volume, pp. 246, 255]. In a later profane passage Saint Max admits that the ego receives an "impulse" (in Fichte's sense) from the world. That the communists intend to gain control over this "impulse"—which indeed becomes an extremely complex and multifariously determined "impulse" if one is not content with the mere phrase—is, of course, for Saint Max much too daring an idea to discuss.

content of his endeavour is at the same time the very lowest, we find only an individual restricted to himself and his petty activity" (inactivity), "and *brooding over himself, as unhappy* as he is *wretched*" (Hegel)[a].

What we have said so far about the division of Sancho into creator and creation, he himself now finally expresses in a logical form: the creator and the creation are transformed into the presupposing and the presupposed ego, or (inasmuch as his presupposition [of his ego] is a *positing*) into the positing and the posited ego:

"I for my part start from a certain presupposition since I *presuppose* myself; but my presupposition does not strive for its perfection" (rather does Saint Max strive for its abasement), "on the contrary, it serves me merely as something to enjoy and consume" (an enviable enjoyment!). "I am nourished by my presupposition alone and exist only by consuming it. But *for that reason*" (a grand "for that reason"!) "the presupposition in question is no presupposition at all, *for since*" (a grand "for since"!) "I am the unique" (it should read: the true egoist in agreement with himself), "I know nothing about the duality of a presupposing and presupposed ego (of an 'imperfect' and 'perfect' ego or man)"—it should read: the perfection of my ego consists in this alone, that at every instant I know myself as an imperfect ego, as a creation—"*but*" (a magnificent "but"!) "the fact that I consume myself signifies merely that I am." (It should read: The fact that I am signifies here merely that in me I consume in imagination the category of the presupposed.) "I do not presuppose myself, because I really only posit or create myself perpetually" (viz., I posit and create myself as the presupposed, posited or created) "and I am I only because I am not presupposed, but posited" (it should read: and I exist only because I am antecedent to my positing) "and, again, I am posited only at the moment when I posit myself, i.e., I am creator and creation in one."

Stirner is a "posited man",[b] since he is always a posited ego, and his ego is "*also a man*" (*Wigand*, p. 183). "*For that reason*" he is a posited man; "*for since*" he is never driven by his passions to excesses, "*therefore*", he is what burghers call a sedate man, "*but*" the fact that he is a sedate man "signifies merely" that he always keeps an account of his own transformations and refractions.

What was so far only "for us"—to use for once, as Stirner does, the language of Hegel—viz., that his whole creative activity had no other content than general definitions of reflection, is now "posited" by Stirner himself. Saint Max's struggle against "*essence*" here attains its "final goal" in that he identifies himself with essence, and indeed with pure, speculative essence. The relation of creator and creation is transformed into an explication of *self-presupposition*, i.e., [Stirner transforms] into an extremely "clumsy" and confused [idea] what Hegel [says] about reflection in "the [Doctrine of Essence]". [Since]

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[a] G.W.F. Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes*. B. Selbstbewusstsein. 3. Das unglückliche Bewusstsein.—*Ed.*

[b] In the German original this is a pun: *gesetzter Mann* can mean "sedate man" or "posited man".—*Ed.*

Saint Max takes out *one* [element of his] reflection, [viz., positing reflection, his fantasies become] "negative", [because he] transforms himself, etc., into "self-[presupposition", in] contradistinction to [himself as the positing] and himself as the posited, [and] transforms reflection into the mystical antithesis of creator and creation. It should be pointed out, by the way, that in this section of his *Logik* Hegel analyses the "machinations" of the "creative nothing", which explains also why Saint Max already on page 8 had to "posit" himself as this "creative nothing".

We shall now "episodically insert" a few passages from Hegel's explanation of self-presupposition for comparison with Saint Max's explanation. But as Hegel does not write so incoherently and "at random" as our Jacques le bonhomme, we shall have to collect these passages from various pages of the *Logik* in order to bring them into correspondence with Sancho's great thesis.

"Essence presupposes itself and is itself the transcendence of this presupposition. Since it is the repulsion of itself from itself or indifference towards itself, negative relation to itself, it thereby posits itself against itself ... positing has no presupposition ... the other is only posited through essence itself... Thus, reflection is only the negative of itself. Reflection in so far as it presupposes is simply positing reflection. It consists therefore in this, that it is itself and not itself in a unity" ("creator and creation in one") (Hegel, *Logik*, II, pp. 5, 16, 17, 18, 22).

One might have expected from Stirner's "virtuosity of thought" that he would have gone on to further researches into Hegel's *Logik*. However, he wisely refrained from doing so. For, if he had done so, he would have found that he, as mere "posited" ego, as creation, i.e., insofar as he possesses *existence*, is merely a *seeming* ego, and he is "*essence*", *creator*, only insofar as he does *not* exist, but only imagines himself. We have already seen, and shall see again further on, that all his qualities, his whole activity, and his whole attitude to the world, are a mere appearance which he creates for himself, nothing but "juggling tricks on the tightrope of the objective". His ego is always a dumb, hidden "ego", hidden in his *ego* imagined as *essence*.

Since the true egoist in his creative activity is, therefore, only a paraphrase of speculative reflection or pure essence, it follows, "according to the myth", "by natural reproduction", as was already revealed when examining the "arduous life battles" of the true egoist, that his "creations" are limited to the simplest determinations of reflection, such as identity, difference, equality, inequality, [opposition,] etc.—determinations [of reflection] which he [tries] to make clear for himself in ["himself"], concerning whom "the tidings have [gone] as far as [Berlin]". [Concerning] his *presuppositionless*

Max Stirner.

Nach der Erinnerung gezeichnet
von Friedrich Engels.
London 1892.

Max Stirner

*Drawing by Engels*
(The inscription in German reads: "Max Stirner.
Drawn from memory by Frederick Engels. London, 1892 ".)

[ego] we [shall] have occasion to "hear [a little] word" later on. See, *inter alia*, "The Unique".[a]

As in *Sancho*'s construction of history the later historical phenomenon is transformed, by Hegel's method, into the cause, the creator, of an earlier phenomenon, so in the case of the egoist in agreement with himself the Stirner of today is transformed into the creator of the Stirner of yesterday, although, to use his language, the Stirner of today is the creation of the Stirner of yesterday. Reflection, indeed, reverses all this, and in reflection the Stirner of yesterday is the creation of the Stirner of today, as a product of reflection, as an idea—just as in reflection the conditions of the external world are *creations* of his reflection.

Page 216: "Do not *seek* in 'self-denial' the freedom that actually deprives you of yourselves, but *seek* yourselves" (i.e., seek yourselves in self-denial), "*become egoists*, each of you should become an *all-powerful* ego!"

After the foregoing, we should not be surprised if later on Saint Max's attitude to this proposition is again that of creator and most irreconcilable enemy and he "dissolves" his lofty moral postulate: "Become an *all-powerful* ego" into this, that each, in any case, does what he can, and that he can do what he does, and therefore, of course, for Saint Max, he is "all-powerful".

Incidentally, the nonsense of the egoist in agreement with himself is summarised in the proposition quoted above. First comes the moral injunction to seek and, moreover, to seek oneself. This is defined in the sense that man should become something that he so far is not, namely, an egoist, and this egoist is defined as being an "all-powerful ego", in whom the peculiar ability has become resolved from actual ability into the ego, into omnipotence, into the fantastic idea of ability. To seek oneself means, therefore, to become something different from what one is and, indeed, to become *all-powerful*, i.e., nothing, a non-thing, a phantasmagoria.

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We have now progressed so far that one of the profoundest mysteries of the unique, and at the same time a problem that has long kept the civilised world in a state of anxious suspense, can be disclosed and solved.

Who is Szeliga? Since the appearance of the critical *Literatur-Zeitung* (see *Die heilige Familie*, etc.) this question has been put by

[a] See this volume, p. 433.—*Ed.*

everyone who has followed the development of German philosophy. Who is Szeliga? Everyone asks, everyone listens attentively when he hears the barbaric sound of this name—but no one replies.

Who is Szeliga? Saint Max gives us the key to this "secret of secrets".

*Szeliga is Stirner as a creation, Stirner is Szeliga as creator.* Stirner is the "I", Szeliga the "you", in "the book". Hence Stirner, the creator, behaves towards Szeliga, his creation, as towards his "most irreconcilable enemy". As soon as Szeliga wishes to acquire independence in relation to Stirner — he made a hapless attempt in this direction in the *Norddeutsche Blätter*[a]—Saint Max "takes him back into himself", an experiment which was carried out against this attempt of Szeliga's on pages 176-79 of the "Apologetic Commentary" in *Wigand.* The struggle of the creator against the creation, of Stirner against Szeliga, is, however, only a seeming one: [Now] Szeliga advances against his creator the phrases of this [creator himself]—for example, the assertion "that [the mere,] bare body is [absence of] thought" (*Wigand*, p. 148). Saint [Max,] as we have seen, [was thinking] only of [the bare flesh], the body before its [formation], and in [this connection] he gave the body the [determination] of being "the other of thought", non-thought and the non-thinking being, hence absence of thought; and indeed in a later passage he bluntly declares that *only* absence of thought (as previously *only* the flesh — thus the two concepts are treated as identical) saves him from thoughts (p. 196).

We find a still more striking proof of this mysterious connection in *Wigand.* We have already seen on page 7 of "the book" that the "ego", i.e., Stirner, is "the unique". On page 153 of the "Commentary" he addresses his "you": "*You*" ... "are the *content of the phrase*", viz., the content of the "unique", and on the same page it is stated: "he overlooks the fact that *he himself, Szeliga, is the content of the phrase*". "The unique" is a phrase, as Saint Max says in so many words. Considered as the "*ego*", i.e., as *creator*, he is the *owner of the phrase*—this is *Saint Max.* Considered as "*you*", i.e., as *creation*, he is the *content of the phrase*—this is *Szeliga*, as we have just been told. Szeliga the creation appears as a selfless egoist, as a degenerate Don Quixote; Stirner the creator appears as an egoist in the ordinary sense, as Saint Sancho Panza.

Here, therefore, the other aspect of the antithesis of creator and creation makes its appearance, each of the two aspects containing its opposite in itself. Here Sancho Panza Stirner, the egoist in the

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[a] Szeliga, "Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum, Von Max Stirner".—*Ed.*

ordinary sense, is victorious over Don Quixote Szeliga, the selfless and illusory egoist, is victorious over him precisely *as* Don Quixote by his faith in the world domination of the holy. Who indeed was Stirner's egoist in the [ordinary] sense if not Sancho [Panza,] and who his self-sacrificing egoist [if not] Don Quixote, and what was [their mutual] relation in the [form in which it has so far existed if] not the relation of [Sancho Panza Stirner] to Don Quixote [Szeliga? Now as] Sancho Panza [Stirner belongs to himself as] Sancho only [in order to make Szeliga as] Don Quixote [believe that] he surpasses him in Don [quixotry,] and [in accordance with this role, as] the presupposed universal Don [quixotry,] he takes [no steps] against the [Don quixotry of his] former master (Don quixotry, by which he swears with all the firm faith of a servant), and at the same time he displays the cunning already described by Cervantes. In actual content he is, therefore, the defender of the practical petty bourgeois, but he combats the consciousness that corresponds to the petty bourgeois, a consciousness which in the final analysis reduces itself to the idealising ideas of the petty bourgeois about the bourgeoisie to whom he cannot attain.

Thus, Don Quixote now, as Szeliga, performs mental services for his former armour-bearer.

How greatly Sancho in his new "transformation" has retained his old habits, he shows on every page. "Swallowing" and "consuming" still constitute one of his chief qualities, his "natural timidity" has still such mastery over him that the King of Prussia and Prince Heinrich LXXII become transformed for him into the "Emperor of China" or the "Sultan" and he ventures to speak only about the "G.....[a] chambers"; he still strews around him proverbs and moral sayings from his knapsack, he continues to be afraid of "spectres" and even asserts that they alone are to be feared; the only difference is that whereas Sancho in his unholiness was bamboozled by the peasants in the tavern, now in a state of saintliness he continually bamboozles himself.

But let us return to Szeliga. Who has not long ago discovered the hand of Szeliga in all the "phrases" which Saint Sancho put into the mouth of his "you"? And it is always possible to discover traces of Szeliga not only in the phrases of this "you", but also in the phrases in which Szeliga appears as creator, i.e., as *Stirner*. But because Szeliga is a creation, he could only figure in *Die heilige Familie* as a "*mystery*". The revelation of this mystery was the task of Stirner the creator. We surmised, of course, that some great, holy adventure was

[a] German.— *Ed.*

at the root of this. Nor were we deceived. The unique adventure really has never been seen or heard of and surpasses the adventure with the fulling mills in Cervantes' twentieth chapter.

### *3. The Revelation of John the Divine, or "The Logic of the New Wisdom"*

In the beginning was the word, the logos. In it was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shone in darkness and the darkness *did not comprehend* it. That was the true light, it was in the world, and the world did not know it. He came into *his own*, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become owners, who believe in the name of the unique. [But who] has ever [seen] the unique [?][a]

[Let] us now [examine] this "light of the [world" in "the] logic of the new wisdom [", for Saint] Sancho does not rest content with his previous [destructions].

[In the case of our] "unique" author, it is a matter [of course that] the basis of his [genius lies] in the brilliant [series of personal] advantages [which constitute] his special [virtuosity] of thought. [Since] all these advantages have already been extensively demonstrated, it suffices here to give a brief summary of the most important of them: carelessness of thought—confusion—incoherence—admitted clumsiness—endless repetitions—constant contradiction with himself—unequalled comparisons—attempts to intimidate the reader—systematic legacy-hunting in the realm of thoughts by means of the levers "you", "it", "one", etc., and crude abuse of the conjunctions for, therefore, for that reason, because, accordingly, but, etc.—ignorance—clumsy assertions—solemn frivolity—revolutionary phrases and peaceful thoughts—bluster—bombastic vulgarity and coquetting with cheap indecency—elevation of Nante the loafer[83] to the rank of an absolute concept—dependence on Hegelian traditions and current Berlin phrases—in short, sheer manufacture of a thin beggar's broth (491 pages of it) in the Rumford manner.

Drifting like bones in this beggar's broth are a whole series of *transitions*, a few specimens of which we shall now give for the amusement of the German public depressed as it is:

"Could we not—now, however—one sometimes shares—one can then—to the efficacy of ... belongs especially that which one frequently ... hears called—and that is to say—to conclude, it can now be clear—in the meantime—thus it can, incidentally, be

[a] John 1 : 1, 4-5, 9-12, 18 (paraphrased).— *Ed.*

thought here—were it not for—or if, perhaps, it were not—progress from ... to the point that ... is not difficult—from a certain point of view it is argued approximately thus—for example, *and so on*", etc., and "it is to that" in all possible "transformations".

We can at once mention here a [logical] trick about which [it is impossible] to decide whether it owes [its] existence to the [lauded] efficiency of Sancho [or to] the inefficiency of his [thinking]. This [trick consists] in seizing on [*one* aspect], treating it as if it were the sole [and only] aspect so far known of an idea [or] concept which [has several well]-defined aspects, foisting this aspect [on the concept as] its *sole characteristic* and then setting [against it every other] aspect under a [new name, as] something original. This is how the concepts of freedom and peculiarity are dealt with, [as] we shall see later.[a]

Among the categories which owe their origin not so much to the personality of Sancho, as to the universal distress in which the German theoreticians find themselves at the present time, the first place is taken by *trashy distinction*, the extreme of trashiness. Since our saint immerses himself in such "soul-torturing" antitheses as singular and universal, private interest and universal interest, ordinary egoism and selflessness, etc., in the final analysis one arrives at the trashiest mutual concessions and dealings between the two aspects, which again rest on the most subtle distinctions—distinctions whose existence side by side is expressed by "*also*" and whose separation from each other is then maintained by means of a miserable "*insofar as*". Such trashy distinctions, for instance, are: how people *exploit* one another, but none does so *at the expense of another*; the extent to which something in me is *inherent* or *suggested*; the construction of *human* and of *unique* work, existing side by side, what is indispensable for *human* life and what is indispensable for *unique* life; what belongs to personality in its pure form and what is essentially fortuitous, to decide which Saint Max, from his point of view, has no criterion at all; what belongs to the *rags and tatters* and what to the *skin* of the individual; what by means of denial he *gets rid of* altogether or *appropriates*, to what extent he sacrifices merely his freedom or merely his peculiarity, in which case he also makes a sacrifice but only insofar as, properly speaking, he does not make a sacrifice; what brings me into relation with others as a link or as a personal relation. Some of these distinctions are absolutely trashy, others — in the case of Sancho at least — lose all meaning and foundation. One can regard as the peak of these trashy distinctions that between the *creation of the world* by the individual and the *impulse* which the individual receives from the world. If, for example, he had

[a] See this volume, pp. 305-09.—*Ed.*

gone more deeply here into this impulse, into the whole extent and multifarious character of its influence on him, he would in the end have discovered the contradiction that he is as *blindly* [*dependent*] on the world as he [egoistically] and ideologically *creates* [it]. (See: "My Self-Enjoyment"[a].) He [would not then have put] side by side [his"] *also*" and "*insofar as*", [any more than] "human" work [and] "unique" work; he would not have opposed one to the other, therefore one would [not have] attacked the other [in the rear,] and the "egoist *in agreement* [with himself"] would not be completely [subordinated to himself]—but we [know] that the latter did not need to be [presupposed] because from the outset this was the point of departure.

This trashy play with distinctions occurs throughout "the book"; it is a main lever also for the other logical tricks and particularly takes the form of a moral casuistry that is as self-satisfied as it is ridiculously cheap. Thus, it is made clear to us by means of examples how far the true egoist has the right to tell lies and how far he has not; to what extent the betrayal of confidence is "despicable" and to what extent it is not; to what extent the Emperor Sigismund and the French King Francis I had the right to break their oath[84] and how far their behaviour in this respect was "disgraceful", and other subtle historical illustrations of the same sort. Against these painstaking distinctions and petty questions there stands out in strong relief the indifference of our Sancho for whom it is all the same and who ignores all actual, practical and conceptual differences. In general we can already say now that his ability to distinguish is far inferior to his ability not to distinguish, to regard all cats as black in the darkness of the holy, and to reduce everything to anything—an art which finds its adequate expression in the use of the *apposition.*

Embrace your "ass", Sancho, you have found him again here. He gallops merrily to meet you, taking no notice of the kicks he has been given, and greets you with his ringing voice. Kneel before him, embrace his neck and fulfil the calling laid down for you by Cervantes in Chapter XXX.

The *apposition* is Saint Sancho's ass, his logical and historical locomotive, the driving force of "the book", reduced to its briefest and simplest expression. In order to transform one idea into another, or to prove the identity of two quite different things, a few intermediate links are sought which partly by their meaning, partly by their etymology and partly by their mere sound can be used to establish an apparent connection between the two basic ideas. These links are then appended to the first idea in the form of an apposition,

[a] See this volume, p. 422.—*Ed.*

and in such a way that one gets farther and farther away from the starting-point and nearer and nearer to the point one wants to reach. If the chain of appositions has got so far that one can draw a conclusion without any danger, the final idea is likewise fastened on in the form of an apposition by means of a dash, and the trick is done. This is a highly recommendable method of insinuating thoughts, which is the more effective the more it is made to serve as the lever for the main arguments. When this trick has been successfully performed several times, one can, following Saint Sancho's procedure, gradually omit some of the intermediate links and finally reduce the series of appositions to a few absolutely essential hooks.

The apposition, as we have seen above, can also be reversed and thus lead to new, even more complicated tricks and more astounding results. We have seen there, too, that the apposition is the logical form of the infinite series of mathematics.[a]

Saint Sancho employs the apposition in two ways: on the one hand, purely logically, in the canonisation of the world, where it enables him to transform any earthly thing into "the holy", and, on the other hand, historically, in disquisitions on the connection of various epochs and in summing them up, each historical stage being reduced to a single word, and the final result is that the last link of the historical series has not got us an inch farther than the first, and in the end all the epochs of the series are combined in a single abstract category like idealism, dependence on thoughts, etc. If the historical series of appositions is to be given the appearance of progress, this is achieved by regarding the concluding phrase as the completion of the first epoch of the series, and the intermediate links as ascending stages of development leading to the final, culminating phrase.

Alongside the apposition we have *synonymy*, which Saint Sancho exploits in every way. If two words are etymologically linked or are merely similar in sound, they are made responsible for each other, or if one word has different meanings, then, according to need, it is used sometimes in one sense and sometimes in the other, while Saint Sancho makes it appear that he is speaking of one and the same thing in different "refractions". Further, a special branch of synonymy consists of *translation*, where a French or Latin expression is supplemented by a German one which only half-expresses it, and in addition denotes something totally different; as we saw above, for example, when the word "*respektieren*" was translated "to experience reverence and fear", and so on. One recalls the words *Staat, Status,*

[a] See this volume, p. 156.— *Ed.*

*Stand, Notstand*, etc.[a] In the section on communism we have already had the opportunity of observing numerous examples of this use of ambiguous expressions. Let us briefly examine an example of etymological synonymy.

"The word '*Gesellschaft*'[b] is derived from the word '*Sal*'. If there are many people in a *Saal*,[c] then the *Saal* brings it about that they are in society. They *are* in society and they constitute at most a *salon society*, since they talk in conventional *salon phrases*. If real *intercourse* takes place, it should be regarded as independent of society" (p. 286).

Since the "word '*Gesellschaft*' is derived from '*Sal*'" (which, incidentally, is not true, for the *original* roots of all words are *verbs*) then "*Sal*" must be equivalent to "*Saal*". But "*Sal*" in old High-German means a *building; Kisello, Geselle*—from which *Gesellschaft* is derived—means a *house companion*; hence "*Saal*" is dragged in here quite arbitrarily. But that does not matter; "*Saal*" is immediately transformed into "salon", as though there was not a gap of about a thousand years and a great many miles between the old High-German "*Sal*" and the modern French "*salon*". Thus society is transformed into a salon society, in which, according to the German philistine idea, an intercourse consisting only of phrases takes place and all real intercourse is excluded.— Incidentally since Saint Max only aimed at transforming society into "the holy", he could have arrived at this by a much shorter route if he had made a somewhat more accurate study of etymology and consulted any dictionary of word roots. What a find it would have been for him to discover there the etymological connection between the words "*Gesellschaft*" and "*selig*"; *Gesellschaft—selig—heilig—das Heilige*[d]—what could look simpler?

If "Stirner's" etymological synonymy is correct, then the communists are seeking the true earldom, the earldom as the holy. As *Gesellschaft* comes from *Sal*, a building, so *Graf*[e] (Gothic *garâvjo*) comes from the Gothic *râvo*, house. *Sal*, building=*râvo*, house; consequently *Gesellschaft=Grafschaft*.[f] The prefixes and suffixes are the same in both words, the root syllables have the same meaning—hence the holy society of the communists is the holy earldom, the earldom as the holy—what could look simpler? Saint Sancho had an inkling of this, when he saw in communism the perfection of the feudal system, i.e., the system of earldoms.

[a] See this volume, p. 212.—*Ed.*
[b] Society.— *Ed.*
[c] Hall, room.— *Ed.*
[d] Society—blessed—holy—the holy.— *Ed.*
[e] Earl.— *Ed.*
[f] Earldom.— *Ed.*

Synonymy serves our saint, on the one hand, to transform empirical relations into speculative relations, by using in its speculative meaning a word that occurs both in practical life and in philosophical speculation, uttering a few phrases about this speculative meaning and then making out that he has thereby also criticised the actual relations which this word denotes as well. He does this with the word *speculation*. On page 406, "speculation" "appears" showing two sides as *one* essence that possesses a "dual manifestation"—O Szeliga! He rages against *philosophical* speculation and thinks he has thereby also settled accounts with *commercial* speculation, about [which] he knows nothing. On the other hand, this synonymy enables him, a concealed petty bourgeois, to transform bourgeois relations (see what was said above in dealing with "communism" about the connection between language and bourgeois relations[a]) into personal, individual relations, which one cannot attack without attacking the individuality, "peculiarity" and "uniqueness" of the individual. Thus, for example, Sancho exploits the etymological connection between *Geld*[b] and *Geltung*,[c] *Vermögen*[d] and *vermögen*,[e] etc.

Synonymy, combined with the apposition, provides the main lever for his *conjuring tricks*, which we have already exposed on countless occasions. To give an example how easy this art is, let us also perform a conjuring trick *à la* Sancho.

*Wechsel*,[f] as *change*, is the law of phenomena, says Hegel, *This is the reason*, "Stirner" could continue, for the phenomenon of the strictness of the law against false *bills of exchange*; for we see here the law raised above phenomena, the law as such, holy law, the law as the holy, the holy itself, against which sin is committed and which is avenged in the punishment. Or in other words: *Wechsel* "in its dual manifestation", as a bill of exchange (*lettre de change*) and as change (*changement*), leads to *Verfall*[g] (*échéance* and *décadence*). *Decline* as a result of *change* is observed in history, *inter alia*, in the fall of the Roman Empire, feudalism, the German Empire and the domination of Napoleon. The "transition from" these great *historical crises* "to" the *commercial crises* of our day "is not difficult", and this explains also why these commercial crises are always determined by the *expiry of bills of exchange*.

[a] See this volume, p. 231.— *Ed.*
[b] Money.— *Ed.*
[c] Worth, value, validity.— *Ed.*
[d] Wealth, property, ability, capability.— *Ed.*
[e] To be able, capable.— *Ed.*
[f] Change, bill of exchange.— *Ed.*
[g] Expiry, falling due (of bill); decline, decay.— *Ed.*

Or he could also, as in the case of "*Vermögen*" and "*Geld*", justify the "*Wechsel*" etymologically and "from a certain point of view argue approximately as follows". The communists want, among other things, to abolish the *Wechsel* (bill of exchange). But does not the main pleasure of the world lie precisely in *Wechsel* (change)? They want, therefore, the dead, the immobile, *China*—that is to say, the perfect Chinese is a communist. "Hence" communist declamations against *Wechsel*briefe[a] and *Wechsler*. As though every letter were not a *Wechsel*brief, a letter that notes a *change*, and every man not a *Wechselnder*, a *Wechsler*.

To give the simplicity of his construction and logical tricks the appearance of great variety, Saint Sancho needs the *episode*. From time to time he "*episodically*" inserts a passage which belongs to another part of the book, or which could quite well have been left out altogether, and thus still further breaks the thread of his so-called argument, which has already been repeatedly broken without that. This is accompanied by the naive statement that "we" "do not stick to the rules", and after numerous repetitions causes in the reader a certain insensitiveness to even the greatest incoherence. When one reads "the book", one becomes accustomed to everything and finally one readily submits even to the worst. Incidentally, these episodes (as was only [to be] expected from Saint Sancho) are themselves only imaginary and mere repetitions under [other guises] of phrases encountered hundreds of times [already].

After Saint Max has [thus displayed] his personal qualities, and then revealed himself as ["*appearance*" and] as "*essence*" in the distinction, [in] synonymy and in the episode, [we] come [to the] true culmination and completion of logic, the "*concept*".

[The] concept is the "ego" (see Hegel's *Logik*, Part 3), logic [as the ego]. This is the pure relation [of the] ego to the world, a relation [divested] of all the real relations that exist for it; [a formula] for all the equations to [which the holy] man reduces mundane [concepts]. It was already [revealed] above that by applying this formula to all sorts of things Sancho merely makes an unsuccessful "attempt" to understand the various pure determinations of reflection, such as identity, antithesis, etc.

Let us begin at once with a definite example, e.g., the relation between the "ego" and the people.

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[a] Here and above the authors play on the different meanings of the words *Wechsel* (change, bill of exchange), *Wechsel*brief (bill of exchange), *Wechsler* (money-changer) and *Wechselnder* (a changing person).—*Ed.*

I am not the people.
The people = non-I
I = the non-people.

Hence, I am the negation of the people, the people is dissolved in me.

The second equation can be expressed also by an auxiliary equation:

The people's ego is non-existent,

or:

The ego of the people is the negation of my ego.

The whole trick, therefore, consists in: 1) that the negation which at the outset belonged to the copula is attached first to the subject and then to the predicate; and 2) that the negation, the "not", is, according to convenience, regarded as an expression of dissimilarity, difference, antithesis or direct dissolution. In the present example it is regarded as absolute dissolution, as complete negation; we shall find that—at Saint Max's convenience—it is used also in the other meanings. Thus the tautological proposition that I am not the people is transformed into the tremendous new discovery that I am the dissolution of the people.

For the equations given above, it was not even necessary for Saint Sancho to have any idea of the people; it was enough for him to know that I and the people are "totally different names for totally different things"; it was sufficient that the two words do not have a single letter in common. If now there is to be further speculation about the people from the standpoint of egoistical logic, it suffices to attach any kind of trivial determination to the people and to "I" from outside, from day-to-day experience, thus giving rise to new equations. At the same time it is made to appear that different determinations are being criticised in different ways. We shall now proceed to speculate in this manner about freedom, happiness and wealth:

Basic equations: The people = non-I.

Equation No. 1: Freedom of the people = Not my freedom.
Freedom of the people = My non-freedom.
Freedom of the people = My lack of freedom.

(This can also be reversed, resulting in the grand proposition: My lack of freedom = slavery is the freedom of the people.)

Equation No. 2: Happiness of the people = Not my happiness.
Happiness of the people = My non-happiness.
Happiness of the people = My unhappiness.

(Reversed equation: My unhappiness, my distress, is the happiness of the people.)

Equation No. 3: Wealth of the people = Not my wealth.
Wealth of the people = My non-wealth.
Wealth of the people = My poverty.

(Reversed equation: My poverty is the wealth of the people.) This can be continued *ad libitum* and extended to other determinations.

For the formation of such equations all that is required, apart from a very general acquaintance with such ideas as Stirner can combine in one notion with "people", is to know the positive expression for the result obtained in the negative form, e.g., "poverty"—for "non-wealth", etc. That is to say, as much knowledge of the language as one acquires in everyday life is quite sufficient to arrive in this way at the most surprising discoveries.

The entire trick here, therefore, consisted in transforming not-my-wealth, not-my-happiness, not-my-freedom into my non-wealth, my non-happiness, my non-freedom. The "not", which in the first equation is a general negation that can express all possible forms of difference, e.g., it may merely mean that it is our common, and not exclusively my, wealth—this "not" is transformed in the [second] equation into the negation of my wealth, [my] happiness, etc., and ascribes to me [non-happiness], unhappiness, slavery. [Since] I am denied some definite form of wealth, [the people's] wealth but by no means [wealth] in general, [Sancho believes poverty] must be ascribed to me. [But] this is also [brought about] by expressing my non-freedom in a positive way and so transforming it into my ["lack of freedom"]. But [my non-freedom] can, of course, also mean hundreds [of other] things—e.g., my ["lack of freedom]", my non-freedom from [my] body, etc.

We started out just now from the second equation: the people = non-I. We could also have taken the third equation as our starting-point: I = the non-people, and then, in the case of wealth for example, according to the same method, it would be proved in the end that "my wealth is the poverty of the people". Here, however, Saint Sancho would not proceed in this way, but would dissolve altogether the property relations of the people and the people itself, and then arrive at the following result: my wealth is the destruction not only of the people's wealth but of the people itself. This shows how arbitrarily Saint Sancho acted when he transformed non-wealth into poverty. Our saint applies these different methods higgledy-piggledy and exploits negation sometimes in one meaning and sometimes in another. Even "anyone who has not read Stirner's book" "sees at once" (*Wigand*, p. 191) what confusions this is liable to produce.

In just the same way the "ego" "operates" against the state.

I am not the state.
State=non-I.
I="Negation" of the state.
Nothing of the state=I.

Or in other words: I am the "creative nothing" in which the state is swallowed up.

This simple melody can be used to ring the changes with any subject.

The great proposition that forms the basis of all these equations is: I am not non-I. This non-I is given various names, which, on the one hand, can be purely logical, e.g., being-in-itself, other-being, or, on the other hand, the names of concrete ideas such as the people, state, etc. In this way the appearance of a development can be produced by taking these names as the starting-point and gradually reducing them—with the aid of equations, or a series of appositions—again to the non-ego, which was their basis at the outset. Since the real relations thus introduced figure only as different modifications of the non-ego, and only nominally different modifications at that—nothing at all need be said about these real relations themselves. This is all the more ludicrous since [the real] relations are the relations [of the individuals] themselves, and declaring them to be relations [of the non]-ego only proves that one knows nothing about them. The matter is thereby so greatly simplified that even "the great majority consisting of innately limited intellects" can learn the trick in ten minutes at most. At the same time, this gives us a criterion of the "uniqueness" of Saint Sancho.

Saint Sancho further defines the non-ego opposed to the ego as being that which is *alien* to the ego, that which is the alien. The relation of the non-ego to the ego is "therefore" that of alienation [*Entfremdung*]. We have just given the logical formula by which Saint Sancho presents any object or relation whatsoever as that which is alien to the ego, as the alienation of the ego; on the other hand, Saint Sancho can, as we shall see, also present any object or relation as something created by the ego *and belonging to it.* Apart, first of all, from the arbitrary way in which he presents, or does not present, any relation as a relation of alienation (for everything can be made to fit in the above equations), we see already here that his only concern is to present all actual relations, [and also] actual individuals, [as alienated] (to retain this philosophical [expression] for the time being), to [transform] them into the wholly [abstract] phrase of alienation. Thus [instead] of the task of describing [actual] individuals in their [actual] alienation and in the empirical relations of this

alienation, [purely empirical] relations, the same happens here—the setting forth is replaced by the [mere idea] of alienation, of [the Alien], of the Holy. [The] substitution of the *category* of alienation (this is again a determination of reflection which can be considered as antithesis, difference, non-identity, etc.) finds its final and highest expression in "the alien" being transformed again into "*the holy*", and alienation into the relation of the ego to anything whatever as the holy. We prefer to elucidate the logical process on the basis of Saint Sancho's relation to the holy, since this is the predominant formula, and in passing we note that "the alien" is considered also as "the *existing*" (*per appos.*), that which exists apart from me, that which exists independently of me, *per appos.*, that which is regarded as independent owing to my non-independence, so that Saint Sancho can depict as the holy everything that exists independently of him, e.g., the Blocksberg.[85]

Because the holy is something alien, everything alien is transformed into the holy; and because everything holy is a bond, a fetter, all bonds and all fetters are transformed into the holy. By this means Saint Sancho has already achieved the result that everything alien becomes for him a mere *appearance*, a mere *idea*, from which he frees himself by simply protesting against it and declaring that he does not have this idea. Just as we saw in the case of the egoist not in agreement with himself[a]: people have only to change their consciousness to make everything in the world all right.[b]

Our whole exposition has shown that Saint Sancho criticises all actual conditions by declaring them "the holy", and combats them by combating his holy idea of them. This simple trick of transforming everything into the holy was achieved, as we have already seen in detail above, by Jacques le bonhomme accepting in good faith the illusions of philosophy, the ideological, speculative expression of reality divorced from its empirical basis, for reality, just as he mistook the illusions of the petty [bourgeois concerning] the bourgeoisie for the "[holy essence" of the] bourgeoisie, and could therefore imagine that he was only dealing with thoughts and ideas. With equal ease people were transformed into the "holy", for after their thoughts had been divorced from them themselves and from their empirical relations, it became possible to consider people as mere vehicles for these thoughts and thus, for example, the bourgeois was made into the holy liberal.

The positive relation of [Sancho]—who is in the final analysis

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[a] See this volume, pp. 249-52.—*Ed.*

[b] The words "all right" are in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[pious]—to the holy (a relation [he] calls *respect*) figures also [under the] name of "love". "Love" [is a ] relation that approves of "[man"], the holy, the ideal, the supreme being, or such a human, holy, ideal, essential relation. Anything that was elsewhere designated as the existence of the *holy*, e.g., the state, prisons, torture, police, trade and traffic, etc., can also be regarded by Sancho as "another example" of "*love*". This new nomenclature enables him to write new chapters about what he has already utterly rejected under the trade mark of the holy and respect. It is the old story of the goats of the shepherdess Torralva, in a holy form. And as at one time, with the aid of this story, he led his master by the nose, so now he leads himself and the public by the nose throughout the book without, however, being able to break off his story as wittily as he did in those earlier times when he was still a secular armour-bearer. In general, since his canonisation Sancho has lost all his original mother wit.

The first difficulty appears to arise because this holy is in itself very diverse, so that when criticising some definite holy thing one ought to leave the holiness out of account and criticise the definite content itself. Saint Sancho avoids this rock by presenting everything definite as merely an "*example*" of the holy; just as in Hegel's *Logik* it is immaterial whether atom or personality is adduced to explain "being-for-itself", or the solar system, magnetism or sexual love as an example of attraction. It is, therefore, by no means an accident that "the book" teems with *examples*, but is rooted in the innermost essence of the method of exposition employed in it. This is the "unique" possibility which Saint Sancho has of producing an appearance of some sort of content, the prototype of which is already to be found in Cervantes, since Sancho also speaks all the time in examples. Thus Sancho is able to say: "Another example of *the* holy" (the uninteresting) "is labour". He could have continued: another example is the state, another is the family, another is rent of land, another is Saint Jacob (Saint-Jacques, le bonhomme), another is Saint Ursula and her eleven thousand virgins.[86] Indeed, in his imagination, all these things have this in common: that they are the "holy". But at the same time they are totally different things, and it is just this that constitutes their specific nature. Insofar as one speaks of their specific nature, one does not speak of them as "the holy".

[Labour is] not rent of land, and [rent of land] is not the state; [the main] thing, therefore, is to define [what] the state, land rent and labour are [apart from] their imagined holiness, [and Saint] Max achieves this in the following way. [He pretends to] be speaking about the state, [labour,] etc., and then calls ["the" state] the reality of some [sort of idea]—of love, of [being]-for-one-another, of the

existing, of power over [individuals], and—by means [of a] dash—of "the holy", but [he could] have said [that at the] outset. Or [he says] of labour that it is regarded as a life task, [a vocation, a] destiny—"the holy". That is to say, the state and labour are first of all brought under a particular *kind* of the holy which has been previously prepared in the same way, and this *particular* holy is then again dissolved in the *universal* "holy"; all of which can take place without saying anything about labour and the state. The same stale cud can then be chewed over again on any convenient occasion, because everything that is apparently the object of criticism serves our Sancho merely as an excuse for declaring that the abstract ideas and the predicates transformed into subjects (which are nothing but suitably assorted holies, a sufficient store of which is always kept in reserve) are what they were made to be at the outset, viz., *the holy*. He has in fact reduced everything to its exhaustive, classic expression, by saying of it that it is "another example of the holy". The definitions which he has picked up by hearsay, and which are supposed to relate to content, are altogether superfluous, and on closer examination it is found, too, that they introduce neither definition nor content and amount to no more than ignorant banalities. This cheap "virtuosity of thought" which polishes off any subject-matter whatever even before knowing anything about it, can of course be acquired by anyone, and not in ten minutes, as previously [stated],[a] but even in five. In the "Commentary" Saint Sancho threatens us with "*treatises*" about Feuerbach, socialism, bourgeois society, and only the holy knows what else. Provisionally we can already here reduce these treatises to their simplest expression as follows:

*First treatise*: Another example of the holy is *Feuerbach*.

*Second treatise*: Another example of the holy is *socialism*.

*Third treatise*: Another example of the holy is *bourgeois society*.

*Fourth treatise*: Another example of the holy is the "treatise" in the Stirner manner.

Etc., *in infinitum*.

A little reflection shows that the second rock against which Saint Sancho was bound to suffer shipwreck was his own assertion that every individual is totally different from every other, is unique. Since every individual is an altogether different being, hence an other-being, it is by no means necessary that what is alien, holy, for one individual should be so for another individual; it even *can*not be so. And the common name used, such as state, religion, morality, etc., should not mislead us, for these names are only abstractions from the actual attitude of separate individuals, and these objects, in

[a] See this volume, p. 281.—*Ed.*

consequence of the totally different attitude towards them of the unique individuals, become for each of the latter *unique* objects, hence totally different objects, which have only their name in common. Consequently, Saint Sancho could at most have said: for me, Saint Sancho, the state, religion, etc., are the alien, the holy. Instead of this he has to make them the absolutely holy, the holy for all individuals—how else could he have fabricated his constructed ego, his egoist in agreement with himself, etc., how else could he at all have written his whole "book"? How little it occurs to him to make each "unique" the measure of his own "uniqueness", how much he uses his own "uniqueness" as a measure, as a moral norm, to be applied to all other individuals, like a true moralist forcing them into his Procrustean bed, is already evident, *inter alia*, from his judgment on the departed and forgotten Klopstock, whom he opposes with the moral maxim that he ought to have adopted an "attitude to religion altogether *his own*"; in that case he would have arrived not at a *religion of his own*, which would be the correct conclusion (a conclusion that "Stirner" himself draws innumerable times, e.g., in regard to money), but at a "dissolution and swallowing up of religion" (p. 85), a universal result instead of an individual, unique result. As though Klopstock had not arrived at a "dissolution and swallowing up of religion", and indeed at a quite individual, unique dissolution, such as only this unique Klopstock could have "achieved", a dissolution whose uniqueness "Stirner" could have easily seen even from the many unsuccessful imitations. Klopstock's attitude to religion is supposed to be not his "own", although it was altogether peculiar to him, and indeed was a relation to religion which made Klopstock Klopstock. His attitude to religion would have been "peculiar"[a] only if he had behaved towards it not like Klopstock but like a modern German philosopher.

The "egoist in the ordinary sense", who is not so docile as Szeliga and who has already above put forward all sorts of objections, here makes the following retort to our saint: here in the actual world, as I know very well, I am concerned with my own advantage and nothing else, *rien pour la gloire*.[b] Besides this, I enjoy thinking that I am immortal and can have advantages also in heaven. Ought I to sacrifice this egoistical conception for the sake of the mere consciousness of egoism in agreement with itself, which will not bring me in a farthing? The philosophers tell me: that is inhuman. What do I care? Am I not a human being? Is not everything I do human,

[a] A play on the word *eigen*, which can mean one's own, belonging to oneself or peculiar, strange, etc.—*Ed.*

[b] Mere honour is worth nothing.—*Ed.*

and human because I do it, and is it any concern of mine how "others" "classify" my actions? You, Sancho, who indeed are also a philosopher, but a bankrupt one—and because of your philosophy you deserve no financial credit, and because of your bankruptcy you deserve no intellectual credit—you tell me that my attitude to religion is not one peculiar to me. What you say, therefore, is the same as what the other philosophers tell me, but in your case, as usual, it loses all meaning since you call "peculiar" what they call "human". Could you speak of any other peculiarity than your own and transform your own relation again into a universal one? In my own way, my attitude to religion, if you like, is also a critical one. Firstly, I have no hesitation in sacrificing it, as soon as it attempts to interfere in my commerce; secondly, in my business affairs it is useful for me to be regarded as religious (as it is useful for my proletarian, if the pie that I eat here he eats at least in heaven); and, finally, I turn heaven into my property. It is *une propriété ajoutée à la propriété*,[a] although already Montesquieu, who was of course a quite different type of man from you, tried to make me believe that it is *une terreur ajoutée à la terreur*.[b] My attitude to heaven is not like that of any other person, and by virtue of the unique attitude that I adopt towards it, it is a unique object, a unique heaven. At most, therefore, you are criticising your idea of my heaven, but not my heaven. And now immortality! Here you become simply ridiculous. I deny my egoism—as you assert to please the philosophers—because I immortalise it and declare the laws of nature and thought null and void, as soon as they want to give my existence a determination which is not produced by me myself and is highly unpleasant for me, namely, death. You call immortality "tedious stability"—as though I could not always live an "eventful" life so long as trade is flourishing in this or the other world and I can do business in other things than your "book". And what can be "more stable" than death, which against my will puts an end to my movement and submerges me in the universal, nature, the species, the holy? And now the state, law, police! For many an "ego" they may appear to be alien powers; but I know that they are my own powers. Incidentally—and at this point the bourgeois, this time with a gracious nod of the head, again turns his back on our saint—as far as I am concerned, go on blustering against religion, heaven, God and so on. I know all the same that in everything that interests me—private property, value, price, money, purchase and sale—you always perceive something "peculiar".

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[a] Property added to property.— *Ed.*
[b] Terror added to terror.— *Ed.*

We have just seen how individuals differ from one another. But every individual again is diverse in himself. Thus, by reflecting himself in one of these qualities, i.e., by regarding, *defining* his "ego" through one of these determinations, Saint Sancho can define the object of the other qualities and these other qualities themselves as the alien, the holy; and so in turn with all his qualities. Thus, for example, that which is object for his flesh is the holy for his spirit, or that which is object for his need of rest is the holy for his need of movement. His transformation, described above, of all action and inaction into self-denial is based on this trick. Moreover, his ego is no *real* ego, but only the ego of the equations given above, the same ego that in formal logic, in the theory of propositions, figures as *Caius.*[87]

"Another example", namely, a more general example of the canonisation of the world, is the transformation of real collisions, i.e., collisions between individuals and their actual conditions of life, into ideal collisions, i.e., into collisions between these individuals and the ideas which they form or get into their heads. This trick, too, is extremely simple. As Saint Sancho earlier made the thoughts of individuals into something existing independently, so here he separates the ideal reflection of real collisions from these collisions and turns this reflection into something existing independently. The real contradictions in which the individual finds himself are transformed into contradictions of the individual with his idea or, as Saint Sancho also expresses it more simply, into contradictions with the idea *as such*, with the holy. Thus he manages to transform the real collision, the prototype of its ideal copy, into the consequence of this ideological pretence. Thus he arrives at the result that it is not a question of the practical abolition of the practical collision, but only of *renouncing the idea of this collision*, a renunciation which he, as a good moralist, insistently urges people to carry out.

After Saint Sancho has thus transformed all the contradictions and collisions in which the individual finds himself into mere contradictions and collisions of the individual with one or other of his ideas, an idea which has become independent of him and has subordinated him to itself, and, therefore, is "easily" transformed into the idea *as such*, the holy idea, the holy—after this there remains only one thing for the individual to do: to commit the sin against the Holy Spirit, to abstract from this idea and declare the holy to be a spectre. This logical swindle, which the individual performs on himself, our saint regards as one of the greatest efforts of the egoist. On the other hand, however, anyone can see how easy it is in this way to declare that from the egoistical point of view all historically occurring

conflicts and movements are subsidiary, without knowing anything about them. To do this one has only to extract a few of the phrases usually adopted in such cases, to transform them, in the manner indicated, into "the holy", to depict the individuals as being subordinated to this holy, and to put oneself forward as one who despises "the holy as such".

A further offshoot of this logical trick, and indeed our saint's favourite manoeuvre, is the exploitation of the words designation, vocation, task, etc., thereby immensely facilitating the transformation of whatever he likes into the holy. For, in vocation, designation, task, etc., the individual appears in his own imagination as something different from what he actually is, as the alien, hence as the holy, and in opposition to his real being he asserts his idea of what he ought to be as the rightful, the ideal, the holy. Thus, when it is necessary for him, Saint Sancho can transform everything into the holy by means of the following series of appositions: to designate oneself, i.e., to choose a designation (insert here any content you like) for oneself; to choose the designation *as such*; to choose a holy designation, to choose a designation as the holy, i.e., to choose the holy as designation. Or: to be designated, i.e., to have a designation, to have *the* designation, the holy designation, designation as the holy, the holy as designation, the holy for designation, the designation of the holy.

And now, of course, it only remains for him strongly to admonish people to select for themselves the designation of absence of any designation, the vocation of absence of any vocation, the task of absence of any task—although throughout "the book", "up to and including" the "Commentary", he does nothing but select designations for people, set people tasks and, like a prophet in the wilderness, call them to the gospel of true egoism, about whom, of course, it is said: many are called but only one—*O'Connell*—is chosen.[a]

We have already seen above how Saint Sancho separates the ideas of individuals from the conditions of their life, from their practical collisions and contradictions, in order then to transform them into the holy. Now these ideas appear in the form of *designation, vocation, task.* For Saint Sancho vocation has a double form; firstly as the vocation which others choose for me—examples of which we have already had above in the case of the newspapers that are full of politics and the prisons that our saint mistook for houses of moral

[a] Cf. Matthew 20:16 ("for many be called, but few chosen"). See also this volume, p. 249.— *Ed.*

correction.*[a] Afterwards vocation appears also as a vocation in which the individual himself believes. If the ego is divorced from all its empirical conditions of life, its activity, the conditions of its existence, if it is separated from the world that forms its basis and from its own body, then, of course, it has no other vocation and no other designation than that of representing the Caius of the logical proposition and to assist Saint Sancho in arriving at the equations given above. In the real world, on the other hand, where individuals have needs, they thereby already have a *vocation* and *task*; and at the outset it is still immaterial whether they make this their vocation in their imagination as well. It is clear, however, that because the individuals possess consciousness they form an idea of this vocation which their empirical existence has given them and, thus, furnish Saint Sancho with the opportunity of seizing on the word vocation, that is, on the mental expression of their actual conditions of life, and of leaving out of account these conditions of life themselves. The proletarian, for example, who like every human being has the vocation of satisfying his needs and who is not in a position to satisfy even the needs that he has in common with all human beings, the proletarian whom the necessity to work a 14-hour day debases to the level of a beast of burden, whom competition degrades to a mere thing, an article of trade, who from his position as a mere productive force, the sole position left to him, is squeezed out by other, more powerful productive forces—this proletarian is, if only for these reasons, confronted with the real task of revolutionising his conditions. He can, of course, imagine this to be his "vocation", he can also, if he likes to engage in propaganda, express his "vocation" by saying that to do this or that is the human vocation of the proletarian, the more so since his position does not even allow him to satisfy the needs arising directly from his human nature. Saint Sancho does not concern himself with the reality underlying this idea, with the practical aim of this proletarian—he clings to the word "vocation" and declares it to be the holy, and the proletarian to be a servant of the holy—the easiest way of considering himself superior and "proceeding further".

Particularly in the relations that have existed hitherto, when one

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] We have already earlier discussed at length this kind of vocation where one of the conditions of the life of a class is singled out by the individuals constituting this class and put forward as a general demand to all men, where the bourgeois makes politics and morals, the existence of which is indispensable to him, the vocation of all men.

[a] See this volume, pp. 161-62.—*Ed.*

class always ruled, when the conditions of life of an individual always coincided with the conditions of life of a class, when, therefore, the practical task of each newly emerging class was bound to appear to each of its members as a *universal* task, and when each class could actually overthrow its predecessor only by liberating the individuals of *all* classes from certain chains which had hitherto fettered them—under these circumstances it was essential that the task of the individual members of a class striving for domination should be described as a universal human task.

Incidentally, when for example the bourgeois tells the proletarian that his, the proletarian's, human task is to work fourteen hours a day, the proletarian is quite justified in replying in the same language that on the contrary his task is to overthrow the entire bourgeois system.

We have already repeatedly seen how Saint Sancho puts forward a whole series of tasks all of which resolve themselves into the final task, which exists for all people, that of true egoism. But even where he does not reflect, and does not see himself as creator and creation, he manages to arrive at a task by means of the following trashy distinction.

Page 466: "Whether you want to continue to occupy yourself with thinking depends on you. *If* you wish to achieve anything substantial in thinking, then" (the conditions and designations begin for you) "then ... anyone who wishes to think, therefore, certainly has a task, which by having that wish *he* sets himself, *consciously* or *unconsciously*; but no one has the task of thinking."

First of all, apart from any other content of this proposition, it is incorrect even from Saint Sancho's own viewpoint, since the egoist in agreement with himself, whether he wishes it or not, certainly has the "task" of thinking. He must think, on the one hand, to keep in check the flesh, which can be tamed only through the spirit, through thought, and, on the other hand, to be able to fulfil his reflective determination as creator and creation. Consequently he sets the whole world of deceived egoists the "task" of knowing themselves—a "task" which, of course, cannot be accomplished without thought.

In order to change this proposition from the form of trashy distinction into a logical form, one must first of all get rid of the term "substantial". For each person the "substantial" that he wishes to achieve in thought is something different, depending on his degree of education, the conditions of his life and his aim at the time. Saint Max, therefore, does not give us here any firm criterion for determining *when* the task begins which one sets oneself by thinking and how far one can go in thought without setting oneself any task—he limits himself to the relative expression "substantial". But

for me everything is "substantial" that induces me to think, everything about which I think is "substantial". Therefore instead of: "if you want to achieve anything substantial in thinking", it should read: "if you want *to think* at all". This depends, however, not at all on your wishing or not wishing, since you possess consciousness and can satisfy your needs only by an activity in which you have to use your consciousness *as well.* Further, the hypothetical form must be got rid of. "*If* you *want* to think"—then from the outset you are setting yourself the "task" of thinking; Saint Sancho had no need to proclaim this tautological statement with such pomposity. The whole proposition was only clothed in this form of trashy distinction and pompous tautology in order to conceal the content: as a *definite* person, an actual person, you have a *designation*, a task, whether you are conscious of it or not.* It arises from your need and the connection of the latter with the existing world. Sancho's real wisdom lies in his assertion that it depends on your will whether you think, live, etc., whether in general you possess any sort of determinateness. He is afraid that otherwise determination would cease to be your self-determination. When you equate your self with your reflection, or according to need, with your will, then it is obvious that in this abstraction everything that is not posited by your reflection or your will is not self-determination—therefore also, for example, your breathing, your blood circulation, thought, life, etc. For Saint Sancho, however, self-determination does not even consist in will but, as we saw already in regard to the true egoist,[a] in the *reservatio mentalis* of indifference to any kind of determinateness—an indifference which reappears here as absence of determination. In his "own" series of appositions this would assume the following form: as opposed to all real determination, he chooses absence of determination as his determination, at each moment he distinguishes between himself and the undeterminated, thus at each moment he is also some other than he is, a third person, and indeed the other pure and simple, the holy other, the other counterposed to all uniqueness, the undeterminated, the universal, the ordinary—the ragamuffin.

If Saint Sancho saves himself from determination by his leap into absence of determination (which is itself a determination and indeed

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] You cannot live, eat, sleep, you cannot move or do anything at all without at the same time setting yourself a task, without designation—this is a theory, therefore, which, instead of getting away from the setting of tasks, from vocations, etc., as it pretends to do, is even more intent on transforming every manifestation of life, and even life itself, into a "task".

[a] See this volume, pp. 261-62.—*Ed.*

the worst of all), then the practical, moral content of this whole trick, apart from what was said above in connection with the true egoist, is merely an apology for the vocation forced on every individual in the world as it has existed so far. If, for example, the workers assert in their communist propaganda that the vocation, designation, task of every person is to achieve all-round development of all his abilities, including, for example, the ability to think, Saint Sancho sees in this only the vocation to something alien, the assertion of "the holy". He seeks to free them from this by defending the individual who has been crippled by the division of labour at the expense of his abilities and relegated to a one-sided vocation against his *own* need to become different, a need which has been *stated to be* his vocation by others. What is here asserted in the form of a vocation, a designation, is precisely the negation of the vocation that has hitherto resulted in practice from the division of labour, i.e., the only actually existing vocation—hence, the negation of vocation altogether. The all-round realisation of the individual will only cease to be conceived as an ideal, a vocation, etc., when the impact of the world which stimulates the real development of the abilities of the individual is under the control of the individuals themselves, as the communists desire.

Finally, in the egoistical logic all the twaddle about vocation has moreover the purpose of making it possible to introduce the holy into things and to enable us to destroy them without having to touch them. Thus, for example, one person or another regards work, business affairs, etc., as his vocation. Thereby these become holy work, holy business affairs, the holy. The true egoist does not regard them as vocation; thereby he has dissolved holy work and holy business affairs. So they remain what they are and he remains what he was. It does not occur to him to investigate whether work, business affairs, etc., these modes of existence of individuals, by their real content and process of development necessarily lead to those ideological notions which he combats as independent beings, or, to use his expression, which he canonises.

Just as Saint Sancho canonises communism in order later, in connection with the union, the better to palm off his holy idea of it as his "own" invention, so, in exactly the same way, he blusters against "vocation, designation, task" merely in order to reproduce them throughout his book as the *categorical imperative.* Wherever difficulties arise, Sancho hacks his way through them by means of a categorical imperative such as "turn yourself to account", "recognise yourself", "let each become an all-powerful ego", etc. On the categorical imperative, see the section on the "union"; on "vocation", etc., see the section on "self-enjoyment".

We have now revealed the chief logical tricks Saint Sancho uses to canonise the existing world and thereby to criticise and consume it. Actually, however, he consumes only the holy in the world, without even touching the world itself. Hence it is obvious that he has to remain wholly conservative in practice. If he wanted to criticise, then earthly criticism would begin just where any possible halo ends. The more the normal form of intercourse of society, and with it the conditions of the ruling class, develop their contradiction to the advanced productive forces, and the greater the consequent discord within the ruling class itself as well as between it and the class ruled by it, the more fictitious, of course, becomes the consciousness which originally corresponded to this form of intercourse (i.e., it ceases to be the consciousness corresponding to this form of intercourse), and the more do the old traditional ideas of these relations of intercourse, in which actual private interests, etc., etc., are expressed as universal interests, descend to the level of mere idealising phrases, conscious illusion, deliberate hypocrisy. But the more their falsity is exposed by life, and the less meaning they have for consciousness itself, the more resolutely are they asserted, the more hypocritical, moral and holy becomes the language of this normal society. The more hypocritical this society becomes, the easier it is for such a credulous man as Sancho to discover everywhere the idea of the holy, the ideal. From the universal hypocrisy of society he, the credulous, can deduce universal faith in the holy, the domination of the holy, and can even mistake this holy for the pedestal of existing society. He is the dupe of this hypocrisy, from which he should have drawn exactly the opposite conclusion.

The world of the holy is in the final analysis epitomised in "man". As we have already seen throughout the Old Testament, Sancho regards "man" as the active subject on which the whole of previous history is based; in the New Testament he extends this domination of "man" to the whole of the existing, contemporary physical and spiritual world, and also to the properties of the individuals at present existing. Everything belongs to "man" and thus the world is transformed into the "world of man". The holy as a person is "man", which for Sancho is only another name for the concept, the idea. The conceptions and ideas of people, separated from actual things, are bound, of course, to have as their basis not actual individuals, but the individual of the philosophical conception, the individual separated from his actuality and existing only in thought, "man" as such, the concept of man. With this, his faith in philosophy reaches its culmination.

Now that everything has been transformed into "the holy" or into

what belongs to "man", our saint is enabled to proceed further to *appropriation*, by renouncing the idea of "the holy" or of "man" as a power standing above him. Owing to the alien having been transformed into the holy, into a mere idea, this idea of the alien, which he mistakes for the actually existing alien, is of course his property. The basic formulas for the appropriation of the world of man (the way in which the ego gains possession of the world when it no longer has any respect for the holy) are already contained in the equations given above.

As we have seen, Saint Sancho is already master of his qualities as the egoist in agreement with himself. In order to become master of the world, all he has to do is to make it one of his qualities. The simplest way of doing so is for Sancho to proclaim the quality of "man", with all the nonsense contained in this, directly as *his* quality. Thus he claims for himself, for example, as a quality of the ego, the nonsense of *universal love of mankind* by asserting that he loves "*everyone*" (p. 387) and indeed with the consciousness of egoism, for "love makes him happy". A person who has such a happy nature, indubitably belongs to those of whom it is said: Woe unto you if you offend even *one of these little ones*![a]

The second method is that Saint Sancho tries to preserve something as a *quality of his*, while he transforms it—when it seems necessary to him as a *relation*—into a relation, a mode of existence, of "man", a *holy relation*, and thereby repudiates it. Saint Sancho does this even when the quality, separated from the relation through which it is realised, becomes pure nonsense. Thus, for example, on page 322 he wants to preserve national pride by declaring that "nationality is one of *his qualities* and the nation *his owner* and master". He could have continued: *religiousness* is a quality of mine, I have no intention of renouncing it as one of my qualities—religion is my master, the holy. Family love is a quality of mine, the family is my master. Justice is a quality of mine, the law is my master; to engage in politics is a quality of mine, the state is my master.

The third method of appropriation is employed when some alien power whose force he experiences in practice is regarded by him as holy and spurned altogether without being appropriated. In this case he sees his own powerlessness in the alien power and recognises this powerlessness as his property, his creation, above which he always stands as creator. This, for example, is the case with the state. Here, too, he fortunately arrives at the point at which he has to deal not with something alien, but only with a quality of his own, against

[a] Cf. Luke 17: 1-2.—*Ed.*

which he needs only to set himself as creator in order to overcome it. In an emergency, therefore, the lack of a quality is also taken by him as a quality of his. When Saint Sancho is starving to death it is not due to lack of food, but to his own hungriness, his own quality of starving. If he falls out of a window and breaks his neck, it happens not because the force of gravity plunges him downwards, but because absence of wings, inability to fly, is a quality of his own.

The fourth method, which he employs with the most brilliant success, consists in declaring that everything that is the object of one of his qualities, is, since it is his object, his property, because he has a relation to it by virtue of one of his qualities, irrespective of the character of this relation. Thus, what has up to now been called seeing, hearing, feeling, etc., Sancho, this inoffensive acquisitor, calls: acquiring property. The shop at which I am looking is, as something seen by me, the object of my eye, and its reflection on my retina is the possession of my eye. And now the shop, besides its relation to the eye, becomes his possession and not merely the possession of his eye—his possession, which is as much upside-down as the image of the shop on his retina. When the shopkeeper lets down the shutters (or, as Szeliga puts it, the "blinds and curtains"[a]), his property disappears and, like a bankrupt bourgeois, he retains only the painful memory of vanished brilliance. If "Stirner" passes by the royal kitchen he will undoubtedly acquire possession of the smell of the pheasants roasting there, but he will not even see the pheasants themselves. The only persisting possession that falls to his share is a more or less vociferous rumbling in his stomach. Incidentally, what and how much he can see depends not only on the existing state of affairs in the world, a state of affairs by no means created by him, but also on his purse and on the position in life which falls to his lot owing to division of labour, which perhaps shuts away very much from him, although he may have very acquisitive eyes and ears.

If Saint Sancho had said simply and frankly that everything that is the object of his imagination, as an object imagined by him, i.e., as his idea of an object, is his idea, i.e., his possession (and the same thing holds with looking at something, etc.), one would only have marvelled at the childish naïveté of a man who believes that such a triviality is a discovery and a fortune. But the fact that he passes off this conjectural property as property in general was bound, of course, to have a magical attraction for the propertyless German ideologists.

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[a] The words are from Szeliga's article "Eugen Sue: 'Die Geheimnisse von Paris'".—*Ed.*

Every other person in his sphere of action, too, is his object, and "as his object—his property", his creature. Each ego says to the other (see p. 184):

"For me you are only what you are for me" (for example, my *exploiteur*), "namely my object and, because *my* object, my property."

Hence also my creature, which at any moment as creator I can swallow up and take back into myself. Thus, each ego regards the other not as a property-owner, but as his property; not as "ego" (see [p. 184)] but as being-for-him, as object; not as belonging to himself, but as belonging to *him*, to another, as alienated *from himself*. "Let us take both for what they give themselves out to be" (p. 187), for property-owners, for something belonging to themselves, "and for what they take each other to be", for property, for something belonging to the alien. They are property-owners and they are not property-owners (cf. p. 187). What is important for Saint Sancho, however, in all relations to others, is not to take the real relation, but how each can see himself in his *imagination*, in his reflection.

Since everything that is *object* for the "ego" is, through the medium of one or other of his properties, also *his* object and, therefore, *his property*—thus, for example, the beatings he receives as the object of *his* members, *his* feelings and *his* mind, are *his* object and, therefore, his property—he is able to proclaim himself the owner of every object that exists for him. By this means he can proclaim that the world surrounding him is his property, and that he is its owner—no matter how much it maltreats him and debases him to the level of a "man having only ideal wealth, a ragamuffin". On the other hand, since every object for the "ego" is not only *my* object, but also my *object*, it is possible, with the same indifference towards the content, to declare that every *object* is not-my-own, alien, holy. One and the same object and one and the same relation can, therefore, with equal ease and with equal success be declared to be the holy and my property. Everything depends on whether stress is laid on the word "*my*" or on the word "*object*". The methods of appropriation and canonisation are merely two different "refractions" of one "transformation".

All these methods are merely positive expressions for negating what was posited as alien to the ego in the above equations; except that the negation is again, as above, taken in various determinations. Negation can, firstly, be determined in a purely formal way, so that it does not at all affect the content—as we saw above in the case of love of mankind and in all cases when its whole alteration is limited to introducing consciousness of indifference. Or the whole sphere of the object or predicate, the whole content, can be negated, as in the

case of religion and the state. Or, thirdly, the copula alone, my hitherto alien relation to the predicate, can be negated and the stress laid on the word "*my*" so that my attitude to what is mine is that of property-owner—in the case of money, for instance, which becomes coin of my own coining. In this last case both the quality of Man and his relation can lose all meaning. Every one of the qualities of Man, by being taken back into myself, is extinguished in my individuality. It is no longer possible to say what the quality is. It remains only nominally what it was. As "*mine*", as determinateness dissolved in me, it no longer has any determinateness whether in relation to others or in relation to me, it is only posited by me, an *illusory* quality. Thus, for example, my thought. Just as with my qualities, so with the things which stand in a relation to me and which, as we have seen above, are basically also only my qualities—as, for example, in the case of the shop I am looking at. Insofar, [therefore,] as thought in me is totally [different] from all [other] qualities, just as, for example, a jeweller's shop is totally different from a sausage shop, etc.—the [difference] emerges again as a difference of appearance, and reasserts itself externally too in my manifestation for others. Thereby this annihilated determinateness is fortunately restored and, insofar as it is at all possible to express it in words, must also be reproduced in the old expressions. (Incidentally, we shall be hearing a little more yet concerning Saint Sancho's non-etymological illusions about language.)

The simple equation encountered above is here replaced by the *antithesis.* In its simplest form it is expressed, for example, as follows:

*Man's thought—my thought, egoistical thought,*

where the word *my* means only that he can also be without thoughts, so that the word *my* abolishes *thought.* The antithesis already becomes more complicated in the following example:

| | |
|---|---|
| Money as man's means of exchange— | Money of my own coining as the egoist's means of exchange |

where the absurdity stands revealed.

The antithesis becomes still more complicated when Saint Max introduces a determination and wants to create the appearance of a far-reaching development. Here the single antithesis becomes a series of antitheses. First of all, for example, it is stated:

| | |
|---|---|
| Right in general as the right of man | Right is what is right for me, |

where, instead of right, he might equally well have put any other word, since admittedly it no longer has any meaning. Although this nonsense continues to crop up all the time, in order to proceed further he has to introduce another, *well-known* determination of right which can be used both in the purely personal and in the ideological sense—for example, *might* as the basis of right. Only now, where the right mentioned in the first thesis has acquired yet another determination, which is retained in the antithesis, can this antithesis produce some content. Now we get:

$$\text{Right—might of Man} \Big\} — \Big\{ \text{Might—my right}$$

which then again simply becomes reduced to:

$$\text{Might as my right} = \text{My might.}$$

These antitheses are no more than positive reversals of the above-mentioned negative equations, in which antitheses continually proved to be contained in the conclusion. They even surpass those equations in simple grandeur and great simple-mindedness.

Just as previously Saint Sancho could regard everything as *alien*, as existing independently of him, as holy, so now with equal ease he can regard everything as his own product, as only existing thanks to him, as his property. Indeed, since he transforms everything into his qualities, it only remains for him to behave towards them as he behaves towards his original qualities, in the capacity of the egoist in agreement with himself, a procedure we do not need to repeat here. In this way our Berlin school-master becomes the absolute master of the world—"this, of course, is also the case with every goose, every dog, every horse" (*Wigand*, p. 187).

The real logical experiment, on which all these forms of appropriation are based, is a mere form of *speech*, namely a *paraphrase*, expressing one relation as a manifestation, as a mode of existence of another. Just as we have seen that every relation can be depicted as an example of the relation of property, in exactly the same way it can be depicted as the relation of love, might, exploitation, etc. Saint Sancho found this manner of paraphrase ready-made in philosophical speculation where it plays a very important part. See below on the "theory of exploitation".[a]

The various categories of appropriation become *emotional* categories as soon as the appearance of practice is introduced and appropriation is to be taken seriously. The emotional form of assertion of the ego against the alien, the holy, the world of "Man",

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[a] See this volume, pp. 411-14.—*Ed.*

is *bragging*. Refusal to revere the holy is proclaimed (reverence, respect, etc.—these emotional categories serve to express his relation to the holy or to some third thing as the holy), and this permanent refusal is entitled a deed, a deed that appears all the more comic because all the time Sancho is battling only against the spectre of his own sanctifying conception. On the other hand, since the world, despite his refusal to revere the holy, treats him in the most ungodly fashion, he enjoys the inner satisfaction of declaring to the world that he has only to attain power over it in order to treat it without any reverence. This threat with its world-shattering *reservatio mentalis* completes the comedy. To the first form of bragging belongs Saint Sancho's statement on page 16 that he "is not afraid of the anger of *Poseidon*, nor of the vengeful *Eumenides*", "does not fear the curse" (p. 58), "desires no forgiveness" (p. 242), etc., and his final assurance that he commits "the most boundless desecration" of the holy. To the second form belongs his threat against the moon (p. 218):

> "If only I could seize you, I would in truth seize you, and if only I could find a means to get to you, you would in no way terrify me.... I do not surrender to you, but am only biding my time. Even if for the present I refrain from having designs on you, I still have a grudge against you"—

an apostrophe in which our saint sinks below the level of Pfeffel's pug-dog in the ditch.[88] And likewise on page 425, where he "does not renounce power over life and death", etc.

Finally, the practice of bragging [can] again become mere [practice] within the sphere of theory [by] our holy man [asserting] in the [most] pompous language that he has performed actions that he has never performed, and [at the same time] endeavouring by means of high-sounding phrases to smuggle in traditional trivialities [as] his original creations. Actually this is characteristic of the *entire book*, particularly his construction of history—which is foisted on us as an exposition of his thought but is only a bad piece of copying out—then the assurance that "the book" "appears to be written against man" (*Wigand*, p. 168), and a multitude of separate assertions, such as: "With one puff of the living ego I blow down whole peoples" (p. 219 of "the book"), "I recklessly attack" (p. 254), "the people is dead" (p. 285), further the assurance that he "delves into the bowels of right" (p. 275), and, finally, the challenging call, embellished with quotations and aphorisms, for "a flesh-and-blood opponent" (p. 280).

Bragging is already in itself sentimental. But, in addition, *sentimentality* occurs in "the book" as a particular category, which plays a definite part especially in positive appropriation that is no longer mere assertion against the alien. However simple the methods

of appropriation so far examined, with a more detailed exposition the appearance has to be given that the ego thereby acquires also property "in the ordinary sense", and this can only be achieved by a forcible puffing-up of this ego, by enveloping himself and others in a sentimental charm. Sentimentality cannot be avoided since, without previous examination, he claims the predicates of "Man" as his own—he asserts, for example, that he "loves" "*everyone*" "out of egoism"—and thus gives his qualities an exuberant turgidity. Thus, on page 351, he declares that the "smile of the infant" is "his property" and in the same passage the stage of civilisation at which old men are no longer killed off is depicted with the most touching expressions as the deed of these old men themselves, etc. His attitude to Maritornes also belongs wholly to this same sentimentality.

The unity of sentimentality and bragging is *rebellion*. Directed outwards, against others, it is bragging; directed inwards, as grumbling-in-oneself, it is sentimentality. It is the specific expression of the impotent dissatisfaction of the philistine. He waxes indignant at the thought of atheism, terrorism, communism, regicide, etc. The object against which Saint Sancho rebels is *the holy*; therefore rebellion, which indeed is also characterised as a *crime*, becomes, in the final analysis, a *sin*. It is therefore by no means necessary for rebellion to take the form of an *action*, as it is only the "sin" against "the holy". Saint Sancho, therefore, is satisfied with "getting" "holiness" or the "spirit of alienation" "out of his head" and accomplishing his ideological appropriation. But just as present and future are altogether confused in his head, and just as he sometimes asserts that he has already appropriated everything and sometimes that it has still to be acquired, so in connection with rebellion also at times it occurs to him quite accidentally that he is still confronted by the *actually existing* alien even after he has finished with the halo of the alien. In this case, or rather in the case of this sudden idea, rebellion is transformed into an imaginary act, and the ego into "we". We shall examine this in more detail later (see "*Rebellion*"[a]).

The true egoist, who from the description given so far has proved to be the greatest conservative, finally collects up the fragments of the "world of man", twelve basketfuls; for "far be it that anything should be lost!" Since his whole activity is limited to trying a few hackneyed, casuistical tricks on the world of thoughts handed down to him by philosophical tradition, it is a matter of course that the real world does not exist for him at all and, therefore, too, remains in

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[a] This volume, pp. 382-83.—*Ed.*

existence as before. The content of the New Testament will furnish us with detailed proof of this.

Thus, "we appear at the *bar of majority* and are declared of age" (p. 86).

### 4. *Peculiarity*

"To create for oneself one's *own world*, that means building a heaven for oneself" (p. 89 of "the book").*

We have already "penetrated" into the innermost sanctuary of this heaven; now we shall try to learn "more things" about it. In the New Testament, however, we shall rediscover the same hypocrisy that permeated the Old Testament. Just as in the latter the historical data were only names for a few simple categories, so here in the New Testament, too, all worldly relations are only disguises, different designations, for the meagre content which we have assembled in the "Phenomenology" and "Logic". Under the appearance of speaking about the actual world, Saint Sancho always speaks only about these meagre categories.

"You do not want the *freedom* to have all these fine things.... You want to have them in actuality ... to possess them as *your property*.... You ought to be not only a *free person*, but also an *owner*" (p. 205).

One of the oldest formulas arrived at by the early social movement—the opposition between socialism in its most miserable form and liberalism—is here exalted into an utterance of the "egoist in agreement with himself". How old this opposition is even for Berlin, our holy man could have seen if only from the fact that it is mentioned with terror already in Ranke's *Historisch-politische Zeitschrift*, Berlin, 1831.[a]

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] Up to now freedom has been defined by philosophers in two ways; on the one hand, as power, as domination over the circumstances and conditions in which an individual lives—by all materialists; on the other hand, as self-determination, riddance of the real world, as merely imaginary freedom of the spirit—this definition was given by all idealists, especially the German idealists.

Having seen in the "Phenomenology" above how Saint Max's true egoist seeks his egoism in dissolution, in achieving riddance, the idealist freedom, it seems strange that in the chapter on "Peculiarity" he puts forward against "riddance" the opposite definition, i.e., power over the circumstances which determine him, materialist freedom.

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[a] Leopold Ranke's "Einleitung" in *Historisch-politische Zeitschrift*. I. Band, Hamburg, 1832 (the place and date of publication are cited incorrectly in the text).—*Ed.*

"How I utilise it" (freedom) "depends on my peculiarity" (p. 205).

The great dialectician can also reverse this and say: "How I utilise my peculiarity depends on my freedom."—Then he continues:

"Free—from what?"

Here, therefore, by means of a dash freedom is already transformed into freedom *from something* and, *per appos.*, from "everything". This time, however, the apposition is given in the form of a proposition that apparently provides a closer definition. Having thus achieved this great result, Sancho becomes sentimental.

"Oh, how much can be shaken off!"

First, the "yoke of serfdom", then a whole series of other yokes, leading imperceptibly to the result that "the most perfect self-denial is nothing but freedom, freedom ... from one's own ego, and the urge towards freedom as something absolute ... has deprived us of our *peculiarity*."

By means of an extremely artless series of yokes, liberation from serfdom, which was the assertion of the individuality of the serfs and at the same time the abolition of a definite empirical barrier, is here equated with the much earlier Christian-idealist freedom of the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians, thereby transforming freedom in general into self-denial. At this point we have already finished with freedom, since it is now indisputably the "holy". Saint Max transforms a definite historical act of self-liberation into the abstract category of "freedom", and this category is then defined more closely by means of a totally different historical phenomenon which can likewise be included under the general conception of "freedom". This is the whole trick by which the throwing off of the yoke of serfdom is transformed into self-denial.

To make his theory of freedom as clear as noonday to the German burgher, *Sancho* now begins to declaim in the burgher's own language, particularly that of the Berlin burgher:

"But the freer I become, the larger does compulsion loom before my eyes, and the more powerless do I feel. The unfree son of the wilds is not yet aware of all the limitations that trouble an 'educated' man, he imagines himself freer than the latter. In proportion as I achieve freedom for myself I create new limits and new tasks for myself; no sooner have I invented railways than I again feel myself weak because I still cannot sail through the air like a bird, and I have no sooner solved a problem that was perplexing my mind than countless others await me," etc. (pp. 205, 206).

O "clumsy" story-writer for townsman and villager!

Not the "unfree sons of the wilds" but "educated people" "imagine" the savage freer than the educated man. That the "son of the wilds" (whom F. Halm brought on the stage[a]) is ignorant of the

[a] Friedrich Halm, *Der Sohn der Wildniss.*— *Ed.*

limitations of the educated man because he cannot experience them is just as clear as that the "educated" citizen of Berlin, who only knows the "son of the wilds" from the theatre, knows nothing of the limitations of the savage. The simple fact is this: the limitations of the savage are not those of the civilised man. The comparison that our saint draws between them is the fantastic comparison of an "educated" Berliner whose education consists of knowing nothing about either of them. That he knows nothing of the limitations of the savage is explicable, although after the large number of new travel books, it is certainly easy enough to know something about them; but that he is also ignorant of the limitations of the educated man, is proved by his example of railways and flying. The inactive petty bourgeois, for whom railways dropped from the sky and who for that very reason imagines that he invented them himself, begins to indulge in fantasies about aerial flight after having once travelled by railway. Actually, the balloon came *first* and then the railways. Saint Sancho had to reverse this, for otherwise everyone would have seen that when the balloon was invented the demand for railways was still a long way off, whereas the opposite is easy to imagine. In general, Sancho turns empirical relations upside down. When hackney carriages and carts no longer sufficed for the growing requirements of communication, when, *inter alia*, the centralisation of production due to large-scale industry necessitated new methods to accelerate and expand the transport of its mass of products, the locomotive was invented and thus the use of railways for transport on a large scale. The inventor and shareholders were interested in their profits, and commerce in general in reducing production costs; the possibility, indeed the absolute necessity, of the invention lay in the empirical conditions. The application of the new invention in the various countries depended on the various empirical conditions; in America, for example, on the need to unite the individual states of that vast area and to link the semi-civilised districts of the interior with the sea and the markets for their products. (Compare, *inter alia*, M. Chevalier, *Lettres sur l'Amérique du Nord.*) In other countries, for example in Germany, where every new invention makes people regret that it does not complete the sum total of inventions—in such countries after stubbornly resisting these detestable railways which cannot supply them with wings, people are nevertheless compelled by competition to accept them in the end and to give up hackney carriages and carts along with the time-honoured, respectable spinning-wheel. The absence of other profitable investment of capital made railway construction the predominant branch of industry in Germany. The development of her railway construction

and reverses on the world market went hand in hand. But nowhere are railways built for the sake of the category "*freedom from*"; Saint Max could have realised this even from the fact that no one builds railways in order to *free* himself *from* his money. The real kernel of the burgher's ideological contempt for railways due to his longing to fly like a bird is to be found in his preference for hackney carriages, vans and country roads. Sancho yearns for his "own world" which, as we saw above, is heaven. Therefore he wants to replace the locomotive by Elijah's fiery chariot and be carried up to heaven.

After the actual tearing down of restrictions—which is at the same time an extremely positive development of the productive forces, real energy and satisfaction of urgent requirements, and an expansion of the power of individuals—after the actual tearing down of restrictions has been transformed in the eyes of this passive and ignorant spectator into simple freedom *from* a restriction, which he can again logically make into a postulate of freedom from restriction *as such*—at the conclusion of the whole argument, we arrive at what was already presupposed at the beginning:

"To be free from something means only *to be relieved of* something, *to be rid of* something" (p. 206).

He at once gives an extremely unfortunate example: "He is free of headache is equivalent to saying: he is rid of it"; as though this "riddance" of headache were not equivalent to a wholly positive ability to dispose of my head, equivalent to ownership of my head, while as long as I had a headache I was the property of my sick head.

"In 'riddance'—in riddance from sin, from God, from morality, etc.—we consummate the freedom that Christianity recommends" (p. 206).

Hence our "consummate Christian", too, finds his peculiarity only in "riddance" from "thought", from "determination", from "vocation", from "law", from "constitution", etc., and invites his brothers in Christ to "feel happy only in dissolution", i.e., in accomplishing "riddance" and the "consummate", "Christian freedom".

He continues:

"Ought we, perhaps, to renounce freedom because it turns out to be a Christian ideal? No, *nothing should be lost*" (*voilà notre conservateur tout trouvé*[a]), "freedom too should not be lost, it should however become our *own*, and it cannot become our own in the form of freedom" (p. 207).

Here "our egoist" (*toujours et partout*[b]) "in agreement with

[a] There's the conservative all complete.— *Ed.*
[b] Always and everywhere.— *Ed.*

himself" forgets that already in the Old Testament, thanks to the Christian ideal of freedom, i.e., thanks to the illusion of freedom, we became "owners" of the "world of things"; he forgets, likewise, that accordingly we had only to get rid of the "world of thoughts" to become "owners" of that world as well, that in this context "peculiarity" was for him a *consequence* of freedom, of riddance.

Having interpreted freedom as the state of being free *from* something, and this, in turn, as "riddance", and this as the Christian ideal of freedom, and hence as the freedom of "Man", our saint can, with the material thus prepared, carry through a practical course of his logic. The first, simplest antithesis reads:

Freedom of Man—My freedom,

where in the antithesis freedom ceases to exist "in the form of freedom". Or:

Riddance in the interests of Man } — { Riddance in my interests.

Both these antitheses, with a numerous retinue of declamations, continually appear throughout the chapter on peculiarity, but with their help alone our world-conquering Sancho would attain very little, he would not even attain the island of Barataria. Earlier, when observing the behaviour of people from his "own world", from his "heaven", he set aside two factors of actual liberation in making his abstraction of freedom. The first factor was that individuals in their self-liberation satisfy a definite need actually experienced by them. As the result of setting aside this factor, "*Man*" has been substituted for actual individuals, and striving for a fantastic ideal—for freedom as such, for the "freedom of Man"—has been substituted for the satisfaction of actual needs.

The second factor was that an ability that has hitherto existed merely as a potentiality in the individuals who are freeing themselves begins to function as a real power, or that an already existing power becomes greater by removal of some restriction. The removal of the restriction, which is merely a *consequence* of the new creation of power, can of course be considered the main thing. But this illusion arises only if one takes politics as the basis of empirical history, or if, like Hegel, one wants everywhere to demonstrate the negation of negation, or finally if, after the new power has been created, one reflects, as an ignorant citizen of Berlin, on this new creation.

By setting aside this second factor for his own use, Saint Sancho acquires a determinateness that he can counterpose to the remain-

ing, abstract *caput mortuum* of "freedom". Thus he arrives at the following new antitheses:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Freedom*, the empty removal of alien power | Peculiarity, the actual possession of one's own power. |

Or, even:

| | |
|---|---|
| Freedom, repulsion of alien power | Peculiarity, possession of one's own power. |

To show the extent to which Saint Sancho has juggled his *own* "power", which he here counterposes to freedom, out of this same freedom and into himself, we do not intend to refer him to the materialists or communists, but merely to the *Dictionnaire de l'académie*, where he will find that the word *liberté* is most frequently used in the sense of *puissance*. If, however, Saint Sancho should maintain that he does not combat "*liberté*", but "*freedom*", then he ought to consult Hegel on negative and positive freedom.[a] As a German petty bourgeois, he might enjoy the concluding remark in this chapter.

The antithesis can also be expressed as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Freedom, idealistic striving for riddance and the struggle against other-being | Peculiarity, *actual* riddance and pleasure in one's own existence. |

Having thus, by means of a cheap *abstraction, distinguished* peculiarity from freedom, Sancho pretends that he is only now beginning to analyse this difference and exclaims:

"What a difference there is between freedom and peculiarity!" (p. 207).

We shall see that, apart from the general antitheses, he has achieved nothing, and that peculiarity "in the ordinary sense" continues most amusingly to creep in side by side with this definition of peculiarity.

"In spite of the state of slavery, one can be inwardly free, although, again, only from *various things*, but not from *everything*; but the slave cannot be *free* from the whip, from the despotic mood, etc., of his master."

"On the other hand, peculiarity is my *whole* essence and existence, it is I myself. I am free from that which I have got *rid of*; I am the owner of that which I have in my *power* or which I have mastered. I am *my own* at all times and under all circumstances, if only I *know how* to possess myself and do not abandon myself to others. I cannot truly *want* the state of being free, because I cannot ... achieve it; I can only wish for it and strive towards it, *for* it remains an ideal, a spectre. At every moment the fetters of actuality cut very deeply into my flesh. But I remain *my own*. Belonging as a feudal serf

[a] G.W.F. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*. Einleitung.—*Ed.*

to some master, I *think* only of myself and of my own advantage; his blows, it is true, strike me: I am not *free* from them; *but I endure them only for my own good,* for example, in order to deceive him by an appearance of patience and to lull him into security or perhaps in order not to incur something worse by my defiance. But since I constantly have in mind myself and my own advantage" (while the blows retain possession of him and his back) "I seize on the first convenient opportunity" (i.e., he "wishes", he "strives" towards the first convenient opportunity, which, however, "remains an ideal, a spectre") "to crush the slave-owner. That I then become *free* from him and his whip is only a consequence of my previous egoism. It will, perhaps, be said here that even in the state of slavery I was free, namely 'in myself' or 'inwardly'; however, 'free in oneself' is not 'actually free', and 'inwardly' is not 'outwardly'. On the other hand, I was myself, *my own wholly and completely,* both inwardly and *outwardly.* Under the domination of a cruel master, my body is not 'free' from the pain of torture and the lashes of the whip; *but it is my bones that crack under torture, my muscles that twitch under the blows, and it is I who groan because my body suffers. The fact that I sigh and tremble proves that I still belong to myself, that I am my own*" (pp. 207, 208).

Our Sancho, who here again acts the story-teller for the petty bourgeois and villagers, proves here that, despite the numerous drubbings he has already received in Cervantes, he has always remained "owner" of himself and that these blows belonged rather to his "peculiarity". He is "his own" "at all times and under all circumstances" *provided* he *knows how* to possess himself. Here, therefore, peculiarity is hypothetical and depends on his knowledge, by which term he understands a slavish casuistry. This knowledge later on becomes *thinking* as well, when he begins "to think" about himself and his "advantage"—this thinking and this imagined "advantage" being his imagined "property". It is further interpreted in the sense that he endures the blows "for his own good", where peculiarity once again consists in the *idea* of "good", and where he "endures" the bad in order not to become the "owner" of "something worse". Subsequently, knowledge is revealed also as the "owner" of the reservation about "the first convenient opportunity", hence of a mere *reservatio mentalis,* and, finally, as the "crushing" of the "slave-owner", in the anticipation of the idea, in which case he is the "owner" of this anticipation, whereas at present the slave-owner actually tramples him underfoot. While, therefore, he identifies himself here with his *consciousness,* which endeavours to calm itself by means of all kinds of maxims of worldly wisdom, in the end he identifies himself with his body, so that he is wholly "his own", outwardly as well as inwardly, so long as he still retains a spark of life, even if it is merely unconscious life. Such phenomena as the cracking of his "bones", the twitching of his muscles, etc., are phenomena which, when translated from the language of *unique* natural science into the language of pathology, can be produced with the aid of galvanism on his corpse, when freshly cut down from the gallows on

which he hanged himself, as we saw above, and which can be produced even in a dead frog—these phenomena serve him here as proof that he is "wholly and completely" "both inwardly and outwardly" still "his own", that he still has control over himself. The very fact which demonstrates the power and peculiarity of the slave-owner, namely that it is precisely *he* who is flogged and not someone else, that it is precisely *his* bones that "crack", *his* muscles that twitch, without his being able to alter it—this very fact here serves our saint as proof of his own peculiarity and power. Thus, when he lies trussed up in the *spanso bocko*[89] torture of Surinam, unable to move hand or foot, or any other of his limbs, and has to put up with everything done to him, in such circumstances his power and peculiarity do not consist in his being able to make use of his limbs, but in the fact that they are *his* limbs. Here once again he has saved his peculiarity by always considering himself as otherwise-determined—sometimes as mere consciousness, sometimes as an unconscious body (see the "Phenomenology"[a]).

At any rate, Saint Sancho "endures" his portion of blows with more dignity than actual slaves do. However often, in the interests of the slave-owners, missionaries may tell the slaves that they have to "endure" the blows "for their own good", the slaves are not taken in by such twaddle. They do not coldly and timidly reflect that they would otherwise "incur something worse", nor do they imagine that they "deceive the slave-owner by an appearance of patience". On the contrary, they scoff at their torturers, they jeer at the latter's impotence even to force them to humble themselves, and they suppress every "groan" and every sigh, as long as the physical pain permits them to do so. (See Charles Comte, *Traité de législation.*) They are therefore, neither "inwardly" nor "outwardly" their own "owners", but only the "owners" of their defiance, which could equally well be expressed by saying that they are neither "inwardly" nor "outwardly" "free", but are free only in one respect, namely that they are "inwardly" free from self-humiliation as they also show "outwardly". Insofar as "Stirner" suffers blows, he is the owner of the blows and thus free from being not beaten; and this freedom, this riddance, belongs to his peculiarity.

From the fact that Saint Sancho assumes that the reservation about running away at "the first convenient opportunity" is a special characteristic of peculiarity and sees in the "liberation" thus obtained "merely the consequence of his previous egoism" (*of his own* egoism, i.e., egoism in agreement with itself), it follows that he

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[a] This volume, p. 273.—*Ed.*

imagines that the insurgent Negroes of Haiti[90] and the fugitive Negroes of all the colonies wanted to free not *themselves*, but "man". The slave who takes the decision to free himself must already be superior to the idea that slavery is his "peculiarity". He must be "*free*" from this "*peculiarity*". The "peculiarity" of an individual, however, can consist in his "*abandoning*" himself. For "one" to assert the opposite means to apply an "alien scale" to this individual.

In conclusion, Saint Sancho takes revenge for the blows he has received by the following address to the "owner" of his "peculiarity", the slave-owner:

> "My *leg* is not 'free' from the blows of the master, but it is *my* leg, and it *cannot be taken away*. Let him tear it from me and see whether he has possession of my leg! He will find in his hands nothing but the corpse of my leg, which is as little my leg as a dead dog is a dog" (p. 208).

But let him—Sancho, who imagines here that the slave-owner wants to have his *living* leg, probably for his own use—let him "see" what he still retains of his leg which "cannot be taken away". He retains nothing but the loss of his leg and has become the one-legged owner of his torn-out leg. If he has to labour at a treadmill eight hours every day, then it is *he* who in the course of time becomes an idiot, and idiocy will then be *his* "peculiarity". Let the judge who sentences him to this "see" whether he has still Sancho's brain "in his hands". But that will be of little help to poor Sancho.

"The first property, the first splendour has been won!"

After our saint, by means of these examples, which are worthy of an ascetic, has revealed the difference between freedom and peculiarity, at a considerable belletristical production cost, he quite unexpectedly declares on page 209 that

> "between peculiarity and freedom there lies a still *deeper* gulf than the simple verbal difference".

This "deeper gulf" consists in the fact that the above definition of freedom is repeated with "manifold transformations" and "refractions" and numerous "episodical insertions". From the definition of "freedom" as "riddance" the questions arise: from what should people be free (p. 209), etc., disputes concerning this "from what" (ibid.) (here, too, as a German petty bourgeois, he sees in the struggle of actual interests only wrangling about the definition of this "from what", in which connection, of course, it appears very strange to him that the "citizen" does not wish to be free "from citizenship", page 210). Then the proposition is repeated that the removal of a barrier is the establishment of a new barrier, in the form that "the striving

for a definite freedom always includes the aim of a new rule", page 210 (in which connection we learn that in the revolution the bourgeois was not striving for his own rule but for the "rule of law"—see above concerning liberalism[a]); then follows the result that one does not wish to be rid of what "is wholly to one's liking, e.g., the irresistible glance of the beloved" (p. 211). Further on, it turns out that freedom is a "phantom" (p. 211), a "dream" (p. 212); then we learn by the way that the "voice of nature" can sometimes also become "peculiarity" (p. 213); on the other hand the "voice of God and conscience" is to be considered "devil's work", and the author boasts: "Such godless people" (who consider it the work of the devil) "do exist; how will you deal with them?" (pp. 213, 214). But it is not nature that should determine me, but I who should determine my nature, says the egoist in agreement with himself. And my conscience is also a "voice of nature".

In this connection it also turns out that the animal "takes very correct steps" (p. 213). We learn further that "freedom is silent about what should happen after I have become free" (p. 215). (See "Solomon's Song of Songs".[b]) The exposition of the above-mentioned "deeper gulf" is closed by Saint Sancho repeating the scene with the blows and this time expressing himself somewhat more clearly about peculiarity:

> "Even when unfree, even bound by a thousand fetters, I nevertheless exist, and I exist not only just in the future, and in the hope, like freedom, but even as the most abject of slaves I am present" (p. 215).

Here, therefore, he counterposes *himself* and "*freedom*" as two persons, and peculiarity becomes mere existence, being present, and indeed the "most abject" presence. Peculiarity here is the simple registering of personal identity. Stirner, who in an earlier passage has already constituted himself the "secret police state", here sets himself up as the passport department. "By no means" should "anything be lost" from "the world of human beings!" (See "Solomon's Song of Songs".)

According to page 218, one can also "give up" one's peculiarity through "submissiveness", "submission", although, according to the preceding, peculiarity cannot cease so long as one is *present* at all, even in the most "abject" or "submissive" form. And is not the "most abject" slave the "most submissive"? According to one of the earlier descriptions of peculiarity, one can only "give up" one's peculiarity by giving up one's *life*.

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[a] This volume, pp. 221-22.—*Ed.*
[b] This volume, p. 435.—*Ed.*

On page 218, peculiarity as one aspect of freedom, as power, is once again set against freedom as riddance; and among the means by which Sancho pretends to protect his peculiarity, are mentioned "hypocrisy", "deception" (means which my peculiarity employs, because it had to "submit" to the conditions of the world), etc.,

"for the means that I employ are determined by what I am".

We have already seen that among these means the *absence* of any means plays a major role, as was evident also from his proceedings against the moon (see above "Logic"[a]). Then, for a change, freedom is regarded as "*self-liberation*", "i.e., that I can only have as much freedom as I procure by my peculiarity", where the definition of freedom as *self-determination*, which occurs among all, and particularly German, ideologists, makes its appearance as peculiarity. This is then explained to us on the example of "sheep"; to whom it is of no "use" at all "if they are given freedom of speech" (p. 220). How trivial is his conception here of peculiarity as self-liberation is evident if only from his repetition of the most hackneyed phrases about granted freedom, setting free, self-liberation, etc. (pp. 220, 221). The antithesis between freedom as riddance and peculiarity as the negation of this riddance is now also portrayed poetically:

"Freedom arouses your wrath against everything that you are not" (it is, therefore, *wrathful* peculiarity, or have choleric natures, e.g., Guizot, in Saint Sancho's opinion, no "peculiarity"? And do I not enjoy myself in wrath against others?), "egoism calls on you to *rejoice* over yourself, to delight in yourself" (hence egoism is freedom which rejoices; incidentally, we have already become acquainted with the joy and self-enjoyment of the egoist in agreement with himself). "Freedom is and remains a longing" (as though longing were not also a peculiarity, the self-enjoyment of individuals of a particular nature, especially of Christian-German individuals—and should this longing "be lost"?). "Peculiarity is a reality which *of itself* abolishes all the non-freedom which is an impediment and blocks your own path" (in which case, then, until non-freedom is abolished my peculiarity is a *blocked* peculiarity. It is characteristic again of the German petty bourgeois that for him all barriers and obstacles disappear "of themselves", since he never lifts a finger to achieve it, and by habit he turns those barriers which do not disappear "of themselves" into his peculiarity. It may be remarked in passing that peculiarity appears here as an acting *person*, although it is later demoted to a mere *description* of its owner) (p. 215).

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[a] This volume, p. 299.—*Ed.*

The same antithesis appears again in the following form:

"As being *your own, you are in actuality rid of everything*, and what remains with you, you have yourself accepted, it is your choice and option. One who is his own is *born free*, one who is free on the other hand is only one who desires freedom."

Nevertheless Saint Sancho "admits" on page 252

"that each *is born* as a *human being*; hence in this respect the newborn children are equal".

What you as being your own have not "rid yourself of" is "your choice and option", as in the case of the beatings of the slave mentioned above.—Banal paraphrase!—Here, therefore, peculiarity is reduced to the fantastic idea that Saint Sancho has voluntarily accepted and retained everything from which he has not "rid" himself, e.g., hunger when he has no money. Apart from the many things, e.g., dialect, scrofula, haemorrhoids, poverty, one-leggedness, forced philosophising imposed on him by division of labour, etc., etc.—apart from the fact that it in no way depends on him whether he "accepts" these things or not; all the same, even if for an instant we accept his premises, he has only the choice between definite things which lie within his province and which are in no way posited by his peculiarity. As an Irish peasant, for example, he can only choose to eat potatoes or starve, and he is not always free to make even this choice. In the sentence quoted above one should note also the beautiful apposition, by which, just as in jurisprudence, "acceptance" is directly identified with "choice" and "option". Incidentally, it is impossible to say what Saint Sancho means by one who is "born free", whether in the context or outside it.

And is not a feeling instilled into him, his feeling accepted by him? And do we not learn on pages 84, 85, that "instilled" feelings are not "one's own" feelings? For the rest, it turns out here, as we have already seen in connection with Klopstock[a] (who is put forward here as an example), that "one's own" behaviour by no means coincides with individual behaviour, although for Klopstock Christianity seems to have been "quite right" and in no way to have "obstructively blocked his path".

"One who is his own does not *need to free himself*, because from the outset he rejects everything except himself.... Although he remains in the confines of childish reverence, he already *works* to '*free*' himself from this enthralment."

Since one who is his own does not *need* to free himself, already as a child he works to free himself, and all this because, as we have seen,

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[a] See this volume, p. 285.—*Ed.*

he is one who is "*born free*". "Although he remains in the confines of childish reverence" he already reflects without any restraint, namely in his own fashion, about this his own enthralment. But this should not surprise us: we already saw at the beginning of the Old Testament what a prodigy the egoist in agreement with himself was.

"*Peculiarity works in the little egoist* and *secures* him the desired 'freedom'."

It is not "Stirner" who lives, it is "peculiarity" that lives, "works" and "secures" *in* him. Here we learn that peculiarity is not a *description* of one who is his own, but that one who is his own is merely a *paraphrase* of peculiarity.

As we have seen, "riddance" at its climax was riddance from one's own self, self-denial. We saw also that on the other hand he put forward "peculiarity" as the assertion of self, as self-interestedness. But we have seen likewise that this self-interestedness itself was again self-denial.

For some time past we have been painfully aware that "the holy" was missing. But we rediscover it suddenly, on page 224, at the end of the section on peculiarity, where it stands quite bashfully and proves its identity by means of the following new turn of expression:

"My relation to something which I selfishly carry on" (or do not carry on at all) "is *different* from my relation to something which I unselfishly serve" (or which I carry on).

But Saint Max is not satisfied with this remarkable piece of tautology, which he "accepted" from "choice and option"; there suddenly reappears the long forgotten "one", in the shape of the night watchman who establishes the identity of the holy, and declares that he

"could put forward the following distinguishing mark: against the former I can *sin* or commit a *sin*" (a remarkable tautology!), "the other I can only *lose by my folly*, push away from myself, deprive myself of it, i.e., do something stupid" (it follows that he can lose himself by his folly, can deprive himself of himself, can be deprived of himself—can be deprived of life). "Both these points of view are applicable to *freedom of trade*, because it" is partly taken for the holy and partly not so taken, or, as Sancho himself expresses it more circumstantially, "because it is partly regarded as a freedom which can be granted or withdrawn *depending on circumstances*, and partly as a freedom which should be regarded as *holy under all circumstances*" (pp. 224, 225).

Here again Sancho reveals his "peculiar" "penetration" into the question of freedom of trade and protective tariffs. He is herewith given the "vocation" of pointing out just one single case where freedom of trade was regarded as "holy" 1) *because* it is a "*freedom*", and 2) "*under all circumstances*". The holy comes in useful for all purposes.

After peculiarity, by means of logical antitheses and the phenomenological "being-also-otherwise-determined", has been

*constructed*, as we have seen, from a "freedom" previously trimmed up for the purpose—Saint Sancho meanwhile having "dismissed" everything that happened to suit him (e.g., beatings) into peculiarity, and whatever did not suit him into freedom—we learn finally that all this was still not true peculiarity.

"Peculiarity," it is stated on page 225, "is not at all an *idea*, such as freedom, etc., it is only a description—of the *owner*."

We shall see that this "description of the owner" consists in negating freedom in the three refractions which Saint Sancho ascribes to it—liberalism, communism and humanism—comprehending it in its *truth* and then calling this process of thought, which is extremely simple according to advanced logic, the description of a real ego.

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The entire chapter about peculiarity boils down to the most trivial self-embellishments by means of which the German petty bourgeois consoles himself for his own impotence. Exactly like Sancho, he thinks that in the struggle of bourgeois interests against the remnants of feudalism and absolute monarchy in other countries everything turns merely on a question of principles, on the question of *from what* "Man" should free himself. (See also above on political liberalism.[a]) Therefore in freedom of trade he sees only a freedom and, exactly like Sancho, expatiates with a great air of importance about whether "Man" ought to enjoy freedom of trade "under all circumstances" or not. And when, as is inevitable in such conditions, his aspirations for freedom suffer a miserable collapse, then, again like Sancho, he consoles himself that "Man", or he himself, cannot "become free from everything", that freedom is a highly indefinite concept, and that even Metternich and Charles X were able to appeal to "true freedom" (p. 210 of "the book"; and it need only be remarked here that it is precisely the reactionaries, especially the Historical School and the Romanticists[91] who—again just like Sancho—reduce true freedom to peculiarity, for instance, to the peculiarity of the Tyrolean peasants, and in general, to the peculiar development of individuals, and also of localities, provinces and estates).—The petty bourgeois also consoles himself that as a German, even if he is not free, he finds compensation for all

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[a] This volume, pp. 200-01.—*Ed.*

sufferings in his own indisputable peculiarity. Again like Sancho, he does not see in freedom a power that he is able to obtain and therefore declares his own impotence to be power.

What the ordinary German petty bourgeois whispers to himself as a consolation, in the quiet depths of his mind, the Berliner trumpets out loudly as an ingenious turn of thought. He is proud of his trashy peculiarity and his peculiar trashiness.

### *5. The Owner*

For the way in which the "owner" is divided into three "refractions": "my power", "my intercourse" and "my self-enjoyment", see "The Economy of the New Testament". We shall pass directly to the first of these refractions.

### A. My Power

The chapter on power has in its turn a trichotomous structure in that it treats of: 1) right, 2) law, and 3) crime. In order to conceal this trichotomy, Sancho resorts very frequently to the "episode". We give here the entire content in tabular form, with the necessary episodical insertions.

#### *I. Right*

#### A. Canonisation in General

*Another* example of the *holy* is *right.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Right is not ego | | |
| | = not my right | The holy |
| | = alien right | |
| | = existing right. | |
| All existing right | = alien right | |
| | = right *of others* (not my right) | |
| | = right given by others | |
| | = (right, which *one* gives me, which is meted out to me) (pp. 244, 245). | |

*Note No. 1.* The reader will wonder why the conclusion of equation No. 4 suddenly appears in equation No. 5 as the antecedent of the conclusion of equation No. 3, so that in the place of "right", "all existing right" suddenly appears as the antecedent. This is done to create the illusion that Saint Sancho is speaking of *actual,* existing

right which, however, he by no means intends to do. He speaks of right only insofar as it is represented to be a holy "predicate".

*Note No. 2.* After right has been determined as "alien right", it can be given any names you like, such as "Sultan's right", "people's right", etc., depending on how Saint Sancho wishes to define the alien from whom he receives the right in question. This allows Sancho to go on to say that "alien right is given by nature, God, popular choice, etc." (p. 250), hence "not by me". What is naive is only the method by which our saint through the use of synonymy tries to give some semblance of development to the above simple equations.

"If some blockhead considers me right" (what if he himself is the blockhead who considers him right?), "I begin to be mistrustful of my right" (it would be desirable in "Stirner's" interests that this were so). "But even if a wise man considers me right, this still does not mean that I am right. Whether I am right is quite independent of my being acknowledged right by fools or wise men. Nevertheless, up to now we have striven for *this right.* We seek *right* and to this end we appeal to the *court....* But what do I seek from this court? I seek Sultan's right, not my right, I seek alien right ... before the high court of censorship I seek, therefore, the right of censorship" (pp. 244, 245).

One has to admire the cunning use of synonymy in this masterly proposition. Recognition of right in the ordinary conversational sense is identified with recognition of right in the juridical sense. Even more worthy of admiration is the faith capable of moving mountains in the idea that one "appeals to the court" for the sake of the pleasure of vindicating one's right—a faith which explains that courts are due to litigiousness.*

Notable, finally, is also the craftiness with which Sancho—as in the case of equation No. 5 above—smuggles in, *in advance,* the more

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] What idea Saint Jacques le bonhomme really has of a court can even be deduced from the fact that as an illustration he mentions the high court of censorship, which at best can only be regarded as a court according to Prussian notions; a court which can merely introduce administrative measures, but is unable either to inflict penalties or to settle civil suits. What does it matter to a saint who is always concerned with *real* individuals, that two completely different systems of production form the basis of the individuals where court and administration are separate, and where they are combined in a patriarchal way.

The above equations are now transformed into the moral injunctions "vocation", "designation", and "task", which Saint Max shouts in a thunderous voice to his faithful servant Szeliga, who has an uneasy conscience. Like a Prussian non-commissioned officer (his own "gendarme" speaks through his mouth) Saint Max addresses Szeliga in the third person: he should see to it that his right to eat remains uncurtailed, etc. The *right* of the proletarians to eat has never been "curtailed", nevertheless it happens "of itself" that they are very often unable to "exercise" it.

concrete name, in this case "Sultan's right", in order to be able more confidently *later* to bring in his universal category of "alien right".

Alien right = not my right.
My being right according to alien
right = not to be right
= *to have no right*
= to be *rightless* (p. 247).
My right = not your right
= *your wrong.*
Your right = my wrong.

Note. "You desire to be in the right against others" (it should read: to be in your right). "You cannot be this, in relation to them you will always remain in the 'wrong', *for* they would not be your opponents if they were not also in 'their' right. They will always 'consider' you 'wrong'.... If you remain on the basis of right, then you remain on the basis of litigiousness" (pp. 248, 253).

"Let us in the meantime consider the subject from yet another aspect." Having thus given adequate evidence of his knowledge of right, Saint Sancho can now restrict himself to defining right once again as the holy, in this connection repeating some of the epithets previously given to the holy with the addition of the word "right".

"Is not right a *religious concept,* i.e., something *holy?*" (p. 247).

"Who can ask about 'right' if he does not have a *religious standpoint?*" (ibid.).

"Right '*in and for itself*'. Therefore without relation to me? '*Absolute right*'! Therefore separated from me.—Something '*being in and for itself*'!—An *Absolute*! An *eternal* right, like an eternal truth"—the *holy* (p. 270).

"You recoil in horror before others because you imagine you see by their side the *spectre of right!*" (p. 253).

"You creep about in order to win the *apparition* over to your side" (ibid.).

"Right is a *whimsy,* dispensed by an *apparition*" (the synthesis of the two propositions given above) (p. 276).

"Right is ... *a fixed idea*" (p. 270).

"Right is *spirit* ..." (p. 244).

"Because right can be dispensed only by a *spirit*" (p. 275).

Saint Sancho now expounds again what he already expounded in the Old Testament, viz., what a "fixed idea" is, with the only difference that here "right" crops up everywhere as "another example" of the "fixed idea".

"Right is originally my thought, or it"[a] (!) "has its origin in me. But if it[a] has escaped from me" (in common parlance, absconded), "if the 'word' has been uttered, then it has become *flesh*"[b] (and Saint Sancho can eat his fill of it), "a *fixed idea*"—for

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[a] The German pronoun *er*, used in Stirner's book, refers to "my thought".—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. John 1:14.—*Ed.*

which reason Stirner's whole book consists of "fixed ideas", which have "escaped" from him, but have been caught by us and confined in the much-praised "house for the correction of morals". "*Now* I can no longer get rid of the idea" (after the idea has got rid *of him*!); "however I twist and turn, it confronts me." (The pigtail, which hangs down behind him.[a]) "*Thus*, people have been unable to regain control of the idea of 'right' that they themselves have created. Their creature runs away with them. *That is absolute right, which is absolved*" (o synonymy!) "and *detached* from me. Since we worship it as Absolute, we cannot devour it again and it deprives us of our creative power; the creation is more than the creator, it exists in and for itself. Do not allow right to run about freely any longer...." (We shall already in this sentence follow this advice and chain it up for the time being) (p. 270).

Having thus dragged right through all possible ordeals of sanctification by fire and water and canonised it, Saint Sancho has thereby destroyed it.

"With absolute right, *right itself disappears*, at the same time the *domination of the concept of right*" (hierarchy) "is wiped out. *For* one should not forget that concepts, ideas, and principles have up to now ruled over us and that among these *rulers* the concept of right *or* the concept of justice has played one of the most important parts" (p. 276).

That relations of right here once again appear as the domination of the *concept* of right and that Stirner kills right simply by declaring it a concept, and therefore the holy, is something to which we are already accustomed; on this see "Hierarchy".[b] Right [according to Stirner] does not arise from the material relations of people and the resulting antagonism of people against one another, but from their struggle against their own concept, which they should "get out of their heads". See "Logic".[c]

This last form of the canonisation of right comprises also the following three notes:

Note 1.

"So long as this *alien* right coincides with *mine*, I shall, of course, find the latter *also* in it" (p. 245).

Saint Sancho might ponder awhile over this proposition.

Note 2.

"If once an *egoistic interest* crept in, then society was corrupted ... as is shown, for example, by the Roman society with its highly developed *civil law*" (p. 278).

According to this, Roman society from the very outset must have been *corrupted* Roman society, since egoistic interest is manifested in the Ten Tables[92] even more sharply than in the "highly developed civil law" of the imperial epoch. In this unfortunate reminiscence

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[a] The words are from Chamisso's poem "Tragische Geschichte".— *Ed.*

[b] This volume, pp. 180, 183.— *Ed.*

[c] This volume, pp. 282-84, 286-88.— *Ed.*

from Hegel, therefore, civil *law* is considered a symptom of *egoism*, and not of the *holy*. Here, too, Saint Sancho might well reflect on the extent to which civil *law* [Privat*recht*] is linked with private *property* [Privat*eigentum*] and to what extent civil law implies a multitude of other legal relations (cf. "Private Property, State and Right"[a]) about which Saint Max has nothing to say except that they are the holy.

Note 3.

"*Although* right is derived from the *concept, nevertheless* it only comes into *existence* because it *serves* men's needs."

So says Hegel (*Rechtsphilosophie*,[b] par 209, Addition) from whom our saint derived the hierarchy of concepts in the modern world. Hegel, therefore, explains the *existence* of right from the empirical *needs* of individuals, and rescues the *concept* only by means of a simple assertion. One can see how infinitely more materialistically Hegel proceeds than our "corporeal ego", Saint Sancho.

B. Appropriation by Simple Antithesis

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| a) The right of man | — | My right. |
| b) Human right | — | Egoistic right. |
| c) Alien right = to be authorised by others | — | My right = to be authorised by myself. |
| d) Right is that which man considers right | — | Right is that which I consider right. |

"This is egoistic right, i.e., I consider it right, therefore, it is right" (*passin*; the last sentence is on p. 251).

Note 1.

"I am authorised by myself to commit murder if I do not forbid myself to do so, if I myself am not afraid of murder as a wrong" (p. 249).

This should read: I *commit murder* if I do not forbid myself to do so, if I am not *afraid* of murder. This whole proposition is a boastful expansion of the second equation in antithesis c, where the word "authorised" has lost its meaning.

Note 2.

"I decide whether it is right *within me*; *outside me*, no right exists" (p. 249).—"Are we what is *in us*? No, no more than we are what is outside us.... Precisely because we are not the spirit which dwells *in us*, for that very reason we had to transfer it *outside us* ... think of it as existing *outside us* ... *in the beyond*" (p. 43).

Thus, according to his own statement on page 43, Saint Sancho has

[a] This volume, p. 354.— *Ed.*

[b] G.W.F. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*.—*Ed.*

again to transfer the right "in him" to "outside himself", and indeed "into the beyond". But if at some stage he wants to appropriate things for himself in this fashion, then he can transfer "into himself" morality, religion, everything "holy", and decide whether "in him" it is the moral, the religious, the holy—"outside him there exists no" morality, religion, holiness—in order thereupon to transfer them, according to page 43, again outside himself, into the beyond. Thereby the "restoration of all things"[a] according to the Christian model is brought about.

Note 3.

"Outside me no right exists. If I consider it right then it is right. It is possible that it is still not on that account right for others" (p. 249).

This should read: If I consider it right then it is right for me, but it is still not right for others. We have by now had sufficient examples of the sort of synonymical "flea-jumps" Saint Sancho makes with the word "right". The right and right, legal "right", moral "right", what he considers "right", etc.—all are used higgledy-piggledy, as it suits him. Let Saint Max attempt to translate his propositions about right into another language; his nonsense would then become fully apparent. Since this synonymy was dealt with exhaustively in "The Logic [of the New Wisdom]", we need here only refer to that section.[b]

The proposition mentioned above is also presented in the following three "transformations":

A. "Whether I am right or not, of that there can be no other judge than I myself. Others can judge and decide only whether they agree with my right and whether it exists as right also for them" (p. 246).

B. "It is true that society wants *each person* to attain his right, but only right sanctioned by society, social right, and not actually *his* right" (it should read: "what is *his*"—"right" is a quite meaningless word here. And then he continues boastfully:) "I, however, give myself, or take for myself, right on my own authority.... Owner and creator of my right" ("creator" only insofar as he first declares right to be his thought and then asserts that he has taken this thought back into himself), "I recognise no other source of right but myself—neither God, nor the state, nor nature, nor man, neither divine nor human right" (p. 269).

C. "Since *human* right is always something given, in reality it always amounts to the right which people *give* to, i.e., *concede*, one another" (p. 251).

Egoistical right, on the other hand, is the right which *I give myself* or *take*.

However, "let us say in conclusion, it can be seen" that in Sancho's millennium egoistical right, about which people "*came to terms*" with

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[a] Mark 9:12.—*Ed.*

[b] This volume, pp. 275-77.—*Ed.*

each other, is not so very different from that which people "*give to*" or "*concede*" one another.

Note 4.

"In conclusion, I have now still to take back the half-and-half mode of expression which I *desired* to use only while I was delving into the bowels of right and allowed at least the *word* to remain. In point of fact, however, together with the concept the word loses its meaning. What I called *my* right, is no longer right at all" (p. 275).

Everyone will see at a glance why Saint Sancho allowed the "*word*" right to remain in the above antitheses. For as he does not speak at all about the *content* of right, let alone criticise it, he can only by retaining the *word* right make it appear that he is speaking about right. If the *word* right is left out of the *anti*thesis, all that it contains is "I", "my" and the other grammatical forms of the first person pronoun. The content was always introduced only by means of examples which, however, as we have seen, were nothing but tautologies, such as: if I commit murder, then I commit murder, etc., and in which the words "right", "authorised", etc., were introduced only to conceal the simple tautology and give it some sort of connection with the antitheses. The *synonymy*, too, was intended to create the appearance of dealing with some sort of content. Incidentally, one can see at once what a rich source of *bragging* this empty chatter about right provides.

Thus, all the "delving into the bowels of right" amounted to this, that Saint Sancho "made use of a half-and-half mode of expression" and "allowed at least the *word* to remain", because he was unable to say anything about the *subject itself*. If the antithesis is to have any meaning, that is to say, if "Stirner" simply wanted to demonstrate in it his repugnance to right, then one must say rather that it was not he who "delved into the bowels of right", but that right "delved" into *his* bowels and that he merely recorded the fact that right is not to his liking. "Keep this right uncurtailed", Jacques le bonhomme!

To introduce some sort of content into this void, Saint Sancho has to undertake yet another logical manoeuvre, which with great "virtuosity" he thoroughly shuffles together with canonisation and the simple antithesis, and so completely masks with numerous episodes that the German public and German philosophers, at any rate, were unable to see through it.

### C. Appropriation by Compound Antithesis

"Stirner" now has to introduce an empirical definition of right, which he can ascribe to the individual, i.e., he has to recognise something else in right besides holiness. In this connection, he could

have spared himself all his clumsy machinations, since, starting with Machiavelli, Hobbes, Spinoza, Bodinus and others of modern times, not to mention earlier ones, might has been represented as the basis of right. Thereby the theoretical view of politics was freed from morality, and apart from the postulate of an independent treatment of politics nothing was accepted. Later, in the eighteenth century in France and in the nineteenth century in England, all right was reduced to civil law (which Saint Max does not discuss) and the latter to a quite definite power, the power of the owners of private property. Moreover, the matter was by no means left at a mere phrase.

Thus Saint Sancho draws the definition of *might* from *right* and explains it as follows:

"We are in the habit of classifying states according to the various ways in which the 'supreme *power*' is divided ... hence, the supreme power! Power over whom? Over the individual.... The state uses force ... the behaviour of the state is *exercise of force,* and it calls its force *right....* The collective as a whole ... has a power which is called rightful, i.e., which is right" (pp. 259, 260).

Through "our" "habit", our saint arrives at his longed-for power and can now "look after"[a] himself.

Right, the might of man — might, my right.

Intermediate equations:

To be authorised = to be empowered.

To authorise oneself = to empower oneself.

Antithesis:

To be authorised by man — to be empowered by me.

First antithesis:

Right, might of man — Might, my right

now becomes converted into:

$$\textit{Right of man} - \begin{cases} \textit{Might of me,} \\ \textit{My might,} \end{cases}$$

because in the thesis right and might are identical, and in the antithesis the "half-and-half mode of expression" has to be "taken back", since right, as we have seen, has "lost all meaning".

Note 1. Examples of bombastic and boastful paraphrases of the above antitheses and equations:

"What you have the power to be, you have the right to be." "I derive all right and all authority from *myself,* I am *authorised* to do everything which I have the *power* to

[a] In the German original a pun on the word *pflegen,* which can mean to be in the habit, to be accustomed to and to look after, to take care of.— *Ed.*

do."—"I do not demand any right, and therefore I need recognise none. What I can obtain for myself by force, I obtain for myself, and what I cannot obtain by force, to that I have no right either, etc.—It is a matter of indifference to me whether I am authorised or not; if only I have the *power*, then I am already *empowered* as a matter of course and do not need any other power or authority" (pp. 248, 275).

Note 2. Examples of the way in which Saint Sancho expounds might as the real basis of right:

"Thus, 'the communists' say" (how on earth does "Stirner" know what the communists say, since he has never set eyes on anything concerning them except the Bluntschli report,[a] Becker's *Volksphilosophie* and a few other things?): "Equal work gives people the right to equal enjoyment.... No, equal work does not give you this right, only equal enjoyment gives you the right to equal enjoyment. Enjoy, and you are entitled to enjoyment.... If you take enjoyment, then it is your right; if, on the other hand, you only yearn for it, without seizing it, it will remain as before the 'established right' of those who have the privilege of enjoyment. It is their right, just as it would become your right, by your seizing it" (p. 250).

Compare what is here put into the mouth of the communists with what was previously said about "communism". Saint Sancho again presents the proletarians here as a "closed society", which has only to take the decision of "seizing" in order the next day to put a summary end to the entire hitherto existing world order. But in reality the proletarians arrive at this unity only through a long process of development in which the appeal to their right also plays a part. Incidentally, this appeal to their right is only a means of making them take shape as "they", as a revolutionary, united mass.

As for the above proposition itself, from start to finish it is a brilliant example of tautology, as is at once clear if one omits both might and right, which can be done without any harm to the content. Secondly, Saint Sancho himself distinguishes between personal and material property,[b] thereby making a distinction between enjoying and the power to enjoy. I may have great *personal* power (capacity) of enjoyment without necessarily having the corresponding *material* power (money, etc.). Thus my actual "enjoyment" still remains hypothetical.

"That the child of royalty sets himself above other children," continues our school-master, using examples suitable for a child's book, "is already his act, one which ensures his superiority, and that other children recognise and approve this act is *their* act, which makes them deserving of being subjects" (p. 250).

In this example, the social relation in which the royal child stands to other children is regarded as the power and indeed as the

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[a] Johann Caspar Bluntschli, "Die Kommunisten in der Schweiz nach den bei Weitling vorgefundenen Papieren".— *Ed.*

[b] In the original *Vermögen*, which can mean both ability, faculty, power and means, fortune, property.— *Ed.*

*personal* power of the royal child, and as the impotence of other children. If the fact that other children allow themselves to be commanded by the royal child is regarded as the "*act*" of the other children, this proves at most that they are egoists. "Peculiarity is at work in the little egoists" and induces them to exploit the royal child, to extract an advantage from him.

"It is said" (i.e., Hegel said) "that punishment is the right of the criminal.[a] But impunity is equally his right. If he succeeds in his undertakings, he gets his right, and if he fails it equally serves him right. If someone with reckless courage puts himself in danger and is killed, we say: it serves him right, he asked for it. But if he overcomes the danger, i.e., if his *power* is victorious, it appears he is also *right*. If a child plays with a knife and cuts himself, it serves him right; if he does not cut himself, that is also all right. Therefore it serves the criminal right if he suffers the penalty he risked; why did he take the risk, knowing the possible consequences?" (p. 255).

In the concluding words of the last sentence, where the criminal is asked why he took the risk, the school-masterish nonsense of the whole passage is latent. Whether it serves a criminal right if on burgling a house he falls down and breaks his leg, or a child who cuts himself—all these important questions, with which only a man like Saint Sancho is capable of occupying himself, yield only the result that here *chance* is declared to be my power. Thus, in the first example it was my action that was "my power", in the second example it was social relations independent of me, in the third it was chance. But we have already encountered these contradictory definitions in connection with peculiarity.

Between the above childish examples Sancho inserts the following amusing little intermezzo:

"*For otherwise* right would be a humbug. The tiger who attacks me is right and I, who kill it, am also right. I am protecting against it not my right, but myself" (p. 251).

In the first part of this passage Saint Sancho sets himself in a relation of right to the tiger, but in the second part it occurs to him that basically no relation of right is involved at all. *For that reason* "right" appears to "be a humbug". The right of "Man" merges into the right of the "Tiger".

This concludes the criticism of right. Long after having learned from hundreds of earlier writers that right originated from force, we now learn from Saint Sancho that "right" is "the power of man". Thus he has successfully eliminated all questions about the connection between right and *real* people and their relations, and has established his antithesis. He restricts himself to abolishing right

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[a] G.W.F. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, I. Theil, 3. Abschnitt.— *Ed.*

in the form in which he posits it, namely, as the holy, i.e., he restricts himself to abolishing the holy and leaving right untouched.

This criticism of right is embellished with a host of episodes—all sorts of things which people are "in the habit" of discussing at Stehely's between two and four in the afternoon.

*Episode 1. "The right of man"* and *"established right".*

"When the revolution made 'equality' into a 'right', it [the revolution] fled into the *religious* sphere, into the domain of the *holy*, the *ideal. Therefore* a struggle has been waged ever since over the holy, inalienable rights of man. Quite naturally and with equal justification, the 'established right of the existing' is asserted against the eternal right of man; right against right, and of course each of these condemns the other as a wrong. Such has been the dispute over right since the revolution" (p. 248).

Here Saint Sancho first of all repeats that the rights of man are "the holy" and that *therefore* a struggle over the rights of man has been waged ever since. Thereby he only proves that the material basis of this struggle is still, for him, holy, i.e., alien.

Since the "right of man" and "established right" are both "rights", they are "equally justified" and here in fact "justified" in the *historical* sense. Since both are "rights" in the *legal* sense, they are "equally justified" in the *historical* sense. In this way one can dispose of everything in the shortest space of time without knowing anything about the matter. Thus, for example, it can be said of the struggle over the Corn Laws in England: "quite naturally and with equal justification" rent, which is also profit (gain), is "asserted" against the profit (gain) [of the manufacturers], gain against gain, and "of course each of these decries the other. Such has been the struggle" over the Corn Laws in England since 1815.[93]

Incidentally, Stirner might have said from the outset: existing right is the right of man, human right. In certain circles one is also "in the habit" of calling it "established right". Where then is the difference between the "right of man" and "established right"?

We already know that alien, holy right is what is given to me by others. But since the rights of man are also called natural, innate rights, and since for Saint Sancho the name is the thing itself, it follows that they are rights which are mine by nature, i.e., by birth.

But "established rights amount to *the same thing*, namely to nature, which gives me a right, that is to birth *and, furthermore*, to inheritance", and *so* on. "I am born as a man is equivalent to saying: I am born as a king's son."

This is on pages 249, 250, where Babeuf is reproached for not having had this dialectical talent for dissolving differences. Since "under all circumstances", the "ego" is "also" man, as Saint Sancho later concedes, and therefore has the benefit "also" of what it has as man, just as the ego, for instance, as a Berliner has the benefit of the

Berlin Tiergarten,[a] so "also" the ego has the benefit of the right of man "under all circumstances". But since he is by no means born a "king's son" "under all circumstances", he by no means has the benefit of "established right" "under all circumstances". In the sphere of right, therefore, there is an essential difference between the "right of man" and "established right". If it had not been necessary for Saint Sancho to conceal his logic it "should have been said here": After I have, in my opinion, dissolved the concept of right, in the way in which I am generally "in the habit" of dissolving concepts, the struggle over these two special rights becomes a struggle within a concept which, in my opinion, has been dissolved by me, and "therefore" does not need to be touched upon any further by me.

For greater thoroughness Saint Sancho could have added the following new turn of expression: *The right of man* too is acquired, hence *well acquired,* and *well-acquired* [i.e., established] *right* is the human right possessed by men, *the right of man.*

That such concepts, if they are divorced from the empirical reality underlying them, can be turned inside-out like a glove[b] has already been thoroughly enough proved by Hegel, whose use of this method, as against the abstract ideologists, was justified. Saint Sancho, therefore, has no need to make it appear ridiculous by his own "clumsy" "machinations".

So far established right and the right of man "have amounted to *the same thing*", so that Saint Sancho could reduce to nothing a struggle that exists outside his mind, in history. Now our saint proves that he is as keen-witted in drawing distinctions as he is all-powerful in heaping everything together, in order to be able to bring about a new terrible struggle in the "creative nothing" of his head.

"I am also ready to admit" (magnanimous Sancho) "that everyone is born as a human being" (hence, according to the above-mentioned reproach against Babeuf, also as a "king's son"), "hence, the *newly born* are in this respect *equal* to one another ... only because as yet they reveal themselves and act as nothing but mere children of men, naked little human beings." On the other hand, adults are the "children of their own creation". They "possess more than merely innate rights, they have *acquired* rights".

(Does Stirner believe that the infant emerged from the mother's womb without any act of his own, an act by which he *acquired* the "right" to be outside the mother's womb; and does not every child from the very beginning reveal himself and act as a "unique" child?)

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[a] A park in Berlin.— *Ed.*

[b] Cf. William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, Act III, Scene 1.—*Ed.*

"What a contradiction, what a battlefield! The old battle of innate rights and established rights!" (p. 252).

What a battle of bearded men against babes!

Incidentally, Sancho speaks against the rights of man only because "in recent times" it has again become "customary" to speak against them. In fact he has "acquired" these innate rights of man. In connection with peculiarity we already met the man who is "born free"[a]; there Sancho made peculiarity the innate right of man, because merely by being born he revealed himself as being free and acted as such. Furthermore: "Every ego is already *from birth* a criminal against the state", whereby a crime against the state becomes an innate right of man, and the child already commits a crime against something that does not yet exist for him, but for which he exists. Finally, "Stirner" speaks further on about "*innately* limited intellects", "*born* poets", "*born* musicians", etc. Since here the power (musical, poetic *resp.* limited *ability*) is innate, and right= power, one sees how "Stirner" claims for the "ego" the innate rights of man, although this time equality does not figure among these rights.

*Episode 2. Privileges and equal rights.* Our Sancho first of all transforms the struggle over privilege and equal right into a struggle over the mere "*concepts*" privileged and equal. In this way he saves himself the trouble of having to know anything about the medieval mode of production, the political expression of which was privilege, and the modern mode of production, of which *right* as such, *equal right*, is the expression, or about the relation of these two modes of production to the legal relations which correspond to them. He can even reduce the two above-mentioned "concepts" to the still simpler expression: equal and unequal, and prove that one and the same thing (e.g., other people, a dog, etc.) may, according to circumstances, be a matter of indifference—i.e., of equanimity, equality, or it may not be a matter of indifference—i.e., it may be different, unequal, preferred, etc., etc.

"Let the brother of low degree rejoice in that he is exalted." (Saint-Jacques le bonhomme 1:9.)[b]

### *II. Law*

Here we must disclose to the reader a great secret of our saint, viz., that he begins his whole treatise about right with a general explanation of right, which "escapes" from him so long as he is

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[a] See this volume, p. 311.—*Ed.*

[b] James 1:9.—*Ed.*

speaking about right, and which he is only able to recapture when he begins to speak about something totally different, namely—law. Then the gospel called out to our saint: judge not, that ye be not judged[a]—and he opened his mouth and taught, saying:

"*Right is the spirit of society.*" (But society is the holy). "*If* society has a will, *then* this will is *indeed* right: *society exists only* thanks to right. But *since* it *exists only thanks to the fact*" (not thanks to right, but *only* thanks to the fact) "that it exercises its *domination* over individuals, *so* right is its *dominant* will" (p. 244).

That is to say: "*right* ... is ... has ... then ... indeed ... exists only ... since ... exists only thanks to the fact ... that ... so ... *dominant will*". This passage is Sancho in all his perfection.

This passage "escaped" at that time from our saint because it was not suitable for his theses, and has now been partially recaptured because it is now partially suitable again.

"States endure so long as there is a *dominant will* and this *dominant will* is regarded as equivalent to one's own will. The will of the ruler is law" (p. 256).

The dominant will of society = right,
Dominant will = law—
Right = law.

"Sometimes", i.e., as the trade mark of his "treatise" about law, there will still turn out to be a distinction between right and law, a distinction which—strange to say—has almost as little to do with his "treatise" about law as the definition of right which "escaped" from him has to do with the "treatise" about "right":

"But what is *right*, what is considered legitimate in a society is *also* given a verbal expression—in *law*" (p. 255).

This proposition is a "clumsy" copy of Hegel:

"That which is lawful is the source of the knowledge of what is right or, properly, what is legitimate."

What Saint Sancho calls "receiving verbal expression", Hegel also calls: "posited", "known", etc., *Rechtsphilosophie*, par. 211 et seq.

It is very easy to understand why Saint Sancho had to exclude right as the "will" or the "dominant will" of society from his "treatise" about right. Only to the extent that *right* was defined as man's *power* could he take it back into himself as *his power*. For the sake of his antithesis, therefore, he had to hold fast to the materialistic definition of "power" and let the idealistic definition of "*will*" "escape". Why, when speaking of "law", he now recaptures "will" we shall understand in connection with the antitheses about law.

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[a] Matthew 7 : 1.—*Ed.*

In actual history, those theoreticians who regarded *might* as the basis of right were in direct contradiction to those who looked on *will* as the basis of right—a contradiction which Saint Sancho could have regarded also as that between realism (the child, the ancient, the Negro, etc.) and idealism (the youth, the modern, the Mongol, etc.). If power is taken as the basis of right, as Hobbes, etc., do, then right, law, etc., are merely the symptom, the expression of *other* relations upon which state power rests. The material life of individuals, which by no means depends merely on their "will", their mode of production and form of intercourse, which mutually determine each other—this is the real basis of the state and remains so at all the stages at which division of labour and private property are still necessary, quite independently of the *will* of individuals. These actual relations are in no way created by the state power; on the contrary they are the power creating it. The individuals who rule in these conditions—leaving aside the fact that their power must assume the form of the *state*—have to give their will, which is determined by these definite conditions, a universal expression as the will of the state, as law, an expression whose content is always determined by the relations of this class, as the civil and criminal law demonstrates in the clearest possible way. Just as the weight of their bodies does not depend on their idealistic will or on their arbitrary decision, so also the fact that they enforce their own will in the form of law, and at the same time make it independent of the personal arbitrariness of each individual among them, does not depend on their idealistic will. Their personal rule must at the same time assume the form of average rule. Their personal power is based on conditions of life which as they develop are common to many individuals, and the continuance of which they, as ruling individuals, have to maintain against others and, at the same time, to maintain that they hold good for everybody. The expression of this will, which is determined by their common interests, is the law. It is precisely because individuals who are independent of one another assert themselves and their own will, and because on this basis their attitude to one another is bound to be egoistical, that self-denial is made necessary in law and right, self-denial in the exceptional case, and self-assertion of their interests in the average case (which, therefore, not *they*, but only the "egoist in agreement with himself" regards as self-denial). The same applies to the classes which are ruled, whose will plays just as small a part in determining the existence of law and the state. For example, so long as the productive forces are still insufficiently developed to make competition superfluous, and therefore would give rise to competition over and

over again, for so long the classes which are ruled would be wanting the impossible if they had the "will" to abolish competition and with it the state and the law. Incidentally, too, it is only in the imagination of the ideologist that this "will" arises before relations have developed far enough to make the emergence of such a will possible. After relations have developed sufficiently to produce it, the ideologist is able to imagine this will as being purely arbitrary and therefore as conceivable at all times and under all circumstances.

Like right, so crime, i.e., the struggle of the isolated individual against the predominant relations, is not the result of pure arbitrariness. On the contrary, it depends on the same conditions as that domination. The same visionaries who see in right and law the domination of some independently existing general will can see in crime the mere violation of right and law. Hence the state does not exist owing to the dominant will, but the state, which arises from the material mode of life of individuals, has also the form of a dominant will. If the latter loses its domination, it means that not only the will has changed but also the material existence and life of the individuals, and only for that reason has their will changed. It is possible for rights and laws to be "inherited",[a] but in that case they are no longer dominant, but nominal, of which striking examples are furnished by the history of ancient Roman law and English law. We saw earlier how a theory and history of pure thought could arise among philosophers owing to the separation of ideas from the individuals and their empirical relations which serve as the basis of these ideas. In the same way, here too one can separate right from its real basis, whereby one obtains a "dominant will" which in different eras undergoes various modifications and has its own, independent history in its creations, the laws. On this account, political and civil history becomes ideologically merged in a history of the domination of successive laws. This is the specific illusion of lawyers and politicians, which Jacques le bonhomme adopts *sans façon*. He succumbs to the same illusion as, for example, Frederick William IV, who also regards laws as mere caprices of the dominant will and hence always finds that they come to grief against the "awkward something"[b] of the world. Hardly [one] of his quite harmless whims reaches a further stage of realisation than cabinet decrees. Let him issue an order for a twenty-five million loan, i.e., for one hundred

[a] Paraphrase of a passage from Goethe's *Faust*, I. Teil, 2. "Studierzimmerszene", where Mephistopheles says: "Laws and rights are inherited like an eternal malady."—*Ed.*

[b] Paraphrase of a line from Goethe's *Faust*, I. Teil, 1. "Studierzimmerszene", where Mephistopheles says: "This something, this awkward world."—*Ed.*

and tenth part of the English national debt, and he will see whose will his dominant will is. Incidentally, we shall find later on, too, that Jacques le bonhomme uses the phantoms or apparitions of his sovereign and fellow-Berliner as documents out of which to weave his own theoretical whimsies about right, law, crime, etc. This should occasion us the less surprise since even the spectre of the *Vossische Zeitung* repeatedly "offers" him something, e.g., the constitutional state. The most superficial examination of legislation, e.g., poor laws in all countries, shows how far the rulers got when they imagined that they could achieve something by means of their "dominant will" alone, i.e., simply by exercising their will. Incidentally, Saint Sancho has to accept the illusion of the lawyers and politicians about the dominant will in order to let his own will be splendidly displayed in the equations and antitheses with which we shall presently delight ourselves, and in order to arrive at the result that he can get out of his head any idea which he has put into it.

"My brethren, count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations" (Saint-Jacques le bonhomme 1:2).[a]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Law | = | Dominant will of the state, |
| | = | state will. |

*Antitheses:*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| State will, alien will | — | My will, own will. |
| Dominant will of the state | — | My own will |
| | — | My self-will. |
| Subjects of the state, who sustain the law of the state | — | "Subjects of themselves (unique ones), who bear their own law in themselves" (p. 268). |

Equations:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A) | State will | = | Not-my will. |
| B) | My will | = | Not-state will. |
| C) | Will | = | Desire. |
| D) | My will | = | Non-desire of the state, |
| | | = | Will against the state, |
| | | = | Ill will towards the state. |
| E) | To desire the non-state | = | Self-will. |
| | Self-will | = | Not to desire the state. |
| F) | State will | = | Negation of my will, |
| | | = | My lack of will. |
| G) | My lack of will | = | Existence of state will. |

[a] James 1:2.— *Ed.*

(We know already from the preceding that the existence of the state *will* is equal to the existence of the *state,* from which the following new equation results:)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| H) | My lack of will | = Existence of the state. |
| I) | The negation of my lack of will | = Non-existence of the state. |
| K) | Self-will | = Negation of the state. |
| L) | My will | = Non-existence of the state. |

Note 1.

According to the already quoted passage from page 256:

"States endure so long as the *dominant* will is *regarded* as equivalent to one's *own* will."

Note 2.

"He who in order to exist" (the conscience of the state is appealed to) "is compelled to count on the *lack of will* of others is a *creation* of those others, just as the master is a creation of the servant" (p. 257). (Equations F, G, H, I.)

Note 3.

"*My own will* is the *corrupter of* the state. Therefore, it is branded by the latter as *self-will. One's own will* and the state are powers that are mortal enemies, between whom eternal peace is impossible" (p. 257).—"Therefore *it* in fact watches everybody, *it* sees an egoist in everyone" (self-will), "and *it* fears the egoist" (p. 263). "The state ... opposes the duel ... even a *scuffle* is punishable" (even if the police are not called in) (p. 245).

Note 4.

"For it, for the state,it is absolutely essential that no one should have *his own will;* if anyone had such a will, the state would have to expel him" (imprison, banish); "if *everyone* had it" ("who is this person whom you call 'everyone'"?) "then they would abolish the state" (p. 257).

This can also be expressed rhetorically:

"What is the use of your laws if no one obeys them, what is the use of your orders if everybody refuses to accept any orders?" (p. 256).*

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] Note 5. "People try to distinguish between *law* and the arbitrary command, or *ordinance....* However, a law relating to human action ... is a *declaration of will,* hence a command (ordinance)" (p. 256).... "Someone can, of course, declare what he is prepared to put up with and consequently forbid the opposite by a law, announcing that he will treat the transgressor as an enemy.... I am forced to put up with the fact that he treats me as his enemy, but I shall never permit him to treat me as if I were his creature and to make his reason or perhaps unreasonableness my guiding principle" (p. 256).—Thus Sancho raises no objections here against the law when it treats the transgressor as an *enemy.* His hostility towards the law is directed only against the form, not against the content. Any repressive law which threatens him with the gallows and the wheel is acceptable to him if he can consider it as a declaration of war. Saint Sancho is satisfied if one does him the honour of regarding him as an *enemy,* and not as a *creature.* In reality he is at best the *enemy* of "Man", but the *creature* of the conditions in Berlin.

Note 5.

The simple antithesis: "state will—my will" is given an apparent motivation in the following paragraph: "Even if *one* were to imagine a case where each individual in the nation had expressed the same will and thus a perfect *collective will*" (!) "had come into existence, things would still remain the same. Would I not today and later be bound by my will of yesterday?... My creation, that is, a definite expression of will, would have become my master; but I ... the creator, would be hampered in my course and my dissolution.... Because yesterday I possessed will, I have today no will of my own; yesterday voluntary, today involuntary" (p. 258).

The old thesis, which has often been put forward both by revolutionaries and reactionaries, that in a democracy individuals only exercise their sovereignty for a moment and then at once relinquish their authority—this thesis Saint Sancho endeavours to appropriate here in a "clumsy" fashion by applying to it his phenomenological theory of creator and creation. But the theory of creator and creation deprives this thesis of all meaning. According to this theory of his, it is not that Saint Sancho has no will of his own today because he has changed his will of yesterday, i.e., has a differently defined will, so that the nonsense which yesterday he exalted into a law as the expression of his will, now weighs like a bond or fetter on his more enlightened will of today. On the contrary, according to his theory, his will of today *must* be the negation of his will of yesterday, because, as creator, he is in duty bound to dissolve his will of yesterday. Only as "one without will" is he creator, as one actually having will he is always the creation. (See "Phenomenology".[a]) In that case, however, it by no means follows that "because yesterday he possessed will", today he is "without will", but rather that he bears *ill will* to his will of yesterday, whether the latter has assumed the form of law or not. In both cases he can abolish it as he, in general, is accustomed to do, namely *as his will.* Thereby he has done full justice to egoism in agreement with itself. It is, therefore, a matter of complete indifference here whether his will of yesterday has assumed as law the form of something existing outside his head, particularly if we recall that earlier the "word which escaped from him" behaved likewise in a rebellious way towards him. In the above-mentioned thesis, moreover, Saint Sancho desires to preserve, not indeed his self-will, but his *free* will, *freedom* of will, *freedom*, which is a serious offence against the moral code of the egoist in agreement with himself. In committing this offence, Saint Sancho even goes so far as to proclaim that true peculiarity is the inner freedom that was so much condemned above, the freedom of bearing ill will.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 257-58.—*Ed.*

"How is this to be changed?" cries Sancho. "Only in one way: by not recognising any duty, i.e., not binding myself and not allowing myself to be bound [....]

"However, they will bind me! *No one can bind my will, and my ill will remains free!*" (p. 258).

Drums and trumpets pay homage
To his youthful splendour! [a]

Here Saint Sancho forgets "to make the simple reflection" that his "will" is indeed "bound" inasmuch as, against his will, it is "*ill* will".

The above proposition that the individual will is bound by the general will expressed through law completes, by the way, the idealistic conception of the state, according to which it is only a matter of the will, and which has led French and German writers to the most subtle philosophising.*

Incidentally, if it is merely a matter of "desiring" and not of "being able" and, at worst, merely of "ill will", then it is incomprehensible why Saint Sancho wants to abolish altogether an object so productive of "desiring" and "ill will" as state law.

"Law in general, etc.—that is the stage we have reached today" (p. 256).

The things Jacques le bonhomme believes!

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* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] Whether or not tomorrow the self-will of an individual will feel oppressed by the law which yesterday he helped to make, depends on whether new circumstances have arisen and whether his interests have changed to such an extent that yesterday's law no longer corresponds to his changed interests. If the new circumstances affect the interests of the ruling class as a whole, the class will alter the law; if they affect only a few individuals the majority will, of course, disregard their ill will.

Equipped with this freedom of the ill will, Sancho can now re-establish the restriction imposed on the will of one person bv the will of the others; it is precisely this restriction which forms the basis of the above-mentioned idealist conception of the state.

"Everything would be higgledy-piggledy if everyone could do what he liked.— But who says that everyone can do everything?" ("What he likes" is here prudently omitted.)—

"Every one of you should become an omnipotent ego!" declared the egoist in agreement with himself.

"What do you exist for," he continues, "you who need not put up with everything? Defend yourself, then no one will harm you" (p. 259). And to remove the last semblance of a difference he lets "a few million" "stand as a protection" behind the one "you", so that the whole discussion can very well serve as a "clumsy" beginning of a political theory in the spirit of Rousseau.

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[a] From Heine's poem "Berg-Idylle".—*Ed.*

The equations so far examined were purely destructive as regards state and law. The true egoist *had* to adopt a purely destructive attitude to both. We missed appropriation; on the other hand, we had the satisfaction of seeing Saint Sancho performing a great trick in which he shows how the state is destroyed by a mere change of will, a change which in turn depends, of course, only on the will. However, appropriation is not lacking here either, although it is quite secondary, and can produce results only later on "from time to time". The two antitheses given above:

State will, alien will—My will, own will,
Dominant will of the state—My own will

can also be summarised as follows:

Domination of alien will—Domination of one's own will.

In this new antithesis, which incidentally all the time formed the concealed basis of his destruction of the state through his self-will, Stirner appropriates the political illusion about the domination of arbitrariness, of ideological will. He could also have expressed this as follows:

Arbitrariness of law—Law of arbitrariness.

Saint Sancho, however, did not reach such simplicity of expression.

In antithesis III we already have a "law within him", but he appropriates the law still more directly in the following antithesis:

Law, the state's declaration of will — Law, declaration of my will, my declaration of will.

"Someone can, of course, declar what he is prepared to put up with, and consequently forbid the opposite by a *law*," etc. (p. 256).

This pronibition is necessarily accompanied by threats. The last antithesis is of importance for the section on crime.

*Episodes.* We are told on page 256 that there is no difference between "law" and "arbitrary command, ordinance" because both="declaration of will", consequently "command".—On pages 254, 255, 260 and 263, while pretending to speak about "the State" Stirner substitutes the *Prussian* state and deals with questions that are of the greatest importance for the *Vossische Zeitung*, such as the constitutional state, removability of officials, bureaucratic arrogance and similar nonsense. The only important thing here is the discovery that the old French parliaments insisted on their right to register royal edicts *because* they wanted "to judge according to their own right". The registration of laws by the French parliaments came into being at the same time as the bourgeoisie and hence the acquisition of absolute power by the kings, for whom in face of both the feudal nobility and foreign states it became necessary to plead an alien will

on which their own will depended, and at the same time to give the bourgeois some sort of guarantee. Saint Max can learn more about this from the history of his beloved Francis I; for the rest, before speaking about the French parliaments again, he might consult the fourteen volumes of *Des Etats généraux et autres assemblées nationales*, Paris, 1788,[a] concerning what the French parliaments wanted or did not want and their significance. In general it would be in place here to introduce a short episode about the *erudition* of our saint who is so desirous of conquests. Apart from theoretical works, such as the writings of Feuerbach and Bruno Bauer, as well as the Hegelian tradition, which is his main source, apart from these meagre theoretical sources, our Sancho uses and quotes the following historical sources: on the French Revolution—Rutenberg's *Politische Reden* and the Bauers' *Denkwürdigkeiten*; on communism—Proudhon, August Becker's *Volksphilosophie*, the *Einundzwanzig Bogen* and the Bluntschli report; on liberalism—the *Vossische Zeitung*, the *Sächsische Vaterlands-Blätter*, Protocols of the Baden Chamber, the *Einundzwanzig Bogen* again and Edgar Bauer's epoch-making work[b]; in addition, here and there as historical evidence there are also quoted: the Bible, Schlosser's *18. Jahrhundert*,[c] Louis Blanc's *Histoire de dix ans*, Hinrichs' *Politische Vorlesungen*, Bettina's *Dies Buch gehört dem König*, Hess' *Triarchie*,[d] the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, the Zurich *Anekdota*, Moriz Carrière on Cologne Cathedral, the session of the Paris Chamber of Peers of April 25, 1844, Karl Nauwerck, *Emilia Galotti*,[e] the Bible—in short, the entire Berlin reading-room together with its owner, Willibald Alexis Cabanis. After this sample of Sancho's profound studies, one can easily understand why it is that he finds in this world so very much that is alien, i.e., holy.

### *III. Crime*

Note 1.

"If you allow yourself to be judged right by someone else, then you must equally allow yourself to be judged wrong by him. If you receive justification and reward from him, then expect also accusation and punishment from him. Right is accompanied by *wrong*, legality by *crime*. Who—are—you?—You—are—a—*criminal*!!" (p. 262).

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[a] By Charles Joseph Mayer.—*Ed.*

[b] Edgar Bauer, *Die liberalen Bestrebungen in Deutschland.*—*Ed.*

[c] Friedrich Christoph Schlosser, *Geschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts und des neunzehnten bis zum Sturz des französischen Kaiserreichs.*—*Ed.*

[d] Moses Hess, *Die europäische Triarchie.*—*Ed.*

[e] The reference is to Moriz Carrière, *Der Kölner Dom als freie deutsche Kirche*; François Guizot, *Discours dans la chambre des pairs le 25 avril 1844*; Karl Nauwerck, *Ueber die Theilnahme am Staate*; Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's drama *Emilia Galotti.*—*Ed.*

The *code civil* is accompanied by the *code pénal*, the *code pénal* by the *code de commerce*. Who are you? You are a *commerçant!*

Saint Sancho could have spared us this nerve-shattering surprise. In his case the words: "If you allow yourself to be judged right by someone else, then you must equally allow yourself to be judged wrong by him" have lost all meaning if they are intended to add a new definition; for one of his earlier equations already states: If you allow yourself to be judged right by someone else, then you allow yourself to be judged by alien right, hence *your wrong*.

### A. Simple Canonisation of Crime and Punishment

#### *a) Crime*

As regards crime, we have already seen that this is the name for a universal category of the egoist in agreement with himself, the negation of the holy, *sin*. In the previously given antitheses and equations concerning examples of the holy (state, right, law), the negative relation of the ego to these holies, or the copula, could also be called crime, just as about Hegelian logic, which is likewise an example of the holy, Saint Sancho can also say: I am not Hegelian logic, I am a sinner against Hegelian logic. Since he was speaking of right, state, etc., he should now have continued: another example of sin or crime are what are called *juridical* or *political* crimes. Instead of this, he again informs us in detail that these crimes are

sin against the holy,
" " the fixed idea,
" " the spectre,
" " "Man".

"Criminals exist only against *something holy*" (p. 268).
"*Only owing to the holy does the criminal code exist*" (p. 318).
"Crimes arise from the *fixed idea*" (p. 269).
"One sees here that it is again 'man' who also creates the concept of crime, of sin, *and thereby* also of right." (Previously it was the reverse.) "A man in whom I do not recognise man is a sinner" (p. 268).

Note 1.

"Can I assume that someone commits a crime against me" (this is asserted in opposition to the French people in the revolution), "without also assuming that he ought to act as I consider right? And actions of this kind I *call* the right, the good, etc., those deviating from this—a crime. Accordingly I *think* that the others ought to aim with me *at the same* goal ... as beings who should obey some sort of 'rational' law" (Vocation! Designation! Task! The Holy!!!). "I *lay down* what man is and what it means

to act truly as a man, and I demand from each that this law should become for him the norm and the ideal; in the reverse case he *proves himself* a sinner and criminal ..." (pp. [267,] 268).

At the same time, he sheds an anxious tear at the grave of those "proper people" who in the epoch of terror were slaughtered by the sovereign people in the name of the holy. Further, by means of an example, he shows how the names of real crimes can be construed from this holy-point of view.

"If, as in the revolution, this *spectre*, man, is understood to mean the 'good citizen', then the familiar 'political transgressions and crimes' are *brought about from* this concept of man." (He should have said: this concept, etc., *brings up* the familiar crimes) (p. 268).

A brilliant example of the extent to which credulity is Sancho's predominant quality in the section on crime is furnished by his transformation of the sansculottes of the revolution into "good citizens" of Berlin through a synonymical abuse of the word *citoyen*. According to Saint Max, "good citizens and loyal officials" are inseparable. Hence "Robespierre, for example, Saint-Just, and so on" would be "loyal officials", whereas Danton was responsible for a cash deficit and squandered state money. Saint Sancho has made a good start for a history of the revolution for the Prussian townsman and villager.

Note 2.

Having thus described for us political and juridical crime as an example of crime in general—namely his category of crime, sin, negation, enmity, insult, contempt for the holy, disreputable behaviour towards the holy—Saint Sancho can now confidently declare:

"In crime, the egoist has hitherto asserted himself and mocked the holy" (p. 319).

In this passage all the crimes hitherto committed are assigned to the credit of the egoist in agreement with himself, although subsequently we shall have to transfer a few of them to the debit side. Sancho imagines that hitherto crimes have been committed only in order to mock at "the holy" and to assert oneself not against things, but against the holy *aspect* of things. Because the theft committed by a poor devil who appropriates someone else's taler can be put in the category of a crime against the law, *for that reason* the poor devil committed the theft just because of a desire to break the law. In exactly the same way as in an earlier passage Jacques le bonhomme imagined that laws are issued only for the sake of the holy, and that thieves are sent to prison only for the sake of the holy.

*b) Punishment*

Since we are at present concerned with juridical and political crimes we discover in this connection that such crimes "in the ordinary sense" usually involve a *punishment*, or, as it is written, "the wages of sin is death".[a] After what we have already learned about crime, it follows, of course, that punishment is the self-defence and resistance of *the holy* to those who desecrate it.

Note 1.

"Punishment has sense only when it is intended as expiation for violating something holy" (p. 316). In punishing, "we commit the folly of desiring to satisfy right, a spectre" (the holy). "The holy must" here "defend itself against man". (Saint Sancho here "commits the folly" of mistaking "Man" for "the unique ones", the "proper egos", etc.) (p. 318).

Note 2.

"Only owing to the holy does the criminal code exist and it disintegrates of itself when *punishment* is abandoned" (p. 318).

What Saint Sancho really wants to say is: Punishment falls into decay of itself if the criminal code is abandoned, i.e., punishment only exists owing to the criminal code. "But is not" a criminal code that only exists owing to punishment "all nonsense, and is not" punishment that exists only owing to the criminal code "also nonsense"? (Sancho contra Hess, *Wigand*,[b] p. 186.) Sancho here mistakes the criminal code for a textbook of theological morality.

Note 3.

As an example of how crime arises from the fixed idea, there is the following:

"The *sanctity* of marriage is a *fixed idea*. From this *sanctity* it follows that infidelity is a *crime*, and therefore a *certain law on marriage*" (to the great annoyance of the "G[erman] Chambers" and of the "Emperor of all R[ussians]", not to speak of the "Emperor of Japan" and the "Emperor of China", and particularly the "Sultan") "imposes a shorter or longer term of punishment for that" (p. 269).

Frederick William IV, who thinks he is able to promulgate laws in accordance with the holy, and therefore is always at loggerheads with the whole world, can comfort himself with the thought that in our Sancho he has found at least one man imbued with faith in the state. Let Saint Sancho just compare the Prussian marriage law, which exists only in the head of its author, with the provisions of the *Code civil*, which are operative in practice, and he will be able to discover the difference between holy and worldly marriage laws.[94] In the Prussian phantasmagoria, for reasons of state, the sanctity of marriage is supposed to be enforced both upon husband and wife; in

[a] Romans 6:23.—*Ed.*
[b] Max Stirner, "Recensenten Stirners".—*Ed.*

French practice, where the wife is regarded as the private property of her husband, only the wife can be punished for adultery, and then only on the demand of the husband, who exercises his property right.

B. Appropriation of Crime and Punishment Through Antithesis

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Crime in the sense of man | = | Violation of man's law (of the state's declaration of will, of state power), p. 259 et seq. |
| Crime in my sense | = | Violation of my law (of my declaration of will, of my power), p. 256 and *passim.* |

These two equations are counterposed as antitheses and derive simply from the opposition of "man" and the "ego". They merely sum up what has been said already.

| The holy punishes the "ego" | — | "I punish the 'ego'." |
|---|---|---|
| *Crime* = hostility to Man's law (the Holy). | — | *Hostility* = crime against my law. |
| *The criminal* = the enemy or opponent of the holy (the Holy as a moral person). | — | *Enemy* or *opponent* = criminal against the "ego", the corporeal. |
| *Punishment* = self-defence of the holy against the "ego". | — | *My self-defence* = My punishment of the "ego". |
| *Punishment* = satisfaction (vengeance) of man in relation to the "ego". | — | *Satisfaction (vengeance)* = My punishment of the "ego". |

In the last antithesis, satisfaction can also be called *self*-satisfaction, since it is the satisfaction of *me*, in opposition to the satisfaction of *man.*

If in the above antithetical equations only the first member is taken into account, then one obtains the following series of simple antitheses where the thesis always contains the holy, universal, alien *name*, while the *anti*-thesis always contains the worldly, personal, appropriated *name.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Crime | — | Hostility. |
| Criminal | — | Enemy or opponent. |
| Punishment | — | My defence. |
| Punishment | — | Satisfaction, vengeance, self-satisfaction. |

In an instant we shall say a few words about these equations and antitheses which are so simple that even a "born simpleton" (p. 434)

can master this "unique" method of thought in five minutes. But first a few more quotations in addition to those given earlier.

Note 1.

"In relation to me you can never be a *criminal* but only an *opponent*" (p. 268),—and "enemy" in the same sense on p. 256.—Crime as the hostility of man is illustrated on page 268 by the example of the "enemies of the Fatherland".—"*Punishment ought*" (a moral postulate) "to be replaced by *satisfaction*, which again cannot aim at satisfying right or justice, but at giving *us* satisfaction" (p. 318).

Note 2.

While Saint Sancho attacks the halo (the windmill) of existing power, he does not even understand this power, let alone come to grips with it; he only advances the moral demand that the relation of the ego to it should be formally changed. (See "Logic".[a])

"I am forced to put up with the fact" (bombastic assurance) "that he" (viz., my enemy, who has a few million people behind him) "treats me as his enemy; but I shall never permit him to treat me as his creature or to make his reason or unreasonableness my guiding principle" (p. 256, where he allows the aforesaid Sancho a very restricted freedom, namely the choice between allowing himself to be treated as his creature or of suffering the 3,300 lashes imposed by Merlin on his *posaderas*. This freedom is allowed him by any criminal code which, it is true, does not first ask the aforesaid Sancho in what form it should declare its hostility to him).—"But even if you *impress* your opponent as a force" (being for him an "*impressive* force") "you do not on that account become a sanctified authority; unless he is a *wretch*. He is not obliged to *respect* you and *pay regard* to you even if he has to be *on his guard* against you and your power" (p. 258).

Here Saint Sancho himself appears as a "wretch" when with the greatest seriousness he haggles[b] about the difference between "to impress" and "to be respected", "to be on one's guard" and to "have regard for"—a difference of a sixteenth part at most. When Saint Sancho is "on his guard" against someone,

"he gives himself over to *reflection*, and he has an object which he *has in view*, which he *respects* and which inspires him with reverence and fear" (p. 115).

In the above equations, punishment, vengeance, satisfaction, etc., are depicted as coming only from me; inasmuch as Saint Sancho is the object of satisfaction, the antitheses can be turned round: then self-satisfaction is transformed into another-getting-satisfaction-with-regard-to-me or the prejudicing-of-my-satisfaction.

Note 3.

The very same ideologists who could imagine that right, law, state, etc., arose from a general concept, in the final analysis perhaps the

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[a] This volume, p. 286.—*Ed.*

[b] In the original a pun on the word *Schächer* which Stirner uses in the passage quoted—*Schächer* means "wretch" or "robber", while *schachern* means "to barter" "to haggle".—*Ed.*

concept of man, and that they were put into effect for the sake of this concept—these same ideologists can, of course, also imagine that crimes are committed purely because of a wanton attitude towards some concept, that crimes, in general, are nothing but making mockery of concepts and are only punished in order to do justice to the insulted concepts. Concerning this we have already said what was necessary in connection with right, and still earlier in connection with hierarchy, to which we refer the reader.

In the above-mentioned antitheses, the canonised definitions—crime, punishment, etc.—are confronted with the name of another definition, which Saint Sancho in his favourite fashion *extracts* from these *first* definitions and *appropriates for himself.* This new definition, which, as we have said, appears here as a mere name, being worldly is supposed to contain the direct *individual* relation and express the *factual* relations. (See "Logic".) The history of right shows that in the earliest, most primitive epochs these individual, factual relations in their crudest form directly constituted right. With the development of civil society, hence with the development of private interests into class interests, the relations of right underwent changes and acquired a civilised form. They were no longer regarded as individual, but as universal relations. At the same time, division of labour placed the protection of the conflicting interests of separate individuals into the hands of a few persons, whereby the barbaric enforcement of right also disappeared. Saint Sancho's entire criticism of right in the above-mentioned antitheses is limited to declaring the *civilised* form of legal relations and the civilised division of labour to be the fruit of the "fixed idea", of the holy, and, on the other hand, to claiming *for himself* the barbaric expression of relations of right and the barbaric method of settling conflicts. For him it is all *only* a matter of *names*; he does not touch on the content itself, since he does not know the real relations on which these different forms of right are based, and in the juridical expression of class relations perceives only the idealised names of those barbaric relations. Thus, in Stirner's declaration of will, we rediscover the feud; in hostility, self-defence, etc.—a copy of club-law and practice of the old feudal mode of life; in satisfaction, vengeance, etc.—the *jus talionis,* the old German *Gewere, compensatio, satisfactio*—in short, the chief elements of the *leges barbarorum* and *consuetudines feudorum,*[95] which Sancho has appropriated for himself and taken to his heart not from libraries, but from the tales of his former master about Amadis of Gaul. In the final analysis, therefore, Saint Sancho again arrives merely at an impotent moral injunction that everybody should himself obtain satisfaction and carry out

punishment. He believes Don Quixote's assurance that by a mere moral injunction he can without more ado convert the material forces arising from the division of labour into personal forces. How closely juridical relations are linked with the development of these material forces due to the division of labour is already clear from the historical development of the power of the law courts and the complaints of the feudal lords about the legal development. (See, e.g., Monteil, loc. cit.,[a] XIV^e^, XV^e^ *siècle*.) It was just in the epoch between the rule of the aristocracy and the rule of the bourgeoisie, when the interests of two classes came into conflict, when trade between the European nations began to be important, and hence international relations themselves assumed a *bourgeois* character, it was just at that time that the power of the courts of law began to be important, and under the rule of the bourgeoisie, when this broadly developed division of labour becomes absolutely essential, the power of these courts reaches its highest point. What the servants of the division of labour, the judges and still more the *professores juris*, imagine in this connection is a matter of the greatest indifference.

### C. Crime in the Ordinary and Extraordinary Sense

We saw above that crime in the ordinary sense, by being falsified, was put to the credit of the egoist in the extraordinary sense. Now this falsification becomes obvious. The extraordinary egoist now finds that he commits only extraordinary crimes, which have to be set against the ordinary crimes. Therefore we debit the aforesaid egoist with the ordinary crimes, which have been previously entered into the credit column.

The struggle of the ordinary criminals against other people's property can also be expressed as follows (although this holds good of any competitor):

that they—"seek *other people*'s goods" (p. 265),
seek holy goods,
seek *the holy*, and in this way the ordinary criminal is transformed into a "believer" (p. 265).

But this reproach which the egoist in the extraordinary sense levels against the criminal in the ordinary sense is only an apparent one—for it is indeed he himself who strives for the halo of the whole world. The real reproach that he levels against the criminal is not that he seeks "*the holy*", but that he seeks "*goods*".

After Saint Sancho has built himself a "world of his own, a heaven", namely this time an imaginary world of feuds and

[a] This volume, p. 220.—*Ed.*

knights-errant, transferred to the modern world, after he has at the same time given documentary evidence of his difference, as a knightly criminal, from ordinary criminals, after this he once more undertakes a crusade against "dragons and ostriches, hobgoblins",[a] "ghosts, apparitions and fixed ideas". His faithful servant, Szeliga, gallops reverently after him. As they wend their way, however, there occurs the astounding adventure of the unfortunate ones who were being dragged off to some place they had no wish to go to, as described in Chapter XXII of Cervantes. For while our knight-errant and his servant Don Quixote were jogging along their path, Sancho raised his eyes and saw coming towards him some dozen men on foot manacled and bound together by a long chain, accompanied by a commissar and four gendarmes, belonging to the holy Hermandad,[96] to the Hermandad which is holy, to the holy. When they came close, Saint Sancho very politely asked the guards to be so kind as to tell him why these people were being led in chains.—They are convicts of His Majesty sent to work at Spandau,[97] you do not have to know any more.—How, cried Saint Sancho, men being forced? Is it possible that the king can use force against someone's "proper ego"? In that case I take upon myself the vocation of putting a stop to this force. "The behaviour of the state is violent action, and it calls this justice. Violent action of an individual, however, it calls crime." Thereupon Saint Sancho first of all began to admonish the prisoners, saying that they ought not to grieve, that although they were "not free", they were still their "own", and that although maybe their "bones" might "crack" under the lash of the whip and that perhaps they might even have a "leg torn off", yet, he said, you will triumph over all that, for "no one can bind your will"! "And I know for certain that there is no witchcraft in the world that could direct and compel the will, as some simpletons imagine; for the will is our free arbitrary power and there is no magic herb or spell that can subdue it." Yes, "your will no one can bind and your ill will remains free!"

But since this sermon did not pacify the convicts, who began one after the other to relate how they had been unjustly condemned, Sancho said: "Dear brethren, from what you have related it has become clear to me that, although you have been punished for your crimes, yet the punishment which you are suffering gives you little pleasure and that hence you are reluctant to receive it and do not look forward to it. And it is highly possible that the cause of your ruin is pusillanimity on the rack in one case, poverty in another, lack

[a] Cf. Isaiah 34 : 13-14.—*Ed.*

of favour in a third and, finally, the *judge*'s unfair *judgment*, and that *you have not been given the justice that was your due*, 'your right'. All this compels me to show you why heaven sent me into the world. But since the wisdom of the egoist in agreement with himself prescribes not doing by force what can be done by agreement, I hereby request the commissar and gendarmes to release you and let you go your ways. Moreover, my dear gendarmes, these unfortunates have done *you* no harm. It does not behove egoists in agreement with themselves to become the executioners of other unique ones who have done them no harm. Evidently, with you 'the category of the one who has been robbed stands in the forefront'. Why do you show such 'zeal' in your actions 'against crime'? 'Verily, verily I say unto you, you are enthusiastic for morality, you are filled with the idea of morality', 'You persecute all those who are hostile to it'—'Owing to your oath as officials', you are bringing these poor convicts 'to prison', you are the holy! Therefore release these people voluntarily. If you do not, you will have to reckon with me, who 'overthrows nations with one puff of the living ego', who 'commits the most unmeasured desecration' and 'is not afraid even of the Moon'."

"This is a fine piece of impudence indeed!" cried the commissar. "You'd do better to put that basin straight on your head and be on your way!"

Saint Sancho, however, infuriated by this Prussian rudeness, couched his lance and rushed at the commissar with as much speed as the "apposition" is capable of, so that he immediately threw him to the ground. There ensued a general mêlée, during which the convicts freed themselves from their chains, a gendarme threw Szeliga-Don Quixote into the *Landwehrgraben*[98] or sheep's ditch [*Schafgraben*], and Saint Sancho performed the most heroic feats in his struggle against the holy. A few minutes later, the gendarmes were scattered, Szeliga crept out of the ditch and the holy was abolished for the time being.

Then Saint Sancho gathered round him the liberated convicts and addressed them as follows (pp. 265, 266 of "the book"):

"What is the *ordinary* criminal" (the criminal in the ordinary sense) "but a man who has committed the *fatal mistake*" (a fatal story-teller for the citizen and the countryman!) "of striving after what belongs to the people instead of seeking what is *his own*? He has desired the *contemptible*" (a general muttering among the convicts at this moral judgment) "goods of *another*, he has done what *believers* do who aspire to what belongs to God" (the criminal as a noble soul). "What does the priest do who admonishes the criminal? He tells him of the great violation of right he has committed by his action in desecrating what the state has sanctified, the property of the state, which also includes the life of the state's subjects. Instead of this the priest might have done *better* to reproach the criminal with having besmirched himself" (titters among

the convicts at this egoistical appropriation of banal clerical phraseology) "by not *despising the alien* but regarding it as *worthy of being robbed*" (murmuring among the convicts). "He could have done so, were he not a priest" (one of the convicts: "In the ordinary sense!"). I, however, "speak with the criminal as with an *egoist*, and he will be *ashamed*" (shameless, loud cheers from the criminals, who do not wish to be called upon to feel shame), "not because he has committed a crime against your laws and your goods, but because he considered it worth while to circumvent your laws" (this refers only to "circumvention in the ordinary sense"; elsewhere, however, "I go round a rock so long as I am unable to blow it up" and I "circumvent", for example, *even* the "censorship"), "and to desire your goods" (renewed cheers); "he will be *ashamed*...."

Gines de Passamonte, the arch-thief, who in general was not very patient, shouted: "Are we then to do nothing but feel *ashamed*, be submissive, when a priest in the extraordinary sense 'admonishes' us?"

"He will be ashamed," continues Sancho, "that he did not despise you, together with what is yours, that he was too little of an egoist." (Sancho here applies an alien measure to the egoism of the criminal. In consequence, a general bellowing breaks out among the convicts; in some confusion, Sancho gives way, turning with a rhetorical gesture to the absent "good burghers".) "But you cannot speak to him egoistically, for you have not the stature of a criminal, you ... perpetrate nothing."

Gines again interrupts: "What credulity, my good man! Our prison warders perpetrate all kinds of crimes, they embezzle, they defraud, they commit rape [...[a]]

## [B. My Intercourse]

### [*I. Society*][99]

[...] again he reveals only his credulity. The reactionaries knew already that by the constitution the bourgeoisie abolishes the naturally arisen state and establishes and *makes* its own state, that "*le pouvoir constituant, qui était dans le temps*" naturally "*passa dans la volonté humaine*",[b] that "this *fabricated* state was like a fabricated, painted tree",[c] etc. See Fiévée's *Correspondance politique et administrative*, Paris, 1815, *Appel à la France contre la division des opinions, Le drapeau blanc* by Sarran *ainé*,[d] the *Gazette de France* of the Restoration period, and the earlier works of Bonald, de Maistre, etc. The liberal bourgeois, in turn, reproach the old republicans—about

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[a] Twelve pages of the manuscript are missing here.—*Ed.*

[b] "The constitutional power which had been shaped in the course of time had permeated the human will." Lourdoueix, "Appel à la France contre la division des opinions" (quoted from Karl Wilhelm Lancizolle's book *Ueber Ursachen, Character und Folgen der Julitage*).—*Ed.*

[c] Karl Wilhelm Lancizolle, op. cit.—*Ed.*

[d] Sarran the elder.—*Ed.*

whom they obviously know as little as Saint Max knows about the bourgeois state—on the grounds that their patriotism is nothing but "*une passion factice envers un être abstrait, une idée générale*"[a] (Benj. Constant, *De l'esprit de conquête*, Paris, 1814, p. 48), whereas the reactionaries accused the bourgeois on the grounds that their political ideology is nothing but "*une mystification que la classe aisée fait subir à celles qui ne le sont pas*" (*Gazette de France*, 1831, Février[b]).

On page 295, Saint Sancho declares that the state is "an institution for making the nation Christian", and all he can say about the basis of the state is that it "is held together" with the "cement" of "respect for the law", or that the holy "is held together" by respect (the holy as link) for the holy (p. 314).

Note 4.

"If the state is holy, there must be censorship" (p. 316). "The French Government does not contest freedom of the press as a right of man, but it demands a guarantee from the individual that he is *really a human being*." (*Quel bonhomme!*[c] Jacques le bonhomme is "called upon" to study the September Laws[100]) (p. 380).

*Note 5*, in which we find the most profound explanations about the various forms of the state, which Jacques le bonhomme makes independent and in which he sees only different attempts to realise the true state.

"The republic is *nothing but* absolute monarchy, for it makes no difference whether the monarch is called prince or people, since both are majesties" (the holy).... "Constitutionalism is a step further than the republic, for it is the state in the process of *dissolution*."

This dissolution is explained as follows:

"In the constitutional state ... the government wants to be absolute, and the people wants to be absolute. These two absolutes" (i.e., holies) "will destroy one another" (p. 302). "I am not the state, I am the creative negation of the state"; "thereby all questions" (about the constitution, etc.) "sink into their true nothing" (p. 310).

He should have added that these propositions about forms of the state are merely a paraphrase of this "nothing", whose sole creation is the proposition given above: I am not the state. Saint Sancho, just like a German school-master, speaks here of "the republic," which is, of course, far older than constitutional monarchy, e.g., the Greek republics.

That in a democratic, representative state like North America class conflicts have already reached a form which the constitutional monarchies are only just being forced to approach—about this, of

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[a] "An artificial passion directed towards something abstract, a general idea."—*Ed.*

[b] "A deception with which the wealthy class deludes those that are not wealthy." Quoted from Karl Wilhelm Lancizolle, op. cit.—*Ed.*

[c] What a simpleton.—*Ed.*

course, he knows nothing. His phrases about constitutional monarchy prove that since 1842 by the Berlin calendar[101] he has learned nothing and forgotten nothing.[a]

*Note 6.*

"The state owes its existence only to the contempt which I have for myself", and "with the disappearance of this disdain it will fade away entirely" (it seems that it depends solely on Sancho how soon all the states on earth will "fade away". Repetition of Note 3 in the reversed equation, see "Logic")[b]: "It exists only when it is *superior to me*, only as *might* [*Macht*] and the *mighty* [*Mächtiger*]. *Or*" (a remarkable *or* which proves just the opposite of what it is intended to prove) "can you imagine a state the inhabitants of which *in all their entirety*" (a jump from "I" to "we") "*attach no importance* to it [sich *allesamt* nichts aus ihm *machen*]?" (p. 377).

There is no need to dwell on the synonymy of the words "*Macht*", "*Mächtig*" and "*machen*".

From the fact that in any state there are people who attach importance to it, i.e., who, in the state and thanks to the state, *themselves* acquire importance, Sancho concludes that the state is a power standing above these people. Here again it is only a matter of getting the fixed idea about the state out of one's mind. Jacques le bonhomme continues to imagine that the state is a mere idea and he believes in the independent power of this idea of the state. He is the true "politician who believes in the state, is possessed by the state" (p. 309). Hegel idealises the conception of the state held by the political ideologists who still took separate individuals as their point of departure, even if it was merely the *will* of these individuals; Hegel transforms the common will of these individuals into the absolute will, and Jacques le bonhomme *bona fide* accepts this idealisation of ideology as the correct view of the state and, in this belief, criticises it by declaring the Absolute to be the Absolute.

### 5. Society as Bourgeois Society

We shall spend somewhat more time on this chapter because, not unintentionally, it is the most confused of all the confused chapters in "the book", and because at the same time it proves most strikingly how little our saint succeeds in getting to know things in their mundane shape. Instead of making them worldly, he makes them holy by "giving" the reader the "benefit" only of his own holy conception. Before coming to bourgeois society proper, we shall hear some new explanations about property in general and in its relation

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[a] Paraphrase of the French saying: "*Ils n'ont rien appris ni rien oublié*" ("They have learned nothing and forgotten nothing"); when it was first coined, shortly after the French Revolution, it was used in relation to the royalists.—*Ed.*

[b] This volume, pp. 280-81.—*Ed.*

to the state. These explanations appear the newer because they give Saint Sancho the opportunity to put forward again his most favourite equations about right and the state and thus to give his "treatise" "more manifold transformations" and "refractions". We need, of course, only quote the last members of these equations since the reader will still have in mind their context from the chapter "My Power".

Private property or bourgeois property = Not my property
= Holy property
= Property of others
= Respected property or respect for the property of others
= Property of *man* (pp. 327, 369).

From these equations one obtains at once the following antitheses:

Property in the bourgeois sense = Property in the egoistical sense (p. 327).
"Property of *man*" = "My property."
("Human belongings" = My belongings.) P. 324.
Equations: Man = Right
= State power.
Private property or bourgeois property = Rightful property (p. 324),
= mine by virtue of right (p. 332),
= guaranteed property,
= property of others,
= property belonging to another,
= property belonging to right,
= property by right (pp. 367, 332),
= a concept of right,
= something spiritual,
= universal,
= fiction,
= pure thought,
= fixed idea,
= spectre,
= property of the spectre (pp. 368, 324, 332, 367, 369).
Private property = Property of right.
Right = Power of the state.
Private property = Property in the power of the state

= State property, or also
Property = State property.
State property = My non-property.
State = The sole owner (pp. 339, 334).

We now come to the antitheses:

*Private property — Egoistical property.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Authorised by right (by the state, by Man) to have property | Empowered by me to have property (p. 339). |
| Mine by virtue of right | Mine by virtue of my power or force (p. 332). |
| Property given by another | Property taken by me (p. 339). |
| Rightful property of others | Rightful property of another is what I consider right (p. 339), |

which can be repeated in a hundred other formulas if, for example, one puts plenary powers instead of power, or uses formulas already given.

| | |
|---|---|
| Private property = alien relation to the property of all others | My property = property relation to the property of all others. |

Or also:

| | |
|---|---|
| Property comprising a few objects | Property comprising everything (p. 343). |

Alienation [*Entfremdung*], as the relation or link in the above equations, can be expressed also in the following antitheses:

*Private property — Egoistical property.*

| | |
|---|---|
| "To behave towards property as towards something holy, a spectre", "to respect it", "to have respect for property" (p. 324). | "To renounce the holy relation towards property", no longer to regard it as alien, no longer to fear the spectre, to have no respect for property, to have the property of lack of respect (pp. 368, 340, 343). |

The modes of appropriation contained in the above equations and antitheses will be dealt with when we come to the "union", but as for the time being we are still in the "holy society", we are here only concerned with canonisation.

Note. In the section "Hierarchy" we already dealt with the question why the ideologists can regard the property relation as a relation of "Man", the different forms of which in different epochs are determined by the individuals' conception of "Man". It suffices here to refer the reader to that analysis.

*Treatise 1.* On the parcellation of landed property, the redemption of feudal obligations and the swallowing-up of small landed property by large landed property.

All these things are deduced from holy property and the equation: bourgeois property = respect for the holy.

1) "Property in the bourgeois sense means *holy* property, in such a way that I must *respect* your property. 'Respect for property!' *Hence* the politicians would like everyone to possess his little piece of property and by their endeavour have partly brought about an incredible parcellation" (pp. 327, 328).— 2) "The political liberals see to it that as far as possible all feudal obligations are redeemed and that everyone is a free master on his land, even though this land has only such a quantity of ground" (the land has a *quantity of ground!*) "that it can be adequately fertilised by the manure from one person.... No matter how small it is, so long as it is one's own, i.e., a *respected property!* The more such owners there are, the more free people and good patriots has the state" (p. 328).—3) "Political liberalism, like everything religious, counts on *respect*, humanity, the virtues of love. Therefore it experiences constant vexation. *For in practice people respect nothing*, and every day small properties are being bought up by large landowners, and the 'free people' are turned into day-labourers. If, on the other hand, the 'small owners' had *borne in mind* that large property also belongs to them, they would not have respectfully excluded themselves from it and would not have become excluded" (p. 328).

1) Here, therefore, first of all the whole development of parcellation, about which Saint Sancho knows only that it is the holy, is explained from a mere idea which "the politicians" "have got into their heads". *Because* "the politicians" demand "respect for property", *hence* they "would like" parcellation, which moreover was carried out everywhere by *not respecting* other people's property! "The politicians" actually have "partly brought about an incredible parcellation". It was therefore through the action of the "politicians" that in France even before the revolution, just as today in Ireland and partly in Wales, parcellation had long existed in *agriculture*, and that capital and all other conditions were lacking for large-scale cultivation. Incidentally, how much "politicians" nowadays "would like" to carry out parcellation, Saint Sancho could see from the fact that all the French bourgeois are dissatisfied with parcellation, both because it weakens competition among the workers and also for political reasons; further, from the fact that all reactionaries (as Sancho could see if only from the *Erinnerungen* of the old Arndt)

[a] See this volume, pp. 183-84.— *Ed.*

regarded parcellation simply as the conversion of landed property into modern, industrial, marketable, desanctified property. We shall not here set forth for our saint the *economic* reasons why the bourgeoisie, as soon as it has attained power, must carry out this conversion, which can come about both by the abolition of land rents that exceed profit and by parcellation. Nor shall we explain to him that the form in which this conversion takes place depends on the level of development of industry, trade, shipping, etc., in the country concerned. The propositions cited above about parcellation are nothing more than a bombastic circumlocution of the simple fact that in various places "here and there" considerable parcellation exists—expressed in our Sancho's canonising manner of speech, which suits everything and nothing. For the rest, Sancho's propositions given above contain merely the fantasies of the German petty bourgeois about parcellation which, of course, is for him the alien, "the holy". Cf. "Political Liberalism".

2) The redemption of feudal obligations, a misery which occurs only in Germany, where the governments were only compelled to carry it through by the more advanced conditions in neighbouring countries and by financial difficulties—this redemption is held by our saint to be something that "the political liberals" desire in order to produce "free people and good burghers". Sancho's horizon again does not go beyond the Pomeranian Landtag and the Saxon Chamber of Deputies. This German redemption of feudal obligations never led to any political or economic results and, being a half-measure, remained without any effect at all. Sancho knows nothing, of course, about the *historically* important redemption of feudal obligations in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which was due to the commencing development of trade and industry and the landowners' need for money.

The very same people who, like Stein and Vincke, wanted the redemption of feudal obligations in Germany in order, as Sancho believes, to make good burghers and free people, found later on that in order to produce "good burghers and free people" feudal obligations ought to be restored, as is just now being attempted in Westphalia. From which it follows that "respect", like the fear of God, is useful for all purposes.

3) The "buying-up" of small landed property by the "large landowners" takes place, according to Sancho, because in practice "respect for property" does not occur. Two of the most common consequences of competition—concentration and buying-up—and *competition* as a whole, which does not exist without concentration, seem here to our Sancho to be *violations* of bourgeois *property*, which

moves within the sphere of competition. Bourgeois property is already violated by the very fact of its existence. In Sancho's opinion, it is not possible to buy anything without attacking property.* How deeply Saint Sancho has penetrated into the concentration of landed property can already be deduced from the fact that he sees in it only the most obvious act of concentration, the mere "buying-up". Incidentally, from what Sancho says it is not possible to perceive to what extent small landowners cease to be owners by becoming day-labourers. Indeed, on the following page (p. 329) Sancho himself with great solemnity advances as an argument against Proudhon that they continue to be "owners of the share remaining to them in the utilisation of the land", namely owners of wages. "It can sometimes be observed in history" that large landed property swallows up small landed property, and then in turn the small swallows up the large, two phenomena which, in Saint Sancho's opinion, become peacefully resolved into the adequate reason that "in practice people respect nothing". The same thing holds good for the other manifold forms of landed property. And then the wise "if the small owners had", etc.! In the Old Testament we saw how Saint Sancho, in accordance with the speculative method, made earlier generations reflect on the experiences of later ones; now we see how, in accordance with his ranting method, he complains that the earlier generations have failed to bear in mind not only the thoughts of later generations about them, but also his own nonsense. What schoolmasterly "*wisdom*"[a]! If the terrorists had considered that they would bring Napoleon to the throne, if the English barons at the time of Runnymede and Magna Charta had considered that in 1849 the Corn Laws[102] would be repealed, if Croesus had considered that Rothschild would surpass him in riches, if Alexander the Great had considered that Rotteck[b] would judge him and that his Empire would fall into the hands of the Turks, if Themistocles had considered that he would defeat the Persians in the interests of Otto the Child,[103] if Hegel had considered that he would be exploited in such a "vulgar" way by Saint Sancho, if, if, if! About what kind of "small owners" does Saint Sancho fancy that he is talking? About the propertyless peasants who only *became* "small owners" as a result of the parcelling

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] Saint Sancho arrives at this nonsense because he mistakes the juridical, ideological expression of bourgeois property for actual bourgeois property, and he cannot understand why the reality will not correspond to this illusion of his.

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[a] In the manuscript the Berlin dialect form *Jescheitheit* is used.—*Ed.*
[b] Karl Rotteck, *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte für alle Stände.*—*Ed.*

out of large landed property, or about those who are being ruined nowadays as a result of concentration? For Saint Sancho these two cases are as like as two drops of water. In the first case, the small owners did not by any means exclude themselves from "large property", but each took possession of it insofar as he was not excluded by others and had the power to do so. This power, however, was not Stirner's vaunted power, but was determined by quite empirical relations, e.g., their development and the whole preceding development of bourgeois society, the locality and its greater or lesser degree of connection with the neighbourhood, the size of the piece of land taken into possession, and the number of those who appropriated it, the relations of industry, of intercourse, means of communication, instruments of production, etc., etc. That they had no intention of excluding themselves from large landed property is evident even from the fact that many of them became large landed proprietors themselves. Sancho makes himself ridiculous even in Germany by his unreasonable demand that these peasants should have jumped the stage of parcellation, which did not yet exist and was at that time the only revolutionary form for them, and that they should have thrown themselves at a bound into his egoism in agreement with itself. Disregarding this nonsense of his, it was not possible for these peasants to organise themselves communistically, since they lacked all the means necessary for bringing about the first condition of communist association, namely collective husbandry, and since, on the contrary, parcellation was only one of the conditions which subsequently evoked the need for such an association. In general, a communist movement can never originate from the countryside, but only from the towns.

In the second case, when Saint Sancho talks of the ruined small owners, these still have a common interest with the big landowners as against the wholly propertyless class and the industrial bourgeoisie. If this common interest is absent, they lack the power to appropriate large landed property, since they live scattered and their whole activity and way of life make association, the first condition for such appropriation, impossible for them, and such a movement, in its turn, presupposes a much more general movement which by no means depends on them

Finally, Sancho's whole tirade amounts to this: that they ought merely to get rid of their respect for the property of others. We shall hear a little more about this later on.

In conclusion, let us take one more proposition *ad acta*. "*The point is that in practice people respect nothing,*" so, after all, it appears that it is not "just" a matter of "respect".

*Treatise No. 2.* Private property, state and right.

"If, if, if!"

"If" Saint Sancho had for one moment set aside the current ideas of lawyers and politicians about private property, and also the polemic against it, if he had once looked at this private property in its empirical existence, in its connection with the productive forces of individuals, then all his Solomon's wisdom, with which he will now entertain us, would have been reduced to nothing. Then it would hardly have escaped him (although like Habakkuk he is *capable de tout*[104]) that private property is a form of intercourse necessary for certain stages of development of the productive forces; a form of intercourse that cannot be abolished, and cannot be dispensed with in the production of actual material life, until productive forces have been created for which private property becomes a restricting fetter. In that case it could not have escaped the reader also that Sancho ought to have occupied himself with material relations, instead of dissolving the whole world in a system of theological morality in order to set against it a new system of would-be egoistical morality. It could not have escaped him that it was a question of things altogether different from "respect" or disrespect. "If, if, if!"

Incidentally, this "if" is only an echo of Sancho's proposition given above; for "if" Sancho had done all that, he obviously could not have written his book.

Since Saint Sancho accepts in good faith the illusion of politicians, lawyers and other ideologists which puts all empirical relations upside-down, and, in addition, in the German manner adds something of his own, *private property* for him *becomes transformed* into *state property,* or *property by right,* on which he can now make an experiment to justify his equations given above. Let us first of all look at the transformation of private property into state property.

"The question of property is decided only by force" (on the contrary, the question of force has so far been decided by property), "and since the state alone is the mighty one—irrespective of whether it is a state of burghers, a state of ragamuffins" (Stirner's "union") "or simply a state of human beings—it alone is the owner" (p. 333).

Side by side with the fact of the German "state of burghers" here again fantasies invented by Sancho and Bauer appear on an equal footing, whereas no mention is made anywhere of the historically important state formations. First of all he transforms the state into a person, into "the Mighty one". The fact that the ruling class establishes its joint domination as public power, as the state, Sancho interprets and distorts in the German petty-bourgeois manner as meaning that the "state" is established as a third force against this

ruling class and absorbs all power in the face of it. He proceeds now to confirm this belief of his by means of a series of examples.

Because property under the rule of the bourgeoisie, as in all epochs, is bound up with definite conditions, first of all economic, which depend on the degree of development of the productive forces and intercourse—conditions which inevitably acquire a legal and political expression—Saint Sancho in his simplicity believes that

"the *state* links possession of property" (*car tel est son bon plaisir*[a]) "just as it links everything else, e.g., marriage, with certain conditions" (p. 335).

Because the bourgeois do not allow the state to interfere in their private interests and give it only as much power as is necessary for their own safety and the maintenance of competition and because the bourgeois in general act as citizens only to the extent that their private interests demand it, Jacques le bonhomme believes that they are "nothing" in face of the state.

"The state is only interested in being wealthy itself; whether Michael is rich and Peter poor is a matter of indifference to it ... in face of it both of them are nothing" (p. 334).

On page 345 he derives the same wisdom from the fact that competition is tolerated in the state.

Because the board of a railway is concerned about its shareholders only insofar as they make their payments and receive their dividends, the Berlin school-master in his innocence concludes that the shareholders are "nothing in face of the board just as we are all sinners in the face of God". On the basis of the impotence of the state in face of the activities of private property-owners Sancho proves the impotence of private property-owners in face of the state and his own impotence in face of both.

Further, since the bourgeois have organised the defence of their own property in the state, and the "ego" cannot, therefore, take away his factory "from such and such a manufacturer", except under the conditions of the bourgeoisie, i.e., under the conditions of competition, Jacques le bonhomme believes that

"the state has the factory as property, the manufacturer holds it only in fee, as possession" (p. 347).

In exactly the same way when a dog guards my house it "has" the house "as property", and I hold it only "in fee, as possession" from the dog.

Since the concealed material conditions of private property are often bound to come into contradiction with the *juridical illusion*

[a] Because it chooses to do so—a paraphrase of the concluding words of French royal edicts.—*Ed.*

about private property—as seen, for example, in expropriations—Jacques le bonhomme, concludes that

"here the otherwise concealed principle that only the state is the property-owner whereas the individual is a feudal tenant, strikes the eye" (p. 335).

All that "strikes the eye here" is the fact that worldly property relations are hidden from the eyes of our worthy burgher behind the mantle of "the holy", and that he has still to borrow a "heavenly ladder" from China in order to "climb" to the "rung of civilisation" attained even by school-masters in civilised countries. In the same way as Sancho here transforms the contradictions belonging to the *existence* of private property into the *negation* of private property, he dealt, as we saw above, with the contradictions within the bourgeois family.[a]

Since the bourgeois, and in general all the members of civil society, are forced to constitute themselves as "we", as a juridical person, as the state, in order to safeguard their common interests and—if only because of the division of labour—to delegate the collective power thus created to a few persons, Jacques le bonhomme imagines that

"each has the use of property only so long as he bears within himself the *ego* of the state or is a loyal member of society.... He who is a state-ego, i.e., a good burgher or subject, he, as *such* an ego, not as his own, holds the fee undisturbed" (pp. 334, 335).

From this point of view, a person possesses a railway share only so long as he "bears within himself" the "ego" of the board; consequently it is only as a saint that one can possess a railway share.

Having in this way convinced himself of the identity of private and state property, Saint Sancho can continue:

"That the state does not arbitrarily take away from the individual that which he has from the state, only means that the state does not rob itself" (pp. 334, 335).

That Saint Sancho does not arbitrarily rob others of their property only means that Saint Sancho does not rob himself, for indeed he "*regards*" all property as his own.

One cannot demand of us that we should deal further with the rest of Saint Sancho's fantasies about the state and property, e.g., that the state "tames" and "rewards" individuals by means of property, that out of special malice it has invented high stamp duties in order to ruin the citizens if they are not loyal, etc., etc. and in general with the *petty-bourgeois German* idea of the *omnipotence* of the state, an idea which was already current among the old German lawyers and is here presented in the form of grandiloquent assertions.

Finally Saint Sancho also tries to confirm his adequately proved

[a] See this volume, pp. 180-81.—*Ed.*

identity of state and private property by means of etymological synonymy; in doing which, however, he belabours his erudition *en ambas posaderas.*

"My private property is only that which the state allows me out of *its property, by depriving* [*privieren*] other state members of it: it is state property" (p. 339).

By chance this is just the reverse of what happened. Private property in *Rome,* to which alone this etymological witticism can relate, was in the most direct contradiction to state property. True, the state gave the plebeians private property; in doing so it did not, however, deprive "others" of their private property but deprived these plebeians themselves of their state property (*ager publicus*[a]) and their political rights, and it was precisely on that account that they *themselves* were called *privati,* robbed ones, and not the fantastical "other state members" of whom Saint Sancho dreams. Jacques le bonhomme covers himself with shame in all countries, all languages and all epochs as soon as he begins to talk about positive facts concerning which "the holy" cannot have any knowledge *a priori.*

Desperation because the state swallows up all property drives Sancho back to his innermost "indignant" self-consciousness, where he is surprised to discover that he is a *man of letters.* He expresses his astonishment in the following remarkable words:

"In opposition to the state I feel ever more clearly that I still retain one great power, power over myself."

Further on this is developed thus:

"My thoughts constitute real property for me with which I can carry on trade" (p. 339).

Thus, Stirner the "ragamuffin", the "man of only ideal wealth", arrives at the desperate decision to carry on trade with the curdled, sour milk of his thoughts.[105] But what cunning does he use if the state declares his thoughts to be contraband? Just listen to this:

"I renounce them" (which is undoubtedly very wise) "and exchange them for others" (that is, if anyone should be such a bad businessman as to accept his exchange[b] of thoughts), " which then become my new, purchased property" (p. 339).

Our honourable burgher will not rest until he has it in black and white that he has bought his property honestly. Here one sees the consolation of the Berlin burgher in the face of all his political calamities and police tribulations: "Thoughts are free of customs duty!"[c]

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[a] Common land.— *Ed.*

[b] In the original a pun, for the German word *Wechsel,* used here, can mean either "change", "alteration", "exchange" or "bill of exchange".— *Ed.*

[c] Martin Luther, *Von weltlicher Obrigkeit.*— *Ed.*

The transformation of private property into state property reduces itself, in the final analysis, to the idea that the bourgeois has possessions only as a member of the bourgeois species, a species which as a whole is called the state and which invests individuals with the fief of property. Here again the matter is put upside-down. In the bourgeois class, as in every other, it is only personal conditions that are developed into common and universal conditions under which the separate members of the class possess and live. Although previously philosophical illusions of this kind could be current in Germany, they have now become completely ludicrous, since world trade has adequately proved that bourgeois gain is quite independent of politics, but that politics, on the other hand, is entirely dependent on bourgeois gain. Already in the eighteenth century, politics was so dependent on trade that when, for example, the French Government wanted to raise a loan, the Dutch demanded that a private individual should stand security for the state.

That "my worthlessness" or "pauperism" is the "realisation of the value" or the "existence" of the "state" (p. 336) is one of the thousand and one Stirnerian equations which we mention here only because in this connection we shall hear something new about pauperism.

"Pauperism is *my worthlessness*, the phenomenon that I cannot realise my value. Hence state and pauperism are one and the same.... The state is always trying to *derive benefit* from me, i.e., to exploit me, make use of me, to utilise me, even though this utilisation consists merely in my providing *proles*[a] (proletariat). It wants me to be its creature" (p. 336).

Apart from the fact that one sees here how little it depends on him to realise his value, although everywhere and at all times he can assert his peculiarity, and that here once again, in contradiction to former statements, essence and appearance are totally divorced from each other, we have again the above-mentioned petty-bourgeois view of our *bonhomme* that the "state" wants to exploit him. The only further point of interest to us is the ancient Roman etymological derivation of the word "proletariat", which is here naively smuggled into the modern state. Does Saint Sancho really not know that wherever the modern state has developed, "providing *proles*" is for the state, i.e., the official bourgeois, precisely the most unpleasant activity of the proletariat? Perhaps he ought to translate Malthus and Minister Duchâtel into German,[b] for his own benefit? Just now, Saint

[a] Offspring.—*Ed.*

[b] Thomas Robert Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*; Charles Marie Duchâtel, *De la Charité*.—*Ed.*

Sancho, as a German petty bourgeois, "felt" "ever more clearly" that "in opposition to the state he still retained one great power", namely—the power to think in defiance of the state. If he were an English proletarian he would have felt that he "retained the power" to produce children in defiance of the state.

Another jeremiad against the state! Another theory of pauperism! To start with he, as "ego", "creates" "flour, linen or iron and coal", thereby from the outset abolishing division of labour. Then he begins "to complain" "at length" that his work is not paid for at its value, and in the first instance he comes into conflict with those who pay for it. Then the state comes between them in the role of "conciliator".

"If I am not satisfied with the price it" (i.e., the state) "pays for my commodity and labour, if instead I myself endeavour to fix the price of my commodity, i.e., try to see that it is lucrative for me, I come into conflict in the first instance" (a great "in the first instance"!—not with the state, but) "with the buyers of the commodity" (p. 337).

If then he wants to enter into "direct relation" with these buyers, i.e., "seize them by the throat", the state "intervenes", "tears man from man" (although it was not a matter of "man in general" but of worker and employer or, what he lumps together in confusion, of the seller and buyer of commodities); moreover, the state does this with the malicious intention "to put itself in the middle as *spirit*" (obviously the holy spirit).

"Workers who demand higher wages are treated as criminals as soon as they try to achieve this by *force*" (p. 337).

Once more we are presented with a bouquet of nonsense. Mr. Senior need never have written his letters on wages[a] if he had first entered into "direct relation" with Stirner, especially as in that case the state would hardly have "torn man from man". Sancho here gives the state a triple function. It first acts as a "conciliator", then as price fixer, and finally as "spirit", as the holy. The fact that, after having gloriously identified private and state property, Saint Sancho also makes the state fix the level of wages, is testimony equally to his great consistency and his ignorance of the affairs of this world. The fact that in England, America and Belgium "workers who try to gain higher wages by force" are by no means immediately treated as "criminals", but on the contrary quite often actually succeed in obtaining higher wages, is also something of which our saint is ignorant, and which disposes of his whole legend about wages. The fact that, even if the state did not "put itself in the middle", the workers would gain nothing by "seizing" their employers "by the

[a] Nassau William Senior, *Three Lectures on the Rate of Wages.—Ed.*

throat" or at any rate much less than through association and strikes, that is, so long as they remain workers and their opponents capitalists—this is also something that could be comprehended even in Berlin. There is likewise no need to demonstrate that bourgeois society, which is based on competition, and its bourgeois state, owing to their whole material basis, cannot permit any struggle among the citizens except the struggle of competition, and are bound to intervene not as "spirit", but with bayonets if people "seize each other by the throat".

Incidentally, Stirner's idea that only the state becomes richer when individuals become richer on the basis of bourgeois property, or that up to now all private property has been state property, is an idea that again puts historical relations upside-down. With the development and accumulation of bourgeois property, i.e., with the development of commerce and industry, individuals grew richer and richer while the state fell ever more deeply into debt. This phenomenon was evident already in the first Italian commercial republics; later, since the last century, it showed itself to a marked degree in Holland, where the stock exchange speculator Pinto drew attention to it as early as 1750,[a] and now it is again occurring in England. It is therefore obvious that as soon as the bourgeoisie has accumulated money, the state has to beg from the bourgeoisie and in the end it is actually bought up by the latter. This takes place in a period in which the bourgeoisie is still confronted by another class, and consequently the state can retain some appearance of independence in relation to both of them. Even after the state has been bought up, it still needs money and, therefore, continues to be dependent on the bourgeoisie; nevertheless, when the interests of the bourgeoisie demand it, the state can have at its disposal more funds than states which are less developed and, therefore, less burdened with debts. However, even the least developed states of Europe, those of the Holy Alliance, are inexorably approaching this fate, for they will be bought up by the bourgeoisie; then Stirner will be able to console them with the identity of private and state property, especially his own sovereign, who is trying in vain to postpone the hour when political power will be sold to the "burghers" who have become "angry".

We come now to the relation between private property and right, where we have to listen to the same stuff in another form. The identity of state and private property is apparently given a new turn. Political *recognition* of private property in law is declared to be the *basis* of private property.

[a] Isaac Pinto, *Lettre sur la Jalousie du Commerce* in *Traité de la Circulation et du Crédit.—Ed.*

"Private property lives by grace of right. It is guaranteed only in right—for possession is not yet property—it becomes mine only with the consent of right; it is not a fact, but a fiction, a thought. That is property by right, rightful property, *guaranteed* property; it is mine not thanks to me, but thanks to right" (p. 332).

In this passage the previous nonsense about state property merely reaches still more comical heights. We shall, therefore, pass on at once to Sancho's exploitation of the fictitious *jus utendi et abutendi.*[a]

On page 332 we learn, besides the beautiful passage above, that property

"is unlimited power over something which I can dispose of as I please". But "power" is "not something existing of itself, but exists only in the powerful ego, in me, the possessor of power" (p. 366). Hence property is not a "thing", "what is mine is not this tree, but my power over it, my ability to dispose of it" (p. 366). He only knows "things" or "egos". "The power" which is "separated from the ego", given independent existence, transformed into a "spectre", is "right". "This perpetuated power" (treatise on right of inheritance) "is not extinguished even when I die, but is passed on or inherited. Things now really belong not to me, but to right. On the other hand, this is nothing but a delusion, for the power of the individual becomes permanent, and becomes a right, only because other individuals combine their power with his. The delusion consists in their belief that they cannot take back their power" (pp. 366, 367). "A dog who sees a bone in the power of another dog stands aside only if it feels it is too weak. Man, however, respects the *right* of the other man to his bone.... And as here, so in general, it is called '*human*' when something *spiritual*, in this case right, is seen in everything, i.e., when everything is made into a spectre and treated as a spectre.... It is human to regard the individual phenomenon not as an individual, but as a universal phenomenon" (pp. 368, 369).

Thus once again the whole mischief arises from the faith of individuals in the conception of right, which they *ought* to get out of their heads. Saint Sancho only knows "things" and "egos", and as regards anything that does not come under these headings, as regards all relations, he knows only the abstract concepts of them, which for him, therefore, also become "spectres". "On the other hand", it does dawn on him at times that all this is "nothing but a delusion" and that the "power of the individual" very much depends on whether others combine their power with his. But in the final analysis everything is nevertheless reduced to the "illusion" that individuals "*believe* that they cannot take back their power". Once again the railways do not "actually" belong to the shareholders, but to the statutes. Sancho immediately puts forward the right of inheritance as a striking example. He explains it not from the necessity for accumulation and from the family which existed before right, but from the *juridical fiction* of the *prolongation of power* beyond

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[a] The right of using and consuming (also: abusing), i.e., of disposing of a thing at will.— *Ed.*

death.* However, the more feudal society passes into bourgeois society, the more is this juridical fiction itself abandoned by the legislation of all countries. (Cf., for example, the *Code Napoléon.*) There is no need to show here that absolute paternal power and primogeniture—both natural feudal primogeniture and the later form—were based on very definite material relations. The same thing is to be found among ancient peoples in the epoch of the disintegration of the *community* in consequence of the development of *private* life (the best proof of this is the history of the Roman right of inheritance). In general, Sancho could not have chosen a more unfortunate example than the right of inheritance, which in the clearest possible way shows the dependence of right on the relations of production. Compare, for example, Roman and German right of inheritance. Certainly, no dog has ever made phosphorus, bone-meal or lime out of a bone, any more than it has ever "got into its head" anything about its "right" to a bone; equally, it has never "entered the head" of Saint Sancho to reflect whether the right to a bone which people, but not dogs, claim for themselves, is not connected with the way in which people, but not dogs, utilise this bone in production. In general, in this one example we have before us Sancho's whole method of criticism and his unshakable faith in current illusions. The hitherto existing production relations of individuals are bound also to be expressed as political and legal relations. (See above.[a]) Within the division of labour these relations are bound to acquire an independent existence over against the individuals. All relations can be expressed in language only in the form of concepts. That these general ideas and concepts are looked upon as mysterious forces is the necessary result of the fact that the real relations, of which they are the expression, have acquired independent existence. Besides this meaning in everyday consciousness, these general ideas are further elaborated and given a special significance by politicians and lawyers, who, as a result of the division of labour, are dependent on the cult of these concepts, and who see in them, and not in the relations of production, the true basis of all real property relations. Saint Sancho, who takes over this illusion

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] He could have learned from more advanced legal systems which adequately express modern property relations, e.g., from the *Code civil,* that... "The perpetuated power" which "is not extinguished even when I die" is, in the *Code civil,* reduced to a minimum, and the legal portion of children is a recognition of the material basis of the law and particularly of the law under bourgeois rule.

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[a] This volume, p. 36.— *Ed.*

without examination, is thus enabled to declare that property by right is the basis of private property, and that the concept of right is the basis of property by right, after which he can restrict his whole criticism to declaring that the concept of right is a concept, a spectre. That is the end of the matter for Saint Sancho. To set his mind at rest, we can add that in all the early law books the behaviour of two dogs who have found a bone is regarded as right: *vim vi repellere licere*,[a] say the Pandects[106]; *idque jus natura comparatur*,[b] by which is meant *jus quod natura omnia animalia* (people and dogs) *docuit*[c]; but that later it is "just" the organised repulsion of force by force that becomes right.

Saint Sancho, who is now well under way, proves his erudition in the field of the history of right by disputing a "bone" with Proudhon.

> Proudhon, he says, "tries to humbug us into believing that society is the original possessor and sole owner of imprescriptible right; that the so-called owner has committed theft with regard to society; that if society takes from any present-day owner his property, it does not steal anything from him, for it is only asserting its imprescriptible right. That is where one can get with the spectre of society as a *juridical person*" (pp. 330, 331).

In contrast to this Stirner "tries to humbug us into believing" (pp. 340, 367, 420 and elsewhere) that we, viz., the propertyless, presented the owners with their property, out of ignorance, cowardice or good nature, etc., and he calls on us to take back our gift. The difference between these two "attempts at humbugging" is that Proudhon bases himself on a historical fact, while Saint Sancho has only "got something into his head" in order to give the matter a "new turn". For recent investigations into the history of right have established that both in Rome and among the German, Celtic and Slav peoples the development of property had as its starting-point communal or tribal property and that private property strictly speaking arose everywhere by usurpation; Saint Sancho could of course not extract this from the profound idea that the concept of right is a concept. In relation to the legal dogmatists, Proudhon was perfectly right when he stressed this fact and in general combated them by means of their own premises. "That is where one can get with the spectre" of the concept of right as a concept. Proudhon could only have been attacked on account of his proposition quoted above if he had defended the earlier and cruder form of property against the private property that had developed out of this primitive

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[a] It is permissible to repel force by force.—*Ed.*
[b] And this right is fixed by nature.—*Ed.*
[c] A right which nature has taught all living beings.—*Ed.*

communal system. Sancho sums up his criticism of Proudhon in the arrogant question:

"Why such a sentimental appeal for sympathy as if he were a poor victim of robbery?" (p. 420).

Sentimentality, of which, incidentally, not a trace is to be found in Proudhon, is only permitted towards Maritornes. Sancho really imagines that he is a "whole fellow" compared with such a believer in apparitions as Proudhon. He considers his inflated bureaucratic style, of which even Frederick William IV would be ashamed, to be revolutionary. "Blessed are those that believe."[a]

On page 340 we learn:

"All the attempts to enact rational laws about property proceeded from the *bay of love* into a barren ocean of definitions."

A fitting companion to this is the equally bizarre statement:

"Intercourse hitherto has been based on love, on considerate behaviour, on care for one another" (p. 385).

Saint Sancho here surprises himself with a striking paradox about right and intercourse. If, however, we recall that by "love" he understands love of "Man", love of something existing in and for itself, of the universal, that by love he understands the relation to an individual or thing regarded as essence, the *holy*, then this appearance of brilliance is dissipated. The oracular utterances quoted above are then reduced to the old trivialities which have bored us throughout the "book", i.e., that two things, about which Sancho knows nothing, viz., in this case hitherto existing right and hitherto existing intercourse, are "the holy", and that in general only "concepts have ruled the world" up to now. The relation to the holy, as a rule called "respect", can on occasion also be entitled "love". (See "Logic".)

Just one example of how Saint Sancho transforms legislation into a love relation, and trade into a love-affair:

"In a Registration Bill for Ireland, the government put forward the proposal to give the suffrage to those who pay a tax of £5 for the poor. Consequently one who gives alms acquires political rights or, elsewhere, becomes a Knight of the Swan" (p. 344).

It is to be noted here first of all that this "Registration Bill" granting "political rights" was a municipal or corporation Bill or, in more comprehensible language to Sancho, an "urban regulation", which was not designed to grant "political rights" but only urban rights, the right to elect local officials. Secondly, Sancho, who translates McCulloch, surely ought to know quite well the meaning

[a] Luke 1:45 (paraphrased).—*Ed.*

of "to be assessed to the poor-rates at five pounds".[a] This does not mean "to pay a tax of £5 for the poor", but means to be entered on the list of those who pay this tax as the tenants of a house the annual rent of which amounts to £5. Our Berlin bonhomme does not know that the poor-rate in England and Ireland is a *local* tax which *varies* in amount in different towns and different years, so that it would be a sheer impossibility to connect any sort of right with the payment of a particular amount of tax. Finally, Sancho believes that the English and Irish poor-rate is an "*alms*"; whereas it only provides funds for a direct and open offensive war of the ruling bourgeoisie against the proletariat. It pays the cost of work-houses which, as is well known, are a Malthusian deterrent against pauperism. We see how Sancho "proceeds from the bay of love into a barren ocean of definitions".

It may be remarked in passing that German philosophy, because it took consciousness alone as its point of departure, was bound to end in moral philosophy, where the various heroes squabble about true morals. Feuerbach loves man for the sake of man, Saint Bruno loves him because he "deserves" it (*Wigand*, p. 137[b]), while Saint Sancho loves "everyone", because he likes to do so, with the consciousness of egoism ("the book", p. 387).

We have already seen above—in the first treatise—how the small landed proprietors respectfully excluded themselves from large landed property. This self-exclusion from other people's property, out of respect, is depicted in general as the characteristic of bourgeois property. From this characteristic Stirner is able to explain to himself why it is that

"within the bourgeois system, in spite of its implication that everyone should be an owner, the majority have practically nothing" (p. 348). This "occurs because the majority are pleased if they are owners at all, even if they are merely owners of a few rags" (p. 349).

That the "majority" possess only "a few rags", Szeliga regards as a perfectly natural consequence of their love of rags.

Page 343: "Am I thus nothing but an owner? No, hitherto a person was merely an owner, secure in possession of a plot of land by allowing others also to possess their plot; now, however, *everything* belongs to me. I am the owner of everything that I need and can take possession of."

Just as Sancho previously made small landed proprietors respectfully exclude themselves from large landed property, and now makes the small landed proprietors exclude one another, so he could

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[a] McCulloch, *Statistical Account of the British Empire*. The quotation is in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[b] Bruno Bauer, "Charakteristic Ludwig Feuerbachs".—*Ed.*

go into more detail and make respect responsible for the exclusion of commercial property from landed property, of industrial property from commercial property proper, etc., and thus arrive at a totally new political economy on the basis of the holy. He has only then to get respect out of his head in order to abolish at one stroke division of labour and the form of property that arises from it. Sancho gives an example of this new political economy on page 128 of "the book", where he buys a needle not from a shopkeeper,[a] but from respect, and not with money paid to the shopkeeper, but with respect paid to the needle. Incidentally, the *dogmatic* self-exclusion of each individual from other people's property which Sancho attacks is a purely juridical illusion. Under the modern mode of production and intercourse each person delivers a blow at this illusion and directs his efforts precisely to excluding all others from the property that at present belongs to them. How the matter stands with regard to Sancho's "property in everything" is clear enough from the supplementary clause: "that I need and *can take possession of*". He explains this in more detail on page 353:

"If I say: the world belongs to me, *then, properly speaking, this too is empty talk,* which has meaning only insofar as I do not respect any property of others";

that is insofar as *non-respect* of the property of others constitutes *his property.*

What irks Sancho about the private property that is so dear to him is precisely its exclusiveness, without which it would be nonsense—the fact that besides him there are also other private owners. For the private property of others is something holy. We shall see how in his "union" he gets over this inconvenience. We shall find that his egoistical property, property in the extraordinary sense, is nothing but ordinary or bourgeois property transfigured by his sanctifying fantasy.

Let us conclude with the following wisdom of Solomon:

"If people reach a stage where they lose respect for property, then each will possess property ... then [in this matter, too, unions will augment the means of the individual and safeguard his contested property" (p. 342)].[b]

[Treatise No. 3. On competition in the ordinary and extraordinary sense.]

One morning the writer of these lines, in suitable attire, went to see Herr Minister Eichhorn:

"Since things have come to nothing with the factory-owner" (for the Finance Minister had given him neither a site nor funds to build a factory of his own, and the

[a] Here and below the word is in English in the original.—*Ed.*
[b] Four pages of the manuscript are missing here.—*Ed.*

Minister of Justice had not given him permission to take the factory away from the factory-owner—see above on bourgeois property[a]) "I will compete with this professor of law; the man is a blockhead, and I, who know a hundred times more than he does, will take his audience away from him."—"But, my friend, did you study at a university and get a degree?"—"No, but what of that? I fully understand all that is necessary for teaching."—"I'm sorry, but in this matter there is no free competition. I have nothing against you personally, but the essential thing is lacking—a doctor's diploma—and I, the state, demand it."—"So that is the freedom of competition," sighed the author. "Only the state, *my master*, gives me the possibility of competing." Whereupon he returned home downcast (p. 347).

In a more advanced country it would not have occurred to him to ask the state for permission to compete with a professor of law. But once he turns to the state as an *employer* and asks for remuneration, i.e., *wages*, thus entering the sphere of competition, then of course after his previous treatises about private property and *privati*, communal property, the proletariat, *lettres patentes*, the state and *status*, etc., one cannot suppose that his "solicitation will be successful". Judging by his past feats, the state can at best appoint him as custodian (*custos*) of "the holy" on some domanial estate in the backwoods of Pomerania.

By way of amusement we can "insert" here "episodically" Sancho's great discovery that there is no "other difference" between the "*poor*" and the "*rich*" "than that between the *resourceful*[b] and the *resourceless*"[c] (p. 354).

Let us plunge once more into the "barren ocean" of Stirner's "definitions" of competition:

"Competition is connected *less*" (Oh, "less"!) "with the intention of doing a thing as well as possible, than with the intention of making it as *profitable*, lucrative, as possible. For that reason people study for the sake of a post (bread-and-butter study), cultivate obsequiousness and flattery, routine and knowledge of business; they work for appearance. Hence while apparently it is a matter of a *good performance*, in reality people aim only at a good stroke of business and monetary gain. Of course, no one wants to be a censor, but people want to get advancement ... people are afraid of being transferred or even more of being dismissed" (pp. 354, 355).

Let our bonhomme discover a textbook on political economy where even theoreticians assert that in competition it is a matter of a "good performance" or "of doing a thing as well as possible" and not of making "it as profitable as possible". Incidentally, in any such book he will find it stated that under the system of private property

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[a] See this volume, p. 356.—*Ed.*

[b] In the original *der Vermögende*, a capable, resourceful, powerful or wealthy person.—*Ed.*

[c] In the original *der Unvermögende*, an incapable, resourceless, powerless or destitute person.—*Ed.*

highly developed competition, for example in England, certainly causes a "thing" to be "done as well as possible". Small-scale commercial and industrial swindling flourishes only in conditions of restricted competition, among the Chinese, Germans and Jews, and in general among hawkers and small shopkeepers. But even hawking is not mentioned by our saint; he only knows the competition of super-numerary officials and school-masters on probation, he reveals himself here as a downright royal-Prussian junior official. He might just as well have given as an example of competition the endeavour of courtiers in every age to win the favour of their sovereign, but that lay much too far beyond his petty-bourgeois field of vision.

After these tremendous adventures with super-numerary officials, salaried accountants and registrars, Saint Sancho experiences his great adventure with the famous horse Clavileño, of which the prophet Cervantes has already spoken in the New Testament, Chapter 41. For Sancho mounts the high horse of political economy and determines the minimum wage by means of "the holy". True, here once again he reveals his innate timidity and at first refuses to mount the flying steed that carries him far above the clouds into the region "where hail and snow, thunder, lightning and thunderbolts are engendered". But the "Duke", i.e., the "state", encourages him and as soon as the bolder and more experienced Szeliga-Don Quixote has swung himself into the saddle, our worthy Sancho climbs behind him on to the horse's crupper. And when Szeliga's hand had turned the peg on the horse's head, the horse soared high into the air and all the ladies—especially Maritornes—cried after them: "May egoism in agreement with itself guide you, valiant knight, and you, still more valiant armour-bearer, and may you succeed in liberating us from the spectre of Malambruno, of 'the holy'. Only keep your balance, valiant Sancho, so that you do not fall and suffer the same fate as Phaeton, when he wanted to drive the chariot of the sun."

"If we assume" (he is already wavering hypothetically) "that just as *order* belongs to the *essence of the state, subordination* too is based on its *nature*" (a pleasant modulation between "essence" and "nature"—the "goats" which Sancho observed during his flight), "*then* we observe that the underprivileged are *excessively overcharged* and *defrauded* by the inferior" (it should probably read superior) "or privileged" (p. 357).

"If we assume ... then we observe." It should read: then we assume. If we assume that "superior" and "inferior" exist in the state, then "we assume" likewise that the former are "privileged" compared with the latter. We can, however, ascribe the stylistic

beauty of this sentence, as also the sudden recognition of the "essence" and "nature" of a thing, to the timidity and confusion of our Sancho while anxiously trying to retain his balance during his aerial flight, and to the rockets set alight under his nose. We are not even surprised that Saint Sancho derives the consequences of competition not from competition but from bureaucracy, and once again makes the state determine wages.*

He does not take into consideration that the continual fluctuations in wages explode the whole of his beautiful theory; a closer examination of industrial conditions would certainly have provided him with examples of a factory-owner being "overcharged" and "defrauded" by his workers according to the universal laws of competition, if these juridical and moral expressions had not lost all meaning within the framework of competition.

The dwarfish form to which competition has shrunk for Sancho once again demonstrates the naive and petty-bourgeois manner in which world-embracing relations are reflected inside his unique skull, and the extent to which he as a school-master is bound to extract moral applications from all these relations and to refute them with moral postulates. We must give this precious passage *in extenso* "so that nothing should be lost".

> "As regards competition again, it exists precisely because not all persons *attend to their business* and *come to an understanding* with one another about it. Thus, for example, bread is needed by all the inhabitants of a town; hence they could easily come to an agreement to establish a public bakery. Instead, they leave the supply of bread to competing bakers. Similarly, they leave the supply of meat to the butchers, of wine to the wine merchants, etc.... If *I* do not concern myself with *my* business, then I have to *be content* with what *it suits* others to offer me. To have bread is my business, my wish and desire, and yet people leave it to the bakers, and hope at most, thanks to their contention, rivalry and their attempts to outstrip one another, in a word, thanks to their competition, to get an advantage which people could not count on under the guild-system, when the right to bake bread belonged *wholly and solely* to the guilds-men" (p. 365).

It is characteristic of our petty bourgeois that he here recommends to his fellow-philistines, in place of competition, an institution like public bakeries, which existed in many places under the guild-system and which were put an end to by the cheaper competitive mode of production. That is to say, he recommends an

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* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] Here again he does not take into consideration that the "overcharging" and "defrauding" of the workers in the modern world is due to their lack of property and that the lack of property directly contradicts the assertions which Sancho attributes to the liberal bourgeoisie [...] the liberal bourgeoisie who claim to give property to everyone by parcelling out landed property.

institution of a local nature, which could only persist under narrowly restricted conditions and was inevitably bound to perish with the rise of competition, which abolished local narrowness. He has not even learned from competition that the "need" of bread, for example, differs from day to day, that it does not at all depend on him whether tomorrow bread will still be "his business" or whether others will still regard his need as their business, and that within the framework of competition the price of bread is determined by the costs of production and not by the whim of the bakers. He ignores all those relations which were brought about by competition: the abolition of local narrowness, the establishment of means of communication, highly developed division of labour, world intercourse, the proletariat, machinery, etc., and regretfully looks back to medieval philistinism. All he knows about competition is that it is "contention, rivalry and attempts to outstrip one another"; he is not concerned about its connection with division of labour, the relation between supply and demand, etc.* That the bourgeois, whenever their interests demanded it (and they are better judges of this than Saint Sancho), always "came to an understanding" insofar as this was possible in the framework of competition and private property, is proved by the joint-stock companies, which came into being with the rise of sea-borne trade and manufacture and took possession of all the branches of industry and commerce accessible to them. Such "agreements", which led among other things to the conquest of an empire in the East Indies,[107] are of course a small matter compared with the well-meaning fantasy about public bakeries, which is worthy of being discussed in the *Vossische Zeitung*.

As for the proletarians, they—at any rate in the modern form—first arose out of competition; they have already repeatedly set up collective enterprises which, however, always perished because they were unable to compete with the "contending" private bakers, butchers, etc., and because for proletarians—owing to the frequent opposition of interests among them arising out of the division of labour—no other "agreement" is possible than a political one

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] At the outset they could have "come to an understanding". That an "understanding" (to use this word with its moral connotations) is only made possible by competition and that because of the antagonistic class interests there can be no question of all people "coming to an understanding", as Sancho suggests, hardly troubles our sage. These German philosophers generally believe that their own petty parochial misery is of world-historical importance, while as regards the most far-reaching historical relations they imagine it was only for want of their wisdom that matters were not settled by "agreement" and everything cleared up. Sancho's example shows how far one can get with such fantasies.

directed against the whole present system. Where the development of competition enables the proletarians to "come to an understanding", they reach an understanding not about public bakeries but about quite different matters.* The lack of "agreement" between competing individuals that Sancho notes here entirely corresponds to and contradicts his further exposition of competition, which we can enjoy in the "Commentary" (*Wigand*, p. 173).

"Competition was introduced because it was looked upon as a blessing for all. People *came to an agreement* about it, attempts were made to approach it *jointly* ... people *agreed* about it in much the same way as on a hunting expedition all the hunters taking part ... may find it expedient for their purpose to scatter in the forest and to hunt 'singly'.... True, it now turns out ... that in the case of competition not everyone gets ... his advantage."

"It turns out" that Sancho knows as much about hunting as he knows about competition. He is not speaking about a battue nor about hunting with hounds, but about hunting in the extraordinary sense. It only remains for him to write a new history of industry and commerce according to the above principles, and to set up a "union" for this kind of extraordinary hunting.

In the same calm, comfortable style appropriate to a parish magazine he speaks of the relation of competition to morality.

"Those corporeal goods which man as such" (!) "cannot maintain, we have the right to take away from him: this is the meaning of competition, of freedom of industry. Any of the spiritual goods that he cannot maintain devolve likewise upon us. But *sanctified* goods are inviolable. Sanctified and guaranteed—by whom?... By man or the concept, the concept of the matter under consideration." As such sanctified goods he cites "life", "freedom of the person", "religion", "honour", "sense of decency", "sense of shame", etc. ([Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum,*] p. 325).

In the advanced countries, Stirner "has the right" to take all these "sanctified goods", although not from "man as such", but from actual men, of course, by means of and under the conditions of competition. The great revolution of society brought about by competition, which resolved the relations of the bourgeois to one another and to the proletarians into purely monetary relations, and converted all the above-named "sanctified goods" into articles of trade, and which destroyed for the proletarians all naturally derived and traditional relations, e.g., family and political relations, together

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] "They" should "come to an understanding" about a public bakery. It does not, of course, concern our Sancho that in each epoch those whom he calls "they" and "all" are themselves diverse individuals with diverse interests, living under diverse conditions. During the whole course of history until now individuals have always made the mistake that, from the very outset, they did not adopt the overwise "cleverness" with which, after the events, our German philosophers are expatiating about them.

with their entire ideological superstructure—this mighty revolution did not, of course, originate in Germany. Germany played only a passive role in it; she allowed her sanctified goods to be taken from her without even getting the current price for them. Hence our German petty bourgeois knows only the hypocritical assertions of the bourgeoisie about the moral limits of competition observed by the bourgeoisie, which every day tramples underfoot the "sanctified goods" of the proletarians, their "honour", "sense of shame" and "freedom of the person", and which even deprives them of religious instruction. These would-be "moral limits" are regarded by Sancho as the true "meaning" of competition, and its reality is excluded from its meaning.

Sancho sums up the results of his investigation of competition as follows:

> "Is the competition free which the state, this ruler, according to bourgeois principles, cramps by a thousand barriers?" (p. 347).

Sancho's "bourgeois principles" of everywhere making the "state" the "ruler" and regarding the barriers of competition that arise from the mode of production and intercourse as barriers by which the "state" "cramps" competition, are here once more proclaimed with suitable "indignation".

"Recently" Saint Sancho has vaguely heard miscellaneous news "from France" (cf. *Wigand*, p. 190), *inter alia*, about the objectification of persons in competition and the difference between competition and emulation. But the "poor Berliner" has, "*out of stupidity*, spoilt these fine things" (*Wigand*, ibid., where it is his guilty conscience that speaks). "Thus, for example, he says" on page 346 of "the book":

> "Is free competition actually free? Indeed, is it real competition, i.e., competition of *persons*, as it gives itself out to be, because it bases its right on this title?"

Madame Competition gives herself out to be something, because she (i.e., some lawyers, politicians and petty-bourgeois dreamers, trailing in the tail of her suite) bases her right on this title. With this allegory Sancho begins to adapt the "fine things" "from France" to suit the Berlin meridian. We shall skip the absurd assertion already dealt with above that "the state has no objection to make against me personally" and thus allows me to compete, but does not give me the "thing" (p. 347), and we shall pass straight on to his proof that competition is not at all a competition of persons.

> "But is it *persons* who actually compete? No, it is again *only things*! In the first place—money, etc. There is always one who lags behind the other in the contest. But it makes a difference whether the means that are lacking can be gained through *personal*

*power* or can only be obtained by grace, as a gift, and moreover by the poorer, for instance, being forced to leave, i.e., to present, his wealth to the richer" (p. 348).

As for the gift theory, we shall "spare him"[a] (*Wigand*, p. 190). Let him look up the chapter on "contract" in any textbook of law and find out whether a "gift" he is "forced to present" is still a gift. In this way, Stirner "presents" us with our criticism of his book, for he "is forced to leave, i.e., to present", it to us.

The fact that of two competitors whose "things" are equal one ruins the other, does not exist for Sancho. That workers compete among themselves, although they possess no "things" (in Stirner's sense) is also a fact that does not exist for him. By doing away with the competition of workers among themselves, he is fulfilling one of the most pious wishes of our "true socialists", whose deepest thanks he is sure to receive. So it is "only things" and not "persons" that compete. Only weapons fight, not the people who use them, and who have learned to wield them. The people are only there to be shot dead. This is how the competitive struggle is reflected in the minds of petty-bourgeois school-masters who, faced with modern stock exchange barons and cotton-lords,[b] console themselves with the thought that they only lack the "things" in order to bring their "personal power" to bear against them. This narrow-minded idea appears still more comic if one looks a little more closely at the "things", instead of restricting oneself to the commonest and most popular, e.g., "money" (which, however, is not so popular as it seems). These "things" include, among others: that the competitor lives in a country and town, where he enjoys the same advantages as the competitors whom he encounters; that relations between town and countryside have reached an advanced stage of development; that he is competing under favourable geographical, geological and hydrographical conditions; that as a silk manufacturer he carries on his business in Lyons, as a cotton manufacturer in Manchester, or, in an earlier period, as a shipper in Holland; that division of labour in his branch of industry—as in other branches totally independent of him—has become highly developed; that the means of communication ensure him the same cheap transport as his competitors; and that he finds in existence skilful workers and experienced overseers. All these "things", which are essential for competition, and in general the ability to compete on the *world market* (which he does not know and cannot know because of his theory of the state and public

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[a] In German, a pun on the word *schenken*, which means to give, to present, to make a gift of, but which in a certain context can also mean to spare, to let off.—*Ed.*

[b] This word is in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

bakeries, but which, unfortunately, determines competition and the ability to compete), are "things" that he can neither gain by "personal power" nor "get presented" to him by "grace" of the "state" (cf. p. 348). The Prussian state, which attempted to "present" all this to the *Seehandlung*,[108] could give him the best instruction on that subject. Sancho appears here as the royal Prussian philosopher of the *Seehandlung*, by giving a detailed commentary on the illusion of the Prussian state about its omnipotence and the illusion of the *Seehandlung* about its competitive capacity. Incidentally, competition certainly began as a "competition of persons" possessing "personal means". The liberation of the feudal serfs, the first condition of competition, and the first accumulation of "things" were purely "personal" acts. If, therefore, Sancho wishes to put the competition of persons in the place of competition of things, it means that he wishes to return to the beginning of competition, imagining in doing so that by his good will and his extraordinary egoistical consciousness he can give a different direction to the development of competition.

This great man, for whom nothing is holy and who is not interested in the "nature of things" and the "concept of the relation", has nevertheless in the end to declare the "nature" of the difference between personal and material to be holy, as also the "concept of the relation" between these two qualities, and so renounce the role of "creator" in respect of them. The difference—regarded by him as holy—which he notes in the passage quoted, can nevertheless be abolished without thereby committing "the most unmitigated profanation". Firstly he abolishes it himself by causing material means to be acquired through personal power and thus converts personal power into material power. He can then calmly address others with the moral postulate that they should adopt a personal attitude to him. In just the same way the Mexicans could have demanded that the Spaniards should not shoot them with rifles but attack them with their fists or, according to Saint Sancho's proposal, "seize them by the throat" in order to adopt a "personal" attitude to them.

If one person, thanks to good food, careful education and physical exercise, has acquired well-developed bodily powers and skill, while another, owing to inadequate and unhealthy food and consequent poor digestion, and as the result of neglect in childhood and over-exertion, has never been able to acquire the "things" necessary for developing his muscles—not to mention acquiring mastery over them—then the "personal power" of the first in relation to the second is a purely material one. It was not "through personal power" that he gained the "means that were lacking"; on the contrary, he

owes his "personal power" to the material means already existing. Incidentally, the transformation of personal means into material means and of material means into personal means is only an aspect of competition and quite inseparable from it. The demand that competition should be conducted not with material means but with personal means amounts to the moral postulate that competition and the relations on which it depends *should* have consequences other than those inevitably arising from them.

Here is yet another, and this time the final summing-up of the philosophy of competition:

"Competition suffers from the drawback that not everyone has the means for competition, because these means are taken not from *personality*, but from *chance*. The majority are without means and therefore" (Oh, Therefore!) "impecunious" (p. 349).

It has already been pointed out to him that in competition personality itself is a matter of chance, while chance is personality.[a] The "means" for competition which are independent of personality are the conditions of production and intercourse of the persons themselves, which within the framework of competition appear as an independent force in relation to these persons, as means which are accidental for them. The liberation of people from these forces comes about, according to Sancho, by people getting out of their heads the *ideas* about these forces, or rather the philosophical and religious distortions of these ideas—whether by etymological synonymy ("*Vermögen*" and "*vermögen*"), moral postulates (e.g., let each one be an all-powerful ego), or by making monkey faces and by sentimentally comic bragging against "the holy".

We have heard the complaint made before that in present-day bourgeois society the "ego", especially because of the state, cannot realise its value, i.e., cannot bring its "abilities" [*Vermögen*] into play. Now we learn in addition that "peculiarity" does not give the "ego" the means for competition, that "its might" is no might at all and that it remains "impecunious", although every object, "being *its* object, is also its *property*".* It is a complete denial of egoism in agreement with itself. But all these "drawbacks" of competition will disappear, once "the book" has become part of the general consciousness of people. Until then Sancho persists in his trade in thoughts, without however achieving a "good performance" or "doing things as well as possible".

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] The difference between essence and appearance asserts itself here in spite of Sancho.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 78-79.—*Ed.*

*II. Rebellion*

The criticism of society brings to an end the criticism of the old, holy world. By means of *rebellion* we make a leap into the new, egoistical world.

We have already seen in "Logic"[a] what rebellion is in general; it is refusal to respect the holy. Here, however, rebellion acquires in addition a distinct practical character.

Revolution = holy rebellion.
Rebellion = egoistical or wordly revolution.
Revolution = transformation of existing conditions.
Rebellion = transformation of me.
Revolution = a political or social act.
Rebellion = my egoistical act.
Revolution = overthrow of the existing [state of affairs].
Rebellion = existence of overthrow.

Etc., etc. Page 422 et seq. The method hitherto used by people to overthrow the world in which they found themselves had, of course, also to be declared holy, and a "peculiar" method of smashing the existing world had to be asserted against it.

Revolution "consists in a transformation of the existing conditions [*Zustand*[b]] or *status*, of the state or society; hence it is a *political* or *social* act". "Although the inevitable consequence" of rebellion "is a transformation of existing conditions, it is not this transformation that is its starting-point, but *people's dissatisfaction with themselves*". "It is an uprising of individuals, a *rising* without regard for the arrangements that develop out of it. Revolution aimed at new *arrangements*; rebellion leads to a position where we no longer *allow* others to arrange things for us, but arrange things for ourselves. It is not a struggle against what exists, for if it prospers what exists will collapse of itself; it is only the setting free of me from what exists. If I abandon what exists, then it is dead and putrefies. But since my aim is not to overthrow something that exists, but for me to rise above it, my aim and action are not political or social, but *egoistical* for they are directed solely towards me and my peculiarity" (pp. 421, 422).

*Les beaux esprits se rencontrent.*[c] That which was proclaimed by the voice crying in the wilderness[d] is now come about. The impious John the Baptist "Stirner" has found his holy Messiah in the shape of "*Dr. Kuhlmann from Holstein*". Listen:

"You should not tear down or destroy what stands in your way, but avoid it and abandon it. And when you have avoided and abandoned it, it will disappear of itself, for it will no longer find sustenance" (*Das Reich des Geistes*,[e] etc., Genf, 1845, p. 116).

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[a] See this volume, p. 300.—*Ed.*
[b] *Zustand*—state of affairs, conditions.—*Ed.*
[c] Noble minds think alike.—*Ed.*
[d] Mark 1:3.—*Ed.*
[e] Georg Kuhlmann. *Die Neue Welt oder das Reich des Geistes auf Erden.*—*Ed.*

The difference between revolution and Stirner's rebellion is not, as Stirner thinks, that the one is a political and social act whereas the other is an egoistical act, but that the former is an act whereas the latter is no act at all. The whole senselessness of the antithesis that Stirner puts forward is evident at once from the fact that he speaks of "the Revolution" as a juridical person, which has to fight against "*what exists*", another juridical person. If Saint Sancho had studied the various *actual* revolutions and revolutionary attempts perhaps he might even have found in them the forms of which he had a vague inkling when he created his ideological "rebellion"; he might have found them, for example, among the Corsicans, Irish, Russian serfs, and in general among uncivilised peoples. If, moreover, he had concerned himself with the actual individuals "existing" in every revolution, and with their relations, instead of being satisfied with the pure ego and "*what exists*", i.e., substance (a phrase the overthrow of which requires no revolution, but merely a knight-errant like Saint Bruno), then perhaps he would have come to understand that every revolution, and its results, was determined by these relations, by needs, and that the "political or social act" was in no way in contradiction to the "egoistical act".

The depth of Saint Sancho's insight into "revolution" is shown in his statement:

> "Although the consequence of rebellion is a transformation of existing conditions, [...] this transformation is not its starting-point."

This implies, by way of antithesis, that the starting-point of the revolution is "a transformation of existing conditions", i.e., that revolution originates in revolution. "The starting-point" of rebellion, on the other hand, is "people's dissatisfaction with themselves". This "dissatisfaction with oneself" fits admirably with the earlier phrases about peculiarity and the "egoist in agreement with himself", who is always able to go "his own way", who is always delighted with himself and who at every instant is what he can be. Dissatisfaction with oneself is either dissatisfaction with oneself within the framework of a definite condition which determines the whole personality, e.g., dissatisfaction with oneself as a worker, or it is moral dissatisfaction. In the first case, therefore, it is simultaneously and mainly dissatisfaction with the existing relations; in the second case—an ideological expression of these relations themselves, which does not at all go beyond them, but belongs wholly to them. The first case, as Sancho believes, leads to revolution; for rebellion there remains, therefore, only the second case—*moral* dissatisfaction with oneself. "What exists" is, as we know, "the holy";

hence, "dissatisfaction with oneself" reduces itself to moral dissatisfaction with oneself as a holy one, i.e., one who believes in the holy, in what exists. It could only occur to a discontented school-master to base his arguments about revolution and rebellion on satisfaction and dissatisfaction, moods that belong wholly to the petty-bourgeois circle from which, as we continually find, Saint Sancho derives his inspiration.

We already know what meaning "going beyond the framework of what exists" has. It is the old fancy that the state collapses of itself as soon as all its members leave it and that money loses its validity if all the workers refuse to accept it. Even in a hypothetical form, this proposition reveals all the fantasy and impotence of pious desire. It is the old illusion that changing existing relations depends only on the good will of people, and that existing relations are ideas. The alteration of consciousness divorced from actual relations—a pursuit followed by philosophers as a profession, i.e., as a *business*—is itself a product of existing relations and inseparable from them. This imaginary rising above the world is the ideological expression of the impotence of philosophers in face of the world. Practical life every day gives the lie to their ideological bragging.

In any event, Sancho did not "rebel" against his own state of confusion when he wrote those lines. For him there is the "transformation of existing conditions" on one side, and "people"on the other side, and the two sides are entirely separate from each other. Sancho does not give the slightest thought to the fact that the "conditions" have always been the conditions of these people and it would never have been possible to transform them unless the people transformed themselves and, if it has to be expressed in this way, unless they became "dissatisfied with themselves" in the old conditions. He thinks he is dealing a mortal blow at revolution when he asserts that it aims at new arrangements, whereas rebellion leads to a position where we no longer allow others to arrange things for us, but arrange things for ourselves. But the very fact that "we" arrange things for "ourselves", that it is "we" who rebel, denotes that the individual, despite all Sancho's "repugnance", has to "allow" that "we" "arrange things" for him, and that therefore the only difference between revolution and rebellion is that in the former this is known, whereas in the latter people harbour illusions about it. Next Sancho leaves it open whether the rebellion "*prospers*" or not. One cannot understand why it should *not* "prosper", and even less why it should prosper, since each rebel goes his own way. Worldly conditions would have to intervene to show the rebels the necessity of a *joint* act, one which

would be "political or social", irrespective of whether it arises from egoistical motives or not. A further "trashy distinction", based again on confusion, is that drawn by Sancho between the "overthrow" of what exists and "rising" above it, as though in overthrowing what exists he does not rise above it, and in rising above it, he does not overthrow it, if only insofar as it exists in him himself. Incidentally, neither "overthrow" by itself nor "rising" by itself tells us anything; that "rising" also takes place in revolution Sancho could have seen from the fact that "*Levons-nous!*"[109] was a well-known slogan in the French Revolution.

"Revolution bids" (!) "us to create *institutions*, rebellion urges us to *rise or rise up*.[a] Revolutionary minds were occupied with the choice of a *constitution*, and the entire political period teems with constitutional struggles and constitutional questions, just as socially-gifted persons revealed extraordinary inventiveness as regards social institutions (phalansteries and such-like). To *be without a constitution* is the endeavour of the rebel" (p. 422).

That the French Revolution brought institutions in its train is a fact; that *Empörung* is derived from the word *empor*[b] is also a fact; that during the revolution and after it people fought for constitutions is another fact, and equally so that various social systems were outlined; and it is no less a fact that Proudhon spoke about anarchy. From these five facts Sancho has concocted the above-quoted passage.

From the fact that the French Revolution led to "institutions", Sancho concludes that this is a "bidding" of revolution in general. From the fact that the political revolution was a political one in which the social transformation had also an official expression in the form of constitutional struggles, Sancho—faithfully following his history-broker[c]—deduces that in it people fought over the best constitution. To this discovery he links, by means of the words "just as", a mention of social systems. In the epoch of the bourgeoisie, people occupied themselves with constitutional questions, "just as" in recent times various social systems have been devised. This is the train of thought in the above-quoted passage.

It follows from what was said above against Feuerbach that previous revolutions within the framework of division of labour were bound to lead to new political institutions; it likewise follows that the communist revolution, which removes the division of labour, ultimately abolishes political institutions[d]; and, finally, it follows also

[a] Stirner uses three words which have a common root: *Einrichtung*—arrangement, institution—and the synonyms *sich aufrichten* and *emporrichten*—to stand up, to raise oneself, to rise.—*Ed.*

[b] *Empörung*—rising, rebellion; *empor*—up, upwards.—*Ed.*

[c] An allusion to Bruno Bauer.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, p. 53.—*Ed.*

that the communist revolution will be guided not by the "social institutions of inventive socially-gifted persons", but by the productive forces.

But "to be without a constitution is the endeavour of the rebel"! He who is "born free", who is from the outset rid of everything, endeavours at the end of time to get rid of the constitution.

It should be mentioned also that all sorts of earlier illusions of our bonhomme contributed to Sancho's concept of "rebellion". They include, among others, his belief that the individuals who make a revolution are linked by some ideal bond and that their "raising the standard of revolt" is limited to inscribing on it a new concept, fixed idea, spectre, or apparition—the holy. Sancho makes them get this ideal bond out of their heads, whereby in his imagination they become a disorderly mob which can now only "rebel". In addition, he has heard that competition is a war of all against all,[a] and this proposition, mixed with his desanctified revolution, constitutes the main factor of his "rebellion".

"When, for the sake of clarity, I try to think of a comparison, there comes to my mind, against my expectation, the foundation of Christianity" (p. 423). "Christ", we learn here, "was not a revolutionary but a *rebel* who rose. Therefore, he was concerned about one thing *alone*: 'be ye wise as serpents'" (ibid.).

In order to suit the "expectation" and the "alone" of Sancho the second half of the biblical text quoted (Matthew 10:16) "and harmless as doves" ought not to exist. Christ has to figure here for the second time as a historical person in order to play the same role as the Mongols and Negroes played above. Whether Christ is meant to clarify the rebellion or the rebellion to clarify Christ is not known. The Christian-German gullibility of our saint is concentrated in the statement that Christ "drained the sources of life of the entire heathen world, and without *them*" (this ought to read: without *him*) "the existing state was anyway bound to wither" (p. 424). A withered flower of pulpit eloquence! See above on the "ancients". For the rest, *credo ut intelligam*,[b] or, in order to find a "comparison for the sake of clarity".

Countless examples have already shown us that everywhere nothing but *sacred* history comes into our saint's mind and, indeed, in precisely those passages where the reader "has not expected" it. "Against expectation" it occurs to him again even in the "Commentary", where Sancho on page 154 makes the "Judaic reviewers" in

[a] Thomas Hobbes, *Elementa philosophica. De cive* [Praefatio ad lectores].— *Ed.*

[b] I believe in order to understand. The expression belongs to the medieval scholastic Anselm of Canterbury.—*Ed.*

ancient Jerusalem exclaim in opposition to the Christian definition "God is love": "Thus you see that it is heathen God that is proclaimed by the Christians; for if God is love, then he is the God Amor, the God of love!"—"Against expectation", however, the New Testament was written in Greek, and the "Christian definition" reads: ὁ θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστίν[a] (1 John 4 : 16), whereas "the God Amor, the God of love" is called Ἔρως. Sancho has, therefore, still to explain how it is that the "Judaic reviewers" were able to achieve the transformation of ἀγάπη into ἔρως. In this passage of the "Commentary", Christ—again "for the sake of clarity"—is compared with Sancho, and at any rate it must be admitted that they have a striking resemblance to each other, both are "corpulent beings" and the joyful heir at least believes in the existence, or the uniqueness, of both of them. Sancho is the modern Christ, at this "fixed idea" of his the whole historical construction is "aimed".

The philosophy of rebellion, which has just been presented to us in the form of bad antitheses and withered flowers of eloquence, is in the final analysis only a boastful apology for the parvenu system (parvenu, *Emporkömmling, Emporgekommener, Empörer*[b]). Every rebel in his "egoistical act" is faced by a particular existing reality, over which he endeavours to rise, without regard to the general conditions. He strives to get rid of the existing world only insofar as it is a fetter, for the rest, he endeavours, on the contrary, to appropriate it. The weaver who "rises" to become a factory-owner thereby gets rid of his loom and abandons it; for the rest, the world goes on as before and our "prosperous" rebel offers to others only the hypocritical moral demand that they should become parvenus like himself.* Thus, all Stirner's belligerent rodomontades end in moral deductions from Gellert's fables and speculative interpretations of middle-class wretchedness.

So far we have seen that rebellion is anything you like, except action. On page 342 we learn that

"the procedure of seizure is not contemptible, but expresses the *pure action of the egoist in agreement with himself*".

This should surely read: of egoists in agreement *with one another*, since otherwise seizure amounts to the uncivilised "procedure" of

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] These are the traditional moral principles of the petty bourgeois, who believes that the world will be set to rights, if everyone by himself tries to get as far as possible and for the rest does not trouble his head about the course of the world.

[a] God is love.—*Ed.*

[b] A pun on Stirner's synonymy: *Emporkömmling* (upstart), *Emporgekommener* (one who has raised himself up), and *Empörer* (rebel).—*Ed.*

thieves or to the civilised "procedure" of the bourgeois, and in the first case does not prosper, while in the second case it is not "rebellion". It is to be noted that corresponding to the egoist in agreement with himself, who does nothing, we have here the "*pure*" act, certainly the only act which could be expected from such an inactive individual.

We learn by the way what created the plebs, and we can be sure in advance that it was created by a "dogma", and faith in that dogma, in the holy, a faith which here for a change appears as consciousness of sin:

"Seizure is a *sin*, a crime—this is the dogma that alone creates a plebs ... the old consciousness of sin *alone* is to blame" (p. 342).

The belief that consciousness is to blame for everything is his dogma, which makes him a rebel and the plebs a sinner.

In contrast to this consciousness of sin, the egoist incites himself, respectively the plebs, to seizure as follows:

"I tell myself: where my power extends, that is my property, and I claim as my property everything that I feel strong enough to reach," etc. (p. 340).

Thus, Saint Sancho tells himself that he wants to tell himself something, calls on himself to have what he has, and formulates his real relation as a relation of power—a paraphrase which in general is the secret of all his rodomontades. (See "Logic".[a]) Then he—who at each instant is what he can be, and therefore has what he can have—distinguishes his realised, actual property, which he has in his capital account, from his possible property, his unrealised "feeling of strength", which he enters in his profit and loss account. This is a contribution to the science of book-keeping of property in the extraordinary sense.

The meaning of his solemn "telling" was revealed by Sancho in a passage already quoted:

"*I tell myself* ... then that is, properly speaking, empty talk."

Sancho continues:

"Egoism" says "to the propertyless plebs" in order to "exterminate" it: "Seize and take what you need!" (p. 341).

How "empty" this "talk" is can be seen at once from the following example:

"I as little regard the wealth of the banker as something alien, as Napoleon did the lands of the kings. We" ("I" is suddenly transformed into "we") "are not at all *afraid to conquer* this wealth, and we also seek the means to do so. Thus, we divest it of its *alien character* which we were afraid of" (p. 369).

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[a] This volume, p. 300.—*Ed.*

How little Sancho has "divested" the wealth of the banker of its "alien character" he proves at once by his well-meaning advice to the plebs to "conquer" it by seizure. "Let him seize and see what is left in his hands!" Not the wealth of the banker but useless paper, the "corpse" of that wealth which is no more wealth than "a dead dog is a dog". The wealth of the banker is wealth only in the framework of the existing relations of production and intercourse and can be "conquered" only in the conditions of these relations and with the means which are valid for them. And if Sancho were to turn to some other wealth, he would find that the prospect was no better. Thus, the "pure act of the egoist in agreement with himself" amounts in the final analysis to an extremely impure misunderstanding. "That is where one can get with the spectre" of the holy.

Having told himself what he wanted to tell himself, Sancho makes the rebellious plebs say what he has prompted it to say. The fact is that in case of a rebellion he has drawn up a proclamation together with instructions as to its use, which should be posted up in all village ale-houses and distributed throughout the countryside. The proclamation claims a place in *Der hinkende Botte*[110] and in the Duchy of Nassau's country almanac. For the time being Sancho's *tendances incendiaires* are limited to the countryside, to propaganda among agricultural labourers and dairy maids, not touching the towns, which is a further proof of the extent to which he has "divested" large-scale industry of its "alien character". Nevertheless we should like here to give as detailed an account as possible of this valuable document, which ought not to be lost, in order "to contribute to the spread of a well-deserved fame insofar as it lies in our power" (*Wigand*, p. 191).

The proclamation is printed on page 358 et seq. [of "the book"] and begins as follows:

"But what is it due to that your property is safe, you privileged ones?... It is due to the fact that we refrain from attacking, consequently, it is due to *our* protection.... It is due to the fact that you use *force* against us."

First it is due to the fact that we refrain from attacking, i.e., to the fact that we use force *against ourselves*, and then to the fact that *you* use force against *us. Cela va à merveille!* Let us continue.

"If you desire our respect, then *buy* it at a price acceptable to us.... We only want *good value.*"

First the "rebels" want to sell their respect at an "acceptable price" and then they make "good value" the criterion of the price. First an arbitrary price, then a price determined independently of arbitrariness by commercial laws, by the costs of production and the relation between supply and demand.

"We agree to leave you your property provided you properly compensate this leaving.... You will shout about force if we help ourselves.... without force we shall not get them" (i.e., the oysters that the privileged enjoy).... "We intend taking nothing from you, nothing at all."

First we "leave" it to you, then we take it away from you and have to use "force", and finally we prefer taking nothing from you after all. We leave it to you in the event of your giving it up yourself; in a moment of enlightenment, the only one we have, we see that this "leaving" amounts to "helping oneself" and use of "force", but in the end we cannot be reproached with "taking" anything from you. And there the matter must rest.

"We toil for twelve hours in the sweat of our brows and you offer us a few pence for it. In that case you should take *an equal amount* for your work too.... No *equality* at all!"

The "rebellious" agricultural labourers reveal themselves as true Stirnerian "creations".

"You do not like that? You imagine that our work is more than adequately paid with those wages, but that yours, on the other hand, deserves a wage of several thousand. But if you did not put such a high value on your work and allowed us to realise a better value for ours, we would, if need be, achieve something more important than you do for many thousand taler, and if you received only such wages as ours, you would soon become more diligent in order to earn more. If you were to do something that appears to us to be ten and a hundred times more valuable than our own work, ah" (ah, you good and faithful servant![a]) "then you should get a hundred times more for it; we, for our part, are also thinking of making you things for which you will pay us more than the usual daily wage."

First the rebels complain that they are paid too little for their work. At the end, however, they promise that only if they receive a higher daily wage, they will perform work for which it will be worth paying "more than the usual daily wage". Further, they believe they would achieve extraordinary things if only they were to receive better wages, although at the same time they expect extraordinary achievements from the capitalist only if his "wage" is reduced to the level of theirs. Finally, after having performed the economic feat of transforming profit—this necessary form of capital, without which they would perish together with the capitalist—into wages, they perform the miracle of paying "a hundred times more" than they receive for "their own work", i.e., a hundred times more than they earn. "This is the meaning" of the above phrase, if Stirner "means what he says". But if this is only a stylistic error on his part, if the rebels intend jointly to offer the capitalist a hundred times more

[a] Matthew 25:21.—*Ed.*

than *each of them* earns, then Stirner is only making them offer the capitalist what each capitalist already has nowadays. For it is clear that the work of the capitalist, in combination with his capital, is worth ten or a hundred times more than that of a single person who is merely a worker. Hence in this case, as always, Sancho leaves everything as it was before.

"We shall get on with one another if only we agree that no one any longer needs to *present* anything to someone else. Then we shall presumably go as far as to pay a decent price even to cripples, the sick and the aged, to prevent them from dying of hunger and want, for if we wish them to live it is fitting that we should *pay for* the fulfilment of our desire. I say *pay for*, hence I do not mean any miserable *alms*."

This sentimental episode about cripples, etc., is intended to prove that Sancho's rebellious agricultural labourers have already "risen" to those heights of middle-class consciousness where they do not wish to present anything or be presented with anything, and where they consider that the dignity and interests of the two parties in a relation are assured as soon as this relation is turned into a purchase.

This thunderous proclamation of the people who, in Sancho's imagination, are in rebellion, is followed by directions for its use in the form of a dialogue between a landowner and his labourers, the master this time behaving like Szeliga and the labourers like Stirner. In these directions the English strikes and the French workers' coalitions are interpreted *a priori* in the Berlin manner.

Spokesman of the labourers: "What have you got?"

Landowner: "I have an estate of 1,000 morgen."[a]

Spokesman: "And I am your labourer, and henceforth I will only cultivate your land for a wage of a taler a day."

Landowner: "In that case I shall hire someone else."

Spokesman: "You won't find anyone, for we labourers will not work in future on any other conditions, and if you find anyone who agrees to take less, let him beware of us. Even a servant-girl now demands as much, and you will no longer find anyone for a lower wage."

Landowner: "Oh! Then I shall be ruined!"

Labourers (in chorus): "Don't be in such a hurry! You are sure to get as much as we get. And if not, we'll deduct sufficient for you to live like us.—We are not talking of equality!"

Landowner: "But I am accustomed to better living!"

Labourers: "We have nothing against that, but that's not our concern; if you can save more, all right. Do we have to hire ourselves out at a reduced price so that you can live well?"

Landowner: "But you uneducated people do not need so much!"

Labourers: "Well, we shall take a little more so as to be able to get the education that we may, perhaps, need."

Landowner: "But if you ruin the rich, who will support the arts and sciences?"

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[a] An old Germanic land measure of varying size in different parts of the country. The Prussian morgen for example was 0.63 acre.— *Ed.*

Labourers: "Well, our numbers must see to that. We'll all contribute, it will make a good round sum. Anyway, you wealthy people now buy only the trashiest books and pictures of tearful madonnas or a pair of nimble dancer's legs."

Landowner: "Oh, miserable equality!"

Labourers: "No, dear worthy master, we are not talking of equality! We only want to be appraised according to our worth, and if you are worth more, then after all you will also be appraised more highly. We only want *good value* and intend to show ourselves worth the price you will pay."

At the end of this dramatic masterpiece Sancho admits that, of course, "unanimity of the labourers" will be "required". How this will come about we are not told. What we do learn is that the agricultural labourers have no intention of changing in any way the existing relations of production and intercourse, but merely want to force the landowner to yield them the amount by which his expenditure exceeds theirs. It is a matter of indifference to our well-meaning bonhomme that this excess of expenditure, if distributed over the mass of the proletarians, would give each of them a mere trifle and not improve his position in the slightest. The stage of development of agriculture to which these heroic labourers belong becomes evident immediately after the conclusion of the drama, when they are transformed into "domestic servants". They are living, therefore, under patriarchal conditions in which division of labour is still very little developed, and in which, incidentally, the whole conspiracy "will reach its final goal" by the landowner taking the spokesman into a barn and giving him a thrashing, whereas in more civilised countries the capitalist ends the matter by closing his enterprise for a time and letting his workers go and "play". Sancho's highly practical way of constructing his work of art, his strict adherence to the limits of probability, is evident not only from his peculiar idea of arranging a turn-out[a] of agricultural labourers, but especially from his coalition of "servant-girls". And how complacent to imagine that the price of corn on the world market will depend on the wage demands of these agricultural labourers from Further Pomerania and not on the relation between supply and demand! A real sensation is caused by the surprising discourse of the labourers about literature, the latest art exhibition and the fashionable dancer of the day, surprising even after the unexpected question of the landowner about art and science. They become quite friendly as soon as they touch on this literary subject and for a moment the harassed landowner even forgets his threatened ruin in order to demonstrate his *dévoûment* to art and science. Finally the rebels give him an assurance of their upright character and make the reassuring

[a] Here and below the word is in English in the manuscript.— *Ed.*

statement that they are guided neither by vexatious interests nor subversive tendencies, but by the highest moral motives. All they ask is price according to worth and they promise on their honour and conscience to be worthy of the higher price. All this has the sole aim of ensuring for each his own, his honest and fair earnings, "honestly earned pleasure". That this price depends on the state of the labour-market, and not on the moral rebellion of a few literary-minded agricultural labourers, is, of course, a fact which our worthy folk could not be expected to know.

These rebels from Further Pomerania are so modest that despite their "unanimity", which gives them the power to do something very different, they prefer to remain servants with the "wage of a taler a day" as their highest desire. It is quite consistent, therefore, that they do not cross-examine the landowner, who is in their power, but he cross-examines them.

The "firm spirit" and "strong self-consciousness of the domestic servant" find expression also in the "firm", "strong" language in which he and his comrades speak. "Perhaps—well—our numbers *must* see to that—a good round sum—dear worthy master—after all." Previously we read in the proclamation: "If need be—ah—we *are thinking* of making—perhaps, maybe, etc." One would think that the agricultural labourers had also mounted the wonderful steed Clavileño.*

Our Sancho's whole noisy "rebellion", therefore, reduces itself in the final analysis to a turn-out, but a turn-out in the extraordinary sense, viz., a turn-out on Berlin lines. Whereas in civilised countries the real turn-out plays a smaller and smaller role in the labour movement, because the more widespread association of workers leads to other forms of action, Sancho tries to depict the petty-bourgeois caricature of a turn-out as the ultimate and highest form of the world-historic struggle.

The waves of rebellion now cast us on the shore of the promised land, flowing with milk and honey,[a] where every true Israelite sits beneath his fig-tree and where the millennium of "agreement" has dawned.

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] France produces relatively more than Further Pomerania. According to Michel Chevalier [*Cours d'Economie politique fait au Collège de France*], the entire annual product of France uniformly distributed among its population amounts to 97 francs a head, this means per family....

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[a] Exodus 3 : 8.— *Ed.*

### *III. Union*

In the section on rebellion we first of all collected examples of Sancho's bragging, and then traced the practical course of the "pure act of the egoist in agreement with himself". With regard to "union", we shall do the opposite: we shall first of all examine the actual institutions and then compare them with the illusions of our saint about them.

#### 1. Landed Property

"If we no longer wish to leave the land to the landed proprietors, but want to appropriate it for *ourselves*, then we unite to this end and form a *union, société*" (society), "*which makes itself the owner*; if we are successful, the landed proprietors cease to be such." The "land" will then be the "property of the conquerors.... And the attitude to the land of these individuals collectively will be no less arbitrary than that of an isolated individual or so-called *propriétaire*. Hence, in this case too, *property* continues to exist, and indeed even as '*exclusive*' property, since *mankind*, that great society, excludes the *individual* from its property, leasing to him, perhaps, only a part of it, as a reward.... So it remains and so it will come to be. That in which *all* want to have a *share* will be taken away from the individual who wants to have it for himself alone and turned into *common property*. Since it is *common property* each has his *share* in it and this share is his property. Thus in our old conditions, a house belonging to five heirs is likewise their common property; one-fifth part of the income, however, is the property of each of them" (pp. 329, 330).

After our brave rebels have formed a union, a society, and in this form have won a portion of land for themselves, this "*société*", this juridical person, "makes *itself*" the "*proprietor*". To avoid any misunderstanding, he adds at once that "this society *excludes* the individual from the property, leasing to him, perhaps, only a part of it, as a reward". In this way Saint Sancho appropriates for himself and his "union" his notion of communism. The reader will recall that Sancho in his ignorance reproached the communists for wanting to make society the supreme owner that gives each individual his "property" in feudal tenure.

Further, Sancho offers his recruits the prospect of a "share in the common property". On a later occasion, this same Sancho says, again against the communists:

"Whether wealth belongs to the whole community, which allows me a portion of it, or to separate owners, for me the compulsion is the same, since in both cases I am powerless to decide about it"

(for this reason, too, his "collective" "takes away" from him what it does not want him to have in his exclusive possession, and so makes him feel the power of the collective will).

Thirdly, we here again encounter the "exclusiveness" with which he has often reproached bourgeois property, so that "even the miserable spot on which he stands does not belong to him". On the

contrary, he has only the right and power to squat on it as a miserable and oppressed corvée peasant.

Fourthly, Sancho here appropriates the feudal system which, to his great annoyance, he has discovered in all hitherto existing or proposed forms of society. The "society" of conquerors behaves much as did the "unions" of semi-barbarian Germans who conquered the Roman provinces and introduced there a crude feudal system which was still strongly alloyed with the old tribal mode of life. It gives every individual a piece of land "as a reward". At the stage where Sancho and the sixth-century Germans are, the feudal system still coincides in many respects with the system of "reward".

It goes without saying, incidentally, that the tribal property which Sancho here restores afresh to honour would be bound before long to be dissolved again in the conditions now existing. Sancho feels this himself, for he exclaims: "So it *remains* and" (a beautiful "and"!) "so it *will come to be*", and finally, he proves—by his great example of the house belonging to five heirs—that he has not the slightest intention of going outside the framework of our old relations. His whole plan for the organisation of landed property has only the aim of leading us by a historical detour back to petty-bourgeois hereditary tenure and the family property of German imperial towns.

Of our old relations, i.e., those now existing, Sancho has appropriated only the legal nonsense that individuals, or *propriétaires*, behave "arbitrarily" in relation to landed property. In the "union", this imagined "arbitrariness" is to be continued by "society". To the "union" it is so much a matter of indifference what happens to the land that "perhaps" "society" leases plots of land to individuals, or perhaps not. All that is quite immaterial.

Sancho, of course, cannot know that a definite structure of agriculture is linked to a definite form of activity and determined by a definite stage of the division of labour. But anyone else can see how little the small corvée peasants, as proposed here by Sancho, are in a position where "each of them can become an omnipotent ego", and how little their ownership of a miserable plot of land resembles the greatly praised "ownership of everything". In the real world, the intercourse of individuals depends on their mode of production, and therefore Sancho's "perhaps" completely overthrows—perhaps—his whole union. But "perhaps", or rather undoubtedly, there emerges here Sancho's real view concerning intercourse in the union, namely, the view that the basis of egoistical intercourse is the holy.

Sancho brings to light here the first "institution" of his future union. The rebels who strove to be "without a constitution", "arrange things for themselves", by "choosing" for themselves a

"constitution" of landed property. We see that Sancho was right in not placing any brilliant hopes in new "institutions". At the same time, however, we see that he ranks highly among the "socially-gifted persons" and is "extraordinarily inventive in regard to social institutions".

### 2. Organisation of Labour

"The organisation of labour concerns only such work as can be done for us by others, such as cattle-slaughtering, ploughing, etc.; other work remains egoistical because, for example, no one can compose your music for you, complete the sketches for your paintings, etc. No one can do Raphael's works for him. These are works of a unique individual which only this unique person is capable of producing, whereas the former work deserves to be called *human*" (on page 356 this is made identical with "*generally useful*"), "since *peculiarity* is of little consequence here and almost *every person* can be trained to do it" (p. 355).

"It is always expedient for us to come to an agreement about human labour, in order that it should not claim all our time and effort, as is the case under competition.... For whom, however, should time be gained? For what purpose does a human being need more time than is required to restore his exhausted labour-power? To this communism gives no reply. For what purpose? In order to enjoy himself as the unique, having done his share as a human being" (pp. 356, 357).

"Through work I can fulfil the official duties of a president, minister, etc.; these posts require only a general education, namely, the education that is generally accessible.... Although, however, anyone could occupy these posts, it is only the unique power of the individual, peculiar to him alone, that gives them, as it were, life and significance. For performing his duties not as an ordinary man would do, but by exerting the power of his uniqueness, he does not get paid, if he is paid only as an official or minister. If he has acted to your satisfaction and you wish for your benefit to retain this power of the unique person, which is worthy of gratitude, then you ought to pay him not simply as a man who performs a merely human task, but as one who accomplishes something unique" (pp. 362, 363).

"If you are in a position to afford joy to thousands of people, then thousands will remunerate you for it; for it is in your power not to do it and therefore they have to pay you for the fact that you do it" (p. 351).

"One cannot establish any general rate of payment for my uniqueness, as can be done for work I perform as a man. Only for the latter can a tariff be fixed. Therefore you may fix a general tariff for human work, but do not deprive your uniqueness of what is due to it" (p. 363).

As an example of the organisation of labour in the union, the public bakeries already mentioned are cited on page 365. Under the conditions of vandal parcellation presupposed above, these public institutions must be a real miracle.

First of all human labour must be organised and thereby shortened so that Brother Straubinger,[111] having finished his work early, can "enjoy himself as the unique" (p. 357), but on page 363 the "enjoyment" of the unique one is reduced to his extra earnings. On page 363 it is stated that the vital activity of the unique person

does not have to take place subsequently to human labour; the latter can be performed as unique labour, and in that case it requires an additional wage. Otherwise the unique one, who is interested not in his uniqueness but in a higher wage, could shelve his uniqueness and to spite society be satisfied with acting as an ordinary person, at the same time playing a trick on himself.

According to page 356, human labour coincides with generally useful labour, but according to pages 351 and 363 unique labour shows its worth by being paid for additionally as generally useful or, at least, useful to many people.

Thus, the organisation of labour in the union consists in the separation of human labour from unique labour, in the establishment of a tariff for the former and in haggling for an additional wage for the latter. This addition is again twofold, one part being for the unique performance of *human* labour and the other for the unique performance of *unique* labour. The resulting book-keeping is the more complicated because what was unique labour yesterday (e.g., spinning cotton thread No. 200) becomes human labour today, and because the unique performance of human labour requires a continual *moucharderie*[a] upon oneself in one's own interest and universal *moucharderie* in the public interest. Hence this whole great organisational plan amounts to a wholly petty-bourgeois appropriation of the law of supply and demand, which exists at present and has been expounded by all economists. The law which determines the price of those types of labour that Sancho declares unique (e.g., that of a dancer, a prominent physician or lawyer), he could have found already explained by Adam Smith,[b] and a tariff fixed for it by the American Cooper.[c] Modern economists explain on the basis of this law the high payment for what they call *travail improductif* and the low wages of the agricultural day-labourer, and in general all inequalities in wages. Thus, with God's help, we have again arrived at competition, but a competition which has so much come down in the world that Sancho can propose a fixed rate, the establishment of wages by law, as was the case of old in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

It deserves mention also that the idea which Sancho puts forward here is also to be found as something completely new in the Herr Messiah—Dr. Georg Kuhlmann of Holstein.[d]

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[a] Spying.—*Ed.*

[b] Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.*—*Ed.*

[c] Thomas Cooper, *Lectures on the Elements of Political Economy.*—*Ed.*

[d] Georg Kuhlmann, *Die Neue Welt oder das Reich des Geistes auf Erden.*—*Ed.*

What Sancho here calls human labour is, apart from his bureaucratic fantasies, the same thing as is usually meant by machine labour, labour which, as industry develops, devolves more and more on machines. True, because of the above-described organisation of landownership, machines are an impossibility in the "union" and therefore the corvée peasants in agreement with themselves prefer to reach an agreement with one another about this work. As regards "presidents" and "ministers", Sancho—this poor localised being,[a] as Owen puts it—forms his opinion only by his immediate environment.

Here, as always, Sancho is again unlucky with his practical examples. He thinks that "no one can compose your music for you, complete the sketches for your paintings. No one can do Raphael's works for him". Sancho could surely have known, however, that it was not Mozart himself, but someone else who composed the greater part of Mozart's *Requiem* and finished it,[112] and that Raphael himself "completed" only an insignificant part of his own frescoes.

He imagines that the so-called organisers of labour[113] wanted to organise the entire activity of each individual, and yet it is precisely they who distinguish between directly productive labour, which has to be organised, and labour which is not directly productive. In regard to the latter, however, it was not their view, as Sancho imagines, that each should do the work of Raphael, but that anyone in whom there is a potential Raphael should be able to develop without hindrance. Sancho imagines that Raphael produced his pictures independently of the division of labour that existed in Rome at the time. If he were to compare Raphael with Leonardo da Vinci and Titian, he would see how greatly Raphael's works of art depended on the flourishing of Rome at that time, which occurred under Florentine influence, while the works of Leonardo depended on the state of things in Florence, and the works of Titian, at a later period, depended on the totally different development of Venice. Raphael as much as any other artist was determined by the technical advances in art made before him, by the organisation of society and the division of labour in his locality, and, finally, by the division of labour in all the countries with which his locality had intercourse. Whether an individual like Raphael succeeds in developing his talent depends wholly on demand, which in turn depends on the division of labour and the conditions of human culture resulting from it.

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[a] This phrase is in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

In proclaiming the uniqueness of work in science and art, Stirner adopts a position far inferior to that of the bourgeoisie. At the present time it has already been found necessary to organise this "unique" activity. Horace Vernet would not have had time to paint even a tenth of his pictures if he regarded them as works which "only this unique person is capable of producing". In Paris, the great demand for vaudevilles and novels brought about the organisation of work for their production; this organisation at any rate yields something better than its "unique" competitors in Germany. In astronomy, people like Arago, Herschel, Encke and Bessel considered it necessary to organise joint observations and only after that obtained some moderately good results. In historical science, it is absolutely impossible for the "unique" to achieve anything at all, and in this field, too, the French long ago surpassed all other nations thanks to organisation of labour. Incidentally, it is self-evident that all these organisations based on modern division of labour still lead to extremely limited results, and they represent a step forward only compared with the previous narrow isolation.

Moreover, it must be specially emphasised that Sancho confuses the organisation of labour with communism and is even surprised that "communism" gives him no reply to his doubts about this organisation. Just like a Gascon village lad is surprised that Arago cannot tell him on which star God Almighty has built his throne.

The exclusive concentration of artistic talent in particular individuals, and its suppression in the broad mass which is bound up with this, is a consequence of division of labour. Even if in certain social conditions, everyone were an excellent painter, that would by no means exclude the possibility of each of them being also an original painter, so that here too the difference between "human" and "unique" labour amounts to sheer nonsense. In any case, with a communist organisation of society, there disappears the subordination of the artist to local and national narrowness, which arises entirely from division of labour, and also the subordination of the individual to some definite art, making him exclusively a painter, sculptor, etc.; the very name amply expresses the narrowness of his professional development and his dependence on division of labour. In a communist society there are no painters but only people who engage in painting among other activities.

Sancho's organisation of labour shows clearly how much all these philosophical knights of "substance" content themselves with mere phrases. The subordination of "substance" to the "subject" about which they all talk so grandiloquently, the reduction of "substance"

which governs the "subject" to a mere "accident" of this subject, is revealed to be mere "empty talk".* Hence they wisely refrain from examining division of labour, material production and material intercourse, which in fact make individuals subordinate to definite relations and modes of activity. For them it is in general only a matter of finding new phrases for interpreting the existing world—phrases which are the more certain to consist only of comical boasting, the more these people imagine they have risen above the world and the more they put themselves in opposition to it. Sancho is a lamentable example of this.

### 3. Money

"Money is a commodity and indeed an essential *means* or faculty, for it protects wealth against ossification, keeps it fluid and effects its circulation. If you know of a better means of exchange, all right; but it too will be a variety of money" (p. 364).

On page 353 money is defined as "marketable property or property in circulation".

Thus the "union" retains money, this purely social property which has been stripped of all individuality. The extent to which Sancho is in the grip of the bourgeois outlook is shown by his question about a better means of exchange. Consequently, he first of all assumes that a means of exchange is necessary, and moreover he knows of no other means of exchange except money. The fact that ships and railways, which serve to transport commodities, are also means of exchange does not concern him. Hence in order to speak not merely of means of exchange, but particularly of money, he has to include the other attributes of money; that it is a means of exchange that is universally marketable and in circulation, that it keeps all property fluid, etc. These bring in also economic aspects which Sancho does not know but which actually constitute money; and with them the whole present situation, class economy, domination of the bourgeoisie, etc.

First of all, however, we learn something about the—extremely odd—course of monetary crises in the union.

* [*The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:*] If Sancho had taken his phrases seriously he would have had to analyse the division of labour. But he wisely refrained from doing this and unhesitatingly accepted the existing division of labour in order to exploit it for his "union". A closer examination of the subject would, of course, have shown him that the division of labour is not abolished by "getting it out of one's head". The fight of the philosophers against "substance" and their utter disregard of the division of labour, the material basis which has given rise to the phantom of substance, merely prove that for these heroes it is a matter only of abolishing phrases and by no means of changing the conditions from which these phrases were bound to arise.

The question arises:

"Where is money to be obtained?... People pay not with money, of which there may be a shortage, but with their ability [*Vermögen*[a]], thanks to which alone we are wealthy [*vermögend*].... It is not money that harms you, but your inability [*Unvermögen*] to obtain it."

Now comes the moral exhortation:

"Let your ability [*Vermögen*] have its effect, brace yourself, and you will not lack money [*Geld*], your money, money of your coining.... Know then that you have as much money as you have power; for the extent to which you can assert yourself [*Dir Geltung verschaffst*] determines how much you are worth [*giltst*][b]" (pp. 353, 364).

The power of money, the fact that the universal means of exchange becomes independent in relation both to society and to individuals, reveals most clearly that the relations of production and intercourse as a whole assume an independent existence. Consequently, Sancho as usual knows nothing about the connection of money relations with production in general and intercourse. As a good citizen, he unhesitatingly keeps money in force; indeed it could not be otherwise with his view of division of labour and the organisation of landed ownership. The material power of money, which is strikingly revealed in monetary crises and which, in the form of a permanent scarcity of money, oppresses the petty bourgeois who is "inclined to make purchases", is likewise a highly unpleasant fact for the egoist in agreement with himself. He gets rid of the difficulty by reversing the ordinary idea of the petty bourgeois, thus making it appear that the attitude of individuals to the power of money is something that depends solely on their personal willing or running.[114] This fortunate turn of thought then gives him the chance of reading a moral lecture, buttressed by synonymy, etymology and vowel mutation, to the astounded petty bourgeois already disheartened by lack of money, thus debarring in advance all inconvenient questions about the causes of the pecuniary embarrassment.

The monetary crisis consists primarily in the fact that all "wealth" [*Vermögen*] suddenly becomes depreciated in relation to the means of exchange and loses its "power" [*Vermögen*] over money. A crisis is in existence precisely when one *can* no longer pay with one's "wealth" [*Vermögen*], but *must* pay with money. And this again does not happen because of a shortage of money, as is imagined by the petty bourgeois who judges the crisis by his personal difficulties, but

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[a] A play on the word *Vermögen*—ability, faculty, power, wealth, means, property—and its derivatives.—*Ed.*

[b] A play on the words *Geld*—money; *sich Geltung verschaffen*—to assert oneself; and *gelten*—to be worth.—*Ed.*

because the specific difference becomes fixed between money as the *universal* commodity, the "marketable property and property in circulation", and all the other, *particular* commodities, which suddenly cease to be marketable property. It cannot be expected that, to please Sancho, we shall analyse here the causes of this phenomenon. Sancho first of all consoles the moneyless and hopeless small shopkeepers by saying that it is not money that causes the scarcity of money and the whole crisis, but their inability to obtain it. It is not arsenic that is to blame for someone dying who takes it, it is the inability of his organism to digest it.

After first defining money as an essential and indeed *specific* form of wealth [*Vermögen*], as the universal means of exchange, money in the ordinary sense, Sancho suddenly turns the thing round when he sees the difficulties this would lead to and declares all ability [*Vermögen*] to be money, in order to create the appearance of personal power. The difficulty during a crisis is precisely that "all wealth" [*Vermögen*] has ceased to be "money". Incidentally, this amounts to the practice of the bourgeois who accepts "all wealth" as means of payment so long as it is money, and who only begins to raise difficulties when it becomes difficult to turn this "wealth" into money, in which case he also ceases to regard it as "wealth". Further, the difficulty in time of crisis is precisely that you, petty bourgeois, whom Sancho addresses here, can no longer put into circulation the money of your coining, your bills of exchange; but you are expected to pay with money not coined by you and which shows no evidence that it has passed through your hands.

Finally, Stirner distorts the bourgeois motto "You are worth as much as the money you possess" into "You have as much money as you are worth", which alters nothing, but only introduces an appearance of personal power and thus expresses the trivial bourgeois illusion that everyone is himself to blame if he has no money. Thus Sancho disposes of the classic bourgeois saying: *L'argent n'a pas de maître*,[a] and can now mount the pulpit and exclaim: "Let your ability have its effect, brace yourself, and you will not lack money." *Je ne connais pas de lieu à la bourse où se fasse le transfert des bonnes intentions.*[b] He had but to add: Obtain credit; knowledge is power[c]; it is harder to earn the first taler than the last million; be moderate and save your money and, most important of all, do not multiply overmuch, etc.—to reveal not one ass's ear, but both at once.

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[a] Money has no master.—*Ed.*

[b] I do not know a place at the stock exchange where people trade in good intentions.—*Ed.*

[c] This phrase is in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

In general, the man for whom everyone is what he can be and does what he can do, ends all chapters with moral exhortations.

The monetary system in Stirner's union is, therefore, the existing monetary system expressed in the euphemistic and gushingly-sentimental manner of the German petty bourgeois.

After Sancho has paraded in this way with the ears of his ass, Don Quixote-Szeliga draws himself up to his full height and delivers a solemn speech about the modern knight-errant, in the course of which money is transformed into Dulcinea del Toboso and the manufacturers and *commerçants en masse* into knights, namely, into *chevaliers d'industrie.* The speech has also the subsidiary aim of proving that because money is an "essential means", it is also "essentially a daughter".* And he stretched out his right hand and said:

"On money depends fortune and misfortune. In the bourgeois period it is a force because like a maiden" (a dairymaid; *per appositionem* Dulcinea) "it is only wooed but is not indissolubly joined in marriage to anyone. All the romance and chivalry of wooing a dear object is revived in competition. Money, an object of ardent desire, is abducted by the bold *chevaliers d'industrie*" (p. 364).

Sancho has now arrived at a profound explanation why money in the bourgeois epoch is a power, namely, because in the first place fortune and misfortune depends on it and, secondly, because it is a *maiden.* He has further learned why he can lose his money, namely, because a maiden is not indissolubly joined in marriage to anyone. Now the poor wretch knows where he stands.

Szeliga, who has thus made the burgher into a knight, now in the following way makes the communist into a burgher and indeed into a burgher husband.

"He on whom fortune smiles leads the bride home. The ragamuffin is fortunate, he takes her into his household, *society,* and destroys the maiden. In his home she is no longer a bride, but a wife, and her maiden name disappears with her maidenhood. As a housewife, the money-maiden is called *labour,* for *labour* is the name of the husband. She is the property of the husband.

"To complete the picture, the child of labour and money is again a girl" ("essentially a daughter"), "an unmarried girl" (has Szeliga ever known of a girl coming "married" out of the maternal womb?) "and therefore money" (according to the above proof that all money is an "unmarried girl", it is self-evident that "all unmarried girls" are "money")—"therefore money, but having its *definite* descent from labour, its father" (*toute recherche de la paternité est interdite*[b]). "The shape of the face, the image, bears a different stamp" (pp. 364, 365).

* Cf. *Die heilige Familie,* p. 266.[a]

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 4, p. 167.—*Ed.*

[b] Any investigation regarding paternity is forbidden—the formula used in article 340 of the *Code Napoléon* (the French civil code).—*Ed.*

This story of marriage, burial and baptism is surely of itself sufficient proof that it is "essentially a daughter" of Szeliga, and indeed a daughter of "definite descent". Its ultimate basis, however, lies in the ignorance of his former stableman, Sancho. This is clearly seen at the end, when the orator is again anxiously concerned about the "coining" of money, thereby betraying that he still considers that coins are the most important medium of circulation. If he had taken the trouble to examine a little more closely the economic relations of money, instead of weaving a beautiful, leafy bridal wreath for it,[a] he would have known that— without mentioning state securities, shares, etc.—the major part of the medium of circulation consists of bills of exchange, whereas paper money forms a comparatively small part, and coin a still smaller part. In England, for example, fifteen times as much money circulates in the form of bills of exchange and bank-notes as in the form of coin. And even as regards coin, it is determined exclusively by the costs of production, i.e., labour. Hence Stirner's elaborate process of procreation was superfluous here.

Szeliga's solemn reflections about a means of exchange based on labour but, nevertheless, different from the money of today, which he claims to have discovered among certain communists, only prove once again the simplicity with which our noble couple believe everything they read without even examining it.

When the two heroes ride homewards after this "knightly and romantic" campaign of "wooing", they are bringing back no "fortune", still less the "bride", and least of all "money", but at best one "ragamuffin" is bringing home the other.

### 4. State

We have seen that Sancho retains in his "union" the existing form of landownership, division of labour and money, in the way in which a petty bourgeois conceives these relations in his imagination. It is clear at a glance that with such premises Sancho cannot do without the state.

First of all his newly acquired property will have to assume the form of guaranteed, legal property. We have already heard his words:

"That in which all want to have a share will be taken away from the individual who wants to have it for himself alone" (p. 330).

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[a] Carl Maria von Weber, *Der Freischütz* (Libretto by Friedrich Kind), Act III, Scene 4, "Wedding Song".—*Ed.*

Here, therefore, the will of the whole community is enforced against the will of the separate individual. Since each of the egoists in agreement with themselves may turn out to be not in agreement with the other egoists and thus become involved in this contradiction, the collective will must also find some means of expression in relation to the separate individuals—

"and this will is called the *will of the state*" (p. 257).

Its decisions are then *legal* decisions. The enforcement of this collective will in its turn requires repressive measures and public power.

"In this matter also" (in the matter of property) "the unions will multiply the means of the individual and *safeguard* his *disputed* property" (they guarantee, therefore, guaranteed property, i.e., legal property, i.e., property that Sancho possesses not "unconditionally", but "holds on feudal tenure" from the "union") (p. 342).

Obviously, the whole of civil law is re-established along with the relations of property, and Sancho himself, for example, sets forth the theory of contract fully in the spirit of the lawyers, as follows:

"It is of no importance, too, that I deprive myself of one or other freedom, for example, through any *contract*" (p. 409).

And in order to "safeguard" "disputed" contracts, it will also "be of no importance" if he has again to submit himself to a court and to all the actual consequences of a civil court case.

Thus, "little by little out of the twilight and the night" we come closer again to the existing relations, but only as these relations exist in the dwarfish imagination of the German petty bourgeois.

Sancho admits:

"In relation to freedom there is no essential difference between state and union. The latter cannot arise and exist without restricting freedom in various ways just as the state is incompatible with boundless freedom. Restriction of freedom is always unavoidable, for it is impossible to *get rid of* everything; one cannot fly like a bird just because one would like to fly, etc.... In the union there will still be a fair amount of compulsion and lack of freedom, for its aim is not freedom which, on the contrary, it sacrifices for the sake of peculiarity, but only for the sake of *peculiarity*" (pp. 410, 411).

Leaving aside for the time being the strange distinction between freedom and peculiarity, it should be noted that Sancho, without intending to do so, has already sacrificed his "peculiarity" in his union owing to its *economic* institutions. As a true "believer in the state", he sees a restriction only where political institutions begin. He lets the old society continue in existence and with it also the subordination of individuals to division of labour; in which case he

cannot escape the fate of having a special "peculiarity" prescribed for him by the division of labour and the occupation and position in life that falls to his lot as a result of it. If, for example, it fell to his lot to work as an apprentice fitter in Willenhall,[115] then the "peculiarity" imposed on him would consist in a twisted hip-bone resulting in a "game leg"; if the "title spectre[a] of his book"[116] has to exist as a female throstle spinner, then her "peculiarity" would consist in stiff knees. Even if our Sancho continues his old vocation of a corvée peasant, already assigned to him by Cervantes, and which he now declares to be his own vocation, which he calls upon himself to fulfil, then, owing to division of labour and the separation of town and countryside, he will have the "peculiarity" of being a purely local animal cut off from all world intercourse and, consequently, from all culture.

Thus, in the union, owing to its social organisation, Sancho *malgré lui* loses his peculiarity if, by way of exception, we take peculiarity in the sense of individuality. That owing to its political organisation, he then surrenders his freedom as well is quite consistent and only shows still more clearly how much he strives to retain the present state of affairs in his union.

Thus, the essential distinction between freedom and peculiarity constitutes the difference between the present state of affairs and the "union". We have already seen how essential this distinction is. The majority of the members of the union, too, will possibly not be particularly embarrassed by this distinction and will hasten to decree their "riddance" from it, and if Sancho is not satisfied with that, they will show him on the basis of his own "book" that, firstly, there are no essences, but that essences and essential differences are "the holy"; secondly, that the union does not have to trouble about the "nature of the matter" and the "concept of the relation"; and, thirdly, that they in no way encroach on his peculiarity but only on his freedom to express it. They will perhaps prove to him, if it is his "endeavour to be without a constitution", that they restrict only his freedom by putting him in prison, striking blows at him, or tearing off his leg, and that he remains *partout et toujours* "peculiar", so long as he is still able to show the signs of life of a polyp, an oyster or even a galvanised dead frog. They will "set a definite price" on his work, as we have already heard, and "will not allow a truly *free*" (!) "realisation of his property", for thereby they restrict only his freedom, not his peculiarity. These are things for which Sancho, on page 338, reproaches the state. "What then should" our corvée

[a] Marie Dähnhardt, Stirner's wife.— *Ed.*

peasant Sancho "do? He should be firm and pay no attention" to the union (ibid.). Finally, whenever he begins to grumble about the restrictions imposed on him, the majority will suggest that so long as he has the peculiarity of declaring that freedoms are peculiarities, they can take the liberty of regarding his peculiarities as freedoms.

Just as the difference mentioned above between human and unique labour was only a miserable appropriation of the law of supply and demand, so now the difference between freedom and peculiarity is a miserable appropriation of the relation between the state and civil society or, as Monsieur Guizot says, between *liberté individuelle* and *pouvoir public*. This is so much the case that in what follows he can copy Rousseau[a] almost word for word.

"The agreement [...] according to which everyone must sacrifice a part of his freedom" occurs "not at all for the sake of something universal or even for the sake of another person", on the contrary, "I only concluded it out of *self-interest*. As far as sacrificing is concerned, after all I merely sacrifice what is not in my power, i. e., I sacrifice nothing at all" (p. 418).

Our corvée peasant in agreement with himself shares this quality with all other corvée peasants and, in general, with every individual who has ever lived on the earth. Compare also Godwin, *Political Justice*.[b]

Incidentally, Sancho appears to possess the peculiarity of imagining that according to Rousseau individuals concluded the contract for the sake of the universal, which never entered Rousseau's head.

One consolation, however, remains for him.

"The state is *holy* ... the union, however, is ... *not* holy." And herein lies the "great difference between the state and the union" (p. 411).

The whole difference, therefore, amounts to this, that the "union" is the actual modern state, and the "state" is Stirner's illusion about the Prussian state, which he confuses with the state in general.

### 5. Rebellion

Sancho quite rightly has so little faith in his subtle distinctions between state and union, holy and not holy, human and unique, peculiarity and freedom, etc., that in the end he takes refuge in the *ultima ratio* of the egoist in agreement with himself—in rebellion. This time, however, he rebels not against himself, as he earlier asserted, but against the union. Just as earlier Sancho sought to achieve clarity on all points in the union, so he does here, too, as regards rebellion.

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[a] *Du Contrat social; ou, Principes du droit politique.—Ed.*

[b] William Godwin, *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice, and Its Influence on Morals and Happiness.—Ed.*

"If the community treats me unjustly, I rebel against it and defend my property" (p. 343).

If the rebellion does not "prosper", the union will "expel (imprison, exile, etc.) him" (pp. 256, 257).

Sancho here tries to appropriate the *droits de l'homme* of 1793, which included the right of insurrection [117]—a human right that, of course, bears bitter fruits for him who tries to make use of it at his "own" discretion.

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Thus Sancho's whole union amounts to the following. Whereas in his previous criticism he regarded existing relations only from the aspect of illusion, when speaking of the union he tries to get to know the actual content of these relations and to oppose this content to the former illusions. In this attempt, our ignorant school-master was of course bound to fail ignominiously. By way of exception, he did once endeavour to appropriate the "nature of the matter" and the "concept of the relation", but he failed to "divest" any matter or any relation of its "alien character".

Now that we have become acquainted with the union in its real form, it only remains for us to examine Sancho's enthusiastic ideas about it, i.e., the religion and philosophy of the union.

### 6. Religion and Philosophy of the Union

Here we again start from the point at which, above, we began the description of the union. Sancho employs two categories: property and wealth; the illusions about property correspond mainly to the positive data given on landed property, the illusions about wealth to the data on the organisation of labour and the monetary system in the union.

#### A. Property

Page 331: "The world belongs to me."

Interpretation of his hereditary tenure of a plot of land.

Page 343: "I am the owner of everything that I need",

a euphemistic way of saying that his needs are his possession and that what he needs as a corvée peasant is determined by his circumstances. In the same way the economists maintain that the worker is the owner of everything that he needs as a worker. See the discourse on the minimum wage in Ricardo.[a]

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[a] David Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation.*—*Ed.*

Page 343: "Now, however, everything belongs to me."

A musical flourish in honour of his rate of wages, his plot of land, his permanent lack of money, and his expulsion from everything that the "society" does not want him to have in exclusive possession. The same idea occurs on page 327, expressed thus:

"His" (i. e., of another person) "possessions are mine and I dispose of them as the owner to the extent of my power."

This pompous *allegro marciale* passes in the following way into a gentle cadence, in which it gradually collapses on its backside—Sancho's usual fate:

Page 331: "The world belongs to me. Do you" (communists) "say anything different with your opposite thesis: the world belongs to *all*? All are I, and once more I, etc." (for example, "Robespierre, for example, Saint-Just, and so on").

Page 415: "I am I and you are I, but ... this I, in which we are all equal, is only my thought [...] a generality" (the holy).

The practical variation on this theme occurs on page 330, where the "individuals collectively" (i.e., all) are counterposed as a regulating force to the "isolated individual" (i.e., the I as distinct from all).

These dissonances are at last resolved in the soothing final chord, to the effect that what I do not possess is at any rate the property of another "ego". Thus, "ownership of everything" is only an interpretation of the statement that each person possesses exclusive property.

Page 336: "But property is only my property if I have unconditional possession of it. As the unconditional ego, I have property, I carry on free trade."

We already know that only freedom, and not peculiarity, is affected if freedom of trade and unconditionality are not respected in the union. "Unconditional property" is a fitting supplement to the "secure", guaranteed property in the union.

Page 342: "In the opinion of the communists, the community should be the owner. On the contrary, I am the owner and only come to an agreement with others about my property."

On page 329 we saw how "the *société* makes itself the *owner*" and on page 330 how it "excludes *individuals* from *its* property". In general, we saw that the tribal system of feudal tenure, the crudest beginnings of the system of feudal tenure, was introduced. According to page 416, the "feudal system = absence of property"; hence, according to the same page, "property is recognised in the union, and only in the union", and moreover for a conclusive

reason: "because no one any longer holds his possession in feudal tenure from any being [*Wesen*]" (ibid.). That is to say, under the hitherto existing feudal system, the feudal lord was this "being", in the union it is the *société*. From this one may at least conclude that Sancho possesses an "exclusive" but by no means "secure" property in the "essence" [*Wesen*[a]] of past history.

In connection with page 330, according to which each individual is excluded from that which society does not consider it right for him to hold in his sole possession, and in connection with the state and legal system of the union, it is stated:

Page 369: "The rightful and legitimate property of another will only be that which you consider it right to recognise as his property. If you no longer consider it right, it loses its rightfulness for you and you will deride any claim to absolute right in it."

He thus proves the astounding fact that what is right in the union does not have to be right for him—an indisputable right of man. If there exists in the union the institution of the old French parliaments, which Sancho loves so much, then he can even have his dislike recorded and deposit the document in the office of the law courts, consoling himself with the thought that "one cannot get rid of everything".

These various statements appear to contradict themselves, one another and the actual state of things in the union. But the key to this riddle is to be found in the juridical fiction, already mentioned, that when Sancho is excluded from the property of others, he is merely coming to an agreement with these others. This fiction is expounded in more detail in the following statements:

Page 369: "This" (i. e., respect for the property of others) "comes to an end when I can leave the tree in question to another, just as I leave my stick, etc., to another, but do not from the outset regard it as something alien, i. e., holy. Rather ... it remains my property, no matter for what period I cede it to another; it is mine and remains mine. I *see* nothing alien in the wealth belonging to the banker."

Page 328: "I do not retreat timidly before thy and your property, but always *regard* it as my property, which I do not need to respect at all. Just do the same with what you call my property. With this *point of view* we shall most easily reach agreement with one another."

If, according to the rules of the union, Sancho is "given a drubbing" as soon as he tries to seize another's property, he will, of course, maintain that pilfering is a "peculiarity" of his; nevertheless, the union will decide that Sancho has merely taken a "liberty". And if Sancho takes the "liberty" of attempting to seize another's possessions, the union has the "peculiarity" of sentencing him to a flogging for it.

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[a] A pun on the word *Wesen*, which can mean "being" or "essence".—*Ed.*

The essence of the matter is this. Bourgeois and, particularly, petty-bourgeois and small-peasant property is, as we have seen, retained in the union. Merely the *interpretation*, the "*point of view*", is different, for which reason Sancho always lays stress on the way of "regarding". "Agreement" is reached when this new philosophy of regarding enjoys the regard of the whole union. This philosophy consists of the following. Firstly, every relation, whether caused by economic conditions or direct compulsion, is regarded as a relation of "agreement". Secondly, it is imagined that all property belonging to others is relinquished to them by us and remains with them only until we have the power to take it from them; and if we never get the power, *tant mieux*. Thirdly, Sancho and his union in theory guarantee each other absence of respect, whereas in practice the union "reaches agreement" with Sancho with the aid of a stick. Finally, this "agreement" is a mere phrase, since everyone knows that the others enter into it only with the secret reservation that they will reject it on the first convenient occasion. I see in your property something that is not yours but mine; since every ego does likewise, they see in it the *universal*, by which we arrive at the modern-German philosophical interpretation of ordinary, special and exclusive private property.

The union's philosophy of property includes, *inter alia*, the following fancies derived from Sancho's system:

On page 342, that property can be acquired in the union through absence of respect; on page 351, that "we are all in the midst of abundance", and I "have only to help myself to as much as I can", whereas in actual fact the whole union belongs to Pharaoh's seven lean kine [118]; and finally that Sancho "cherishes thoughts" which are "written in his book" and which are sung on page 374 in the incomparable ode addressed to himself imitating Heine's three odes to Schlegel[a]: "*You, who* cherishes such thoughts as are written in your book ... you cherish nonsense!" Such is the hymn which for the time being Sancho addresses to himself, and about which the union will later "reach agreement" with him.

Finally, it is obvious even without reaching "agreement" that property in the extraordinary sense, about which we already spoke in the "Phenomenology",[b] is accepted in the union in lieu of payment, as "marketable" property and "property in circulation". Concerning simple facts, e.g., that I feel sympathy, that I talk to others, that my

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[a] Heine's "Sonettenkranz an A. W. von Schlegel" in his *Buch der Lieder*.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 259-60.—*Ed.*

leg is amputated (or torn off), the union will reach agreement that "the feeling experienced by sentient beings is also mine, my property" (p. 387); that other people's ears and tongues are likewise my property, and that mechanical relations too are my property. Thus, appropriation in the union will consist chiefly in all relations being transformed into property relations by means of a facile paraphrase. This new mode of expressing "evils" that are already now rife is an "essential means or faculty" in the union and will successfully make up for the deficit in the means of existence that is inevitable in view of Sancho's "social gifts".

### B. Wealth

Page 216: "Let each of you become an *omnipotent ego*!"
Page 353: "Think about increasing your wealth!"
Page 420: "Keep up the value of your gifts;
"Keep up their price,
"Do not allow yourself to be compelled to sell below the price,
"Do not allow yourself to be persuaded that your commodity is not worth the price,
"Do not make yourself ridiculous by a ridiculously low price,
"Follow the example of the courageous man," etc.!
Page 420: "Increase the value of your property!"
"Increase your value!"

These moral sayings, which Sancho learned from an Andalusian Jewish huckster who drew up rules of life and trade for his son, and which Sancho now pulls out of his knapsack, form the main wealth of the union. The basis of all these statements is the great proposition on page 351:

"Everything that you are able to do [*vermagst*—inflected form of *vermögen*] is your wealth [*Vermögen*]."

This proposition is either meaningless, i. e., mere tautology, or is nonsense. It is tautology if it means: what you are able to do, you are able to do. It is nonsense if *Vermögen* No. 2 is meant to denote wealth "in the ordinary sense", commercial wealth, and if the proposition is based, therefore, on the etymological similarity. The collision consists precisely in the fact that what is expected of my ability [*Vermögen*] is different from what it is capable of doing, e. g., it is demanded of my ability to write verses that it should make money out of these verses. My ability is expected to produce something quite different from the specific product of this special ability, viz., a product depending on extraneous conditions which are not subject to my ability. This difficulty is supposed to be resolved in the union by means of etymological synonymy. We see that our egoistical school-master hopes to occupy an important post in the

union. Incidentally, this difficulty is only an apparant one. The usual pithy moral saying of the bourgeois: "Anything is good to make money of"[a] is here expounded at length in Sancho's solemn manner.

### C. Morality, Intercourse, Theory of Exploitation

Page 352: "You behave egoistically when you regard one another neither as owners nor as ragamuffins or workers, but as part of your wealth, as *useful creatures.* Then you will not give anything either to the owner, the proprietor, for his property, or to the one who works, but only to him whom you can make use of. Do we need a king? the North Americans ask themselves, and they reply: 'He and his work are not worth a farthing to us'."

On the other hand, on page 229, he reproaches the "bourgeois period" for the following:

"Instead of taking me as I am, attention is paid only to my property, my qualities, and a marriage alliance[b] is concluded with me only for the sake of what I possess. The marriage is concluded, so to speak, with what I have and not with what I am."

That is to say, attention is paid solely to what I am for others, to my usefulness, I am dealt with as a useful creature. Sancho spits into the "bourgeois period's" soup, so that in the union he alone can devour it.

If the individuals of modern society regard one another as owners, as workers and, if Sancho wishes, as ragamuffins, this only means that they treat one another as useful creatures, a fact which can only be doubted by such a useless individual as Sancho. The capitalist, who "regards" the worker "as a worker", shows consideration for him only because he needs workers; the worker treats the capitalist in the same way, and the Americans too, in Sancho's opinion (we would like him to point out the source from which he took this historic fact), have no *use* for a king, *because* he is useless to them *as a worker.* Sancho has chosen his example with his usual clumsiness, for it is supposed to prove exactly the opposite of what it actually proves.

Page 395: "For me, you are nothing but food, just as I am eaten up and consumed by you. We stand in only one relation to one another: that of usefulness, utility, use."

Page 416: "No one is to me a person to be held in respect, not even my fellow-man; but, like other *beings*" (!), "he is solely an *object,* for which I may or may not have sympathy, an interesting or uninteresting object, a useful or useless creature."

The relation of "usefulness", which is supposed to be the *sole* relation of the individuals to one another in the union, is at once paraphrased as "*eating*" one another. The "perfect Christians" of

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[a] The words in quotes are in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript: *ehelicher Bund,* that is, "marriage alliance"; in Stirner's book: *ehrlicher Bund,* i.e., "honest alliance".—*Ed.*

the union, of course, also celebrate holy communion, only not by eating together but by eating one another.

The extent to which this theory of mutual exploitation, which Bentham expounded *ad nauseam*, could already at the beginning of the present century be regarded as a phase of the previous one is shown by Hegel in his *Phänomenologie*. See there the chapter "The Struggle of Enlightenment with Superstition", where the theory of usefulness is depicted as the final result of enlightenment. The apparent absurdity of merging all the manifold relationships of people in the *one* relation of usefulness, this apparently metaphysical abstraction arises from the fact that in modern bourgeois society all relations are subordinated in practice to the one abstract monetary-commercial relation. This theory came to the fore with Hobbes and Locke, at the same time as the first and second English revolutions, those first battles by which the bourgeoisie won political power. It is to be found even earlier, of course, among writers on political economy, as a tacit presupposition. Political economy is the real science of this theory of utility; it acquires its true content among the Physiocrats, since they were the first to treat political economy systematically. In Helvétius and Holbach one can already find an idealisation of this doctrine, which fully corresponds to the attitude of opposition adopted by the French bourgeoisie before the revolution. Holbach depicts the entire activity of individuals in their mutual intercourse, e. g., speech, love, etc., as a relation of utility and utilisation. Hence the actual relations that are presupposed here are speech, love, definite manifestations of definite qualities of individuals. Now these relations are supposed not to have the meaning *peculiar* to them but to be the expression and manifestation of some third relation attributed to them, the *relation of utility or utilisation.* This *paraphrasing* ceases to be meaningless and arbitrary only when these relations have validity for the individual not on their own account, not as spontaneous activity, but rather as disguises, though by no means disguises of the category of utilisation, but of an actual third aim and relation which is called the relation of utility.

The verbal masquerade only has meaning when it is the unconscious or deliberate expression of an actual masquerade. In this case, the utility relation has a quite definite meaning, namely, that I derive benefit for myself by doing harm to someone else (*exploitation de l'homme par l'homme*[a]); in this case moreover the use that

[a] Exploitation of man by man." See *Doctrine de Saint-Simon. Exposition. Première année.—Ed.*

I derive from some relation is entirely extraneous to this relation, as we saw above in connection with ability [*Vermögen*] that from each ability a product alien to it was demanded, a relation determined by social relations[a]—and this is precisely the relation of utility. All this is actually the case with the bourgeois. For him only *one* relation is valid on its own account—the relation of exploitation; all other relations have validity for him only insofar as he can include them under this one relation; and even where he encounters relations which cannot be directly subordinated to the relation of exploitation, he subordinates them to it at least in his imagination. The material expression of this use is money which represents the value of all things, people and social relations. Incidentally, one sees at a glance that the category of "utilisation" is first abstracted from the actual relations of intercourse which I have with other people (but by no means from reflection and mere will) and then these relations are made out to be the reality of the category that has been abstracted from them themselves, a wholly metaphysical method of procedure. In exactly the same way and with the same justification, Hegel depicts all relations as relations of the objective spirit. Hence Holbach's theory is the historically justified philosophical illusion about the bourgeoisie just then developing in France, whose thirst for exploitation could still be regarded as a thirst for the full development of individuals in conditions of intercourse freed from the old feudal fetters. Liberation from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie, i. e., competition, was, of course, for the eighteenth century the only possible way of offering the individuals a new career for freer development. The theoretical proclamation of the consciousness corresponding to this bourgeois practice, of the consciousness of mutual exploitation as the universal mutual relation of all individuals, was also a bold and open step forward. It was a kind of *enlightenment* which interpreted the political, patriarchal, religious and sentimental embellishment of exploitation under feudalism in a secular way; the embellishment corresponded to the form of exploitation existing at that time and it had been systematised especially by the theoretical writers of the absolute monarchy.

Even if Sancho had done the same thing in his "book" as Helvétius and Holbach did in the last century, the anachronism would still have made it ridiculous. But we have seen that in the place of active bourgeois egoism he put a bragging egoism in agreement with itself

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[a] See this volume, pp. 407-08.—*Ed.*

His sole service—rendered against his will and without realising it—was that he expressed the aspirations of the German petty bourgeois of today whose aim it is to become bourgeois. It was quite fitting that the petty, shy and timid behaviour of these petty bourgeois should have as its counterpart the noisy, blustering and impertinent public boasting of "the unique" among their philosophical representatives. It is quite in accordance with the situation of these petty bourgeois that they do not want to know about their theoretical loud-mouthed champion, and that he knows nothing about them; that they are at variance with one another, and he is forced to preach egoism in agreement with itself. Now, perhaps, Sancho will realise the sort of umbilical cord that connects *his* "union" with the Customs Union.[119]

The advances made by the theory of utility and exploitation, its various phases are closely connected with the various periods of development of the bourgeoisie. In the case of Helvétius and Holbach, the actual content of the theory never went much beyond paraphrasing the mode of expression of writers belonging to the period of the absolute monarchy. It was a different method of expression which reflected the desire to reduce all relations to the relation of exploitation and to explain the intercourse of people from their material needs and the ways of satisfying them, rather than the actual realisation of this desire. The problem was set. Hobbes and Locke had before their eyes not only the earlier development of the Dutch bourgeoisie (both of them had lived for some time in Holland) but also the first political actions by which the English bourgeoisie emerged from local and provincial limitations, as well as a comparatively highly developed stage of manufacture, overseas trade and colonisation. This particularly applies to Locke, who wrote during the first period of the English economy, at the time of the rise of joint-stock companies, the Bank of England and England's mastery of the seas. In their case, and particularly in that of Locke, the theory of exploitation was still directly connected with the economic content.

Helvétius and Holbach had before them, besides English theory and the preceding development of the Dutch and English bourgeoisie, also the French bourgeoisie which was still struggling for its free development. The commercial spirit, universal in the eighteenth century, had especially in France taken possession of all classes in the form of speculation. The financial difficulties of the government and the resulting disputes over taxation occupied the attention of all France even at that time. In addition, Paris in the eighteenth century was the only world city, the only city where there

was personal intercourse among individuals of all nations. These premises, combined with the more universal character typical of the French in general, gave the theory of Helvétius and Holbach its peculiar universal colouring, but at the same time deprived it of the positive economic content that was still to be found among the English. The theory which for the English was still simply the registration of facts becomes for the French a philosophical system. This generality devoid of positive content, such as we find it in Helvétius and Holbach, is essentially different from the substantial comprehensive view which is first found in Bentham and Mill. The former corresponds to the struggling, still undeveloped bourgeoisie, the latter to the ruling, developed bourgeoisie.

The content of the theory of exploitation that was neglected by Helvétius and Holbach was developed and systematised by the Physiocrats—who worked at the same time as Holbach—but because their basis was the undeveloped economic relations of France where feudalism, under which landownership plays the chief role, was still unshaken, they remained in thrall to the feudal outlook insofar as they declared landownership and land cultivation to be that [productive force] which determines the whole structure of society.

The theory of exploitation owes its further development in England to Godwin, and especially to Bentham. As the bourgeoisie succeeded in asserting itself more and more both in England and in France, the economic content, which the French had neglected, was gradually re-introduced by Bentham. Godwin's *Political Justice* was written during the terror, and Bentham's chief works during and after the French Revolution and the development of large-scale industry in England. The complete union of the theory of utility with political economy is to be found, finally, in Mill.

At an earlier period political economy had been the subject of inquiry either by financiers, bankers and merchants, i.e., in general by persons directly concerned with economic relations, or by persons with an all-round education like Hobbes, Locke and Hume, for whom it was of importance as a branch of encyclopaedic knowledge. Thanks to the Physiocrats, political economy for the first time was raised to the rank of a special science and has been treated as such ever since. As a special branch of science it absorbed the other relations—political, juridical, etc.—to such an extent that it reduced them to economic relations. But it regarded this subordination of all relations to itself as only one aspect of these relations, and thereby allowed them for the rest an independent significance outside political economy. The complete subordination of all existing relations to the relation of utility, and its unconditional elevation to

the sole content of all other relations, occurs for the first time in Bentham's works, where, after the French Revolution and the development of large-scale industry, the bourgeoisie is no longer presented as a special class, but as the class whose conditions of existence are those of the whole society.

When the sentimental and moral paraphrases, which for the French were the entire content of the utility theory, had been exhausted, all that remained for its further development was the question how individuals and relations were to be used, to be exploited. Political economy had meanwhile already provided the answer to this question; the only possible advance consisted in the inclusion of the economic content. Bentham achieved this advance. Political economy, however, had already given expression to the fact that the chief relations of exploitation are determined by production in general, independently of the will of individuals, who find them already in existence. Hence, no other field of speculative thought remained for the utility theory than the attitude of individuals to these important relations, the private exploitation of an already existing world by individuals. On this subject Bentham and his school indulged in lengthy moral reflections. The whole criticism of the existing world by the utility theory was consequently restricted within a narrow range. Remaining within the confines of bourgeois conditions, it could criticise only those relations which had been handed down from a past epoch and were an obstacle to the development of the bourgeoisie. Hence, although the utility theory does expound the connection of all existing relations with economic relations, it does so only in a restricted way.

From the outset the utility theory had the aspect of a theory of general utility, yet this aspect only became fraught with meaning when economic relations, especially division of labour and exchange, were included. With division of labour, the private activity of the individual becomes generally useful; Bentham's general utility becomes reduced to the same general utility which is asserted in competition as a whole. By taking into account the economic relations of rent, profit and wages, the definite relations of exploitation of the various classes were introduced, since the manner of exploitation depends on the social position of the exploiter. Up to this point the theory of utility was able to base itself on definite social facts; its further account of the manner of exploitation amounts to a mere recital of catechism phrases.

The economic content gradually turned the utility theory into a mere apologia for the existing state of affairs, an attempt to prove that under existing conditions the mutual relations of people today

are the most advantageous and generally useful. It has this character among all modern economists.

But whereas the utility theory had thus at least the advantage of indicating the connection of all existing relations with the economic foundations of society, in Sancho the theory has lost all positive content; it is divorced from all actual relations and is restricted to the mere illusion cherished by the isolated bourgeois about his "cleverness", by means of which he reckons to exploit the world. Incidentally, it is only in a few passages that Sancho deals with the theory of utility even in this diluted form; almost the entire "book" is taken up, as we have seen, with egoism in agreement with itself, i.e., with an illusion about this illusion of the petty bourgeois. Even these few passages are finally reduced by Sancho to mere vapour, as we shall see.

### D. Religion

"In this community" (namely with other people) "I *perceive* nothing at all but a multiplication of my power, and I retain it only for so long as it is my multiplied power" (p. 416).

"I no longer *abase* myself before any power, and *recognise* that all powers are only my power, which I have immediately to subdue if they threaten to become a power against me or over me; each of them *is permitted* to be only one of *my means* for achieving my purpose."

I "*perceive*", I "*recognise*", I "*have to* subdue", power "*is permitted* to be only one of my means". We have already been shown in connection with the "union" what these moral demands mean and how far they correspond to reality. This illusion about his power is closely connected with the other illusion: that in the union "substance" is abolished (see "Humane Liberalism"[a]), and that the relations of the union members never assume a rigid form in respect to separate individuals.

"The union, the association, this eternally fluid association of everything that exists.... Of course, society can arise also from union, but only as a fixed idea arises out of a thought.... If a union has crystallised into a society, it has ceased to be an association, for association is the unceasing process of associating with one another; it has reached the state of being associated, it has become society, the corpse of the union or association.... Neither a natural nor a spiritual bond holds the union together" (pp. 294, 408, 416).

As regards the "natural bond", it exists, despite Sancho's "ill will", in the form of corvée peasant economy and organisation of labour, etc., in the union; likewise the "spiritual bond"[b] in Sancho's philosophy. For the rest we need only refer to what we have already

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[a] See this volume, p. 235.—*Ed.*

[b] Goethe, *Faust*, I. Teil, 2. "Studierzimmerszene".—*Ed.*

said several times, and repeated in connection with the union, about division of labour causing the relations to confront individuals as something existing independently of them.

"In short, society is *holy*, the union is your *own*; society uses you, you use the union", etc. [p. 418].

### E. Supplement to the Union

Whereas hitherto we were shown no other possibility of reaching the "union" than through rebellion, now we learn from the "Commentary" that the "union of egoists" already exists in "hundreds of thousands" of cases as one of the aspects of existing bourgeois society and that it is accessible to us even without any rebellion and any "Stirner". Then Sancho shows us

"such unions in actual life. Faust is within such unions when he exclaims: Here I am a *human being*" (!), "here I dare to be one,[a] here Goethe states it even in black and white" ("but the holy person is called Humanus, see Goethe",[b] cf. "the book")..... "If Hess were to look attentively at real life, he would see hundreds of thousands of such egoistical unions—some of short duration, some enduring."

Sancho then makes some "children" meet for a game in front of Hess' window, and makes "a few friends" take Hess to a tavern and lets him associate with his "beloved".

"Of course, Hess does not notice how full of significance these trivial examples are and how infinitely different they are from the holy societies and indeed from the fraternal, human society of holy socialists" (Sancho contra Hess, *Wigand*, pp. 193, 194).

In just the same way, on page 305 of "the book", "association for material aims and interests" is graciously accepted as a voluntary union of egoists.

Thus the union here is reduced, on the one hand, to bourgeois associations and joint-stock companies and, on the other hand, to bourgeois clubs, picnics, etc. That the former belong wholly to the *present epoch* is well known, and that this equally applies to the latter is also well known. Let Sancho look at the "unions" of an earlier epoch, e.g., of feudal times, or those of other nations, e.g., of the Italians, English, etc., right down to the "unions" of children, in order to realise what the difference is. By this new interpretation of the union he confirms only his obdurate conservatism. Sancho, who incorporated the whole of bourgeois society, insofar as he liked it, into his allegedly new institution, here by way of supplement only assures us that in his union people will also enjoy themselves and indeed in quite the tradition-

[a] Goethe, *Faust*, I. Teil, "Osterspaziergang".—*Ed.*

[b] From Goethe's unfinished poem "Die Geheimnisse" (*Humanus*—a character in this poem).—*Ed.*

al way. Our bonhomme, of course, does not consider the question: what relations existing independently of him enable—or do not enable—him to "accompany a few friends to a tavern".

The idea of resolving the whole of society into voluntary groups—which is here, on the basis of hearsay accounts current in Berlin, turned into a Stirnerian idea—belongs to Fourier.[a] But with Fourier this view presupposes a complete transformation of society and is based on a criticism of the existing "unions", so much admired by Sancho, and of their infinite tedium. Fourier describes these present-day attempts at amusement in their connection with the existing relations of production and intercourse, and wages a polemic against them; Sancho, far from criticising them, wants on the contrary to transplant them in their entirety into his new "mutual agreement" institution for promoting happiness; he thereby only proves once again how strongly he is held in thrall to existing bourgeois society.

Finally, Sancho delivers the following *oratio pro domo*, i.e., in defence of the "union".

> "Is a union in which the majority allow themselves to be cheated in regard to their most natural and obvious interests, a union of egoists? Have egoists united where one is the slave or serf of another?... Societies in which the needs of some are satisfied at the expense of others, in which, for example, some can satisfy the need for rest by others having to work to the point of exhaustion ... Hess ... identifies ... these 'egoistical unions' of his with *Stirner's* union of egoists" ([*Wigand*,] pp. 192, 193).

Sancho, therefore, expresses the pious wish that in his union, based on mutual exploitation, all the members will be equally powerful, cunning, etc., etc., so that each can exploit the others to exactly the same extent as they exploit him, and so that no one will be "cheated" in regard to his "most natural and obvious interests" or be able to "satisfy his needs at the expense of others". We note here that Sancho recognises "natural and obvious interests" and "needs" of all—consequently, *equal* interests and needs. Further, we recall at once page 456 of the book, according to which "overreaching" is a "moral idea inculcated by the guild spirit", and for a man who has had a "wise education", it remains a "fixed idea from which no freedom of thought can give protection". Sancho "gets his thoughts from above and adheres to them" (ibid.). This equal power of all consists, according to his demand, in that everyone should become "*omnipotent*", i.e., all should become *impotent* in relation to one another, a perfectly consistent postulate that coincides with

[a] Charles Fourier, *Théorie de l'unité universelle.—Ed.*

the sentimental desire of the petty bourgeois for a world of hucksters, in which everyone gets his advantage. Or, on the other hand, our saint quite suddenly presupposes a society in which each can satisfy his needs unhampered, without doing so "at the expense of others", and in that case the theory of exploitation again becomes a meaningless paraphrase for the actual relations of individuals to one another.

After Sancho in his "union" has "devoured" and consumed the others, thereby transforming intercourse with the world into intercourse with himself, he passes from this indirect self-enjoyment to direct self-enjoyment, by consuming himself.

### C. My Self-Enjoyment

The *philosophy* which preaches enjoyment is as old in Europe as the Cyrenaic school.[120] Just as in antiquity it was the *Greeks* who were the protagonists of this philosophy, so in modern times it is the *French*, and indeed for the same reason, because their temperament and their society made them most capable of enjoyment. The philosophy of enjoyment was never anything but the clever language of certain social circles who had the privilege of enjoyment. Apart from the fact that the manner and content of their enjoyment was always determined by the whole structure of the rest of society and suffered from all its contradictions, this philosophy became a mere *phrase* as soon as it began to lay claim to a universal character and proclaimed itself the outlook on life of society as a whole. It sank then to the level of edifying moralising, to a sophistical palliation of existing society, or it was transformed into its opposite, by declaring compulsory asceticism to be enjoyment.

In modern times the philosophy of enjoyment arose with the decline of feudalism and with the transformation of the feudal landed nobility into the pleasure-loving and extravagant nobles of the court under the absolute monarchy. Among these nobles this philosophy still has largely the form of a direct, naive outlook on life which finds expression in memoirs, poems, novels, etc. It only becomes a real philosophy in the hands of a few writers of the revolutionary bourgeoisie, who, on the one hand, participated in the culture and mode of life of the court nobility and, on the other hand, shared the more general outlook of the bourgeoisie, based on the more general conditions of existence of this class. This philosophy was, therefore, accepted by both classes, although from totally different points of view. Whereas among the nobility this language was restricted exclusively to its estate and to the conditions of life of

this estate, it was given a generalised character by the bourgeoisie and addressed to every individual without distinction. The conditions of life of these individuals were thus disregarded and the theory of enjoyment thereby transformed into an insipid and hypocritical moral doctrine. When, in the course of further development, the nobility was overthrown and the bourgeoisie brought into conflict with its opposite, the proletariat, the nobility became devoutly religious, and the bourgeoisie solemnly moral and strict in its theories, or else succumbed to the above-mentioned hypocrisy, although the nobility in practice by no means renounced enjoyment, while among the bourgeoisie enjoyment even assumed an official, economic form—that of *luxury*.*

It was only possible to discover the connection between the kinds of enjoyment open to individuals at any particular time and the class relations in which they live, and the conditions of production and intercourse which give rise to these relations, the narrowness of the hitherto existing forms of enjoyment, which were outside the actual content of the life of people and in contradiction to it, the connection between every philosophy of enjoyment and the enjoyment actually present and the hypocrisy of such a philosophy which treated all individuals without distinction—it was, of course, only possible to discover

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] In the Middle Ages the pleasures were strictly classified; each estate had its own distinct forms of pleasure and its distinct manner of enjoyment. The nobility was the estate privileged to devote itself exclusively to pleasure, while the separation of work and enjoyment already existed for the bourgeoisie and pleasure was subordinated to work. The serfs, the class destined exclusively to labour, had only extremely few and restricted pleasures, which came their way mostly by chance, depended on the whim of their masters and other contingencies, and are hardly worth considering.

Under the rule of the bourgeoisie the nature of the pleasures depended on the classes of society. The pleasures of the bourgeoisie are determined by the material brought forth by this class at various stages of its development and they have acquired the tedious character which they still retain from the individuals and from the continuous subordination of pleasure to money-making. The present crude form of proletarian pleasure is due, on the one hand, to the long working hours, which led to the utmost intensification of the need for enjoyment, and, on the other hand, to the restriction — both qualitative and quantitative — of the means of pleasure accessible to the proletarian.

In general, the pleasures of all hitherto existing estates and classes had to be either childish, exhausting or crude, because they were always completely divorced from the vital activity, the real content of the life of the individuals, and more or less reduced to imparting an illusory content to a meaningless activity. The hitherto existing forms of enjoyment could, of course, only be criticised when the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat had developed to such an extent that the existing mode of production and intercourse could be criticised as well.

all this when it became possible to criticise the conditions of production and intercourse in the hitherto existing world, i.e., when the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat had given rise to communist and socialist views. That shattered the basis of all morality, whether the morality of asceticism or of enjoyment.

Our insipid, moralising Sancho believes, of course, as his whole book shows, that it is merely a matter of a different morality, of what appears to him a new outlook on life, of "getting out of one's head" a few "fixed ideas", to make everyone happy and able to enjoy life. Hence the chapter on self-enjoyment could at most reproduce under a new label the same phrases and maxims which he had already so frequently had the "self-enjoyment" of preaching to us. This chapter has only one original feature, namely that he *deifies* and turns into philosophical German all enjoyment, by giving it the name "*self-enjoyment*". While the French philosophy of enjoyment of the eighteenth century at least gave a witty description of the gay and audacious mode of life that then existed, Sancho's whole frivolity is limited to such expressions as "consuming" and "squandering", to images such as the "light" (it should read a candle) and to natural-scientific recollections which amount either to belletristic nonsense such as that the plant "imbibes the air of the ether" and that "song-birds swallow beetles", or else to wrong statements, for example, that a candle burns itself. On the other hand, here we again enjoy all the solemn seriousness of the statements against "the holy", which, we are told, in the guise of "vocation—designation—task" and "ideal" has hitherto spoiled people's self-enjoyment. For the rest, without dwelling on the more or less dirty forms in which the "self" in "self-enjoyment" can be more than a mere phrase, we must once more as briefly as possible outline for the reader Sancho's machinations against the holy, with the insignificant modulations occurring in this chapter.

To recapitulate briefly, "vocation, designation, task, ideal" are either

1) the idea of the revolutionary tasks laid down for an oppressed class by the material conditions; or

2) mere idealistic paraphrases, or also the apt conscious expression of the individuals' modes of activity which owing to division of labour have assumed independent existence as various professions; or

3) the conscious expression of the necessity which at every moment confronts individuals, classes and nations to assert their position through some quite definite activity; or

4) the conditions of existence of the ruling class (as determined by

the preceding development of production), ideally expressed in law, morality, etc., to which [conditions] the ideologists of that class more or less consciously give a sort of theoretical independence; they can be conceived by separate individuals of that class as vocation, etc., and are held up as a standard of life to the individuals of the oppressed class, partly as an embellishment or recognition of domination, partly as a moral means for this domination. It is to be noted here, as in general with ideologists, that they inevitably put the thing upside-down and regard their ideology both as the creative force and as the aim of all social relations, whereas it is only an expression and symptom of these relations.

As for our Sancho, we know that he has the most ineradicable faith in the illusions of these ideologists. Because people, depending on their various conditions of life, construct various notions about themselves, that is about man, Sancho imagines that the various ideas created the various conditions of life and thus the wholesale manufacturers of these ideas, i.e., the ideologists, have dominated the world. Cf. page 433.

"Thinkers rule in the world", "thought rules the world"; "priests or school-masters" "stuff their heads with all sorts of trash", "they imagine a human ideal" which other people have to take as a guide (p. 442).

Sancho even knows exactly the conclusion by virtue of which people were subjected to the fancies of the school-masters and owing to their stupidity subjected themselves to these fancies:

"Because it is *conceivable* for me" (the school-master), "it is *possible* for people; because it is possible for people, it means that they *ought to* be such, it was their *vocation*; and, finally, it is only according to this *vocation*, only as *persons having a vocation*, that one must judge human beings. And the further conclusion? It is not the individual who is man, but it is a *thought*, an *ideal*, that is man—species—mankind" (p. 441).

All collisions in which, owing to their actual conditions of life, human beings become involved with themselves or with others appear to our school-master Sancho as collisions between people and their ideas about the life of "Man", ideas which they either have put themselves into their heads or have allowed school-masters to put into their heads. If they managed to get these ideas out of their heads "how happily" "these unfortunate beings could live", what "capers" they could cut, whereas now they have to "dance to the pipe of the school-masters and bear-leaders"! (p. 435). (The lowest of these "bear-leaders" is Sancho, for it is only *himself* whom he leads by the nose.) If, for example, people almost always and almost everywhere—in China as well as in France—did not get it into their heads that they suffer from over-

population, what an overflowing abundance of the means of existence would these "unfortunate beings" suddenly have at their disposal.

Under the pretext of writing a treatise on possibility and reality, Sancho here once more attempts to put forward his old story of the rule of the holy in the world. For him everything a school-master gets into his head about me is possible, and then Sancho can easily prove that this possibility has no reality except in his head. His solemn assertion that "behind the word *possible* lay concealed the most momentous misunderstanding of thousands of years" (p. 441) is sufficient proof that it is impossible for him to conceal behind words the consequences of his abundant misunderstanding of thousands of years.

This treatise on the "coincidence of possibility and reality" (p. 439), on what people have the ability to be and what they are, a treatise that harmonises so well with his earlier insistent exhortations that one should bring all one's abilities into play, etc., leads him, however, to a few more digressions on the materialist *theory of circumstances*, which we shall presently deal with in more detail. But first, one more example of his ideological distortion. On page 428 he makes the question "how can one acquire life" identical with the question how is one to "create in oneself the true ego" (or "life"). According to the same page, "worrying about life" ceases with his new moral philosophy and the "squandering" of life begins. Our Solomon expresses still more "eloquently" the miraculous power of his allegedly new moral philosophy in the following saying:

> "Regard yourself as more powerful than others say you are, then you will have more power; value yourself more and you will have more" (p. 483).

See above, in the section on the "union", Sancho's method of acquiring property.[a]

Now for his *theory of circumstances.*

> "Man has no vocation, but he has powers *which* manifest *themselves* where they exist, because their being consists solely in their manifestation, and they cannot remain inactive any more than life itself.... Everyone at each instant uses as much power as he has" ("increase your value, follow the example of the courageous man, let each of you become an omnipotent ego", etc.—Sancho said above).... "One's powers can indeed be intensified and multiplied, particularly by hostile resistance or friendly support; but where their application is missing one can be sure that they are absent. It is possible to strike fire from a stone, but without striking it, nothing comes out; similarly man needs an *impulse.* Since powers always prove to be operative of themselves, the injunction to use them would be superfluous and senseless.... Power is merely a simpler word for manifestation of power" (pp. 436, 437).

"Egoism in agreement with itself", which just as it pleases brings

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[a] See this volume, pp. 403-07.—*Ed.*

or does not bring its powers or abilities into play and which applies the *jus utendi et abutendi*[a] to them, here suddenly and unexpectedly comes to grief. Once they are present, the forces here all of a sudden act autonomously, without caring about Sancho's "pleasure", they act like chemical or mechanical forces, independently of the individual who possesses them. We learn further that a force is not present if its manifestation is missing; the correction being made that power requires an *impulse* for its manifestation. We do not learn, however, how Sancho will decide whether it is the *impulse* or the *power* that is lacking when the manifestation of power is deficient. On the other hand, our unique investigator of nature teaches us that "it is possible to strike fire from a stone", and, as is always the case with Sancho, he could not have chosen a more unfortunate example. Sancho, like a simple village school-master, believes that the fire he strikes in this way comes from the stone, where it was previously latent. But any fourth-form schoolboy could tell him that in this method of obtaining fire, a method long forgotten in all civilised countries, by the friction of steel and stone, particles which become red-hot owing to this friction are separated from the steel, and not from the stone; that, consequently, the "fire", which for Sancho is not a definite relation, at a definite temperature, of certain bodies to certain other bodies, in particular oxygen, but is an independent thing, an "element", a fixed idea, "the holy"—that this fire does not come either from the stone or from the steel. Sancho might just as well have said: one can make bleached linen from chlorine, but if the "impulse", viz., the *unbleached* linen, is lacking, then "nothing comes out". We shall take this opportunity, for Sancho's "self-enjoyment", of noting an earlier fact of "unique" natural science. In the ode on crime it is stated:

> "Is there not a distant peal of *thunder*
> And do you not *see* how the sky
> Filled with foreboding *is silent* and overcast?" (p. 319 of "the book").

It thunders and the sky is silent. Hence Sancho knows of some other place than the sky from which thunder comes. Further, Sancho notices the silence of the sky by means of his organ of *sight*—a feat which no one will be able to imitate. Or perhaps Sancho *hears* thunder and *sees* silence, so that the two phenomena can take place simultaneously. We saw how Sancho in dealing with "apparitions" made mountains represent the "spirit of loftiness".[b] Here the silent sky represents for him the spirit of foreboding.

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[a] The right of use and of disposal.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 152.—*Ed.*

Incidentally, it is not clear why Sancho here rails against the "injunction to use one's powers". This injunction, after all, could possibly be the missing "impulse", which, it is true, fails to have effect in the case of a stone, but the efficacy of which Sancho could observe during the exercises of any battalion. That the "injunction" is an "impulse" even for his feeble powers follows also from the fact that for him it turns out to be a "stumbling block".[a]

Consciousness is also a power which, according to the doctrine which has just been enunciated, "always proves to be operative of itself". In accordance with this, therefore, Sancho ought not to have set out to change consciousness, but at most the "impulse" which affects consciousness; consequently Sancho would have written his whole book in vain. But in this case, of course, he regards his moral preaching and "injunctions" as a sufficient "impulse".

"What an individual can become he will become. A born poet may be prevented, owing to unfavourable *circumstances*, from being abreast of the times and creating great works of art, for which much study is indispensable; but he will compose poetry whether he is an agricultural labourer or has the good fortune to live at the Weimar Court. A born musician will occupy himself with music, no matter whether on all instruments" (he found this fantasy about "*all* instruments" in Proudhon. See "Communism") "or only on a shepherd's reed" (Virgil's *Eclogues*, of course, again come into the mind of our school-master). "A born philosophical intellect can prove its worth either as a university philosopher or a village philosopher. Finally, a *born dunce* always remains a blockhead. Indeed, innate limited intellects undoubtedly form the most numerous class of mankind. *And why should not* the same differences occur in the *human species* as are unmistakably seen in every species of animals?" (p. 434).

Sancho has again chosen his example with his usual lack of skill. If all his nonsense about born poets, musicians and philosophers is accepted, then this example only proves, on the one hand, that a born poet, etc., *remains* what he *is* from birth—namely a poet, etc.; and, on the other hand, that the born poet, etc., in so far as he *becomes*, develops, may, "owing to unfavourable circumstances", not become what *he could become*. His example, therefore, on the one hand, proves nothing at all, and, on the other hand, proves the opposite of what it was intended to prove; and taking both aspects together it proves that either from birth or owing to circumstances, Sancho belongs to "*the most numerous class of mankind*". However, he shares the consolation of being a *unique* "blockhead" with this class and with his own blockheadedness.

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[a] A pun on the word *Anstoss*—impulse, shock, scandal, offence; *Stein des Anstosses*—stumbling block.—*Ed.*

Here Sancho experiences the adventure with the magic potion which Don Quixote brewed from rosemary, wine, olive oil and salt. As Cervantes relates in the seventeenth chapter, after Sancho had drunk this mixture he spent two hours in sweats and convulsions pouring it out from both channels of his body. The materialist potion which our valiant armour-bearer imbibed for his self-enjoyment purges him of all his egoism in the extraordinary sense. We saw above that Sancho suddenly lost all his solemnity when confronted with the "impulse", and renounced his "ability", like of yore the Egyptian magicians when confronted with the lice of Moses.[a] Now we observe two new attacks of faint-heartedness, in which he also gives way "to unfavourable *circumstances*" and finally even admits that his original physical organisation is something that becomes crippled without co-operation from him. What is left now to our bankrupt egoist? He has no power over his original physical organisation; nor can he control the "circumstances" and the "impulse" under the influence of which this organisation develops; "what he is at every instant" is not "his own creation", but something created by the interaction between his innate potentialities and the circumstances acting on them—all this Sancho concedes. Unfortunate "creator"! Most unfortunate "creation"!

But the greatest calamity comes at the end. Sancho, not satisfied that already long ago he received the full count of the *tres mil azotes y trecientos en ambas sus valientes posaderas*,[b] finally delivers himself another and mighty blow by proclaiming himself a *believer in species*. And what a believer in species! Firstly, he attributes division of labour to species by making it responsible for the fact that some people are poets, others musicians, and still others school-masters. Secondly, he ascribes to species the existing physical and intellectual defects of "the most numerous class of mankind" and makes it responsible for the fact that under the rule of the bourgeoisie the majority of individuals are like himself. According to his views on innate limited intellects, one would have to explain the present spread of scrofula from the fact that "the species" finds a special satisfaction in making innate scrofulous constitutions form "the most numerous class of mankind". Even the most ordinary materialists and medical men had got beyond such naive views long before the egoist in agreement with himself was "called" upon by "the species", "unfavourable circumstances" and the "impulse" to make his *début* before the German public. Just as previously Sancho explained all

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[a] Exodus 8 : 16-18.—*Ed.*

[b] Three thousand and three hundred lashes upon his ample buttocks.—*Ed.*

crippling of individuals, and hence of their relations, by means of the fixed ideas of school-masters, without worrying about the origin of these ideas, so now he explains this crippling as merely due to the natural process of generation. He has not the slightest idea that the ability of children to develop depends on the development of their parents and that all this crippling under existing social relations has arisen historically, and in the same way can be abolished again in the course of historical development. Even naturally evolved differences within the species, such as racial differences, etc., which Sancho does not mention at all, can and must be abolished in the course of historical development. Sancho—who in this connection casts a stealthy glance at zoology and so makes the discovery that "innate limited intellects" form the most numerous class not only among sheep and oxen, but also among polyps and infusoria, which have no heads at all—has perhaps heard that it is possible to improve races of animals and by cross-breeding to create entirely new, more perfect varieties both for human enjoyment and for their own self-enjoyment. "Why should not" Sancho be able to draw a conclusion from this in relation to people as well?

We shall take this opportunity to "introduce episodically" Sancho's "transformations" in relation to species. We shall see that his attitude to species is exactly the same as to the holy: the more he blusters against it, the more he believes in it.

No. I. We have already seen that species engenders division of labour and the crippling that takes place under existing social circumstances and *indeed in such a way* that the species together with its products is regarded as something immutable under all circumstances, as outside the control of people.

No. II. "Species is already realised owing to inherent constitution; on the other hand, what you make of this constitution" (according to what was said above, this ought to be: what "circumstances" make of it) "is the realisation of you. Your hand is fully realised in the sense of species, otherwise it would not be a hand but, let us say, a paw.... You make of it what and how you wish it to be and what you can make of it" (*Wigand*, pp. 184, 185).

Here Sancho repeats in a different form what was already said in No. I.

We have seen, therefore, from what has been said so far that species, independently of control by individuals and the stage of their historical development, brings into the world all physical and spiritual potentialities, the immediate existence of individuals and, in embryo, division of labour.

No. III. Species remains as "impulse", which is only a general term for the "circumstances" that determine the development of

the original individual, again engendered by species. For Sancho species is here precisely the same mysterious force which other bourgeois call the nature of things and which they make responsible for all relationships that are independent of them as bourgeois, and whose interconnection, therefore, they do not understand.

No. IV. Species taken as "what is possible for man" and "required by man" forms the basis of the organisation of labour in "Stirner's union", where likewise what is possible for all and required by all is regarded as a product of species.

No. V. We have already heard about the role that agreement plays in the union.

Page 462: "If it is a matter of coming to an agreement or communicating with one another, then, of course, I can only make use of the *human* means that are at my disposal because I am at the same time a man" (i.e., a specimen of the species).

Here, therefore, *language* is regarded as a product of the species. That Sancho speaks German and not French, however, is something he in no way owes to the species, but to circumstances. Incidentally, in every modern developed language, partly as a result of the historical development of the language from pre-existing material, as in the Romance and Germanic languages, partly owing to the crossing and mixing of nations, as in the English language, and partly as a result of the concentration of the dialects within a single nation brought about by economic and political concentration, the spontaneously evolved speech has been turned into a national language. As a matter of course, the individuals at some time will take completely under their control this product of the species as well. In the union, language as such will be spoken, holy language, the language of the holy—Hebrew, and indeed the Aramaic dialect spoken by that "corporeal essence", Christ. This "occurred" to us here "against the expectation" of Sancho, and "indeed exclusively because it seems to us that it could help to clarify the remainder".

No. VI. On pages 277, 278, we learn that "the species reveals itself in nations, towns, estates, diverse corporations" and, finally, "in the family"; hence it is perfectly logical that up to now it has "made history". Thus, here all preceding history, up to the unfortunate history of the unique, becomes a product of the "species" and, indeed, for the sufficient reason that this history has sometimes been summed up under the title of the history of *mankind*, i.e., of the species.

No. VII. In what has been said so far Sancho has attributed to the *species* more than any mortal had ever done before him, and he now sums it up in the following proposition:

"Species is *nothing* ... species is only a *conception*" (spirit, spectre, etc.) (p. 239).

Ultimately, then, this "*nothing*" of Sancho's, which is identical with a "*conception*", means nothing, for Sancho himself is "the creative nothing", and the species, as we have seen, creates a great deal, and in doing so it can therefore very well be "nothing". Moreover Sancho tells us on page 456:

"*Being* justifies nothing at all; something imagined *exists* just as well as something not imagined."

Starting with page 448, Sancho spins out a yarn lasting thirty pages in order to strike "fire" out of thought and criticism of the egoist in agreement with himself. We have already experienced too many expressions of his thought and criticism to give the reader further "offence"[a] with Sancho's beggar's broth. One spoonful of it will suffice.

"Do you believe that thoughts fly about freely for the taking, so that anyone can capture some of them and then put them forward against me as his inviolable property? Everything that flies about, all of it is—mine" (p. 457).

Here Sancho poaches snipe existing only in the mind. We have seen how many of the thoughts flying about he has captured for himself. He fancied that he could catch them as soon as he put the salt of the holy on their tails. This colossal contradiction between his actual property in regard to thoughts and his illusions on that score may serve as a classic and striking example of his entire property in the extraordinary sense. It is precisely this contrast that constitutes his *self-enjoyment.*

### *6. Solomon's Song of Songs or The Unique*

Cessem do sabio Grego, e do Troiano,
As navegaçoẽs grandes que fizeram;
Calle-se de Alexandro, e de Trajano
A fama das victorias que tiveram,

———————————————

Cesse tudo o que a Musa antigua canta,
Que outro valor mais alto se alevanta.

[a] A pun in the original: *Anstoss geben*—an expression frequently used by Stirner—can mean either "to give an impetus" or "to give offence".—*Ed.*

E vós, Spreïdes minhas...
Dai-me huma furia grande, e sonorosa,
E naõ de agreste avena, on frauta ruda;
Mas de tuba canora, e bellicosa
Que o peito accende, e o côr ao gesto muda,[a]

give me, o nymphs of the Spree, a song worthy of the heroes who fight on your banks against Substance and Man, a song that will spread over the whole world and will be sung in all lands—for it is a matter here of the man whose deeds are

Mais do que promettia a força humana,[c]

greater than mere "human" power can perform, the man who

... edificára
Novo reino que tanto sublimára,[d]

who has founded a new kingdom among a far-off people, viz., the "union"—it is a matter here of being a

—tenro, e novo ramo florescente
De huma arvore de Christo, mais amada,[e]

of the tender and young blossoming shoot of a tree especially loved by Christ, a tree which is nothing less than

certissima esperança
Do augmento da pequena Christiandade,[f]

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[a] Cease man of Troy, and cease thou sage of Greece,
To boast of Navigations great ye made;
Let the high Fame of Alexander cease,
And Trajan's Banners in the East display'd:
———————————————————
Cease All, whose Actions ancient Bards exprest:
A brighter Valour arises in the West.
And you (my Spree[b] Nymphs)...
Give me a mighty Fury, Nor rude Reeds
Or rustic Bag-Pipes sound, But such as War's
Lowd Instrument (the noble Trumpet) breeds,
Which fires the Breast, and stirs the blood to jars.
(This and the following quotations are from Luis de Camões, *Lusiada.—Ed.*)

[b] Marx and Engels substituted "Spree"—the river on which Berlin stands—for Tagus.—*Ed.*

[c] Beyond what strength of human nature here.—*Ed.*

[d] ... acquir'd
A modern Scepter which to Heaven aspired.—*Ed.*

[e] ... fair and tender Blossom of that Tree
Belov'd by Him, who dy'd on one for Man.—*Ed.*

[f] ... certain Hope t'extend the Pale,
One day, of narrow Christianitie.—*Ed.*

the surest hope of growth for faint-hearted Christianity—in a word, it is a matter of something "unprecedented", the "unique".*

Everything that is to be found in this unprecedented song of songs about the unique was in existence earlier in the "book". We mention this chapter only for the sake of good order; so that we should be able to do it properly we have left the examination of some points until now and we shall briefly recapitulate others.

Sancho's "ego" has gone through the full gamut of soul migration. We already met it as the egoist in agreement with himself, as corvée peasant, as trader in thoughts, as unfortunate competitor, as owner, as a slave who has had one of his legs torn out, as Sancho tossed into the air by the interaction between birth and circumstances, and in a hundred other shapes. Here it bids us farewell as an "*inhuman being*", under the same banner as that under which it made its entry into the New Testament.

"Only the *inhuman being* is the *real* man" (p. 232).

This is one of the thousand and one equations in which Sancho expounds his legend of the holy.

The concept "man" is not the real man.

The concept "man" = Man.
Man = not the real man.
The real man = the non-man,
= the inhuman being.

"Only the inhuman being is the real man."

Sancho tries to explain to himself the harmlessness of this proposition by means of the following transformations:

"It is not so difficult to express in a few plain words what an inhuman being is; it is a man [...] who does not correspond to the concept of what is human. Logic calls this a nonsensical judgment. Would one have the right to pronounce this judgment that someone can be a man without being a man, if one did not admit the validity of the hypothesis that the concept of man can be separated from his existence, that the essence can be separated from the appearance? People say: so and so seems to be a man, but he is not a man. People have pronounced this nonsensical judgment throughout many centuries: moreover, during this long period of time there have only been inhuman beings. What individual did ever correspond to his concept?" (p. 232).

This passage is again based on our school-master's fantasy about the school-master who has created for himself an ideal of "Man" and "put it into the heads" of other people, a fantasy which forms the basic theme of "the book".

Sancho calls it a hypothesis that the concept and existence, the essence and appearance of "man" can be separated, as though the

* Cf. Camões; *Lusiadas*, I, 1-17.

possibility of this separation is not already expressed in the very words he uses. When he says *concept*, he is speaking of something different from *existence*; when he says *essence*, he is speaking of something different from *appearance*. It is not these *statements* that he brings into contradiction, but they themselves are the expressions of a contradiction. Hence the only question that could have been raised is whether it is permissible for him to range something under these points of view; and in order to deal with this Sancho would have had to consider the actual relations of people who have been given other names in these metaphysical relations. For the rest, Sancho's own arguments about the egoist in agreement with himself and about rebellion show how these points of view can be made to diverge, while his arguments about peculiarity, possibility and reality—in connection with "self-enjoyment"—show how they can be made simultaneously to coincide and to diverge.

The nonsensical judgment of the philosophers that the real man is not man is in the sphere of abstraction merely the most universal, all-embracing expression of the actually existing universal contradiction between the conditions and needs of people. The nonsensical form of the abstract proposition fully corresponds to the nonsensical character, carried to extreme lengths, of the relations of bourgeois society, just as Sancho's nonsensical judgment about his environment—they are egoists and at the same time they are not egoists—corresponds to the actual contradiction between the existence of the German petty bourgeois and the tasks which existing relations have imposed on them and which they themselves entertain in the form of pious wishes and desires. Incidentally, philosophers have declared people to be inhuman, not because they did not correspond to the concept of man, but because their concept of man did not correspond to the true concept of man, or because they had no true understanding of man. *Tout comme chez nous*,[a] in "the book", where Sancho also declares that people are non-egoists for the sole reason that they have no true understanding of egoism.

In view of its extreme triviality and indisputable certainty, there should have been no need to mention the perfectly inoffensive proposition that the *idea* of man is not the *real* man, that the idea of a thing is not the thing itself—a proposition which is also applicable to a stone and to the idea of a stone, in accordance with which Sancho should have said that the real stone is non-stone. But Sancho's

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[a] A modified phrase from Nolant de Fatouville's comedy *Arlequin, empereur dans la lune*—"*tout comme ici*" (just as here) is the stock response made by the people listening to Harlequin's inventions about life on the moon.—*Ed.*

well-known fantasy that only because of the domination of ideas and concepts mankind has up to now been subjected to all sorts of misfortunes, makes it possible for him to link his old conclusions again with this proposition. Sancho's old opinion that one has only to get a few ideas out of one's *head* in order to abolish from the *world* the conditions which have given rise to these ideas, is reproduced here in the form that one has only to get out of one's head the idea of *man* in order to put an end to the actually existing conditions which are today called *inhuman*—whether this predicate "inhuman" expresses the opinion of the individual in contradiction with his conditions or the opinion of the normal, ruling society about the abnormal, subjected class. In just the same way, a whale taken from the ocean and put in the Kupfergraben,[121] if it possessed consciousness, would declare this situation created by "unfavourable circumstances" to be unwhale-like, although Sancho could prove that it is whale-like, if only because it is its, the whale's, own situation—that is precisely how people argue in certain circumstances.

On page 185, Sancho raises the important question:

> "But how to curb the inhuman being who dwells in each individual? How can one manage not to set free the inhuman being along with the human being? All liberalism has a mortal enemy, an invincible opponent, as God has the devil; at the side of the human being there is always the inhuman being, the egoist, the individual. State, society, mankind cannot master this devil."
>
> "And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison,
>
> "And shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle....
>
> "And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city" (Revelation of St. John 20:7-9).

In the form in which Sancho understands it, the question again becomes sheer nonsense. He imagines that people up to now have always formed a concept of man, and then won freedom for themselves to the extent that was necessary to realise this concept; that the measure of freedom that they achieved was determined each time by their idea of the ideal of man at the time; it was thus unavoidable that in each individual there remained a residue which did not correspond to this ideal and, hence, since it was "inhuman", was either not set free or only freed *malgré eux.*

In reality, of course, what happened was that people won freedom for themselves each time to the extent that was dictated and permitted not by their ideal of man, but by the existing productive forces. All emancipation carried through hitherto has been based, however, on restricted productive forces. The production which these productive forces could provide was insufficient for the whole of society and made development possible only if some persons

satisfied their needs at the expense of others, and therefore some—the minority—obtained the monopoly of development, while others—the majority—owing to the constant struggle to satisfy their most essential needs, were for the time being (i.e., until the creation of new revolutionary productive forces) excluded from any development. Thus, society has hitherto always developed within the framework of a contradiction—in antiquity the contradiction between free men and slaves, in the Middle Ages that between nobility and serfs, in modern times that between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This explains, on the one hand, the abnormal, "inhuman" way in which the oppressed class satisfies its needs, and, on the other hand, the narrow limits within which intercourse, and with it the whole ruling class, develops. Hence this restricted character of development consists not only in the exclusion of one class from development, but also in the narrow-mindedness of the excluding class, and the "inhuman" is to be found also within the ruling class. This so-called "inhuman" is just as much a product of present-day relations as the "human" is; it is their negative aspect, the rebellion—which is not based on any new revolutionary productive force—against the prevailing relations brought about by the existing productive forces, and against the way of satisfying needs that corresponds to these relations. The positive expression "human" corresponds to the definite relations *predominant* at a certain stage of production and to the way of satisfying needs determined by them, just as the negative expression "inhuman" corresponds to the attempt to negate these predominant relations and the way of satisfying needs prevailing under them without changing the existing mode of production, an attempt that this stage of production daily engenders afresh.

For our saint, such world-historical struggles are reduced to a mere collision between Saint Bruno and "the mass". Cf. the whole criticism of humane liberalism, especially page 192 et seq.

Thus, our simple-minded Sancho with his naive little statement about the inhuman being and with his talk of getting-man-out-of-one's-head, thanks to which the inhuman being also disappears and there is no longer any measure for individuals, finally arrives at the following result. He regards the physical, intellectual and social crippling and enslavement which as a result of the existing relations afflict an individual, as the individuality and peculiarity of that individual; like an ordinary conservative he calmly recognises these relations once he has freed his mind of all worry by getting out of his head the philosophers' idea of these relations. Just as here he declares fortuitous features imposed on the individual to be

the latter's individuality, so earlier (cf. "Logic"), in connection with the ego, he abstracted not only from any fortuity, but also in general from any individuality.[a]

About the "inhuman" great result obtained by him Sancho sings in the following *Kyrie eleison*,[b] which he puts into the mouth of "*the inhuman being*":

"I was despicable because I sought my *better self* outside me;
"I was the inhuman, because I dreamed of the *human*;
"I was like the pious ones who hunger for their *true ego* and always remain *poor sinners*;
"I thought of myself only in comparison with someone else;
"I was not all in all, I was not—*unique*.
"Now, however, I cease to appear to myself as the inhuman;
"I cease to measure myself by man and to let others measure me;
"I cease to recognise anything above myself—
"I was inhuman, but I am no longer inhuman, I am the *unique*!" Hallelujah!

We shall not dwell further here on how "the inhuman"—which, it may be said in passing, put itself in the right frame of mind by "*turning its back*" "*on itself* and the critic", Saint Bruno—how "the inhuman" here "*appears*", or does not "appear" to *itself*. We shall only point out that the "unique" (it or he) is characterised here by his getting the holy out of his head for the nine-hundredth time, whereby, as we in our turn are compelled to repeat for the nine-hundredth time, everything remains as before, not to mention the fact that it is no more than a pious wish.

We have here, for the first time, the unique person, Sancho, who with the litany mentioned above has received the accolade of knighthood, now appropriates his new, noble name. Sancho arrives at his uniqueness by getting "Man" out of his head. He thereby ceases "to think of himself only in comparison with someone else" and "to recognise something above him". He becomes incomparable. This is again the same old fantasy of Sancho's that it is not the needs of individuals, but concepts, ideas, "the holy"—here in the shape of "Man"—that are the sole *tertium comparationis* and the sole *bond* between individuals.* He gets an *idea* out of his head and thereby becomes *unique*.

To become "unique" in his sense of the word he must above all prove to us his *freedom from premises*.

* [The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript:] Sancho, who notices nothing but "the holy", need not bother about the fact that it is through their needs that individuals are linked together, and that the development of the productive forces up to now implies the domination of one section over the other.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 278-81.—*Ed.*

[b] Lord, have mercy.—*Ed.*

Page 470: "*Your* thought has as its premise not *thought*, but *you*. But thus you nevertheless have yourself as a premise? Yes, but not to me, but to my thought. I am before my thought. It follows hence that no thought precedes my thinking, or that my thinking is without any premise. For the premise which I am for my thinking is not one *created by thinking*, not one that is *thought*, but ... is the owner of thinking, and proves only that thinking is nothing but—property."

"We are prepared to allow" that Sancho does not think before he thinks, and that he and everyone else is in this respect a thinker without premises. Similarly we concede that he does not have any thought as the premise of his existence, i.e., that he was not created by thoughts. If for a moment Sancho abstracts from all his thoughts—which with his meagre assortment cannot be very difficult—there remains his real ego, but his real ego within the framework of the actual relations of the world that exist for it. In this way he has divested himself for a moment of all dogmatic premises, but now for the first time the *real* premises begin to come to light for him. And these real premises are also the premises of his *dogmatic* premises which, whether he likes it or not, will reappear to him together with the real ones so long as he does not obtain different real premises, and with them also different dogmatic premises, or so long as he does not recognise in a materialistic way that the real premises are the premises of his thinking, and as a result his dogmatic ones will disappear altogether. Just as his development up to now and his Berlin environment have at present led to the dogmatic premise of egoism in agreement with itself, so, despite all imaginary freedom from premises, this premise will remain with him as long as he fails to overcome its real premises.

As a true school-master, Sancho still continues to strive for the famous Hegelian "premiseless thinking", i.e., thinking without dogmatic premises, which in Hegel too is only a pious wish. Sancho believed he could achieve this by a skilful leap and even surpass it by going in pursuit of the premiseless ego. But both the one and the other eluded his grasp.

Then Sancho tries his luck in another fashion:

Pages 214, 215: "Make full use" of the demand for freedom! "Who shall become free? You, I, we. Free from what? From everything that is not you, not I, not we. I, therefore, am the *core*.... What remains if I become free from everything that is not I? Only I and *nothing* but I."

> So that was the poodle's core!
> A travelling scholar? The incident makes me laugh.[a]

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[a] Goethe, *Faust*, I. Teil, 1. "Studierzimmerszene".—*Ed.*

"Everything that is not you, not I, not we" is, of course, here again a dogmatic idea, like state, nationality, division of labour, etc. Once these ideas have been subjected to criticism—and, in Sancho's opinion, this has already been done by "criticism", namely critical criticism—he again imagines that he is also free from the actual state, actual nationality and division of labour. Consequently the ego, which is here the "core", which "has become free from everything that is not I"—is still the above-mentioned premiseless ego with everything that it has not got rid of.

If, however, Sancho were once to tackle the subject of "becoming free" with the desire of freeing himself not merely from categories, but from actual fetters, then such liberation would presuppose a change common to him and to a large mass of other people, and would produce a change in the state of the world which again would be common to him and others. Although his "ego" "remains" after liberation, it is hereafter a totally changed ego sharing with others a changed state of the world which is precisely the premise, common to him and others, of his and their freedom, and it follows that the uniqueness, incomparability and independence of his "ego" again come to nothing.

Sancho tries again in a third fashion:

Page 237: "Their disgrace is not that they" (Jew and Christian) "*exclude* each other but that this only *half* occurs. If they could be perfect egoists they would *totally* exclude each other."

Page 273: "If one desires *only to resolve* the contradiction one grasps its meaning in too formal and feeble a way. The contradiction deserves rather to be *sharpened.*"

Page 274: "Only when you recognise your contradiction fully and when everyone asserts himself from head to foot as *unique* will you no longer simply conceal your contradiction.... The final and most decisive contradiction—that between one unique person and another—goes basically beyond the bounds of what is called contradiction.... As a unique person you have nothing more in common with the other and, for that reason, nothing that makes you separate from him or hostile to him.... Contradiction disappears in perfect ... separateness or uniqueness."

Page 183: "I do not *want* to have or to be something *special* in relation to others; nor do I measure myself by others.... I want to be everything I can be, and to have everything I can have. What do I care whether others are or have *something similar* to me? They can neither be nor have something equal, the same. I do nothing detrimental to them any more than it is to the detriment of the cliff that I have the advantage of movement. If they could have it, they would have it. Doing nothing to the detriment of other people, that is the meaning of the demand to have no privileges.... One should not regard oneself as 'something *special*', e.g., Jew or Christian. Well, I *regard* myself not as something *special* but as *unique.* True, I have a resemblance to others; but this holds only for comparison or reflection; in fact, however, I am incomparable, unique. My flesh is not their flesh, my spirit is not their spirit. If you bring them under the *general concept* 'flesh', 'spirit', then those are your *thoughts,* which have *nothing* to do with my flesh, my spirit."

Page 234: "Human society perishes because of the egoists, for they no longer treat one another as human beings, but act egoistically as an ego against a you that is totally distinct from and hostile to me."

Page 180: "As though one individual will not always seek out another, and as though one person does not have to adapt himself to another, when he needs him. But the difference is that in this case the individual actually *unites* with another individual, whereas previously he was linked to him by a bond."

Page 178: "Only when you are unique can you in your intercourse with one another be what you actually are."

As regards Sancho's illusion about the intercourse of the unique ones "as what they actually are", about "the uniting of the individual with the individual", in short, about the "union", that has been completely dealt with. We shall merely point out: whereas in the union each regarded and treated the other merely as *his* object, *his* property (cf. page 167 and the theory of property and exploitation), in the "Commentary" (*Wigand*, p. 157), on the contrary, the governor of the island of Barataria realises and recognises that the other also belongs to himself, is *his* own, is unique, and in that capacity also becomes Sancho's *object*, although no longer Sancho's property. In his despair, he saves himself only by the unexpected idea that "because of this" he "forgets himself in sweet self-oblivion", a delight which he "affords himself a thousand times every hour" and which is still further sweetened by the sweet consciousness that nevertheless he has not "completely disappeared". The result, therefore, is the old wisdom that each exists for himself and for others.

Let us now reduce Sancho's pompous statements to their actual modest content.

The bombastic phrases about "contradiction" which has to be sharpened and taken to extremes, and about the "something special", which Sancho does not want to have as his advantage, amount to one and the same thing. Sancho wants, or rather *believes* he wants, that intercourse between individuals should be purely personal, that their intercourse should not be mediated through some third thing (cf. competition). This third thing here is the "something special", or the special, not absolute, contradiction, i.e., the position of individuals in relation to one another determined by present-day social relations. Sancho does not want, for example, two individuals to be in "contradiction" to one another as bourgeois and proletarian; he protests against the "special" which forms the "advantage" of the bourgeois over the proletarian; he would like to have them enter into a purely personal relation, to associate with one another merely as individuals. He does not take into consideration that in the framework of division of labour personal relations

necessarily and inevitably develop into class relations and become fixed as such and that, therefore, all his talk amounts simply to a pious wish, which he expects to realise by exhorting the individuals of these classes to get out of their heads the idea of their "contradiction" and their "special" "privilege". In the passages from Sancho quoted above, everything turns only on people's *opinion of themselves*, and *his* opinion of them, what they want and what *he* wants. "Contradiction" and the "special" are abolished by a change of "*opinion*" and "*wanting*".

Even that which constitutes the advantage of an individual as such over other individuals, is in our day at the same time a product of society and in its realisation is bound to assert itself as privilege, as we have already shown Sancho in connection with competition. Further, the individual as such, regarded by himself, is subordinated to division of labour, which makes him one-sided, cripples and determines him.

What, at best, does Sancho's sharpening of contradiction and abolition of the special amount to? To this, that the mutual relations of individuals should be their *behaviour* to one another, while their mutual differences should be their *self-distinctions* (as one empirical self distinguishes *itself* from another). Both of these are either, as with Sancho, an ideological paraphrase of *what exists*, for the relations of individuals under all circumstances *can* only be their mutual behaviour, while their differences can only be their self-distinctions. Or they are the pious wish that they *should* behave *in such a way* and differ from one another *in such a way*, that their behaviour does not acquire independent existence as a social relationship independent of them, and that their differences from one another should not assume the material character (independent of the person) which they have assumed and daily continue to assume.

Individuals have always and in all circumstances "proceeded *from themselves*", but since they were not *unique* in the sense of not needing any connections with one another, and since their *needs*, consequently their nature, and the method of satisfying their needs, connected them with one another (relations between the sexes, exchange, division of labour), they *had to* enter into relations with one another. Moreover, since they entered into intercourse with one another not as pure egos, but as individuals at a definite stage of development of their productive forces and requirements, and since this intercourse, in its turn, determined production and needs, it was, therefore, precisely the personal, individual behaviour of individuals, their behaviour to one another as individuals, that created the existing relations and daily reproduces them anew. They entered

into intercourse with one another as what they were, they proceeded "from themselves", as they were, irrespective of their "outlook on life". This "outlook on life"—even the warped one of the philosophers—could, of course, only be determined by their actual life. Hence it certainly follows that the development of an individual is determined by the development of all the others with whom he is directly or indirectly associated, and that the different generations of individuals entering into relation with one another are connected with one another, that the physical existence of the later generations is determined by that of their predecessors, and that these later generations inherit the productive forces and forms of intercourse accumulated by their predecessors, their own mutual relations being determined thereby. In short, it is clear that development takes place and that the history of a single individual cannot possibly be separated from the history of preceding or contemporary individuals, but is determined by this history.

The transformation of the individual relationship into its opposite, a purely material relationship, the distinction of individuality and fortuity by the individuals themselves, is a historical process, as we have already shown,[a] and at different stages of development it assumes different, ever sharper and more universal forms. In the present epoch, the domination of material relations over individuals, and the suppression of individuality by fortuitous circumstances, has assumed its sharpest and most universal form, thereby setting existing individuals a very definite task. It has set them the task of replacing the domination of circumstances and of chance over individuals by the domination of individuals over chance and circumstances. It has not, as Sancho imagines, put forward the demand that "I should develop myself", which up to now every individual has done without Sancho's good advice; it has on the contrary called for liberation from a quite definite mode of development. This task, dictated by present-day relations, coincides with the task of organising society in a communist way.

We have already shown above that the abolition of a state of affairs in which relations become independent of individuals, in which individuality is subservient to chance and the personal relations of individuals are subordinated to general class relations, etc.—that the abolition of this state of affairs is determined in the final analysis by the abolition of division of labour. We have also shown that the abolition of division of labour is determined by the development of intercourse and productive forces to such a degree

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[a] See this volume, pp. 75-81.—*Ed.*

of universality that private property and division of labour become fetters on them. We have further shown that private property can be abolished only on condition of an all-round development of individuals, precisely because the existing form of intercourse and the existing productive forces are all-embracing and only individuals that are developing in an all-round fashion can appropriate them, i.e., can turn them into free manifestations of their lives. We have shown that at the present time individuals *must* abolish private property, because the productive forces and forms of intercourse have developed so far that, under the domination of private property, they have become destructive forces, and because the contradiction between the classes has reached its extreme limit. Finally, we have shown that the abolition of private property and of the division of labour is itself the association of individuals on the basis created by modern productive forces and world intercourse.[a]

Within communist society, the only society in which the genuine and free development of individuals ceases to be a mere phrase, this development is determined precisely by the connection of individuals, a connection which consists partly in the economic prerequisites and partly in the necessary solidarity of the free development of all, and, finally, in the universal character of the activity of individuals on the basis of the existing productive forces. We are, therefore, here concerned with individuals at a definite historical stage of development and by no means merely with individuals chosen at random, even disregarding the indispensable communist revolution, which itself is a general condition for their free development. The individuals' consciousness of their mutual relations will, of course, likewise be completely changed, and, therefore, will no more be the "principle of love" or *dévoûment* than it will be egoism.

Thus, "uniqueness"—taken in the sense of genuine development and individual behaviour, as outlined above—presupposes not only things quite different from good will and right consciousness, but even the direct opposite of Sancho's fantasies. With him "uniqueness" is nothing more than an embellishment of existing conditions, a little drop of comforting balm for the poor, impotent soul that has become wretched through wretchedness.

As regards Sancho's "*incomparability*", the situation is the same as with his "uniqueness". He himself will recall, if he is not completely "lost" in "sweet self-oblivion", that the organisation of labour in

[a] See Chapter I of Volume I of *The German Ideology*.—*Ed.*

"*Stirner*'s union of egoists" was based not only on the comparability of needs, but also on their *equality*. And he assumed not only equal needs, but also equal activity, so that one individual could take the place of another in "human work". And the extra remuneration of the "unique" person, crowning his efforts—what other basis had it than the fact that his performance was compared with that of others and in view of its superiority was better paid? And how can Sancho talk at all about incomparability when he allows *money*—the means of comparison that acquires independent existence in practice—to continue in being, subordinates himself to it and allows himself to be measured by this universal scale in order to be compared with others? It is quite evident that he himself gives the lie to his doctrine of incomparability. Nothing is easier than to call equality and inequality, similarity and dissimilarity, determinations of reflection. Incomparability too is a determination of reflection which has the activity of comparison as its premise. To show that comparison is not at all a purely arbitrary determination of reflection, it is enough to give just one example, *money*, the permanent *tertium comparationis* of all people and things.

Incidentally, incomparability can have different meanings. The only meaning in question here, namely "uniqueness" in the sense of originality, presupposes that the activity of the incomparable individual in a definite sphere differs from the activity of his *equals*. Persiani is an incomparable singer precisely because she is a *singer* and is compared with other singers, and indeed by people who are able to recognise her incomparability through comparison based on normal hearing and musical training. Persiani's singing and the croaking of a frog are incomparable, although even here there could be a comparison, but it would be a comparison between a human being and a frog, and not between Persiani and a particular unique frog. Only in the first case is it possible to speak of a comparison between individuals, in the second it is a matter only of their properties as species or genus. A third type of incomparability—the incomparability of Persiani's singing with the tail of a comet—we leave to Sancho for his "self-enjoyment", since at any rate he finds pleasure in "nonsensical judgments", although even this absurd comparison has a real basis in the absurdity of present-day relations. Money is the common measure for all, even the most heterogeneous things.

Incidentally, Sancho's incomparability amounts to the same empty phrase as his uniqueness. Individuals are no longer to be measured by some *tertium comparationis* independent of them, but comparison *should* be transformed into their self-distinction, i.e., into the free

development of their individuality, which, moreover, is brought about by their getting "fixed ideas" out of their heads.

Incidentally, Sancho is acquainted only with the type of comparison made by scribblers and ranters, which leads to the magnificent conclusion that Sancho is not Bruno and Bruno is not Sancho. On the other hand, he is, of course, unacquainted with the sciences which have made considerable advances just by comparing and establishing differences in the spheres of comparison and in which comparison acquires a character of universal importance—i.e., in comparative anatomy, botany, philology, etc.

Great nations—the French, North Americans, English—are constantly comparing themselves with one another both in practice and theory, in competition and in science. Petty shopkeepers and philistines, like the Germans, who are afraid of comparison and competition, hide behind the shield of incomparability supplied them by their manufacturer of philosophical labels. Not only in their interests, but also in his own, has Sancho refused to tolerate any comparison.

On page 415 Sancho says:

> "There exists no one *equal to me*,"

and on page 408 association with "my equals" is depicted as the dissolution of society in intercourse:

> "The child prefers *intercourse with his equals* to *society*."

However, Sancho sometimes uses "equal to me" and "equal" in general in the sense of "*the same*", e.g., the passage on page 183 quoted above:

> "They can neither be nor have *something equal, the same*."

Here he arrives at his final "new turn of expression", which he uses especially in the "Commentary".

The uniqueness, the originality, the "peculiar" development of individuals which, according to Sancho, does not for example occur in all "human works", although no one will deny that one stove-setter does not set a stove in the "*same*" way as another; the "unique" development of individuals which, in the opinion of this same Sancho, does not occur in religious, political, etc., spheres (see "Phenomenology"), although no one will deny that of all those who believe in Islam not one believes in it in the "same" way as another and to this extent each of them is "unique", just as among citizens not one has the "same" attitude to the state as another if only because it is a matter of *his* attitude, and not that of *some-other*—all

this much praised "uniqueness" which [according to Sancho] was so distinct from "*sameness*", *identity of the person,* that in all individuals who have so far existed he could hardly see anything but "specimens" of a species, is thus reduced here to the identity of a person with himself, as established by the police, to the fact that one individual is not some other individual. Thus Sancho, who was going to take the world by storm, dwindles to a clerk in a passport office.

On page 184 of the "Commentary" he relates with much unction and great self-enjoyment that he does not become replete when the Japanese Emperor eats, because his stomach and that of the Japanese Emperor are "unique", "incomparable stomachs", i.e., not the *same* stomachs. If Sancho believes that in this way he has abolished the social relations hitherto existing or even only the laws of nature, then his naïveté is excessively great and it springs merely from the fact that philosophers have not depicted social relations as the mutual relations of particular individuals identical with themselves, and the laws of nature as the mutual connections of these particular bodies.

The classic expression which Leibniz gave to this old proposition (to be found on the first page of any physics textbook as the theory of the impenetrability of bodies) is well known:

> "Opus tamen est ... ut quaelibet monas differat ab alia quacunque, neque enim unquam dantur in natura duo entia, quorum unum exasse conveniat cum altero."[a] (*Principia Philosophiae seu Theses*, etc.)

Sancho's uniqueness is here reduced to a quality which he shares with every louse and every grain of sand.

The greatest disclaimer with which his philosophy could end is that it regards the realisation that Sancho is not Bruno, which is obvious to every country bumpkin and police sergeant, to be one of the greatest discoveries, and that it considers the fact of this difference to be a real miracle.

Thus the "critical hurrah" of our "virtuoso of thought" has become an uncritical miserere.

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After all these adventures our "unique" squire again sails into the harbour of his native serf's cottage. "The title spectre of his book"[b] rushes out to meet him "joyfully". Her first enquiry is: how is the ass?

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[a] "However, every monad necessarily differs from every other; for in nature there are never two things that exactly coincide with each other."—*Ed.*

[b] An allusion to Stirner's wife, Marie Dähnhardt (see this volume, p. 400).—*Ed.*

Better than his master, replies Sancho.

Thanks be to God for so much goodness. But tell me now, my friend, what profit have you got out of your squiredom? What new dress have you brought me?

I have brought nothing like that, replies Sancho, but I have brought "the creative nothing, the nothing from which I myself as creator create everything". This means you will yet see me in the capacity of church father and archbishop of an island and, indeed, one of the best it is possible to find.

God grant it, my treasure, and may it be soon, for we sorely need it. But as regards the island you mention, I don't know what you mean.

Honey is not for the ass's mouth, replies Sancho. You will see it for yourself in due course, wife. But even now I can tell you that nothing is more pleasant in the world than the honour of seeking adventures as an egoist in agreement with himself and as the squire of the rueful countenance. True, most of these adventures do not "reach the final goal" so that "*human* requirement is satisfied" (tan como el *hombre* querría[a]), for ninety-nine adventures out of a hundred go awry and follow a tangled course. I know this from experience, for in some of them I was cheated and from others I went home soundly pounded and thrashed. But in spite of all that, it is a fine thing, for at any rate the "unique" requirement is always satisfied when one wanders through the whole of history, quoting all the books in the Berlin reading-room, getting an etymological night's lodging in all languages, falsifying political facts in all countries, boastfully throwing down gages to all dragons and ostriches, elfs, field hobgoblings and "spectres", exchanging blows with all church fathers and philosophers and yet, finally, paying for it only with your own body (cf. Cervantes, I, Chapter 52).

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[a] As the human being desires.—*Ed.*

## 2. APOLOGETICAL COMMENTARY[122]

Although formerly, when in a state of humiliation (Cervantes, Chapters 26 and 29), Sancho had all kinds of "doubts" about accepting an ecclesiastical benefice, nevertheless, after pondering over the changed circumstances and his earlier preparation as beadle to a religious brotherhood (Cervantes, Chapter 21), he finally decided to "get" this doubt "out of his head". He became archbishop of the island of Barataria and a cardinal and as such sits with solemn mien and arch-ecclesiastical dignity among the foremost of our Council. Now, after the long episode of "the book", we return to this Council.

True, we find that "brother Sancho" in his new station in life has changed considerably. He now represents the *ecclesia triumphans*[a] —in contrast to the *ecclesia militans*[b], in which he was before. Instead of the belligerent fanfares of "the book" there is a solemn seriousness; "Stirner" has taken the place of the "ego". This shows how true the French saying is: *qu'il n'y a qu'un pas du sublime au ridicule.*[c] Since he became a father of the church and began to write pastoral epistles, Sancho calls himself nothing but "Stirner". He learned this "unique" way of self-enjoyment from Feuerbach, but unfortunately it befits him no better than playing the lute does his ass. When he speaks of himself in the third person, everyone sees that Sancho the "creator", after the manner of Prussian non-commissioned officers, addresses his "creation" Stirner in the third person, and should on no account be confused with Caesar.[d] The

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[a] Church triumphant.— *Ed.*

[b] Church militant.— *Ed.*

[c] There is only one step from the sublime to the ridiculous (an expression used by Napoleon on many occasions).—*Ed.*

[d] The reference is to Julius Caesar's *Commentarii de bello Gallico* (the author wrote in the third person about himself).—*Ed.*

impression is all the more comical because Sancho commits this inconsistency only in order to compete with Feuerbach. Sancho's "self-enjoyment" of his performance as a great man becomes here *malgré lui* an enjoyment for others.

The "*special*" thing that Sancho does in his "Commentary", insofar as we have not "used it up" already in the episode, consists in his regaling us with a new series of variations on the familiar themes already played with such long-winded monotony in "the book". Here Sancho's music, which like that of the Indian priests of Vishnu knows only one note, is played a few registers higher. But its narcotic effect remains, of course, the same. Thus, for example, the antithesis of "egoistical" and "holy" is again thoroughly kneaded, this time under the signboards of "interesting" and "uninteresting", and then of "interesting" and "absolutely interesting", an innovation which, incidentally, could only be of interest to lovers of unleavened bread, in common parlance matzos. One should not, of course, blame an "educated"[a] Berlin petty bourgeois for the belletristic distortion of the interested into the interesting.

All the illusions which, according to Sancho's pet crotchet, were created by "school-masters" appear here "as difficulties—*doubts*", which "only spirit created" and which "the poor souls who allowed themselves to be talked into these doubts" "should ... overcome" by "*light-heartedness*" (the famous getting out of one's head) (p. 162). Then comes a "treatise" in which he considers whether "doubts" should be got out of one's head by "thinking" or by "thoughtlessness", and a critical-moral adagio in which he laments in minor chords:

"Thought *must on no account* be suppressed by rejoicing" (p. 166).

For the tranquillity of Europe, and especially of the oppressed old merry and young sorry England,[b] as soon as Sancho has become somewhat accustomed to his episcopal *chaise percée*,[c] he issues from this eminence the following gracious pastoral epistle:

"Civil society is not at all dear to Stirner, and *he has no intention of extending it so that it swallows up the state and the family*" (p. 189).

Let Mr. Cobden and Monsieur Dunoyer bear this in mind.

In his capacity of archbishop, Sancho immediately takes control of the spiritual police, and on page 193 he gives Hess a reprimand for confusing matters, which "are contrary to police regulations" and

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[a] In the manuscript the Berlin dialect form *jebildeten* is used.—*Ed.*

[b] The phrase "old merry and young sorry England" is in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[c] Night commode.—*Ed.*

the more unpardonable the greater the efforts that our church father continually makes to establish identity. To prove to this same Hess that "Stirner" also possesses the "heroic courage of lying", that orthodox quality of the egoist in agreement with himself, he sings on page 188: "But Stirner does not say *at all*—contrary to what Hess makes him say—that the whole mistake of previous egoists was merely that they were not *conscious* of their egoism." Cf. "Phenomenology" and the entire "book". The other quality of the egoist in agreement with himself—credulity—he displays on page 182, where he "*does not dispute*" Feuerbach's opinion that "*the individual* is a communist". A further exercise of his police powers consists in censuring (on page 154) all his reviewers for not having dealt "in more detail with egoism as Stirner *conceives* it". Indeed, they all made the mistake of thinking that it was a question of actual egoism, whereas it was merely a question of "Stirner's" conception of it.

The "Apologetical Commentary" also proves Sancho's aptitude for acting as a church father by beginning with a piece of hypocrisy:

> "A brief reply may be of benefit, if not perhaps to the reviewers named, then at least to some other reader of the book" (p. 147).

Here Sancho plays the devotee and asserts that he is prepared to sacrifice his valuable time for the "benefit" of the public, although he constantly assures us that he always has in view only his own benefit, and although he is only trying here to save his own clerical skin.

Thereby we have finished with the "special" of the "Commentary". The "*unique*" feature, which, however, occurs already in "the book", on page 491, has been kept by us in reserve not so much for the "benefit" of "some other reader" as for "Stirner's" own benefit. One hand washes the other, from which it indisputably follows that "the individual is a communist".

One of the most difficult tasks confronting philosophers is to descend from the world of thought to the actual world. *Language* is the immediate actuality of thought. Just as philosophers have given thought an independent existence, so they were bound to make language into an independent realm. This is the secret of philosophical language, in which thoughts in the form of words have their own content. The problem of descending from the world of thoughts to the actual world is turned into the problem of descending from language to life.

We have shown[a] that thoughts and ideas acquire an independent

[a] See Chapter I of Volume I of *The German Ideology*.—*Ed.*

existence in consequence of the personal circumstances and relations of individuals acquiring independent existence. We have shown that exclusive, systematic occupation with these thoughts on the part of ideologists and philosophers, and hence the systematisation of these thoughts, is a consequence of division of labour, and that, in particular, German philosophy is a consequence of German petty-bourgeois conditions. The philosophers have only to dissolve their language into the ordinary language, from which it is abstracted, in order to recognise it as the distorted language of the actual world, and to realise that neither thoughts nor language in themselves form a realm of their own, that they are only *manifestations* of actual life.

Sancho, who follows the philosophers through thick and thin, must inevitably seek the *philosopher's stone*, the squaring of the circle and elixir of life, or a "*word*" which as such would possess the miraculous power of leading from the realm of language and thought to actual life. Sancho has been so infected by his long years of association with Don Quixote that he fails to notice that this "task" of his, this "vocation", is nothing but the result of his faith in weighty philosophical books of knight-errantry.

Sancho begins by showing us once again the domination of the holy and of ideas in the world, this time in the new form of the domination of language or phrase. Language, of course, becomes a phrase as soon as it is given an independent existence.

On page 151, Sancho calls the modern world "a world of phrases, a world where in the beginning was the word". He describes in more detail the motives for his chase after the magic word:

> "Philosophical speculation strove to find a *predicate* which would be so *universal* as to include everyone in itself.... In order that the predicate should include everyone in it, each should appear in it as *subject*, i.e., not merely as *what* he is, but as *who* he is" (p. 152).

Since speculation "sought" such predicates, which Sancho had previously called vocation, designation, task, species, etc., therefore actual people up to now "*sought*" themselves "in the word, the logos, the predicate" (p. 153). Up to now one has used the *name* when one wanted to distinguish in language one individual from another, merely as an identical person. But Sancho is not satisfied with ordinary names; because philosophical speculation has set him the task of finding a predicate so universal that it would include in itself everyone as subject, he seeks the philosophical, abstract name, the "Name" that is above all names, the name of names, name as a category which, for example, would distinguish Sancho from Bruno,

and both of them from Feuerbach, as precisely as their own proper names, and which would nevertheless be applicable to all three and also to all other people and corporeal beings—an innovation which would introduce the greatest confusion into all bills of exchange, marriage contracts, etc., and at one blow put an end to all notaries and registry offices. This miraculous name, this magic word, which in language spells the death of language, this asses' bridge leading to life and the highest rung of the Chinese celestial ladder is—*the unique.* The miraculous properties of this word are sung in the following stanzas:

"The unique one should be only the last, dying statement of you and me, should be only that statement which is transformed into opinion:
"a statement that is no longer a statement,
"a muted, mute statement" (p. 153).
"With him" (the unique one) "what is not expressed is the chief thing" (p. 149).
He "is without determination" (ibid.).
"He points to the content, lying outside or beyond the concept" (ibid.).
This is "a concept without determination and cannot be made more definite by any other concept" (p. 150).
This is the philosophical "*christening*" of worldly names (p. 150).
"The unique is a word devoid of thought.
"It has no thought content."
"It expresses a person" "that cannot exist a second time, and consequently cannot be *expressed* either;
"For if he could be expressed actually and completely, then he would exist a second time, he would exist in the expression" (p. 151).

Having thus sung the properties of this word, he celebrates in the following antistrophic stanzas the results obtained by the discovery of its miraculous power:

"With the unique one the realm of absolute thoughts is completed" (p. 150).
"He is the keystone of our world of phrases" (p. 151).
"He is logic that comes to an end as a phrase" (p. 153).
"In the unique one, science can merge in life,
"By transforming its *this* into *such-and-such a one,*
"Who no longer seeks himself in the word, the logos, the predicate" (p. 153).

True, as regards his reviewers Sancho has had the unpleasant experience of learning that the unique, too, can be "fixed as a concept", and "that is what the opponents do" (p. 149), who are so opposed to Sancho that they do not feel at all the expected magical effect of the magical word, but instead sing, as in the opera: *Ce n'est pas ça, ce n'est pas ça!* With great exasperation and solemn seriousness Sancho turns particularly against his Don Quixote-Szeliga, for in him the misunderstanding presupposes an open "rebellion" and a complete misapprehension of his position as a "creature".

"If Szeliga had understood that the unique, being a completely empty phrase or category, therebv is no longer a category, he might, perhaps, have recognised it as the name of that for which he still has no name" (p. 179).

Here, therefore, Sancho expressly recognises that he and his Don Quixote are striving towards one and the same goal, with the only difference that Sancho imagines that he has discovered the true morning star, whereas Don Quixote, still in darkness

> ûf dem wildin leber-mer
> der grunt-lôsen werlde swebt.*[a]

Feuerbach said in his *Philosophie der Zukunft*,[b] p. 49:

"Being, based on sheer inexpressibles, is therefore itself something inexpressible. Yes, the inexpressible. Where words end, only there does life begin, only there can the secret of being be deduced."

Sancho has found the transition from the expressible to the inexpressible, he has found the word which is simultaneously more and less than a word.

We have seen that the whole problem of the transition from thought to reality, hence from language to life, exists only in philosophical illusion, i.e., it is justified only for philosophical consciousness, which cannot possibly be clear about the nature and origin of its apparent separation from life. This great problem, insofar as it at all entered the minds of our ideologists, was bound, of course, to result finally in one of these knights-errant setting out in search of a word which, as a *word*, formed the transition in question, which, as a word, ceases to be simply a word, and which, as a word, in a mysterious superlinguistic manner, points from within language to the actual object it denotes; which, in short, plays among words the same role as the Redeeming God-Man plays among people in Christian fantasy. The emptiest, shallowest brain among the philosophers had to "end" philosophy by proclaiming his lack of thought to be the end of philosophy and thus the triumphant entry into "corporeal" life. His philosophising mental vacuity was already in itself the end of philosophy just as his unspeakable language was the end of all language. Sancho's triumph was also due to the fact that of all philosophers he was least of all acquainted with actual relations, hence philosophical categories with him lost the last

* Meister Kuonrat von Wurzeburc, *Diu guldin Smitte*, Verse 143.

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[a] Swims in the wild liver-sea
of the unfathomable world.
(Liver-sea—mythical congealed sea in which ships stuck fast.)—*Ed.*

[b] Ludwig Feuerbach, *Grundsätze der Philosophie der Zukunft*.—*Ed.*

vestige of connection with reality, and with that the last vestige of *meaning*.

So now go forth, pious and faithful servant Sancho, go or, rather, ride forth on your ass, to your unique's self-enjoyment, "use up" your "*unique*" to the last letter, the unique whose miraculous title, power and courage have already been sung by Calderón in the following words:

The unique—
El valiente campeon,
El generoso adalid,
El gallardo caballero,
El ilustre Paladin,
El siempre fiel Cristiano,
El Almirante feliz
De África, el Rey soberano
De Alejandría, el Cadí
De Berbería, de Egipto el Cid,
Moravito, y *Gran Señor*
*De Jerusalen.*[a]

"In conclusion, it would not be unsuitable to remind" Sancho, the Grand Seignior of Jerusalem, of Cervantes' "criticism" of Sancho in *Don Quixote*, Chapter 20, page 171, Brussels edition, 1617. (Cf. the "Commentary", p. 194.)

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[a] —The valiant fighter,
the generous leader,
the gallant knight,
the illustrious Paladin,
the always faithful Christian,
the fortunate Admiral of Africa,
the sovereign King of Alexandria,
the Judge of Barbary,
the Cid of Egypt,
Marabout, and *Grand Seignior*
*of Jerusalem.*

(Calderón, *La puenta de Mantible,* Act 1. The words "El siempre fiel Cristiano" ("The always faithful Christian") have been inserted by Marx and Engels.)—*Ed.*

## CLOSE OF THE LEIPZIG COUNCIL

After driving all their opponents from the Council, Saint Bruno and Saint Sancho, also called Max, conclude an eternal alliance and sing the following touching duet, amicably nodding their heads to one another like two mandarins.

*Saint Sancho.*

"The critic is the true spokesman of the mass.... He is its sovereign and general in the war of liberation against egoism." (The book, p. 187.)

*Saint Bruno.*

"Max Stirner is the leader and commander-in-chief of the Crusaders" (against criticism). "At the same time he is the most vigorous and courageous of all fighters." (*Wigand,*[a] p. 124.)

*Saint Sancho.*

"We pass on now to placing political and social liberalism before the tribunal of humane or critical liberalism" (i.e., critical criticism). (The book, p. 163.)

*Saint Bruno.*

"Confronted by the unique and his property, the *political* liberal, who desires to break down self-will, and the *social* liberal, who desires to destroy property, both collapse. They collapse under the critical" (i.e., stolen from *criticism*) "knife of the unique." (*Wigand,* p. 124.)

*Saint Sancho.*

"No thought is safe from criticism, because *criticism is the thinking mind itself* ... Criticism, or rather he" (i.e., Saint Bruno). (The book, pp. 195, 199.)

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[a] Bruno Bauer, "Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs".—*Ed.*

*Saint Bruno* (interrupts him, making a bow).

"The *critical* liberal alone ... does not fall [before] criticism because *he himself* is [the critic]." [*Wigand*, p. 124.]

*Saint Sancho.*

"Criticism, and criticism alone, is *abreast of the times*.... Among social theories, criticism is indisputably the most perfect.... In it the Christian principle of love, the true social principle, reaches its purest expression, and the last possible experiment is made to release people from exclusiveness [and] repulsion; it is a struggle against egoism in its simplest and therefore its *most rigid* form." (The book, p. 177.)

*Saint Bruno.*

"This ego is ... the completion and *culminating point* of a past historical epoch. The unique is the last refuge in the old world, the last hiding-place from which the old world can deliver its attacks" on critical criticism.... "This ego is the most extreme, the most powerful and most mighty egoism of the old world" (i.e., of Christianity).... "This ego is substance in its *most rigid rigidity*." (*Wigand*, p. 124.)

After this cordial dialogue, the two great church fathers dissolve the Council. Then they silently shake hands. The unique "forgets himself in sweet self-oblivion" without, however, getting "completely lost", and the critic "smiles" three times and then "irresistibly, confident of victory and victorious, pursues his path".

Volume II

# CRITIQUE OF GERMAN SOCIALISM ACCORDING TO ITS VARIOUS PROPHETS

# TRUE SOCIALISM

The relation between German socialism and the proletarian movement in France and England is the same as that which we found in the first volume (cf. "Saint Max", "Political Liberalism") between German liberalism, as it has hitherto existed, and the movement of the French and English bourgeoisie.[a] Alongside the German communists, a number of writers have appeared who have absorbed a few French and English communist ideas and amalgamated them with their own German philosophical premises. These "socialists" or "true socialists", as they call themselves, regard foreign communist literature not as the expression and the product of a real movement but as purely theoretical writings which have been evolved—in the same way as they imagine the German philosophical systems to have been evolved—by a process of "pure thought". It never occurs to them that, even when these writings do preach a system, they spring from the practical needs, the conditions of life in their entirety of a particular class in a particular country. They innocently take on trust the illusion, cherished by some of these literary party representatives, that it is a question of the "most reasonable" social order and not the needs of a particular class and a particular time. The German ideology, in the grip of which these "true socialists" remain, prevents them from examining the real state of affairs. Their activity in face of the "unscientific" French and English consists primarily in holding up the superficiality and the "crude" empiricism of these foreigners to the scorn of the German public, in eulogising "German science" and declaring that its mission is to reveal for the first time

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[a] See this volume, pp. 193-94.—*Ed.*

the *truth* of communism and socialism, the absolute, *true* socialism. They immediately set to work discharging this mission as representatives of "German science", although they are in most cases hardly more familiar with "German science" than they are with the original writings of the French and English, which they know only from the compilations of Stein, Oelckers,[a] etc. And what is the "*truth*" which they impart to socialism and communism? Since they find the ideas contained in socialist and communist literature quite unintelligible—partly by reason of their ignorance even of the literary background, partly on account of their above-mentioned misunderstanding of this literature—they attempt to clarify them by invoking the German ideology and notably that of Hegel and Feuerbach. They detach the communist systems, critical and polemical writings from the real movement, of which they are but the expression, and force them into an arbitrary connection with German philosophy. They detach the consciousness of certain historically conditioned spheres of life from these spheres and evaluate it in terms of true, absolute, i.e., German philosophical consciousness. With perfect consistency they transform the relations of these particular individuals into relations of "Man"; they interpret the thoughts of these particular individuals concerning their own relations as thoughts about "Man". In so doing, they have abandoned the real historical basis and returned to that of ideology, and since they are ignorant of the real connection, they can without difficulty construct some fantastic relationship with the help of the "absolute" or some other ideological method. This translation of French ideas into the language of the German ideologists and this arbitrarily constructed relationship between communism and German ideology, then, constitute so-called "true socialism", which is loudly proclaimed, in the terms used by the Tories for the English constitution, to be "the pride of the nation and the envy of all neighbouring nations".

Thus "true socialism" is nothing but the transfiguration of proletarian communism, and of the parties and sects that are more or less akin to it, in France and England within the heaven of the German mind and, as we shall also see, of the German sentiment. True socialism, which claims to be based on "science", is primarily another esoteric science; its theoretical literature is intended only for those who are initiated into the mysteries of the "thinking mind". But it has an exoteric literature as well; the very fact that it is concerned with social, exoteric relations means that it must carry on

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[a] Lorenz von Stein, *Der Socialismus und Communismus des heutigen Frankreichs.* Theodor Oelckers, *Die Bewegung des Socialismus und Communismus.—Ed.*

some form of propaganda. In this exoteric literature it no longer appeals to the German "thinking mind" but to the German "sentiment". This is all the easier since true socialism, which is no longer concerned with real human beings but with "Man", has lost all revolutionary enthusiasm and proclaims instead the universal love of mankind. It turns as a result not to the proletarians but to the two most numerous classes of men in Germany, to the petty bourgeoisie with its philanthropic illusions and to the ideologists of this very same petty bourgeoisie: the philosophers and their disciples; it turns, in general, to that "common", or uncommon, consciousness which at present rules in Germany.

The conditions actually existing in Germany were bound to lead to the formation of this hybrid sect and the attempt to reconcile communism with the ideas prevailing at the time. It was just as inevitable that a number of German communists, proceeding from a philosophical standpoint, should have arrived, and still arrive, at communism by way of this transition while others, unable to extricate themselves from this ideology, should go on preaching true socialism to the bitter end. We have, therefore, no means of knowing whether the "true socialists" whose works were written some time ago and are criticised here still maintain their position or whether they have advanced beyond it. We are not at all concerned with the individuals; we are merely considering the printed documents as the expression of a tendency which was bound to occur in a country so stagnant as Germany.

But in addition true socialism has in fact enabled a host of Young-German literary men,[123] quacks and other literati to exploit the social movement. Even the social movement was at first a *merely* literary one because of the lack of *real*, passionate, practical party struggles in Germany. True socialism is a perfect example of a social literary movement that has come into being without any real party interests and now, after the formation of the communist party, it intends to persist in spite of it. It is obvious that since the appearance of a real communist party in Germany, the public of the true socialists will be more and more limited to the petty bourgeoisie and the sterile and broken-down literati who represent it.

# I

# *DIE RHEINISCHEN JAHRBÜCHER* OR THE PHILOSOPHY OF TRUE SOCIALISM

## A. "COMMUNISMUS, SOCIALISMUS, HUMANISMUS"[a]

RHEINISCHE JAHRBÜCHER, 1. BD., P. 167 ET SEQ.

We begin with this essay because it displays quite consciously and with great self-confidence the national German character of true socialism.

Page 168: "It seems that the *French* do not understand their own men of genius. At this point *German science* comes to their aid and *in the shape of socialism presents the most reasonable social order,* if one can speak of a superlative degree of reasonableness."

"German science" here, therefore, presents a social order, in fact "the most reasonable social order", "*in the shape of* socialism". Socialism is reduced to a branch of that omnipotent, omniscient, all-embracing German science which is even able to set up a society. It is true that socialism is French in origin, but the French socialists were "*essentially*" *Germans,* for which reason the *real* Frenchmen "did not understand" them. Thus the writer can say:

"*Communism* is *French, socialism* is *German*; the French are lucky to possess so apt a social *instinct,* which will serve them one day as a substitute for *scientific investigation.* This result has been determined by the course of development of the two nations; the French arrived at *communism* by way of *politics*" (now it is clear, of course, how the French people came to communism); "the Germans arrived at *socialism*" (namely "true socialism") "by way of *metaphysics,* which eventually changed into anthropology. Ultimately both are resolved in *humanism.*"

After having transformed communism and socialism into two abstract theories, two principles, there is, of course, nothing easier than to excogitate at will any Hegelian unity of these two opposites and to give it any vague name one chooses. One has thereby not only

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[a] The author of this article is Hermann Semmig.—*Ed.*

submitted "the course of development of the two nations" to a piercing scrutiny but has also brilliantly demonstrated the superiority of the speculative individual over both Frenchmen and Germans.

Incidentally, the sentence is copied more or less literally from Püttmann's *Bürgerbuch*, p. 43 and elsewhere[a]; the writer's "scientific investigation" of socialism is likewise limited to a reinterpretative reproduction of ideas contained in this book, in the *Einundzwanzig Bogen* and in other writings dating from the early days of German communism.

We will only give a few examples of the objections raised to *communism* in this essay:

Page 168: "Communism does not combine the atoms into an organic whole."

The demand that the "atoms" should be combined into an "organic whole" is no more realistic than the demand for the squaring of the circle.

"Communism, as it is actually advocated in France, its main centre, takes the form of *crude* opposition to the egoistical dissipation of the shopkeeper's state; it never transcends this political opposition; it never attains to *unconditional, unqualified freedom*" (ibid.).

Voilà the German ideological postulate of "unconditional, unqualified freedom", which is only the practical formula for "unconditional, unqualified thought". French communism is admittedly "crude" because it is the theoretical expression of a *real* opposition; however, according to the writer, French communism ought to have transcended this opposition by imagining it to be already overcome. Compare also *Bürgerbuch*, p. 43, etc.

"Tyranny can perfectly well persist within communism, since the latter refuses to permit the continuance of the species" (p. 168).

Hapless species! "Species" and "tyranny" have hitherto existed *simultaneously*; but it is precisely because communism *abolishes* the "species" that it can allow "tyranny" to *persist*. And how, according to our true socialist, does communism set about abolishing the "species"? It "has the masses in view" (ibid.).

"In communism man is not *conscious* of his *essence* ... his dependence is reduced by communism to the *lowest, most brutal relationship*, to dependence on *crude matter*—the separation of *labour* and *enjoyment*. Man does not attain to *free* moral *activity*."

To appreciate the "scientific investigation" which has led our true socialist to this proposition, it is necessary to consider the following passage:

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[a] This refers to the article "Ueber die Noth in unserer Gesellschaft und deren Abhülfe" by Moses Hess published in *Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1845*.—*Ed.*

"French socialists and communists ... have by no means theoretically understood the *essence* of socialism ... even the radical" (French) "communists have still by no means transcended the antithesis of *labour* and *enjoyment* ... have not yet risen to the idea of *free activity*.... The only difference between communism and the world of the shopkeeper is that in communism the *complete alienation of real human property* is to be made independent of all fortuity, i.e., is to be *idealised*" (*Bürgerbuch*, p. 43).

That is to say, our true socialist is here reproaching the French for having a correct consciousness of their actual social conditions, whereas they ought to bring to light "Man's" consciousness of "*his* essence". All objections raised by these true socialists against the French amount to this, that they do not consider Feuerbach's philosophy to be the quintessence of their movement as a whole. The writer proceeds from the already existing proposition of the separation of labour and enjoyment. Instead of starting with this proposition, he ideologically turns the whole thing upside-down, begins with the missing consciousness of man, deduces from it "dependence on crude matter" and assumes this to be *realised* in the "separation of labour and enjoyment". Incidentally we shall see later on where our true socialist gets to with his independence "from crude matter".

In fact, all these gentlemen display a remarkable delicacy of feeling. Everything shocks them, especially matter; they complain everywhere of crudity. Earlier we have already had a "*crude* antithesis", now we have "the *most brutal* relationship" of "dependence on *crude* matter".

With gaping jaws the German cries:
Too *crude* love must not be
Or you'll get an infirmity.[a]

German philosophy in its socialist disguise appears, of course, to investigate "crude reality", but it always keeps at a respectable distance and, in hysterical irritation, cries: *noli me tangere!*[b]

After these scientific objections to French communism, we come to several historical arguments, which brilliantly demonstrate the "free moral activity" and the "scientific investigation" of our true socialist and his independence of crude matter.

On page 170 he arrives at the "result" that the only communism which "exists" is "*crude* French communism" (crude once again).

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[a] Modified quotation from Heine's poem "Sie sassen und tranken am Teetisch..." in *Lyrisches Intermezzo*. The first line of Heine's poem reads: With gaping jaws the canon cries.—*Ed.*

[b] Touch me not! (John 20:17).—*Ed.*

The construction of this truth *a priori* is carried out with great "social instinct" and shows that "man has become conscious of his essence". Listen to this:

"There is no other communism, *for* what Weitling has produced is only an elaboration of Fourierist and communist ideas with which he became acquainted in Paris and Geneva."

"There is no" English communism, "for what Weitling", etc. Thomas More, the Levellers,[124] Owen, Thompson, Watts, Holyoake, Harney, Morgan, Southwell, Goodwyn Barmby, Greaves, Edmonds, Hobson, Spence will be amazed, or turn in their graves, when they hear that they are no communists "for" Weitling went to Paris and Geneva.

Moreover, Weitling's communism does seem to be different in kind from the "crude French" variety, in vulgar parlance, from Babouvism, since it contains some of "Fourier's ideas" as well.

"The communists were particularly good at drawing up systems or even complete social orders (Cabet's *Icarie, La Félicité,*[a] Weitling). All systems are, however, dogmatic and dictatorial" (p. 170).

By this verdict on systems in general true socialism has, of course, saved itself the trouble of acquainting itself at first hand with the communist systems. With one blow it has overthrown not only *Icarie* but also every philosophical system from Aristotle to Hegel, the *Système de la nature,*[b] the botanical systems of Linné and Jussieu and even the solar system. Incidentally, as to the systems themselves they nearly all appeared in the early days of the communist movement and had at that time propaganda value as popular novels, which corresponded perfectly to the still undeveloped consciousness of the proletarians, who were then just beginning to play an active part. Cabet himself calls his *Icarie* a "roman philosophique" and he should on no account be judged by his system but rather by his polemical writings, in fact his whole activity as a party leader. In some of these novels, e.g., Fourier's system, there is a vein of true poetry; others, like the systems of Owen and Cabet, show not a shred of imagination and are written in a business-like calculating way or else with an eye to the views of the class to be influenced, in sly lawyer fashion. As the party develops, these systems lose all importance and are at best retained purely nominally as catchwords. Who in France believes in Icarie, who in England believes in the plans of Owen,

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[a] Étienne Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*; François de Chastellux, *De la Félicité publique.—Ed.*

[b] The author of this work is Paul Henri Holbach.—*Ed.*

which he preached in various modifications with an eye to propaganda among particular classes or with respect to the altered circumstances of the moment? Fourier's orthodox disciples of the *Démocratie pacifique* show most clearly how little the real content of these systems lies in their systematic form; they are, for all their orthodoxy, doctrinaire bourgeois, the very antipodes of Fourier. All epoch-making systems have as their real content the needs of the time in which they arose. Each one of them is based on the whole of the antecedent development of a nation, on the historical growth of its class relations with their political, moral, philosophical and other consequences. The assertion that all systems are dogmatic and dictatorial gets us nowhere with regard to this basis and this content of the communist systems. Unlike the English and the French, the Germans did not encounter fully developed class relations. The German communists could, therefore, only base their system on the relations of the class from which they sprang. It is, therefore, perfectly natural that the only existing German communist system should be a reproduction of French ideas in terms of a mental outlook which was limited by the petty circumstances of the artisan.

"The *madness* of Cabet, who insists that everybody should subscribe to *his Populaire*", p. 168, is proof of the tyranny that persists within communism. If our friend first distorts the claims which a party leader makes on his party, impelled by particular circumstances and the danger of failing to concentrate limited financial means, and then evaluates them in terms of the "essence of man", he is indeed bound to conclude that this party leader and all other party members are "mad" whereas purely disinterested figures, like himself and the "essence of man", are of sound intellect. But let him find out the true state of affairs from Cabet's *Ma ligne droite.*

The whole antithesis of our author, and of German true socialists and ideologists in general, to the real movements of other nations is finally epitomised in one classic sentence. The Germans judge everything *sub specie aeterni*[a] (in terms of the essence of Man), foreigners view everything practically, in terms of actually existing men and circumstances. The thoughts and actions of the foreigner are concerned with *temporariness,* the thoughts and actions of the German with *eternity.* Our true socialist confesses this as follows:

"The very name of communism, the contrary of competition, reveals its one-sidedness; but is this bias, which may *very well* have value *now* as a party name, to *last for ever?*"

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[a] From the standpoint of eternity (cf. Benedict Spinoza, *Ethica.* Pars quinta).—*Ed.*

After having thus thoroughly disposed of communism, the writer proceeds to its contrary, *socialism.*

"Socialism establishes that anarchic system which is an *essential characteristic* of the human race and the universe" (p. 170) and for that very reason has hitherto never existed for "the human race".

Free competition is too "crude" to be regarded by our true socialist as an "anarchic system".

"Relying entirely on the *moral core* of mankind, *socialism*" decrees that "the union of the sexes *is and should be* merely the highest intensification of love; *for* only what is natural is true and what is true is moral" (p. 171).

The reason why "the union, etc., etc. is and should be," can be applied to everything. For example, "socialism, relying entirely on the *moral core*" of the apes, might just as well decree that the masturbation which occurs naturally among them "is, and should be, merely the highest intensification of" self-"love; *for* only what is natural is true and what is true is moral".

It would be hard to say by what standard socialism judges what is "natural".

"Activity and enjoyment coincide in the *peculiar nature* of man; they are determined by this and not by the products *external to us.*"

"But since these products are indispensable for activity, that is to say, for true life, and since by reason of the common activity of mankind as a whole they have, so to speak, detached themselves from mankind, they *are or should be* the common substratum of further development for all (*community of goods*)."

"Our present-day society has indeed relapsed into savagery to such an extent that some individuals fall upon the products of another's labour with beastly voracity and at the same time they indolently allow their own essence to decay (*rentiers*); as a *necessary consequence*, others are driven to *mechanical* labour; their property (their own human essence) has been stunted, not by idleness, but by exhausting exertion (*proletarians*).... The two extremes of our society, rentiers and proletarians, are, *however*, at the same stage of development. *Both are dependent upon things external to them*" or are "Negroes", as Saint Max would say (pp. 169, 170).

The "results" reached above by our "Mongol" concerning "our Negroism" are the most perfect achievements which true socialism has, "so to speak, detached from itself, as a product indispensable for true life"; our Mongol, by reason of "the peculiar nature of man", believes that "mankind as a whole" is bound to "fall upon" them with "beastly voracity".

The four concepts—"rentiers", "proletarians", "mechanical" and "community of goods"—are for our Mongol at any rate "products external to him"; as far as they are concerned, his "activity" and his "enjoyment" consist in representing them simply as anticipated terms for the results of his own "mechanical labour".

Society, we learn, has relapsed into savagery and consequently the

individuals who form this very society suffer from all kinds of infirmities. Society is abstracted from these individuals, it is made independent, it relapses into savagery on its own, and the individuals suffer only as a *result* of this relapse. The expressions—beast of prey, idler and possessor of "one's own decaying essence"—are the first result of this relapse; whereupon we learn to our horror that these expressions define the "rentier". The only comment necessary is that this "allowing one's own essence to decay" is nothing but a philosophically mystified manner of speaking used in an endeavour to comprehend "idleness", the actual character of which seems to be very little known.

The two expressions, "stunted growth of their own human essence as a result of exhausting exertion" and "being driven to mechanical labour", are the second "necessary consequence" of the first result of the relapse into savagery. These two expressions are a "necessary consequence of the fact that the rentiers allow their own essence to decay", and are known in vulgar parlance, we learn, once more to our horror, as "proletarians".

The sentence, therefore, contains the following sequence of cause and effect: It is a fact that proletarians exist and that they work mechanically. Why are proletarians driven to "mechanical labour"? Because the rentiers "allow their own essence to decay". Why is it that the rentiers allow their own essence to decay? Because "our present-day society has relapsed into savagery to such an extent". Why has it relapsed into savagery? Ask thy Maker.

It is characteristic of our true socialist that he sees "the extremes of *our* society" in the opposition of rentiers and proletarians. This opposition has pretty well been present at all fairly advanced stages of society and has been belaboured by all moralists since time immemorial; it was resurrected right at the beginning of the proletarian movement, at a time when the proletariat still had interests in common with the industrial and petty bourgeoisie. Compare, for example, the writings of Cobbett and P. L. Courier or Saint-Simon, who originally numbered the industrial capitalists among the *travailleurs*[a] as opposed to the *oisifs*[b], the rentiers. Stating this trivial antithesis, which moreover it expresses, not in ordinary language, but in the sacred language of philosophy, presenting this childish discovery in abstract, sanctified and quite inappropriate terms—this is what here, as in all other cases, the thoroughness of that German science which has been perfected by

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[a] Workers.—*Ed.*
[b] Idlers.—*Ed.*

true socialism amounts to. The conclusion puts the finishing touch to this kind of thoroughness. Our true socialist here merges the totally dissimilar stages of development of the proletarians and the rentiers into "one stage of development", because he ignores their real stages of development and subsumes them under the philosophic phrase: "dependence upon things external to them". True socialism has here discovered the stage of development at which the dissimilarity of all the stages of development in the three realms of nature, in geology and history, vanishes into thin air.

Although he detests "dependence upon things external to him", our true socialist nevertheless admits that he is dependent upon them, "since products", i.e., these very things, "are indispensable for activity" and for "true life". He makes this shamefaced admission so that he can clear the road for a philosophical construction of the community of goods—a construction that lapses into pure nonsense so that we need merely draw the reader's attention to it.

We now come to the first of the passages quoted above. Here again, "independence from things" is claimed in respect of activity and enjoyment. Activity and enjoyment "are determined" by "the peculiar nature of man". Instead of tracing this peculiar nature in the activity and enjoyment of the men who surround him—in which case he would very soon have found how far the products external to us have a voice in the matter, too—he makes activity and enjoyment "coincide in the peculiar nature of man". Instead of visualising the peculiar nature of men in their activity and their manner of enjoyment, which is conditioned by their activity, he explains both by invoking "the peculiar nature of man", which cuts short any further discussion. He abandons the real behaviour of the individual and again takes refuge in his indescribable, inaccessible, peculiar nature. We see here, moreover, what the *true socialists* understand by "free activity". Our author imprudently reveals to us that free activity is activity which "is not determined by things external to us", i.e., *actus purus*, pure, absolute activity, which is nothing but activity and is in the last instance tantamount to the illusion of "pure thought". It naturally sullies the purity of this activity if it has a material basis and a material result; the true socialist deals only reluctantly with impure activity of this kind; he despises its product, which he terms "a mere *refuse* of man", and not "a result" (p. 169). The subject from whom this pure activity proceeds cannot, therefore, be a real sentient human being; it can only be the thinking mind. This "free activity", thus translated into German, is nothing but the foregoing "unconditional, unqualified freedom" expressed in a different way. Incidentally, that this talk of "free activity", which merely serves the true

socialists to conceal their ignorance of real production, amounts in the final analysis to "pure thought" is also shown by the fact that the writer gives us as his last word the postulate of true cognition.

"This separation of the *two principal parties of this age*" (namely, French crude *communism* and German *socialism*) "is a result of the *developments of the last two years,* which *started* more particularly with Hess' *Philosophie der That,* in Herwegh's *Einundzwanzig Bogen. Consequently* it was high time to throw a little more light on the shibboleths of the *social parties*" (p. 173).

Here we have, on the one hand, the actually existing communist party in France with its literature and, on the other, a few German pseudo-scholars who are trying to comprehend the ideas of this literature philosophically. The latter are treated just as much as the former as a "*principal party* of this *age*", as a party, that is to say, of infinite importance not only to its immediate antithesis, the French communists, but also to the English Chartists and communists, the American national reformers [125] and indeed to every other party "of this age". It is unfortunate that none of these know of the existence of this "principal party". But it has for a considerable time been the fashion among German ideologists for each literary faction, particularly the one that thinks itself "most advanced", to proclaim itself not merely "one of the principal parties", but actually "*the* principal party of this age". We have among others, "the principal party" of critical criticism, the "principal party" of egoism in agreement with itself and now the "principal party" of the true socialists. In this fashion Germany can boast a whole horde of "principal parties", whose existence is known only in Germany and even there only among the small set of scholars, pseudo-scholars and literati. They all imagine that they are weaving the web of world history when, as a matter of fact, they are merely spinning the long yarn of their own imaginings.

This "principal party" of the true socialists is "a result of the developments of the last two years, which started more particularly with Hess' *Philosophie*". It is "a result", that is to say, of the developments "of the last two years" when our author first got entangled in socialism and found it was "high time" to *enlighten* himself "a little more", by means of a few "shibboleths", on what he considers to be "social parties".

Having thus dismissed communism and socialism, our author introduces us to the higher unity of the two, to *humanism.* Now we are entering the domain of "Man" and the entire true history of our true socialist will be enacted in Germany alone.

"All quibbles about names are resolved in *humanism*; wherefore communists, wherefore socialists? We are *human beings*" (p. 172)—*tous frères, tous amis.*

Swim not, brothers, against the stream,
That's only a useless thing!
Let us climb up on to Templow hill
And cry: God save the King![a]

Wherefore human beings, wherefore beasts, wherefore plants, wherefore stones? We are bodies!

There follows an historical discourse which is based upon German science and which "will one day help to replace the social instinct" of the French. Antiquity—naïveté, the Middle Ages—Romanticism, the Modern Age—Humanism. By means of these three trivialities, the writer has, of course, constructed his humanism historically and showed it to be the truth of the old *Humaniora.*[126] Compare "Saint Max" in the first volume for constructions of this kind; he manufactures such wares in a much more artistic and less amateurish way.

On page 172 we are informed that

"the final result of scholasticism is that cleavage of life which was abolished by Hess".

Here then, the cause of the "cleavage of life" is shown to be theory. It is difficult to see why these true socialists mention society at all if they believe with the philosophers that all *real* cleavages are caused by *conceptual cleavages.* On the basis of this philosophical belief in the power of concepts to make or destroy the world, they can likewise imagine that some individual "abolished the cleavage of life" by "abolishing" concepts in some way or other. Like all German ideologists, the true socialists continually mix up literary history and real history as equipotential. This habit is, of course, very understandable among the Germans, who conceal the abject part they have played and continue to play in real history by equating the illusions, in which they are so rich, with reality.

And now to the "last two years", during which German science has so thoroughly disposed of all problems that nothing remains to the other nations but to carry out its decrees.

"Feuerbach only partially completed, or rather only began, the task of anthropology, the regaining by man of his estranged essence" (the essence of man or the essence of Feuerbach?); "he destroyed the *religious* illusion, the theoretical abstraction, the God-Man, whereas Hess *annihilates* the *political* illusion, the abstraction of his ability [*Vermögen*[b]], of his activity" (does this refer to Hess or to man?), "that is, he *annihilates wealth.* It was the work of Hess which freed *man* from the last of the forces external to him, and made him capable of moral activity—for all the unselfishness of earlier times" (before Hess) "was only an illusory unselfishness—and

[a] From Heine's poem "Verkehrte Welt" in his verse cycle *Zeitgedichte.* — *Ed.*
[b] *Vermögen* can mean ability, faculty, power, or fortune, wealth, property.— *Ed.*

raised him once more to his former dignity; for was man ever previously" (before Hess) "esteemed for what he actually was? Was he not judged by what he possessed? He was esteemed for his money" (p. 171).

It is characteristic of all these high-sounding phrases about liberation, etc., that it is always "man" who is liberated. Although it would appear from the pronouncements made above that "wealth", "money", and so on, have ceased to exist, we nevertheless learn in the following sentence:

"Now that these illusions" (money, viewed *sub specie aeterni*, is, indeed, an illusion, *l'or n'est qu'une chimère*[a]) "have been destroyed, we can *think* about a new, *human* order of society" (ibid.).

But this is quite superfluous since

"the recognition of the *essence of man* has as a necessary and natural result a life which is truly human" (p. 172).

To arrive at communism or socialism by way of metaphysics or politics, etc., etc.—these phrases beloved of true socialists merely indicate that such and such a writer has adopted communist ideas (which have reached him from without and have arisen in circumstances quite different from his) translating them into the mode of expression corresponding to his former standpoint, and formulating them in accordance with this standpoint. Which of these points of view is predominant in a nation, whether its communist outlook has a political or metaphysical or any other tinge depends, of course, upon the whole development of the nation. The fact that the attitude of most French communists has a political complexion—this is, on the other hand, countered by the fact that very many French socialists have abstracted completely from politics—causes our author to infer that the French "have arrived at communism by way of politics", by way of their political development. This proposition, which has a very wide circulation in Germany, does not imply that the writer has any knowledge either of politics, particularly of French political developments, or of communism; it only shows that he considers politics to be an independent sphere of activity, which develops in its own independent way, a belief he shares with all ideologists.

Another catchword of the true socialists is "true property", "true, personal property", "real", "social", "living", "natural", etc., etc., property, whereas it is very typical that they refer to private property as "*so-called* property". The Saint-Simonists were the first to adopt

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[a] Gold is but a chimera. From Giacomo Meyerbeer's opera *Robert le Diable* (libretto Eugène Scribe and Germain Delavigne), Act I, Scene 7.—*Ed.*

this manner of speaking, as we have already pointed out in the first volume; but they never lent it this German metaphysical-mysterious form; it was with them at the beginning of the socialist movement to some extent justified as a counter to the stupid clamour of the bourgeoisie.[a] The end to which most of the Saint-Simonists came shows at any rate the ease with which this "true property" is again resolved into "ordinary private property".

If one takes the antithesis of communism to the world of private property in its crudest form, i.e., in the most abstract form in which the real conditions of that antithesis are ignored, then one is faced with the antithesis of property and lack of property. The abolition of this antithesis can be viewed as the abolition of either the one side or the other; either property is abolished, in which case universal lack of property or destitution results, or else the lack of property is abolished, which means the establishment of true property. In reality, the actual property-owners stand on one side and the propertyless communist proletarians on the other. This opposition becomes keener day by day and is rapidly driving to a crisis. If, then, the theoretical representatives of the proletariat wish their literary activity to have any practical effect, they must first and foremost insist that all phrases are dropped which tend to dim the realisation of the sharpness of this opposition, all phrases which tend to conceal this opposition and may even give the bourgeois a chance to approach the communists for safety's sake on the strength of their philanthropic enthusiasms. All these bad qualities are, however, to be found in the catchwords of the true socialists and particularly in "true property". Of course, we realise that the communist movement cannot be impaired by a few German phrase-mongers. But in a country like Germany—where philosophic phrases have for centuries exerted a certain power, and where, moreover, communist consciousness is anyhow less keen and determined because class contradictions do not exist in as acute a form as in other nations—it is, nevertheless, necessary to resist all phrases which obscure and dilute still further the realisation that communism is totally opposed to the existing world order.

This theory of true property conceives *real* private property, as it has hitherto existed, merely as a semblance, whereas it views the concept abstracted from this real property as the *truth* and *reality* of the semblance; it is therefore ideological all through. All it does is to give clearer and more precise expression to the ideas of the petty

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[a] See this volume, pp. 231-32.—*Ed.*

bourgeois; for their benevolent endeavours and pious wishes aim likewise at the abolition of the lack of property.

In this essay we have had yet further evidence of the narrowly national outlook which underlies the alleged universalism and cosmopolitanism of the Germans.

> The land belongs to the Russians and French,
> The English own the sea.
> But we in the airy realm of dreams
> Hold sovereign mastery.
>
> Our unity is perfect here,
> Our power beyond dispute;
> The other folk in solid earth
> Have meanwhile taken root.[a]

With infinite self-confidence the Germans confront the other peoples with this airy realm of dreams, the realm of the "essence of man", claiming that it is the consummation and the goal of all world history; in every sphere they regard their dreamy fantasies as a final verdict on the actions of other nations; and because everywhere their lot is merely to look on and be left high and dry they believe themselves called upon to sit in judgment on the whole world while history attains its ultimate purpose in Germany. We have already observed several times that the complement of this inflated and extravagant national pride is practical activity of the pettiest kind, worthy of shopkeepers and artisans. National narrow-mindedness is everywhere repellent. In Germany it is positively odious, since, together with the illusion that the Germans are superior to nationality and to all real interests, it is held in the face of those nations which openly confess their national limitations and their dependence upon real interests. It is, incidentally, true of every nation that obstinate nationalism is now to be found only among the bourgeoisie and their writers.

## B. "SOCIALISTISCHE BAUSTEINE"[b]

*RHEINISCHE JAHRBÜCHER*, P. 155 ET SEQ.

In this essay the reader is first of all prepared for the more difficult truths of true socialism by a belletristic and poetic prologue. The prologue opens by proclaiming "happiness" to be the

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[a] Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen*, Caput VII.—*Ed.*

[b] "Cornerstones of Socialism"—title of an article by Rudolph Matthäi.—*Ed.*

"ultimate goal of all endeavour, all movements, of all the arduous and untiring exertions of past millenniums". In a few brief strokes, so to speak, a history of the struggle for happiness is sketched for us:

"When the foundations of the old world crumbled, the human heart with all its yearning took refuge in the other world, to which it transferred its happiness" (p. 156).

Hence all the bad luck of the terrestrial world. In recent times man has bidden farewell to the other world and our true socialist now asks:

"Can man greet the earth once more as the *land* of his happiness? Does he once more *recognise* earth as his original home? Why then should he still keep life and happiness apart? Why does he not break down the last barrier which cleaves earthly life into two hostile halves?" (ibid.).

"Land of my most blissful feelings!" etc.

He now invites "Man" to take a walk, an invitation which "Man" readily accepts. "Man" enters the realm of "free nature" and utters, among other things, the following tender effusions of a true socialist's heart:[a]

".!. gay flowers ... tall and stately oaks ... their satisfaction, their happiness lie in their life, their growth and their blossoming ... an infinite multitude of tiny creatures in the meadows ... forest birds ... a mettlesome troop of young horses ... I see" (says "man" ) "that these creatures neither know nor desire any other happiness than that which lies for them in the expression and the enjoyment of their lives. When night falls, my eyes behold a countless host of worlds which revolve about each other in infinite space according to eternal laws. I see in their revolutions a unity of life, movement and happiness" (p. 157).

"Man" could also observe a great many other things in nature, e.g., the bitterest competition among plants and animals; he could see, for example, in the plant world, in his "forest of tall and stately oaks", how these tall and stately capitalists consume the nutriment of the tiny shrubs, which might well complain: *terra, aqua, aere et igni interdicti sumus*[b]; he could observe the parasitic plants, the ideologists of the vegetable world, he could further observe that there is open warfare between the "forest birds" and the "infinite multitude of tiny creatures", between the grass of his "meadows" and the "mettlesome troop of young horses". He could see in his "countless host of worlds" a whole heavenly feudal monarchy complete with tenants and satellites, a few of which, e.g., the moon, lead a very poor life *aere et aqua interdicti*; a feudal system in which even the homeless

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[a] Paraphrase of the title of Wilhelm Wackenroder's book *Herzensergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders.—Ed.*

[b] We are banned from earth, water, air and fire.—*Ed.*

vagabonds, the comets, have been apportioned their station in life and in which, for example, the shattered asteroids bear witness to occasional unpleasant scenes, while the meteors, those fallen angels, creep shamefaced through the "infinite space", until they find somewhere or other a modest lodging. In the further distance, he would come upon the reactionary fixed stars.

"All these beings find their happiness, the satisfaction and the enjoyment of their life in the exercise and manifestation of the vital energies with which nature has endowed them."

That is, "man" considers that in the interaction of natural bodies and the manifestation of their forces these natural bodies find their happiness, etc.

"Man" is now reproached by our true socialist with his discord:

"Did not man too spring from the primeval world, is he not a child of nature, like all other creatures? Is he not formed of *the same* materials, is he not endowed with *the same* general energies and properties that animate *all things*? Why does he still seek his earthly happiness in an earthly beyond?" (p. 158).

"*The same* general energies and properties" which man has in common with "*all* things", are cohesion, impenetrability, volume, gravity, etc., which can be found set out in detail on the first page of any textbook of physics. It is difficult to see how one can construe this as a reason why man should not "seek his happiness in an earthly beyond". However, he admonishes man as follows:

"Consider the lilies of the field."

Yes, consider the lilies of the field, how they are eaten by goats, transplanted by "man" into his buttonhole, how they are crushed beneath the immodest embraces of the dairymaid and the donkey-driver!

"Consider the lilies of the field, they *toil* not, neither do they *spin*: and thy Heavenly Father feedeth them."[a]

Go thou and do likewise!

After learning in this fashion of the unity of "man" with "all things", we now learn how he *differs* from "all things".

"But man *knows himself*, he is *conscious of himself*. Whereas in other beings, the instincts and forces of *nature* manifest themselves in isolation and unconsciously, they are united in man and become conscious ... his nature is the mirror of all nature, which *recognises itself* in him. Well then! If nature recognises itself in me, then I recognise myself in nature. I see in its life my own life [...]. We are thus giving living expression to that with which nature has imbued us" (p. 158).

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[a] Cf. Matthew 6:28, 26.—*Ed.*

This whole prologue is a model of ingenuous philosophic mystification. The true socialist proceeds from the thought that the dichotomy of life and happiness must cease. To prove this thesis he summons the aid of nature presupposing that this dichotomy does not exist in nature and from this he deduces that since man, too, is a natural body and has the properties which such bodies generally possess, this dichotomy ought not to exist for him either. Hobbes had much better reasons for invoking nature as a proof of his *bellum omnium contra omnes*,[a] and Hegel, on whose construction our true socialist depends, for perceiving in nature the cleavage, the slovenly period of the Absolute Idea, and even calling the animal the concrete anguish of God. After shrouding nature in mystery, our true socialist shrouds human consciousness in mystery too, by making it the "mirror" of this mystified nature. Of course, when the manifestation of consciousness ascribes to *nature* the mental expression of a pious wish about human affairs, it is self-evident that consciousness will only be the mirror in which nature contemplates itself. That "man" has to abolish in his own sphere the cleavage, which is assumed to be non-existent in nature, is now proved by reference to man in his quality as a mere passive mirror in which nature becomes aware of itself; just as it was earlier proved by reference to man as a mere natural body. But let us inspect the last proposition more closely; all the nonsense of these arguments is concentrated in it.

The first fact asserted is that man possesses self-consciousness. The instincts and energies of individual natural beings are transformed into the instincts and forces of "Nature", which then, as a matter of course, "are manifested" *in isolation in* these individual beings. This mystification was needed in order later to effect a unification of these instincts and forces of "Nature" in the human self-consciousness. Thereby the self-consciousness of man is, of course, transformed into the self-consciousness of nature within him. This mystification is apparently resolved in the following way: in order to pay nature back for finding *its* self-consciousness in man, man seeks his, in turn, in nature—a procedure which enables him, of course, to find nothing in nature except what he has imputed to it by means of the mystification described above.

He has now arrived safely at the point from which he originally started, and this way of turning round on one's heel is now called in Germany—*development.*

After this prologue comes the real exposition of true socialism.

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[a] Thomas Hobbes, *Elementa philosophica. De cive. Praefatio ad lectores.—Ed.*

FIRST CORNERSTONE

Page 160: "Saint-Simon said to his disciples on his death-bed: 'My whole life can be expressed in one thought: all men must be assured the freest development of their natural capacities.' Saint-Simon was a herald of socialism."

This statement is now treated according to the true socialist method described above and combined with that mystification of nature which we saw in the prologue.

"Nature as the basis of all life is a unity which proceeds from itself and returns to itself, which embraces the immense multifariousness of its phenomena and apart from which nothing exists" (p. 158).

We have seen how one contrives to transform the different natural bodies and their mutual relationships into multifarious "phenomena" of the secret essence of this mysterious "unity". The only new element in this sentence is that nature is first called "the *basis* of all life", and immediately afterwards we are informed that "apart from it nothing exists"; according to this it embraces "life" as well and cannot merely be its *basis*.

After these portentous words, there follows the pivotal point of the whole essay:

"Every one of these phenomena, every *individual life*, exists and develops only through its *antithesis*, its *struggle* with the external world, and it is based upon its *interaction* with the *totality of life*, with which it is in turn by its nature linked in a whole, *the organic unity of the universe*" (pp. 158, 159).

This pivotal sentence is further elucidated as follows:

"The individual life finds, on the one hand, its foundation, its source and its subsistence in the totality of life; on the other hand, the totality of life in continual struggle with the individual life strives to consume and to absorb it" (p. 159).

Since this statement applies to *every* individual life, "therefore", it can be, and is, applied to men as well:

"Man can *therefore* only develop in and through the totality of life" (No. I, ibid.).

Conscious individual life is now contrasted with unconscious individual life; human society with natural life in general; and then the sentence which we quoted last is repeated in the following form:

"By reason of my nature, it is only in and through community with other men that I can develop, achieve self-conscious enjoyment of my life and attain happiness" (No. II, ibid.).

This development of the individual in society is now discussed in the same way as "individual life" in general was treated above:

"In society, too, the opposition of individual life and life in general becomes the condition of conscious human development. It is through perpetual struggle, through

perpetual reaction against society, which confronts me as a restricting force, that I achieve self-determination and freedom, without which there is no happiness. My life is a continuous process of liberation, a continuous battle with and victory over the conscious and unconscious external world, in order to subdue it and use it to enjoy my life. The instinct of self-preservation, the striving for my own happiness, freedom and satisfaction, these are *consequently* natural, i.e., reasonable, expressions of life" (ibid.).

Further:

"I demand, *therefore*, from society that it should afford me the *possibility* of winning from it my satisfaction, my happiness, that it should provide a battlefield for my bellicose spirit. Just as the individual plant demands soil, warmth and sun, air and rain for its growth, so that it may bear leaves, blossoms and fruit, man too *desires* to find in society the *conditions* for the all-round development and satisfaction of all his needs, inclinations and capacities. It *must* offer him the possibility of winning his happiness. How he will use that chance, what he will make of himself, of his life, depends upon him, upon his individuality. I alone can determine my happiness" (pp. 159, 160).

There follows, as the conclusion of the whole argument, the statement by Saint-Simon which is quoted at the beginning of this section. The Frenchman's idea has thus been vindicated by German science. What does this vindication consist in?

The true socialist has already earlier imputed various ideas to nature which he would like to see realised in human society. While formerly it was the individual human being, whom he made the mirror of nature, it is now society as a whole. A further conclusion can now be drawn about human society from the ideas imputed to nature. Since the author does not discuss the historical development of society, contenting himself with this meagre analogy, it remains incomprehensible why society should not always have been a true image of nature. The phrases about society, which confronts the individual in the shape of a restricting force, etc., are therefore relevant to every form of society. It is quite natural that a few inconsistencies should have crept into this interpretation of society. Thus he must now admit that a *struggle* is waged in nature, in contrast to the harmony described in the prologue. Society, the "totality of life", is conceived by our author not as the interaction of the constituent "individual lives", but as a distinct existence, and this moreover separately interacts with these "individual lives". If there is any reference to real affairs in all this it is the illusion of the independence of the state in relation to private life and the belief in this apparent independence as something absolute. But as a matter of fact, neither here nor anywhere in the whole essay is it a question of nature and society at all; it is merely a question of the two categories, individuality and universality, which are given various

names and which are said to form a contradiction, the reconciliation of which would be highly desirable.

From the vindication of "individual life" as opposed to the "totality of life" it follows that the satisfaction of needs, the development of capacities, self-love, etc., are "natural, reasonable expressions of life". From the conception of society as an image of nature, it follows that in all forms of society existing up to now, the present included, these expressions of life have attained full maturity and are recognised as justified.

But we suddenly learn on page 159 that "in our present-day society" these reasonable, natural expressions of life are nevertheless "so often repressed" and "usually only for that reason do they degenerate into an unnaturalness, malformation, egoism, vice, etc."

And so, since society does not, after all, correspond to its prototype, nature, the true socialist "demands" that it should conform to nature and justifies his claim by adducing the plant as an example—a most unfortunate example. In the first place, the plant does not "demand" of nature all the conditions of existence enumerated above; unless it finds them already present it never becomes a plant at all; it remains a grain of seed. Moreover, the state of the "leaves, blossoms and fruit" depends to a great extent on the "soil", the "warmth" and so on, the climatic and geological conditions of its growth. Far from "demanding" anything, the plant is seen to depend utterly upon the actual conditions of existence; nevertheless, it is upon this alleged demand that our true socialist bases his own claim for a form of society which shall conform to his individual "peculiarity". The demand for a true socialist society is based on the imaginary demand of a coco-nut palm that the "totality of life" should furnish it with "soil, warmth, sun, air and rain" at the North Pole.

This claim of the individual on society is not deduced from the real development of society but from the alleged relationship of the metaphysical characters—individuality and universality. You have only to interpret single individuals as representatives, embodiments of individuality, and society as the embodiment of universality, and the whole trick is done. And at the same time Saint-Simon's statement about the free development of the capacities has been correctly expressed and placed upon its true foundation. This correct expression consists in the absurd statement that the individuals forming society want to preserve their "peculiarity", want to remain as they are, while they demand of society a transformation which can only proceed from a transformation *of themselves.*

SECOND CORNERSTONE

"You've forgotten the rest of the charming refrain?
Well, just give it up and start over again!"[a]

"Infinite in their variety, all individual
Beings as unity taken together are World Organism" (p. 160).

And so we find ourselves thrown back again to the beginning of the essay and have to go through the whole comedy of individual life and totality of life for the second time. Once more we are initiated into the deep mystery of the interaction of these two lives, *restauré a neuf* by the introduction of the new term "*polar relationship*" and the transformation of the individual life into a mere *symbol*, an "*image*" of the totality of life. Like a kaleidoscopic picture this essay is composed of reflections of itself, a method of argument common to all true socialists. Their approach to their arguments is similar to that of the cherry-seller who was selling her wares below cost price, working on the correct economic principle that it is the *quantity* sold that matters. As regards true socialism, this is the more essential because its cherries were rotten before they were ripe.

A few examples of this self-reflection follow:

| Cornerstone No. I, pp. 158, 159. | Cornerstone No. II, pp. 160, 161. |
|---|---|
| "*Every individual life exists and develops only through its antithesis* ... is based upon its *interaction* with the *totality of life*, | "*Every individual life exists and develops in and through the totality of life*; the totality of life only exists and develops in and through the individual life." (Interaction.) |
| "With which it is in turn, by its nature, linked in a *whole*. | "The individual life develops ... as a *part* of life in general. |
| "Organic unity of the universe. | "The world organism is combined unity. |
| "The individual life finds, on the one hand, its *foundation*, its source and its *subsistence* in the totality of life, | "Which" (the totality of life) "becomes the *soil* and *subsistence* of its" (the individual life's) "development ... that each is *founded* upon the other.... |
| "On the other hand, the totality of life in continual *struggle* with the individual life strives to consume it. | "That they *struggle* against one another and oppose one another. |
| "*Therefore* (p. 159): | "*It follows* (p. 161): |
| "Human society is to *conscious* ... life what unconscious universal life in general is to the unconscious individual life. | "That *conscious individual life* is also conditioned by the conscious totality of life and" ... (vice versa). |

[a] The refrain of a German nursery song.—*Ed.*

"*I* can only *develop in and through community* with other men.... In society, too, the opposition of *individual life* and *life in general* becomes", etc....

"Nature ... is a *unity* ... which *embraces* the immense *multifariousness* of its phenomena."

"*The individual human being develops only in and through society*, society", vice versa, etc....

"Society is a *unity* which embraces and *comprises* the *multifariousness* of individual human development."

But our author is not satisfied with this kaleidoscopic display. He goes on to repeat his artless remarks about individuality and universality in yet another form. He first puts forward these few arid abstractions as absolute principles and then concludes that the same relationship must recur in the real world. Even this gives him the chance of saying everything twice under the guise of making deductions, in abstract form and, when he is drawing his conclusion, in seemingly concrete form. Then, however, he sets about varying the concrete *names* which he has given to his two categories. Universality appears variously as nature, unconscious totality of life, conscious ditto, life in general, world organism, all-embracing unity, human society, community, organic unity of the universe, universal happiness, common weal, etc., and individuality appears under the corresponding names of unconscious and conscious individual life, individual happiness, one's own welfare, etc. In connection with each of these names we are obliged to listen to the selfsame phrases which have already been applied often enough to individuality and universality.

The second cornerstone contains, therefore, nothing which was not already contained in the first. But since the words *égalité, solidarité, unité des intérêts* are used by the French socialists, our author attempts to fashion them into "cornerstones" of true socialism by turning them into German.

"As a conscious member of society I recognise every other member as a being different from myself, confronting me and at the same time supported by and derived from the primary common basis of existence and equal to me. I recognise every one of my fellow-men as opposed to me by reason of his particular nature, yet equal to me by reason of his general nature. The recognition of human equality, of the right of every man to existence, depends *therefore* upon the consciousness that human nature is common to all; in the same way, love, friendship, justice and all the social virtues are based upon the feeling of natural human affinity and unity. If up to now these have been termed obligations and have been imposed upon men, *then* in a society founded upon the *consciousness* of man's inward nature, i.e., upon reason and not upon external compulsion, they will become free, natural expressions of life. In a society which conforms to nature, i.e., to reason, the conditions of existence must *accordingly* be equal for all its members, i.e., must be general" (pp. 161, 162).

The author displays a marked ability for first putting forward a proposition in assertive fashion and then legitimising it as a conse-

quence of itself by inserting an *accordingly*, a *consequently*, etc. He is equally skilful at incidentally smuggling into his peculiar deductions traditional socialistic statements by the use of "if they have", "if it is"—"then they must", "then it will become", etc.

In the first cornerstone, we saw, on the one hand, the individual and, on the other, universality which confronted him as society. This antithesis now reappears in another form, the individual now being divided within himself into a particular and a general nature. From the *general* nature of the individual, conclusions are drawn about "human equality" and community. Those conditions of life which are common to men thus appear here as a product of "the essence of man", of *nature*, whereas they, just as much as the consciousness of equality, are historical products. Not content with this, the author substantiates this equality by stating that it rests entirely "on the primary common basis of existence". We learned in the prologue, p. 158, that man "is formed of the same materials and is endowed with the same general energies and properties that animate all things". We learned in the first cornerstone that nature is "the basis of all life", and so, the "primary common basis of existence". Our author has, therefore, far outstripped the French since, being "a conscious member of society", he has not only demonstrated the equality of men with one another; he has also demonstrated their equality with every flea, every wisp of straw, every stone.

We should be only too pleased to believe that "all the social virtues" of our true socialist are based "upon the feeling of natural human affinity and unity", even though feudal bondage, slavery and all the social inequalities of every age have also been based upon this "natural affinity". Incidentally, "natural human affinity" is an historical product which is daily changed at the hands of men; it has always been perfectly natural, however inhuman and contrary to nature it may seem, not only in the judgment of "Man", but also of a later revolutionary generation.

We learn further, quite by chance, that present-day society is based upon "external compulsion". By "external compulsion" the true socialists do not understand the restrictive material conditions of life of given individuals. They see it only as the compulsion exercised by the *state*, in the form of bayonets, police and cannons, which far from being the foundation of society, are only a consequence of its structure. This question has already been discussed in *Die heilige Familie* and also in the first volume of this work.

The socialist opposes to present-day society, which is "based upon external compulsion", the ideal of true society, which is based

upon the "consciousness of man's *inward* nature, i.e., upon reason". It is based, that is, upon the consciousness of consciousness, upon the thought of thought. The true socialist does not differ from the philosophers even in his choice of terms. He forgets that the "inward nature" of men, as well as their "consciousness" of it, "i.e.", their "reason", has at all times been an historical product and that even when, as he believes, the society of men was based "upon external compulsion", their "inward nature" corresponded to this "external compulsion".

There follow, on page 163, individuality and universality with their usual retinue, in the form of individual and public welfare. You may find similar explanations of their mutual relationship in any handbook of political economy under the heading of competition and also, though better expressed, in Hegel.

For example, *Rheinische Jahrbücher,* p. 163:

"By furthering the public welfare, I further my own welfare, and by furthering my own welfare, I further the public welfare."

Cf. Hegel's *Rechtsphilosophie,* p. 248 (1833):

"In furthering my ends, I further the universal, and this in turn furthers my ends."

Compare also *Rechtsphilosophie,* p. 323 et seq., about the relation of the citizen to the state.

"Therefore, as a final consequence, we have the conscious unity of the individual life with the totality of life, harmony" (*Rheinische Jahrbücher,* p. 163).

"As a final consequence", that is to say, of

"this polar relationship between the individual and the general life, which consists in the fact that sometimes the two clash and oppose one another, while at other times, the one is the condition and the basis of the other".

The "final consequence" of this is at most the harmony of disharmony with harmony; and all that follows from the constant repetition of these familiar phrases is the author's belief that his fruitless wrestling with the categories of individuality and universality is the appropriate form in which social questions should be solved.

The author concludes with the following flourish:

"*Organic society has as its basis universal equality and develops, through the opposition of the individuals to the universal, towards unrestricted concord, towards the unity of individual with universal happiness, towards social*" (!) "*harmony of society*" (!!), "*which is the reflection of universal harmony*" (p. 164).

It is modesty indeed to call this sentence a "cornerstone". It is the primal rock upon which the whole of true socialism is founded.

THIRD CORNERSTONE

"Man's struggle with nature is based upon the polar opposition of my particular life to, and its interaction with, the world of nature in general. When this struggle appears as conscious activity, it is termed *labour*" (p. 164).

Is not, on the contrary, the idea of "polar opposition" based upon the observation of a struggle between men and nature? First of all, an abstraction is made from a fact; then it is declared that the fact is based upon the abstraction. A very cheap method to produce the semblance of being profound and speculative in the German manner.

For example:

*Fact:* The cat eats the mouse.

*Reflection:* Cat—nature, mouse—nature, consumption of mouse by cat=consumption of nature by nature=self-consumption of nature.

*Philosophic presentation of the fact:* Devouring of the mouse by the cat is based upon the self-consumption of nature.

Having thus obscured man's struggle with nature, the writer goes on to obscure man's conscious activity in relation to nature, by describing it as the *manifestation* of this mere abstraction from the real struggle. The profane word *labour* is finally smuggled in as the result of this process of mystification. It is a word which our true socialist has had on the tip of his tongue from the start, but which he dared not utter until he had legitimised it in the appropriate way. Labour is constructed from the mere abstract idea of Man and nature; it is thereby defined in a way which is equally appropriate and inappropriate to all stages in the development of labour.

"*Therefore*, labour is any conscious activity on the part of man whereby he tries to acquire dominion over nature in an intellectual and material sense, so that he may utilise it for the conscious enjoyment of his life and for his intellectual or bodily satisfaction" (ibid.).

We shall only draw attention to the brilliant deduction:

"When this struggle appears as conscious activity, it is termed labour—*therefore* labour is any conscious activity on the part of man", etc.

We owe this profound insight to the "polar opposition".

The reader will recall Saint-Simon's statement concerning *libre développement de toutes les facultés*[a] mentioned above, and also remember that Fourier wished to see the present *travail répugnant* replaced by *travail attrayant.*[b] We owe to the "polar opposition" the

[a] Free development of all capacities.—*Ed.*

[b] "Repellent labour" replaced by "attractive labour" (Charles Fourier, *Nouveau monde industriel*).—*Ed.*

following philosophic vindication and explanation of these propositions:

> "*But* since" (the "but" is meant to indicate that there is no connection here) "for *life* every *manifestation*, exercise and expression of its forces and faculties *should* be a source of enjoyment and satisfaction, *it follows* that labour *should* itself be a manifestation and development of human capacities and *should* be a source of enjoyment, satisfaction and happiness. *Consequently*, labour *must* itself become a *free* expression of life and *so* a source of enjoyment" (ibid.).

Here we are shown what we were promised in the preface to the *Rheinische Jahrbücher*, namely, "how far German social science differs in its development up to the present from French and English social science" and what it means "to present the doctrine of communism in a scientific form".

It would be a lengthy and boring procedure to expose every logical lapse which occurs in the course of these few lines. But let us first consider the offences against *formal logic*.

To prove that labour, an expression of life, should be a source of enjoyment, it is assumed that life should afford enjoyment in *all* its expressions. From this the conclusion is drawn that life should be a source of enjoyment also in its expression as labour. Not satisfied with this periphrastic transformation of a postulate into a conclusion, the author draws a false conclusion. From the fact that "for life every manifestation should be a source of enjoyment", he deduces that labour, which is one of these manifestations of life, "should itself be a manifestation and development of human capacities", that is to say, of life once again. Hence it ought to be what it already is. How could labour ever be *anything but* a "manifestation of human capacities"? But he does not stop there. *Because* labour *should* be so, it "*must consequently*" be so, or still better: because labour "should be a manifestation and development of human capacities", *it must consequently* become something completely different, namely, "a free expression of life", which did not enter into the question at all before this. And whereas earlier the postulate of labour as enjoyment was directly deduced from the postulate of the enjoyment of life, the former postulate is now put forward as a consequence of the new postulate of "free expression of life in labour".

As far as the *content* of the proposition is concerned, one cannot quite see why labour has not always been what it ought to be, why it must now become what it ought to be, or why it should become something which up to now it was not bound to be. But, of course, up to now the essence of man and the polar opposition of man and nature were not properly explained.

A "scientific vindication" of the communist view about the common ownership of the products of labour follows:

"*But*" (the recurrent "but" has the same meaning as the previous one) "the product of labour must serve at one and the same time the happiness of the individual, of the labouring individual, and the general happiness. This is effected by reason of the fact that all social activities are complementary and reciprocal" (ibid.).

This statement is merely a copy of what any political economy has to say in praise of competition and the division of labour; except that the argument has been weakened by the introduction of the word "happiness".

Finally, we are given a philosophic vindication of the French organisation of labour:

"Labour as a free activity, which is enjoyable, affords satisfaction and at the same time serves the common weal, is the basis of the *organisation of labour*" (p.165).

But since labour *should* and *must* become a free activity "which is enjoyable", etc., and therefore this state of affairs has not yet been *reached*, one would have expected *on the contrary* the organisation of labour to be the basis of "labour as an enjoyable activity". But the *concept* of labour as such an activity is quite sufficient [for the writer].

At the end of the essay the author believes to have reached "results".

These "cornerstones" and "results", together with those other granite boulders which are to be found in the *Einundzwanzig Bogen*, the *Bürgerbuch* and the *Neue Anekdota*,[127] form the rock upon which *true socialism*, alias *German social philosophy*, will build its church.[a]

We shall have occasion to listen to a few of the hymns, a few of the fragments of the *cantique allégorique hébraïque et mystique*[b] which are chanted in this church.

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[a] Cf. Matthew 16:18.—*Ed.*

[b] Evariste Parny, *La guerre des dieux*. Chant premier.—*Ed.*

## IV

# KARL GRÜN: *DIE SOZIALE BEWEGUNG IN FRANKREICH UND BELGIEN*[a] (DARMSTADT 1845) OR THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF TRUE SOCIALISM [128]

"In sooth, if it were not a matter of discussing the whole horde of them ... we should probably throw down our pen.... And now, with that same arrogance, it" (Mundt's *Geschichte der Gesellschaft*) "appears before a wide circle of readers, before that public which seizes voraciously upon everything displaying the word *social* because a sure instinct tells it what secrets of future times are hidden in this little word. Hence a double responsibility rests on the writer and he deserves double reproof, if he sets to work inexpertly!"

"We shall not reproach Herr Mundt with not knowing anything of the actual achievements of French and English social literature apart from what Herr *L. Stein* has revealed to him. When it appeared, Stein's book[b] was worthy of note.... But to coin phrases nowadays ... about Saint-Simon, to call Bazard and Enfantin the two branches of Saint-Simonism, to follow this up with Fourier and to repeat idle chit-chat about Proudhon, etc.!... And yet we would willingly overlook this if he had only portrayed the *genesis* of social ideas in a new and original way."

With this haughty and Rhadamanthine pronouncement Herr Grün begins a review (in the *Neue Anekdota*, pp. 122, 123) of Mundt's *Geschichte der Gesellschaft.*

The reader will be amazed at the artistic talent shown by Herr Grün, who actually gives, in this guise, a criticism of his own book, which at that time was not yet born.

We observe in Herr Grün a fusion of true socialism with Young-German literary pretensions[129]—a highly diverting spectacle. The book mentioned above is in the form of letters to a lady, from which the reader may surmise that here the profound divinities of true socialism are garlanded with the roses and myrtles of "young literature". Let us hasten to pluck a few roses:

"The *Carmagnole* was running through my head ... in any case it is terrible that the *Carmagnole* should be permitted to take breakfast in the head of a German writer, even if not to take up permanent quarters there" (p. 3).

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[a] *The Social Movement in France and Belgium.—Ed.*

[b] *Der Socialismus und Communismus des heutigen Frankreichs.—Ed.*

"If I had old Hegel here, I should collar him: What! So nature is the otherness of mind? What! You dullard!" (p. 11).

"Brussels is to some extent a reproduction of the French Convention; it has its parties of the Mountain and the Valley" (p. 24).

"The Lüneburg Heath of politics" (p. 80).

"Gay, poetic, inconsistent, fantastic chrysalis" (p. 82).

"Restoration liberalism, the groundless cactus, which as a parasite coiled round the seats in the Chamber of Deputies" (pp. 87, 88).

That the cactus is neither "groundless", nor a "parasite", and that "gay", "poetic" or "inconsistent" "chrysalises" or pupae do not exist, does not detract from these lovely images.

"Amid this sea" (of newspapers and journalists in the Cabinet Montpensier[130]) "I myself, however, feel like a second Noah, despatching his doves to see if he can possibly build a dwelling or plant a vineyard anywhere or come to a reasonable agreement with the infuriated Gods" (p. 259).

No doubt this refers to Herr Grün's activity as a newspaper correspondent.

"Camille Desmoulins was a *human being.* The Constituent Assembly was composed of *philistines.* Robespierre was a *virtuous magnetiser.* Modern history, in a word, is a life-and-death struggle against the shopkeepers and the magnetisers!!!" (p. 111).

"Happiness is a plus, but a plus to the nth power" (p. 203).

Hence, happiness $=+^{n}$, a formula which can only be found in the aesthetic mathematics of Herr Grün.

"Organisation of labour, what is it? And the peoples replied to the Sphinx with the voices of a thousand newspapers.... France sings the strophe, Germany the antistrophe, old mystic Germany" (p. 259).

"North America is even more distasteful to me than the Old World because its shopkeeping egoism has on its cheeks the bloom of impertinent health ... because everything there is so superficial, so rootless, I might almost say so *provincial....* You call America the New World; it is the oldest of all Old Worlds; our worn-out clothes set the fashion there" (pp. 101, 324).

So far we were only aware that unworn stockings of German manufacture were worn there; although they are of too poor a quality to set the "fashion".

"The logically stable security-mongering of these institutions" (p. 461).

Unless these flowers your heart delight
To be a "man" you have no right![a]

What wanton grace, what saucy innocence! What heroic wrestling with aesthetic problems! This nonchalance and originality are worthy of a Heine!

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[a] An adaptation of a couplet from Mozart's opera *The Magic Flute* (libretto by Emanuel Schikaneder), Act II, aria of Sarastro.—*Ed.*

We have deceived the reader. Herr Grün's literary graces are not an embellishment of the science of true socialism, the science is merely the padding between these outbursts of literary gossip, and forms, so to speak, its "social background".

In an essay by Herr Grün, "Feuerbach und die Socialisten", the following remark occurs (*Deutsches Bürgerbuch*, p. 74):

"When one *speaks* of Feuerbach one speaks of the entire work of philosophy from Bacon of Verulam up to the present; one defines at the same time the ultimate purpose and meaning of philosophy, one sees *man* as the final result of world history. To do so is a *more reliable, because a more profound,* method of approach than to bring up wages, competition, the faultiness of constitutions and systems of government.... We have gained *man,* man who has divested himself of religion, of moribund thoughts, of all that is foreign to him, with all their counterparts in the practical world; we have gained *pure, genuine man.*"

This one proposition is enough to show what kind of "reliability" and "profundity" one can expect from Herr Grün. He does not discuss small questions. Equipped with an unquestioning faith in the conclusions of German philosophy, as formulated by Feuerbach, viz., that "*man*", "pure, genuine man", is the ultimate purpose of world history, that religion is externalised [*entäusserte*] human essence, that human essence is human essence and the measure of all things—equipped with all the other truths of German socialism (see above)—i.e., that money, wage-labour, etc., are also externalisations [*Entäusserungen*] of human essence, that German socialism is the realisation of German philosophy and the theoretical truth of foreign socialism and communism, etc.[a]—Herr Grün travels to Brussels and Paris with all the complacency of a true socialist.

The powerful trumpetings of Herr Grün in praise of true socialism and of German science exceed anything his fellow-believers have achieved in this respect. As far as these eulogies refer to true socialism, they are obviously quite sincere. Herr Grün's modesty does not permit him to utter a single sentence that has not already been pronounced by some other true socialist in the *Einundzwanzig Bogen,* the *Bürgerbuch* and the *Neue Anekdota.* Indeed, he devotes his whole book to filling in an outline of the French social movement sketched in the *Einundzwanzig Bogen* (pp. 74-88) by Hess, and thereby answering a need expressed in the same work on page 88.[b] As regards the eulogies to German philosophy, the latter must value them all the more, seeing how little he knows about it. The

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[a] See this volume, pp. 467-68.—*Ed.*
[b] See Moses Hess, "Socialismus und Communismus".—*Ed.*

# Karl Grün:
## Die soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien
(Darmstadt 1847.)
oder
## Die Geschichtschreibung des wahren Sozialismus.*)

„Wahrlich, gälte es hier nicht zugleich eine ganze Rotte zu zeichnen, .... wir würden die Feder noch wegwerfen .... Und jetzt tritt sie (Mundt's Geschichte der Gesellschaft) mit derselben Anmaßung vor den großen Leserkreis des Publikums, des Publikums, das heißhungrig nach Allem greift, was nur das Wort: sozial an der Stirne trägt, weil ein richtiger Takt ihm sagt, welche Geheimnisse der Zukunft in diesem Wörtchen verborgen liegen. Doppelte Verantwortlichkeit des Schriftstellers, doppelte Züchtigung, wenn er unberufen ans Werk ging!"

„Darüber wollen wir eigentlich mit Herrn Mundt nicht rechten, daß er von den faktischen Leistungen der sozialen Literatur Frankreichs und Englands durchaus Nichts weiß, als was ihm Herr L. Stein verrathen, dessen Buch anerkannt werden konnte, als es erschien .... Aber heute noch .... über St. Simon Phrasen machen, Bazard und Infantin die beiden Zweige des St. Simonismus nennen, Fourier folgen lassen, über Proudhon ungenügendes Zeug nachplappern u. s. w., u. s. w.! .... Dennoch würden wir gerne ein Auge zudrücken, wäre mindestens die Genesis der sozialen Ideen eigen und neu dargestellt."

Mit dieser hochfahrenden, rhadamantischen Sentenz eröffnet Hr. Grün (Neue Anekdota, S. 122 und 123) eine Rezension von Mundts „Geschichte der Gesellschaft."

Wie überrascht wird der Leser von dem artistischen Talent des Hrn. Grün, das unter der obigen Maske nur eine Selbstkritik seines eigenen, damals noch ungebornen Buches versteckte!

Hr. Grün bietet uns das amüsante Schauspiel einer Verschmelzung des wahren Sozialismus mit jungdeutschem Literatenthum. Das obige Buch ist in Briefen an eine Dame geschrieben, woraus der Leser schon

*) Indem wir unsern Lesern im Folgenden die schon vor längerer Zeit von Karl Marx in der Trierschen Ztg. angekündigte Kritik mittheilen, benachrichtigen wir sie zugleich, daß sich durch unglückliche Zufälle das Manuskript über zwei Monate in Deuschland herumgetrieben hat, ohne uns zuzugehen. Hr. Marx mußte unter solchen Umständen dasselbe längst in unserem Besitze vermuthen, und konnte deshalb nichts erklären, wonach unsere frühere Erklärung zu berichtigen. D. R.



First page of Chapter IV (Volume II) of *The German Ideology* as published in the *Westphälische Dampfboot* No. 8, 1847

national pride of the true socialists, their pride in Germany as the land of "man", of "human essence", as opposed to the other profane nationalities, reaches its climax in him. We give below a few samples of it:

"But I should like to know whether they won't all have to learn from us, these French and English, Belgians and North Americans" (p. 28).

He now enlarges upon this.

"The *North Americans* appear to me thoroughly prosaic and, despite their legal freedom, it is from us that they will probably have to learn their *socialism*" (p. 101).

Particularly because they have had, since 1829, their own socialist and democratic school,[131] against which their economist Cooper was fighting as long ago as 1830.

"The *Belgian* democrats! Do you really think that they are *half so far advanced* as we Germans are? Why, I have just had a tussle with one of them who considered the *realisation of free humanity* to be a chimera!" (p. 28).

The nationality of "man", of "human essence", of "humanity" shows off here as vastly superior to Belgian nationality.

"*Frenchmen!* Leave Hegel in peace until you understand him." (We believe that *Lerminier*'s criticism of the philosophy of law,[a] however weak it may be, shows more insight into Hegel than anything which Herr Grün has written either under his own name or that of "Ernst von der Haide".) "Try drinking no coffee, no wine for a year; don't give way to passionate excitement; let Guizot rule and let Algeria come under the sway of Morocco" (how is Algeria ever to come under the sway of Morocco, even if the French were to relinquish it?); "sit in a garret and study the *Logik* and the *Phänomenologie*. And when you come down after a year, lean in frame and red of eye, and go into the street and stumble over some dandy or town crier, don't be abashed. For in the meantime you will have become great and mighty men, your mind will be like an oak that is nourished by miraculous" (!) "sap; whatever you see will yield up to you its most secret weaknesses; though you are created spirits, you will nevertheless penetrate to the heart of nature; your glance will be fatal, your word will move mountains, your dialectic will be keener than the keenest guillotine. You will present yourself at the Hôtel de Ville—and the bourgeoisie is a thing of the past. You will step up to the Palais Bourbon—and it collapses. The whole Chamber of Deputies will disappear into the void. Guizot will vanish, Louis Philippe will fade into an historical ghost and out of all these forces which you have annihilated there will rise victorious the absolute idea of free society. Seriously, you can only subdue Hegel by first of all becoming Hegel yourselves. As I have already remarked—Moor's beloved can only die at the hands of Moor"[b] (pp. 115, 116).

The belletristic aroma of these true socialist statements will be noticed by everyone. Herr Grün, like all true socialists, does not

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[a] Eugène Lerminier, *Philosophie du droit.—Ed.*
[b] Friedrich Schiller, *Die Räuber*, Act V, Scene 2.—*Ed.*

forget to bring up again the old chatter about the superficiality of the French:

"For I am fated to find the French mind inadequate and superficial, every time that I come into close contact with it" (p. 371).

Herr Grün does not conceal from us the fact that his book is intended to glorify German socialism as the criticism of French socialism:

"The riff-raff of current German literature call our socialist endeavours an imitation of French perversities. No one has so far considered it worth while to reply to this. The riff-raff must surely feel ashamed, if they have any sense of shame at all, when they read *this book*. It probably never entered their head that *German socialism is a criticism of French socialism*, that far from considering the French to be the inventors of a new *Contrat social*, it demands that French socialism should *make good its deficiencies by a study of German science*. At this moment, an edition of a translation of Feuerbach's *Wesen des Christenthums* is being prepared here in Paris. May their German schooling do the French much good! Whatever may arise from the economic position of the country or the constellation of politics in this country, only the humanistic outlook will ensure a *human* existence for the future. The Germans, unpolitical and despised as they are, this nation which is no nation, will have laid the cornerstone of the building of the future" (p. 353).

Of course, there is no need for a true socialist, absorbed in his intimacy with "human essence", to know anything about what "may arise from the economic position and the political constellation" of a country.

Herr Grün, as an apostle of true socialism, does not merely, like his fellow-apostles, boast of the omniscience of the Germans as compared with the ignorance of the other nations. Utilising his previous experience as a man of letters, he forces himself, in the worst globe-trotter manner, upon the representatives of the various socialist, democratic and communist parties and when he has sniffed them from all angles, he presents himself to them as the apostle of true socialism. All that remains for him to do is to teach them, to communicate to them the profoundest discoveries concerning free humanity. The superiority of true socialism over the French parties now assumes the form of the personal superiority of Herr Grün over the representatives of these parties. Finally, this gives him a chance not only of utilising the French party leaders as a pedestal for Herr Grün, but also of talking all sorts of gossip, thereby compensating the German provincial for the exertion which the more pregnant statements of true socialism have caused him.

"*Kats* pulled a face expressive of plebeian cheerfulness when I assured him of my complete satisfaction with his speech" (p. 50).

Herr Grün lost no time in instructing Kats about French terrorism and "had the good fortune to win the approval of my new friend" (p. 51).

His effect on *Proudhon* was important too, but in a different way.

"I had the infinite pleasure of acting, so to speak, as the *tutor* of the man whose acumen has not perhaps been surpassed since Lessing and Kant" (p. 404).

*Louis Blanc* is merely "his swarthy young friend" (p. 314).

"He asked very eagerly but also very ignorantly about conditions with us. We Germans know" (?) "French conditions almost as well as the French themselves; at least we study" (?) "them" (p. 315).

And we learn of "Papa *Cabet*" that he "has limitations" (p. 382). Herr Grün raised a number of questions, and Cabet

"confessed that he had not exactly been able to fathom them. *I*" (Grün) "had noticed this long ago; and that, of course, meant an end of everything, especially as it occurred to me that Cabet's mission had long ago been fulfilled" (p. 381).

We shall see later how Herr Grün contrives to give Cabet a new "mission".

Let us first deal with the outline and the few well-worn general ideas which form the skeleton of Grün's book. Both are copied from Hess, whom Herr Grün paraphrases indeed in the most lordly fashion. Matters which are quite vague and mystical even in Hess, but which were originally—in the *Einundzwanzig Bogen*—worthy of recognition, and have only become tiresome and reactionary as a result of their perpetual reappearance in the *Bürgerbuch*, the *Neue Anekdota* and the *Rheinische Jahrbücher*, at a time when they were already out of date, become complete nonsense in Herr Grün's hands.

Hess synthesises the development of French socialism and the development of German philosophy—Saint-Simon and Schelling, Fourier and Hegel, Proudhon and Feuerbach. Compare, for example, *Einundzwanzig Bogen*, pp. 78, 79,[a] 326, 327[b]; *Neue Anekdota*, pp. 194, 195, 196, 202 ff.[c] (Parallels between Feuerbach and Proudhon, e.g., Hess: "Feuerbach is the German Proudhon", etc., *Neue Anekdota*, p. 202. Grün: "Proudhon is the French Feuerbach", p. 404.)

This schematism in the form given it by Hess is all that holds Grün's book together. But, of course, Herr Grün does not fail to add a few literary flourishes to Hess' propositions. Even obvious

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[a] Moses Hess, "Socialismus und Communismus".—*Ed.*

[b] Moses Hess, "Philosophie der That".—*Ed.*

[c] Moses Hess, "Ueber die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland".—*Ed.*

blunders on the part of Hess, e.g., that theoretical constructions form the "social background" and the "theoretical basis" of practical movements (e.g., *Neue Anekdota*, p. 192) are copied faithfully by Herr Grün. (E.g., Grün, p. 264: "The social background of the political question in the eighteenth century ... was the simultaneous product of the two philosophic tendencies"—that of the sensationists and that of the deists.) He copies, too, the opinion that it is only necessary to put Feuerbach into practice, to apply him to social life, in order to produce the complete critique of existing society. If one adds the other critical remarks which Hess directed against French communism and socialism, for example: "Fourier, Proudhon, etc., did not get beyond the category of wage-labour" (*Bürgerbuch*, p. 46 and elsewhere[a]); "Fourier would like to present new associations of egoism to the world" (*Neue Anekdota*, p. 196); "Even the radical French communists have not yet risen above the opposition of labour and enjoyment. They have not yet grasped the *unity of production and consumption*, etc." (*Bürgerbuch*, p. 43); "Anarchy is the negation of the concept of political rule" (*Einundzwanzig Bogen*, p. 77), etc., if one adds these, one has pocketed the whole of Herr Grün's critique of the French. As a matter of fact he had it in his pocket before he went to Paris. In settling accounts with the French socialists and communists Herr Grün also obtains great assistance from the various traditional phrases current in Germany about religion, politics, nationality, human and inhuman, etc., which have been taken over by the true socialists from the philosophers. All he has to do is to hunt everywhere for the words "*Man*" and "human" and condemn when he cannot find them. For example: "You are political. Then you are narrow-minded" (p. 283). In the same way, Herr Grün is enabled to exclaim: You are national, religious, addicted to political economy, you have a God—then you are not human, you are narrow-minded. This is a process which he follows throughout his book, thereby, of course, providing a thorough criticism of politics, nationality, religion, etc., and at the same time an adequate elucidation of the characteristics of the authors criticised and their connection with social development.

One can see from this that Grün's fabrication is on a much lower level than the work by *Stein*, who at least tried to explain the connection between socialist literature and the real development of French society. It need hardly be mentioned that in the book under discussion, as in the *Neue Anekdota*, Herr Grün adopts a very grand and condescending manner towards his predecessor.

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[a] Moses Hess, "Ueber die Noth in unserer Gesellschaft und deren Abhülfe".—*Ed.*

But has Herr Grün even succeeded in copying correctly what he has taken over from Hess and others? Has he even incorporated the necessary material in the outline which he has taken over lock, stock and barrel in the most uncritical fashion? Has he given a correct and complete exposition of the individual socialist authors according to the sources? Surely this is the least one could ask of the man from whom the North Americans, the French, the English and the Belgians have to learn, the man who was the tutor of Proudhon and who perpetually brandishes his German thoroughness before the eyes of the superficial Frenchmen.

## SAINT-SIMONISM

Herr Grün has *no* first-hand knowledge *of a single* Saint-Simonian *book*. His main sources are: primarily, the much despised *Lorenz Stein*; furthermore, Stein's chief source, *L. Reybaud*[a] (in return for which he proposes to make an example of Herr Reybaud and calls him a philistine, p. 260; on the same page he pretends that he only came across Reybaud's book by chance long after he had settled with the Saint-Simonists); and occasionally *Louis Blanc*.[b] We shall give direct proofs.

First let us see what Herr Grün writes about Saint-Simon's life.

The main sources for Saint-Simon's life are the fragments of his autobiography in the *Œuvres de Saint-Simon*, published by Olinde Rodrigues,[c] and the *Organisateur* of May 19th, 1830.[d] We have, therefore, all the documents here before us: 1) The original sources; 2) Reybaud, who summarised them; 3) Stein, who utilised Reybaud; 4) Herr Grün's belletristic edition.

Herr Grün:

"Saint-Simon took part in the American struggle for independence without having any particular interest in the war itself; it *occurred to him* that there was a possibility of linking the *two* great *oceans*" (p. 84).

*Stein*, page 143:

"First he entered military service ... and went to America with Bouillé.... In this war, the significance of which he, of course, realised.... The war, *as such*, he said, did not interest me, only the purpose of this war, etc."... "After he had vainly tried to interest the Viceroy of Mexico in a plan to build a great canal linking the *two oceans*."

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[a] Louis Reybaud, *Études sur les réformateurs ou socialistes modernes*. What edition the authors used is unknown.—*Ed.*

[b] Louis Blanc, *Histoire de dix ans*.—*Ed.*

[c] "Vie de Saint-Simon écrite par lui-même."—*Ed.*

[d] "À un Catholique. Sur la vie et le caractère de Saint-Simon."—*Ed.*

*Reybaud*, page 77:

"Soldat de l'indépendance américaine, il servait sous Washington ... la guerre, en elle-même, ne m'intéressait pas, dit-il; mais le seul but de la guerre m'intéressait vivement, et cet intérêt m'en faisait supporter les travaux sans répugnance."[a]

Herr Grün only copies the fact that Saint-Simon had "no particular interest in the war itself"; he omits the whole point—his interest in the object of the war.

Herr Grün further omits to state that Saint-Simon wanted to win the Viceroy's support for his plan and thus turns the plan into a mere "idea". He likewise omits to mention that Saint-Simon did this only "*à la paix*",[b] the reason being that Stein indicates this merely by giving the date.

*Herr Grün* proceeds without a break:

"*Later*" (when?) "he *drafted* a plan for a Franco-Dutch expedition to the British Indies" (Ibid.).

*Stein*:

"He travelled to Holland in 1785, to *draft* a plan for a joint Franco-Dutch expedition against the British colonies in India" (p. 143).

Stein is incorrect here and Grün copies him faithfully. According to Saint-Simon, the Duc de la Vauguyon had induced the States-General[132] to undertake a joint expedition with France to the British colonies in India. Concerning himself, he merely says that he "*worked*" (*poursuivi*) "for the execution of this plan for a year".

*Herr Grün:*

"When in Spain, he *wished to dig* a canal from Madrid to the sea" (ibid.).

Saint-Simon wished to *dig a canal*? What nonsense! Previously, it *occurred to him* to do something, now he *wishes* to do something. Grün gets his facts wrong this time not because he copies Stein too faithfully as he did before, but because he copies him too superficially.

*Stein*, page 144:

"Having returned to France in 1786, he visited Spain the very next year to present to the Government a plan for the completion of a canal from Madrid to the sea."

Herr Grün could derive the foregoing sentence skimming through Stein, for with Stein it seems at least as if the plan of construction and

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[a] "A fighter for American independence, he served under Washington.... The war in itself did not interest me, he said, but I was keenly interested in the object of the war and this interest induced me to endure its hardships without demur."—*Ed.*

[b] After peace had been made.—*Ed.*

the idea of the whole project originated with Saint-Simon. As a matter of fact, Saint-Simon merely drew up a plan to overcome the financial difficulties besetting the building of the canal, the construction of which had been started long ago.

*Reybaud*:

"Six ans plus tard il proposa au gouvernement espagnol un plan de canal qui devait établir une ligne navigable de Madrid à la mer"[a] (p. 78).

The same mistake as that made by Stein.

*Saint-Simon*, page XVII:

"Le gouvernement espagnol avait entrepris un canal qui devait faire communiquer Madrid à la mer; cette entreprise languissait parce que ce gouvernement manquait d'ouvriers et d'argent; je me concertai avec M. le comte de Cabarrus, aujourd'hui ministre des finances, et nous présentâmes au gouvernement le projet suivant" [b] etc.

*Herr Grün*:

"In France he speculates *on* national domains."

*Stein* first of all sketches Saint-Simon's attitude during the revolution and then passes to his speculation in national domains, p. 144 et seq. But where Herr Grün has got the nonsensical expression: "to speculate *on* national domains", instead of *in* national domains, we can likewise explain by offering the reader the original:

*Reybaud*, page 78:

"Revenu à Paris, il tourna son activité vers des spéculations, et trafiqua *sur* les domaines nationaux." [c]

Herr Grün makes the foregoing statement without giving any explanation. He does not indicate why Saint-Simon should have speculated in national domains and why this fact, trivial in itself, should be of importance in his life. For Herr Grün finds it unnecessary to copy from Stein and Reybaud the fact that Saint-Simon wished to found a scientific school and a great industrial undertaking by way of experiment, and that he intended to raise the necessary capital by these speculations. These are the reasons which Saint-Simon himself gives for his speculations. (*Œuvres*, p. xix.)

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[a] "Six years later, he put before the Spanish Government a plan for the construction of a canal with the object of establishing a navigable route from Madrid to the sea."—*Ed.*

[b] "The Spanish Government had undertaken the construction of a canal which was to link Madrid with the sea; the scheme came to a standstill since the Government lacked labour and funds; I joined forces with M. le Comte de Cabarrus, now Finance Minister, and we presented the following plan to the Government."—*Ed.*

[c] "Having returned to Paris, he turned his attention to speculation and dealt *in* national domains" (*sur les domaines nationaux* literally translated means "*on* national domains").—*Ed.*

*Herr Grün*:

"He marries so that he may be able to act as the host of science, to investigate the lives of men and exploit them psychologically" (ibid.).

Herr Grün here suddenly skips one of the most important periods of Saint-Simon's life—the period during which he studied natural science and travelled for that purpose. What is the meaning of marrying *to be the host of science*? What is the meaning of marrying in order to exploit *men* (whom one does not marry) psychologically, etc.? The whole point is this: Saint-Simon married so that he could hold a salon and study there among others the men of learning.

*Stein* puts it in this way, page 149:

"He marries in 1801.... I made use of my married life to study the men of learning" (cf. Saint-Simon, p. 23).

Since we have now collated it with the original, we are in a position to understand and explain Herr Grün's nonsense.

The "psychological exploitation of *men*" amounts in Stein and in Saint-Simon himself merely to the observation of *men of learning* in their social life. It was in conformity with his socialist outlook that Saint-Simon should wish to acquaint himself with the influence of science upon the personality of men of learning and upon their behaviour in ordinary life. For Herr Grün this wish turns into a senseless, vague romantic whim.

*Herr Grün*:

"He becomes poor" (how, in what way?), "he works as a clerk *in a* pawnshop at a salary of a thousand francs a year—he, a count, a scion of Charlemagne; *then*" (when and why?) "he lives on the bounty of a former servant of his; later" (when and why?) "he tries to shoot himself, is rescued and begins a new life of study and propaganda. Only now does he write his *two chief works*."

"He becomes"—"then"—"later"—"now"—such phrases in the work of Herr Grün are to serve as substitutes for the chronological order and the connecting links between the various phases of Saint-Simon's life.

Stein, pages 156, 157:

"Moreover, there appeared a new and a fearful enemy—actual poverty, which became more and more oppressive.... After a distressing wait of six months... he obtained a position—" (Herr Grün gets even the dash from Stein, but he is cunning enough to insert it after the pawnshop) "as clerk *in the* pawnshop" (not, as Herr Grün artfully writes, "in *a* pawnshop", since it is well known that in Paris there is only *one* such establishment, and that a public one) "at a salary of a thousand francs a year. How his fortune fluctuated in those days! The grandson of Louis XIV's famous courtier, the heir to a ducal coronet and to an immense fortune, by birth a peer of France and a Grandee of Spain, a clerk *in a* pawnshop!"

Now we see the source of Herr Grün's mistake regarding the pawnshop; here, in Stein, the expression is appropriate. To

accentuate his difference from Stein, Grün only calls Saint-Simon a "count" and a "scion of Charlemagne". He has the last fact from Stein (p. 142) and Reybaud (p. 77), but they are wise enough to say that it was Saint-Simon himself who used to trace his descent from Charlemagne. Whereas Stein offers positive facts which make Saint-Simon's poverty seem surprising *under the Restoration,* Herr Grün only expresses his astonishment that a count and an alleged scion of Charlemagne can possibly find himself in reduced circumstances.

*Stein*:

"He lived two more years" (after his attempted suicide) "and perhaps achieved more during them than during any two decades earlier in his life. The *Catéchisme des industriels* was *completed*" (Herr Grün transforms this completion of a work which had long been in preparation into: "Only now did he *write*", etc.) "and the *Nouveau christianisme*, etc." (pp. 164, 165).

On page 169 Stein calls these two books "*the two chief works of his life*".

Herr Grün has, therefore, not merely *copied the errors of Stein* but has also *produced new errors* on the basis of obscure passages of Stein. To conceal his plagiarism, he selects only the outstanding facts; but he robs them of their factual character by tearing them out of their chronological context and omitting not only the motives governing them, but even the most vital connecting links. What we have given above is, literally, *all* that Herr Grün has to relate about the life of Saint-Simon. In his version, the dynamic, active life of Saint-Simon becomes a mere succession of ideas and events which are of less interest than the life of any peasant or speculator who lived through those stormy times in one of the French provinces. After dashing off this piece of biographical hack-work, he exclaims: "this whole, *truly civilised* life!" He does not even shrink from saying (p. 85): "Saint-Simon's life is the mirror of Saint-Simonism itself"—as if Grün's "life" of Saint-Simon were the mirror of anything except Herr Grün's method of patching together a book.

We have spent some time discussing this biography because it is a classical example of the way in which Herr Grün deals *thoroughly* with the French socialists. Just as in this case, to conceal his borrowings, Herr Grün dashes off passages with an air of nonchalance, omits facts, falsifies and transposes, we shall watch him later developing all the symptoms of a plagiarist consumed by inward uneasiness: artificial confusion, to make comparison difficult; omission of sentences and words which he does not quite understand, being ignorant of the original, when quoting from his predecessors; free invention and embellishment in the form of phrases of indefinite

meaning; treacherous attacks upon the very persons whom he is copying. Herr Grün is indeed so hasty and so precipitous in his plagiarism that he frequently refers to matters which he has never mentioned to his readers but which he, as a reader of Stein, carts round in his own head.

We shall now pass to Grün's exposition of the doctrine of Saint-Simon.

### *1. LETTRES D'UN HABITANT DE GENÈVE À SES CONTEMPORAINS*[a] [133]

Herr Grün did not gather clearly from Stein the connection between the plan for supporting the men of learning, outlined in the work quoted above, and the fantastic appendix to the brochure. He speaks of this work as if it treated mainly of a new organisation of society, and ends as follows:

"The spiritual power in the hands of the men of learning, the temporal power in the hands of the property-owners, the franchise for all" (p. 85, cf. Stein, p. 151, Reybaud, p. 83).

The sentence: "le pouvoir de nommer les individus appelés à remplir les fonctions des chefs de l'humanité entre les mains de tout le monde",[b] which Reybaud quotes from Saint-Simon (p. 47) and which Stein translates in the clumsiest fashion, is reduced by Herr Grün to "the franchise for all", which robs it of all meaning. Saint-Simon is referring to the election of the Newton Council,[134] Herr Grün is referring to elections in general.

Long after dismissing the *Lettres* in four or five sentences copied from Stein and Reybaud, and having already spoken of the *Nouveau christianisme,* Herr Grün suddenly returns to the *Lettres.*

"But it is certainly not to be achieved by abstract learning." (Still less by concrete ignorance, as we observe.) "*For* from the standpoint of abstract science, there was *still* a cleavage between the 'property-owners' and '*everyone*'" (p. 87).

Herr Grün forgets that so far he has only mentioned the "franchise for all" and has not mentioned "everyone". But since he finds "*tout le monde*" in Stein and Reybaud, he puts "everyone" in inverted commas. He forgets, moreover, that he has not quoted the following passage from Stein's book, that is the passage which would justify the "*for*" in his own sentence:

"He" (Saint-Simon) "*makes a distinction,* apart from the sages or the men of learning, between the *propriétaires* and *tout le monde.* It is true that *as yet* there is no

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[a] *Letters of an Inhabitant of Geneva to his Contemporaries.—Ed.*

[b] "The power of nominating the persons who are to act as leaders of humanity should be in the hands of everyone."—*Ed.*

clearly marked boundary between these two groups ... but nevertheless, there lies in that indefinite idea of '*tout le monde*' the germ of that class towards the understanding and uplifting of which his theory was later directed, i.e. the *classe la plus nombreuse et la plus pauvre*,[a] and in reality, too, this section of the people was at that time only potentially present" (p. 154).

Stein stresses the fact that Saint-Simon *already* makes a distinction between *propriétaires* and *tout le monde*, but *as yet* a very vague one. Herr Grün twists this so that it gives the impression that Saint-Simon *still* makes this distinction. This is naturally a great mistake on the part of Saint-Simon and is only to be explained by the fact that his standpoint in the *Lettres* is that of abstract science. But unfortunately, in the passage in question, Saint-Simon speaks by no means about differences in a future order of society, as Herr Grün thinks. He appeals for subscriptions to mankind as a whole, which, as he finds it, appears to him to be divided into three classes; not, as Stein believes, into *savants*, *propriétaires* and *tout le monde*; but 1) *savants* and *artistes* and all people of liberal ideas; 2) the opponents of innovation, i.e., the *propriétaires*, insofar as they do not join the first class; 3) the *surplus de l'humanité qui se rallie au mot: Egalité*.[b] These three classes form *tout le monde*. Cf. Saint-Simon, *Lettres*, pp. 21, 22. Since moreover Saint-Simon says later that he considers his distribution of power advantageous to all classes, we may take it that in the place where he speaks of this distribution, p. 47, *tout le monde* obviously corresponds to the *surplus* which rallies around the slogan "equality", without, however, excluding the other classes.[c] Stein is roughly correct, although he pays no attention to the passage on pages 21 and 22. Herr Grün, who knows nothing of the original, clutches at Stein's slight error and succeeds in making sheer nonsense of his argument.

We soon come across an even more striking example. We learn unexpectedly on page 94, where Herr Grün is no longer speaking of Saint-Simon but of his school:

"In *one* of his books, Saint-Simon utters the *mysterious* words: 'Women will be admitted, they may even be nominated.' From this almost barren seed, the whole gigantic uproar of the emancipation of women has sprung up."

Of course, if in some work or other Saint-Simon had spoken of admitting and nominating women to some unknown position, these would indeed be "mysterious words". But the mystery exists only in the mind of Herr Grün. "One of Saint-Simon's books" is none other than the *Lettres d'un habitant de Genève*. In this work, after stating that

[a] The most numerous and poorest class.—*Ed.*
[b] Rest of humanity which rallies around the slogan: *Equality*.—*Ed.*
[c] This sentence is omitted in the *Westphälische Dampfboot*.—*Ed.*

everyone is eligible to subscribe to the Newton Council or its departments, he continues: "Les femmes seront admises *à souscrire*, elles pourront être *nommées*" [a]—that is, to a position in this Council or its departments, of course. Stein, as was fitting, quotes this passage in the course of his discussion of the book itself and makes the following comment:

> Here, etc., "are to be found the *germs* of his later opinions and even those of his school; and even the first idea of the *emancipation of women*" (p. 152).

In a note Stein points out quite rightly that for polemical reasons Olinde Rodrigues printed this passage in large type in his 1832 edition, since it was the only reference to the emancipation of women in Saint-Simon's work. To hide his plagiarism, Grün shifts the passage from the book to which it belongs to his discussion of the school, makes the above nonsense of it, changes Stein's "germ" into a "seed" and childishly imagines that this passage is the origin of the doctrine of the emancipation of women.

Herr Grün ventures an opinion on the contradiction which, he believes, exists between the *Lettres* and the *Catéchisme des industriels*; it consists in the fact that in the *Catéchisme* the rights of the *travailleurs* are asserted. He was bound to discover this difference, of course, because he derived his knowledge of the *Lettres* from Stein and Reybaud, and his knowledge of the *Catéchisme* similarly. Had he read Saint-Simon himself, he would have found in the *Lettres* not this contradiction, but a "seed" of the point of view developed among others in the *Catéchisme*. For example:

> "Tous les hommes travailleront" [b] (*Lettres*, p. 60). "Si sa cervelle" (the rich man's) "ne sera pas propre au travail, il sera bien obligé de faire travailler ses bras; car Newton ne laissera sûrement pas sur cette planète ... des ouvriers volontairement inutiles dans l'atelier" [c] (p. 64).

### 2. *CATÉCHISME POLITIQUE DES INDUSTRIELS* [d]

As Stein usually quotes this work as the *Catéchisme des industriels*, Herr Grün knows of no other title. But since he only devotes ten lines to this work when he comes to speak of it *ex officio*, one might have at least expected him to give its correct *title*.

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[a] "Women will be allowed *to subscribe*, it will be possible *to nominate* them."—*Ed.*

[b] "All men will work."—*Ed.*

[c] "If his brain" ... "is not fitted for labour, he will be compelled to work with his hands; for Newton will assuredly not permit on this planet ... workers who, intentionally, remain idle in the workshops."—*Ed.*

[d] *Political Catechism of the Industrialists.*—*Ed.*

Having copied from Stein the fact that in this work Saint-Simon wants labour to govern, he continues:

"He now divides the world into idlers and industrialists" (p. 85).

Herr Grün is wrong here. He attributes to the *Catéchisme* a distinction which he finds set out in Stein much later, in connection with the school of Saint-Simon.

Stein, page 206:

"Society consists at present only of idlers and workers" (Enfantin).

Instead of this alleged division, there is in the *Catéchisme* a division into three classes, the *classes féodale, intermédiaire et industrielle*; naturally, Herr Grün could not enlarge upon this without recourse to Stein, since he was not familiar with the *Catéchisme* itself.

Herr Grün then repeats once more that the content of the *Catéchisme* is the rule of labour and concludes his account of the work as follows:

"Just as republicanism proclaims: Everything for the people, everything through the people, Saint-Simon proclaims: Everything for industry, everything through industry" (ibid.).

Stein, page 165:

"Since industry is the source of everything, everything must serve industry."

Stein rightly states (page 160, note) that Saint-Simon's work *L'industrie*, printed as early as 1817, bears the motto: *Tout par l'industrie, tout pour elle.*[a] In his account of the *Catéchisme*, Herr Grün, therefore, not only commits the error mentioned above but also misquotes the motto of a much earlier work of which he has no knowledge whatever.

German thoroughness has in this way given an adequate criticism of the *Catéchisme politique des industriels.* We find however scattered throughout Grün's *omnium gatherum* isolated glosses which belong properly to this section. Chuckling over his own slyness, Herr Grün distributes the material which he finds in Stein's account of the work and elaborates it with commendable courage.

Herr Grün, page 87:

"Free competition was an impure and confused concept, a concept which contained in itself a new world of conflict and misery, the struggle between capital and labour and the misery of the worker who has no capital. Saint-Simon *purified the concept of industry; he reduced it to the concept of the workers*, he formulated the rights and grievances of the *fourth estate*, of the proletariat. He was forced to abolish the right of inheritance, since it had become an injustice towards the worker, towards the industrialist. This is the significance of his *Catéchisme des industriels.*"

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[a] Everything through industry, everything for industry.—*Ed.*

Herr Grün found the following observation in Stein's book (p. 169) with regard to the *Catéchisme:*

"It is, therefore, the true significance of Saint-Simon that he foresaw the inevitability of this contradiction" (between bourgeoisie and *peuple*).

This is the source of Herr Grün's idea of the "*significance*" of the *Catéchisme.*

Stein:

"He" (Saint-Simon in the *Catéchisme*) "begins with the *concept* of the industrial worker."

Herr Grün turns this into complete nonsense by asserting that Saint-Simon, who found free competition as an "*impure concept*", "purified the *concept of industry* and reduced it to the *concept of the workers*". Herr Grün shows everywhere that his concept of free competition and industry is a very "impure" and a very "confused" one indeed.

Not satisfied with this nonsense, Herr Grün risks a direct falsehood and states that Saint-Simon demanded the abolition of the right of inheritance.

On page 88 he tells us, still relying on his interpretation of Stein's version of the *Catéchisme*:

"Saint-Simon established the rights of the proletariat. He already formulated the new watchword: the *industrialists*, the *workers*, shall be raised to a position of supreme power. This was one-sided, but every struggle involves one-sidedness; he who is not one-sided cannot wage a struggle."

Despite his rhetorical maxim about one-sidedness, Herr Grün himself commits the one-sided error of understanding Stein to say that Saint-Simon wished to "raise" the real workers, the *proletarians*, "to a position of supreme power". Cf. page 102, where he says of Michel Chevalier:

"M. Chevalier still refers with great sympathy to the *industrialists*.... But to the disciple, the industrialists are no longer, *as they were for his master, the proletarians*; he includes capitalists, entrepreneurs and workers in one concept, that is to say, he includes the idlers in a category which should only embrace the poorest and most numerous class."

Saint-Simon numbers among the industrialists not only the workers, but also the *fabricants*, the *négociants*, in short, *all industrial capitalists*; indeed, he addresses himself primarily to them. Herr Grün could have found this on the very first page of the *Catéchisme.* But this shows how, without ever having seen the work, he concocts from hearsay fine phrases about it.

Discussing the *Catéchisme*, Stein says:

"After ... Saint-Simon comes to a *history of industry* in its relation to state authority ... he is the first to be conscious that in the science of industry there lies hidden a *political* factor.... It is undeniable that he succeeded in giving an important stimulus. For France possesses a *histoire de l'économie politique* only since Saint-Simon", etc. (pp. 165, 170).

Stein himself is extremely vague when he speaks of a "political factor" in "the science of industry". But he shows that he is on the right track by adding that the history of the state is intimately connected with the history of national economy.

Let us see how Herr Grün later, in his discussion of the school of Saint-Simon, appropriates this fragment of Stein:

"Saint-Simon had attempted a *history of industry* in his *Catéchisme des industriels* stressing the *political* element in it. The master himself paved the way, *therefore*, for *political economy*" (p. 99).

Herr Grün "therefore" transforms the "political *factor*" of Stein into a "political *element*" and turns it into a meaningless phrase by omitting the details given by Stein. This "stone which the builders have rejected"[a] has indeed become for Herr Grün the "cornerstone" of his *Briefe und Studien*.[b] But it has also become for him a stumbling-block.[c] But that is not all. Whereas Stein says that Saint-Simon paved the way for a *history* of political economy by stressing the political factor in the science of industry, Herr Grün makes him the pioneer of *political economy itself*. Herr Grün argues something after this fashion: Economics existed already *before* Saint-Simon; but, as Stein relates, *Saint-Simon* stressed the political factor in industry, therefore he made economics political—political economics=political economy—hence Saint-Simon paved the way for political economy. In his conjectures Herr Grün undoubtedly displays a very genial spirit.

Just as he makes Saint-Simon the pioneer of political economy, he makes him the pioneer of scientific socialism:

"It" (Saint-Simonism) "contains ... scientific socialism, *for* Saint-Simon spent his whole life searching for the new science"! (p. 82).

### 3. *NOUVEAU CHRISTIANISME*[d]

With his customary brilliance, Herr Grün continues to give us extracts of extracts by Stein and Reybaud, to which he adds literary

[a] Cf. 1 Peter 2:7.—*Ed.*

[b] *Letters and Studies* is the sub-title of Grün's book, *Die soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien*.—*Ed.*

[c] A pun on the words *Stein*, which in German means stone, *Eckstein*—cornerstone, and *Stein des Anstosses*—stumbling-block.—*Ed.*

[d] *New Christianity*.—*Ed.*

embellishments and which he dismembers in the most pitiless fashion. *One* example will suffice to show that he has never looked at the original of this work either.

"For Saint-Simon it was a question of establishing a unified view of life, such as is suitable to organic periods of history, which he *expressly* opposes to the critical periods. According to him, we have been living since Luther in a *critical* period; he thought to initiate a new *organic* period. *Hence* the *New Christianity*" (p. 88).

At *no time* and in *no place* did Saint-Simon oppose organic to critical periods of history. This is a downright falsehood on the part of Herr Grün. *Bazard* was the first to make this distinction.[a] Herr Grün discovered from Stein and Reybaud that in *Nouveau christianisme* Saint-Simon commends the *criticism* of Luther, but finds his positive, dogmatic *doctrine* faulty. Herr Grün lumps that with what he remembers was said in the same sources about the *school* of Saint-Simon, and out of this he fabricates the above assertion.

After some florid comments on Saint-Simon's life and works produced by Herr Grün in the manner described earlier and based exclusively on Stein and the latter's primer, Reybaud, Herr Grün concludes by exclaiming:

"And those moral philistines, Herr Reybaud and the whole band of German parrots, thought that they had to defend Saint-Simon, by pronouncing with their usual wisdom that such a man, such a life, must not be measured by *ordinary* standards!—Tell me, are your standards made of wood? Tell the truth! We shall be quite pleased if they are made of good solid oak. Hand them over! We shall gratefully accept them as a precious gift. We shall not burn them, God forbid! We shall use them to measure the backs of the philistines" (p. 89).

It is by affected bluster of this kind that Herr Grün attempts to prove his superiority over the men whom he has copied.

### 4. THE SCHOOL OF SAINT-SIMON

Since Herr Grün has read just as much of the school of Saint-Simon as he read of Saint-Simon himself, that is nothing whatsoever, he should at least have made a proper summary of Stein and Reybaud, he should have observed the chronological order, he should have given a connected account of the course of the events and he should have mentioned the essential points. He does the contrary. Led astray by his bad conscience, he mixes everything up as far as possible, omits the most essential matters and produces a confusion even greater than that which we saw in his exposition of Saint-Simon. We must be still more concise here, for it would take a volume as thick as Herr Grün's to record every plagiarism and every blunder.

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[a] See *Doctrine de Saint-Simon. Exposition. Première année.—Ed.*

We are given no information about the period from the death of Saint-Simon to the July Revolution[a]—a period which covers part of the most important theoretical development of Saint-Simonism. And accordingly the Saint-Simonian criticism of existing conditions, the most important aspect of Saint-Simonism, is entirely omitted by Herr Grün. It is indeed hardly possible to say anything about it without a knowledge of the sources, and in particular of the newspapers.

Herr Grün opens his discourse on the Saint-Simonists with these words:

"To each according to his capacity, to each capacity according to its works: that is the practical dogma of the Saint-Simonists."

Like Reybaud (p. 96), Herr Grün presents this sentence as a transition from Saint-Simon to the Saint-Simonists and continues:

"It derives directly from the last words of Saint-Simon: all men must be assured the freest development of their faculties."

In this case Herr Grün wished to be different from Reybaud, who links the "practical dogma" with the *Nouveau christianisme.* Herr Grün believes this to be an invention of Reybaud's and unceremoniously substitutes the last words of Saint-Simon for the *Nouveau christianisme.* He did not realise that Reybaud was only giving a literal extract from the *Doctrine de Saint-Simon. Exposition. Première année,* p. 70.

Herr Grün cannot understand why Reybaud, after giving several extracts concerning the religious hierarchy of Saint-Simonism, should suddenly introduce the "practical dogma". Herr Grün imagines that the hierarchy follows directly from this proposition. But in fact, the proposition can refer to a new hierarchy only when taken in conjunction with the religious ideas of the *Nouveau christianisme,* whereas apart from these ideas, it can demand at most a purely secular classification of society. He observes on page 91:

"To each according to his capacity means to make the Catholic hierarchy the law of the social order. To each capacity according to its works means moreover to turn the workshop into a sacristy and the whole of civil life into a priestly preserve."

For in the above-mentioned extract from the *Exposition* quoted by Reybaud Herr Grün finds the following:

"L'église vraiment universelle va paraître ... l'église universelle gouverne le temporel comme le spirituel ... la science est sainte, l'industrie est sainte ... et tout bien est bien d'église et toute profession est une fonction religieuse, un grade dans la hiérarchie sociale.—*À chacun selon sa capacité, à chaque capacité selon ses œuvres.*"[b]

[a] 1830.—*Ed.*

[b] "The truly universal Church shall appear ... the universal Church shall govern temporal as well as spiritual matters ... science shall be sacred, industry shall be sacred ... and all property shall be the property of the Church, every profession a religious function, a step in the social hierarchy.—*To each according to his capacity, to each capacity according to its works.*"—*Ed.*

To produce his own quite incomprehensible statement, Herr Grün had only to invert this passage and change the preceding sentences into conclusions of the final sentence.

Grün's interpretation of Saint-Simonism assumes "so confused and tangled a form" that on page 90 he first derives a "spiritual proletariat" from the "practical dogma", then from the spiritual proletariat he produces a "hierarchy of minds". Finally, out of the hierarchy of minds he produces the apex of the hierarchy. Had he read even only the *Exposition*, he would have seen that the religious approach of the *Nouveau christianisme*, together with the problem of how to determine *capacité*, necessitates the hierarchy and its apex.

Herr Grün concludes his discussion and criticism of the *Exposition* of 1828-29 with the single sentence: "*À chacun selon sa capacité, à chaque capacité selon ses œuvres.*" Apart from this he hardly even mentions the *Producteur* and the *Organisateur*. He glances at Reybaud and finds in the section "Third Epoch of Saint-Simonism", p. 126 (Stein, p. 205):

"...et les jours suivants le *Globe* parut avec le sous-titre de *Journal de la doctrine de Saint-Simon*, laquelle était *résumée* ainsi sur la première page:

*Religion*

*Science* *Industrie*

*Association universelle.*"[a]

Herr Grün passes from the above to the year 1831, without a break, and improves upon Reybaud in the following terms (p. 91):

"The Saint-Simonists put forward the following *outline* of their system; the formulation was largely the work of Bazard:

*Religion*

*Science* *Industry*

*Universal Association.*"

Herr Grün leaves out three sentences which are also to be found on the title-page of the *Globe* and which all relate to practical social reforms.[135] They are given by both Stein and Reybaud. This enables him to change what is, so to speak, the mere window-dressing of a journal into an "outline" of the system. He conceals the fact that it appeared on the title-page of the *Globe* and so can criticise the whole of Saint-Simonism, as contained in the mutilated title of this

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[a] "... and during the following days the *Globe* appeared with the subtitle: *Journal of the Saint-Simonian Doctrine*, which was *summarised* as follows on the first page:

*Religion*

*Science* *Industry*

*Universal Association.*"—*Ed.*

newspaper, with the clever comment that religion has *pride of place.* He could moreover have discovered from Stein that this is by no means true of the *Globe.* The *Globe* contains the most detailed and valuable criticism of existing conditions and particularly of economic conditions—a fact however which Herr Grün could not know.

It is difficult to say from where Herr Grün has obtained the new but important piece of information that the "formulation of the outline", four words in length, "was *largely* the work of *Bazard*".

Herr Grün now jumps from January 1831 back to October 1830:

"Shortly after the July Revolution, during the *Bazard period*" (where does this period come from?), "the Saint-Simonists addressed a short but comprehensive statement of their beliefs to the Chamber of Deputies, after Messrs. Dupin and Mauguin had accused them from the tribune of preaching community of goods and wives."

The Address follows, with the comment by Herr Grün:

"How reasonable and measured it all is still! The Address presented to the Chamber was edited by Bazard" (pp. 92-94).

To begin with the concluding remark, Stein says, p. 205:

"Judging from its form and its attitude, we should not hesitate to ascribe it" (the document), "as does Reybaud, to Bazard *more* than to Enfantin."

And Reybaud says, p. 123:

"Aux formes, aux prétentions assez modérées de cet écrit il est facile de voir qu'il provenait *plutôt* de l'impulsion de M. Bazard que de celle de son collègue."[a]

With characteristic ingenuity and audacity, Herr Grün turns Reybaud's conjecture that Bazard *rather* than Enfantin was behind the Address into the certainty that he edited it in its entirety. The passage introducing the Address is translated from Reybaud, p. 122:

"MM. Dupin et Mauguin signalèrent du haut de la tribune une secte qui prêchait la communauté des biens et la communauté des femmes."[b]

Herr Grün merely leaves out the date given by Reybaud and writes instead: "shortly after the July Revolution". Altogether, chronology does not suit Herr Grün's method of emancipating himself from those who have trodden the ground before him. In contradistinction to Stein he inserts in the text what Stein relegates to a note, he omits the introduction to the Address, he translates *fonds de production* (productive capital) as "*basic capital*" and *classement social des individus* (social classification of individuals) as "social order of individuals".

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[a] "From the form and the very moderate demands of this document, one can clearly see that it owes *more* to the initiative of M. Bazard than to that of his colleague."—*Ed.*

[b] "Messrs. Dupin and Mauguin drew attention from the tribune to a sect which was preaching community of goods and community of wives."—*Ed.*

Some slipshod notes follow on the history of the school of Saint-Simon; they have been patched together from fragments of Stein, Reybaud and Louis Blanc with that artistic skill which we noticed in Grün's life of Saint-Simon. We leave it to the reader to look them up in the book for himself.

The reader now has before him all that Herr Grün has to say of the Bazard period of Saint-Simonism, i.e., the period from the death of Saint-Simon to the first schism.[136] Grün is now in a position to play an elegantly critical trump, and call Bazard a "poor dialectician". Then he continues:

"But so are the republicans. They only know how to die, Cato as much as Bazard; if they do not stab themselves to death, they die of *a broken heart*" (p. 95).

"A few months after this quarrel, *his*" (Bazard's) "*heart was broken*" (Stein, p. 210).

Such republicans as Levasseur, Carnot, Barère, Billaud-Varennes, Buonarroti, Teste, d'Argenson, etc., etc., show how correct Herr Grün's assertion is.

We are now offered a few commonplaces about Enfantin. Attention need only be drawn to the following discovery made by Herr Grün:

"Does this historical phenomenon not make it finally clear that religion is nothing but sensualism, that materialism can boldly claim the same origin as the sacred dogma itself?" (p. 97).

Herr Grün looks complacently about him: "Has anyone else ever *thought of that*?" He would never have "thought of that" if the *Hallische Jahrbücher* had not already "thought of it" in connection with the Romantics.[a] One would have expected Herr Grün to have made some little intellectual progress since then.

We have seen that Herr Grün knows nothing of the whole economic criticism of the Saint-Simonists. Nevertheless, he manages to say something, with the help of Enfantin, about the economic consequences of Saint-Simon's theory, to which he has already made some airy references earlier. He finds in Reybaud (p. 129 et seq.) and in Stein (p. 206) extracts from Enfantin's *Political Economy*[b] but in this case, too, he falsifies the original; for the abolition of taxes on the most essential necessaries of life, which is correctly shown by Reybaud and Stein (who base their statements on Enfantin) to be a consequence of the proposals concerning the right of inheritance, is turned by Grün into an irrelevant, independent measure *in addition to* these proposals. He gives further proof of his originality by

[a] This refers to Karl Rosenkranz's article "Ludwig Tieck und die romantische Schule".—*Ed.*

[b] Barthélemy-Prosper Enfantin, *Economie politique et Politique*.—*Ed.*

falsifying the chronological order; he refers first to the *priest* Enfantin and Ménilmontant and then to the *economist* Enfantin, whereas his predecessors deal with Enfantin's political economy during the Bazard period when they are discussing the *Globe*, for which it was written.[137] Just as here he includes the Bazard period in the Ménilmontant period so later, when referring to economics and to M. Chevalier, he brings in the Ménilmontant period. The occasion for this is the *Livre nouveau*,[138] and as usual he turns Reybaud's conjecture that M. Chevalier was the author of this work into a categorical assertion.

Herr Grün has now described Saint-Simonism "in its totality" (p. 82). He has kept the promise he made "not to subject its literature to a critical scrutiny" (ibid.) and has therefore got mixed up, most uncritically, in quite a different "literature", that of Stein and Reybaud. He gives us by way of compensation a few particulars about M. Chevalier's economic lectures of 1841-42,[a] a time when the latter had long ceased to be a Saint-Simonist. For while writing about Saint-Simonism, Herr Grün had in front of him a review of these lectures in the *Revue des deux Mondes*. He has made use of it in the same way as he utilised Stein and Reybaud. Here is a sample of his critical acumen:

> "In it he asserts that not enough is being produced. That is a statement worthy of the old economic school with its rusty prejudices.... As long as political economy does not understand that production is dependent upon consumption, this so-called science will not make any headway" (p. 102).

One can see that with these phrases about consumption and production which he has inherited from true socialism, Herr Grün is far superior to any economic work. Apart from the fact that any economist would tell him that supply also depends on demand, i.e., that production depends on consumption, there is actually in France a special economic school, that of Sismondi, which desires to make production dependent on consumption in a form different from that which obtains under free competition; it stands in sharp opposition to the economists attacked by Herr Grün. Not till later, however, do we see Herr Grün speculating successfully with the talent[b] entrusted to him—the unity of production and consumption.

To compensate the reader for the boredom he has suffered from these sketchy extracts from Stein and Reybaud, which are moreover falsified and adulterated with phrases, Herr Grün offers him the

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[a] Michel Chevalier, *Cours d'Economie politique fait au Collège de France*.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. Matthew 25 : 15-30 and Luke 19 : 13-26.—*Ed.*

following Young-German firework display, glowing with humanism and socialism:

"Saint-Simonism in its entirety as a social system was nothing more than a cascade of thoughts, showered by a beneficent cloud upon the soil of France" (earlier, pp. 82, 83, it was described as "a mass of light, but still a chaos of light" (!), "not yet an *orderly illumination*"!!). "It was both an overwhelming and a most amusing display. The author died before the show was put on, one producer died during the performance, the remaining producers and all the actors discarded their costumes, slipped into their civilian clothes, went home and behaved as if nothing had happened. It was a spectacle, an interesting spectacle, if somewhat confused towards the finale; a few of the performers overacted—and that was all" (p. 104).

How right was Heine when he said about his imitators: "I have sown dragon's teeth and harvested fleas."

## FOURIERISM

Apart from the translation of a few passages from the *Quatre mouvements*[a] on the subject of love, there is nothing here that cannot be found in a more complete form in Stein. Herr Grün dismisses morality in a sentence which a hundred other writers had uttered long before Fourier:

"Morality is, according to Fourier, nothing but the systematic endeavour to repress the human passions" (p. 147).

That is how Christian morality has always defined itself. Herr Grün makes no attempt to examine Fourier's criticism of present-day agriculture and industry and, as far as trade is concerned, he merely translates a few general remarks from the Introduction to a section of the *Quatre mouvements* ("Origine de l'économie politique et de la controverse mercantile", pp. 332, 334 of the *Quatre mouvements*). Then come a few extracts from the *Quatre mouvements* and one from the *Traité de l'association,* on the French Revolution, together with the tables on civilisation, which are already known from Stein. The critical side of Fourier, his most important contribution, is thus dismissed in the most hasty and superficial fashion in twenty-eight pages of literal translation; and in these, with very few exceptions, only the most general and abstract matters are discussed, the trivial and the important being thrown together in the most haphazard way.

Herr Grün now gives us an exposition of Fourier's system. *Churoa*[b], whose work is quoted by Stein, long ago gave us a better and more complete version. Although Herr Grün considers it "vitally

[a] Charles Fourier, *Théorie des quatre mouvements et des destinées générales.—Ed.*
[b] August Ludwig Churoa, *Kritische Darstellung der Socialtheorie Fourier's.—Ed.*

necessary" to offer a profound interpretation of Fourier's series,[139] he can think of nothing better than to quote literally from Fourier himself and then, as we shall see later, to coin a few fine phrases about numbers. He does not attempt to show how Fourier came to deal with series, and how he and his disciples constructed them; he reveals nothing whatever about the inner construction of the series. It is only possible to criticise such constructions (and this applies also to the Hegelian method) by demonstrating how they are made and thereby proving oneself master of them.

Lastly, Herr Grün neglects almost entirely a matter which Stein at any rate emphasises in some measure, the opposition of *travail répugnant* and *travail attrayant.*

The most important aspect of the whole exposition is Herr Grün's criticism of Fourier. The reader may recollect what was said above concerning the sources of Grün's criticism. He will now see from the few examples which follow that Herr Grün first of all accepts the postulates of true socialism and then sets about exaggerating and distorting them. It need hardly be mentioned that Fourier's distinction between capital, talent and labour offers a magnificent opportunity for a display of pretentious cleverness; one can talk at length about the impracticability and the injustice of the distinction, about the introduction of wage-labour, etc., without criticising this distinction by reference to the *real* relationship of labour and capital. Proudhon has already said all this infinitely better than Herr Grün, but he failed to touch upon the real issue.

Herr Grün bases his criticism of Fourier's *psychology*—as indeed all his criticism—on the "essence of man":

> "For human essence is all in all" (p. 190).
>
> "Fourier, too, appeals to this human essence and in his own way reveals to us its inner core" (!) "in his tabulation of the twelve passions; like all honest and reasonable people, he, too, desires to make man's inner essence a reality, a *practical reality.* That which is within must also be without, and thus *the distinction between the internal and the external must be altogether abolished.* The history of mankind teems with socialists, if this is to be their distinguishing feature.... The important thing about everyone is what he understands by the *essence of man*" (p. 190).

Or rather the important thing for the true socialists is to foist upon everyone thoughts about human essence and to transform the different stages of socialism into different philosophies of human essence. This unhistorical abstraction induces Herr Grün to proclaim the abolition of all distinction between the internal and the external, which would even put a stop to the propagation of human essence. But in any case, why should the Germans brag so loudly of their knowledge of human essence, since their knowledge does not go beyond the three general attributes, intellect, emotion and will,

which have been fairly universally recognised since the days of Aristotle and the Stoics.[a] It is from the same standpoint that Herr Grün reproaches Fourier with having "cleft" man into twelve passions.

"I shall not discuss the completeness of this table, *psychologically* speaking; I consider it inadequate"—(whereupon the public can rest easy, "psychologically speaking").—"Does this number give us any knowledge of *what* man really is? Not for a moment. Fourier might just as well have enumerated the five senses; *the whole man* is seen to be contained in these, if they be properly explained and their human content rightly interpreted" (as if this "human content" is not entirely dependent on the stage of development which production and human intercourse have reached). "Indeed, it is in *one* sense alone that man is contained, in feeling; his feeling is different from that of the animal," etc. (p. 205).

For the first time in his whole book, Herr Grün is obviously making an effort to say something about Fourier's psychology from the standpoint of Feuerbach. It is obvious too that this "whole man", "contained" in a single attribute of a real individual and interpreted by the philosopher in terms of that attribute, is a complete chimera. Anyway, what sort of man is this, "man" who is not seen in his real historical activity and existence, but can be deduced from the lobe of his own ear,[b] or from some other feature which distinguishes him from the animals? Such a man "is contained" in himself, like his own pimple. Of course, the discovery that human feeling is human and not animal not only makes all psychological experiment superfluous but also constitutes a critique of all psychology.

Herr Grün finds it an easy matter to criticise Fourier's treatment of love; he measures Fourier's criticism of existing amorous relationships against the fantasies by which Fourier tried to get a mental image of free love. Herr Grün, the true German philistine, takes these fantasies seriously. Indeed, they are the only thing which he does take seriously. It is hard to see why, if he wanted to deal with this side of the system at all, Grün did not also enlarge upon Fourier's remarks concerning education; they are by far the best of their kind and contain some masterly observations. Herr Grün, typical Young-German man of letters that he is, betrays, when he treats of love, how little he has learned from Fourier's critique. In his opinion, it is of no consequence whether one proceeds from the abolition of marriage or from the abolition of private property; the

[a] The *Westphälische Dampfboot* has: "Or rather the important thing for the true socialists is to transform the different stages of socialism into different philosophies of human essence and since, according to the true socialists, 'human essence'—an unhistorical abstraction—has been revealed by Feuerbach, they have, as a result of this transformation, supplied a criticism of the socialist systems as well."—*Ed.*

[b] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Naturphilosophie*, Einleitung, § 246, Zusatz.—*Ed.*

one must necessarily follow upon the other. But to wish to *proceed* from any dissolution of marriage other than that which now exists in practice in bourgeois society, is to cherish a purely literary illusion. Fourier, as Grün might have discovered in his works, always proceeds from the transformation of production.

Herr Grün is surprised that Fourier, who always starts with inclination (it should read: attraction), should indulge in all kinds of "mathematical" experiments, for which reason he calls him the "mathematical socialist", page 203. Even if he did not take into account Fourier's circumstances, he might well have examined a little more closely the nature of attraction. He would very soon have discovered that a natural relation of the kind cannot be accurately defined without the help of calculation. He regales us instead with a philippic against number, a philippic in which literary flourishes and Hegelian tradition are intermixed. It contains passages such as:

Fourier "calculates the molecular content of your most abnormal taste".

Indeed, a miracle; and further:

"That civilisation, which is being so bitterly attacked, is based upon an unfeeling multiplication table.... Number is nothing definite.... What is the number one?... The number one is restless, it becomes two, three, four"

like the German country parson who is "restless" until he has a wife and nine children....

"Number stifles all that is essential and all that is real; can we halve reason or speak of a third of the truth?"

He might also have asked, can we speak of a green-coloured logarithm?...

"Number loses all sense in organic development"...

a statement of fundamental importance for physiology and organic chemistry (pp. 203, 204).

"He who makes number the measure of all things becomes, nay, *is* an egoist."

By a piece of wilful exaggeration, he links to this sentence another, which he has taken over from Hess (see above[a]):

"Fourier's whole plan of organisation is based exclusively upon egoism.... Fourier is the very worst expression of civilised egoism" (pp. 206, 208).

He supplies immediate proof of this by relating that, in Fourier's world order, the poorest member eats from forty dishes every day, that five meals are eaten daily, that people live to the age of 144 and so on. With a naive sense of humour Fourier opposes a Gargantuan

[a] This volume, p. 492.—*Ed.*

view of man to the unassuming mediocrity of the men[a] of the Restoration period; but Herr Grün only sees in this a chance of moralising in his philistine way upon the most innocent side of Fourier's fancy, which he abstracts from the rest.

While reproaching Fourier for his interpretation of the French Revolution, Herr Grün gives us a glimpse of his own insight into the revolutionary age:

"If association had only been known of forty years earlier" (so he makes Fourier say), "the Revolution could have been avoided. But how" (asks Herr Grün) "did it come about that Turgot, the Minister, recognised the right to work and that, in spite of this, Louis XVI lost his head? After all, it would have been easier to discharge the national debt by means of the right to work than by means of hen's eggs" (p. 211).

Herr Grün overlooks the trifling fact that the right to work, which Turgot speaks of, is none other than free competition and that this very free competition needed the Revolution in order to establish itself.

The substance of Herr Grün's criticism of Fourier is that Fourier failed to subject "civilisation" to a "fundamental criticism". And why did he fail? Here is the reason:

"The *manifestations* of civilisation have been criticised but not its *basis*; it has been abhorred and ridiculed as it *exists*, but its *roots* have not been examined. Neither *politics* nor *religion* have undergone a searching criticism and for that reason the *essence of man* has not yet been examined" (p. 209).

So Herr Grün declares that the real living conditions of men are *manifestations*, whereas religion and politics are the *basis and the root* of these manifestations. This threadbare statement shows that the true socialists put forward the ideological phrases of German philosophy as truths superior to the real expositions of the French socialists; it shows at the same time that they try to link the true object of their own investigations, human essence, to the results of French social criticism. If one assumes religion and politics to be the basis of material living conditions, then it is only natural that everything should amount in the last instance to an investigation of human essence, i.e., of man's consciousness of himself.—One can see, incidentally, how little Herr Grün minds what he copies; in a later passage and in the *Rheinische Jahrbücher*[b] as well, he appropriates, in his own manner, what the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* had to say about the relation of *citoyen* and bourgeois,[c] which directly contradicts the statement he makes above.

[a] In the *Westphälische Dampfboot* the following words enclosed in brackets have been inserted after "men": "(les infiniment petits [the infinitely small]. Béranger)".—*Ed.*

[b] Karl Grün, "Politik und Socialismus".—*Ed.*

[c] See Marx's article "On the Jewish question" (present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 146-74) and this volume, p. 144 and p. 172.—*Ed.*

We have reserved to the end the exposition of a statement concerning production and consumption which true socialism confided to Herr Grün. It is a striking example of how Herr Grün uses the postulates of true socialism as a standard by which to measure the achievements of the French and how, by tearing the former out of their complete vagueness, he reveals them to be utter nonsense.

"Production and consumption can be separated temporally and spatially, in theory and in *external reality*, but in essence they are one. Is not the commonest occupation, e.g., the baking of bread, a productive activity, which is in its turn consumption for a hundred others? Is it not, indeed, consumption on the part of the baker himself, who consumes corn, water, milk, eggs, etc.? Is not the consumption of shoes and clothes production on the part of cobblers and tailors?... Do I not produce when I eat bread? I produce on an enormous scale. I produce mills, kneading-troughs, ovens and consequently ploughs, harrows, flails, mill-wheels, the labour of wood-workers and masons" ("and consequently", carpenters, masons and peasants, "consequently", their parents, "consequently", their whole ancestry, "consequently", Adam). "Do I not consume when I produce? On a huge scale, too.... If I read a book, I consume first of all the product of whole years of work; if I keep it or destroy it, I consume the material and the activity of the paper-mill, the printing-press and the bookbinder. But do I produce nothing? I produce perhaps a new book and thereby new paper, new type, new printer's ink, new bookbinding tools; if I merely read it and a thousand others read it too, we produce by our consumption a new edition and all the materials necessary for its manufacture. The manufacturers of all these consume on their part a mass of raw material which must be produced and which can only be produced through the medium of consumption.... In a word, *activity* and *enjoyment* are one, only a perverse world has torn them asunder and has thrust between them the concept of *value* and *price*; by means of this concept it has torn man asunder and with man, society" (pp. 191, 192).

Production and consumption are, in reality, frequently opposed to one another. But in order to restore the unity of the two and resolve all contradictions, one need only *interpret* these contradictions correctly and *comprehend* the true *nature* of production and consumption. Thus this German ideological theory fits the existing world perfectly; the unity of production and consumption is proved by means of examples drawn from present-day society, it exists *in itself*. Herr Grün demonstrates first of all that there actually does exist a relationship between production and consumption. He argues that he cannot wear a coat or eat bread unless both are produced and that there exist in modern society people who produce coats, shoes and bread which other people consume. This idea is, in Herr Grün's opinion, a new one. He clothes it in his classical, literary-ideological language. For example:

"It is believed that the enjoyment of coffee, sugar, etc., is mere consumption; but is this enjoyment not, in fact, production in the colonies?"

He might just as well have asked: Does not this enjoyment imply that Negro slaves enjoy the lash and that floggings are produced in the colonies? One can see that the outcome of such exuberance as this is simply an apology for existing conditions. Herr Grün's second idea is that when he produces, he consumes, namely raw material, the costs of production in fact; this is the discovery that nothing can be created out of nothing, that he must have *material.* He would have found set out in any political economy, under the heading "productive consumption", the complicated relations which this involves if one does not restrict oneself, like Herr Grün, to the trivial fact that shoes cannot be made without leather.

So far, Herr Grün has realised that it is necessary to produce in order to consume and that raw material is consumed in the productive process. His real difficulties begin when he wishes to prove that he produces when he consumes. Herr Grün now makes a completely ineffective attempt to enlighten himself in some small degree upon the most commonplace and general aspects of the connection between supply and demand. He does discover that his consumption, i.e., his demand, produces a fresh supply. But he forgets that his demand must be *effective,* that he must offer an equivalent for the product desired, if his demand is to cause fresh production. The economists too refer to the inseparability of consumption and production and to the absolute identity of supply and demand, especially when they wish to prove that over-production never takes place; but they never perpetrate anything so clumsy, so trivial as Herr Grün. This is moreover the same sort of argument that the aristocracy, the clergy, the rentiers, etc., have always used to prove their own productivity. Herr Grün forgets, further, that the bread which is produced today by steam-mills, was produced earlier by wind-mills and water-mills and earlier still by hand-mills; he forgets that these different methods of production are quite independent of the actual eating of the bread and that we are faced, therefore, with an historical development of the productive process. Of course, producing as he does on "an enormous scale", Herr Grün never thinks of this. He has no inkling of the fact that these different stages of production involve different relations of production to consumption, different contradictions of the two; it does not occur to him that to understand these contradictions one must examine the particular mode of production, together with the whole set of social conditions based upon it; and that only by actually changing the mode of production and the entire social system based upon it can these contradictions be solved. While the other examples given by Herr Grün prove that he surpasses even

the most undistinguished economists in banality, his example of the book shows that these economists are far more "humane" than he is. They do not demand that as soon as he has consumed a book he should produce another! They are content that he should produce his own education by his consumption and so exert a favourable influence upon production in general. Herr Grün's productive consumption is transformed into a real miracle, since he omits the connecting link, the cash payment; he makes it superfluous by simply ignoring it, but in fact it alone makes his demand *effective*. He reads, and by the mere fact of his *reading*, he enables the type-founders, the paper manufacturers and the printers to produce new type, new paper and new books. The mere fact of his consumption compensates them all for their costs of production. Incidentally, in the foregoing examination we have amply demonstrated the virtuosity with which Herr Grün produces new books from old by merely reading the latter, and with which he incurs the gratitude of the commercial world by his activities as a producer of new paper, new type, new printer's ink and new bookbinding tools. Grün ends the first letter in his book with the words:

"I am on the point of plunging into industry."

Herr Grün never once belies this motto of his in the whole of his book.

What did all his activity amount to? In order to prove the true socialist proposition of the unity of production and consumption, Herr Grün has recourse to the most commonplace economic statements concerning supply and demand; moreover, he adapts these to his purpose simply by omitting the necessary connecting links, thereby transforming them into pure fantasies. The essence of all this is, therefore, an ill-informed and fantastic transfiguration of existing conditions.

In his socialistic conclusion, he lisps, characteristically, the phrases he has learned from his German predecessors. Production and consumption are separated because a perverse world has torn them asunder. How did this perverse world set about it? It thrust a *concept* between the two. By so doing, it tore man *asunder*. Not content with this, it thereby tears society, i.e., itself, asunder, too. This tragedy took place in 1845.

The true socialists originally understood the unity of consumption and production to mean that activity shall itself involve enjoyment (for them, of course, a purely fanciful notion). According to Herr Grün's further definition of that unity, "consumption and production, economically speaking, must *coincide*" (p. 196); there must be

no surplus of products over and above the immediate needs of consumption, which means, of course, the end of any movement whatsoever. With an air of importance, he therefore reproaches Fourier with wishing to *disturb* this unity by *over-production.* Herr Grün forgets that over-production causes crises only through its influence on the exchange value of products and that not only with Fourier but also in Herr Grün's perfect world exchange value has disappeared. All that one can say of this philistine rubbish is that it is worthy of true socialism.

With the utmost complacency, Herr Grün repeats again and again his commentary on the true socialist theory of production and consumption. For example, he tells us in the course of a discussion of Proudhon:

"Preach the social freedom of the consumers and you will have true equality of production" (p. 433).

Preaching this is an easy matter! All that has hitherto been wrong has been that

"consumers have been uneducated, uncultured, they do not all consume in a *human way*" (p. 432). "The view that consumption is the measure of production, instead of the contrary, is the death of every hitherto existing economic theory" (ibid.). "The real solidarity of mankind, indeed, bears out the truth of the proposition that the consumption of each presupposes the consumption of all" (ibid.).

Within the competitive system, the consumption of each presupposes more or less continuously the consumption of all, just as the production of each presupposes the production of all. It is merely a question of *how*, in what way, this is so. Herr Grün's only answer to this is the moral postulate of *human* consumption, the recognition of the "essential nature of consumption" (p. 432). Since he knows nothing of the real relations of production and consumption, he has to take refuge in human essence, the last hiding-place of the true socialists. For the same reason, he insists on proceeding from consumption instead of from production. If you proceed from production, you necessarily concern yourself with the real conditions of production and with the productive activity of men. But if you proceed from consumption, you can set your mind at rest by merely declaring that consumption is not at present "human", and by postulating "human consumption", education for true consumption and so on. You can be content with such phrases, without bothering at all about the real living conditions and the activity of men.

It should be mentioned in conclusion that precisely those economists who took consumption as their starting-point happened

to be reactionary and ignored the revolutionary element in competition and large-scale industry.

### THE "LIMITATIONS OF PAPA CABET" AND HERR GRÜN

Herr Grün concludes his digression on the school of Fourier and on Herr Reybaud with the following words:

"I wish to make the organisers of labour *conscious of their essence*, I wish *to show* them *historically* where they have sprung from ... these hybrids ... who *cannot claim as their own even the least of their thoughts*. And later, perhaps, I shall find space to make an example of Herr Reybaud, not only of Herr Reybaud, but also of Herr Jay. The former is, in reality, not so bad, he is merely stupid; but the latter is more than stupid, he is learned.

"And so"... (p. 260).

The gladiatorial posture into which Herr Grün throws himself, his threats against Reybaud, his contempt for learning, his resounding promises, these are all sure signs that something portentous is stirring within him. Fully "conscious of his essence" as we are, we infer from these symptoms that Herr Grün is on the point of carrying out a most tremendous plagiaristic coup. To anyone who has had experience of his tactics, his bragging loses all ingenuousness and turns out to be always a matter of sly calculation.

"And so":

A chapter follows headed:

"The Organisation of Labour!"
Where did this thought originate?—In France.—But how?"

It is also labelled:

"Review of the Eighteenth Century."

"Where did this" chapter of Herr Grün's "originate?—In France.—But how?" The reader will find out without delay.

It should not be forgotten that Herr Grün wants to make the French organisers of labour[140] conscious of their essence by an historical exposition in the profound German style.

And so.

When Herr Grün realised that Cabet "had his limitations" and that his "mission had been completed long ago" (which he had known for a long time), it did not, "of course, mean an end of everything". On the contrary, by arbitrarily selecting a few quotations from Cabet and stringing them together he laid upon Cabet the new mission: to provide the French "background" to Herr Grün's German history of socialist development in the eighteenth century.

How does he set about his task? He reads "*productively*".

The twelfth and thirteenth chapters of Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie* contain a motley collection of the opinions of ancient and modern authorities in favour of communism. He does not claim that he is tracing an historical movement. The French bourgeois view communism as a suspicious character. Good, says Cabet, in that case, men of the utmost respectability from every age will testify to the good character of my client; and Cabet proceeds exactly like a lawyer. Even the most adverse evidence becomes in his hands favourable to his client. One cannot demand historical accuracy in a legal defence. If a famous man happens to let fall a word against money, or inequality, or wealth, or social evils, Cabet seizes upon it, begs him to repeat it, puts it forward as the man's declaration of faith, has it printed, applauds it and cries with ironic good humour to his irritated bourgeois: "*Écoutez, écoutez, n'était-il pas communiste?*"[a] No one escapes him. Montesquieu, Sieyès, Lamartine, even Guizot—communists all *malgré eux. Voilà mon Communiste tout trouvé!*[b]

Herr Grün, in a productive mood, reads the quotations collected by Cabet, representing the eighteenth century; he never doubts for a moment the essential rightness of it all; he improvises for the benefit of the reader a mystical connection between the writers whose names happen to be mentioned by Cabet on one page, pours over the whole his Young-German literary slops and then gives it the title which we saw above.

And so.

*Herr Grün:*

Herr Grün introduces his review with the following words:

"The social idea did not fall from heaven, it is organic, i.e., it arose by a process of gradual development. I cannot write here its complete history, I cannot commence with the Indians and the Chinese and proceed to Persia, Egypt and Judaea. I cannot question the Greeks and Romans about their social consciousness, I cannot take the evidence of Christianity, Neo-Platonism and patristic philosophy,[41] I cannot listen to what the Middle Ages and the Arabs have to say, nor can I examine the

*Cabet:*

Cabet introduces his quotations with the following words:

"Vous prétendez, adversaires de la communauté, qu'elle n'a pour elle que quelques opinions sans crédit et sans poids; eh bien, je vais interroger devant vous l'histoire et tous les philosophes: écoutez! Je ne m'arrête pas à vous parler de plusieurs peuples anciens, qui pratiquaient ou avaient pratiqué la communauté des biens! Je ne m'arrête non plus aux Hébreux ... ni aux prêtres Égyptiens, ni à Minos ... Lycurgue et Pythagore ... je ne vous parle non plus de Confucius et de Zoroastre, qui l'un en

[a] "Hear what he has to say! Was he not a communist?"—*Ed.*
[b] There's the communist all complete.—*Ed.*

Reformation and philosophy during the period of its awakening and so on up to the eighteenth century" (p. 261).

Chine et l'autre en Perse ... proclamèrent ce principe."[a] (*Voyage en Icarie*, deuxième édition, p. 470.)

After the passages given above, Cabet investigates Greek and Roman history, takes the evidence of Christianity, of Neo-Platonism, of the Fathers of the Church, of the Middle Ages, of the Reformation and of philosophy during the period of its awakening. Cf. Cabet, pp. 471-82. Herr Grün leaves others "more patient than himself" to copy these eleven pages, "provided the dust of erudition has left them the necessary humanism to do so" (that is, to copy them). (Grün, p. 261.) Only the social consciousness of the *Arabs* belongs to Herr Grün. We await longingly the disclosures about it which he has to offer the world. "I must restrict myself to the eighteenth century." Let us follow Herr Grün into the eighteenth century, remarking only that Grün underlines almost the very *same words* as Cabet.[b]

*Herr Grün*:

"Locke, the founder of sensationism, observes: He whose possessions exceed his needs, oversteps the bounds of reason and of original justice and steals that which belongs to others. *Every surplus is usurpation*, and the sight of the needy must awaken remorse in the soul of the wealthy. Corrupt men, you who roll in luxury and pleasures, tremble lest one day the wretch who lacks the necessities of life *shall truly come to know the rights of man*. Fraud, faithlessness and avarice have produced that inequality of possessions *which is the great misfortune of the human race* by piling up all sorts of sufferings, on the one hand, beside riches, on the other, beside destitution. *The philosopher must, therefore, regard the*

*Cabet*:

"Mais voici Locke, écoutez-le s'écrier dans son admirable *Gouvernement civil*[c]: 'Celui qui possède au delà de ses besoins, passe les bornes de la raison et de la justice primitive et *enlève* ce qui *appartient aux autres*. Toute *superfluité* est une *usurpation*, et la vue de l'indigent devrait éveiller le remords dans l'âme du riche. Hommes pervers, qui nagez dans l'opulence et les voluptés, tremblez qu'un jour l'infortuné qui manque du nécessaire n'aprenne à connaître vraiment les *droits de l'homme*.' Écoutez-le s'écrier encore: 'La fraude, la mauvaise foi, l'avarice ont produit cette *inégalité dans les fortunes*, qui fait le *malheur de l'espèce humaine*, en amoncelant d'un côté tous les vices avec la richesse et de l'autre tous les

[a] "You claim, foes of common ownership, that there is but a scanty weight of opinion in its favour. Well then, before your very eyes, I am going to take the evidence of history and of every philosopher. Listen! I shall not linger to tell you of those peoples of the past who practised community of goods! Nor shall I linger over the Hebrews ... nor the Egyptian priesthood, nor Minos ... Lycurgus and Pythagoras.... I shall make no mention of Confucius, nor of Zoroaster, who proclaimed, the one in China, the other in Persia ... this principle."—*Ed.*

[b] The last part of this sentence from "remarking only that" to "Cabet" is omitted in the *Westphälische Dampfboot*.—*Ed.*

[c] *Two Treatises on Civil Government*.—*Ed.*

*use of money as one of the most pernicious inventions of human industry*" (p. 266).

maux avec la misère'" (of which Herr Grün makes nonsense). "'Le philosophe doit donc considérer l'usage de la *monnaie* comme une des plus *funestes* inventions de l'industrie humaine'"[a] (p. 485).

Herr Grün concludes from these quotations of Cabet's that Locke is "an opponent of the monetary system" (p. 264), "a most outspoken opponent of money and of all property which exceeds the limits of need" (p. 266). Locke was, unfortunately, one of the first scientific champions of the monetary system, a most uncompromising advocate of the flogging of vagabonds and paupers, one of the doyens of modern political economy.[b]

### *Herr Grün:*

"Already *Bossuet*, the Bishop of Meaux, says in his *Politics Derived from Holy Scripture*: 'Without governments' ('without politics'—an absurd interpolation on the part of Herr Grün) 'the earth with all its goods would be the common property of men, just as much as air and light; no man, according to the original law of nature, has a particular right to anything. *All things belong to all men; it is from civil government that property results.*' A priest in the seventeenth century has the honesty to say such things as these; to express such views as these! And the German *Puffendorf*, whom one" (i.e., Herr Grün) "knows only through one of Schiller's epigrams,[c] was of the following opinion: '*The present inequality of means is an injustice* which involves all other inequalities by reason of the *inso-*

### *Cabet:*

"Écoutez le baron de *Puffendorf*, professeur de droit naturel en Allemagne et conseiller d'état à Stockholm et à Berlin, qui dans son droit de la nature et des gens réfute la doctrine d'Hobbes et de Grotius sur la monarchie absolue, qui proclame l'égalité naturelle, la fraternité, la communauté des biens primitive, et qui reconnaît que la propriété est une institution humaine, qu'elle résulte d'un partage consenti pour assurer à chacun et surtout au travailleur une possession perpétuelle, indivise ou divise, et que par conséquent l'inégalité actuelle de fortune est une *injustice* qui n'entraîne les autres inégalités" (absurdly translated by Herr Grün) "que par *l'insolence des riches et la lâcheté des pauvres.*

"Et *Bossuet*, l'évêque de Meaux, le précepteur du Dauphin de France, le

[a] "But here we have Locke, who exclaims in his admirable *Civil Government*: 'He who possesses in excess of his needs, oversteps the bounds of reason and of original justice and *appropriates the property of others*. All *excess* is *usurpation*, and the sight of the needy ought to awaken remorse in the soul of the wealthy. Perverse men, you who roll in riches and pleasures, tremble lest one day the wretch who lacks the necessities of life truly apprehend the *rights of man*.' Hear him exclaim again: 'Fraud, bad faith, avarice have produced that *inequality of means*, which, by piling on the one hand wealth and vice and on the other poverty and suffering, constitutes *the great misfortune of the human race*.... The philosopher must, therefore, regard the use of *money* as one of the most *fatal* inventions of human industry.'"—*Ed.*

[b] The following note is added in brackets in the *Westphälische Dampfboot*: "Cf. Locke's book, *Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest, etc.*", published in 1691, and also his *Further Considerations* [*Concerning Raising the Value of Money*], published in 1698.—*Ed.*

[c] Friedrich Schiller, "Die Philosophen".—*Ed.*

*lence* of the rich and the *cowardice* of the poor'" (p. 270). Herr Grün adds: "We shall not digress; let us remain in France."

célèbre Bossuet, dans sa *Politique tirée de l'Ecriture sainte*, redigée pour l'instruction du Dauphin, ne reconnaît-il pas aussi que sans les gouvernements la terre et tous les biens seraient aussi *communs* entre les hommes que l'air et la lumière: Selon le droit primitif de la nature nul n'a le droit particulier sur quoi que *ce soit: tout est à tous*, et c'est du gouvernement civil que naît la propriété"[a] (p. 486).

The substance of Herr Grün's "digression" from France is that Cabet quotes a German. Grün even spells the German name in the incorrect French fashion. Apart from his occasional mistranslations and omissions, he surprises us by his improvements. Cabet speaks first of Pufendorf and then of Bossuet; Herr Grün speaks first of Bossuet and then of Pufendorf. Cabet speaks of Bossuet as a famous man; Herr Grün calls him a "priest". Cabet quotes Pufendorf with all his titles; Herr Grün makes the frank admission that one knows him only from one of Schiller's epigrams. Now he knows him also from one of Cabet's quotations, and it is apparent that the Frenchman, with all his limitations, has made a closer study than Herr Grün not only of his own countrymen, but of the Germans as well.

*Cabet* says: "I must make haste to deal with the great philosophers of the eighteenth century; I shall begin with Montesquieu" (p. 487). In order to reach Montesquieu, Herr Grün begins with a sketch of the "legislative genius of the eighteenth century" (p. 282). Compare their various quotations from Montesquieu, Mably, Rousseau, Turgot. It suffices here to compare Cabet and Herr Grün on Rousseau and Turgot. Cabet proceeds from Montesquieu to Rousseau. Herr Grün constructs this transition:

[a] "Listen to Baron von *Puffendorf*, a professor of natural law in Germany and a Councillor of State in Stockholm and Berlin, a man who in his law of nature and nations refutes the doctrine of Hobbes and Grotius concerning absolute monarchy, who proclaims natural equality, fraternity, and primitive community of goods, and who recognises property to be a human institution, the result of a distribution of goods, by common consent, to the end that all, and particularly the workers, may be assured of permanent possession, undivided or divided, and that, in consequence, the existing inequality of possessions is an *injustice* which only involves the other inequalities in consequence of *the insolence of the rich and the cowardice of the poor.*

"And does not *Bossuet*, the Bishop of Meaux, the preceptor of the French Dauphin, the famous Bossuet, recognise also in his *Politique tirée de l'Ecriture sainte*—written for the Dauphin—that, were it not for governments, the earth and all goods would be as *common* to men as air and light; according to the primary law of nature, no one has a particular right to *anything*; *all things belong to all men* and it is from civil government that property springs."—*Ed.*

"Rousseau was the radical and Montesquieu the constitutional politician."

*Herr Grün* quotes from *Rousseau:*

"The greatest evil has already been done when one has to defend the poor and restrain the rich, etc.". . . . . (ends with the words) "hence it follows that the social state is only advantageous to men if they all of them[a] have something and none has too much." According to Herr Grün, Rousseau becomes "confused and quite vague when he has to answer the question: what transformation does the previous form of property undergo when primitive man enters into society? What does he answer? He answers: Nature has made all goods common" ... (ends with the words) "if a distribution takes place the share of each becomes his property" (pp. 284, 285).

*Cabet:*

"Écoutez maintenant *Rousseau,* l'auteur de cet immortel *Contrat social* ... écoutez: 'Les hommes sont égaux en droit. La nature a rendu tous les biens communs ... dans le cas de partage le part de chacun devient sa propriété. Dans tous les cas la société est toujours seule propriétaire de tous les biens'" (a point omitted by Herr Grün). "Écoutez encore:..." (Cabet ends) "'d'où il suit que l'état social n'est avantageux aux hommes qu'autant qu'ils ont tous quelque chose et qu'aucun d'eux n'a rien de trop.'

"Écoutez, écoutez encore *Rousseau* dans son *Economie politique*: 'Le plus grand mal est déjà fait quand on a des pauvres à défendre, et des riches à contenir'"[b] etc., etc. (pp. 489, 490).

Herr Grün makes two brilliant innovations: firstly, he merges the quotations from the *Contrat social* and the *Économie politique* and, secondly, he begins where Cabet ends. Cabet names the titles of the writings of Rousseau from which he quotes, Herr Grün suppresses them. The explanation of these tactics is, perhaps, that Cabet is speaking of Rousseau's *Économie politique,* which Herr Grün does not know, even from an epigram of Schiller. Although Herr Grün is conversant with all the secrets of the *Encyclopédie* (cf. p. 263), it was a secret for him that Rousseau's *Économie politique* is none other than the article in the *Encyclopédie* on political economy.

Let us pass on to *Turgot.* Herr Grün is not content here with merely copying the quotations; he actually transcribes the sketch that Cabet gives of Turgot.

*Herr Grün:*

"One of the noblest and most futile attempts to establish a new order on the

*Cabet:*

"Et cependant, tandis que le roi déclare que lui seul et son ministre

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[a] The parenthesis "(What grammar!)" is added in the *Westphälische Dampfboot.—Ed.*

[b] "Listen now to *Rousseau,* the author of the immortal *Social Contract*—listen: 'Men are equal by right. Nature has made all goods common... if distribution takes place the share of each becomes his property. In all cases the sole proprietor of all goods is society.' Listen again: ... 'hence it follows that the social state is only advantageous to men inasmuch as they all have something and none has too much'.

"Listen, listen again to Rousseau in his *Political Economy* [*Économie ou Œconomie (Morale et Politique)*]: 'The greatest evil has already been done when one has to defend the poor and restrain the rich.'"—*Ed.*

foundations of the old, everywhere on the point of collapse, was made by Turgot. It was in vain. The aristocracy brought about an artificial famine, instigated revolts, intrigued and spread calumnies against him until the debonair Louis dismissed his Minister.—The aristocracy would not listen, therefore, it had to suffer. Human development always avenges fearfully those good angels who utter the last urgent warning before a catastrophe. The French people blessed Turgot, Voltaire wished to kiss his hand before he died, the King had called him his friend.... Turgot, the Baron, the Minister, one of the last feudal lords, pondered the idea that a domestic press ought to be invented so as to make freedom of the press completely secure" (pp. 289, 290).

(Turgot) sont dans la cour les amis du peuple, tandis que le peuple le comble de ses bénédictions, tandis que les philosophes le couvrent de leur admiration, tandis que Voltaire veut, avant de mourir, baiser la main qui a signé tant d'améliorations populaires, l'aristocratie conspire, organise même une vaste famine et des émeutes pour le perdre et fait tant par ses intrigues et calomnies qu'elle parvient à déchaîner les salons de Paris contre le réformateur et à perdre Louis XVI lui-même en le forcant à renvoyer le vertueux ministre qui le sauverait" (p. 497). "Revenons à Turgot, baron, ministre de Louis XVI pendant la première année de son règne, qui veut réformer les abus, qui fait une foule de réformes, qui veut faire établir une nouvelle langue et qui, pour assurer la liberté de la presse, travaille lui-même à l'invention d'une presse à domicile"[a] (p. 495).

Cabet calls Turgot a Baron and a Minister, Herr Grün copies this much from him, but by way of improving on Cabet, he changes the youngest son of the prévôt of the Paris merchants into "one of the *oldest* of the feudal lords". Cabet is wrong in attributing the famine and the uprising of 1775[142] to the machinations of the aristocracy. Up to the present, no one has discovered who was behind the outcry about the famine and the movement connected with it. But in any case the parliaments and popular prejudice had far more to do with it than the aristocracy. It is quite in order for Herr Grün to copy this error of "poor limited Papa" Cabet. He believes in him as in a gospel. On Cabet's authority Herr Grün numbers Turgot among the communists, Turgot, one of the leaders of the physiocratic school,

[a] "Yet while the King declared that he and his Minister (Turgot) were the only friends the people had at court, while the people heaped blessings upon him, while the philosophers overwhelmed him with admiration, while Voltaire wished to kiss before he died the hand which had signed so many improvements for the people, the aristocracy conspired against him, even organised a vast famine, and stirred up insurrections in order to destroy him; by its intrigues and calumnies it succeeded in turning the Paris *salons* against the reformer and in destroying Louis XVI himself by forcing him to dismiss the virtuous Minister who would have saved him." "Let us return to Turgot, a Baron, a Minister of Louis XVI during the first year of his reign, one who desired to reform abuses, who carried through a mass of reforms, who wished to establish a new language; a man who actually tried to invent a domestic press in order to ensure the freedom of the press."—*Ed.*

the most resolute champion of free competition, the defender of usury, the mentor of Adam Smith. Turgot was a great man, since his actions were in accordance with the time in which he lived and not with the illusions of Herr Grün, the origin of which we have shown already.

Let us now pass to the men of the French Revolution. Cabet greatly embarrasses his bourgeois opponent by numbering Sieyès among the forerunners of communism, by reason of the fact that he recognised equality of rights, and considered that only the state sanctions property (Cabet, pp. 499-502). Herr Grün, who "is fated to find the French mind inadequate and superficial every time that he comes into close contact with it", cheerfully copies this, and imagines that an old party leader like Cabet is destined to preserve the "humanism" of Herr Grün from "the dust of erudition". Cabet continues: "*Ecoutez le fameux Mirabeau!*"[a] (p. 504). Herr Grün says: "Listen to Mirabeau!" (p. 292) and quotes some of the passages stressed by Cabet, in which Mirabeau advocates the equal division of bequeathed property among brothers and sisters. Herr Grün exclaims: "Communism for the family!" (p. 292). On this principle, Herr Grün could go through the whole range of bourgeois institutions, finding in all of them traces of communism, so that taken as a whole they could be said to represent perfect communism. He could christen the *Code Napoléon* a *Code de la communauté!*[b] And he could discover communist colonies in the brothels, barracks and prisons.

Let us conclude these tiresome quotations with *Condorcet.* A comparison of the two books will show the reader very clearly that Herr Grün now omits passages, now merges them, now quotes titles, now suppresses them, leaves out the chronological dates but meticulously follows Cabet's order, even when Cabet does not proceed strictly in accordance with chronology, and he achieves in the end nothing more than an abridgement of Cabet, poorly and timidly disguised.

| *Herr Grün:* | *Cabet:* |
| --- | --- |
| "*Condorcet* is a radical Girondist. He recognises the injustice of the distribution of property, he absolves the poor from blame ... if the people are somewhat dishonest on principle, the cause lies in the institutions themselves. | "Entendez *Condorcet* soutenir dans sa réponse à l'académie de Berlin" ... (a long passage follows in Cabet, concluding:) "'C'est donc uniquement parce que les institutions sont mauvaises que le peuple est si souvent un peu voleur par principe.' |

[a] "Listen to the famous Mirabeau!"—*Ed.*

[b] A reference to Dezamy's main work, *Code de la Communauté.*—*Ed.*

"In his journal, *Social Education* ... he even tolerates large-scale capitalists....

"Condorcet moved that the Legislative Assembly should divide the 100 millions owned by the three princes who emigrated into 100,000 parts .... he organises education and the *establishment* of public assistance" (cf. the original text).

"In *his* report on public education to the Legislative Assembly, Condorcet says: 'The object of education and the duty of the political authorities ... is to offer every member of the human race the means of satisfying his needs, etc.'" (Herr Grün changes the report of the Committee *on* Condorcet's plan into a report by Condorcet himself.) (Grün, pp. 293, 294.)

"Ecoutez-le dans son journal *L'instruction sociale* ... il tolère même de grands capitalistes." etc.

"Écoutez l'un des chefs Girondins, le philosophe Condorcet, le 6 juillet 1792 à la tribune de l'assemblée législative: 'Décrétez que les biens des trois princes français (Louis XVIII, Charles X, et le prince de Condé'"—this is omitted by Herr Grün) "'soient sur-le-champ mis en vente ... ils montent à près de 100 millions, et vous remplacerez trois princes par cent mille citoyens ... organisez l'instruction et les *établissements* de secours publics.'

"Mais ecoutez le comité d'instruction publique présentant à l'assemblée législative *son* rapport sur le plan d'éducation rédigé par Condorcet, 20 avril 1792: 'L'éducation publique doit offrir à tous les individus les moyens de pourvoir à leurs besoins ... tel doit être le premier but d'une instruction nationale et sous ce point de vue elle est pour la puissance politique un devoir de justice'",[a] etc. (pp. 502, 503, 505, 509).

By this shameless copying from Cabet, Herr Grün, using the historical method, endeavours to make the French organisers of labour conscious of their essence; he proceeds moreover according to the principle: *Divide et impera.* He unhesitatingly interpolates among his quotations his definitive verdict on persons whose acquaintance he made a moment ago by reading a passage about

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[a] "Listen to Condorcet, who maintained in his reply to the Berlin Academy" ... "'It is therefore entirely because the institutions are evil that the people are so frequently a little dishonest on principle.'

"Listen to what he has to say in his journal *L'instruction sociale* ... he even tolerates large-scale capitalists....

"Listen to one of the Girondist leaders, the philosopher Condorcet, from the tribune of the Legislative Assembly, on the 6th July, 1792: 'Decree that the possessions of the three French princes (Louis XVIII, Charles X and the Prince of Condé) be immediately put up for sale ... they amount to almost 100 millions, and you will replace three princes by 100 thousand citizens ... organise education and *institutions* for public assistance.'

"But listen to the Committee of Public Education, presenting to the Legislative Assembly on the 20th April, 1792 *its* report on the plan of education drawn up by Condorcet: 'Public education should offer to every individual the means of providing for his needs ... such ought to be the first aim of national education and from this point of view it is a duty which justice demands of the political authorities.'"—*Ed.*

them; then he inserts a few phrases about the French Revolution and divides the whole into two halves by the use of a few quotations from Morelly. Just at the right moment for Herr Grün Morelly was *en vogue* in Paris, through the efforts of Villegardelle[a]; and the most important passages from Morelly's work had been translated in the Paris *Vorwärts*[b] long before Herr Grün came upon the scene. We shall adduce only one or two glaring examples of Herr Grün's slipshod method of translation.

*Morelly*:

"L'intérêt rend les cœurs *dénaturés* et répand l'amertume sur les plus doux liens, qu'il change en de pesantes chaînes *que détestent chez nous les époux en se détestant eux-mêmes.*"[c]

*Herr Grün*:

"Self-interest renders the heart *unnatural* and embitters the dearest ties, transforming them into heavy chains, which *our married people detest and they detest themselves into the bargain*" (p. 274).

Utter nonsense.

*Morrelly*:

"Notre âme ... contracte une soif si furieuse qu'elle *se suffoque* pour l'étancher."[d]

*Herr Grün*:

"Our soul ... contracts ... so furious a thirst that *it suffocates itself in order to quench it*" (ibid.).

Again utter nonsense.

*Morelly*:

"Ceux qui *prétendent* régler les mœurs et dicter des lois", etc.[e]

*Herr Grün*:

"Those who *pretend* to control our morals and dictate our laws", etc. (p. 275).

All three mistakes occur in a single passage of Morelly which takes up fourteen lines in Herr Grün's book. In his exposition of Morelly there are also numerous plagiarisms from Villegardelle.[f]

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[a] Morelly, *Code de la Nature. Avec l'analyse raisonnée du Système social de Morelly par Villegardelle.—Ed.*

[b] In the article "Auszüge aus Morelly's Code de la Nature".—*Ed.*

[c] "Self-interest *perverts* the heart and embitters our dearest ties, transforming them into heavy chains, *which in our society married couples detest and at the same time detest themselves.*"—*Ed.*

[d] "Our soul contracts such a terrific thirst that it *chokes* in quenching it."—*Ed.*

[e] "Those who *claim* to control our morals and dictate our laws", etc.—*Ed.*

[f] This sentence is omitted in the *Westphälische Dampfboot.—Ed.*

Herr Grün is able to sum up all his knowledge of the eighteenth century and of the Revolution in the following lines:

"Sensualism, deism and theism together stormed the old world. The old world crumbled. When a new world came to be built, deism was victorious in the Constituent Assembly, theism in the Convention, while pure sensualism was beheaded or silenced" (p. 263).

Here we have the philosophic habit of dismissing history with a few categories proper to ecclesiastical history; Herr Grün reduces it to its basest form, to a mere literary phrase, which serves only to adorn his plagiarisms. *Avis aux philosophes!*[a]

We skip Herr Grün's remarks about communism. His historical notes are copied from Cabet's brochures, and the *Voyage en Icarie* is viewed from the standpoint adopted by true socialism (cf. *Bürgerbuch* and *Rheinische Jahrbücher*).[b] Herr Grün shows his knowledge of French, and at the same time of English, conditions by calling Cabet the "communist O'Connell of France" (p. 382), and then says:

"He would be ready to have me hanged if he had the power and knew what I think and write about him. These agitators are dangerous for men such as us, because their *intelligence is limited*" (p. 382).

## PROUDHON

"Herr Stein revealed his intellectual poverty in no uncertain way by treating Proudhon *en bagatelle*" (cf. *Einundzwanzig Bogen*, p. 84[c]). "One needs something more than Hegel's old twaddle to follow this logic incarnate" (p. 411).

A few examples may show that Herr Grün remains true to his nature in this section too.

He translates (on pages 437-44) several excerpts from the economic arguments adduced by Proudhon to prove that property is intolerable and finally exclaims:

"To this critique of property, which is the *complete liquidation* of property, we need add nothing. We have no desire to write a new critique, abolishing in its turn equality of production and the isolation of equal workers. I have already in an earlier passage indicated what is necessary. The rest" (that is, what Herr Grün has not indicated) "we shall see when society is rebuilt, when true property relations are established" (p. 444).

In this way Herr Grün tries to avoid a close investigation of Proudhon's economic arguments and, at the same time, to rise superior to them. Proudhon's whole set of proofs is wrong; however, Herr Grün will realise that, as soon as someone else has proved it.

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[a] A warning to the philosophers!—*Ed.*

[b] Karl Grün, "Feuerbach und die Socialisten" and "Politik und Sozialismus".—*Ed.*

[c] Moses Hess, "Socialismus und Communismus" —*Ed.*

The comments on Proudhon made in *Die heilige Familie*—in particular those stressing that Proudhon criticises political economy from the standpoint of political economy, and law from the legal standpoint[a]—are copied by Herr Grün. But he has understood so little of the problem that he omits the essential point, [namely] that Proudhon vindicates the *illusions* cherished by jurists and economists [as against] their practice; with regard to the foregoing statement he produces a set of nonsensical [phrases].

The most important thing in Proudhon's book *De la création de l'ordre dans l'humanité* is his *dialectique sérielle*, the attempt to establish a method of thought in which the *process* of thinking is substituted for independent thoughts. Proudhon is looking, from the French standpoint, for a dialectic method such as Hegel has indeed given us. A relationship with Hegel therefore exists here really and does not need to be constructed by means of some imaginative analogy. It would have been an easy matter to offer a criticism of Proudhon's dialectics if the criticism of Hegel's had been mastered. But this was hardly to be expected of the true socialists, since the philosopher Feuerbach himself, to whom they lay claim, did not manage to produce one. Herr Grün makes a highly diverting attempt to shirk his task. At the very moment when he should have brought his heavy German artillery into play, he decamps with an indecent gesture. First of all he fills several pages with translations, and then explains to Proudhon, with boisterous literary *captatio benevolentiae*,[b] that his *dialectique sérielle* is merely an excuse for *showing off his learning*. He does indeed try to console Proudhon by addressing him as follows:

> "Ah, my dear friend, make no mistake about being a *man of learning*" (or "*tutor*"). "We have had *to forget everything* that our school-masters and our university hacks" (with the exception of Stein, Reybaud and Cabet) "have tried to impart to us with such infinite labour and to our mutual disgust" (p. [457]).

As a proof that now Herr Grün no longer absorbs knowledge "with such infinite labour", although perhaps with just as much "disgust", we may note that he begins his socialist studies and letters in Paris on November 6th [and] by the following January 20th has "inevitably" [not] only concluded his *studies* but has also finished the [*exposition* of] his

> "really complete impression of the entire process".

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 31-34.—*Ed.*
[b] Attempt to win good will.—*Ed.*

# V

# "DOCTOR GEORG KUHLMANN OF HOLSTEIN"

## OR

## THE PROPHECIES OF TRUE SOCIALISM

### *DIE NEUE WELT ODER DAS REICH DES GEISTES AUF ERDEN. VERKÜNDIGUNG*[a] [143]

"A man was needed" (so runs the preface) "who would give utterance to all our sorrows, all our longings and all our hopes, to everything, in a word, which moves our age most deeply. And in the midst of this stress and turmoil of doubt and of longing he had to emerge from the solitude of the spirit bearing the solution of the riddle, the living symbols of which encompass us all. This man, whom our age was awaiting, has appeared. *He is Dr. Georg Kuhlmann of Holstein.*"

August Becker, the writer of these lines, thus allowed himself to be persuaded, by a person of a very simple mind and very ambiguous character, that not a single riddle has yet been solved, not a single vital energy aroused—that the communist movement, which has already gripped all civilised countries, is an empty nut whose kernel cannot be discovered; that it is a universal egg, laid by some great universal hen without the aid of a cock—whereas the true kernel and the true cock of the walk is Dr. Georg Kuhlmann of Holstein!...

This great universal cock turns out, however, to be a perfectly ordinary capon who has fed for a while on the German artisans in Switzerland and who cannot escape his due fate.

Far be it from us to consider Dr. Kuhlmann of Holstein to be a commonplace charlatan and a cunning fraud, who does not himself believe in the efficacy of his elixir of life and who merely applies his science of longevity to the preservation of life in his own body—no, we are well aware that the inspired doctor is a *spiritualistic* charlatan, a *pious* fraud, a *mystical* old fox, but one who, like all his kind, is none too scrupulous in his choice of means, since his own person is intimately connected with his sacred mission. Indeed, sacred missions are always intimately bound up with the holy beings who

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[a] *The New World, or The Kingdom of the Spirit upon Earth. Annunciation.—Ed.*

pursue them; for such missions are of a *purely* idealistic nature and exist *only* in the *mind.* All idealists, philosophic and religious, ancient and modern, believe in inspirations, in revelations, saviours, miracle-workers; whether their belief takes a crude, religious, or a refined, philosophic, form depends only upon their cultural level, just as the degree of energy which they possess, their character, their social position, etc., determine whether their attitude to a belief in miracles is a passive or an active one, i.e., whether they are shepherds performing miracles or whether they are sheep; they further determine whether the aims they pursue are theoretical or practical.

Kuhlmann is a very energetic person and a man of some philosophic education; his attitude to miracles is by no means a passive one and the aims which he pursues are very practical.

All that August Becker has in common with him is the national infirmity of mind. The good fellow

> "pities those who cannot bring themselves to see that the will and the ideas of an age can only be expressed by individuals".

For the idealist, every movement designed to transform the world exists only in the head of some chosen being, and the fate of the world depends on whether this head, which is endowed with all wisdom as its own private property, is or is not mortally wounded by some realistic stone before it has had time to make its revelation.

> "Or is this not the case?" adds August Becker defiantly. "Assemble all the philosophers and the theologians of the age, let them take counsel and register their votes, and then see what comes of it all!"

The whole of historical development consists, according to the ideologist, in the theoretical abstractions of that development which have taken shape in the "heads" of all "the philosophers and theologians of the age", and since it is impossible to "assemble" all these "heads" and induce them to "take counsel and register their votes", there must of necessity be one sacred head, the apex of all these philosophical and theological heads, and this *top head* is the speculative *unity* of all these *block-heads*—the saviour.

This "cranium" system is as old as the Egyptian pyramids, with which it has many similarities, and as new as the Prussian monarchy, in the capital of which it has recently been resurrected in a rejuvenated form. The idealistic Dalai Lamas have this much in common with their real counterpart: they would like to persuade themselves that the world from which they derive their subsistence could not continue without their holy excrement. As soon as this idealistic folly is *put into practice,* its *malevolent* nature is apparent: its clerical lust for power, its religious fanaticism, its charlatanry, its

pietistic hypocrisy, its unctuous deceit. Miracles are the *asses' bridge* leading from the kingdom of the idea to *practice.* Dr. Georg Kuhlmann of Holstein is just such an asses' bridge—he is inspired—his magic words cannot fail to move the most stable of mountains. How consoling for those patient creatures who cannot summon up enough energy to blast these *mountains* with *natural powder*! What a source of confidence to the blind and timorous who cannot see the material coherence which underlies the diverse scattered manifestations of the revolutionary movement!

"There has been lacking, up to now, a rallying point," says August Becker.

Saint George overcomes all concrete obstacles with the greatest of ease by transforming all concrete things into ideas; he then pronounces himself the speculative unity of the latter, and this enables him to "rule and regulate them":

"The *society of ideas* is the world. And their unity *regulates and rules* the world" (p. 138).

Our prophet wields all the power he can possibly desire in this "*society of ideas*".

"Led by our own idea, we will wander, hither and thither, and contemplate everything in the minutest detail, as far as our time requires" (p. 138).

What a speculative unity of nonsense!

But paper is long-suffering, and the German public, to whom the prophet issued his oracular pronouncements, knew so little of the philosophic development in its own country that it did not even notice how, in his speculative oracular pronouncements, the great prophet merely reiterated the most decrepit philosophic phrases and adapted them to his practical aims.

Just as medical miracle-workers and miraculous cures are made possible by ignorance of the laws of the *natural* world, so *social* miracle-workers and miraculous social cures depend upon ignorance of the laws of the *social* world—and the witch-doctor of Holstein is none other than the *socialistic miracle-working shepherd* of Niederempt.

The first revelation which this miracle-working shepherd makes to his flock is as follows:

"I see before me an assembly of the *elect,* who have gone *before me* to work by word and deed for the salvation of our time, and who are now come to hear what *I* have to say concerning the weal and woe of mankind."

"Many have already spoken and written in the name of mankind, but *none* has yet given utterance to the real nature of man's suffering, his hopes and his expectations, nor told him how he may obtain his desires. That is precisely what *I* shall do."

And his flock believes him.

There is not a single original thought in the whole work of this "Holy Spirit"; he reduces out-of-date socialistic theories to abstractions of the most sterile and general kind. There is nothing original even in the form, the style. Others have imitated more happily the sanctified style of the Bible. Kuhlmann has taken Lamennais' manner of writing as his model, but he merely achieves a caricature of Lamennais. We shall give our readers a sample of the beauties of his style:

> "Tell me, firstly, how feel ye when ye think of your eternal lot?
> "Many indeed mock and say: 'What have I to do with eternity?'
> "Others rub their eyes and ask: 'Eternity—what may this be?...'
> "How feel ye, when ye think of the hour when the grave shall swallow you up?"
> "And I hear many voices." One among them speaks in this wise:
> "Of recent years it hath been taught that the spirit is eternal, that in death it is only dissolved once more in God, from whom it proceedeth. But they who preach such things cannot tell me what then remaineth of me. Oh, that I had never seen the light of day! And assuming that I do not die—oh, my parents, my sisters, my brothers, my children, and all whom I love, shall I ever see you again? Oh, had I but never seen you!" etc.
> "How feel ye, further, if ye think of infinity?"...

We feel very poorly, Herr Kuhlmann—not at the thought of *death*, but at your *fantastic idea* of death, at your *style*, at the *shabby means* you employ to work upon the *feelings* of others.

"How dost feel," dear reader, when you hear a *priest* who paints hell very hot to terrify his sheep and make their minds very flabby, a priest whose eloquence only aims at stimulating the *tear glands* of his hearers and who speculates only on the *cowardice* of his congregation?

As far as the meagre *content* of the "Annunciation" is concerned, the first section, or the introduction to the *Neue Welt*, can be reduced to the simple thought that Herr *Kuhlmann* has come from Holstein to found the "Kingdom of the Spirit", the "*Kingdom of Heaven*" upon earth; that he was the first to know the real hell and the real heaven—the former being society as it has hitherto existed and the latter being future society, the "Kingdom of the Spirit"—and that he himself is the longed-for holy "spirit"....

None of these great thoughts of Saint George are exactly original and there was really no need for him to have bothered to come all the way from Holstein to Switzerland, nor to have descended from the "solitude of the spirit" to the level of the artisans, nor to have "revealed" himself, merely in order to present this "vision" to the "world".

However, the idea that Dr. *Kuhlmann of Holstein* is the "longed-for holy spirit" is his own exclusive property—and is likely to remain so.

According to Saint George's own "revelation", his Holy Scripture will progress in the following way:

"It will reveal" (he says) "the Kingdom of the Spirit in its earthly guise, that ye may behold its glory and see that there is no other salvation but in the Kingdom of the Spirit. On the other hand, it will *expose* your vale of tears that ye may behold your wretchedness and know the cause of all your sufferings. Then I shall show the way which leads from this sorrowful present to a joyful future. To this end, follow me in the spirit to a *height*, whence we may have a free prospect over the broad landscape."

And so the prophet permits us first of all a glimpse of his "*beautiful* landscape",[a] his *Kingdom of Heaven*. We see nothing but a misunderstanding of Saint-Simonism, wretchedly staged, with costumes that are a travesty of Lamennais, embellished with fragments from Herr Stein.

We shall now quote the most important revelations from the *Kingdom of Heaven*, which demonstrate the prophetic method. For example, page 37:

"The choice is *free and depends* on each person's inclinations. Inclinations *depend* on one's natural faculties."

"If in society," Saint George prophesies, "everyone follows his inclination, all the faculties of society without exception will be developed and *if this is so*, that which all need will continually be produced, in the realm of the spirit as in the realm of matter. For society always possesses as many faculties and energies as it has needs"... "*Les attractions sont proportionelles aux Destinées*"[b] (cf. also Proudhon).

Herr Kuhlmann differs here from the socialists and the communists only by reason of a *misunderstanding*, the cause of which must be sought in his pursuit of *practical aims* and undoubtedly also in his narrow-mindedness. He confuses the *diversity* of faculties and capacities with the *inequality* of *possessions* and of *enjoyment* conditioned by possession, and *inveighs* therefore against *communism*.

"No one shall have there" (that is, under communism) "*any advantage* over another", declaims the prophet, "no one shall have *more possessions* and *live better* than another.... And if you cherish doubts about it and fail to join in their vociferation, they will abuse you, condemn you, and persecute you and hang you on a gallows" (p. 100).

Kuhlmann sometimes prophesies quite correctly, one must admit.

"In their ranks then are to be found all those who cry: Away with the Bible! Away, above all, with the Christian religion, for it is the religion of humility and servility! Away with all belief whatsoever! We know nothing of God or immortality! They are

[a] The phrase "beautiful landscape" (*schöne Gegend*) originated from a story about a woman who, trying to console the mother of a soldier killed in the Battle of Leipzig (1813), said: But it was a beautiful landscape.—*Ed.*

[b] The attractions correspond to the destinies. See Charles Fourier, *Théorie des quatre mouvements et des destinées générales.—Ed.*

but figments of the imagination, exploited and continually concocted by deceivers and liars for their advantage" (it should read: which are exploited by the priests for their advantage). "In sooth, he who still believes in such things is the greatest of fools!"

Kuhlmann attacks with particular vehemence those who are on principle opposed to the doctrine of *faith, humility* and *inequality*, i.e., the doctrine of "*difference of rank and birth*".

His socialism is based on the abject doctrine of predestined slavery—which, as formulated by Kuhlmann, reminds one strongly of *Friedrich Rohmer*—on the theocratic hierarchy and, in the last instance, on his *own sacred person*!

"Every branch of labour," we find on page 42, "is directed by the most skilled worker, who himself takes part in it, and in the realm of enjoyment every branch is guided by the *merriest member*, who himself participates in the enjoyment. But, as society is undivided and possesses only *one* mind, the whole system will be regulated and governed by *one* man—and he shall be the *wisest*, the *most virtuous* and the *most blissful*."

On page 34 we learn:

"If man strives after *virtue* in the *spirit*, then he *stirs* and *moves* his *limbs* and develops and moulds and forms everything in and outside himself according to his pleasure. And if he *experiences well-being* in the spirit, then he must also *experience* it in everything that lives in him. *Therefore*, man *eats* and *drinks* and *takes delight* therein: *therefore*, he *sings*, *plays* and *dances*, he *kisses*, *weeps* and *laughs*."

The knowledge of the influence which the *vision of God* exerts on the *appetite*, and which *spiritual blissfulness* exerts upon the *sex impulse* is, indeed, not the private property of Kuhlmannism; but it does shed light on *many an obscure passage* in the *prophet*.

For example, page 36:

"Both" (possession and enjoyment) "correspond to his labour" (that is, to man's labour). "Labour is the measure of his needs." (In this way, Kuhlmann distorts the proposition that a communist *society* has, *on the whole*, always as many faculties and energies as needs.) "For labour is the expression of the ideas and the instincts. And needs are based on them. But, *since* the faculties and needs of men are always different, and so apportioned that the former can only be developed and the latter satisfied, if each continually labours for all and the product of the labour of all is exchanged and apportioned in accordance with the deserts" (?) "of each—*for this reason* each receives only the *value* of his labour."

The whole of this tautological rigmarole would be—like the following sentences and many others which we spare the reader—utterly *incomprehensible*, despite the "sublime *simplicity* and *clarity*" of the "revelation" so praised by A. Becker, if we had not a *key* in the shape of the *practical aims* which the prophet is pursuing. This makes everything at once comprehensible.

"Value," continues Herr Kuhlmann like an oracle, "determines itself according to the need of all." (?) "In value the work of each is always contained and for it" (?) "he can procure for himself whatever his heart desires."

"See, my friends," runs page 39, "the society of true men always regards *life* as a *school* ... in which man must *educate* himself. And *thereby* it *wants* to attain *bliss*. But such" (?) "must *become evident* and visible" (?), "otherwise it" (?) "is *impossible*."

What Herr Georg Kuhlmann of Holstein has in view when he says that "such" (life? or bliss?) must "become evident" and "visible", because "it" would otherwise be "impossible"—that "labour" is "contained in value" and that one can procure for it (for what?) one's heart's desire—and finally, that "value" determines itself according to "need"—all this cannot be understood unless one once again takes into account the *crux* of the whole revelation, the *practical point* of it all.

Let us therefore try to offer a practical explanation.

We learn from August Becker that Saint George Kuhlmann of Holstein had no success in his own country. He arrives in Switzerland and finds there an entirely "new world", the communist societies of the German artisans. That is more to his taste—and he attaches himself without delay to communism and the communists. He always, as August Becker tells us, "worked unremittingly to develop his doctrine *further* and *to make it adequate* to the greatness of the times", i.e., he became a communist among the communists *ad majorem Dei gloriam*.

So far everything had gone well.

But one of the most vital principles of communism, a principle which distinguishes it from all reactionary socialism, is its empirical view, based on a knowledge of man's nature, that differences of *brain* and of intellectual ability do not imply any differences whatsoever in the nature of the *stomach* and of physical *needs*; therefore the false tenet, based upon existing circumstances, "to each according to his abilities", must be changed, insofar as it relates to enjoyment in its narrower sense, into the tenet, "*to each according to his need*"; in other words, a *different form* of activity, of labour, does not justify *inequality*, confers no *privileges* in respect of possession and enjoyment.

The prophet could not admit this; for the privileges, the advantages of his station, the feeling of being a chosen one, these are the very *stimulus* of the prophet.

"But such must become evident and visible, otherwise it is impossible."

Without practical advantages, without some *tangible stimulus*, the prophet would not be a prophet at all, he would not be a *practical*, but only a *theoretical*, man of God, a *philosopher*. The prophet must, therefore, make the communists understand that different forms of *activity* or *labour* give the right to different degrees of *value* and of *bliss* (or of enjoyment, merit, pleasure, it is all the same thing), and

since each determines his own *bliss* and his *labour*, therefore, *he*, the prophet—this is the practical point of the revelation—can claim a *better life* than the *common artisan.**

After this, all the prophet's obscure passages become clear: that the "possession" and "enjoyment" of each should correspond to his "labour"; that the "labour" of each man should be the measure of his "*needs*"; that, therefore, each should receive the "value" of his labour; that "value" will determine *itself* according to "need"; that the work of each is "contained" in value and that he can procure for it what his "heart" desires; that, finally, the "bliss" of the chosen one must "become evident and visible", because it is otherwise "impossible". All this nonsense has now become intelligible.

We do not know the exact extent of the practical demands which Dr. Kuhlmann really makes upon the artisans. But we do know that his doctrine is a dogma fundamental to all spiritual and temporal craving for power, a mystic veil which is used to conceal all hypocritical pleasure-seeking; it serves to extenuate any infamy and is the source of many incongruous actions.

We must not omit to show the reader the way which, according to Herr Kuhlmann of Holstein, "leads from this sorrowful present to a joyful future". This way is lovely and delightful as spring in a flowery meadow or as a flowery meadow in spring.

"Softly and gently, with sun-warmed fingers, it puts forth buds, the buds become flowers, the lark and the nightingale warble, the grasshopper in the grass is roused. Let the new world come like the spring" (p. 114 et seq.).

The prophet paints the transition from present social isolation to communal life in truly idyllic colours. Just as he has transformed real society into a "society of ideas", so that "led by his own idea he should be able to wander hither and thither, and contemplate everything in the minutest detail, as far as his time requires", so he transforms the real social movement which, in all civilised countries, already proclaims the approach of a terrible social upheaval into a process of *comfortable* and *peaceful conversion*, into a *still life* which will permit the owners and rulers of the world to slumber *peacefully*. For the idealist, the *theoretical abstractions* of real events, their ideal signs, are *reality*; *real events* are merely "*signs* that the old world is going to its doom".

"Wherefore do ye strive so anxiously for the things of the moment," scolds the prophet on page 118, "they are nothing more than signs that the *old* world is going to

* The prophet has moreover *openly* stated this in a lecture which has not been printed.

its doom; and wherefore do ye dissipate your strength in strivings which cannot fulfil your hopes and expectations?"

"Ye shall not tear down nor destroy that which ye find in your path, ye shall rather shun it and abandon it. And when ye have shunned it and abandoned it, then it shall cease to exist of itself, for it shall find no other nourishment."

"If ye seek truth and spread light abroad, then lying and darkness will vanish from your midst" (p. 116).

"But there will be many who will say: 'How shall we build a new life as long as the old order prevails and hinders us? Must it not first be destroyed?' 'By no means,' answers the wisest, the most virtuous and the most blissful man. 'By no means. If ye dwell with others in a house that has become rotten and is too small and uncomfortable for you, and the others wish to remain in it, then ye shall not pull it down and dwell in the open, but ye shall first build a new house, and when it is ready ye shall enter it and abandon the old to its fate'" (p. 120).

The prophet now gives two pages of rules as to how one can *insinuate* oneself into the new world. Then he becomes aggressive:

"But it is not enough that ye should stand together and forsake the old world—ye shall also take up arms against it to make war upon it and to extend your kingdom and strengthen it. *Not by the use of force, however, but rather by the use of free persuasion.*"

But if *nevertheless* it comes about that one has to take up a *real* sword and hazard one's *real* life "to conquer heaven by force", the prophet promises his sacred host a Russian immortality (the Russians believe that they will rise again in their respective localities if they are killed in battle by the enemy):

"And they who shall fall by the wayside shall be born anew and shall rise more beauteous than they were before. Therefore" (therefore) "take no thought for your life and fear not death" (p. 129).

Even in a conflict with *real* weapons, says the prophet reassuringly to his sacred host, you do not *really* risk your life; you merely *pretend* to risk it.

The prophet's doctrine is in every sense *sedative.* After these samples of his Holy Scripture one cannot wonder at the applause it has met with among certain *easy-going slowcoaches.*

# Frederick Engels

## [THE TRUE SOCIALISTS[144]]

Since the above descriptions of the true socialists were written, several months have elapsed. During this period true socialism, which so far had sprung up only sporadically here and there, has experienced a spectacular upsurge. It has found representatives in all parts of the Fatherland, it has even attained a certain significance as a literary party. Furthermore, it is already divided into several groups which, although firmly linked by the common bond of German sincerity and scientific spirit, and by common efforts and aims, are nevertheless definitely separated from one another by the particular individuality of each of them. In this way the "chaotic mass of light"—as Herr Grün beautifully phrases it—of true socialism has in the course of time passed into a state of "orderly brightness"; it has become concentrated into stars and constellations in whose mild and calm radiance the German burgher can light-heartedly ponder over his plans for honest acquisition of a small property and his hopes for the elevation of the lower classes of the nation.

We must not leave true socialism without at least taking a closer look at the most developed of these groups. We shall see how each of them at first appears hazily in the Milky Way of universal love of mankind, later, as a result of the occurrence of acid fermentation, the "true enthusiasm for mankind" (as Herr Dr. Lüning, who is certainly a competent authority, expresses it), constitutes itself as a distinct flake and separates from the bourgeois-liberal whey; we shall see how it figures for a period as a nebula in the socialist heavens, and how the nebula increases in size and brightness and finally, like a sky-rocket, divides into a sparkling group of stars and constellations.

The oldest group, the earliest to develop independently, is that of *Westphalian socialism.* Thanks to the extremely important scuffles between this group and the royal Prussian police, and thanks to the

zeal for publicity shown by these Westphalian men of progress, the German public has had the advantage of being able to read the whole history of this group in the *Kölnische*, the *Trier'sche* and other newspapers. Here, therefore, we need only mention what is most essential.

Westphalian socialism originated in the area of Bielefeld, in the Teutoburg Woods. The newspapers at the time contained mysterious allusions to the mystical nature of its earliest period. But it quickly passed through the stage of a nebula; with the first issue of the *Westphälische Dampfboot*[a] it opened out and disclosed to the astonished eye a host of sparkling stars. We find ourselves north of the equator and, as an old couplet says:

> In the North you can see the *Ram* and the *Bull*,
> The *Twins, Crab, Lion,* and the *Virgin* as well.

At a very early date the "good press"[b] asserted the existence of the "*Virgins*"; the "*Lion*" was the very same Arminius the Cheruscan, who shortly after the Westphalian nebula had opened out left his dear friends and now as a tribune of the people[145] shakes his blond mane from America. In a short while he was followed by the Crab "on account of an unpleasant exchange business", whereby Westphalian socialism became a widow, but it nevertheless carries on. Of the Twins, one also went to America, in order to found a colony; while he disappeared there, the other twin discovered "the national economy in its future form"[c] (cf. Lüning, *Dies Buch gehört dem Volke*, II. Jahrg.). All these figures, however, are comparatively unimportant. The main weight of the group is concentrated in the Ram and the Bull, those genuinely Westphalian stars, under whose protection the *Westphälische Dampfboot* safely cleaves the waves.

The *Westphälische Dampfboot* adhered for a long time to the *mode simple* of true socialism. "Not an hour of the night passed"[d] in which it did not shed bitter tears over the misery of suffering humanity. It preached the gospel of man—of the true man, of the true real man, of the true, real corporeal man—with all its strength, but this, of course, was not particularly great. It had a soft nature and liked milky rice-pudding more than Spanish pepper. Hence its criticisms were of a very gentle nature and it preferred to side with equally

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[a] *Westphalian Steamboat.—Ed.*

[b] The term is used in an order in council which was issued by Frederick William IV on October 14, 1842.—*Ed.*

[c] An allusion to J. Meyer's article "Die Volkswirthschaftslehre in heutiger und zukünftiger Gestaltung".—*Ed.*

[d] A line from the German folk-song "Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär".—*Ed.*

merciful and loving reviewers rather than with the heartless, cold severity of judgment that was now coming to the fore. But since it had a big heart and little courage even the unfeeling *Heilige Familie* found favour in its eyes.[a] It reported with the greatest conscientiousness the various phases of the Bielefeld, Münster, etc., local associations for elevating the working classes.[146] The greatest attention was devoted to the important happenings in the Bielefeld Museum. And in order that the Westphalian townsman and villager should know how matters stood, at the end of each issue, in the monthly review of "World Events", praise was bestowed on the same liberals who had been attacked in the other articles of that issue. Incidentally, the Westphalian townsman and villager were also told that Queen Victoria gave birth to a child, that the plague raged in Egypt and that the Russians had lost a battle in the Caucasus.

It is clear that the *Westphälische Dampfboot* was a periodical which fully deserved the thanks of all well-meaning persons and the overflowing praise of Herr Fr. Schnake in the *Gesellschaftsspiegel.*[b] With smiling satisfaction the Bull performed his editing on the marshy meadow of true socialism. Although the censor at times cut into his flesh, he never had need to sigh: "that was the best passage"; the Westphalian bull was a draught animal and not a bull kept for breeding. Even the *Rheinische Beobachter* has never dared to reproach either the *Westphälische Dampfboot* in general, or Dr. Otto Lüning in particular, with offending against morality. In short, one can assume that the *Dampfboot*, which since the Weser was forbidden to it[c] floats only on the mythical river Eridanus[147] transposed among the stars (for no other water flows at Bielefeld), that the *Dampfboot* has attained the highest degree of human perfection.

But in all its efforts so far the *Dampfboot* had only developed the simplest phase of true socialism. Towards the summer of 1846 it left the sign of the Bull and approached that of the Ram, or rather, to put it more correctly historically, the Ram approached it. The Ram was a much-travelled man and fully at the height of his time. He explained to the Bull how things now stood in the world, that "real relations" were now the main thing and that, therefore, a new turn had to be made. The Bull was in complete agreement with him and from that moment the *Westphälische Dampfboot* has offered a still more elevating spectacle: the *mode composé* of true socialism.

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[a] An allusion to a review in the *Westphälische Dampfboot* entitled "Die heilige Familie oder Kritik der kritischen Kritik. Gegen Br. Bauer und Consorten.Von F. Engels und K. Marx".—*Ed.*

[b] Friedrich Schnake, *Das Westphälische Dampfboot.*—*Ed.*

[c] An allusion to the suppression of the journal *Weser-Dampfboot.*—*Ed.*

The "Ram and the Bull" thought that there could be no better way of carrying out this graceful turn than by printing our criticism of the New York *Volks-Tribun*,[a] which we had sent to the newspaper in manuscript and which had been accepted by it.[148] The *Dampfboot*, which now did not shrink from attacking its own Lion, who was far off in America (the *mode composé* of true socialism shows far more audacity than the *mode simple*), was moreover cunning enough to attach the following philanthropic remark to the above-mentioned criticism:

"If anyone cares to see in the above article a *self-criticism*" (?!) "of the *Dampfboot*, we have nothing against it."

Thereby the *mode composé* of true socialism is adequately introduced and it now goes forward at full gallop on the new course. The Ram, a bellicose creature by nature, cannot rest content with the previous good-natured kind of criticism; the new bell-wether of the Westphalian flock of lambs is seized with the lust of battle and, before his more timid comrades can prevent him, he sets off with lowered horns against Dr. Georg Schirges in Hamburg. Earlier, the helmsmen of the *Dampfboot* did not look upon Dr. Schirges with such disfavour, but things have become different now. Poor Dr. Schirges represents the *mode simplicissimus* of true socialism, and the *mode composé* does not forgive him this simplicity, which quite recently it still shared with him. In the September 1846 issue of the *Dampfboot*, pp. 409-14, the Ram therefore drives the most merciless breaches in the walls of his *Werkstatt*.[b] Let us enjoy the spectacle for a moment.

Some true socialists and *soi-disant* communists have translated Fourier's brilliant satires on the conditions of life of the bourgeoisie, insofar as they are acquainted with them, into the language of German bourgeois morality. In this connection they discovered the theory of the misfortune of the rich, already known to the men of the Enlightenment and fable-writers of the last century, and thus obtained material for the most inexhaustible moral tirades. Dr. Georg Schirges, who is not yet sufficiently deeply initiated into the mysteries of the true doctrine, is by no means of the opinion that "the rich are just as unhappy as the poor". For this reason, the Westphalian bell-wether deals him an indignant blow such as is deserved by a man whom "winning a lottery ... could make the happiest and most satisfied man in the world".

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[a] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Circular against Kriege" (see present edition, Vol. 6).—*Ed.*

[b] Joseph Weydemeyer, "Die Werkstatt; redigirt von Georg Schirges".—*Ed.*

"Yes," cries our stoic Ram, "despite Herr Schirges, it is true that possessions are not enough to make people happy, and that a very large section of the rich ... are anything but happy." (You are right, honest Ram, health is a treasure which no amount of gold can outweigh.) "Even though he does not have to suffer hunger and cold, there are other evils" (for instance, venereal diseases, persistent rainy weather, and in Germany sometimes pricks of conscience as well), "whose pressure he cannot escape." (Especially, there is no cure for death.) "A glance at the inner life of most families ... it is all foul and rotten.... The husband is wholly absorbed in stock exchange and business deals" (*beatus ille qui procul negotiis*[a]—it is astounding that the poor fellow has enough time left over to produce a few children) ... "degraded into a slave of money" (the poor fellow!), "the wife fashioned into an empty" (except when she is pregnant) "shallow drawing-room lady, or brought up to be a good housewife who has no interest in anything except cooking, washing and looking after children" (is the Ram still speaking of the "*rich*"?) "and at most a few gossiping parties" (we are, one sees, still on exclusively German soil, where the "good housewife" has the best opportunity to devote herself to what "she has interest in"; grounds enough to be thoroughly "unhappy"); "the two are moreover often in a state of incessant war against each other ... even the bond between parents and children is often broken by social conditions", etc., etc.

Our author has forgotten the worst suffering. Any "rich" German head of a family could tell him that in the course of time matrimonial discord may become a need, that unsuccessful children can be sent to Batavia and forgotten, but that thieving and disobedient servants are an intolerable and, in the circumstances of the increasing demoralisation of the common man and woman, nowadays an almost inevitable "evil".

If Messieurs Rothschild, Fulchiron and Decazes in Paris, Samuel Jones Lloyd, Baring and Lord Westminster in London, were to read this description of the woes of the "rich", how they would sympathise with the good Westphalian Ram.

"However, if one *proves*" (as was done earlier) "that the pressure of our conditions" (namely the atmospheric pressure of 15 lbs per square inch) "weighs also on the rich, if not quite so strongly as on the poor, one obtains as a result—which follows from the description of our conditions and circumstances in general—the enlightenment of everyone who seeks to become acquainted with it." (It almost seems that from the *mode composé* of true socialism still less "results" than from the *mode simple*.) "From the dissatisfaction of the rich, *of course*, no revolution in favour of the proletarians will arise, that requires more powerful mainsprings" (namely *writers' pens*[b]); "*moreover*, it is not accomplished with the words: 'Be embraced, ye millions, this kiss to the whole world'[c]; *but* it is just as little use to torment oneself with patchwork and palliatives" (such as attempts at reconciliation in the above unhappy household) "and to forget entirely the big thing, the real reforms" (apparently a divorce).

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[a] Happy is he who is far removed from business affairs. Horace, *Epodes*, II, I.—*Ed.*

[b] A pun in the original: *Triebfeder*—mainspring, motive; *Schreibfeder*—pen.—*Ed.*

[c] From Schiller's poem "An die Freude".—*Ed.*

The combination of the above "of course" with the following "moreover" and "but ... just as little" affords "of course" a lamentable example of the confusion which the transition from simple to complex true socialism brings about in the mind of a Westphalian; "moreover" our sorrow will not be lessened when we read on the next page (p. 413) that "in the politically developed countries ... there exists a *state of things* without any limitation", "but just as little" does it testify to the historical knowledge of Westphalian socialism that according to the same page "*egoism* ... in the most brilliant period of the Revolution, in the period of the Convention, was *not seldom* even *punished*"—probably by flogging. However, "we have no grounds for expecting anything better from the further activity of 'our Ram', and will, therefore, not so soon return to it".

Let us rather take a look at the Bull. He has meanwhile been occupied with "world events", and on page 421 (September 1846) he raises "solely questions which have to be raised" and plunges headlong into the sort of politics that M. Guizot, following the *Charivari*, has given the nickname of "great" politics. Here, too, the progress compared to the earlier period of simple socialism is obvious. Below are a few examples.

The rumour has reached Westphalia that the Prussian Government, owing to the financial difficulties in which it finds itself, could very easily be compelled to grant a constitution. At the same time the newspapers report that financial difficulties prevail on the Berlin stock exchange. Our Westphalian draught bull, who is not very strong in political economy, identifies *tout bonnement* the financial difficulties of the Berlin *Government* with the quite different financial difficulties of the Berlin *commerçants* and elaborates the following profound hypothesis:

> "... perhaps already this year the provincial estates will be called together as estates of the realm. *For* the financial difficulties remain the same, the bank seems unable to find a remedy for them. *Indeed, even* the railway construction work that has been begun and is being planned could be seriously endangered by the scarcity of money, *in which case* the state could *easily*" (*o sancta simplicitas!*) "be induced to take over certain lines" (extremely clever), "which again is not possible without a loan."

The last is quite true. In homely Westphalia people really believe that they still live under a paternal government. Even our extreme socialist of the *mode composé* believes the Prussian Government to be naive enough to grant a constitution merely in order to get rid of the difficulties of the Berlin Stock Exchange by means of a foreign loan. Happy blind faith!

The sharp nose of our Westphalian draught bull is revealed at its sharpest, however, in his remarks on foreign policy. A few months ago the *mode composé* of true socialism got scent of the following new Parisian and London mysteries, which we report for the amusement of the reader:

*September issue:*

France.—"The Ministry has emerged victoriously from the elections, nothing else was to be expected" (when has a Westphalian ever expected something "else" than what "was to be expected"?). "Although it may have put into operation all the levers of corruption, although it may have ... Henri's attempt, enough—the *old* opposition (Thiers, Barrot) suffered a serious defeat. *But* M. Guizot, too, will no longer be able to count on such a compact and conservative party, voting for the Ministry *quand même; for* the conservative party too has split into two sections, into the *conservateurs bornés* with their periodicals *Débats* and *Epoque,* and the *conservateurs progressifs* with the *Presse* as their organ." (The Bull forgets only that it was M. Guizot himself, in his speech to his electors in Lisieux,[a] who was *the first* to exploit the phrase "progressive conservatism".) "*In general*" (here begins again the peculiar incoherence that was already noticed above in the Ram, "as was to be expected"), "the abstract-political party questions, which only turned on whether Thiers or Guizot should be the Minister" (in Westphalia that is called "abstract-political party questions" and people there still believe that in France up to now they have "turned *only on that*"), "will surely to some extent be pushed into the background. The political economists Blanqui ... have been elected to the Chamber and with them surely" (for the enlightenment of the Westphalians) "questions of political economy also will come under discussion there" (what an idea people in Westphalia must have of the "questions" that have so far "come under discussion there"!). (Pp. 426, 427.)

Question: Why does the English aristocracy insist on flogging for soldiers? Answer:

"If flogging were abolished, a different recruiting system would have to be organised, and *if one has better soldiers, then one needs also better officers*" (!!), "who owe their position to merit and not to purchase or favour. *For this reason* the aristocracy is against the 'abolition of flogging', because it would thereby lose one more bulwark, provision for its 'younger sons'. The middle class, however, follows up its advantage step by step and it will achieve victory here as well."

(What a myth! The campaigns of the British in India, Afghanistan, etc., prove that at the present time they do not "need better officers", and the English middle class desires neither better officers nor better soldiers, nor a different recruiting system, nor is it much concerned about the abolition of flogging. But for some time past the *Dampfboot* has noticed nothing in England except the struggle between the middle class and the aristocracy.) (P. 428.)

*October issue:*

France.—"M. Thiers has lost the *Constitutionnel,* his organ for many years; the newspaper has been bought by a conservative deputy and is now slowly and

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[a] François Guizot, [*Discours au Lisieux le 17 Juillet 1846*].—*Ed.*

imperceptibly" (indeed "perceptibly" only for the *mode composé* of true socialism) "being brought into the conservative camp. M. Thiers, who earlier already threatened that if things were made too uncomfortable for him he would take up his old pen again in the *National*, is now said to have actually bought the *National*."

(Unfortunately, the "*National* of 1830" was a constitutional and Orleanist *National*, quite different from the republican "*National* of 1834", which M. Thiers is "said to have actually bought" anno 1846. Incidentally, the *Dampfboot* has been the victim of an irresponsible piece of trickery. Some unscrupulous miscreant and enemy of the good cause has passed several issues of the *Corsaire-Satan* on to the editor, and now the *Dampfboot* prints *bona fide* as oracular truth the current rumours that figure in this paper, which is by no means sufficiently moral for Westphalian readers. How indeed could the *Dampfboot* doubt that the *Corsaire-Satan* has at least as much moral standing and consciousness of the lofty vocation of the press as it itself?)

"Whether M. Thiers by this step has gone over to the republicans remains to be seen."

Honest Cheruscan, this "whether" you do not owe to the *Corsaire; cela sent la forêt teutobourgienne d'une lieue!*[a] On the other hand, however, he allows himself to be induced by the *Corsaire*, which is backing free trade, to attribute to the agitation for *libre échange* in France a success and an importance which it is far from possessing.

"Our predictions that all industrial countries must go the same way and reach the same goal as England ... seem, therefore, to be not so very incorrect, since they are now coming true. And we 'unpractical theoreticians' seem, therefore, to know the *real conditions*" (hurrah!) "just as well as, and to judge them better than, the 'practical men' who so much like to boast about their experience and their knowledge of practical conditions."

Hapless Teutoburgian "theoreticians"! You do not even "know" the "real conditions" of the *Corsaire-Satan*! (These beautiful things occur on page 479.)

*November issue*:

France.—"Scientists are racking their brains in vain over the question of where the frequently recurring floods originate. Some time ago, *by a decree of the Academy*, the rustling forests on the mountains were cut down as being *the cause of the evil*; later they were replanted, and the evil remained as before" (p. 522).

"In vain" would "scientists rack their brains" as to where the greatest nonsense lies: 1) does the Westphalian believe that the Academy in France can issue decrees and have forests cut down; 2) does he believe that the forests are cut down not for the timber and

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[a] That smells of the Teutoburg Woods a mile off!—*Ed.*

the money from its sale, but on account of the floods; 3) does he believe that the scientists rack their brains over the cause of these floods; 4) does he believe that the *forests* were at any time regarded as the cause of the floods when every child in France knows that it is precisely the *destruction of the forests* that is the cause; and 5) does he believe that the forests are replanted, while nowhere is so much complaint made as in France over neglect of forests and ever more extensive deforestation without regard for reforestation (cf., besides specialised journals, *Réforme, National, Démocratie pacifique* and other papers of the opposition for October and November 1846). The Westphalian Bull is unlucky in every respect. If he follows the *Corsaire-Satan* he gets in a tangle; if he follows his own genius he gets just as much in a tangle.

True socialism raised to the second power has, as we have seen, performed great feats in the sphere of higher politics. What perspicacity, what conjectures compared with the earlier reports on "World Events"! What thorough knowledge of "real conditions"! For the *Dampfboot*, however, the most important "real condition" is the position of the royal Prussian officers. Lieutenant Anneke, who for some time past has been unavoidable in the German periodical press, the important discussion in the Bielefeld Museum about carrying daggers, and the resulting Court of Honour proceedings, etc., form the main content of the October and November issues. We are also given interesting information about the *Deutsche Zeitung* which did not come into existence, the French kingdom of beggars that perished in the seventeenth century, and was described by Monteil,[a] and other equally "real" conditions. In between there appears from time to time a multiplication sign, which still completely represents the *mode simple* of true socialism and piles up all its slogans with the greatest ingenuousness: German theory and French practice should unite, communism should be put into effect *in order that* humanism might be put into effect (pp. 455-58), etc.[b] From time to time similar reminders of the past escape from the Ram or even from the Bull himself, without however in the least disturbing the divine harmony of the "real conditions".

Let us now forsake the main body of the Westphalian army in order to follow the manoeuvres of a detached corps which has entrenched itself in the blessed Wupper Valley under the skirts of a

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[a] Amans Alexis Monteil, *Histoire des Français des divers états* ... (extracts from this work were given in the article "Die französische Bettler-Monarchie des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts" published in the *Westphälische Dampfboot*).—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the article "Humanismus-Kommunismus" marked by a multiplication sign (X).—*Ed.*

massive Nemesis.[149] For a fairly long time a certain Herr Fr. Schnake in the role of *Perseus* has held up before the public the Gorgon shield of the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*, and indeed so successfully that not only the public has gone to sleep over the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*, but the latter has gone to sleep over the public. Our Perseus, however, is a joker. After attaining this enviable result, he notifies (last issue, last page): 1) that the *Gesellschaftsspiegel* has passed away[a]; 2) that, to avoid delay, it is best in future to order it through the *post*. Whereupon, after correcting its last misprints, it makes its exit.

One can see already from this regard for the "real conditions" that here too we have to do with the *mode composé* of true socialism. There is, however, an important difference between the Ram and Bull and our Perseus. One must record that the Ram and Bull remain as faithful as possible to the "real conditions", namely, those of Westphalia and Germany in general. Proof of it is the above-given lamentable display of the Ram. Proof of it is the Bull's good-natured descriptions from German political life, which we have had to omit. In going over to their new standpoint, what they have especially taken with them from the *mode simple* is simple, unvarnished philistinism, German reality; the vindication of man, and of German theory, etc., is left to all kinds of multiplication signs and other subordinate stars. With the *Gesellschaftsspiegel* it is just the opposite. Here the army leader Perseus divests himself as much as possible of petty-bourgeois reality, the exploitation of which he leaves to his retinue and, true to the myth, raises himself high into the air of German theory. He is the more able to show a certain disdain for "real conditions" because he has a much more definite standpoint. If the directly Westphalian stars represent the *mode composé*, then Perseus is *tout ce qu'il y a de plus composé en Allemagne*.[b] In his most daring ideological flights he nevertheless takes his stand always on the "material basis" and this secure foundation gives him an audacity in the struggle which Messrs. Gutzkow, Steinmann, Opitz and other important characters will remember for years to come. The "material basis" of our Perseus, however, consists mainly in the following:

1. "It is only with the abolition of the *material basis* of our society, private gain, that man will become different" (No. X, p. 53).[c]

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[a] In the German original a play on the word *schlafen* (sleep), *einschlafen* (fall asleep), *entschlafen* (expire, die, pass away).—*Ed.*

[b] All that is most complex in Germany.—*Ed.*

[c] Here and below are quotations from Friedrich Schnake's note about Gutzkow's article on communism.—*Ed.*

If the *mode simple*, which so often uttered this ancient thought, had known only that private gain was the material basis of our society, it would have been the *mode composé*, and under the auspices of our Perseus it could have continued to lead a tranquil and humble existence in all godliness and honour. But thus it had itself no material basis, and it came to pass as was written by the prophet Goethe:

> The noble who has no *bottom*—
> What will he sit upon?[a]

How "material" this basis, private gain, is can be seen, *inter alia*, from the following passages:

"Egoism, private gain" (which are, therefore, identical, and hence "egoism" is also a "*material basis*"), "disorganises the world by the principle: Each for himself," etc. (p. 53).

Hence it is a "*material* basis" which "disorganises", not by means of "material" facts, but ideal "principles". Poverty, as is known (for anyone to whom it is not yet known, Perseus himself expounds it in the above-mentioned place), is also an aspect of "our society". We learn, however, that not the "material basis, private gain", but *au contraire*

"the *transcendental* has plunged mankind into poverty" (p. 54—all three quotations are from a single article).

May "the transcendental" most speedily free the unlucky Perseus "from the poverty in which" the "material basis" has "plunged" him!

2. "The real mass is set into motion, not by an idea, but by 'well-understood interest'.... In the social revolution ... the egoism of the conservative party will be confronted by the *nobler* egoism of the people in need of salvation"!! (a people "in need of salvation" making a revolution!) ... "the people fights indeed for its 'well-understood interest' against the exclusive, brutal interest of private persons, being supported and sustained by a *moral* force and restless zeal" (No. XII, p. 86).[b]

The "well-understood interest" of our Perseus "in need of salvation", who is undoubtedly "supported and sustained by a moral force and restless zeal", consists in "confronting" the "egoism of the conservative party" with the "nobler egoism" of silence, for he does not "set even a *single* idea into motion" without at the same time compromising the *mode composé* of true socialism.

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[a] The last lines from Goethe's epigram "Totalität".—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Engels quotes from the following articles by Friedrich Schnake: "Ein neuer kritischer Evangelist" and "Herr Fr. Steinmann über den Pauperismus und Communismus". Both articles were published in No. XII of the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*.—*Ed.*

3. "Poverty is a consequence of property, which is private property and exclusive in its nature!!" (XII, 79).

4. "*Which* associations *are meant* here, *cannot be determined; if, however,* the author *means* the egoistic associations of capitalists, *then* he has forgotten the important associations of manual workers against the arbitrary power of the employers"!! (XII, 80).

Perseus is more fortunate. What kind of nonsense he wanted to compose "cannot be determined", but if he "meant" the merely stylistic kind, then he has by no means "forgotten" the equally "important" logical nonsense. In connection with the associations, we mention further that on page 84 we are given information about "associations in the *proper sense,* which raise the consciousness of the proletarian and develop energetic" (!) "proletarian" (!) "total" (!!!) "opposition to the existing conditions".

We have already spoken above,[150] in connection with Herr Grün, about the habit of the true socialists of assimilating theories which they have not understood by means of learning by heart isolated phrases and slogans.[a] The *mode composé* differs from the *mode simple* only by the quantity of such indigested mouthfuls, procured by devious means and therefore the more hastily swallowed, and by the terrible stomach-ache caused it thereby. We have seen how "real relations", "questions of political economy", etc., crop up among the Westphalians at every word, and how the intrepid Perseus labours on the "material basis", the "well-understood interest" and the "proletarian opposition". In addition, this latter knight of the mirror[b] makes any use he pleases of the "feudalism of money", which he would have done better to leave to its originator, Fourier. He has so little understood the meaning of this catchword that in No. XII, page 79, he asserts that "in lieu of the feudal aristocracy a propertied aristocracy is created" by this feudalism; according to this 1) the "feudalism of money", i.e., the "propertied aristocracy", "creates" *itself* and 2) the "feudal aristocracy" has not been a "propertied aristocracy". Next he voices the opinion, page 79, that the "feudalism of *money*" (i.e., of the bankers, which has the *smaller capitalists* and *industrialists* as vassals, if one wants to keep to the metaphor) and that "of industry" (which has the *proletarians* as vassals) are "only *one.*"

Freely linked to the "material basis" is also the following pious wish of the knight of the mirror, a wish which reminds one of the joyful hope of the Westphalians that for their, the Teutoburgians',

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[a] Frederick Engels, *German Socialism in Verse and Prose,* Essay 2 (see present edition, Vol. 6).—*Ed.*

[b] A reference to the journal *Gesellschaftsspiegel* (Mirror of Society).—*Ed.*

edification the French Chamber of Deputies would read a course of lectures on political economy:

"But we have to point out that in the issues of the (New York) *Volks-Tribun* sent us we have so far learned almost nothing at all ... about the *trade* and *industry* of America.... Lack of *instructive* information on the industrial and economic conditions of America, from which, *after all*" (indeed?), "social reform always proceeds", etc. (X, p. 56).[a]

The *Volks-Tribun*, a newspaper that seeks to carry on popular propaganda in America, is therefore blamed, not because it sets about its job wrongly, but because it omits to give the *Gesellschaftsspiegel* "instructive information" on things with which, in the manner demanded here at any rate, it has nothing whatever to do. Ever since Perseus caught hold of the "material basis", which he does not know what to make of, he demands that everyone should give him information about it.

In addition, Perseus also tells us that competition is ruining the small middle class, and that

"because of the *heavy* cloth luxury in the style of dress ... is very burdensome" (XII, p. 83—Perseus probably believes that a satin dress weighs as much as a suit of armour), and more of the like.

And in order that the reader may be in no doubt about the "material basis" of the ideas of our Perseus, it is said in No. X, page 53:

"Herr Gutzkow would do well to acquaint himself first of all with the *German* science of society so that recollections of the *despised French* communism, Babeuf, Cabet ... do not get in his way",

and page 52:

"*German* communism wants to bring about a society in which *labour* and *enjoyment are identical* and no longer separated from each other by an *external remuneration*."

We have seen above what both the "German science of society" and the society which is to be "brought about" consist of, and we have not found ourselves in exactly the best society.

As far as the comrades of the knight of the mirror are concerned, they "bring about" an extremely boring "society". For a while they intended to play the part of providence for the German townsman and villager. Without the knowledge and will of the *Gesellschaftsspiegel* no tiler fell off a roof or a small child into the water. Luckily for the *Dorfzeitung*,[151] for which this competition began to be dangerous, the mirror fraternity soon gave up this wearisome activity: one after another they went to sleep from sheer exhaustion. In vain were all methods tried to rouse them, to inject

[a] A note by Friedrich Schnake about the newspaper *Volks-Tribun*.—*Ed.*

new life-blood into the journal; the petrifying influence of the Gorgon shield affected also the contributors: at the end our Perseus stood there alone with his shield and his "material basis"—"the only sensitive breast among the corpses",[a] the impossible waist-line of the massive Nemesis collapsed in ruins, and the *Gesellschaftsspiegel* ceased to exist.

Peace to its ashes! Meanwhile let us wheel round and look for another bright constellation in a neighbouring region of the Northern hemisphere. Shining towards us with gleaming tail is Ursa Major, the *Great Bear*, or ursine Major Püttmann, also called the seven-star constellation, because he always appears with six others in order to achieve the required twenty printed sheets.[152] A valiant warrior! Bored with his four-footed position on the celestial map, he has at last stood up on his hind legs, he has armed himself as it is written: don then the uniform of character and the sash of conviction; fasten on your shoulders the epaulettes of bombast and put on the three-cornered hat of enthusiasm, and adorn your manly breast with the cross of the order of self-sacrifice, third class; gird yourself with the venomous spear of hatred of despotism and have your feet shod to carry on propaganda[b] with the smallest possible costs of production. Thus equipped our Major steps in front of his battalion, draws his sword and gives the command: Attention!—and delivers the following speech:

Soldiers! From the height of yonder publishing-house window forty *louis d'or* look down upon you.[c] Look around you, heroic defenders of "total reform of society", do you see the sun? There rises the sun of Austerlitz,[d] which presages our victory, soldiers!

"The consciousness of fighting *only* for the *poor* and *rejected*, for the *betrayed* and the *desperate*, gives us the courage, the fearlessness, to hold out right to the end. We do not defend *half-measures*, we do not want something *vague*" (but rather something totally confused); "hence we are resolute and, despite everything, remain forever true to the *people*, to the *oppressed people*!" (*Rheinische Jahrbücher*, Vol. II, Preface).

Shoulder arms!—Attention!—Present arms!—Long live the new social order, which we have amended according to Babeuf in 14 chapters and 63 clauses of field regulations!

"Ultimately, of course, it does not matter whether things will be as we have stated, but they will be different from what the enemy imagines, different from what they

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[a] A paraphrase of a line from Schiller's poem "Der Taucher".—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. Ephesians 6:11, 14, 15.—*Ed.*

[c] An ironical paraphrase of a passage from Napoleon-Bonaparte's speech to the army on July 21, 1798 before the Battle of the Pyramids: "Soldiers, from the summit of these pyramids, forty centuries look down upon you!"—*Ed.*

[d] Napoleon I's words before the Battle of Austerlitz.—*Ed.*

have been hitherto! All despicable institutions, which have been produced by dirty work in the course of centuries for the ruin of the nations and people, will perish!" (*Rheinische Jahrbücher*, II, p. 240).[a]

Damn it all! Attention!—Slope arms! Left turn! Order arms! Stand at ease! Forward march!—But the bear is by nature a true German animal. After evoking by this speech a general rousing hurrah, and so accomplishing one of the most valorous deeds of our century, he sits down at home and gives free rein to his soft, loving heart in a long, touching elegy on "hypocrisy"[b] (*Rheinische Jahrbücher*, II, pp. 129-49). In our time, which is internally decayed and corroded body and soul by the worm of self-seeking, there are—unfortunately!—individuals who have no warm, beating heart in their breasts, whose eyes have never been filled with a sympathetic tear, through whose empty skulls no blinding flash of enthusiasm for mankind has ever passed. Reader, if you find such a one let him read the elegy on "hypocrisy" by the Great Bear, and he will weep, weep, weep! Here he will see how poor, wretched and naked he is, for whether he be theologian, lawyer, physician, statesman, merchant, broom-maker or box-keeper, here he will find exposed the particular hypocrisy characteristic of each social group. He will see here how hypocrisy has ensconced itself everywhere and especially "what a grievous curse that of the lawyers" is. If this does not make him repent and mend his ways, he is not worthy to have been born in the century of the Great Bear. In fact, one must be an honest, and as the English say "unsophisticated", *bear* in order to scent out the hypocrisy of the wicked world everywhere. The Great Bear encounters hypocrisy wherever he turns. It happens to him as to his predecessor in "Lilis Park".[c]

Ha! At the corner when I stay,
And from afar I hear their chatter,
And see the flitter and the flutter,
I turn around
With a growling sound
And then run off a little way,
And then look round
With a growling sound,
And then run back a little way,
But then I finally turn round.

Of course, for how is it possible to escape from hypocrisy in our thoroughly rotten society! But it is sad!

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[a] Hermann Püttmann, "Après le déluge".—*Ed.*

[b] Hermann Püttmann, "Heuchelei" ("Hypocrisy").—*Ed.*

[c] Here and below Engels quotes three passages from Goethe's poem "Lilis Park".—*Ed.*

"Everyone can be slanderous, self-satisfied, perfidious, malicious and anything else he chooses, because the *appropriate* form has been found" (p. 145).

It is really enough to make one desperate, especially if one is Ursa Major!

And "alas! the *family*, too, is besmirched by lies ... and the web of lies goes right through the family and passes hereditarily from one member to another".

Woe, threefold woe to the heads of families of the German Fatherland!

Rage suddenly boils up, there blows
A mighty spirit from the nose,
The inner nature goes berserk—

and Ursa Major stands up again on his hind legs:

"A curse on self-seeking! How terribly you hover over people's heads! With your black pinions ... with your shrill croaking.... A curse on self-seeking!... Millions and millions of poor slaves ... weeping and sobbing, complaining and wailing.... A curse on self-seeking!... A curse on self-seeking!... Gang of priests of Baal.... Breath of pestilence.... A curse on self-seeking! Monster of self-seeking ..." (pp. 146-48).

And then it is my bristles rise;
Unwont to serve am I.
And every ornamental shrub nearby
Makes fun of me! The bowling green
And the neat, well-mown lawns I flee;
The box-tree cocks a snook at me,

. . . . . .

I weary myself with work; if tired enough,
I lay me down by artificial cascades,
Chew, weep, and till half dead roll to and fro.
Alas! I only waste my woe
On heedless porcelain oreads!

The greatest "hypocrisy" of the whole jeremiad consists in making out that such a *miserere* compiled from trite literary phrases and recollections of novels is a description of "hypocrisy" in present-day society, and in pretending that for the sake of suffering humanity this bugbear causes one to fly into a passion.

Anyone who is at all familiar with the map of the heavens, knows that Ursa Major is there found in friendly conversation with an individual of uninteresting appearance who has several greyhounds on a leash and is called *Boötes*. This conversation is reproduced in the firmament of true socialism on pages 241-56 of the *Rheinische Jahrbücher*, Vol. II. The role of Boötes is assumed by that same Herr Semmig whose essay on "Socialism, Communism and Humanism"

has already been discussed above.[a] Thus we have come to the *Saxon group*, of which he is the most eminent star, for which reason he has written a little volume on *Sächsische Zustände*. In the passage which we quoted earlier Ursa Major utters a well-satisfied growl about this little volume and recites whole pages from it "with intense delight".[b] These quotations suffice to characterise the booklet as a whole and are the more welcome since the writings of Boötes are otherwise unobtainable abroad.

Although in his *Sächsische Zustände* Boötes has descended from the height of his speculation to "real conditions", he still belongs with his entire Saxon group, as also Ursa Major, heart and soul, to the *mode simple* of true socialism. In general, the *mode composé* is exhausted with the Westphalians and the mirror fraternity, in particular with the Ram, the Bull and Perseus. The Saxon and all the other groups, therefore, offer us only further developments of the *simple* true socialism, which we have already described above.

Boötes, as a burgher and portrayer of the model German constitutional state, in the first place lets loose one of his greyhounds against the *liberals*. It is the less necessary for us to examine this sparkling philippic since, like all similar tirades of the true socialists, it is nothing more than a shallow *Germanisation* of the criticism of the same subject by the French socialists. Boötes is in exactly the same situation as the capitalists; he possesses, to use his own words, "the products produced by the workers" of France and their literary representatives "as a result of the *blind inheritance* of foreign capitals" (*Rheinische Jahrbücher*, II, p. 256). He has not even translated them into German, for this had already been done by others before him. (Cf. *Deutsches Bürgerbuch, Rheinische Jahrbücher*, I, etc.). He has merely enlarged this "blind inheritance" by some "blindnesses" which are not simply German, but of the particular *Saxon* kind. Thus, he says (ibid., p. 243) that the liberals advocated "public judicial proceedings in order to declaim their rhetorical exercises in the court of justice"! Hence Boötes, in spite of his zeal against the bourgeoisie, capitalists, etc., sees in the liberals not so much these as their paid servants, the *lawyers*.

The result of our Boötes' penetrating investigations of liberalism is noteworthy. True socialism has never before so clearly expressed its reactionary political tendency:

"But you... proletarians... who previously allowed yourselves to be set in motion by these liberal bourgeois and to be misguided into tumults (think of 1830), be careful!

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[a] See this volume, pp. 458-70.—*Ed.*
[b] Goethe, *Faust*, I. Teil, "Nacht".—*Ed.*

Do not support them in their efforts and struggles ... let them fight out alone what they ... begin only in their own interests; above all do not *at any time take part in political revolutions*, which always emanate from a dissatisfied minority that, thirsting for power, would like to overthrow the ruling power and seize the government for itself" (pp. 245-46).

Boötes has the most legitimate claims to the gratitude of the royal Saxon Government—a Rautenkrone[a] is the least reward it can give him. If it were feasible that the German proletariat might follow his advice, the existence of the feudalistic, petty-bourgeois, peasant-bureaucratic model state of Saxony would be ensured for a long time. Boötes dreams that what is good for France and England, where the bourgeoisie *rules*, must also be good for Saxony, where it is still far from ruling. Furthermore, how impossible it is for the proletariat even in England and France to remain indifferent to questions that are indeed of immediate interest only to the bourgeoisie or a faction of the bourgeoisie, Boötes can read every day in the proletarian newspapers there. Such questions are, *inter alia*, in England the disestablishment of the Church, the so-called equitable adjustment[b] of the national debt, and direct taxation; in France the extension of the franchise to the petty bourgeoisie, the abolition of urban customs duties, etc.

Finally, all Saxon "celebrated freedom of thought is mere wind and froth ... verbal combat", not because nothing is achieved by it and the bourgeoisie does not advance a single step, but because with its help "you", the liberals, "are not able to accomplish a fundamental cure of the sick society" (p. 249). They are the less able to do so since they do not even regard society as being sick.

Enough of this. On page 248 Boötes lets loose a second economic greyhound.

In Leipzig ... "whole districts have newly come into being" (Boötes knows of districts which do *not* "come into being" "*new*" but are *old* from the outset). "As a result of this, however, a grievous disproportion has developed in regard to *premises*, in that there is an absence of dwellings at a" (!) "medium price. For the sake of a high interest" (! it is supposed to mean a *higher rent*), "every builder of a new house designs it in such a way that it is only suitable for big households; owing to the lack of other kinds of dwellings, many families are forced to rent bigger premises than they need or can pay for. *Thus* debts, attachment, protests of bills of exchange and so forth accumulate!" (This "!" deserves a second (!).) "*In short, the lower middle class is in fact to be ousted.*"

One can only admire the primitive simplicity of this economic greyhound! Boötes sees that the lower middle class of the

[a] Wreath of rue—the highest order in Saxony.—*Ed.*
[b] These two words are in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

enlightened town of Leipzig is being ruined in a way that is highly cheering for us. "In our day, when all distinctions in the human species are being obliterated" (p. 251), this phenomenon ought to be equally welcome to him; but on the contrary, it distresses him and makes him look for the cause of it. He finds this cause in the malice of the speculative builders, whose aim it is to house every small artisan and shopkeeper in a palace at an extortionate rent. The Leipzig "builders of new houses", as Boötes explains in the most clumsy and confused Saxon language—it cannot be called German—are superior to all laws of competition. They build dearer dwellings than their customers require, they do not adapt themselves to the state of the market, but to a "high interest"; and whereas everywhere else the consequence would be that they would have to let their dwellings at a lower price, in Leipzig they succeed in subjecting the market to their own *bon plaisir* and compelling the tenants to ruin themselves by high rents! Boötes has taken a gnat for an elephant, a temporary disproportion between demand and supply in the housing market for a permanent state of things, indeed for the cause of the ruin of the petty bourgeoisie. But Saxon socialism can be forgiven such simple-mindedness as long as it

"accomplishes a work worthy of Man and for which Men will bless 'it'" (p. 242).

We know already that true socialism is a great hypochondriac. However, one might cherish the hope that Boötes, who showed such a pleasant audacity of judgment in the first volume of the *Rheinische Jahrbücher*, would be free from this disease. By no means. On pages 252, 253 Boötes lets loose the following whining greyhound and thereby throws Ursa Major into an ecstasy.

"The Dresden shooting-match ... a popular festival, and one can hardly step on to the meadow before being met with the wailing hurdy-gurdies of the blind, whose hunger is not satisfied by the constitution ... and being revolted by the ballyhoo of the 'artists' who by the contortions of their limbs entertain a society whose structure is itself monstrously and revoltingly contorted."

(When a tightrope walker stands on his head, that signifies for Boötes the present-day topsy-turvy world; the mystic significance of turning somersaults is bankruptcy; the secret of the egg-dance is the career of the truly socialist writer who, in spite of all "contortions", sometimes takes a false step and besmirches his whole "material basis" with egg-yolk; a hurdy-gurdy signifies a constitution, which does not satisfy one's hunger; a Jew's harp signifies freedom of the press, which does not satisfy one's hunger; and an old clothes barrow signifies true socialism, which also does not satisfy one's hunger.

Immersed in this symbolism, Boötes wanders sighing through the crowd and so arrives, as Perseus did before, at the proud feeling of being "the only sensitive breast among monsters"[a].)

"And there in the tents the brothel-keepers carry on ... their shameless trade" (there follows a long tirade about)... "prostitution, plague-breathing monster, you are the last fruit of our present-day society" (not always the *last*, there may perhaps be subsequently an illegitimate child).... "I could tell stories of how a girl threw herself at the feet of a strange man" ... (the story follows).... "I could tell stories, but no, I will not" (for he has just told the story).... "No, do not accuse *them*, the poor victims of want and seduction, but bring *them*, the insolent procurers, before the judge's seat ... no, no, not even them! What do they do except what others do, they carry on their trade, where all carry on trade", etc.

Thus the true socialist has thrown off all blame from all individuals and shifted it on to "society", which is inviolable. *Cosi fan tutti,*[b] it is finally only a matter of remaining good friends with all the world. The characteristic aspect of prostitution, namely, that it is the most tangible exploitation—one directly attacking the physical body—of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie, the aspect where the "deed-producing heart-ache" (from p. 253) with its moral pauper's broth suffers bankruptcy, and where passion, class hatred thirsting for revenge, begins—this aspect is unknown to true socialism. Instead it bewails in the prostitutes the ruined grocers' assistants and small craftsmen's wives in whom he can no longer admire "the masterpiece of creation", the "blossoms pervaded by the aroma of the holiest and sweetest feelings". *Pauvre petit bonhomme!*

The flower of Saxon socialism is a small weekly sheet entitled *Veilchen. Blätter für die harmlose moderne Kritik*[c] edited and published by G. Schlüssel in Bautzen. Thus the "violets" are in effect primroses.[d] These tender flowers were described as follows in the *Trier'sche Zeitung* (January 12 of this year) by a Leipzig correspondent, who is also one of this group:

"In the *Veilchen* we can welcome an advance, a development in Saxon *belles-lettres*; young as this journal is, it zealously seeks to reconcile the old Saxon political half-heartedness with the social theory of the present time."

The "old Saxon half-heartedness" is not half-hearted enough for these arch-Saxons, they have to halve it once more by "reconciling" it. Extremely "inoffensive"!

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[a] Friedrich Schiller, "Der Taucher".—*Ed.*

[b] All do it—a saying derived from the title of Mozart's opera *Cosi fan tutte* (All [Women] Do It).— *Ed.*

[c] *Violets. Leaves for Inoffensive Modern Criticism.—Ed.*

[d] The German word used is *Schlüsselblumen*, i.e., primroses.—*Ed.*

We have only managed to see one of these violets; but:

> Head shyly bowed, and all unknown,
> It was a *darling* violet.[a]

In this issue—the first of 1847—friend Boötes lays some pretty little verses as homage at the feet of "inoffensive modern" ladies. It is stated there *inter alia*:

> Of hate for Tyranny, the *thorn*
> *Graces* e'en women's *tender hearts*[b]—

a comparison the audacity of which in the meantime will surely have "graced" our Boötes' "tender heart" with a "thorn" that pricks his conscience.

> "They glow not just with *amorous arts*"—

should Boötes, who indeed "*could* tell stories", but "*will*" not tell them, because he has *already* told them, and who speaks of no other "thorn" than that of "hate for Tyranny", should this decent and cultured man be really capable of making the "fair cheeks" of women and maidens "*glow*" by means of ambiguous "amorous arts"?

> They glow not just with amorous arts,
> They glow with freedom-loving fury,
> With holy rage, those cheeks so fair
> That charm like roses everywhere.

The glow of "freedom-loving fury" must, of course, be easily distinguishable by a chaster, more moral and "brighter" colour from the dark-red glow of "amorous arts", especially for a man like Boötes, who can distinguish the "thorn of hate for Tyranny" from all other "thorns".

The *Veilchen* gives us an immediate opportunity of becoming acquainted with one of those beauties whose "tender heart is graced by the thorn of hate for Tyranny" and whose "fair cheeks glow with freedom-loving fury". Namely the *Andromeda* of the truly socialist firmament (Fräulein Luise Otto), the modern woman fettered to the rock of unnatural conditions and washed by the foam of ancient prejudices, provides an "inoffensive modern criticism" of the poetical works of Alfred Meissner.[c] It is a strange, but charming spectacle to observe how overflowing enthusiasm here struggles against the tender modesty of the German maiden, enthusiasm for the "king of poets", who causes the deepest strings of the female

[a] From Goethe's poem "Das Veilchen".—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Engels quotes from Friedrich Hermann Semmig's poem "Einer Frau ins Stammbuch".—*Ed.*

[c] Luise Otto, "Alfred Meissners neueste Poesien".—*Ed.*

heart to vibrate and draws from them tones of homage that border on deeper and tenderer sensations, tones which in their innocent frankness are the finest reward of the singer. Let us hear in all their naïve originality these flattering admissions of a maiden's soul, for whom so much remains obscure in this wicked world. Let us hear and remember that to the pure *all* things are pure.

Indeed, "the deep soulfulness which pervades Meissner's poems can only be felt, but cannot be explained to those who are incapable of feeling it. These songs are the golden reflection of the fierce flames which blaze in the heart of the poet as a sacrifice on the altar of freedom, a reflection whose brilliance reminds us of Schiller's words: subsequent generations may overlook the author who was not *more* than his works—we feel here that this poet *himself* is something *more* than his beautiful songs" (for sure, Fräulein Andromeda, for sure), "that there is in him something *inexpressible*, something '*which passeth show*', as Hamlet says".[a] (O you foreboding angel, you![b]) "This *something* is what is lacking in so many modern poets of freedom, e.g., entirely so in Hoffmann von Fallersleben and Prutz" (is this really the case?), "and in part also in Herwegh and Freiligrath; this *something* is perhaps genius."

Perhaps it is Boötes' "*thorn*", beautiful Fräulein!

"Nevertheless," the same article states, "criticism has its duty—but criticism appears to me to be very *wooden* in relation to such a poet!"

How maidenly! Certainly, a young, pure, girlish soul must "appear" to itself to be "very wooden" in relation to a poet who possesses such a wonderful "something".

"We go on reading right to the last stanza, which ought to remain faithfully in the memory of all of us:

> "'And yet at last will come
> The day ...
> Peoples shall sit together, hand in hand,
> Like *children* in the great hall of the heavens.
> Once more a chalice, a chalice shall pass round,
> *Love*'s chalice at the *love*-feast of the nations.'"

Then Fräulein Andromeda sinks into an eloquent silence "like a child, hand in hand". Let us take care not to disturb her.

Our readers will be eager after this to become more closely acquainted with the "king of poets", *Alfred Meissner*, and his "*something*". He is the *Orion* of the truly socialist firmament, and in truth he is no disgrace to his post. Girded with the shining sword of poesy, wrapt "in his cloak of grief" (p. 67 and p. 260 of A. Meissner's *Gedichte*, second edition, Leipzig, 1846), he swings in his sinewy fist the club of unintelligibility, with which he victoriously strikes down all opponents of the good cause. At his heels, there follows a certain

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[a] Shakespeare. *Hamlet*, Act I. Scene 2.—*Ed.*
[b] Goethe, *Faust*, I. Teil, "Marthens Garten".—*Ed.*

*Moritz Hartmann*, in the shape of a *small dog*,[a] who for the sake of the good cause raises an energetic yapping under the title *Kelch und Schwert* (Leipzig, 1845). To speak in earthly terms, with these heroes we have entered a region which for a fairly long time already has provided numerous sturdy recruits for true socialism, viz., the *Bohemian forests.*

As is well known, the first true socialist in the Bohemian forests was Karl Moor. He did not succeed in carrying through the work of regeneration to the end; he was not understood by his contemporaries, and he handed himself over to justice. Now Orion-Meissner has undertaken to tread in the footsteps of this noble figure and—at least in its spirit—to bring his lofty work nearer to the goal. He, *Karl Moor the Second*, has at his side as his assistant the above-mentioned Moritz Hartmann, Canis Minor—in the role of the worthy *Schweizer*—who celebrates God, King and Fatherland in elegiac manner and, in particular, sheds tears of thankful remembrance at the grave of that simple man, Kaiser Joseph. Concerning the rest of the group, we shall merely remark that none of them as yet appear to have developed enough understanding and wit to undertake the role of Spiegelberg.

It is obvious at first glance that Karl Moor the Second is no ordinary man. He learned German in Karl Beck's school and therefore his mode of speech is of more than oriental magnificence. For him belief is a "butterfly" (p. 13), the heart is a "flower" (p. 16), later on a "desolate forest" (p. 24), and finally a "vulture" (p. 31). For him the evening sky is (p. 65)

> red and staring, like an empty socket
> where once an eye was, without lustre or soul.

The smile of his beloved is "a child of Earth caressing the children of God" (p. 19).

But it is his tremendous world-weariness, still more than his showy picturesque language, which distinguishes him from ordinary mortals. In this way he shows that he is a true son and successor of Karl Moor the First; thus on page 65 he proves that "wild world-weariness" is one of the first requirements of every "saviour of the world". In fact, as far as world-weariness is concerned, Orion-Moor outdoes all his predecessors and competitors. Let us hear what he says himself.

"*Crucified by anguish*, I was dead" (p. 7). "This heart *dedicated to death*" (p. 8). "My mind is *dark*" (p. 10). For him, "*ancient suffering* laments in the desolate forest of the

[a] *Canis Minor* (the Lesser Dog)—a constellation to the East of Orion.—*Ed.*

heart" (p. 24). "It would be better *ne'er to have been born*, but death, too, would be good" (p. 29).

> In this most bitter, evil hour,
> When by the cold world you're rejected,
> Admit, my heart, through bloodless lips
> That you're *ineffably dejected* (p. 30).

On page 100 he "bleeds from many a hidden wound", and on page 101 concern for mankind causes him to feel so unwell that he has to press his arms "firmly like pincers ... round his breast, which threatens to burst asunder", and on page 79 he is a crane that has been shot and cannot fly to the south in autumn with its fellows; "with lead-pierced pinions" it flounders in the bushes and "flaps its broad, blood-stained wings" [p. 78]. Whence comes all this suffering? Are all these laments merely everyday love moaning *à la* Werther increased by dissatisfaction because of the personal suffering of our poet? Not at all. Our poet has indeed suffered a great deal, but he has been able to derive a general aspect from all his suffering. He often indicates, e.g., on page 64, that women have played him many mean tricks (the usual fate of Germans, especially poets), that he has had bitter experiences in his life; but all this merely proves for him the badness of the world and the need for an alteration of social conditions. It is not Alfred Meissner, but mankind, that has suffered in his person and therefore from all his woes he only concludes that it is a great feat and a heavy burden of suffering to be a man.

> O heart, learn here (in the wilderness), however
> you may fare,
> The *burden of being man* bravely to bear (p. 66).
> O pain so sweet, O blessed curse,
> O *sweet distress of being a man* (p. 90).

In our unfeeling world such noble pain can count only on indifference, insulting rebuff and ridicule. Such is the experience of Karl Moor the Second as well. We have already seen above that "the cold world forgets" him. In this respect he really fares very ill:

> That I might flee from man's cold ridicule,
> I built myself a prison, cold as the grave (p. 227).

On one occasion he again takes courage:

> Pale hypocrite, that reviles me without rest,
> Tell me the pain that has not pierced my heart,
> The lofty passion that has not fired my breast (p. 212).

But it is too much for him after all; he retires and, on page 65, goes "into the wilderness" and, on page 70, "into the mountain desert".

Just like Karl Moor the First. Here he has it explained to him by a stream—because *everything* suffers, e.g., the lamb torn to pieces by the eagle suffers, the falcon suffers, the reed that rustles in the wind suffers—"how small then human woes" are, and how indeed nothing is left for him but "to rejoice and perish". Since, however, "rejoicing" does not really seem to come from his heart, and "perishing" does not seem to suit him at all, he rides forth in order to hear the "voices on the heath". Here he fares even worse. Three mysterious horsemen ride up to him one after the other and in rather dry words give him the good advice that he should get himself buried:

> Indeed, you would do better...
> To burrow through dead leaves and die
> Covered by grasses and the humid earth (p. 75).

This is the crown of his sufferings. Human beings spurn him and his moaning; he turns to nature and here too he meets only with disagreeable faces and rude replies. And after Karl Moor the Second's aching pain has thus flapped "its broad, blood-stained wings" in front of our eyes until we are disgusted, we find on page 211 a sonnet in which the poet believes he must defend himself:

> ... for *dumb, concealing from the world my woe,*
> I nurse my wounds and bear my scorching pain,
> Because my mouth *scorns idly to complain,*
> Of terrible experience *makes no show*!!

But the "saviour of the world" must be not only afflicted by pain but also *wild*. Hence "a storm of passion rages *wild* within his breast" (p. 24); when he loves, "fiercely blaze his suns" (p. 17); his "loving is a *flash of lightning*, his poetry a *storm*" (p. 68). We shall soon have examples showing how wild his wildness is.

Let us rapidly glance through some of the socialist poems of Orion-Moor.

From page 100 to page 106 he flaps his "broad, blood-stained wings" in order during his flight to survey the evils of present-day society. In a frantic fit of "wild world-weariness" he runs through the streets of Leipzig. Night is around him and in his heart. Finally, he comes to a stop. A mysterious demon comes up to him and in the tone of a night-watchman asks him what he is doing in the street so late. Karl Moor the Second, who was just then occupied in firmly pressing the "pincers" of his arms against his chest that was "threatening to burst", Karl Moor with eyes like fiercely blazing suns looks the demon straight in the face and finally breaks into speech (p. 102):

Awakened from faith's starry night,
*This much I see* in spirit's light:
He of Golgotha has not yet brought
Salvation that this world has sought!

"This much" Karl Moor the Second sees! By the desolate forest of his heart, by his cloak of grief, by the heavy yoke of being a man, by the lead-pierced pinions of our poet, and by everything else that Karl Moor the Second holds holy—it was not worth the trouble of running through the streets at night, of exposing his breast to the danger of bursting and of pneumonia, and of conjuring up a special demon, in order finally to impart this discovery to us! But let us hear some more. The demon is not yet pacified. Karl Moor the Second then relates how a young prostitute seized hold of his hand, thereby evoking in him all kinds of painful reflections, which at last voice themselves in the following apostrophe:

Woman, for your misery, the blame
Is society's, which has no mercy!
Pallid victim, sorry sight to see,
On sin's heathen (!!) altar sacrificed,
So that other women's purity
In the home stay undefiled and chaste! [P. 103.]

The demon, who now turns out to be a quite ordinary bourgeois, does not enter into a discussion of the truly socialist theory of prostitution comprehended in these lines, and instead answers quite simply that everyone forges his own happiness, "man's to blame for his own guilt", and such like bourgeois phrases. He remarks: "society is an empty word" (he has probably read Stirner), and he requests Karl Moor the Second to go on with his account. The latter tells how he had looked at proletarian dwellings and heard the weeping of the children:

Just because the mother's dried-up breast
Not a drop of sweet refreshment yields,
Guiltless babes die in their mother's care!
*Yet* (!!) it is a marvel of delight
That from red blood mother's breast should bear
And give forth a milk of purest white [p. 104].

Whoever has seen this miracle, he declares, has no need to be sad if he cannot believe that Christ turned water into wine.[a] The story of the marriage of Cana seems to have greatly influenced our poet in favour of Christianity. The world-weariness here becomes so profound that Karl Moor the Second loses all coherence. The

[a] John 2:1-10.—*Ed.*

demoniacal bourgeois tries to calm him and makes him continue his report:

> Other children, pale-faced brood, I saw
> Where the tall and smoking chimneys climb,
> Where the brass wheels in the fiery glow
> Stamp their dances out in ponderous time [p. 105].

What sort of factory could it have been, where Karl Moor the Second saw "wheels in the fiery glow" and, what is more, saw them "stamping out their *dances*"! It could only have been the same factory where our poet's verses, which likewise "stamp their dances out in ponderous time", are manufactured. There follow some details about the lot of the factory children. That touches the purse of the demoniacal bourgeois, who undoubtedly is also a factory-owner. He becomes excited too, and retorts that it is stuff and nonsense, that the ragged pack of proletarian children are of no importance, that a genius had never yet perished on account of such trivialities, that in general it was not individuals that were important but only *mankind* as a whole, which will get along even without Alfred Meissner. Want and misery are the lot of human beings and in any case,

> What the Creator has himself done badly,
> Man will never afterwards improve [p. 107].

Thereupon he vanishes and our distressed poet is left standing alone. The poet shakes his confused head and cannot think of anything better to do than to go home and put it *all* down on paper, word for word, and publish it.

On page 109 "a poor man" wants to drown himself; Karl Moor the Second nobly holds him back and asks him about his reasons. The poor man relates that he has travelled a great deal:

> Where England's chimneys blood-red (!) flamed,
> In pain that was both *dull* and *dumb*,
> I saw new hells, I saw new damned.

The poor man saw strange things in England, where in every factory town the Chartists have shown more activity than all the German political, socialist and religious parties taken together. He himself must indeed have been "dull and dumb".

> Sailing to France across the sea,
> I saw *with horror, terrified*,
> The working masses seethe round me,
> Like lava in a bubbling tide.

He saw all that "with horror, terrified", the "poor man"! Thus he saw everywhere the "struggle between the poor and rich", he himself being "one of the helots", and since the rich refuse to listen

and "the people's day is still far off", he can think of nothing better to do than to throw himself into the water—and Meissner, convinced by his words, lets him go: "Good-bye, I can no longer hold you back!"

Our poet did very well to allow this narrow-minded coward to drown himself quietly, a man who saw nothing at all in England, whom the proletarian movement in France filled only with "horror and terror", and who was too *lâche*[a] to join the struggle of his class against its oppressors. In any case, the fellow was no good for anything else.

On page 237 Orion-Moor addresses a Tyrtaian hymn "to women". "Now, when men sin in cowardly fashion", Germany's blond daughters are called upon to rise and "proclaim a word of freedom". Our tender blondes did not wait for his invitation; the public has seen "with horror, terrified" examples of the lofty deeds Germany's women are capable of as soon as they are able to wear breeches and smoke cigars.

After this criticism of existing society by our poet; let us see what his *pia desideria*[b] are with regard to the social aspects. At the end we find a "Reconciliation", written in a chopped-up prose, which more than imitates the "Resurrection" at the end of the collected poems of K. Beck. It states, *inter alia*:

> "Mankind does not live and struggle in order to give birth to the individual. Mankind is *one* human being." According to which, our poet—"the individual" of course—is "*not* a human being". "And it will come, the time ... then mankind will rise up, a Messiah, a God in its unfolding...." But this Messiah will only come after "many thousands of years, the new saviour, who will speak" (acting he will leave to others) "of the division of labour, which is to be fraternal and equal for all children of the Earth" ... and then "the ploughshare, symbol of the spirit-shadowed earth ... a sign of profound respect..., will rise up, radiant, crowned with roses, and *more beautiful even* than the old Christian cross".

What will happen after "many thousands of years" is basically of little concern to us. Hence we do not need to investigate whether the people who will then exist will be advanced a single inch by the "speech" of the new saviour, whether they will still want to listen to a "saviour" at all, and whether the fraternal theory of this "saviour" is capable of realisation or is safe from the terrors of bankruptcy. This time our poet does not "see" "this much". The only thing of interest in the whole passage is his reverent bowing of the knee before the holy of holies of the future, the idyllic "ploughshare". In the ranks of the true socialists we have so far found only the *townsman*; here we

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[a] Cowardly.—*Ed.*
[b] Pious wishes.—*Ed.*

notice already that Karl Moor the Second will show us also the *villager* in his Sunday attire. In fact, on page 154, we see him looking down from the mountain into a lovely Sunday-like valley where the peasants and shepherds with quiet joyfulness, blithely and with faith in God, carry on their daily work; and:

> The cry was loud within my doubting hear
> Oh, hear how blithely poverty can sing!

Here need is "no woman selling her bare flesh, it is a child, its nakedness is pure!"

> I understood that man, so sorely tried,
> Will only pious, blithe and good become,
> When through hard work at Earth's maternal breast
> He finds his place in *bless'd oblivion.*

And in order to pronounce still more clearly his serious opinion, he describes (on page 159) the domestic happiness of a country blacksmith and expresses the wish that his children

> ... will never that contagion know
> On which in prideful exultation
> Wicked men and fools bestow
> The name of Culture, Civilisation.

True socialism could not rest until the rural idyll had been rehabilitated alongside the urban idyll, and Gessner's shepherd scenes alongside Lafontaine's novels. In the shape of Herr Alfred Meissner, true socialism has adopted the position of Rochow's *Kinderfreund* and from this lofty standpoint has proclaimed that it is man's fate to become countrified. Who would have expected such simple-mindedness from the poet of "wild world-weariness", from the owner of "blazing suns", from Karl Moor the Younger with his "thunder bolts"?

In spite of his peasant-like longing for the peace of rural life, he declares that the big cities are his proper field of activity. Accordingly, our poet betook himself to Paris in order there, too, to see

> ... with horror, terrified,
> The working masses seethe round him
> Like lava in a bubbling tide [p. 111].

*Hélas! il n'en fut rien.*[a] In a message from Paris published in the *Grenzboten*[b] he declares that he is terribly disillusioned. The worthy poet looked everywhere for this seething mass of proletarians, even

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[a] Alas! nothing came of it.—*Ed.*
[b] Alfred Meissner, "Aus Paris".—*Ed.*

in the Cirque olympique, where at that time the French Revolution was enacted to the sound of drums and cannon; but instead of the dark heroes of virtue and savage republicans that he sought, he found only a laughing, volatile people of imperturbable cheerfulness who were much more interested in pretty girls than in the great problems of mankind. In just the same way he looked for "the representatives of the French people" in the Chamber of Deputies and found only a crowd of well-fed, incoherently chattering *ventrus.*[a]

It is indeed irresponsible of the Paris proletarians not to have organised a little July revolution in honour of Karl Moor the Younger, so as to give him the opportunity of obtaining, "with horror, terrified", a better opinion of them. Our worthy poet utters a mighty cry of woe over all these misfortunes and, like a new Jonah spewed out of the belly of true socialism, he predicts the downfall of Nineveh-on-the-Seine,[b] as can be read in detail in the *Grenzboten* of 1847, No. [14], report "From Paris", where our poet likewise relates in a very amusing manner how he mistook a *bon bourgeois du Marais*[c] for a proletarian and what peculiar misunderstandings arose out of it.

We shall not bother about his *Žiška,* for it is merely boring.

Since we have just been talking of poems, we should like to say a few words about the six instigations to revolution which our Freiligrath issued under the title *Ça ira,* Herisau, 1846. The first of them is a Geman *Marseillaise* and sings of a "bold pirate", which "in Austria, just as in Prussia, is called revolution". The following request is addressed to this ship, which flies its own flag and represents an important reinforcement to the famous German fleet *in partibus infidelium.*[153]

> 'Gainst silver fleets of gains ill-gotten
> Bravely point the cannon's maw.
> On the ocean's rotting floor,
> May the fruits of greed go rotten [p. 9].[d]

Incidentally, the whole song is written in such an easy-going mood that, in spite of the metre, it is best sung to the tune: "Get up,you sailors, the anchor to weigh."[e]

Most characteristic is the poem "Wie man's macht",[f] that is to say:

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[a] Pot-bellies.—*Ed.*
[b] Cf. Jonah 2:1-10; 3:1-4.—*Ed.*
[c] A respectable citizen from Marais (a district of Paris).—*Ed.*
[d] Ferdinand Freiligrath, "Vor der Fahrt (Melodie der Marseillaise)".—*Ed.*
[e] From Wilhelm Gerhard's poem "Matrose".—*Ed.*
[f] "How It Is Done".—*Ed.*

how Freiligrath makes a revolution. Bad times have set in, people are hungry and go about in rags: "How can they obtain bread and clothes?" In this situation an "audacious fellow" comes forward who knows what to do. He leads the whole crowd to the stores of the militia and distributes the uniforms found there, which are at once put on. The crowd also takes hold of the rifles "as an experiment" and considers that "it would be fun" to take them as well. At that moment it occurs to our "audacious fellow" that this "joke with the clothes might perhaps even be called rebellion, house-breaking and robbery", and so one would have "to be ready to fight for one's clothes". And so helmets, sabres and cartridge belts are also taken and a beggar's sack hoisted as a flag. In this way they come into the streets. Then the "royal troops" make their appearance, the general gives the order to fire, but the soldiers joyously embrace the dressed-up militia. And since they have now got under way, they advance on the capital, also for "fun", find support there and thus as a result of a "joke over clothing": "Tumbling down comes throne and crown, the kingdom trembles on its base" and "triumphantly the people raise their long downtrodden heads". Everything happens so rapidly and smoothly that during the whole procedure surely not a single member of the "proletarian battalion" finds that his pipe has gone out. One must admit that nowhere are revolutions accomplished more merrily and with greater ease than in the head of our Freiligrath. In truth it requires all the black-galled hypochondria of the *Allgemeine Preussische Zeitung* to detect high treason in such an innocent, idyllic excursion.

The last group of true socialists to which we turn is the *Berlin* group. From this group, too, we shall select only one characteristic individual, namely, Herr *Ernst Dronke*, because he has performed a lasting service to German literature by the discovery of a new genre of artistic writing. For a considerable time the novelists and writers of short stories of our Fatherland had been short of material. Never before had such a dearth of raw material for their industry made itself felt. It is true that the French factories provided much that was useful but this supply was the less adequate to meet the demand because much of it was offered immediately to the consumers in the shape of translations and thus constituted a dangerous competition to the writers of novels. It was then that the ingenuity of Herr Dronke was displayed: in the shape of *Ophiuchus*,[a] the serpent holder in the truly socialist firmament, he held aloft the writhing giant serpent of the German police legislation, in order to manufacture

[a] Ophiuchus—the Serpent Holder—a constellation.—*Ed.*

from it in his *Polizei-Geschichten*[a] a series of most interesting short stories. In point of fact this complicated legislation, which is as slippery as a serpent, contains extremely rich material for this kind of writing. A novel lies concealed in every paragraph, a tragedy in every regulation. Herr Dronke, who as a Berlin writer has himself waged mighty battles against the police presidium, could speak here from his own experience. There will be no lack of followers once the way has been shown; it is a rich field. Prussian Law, *inter alia*, is an inexhaustible source of tense conflicts and sensational incidents. In the legislation on divorce, alimony and the bridal wreath alone—not to speak of the chapters on unnatural private pleasures—the whole of the German novel industry can find raw material for centuries. Moreover, nothing is easier than to work up such a paragraph in poetic form: the conflict and its solution is ready-made there, one has only to add some trimmings which can be taken from any of the novels of Bulwer, Dumas or Sue and adapt them slightly, and the story is ready. Thus it is to be hoped that the German townsman and villager, as also the *studiosus juris* or *cameralium*,[b] will gradually come to possess a series of commentaries on contemporary legislation that will enable them, with ease and total elimination of pedantry, to become thoroughly conversant with this sphere.

We see from the example of Herr Dronke that our expectations are not excessive. From the legislation on naturalisation alone he has composed two stories. In one of them ("Polizeiliche Ehescheidung"[c]), a writer (the heroes of German writers are always writers) of the Electorate of Hesse marries a Prussian woman without the legally prescribed permission of his municipal council. In consequence his wife and children lose any claim to be Hessian subjects and as a result of police intervention the married couple are separated. The writer gets angry, voices his displeasure with the existing order of things, is on account of this challenged to a duel by a lieutenant, is stabbed and dies. The police complications had involved expenses which ruined him financially. His wife, who ceased to be a Prussian subject because of her marriage to a foreigner, now experiences extreme want.

In the second story on civil status, for fourteen long years a poor devil of a man is transferred from Hamburg to Hanover and from Hanover to Hamburg, in order to taste the delights of the treadmill in the one place and of prison in the other, and to be flogged on both

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[a] *Police Stories.—Ed.*
[b] Student of law or cameralistics.—*Ed.*
[c] "Police Divorce".—*Ed.*

banks of the Elbe. The writer deals in the same way with the evil that complaints about the police abusing their power can only be made to the police. A very moving description is given of how the Berlin police, by their regulation on expulsion of unemployed domestic servants, encourage prostitution, and also of other poignant conflicts.

True socialism has allowed itself to be duped by Herr Dronke in the most good-natured fashion. It has mistaken the *Polizei-Geschichten,* lachrymose descriptions of German philistine misery written in the tone of *Menschenhass und Reue,*[a] for pictures of the conflicts in modern society; it has believed that this was socialist propaganda; it has never for a moment reflected on the fact that such lamentable scenes are quite impossible in France, England and America, where anything but socialism prevails, and that consequently Herr Dronke is making not socialist, but *liberal* propaganda. In this case true socialism is the more excusable because Herr Dronke himself has not reflected on *all* that either.

Herr Dronke has also written stories entitled *Aus dem Volke.*[b] Here again we have a story describing the penury of professional authors so as to win the compassion of the public. This narrative seems to have inspired Freiligrath to write the touching poem in which he begs for sympathy for the writer and exclaims: "He, too, is a proletarian!"[c] When things reach the stage when the German proletarians settle their accounts with the bourgeoisie and the other propertied classes, they will, by means of lamp-posts,[154] show the knights of the pen, the lowest of all venal classes, how far they are proletarians. The other stories in Dronke's book have been botched together with a total lack of imagination and considerable ignorance of real life, and they serve only to foist Herr Dronke's socialist ideas on people in whose mouth they are completely inappropriate.

In addition, Herr Dronke has written a book about Berlin[d] which is abreast of modern science, that is to say, it contains a variegated medley of Young-Hegelian, Bauer's, Feuerbach's, Stirner's, true socialist and communist views, such as have come into circulation in the literature of recent years. The outcome of it all is that, despite everything, Berlin remains the centre of modern culture and intelligence, and a world city with two-fifths of a million inhabitants,

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[a] *Misanthropy and Repentance,* a drama by August Kotzebue.—*Ed.*
[b] *Among the People.—Ed.*
[c] Ferdinand Freiligrath, "Requiescat!"—*Ed.*
[d] Ernst Dronke, *Berlin.—Ed.*

the competition of which Paris and London should take heed of. There are even *grisettes* in Berlin, but—God knows—they are what you might expect.

The Berlin circle of true socialists includes Herr Friedrich Sass, who has also written a book about the city which is his spiritual home.[a] But so far we have only had occasion to see one of this author's poems, printed on page 29 of Püttmann's *Album*, a book which we shall presently discuss in more detail. This poem sings of "The Future of Old Europe"[b] in the manner of "Lenore started up from sleep"[c] with the most repulsive expressions that our author could find in the entire German language and with the greatest possible number of grammatical mistakes. The socialism of Herr Sass reduces itself to the idea that Europe, the "unchaste woman", will shortly perish:

> Your wooer is the graveyard worm.
> Dost hear amid the marriage storm
> The Cossacks and the Tatar horde
> That ride across your rotting bed?...
> Alongside Asia's barren tomb
> Your sarcophagus will find room—
> The giant corpses, old and grey,
> Are bursting (Ugh!) and are giving way—
> As Memphis and Palmyra burst (!)
> The savage eagle builds its nest
> O'er your decaying brow,
> You strumpet, ancient now!

It is clear that the imagination and language of the poet have "burst" no less than his conception of history.

With this glance into the future we shall conclude our review of the various constellations of true socialism. It is indeed a brilliant series of constellations that have passed in front of our telescope, it is the brightest half of the sky that has been occupied by true socialism with its army! As the *Milky Way* enveloping all these lustrous stars with its tender gleam of bourgeois philanthropy, there is the *Trier'sche Zeitung*, a newspaper that has identified itself body and soul with true socialism. No event that even most remotely affects true socialism can take place without the *Trier'sche Zeitung* enthusiastically entering the lists. From Lieutenant Anneke to Countess Hatzfeld, from the Bielefeld Museum to Madame Aston, the *Trier'sche Zeitung* has fought in behalf of true socialism with an energy that has caused its

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[a] Friedrich Sass, *Berlin in seiner neuesten Zeit und Entwicklung*.—*Ed.*
[b] "Des alten Europa's Zukunft", a poem by Friedrich Sass.—*Ed.*
[c] The first line of Gottfried August Bürger's poem "Lenore".—*Ed.*

brow to be bathed in a noble perspiration. It is in the most literal sense a Milky Way of tenderness, mercy and love of mankind, and it is only in very rare cases that it offers sour milk. Tranquilly and undisturbed, as befits a proper milky way, may it continue in its course, providing Germany's valiant citizens with the butter of soft-heartedness and the cheese of philistinism! It need not be afraid that anyone will skim off the cream, for it is too watery to have any.

In order, however, that we may take our leave of true socialism with unruffled cheerfulness, it has prepared for us a final feast in the form of the *Album* published by H. Püttmann, Borna, near Reiche, 1847. Under the aegis of the Great Bear, a girandole is produced here as brilliant as any to be seen at the Easter festival in Rome. All the socialist poets have, either voluntarily or under compulsion, contributed rockets which rise into the sky in hissing, glittering sheaves, and explode in the air with a loud report into a million stars, magically turning the night of the conditions around us into the light of day. But, alas, the beautiful spectacle lasts only a second—the firework burns out and leaves behind only a thick smoke which makes the night appear even darker than it really is, a smoke through which there shine only the seven poems of *Heine* as constant bright stars, which to our great astonishment and to the considerable embarrassment of the Great Bear have appeared in this society. Let us, however, not be disturbed by this, nor object because several of *Weerth*'s things that are reprinted here are bound to feel uncomfortable in such company, but let us enjoy the full impression of the fireworks.[155]

We find very interesting themes treated here. Three or four times spring is praised with all the display of which true socialism is capable. No less than *eight* seduced girls are presented to us from all possible points of view. We are enabled to see here not only the act of seduction, but also its consequences; each main period of pregnancy is represented by at least one individual. Afterwards, as is fitting, comes childbirth, and in its train infanticide or suicide. It is only to be regretted that Schiller's "child-murderess" has not been included as well; the editor, however, may have thought that it was enough to have the well-known cry: "Joseph, Joseph", etc.,[a] echoing through the whole book. A stanza—to the tune of a well-known lullaby—may serve as evidence of the quality of these songs of seduction. Herr Ludwig *Köhler* sings on page 299:

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[a] From Schiller's poem "Die Kindesmörderin".—*Ed.*

Weep, Mother, weep!
She is sick, your cherished one!
Weep, Mother, weep!
For her innocence is gone!
Your advice: "Child, guard your honour",
Was entirely lost upon her!

In general, the *Album* is a true apotheosis of crime. Besides the above-mentioned numerous cases of infanticide, Herr Karl *Eck* sings of a "Forest Misdeed",[a] and the Swabian Hiller who murdered his five children is celebrated in a short poem by Herr Johannes *Scherr*, and in an interminable poem by Ursa Major himself. One would think that one was at a German fair where the organ-grinders keep on playing their murder stories:

Crimson child, you child of hell,
Say, what was your life like here?
You and your dread murder-hole
Made all people shrink in fear.
Human beings ninety-six
Perished by the villain's deed,
For the killer broke their necks,
Took their lives with utmost speed, etc.

It is difficult to make a choice among these young and vigorous poets and their productions, which are full of vital warmth; for basically it does not matter whether the name is Theodor Opitz or Karl Eck, Johannes Scherr or Joseph Schweitzer, the things are all equally beautiful. Let us take some at random.

First of all we find once again our friend Boötes-*Semmig*, who is engaged in elevating spring to the speculative heights of true socialism (p. 35[b]):

Awake! Awake! For Spring will soon be coming—
O'er hill and dale with movement of the storm
Unfettered *Freedom* makes her way—

What kind of freedom this is, we are told at once:

Why gaze upon the Cross so slavishly?
No free man to that god will bend the knee
Who felled the oak-trees of the Fatherland
And made the very gods of Freedom flee!

that is to say, the freedom of the Germanic primeval forests, in whose shade Boötes can tranquilly reflect on "socialism, communism and humanism", and foster at will "the thorn of hate for Tyranny". About this last we learn:

There is no rose that blooms without a thorn,

[a] "Waldfrevel."—*Ed.*
[b] "Frühlingsruf."—*Ed.*

consequently, it can be hoped that the budding "rose" Andromeda, too, will soon find an appropriate "thorn" and then no longer "appear so wooden" to herself as previously. Boötes acts also in the interests of the *Veilchen,* which it is true did not then exist, by publishing here an unusual poem, the title and refrain of which consist of the words: "Buy violets! Buy violets! Buy violets!" (p. 38).

Herr N..h..s[a] exerts himself with praiseworthy zeal to bring into being 32 pages of long-line verse, without advancing a single idea in it. There is, for instance, a "Proletarians' Song"[b] (p. 166). The proletarians come out into the lap of nature—if we wanted to say *from where* they come out, there would be no end to it—and after long preambles finally decide on the following apostrophe:

> Nature, O thou mother of all beings,
> All thou wouldst with love refresh and strengthen,
> All thou hast to utmost bliss predestined,
> Great beyond all ken thou art and lofty!
> Listen, then, to our resolves most holy!
> Hear what we would vow to thee sincerely!
> Bear the tidings to the sea, ye rivers,
> Spring wind, breathe it through the darkling pine-trees!

With that a new theme has been broached and for quite a space the poem continues in this strain. Finally, in the *fourteenth* stanza, we learn what the people really want; it is, however, not worth the trouble of putting it down here.

It is likewise interesting to make the acquaintance of Herr Joseph *Schweitzer*[c]:

> Thought is soul and action is flesh in this our earthly life;
> Husband is the spark of fire, and the deed his own true wife,

to which is adjoined in an unaffected way what Herr J. Schweitzer wants, namely:

> I will *crackle,* I will *blaze,* Freedom's light
> In wood and plain,
> Till the enormous water-bucket, Death,
> Shall douse my spark again (p. 213).

His wish is fulfilled. In these poems it "crackles" to his heart's content, and he is also a "spark", as is evident at the first glance. But he is a delightful "spark":

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[a] Neuhaus.—*Ed.*

[b] "Proletarierlied".—*Ed.*

[c] The following quotations are from Schweitzer's poems "Die Parole" and "Leipzig".—*Ed.*

Head held high and knuckles clenched,
There I stand, made happy, free (p. 216).

In this posture he must have been priceless. Unfortunately, the Leipzig August riot[156] drew him on the street and there he witnessed moving things:

A tender *human bud*, before me, in full view—
O shame, O horror!—
*Sucking up* in greedy draughts its shining drops of *deadly dew* (p. 217).

Hermann *Ewerbeck*, too, does not disgrace his Christian name. On page 227 he begins a "Battle-Song"[a] which was undoubtedly already roared out by the Cherusci in the Teutoburg Woods:

For Freedom, *for the being*
*Within*, we bravely fight.

Is this perhaps a battle-song for pregnant women?

And not for gold or medals,
Nor yet for vain delight,
We struggle hard for future generations etc.

In a second poem [p. 229][b] we learn:

Human *feelings* all are holy,
Purest *thought* is holy too,
When they meet with thought and feelings
Pass away all spirits do.

Just as such verses are liable to make our "thought and feelings" "pass away".

We warmly love the Good,
The Beautiful in this world,
We toil and we create
Ever in man's true field;

and our labour in this field is rewarded with a harvest of sentimental doggerel that even Ludwig of Bavaria could not have produced.

Herr Richard Reinhardt is a quiet and sedate young man. He "steps in gentle calm along the path of quiet self-development" and provides us with a birthday poem "An die junge Menschheit", in which he contents himself with singing of:

The loving sun of Freedom pure,
Pure Love's own radiant Freedom light,
And loving Peace's friendly light [pp. 234, 236].

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[a] "Schlachtlied".—*Ed.*
[b] "Lied" ("Song").—*Ed.*

These six pages raise our spirits. "Love" occurs sixteen times, "light" seven times, the "sun" five times, "freedom" eight times, not to speak of "stars", "lucidities", "days", "raptures", "joys", "peace", "roses", "passions", "truths" and other subsidiary spices of human existence. If one has had the good fortune to be sung of *in this way*, one can truly go in peace to the grave.

But why should we dwell on these bunglers when we can behold such masters as Herr Rudolf Schwerdtlein and Ursa Major? Let us leave all those rather amiable but very imperfect attempts to their fate and turn to the consummation of socialist poesy!

Herr Rudolf Schwerdtlein sings:

"*Boldly Onwards*"[a]
We are the riders of life. Hurrah (*ter*[b])
Whither, O riders of life?
We're riding into death. Hurrah!
We're blowing on our trumpets. Hurrah (*ter*)
What blow you on your trumpets?
We blast, we blow of death. Hurrah!
The army is left behind. Hurrah (*ter*)
What does it do behind?
It sleeps the eternal sleep. Hurrah!
Hark! Do enemy trumpets sound? Hurrah (*ter*)
O woe to you, poor trumpeters!
We ride now into death. Hurrah! [Pp. 199, 200.]

O woe, you poor trumpeter!—We see that the rider of life not only rides with jubilant courage into death, he rides just as audaciously into the most utter nonsense, in which he feels as happy as a tick in a sheep.[c] A few pages farther on the rider of life opens "fire"[d]:

We are so wise, we know a thousand things,
Progress impetuous has brought us far—
Yet when your boat across the waves you steer,
The spirits aye will rustle round your ear [p. 204].

One could wish that a really solid *body* will very soon "rustle round the ear" of the rider of life so as to drive away the spirit rustling.

Just bite an apple! Betwixt it and your teeth
Before your very eyes a ghost will rear.
Seize the strong mane of some fine thoroughbred—
A spectre rises by the stallion's ear.

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[a] Rudolf Schwerdtlein, "Frisch auf".—*Ed.*
[b] *Ter*—three times.—*Ed.*
[c] Cf. Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, Act III, Scene 3.—*Ed.*
[d] Rudolf Schwerdtlein, "Feuer!".—*Ed.*

Something also "rises" on each side of the head of the rider of life, but it is not "the stallion's ear"—

> Around you thoughts hyena-like spring up,
> When you embrace the one your heart has chosen.

It is the same with the rider of life as with other valiant warriors. He does not fear death, but "spectres", "ghosts" and especially "thoughts" make him tremble like an aspen leaf. To save himself from them he decides to set the world on fire, "to dare a universal conflagration":

> Destroy—that's the great watchword of the age,
> Destroy—that's discord's only resolution;
> See that the body and the soul are burned:
> Nature and Being must be purified.
> Like metal in a crucible, the world
> In blasting flames must now be newly formed.
> In fiery judgment on the world, the demon
> Initiates the new world history [p. 206].

The rider of life has hit the nail on the head. The discord of the only resolution in the great watchword of the age of thorough purification of nature and being is precisely that the metal in the crucible is burnt to become body and soul, that is to say, the destruction of the new history of the world is the new formation of the fiery judgment on the world or, in other words, the demon take the world in the fire of the beginning.

Now for our old friend Ursa Major. We have already mentioned the Hilleriad.[a] This begins with a great truth:

> You people in God's grace can never grasp
> How hard the world seems to a *ragamuffin*;
> *One never can get free* [p. 256].

After compelling us to listen to the whole story of woe in the minutest detail, Ursa Major once again breaks out into "hypocrisy":

> Woe, woe to you, you heartless, wicked world—
> Accursed be for ever! And you too, damned gold!
> It was through you this murder did occur,
> You played your part, you monstrous money-bags!
> The children's blood is on your head alone!
> The truth is spoken by my poet's mouth,
> I fling it in your face, and I await
> The striking of the hour that spells revenge! [P. 262.]

Might it not be thought that Ursa Major commits here an act of the most terrifying recklessness by "flinging truths from his poet's

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[a] Hermann Püttmann's poem "Johann Hiller".—*Ed.*

mouth into people's faces"? There is no need for alarm, however, one need not tremble for his liver and his safety. The rich do as little harm to the Great Bear as he does to them. But, in his opinion, one should either have had old Hiller's head cut off or:

> The softest down on earth you ought to lay
> With greatest care beneath the murderer's head,
> So—for your blessing—he while fast asleep
> Forgets the love of which you have deprived him.
> And when he wakes there ought to be around him
> *Two hundred* harps that sound sweet melodies,
> So never more the children's dying gasps
> Shall lacerate his ear or break his heart.
> And more still for atonement—it should be
> The loveliest that love can e'er contrive—
> Perhaps that would relieve your sense of guilt,
> And set your conscience finally at rest (p. 263).

That is indeed the acme of *bonhomie*, the very truth of true socialism! "For your blessing!", "a tranquil conscience!" Ursa Major has become childish and relates tales for the nursery. It is known that he still "awaits the striking of the hour that spells revenge".

But much more cheerful still than the Hilleriad are the "Graveyard Idylls".[a] First of all he sees the burial of a poor man and laments of his widow, then that of a young man who was killed in the war and who was the sole support of his aged father, then that of a child murdered by its mother, and finally that of a rich man. Having seen all that, he begins to "think" and lo and behold

> ...my vision bright and clear became
> And deep into the grave its rays did pierce; [p. 284]

unfortunately, it did not become sufficiently "clear" to pierce "deep into" his verse.

> The most mysterious was revealed to me.

On the other hand, what has been "revealed" to all the world, namely, the appalling worthlessness of his verse, has remained completely "mysterious" to him. And the clear-sighted Bear saw how "in a trice the greatest miracles occurred". The fingers of the poor man turned into coral and his hair into silk, and consequently his widow became very rich. From the soldier's grave flames leap out that devour the king's palace. From the child's grave there springs up a rose whose perfume penetrates to the mother in her prison—and the rich man, owing to the transmigration of souls, becomes an adder, with regard to which Ursa Major allows himself the private

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[a] "FriedhofsIdyllen".—*Ed.*

satisfaction of causing it to be trampled by his youngest son! And so, in the view of Ursa Major, "nevertheless, we shall all attain immortality".

By the way, our Bear has after all some courage. On page 273, he throws out a challenge in thunderous tones to "his misfortune"; he defies it, for:

> Within my heart a mighty lion sits—
> It is so valiant, powerful and swift—
> Against its claws you should be on your guard![a]

Indeed, Ursa Major "feels the lust for battle", and "fears no wounds".

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Printed according to the manuscript

[a] Hermann Püttmann, "Trotz des Proletariers".—*Ed.*

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] The "Theses on Feuerbach" were written by Karl Marx in Brussels, probably in April 1845. They are to be found in Marx's notebook of 1844-47 under the heading "1) *ad* Feuerbach". They were published by Engels in the Appendix to the 1888 edition of his work *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*. In the foreword to this edition Engels called this important theoretical document "Theses on Feuerbach", hence the title. To render the brief notes, which Marx had not intended for publication, more comprehensible to the reader, Engels made a number of editorial changes when preparing the "Theses" for the press. Both versions of the "Theses"—i.e., Marx's original text and that edited by Engels—have been included in this volume. The original text was first published in German and Russian in 1924 by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., Moscow (*Marx-Engels Archives*, Book I); in English it was published in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology, Parts I & III*, Lawrence and Wishart Ltd., London, 1938. The first English translation of the edited version was published in the Appendix to Frederick Engels, *Feuerbach. The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy*, Chicago, 1903. p. 3

[2] Marx refers to the following chapters in Feuerbach's *Das Wesen des Christenthums*: "Die Bedeutung der Creation im Judenthum" and "Der wesentliche Standpunkt der Religion". p. 3

[3] These notes were evidently intended by Engels for Chapter I of the first volume of *The German Ideology*. They were first published in the language of the original by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in 1932 (*Marx/Engels Gesamtausgabe*, Erste Abteilung, Band 5); in English they were published for the first time in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964. p. 11

[4] According to the doctrine of the Saint-Simonists, every individual is endowed with love, intellect and physical activity. Hence he should receive moral, mental and physical education (cf. *Doctrine de Saint-Simon. Exposition. Première année*, 9th lecture). p. 12

[5] This item, which was published anonymously, is the reply of the authors of *The Holy Family* to the anti-critique contained in Bruno Bauer's article "Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs" published in *Wigand's Vierteljahrsschrift*, 1845, Bd. 3. It is roughly identical with a passage in Chapter II, Volume I of *The German Ideology* (see this volume, pp. 112-14). In English the item was first published in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964. p. 15

[6] The review was published anonymously under the heading "Die heilige Familie oder Kritik der kritischen Kritik. Gegen Br. Bauer und Consorten. Von F. Engels und K. Marx, Frankfurt, 1845". p. 15

[7] *The German Ideology—Die deutsche Ideologie. Kritik der neuesten deutschen Philosophie in ihren Repräsentanten Feuerbach, B. Bauer und Stirner, und des deutschen Sozialismus in seinen verschiedenen Propheten*—is the joint work of Marx and Engels which they wrote in Brussels in 1845 and 1846.

Marx and Engels decided to write a philosophical work in which they intended to counterpose their materialist conception of history to the idealist views of the Young Hegelians and to Feuerbach's inconsistent materialism in the spring of 1845, when Engels came to Brussels (early in April) and Marx outlined to him his materialist conception, which had nearly taken shape by then. Marx's "Theses on Feuerbach" were written in connection with this project. In the autumn of 1845 the project took the form of a definite plan to write a two-volume work directed against the Young Hegelians and the "true socialists". In November 1845 Marx and Engels began writing the book. In the course of their work the plan and composition of the book were changed several times. Moses Hess was enlisted to write two chapters. But the chapter against the Young Hegelian Arnold Ruge, which Hess wrote for Volume I, was excluded from the final version of *The German Ideology*, and the other chapter, dealing with the "true socialist" Kuhlmann, which Hess wrote for Volume II, was edited by Marx and Engels.

Work on *The German Ideology* was in the main terminated in April 1846; it seems, however, that the authors continued working on Chapter I of the first volume until the middle of July, but it was never completed. The draft of the preface for Volume I was written by Marx not later than the middle of August. Work on Volume II was completed by early June 1846. Engels' work *The True Socialists*, which was intended as the concluding chapter of Volume II, was written between January and April 1847.

In 1846 and 1847 Marx and Engels made repeated attempts to find a publisher in Germany for their work, but they were unsuccessful. This was due partly to difficulties made by the police and partly to the reluctance of the publishers to print the work, since their sympathies were on the side of the trends which Marx and Engels criticised. The only Chapter of *The German Ideology* known to be published during their lifetime was Chapter IV of Volume II, which appeared in the journal *Das Westphälische Dampfboot* in August and September 1847.

The text of a few pages in Chapter II of Volume I (pp. 112-14 of this volume) is similar to that of an anonymous item dated "Brussels, November 20" (see this volume, pp. 15-18), which appeared in the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*, Heft VII, Januar 1846 (in the section "Nachrichten und Notizen").

Neither the title of the whole work nor the headings of the first and the second volumes have survived in the manuscript. They are, however, mentioned by Marx in his article "Declaration against Karl Grün" (see present edition, Vol. 6) and have been taken from there.

The manuscript of chapters II and III of Volume II is missing, and it is possible that the "Circular against Kriege" by Marx and Engels and Engels' article "German Socialism in Verse and Prose" (see present edition, Vol. 6) formed part of this volume.

The manuscript is in a rather poor condition, the paper has turned yellow and is damaged in places. "The gnawing criticism of the mice", as Marx wrote later in his preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, has left its mark on a number of pages, other pages are missing. The Preface to *The German Ideology* and some of the alterations and additions are in Marx's hand; the bulk of the manuscript, however, is in Engels' hand, except for Chapter V of Volume II and some passages in Chapter III of Volume I. which are in Joseph Weydemeyer's hand. As a rule, the pages are divided into two parts: the main text is on the left side while additions and changes are on the right. A number of passages were crossed out by the authors, and a few more passages were crossed out by Eduard Bernstein (this has been pointed out by S. Bahne in his article "*Die Deutsche Ideologie* von Marx und Engels. Einige Textergänzungen", published in the *International Review of Social History*, Vol. VII, 1962, Part I).

Words and passages which have become unreadable have been reconstructed on the basis of the unimpaired parts whenever possible; they are enclosed in square brackets. Wherever it was necessary to insert a few words to clarify the meaning, they are likewise printed in square brackets. Gaps in the manuscript are indicated in footnotes. Marginal notes as well as the most important of the crossed-out passages are given in footnotes which are indicated by asterisks, whereas the editors' footnotes are indicated by index letters. Passages crossed out by Bernstein, wherever it was possible to decipher them, have been restored.

After Engels' death the manuscript of *The German Ideology* came into the hands of the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party, who in the course of 37 years published less than half of it. Part of Chapter III, "Saint Max", was published by Bernstein in 1903-04 (see Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels, "III. Sankt Max", in *Dokumente des Sozialismus*, Stuttgart, Bd. III, Hefte 1-4 and 7-8, Januar-April and Juli-August 1903; Bd. IV, Hefte 5-9, Mai-September 1904). Another part of this chapter — "My Self-Enjoyment" — was brought out in 1913 (see Karl Marx, "Mein Selbstgenuss", in *Arbeiter-Feuilleton*, München, Nr. 8 and 9, März 1913). Gustav Meyer published the introductory pages of "The Leipzig Council" and Chapter II, "Saint Bruno", in 1921 (see Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx, "Das Leipziger Konzil", in *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, 47. Band, 3. Heft, Tübingen, 1921). Chapter I, "Feuerbach", the most important chapter of *The German Ideology*, was first published by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in Russian in 1924 (*Marx-Engels Archives*, Book I) and in German in 1926 (*Marx-Engels Archiv*, I. Band). The whole work as it has come down to us (except for the six pages which were found later and printed in the *International Review of Social History*, Vol. VII, 1962, Part 1) was first published in Marx/Engels *Gesamtausgabe*, Erste Abteilung, 5. Band, in 1932 by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

The first English version of Chapter I, translated from the Russian, was published in the American journal *The Marxist* No. 3, July 1926. A small part of this chapter, translated from the German, was published in the British journal *The Labour Monthly*, Vol. 15, No. 3, March 1933. An English translation of Chapter I, "Feuerbach", and Volume II, "Der wahre Sozialismus", was published by Lawrence and Wishart Ltd., London, 1938, under the title *The German Ideology*,

*Parts I & III.* The first English translation of the whole work, except for one passage from Chapter I of the first volume (p. 29 of the manuscript), was issued by Progress Publishers, Moscow, in 1964. p. 19

8 The manuscript of Chapter I of the first volume of *The German Ideology* has come down to us in the form of several separate passages written at different times and in different circumstances. This is due to changes which Marx and Engels made in the general plan of the book as the work proceeded.

Originally Marx and Engels began writing a purely critical work dealing simultaneously with Ludwig Feuerbach, Bruno Bauer and Max Stirner. Then they decided to discuss Bruno Bauer and Max Stirner in separate chapters ("II. Saint Bruno" and "III. Saint Max"), and the first chapter was conceived as a general introduction stating their own views in opposition to Feuerbach's. Therefore they crossed out nearly all passages referring to Bauer and Stirner in the original manuscript and transferred them to chapters II or III. Thus, the chronologically first part, which formed the original nucleus of the chapter on Feuerbach (29 pages numbered by Marx), took shape.

Then they wrote Chapter II and began to work on Chapter III. In the course of their critical analysis of Stirner's book *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum,* Marx and Engels made various theoretical digressions in which they developed their materialist conception of history. Two of these digressions were subsequently transferred by them from the chapter on Stirner to that on Feuerbach. The first—consisting of 6 pages—was written in connection with the criticism of Stirner's idealist view that history was dominated by spirit (this digression was originally in the section "D. Hierarchy"; see this volume, p. 175). The second theoretical digression—consisting of 37 pages—was written in connection with the criticism of Stirner's views of bourgeois society, competition and the interrelation between private property, state and law (this latter passage from the chapter on Stirner was replaced by another; see this volume, p. 355, etc.). These two digressions formed the chronologically second and third parts of the chapter on Feuerbach.

The pages of these three parts were numbered by Marx (1 to 72) and thus form the rough copy of the whole chapter. Pages 3-7 and 36-39 of the manuscript have not been found.

Marx and Engels then started revising the rough copy and writing out a clean copy, the beginning of which exists in two versions. We have thus four more or less independent parts of the manuscript (three parts of rough copy and one of clean copy).

In the present edition the chapter on Feuerbach is accordingly divided into four parts. Part I consists of the combined fragments of the clean copy. Part II comprises the original nucleus of the whole chapter. Parts III and IV are the two theoretical digressions transferred from the chapter on Stirner. Each part is a consistent, logically coherent whole. The parts complement one another and together they are a comprehensive exposition of the materialist conception of history.

The content of the four parts can be summarised in the following way: I. Introduction, general remarks concerning the idealism of German post-Hegelian philosophy. Premises, essence and general outline of the materialist conception of history. II. Materialist conception of historical development and conclusions from the materialist conception of history. Criticism of the idealist conception of history in general, criticism of the Young Hegelians and Feuerbach in particular. III. Origin of the idealist conception of history. IV. Development of the produc-

tive forces, of the division of labour and of the forms of property. The class structure of society. The political superstructure. Forms of social consciousness.

Comparison of the different parts of the manuscript makes it possible to bring out the logical structure of the chapter, form an idea of the authors' intentions and reconstruct the general plan of the chapter. First Marx and Engels give a general description of German ideology, then they counterpose the materialist conception of history to the idealist conception, and, finally, criticise the latter. The central part of the chapter has the following structure: the authors' premises; their materialist conception of history; the conclusions following from their theory. The materialist conception of history is presented as follows: development of production—intercourse (social relations)—political superstructure—forms of social consciousness. On the whole, the plan of the chapter, reconstructed in accordance with the intentions of Marx and Engels, can be formulated thus:

1) *General description of German ideology* (Part I, introductory remarks and Section 1; Part II, Section 1).

2) *Premises of the materialist conception of history* (Part I, Section 2).

3) *Production* (Part II, Sections 3-5; Part I, Section 3; Part IV, Sections 1-5), *intercourse* (Part IV, Sections 6-10), *political superstructure* (Part IV, Section 11), *forms of social consciousness* (Part III, Section 1; Part IV, Section 12).

4) *Conclusions from and summary of the materialist conception of history* (Part II, Sections 6-7; Part I, Section 4).

5) *Critique of the idealist conception of history in general, and of the Young Hegelians and Feuerbach in particular* (Part II, Sections 8-9 and 2; Part III, Section 1).

In the manuscript the chapter as a whole has the heading: "I. Feuerbach." While sorting out Marx's papers after his death in 1883, Engels found among them the manuscript of *The German Ideology* and reread it. At the end of the first chapter he made the note: "I. Feuerbach. Opposition of the materialist and idealist outlooks."

The parts of this chapter are subdivided into sections. These subdivisions have been made by the editors, who also supplied most of the headings. All headings supplied by the editors and all editorial insertions are enclosed in square brackets.

The pages of the manuscript are indicated in this volume. The sheets of the clean copy, partly numbered by Engels (sheets 3 and 5), are indicated thus: |sh. 1|, |sh. 2|, etc. The pages of the first version of the beginning of the clean copy, which were not numbered by the authors, are indicated thus: [p. 1], p. 2], etc. The pages of the three rough drafts, which were numbered by Marx, are indicated thus: |1|, 2|, etc.

The arrangement of the different parts of the manuscript within Chapter I and its subdivision into sections are the same as in the Russian version first published in the journal *Voprosy Filosofii* (Questions of Philosophy), Nos. 10 and 11, Moscow, 1965. In English this version was first published by Progress Publishers in Vol. 1 of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* (in three volumes), Moscow, 1969. p. 27

[9] A reference to David Friedrich Strauss' main work, *Das Leben Jesu* (Bd. 1-2, Tübingen, 1835-1836); with it began the philosophical criticism of religion and the disintegration of the Hegelian school into Old and Young Hegelians. p. 27

[10] *Diadochi*—the generals of Alexander the Great who, after his death, fought one another in a fierce struggle for power. In the course of this struggle (end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd century B.C.) Alexander's Empire, an

unstable military and administrative union, disintegrated into several independent states. p. 27

[11] In *The German Ideology* the term "*Verkehr*" ("intercourse") is used in a very broad sense. It comprises both the material and spiritual intercourse of individuals, social groups and whole countries. Marx and Engels show that material intercourse, and above all the intercourse of men in the process of production, is the basis of all other forms of intercourse. The terms *Verkehrsform* (form of intercourse), *Verkehrsweise* (mode of intercourse), *Verkehrsverhältnisse* (relations of intercourse) and *Produktions- und Verkehrsverhältnisse* (relations of production and intercourse) are used by Marx and Engels in *The German Ideology* to express the concept "relations of production", which at that time was taking shape in their minds. p. 32

[12] The term "*Stamm*" used by Marx and Engels has been translated as "tribe" in this volume. It had a wider range of meaning at the time of the writing of *The German Ideology* than it has at present. It was used to denote a community of people descended from a common ancestor, and comprised the modern concepts of "gens" and "tribe". The first to define and differentiate these concepts was the American ethnologist and historian Lewis Henry Morgan in his main work *Ancient Society; or, Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilisation* (1877). Morgan showed for the first time the significance of the gens as the primary cell of the primitive communal system and thereby laid the scientific foundations for the history of primitive society as a whole. In his work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884) Engels showed the far-reaching significance of Morgan's discoveries and his concepts "gens" and "tribe" for the study of primitive society. p. 32

[13] The *agrarian law* proposed by Licinius and Sextius, Roman tribunes of the people, was passed in 367 B.C. as a result of the struggle waged by the plebeians against the patricians. It prohibited Roman citizens from holding more than 500 *yugera* (about 309 acres) of common land (*ager publicus*).

By *civil wars* in Rome is usually meant the struggle between various groups of the Roman ruling class which started at the end of the 2nd century B.C. and continued until 30 B.C. These wars, together with the growing class contradictions and slave revolts, accelerated the decline of the Roman Republic and led to the establishment, in 30 B.C., of the Roman Empire. p. 33

[14] Here and below Marx and Engels refer mainly to Feuerbach's work *Grundsätze der Philosophie der Zukunft* and quote different expressions and terms from it. p. 39

[15] See the section "Geographische Grundlage der Weltgeschichte" in Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte.* p. 42

[16] See, for instance, Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society,* Edinburgh, 1767, and Adam Anderson, *An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time,* London, 1764. p. 42

[17] The reference is to the following works published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* early in 1844: two articles by Marx, "On the Jewish Question" and "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction", and

two by Engels, "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy" and "The Condition of England. *Past and Present* by Thomas Carlyle, London, 1843" (see present edition, Vol. 3). These works marked the final transition of Marx and Engels to materialism and communism. p. 47

[18] Cf. Romans 9:16: "So then *it is* not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy." p. 48

[19] The conclusion that the proletarian revolution could only be carried through in all the advanced capitalist countries simultaneously, and hence that the victory of the revolution in a single country was impossible, was expressed even more definitely in the "Principles of Communism" written by Engels in 1847 (see present edition, Vol. 6). In their later works, however, Marx and Engels expressed this idea in a less definite way and emphasised that the proletarian revolution should be regarded as a comparatively long and complicated process which can develop first in individual capitalist countries. In the new historical conditions V. I. Lenin came to the conclusion, which he based on the specific circumstances of operation of the law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism in the epoch of imperialism, that the socialist revolution could be victorious at first even in a single country. This thesis was set forth for the first time in his article "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe" (1915) (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21). p. 49

[20] In the German original the term "*Haupt- und Staatsaktionen*" ("principal and spectacular actions") is used, which has several meanings. In the 17th and the first half of the 18th century, it denoted plays performed by German touring companies. The plays, which were rather formless, presented tragic historical events in a bombastic and at the same time coarse and farcical way.

Secondly, this term can denote major political events. It was used in this sense by a trend in German historical science known as "*objective historiography*". Leopold Ranke was one of its chief representatives. He regarded "*Haupt- und Staatsaktionen*" as the main subject-matter to be set forth. Objective historiography, which was primarily interested in the political and diplomatic history of nations, proclaimed the pre-eminence of foreign politics over domestic politics and disregarded the social relations of men and their active role in history. p. 50

[21] The *Continental System*, or the *Continental Blockade*, proclaimed by Napoleon I in 1806, after Prussia's defeat, prohibited trade between the countries of the European Continent and Great Britain. This made the import into Europe of a number of products, including sugar and coffee, very difficult. Napoleon's defeat in Russia in 1812 put an end to the Continental System. p. 51

[22] *Marseillaise, Carmagnole, Ça ira*—revolutionary songs of the period of the French Revolution. The refrain of the last song was: "*Ah! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira. Les aristocrates à la lanterne!*" ("Ah, it will certainly happen. Hang the aristocrats on the lamp-post!") p. 53

[23] See Note 20. p. 55

[24] An allusion to a type of light literature which was widely read at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century; many of its characters were knights,

robbers and ghosts, e.g., *Abällino, der grosse Bandit* by Heinrich Daniel Zschokke published in 1793, and *Rinaldo Rinaldini, der Räuberhauptmann* by Christian August Vulpius (1797). p. 55

[25] *Rhine-song* ("Der deutsche Rhein")—a poem by Nicolaus Becker which was widely used by nationalists in their own interest. It was written in 1840 and set to music by several composers. p. 57

[26] A reference to Feuerbach's article "Ueber das *Wesen des Christenthums* in Beziehung auf den *Einzigen und sein Eigenthum*" published in *Wigand's Vierteljahrsschrift*, 1845, Bd. 2. The article ends as follows: "Hence F[euerbach] is not a materialist, nor an idealist, nor a philosopher of identity. What is he then? He is the same in his thought as he is actually, the same in spirit as in the flesh, the same in his essence as in his sense-impressions—he is a *man* or, rather, since F. simply places the essence of man in the community, he is a communal man, a *communist*." p. 57

[27] This section formed originally part of Chapter III and followed directly after the passage to which Marx and Engels refer here (see this volume, pp. 173-76). p. 62

[28] *Industrie extractive* (extractive industry)—a term which the French economist Charles Dunoyer used in his book *De la liberté du travail* to denote hunting, fishing and mining. Cf. Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy*, Chapter I, § 2 (see present edition, Vol. 6). p. 63

[29] The *Anti-Corn Law League* was founded in 1838 by the Manchester manufacturers Cobden and Bright. The English Corn Laws, first adopted in the 15th century, imposed high tariffs on imported cereals in order to maintain high prices for them in the home market. In the first third of the 19th century, in 1815, 1822 and later, several laws were passed changing the conditions for corn imports, and in 1828 a sliding scale was introduced which raised import tariffs on corn when prices in the home market declined and, on the other hand, lowered tariffs when prices rose in Britain.

The League widely exploited the popular discontent over the raising of corn prices. In its efforts to obtain the repeal of the Corn Laws and the establishment of complete freedom of trade, it aimed at weakening the economic and political positions of the landed aristocracy and lowering the cost of living thus making possible a lowering of the workers' wages.

The struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the Corn Laws ended with the repeal of these laws in 1846. p. 64

[30] An ironical allusion to Stirner's "union" ("*Verein*")—a voluntary association of egoists (see this volume, pp. 389-417). p. 65

[31] During the following years, Marx and Engels changed their evaluation of the medieval peasant uprisings both as a result of their studies of the peasants' struggle against feudalism and also of the revolutionary actions of the peasants in 1848 and 1849. Engels, in particular, in his work *The Peasant War in Germany* (written in 1850) showed the revolutionary nature of the peasant risings and the part they played in undermining the very basis of the feudal system. p. 66

[32] This fact is given by Harrison in his *Description of England* in *The First and Second Volumes of Chronicles.... First collected and published by Raphaell Holinshed, William Harrison, and others...*, London, 1587. Marx mentions it also in *Capital*. See Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, Chapter XXVIII, Footnote 2 to p. 687. p. 69

[33] *Navigation Laws*—a series of acts passed in England to protect English shipping against foreign competition. The best known was that of 1651, directed mainly against the Dutch, who controlled most of the carrying trade. It prohibited the importation of any goods not carried by English ships or the ships of the country where the goods were produced, and laid down that British coasting trade and commerce with the colonies were to be carried on only by English ships. The Navigation Laws were modified in the early 19th century and repealed in 1849 except for a reservation regarding coasting trade, which was revoked in 1854. p. 70

[34] England was conquered by the Normans in 1066. The foundations of the Kingdom of Sicily, proclaimed in 1130 and embracing Sicily and South Italy with Naples as its centre, were laid down in the latter half of the 11th century by Robert Guiscard, leader of the Norman conquerors. p. 83

[35] The term "*bürgerliche Gesellschaft*" ("civil society") is used in two distinct ways by Marx and Engels: 1) to denote the economic system of society irrespective of the historical stage of development, the sum total of material relations which determine the political institutions and ideological forms, and 2) to denote the material relations of bourgeois society (or that society as a whole), of capitalism. The term has therefore been translated according to its concrete content and the given context either as "civil society" (in the first case) or as "bourgeois society" (in the second). p. 89

[36] The Italian town of Amalfi became a prosperous trade centre in the 10th and 11th centuries. Its maritime law (*Tabula Amalphitana*) was valid throughout Italy and widely used in other Mediterranean countries in the Middle Ages. p. 91

[37] The *Leipzig Council*—this is an allusion to the fact that the works of Bruno Bauer and Max Stirner, the two "church fathers" criticised in this section, were published in Leipzig. p. 94

[38] The *Battle of the Huns* (*Hunnenschlacht*), one of the best-known pictures by Wilhelm von Kaulbach, painted in 1834-37, is based on the battle fought by the Huns and the Romans at Châlons in 451. Kaulbach depicts the ghosts of fallen warriors fighting in the air above the battleground. p. 94

[39] A reference to the potato blight of 1845 which affected Ireland, many regions of England and some parts of the Continent. It led to a failure of the potato crop and devastating famine in Ireland. p. 94

[40] *Santa Casa* (The Sacred House)—the name of the headquarters of the Inquisition in Madrid. p. 96

[41] "*Positive philosophy*"—a mystical religious trend (Christian Hermann Weisse, Immanuel Hermann Fichte Junior, Anton Günther, Franz Xaver von Baader, and

Friedrich Schelling in his late period), which criticised Hegel's philosophy from the right. The "positive philosophers" tried to make philosophy subservient to religion, denied the possibility of rational cognition and proclaimed divine revelation the only source of "positive" knowledge. They called "negative" every philosophy which recognised rational cognition as its source. p. 98

[42] Oregon was claimed by both the U.S.A. and Britain. The struggle for the possession of Oregon ended in June 1846 with the division of the territory between the U.S.A. and Britain.

For the *Corn Laws* see Note 29. p. 98

[43] The expression "to fight like Kilkenny cats" originated at the end of the 18th century. During the Irish uprising of 1798 the town of Kilkenny was occupied by Hessian mercenaries serving in the British army, who used to amuse themselves by watching fights between cats with their tails tied together. One day, a soldier, seeing an officer approaching, cut off the cats' tails with his sword and the cats ran away. The officer was told that the cats had eaten each other and only their tails remained. p. 106

[44] An allusion to the conflict between the Young Hegelian Karl Nauwerck and the professors of the Faculty of Philosophy at Berlin University (see Chapter III of *The Holy Family*, the present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 17-18). p. 110

[45] The structure of this chapter parodies Stirner's manner of presenting his material. In his book *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum* Stirner often interrupts his exposition with "episodical insertions" which are not directly connected with the subject-matter. Poking fun at this manner, Marx and Engels begin the chapter with a reference to Stirner's article "Recensenten Stirners" (published in *Wigand's Vierteljahrsschrift*, Vol. 3), which they ironically call "Apologetical Commentary". It is Stirner's reply to the criticism of his book by Szeliga, Feuerbach and Hess. Then follows a lengthy "episodical insertion", which takes up nearly the whole of this long chapter. It contains a critical analysis of Stirner's book, and only at the end of the chapter, in Section 2, do Marx and Engels return to the above-mentioned article. The structure of the "episode" corresponds to that of the book they criticised, and, just like the latter, it comprises two parts ironically entitled "The Old Testament: Man", and "The New Testament: 'Ego'". The corresponding parts in Stirner's book are entitled "Der Mensch" ("Man") and "Ich" ("Ego"). In the subheadings Marx and Engels also use the names of chapters and sections of Stirner's book, in many cases giving them an ironical twist. p. 117

[46] Max Stirner's book *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum*, Leipzig, Wigand, 1845, was published in October-November 1844. Engels was one of the first readers of this book, for Wigand sent him the advance proofs. This is mentioned in the letter Engels wrote to Marx on November 19, 1844. p. 117

[47] Part One of Stirner's book, "Der Mensch" ("Man"), has the following structure: I. Ein Menschenleben (A Man's Life); II. Menschen der alten und neuen Zeit (People of Ancient and Modern Times): 1. Die Alten (The Ancients); 2. Die Neuen (The Moderns)—§ 1. Der Geist (The Spirit), § 2. Die Besessenen (The Possessed), § 3. Die Hierarchie (Hierarchy); 3. Die Freien (The Free Ones)—§ 1. Der politische Liberalismus (Political Liberalism), § 2. Der sociale Libera-

lismus (Social Liberalism), § 3. Der humane Liberalismus (Humane Liberalism). p. 121

[48] The *campaigns of Sesostris*—according to the Greek historians Herodotus and Diodorus, campaigns by a legendary Egyptian pharaoh to conquer countries in Asia and Europe.

*Napoleon's expedition to Egypt*—a reference to the landing of the French army, commanded by General Bonaparte, in Egypt in the summer of 1798 and to the subsequent campaigns of this army to subdue Egypt and Syria. Napoleon's expedition to Egypt ended in failure in 1801. p. 136

[49] The *seven wise men*—a term usually applied to seven eminent Greek philosophers and statesmen who lived in the 6th century B.C.: Bias, Chilon, Cleobulus, Periander, Pittacus, Solon and Thales.

*Neo-academists*—philosophers belonging to the Athenian school of neo-Platonism. p. 138

[50] *Brahm* (or *Brahma, Brahman*)—the basic category of ancient Hindu idealist philosophy denoting the essence of the universe, impersonal, immaterial, uncreated, illimitable, timeless.

*Om*—ritualistic word invoking Brahma. p. 141

[51] From 987, when Hugh Capet claimed the throne of France, until the French Revolution, the kings of France were in fact members of the Capet dynasty, for both the Valois, who ruled from 1328, and the Bourbons, who followed them in 1589, were branches of the Capet family. Louis XVI, a member of the Bourbon dynasty, was executed in January 1793 by order of the National Convention. p. 146

[52] Until the revolution of 1848 smoking was prohibited in the streets of Berlin and in the Tiergarten (a park in the city) under penalty of a fine or corporal punishment. p. 162

[53] The attempt which Enfantin made in 1832 to establish a labour commune in Ménilmontant, then a suburb of Paris, led to legal proceedings against the Saint-Simonists, who were accused of immorality and the spread of dangerous ideas. On August 28, 1832, Enfantin was sentenced to one year's imprisonment but was released before serving the full term. Afterwards, Enfantin and several of his followers went to Egypt, where he worked as an engineer. p. 164

[54] *Wasserpolacken* (literally water Poles)—nickname given to the Silesian Poles in Germany. p. 164

[55] A reference to the bombardment of Chinese maritime towns and ports on the Yangtse and other rivers by the British naval and land forces during the First Opium War, Britain's war of conquest against China waged from 1839 to 1842. With this war began the transformation of China into a semi-colony. p. 166

[56] "*Deux amis de la liberté*" ("Two friends of freedom")—pseudonym used by Fr. Marie Kerverseau and G. Clavelin, authors of the *Histoire de la Révolution de 1789*, a work in twenty volumes published in Paris at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. p. 178

[57] "*Habits bleus*" ("blue coats") — a name given to the soldiers of the French Republic at the end of the 18th century because of the colour of their uniform. In a wider sense it was applied to the Republicans as distinct from the royalists, who were called *Blancs* ("Whites"). p. 179

[58] See Note 18. p. 180

[59] *Kupfergraben* — the name of a canal in Berlin. Hegel lived on the Kupfergraben embankment. p. 184

[60] *Hanseatic League* (*Hanse*)—a league of German and other North-European merchant cities, situated on the Baltic and the North Sea and the rivers flowing into them. At one time it also included several Dutch cities. The heyday of the Hanseatic League was the second half of the 14th century. It began to decline and to disintegrate towards the end of the 15th century but continued to exist formally until 1669. p. 194

[61] An allusion to the Continental System. See Note 21. p. 195

[62] *Tugendbund* (League of Virtue)—secret political society which was founded in Prussia in 1808. Its principal aims were to foster patriotic feelings among the population and to organise the struggle for the liberation of Germany from the Napoleonic occupation and for the establishment of a constitutional system in the country. At Napoleon's request the Tugendbund was formally dissolved in 1809 by the King of Prussia but it actually continued to exist until the end of the Napoleonic wars. p. 196

[63] *Cercle social* — an organisation established by democratic intellectuals in Paris in the first years of the French Revolution. Its chief spokesman, Claude Fauchet, demanded an equalitarian division of the land, restrictions on large fortunes and employment for all able-bodied citizens. The criticism to which Fauchet and his supporters subjected the formal equality proclaimed in the documents of the French Revolution prepared the ground for bolder action in defence of the destitute by Jacques Roux, Théophile Leclerc and other members of the radical-plebeian "*Enragés*". p. 198

[64] The end of this sentence from the words "the bourgeois ... express ... the rule of the proprietors ..." and the following five paragraphs up to and including the words "customs duties which hampered commerce at every turn, and they" are part of the manuscript discovered in the early 1960s and first published (in German) in the *International Review of Social History*, Vol. VII, 1962, Part 1. The text is written on two pages, the beginning of the first one is damaged. p. 198

[65] The motion of the Bishop of Autun (Talleyrand) — one of the representatives of the clergy who supported the decision of the deputies of the Third Estate to transform the States-General (a consultative organ based on social estates) into a National Assembly (later, the Constituent Assembly) — was designed to extend the powers of the Assembly. It proposed that the deliberations of the Assembly should no longer be restricted to matters mentioned in the *Cahiers de doléances*—lists of grievances and instructions given by the constituents of each estate to their deputies in connection with the convocation of the States-General (*États*

*généraux*)—and that the deputies should have the right to decide each question according to their own judgment.

*Bailliages*—bailiwicks in pre-revolutionary France, also electoral districts during the elections to the States-General; *divisions des ordres*—each *bailliage* was divided into three social estates: the nobility, the clergy and the Third Estate. The figure 431 is apparently a slip of the pen, for there were 531 *divisions des ordres*.

p. 199

66 *Jeu de paume*—a tennis-court in Versailles. On June 20, 1789, the deputies of the Third Estate, who on June 17 proclaimed themselves a National Assembly, met in this building (because their official meeting-place had been closed by order of the King) and took a solemn oath not to separate until they had given France a constitution.

*Lit de justice*—sessions of the French parliaments (the supreme judicial bodies in pre-revolutionary France) in the presence of the King. Orders by the King issued at these sessions had the force of law. The reference here is to the meeting of the States-General on June 23, 1789. At this meeting the King declared the decisions adopted by the Third Estate on June 17 null and void and demanded the immediate dispersal of the Assembly, but the deputies of the Third Estate refused to obey and continued their deliberations. p. 199

67 *Jacquerie*—French peasant revolt which took place in May and June 1358 and was supported by the poor in a number of cities.

*A peasant rebellion under the leadership of Wat Tyler* flared up in England in the summer of 1381. It had the support of the lower strata of the London population, who opened the gates of the capital to the insurgents. Some demands of the latter, for example, the abolition of the Statute of Labourers, were also in the interest of the plebeian townsmen.

*Evil May Day*—name given to the uprising of the poorer citizens of London on May 1, 1517. It was directed against the increasing power of foreign merchants and usurers.

*A peasant uprising under the leadership of Robert Kett* (a local squire and owner of a tannery) took place between June and August 1549 in East Anglia. Among the insurgents were many unemployed weavers, ruined artisans and other destitute people. With the help of the town poor the insurgents seized Norwich.

p. 204

68 This refers to events connected with the Chartist movement in England. When Parliament rejected their first Petition in July 1839, the Chartists attempted to call a general strike (a "sacred month"). At the beginning of November 1839 a rising of miners took place in South Wales, which was crushed by police and government troops. In July 1840, the National Charter Association was founded which united a considerable number of the country's local Chartist organisations. In August 1842, after the second Potition had been rejected by Parliament, spontaneous action of the workers took place in many industrial regions of the country. In Lancashire and in a considerable part of Cheshire and Yorkshire the strikes were very widespread, and in a number of places they grew into spontaneous uprisings.

p. 205

69 *Free-thinkers* (*Freijeister*—by spelling the word according to the Berlin dialect pronunciation the authors have given the name an ironical note)—an allusion to "The Free", a group of Berlin Young Hegelians which came into being in the first half of 1842. Among its principal members were Bruno Bauer, Edgar Bauer,

Eduard Meyen, Ludwig Buhl and Max Stirner. The existing system was criticised by "The Free" in an abstract way, their statements were devoid of real revolutionary content, their ultra-radical form often compromised the democratic movement. Many of "The Free" renounced radicalism in the following years.

For the criticism of "The Free" in Marx's early writings see present edition, Vol. 1, pp. 287, 390, 393-95. p. 205

70 *Congregatio de propaganda fide* (Congregation for Propagating the Faith)—an organisation founded by the Pope in 1622 in order to propagate Catholicism in all countries and to fight heretics. p. 214

71 This refers to the movement for a democratic electoral reform whose members—republican democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists—gathered round *La Réforme*, an opposition newspaper published in Paris from 1843. The supporters of *La Réforme* were also known as the socialistic democratic party. p. 217

72 *Capitularies*—legislative or administrative ordinances of the Frankish kings. Many of these enactments legalised serfdom and were designed to ensure stricter fulfilment by the peasants of the numerous obligations imposed on them (Charlemagne's well-known capitulary referred to in the text is presumably the *Capitulare de villis*—Capitulary on Royal Estates—issued about A.D. 800). Some of these acts threatened peasants who were disobedient, took part in revolts and so on with severe punishment (for example, Charlemagne's Capitulary on Saxony of 782 directed against the fight of the free Saxon peasants against the Frankish conquerors). p. 220

73 An allusion to disturbances which took place in Catalonia at the beginning of July 1845 and were caused by the attempt of the government to introduce a law under which one man out of five was to serve in the army. The disturbances were brutally suppressed. p. 220

74 *Barataria*—the island of which Sancho Panza was made governor in Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. p. 233

75 *Dioscuri*—Castor and Pollux (or in Greek Polydeuces), heroes of classical mythology, the twin sons of Zeus, by whom they were turned into the constellation Gemini (the Twins); as such they were considered to be the patrons of seamen. p. 234

76 *Rumford broth*—thin soup for the poor prepared from bones and cheap substitutes; the recipe for it was made up at the end of the 18th century by Count Rumford (alias Benjamin Thompson). p. 235

77 *Banqueroute cochonne* (swinish bankruptcy)—the 32nd of the 36 types of bankruptcy described by Fourier in his work *Des trois unités externes* published in the journal *La Phalange*, 1845, Vol. 1. Excerpts from this work are given by Engels in his article "A Fragment of Fourier's on Trade" (for the passage about "swinish bankruptcy" see present edition, Vol. 4, p. 638). p. 236

78 Part Two of Stirner's book *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum*—"Ich" ("Ego")—is subdivided as follows: I. Die Eigenheit (Peculiarity); II. Der Eigner (The Owner):

1. Meine Macht (My Power), 2. Mein Verkehr (My Intercourse), 3. Mein Selbstgenuss (My Self-Enjoyment); III. Der Einzige (The Unique). p. 240

[79] *Orphanage-Francke*—the nickname stems from the fact that August Hermann Francke founded an orphanage and several other philanthropic institutions for children in Halle at the end of the 17th century. p. 249

[80] The maxim "*Know Thyself*" was written over the entrance of Apollo's temple at Delphi. p. 249

[81] According to Bentham's utilitarian ethics, actions were to be considered good if they produced a greater amount of pleasure than suffering. The compilation of long tedious lists cataloguing pleasure and suffering, and their subsequent balancing in order to determine the morality of an action, is here called by Marx and Engels "Bentham's book-keeping". p. 259

[82] In the middle of the 19th century *Moabit* was a north-western suburb of Berlin; *Köpenick*—a south-eastern suburb of Berlin, and the *Hamburger Tor* (Hamburg Gate)—a gate at the northern boundary of Berlin. p. 263

[83] *Nante the loafer (Eckensteher Nante)*—a character in Karl von Holtei's play *Ein Trauerspiel in Berlin.* On the basis of this prototype Fritz Beckmann, a well-known German comedian, produced a popular farce *Der Eckensteher Nante im Verhör.* The name Nante became a byword for a garrulous, philosophising wag, who seizes every opportunity to crack stale jokes in the Berlin dialect. p. 272

[84] Emperor Sigismund handed over Jan Huss to the Council of Constance (1414-15) despite the safe conduct he had granted him.

Francis I, who was defeated at Pavia (1525) and taken prisoner by Charles V, was released only after renouncing his claims to Milan and Burgundy (Madrid Treaty of 1526). But after his release he repudiated the treaty. p. 274

[85] *Blocksberg*—popular name of several German mountains and in particular of the Brocken, the highest peak of the Harz Mountains. According to German folklore, the witches meet to celebrate their sabbath on the Blocksberg. p. 282

[86] According to legend, the early Christian Saint Ursula and "her eleven thousand virgins" were martyred in Cologne. The alleged number of virgins is probably due to the name of Ursula's companion, Undecimilla, which in Latin means "eleven thousand". p. 283

[87] *Caius*—a name adopted by many textbooks and other works on formal logic to denote a human being, especially in syllogisms. p. 287

[88] Apparently a reference to Gottlieb Konrad Pfeffel's book *Biographie eines Pudels.* p. 299

[89] *Spanso bocko*—one of the most cruel forms of corporal punishment, which was used by the colonialists in Surinam (in the north-eastern part of South America). p. 308

[90] The uprising of Negro slaves which took place in Haiti in 1791 marked the beginning of a revolutionary movement against the colonial regime. Toussaint

Louverture, the leader of the insurgents, played an outstanding part in the war of liberation which the Negroes waged against the French, English and Spanish colonialists. In the course of the struggle, which ended with the proclamation of Haiti's independence in January 1804, slavery was abolished and subsequently the estates of the planters were divided among the former slaves. p. 308

[91] The *Historical School of Law*—a trend in German historiography and jurisprudence in the late 18th century. The representatives of this school, Gustav Hugo, Friedrich Karl Savigny and others, sought to justify the privileges of the nobility and feudal institutions by referring to the inviolability of historical traditions.

*Romanticists*—adherents of reactionary romanticism in the social sciences who tried to vindicate the Middle Ages and the feudal system and to oppose them to the ideas of bourgeois Enlightenment, democracy and liberalism. Among the prominent ideologists of romanticism were Louis Gabriel Bonald, Joseph de Maistre, Karl Ludwig Haller and Adam Müller.

For a criticism of these two trends see Marx's works: "The Philosophical Manifesto of the Historical School of Law" and "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction" (present edition, Vols. 1 and 3). p. 314

[92] The "*Ten Tables*"—the original version of the "Twelve Tables" (*lex duodecim tabularum*), the oldest legislative document of the Roman slave-owners' state. These laws were enacted as a result of the struggle which the plebeians waged against the patricians during the republican period in the middle of the 5th century B.C.; they became the point of departure for the further development of Roman civil law. p. 318

[93] For the *Corn Laws* see Note 29. p. 325

[94] This refers to the Law of 1844 which made it very difficult to obtain a divorce. The Bill was drafted in 1842 on the instructions of Frederick William IV by Savigny, one of the founders of the Historical School of Law (see Note 91), who was Prussian Minister for the Revision of Laws from 1842 to 1848. p. 339

[95] *Leges barbarorum* (laws of the barbarians)—codes of law which originated between the 5th and the 9th centuries and were, in the main, a written record of the customary or prescriptive law of the various Germanic tribes.

*Consuetudines feudorum* (feudal customs)—a compilation of medieval feudal laws which was made in Bologna in the last third of the 12th century.

*Jus talionis* (right of retaliation)—the right of retaliation by inflicting a punishment of the same kind ("an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth").

The old German *Gewere*—the legitimate rule of a free man over a piece of land where he exercised sovereign authority and was responsible for the protection of every person and thing.

*Compensatio*—the balancing of claim and counter-claim against each other.

*Satisfactio*—reparation, or atonement, for an offence; it can also mean satisfying a creditor not by repaying the debt incurred but by some other service. p. 342

[96] The *Holy Hermandad* (Holy Brotherhood)—league of Spanish towns set up at the end of the 15th century with the approbation of the king, who sought to make use of the bourgeoisie in the struggle between absolutism and the powerful feudal

lords. From the middle of the 16th century the armed detachments of the Hermandad performed police duties. The term "Holy Hermandad" was later used ironically for the police. p. 344

[97] *Spandau*—at that time a Prussian fortress west of Berlin with a jail for political prisoners. p. 344

[98] *Landwehrgraben*—a canal in Berlin which extended up to Charlottenburg, then a Berlin suburb. It is possible that Marx and Engels are alluding to Egbert Bauer's publishing house in Charlottenburg, where Szeliga's works were published. p. 345

[99] The following section is a critical analysis of the second section, "Mein Verkehr" ("My Intercourse"), Chapter Two, Part Two of Stirner's book *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum*. From the introductory remarks of Marx and Engels to this part of their work (see this volume, p. 240) it follows that they intended to use the heading "My Intercourse" and to mark it with the letter "B", for the preceding section is called "A. Meine Macht" ("A. My Power"), and the following one "C. Mein Selbstgenuss" ("C. My Self-Enjoyment"). The section "B. My Intercourse" probably consisted of three subsections: "I. Society", "II. Rebellion" and "III. Union." The first three subdivisions and the beginning of the fourth subdivision of the section "I. Society" are missing. When Paul Weller was preparing *The German Ideology* for publication as Band 5, Erste Abteilung of Marx/Engels *Gesamtausgabe* (MEGA), he suggested that the subsection "I. Society" may have consisted of five parts. The heading of the first is unknown, but it might have been "1. Die verstirnerte Gesellschaft" ("1. Stirnerised Society"), or "1. Die Gesellschaft im allgemeinen" ("1. Society in General"), or "1. Die menschliche Gesellschaft" ("1. Human Society"). That of the second was probably "2. Die Gesellschaft als Gefängnisgesellschaft" ("2. Society as Prison Society"); of the third, "3. Die Gesellschaft als Familie" ("3. Society as a Family"); of the fourth, "4. Die Gesellschaft als Staat" ("Society as State"), of which only the last portion has been found. The fifth part has been preserved in its entirety and is called "5. Die Gesellschaft als bürgerliche Gesellschaft" ("5. Society as Bourgeois Society"). p. 346

[100] The *September Laws*—reactionary laws promulgated by the French Government in September 1835. They restricted the rights of juries and introduced severe measures against the press. The clauses directed against the latter provided for higher amounts to be deposited as security by periodical publications, and made the people responsible for publications directed against private property and the existing political regime liable to imprisonment and heavy fines. p. 347

[101] The reference is apparently to the *Commissions of the Estates* in the Landtags (provincial diets), which were instituted in Prussia in June 1842. Elected by the Landtags from their deputies according to the estates principle, they formed a single advisory body known as the "United Commissions". With the help of this body, which was a mockery of representative institution, Frederick William IV hoped to enforce new taxes and obtain a loan. p. 348

[102] When the Corn Laws (see Note 29) were repealed in 1846, a small, temporary tariff on the import of corn was retained until 1849.

*Magna Charta Libertatum*—the charter which the insurgent barons, who were supported by knights and townsmen, forced King John of England to sign at Runnymede on June 15, 1215. Magna Charta limited the powers of the king, mainly in the interests of the feudal lords, and also contained some concessions to the knights and the towns. p. 353

[103] Under the leadership of Themistocles the Greeks defeated the Persians in the naval battle of Salamis in 480 B.C.

After the Greek War of Independence (1821-29) against Turkish rule, Britain, Russia and France compelled the new Greek state to adopt a monarchical form of government, and placed the 17-year-old prince Otto of Bavaria on the Greek throne. p. 353

[104] Marx and Engels are alluding to Voltaire's description of Habakkuk. There is a direct reference to it in their article "Konflikte zwischen Polizei und Volk.—Über die Ereignisse auf der Krim" published on July 9, 1855. The expression "*capable de tout*" (capable of anything) is used here ironically, i.e., "capable of nothing". p. 355

[105] An allusion to the fact that in the summer of 1845 Stirner attempted to earn his living by selling milk since he could not exist on the proceeds from his literary work. But the undertaking proved a complete failure, and the curdled milk had to be poured down the drain. p. 358

[106] The *Pandects* are part of a compendium of Roman civil law (*Corpus juris civilis*) made by order of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I in the 6th century. They contained extracts from the works of prominent Roman jurists. p. 364

[107] A reference to the British and Dutch East India Companies which were founded at the beginning of the 17th century. They had the monopoly of trade with the East Indies and played a decisive part in the establishment of the British and Dutch colonial empires. p. 371

[108] The *Preussische Seehandlungsgesellschaft* (Prussian Maritime Trading Company) was founded as a commercial and banking company in 1772 and granted a number of important privileges by the state. It advanced big loans to the government and in fact became its banker and broker. p. 375

[109] *Levons-nous!* (Let us rise up!)—part of the motto of the *Révolutions de Paris*, a revolutionary-democratic weekly which was published in Paris from July 1789 to February 1794 (until September 1790 its editor was Elisée Loustalot). The entire motto was: "*Les grands ne nous paraissent grands que* [illegible] *nous sommes à genoux: levons-nous!*" ("The great only seem great to us because we are on our knees: Let us rise up!"). p. 380

[110] *Der hinkende Botte*, also called *Der hinkende Bote* (The Lame Messenger)—a name given to a sort of popular almanac which contained rather stale news relating to events of the preceding year. p. 384

[111] *Straubinger*—a name for German travelling journeymen. In their works and letters Marx and Engels frequently applied it ironically to artisans who remained under the influence of backward guild notions and believed that society could

abandon large-scale capitalist industry and return to the petty handicraft stage of production. p. 391

[112] Mozart's *Requiem* was completed, on the basis of his manuscript notes, by Franz Xaver Süssmayer. p. 393

[113] *Organisers of labour*—an allusion to the utopian socialists (in particular Fourier and his followers) who put forward a plan for the peaceful transformation of society by means of associations, that is, by "organisation of labour", which they opposed to the anarchy of production under capitalism.

Some of these ideas were used by the French petty-bourgeois socialist Louis Blanc in his book *Organisation du travail* (Paris, 1839) in which he proposed that the bourgeois state should transform contemporary society into a socialist society. p. 393

[114] See Note 18. p. 396

[115] *Willenhall*, a town in Staffordshire, England, with a considerable iron industry. p. 401

[116] An allusion to the fact that Max Stirner dedicated his book to his wife Marie Dähnhardt. The phrase "the title spectre of his book" was derived from Stirner's phrase "the title spectre of her book". In his book *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum* he used it in relation to Bettina von Arnim's work, *Dies Buch gehört dem König*. p. 401

[117] This refers to one of the main principles of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen" (*Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*), a preamble to the Constitution adopted by the French Convention in 1793 during the revolutionary dictatorship of the Jacobins. The last article, the 35th, of the Declaration reads: "When the government violates the rights of the people, insurrection is the imprescriptible right and the irremissible duty of the people as a whole and of each of its sections." p. 403

[118] According to the Bible (Genesis 41 : 18-20), the Egyptian pharaoh dreamed that seven fat cows were eaten by seven lean cows but the latter remained just as lean as before. According to the interpretation given to the pharaoh by Joseph, the dream meant that Egypt would have rich harvests for seven years to be followed by seven years of drought and famine. p. 406

[119] The *Customs Union* (*Zollverein*) of German states (initially they numbered 18), which established a common customs frontier, was set up in 1834 and headed by Prussia. By the 1840s the Union embraced most of the German states, with the exception of Austria, the Hanseatic cities (Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck) and a few small states. Brought into being by the necessity to create an all-German market, the Customs Union became a factor conducive to the political unification of Germany. p. 411

[120] The *Cyrenaic school*—a school of ancient Greek philosophy founded at the beginning of the 4th century B.C. by Aristippus of Cyrene, a pupil of Socrates. The Cyrenaics were agnostics, adopted a critical attitude to religion and regarded pleasure (*hedone*) as the aim of life. p. 417

[121] See Note 59. p. 431

[122] See Note 45. p. 444

[123] A reference to the writers of *Young Germany (Junges Deutschland)*—a literary group that emerged in Germany in the 1830s and was influenced by Heinrich Heine and Ludwig Börne. The Young Germany writers (Karl Gutzkow, Ludolf Wienbarg, Theodor Mundt and others) came out in defence of freedom of conscience and the press. Their writings reflected opposition sentiments of the petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals. The views of the Young Germans were politically vague and inconsistent; soon the majority of them turned into mere liberals. p. 457

[124] The *Levellers* were a democratic-republican trend in the English bourgeois revolution of the mid-17th century. The reference in the text is probably to the most radical section of the Levellers known as True Levellers, or Diggers. The Diggers represented the poorest strata that suffered both from feudal and capitalist exploitation in the town and the countryside. In contrast to the mass of the Levellers, who wanted to retain private property, the Diggers advocated common property and other ideas of equalitarian communism. p. 461

[125] *National reformers*—members of the National Reform Association founded in the U.S.A. in 1845. The Association, which consisted mainly of artisans and workers, and declared that every worker should have the right to a piece of land free of charge, started a campaign for a land reform against the slave-owning planters and land speculators. It also put forward a number of other democratic demands such as abolition of the standing army, abolition of slavery and introduction of the ten-hour working day. p. 466

[126] *Humaniora* (humanities)—the subjects the study of which was considered essential for the knowledge of ancient classical culture; the humanists of the Renaissance and their followers regarded these subjects as the basis of humanistic education. p. 467

[127] *Neue Anekdota*—collection of articles by Moses Hess, Karl Grün, Otto Lüning and other representatives of "true socialism" published in Darmstadt at the end of May 1845. p. 483

[128] This chapter was published by Marx separately as a review in the monthly publication *Das Westphälische Dampfboot* in August and September 1847. Before that, in April 1847, Marx had published a "Declaration against Karl Grün". He stated in it that he intended to publish a review of Grün's book *Die soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien* (see present edition, Vol. 6) in the *Westphälische Dampfboot*. But the first instalment of this article was published only in August 1847. The editors explained in a note that the article could not be published earlier because "for over two months the manuscript was sent from one German town to another without reaching us".

The work was published in the *Westphälische Dampfboot* as Marx's article (the name of the author was mentioned in the editorial note). Consequently one can assume that in contrast to Vol. I, which was written jointly by Marx and Engels, some chapters of Vol. II of *The German Ideology* are probably the individual work of one or other of them. But since the manuscript of this chapter of Vol. II is in Engels' handwriting, it is likely that Engels helped to write it. The copy sent to the *Westphälische Dampfboot* was probably made from this manuscript. The manuscript

and the published text are practically identical. Comparatively few changes were made in the text itself and it is possible that some of these were by the editors of the journal. In this volume, variants affecting the meaning are given in footnotes. Where the manuscript is damaged the missing passages have been taken from the printed text. Such passages have not been specially marked (either by square brackets or footnotes) in this chapter. p. 484

[129] For *Young Germany* see Note 123. p. 484

[130] *Cabinet Montpensier*—a reading room in the Palais-Royal, formerly a palace of the Princes of Orleans in Paris. p. 485

[131] Probably an allusion to the organisers of the first political parties of American workers and artisans founded at the end of the 1820s—the Republican Political Association of the Working Men of the City of Philadelphia, the New York Working Men's Party (their leaders were Frances Wright, Robert Dale Owen, Thomas Skidmore) and other labour associations in various American towns. These organisations had a democratic programme, advocated land reform and other social measures and supported the demand for a ten-hour working day. Although they were short-lived (they existed only until 1834), had a local character, and were composed of factions holding rather heterogeneous views, these first workers' parties gave an impetus to the incipient labour movement in the United States and helped to disseminate utopian socialist ideas, for many of their members were supporters of this trend. p. 489

[132] The *States-General*—the supreme executive and legislative organ of the Netherlands or the Republic of the United Provinces, as the country was called from 1579 to 1795. This assembly consisted of representatives of the seven provinces. The trading bourgeoisie played a dominant part in it. p. 494

[133] *Lettres d'un Habitant de Genève à ses Contemporains* was written by Saint-Simon in 1802 and published anonymously in Paris in 1803. p. 498

[134] The *Newton Council*—a plan to set up such a council was put forward by Saint-Simon in his book *Lettres d'un Habitant de Genève à ses Contemporains.* Its purpose was to create conditions that would enable scientists and artists to develop their talents freely. Funds were to be raised by public subscription. Each subscriber was to nominate three mathematicians, three physicists, three chemists, three physiologists, three writers, three painters and three musicians. The sum collected by subscription was to be divided among the three mathematicians, physicists, etc., who had received the greatest number of votes and had thus become members of the Newton Council. p. 498

[135] The reference is to the following sentences:

"The aim of all social institutions must be to improve the moral, intellectual and physical condition of the most numerous and poorest class.

"All inherited privileges, without exception, are abolished.

"To each according to his capacity, to each capacity according to its works". p. 506

[136] The first schism of the Saint-Simonian school occurred in November 1831, caused by Enfantin's and Bazard's increasingly discordant views on religion, marriage and the family. p. 508

137 *Ménilmontant*—then a suburb of Paris where Enfantin, who after Bazard's death became the acknowledged leader of the Saint-Simonian school, the "father superior" of the Saint-Simonists, tried to establish a labour commune in 1832.

Enfantin's work *Économie politique et Politique* was printed in book form in Paris in 1831, after having been published earlier as a series of articles in the newspaper *Le Globe*. p. 509

138 *Le Livre nouveau* (The New Book)—a manuscript containing an exposition of the Saint-Simonian doctrine. It was drawn up by the leaders of the Saint-Simonian school, which was headed by Enfantin, in the course of a series of meetings held in July 1832. Among the leaders present were Barrot, Fournel, Chevalier, Duverier and Lambert. The authors intended the book to become the "new Bible" of the Saint-Simonian doctrine. Extracts from the *Livre nouveau* and other information about it can be found in Reybaud's book *Études sur les réformateurs ou socialistes modernes*. p. 509

139 *Fourier's series*—a method of classification which Fourier used to analyse various natural and social phenomena. With the help of this method he tried, in particular, to work out a new social science based on the doctrine of attraction and repulsion of passions. which he regarded as the principal factor of social development (passions, in their turn, were classified by Fourier into groups or series). In this method Fourier combines unscientific and fantastic elements with rational observations. p. 511

140 See Note 113. p. 519

141 *Patristic philosophy*—the teachings of the Fathers of the Church (3rd to 5th century). p. 520

142 The spontaneous popular risings which took place in many parts of France, and also in Paris, in 1775 were caused by crop failure and famine. The feudal aristocracy which was against Turgot's reforms used these uprisings to oust him from the post of Controller-General of Finance. In the spring of 1776, Turgot was dismissed and the reforms he had introduced (free trade in grain, abolition of some feudal privileges and of the guilds) were rescinded. p. 525

143 Unlike the other extant chapters of Volume II, which are in Engels' handwriting, the manuscript of Chapter V is in Joseph Weydemeyer's hand and "M. Hess" is written at the end. In December 1845, the journal *Gesellschaftsspiegel* No. 6 carried an article by Hess under the heading "Umtriebe der Kommunistischen Propheten" which discussed the same subject in a similar way as this chapter. It is probable that Chapter V was written by Hess, copied by Weydemeyer and edited by Marx and Engels.

*Die Neue Welt oder das Reich des Geistes auf Erden*, the book examined in this chapter, was published anonymously in 1845. It consists of lectures by Georg Kuhlmann delivered in the Swiss communities of the League of the Just. These communities were founded by Wilhelm Weitling. The League of the Just was a secret organisation of German workers and artisans, which had branches in Germany, France, Switzerland and England. The ideas of "true socialism" were at that time widespread among the members of the League, many of whom were artisans living abroad. A criticism of Kuhlmann's activities and his book can be

found in the article "Zur Geschichte des Urchristentums" written by Engels in 1894. p. 531

[144] Engels' work *The True Socialists* (*Die wahren Sozialisten*) is a direct continuation of the second volume of *The German Ideology*.

By the beginning of 1847 the development of "true socialism" had led to the formation of various groups (e.g., the Westphalian, Saxon and Berlin groups) within the general framework of this trend. Engels, therefore, decided to add a critical examination of the different "true socialist" groups to Volume II of *The German Ideology*. (See his letter to Marx of January 15, 1847.) The result was the manuscript called here *The True Socialists*. He continued to work on it at least until the middle of April, for an issue of the journal *Die Grenzboten* published on April 10, 1847, is mentioned in the text. The manuscript has no heading and, to judge by the ending, the work remained unfinished. It was for the first time published by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in German in 1932. In English it was published for the first time in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964. p. 540

[145] Here and below the names of constellations are used ironically to designate some of the "true socialists" who contributed to various German periodicals such as *Dies Buch gehört dem Volke, Das Westphälische Dampfboot* and *Gesellschaftsspiegel*. The "Lion" denotes Hermann Kriege; the "Crab" Julius Helmich; Rudolf Rempel is, probably, one of the "Twins", the other is Julius Meyer; the "Ram" stands for Joseph Weydemeyer; the "Bull" for Otto Lüning.

Engels' remark that the "Lion" has become a "tribune of the people" is an allusion to the fact that Hermann Kriege, who had emigrated to America, became editor of the New York weekly *Der Volks-Tribun*. p. 541

[146] These associations were formed in a number of Prussian cities in 1844-45 on the initiative of the German liberal bourgeoisie, which, alarmed by the uprising of the Silesian weavers in the summer of 1844, founded them to divert the German workers from the struggle for their class interests. p. 542

[147] *Eridanus*—a constellation in the southern hemisphere, depicted as a river.

The *Weser-Dampfboot*, which was banned at the end of 1844, appeared from January 1845 under the title *Das Westphälische Dampfboot*; it was edited by Otto Lüning, who had been an editor of the *Weser-Dampfboot*. p. 542

[148] Marx and Engels' work "Circular against Kriege", which had appeared in the newspaper *Der Volks-Tribun* in June 1846, was also published in the July issue of the journal *Das Westphälische Dampfboot*. But Otto Lüning, the editor of the latter, arbitrarily changed the text by inserting his own additions written in the spirit of "true socialism". p. 543

[149] *Nemesis*, the goddess of retribution, was depicted on the cover of the journal *Gesellschaftsspiegel*. p. 549

[150] Engels is referring to a passage in his essay "German Socialism in Verse and Prose" published in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* in the autumn of 1847. The essay is closely connected with the second volume of *The German Ideology* and may originally have formed part of the missing text of this volume (see Note 7). p. 551

[151] This may be a reference to the petty-bourgeois newspaper *Dorfzeitung* published in Elberfeld from 1838 to 1847. p. 552

[152] Books comprising more than twenty printed sheets were exempt from preliminary censorship, according to the press laws existing in a number of German states. The *Rheinische Jahrbücher*, which were published by Hermann Püttmann, had over twenty sheets. p. 553

[153] *In partibus infidelium*—literally in parts inhabited by unbelievers. The words are added to the title of Roman Catholic bishops appointed to purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries. In the figurative sense, they mean "not really existing".

Engels is ironically alluding to poems glorifying the future of the as yet non-existent German fleet, namely, Georg Herwegh's "Die deutsche Flotte" (1841) and Ferdinand Freiligrath's "Flotten-Träume" (1843) and "Zwei Flaggen" (1844). p. 569

[154] See Note 22. p. 572

[155] In his *Album* Püttmann published seven poems by Heinrich Heine including "Pomare", "Zur Doctrin" and "Die schlesischen Weber", as well as several poems by Georg Weerth, among them the "Handwerksburschenlieder", "Der Kanonengiesser" and "Gebet eines Irländers". p. 574

[156] A reference to the fact that on August 12, 1845, Saxon troops opened fire on a mass demonstration in Leipzig. A military parade, which was arranged to mark the arrival of Crown Prince Johann, served as a pretext for a protest demonstration against the persecution by the Saxon government of the "German-Catholics" movement and one of its leaders, the clergyman Johannes Ronge. The movement, which arose in 1844 and gained ground in a number of German states, was supported by considerable sections of the middle and petty bourgeoisie. The "German Catholics" did not recognise the supremacy of the Pope, rejected many dogmas and rites of the Roman Catholic Church, and sought to adapt Catholicism to the needs of the rising German bourgeoisie.

The events of August 12, 1845, were described by Engels in his report "The Late Butchery at Leipzig.—The German Working Men's Movement" published in the Chartist newspaper *The Northern Star* (see present edition, Vol. 4).p. 577

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*Innocent III* (c. 1161-1216) — Pope (1198-1216).— 177

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*Jay, Antoine* (1770-1854) — French writer.— 519

*Jean Paul* (pseudonym of *Johann Paul Friedrich Richter*) (1763-1825) — German writer.— 138, 195

*Joseph II* (1741-1790) — Holy Roman Emperor (1765-90).— 562

*Jussieu, Antoine Laurent de* (1748-1836) — French botanist.— 461

*Juvenal, Decimus Junius* (born in the 60s — died after 127) — Roman satirical poet.— 172, 225

K

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804) — German philosopher.— 181, 193, 195, 196, 491

*Kats, Jacob* (1804-1886) — Belgian worker, writer, played an active part in the working-class movement, was influenced by utopian socialism.— 490-91

*Kaulbach, Wilhelm von* (1805-1874) — German painter.— 94

*Kerverseau, Fr. Marie* — French historian, together with G. Clavelin he wrote the *Histoire de la Révolution de 1789, et de l'établissement d'une Constitution en France....* Published under the pseudonym of *Deux amis de la liberté.*— 178

*Kett (Ket), Robert* (executed in 1549) — leader of the peasant rising in England in 1549.— 204

*Kind, Friedrich* (1768-1843) — German poet and playwright.— 102, 149, 398

*Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb* (1724-1803) — German poet.— 285, 312

*Köhler, Ludwig* (1819-1862) — German writer; in the mid-forties a "true socialist".— 574

*Körner, Karl Theodor* (1791-1813) — German romantic poet and dramatist; was killed in the war of liberation against Napoleon.— 249

*Konrad von Würzburg* (d. 1287) — German poet.— 449

*Kotzebue, August Friedrich Ferdinand von* (1761-1819) — German writer and journalist, extreme monarchist.— 572

*Kriege, Hermann* (1820-1850) — German journalist, "true socialist"; founder and editor of the New York newspaper *Der Volks-Tribun.*— 541, 543

*Krummacher, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1796-1868) — German clergyman, Calvinist, leader of the pietists in Wuppertal.— 236

*Kuhlmann, Georg* (b. 1812) — secret informer in the service of the Austrian Government; in the forties preached the ideas of "true socialism" among the German artisans, followers of Weitling in Switzerland; used religious phraseology and claimed to be a prophet.— 377, 392, 531-38

L

*Lafayette (La Fayette), Marie Joseph Paul, Marquis de* (1757-1834) — prominent figure in the French Revolution, one of the leaders of the moderate constitutionalists (Feuillants); fled to Holland in 1793; subsequently took part in the July Revolution of 1830.— 198

*Lafontaine, August Heinrich* (1758-1831) — German writer, author of many sentimental novels.— 568

*Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louis de* (1790-1869) — French poet, historian and politician; in the forties a liberal, one of the leaders of the moderate republicans.— 520

*Lamennais (La Mennais), Félicité Robert de* (1782-1854) — French abbot, writer, one of the ideologists of Christian socialism.— 534, 535

*Lancizolle, Karl Wilhelm* (1796-1871) — German jurist, historian of law.— 346

*Langbein, August Friedrich Ernst* (1757-1835) — German poet.— 211

*La Vauguyon, Paul François, Duc de* (1746-1828) — French diplomat, ambassador in Holland and Spain.— 494

*Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm* (1646-1716) — German philosopher and mathematician.— 98, 179, 442

*Leonardo da Vinci* (1452-1519) — Italian painter, sculptor, scientist, architect and engineer.— 393

*Lerminier, Jean Louis Eugène* (1803-1857) — French lawyer and writer.— 489

*Leroux, Pierre* (1797-1871) — French writer; utopian socialist, representative of Christian socialism.— 231

*Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim* (1729-1781) — German dramatist, critic and philosopher.— 336, 491

*Levasseur de la Sarthe, René* (1747-1834) — French physician; leading figure in the French Revolution, member of the Convention, Jacobin; author of memoirs on the French Revolution.— 178, 508

*Licinius (Gaius Licinius Calvus Stolo)* (4th cent. B.C.) — Roman statesman. — 33

*Linguet, Simon Nicolas Henri* (1736-1794) — French lawyer, writer, historian and economist, critic of the Physiocrats.— 198

*Linné, Carl von* (1707-1778) — Swedish botanist, devised a system for the classification of plants and animals.— 461

*Lion* — see *Kriege, Hermann*

*Lloyd, Samuel Jones, Baron Overstone* (1796-1883) — British banker and economist, follower of Ricardo.— 544

*Locke, John* (1632-1704) — English philosopher.— 409, 411-12, 522

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715) — King of France (1643-1715).— 496

*Louis XVI* (1754-1793) — King of France (1774-92); guillotined.— 146, 514, 525

*Louis XVIII* (1755-1824) — King of France (1814-15 and 1815-24).— 527

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850) — Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).— 489

*Lourdoueix, Jacques Honoré Lelarge, Baron de* (1787-1860) — French writer, royalist, editor of the *Gazette de France*.— 346

*Louvet de Couvray, Jean Baptiste* (1760-1797) — French writer, prominent figure in the French Revolution, Girondist.— 178

*Lucian* (c. 120-c. 180) — Greek satirical writer.— 143, 187

*Lucretius (Titus Lucretius Carus)* (c. 99-c. 55 B.C.) — Roman philosopher and poet.— 139, 142

*Ludwig I* (1786-1868) — King of Bavaria (1825-48), wrote pretentious and pompous poems.— 577

*Lüning, Otto* (1818-1868) — German physician and writer, in the mid-forties a "true socialist", publisher of the *Weser-Dampfboot* (1844) and the *Westphälische Dampfboot* (1845-48) — 540-43, 545, 546, 548, 549, 556

*Luther, Martin* (1483-1546) — German theologian and writer, prominent figure of the Reformation, founder

of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany.— 142, 147, 171, 358, 504

*Lycurgus*—legendary Spartan lawgiver, who is supposed to have lived in the ninth century B.C.—520

*Lytton, Edward George Earle Lytton, Bulwer-Lytton* (1803-1873)—English writer and politician.—570

M

*Mably, Gabriel Bonnot de* (1709-1785)—French sociologist, advocate of utopian egalitarian communism.—198, 523

*McCulloch, John Ramsay* (1789-1864)—British economist who vulgarised Ricardo's theory.—366

*Machiavelli, Niccolò* (1469-1527)—Italian statesman, historian and writer. —321

*Maistre, Joseph Marie, Comte de* (1753-1821)—French writer, monarchist, an ideologist of aristocratic and clerical reaction.—346

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, author of a theory of population.—359

*Marat, Jean Paul* (1743-1793)—outstanding figure in the French Revolution, one of the leaders of the Jacobins.—198

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883)—3, 6, 15-19, 24, 38, 41, 42, 43-48, 49-52, 55, 60, 62, 70, 76-77, 82, 88, 91, 92, 111-15, 218, 248, 251, 252

*Matthäi, Rudolph*—German writer, "true socialist".—470-83

*Mauguin, François* (1785-1854)—French lawyer and politician; one of the leaders of the liberal dynastic opposition (until 1848).—507

*Max, Saint*—see *Stirner, Max*

*Mayer, Charles Joseph* (1751-c. 1825)—French writer.—336

*Meissner, Alfred* (1822-1885)—German democratic writer; in the mid-forties a "true socialist", subsequently a liberal.—560-68

*Mercier, Louis Sébastien* (1740-1814)—French writer of the Enlightenment; joined the Girondists during the French Revolution.—198

*Metternich, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Fürst von* (1773-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1809-21) and Chancellor (1821-48), one of the organisers of the Holy Alliance.—314

*Meyer, Julius* (d. 1867)—Westphalian businessman and writer; "true socialist" in the mid-forties.—541

*Meyerbeer, Giacomo (Jacob Liebmann Beer)* (1791-1864)—composer, conductor and pianist, one of the creators of the French grand opera.—468

*Michelet, Karl Ludwig* (1801-1893)—German Hegelian philosopher, professor at Berlin University.—121, 181, 182

*Mill, James* (1773-1836)—Scottish philosopher (follower of Bentham) and economist, adherent of Ricardo's theory.—412

*Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel Victor Riqueti, Comte de* (1749-1791)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, was in favour of a constitutional monarchy.—526

*Mohammed Ali* (1769-1849)—Viceroy of Egypt (1805-49); introduced a series of progressive reforms.—163

*Monteil, Amans Alexis* (1769-1850)—French historian.—220, 343, 548

*Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de* (1689-1755)—French philosopher and sociologist, Enlightener.—286, 520, 523

*Montgaillard, Guillaume Honoré Roques* (1772-1825)—French abbot, historian, royalist.—178

*Montjoie, Félix Christophe Louis* (1746-1816)—French royalist writer.—178

*More, Sir Thomas* (1478-1535)—English statesman, Lord Chancellor (1529-32), humanist writer, one of the earliest utopian communists, author of *Utopia*.—461

*Morelly* (18th cent.) — French advocate of utopian egalitarian communism.—528

*Morgan, John Minter* (1782-1854)—English writer, follower of Owen.—461

*Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus* (1756-1791)—Austrian composer.—392, 485, 559

*Mundt, Theodor* (1808-1861)—German writer, belonged to the Young Germany literary movement; professor of literature and history at the universities of Breslau and Berlin.—484

N

*Napoleon I (Bonaparte)* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).— 51, 136, 137, 146, 163, 195, 277, 353, 362, 398, 445, 526, 553

*Nauwerck (Nauwerk), Karl Ludwig Theodor* (1810-1891)—German writer, member of "The Free", a Young-Hegelian circle in Berlin.—110, 336

*Neuhaus, Gustav Reinhardt* (1823-1892)—German poet, a "true socialist" in the mid-forties.—576

*Newton, Sir Isaac* (1642-1727)—English physicist, astronomer and mathematician.—72, 500

*Nougaret, Pierre Jean Baptiste* (1724-1823)—French writer and historian.—178

O

*O'Connell, Daniel* (1775-1847)—Irish lawyer and politician, leader of the liberal wing of the Irish national liberation movement.—249, 288, 529

*Oelckers, Hermann Theodor* (1816-1869)—German democratic writer.—456

*Opitz, Theodor*—German writer, Young Hegelian.—549, 575

*Orion*—see *Meissner, Alfred*

*Otto I (Otto the Child)* (1815-1867)—Prince of Bavaria and from 1832 to 1862 King of Greece.—353

*Otto (-Peters), Luise* (1819-1895)—German writer; in the mid-forties a "true socialist".—560

*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—English utopian socialist.—7, 216, 392, 461

P

*Parny, Evariste Désiré de Forges, Vicomte de* (1753-1814)—French poet.—483

*Peltier, Jean Gabriel* (1765-1825)—French royalist writer.—178

*Péreire, Isaac* (1806-1880)—French small broker, later banker; follower of Saint-Simon; Bonapartist, author of works on credit.—232

*Pericles* (c. 490-429 B.C.)—Athenian statesman, leader of the democratic party.—138

*Perseus*—see *Schnake, Friedrich*

*Persiani, Fanny* (1812-1867)—Italian singer.—440

*Petty, Sir William* (1623-1687)—English economist and statistician, founder of the classical school of bourgeois political economy in Britain.—197

*Pfeffel, Gottlieb Konrad* (1736-1809)—German writer of fables, poet and pedagogue.—299

*Pfister, Johann Christian* (1772-1835)—German churchman and historian.—239

*Philippson, Ludwig* (1811-1889)—rabbi in Magdeburg, fought to secure equality for the Jews.—114

*Pilate, Pontius* (died c. 37)—Roman procurator of Judaea (26-36); ac-

cording to Christian tradition, ordered the crucification of Jesus.— 138, 143

*Pinto, Isaac* (1715-1787)—Dutch economist and stockjobber.—71, 361

*Plato* (c. 427-c. 347 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.— 143, 173

*Plutarch* (c. 46-c. 125) — Greek moralist writer and philosopher.— 142

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865) — French writer, economist and sociologist, one of the founders of anarchism.—179, 225, 336, 353, 364, 380, 423, 491-93, 511, 518, 529-30, 535

*Prutz, Robert Eduard* (1816-1872)—German poet and historian of literature.—561

*Ptolemy*—name of a dynasty of Egyptian kings (305-30 B.C.).—163

*Pufendorf, Samuel, Freiherr von* (1632-1694)—German scholar, jurist and historian, expounded a theory of natural law.—522, 523

*Püttmann, Hermann* (1811-1894)—German radical poet and journalist, a "true socialist" in the mid-forties.—553-56, 558, 573-74, 577-80

*Pythagoras* (c. 571-497 B.C.)—Greek mathematician and philosopher.—520

R

*Rabelais, François* (c. 1494-1553)—French humanist writer.—191

*Ram*—see *Weydemeyer, Joseph*

*Ranke, Leopold von* (1795-1886)—German historian, professor at Berlin University.—301

*Raphael* (*Raffaello Santi*) (1483-1520)—Italian painter.—390, 392-93

*Régnier d'Estourbet, Hippolyte* (pseudonym *M. R.*) (1804-1832)—French writer and historian.—178

*Reichardt, Carl Ernst*—a Berlin bookbinder, follower of Bruno Bauer, contributed to the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*.—110, 220, 232

*Reinhardt, Richard* (1829-1898)—German poet, emigrated to Paris, Heine's secretary.—577

*Rempel, Rudolf* (1815-1868) — German entrepreneur, in the mid-forties a "true socialist".—541

*Reybaud, Marie Roch Louis* (1799-1879) —French writer and economist, liberal.—493-95, 496, 498, 500, 503-07, 509, 519, 530

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—English economist.—403

*Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de* (1758-1794)—leading figure in the French Revolution, leader of the Jacobins; head of the revolutionary government (1793-94).—177-79, 243, 249, 338, 403, 485

*Rochau, August Ludwig von* (pseudonym *Churoa*) (1810-1873)—German liberal writer and historian.—510

*Rochow, Friedrich Eberhard von* (1734-1805)—German teacher, author of moralising books for young people. —568

*Rodrigues, Benjamin Olinde* (1794-1851) —French financier, disciple of Saint-Simon, one of the founders and leaders of the Saint-Simonian school.—493, 500

*Rohmer, Friedrich* (1814-1856)—German philosopher.—536

*Roland de la Platière, Jeanne Marie ou Manon Phlipon* (1754-1793)—French writer, played an active part in the French Revolution, Girondist.—178

*Rosenkranz, Johann Karl Friedrich* (1805-1879)—German philosopher and historian of literature, follower of Hegel.—508

*Rothschild, James* (1792-1868)—head of the Rothschild banking house in Paris.—353, 544

*Rotteck, Karl Wenzeslaus Rodecker von* (1775-1840) — German historian and liberal politician.— 353

*Rousseau, Jean Jacques* (1712-1778) — French philosopher and writer of the Enlightenment.— 80, 199, 334, 402, 523, 524

*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880) — German radical writer and philosopher, Young Hegelian.— 96, 236, 247

*Rumford* — see *Thompson, Benjamin*

*Rutenberg, Adolf* (1808-1869) — German writer, Young Hegelian.— 336

S

*Saint-Just, Louis Antoine Léon de* (1767-1794) — one of the leaders of the Jacobins in the French Revolution.— 177-79, 243, 338, 403

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de* (1760-1825) — French utopian socialist.— 464, 474-75, 484, 491, 493-508

*Sancho, Saint* — see *Stirner, Max*

*Sand, George* (pseudonym of *Amandine Lucie Aurore Dupin, Baronne Dudevant*) (1804-1876) — French writer.— 179

*Sarran (Sarrans), Jean Raimond Pascal* (1780-1844) — French royalist writer.— 346

*Sass, Friedrich* (1819-1851) — German writer, "true socialist".— 573

*Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von* (1775-1854) — German philosopher. — 134, 491

*Scherr, Johannes* (1817-1886) — German liberal historian and writer.— 575

*Schikaneder, Emanuel* (1751-1812) — Austrian actor, producer and playwright.— 485

*Schiller, Friedrich von* (1759-1805) — German poet, historian and philosopher.— 105, 113, 489, 522, 523, 544, 553, 559, 561, 574

*Schirges, Georg Gottlieb* (1811-1879) — German writer; in the mid-forties a "true socialist".— 543, 544

*Schlegel, August Wilhelm von* (1767-1845) — German romantic poet, translator, critic and historian of literature.— 406

*Schlosser, Friedrich Christoph* (1776-1861) — German historian, democrat.— 336

*Schlüssel, G.* — editor and publisher of the journal *Veilchen* (1846-47), "true socialist".— 559

*Schmidt, Johann Caspar.* — see *Stirner, Max*

*Schnake, Friedrich* — German journalist; in the mid-forties a "true socialist".— 542, 549, 550-52, 555, 559

*Schweitzer, Joseph* — German poet, "true socialist".— 575, 576

*Schwerdtlein, Rudolf* — German poet, "true socialist".— 578

*Scribe, Eugène* (1791-1861) — French playwright.— 468

*Semmig, Friedrich Hermann* (1820-1897) — German writer, in the mid-forties a "true socialist".— 458, 556-61, 575

*Senior, Nassau William* (1790-1864) — English economist, vulgarised Ricardo's theory.— 360

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616) — English dramatist and poet.— 106, 230, 231, 326, 561

*Sieyès, Emmanuel Joseph* (1748-1836) — French abbot, played an active part in the French Revolution.— 520, 526

*Sigismund I* (c. 1361-1437) — Holy Roman Emperor (1410-37).— 274

*Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de* (1773-1842) — Swiss economist, representative of economic romanticism.— 86, 202, 509

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790) — Scottish economist.— 72, 392, 525

*Socrates* (c. 469-c. 399 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—138, 147, 154

*Sophocles* (c. 497-c. 406 B.C.)—Greek dramatist.—137

*Southwell, Charles* (1814-1860)—English utopian socialist, follower of Owen.—461

*Spartacus* (d. 71 B.C.)—leader of the greatest slave revolt in ancient Rome (73-71 B.C.).—220

*Spence, Thomas* (1750-1814)—English utopian socialist, advocated the abolition of private ownership of land and the establishment of a kind of agrarian socialism.—461

*Spinoza, Baruch* (or *Benedict*) *de* (1632-1677)—Dutch philosopher.—98, 106, 178, 179, 321

*Stehely*—owner of a café in Berlin; members of "The Free" used to meet there in the forties.—324

*Stein, Heinrich Friedrich Karl, Baron vom und zum* (1757-1831)—Prussian statesman, held high government office between 1804 and 1808, helped to introduce moderate reforms.—352

*Stein, Lorenz von* (1815-1890)—German lawyer and historian, author of works on the socialist movement, supporter of a "social monarchy".—210, 456, 484, 493-504, 506-11, 528, 530, 535

*Steinmann, Friedrich Arnold* (1801-1875)—German writer.—549, 550

*Stirner, Max* (pseudonym of *Johann Caspar Schmidt*) (1806-1856) — German philosopher, Young Hegelian, one of the ideologists of individualism and anarchism.—19-23, 29, 30, 54, 55-59, 62, 65, 76, 83, 95, 97, 99-100, 102, 106, 107, 114-21, 123, 124, 126, 129, 133, 134, 136-330, 332-43, 345-452, 455, 463, 467, 572

*Stratton, Charles Sherwood* (1838-1883)—American dwarf who appeared in circus shows under the name of "General Tom Thumb".—116

*Strauss, David Friedrich* (1808-1874) — German philosopher and writer, Young Hegelian.—27, 29, 175

*Sue, Eugène* (1804-1857)—French writer, author of sentimental novels on social themes.—571

*Szeliga*—see *Zychlinski, Franz Zychlin von*

T

*Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de* (1754-1838) — French diplomat and statesman; Bishop of Autun (1788-91); Minister of Foreign Affairs (1797-99, 1799-1807 and 1814-15), represented France at the Congress of Vienna (1814-15).—198-99

*Tertullian* (*Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus*) (c. 150-c. 222)—Christian theologian and writer.—163

*Teste, Charles* (d. 1848)—French utopian communist, follower of Babeuf, took part in the republican movement during the July monarchy.—508

*Themistocles* (c. 525-c. 460 B.C.)—Athenian statesman and general at the time of the Persian wars.—353

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836-40), after 1848 leader of the Orleanists, organised the suppression of the Paris Commune; President of the Republic (1871-73).—546, 547

*Thompson, Benjamin, Count Rumford* (1753-1814)—English officer of American descent; was for a time in the service of the Bavarian government; organised workhouses for beggars and compiled recipes for paupers' broths made up of cheap substitutes.—235, 272

*Thomposon, William* (c. 1785-1833)—Irish economist, arrived at socialist conclusions on the basis of Ricardo's theory; follower of Owen.—461

*Timon of Phlius* (c. 320-c. 230 B.C.)—Greek sceptic philosopher.—138, 143

*Titian* (*Tiziano Vecellio*) (1477-1576)—Italian painter of the Venetian school.—393

*Tom Thumb*—see *Stratton, Charles Sherwood*

*Trajan* (*Marcus Ulpius Nerva Trajanus*) (c. 53-117)—Roman Emperor (98-117).—458

*Turgot, Anne Robert Jacques, Baron de l'Aulne* (1727-1781)—French economist and statesman; Physiocrat; Controller-General of Finance (1774-76).—514, 523-25

*Twins*—see *Rempel, Rudolf* and *Meyer, Julius*

*Tyler, Wat* (d. 1381)—leader of the English peasant revolt of 1381.—204

*Tyrtaeus* (7th cent. B.C.)—Greek poet.—485

U

*Ursa Major*—see *Püttmann, Hermann*

V

*Venedey, Jakob* (1805-1871)—German radical writer and politician; became a liberal after the revolution of 1848.—57

*Vernet, Jean Horace* (1789-1863)—French painter of battle scenes.—393

*Victoria* (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901).—542

*Villegardelle, François* (1810-1856)—French writer, follower of Fourier, later utopian communist.—528

*Vincke, Ludwig Friedrich Wilhelm Philipp, Freiherr von* (1774-1844)—Prussian statesman.—352

*Virgil* (*Vergil*) (*Publius Vergilius Maro*) (70-19 B.C.)—Roman poet.—423

*Voltaire, François Marie Arouet* (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—525

W

*Wackenroder, Wilhelm Heinrich* (1773-1798) — German romantic writer.—471

*Wade, John* (1788-1875)—English writer, economist and historian.—202

*Washington, George* (1732-1799)—American statesman and general, Commander-in-Chief of the North-American forces during the American War of Independence (1775-83); first President of the U.S.A. (1789-97).—493

*Watts, John* (1818-1887)— English utopian socialist, follower of Owen.—212, 461

*Weber, Carl Maria von* (1786-1826)—German composer.—102, 149, 398

*Weerth, Georg* (1822-1856) — German proletarian poet and journalist; a friend of Marx and Engels.—574

*Weitling, Wilhelm Christian* (1808-1871) — leader of the German working-class movement in its early period, one of the theoreticians of utopian egalitarian communism; a tailor by trade.—206, 226, 461

*Westminster*—see *Grosvenor, Richard*

*Weydemeyer, Joseph* (1818-1866)—leader of the German and American working-class movements; in 1846-47 he was under the influence of the "true socialists", subsequently he became a comrade-in-arms of Marx and Engels; later one of the first to propagate Marxism in the U.S.A.—541-46, 548, 556

*Wigand, Otto* (1795-1870)—German publisher and bookseller, owner of a firm in Leipzig which published works by radical writers.—117

*Woeniger, August Theodor*—German writer.—220, 232

Z

*Zeno* (c. 430-491)—Byzantine Emperor (474-91).—204

*Zeno of Citium* (c. 336-264 B.C.) — Greek philosopher, founder of the Stoic school.—140

*Zychlinski, Franz Zychlin von* (1816-1900)—Prussian officer, Young Hegelian; contributed to Bruno Bauer's periodicals under the pseudonym of Szeliga.—117, 121, 122, 123, 149, 150-53, 154-55, 160, 170, 190-92, 224, 238, 246, 269-71, 277, 285, 295, 316, 343, 344, 345, 366, 369, 386, 397, 398, 447, 448-49.

INDEX OF LITERARY AND MYTHOLOGICAL NAMES

*Abigail* (Bib.)—the wife of Nabal, a wealthy owner of herds of sheep.—158

*Abraham* (Bib.).—201

*Adam* (Bib.).—110, 515

*Amadis of Gaul*—hero of a medieval Spanish romance of chivalry.—342

*Amon* (Bib.)—a king of Judah.—108

*Antigone* — in Greek legend, daughter of Oedipus, King of Thebes; heroine of Sophocles' tragedy *Antigone*.—137

*Baal*—chief deity of the Phoenicians. —108, 535

*Balaam* (Bib.)—a prophet.—103

*Ben Himmon* (Bib.)—108

*Cain* (Bib.)—a son of Adam and Eve; murderer of Abel, his brother.—103

*Charon* (Gr. Myth.)—ferryman who conveyed the souls of the dead across the river Styx.—102

*Christ*—see *Jesus Christ*

*Clavileño*—a toy-horse in Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.—369, 388

*Crispinus*—a character from Juvenal's satire.—172, 225

*Danaides* (Gr. Myth.) — the daughters of King Danaus who murdered their husbands at their father's command; they were condemned by the gods eternally to fill bottomless vessels with water.— 157

*Dioscuri* (Gr. Myth.)—Castor and Pollux, the twin sons of Zeus, by whom they were turned into the constellation Gemini (the Twins); as such they were considered to be the patrons of seamen.— 234

*Don Quixote de la Mancha*—hero of Cervantes' *Don Quixote*; see *Zychlinski (Szeliga)*

*Dottore Graziano*—a personage in the Italian *Commedia dell'arte*, pseudo-scholar and pedant; see *Ruge, Arnold*

*Dulcinea del Toboso*—a character in Cervantes' *Don Quixote*; see *Dähnhardt, Marie Wilhelmine*

*Eckart*—a hero of German medieval legends, the prototype of a staunch friend and trustworthy guardian.—149

*Emanuel*—a character in Jean Paul's novel *Hesperus oder 45 Hundsposttage*.—138

*Eumenides* (Gr. Myth.)—goddesses of revenge.—122

*Eve* (Bib.).—110

*Ezekiel* (Bib.)—a prophet, author of the Book of Ezekiel.—103

*Faust*—hero of Goethe's tragedy *Faust*.—330, 415, 434

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*Deutsches Bürgerbuch*—a yearbook, organ of the "true socialists", published by Hermann Püttmann; *Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1845* came out in Darmstadt in December 1844, and *Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1846* in Mannheim in the summer of 1846. Engels contributed two articles to the yearbook.—459, 460, 483, 486, 491, 492, 529, 556

*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*—a yearbook edited by Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge and published in German in Paris. Only the first issue, a double one, came out in February 1844; it contained several articles by Marx and Engels.—47, 197, 205, 209, 236, 247, 336, 514

*Dies Buch gehört dem Volke*—a yearbook published by Otto Lüning in Bielefeld in 1845 and 1846, and in Paderborn in 1847; organ of the "true socialists".—541

*Le Drapeau blanc*—a newspaper published in Paris from 1819 to 1827 and in 1829-30; an organ of the ultra-royalist party.—346

*L'Égalitaire. Journal de l'organisation sociale*—a monthly founded by Théodore Dézamy and published in Paris in 1840; it propagated the ideas of utopian communism.—206

*L'Époque. Journal complet et universel*—a newspaper published in Paris in 1845-47, organ of the moderate conservatives.—547

*La Fraternité. Journal moral et politique*—a communist workers' monthly, published in Paris from 1841 to 1843.—216

*La Gazette de France*—a royalist daily; published under this title in Paris from 1762 to 1792 and from 1797 to 1848.—346

*Gesellschaftsspiegel. Organ zur Vertretung der besitzlosen Volksklassen und zur Beleuchtung der gesellschaftlichen Zustände der Gegenwart*—a monthly journal of the "true socialists"; it was edited by Moses Hess and published in Elberfeld in 1845-46; altogether twelve issues appeared. Frederick Engels was one of the founders of the journal.—17, 542, 549, 552, 553

*Le Globe*—a daily newspaper founded by Pierre Leroux and published in Paris from 1824 to 1831; from January 1831 it was the organ of the Saint-Simonists.—506, 509

*Die Grenzboten. Zeitschrift für Politik und Literatur*—a liberal weekly journal published in Leipzig from 1841.—568, 569

*Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst*—a literary and philosophical journal of the Young Hegelians; it was edited by Arnold Ruge and others and published in Halle from 1838 to 1841. From July 1841 to January 1843 it appeared under the title *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst* (see).—56, 98, 508

*Historisch-politische Zeitschrift*—a conservative journal edited by Leopold Ranke, published in Hamburg in 1832 and in Berlin from 1833 to 1836.—301

*L'Instruction sociale*—*see Journal d'instruction sociale*

*Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*—a daily newspaper founded in Paris in 1789, expressed the views of the government during the July monarchy.—546

*Journal d'instruction sociale*—a weekly published by Condorcet, Sieyès and Duhamel in Paris from June 1 to July 6, 1793; organ of the Girondists.—527

*Kölnische Zeitung*—a daily published under this title from 1802 to 1945; organ of the liberal bourgeoisie.—541

*Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats-und gelehrten Sachen*—a daily newspaper published in Berlin from 1785; also known as the *Vossische Zeitung* after its owner.—331, 335, 336, 371

*Literatur-Zeitung*—see *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*

*Le Moniteur Universel*—a daily newspaper published under this title in Paris from 1789 to 1901; from 1799 to 1869 it was an official government organ.—336

*Le National*—a daily newspaper published in Paris from 1830 to 1851; in the 1840s it was the organ of the moderate republicans.—547, 548

*Norddeutsche Blätter für Kritik, Literatur und Unterhaltung*—a monthly published in Berlin in 1844 and 1845.—97, 270, 366

*L'Organisateur, journal des progrès de la science générale*—a Saint-Simonist weekly published in Paris from 1829 to 1831.—493, 506

*La Phalange. Revue de la science social*—a Fourierist journal published in Paris from 1832 to 1849; its title, frequency of publication and size were changed several times.—236

*Le Point du jour, ou Résultat de ce qui s'est passé la veille à l'Assemblée nationale*—a daily newspaper published in Paris from June 19, 1789, to October 21, 1791, by Bertrand Barère; it reported the debates in the French National Assembly.—199

*Le Populaire de 1841. Journal de réorganisation sociale et politique*—a journal edited by Étienne Cabet; published in Paris from 1841 to 1850.—462

*La Presse*—a daily newspaper published in Paris from 1836; in the 1840s organ of the opposition.—546

*Le Producteur. Journal philosophique de l'Industrie, de la Science et des Beaux Arts*—a weekly published in Paris from 1825 to 1826, the first periodical publication of the Saint-Simonists.—506

*La Réforme*—a daily, organ of the republican democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists, published in Paris from 1843 to 1850.—548

*Révolutions de Paris*—a revolutionary-democratic weekly, published in Paris from July 1789 to February 1794; until September 1790 it was edited by Elisée Loustalot.—380

*Revue des deux Mondes*—a literary and political fortnightly journal published in Paris from 1829.—509

*Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform*—an organ of the "true socialists", published by Hermann Püttmann. Only two volumes were issued: the first in Darmstadt in August 1845, the second in Belle-Vue, on the German-Swiss border, at the end of 1846; Engels' "Speeches in Elberfeld" were published in this periodical.—458, 459-83, 491, 514, 529, 554, 555, 556, 558

*Rheinischer Beobachter*—a conservative daily newspaper published in Cologne from 1844 until the beginning of 1848.—542

*Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*—a daily newspaper published in Cologne from January 1, 1842, to March 31, 1843. It was founded by members of the Rhenish bourgeoisie who were opposed to Prussian absolutism. Marx was one of its editors from October 15, 1842, to March 17, 1843. Under his influence the newspaper assumed a pronounced revolutionary-democratic character, and this led to its suppression by the Prussian Government. Engels was one of the contributors to this paper.—112

*Sächsische Vaterlands-Blätter*—a liberal newspaper published in Dresden from 1837, and in Leipzig from 1841.—336

*Trier'sche Zeitung*—a daily founded in 1757 and published under this title from 1815; the newspaper propagated radical views in the early 1840s, it came later under the influence of the "true socialists".—541, 559, 573

*Veilchen. Harmlose Blätter für die moderne Kritik*—a weekly paper of the "true socialists", it was edited by G. Schlüssel and published in Bautzen (Saxony) in 1846 and 1847.—559, 560, 576

*Der Volks-Tribun. Organ des Jungen Amerika*—a German-language weekly newspaper founded by "true socialists" in New York, published from January 5 to December 31, 1846; its editor was Hermann Kriege.—543, 552

*Vorwärts! Pariser Deutsche Zeitschrift*—a German-language newspaper published in Paris twice a week from January to December 1844; at first it was the organ of the moderate section of German emigrants and from May 1844 of their radical and democratic section. Marx and Engels, who collaborated in the production of this journal, strengthened its revolutionary tendencies. When Marx and several other contributors were expelled from France by the Guizot Government the paper ceased publication.—528

*Vossische Zeitung*—see *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats-und gelehrten Sachen*

*Die Werkstatt. Eine Monatszeitschrift für Arbeiter*—a "true socialist" monthly journal published in Hamburg from 1845 to 1847 and edited by Georg Schirges.—543

*Weser-Dampfboot*—a radical journal which gradually became an organ of the "true socialists"; it was published in Minden from January to October 1844 twice a week and in November and December once a month. In November Otto Lüning became a co-editor. At the end of 1844 the journal was suppressed by the government; in 1845 it reappeared under the title *Das Westphälische Dampfboot* (see).—542

*Das Westphälische Dampfboot*—a monthly journal, organ of the "true socialists"; it was edited by Otto Lüning and published in Bielefeld from January 1845 to December 1846, and in Paderborn from January 1847 to March 1848, Joseph Weydemeyer took part in the editing of this journal. Marx and Engels contributed several articles to this journal.—15, 16, 17, 95, 112, 541-43, 547, 548

*Wigand's Vierteljahrsschrift*—a Young Hegelian philosophical journal published by Otto Wigand in Leipzig in 1844 and 1845. Among its contributors were Bruno Bauer, Max Stirner and Ludwig Feuerbach.—15-17, 41, 56, 57, 94-95, 98, 101, 106, 115, 143, 144, 150, 156, 158, 159, 166, 173, 183, 197, 205, 207, 224, 234, 236, 246, 248, 251, 257, 264, 270, 280, 298, 299, 339, 366, 372, 373, 384, 415, 425, 436, 451

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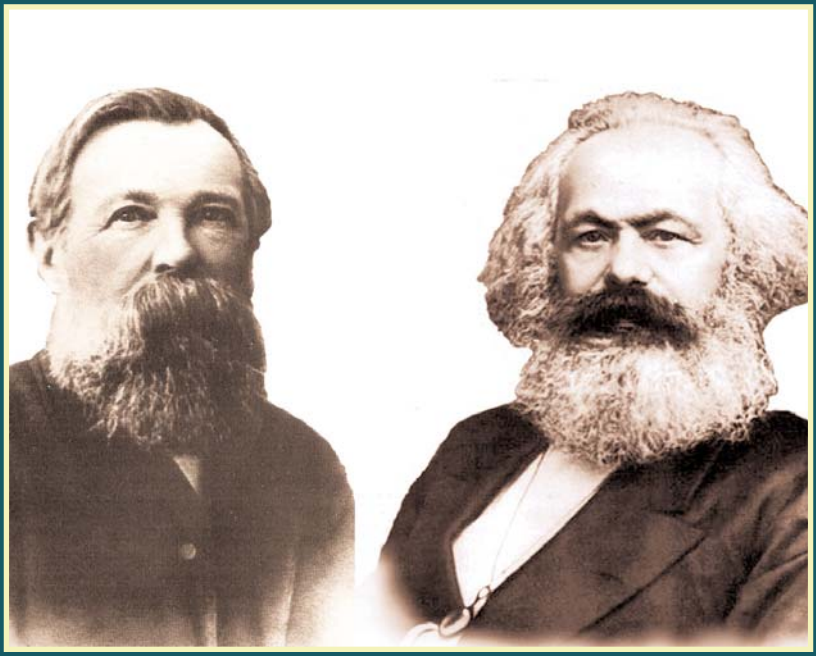

## VOLUME 6

### Marx and Engels 1845-48

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 6

## Marx and Engels 1845-48

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TRANSLATORS:

JACK COHEN: Articles 1, 14, 30, 34, 41, 54

MICHAEL HUDSON: Article 12

CATHERINE JUDELSON: Appendix 4

JONATHAN KEMP: Articles 27, 28, 35, 38, 42, 57, 61, 63

FRIDA KNIGHT: Articles 48, 49, 51, 62, Appendices 6, 15-18, 20, 23, 24

HUGH RODWELL: Articles 6, 11, 13, 17, 19, 20, 39, 40, 55, 56, 58, 59

BARBARA RUHEMANN: Article 43, From the Preparatory Materials 1-5, Appendices 1-3, 7-11, 13, 14, 19, 21, 22

CHRISTOPHER UPWARD: Articles 4, 18, 22, 25

# Preface

Volume 6 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels covers the period between the autumn of 1845 and March 1848, when the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Europe were maturing, and the contents reflect the manifold theoretical studies and practical activities of Marx and Engels undertaken on the eve of the revolutions of 1848-49. In these activities Marx and Engels were mainly concerned with completing their working out of the general theoretical foundations of Marxism as the ideology of the working class, with taking the first steps towards the creation of a proletarian party based on the principles of scientific communism and proletarian internationalism, and with drawing up the programme and tactical platform of the international working-class movement. It was in this period that Marx and Engels founded the first international proletarian organisation—the Communist League, and produced Marxism's first programmatic statement—the *Manifesto of the Communist Party.*

The volume begins with an article by Engels, "The Festival of Nations in London", in which the principles of proletarian internationalism are set forth in print for the first time. Here Engels stressed that "the proletarians in all countries have one and the same interest, one and the same enemy", that "only the proletarians can destroy nationality, only the awakening proletariat can bring about fraternisation between the different nations" (see this volume, p. 6).

The idea of international proletarian solidarity is also expressed in the "Address of the German Democratic Communists of Brussels to Mr. Feargus O'Connor", a declaration of the German Communists' support for the British working men who had joined forces in the

Chartist Association which was effectively the first party of the working class. It was written for the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee, which Marx and Engels had initiated at the beginning of 1846 to promote unity of ideas and organisation among the leading figures of the proletarian and socialist movement.

Of great importance among surviving papers of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee is the "Circular Against Kriege", a criticism of German "true socialism". Here Marx and Engels firmly opposed the views of the "true socialist" Kriege, who was at this time active in the United States. He was substituting a sentimental theory of universal love for communist ideas, and seeking at the same time to present the American democratic movement for agrarian reform, the progressive significance of which Marx and Engels fully recognised, as a struggle for the communist transformation of society. The "Circular" showed that there was no point in trying to give socialist doctrines a religious colouring and that the communist world outlook was incompatible with religion.

On a more general plane, the "Circular Against Kriege" was also a blow against the views of Weitling and his supporters, who advocated egalitarian utopian communism. Similar in many ways to the beliefs of the "true socialists", these views increased the ideological confusion among the working class and encouraged sectarian and dogmatic attitudes.

Marx's "Declaration Against Karl Grün", Engels' unfinished "The Constitutional Question in Germany", his essays "German Socialism in Verse and Prose", and some other works, are also devoted to the criticism of "true socialism". In "The Constitutional Question in Germany" Engels takes issue with "true socialist" political views. He shows that, by ignoring the supremacy of the absolutist system in Germany and opposing progressive bourgeois reforms, the "true socialists" were playing into the hands of the absolutist feudal circles and acting in profound contradiction to the interests of the working people. After a searching analysis of the social and political situation in Germany Engels outlines the revolutionary tactics of the proletariat in the approaching bourgeois revolution, emphasising that the working class has an interest in the consistent realisation of the aims of such a revolution.

In his essays "German Socialism in Verse and Prose" Engels then criticises the aesthetic ideals of "true socialism", as represented in the poetry and literary criticism of its supporters (the poet Karl Beck, the literary historian Karl Grün, and others). He censures their characteristically sentimental, merely philanthropic themes, their petty-bourgeois tastes and illusions and philistine moralising.

Progressive writers and poets should, he declares, bring to their readers the advanced ideas of their time and acclaim not a "cowardly petty-bourgeois wretchedness", but a "proud, threatening, and revolutionary proletarian" (see this volume, p. 235). Here Engels arrives, too, at important principles of Marxist aesthetics and criteria for the appreciation of works of art. In contrast to Grün's extremely naive and thoroughly petty-bourgeois attitude to the work of such a great writer as Goethe, Engels shows that the critic's task is always to reveal the link between the writer's social environment and his world outlook and thoroughly to investigate its contradictions. He must be able to distinguish between elements of genuine artistic and social value in the work and those which express only a narrowness of outlook on the writer's part.

One of the most important theoretical works of Marxism — Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon* — belongs to this period. Aimed against the growing trend of Proudhonism — a trend which was later to acquire considerable influence in the working-class movement and which Marx and his associates fought for decades — this book was compiled to meet the contemporary needs of the revolutionary struggle and to help make the proletariat theoretically and ideologically independent of the petty bourgeoisie.

*The Poverty of Philosophy* was prompted by the publication of Proudhon's *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère.* Marx saw in Proudhon's ideas the embodiment of a petty-bourgeois mentality, the inconsistency and utopianism permeating the outlook of a class which seeks at once to escape from the disastrous consequences of capitalist development and to preserve the economic foundation of the system — private ownership of the means of production and wage labour. Criticism of Proudhon's views was therefore fundamental for establishing among the workers a true understanding of the revolutionary aims of proletarian struggle and for exposing any attempts to replace these aims with the utopian reformist idea of adapting the capitalist system to the interests of the working people.

Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy* is one of the first works of mature Marxism. Besides criticising Proudhon, Marx expounds his own philosophical and economic views. Here, therefore, in print for the first time (though still in a somewhat polemical form) were formulated the scientific principles of historical materialism which Marx and Engels had worked out mainly in the process of writing *The German Ideology. The Poverty of Philosophy* was Marx's public début

as an economist. It is the first published work to outline the fundamental propositions of Marx's economic theory which form the point of departure of Marxist political economy. Marx himself wrote in 1880: "...This book contains in embryo what after a labour of twenty years became the theory that was developed in *Capital*." *The Poverty of Philosophy* also enunciates a number of basic propositions about the working-class movement and its tactics.

Marx first of all shows the weakness of Proudhon's basic approach. He had attempted to apply Hegelian dialectics to political economy with no understanding of what dialectics really means. In Proudhon, dialectics is reduced to the artificial construction of contradictions. He accepted basic facts of economic production and exchange as given and unalterable, and then put forward the utopian idea that their "bad" side could be eliminated, while preserving their "good" side. In this way, he thought, the capitalist system could be "purified" of all those consequences of its development that were inimical to the small producer—competition, concentration of production, the domination of big, particularly banking, capital, and so on. Marx stresses that Proudhon "has nothing of Hegel's dialectics but the language" (see this volume, p. 168), and remains in practice a metaphysician. He shows that Proudhon adopts the idealist form of Hegel's theory of contradictions and deprives it of its rational elements.

Marx contrasts his own interpretation of the materialist character of dialectics to Hegel's idealist interpretation, drawing a clear line of distinction between his own scientific method and the Hegelian method.

In *The Poverty of Philosophy* Marx expressed the essence of the materialist understanding of history in a clear and concise formula: "Social relations are closely bound up with productive forces. In acquiring new productive forces men change their mode of production; and in changing their mode of production, in changing the way of earning their living, they change all their social relations. The hand-mill gives you society with the feudal lord; the steam-mill, society with the industrial capitalist" (see this volume, p. 166). Defining the meaning of the term "productive forces", Marx states that it embraces not only the instruments of production but also the workmen themselves, and he thus arrives at the important proposition that "... the greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself" (see this volume, p. 211).

In the course of his studies in political economy from 1845 to 1846 Marx had demonstrated the utopianism of the attempts of the English Ricardian socialists—Bray, Thompson and others—to deduce a socialist system from the postulates of classical political

economy, particularly, from the labour theory of value. In *The Poverty of Philosophy* he showed that Proudhon was repeating and aggravating this mistake by regarding the economic categories of bourgeois society as the foundation on which to build a new, "just" social order. Unlike the English socialists, however, whose goal was the radical transformation of society on socialist principles, Proudhon sought merely to save the small private producer.

*The Poverty of Philosophy* describes English classical political economy in its most characteristic aspects and shows the important part it played in the development of economic thought. At the same time, although the criticism of the classical economists is not complete, it shows its weaknesses. Even in this work, however, Marx is already basing his study of economic life on entirely new premises, fundamentally different from those of the classical economists. In contrast to Smith, Ricardo and other bourgeois economists who assumed the eternal and immutable nature of the economic laws of capitalism, Marx argues that the laws of bourgeois production are transient in character, just as the laws of the pre-capitalist social-economic formations were transient. There will inevitably come a time, he wrote, when the laws of bourgeois production will be superseded because the very system of bourgeois relations will disappear from the face of the earth.

In his polemic with Proudhon and the bourgeois economists Marx took a new standpoint in analysing such categories of political economy as value, money, rent, and such economic phenomena as the division of labour and application of machinery, competition and monopoly. Here he still employs as in other economic works of this period (specifically, in the manuscript published in this volume under the title of "Wages") concepts borrowed from the classical economists—"labour as a commodity", "value of labour" and "price of labour"—but he gives these concepts a new meaning which discloses the underlying exploitation in the relations between capital and wage labour. In contrast to Ricardo, who regarded labour as a commodity the same as any other, Marx sees it as a commodity of a special kind, the purchase and use of which leads to the enrichment of the capitalist and a worsening in the position of the owner of this commodity—the worker. Marx formulates, as yet in a general, rudimentary form, the universal law of capitalist accumulation. Under capitalism, he writes, "in the selfsame relations in which wealth is produced, poverty is produced also" (see this volume, p. 176). In *The Poverty of Philosophy* Marx singles out the industrial proletariat that came into being in the process of the development of machine production as the real

social force destined to resolve the contradictions of bourgeois society by its revolutionary transformation.

Marx refuted Proudhon's contention that strikes and trade union organisation are of no use to the workers. He showed that the economic struggle, strikes and workers' combinations were essential for the unity and revolutionary education of the proletarian masses. *The Poverty of Philosophy* expresses the profound idea that the awareness of the fundamental contradiction between its own interests and the continuation of the capitalist system, which the proletariat acquires as an organised movement develops, plays a decisive role in converting it from a mass that is "already a class as against capital, but not yet for itself", into "a class for itself" (see this volume, p. 211). Here Marx also formulates one of the most important tactical principles of the revolutionary proletarian movement—the unity of economic and political struggle and the decisive role of the political struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat.

In the period leading up to the revolutions of 1848 Marx and Engels were extremely active as proletarian journalists, reacting to all contemporary events, especially those of a revolutionary nature. This volume includes a large number of their articles and reports published in the working-class and democratic press of the time, particularly in the *Deutsche-Brusseler-Zeitung,* which under their influence became the unofficial organ of the Communist League. The chief aim of Marx and Engels' writing for the press in this period was to explain to the working class its role and tasks in the imminent bourgeois revolution, to prepare the proletarian party that was beginning to take shape for the forthcoming battles, to spread the new revolutionary proletarian world outlook and to defend scientific communism from the attacks of its enemies.

Continuing his contributions to the Chartist *Northern Star,* which he had begun in 1843, Engels wrote regular articles about the maturing revolutionary situation in Germany ("The State of Germany", "Violation of the Prussian Constitution", etc.) and the imminent revolutionary crisis in France ("Government and Opposition in France", "The Decline and Approaching Fall of Guizot.—Position of the French Bourgeoisie", "The Reform Movement in France", etc.). In October 1847 he made contact with the French democrats and socialists associated with the newspaper *La Réforme,* and became an active contributor. He sent the paper a series of articles on the Chartist movement in England ("The Agrarian Programme of the Chartists", "The Chartist Banquet in Connection with the Elections of 1847", etc.), and translated and published with

commentaries the major Chartist documents, reports of Chartist meetings, and so on. His contributions also included several articles on the national liberation movement in Ireland ("The Commercial Crisis in England.—The Chartist Movement.—Ireland", "The Coercion Bill for Ireland and the Chartists"). At the same time the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* published articles, mainly by Engels, on the revolutionary events in Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Austria and Denmark ("The Civil War in Switzerland", "The Movements of 1847", "Three New Constitutions", etc.), Engels' article "Revolution in Paris" was a response to the events of February 1848 in France.

The publication of these articles and reports helped to strengthen the international ties between the proletarian and democratic circles of the European countries and to evolve a common platform for the revolutionary forces. The same purpose was served by Marx and Engels' work in the Brussels Democratic Association, their friendly contacts with the London society of Fraternal Democrats, their growing ties with the leaders of Chartism, and their speeches at international meetings and conferences—as a number of the articles included in this volume bear witness (e.g. Marx's article "The *Débat social* of February 6 on the Democratic Association" and Engels' report "The Anniversary of the Polish Revolution of 1830"), and likewise the documents published in the Appendices.

Many of the articles in this volume announce important propositions of the theory of Marxism and the tactics of proletarian revolutionary struggle. Prominent among these is the article "The Communism of the *Rheinischer Beobachter*", which was aimed against the supporters of feudal socialism and their attempts to attribute a special social mission to the Prussian monarchy. This article gave the German working class a clear orientation in a situation of mounting revolution.

To the moderate and conciliatory councils of the liberal opposition Marx counterposed the revolutionary overthrow of the absolute monarchy and drew up a programme of revolutionary-democratic reforms. The victory of the bourgeois revolution, he declared, would make it easier for the working class to achieve its own class aims. "The rule of the bourgeoisie does not only place quite new weapons in the hands of the proletariat for the struggle *against* the bourgeoisie, but ... it also secures for it a quite different status, the status of a recognised party" (see this volume, p. 222).

The idea that the working class should take an active part in the bourgeois-democratic revolution was further developed in the polemic that Marx and Engels conducted with the German democrat Karl Heinzen, who expressed the hostility to communism of a whole

group of German radical journalists. Engels' articles "The Communists and Karl Heinzen" and Marx's work "Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality" provide striking examples of how to answer anti-communism and expose its slanders of Communists.

In reply to Heinzen's accusation that the Communists split the democratic camp, Marx and Engels demonstrate that, although their ultimate aims go far beyond establishing bourgeois-democratic freedoms, the Communists' immediate aim is to win democracy, and in this struggle they make common cause with the democrats.

In what Marx and Engels wrote against Heinzen we find a draft of the proposition that the working class must lead the revolutionary movement. In contrast to Heinzen, who assigned the leading role in the impending revolution to the peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie, Engels argued that not the peasantry but "the industrial proletariat of the towns has become the vanguard of all modern democracy; the urban petty bourgeoisie and still more the peasants depend on its initiative completely" (see this volume, p. 295).

Marx and Engels regarded the bourgeois-democratic revolution as merely an intermediate stage in the proletariat's revolutionary struggle. The proletarians, Marx wrote, "can and must accept the *bourgeois revolution* as a precondition for the *workers' revolution*" (this volume, p. 333). With the victory of the democratic revolution the proletariat is confronted with the task of "becoming a power, in the first place a revolutionary power" in order to carry the struggle against the bourgeoisie itself to its ultimate conclusion (see this volume, p. 319). Thus in their polemic with Heinzen Marx and Engels approached the idea of uninterrupted revolution and regarded the working class' conquest of political power as its next stage. Here we have the first published formulation of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat as an instrument for the revolutionary reconstruction of society.

In "Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality" Marx laid the groundwork for the theory of the dialectical interrelationship between the economic basis and the political superstructure. It is not political power, he stressed, that determines property relations, as the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats imagine, but, on the contrary, the character of political power itself depends on historically formed production relations (property relations) and the class structure of society thus created. At the same time, Marx points out that political power is an active factor in social life. In the hands of the rising class it accelerates progressive development; in the hands of the obsolete class it acts as a powerful brake on progress. The revolutionary supplanting of the old political superstructure is

therefore an essential condition for the victory of the new social system.

Articles by Engels published in this volume—"The 'Satisfied' Majority...", "Louis Blanc's Speech at the Dijon Banquet", and Marx's "Remarks on the Article by M. Adolphe Bartels"—like the articles against Heinzen, show that while opposing sectarian isolation from the democratic movement and advocating an alliance with the democrats, Marx and Engels sought to build the relations between the proletarian party and the democratic organisations on a principled basis. They refused to condone democratic mistakes and illusions. Engels, in particular, spoke out against the *Réforme* party leaders on issues where their platform was unacceptable to the Communists—their notion of the special cosmopolitan role of France in world history and their nationalistic claims that French democracy should hold a leading position in the international democratic movement. "The union of the democrats of different nations does not exclude mutual criticism," Engels wrote. "It is impossible without such criticism. Without criticism there is no understanding and consequently no union" (this volume, p. 409).

Marx and Engels' criticisms of the bourgeois free traders, for whom free trade was to become a blessing for the proletariat and a panacea for all social ills, provide a striking example of their struggle against ideology hostile to the working class. In the materials relating to the international congress of economists in Brussels, and in Marx's "Speech on the Question of Free Trade", the theory of free trade and its rival bourgeois economic system of protectionism are alike subjected to scientific criticism and given a specifically historical evaluation. In the conditions of the 1840s, Marx gave preference to the free-trade system as the more progressive of the two. "We are for Free Trade, because by Free Trade all economical laws, with their most astounding contradictions, will act upon a larger scale, upon a greater extent of territory, upon the territory of the whole earth; and because from the uniting of all these contradictions into a single group, where they stand face to face, will result the struggle which will itself eventuate in the emancipation of the proletarians" (see this volume, p. 290).

Marx and Engels paid great attention to national liberation movements. They realised the importance of the emancipation struggles of the oppressed peoples in the imminent bourgeois-democratic revolution, and in their articles "The Beginning of the End in Austria" and "A Word to the *Riforma*" and in their speeches at public meetings to mark the anniversaries of the Polish uprisings of 1830 and 1846, they sought to provide the working class with a

thoroughly argued position on the question of nationalities. Marx and Engels were emphatic that the proletariat must give full support to the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples and urged proletarian groups to ally themselves with the revolutionary-democratic wings of the national movements. They saw the guarantee of success for the latter in a combination of the struggle for national liberation with the demand for deep-going internal revolutionary-democratic changes.

"A nation cannot become free," Engels wrote, "and at the same time continue to oppress other nations" (this volume, p. 389). He and Marx stressed that the nationalities question could be finally solved only after the proletariat's victory over the bourgeoisie, whose domination inevitably leads to the intensification of national antagonisms and colonial oppression. The proletarian revolution, they declared, is "the signal of liberation for all oppressed nations" (this volume, p. 388).

Some of the judgments and conclusions reached by Marx and Engels in their articles and reports were still of a preliminary character and sometimes one-sided; they reflected the level of Marxist thought at the time and were later supplemented or clarified in the light of new historical experience and a more profound and comprehensive study of the subject. In their later works, for example, Marx and Engels gave a different, positive interpretation of the role of the peasant movements in the Middle Ages, as compared with what we find in the article "The Communists and Karl Heinzen". They also arrived at a rather different estimate of the struggle of the Swiss against Austrian domination in the 14th and 15th centuries, and the character and results of the war waged by the USA against Mexico in 1846-48, and so on.

The material in this volume shows the work of Marx and Engels as organisers and leaders of the Communist League and, above all, enables us to trace the stages in their working out of the programme and organisational principles of the League.

This volume contains the "Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith", written by Engels for the First Congress of the Communist League (June 1847), Engels' manuscript of the *Principles of Communism* (October 1847) and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, written by Marx and Engels on the instructions of the Second Congress held at the end of November and beginning of December 1847. The Appendices to the volume contain two versions of the Rules of the Communist League, which Marx and Engels took part

in compiling, and also other documents of the League, to which they contributed in some degree or other.

The "Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith" (the so-called "Credo") which was discovered only in 1968, is the first version of the Marxist programme for the working-class movement. It defines the aims of the Communists and describes the proletariat as the class destined to bring about the socialist revolution. Engels shows that the communist transformation of society depends on historical conditions and the laws of history, maps its paths and indicates the tasks of the working class after its conquest of political power in the conditions of the transitional period from capitalism to the new communist system. This document expresses some profound thoughts concerning the elimination of national differences and the overcoming of religious prejudices in the society of the future.

The programmatic document the *Principles of Communism*, which is written on a broader, more comprehensive theoretical basis, was in effect the original draft of the *Communist Manifesto*. Verifying the formulations and deepening the arguments, Engels introduces a number of points that were absent from the "Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith" and substantially revises many of its propositions (for example, the description of the transitional period). He also defines communism as the theory of the emancipation of the proletariat, reveals the historical preconditions for the rise and development of the working-class movement and formulates its goals. The goal of the proletarian revolution, he writes, "absolutely necessitates a completely new organisation of society, in which industrial production is no longer directed by individual factory owners, competing one against the other, but by the whole of society according to a fixed plan and according to the needs of all" (see this volume, p. 347).

In the *Principles of Communism* the answer to the question of the possible ways of abolishing capitalist private property is more clearly worded than in the "Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith". In contrast to the advocates of peaceful reforms (Cabet, Proudhon and the "true socialists"), and also the Blanquists, who thought communism could be established by means of conspiratorial action on the part of a select group of revolutionaries, Engels argues the necessity for a deep-going proletarian revolution carried out by the masses of the working people—a revolution which in the historical conditions obtaining at the time could be carried out only by force. At the same time Engels stressed that if there arose anywhere or at any stage of development a real possibility of achieving the revolutionary abolition of private property by peaceful means, "the

Communists certainly would be the last to resist it" (this volume, p. 349).

The *Principles of Communism* touches upon the possibility of the victory of a communist revolution in one country. In reply to this question Engels developed the conception of revolution already expounded in *The German Ideology*. He indicated that the proletarian revolution could not be victorious in one country alone, but must take place more or less simultaneously in the developed capitalist countries. "It is a worldwide revolution and will therefore be worldwide in scope" (see this volume, p. 352). These notions of the forthcoming revolutionary process corresponded to the level of capitalist development that had been reached in those days. In the ensuing historical period, however, the transition to imperialism made the development of the capitalist countries far more uneven. Lenin, who shared the general basic conceptions of Marx and Engels in the theory of world communist revolution, reached the fundamentally different conclusion that socialism could be victorious at first in a few capitalist countries or even in one alone.

The description of communist society figures prominently in the *Principles of Communism*. With considerable scientific prevision Engels threw light on many important aspects of the future system and the changes that would ensue in production and consumption, in social relations and social consciousness.

The summit of Marx and Engels' creative work before the 1848 revolution is the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the first programmatic document of the international proletarian movement. It was the first document to expound the fundamentals of the Marxist outlook in a comprehensive and systematic form that reflected the essential unity of all the components of Marx's teaching. "With the clarity and brilliance of genius," Lenin wrote of the *Manifesto*, "this work outlines a new world-conception, consistent materialism, which also embraces the realm of social life; dialectics, as the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development; the theory of the class struggle and of the world-historic revolutionary role of the proletariat—the creator of a new, communist society" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 48).

The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* armed the proletariat by proclaiming the scientific proof of the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism and the triumph of the proletarian revolution. "But not only has the bourgeoisie," states the *Manifesto*, "forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons—the modern working class—the proletarians" (this volume, p. 490). Having demonstrated the role

of the class struggle in history, Marx and Engels went on to argue that the proletariat was the most revolutionary of all classes known in history, the class whose world-historic role was to perform a mission of liberation in the interests of the whole of toiling humanity by ridding society for ever of all oppression and exploitation.

The cornerstone of the *Manifesto* is the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat — of a proletarian government which is democratic by its very nature, expresses the interests of the great majority of the people and relies on their support. Although they do not as yet use the term "dictatorship of the proletariat", Marx and Engels show how the proletarian state is needed in order to eliminate the exploiting classes, abolish the conditions for the existence of classes in general and ensure the final victory of the social relations of a classless society.

The *Manifesto* described and predicted more fully the features of the future communist system outlined in the *Principles of Communism*—the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, of war, of social and national oppression, and of colonial enslavement; the true burgeoning of material production, the powerful development of the productive forces for the full and all-round satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of all members of society; the elimination of the antithesis between mental and physical work and between town and country; genuine freedom of the individual, equality of women, and unity of personal and social interests. Marx and Engels emphasise that communism cannot be established all at once. It can be achieved only through the gradual transformation of the old society into the new, so that the proletarian state must carry out a number of measures that prepare the ground for this transformation. While presenting a programme of these measures, they do not treat them as self-sufficient; the specific conditions of the building of the new society would inevitably lead to their being amended.

The *Manifesto* lays the foundations of the Marxist conception of the proletarian party as the organiser and leader of the working class and outlines the fundamentals of its tactics. The setting up of such a party, Marx and Engels stress, is absolutely essential if the proletariat is to win political power and bring about the socialist transformation of society. To perform its role as the vanguard of the proletariat, the party must be able to subordinate the immediate aims of the proletarian movement to its ultimate aims, maintain the unity of the national and international tasks of the proletariat, and support every revolutionary and progressive trend.

Of fundamental importance is the section of the *Communist*

*Manifesto* which examines would-be socialist trends alien to the scientific outlook of the working class—feudal, Christian, petty-bourgeois and bourgeois socialism. Revealing the class roots of these trends in bourgeois society, Marx and Engels showed the working class and its party how to recognise the anti-revolutionary direction of socialist theories that could lead the working class off the right path and how to combat and overcome them. In their analysis of the teaching of the great utopian socialists, however, they pointed to its rational as well as its weak, anti-scientific sides, and warned against sectarian and dogmatic interpretations of the socialist ideological legacy.

The communist movement must always be international in character, the *Manifesto* declared, and emphasised the tremendous importance of achieving unity of views and actions among the proletarians of various countries, the importance of international proletarian solidarity. In their great slogan "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!" Marx and Engels expressed for their own time and for the times to come the community of the class interests and aims of the workers of the whole world, the idea of proletarian internationalism as the principle of the international communist movement.

The publication of the *Communist Manifesto* (February 1848) signified that the process of the formation of Marxism as an integrated revolutionary world outlook was basically complete.

In the section of the volume headed "From the Preparatory Materials" the reader will find, among other documents, the draft plan for Section III of the *Manifesto* and the only extant page of the rough manuscript of the *Manifesto*. Appearing in English for the first time, they serve as an illustration of how Marx worked on the structure and text of this work.

Besides the already mentioned documents on Marx's and Engels' activities in the Communist League and the Brussels Democratic Association, the Appendices also contain reports of their speeches at international meetings and conferences in London and Brussels, and biographical documents, including papers that illustrate the police action taken against Marx and other German revolutionaries.

* * *

A substantial portion of the works published in this volume appear in English translation for the first time. These include the "Circular Against Kriege" by Marx and Engels, "The Constitutional Question in Germany" and "German Socialism in Verse and Prose" by Engels,

the text of an undelivered speech by Marx at the congress of economists in Brussels, the articles by Engels "The Communists and Karl Heinzen", a number of his articles about the Chartist movement in England published in *La Réforme*, documents in the section "From the Preparatory Materials" and the bulk of the material in the Appendices. Information concerning complete or partial publication in earlier English translations of the works included in this volume is provided in the notes. In the present volume these works are published in new or thoroughly revised and amended translations. The translations from the French are noted at the end of each work, where it is also indicated which texts were originally written in English.

The present edition notes more fully than was done in previous publications discrepancies between the authorised translations of certain works ("Speech on the Question of Free Trade", *Manifesto of the Communist Party*) and the texts of these works in the language of the original.

The volume was compiled and the preface and notes written by Vera Morozova and edited by Lev Golman (CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism). The name index and the indices of quoted and mentioned literature and of periodicals were prepared by Irina Shikanyan (CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism), and the subject index by Marlen Arzumanov and Boris Gusev.

The translations were made by Jack Cohen, Michael Hudson, Catherine Judelson, Jonathan Kemp, Frida Knight, Hugh Rodwell, Barbara Ruhemann, Christopher Upward and edited by Robert Daglish, Richard Dixon, W. L. Guttsman, Frida Knight, Margaret Mynatt, and Alick West.

The volume was prepared for the press by the editors Natalia Karmanova, Margarita Lopukhina and Galina Sandalneva for Progress Publishers, and Vladimir Mosolov, scientific editor for the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow.

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## WORKS

Autumn 1845-March 1848

# Frederick Engels

## THE FESTIVAL OF NATIONS IN LONDON

(TO CELEBRATE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, SEPTEMBER 22, 1792)[1]

"What do the nations matter to us? What does the French Republic matter to us? Did we not long ago grasp the notion of nations and did we not determine the place of each of them; did we not assign to the Germans the sphere of theory, to the French that of politics, and to the English that of civil society? And the more so the French Republic! What is there to celebrate about a stage of development which has long been superseded, which has abolished itself as a result of its own consequences! If you want to give us some information about England it would be better if you described the latest phase that the socialist principle has reached there; tell us if one-sided English socialism still does not recognise how far it is below our principled heights and how it can claim to be only a *phase* [Ein Moment] and an obsolete one at that!"

Keep calm, dear Germany. The nations and the French Republic matter a great deal to us.

The fraternisation of nations, as it is now being carried out everywhere by the extreme proletarian party in contrast to the old instinctive national egoism and to the hypocritical private-egotistical cosmopolitanism of free trade, is worth more than all the German theories of true socialism put together.

The fraternisation of nations under the banner of *modern democracy*, as it began from the French Revolution and developed into French communism and English Chartism, shows that the masses and their representatives know better than the German theoreticians how things stand.

"But this has nothing whatever to do with what we are discussing. Who is talking about fraternisation, *as it*..., etc., about democracy, *as it*..., etc.? We are talking about the fraternisation of nations in and

for itself, about *the* fraternisation of nations, about Democracy, about democracy pure and simple, about democracy *as such.* Have you completely forgotten your Hegel?"

"We are not Romans, we smoke tobacco."[a] We are not talking about the anti-nationalist movement *now* developing in the *world,* we are talking about the abrogation of nationalities through the medium of pure thought—assisted by fantasy in the absence of facts—happening in our *head.* We are not talking about *real* democracy which the whole of Europe is hastening to embrace and which is a quite special democracy, different from all previous democracies. We are talking about a quite different democracy which represents the mean between Greek, Roman, American and French democracy, in short about the *concept* of democracy. We are not talking about the *things* which belong to the nineteenth century, and which are bad and ephemeral, but about categories which are eternal and which existed before "the mountains were brought forth". Briefly, we are not discussing what is being talked about but something quite different.

To sum up: when English people, French people and those Germans who take part in the practical movement but are not theoreticians nowadays talk about democracy and the fraternisation of nations, this should not be understood simply in a political sense. Such fantasies still exist only among the German theoreticians and a few foreigners who don't count. In reality these words now have a social meaning in which the political meaning is dissolved. The Revolution itself was something quite different from a struggle for this or that form of State, as people in Germany still quite frequently imagine that it was. The connection of most insurrections of that time with famine, the significance which the provisioning of the capital and the distribution of supplies assumed already from 1789 onwards, the maximum, the laws against buying up food supplies, the battle cry of the revolutionary armies—"*Guerre aux palais, paix aux chaumières*"[b]—the testimony of the Carmagnole[2] according to which Republicans must have *du pain*[c] as well as *du fer*[d] and *du coeur*[e]—and a hundred other obvious superficialities already prove, without any more detailed investigation of the facts, how greatly democracy differed at that time from a mere political organisation. As it is it is well known that the Constitution of 1793 and the terror

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[a] Heinrich Heine, "Zur Beruhigung".— *Ed.*
[b] War to the palaces, peace to the cottages.— *Ed.*
[c] Bread.— *Ed.*
[d] Arms.— *Ed.*
[e] Heart (courage).— *Ed.*

originated with the party which derived its support from the insurgent proletariat, that Robespierre's overthrow signified the victory of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat, that Babeuf's conspiracy for equality revealed the final consequences of the democracy of '93—insofar as these were at all possible at that time.[3] The French Revolution was a social movement from beginning to end, and after it a purely political democracy became a complete absurdity.

*Democracy nowadays is communism.* Any other democracy can only still exist in the heads of theoretical visionaries who are not concerned with real events, in whose view it is not the men and the circumstances that develop the principles but the principles develop of themselves. Democracy has become the proletarian principle, the principle of the masses. The masses may be more or less clear about this, the only correct meaning of democracy, but all have at least an obscure feeling that social equality of rights is implicit in democracy. The democratic masses can be safely included in any calculation of the strength of the communist forces. And if the proletarian parties of the different nations unite they will be quite right to inscribe the word "Democracy" on their banners, since, except for those who do not count, all European democrats in 1846 are more or less Communists at heart.

Despite the fact of the French Republic having been "superseded", the Communists of all countries are fully justified in celebrating it. Firstly, all the nations which were stupid enough to let themselves be used to fight against the Revolution have owed the French a public apology ever since they realised what a *sottise*[a] they committed out of loyalty; secondly, the whole European social movement today is only the second act of the revolution, only the preparation for the *dénouement* of the drama which began in Paris in 1789, and now has the whole of Europe for its stage; thirdly, it is time, in our cowardly, selfish, beggarly, bourgeois epoch, to remember those great years when a whole people all at once threw aside all cowardice, selfishness and beggarliness, when there were men courageous enough to defy the law, who shrank from nothing and whose iron energy ensured that from May 31, 1793 to July 26, 1794[4] not a single coward, petty shopkeeper or stockjobber, in short, not a single bourgeois dared show his face in the whole of France. It is really necessary at a time when European peace is held together by a Rothschild, when a cousin Köchlin screams about protective tariffs, and a Cobden

[a] Stupidity.—*Ed.*

about free trade, and when a Diergardt preaches the salvation of sinful humanity through associations for raising up the working classes[5]—in truth it is necessary to remember Marat and Danton, Saint-Just and Babeuf, and the joy over victories at Jemappes and Fleurus.[6] If that mighty epoch, these iron characters, did not still tower over our mercenary world, then humanity must indeed despair and throw itself into the arms of a cousin Köchlin, a Cobden or a Diergardt.

Finally, fraternisation between nations has today, more than ever, a purely social significance. The fantasies about a European Republic, perpetual peace under political organisation, have become just as ridiculous as the phrases about uniting the nations under the aegis of universal free trade, and while all such chimerical sentimentalities become completely irrelevant, the proletarians of all nations, without too much ceremony, are already *really* beginning *to fraternise* under the banner of communist democracy. And the proletarians are the only ones who are really able to do this; for the bourgeoisie in each country has its own special interests, and since these interests are the most important to it, it can never transcend nationality; and the few theoreticians achieve nothing with all their fine "principles" because they simply allow these contradictory interests—like everything else—to continue to exist and can do nothing but talk. But the proletarians in all countries have one and the same interest, one and the same enemy, and one and the same struggle. The great mass of proletarians are, by their very nature, free from national prejudices and their whole disposition and movement is essentially humanitarian, anti-nationalist. Only the proletarians can destroy nationality, only the awakening proletariat can bring about fraternisation between the different nations.

The following facts will confirm everything I have just said.

On August 10, 1845, a similar festival was held in London to celebrate a triple anniversary—that of the revolution of 1792, the proclamation of the Constitution of 1793, and the founding of the "Democratic Association" by the most radical wing of the English movement of 1838-39.[7]

This most radical wing consisted of Chartists, proletarians as might be expected, but people who clearly grasped the aim of the Chartist movement and strove to speed it up. While the great mass of the Chartists was still concerned at that time only with the transfer of state power to the working class, and few had the time to reflect on the use of this power, the members of this Association, which played an important role in the agitation of that time, were unanimous in this:—they were first of all republicans, and moreover, republicans

who put forward as their creed the Constitution of '93, rejected all ties with the bourgeoisie, even with the petty bourgeoisie, and defended the principle that the oppressed have the right to use the same means against their oppressors as the latter use against them. But this was not all; they were not only republicans but Communists, and irreligious Communists at that. The Association's collapse followed that of the revolutionary agitation of 1838-39; but its effectiveness was not wasted and it greatly contributed to stimulating the energy of the Chartist movement and to developing its latent communist elements. Communist as well as cosmopolitan[8] principles were already voiced at this festival of August 10; *social* as well as political equality were demanded and a toast to the democrats of all nations was taken up with enthusiasm.

Efforts to bring together the radicals of different nations had already been made earlier in London. These attempts failed, partly because of divisions among the English democrats and the foreigners' ignorance of them, partly because of differences of principle between the party leaders of different nations. The obstacle to all unification, due to difference of nationality, is so great that even foreigners who had lived in London for years, no matter how much they sympathised with English democracy, knew little or nothing about the movement going on before their eyes, or of the real state of affairs, confused the radical bourgeois with the radical proletarians and wished to bring the most confirmed enemies together at the same meeting. The English were led to similar mistakes, partly because of this and partly because of national mistrust, mistakes all the more easily made since the success of such a discussion inevitably depended on the greater or lesser agreement amongst a few top committee members who were rarely personally acquainted. These individuals had been most unfortunately selected on the previous occasions and consequently the matter had soon lapsed again. But the need for such fraternisation was too pressing. Every attempt that failed acted as a spur to new efforts. When some of the democratic spokesmen in London grew weary of the matter others took their places. Last August new approaches were made, which this time were not fruitless,[9] and a celebration on September 22, organised by other people, was used to proclaim publicly the alliance of democrats of all nations living in London.

Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, Poles and Swiss came together at this meeting. Hungary and Turkey, too, were represented by one-man contingents. The three greatest nations of civilised Europe — the English, German and French — provided the speakers and were very worthily represented. The Chairman was, of

course, an Englishman, *Thomas Cooper* "the Chartist" who served nearly two years in prison for his part in the insurrection of 1842[10] and while in gaol wrote an epic poem[a] in the style of *Childe Harold* which is highly praised by the English critics. The main English speaker of the evening was *George Julian Harney*, co-editor of *The Northern Star* for the past two years. *The Northern Star* is the Chartist paper established in 1837 by O'Connor, which has become in every way one of the best journals in Europe since it has been under the joint editorship of J. Hobson and Harney. I only know a few small Paris workers' papers such as the *Union* which can compare with it. Harney himself is a true proletarian who has been in the movement since his youth, one of the chief members of the Democratic Association of 1838-39 already mentioned (he presided at the Festival of August 10), and, with Hobson, undoubtedly one of the best English writers, a fact which I hope to demonstrate to the Germans some day. Harney is perfectly clear about the aim of the European movement and completely *à la hauteur des principes*[b] although he knows nothing about the German theories of true socialism. The main credit for the organisation of this cosmopolitan festival was his; he was tireless in bringing the various nationalities together, in removing misunderstandings and in overcoming personal differences.

The toast proposed by Harney was:

"The solemn memory of the honest and virtuous French Republicans of 1792: may that equality which they desired, and for which they lived, laboured, and died, have a speedy resurrection in France, and extend its reign throughout Europe."

Harney, who was received with cheers, again and again renewed, said:

"There was a time, [Mr. Chairman,] when the holding of such a celebration as this would have subjected the parties assembled not only to the scorn, the sneers, the abuse, and the persecution of the privileged orders, but also to the violence of the ignorant and misguided people, who were led by their rulers and priests to regard the French Revolution as something terrible and hellish, to be looked back upon with horror, and spoken of with execration. [Hear, hear.] Most present will remember that not long ago, whenever a demand was made in this country for the repeal of any bad law, or the enactment of any good one, forthwith the howl of 'Jacobinism!' was raised [by the opponents of all progress]. Whether it was proposed to reform the Parliament, reduce taxation, educate the people, or do anything else that at all savoured of progress, the 'French Revolution', 'Reign of Terror', and all the rest of the raw-head and bloody-bones phantasmagoria were sure to be brought out and duly exhibited to frighten the big babies in breeches, who as yet had not learned to think for themselves.

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[a] Th. Cooper, *The Purgatory of Suicides*.—*Ed.*
[b] Abreast of principles.—*Ed.*

(Laughter and cheers.) That time is past; still, I question whether we have yet learned to read aright the history of that great revolution. It would be very easy for me in responding to this toast to mouth a few clap-trap sentiments about liberty, equality, the rights of man, the coalition of the European kings, and the doings of Pitt and Brunswick. I might dilate on all these topics, and possibly might win applause for what would probably pass muster as an exceedingly liberal speech. I might do all this, and yet very conveniently for myself shirk the grand question. The grand question, it appears to me, the solution of which the French Revolution had for its mission, was the *destruction of inequality*, and the establishment of institutions which should guarantee to the French people that happiness which the masses are, and ever have been strangers to. [Cheers.] Now, tried by this test, we have comparatively little difficulty in arriving at a fair estimate of the men who figured on the stage of the revolution. Take Lafayette, for instance, as a specimen of the Constitutionalists; and he, perhaps, is the most honest and best man of the whole party. Few men have enjoyed more popularity than Lafayette. In his youth we find him leaving his country, and generously embarking in the American struggle against English tyranny. The great work of American liberation being accomplished, he returned to France, and shortly afterwards we find him one of the foremost men in the revolution which now commenced in his own country. Again, in his old age, we see him the most popular man in France, called, after the 'three days',[11] to the veritable dictatorship, and unmaking and making kings with a single word. Lafayette enjoyed, throughout Europe and America, a greater popularity than perhaps any other man of his time; and that popularity he would have deserved, if his conduct had been consistent with his first acts in the revolution. But Lafayette was never the friend of equality. (Hear, hear.) True, at the outset, he gave up his feudal privileges, and renounced his title—and thus far he did well. Placed at the head of the popular force, the idol of the middle class, and commanding the affection of even the working class, he was for a time regarded as the champion of the revolution. But he halted when he should have advanced. The working men soon found out that all that the destruction of the Bastille and the abolition of feudal privileges had accomplished, was the curbing of the power of the king[a] and the aristocracy, and *increasing the power of the middle class.* But the people were not content with this—they demanded liberty and rights for themselves (cheers)—*they wanted what we want—a veritable equality.* (Loud cheers.) When Lafayette saw this, he turned Conservative, and was a revolutionist no longer. It was he who proposed the adoption of martial law, to authorise the shooting and sabring of the people, in the event of any tumult, at a time, too, when the people were suffering under absolute famine; and under this martial law, Lafayette himself superintended the butchery of the people when [they] assembled in the Champ de Mars, on the 17th of July, 1791, to petition the Assembly against the reinvestiture of the king with supreme power, after his shameful flight to Varennes. Subsequently Lafayette dared to menace Paris with his sword, and proposed to shut up the public clubs by armed violence. After the 10th of August[12] he strove to excite the soldiers under his command to march against Paris, but they, better patriots than he was, refused, and he then fled, and renounced the revolution. Yet Lafayette was perhaps the best man of all the Constitutionalists, but neither he nor his party come within the compass of our toast, for they were not even republicans in name. They professed to recognise the sovereignty of the people, at the same time that they divided the citizens into active and inactive, confining to the payers of direct taxes, whom they called active citizens, the right of the suffrage. In short, Lafayette and the Constitutionalists were mere Whigs, but little, if anything, better than the men who humbugged us with the Reform

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[a] Louis XVI.—*Ed.*

Bill. (Cheers.) Next come the Girondists; and this is the party generally upheld as the 'honest and virtuous republicans', but I must differ with those who hold that opinion. It is impossible to refuse them the tribute of our admiration for their talents; the eloquence which distinguished the leaders of this party, accompanied in some instances by stern integrity, as in the case of Roland; by heroic devotion, as in the case of Madame Roland; and by fiery enthusiasm, as in the case of Barbaroux [....] And we cannot, at least I speak for myself — I cannot read of the shocking and untimely end of a Madame Roland, or the philosopher Condorcet, without intense emotion. Still the Girondists were not the men to whom the people could look to rescue them from social slavery. That there were good men amongst the Girondists, cannot be doubted — that they were honest to their own convictions, may be admitted. That many of them were ignorant rather than guilty, may be charitably believed, though to believe this we must believe it only of those who perished; for were we to judge of the party by those who survived what is commonly called the 'reign of terror', we should be forced to the conclusion that a baser gang never existed. These survivors of that party aided in destroying the constitution of '93, established the aristocratical constitution of '95, conspired with the other aristocratic factions to exterminate the real Republicans, and finally helped to place France under the tyranny of the military usurper Napoleon. (Hear, hear.) The eloquence of the Girondists has been highly lauded; but we stern and uncompromising Democrats cannot consent to admire them simply because they were eloquent. Indeed, if we were to do so, we should award the highest honours to the corrupt and aristocratical Mirabeau. When the people, rising for liberty, bursting the shackles of fourteen hundred years' slavery, abandoned their homes to combat against the domestic conspirator, and the foreign invader, they required something more than the eloquent speeches and fine woven theories of the Girondists to sustain them. 'Bread, steel, and equality', was the demand of the people. (Cheers.) Bread for their famishing families, steel with which to beat back the cohorts of the surrounding despots, and equality as the end of their labours and the reward of their sacrifices. (Great cheering.) The Girondists, however, regarded the people, to quote the words of Thomas Carlyle, as mere 'explosive masses to blow up bastilles with'[a] — to be used as tools and treated as slaves. They hesitated between Royalism and Democracy, vainly hoping to cheat eternal justice by a compromise.... They fell, and their fall was merited. The men of energy trampled them down — the people swept them away. Of the several sections of the party of the Mountain, I shall only say that I find none of them but Robespierre and his friends worthy of any commendation. (Great cheering.) The greater number of the Mountainists were brigands, who, only anxious to obtain for themselves the spoils of the Revolution, cared nothing for the people by whose toil, suffering, and courage the revolution had been achieved. These desperadoes, using the language of the friends of equality, and for a time siding with them against the Constitutionalists and the Girondists, so soon as they had acquired power, exhibited themselves in their true characters, and henceforth stood the avowed and deadly enemies of equality. By this faction Robespierre was overthrown and assassinated, and Saint-Just, Couthon, and all the leading friends of that incorruptible legislator were doomed to death. Not content with destroying the friends of equality, the assassins loaded their names with the most infamous calumnies, hesitating not to charge upon their victims the very crimes which they themselves had committed. I know it is unfashionable[b] as yet to regard Robespierre in any other light than as a monster [hear, hear]: but I believe the day is coming when a very different view will be taken of the character of that extraordinary

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[a] Th. Carlyle, *The French Revolution: a History*. In three volumes, Vol. III.— *Ed.*

[b] The word "unfashionable" is given in English in the original.— *Ed.*

man. [Great cheering.] I would not deify Robespierre; I do not hold him up as having been all-perfect; but to me he appears to have been one of the very few leading characters of the Revolution who saw what were the means necessary to adopt to extirpate political and social wrong. I have no time to comment on the characters of the indomitable Marat, and that magnificent embodiment of republican chivalry St. Just. Nor have I time to speak of the excellent legislative measures that characterised the energetic rule of Robespierre. I have said the day will come when justice will be done to his name. (Cheers.) ... But, to me, the best proof of the real character of Robespierre, is to be found in the universal regret felt for his loss by the honest democrats who survived him—by those too amongst them, who, mistaking his intentions, had been seduced into favouring his destruction, but who, when too late, bitterly rued their folly. Babeuf was one of these, the originator of the famous conspiracy known by his name. That conspiracy had for its object the establishment of a veritable republic, *in which the selfishness of individualism should be known no more*—(cheers); *in which, private property and money, the foundation and root of all wrong and evil, should cease to be*—(cheers); and in which the happiness of all should be based upon *the common labour and equal enjoyments of all.* (Great cheering.) These glorious men pursued their glorious object to the death. Babeuf and Darthé sealed their belief with their blood, and Buonarroti, through years of imprisonment, penury and old age, persevered to the last in his advocacy of the great principles which we this night dare to vindicate. Nor should I omit mention of those heroic deputies Romme, Soubrany, Duroy, Duquesnoy and their compatriots, who, condemned to death by the traitor aristocrats of the Convention, heroically slew themselves in front of, and in contempt of their assassins, performing this self-tragedy with a single blade which they passed from hand to hand. So much for the first part of our toast. The second part demands but a few words from me, as it will be best spoken by the French patriots who are present. That the principles of equality will have a glorious resurrection, I cannot doubt; indeed, that resurrection they have already had, not merely in the shape of Republicanism, but Communism, for communist societies, I believe, cover France at the present day; but that I leave to my friend Dr. Fontaine and his fellow-countrymen to speak of. I rejoice much that those worthy patriots are here. They will witness tonight proofs of the absurdity of the tirades uttered against the English people by the war-party of France.[13] (Cheers.) We repudiate these national antipathies. We loathe and scorn those barbarous clap-traps, 'natural enemies', 'hereditary foe'[a] and 'national glory'. (Loud cheers.) We denounce all wars, except those into which nations may be forced against domestic oppressors or hostile invaders. (Applause). More than that, *we repudiate the word 'foreigner'—it shall exist not in our democratic vocabulary.* (Great cheering.) We may belong to the English, or French, or Italian, or German section of the European family, but Young Europe is our common designation, and under its banner we march against tyranny and inequality." (Long, enthusiastic applause.)

After a German Communist[b] had sung the *Marseillaise, Wilhelm Weitling* proposed the second toast:

"Young Europe. Repudiating the jealousies and national antipathies of the past, may the Democrats of all nations unite in a fraternal phalanx for the destruction of tyranny, and the universal triumph of equality."

*Weitling*, who was received with great enthusiasm, read the following speech, since he does not speak fluent English:

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[a] The words "hereditary foe" were added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] Joseph Moll.—*Ed.*

"Friends! This meeting is a testimony of that common feeling which warms every man's breast, the feeling of universal brotherhood. Yes! Though we are educated to differ one from the other in the use of sounds as the natural means to express and communicate this inner feeling to each other, though the exchange of this feeling is hindered by the differences of language, though thousands of prejudices are united and directed by our common adversaries rather to oppose than to promote a better understanding, an universal brotherhood; yet, notwithstanding all these obstacles, that strong, charitable, and salutary feeling cannot be extinguished. (Cheers.) That feeling that attracts the sufferer to his fellow-sufferer, the struggler for a better state of things to his fellow-struggler. (Cheers.) Those also were our fellow-strugglers whose revolution we this night commemorate; they also were animated by the same sympathies which bring us together, and which possibly may lead us to a similar, and let me hope, a more successful struggle. (Loud cheers.) In times of movement, when the privileges of our native adversaries run great risk, they cunningly try to lead our prejudices over the frontiers of our national fatherland, representing to us that the people there are opposed to our common interest. What a trick! What a fraud! But, reflecting coolly on the matter, we know very well that our nearest enemies are amongst ourselves in the midst of us. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) It is not the exterior enemy we have to fear; that poor enemy is dealt with like us; like us he is compelled to work for thousands of good-for-nothing fellows; like us he takes up arms against any human society because he is forced to do so by hunger, by law, or excited by his passions, nourished by ignorance [...]. National rulers represent our brethren as cruel and rapacious; but who are more rapacious than they who govern us to be instructed in the art of war, who for their own privileges excite and conduct us to war? (Cheers.) Is it really our common interest that necessitates war? Is it the interest of sheep to be led by wolves to fight against sheep likewise led by wolves? (Loud cheers.) They are themselves our most rapacious enemies; they have taken from us all that is ours, to dissipate it in pleasures and debauchery. (Applause.) They take from us what is ours, since all they use is produced by us and ought to pertain to those who produce it, and to their wives and children, their aged and their sick. (Loud cheers.) But see how by their cunning manoeuvres all is stolen from us, and accumulated for a crew of idle consumers. (Cheers.) Is it possible then to be more robbed by a foreign enemy than by our own home enemies? Is it possible then that the people can be more murdered by them than by our cruel money-men, who rob us by their stock-jobbing, money dealing and speculating; by their currency and bankruptcy, by their monopolies, church and land rents, who by all these means rob us of the necessaries of life, and cause the death of millions of our working fellow brethren, to whom they leave not even potatoes enough to live upon. (Great cheering.) Is it not, therefore, clear enough that those who are all by money and nothing without it, are really the enemies of the working people in all countries, and that there are amongst men no other enemies of the human race than the enemies of the labouring and working people. (Cheers.) Is it possible then that we could be more stolen from, and murdered in a time of political war, than we are now, in a so-called state of peace? National prejudices, bloodshed, and robberies are then encouraged by us only for the sake of military glory! What has our interest to gain from such stupid glory? (Cheers.) What in fact have we to do with it, when our interest and our better feelings are opposed to it? (Cheers.) Must we not at all times pay the costs? (Applause.) Must we not work and bleed for it? (Renewed applause.) What interest can we have in all such bloodshed and land robberies, except profiting by such occasions for turning around against the robbery and murder—breeding aristocracy in all nations? (Enthusiastic cheering.) It is only this aristocracy—always this aristocracy—that systematically robs and murders. The poor people, led by them, are but their forced and ignorant instruments chosen from

amongst every nation—those the most filled with national prejudices, those wishing to see all nations overpowered by their own nation. But bring them here into this meeting, and they will understand each other, and shake hands with each other.... If before a battle the advocates of liberty and love were permitted to address the ranks of their brethren, there would be no slaughter; on the contrary, there would be a friendly meeting like ours. O! could we but have in a battle-field such a meeting, we should have soon done with all those blood and marrow sucking interests who now oppress and plunder us! (Great cheering.) Such, friends, are the sentiments of that universal feeling whose warmth, concentrated in the focus of universal brotherhood, kindles a fire of enthusiasm which will soon entirely melt away the hindering ice-mountains of prejudices which have too long kept brethren asunder." (Mr. Weitling resumed his seat amid long continued cheering.)

Dr. *Berrier-Fontaine*, an old Republican who during the first years of bourgeois rule played a role in the *Société des droits de l'homme* in Paris, was involved in the trial of April 1834,[14] escaped with the rest of the accused from Sainte Pélagie in 1835 (see Louis Blanc's *Geschichte der 10 Jahre*[a]), and later progressed with the further development of the revolutionary party in France and had friendly contact with Père Cabet, rose to speak after Weitling. He was greeted with stormy applause and said:

"Citizens! My speech must be necessarily brief, as I cannot speak very good English. It gives me pleasure I cannot express to find the English Democrats meeting to commemorate the French Republic. I respond most heartily to the noble sentiments of Mr. Julian Harney. I assure you that the French people do not look upon the English people as their enemies. If some of the French journalists write against the English Government, they do not write against the English people. The Government of England is hateful throughout Europe, because it is the government of the English aristocracy, and not the English people. (Cheers.) The French Democrats, so far from being the enemies of the English people, really desire to fraternise with them. (Loud cheers.) The Republicans of France did not fight for France only, but for all mankind; they wished to establish equality, and extend its blessings throughout the world. (Great applause.) They regarded all mankind as brethren, and warred only against the aristocracies of other nations. (Cheers.) I can assure you, citizens, the principles of equality *have* sprung into renewed life. Communism is advancing with giant strides throughout France. Communist associations are extending all over that country, and I hope that we shall soon see a grand confederation of the Citizen Democrats of all nations, to make Republican Communism triumphant through the whole length and breadth of Europe." (Dr. Fontaine resumed his seat amidst long-protracted cheers.)

After the toast to Young Europe had been taken with "three roof and rafter-ringing shouts" and "one cheer more", further toasts were proposed to Thomas Paine, to the fallen Democrats of all countries, and to those of England, Scotland and Ireland, to the deported Chartists Frost, Williams, Jones and Ellis, to O'Connor, Duncombe and the other propagandists of the Charter and finally three cheers for *The Northern Star*. Democratic songs in all languages

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[a] The reference is to the German translation of L. Blanc, *Histoire de dix ans. 1830-1840.—Ed.*

were sung (I can only find no mention of German songs), and the Festival was brought to an end in the most fraternal atmosphere.

Here was a meeting of more than a thousand democrats of nearly all the European nations who had united to celebrate an event seemingly completely alien to communism—the foundation of the French Republic. No special arrangements had been made to attract a particular kind of audience; there was nothing to indicate that anything would be expressed other than what the London Chartists understood by democracy. We can therefore certainly assume that the majority of the meeting represented the mass of the London Chartist proletarians fairly well. And this meeting accepted communist principles, the word communism itself, with unanimous enthusiasm. The Chartist meeting was a communist festival and, as the English themselves admit, "the kind of enthusiasm which prevailed that evening has not been seen in London for years".

Am I right when I say that democracy nowadays is communism?

Written at the end of 1845

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# Frederick Engels

## THE STATE OF GERMANY

### LETTER I

TO THE EDITOR OF *THE NORTHERN STAR*

[*The Northern Star* No. 415, October 25, 1845]

Dear Sir,—In compliance with your wish, I commence by this letter a series of articles on the present state of my native country. In order to make my opinions on the subject plainly understood, and to justify the same as being well founded, I shall have to trace with a few words the history of Germany from the event which shook modern society to its very foundation—I mean to say, from the French Revolution.

Old Germany was at that time known by the name of *The Holy Roman Empire,*[15] and consisted of God knows how many little states, kingdoms, electorates, dukedoms, arch and grand dukedoms, principalities, counties, baronies, and free Imperial cities—every one independent of the other, and only subjected to the power (if there was any, which however, for hundreds of years, had not been the case) of the Emperor and Diet. The independence of these little states went so far, that in every war with "the arch-enemy" (France, of course), there was a part of them allied to the French king, and in open war with their own Emperor. The Diet, consisting of the deputations from all these little states, under the presidency of the Imperial one, being intended to check the power of the Emperor, was always assembled without ever coming to any, even the most insignificant, results. They killed their time with the most futile questions of ceremony, whether the embassy of Baron so-and-so (consisting, perhaps, of the tutor of his son and an old livery-servant, or worn-out game-keeper) ought to have precedency before the embassy of Baron so-and-so—or whether the deputy from one Imperial city ought to salute the deputy of another without waiting for his salute, etc. Then there were so many hundreds of thousands of little privileges, mostly burthensome to the privileged themselves, but which were considered as points of honour, and, therefore,

quarrelled about with the utmost obstinacy. This and similar important things took up so much of the time of the wise Diet, that this honourable assembly had not a minute to spare for discussing the weal of the empire. In consequence of this, the greatest possible disorder and confusion was the order of the day. The empire, divided within itself in time of war as well as peace, passed through a series of internal wars from the time of the Reformation down to 1789, in every one of which France was allied to the party opposed to the weak and easily vanquished party of the Emperor, and took, of course, its lion's share in the plunder—first, Burgundy; then the three bishoprics, Metz, Toul, and Verdun; then the rest of Lorraine; then parts of Flanders and Alsace—were in this manner separated from the Holy Roman Empire and united to France. Thus Switzerland was allowed to become independent from the empire; thus Belgium was made over to the Spaniards by legacy of Charles V; and all these countries fared better after their separation from Germany. To this progressive external ruin of the empire, was joined the greatest possible internal confusion. Every little prince was a blood-sucking, arbitrary despot to his subjects. The empire never cared about the internal concerns of any states except by forming a court of law (Imperial Court Chamber at Wetzlar [16]) for attending to suits of subjects against their superiors, but that precious court attended so well to these actions, that not one of them has ever been heard of as having been settled. It is almost incredible what cruelties and arbitrary acts were committed by the haughty princes towards their subjects. These princes, living for pleasure and debauchery only, allowed every despotic power to their ministers and government officers, who were thus permitted, without any risk of punishment, to trample into the dust the unfortunate people, on this condition only, that they filled their master's treasury and procured him an inexhaustible supply of female beauty for his harem. The nobility, too, such as were not independent but under the dominion of some king, bishop, or prince, used to treat the people with greater contempt than they bestowed upon dogs, and squeezed as much money as they possibly could out of the labour of their serfs—for servitude was quite a common thing, then, in Germany. Nor was there any sign of liberty in those emphatically, so-called, free Imperial cities; for here a burgomaster and self-elected senate, offices which, in the course of centuries, had become as hereditary as the Imperial crown, ruled with greater tyranny still. Nothing can equal the infamous conduct of these petty-bourgeois aristocrats of the towns, and, indeed, it would not be believed that such was the state of Germany fifty years ago, if it was not in the

memory still of many who remember that time, and if it was not confirmed by a hundred authorities. And the people! What did *they* say to this state of things? What did they do? Why, the middle classes, the money-loving bourgeois, found, in this continued confusion, a source of wealth; they knew that they could catch the most fish in the troubled waters; they suffered themselves to be oppressed and insulted because they could take a revenge upon their enemies worthy of themselves; *they avenged their wrongs by cheating their oppressors.* United to the people, they might have overthrown the old dominions and refounded the empire, just as the English middle classes had partly done from 1640 to 1688, and as the French bourgeois were then about to do. But, no, the German middle classes had not that energy, never pretended to that courage; they knew Germany to be nothing but a dunghill, but they were comfortable in the dung because they were dung themselves, and were kept warm by the dung about them. And the working people were not worse off than they are now, except the peasantry, who were mostly serfs, and could do nothing without the assistance of the towns, hired armies being always quartered on them, who threatened to stifle in blood every attempt at revolt.

Such was the state of Germany towards the end of the last century. It was all over one living mass of putrefaction and repulsive decay. Nobody felt himself at ease. The trade, commerce, industry, and agriculture of the country were reduced to almost nothing; peasantry, tradesmen and manufacturers felt the double pressure of a blood-sucking government and bad trade; the nobility and princes found that their incomes, in spite of the squeezing of their inferiors, could not be made to keep pace with their increasing expenditure; everything was wrong, and a general uneasiness prevailed throughout the country. No education, no means of operating upon the minds of the masses, no free press, no public spirit, not even an extended commerce with other countries—nothing but meanness and selfishness—a mean, sneaking, miserable shopkeeping spirit pervading the whole people. Everything worn out, crumbling down, going fast to ruin, and not even the slightest hope of a beneficial change, not even so much strength in the nation as might have sufficed for carrying away the putrid corpses of dead institutions.

The only hope for the better was seen in the country's literature. This shameful political and social age was at the same time the great age of German literature. About 1750 all the master-spirits of Germany were born, the poets Goethe and Schiller, the philosophers Kant and Fichte, and, hardly twenty years later, the last great German metaphysician,[17] Hegel. Every remarkable work of this time

breathes a spirit of defiance, and rebellion against the whole of German society as it then existed. Goethe wrote *Goetz von Berlichingen*, a dramatic homage to the memory of a rebel. Schiller, the *Robbers*, celebrating a generous young man, who declares open war against all society. But these were their juvenile productions; when they grew older they lost all hope; Goethe restrained himself to satire of the keenest order, and Schiller would have despaired if it had not been for the refuge which science, and particularly the great history of ancient Greece and Rome, afforded to him. These, too, may be taken as examples of the rest. Even the best and strongest minds of the nation gave up all hope as to the future of their country.

All at once, like a thunderbolt, the French Revolution struck into this chaos, called Germany. The effect was tremendous. The people, too little instructed, too much absorbed in the ancient habit of being tyrannised over, remained unmoved. But all the middle classes, and the better part of the nobility, gave one shout of joyful assent to the national assembly and the people of France. Not one of all the hundreds of thousands of existing German poets failed to sing the glory of the French people. But this enthusiasm was of the German sort, it was merely metaphysical, it was only meant to apply to the theories of the French revolutionists. As soon as theories were shuffled into the background by the weight and bulk of facts; as soon as the French court and the French people could in practice no longer agree, notwithstanding their theoretical union, by the theoretical constitution of 1791; as soon as the people asserted their sovereignty *practically* by the "10th of August": and when, moreover, theory was entirely made silent on the 31st of May, 1793,[18] by the putting down of the Girondists—then this enthusiasm of Germany was converted into a fanatic hatred against the revolution. Of course this enthusiasm was meant to apply to such actions only as the night of the 4th of August, 1789, when the nobility resigned their privileges,[19] but the good Germans never thought of such actions having consequences in practice widely differing from those inferences which benevolent theorists might draw. The Germans never meant to approve of these consequences, which were rather serious and unpleasant to many parties, as we all know well. So the whole mass, who in the beginning had been enthusiastic friends to the revolution, now became its greatest opponents, and getting, of course, the most distorted news from Paris by the servile German press, preferred their old quiet holy Roman dunghill to the tremendous activity of a people who threw off vigorously the chains of slavery, and flung defiance to the faces of all despots, aristocrats, and priests.

But the days of the Holy Roman Empire were numbered. The French revolutionary armies walked straight into the very heart of Germany, made the Rhine the frontier of France, and preached liberty and equality everywhere. They drove away by shoals noblemen, bishops, and abbots, and all those little princes that for so long a time had played in history the part of dolls. They effected a clearing, as if they were settlers advancing in the backwoods of the American Far West; the antediluvian forest of "Christian-Germanic" society disappeared before their victorious course, like clouds before the rising sun. And when the energetic Napoleon took the revolutionary work into his own hands, when he identified the revolution with himself; that same revolution which after the ninth Thermidor 1794[20] had been stifled by the money-loving middle classes, when he, the democracy with "a single head", as a French author termed him, poured his armies again and again over Germany, "Christian-Germanic" society was finally destroyed. Napoleon was not that arbitrary despot to Germany which he is said to have been by his enemies; Napoleon was in Germany the representative of the revolution, the propagator of its principles, the destroyer of old feudal society. Of course he proceeded despotically, but not even half as despotically as the deputies from the Convention would have done, and really did, wherever they came; not half so much so as the princes and nobles used to do whom he sent a-begging. Napoleon applied the *reign of terror,* which had done its work in France, *to other countries, in the shape of war*—and this "reign of terror" was sadly wanted in Germany. Napoleon dissolved the Holy Roman Empire, and reduced the number of little states in Germany by forming large ones. He brought his code of laws with himself into the conquered countries, a code infinitely superior to all existing ones, and recognising equality in principle. He forced the Germans, who had lived hitherto for *private interests* only, to work at the carrying out of a great idea of some overwhelming public interest. But that was just what aroused the Germans against him. He offended the peasantry by the very same measures that relieved them from the oppression of feudalism, because he struck at the roots of their prejudices and ancient habits. He offended the middle classes by the very means that laid the foundation of German manufacturing industry: the prohibition of all English goods and the war with England[21] was the cause of their beginning to manufacture for themselves, but, at the same time, it made coffee and sugar, tobacco and snuff, very dear; and this, of course, was sufficient to arouse the indignation of the German patriotic shopkeepers. Besides, they were not the people to understand any of the great

plans of Napoleon. They cursed him because he led their children away into wars, got up by the money of the English aristocracy and middle classes; and hailed as friends those same classes of Englishmen who were the real cause of the wars, who *profited* by those wars, and who duped their German instruments not only during, but also after the war. They cursed him, because they desired to remain confined to their old, miserable sort of life, where they had nothing but their own little interest to attend to, because they desired to have nothing to do with great ideas and public interest. And at last, when Napoleon's army had been destroyed in Russia, they took that opportunity of shaking off the iron yoke of the great conqueror.

The "glorious liberation war" of 1813-14 and 15, the "most glorious period of German history", etc., as it has been called, was a piece of insanity such as will drive the blood into the cheeks of every honest and intelligent German for some time to come.[22] True, there was great enthusiasm then, but who were these enthusiasts? Firstly, the peasantry, the most stupid set of people in existence, who, clinging to feudal prejudices, burst forth in masses, ready to die rather than cease to obey those whom they, their fathers and grandfathers, had called their masters; and submitted to be trampled on and horse-whipped by. Then the students and young men generally, who considered this war as a war of principle, nay, as a war of religion; because not only they believed themselves called upon to fight for the principle of legitimacy, called their nationality, but also for the Holy Trinity and existence of God; in all poems, pamphlets, and addresses of that time, the French are held up as the representatives of atheism, infidelity, and wickedness, and the Germans as those of religion, piety, and righteousness. Thirdly, some more enlightened men, who mixed up with these ideas some notions about "liberty", "constitutions", and a "free press"; but these were by far the minority. And fourthly, the sons of tradesmen, merchants, speculators, etc., who fought for the right of buying in the cheapest market, and of drinking coffee without the admixture of chicory; of course, disguising their aims under the expressions of the enthusiasm of the day, "liberty", "great German people", "national independence", and so forth. These were the men, who, with the assistance of the Russians, English and Spaniards, beat Napoleon.

In my next letter I shall proceed to the history of Germany since the fall of Napoleon. Let me only add, in qualification of the opinion above given of this extraordinary man, that the longer he reigned, the more he deserved his ultimate fate. His ascending the throne I

will not reproach him with; the power of the middle classes in France, who never cared about public interests, provided their private ones went on favourably, and the apathy of the people, who saw no ultimate benefit [for] themselves from the revolution, and were only to be roused to the enthusiasm of war, permitted no other course; but that he associated with the old anti-revolutionary dynasties by marrying the Austrian Emperor's daughter,[a] that he, instead of destroying every vestige of Old Europe, rather sought to compromise with it — that he aimed at the honour of being the first among the European monarchs, and therefore assimilated his court as much as possible to theirs — that was his great fault. He descended to the level of other monarchs — he sought the honour of being their equal — he bowed to the principle of legitimacy — and it was a matter of course, then, that the legitimists kicked the usurper out of their company.

I am, sir, yours respectfully,

*Your German Correspondent*

October 15th, 1845

## LETTER II

### TO THE EDITOR OF *THE NORTHERN STAR*

[*The Northern Star* No. 417, November 8, 1845]

Dear Sir,— Having in my first letter described the state of Germany before and during the French Revolution, as well as during the reign of Napoleon; having related how the great conqueror was overthrown, and by what parties, I now resume the thread of my narrative to show what Germany made of herself after this "glorious restoration" of national independence.

The view I took of all these events was diametrically opposed to that in which they generally are represented; but my view is, to a letter, confirmed by the events of the following period of German history. Had the war against Napoleon really been a war of liberty against despotism, the consequence would have been, that all those nations which Napoleon had subdued, would, after his downfall, have proclaimed the principles and enjoyed the blessings of equality. But quite the contrary was the case. With England, the war had been commenced by the frightened aristocracy, and supported by the

[a] Marie Louise.— *Ed.*

moneyocracy, who found a source of immense profit in the repeated loans, and the swelling of the National Debt; in the opportunity afforded them to enter into the South American markets, to cram them with their own manufactures, and to conquer such French, Spanish and Dutch colonies as they thought proper, for the better filling of their purses; to make "Britannia rule the waves" [a] despotic, that they might harass to their heart's pleasure the trade of any other nation, whose competition threatened to endanger the progress of their own enrichment; and lastly, to assert their right of making enormous profits, by providing the European markets, in opposition to Napoleon's continental system. Such were the *real* causes of the long war on the part of those classes in whose hands the Government of England was then deposited; and as to the pretext, that the fundamental principles of the English Constitution were endangered by the French Revolution, it only shows what a precious piece of workmanship this "perfection of human reason" must have been. As to Spain, the war had commenced in defence of the principle of legitimate succession, and of the inquisitorial despotism of the priesthood. The principles of the constitution of 1812 [23] were introduced later, in order to give the people some inducement to continue the struggle, being *themselves* of French origin. Italy never was opposed to Napoleon, having received nothing but benefits from his hands, and having to thank him for her very existence as a nation. The same was the case with Poland. What Germany was indebted for to Napoleon I have related in my first letter.

By all and each of the victorious powers the downfall of Napoleon was considered as the *destruction of the French Revolution*, and the triumph of legitimacy. The consequences were, of course, the restoration of this principle at home, first under the disguise of such sentimentalities as "Holy Alliance",[24] "eternal peace", "public weal", "confidence between prince and subject", etc., etc., afterwards undisguised by the bayonet and the dungeon. The impotency of the conquerors was sufficiently shown by this one fact, that, after all, the vanquished French people, with a hated dynasty forced upon them, and maintained by 150,000 foreign muskets, yet inspired such awe in the breasts of their victorious enemies, that they got a tolerably liberal constitution, while the other nations, with all their exertions, and all their boasting of liberty, got nothing but fine words first, and hard bullets afterwards. The putting down of the French Revolution was celebrated by the massacres of Republicans in the south of France; by the blaze of the inquisitorial pile and the restoration of

[a] Engels quotes "Rule, Britannia", a song by J. Thomson.— *Ed.*

native despotism in Spain and Italy, and by the gagging-bills and "Peterloo" in England.[25] We shall now see that in Germany things took a similar course.

The Kingdom of Prussia was the first of all German states to declare war against Napoleon. It was then governed by Frederick William III, nicknamed "The Just", one of the greatest blockheads that ever graced a throne. Born to be a corporal and to inspect the buttons of an army; dissolute, without passion, and a morality-monger at the same time, unable to speak otherwise but in the infinite tense, surpassed only by his son[a] as a writer of proclamations; he knew only two feelings — fear and corporal-like imperiousness. During the first half of his reign his predominating state of mind was the fear of Napoleon, who treated him with the generosity of contempt in giving him back half his kingdom, which he did not think worth the keeping. It was this fear which led him to allow a party of half-and-half reformers to govern in his stead, Hardenberg, Stein, Schön, Scharnhorst, etc., who introduced a more liberal organisation of municipalities, abolition of servitude, commutation of feudal services into rent, or a fixed sum of twenty-five years purchase, and above all, the military organisation, which gives the people a tremendous power, and which some time or other will be used against the Government. They also "prepared" a constitution which, however, has not yet made its appearance. We shall soon see what turn the affairs of Prussia took after the putting down of the French Revolution.

The "Corsican monster" being got into safe custody, there was immediately a great congress of great and petty despots held at Vienna, in order to divide the booty and the prize-money, and to see how far the ante-revolutionary state of things could be restored. Nations were bought and sold, divided and united, just as it best suited the interests and purposes of their rulers. There were only three states present who knew what they were about — England, intending to keep up and extend her commercial supremacy, to retain the lion's share out of the colonial plunder, and to weaken all the remainder — France, not to suffer too much, and weaken all others — Russia, to get increase of strength and territory, and to weaken all others; the remainder were directed by sentimentalities, petty egotism, and some of them even by a sort of ridiculous disinterestedness. The consequence was, that France spoiled the job for the great German states; that Russia got the best part of Poland; and England extended her maritime power more by the peace than

[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

by the war, and obtained the superiority in all continental markets—of no use for the English people, but means of enormous enrichment to the English middle classes. The German states, who thought of nothing but of their darling principle of legitimacy, were cheated once more, and lost by the peace everything they had won by the war. Germany remained split up into thirty-eight states, whose division hinders all internal progress, and makes France more than a match for her; and who, continuing [to be] the best market for English manufactures, served only to enrich the English middle classes. It is all well for this section of the English people to boast of the generosity which prompted them to send enormous sums of money to keep up the war against Napoleon; but, if we even suppose that it was them, and not the working people, who in reality had to pay these subsidies—they only intended, by their generosity, to re-open the continental markets, and in this they succeeded so well that the profits they have drawn since the peace, from Germany alone, would repay those sums at least six times over. It is really middle-class generosity which first makes you a present in the shape of subsidies, and afterwards makes you repay it six-fold in the shape of profits. Would they have been so eager to pay those subsidies, if at the end of the war, the reverse had been likely to be the case, and England been inundated with German manufactures, instead of Germany being kept in manufacturing bondage by a few English capitalists?

However, Germany was cheated on all hands, and mostly by her own so-called friends and allies. This I should not much care for myself, as I know very well that we are approaching to a reorganisation of European society, which will prevent such tricks on the one hand, and such imbecilities on the other; what I want to show is, first, that neither the English people, nor any other people profited by cheating the German despots, but that it all was for the benefit of other despots; or of one particular class, whose interest is opposed to the people; and second, that the very first act of the German restored despots showed their thorough incapacity. We now turn to the home affairs of Germany.

We have seen who were the parties that, with the aid of English money and Russian barbarism, put down the French Revolution. They were divided into two sections; first, the violent partisans of old "Christian-Germanic" society, the peasantry and the enthusiastic youth, who were impelled by the fanaticism of servitude, of nationality, of legitimacy and religion; and second, the more sober middle-class men, who wished "to be let alone", to make money and to spend it without being bothered with the impudent interference

of great historical events. The latter party were satisfied as soon as they had obtained the peace, the right to buy in the cheapest market, to drink coffee without admixture of chicory, and to be excluded from all political affairs. The "Christian Germanics", however, now became the active supporters of the restored governments, and did everything in their power to screw history back to 1789. As to those who wished to see the people enjoy some of the fruits of their exertions, they had been strong enough to make their watchwords the battle-cry of 1813, but not the practice of 1815. They got some fine promises of constitutions, free press, etc., and that was all; in practice everything was carefully left as it had been previously. The Frenchified parts of Germany were purged, as far as possible, from the traces of "foreign despotism", and those provinces only which were situated on the left of the Rhine retained their French institutions. The Elector of Hesse[a] went so far as to restore even the *pig-tails of his soldiers,* which had been cut off by the impious hands of the French. In short, Germany, as well as every other country, offered the picture of a shameless reaction which was only distinguished by a character of timidity and weakness; it did not even elevate itself to that degree of energy with which revolutionary principles were combated in Italy, Spain, France and England.

The cheating system to which Germany had been subjected at the Congress of Vienna, now commenced to be practised between the different German states themselves. Prussia and Austria, in order to weaken the power of the different states, forced them to give some sort of mongrel constitutions, which weakened the governments, without imparting any power to the people, or even the middle classes. Germany being constituted a confederacy of states, whose embassies, sent by the governments alone, formed the diet, there was no risk that the people might become too strong, as every state was bound by the resolutions of the diet, which were law for all Germany, without being subject to the approval of any representative assembly. In this diet it was a matter of course that Prussia and Austria ruled absolutely; they only had to threaten the lesser princes to abandon them in their struggle with their representative assemblies, in order to frighten them into implicit obedience. By these means, by their overwhelming power, and by their being the true representatives of that principle from which every German prince derives his power, they have made themselves the absolute rulers of Germany. Whatever may be done in the small states is without any effect in practice. The struggles of the Liberal middle classes of Germany

[a] Ludwig I.— *Ed.*

remained fruitless as long as they were confined to the smaller southern states; they became important as soon as the middle classes of Prussia were aroused from their lethargy. And as the Austrian people can hardly be said to belong to the civilised world, and, in consequence, submit quietly to their paternal despotism, the state which may be taken as the centre of German modern history, as the barometer of the movements of public opinion, is Prussia.

After the downfall of Napoleon, the King of Prussia spent some of his happiest years. He was cheated, it is true, on every hand. England cheated him; France cheated him; his own dear friends, the Emperors of Austria and Russia,[a] cheated him over and over again; but he, in the fulness of his heart, did not even find it out; he could not think of the possibility of there being any such scoundrels in the world who could cheat Frederick William III, "The Just". He was happy. Napoleon was overthrown. He had *no fear.* He pressed Article 13 of the Fundamental Federative Act of Germany, which promised a constitution for every state. He pressed the other article about the liberty of the press.[26] Nay, on the 22nd of May, 1815, he issued a proclamation commencing with these words—words in which his benevolent happiness was beautifully blended with his corporal-like imperiousness—*"There shall be a representation of the people!"* He went on to order that a commission should be named to prepare a constitution for his people; and even in 1819, when there had been revolutionary symptoms in Prussia, when reaction was rifest all over Europe, and when the glorious fruit of the Congresses was in its full blossom, even then he declared that, in future, no public loan should be contracted without the assent of the future representative assemblies of the kingdom.

Alas! this happy time did not last. The fear of Napoleon was but too soon replaced in the king's mind by the *fear of the revolution.* But of that in my next.

I have only one word to add. Whenever in English democratic meetings the "patriots of all countries" are toasted, *Andreas Hofer* is sure to be amongst them. Now, after what I have said on the enemies of Napoleon in Germany, is Hofer's name worthy to be cheered by democrats? Hofer was a stupid, ignorant, bigoted, fanatical peasant, whose enthusiasm was that of La Vendée,[27] that of "Church and Emperor". He fought bravely—but so did the Vendéans against the Republicans. He fought for the paternal despotism of Vienna and Rome. Democrats of England, for the sake of the honour of the German people, leave that bigot out of the question in future.

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[a] Ferdinand I and Alexander I.—*Ed.*

Germany has better patriots than him. Why not mention Thomas Münzer, the glorious chief of the peasant insurrection of 1525, who was a real democrat, as far as possible, at that time? Why not glorify George Forster, the German Thomas Paine, who supported the French Revolution in Paris up to the last, in opposition to all his countrymen, and died on the scaffold? Why not a host of others, who fought for realities, and not for delusions?

I am, dear Sir, yours respectfully,
*Your German Correspondent*

## LETTER III

### TO THE EDITOR OF *THE NORTHERN STAR*

[*The Northern Star* No. 438, April 4, 1846]

Dear Sir,— I really must beg of you and your readers to excuse my apparent negligence in not continuing sooner the series of letters on the above subject which I commenced writing for this paper. You may, however, rest assured that nothing but the necessity of devoting some weeks to the German movement exclusively could detain me from the pleasant task I have undertaken, of informing the English democracy of the state of things in my native country.

Your readers will, perhaps, have some recollection of the statements made in my first and second letters. I there related how the old, rotten state of Germany was rooted up by the French armies from 1792 to 1813; how Napoleon was overthrown by the union of the *feudalists*, or aristocrats, and the *bourgeois*, or trading middle classes of Europe; how, in the subsequent peace arrangements the German princes were cheated by their allies, and even by vanquished France; how the German Federative Act, and the present political state of Germany was brought about; and how Prussia and Austria, by inducing the lesser states to give constitutions, made themselves the exclusive masters of Germany. Leaving Austria, as a half-barbarian country, out of the question, we come to the result that Prussia is the battle-field on which the future fate of Germany is to be decided.

We said in our last, that Frederick William III, King of Prussia, after being delivered from the fear of Napoleon, and spending a few happy, because fearless years, acquired another bugbear to frighten him — "the revolution". The way in which "the revolution" was introduced into Germany we shall now see.

After the downfall of Napoleon, which I must repeat again, by the kings and aristocrats of the time, was totally identified with the putting down of the French Revolution, or, as they called it, *the* revolution, after 1815, in all countries, the anti-revolutionary party held the reins of government. The feudalist aristocrats ruled in all cabinets from London to Naples, from Lisbon to St. Petersburg. However, the middle classes, who had paid for the job and assisted in doing it, wanted to have their share of the power. It was by no means their interest which was placed in the ascendant by the restored governments. On the contrary, middle-class interests were neglected everywhere, and even openly set at nought. The passing of the English Corn Law of 1815[28] is the most striking example of a fact which was common to all Europe; and yet the middle classes were more powerful then than ever they had been. Commerce and manufactures had been extending everywhere, and had swelled the fortunes of the fat bourgeois; their increased well-being was manifested in their increased spirit of speculation, their growing demand for comforts and luxuries. It was impossible, then, that they should quietly submit to be governed by a class whose decay had been going on for centuries — whose interests were opposed to those of the middle classes — whose momentary return to power was the very work of the bourgeois. The struggle between the middle classes and the aristocracy was inevitable; it commenced almost immediately after the peace.

The middle classes being powerful by money only, cannot acquire political power but by making money the only qualification for the legislative capacity of an individual. They must merge all feudalistic privileges, all political monopolies of past ages, in the one great privilege and monopoly of *money*. The political dominion of the middle classes is, therefore, of an essentially *liberal* appearance. They destroy all the old differences of several estates co-existing in a country, all arbitrary privileges and exemptions; they are obliged to make the elective principle the foundation of government — to recognise equality in principle, to free the press from the shackles of monarchical censorship, to introduce the jury, in order to get rid of a separate class of judges, forming a state in the state. So far they appear thorough democrats. But they introduce all the improvements so far only, as thereby all former individual and hereditary privileges are replaced by the privilege of *money*. Thus the principle of election is, by property qualifications for the right of electing and being elected, retained for their own class. Equality is set aside again by restraining it to a mere "equality before the law", which means equality in spite of the inequality of rich and poor — equality within

the limits of the chief inequality existing—which means, in short, nothing else but giving *inequality* the name of equality. Thus the liberty of the press is, of itself, a middle-class privilege, because printing requires *money*, and buyers for the printed productions, which buyers must have money again. Thus the jury is a middle-class privilege, as proper care is taken to bring none but "respectables" into the jury-box.

I have thought it necessary to make these few remarks upon the subject of middle-class government in order to explain two facts. The first is, that in all countries, during the time from 1815 to 1830, the essentially democratic movement of the working classes was more or less made subservient to the liberal movement of the bourgeois. The working people, though more advanced than the middle classes, could not yet see the total difference between liberalism and democracy—emancipation of the middle classes and emancipation of the working classes; they could not see the difference between liberty of *money* and liberty of *man*, until money had been made politically free, until the middle class had been made the exclusively ruling class. Therefore the democrats of Peterloo were going to petition, not only for Universal Suffrage, but for Corn Law repeal at the same time; therefore, the proletarians fought in 1830 in Paris, and threatened to fight in 1831 in England, for the political interest of the bourgeoisie. In all countries the middle classes were, from 1815 to 1830, the most powerful component, and, therefore, the leaders of the revolutionary party. The working classes are necessarily the instruments in the hands of the middle classes, as long as the middle classes are *themselves revolutionary* or progressive. The distinct movement of the working classes is, therefore, in this case always of a secondary importance. But from that very day when the middle classes obtain full political power—from the day on which all feudal and aristocratic interests are annihilated by the power of *money*—from the day on which the middle classes *cease* to be progressive and revolutionary, and become stationary themselves, from that very day the working-class movement takes the lead and becomes the *national movement. Let the Corn Laws be repealed today, and tomorrow the Charter is the leading question in England—tomorrow the Chartist movement will exhibit that strength, that energy, that enthusiasm and perseverance which ensures success.*

The second fact, for the explanation of which I ventured to make some few remarks on middle-class government, refers to Germany exclusively. The Germans being a nation of theorists, and little experienced in practice, took the common fallacies brought forward

by the French and English middle classes to be sacred truths. The middle classes of Germany were glad to be left alone to their little private business, which was all in the "small way"; wherever they had obtained a constitution, they boasted of their liberty, but interfered little in the political business of the state; wherever they had none, they were glad to be saved the trouble of electing deputies and reading their speeches. The working people wanted that great lever which in France and England aroused them — extensive manufactures — and the consequence of it, middle-class rule. They, therefore, remained quiet. The peasantry in those parts of Germany where the modern French institutions had been again replaced by the old feudal regime, felt oppressed, but this discontent wanted another stimulus to break out in open rebellion. Thus, the revolutionary party in Germany, from 1815 to 1830, consisted of *theorists* only. Its recruits were drawn from the universities; it was made up of none but students.

It had been found impossible in Germany to re-introduce the old system of 1789. The altered circumstances of the time forced the governments to invent a new system, which has been peculiar to Germany. The aristocracy was willing to govern, but too weak; the middle classes were neither willing to govern nor strong enough — both, however, were strong enough to induce the government to some concessions. The form of government, therefore, was a sort of mongrel monarchy. A constitution, in some states, gave an appearance of guarantee to the aristocracy and middle classes; for the remainder there was everywhere a *bureaucratic* government—that is, a monarchy which pretends to take care of the interests of the middle class by a good administration, which administration is, however, directed by aristocrats, and whose proceedings are shut out as much as possible from the eyes of the public. The consequence is the formation of a separate class of administrative government officers, in whose hands the chief power is concentrated, and which stands in opposition against all other classes. It is the barbarian form of middle-class rule.

But this form of government satisfied neither the "Aristocrats", "Christian Germanics", "Romantics", "Reactionaries", nor the "Liberals". They, therefore, united against the governments, and formed the secret societies of the students. From the union of those two sects — for parties they cannot be called — arose that sect of mongrel Liberals, who in their secret societies dreamt of a German Emperor wearing crown, purple, sceptre, and all the remainder of that sort of apparatus, not to forget a long grey or red beard,

surrounded by an assembly of estates in which clergy, nobility, burgesses, and peasants should be duly separated. It was the most ridiculous mixing up of feudal brutality with modern middle-class fallacies that could be imagined. But that was just the thing for the students, who wanted enthusiasm, no matter for what, nor at what price. Yet these ridiculous idiosyncrasies, together with the revolutions in Spain, Portugal and Italy, the movements of the Carbonari in France, and the Reformation in England,[29] frightened the monarchs almost out of their wits. Frederick William III got his bugbear, "the revolution"—under which name all these different and partly discordant movements were comprised.

A number of incarcerations and wholesale prosecutions quashed this "revolution" in Germany; the French bayonets in Spain, and the Austrian in Italy, secured for a while the ascendancy of legitimate kings and rights divine. Even the right divine of the Grand Turk to hang and quarter his Grecian subjects was for a while maintained by the Holy Alliance; but this case was too flagrant, and the Greeks were allowed to slip from under the Turkish yoke.[30]

At last, the three days of Paris[31] gave the signal for a general outbreak of middle-class, aristocratic, and popular discontent throughout Europe. The aristocratic Polish revolution was put down; the middle classes of France and Belgium succeeded in securing to themselves political power[32]; the English middle classes likewise obtained this end by the Reform Bill; the partly popular, partly middle-class, partly national insurrections of Italy, were suppressed; and in Germany numerous insurrections and movements betokened a new era of popular and middle-class agitation.

The new and violent character of liberal agitation in Germany, from 1830 to 1834, showed that the middle classes had now taken up the question for themselves. But Germany being divided into many states, almost each of which had a separate line of customs and separate rates of duty, there was no community of interest in these movements. The middle classes of Germany wanted to become politically free, not for the purpose of arranging public matters in accordance with their *interest*, but because they were ashamed of their servile position in comparison to Frenchmen and Englishmen. Their movement wanted the substantial basis which had ensured the success of Liberalism in France and England; their interest in the question was far more theoretical than practical; they were, upon an average, what is called disinterested. The French bourgeois of 1830 were not. Laffitte said, the day after the revolution: "Now we, the bankers, will govern"; and they do up to this hour. The English

middle classes, too, knew very well what they were about when they fixed the ten-pound qualification[33]; but the German middle classes being, as aforesaid, men in a small way of business, were mere enthusiasts—admirers of "liberty of the press", "trial by jury", "constitutional guarantees for the people", "rights of the people", "popular representation", and such like, which they thought not means, but ends; they took the shadow for the substance, and therefore got nothing. However, this middle-class movement was sufficient to bring about several dozens of revolutions, of which two or three contrived somehow to succeed; a great number of popular meetings, a deal of talk and newspaper-boasting, and a very slight beginning of a democratic movement among students, working men, and peasants.

I shall not enter into the rather tedious details of this blustering and unsuccessful movement. Wherever somewhat important had been won, as liberty of the press in Baden, the German Diet stepped in and put a stop to it. The whole farce was concluded by a repetition of the wholesale imprisonments of 1819 and 1823, and, by a secret league of all German princes, concluded in 1834, at a Conference of delegates at Vienna, to resist all further progress of Liberalism.[34] The resolutions of this Conference were published some years ago.[a]

From 1834 to 1840, every public movement in Germany died out. The agitators of 1830 and 1834 were either imprisoned or scattered in foreign countries, where they had fled. Those who had kept much of their middle-class timidity during the times of agitation, continued to struggle against the growing rigour of the censor, and the growing neglect and indifference of the middle classes. The leaders of Parliamentary opposition went on speechifying in the Chambers, but the governments found means to secure the votes of the majorities. There appeared no further chance of bringing about any public movement whatsoever in Germany; the governments had it all their own way.

In all these movements the middle classes of *Prussia* took almost *no part*. The working people uttered their discontent throughout that country in numerous riots, having, however, no defined purpose, and therefore no result. The apathy of the Prussians was the principal strength of the German confederacy. It showed that the time for a general middle-class movement in Germany was not yet come.

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[a] C. Th. Welcker, *Wichtige Urkunden für den Rechtszustand der deutschen Nation*, Mannheim, 1844.—*Ed.*

In my next,[a] I shall pass to the movement of the last six years, unless I can bring together the necessary materials for characterising the spirit of the German governments by some of their own doings, in comparison to which those of your precious Home Secretary[b] are pure and innocent.[35]

I am, in the meantime, dear Sir,

respectfully,
*Your German Correspondent*

Febr. 20th,[36] 1846

Written between October 15, 1845 and February 20, 1846

First published in *The Northern Star* Nos. 415, 417, 438, October 25, November 8, 1845 and April 4, 1846

Reprinted from the newspaper

[a] Engels' letter did not appear in the following numbers.—*Ed.*
[b] Sir James Robert George Graham.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## STATEMENT

According to the *Rheinischer Beobachter* of January 18, issue No. 18, the *Trier'sche Zeitung* contains an announcement by the Editorial Board according to which, among a number of writers, Marx also is named as a contributor to this newspaper. In order to prevent any confusion I state that I have *never* written a *single* line for this paper, whose bourgeois philanthropic, by no means communist tendencies are entirely alien to me.

Brussels, January 18, 1846

*Karl Marx*

First published in *Trier'sche Zeitung* No. 26, January 26, 1846

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [CIRCULAR AGAINST KRIEGE][37]

At a meeting attended by the undermentioned Communists: *Engels, Gigot, Heilberg, Marx, Seiler, Weitling, von Westphalen* and *Wolff*, the following resolutions concerning the New York German-language journal

"*Der Volks-Tribun*" *edited by Hermann Kriege*

were passed unanimously—with the single exception of Weitling "who voted against". The appendix explains the motives behind the resolutions.

*Resolutions:*

1. The line taken by the editor of the *Volks-Tribun*, Hermann Kriege, is not communist.
2. Kriege's childish pomposity in support of this line is compromising in the highest degree to the Communist Party, both in Europe and America, inasmuch as he is held to be the literary representative of German communism in New York.
3. The fantastic emotionalism which Kriege is preaching in New York under the name of "communism" must have an extremely damaging effect on the workers' morale if it is adopted by them.
4. The present resolutions, together with the grounds for them, shall be communicated to the Communists in Germany, France and England.
5. One copy shall be sent to the editors of the *Volks-Tribun* with the request that these resolutions together with the grounds for them should be printed in the forthcoming issues of the *Volks-Tribun*.

Brussels, May 11, 1846

*Engels, Phil. Gigot,*
*Louis Heilberg, K. Marx,*
*Seiler, von Westphalen, Wolff*

SECTION ONE

## HOW COMMUNISM BECAME LOVE-SICK

No. 13 of the *Volks-Tribun* contains an article entitled: "An die Frauen".

1) "Women, priestesses of *love.*"

2) "It is *love* that has sent us."

3) "Apostles of *love.*"

a) Literary interlude: "The flaming eyes of humanity", "the sounds of truth".

b) Woman's hypocritical and ignorant *captatio benevolentiae*[a]: "Even in the attire of a queen you cannot deny your *femininity*... nor have you learned to speculate upon the tears of the unhappy; you are too soft-hearted to let a *mother*'s poor child starve so that you may profit."

4) "The future of the *beloved* child."

5) "*Beloved* sisters."

6) "O give ear to us, you are betraying *love* if you do not do so."

8) "Of *love.*"

8) "Of *love.*"

9) "For the sake of *love.*"

10) "The most sacred labour of *love* which we entreat of you" (whimper).

c) Literary-biblical platitude: "Woman is destined to bear the son of man", whereby the fact is proclaimed that men do not bear children.

11) "The *holy spirit* of community must evolve from the *heart of* LOVE."

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[a] Thirst for approval.—*Ed.*

Da eine Zusammenkunft sämmtlicher Kommunisten:
Engels, Bigot, Heilberg, Marx, Püttmann,
Weidling, v. Westphalen und Wolff
wurden in Betreff der New-Yorker Blätter,
„der Volkstribune, redigirt von Hermann Kriege"
folgende, in der Beilage revidirte Beschlüsse einstimmig
gefasst – mit einziger Ausnahme Weidlings, „der dagegen
stimmte."

Beschlüsse:

1, Die von dem Redakteur Hermann Kriege in Volkstribun
verbreitete Lehre ist nicht kommunistisch.
2, Die eindeutig: communistische Ansicht, in der Kriege diese Lehre
vertritt, ist in höchster Grade compromittirend für die Com-
munistische Partei in Europa sowohl wie Amerika, insbes-
ondere für die literarischen Repräsentanten der deutschen Com-
munistenpartei in New-York gilt.
3, Die charakterlose Schmutzkonkurrenz, die Kriege unter dem
Namen „Kommunismus" in New-York treibt, muss in höchstem
Grade denunciirend auf die Arbeiter wirken, falls sie
von ihm adoptirt wird.
4, Gegenwärtiges Beschluss soll dem Bureau der Com-
munisten in Deutschland, Frankreich u. England mitgetheilt.
5, Die Genossen mit der Redaktion des Volkstribunen mit
der Aufforderung zugeschickt, diese Beschlüsse soll dem Bureau-
dem in der neuesten Nummer des Volkstribunen abdrucken zu lassen.

Brüssel, den 11 Mai 1846.

Engels. Phil. Gigot. Louis Heilberg.
K. Marx. Jottrand
v. Westphalen. Wolff.

First page of the lithographed "Circular Against Kriege"

d) Interpolated Ave Maria: "*Blessed, thrice blessed* are you women, being chosen to pronounce the *first consecration* of the long-*promised* kingdom of bliss."

12) "*Beloved* sisters."

13) "Not *love* but hatred" (contrasting bourgeois and communist society).

14) "You *loved* ones."

15) "Raise *love* on to the throne."

16) "Active people in *loving* community."

17) "True priestesses of *love*."

e) Aesthetic parenthesis: "If your trembling soul has not yet forgotten the flight sublime" — (a feat whose feasibility has yet to be demonstrated).

18) "The world of *love*."

19) "The kingdom of hatred and the kingdom of *love*."

f) An attempt to hoodwink women: "And therefore you have a most mighty voice in politics too. You but need to use your influence, and all the old kingdom of hatred will fall in ruins to make way for the new kingdom of *love*."

g) Philosophical fanfare to drown reflection: "The ultimate goal of their activity is that all mankind should take an ever-joyful delight in itself."

20) "Your *love*." At this point women are required to be "unstinting" in their love so that it may "embrace all mankind with equal surrender". A demand that is as indecent as it is extravagant.

h) Fugue: "That thousands and yet more thousands of deserted orphans are abandoned to the fearful massacre of circumstances." What does this "fearfulness" consist in? In the "orphans" massacring the "circumstances" or the "circumstances" massacring the "orphans"?

i) Unveiling of the neo-communist policy: "We have no wish to lay hands on the private property of any man; what the usurer now has, let him keep; we merely wish to forestall the further pillaging of the people's assets and prevent capital from continuing to withhold from labour its rightful property." This purpose is to be achieved as follows: "Every poor man ... will instantly become a useful member of human society as soon as he is offered the opportunity of productive work." (According to this no one is more deserving in respect of "human society" than the capitalists, including those in New York against whom Kriege thunders so mightily.) "And this opportunity is assured him for ever, as soon as society gives him a piece of land on which he can produce food for himself and his family.... If this vast area of land" (the 1,400 million acres of the American state lands) "is

*withdrawn from commerce and* ensured to labour *in limited quantities,* at *one* stroke all the poverty in America will have been eliminated; for each man will be given the opportunity to establish with his own hands an inviolable home for himself." That it does not lie in the legislators' power to decree either that the patriarchal system desired by Kriege shall not evolve into an industrial system or that the industrial and commercial states of the east coast of the United States shall revert to patriarchal barbarism — one had a right to expect that this would be realised. Meanwhile, for the day when the paradise just described will have arrived, Kriege prepares the following country-parson utterance: "And then we can teach men to *live together in peace,* to lighten for each other the burden and toil of their life and:

21) build the first dwelling-places on earth for celestial *love*" (each one 160 acres in area).

Kriege concludes his address to married women as follows: "Turn first to

22) the men of your *love,*

*ask* them ... to turn their backs on the politics of old,... show them their children, implore them in *their name*" (who are without reason) "to adopt reason." Secondly, to the "virgins":

23) "For your *lovers*

let *the liberation of the land be the touchstone of their human worth* and have no faith in

24) their *love*

until they have sworn fealty to mankind." (What is that supposed to mean?) If the virgins behave in this manner, he guarantees them that their children

25) "will become as *loving*

as they themselves" (that is, "the birds of heaven") and concludes this cant with another round of

26) "true priestesses of *love*", "great kingdom of community" and "consecration".

No. 13 of the *Volks-Trib[un]:—"Antwort an Sollta."*

27) "It" (the great spirit of community) "flashes from fraternal eyes as the fire of *love.*"

28) "What is a woman without the man whom she can *love,* to whom she can surrender her *trembling soul?*"

29) "To join all mankind in *love.*"

30) "Mother-*love*"....

31) "*Love* of mankind"....

32) "All the first sounds of *love*"....

33) "The radiance of *love.*"

k) The purpose of communism is to "subject the whole life of mankind to its" (the sentient heart's) "beating".

34) "The sound of *love* flees before the rattle of money."

35) "Everything may be achieved by *love* and surrender."

In this *one* issue, then, we have love in approximately thirty-five shapes. It is in perfect accordance with this amorous slobbering that Kriege, in his "Antwort an Sollta" and elsewhere, presents communism as the love-imbued opposite of selfishness and reduces a revolutionary movement of world-historical importance to the few words: love — hate, communism — selfishness. Part and parcel of it is likewise the cowardice with which he here panders to the usurer by promising to let him keep what he already has and with which further on he assures that he does not want "to destroy the *cherished sentiments* of *family life*, of belonging to one's *native land* and *people*" but "only to fulfil them". This cowardly, hypocritical presentation of communism not as "destruction" but as "fulfilment" of existing evils and of the illusions which the bourgeoisie have about them, is found in every issue of the *Volks-Tribun*. This hypocrisy and cowardice are matched by the attitude which he adopts in discussions with politicians. He declares it (No. 10[a]) a sin against communism to attack political visionaries like Lamennais and Börne who dabble in Catholicism, with the result that men like Proudhon, Cabet, Dézamy, in short all the French Communists, are just men "who call themselves Communists". The fact that the German Communists have left Börne as far behind as the French have Lamennais, is something Kriege could have discovered back in Germany, Brussels and London.

We leave Kriege to reflect for himself on the enervating effect this love-sickness cannot fail to have on both sexes and the mass hysteria and anaemia it must produce in the "virgins".

## SECTION TWO

## THE *VOLKS-TRIBUN*'S POLITICAL ECONOMY AND ITS *ATTITUDE TOWARDS YOUNG AMERICA*[38]

We fully recognise that the American national Reformers' movement is historically justified. We know that this movement has set its sights on a goal which, although for the moment it would

[a] Hermann Kriege an Harro Harring.—*Ed.*

further the industrialism of modern bourgeois society, nevertheless, as the product of a proletarian movement, as an attack on landed property in general and more particularly in the circumstances obtaining in America, will by its own inner logic inevitably press on to communism. Kriege, who has joined the Anti-Rent movement along with the German Communists in New York, pastes over this plain fact with his customary communist and extravagant phrases, without ever going into the positive substance of the movement, thereby proving that he is quite unclear in his own mind about the connection between Young America and circumstances prevailing in America. In addition to the individual passages which in passing we have already quoted, we would give another example of how his humanitarianising quite smothers the issue of land-distribution to the small farmer on an American scale.

In No. 10, "Was wir wollen", we read:

> "They" — that is, the Americ[an] National Reformers — "call the soil the *communal* heritage of all mankind ... and want the legislative power of the people to take steps *to preserve as the inalienable communal property of all mankind* the 1,400 mill[ion] acres of land which have not yet fallen into the hands of rapacious speculators."

In order communally to "preserve for all mankind" this "*communal* heritage", this "inalienable *communal property*", he adopts the plan of the National Reformers: "to place 160 acres of American soil at the command of every farmer, from whatever country he may hail, so that he may feed himself", or, as it is put in No. 14, "Antwort" to Conze:

> "Of this as yet untouched property of the people no one shall take more than 160 acres into his possession, and that only if he farms it himself."

So in order that the soil shall remain "inalienable *communal* property", for "all mankind" to boot, a start must be made without delay on *dividing it up*; Kriege here imagines he can use the law to *forbid* the necessary consequences of this division, that is, concentration, industrial progress, etc. He considers 160 acres of land as an ever-constant measure, as if the value of such an area did not vary according to its quality. The "farmers" will have to exchange, if not their land itself, then at least the produce of their land, with each other and with third parties, and when this juncture has been reached, it will soon become apparent that one "farmer", even though he has no capital, will, simply by his work and the greater initial productivity of his 160 acres, reduce his neighbour to the status of his *farm labourer*. And is it not then immaterial whether "the

land" or the *produce* of the land "falls into the hands of rapacious speculators"?

Let us for the moment take Kriege's present to mankind seriously.

1,400 million acres are to be "preserved as the inalienable communal property of all mankind". Specifically, 160 acres are to be the portion of each "farmer". From this we can calculate the size of Kriege's "all mankind"—exactly $8^3/_4$ million "farmers", each of whom as head of family represents a family of five, a sum total therefore of $43^3/_4$ million people. We can likewise calculate how long "all eternity" will last, for the duration of which "the proletariat in its capacity as humanity" may "claim" "the whole earth"—at least in the United States. If the population of the United States continues to grow at the same rate as hitherto (i.e., if it doubles in 25 years), this "all eternity" will not last out 40 years; within this period the 1,400 mill[ion] acres will be settled, and there will be *nothing* left for future generations to "claim". But since the release of the land would greatly increase immigration, Kriege's "all eternity" might well be foreclosed even earlier. The more so when one considers that land for 44 million would not even suffice to channel off the now existing pauper-population of Europe, where every tenth man is a pauper and the British Isles alone supply 7 million. Similar economic naivety is to be found in No.13, "An die Frauen", in which Kriege says that if the city of New York were to release its 52,000 acres on Long Island, this would suffice to relieve New York "at one stroke" of all its pauperism, poverty and crime for all time.

If Kriege had seen the free-land movement as a first, in certain circumstances necessary, form of the proletarian movement, as a movement which because of the social position of the class from which it emanates must necessarily develop into a communist movement, if he had shown how communist tendencies in America could, to begin with, only emerge in this agrarian form which appears to be a contradiction of all communism, then no objection could have been raised. As things are, however, he declares what is after all a still subordinate form of movement of real specific people to be a matter for mankind *in general*, presents it, against his better knowledge, as the ultimate, supreme goal of all movement in general, and thereby transforms the specific aims of the movement into sheer, extravagant nonsense.

In the same essay (No.10) he however continues his paean unperturbed, as follows:

"In this way, therefore, the old dreams of the Europeans at last came true, on this side of the ocean a plot was prepared for them which they needed only to settle and

make fruitful with the labour of their hands, and they would be able proudly to proclaim to all the tyrants of the world:

> This is *my* hut
> Which you did not build,
> This is *my* hearth
> Whose fire you envy me."[a]

He could have added: This is *my* midden, which I and my wife, child, farm labourer, maid-servant and cattle have produced. Who are these Europeans then, whose "dreams" here come true? Not the communist workers, but bankrupt shopkeepers and master-craftsmen or ruined cottagers striving for the bliss of becoming petty bourgeois and peasants once more in America. And what kind of "wish" is this which the 1,400 million acres are to make reality? None other than that *everybody* should be turned into a *private-property-owner*, a wish that is just as practicable and communist as that everybody should be turned into an emperor, king or pope. The following sentence shall serve as a final sample of Kriege's insight into communist revolutionary movements and economic conditions:

> "*Every* man should at least learn enough of *every* trade *to be able to stand on his own feet for a while* if necessary, if misfortune should sever him from human society."[b]

It is of course much easier to "gush" "love" and "surrender" than to concern oneself with the development of real conditions and practical questions.

## SECTION THREE

## METAPHYSICAL TRUMPETINGS

No. 13 of the *Volks-Trib[un]*: "Antwort an Sollta".

1) Kriege here asserts he is "not accustomed to performing on a logical tight-rope in the barren desert of theory". That he is walking on a "tight-rope", not a logical one, it is true, but one spun from philosophical and love-besotted phrases, is clear from every issue of the *Volks-Tribun.*

2) The proposition that "each separate person lives individually" (which is itself nonsense) is expressed by Kriege as he walks the following illogical "tight-rope": "as long as the human species continues to find its representation in individuals at all",

3) "putting an end to the present state of things" is supposed to depend on the "pleasure" of the "creative spirit of mankind", which does not exist anywhere.

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[a] A paraphrased stanza from Goethe's *Prometheus.*— *Ed.*

[b] H. Kriege, "Antwort an Cattanio".—*Ed.*

4) The following is the ideal of the communist man: "He bears the stamp of the species" (and who does not do so by the mere fact of his existence?), "determines his own goals according to the goals of the species" (as if the species were a person who could have goals) "and seeks to be completely his own, solely in order to dedicate himself to the species with everything that he is and is capable of becoming" (total self-sacrifice and self-abasement before a vaporous fantasy-concept).

5) The relationship of the individual to the species is also described in the following extravagant nonsense: "All of us and our particular activities are but symptoms of the great movement which is afoot in the inner depths of mankind." "In the inner depths of mankind"—where is that? According to this proposition, then, real people are only "symptoms", features of a "movement" that is afoot "in the depths" of a phantom conjured up by thinking.

6) This country parson transforms the struggle for a communist society into "the search for that great spirit of community". He pictures this "great spirit" "foaming full and fine from the *cup of communion*" and as "the *holy spirit* flashing from fraternal eyes".

Now that the revolutionary communist movement has thus been transformed into the "search" for the holy spirit and holy communion, Kriege can of course also assert that this spirit "needs *only* to be *recognised* for all men to be joined together in love".

7) This metaphysical conclusion is preceded by the following confusion of *communism* with *communion*: "The spirit that conquers the world, the spirit that commands the storm and the thunder and lightning (!!!!), the spirit that heals the blind and the lepers, the spirit that offers all men to drink of *one* wine" (we prefer a variety of kinds) "and to eat of *one* bread" (the French and English Communists are rather more demanding), "the spirit *that is eternal and omnipresent,* that is the spirit of community." If this "spirit" is "eternal and omnipresent", it is quite beyond comprehension how, according to Kriege, private property has managed to exist for so long. But, true enough, it has not been "recognised" and was thus "eternal and omnipresent" solely in his own imagination.

Kriege is therefore here preaching *in the name of communism* the old fantasy of religion and German philosophy which is the *direct antithesis of communism. Faith,* more specifically, faith in the "holy spirit of community" is the last thing required for the achievement of communism.

SECTION FOUR

## FLIRTATIONS WITH RELIGION

It is self-evident that Kriege's amorous slobberings and his antithesis to selfishness are no more than the inflated utterances of a mind that has become utterly and completely absorbed in religion. We shall see how Kriege, who in Europe always claimed to be an atheist, here seeks to foist off all the infamies of Christianity under the signboard of communism and ends, perfectly consistently, with *man's self-desecration.*

In No.10, "Was wir wollen" and "H[ermann] Kriege an Harro Harring" define the purpose of the communist struggle in the following terms:

1) "To make a truth of the *religion of love* and a reality of the long yearned-for community of the blessed denizens of heaven." Kriege merely overlooks the fact that these obsessions of Christianity are only the fantastic expression of the existing world and that their "reality" therefore *already exists* in the evil conditions of this existing world.

2) "We demand in the name of that *religion of love* that the hungry should be given food, the thirsty be given drink and the naked clothed."—A demand which has been reiterated ad nauseam for 1,800 years already, without the slightest success.

3) "We teach the practice of *love*" in order to

4) "receive *love*".

5) "In their *realm of love* there is no room for devils."

6) "It is his" (man's) "*most sacred* need to *merge* his own person and whole individuality in the society of *loving beings,* towards whom he can retain nothing but

7) his *boundless love.*" One might think that with this boundlessness the theory of love had reached its highest peak, a peak so high that one can think of nothing higher; and yet the ascent continues.

8) "This hot outpouring of love, this surrender to all, this *divine urge* towards community—what else is this but the Communists' *innermost religion* which is only lacking in the appropriate external world to express itself in the fulness of human life." The present "external world" however seems to be quite sufficient for Kriege to lend the most lavish "expression" to his "innermost religion", his "divine urge", his "surrender to all" and his "hot outpouring" in the "fulness" of his own "human life".

9) "Do we not have the right to take the long pent-up desires of the religious heart seriously and march into battle in the name of the poor, the unhappy, and the rejected, for the final realisation of the sublime realm of brotherly love?" Kriege marches into battle, then, in order to take seriously the desires not of the real and the secular, but of the religious heart, not those of the heart made bitter by real need but those of the heart inflated by a fantasy of bliss. He forthwith offers proof of his "religious heart" by marching into battle as a priest, in the name of others, that is, in the name of the "poor", and in such a manner as to make it absolutely plain that he does not need communism for himself, he would have it that he is marching into battle in a spirit of pure, generous, dedicated, effusive self-sacrifice for the "poor, the unhappy and the rejected" who are in need of it—a feeling of elation which swells the heart of this worthy man in times of isolation and dejection, and outweighs all the troubles of this evil world.

10) Kriege concludes his pompous prating: "Any man who does not support such a party can with justice be treated as an enemy of mankind." This intolerant sentence appears to be in contradiction to "surrender to *all*", and the "religion of love" towards all. It is however a perfectly consistent conclusion of this new religion, which like every other mortally detests and persecutes all its enemies. The enemy of the party is quite consistently turned into a heretic, by transforming him from an enemy of the actually existing *party* who is *combated*, into a sinner against *humanity*—which only exists in the imagination—who must be *punished*.

11) In the letter to Harro Harring we read: "Our aim is to make all the poor of the world rebel against Mammon, under whose scourge they are condemned to work themselves to death, and when we have toppled the fearsome tyrant from his ancient throne, our aim will be to *unite* mankind by *love*, our aim will be to *teach* men to work communally and enjoy communally until the long-promised kingdom of joy finally comes about." In order to work up a fury against the present-day sovereignty of money, he first has to transform it into the idol Mammon. This idol is toppled—how, we do not discover; the revolutionary movement of the proletariat of all countries shrinks to no more than a rebellion—and when this toppling is complete, then the prophets—"we"—appear to "teach" the proletariat what is to be done next. These prophets "teach" their disciples, who here appear in remarkable ignorance of their own interests, how they are "to work and enjoy communally", not, indeed, for the sake of "working and enjoying communally" but rather just so that the scriptures shall be fulfilled and a

number of visionaries shall not have prophesied in vain 1,800 years ago.—This prophetical manner is found elsewhere as well, for example:

In No. 8, "Was ist das Proletariat?" and "Andreas Dietsch", with

a) "Proletarians,... the hour of your redemption has come."

b) "A thousand hearts beat joyfully in anticipation of the promised time"—in other words, "of that great realm of love ... for the long yearned-for realm of love."

c) In No. 12, "Antwort an Koch, den Antipfaffen",

"Already the gospel of the infinite redemption of the world goes quivering from eye to eye" and—even—"from hand to hand". This miracle of the "quivering gospel", this nonsense about the "infinite redemption of the world" is in perfect accordance with another miracle, namely that the long-abandoned prophecies of the old evangelists are unexpectedly fulfilled by Kriege.

12) Seen from this religious point of view, the answer to all *real questions* can only consist in a few *images* of extravagant religiosity which befog all sense, in a few high-sounding catchwords, such as "mankind", "humanity", "species", etc., and in turning every *real action* into a *fantastic phrase.* This is particularly evident in the essay "Was ist das Proletariat?" (No. 8). The answer given to this title-question is: "The proletariat is *mankind*",—a *deliberate* lie, according to which the Communists are aiming at the abolition of mankind. This answer, "mankind", is supposed to be the same as the one Sieyès gave to the question: What is the tiers-état?[39] Proof enough of how Kriege befuddles historical facts. He then forthwith provides more proof of this in his bigoted presentation of the American Anti-Rent movement: "And how would it be in the end if this proletariat, in its capacity as mankind" (a necessary character-mask for its appearance on the scene—a moment ago the proletariat was mankind, now mankind is only a capacity of the proletariat), "laid claim to the whole earth as its undisputed property for all eternity?" One observes how even an extremely simple, practical movement is transformed into empty phrases like "mankind", "undisputed property", "all eternity", etc., and for that reason rests content with a mere "claim".—Apart from the usual catchwords such as "outcast", etc., which is joined by the religious "accursed", all Kriege's statements about the proletariat amount to no more than the following mythological-biblical images:

"Prometheus bound",
"the Lamb of God which bears the sins of the world",
"the Wandering Jew",

and finally he brings up the following remarkable question: "Is mankind to wander for ever, then, a homeless vagabond, about the earth?" Meanwhile it is precisely the exclusive settlement of a part of "mankind" on the land which is his particular bugbear!

13) The real point about Kriege's religion is revealed in the following passage: "We have other things to do than worry about our *miserable selves*, we belong to mankind." With this shameful and nauseating grovelling before a "mankind" that is separate and distinct from the "self" and which is therefore a metaphysical and in his case even a religious fiction, with what is indeed the most utterly "miserable" slavish self-abasement, this religion ends up like any other. Such a doctrine, preaching the voluptuous pleasure of cringing and self-contempt, is entirely suited to valiant — *monks*, but never to men of action, least of all in a time of struggle. It only remains for these valiant monks to castrate their "miserable selves" and thereby provide sufficient proof of their confidence in the ability of "mankind" to reproduce itself! — If Kriege has nothing better to offer than these sentimentalities in pitiful style, it would indeed be wiser for him to translate his "Père Lamennais" again and again in each issue of the *Volks-Tribun*.

What the practical consequences are of Kriege's religion of infinite mercy and boundless surrender, is shown by the pleas for work which feature in almost every issue of the *Volks-Tribun*. We read, for instance, in No. 8:

"Arbeit! Arbeit! Arbeit!"

"Is there no one amongst all the wise[a] gentlemen who does not consider it a waste of effort to provide sustenance for deserving families and preserve helpless young people from poverty and despair? Firstly there is Johann Stern from Mecklenburg, still without work, and he is only asking to work himself to skin and bone for the benefit of some capitalist and at the same time earn enough bread as will suffice to sustain him for his work,—is that asking too much, then, in civilised society?—And then Karl Gescheidtle from Baden, a young man of the most excellent qualities and not without higher education—he looks so trustworthy and good, I guarantee he is honesty itself.... And an old man, too, and several other young people are begging for occupation for their hands, for their daily bread.—Let any person who can help delay no longer, or his conscience will one day rob him of his sleep when he most needs it. It is true you might say: There are thousands crying out in vain for work, and we certainly can't help all of them—you could, no doubt, but you are slaves of selfishness and have no heart to do anything. But for as long as you will not help all, at least show that you have left still a vestige of human feeling and help as many individuals as is in your power."

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[a] In *Volks-Tribun* No. 8: rich.— *Ed.*

Of course, if they wished, they could help more than is in their power. That is how it is in practice, that is the real implementation of the self-abasement and degradation which this new religion teaches.

## SECTION FIVE

## KRIEGE'S PERSONAL STAND

The nature of Kriege's personal stand in his journal cannot fail to be evident from the above quotations; we will therefore only single out a small number of points.

Kriege appears as a *prophet* and therefore necessarily also as an emissary from a secret league of Essenes,[40] the "League of Justice". Hence, when he is not speaking in the name of the "oppressed", he is speaking in the name of "justice", which is not ordinary justice, however, but the justice of the "League of Justice". He not merely envelops *himself* in a fog of mystery, but *history* too. He envelops the real historical development of communism in the various countries of Europe, which he is not acquainted with, in a fog of mystery, by ascribing the origin and progress of communism to fabulous, novelettish and fictitious intrigues by this league of Essenes. There is evidence of this in every issue, especially in the reply to Harro Harring, which also contains the most absurd fantasies about the power of this league.

As a true *apostle of love* Kriege addresses himself firstly to women, whom he cannot believe to be so depraved as to resist a heart beating with love, secondly, to the newly discovered agitators "filially and conciliatorily",—as a "son"—as a "brother"—as "brother of the heart"—and finally as a *human being* to the rich. Hardly has he arrived in New York when he sends out circulars to all rich German merchants, presses the popgun of love to their chests, takes very good care not to say what he wants of them, signs variously as "A Human Being", "A Friend of Man" or "A Fool"—and, "would you believe it, my friends?", nobody responds to his high-falutin' tomfoolery. This can surprise no one but Kriege himself.—The familiar phrases of love we have already quoted are occasionally spiced with ejaculations like (No. 12, "Antwort an Koch"): "Hurrah! Long live community, long live equality, long live love!" Practical questions and doubts (cf. No. 14, "Antwort" to Conze) he can only explain to himself as deliberate malice and obtuseness. As a true prophet and exponent of love, he expresses all the hysterical irritation which a sensitive soul who has been snubbed feels towards the mockers, the unbelievers and those people in the old world

whom the sweet warmth of his love fails to transmute into "the blessed denizens of heaven". It is in such a mood of sulky sentimentality that he cries out to them in No. 11, under the heading, "Frühling": "Therefore, you who mock us now, you shall soon have *faith*, for you shall know, spring is coming."

Written between April 20 and May 11, 1846

First published as a lithographic circular in May 1846

Signed: *Engels, K. Marx and others*

Printed according to the lithographic circular

Published in English for the first time

# Frederick Engels

## VIOLATION OF THE PRUSSIAN CONSTITUTION[41]

There exists a law in Prussia, dated 17th of January[a] 1820, forbidding the King to contract any State Debts without the sanction of the States-General, an assembly which it is very well known, does not yet exist in Prussia.[42] This law is the only guarantee the Prussians have for ever getting the constitution which, since 1815, has been promised to them. The fact of the existence of such a law not being generally known out of Prussia, the government succeeded in 1823 in borrowing *three millions of pounds* in England — first violation. After the French revolution of 1830, the Prussian government being obliged to make extensive preparations for a war which was then likely to break out, they not having any money, made the "interests for transatlantic trade",[43] a government concern, borrow twelve millions of dollars (£1,700,000), which, of course, were under the guarantee of the government, and spent by the government — second violation. Not to speak of the small violations, such as loans of a few hundred thousands of pounds by the same concern, the King of Prussia[b] has, at this moment, committed a third great violation. The credit of this concern being as it seems exhausted, the Bank of Prussia, being just in the same way, exclusively a government concern, has been empowered by the King to issue banknotes to the amount of ten millions of dollars (£1,350,000). This, deducting $3^1/_3$ millions as deposit and $^2/_3$ million for the increased expenses of the establishment, amounts in reality to an "indirect loan" of six millions of dollars or nearly one million of pounds, which the government will be responsible for, as up to this time no private capitalists are

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[a] *The Northern Star* mistakenly gives 22nd of June.— *Ed.*

[b] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

partners to the Bank of Prussia. It is to be hoped that the Prussians, particularly the middle classes, who are most interested in the constitution, will not let this pass without an energetic protest.

Written in May 1846

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with an editorial note:
"From Our German Correspondent"

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## LETTER FROM THE BRUSSELS COMMUNIST CORRESPONDENCE COMMITTEE TO G. A. KÖTTGEN[44]

Brussels, June 15, 1846

TO G[USTAV] A[DOLF] KÖTTGEN FOR FURTHER CIRCULATION

We hasten to answer your call, communicated to us a few days ago, as follows:

We are in full agreement with your view that the German Communists must emerge from the isolation in which they have hitherto existed and establish durable mutual contacts with one another; similarly, that associations for the purpose of reading and discussion are necessary. For Communists must first of all clear things up among themselves, and this cannot be done satisfactorily without regular meetings to discuss questions concerning communism. We therefore also agree with you completely that cheap, easily understandable books and pamphlets with a communist content must be widely circulated. Both of these things, the former as well as the latter, should be taken up soon and energetically. You recognise the necessity of establishing regular money contributions; but your suggestion to support the authors by means of these contributions, to provide a comfortable life for them we must for our part reject. In our view the contributions should be used only for the printing of cheap communist leaflets and pamphlets and to cover the costs of correspondence, including that from here abroad. It will be necessary to fix a minimum sum for the monthly contributions, so that the amount of money that can be used for common purposes can be accurately determined at any moment. It is furthermore necessary that you should communicate to us the names of the members of your communist association — since we have to know, as you know of us, who it is we are dealing with. Finally, we await your statement of the size of the monthly contributions earmarked for common purposes, since the printing of several popular pamphlets

ought to be proceeded with as soon as possible. That these pamphlets cannot be published in Germany is evident and needs no proof.

With regard to the Federal Diet, the King of Prussia, the assemblies of the estates, etc., you cherish really extensive illusions. A memorandum could only be effective if there already existed in Germany a strong and organised Communist Party, but neither is the case. A petition is only useful when at the same time it appears as a threat, behind which there stands a compact and organised mass. The only thing you could do, given suitable circumstances in your area, would be to produce a petition furnished with *numerous* and impressive workers' signatures.

We do not consider the time to be appropriate yet for a communist congress. Only when communist associations have been formed in the whole of Germany and means for action have been collected will delegates from the individual associations be able to gather for a congress with any prospect of success. And this will not be likely to occur before next year.

Until then the sole means of cooperation is the clarification of questions by letter and regular correspondence.

We have already, from time to time, been engaged in correspondence from here with the English and French Communists, as well as with the German Communists abroad. Whenever reports on the communist movement in England and France reach us, we shall communicate them to you, and we shall enclose anything else which comes to our notice in our current correspondence with you.

We request you to specify a *safe* address to us (and in future not to print the complete name, like G. A. Köttgen, on the seal, since this permits immediate identification of the sender as well as the recipient).

Write to us, however, at the following *completely safe* address:

*Monsieur Ph[ilippe] Gigot, 8, rue de Bodenbroek, Bruxelles.*

*K. Marx, F. Engels, Ph. Gigot, F. Wolff*[a]

Weerth sends his regards, is at the moment in Amiens.

If you should carry out your intention with the petition, it would lead to nothing but the C[ommunist] Party publicly proclaiming its weakness, and at the same time giving to the Government the names of the people it has specially to watch. If you cannot produce a working men's petition with at least 500 signatures, then petition rather, as the bourgeoisie in Trier wish to do, for a progressive

[a] Wilhelm (full name Friedrich Wilhelm) Wolff.— *Ed.*

property tax, and if, even then, the bourgeoisie of the area do not join in, eh bien,[a] join them for the time being in public demonstrations, proceed jesuitically, put aside teutonic probity, true-heartedness and decency, and sign and push forward the bourgeois petitions for freedom of the press, a constitution, and so on. When this has been achieved a new era will dawn for c[ommunist] propaganda. Our means will be increased, the antithesis between bourgeoisie and proletariat will be sharpened. In a party one must support everything which helps towards progress, and have no truck with any tedious moral scruples. For the rest, you must elect a standing committee for your correspondence, which will draft and discuss the letters to be written to us, and meet regularly. Otherwise matters will become disorganised. For drafting the letters you must elect the person you consider most capable. Personal considerations must be utterly disregarded, they ruin everything. The names of the committee members must naturally be communicated to us.

Salut.

Signatories, as overleaf

First published in Russian in the journal *Bolshevik* No. 3, February 1933

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] Well and good.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE PRUSSIAN BANK QUESTION[45]

You will probably have already heard that the King of Prussia's plan of making money out of paper has been found impracticable. Two of the administrators of the State Debts refused to sign the new banknotes, as they considered them to be a new public debt, therefore subject to the guarantee of the States-General. Frederick William IV, to show that he can make as much money as he likes, has now hit upon a far better plan. Instead of making ten millions, he makes thirty—twenty millions of paper-money and ten of good, solid gold and silver coin. He proposes that ten millions of capital be raised by shares, "which shares it appears shall bring no dividends, but merely $3^1/_2$ per cent. interest and which shall not be transferable unless at the owner's death, in order to keep them out of the reach of speculation"!!! Now would you call such things *shares*? Why not? His Majesty of Prussia decrees that they *are* shares, and fosters the fond hope that he will find a lot of capitalists stupid enough to invest ten millions of dollars in such not transferable, leaden, three-and-a-half Bank Stock! And that at a time, too, when by speculating in railway shares they can make quite another percentage. When the King will have found the parcel of fools he is in want of, and thus borrowed ten millions in *coin*, he will issue *twenty* millions in banknotes, making "a sum total of thirty millions" increase of the national liabilities. Really this is raising the wind with a vengeance. Raising thirty millions, because one can't get ten.

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"From Our German Correspondent"

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## ADDRESS OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC COMMUNISTS OF BRUSSELS TO MR. FEARGUS O'CONNOR[46]

Sir.—We embrace the occasion of your splendid success at the Nottingham election to congratulate you, and through you the English Chartists, on this signal victory. We consider the defeat of a Free-Trade minister [a] at the show of hands by an enormous Chartist majority, and at the very time, too, when Free-Trade principles are triumphant in the Legislature,[47] we consider this, Sir, as a sign that the working classes of England are very well aware of the position they have to take after the triumph of Free Trade. We conclude from this fact that they know very well that now, when the middle classes have carried their chief measure, when they have only to replace the present weak go-between cabinet by an energetical, really middle-class ministry, in order to be the acknowledged ruling class of your country, that now the great struggle of capital and labour, of *bourgeois* and *proletarian* must come to a decision. The ground is now cleared by the retreat of the landed aristocracy from the contest; middle class and working class are the only classes betwixt whom there can be a possible struggle. The contending parties have their respective battle-cries forced upon them by their interests and mutual position:—the middle class—"extension of commerce by any means whatsoever, and a ministry of Lancashire cotton-lords to carry this out";—the working class—"a democratic reconstruction of the Constitution upon the basis of the People's Charter",[48] by which the working class will become the ruling class of England. We

[a] John Cam Hobhouse.—*Ed.*

rejoice to see the English working men fully aware of this altered state of parties; of the new period Chartist agitation has entered into with the final defeat of the third party, the aristocracy; of the prominent position which Chartism henceforth will and must occupy, in spite of the "conspiracy of silence" of the middle-class press; and finally, of the new task, which by these new circumstances has devolved upon them. That they are quite aware of this task is proved by their intention *to go to the poll* at the next general election.

We have to congratulate you, Sir, in particular, upon your brilliant speech at the Nottingham election,[a] and the striking delineation given in it of the contrast between working-class democracy and middle-class liberalism.

We congratulate you besides on the unanimous vote of confidence in you, spontaneously passed by the whole Chartist body on the occasion of Thomas Cooper, the would-be *respectable*'s calumnies.[49] The Chartist party cannot but profit by the exclusion of such disguised bourgeois, who, while they show off with the name of Chartist for popularity's sake, strive to insinuate themselves into the favour of the middle classes by personal flattery of their literary representatives (such as the Countess of Blessington, Charles Dickens, D. Jerrold, and other "friends" of Cooper's), and by propounding such base and infamous old women's doctrines as that of "non-resistance".

Lastly, Sir, we have to thank you and your coadjutors for the noble and enlightened manner in which *The Northern Star* is conducted. We hesitate not a moment in declaring that the *Star* is the only English newspaper (save, perhaps, the *People's Journal*, which we know from the *Star* only), which knows the real state of parties in England; which is really and essentially democratic; which is free from national and religious prejudice; which sympathises with the democrats and working men (now-a-days the two are almost the same), all over the world; which in all these points speaks the mind of the English working class, and therefore is the only English paper really worth reading for the continental democrats. We hereby declare that we shall do everything in our power to extend the circulation of *The Northern Star* on the continent, and to have extracts from it translated in as many continental papers as possible.

We beg to express these sentiments, Sir, as the acknowledged

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[a] O'Connor. [Speech at the Nottingham Nomination Meeting.]—*Ed.*

representatives of many of the German Communists in Germany, for all their relations with foreign democrats.

For the German Democratic Communists of Brussels.

The Committee,

*Engels*
*Ph. Gigot*
*Marx*

Brussels, July 17th, 1846

First published in *The Northern Star* No. 454, July 25, 1846

Reprinted from the newspaper

# Frederick Engels

## [GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION IN FRANCE]

The Chambers are now assembled. The Chamber of Peers have, as usual, nothing to do, now that they have disposed of the case of Joseph Henry, the new-fashioned regicide. The Chamber of Deputies are busily engaged in verifying the returns of members, and they profit by this opportunity to show the spirit which animates them. Never, since the revolution of 1830, has there been displayed such bare-faced impudence and contempt of public opinion. Three-fifths, at least, of the Deputies are thorough friends of the ministry; or, in other words, either great capitalists, stock-jobbers and railway speculators of the Paris Exchange, bankers, large manufacturers, etc., or their obedient servants. The present legislature is, more than any preceding one, the fulfilment of the words of Laffitte, the day after the revolution of July: Henceforth we, the bankers, shall govern France. It is the most striking proof that the government of France is in the hands of the great monied aristocracy, the *haute-bourgeoisie.* The fate of France is decided, not in the Cabinet of the Tuileries,[50] not in the Palace of Peers, not even in the Palace of Deputies, but on the Exchange of Paris. The actual ministers are not Messrs. Guizot and Duchâtel, but Messrs. Rothschild, Fould, and the rest of the large Paris bankers, whose tremendous fortunes make them the most eminent representatives of the rest of their class. They govern the ministry, and the ministry take care that in the elections none but men devoted to the present system, and to those who profit by this system, are carried. This time they have had a most signal success; government patronage and bribery of every description, united to the influence of the chief capitalists, upon a limited number of voters (less than 200,000), who

all belong, more or less, to their own class, the terror spread among monied men by the timely attempt to shoot the king, and ultimately the certainty that Louis-Philippe will not survive the present Chambers (whose powers expire in 1851), all these things united were sufficient to quench all serious opposition in most of the elective assemblies. And now, this precious Chamber having met, they take proper care of themselves. The independent electors have sent in hundreds of petitions and protests against the returns of ministerial members, stating and proving, or offering to prove, that almost in every case the elections have been carried by the grossest illegalities committed by government officers; proving bribery, corruption, intimidation, patronage of every description to have been employed. But the majority never take the slightest notice of these facts. Every opposition deputy who raises his voice to protest against such abomination is hooted down by hisses, noise, or cries of "Division, division". Every illegality is covered by a sanctioning vote. The money lords rejoice in their strength, and guessing it will not last very long, they make the best of the present moment.

You may easily imagine that out of this narrow circle of capitalists there exists a general opposition against the present government, and those whose interests it serves. The centre of this opposition is Paris, where the money lords have so little influence upon constituencies, that of the fourteen deputies of the department of the Seine only two are ministerialists and twelve belong to the opposition. The majority of the middle class, voters of Paris, belong to the party of Thiers and O. Barrot; they want to do away with the exclusive rule of Rothschild and Co., to recover an honourable and independent position for France in her external relations, and perhaps a little bit of electoral reform. The majority of non-voting tradesmen, shopkeepers, etc., are of a more radical cast, and demand an electoral reform, which would give them the vote; a number of them are also partisans of the *National* or *Réforme*, and join themselves to the democratic party, which embraces the great bulk of the working classes, and is itself divided into different sections, the most numerous of which, at least in Paris, is formed by the Communists. The present system is attacked by all these different sections, and, of course, by each in a different manner. But there has been started, a short time ago, a new mode of attack which deserves to be mentioned. A working man has written a pamphlet against the head of the system, not against Louis-Philippe, but against "Rothschild I. King of the Jews".[a] The success of this pamphlet (it

[a] [G. M. Dairnvaell,] *Histoire édifiante et curieuse de Rothschild I-er, roi des juifs.—Ed.*

has now gone through some twenty editions) shows how much this was an attack in the right direction. King Rothschild has been obliged to publish two defences against these attacks of a man whom nobody knows, and the whole of whose property consists in the suit of clothes he wears. The public have taken up the controversy with the greatest interest. Some thirty pamphlets have been published pro and con. The hatred against Rothschild and the money lords is enormous, and a German paper says, Rothschild might take this as a warning that he had better take up his headquarters somewhere else than upon the ever-burning volcano of Paris.

Written about September 1, 1846

Reprinted from the newspaper

First published in *The Northern Star*
No. 460, September 5, 1846
with an editorial note:
"From Our Own Correspondent"

## Frederick Engels

# THE PRUSSIAN CONSTITUTION

At last this long-expected piece of workmanship has made its appearance![51] At last—if we believe the *Times, Globe,* some French and some German papers—Prussia has passed over to the ranks of constitutional countries. *The Northern Star,* however, has already sufficiently proved that this so-called Constitution is nothing but a trap offered to the Prussian people to cheat them of the rights promised by the late king,[a] at the time he wanted popular support. That this is the fact, that Frederick William tries by this so-called Constitution to obtain money without being obliged to make concessions to public opinion, is certain beyond all doubt. The democratic papers of all countries—in France, particularly the *National* and *Réforme,* nay, the ministerial *Journal des Débats,*—agree in this opinion. The fettered German press itself stammers words which allow no other conclusion, but that the movement party in Prussia is quite aware of the sly intentions of their "open-hearted, generous" king. The question then is this: will the king succeed in his plans? Will the Central Assembly of Estates be either stupid or cowardly enough to guarantee a new loan, without securing to the people extended liberties, and thus give the king the means to continue the present system for an indefinite length of time?

We answer: No; they will not, they cannot.

The hitherto followed plan of government in Prussia was the consequence of the relative position of the nobility and the middle classes in Prussia. The nobility had lost too much of its former strength, wealth and influence, to dominate the king as formerly it

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[a] Frederick William III.—*Ed.*

had done. The middle classes were not yet strong enough to overcome the dead weight of the nobility, which cramped their commercial and industrial progress. Thus the king, representing the central power of the state, and supported by the numerous class of government officers, civil and military, besides having the army at his disposal, was enabled to keep down the middle classes by the nobility, and the nobility by the middle classes, by flattering now the interests of the one, and then those of the other; and balancing, as much as possible, the influence of both. This stage of absolute monarchy has been gone through by almost all the civilised countries of Europe, and in those most advanced it has now given place to the government of the middle classes.

Prussia, the most advanced of German countries, had hitherto wanted a middle class, wealthy, strong, united and energetic enough to shake off the domination of absolutism, and to crush the remains of feudal nobility. The two contending elements, nobility and middle classes, are, however, placed in such circumstances, that by the natural progress of industry and civilisation, the one (the middle classes) must increase in wealth and influence, while the other (the nobility) must decrease, impoverish and lose more and more its ascendancy. While, therefore, the Prussian nobility and large landed proprietors, found themselves every year in a worse position, first, by the ruinous wars with France in the beginning of this century; then by the English Corn Laws,[52] which shut them out from the market of that country; then by the competition of Australia, in one of their chief productions, wool, and by many other circumstances—the middle classes of Prussia increased enormously in wealth, productive powers, and influence in general. The wars with France, the shutting out of English manufactured goods from the Continental markets, created manufacturing industry in Prussia; and when peace was re-established, the upstart manufacturers were powerful enough to force government to grant them protective duties (1818). Soon afterwards, the Zollverein was founded, a union which almost exclusively advanced the interests of the middle classes.[53] And, above all, the violent competitive struggle arising between the different trading and manufacturing nations during these last 30 years of peace, forced the somewhat indolent Prussian middle classes, either to allow themselves to be entirely ruined by foreign competition, or to set to work in good earnest, as well as their neighbours.

The progress of the middle classes was very little visible up to the year 1840, when the ascension to the throne of a new king[a] appeared

[a] Frederick William IV.— *Ed.*

to them the proper moment to show that, since 1815, things were rather changed in Prussia. I need not recapitulate how the middle-class movement has progressed since that time; how all parts of the kingdom acceded to it, until at last all the middle classes, a great part of the peasantry, and not a few of the nobility, joined in it. A representative constitution, liberty of the press, open courts of law, immovability of the judges, trial by jury — such were the demands of the middle classes. The peasantry or small landed proprietors saw very well — in the more enlightened parts of the kingdom, at least — that such measures were for their interests, too, being the only ones by which they could hope to free themselves from the remnants of feudality, and to have that influence upon the making of laws which it was desirable for them to possess. The poorer part of the nobility thought that the constitutional system might, perhaps, give them such a position in the legislature as their interests demanded; and that, at all events, this system could not be more ruinous to them than that under which they lived. It was principally the nobility of Prussia Proper and Posen, who, being severely oppressed by want of markets for their produce, acceded to the Liberal movement from such considerations.

The middle classes themselves got more and more into an uncomfortable position. They had increased their manufacturing and mining concerns, as well as their shipping, to a considerable extent; they were the chief furnishers for the whole market of the Zollverein; their wealth and numbers had increased very much. But during the last ten or fifteen years the enormous progress of English manufactures and mining operations have threatened them with a deadly competition. Every glut in the English market threw large quantities of English goods into the Zollverein, where they were sold at prices more ruinous to the Germans than to the English, because these latter made, during the times of flourishing trade, large profits in the American and other markets, while the Prussians could never sell their produce anywhere but within the circle of their own line of customs. Their shipping was almost excluded from the ports of foreign nations, while ships of all flags entered the Prussian ports on equal conditions with the Prussians. Thus, although there is comparatively little capital in Prussia, there commenced a difficulty of investing this capital profitably. Trade appeared to be labouring under a continual pressure; factories, machinery, stock in trade, were slowly, but continually, depreciated; and this general uneasiness was for a moment only interrupted by the railway speculations, which, within the last eight years, were started in Prussia. These speculations, by raising the value of ready money, increased the

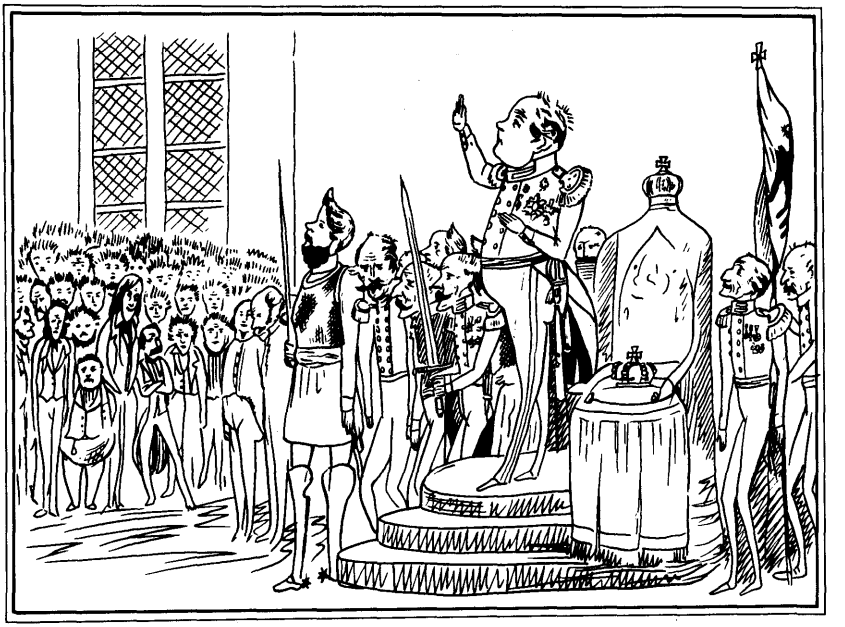

*Ich und Mein Haus, Wir wollen dem HERRN dienen.*

Cartoon by Engels of Frederick William IV making the royal speech at the opening of the United Diet in Berlin, April 11, 1847. Published as a special supplement to the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* May 6, 1847

depreciation of stock in trade, and were themselves, on an average, not very profitable, on account of the comparatively thin population and trade of the greater part of the country. They offered, however, a still better chance of profit than other industrial investments; and thus every one who could dispose of some capital engaged in them. Very soon these speculations assumed, as usual, a feverish character, and ended in a crisis which now for about a twelve-month has oppressed the Prussian money markets. Thus the middle classes found themselves in a very uncomfortable position in the beginning of the present year: the money markets under the pressure of an extraordinary want of coin; the manufacturing districts requiring more than ever those protective duties which the government refused to grant; the coast towns requiring navigation laws as the only means to relieve them; and, over and above all, a rise in the corn markets, which brought the country to a state approaching famine. All these causes of discontent operated at the same time, and more strongly so upon the people; the Silesian linen-weavers in the greatest distress; the cotton factories stopped; in the large manufacturing district of the Rhine almost all hands out of work, the potato crop mostly ruined, and bread at famine prices. The moment was evidently come for the middle classes to take the government out of the hands of an imbecile king, weak nobility, and self-conceited bureaucracy, and to secure it to themselves.

It is a curious fact, but which is repeated at every revolutionary epoch, that at the very moment when the leading class of a movement is most favourably placed for the accomplishment of that movement, the old worn-out government is reduced to beg the assistance of this same leading class. Thus in 1789, in France, when famine, bad trade, and divisions among the nobility pushed, so to say, the middle classes to a revolution—at that very moment the government found its money resources exhausted, and was reduced to begin the revolution by the convocation of the States-General.[54] Thus in 1847 in Prussia. At the very moment when the more indolent Prussian middle classes are almost forced by circumstances to change the governmental system, at that moment the king, by want of money, is forced to commence that change of system, and to convocate in his turn the Prussian States-General. It is indubitable that the States would offer him much less resistance than they will now, if the money market was easy, the factories at full work (which would be caused by a flourishing trade and ready sale, and consequent high prices for manufactured goods in England) and corn at a reasonably low price. But so it is: in times of approaching

revolution, the progressive classes of society have always all chances on their side.

I have, during the course of 1845 and 1846, more than once shown to the readers of the *Star*, that the King of Prussia was in a very embarrassed financial situation[a]; I have at the same time called their attention to the several clever plans by which his ministers sought to extricate him; and predicted that the whole affair must end by a convocation of the States-General. The event, then, was neither unexpected, nor, as it now is represented, caused by the free grace of his squandering majesty; nothing but sheer necessity, poverty and distress could move him to such a step, and there is not a child in Prussia but knows this. The only question, then, is this: — Will the Prussian middle classes, by investing a new loan with their guarantee, allow the king to go on as he has done hitherto and to disregard for another seven years their petitions and their wants?

We have already answered this question. They cannot do this. We have proved it from the situation of the respective classes, and we shall now prove it from the composition of the States-General themselves.

| | |
|---|---|
| Members of high and low nobility | 311 |
| Do. for towns and peasantry | 306 |

As the king has declared his intention to increase the members of the high nobility (80 in all) by new creations of peers, we may add to the nobility, about 30 more; 341 members of nobility, or government party. Deduct from this number the liberal fractions of the lower nobility, namely, all the nobility of Prussia Proper, two-thirds of that of Posen, and some members of the Rhenish, Silesian, Brandenburg and Westphalian nobility, say 70 liberal members, voting with the towns and peasantry, and the position of parties is as follows: —

| | |
|---|---|
| Nobility, or government party | 271 |
| Towns and peasantry, or liberal opposition | 376 |

Thus, even allowing that thirty or forty town or peasantry members from the remote districts should vote for the government, there will always be a liberal majority of from twenty-five to fifty votes remaining, and with a little energy on the part of the Liberals, it will be easy to meet every demand for money with another demand for liberal institutions. There is besides, no doubt, that, under present circumstances, the people will support the middle classes, and by their pressure from without, which indeed is very much

[a] See F. Engels' articles "Violation of the Prussian Constitution" and "The Prussian Bank Question" (this volume, pp. 52-53 and p. 57).—*Ed.*

wanted, strengthen the courage and enliven the energies of those within.

Thus, the Prussian constitution, insignificant in itself, is, for all that, the beginning of a new epoch for that country, and for all Germany. It marks the downfall of absolutism and nobility, and the ascendancy of the middle classes; it marks the beginning of a movement which will very soon lead to a representative constitution for the middle classes, a free press, independent judges and trial by jury, and which will end God knows where. It marks the repetition of 1789 in Prussia. And if the revolutionary movement which now begins, will directly interest the middle classes only, it is yet not at all indifferent to the interests of the people. From the moment the power of the middle classes is constituted, from that moment begins the separate and distinct democratic movement. In the struggle against despotism and aristocracy, the people, the democratic party, cannot but play a secondary part; the first place belongs to the middle classes. From the moment, however, the middle classes establish their own government, identify themselves with a new despotism and aristocracy against the people, from that moment democracy takes its stand as the only, the exclusive movement party; from that moment the struggle is simplified, reduced to two parties, and changes, by that circumstance, into a "war to the knife". The history of the French and English democratic parties fully proves this.

There is another circumstance to be remarked. The conquest of public power by the middle classes of Prussia will change the political position of all European countries. The alliance of the North will be dissolved. Austria and Russia, the chief spoliators of Poland, will be entirely isolated from the rest of Europe, for Prussia carries along with her the smaller states of Germany, who all have constitutional governments. Thus the balance of power in Europe will be entirely changed by the consequences of this insignificant constitution; the desertion of three-fourths of Germany from the camp of stationary Eastern Europe into that of progressive Western Europe. In February 1846, broke out the last Polish insurrection.[55] In February 1847, Frederick William convocates his States-General. *The vengeance of Poland is drawing nigh!*

Written at the end of February 1847

Reprinted from the newspaper

First published in *The Northern Star*
No. 489, March 6, 1847
with an editorial note:
"From Our German Correspondent"

Signed: *E.*

Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung.

Redacteur: A. von Bornstedt.

№ 28. Brüssel, Donnerstag den 8. April 1847.

# Karl Marx

## [DECLARATION AGAINST KARL GRÜN]

Under the date-line *Berlin*, March 20, the *Trier'sche Zeitung* prints an article on my pamphlet now in printing, *Contradictions dans le système des contradictions économiques de M. Proudhon ou les misères de la philosophie.*[a] The Berlin correspondent[b] makes me out to be the author of a report printed in the *Rhein- u. Mosel-Zeitung* and elsewhere concerning this pamphlet, Proudhon's book[c] and the activities of its translator, Herr Grün.[56] He hails me time and again as "editor of the *former Rheinische Zeitung*" quite in the style of the Brussels or another correspondent. "Buttressed by a knowledge of the current state of the press in Germany", our friend peddles his insinuation. Not merely his insinuation, but his whole literary existence may, as far as I am concerned, be "*buttressed* by a knowledge of the current state of the press in Germany". I grant him the most practically proven "knowledge of the current state of the press in Germany". But this time it has not "*buttressed*" him.

The alleged Berlin correspondent need only read through my criticism of Proudhon in the *Critical Criticism*[d] in order to realise that the report which arouses his enmity might well originate in Brussels, but could not possibly originate with me, if only because it "*sets the same value*" on Proudhon and H[er]r Grün.

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[a] The title of the work was changed later (see pp. 105-212 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[b] Obviously Eduard Meyen.—*Ed.*

[c] P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère*, T. I-II, Paris, 1846.—*Ed.*

[d] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family or Critique of Critical Criticism* (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 23-54).—*Ed.*

My criticism of Proudhon is written *in French.* Proudhon himself will be able to reply. A letter he wrote to me before the publication of his book shows absolutely no inclination to leave it to Herr Grün and his associates to avenge him in the event of criticism on my part.[57]

"Concerning further the translator of P[roudhon]'s work on economics", our friend in Berlin need only add to the record that "*We here in Berlin* have *learnt much and of great diversity*" from Herr Grün's *Soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien* [Social Movement in France and Belgium] in order to place the value of this book above all doubt. And one must consider what it means when "We here in Berlin" "*learn*" anything at all, and in this case even "much and of great diversity", quantitatively and qualitatively at the same time! We here in Berlin!

Identifying me with the Brussels or another correspondent, the Berlin or alleged Berlin correspondent exclaims:

> Grün "has probably to make amends for the misfortune of having acquainted the German world with the results of foreign socialism *before* Herr Dr. Marx, 'editor of the *former Rheinische Zeitung*'".

Our friend undeniably betrays great ingenuity in forming his conjectures! I should like to confide to him, *sub rosa,*[a] that, admittedly in my own view, Herr Grün's *Soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien* and the French and the Belgian social movement — individual names and data excepted — have nothing in common with each other. At the same time, however, I must confide to him that I have experienced so little urge to acquaint "the German world" with the results of my studies of Herr Grün's *Soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien* that I have permitted a fairly comprehensive review of Grün's book, prepared a year ago, peacefully to sleep the sleep of the just in manuscript form, and only now that I have been challenged by our friend in Berlin shall I send it to the *Westphälisches Dampfboot* to be printed. The review forms an appendix to the book written jointly by *Fr. Engels* and me on "*the German ideology*" (critique of modern German philosophy as expounded by its representatives Feuerbach, B[runo] Bauer and Stirner, and of *German socialism* as expounded by its various prophets).[b] The circumstances which have hindered the printing of this manuscript and still hinder it will perhaps be set forth for the reader elsewhere as a contribution to the description of the "current state of the press in Germany". Nothing hindered the separate printing of my review of Grün's book, which in no way offends

[a] In secret.— *Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 5.— *Ed.*

against the censorship, except the slight obstacle that this book was not considered worthy of a special attack, and it was thought that only in a survey of the whole of the insipid and tasteless[a] literature of German socialism would some reference to Herr Grün be unavoidable. Now, however, after the article by our Berlin friend, the separate printing of this review has taken on the more or less humorous significance of showing the manner in which "the German world" "acquaints itself" with the "results of foreign socialism", and especially the desire and capacity "*We here in Berlin*" possess "to learn much and of great diversity". It will immediately be realised how strongly I was compelled to resort to petty attacks in petty little newspaper articles if I had otherwise been anxious to bring Herr Grün's "Social Movement in France and Belgium" to a standstill. Finally, even our Berlin friend will be unable to refrain from making public testimony that if I really harboured the intention of "acquainting the German world with the results of foreign socialism" in his sense, and truly feared a competitor in a predecessor, then I should be obliged daily to beseech fate, "Give me no predecessor, or even better, give me Herr Grün as a predecessor!"

A word more concerning "my conceit in imagining that I have scaled the topmost rung of human wisdom".

Who else could have inoculated me with this disease but Herr Grün who found in my expositions in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*[b] the solution to the ultimate riddle (see, for example, the foreword to his *Bausteine*) in the same way as he finds it now in Proudhon's economics; who, as he now extols in Proudhon the true point of view, likewise assured his readers about me (see Grün's *Neue Anekdota*), that I had "negated the constitutional and radical point of view".[58] Herr Grün first poisons me, in order then to be able to blame me for the fact that his poison worked! Let our Berlin friend calm himself, however—I enjoy perfect health.

Brussels, April 3, 1847 *Karl Marx*

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Printed according to the *Trier'sche Zeitung* text checked with the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*

Published in English for the first time

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[a] The words "the insipid and tasteless" are missing in the *Trier'sche Zeitung*.— *Ed.*

[b] The reference is to K. Marx's articles "On the Jewish Question" and "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law" (see present edition, Vol. 3).—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [THE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION IN GERMANY][59]

### I

German socialist literature grows worse from month to month. It increasingly confines itself to the broad effusions of those *true socialists* whose whole wisdom amounts to an amalgam of German philosophy and German-philistine sentimentality with a few stunted communist slogans. It exhibits a peacefulness which enables it even under the censorship to state its most heartfelt opinions. Even the German police find little in it to take exception to—proof enough that it belongs not to the progressive, revolutionary elements but to the stale, reactionary elements in German literature.

To these *true socialists* belong not only those who term themselves socialists *par excellence*, but also the greater part of those writers in Germany who have accepted the party name of *Communists*. The latter indeed are, if possible, even worse.

Under these circumstances, it goes without saying that these *soi-disant* communist writers are in no way representative of the *Party* of the German Communists. They are neither recognised by the Party as its literary representatives nor do they represent its interests. On the contrary, they look after quite other interests, they defend quite other principles, which are opposed in every respect to those of the Communist Party.

The true socialists, to whom, as we have said, most German *soi-disant* communist writers belong, have learnt from the French Communists that the transition from the absolute monarchy to the modern representative state in no way abolishes the poverty of the great mass of the people, but only brings a new class, the bourgeoisie, to power. They have further learnt from the French Communists that it is precisely this bourgeoisie which, by means of its capital, presses most heavily upon the masses, and hence is the opponent *par*

*excellence* of the Communists, or socialists respectively, as representatives of the mass of the people. They have not taken the trouble to compare Germany's level of social and political development with that of France, nor to study the conditions actually existing in Germany upon which all further development depends; hastily and without long reflection they have transferred their hastily acquired knowledge to Germany. Had they been Party men who aimed at a practical, tangible result, who represented particular interests common to an entire class, they would at least have paid attention to the way in which the opponents of the bourgeoisie in France, from the editors of *La Réforme* to the ultra-Communists, such as in particular the acknowledged representative of the great mass of the French proletariat, old Cabet, behave in their polemic against the bourgeoisie. It should really have struck them that these representatives of the Party not merely engage continually in politics of the day, but that even towards political measures such as proposals for electoral reforms, in which the proletariat has no *direct* interest, they nevertheless adopt an attitude far removed from sovereign disdain. But our true socialists are not Party men, they are German theoreticians. They are not concerned with practical interests and results, but with eternal truth. The interests which they strive to uphold are the interests of "man", the results they pursue are limited to philosophical "achievements". So they only needed to bring their new elucidations into harmony with their own philosophical conscience, in order then to noise abroad before the whole of Germany that political progress, like all politics, is evil, that constitutional freedom in particular elevates to the throne the bourgeoisie, the class most dangerous to the people, and that in general the bourgeoisie cannot be attacked enough.

In France, the rule of the bourgeoisie has for seventeen years been more complete than in any other country in the world. The attacks of the French proletarians, their Party chiefs and literary representatives on the bourgeoisie were therefore attacks on the ruling class, on the existing political system, they were *definitely revolutionary* attacks. How well the ruling bourgeoisie knows this is proven by the countless press trials and prosecutions of associations, the prohibition of meetings and banquets, the hundred police chicaneries with which it persecutes the Réformistes[60] and Communists. In Germany, things are completely different. In Germany the bourgeoisie is not only not in power, it is even the most dangerous enemy of the existing governments. For these the diversion mounted by the true socialists was very opportune. The struggle against the bourgeoisie, which only too often brought the French Communists imprisonment or

exile, brought our true socialists nothing except the permission to print. The revolutionary heat in the polemics by the French proletariat dwindled in the cool breasts of the German theoreticians to a tepidness satisfying the censorship and in this emasculated state was a quite welcome ally for the German governments against the threatening bourgeoisie. True socialism managed to use the most revolutionary propositions that have ever been framed as a protective wall for the morass of the German status quo. True socialism is reactionary through and through.

The bourgeoisie long ago noticed this reactionary tendency of true socialism. But without further thought they took this trend for the literary representative also of German communism, and reproached the *Communists* publicly and privately with merely playing into the hands of the governments, the bureaucracy, and the nobility with their polemics against a representative system, trial by jury, freedom of the press, and their clamour against the bourgeoisie.

It is high time that the German Communists disowned the responsibility imputed to them for the reactionary deeds and desires of the true socialists. It is high time that the German Communists, who represent the German proletariat with its very clear, very tangible needs, broke in the most decisive manner with that literary clique — for it is nothing more — which does not know itself whom it represents, and so against its will tumbles into the arms of the German governments; which believes itself to be "realising man" and is realising nothing but the deification of the wretched German philistine. We Communists have in fact nothing in common with the theoretical phantasms and scruples of conscience of this crafty company. Our attacks on the bourgeoisie differ as much from those of the true socialists as from those of the reactionary nobles, e. g., the French legitimists or Young England.[61] The German status quo cannot exploit our attacks in any way, because they are directed still more against it than against the bourgeoisie. If the bourgeoisie, so to speak, our *natural* enemy, is the enemy whose overthrow will bring our party to power, the German status quo is still more our enemy, because it stands between the bourgeoisie and us, because it hinders us from coming to grips with the bourgeoisie. For that reason we do not exclude ourselves in any way from the great mass of opposition to the German status quo. We only form its most advanced section—a section which at the same time through its unconcealed *arrière pensée* against the bourgeoisie takes up a quite definite position.

With the meeting of the Prussian United Diet the struggle against the German status quo reaches a turning point. On the attitude of

this Diet depends the continuation or the end of the status quo. The parties in Germany, which are still very vague, confused and fragmented through ideological subtleties, are thus faced with the necessity to clarify for themselves what interests they represent, what tactics they must follow, to demarcate themselves from other parties and to become practical. The youngest of these parties, the Communist Party, cannot evade this necessity. It must likewise clarify for itself its position, its plan of campaign, its means of action, and the first step to this is to disavow the reactionary socialists who try to insinuate themselves among the Communists. It can take this step all the sooner because it is strong enough to refuse assistance from all allies who would discredit it.

## II

## THE STATUS QUO AND THE BOURGEOISIE

The status quo in Germany is as follows.

While in France and England the bourgeoisie has become powerful enough to overthrow the nobility and to raise itself to be the ruling class in the state, the German bourgeoisie has not yet had such power. It has indeed a certain influence upon the governments, but in all cases where there is a collision of interests, this influence must give way to that of the landed nobility. While in France and England the *towns* dominate the *countryside*, in Germany the countryside dominates the towns, agriculture dominates trade and industry. This is the case not only in the absolute, but also in the constitutional, monarchies of Germany, not only in Austria and Prussia, but also in Saxony, Württemberg and Baden.

The cause of this is that in its stage of civilisation Germany lags behind the Western countries. In the latter it is predominantly trade and industry which provide the mass of the population with their livelihood, but with us it is agriculture. England exports no agricultural produce whatever, but is in constant need of supplies from abroad; France imports at least as much agricultural produce as it exports, and both countries base their wealth above all on their exports of industrial products. Germany, on the contrary, exports few industrial goods, but a great quantity of corn, wool, cattle, etc. When Germany's political system was established—in 1815, the overwhelming importance of agriculture was even greater than now and it was increased still more at that time by the fact that it was precisely the almost exclusively agricultural parts of Germany that had participated most zealously in the overthrow of the French Empire.

The political representative of agriculture is, in Germany as in most European countries, the *nobility*, the class of big landed proprietors. The political system corresponding to the exclusive dominance of the nobility is the feudal system. The feudal system has everywhere declined in the same degree in which agriculture has ceased to be the decisive branch of production in a country, in the same degree in which an industrial class has formed itself beside the agricultural, towns beside villages.

The class newly forming itself beside the nobility and the peasants more or less dependent on it is not the bourgeoisie, which today rules in the civilised countries and is striving for mastery in Germany; it is the class of the *petty bourgeoisie.*

The present political system of Germany is nothing more than a compromise between the nobility and the petty bourgeoisie, which amounts to resigning power into the hands of a third class: the bureaucracy. In the composition of this class the two high contracting parties participate according to their respective status; the nobility, which represents the more important branch of production, reserves to itself the higher positions, the petty bourgeoisie contents itself with the lower and only in exceptional circumstances puts forward candidates for the higher administration. Where the bureaucracy is subjected to direct control, as in the constitutional states of Germany, the nobility and petty bourgeoisie share in it in the same way; and that here also the nobility reserves to itself the lion's share is easily understood. The petty bourgeoisie can never overthrow the nobility, nor make itself equal to it; it can do no more than weaken it. To overthrow the nobility, another class is required, with wider interests, greater property and more determined courage: *the bourgeoisie.*

In all countries the bourgeoisie emerges from the petty bourgeoisie with the development of world trade and large-scale industry, with the accompanying free competition and centralisation of property. The petty bourgeoisie represents inland and coastal trade, handicrafts, manufacture based on handwork—branches of industry which operate within a limited area, require little capital, have a slow turnover and give rise to only local and sluggish competition. The bourgeoisie represents world trade, the direct exchange of products of all regions, trade in money, large factory industry based on the use of machinery—branches of production which demand the greatest possible area, the greatest possible capital and the quickest possible turnover, and give rise to universal and stormy competition. The petty bourgeois represents *local,* the bourgeois *general* interests. The petty bourgeois finds his position sufficiently safeguarded if,

while exercising indirect influence on state legislation, he participates directly in provincial administration and is master of his local municipality. The bourgeois cannot protect his interests without direct, constant control of the central administration, foreign policy and legislation of his state. The classical creation of the petty bourgeoisie were the free cities of the German Reich, that of the bourgeoisie is the French representative state. The petty bourgeois is conservative as soon as the ruling class makes a few concessions to him; the bourgeois is revolutionary until he himself rules.

What then is the attitude of the German bourgeoisie to the two classes that share political rule?

While a rich and powerful bourgeoisie has been formed in England since the seventeenth and in France since the eighteenth century, one can speak of a German bourgeoisie only since the beginning of the nineteenth century. There were before then, it is true, a few rich shipowners in the Hanseatic towns, a few rich bankers in the interior, but no class of big capitalists, and least of all of big *industrial* capitalists. The creator of the German bourgeoisie was Napoleon. His continental system[62] and the freedom of trade made necessary by its pressure in Prussia gave the Germans a manufacturing industry and expanded their mining industry. After a few years these new or expanded branches of production were already so important, and the bourgeoisie created by them so influential, that by 1818 the Prussian government saw that it was necessary to allow them protective tariffs. The Prussian Customs Act of 1818 was the first official recognition of the bourgeoisie by the government. It was admitted, though reluctantly and with a heavy heart, that the bourgeoisie had become a class indispensable for the country. The next concession to the bourgeoisie was the Customs Union.[63] The admission of most of the German states into the Prussian customs system was no doubt originally occasioned simply by fiscal and political considerations, but no one benefited from it as much as did the German, more especially the Prussian, bourgeoisie. Although the Customs Union here and there brought a few small advantages to the nobility and petty bourgeoisie, on the whole it harmed both groups still more through the rise of the bourgeoisie, keener competition and the supplanting of the previous means of production. Since then the bourgeoisie, especially in Prussia, has developed rather quickly. Although its advance during the last thirty years has not been nearly as great as that of the English and French bourgeoisie, it has nevertheless established most branches of modern industry, in a few districts supplanted peasant or petty-bourgeois patriarchalism, concentrated capital to some extent, produced

something of a proletariat, and built fairly long stretches of railroad. It has at least reached the point of having either to go further and make itself the ruling class or to renounce its previous conquests, the point where it is the only class that can at the moment bring about progress in Germany, can at the moment rule Germany. It is already in fact the leading class in Germany, and its whole existence depends upon its becoming legally so as well.

With the rise of the bourgeoisie and its growing influence coincides, indeed, the growing impotence of the hitherto official ruling classes. The nobility has become more and more impoverished and encumbered with debts since the time of Napoleon. The buying free from corvée raised the production costs of corn for the nobility and exposed it to competition from a new class of independent small peasants—disadvantages which in the long run were far from being compensated for by the peasants overreaching themselves when they bought themselves free. Russian and American competition limited the market for its corn, Australian and in some years South Russian that of its wool. And the more the production costs and competition increased, the more was exposed the incapacity of the nobility to work its estates profitably, and to apply the newest advances in agriculture. Like the French and English nobility of the last century, the German nobility employed the rising level of civilisation only to squander its fortune magnificently on pleasures in the big cities. Between the nobility and the bourgeoisie began that competition in social and intellectual education, in wealth and display, which everywhere precedes the political dominance of the bourgeoisie and ends, like every other form of competition, with the victory of the richer side. The provincial nobility turned into a Court nobility, only thereby to be ruined all the more quickly and surely. The three per cent revenues of the nobility went down before the fifteen per cent profit of the bourgeoisie, the three-per-centers resorted to mortgages, to credit banks for the nobility and so on, in order to be able to spend in accordance with their station, and only ruined themselves so much the quicker. The few landed gentry wise enough not to ruin themselves formed with the newly-emerging bourgeois landowners a new class of *industrial landowners.* This class carries on agriculture without feudal illusions and without the nobleman's nonchalance, as a business, an industry, with the bourgeois appliances of capital, expert knowledge and work. Such a class is so far from being incompatible with the rule of the bourgeoisie that in France it stands quite peacefully alongside it and participates according to its wealth in its rule. It constitutes the section of the bourgeoisie which exploits agriculture.

The nobility has therefore become so impotent, that a part of it has already gone over to the bourgeoisie.

The petty bourgeoisie was already in a weak position in relation to the nobility; still less can it hold out against the bourgeoisie. Next to the peasants, it is the most pathetic class that has ever meddled with history. With its petty local interests, it advanced no further even in its heyday (the later Middle Ages) than to local organisations, local struggles and local advances, to an existence *on sufferance* alongside the nobility, never to general, political, dominance. With the emergence of the bourgeoisie it loses even the *appearance* of historical initiative. Wedged in between nobility and bourgeoisie, under pressure alike from the political preponderance of the former and from the competition of the heavy capital of the latter, it split into two sections. The one, that of the richer and big-city petty bourgeoisie, joins the revolutionary bourgeoisie more or less timidly; the other, recruited from the poorer burghers, especially those of the small provincial towns, clings to the existing state of things and supports the nobility with the whole weight of its inertia. The more the bourgeoisie develops, the worse becomes the position of the petty bourgeoisie. Gradually this second section also realises that under existing conditions its ruin is certain, whereas under the rule of the bourgeoisie, alongside the *probability* of that ruin, it enjoys at least the *possibility* of advancing into the ranks of the bourgeoisie. The more certain its ruin, the more it ranges itself under the banner of the bourgeoisie. As soon as the bourgeoisie has come to power, the petty bourgeoisie splits again. It supplies recruits to every section of the bourgeoisie, and besides forms, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat now emerging with its interests and demands, a chain of more or less radical political and socialist sects, which one can study more closely in the English or French Chamber of Deputies and the daily press. The more sharply the bourgeoisie penetrates into the undisciplined and poorly armed swarms of petty bourgeoisie with the heavy artillery of its capital, with the closed columns of its joint-stock companies, the more helpless the petty bourgeoisie becomes, the more disorderly its flight, until no other way of escape remains to it than either to muster behind the long files of the proletariat and to march under its banner—or to surrender to the bourgeoisie at its discretion. This diverting spectacle can be observed in England at every trade crisis, and in France at the present moment. In Germany we have only arrived at that phase when the petty bourgeoisie in a moment of despair and squeezed for money forms the heroic resolution to renounce the nobility and place its trust in the bourgeoisie.

The petty bourgeoisie is therefore just as little able as the nobility to raise itself to be the ruling class in Germany; on the contrary, it places itself every day more and more under the command of the bourgeoisie.

There remain the peasants and the propertyless classes.

The peasants, among whom we include here only the small peasant tenants or proprietors, with the exclusion of the day labourers and farm labourers—the peasants form a similarly helpless class as do the petty bourgeoisie, from whom, however, they differ to their advantage through their greater courage. But they are similarly incapable of all historical initiative. Even their emancipation from the fetters of serfdom comes about only under the protection of the bourgeoisie. Where the absence of nobility and bourgeoisie allows them to rule, as in the mountain cantons of Switzerland and in Norway, pre-feudal barbarisms, local narrow-mindedness, and dull, fanatical bigotry, loyalty and rectitude rule with them. Where, as in Germany, the nobility continues to exist beside them, they are squeezed, just like the petty bourgeoisie, between the nobility and the bourgeoisie. To protect the interests of agriculture against the growing power of trade and industry, they must join with the nobility. To safeguard themselves against the overwhelming competition of the nobility and especially the bourgeois landowners, they must join with the bourgeoisie. To which side they finally adhere depends upon the nature of their property. The big farmers of eastern Germany, who themselves exercise a certain feudal dominance over their farm labourers, are in all their interests too closely involved with the nobles to dissociate themselves from them in earnest. The small landowners in the west who have emerged from the breaking up of the estates of the nobility, and the small farmers in the east who are subject to patrimonial jurisdiction and still partly liable to corvée labour, are oppressed too directly by the nobles or stand too much in opposition to them not to adhere to the side of the bourgeoisie. That this is actually the case is proved by the Prussian provincial diets.

Rule by the peasants is also, therefore, fortunately unthinkable. The peasants themselves think of it so little that they have for the greatest part already placed themselves at the disposal of the bourgeoisie.

And the propertyless, in common parlance the working, classes? We shall soon speak of them at greater length[64]; for the moment it is sufficient to point to the division among them. This division into farm labourers, day labourers, handicraft journeymen, factory workers and lumpen proletariat, together with their dispersal over a

great, thinly populated expanse of country with few and weak central points, already renders it impossible for them to realise that their interests are common, to reach understanding, to constitute themselves into *one* class. This division and dispersal makes nothing else possible for them but restriction to their immediate, everyday interests, to the wish for a good wage for good work. That is, it restricts the workers to seeing their interest in that of their employers, thus making every single section of the workers into an auxiliary army for the class employing them. The farm labourer and day labourer supports the interests of the noble or farmer on whose estate he works. The journeyman stands under the intellectual and political sway of his master. The factory worker lets himself be used by the factory owner in the agitation for protective tariffs. For a few talers the lumpen proletarian fights out with his fists the squabbles between bourgeoisie, nobility and police. And where two classes of employers have contradictory interests to assert, there exists the same struggle between the classes of workers they employ.

So little is the mass of the workers in Germany prepared to assume the leadership in public matters.

To summarise. The nobility is too much in decline, the petty bourgeoisie and peasants are, by their whole position in life, too weak, the workers are still far from sufficiently mature to be able to come forward as the ruling class in Germany. There remains only the bourgeoisie.

The poverty of the German status quo consists chiefly in this: no single class has hitherto been strong enough to establish its branch of production as the national branch of production *par excellence* and thus to set itself up as the representative of the interests of the whole nation. All the estates and classes that have emerged in history since the tenth century: nobles, serfs, peasants subject to corvée labour, free peasants, petty bourgeoisie, journeymen, manufactory workers, bourgeoisie and proletarians, all exist alongside one another. Those among these estates and classes who in consequence of their property represent a branch of production, namely the nobles, free peasants, petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie, have participated in political rule in proportion to their number, their wealth, and their share in the total production of the country. The result of this division is that, as we have said, the nobility has got the lion's share, the petty bourgeoisie the smaller share, and that *officially* the bourgeoisie count only as petty bourgeoisie and the peasants as *peasants* do not count at all, because they, with the slight influence they possess, divide themselves between the other classes. This regime represented by the bureaucracy is the political summing-up

of the general impotence and contemptibility, of the dull boredom and the sordidness of German society. It is matched by the breaking up of Germany into thirty-eight local and provincial states together with the breaking up of Austria and Prussia into autonomous provinces from within and by the disgraceful helplessness against exploitation and kicks from without. The cause of this general poverty lies in the general lack of capital. In poverty-stricken Germany every single class has borne from the beginning the mark of civic mediocrity, and in comparison with the same classes in other countries has been poor and depressed. How petty bourgeois appears the high and low German nobility since the twelfth century beside the rich and carefree French and English nobility, so full of the joy of living and so purposeful in their whole behaviour! How tiny, how insignificant and parochial appear the burghers of the German free cities of the Reich and the Hanseatic towns beside the rebellious Parisian burghers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the London Puritans of the seventeenth century! How petty bourgeois still appear our principal magnates in industry, finance, shipping, beside the Stock Exchange princes of Paris, Lyons, London, Liverpool and Manchester! Even the working classes in Germany are thoroughly petty bourgeois. Thus the petty bourgeoisie have at least the consolation in their depressed social and political position of being the standard class of Germany; and of having imparted to all other classes their specific depression and their concern over their existence.

How is this poverty to be overcome? Only *one* way is possible: *one* class must become strong enough to make the rise of the whole nation dependent upon *its* rise, to make the advancement of the interests of all other classes dependent upon the advancement and development of *its* interests. The interest of this *one* class must become for the time being the national interest, and this class itself must become for the time being the representative of the nation. From that moment, this class and with it the majority of the nation, finds itself in contradiction with the political status quo. The political status quo corresponds to a state of affairs which has ceased to exist: to the conflict of interests of the different classes. The new interests find themselves restricted, and even a part of the classes in whose favour the status quo was established no longer sees its own interests represented in it. The abolition of the status quo, peacefully or by force, is the necessary consequence. In its place enters dominance by the class which for the moment represents the majority of the nation, and under whose rule a new development begins.

As the lack of capital is the basis of the status quo, of the general weakness, so possession of capital, its concentration in the hands of *one* class, can alone give this class the power to supplant the status quo.

Does this class, which can overthrow the status quo, exist now in Germany? It exists, although, compared with the corresponding class in England and France, in a perhaps very petty bourgeois way; but still it exists and, indeed, in the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie is the class which in all countries overthrows the compromise established between nobility and petty bourgeoisie in the bureaucratic monarchy, and thus to begin with conquers power for itself.

The bourgeoisie is the only class in Germany which at least gives a great part of the industrial landowners, petty bourgeoisie, peasants, workers and even a minority among the nobles a share in its interests, and has united these under its banner.

The party of the bourgeoisie is the only one in Germany that definitely knows with what it must replace the status quo; the only one that does not limit itself to abstract principles and historical deductions, but wishes to carry into effect very definite, concrete and immediately practicable measures; the only one which is at least organised to some extent on a local and provincial basis and has a sort of plan of campaign, in short, it is the party which fights first and foremost against the status quo and is directly interested in its overthrow.

The party of the bourgeoisie is therefore the only one that at present has a chance of success.

The only question then is: Is the bourgeoisie compelled by necessity to conquer political rule for itself through the overthrow of the status quo, and is it strong enough, given its own power and the weakness of its opponents, to overthrow the status quo?

We shall see.

The decisive section of the German bourgeoisie are the factory owners. On the prosperity of industry depends the prosperity of the whole domestic trade, of the Hamburg and Bremen and, to some extent, Stettin sea trade, of banking; on it depend the revenues of the railways, and with that the most significant part of the Stock Exchange business. Independent of industry are only the corn and wool exporters of the Baltic towns and the insignificant class of importers of foreign industrial products. The needs of the factory owners thus represent the needs of the whole bourgeoisie and of the classes at present dependent upon it.

The factory owners are further divided into two sections: the one gives the initial processing to raw materials and sends them into

trade half-finished, the other takes over the half-finished materials and brings them to market as finished commodities. To the first group belong the spinners, to the second the weavers. In Germany the first section also includes the iron producers.[a]

... to introduce newly invented techniques, to establish good communications, to obtain cheap machines and raw materials, to train skilled workers, requires an entire industrial system; it requires the interlocking of all branches of industry, sea-ports which are tributary to the industrial interior and carry on a flourishing trade. All this has long ago been proved by the economists. But such an industrial system requires also nowadays, when England is almost the only country that has no competition to fear, a complete protective system embracing all branches of industry threatened by foreign competition, and modifications to this system must always be made according to the position of industry. Such a system the existing Prussian Government *cannot* give, nor can all the governments of the Customs Union. It can only be set up and operated by the ruling bourgeoisie itself. And for this reason also the German bourgeoisie can no longer do without political power.

Such a protective system, moreover, is all the more necessary in Germany, since there manufacture lies in its death throes. Without systematic tariff protection the competition of English machinery will kill manufacture, and the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and workers hitherto maintained by it will be ruined. Reason enough for the German bourgeoisie to ruin what remains of manufacture rather with *German* machines.

Protective tariffs are therefore necessary for the German bourgeoisie and only by that bourgeoisie itself can they be introduced. If only for that reason, then, it must seize state power.

But it is not only by insufficient tariffs that the factory owners are hindered in the complete utilisation of their capital; they are also hindered by the *bureaucracy*. If in the matter of customs legislation they meet with indifference from the government, in their relations with the bureaucracy they meet with its most direct hostility.

The bureaucracy was set up to govern petty bourgeoisie and peasants. These classes, dispersed in small towns or villages, with interests which do not reach beyond the narrowest local boundaries, have necessarily the restricted horizons corresponding to their restricted mode of life. They cannot govern a large state, they can have neither the breadth of vision nor the knowledge to balance the different conflicting interests. And it was exactly at *that* stage of

[a] Here four pages of the manuscript are missing.—*Ed.*

civilisation when the petty bourgeoisie was most flourishing that the different interests were most complicatedly intertwined (one need only think of the guilds and their conflicts). The petty bourgeoisie and the peasants cannot, therefore, do without a powerful and numerous bureaucracy. They must let themselves be kept in leading strings so as to escape the greatest confusion, and not to ruin themselves with hundreds and thousands of lawsuits.

But the bureaucracy, which is a necessity for the petty bourgeoisie, very soon becomes an unbearable fetter for the bourgeoisie. Already at the stage of manufacture official supervision and interference become very burdensome; factory industry is scarcely possible under such control. The German factory owners have hitherto kept the bureaucracy off their backs as much as possible by bribery, for which they can certainly not be blamed. But this remedy frees them only from the lesser half of the burden; apart from the impossibility of bribing *all* the officials with whom a factory owner comes into contact, bribery does not free him from perquisites, honorariums to jurists, architects, mechanics, nor from other expenses caused by the system of supervision, nor from extra work and waste of time. And the more industry develops, the more "conscientious officials" appear—that is, officials who either from pure narrow-mindedness or from bureaucratic hatred of the bourgeoisie, pester the factory owners with the most infuriating chicaneries.

The bourgeoisie, therefore, is compelled to break the power of this indolent and pettifogging bureaucracy. From the moment the state administration and legislature fall under the control of the bourgeoisie, the independence of the bureaucracy ceases to exist; indeed from this moment, the tormentors of the bourgeoisie turn into their humble slaves. Previous regulations and decrees, which served only to lighten the work of the officials at the expense of the industrial bourgeoisie, give place to new regulations which lighten the work of the industrialists at the expense of the officials.

The bourgeoisie is all the more compelled to do this as soon as possible because, as we have seen, all its sections are directly concerned in the quickest possible increase of factory industry, and factory industry cannot possibly grow under a regime of bureaucratic harassment.

The subordination of the customs and the bureaucracy to the interest of the industrial bourgeoisie are the two measures with the implementation of which the bourgeoisie is most directly concerned. But that does not by any means exhaust its needs. The bourgeoisie is compelled to subject the whole system of legislation, administration and justice in almost all the German states to a thoroughgoing

revision, for this whole system serves to maintain and uphold a social condition which the bourgeoisie is continually working to overthrow. The conditions under which nobility and petty bourgeoisie can exist side by side are absolutely different from the conditions of life of the bourgeoisie, and only the former are officially recognised in the German states. Let us take the Prussian status quo as an example. If the petty bourgeoisie could subject themselves to the judicial as well as to the administrative bureaucracy, if they could entrust their property and persons to the discretion and torpidity of an "independent", i. e., bureaucratically self-sufficient judicial class, which in return offered them protection against the encroachments of the feudal nobility and at times also against those of the administrative bureaucracy, the bourgeoisie cannot do so. For lawsuits concerning property the bourgeoisie requires at least the protection of publicity, and for criminal trials moreover that of the jury as well, the constant control of justice through a deputation of the bourgeoisie.—The petty bourgeois can put up with the exemption of nobles and officials from common legal procedure because his official humiliation in this way fully corresponds to his lower social status. The bourgeois, who must either be ruined or make his class the first in society and state, cannot do this.—The petty bourgeois can, without prejudice to the smooth course of his way of life, leave legislation on landed property to the nobility alone; in fact he must, since he has enough to do to protect his own urban interests from the influence and encroachment of the nobles. The bourgeois cannot in any way leave the regulation of property relationships in the countryside to the discretion of the nobility, for the complete development of his own interests requires the fullest possible industrial exploitation of agriculture too, the creation of a class of industrial farmers, free saleability and mobilisation of landed property. The need of the landowner to procure money on mortgage gives to the bourgeois here an opportunity and forces the nobility to allow the bourgeoisie, at least in relation to the mortgage laws, to influence legislation concerning landed property.—If the petty bourgeois, with his small scale of business, his slow turnover and his limited number of customers concentrated in a small area, has not found the miserable old Prussian legislation on trade too oppressive but has even been grateful for the bit of protection it provided, the bourgeois cannot bear it any longer. The petty bourgeois, whose highly simple transactions are seldom dealings between merchant and merchant, but almost always only sales from retailer or producer direct to consumer—the petty bourgeois seldom goes bankrupt and easily accommodates himself to the old Prussian

bankruptcy laws. According to these laws, debts on bills are paid off from total assets before book debts, but customarily the whole assets are devoured by court costs. The laws are framed first of all in the interests of the judicial bureaucracy who administer the assets, and then in the interests of the non-bourgeois as opposed to the bourgeois. The noble in particular, who draws or receives bills on the purchaser or consignee of the corn he has dispatched, is thereby covered, and so are in general all those who have something to sell only once a year and draw the proceeds of that sale in a single transaction. Among those engaged in trade, the bankers and wholesalers are again protected, but the factory owner is rather neglected. The bourgeois, whose dealings are *only* from merchant to merchant, whose customers are scattered, who receives bills on the whole world, who must move in the midst of a highly complicated system of transactions, who is involved at every moment in a bankruptcy—the bourgeois can only be ruined by these absurd laws.—The petty bourgeois is interested in the general policy of his country only in so far as he wants to be left in peace; his narrow round of life makes him incapable of surveying the relations of state to state. The bourgeois, who has to deal or to compete with the most distant countries, cannot work his way up without the most direct influence on the foreign policy of his state.—The petty bourgeois could let the bureaucracy and nobility levy taxes on him, for the same reasons that he subjected himself to the bureaucracy; the bourgeois has a quite direct interest in having the public burdens so distributed that they affect *his* profit as little as possible.

In short, if the petty bourgeois can content himself with opposing to the nobility and the bureaucracy his inert weight, with securing for himself influence on the official power through his *vis inertiae*,[a] the bourgeois cannot do this. He must make his class dominant, his interests crucial, in legislation, administration, justice, taxation and foreign policy. The bourgeoisie must develop itself to the full, daily expand its capital, daily reduce the production costs of its commodities, daily expand its trade connections and markets, daily improve its communications, *in order not to be ruined.* The competition on the world market compels it to do so. And to be able to develop freely and to the full, what it requires is precisely political dominance, the subordination of all other interests to its own.

That in order not to be ruined the German bourgeoisie requires political dominance *now*, we have shown above in connection with the question of protective tariffs and with its attitude to the bureaucracy.

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[a] Force of inertia.— *Ed.*

But the most striking proof of this is *the present state of the German money and commodity market.*

The prosperity of English industry in 1845 and the railway speculations to which it led had on this occasion a stronger effect on France and Germany than at any earlier lively period of business. The German factory owners did good business, which stimulated German business in general. The agricultural districts found a willing market for their corn in England. The general prosperity enlivened the money market, facilitated credit and attracted on to the market a large number of small amounts of capital, of which in Germany there were so many lying half idle. As in England and France, only somewhat later and in somewhat—[a]

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[a] Here the manuscript breaks off.— *Ed.*

## Frederick Engels

# PROTECTIVE TARIFFS OR FREE TRADE SYSTEM

From the instant that lack of money and credit forced the King of Prussia to issue the Letters Patent of February 3,[65] no reasonable person could doubt any longer that the absolute monarchy in Germany and the "Christian-Germanic" management as it has hitherto existed, also known under the name of "paternal government", had, in spite of all bristling resistance and sabre-rattling speeches from the throne, abdicated for ever. The day had now dawned from which the bourgeoisie in Germany can date its rule. The Letters Patent themselves are nothing but an acknowledgement, though still wrapped in a great deal of Potsdam mist and fog, of the power of the bourgeoisie. A good deal of this mist and fog has already been blown away by a little weak puffing from the United Diet, and very soon the whole Christian-Germanic misty phantom will be dissolved into its nothingness.

But as soon as the rule of the middle classes began, the first demand to be made was bound to be that the whole trade policy of Germany, or of the Customs Union,[66] should be wrested from the incompetent hands of German princes, their ministers, and arrogant, but in commercial and industrial matters utterly unimaginative and ignorant bureaucrats, and be made dependent upon and decided by those who possess both the necessary insight and the most immediate interest in the matter. In other words: the question of protective and differential tariffs or free trade must fall within the sole decision of the bourgeoisie.

The United Diet in Berlin has shown the Government that the bourgeoisie knows what it needs; in the recent tariff negotiations it was made clear to the Spandau System of Government,[67] in pretty plain and bitter words, that it is incapable of grasping, protecting and

promoting the material interests concerned. The Cracow affair[68] alone would have been sufficient to brand the foreheads of Holy-Alliance William[a] and his ministers with the stamp of the crudest ignorance of, or the most culpable treachery against, the welfare of the nation. To the horror of his all-highest Majesty and his Excellencies a host of other things came up for discussion, in the course of which royal and ministerial capabilities and discernment—living as well as defunct—could feel anything but flattered.

In the bourgeoisie itself, indeed, two different views dominate with regard to industry and trade. Nonetheless there is no doubt that the party in favour of protective, or, rather, differential tariffs is by far the most powerful, numerous and predominant. The bourgeoisie cannot, in fact, even maintain itself, cannot consolidate its position, cannot attain unbounded power unless it shelters and fosters its industry and trade by artificial means. Without protection against foreign industry it would be crushed and trampled down within a decade. It is quite easily possible that not even protection will help it much or for long. It has waited too long, it has lain too peacefully in the swaddling clothes in which it has been trussed so many years by its precious princes. It has been outflanked and overtaken on every side, it has had its best positions taken from it, while at home it peacefully let its knuckles be rapped and did not even have enough energy to rid itself of its partly imbecile, partly extremely cunning paternal schoolmasters and disciplinarians.

Now a new page has been turned. The German princes can henceforth only be the servants of the bourgeoisie, only be the dot over the "i" of the bourgeoisie. In so far as there is still time and opportunity for the latter's rule, protection for German industry and German trade is the only foundation on which it may rest. And what the bourgeoisie wants and must want of the German princes, it will also be able to achieve.

There exists, however, alongside the bourgeoisie, a quite considerable number of people called proletarians—the working and propertyless class.

The question therefore arises: What does this class gain from the introduction of the protective system? Will it thereby receive more wages, be able to feed and clothe itself better, house itself more healthily, afford somewhat more time for recreation and education, and some means for the more sensible and careful upbringing of its children?

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[a] Frederick William IV.— *Ed.*

The gentlemen of the bourgeoisie who advocate the protective system never fail to push the well-being of the working class into the foreground. To judge by their words, a truly paradisial life will commence for the workers with the protection of industry, Germany will then become a Canaan "flowing with milk and honey"[a] for the proletarians. But listen on the other hand to the free trade men speaking, and only under *their* system would the propertyless be able to live "like God in France", that is, in the greatest jollity and merriment.

Among both parties there are still plenty of limited minds who more or less believe in the truth of their own words. The intelligent among them know very well that this is all vain delusion, merely calculated, furthermore, to deceive and win the masses.

The intelligent bourgeois does not need to be told that whether the system in force is that of protective tariffs or free trade or a mixture of both, the worker will receive no bigger wage for his labour than will just suffice for his scantiest maintenance. From the one side as from the other, the worker gets precisely what he needs to keep going as a labour-machine.

It might thus appear to be a matter of indifference to the proletarian, to the propertyless, whether the protectionists or the free traders have the last word.

Since, however, as has been said above, the bourgeoisie in Germany requires protection against foreign countries in order to clear away the medieval remnants of a feudal aristocracy and the modern vermin by the Grace of God, and to develop purely and simply its own proper, innermost essence (!)—then the working class also has an interest in what helps the bourgeoisie to unimpeded rule.

Not until only *one* class—the bourgeoisie—is seen to exploit and oppress, until penury and misery can no longer be blamed now on this estate, now on that, or simply on the absolute monarchy and its bureaucrats—only then will the last decisive battle break out, the battle between the propertied and the propertyless, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Only then will the field of battle have been swept clean of all unnecessary barriers, of all that is misleading and accessory; the position of the two hostile armies will be clear and visible at a glance.

With the rule of the bourgeoisie, the workers, compelled by circumstances, will also make the infinitely important advance that they will no longer come forward as individuals, as at the most a couple of hundreds or thousands, in rebellion against the established

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[a] Exodus 3:8.— *Ed.*

order, but all together, as *one* class, with its specific interests and principles, with a common plan and united strength, they will launch their attack on the last and the worst of their mortal enemies, the bourgeoisie.

There can be no doubt as to the outcome of this battle. The bourgeoisie will and must fall to the ground before the proletariat, just as the aristocracy and the absolute monarchy have received their coup de grâce from the middle class.

With the bourgeoisie, private property will at the same time be overthrown, and the victory of the working class will put an end to all class or caste rule for ever.

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## Frederick Engels

### DRAFT OF A COMMUNIST CONFESSION OF FAITH[69]

Question 1: *Are you a Communist?*
Answer: Yes.
Question 2: *What is the aim of the Communists?*
Answer: To organise society in such a way that every member of it can develop and use all his capabilities and powers in complete freedom and without thereby infringing the basic conditions of this society.
Question 3: *How do you wish to achieve this aim?*
Answer: By the elimination of private property and its replacement by community of property.
Question 4: *On what do you base your community of property?*
Answer: Firstly, on the mass of productive forces and means of subsistence resulting from the development of industry, agriculture, trade and colonisation, and on the possibility inherent in machinery, chemical and other resources of their infinite extension.

Secondly, on the fact that in the consciousness or feeling of every individual there exist certain irrefutable basic principles which, being the result of the whole of historical development, require no proof.
Question 5: *What are such principles?*
Answer: For example, every individual strives to be happy. The happiness of the individual is inseparable from the happiness of all, etc.
Question 6: *How do you wish to prepare the way for your community of property?*
Answer: By enlightening and uniting the proletariat.

Entwurf des kommunistischen Glaubensbekenntnisses.

Frage 1. Ist Du Kommunist?

Antwort. – Ja.

— 2. Was ist der Zweck der Kommunisten?

– Die Gesellschaft so einzurichten, daß jedes Mitglied derselben seine sämmtlichen Anlagen u. Kräfte in vollständiger Freiheit auf ganz natürliche Weise durch die jetzigen bestehenden Gesellschaftsordnungen ungehindert entwickeln und betätigen kann.

— 3. Wie wollt Ihr diesen Zweck erreichen?

– Durch die Aufhebung des Privateigenthums, an dessen Stelle die Gütergemeinschaft tritt.

— 4. Woraus begründet Ihr eure Gütergemeinschaft?

– Fußend auf die durch die Entwicklung der Industrie, des Ackerbaus, des Handels und der Colonisation erzeugte Masse von Produktionskräften und Lebensmitteln, und die in der Maschinerie, den Chemikalien u. andern Hülfsmitteln liegende Möglichkeit ihrer Vermehrung ins Unendliche.

— Ferner darauf, daß im Bewußtsein oder Gefühl eines jeden Menschen gewisse Sätze als unumstößliche Grundsätze existiren, Sätze welche als Resultat der ganzen geschichtlichen Entwicklung keines Beweises bedürfen.

— 5. Welche sind solche Sätze?

– Z. B. daß der Mensch strebt, durch, gleichlich zu sein das Glück des Einzelnen ist untrennbar von dem Glücke Aller, u. s. w.

— 6. Auf welche Weise wollt Ihr eure Gütergemeinschaft vorbereiten?

– Durch Aufklärung und Vereinigung des Proletariats.

— 7. Was ist das Proletariat?

– Das Proletariat ist diejenige Klasse der Gesellschaft, welche ausschließlich von ihrer Arbeit und nicht vom Profit irgend eines Capitals lebt, diejenige Klasse, deren Wohl und Weh, deren Leben und Tod, deren Wechsel des guten und schlechten Geschäftsgangs, mit einem Worte von den Schwankungen der Konkurrenz abhängt.

Beginning of Engels' manuscript, "Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith"

Question 7: *What is the proletariat?*

Answer: The proletariat is that class of society which lives exclusively by its labour and not on the profit from any kind of capital; that class whose weal and woe, whose life and death, therefore, depend on the alternation of times of good and bad business; in a word, on the fluctuations of competition.

Question 8: *Then there have not always been proletarians?*

Answer: No. There have always been *poor* and *working classes*; and those who worked were almost always the poor. But there have not always been proletarians, just as competition has not always been free.

Question 9: *How did the proletariat arise?*

Answer: The proletariat came into being as a result of the introduction of the machines which have been invented since the middle of the last century and the most important of which are: the steam-engine, the spinning machine and the power loom. These machines, which were very expensive and could therefore only be purchased by rich people, supplanted the workers of the time, because by the use of machinery it was possible to produce commodities more quickly and cheaply than could the workers with their imperfect spinning wheels and hand-looms. The machines thus delivered industry entirely into the hands of the big capitalists and rendered the workers' scanty property which consisted mainly of their tools, looms, etc., quite worthless, so that the capitalist was left with everything, the worker with nothing. In this way the factory system was introduced. Once the capitalists saw how advantageous this was for them, they sought to extend it to more and more branches of labour. They divided work more and more between the workers so that workers who formerly had made a whole article now produced only a part of it. Labour simplified in this way produced goods more quickly and therefore more cheaply and only now was it found in almost every branch of labour that here also machines could be used. As soon as any branch of labour went over to factory production it ended up, just as in the case of spinning and weaving, in the hands of the big capitalists, and the workers were deprived of the last remnants of their independence. We have gradually arrived at the position where almost *all* branches of labour are run on a factory basis. This has increasingly brought about the ruin of the previously existing middle class, especially of the small master craftsmen, completely transformed the previous position of the workers,

and two new classes which are gradually swallowing up all other classes have come into being, namely:

I. The class of the big capitalists, who in all advanced countries are in almost exclusive possession of the means of subsistence and those means (machines, factories, workshops, etc.) by which these means of subsistence are produced. This is the *bourgeois* class, or the *bourgeoisie.*

II. The class of the completely propertyless, who are compelled to sell their labour[70] to the first class, the bourgeois, simply to obtain from them in return their means of subsistence. Since the parties to this trading in labour are not *equal,* but the bourgeois have the advantage, the propertyless must submit to the bad conditions laid down by the bourgeois. This class, dependent on the bourgeois, is called the class of the *proletarians* or the *proletariat.*

Question 10: *In what way does the proletarian differ from the slave?*

Answer: The slave is sold once and for all, the proletarian has to sell himself by the day and by the hour. The slave is the property of one master and for that very reason has a guaranteed subsistence, however wretched it may be. The proletarian is, so to speak, the slave of the entire bourgeois *class,* not of one master, and therefore has no guaranteed subsistence, since nobody buys his labour if he does not need it. The slave is accounted a *thing* and not a member of civil society. The proletarian is recognised as a *person,* as a member of civil society. The slave *may,* therefore, have a better subsistence than the proletarian but the latter stands at a higher stage of development. The slave frees himself by *becoming a proletarian,* abolishing from the totality of property relationships *only* the relationship of *slavery.* The proletarian can free himself only by abolishing *property in general.*

Question 11: *In what way does the proletarian differ from the serf?*

Answer: The serf has the use of a piece of land, that is, of an instrument of production, in return for handing over a greater or lesser portion of the yield. The proletarian works with instruments of production which belong to someone else who, in return for his labour, hands over to him a portion, determined by competition, of the products. In the case of the serf, the share of the labourer is determined by his own labour, that is, by himself. In the case of the proletarian it is determined by competition, therefore in the first place by the

bourgeois. The serf has guaranteed subsistence, the proletarian has not. The serf frees himself by driving out his feudal lord and becoming a property owner himself, thus entering into competition and joining for the time being the possessing class, the privileged class. The proletarian frees himself by doing away with property, competition, and all class differences.

Question 12: *In what way does the proletarian differ from the handicraftsman?*

Answer: As opposed to the proletarian, the so-called handicraftsman, who still existed nearly everywhere during the last century and still exists here and there, is at most a *temporary* proletarian. His aim is to acquire capital himself and so to exploit other workers. He can often achieve this aim where the craft guilds still exist or where freedom to follow a trade has not yet led to the organisation of handwork on a factory basis and to intense competition. But as soon as the factory system is introduced into handwork and competition is in full swing, this prospect is eliminated and the handicraftsman becomes more and more a proletarian. The handicraftsman therefore frees himself *either* by becoming a bourgeois or in general passing over into the middle class, *or*, by becoming a proletarian as a result of competition (as now happens in most cases) and joining the movement of the proletariat—i. e., the more or less conscious communist movement.

Question 13: *Then you do not believe that community of property has been possible at any time?*

Answer: No. Communism has only arisen since machinery and other inventions made it possible to hold out the prospect of an all-sided development, a happy existence, for all members of society. Communism is the theory of a liberation which was not possible for the slaves, the serfs, or the handicraftsmen, but only for the proletarians and hence it belongs of necessity to the 19th century and was not possible in any earlier period.

Question 14: *Let us go back to the sixth question. As you wish to prepare for community of property by the enlightening and uniting of the proletariat, then you reject revolution?*

Answer: We are convinced not only of the uselessness but even of the harmfulness of all conspiracies. We are also aware that revolutions are not made deliberately and arbitrarily but that everywhere and at all times they are the necessary consequence of circumstances which are not in any way whatever

dependent either on the will or on the leadership of individual parties or of whole classes. But we also see that the development of the proletariat in almost all countries of the world is forcibly repressed by the possessing classes and that thus a revolution is being forcibly worked for by the opponents of communism. If, in the end, the oppressed proletariat is thus driven into a revolution, then we will defend the cause of the proletariat just as well by our deeds as now by our words.

Question 15: *Do you intend to replace the existing social order by community of property at one stroke?*

Answer: We have no such intention. The development of the masses cannot be ordered by decree. It is determined by the development of the conditions in which these masses live, and therefore proceeds gradually.

Question 16: *How do you think the transition from the present situation to community of property is to be effected?*

Answer: The first, fundamental condition for the introduction of community of property is the political liberation of the proletariat through a democratic constitution.

Question 17: *What will be your first measure once you have established democracy?*

Answer: Guaranteeing the subsistence of the proletariat.

Question 18: *How will you do this?*

Answer. I. By limiting private property in such a way that it gradually prepares the way for its transformation into social property, e. g., by progressive taxation, limitation of the right of inheritance in favour of the state, etc., etc.

II. By employing workers in national workshops and factories and on national estates.

III. By educating all children at the expense of the state.

Question 19: *How will you arrange this kind of education during the period of transition?*

Answer: All children will be educated in state establishments from the time when they can do without the first maternal care.

Question 20: *Will not the introduction of community of property be accompanied by the proclamation of the community of women?*

Answer: By no means. We will only interfere in the personal relationship between men and women or with the family in general to the extent that the maintenance of the existing institution would disturb the new social order. Besides, we are well aware that the family relationship has been modified in the course of history by the property relationships and by pe-

riods of development, and that consequently the ending of private property will also have a most important influence on it.

Question 21: *Will nationalities continue to exist under communism?*

Answer: The nationalities of the peoples who join together according to the principle of community will be just as much compelled by this union to merge with one another and thereby supersede themselves as the various differences between estates and classes disappear through the superseding of their basis—private property.

Question 22: *Do Communists reject the existing religions?*

Answer: All religions which have existed hitherto were expressions of historical stages of development of individual peoples or groups of peoples. But communism is that stage of historical development which makes all existing religions superfluous and supersedes them.[a]

In the name and on the mandate of the Congress.

Secretary: *Heide*[b]

President: *Karl Schill*[c]

London, June 9, 1847

Written by Engels

First published in the book *Gründungsdokumente des Bundes der Kommunisten (Juni bis September 1847)*, Hamburg, 1969

Printed according to the photocopy of the manuscript

[a] Here the text written in Engels' hand ends.—*Ed.*

[b] Alias of Wilhelm Wolff in the League of the Just.—*Ed.*

[c] Alias of Karl Schapper in the League of the Just.—*Ed.*

Karl Marx

# THE POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY

## ANSWER TO THE *PHILOSOPHY OF POVERTY* BY M. PROUDHON[71]

Written in the first half of 1847

First published separately in Paris and Brussels in 1847

Printed according to the edition of 1847 with the author's changes and the changes in the German edition of 1885 and the French edition of 1896

Translated from the French

# MISÈRE

DE

# LA PHILOSOPHIE

RÉPONSE A

LA PHILOSOPHIE DE LA MISÈRE

DE M. PROUDHON.

Par Karl Marx.

PARIS.
A. FRANK,
69, rue Richelieu

BRUXELLES.
C. G. VOGLER,
2, petite rue de la Madeleine.

1847

Cover of the first edition of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy*

## FOREWORD

M. Proudhon has the misfortune of being peculiarly misunderstood in Europe. In France, he has the right to be a bad economist, because he is reputed to be a good German philosopher. In Germany, he has the right to be a bad philosopher, because he is reputed to be one of the ablest of French economists. Being both a German and an economist at the same time, we desire to protest against this double error.

The reader will understand that in this thankless task we have often had to abandon our criticism of M. Proudhon in order to criticise German philosophy, and at the same time to give some observations on political economy.

*Karl Marx*

Brussels, June 15, 1847

M. Proudhon's work is not just a treatise on political economy, an ordinary book; it is a bible. "Mysteries", "Secrets Wrested from the Bosom of God", "Revelations"—it lacks nothing. But as prophets are discussed nowadays more conscientiously than profane writers, the reader must resign himself to going with us through the arid and gloomy erudition of "Genesis", in order to ascend later, with M. Proudhon, into the ethereal and fertile realm of *super-socialism.* (See Proudhon, *Philosophie de la misère,* Prologue, p. III, line 20.)

CHAPTER I

# A SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY

## §1. THE OPPOSITION BETWEEN USE VALUE AND EXCHANGE VALUE

"The capacity of all products, whether natural or industrial, to contribute to man's subsistence is specifically termed *use value*; their capacity to be given in exchange for one another, *exchange value*.... How does use value become exchange value?... The genesis of the idea of" (exchange) "value has not been noted by economists with sufficient care. It is necessary, therefore, for us to dwell upon it. Since a very large number of the things I need occur in nature only in moderate quantities, or even not at all, I am forced to assist in the production of what I lack. And as I cannot set my hand to so many things, I shall *propose* to other men, my collaborators in various functions, to cede to me a part of their products in *exchange* for mine." (Proudhon, tome I, chap. II, [pp. 33-34].)

M. Proudhon undertakes to explain to us first of all the double nature of value, the "*distinction in value*" [I 34], the process by which use value is transformed into exchange value. It is necessary for us to dwell with M. Proudhon upon this act of transubstantiation. The following is how this act is accomplished, according to our author.

A very large number of products are not to be found in nature, they are products of industry. If man's needs go beyond nature's spontaneous production, he is forced to have recourse to industrial production. What is this industry in M. Proudhon's view? What is its origin? A single individual, feeling the need for a very great number of things, "cannot set his hand to so many things". So many needs to satisfy presuppose so many things to produce—there are no products without production. So many things to produce presuppose at once more than one man's hand helping to produce them. Now, the moment you postulate more than one hand helping in production, you at once presuppose a whole production based on the division of labour. Thus need, as M. Proudhon presupposes it, itself presupposes the whole division of labour. In presupposing the

division of labour, you get exchange, and, consequently, exchange value. One might as well have presupposed exchange value from the very beginning.

But M. Proudhon prefers to go the roundabout way. Let us follow him in all his detours, which always bring us back to his starting point.

In order to emerge from the condition in which everyone produces in isolation and to arrive at exchange, "I turn to my collaborators in various functions," says Mr. Proudhon. I myself, then, have collaborators, all with different functions. And yet, for all that, I and all the others, always according to M. Proudhon's supposition, have got no farther than the solitary and hardly social position of the Robinsons. The collaborators and the various functions, the division of labour and the exchange it implies, are already to hand.

To sum up: I have certain needs which are founded on the division of labour and on exchange. In presupposing these needs, M. Proudhon has thus presupposed exchange, exchange value, the very thing of which he purposes to "note the genesis with more care than other economists".

M. Proudhon might just as well have inverted the order of things, without in any way affecting the accuracy of his conclusions. To explain exchange value, we must have exchange. To explain exchange, we must have the division of labour. To explain the division of labour, we must have needs which render necessary the division of labour. To explain these needs, we must "*presuppose*" them, which is not to deny them—contrary to the first axiom in M. Proudhon's prologue: "To presuppose God is to deny Him." (Prologue, p. I.)

How does M. Proudhon, who assumes the division of labour as the known, manage to explain exchange value, which for him is always the unknown?

"A man" sets out to "*propose* to other men, his collaborators in various functions", that they establish exchange, and make a distinction between use value and exchange value. In accepting this proposed distinction, the collaborators have left M. Proudhon no other "care" than that of recording the fact, of marking, of "noting" in his treatise on political economy "the genesis of the idea of value". But he has still to explain to us the "genesis" of this proposal, to tell us at last how this single individual, this Robinson, suddenly had the idea of making "to his collaborators" a proposal of the type *known* and how these collaborators accepted it without the slightest protest.

M. Proudhon does not enter into these genealogical details. He merely places a sort of historical stamp upon the fact of exchange, by presenting it in the form of a motion supposed to have been made by a third party, tending to establish exchange.

That is a sample of the "*historical and descriptive method*" [I 30] of M. Proudhon, who professes a superb disdain for the "historical and descriptive methods" of the Adam Smiths and Ricardos.

Exchange has a history of its own. It has passed through different phases.

There was a time, as in the Middle Ages, when only the superfluous, the excess of production over consumption, was exchanged.

There was again a time, when not only the superfluous, but all products, all industrial existence, had passed into commerce, when the whole of production depended on exchange. How are we to explain this second phase of exchange—marketable value at its second power?

M. Proudhon would have a reply ready-made: Assume that a man has "*proposed* to other men, his collaborators in various functions", to raise marketable value to its second power.

Finally, there came a time when everything that men had considered as inalienable became an object of exchange, of traffic and could be alienated. This is the time when the very things which till then had been communicated, but never exchanged; given, but never sold; acquired, but never bought—virtue, love, conviction, knowledge, conscience, etc.—when everything finally passed into commerce. It is the time of general corruption, of universal venality, or, to speak in terms of political economy, the time when everything, moral or physical, having become a marketable value, is brought to the market to be assessed at its truest value.

How, again, can we explain this new and last phase of exchange—marketable value at its third power?

M. Proudhon would have a reply ready-made: Assume that a person has "*proposed* to other persons, his collaborators in various functions", to make a marketable value out of virtue, love, etc., to raise exchange value to its third and last power.

We see that M. Proudhon's "historical and descriptive method" is applicable to everything, it answers everything, explains everything. If it is a question above all of explaining historically "the genesis of an economic idea", it postulates a man who proposes to other men, his collaborators in various functions, that they perform this act of genesis and that is the end of it.

We shall hereafter accept the "genesis" of exchange value as an accomplished act; it now remains only to expound the relation between exchange value and use value. Let us hear what M. Proudhon has to say:

"Economists have very well brought out the double character of value, but what they have not pointed out with the same precision is its *contradictory nature*; this is where our criticism begins.... It is a small thing to have drawn attention to this surprising contrast between use value and exchange value, in which economists have been wont to see only something very simple: we must show that this alleged simplicity conceals a profound mystery into which it is our duty to penetrate.... In technical terms, use value and exchange value stand in inverse ratio to each other." [I 36, 38]

If we have thoroughly grasped M. Proudhon's thought the following are the four points which he sets out to establish:

1. Use value and exchange value form a "surprising contrast", they are in opposition to each other.
2. Use value and exchange value are in inverse ratio, in contradiction, to each other.
3. Economists have neither observed nor recognised either the opposition or the contradiction.
4. M. Proudhon's criticism begins at the end.

We, too, shall begin at the end, and, in order to clear the economists from M. Proudhon's accusations, we shall let two sufficiently well-known economists speak for themselves.

*Sismondi*: "It is the opposition between use value and exchange value to which commerce has reduced everything, etc." (*Études*,[a] t. II, p. 162, Brussels edition.)

*Lauderdale*: "In proportion as the riches of individuals are increased by an augmentation of the exchange value, the national wealth" (use value) "is generally diminished; and in proportion as the mass of individual riches is diminished, by the diminution of the exchange value, its opulence is generally increased." (*Recherches sur la nature et l'origine de la richesse publique*; traduit par Lagentie de Lavaïsse, Paris, 1808 [p. 33; cf. Eng. ed., p. 50].)

Sismondi founded on the *opposition* between use value and exchange value his principal doctrine, according to which diminution in revenue is proportional to the increase in production.

Lauderdale founded his system on the inverse ratio of the two kinds of value, and his doctrine was indeed so popular in *Ricardo*'s time that the latter could speak of it as of something generally known.

"It is through confounding the ideas of exchange value and riches" (use value) "that it has been asserted, that by diminishing the quantity of commodities, that is to say, of the necessaries, conveniences, and enjoyments of human life, riches may be increased." (Ricardo, *Des principes de l'économie politique*, traduit par Constancio,

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[a] Simonde de Sismondi, *Études sur l'économie politique*.—*Ed.*

annoté par J. B. Say, Paris, 1835; tome II, chap. "Sur la valeur et les richesses" [p. 65; cf. Eng. ed., p. 323].)

We have just seen that the economists before M. Proudhon had "drawn attention" to the profound mystery of opposition and contradiction. Let us now see how M. Proudhon in his turn explains this mystery after the economists.

The exchange value of a product falls as the supply increases, the demand remaining the same; in other words, the more abundant a product is *relatively to the demand*, the lower is its exchange value, or price. *Vice versa*: The weaker the supply relatively to the demand, the higher rises the exchange value or the price of the product supplied; in other words, the greater the scarcity in the products supplied, relatively to the demand, the higher the prices. The exchange value of a product depends upon its abundance or its scarcity, but always in relation to the demand. Take a product that is more than scarce, unique of its kind if you will: this unique product will be more than abundant, it will be superfluous, if there is no demand for it. On the other hand, take a product multiplied into millions, it will always be scarce if it does not satisfy the demand, that is, if there is too great a demand for it.

These are what we should almost call truisms, yet we have had to repeat them here in order to render M. Proudhon's mysteries comprehensible.

"So that, following up the principle to its ultimate consequences, one would come to the conclusion, the most logical in the world, that the things whose use is indispensable and whose quantity is unlimited should be had for nothing, and those whose utility is nil and whose scarcity is extreme should be of incalculable price. To cap the difficulty, these extremes are impossible in practice: on the one hand, no human product could ever be unlimited in magnitude; on the other, even the scarcest things must perforce be useful to a certain degree, otherwise they would be quite valueless. Use value and exchange value are thus inexorably bound up with each other, although by their nature they continually tend to be mutually exclusive." (Tome I, p. 39.)

What caps M. Proudhon's difficulty? That he has simply forgotten about *demand*, and that a thing can be scarce or abundant only insofar as it is in demand. The moment he leaves out demand, he identifies exchange value with *scarcity* and use value with *abundance*. In reality, in saying that things "whose *utility* is *nil* and *scarcity extreme* are of *incalculable price*", he is simply declaring that exchange value is merely scarcity. "Scarcity extreme and utility nil" means pure scarcity. "Incalculable price" is the maximum of exchange value, it is pure exchange value. He equates these two terms. Therefore exchange value and scarcity are equivalent terms. In arriving at these

alleged "extreme consequences", M. Proudhon has in fact carried to the extreme, not the things, but the terms which express them, and, in so doing, he shows proficiency in rhetoric rather than in logic. He merely rediscovers his first hypotheses in all their nakedness when he thinks he has discovered new consequences. Thanks to the same procedure he succeeds in identifying use value with pure abundance.

After having equated exchange value and scarcity, use value and abundance, M. Proudhon is quite astonished not to find use value in scarcity and exchange value, nor exchange value in abundance and use value; and seeing that these extremes are impossible in practice, he can do nothing but believe in mystery. Incalculable price exists for him, because buyers do not exist, and he will never find any buyers, so long as he leaves out demand.

On the other hand, M. Proudhon's abundance seems to be something spontaneous. He completely forgets that there are people who produce it, and that it is to their interest never to lose sight of demand. Otherwise, how could M. Proudhon have said that things which are very useful must have a very low price, or even cost nothing? On the contrary, he should have concluded that abundance, the production of very useful things, should be restricted if their price, their exchange value, is to be raised.

The old vine-growers of France in petitioning for a law to forbid the planting of new vines; the Dutch in burning Asiatic spices, in uprooting clove trees in the Moluccas, were simply trying to reduce abundance in order to raise exchange value. During the whole of the Middle Ages this same principle was acted upon, in limiting by laws the number of journeymen a single master could employ and the number of implements he could use. (See Anderson, *History of Commerce.*[a])

After having represented abundance as use value and scarcity as exchange value—nothing indeed is easier than to prove that abundance and scarcity are in inverse ratio—M. Proudhon identifies use value with *supply* and exchange value with *demand.* To make the antithesis even more clear-cut, he substitutes a new term, putting "*estimation value*" for *exchange value.* [I 32] The battle has now shifted its ground, and we have on one side *utility* (use value, supply), on the other, *estimation* (exchange value, demand).

Who is to reconcile these two contradictory forces? What is to be done to bring them into harmony with each other? Is it possible to find in them even a single point of comparison?

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[a] A. Anderson, *An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time* (Marx gives the title in French).—*Ed.*

Certainly, cries M. Proudhon, there is one—*free will.* The price resulting from this battle between supply and demand, between utility and estimation will not be the expression of eternal justice.

M. Proudhon goes on to develop this antithesis.

"In my capacity as a *free buyer,* I am judge of my needs, judge of the suitability of an object, judge of the price I am *willing* to pay for it. On the other hand, in your capacity as a *free producer,* you are master of the *means of execution,* and in consequence, you have the power to reduce your expenses." (Tome I, p. 41.)

And as demand, or exchange value, is identical with estimation, M. Proudhon is led to say:

"It is proved that it is man's *free will* that gives rise to the opposition between use value and exchange value. How can this opposition be removed, so long as free will exists? And how can the latter be sacrificed without sacrificing man?" (Tome I, p. 41.)

Thus there is no possible way out. There is a struggle between two as it were incommensurable powers, between utility and estimation, between the free buyer and the free producer.

Let us look at things a little more closely.

Supply does not represent exclusively utility, demand does not represent exclusively estimation. Does not the demander also supply a certain product or the token representing all products, viz., money; and as supplier, does he not represent, according to M. Proudhon, utility or use value?

Again, does not the supplier also demand a certain product or the token representing all products, viz., money? And does he not thus become the representative of estimation, of estimation value or of exchange value?

Demand is at the same time a supply, supply is at the same time a demand. Thus M. Proudhon's antithesis, in simply identifying supply and demand, the one with utility, the other with estimation, is based only on a futile abstraction.

What M. Proudhon calls use value is called estimation value by other economists, and with just as much right. We shall quote only Storch (*Cours d'économie politique*, Paris, 1823 [tome I], pp. 48 and 49).

According to him, *needs* are the things for which we feel the need; *values* are things to which we attribute value. Most things have value only because they satisfy needs engendered by estimation. The estimation of our needs may change; therefore the utility of things, which expresses only a relation of these things to our needs, may also change. Natural needs themselves are continually changing. Indeed, what could be more varied than the objects which form the staple food of different peoples!

The conflict does not take place between utility and estimation; it takes place between the marketable value demanded by the supplier and the marketable value supplied by the demander. The exchange value of the product is each time the resultant of these contradictory appreciations.

In final analysis, supply and demand bring together production and consumption, but production and consumption based on individual exchanges.

The product supplied is not useful in itself. It is the consumer who determines its utility. And even when its quality of being useful is admitted, it does not exclusively represent utility. In the course of production, it has been exchanged for all the costs of production, such as raw materials, wages of workers, etc., all of which are marketable values. The product, therefore, represents, in the eyes of the producer, a sum total of marketable values. What he supplies is not only a useful object, but also and above all a marketable value.

As to demand, it will only be effective on condition that it has means of exchange at its disposal. These means are themselves products, marketable values.

In supply and demand, then, we find, on the one hand, a product which has cost marketable values, and the need to sell; on the other, means which have cost marketable values, and the desire to buy.

M. Proudhon opposes the *free buyer* to the *free producer.* To the one and to the other he attributes purely metaphysical qualities. It is this that makes him say: "It is proved that it is man's *free will* that gives rise to the opposition between use value and exchange value." [I 41]

The producer, the moment he produces in a society founded on the division of labour and on exchange (and that is Mr. Proudhon's hypothesis), is forced to sell. M. Proudhon makes the producer master of the means of production; but he will agree with us that his means of production do not depend on *free will.* Moreover, many of these means of production are products which he gets from the outside, and in modern production he is not even free to produce the amount he wants. The actual degree of development of the productive forces compels him to produce on such or such a scale.

The consumer is no freer than the producer. His estimation depends on his means and his needs. Both of these are determined by his social position, which itself depends on the whole social organisation. True, the worker who buys potatoes and the kept woman who buys lace both follow their respective estimations. But the difference in their estimations is explained by the difference in

the positions which they occupy in society, and which themselves are the product of social organisation.

Is the entire system of needs founded on estimation or on the whole organisation of production? Most often, needs arise directly from production or from a state of affairs based on production. World trade turns almost entirely round the needs, not of individual consumption, but of production. Thus, to choose another example, does not the need for lawyers suppose a given civil law which is but the expression of a certain development of property, that is to say, of production?

It is not enough for M. Proudhon to have eliminated the elements just mentioned from the relation of supply and demand. He carries abstraction to the extreme limits when he fuses all producers into *one single* producer, all consumers into *one single* consumer, and sets up a struggle between these two chimerical personages. But in the real world, things happen otherwise. The competition among the suppliers and the competition among the demanders form a necessary part of the struggle between buyers and sellers, of which marketable value is the result.

After having eliminated the cost of production and competition, M. Proudhon can as he likes reduce the formula of supply and demand to an absurdity.

> "Supply and demand," he says, "are merely two *ceremonial forms* that serve to bring use value and exchange value face to face, and to lead to their reconciliation. They are the two electric poles which, when connected, must produce the phenomenon of affinity called *exchange*." (Tome I, pp. 49 and 50.)

One might as well say that exchange is merely a "ceremonial form" for introducing the consumer to the object of consumption. One might as well say that all economic relations are "ceremonial forms" serving immediate consumption as go-betweens. Supply and demand are neither more nor less relations of a given production than are individual exchanges.

What, then, does all M. Proudhon's dialectic consist in? In the substitution for use value and exchange value, for supply and demand, of abstract and contradictory notions like scarcity and abundance, utility and estimation, *one* producer and *one* consumer, both of them *knights of free will.*

And what was he aiming at?

At arranging for himself a means of introducing later on one of the elements he had set aside, the *cost of production,* as the *synthesis* of use value and exchange value. And it is thus that in his eyes the cost of production constitutes *synthetic value* or *constituted value.*

## § 2. CONSTITUTED VALUE OR SYNTHETIC VALUE

"Value" (marketable value) "is the corner-stone of the economic structure." [I 32] "*Constituted*" value is the corner-stone of the system of economic contradictions.

What then is this "*constituted value*" which is all M. Proudhon has discovered in political economy?

Once utility is admitted, labour is the source of value. The measure of labour is time. The relative value of products is determined by the labour time required for their production. Price is the monetary expression of the relative value of a product. Finally, the *constituted* value of a product is purely and simply the value which is constituted by the labour time incorporated in it.

Just as Adam Smith discovered the *division of labour*, so he, M. Proudhon, claims to have discovered "*constituted value*". This is not exactly "something unheard of", but then it must be admitted that there is nothing unheard of in any discovery of economic science. M. Proudhon, who appreciates to the full the importance of his own invention, seeks nevertheless to tone down the merit thereof "in order to reassure the reader as to his claims to originality, and to win over minds whose timidity renders them little favourable to new ideas". [I 52] But in assessing the contribution made by each of his predecessors to the understanding of value, he is forced to confess openly that the largest portion, the lion's share, falls to himself.

> "The synthetic idea of value had been vaguely perceived by Adam Smith.... But with Adam Smith this idea of value was entirely intuitive. Now, society does not change its habits merely on the strength of intuitions: its decisions are made only on the authority of facts. The antinomy had to be stated more palpably and more clearly: J. B. Say was its chief interpreter." [I 66]

Here, in a nutshell, is the history of the discovery of synthetic value: Adam Smith—vague intuition; J. B. Say—antinomy; M. Proudhon—constituting and "constituted" truth. And let there be no mistake about it: all the other economists, from Say to Proudhon, have merely been trudging along in the rut of antinomy.

> "It is incredible that for the last forty years so many men of sense should have fumed and fretted at such a simple idea. But no, *values are compared without there being any point of comparison between them and with no unit of measurement*; this, rather than embrace the revolutionary theory of equality, is what the *economists of the nineteenth century* are resolved to uphold against all comers. *What will posterity say about it?*" (Tome I, p. 68.)

Posterity, so abruptly invoked, will begin by getting muddled over the chronology. It is bound to ask itself: are not Ricardo and his

school economists of the nineteenth century? Ricardo's system, posing as a principle that "the relative value of commodities depends exclusively on the amount of labour required for their production", dates from 1817.[a] Ricardo is the head of a whole school dominant in England since the Restoration.[72] The Ricardian doctrine sums up severely, remorselessly, the whole of the English bourgeoisie, which is itself the type of the modern bourgeoisie. "What will posterity say about it?" It will not say that M. Proudhon did not know Ricardo, for he talks about him, he talks at length about him, he keeps coming back to him, and concludes by calling his system "trash". If ever posterity does interfere, it will say perhaps that M. Proudhon, afraid of offending his readers' Anglophobia, preferred to make himself the responsible editor of Ricardo's ideas. In any case, it will think it very naïve that M. Proudhon should give as a "revolutionary theory of the future" what Ricardo expounded scientifically as the theory of present-day society, of bourgeois society, and that he should thus take for the solution of the antinomy between utility and exchange value what Ricardo and his school presented long before him as the scientific formula of one single side of this antinomy, that of *exchange value*. But let us leave posterity aside once and for all, and confront M. Proudhon with his predecessor Ricardo. Here are some extracts from this author which summarise his doctrine on value:

"Utility then is not the measure of *exchangeable value*, although it is absolutely essential to it." (Tome I, p. 3 *of Principes de l'économie politique, etc.*, traduit de l'anglais par F. S. Constancio, Paris, 1835 [Eng. ed., p. 2].)

"Possessing utility, commodities derive their exchangeable value from two sources: from their scarcity, and from the quantity of labour[b] required to obtain them. There are some commodities, the value of which is determined by their scarcity alone. No labour can increase the quantity of such goods, and therefore their value cannot be lowered by an increased supply. Some rare statues and pictures, etc. are all of this description. Their value ... varies with the varying wealth and inclinations of those who are desirous to possess them." (Tome I, pp. 4 and 5, *l. c.* [Eng. ed., p. 2].) "These commodities, however, form a very small part of the mass of commodities daily exchanged in the market. By far the greatest part of those goods which are the objects of desire, are procured by labour; and they may be multiplied, not in one country alone, but in many, almost without any assignable limit, if we are disposed to bestow the labour necessary to obtain them." (Tome I, p. 5, *l. c.* [Eng. ed., p. 3].) "In speaking then of commodities, of their exchangeable value, and of the laws which regulate their relative prices, we mean always such commodities only as can be increased in quantity by the exertion of human industry, and on the production of which competition operates without restraint." (Tome I, p. 5 [Eng. ed., p. 3].)

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[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, London, 1817.—*Ed.*

[b] The 1847 edition did not have the words "of labour", which were added in the copy with corrections in Marx's hand.—*Ed.*

Ricardo quotes Adam Smith, who, according to him, "*so accurately* defined the original source of exchangeable value" (Adam Smith, Book I, Chap. 5[a]), and he adds:

"That this" (i. e., labour time) "is really the foundation of the exchangeable value of all things, excepting those which cannot be increased by human industry, is a doctrine of the utmost importance in political economy; for from no source do so many errors, and so much difference of opinion in that science proceed, as from the vague ideas which are attached to the word *value*." (Tome I, p. 8 [Eng. ed., p. 4].) "If the quantity of labour realised in commodities regulate their exchangeable value, every increase of the quantity of labour must augment the value of that commodity on which it is exercised, as every diminution must lower it." (Tome I, p. 8 [Eng. ed., p. 4].)

Ricardo goes on to reproach Smith:

1. "With having himself erected another standart measure of value than labour, sometimes the value of corn, at other times the quantity of labour an object can command in the market," etc. (Tome I, pp. 9 and 10 [cf. Eng. ed., p. 5].)

2. "With having admitted the principle without qualification and at the same time restricted its application to that early and rude state of society, which precedes both the accumulation of stock and the appropriation of land." (Tome I, p. 21.[b])

Ricardo endeavours to prove that the ownership of land, that is, rent, cannot change the relative value of commodities and that the accumulation of capital has only a passing and fluctuating effect on the relative values determined by the comparative quantity of labour expended on their production. In support of this thesis, he gives his famous theory of rent, analyses capital, and ultimately finds nothing in it but accumulated labour. Then he develops a whole theory of wages and profits, and proves that wages and profits rise and fall in inverse ratio to each other, without affecting the relative value of the product. He does not neglect the influence that the accumulation of capital and its different aspects (fixed capital and circulating capital), as also the rate of wages, can have on the proportional value of products. In fact, these are the chief problems with which Ricardo is concerned.

"Economy in the use of labour never fails to reduce the relative value* of a commodity, whether the saving be in the labour necessary to the manufacture of the

* Ricardo, as is well known, determines the value of a commodity by "the quantity of labour necessary for its production". Owing, however, to the prevailing form of exchange in every mode of production based on production of commodities, including therefore the capitalist mode of production, this value is not expressed directly in quantities of labour but in quantities of some other commodity. The value of a commodity expressed in a quantity of some other commodity (whether money or not) is termed by Ricardo its relative value. *F. E.* [*Note to the German edition, 1885.* The copy with corrections in Marx's hand has here a marginal note: *nota* ⟨"la valeur relative"⟩]

[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.— Ed.*

[b] In the third edition of Ricardo's book (London, 1821) this part of the text is omitted.—*Ed.*

commodity itself, or in that necessary to the formation of the capital, by the aid of which it is produced." (Tome I, p. 28 [Eng. ed., pp. 19-20]). "Consequently as long as a day's work continues to give one the same quantity of fish and the other the same quantity of game, the natural rate of the respective exchange prices will always be the same despite variations of wages and profit and despite all the effects of accumulation of capital." (Tome I, p. 32 [cf. Eng. ed., pp. 21-22].) "In making labour the foundation of the value of commodities and the comparative quantity of labour which is necessary to their production, the rule which determines the respective quantities of goods which shall be given in exchange for each other, we must not be supposed to deny the accidental and temporary deviations of the actual or market price of commodities from this, their primary and natural price." (Tome I, p. 105, *l. c.* [Eng. ed., p. 80].) "It is the cost of production which must ultimately regulate the price of commodities, and not, as has been often said, the proportion between supply and demand." (Tome II, p. 253 [Eng. ed., p. 460].)

Lord Lauderdale had developed the variations of exchange value according to the law of supply and demand, or of scarcity and abundance relatively to demand. In his opinion the value of a thing can increase when its quantity decreases or when the demand for it increases; it can decrease owing to an increase of its quantity or owing to the decrease in demand. Thus the value of a thing can change through eight different causes, namely, four causes that apply to the thing itself, and four causes that apply to money or to any other commodity which serves as a measure of its value. Here is Ricardo's refutation:

"Commodities which *are monopolised*, either by an individual, or by a company, vary according to the law which Lord Lauderdale has laid down: they fall in proportion as the sellers augment their quantity, and rise in proportion to the eagerness of the buyers to purchase them; their price has no necessary connexion with their natural value: but the prices of commodities, which are subject to competition, and whose quantity may be increased in any moderate degree, will ultimately depend, not on the state of demand and supply, but on the increased or diminished cost of their production." (Tome II, p. 259 [Eng. ed., p. 465].)

We shall leave it to the reader to make the comparison between this simple, clear, precise language of Ricardo's and M. Proudhon's rhetorical attempts to arrive at the determination of relative value by labour time.

Ricardo shows us the real movement of bourgeois production, which constitutes value. M. Proudhon, leaving this real movement out of account, "fumes and frets" in order to invent new processes and to achieve the reorganisation of the world on a would-be new formula, which formula is no more than the theoretical expression of the real movement which exists and which is so well described by Ricardo. Ricardo takes present-day society as his starting point to demonstrate to us how it constitutes value—M. Proudhon takes constituted value as his starting point to constitute a new social world

with the aid of this value. For him, M. Proudhon, constituted value must complete a circle and become once more the constituting factor in a world already entirely constituted according to this mode of evaluation. The determination of value by labour time is, for Ricardo, the law of exchange value; for M. Proudhon, it is the synthesis of use value and exchange value. Ricardo's theory of values is the scientific interpretation of actual economic life; M. Proudhon's theory of values is the utopian interpretation of Ricardo's theory. Ricardo establishes the truth of his formula by deriving it from all economic relations, and by explaining in this way all phenomena, even those like rent, accumulation of capital and the relation of wages to profits, which at first sight seem to contradict it; it is precisely that which makes his doctrine a scientific system: M. Proudhon, who has rediscovered this formula of Ricardo's by means of quite arbitrary hypotheses, is forced thereafter to seek out isolated economic facts which he twists and falsifies to pass them off as examples, already existing applications, beginnings of realisation of his regenerating idea. (See our § 3. *Application of Constituted Value.*[a])

Now let us pass on to the conclusions M. Proudhon draws from value constituted (by labour time).

— A certain quantity of labour is equivalent to the product created by this same quantity of labour.

— Each day's labour is worth as much as another day's labour; that is to say, if the quantities are equal, one man's labour is worth as much as another man's labour: there is no qualitative difference. With the same quantity of labour, one man's product can be given in exchange for another man's product. All men are wage workers getting equal pay for an equal labour time. Perfect equality rules the exchanges.

Are these conclusions the strict, natural consequences of value "constituted" or determined by labour time?

If the relative value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labour required to produce it, it follows naturally that the relative value of labour, or wages, is likewise determined by the quantity of labour needed to produce the wages. Wages, that is, the relative value or the price of labour, are thus determined by the labour time needed to produce all that is necessary for the maintenance of the worker.

"*Diminish the cost of production* of hats, and their price will ultimately fall to their new natural price, although the demand should be doubled, trebled, or quadrupled. *Diminish the cost of subsistence of men,* by diminishing the natural price of the food and

[a] See this volume, pp. 144-60.—*Ed.*

clothing by which life is sustained, and wages will ultimately fall, notwithstanding that the demand for labourers may very greatly increase." (Ricardo, tome II, p. 253 [Eng. ed., p. 460].)

Doubtless, Ricardo's language is as cynical as can be. To put the cost of manufacture of hats and the cost of maintenance of men on the same plane is to turn men into hats. But do not make an outcry at the cynicism of it. The cynicism is in the facts and not in the words which express the facts. French writers like MM. Droz, Blanqui, Rossi and others take an innocent satisfaction in proving their superiority over the English economists, by seeking to observe the etiquette of a "humanitarian" phraseology; if they reproach Ricardo and his school for their cynical language, it is because it annoys them to see economic relations exposed in all their crudity, to see the mysteries of the bourgeoisie unmasked.

To sum up: Labour, being itself a commodity, is measured as such by the labour time needed to produce the labour-commodity. And what is needed to produce this labour-commodity? Just enough labour time to produce the objects indispensable to the constant maintenance of labour, that is, to keep the worker alive and in a condition to propagate his race. The natural price of labour is no other than the minimum wage.* If the current rate of wages rises above the natural price, it is precisely because the law of value posed as a principle by M. Proudhon happens to be counterbalanced by the consequences of the varying relations of supply and demand. But the minimum wage is nonetheless the centre towards which the current rates of wages gravitate.

Thus relative value, measured by labour time, is inevitably the formula of the present enslavement of the worker, instead of being, as M. Proudhon would have it, the "revolutionary theory" of the emancipation of the proletariat.

Let us see now to what extent the application of labour time as a

* The thesis that the "natural", i.e., normal, price of labour power coincides with the minimum wage, i.e., with the equivalent in value of the means of subsistence absolutely indispensable for the life and procreation of the worker, was first put forward by me in *Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy (Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, Paris, 1844) and in *The Condition of the Working Class in England.*[73] As seen here, Marx at that time accepted the thesis. Lassalle took it over from both of us. Although, however, in reality wages have a constant tendency to approach the minimum, the above thesis is nevertheless incorrect. The fact that labour power is regularly and on the average paid below its value cannot alter its value. In *Capital*, Marx has put the above thesis right (Section on the Buying and Selling of Labour Power) and also (Chapter 25: *The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation*) analysed the circumstances which permit capitalist production to depress the price of labour power more and more below its value. *F. E.* [*Note to the German edition, 1885.*]

measure of value is incompatible with the existing class antagonism and the unequal distribution of the product between the immediate worker and the owner of accumulated labour.

Let us take a particular product, for example, linen. This product, as such, contains a definite quantity of labour. This quantity of labour will always be the same, whatever the reciprocal position of those who have collaborated to create this product.

Let us take another product: broadcloth, which has required the same quantity of labour as the linen.

If there is an exchange of these two products, there is an exchange of equal quantities of labour. In exchanging these equal quantities of labour time, one does not change the reciprocal position of the producers, any more than one changes anything in the situation of the workers and manufacturers among themselves. To say that this exchange of products measured by labour time results in an equality of payment for all the producers is to suppose that equality of participation in the product existed before the exchange. When the exchange of broadcloth for linen has been accomplished, the producers of broadcloth will share in the linen in a proportion equal to that in which they previously shared in the broadcloth.

M. Proudhon's illusion is brought about by his taking for a consequence what could be at most but a gratuitous supposition.

Let us go further.

Does labour time, as the measure of value, suppose at least that the days are *equivalent*, and that one man's day is worth as much as another's? No.

Let us suppose for a moment that a jeweller's day is equivalent to three days of a weaver; the fact remains that any change in the value of jewels relative to that of woven materials, unless it be the transitory result of the fluctuations of demand and supply, must have as its cause a reduction or an increase in the labour time expended in the production of one or the other. If three working days of different workers be related to one another in the ratio of 1:2:3, then every change in the relative value of their products will be a change in this same proportion of 1:2:3. Thus values can be measured by labour time, in spite of the inequality of value of different working days; but to apply such a measure we must have a comparative scale of the different working days: it is competition that sets up this scale.

Is your hour's labour worth mine? That is a question which is decided by competition.

Competition, according to an American economist, determines how many days of simple labour are contained in one day's

compound labour. Does not this reduction of days of compound labour to days of simple labour suppose that simple labour is itself taken as a measure of value? If the mere quantity of labour functions as a measure of value regardless of quality, it presupposes that simple labour has become the pivot of industry. It presupposes that labour has been equalised by the subordination of man to the machine or by the extreme division of labour; that men are effaced by their labour; that the pendulum of the clock has become as accurate a measure of the relative activity of two workers as it is of the speed of two locomotives. Therefore, we should not say that one man's hour is worth another man's hour, but rather that one man during an hour is worth just as much as another man during an hour. Time is everything, man is nothing; he is, at the most, time's carcase. Quality no longer matters. Quantity alone decides everything; hour for hour, day for day; but this equalising of labour is not by any means the work of M. Proudhon's eternal justice; it is purely and simply a fact of modern industry.

In the automatic workshop, one worker's labour is scarcely distinguishable in any way from another worker's labour: workers can only be distinguished one from another by the length of time they take for their work. Nevertheless, this quantitative difference becomes, from a certain point of view, qualitative, in that the time they take for their work depends partly on purely material causes, such as physical constitution, age and sex; partly on purely negative moral causes, such as patience, imperturbability, diligence. In short, if there is a difference of quality in the labour of different workers, it is at most a quality of the last kind, which is far from being a distinctive peculiarity. This is what the state of affairs in modern industry amounts to in the last analysis. It is upon this equality, already realised in automatic labour, that M. Proudhon wields his smoothing-plane of "equalisation", which he means to establish universally in "time to come"!

All the "equalitarian" consequences which M. Proudhon deduces from Ricardo's doctrine are based on a fundamental error. He confounds the value of commodities measured by the quantity of labour embodied in them with the value of commodities measured by "*the value of labour*". If these two ways of measuring the value of commodities merged into one, it could be said indifferently that the relative value of any commodity is measured by the quantity of labour embodied in it; or that it is measured by the quantity of labour it can buy; or again that it is measured by the quantity of labour which can acquire it. But this is far from being so. The value of labour [74] can no more serve as a measure of value than the value of any other

commodity. A few examples will suffice to explain still better what we have just stated.

If a muid[a] of corn cost two days' labour instead of one, it would have twice its original value: but it would not set in operation double the quantity of labour, because it would contain no more nutritive matter than before. Thus the value of the corn, measured by the quantity of labour used to produce it, would have doubled; but measured either by the quantity of labour it can buy or by the quantity of labour with which it can be bought, it would be far from having doubled. On the other hand, if the same labour produced twice as many clothes as before, their relative value would fall by half; but, nevertheless, this double quantity of clothing would not thereby be reduced to disposing over only half the quantity of labour, nor could the same labour command double the quantity of clothing; for half the clothes would still go on rendering the worker the same service as before.

Thus it is going against economic facts to determine the relative value of commodities by the value of labour. It is moving in a vicious circle, it is to determine relative value by a relative value which itself needs to be determined.

It is beyond doubt that M. Proudhon confuses the two measures, measure by the labour time needed for the production of a commodity and measure by the value of the labour.

"Any man's labour," he says, "can buy the value it represents." [I 81]

Thus, according to him, a certain quantity of labour embodied in a product is equivalent to the worker's payment, that is, to the value of labour. It is the same reasoning that makes him confuse cost of production with wages.

"What are wages? They are the cost price of corn, etc., the integral price of all things. Let us go still further. Wages are the proportionality of the elements which compose wealth." [I 110]

What are wages? They are the value of labour.

Adam Smith takes as the measure of value, now the labour time needed for the production of a commodity, now the value of labour. Ricardo exposes this error by showing clearly the disparity of these two ways of measuring. M. Proudhon outdoes Adam Smith in error by identifying the two things which the latter had merely put in juxtaposition.

It is in order to find the proper proportion in which workers should share in the products, or, in other words, to determine the

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[a] An old French measure equivalent to 18 hectolitres.— *Ed.*

relative value of labour, that M. Proudhon seeks a measure for the relative value of commodities. To find out the measure for the relative value of commodities he can think of nothing better than to give as the equivalent of a certain quantity of labour the sum total of the products it has created, which is as good as supposing that the whole of society consists merely of immediate workers who receive their own produce as wages. In the second place, he takes for granted the equivalence of the working days of different workers. In short, he seeks the measure of the relative value of commodities in order to arrive at equal payment for the workers, and he takes the equality of wages as an already established fact, in order to go off on the search for the relative value of commodities. What admirable dialectic!

"Say and the economists after him have observed that labour being itself subject to valuation, being a commodity like any other commodity, it is moving in a vicious circle to treat it as the principle and the determining cause of value.... In so doing, these economists, if they will allow me to say so, show a prodigious carelessness. Labour is said to have *value* not as a commodity itself, but in view of the values which it is supposed to contain potentially. The value of labour is a figurative expression, an anticipation of the cause for the effect. It is a fiction of the same stamp as the *productivity of capital.* Labour produces, capital has value.... By a sort of ellipsis one speaks of the value of labour.... Labour like liberty ... is a thing vague and indeterminate by nature, but defined qualitatively by its object, that is to say, it becomes a reality by the product." [I 61]

"But is there any need to dwell on this? The moment the economist" (read M. Proudhon) "changes the name of things, *vera rerum vocabula,* he is implicitly confessing his impotence and proclaiming himself not privy to the cause." (Proudhon, tome I, p. 188.)

We have seen that M. Proudhon makes the value of labour the "determining cause" of the value of products to such an extent that for him *wages,* the official name for the "value of labour", form the integral price of all things. That is why Say's objection troubles him. In labour-commodity, which is a grim reality, he sees nothing but a grammatical ellipsis. Thus the whole of existing society, founded on labour-commodity, is henceforth founded on a poetic licence, a figurative expression. If society wants to "eliminate all the drawbacks" that assail it, well, let it eliminate all the ill-sounding terms, change the language; and to this end it has only to apply to the Academy for a new edition of its dictionary. After all that we have just seen, it is easy for us to understand why M. Proudhon, in a work on political economy, has to enter upon long dissertations on etymology and other parts of grammar. Thus he is still learnedly discussing the antiquated derivation of *servus*[a] from *servare*[b]. These

[a] A slave, servant.— *Ed.*
[b] To preserve.— *Ed.*

philological dissertations have a deep meaning, an esoteric meaning—they form an essential part of M. Proudhon's argument.

Labour,[a] inasmuch as it is bought and sold, is a commodity like any other commodity, and has, in consequence, an exchange value. But the value of labour, or labour as a commodity, produces as little as the value of wheat, or wheat as a commodity, serves as food.

Labour has more or less "value," according to whether food commodities are more or less dear, whether the supply and demand of hands exist to such or such a degree, etc., etc.

Labour is not a "vague thing"; it is always some definite labour, it is never labour in general that is sold and bought. It is not only labour which is qualitatively defined by the object; but also the object which is determined by the specific quality of labour.

Labour, insofar as it is sold and bought, is itself a commodity. Why is it bought? "In view of the values it is supposed to contain potentially." But if a certain thing is said to be a commodity, there is no longer any question as to the reason why it is bought, that is, as to the utility to be derived from it, the application to be made of it. It is a commodity as an object of traffic. All M. Proudhon's arguments are limited to this: labour is not bought as an immediate object of consumption. No, it is bought as an instrument of production, as a machine would be bought. As a commodity, labour has value and does not produce. M. Proudhon might just as well have said that there is no such thing as a commodity, since every commodity is acquired merely for some utilitarian purpose, and never as a commodity in itself.

In measuring the value of commodities by labour, M. Proudhon vaguely glimpses the impossibility of excluding labour from this same measure, insofar as labour has a value, labour-commodity. He has a misgiving that it is turning the minimum wage into the natural and normal price of immediate labour, that it is accepting the existing state of society. So, to get away from this fatal consequence, he faces about and asserts that labour is not a commodity, that it cannot have value. He forgets that he himself has taken the value of labour as a measure, he forgets that his whole system rests on labour-commodity, on labour which is bartered, sold, bought, exchanged for produce, etc., on labour, in fact, which is an immediate source of income for the worker. He forgets everything.

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[a] In the copy with corrections in Marx's hand and the one presented in 1876 to N. Utina after the word "travail" ("labour") is added "la force du travail" ("labour power"). The same addition is made in the 1896 French edition.—*Ed.*

To save his system, he consents to sacrifice its basis.

*Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas!*[a]

We now come to a new definition of "*constituted* value".

"Value is the *proportional relation* of the products which constitute wealth." [I 62]

Let us note in the first place that the simple phrase "relative or exchange value" implies the idea of some relation in which products are exchanged reciprocally. By giving the name "proportional relation" to this relation, no change is made in the relative value, except in the expression. Neither the depreciation nor the enhancement of the value of a product destroys its quality of being in some "proportional relation" with the other products which constitute wealth.

Why then this new term, which introduces no new idea?

"Proportional relation" suggests many other economic relations, such as proportionality in production, the correct proportion between supply and demand, etc., and M. Proudhon is thinking of all that when he formulates this didactic paraphrase of marketable value.

In the first place, the relative value of products being determined by the comparative amount of labour used in the production of each of them, proportional relations, applied to this special case, stand for the respective quota of products which can be manufactured in a given time, and which in consequence are given in exchange for one another.

Let us see what advantage M. Proudhon draws from this proportional relation.

Everyone knows that when supply and demand are evenly balanced, the relative value of any product is accurately determined by the quantity of labour embodied in it, that is to say, that this relative value expresses the proportional relation precisely in the sense we have just attached to it. M. Proudhon inverts the order of things. Begin, he says, by measuring the relative value of a product by the quantity of labour embodied in it, and supply and demand will infallibly balance one another. Production will correspond to consumption, the product will always be exchangeable. Its current price will express exactly its true value. Instead of saying like everyone else: when the weather is fine, a lot of people are to be seen going out for a walk, M. Proudhon makes his people go out for a walk in order to be able to ensure them fine weather.

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[a] And for the sake of life to lose the reasons for living (Juvenal, *Satires*, VIII).— *Ed.*

What M. Proudhon gives as the consequence of marketable value determined *a priori* by labour time could be justified only by a law couched more or less in the following terms:

Products will in future be exchanged in the exact ratio of the labour time they have cost. Whatever may be the proportion of supply to demand, the exchange of commodities will always be made as if they had been produced proportionately to the demand. Let M. Proudhon take it upon himself to formulate and lay down such a law, and we shall relieve him of the necessity of giving proofs. If, on the other hand, he insists on justifying his theory, not as a legislator, but as an economist, he will have to prove that the *time* needed to create a commodity indicates exactly the degree of its *utility* and marks its proportional relation to the demand, and in consequence, to the total amount of wealth. In this case, if a product is sold at a price equal to its cost of production, supply and demand will always be evenly balanced; for the cost of production is supposed to express the true relation between supply and demand.

Actually, M. Proudhon sets out to prove that the labour time needed to create a product indicates its correct proportional relation to needs, so that the things whose production costs the least time are the most immediately useful, and so on, step by step. The mere production of a luxury object proves at once, according to this doctrine, that society has spare time which allows it to satisfy a need for luxury.

M. Proudhon finds the very proof of his thesis in the observation that the most useful things cost the least time to produce, that society always begins with the easiest industries and successively "starts on the production of objects which cost more labour time and which correspond to a higher order of needs". [I 57]

M. Proudhon borrows from M. Dunoyer the example of extractive industry—fruit-gathering, pasturage, hunting, fishing, etc. —which is the simplest, the least costly of industries, and the one by which man began "the first day of his second creation". [I 78] The first day of his first creation is recorded in Genesis, which shows us God as the world's first manufacturer.

Things happen in quite a different way from what M. Proudhon imagines. The very moment civilisation begins, production begins to be founded on the antagonism of orders, estates, classes, and finally on the antagonism of accumulated labour and immediate labour. No antagonism, no progress. This is the law that civilisation has followed up to our days. Till now the productive forces have been developed by virtue of this system of class antagonisms. To say now that, because all the needs of all the workers were satisfied, men could

devote themselves to the creation of products of a higher order—to more complicated industries—would be to leave class antagonism out of account and turn all historical development upside down. It is like saying that because, under the Roman emperors, muraena were fattened in artificial fishponds, therefore there was enough to feed abundantly the whole Roman population. Actually, on the contrary, the Roman people had not enough to buy bread with, while the Roman aristocrats had slaves enough to throw as fodder to the muraena.

The price of food has almost continuously risen, while the price of manufactured and luxury goods has almost continuously fallen. Take the agricultural industry itself: the most indispensable objects, like corn, meat, etc., rise in price, while cotton, sugar, coffee, etc., continually fall in a surprising proportion. And even among comestibles proper, the luxury articles, like artichokes, asparagus, etc., are today relatively cheaper than foodstuffs of prime necessity. In our age, the superfluous is easier to produce than the necessary. Finally, at different historical epochs, the reciprocal price relations are not only different, but opposed to one another. In the whole of the Middle Ages, agricultural products were relatively cheaper than manufactured products; in modern times they are in inverse ratio. Does this mean that the utility of agricultural products has diminished since the Middle Ages?

The use of products is determined by the social conditions in which the consumers find themselves placed, and these conditions themselves are based on class antagonism.

Cotton, potatoes and spirits are objects of the most common use. Potatoes have engendered scrofula; cotton has to a great extent driven out flax and wool, although wool and flax are, in many cases, of greater utility, if only from the point of view of hygiene; finally, spirits have got the upper hand of beer and wine, although spirits used as an alimentary substance are everywhere recognised to be poison. For a whole century, governments struggled in vain against the European opium; economics prevailed, and dictated its orders to consumption.

Why are cotton, potatoes and spirits the pivots of bourgeois society? Because the least amount of labour is needed to produce them, and, consequently, they have the lowest price. Why does the minimum price determine the maximum consumption? Is it by any chance because of the absolute utility of these objects, their intrinsic utility, their utility insomuch as they correspond, in the most useful manner, to the needs of the worker as a man, and not of the man as a worker? No, it is because in a society founded on *poverty* the *poorest*

products have the fatal prerogative of being used by the greatest number.

To say now that because the least costly things are in greater use, they must be of greater utility, is saying that the wide use of spirits, because of their low cost of production, is the most conclusive proof of their utility; it is telling the proletarian that potatoes are more wholesome for him than meat; it is accepting the present state of affairs; it is, in short, making an apology, with M. Proudhon, for a society without understanding it.

In a future society, in which class antagonism will have ceased, in which there will no longer be any classes, use will no longer be determined by the *minimum* time of production; but the time of production[a] devoted to an article[b] will be determined by the degree of its social[c] utility.

To return to M. Proudhon's thesis; since the labour time necessary for the production of an article is not the expression of its degree of utility, the exchange value of this same article, determined beforehand by the labour time embodied in it, can never regulate the correct relation of supply to demand, that is, the proportional relation in the sense M. Proudhon attributes to it at the moment.

It is not the sale of a given product at the price of its cost of production that constitutes the "proportional relation" of supply to demand, or the proportional quota of this product relatively to the sum total of production; it is the *variations in demand and supply* that show the producer what amount of a given commodity he must produce in order to receive at least the cost of production in exchange. And as these variations are continually occurring, there is also a continual movement of withdrawal and application of capital in the different branches of industry.

"It is only in consequence of such variations that capital is *apportioned* precisely, in the requisite abundance and no more, to the production of the different commodities which happen to be in demand. With the rise or fall of price, profits are elevated above, or depressed below their general level, and capital is either encouraged to enter into, or is warned to depart from, the particular employment in which the variation has taken place."—"When we look to the markets of a large town, and observe how regularly they are supplied both with home and foreign commodities, in the quantity

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[a] The 1896 French edition has "production sociale".—*Ed.*

[b] In the copy with corrections in Marx's hand and the one presented to N. Utina the words "à un objet" are replaced by "aux différents objets". This change was also made in the 1896 French edition.— *Ed.*

[c] The word "sociale", which is not in the 1847 edition, was added in the copy with corrections in Marx's hand and the one which he presented to N. Utina and also in the 1896 French edition.— *Ed.*

in which they are required, under all the circumstances of varying demand, arising from the caprice of taste, or a change in the amount of population, without often producing either the effects of a glut from a too abundant supply, or an enormously high price from the supply being unequal to the demand, we must confess that the principle which apportions capital to each trade *in the precise amount that is required*, is more active than is generally supposed." (Ricardo, tome I, pp. 105[-106] and 108 [Eng. ed., pp. 80 and 82].)

If M. Proudhon admits that the value of products is determined by labour time, he should equally admit that it is the fluctuating movement alone that[a] makes labour time the measure of value. There is no ready constituted "proportional relation", but only a constituting movement.

We have just seen in what sense it is correct to speak of "proportion" as of a consequence of value determined by labour time. We shall see now how this measure by time, called by M. Proudhon the "law of proportion", becomes transformed into a law of *disproportion*.

Every new invention that enables the production in one hour of that which has hitherto been produced in two hours depreciates all similar products on the market. Competition forces the producer to sell the product of two hours as cheaply as the product of one hour. Competition implements the law according to which the relative value of a product is determined by the labour time needed to produce it. Labour time serving as the measure of marketable value becomes in this way the law of the continual *depreciation* of labour. We will say more. There will be depreciation not only of the commodities brought into the market, but also of the instruments of production and of whole plants. This fact was already pointed out by Ricardo when he said:

"By constantly increasing the facility of production, we constantly diminish the value of some of the commodities before produced." (Tome II, p. 59 [Eng. ed., p. 321].)

Sismondi goes further. He sees in this "value *constituted*" by labour time the source of all the contradictions of modern industry and commerce.

"Mercantile value," he says, "is always determined in the long run by the quantity of labour needed to obtain the thing evaluated: it is not what it has actually cost, but what it would cost in future with, perhaps, perfected means; and this quantity, although difficult to evaluate, is always faithfully established by competition... It is on

[a] In the copy with corrections in Marx's hand the words "in societies founded on individual exchanges" are added here and then struck out; in the copy presented to N. Utina this addition was made except for the word "individual".— *Ed.*

this basis that the demand of the seller as well as the supply of the buyer is reckoned. The former will perhaps declare that the thing has cost him ten days' labour; but if the latter realises that it can henceforth be produced with eight days' labour, in the event of competition proving this to the two contracting parties, the value will be reduced, and the market price fixed at eight days only. Of course, each of the parties believes that the thing is useful, that it is desired, that without desire there would be no sale; but the fixing of the price has nothing to do with utility." (*Études, etc.*, t. II, p. 267, Brussels edition.)

It is important to emphasise the point that what determines value is not the time taken to produce a thing, but the *minimum* time it could possibly be produced in, and this minimum is ascertained by competition. Suppose for a moment that there is no more competition and consequently no longer any means to ascertain the minimum of labour necessary for the production of a commodity; what will happen? It will suffice to spend six hours' work on the production of an object, in order to have the right, according to M. Proudhon, to demand in exchange six times as much as he who has taken only one hour to produce the same object.

Instead of a "proportional relation", we have a disproportional relation, at any rate if we insist on sticking to relations, good or bad.

The continual depreciation of labour is only one side, one consequence of the evaluation of commodities by labour time. The excessive raising of prices, overproduction and many other features of industrial anarchy have their explanation in this mode of evaluation.

But does labour time used as a measure of value give rise at least to the proportional variety of products that so fascinates M. Proudhon?

On the contrary, monopoly in all its monotony follows in its wake and invades the world of products, just as to everybody's knowledge monopoly invades the world of the instruments of production. It is only in a few branches of industry, like the cotton industry, that very rapid progress can be made. The natural consequence of this progress is that the products of cotton manufacture, for instance, fall rapidly in price: but as the price of cotton goes down, the price of flax must go up in comparison. What will be the outcome? Flax will be replaced by cotton. In this way, flax has been driven out of almost the whole of North America. And we have obtained, instead of the proportional variety of products, the dominance of cotton.

What is left of this "proportional relation"? Nothing but the pious wish of an honest man who would like commodities to be produced in proportions which would permit of their being sold at an honest price. In all ages good-natured bourgeois and philanthropic economists have taken pleasure in expressing this innocent wish.

Let us hear what old *Boisguillebert* says:

"The price of commodities," he says, "must always be *proportionate*; for it is such mutual understanding alone that can enable them to exist together *so as to give themselves to one another at any moment*" (here is M. Proudhon's continual exchangeability) "and reciprocally give birth to one another.... As wealth, then, is nothing but this continual intercourse between man and man, craft and craft, etc., it is a frightful blindness to go looking for the cause of misery elsewhere than in the cessation of such traffic brought about by a disturbance of proportion in prices." (*Dissertation sur la nature des richesses*, Daire ed. [pp. 405, 408].)

Let us listen also to a modern economist:

"The great law as necessary to be affixed to production, that is, the *law of proportion*,[a] which alone can preserve the continuity of value.... The equivalent must be guaranteed.... All nations have attempted, at various periods of their history, by instituting numerous commercial regulations and restrictions, to effect, in some degree, the object here explained.... But the natural and inherent selfishness of man ... has urged him to break down all such regulations.... Proportionate production [a] is the realisation of the entire truth of the Science of Social Economy." (W. Atkinson, *Principles of Political Economy*, London, 1840, pp. 170-95.)

*Fuit Troja*.[b] This correct proportion between supply and demand, which is beginning once more to be the object of so many wishes, ceased long ago to exist. It has passed into the stage of senility. It was possible only at a time when the means of production were limited, when exchange took place within very restricted bounds. With the birth of large-scale industry this correct proportion had to come to an end, and production is inevitably compelled to pass in continuous succession through vicissitudes of prosperity, depression, crisis, stagnation, renewed prosperity, and so on.

Those who, like Sismondi, wish to return to the correct proportion of production, while preserving the present basis of society, are reactionary, since, to be consistent, they must also wish to bring back all the other conditions of industry of former times.

What kept production in correct, or more or less correct, proportions? It was demand that dominated supply, that preceded it. Production followed close on the heels of consumption. Large-scale industry, forced by the very instruments at its disposal to produce on an ever-increasing scale, can no longer wait for demand. Production precedes consumption, supply compels demand.

In existing society, in industry based on individual exchange, anarchy of production, which is the source of so much misery, is at the same time the source of all progress.

Thus, one or the other:

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[a] In the original the English term is given in parentheses after the French.— *Ed.*

[b] Troy is no more (Virgil, *Aeneid*, 2, 325).— *Ed.*

Either you want the correct proportions of past centuries with present-day means of production, in which case you are both reactionary and utopian.

Or you want progress without anarchy: in which case, in order to preserve the productive forces, you must abandon individual exchange.

Individual exchange is consistent only with the small-scale industry of past centuries and its corollary of "correct proportion", or else with large-scale industry and all its train of misery and anarchy.

After all,[a] the determination of value by labour time—the formula M. Proudhon gives us as the regenerating formula of the future—is therefore[b] merely the scientific expression of the economic relations of present-day society, as was clearly and precisely demonstrated by Ricardo long before M. Proudhon.

But does the "*equalitarian*" application of this formula at least belong to M. Proudhon? Was he the first to think of reforming society by transforming all men into immediate workers exchanging equal amounts of labour? Is it for him to reproach the Communists—these people devoid of all knowledge of political economy, these "obstinately foolish men", these "paradise dreamers"—with not having found, before him, this "solution of the problem of the proletariat"?

Anyone who is in any way familiar with the trend of political economy in England cannot fail to know that almost all the socialists in that country have, at different periods, proposed the equalitarian application of the Ricardian theory. We could quote for M. Proudhon: Hodgskin, *Political Economy*, 1827[75]; William Thompson, *An Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth Most Conducive to Human Happiness*, 1824; T. R. Edmonds, *Practical Moral and Political Economy*, 1828, etc., etc., and four pages more of *etc.* We shall content ourselves with listening to an English *Communist*, Mr. Bray. We shall give the decisive passages in his remarkable work, *Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy*, Leeds, 1839, and we shall dwell some time upon it, firstly, because Mr. Bray is still little known in France, and, secondly, because we think that we have discovered in him the key to the past, present and future works of M. Proudhon.

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[a] In the 1847 edition this sentence begins with the words: "D'après tout ce que nous venons de dire." In the copy with corrections in Marx's hand and the one presented to N. Utina "D'après" is changed to "Après" and the rest of the phrase is crossed out; this correction was reproduced in the 1896 French edition.— *Ed.*

[b] The word "therefore" ("donc") is not in the 1847 edition; it was added in the copy with corrections in Marx's hand and the one presented to N. Utina; this addition is reproduced in the 1896 French edition.— *Ed.*

"The only way to arrive at truth is to go at once to First Principles.... Let us ... go at once to the source from whence governments themselves have arisen.... By thus going to the origin of the thing, we shall find that every form of government, and every social and governmental wrong, owes its rise to the existing social system—to *the institution of property as it at present exists*[a]—and that, therefore, if we would end our wrongs and our miseries at once and for ever, *the present arrangements of society must be totally subverted*.... By thus fighting them upon their own ground, and with their own weapons, we shall avoid that senseless chatter respecting '*visionaries*' and '*theorists*', with which they are so ready to assail.... Before the conclusions arrived at by such a course of proceeding can be overthrown, the economists must unsay or disprove those established truths and principles on which their own arguments are founded." (Bray, pp. 17 and 41.) "It is *labour alone which bestows value*[b].... Every man has an undoubted right to all that his honest labour can procure him. When he thus appropriates the fruits of his labour, he commits no injustice upon any other human being; for he interferes with no other man's right of doing the same with the produce of his labour.... All these ideas of superior and inferior—of master and man—may be traced to the neglect of First Principles, and to the consequent rise of *inequality* of possessions[c], and such ideas will never be eradicated, nor the institutions founded upon them be subverted, so long as this inequality is maintained. Men have hitherto blindly hoped to remedy the present unnatural state of things ... by destroying *existing inequality*, and leaving untouched the *cause* of the inequality; but it will shortly be seen ... that government[d] is not a cause, but a consequence—that it is not the creator, but the created—that it is *the offspring of inequality of possessions*[e]; and that the inequality of possessions is inseparably connected with our present social system." (Bray, pp. 33, 36 and 37.)

"Not only are the greatest advantages, but strict justice also, on the side of a system of equality.... Every man is a link, and an indispensable link, in the chain of effects—the beginning of which is but an idea, and the end, perhaps, the production of a piece of cloth. Thus, although we may entertain different feelings towards the several parties, it does not follow that one should be better paid for his labour than another. The inventor will ever receive, in addition to his just pecuniary reward, that which genius only can obtain from us—the tribute of our admiration....

"From the very nature of labour and exchange, strict justice requires that all exchangers should be not only *mutually*, but that they should likewise be *equally*, benefited.[f] Men have only two things which they can exchange with each other, namely, labour, and the produce of labour.... If a just system of exchanges were acted upon, the value of all articles would be determined by *the entire cost of production*; and *equal values should always exchange for equal values*.[g] If, for instance, it takes a hatter one

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[a] In the original the end of the phrase beginning with the words "the institution of property ..." is given in English in parentheses after the French.— *Ed.*

[b] In the original this phrase is given in English in parentheses after the French.— *Ed.*

[c] In the original the words "and to the consequent rise of inequality of possessions" are given in English in parentheses after the French.—*Ed.*

[d] Bray has here: "misgovernment".—*Ed.*

[e] In the original the words "the offspring of inequality of possessions" are given in English in parentheses after the French.—*Ed.*

[f] In the original the words "all exchangers should be" to the end of the sentence are given in English in parentheses after the French.—*Ed.*

[g] In the original this sentence is given in English in parentheses after the French.—*Ed.*

day to make a hat, and a shoemaker the same time to make a pair of shoes—supposing the material used by each to be of the same value—and they exchange these articles with each other, they are not only mutually but equally benefited: the advantage derived by either party cannot be a disadvantage to the other, as each has given the same amount of labour, and the materials made use of by each were of equal value. But if the hatter should obtain *two* pair of shoes for *one* hat—time and value of material being as before—the exchange would clearly be an unjust one. The hatter would defraud the shoemaker of one day's labour; and were the former to act thus in all his exchanges, he would receive, for the labour of *half a year*, the product of some other person's *whole year*.... We have heretofore acted upon no other than this most unjust system of exchanges—the *workmen have given* the capitalist the labour of a whole year, in exchange for the value of only half a year[a]—and from this, and not from the assumed inequality of bodily and mental powers in individuals, has arisen the inequality of wealth and power.... It is an inevitable condition of inequality of exchanges—of buying at one price and selling at another—that capitalists shall continue to be capitalists, and working men to be working men—the one a class of tyrants and the other a class of slaves—to eternity.... The whole transaction, therefore, plainly shews that the capitalists and proprietors do no more than give the working man, for his labour of one week, a part of the wealth which they obtained from him the week before!—which just amounts to giving him *nothing* for *something*[b].... The whole transaction ... between the producer and the capitalist is ... a mere farce: it is, in fact, in thousands of instances, no other than a barefaced though *legalised robbery*.[c]" (Bray, pp. 45, 48, 49 and 50.)

"... the gain of the employer will never cease to be the loss of the employed—until the exchanges between the parties are equal; and exchanges never can be equal while society is divided into capitalists and producers—the last living upon their labour and the first bloating upon the profit of that labour....

"It is plain," continues Mr. Bray, "that, establish whatever form of government we will ... we may talk of morality and brotherly love ... no reciprocity can exist where there are unequal exchanges.... Inequality of exchanges, as being the cause of inequality of possessions, is the secret enemy that devours us." [d] (Bray, pp. 51 and 52.)

"It has been deduced, also, from a consideration of the intention and end of society, not only that all men should labour, and thereby become exchangers, but that equal values should always exchange for equal values—and that, as the gain of one man ought never to be the loss of another, value should ever be determined by cost of production. But we have seen, that, under the present arrangements of society ... the gain of the capitalist and the rich man is always the loss of the workman—that this result will invariably take place, and the poor man be left entirely at the mercy of the rich man, under any and every form of government, so long as there is inequality of exchanges—and that equality of exchanges can be ensured only under social arrangements in which labour is universal.... If exchanges were equal, would the wealth of the present capitalists gradually go from them to the working classes." (Bray, pp. 53-55.)

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[a] In the original the words from "the workmen" to "half a year" are given in English in parentheses after the French.— *Ed.*

[b] In the original the words "nothing for something" are given in English in parentheses after the French.— *Ed.*

[c] In the original this phrase is given in parentheses in English after the French.— *Ed.*

[d] In the original the words from "no reciprocity" to "devours us" are given in English in parentheses after the French.— *Ed.*

"So long as this system of unequal exchanges is tolerated, the producers will be almost as poor and as ignorant and as hardworked as they are at present, even if *every governmental burthen be swept away* and *all taxes be abolished* ... nothing but a total change of system — an equality of labour and exchanges — can alter this state of things and guarantee true equality of rights.... The producers have but to make an effort — and by them must every effort for their own redemption be made — and their chains will be snapped asunder for ever.... As an end, the political equality is there a failure ... as a means, also, it is there a failure.[a]

"Where equal exchanges are maintained, the gain of one man cannot be the loss of another; for every exchange is then simply a *transfer*, and not a sacrifice, of labour and wealth. Thus, although under a social system based on equal exchanges, a parsimonious man may become rich, his wealth will be no more than the accumulated produce of his own labour. He may exchange his wealth, or he may give it to others ... but a rich man cannot continue wealthy for any length of time after he has ceased to labour. Under equality of exchanges, wealth cannot have, as it now has, a procreative and apparently self-generating power, such as replenishes all waste from consumption; for, unless it be renewed by labour, wealth, when once consumed, is given up for ever. That which is now called *profit* and *interest* cannot exist as such in connection with equality of exchanges; for producer and distributor would be alike remunerated, and the sum total of their labour would determine the value of the article created and brought to the hands of the consumer.

"The principle of equal exchanges, therefore, must from its very nature ensure *universal labour*." (Bray, pp. 67, 88, 89, 94, 109-10.)

After having refuted the objections of the economists to *communism*, Mr. Bray goes on to say:

"If, then, a changed character be essential to the success of the social system of community in its most perfect form — and if, likewise, the present system affords no circumstances and no facilities for effecting the requisite change of character and preparing man for the higher and better state desired — it is evident that these things must necessarily remain as they are, ... or else some preparatory step must be discovered and made use of — some movement partaking partly of the present and partly of the desired system" (the system of community), "some intermediate resting-place, to which society may go with all its faults and its follies, and from which it may move forward, imbued with those qualities and attributes without which the system of community and equality cannot as such have existence." (Bray, p. 134.)

"The whole movement would require only co-operation in its simplest form.... Cost of production would in every instance determine value; and equal values would always exchange for equal values. If one person worked a whole week, and another worked only half a week, the first would receive double the remuneration of the last; but this extra pay of the one would not be at the expense of the other, nor would the loss incurred by the last man fall in any way upon the first. Each person would exchange the wages he individually received for commodities of the same value as his respective wages; and in no case could the gain of one man or one trade be a loss to another man or another trade. The labour of every individual *would alone determine* his gains or his losses....

"...By means of general and local boards of trade[b] ... the quantities of the various

[a] In the original this sentence is given in English in parentheses after the French.— *Ed.*

[b] In the original the last three words are given in English in parentheses after the French.— *Ed.*

commodities required for consumption — the relative value of each in regard to each other — the number of hands required in various trades and descriptions of labour — and all other matters connected with production and distribution, could in a short time be as easily determined for a nation as for an individual company under the present arrangements.... Individuals would compose families, and families towns, as under the existing system.... The present distribution of people in towns and villages, bad as it is, would not be directly interfered with.... Under this joint-stock system, the same as under that now existing, every individual would be at liberty to accumulate as much as he pleased, and to enjoy such accumulations when and where he might think proper.... The great productive section of the community ... is divided into an indefinite number of smaller sections, all working, producing and exchanging their products on a footing of the most perfect equality.... And the joint-stock modification (which is nothing but a concession to present-day society in order to obtain communism), by being so constituted as to admit of *individual property* in productions in connection with a *common property* in productive powers — making every individual dependent on his own exertions, and at the same time allowing him an equal participation in every advantage afforded by nature and art — is fitted to take society as it is, and to prepare the way for other and better changes." (Bray, pp. 158, 160, 162, [163], 168, [170 and] 194.)

We only need to reply in a few words to Mr. Bray who without us and in spite of us has managed to supplant M. Proudhon, except that Mr. Bray, far from claiming the last word on behalf of humanity, proposes merely measures which he thinks good for a period of transition between existing society and a community regime.

One hour of Peter's labour exchanges for one hour of Paul's labour. That is Mr. Bray's fundamental axiom.

Let us suppose Peter has twelve hours' labour before him, and Paul only six. Peter will be able to make with Paul an exchange of only six for six. Peter will consequently have six hours' labour left over. What will he do with these six hours' labour?

Either he will do nothing — in which case he will have worked six hours for nothing; or else he will remain idle for another six hours to get even; or else, as a last resource, he will give these six hours' labour, which he has no use for, to Paul into the bargain.

What in the end will Peter have earned more than Paul? Some hours of labour? No! He will have gained only hours of leisure; he will be forced to play the loafer for six hours. And in order that this new right to loaf might be not only relished but sought after in the new society, this society would have to find in idleness its highest bliss, and to look upon labour as a heavy shackle from which it must break free at all costs. And again, to return to our example, if only these hours of leisure that Peter has gained in excess of Paul were really a gain! Not in the least. Paul, beginning by working only six hours, attains by steady and regular work a result that Peter secures only by beginning with an excess of work. Everyone will want to be

Paul, there will be a competition to occupy Paul's position, a competition in idleness.

Well, then! What has the exchange of equal quantities of labour brought us? Overproduction, depreciation, excess of labour followed by unemployment; in short, economic relations such as we see in present-day society, minus the competition of labour.

No! We are wrong! There is still an expedient which may save this new society, the society of Peters and Pauls. Peter will consume by himself the product of the six hours' labour which he has left. But since he has no longer to exchange in order to have produced, he has no need to produce in order to exchange; and the whole hypothesis of a society founded on the exchange and division of labour will fall to the ground. Equality of exchange will have been saved by the simple fact that exchange will have ceased to be: Paul and Peter will arrive at the position of Robinson.

Thus, if all the members of society are supposed to be immediate workers, the exchange of equal quantities of hours of labour is possible only on condition that the number of hours to be spent on material production is agreed on beforehand. But such an agreement negates individual exchange.

We still come to the same result, if we take as our starting point not the distribution of the products created but the act of production. In large-scale industry, Peter is not free to fix for himself the time of his labour, for Peter's labour is nothing without the co-operation of all the Peters and all the Pauls who make up the workshop. This explains very well the dogged resistance which the English factory owners put up to the *Ten Hours Bill.* They knew only too well that a two hours' reduction of labour granted to women and children[76] would carry with it an equal reduction of working hours for adult men. It is in the nature of large-scale industry that working hours should be equal for all. What is today the result of capital and the competition of workers among themselves will be tomorrow, if you sever the relation between labour and capital, an actual agreement based upon the relation between the sum of productive forces and the sum of existing needs.

But such an agreement is a condemnation of individual exchange, and we are back again at our first conclusion!

In principle, there is no exchange of products—but there is the exchange of the labour which co-operates in production. The mode of exchange of products depends upon the mode of exchange of the productive forces. In general, the form of exchange of products corresponds to the form of production. Change the latter, and the former will change in consequence. Thus

in the history of society we see that the mode of exchanging products is regulated by the mode of producing them. Individual exchange corresponds also to a definite mode of production which itself corresponds to class antagonism. There is thus no individual exchange without the antagonism of classes.

But the honest conscience refuses to see this obvious fact. So long as one is a bourgeois, one cannot but see in this relation of antagonism a relation of harmony and eternal justice, which allows no one to gain at the expense of another. For the bourgeois, individual exchange can exist without any antagonism of classes. For him, these are two quite unconnected things. Individual exchange, as the bourgeois conceives it, is far from resembling individual exchange as it is practised.

Mr. Bray turns the *illusion* of the respectable bourgeois into an *ideal* he would like to attain. In a purified individual exchange, freed from all the elements of antagonism he finds in it, he sees an "*equalitarian*" relation which he would like society to adopt.

Mr. Bray does not see that this equalitarian relation, this *corrective ideal* that he would like to apply to the world, is itself nothing but the reflection of the actual world; and that therefore it is totally impossible to reconstitute society on the basis of what is merely an embellished shadow of it. In proportion as this shadow takes on substance again, we perceive that this substance, far from being the transfiguration dreamt of, is the actual body of existing society.*

## § 3. APPLICATION OF THE LAW OF THE PROPORTIONALITY OF VALUE

### *A) Money*

"Gold and silver were the first commodities to have their value constituted." [I 69]

Thus gold and silver are the first applications of "value constituted" ... by M. Proudhon. And as M. Proudhon constitutes the

* Mr. Bray's theory, like all theories, has found supporters who have allowed themselves to be deluded by appearances. *Equitable-labour-exchange bazaars*[77] have been set up in London, Sheffield, Leeds and many other towns in England. These bazaars have all ended in scandalous failures after having absorbed considerable capital. The taste for them has gone for ever. You are warned, M. Proudhon! [*Note by Marx.* The copy with corrections in Marx's hand has "Nota!" in the margin opposite this note.]

It is known that Proudhon did not take this warning to heart. In 1849 he himself made an attempt with a new Exchange Bank in Paris. The bank, however, failed before it had got going properly: a court case against Proudhon had to serve to cover its collapse. *F. E.* [*Note to the German edition, 1885.*]

value of products determining it by the comparative amount of labour embodied in them, the only thing he had to do was to prove that *variations* in the value of gold and silver are always explained by variations in the labour time taken to produce them. M. Proudhon has no intention of doing so. He speaks of gold and silver not as commodities, but as money.

His only logic, if logic it be, consists in juggling with the capacity of gold and silver to be used as *money* for the benefit of all the commodities which have the property of being evaluated by labour time. Decidedly there is more naïveté than malice in this jugglery.

A useful product, being evaluated by the labour time needed to produce it, is always acceptable in exchange. Witness, cries M. Proudhon, gold and silver, which exist in my desired conditions of "exchangeability"! Gold and silver, then, are value which has reached a state of constitution: they are the incorporation of M. Proudhon's idea. He could not have been happier in his choice of an example. Gold and silver, apart from their capacity of being commodities, evaluated like other commodities in labour time, have also the capacity of being the universal agents of exchange, of being money. By now considering gold and silver as an application of "*value constituted*" by labour time, nothing is easier than to prove that all commodities whose value is constituted by labour time will always be exchangeable, will be money.

A very simple question occurs to M. Proudhon. Why have gold and silver the privilege of typifying "constituted value"?

> "The special function which usage has devolved upon the precious metals, that of serving as a medium for trade, is purely conventional, and any other commodity could, less conveniently perhaps, but just as authentically, fulfil this function. Economists recognise this, and cite more than one example. What then is the reason for this universal preference for metals as money? And what is the explanation of this specialisation of the functions of silver — which has no analogy in political economy?... Is it possible to *reconstruct the series* from which *money* seems to have broken away, and hence to trace it back to its true principle?" [I 68, 69]

By formulating the question in these terms, M. Proudhon has already presupposed the existence of *money*. The first question he should have asked himself was, why, in exchanges as they are actually constituted, it has been necessary to individualise exchangeable value, so to speak, by the creation of a special agent of exchange. Money is not a thing, it is a social relation. Why is the money relation a production relation like any other economic relation, such as the division of labour, etc.? If M. Proudhon had properly taken account of this relation, he would not have seen in money an exception, an element detached from a series unknown or needing reconstruction.

He would have realised, on the contrary, that this relation is a link, and, as such, closely connected with a whole chain of other economic relations; that this relation corresponds to a definite mode of production neither more nor less than does individual exchange. What does *he* do? He starts off by detaching money from the actual mode of production as a whole, and then makes it the first member of an imaginary series, of a series to be reconstructed.

Once the necessity for a specific agent of exchange, that is, for money, has been recognised, all that remains to be explained is why this particular function has devolved upon gold and silver rather than upon any other commodity. This is a secondary question, which is explained not by the chain of production relations, but by the specific qualities inherent in gold and silver as substances. If all this has made economists for once "go outside the domains of their own science, to dabble in physics, mechanics, history and so on" [I 69], as M. Proudhon reproaches them with doing, they have merely done what they were compelled to do. The question is no longer within the domain of political economy.

"What no economist," says M. Proudhon, "has either seen or understood is the *economic reason* which has determined, in favour of the precious metals, the favour they enjoy." [I 69]

This economic reason which nobody—with good ground indeed—has seen or understood, M. Proudhon has seen, understood and bequeathed to posterity.

"What nobody else has noticed is that, of all commodities, gold and silver were the first to have their value attain constitution. In the patriarchal period, gold and silver were still bartered and exchanged in ingots but even then they showed a visible tendency to become dominant and received a marked preference. *Little by little* the sovereigns took possession of them and affixed their seal to them: and of this sovereign consecration was born money, that is, the commodity *par excellence*, which, notwithstanding all the shocks of commerce, retains a definite proportional value and makes itself accepted for all payments.... The distinguishing characteristic of gold and silver is due, I repeat, to the fact that, thanks to their metallic properties, to the difficulties of their production, and above all to the intervention of state authority, they early won stability and authenticity as commodities." [I 69, 70]

To say that, of all commodities, gold and silver were the first to have their value constituted, is to say, after all that has gone before, that gold and silver were the first to attain the status of money. This is M. Proudhon's great revelation, this is the truth that none had discovered before him.

If, by these words, M. Proudhon means that of all commodities gold and silver are the ones whose time of production was known the earliest, this would be yet another of the suppositions with which he

is so ready to regale his readers. If we wished to harp on this patriarchal erudition, we would inform M. Proudhon that it was the time needed to produce objects of prime necessity such as iron, etc., which was the first to be known. We shall spare him Adam Smith's classic bow.[78]

But, after all that, how can M. Proudhon go on talking about the constitution of a value, since a value is never constituted all alone? It is constituted, not by the time needed to produce it all alone, but in relation to the quota of each and every other product which can be created in the same time. Thus the constitution of the value of gold and silver presupposes an already completed constitution of a number of other products.

It is then not the commodity that has attained, in gold and silver, the status of "constituted value", it is M. Proudhon's "constituted value" that has attained, in gold and silver, the status of money.

Let us now make a closer examination of these *economic reasons* which, according to M. Proudhon, have bestowed upon gold and silver the advantage of being raised to the status of money sooner than other products, thanks to their having passed through the constitutive phase of value.

These economic reasons are: the "visible tendency to become dominant", the "marked preference" even in the "patriarchal period" [I 69], and other circumlocutions about the actual fact—which increase the difficulty, since they multiply the fact by multiplying the incidents which M. Proudhon brings in to explain the fact. M. Proudhon has not yet exhausted all the so-called economic reasons. Here is one of sovereign, irresistible force:

> "Money is born of sovereign consecration: the sovereigns took possession of gold and silver and affixed their seal to them." [I 69]

Thus the whim of sovereigns is for M. Proudhon the highest reason in political economy.

Truly, one must be destitute of all historical knowledge not to know that it is the sovereigns who in all ages have been subject to economic conditions, but they have never dictated laws to them. Legislation, whether political or civil, never does more than proclaim, express in words, the will of economic relations.

Was it the sovereign who took possession of gold and silver to make them the universal agents of exchange by affixing his seal to them? Or was it not, rather, these universal agents of exchange which took possession of the sovereign and forced him to affix his seal to them and thus give them a political consecration?

The impress which was and is still given to silver is not that of its

value but of its weight. The stability and authenticity M. Proudhon speaks of apply only to the standard of the money; and this standard indicates how much metallic matter there is in a coined piece of silver.

"The sole intrinsic value of a silver mark," says Voltaire, with his habitual good sense, "is a mark of silver, half a pound weighing eight ounces. The weight and the standard alone form this intrinsic value." (Voltaire, *Système de Law.*[a])

But the question: how much is an ounce of gold or silver worth, remains nonetheless. If a cashmere from the *Grand Colbert* stores bore the trade mark *pure wool*, this trade mark would not tell you the value of the cashmere. There would still remain the question: how much is wool worth?

"Philip I, King of France," says M. Proudhon, "mixes with Charlemagne's Tours pound a third of alloy, imagining that, having the monopoly of the manufacture of money, he could do what is done by every tradesman who has the monopoly of a product. What was actually this debasement of the currency for which Philip and his successors have been so much blamed? It was perfectly sound reasoning from the point of view of commercial practice, but very unsound economic science, viz., to suppose that, as supply and demand regulate value, it is possible, either by producing an artificial scarcity or by monopolising manufacture, to increase the estimation and consequently the value of things; and that this is true of gold and silver as of corn, wine, oil or tobacco. But Philip's fraud was no sooner suspected than his money was reduced to its true value, and he himself lost what he had thought to gain from his subjects. The same thing has happened as a result of every similar attempt." [I 70-71]

It has been proved times without number that, if a prince takes into his head to debase the currency, it is he who loses. What he gains once at the first issue he loses every time the falsified coinage returns to him in the form of taxes, etc. But Philip and his successors were able to protect themselves more or less against this loss, for, once the debased coinage was put into circulation, they hastened to order a general re-minting of money on the old footing.

And besides, if Philip I had really reasoned like M. Proudhon, he would not have reasoned well "from the commercial point of view". Neither Philip I nor M. Proudhon displays any mercantile genius in imagining that it is possible to alter the value of gold as well as that of every other commodity merely because their value is determined by the relation between supply and demand.

If King Philip had decreed that one muid of wheat was in future to be called two muids of wheat, he would have been a swindler. He would have deceived all the rentiers, all the people who were entitled to receive a hundred muids of wheat. He would have been the cause

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[a] Voltaire, *Histoire du parlement*, chapitre LX "Finances et système de Law pendant la régence."— *Ed.*

of all these people receiving only fifty instead of a hundred. Suppose the king owed a hundred muids of wheat; he would have had to pay only fifty. But in commerce a hundred such muids would never have been worth more than fifty. By changing the name we do not change the thing. The quantity of wheat, whether supplied or demanded, will be neither decreased nor increased by this mere change of name. Thus, the relation between supply and demand being just the same in spite of this change of name, the price of wheat will undergo no real change. When we speak of the supply and demand of things, we do not speak of the supply and demand of the name of things. Philip I was not a maker of gold or silver, as M. Proudhon says; he was a maker of names for coins. Pass off your French cashmeres as Asiatic cashmeres, and you may deceive a buyer or two; but once the fraud becomes known, your so-called Asiatic cashmeres will drop to the price of French cashmeres. When he put a false label on gold and silver, King Philip could deceive only so long as the fraud was not known. Like any other shopkeeper, he deceived his customers by a false description of his wares, which could not last for long. He was bound sooner or later to suffer the rigour of commercial laws. Is this what M. Proudhon wanted to prove? No. According to him it is from the sovereign and not from commerce that money gets its value. And what has he really proved? That commerce is more sovereign than the sovereign. Let the sovereign decree that one mark shall in future be two marks, commerce will keep on saying that these two marks are worth no more than one mark was formerly.

But, for all that, the question of value determined by the quantity of labour has not been advanced a step. It still remains to be decided whether the value of these two marks (which have become what one mark was once) is determined by the cost of production or by the law of supply and demand.

M. Proudhon continues:

> "It should even be borne in mind that if, instead of debasing the currency, it had been in the king's power to double its bulk, the exchange value of gold and silver would immediately have dropped by half, always for reasons of proportion and equilibrium." [I 71]

If this opinion, which M. Proudhon shares with the other economists, is valid, it argues in favour of the latter's doctrine of supply and demand, and in no way in favour of M. Proudhon's proportionality. For, whatever the quantity of labour embodied in the doubled bulk of gold and silver, its value would have dropped by half, the demand having remained the same and the supply having doubled. Or can it be, by any chance, that the "*law of proportionality*"

would become confused this time with the so much disdained law of supply and demand? This correct proportion of M. Proudhon's is indeed so elastic, is capable of so many variations, combinations and permutations, that it might well coincide for once with the relation between supply and demand.

To make "every commodity acceptable in exchange, if not in fact then at least in law," on the basis of the role of gold and silver is, then, to misunderstand this role. Gold and silver are acceptable in law only because they are acceptable in fact; and they are acceptable in fact because the present organisation of production needs a universal agent of exchange. Law is only the official recognition of fact.

We have seen that the example of silver as an application of value which has attained constitution was chosen by M. Proudhon only to smuggle through his whole doctrine of exchangeability, that is to say, to prove that every commodity assessed by its cost of production must attain the status of money. All this would be very fine, were it not for the awkward fact that precisely gold and silver, as money, are of all commodities the only ones not determined by their cost of production; and this is so true that in circulation they can be replaced by paper. So long as there is a certain proportion observed between the requirements of circulation and the amount of money issued, be it paper, gold, platinum or copper money, there can be no question of a proportion to be observed between the intrinsic value (cost of production) and the nominal value of money. Doubtless, in international trade, money is determined, like any other commodity, by labour time. But it is also true that gold and silver in international trade are means of exchange as products and not as money. In other words, they lose this characteristic of "stability and authenticity", of "sovereign consecration", which, for M. Proudhon, forms their specific characteristic. Ricardo understood this truth so well that after basing his whole system on value determined by labour time, and after saying: "*Gold and silver,* like all other commodities, are valuable only in proportion to the quantity of labour necessary to produce them, and bring them to market", he adds, nevertheless, that the value of *money* is not determined by the labour time its substance embodies, but by the law of supply and demand only.

"Though it" (paper money) "has no intrinsic value, yet, by limiting its quantity, its value in exchange is as great as an equal denomination of coin, or of bullion in that coin. On the same principle, too, namely, by a limitation of its quantity, a debased coin would circulate at the value it should bear, if it were of the legal weight and fineness, and not at the value of the quantity of metal which it actually contained. In the history of the British coinage, we find, accordingly, that the currency was never depreciated

in the same proportion that it was debased; the reason of which was, that it never was increased in quantity, in proportion to its diminished intrinsic value." (Ricardo, *loc. cit.* [II 206-07; Eng. ed., pp. 422-23].)

This is what J. B. Say observes on this passage of Ricardo's:

"This *example* should suffice, I think, to convince the author that the basis of all value is not the amount of labour needed to make a commodity, but the need felt for that commodity, balanced by its scarcity."[a]

Thus money, which for Ricardo is no longer a value determined by labour time, and which J. B. Say therefore takes as an example to convince Ricardo that the other values could not be determined by labour time either, this money, I say, taken by J. B. Say as an example of a value determined exclusively by supply and demand, becomes for M. Proudhon the example *par excellence* of the application of value constituted ... by labour time.

To conclude, if money is not a "value constituted" by labour time, it is all the less likely that it could have anything in common with M. Proudhon's correct "proportion". Gold and silver are always exchangeable, because they have the special function of serving as the universal agent of exchange, and in no wise because they exist in a quantity proportional to the sum total of wealth; or, to put it still better, they are always proportional because, alone of all commodities, they serve as money, the universal agent of exchange, whatever their quantity in relation to the sum total of wealth.

"A circulation can never be so abundant as to overflow; for by diminishing its value, in the same proportion you will increase its quantity, and by increasing its value, diminish its quantity." (Ricardo [II 205; Eng. ed., p. 422 ].)

"What an imbroglio political economy is!" cries M. Proudhon. [I 72]

"'Cursed gold!' cries a Communist flippantly" (through the mouth of M. Proudhon). "You might as well say: Cursed wheat, cursed vines, cursed sheep!—for just like gold and silver, *every commercial value* must attain its strict and exact determination." [I 73]

The idea of making sheep and vines attain the status of money is not new. In France, it belongs to the age of Louis XIV. At that period, money having begun to establish its omnipotence, the depreciation of all other commodities was being complained of, and the time when "every commercial value" might attain its strict and exact determination, the status of money, was being eagerly invoked. Even in the writings of Boisguillebert, one of the oldest of French economists, we find:

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[a] Say's note to the French edition of Ricardo's book, tome II, p. 207.—*Ed.*

"Money then, by the arrival of innumerable competitors in the form of commodities themselves, re-established in their true values, will be thrust back again within its natural limits."[a] (*Économistes financiers du XVIII^e siècle*, Daire edition, p. 422.)

One sees that the first illusions of the bourgeoisie are also their last.

### *B) Surplus Left by Labour*

"In works on political economy we read this absurd hypothesis: *If the price of everything were doubled....* As if the price of everything were not the proportion of things—and one could double a proportion, a relation, a law!" (Proudhon, tome I, p. 81.)

Economists have fallen into this error through not knowing how to apply the "law of proportionality" and "constituted value".

Unfortunately in the very same work by M. Proudhon, tome I, p. 110, we read the absurd hypothesis that, "if wages rose generally, the price of everything would rise". Furthermore, if we find the phrase in question in works on political economy, we also find an explanation of it.

"When one speaks of the price of all commodities going up or down, one always excludes some one commodity. The excluded commodity is, in general, money or labour." (*Encyclopaedia Metropolitana, or Universal Dictionary of Knowledge*, Vol. VI, Article *Political Economy*, by Senior, London, 1836. Regarding the phrase under discussion, see also J. St. Mill: *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy*, London, 1844, and Tooke: *A History of Prices, etc.*, London, 1838.)

Let us pass now to the *second application* of "constituted value", and of other proportions—whose only defect is their lack of proportion. And let us see whether M. Proudhon is happier here than in the *monetisation* of sheep.

"An axiom generally admitted by economists is that all labour must leave a surplus. In my opinion this proposition is universally and absolutely true: it is the corollary of the law of proportion, which may be regarded as the summary of the whole of economic science. But, if the economists will permit me to say so, the principle that *all labour must leave a surplus* is meaningless according to their theory, and is not susceptible of any *demonstration*." (Proudhon [I 73].)

To prove that all labour must leave a surplus, M. Proudhon personifies society; he turns it into a *person-society*—a society which is not by any means a society of persons, since it has its laws apart, which have nothing in common with the persons of which society is composed, and its "own intelligence", which is not the intelligence of

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[a] P. Boisguillebert, *Dissertation sur la nature des richesses....— Ed.*

common men, but an intelligence devoid of common sense. M. Proudhon reproaches the economists with not having understood the personality of this collective being. We have pleasure in confronting him with the following passage from an American economist, who accuses the economists of just the opposite:

"The moral *entity*—the grammatical being[a] called a nation, has been clothed in attributes that have no real existence except in the imagination of those who metamorphose a word into a thing.... This has given rise to many difficulties and to some deplorable misunderstandings in political economy." (Th. Cooper, *Lectures on the Elements of Political Economy*, Columbia, 1826.[79])

"This principle of the surplus left by labour," continues M. Proudhon, "is true of individuals only because it emanates from society, which thus confers on them the benefit of its own laws." [I 75]

Does M. Proudhon thereby mean merely that the production of the social individual exceeds that of the isolated individual? Is M. Proudhon referring to this surplus of the production of associated individuals over that of non-associated individuals? If so, we could quote for him a hundred economists who have expressed this simple truth without any of the mysticism with which M. Proudhon surrounds himself. This, for example, is what Mr. Sadler says:

"Combined labour produces results which individual exertion could never accomplish. As mankind, therefore, multiply in number, the products of their united industry would greatly exceed the amount of any mere arithmetical addition calculated on such an increase.... In the mechanical arts, as well as in pursuits of science, a man may achieve more in a day ... than a solitary ... individual could perform in his whole life.... Geometry says ... that the whole is only equal to the sum of all its parts; as applied to the subject before us, this axiom would be false. Regarding labour, the great pillar of human existence[b], it may be said that the entire product of combined exertion almost infinitely exceeds all which individual and disconnected efforts could possibly accomplish." (T. Sadler, *The Law of Population*, London, 1830 [pp. 83, 84].)

To return to M. Proudhon. The surplus left by labour, he says, is explained by the person-society. The life of this person is guided by laws which are the opposite of those which govern the activities of man as an individual. He desires to prove this by "*facts*".

"The discovery of an economic process can never provide the inventor with a profit equal to that which he procures for society.... It has been remarked that railway enterprises are much less a source of wealth for the contractors than for the state.... The average cost of transporting commodities by road is 18 centimes per ton per kilometre, from the collection of the goods to their delivery. It has been calculated that

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[a] In the original both terms are given in English in parentheses after the French.—*Ed.*

[b] In the original the words "the great pillar of human existence" are given in English in parentheses after the French.—*Ed.*

at this rate an ordinary railway enterprise would not obtain 10 per cent net profit, a result approximately equal to that of a road-transport enterprise. But let us suppose that the speed of rail transport compared with that of road transport is as 4 is to 1. Since in society time is value itself, the railway would, prices being equal, present an advantage of 400 per cent over road transport. Yet this enormous advantage, very real for society, is far from being realised in the same proportion for the carrier, who, while bestowing upon society an extra value of 400 per cent, does not for his own part draw 10 per cent. To bring the matter home still more pointedly, let us suppose, in fact, that the railway puts up its rate to 25 centimes, the cost of road transport remaining at 18: it would instantly lose all its consignments. Senders, receivers, everybody would return to the van, to the primitive waggon if necessary. The locomotive would be abandoned. A social advantage of 400 per cent would be sacrificed to a private loss of 35 per cent. The reason for this is easily grasped: the advantage resulting from the speed of the railway is entirely social, and each individual participates in it only in a minute proportion (it must be remembered that at the moment we are dealing only with the transport of goods), while the loss strikes the consumer directly and personally. A social profit equal to 400 represents for the individual, if society is composed only of a million men, four ten-thousandths; while a loss of 33 per cent for the consumer would suppose a social deficit of 33 million." (Proudhon [I 75, 76].)

We may even overlook the fact that M. Proudhon expresses a quadrupled speed as 400 per cent of the original speed; but that he should bring into relation the percentage of speed and the percentage of profit and establish a proportion between two relations which, although measured separately by percentages, are nevertheless incommensurable with each other, is to establish a proportion between the percentages without reference to denominations.

Percentages are always percentages, 10 per cent and 400 per cent are commensurable; they are to each other as 10 is to 400. Therefore, concludes M. Proudhon, a profit of 10 per cent is worth forty times less than a quadrupled speed. To save appearances, he says that, for society, time is money.[a] This error arises from his recollecting vaguely that there is a connection between value and labour time, and he hastens to identify labour time with transport time; that is, he identifies the few firemen, guards and conductors, whose labour time is actually transport time, with the whole of society. Thus at one blow, speed has become capital, and in this case he is entirely right in saying: "A profit of 400 per cent will be sacrificed to a loss of 35 per cent." After establishing this strange proposition as a mathematician, he gives us the explanation of it as an economist.

"A social profit equal to 400 represents for the individual, if society is composed only of a million men, four ten-thousandths."

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[a] In the original the words "time is money" are given in English in parentheses after the French.— *Ed.*

Agreed; but we are dealing not with 400, but with 400 per cent, and a profit of 400 per cent represents for the individual 400 per cent, neither more nor less. Whatever be the capital, the dividends will always be in the ratio of 400 per cent. What does M. Proudhon do? He takes percentages for capital, and, as if he were afraid of his confusion not being manifest enough, "pointed" enough, he continues:

"A loss of 33 per cent for the consumer would suppose a social deficit of 33 million." A loss of 33 per cent for the consumer remains a loss of 33 per cent for a million consumers. How then can M. Proudhon say pertinently that the social deficit in the case of a 33 per cent loss amounts to 33 million, when he knows neither the social capital nor even the capital of a single one of the persons concerned? Thus it was not enough for M. Proudhon to have confused *capital* with *percentage*; he surpasses himself by identifying the *capital* sunk in an enterprise with the *number* of interested parties.

"To bring the matter home still more pointedly let us suppose in fact" a given capital. A social profit of 400 per cent divided among a million participants, each of them interested to the extent of one franc, would give 4 francs profit per head—and not 0.0004, as M. Proudhon alleges. Likewise a loss of 33 per cent for each of the participants represents a social deficit of 330,000 francs and not of 33 million (100:33=1,000,000:330,000).

M. Proudhon, preoccupied with his theory of the person-society, forgets to divide by 100 and gets a loss of 330,000 francs; but 4 francs profit per head makes 4 million francs profit for society. There remains for society a net profit of 3.670,000 francs. This accurate calculation proves precisely the contrary of that which M. Proudhon wanted to prove: namely, that the profits and losses of society are not in inverse ratio to the profits and losses of individuals.

Having rectified these simple errors of pure calculation let us take a look at the consequences which we would arrive at, if we admitted this relation between speed and capital in the case of railways, as M. Proudhon gives it—minus the mistakes in calculation. Let us suppose that a transport four times as rapid costs four times as much; this transport would not yield less profit than cartage, which is four times slower and costs a quarter of the amount. Thus, if cartage takes 18 centimes, rail transport could take 72 centimes. This would be, according to "the rigour of mathematics", the consequence of M. Proudhon's suppositions—always minus his mistakes in calculation. But here he is all of a sudden telling us that if, instead of 72 centimes, rail transport takes only 25, it would instantly lose all its consignments. Decidedly we should have to go back to the van, to the

primitive waggon even. Only, if we have any advice to give M. Proudhon, it is not to forget, in his *Programme of the Progressive Association,* to divide by 100. But, alas! it is scarcely to be hoped that our advice will be listened to, for M. Proudhon is so delighted with his "progressive" calculation, corresponding to the "progressive association", that he cries most emphatically:

"I have already shown in Chapter II, by the solution of the antinomy of value, that the advantage of every useful discovery is incomparably less for the inventor, whatever he may do, than for society. I have carried the demonstration in regard to this point *to the rigour of mathematics!*" [I 241]

Let us return to the fiction of the person-society, a fiction which has no other aim than that of proving this simple truth—that a new invention which enables a given amount of labour to produce a greater number of commodities, lowers the marketable value of the product. Society, then, makes a profit, not by obtaining more exchange values, but by obtaining more commodities for the same value. As for the inventor, competition makes his profit fall successively to the general level of profits. Has M. Proudhon proved this proposition as he wanted to? No. This does not prevent him from reproaching the economists with failure to prove it. To prove to him on the contrary that they have proved it, we shall cite only Ricardo and Lauderdale—Ricardo, the head of the school which determines value by labour time, and Lauderdale, one of the most uncompromising defenders of the determination of value by supply and demand. Both have expounded the same proposition:

"By constantly increasing the facility of production, we constantly diminish the value of some of the commodities before produced, though by the same means we not only add to the national riches, but also to the power of future production.... As soon as by the aid of machinery, or by the knowledge of natural philosophy, you oblige natural agents to do the work which was before done by man, the exchangeable value of such work falls accordingly. If ten men turned a corn mill, and it be discovered that by the assistance of wind, or of water, the labour of these ten men may be spared, the flour which is the produce partly of the work performed by the mill, would immediately fall in value, in proportion to the quantity of labour saved; and the society would be richer by the commodities which the labour of the ten men could produce, the funds destined for their maintenance being in no degree impaired." (Ricardo [II 59, 82; Eng. ed., pp. 321-22, 336].)

Lauderdale, in his turn, says:

"In every instance where capital is so employed as to produce a profit, it uniformly arises, either—from its supplanting a portion of labour, which would otherwise be performed by the hand of man; or—from its performing a portion of labour, which is beyond the reach of the personal exertion of man to accomplish.... The small profit which the proprietors of machinery generally acquire, when compared with the wages of labour, which the machine supplants, may perhaps create a suspicion of the

rectitude of this opinion. Some fire-engines, for instance, draw more water from a coalpit in one day than could be conveyed on the shoulders of three hundred men, even assisted by the machinery of buckets; and a fire-engine undoubtedly performs its labour at a much smaller expense than the amount of the wages of those whose labour it thus supplants. This is, in truth, the case with all machinery. All machines must execute the labour that was antecedently performed at a cheaper rate than it could be done by the hand of man.... If such a privilege is given for the invention of a machine, which performs, by the labour of one man, a quantity of work that used to take the labour of four; as the possession of the exclusive privilege prevents any competition in doing the work, but what proceeds from the labour of the workmen, their wages, as long as the patent continues, must obviously form the measure of the patentee's charge; that is to secure employment, he has only to charge a little less than the wages of the labour which the machine supplants. But when the patent expires, other machines of the same nature are brought into competition; and then his charge must be regulated on the same principle as every other, according to the abundance of machines.... The profit of capital employed..., though it arises from supplanting labour, comes to be regulated, not by the value of the labour it supplants, but, as in all other cases, by the competition among the proprietors of capital; and it will be great or small in proportion to the quantity of capital that presents itself for performing the duty, and the demand for it." [Pp. 119, 123, 124-25, 134; Eng. ed., pp. 161, 166-67, 168-69, 181-82.]

Finally, then, so long as the profit is greater than in other industries, capital will be thrown into the new industry until the rate of profit falls to the general level.

We have just seen that the example of the railway was scarcely suited to throw any light on the fiction of the person-society. Nevertheless, M. Proudhon boldly resumes his discourse:

"With these points cleared up, nothing is easier than to explain how labour must leave a surplus for each producer." [I 77]

What now follows belongs to classical antiquity. It is a poetical narrative intended to refresh the reader after the fatigue which the rigour of the preceding mathematical demonstrations must have caused him. M. Proudhon gives his person-society the name of *Prometheus*, whose high deeds he glorifies in these terms:

"First of all, Prometheus emerging from the bosom of nature awakes to life, in a delightful inertia," etc., etc. "Prometheus sets to work, and on this first day, the first day of the second creation, Prometheus' product, i. e., his wealth, his well-being, is equal to ten. On the second day, Prometheus divides his labour, and his product becomes equal to a hundred. On the third day and on each of the following days, Prometheus invents machines, discovers new utilities in bodies, new forces in nature.... With every step of his industrial activity, there is an increase in the number of his products, which marks an enhancement of happiness for him. And since, after all, to consume is for him to produce, it is clear that every day's consumption, using up only the product of the day before, leaves a surplus product for the next day." [I 77, 78]

This Prometheus of M. Proudhon's is a queer character, as weak in logic as in political economy. So long as Prometheus merely teaches

us the division of labour, the application of machinery, the exploitation of natural forces and scientific power, multiplying the productive forces of men and giving a surplus compared with the produce of labour in isolation, this new Prometheus has the misfortune only of coming too late. But the moment Prometheus starts talking about production and consumption he becomes really ludicrous. To consume, for him, is to produce; he consumes the next day what he produced the day before, so that he is always one day in advance; this day in advance is his "surplus left by labour". But, if he consumes one day what he produced the day before, he must, on the first day, which had no day before, have done two days' work in order to be one day in advance later on. How did Prometheus earn this surplus on the first day, when there was neither division of labour, nor machinery, nor even any knowledge of physical forces other than fire? Thus the question, for all its being carried back "to the first day of the second creation", has not advanced a single step forward. This way of explaining things savours both of Greek and of Hebrew, it is at once mystical and allegorical. It gives M. Proudhon a perfect right to say:

"I have proved by theory and by facts the principle that all labour must leave a surplus." [I 79]

The "facts" are the famous progressive calculation; the theory is the myth of Prometheus.

"But," continues M. Proudhon, "this principle, while being as certain as an arithmetical proposition, is as yet far from being realised by everyone. Whereas, with the progress of collective industry, every day's individual labour produces a greater and greater product, and whereas therefore, by a necessary consequence, the worker with the same wage[a] ought to become richer every day, there actually exist estates in society which profit and others which decay." [I 79-80]

In 1770 the population of the United Kingdom of Great Britain was 15 million, and the productive population was 3 million. The scientific power of production equalled a population of about 12 million individuals more. Therefore there were, altogether, 15 million of productive forces. Thus the productive power was to the population as 1 is to 1; and the scientific power was to the manual power as 4 is to 1.

In 1840 the population did not exceed 30 million: the productive population was 6 million. But the scientific power amounted to 650 million; that is, it was to the whole population as 21 is to 1, and to manual power as 108 is to 1.

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[a] In the copy with corrections in Marx's hand the words "with the same wage" are underscored and the word "Nota" is written in the margin.— *Ed.*

In English society the working day thus acquired in seventy years a surplus of 2,700 per cent productivity; that is, in 1840 it produced 27 times as much as in 1770. According to M. Proudhon, the following question should be raised: why was not the English worker of 1840 twenty-seven times as rich as the one of 1770? In raising such a question one would naturally be supposing that the English could have produced this wealth without the historical conditions in which it was produced, such as: private accumulation of capital, modern division of labour, automatic workshops, anarchical competition, the wage system—in short, everything that is based upon class antagonism. Now, these were precisely the necessary conditions of existence for the development of productive forces and of the surplus left by labour. Therefore, to obtain this development of productive forces and this surplus left by labour, there had to be classes which profited and classes which decayed.

What then, ultimately, is this Prometheus resuscitated by M. Proudhon? It is society, social relations based on class antagonism. These relations are not relations between individual and individual, but between worker and capitalist, between farmer and landlord, etc. Wipe out these relations and you annihilate all society, and your Prometheus is nothing but a ghost without arms or legs; that is, without automatic workshops, without division of labour—in a word, without everything that you gave him to start with in order to make him obtain this surplus left by labour.

If then, in theory, it sufficed to interpret, as M. Proudhon does, the formula of the surplus left by labour in the equalitarian sense, without taking into account the actual conditions of production, it should suffice, in practice, to share out equally among the workers all the wealth at present acquired, without changing in any way the present conditions of production. Such a distribution would certainly not assure a high degree of comfort to the individual participants.

But M. Proudhon is not so pessimistic as one might think. As proportionality is everything for him, he has to see in his fully equipped Prometheus, that is, in present-day society, the beginnings of a realisation of his favourite idea.

"But everywhere, too, the progress of wealth, that is, the *proportion of values*, is the dominant law; and when economists hold up against the complaints of the social party the progressive growth of the public wealth, and the improved conditions of even the most unfortunate classes, they unwittingly proclaim a truth which is the condemnation of their theories." [I 80]

What is, actually, collective wealth, public fortune? It is the wealth of the bourgeoisie—not that of each bourgeois in particular. Well, the economists have done nothing but show how, in the existing

relations of production, the wealth of the bourgeoisie has grown and must grow still further. As for the working classes, it still remains a very debatable question whether their condition has improved as a result of the increase in so-called public wealth. If the economists, in support of their optimism, cite the example of the English workers employed in the cotton industry, they see the condition of the latter only in the rare moments of trade prosperity. These moments of prosperity are to the periods of crisis and stagnation in the "correct proportion" of 3 to 10. But perhaps also, in speaking of improvement, the economists were thinking of the millions of workers who had to perish in the East Indies so as to procure for the million and a half workers employed in the same industry in England three years' prosperity out of ten.

As for the temporary participation in the increase of public wealth, that is a different matter. The fact of temporary participation is explained by the theory of the economists. It is the confirmation of this theory and not its "condemnation", as M. Proudhon calls it. If there were anything to be condemned, it would surely be the system of M. Proudhon, who would reduce the worker, as we have shown, to the minimum wage, in spite of the increase in wealth. It is only by reducing the worker to the minimum wage that he would be able to apply the correct proportion of values, of "value constituted" by labour time. It is because wages, as a result of competition, oscillate now above, now below, the price of food necessary for the sustenance of the worker, that he can participate to a certain extent in the development of collective wealth, and can also perish from want. This is the whole theory of the economists who have no illusions on the subject.

After his lengthy digressions on railways, on Prometheus, and on the new society to be reconstituted on "constituted value", M. Proudhon collects himself; emotion overpowers him and he cries in fatherly tones:

> "I *beseech* the economists to question themselves for one moment, in the silence of their hearts—far from the prejudices that trouble them and regardless of the employment they are engaged in or hope to obtain, of the interests they subserve, or the approbation to which they aspire, of the honours which nurse their vanity—let them say whether before this day the principle that all labour must leave a surplus appeared to them with this chain of premises and consequences that we have revealed." [I 80]

CHAPTER II

# THE METAPHYSICS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

## § 1. THE METHOD

Here we are, in the heart of Germany. We shall now have to talk metaphysics while talking political economy. And in this again we shall but follow M. Proudhon's "contradictions". Just now he forced us to speak English, to become pretty well English ourselves. Now the scene is changing. M. Proudhon is transporting us to our dear fatherland and is forcing us, whether we like it or not, to become German again.

If the Englishman transforms men into hats, the German transforms hats into ideas. The Englishman is Ricardo, a rich banker and distinguished economist; the German is Hegel, an ordinary professor of philosophy at the University of Berlin.

Louis XV, the last absolute monarch and representative of the decadence of French royalty, had attached to his person a physician who was himself France's first economist. This physician, this economist, represented the imminent and certain triumph of the French bourgeoisie. Doctor Quesnay made a science out of political economy; he summarised it in his famous *Tableau économique.* Besides the thousand and one commentaries on this table which have appeared, we possess one by the doctor himself. It is the "Analyse du *Tableau économique*", followed by "seven *observations importantes*".

M. Proudhon is another Dr. Quesnay. He is the Quesnay of the metaphysics of political economy.

Now metaphysics—indeed all philosophy—can be summed up, according to Hegel, in method. We must, therefore, try to elucidate the method of M. Proudhon, which is at least as obscure as *Tableau économique.* It is for this reason that we are making seven more or less important observations. If Dr. Proudhon is not pleased with our

observations, well, then, he will have to become an Abbé Baudeau[a] and give the "explanation of the economico-metaphysical method" himself.

### *First Observation*

"We are not giving a *history according to the order in time,* but *according to the sequence of ideas.* Economic *phases* or *categories* are in their *manifestation* sometimes contemporary, sometimes inverted.... Economic theories have nonetheless their *logical sequence* and their *serial relation in the understanding*: it is this order that we flatter ourselves to have discovered." (Proudhon, tome I, pp. 145 and 146.)

M. Proudhon most certainly wanted to frighten the French by flinging quasi-Hegelian phrases at them. So we have to deal with two men: first with M. Proudhon, and then with Hegel. How does M. Proudhon distinguish himself from other economists? And what part does Hegel play in M. Proudhon's political economy?

Economists express the relations of bourgeois production, the division of labour, credit, money, etc., as fixed, immutable, eternal categories. M. Proudhon, who has these ready-made categories before him, wants to explain to us the act of formation, the genesis of these categories, principles, laws, ideas, thoughts.

Economists explain how production takes place in the abovementioned relations, but what they do not explain is how these relations themselves are produced, that is, the historical movement which gave them birth. M. Proudhon, taking these relations for principles, categories, abstract thoughts, has merely to put into *order* these thoughts, which are to be found alphabetically arranged at the end of every treatise on political economy. The economists' material is the active, energetic life of man; M. Proudhon's material is the dogmas of the economists. But the moment we cease to pursue the historical movement of production relations, of which the categories are but the theoretical expression, the moment we want to see in these categories no more than ideas, spontaneous thoughts, independent of real relations, we are forced to attribute the origin of these thoughts to the movement of pure reason. How does pure, eternal, impersonal reason give rise to these thoughts? How does it proceed in order to produce them?

If we had M. Proudhon's intrepidity in the matter of Hegelianism we should say: it is distinguished in itself from itself. What does this mean? Impersonal reason, having outside itself neither a base on which it can pose itself, nor an object to which it can oppose itself,

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[a] An allusion to the book: N. Baudeau, *Explication du Tableau économique.*—*Ed.*

nor a subject with which it can compose itself, is forced to turn head over heels, in posing itself, opposing itself and composing itself—position, opposition, composition. Or, to speak Greek—we have thesis, antithesis and synthesis. For those who do not know the Hegelian language, we shall give the ritual formula: affirmation, negation and negation of the negation. That is what language means. It is certainly not Hebrew (with due apologies to M. Proudhon); but it is the language of this pure reason, separate from the individual. Instead of the ordinary individual with his ordinary manner of speaking and thinking we have nothing but this ordinary manner purely and simply—without the individual.

Is it surprising that everything, in the final abstraction—for we have here an abstraction, and not an analysis—presents itself as a logical category? Is it surprising that, if you let drop little by little all that constitutes the individuality of a house, leaving out first of all the materials of which it is composed, then the form that distinguishes it, you end up with nothing but a body; that, if you leave out of account the limits of this body, you soon have nothing but a space—that if, finally, you leave out of account the dimensions of this space, there is absolutely nothing left but pure quantity, the logical category? If we abstract thus from every subject all the alleged accidents, animate or inanimate, men or things, we are right in saying that in the final abstraction, the only substance left is the logical categories. Thus the metaphysicians who, in making these abstractions, think they are making analyses, and who, the more they detach themselves from things, imagine themselves to be getting all the nearer to the point of penetrating to their core—these metaphysicians in turn are right in saying that things here below are embroideries of which the logical categories constitute the canvas. This is what distinguishes the philosopher from the Christian. The Christian, in spite of logic, has only one incarnation of the *Logos*; with the philosopher there is no end to incarnations. If all that exists, all that lives on land and under water can be reduced by abstraction to a logical category—if the whole real world can be drowned thus in a world of abstractions, in the world of logical categories—who need be astonished at it?

All that exists, all that lives on land and under water, exists and lives only by some kind of movement. Thus the movement of history produces social relations; industrial movement gives us industrial products, etc.

Just as by dint of abstraction we have transformed everything into a logical category, so one has only to make an abstraction of every characteristic distinctive of different movements to attain movement

in its abstract condition—purely formal movement, the purely logical formula of movement. If one finds in logical categories the substance of all things, one imagines one has found in the logical formula of movement the *absolute method,* which not only explains all things, but also implies the movement of things.

It is of this absolute method that Hegel speaks in these terms:

> "Method is the absolute, unique, supreme, infinite force, which no object can resist; it is the tendency of reason to find itself again, to recognise itself in every object."[80] (*Logic,*[a] Vol. III.)

All things being reduced to a logical category, and every movement, every act of production, to method, it follows naturally that every aggregate of products and production, of objects and of movement, can be reduced to applied metaphysics. What Hegel has done for religion, law, etc., M. Proudhon seeks to do for political economy.

So what is this absolute method? The abstraction of movement. What is the abstraction of movement? Movement in abstract condition. What is movement in abstract condition? The purely logical formula of movement or the movement of pure reason. Wherein does the movement of pure reason consist? In posing itself, opposing itself, composing itself; in formulation itself as thesis, antithesis, synthesis; or, yet again, in affirming itself, negating itself and negating its negation.

How does reason manage to affirm itself, to pose itself as a definite category? That is the business of reason itself and of its apologists.

But once it has managed to pose itself as a thesis, this thesis, this thought, opposed to itself, splits up into two contradictory thoughts—the positive and the negative, the yes and the no. The struggle between these two antagonistic elements comprised in the antithesis constitutes the dialectic movement. The yes becoming no, the no becoming yes, the yes becoming both yes and no, the no becoming both no and yes, the contraries balance, neutralise, paralyse each other. The fusion of these two contradictory thoughts constitutes a new thought, which is the synthesis of them. This thought splits up once again into two contradictory thoughts, which in turn fuse into a new synthesis. Of this travail is born a group of thoughts. This group of thoughts follows the same dialectic movement as the simple category, and has a contradictory group as antithesis. Of these two groups of thoughts is born a new group of thoughts, which is the synthesis of them.

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik.— Ed.*

Just as from the dialectic movement of the simple categories is born the group, so from the dialectic movement of the groups is born the series, and from the dialectic movement of the series is born the entire system.

Apply this method to the categories of political economy, and you have the logic and metaphysics of political economy, or, in other words, you have the economic categories that everybody knows translated into a little-known language which makes them look as if they had newly blossomed forth in an intellect of pure reason; so much do these categories seem to engender one another, to be linked up and intertwined with one another by the very working of the dialectic movement. The reader must not get alarmed at these metaphysics with all their scaffolding of categories, groups, series and systems. M. Proudhon, in spite of all the trouble he has taken to scale the heights of the *system of contradictions,* has never been able to raise himself above the first two rungs of simple thesis and antithesis; and even these he has mounted only twice, and on one of these two occasions he fell over backwards.

Up to now we have expounded only the dialectics of Hegel. We shall see later how M. Proudhon has succeeded in reducing it to the meanest proportions. Thus, for Hegel, all that has happened and is still happening is only just what is happening in his own mind. Thus the philosophy of history is nothing but the history of philosophy, of his own philosophy. There is no longer a "history according to the order in time", there is only "the sequence of ideas in the understanding". He thinks he is constructing the world by the movement of thought, whereas he is merely reconstructing systematically and classifying by the absolute method the thoughts which are in the minds of all.

### *Second Observation*

Economic categories are only the theoretical expressions, the abstractions of the social relations of production. M. Proudhon, holding things upside down like a true philosopher, sees in actual relations nothing but the incarnation of these principles, of these categories, which were slumbering—so M. Proudhon the philosopher tells us—in the bosom of the "impersonal reason of humanity".

M. Proudhon the economist understands very well that men make cloth, linen or silk materials in definite relations of production. But what he has not understood is that these definite social relations are

just as much produced by men as linen, flax, etc. Social relations are closely bound up with productive forces. In acquiring new productive forces men change their mode of production; and in changing their mode of production, in changing the way of earning their living, they change all their social relations. The hand-mill gives you society with the feudal lord; the steam-mill, society with the industrial capitalist.

The same men who establish their social relations in conformity with their material productivity, produce also principles, ideas and categories, in conformity with their social relations.

Thus these ideas, these categories, are as little eternal as the relations they express. They are *historical and transitory products.*

There is a continual movement of growth in productive forces, of destruction in social relations, of formation in ideas; the only immutable thing is the abstraction of movement—*mors immortalis.*[a]

### *Third Observation*

The production relations of every society form a whole. M. Proudhon considers economic relations as so many social phases, engendering one another, resulting one from the other like the antithesis from the thesis, and realising in their logical sequence the impersonal reason of humanity.

The only drawback to this method is that when he comes to examine a single one of these phases, M. Proudhon cannot explain it without having recourse to all the other relations of society; which relations, however, he has not yet made his dialectic movement engender. When, after that, M. Proudhon, by means of pure reason, proceeds to give birth to these other phases, he treats them as if they were newborn babes. He forgets that they are of the same age as the first.

Thus, to arrive at the constitution of value, which for him is the basis of all economic evolutions, he could not do without division of labour, competition, etc. Yet in the *series*, in the *understanding* of M. Proudhon, in the *logical sequence*, these relations did not yet exist.

In constructing the edifice of an ideological system by means of the categories of political economy, the limbs of the social system are

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[a] These words are from Lucretius' poem *On the Nature of Things*, Book III, line 882 ("mortalem vitam mors immortalis ademit" — "mortal life has been usurped by death the immortal").— *Ed.*

dislocated. The different limbs of society are converted into so many separate societies, following one upon the other. How, indeed, could the single logical formula of movement, of sequence, of time, explain the structure of society, in which all relations coexist simultaneously and support one another?

### *Fourth Observation*

Let us see now to what modifications M. Proudhon subjects Hegel's dialectics when he applies it to political economy.

For him, M. Proudhon, every economic category has two sides—one good, the other bad. He looks upon these categories as the petty bourgeois looks upon the great men of history: *Napoleon* was a great man; he did a lot of good; he also did a lot of harm.

The *good side* and the *bad side*, the *advantages* and the *drawbacks*, taken together form for M. Proudhon the *contradiction* in every economic category.

The problem to be solved: to keep the good side, while eliminating the bad.

*Slavery* is an economic category like any other. Thus it also has its two sides. Let us leave alone the bad side and talk about the good side of slavery. Needless to say we are dealing only with direct slavery, with Negro slavery in Surinam, in Brazil, in the Southern States of North America.

Direct slavery is just as much the pivot of bourgeois industry as machinery, credits, etc. Without slavery you have no cotton; without cotton you have no modern industry. It is slavery that gave the colonies their value; it is the colonies that created world trade, and it is world trade that is the precondition of large-scale industry. Thus slavery is an economic category of the greatest importance.

Without slavery North America, the most progressive of countries, would be transformed into a patriarchal country. Wipe North America off the map of the world, and you will have anarchy—the complete decay of modern commerce and civilisation. Cause slavery to disappear and you will have wiped America off the map of nations.*

* This was perfectly correct for the year 1847. At that time the world trade of the United States was limited mainly to import of immigrants and industrial products, and export of cotton and tobacco, i.e., of the products of southern slave labour. The Northern States produced mainly corn and meat for the slave States. It was only when the North produced corn and meat for export and also became an industrial country, and when the American cotton monopoly had to face powerful competition, in In-

Thus slavery, because it is an economic category, has always existed among the institutions of the peoples. Modern nations have been able only to disguise slavery in their own countries, but they have imposed it without disguise upon the New World.

What would M. Proudhon do to save slavery? He would formulate the *problem* thus: preserve the good side of this economic category, eliminate the bad.

Hegel has no problems to formulate. He has only dialectics. M. Proudhon has nothing of Hegel's dialectics but the language. For him the dialectic movement is the dogmatic distinction between good and bad.

Let us for a moment consider M. Proudhon himself as a category. Let us examine his good and his bad side, his advantages and his drawbacks.

If he has the advantage over Hegel of setting problems which he reserves the right of solving for the greater good of humanity, he has the drawback of being stricken with sterility when it is a question of engendering a new category by dialectical birth-throes. What constitutes dialectical movement is the coexistence of two contradictory sides, their conflict and their fusion into a new category. The very setting of the problem of eliminating the bad side cuts short the dialectical movement. It is not the category which is posed and opposed to itself, by its contradictory nature, it is M. Proudhon who gets excited, perplexed and frets and fumes between the two sides of the category.

Caught thus in a blind alley, from which it is difficult to escape by legal means, M. Proudhon takes a real flying leap which transports him at one bound into a new category. Then it is that to his astonished gaze is revealed the *serial relation in the understanding.*

He takes the first category that comes handy and attributes to it arbitrarily the quality of supplying a remedy for the drawbacks of the category to be purified. Thus, if we are to believe M. Proudhon, taxes remedy the drawbacks of monopoly; the balance of trade, the drawbacks of taxes; landed property, the drawbacks of credit.

By taking the economic categories thus successively, one by one, and making one the *antidote* to the other, M. Proudhon manages to make with this mixture of contradictions and antidotes to contradictions, two volumes of contradictions, which he rightly entitles: *Le Système des contradictions économiques.*

dia, Egypt, Brazil, etc., that the abolition of slavery became possible. And even then this led to the ruin of the South, which did not succeed in replacing the open Negro slavery by the disguised slavery of Indian and Chinese coolies, *F. E.* [*Note to the German edition, 1885.*]

### *Fifth Observation*

"In the absolute reason all these ideas ... are equally simple, and general.... In fact, we attain knowledge only by a *sort of scaffolding* of our ideas. But truth in itself is independent of these dialectical symbols and free from the combinations of our minds." (Proudhon, tome II, p. 97.)

Here all of a sudden, by a kind of switch-over of which we now know the secret, the metaphysics of political economy has become an illusion. Never has M. Proudhon spoken more truly. Indeed, from the moment the process of the dialectic movement is reduced to the simple process of opposing good to bad, of posing problems tending to eliminate the bad, and of administering one category as an antidote to another, the categories are deprived of all spontaneity; the idea "no longer *functions*"; there is no life left in it. It is no longer posed or decomposed into categories. The sequence of categories has become a sort of *scaffolding*. Dialectics has ceased to be the movement of absolute reason. There is no longer any dialectics but only, at the most, absolutely pure morality.

When M. Proudhon spoke of the *serial relation in the understanding*, of the *logical sequence of categories*, he declared positively that he did not want to give *history according to the order in time*, that is, in M. Proudhon's view, the historical sequence in which the categories have *manifested* themselves. Thus for him everything happened in the *pure ether of reason*. Everything was to be derived from this ether by means of dialectics. Now that he has to put this dialectics into practice, his reason is in default. M. Proudhon's dialectics runs counter to Hegel's dialectics, and now we have M. Proudhon reduced to saying that the order in which he gives the economic categories is no longer the order in which they engender one another. Economic evolutions are no longer the evolutions of reason itself.

What then does M. Proudhon give us? Real history, which is, according to M. Proudhon's understanding, the sequence in which the categories have *manifested* themselves in order of time? No! History as it takes place in the idea itself? Still less! That is, neither the profane history of the categories, nor their sacred history! What history does he give us then? The history of his own contradictions. Let us see how they go, and how they drag M. Proudhon in their train.

Before entering upon this examination, which gives rise to the sixth important observation, we have yet another, less important observation to make.

Let us admit with M. Proudhon that real history, history according to the order in time, is the historical sequence in which ideas, categories and principles have manifested themselves.

Each principle has had its own century in which to manifest itself. The principle of authority, for example, had the eleventh century, just as the principle of individualism had the eighteenth century. In logical sequence, it was the century that belonged to the principle, and not the principle that belonged to the century. In other words it was the principle that made the history, and not the history that made the principle. When, consequently, in order to save principles as much as to save history, we ask ourselves why a particular principle was manifested in the eleventh or in the eighteenth century rather than in any other, we are necessarily forced to examine minutely what men were like in the eleventh century, what they were like in the eighteenth, what were their respective needs, their productive forces, their mode of production, the raw materials of their production—in short, what were the relations between man and man which resulted from all these conditions of existence. To get to the bottom of all these questions—what is this but to draw up the real, profane history of men in every century and to present these men as both the authors and the actors of their own drama? But the moment you present men as the actors and authors of their own history, you arrive—by a detour—at the real starting point, because you have abandoned those eternal principles of which you spoke at the outset.

M. Proudhon has not even gone far enough along the sideroad which an ideologist takes to reach the main road of history.

### *Sixth Observation*

Let us take the sideroad with M. Proudhon.

We shall concede that economic relations, viewed as *immutable laws, eternal principles, ideal categories,* existed before active and energetic men did; we shall concede further that these laws, principles and categories had, since the beginning of time, slumbered "in the impersonal reason of humanity". We have already seen that, with all these changeless and motionless eternities, there is no history left; there is at most history in the idea, that is, history reflected in the dialectic movement of pure reason. M. Proudhon, by saying that, in the dialectic movement, ideas are no longer "*differentiated*", has done away with both the *shadow of movement* and the *movement of shadows,* by means of which one could still have created at least a semblance of history. Instead of that, he imputes to history his own impotence. He lays the blame on everything, even the French language.

"It is inexact then," says M. Proudhon the philosopher, "to say that something *appears*, that something *is produced*: in civilisation as in the universe, everything has existed, has acted, from eternity.... *This applies to the whole of social economy.*" (Tome II. p. 102.)

So great is the productive force of the contradictions which *function* and which make M. Proudhon function, that, in trying to explain history, he is forced to deny it; in trying to explain the successive appearance of social relations, he denies that *anything* can *appear*: in trying to explain production, with all its phases, he questions whether *anything can be produced*!

Thus, for M. Proudhon, there is no longer any history: no longer any sequence of ideas. And yet his book still exists; and it is precisely that book which is, to use his own expression, "*history according to the sequence of ideas*". How shall we find a formula, for M. Proudhon is a man of formulas, to help him to clear all these contradictions *in one leap*?

To this end he has invented a new reason, which is neither the pure and virgin absolute reason, nor the common reason of men living and acting in different periods, but a reason quite apart—the reason of the person-society—of the subject, *humanity*—which under the pen of M. Proudhon figures at times also as "*social genius*", "*general reason*", or finally as "*human reason*". This reason, decked out under so many names, betrays itself nevertheless, at every moment, as the individual reason of M. Proudhon, with its good and its bad side, its antidotes and its problems.

"Human reason does not create truth", hidden in the depths of absolute, eternal reason. It can only unveil it. But such truths as it has unveiled up to now are incomplete, insufficient and consequently contradictory. Hence, economic categories, being themselves truths discovered, revealed by human reason, by social genius, are equally incomplete and contain within themselves the germ of contradiction. Before M. Proudhon, social genius saw only the *antagonistic elements*, and not the *synthetic formula*, both hidden simultaneously in *absolute reason*. Economic relations, which merely realise on earth these insufficient truths, these incomplete categories, these contradictory notions, are consequently contradictory in themselves, and present two sides, one good, the other bad.

To find complete truth, the notion, in all its fullness, the synthetic formula that is to annihilate the antinomy, this is the problem of social genius. This again is why, in M. Proudhon's illusion, this same social genius has been carried from one category to another without ever having been able, despite all its battery of categories, to snatch from God, from absolute reason, a synthetic formula.

"At first, society" (social genius) "poses a primary fact, puts forward a *hypothesis*... a veritable antinomy, whose antagonistic results develop in the social economy in the same way as its consequences could have been deduced in the mind; so that industrial movement, following in all things the deduction of ideas, splits up into two currents, one of useful effects, the other of subversive results.... To bring harmony into the constitution of this two-sided principle, and to solve this antinomy, society gives rise to a *second*, which will soon be followed by a third; and the *progress of social genius* will take place in this manner, until, having exhausted all its contradictions—I suppose, but it is not proved that there is a limit to human contradictions—it returns in one leap to all its former positions and in *a single formula* solves all its problems." (Tome I, p. 133.)

Just as the *antithesis* was before turned into an *antidote*, so now the *thesis* becomes a *hypothesis*. This change of terms, coming from M. Proudhon, has no longer anything surprising for us! Human reason, which is anything but pure, having only incomplete vision, encounters at every step new problems to be solved. Every new thesis which it discovers in absolute reason and which is the negation of the first thesis, becomes for it a synthesis, which it accepts rather naively as the solution of the problem in question. It is thus that this reason frets and fumes in ever renewing contradictions until, coming to the end of the contradictions, it perceives that all its theses and syntheses are merely contradictory hypotheses. In its perplexity, "human reason, social genius, returns in one leap to all its former positions and in a single formula solves all its problems". This unique formula, by the way, constitutes M. Proudhon's true discovery. It is *constituted value*.

Hypotheses are made only in view of some aim. The aim that social genius, speaking through the mouth of M. Proudhon, set itself in the first place, was to eliminate the bad in every economic category, in order to have nothing left but the good. For it, the good, the supreme good, the real practical aim, is *equality*. And why did the social genius aim at equality rather than inequality, fraternity, Catholicism, or any other principle? Because "humanity has successively realised so many separate hypotheses only in view of a superior hypothesis" [I 12], which precisely is equality. In other words: because equality is M. Proudhon's ideal. He imagines that the division of labour, credit, the workshop—all economic relations—were invented merely for the benefit of equality, and yet they always ended up by turning against it. Since history and the fiction of M. Proudhon contradict each other at every step, the latter concludes that there is a contradiction. If there is a contradiction, it exists only between his fixed idea and real movement.

Henceforth the good side of an economic relation is that which affirms equality; the bad side, that which negates it and affirms

inequality. Every new category is a hypothesis of the social genius to eliminate the inequality engendered by the preceding hypothesis. In short, equality is the *primordial intention*, the *mystical tendency*, the *providential aim* that the social genius has constantly before its eyes as it whirls in the circle of economic contradictions. Thus *Providence* is the locomotive which makes the whole of M. Proudhon's economic baggage move better than his pure and volatilised reason. He has devoted to providence a whole chapter, which follows the one on taxes.[81]

Providence, providential aim, this is the great word used today to explain the march of history. In fact, this word explains nothing. It is at most a rhetorical form, one of the various ways of paraphrasing facts.

It is a fact that in Scotland landed property acquired a new value through the development of English industry. This industry opened up new outlets for wool. In order to produce wool on a large scale, arable land had to be transformed into pastures. To effect this transformation, the estates had to be concentrated. To concentrate the estates, small holdings had first to be abolished, thousands of tenants had to be driven from their native soil and a few shepherds in charge of millions of sheep to be installed in their place. Thus, by successive transformations, landed property in Scotland has resulted in men being driven out by sheep. Now say that the providential aim of the institution of landed property in Scotland was to have men driven out by sheep, and you will have made providential history.

Of course, the tendency towards equality belongs to our century. To say now that all former centuries, with entirely different needs, means of production, etc., worked providentially for the realisation of equality is, first of all, to substitute the means and the men of our century for the men and the means of earlier centuries and to misunderstand the historical movement by which the successive generations transformed the results acquired by the generations that preceded them. Economists know very well that the very thing that was for the one a finished product was for the other but the raw material for new production.

Suppose, as M. Proudhon does, that social genius produced, or rather improvised, the feudal lords with the providential aim of transforming the *settlers* into *responsible* and *equally-placed workers*: and you will have effected a substitution of aims and of persons worthy of the Providence that instituted landed property in Scotland, in order to give itself the malicious pleasure of having men driven out by sheep.

But since M. Proudhon takes such a tender interest in Providence, we refer him to the *Histoire de l'économie politique* of M. de Villeneuve-Bargemont, who likewise goes in pursuit of a providential aim. This aim, however, is not equality, but Catholicism.

### *Seventh and Last Observation*

Economists have a singular method of procedure. There are only two kinds of institutions for them, artificial and natural. The institutions of feudalism are artificial institutions, those of the bourgeoisie are natural institutions. In this they resemble the theologians, who likewise establish two kinds of religion. Every religion which is not theirs is an invention of men, while their own is an emanation from God. When the economists say that present-day relations—the relations of bourgeois production—are natural, they imply that these are the relations in which wealth is created and productive forces developed in conformity with the laws of nature. These relations therefore are themselves natural laws independent of the influence of time. They are eternal laws which must always govern society. Thus there has been history, but there is no longer any. There has been history, since there were the institutions of feudalism, and in these institutions of feudalism we find quite different relations of production from those of bourgeois society, which the economists try to pass off as natural and as such, eternal.

Feudalism also had its proletariat—serfage, which contained all the germs of the bourgeoisie. Feudal production also had two antagonistic elements which are likewise designated by the name of the *good side* and the *bad side* of feudalism, irrespective of the fact that it is always the bad side that in the end triumphs over the good side. It is the bad side that produces the movement which makes history, by providing a struggle. If, during the epoch of the domination of feudalism, the economists, enthusiastic over the knightly virtues, the beautiful harmony between rights and duties, the patriarchal life of the towns, the prosperous condition of domestic industry in the countryside, the development of industry organised into corporations, guilds and fraternities, in short, everything that constitutes the good side of feudalism, had set themselves the problem of eliminating everything that cast a shadow on this picture—serfdom, privileges, anarchy—what would have happened? All the elements which called forth the struggle would have been

destroyed, and the development of the bourgeoisie nipped in the bud. One would have set oneself the absurd problem of eliminating history.

After the triumph of the bourgeoisie there was no longer any question of the good or the bad side of feudalism. The bourgeoisie took possession of the productive forces it had developed under feudalism. All the old economic forms, the corresponding civil relations, the political system which was the official expression of the old civil society, were smashed.

Thus feudal production, to be judged properly, must be considered as a mode of production founded on antagonism. It must be shown how wealth was produced within this antagonism, how the productive forces were developed at the same time as class antagonisms, how one of the classes, the bad side, the drawback of society, went on growing until the material conditions for its emancipation had attained full maturity. Is not this as good as saying that the mode of production, the relations in which productive forces are developed, are anything but eternal laws, but that they correspond to a definite development of men and of their productive forces, and that a change in men's productive forces necessarily brings about a change in their[a] relations of production? As the main thing is not to be deprived of the fruits of civilisation, of the acquired productive forces, the traditional forms in which they were produced must be smashed. From this moment the revolutionary class becomes conservative.

The bourgeoisie begins with a proletariat which is itself a relic of the proletariat[b] of feudal times. In the course of its historical development, the bourgeoisie necessarily develops its antagonistic character, which at first is more or less disguised, existing only in a latent state. As the bourgeoisie develops, there develops in its bosom a new proletariat, a modern proletariat; there develops a struggle between the proletarian class and the bourgeois class, a struggle which, before being felt, perceived, appreciated, understood, avowed and proclaimed aloud by both sides, expresses itself, to start with, merely in partial and momentary conflicts, in subversive acts.

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[a] In the 1847 edition the word "leurs" ("their") is not used; in the copy with corrections in Marx's hand and the one presented to N. Utina the word "leurs" is inserted instead of "les" ("the"). The correction was reproduced in the German edition of 1885 and the French edition of 1896.— *Ed.*

[b] In the copy with corrections in Marx's hand the words "du proletariat" ("of the proletariat") are underscored and the words "de la classe travailleuse" ("of the class of workers") are written in Engels' hand in the margin. These latter words are reproduced in the copy presented to N. Utina.— *Ed.*

On the other hand, if all the members of the modern bourgeoisie have the same interests inasmuch as they form a class as against another class, they have opposite, antagonistic interests inasmuch as they stand face to face with one another. This opposition of interests results from the economic conditions of their bourgeois life. From day to day it thus becomes clearer that the production relations in which the bourgeoisie moves have not a simple, uniform character, but a dual character; that in the selfsame relations in which wealth is produced, poverty is produced also; that in the selfsame relations in which there is a development of the productive forces, there is also a force producing repression; that these relations produce *bourgeois wealth*, i. e., the wealth of the bourgeois class, only by continually annihilating the wealth of the individual members of this class and by producing an ever-growing proletariat.

The more the antagonistic character comes to light, the more the economists, the scientific representatives of bourgeois production, find themselves in conflict with their own theory; and different schools arise.

We have the *fatalist* economists, who in their theory are as indifferent to what they call the drawbacks of bourgeois production as the bourgeois themselves are in practice to the sufferings of the proletarians who help them to acquire wealth. In this fatalist school there are Classics and Romantics. The Classics, like Adam Smith and Ricardo, represent a bourgeoisie which, while still struggling with the relics of feudal society, works only to purge economic relations of feudal taints, to increase the productive forces and to give a new upsurge to industry and commerce. The proletariat that takes part in this struggle and is absorbed in this feverish labour experiences only passing, accidental sufferings, and itself regards them as such. Economists like Adam Smith and Ricardo, who are the historians of this epoch, have no other mission than that of showing how wealth is acquired in bourgeois production relations, of formulating these relations into categories, into laws, and of showing how superior these laws, these categories, are for the production of wealth to the laws and categories of feudal society. Poverty is in their eyes merely the pang which accompanies every childbirth, in nature as in industry.

The Romantics belong to our own age, in which the bourgeoisie is in direct opposition to the proletariat; in which poverty is engendered in as great abundance as wealth. The economists now pose as blasé fatalists, who, from their elevated position, cast a proudly disdainful glance at the human machines who manufacture wealth. They copy all the developments given by their predecessors,

and the indifference which in the latter was merely naïveté becomes in them coquetry.

Next comes the *humanitarian school,* which takes to heart the bad side of present-day production relations. It seeks, by way of easing its conscience, to palliate even if slightly the real contrasts; it sincerely deplores the distress of the proletariat, the unbridled competition of the bourgeois among themselves; it counsels the workers to be sober, to work hard and to have few children; it advises the bourgeois to put a judicious ardour into production. The whole theory of this school rests on interminable distinctions between theory and practice, between principles and results, between idea and application, between content and form, between essence and reality, between law and fact, between the good side and the bad side.

The *philanthropic* school is the humanitarian school carried to perfection. It denies the necessity of antagonism; it wants to turn all men into bourgeois; it wants to realise theory insofar as it is distinguished from practice and contains no antagonism. It goes without saying that, in theory, it is easy to make an abstraction of the contradictions that are met with at every moment in actual reality. This theory would therefore become idealised reality. The philanthropists, then, want to retain the categories which express bourgeois relations, without the antagonism which constitutes them and is inseparable from them. They think they are seriously fighting bourgeois practice, and they are more bourgeois than the others.

Just as the *economists* are the scientific representatives of the bourgeois class, so the *socialists* and the *Communists* are the theoreticians of the proletarian class. So long as the proletariat is not yet sufficiently developed to constitute itself as a class, and consequently so long as the very struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie has not yet assumed a political character, and the productive forces are not yet sufficiently developed in the bosom of the bourgeoisie itself to enable us to catch a glimpse of the material conditions necessary for the emancipation of the proletariat and for the formation of a new society, these theoreticians are merely utopians who, to meet the wants of the oppressed classes, improvise systems and go in search of a regenerating science. But in the measure that history moves forward, and with it the struggle of the proletariat assumes clearer outlines, they no longer need to seek science in their minds; they have only to take note of what is happening before their eyes and to become its mouthpiece. So long as they look for science and merely make systems, so long as they are

at the beginning of the struggle, they see in poverty nothing but poverty, without seeing in it the revolutionary, subversive side, which will overthrow the old society. From the moment they see this side, science, which is produced by the historical movement and associating itself consciously with it, has ceased to be doctrinaire and has become revolutionary.

Let us return to M. Proudhon.

Every economic relation has a good and a bad side; it is the one point on which M. Proudhon does not give himself the lie. He sees the good side expounded by the economists; the bad side he sees denounced by the socialists. He borrows from the economists the necessity of eternal relations; he borrows from the socialists the illusion of seeing in poverty nothing but poverty. He is in agreement with both in wanting to fall back upon the authority of science. Science for him reduces itself to the slender proportions of a scientific formula; he is the man in search of formulas. Thus it is that M. Proudhon flatters himself on having given a criticism of both political economy and communism: he is beneath them both. Beneath the economists, since, as a philosopher who has at his elbow a magic formula, he thought he could dispense with going into purely economic details; beneath the socialists, because he has neither courage enough nor insight enough to rise, be it even speculatively, above the bourgeois horizon.

He wants to be the synthesis—he is a composite error.

He wants to soar as the man of science above the bourgeois and the proletarians; he is merely the petty bourgeois, continually tossed back and forth between capital and labour, political economy and communism.

## § 2. DIVISION OF LABOUR AND MACHINERY

The division of labour, according to M. Proudhon, opens the series of *economic evolutions.*

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| *Good side of the division of labour* | "Considered in its essence, the division of labour is the manner in which *equality* of conditions and of intelligence is realised." (Tome I, p. 93.) |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Bad side of the division of labour* | "The division of labour has become for us an instrument of poverty." (Tome I, p. 94.)<br><br>Variant<br><br>"Labour, by *dividing itself according to the law* which is peculiar to it and which is the primary condition of its fruitfulness, ends in the negation of its aims and destroys itself." (Tome I, p. 94.) |
| *Problem to be solved* | To find the "recomposition which wipes out the drawbacks of the division, while retaining its useful effects." (Tome I, p. 97.) |

The division of labour is, according to M. Proudhon, an eternal law, a simple, abstract category. Therefore the abstraction, the idea, the word must suffice for him to explain the division of labour at different historical epochs. Castes, corporations, manufacture, large-scale industry must be explained by the single word *divide.* First study carefully the meaning of "divide", and you will have no need to study the numerous influences which give the division of labour a definite character in each epoch.

Certainly, it would be oversimplifying things to reduce them to M. Proudhon's categories. History does not proceed so categorically. It took three whole centuries in Germany to establish the first big division of labour, the separation of the towns from the country. In proportion as this one relation of town and country was modified, the whole of society was modified. To take only this one aspect of the division of labour, you have the republics of antiquity and you have Christian feudalism; you have old England with its barons and you have modern England with its cotton lords.[a] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when there were as yet no colonies, when America did not yet exist for Europe, when Asia existed only through the intermediary of Constantinople, when the Mediterranean was the centre of commercial activity, the division of labour had a very different form, a very different aspect from that of the seventeenth century, when the Spanish, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, and the French had colonies established in all parts of

[a] In the original the words "cotton lords" are given in English in parentheses after the French.— *Ed.*

the world. The extent of the market, its physiognomy, give to the division of labour at different periods a physiognomy, a character, which it would be difficult to deduce from the single word *divide*, from the idea, from the category.

"All economists since Adam Smith," says M. Proudhon, "have pointed out the *advantages* and *drawbacks* of the law of division, but insist much more on the first than on the second, because that was more serviceable for their optimism, and none of them has ever wondered what could be the drawbacks to a law.... How does the same principle, pursued vigorously to its consequences, lead to diametrically opposite results? Not one economist before or since A. Smith has even perceived that here was a problem to elucidate. Say goes to the length of recognising that in the division of labour the same cause that produces the good engenders the bad." [I 95-96]

Adam Smith goes further than M. Proudhon thinks. He saw clearly that

"the difference of natural talents in different men is, in reality, much less than we are aware of; and the very different genius which appears to distinguish men of different professions, when grown up to maturity, is not so much the *cause* as the *effect* of the division of labour".[a]

In principle, a porter differs less from a philosopher than a mastiff from a greyhound. It is the division of labour which has set a gulf between them. All this does not prevent M. Proudhon from saying elsewhere that Adam Smith had not the slightest idea of the drawbacks produced by the division of labour. It is this again that makes him say that J. B. Say was the *first* to recognise "that in the division of labour the same cause that produces the good engenders the bad". [I 96]

But let us listen to Lemontey; *Suum cuique.*

"M. J. B. Say has done me the honour of adopting in his excellent treatise on political economy the principle *that I brought to light* in this fragment on the moral influence of the division of labour. The somewhat frivolous title of my book[b] doubtless prevented him from citing me. It is only to this motive that I can attribute the silence of a writer too rich in his own stock to disavow so modest a loan." (Lemontey [,"Influence morale de la division du travail"], *Œuvres complètes*, tome I, p. 245, Paris, 1840.)

Let us do him this justice: Lemontey wittily exposed the regrettable consequences of the division of labour as it is constituted today, and M. Proudhon found nothing to add to it. But now that, through the fault of M. Proudhon, we have been drawn into this question of priority, let us say again, in passing, that long before M.

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[a] A. Smith, *Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations*, t. I, Paris, 1802, pp. 33-34; Eng. ed., pp. 56-57.— *Ed.*

[b] P. E. Lemontey, *Raison, folie, chacun son mot; petit cours de morale mis a la portée des vieux enfants.— Ed.*

Lemontey, and seventeen years before Adam Smith, who was a pupil of A. Ferguson, the last-named gave a clear exposition of the subject in a chapter which deals specifically with the division of labour.

"It may even be doubted, whether the measure of national capacity increases with the advancement of arts. Many mechanical arts ... succeed best under a total suppression of sentiment and reason; and ignorance is the mother of industry as well as of superstition. Reflection and fancy are subject to err; but a habit of moving the hand, or the foot, is independent of either. Manufactures, accordingly, prosper most, where the mind is least consulted, and where the workshop may, without any great effort of imagination, be considered as an engine, the parts of which are men.... The general officer may be a great proficient in the knowledge of war, while the skill of the soldier is confined to a few motions of the hand and the foot. The former may have gained what the latter has lost.... And thinking itself, in this age of separations, may become a peculiar craft." (A. Ferguson, *Essai sur l'histoire de la société civile,* Paris, 1783 [II 108, 109, 110; Eng. ed., pp. 280, 281].)

To bring this literary survey to a close, we expressly deny that "*all* economists have insisted far more on the advantages than on the drawbacks of the division of labour". It suffices to mention Sismondi.

Thus, as far as the *advantages* of the division of labour are concerned, M. Proudhon had nothing further to do than to paraphrase more or less pompously the general propositions known to everybody.

Let us now see how he derives from the division of labour, taken as a general law, as a category, as a thought, the *drawbacks* which are attached to it. How is it that this category, this law implies an unequal distribution of labour to the detriment of M. Proudhon's equalitarian system?

"At this solemn hour of the division of labour, the storm winds begin to blow over humanity. Progress does not take place for all in an equal and uniform manner.... It begins by taking possession of a small number of the privileged.... It is this preference for persons on the part of progress that has for so long kept up the belief in the natural and providential inequality of conditions, has given rise to castes, and hierarchically constituted all societies." (Proudhon, tome I, p. 94.)

The division of labour created castes. Now, castes are the drawbacks of the division of labour; thus it is the division of labour that has engendered the drawbacks. *Quod erat demonstrandum.* Will you go further and ask what made the division of labour create castes, hierarchical constitutions and privileged persons? M. Proudhon will tell you: Progress. And what made progress? Limitation. Limitation, for M. Proudhon, is discrimination of persons on the part of progress.

After philosophy comes history. It is no longer either descriptive history or dialectical history, it is comparative history. M. Proudhon

establishes a parallel between the present-day printing worker and the printing worker of the Middle Ages; between the worker of Creusot[82] and the country blacksmith; between the man of letters of today and the man of letters of the Middle Ages, and he weighs down the balance on the side of those who belong more or less to the division of labour as the Middle Ages constituted or transmitted it. He opposes the division of labour of one historical epoch to the division of labour of another historical epoch. Was that what M. Proudhon had to prove? No. He should have shown us the drawbacks of the division of labour in general, of the division of labour as a category. Besides, why stress this part of M. Proudhon's work, since a little later we shall see him formally retract all these alleged arguments?

"The first effect of fractional labour," continues M. Proudhon, "after the *depravation of the soul*, is the lengthening of the shifts, which grow in inverse ratio to the sum total of intelligence expended.... But as the length of the shifts cannot exceed sixteen to eighteen hours per day, since the compensation cannot be taken out of the time, it will be taken out of the price, and the wages will diminish.... What is certain, and the only thing for us to note, is that the *universal conscience* does not assess at the same rate the work of a foreman and the labour of an unskilled worker. It is *therefore* necessary to reduce the price of the day's work; so that the worker, after having been afflicted in his soul by a degrading function, cannot escape being struck in his body by the meagreness of his remuneration." [I 97, 98]

We pass over the logical value of these syllogisms, which Kant would call paralogisms which lead astray.

This is the substance of it:

The division of labour reduces the worker to a degrading function; to this degrading function corresponds a depraved soul; to the depravation of the soul is befitting an ever-increasing wage reduction. And to prove that this reduction is befitting to a depraved soul, M. Proudhon says, to relieve his conscience, that the universal conscience wills it thus. Is M. Proudhon's soul to be reckoned as a part of the universal conscience?

*Machinery* is, for M. Proudhon, "the logical antithesis of the division of labour" [I 135], and in support of his dialectics, he begins by transforming the machinery into the *workshop*.

After presupposing the modern workshop, in order to make poverty the outcome of the division of labour, M. Proudhon presupposes poverty engendered by the division of labour, in order to come to the workshop and be able to represent it as the dialectical negation of that poverty. After striking the worker morally by a *degrading function*, physically by the meagreness of the wage; after putting the worker under the *dependence of the foreman*, and debasing

his work to the *labour of an unskilled worker,* he lays the blame again on the workshop and the machinery for *degrading* the worker "by giving him a *master*", and he completes his abasement by making him "sink from the rank of artisan to that of *navvy*". [I 164] Excellent dialectics! And if he only stopped there! But no, he has to have a new history of the division of labour, not any longer to derive the contradictions from it, but to reconstruct the workshop after his own fashion. To attain this end he finds himself compelled to forget all he has just said about division.

Labour is organised, is divided differently according to the instruments it has at its disposal. The hand-mill presupposes a different division of labour from the steam-mill. Thus it is slapping history in the face to want to begin with the division of labour in general, in order to arrive subsequently at a specific instrument of production, machinery.

Machinery is no more an economic category than the bullock that drags the plough. Machinery is merely a productive force. The modern workshop, which is based on the application of machinery, is a social production relation, an economic category.

Let us see now how things happen in M. Proudhon's brilliant imagination.

> "In society, the incessant appearance of machinery is the antithesis, the inverse formula of the division of labour: it is the *protest* of the industrial genius against *fractional and homicidal labour.* What, actually, is a machine? *A way of uniting different portions of labour* which had been separated by the division of labour. Every machine can be defined as a summary of several operations.... Thus through the machine there will be a *restoration of the worker*.... Machinery, which in political economy places itself in contradiction to the division of labour, represents synthesis, which in the human mind is opposed to analysis.... Division merely separated the different parts of labour, letting each one devote himself to the speciality which most suited him; the workshop groups the workers according to the relation of each part to the whole.... It introduces the principle of authority in labour.... But this is not all; the *machine* or the *workshop,* after degrading the worker by giving him a master, completes his abasement by making him sink from the rank of artisan to that of navvy.... The period we are going through at the moment, that of machinery, is distinguished by a special characteristic, the *wage system.* The wage system is *subsequent* to the division of labour and to exchange." [I 135, 136, 161, 164, 161]

Just a simple remark to M. Proudhon. The separation of the different parts of labour, leaving to each one the opportunity of devoting himself to the speciality best suited to him—a separation which M. Proudhon dates from the beginning of the world—exists only in modern industry under the rule of competition.

M. Proudhon goes on to give us a most "interesting genealogy", to show how the workshop arose from the division of labour and the wage system from the workshop.

1) He supposes a man who "noticed that by dividing up production into its different parts and having each one performed by a separate worker" the forces of production would be multiplied.

2) This man, "grasping the thread of this idea, tells himself that, by forming a permanent group of workers selected for the special purpose he *sets* himself, he will obtain a more sustained production, etc." [I 161]

3) This man makes a *proposal* to other men, to make them grasp his idea and the thread of his idea.

4) This man, at the beginning of industry, deals on *terms of equality* with *his companions* who later become *his workmen.*

5) "One realises, in fact, that this original equality had rapidly to disappear in view of the advantageous position of the master and the dependence of the wage worker." [I 163]

There we have another example of M. Proudhon's *historical and descriptive method.*

Let us now examine, from the historical and economic point of view, whether the workshop or the machine really introduced the *principle of authority* in society subsequently to the division of labour; whether it rehabilitated the worker on the one hand, while submitting him to authority on the other; whether the machine is the recomposition of divided labour, the *synthesis* of labour as opposed to its *analysis.*

Society as a whole has this in common with the interior of a workshop, that it too has its division of labour. If one took as a model the division of labour in a modern workshop, in order to apply it to a whole society, the society best organised for the production of wealth would undoubtedly be that which had a single chief employer, distributing tasks to the different members of the community according to a previously fixed rule. But this is by no means the case. While inside the modern workshop the division of labour is meticulously regulated by the authority of the employer, modern society has no other rule, no other authority for the distribution of labour than free competition.

Under the patriarchal system, under the caste system, under the feudal and guild system, there was division of labour in the whole of society according to fixed rules. Were these rules established by a legislator? No. Originally born of the conditions of material production, they were raised to the status of laws only much later. In this way these different forms of the division of labour became so many bases of social organisation. As for the division of labour in the workshop, it was very little developed in all these forms of society.

It can even be laid down as a general rule that the less authority presides over the division of labour inside society, the more the division of labour develops inside the workshop, and the more it is subjected there to the authority of a single person. Thus authority in the workshop and authority in society, in relation to the division of labour, are in *inverse ratio* to each other.

The question now is what kind of workshop it is in which the occupations are very much separated, where each worker's task is reduced to a very simple operation, and where the authority, capital, groups and directs the work. How was this workshop brought into existence? In order to answer this question we shall have to examine how manufacturing industry, properly so-called, has developed. I am speaking here of that industry which is not yet modern industry, with its machinery, but which is already no longer the industry of the artisans of the Middle Ages, nor domestic industry. We shall not go into great detail: we shall merely give a few main points to show that history cannot be made with formulas.

One of the most indispensable conditions for the formation of manufacturing industry was the accumulation of capital, facilitated by the discovery of America and the import of its precious metals.

It is sufficiently proved that the increase in the means of exchange resulted in the depreciation of wages and land rents, on the one hand, and the growth of industrial profits on the other. In other words: to the extent that the propertied class and the class of workers, the feudal lords and the people, sank, to that extent the capitalist class, the bourgeoisie, rose.

There were yet other circumstances which contributed simultaneously to the development of manufacturing industry: the increase of commodities put into circulation from the moment trade penetrated to the East Indies by way of the Cape of Good Hope; the colonial system; the development of maritime trade.

Another point which has not yet been sufficiently appreciated in the history of manufacturing industry is the disbanding of the numerous retinues of feudal lords, whose subordinate ranks became vagrants before entering the workshop. The creation of the workshop was preceded by an almost universal vagrancy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The workshop found, besides, a powerful support in the many peasants who, continually driven from the country owing to the transformation of the fields into pastures and to the progress in agriculture which necessitated fewer hands for the tillage of the soil, went on congregating in the towns during whole centuries.

The growth of the market, the accumulation of capital, the modification in the social position of the classes, a large number of persons being deprived of their sources of income, all these are historical preconditions for the formation of manufacture. It was not, as M. Proudhon says, friendly agreements between equals that brought men together into the workshop. It was not even in the bosom of the old guilds that manufacture was born. It was the merchant that became the head of the modern workshop, and not the old guildmaster. Almost everywhere there was a desperate struggle between manufacture and the crafts.

The accumulation and concentration of instruments and workers preceded the development of the division of labour inside the workshop. Manufacture consisted much more in the bringing together of many workers and many crafts in one place, in one room, under the command of one capital, than in the analysis of labour and the adaptation of a special worker to a very simple task.

The utility of a workshop consisted much less in the division of labour as such than in the circumstance that work was done on a much larger scale, that many unnecessary expenses were saved, etc. At the end of the sixteenth and at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Dutch manufacture scarcely knew any division of labour.

The development of the division of labour supposes the assemblage of workers in a workshop. There is not one single example, whether in the sixteenth or in the seventeenth century, of the different branches of one and the same craft being exploited separately to such an extent that it would have sufficed to assemble them all in one place so as to obtain a complete, ready-made workshop. But once the men and the instruments had been brought together, the division of labour, such as it had existed in the form of the guilds, was reproduced, necessarily reflected inside the workshop.

For M. Proudhon, who sees things upside down, if he sees them at all, the division of labour, in Adam Smith's sense, precedes the workshop, which is a condition of its existence.

*Machinery,* properly so-called, dates from the end of the eighteenth century. Nothing is more absurd than to see in machinery the *antithesis* of the division of labour, the *synthesis* restoring unity to divided labour.

The machine is a uniting of the instruments of labour, and by no means a combination of different operations for the worker himself.

"When," by the division of labour, "each particular operation has been simplified to the use of a simple instrument, the linking-up of all these instruments, set in motion by a single engine, constitutes a machine." (Babbage, *Traité sur l'Économie des machines, etc.*, Paris, 1833 [p. 230; cf. Eng. ed., p. 171].)

Simple tools; accumulation of tools; composite tools; setting in motion of a composite tool by a single hand engine, by man; setting in motion of these instruments by natural forces; machines; system of machines having one motor; system of machines having an automatic motor—this is the progress of machinery.

The concentration of the instruments of production and the division of labour are as inseparable one from the other as are, in the political sphere, the concentration of public powers and the division of private interests. England, with the concentration of the land, this instrument of agricultural labour, has at the same time division of agricultural labour and the application of machinery to the exploitation of the soil. France, which has the division of the instruments, the small holdings system, has, in general, neither division of agricultural labour nor application of machinery to the soil.

For M. Proudhon the concentration of the instruments of labour is the negation of the division of labour. In reality we find again the reverse. As the concentration of instruments develops, the division develops also, and *vice versa.* This is why every big mechanical invention is followed by a greater division of labour, and each increase in the division of labour gives rise in turn to new mechanical inventions.

We need not recall the fact that the great progress of the division of labour began in England after the invention of machinery. Thus the weavers and spinners were for the most part peasants like those one still meets in backward countries. The invention of machinery brought about the separation of manufacturing industry from agricultural industry. The weaver and the spinner, united but lately in a single family, were separated by the machine. Thanks to the machine, the spinner can live in England while the weaver resides in the East Indies. Before the invention of machinery, the industry of a country was carried on chiefly with raw materials that were the products of its own soil; in England—wool, in Germany—flax, in France—silks and flax, in the East Indies and the Levant—cotton, etc. Thanks to the application of machinery and of steam, the division of labour was able to assume such dimensions that large-scale industry, detached from the national soil, depends entirely on the world market, on international exchange, on an international division of labour. Finally—the machine has so great an influence on the division of labour, that when, in the manufacture of some object, a means has been found to produce parts of it mechanically, the manufacture splits up immediately into two branches independent of each other.

Need we speak of the *providential* and philanthropic *aim* that M. Proudhon discovers in the invention and first application of machinery?

When in England the market had become so far developed that manual labour was no longer adequate, the need for machinery was felt. Then came the idea of applying mechanical science, already quite developed in the eighteenth century.

The automatic workshop opened its career with acts which were anything but philanthropic. Children were kept at work by means of the whip; they were made an object of traffic and contracts were undertaken with the orphanages. All the laws on the apprenticeship of workers were repealed, because, to use M. Proudhon's phraseology, there was no further need of *synthetic* workers. Finally, from 1825 onwards,[83] almost all the new inventions were the result of collisions between the worker and the employer who sought at all costs to depreciate the worker's specialised ability. After each new strike of any importance, there appeared a new machine. So little indeed did the worker see in the application of machinery a sort of rehabilitation, *restoration*—as M. Proudhon would say—that in the eighteenth century he resisted for a very long time the incipient domination of automation.

"Wyatt," says Doctor Ure, "... invented the series of fluted rollers (the spinning fingers usually ascribed to Arkwright).... The main difficulty did not ... lie so much in the invention of a proper self-acting mechanism ... as ... in training human beings to renounce their desultory habits of work, and to identify themselves with the unvarying regularity of the complex automation. To devise and administer a successful code of factory discipline, suited to the necessities of factory diligence, was the Herculean enterprise, the noble achievement of Arkwright."[a]

In short, with the introduction of machinery the division of labour inside society has increased, the task of the worker inside the workshop has been simplified, capital has been concentrated, the human being has been further dismembered.

When M. Proudhon wants to be an economist, and to abandon for a moment the "evolution in serial relation in the understanding", then he goes and draws erudition from Adam Smith, from a time when the automatic workshop was only just coming into existence. Indeed, what a difference between the division of labour as it existed in Adam Smith's day and as we see it in the automatic workshop! In order to make this properly understood, we need only quote a few passages from Dr. Ure's *Philosophie des manufactures.*

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[a] A. Ure, *Philosophie des manufactures*, t. I, Bruxelles, 1836, pp. 23, 21, 22, Eng. ed., pp. 16 and 15.— *Ed.*

"When Adam Smith wrote his immortal elements of economics, automatic machinery being hardly known, he was properly led to regard the division of labour as the grand principle of manufacturing improvement; and he showed, in the example of pin-making, how each handicraftsman, being thereby enabled to perfect himself by practice in one point, became a quicker and cheaper workman. In each branch of manufacture he saw that some parts were, on that principle, of easy execution, like the cutting of pin wires into uniform lengths, and some were comparatively difficult, like the formation and fixation of their heads; and therefore he concluded that to each a workman of appropriate value and cost was naturally assigned. This *appropriation* forms the very essence of the division of labour.... But what was in Dr. Smith's time a topic of useful illustration, cannot now be used without risk of misleading the public mind as to the right principle of manufacturing industry. In fact, the division, or rather adaptation of labour to the different talents of men, is little thought of in factory employment. On the contrary, wherever a process requires peculiar dexterity and steadiness of hand, it is withdrawn as soon as possible from the cunning workman, who is prone to irregularities of many kinds, and it is placed in charge of a peculiar mechanism, so self-regulating, that a child may superintend it....

"The principle of the factory system then is to substitute mechanical science for hand skill, and the partition of a process into its essential constituents, for the division or gradation of labour among artisans. On the handicraft plan, labour more or less skilled was usually the most expensive element of production ... but on the automatic plan, skilled labour gets progressively superseded, and will, eventually, be replaced by mere overlookers of machines.

"By the infirmity of human nature it happens, that the more skilful the workman, the more self-willed and intractable he is apt to become, and, of course, the less fit a component of a mechanical system, in which, by occasional irregularities, he may do great damage to the whole. The grand object therefore of the modern manufacturer is, through the union of capital and science, to reduce the task of his workpeople to the exercise of vigilance and dexterity—faculties, *when concentrated to one process*, speedily brought to perfection in the young....

"On the gradation system, a man must serve an apprenticeship of many years before his hand and eye become skilled enough for certain mechanical feats; but on the system of decomposing a process into its constituents, and embodying each part in an automatic machine, a person of common care and capacity may be entrusted with any of the said elementary parts after a short probation, and may be transferred from one to another, on any emergency, at the discretion of the master. Such translations are utterly at variance with the old practice of the division of labour, which fixed one man to shaping the head of a pin, and another to sharpening its point, with most irksome and spirit-wasting uniformity.... But on the *equalisation* plan of self-acting machines, the operative needs to call his faculties only into agreeable exercise.... As his business consists in tending the work of a well-regulated mechanism, he can learn it in a short period; and when he transfers his services from one machine to another, he varies his task, and enlarges his views, by thinking on those general combinations which result from his and his companions' labours. Thus, that cramping of the faculties, that narrowing of the mind, that stunting of the frame, which were ascribed, and not unjustly, ... to the division of labour, cannot, in common circumstances, occur under the *equable distribution of industry*....

"It is, in fact, the constant aim and tendency of every improvement in machinery to supersede human labour altogether, or to diminish its cost, by substituting the industry of women and children for that of men; or that of ordinary labourers for trained artisans.... This tendency to employ merely children with watchful eyes and

nimble fingers, instead of journeymen of long experience, shows how the scholastic dogma of the division of labour into degrees of skill has been exploded by our enlightened manufacturers." (André Ure, *Philosophie des manufactures ou Économie industrielle*, t. I, chap. I [pp. 27-30, 32-35; Eng. ed., pp. 19-23].)

What characterises the division of labour inside modern society is that it engenders specialities, specialists, and with them craft-idiocy.

"We are struck with admiration," says Lemontey, "when we see among the ancients the same person distinguishing himself to a high degree as philosopher, poet, orator, historian, priest, administrator, general of an army. Our souls are appalled at the sight of so vast a domain. Each one of us plants his hedge and shuts himself up in his enclosure. I do not know whether by this parcellation the field is enlarged, but I do know that man is belittled." [Op. cit., p. 213.]

What characterises the division of labour in the automatic workshop is that labour has there completely lost its specialised character. But the moment every special development stops, the need for universality, the tendency towards an integral development of the individual begins to be felt. The automatic workshop wipes out specialists and craft-idiocy.

M. Proudhon, not having understood even this one revolutionary side of the automatic workshop, takes a step backward and proposes to the worker that he make not only the twelfth part of a pin, but successively all twelve parts of it. The worker would thus come to know and realise the pin. This is M. Proudhon's synthetic labour. Nobody will contest that to make a movement forward and another movement backward is also to make a synthetic movement.

To sum up, M. Proudhon has not gone further than the petty-bourgeois ideal. And to realise this ideal, he can think of nothing better than to take us back to the journeyman or, at most, to the master craftsman of the Middle Ages. It is enough, he says somewhere in his book, to have created a masterpiece once in one's life, to have felt oneself just once to be a man. Is not this, in form as in content, the masterpiece demanded by the craft guild of the Middle Ages?

## §3. COMPETITION AND MONOPOLY

*Good side of competition*

"Competition is as essential to labour as division.... It is necessary ... for the *advent of equality*." [I 186, 188]

*Bad side of competition*

"The principle is the negation of itself. Its most certain result is to ruin those whom it drags in its train." [I 185]

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|---|---|
| *General reflection* | "The *drawbacks* which follow in its wake, just as the good it provides ... both flow logically from the principle." [I 185-86] |
| *Problem to be solved* | "To seek the principle of *accommodation,* which must be derived from a law superior to liberty itself." [I 185]<br><br>Variant<br><br>"There can, therefore, be no question here of destroying competition, a thing as impossible to destroy as liberty; we have only to find its equilibrium, I would be ready to say its *police.*" [I 223] |

M. Proudhon begins by defending the eternal necessity of competition against those who wish to replace it by *emulation.**

There is no "purposeless emulation", and as "the object of every passion is necessarily analogous to the passion itself—a woman for the lover, power for the ambitious, gold for the miser, a garland for the poet—the object of industrial emulation is necessarily *profit....* Emulation is nothing but competition itself." [I 187]

Competition is emulation with a view to profit. Is industrial emulation necessarily emulation with a view to profit, that is, competition? M. Proudhon proves it by affirming it. We have seen that, for him, to affirm is to prove, just as to suppose is to deny.

If the immediate *object* of the lover is the woman, the immediate object of industrial emulation is the product and not the profit.

Competition is not industrial emulation, it is commercial emulation. In our time industrial emulation exists only in view of commerce. There are even phases in the economic life of modern nations when everybody is seized with a sort of craze for making profit without producing. This speculation craze, which recurs periodically, lays bare the true character of competition, which seeks to escape the need for industrial emulation.

If you had told an artisan of the fourteenth century that the privileges and the whole feudal organisation of industry were going to be abrogated in favour of industrial emulation, called competition, he would have replied that the privileges of the various corporations, guilds and fraternities were organised competition. M. Proudhon

* The Fourierists. *F. E.* [*Note to the German edition, 1885.*]

does not improve upon this when he affirms that "emulation is nothing but competition itself".

"Ordain that from the first of January 1847, labour and wages shall be guaranteed to everybody: immediately an immense relaxation will succeed the high tension of industry." [I 189]

Instead of a supposition, an affirmation and a negation, we have now an ordinance that M. Proudhon issues purposely to prove the necessity of competition, its eternity as a category, etc.

If we imagine that ordinances are all that is needed to get away from competition, we shall never get away from it. And if we go so far as to propose to abolish competition while retaining wages, we shall be proposing nonsense by royal decree. But nations do not proceed by royal decree. Before framing such ordinances, they must at least have changed from top to bottom the conditions of their industrial and political existence, and consequently their whole manner of being.

M. Proudhon will reply, with his imperturbable assurance, that it is the hypothesis of "a transformation of our nature without historical antecedents", and that he would be right in "*excluding* us from the discussion" [I 191], we know not in virtue of which ordinance.

M. Proudhon does not know that all history is nothing but a continuous transformation of human nature.

"Let us stick to the facts.... The French Revolution was made for industrial liberty as much as for political liberty; and although France, in 1789, had not perceived—let us say it openly—all the consequences of the principle whose realisation it demanded, it was mistaken neither in its wishes nor in its expectations. Whoever attempts to deny this loses, in my view, the right to criticism. I will never dispute with an adversary who puts as principle the spontaneous error of twenty-five million men.... Why then, if competition had not been a *principle* of social economy, a *decree of fate, a necessity of the human soul,* why, instead of *abolishing* corporations, guilds and fraternities, did nobody think rather of *repairing* the whole?" [I 191, 192]

So, since the French of the eighteenth century abolished corporations, guilds and fraternities instead of modifying them, the French of the nineteenth century must modify competition instead of abolishing it. Since competition was established in France in the eighteenth century as a result of historical needs, this competition must not be destroyed in the nineteenth century because of other historical needs. M. Proudhon, not understanding that the establishment of competition was bound up with the actual development of the men of the eighteenth century, makes of competition a necessity of the *human soul, in partibus infidelium.*[84] What would he have made of the great Colbert for the seventeenth century?

After the revolution comes the present state of affairs. M. Proudhon equally draws facts from it to show the eternity of competition, by proving that all industries in which this category is not yet sufficiently developed, as in agriculture, are in a state of inferiority and decay.

To say that there are industries which have not yet reached the stage of competition, that others again are below the level of bourgeois production, is drivel which gives not the slightest proof of the eternity of competition.

All M. Proudhon's logic amounts to this: competition is a social relation in which we are now developing our productive forces. To this truth, he gives no logical development, but only forms, often very well developed, when he says that competition is industrial emulation, the present-day mode of freedom, responsibility in labour, constitution of value, a condition for the advent of equality, a principle of social economy, a decree of fate, a necessity of the human soul, an inspiration of eternal justice, liberty in division, division in liberty, an economic category.

"*Competition* and *association* rely on each other.... Far from excluding each other they are not even *divergent*. Whoever says competition already supposes a *common aim*. Competition is therefore not *egoism*, and the most deplorable error committed by socialism is to have regarded it as the overthrow of society." [I 223]

Whoever says competition says common aim, and that proves, on the one hand, that competition is association; on the other, that competition is not egoism. And whoever says *egoism*, does he not say common aim? Every egoism operates in society and by the fact of society. Hence it presupposes society, that is to say, common aims, common needs, common means of production, etc., etc. Is it, then, by mere chance that the competition and association which the socialists talk about are not even divergent?

Socialists know well enough that present-day society is founded on competition. How could they accuse competition of overthrowing present-day society which they want to overthrow themselves? And how could they accuse competition of overthrowing the society to come, in which they see, on the contrary, the overthrow of competition?

M. Proudhon says, later on, that competition is the *opposite of monopoly*, and consequently cannot be the *opposite of association*.

Feudalism was, from its origin, opposed to patriarchal monarchy; it was thus not opposed to competition, which was not yet in existence. Does it follow that competition is not opposed to feudalism?

In actual fact, *society, association* are denominations which can be given to every society, to feudal society as well as to bourgeois society, which is association founded on competition. How then can there be socialists, who, by the single word *association,* think they can refute competition? And how can M. Proudhon himself wish to defend competition against socialism by describing competition by the single word *association*?

All we have just said makes up the beautiful side of competition as M. Proudhon sees it. Now let us pass on to the ugly side, that is the negative side, of competition, its drawbacks, its destructive subversive injurious qualities.

There is something dismal about the picture M. Proudhon draws of it.

Competition engenders misery, it foments civil war, it "changes natural zones", mixes up nationalities, causes trouble in families, corrupts the public conscience, "subverts the notion of equity, of justice", of morality, and what is worse, it destroys free, honest trade, and does not even give in exchange *synthetic value,* fixed, honest price. [I 203] It disillusions everyone, even economists. It pushes things so far as to destroy its very self.

After all the ill M. Proudhon says of it, can there be for the relations of bourgeois society, for its principles and its illusions, a more disintegrating, more destructive element than competition?

It must be noted that competition always becomes the more destructive for bourgeois *relations* in proportion as it urges on a feverish creation of new productive forces, that is, of the material conditions of a new society. In this respect at least, the bad side of competition would have its good points.

"Competition as an economic position or phase, considered in its origin, is the necessary result ... of the theory of the reduction of general expenses." [I 235]

For M. Proudhon, the circulation of the blood must be a consequence of Harvey's theory.

"*Monopoly* is the inevitable doom of competition, which engenders it by a continual negation of itself. This generation of monopoly is in itself a justification of it.... Monopoly is the natural opposite of competition ... but since competition is necessary, it implies the idea of monopoly, for monopoly is, as it were, the seat of each competing individuality." [I 236, 237]

We rejoice with M. Proudhon that he can for once at least properly apply his formula of thesis and antithesis. Everyone knows that modern monopoly is engendered by competition itself.

As for the content, M. Proudhon clings to poetic images. Competition made "of every subdivision of labour a sort of

sovereignty in which each individual stood with his power and his independence." [I 186] Monopoly is "the *seat* of each competing individuality". The sovereignty is worth at least as much as the seat.

M. Proudhon speaks only of modern monopoly engendered by competition. But we all know that competition was engendered by feudal monopoly. Thus competition was originally the opposite of monopoly and not monopoly the opposite of competition. So that modern monopoly is not a simple antithesis, it is on the contrary the true synthesis.

*Thesis*: Feudal monopoly, before competition.

*Antithesis*: Competition.

*Synthesis*: Modern monopoly, which is the negation of feudal monopoly insofar as it implies the system of competition, and the negation of competition insofar as it is monopoly.

Thus modern monopoly, bourgeois monopoly, is synthetic monopoly, the negation of the negation, the unity of opposites. It is monopoly in the pure, normal, rational state. M. Proudhon is in contradiction with his own philosophy when he turns bourgeois monopoly into monopoly in the crude, *primitive*, contradictory, spasmodic state. M. Rossi, whom M. Proudhon quotes several times on the subject of monopoly, seems to have a better grasp of the synthetic character of bourgeois monopoly. In his *Cours d'économie politique*, he distinguishes between artificial monopolies and natural monopolies. Feudal monopolies, he says, are artificial, that is, arbitrary; bourgeois monopolies are natural, that is, rational.

Monopoly is a good thing, M. Proudhon reasons, since it is an economic category, an emanation "from the impersonal reason of humanity". Competition, again, is a good thing, since it also is an economic category. But what is not good is the reality of monopoly and the reality of competition. What is still worse is that competition and monopoly devour each other. What is to be done? Look for the synthesis of these two eternal thoughts, wrest it from the bosom of God, where it has been deposited from time immemorial.

In practical life we find not only competition, monopoly and the antagonism between them, but also the synthesis of the two, which is not a formula, but a movement. Monopoly produces competition, competition produces monopoly. Monopolists compete among themselves; competitors become monopolists. If the monopolists restrict their mutual competition by means of partial associations, competition increases among the workers; and the more the mass of the proletarians grows as against the monopolists of one nation, the more desperate competition becomes between the monopolists of different nations. The synthesis is such that monopoly can only

maintain itself by continually entering into the struggle of competition.

To make the dialectical transition to the *taxes* which come after *monopoly*, M. Proudhon talks to us about the *social genius* which, after *zigzagging intrepidly onward*,

"after striding with a jaunty step, *without repenting* and without halting, *reaches the corner of monopoly*, casts backward a *melancholy* glance, and, after profound reflection, assails all the objects of production with taxes, and creates a whole administrative organisation, in order that *all employments be given to the proletariat* and *paid by the men of monopoly*". [I 284, 285]

What can we say of this genius, which, while fasting, walks about in a zigzag? And what can we say of this walking which has no other object than to destroy the bourgeois by taxes, whereas taxes are the very means of giving the bourgeois the wherewithal to preserve themselves as the ruling class?

Merely to give a glimpse of the manner in which M. Proudhon treats economic details, it suffices to say that, according to him, the *tax on consumption* was established with a view to equality, and to relieve the proletariat.

The tax on consumption has assumed its true development only since the rise of the bourgeoisie. In the hands of industrial capital, that is, of sober and economical wealth, which maintains, reproduces and increases itself by the direct exploitation of labour, the tax on consumption was a means of exploiting the frivolous, gay, prodigal wealth of the fine lords who did nothing but consume. James Steuart clearly developed this original purpose of the tax on consumption in his *Recherche des principes de l'économie politique*, which he published ten years before Adam Smith.

"Under the pure monarchy, the prince seems jealous, as it were, of growing wealth, and therefore imposes taxes upon people who are growing richer,—taxes on production. Under constitutional government they are calculated chiefly to affect those who are growing poorer,—taxes on consumption. Thus the monarch imposes a tax upon industry ... the poll-tax and *taille*, for example, are proportioned to the supposed opulence of everyone liable to them. Everyone is taxed in proportion to the gain he is supposed to make. In constitutional governments, impositions are more generally laid upon consumption. Everyone is taxed according to his expenditure." [II 190-91; cf. Eng. ed., pp. 353, 354][85]

As for the *logical sequence* of taxes, of the balance of trade, of credit—in the understanding of M. Proudhon—we would only remark that the English bourgeoisie, on attaining its political constitution under William of Orange, created all at once a new system of taxes, public credit and the system of protective duties, as soon as it was in a position freely to develop its conditions of existence.

This brief summary will suffice to give the reader a true idea of M. Proudhon's lucubrations on the police or on taxes, the balance of trade, credit, communism and population. We defy the most indulgent criticism to treat these chapters seriously.

### § 4. PROPERTY OR RENT

In each historical epoch, property has developed differently and under a set of entirely different social relations. Thus to define bourgeois property is nothing else than to give an exposition of all the social relations of bourgeois production.

To try to give a definition of property as of an independent relation, a category apart, an abstract and eternal idea, can be nothing but an illusion of metaphysics or jurisprudence.

M. Proudhon, while seeming to speak of property in general, deals only with *landed property*, with *rent*.

"The origin of rent, as of property, is, so to speak, extra-economic: it rests in psychological and moral considerations which are only very distantly connected with the production of wealth." (T. II, p. 269.)

So M. Proudhon declares himself incapable of understanding the economic origin of rent and of property. He admits that this incapacity obliges him to resort to psychological and moral considerations, which, indeed, while only distantly connected with the production of wealth, have yet a very close connection with the narrowness of his historical views. M. Proudhon affirms that there is something *mystical* and *mysterious* about the origin of property. Now, to see mystery in the origin of property—that is, to make a mystery of the relation between production itself and the distribution of the instruments of production—is not this, to use M. Proudhon's language, a renunciation of all claims to economic science?

M. Proudhon

"*confines* himself to recalling that at the seventh epoch of economic evolution" (*credit*) "when fiction had caused reality to vanish, and human activity threatened to lose itself in empty space, it had become necessary to *bind man more closely to nature.* Now rent was the price of this new contract." (T. II, p. 265.)

*L'homme aux quarante écus* foresaw a M. Proudhon of the future:

"Mr. Creator, by your leave; everyone is master in his own world; but you will never make me believe that the one we live in is made of glass."[a]

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[a] Voltaire, "L'homme aux quarante écus", *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, t. 45, Gotha, 1787, p. 44.—*Ed.*

In your world, where credit was a means of *losing oneself in empty space,* it is very possible that property became necessary in order to *bind man to nature.* In the world of real production, where landed property always precedes credit, M. Proudhon's *horror vacui* could not exist.

The existence of rent once admitted, whatever its origin, it becomes a subject of a violent contention between the farmer and the landed proprietor. What is the ultimate result of this contention, in other words, what is the average amount of rent? This is what M. Proudhon says:

"Ricardo's theory answers this question. In the beginnings of society, when man, new to earth, had before him nothing but huge forests, when the earth was vast and when industry was beginning to come to life, rent must have been nil. Land, as yet unformed by labour, was an object of utility; it was not an exchange value, it was common, not social. Little by little, the multiplication of families and the progress of agriculture caused the price of land to make itself felt. Labour came to give the soil its worth: from this, rent came into being. The more fruit a field yielded with the same amount of labour, the higher it was valued; hence the tendency of proprietors was always to arrogate to themselves the whole amount of the fruits of the soil, less the wages of the farmer—that is, less the costs of production. Thus property followed on the heels of labour to take from it all the product that exceeded the actual expenses. As the proprietor fulfils a mystic duty and represents the community as against the *colonus,* the farmer is, by the dispensation of Providence, no more than a responsible labourer, who must account to society for all he reaps above his legitimate wage.... In essence and by destination, then, rent is an instrument of distributive justice, one of the thousand means that the genius of economy employs to attain to equality. It is an immense land valuation which is carried out contradictorily by the proprietors and the farmers, without any possible collusion,[a] in a higher interest, and whose ultimate result must be to equalise the possession of the land between the exploiters of the soil and the industrialists.... It needed no less than this magic of property to snatch from the *colonus* the surplus of his product which he cannot help regarding as his own and of which he considers himself to be exclusively the author. Rent, or rather property, has broken down agricultural egoism and created a solidarity that no power, no partition of the land could have brought into being.... The moral effect of property having been secured, at present what remains to be done is to distribute the rent." [II 270-72]

All this tumult of words may be reduced firstly to this: Ricardo says that the excess of the price of agricultural products over their cost of production, including the ordinary profit and interest on the capital, gives the measure of the rent. M. Proudhon does better. He makes the proprietor intervene, like a *deus ex machina,*[b] and snatch from the

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[a] The original has a misprint: "collision" instead of "collusion".— *Ed.*

[b] Literally: god out of the machine. (In the theatre of antiquity actors playing the role of gods made their appearance by means of stage machinery.) Figuratively, a person who appears unexpectedly to save a situation.— *Ed.*

*colonus* all the surplus of his production over the cost of production. He makes use of the intervention of the proprietor to explain property, of the intervention of the rent-receiver to explain rent. He answers the problem by formulating the same problem and adding an extra syllable.[a]

Let us note also that in determining rent by the difference in fertility of the soil, M. Proudhon assigns a new origin to it, since land, before being assessed according to different degrees of fertility, "was not", in his view, "an exchange value, but was common". What, then, has happened to the fiction about rent having come into being *through the necessity* of bringing back *to the land* man who *was about to lose himself in the infinity of empty space?*

Now let us free Ricardo's doctrine from the providential, allegorical and mystical phrases in which M. Proudhon has been careful to wrap it.

Rent, in the Ricardian sense, is property in land in its bourgeois state, that is, feudal property which has become subject to the conditions of bourgeois production.

We have seen that, according to the Ricardian doctrine, the price of all objects is determined ultimately by the cost of production, including the industrial profit; in other words, by the labour time employed. In manufacturing industry, the price of the product obtained by the minimum of labour regulates the price of all other commodities of the same kind, seeing that the cheapest and most productive instruments of production can be multiplied to infinity and that free competition necessarily gives rise to a market price, that is, a common price for all products of the same kind.

In agricultural industry, on the contrary, it is the price of the product obtained by the greatest amount of labour which regulates the price of all products of the same kind. In the first place, one cannot, as in manufacturing industry, multiply at will the instruments of production possessing the same degree of productivity, that is, plots of land with the same degree of fertility. Then, as population increases, land of an inferior quality begins to be exploited, or new outlays of capital, proportionately less productive than before, are made upon the same plot of land. In both cases a greater amount of labour is expended to obtain a proportionately smaller product. The needs of the population having rendered necessary this increase of labour, the product of the land whose exploitation is the more costly

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[a] *Propriété* (property) is explained by the intervention of the *propriétaire* (proprietor); *rente* (rent), by the intervention of the *rentier* (rent-receiver).—*Ed.*

has as certain a sale as has that of a piece of land whose exploitation is cheaper. As competition levels the market price, the product of the better soil will be paid for as dearly as that of the inferior. It is the excess of the price of the products of the better soil over the cost of their production that constitutes rent. If one could always have at one's disposal plots of land of the same degree of fertility; if one could, as in manufacturing industry, have recourse continually to cheaper and more productive machines, or if the subsequent outlays of capital produced as much as the first, then the price of agricultural products would be determined by the cost price of commodities produced by the best instruments of production, as we have seen with the price of manufactured products. But from this moment rent would have disappeared also.

For the Ricardian doctrine to be generally true, it is essential[a] that capital should be freely applicable to different branches of industry; that a strongly developed competition among capitalists should have brought profits to an equal level; that the farmer should be no more than an industrial capitalist claiming for the use of his capital on inferior land[b] a profit equal to that which he would draw from his capital if it were applied in any kind of manufacture[c]; that agricultural exploitation should be subjected to the regime of large-scale industry; and finally, that the landowner himself should aim at nothing beyond the money return.

It may happen, as in Ireland, that rent does not yet exist,[d] although the letting of land has reached an extreme development there. Rent being the excess not only over wages, but also over industrial profit,

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[a] In the copy with corrections in Marx's hand and in the one presented to N. Utina, the beginning of the phrase was altered as follows: "Pour que la doctrine de Ricardo—les prémisses une fois accordées—soit généralement vraie, il faut encore" ("For the Ricardian doctrine, once the premises granted, to be generally true it is moreover essential...").—*Ed.*

[b] In the copy with corrections in Marx's hand and in the one presented to N. Utina the words "à la terre" ("on the land") are substituted for "à des terrains-inférieurs" ("on inferior land"). The correction is reproduced in the French edition of 1896.—*Ed.*

[c] The edition of 1847 had "par exemple, à l'industrie cotonnière" ("for example, in cotton industry") instead of "dans une manufacture quelconque" ("in any kind of manufacture"). The change was made in the copy with corrections in Marx's hand and in the one presented to N. Utina, and reproduced in the German edition of 1885 and the French edition of 1896.—*Ed.*

[d] In the 1847 edition this sentence began as follows: "En Irlande, la rente n'existe pas encore" ("In Ireland rent does not yet exist"). The changes were made in the copy with corrections in Marx's hand and in the one presented to N. Utina, and reproduced in the German edition of 1885 and the French edition of 1896.— *Ed.*

it cannot exist where the landowner's income is nothing but a deduction from wages.[a]

Thus, far from converting the exploiter of the land, the farmer, into a *simple labourer*, and "snatching from the *colonus* the surplus of his product which he cannot help regarding as his own", rent confronts the landowner, not with the slave, the serf, the payer of tribute, the wage labourer, but with the industrial capitalist. Once constituted as rent, landed property has in its possession only the surplus over production costs, which are determined not only by wages but also by industrial profit. It is therefore from the landowner that rent snatched a part of his income.[b] Hence, there was a big lapse of time before the feudal farmer was replaced by the industrial capitalist. In Germany, for example, this transformation began only in the last third of the eighteenth century. It is in England alone that this relation between the industrial capitalist and the landed proprietor has been fully developed.

So long as there was only M. Proudhon's *colonus*, there was no rent. The moment rent exists, the *colonus* is no longer the farmer, but the worker, the farmer's *colonus*. The abasement of the labourer, reduced to the role of a simple worker, day labourer, wage-earner, working for the industrial capitalist; the intervention of the industrial capitalist, exploiting the land like any other factory; the transformation of the landed proprietor from a petty sovereign into a vulgar usurer: these are the different relations expressed by rent.

Rent, in the Ricardian sense, is patriarchal agriculture transformed into commercial industry, industrial capital applied to land, the town bourgeoisie transplanted into the country. Rent, instead of *binding man to nature*, has merely bound the exploitation of the land to competition. Once established as rent, landed property itself is the *result of competition*, since from that time onwards it depends on the market value of agricultural produce. As rent, landed property is

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[a] In the 1847 edition the end of this sentence read: "elle ne saurait exister dans les pays où, comme en Irlande, le revenu du propriétaire n'est qu'un prélèvement sur le salaire" ("It cannot exist in those countries where, as in Ireland, the landowner's income is a deduction from wages"). The changes were made in the copy with corrections in Marx's hand and in the one presented to N. Utina, and reproduced in the German edition of 1885 and the French edition of 1896.—*Ed.*

[b] In the copy with corrections in Marx's hand and in the one presented to N. Utina this paragraph has many changes, some of which are illegible. In the German edition of 1885 the last two sentences were omitted and instead the following sentence was added after the words "the industrial capitalist": "who exploits the soil by means of his wage workers, and who pays to the landowner as rent only the surplus over the production costs, including profit on capital". In the French edition of 1896 the two sentences mentioned are also omitted.— *Ed.*

mobilised and becomes an article of commerce. Rent is possible only from the moment when the development of urban industry, and the social organisation resulting therefrom, force the landowner to aim solely at commercial profit, at the money his agricultural products fetch—in fact to look upon his landed property only as a machine for coining money. Rent has so completely divorced the landed proprietor from the soil, from nature, that he has no need even to know his estates, as is to be seen in England. As for the farmer, the industrial capitalist and the agricultural worker, they are no more bound to the land they exploit than are the employer and the worker in the factories to the cotton and wool they manufacture; they feel an attachment only for the price of their production, the monetary product. Hence the jeremiads of the reactionary parties, who offer up all their prayers for the return of feudalism, of the good old patriarchal life, of the simple manners and the fine virtues of our forefathers. The subjection of the soil to the laws which dominate all other industries is and always will be the subject of interested condolences. Thus it may be said that rent has become the motive power which has introduced idyll into the movement of history.

Ricardo, after postulating bourgeois production as necessary for determining rent, applies the conception of rent, nevertheless, to the landed property of all ages and all countries. This is an error common to all the economists, who represent the bourgeois relations of production as eternal categories.

From the providential aim of rent—which is, for M. Proudhon, the transformation of the *colonus* into a *responsible worker*, he passes to the equalised distribution of rent.

Rent, as we have just seen, is constituted by the *equal price* of the products of lands of *unequal fertility*, so that a hectolitre of corn which has cost ten francs is sold for twenty francs if the cost of production rises to twenty francs upon soil of inferior quality.

So long as necessity forces the purchase of all the agricultural products brought into the market, the market price is determined by the cost of the most expensive product. Thus it is this equalisation of price, resulting from competition and not from the different fertilities of the lands, that secures for the owner of the better soil a rent of ten francs for every hectolitre that his farmer sells.

Let us suppose for a moment that the price of corn is determined by the labour time needed to produce it, and at once the hectolitre of corn obtained from the better soil will sell at ten francs, while the hectolitre of corn obtained on the inferior soil will cost twenty francs. This being admitted, the average market price will be fifteen francs, whereas, according to the law of competition, it is twenty francs. If

the average price were fifteen francs, there would be no occasion for any distribution, whether equalised or otherwise, for there would be no rent. Rent exists only when one can sell for twenty francs the hectolitre of corn which has cost the producer ten francs. M. Proudhon supposes equality of the market price, with unequal costs of production, in order to arrive at an equalised sharing out of the product of inequality.

We understand such economists as Mill, Cherbuliez, Hilditch and others demanding that rent should be handed over to the state to serve in place of taxes. That is a frank expression of the hatred the industrial capitalist bears towards the landed proprietor, who seems to him a useless thing, an excrescence upon the general body of bourgeois production.

But first to make the price of the hectolitre of corn twenty francs in order then to make a general distribution of the ten francs overcharge levied on the consumer, is indeed enough to make the *social genius* pursue *its zigzag course mournfully*—and knock its head against some *corner.*

Rent becomes, under M. Proudhon's pen,

> "an immense *land valuation* which is carried out contradictorily by the proprietors and the farmers ... in a higher interest, and whose ultimate result must be to equalise the possession of the land between the exploiters of the soil and the industrialists". [II 271]

For any land valuation based upon rent to be of practical value, the conditions of present society must not be departed from.

Now we have shown that the rent paid by the farmer to the landowner expresses the rent with any exactitude only in the countries most advanced in industry and commerce. Moreover, this rent often includes interest paid to the landowner on capital incorporated in the land. The location of the land, the nearness of towns, and many other circumstances influence the farm rent and modify the land rent. These peremptory reasons would be enough to prove the inaccuracy of a land valuation based on rent.

On the other hand, rent could not be the invariable index of the degree of fertility of the land, since every moment the modern application of chemistry is changing the nature of the soil, and geological knowledge is just now, in our days, beginning to revolutionise all the old estimates of relative fertility. It is only about twenty years since vast lands in the eastern counties of England were cleared; they had been left uncultivated due to the lack of proper comprehension of the relation between the humus and the composition of the sub-soil.

Thus history, far from supplying, in rent, a ready-made land valuation, does nothing but change and turn topsy-turyy the land valuations already made.

Finally, fertility is not so natural a quality as might be thought; it is closely bound up with the social relations of the time. A piece of land may be very fertile for corn growing, and yet the market price may induce the cultivator to turn it into an artificial pastureland and thus render it infertile.

M. Proudhon has improvised his land valuation, which has not even the value of an ordinary land valuation, only to give substance to the *providentially equalitarian aim* of rent.

"Rent," continues M. Proudhon, "is the interest paid on a capital which never perishes, namely—land. And as the capital is capable of no increase in matter, but only of an indefinite improvement in its use, it comes about that while the interest or profit on a loan (*mutuum*) tends to diminish continually through abundance of capital, rent tends always to increase through the perfecting of industry, from which results the improvement in the use of the land.... Such, in its essence, is rent." (Tome II, p. 265.)

This time, M. Proudhon sees in rent all the characteristics of interest, save that it is derived from capital of a specific nature. This capital is land, an eternal capital, "which is capable of no increase in matter, but only of an indefinite improvement in its use". In the progressive advance of civilisation, interest has a continual tendency to fall, whilst rent continually tends to rise. Interest falls because of the abundance of capital; rent rises owing to the improvements brought about in industry, which result in an ever better utilisation of land.

Such, in its essence, is the opinion of M. Proudhon.

Let us first examine how far it is true to say that rent is interest on capital.

For the landed proprietor himself rent represents the interest on the capital that the land has cost him, or that he would draw from it if he sold it. But in buying or selling land he only buys or sells rent. The price he pays to make himself a receiver of rent is regulated by the rate of interest in general and has nothing to do with the actual nature of rent. The interest on capital invested in land is in general lower than the interest on capital invested in manufacture or commerce. Thus, for those who make no distinction between the interest that the land represents to the owner and the rent itself, the interest on land as capital diminishes still more than does the interest on other capital. But it is not a question of the purchase or sale price of rent, of the marketable value of rent, of capitalised rent, it is a question of rent itself.

Farm rent can imply again, apart from rent proper, the interest on the capital incorporated in the land. In this instance the landowner receives this part of the farm rent, not as a landowner but as a capitalist; but this is not the rent proper that we are to deal with.

Land, so long as it is not exploited as a means of production, is not capital. Land as capital can be increased just as much as all the other instruments of production. Nothing is added to its matter, to use M. Proudhon's language, but the lands which serve as instruments of production are multiplied. The very fact of applying further outlays of capital to land already transformed into means of production increases land as capital without adding anything to land as matter, that is, to the extent of the land. M. Proudhon's land as matter is the earth in its limitation. As for the eternity he attributes to land, we grant readily it has this virtue as matter. Land as capital is no more eternal than any other capital.

Gold and silver, which yield interest, are just as lasting and eternal as land. If the price of gold and silver falls, while that of land keeps rising, this is certainly not because of its more or less eternal nature.

Land as capital is fixed capital; but fixed capital gets used up just as much as circulating capital. Improvements to the land need reproduction and upkeep; they last only for a time; and this they have in common with all other improvements used to transform matter into means of production. If land as capital were eternal, some lands would present a very different appearance from what they do today, and we should see the Roman Campagna, Sicily, Palestine, in all the splendour of their former prosperity.

There are even instances when land as capital might disappear, even though the improvements remain incorporated in the land.

In the first place, this occurs every time rent proper is wiped out by the competition of new and more fertile soils; secondly, the improvements which might have been valuable at one time cease to be of value the moment they become universal owing to the development of agronomy.

The representative of land as capital is not the landowner, but the farmer. The proceeds yielded by land as capital are interest and industrial profit, not rent. There are lands which yield such interest and profit but still yield no rent.

Briefly, land insofar as it yields interest is land capital, and as land capital it yields no rent, it is not landed property. Rent results from the social relations in which the exploitation of the land takes place. It cannot be a result of the more or less solid, more or less durable nature of the soil. Rent is a product of society and not of the soil.

According to M. Proudhon, "improvement in the use of the land"—a consequence "of the perfecting of industry"—causes the continual rise in rent. On the contrary, this improvement causes its periodical fall.

Wherein consists, in general, any improvement, whether in agriculture or in manufacture? In producing more with the same labour; in producing as much, or even more, with less labour. Thanks to these improvements, the farmer is spared from using a greater amount of labour for a relatively smaller product. He has no need, therefore, to resort to inferior soils, and instalments of capital applied successively to the same soil remain equally productive. Thus, these improvements, far from continually raising rent, as M. Proudhon says, become on the contrary so many temporary obstacles preventing its rise.

The English landowners of the seventeenth century were so well aware of this truth, that they opposed the progress of agriculture for fear of seeing their incomes diminish. (See Petty, an English economist of the time of Charles II.[a])

## § 5. STRIKES AND COMBINATIONS OF WORKERS

"Every upward movement in wages can have no other effect than a rise in the price of corn, wine, etc., that is, the effect of a dearth. For what are wages? They are the cost price of corn, etc.; they are the integrant price of everything. We may go even further: wages are the proportion of the elements composing wealth and consumed reproductively every day by the mass of the workers. Now, to double wages ... is to attribute to each one of the producers a greater share than his product, which is contradictory, and if the rise extends only to a small number of industries, it brings about a general disturbance in exchange; in a word, a *dearth*.... It is impossible, I declare, for strikes followed by an increase in wages not to culminate in a *general rise in prices*: this is as certain as that two and two make four." (Proudhon, tome I, pp. 110 and 111.)

We deny all these assertions, except that two and two make four.

In the first place, there is no *general rise in prices.* If the price of everything doubles at the same time as wages, there is no change in price, the only change is in terms.

Then again, a general rise in wages can never produce a more or less general rise in the price of goods. Actually, if every industry employed the same number of workers in relation to fixed capital or to the instruments used, a general rise in wages would produce a general fall in profits and the current price of goods would undergo no alteration.

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[a] W. Petty, *Political Arithmetick* (1676).—*Ed.*

But as the relation of manual labour to fixed capital is not the same in different industries, all the industries which employ a relatively greater mass of fixed capital and fewer workers, will be forced sooner or later to lower the price of their goods. In the opposite case, in which the price of their goods is not lowered, their profit will rise above the general rate of profits. Machines are not wage-earners. Therefore, the general rise in wages will affect less those industries, which, compared with the others, employ more machines than workers. But as competition always tends to level the rate of profits, those profits which rise above the general rate cannot but be transitory. Thus, apart from a few fluctuations, a general rise in wages will lead, not as M. Proudhon says, to a general increase in prices, but to a partial fall, that is a fall in the current price of the goods that are made chiefly with the help of machines.

The rise and fall of profits and wages express merely the proportion in which capitalists and workers share in the product of a day's work, without influencing in most instances the price of the product. But that "strikes followed by an increase in wages culminate in a general rise in prices, in a dearth even"—these are notions which can blossom only in the brain of a poet who has not been understood.

In England, strikes have regularly given rise to the invention and application of new machines. Machines were, it may be said, the weapon employed by the capitalists to quell the revolt of specialised labour. The *self-acting mule,*[a] the greatest invention of modern industry, put out of action the spinners who were in revolt. If combinations and strikes had no other effect than that of making the efforts of mechanical genius react against them, they would still exercise an immense influence on the development of industry.

"I find," continues M. Proudhon, "in an article published by M. Léon Faucher ... September 1845,[b] that for some time the English workers have got out of the habit of *combination,* which is assuredly a progress for which one cannot but congratulate them: but this improvement in the morale of the workers comes chiefly from their economic education. 'It is not on the manufacturers,' cried a spinning-mill worker at a Bolton meeting, 'that wages depend. In periods of depression the masters are, so to speak, merely the whip with which necessity arms itself, and whether they want to or not, they have to deal blows. The regulative principle is the relation of supply to demand; and the masters have not this power'.... Well done," cries M. Proudhon, "these are well-trained workers, model workers," etc., etc. "Such poverty did not exist in England; it will not cross the Channel." (Proudhon, tome I, pp. 261 and 262.)

Of all the towns in England, Bolton is the one in which radicalism is the most developed. The Bolton workers are known to be the most

[a] This term is given in English in the original.— *Ed.*

[b] L. Faucher, "Les coalitions condamnées par les ouvriers anglais."—*Ed.*

revolutionary of all. At the time of the great agitation in England for the abolition of the Corn Laws,[86] the English manufacturers thought that they could cope with the landowners only by thrusting the workers to the fore. But as the interests of the workers were no less opposed to those of the manufacturers than the interests of the manufacturers were to those of the landowners, it was natural that the manufacturers should fare badly in the workers' meetings. What did the manufacturers do? To save appearances they organised meetings composed, to a large extent, of foremen, of the small number of workers who were devoted to them, and of the real *friends of trade.* When later on the genuine workers tried, as in Bolton and Manchester, to take part in these sham demonstrations, in order to protest against them, they were forbidden admittance on the ground that it was a *ticket meeting*[a]—a meeting to which only persons with entrance cards were admitted. Yet the posters placarded on the walls had announced public meetings. Every time one of these meetings was held, the manufacturers' newspapers gave a pompous and detailed account of the speeches made. It goes without saying that it was the foremen who made these speeches. The London papers reproduced them word for word. M. Proudhon has the misfortune to take foremen for ordinary workers, and enjoins them not to cross the Channel.

If in 1844 and 1845 strikes drew less attention than before, it was because 1844 and 1845 were the first two years of prosperity that English industry had had since 1837.[87] Nevertheless none of the *trades unions* had been dissolved.

Now let us listen to the foremen of Bolton. According to them manufacturers have no command over wages because they have no command over the price of products, and they have no command over the price of products because they have no command over the world market. For this reason they wish it to be understood that combinations should not be formed to extort an increase in wages from the masters. M. Proudhon, on the contrary, forbids combinations for fear they should be followed by a rise in wages which would bring with it a general dearth. We have no need to say that on one point there is an *entente cordiale* between the foremen and M. Proudhon: that a rise in wages is equivalent to a rise in the price of products.

But is the fear of a dearth the true cause of M. Proudhon's rancour? No. Quite simply he is annoyed with the Bolton foremen

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[a] These two words are given in English in the original.—*Ed.*

because they determine value by *supply and demand* and hardly take any account of *constituted value,* of value which has passed into the state of constitution, of the constitution of value, including *permanent exchangeability* and all the other *proportionalities of relations* and *relations of proportionality,* with Providence at their side.

"A workers' strike is *illegal,* and it is not only the Penal Code that says so, it is the economic system, the necessity of the established order.... That each worker individually should dispose freely over his person and his hands, this can be tolerated, but that workers should undertake by combination to do violence to monopoly, is something society cannot permit." (Tome I, pp. 334 and 335.)

M. Proudhon wants to pass off an article of the Penal Code as a necessary and general result of bourgeois relations of production.

In England combination is authorised by an Act of Parliament, and it is the economic system which has forced Parliament to grant this legal authorisation. In 1825, when, under the Minister Huskisson, Parliament had to modify the law in order to bring it more and more into line with the conditions resulting from free competition, it had of necessity to abolish all laws forbidding combinations of workers.[88] The more modern industry and competition develop, the more elements there are which call forth and strengthen combination, and as soon as combination becomes an economic fact, daily gaining in solidity, it is bound before long to become a legal fact.

Thus the article of the Penal Code proves at the most that modern industry and competition were not yet well developed under the Constituent Assembly and under the Empire.[89]

Economists and socialists* are in agreement on one point: the condemnation of *combinations.* Only they have different motives for their act of condemnation.

The economists say to the workers: Do not combine. By combination you hinder the regular progress of industry, you prevent manufacturers from carrying out their orders, you disturb trade and you precipitate the invasion of machines which, by rendering your labour in part useless, force you to accept a still lower wage. Besides, whatever you do, your wages will always be determined by the relation of hands demanded to hands supplied, and it is an effort as ridiculous as it is dangerous for you to revolt against the eternal laws of political economy.

The socialists say to the workers: Do not combine, because what will you gain by it anyway? A rise in wages? The economists will

* That is, the socialists of that time: the Fourierists in France, the Owenites in England. *F. E.* [*Note to the German edition, 1885.*]

prove to you quite clearly that the few ha'pence you may gain by it for a few moments if you succeed, will be followed by a permanent fall. Skilled calculators will prove to you that it would take you years merely to recover, through the increase in your wages, the expenses incurred for the organisation and upkeep of the combinations. And we, as socialists, tell you that, apart from the money question, you will continue nonetheless to be workers, and the masters will still continue to be the masters, just as before. So no combination! No politics! For is not entering into combination engaging in politics?

The economists want the workers to remain in society as it is constituted and as it has been signed and sealed by them in their manuals.

The socialists want the workers to leave the old society alone, the better to be able to enter the new society which they have prepared for them with so much foresight.

In spite of both of them, in spite of manuals and utopias, combination has not ceased for an instant to go forward and grow with the development and growth of modern industry. It has now reached such a stage, that the degree to which combination has developed in any country clearly marks the rank it occupies in the hierarchy of the world market. England, whose industry has attained the highest degree of development, has the biggest and best organised combinations.

In England they have not stopped at partial combinations which have no other objective than a passing strike, and which disappear with it. Permanent combinations have been formed, *trades unions,* which serve as bulwarks for the workers in their struggles with the employers. And at the present time all these local *trades unions* find a rallying point in the *National Association of United Trades,*[90] the central committee of which is in London, and which already numbers 80,000 members. The organisation of these strikes, combinations, and *trades unions* went on simultaneously with the political struggles of the workers, who now constitute a large political party, under the name of *Chartists.*

The first attempts of workers to *associate* among themselves always take place in the form of combinations.

Large-scale industry concentrates in one place a crowd of people unknown to one another. Competition divides their interests. But the maintenance of wages, this common interest which they have against their boss, unites them in a common thought of resistance—*combination.* Thus combination always has a double aim, that of stopping competition among the workers, so that they can carry on general competition with the capitalist. If the first aim of

resistance was merely the maintenance of wages, combinations, at first isolated, constitute themselves into groups as the capitalists in their turn unite for the purpose of repression, and in face of always united capital, the maintenance of the association becomes more necessary to them than that of wages. This is so true that English economists are amazed to see the workers sacrifice a good part of their wages in favour of associations, which, in the eyes of these economists, are established solely in favour of wages. In this struggle—a veritable civil war—all the elements necessary for a coming battle unite and develop. Once it has reached this point, association takes on a political character.

Economic conditions had first transformed the mass of the people of the country into workers. The domination of capital has created for this mass a common situation, common interests. This mass is thus already a class as against capital, but not yet for itself. In the struggle, of which we have pointed out only a few phases, this mass becomes united, and constitutes itself as a class for itself. The interests it defends become class interests. But the struggle of class against class is a political struggle.

In the bourgeoisie we have two phases to distinguish: that in which it constituted itself as a class under the regime of feudalism and absolute monarchy, and that in which, already constituted as a class, it overthrew feudalism and monarchy to make society into a bourgeois society. The first of these phases was the longer and necessitated the greater efforts. This too began by partial combinations against the feudal lords.

Much research has been carried out to trace the different historical phases that the bourgeoisie has passed through, from the commune up to its constitution as a class.

But when it is a question of making a precise study of strikes, combinations and other forms in which the proletarians carry out before our eyes their organisation as a class, some are seized with real fear and others display a *transcendental* disdain.

An oppressed class is the vital condition for every society founded on the antagonism of classes. The emancipation of the oppressed class thus implies necessarily the creation of a new society. For the oppressed class to be able to emancipate itself it is necessary that the productive powers already acquired and the existing social relations should no longer be capable of existing side by side. Of all the instruments of production, the greatest productive power[91] is the revolutionary class itself. The organisation of revolutionary elements as a class supposes the existence of all the productive forces which could be engendered in the bosom of the old society.

Does this mean that after the fall of the old society there will be a new class domination culminating in a new political power? No.

The condition for the emancipation of the working class is the abolition of all classes, just as the condition for the emancipation of the third estate, of the bourgeois order, was the abolition of all estates* and all orders.

The working class, in the course of its development, will substitute for the old civil society an association which will exclude classes and their antagonism, and there will be no more political power properly so-called, since political power is precisely the official expression of antagonism in civil society.

Meanwhile the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a struggle of class against class, a struggle which carried to its highest expression is a total revolution. Indeed, is it at all surprising that a society founded on the *opposition* of classes should culminate in brutal *contradiction,* the shock of body against body, as its final denouement?

Do not say that social movement excludes political movement. There is never a political movement which is not at the same time social.

It is only in an order of things in which there are no more classes and class antagonisms that *social evolutions* will cease to be *political revolutions.* Till then, on the eve of every general reshuffling of society, the last word of social science will always be:

"Le combat ou la mort; la lutte sanguinaire ou le néant. C'est ainsi que la question est invinciblement posée."

*George Sand.*[a]

* Estates here in the historical sense of the estates of feudalism, estates with definite and limited privileges. The revolution of the bourgeoisie abolished the estates and their privileges. Bourgeois society knows only *classes.* It was, therefore, absolutely in contradiction with history to describe the proletariat as the "fourth estate".[92] *F. E.* [*Note to the German edition, 1885.*]

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[a] "Combat or death, bloody struggle or extinction. Thus the question is inexorably put." (George Sand, *Jean Ziska. Épisode de la guerre des hussites.* Introduction.) — *Ed.*

## Frederick Engels

# THE DECLINE AND APPROACHING FALL OF GUIZOT.— POSITION OF THE FRENCH BOURGEOISIE

The English stage had better give over playing *The School for Scandal*,[a] for, indeed, the greatest school of this sort has been set up in Paris, in the Chamber of Deputies. The amount of scandalous matter collected and brought forward there during the last four or five weeks, is really unprecedented in the annals of parliamentary discussion. You recollect the inscription Mr. Duncombe once proposed for your own glorious House of Commons, "*The most degrading and infamous proceedings take place within these walls*". Well, here is a match for your own set of middle-class legislators; here are proceedings which will put British rascality to the blush. The honour of Old England is saved; Mr. Roebuck is outdone by M. de Girardin; Sir James Graham is beaten by M. Duchâtel.

I shall not undertake to give you the whole list of scandalous affairs brought to the light within the last few weeks; I shall not say a word about the several dozen of bribery cases brought before the juries; not a word about M. Gudin, the ordnance officer of the King, who, not without some degree of cleverness, made an attempt to introduce the habits of the swell mob into the palace of the Tuileries[93]; I shall not give you a lengthy report of the dirty affair of Gen. Cubières, peer of France, formerly Minister of War, who, under pretext of bribing the ministry into granting the concession of allowing the formation of a mining company, cheated the said company out of forty shares, which he coolly put into his own pocket, and on account of which he is now under trial before the Chamber of

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[a] R. Sheridan, *The School for Scandal.* A comedy in five acts.— *Ed.*

Peers. No; I shall give you only a few choice bits—a few samples taken from two or three sittings of the Deputies, which will enable you to judge of the rest.

M. Emile de Girardin, deputy and editor of the daily paper *La Presse*, supporting in both characters the new party of *Progressive Conservatives*, and for a considerable time past one of the most violent opponents of the Ministry, whom until lately he had supported, is a man of great talent and activity, but without any principles. From the beginning of his public career he unhesitatingly employed any means to make himself an important public character. It was he who forced Armand Carrel, the celebrated editor of the *National*, to a duel, and shot him, thus delivering himself from a dangerous competitor. The support of such a man, proprietor of an influential paper, and member of the Chamber of Deputies, was of course very important to the government; but M. de Girardin sold his support (for he always *sold* it) at a very high price. There was a deal of business transacted between M. de Girardin and the Ministry, but not always to the complete satisfaction of both parties. In the meantime, M. de Girardin prepared himself for any turn which affairs might take. Foreseeing the probability of a rupture with the Guizot Ministry, he collected accounts of scandalous transactions, bribings, and traffickings, which he was in the best position to learn, and which were brought to him by his friends and agents in high places. The turn which party discussions took this session showed to him that the fall of Guizot and Duchâtel was approaching. He was one of the principal actors in the formation of the new "Progressive Conservative" party, and repeatedly threatened the government with the full weight of his wrath, if they persisted in their course. M. Guizot refused, in pretty scornful terms, any compromise with the new party. These detached themselves from the majority, and annoyed the government by their opposition. The financial and other discussions of the Chamber unveiled so much scandal, that MM. Guizot and Duchâtel were obliged to throw several of their colleagues overboard in order to save themselves. The vacant places, however, were filled by such insignificant men, that no party was satisfied, and the Ministry were rather weakened than fortified. Then came Cubières' affair, which elicited some doubts, even in the majority, as to the possibility to keep M. Guizot in office. Now, at last, when he saw the Ministry totally disorganised and weakened, now M. de Girardin thought the moment had arrived when he might bring forth his Pandora's box of scandal, and achieve the ruin of a tottering government, by revelations fit to shake the faith even of the "*belly*" of the Chamber.[94]

He commenced by accusing the Ministry of having sold a peerage for 80,000 francs, but of not having kept their promise, after pocketing the money! The House of Peers found themselves insulted by this assertion made in *La Presse*, and asked leave from the Deputies to bring M. de Girardin before their bar. This demand occasioned a discussion in the Deputies, in the course of which M. de Girardin fully maintained his assertion, declaring he was in possession of the proofs, but refusing to give any names, as he would not play the part of a *delator*. He said, however, that three times he had mentioned the matter privately to M. Guizot, who never denied the fact, and that once he spoke about it to M. Duchâtel, who replied—"It was done during my absence, and I afterwards disapproved of it; it was M. Guizot who did it." The whole of this was flatly denied by M. Duchâtel. "Then," said M. de Girardin, "I will give you the proof that the Ministry is quite in the habit of proposing such transactions"; and he read a letter from General Alexander de Girardin (the father, I believe, of M. Emile de Girardin; the latter is an illegitimate child) to the King. This letter expressed General de G.'s gratitude for the offer of a peerage made to him, but said at the same time, that M. Guizot having afterwards made it a condition of the grant that he (General de G.) should use his influence with M. Emile de G. to prevent him opposing the government, General de G. would be no party to such a transaction, and, therefore, declined the peerage. "O!" said M. Duchâtel, "if this is all, we will just mention that M. Emile de Girardin himself offered to us to cease his opposition if we would make him a peer, but we declined that offer." *Hinc illae lacrimae!*[a] But Duchâtel replied not a word to the allegation contained in the letter. The Chamber then voted that M. Emile de G. should be delivered up to the peers for trial. He was tried, sustained the allegation, but declared, the sold peerages not having been made out, he could not have attacked the Chamber of Peers, but only the government. The peers then *acquitted* him. Girardin then brought forward another scandalous affair. There was got up last year a large paper, called the *Epoque*, which was to support the government, to beat all opposition papers out of the market, and to supersede the costly support of M. de Girardin's *Presse*. The experiment signally failed; partly, too, through the intrigues of M. de Girardin himself, who has his finger in every pie of that sort. Now, M. Duchâtel had answered, when charged with bribing the press, that the government had never paid any subsidies to any paper. M. de Girardin, against this assertion, maintained the notorious fact, that M. Duchâtel, after

[a] Hence these tears. (Terence, *Andria*, Act I, Scene 1.)—*Ed.*

a deal of begging on the part of the editors of the *Epoque,* had told them: "Well, gold and silver I have none; but what I have that will I give unto you"; and had given them the privilege for a third opera-house for Paris, which privilege the "gents" of the *Epoque* sold for 100,000 f., of which sum 60,000 f. were spent in support of the paper, and the remaining 40,000 f. went nobody knows where to. This, too, was flatly denied by M. Duchâtel; but the fact is notorious.

There were, besides, some similar transactions brought forward by M. de Girardin, but these samples will be quite sufficient.

Yesterday, in the Chamber of Deputies, M. de Girardin again got up and read some letters, from which it appeared that M. Duchâtel has caused the discussion in the above peerage affair to be printed at the public expense, and sent it to all town councils in the country; but that in this ministerial report neither M. de Girardin's nor M. Duchâtel's speeches were correctly reported; but, on the contrary, both of them were arranged so as to make M. de Girardin appear as a ridiculous calumniator, and M. Duchâtel in the light of the purest and most virtuous of men. As to the matter itself, he repeated all his assertions, and defied the government either to have them disproved by a parliamentary committee, or to bring him before a jury as a slanderer. In both cases, he said, he should be bound to give the names of the parties and all particulars, and thus be enabled to prove his accusations without placing himself in the position of a common informer. This excited a general storm in the Chamber. M. Duchâtel denied; M. de Girardin re-asserted; M. Duchâtel re-denied; M. de Girardin re-reasserted, and so on, the whole accompanied by the shouts and counter-shouts of the "choruses" of the Chamber. Other opposition members again defied the Ministry to have the matter looked into either by parliamentary inquiry, or by a trial. At last M. Duchâtel said,—

"A Parliamentary inquiry, gentlemen, would presuppose a doubt in the integrity of the government on the part of the majority; and, therefore, the day this inquiry should be granted our places would be occupied by others than us; if you have any doubt tell us so plainly, and we shall resign immediately."

"Then," said M. de Girardin, "there remains nothing but a trial. I am ready to undergo it; place me before a jury, if you dare."

"No," said M. Hébert, Minister of Justice, "we shall not, because the majority of the Chamber will judge."

"But," said M. Odilon Barrot, "this is not a political question; it is a *legal* one, and such a question is not within our competence, but of that of the public courts of law. If M. de Girardin has calumniated the government in his paper, why do you not have him tried for it?"

"We won't!"

"Well, but there is a plain allegation against other parties, too, of trafficking in peerages; why not bring them up? And this affair with the *Epoque* and the opera

privilege—if you are no parties to that, as you say, why do you not bring up those who *are* parties to such villainous traffic? Here are plain incriminations, and even partial proofs of crimes said to have been committed; why do not the lawyers of the Crown prosecute the alleged perpetrators of these crimes, as is their duty?"

"We do not get up a prosecution," replied M. Hébert, "because the character of the allegations, and the character of those who bring them forward, is not such as to make the truth of these allegations anything like probable to the legal advisers of the Crown!"

All this was every moment interrupted by groaning, shouting, knocking and all sorts of noises in general. This incomparable sitting, which has shaken the Guizot Ministry to its very foundation, was concluded by a vote, which proves, that if the faith of the majority may be shaken, their system of voting is not!

"The Chamber, after having heard the explanations of the Ministry, and found them *satisfactory*, passes to the order of the day!"

What do you think of that? Which do you prefer, the ministry or the majority, the Deputies of France or your own Commons? M. Duchâtel or Sir James Graham? I dare say you will find the choice a difficult one. There is, however, one difference betwixt them. The English middle classes have, up to this day, to struggle against an aristocracy, which, although in a state of dissolution and decomposition, is not yet removed. The aristocracy of England always found some support in one fraction or the other of the middle classes themselves, and it was this division of the middle classes that saved the aristocracy from total ruin. At this moment the aristocracy is supported by the fund-holders, bankers, and owners of fixed incomes, and by a large part of the shipping trade against the manufacturers. The whole agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws proves this.[95] The advanced fraction of the English middle classes, therefore (I mean the manufacturers) will yet be able to carry out some progressive political measures which will more and more decompose the aristocracy. They will even be *obliged* to do so; they must extend their markets, which they cannot do without reducing their prices, which reduction must be preceded by a reduced cost of production, which reduced cost of production is mainly obtained by reduced wages, for reducing which there is no safer means than reduced price of the necessaries of life; and, to obtain this, they have no other means but reducing the taxes. This is the logical chain which ties the manufacturers of England to the necessity of destroying the Established Church, and reducing, or "equitably adjusting", the National Debt. Both these measures, and others in the same spirit, they will be forced to carry out as soon as they find, which they must, the market of the world insufficient to continually

and regularly buy up their produce. Thus the English middle classes are, as yet, in a progressive direction; they have an aristocracy and a privileged clergy to overthrow; there are certain progressive measures which they will be forced to carry, and which they are the fit and proper persons to carry. But the French middle classes are in a different position. There is no aristocracy of birth, nor a landed aristocracy, in that country. The revolution has swept it entirely away. Neither is there a privileged or Established Church; but on the contrary, both Catholic and Protestant clergy receive their salaries from the government, and are upon a footing of perfect equality. There is no important struggle possible in France between the fund-holders, bankers, shippers, and manufacturers, because, of all fractions of the middle classes the fund-holders and bankers (who, at the same time, are the principal shareholders in the railway, mining, and other companies) are decidedly the strongest fraction, and have, with a few interruptions only, ever since 1830, held the reins of government. The manufacturers, kept down by foreign competition in the foreign market, and threatened in their own, have no chance of growing to such a degree of power, that they successfully might struggle against the bankers and fund-holders. On the contrary, their chance decreases every year; their party in the Deputies, formerly one-half, is now not more than a third part of the Chamber. It results from all this that neither a single fraction, nor the whole of the ruling middle classes, are in a position to carry out anything like "progress"; that the government of the *bourgeoisie* is so fully established in France since the revolution of 1830, that the ruling class could do nothing but *wear themselves out.* This they have done. Instead of progressing, they were obliged to go backwards, to restrain the liberty of the press; to take away the right of free association and meeting; to make all sorts of exceptional laws in order to keep down the working people. And the scandalous affairs brought forward within the last few weeks are the evident proof that the ruling *bourgeoisie* of France are entirely worn out, totally "used up".

Indeed, the high *bourgeoisie* are in an awkward position. They had found, at last, in Guizot and Duchâtel, the men to govern them. They kept them in office seven years, and sent them at every election larger and larger majorities. And now, when all opposing fractions had been reduced to the utmost impotency in the Chamber,—now when Guizot and Duchâtel's days of glory seemed to have arrived, at that very moment a mass of scandal is discovered in the doings of the Ministry, that makes it impossible for them to remain in office, even if supported unanimously by the Chambers. There can be no doubt

that Guizot and Duchâtel will, with their colleagues, resign very shortly; they may drag on their ministerial existence a few weeks longer, but their end is drawing nigh—very nigh. And who is to govern after them? God knows! They may say, as Louis XV, "after me the deluge, ruin, and confusion". Thiers is unable to bring together a majority. Molé is an old, worn-out, and insignificant man, who will meet all sorts of difficulties, and who, in order to secure the support of the majority, must commit similar scandalous actions, and therefore, end in the same way as Guizot. This is the principal difficulty. The present electors will always elect a majority like that now sitting; the present majority will always require a ministry like that of Guizot and Duchâtel, committing all sorts of scandal; any ministry doing so will be overthrown by the mere weight of public opinion. This is the vicious circle in which the present system moves. But to go on as heretofore is impossible. What, then, is to be done? There is no other course but to leave this circle, to pass a measure of Electoral Reform; and Electoral Reform means admission of the smaller tradesmen to the Suffrage, and this means, in France, "the beginning of the end". Rothschild and Louis Philippe know very well, both of them, that admission of the smaller "bourgeoisie" to the Suffrage means nothing but "LA RÉPUBLIQUE!"

Paris, June 26th, 1847

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"From our own correspondent
in the French capital"

Reprinted from the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## THE COMMUNISM OF THE *RHEINISCHER BEOBACHTER*[96]

*Brussels,* September 5.—In issue No. 70 of this newspaper an article from the *Rh[einischer] Beobachter* is introduced with the words:

"In issue No. 206 the *Rh[einischer] B[eobachter]* preaches communism as follows."

Whether or not this comment is intended ironically, Communists must protest against the idea that the *Rheinischer Beobachter* could preach "communism", and especially against the idea that the article communicated in issue No. 70 of the *D[eutsche]-B[rüsseler]-Z[eitung]* is communist.

If a certain section of German socialists has continually blustered against the liberal bourgeoisie, and has done so, in a manner which has benefited nobody but the German governments, and if at present government newspapers like the *Rh[einischer] Beobachter,* basing themselves on the empty phrases of these people, claim that it is not the liberal bourgeoisie but the government which represents the interests of the proletariat, then the Communists have nothing in common with either the former or the latter.

Certain people have admittedly wished to lay the responsibility for this on the German Communists, they have accused them of being in alliance with the government.

This accusation is ludicrous. The government cannot unite with the Communists, nor the Communists with the government, for the simple reason that of all the revolutionary parties in Germany the Communists are by far the most revolutionary, and that the government knows this better than anyone else.

Can Communists unite with a government which has pronounced them guilty of high treason and treats them as such?

Can the government propagate in its press principles, which, in France, are considered to be anarchistic, incendiary and destructive of all social relations, and to which this same government continually ascribes the very same characteristics?

It is inconceivable. Let us examine the so-called communism of the *Rheinischer Beobachter*, and we snall find that it is very innocent.

The article begins:

> "If we examine *our* (!) social condition, then the greatest distress and the most pressing want reveal themselves everywhere (!), and we have to admit that much has been neglected. This is, indeed, a fact, and the *only* (!) question which arises, is what causes it. We are convinced that our constitution does not bear the responsibility for this, for (!) as far as social conditions are concerned matters are (!) still worse in France and England. Nevertheless (!) liberalism seeks the remedy in representation alone; if the people were represented, it would help itself. This is quite illusory to be sure, but nonetheless (!) extremely (!!) plausible."

In this paragraph we see the *Beobachter* [observer] before us, in the flesh—the way he chews his pen, at a loss for an introduction, speculates, writes, crosses out, writes again, and then finally, after some considerable time, produces the above magnificent passage. In order to arrive at liberalism, his own inherited hobby-horse, he begins with "our social condition", that is, strictly speaking, the social condition of the *Beobachter*, which may very well have its unpleasantnesses. By means of the extremely trivial observation that our social condition is miserable and that much has been neglected, he arrives, by way of some very thorny sentences, at a point where the *only* question which arises for him, is what causes it. This question arises for him, however, *only* to disappear again at once. The *Beobachter* does not, in fact, tell us what causes it, neither does he tell us what does *not* cause it, he tells us merely what he is *convinced* does not cause it, and that is, of course, the Prussian constitution. From the Prussian constitution, by means of a bold "for", he arrives at France and England, and from here to Prussian liberalism is for him of course only a trifling leap, which, supported by the least motivated "nevertheless" conceivable, he accomplishes with ease. And thus at last he has reached his favourite terrain, where he can exclaim, "This is quite illusory to be sure, but nonetheless extremely plausible." *But nonetheless extremely!!!*

Is it possible that the Communists have sunk so low that the paternity of such utterances, such classical transitions, such questions, arising and disappearing with ease, such remarkable *Only*'s, *For*'s and *Nevertheless*'s, and above all the phrase "but nonetheless extremely", should be ascribed to them?

Besides the "Old General", Arnold Ruge, there are only a few men in Germany who can write in this way, and these few are all Consistorial Counsellors in Herr Eichhorn's ministry.

We cannot be required to go into the contents of this introductory passage. It has no content other than the awkwardness of its form, it is merely the portal through which we step into the hall where our observing Consistorial Counsellor is preaching a crusade against liberalism.

Let us listen:

"Liberalism has above all the advantage that its approach to the people takes easier and more pleasant forms than does that of the bureaucracy." (Indeed, not even Herr Dahlmann or Gervinus writes such clumsy and angular prose.) "It speaks of the welfare and the rights of the people. In reality, however, it only pushes the people forward in order thereby to intimidate the government; it considers the people only as cannon fodder in the great onslaught against the power of the government. To seize the power of the state—this is the true tendency of liberalism, the welfare of the people is only of secondary importance to it."

Does the Herr Consistorial Counsellor believe he has told the people anything new with this? The people, and in particular the communist section of the people, knows very well that the liberal bourgeoisie is only pursuing its own interests and that little reliance should be placed on its sympathy for the people. If, however, the Consistorial Counsellor concludes from this that the liberal bourgeoisie exploits the people for its own ends in so far as the people participates in the political movement, then we must answer him: "That is quite plausible for a Consistorial Counsellor, to be sure, but nonetheless extremely illusory."

The people, or, to replace this broad and vague expression by a definite one, the proletariat, has quite another way of reasoning than the gentlemen of the ecclesiastical ministry permit themselves to imagine. The proletariat does not ask whether the welfare of the people is a matter of secondary or of primary importance to the bourgeoisie, or whether the bourgeoisie *wishes* to use proletarians as cannon fodder or not. The proletariat does not ask what the bourgeoisie merely *wishes* to do, but what it *must* do. It asks whether the present political system, the rule of the bureaucracy, or the one the liberals are striving for, the rule of the bourgeoisie, will offer it the means to achieve its own purposes. To this end it only has to compare the political position of the proletariat in England, France and America with that in Germany to see that the rule of the bourgeoisie does not only place quite new weapons in the hands of the proletariat for the struggle *against* the bourgeoisie, but that it also secures for it a quite different status, the status of a recognised party.

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## Zur Nachricht.

In Folge abermaliger neuer Hülfe bei der Post, Expedition der Zeitung und Redaction ist es uns jetzt möglich, auch wieder Exemplare an der Thür vor den Bureaux bei Jedem Verlangen.

Man bedaure auch hier in Brüssel einzelne Exemplare der Zeitung und Lithographie in den Lokalitäten für alle die Bedienen, beim Eingangsthore der Deutsche-Gesellschaften gegeben.

Alle unfrankirten Briefe, wenn nicht ohne alle Nachricht gelassen, werden in Zukunft ohne alle Ausnahme unfrankirten werden. Die Redaction bedarf für bestimmtes Geld gegeben.

Wenn bei Jemand, wenn allerdings Jemand es nicht erhalten, oder gar nicht erhalten, oder es wenn erhalten, oder gar nicht erhalten, oder es wenn erhalten, oder gar nicht erhalten, oder es wenn

Does the Herr Consistorial Counsellor then believe that the proletariat, which is more and more adhering to the Communist Party, that the proletariat will be incapable of utilising the freedom of the press and the freedom of association? Let him just read the English and French working men's newspapers, let him just attend some time a single Chartist meeting!

But in the ecclesiastical ministry, where the *Rh[einischer] Beobachter* is edited, they have queer ideas about the proletariat. They think they are dealing with Pomeranian peasants or with Berlin loafers. They think they have reached the greatest depths of profundity when they promise the people no longer *panem et circenses*,[a] but *panem et religionem*[b] instead. They delude themselves that the proletariat wishes to be helped, they do not conceive that it expects help from nobody but itself. They do not suspect that the proletariat sees through all these empty consistorial phrases about the "welfare of the people" and bad social conditions just as well as through the similar phrases of the liberal bourgeoisie.

And why is the welfare of the people only of secondary importance to the bourgeoisie? The *Rh[einischer] Beobachter* replies:

> "The United Diet[97] has proved it, the perfidy of liberalism is exposed. The Income Tax was the acid test of liberalism, and it failed the test."

These well-meaning Consistorial Counsellors, imagining in their economic innocence that they can use the Income Tax to throw dust in the eyes of the proletariat!

The Slaughter and Milling Tax directly affects wages, the Income Tax affects the profit of capital. Extremely plausible, Herr Consistorial Counsellor, isn't it? But the capitalists will not and cannot allow their profits to be taxed with impunity. This follows from competition itself. So within a few months after the introduction of the Income Tax, wages will therefore have been reduced to precisely the extent by which they were actually raised by the abolition of the Slaughter and Milling Tax and by the reduced food prices resulting from this.

The level of wages expressed, not in terms of money, but in terms of the means of subsistence necessary to the working man, that is the level of *real*, not of *nominal* wages, depends on the relationship between demand and supply. An alteration in the mode of taxation may cause a momentary disturbance, but will not change anything in the long run.

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[a] Bread and games.— *Ed.*

[b] Bread and religion.— *Ed.*

The only economic advantage of the Income Tax is that it is cheaper to levy, and this the Consistorial Counsellor does not mention. Incidentally the proletariat gains nothing from this circumstance either.

What, then, does all this talk about the Income Tax amount to?

In the first place, the proletariat is not at all, or only momentarily, interested in the whole matter.

In the second place, the government, which in levying the Slaughter and Milling Tax comes daily into direct contact with the proletariat and confronts it in a hateful fashion, the government remains in the background where the Income Tax is concerned, and forces the bourgeoisie to assume in full the odious business of pressing down wages.

The Income Tax would thus be of benefit to the government alone, hence the anger of the Consistorial Counsellors at its rejection.

But let us concede even for a moment that the proletariat has an interest in the matter; should this Diet have granted it?

By no means. It ought not to have granted moneys at all, it should have left the financial system exactly as it was so long as the government had not fulfilled all its demands. The refusal of moneys is, in all parliamentary assemblies, the means by which the government is forced to yield to the majority. This consistent refusal of moneys was the only thing in which the Diet behaved energetically, and that is why the disappointed Consistorial Counsellors have to try and render it suspicious in the eyes of the people.

"And yet," the *Rh[einischer] Beob[achter]* continues, "the organs of the liberal press quite appropriately raised the matter of the Income Tax."

Quite correct, and it is indeed a purely bourgeois measure. For this very reason, though, the bourgeoisie is able to reject it when it is proposed to it at the wrong time by ministers whom it cannot trust an inch.

We shall, incidentally, add this confession concerning the paternity of the Income Tax to the record; we shall find it useful later on.

After some exceptionally vacuous and confused twaddle the Consistorial Counsellor suddenly stumbles over the proletariat in the following manner:

"What *is* the proletariat?" (This is yet another of those questions which arise *only* to remain unanswered.) "It is no exaggeration when we" (that is, the Consistorial Counsellors of the *Rh[einischer] B[eobachter]*, not, however, the other profane newspapers) "state that one-third of the people has no basis for its existence, and another third is on the decline. The problem of the proletariat is the problem of the great majority of the people, it is the cardinal question."

How rapidly, indeed, these bureaucrats are brought to see reason by a single United Diet with a little opposition! How long is it since the government was prohibiting newspapers from maintaining such exaggerations as that we might have a proletariat in Prussia? Ever since the *Trier'sche Zeitung* among others—that innocent organ!—was threatened with closure because it maliciously wished to present the evil circumstances of the proletariat in England and France as existing also in Prussia? Be that as the government wishes. We shall similarly add to the record that the great majority of the people are proletarians.

"The Diet," it is further declared, "considered the question of principle to be the cardinal question, that is, the question of whether or not this exalted assembly should receive state power. And what was the people to receive? No railway, no annuity banks, no tax relief! Thrice happy people!"

Observe how our sleek-pated Consistorial Counsellor is gradually beginning to show his fox's ears. "The Diet considered the question of principle to be the main question." The blessed simplicity of this amiable blind-worm! The question as to whether a loan of 30 millions, an Income Tax providing a revenue not to be determined in advance, an annuity bank by means of which 400 to 500 millions can be raised on the domains—as to whether all this should be put at the disposal of the present dissolute and reactionary government, thus rendering it independent for an eternity, or whether it should be kept short, be rendered submissive to public opinion by the withdrawal of moneys, this our pussy-footing Consistorial Counsellor calls the question of principle!

"And what will the people receive?" asks the sympathetic Consistorial Counsellor. *"No railway"*—thus it will also avoid paying any taxes to cover the interest on the loan and the inevitable big losses in the running of this railway.

*"No annuity banks!"* Our Consistorial Counsellor acts just as if the government wished to give annuities to the proletarians, doesn't he? But, on the contrary, it wanted to give annuities to the *nobility*, for which the people would have had to pay. In this way it was to be made easier for the peasants to buy themselves free from compulsory labour service. If the peasants wait a few years more they will probably no longer need to *buy* themselves free. When the lords of the manor come under the pitchforks of the peasants, and this could easily happen before very long, then corvée system will cease of its own accord.

*"No Income Tax."* But so long as the Income Tax brings no income to the people, this is a matter of utter indifference to it.

"Thrice happy people," continues the Consistorial Counsellor, "you have at least won the question of principle! And if you do not understand what this is, then let your representatives explain it to you; perhaps you will forget your hunger in the course of their lengthy speeches!"

Who still dares to claim that the German press is not free? The *Rh[einischer] Beob[achter]* employs here with complete impunity a turn of phrase which many a French provincial jury would without more ado declare to be an incitement of the various classes of society against one another and cause to be punished.

The Consistorial Counsellor behaves, incidentally, in a terribly awkward manner. He wishes to flatter the people, and does not even credit it with knowing what a question of principle might be. Because he has to feign sympathy for the people's *hunger,* he takes his revenge by declaring it to be stupid and politically incompetent. The proletariat knows so well what the question of principle is that it does not reproach the Diet for having won it, but for *not* having won it. The proletariat reproaches the Diet for having stayed on the defensive, for not having attacked, for not having gone ten times further. It reproaches it with not having behaved decisively enough to make possible the participation of the proletariat in the movement. The proletariat was certainly incapable of showing any interest in the *Privileges of the Estates.* But a Diet demanding trial by jury, equality before the law, the abolition of the corvée system, freedom of the press, freedom of association and true representation, a Diet having once and for all broken with the past and formulating its demands according to the needs of the present instead of according to the old laws—such a Diet could count on the strongest support from the proletariat.

The *Beobachter* continues:

"And may God grant that this Diet should not absorb the power of the government, otherwise an insuperable brake will be put upon all social improvements."

The Herr Consistorial Counsellor may calm himself. A Diet that could not even get the better of the Prussian government will be given short shrift by the proletariat when the need arises.

"It has been said," the Consistorial Counsellor observes further, "that the Income Tax leads to revolution, to communism. To revolution, to be sure, that is to say, to a *transformation* of social relations, to the removal of *limitless poverty.*"

Either the Consistorial Counsellor wishes to mock his readers and merely say that the Income Tax removes *limitless* poverty in order to replace it with limited poverty, and more of a similar kind of bad Berlin jokes—or he is the greatest and most shameless ignoramus in

economic matters alive. He does not know that in England the Income Tax has been in existence for seven years and has not transformed a single social relation, has not removed the least hair's breadth of limitless poverty. He does not know that it is precisely where the *most limitless* poverty exists in Prussia, in the weaving villages of Silesia and Ravensberg, among the small peasants of Silesia, Posen, the Mosel and the Vistula, that the Class Tax, that is, the Income Tax, is *in force.*

But who can reply seriously to such absurdities? It is further stated:

> "Also to *communism,* as it happens to be understood.... Where all relations have been so intertwined with one another and brought into flux by trade and industry that the individual loses his footing in the currents of competition, by the nature of the circumstances he is *thrown upon the mercy* of society which *must* compensate in respect of the *particular* for the consequences of the *general* fluctuations. Hence society has a *duty of solidarity* in respect of the existence of its members."

And there we are supposed to have the communism of the *Rh[einischer] Beobachter*! Thus—in a society such as ours, where nobody is *secure* in his existence, in his position in life, society is duty bound to secure everybody's existence. First the Consistorial Counsellor admits that the existing society *cannot* do this, and then he demands of it that it should nevertheless perform this impossible feat.

But it should compensate in respect of the particular for that for which it can show no consideration in its general fluctuations, this is what the Consistorial Counsellor means.

"One-third of the people has no basis for its existence, and another third is on the decline."

Ten million individuals, therefore, are to be individually *compensated for.* Does the Consistorial Counsellor believe in all seriousness that the *pauvre*[a] Prussian government will be able to achieve this?

To be sure, and what is more by means of the Income Tax, which leads to communism, as it *happens to be understood* by the *Rh[einischer] Beobachter.*

Magnificent. After bemusing us with confused balderdash about alleged communism, after declaring that society has a duty of solidarity in respect of the existence of its members, that it *has to* care for them, although it cannot do so, after all these aberrations, contradictions and impossible demands, we are urged to accept the Income Tax as the measure which will resolve all contradictions,

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[a] Poor.— *Ed.*

make all impossibilities possible and restore the solidarity of all members of society.

We refer to Herr von Duesberg's memorandum on the Income Tax, which was presented to the Diet.[a] In this memorandum employment had already been found for the last penny of the revenue from the Income Tax. The hard-pressed government had not a farthing to spare for the compensation in respect of the particular for general fluctuations, for the fulfilment of society's duties of solidarity. And if, instead of ten million, only ten individuals had been through the nature of circumstances thrown upon Herr von Duesberg's mercy, Herr von Duesberg would have rejected all ten of them.

But no, we are mistaken; besides the Income Tax the Herr Consistorial Counsellor has yet another means for introducing communism, as he happens to understand it:

"What is the Alpha and Omega of the Christian faith? The dogma of original sin and redemption. And therein lies the association in solidarity of humanity in its highest potential: One for all and all for one."

Thrice happy people! The *cardinal question* is solved for all eternity! Under the double wings of the Prussian eagle and the Holy Ghost, the proletariat will find two inexhaustible springs of life: first, the surplus from the Income Tax above the ordinary and extraordinary needs of the state, which surplus equals zero, and second, the revenues from the heavenly domains of original sin and redemption, which likewise equal zero. These two zeroes provide a splendid basis for the one-third of the people which has no basis for its existence, a powerful support for the other third which is on the decline. Imaginary surpluses, original sin and redemption will undoubtedly satisfy the people's hunger in quite another way than the long speeches of liberal deputies! It is further stated:

"We also pray, in the Lord's prayer: 'Lead us not into temptation.' And what we supplicate for ourselves we ought to practise with regard to our fellow human beings. Our social conditions undoubtedly tempt man, and the excess of poverty incites to crime."

And *we*, gentlemen, we bureaucrats, judges and Consistorial Counsellors of the Prussian state, practise this consideration by having people broken on the wheel, beheaded, locked up and flogged to our heart's content, thereby "leading" the proletariat "into the temptation" to have us later similarly broken on the wheel, beheaded, locked up and flogged. Which will not fail to occur.

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[a] Duesberg, von. *Denkschrift, betreffend die Aufhebung der Mahl- und Schlachtsteuer, die Beschränkung der Klassensteuer und die Erhebung einer Einkommensteuer.—Ed.*

"Such conditions," declares the Consistorial Counsellor, "*must not* be tolerated by a Christian state, it must remedy them."

Indeed, with absurd blusterings about society's duties of solidarity, with imaginary surpluses and unacceptable bills of exchange on God the Father, Son and Company.

"We can also save ourselves all this tedious talk of communism," opines our observing Consistorial Counsellor. "If only those who have the vocation for it develop the social principles of Christianity, then the Communists will soon fall silent."

The social principles of Christianity have now had eighteen hundred years to be developed, and need no further development by Prussian Consistorial Counsellors.

The social principles of Christianity justified the slavery of antiquity, glorified the serfdom of the Middle Ages and are capable, in case of need, of defending the oppression of the proletariat, even if with somewhat doleful grimaces.

The social principles of Christianity preach the necessity of a ruling and an oppressed class, and for the latter all they have to offer is the pious wish that the former may be charitable.

The social principles of Christianity place the Consistorial Counsellor's compensation for all infamies in heaven, and thereby justify the continuation of these infamies on earth.

The social principles of Christianity declare all the vile acts of the oppressors against the oppressed to be either a just punishment for original sin and other sins, or trials which the Lord, in his infinite wisdom, ordains for the redeemed.

The social principles of Christianity preach cowardice, self-contempt, abasement, submissiveness and humbleness, in short, all the qualities of the rabble, and the proletariat, which will not permit itself to be treated as rabble, needs its courage, its self-confidence, its pride and its sense of independence even more than its bread.

The social principles of Christianity are sneaking and hypocritical, and the proletariat is revolutionary.

So much for the social principles of Christianity.

Further:

"We have acknowledged social reform to be the most distinguished vocation of the monarchy."

Have we? There has not been a single word of this hitherto. However, let it stand. And what does the social reform of the monarchy consist in? In promulgating an Income Tax stolen from the liberal press, which is to provide surpluses the Minister of Finance knows nothing about, in the abortive Land Annuity Banks,

in the Prussian Eastern Railway, and in particular in the profits from a vast capital of original sin and redemption!

"The interests of the monarchy itself makes this advisable"—how low, then, the monarchy must have sunk!

"The distress in society demands this"—for the moment it demands protective tariffs far more than dogmas.

"The gospel recommends this"—this is recommended by everything in general, only not by the terrifyingly barren condition of the Prussian State treasury, this abyss, which, within three years, will irrevocably have swallowed up the 15 Russian millions. The gospel recommends a great deal besides, among other things also castration as the beginning of social reform with oneself (Matth[ew] 19:12).

"The monarchy," declares our Consistorial Counsellor, "is one with the people."

This pronouncement is only another form of the old "*l'état c'est moi*",[a] and precisely the same form, in fact, as was used by Louis XVI against his rebellious estates on June 23, 1789: "If you do not obey, then I shall send you back home"—"*et seul je ferai le bonheur de mon peuple*".[b]

The monarchy must indeed be very hard-pressed if it decides to make use of this formula, and our learned Consistorial Counsellor certainly knows how the French people thanked Louis XVI for its use on that occasion.

"The throne," the Herr Consistorial Counsellor assures us further, "must rest on the broad foundation of the people, there it stands best."

So long, that is, as those broad shoulders do not, with one powerful heave, throw this burdensome superstructure into the gutter.

"The *aristocracy*," thus concludes the Herr Consistorial Counsellor, "leaves the monarchy its dignity and gives it a poetical adornment, but removes real power from it. The *bourgeoisie* robs it of both its power and its dignity, and only gives it a civil list. The *people* preserves to the monarchy its power, its dignity and its poetry."

In this passage the Herr Consistorial Counsellor has unfortunately taken the boastful appeal *To His People*, made by Frederick William in his Speech from the Throne,[98] too seriously. Its last word is—overthrow of the aristocracy, overthrow of the bourgeoisie, creation of a monarchy drawing its support from the people.

If these demands were not pure fantasies they would contain in themselves a complete revolution.

We have not the slightest wish to argue in detail that the

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[a] "*I am* the state" (expression attributed to Louis XIV).— *Ed.*

[b] "And alone I shall create the happiness of my people."— *Ed.*

aristocracy cannot be overthrown in any other manner than by the bourgeoisie and the people together, that rule of the people in a country where the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie still exist side by side is a piece of sheer nonsense. One cannot reply to such yarn-spinnings from one of Eichhorn's Consistorial Counsellors with any serious development of ideas.

We merely wish to make some well-intentioned comments to those gentlemen who would like to rescue the apprehensive Prussian monarchy by means of a somersault into the people.

Of all political elements the people is by far the most dangerous for a king. Not the people of which Frederick William speaks, which offers thanks with moist eyes for a kick and a silver penny; this people is completely harmless, for it only exists in the king's imagination. But the real people, the proletarians, the small peasants and the plebs—this is, as Hobbes says, *puer robustus, sed malitiosus,*[a] a robust, but ill-natured youth, which permits no kings, be they lean or fat, to get the better of him.

This people would above all else extort from His Majesty a constitution, together with a universal franchise, freedom of association, freedom of the press and other unpleasant things.

And if it had all this, it would use it to pronounce as rapidly as possible on the *power*, the *dignity* and the *poetry* of the monarchy.

The current worthy occupant of this monarchy could count himself fortunate if the people employed him as a public barker of the Berlin Artisans' Association with a civil list of 250 talers and a cool pale ale daily.

If the Consistorial gentlemen now directing the destiny of the Prussian monarchy and the *Rhein[ischer] Beobachter* should doubt this, then let them merely cast a glance at history. History provides a quite different horoscopes for kings who appealed to their people.

Charles I of England also appealed *to His People* against his estates. He called his people to arms against parliament. The people, however, declared itself to be against the king, threw all the members who did not represent the people out of parliament and finally caused parliament, which had thus become the real representative of the people, to behead the king. Thus ended the appeal of Charles I to his people. This occurred on January 30, 1649, and has its bicentenary in the year 1849.

Louis XVI of France likewise appealed *to His People.* Three years long he appealed from one section of the people to another, he sought *His* people, the true people, the people filled with enthusiasm

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[a] Th. Hobbes, *Elementa philosophica de cive.*— *Ed.*

for him, and found it nowhere. Finally he found it in the encampment of Koblenz, behind the ranks of the Prussian and Austrian army. This, however, was too much of a good thing for his people in France. On August 10, 1792 it locked up the appellant in the Temple and summoned the National Convention, which represented it in every respect.

This Convention declared itself competent to judge the *appeal* of the ex-king, and after some consultation the appellant was taken to the Place de la Révolution, where he was guillotined on January 21, 1793.

That is what happens when kings *appeal to Their People.* Just what happens, however, when Consistorial Counsellors wish to found a democratic monarchy, we shall have to wait and see.

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# Frederick Engels

## GERMAN SOCIALISM IN VERSE AND PROSE[99]

### 1

### KARL BECK, *LIEDER VOM ARMEN MANN,* OR THE POETRY OF TRUE SOCIALISM

[*Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 73, September 12, 1847]

*Songs about the Poor Man* begins with a song to a wealthy house.

TO THE HOUSE OF ROTHSCHILD

To prevent misunderstandings, the poet addresses God as "LORD" and the house of Rothschild as *Lord.*

Right at the beginning he records his petty-bourgeois illusion that the "rule of gold" obeys Rothschild's "whims"; an illusion which gives rise to a whole series of fancies about the power of the house of Rothschild.

It is not the destruction of Rothschild's real power, of the social conditions on which it is based, which the poet threatens; he merely desires it to be humanely applied. He laments that bankers are not socialist philanthropists, not enthusiasts for an ideal, not benefactors of mankind, but just—bankers. Beck sings of the cowardly petty-bourgeois wretchedness, of the "poor man", the *pauvre honteux* with his poor, pious and contradictory wishes of the "little man" in all his manifestations, and not of the proud, threatening, and revolutionary proletarian. The threats and reproaches which Beck showers on the house of Rothschild, sound, for all his good intentions, even more farcical to the reader than a Capuchin's sermon. They are founded on the most infantile illusion about the power of the Rothschilds, on total ignorance of the connection between this power and existing conditions, and on a complete misapprehension about the means which the Rothschilds had to use to acquire power and to retain power. Pusillanimity and lack of understanding, womanish sentimentality and the wretched, prosaically sober attitudes of the petty bourgeoisie, these are the muses of this lyre, and in vain they do violence to themselves in an attempt to appear terrible. They only appear ridiculous. Their forced bass is constantly breaking into a comic falsetto, their dramatic rendering of the titanic struggle of an

Enceladus only succeeds in producing the farcical, disjointed jerks of a puppet.

> The rule of gold obeys your whims
> . . . . . .
> Oh, would your works could be as splendid
> And your heart as great as is your power! (p. 4).

It is a pity that Rothschild has the *power* and our poet the *heart.* "Were but the two of them one, it had been too much for the earth." (Herr Ludwig of Bavaria.)[a]

The first figure with whom Rothschild is confronted is of course the minstrel himself, to be precise, the *German* minstrel who dwells in "lofty, heavenly garrets".

> Singing of justice, light and freedom,
> The one true GOD in trinity,
> The lute of the bards is with melody inspired:
> Now men with listening ears will follow
> The spirits (p. 5).

This "GOD", borrowed from the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*'s motto,[100] precisely because of his existence as a trinity, has no effect on the Jew Rothschild but produces quite magical effects on German youth.

> Restored to health, youth speaks a warning
> . . . . . .
> And the fertile seed of inspiration
> Sprouts up in myriad splendid names (p.[p. 5-]6).

Rothschild's verdict on the German poets is different:

> The song the spirits had us sing,
> You call it hunger for fame and food [p. 6].

Although youth is speaking a warning and its myriad splendid names are sprouting up, their splendour consisting in the very fact that they never get further than mere inspiration, although "the bugles bravely sound for battle" and "the heart beats so loud at night",

> The foolish heart, it feels the stress
> Of a celestial impregnation (p. 7).

That foolish heart, that Virgin Mary!—although

> Youth like a sombre *Saul* (by Karl Beck,[b] published
> by Engelmann, Leipzig, 1840),
> At odds with GOD and with itself [p. 8.],

for all that and all that, Rothschild maintains the armed peace which, as Beck believes, depends on him alone.

[a] Free rendering of two lines from Ludwig I of Bavaria's, "Florenz".—*Ed.*
[b] An allusion to Karl Beck's tragedy *Saul.*—*Ed.*

The newspaper report that the Holy See has sent Rothschild the Order of the Redeemer provides our poet with the chance to demonstrate that Rothschild is no redeemer; similarly it could just as well have been the occasion for the equally interesting proof that Christ, Redeemer though he was, was nevertheless not a knight of the Order of the Redeemer.

> You, a redeemer? (p. 11).

And he then proves to him that unlike Christ he never *wrestled* in bitter night, he never sacrificed proud earthly power

> For a merciful gladdening mission
> To you entrusted by the great SPIRIT (p. 11).

It must be said of the great SPIRIT that it does not exhibit much spiritual sagacity in its choice of missionaries and has approached the wrong man for acts of *mercy*. The only *great thing* about it is its block capitals.

Rothschild's paucity of talent as a redeemer is amply demonstrated to him by means of three examples: how he reacted towards the July Revolution, the Poles and the Jews.

> Up rose the dauntless scion of the Franks (p. 12),

in a word, the July Revolution broke out.

> Were you prepared? Did your gold resound
> Happy as the twittering of larks in welcome
> To the springtime stirring in the world?
> Which made young again those yearning hopes
> Sleeping deeply buried in our breasts,
> And brought them back into the living world? (p. 12).

The springtime that was stirring was the springtime of the bourgeoisie, to whom gold, Rothschild's gold as much as any other, does indeed resound happy as the twittering of larks. To be sure, the hopes which at the time of the Restoration were sleeping deeply buried not only in the breast but also in the Carbonari Ventes[101] were at that time made young again and brought back into the living world, and Beck's *poor man* was left to pick up the crumbs. But as soon as Rothschild had convinced himself that the new government had firm foundations, he was happy enough to set his larks twittering—at the usual interest rates, of course.

Just how completely Beck is entangled in petty-bourgeois illusions is shown by the saintly status Laffitte is accorded in comparison with Rothschild:

> Close-nestling beside your much-coveted halls
> Is a burgher's dwelling of holy repute (p. 13),

in other words, Laffitte's dwelling. The inspired petty bourgeois is proud of the bourgeois character of his house compared with the much-coveted halls of the Hotel Rothschild. His ideal, the Laffitte of his imagination, must naturally also live in true bourgeois simplicity; the Hotel Laffitte shrinks into a German burgher's dwelling. Laffitte himself is depicted as a virtuous householder, a man pure in heart, he is compared with Mucius Scaevola and is said to have sacrificed his fortune in order to put *mankind* and the century (is Beck perhaps thinking of the Paris *Siècle*[a]?) back on their feet again. He is called a youthful dreamer and finally a beggar. His funeral is touchingly described:

> Accompanying the funeral cortège
> Marched with muffled tread the Marseillaise (p. 14).

Alongside the Marseillaise went the carriages of the royal family, and right behind them M. Sauzet, M. Duchâtel and all the *ventrus*[102] and *loups-cerviers*[b] of the Chamber of Deputies.

How the Marseillaise really must have *muffled* her tread, though, when Laffitte led his *compère*,[c] the Duke of Orléans, in triumph to the *Hôtel de Ville* after the July revolution and made the striking statement that *from now on the bankers would rule*?

In the case of the *Poles*, criticism goes no further than that Rothschild did not show enough charity to the emigrés. The attack on Rothschild is here reduced to the level of a small-town anecdote and quite loses the appearance of an attack on the power of money in general which is represented by Rothschild. We all know how the bourgeoisie has welcomed the Poles with open arms and even with enthusiasm wherever it is in power.

An example of this compunction: enter a Pole, begging and praying. Rothschild gives him a silver coin, the Pole

> Trembling with joy accepts the silver coin
> And speaks his blessing on you and your line [p. 16],

a predicament from which the Polish Committee in Paris has so far on the whole saved the Poles. The whole episode with the Pole only serves to permit our poet to strike an attitude:

> But I hurl back that beggar's happiness
> Contemptuously into your money-bag,
> Avenging thus mankind offended! (p. 16),

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[a] Century.—*Ed.*

[b] Pot-bellies and profiteers.—*Ed.*

[c] The French word has a double meaning: firstly, kinsman; secondly, accomplice.—*Ed.*

such a bull's-eye at the money-bag requiring much practice and skill in throwing. Finally Beck insures himself against proceedings for assault and battery by acting not in his own name but in that of mankind.

As early as p. 9 Rothschild is taken to task for accepting a patent of citizenship from Austria's fat imperial city,

> Where your much-harassed fellow-Jews
> Pay for their daylight and their air.

Beck really believes that with this Viennese patent of citizenship Rothschild has obtained the blessings of freedom.

Now, on p. 19, he is asked:

> Have you set your own people free
> That ever hopes and meekly suffers?

Rothschild ought then to have become the redeemer of the Jews. And how ought Rothschild to have set about this? The Jews had chosen him as *king* because his gold weighed the heaviest. He should have taught them how to despise gold, "how to suffer deprivation for the world's sake" (p. 21).

He ought to have wiped their memories clean of selfishness, cunning and the practice of usury, in short, he ought to have appeared in sackcloth and ashes as a preacher of morality and atonement. Our poet's daring demand is the equivalent of requiring Louis-Philippe to teach the bourgeoisie of the July revolution to abolish property. If either were so insane, they would lose their power forthwith, but the Jews would not wipe their memories clean of haggling, nor the bourgeoisie theirs of property.

On p. 24 Rothschild is criticised for bleeding the bourgeoisie white, as though it were not desirable that the bourgeoisie should be bled white.

On p. 25 he is said to have led the princes astray. *Ought* they not to be *led astray*?

We have already evidence enough of the fabulous power Beck attributes to Rothschild. But he goes on in a crescendo. Having indulged on p. 26 in fantasies as to all the things he (Beck) would do if he were *propriétaire* of the *sun*, that is, not even the hundredth part of what the sun is doing without him—it suddenly occurs to him that Rothschild is not the only *sinner*, but that other wealthy men exist besides him. However:

> You occupied in eloquence the teacher's chair,
> Attentively the rich sat as your pupils;
> Your task: to lead them out into the world,
> Your role: to be their *conscience*.
> They have gone wild—and you looked on,
> They are corrupted—and yours is the blame (p. 27).

So Lord Rothschild could have prevented the development of trade and industry, competition, the concentration of property, the national debt and *agiotage*, in short, the whole development of modern bourgeois society, if only he had had somewhat more *conscience*. It really requires *toute la désolante naïveté de la poésie allemande*[a] for one to dare to publish such nursery tales. Rothschild is turned into a regular Aladdin.

Still not satisfied, Beck confers on Rothschild

> The dizzy grandeur of the mission
>
> . . . . . .
>
> *The whole world's sufferings* to assuage [p. 28],

a mission which all the capitalists in the whole world are not remotely capable of fulfilling. Does our poet not realise then that the more sublime and awe-inspiring he attempts to appear, the more ridiculous he becomes? that all his criticisms of Rothschild are transmuted into the most slavish flattery? that he is extolling Rothschild's power as the most cunning panegyrist could not have extolled it? Rothschild must congratulate himself when he sees what a monstrous form his puny personality assumes as reflected in the mind of a German poet.

After our poet has so far versified the romantic and ignorant fantasies of a German petty bourgeois concerning what is within the power of a big capitalist if only he were a man of good will, after he has puffed up the fantasy of this power as far as it will go in the puffed-up dizzy grandeur of his mission, he gives vent to the moral indignation of a petty bourgeois at the discrepancy between ideal and reality, in an emotional paroxysm which would give rise to fits of laughter even in a Pennsylvanian Quaker:

> Alas, alack, when in long night (December 21)
> I pondered with a fevered brow
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Then did my locks *rear* up on end,
> Methought I was at GOD's own heartstrings tugging,
> A bellman at the fire-bell (p. 28),

which must surely have been the last nail in the old man's coffin. He thinks the "spirits of history" have thus entrusted him with ideas, which he is not *permitted* either to whisper or proclaim aloud. In fact he comes to the desperate decision to dance the cancan in his grave:

> But when in mouldering shroud I lie,
> My corse shall shake with joyful tremors,
> When down to me (the corse) the tiding comes
> That victims on the altars smoke (p. 29).

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[a] All the utterly depressing naïvety of German poetry.—*Ed.*

I begin to find young Karl disturbing.[a]

Thus ends the song about the House of Rothschild. There now follows, as is customary with *modern* lyric poets, a rhymed reflection on this canto and the role the poet has played in it.

> I know your mighty arm
> Can chastise me till the blood does flow (p. 30),

in other words, he can give him fifty of the best. The Austrian never forgets the birch. In the face of this danger, a feeling of exaltation gives him strength:

> At GOD's *command* and without fear
> I sang full freely what I knew [p. 30].

The German poet always sings to command. Of course, the master is responsible and not the servant, and so Rothschild has to face up to GOD and not to Beck, his servant. It is indeed the general practice of *modern* lyric poets:

1. To boast of the danger they think they are exposing themselves to in their harmless songs;
2. to take a thrashing and then commend themselves to God.

The song "To the House of Rothschild" closes with a few stirring sentiments about the aforementioned song, which is here slanderously described in the following terms:

> Free it is and proud, it may command you,
> Tell you the things by which in faith it swears (p. 32),

that is, by its own excellence, as instanced in this conclusion. We fear that Rothschild may take Beck to court, not on account of the song, but on account of this piece of perjury.

[*Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 74, September 16, 1847]

O, SCATTER THE GOLDEN BLESSING!

The rich are called upon to give support to *those in need,*

> Until your industry for wife and child
> Security ensured [p. 35].

---

[a] Quoted ironically from Schiller's tragedy *Don Carlos,* Act I, Scene 6.— *Ed.*

And all this is to happen

> That you may keep your *virtue*
> As a *burgher* and a *man* [p. 35],

*summa summarum*, a good *philistine*.[a] Beck is thereby reduced to his ideal.

### SERVINGMAN AND MAID

The poet takes as his theme two souls most pleasing to God and describes in an exceptionally dull fashion how they only come to share a chaste marriage-bed only after many years of cheese-paring and moral living.

> To kiss? Shame would o'ercome them! To dally? O so discreetly!
> Flowers there were indeed—the flowers on the frosted pane;
> A dance on crutches, O God!, a poor butterfly in winter,
> Half in the bloom of childhood, half in withered age [p. 50].

Instead of concluding with this, the one good verse in the whole poem, he then sets them crowing and quivering, and all for joy over their few chattels, that "at their *own* hearth their *own* settles stand", a cliché uttered not ironically but with heartfelt tears of pathos. Nor will he have done at that:

> God alone is their Lord, who bids the stars shine in the darkness
> And observes with a kindly eye the slave who breaks his chains [p. 50].

And with this any point in the ending is happily blunted. Beck's indecision and lack of self-confidence constantly reveal themselves in the fact that he spins out every poem for as long as he can, and can never complete it until some piece of sentimentality has betrayed his petty-bourgeois outlook. The Kleistian hexameters appear to be deliberately chosen so as to subject the reader to the same boredom as the two lovers bring upon themselves by their craven morality during their long period of trial.

### THE JEWISH SECOND-HAND DEALER

There are some naive, appealing bits in the description of the Jewish second-hand dealer, e.g.:

> The week flies by, five days only
> The week allows you for your work.
> Bestir yourself, don't pause for breath,

---

[a] In German there is a pun on the words: *Bürger*—burgher, *Mann*—man, *Bürgersmann*—philistine.—*Ed.*

Earn, earn your daily bread.
Saturdays the *Father* does forbid you,
Sundays are forbidden by the *Son* [p. 55].

But later Beck succumbs completely to that kind of blathering about the Jews which is typical of the liberal Young Germans.[103] The poetry dries up so entirely that one might think one was listening to a scrofulous speech in the scrofulous Saxon Assembly of Estates: You cannot become a craftsman, nor an "alderman of the mercers' guild", nor tiller of the soil, nor professor, but a career in medicine is open to you. This finds poetical expression as follows:

A working trade they would deny you,
Deny you too a field to till.
You may not from the teacher's chair
Offer discourse to the young;
. . . . . .
You may heal the country's sick [p. 57].

Could one not in the same way versify the Collected Statutes of Prussia and set Herr Ludwig of Bavaria's verse to music?

Having declaimed to his son:

You must labour and be grasping,
Always covetous of property and gold [p. 57],

the Jew consoles him with:

Your *honesty* endures for ever [pp. 57-58].

LORELEI

This Lorelei is none other than Gold.

Then did turpitude flood in
Upon all purity of spirit,
Drowning all things sound [p. 64].

This Deluge of the spirit and drowning of all things sound is a most depressing mixture of the banal and the bombastic. There follow petty tirades against the evil and immorality of money.

Its (love's) quest is money and precious stones
And never hearts nor parity of souls,
No simple hut for dwelling [p. 67].

If money had done no more than discredit this German quest for hearts and parity of souls and Schiller's *meanest hut* with its space for a happy loving pair,[a] its revolutionary effects would deserve recognition.

[a] An allusion to Schiller's poem "Der Jüngling am Bache".— *Ed.*

DRUM-SONG

In this poem our socialist poet once more shows how through being trapped in the German petty-bourgeois misery, he is constantly obliged to spoil what little effect he achieves.

A regiment marches off with its band playing. The people call upon the soldiers to make common cause with them. The reader is glad that the poet is at last summoning up courage. But oh dear! We finally discover that the occasion is merely the Emperor's name-day and the people's words are only the improvised and unspoken reverie of a youth watching the parade. Probably a gymnasium boy:

Thus dreams a youth with burning heart [p. 76].

Whilst in the hands of Heine the same material, with the same point, would contain the most bitter satire on the German people, in Beck's case all that emerges is a satire on the poet himself, who identifies himself with the powerlessly rapturous youth. In Heine's case, the raptures of the bourgeoisie are deliberately high-pitched, so that they may equally deliberately then be brought down to earth with a bump; in Beck's case it is the poet himself who is associated with these fantasies and who naturally also suffers the consequences when he comes crashing down to earth. In the case of the one the bourgeoisie feels indignation at the poet's impertinence, in the case of the other reassurance at the attitudes of mind they have in common. The Prague uprising[104] in any case presented him with an opportunity to work up material of a quite different character from this farce.

THE EMIGRANT

I broke a bough from off a tree,
The keeper made complaint,
The master bound me to a post
And dealt me this grave injury [p. 86].

The only thing missing here is the *complaint* delivered in similarly versified form.

THE WOODEN LEG

Here the poet tries his hand at narrative and fails in a really pathetic fashion. This complete inability to tell a story and create a situation, which is evident throughout the book, is characteristic of the poetry of true socialism. True socialism, in its vagueness, provides no opportunity to relate the individual facts of the narrative

to general conditions and thus bring out what is striking or significant about them. That is why the true socialists shy away from history in their prose as well. Where they cannot avoid it, they content themselves either with philosophical constructions or with producing an arid and boring catalogue of isolated instances of misfortune and *social cases.* Furthermore, they all lack the necessary talent for narrative, both in prose and poetry, and this is connected with the vagueness of their whole outlook.

THE POTATO

Tune: *Morgenrot, Morgenrot!*

Sacred bread!

You that came in our distress,
You that came *at heaven's bidding*
Into the world, that men might eat—
Farewell, for now you are dead! [p. 105].

In the second verse he calls the potato

...that little relic
Left to us from Eden,

and describes potato-blight:

Among angels the plague rampages.

In the third verse Beck advises *the poor* to put mourning on:

You, the poor!
Go and put mourning on.
You now have need of nought,
Alas, all you own is gone,
*Weep, who still have tears to shed!*

Dead in the sand
Lies your *God,* o melancholy land.
Yet let these words speak comfort to you:
Never did redeemer perish
Who did not later rise again! [p. 106].

Weep, who still have tears to shed, with the poet! Were he not as bereft of energy as his *poor man* is of wholesome potatoes, he would have rejoiced at the substance acquired last autumn by that bourgeois god, the potato, one of the pivots of the existing bourgeois society. The landowners and burghers of Germany would have done themselves no harm by having this poem sung in the churches.

For this effort Beck deserves a garland of potato-blossom.

THE OLD MAID

We shall not look more closely at this poem since it drags on interminably, extending over full ninety pages with unspeakable boredom. The old maid, who in civilised countries is mostly only a nominal occurrence, is in Germany admittedly a significant "social case".

The most common kind of socialist self-complacent reflection is to say that all would be well if only it were not for the poor on the other side. This argument may be developed with any conceivable subject-matter. At the heart of this argument lies the philanthropic petty-bourgeois hypocrisy which is perfectly happy with the *positive* aspects of existing society and laments only that the *negative* aspect of poverty exists alongside them, inseparably bound up with present society, and only wishes that this society may continue to exist *without the conditions of its existence.*

Beck develops this argument in this poem often in the most trivial possible way, for example, in connection with Christmas:

> O day that gently edifies men's hearts,
> You would be gentler still and doubly dear—
> Did there not lodge in *poor* children's hearts
> Whose orphan gaze surveys the festive
> Rooms of their rich playmates,
> Envy and the seeds of sin,
> Along with rabid blasphemy!
> Yes . . . . . .
> ... more sweetly would the children's merry cheer
> Sound to my ears in the Christmas candlelight,
> If only in damp caverns destitution
> Were not shivering on putrid straw [p. 149].

There are, by the way, occasional fine passages in this amorphous and interminable poem, for example the description of the lumpen proletariat:

> Who day by day unwearyingly
> Hunt garbage in the fetid gutters;
> Who flit like sparrows after food,
> Mending pans and grinding knives,
> Starching linen with stiff fingers,
> Pushing breathless at the heavy cart,
> Laden with but scarcely ripened fruits,
> Crying piteously: Who'll buy, who'll buy?
> Who fight over a copper in the dirt;
> Who at the corner-stones each day
> Sing praise to the God in whom they believe,
> But scarcely dare hold out their hands,
> Begging being against the law;
> Who with deaf ears, beset by hunger,

Pluck the harp and blow upon the flute,
Year in, year out, the same old tune—
Beneath each window, at each gate—
Setting the nursemaid's feet adance
But hearing not the melody themselves;
Who after dusk illuminate the city
But have no light for their own home;
Who shoulder burdens and split firewood,
Who have no master, and who have too many;
Who dash to pray, procure and steal
And drown with drink the vestige of a soul [pp. 158-160].

Beck here rises for the first time above the usual morality of the German bourgeoisie by putting these lines in the mouth of an old beggar whose daughter is asking for his permission to go to a rendezvous with an officer. In the above lines he gives her an embittered picture of the classes to which her child would then belong, he derives his objections from her immediate social position and does not preach morality to her, and for this he deserves credit.

### THOU SHALT NOT STEAL

The virtuous servant of a Russian, whom the servant himself characterises as a worthy master, robs his apparently sleeping master during the night in order to maintain his old father. The Russian follows him surreptitiously and looks over his shoulder just as he is penning the following note to the same old man:

Take this money! I have stolen!
Father, pray to our Redeemer
That he may one day from his throne
Allow forgiveness to his servant!
I will labour and earn money,
And from my palliasse chase fatigue,
Till I can pay my worthy master
Back the money I have stolen [p. 241].

The virtuous servant's worthy master is so moved by these awful revelations that he cannot speak, but places his hand on the servant's head in blessing.

But the latter's life had left him—
And *his heart had broken with terror* [p. 242].

Can anything more comical be committed to paper? Beck here descends lower than Kotzebue and Iffland, the servant's tragedy surpasses even the middle-class tragedy.

NEW GODS AND OLD SORROWS

In this poem, Ronge, the Friends of Light,[105] the New Jews, the barber, the washerwoman and the Leipzig citizen with his modicum of liberty are often effectively lampooned. At the end, the poet defends himself against the philistines who will criticise him for it, although he too

> The song of light
> Sang out into the storm and night [p. 298].

He then himself propounds a doctrine of brotherly love and practical religion, modified by socialism and founded on a kind of nature-deism, and thus enlists one aspect of his opponents against the other. So Beck can never let matters rest until he has spoilt his own case, because he is himself too much entangled in German misery and gives too much thought to himself, to the poet, in his verse. With the *modern* lyrical poets in general, the bard has reverted to a fabulously trimmed, heroically posturing figure. He is not an active person situated in real society, who writes poetry, but "*the* poet", hovering in the clouds, these clouds being none other than the nebulous fantasies of the German bourgeoisie.—Beck constantly drops from the most heroical bombast into the soberest of bourgeois prose styles, and from a petty warlike wit against present conditions into a sentimental acceptance of them. It is constantly occurring to him that it is he himself *de quo fabula narratur.*[a] That is why his songs are not revolutionary in effect, but resemble

> Three doses of salts
> To calm the blood (p. 293).

The conclusion to the whole volume is therefore most appropriately provided by the following weak wail of resignation:

> *When will life upon this earth*
> *Be bearable, O God?*
> In *longing* I am doubly strong
> And hence in patience doubly wearied [p. 324].

Beck has incontestably more talent and at the outset more energy too than most of the German scribbling fraternity. His great lament is the German misery, amongst whose theoretical manifestations also belong Beck's pompously sentimental socialism and Young German reminiscences. Until social conflicts in Germany are given a more acute form by a more distinct differentiation between classes and a momentary acquisition of political power by [the] bourgeoisie, there

[a] About whom the story is being told.— *Ed.*

can be little hope for a German poet in Germany itself. On the one hand, it is impossible for him to adopt a revolutionary stance in German society because the revolutionary elements themselves are not yet sufficiently developed, and on the other, the chronic misery surrounding him on all sides has too debilitating an effect for him to be able to rise above it, to be free of it and to laugh at it, without succumbing to it again himself. For the present the only advice we can give to all German poets who still have a little talent is to emigrate to civilised countries.

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## KARL GRÜN, *ÜBER GÖTHE VOM MENSCHLICHEN STANDPUNKTE*, DARMSTADT, 1846

[Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung No. 93, November 21, 1847]

Herr Grün relaxes after the exertions of his "Soziale *Bewegung* in Frankreich und Belgien" by glancing at the *lack of* social *movement*[a] in his native land. For the sake of variety, he decides to take a look at "the human aspect" of the elderly Goethe. He has exchanged his seven-league boots for carpet-slippers, donned his dressing-gown and stretches himself, full of self-satisfaction, in his arm-chair:

"We are not writing a commentary, we are only picking out what is there for all to see" (p. 244).

He has made things really snug for himself:

"I had put some roses and camellias in my room, and mignonette and violets by the open window" (p. III). "And above all, no commentaries! ...But here, the complete works on the table and a faint scent of roses and mignonette in the room! Let us just see where we get to.... Only a rogue offers more than he has!" (pp. IV, V).

For all his nonchalance, Herr Grün nevertheless performs deeds of the stoutest heroism in this book. But this will not surprise us when we have heard him himself say that he is the man who "was on the point of despairing at the *triviality* of public and private affairs" (p. III), who "felt Goethe's restraining hand whenever he was in danger of being submerged by extravagance and lack of form" (ibid.), whose heart is "full with the sense of human destiny", "who has listened to the soul of man—though it should mean descending into hell!" (p. IV). Nothing will surprise us any more after learning that previously he had "once addressed a question to Feuerbachian

[a] In German there is a pun on the words *Bewegung*—movement and *Stillstand*—lack of movement.—*Ed.*

man" which was indeed "easy to answer" but which nevertheless appears to have been too difficult for the man in question (p. 277); and when we see how Herr Grün on p. 198 "leads self-awareness out of a cul de sac", on p. 102 even plans to visit "the court of the Russian Emperor" and on p. 305 cries out to the world with a voice of thunder: "*Anathema upon any man* who would proclaim new and permanent social relations by law!" We are prepared for anything when Herr Grün undertakes on p. 187 "to take a closer look at idealism" and "show it up for the guttersnipe it is", when he speculates on "becoming a man of property",

> a "rich, rich man of property, to be able to pay the property tax, to obtain a seat in the Chamber of Representatives of mankind, to be included in the list of jurymen who judge between what is human and what is not".

How could he fail to achieve this, standing as he does, "on the nameless ground of the universally human"? (p. 182). He does not even tremble before "the night and its *horrors*" (p. 312), such as murder, adultery, robbery, whoring, licentiousness and puffed-up pride. It is true that on p. 99 he confesses he has also "known the infinite pang of man as he discovers himself at the very point of his own insignificance", it is true he "discovers" himself before the public eye at this "point" on the occasion of the lines:

> You compare but with the spirit in your mind,
> Not me[a]

to be precise, as follows:

> "These words are as when thunder and lightning occur together, with the earth opening up at the same time. These words are like the veil of the temple being rent in twain and the graves being opened ... the twilight of the Gods is upon us and the chaos of old is come again ... the stars collide, in an instant a single comet tail incinerates our little earth, and all that exists is henceforth but billowing smoke and vapour. And if one imagines the most atrocious destruction, ... it is all *but as nothing* against the annihilation contained in these eleven words!" (pp. 235, 236).

It is true, "at the furthermost frontier of theory", namely on p. 295, Herr Grün has a sensation "of icy water running down his back, real terror quivers through his limbs"—but he overcomes all this with ease, for after all he is a member of the "great order of freemasons of mankind"! (p. 317).

Take it all in all,[b] with such qualities Herr Grün will perform valiantly on any field of battle. Before we proceed to his productive

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[a] J. W. Goethe, *Faust*, Part I, Scene 1 ("Night").—*Ed.*

[b] Engels gives this phrase in English. (Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene 2 [paraphrased]).—*Ed.*

examination of Goethe, let us accompany him to some of the secondary areas of his activity.

Firstly to the field of the natural sciences, for according to p. 247 "the understanding of nature" is "the sole positive science" and at the same time "nonetheless the fulfilment of humanistic" (*vulgo*: human) "man". Let us carefully collate the positive pronouncements Herr Grün makes concerning this sole positive science. He does not actually go into the subject at all extensively, he merely lets fall a few remarks while pacing his room, so to speak, in the interval between daylight and darkness, but the miracles he performs are "nonetheless" the "most positive" for that.

In connection with the *Système de la Nature*[106] ascribed to Holbach, he reveals:

> "We cannot here expound how the System of Nature breaks off half-way, how it breaks off at the point *where freedom and self-determination had to break out from the necessity of the cerebral system*" (p. 70).

Herr Grün could indicate the precise point at which this or that "breaks out" "from the necessity of the cerebral system" and man would thus be slapped on the inside of his skull as well. Herr Grün could give the most certain and most detailed information on a point which has hitherto escaped all observation, in other words the productive processes of consciousness in the brain. But alas! In a book on the human aspect of Goethe we "cannot expound this in detail".

Dumas, Playfair, Faraday and Liebig have hitherto innocently subscribed to the view that oxygen is a gas which has neither taste nor smell. Herr Grün, however, who of course knows that the prefix "oxy-" means *sharp* to the *taste*, declares on p. 75 that "oxygen" is "sharp-tasting". In the same way, on p. 229 he contributes new facts to acoustics and optics; by postulating a "purifying uproar and brightness", he places the purificatory power of sound and light beyond all doubt.

Not content with such dazzling contributions to the "sole positive science", not content with the theory of inward slaps, on p. 94 Herr Grün discovers a new bone:

> "Werther is the man who has no vertebra, who has not yet developed as subject."

Until now it had been mistakenly thought that man had some two dozen vertebrae. Herr Grün reduces these numerous bones not just to the normal singular form but goes on to discover that this one and only vertebra has the remarkable property of making man "subject". The "subject" Herr Grün deserves an extra vertebra for this discovery.

Finally our casual naturalist summarises his "sole positive science" of nature as follows:

> "Is not the core of nature
> Mankind at heart?[a]

"The core of nature is mankind at heart. At the heart of mankind is the core of nature. Nature has its core at mankind's heart" (p. 250).

To which we would add, with Herr Grün's permission: Mankind at heart is the core of nature. At heart the core of nature is mankind. At the heart of mankind nature has its core.

With this eminently "positive" piece of enlightenment we leave the field of natural science, and turn to *economics*, which unfortunately, according to the above, is *not* a "positive science". Regardless of this, Herr Grün, hoping for the best, proceeds extremely "positively" here too.

"Individual set himself against individual, *and thus* universal competition arose" (p. 211).

In other words, that obscure and mysterious conception German socialists have of "universal competition" came into being, "and thus competition arose". No reasons are indicated, no doubt, because economics is not a positive science.

"In the Middle Ages base metal was still bound by fealty, courtly love and piety; the sixteenth century burst this fetter, and money was set free" (p. 241).

MacCulloch and Blanqui, who have hitherto been under the misapprehension that money was "bound in the Middle Ages" by deficient communications with America and the granite masses that covered the veins of "base metal" in the Andes,[b] MacCulloch and Blanqui will be addressing a vote of thanks to Herr Grün for this revelation.

Herr Grün seeks to give a positive character to *History*, which is likewise not a "positive science", by juxtaposing the traditional facts and a series of facts of his imagination.

On p. 91, "Addison's Cato stabbed himself on the English stage a century before Werther", thereby testifying to a remarkable weariness of life. For by this account, he "stabbed" himself when his author, who was born in 1672, was still a babe in arms.[107]

On p. 175 Herr Grün corrects Goethe's *Tag- und Jahreshefte* to the effect that the freedom of the press was by no means "declared" by the German governments in 1815 but only "promised". So the

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[a] J. W. Goethe, "Ultimatum" (Zyklus "Gott und Welt").—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the books: J. R. MacCulloch, *The Principles of Political Economy* and A. Blanqui, *Histoire de l'économie politique en Europe.*—*Ed.*

horrors retailed to us by the philistines of the Sauerland and elsewhere concerning the four years of press freedom from 1815 to 1819, are all just a dream: how at that time the press exposed all their dirty linen and petty scandals to the light of day and how finally the Federal Decrees of 1819[108] put an end to this reign of terror by public opinion.

Herr Grün goes on to tell us that the Free Imperial City of Frankfurt was not a state at all but "no more than a piece of civil society" (p. 19). Germany, he says, has no states of any kind, and people are at last beginning "to realise increasingly the peculiar advantages of this stateless condition of Germany" (p. 257), which advantages consist especially in the cheapness of flogging. The German autocrats will thus be obliged to say: "*la société civile, c'est moi*"[a]—although they fare badly in this, for according to p. 101, civil society is only "an abstraction".

If, however, the Germans have no state, they have instead "a massive bill-of-exchange on truth, and this bill-of-exchange must be realised, paid up and changed for jingling coin" (p. 5). This bill-of-exchange is no doubt payable at the same office where Herr Grün pays his "property tax", "to obtain a seat in the Chamber of Representatives of mankind".

[*Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 94, November 25, 1847]

The most important "positive" things he enlightens us about concern the French Revolution, on whose "significance" he delivers a special "digression". He begins with the oracular utterance that the contradiction between historical law and rational law is indeed important, for both are of historical origin. Without wishing in any way to belittle Herr Grün's discovery, which is as new as it is important, that rational law too arose in the course of history, we would diffidently venture the observation that a quiet encounter in the quiet of his chamber with the first volumes of *Buchez's Histoire parlementaire* should show him what part this contradiction played in the Revolution.

Herr Grün, however, prefers to give us an extensive proof of the evil nature of the Revolution which eventually boils down to the one, ponderously massive complaint against it: that it "did not examine the concept of man" [p. 195]. Indeed such a grievous sin of omission is unforgivable. If only the Revolution had examined the concept of man, there would have been no question of a ninth Thermidor or an eighteenth Brumaire[109]; Napoleon would have contented himself

[a] *I* am civil society.— *Ed.*

with his general's commission and maybe in his old age written drilling regulations "from the human aspect".—We further learn, in the course of our enlightenment, "about the significance of the Revolution", that basically there is no difference between deism and materialism, and why not. From this we see with some pleasure that Herr Grün has not yet quite forgotten his Hegel. Cf. for example Hegel's *Geschichte der Philosophie*, III, pp. 458, 459 and 463, second edition.—Then, likewise to enlighten us "about the significance of the Revolution", a number of points about competition are made, of which we anticipated the most important above; further, long excerpts from the writings of Holbach are given, in order to prove that he explained crime as having its origin in the state; "the significance of the Revolution" is similarly elucidated by a generous anthology from Thomas More's *Utopia*, which *Utopia* is in turn elucidated to the effect that in the year of 1516 it prophetically portrayed no less than—"*present-day* England" (p. 225), down to the most minute details. And at last, after all these *vues* and *considérants*, on which he digresses at length over 36 pages, the final verdict follows on p. 226: "The Revolution is the realisation of Machiavellianism." An example which is a warning to all those who have not yet examined the concept of "man"!

By way of consolation for the unfortunate French, who have achieved nothing but the realisation of Machiavellianism, on p. 73 Herr Grün dispenses one little drop of balm:

> "In the eighteenth century the French people was like a Prometheus among the nations, who asserted *human rights* as against those of the gods."

Let us not dwell on the fact that it must presumably have "examined the concept of man" after all, nor on the fact that it "asserted" human rights not "as against those of the gods" but those of the king, the aristocracy and the clergy, let us pass over these trifles and veil our heads in silent grief: for something "human" has happened to Herr Grün himself here.

Herr Grün, you see, has forgotten that in previous publications (cf. for instance the article in Volume I of the *Rheinische Jahrbücher*,[a] "Die soziale Bewegung" etc.) he had not merely expatiated upon and "popularised" a certain argument concerning human rights that is to be found in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*,[b] but with the truest plagiaristic zeal had even carried it to nonsensical extremes. He has forgotten that there he had pilloried human rights as the rights of

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[a] K. Grün, "Politik und Socialismus".—*Ed.*

[b] See Marx's "On the Jewish Question" (present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 160-68).—*Ed.*

the *épicier*,[a] the philistine, etc.; here he suddenly transforms them into "*human* rights", the rights of "man". The same thing happens to Herr Grün on pp. 251 and 252, where "the right with which we were born and which, alas, is universally ignored", from *Faust*, is turned into "your natural right, your human right, the right to translate one's ideas into practice and enjoy the fruits of one's labours"; although Goethe opposes it directly to "law and rights", which "are *passed on from generation to generation* like an everlasting disease",[b] in other words the traditional law of the *ancien régime*, with which only the "*innate*, ageless and inalienable human rights" of the Revolution, but by no means the rights of "*man*" conflict. This time, it is true, Herr Grün had to forget his previous point, so that Goethe should not forfeit his human aspect.

Herr Grün has however not yet completely forgotten what he learned from the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* and other publications of the same tendency. On p. 210 he defines the freedom in France at that time, for example, as "the freedom of unfree (!), common (!!) beings (!!!)". This non-being has arisen from the *common being* on pp. 204 and 205 of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*[c] and from the translations of these pages into the current language of German socialism of that time. Arguments which make abstract of philosophy and contain expressions from law, economics, etc., are incomprehensible to the true socialists, who therefore have the general habit of condensing them in the twinkling of an eye into a single brief catchphrase, studded with philosophical expressions and then committing this nonsense to memory for use on any conceivable occasion. In this way, the legal "common being" in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* has been transformed into the above philosophico-nonsensical "general being"; political liberation, democracy, has acquired its philosophical short formula in "liberation from the unfree general being", and this the true socialist can put in his pocket without having to fear that his erudition will prove too heavy for him.

On p. XXVI Herr Grün exploits what is said in the *Holy Family* about sensationism and materialism[d] in a manner similar to that which he uses in respect of the above-mentioned quotations from Holbach and their socialist interpretation, the hint contained in that publication that links with the socialist movement of the present day

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[a] Grocer, shopkeeper.—*Ed.*

[b] J. W. Goethe, *Faust*, Act I, Scene 4 ("Faust's Study").—*Ed.*

[c] K. Marx, "On the Jewish Question" (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 165-66).—*Ed.*

[d] See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 124-34.—*Ed.*

are to be found in the materialists of the eighteenth century, including Holbach.

Let us pass on to *philosophy*. For which Herr Grün has a thorough-going contempt. As early as p. VII he informs us that he "has no further use for religion, philosophy and politics", that these three "have existed and will never rise again from their dissolution" and that from all of them and from philosophy in particular he "will retain nothing more than man himself *and* the social being capable of social activity". The social being capable of social activity and the above-mentioned human man are, it is true, sufficient to console us for the irreversible downfall of religion, philosophy and politics. But Herr Grün is far too modest. He has not only "retained" "humanistic man" and various "beings" from philosophy, but he is also the proud possessor of a considerable, if confused, mass of Hegelian tradition. How could it be otherwise, when several years ago he knelt in reverence on a number of occasions before the bust of Hegel? We shall be asked not to introduce such scurrilous and scandalous personal details; but Herr Grün himself confided this secret to the man from the press. We shall not at this juncture say where. We have already quoted Herr Grün's sources with chapter and verse so frequently that we may for once request a like service of Herr Grün. To give him at once further proof of our kind intentions towards him, we will confide to him the fact that he took his final verdict in the free-will controversy, which he gives on p. 8, from Fourier's *Traité de l'Association*, section "*du libre arbitre*". Only the idea that the theory of free will is an "aberration of the *German* mind" is a peculiar "aberration" on the part of Herr Grün himself.

We are at last getting closer to Goethe. On p. 15 Herr Grün allows Goethe the right to exist. For Goethe and Schiller are the resolution of the contradiction between "pleasure without activity", i. e., Wieland, and "activity without pleasure", i. e., Klopstock. "Lessing first based man on himself." (One wonders whether Herr Grün can emulate him in this acrobatic feat.)—In this philosophic construction, we have all of Herr Grün's sources together. The form of the construction, the basis of the whole thing is Hegel's world-famous stratagem for the reconciliation of contradictions. "Man based on himself" is Hegelian terminology applied to Feuerbach. "Pleasure without activity" and "activity without pleasure", this contradiction on which Herr Grün sets Wieland and Klopstock to play the above variations, is borrowed from the Complete Works of M[oses] Hess. The only source which we miss is literary history itself, which has not the remotest inkling of the above hotch-potch and is therefore rightly ignored by Herr Grün.

Whilst we are on the subject of Schiller, the following observation of Herr Grün's should be apposite: "Schiller was everything one can be, insofar as one is not Goethe" (p. 311). Beg pardon, one can also be Herr Grün.—Incidentally, our author is here ploughing the same furrow as Ludwig of Bavaria:

> Rome, thou art lacking in Naples' gifts, she in those
> that thou layst claim to;
> Were but the two of you one, it had been too much for the earth.[a]

This historical construction prepares the way for Goethe's entry into German literature. "Man based on himself" by Lessing can continue his evolution only in Goethe's hands. For to Herr Grün belongs the credit of having discovered "man" in Goethe, not natural man, begotten by man and woman in the pleasures of the flesh, but man in the higher sense, dialectical man, the *caput mortuum*[b] in the crucible, in which God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost have been calcined, the *cousin germain* of Homunculus in *Faust*—in short, not man as Goethe speaks of him, but man *as such*, as Herr Grün speaks of him. Who is "man as such", then, of whom Herr Grün speaks?

"There is nothing in Goethe that is not *human* content" (p. XVI).—On p. XXI we hear "that Goethe so portrayed and conceived of *man as such as we wish to realise him today*".—On p. XXII: "Goethe today, and that means his works, is a *true compendium of humanity*."—Goethe "is *humanity fulfilled*" (page XXV).—"Goethe's literary works are (!) *the ideal of human society*" (p. 12).—"Goethe could not become a national poet because he was destined to be the *poet of all that is human*" (p. 25).—Yet, according to p. 14, "*our nation*"—that is, the Germans—is nevertheless supposed to "discern its own essence transfigured" in Goethe.

This is the first revelation about "the essence of man", and we may trust Herr Grün all the more in this matter because he has no doubt "examined the concept of man" with the utmost thoroughness. Goethe portrays "man" as Herr Grün wishes to realise him, and at the same time he portrays the German nation transfigured—"man" is thus none other than "the German transfigured". We have confirmation of this throughout. Just as Goethe is not "a national poet" but "the poet of all that is human", so too the German nation is not a "national" nation, but the nation "of all that is human". For this reason we read on p. XVI again: "Goethe's literary works, emanating from life, ... neither had nor have anything to do with reality." Just like "man", just like "the Germans". And on p. 4: "At this very time *French* socialism aims to bring happiness to *France*,

[a] Ludwig I of Bavaria, "Florenz" (paraphrased).— *Ed.*

[b] Distillation product, distillate.— *Ed.*

*German* writers have their eyes on *the human race.*" (While "the human race" is for the most part accustomed to "having" them not before "their eyes" but before a somewhat opposite part of the anatomy.) On innumerable occasions Herr Grün therefore expresses his pleasure at the fact that Goethe wanted "to liberate man *from within*" (e. g., p. 225), which truly Germanic form of liberation has so far refused to emerge from "*within*"!

Let us duly note this first revelation then: "Man" is the *German* "*transfigured*".

[*Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 95, November 28, 1847]

Let us now observe how Herr Grün pays homage to "the poet of all that is human", the "human content in Goethe". We shall thereby best discover who "man" is, of whom Herr Grün is speaking. We shall find that Herr Grün here reveals the most secret thoughts of true socialism, which is typical of the way his general craving to outshout all his cronies leads him rashly to trumpet out to the world matters which the rest of the band prefer to keep to themselves. His transformation of Goethe into "the poet of all that is human" was incidentally facilitated for him by the fact that Goethe himself had a habit of using the words "man" and "human" with a special kind of emphasis. Goethe, it is true, used them only in the sense in which they were applied in his own day and later also by Hegel, for instance the attribute "human" was bestowed on the Greeks in particular as opposed to heathen and Christian barbarians, long before these expressions acquired their mystically philosophical meaning through Feuerbach. With Goethe especially they usually have a most unphilosophical and flesh-and-blood meaning. To Herr Grün belongs the credit of being the first to have turned Goethe into a disciple of Feuerbach and a true socialist.

We cannot of course speak of Goethe himself in any detail here. We would just draw attention to one point. In his works Goethe's attitude to contemporary German society is a dual one. Sometimes he is hostile towards it; he attempts to escape from what he finds repulsive in it, as in *Iphigenie* and above all throughout the Italian journey; he rebels against it as Götz, Prometheus and Faust, he lashes it with his bitterest satire as Mephistopheles. But then sometimes he is on friendly terms with it, "accommodates" himself to it, as in the majority of the *Zahme Xenien* and many prose writings; he celebrates it, as in the *Maskenzüge*, even defends it against the oncoming movement of history, as particularly in all the writings in which he comes to speak of the French Revolution. It is not just some

aspects of German life which Goethe accepts in contrast to others which are repugnant to him. More frequently it is a question of the different moods he is in; there is a continuing battle within him between the poet of genius who feels revulsion at the wretchedness of his environment, and the cautious offspring of the Frankfurt patrician or the Weimar privy-councillor who finds himself compelled to come to terms with and accustom himself to it. Goethe is thus at one moment a towering figure, at the next petty; at one moment an obstinate, mocking genius full of contempt for the world, at the next a circumspect, unexacting, narrow philistine. Not even Goethe was able to conquer the wretchedness of Germany; on the contrary, it conquered him, and this victory of wretchedness over the greatest of Germans is the most conclusive proof that it cannot be surmounted at all "from within". Goethe was too universal, too active a nature, too much a man of flesh and blood to seek refuge from this wretchedness in a Schillerian flight to the Kantian ideal; he was too keen-sighted not to see how ultimately such a flight amounted to no more than the exchange of a prosaic form of wretchedness for a grandiloquent one. His temperament, his energies, his whole mental attitude disposed him to the practical life, and the practical life he found around him was wretched. This dilemma of having to exist in an environment which he could only despise, and yet being bound to this environment as the only one in which he could be active, this dilemma always faced Goethe, and the older he became, the more the mighty poet withdrew *de guerre lasse*[a] behind the insignificant Weimar minister. Unlike Börne and Menzel, we do not criticise Goethe for not being liberal[b] but for being capable of occasional philistinism as well, not for being unsusceptible to any enthusiasm for German freedom but for sacrificing his spasmodically erupting and truer aesthetic instinct to a petty-bourgeois fear of all major contemporary historical movements, not for being a man of the court but for being capable of attending with such solemn gravity to the pettiest affairs and *menus plaisirs*[c] of one of the pettiest of the little German courts, at the time when a Napoleon was flushing out the great Augean stable that was Germany. We criticise him not from a moral or from a party point of view, but at the very most from the aesthetic and historical point of view; we measure Goethe neither by moral nor by political nor by "human" standards. We cannot here involve ourselves in a description of Goethe's relationship to his

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[a] Tired of the struggle.—*Ed.*

[b] L. Börne, *Pariser Briefe*; W. Menzel, *Die deutsche Literatur*.—*Ed.*

[c] Little entertainments (involving supplementary expenditure).—*Ed.*

whole age, his literary precursors and contemporaries, his process of development and his station in life. We therefore restrict ourselves simply to noting the facts.

We shall see in respect of which of these aspects Goethe's works are a "true compendium of humanity", "humanity fulfilled" and the "ideal of human society".

Let us first of all take Goethe's critique of the existing society and then move on to the positive description of the "ideal of human society". In view of the wealthy content of Grün's book, it goes without saying that in either area we are only highlighting a few points of characteristic brilliance.

As a critic of society Goethe does indeed perform miracles. He "condemns civilisation" (pp. 34-36) by giving voice to a few romantic complaints that it blurs everything that is characteristic and distinctive about man. He "prophesies the world of the bourgeoisie" (p. 78) by depicting in *Prometheus tout bonnement*[a] the origin of private property. On p. 229 he is "judge over the world..., the Minos of civilisation". But all these things are mere trifles.

On p. 253 Herr Grün quotes *Catechisation*:

> Reflect, my child! From whom have you these talents?
> You cannot have them from yourself, you know.—
> Why, father gave me everything.—
> And who gave them to him?—My grandfather.—
> No, no! From whom could he, your grandfather, receive them?—
> Well, he just *took* them.

Hurrah! trumpets Herr Grün at the top of his voice, *la propriété, c'est le vol*[b]—Proudhon in person![c]

Leverrier can go back home with his planet and surrender his medal to Herr Grün—for this is something greater than Leverrier, this is something greater even than Jackson and his sulphuric ether fumes. For the man who condensed Proudhon's theft thesis, which is indeed disquieting for many peaceful members of the bourgeoisie, to the innocuous dimensions of the above epigram by Goethe—the only reward for him is the *grand cordon* of the Legion of Honour.

The *Bürgergeneral* presents more difficulties. Herr Grün gazes at it for a while from every side, makes a few doubtful grimaces, which is unusual for him, and begins to cogitate: "true enough ... somewhat wishy-washy ... this does not amount to a condemnation of the Revolution" (p. 150).... Wait! now he has it! What is the object at

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[a] Quite simply.—*Ed.*
[b] Property is theft.—*Ed.*
[c] An allusion to P. J. Proudhon, *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?*—*Ed.*

issue? *A jug of milk*[110] and so: "Let us not ... forget that here once again ... it is the *property question* that is being brought to the fore" (p. 151).

If two old women are quarrelling beneath Herr Grün's window over the head of a salted herring, may Herr Grün never find it too much trouble to descend from his room with its fragrance of "roses" and mignonette to inform them that for them too "it is the property question that is being brought to the fore". The gratitude of all right-thinking people will be the best reward for him.

[*Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 96, December 2, 1847]

Goethe performed one of the greatest feats of criticism when he wrote *Werther*. *Werther* is not by any means merely a sentimental love-story, as those who have hitherto read Goethe "from the human aspect" believed.

In *Werther* "the human content has found so fitting a form that nothing can be found in any of the literatures of the world which might even remotely deserve to be set beside it" (p. 96). "Werther's love for Lotte is a mere instrument, a vehicle for the tragedy of the radical pantheism of emotion.... Werther is the man who has no vertebra, who has not yet become a subject" (p. 93 [p. 94]). Werther shoots himself not from infatuation but "because he, that unhappy pantheistic spirit, could not come to terms with the world" (p. 94). "*Werther* depicts the whole rotten condition of society with artistic mastery, it seizes the wrongs of society by their deepest roots, by their philosophico-religious basis" (which "basis" everybody knows to be of more recent origin than the "wrongs"), "by the vague and nebulous understanding.... Pure, well-ventilated conceptions of true human nature" (and above all vertebra, Herr Grün, vertebra!) "would be the death of that state of wretchedness, those worm-eaten, crumbling conditions which we call bourgeois life!" [p. 95].

An example of how "*Werther* depicts the rotten condition of society with artistic mastery". Werther writes:

"Adventures? Why do I use this silly word ... our false bourgeois relationships, they are the real adventures, they are the real monstrosities!"[a]

This cry of lamentation from a lachrymose emotionalist at the discrepancy between bourgeois reality and his no less bourgeois illusions about this reality, this faint-hearted sigh which derives solely from a lack of the most ordinary experience, is given out by Herr Grün on p. 84 as incisive social criticism. Herr Grün even asserts that the "despairing agony of life" which the above words express, "this

[a] J. W. Goethe, "Briefe aus der Schweiz" (written in the form of excerpts from letters supposedly found among the papers of the main character of *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*).— *Ed.*

unhealthy urge to turn things on their heads so that they should at least acquire a different appearance" (!) "ultimately dug for itself the burrow of the French Revolution". The Revolution, previously the realisation of Machiavellianism, here becomes merely the realisation of the sufferings of young Werther. The guillotine of the Place de la Révolution is only a pale imitation of Werther's pistol.

By the same token it is self-evident, according to p. 108, that in *Stella* too Goethe is dealing with "social material", although here only "the most disreputable circumstances" (p. 107) are depicted. True socialism is much more broad-minded than our Lord Jesus. For where two or three are forgathered—they need not even do so in its name—then it is in the midst of them and there is "social material". Like its disciple Herr Grün, it generally bears a striking resemblance to "that kind of dull-witted, self-satisfied nosey-parker who makes everything his business but gets to the bottom of nothing" (p. 47).

Our readers will perhaps remember a letter Wilhelm Meister writes to his brother-in-law[a] in the last volume of the *Lehrjahre*, in which, after a few rather trite comments on the advantages of growing up in well-to-do circumstances, the superiority of the aristocracy over the narrow-minded bourgeoisie is acknowledged and the subordinate position of the latter as well as of all other non-aristocratic classes is sanctioned on the grounds that it is not possible to change it for the present. It is said that only the individual is able in certain circumstances to attain a level of equality with the aristocracy.[b] Herr Grün remarks apropos of this:

"What Goethe says of the pre-eminence of the upper classes of society is *absolutely true* if one takes upper class as identical with educated class, and in Goethe's case this is so" (p[p]. 264[-65]).

And there let the matter rest.

Let us come to the much-discussed central point: Goethe's attitude to politics and to the French Revolution. Here Herr Grün's book provides an object lesson in what it means to endure through thick and thin; here Herr Grün's devotion gives a good account of itself.

So that Goethe's attitude towards the Revolution may appear justified, Goethe must of course be *above* the Revolution and have transcended it even before it took place. As early as p. XXI we therefore learn:

"Goethe had so far outstripped the *practical* development of his age that he felt he could only adopt towards it an attitude of rejection, a defensive attitude."

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[a] Werner.—*Ed.*

[b] J. W. Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, Buch 5, Kap. 3.—*Ed.*

And on p. 84, apropos of *Werther*, who, as we saw already, embodies the whole Revolution *in nuce*[a]: "History shows 1789, Goethe shows 1889." Similarly on pp. 28 and 29 Goethe is obliged in a few brief words "radically to dispose of all the shouting about liberty" since back in the seventies he had an article[b] printed in the *Frankfurter Gelehrte Anzeigen* which does not at all discuss the liberty which the "shouters" are demanding, but only engages in a few general and fairly sober reflections on liberty as such, the concept of liberty. Furthermore: because in his doctoral dissertation[c] Goethe propounded the thesis that it was actually the duty of every legislator to introduce a certain form of worship—a thesis which Goethe himself treats merely as an amusing paradox, inspired by all manner of small-town clerical bickering in Frankfurt (which Herr Grün *himself* quotes)—because of this "the student Goethe discarded the whole dualism of the Revolution and the present French state like an old pair of shoes" (pp. 26 and 27). It would appear as if Herr Grün has inherited "the student Goethe's worn-out shoes" and used them to sole the seven-league boots of his "social movement" with.

This of course now sheds a new light for us on Goethe's statements about the Revolution. It is now clear that being high above it, having "disposed of it" as long as fifteen years previously, having "discarded it like an old pair of shoes" and being a hundred years in advance of it, he could have no sympathy with it and could take no interest in a nation of "shouters for liberty", with whom he had settled his accounts way back in the year seventy-three. Herr Grün now has an easy time of it. Goethe may turn as much trite inherited wisdom into elegant distiches, he may philosophise upon it with as much philistine narrow-mindedness, he may shrink with as much petty-bourgeois horror from the great ice-floes which threaten his peaceable poet's niche, he may behave with as much pettiness, cowardice and servility as he will, but he cannot carry things too far for his patient gloss-writer. Herr Grün lifts him up on his tireless shoulders and carries him through the mire; indeed he transfers the whole mire to the account of true socialism, just to ensure that Goethe's boots stay clean. From the *Campagne in Frankreich* to the *Natürliche Tochter*, Herr Grün takes on responsibility (pp. 133-170) for everything, everything without exception, he shows a devotion

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[a] In the germ.—*Ed.*

[b] J. W. Goethe, "Alexander von Joch über Belohnung und Strafen nach türkischen Gesetzen".—*Ed.*

[c] J. W. Goethe, "De Legislatoribus".—*Ed.*

which might move a Buchez to tears. And if all this does not help, if the mire is just too deep, then a higher social exegesis is harnessed to the task, then Herr Grün [p. 137] paraphrases as follows:

> The sad destiny of France, let the mighty think on it,
> But verily the lowly should ponder it more.
> The mighty perished; but who defends the multitude
> From the multitude? The multitude was tyrant to itself.[a]

"Who defends", shouts Herr Grün for all he is worth, with italics, question marks and all the "vehicles of the tragedy of the radical pantheism of emotion" [p. 93], "who, in particular, defends the unpropertied multitude, the so-called rabble, against the propertied multitude, the legislating rabble?" (p. 137). "Who in particular defends" Goethe against Herr Grün?

In this way Herr Grün explains the whole series of worldly-wise bourgeois precepts contained in the Venetian *Epigramme*:

> they "are like a slap in the face delivered by the hand of *Hercules* which only now" (after the danger is past for the philistine) "appear to us to smack home really tolerably now that we have a great and *bitter* experience" (bitter indeed for the philistine) "behind us" (p. 136).

From the *Belagerung von Mainz* Herr Grün

> "would not wish to pass over the following passage for anything in the world: "On Tuesday ... I hastened ... to *pay homage* to his *Highness*, and had the *great good fortune* to *wait upon* the Prince ... *my ever gracious Lord*", etc. [p. 147].

The passage in which Goethe lays his humble devotion at the feet of Herr Rietz, the King of Prussia's[b] Gentleman, Cuckold and Pimp of the Bedchamber, Herr Grün does not think fit to quote.

[*Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 97, December 5, 1847]

Apropos of the *Bürgergeneral* and the *Ausgewanderte* we read:

> "Goethe's whole antipathy towards the Revolution, whenever it was expressed in literary form, was concerned with the eternal lament at seeing people driven out from circumstances of *well-deserved* and *well-accustomed* property, which intriguers and envious men, etc., then usurped ... this same *injustice of robbery*. ...His *peaceful, domesticated* nature became indignant at this violation of the right of property, which, being *arbitrarily* inflicted, made destitute refugees of whole masses of people" (p. 151).

Let us without more ado put this passage to the account of "man" whose "peaceful, domesticated nature" feels so much at ease in

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[a] J. W. Goethe, "Venezianische Epigramme".— *Ed.*

[b] Frederick William II.—*Ed.*

"well-deserved and well-accustomed", to put it bluntly, well-earned "circumstances of property" that it declares the tempest of the Revolution which sweeps away these circumstances *sans façon* to be "arbitrary" and the work of "intriguers and envious men", etc.

In the light of this it does not surprise us that Herr Grün "finds the purest pleasure" (p. 165) in the bourgeois idyll *Hermann und Dorothea*, its timid, worldly-wise small-townsfolk and lamenting peasants who take to their heels in superstitious fear before the sans-culotte army and the horrors of war. Herr Grün

"even accepts with relief the pusillanimous role which is assigned at the end ... to the German people:

> It befits not a German to be at the head of a movement
> Fleeing in terror, nor to waver first this way, then that."[a]

Herr Grün is right to shed tears of sympathy for the victims of cruel times and to raise his eyes to heaven in patriotic despair at such strokes of fate. There are enough ruined and degenerate people anyway, who have no "human" heart in their bosoms, who prefer to join in singing the *Marseillaise* in the Republican camp and perhaps even make lewd jokes in Dorothea's deserted bedchamber. Herr Grün is a decent fellow who waxes indignant at the lack of feeling with which for instance a Hegel looks down on the "little, dumb flowers" which have been crushed underfoot by the onrush of history and mocks at the "litany of private virtues of modesty, humility, love of one's fellow-men and charity" which is held out "against the deeds of world history and those who perform them".[b] Herr Grün is right to do this. He will no doubt receive his reward in heaven.

Let us conclude these "human" remarks on the Revolution with the following: "A real humorist might well take the liberty of finding the *Convention itself infinitely ridiculous*", and until this "real humorist" is found, Herr Grün meanwhile provides the necessary instructions (pp. 151, 152).

Herr Grün similarly sheds some surprising light upon Goethe's attitude towards politics after the Revolution. Just one example. We already know of the profound resentment "man" feels in his heart towards the liberals. The "poet of all that is human" must of course not be allowed to go to his rest without having specifically had it out with them, without having pinned an explicit memorandum on Messrs Welcker, Itzstein and their cronies. This memorandum our

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[a] J. W. Goethe, *Hermann und Dorothea*, 9. Gesang ("Urania").— *Ed.*

[b] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*, Einleitung.— *Ed.*

"self-satisfied nosey-parker" unearths in the following of the *Zahme Xenien* (p. 319):

> All that is just the same old tripe,
> Do acquire some savvy!
> Don't be forever just marking time,
> But make some progress!

Goethe's verdict: "Nothing is more repulsive than the *majority*, for it consists of a few strong leaders, of rogues who accommodate themselves, of weaklings who adapt themselves, and the mass jogging along behind without having the faintest idea what it wants"[a]—this verdict so typical of the philistine, whose ignorance and short-sightedness are only possible within the narrow bounds of a petty German principality, appears to Herr Grün as "the critique of the later" (i.e. modern) "constitutional state".[b] How important it is one may discover "for instance in any Chamber of Deputies you care to choose" (p. 268). According to this, it is only out of ignorance that the "belly" of the French Chamber looks after itself and its like in such an excellent manner. A few pages later, on p. 271, Herr Grün finds "the *July Revolution*" "misbegotten", and as early as p. 34 the *Customs Union*[111] is sharply criticised because it "makes yet *more expensive* the rags the unclothed and the shivering need to cover their nakedness, in order to make the pillars of the throne (!!), the liberal-minded money-masters" (whom everyone knows to be opposed to "the throne" throughout the Customs Union) "somewhat more resistant to decay". Everyone knows how in Germany the philistines always bring out the "unclothed" and "shivering" whenever it is a question of combating protective tariffs or any other progressive bourgeois measure, and "man" joins their number.

What light does Goethe's critique of society and the state, as seen through Herr Grün's eyes, now shed on "the essence of man"?

Firstly, "man", according to p. 264, exhibits a most marked respect for "the educated estates" in general and a seemly deference towards a high aristocracy in particular. And then he is distinguished by a mighty terror of any great mass movement and any determined social action, at the approach of which he either scuttles timidly back into his fireside corner or takes to his heels with all his goods and chattels. As long as it lasts, such a movement is "a bitter experience" for him; scarcely is it over than he takes up a dominant position at the front of the stage and with the hand of Hercules delivers slaps in

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[a] J. W. Goethe, *Über Naturwissenschaft im Allgemeinen, einzelne Betrachtungen und Aphorismen.*— *Ed.*

[b] The German original has: "Gesetzesstaat".—*Ed.*

the face which only now appear to him to smack home really tolerably, and finds the whole business "infinitely ridiculous". And throughout he remains wholeheartedly attached to "circumstances of well-deserved and well-accustomed property"; apart from that he has a very "peaceful and domesticated nature", is undemanding and modest and does not wish to be disturbed in his quiet little pleasures by any storms. "Man is happy within a restricted sphere" (p. 191, as the *first sentence* of Part Two has it); he envies no one and gives thanks to his maker if he is left in peace. In short, "man", who, as we have already seen, is *German* by birth, is gradually beginning to turn into the spit image of a *German petty bourgeois.*

What actually does Goethe's critique of society as conveyed by Herr Grün amount to? What does "man" find in society to take exception to? Firstly that it does not correspond to his illusions. But these illusions are precisely the illusions of an ideologising philistine, especially a young one, and if philistine reality does not correspond to these illusions, this is only because they are illusions. For that very reason they correspond all the more fully to philistine reality. They differ from it only as the ideologising expression of a condition in general differs from that condition, and there can therefore be no further question of them being realised. A striking example of this is provided by Herr Grün's commentary on *Werther.*

Secondly "man's" polemic is directed against everything that threatens Germany's philistine régime. His whole polemic against the Revolution is that of a philistine. His hatred of the liberals, the July Revolution and protective tariffs is the absolutely unmistakable expression of the hatred an oppressed, inflexible petty bourgeois feels for the independent, progressive bourgeois. Let us give two further examples of this.

Every one knows that the guild system marked the period of efflorescence of the petty bourgeoisie. On p. 40 Herr Grün says, speaking on behalf of Goethe, in other words, of "man": "In the Middle Ages the corporation brought together *one strong man* in defensive alliance with other *strong men.*" The guildsmen of those days are "strong men" in the eyes of "man".

But in Goethe's day the guild system was already in decay, competition was bursting in from all sides. As a true philistine, Goethe gives voice to a heart-rending wail at one point in his memoirs[a] which Herr Grün quotes on p. 88, about the rot setting among the petty bourgeoisie, the ruination of well-to-do families, the decay of family life associated with this, the loosening of domestic

[a] J. W. Goethe, "Aus meinem Leben", Teil 2, Buch 7.—*Ed.*

bonds and other petty-bourgeois lamentations which in civilised countries are treated with well-deserved contempt. Herr Grün, who scents a capital criticism of modern society in this passage, can so little moderate his delight that he has its whole "human content" printed in italics.

Let us now turn to the positive "human content" in Goethe. We can proceed more quickly now that we are on the track of "man".

Before all else let us report the glad tidings that "Wilhelm Meister deserts his parental home" and that in *Egmont* "the citizens of Brussels are demanding privileges and liberties" for no other reason than to "become men" (p. XVII).

Herr Grün has detected affinities with Proudhon in the elderly Goethe once before. On p. 320 he has this pleasure once again:

"What he wanted, what we all want, to save our personalities, *anarchy* in the true sense of the word, on this topic Goethe has the following to say:

> Now why should anarchy have for me
> Such attraction in modern times?
> Each lives according to his lights
> And that is profit for me as well",[a] etc.

Herr Grün is beside himself with joy at finding in Goethe that truly "human" social anarchy which was first proclaimed by Proudhon and adopted by acclamation by the German true socialists. This time he is mistaken however. Goethe is speaking of the already existing "anarchy in modern times", which already "is" profit for him and by which each lives according to his lights, in other words of the independence in sociable intercourse which has been brought about by the dissolution of the feudal system and the guilds, by the rise of the bourgeoisie, and the exclusion of patriarchalism from the social life of the educated classes. Simply for *grammatical* reasons there can therefore be no question of the Herr Grün's beloved *future* anarchy in the higher sense. Goethe is here not talking at all about "what he wanted" but about what he found around him.

But such a little slip should not disturb us. For we do have the poem: *Eigentum.*

> I know that nothing is mine own
> Save the idea that peacefully
> Secretes itself from my spirit,
> And every instant of happiness
> Which destiny beneficent
> Gives me to savour fully.

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[a] J. W. Goethe, *Zahme Xenien,* IV.—*Ed.*

If it is not clear that in this poem "property as it has existed up to now vanishes into smoke" (p. 320), Herr Grün's comprehension has come to a standstill.

[*Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 98, December 9, 1847]

But let us leave these entertaining little exegetical diversions of Herr Grün's to their fate. They are in any case legion and each invariably leads on to others still more surprising. Let us rather resume our search for "man".

"Man is happy within a restricted sphere," as we have read. So is the philistine.

"Goethe's early works were of *purely social*" (i.e. human) "character.... Goethe clung to what was *most immediate, smallest, most domesticated*" (p. 88).

The first positive thing we discover about "man" is his delight in the "smallest, domesticated" still-life of the petty bourgeoisie.

"If we can find a place in the world," says Goethe, as summarised by Herr Grün, "where to rest with our possessions, a field to provide us with food, a house to shelter us—is that not a Fatherland for us?"

And, exclaims Herr Grün,

"How these words express our deepest thoughts today!" (p. 32).

Essentially "man" is dressed in a *redingote à la propriétaire* and by that too reveals himself as a thoroughbred *épicier.*[a]

The German bourgeois, as everyone knows, is a fanatic for freedom at most for a brief moment, in his youth. That is characteristic of "man" too. Herr Grün mentions with approval how in his later years Goethe "damns" the "urge for freedom" which still haunts *Götz*, that "product of a free and ill-bred boy", and even quotes this cowardly recantation in extenso on p. 43. What Herr Grün understands by freedom can be deduced from the fact that in the same passage he identifies the freedom of the French Revolution with that of the free Switzers at the time of Goethe's Swiss journey, in other words, modern, constitutional and democratic freedom with the dominance of patricians and guilds in medieval Imperial Cities and especially with the early Germanic barbarism of cattle-rearing Alpine tribes. The montagnards of the Bernese Oberland even have the same name as the Montagnards of the National Convention![b]

[a] Grocer.— *Ed.*

[b] Play on words: "*montagnards*"—literally "mountain-dwellers"; this was also the name taken by the Jacobins, the representatives of the Mountain Party in the Convention during the French Revolution.— *Ed.*

The respectable bourgeois is a sworn enemy of all frivolity and mockery of religion: "man" likewise. If Goethe on various occasions expressed himself in a truly bourgeois manner on this topic, Herr Grün takes this as another aspect of the "human content in Goethe". And to make the point quite credible, Herr Grün assembles not merely these grains of gold, but on p. 62 even adds a number of meritorious sentiments of his own, to the effect that "those who mock religion ... are empty vessels and simpletons", etc. Which does much credit to his feelings as "man" and bourgeois.

The bourgeois cannot live without a "king he loves", a father to his country whom he holds dear. Nor can "man". That is why on p. 129 Karl August is for Goethe a "most excellent Prince". Stout old Herr Grün, still enthusing for "most excellent Princes" in the year 1846!

An event is of interest to the bourgeois insofar as it impinges directly on his private circumstances.

> "To Goethe even the events of the day become alien objects which either add to or detract from his *bourgeois comforts* and which may arouse in him an aesthetic or *human* but never a political interest" (p. 20).

Herr Grün "thus finds a human interest in a thing" if he notices that it "either adds to or detracts from his bourgeois comforts". Herr Grün here confesses as openly as possible that bourgeois comforts are the chief thing for "man".

*Faust* and *Wilhelm Meister* provide Herr Grün with an occasion for special chapters. Let us take *Faust* first.

On p. 116 we are told:

> "Only the fact that Goethe came upon a clue to the mystery of the organisation of plants" enabled him "to complete his delineation of humanistic man" (for there is no way of escaping "human" man) "Faust. *For* Faust is brought to the peak of his own nature (!) just as much as by natural science."

We have already had examples of how that "humanistic man", Herr Grün, "is brought to the peak of his own nature by natural science". We observe that this is inherent in the race.

Then on p. 231 we hear that the "bones of brute and human skeletons" in the first scene signifies "the abstraction of our whole life"—and Herr Grün treats *Faust* in general exactly as though he had the Revelation of St. John the Theologian before him. The macrocosm signifies "Hegelian philosophy", which at the time when Goethe was writing this scene (1806) happened to exist only in Hegel's mind or at most in the manuscript of the *Phänomenologie* which Hegel was then working on. What has chronology to do with "human content"?

The depiction of the moribund Holy Roman Empire in the Second Part of *Faust* Herr Grün (p. 240) imagines without more ado to be a

depiction of the monarchy of Louis XIV, "in which," he adds, "we *automatically* have the Constitution and the Republic!" "Man" naturally "of himself has" everything that other people first have to provide for themselves by dint of toil and exertion.

On p. 246 Herr Grün confides to us that the Second Part of *Faust* has become, with regard to its scientific aspect, "the canon of modern times, just as Dante's *Divine Comedy* was the canon of the Middle Ages". We would commend this to natural scientists who have hitherto sought very little in the Second Part of *Faust*, and to historians, who have sought something quite other than a "canon of the Middle Ages" in the Florentine's pro-Ghibelline poem![112] It seems as though Herr Grün is looking at history with the same eyes as Goethe, according to p. 49, looked at his own past: "In Italy Goethe surveyed his past *with the eyes* of the Belvedere Apollo", eyes which *pour comble de malheur*[a] do not even have eyeballs.

*Wilhelm Meister* is "a Communist", i.e. "in theory, on the basis of aesthetic outlook" (!!) (p. 254).

> On nothing does he set great store,
> And yet the whole wide world is his[b] (p. 257).

Of course, he has enough money, and the world belongs to him, as it belongs to every bourgeois, without his needing to go to the trouble of becoming "a communist on the basis of aesthetic outlook".—Under the auspices of this "nothing" on which Wilhelm Meister sets great store and which, as we see from p. 256, is indeed an extensive and most substantial "nothing", even hangovers are eliminated. Herr Grün "drains every cup to the lees, without ill effect, without a headache". So much the better for "man" who may now quietly worship Bacchus with impunity. For the day when all these things shall come to pass, Herr Grün has meanwhile already discovered the drinking song for "true man" in *On nothing do I set great store*—"this song will be sung when mankind has arranged its affairs in a manner worthy of itself"; but Herr Grün has reduced it to three verses and expunged those parts unsuitable for youth and "man".

In *W[ilhelm] M[eister]* Goethe sets up

> "the ideal of human society". "Man is not a teaching but a living, acting and creating being." "Wilhelm Meister is this man." "The essence of man is activity" (an essence he shares with any flea) pp. 257, 258, 261.

Finally the *Wahlverwandtschaften*. This novel, moral enough in itself, is moralised even more by Herr Grün, so that it almost seems as

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[a] As the final misfortune.— *Ed.*

[b] J. W. Goethe, "Vanitas! Vanitatum vanitas!" (paraphrased).—*Ed.*

though he were concerned to recommend the *Wahlverwandtschaften* as a suitable text-book for schools for young ladies. Herr Grün explains that Goethe

> "distinguished between love and marriage, so that for him love was a *search of marriage* and marriage was love *found* and fulfilled" (p. 286).

By this token, then, love is the *search* of "love that has been found". This is further elucidated to the effect that after "the freedom of youthful love", marriage must come about as "the final relationship of love" (p. 287). Exactly as in civilised countries a wise father first allows his son to sow his wild oats for a few years and then finds him a suitable wife as a "final relationship". However, whilst people in civilised countries have long passed the stage of regarding this "final relationship" as something morally binding, whilst on the contrary in those countries the husband keeps mistresses and his wife retaliates by cuckolding him, the philistine once again rescues Herr Grün:

> "If man has had a really free choice, ... if two people base their union on their mutual rational wishes" (there is no mention here of passion, flesh and blood) "it would require the outlook of a *libertine* to regard the upsetting of this relationship as a trifle, as not so fraught with suffering and unhappiness as Goethe did. But there can be no question of *libertinism* with Goethe" (p. 288).

This passage qualifies the timid polemic against morality which Herr Grün permits himself from time to time. The philistine has arrived at the realisation that there is all the more reason for having to turn a blind eye to the behaviour of the young since it is precisely the most dissolute young men who afterwards make the best husbands. But if they should misbehave themselves again after the wedding—then no mercy, no pity on them; for that "would require the outlook of a libertine".

"The outlook of a libertine!" "Libertinism!" One can just picture "man" as large as life before one, as he places his hand on his heart, and overflowing with pride exclaims: No! I am pure of all frivolity, of "fornication and licentiousness", I have never deliberately ruined the happiness of a contented marriage, I have always practised fidelity and honesty and have never lusted after my neighbour's wife—I am no "libertine"!

"Man" is right. He is not made for amorous affairs with beautiful women, he has never turned his mind to seduction and adultery, he is no "libertine", but a man of conscience, an honourable, virtuous, German philistine. He is

> ...l'épicier pacifique,
> Fumant sa pipe au fond de sa boutique;
> Il craint sa femme et son ton arrogant;

De la maison il lui laisse l'empire,
Au moindre signe obéit sans mot dire
Et vit ainsi cocu, battu, content.[a]

(Parny, *Goddam*, chant III.)

There remains just one observation for us to make. If above we have only considered one aspect of Goethe, that is the fault of Herr Grün alone. He does not present Goethe's towering stature at all. He either skims hurriedly over all works in which Goethe was really great and a genius, such as the *Römische Elegieen* of Goethe the "libertine", or he inundates them with a great torrent of trivialities, which only proves that he can make nothing of them. On the other hand, with what is for him uncommon industry he seeks out every instance of philistinism, petty priggery and narrow-mindedness, collates them, exaggerates them in the manner of a true literary hack, and rejoices every time he is able to find support for his own narrow-minded opinions on the authority of Goethe, whom he furthermore frequently distorts.

History's revenge on Goethe for ignoring her every time she confronted him face to face was not the yapping of Menzel nor the narrow polemic of Börne. No,

Just as Titania in the land of fairy magic
Found Nick Bottom in her arms,[b]

so one morning Goethe found Herr Grün in his arms. Herr Grün's apologia, the warm thanks he stammers out to Goethe for every philistine word, that is the bitterest revenge which offended history could pronounce upon the greatest German poet.

Herr Grün, however, "can close his eyes in the awareness that he has not disgraced his destiny of being a man" (p. 248).

Written in 1846 and early 1847

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[a] ... the peaceful tradesman,
Smoking his pipe at the back of his shop;
He fears his wife and her domineering tone;
He leaves to her the government of the house,
Without a word he obeys her slightest signal;
Thus he lives, cuckolded, beaten and content.— *Ed.*

[b] J. W. Goethe, *Warnung* (Zyklus "Epigrammatisch").—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE ECONOMIC CONGRESS[113]

It is well known that here there are several lawyers, officials, doctors, rentiers, merchants, etc., who, under pretence of an Association pour le libre échange (à l'instar de Paris),[a] give one another instruction in the elements of political economy. For the last three days of the past week these gentlemen were swimming in bliss. They held their great congress of the greatest economists of all countries, they enjoyed the ineffable delights of hearing the truths of economics expounded, no longer from the mouths of a M[onsieur] Jules Bartels, a Le Hardy de Beaulieu, a Faider or Fader[b] or other unknown celebrities, no, but from the mouths of the leading masters of the science. They were enraptured, enchanted, divinely happy, transported to the seventh heaven.

Less enraptured, however, were the masters of the science themselves. They had come prepared for an easy battle, and the battle was very hard for them; they believed that they had only to come, see and conquer, and they conquered only in the voting, whereas they were decisively defeated in the discussion on the second day, and only by means of intrigues did they avoid a new and still more decisive defeat on the third day. Even if their divinely happy public noticed nothing of all this, they themselves could not but feel it painfully.

We attended the congress. From the very beginning we had no particular respect for these masters of science, whose principal

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[a] Association for Free Trade (after the example of Paris).— *Ed.*

[b] Pun — *Fader*, from "fade" (dull, insipid), *Faider*, name of a participant in the economic congress.— *Ed.*

learning consists in continually contradicting one another and themselves with the greatest equanimity. But we confess that this congress robbed us of the last tiny vestige of respect we might have had for those with whose writings and speeches we were less well acquainted. We confess that we were astounded to have to hear such platitudes and insipidities, such universally familiar trivialities. We confess that we had not expected these men of science to be incapable of telling us anything more valuable than the first elements of economics, which might well be new for children of seven or eight, but which must be presumed to be common knowledge for adults, and in particular for members of Associations pour le libre échange. However, the gentlemen knew their public better than we.

The Englishmen comported themselves best at the congress. They had the greatest interest in the matter; they have the opening up of the continental markets at heart; for them the question of free trade is a matter of life and death. They showed this clearly enough, too; they, who nowhere speak anything but their English, condescended, in the interest of their beloved free trade,[a] to speak French. One could clearly see how powerfully the matter affected their purses. The Frenchmen performed in the manner of pure ideologists and scientific dreamers. They did not even distinguish themselves by any French *esprit* or originality of conception. But at least they spoke good French, and that is something one seldom hears in Brussels.—The Dutchmen were tedious and professorial. The Dane, Herr David, was quite incomprehensible. The Belgians for the most part played the role of passive listeners, or at any rate never transcended the limits of their national industry—*contrefaçon*.[b] And finally the Germans, with the exception of Weerth, who, however, spoke more as an Englishman than a German, formed the *partie honteuse* of the whole congress. The palm would have fittingly been theirs, if a Belgian had not after all conquered it for his nation.

*First day.* General discussion. Belgium opened it with M. Faider, who, in his entire behaviour, in his deportment and language, brought before us the whole of that strutting foppishness which gives itself such repulsive airs in the streets and promenades of Brussels. M. Faider peddled nothing but empty phrases, and hardly raised himself to the most elementary economic truths. Let us not detain

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[a] English in the original.—*Ed.*

[b] Imitation.—*Ed.*

ourselves with him for as long as he detained us with his outpourings of dishwater soup.

M. Wolowski, Professor etc. in Paris, mounted the rostrum. A smug, rhetorical, superficial, Frenchified Polish Jew, who has managed to combine in himself the bad qualities of all three nations with none of the good. M. Wolowski whipped up huge enthusiasm by means of a previously arranged, sophistically surprising speech. Unfortunately, however, this speech was not M. Wolowski's property, it was patched together from the *Sophismes économiques* of M. Frédéric Bastiat. This was naturally something the Brussels *claqueurs* could not know.—M. Wolowski regretted that a *German* protectionist would be opposing him and that the French protectionists had allowed the initiative to be taken from them in this way. For this he was punished. When concluding his speech M. Wolowski became comical in the highest degree. He came to speak of the working classes, to whom he promised golden mountains from free trade, and in whose name he made a hypocritically furious attack on the protectionists. Yes! He exclaimed, working himself up into a rhetorical falsetto, yes, these protectionists, "*ces gens qui n'ont rien là qui batte pour les classes laborieuses*"[a]—here he pounded himself on his round little belly—these protectionists are the people who prevent us from fulfilling our most heartfelt wishes and help the workers out of their poverty! Unfortunately, his whole fury was too artificial to make any impression on the few workers who were present in the gallery.

Herr Rittinghausen from Cologne, the representative of the German fatherland, read out an infinitely tedious essay in defence of the protective system. He spoke as a true German. With the most pitiful grimaces in the world he lamented Germany's sorry condition and its industrial impotence, and he downright beseeched the Englishmen that they might, after all, allow Germany to protect itself against their superior competition. Why, he said, gentlemen, you wish to give us freedom of trade, you wish us to compete freely with all nations, when we still have guilds almost everywhere, when we may not even compete freely *among ourselves*?

M. Blanqui, Professor, Deputy, and Progressive Conservative from Paris, author of a wretched economic history[b] and other inferior books, principal pillar of the so-called École française of economics, answered Herr Rittinghausen. A well-fed, stand-offish man with a face in which hypocritical severity, unctuousness and philanthropy

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[a] "These people with nothing here which beats for the toiling classes." — *Ed.*

[b] A. Blanqui, *Histoire de l'économie politique en Europe.*—*Ed.*

are repulsively blended. Knight of the Legion of Honour, *cela va sans dire.*[a] M. Blanqui spoke with the greatest possible volubility and the least possible wit, and this, naturally, was just the thing to impress the Brussels Free Traders. What he said is moreover ten times less significant than what he has previously written. Let us not detain ourselves with these empty phrases.

Then came Dr. Bowring, radical Member of Parliament and heir to the wisdom of Bentham, whose skeleton he owns.[114] He is himself a kind of Bentham skeleton. It was noticeable that the elections were over; Mr. Bowring no longer found it necessary to make concessions to the people, but spoke instead in the manner of a genuine bourgeois. He spoke fluent and correct French, with a strong English accent, and emphasised the effect of his words with the most vehement and droll gesticulations that we recall ever having seen. Mr. Bowring, the representative of the highly interested English bourgeoisie, declared that at last the time had come for all egoism to be cast aside and for each to establish his own prosperity on that of the others. Naturally the old economic "truth" cropped up that one can do more business with a millionaire and therefore make more out of him than out of the possessor of a mere thousand talers.—Finally, there was yet another inspired hymn to *cet envoyé du ciel,*[b] the smuggler.

After him spoke M. Duchateau, President of the Valenciennes Association pour la protection du travail national,[c] defending, as a result of M. Wolowski's provocation, the French protective system. He repeated, with great calm and lucidity, the well-known principles of the protectionists, in the quite correct opinion that these were sufficient to make the whole congress bitter for the free-trade gentlemen. He was undoubtedly the best speaker of the day.

Mr. Ewart, Member of Parliament, answered him, in almost incomprehensible French, with the stalest and most platitudinous shibboleths of the Anti-Corn-Law League, long since known by heart to almost every street urchin in England.

We mention M. Campan, a delegate from the Free Trade Society of Bordeaux, merely for the sake of the record. What he said was so insignificant that we can no longer recall a single word of it.

Colonel Thompson, Member of Parliament, reduces the question to a simple story—in a certain town there exist cab-drivers who make a journey for $1^1/_2$ francs. Now an omnibus is introduced, which

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[a] That goes without saying.—*Ed.*

[b] This ambassador from heaven.—*Ed.*

[c] Association for the protection of national labour.—*Ed.*

makes the same trip for 1 franc. Thus the cab-driver would say that $^1/_2$ franc per trip is withdrawn from trade. But is that true? Where does the $^1/_2$ franc go to? Aha! the passenger will buy something else for it, perhaps pies, cakes or the like. Thus the half franc enters trade after all, and the consumer gets more satisfaction from it. Here we have the case of the protectionists, who defend the cab-driver, and that of the Free Traders, who wish to introduce the omnibus. The only thing that the good Colonel Thompson forgets is that competition soon eliminates this advantage of the consumer, and takes from him for one thing exactly what he gains on another.

The final speaker was M. Dunoyer, a Counsellor of State in Paris, author of several books, among others *De la liberté du travail*, in which he accuses the workers of producing far too many children. He spoke with the vehemence proper to a Counsellor of State, and moreover very insignificantly. M. Dunoyer is a well-nourished *ventru*[a] with a bald skull and the red, forward-thrusting face of a dog, he is evidently accustomed to brook no contradictions, but is by no means as terrifying as he would like to be. M. Blanqui said of his cheap invective against the proletariat: "*M. Dunoyer dit aux peuples les mêmes vérités austères qu'au dernier siècle les Voltaire et Rousseau disaient aux princes.*"[b]

With this the general discussion was closed. We shall report on the discussion of the individual questions on the second and third days in the next issue.[115]

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[a] Belly, paunch.—*Ed.*

[b] "M. Dunoyer tells the same hard truths to the people as did the Voltaires and Rousseaus to the princes in the last century."—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE PROTECTIONISTS, THE FREE TRADERS AND THE WORKING CLASS[116]

The protectionists have never protected small industry, handicraft proper. Have Dr. List and his school in Germany by any chance demanded protective tariffs for the small linen industry, for hand loom-weaving, for handicraft production? No, when they demanded protective tariffs they did so only in order to oust handicraft production with machines and patriarchal industry with modern industry. In a word, they wish to extend the dominion of the bourgeoisie, and in particular of the big industrial capitalists. They went so far as to proclaim aloud the decline and fall of small industry and the petty bourgeoisie, of small farming and the small peasants, as a sad but inevitable and, as far as the industrial development of Germany is concerned, necessary occurrence.

Besides the school of Dr. List there exists in Germany, the land of schools, yet another school, which demands not merely a system of protective tariffs, but a system of import prohibition proper. The leader of this school, Herr v. Gülich, has written a very scholarly history of industry and trade,[a] which has also been translated into French. Herr v. Gülich is a sincere philanthropist; he is in earnest with regard to protecting handicraft production and national labour. Well now! What did he do? He began by refuting Dr. List, proved that in List's system the welfare of the working class is only a sham and a pretence, a ringing piece of hollow rhetoric, and then, for his part, he made the following proposals:

1. To prohibit the importation of foreign manufactured products;

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[a] G. Gülich, *Geschichtliche Darstellung des Handels, der Gewerbe und des Ackerbaus der bedeutendsten handeltreibenden Staaten unserer Zeit.*— *Ed.*

2. to place very heavy import duties on raw materials originating abroad, like cotton, silk etc., etc., in order to protect wool and nationally produced linen;
3. likewise on colonial products, in order to replace sugar, coffee, indigo, cochineal, valuable timbers etc., etc., with national products;
4. to place high taxes on nationally produced machines, in order to protect handicraft production against the machine.

It is evident that Herr v. Gülich is a man who accepts the system with all its consequences. And what does this lead to? Not merely preventing the entry of foreign industrial products, but also hindering the progress of national industry.

Herr List and Herr v. Gülich form the limits between which the system moves. If it wishes to protect industrial progress, then it at once sacrifices handicraft production, labour; if it wishes to protect labour, then industrial progress is sacrificed.

Let us return to the protectionists proper, who do not share the illusions of Herr v. Gülich.

If they speak consciously and openly to the working class, then they summarise their philanthropy in the following words: It is better to be exploited by one's fellow-countrymen than by foreigners.

I do not think the working class will be for ever satisfied with this solution, which, it must be confessed, is indeed very patriotic, but nonetheless a little too ascetic and spiritual for people whose only occupation consists in the production of riches, of material wealth.

But the protectionists will say: "So when all is said and done we at least preserve the present state of society. Good or bad, we guarantee the labourer work for his hands, and prevent his being thrown on to the street by foreign competition." I shall not dispute this statement, I accept it. The preservation, the conservation of the present state of affairs is accordingly the best result the protectionists can achieve in the most favourable circumstances. Good, but the problem for the working class is not to preserve the present state of affairs, but to transform it into its opposite.

The protectionists have one last refuge. They say that their system makes no claim to be a means of social reform, but that it is nonetheless necessary to begin with social reforms in one's own country, before one embarks on economic reforms internationally. After the protective system has been at first reactionary, then conservative, it finally becomes conservative-progressive. It will suffice to point out the contradiction lurking in this theory, which at first sight appears to have something seductive, practical and rational to it. A strange contradiction! The system of protective tariffs

places in the hands of the capital of one country the weapons which enable it to defy the capital of other countries; it increases the strength of this capital in opposition to foreign capital, and at the same time it deludes itself that the very same means will make that same capital small and weak in opposition to the working class. In the last analysis that would mean appealing to the philanthropy of capital, as though capital as such could be a philanthropist. In general, social reforms can never be brought about by the weakness of the strong; they must and will be called to life by the strength of the weak.

Incidentally, we have no need to detain ourselves with this matter. From the moment the protectionists concede that social reforms have no place in their system and are not a result of it, and that they form a special question—from this moment on they have already abandoned the social question. I shall accordingly leave the protectionists aside and speak of Free Trade in its relationship to the condition of the working class.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE FREE TRADE CONGRESS AT BRUSSELS

On the 16th, 17th, and 18th of September, there was held here (Brussels) a congress of political economists, manufacturers, tradesmen, etc., to discuss the question of Free Trade. There were present about 150 members of all nations. There assisted, on the part of the English Free Traders, Dr. Bowring, M. P., Col. Thompson, M. P., Mr. Ewart, M. P., Mr. Brown, M. P., James Wilson, Esq., editor of the *Economist*, etc.; from France had arrived M. Wolowski, professor of jurisprudence; M. Blanqui, deputy, professor of political economy, author of a history of that science,[a] and other works; M. Horace Say, son of the celebrated economist[b]; M. Ch. Dunoyer, member of the Privy Council, author of several works upon politics and economy, and others. From Germany there was no Free Trader present, but Holland, Denmark, Italy, etc., had sent representatives. Señor Ramon de la Sagra, of Madrid, intended to come, but came too late. The assistance of a whole host of Belgian Free Traders need hardly be mentioned, it being a matter of course.

Thus the celebrities of the science had met to discuss the important question—whether Free Trade would benefit the world? You will think the discussions of such a splendid assembly—discussions carried on by economical stars of the first magnitude—must have been interesting in the highest degree. You will say that men like Dr. Bowring, Colonel Thompson, Blanqui and Dunoyer, must have pronounced speeches the most striking, must have produced arguments the most convincing, must have represented all questions under a light the most novel and surprising imaginable. Alas! Sir, if you had been present, you would have been piteously undeceived.

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[a] A. Blanqui, *Histoire de l'économie politique en Europe.—Ed.*

[b] Jean Baptiste Say.— *Ed.*

Your glorious expectations, your fond illusions would have vanished within less than an hour. I have assisted at innumerable public meetings and discussions. I heard the League pour forth their Anti-Corn-Law[117] arguments more than a hundred times, while I was in England, but never, I can assure you, never did I hear such dull, tedious, trivial stuff, brought forward with such a degree of self-complacency. I was never before so disappointed. What was carried on did not merit the name of a discussion—it was mere pot-house talk. The great scientific luminaries never ventured themselves upon the field of political economy, in the strict sense of the word. I shall not repeat to you all the worn-out stuff which was brought forward on the first two days. Read two or three numbers of the *League* or the *Manchester Guardian,* and you will find all that was said, except, perhaps, a few specious sentences brought forward by M. Wolowski, which he, however, had stolen from M. Bastiat's (chief of the French Free Traders) pamphlet of *Sophismes économiques.* Free Traders did not expect to meet with any other opposition, but that of M. Rittinghausen, a German Protectionist, and generally an insipid fellow. But up got M. Duchateau, a French manufacturer and Protectionist—a man who spoke for his purse, just as Mr. Ewart or Mr. Brown spoke for theirs, and gave them such a terrible opposition, that on the second day of the discussion, a great number, even of Free Traders, avowed that they had been beaten in argument. They took, however, their revenge at the vote—the resolutions passed, of course, almost unanimously.

On the third day, a question was discussed which interests your readers. It was this: "Will the carrying out of universal Free Trade benefit the working classes?" The affirmative was supported by Mr. Brown, the South Lancashire Free Trader, in a lengthy speech, in English; he and Mr. Wilson were the only ones who spoke that language, the remainder all spoke French—Dr. Bowring, very well—Colonel Thompson, tolerably—Mr. Ewart, dreadfully. He repeated a part of the old League documents, in a whining tone, very much like a Church-of-England parson.

After him got up Mr. *Weerth,* of Rhenish Prussia. You know, I believe, this gentleman—a young tradesman whose poetry is well known and very much liked throughout Germany, and who, during several years' stay in Yorkshire, was an eye-witness of the condition of the working people. He has a great many friends amongst them there, who will be glad to see that he has not forgotten them. As his speech will be to your readers the most interesting feature of the whole Congress, I shall report it at some length. He spoke as follows[118]:

"Gentlemen—You are discussing the influence of Free Trade upon the condition of the working classes. You profess the greatest possible sympathy for those classes. I am very glad of it, but yet I am astonished not to see a representative of the working classes amongst you! The monied classes of France are represented by a peer—those of England by several M.P.s.—those of Belgium by an ex-minister—and even those of Germany by a gentleman who gave us a faithful description of the state of that country. But where, I ask you, are the representatives of the working men? I see them nowhere; and, therefore, gentlemen, allow me to take up the defence of their interests. I beg to speak to you on behalf of the working people, and principally on behalf of those five millions of English working men, amongst whom I spent several of the most pleasant years of my life, whom I know and whom I cherish. (Cheers.) Indeed, gentlemen, the working people stand in need of some generosity. Hitherto they have not been treated like men, but like beasts of burden, nay—like merchandise, like machines; the English manufacturers know this so well, that they never say, we employ so many workmen, but so many hands. The monied classes, acting upon this principle, have never hesitated a moment to profit by their services as long as they require them, and then turn them out upon the streets, as soon as there is no longer any profit to be squeezed out of them. Thus the condition of these outcasts of modern society has become such, that it cannot be made worse. Look wherever you like; to the banks of the Rhone; into the dirty and pestilential lanes of Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham; on the hills of Saxony and Silesia, or the plains of Westphalia; everywhere you will meet with the same pale starvation, the same gloomy despair, in the eyes of men who in vain claim their rights and their position in civilised society." (Great sensation.)

Mr. Weerth then declared his opinion to be, that the protective system in reality did not protect the working people, but that Free Trade—and he told it them plainly and distinctly, although he himself was a Free Trader—that Free Trade would never change their miserable condition. He did not at all join in the delusions of the Free Traders, as to the beneficial effects of the carrying out of their system upon the working classes. On the contrary, Free Trade, the full realisation of free competition, would force the working people as much into a keener competition amongst themselves as it would make capitalists compete more selfishly against each other. The perfect freedom of competition would inevitably give an enormous impulse to the invention of new machinery, and thus supersede more workmen than even now were daily superseded. It would stimulate production in every way, but for this very reason it would stimulate overproduction, overstocking of markets, and commercial revulsions, just in the same measure. The Free Traders pretended that those terrible revulsions would cease under a system of commercial freedom; why, just the contrary would be the case, they would increase and multiply more than ever. Possible, nay certain it was, that at first the greater cheapness of provisions would benefit the workpeople,—that a lessened cost of production would increase consumption and the demand for labour, but that

advantage very soon would be turned into misery, the competition of the working people amongst themselves would soon reduce them to the former level of misery and starvation. After these and other arguments (which appeared to be quite novel to the meeting, for they were listened to with the greatest attention, although *The Times* reporter deigns to rid himself of them with the impudent but significant sneer—"Chartist commonplace"[a]), Mr. *Weerth* concluded as follows:

"And do not think, gentlemen, that these are but my individual opinions; they are the opinions, too, of the English working men, a class whom I cherish and respect, because they are intelligent and energetic men, indeed, (cheers, "by courtesy") I shall prove that by a few facts. During full six years, the gentlemen of the League, whom we see here, courted the support of the working people, but in vain. The working men never forgot that the capitalists were their natural enemies; they recollected the League riots of 1842,[119] and the masters' opposition against the Ten Hours Bill. It was only towards the end of 1845, that the Chartists, the élite of the working classes, associated for a moment with the League, in order to crush their common enemy, the landed aristocracy. But it was for a moment only, and never were they deceived by the delusive promises of Cobden, Bright and Co., nor did they hope the fulfilment of cheap bread, high wages, and plenty to do. No, not for a moment did they cease to trust in their own exertions only; to form a distinct party, led on by distinct chiefs, by the indefatigable Duncombe, and by Feargus O'Connor, who, in spite of all calumnies,—(here Mr. Weerth looked at Dr. Bowring, who made a quick, convulsive movement)—who, in spite of all calumnies, within a few weeks will sit upon the same bench with you in the House of Commons.[120] In the name, then, of those millions who do not believe that Free Trade will do wonders for them, I call upon you to seek for some other means to effectively better their condition. Gentlemen, I call upon you for your own interests. You have no longer to fear the Emperor of all the Russias; you dread not an invasion of Cossacks, but if you do not take care you will have to fear the irruption of your own workmen, and they will be more terrible to you than all the Cossacks in the world. Gentlemen, the workpeople want no more words from you, they want deeds. And you have no reason to be astonished at that. They recollect very well, that in 1830 and 31, when they conquered the Reform Bill for you in London, when they fought for you in the streets of Paris and Brussels,[121] that then they were courted, shaken hands with, and highly praised; but that when a few years after they demanded bread, then they were received with grape shot and the bayonet. ("Oh! no, no! yes, yes! Buzançais, Lyons.")[122] I repeat, therefore, to you, carry your Free Trade, it will be well; but think, at the same time, about other measures for the working classes, or you will repent it." (Loud cheers.)

Immediately after Mr. Weerth, up got Dr. *Bowring* to reply.

"Gentlemen," said he, "I can tell you that the hon. member who has just sat down has not been elected by the English working people to represent them in this Congress. On the contrary, the English people generally have given us their suffrages for this purpose, and, therefore, we claim our places as their true representatives."

He then went on to show the beneficial effects of Free Trade, as proved by the increased importation of articles of food into England

[a] "Free Trade Congress in Brussels" in *The Times*, September 20, 1847.— *Ed.*

since the introduction of last year's tariff.[a] So many eggs, so many cwt. of butter, cheese, ham, bacon, so many heads of cattle, etc., etc.; who could have eaten all that if not the working people of England? He quite forgot, however, telling us what quantities of the same articles have been produced less in England since foreign competition has been admitted. He took it for granted that increased importation was a decisive proof of increased consumption. He never mentioned wherefrom the working people of Manchester, Bradford, and Leeds, who now walk the streets and cannot get work, wherefrom these men got the money to pay for this supposed increase of consumption and Free Trade comforts, for we never heard of the masters making them presents of eggs, butter, cheese, ham, and meat, for not working at all. He never said a word about the present depressed state of the trade, which in every public paper is represented as really unexampled. He seemed not to know that all the predictions of the Free Traders since the carrying of the measures have proved just the reverse of reality. He had not a word of sympathy for the sufferings of the working classes, but, on the contrary, represented their present gloomy condition as the brightest, happiest, and most comfortable they could reasonably desire.

The English working people, now, may choose betwixt their two representatives. A host of others followed, who spoke about every imaginable subject upon earth, except upon the one under discussion. Mr. M'Adam, M. P. for Belfast (?), spun an eternally long yarn upon flax-spinning in Ireland, and almost killed the meeting with statistics. Mr. Ackersdijk, a Dutch professor, spoke about Old Holland and Young Holland, the university of Liège, Walpole, and De Witt. M. Van de Casteele spoke about France, Belgium, and the ministry. M. Asher, of Berlin, about German patriotism and some new article he called spiritual manufacture. M. Den Tex, a Dutchman, about God knows what. At last, the whole meeting being half asleep, was awakened by M. Wolowski, who returned to the question and replied to Mr. Weerth. His speech, like all speeches delivered by Frenchmen, proved how much the French capitalists dread the fulfilment of Mr. Weerth's prophecies; they speak with such pretended sympathy, such canting and whining of the sufferings of the working classes, that one might take it all for good earnest, were it not too flagrantly contradicted by the roundness of their bellies, by the stamp of hypocrisy deeply imprinted on their faces, by the pitiful remedies they propose and by the unmistakeably striking contrast between their words and their deeds. Nor have they

[a] i.e., the lifting of heavy duties on imported corn in 1846.— *Ed.*

ever succeeded in deceiving one single working man. Then, up got the Duc d'Harcourt, peer of France, and claimed, too, for the French capitalists, deputies, etc., present the right of representing the French working people. They do so in the same way as Dr. Bowring represents the English Chartists. Then spoke Mr. James Wilson, repeating most brazen-facedly the most worn-out League arguments, in the drowsy tone of a Philadelphia quaker.

You see from this, what a nice discussion it was. Dr. Marx, of Brussels, whom you know as by far the most talented representative of German Democracy, had also claimed his turn to speak. He had prepared a speech, which, if it had been delivered, would have made it impossible for the congressional "gents" to vote upon the question. But Mr. Weerth's opposition had made them shy. They resolved to let none speak, of whose orthodoxy they were not quite sure. Thus, Messrs Wolowski, Wilson, and the whole precious lot spoke against time, and when it was four o'clock, there were still six or seven gentlemen who wanted to speak, but the chairman[a] closed the discussion abruptly, and the whole set of fools, ignorants, and knaves called a congress of political economists, voted all votes against one (the poor German fool of a Protectionist aforesaid)—the Democrats did not vote at all—that Free Trade is extremely beneficial to the working people, and will free them from all misery and distress.

As Mr. Marx's speech, although not delivered, contains the very best and most striking refutation of this barefaced lie, which can be imagined, and as its contents, in spite of so many hundred pages having been written *pro* and *con* upon the subject, will yet read quite novel in England, I enclose you some extracts from it.

## SPEECH OF DR. MARX ON PROTECTION, FREE TRADE, AND THE WORKING CLASSES

There are two sects of protectionists. The first sect, represented in Germany by Dr. List, who never intended to protect manual labour, on the contrary, they demanded protective duties in order to crush manual labour by machinery, to supersede patriarchal manufacture by modern manufacture. They always intended to prepare the reign of the monied classes (the *bourgeoisie*), and more particularly that of the large manufacturing capitalists. They openly proclaimed the ruin of petty manufacturers, of small tradesmen, and small farmers, as an event to be regretted, indeed, but quite inevitable, at the same time. The second school of protectionists, required not only

[a] Charles de Brouckère.— *Ed.*

protection, but absolute prohibition. They proposed to protect manual labour against the invasion of machinery, as well as against foreign competition. They proposed to protect by high duties, not only home manufactures, but also home agriculture, and the production of raw materials at home. And where did this school arrive at? At the prohibition, not only of the importation of foreign manufactured produce, but of the progress of the home manufacture itself. Thus the whole protective system inevitably got upon the horns of this dilemma. Either it protected the progress of home manufactures, and then it sacrificed manual labour, or it protected manual labour, and then it sacrificed home manufactures. Protectionists of the first sect, those who conceived the progress of machinery, of division of labour, and of competition, to be irresistible, told the working classes, "At any rate if you are to be squeezed out, you had better be squeezed by your own countrymen, than by foreigners." Will the working classes for ever bear with this? I think not. Those who produce all the wealth and comforts of the rich, will not be satisfied with that poor consolation. They will require more substantial comforts in exchange for substantial produce. But the protectionists say, "After all, we keep up the state of society as it is at present. We ensure to the working man, somehow or other, the employment he wants. We take care that he shall not be turned out of work in consequence of foreign competition." So be it. Thus, in the best case, the protectionists avow that they are unable to arrive at anything better than the continuation of the status quo. Now the working classes want not the continuation of their actual condition, but a change for the better. A last refuge yet stands open to the protectionist. He will say that he is not at all adverse to social reform in the interior of a country, but that the first thing to ensure their success will be to shut out any derangement which might be caused by foreign competition. "My system," he says, "is no system of social reform, but if we are to reform society, had we not better do so within our own country, before we talk about reforms in our relations with other countries?" Very specious, indeed, but under this plausible appearance, there is hid a very strange contradiction. The protectionist system, while it gives arms to the capital of a country against the capital of foreign countries, while it strengthens capital against foreigners, believes that this capital, thus armed, thus strengthened, will be weak, impotent, and feeble, when opposed to labour. Why, that would be appealing to the mercy of capital, as if capital, considered as such, could ever be merciful. Why, social reforms are never carried by the weakness of the strong, but always by the strength of the weak. But it is not at all necessary to insist on

this point. From the moment the protectionists agree that social reforms do not necessarily follow from, and that they are not part and parcel of their system, but form quite a distinct question, from that moment they abandon the question, which we discuss. We may, therefore, leave them in order to review the effects of Free Trade upon the condition of the working classes. The problem: What will be the influence of the perfect unfettering of trade upon the situation of the working classes, is very easy to be resolved. It is not even a problem. If there is anything clearly exposed in political economy, it is the fate attending the working classes under the reign of Free Trade. All those laws developed in the classical works on political economy, are strictly true under the supposition only, that trade be delivered from all fetters, that competition be perfectly free, not only within a single country, but upon the whole face of the earth. These laws, which A. Smith, Say, and Ricardo have developed, the laws under which wealth is produced and distributed—these laws grow more true, more exact, then cease to be mere abstractions, in the same measure in which Free Trade is carried out. And the master of the science, when treating of any economical subject, tells us every moment that all their reasonings are founded upon the supposition that all fetters, yet existing, are to be removed from trade. They are quite right in following this method. For they make no arbitrary abstractions, they only remove from their reasoning a series of accidental circumstances. Thus it can justly be said, that the economists—Ricardo and others—know more about society as it will be, than about society as it is. They know more about the future than about the present. If you wish to read in the book of the future, open Smith, Say, Ricardo. There you will find described, as clearly as possible, the condition which awaits the working man under the reign of perfect Free Trade. Take, for instance, the authority of Ricardo, authority than which there is no better. What is the natural normal price of the labour of, economically speaking, a working man? Ricardo replies, "Wages reduced to their minimum—their lowest level." Labour is a commodity as well as any other commodity.[123] Now the price of a commodity is determined by the time necessary to produce it. What then is necessary to produce the commodity of labour? Exactly that which is necessary to produce the sum of commodities indispensable to the sustenance and the repairing of the wear and tear of the labourer, to enable him to live and to propagate, somehow or other, his race. We are, however, not to believe that the working man will never be elevated above this lowest level, nor that he never will be depressed below it. No, according to this law, the working classes will be for a time more

happy, they will have for a time more than the minimum, but this surplus will be the supplement only for what they will have less than the minimum at another time, the time of industrial stagnation. That is to say, that during a certain space of time, which is always periodical, in which trade passes through the circle of prosperity, overproduction, stagnation, crisis—that, taking the average of what the labourer received more, and what he received less, than the minimum, we shall find that on the whole he will have received neither more or less than the minimum; or, in other words, that the working class, as a class, will have conserved itself, after many miseries, many sufferings, and many corpses left upon the industrial battle field. But what matters that? The class exists, and not only it exists, but it will have increased. This law, that the lowest level of wages is the natural price of the commodity of labour, will realise itself in the same measure with Ricardo's supposition that Free Trade will become a reality. We accept every thing that has been said of the advantages of Free Trade. The powers of production will increase, the tax imposed upon the country by protective duties will disappear, all commodities will be sold at a cheaper price. And what, again, says Ricardo? "That labour being equally a commodity, will equally sell at a cheaper price"—that you will have it for very little money indeed, just as you will have pepper and salt. And then, in the same way as all other laws of political economy will receive an increased force, a surplus of truth, by the realisation of Free Trade—in the same way the law of population, as exposed by Malthus, will under the reign of Free Trade develop itself in as fine dimensions as can possibly be desired. Thus you have to choose: Either you must disavow the whole of political economy as it exists at present, or you must allow that under the freedom of trade the whole severity of the laws of political economy will be applied to the working classes. Is that to say that we are against Free Trade? No, we are for Free Trade, because by Free Trade all economical laws, with their most astounding contradictions, will act upon a larger scale, upon a greater extent of territory, upon the territory of the whole earth; and because from the uniting of all these contradictions into a single group, where they stand face to face, will result the struggle which will itself eventuate in the emancipation of the proletarians.

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"From Our German Correspondent"

# Frederick Engels

## THE COMMUNISTS AND KARL HEINZEN[124]

### FIRST ARTICLE

[*Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 79, October 3, 1847]

*Brussels*, September 26. Today's number of the *D[eutsche]-Br[üsseler]-Z[ei]t[un]g* contains an article by Heinzen[a] in which under the pretext of defending himself against a trivial accusation by the editors, he embarks on a long polemic against the Communists.

The editors advise both sides to drop the polemic. In that case however they ought only to reproduce that part of Heinzen's article in which Heinzen really defends himself against the accusation of having attacked the Communists first. Even if "Heinzen has no paper at his disposal", that is no reason for placing one at his disposal for the publication of attacks which the editors of the paper themselves consider stupid.

Incidentally, no greater service could have been rendered to the Communists than has been rendered through the publication of this article. Sillier and more narrow-minded criticisms than those Heinzen here makes of the Communists have never been made of any party. The article is the most dazzling vindication of the Communists. It proves that if they had not already attacked Heinzen, they would be obliged to do so at once.

At the very outset Herr Heinzen presents himself as the representative of all the non-communist German radicals; his intention is to debate with the Communists as one party with another. He "is entitled to demand", he announces with the greatest assurance what "must be expected of" the Communists, what "must be demanded of them", what the "duty of real Communists is". He

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[a] Published as a statement in the Polemik column with a note by the editors entitled "Karl Heinzen und die Kommunisten".— *Ed.*

identifies *his* differences with the Communists in all respects with those "the German republicans and democrats" have with them and speaks of "*we*" in the name of these republicans.

Who is Herr Heinzen, then, and what does he represent?

Herr Heinzen is a former liberal, lower-ranking civil servant who in 1844 was still enthusiastic about legitimate progress and the wretched German Constitution, and who at best confessed in a confidential whisper that a republic might be desirable and possible, of course in the far distant future. Herr Heinzen was wrong however about the possibility of legal resistance in Prussia. The bad book he wrote on the bureaucracy[a] (even Jacob Venedey wrote a far better book about Prussia years ago[b]) compelled him to flee the country. Now the truth dawned on him. He declared legal resistance to be impossible, became a revolutionary and naturally a republican as well. In Switzerland he made the acquaintance of that *savant sérieux*[c] Ruge, who taught him the little philosophy he has, consisting of a confused hotch-potch of Feuerbachian atheism and humanism, reminiscences of Hegel and rhetorical phrases from Stirner. Thus equipped, Herr Heinzen considered himself mature and inaugurated his revolutionary propaganda, leaning on Ruge to the right and Freiligrath to the left.

We are most certainly not criticising Herr Heinzen for his transition from liberalism to bloodthirsty radicalism. But we do maintain that he has made this transition as a result of merely personal circumstances. As long as Herr Heinzen was able to put up legal resistance, he attacked all those who admitted the necessity of a revolution. Scarcely was legal resistance rendered impossible for *him* when he declared it to be impossible absolutely, without taking into account that for the present this resistance is still perfectly possible for the German bourgeoisie, which is constantly putting up a highly legal resistance. Scarcely had the way back been cut off for *him* when he declared the necessity of an immediate revolution. Instead of studying conditions in Germany, taking overall stock of them and deducing from this what progress, what development and what steps were necessary and possible, instead of obtaining for himself a clear picture of the complex situation of the individual classes in Germany with regard to each other and to the government and concluding from this what policy was to be followed, instead, in a word, of accommodating himself to the development of Germany, Herr

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[a] K. Heinzen, *Die Preussische Bureaukratie.—Ed.*

[b] J. Venedey, *Preussen und Preussenthum.— Ed.*

[c] Serious scholar.— *Ed.*

Heinzen quite unceremoniously demands that the development of Germany should accommodate itself to him.

Herr Heinzen was a violent opponent of philosophy as long as it remained *progressive.* Scarcely had it become reactionary, scarcely had it become the refuge of all waverers, weaklings and literary hacks, when Herr Heinzen did himself the disservice of joining it. And worse still, fate would have it that Herr Ruge, who himself has been a mere proselyte all his life, has found his only proselyte in Herr Heinzen. Herr Heinzen is thus condemned to provide Herr Ruge with the consolation that at least one person believed he had penetrated his verbal edifices.

For what end is Herr Heinzen actually working then? For the instant establishment of a German republic combining American and 1793 traditions with a few measures borrowed from the Communists, and looking very black, red and gold.[125] As a result of its industrial lethargy, Germany occupies such a wretched position in Europe that it can never seize an initiative, never be the first to proclaim a great revolution, never establish a republic on its own account without France and England. Any German republic that is supposed to be created independently of the development of the civilised countries, any German revolution that is supposed to be carried out on its own and, as happens in Herr Heinzen's case, leaves the real development of classes in Germany totally out of consideration, any such republic or revolution is nothing but black, red and gold day-dreaming. And in order to make this glorious German republic even more glorious, Herr Heinzen garnishes it with Feuerbachian, Rugified humanism, and proclaims it as the kingdom "of man" which is almost at hand. And the Germans are supposed to make something of all this topsy-turvy day-dreaming?

But how does the great "agitator" Herr Heinzen conduct his propaganda? He declares the princes to be the chief authors of all poverty and distress. This assertion is not only ridiculous but exceedingly damaging. Herr Heinzen could not flatter the German princes, those impotent and feeble-minded puppets, more than by attributing to them fantastic, preternatural, daemonic omnipotence. If Herr Heinzen asserts that the princes can do so much evil, he is thereby also conceding them the power to perform as many good works. The conclusion this leads to is not the necessity of a revolution but the pious desire for a virtuous prince, for a good Emperor Joseph. In any case, the people know far better than Herr Heinzen who their oppressors are. Herr Heinzen will never transfer to the princes the hatred which the serf feels for the feudal lord and the worker for his employer. But of course Herr Heinzen is working in

the interests of the landowners and capitalists when he puts the blame for the exploitation of the people by these two classes not on them but on the princes; and the exploitation by the landowners and capitalists is after all surely responsible for nineteen-twentieths of all the misery in Germany!

Herr Heinzen calls for an immediate insurrection. He has leaflets printed[a] to this effect and attempts to distribute them in Germany. We would ask whether blindly lashing out with such senseless propaganda is not injurious in the highest degree to the interests of German democracy. We would ask whether experience has not proved how useless it is. Whether, at a time of far greater unrest, in the thirties, hundreds of thousands of such leaflets, pamphlets, etc., were not distributed in Germany and whether a single one of them had any success whatever. We would ask whether any person who is in his right mind at all can imagine that the people will pay any attention whatever to political sermonising and exhortations of this kind. We would ask whether Herr Heinzen has ever done anything else in his leaflets except exhort and sermonise. We would ask whether it is not positively ridiculous to trumpet calls for revolution out into the world in this way, without sense or understanding, without knowledge or consideration of circumstances.

What is the task of a party press? To debate, first and foremost, to explain, to expound, to defend the party's demands, to rebut and refute the claims and assertions of the opposing party. What is the task of the German democratic press? To demonstrate the necessity for democracy by the worthlessness of the present government, which by and large represents the nobility, by the inadequacy of the constitutional system that brings the bourgeoisie to the helm, by the impossibility of the people helping itself so long as it does not have political power. Its task is to reveal the oppression of the proletarians, small peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie, for in Germany these constitute the "people", by the bureaucracy, the nobility and the bourgeoisie; how not only political but above all social oppression has come about, and by what means it can be eliminated; its task is to show that the conquest of political power by the proletarians, small peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie is the first condition for the application of these means. Its task is further to examine the extent to which a rapid realisation of democracy may be expected, what resources the party can command and what other parties it must ally itself with as long as it is too weak to act alone.—Well, and has Herr Heinzen done even one of these things?

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[a] K. Heinzen, "Teutsche Revolution. Gesammelte Flugschriften".— *Ed.*

No. He has not put himself to so much trouble. He has revealed absolutely nothing to the people, in other words to the proletarians, small peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie. He has never examined the position of the classes and parties. He has done nothing but play variations on the *one* theme: Fight'em, fight'em, fight'em!

And to whom does Herr Heinzen address his revolutionary sermonising? First and foremost to the small peasants, to that class which in our day and age is least of all capable of seizing a revolutionary initiative. For 600 years, all progressive movements have issued so exclusively from the towns that the independent democratic movements of country people (Wat Tyler, Jack Cade, the Jacquerie, the Peasants' War[126]) were firstly always reactionary manifestations and were secondly always crushed. The industrial proletariat of the towns has become the vanguard of all modern democracy; the urban petty bourgeoisie and still more the peasants depend on its initiative completely. The French Revolution of 1789 and the most recent history of England, France and the eastern states of America prove this. And Herr Heinzen hopes the peasants will fight now, in the nineteenth century?

But Herr Heinzen also promises social reforms. Of course, the indifference of the people towards his appeals has gradually forced him to. And what kind of reforms are these? They are such as the *Communists* themselves suggest in preparation for the abolition of private property. The only point Herr Heinzen makes that deserves recognition he has borrowed from the Communists, the Communists whom he attacks so violently, and even that is reduced in his hands to utter nonsense and mere day-dreaming. All measures to restrict competition and the accumulation of capital in the hands of individuals, all restriction or suppression of the law of inheritance, all organisation of labour by the state, etc., all these measures are not only possible as revolutionary measures, but actually necessary. They are possible because the whole insurgent proletariat is behind them and maintains them by force of arms. They are possible, despite all the difficulties and disadvantages which are alleged against them by economists, because these very difficulties and disadvantages will compel the proletariat to go further and further until private property has been completely abolished, in order not to lose again what it has already won. They are possible as preparatory steps, temporary transitional stages towards the abolition of private property, but not in any other way.

Herr Heinzen however wants all these measures as permanent, final measures. They are not to be a preparation for anything, they are to be definitive. They are for him not a means but an end. They

are not designed for a revolutionary but for a peaceful, bourgeois condition. But this makes them impossible and at the same time reactionary. The economists of the bourgeoisie are quite right in respect of Herr Heinzen when they present these measures as reactionary compared with free competition. Free competition is the ultimate, highest and most developed form of existence of private property. All measures, therefore, which start from the basis of private property and which are nevertheless directed against free competition, are reactionary and tend to restore more primitive stages in the development of property, and for that reason they must finally be defeated once more by competition and result in the restoration of the present situation. These objections the bourgeoisie raises, which lose all their force as soon as one regards the above social reforms as pure *mesures de salut public,* as revolutionary and transitory measures, these objections are devastating as far as Herr Heinzen's peasant-socialist black, red and gold republic is concerned.

Herr Heinzen of course imagines that property relations, the law of inheritance, etc., can at will be altered and trimmed to shape. Herr Heinzen—one of the most ignorant men of this century—may, of course, not know that the property relations of any given era are the necessary result of the mode of production and exchange of that era. Herr Heinzen may not know that one cannot transform large-scale landownership into small-scale without the whole pattern of agriculture being transformed, and that otherwise large-scale landownership will very rapidly re-assert itself. Herr Heinzen may not know what a close relationship exists between today's large-scale industry, the concentration of capital and the creation of the proletariat. Herr Heinzen may not know that a country as industrially dependent and subservient as Germany can never presume to undertake on its own account a transformation of its property relations other than one that is in the interests of the bourgeoisie and of free competition.

In short: with the Communists these measures have sense and reason because they are not conceived as arbitrary measures but as consequences which will necessarily and of themselves ensue from the development of industry, agriculture, trade and communications, from the development of the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat which is dependent on these; which will ensue not as definitive measures but as transitory ones, *mesures de salut public* arising from the transitory struggle between the classes itself.

With Herr Heinzen, they have neither sense nor reason, because they take the form of quite arbitrarily conceived, obtusely bourgeois

visions of putting the world to rights; because there is no mention of a connection between these measures and historical development; because Herr Heinzen is not in the least concerned about the material feasibility of his proposals; because it is not his aim to formulate industrial necessities but on the contrary to overturn them by decree.

The same Herr Heinzen who is only able to adopt the demands of the Communists after he has so cruelly confused them and transformed them into pure fantasies, that same Herr Heinzen criticises the Communists for "confusing the minds of the uneducated", for "chasing fantasies" and for "failing to keep their feet on the ground (!) of reality"!

There we have Herr Heinzen in all his activity as an agitator, and we make no bones about our opinion that it brings nothing but harm and discredit upon the whole German radical party. A party writer requires quite different qualities from those possessed by Herr Heinzen, who, as we said, is one of the most ignorant men of our century. Herr Heinzen may have the best will in the world, he may be the most steadfast man in his convictions in the whole of Europe. We also know that he is personally a man of honour and has courage and endurance. But all that does not make him a party writer. To be that, one requires more than convictions, good will and a stentorian voice, to be that, one requires a little more intelligence, a little more lucidity, a better style and more knowledge than Herr Heinzen possesses and, as long experience has proved, than he is capable of acquiring.

Herr Heinzen's flight has faced him with the necessity of becoming a party writer nevertheless. He was compelled to try to form a party of his own among the radicals. Thus he got into a situation he was not equal to, in which through his unsuccessful efforts to meet the demands of this situation he only makes himself ridiculous. He would make the German radicals look equally ridiculous if they left him the pretence that he was representing them, that he was making himself ridiculous in their name.

But Herr Heinzen does not represent the German radicals. They have quite other representatives, e.g., Jacoby and others. Herr Heinzen represents no one and is recognised by no one as their representative, apart perhaps from some few German bourgeois who sent him money for the purposes of agitation. But we are mistaken: one class in Germany recognises him as its representative, adores him and roars its head off for him, outshouts whole tables of drinkers in the taverns for him (just as, according to Herr Heinzen, the Communists "outshouted the whole literary opposi-

tion"). This class is the numerous, enlightened, noble-minded and influential class of *commis-voyageurs*.[a]

And this Herr Heinzen demands that the Communists should recognise him as representative of the radical bourgeoisie and debate with him in that capacity?

For the moment, these are reasons enough to justify the polemic the Communists are conducting against Herr Heinzen. In the next issue we shall investigate the criticisms which Herr Heinzen makes of the Communists in No. 77 of the paper.

If we were not completely convinced that Herr Heinzen is utterly incompetent as a party writer, we would advise him to subject Marx's *Misère de la Philosophie* to close study. But as things are, in response to his advice to us to read Fröbel's *Neue Politik*,[b] we can only give him the alternative advice to maintain absolute silence and wait quietly until "the fighting starts". We are convinced that Herr Heinzen will prove as good a batallion commander as he is a bad writer.

So that Herr Heinzen cannot complain about anonymous attacks, we are signing this article.

*F. Engels*

## SECOND ARTICLE

[*Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 80, October 7, 1847]

The Communists—this we established in the first article—are attacking Heinzen not because he is no Communist, but because he is a bad democratic party writer. They are attacking him not in their capacity as *Communists* but in their capacity as *democrats*. It is purely coincidental that it is precisely the Communists who have opened the polemic against him; even if there were no Communists at all in the world, the democrats would still have to take the field against Heinzen. In this whole controversy it is only a question of: 1. whether Herr Heinzen as a party writer and agitator is capable of serving German democracy, which we deny; 2. whether Herr Heinzen's manner of agitation is a correct one, whether it is merely tolerable, which we likewise deny. It is therefore a question neither of communism nor of democracy, but just of Herr Heinzen's person and his personal eccentricities.

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[a] Commercial travellers.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Fröbel, "System der socialen Politik", zweite Auflage der *Neuen Politik*, Th. I-II (the first edition entitled *Neue Politik* appeared under the pen-name "Junius").—*Ed.*

Far from starting futile quarrels with the democrats, in the present circumstances, the Communists for the time being rather take the field as democrats themselves in all practical party matters. In all civilised countries, democracy has as its necessary consequence the political rule of the proletariat, and the political rule of the proletariat is the first condition for all communist measures. As long as democracy has not been achieved, thus long do Communists and democrats fight side by side, thus long are the interests of the democrats at the same time those of the Communists. Until that time, the differences between the two parties are of a purely theoretical nature and can perfectly well be debated on a theoretical level without common action being thereby in any way prejudiced. Indeed, understandings will be possible concerning many measures which are to be carried out in the interests of the previously oppressed classes immediately after democracy has been achieved, e.g. the running of large-scale industry and the railways by the state, the education of all children at state expense, etc.

Now to Herr Heinzen.

Herr Heinzen declares the Communists had begun a quarrel with him, not he with them. The well-known argument of the street-porter, then, which we will readily concede to him. He calls his conflict with the Communists "the absurd split which the Communists have provoked in the camp of the German radicals". He says that as long as three years ago he had been concerned to prevent the approaching split as far as his powers and circumstances might permit. These fruitless exertions were followed, he says, by attacks on him by the Communists.

Herr Heinzen, as everyone perfectly well knows, was not yet in the *radical camp* three years ago. At that time Herr Heinzen was progressive-within-the-law and liberal. A split with him was therefore by no means a split in the camp of the *radicals.*

Herr Heinzen met some Communists here in Brussels at the beginning of 1845. Far from attacking Herr Heinzen for his ostensible political radicalism, they rather took the greatest trouble to bring the then liberal Herr Heinzen over to just this radicalism. But in vain. Herr Heinzen only became a democrat in Switzerland.

"I later became more and more convinced (!) of the need for a vigorous struggle against the Communists"—in other words, of the need for an absurd split in the radical camp! We ask the German democrats whether someone who contradicts himself so absurdly is fitted to be a party writer?

But who are the Communists by whom Herr Heinzen claims he was attacked? The above innuendoes and particularly the ensuing

reproaches against the Communists show who it was clearly. The Communists, we read,

> "were outshouting the whole camp of the literary opposition, confusing the minds of the uneducated, decrying even the most radical men in the most uninhibited manner, ... they were intent on paralysing the political struggle as far as possible, ... indeed, they were finally positively allying themselves ... even with reaction. Furthermore they often descended, obviously as a result of their doctrine, to *base and false intrigues* in practical life...."

Out of the fog and vagueness of these criticisms looms an easily recognisable figure: that of the literary hack, Herr Karl Grün. Three years ago Herr Grün had some personal dealings with Herr Heinzen, whereupon Herr Grün attacked Herr Heinzen in the *Trier'sche Zeitung*, Herr Grün attempted to outshout the whole camp of the literary opposition, Herr Grün strove to paralyse the political struggle as far as possible, etc.

But since when has Herr Grün been a representative of communism? If he thrust himself on the Communists three years ago, he has never been recognised as a Communist, he has never openly declared himself to be a Communist, and more than a year ago he thought it proper to inveigh against the Communists.

Moreover, even at that time, for Herr Heinzen's benefit, Marx repudiated Herr Grün, just as he later publicly showed him up in his true colours at the first opportunity.[a]

Concerning Herr Heinzen's final "base and false" insinuation about the Communists, one incident which occurred between Herr Grün and Herr Heinzen, and nothing more, lies behind this. This incident concerns the two gentlemen in question and not the Communists at all. We are not even so exactly acquainted with this incident as to be able to pass judgment on it. But let us assume Herr Heinzen is in the right. If he then, after Marx and other Communists have repudiated his adversary, after it has been shown beyond all doubt that his adversary was never a Communist, if Herr Heinzen then still presents the incident as a necessary consequence of communist doctrine, it is monstrously perfidious of him.

And furthermore, if in his above reproaches Herr Heinzen has in mind persons other than Herr Grün, he can only mean those true socialists whose admittedly reactionary theories have long ago been repudiated by the Communists. All members of this now completely

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[a] The reference is apparently to the "Declaration Against Karl Grün" (see this volume, pp. 72-74) and Chapter IV of Volume II of *The German Ideology* published in August-September 1847 in the journal *Das Westphälische Dampfboot* as an article under the title "Karl Grün: *Die Soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien* (Darmstadt, 1845) or the Historiography of True Socialism".—*Ed.*

dissolved movement who are capable of learning anything have come over to the Communists and are now themselves attacking true socialism wherever it still shows itself. Herr Heinzen is thus again speaking with his customary crass ignorance when he once more disinters these superannuated visions in order to lay them at the Communists' door. Whilst Herr Heinzen here reproaches the true socialists, whom he confuses with the Communists, he subsequently makes the same nonsensical criticisms of the Communists as the true socialists did. He thus has not even the right to attack the true socialists, he belongs, in one respect, to them himself. And whilst the Communists were writing sharp attacks on these socialists, the same Herr Heinzen was sitting in Zurich being initiated by Herr Ruge into those fragments of true socialism which had found a niche for themselves in the latter's confused brain. Herr Ruge had indeed found a pupil worthy of him!

But what of the real Communists then? Herr Heinzen speaks of honourable exceptions and talented men, of whom he foresees that they will reject communist solidarity (!). The Communists *have* already rejected solidarity with the writings and actions of the true socialists. Of all the above reproaches, not a single one applies to the Communists, unless it be the conclusion of the whole passage, which reads as follows:

> "The Communists ... in the arrogance of their imagined superiority laughed to scorn everything which is indispensable for forming the basis of an association of *honourable people.*"

Herr Heinzen appears to be alluding here to the fact that Communists have made fun of his sternly moral demeanour and mocked all those sacred and sublime ideas, virtue, justice, morality, etc., which Herr Heinzen imagines form the basis of all society. We accept this reproach. The Communists will not allow the moral indignation of that *honourable* man Herr Heinzen to prevent them from mocking these *eternal verities.* The Communists, moreover, maintain that these eternal verities are by no means the basis, but on the contrary the product, of the society in which they feature.

If, incidentally, Herr Heinzen foresaw that the Communists would reject solidarity with those people he takes it into his head to associate with them—what is the point of all his absurd reproaches and lying insinuations? If Herr Heinzen only knows the Communists from hearsay, as almost appears to be the case, if he knows so little who they are that he demands they should designate themselves more closely, and so to speak *introduce themselves* to him, what brazenness is this he exhibits in polemicising against them?

"A designation of those ... who ... actually represent communism or manifest it in its pure form would ... probably have to exclude completely the vast majority of those who base themselves upon communism and are *used for it,* and it would hardly be the people from the *Trier'sche Zeitung* alone who would protest against the assertion of such a claim."

And a few lines later:

"Those who are really Communists now *must be allowed* the consistency and *honesty*" (what a decent philistine speaks here!) "of coming forward and openly professing their doctrine and declaring their dissociation from those who are not Communists.... *They are under the moral obligation*" (how typical of the philistine these expressions are) "not to maintain *unscrupulously* (!) the *confusion* which is created in the minds of a thousand *suffering, uneducated minds* by the impossibility (!!), dreamt of or falsely advertised as a possibility, of finding a way, based on real conditions, to implement that doctrine (!). It is the *duty*" (the philistine again) "of the real Communists either completely to clarify things for all their unenlightened adherents and to lead them to a definite goal, or else to *detach themselves* from them and *not to use them.*"

If Herr Ruge had produced these last three periods, he could have been well pleased. Entirely matching the philistine demands is the philistine confusion of thought, which is concerned only with the matter and not with the form and for that very reason says the exact opposite of what it wants to say. Herr Heinzen demands that the real Communists should detach themselves from the merely seeming ones. They should put an end to the confusion which (that is what he *wants* to say) arises from the mixing up of two different trends. But as soon as the two words "Communists" and "confusion" collide in his mind, confusion arises there too. Herr Heinzen loses the thread; his constantly reiterated formula, that the Communists *in general* are confusing the minds of the uneducated, trips him up, he forgets the real Communists and the unreal Communists, he stumbles with farcical clumsiness over a host of impossibilities dreamt of or falsely advertised as possibilities, and finally falls flat on his face on the solid ground of real conditions, where he regains his faculty of reflection. Now he is reminded that he meant to talk about something quite different, that it was not a question of whether this or that was possible. He returns to his theme, but is still so dazed that he does not even cross out that magnificent sentence in which he executed the somersault just described.

So much for the style. Regarding the matter, we repeat that, honest German that he is, Herr Heinzen comes too late with his demands, and that the Communists repudiated those true socialists long ago. But then we see here once again that the application of sly insinuations is by no means irreconcilable with the character of a decent philistine. For Herr Heinzen gives it clearly enough to be

understood that the communist writers are only using the communist workers. He says in almost as many words that if these writers were to come forward openly with their intentions, the vast majority of those who are being used for communism would be excluded completely. He regards the communist writers as prophets, priests or preachers who possess a secret wisdom of their own but deny it to the uneducated in order to keep them on leading-strings. All his decent philistine demands that things *be clarified* for the *unenlightened* and that these persons must not be *used*, obviously proceed from the assumption that the literary representatives of communism have an interest in keeping the workers in the dark, as though they were merely using them, just as the *Illuminati*[127] wished to use the common people in the last century. This insipid idea also causes Herr Heinzen to burst forth with always inopportune talk about confusion in the minds of the uneducated, and compels him, as a penalty for not speaking his mind plainly, to perform stylistic somersaults.

We merely take note of these insinuations, we do not take issue with them. We leave it to the communist workers to pass judgment on them themselves.

At last, after all these preliminaries, diversions, appeals, insinuations and somersaults by Herr Heinzen, we come to his theoretical attacks on and reflections about the Communists.

Herr Heinzen

> "discerns the core of the communist doctrine simply in ... the abolition of private property (including that earned through labour) and in the principle of the communal utilisation of the earth's riches which follows inescapably from that abolition."

Herr Heinzen imagines communism is a certain *doctrine* which proceeds from a definite theoretical principle as its *core* and draws further conclusions from that. Herr Heinzen is very much mistaken. Communism is not a doctrine but a *movement*; it proceeds not from principles but from *facts*. The Communists do not base themselves on this or that philosophy as their point of departure but on the whole course of previous history and specifically its actual results in the civilised countries at the present time. Communism has followed from large-scale industry and its consequences, from the establishment of the world market, of the concomitant uninhibited competition, from the ever more violent and more universal trade crises, which have already become full-fledged crises of the world market, from the creation of the proletariat and the concentration of capital, from the ensuing class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie. Communism, insofar as it is a theory, is the theoretical expression of

the position of the proletariat in this struggle and the theoretical summation of the conditions for the liberation of the proletariat.

Herr Heinzen will now no doubt realise that in assessing communism he has to do rather more than discern its core simply in the abolition of private property; that he would do better to undertake certain studies in political economy than to gabble wildly about the abolition of private property; that he cannot know the first thing about the *consequences* of the abolition of private property if he does not also know its conditions.

However, in this respect, Herr Heinzen labours under such gross ignorance that he even says "the communal utilisation of the earth's riches" (another fine expression) is the *consequence* of the abolition of private property. Precisely the contrary is the case. Because large-scale industry, the development of machinery, communications and world trade are assuming such gigantic proportions that their exploitation by individual capitalists is becoming daily more impossible; because the mounting crises of the world market are the most striking proof of this; because the productive *forces* and the *means* of exchange which characterise the present *mode* of production and exchange are daily becoming increasingly more than individual exchange and private property can manage; because, in a word, the moment is approaching when communal management of industry, of agriculture and of exchange will become a material necessity for industry, agriculture and exchange themselves—for this reason private property will be abolished.

So when Herr Heinzen forcibly separates the abolition of private property, which is of course the condition for the liberation of the proletariat, from the conditions that attach to it, when he considers it quite out of all connection with the real world simply as an ivory-tower fantasy, it becomes a pure cliché about which he can only talk platitudinous nonsense. This he does as follows:

"By its above-mentioned casting-off of all private property..., communism necessarily also abolishes *individual existence.*" (So Herr Heinzen is reproaching us for wanting to turn people into Siamese twins.) "The consequence of this is once more ... the incorporation of each individual into a perhaps (!!) communally organised barracks ... economy." (Would the reader kindly note that this is avowedly only the consequence of Herr Heinzen's own absurd remarks about individual existence.) "By these means communism destroys ... individuality ... independence ... freedom." (The same old twaddle as we had from the true socialists and the bourgeoisie. As though there was any individuality to be destroyed in the individuals whom the division of labour has today turned against their will into cobblers, factory workers, bourgeois, lawyers, peasants, in other words, into slaves of a particular form of labour and of the mores, way of life, prejudices and blinkered attitudes, etc., that go with that form of labour!) "It sacrifices the individual person with its necessary attribute or basis" (that "*or*" is marvellous) "of *earned* private property to the 'phantom of the community or

society'" (is Stirner here as well?), "whereas the community cannot and should not" (should not!!) "be the aim but only the means for each individual person."

Herr Heinzen attaches particular importance to *earned* private property and in so doing once again proves his crass unfamiliarity with the matter on which he is speaking. Herr Heinzen's philistine justice, which allows to each man what he has earned, is unfortunately frustrated by large-scale industry. As long as large-scale industry is not so far advanced that it frees itself completely from the fetters of private property, thus long does it permit no other distribution of its products than that at present occurring, thus long will the capitalist pocket his profit and the worker increasingly know by practice just what a minimum wage is. M. Proudhon attempted to develop a system for *earned* property which would relate it to existing conditions, and, we all know, he failed spectacularly. Herr Heinzen, it is true, will never risk a similar experiment, for in order to do so he would need to study, and he will not do that. But let the example of M. Proudhon teach him to expose his earned property less to public scrutiny.

And if Herr Heinzen reproaches the Communists for chasing fantasies and failing to keep their feet on the ground of reality—to whom does this reproach properly apply?

Herr Heinzen goes on to say a number of other things which we need not enter into. We merely observe that his sentences get worse and worse the further he proceeds. The clumsiness of his language, which can never find the right word, would of itself suffice to discredit any party which acknowledged him as its literary representative. The solidity of his conviction constantly makes him say something quite different from what he intends to say. Thus each of his sentences contains a twofold nonsense: firstly the nonsense he intends to say, and secondly the one he doesn't intend to say but nevertheless says. We gave an example of it above. It only remains for us to observe that Herr Heinzen repeats his old superstition about the power of the princes when he says that the *power* which must be overthrown and which is none other than the power of the State, is and always has been the progenitor and preserver of all injustice, and that his aim is to establish a *State really based on justice* (!) and within this fantasy structure

"to undertake all those social reforms which have emerged in the course of events in general (!), as correct (!) in theory and possible (!) in practice"!!!

His intentions are as good as his style is bad, and that is the fate of the well-meaning in this bad world.

From seduction by the *Zeitgeist*,
Nature-nurtured sansculotte,
Dancing badly, but yet bearing
Good intentions in a bosom rough;
. . . . . .
Void of talent, yet a character.[a]

Our articles will fill Herr Heinzen with all the righteous indignation of an outraged honest philistine, but for all that he is not going to give up either his style of writing or his discreditable and ineffectual manner of agitation. We found his threat to string us up on the nearest lamp-post when the day for action and decision comes most entertaining.

In short: the Communists must co-operate with the German radicals and desire to do so. But they reserve the right to attack any writer who discredits the entire party. This, and no other, was our intention in attacking Heinzen.

Brussels, October 3, 1847

*F. Engels*

N. B. We have just received a pamphlet written by a worker[b]: *Der Heinzen'sche Staat, eine Kritik von Stephan*, Bern, Rätzer. If Herr Heinzen wrote half so well as this worker, he might be well satisfied. From this pamphlet Herr Heinzen can see clearly enough, amongst other things, why the workers want nothing to do with his peasant republic. We also observe that this pamphlet is the first written by a worker which does not adopt a moral attitude but attempts to trace the political struggles of the present back to the struggle of the various classes of society with one another.

Written on September 26 and October 3, 1847

First published in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* Nos. 79 and 80, October 3 and 7, 1847
Signed: *F. Engels*

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] H. Heine, *Atta Troll*, ch. 24.—*Ed.*
[b] Stephan Born.—*Ed.*

Mardi 26 Octobre 1847.

PRIX DE L'ABONNEMENT :

LA REFORME

PRIX DES INSERTIONS :

# Frederick Engels

## [THE COMMERCIAL CRISIS IN ENGLAND.— THE CHARTIST MOVEMENT.—IRELAND][128]

The commercial crisis to which England finds itself exposed at the moment is, indeed, more severe than any of the preceding crises. Neither in 1837 nor in 1842 was the depression as universal as at the present time. All the branches of England's vast industry have been paralysed at the peak of its development; everywhere there is stagnation, everywhere one sees nothing but workers thrown out on the streets. It goes without saying that such a state of affairs gives rise to extreme unrest among the workers who, exploited by the industrialists during the period of commercial prosperity, now find themselves dismissed *en masse* and abandoned to their fate. Consequently meetings of discontented workers are rapidly increasing. *The Northern Star,* the organ of the Chartist workers, uses more than seven of its large columns to report on meetings held in the past week[a]; the list of meetings announced for the present week fills another three columns. The same newspaper mentions a brochure published by a worker, Mr. John Noakes,[b] in which the author makes an open and direct attack on the right of the aristocracy to own its lands.

"English soil," he says, "is the property of the people, from whom our aristocrats seized it either by force or by trickery. The people must see that their inalienable right to property prevails; the proceeds of the land should be public property and used in the interest of the public. Perhaps I shall be told that these are revolutionary remarks.

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[a] Reports on the Chartist meetings in *The Northern Star* No. 521, October 16, 1847.— *Ed.*

[b] John Noakes, *The Right of the Aristocracy to the Soil, considered.* The report on its publication appeared in *The Northern Star* No. 522, October 23, 1847.—*Ed.*

Revolutionary or not, it is of no concern; if the people cannot obtain that which they need in a law, they must get it without law."

It will not seem surprising that in these circumstances the Chartists should have recourse to most unusual measures; their leader, the famous Feargus O'Connor, has just announced that he is shortly to leave for Scotland, where he will call meetings in all the towns and collect signatures for the national petition for the People's Charter, which will be sent to the next Parliament. At the same time, he announced that before the opening of Parliament, the Chartist press is to be increased by the addition of a daily newspaper, the *Democrat.*[129]

It will be recalled that at the last elections Mr. Harney, editor-in-chief of *The Northern Star,* was put forward as the Chartist candidate for Tiverton, a borough which is represented in Parliament by Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary. Mr. Harney, who won on the show of hands, decided to retire when Lord Palmerston demanded a poll.[130] Now something has happened which shows how the feelings of the inhabitants of Tiverton differ from those of the small number of parliamentary electors. There was a vacancy to fill on the borough council; the municipal electors, a far more numerous class than that of the parliamentary electors, gave the vacant seat to Mr. Rowcliffe, the person who had proposed Mr. Harney at the elections. Moreover, the Chartists are preparing all over England for the municipal elections which will take place throughout the country at the beginning of November.

But let us turn now to England's greatest manufacturing district, Lancashire, a part of the country which has suffered under the burden of industrial stagnation more than any other. The situation in Lancashire is alarming in the highest degree. Most of the factories have already stopped work entirely, and those which are still operating employ their workers for only two or at the most three days a week. But this is still not all: the industrialists of Ashton, a very important town for the cotton industry, have announced to their workers that in a week's time they are going to reduce wages by 10 per cent. This news, which is causing alarm among the workers, is spreading across the country. A few days later a meeting of workers' delegates from all over the county was held in Manchester; this meeting resolved to send a deputation to the owners to induce them not to carry out the threatened reduction and, if this deputation achieved no results, to announce a strike of all workers employed in the Lancashire cotton industry. This strike, together with the strike of the Birmingham iron-workers and miners which has already

started, would not fail to assume the same alarming dimensions which signalled the last general strike, that of 1842.[131] It could quite well become even more menacing for the government.

In the meantime starving Ireland is writhing in the most terrible convulsions. The workhouses are overflowing with beggars, the ruined property owners are refusing to pay the Poor Tax, and the hungry people gather in their thousands to ransack the barns and cattle-sheds of the farmers and even of the Catholic priests, who were still sacred to them a short time ago.

It looks as though the Irish will not die of hunger as calmly next winter as they did last winter. Irish immigration to England is getting more alarming each day. It is estimated that an average of 50,000 Irish arrive each year; the number so far this year is already over 220,000. In September, 345 were arriving daily and in October this figure increased to 511. This means that the competition between the workers will become stronger, and it would not be at all surprising if the present crisis caused such an uproar that it compelled the government to grant reforms of a most important nature.

Written on October 23, 1847

First published in *La Réforme*, October 26, 1847

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

# Frederick Engels

## THE MASTERS AND THE WORKERS IN ENGLAND[132]

### TO THE WORKER EDITORS OF *L'ATELIER*

Gentlemen,

I have just read in your October issue an article entitled: *Les maîtres et les ouvriers en Angleterre*; this article mentions a meeting reported by *la Presse* of so-called delegates of workers employed in the Lancashire cotton industry, a meeting which took place on August 29 last in Manchester. The resolutions passed at this meeting were such as to prove to *la Presse* that there is perfect harmony between capital and labour in England.

You did quite well, gentlemen, to reserve your judgment on the authenticity of a report which a newspaper of the French bourgeoisie has published, based on newspapers of the English bourgeoisie. The report is accurate, it is true; the resolutions were adopted just as *la Presse* gives them; there is only one small statement lacking in accuracy, but it is precisely this small inaccuracy that is the crux of the matter: the meeting which *la Presse* describes was not a meeting of *workers*, but a meeting of *foremen*.

Gentlemen, I spent two years in the heart of Lancashire itself, and these two years were spent among the workers; I saw them both at their public meetings and in their small committees, I knew their leaders and their speakers, and I think I can assure you that in no other country in the world will you find men more sincerely devoted to democratic principles or more firmly resolved to cast off the yoke of the capitalist exploiters, under which they find themselves suffering at present, than these Lancashire cotton factory workers. How, gentlemen, could these same workers whom I have seen with my own eyes throw several dozen factory owners off a meeting hall platform, whom I have seen, their eyes glinting and fists raised, cast

terror into the ranks of the bourgeois gathered on this platform, how, I repeat, could these same workers today pass a vote of thanks to their masters because the latter were kind enough to prefer a reduction in working hours to a reduction in wages?

But let us take a slightly closer look at the matter. Does not the reduction in work mean precisely the same thing for the worker as a reduction in wages? Evidently it does; in both cases the worker's position deteriorates to an equal extent. There was therefore no possible reason for the workers to thank their masters for having preferred the first method of reducing the worker's income to the second. However, gentlemen, if you study the English newspapers for late August, you will see that the cotton manufacturers had good reason to prefer a reduction in working hours to one in wages. At that time the price of raw cotton was rising; the same issue of the London *Globe* which reports the meeting in question[a] also says that *the Liverpool speculators were going to take over the cotton market* to produce an artificial rise in price. What do the Manchester manufacturers do in such cases? They send their foremen to meetings and make them pass resolutions like those which *la Presse* communicated to you. This is a tried and tested device which is used each time the speculators try to raise the price of cotton. It is a warning to the speculators to be careful not to attempt to raise the price too high; for in that case the manufacturers would reduce consumption and in so doing, inevitably produce a drop in price. So the meeting which gives *la Presse* grounds for so much rejoicing and acclamation is nothing but one of those foremen's assemblies which do not fool anyone in England.

In order to give you further proof of the extent to which this meeting was the exclusive work of the capitalists, it should suffice to tell you that the only newspaper to which the resolutions were sent, the newspaper from which all the other newspapers borrowed them, was the *Manchester Guardian*, the organ of the manufacturers. The democratic workers' paper, *The Northern Star*, also gives them; but adds that it has taken them from this capitalist newspaper, a damning observation in the eyes of the workers.[b]

Yours, etc.

Written about October 25, 1847

Printed according to the journal

First published in the journal *l'Atelier* No. 2, November 1847

Translated from the French

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[a] "General Suspension of Labour in Cotton Factories", in *The Globe*, September 2, 1847.— *Ed.*

[b] *The Northern Star* No. 515, September 4, 1847.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## MORALISING CRITICISM AND CRITICAL MORALITY[133]

### A CONTRIBUTION TO GERMAN CULTURAL HISTORY CONTRA KARL HEINZEN

[*Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 86, October 28, 1847]

Shortly before and during the period of the Reformation there developed amongst the Germans a type of literature whose very name is striking—*grobian* literature. In our own day we are approaching an era of revolution analogous to that of the sixteenth century. Small wonder that among the Germans grobian literature is emerging once more. Interest in historical development easily overcomes the aesthetic revulsion which this kind of writing provokes even in a person of quite unrefined taste and which it provoked back in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Flat, bombastic, bragging, thrasonical, putting on a great show of rude vigour in attack, yet hysterically sensitive to the same quality in others; brandishing the sword with enormous waste of energy, lifting it high in the air only to let it fall down flat; constantly preaching morality and constantly offending against it; sentiment and turpitude most absurdly conjoined; concerned only with the point at issue, yet always missing the point; using with equal arrogance petty-bourgeois scholarly semi-erudition against popular wisdom, and so-called "sound common sense" against science; discharging itself in ungovernable breadth with a certain complacent levity; clothing a philistine message in a plebeian form; wrestling with the literary language to give it, so to speak, a purely corporeal character; willingly pointing at the writer's body in the background, which is itching in every fibre to give a few exhibitions of its strength, to display its broad shoulders and publicly to stretch its limbs; proclaiming a healthy mind in a healthy body; unconsciously infected by the sixteenth century's most abstruse controversies and by its fever of the body; in thrall to dogmatic, narrow thinking and at the same time appealing to petty practice in the face

of all real thought; raging against reaction, reacting against progress; incapable of making the opponent seem ridiculous, but ridiculously abusing him through the whole gamut of tones; Solomon and Marcolph, Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, a visionary and a philistine in one person; a loutish form of indignation, a form of indignant loutishness; and suspended like an enveloping cloud over it all, the self-satisfied philistine's consciousness *of his own virtue*—such was the *grobian literature* of the sixteenth century. If our memory does not deceive us, the German folk anecdote has set up a lyrical monument to it in the song of *Heineke, der starke Knecht.* To Herr Heinzen belongs the credit of being one of the re-creators of grobian literature and in this field one of the German swallows healding the coming springtime of the nations.

Heinzen's manifesto against the Communists in No. 84 of the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* has been our most immediate instigation in studying that degenerate variety of literature whose historically interesting aspect for Germany we have indicated. We shall describe the literary species represented by Herr Heinzen on the basis of his manifesto, exactly as literary historians characterise the writers of the sixteenth century from the surviving writings of the sixteenth century, for instance the "goose-preacher".[a]

[*Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 87, October 31, 1847]*

*Biron.* Hide thy head, Achilles: here comes Hector in arms.

. . . . . .

*King.* Hector was but a Troyan in respect of this.
*Boyet.* But is this Hector?
*Dumain.* I think Hector was not so clean-timbered.

. . . . . .

*Biron.* This cannot be Hector.
*Dumain.* He's a god or a painter; for he makes faces.**

But that Herr Heinzen is Hector, of that there is no doubt.

"I have long been visited," he confesses to us, "by a premonition that I would fall by the hand of a communist Achilles. Now that I have been attacked by a Thersites, the danger thus averted makes me bold once more," etc.

Only a Hector can have a premonition that he will fall by the hand of an Achilles.

* My reason for answering Herr Heinzen is not to rebut the attack on Engels. Herr Heinzen's article does not need a rebuttal. I am answering because Heinzen's manifesto furnishes entertaining material for analysis. *K. M.*[134]

** Shakespeare, *Love's Labour Lost* [Act V, Scene 1].[135]

[a] Thomas Murner.—*Ed.*

Or did Herr Heinzen derive his picture of Achilles and Thersites not from Homer but from Schlegel's translation of Shakespeare?

If that is so, he assigns to himself the part of Ajax.

Let us look at Shakespeare's Ajax.

*Ajax.* I will beat thee into handsomeness.

*Thersites.* I shall sooner rail thee into wit; but thy horse will sooner con an oration than thou learn a prayer without book. Thou canst strike, canst thou? a red murrain o' thy jade's tricks!

*Ajax.* Toadstool, learn me the proclamation.

. . . . . .

*Thersites.* Thou art proclaimed a fool, I think.

. . . . . .

*Ajax.* You whoreson cur.

*Thersites.* Do, do.

*Ajax.* Thou stool for a witch!

*Thersites.* Ay, do, do;... thou scurvy-valiant ass! thou art here but to thrash Trojans; and thou art bought and sold among those of any wit, like a barbarian slave ... a great deal of your wit too lies in your sinews, or else there be liars.

. . . . . .

*Thersites.* A wonder!

*Achilles.* What?

*Thersites.* Ajax goes up and down the field, asking for himself.

*Achilles.* How so?

*Thersites.* He must fight singly tomorrow, and is so prophetically proud of an heroical cudgelling that he raves in saying nothing.

*Achilles.* How can that be?

*Thersites.* Why, he stalks up and down like a peacock, a stride and a stand; ruminates like a hostess that hath no arithmetic but her brain to set down her reckoning; bites his lip with a politic regard, as who would say "There were wit in this head, an 'twould out"... I had rather be a tick in a sheep than such a *valiant ignorance.**

Whichever character-mask Herr Heinzen now appears wearing—Hector or Ajax—scarcely has he entered the arena when he proclaims to the spectators in a mighty voice that his adversary has not dealt him the "coup de grâce". With all the composure and epic breadth of an ancient Homeric hero, he expounds the reasons for his escape. "I owe my escape," he tells us, "to an error on *nature's* part." "Nature" has not "fitted" me for my adversary's level. He towers over him, the taller by two heads, and that is why the two "swinging blows" of his "little executioner" could not reach his "literary neck". Herr Engels, it is stressed most emphatically and repeatedly, Herr Engels is "little", a "little executioner", a "little person". He then says, with one of those turns of phrase such as we only come across in the old heroic lays, or in the puppet play of the giant Goliath and the small David: "If you were hanging that high"—from a lamp-

* Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida* [Act II, Scene 1 and Act III, Scene 3].

post—"nobody would ever find you again". That is the giant's humour, at once whimsical and spine-chilling.

It is not just his "neck", but his whole "nature", his whole body for which Herr Heinzen thus finds "literary" application. He has put his "little" adversary beside him in order to set off his own physical perfection in fitting contrast. The deformed "dwarf" carries an *executioner's axe* under his tiny arm, perhaps one of those little guillotines which were given to children as toys in 1794. He, the terrible warrior on the other hand, wields no other weapon in his furious-playful arrogance than the—"birch-rod", of which, he informs us, he has long made use to "chastise" the "naughtiness" of those bad "boys", the Communists. The giant is content to confront his "insect-sized foe" as a *pedagogue,* instead of crushing the *rash* little fellow underfoot. He is content to speak to him as *the children's friend,* to teach him a lesson in morality and reprimand him with the utmost severity for vicious wickedness, especially "lying", "silly, puerile lying", "insolence", his "boyish tone", lack of respect and other shortcomings of youth. And if in the process the schoolmasterly warrior's rod sometimes swishes cruelly about the pupil's ears, if from time to time over-vigorous language interrupts his moral sentences and even partially destroys their effect, one should not for a moment forget that a warrior cannot impart moral instruction in the same way as ordinary schoolmasters, for example a *Quintus Fixlein,* and that *nature* comes in again by the window if one chases her out of the door. One should furthermore reflect that what would repel us as obscenity from the mouth of an elf like Engels, has for ear and heart the splendid resonance of nature herself when it comes from the mouth of a colossus like Heinzen. And are we to measure the language of heroes by the restricted linguistic standards of the common citizen? No more so than we should think Homer descends to the level of, for instance, grobian literature, when he calls one of his favourite heroes, *Ajax,* "as stiff-necked as an ass".

The giant's intentions were honest when he showed the Communists his birch-rod in No. 77 of the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung.*[a] And the "little" wretch for whose opinion he did not even ask—several times he expresses his warrior-like astonishment at the incomprehensible audacity of the pigmy—repaid him so unkindly. "It was not intended as a piece of advice," he complains. "Herr Engels wants to kill me, he wants to murder me, the *wicked* man."

And what of his own part? As when he faced the Prussian government, here too he had "enthusiastically begun a battle, in

[a] An article by Heinzen published as a statement in the Polemik column.— *Ed.*

which he bore peace proposals, a *heart of humane reconciliation* between the opposing forces of the age, beneath his warlike coat".* But: "*Enthusiasm* was dowsed with the acid-sharp water of malice."**

*Isegrim* showing his rage and fury, stretched out his paws and
Came at him with wide-gaping jaws and with powerful leaping.
*Reineke,* lighter than he, escaped his raging opponent,
And then hastily wetted his coarse-haired tail-brush with his
*Acid-sharp water* and trailed it through dust to load it with sand-grains.
Isegrim thought, now he had him at bay! But sly Reineke struck him
Over the eyes with his tail, preventing him seeing and hearing.
He had used such a strategem often, many a creature
Had to his cost felt the *noxious force of his acid-sharp water.****

[*Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 90, November 11, 1847]

"I have *been a republican,* Herr Engels, as long as I have concerned myself with politics, and my *convictions* have not been turning about, they have been without *wavering* and *fickleness* unlike what has gone on in the heads of so many Communists.****

"It is true I have only just *become a revolutionary.* It is part of the Communists' tactics that, aware of their own *incorrigibility,* they criticise their adversaries as soon as they *correct themselves.*"*****

Herr Heinzen never *became* a republican, he has *been* one since his political birth. On his side, therefore, immutability, the immobility of a final state, consistency. On the side of his adversaries, wavering, fickleness, turning about. Herr Heinzen has not always *been* a revolutionary, he has *become* one. Now, of course, the *turning about* is on Herr Heinzen's side, but then the *immoral* character of turning about has been turned about too; it is now known as "correcting themselves". On the Communists' side, on the other hand, *immutability* has lost its character of *high morality.* What has become of it? "Incorrigibility."

*Remaining constant* or *turning about,* both are moral, both are immoral; moral on the side of the philistine, immoral on the side of his adversary. For the art of the philistine as critic consists in calling out *rouge et noir*[a] at the right time, the right word at the right time.

* Karl Heinzen, [*Ein*] *Steckbrief.*
** Ibid.
*** Goethe, *Reineke Fuchs* [Canto Twelve].
**** Heinzen's Manifesto, *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 84.
***** Ibid.

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[a] Red and black (as at the gaming table) was given in the errata in the November 18 issue instead of the original "wohl und weh"—good and bad.—*Ed.*

*Ignorance* is generally considered a fault. We are accustomed to regard it as a *negative* quantity. Let us observe how the magic wand of the philistine as critic converts a minus quantity of intelligence into a plus quantity of morality.

Herr Heinzen reports amongst other things that he is still just as *ignorant* of *philosophy* as in 1844. Hegel's "language" he has "continued to find *indigestible*".

So much for the facts of the matter. Now for the moral processing of them.

Because Herr Heinzen has always found Hegel's language "indigestible", he has not, like "Engels and others", succumbed to the immoral arrogance of ever priding himself on that same Hegelian language, any more than, by all accounts so far, Westphalian peasants "pride themselves" on the Sanskrit language. However, true moral behaviour consists in avoiding the *motivation* for immoral behaviour, and how can one better secure oneself against immoral "priding oneself" on a language than by taking good care not to understand that language!

Herr Heinzen, who knows nothing of philosophy, has for that reason, as he thinks, not attended the philosophers' "school" either. His school was "sound common sense" and the "fulness of life".

> "At the same time," he exclaims with the modest pride of the just, "this has preserved me from the danger of *denying* my school."

There is no more proven remedy for the moral danger of *denying* one's school than not going to school!

Any development, whatever its substance may be, can be represented as a series of different stages of development that are connected in such a way that one forms the *negation* of the other. If, for example, a people develops from absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy, it *negates* its former political being. In no sphere can one undergo a development without negating one's previous mode of existence. *Negating* translated into the language of morality means: *denying.*

*Denying!* With this catchword the philistine as critic can condemn any development without understanding it; he can solemnly set up his undevelopable undevelopment beside it as moral immaculateness. Thus the religious phantasy of the nations has by and large stigmatised *history,* by transposing the age of innocence, the golden age, into *pre-history,* into the time when no historical development at all took place, and hence no negating and no denying. Thus in noisy eras of revolution, in times of strong, passionate negation and denial, as in the 18th century, there emerge honest, well-meaning men,

well-bred, respectable satyrs like *Gessner*, who oppose the undevelopable state of the *idylls* to the corruption of history. It should nevertheless be observed to the credit of these idyll-poets, who were also critical moralists and moralising critics of a kind, that they conscientiously waver as to who should be accorded the palm of morality, the shepherd or the sheep.

But let us leave our worthy philistine undisturbed to pasture on his own diligence! Let us follow him to where he *fancies* he attacks the "heart of the matter". Throughout we shall find the same method.

"I cannot help it if Herr Engels and other Communists are too *blind* to realise that *power* also controls *property* and that injustice in *property relations* is only maintained by power.—I call any man a *fool* and a *coward* who bears the bourgeois malice on account of his *acquisition of money* and lets a king be on account of his *acquisition of power*." *

"Power also controls property!"

Property, at all events, is also a kind of power. Economists call capital, for instance, "power over the labour of others".

We are therefore faced with two kinds of power, on the one hand the power of property, in other words, of the property-owners, on the other hand political power, the power of the state. "Power also controls property" means: property does not control the political power but rather it is harassed by it, for example by arbitrary taxes, by confiscations, by privileges, by the disruptive interference of the bureaucracy in industry and trade and the like.

In other words: the bourgeoisie has not yet taken political shape as a class. The power of the state is not yet its own power. In countries where the bourgeoisie has already conquered political power and political rule is none other than the rule, not of the individual bourgeois over his workers, but of the bourgeois class over the whole of society, Herr Heinzen's dictum has lost its meaning. The propertyless of course remain untouched by political rule insofar as it directly affects property.

Whilst, therefore, Herr Heinzen fancied he was expressing a truth as eternal as it was original, he has only expressed the fact that the German bourgeoisie must conquer political power, in other words, he says what Engels says, but unconsciously, honestly thinking he is saying the opposite. He is only expressing, with some emotion, a transient relationship between the German bourgeoisie and the German state power, as an eternal truth, and thereby showing how to make a "solid core" out of a "movement".

* Heinzen's Manifesto, No. 84 of the *D[eutsche]-B[rüsseler]-Z[eitung]*.

"Injustice in property relations," continues Herr Heinzen, "is only maintained by power."

Either Herr Heinzen here understands "injustice in property relations" as the above-mentioned pressure to which the absolute monarchy still subjects the bourgeoisie even in its "most sacred" interests, in which case he is only repeating what has just been said—or he understands "injustice in property relations" as the economic conditions of the workers, in which case his pronouncement has the following meaning:

The present *bourgeois* property relations are "maintained" by the state power which the bourgeoisie has organised for the protection of its property relations. The proletariat must therefore overthrow the political power where it is already in the hands of the bourgeoisie. It must itself become a power, in the first place a revolutionary power.

Again, Herr Heinzen is unconsciously saying the same thing as Engels is saying, but again in the steadfast conviction that he is saying the opposite. What he says he does not mean, and what he means he does not say.

Incidentally, if the bourgeoisie is politically, that is, by its state power, "maintaining injustice in property relations", it is not *creating* it. The "injustice in property relations" which is determined by the modern division of labour, the modern form of exchange, competition, concentration, etc., by no means arises from the political rule of the bourgeois class, but vice versa, the political rule of the bourgeois class arises from these modern relations of production which bourgeois economists proclaim to be necessary and eternal laws. If therefore the proletariat overthrows the political rule of the bourgeoisie, its victory will only be temporary, only an element in the service of the *bourgeois revolution* itself, as in the year 1794, as long as in the course of history, in its "movement", the material conditions have not yet been created which make necessary the abolition of the bourgeois mode of production and therefore also the definitive overthrow of the political rule of the bourgeoisie. The terror in France could thus by its mighty hammer-blows only serve to spirit away, as it were, the ruins of feudalism from French soil. The timidly considerate bourgeoisie would not have accomplished this task in decades. The bloody action of the people thus only prepared the way for it. In the same way, the overthrow of the absolute monarchy would be merely temporary if the economic conditions for the rule of the bourgeois class had not yet become ripe. Men build a new world for themselves, not from the "treasures of this earth", as grobian superstition imagines, but from the historical achievements

of their declining world. In the course of their development they first have to *produce* the *material conditions* of a new[a] society itself, and no exertion of mind or will can free them from this fate.

It is characteristic of the whole *grobianism* of "sound common sense", which feeds upon the "fulness of life" and does not stunt its *natural* faculties with any philosophical or other studies, that where it succeeds in seeing *differences*, it does not see *unity*, and that where it sees *unity*, it does not see *differences*. If it propounds *differentiated determinants*, they at once become fossilised in its hands, and it can see only the most reprehensible sophistry when these wooden concepts are knocked together so that they take fire.

When Herr Heinzen, for instance, says that *money* and *power*, *property* and *rule*, the *acquisition of money* and the *acquisition of power* are not *the same*, he is committing a *tautology* inherent in the mere words themselves, and this merely verbal differentiation he considers an heroic deed which with all the faculties of a *clairvoyant* he brings into play against the Communists, who are so "blind" as not to stop in their tracks at this childlike first perception.

How "acquisition of money" turns into "acquisition of power", how "property" turns into "political rule", in other words, how instead of the rigid difference to which Herr Heinzen gives the force of *dogma*, there are rather effective relations between the two forces up to the point where they merge, of this he may swiftly convince himself by observing how the serfs *bought* their freedom, how the communes[136] *bought* their municipal rights, how the townspeople on the one hand, by trade and industry, attracted the money out of the pockets of the feudal lords and vaporised their landed property into bills of exchange, and on the other hand helped the absolute monarchy to its victory over the thus undermined feudal magnates, and *bought* privileges from it; how they later themselves exploited the financial crises of the absolute monarchy itself, etc., etc.; how the most absolute monarchies become dependent on the stock-exchange barons through the system of state debts—a product of modern industry and modern trade; how in international relations between peoples, industrial monopoly turns directly into political rule, as for instance, the Princes of the Holy Alliance in the "German war of liberation" were merely the hired mercenaries of England,[137] etc., etc.

This self-important *grobianism* of "sound common sense", however, by fixing such distinctions as between *acquisition of money*

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[a] The word "new" was given in the errata in the November 18 issue instead of the original "more developed".— *Ed.*

and *acquisition of power* in the form of eternal truths whose nature is "acknowledged by all" to be "such and such", in the form of unshakeable *dogmas*, creates for itself the desired position for pouring out its moral indignation about the "blindness", "foolishness" or "wickedness" of the opponents of such articles of faith—an act of self-indulgence which in its blustering expectorations inevitably yields up a mess of rhetoric in which float a few meagre, bony truths.

Herr Heinzen will live to see the power of property even in Prussia achieve a *mariage forcé*[a] with political power. Let us hear what he says next:

"You are trying to make *social questions* the central concern of our age, and you fail to see that there is *no more important social question* than that of *monarchy* or *republic*."*

A moment ago, Herr Heinzen saw only the *distinction* between the power of money and political power; now he sees only the *unity* of the *political* question and the *social* question. Of course he continues to see the "ridiculous blindness" and "cowardly ignominy" of his antagonists.

The *political* relationships of men are of course also *social, societal* relationships, like all relations between men and men. All questions that concern the relations of men with each other are therefore also social questions.

With this view, which belongs in a catechism for eight-year-old children, this grobian naivety believes it has not only said something but has affected the balance in the conflicts of modern times.

It so happens that the "social questions" which have been "dealt with in *our own* day" increase in importance in proportion as we leave behind us the realm of absolute monarchy. Socialism and communism did not emanate from Germany but from England, France and North America.

The first manifestation of a truly active communist party is contained within the bourgeois revolution, at the moment when the constitutional monarchy is eliminated. The most consistent *republicans*, in England the *Levellers*,[138] in France *Babeuf, Buonarroti*, etc., were the first to proclaim these "social questions". *The Babeuf Conspiracy*, by Babeuf's friend and party-comrade Buonarroti,[b] shows how these republicans derived from the "movement" of

* Heinzen's Manifesto, No. 84 [of the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*].

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[a] Forced marriage.—*Ed.*

[b] Ph. Buonarroti, *Conspiration pour l'égalité dite de Babeuf*.—*Ed.*

history the realisation that the disposal of the social question of *rule by princes* and *republic* did not mean that even a single "social question" has been solved in the interests of the proletariat.

The *question of property* as it has been raised in "*our own* day" is quite unrecognisable even formulated as a question in the form Heinzen gives it: "whether it is *just* that one man should *possess* everything and another man nothing..., whether the individual *should be permitted* to possess anything at all" and similar simplistic questions of conscience and clichés about justice.

The question of property assumes different forms according to the different levels of development of industry in general and according to its particular level of development in the different countries.

For the *Galician* peasant, for instance, the question of property is reduced to the transformation of feudal landed property into small bourgeois landownership. For him it has the same meaning as it had for the *French* peasant before 1789, the *English* agricultural day labourer on the other hand has no relationship with the landowner at all. He merely has a relationship with the tenant farmer, in other words, with the industrial capitalist who is practising agriculture in factory fashion. This industrial capitalist in turn, who pays the landowner a rent, has on the other hand a direct relationship with the landowner. The abolition of landed property is thus the most important question of property as it exists for the English industrial bourgeoisie, and their struggle against the Corn Laws[139] had no other significance. The abolition of capital on the other hand is the question of property as it affects the English agricultural day labourer just as much as the English factory worker.

In the English as well as the French revolution, the question of property presented itself in such a way that it was a matter of asserting free competition and of abolishing all feudal property relations, such as landed estates, guilds, monopolies, etc., which had been transformed into fetters for the industry which had developed from the 16th to the 18th century.

In "*our own* day", finally, the significance of the question of property consists in it being a matter of eliminating the conflicts which have arisen from large-scale industry, the development of the world market and free competition.

The question of property, depending on the different levels of development of industry, has always been the vital question for a particular class. In the 17th and 18th centuries, when the point at issue was the abolition of *feudal* property relations, the question of property was the vital question for the *bourgeois* class. In the

19th century, when it is a matter of abolishing *bourgeois* property relations, the question of property is a vital question for the *working class*.

The question of property, which in "*our own* day" is a question of world-historical significance, has thus a meaning only in *modern bourgeois society*. The more advanced this society is, in other words, the further the bourgeoisie has developed economically in a country and therefore the more state power has assumed a bourgeois character, the more glaringly does the *social* question obtrude itself, in France more glaringly than in Germany, in England more glaringly than in France, in a constitutional monarchy more glaringly than in an absolute monarchy, in a republic more glaringly than in a constitutional monarchy. Thus, for example, the conflicts of the credit system, speculation, etc., are nowhere more acute than in North America. Nowhere, either, does *social* inequality obtrude itself more harshly than in the eastern states of North America, because nowhere is it less disguised by political inequality. If pauperism has not yet developed there as much as in England, this is explained by economic circumstances which it is not our task to elucidate further here. Meanwhile, pauperism is making the most gratifying progress.

"In this country, where there are no privileged orders, where all *classes* of society have *equal rights*" (the difficulty however lies in the existence of *classes*) "and where our population is far from ... pressing on the means of subsistence, it is indeed alarming to find the increase of pauperism progressing with such rapidity." (Report by Mr. Meredith to the Pennsylvania Congress.[140])

"It is proved that pauperism in Massachusetts has increased by three-fifths within 25 years." (From Niles' *Register*, Niles being an American.[a])

One of the most famous North American political economists, *Thomas Cooper*, who is also a radical, proposes:

1. To prohibit those without property from marrying.
2. To *abolish universal suffrage*,

for, he exclaims:

"Society was instituted for the protection of property.... What reasonable claim can they have, who by eternal economic laws will eternally be without property of their own, to legislate on the property of others? What common motive and common interest is there between these two *classes* of inhabitants?

"Either the working class is not revolutionary, in which case it represents the interests of the employers, on whom their livelihood depends. At the last election in New England, the master-manufacturers, to ensure votes for themselves, had the candidates' names printed on calico, and each of their workers wore such a piece of calico on their trouser-fronts.

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[a] *Niles' Weekly Register.— Ed.*

"Or the working class becomes revolutionary, as a consequence of communal living together, etc., and then the *political power of the country* will sooner or later fall into its hands, and no property will be safe any more under this system."*

Just as in *England* the workers form a political party under the name of the *Chartists*, so do the workers in *North America* under the name of the *National Reformers*[142] and their battle-cry is not at all *rule of the princes* or the *republic*, but *rule of the working class* or the *rule of the bourgeois class*.

Since therefore it is precisely in modern bourgeois society with its corresponding forms of state, the constitutional or republican representative state, that the "question of property" has become the most important "social question", it is very much the narrow need of the *German* bourgeois that interjects: the question of the *monarchy* is the most important "*social* question of the time". It is in a very similar way that Dr. *List*, in the foreword to his *Nationalökonomie*,[a] expresses his so naïve irritation that *pauperism* and not protective tariffs should have been "misconstrued" as the most important social question of our time.

[*Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 92, November 18, 1847]

The *distinction* between *money* and *power* was at the same time a *personal* distinction between the two combatants.

The "little" one appears as a kind of *cut-purse* who only takes on enemies who have "money". The daring muscle-man by contrast fights with the "mighty" of this earth.

Indosso la corazza, e l'elmo in testa.**

And, he mutters,

"and incidentally, you are better off than I".***

But best off of all are the "mighty" of the earth who visibly heave a sigh of relief whilst Herr Heinzen lashes out at his pupil:

"Like all Communists, you have now lost the capacity *to recognise the connection between politics and social conditions*."****

We have just been present at a moral lesson, in which the great man revealed with surprising *simplicity* the *connection* between

* Thomas Cooper, *Lectures on* [*the Elements of*] *Political Economy*, Columbia, pp. 361 & 365.[141]

** Ariost[o, *L'*]*Orlando Furioso* [Canto I, 11]: Harness on his back and helmet on his head.

*** Heinzen's Manifesto, *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 84.

**** Ibid.

[a] F. List, *Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie*.— *Ed.*

*politics* and *social conditions* in general. In the *rule of the princes* he now provides his pupil with a *tangible* application.

The princes, or the rule of the princes, he tells us, are the "chief authors of all poverty and distress". Where the rule of the princes is eliminated, this kind of explanation is of course eliminated too, and the *slave-economy*, which caused the downfall of the republics of antiquity, the slave-economy, which will provoke the most fearful conflicts in the southern states of republican North America,* the slave-economy can exclaim, like John Falstaff, "if reasons were as plenty as blackberries!"[a]

And in the first place, who or what has created the *princes* or the *rule of the princes*?

Once upon a time, the people had to place the most eminent personalities at their head to conduct general affairs. Later, this position became hereditary within families, etc. And eventually the stupidity and depravity of men tolerated this abuse for centuries.

If one were to summon a congress of all the most primitive would-be politicians in Europe, they would be able to give no other answer. And if one were to open all Herr Heinzen's works, they would provide no other answer.

Doughty "sound common sense" believes it explains the *rule of princes* by declaring itself *opposed* to it. The difficulty, from the standpoint of this norm of common sense, would, however, seem to consist in explaining how the opponent of sound common sense and of the moral dignity of man was born and how he dragged out his remarkably tenacious life for centuries. Nothing is simpler. The centuries did without sound common sense and the moral dignity of man. In other words, the sense and morality of centuries were in accordance with the rule of the princes instead of contradicting it. And it is precisely this sense and morality of past centuries which today's "sound common sense" does not understand. It does not understand it, but *despises* it. It takes refuge from history in morality, and now it can allow free rein to the whole armoury of its moral indignation.

In the same way as political "sound common sense" here explains the origin and continued existence of the rule of the princes as the work of unreason, in the same way does religious "sound common sense" explain heresy and unbelief as works of the devil. In the same

* Cf. on this topic the memoirs of Jefferson, who was one of the group of founders of the American Republic and was twice president.

[a] Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, Part One, Act II, Scene 4.— *Ed.*

way, irreligious "sound common sense" explains religion as the work of the devils, the priests.

However, once Herr Heinzen has by means of moral platitudes proved the *origin* of the rule of the princes, the "connection between the rule of the princes and social conditions" follows quite *naturally* from this. Listen:

"An individual man takes possession of the state for himself, sacrifices a whole nation, more or less, not just materially, but morally too, to his own person and its entourage; institutes within it a scale of humiliation by degrees, classifies it variously into *estates* like so many fat and lean cattle, and basically just for the benefit of his own, individual person *makes* each member of the state society *officially the enemy of the other.*"*

Herr Heinzen sees the princes at the peak of the social structure in Germany. He does not for a moment doubt that they have created its social foundation and are re-*creating* it each day. What *simpler* explanation could there be for the connection between the monarchy and social conditions, whose *official* political expression it is, than by having the princes *create* this connection! What is the connection between the representative assemblies and modern bourgeois society which they represent? They *created* it. The political deity with its apparatus and gradations has thus *created* the secular world, whose most sacred object it is. In the same way the *religious* deity will have created earthly conditions, which are fantastically and in deified form reflected in it.

The grobianism which retails such homespun wisdom with appropriate sentiment cannot of course fail to be equally astonished and morally outraged at the opponent who toils to demonstrate to it that the apple did not create the apple-tree.

Modern histories have demonstrated that *absolute monarchy* appears in those transitional periods when the old feudal estates are in decline and the medieval estate of burghers is evolving into the modern bourgeois class, without one of the contending parties having as yet finally disposed of the other. The elements on which absolute monarchy is based are thus by no means its own product; they rather form its social prerequisite, whose historical origins are too well known to be repeated here. The fact that absolute monarchy took shape later in Germany and is persisting longer, is explained solely by the stunted pattern of development of the German bourgeois class. The answers to the puzzles presented by this pattern of development are to be found in the history of trade and industry.

The decline of the philistine German free cities, the destruction of the knightly estate, the defeat of the peasants[143]—the resulting

* Heinzen's Manifesto, loc. cit.

territorial sovereignty of the princes—the decay of German industry and German trade, which were founded entirely on medieval conditions, at the very moment when the modern world market is opening up and large-scale manufacturing is arising—the depopulation and the barbaric conditions which the Thirty Years War[144] had left behind—the character of the national branches of industry which are now rising again—as of the small linen industry—to which patriarchal conditions and relations correspond, the nature of exported goods which for the most part derived from agriculture, and which therefore went almost exclusively to increase the material sources of wealth of the rural aristocracy and therefore its relative power *vis-à-vis* the townspeople—Germany's lowly position in the world market in general, as a result of which the subsidies paid by foreigners to the princes became a chief source of the national income, the dependence of the townspeople upon the court consequent upon this—etc., etc., all these relationships, within which the structure of German society and a political organisation in keeping with it were taking shape become, in the eyes of sound-common-sensical grobianism, just a few pithy utterances, whose pith however consists in the statement that the "rule of the princes in Germany" has created "German society" and is "re-creating" it each day.

The optical illusion, which enables sound common sense to "discern" the springhead of German society in the rule of the princes instead of the springhead of the rule of the princes in German society, is easily explained.

It perceives at first glance—and it always considers its first glance to be particularly perceptive—that the German princes are preserving and maintaining control over the old social conditions in Germany with which their political existence stands and falls, and that they *react* violently against the elements of decomposition. Equally, it sees on the other hand the elements of decomposition fighting against the power of the princes. The five sound senses thus unanimously testify that the rule of the princes is the *basis* of the old society, of its gradations, its prejudices and its contradictions.

When looked at more closely, these appearances however only refute the crude opinion of which they are the innocent occasion.

The violently reactionary role played by the rule of the princes only proves that in the pores of the old society a new society has taken shape, which furthermore cannot but feel the political shell—the natural covering of the old society—as an unnatural fetter and blow it sky-high. The more primitive these new elements of social decomposition, the more conservative will even the most

vigorous reaction by the old political power appear. The more advanced these new elements of social decomposition, the more reactionary will even the most harmless attempt at conservation by the old political power appear. The reaction of the rule of the princes, instead of proving that it creates the old society, proves rather that its day is over as soon as the material conditions of the old society have become obsolete. Its reaction is at the same time the reaction of the old society which is still the *official* society and therefore also still in *official possession* of power or in possession of *official power.*

Once society's material conditions of existence have developed so far that the transformation of its official political form has become a vital necessity for it, the whole physiognomy of the old political power is transformed. Thus absolute monarchy now attempts, not to *centralise,* which was its actual progressive function, but to *decentralise.* Born from the defeat of the feudal estates and having the most active share in their destruction itself, it now seeks to retain at least the *semblance* of feudal distinctions. Formerly encouraging trade and industry and thereby at the same time the rise of the bourgeois class, as necessary conditions both for national strength and for its own glory, absolute monarchy now everywhere hampers trade and industry, which have become increasingly dangerous weapons in the hands of an already powerful bourgeoisie. From the *town,* the birth-place of its rise to power, it turns its alarmed and by now dull glance to the *countryside* which is fertile with the corpses of its old powerful opponents.

But by "the connection between politics and social conditions" Herr Heinzen actually understands only the connection between the rule of the princes in Germany and the distress and misery in Germany.

The monarchy, like every other form of state, is a direct burden on the working class on the material side only in the form of *taxes.* Taxes are the existence of the state expressed in economic terms. Civil servants and priests, soldiers and ballet-dancers, schoolmasters and police constables, Greek museums and Gothic steeples, civil list and services list—the common seed within which all these fabulous beings slumber in embryo is *taxation.*

And what reasoning citizen would not have referred the starving people to taxes, to the ill-gotten gains of the princes, as the source of its misery?

The German princes and Germany's distress! In other words, taxes on which the princes gorge themselves and which the people pay with their sweat and blood!

What inexhaustible material for speechifying saviours of mankind!

The monarchy is the cause of great expenditure. No doubt. Just consider the North American national budget and compare what our 38 petty fatherlands have to pay in order to be governed and disciplined! It is not the Communists who answer the thunderous outbursts of such self-important demagogy, no, it is the *bourgeois* economists such as Ricardo, Senior, etc., in just two words.

The economic existence of the state is *taxes.*

The economic existence of the worker is *wages.*

To be ascertained: the *relationship* between taxes and wages.

*Competition* necessarily reduces the average wage to the minimum, that is to say, to a wage which permits the workers penuriously to eke out their lives and the lives of their race. Taxes form a part of this minimum, for the political calling of the workers consists precisely in paying taxes. If all taxes which bear on the working class were abolished root and branch, the necessary consequence would be the reduction of wages by the whole amount of taxes which today goes into them. Either the employers' *profit* would rise as a direct consequence by the same quantity, or else no more than an alteration in the *form* of tax-collecting would have taken place. Instead of the present system, whereby the capitalist also advances, as part of the wage, the taxes which the worker has to pay, he [the capitalist] would no longer pay them in this roundabout way, but directly to the state.

If in North America wages are higher than in Europe, this is by no means the consequence of lower taxes there. It is the consequence of the territorial, commercial and industrial situation there. The demand for workers in relation to the supply of workers is significantly greater than in Europe. And any novice knows the truth of this already from Adam Smith.

For the bourgeoisie on the other hand both the way in which taxes are distributed and levied, and the use to which they are put, are a vital question, both on account of its influence on trade and industry and because taxes are the golden cord with which to strangle the absolute monarchy.

Having provided such profound insights into "the connection between politics and social conditions" and between "class relations" and the power of the state, Herr Heinzen cries out in triumph:

"The 'narrow-minded communist view' which only treats people in terms of 'classes' and *incites* them against one another according to their 'craft', is something I must confess I have been innocent of in my revolutionary propaganda, because I make allowance for the 'possibility' that 'humanity' is not always determined by 'class' or the 'size of one's purse'."

"Grobianist" common sense transforms the distinction between classes into the "distinction between the size of purses" and class contradictions into "craft-bickering". The size of one's purse is a purely quantitative distinction whereby any two individuals of the *same* class may be *incited* against one another at will. That the medieval *guilds* opposed each other "according to their *craft*" is common knowledge. But it is equally common knowledge that modern class distinctions are by no means based upon "craft" but rather that the division of labour brings about very *different* modes of work within the *same* class.

And this, his own "narrow-minded view", derived entirely from his very own "fulness of life" and his very own "sound common sense" is what Herr Heinzen humorously calls a "narrow-minded communist view".

But let us for a moment assume that Herr Heinzen knows what he is talking about, that he is therefore not talking about "the distinction between the size" of purses and "craft-bickering".

It is perfectly "possible" that what individual persons do is not "always" determined by the class to which they belong, although this is no more crucial to the class struggle than an aristocrat going over to the *tiers-état* was crucial to the French Revolution. And then these aristocrats at least joined *a specific* class, the revolutionary class, the bourgeoisie. But for Herr Heinzen all classes melt away before the solemn concept of "humanity".

However, if Herr Heinzen believes that *whole classes* which are based on *economic* conditions independent of their own will and are forced into the most virulent contradiction by these conditions, can by means of the quality of "humanity", which attaches to all men, shed their real relationships, how easy must it be for *one particular* prince to rise by the power of "humanity" above his "princely condition", above his "princely craft"? Why then does he resent it when Engels discerns a "good Emperor Joseph" behind his revolutionary phrases?

But if on the one hand Herr Heinzen obliterates *all* differences, by addressing himself vaguely to the "humanity" of the Germans, which would oblige him to include the princes in his exhortations too, on the other hand he nevertheless finds himself compelled to acknowledge the existence of *one difference* amidst German *humanity*, for without a difference there can be no contradiction and without a contradiction there can be no material for political sermonising.

So Herr Heinzen *divides* German humanity into *princes* and *subjects*. The perception and expression of this contradiction is on his part an exhibition of moral strength, a proof of personal daring,

political understanding, outraged human feeling, serious-minded perspicacity and laudable bravery. And it would be a sign of intellectual blindness, of a policeman's mentality, to point out that there are privileged and unprivileged subjects; that the former by no means see humiliating gradations in the political hierarchy, but an elevating, upward line; that finally amongst the subjects whose subjection is considered a fetter, it is however considered a fetter in very different ways.

Along come the "narrow-minded" Communists now and see not only the political *difference* between *prince* and *subject* but also the social difference between *classes.*

Whereas Herr Heinzen's moral greatness a moment before consisted in perceiving and expressing the difference, his greatness now consists rather in overlooking it, averting his eyes from it and hushing it up. Expression of the *contradiction* ceases to be the language of revolution and becomes the language of reaction and the malicious "incitement" of brothers, united in their *humanity,* against one another.

It is common knowledge that shortly after the July revolution, the victorious bourgeoisie, in the *September Laws,* made the "incitement of the various classes of the nation against each other" a serious political offence, probably for reasons of "humanity" too, with penalties of imprisonment, fines, etc.[145] It is also common knowledge that the English bourgeois journals know no better way of denouncing the Chartist leaders and Chartist writers than by accusing them of inciting the various classes of the nation against each other. It is even common knowledge that German writers are lying in deep dungeons for this incitement of the various classes of the nation against each other.

Is not Herr Heinzen now speaking the language of the French September Laws, of the English bourgeois papers and the Prussian criminal code?

Not a bit of it. The well-meaning Herr Heinzen fears only that the Communists "were *seeking* to *ensure* the princes a revolutionary fontanel".[146]

Thus the *Belgian* liberals assure us that the *radicals* have a secret understanding with the Catholics; the *French* liberals assure us that the *democrats* have an understanding with the legitimists; the English free traders assure us that the *Chartists* have an understanding with the Tories. And the liberal Herr Heinzen assures us that the *Communists* have an understanding with the princes.

Germany, as I already made clear in the *Deutsch-Französische*

*Jahrbücher,*[a] has its own Christian-Germanic brand of bad luck. Its bourgeoisie has got so very far behind the times that it is beginning its struggle against absolute monarchy and seeking to create the foundation for its own political power at the moment when in all advanced countries the bourgeoisie is already engaged in the most violent struggle with the working class and when its political illusions are already antiquated in the European mind. In this country, where the political wretchedness of the absolute monarchy still persists with its whole appendage of run-down, semi-feudal estates and relationships, there also already partially exist, on the other hand, as a consequence of industrial development and Germany's dependence on the world market, the modern contradictions between bourgeoisie and working class and the struggle that results from them—examples are the workers' uprisings in Silesia and Bohemia.[147] The German bourgeoisie therefore already finds itself in conflict with the proletariat even before being politically constituted as a class. The struggle between the "subjects" has broken out even before princes and aristocracy have been chased out of the country, all the songs sung at Hambach[148] notwithstanding.

Herr Heinzen can think of no other explanation for these contradictory circumstances, which of course are also reflected in German literature, except by laying them on his opponents' *consciences* and interpreting them as a consequence of the counter-revolutionary activity of the Communists.

The German workers meanwhile know very well that the *absolute monarchy* does not waver for a moment, nor can it do so, in greeting them, in the *service of the bourgeoisie,* with cannon-balls and whip-lashes. Why, then, should they prefer the brutal harassment of the absolute government with its semi-feudal retinue to *direct bourgeois rule*? The workers know very well that it is not just politically that the bourgeoisie will have to make broader concessions to them than the absolute monarchy, but that in serving the interests of its trade and industry it will create, willy-nilly, the conditions for the uniting of the working class, and the uniting of the workers is the first requirement for their victory. The workers know that the abolition of *bourgeois* property relations is not brought about by preserving those of *feudalism.* They know that the revolutionary movement of the bourgeoisie against the feudal estates and the absolute monarchy can only accelerate their own revolutionary movement. They know that their own struggle against the bourgeoi-

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[a] See K. Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law". Introduction (present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 175-87).—*Ed.*

sie can only dawn with the day when the bourgeoisie is victorious. Despite all this they do not share Herr Heinzen's bourgeois illusions. They can and must accept the *bourgeois revolution* as a precondition for the *workers' revolution.* However, they cannot for a moment regard it as their *ultimate goal.*

That the workers really react in this way has been magnificently exemplified by the *English* Chartists in the most recent Anti-Corn Law League movement. Not for a moment did they believe the lies and inventions of the bourgeois radicals, not for a moment did they abandon the struggle against them, but quite consciously helped their enemies to victory over the Tories, and on the day after the abolition of the Corn Laws they were facing each other at the hustings, no longer Tories and free traders, but free traders and Chartists. And they won seats in parliament, in opposition to these bourgeois radicals.[149]

No more than Herr Heinzen understands the workers does he understand the *bourgeois liberals,* for all that he is unconsciously working in their service. He thinks it is necessary to repeat, where they are concerned, the old warnings against the "easy-going ways and submissiveness of the Germans". He, the philistine, takes in absolute earnest the obsequious expressions that were served up by a Camphausen or a Hansemann. The bourgeois gentlemen would smile at such naïvety. They know better where the shoe pinches. They are aware that in revolutions the *rabble* gets insolent and lays hands on things. The bourgeois gentlemen therefore seek as far as possible to make the change from *absolute* to *bourgeois* monarchy without a revolution, in an amicable fashion.

But the absolute monarchy in Prussia, as earlier in England and France, will not let itself be amicably changed into a bourgeois monarchy. It will not abdicate amicably. The princes' hands are tied both by their personal prejudices and by a whole bureaucracy of officials, soldiers and clerics—integral parts of absolute monarchy who are far from willing to exchange their ruling position for a subservient one in respect of the bourgeoisie. Then the feudal estates also hold back; for them it is a question of life or death, in other words, of property or expropriation. It is clear that the absolute monarch, for all the servile homage of the bourgeoisie, sees his true interest on the side of these estates.

The siren-songs of a Camphausen or a Hansemann will no more convince Frederick William IV, therefore, than the honeyed language of a Lally-Tollendal, a Mounier, a Malouet or a Mirabeau could talk a Louis XVI into casting in his lot with the bourgeoisie rather than with the feudal lords and remnants of the absolute monarchy.

But Herr Heinzen is concerned neither with the bourgeoisie nor with the proletariat in Germany. His party is the "party of men", in other words, of worthy and generous-minded dreamers who advocate "bourgeois" interests in the guise of "human" ends, without however clearly understanding the connection between the idealistic phrase and its real substance.

[*Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 94, November 25, 1847]

To this party, the party of *men*, or to *humanity* resident in Germany, the founder of states Karl Heinzen offers the "best republic", the best republic he himself has hatched, the "federal republic with social institutions". *Rousseau* once designed a "best" political world for the Poles[a] as did *Mably* for the Corsicans.[150] The great citizen of Geneva has found an even greater successor.

"I am contented"—what modesty!—"to claim that just as I can assemble a flower only from petals, so also I can assemble a republic only from republican elements."*

A man who knows how to *assemble* a flower from *petals*, even though it were only a *daisy*, cannot fail in the construction of the "best republic", let the wicked world think of it what it will.

Despite all slanderous tongues, the valiant founder of states takes as a model the charters of republican North America. Whatever seems offensive to him, he paints out with his grobian brush. Thus he brings about an amended edition—*in usum delphini*,[b] in other words for the use and edification of "German man". And having thus "outlined the features of the republic, that is, of a specific republic", he hoists his "little" disrespectful pupil up into the air "by his communist ears" and dashes him down with the question whether he too could "create" a world, and indeed a "best world"? And he does not desist from hoisting the "little one" up "into the air" by his "communist ears" until he has "banged" his "nose" against the gigantic picture of the "new" world, the best republic. For with his very own hands he has hung a colossal picture of the world, devised by himself, on the highest peak of the Swiss Alps.

* Heinzen's Manifesto, *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 84.

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[a] J. J. Rousseau, *Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne, et sur sa réformation projettée.— Ed.*

[b] For the use of the Dauphin. (These words were used in the second half of the seventeenth century to mark the edition of Latin works intended for the heir to the French throne, from which "offensive" material had been removed.)—*Ed.*

"*Cacatum non est pictum,*"[a] hisses the voice of the impenitent "little" snake.

And horrified, the republican Ajax drops the communist Thersites to the ground and out of his shaggy bosom heaves the—terrible words:

"You are carrying absurdity to extremes, Herr Engels!"

And really, Herr Engels! Do you not believe "that the American federal system" is the "best political form" "which the art of politics has yet devised"? You shake your little head? What? You deny absolutely that the "American federal system" has been *devised* by "the art of politics"? And that "best political forms of society" exist *in abstracto*? That's going a bit too far!

You are at the same time so "devoid of shame and conscience" as to suggest to us that the honest German who wishes his faithful fatherland to enjoy the benefits of the North American Constitution—embellished and improved at that, that he resembles that idiotic merchant who copied his rich competitor's accounts and then imagined that having possession of this copy, he had also taken possession of the coveted wealth!

And you threaten us with the "executioner's axe" under your *little arm*, with the miniature guillotine which you were given as a toy in 1794? Barbaroux, you mumble, and other persons of impressive height and girth, were shortened by a full head in those days when we used to play guillotine because they happened to proclaim "the American federal system" to be "the best political form".[151] And such will be the fate of all other Goliaths, to whom it occurs in any democratic revolution in Europe and especially in Germany, which is still quite feudally fragmented, to wish to put the "American federal system" in place of the *one* indivisible republic and its levelling centralisation.

But good God! The men of the Comité de salut public[152] and those bloodhounds of Jacobins behind them were monsters, and Heinzen's "best republic" has been "devised" by the "statecraft of heretofore" as the "best political form" for "men", for good men, for human humans!

Really! "You are carrying absurdity to the extreme, Herr Engels!"

And what is more, this Herculean founder of states does not copy the North American "federal republic" in every detail. He adorns it with "social institutions", he will "regulate property relations according to rational principles", and the seven great "measures" with which he disposed of the "evils" of the old bourgeois society are

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[a] "To shit is not to paint."—*Ed.*

by no means wretched, insubstantial garbage begged at the doors of—abominable modern socialist and communist soup-kitchens. It is to the "Incas" and "Campe's Books for Children"[153] that the great Karl Heinzen owes his recipes for the "humanisation of society", just as he owes the latter profound slogan not to the Pomeranian philosopher Ruge but rather to some "Peruvian" grown old in wisdom. And Herr Engels describes all this as arbitrarily concocted philistine dreams of world improvement!

We live of course in an age when "the better people are increasingly passing away" and the "best" are not even understood at all.

Take, for instance, any well-meaning citizen and ask his honest opinion as to what is wrong with present "property relations"? And the decent fellow will put his index finger to the tip of his nose, twice draw deep and pensive breath and then express his "humble" view that it is a shame that many people have "nothing", not even the barest necessities, and that others, to the detriment not only of propertyless wretches but also of honest citizens, are with aristocratic brazenness accumulating millions! *Aurea mediocritas!* Golden mediocrity! the honest member of the middle class will exclaim! It is just a matter of avoiding extremes! What rational political constitution would be compatible with these extremes, these oh so abominable extremes!

And now take a look at Heinzen's "federal republic" with "social institutions" and its seven measures for the "humanisation of society". We find that each citizen is assured a "minimum" of wealth below which he cannot fall, and a maximum of wealth is prescribed which he may not exceed.

Has not Herr Heinzen solved all the difficulties, then, by reiterating in the form of state decrees the pious desire of all good citizens that no person should have too little and none, indeed, too much, and simply by so doing made it reality?

And in the same manner, which is as simple as it is splendid, Herr Heinzen has resolved all economic conflicts. He has *regulated* property according to the *rational principles* corresponding to an honest bourgeois equity. And please do not object that the "rational rules" of property are precisely the "economic laws" on whose cold-blooded inevitability all well-meaning "measures" will necessarily founder, though they be recommended by Incas and Campe's Books for Children and cherished by the stoutest patriots!

How unfair to bring *economic* considerations into play against a man who, unlike some people, does not "boast of studies in political economy", but has from modesty managed so far in all his works

rather to preserve the virginal appearance of still having before him his first study of political economy! It must be accounted very much to the credit of the man's primitive level of education that with solemn countenance he serves up to his little communist foe all the considerations which already in 1842 had penetrated to the German fulness of life through the channels of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*,[154] such as those concerning "acquired" property, "personal freedom and individuality" and the like. It really does show how low the communist writers have fallen that they seek out opponents who are schooled in economics and philosophy, but on the other hand provide no answer to the "unpresuming" fancies of grobianist sound common sense, to which they would first have to teach the elements of the economic relations in existing bourgeois society, in order to be able subsequently to enter into debate with it.

Since *private property*, for instance, is not a simple relation or even an abstract concept, a principle, but consists in the totality of the *bourgeois* relations of production—for it is not a question of subordinate or extinct but of existing bourgeois private property—since all these bourgeois relations of production are class relations, an insight which any novice must have acquired from his Adam Smith or Ricardo—, a change in, or even the abolition of, these relations can only follow from a change in these classes and their relationships with each other, and a change in the relationship of classes is a historical change, a product of social activity as a whole, in a word, the product of a specific "historical movement". The writer may very well serve a movement of history as its mouthpiece, but he cannot of course create it.

For example, in order to explain the elimination of feudal property relations, modern historians have had to describe how the bourgeoisie evolved to the point where it had developed its conditions of life sufficiently to be able to eliminate all the feudal estates and its own feudal mode of existence and hence also feudal production relations, which were the economic foundation of these feudal estates. The elimination of feudal property relations and the foundation of modern bourgeois society were thus by no means the product of a particular doctrine based upon and elaborated from a specific principle as its *core*. It was much more the case that the principles and theories put forward by the writers of the bourgeoisie during its struggle against feudalism were nothing but the theoretical expression of a series of real events; indeed one can see that the extent to which this expression was more or less utopian, dogmatic or doctrinaire corresponded exactly to the degree of advancement of the phase of real historical development.

And in this respect Engels was rash enough to talk to his terrible opponent, the Herculean founder of states, about communism, insofar as it is theory, as the theoretical expression of a "movement".

But, expostulates the mighty man in honest indignation: "My purpose was to urge the practical consequences, to get the 'representatives' of communism to acknowledge those consequences", that is, those absurd consequences which, for a man who has only fantastic conceptions of bourgeois private property, are necessarily linked with its abolition. He thus wanted to compel Engels "to defend the whole absurdity" which according to Herr Heinzen's worthy scheme "he would have dug up". And Reineke Engels has so bitterly disappointed the honest Isegrim that he no longer finds in communism itself even a "core" to "bite on" and thus asks himself in wonderment "how this phenomenon is to be served up, so that it can be eaten"!

And in vain the honest fellow seeks to calm himself with ingenious turns of phrase, for example, by asking whether a historical movement is a "movement of the emotions", etc., and even conjures up the spirit of the great "Ruge" to interpret this riddle of nature for him!

"After what has happened," the disappointed man exclaims, "my heart is beating in a *Siberian fashion*, after what has happened I *smell only treachery* and *dream of malice*."*

And really he explains the affair to himself finally by saying that Engels "denies his school", "beats a retreat that is as cowardly as it is ridiculous", "compromises the whole human race just so as to save his own person from being compromised", "denies the party or deserts it at the crucial moment", and a host of similar moralising outbursts of fury. Likewise Engels' distinctions between "true socialism" and "communism", between the utopian communist systems and critical communism—are all nothing but "treachery and malice". Indeed nothing but Jesuitical "after-thought" distinctions, because they appear not to have been put at least so far to Herr Heinzen, nor to have been blown his way by the tempest of the fulness of life!

And how ingeniously Herr Heinzen manages to interpret these contradictions to himself, insofar as they have found literary expression!

"Then there is Weitling, who is cleverer than you, and yet can certainly be considered a Communist."

* Karl Heinzen, *Steckbrief*.

Or else:

"What if Herr Grün *claimed* to be a Communist and were to expel Herr Engels?"

Arrived at this point, it goes without saying, the honest fellow, who could not "emancipate himself to the extent of considering *loyalty* and *faith*, outmoded though they might be, to be superfluous amongst rational beings"—serves up the most absurd *lies*, for example, that Engels also intended to write about a "social movement in Belgium and France". But K[arl] Grün had "forestalled him". And then he had been "unable to find a publisher for his boring repetition" and other such fabrications Herr Heinzen has derived as "conclusions" from a "certain principle".

That moralising criticism has turned out to be so wretched is due to its "nature" and is by no means to be regarded as a personal shortcoming of the Telamonian Ajax. For all his stupidities and baseness, this St. Grobian has the moral satisfaction of being stupid and base with conviction and thus being a fellow with some stuffing in him.

Whatever the "facts" may do, which even the great Karl Heinzen allows to "run their course" unimpeded:

"I," he proclaims, thrice beating his honest bosom, "I, meanwhile, bear my principle unflinchingly about with me and do not ditch it when a person asks me about it."

Heinrich LXXII of Reuss-Schleitz-Ebersdorf has also been parading his "principle" some 20 years now.

N.B. We would recommend Stephan's[a] critique, *Der Heinzen'sche Staat*, to the readers of the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*. The author has of course only used Herr Heinzen as a peg, he could just as well have seized upon any other literary nonentity in Germany to confront the reasoning and grumbling petty bourgeois with the viewpoint of the really revolutionary worker. Herr Heinzen knows of no other way of answering Stephan than by first of all *asserting* that what he has written is rubbish; so much for *objective* criticism. As he does not know Stephan personally, he resorts simply to calling him names like *gamin* and *commis-voyageur*.[b] But he has not yet blackened his opponent enough, he finally turns him into a policeman. One can see incidentally how just this last accusation is, since the French police,

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[a] Stephan Born.— *Ed.*

[b] Guttersnipe and commercial traveller.— *Ed.*

presumably in league with Herr Heinzen, have confiscated 100 copies of Stephan's pamphlet.

Having given the worker Stephan a practical moral lesson as described above, he apostrophises him in the following ingenuous terms:

"For my own part, gladly though I would have engaged in discussions with a worker, I fail to see in insolence a fit substitute for competence."[a]

The German workers will feel elated at the prospect of the *democrat* Karl Heinzen engaging in discussions with them as soon as they approach the great man with due modesty. Herr Heinzen is seeking to conceal his incompetence concerning Herr Stephan by the insolence of his outburst.

*K. M.*

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[a] K. Heinzen, "Ein 'Representant' der Kommunisten".—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNISM[155]

*Question 1:* What is communism?

*Answer:* Communism is the doctrine of the conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat.

*Question 2*: What is the proletariat?

*Answer:* The proletariat is that class of society which procures its means of livelihood entirely and solely from the sale of its labour[156] and not from the profit derived from any capital; whose weal and woe, whose life and death, whose whole existence depend on the demand for labour, hence, on the alternation of times of good and bad business, on the fluctuations resulting from unbridled competition. The proletariat, or class of proletarians, is, in a word, the working class of the nineteenth century.

*Question 3:* Then there have not always been proletarians?

*Answer:* No. Poor folk and working classes have always existed,[157] and the working classes have for the most part been poor. But such poor, such workers who live under the conditions just stated, that is, proletarians, have not always existed, any more than competition has always been free and unbridled.

*Question 4:* How did the proletariat arise?

*Answer:* The proletariat arose as a result of the industrial revolution which took place in England in the latter half of the last century and which has repeated itself since then in all the civilised countries of the world. This industrial revolution was brought about by the invention of the steam-engine, of various spinning machines, of the power-loom, and of a great number of other mechanical devices. These machines which were very expensive and, consequently, could only be purchased by big capitalists, changed the entire

hitherto existing mode of production and supplanted the former workers because machines produced cheaper and better commodities than could the workers with their imperfect spinning-wheels and hand-looms. Thus, these machines delivered industry entirely into the hands of the big capitalists and rendered the workers' scanty property (tools, looms, etc.) quite worthless, so that the capitalists soon had their hands on everything and the workers were left with nothing. In this way the factory system was introduced into the manufacture of clothing materials.—Once the impetus had been given to the introduction of machinery and the factory system, this system was soon applied to all the other branches of industry, notably the calico and book-printing trades, pottery, and hardware industry. There was more and more division of labour among the individual workers, so that the worker who formerly had made a whole article now produced only a part of it. This division of labour made it possible to supply products more speedily and therefore more cheaply. It reduced the activity of each worker to a very simple, constantly repeated mechanical operation, which could be performed not only just as well but even much better by a machine. In this way, all these branches of industry came one after another under the domination of steam-power, machinery, and the factory system, just like spinning and weaving. But they thus fell at the same time completely into the hands of the big capitalists, and here too the workers were deprived of the last shred of independence. Gradually, in addition to actual manufacture, the handicrafts likewise fell increasingly under the domination of the factory system, for here also the big capitalists more and more supplanted the small craftsmen by the establishment of large workshops, in which many savings on costs can be made and there can be a very high division of labour. Thus we have now reached the point when in the civilised countries almost all branches of labour are carried on under the factory system, and in almost all branches handicraft and manufacture have been ousted by large-scale industry.—As a result, the former middle classes, especially the smaller master handicraftsmen, have been increasingly ruined, the former position of the workers has been completely changed, and two new classes which are gradually swallowing up all other classes have come into being, namely:

I. The class of big capitalists who already now in all civilised countries almost exclusively own all the means of subsistence and the raw materials and instruments (machinery, factories, etc.), needed for the production of these means of subsistence. This class is the bourgeois class or the bourgeoisie.

II. The class of the completely propertyless, who are compelled therefore to sell their labour to the bourgeois in order to obtain the necessary means of subsistence in exchange. This class is called the class of the proletarians or the proletariat.

*Question 5:* Under what conditions does this sale of the labour of the proletarians to the bourgeois take place?

*Answer:* Labour is a commodity like any other and its price is determined by the same laws as that of any other commodity. The price of a commodity under the domination of large-scale industry or of free competition, which, as we shall see, comes to the same thing, is on the average always equal to the cost of production of that commodity. The price of labour is, therefore, likewise equal to the cost of production of labour. The cost of production of labour consists precisely of the amount of the means of subsistence required for the worker to maintain himself in a condition in which he is capable of working and to prevent the working class from dying out. Therefore, the worker will not receive for his labour any more than is necessary for that purpose; the price of labour, or wages, will be the lowest, the minimum required for subsistence. Since business is now worse, now better, the worker will receive now more, now less, just as the factory owner receives now more, now less for his commodity. But just as on the average between good times and bad the factory owner receives for his commodity neither more nor less than the cost of its production, so also the worker will on the average receive neither more nor less than this minimum. This economic law of wages will come to be more stringently applied the more all branches of labour are taken over by large-scale industry.

*Question 6:* What working classes existed before the industrial revolution?

*Answer:* Depending on the different stages of the development of society, the working classes lived in different conditions and stood in different relations to the possessing and ruling classes. In ancient times the working people were the *slaves* of their owners, just as they still are in many backward countries and even in the southern part of the United States. In the Middle Ages they were the *serfs* of the landowning nobility, just as they still are in Hungary, Poland, and Russia. In the Middle Ages and up to the industrial revolution there were in the towns also journeymen in the service of petty-bourgeois craftsmen, and with the development of manufacture there gradually emerged manufactory workers, who were already employed by the bigger capitalists.

*Question 7:* In what way does the proletarian differ from the slave?

*Answer:* The slave is sold once and for all, the proletarian has to sell

himself by the day and by the hour. Being the property of *one* master, the individual slave has, since it is in the interest of this master, a guaranteed subsistence, however wretched it may be; the individual proletarian, the property, so to speak, of the whole bourgeois *class*, whose labour is only bought from him when somebody needs it, has no guaranteed subsistence. This subsistence is guaranteed only to the proletarian *class* as a whole. The slave stands outside competition, the proletarian stands within it and feels all its fluctuations. The slave is accounted a thing, not a member of civil society; the proletarian is recognised as a person, as a member of civil society. Thus, the slave may have a better subsistence than the proletarian, but the proletarian belongs to a higher stage of development of society and himself stands at a higher stage than the slave. The slave frees himself by abolishing, among all the private property relationships, only the relationship of slavery and thereby only then himself becomes a proletarian; the proletarian can free himself only by abolishing private property in general.

*Question 8:* In what way does the proletarian differ from the serf?

*Answer:* The serf has the possession and use of an instrument of production, a piece of land, in return for handing over a portion of the yield or for the performance of work. The proletarian works with instruments of production belonging to another person for the benefit of this other person in return for receiving a portion of the yield. The serf gives, to the proletarian is given. The serf has a guaranteed subsistence, the proletarian has not. The serf stands outside competition, the proletarian stands within it. The serf frees himself either by running away to the town and there becoming a handicraftsman or by giving his landlord money instead of labour and products and becoming a free tenant; or by driving out his feudal lord and himself becoming a proprietor, in short, by entering in one way or another into the possessing class and competition. The proletarian frees himself by doing away with competition, private property and all class distinctions.

*Question 9:* In what way does the proletarian differ from the handicraftsman?[a]

*Question 10:* In what way does the proletarian differ from the manufactory worker?

*Answer:* The manufactory worker of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries almost everywhere still owned an instrument of production, his loom, the family spinning-wheels, and a little plot of

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[a] Half a page is left blank by Engels in the manuscript. The answer is in the "Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith" (see this volume, p. 101).—*Ed.*

land which he cultivated in his leisure hours. The proletarian has none of these things. The manufactory worker lives almost always in the country and in more or less patriarchal relations with his landlord or his employer; the proletarian lives mostly in large towns, and stands to his employer in a purely money relationship. The manufactory worker is torn up from his patriarchal relations by large-scale industry, loses the property he still has and thereby only then himself becomes a proletarian.

*Question 11:* What were the immediate results of the industrial revolution and the division of society into bourgeois and proletarians?

*Answer: Firstly,* owing to the continual cheapening of the price of industrial products as a result of machine labour, the old system of manufacture or industry founded upon manual labour was completely destroyed in all countries of the world. All semi-barbarian countries, which until now had been more or less outside historical development and whose industry had until now been based on manufacture, were thus forcibly torn out of their isolation. They bought the cheaper commodities of the English and let their own manufactory workers go to ruin. Thus countries that for thousands of years had made no progress, for example India, were revolutionised through and through, and even China is now marching towards a revolution. It has reached the point that a new machine invented today in England, throws millions of workers in China out of work within a year. Large-scale industry has thus brought all the peoples of the earth into relationship with one another, thrown all the small local markets into the world market, prepared the way everywhere for civilisation and progress, and brought it about that everything that happens in the civilised countries must have its repercussions on all other countries. So if now in England or France the workers liberate themselves, this must lead to revolutions in all other countries, which sooner or later will also bring about the liberation of the workers in those countries.

*Secondly,* wherever large-scale industry replaced manufacture, the industrial revolution developed the bourgeoisie, its wealth and its power, to the highest degree and made it the first class in the land. The result was that wherever this happened, the bourgeoisie obtained political power and ousted the hitherto ruling classes—the aristocracy, the guild-burghers and the absolute monarchy representing both. The bourgeoisie annihilated the power of the aristocracy, the nobility, by abolishing entails or the ban on the sale of landed property, and all privileges of the nobility. It destroyed the power of the guild-burghers by abolishing all guilds and craft privileges. In

place of both it put free competition, that is, a state of society in which everyone has the right to engage in any branch of industry he likes, and where nothing can hinder him in carrying it on except lack of the necessary capital. The introduction of free competition is therefore the public declaration that henceforward the members of society are only unequal in so far as their capital is unequal, that capital has become the decisive power and therefore the capitalists, the bourgeois, have become the first class in society. But free competition is necessary for the beginning of large-scale industry since it is the only state of society in which large-scale industry can grow. The bourgeoisie having thus annihilated the social power of the nobility and the guild-burghers, annihilated their political power as well. Having become the first class in society, the bourgeoisie proclaimed itself also the first class in the political sphere. It did this by establishing the representative system, which rests upon bourgeois equality before the law and the legal recognition of free competition, and which in European countries was introduced in the form of constitutional monarchy. Under these constitutional monarchies those only are electors who possess a certain amount of capital, that is to say, the bourgeois; these bourgeois electors elect the deputies, and these bourgeois deputies, by means of the right to refuse taxes, elect a bourgeois government.

*Thirdly*, the industrial revolution built up the proletariat in the same measure in which it built up the bourgeoisie. In the same proportion in which the bourgeois became wealthier, the proletarians became more numerous. For since proletarians can only be employed by capital and since capital only increases when it employs labour, the growth of the proletariat keeps exact pace with the growth of capital. At the same time it concentrates the bourgeois as well as the proletarians in large cities, in which industry can most profitably be carried on, and through this throwing together of great masses in *one* place it makes the proletarians conscious of their power. Further, the more it develops, the more machines are invented which displace manual labour, the more large-scale industry, as we already said, depresses wages to their minimum, and thereby makes the condition of the proletariat more and more unbearable. Thus, through the growing discontent of the proletariat, on the one hand, and through its growing power, on the other, the industrial revolution prepares a social revolution by the proletariat.

*Question 12:* What were the further results of the industrial revolution?

*Answer:* In the steam-engine and the other machines large-scale industry created the means of increasing industrial production in a

short time and at slight expense to an unlimited extent. With this facility of production the free competition necessarily resulting from large-scale industry very soon assumed an extremely intense character; numbers of capitalists launched into industry, and very soon more was being produced than could be used. The result was that the goods manufactured could not be sold, and a so-called trade crisis ensued. Factories had to stand idle, factory owners went bankrupt, and the workers lost their bread. Everywhere there was the greatest misery. After a while the surplus products were sold, the factories started working again, wages went up, and gradually business was more brisk than ever. But before long too many commodities were again produced, another crisis ensued, and ran the same course as the previous one. Thus since the beginning of this century the state of industry has continually fluctuated between periods of prosperity and periods of crisis, and almost regularly every five to seven years a similar crisis has occurred,[158] and every time it has entailed the greatest misery for the workers, general revolutionary ferment, and the greatest danger to the entire existing system.

*Question 13:* What conclusions can be drawn from these regularly recurring trade crises?

*Answer: Firstly,* that although in the initial stages of its development large-scale industry itself created free competition, it has now nevertheless outgrown free competition; that competition and in general the carrying on of industrial production by individuals have become a fetter upon large-scale industry which it must and will break; that large-scale industry, so long as it is conducted on its present basis, can only survive through a general confusion repeating itself every seven years which each time threatens all civilisation, not merely plunging the proletarians into misery but also ruining a great number of bourgeois; therefore that either large-scale industry itself must be given up, which is utterly impossible, or that it absolutely necessitates a completely new organisation of society, in which industrial production is no longer directed by individual factory owners, competing one against the other, but by the whole of society according to a fixed plan and according to the needs of all.

*Secondly,* that large-scale industry and the unlimited expansion of production which it makes possible can bring into being a social order in which so much of all the necessities of life will be produced that every member of society will thereby be enabled to develop and exercise all his powers and abilities in perfect freedom. Thus, precisely that quality of large-scale industry which in present society

produces all misery and all trade crises is the very quality which under a different social organisation will destroy that same misery and these disastrous fluctuations.

Thus it is most clearly proved:

1. that from now on all these ills are to be attributed only to the social order which no longer corresponds to the existing conditions;

2. that the means are available to abolish these ills completely through a new social order.

*Question 14:* What kind of new social order will this have to be?

*Answer:* Above all, it will have to take the running of industry and all branches of production in general out of the hands of separate individuals competing with each other and instead will have to ensure that all these branches of production are run by society as a whole, i.e., for the social good, according to a social plan and with the participation of all members of society. It will therefore do away with competition and replace it by association. Since the running of industry by individuals had private ownership as its necessary consequence and since competition is nothing but the manner in which industry is run by individual private owners, private ownership cannot be separated from the individual running of industry and competition. Hence, private ownership will also have to be abolished, and in its stead there will be common use of all the instruments of production and the distribution of all products by common agreement, or the so-called community of property. The abolition of private ownership is indeed the most succinct and characteristic summary of the transformation of the entire social system necessarily following from the development of industry, and it is therefore rightly put forward by the Communists as their main demand.

*Question 15:* The abolition of private property was therefore not possible earlier?

*Answer:* No. Every change in the social order, every revolution in property relations, has been the necessary result of the creation of new productive forces which would no longer conform to the old property relations. Private property itself arose in this way. For private property has not always existed, but when towards the end of the Middle Ages a new mode of production appeared in the form of manufacture which could not be subordinated to the then existing feudal and guild property, manufacture, having outgrown the old property relations, created a new form of ownership—private ownership. For manufacture and the first stage of development of large-scale industry, no other form of ownership was possible than private ownership and no other order of society than that founded

upon private ownership. So long as it is not possible to produce so much that not only is there enough for all, but also a surplus for the increase of social capital and for the further development of the productive forces, so long must there always be a ruling class disposing of the productive forces of society, and a poor, oppressed class. How these classes are composed will depend upon the stage of development of production. In the Middle Ages, which were dependent upon agriculture, we find the lord and the serf; the towns of the later Middle Ages show us the master guildsman and the journeyman and day labourer; the seventeenth century has the manufacturer and the manufactory worker; the nineteenth century the big factory owner and the proletarian. It is obvious that hitherto the productive forces had not yet been so far developed that enough could be produced for all or to make private property a fetter, a barrier, to these productive forces. Now, however, when the development of large-scale industry has, *firstly*, created capital and productive forces on a scale hitherto unheard of and the means are available to increase these productive forces in a short time to an infinite extent; when, *secondly*, these productive forces are concentrated in the hands of a few bourgeois whilst the great mass of the people are more and more becoming proletarians, and their condition more wretched and unendurable in the same measure in which the riches of the bourgeois increase; when, *thirdly*, these powerful productive forces that can easily be increased have so enormously outgrown private property and the bourgeois that at every moment they provoke the most violent disturbances in the social order—only now has the abolition of private property become not only possible but even absolutely necessary.

*Question 16:* Will it be possible to bring about the abolition of private property by peaceful methods?

*Answer:* It is to be desired that this could happen, and Communists certainly would be the last to resist it. The Communists know only too well that all conspiracies are not only futile but even harmful. They know only too well that revolutions are not made deliberately and arbitrarily, but that everywhere and at all times they have been the necessary outcome of circumstances entirely independent of the will and the leadership of particular parties and entire classes. But they also see that the development of the proletariat is in nearly every civilised country forcibly suppressed, and that thus the opponents of the Communists are working with all their might towards a revolution. Should the oppressed proletariat in the end be goaded into a revolution, we Communists will then defend

the cause of the proletarians by deed just as well as we do now by word.

*Question 17:* Will it be possible to abolish private property at one stroke?

*Answer:* No, such a thing would be just as impossible as at *one* stroke to increase the existing productive forces to the degree necessary for instituting community of property. Hence, the proletarian revolution, which in all probability is impending, will transform existing society only gradually, and be able to abolish private property only when the necessary quantity of the means of production has been created.

*Question 18:* What will be the course of this revolution?

*Answer:* In the first place it will inaugurate a *democratic constitution* and thereby, directly or indirectly, the political rule of the proletariat. Directly in England, where the proletariat already constitutes the majority of the people. Indirectly in France and in Germany, where the majority of the people consists not only of proletarians but also of small peasants and urban petty bourgeois, who are only now being proletarianised and in all their political interests are becoming more and more dependent on the proletariat and therefore soon will have to conform to the demands of the proletariat. This will perhaps involve a second fight, but one that can end only in the victory of the proletariat.

Democracy would be quite useless to the proletariat if it were not immediately used as a means of carrying through further measures directly attacking private ownership and securing the means of subsistence of the proletariat. Chief among these measures, already made necessary by the existing conditions, are the following:

1. Limitation of private ownership by means of progressive taxation, high inheritance taxes, abolition of inheritance by collateral lines (brothers, nephews, etc.), compulsory loans and so forth.

2. Gradual expropriation of landed proprietors, factory owners, railway and shipping magnates, partly through competition on the part of state industry and partly directly through compensation in assignations.

3. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels against the majority of the people.

4. Organisation of the labour or employment of the proletarians on national estates, in national factories and workshops, thereby putting an end to competition among the workers themselves and compelling the factory owners, as long as they still exist, to pay the same increased wages as the State.

5. Equal liability to work for all members of society until complete abolition of private ownership. Formation of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.

6. Centralisation of the credit and banking systems in the hands of the State by means of a national bank with state capital and the suppression of all private banks and bankers.

7. Increase of national factories, workshops, railways, and ships, cultivation of all uncultivated land and improvement of land already cultivated in the same proportion in which the capital and workers at the disposal of the nation increase.

8. Education of all children, as soon as they are old enough to do without the first maternal care, in national institutions and at the expense of the nation. Education combined with production.

9. The erection of large palaces on national estates as common dwellings for communities of citizens engaged in industry as well as agriculture, and combining the advantages of both urban and rural life without the one-sidedness and disadvantages of either.

10. The demolition of all insanitary and badly built dwellings and town districts.

11. Equal right of inheritance to be enjoyed by illegitimate and legitimate children.

12. Concentration of all means of transport in the hands of the nation.

Of course, all these measures cannot be carried out at once. But one will always lead on to the other. Once the first radical onslaught upon private ownership has been made, the proletariat will see itself compelled to go always further, to concentrate all capital, all agriculture, all industry, all transport, and all exchange more and more in the hands of the State. All these measures work towards such results; and they will become realisable and will develop their centralising consequences in the same proportion in which the productive forces of the country will be multiplied by the labour of the proletariat. Finally, when all capital, all production, and all exchange are concentrated in the hands of the nation, private ownership will automatically have ceased to exist, money will have become superfluous, and production will have so increased and men will be so much changed that the last forms of the old social relations will also be able to fall away.

*Question 19:* Will it be possible for this revolution to take place in one country alone?

*Answer:* No. Large-scale industry, already by creating the world market, has so linked up all the peoples of the earth, and especially the civilised peoples, that each people is dependent on what happens

to another. Further, in all civilised countries large-scale industry has so levelled social development that in all these countries the bourgeoisie and the proletariat have become the two decisive classes of society and the struggle between them the main struggle of the day. The communist revolution will therefore be no merely national one; it will be a revolution taking place simultaneously in all civilised countries, that is, at least in England, America, France and Germany.[159] In each of these countries it will develop more quickly or more slowly according to whether the country has a more developed industry, more wealth, and a more considerable mass of productive forces. It will therefore be slowest and most difficult to carry out in Germany, quickest and easiest in England. It will also have an important effect upon the other countries of the world, and will completely change and greatly accelerate their previous manner of development. It is a worldwide revolution and will therefore be worldwide in scope.

*Question 20:* What will be the consequences of the final abolition of private ownership?

*Answer:* Above all, through society's taking out of the hands of the private capitalists the use of all the productive forces and means of communication as well as the exchange and distribution of products and managing them according to a plan corresponding to the means available and the needs of the whole of society, all the evil consequences of the present running of large-scale industry will be done away with. There will be an end of crises; the extended production, which under the present system of society means overproduction and is such a great cause of misery, will then not even be adequate and will have to be expanded much further. Instead of creating misery, overproduction beyond the immediate needs of society will mean the satisfaction of the needs of all, create new needs and at the same time the means to satisfy them. It will be the condition and the cause of new advances, and it will achieve these advances without thereby, as always hitherto, bringing the order of society into confusion. Once liberated from the pressure of private ownership, large-scale industry will develop on a scale that will make its present level of development seem as paltry as seems the manufacturing system compared with the large-scale industry of our time. This development of industry will provide society with a sufficient quantity of products to satisfy the needs of all. Similarly agriculture, which is also hindered by the pressure of private ownership and the parcelling of land from introducing the improvements already available and scientific advancements, will be given a quite new impulse, and place at society's disposal an

ample quantity of products. Thus society will produce enough products to be able so to arrange distribution that the needs of all its members will be satisfied. The division of society into various antagonistic classes will thereby become superfluous. Not only will it become superfluous, it is even incompatible with the new social order. Classes came into existence through the division of labour and the division of labour in its hitherto existing form will entirely disappear. For in order to bring industrial and agricultural production to the level described, mechanical and chemical aids alone are not enough; the abilities of the people who set these aids in motion must also be developed to a corresponding degree. Just as in the last century the peasants and the manufactory workers changed their entire way of life, and themselves became quite different people when they were drawn into large-scale industry, so also will the common management of production by the whole of society and the resulting new development of production require and also produce quite different people. The common management of production cannot be effected by people as they are today, each one being assigned to a single branch of production, shackled to it, exploited by it, each having developed only *one* of his abilities at the cost of all the others and knowing only *one* branch, or only a branch of a branch of the total production. Even present-day industry finds less and less use for such people. Industry carried on in common and according to plan by the whole of society presupposes moreover people of all-round development, capable of surveying the entire system of production. Thus the division of labour making one man a peasant, another a shoemaker, a third a factory worker, a fourth a stockjobber, which has already been undermined by machines, will completely disappear. Education will enable young people quickly to go through the whole system of production, it will enable them to pass from one branch of industry to another according to the needs of society or their own inclinations. It will therefore free them from that one-sidedness which the present division of labour stamps on each one of them. Thus the communist organisation of society will give its members the chance of an all-round exercise of abilities that have received all-round development. With this, the various classes will necessarily disappear. Thus the communist organisation of society is, on the one hand, incompatible with the existence of classes and, on the other, the very establishment of this society furnishes the means to do away with these class differences.

It follows from this that the antagonism between town and country will likewise disappear. The carrying on of agriculture and industrial production by the same people, instead of by two different classes, is

already for purely material reasons an essential condition of communist association. The scattering of the agricultural population over the countryside, along with the crowding of the industrial population into the big towns, is a state which corresponds only to an undeveloped stage of agriculture and industry, an obstacle to all further development which is already now making itself very keenly felt.

The general association of all members of society for the common and planned exploitation of the productive forces, the expansion of production to a degree where it will satisfy the needs of all, the termination of the condition where the needs of some are satisfied at the expense of others, the complete annihilation of classes and their antagonisms, the all-round development of the abilities of all the members of society through doing away with the hitherto existing division of labour, through industrial education, through change of activity, through the participation of all in the enjoyments provided by all, through the merging of town and country—such are the main results of the abolition of private property.

*Question 21:* What influence will the communist order of society have upon the family?

*Answer:* It will make the relation between the sexes a purely private relation which concerns only the persons involved, and in which society has no call to interfere. It is able to do this because it abolishes private property and educates children communally, thus destroying the twin foundation of hitherto existing marriage—the dependence through private property of the wife upon the husband and of the children upon the parents. Here also is the answer to the outcry of moralising philistines against the communist community of women. Community of women is a relationship that belongs altogether to bourgeois society and is completely realised today in prostitution. But prostitution is rooted in private property and falls with it. Thus instead of introducing the community of women, communist organisation puts an end to it.

*Question 22:* What will be the attitude of the communist organisation towards existing nationalities?

—remains[a]

*Question 23:* What will be its attitude towards existing religions?

—remains[b]

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[a] Apparently this means that the answer remains the same as to Question 21 of the "Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith". See this volume, p. 103.—*Ed.*

[b] See answer to Question 22 of the "Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith", this volume, p. 103.—*Ed.*

*Question 24:* In what way do Communists differ from socialists?

*Answer:* The so-called socialists fall into three groups.

The first group consists of adherents of feudal and patriarchal society which has been or is still being daily destroyed by large-scale industry, world trade and the bourgeois society they have both brought into existence. From the ills of present-day society this group draws the conclusion that feudal and patriarchal society should be restored because it was free from these ills. Directly or deviously, all its proposals make for this goal. Despite all its professions of sympathy and its bewailing the misery of the proletariat, this group of *reactionary* socialists will be strongly opposed by the Communists, because

1. it is striving after something utterly impossible;
2. it seeks to establish the rule of the aristocracy, the guild-masters and the manufacturers, with their retinue of absolute or feudal monarchs, officials, soldiers and priests, a society which was indeed free from the vices of present society, but brought at least as many other evils in its train and did not even hold out the prospect of the emancipation of the oppressed workers through a communist organisation;
3. it always gives away its real intentions every time the proletariat becomes revolutionary and communist, when it immediately allies itself with the bourgeoisie against the proletarians.

The second group consists of adherents of present society in whom the evils inseparable from it have awakened fears for its survival. They therefore endeavour to preserve present society but to remove the evils bound up with it. With this end in view, some of them propose measures of mere charity, and others grandiose systems of reform which, under the pretext of reorganising society, would retain the foundations of present society, and thus present society itself. These *bourgeois socialists* will also have to be continuously fought by the Communists, since they work for the enemies of the Communists and defend the society which it is the Communists' aim to destroy.

Finally, the third group consists of democratic socialists, who in the same way as the Communists desire part of the measures listed in Question ...[a] not, however, as a means of transition to communism but as measures sufficient to abolish the misery of present society and to cause its evils to disappear. These *democratic socialists* are either proletarians who are not yet sufficiently enlightened regarding the conditions of the emancipation of their class, or they are

[a] The manuscript has a blank space here. See answer to Question 18.—*Ed.*

members of the petty bourgeoisie, a class which, until the winning of democracy and the realisation of the socialist measures following upon it, has in many respects the same interest as the proletariat. At moments of action the Communists will, therefore, have to reach an understanding with these democratic socialists, and in general for the time being pursue as much as possible a common policy with them, insofar as these democratic socialists do not enter the service of the ruling bourgeoisie and attack the Communists. It is obvious that this common action does not exclude the discussion of differences with them.

*Question 25:* What is the attitude of the Communists towards the other political parties of our day?

*Answer:* This attitude differs from country to country.—In England, France, and Belgium, where the bourgeoisie rules, the Communists still have for the time being a common interest with the various democratic parties, which is all the greater the more in the socialist measures they are now everywhere advocating the democrats approach the aims of the Communists, that is, the more clearly and definitely they uphold the interests of the proletariat and the more they rely on the proletariat. In *England,* for instance, the Chartists, who are all workers, are incalculably nearer to the Communists than are the democratic petty bourgeois or so-called radicals.

In *America,* where a democratic constitution has been introduced, the Communists must make common cause with the party that will turn this constitution against the bourgeoisie and use it in the interest of the proletariat, that is, with the national agrarian reformers.[160]

In *Switzerland* the radicals, although still a very mixed party, are yet the only people with whom the Communists can have anything to do, and, further, among these radicals those in the cantons of Vaud and of Geneva are the most advanced.

Finally, in *Germany* the decisive struggle between the bourgeoisie and the absolute monarchy is still to come. Since, however, the Communists cannot count on the decisive struggle between themselves and the bourgeoisie until the bourgeoisie rules, it is in the interests of the Communists to help bring the bourgeoisie to power as soon as possible in order as soon as possible to overthrow them again. The Communists must therefore always take the side of the liberal bourgeois against the governments but they must ever be on their guard against sharing the self-deceptions of the bourgeois or believing their false assurances about the benefits which the victory of the bourgeoisie will bring to the proletariat. The only advantages which the victory of the bourgeoisie will provide for the Communists

will be: 1. various concessions which make easier for the Communists the defence, discussion and spreading of their principles and thus the unification of the proletariat into a closely knit, militant and organised class, and 2. the certainty that from the day when the absolute governments fall, comes the turn for the fight between bourgeois and proletarians. From that day onwards the party policy of the Communists will be the same as in the countries where the bourgeoisie already rules.

Written at the end of October 1847

First published separately in 1914

Printed according to the manuscript

# Frederick Engels

## [THE AGRARIAN PROGRAMME OF THE CHARTISTS][161]

About two years ago the Chartist workers founded an association with the object of buying land and dividing it among its members into small holdings.[162] It was hoped in this way to diminish the excessive competition between factory workers themselves, by keeping from the labour market some of these workers to form a quite new and essentially democratic class of small peasants. This project, whose author is none other than Feargus O'Connor himself, has had such success that the *Chartist Land Company* already numbers from two to three hundred thousand members,[a] that it disposes of social funds of £60,000 (a million and a half francs), and that its receipts, announced in *The Northern Star*, exceed £2,500 per week. In fact, the Company, of which I propose to give you later a more detailed account, has grown to such a size that it is already disquieting the landed aristocracy; for it is evident that this movement, if it continues to grow at the same rate as up to now, will end by becoming transformed into a national agitation for taking possession of the nation's land by the people. The bourgeoisie does not find this Company to its taste either; it sees it as a lever in the hands of the people which will allow the latter to free themselves without needing the help of the middle class. It is particularly the small bourgeoisie, more or less liberal, which looks askance at the Land Company because it already finds the Chartists much more independent of its support than before the founding of the association. Moreover, these same radicals, unable to explain the

[a] *The Northern Star* No. 524, November 6, 1847 has "consists of a vast number of members" instead of "already numbers from two to three hundred thousand members".—*Ed.*

indifference which the people show them and which is the inevitable consequence of their own lukewarm attitude, insist on attacking Mr. O'Connor continually as the sole obstacle to a reunion of the Chartist and radical parties. It was therefore enough that the Land Company should be the work of O'Connor to draw upon it all the hatred of the more or less radical bourgeois. At first they ignored it; when the conspiracy of silence could no longer be maintained they tried to prove that the Company was so organised as to end inevitably in the most scandalous bankruptcy; finally, when these means did not prevent the Company from prospering, they returned to the tactic that for ten years they had constantly used always without the least success against Mr. O'Connor. They sought to cast suspicions upon his character, to throw doubts on his disinterestedness, to destroy the right he claimed to call himself the incorruptible and unpaid administrator for the workers. When, therefore, some time ago, Mr. O'Connor published his annual report,[a] six more or less radical papers, which appear to have had a clandestine meeting, joined in attacking him. These papers were the *Weekly Dispatch*, the *Globe*, the *Nonconformist*, the *Manchester Examiner*, *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* and the *Nottingham Mercury*. They accused Mr. O'Connor of the most shameless thefts and misappropriations, which they sought to prove or to make probable by the figures of the report itself. Far from being satisfied with that, they pried into the private life of the celebrated agitator: a mountain of accusations, each graver than the other, was heaped on him, and his adversaries could well believe that he would be overwhelmed by it. But O'Connor, who for ten years has not ceased to fight the so-called radical press, did not flinch under these calumnies. He published in *The Northern Star* of the 23rd of this month a reply to the six papers.[b] This reply, a polemical masterpiece which recalls the best pamphlets of *William Cobbett*, refutes one accusation after another and, in its turn taking the offensive, launches against the six editors very severe attacks, full of superb disdain. This was enough completely to justify O'Connor in the people's eyes. *The Northern Star* of the 30th of this month contains the votes of complete confidence in O'Connor passed at public meetings of Chartists in more than fifty localities. But O'Connor wanted to give his adversaries the opportunity to attack him in front of the people. He invited them to maintain their charges at public

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[a] F. O'Connor, "To the Members of the National Land Company" and "O'Connor, F., Esq. (Treasurer) in Account with the National Land Company".—*Ed.*

[b] F. O'Connor, "To the Editors of the *Nottingham Mercury*, the *Nonconformist*, the *Dispatch*, the *Globe*, the *Manchester Examiner* and *Lloyds' Trash*".—*Ed.*

meetings at Manchester and Nottingham. Not one of them turned up. At Manchester, O'Connor spoke for four hours before more than ten thousand men, who applauded him thunderously and unanimously confirmed their confidence in him. The crowd was so great that, besides the great meeting where O'Connor defended himself personally, it was necessary to hold another meeting in the public square, where ten to fifteen thousand other people, who were not able to enter the indoor meeting, were harangued by several other speakers.

When the meetings had ended, O'Connor declared that he would receive the contributions and subscriptions of the members of the Land Company, and the sum paid to him that evening exceeded £1,000 (25,000 francs).

At Nottingham, where O'Connor on the next day drew one of the greatest meetings which had ever taken place there, the same popular enthusiasm was caused by his speech.

This was at least the hundredth time that Mr. O'Connor has triumphed in this brilliant way over the calumnies of the bourgeois press. Imperturbable amidst all these attacks, the indefatigable patriot continues his work, and the unanimous confidence of the English people is the best proof of his courage, his energy, his incorruptibility.

Written on October 30, 1847

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Printed according to the text in *La Réforme*

Translated from the French

# Frederick Engels

## [THE CHARTIST BANQUET IN CONNECTION WITH THE ELECTIONS OF 1847] [163]

In a letter of the day before yesterday I was concerned to defend the Chartists and their leader Feargus O'Connor against the attacks of the radical bourgeois press.[a] Today, to my great satisfaction, I can tell you something which confirms what I suggested about the spirit of the two parties. You will judge for yourselves to whom French democracy ought to give its sympathy: to the Chartists, sincere democrats without ulterior motives, or to the radical bourgeois who so carefully avoid using the words *people's charter, universal suffrage,* and limit themselves to proclaiming that they are partisans of *complete suffrage*! [164]

Last month a banquet took place in London to celebrate the triumph of democratic opinion at the last elections. Eighteen radical members of Parliament were invited, but since the Chartists had initiated the banquet all these gentlemen defaulted, with the exception of O'Connor. The radicals, as we see, are behaving in a way which makes it quite predictable how they will honour their pledges made at the last elections.

One dispensed with their presence the more readily as they had sent one of their worthy representatives—Doctor Epps, a timid man and a petty reformer, conciliatory towards everybody except the active and energetic men of our opinions; a philanthropic bourgeois who burns, he says, to free the people, but who does not want the people to free themselves without him; in fact, a worthy partisan of bourgeois radicalism.

Doctor Epps proposed a first toast to the *sovereignty of the people,*

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[a] See previous article.—*Ed.*

but so generally lukewarm apart from a few slightly livelier passages that several times it aroused murmurs among the assembly.

"I do not think," he said, "that the sovereignty of the people can be obtained through a revolution. The French fought three days[165]; they have been cheated out of national sovereignty. Nor do I think that it can be obtained by long speeches. Those who speak least do most. I do not like men who make a lot of noise; big words do not make big deeds."

These indirect sallies against the Chartists were received with numerous marks of disapproval. It could not be otherwise, above all when Doctor Epps added:

"The bourgeoisie has been slandered among the workers; as if the bourgeoisie was not the very class which alone can obtain political rights for the workers. ("No! No!") No? Is it not the bourgeois who are the electors? And is it not only the electors who can give the vote to those who do not have it? Is there anyone among you who would not become a bourgeois if he could? Ah! If the workers would give up their pots and their pipes, they would have money to support their political agitation, they could do much to contribute towards their freedom," etc., etc.

Such is the language of the men who reject O'Connor and the Chartists!

The speakers who succeeded Dr. Epps energetically rebutted the strange doctrines of the radical doctor, amid much applause by the assembly.

Mr. MacGrath, member of the executive committee of the Chartist Association,[166] recalled that the people ought not to have confidence in the bourgeoisie, that they had to win their own rights by themselves; it was not proper to the dignity of the people to beg for what really belonged to them.

Mr. Jones reminded the assembly that the bourgeoisie had always forgotten the people; and now that the bourgeoisie sees the growth of democracy, he said, it wants to use it to overthrow the landed aristocracy, and crush the democrats as soon as it has attained its objective.

Mr. O'Connor, replying still more directly to Dr. Epps, asked him who had crushed the country with an enormous debt, if it were not the bourgeoisie? Who had deprived the workers of their political and social rights if not the bourgeoisie? Who had, that very evening, refused to respond to the people's invitation, if it were not the seventeen honourable bourgeois to whom the democrats had so unfortunately given their votes? No, no, capital never represents labour! The lion and the lamb would lie down together before capitalists and workers were united by interests and feelings!

Mr. Harney, editor of *The Northern Star*, gave the last toast: "*Our democratic brethren throughout the world! May their present struggle for*

*liberty and equality be crowned with success!*" Kings, aristocrats, priests and capitalists of all countries, he said, are allied together. May democrats of all lands follow the same example! Everywhere democracy marches forward. In France, banquet follows banquet in favour of electoral reform; and the movement is developing on such a scale that it must lead to a happy result. Let us hope that the masses, this time, will profit from this agitation, that the reform won by the French will be worth more than what we won in 1831.[167]

There can be no true reform as long as sovereignty does not wholly belong to the nation; there is no national sovereignty as long as the principles of the constitution of 1793[168] are not a reality.

Mr. Harney then gave a picture of the progress of democracy in Germany, Italy and Switzerland, and ended by disavowing, for his part, in the most energetic terms, the strange doctrines of Dr. Epps about the rights of the bourgeoisie.

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## Frederick Engels

# THE MANIFESTO OF M. DE LAMARTINE

You recently published this curious piece of workmanship.[169] It consists of two very distinct parts: *political* measures and *social* measures. Now the *political* measures are, one and all, taken from the Constitution of 1791,[170] with almost no alteration; that is, they are the return to the demands of the middle classes in the beginning of the revolution. At that time the whole of the middle classes, including even the smaller tradesmen, were invested with political power, while at present the participation in it is restrained to the large capitalists. What, then, is the meaning of the political measures proposed by M. de Lamartine? To give the government into the hands of the inferior *bourgeoisie,* but under the semblance of giving it to the whole people (this, and nothing else, is the meaning of his universal suffrage, with his double system of elections). And his *social* measures? Why, they are either things which presuppose that a successful revolution has already given the political power to the people—such as gratuitous education for all; or measures of pure charity, that is, measures to soften down the revolutionary energies of the proletarians; or mere high-sounding words without any practical meaning, such as extinction of mendicity by order in council, abolition of public distress by law, a ministry of the people's life, etc. They are, therefore, either totally useless to the people, or calculated to benefit them in such a degree only as will assure some sort of public tranquillity, or they are mere empty promises, which no man can keep—and in these two last cases they are worse than useless. In short, M. de Lamartine proves himself, both under a social and a political point of view, the faithful representative of the small tradesman, the inferior *bourgeoisie,* and [one] who shares in the illusion particular to this class: that he represents the working

people. And, in the end he is foolish enough to address himself to the government with the demand of their support for his measures. Why, the present government of the great capitalists will do anything but that. The *Réforme*, therefore, is perfectly right in attacking, though with a deal of good will, and recognising his good intentions, the practicability both of his measures, and his mode of setting about having them carried.[a]

"Certainly," says the *Réforme*, "these are high words, revealing a mighty heart, a spirit sympathising with the cause of right. The fraternal feeling is panting visibly under the cloak of words, and our poets and philosophers will be excited by them into enthusiasm similar to that produced upon Periclean Greece by the sentence of Plato. But we have not now anything to do with Pericles, we live under the reign of Messrs Rothschild, Fulchiron and Duchâtel, that is under the triple incarnation of Money, blockheaded Fear, and Police; we have for a government, profits, privilege, and the municipal guard. Now, hopes M. de Lamartine that the league of consolidated interests, that the Sonderbund[b] of dollars, place and monopoly, will surrender and lay down arms at his appeal to national sovereignty and social fraternity? Why, for good as for evil, all things in this world are connected—one keeps up the other, nothing is isolated—and that is the reason why the most generous programme of the deputy for Mâcon[c] will pass like perfumed zephyrs of summer, will die like empty trumpet sounds, as long as they shall bear the motherstain of all monopoly—feudal violation of Right and of Equality. And this league of the privileged classes is particularly closely united at this very moment, when the governmental system is the prey of convulsive fear.

"As to the institutions he proposes, the official country and its leaders call such things the sweet meats of philosophy: Messrs Duchâtel and Guizot will laugh at them, and if the deputy for Mâcon does not look out elsewhere for arms and soldiers to defend his ideas, he will pass all his life at making fine words and no progress! And if he addresses himself to the million instead of the government, we tell him that he follows a false route, and never will win over to his system of graduated election, poor rate, and philanthropic charity, neither the Revolution, nor thinking men, nor the people. The principles, indeed, of social and political regeneration have been found fifty years ago. Universal suffrage, direct election, paid representation—these are the essential conditions of political sovereignty. Equality, liberty, fraternity—these are the principles which ought to rule all social institutions. Now, the poor rate is far from being based upon fraternity, whilst at the same time it is an insolent and very impotent denial of equality. What we want is not English middle-class expediency, but quite a new system of social economy, to realise the right and satisfy the wants of all."

A few days after appeared the second manifesto of M. de Lamartine upon the foreign policy of France. In this he maintains that the peace system followed by the French government after 1830, was the only convenient mode of action. He covers by pompous

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[a] There follows a free translation of extracts from an article by Louis Blanc analysing Lamartine's "Déclaration de principes".—*Ed.*

[b] The allusion is to the Swiss Sonderbund, a separatist union of seven Catholic cantons.—*Ed.*

[c] Lamartine.—*Ed.*

sentences the infamous manner in which the French government first excited Italy and other countries to rebellion, and afterwards abandoned them to their fate. Here is the forcible reply of the *Réforme*[a] to this buttermilk manifesto:

"M. de Lamartine sacrifices the legitimate and only instrument of freeing us—the holy war of principle—to a theory of peace which will be a mere weakness, a lie, and even an act of treason, as long as the relations from people to people are based upon the policy of diplomatists, and the egotism of governments. No doubt, peace is the ultimate necessity of civilisation; but what is peace with Nicholas of Russia? The disemboweller of whole nations, the hangman who nails infants to the gallows, who carries on a deadly war against even hope and recollection, who drowns in her tears and her blood a great, a glorious country! For mankind, for civilisation, for France herself, peace with this madman of a Jack Ketch is cowardice; for justice, for right, for the revolution, it is a crime! What is peace with Metternich, who hires hosts of assassins, who confiscates for the benefit of crowned epilepsy,[b] the liberties of nations? What is peace with all those little Caesars of Europe, ruined debauchees, or villainous bigots who reign, to-day for the Jesuits, to-morrow for the courtezan? What is peace with the aristocratic and money-mongering English government, which tyrannises the seas, which kills liberty in Portugal, which squeezes money even out of the rags of its people? Peace with these Jews, these poison-mongers, we repeat it, is, for a country in revolution, cowardice, shame, crime, moral desertion, bankruptcy not only of interest, but of right and honour."

The other Paris papers have equally expressed their dissent from M. de Lamartine's programme in different respects.[171] He continues, however, illustrating its principles in his paper, the *Bien Public* of Mâcon. We shall in a few months be enabled to judge what effect his *new move* will make upon the Chamber of Deputies.

Written at the beginning of November 1847

Reprinted from the newspaper

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[a] "Programme de M. Lamartine".—*Ed.*

[b] Ferdinand I.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE CIVIL WAR IN SWITZERLAND[172]

At last the ceaseless bombast about the "cradle of freedom", about the "grandsons of William Tell and Winkelried", about the heroic victors of Sempach and Murten[173] is being brought to an end. At last it has been revealed that the cradle of freedom is nothing but the centre of barbarism and the nursery of Jesuits, that the grandsons of Tell and Winkelried can only be brought to reason by cannon-balls, and that the heroism at Sempach and Murten was nothing but the desperation of brutal and bigoted mountain tribes, obstinately resisting civilisation and progress.

It is really very fortunate that European democracy is finally getting rid of this *Ur*-Swiss, puritan and reactionary ballast. As long as the democrats concentrated on the virtue, the happiness and the patriarchal simplicity of these Alpine shepherds, they themselves still appeared in a reactionary light. Now that they are supporting the struggle of civilised, industrial, modern-democratic Switzerland against the crude, Christian-Germanic democracy of the primitive, cattle-breeding cantons, they represent progress everywhere, now the last reactionary glimmer disappears, now they show that they are learning to understand the meaning of democracy in the 19th century.

There are two regions in Europe where old Christian-Germanic barbarism has retained its most primitive form, almost down to acorn-eating—Norway and the High Alps, especially *Ur*-Switzerland.[174] Both Norway and *Ur*-Switzerland still provide us with genuine examples of that breed of men who once beat the Romans to death in good Westphalian style with clubs and flails in the Teutoburg Forest.[175] Both Norway and *Ur*-Switzerland are democratically organised. But there are many varieties of democracy and

it is very necessary that the democrats of the civilised countries should at last decline responsibility for the Norwegian and *Ur*-Swiss forms of democracy.

The democratic movement in all civilised countries is, in the last analysis, striving for the political domination of the proletariat. It therefore presupposes that a proletariat exists, that a ruling bourgeoisie exists, that an industry exists which gives birth to the proletariat and which has brought the bourgeoisie to power.

There is nothing of all this either in Norway or in *Ur*-Switzerland. In Norway, we have the very famous peasant regiment (*bonde-regimente*); in *Ur*-Switzerland a number of rough shepherds who, despite their democratic constitution, are ruled by a few big landowners, Abyberg, etc., in patriarchal fashion. A bourgeoisie only exists in exceptional cases in Norway, and not at all in *Ur*-Switzerland. The proletariat is practically non-existent.

The democracy prevailing in civilised countries, *modern* democracy, has thus nothing whatever in common with Norwegian or *Ur*-Swiss democracy. It does not wish to bring about the Norwegian and *Ur*-Swiss state of affairs but something absolutely different. Let us nevertheless look a little closer at this primitive-Germanic democracy and deal first with *Ur*-Switzerland, which is what above all concerns us here.

Is there a German philistine who does not rave about William Tell, the liberator of his Fatherland; a schoolmaster who does not celebrate Morgarten, Sempach and Murten along with Marathon, Plataea and Salamis[176]; a hysterical old maid who does not go into raptures over the strong leg calves and sturdy thighs of the chaste Alpine youths? The glory of *Ur*-Swiss valour, freedom, skill and strength has been endlessly praised in verse and prose from Aegidius Tschudi to Johannes von Müller, from Florian to Schiller. The carbines and cannons of the twelve cantons now provide a commentary on these enthusiastic panegyrics.

The *Ur*-Swiss have drawn attention to themselves twice during the course of history. The first time, when they freed themselves gloriously from Austrian tyranny; the second at the present time, when they march off to fight in God's name for the Jesuits and the Fatherland.

On closer examination, the glorious liberation from the talons of the Austrian eagle does not look at all good. The House of Austria was progressive just once in the whole of its career; this was at the beginning of its existence when it allied itself with the urban petty bourgeoisie against the nobility, and sought to found a German monarchy. It was progressive in the most philistine of ways but it was

progressive nonetheless. And who opposed it most resolutely? The *Ur*-Swiss. The struggle of the *Ur*-Swiss against Austria, the glorious oath on the Grütli,[177] Tell's heroic shot, the eternally memorable victory at Morgarten, all this was the struggle of stubborn shepherds against the onward march of historical development, the struggle of obstinate, rooted local interests against the interests of the whole nation, the struggle of crude ignorance against enlightenment, of barbarism against civilisation. They won their victory over the civilisation of the time, and as a punishment they were excluded from all further civilisation.

As if this were not enough, these simple, stiff-necked shepherds were soon punished in a quite different way. They escaped the domination of the Austrian nobility only to come under the yoke of the petty bourgeois of Zurich, Lucerne, Berne and Basel. These had already noted that the *Ur*-Swiss were just as strong and as stupid as their oxen. They agreed to join the Swiss Confederation and stayed peacefully at home behind their counters while the thick-headed Alpine shepherds fought out all their battles with the nobility and the princes for them. This is what happened at Sempach, Granson, Murten and Nancy.[178] In return, these people were allowed to arrange their internal affairs as they wished and so they remained in blissful ignorance of how they were being exploited by their dear fellow-Confederationists.

Since then nothing much has been heard of them. They busied themselves in all piety and propriety with milking the cows, with cheese-making, chastity and yodelling. From time to time they had folk assemblies at which they divided into horn-men, claw-men and other animal-like groups, and these gatherings never ended without a hearty, Christian-Germanic fight. They were poor but pure in heart, stupid but pious and well-pleasing to the Lord, brutal but broad-shouldered and had little brain but plenty of brawn. From time to time there were too many of them and then the young men went off on their "travels", i.e., enlisted in foreign armies where they displayed the most steadfast loyalty to the flag no matter what happened. One can only say of the Swiss that they let themselves be killed most conscientiously for their pay.

The greatest boast of these burly *Ur*-Swiss was that from time immemorial they had never deviated by a hair's breadth from the customs of their forefathers, that they had retained the simple, chaste, upright and virtuous customs of their fathers unsullied throughout the centuries. And this is true. Every attempt at civilisation was defeated by the granite walls of their mountains and of their heads. From the days when Winkelried's first ancestor led his

cow, with the inevitable little pastoral bell round its neck, on to the virgin pastures of the Vierwaldstätter Lake, up to the present day, when the latest descendant of Winkelried has his gun blessed by the priest, all houses have been built in the same way, all cows milked in the same way, all pigtails plaited in the same way, all cheeses prepared according to the same recipe, all children made in the same way. Here, in the mountains, is Paradise, here the Fall of Man has not yet come to pass. And should some innocent Alpine lad happen to find his way to the great outside world and allow himself to be tempted for a moment by the seductions of the big cities, by the artificial charms of a decadent civilisation, by the vices of sinful countries, which have no mountains and where corn thrives—his innocence is so deep-rooted that he can never quite succumb. A sound strikes his ear, just two of those notes of the Alpine cowherd's call that sound like a dog's howling, and he falls on his knees, weeping and overwhelmed with remorse, and at once tears himself from the arms of seduction and will not rest until he lies at the feet of his old father! "Father, I have sinned against my ancient mountains and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son."[a]

In recent times two invasions against these artless customs and primitive power have been attempted. The first was by the French in 1798. But these French, who spread a little civilisation everywhere else, failed with these *Ur*-Swiss. No trace of their presence has remained, they were unable to eliminate one single jot of the old customs and virtues. The second invasion took place about twenty years later and did at least bear a little fruit. This was the invasion of English travellers, of London lords and squires[b] and the hordes of chandlers, soap-manufacturers, grocers and bone merchants who followed them. This invasion at least ended the old hospitality and transformed the honest inhabitants of the Alpine huts, who previously hardly knew what money was, into the most mean and rascally swindlers anywhere to be found. But this advance made no impact at all on the old simple customs. This not so very virtuous chicanery fitted in perfectly with the patriarchal virtues of chastity, skill, probity and loyalty. Even their piety suffered no injury; the priests were delighted to give them absolution for all the deceptions practised on British heretics.

But it now looks as if all this moral purity is about to be thoroughly stirred up. It is to be hoped that the punitive detachments will do

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[a] Luke 15:21 (paraphrased).—*Ed.*

[b] In the original the words "lords" and "squires" are in English.—*Ed.*

their best to finish off all the probity, primitive power and simplicity. Then moan, you philistines! For there will be no more poor but contented shepherds whose carefree peace of mind you might wish for yourselves on Sundays after you have made your cut out of selling coffee made of chicory and tea made of sloe leaves during the other six days of the week. Then weep, you schoolmasters, for there will be an end to your hopes for a new Sempach-Marathon and other classical feats. Then mourn, you hysterical virgins over thirty, for those six-inch leg calves, the thought of which solaced your solitary dreams, will soon be gone—gone the Antinous-like beauty of the powerful "Swiss peasant lads", gone the firm thighs and tight trousers which attract you so irresistibly to the Alps. Then sigh, tender and anaemic boarding-school misses, who when reading Schiller's works delighted in the chaste but oh so powerful love of the agile chamois hunters, for all your fond illusions are lost and now there is nothing left for you but to read the works of Henrik Steffens and fall for the frigid Norwegians.

But no more of that. The *Ur*-Swiss must be fought with weapons quite different from mere ridicule. Democracy has to settle accounts with them about matters quite different from their patriarchal virtues.

Who defended the Bastille on July 14, 1789 against the people who were storming it? Who shot down the workers of the Faubourg St. Antoine with grape-shot and rifle bullets from behind safe walls? —*Ur*-Swiss from the Sonderbund, grandsons of Tell, Stauffacher and Winkelried.

Who defended the traitor Louis XVI on August 10, 1792 from the just wrath of the people, in the Louvre and the Tuileries?—*Ur*-Swiss from the Sonderbund.

Who suppressed the Neapolitan revolution of 1798 with the help of Nelson?—*Ur*-Swiss from the Sonderbund.

Who re-established the absolute monarchy in Naples—with the help of Austrians—in 1823?—*Ur*-Swiss from the Sonderbund.

Who fought to the last on July 29, 1830, again for a treacherous king[a] and again shot Paris workers down from the windows and colonnades of the Louvre?—*Ur*-Swiss from the Sonderbund.

Who suppressed the insurrections in Romagna in 1830 and 1831, again along with the Austrians, with a brutality which achieved world notoriety?—*Ur*-Swiss from the Sonderbund.

In short, who holds the Italians down, to this day, forcing them to bow to the oppressive domination of their aristocrats, princes and

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[a] Charles X.—*Ed.*

priests; who was Austria's right hand in Italy, who enables the bloodhound Ferdinand of Naples to keep a tight rein on his anguish-stricken people to this very moment, who has been acting as his executioners to this day carrying out the mass shootings he orders? Always, again and again, *Ur*-Swiss from the Sonderbund, again and again, the grandsons of Tell, Stauffacher and Winkelried!

In one word, wherever and whenever a revolutionary movement broke out in France either directly or indirectly advantageous to democracy, it was always *Ur*-Swiss mercenaries who fought it to the last, with the utmost resolution. And especially in Italy these Swiss mercenaries were always the most devoted servants and handy men of Austria. A just punishment for the glorious liberation of Switzerland from the talons of the two-headed eagle!

One should not think that these mercenaries were the refuse of their country, or that they were disavowed by their fellow-countrymen. Have not the people of Lucerne had a statue hewn out of the rock at their city gates by the pious Icelander Thorvaldsen, depicting a huge lion, bleeding from an arrow wound, covering the Bourbon fleur-de-lis with his paw, faithful unto death, in memory of the Swiss who died at the Louvre on August 10, 1792? This is the way Sonderbund honours the venal loyalty of its sons. It lives by the trade in human beings and glorifies it.

Can the English, French and German democrats have had anything in common with this kind of democracy?

Through its industry, its commerce and its political institutions, the bourgeoisie is already working everywhere to drag the small, self-contained localities which only live for themselves out of their isolation, to bring them into contact with one another, to merge their interests, to expand their local horizons, to destroy their local habits, strivings and ways of thinking, and to build up a great nation with common interests, customs and ideas out of the many hitherto mutually independent localities and provinces. The bourgeoisie is already carrying out considerable centralisation. The proletariat, far from suffering any disadvantage from this, will as a result rather be in a position to unite, to feel itself a class, to acquire a proper political point of view within the democracy, and finally to conquer the bourgeoisie. The democratic proletariat not only needs the kind of centralisation begun by the bourgeoisie but will have to extend it very much further. During the short time when the proletariat was at the helm of state in the French Revolution, during the rule of the Mountain party, it used all means—including grape-shot and the guillotine—to effect centralisation. When the democratic proletariat

again comes to power, it will not only have to centralise every country separately but will have to centralise all civilised countries together as soon as possible.

*Ur*-Switzerland, on the other hand, has never done anything but obstruct centralisation; with really brutish obstinacy it has insisted on its isolation from the whole outside world, on its local customs, habits, prejudices, narrow-mindedness and seclusion. It has stood still in the centre of Europe at the level of its original barbarism, while all other nations, even the other Swiss, have gone forward. It stands pat on cantonal sovereignty with all the obduracy of the crude primitive Germans, that is, on the right to be eternally stupid, bigoted, brutal, narrow-minded, recalcitrant and venal if it so wishes, whether its neighbours like it or not. If their own brutish situation comes under discussion, they no longer recognise such things as majorities, agreements or obligations. But in the 19th century it is no longer possible for two parts of one and the same country to exist side by side without any mutual intercourse and influence. The radical cantons affect the Sonderbund, the Sonderbund affects the radical cantons, where, too, very crude elements still exist here and there. The radical cantons are, therefore, interested in getting the Sonderbund to abandon its bigotry, narrow-mindedness and obduracy, and if it won't, then its self-will must be broken by force; and this is what is happening at this moment.

The civil war which has now broken out can only help the cause of democracy. Even though there is still a great deal of primitive Germanic crudity to be found in the radical cantons, even though a peasant, or a bourgeois regiment, or a mixture of both is concealed behind their democracy, even though the most civilised cantons still lag behind the development of European civilisation and really modern elements only rise to the top slowly here and there, this is no great help to the Sonderbund. It is necessary, urgently necessary, that this last bastion of brutal, primitive Germanism, of barbarism, bigotry, patriarchal simplicity and moral purity, of immobility, of loyalty unto death to the highest bidder, should at last be destroyed. The more energetically the Swiss Diet sets to work and the more violently it shakes up this old nest of priests, the more claim it will have on the support of all really resolute democrats and the more it will prove that it understands its position. But of course the five great powers are there and the radicals themselves are afraid.

As far as the Sonderbund is concerned, it is significant that the true sons of William Tell have to beg the House of Austria, Switzerland's hereditary foe, for help just when Austria is baser,

viler, meaner and more hateful than ever. This is yet another part of the punishment for the glorious liberation of Switzerland from the talons of the two-headed eagle and the much boasting that went with it. And for the cup of punishment to be filled to the brim Austria itself has to be in such a pass that it could not give William Tell's sons any help whatever.

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## Frederick Engels

# THE REFORM MOVEMENT IN FRANCE

When, during the last session of the Legislative Chambers, M. E. de Girardin had brought to light those numerous and scandalous facts of corruption which he thought would overthrow the government; when, after all, the government had maintained themselves against the storm; when the celebrated Two Hundred and Twenty-Five[a] declared themselves "satisfied" as to the innocence of the ministry, all seemed to be over, and the Parliamentary Opposition, towards the close of the session, fell back into the same impotency and lethargy which they had manifested at the beginning. But all was not over. Though Messrs Rothschild, Fould, Foulchiron, and Co. were satisfied, the people were not, nor was a large portion of the middle classes. The majority of the French bourgeoisie, especially those of the second and third rank, could not but see that the present class of electors became more and more the obedient servants of a small number of bankers, stock-jobbers, railway-speculators, large manufacturers, landed and mining proprietors, whose interest was the only interest cared for by the government. They saw that there was no hope for them ever to regain the position in the Chambers which, since 1830, they had been losing more and more every day, unless they extended the suffrage. They knew that electoral and parliamentary Reform was a dangerous experiment for them to try; but what could they do? Seeing that the *haute finance*, the lords of Paris Exchange, bought up the government and both the Chambers; seeing their own interests openly trampled upon; they were obliged either to submit patiently, and await humbly and

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[a] The majority in the Chamber of Deputies supporting the Guizot government.—*Ed.*

quietly the day when the encroachments of the ruling money lords would make them bankrupts, or to risk parliamentary Reform. They preferred the latter.

The Opposition, of all shades, therefore, united, some four months ago, in getting up a demonstration in favour of Electoral Reform. A public dinner was arranged and took place in July, at the Château-Rouge ball-rooms, at Paris. All fractions of Reformers were represented, and the assembly was rather mixed; but the Democrats, having been the most active, evidently predominated. They had made it a condition of their assistance, that the king's[a] health should not be drunk, but be replaced by a toast in favour of the sovereignty of the people; the committee knowing well that in the most democratic town of France they could not get up a decent demonstration without the Democrats, were obliged to comply. If I recollect rightly, you gave, at the time, a full account of the banquet,[179] which was in every respect more like a demonstration of the strength, both in number and intellect, of democracy at Paris, than anything else.

The *Journal des Débats* failed not to raise a terrible outcry about this banquet.

"What! no toast to the king? and this toast not omitted by negligence, by want of a sense of propriety—no, this omission put as a condition for their support by part of the getters-up! Why, what pretty company this calm and peaceful M. Duvergier de Hauranne—this moral-force, monarchical M. Odilon Barrot have got into! Why, this is not mere republicanism—this is revolutionism, physical-forcism, socialism, utopianism, anarchism and communism! Ah, but, gentlemen, we know you—we have had samples of your bloody deeds, we have proofs of what you are contending for! Fifty years ago, gentlemen, you called yourselves the *club of the Jacobins*!"[180]

Next day's *National* replied to the fierce and furious vituperation of the *furiously moderate* paper by a host of quotations from Louis Philippe's private journal, written in 1790 and 1791, where every day's note of the then "Citizen Égalité[b] junior" commenced with the words:

"To-day I was at the Jacobins"—"To-day I took the liberty of saying a few words at the Jacobins which were warmly applauded"—"To-day I was called to the office of door-keeper at the Jacobins", etc.[c]

The central committee of the Opposition had invited their friends in the country to imitate the example given by the metropolis, in

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[a] Louis Philippe.—*Ed.*

[b] The name which Duke of Orleans, Louis Philippe's father, took during the French Revolution.—*Ed.*

[c] "Journal du duc de Chartre" in *Le National*, August 12, 1847.—*Ed.*

getting up everywhere similar banquets in favour of Reform. This was done accordingly, and a great number of Reform dinners were held in almost all parts of France. But not everywhere the same union of all fractions of Reformers could be made to prevail. In a great number of the smaller towns the middle-class Liberals were strong enough to carry the king's health being drunk, by which the Democrats were excluded. In other localities they tried to make it pass in the shape of a toast:—"The constitutional king, and the sovereignty of the people." This being not yet sufficient to the Democrats, they went on shuffling, and replaced the "constitutional king" by the "constitutional institutions", among which royalty, of course, was tacitly comprised. The great question now agitated among the provincial Liberals is, whether they are to give up even this, and to resign all attempts at carrying the king's health in whatever shape or disguise it be, or whether they are to separate openly from the Democrats, who, in that case, would get up separate and competing banquets. For the democratic party insist upon the original agreement, that the king be not mixed up at all with the affair, and if in one case the *National* has been wavering a little, the party of the *Réforme* stand firmly on the side of republicanism. In all the large towns the Liberals have been forced to give way, and if in the localities of lesser importance they have carried the king's health, it is because such banquets cost a great deal of money, and, therefore, the people are naturally excluded from them. On the occasion of the banquet of Bar-le-Duc, the *Réforme* says:

"Whoever would take such demonstration as a sample of the state of public opinion in France, would be very much mistaken indeed; they are got up by the middle classes only, and the people are entirely shut out from them. This agitation, if it be confined to the limits of the Bar-le-Duc banquet, will vanish like all *bourgeois* movements; like the Free Trade movement, which after a few hollow speeches died away very soon."[a]

The first large banquet, after that of Paris, was held at Strasburg, in the beginning of September. It was rather a democratic one, and a working man, at the close of it, proposed a toast to the organisation of labour, which term, in France, expresses that which in England the National Association of United Trades[181] are trying to carry out; viz. the freeing of labour from the oppression of capital by carrying on manufacturing, agricultural, and other purposes, for the account, either of the associated working men themselves, or of the people at large, under a democratic government.

Then came the banquets of Bar-le-Duc, a *bourgeois* demonstration, finished by the Mayor proposing the health of the Constitutional

[a] "Banquet de Bar-le-Duc".—*Ed.*

King (very constitutional, indeed); of Colmar, Rheims, and Meaux, all of them entirely dominated by the *bourgeoisie*, who, in those secondary towns, always have it all their own way.

But the banquet of Saint-Quentin, again, was more or less democratic; and that of Orleans, in the last days of September, was, from beginning to end, a thoroughly democratic meeting. Judge of it by the toast to the working classes, responded to by M. Marie, one of the most celebrated barristers of Paris, and a democrat. He commenced his speech in the following terms:

"To the working men—to those men, always neglected and forgotten, but always faithful to the interests of their country, always ready to die for its cause, be it in defending their native land against foreign aggression, be it in guarding our institutions, when menaced by inward foes! To those, from whom we demanded the days of July,[182] and who gave them to us; terrible in their actions, generous in their triumph, resplendent with courage, probity, and disinterestedness!"[a]

and concluded the toast in these words: "Liberty, equality, fraternity!" It is characteristic that the Orleans banquet was the only one at which we find it stated that covers were reserved for the representatives of the working people.

The banquets of Culommiers, Melun, and Cosne, again, were mere *bourgeoisie* gatherings. The "*Left Centre*", the middle-class Liberals of the *Constitutionnel* and *Siècle*, amused themselves in listening to the speeches of MM. Barrot, Beaumont, Drouyn de Lhuys, and such like retailers of Reform. At Cosne, the democrats openly declared against the demonstration, because the king's health was insisted upon. The same narrow spirit prevailed at the banquet of La Charité, on the Loire.

In return, the Reform dinner of Chartres was thoroughly democratic. No toast to the king—toasts for Electoral and Parliamentary Reform upon the largest base, for Poland and Italy, for the organisation of labour.

This week banquets will take place at Lille, Valenciennes, Avesnes, and throughout the Department of the North generally. Those of Lille and Valenciennes, at least, will probably take a decidedly democratic turn. In the South of France, at Lyons, and in the West, other demonstrations are preparing. The Reform Movement is far from being near to its close.

You see from this account that, from its very beginning, the Reform Movement of 1847 has been marked by a struggle betwixt the Liberals and the Democrats; that while the Liberals carried their ends in all the smaller localities, the Democrats were the stronger in

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[a] Quoted from the article "Banquet réformiste du département du Loiret".—*Ed.*

all large towns: in Paris, Strasburg, Orleans, Chartres, and even in one smaller town, in Saint-Quentin; that the Liberals were very anxious of having the support of the Democrats; that they shuffled and made concessions, while the Democrats never retracted an iota of the condition under which they were ready to give their support, and that wherever the Democrats assisted, they had it all their own way. Thus, after all, the whole movement has been turned to the profit of democracy, for all those banquets which excited public attention in some degree, were, one and all, democratic.

The Reform movement was seconded by the Departmental Councils, who met in September, and who are entirely composed by *bourgeois*. The Councils of the Departments of the Côté-d'Or, of Finisterre, of the Aisne, the Moselle, the Haut-Rhin, the Oise, the Vosges, the North, and others, demanded, more or less, extensive reforms, all of them, of course, confined to the limits of *bourgeois* Liberalism.

But what, will you ask, are the reforms demanded? There are as many different systems of reform, as there are shades of Liberals and Radicals. The least thing asked for, is the extension of the Suffrage, to what is called the *capacities*, or what you, in England, would call the learned professions, even if they do not pay the 200 francs of direct taxes, which make, at present, a man a voter. Then the Liberals have some other propositions, more or less in common with the Radicals. These are:—

1st. The extension of the *incompatibilities*, or the declaring of certain government offices to be incompatible with the functions of a representative. The government have, at present, more than 150 of their subordinate employees in the Deputies, all of which may, at any moment, be cashiered, and are, therefore, entirely dependent upon the Ministry.

2nd. The enlargement of some electoral districts, some of which are composed of less than 150 voters, who are, therefore, entirely ruled through the influence of the government upon their local and personal interests.

3rd. The electing of all deputies of a Department in a full meeting of all the electors, assembled at its principal town, by which means local interests are intended to be more or less submerged in the common interests of the whole Department, and thus render nugatory the corruption and influence of the government.

Then, there are proposals for lowering the amount of the voting qualification in different degrees. The most radical of these propositions is that of the *National*, the paper of the Republican small tradesmen, for extending the suffrage to all men belonging to

the National Guard. This would give the vote to the entire class of small tradesmen and shopkeepers, and extend the suffrage in the same degree as the Reform Bill has done in England; but the consequences of such a measure would, in France, be much more important. The small *bourgeoisie* in this country are so much oppressed and squeezed by the large capitalists, that they would be obliged to have recourse to direct aggressive measures against the moneylords, as soon as they get the suffrage. As I said in an article I sent you some months ago, they would be carried further and further, even against their own consent; they would be forced either to give up the positions already won, or to form an open alliance with the working classes, and that would, sooner or later, lead to the Republic.[a] They know this in some measure. Most of them support Universal Suffrage, and so does the *National*, which goes for the above measure only, as far as it is considered as a preliminary step in the road of reform. Of all Parisian daily papers, there is, however, but one which will not be satisfied with anything less than Universal Suffrage, and which, by the term "Republic", understands not merely Political Reforms, which will, after all, leave the working classes as miserable as before—but Social Reforms, and very definite ones too. This paper is the *Réforme*.

The Reform movement is, however, not to be considered as the totality of the agitation now going on in France. Far from it! At all these banquets be they Liberal or Democratic, the middle classes were predominating; that of Orleans was the only one in which working men took part. The movement of the working people is going on, side by side, with these banquets, silently, underground, almost invisible, for every one who does not take the trouble of looking after it. But it is going on more lively than ever. The government know this very well. They have given their permission to all these middle-class banquets; but when the typographic working men of Paris, in September, asked for the permission to hold their annual banquet, which, up to the present time, they had held every year, and which was in no manner of a political character, it was refused to them. The government are so afraid of the working people, that they do not allow them the slightest liberty. They are afraid, because the people have entirely given up all attempts at insurrection and rioting. The government desire a riot, they provoke it by every means. The police throw out small bombshells filled with incendiary papers; which, by the explosion of the shell, are spread all over the streets. A trades' affair in the Rue S. Honoré was profited by

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[a] See this volume, p. 219.—*Ed.*

to make the most brutal attacks upon the people, in order to provoke them to riot and violence.[183] Tens of thousands assembled every evening during a fortnight; they were treated in the most infamous manner; they were on the very brink of repelling force by force; but they held out and no pretext for more gagging laws are to be forced from them. And think, what a tacit understanding, what a common feeling of what was to be done, at the moment, must have prevailed; what an effort it must have cost to the people of Paris, to submit to such infamous treatment rather than try a hopeless insurrection. What an enormous progress this forebearance proves in those very same working men of Paris, who seldom went into the streets, without battering to pieces every thing before them; who are accustomed to insurrection, and who go into a revolution just as gaily as they go to the wineshop! But if you would draw from this the conclusion that the revolutionary ardour of the people is decreasing, you would be quite mistaken. On the contrary, the necessity of a revolution, and a revolution more thoroughgoing, more radical by far than the first one, is deeper than ever felt by the working people here. But they know from the experience of 1830, that mere fighting will not do; that the enemy once beaten, they must establish measures that will guarantee the stability of their conquest; that will destroy not only the political, but the social power of capital, that will guarantee their social welfare, along with their political strength. And, therefore, they very quietly await their opportunity, but, in the meantime, earnestly apply themselves to the study of those questions of social economy, the solution of which will show what measures alone can establish, upon a firm basis, the welfare of all. Within a month or two, six thousand copies of M. Louis Blanc's work on "The Organisation of Labour",[a] have been sold in the workshops of Paris, and you must consider, that five editions of this book had been published before. They read likewise a number of other works upon these questions; they meet in small numbers of from ten to twenty, and discuss the different plans propounded therein. They talk not much of revolution, this being a thing admitting of no doubt, a subject upon which they one and all agree; and when the moment will have arrived, at which a collision between the people and the government will be inevitable, down they will be in the streets and squares at a moment's notice, tearing up the pavement, laying omnibuses, carts and coaches, across the streets, barricading every alley, making every narrow lane a fortress, and advancing, in spite of all resistance, from the Bastille to the Tuileries.[184] And then, I fear,

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[a] Louis Blanc, *Organisation du travail.—Ed.*

most of the reform banquet gentry will hide themselves in the darkest corner of their houses, or be scattered like dead leaves before the popular thunderstorm. Then it will be all over with Messrs Odilon Barrot, de Beaumont and other Liberal thunderers, and then the people will judge them quite as severely as they now judge the Conservative Governments.

Written in early November 1847

Reprinted from the newspaper

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with an editorial note:
"From Our Paris Correspondent"

# Frederick Engels

## [THE CHARTIST MOVEMENT][185]

The opening of the recently elected Parliament that counts among its members distinguished representatives of the People's Party[186] could not but produce extraordinary excitement in the ranks of democracy. Everywhere the local Chartist associations are being reorganised. The number of meetings increases and the most diverse ways and means of taking action are being proposed and discussed. The Executive of the National Charter Association[187] has just assumed leadership of this movement, outlining in an address to the British democrats the plan of campaign which the party will follow during the present session.

"In a few days," we are told, "a meeting will be held which in the face of the people dares to call itself the assembly of the commons of England. In a few days this assembly, elected by only one class of society, will begin its iniquitous and odious work of strengthening the interests of this class, to the detriment of the people.

"The people must protest *en masse* at the very beginning against the exercise of the legislative functions usurped by this assembly. You, Chartists of the United Kingdom, you have the means to do so; it is your duty to use them to advantage. We therefore submit to you a new national petition with the demands of the People's Charter. Cover it with millions of your signatures. Make it possible for us to present it as the expression of the will of the nation, as the solemn protest of the people against every law passed without the consent of the people, as a Bill, finally, for the restoration of the sovereignty out of which the nation has been tricked for so many centuries.

"But the petition by itself will not suffice to meet the needs of the moment. True, we have won a seat in the legislative chamber by electing Mr. O'Connor. The democratic members will find him to be a vigilant and energetic leader. But O'Connor must be supported by *pressure from without,* and it is you who should create this pressure from without, this strong and imposing public opinion. Let the sections of our Association be reorganised everywhere; let all our former members rejoin our ranks; let meetings be called everywhere; let everywhere the Charter be made the issue of the day; let each locality contribute its share to increase our funds. Be active,

give proof of the old energy of the English and the campaign we are opening will be the most glorious ever undertaken for the victory of democracy."[a]

The *Fraternal Democrats*,[188] a society consisting of democrats from almost every nation in Europe, has also just joined, openly and unreservedly, in the agitation of the Chartists. They adopted a resolution of the following tenor:

"Whereas the English people will be unable effectively to support democracy's struggle in other countries until it has won democratic government for itself; and

"whereas our society, established to succour the militant democracy of every country, is duty-bound to come to the aid of the English democrats in their effort to obtain an electoral reform on the basis of the Charter;

"therefore the Fraternal Democrats undertake to support with all their strength the agitation for the People's Charter."[b]

This fraternal society, which counts among its members the most distinguished democrats, both English and foreigners residing in London, is daily gaining in importance. It has grown to such proportions that the London liberals have considered it advisable to set up in opposition to it a bourgeois *International League*[189] headed by Free-Trade parliamentary celebrities. The sole object of this new association, whose leadership includes Dr. Bowring, Col. Thompson and other champions of Free Trade, is to carry on Free-Trade propaganda abroad under cover of philanthropic and liberal phrases. But it seems that the association will not make much headway. During the six months of its existence it has done almost nothing, whereas the Fraternal Democrats have openly come out against any act of oppression, no matter who may attempt to commit it. Hence the democrats, both English and foreign, in so far as the latter are represented in London, have attached themselves to the Fraternal Democrats, declaring at the same time that they will not allow themselves to be exploited for the benefit of England's Free-Trade manufacturers.

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Translated from the French

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[a] "The Executive Committee to the Chartists of the United Kingdom", November 18, 1847.—*Ed.*

[b] Resolution of the Fraternal Democrats, November 15, 1847.—*Ed.*

## Frederick Engels

### SPLIT IN THE CAMP.— THE *RÉFORME* AND THE *NATIONAL*.— MARCH OF DEMOCRACY[190]

Since my last[a] the banquets of Lille, Avesnes, and Valenciennes, have been held. Avesnes was merely constitutional; Valenciennes half-and-half; Lille a decided triumph of democracy over middle-class intrigue. Here are, shortly, the facts concerning this most important meeting:—

Besides the liberals and the party of the *National* the democrats of the *Réforme* had been invited, and Messrs Ledru-Rollin and Flocon, editor of the last-named paper, had accepted the invitation. M. Odilon Barrot, the virtuous middle-class thunderer, was also invited. Every thing was ready, the toasts were prepared, when all of a sudden M. Odilon Barrot declared he could not assist, nor speak to his toast, "Parliamentary Reform", unless that reform was qualified by adding:—"as a means to insure the purity and sincerity of the institutions conquered in July 1830." This addition excluded, of course, the republicans. Great consternation of the committee ensued. M. Barrot was inflexible. At last it was resolved to submit the decision to the whole meeting. But the meeting very plainly declared they would have no alterations in the programme; they would not violate the understanding upon which the democrats had come to Lille. M. Odilon Barrot, along with his tail of liberal deputies and editors, scornfully retired; Messrs Flocon and Ledru-Rollin were sent for, the banquet took place in spite of the liberals, and M. Ledru's speech was rapturously applauded.

Thus the treacherous plot of the middle-class reformers resulted in a glorious triumph of democracy. M. Odilon Barrot had to decamp shamefully and will never dare to show his face again in the democratic city of Lille. His only excuse was, he had understood the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 375-82.—*Ed.*

gentlemen of the *Réforme* intended to profit by the Lille banquet to get up a revolution—in the very depth of tranquillity!

A few days after, M. Barrot got some consolation in the Avesnes banquet, a mere family meeting of some middle-class liberals. Here he had the pleasure of toasting the King.[a] But at Valenciennes he was again obliged to pocket his favourite sentiment, dropped so sadly at Lille; no King's health was to be drunk, although the formidable getters-up of revolutions, at the shortest notice, were not at hand. The discomfited thunderer will have to devour his virtuous indignation until another hole-and-corner banquet will allow him to denounce "anarchism", "physical forcism", and "communism", to the astounded grocers and tallow-chandlers of some petty provincial town.

The Lille banquet produced extraordinary discussions in the press. The Conservative papers shouted triumph at the division in the ranks of the reformers. M. Thiers' old and drowsy *Constitutionnel,* and the *Siècle,* M. Barrot's "own", all of a sudden were seized with the most dreadful convulsions.

"No," shouted the indignant *Siècle* to its shopkeeping public, "no, we are none of these anarchists, we have nothing in common with these restorers of the reign of terror, with these followers of Marat and Robespierre: we would prefer to their reign of blood the present system, were it even a hundred times worse than it is!"

And quite rightly; for such peaceful grocers and tallow-chandlers the white nightcap is a hundred times more fit than the red cap of the Jacobin. At the same time, however, that these papers heaped their vilest and most virulent abuse upon the *Réforme,* they treated the *National* with the utmost esteem. The *National,* indeed, has behaved, on this occasion, in a more than doubtful manner. Already at the banquet of Cosne, this paper blamed the conduct of several democrats who would not assist on account of the King's health being proposed. Now, again, it spoke very coolly of the Lille banquet, and deplored the accident which for a moment troubled the demonstration, while several provincial allies of the *National* openly attacked the conduct of Messrs Ledru and Flocon. The *Réforme* now asked of that paper a more explicit declaration. The *National* declared his article to be quite explicit enough. Then, asked the *Réforme,* what was the deplorable accident at Lille? What is it you deplore? Is it M. Barrot's or M. Ledru-Rollin's conduct you deplore? Is it M. Barrot's impudence or his bad luck you deplore? Is it M. Ledru's speech in favour of Universal Suffrage? Is it the discomfiture of monarchism, the triumph of democracy, you deplore? Do you avow, or not, what your provincial allies say on this occasion? Do you accept the praise

[a] Louis Philippe.—*Ed.*

of the *Siècle*, or do you take our part of the abuse it heaps upon us? Would you have advised M. Marie, your friend, to submit, if, at Orleans, M. Odilon Barrot had made similar pretensions? The *National* replied, from party motives they would have no controversy with the *Réforme*: they were not responsible for articles sent to provincial papers by a "*friend*" of theirs; as to the other questions, the past of the *National* allowed them to pass them unnoticed, and not to trouble themselves with a reply. The *Réforme* gave the whole of this reply, with this remark only:—"Our questions remain."[a] Democrats now have the documents under their eyes—they may judge for themselves. This they have done; a whole host of radical, and even liberal, papers of France have declared in the most decided terms for the *Réforme*.

The conduct of the *National*, indeed, deserves the strongest blame. This paper is getting more and more into the hands of the middle classes. It has of late always deserted the cause of democracy at the decisive moment; it has always preached union with the middle classes, and has on more than one occasion served none but Thiers and Odilon Barrot. If the *National* does not very soon change its conduct, it will cease to be counted as a democratic paper. And in this Lille affair, the *National*, out of mere personal antipathy against men more radical than itself, has not hesitated to sacrifice the very principles upon which [it] itself had contracted an alliance with the liberals in order to get up banquets. After what has passed, the *National* will never again be able to oppose seriously toasting the King at future banquets. The "past" of the *National* is not so very bright as to allow of its answering by silence only the questions of its contemporary. Think only of its defence of the Parisian Bastilles![191]

P.S.—The Reform Banquet of Dijon has come off this week. Thirteen hundred sat down at dinner. The whole affair was thoroughly democratic. No toast to the King, of course. All the speakers belonged to the party of the *Réforme*. MM. Louis Blanc, Flocon, E. Arago, and Ledru-Rollin, were the chief speakers. M. Flocon, editor of the *Réforme*, spoke to the toast of the foreign democrats, and mentioned the English Chartists in a very honourable manner. Next week I shall give you his speech at full length, as well as a full report of the whole proceedings of this most important meeting.[b]

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[a] *La Réforme*, November 16, 1847.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 397-401 and 409-11.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [ON POLAND]

SPEECHES AT THE INTERNATIONAL MEETING
HELD IN LONDON ON NOVEMBER 29, 1847 TO MARK
THE 17TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE POLISH UPRISING OF 1830 [192]

### MARX'S SPEECH

The unification and brotherhood of nations is a phrase on the lips of all parties today, especially those of bourgeois free traders. A certain kind of brotherhood does of course exist among the bourgeois classes of all nations. It is the brotherhood of the oppressors against the oppressed, of the exploiters against the exploited. Just as, despite the competition and conflicts existing between the members of the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois class of one country is united by brotherly ties against the proletariat of that country, so the bourgeois of all countries, despite their mutual conflicts and competition on the world market, are united by brotherly ties against the proletariat of all countries. For the peoples to be able truly to unite, they must have common interests. And in order that their interests may become common, the existing property relations must be done away with, for these property relations involve the exploitation of some nations by others: the abolition of existing property relations is the concern only of the working class. It alone has also the means for doing this. The victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie is, at the same time, victory over the national and industrial conflicts which today range the peoples of the various countries against one another in hostility and enmity. And so the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie is at the same time the signal of liberation for all oppressed nations.

The old Poland is lost in any case and we would be the last to wish for its restoration. But it is not only the old Poland that is lost. The old Germany, the old France, the old England, the whole of the old society is lost. But the loss of the old society is no loss for those who have nothing to lose in the old society, and this is the case of the great majority in all countries at the present time. They have rather

everything to gain by the downfall of the old society, which is the condition for the establishment of a new society, one no longer based on class antagonisms.

Of all countries, England is the one where the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is most highly developed. The victory of the English proletarians over the English bourgeoisie is, therefore, decisive for the victory of all the oppressed over their oppressors. Hence Poland must be liberated not in Poland but in England. So you Chartists must not simply express pious wishes for the liberation of nations. Defeat your own internal enemies and you will then be able to pride yourselves on having defeated the entire old society.

## ENGELS' SPEECH

Allow me, dear friends, to speak here today as an exception in my capacity as a German. For we German democrats have a special interest in the liberation of Poland. It was German princes who derived great advantages from the division of Poland and it is German soldiers who are still holding down Galicia and Posen. The responsibility for removing this disgrace from our nation rests on us Germans, on us German democrats above all. A nation cannot become free and at the same time continue to oppress other nations. The liberation of Germany cannot therefore take place without the liberation of Poland from German oppression. And because of this, Poland and Germany have a common interest, and because of this, Polish and German democrats can work together for the liberation of both nations.—I also believe that the first decisive blow which will lead to the victory of democracy, to the liberation of all European nations, will be struck by the English Chartists. I have lived in England for a number of years now and openly aligned myself with the Chartist movement during this period. The English Chartists will be the first to rise because it is precisely in England that the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is the most intense. And why is it the most intense? Because in England, as a result of modern industry, of the introduction of machinery, all oppressed classes are being merged together into a single great class with common interests, the class of the proletariat; because as a consequence, on the opposite side all classes of oppressors have likewise been united into a single class, the bourgeoisie. The struggle has thus been simplified and so it will be possible to decide it by one single heavy blow. Isn't this so? The aristocracy no longer has any power in

England; the bourgeoisie alone rules and it has taken the aristocracy in tow. But the whole great mass of the people stands opposed to the bourgeoisie, united in a formidable phalanx, whose victory over the ruling capitalists draws nearer and nearer. And you have to thank machinery for this elimination of opposed interests which previously divided the different sections of workers, for this levelling of the living standards of all workers. Without machinery no Chartism, and although machinery may temporarily worsen your position it is nevertheless machinery that makes our victory possible. But not only in England; in all other countries it has had the same effect on the workers. In Belgium, in America, in France, in Germany it has evened out the position of all workers and daily continues to do so more and more; in all these countries the workers now have the same interest, which is the overthrow of the class that oppresses them—the bourgeoisie. This levelling of living standards, this identification of the party interests of the workers of all nations is the result of machinery, and so machinery is an enormous historical advance. What follows from this for us? Because the condition of the workers of all countries is the same, because their interests are the same, their enemies the same, they must also fight together, they must oppose the brotherhood of the bourgeoisie of all nations with a brotherhood of the workers of all nations.

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# Frederick Engels

## [THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE POLISH REVOLUTION OF 1830][193]

Dear Citizen!

I arrived yesterday evening just in time to attend the public meeting called to celebrate the anniversary of the Polish revolution of 1830.

I have been present at many similar celebrations but I have never seen such general enthusiasm, such perfect and cordial agreement between men of all nations.

The chairmanship was given to Mr. Arnott, an English workman.

The first speech was by Mr. Ernest Jones, editor of *The Northern Star*, who, while speaking against the behaviour of the Polish aristocracy during the insurrection of 1830, gave much praise to the efforts made by Poland to escape from the yoke of her oppressors. His brilliant and powerful speech was loudly applauded.

After him, M. Michelot gave a speech in French.

Mr. Schapper from Germany followed him. He told the meeting that the Brussels Democratic Association had delegated to London Mr. Marx, German democrat and one of its vice-presidents, to establish relations of correspondence between the Brussels society and the London society of Fraternal Democrats,[194] and also to prepare for a democratic congress of the different European nations.

Mr. Marx was received with prolonged applause, when he came forward to address the assembly.

In a speech in German, translated by Mr. Schapper, Mr. Marx declared that England would give the signal for the deliverance of Poland. Poland, he said, would be free only when the civilised nations of Western Europe had won democracy. Now, of all the democracies of Europe, the strongest and most numerous was that of England, organised throughout the whole country. It was in England that the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was most developed, that the decisive struggle between these two classes

became more and more inevitable. It was therefore in England that in all probability the fight would begin which would end with the universal triumph of democracy and which would also break the Polish yoke. The success of other European democrats depended on the victory of the English Chartists; therefore Poland would be saved by England.

Mr. Harney, chief editor of *The Northern Star*, followed by thanking the democrats of Brussels for having immediately approached the democrats of London, taking no account of the advances made to them by the bourgeoisie of the London International League,[195] a society founded by the free traders in order to exploit foreign democrats in the interests of free trade and to compete with the society of Fraternal Democrats which was almost exclusively composed of workers.

Mr. Engels, from Paris, a German democrat, then declared that Germany had a special interest in the freedom of Poland because the German governments exercised their despotism over a part of Poland. German democracy ought to have at heart the ending of this tyranny which shamed Germany.

Mr. Tedesco, from Liège, in a vigorous speech, thanked the Polish fighters of 1830 for having loudly proclaimed the principle of insurrection. His speech, translated by Mr. Schapper, was warmly applauded.

After some remarks by Mr. Charles Keen, Colonel Oborski replied for Poland.

Mr. Wilson, an English workman who by his vigorous opposition recently almost brought about the break-up of a meeting of the International League, was the last to address the assembly.

On the proposal of Messrs Harney and Engels, three cheers were given for the three great European democratic newspapers: the *Réforme*, *The Northern Star*, and the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*; on the proposal of Mr. Schapper, three groans were given for the three anti-democratic papers: the *Journal des Débats*, *The Times* and the *Augsburg Zeitung*.[a]

The meeting ended with the singing of the *Marseillaise*, in which everybody joined, standing and with hats off.

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[a] Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## REFORM BANQUET AT LILLE.— SPEECH OF M. LEDRU-ROLLIN

### In response to the toast:—"To the labourers,—to their imprescriptible rights,—to their sacred interests, hitherto unknown."[a]

"Citizens,—Yes, to the labourers! to their imprescriptible rights,—to their sacred interests, hitherto unknown. To the unalienable rights of man, proclaimed in principle, by two glorious revolutions[b]; but artfully eluded in their application, and successfully re-wrested from the people, and which are now only a glorious, yet bitter remembrance! Political rights to the people, it is said, is madness. How entrust them with them, in their state of incapacity, of ignorance, of moral depravity? To give the people political freedom is a blind and dangerous power; it is revolution—blood —anarchy—chaos! Gentlemen, you know the people; you in this industrial city, at once so wealthy and so poor, believe you this picture to be true! Oh! doubtless, if we cast our eyes over the pages of certain romance writers, to whom the grand side of things has appeared trivial, vulgar—who have sought for effect in the humorous, the fantastic, the exceptional, the people—is it thus! Taking the normal life of our towns, from one point, where criminals escaped from justice, find a refuge, the way of life, the dregs of society, they have said, 'Such are the people!' Doubtless such would still be the people, did we put faith in those mercenary writers, who, to terrify the wealthy, cry out against the invasion of the barbarians! *Barbarians!* they have cast that epithet upon the people, as the most outrageous of insults. Ah! if barbarians always signify men full of simplicity, of strength, of social and youthful energy, those barbarians can alone save our worn-out official world, fast hastening to decay in powerlessness and corruption. No; a thousand times no, it is not the people. It is not upon the theatre of crime and debauchery, that it must be sought for. To be acquainted with it, we must transport ourselves into those manufacturing towns, where the merchant, struggling against unrestricted competition which crushes him, between the tyrannical pressure

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[a] Ledru-Rollin's speech at the banquet at Lille on November 7, 1847 was translated by Engels according to the report in *La Réforme*, November 10, 1847.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is evidently to the revolutions of 1789-94 and 1830.—*Ed.*

of capital and opposition to wages, which eat him up, he is compelled to reduce those wages, in order to avoid bankruptcy and dishonour. Ah! believe not that the people, in their spirit of justice, always accuse the masters as the cause of that cruel necessity. Know they not that our industry fails for want of outlet; that we have seen the greatest number of the markets of the world closed against us; and that our commerce has perished, where our flag has been trampled under foot? Well; in the midst of those vicissitudes, of those fluctuations, of this crisis of wages, what befalls the workman? The labour of the father, no longer sufficing to procure bread for the family, the daughter prostitutes herself for food; the child must go to aid the formidable machine, and exhaust his unevolved strength; and by the side of those beauteous fabrics, the product of our industry, the eye wanders over rickety boys, faded girls, worn-out men, bent under the pressure of premature labour. And, nevertheless, of that physically decayed population—those who have escaped enervation, sickness—who have attained their proper height, will go forth to do battle for their country—nobly to encounter death beneath her banner. Such are the people of the towns, sociable, good, patient in the midst of those daily evils,—doing more, deriving from within themselves the light of knowledge, dealt out to them with such a niggardly hand, reading, sometimes composing verses upon their sufferings or their prospects, publishing journals, which enlighten and prepare those formidable problems, respecting the future fate of mankind! It is those people of the towns whom some writers, who only judge by their own flimsy minds, call barbarians!... In this slight and rapid sketch, we have only seen the people in their habitual life—their daily struggles; but were one of those unforeseen scourges, in which a fearful inundation sweeps off everything in its destructive course, a terrible fire, or a severe cholera suddenly to arise, who would be foremost in the cause of humanity? who would forget their families and their wives, upon their lowly couches? their children, who might die on the morrow? who would peril life, without counting the cost; and fly when the service was performed, without even leaving their names?—the people! Intelligence or devotedness, head or heart, the people are, therefore, worthy to exercise the rights to which thev lay claim. And who are better aware of it than the citizens, who by the superhuman efforts of the people, have conquered the twofold tyranny of the nobility and the priesthood. It was to that clergy, to that nobility, as to the States of 1614, that a member of the *bourgeoisie* once said— 'You, our elder brothers, you, our younger brothers—for we are all brothers—forming but one and the same nation.' And the clergy and the nobles attempted to make that courageous member of the *third* retract and their minions to scourge him, regarding a plebeian as of a conquered and inferior race.... Not only are the people worthy to represent themselves, but if justice is to be rendered, they can only be efficiently represented *by themselves*. Who, then, in a legislative chamber knows sufficiently, at this present moment, their interests, their wants to dare to defend them? There are many men, gentlemen, who would unite in our principle of Reform; for it is now made evident—but they still dread the advance of democracy; yet never has a solemn and decisive movement, in the onward march of humanity, been preceded by more significant auguries! Let us pass rapidly in review those transcendent men of our own age. Towering above all, is one, whose prophetic speech is engraven on every heart. 'Before fifty years,' said Napoleon, 'Europe will be Cossack or Republican.'... It shall not be Cossack—and in this patriotic city exists the right so to say. If doubt could ever have prevailed, it would assuredly not have been in the midst of those whose love of national independence and of the revolution of 1792, transformed each citizen into a hero! Republican—but I pause, gentlemen—the laws of September[196] are in force, and in order to be strong, when armed in a good cause, we must know how to keep within the law. I shall, therefore, only permit myself to choose, as interpreters of my thoughts, a few men, whose very names shed a glory over

their country. He, for example, who has sung the high hymn of legitimacy, and who has achieved renown, in essaying to restore the ancient ruins of the past. Chateaubriand, in his sincerity, has been unable to avoid regarding the approaching future of the world, as tending towards democracy.... Beranger, whose patriotic hymns will be eternally repeated by the world—hymns, which we, his contemporaries, ought to teach to our children as a prayer, whilst a Waterloo remains to be avenged!! Beranger believes in the approaching sovereignty of the people. And Lamartine, sparkling with poetry, with eloquence, has passed by legitimacy—he has traversed the marshes of the plain, in order to approach nearer to us. Though an ardent admirer of the Girondists, yet the noble candour of his mind leads him to draw conclusions favourable to the Radicals. There is a something, however, which still divides him from pure democracy; as for myself, I only behold the steps of giants, each day rapidly striding towards us. So much for men of letters, gentlemen, and that unanimous testimony rendered by such illustrations in favour of our party, might suffice for its hopes. But cast your eyes into the domain of science; behold a man who is at the summit of all—of whom the two worlds would deprive us—Arago! But for an imperious duty he would have been here in the midst of you. He would, much better than I am able, have spoken to you of the rights of the people; he who was the first to advocate their cause in another assembly, where to do so required no small amount of moral courage. Is not, then, Arago entirely for democracy? And in the arts, who with his powerful chisel draws forth, from marble, those men who have best served the people? Who confides to the eternity of bronze those grand revolutionary figures, to bequeath them to the admiration of future ages? David of Angers! Is he not, also, for the cause of the people? Well, when so many illustrious men declare in favour of democracy, or struggle for its attainment, how conclude otherwise than that right and Providence combat with us, and for us? Those are the teachings of talented men; but have not the teachings of the people also their manifestations? Look at Poland—heroic Poland—the last pulsations of whose heart still throb for liberty—no longer possessing an army; each day some martyr consecrates himself to her cause. Italy; she too longs for unity. She emerges from her ruins, which constituted her glory, in order to acquire fresh renown. May she on awakening distrust herself; let her remember Masaniello. Switzerland;— I feel that I ought well to weigh my words at this solemn moment. We can do one thing, gentlemen, we can unite ourselves for an instant, by recollection, by thought, with those whom we look upon as brothers, in order to pray that victory may be with them, as have hitherto been right and reason! The cause of Switzerland is ours, gentlemen; the Radicals there wage war against two things, which are the plague-spots of our era—aristocrats and worthless priests. Respect our creeds, but war against those who, under the mask of religion, are the abettors of despotism, and of tyranny. Short-sighted beings! who see not in this double association of genius and of the people, the near advent of a Messiah of equality! Thus then, O people, to whom I would sacrifice all that I possess of devotedness and strength, *hope*, and *believe*. Between this period, in which thy ancient faith is extinguished, and in which the new light has not yet been showered upon you, each evening in thy desolate dwelling piously repeat the immortal symbol—LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY! Yes, liberty for all; liberty of conscience; liberty of thought, liberty of association; for man cannot become moral without communing with man, and it is in order the better to subjugate him that he is isolated by a system of corruption. They know that a bundle of sticks cannot be broken. Equality likewise for all—equality in presence of civil law, equality in political matters, equality in education, in order that man may have no superior, except in morals or in virtue! Fraternity—inexhaustible source, from whence will spring noble and celebrated institutions; of association, of strength. Then labour will no longer be a right, it will be a duty. Let there be no more

revenues, except from labour and for labour. Yes, salvation. O great and immortal symbol, thy advent draws nigh! People, may the plaudits bestowed on thy humble interpreter be wafted to thee, and prove at once a consolation and a hope!"

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# Frederick Engels

## REFORM MOVEMENT IN FRANCE.—BANQUET OF DIJON[197]

This meeting of the Democracy of the Department of the Côte d'Or, was incontestably the most splendid one of the whole series of Reform Banquets. 1,300 sat down to dinner. There were present deputations from almost all the neighbouring towns, and even a Swiss deputation, composed of citizens from Neufchâtel, Geneva and Lucerne. The character of the meeting is very clearly marked out by the names of the principal speakers—MM. Louis Blanc, Flocon, Ledru-Rollin, Etienne Arago—all of them belonging to the Ultra-Democratic party, represented by the *Réforme*. We need not say that Louis Philippe was not toasted at this dinner.

M. Signard, of Gray, a neighbouring town, spoke to the toast—"The Democrats of Lille who, at the late banquet of their town sternly refused to compromise with the sham-Liberals; and by their energy, union, and intelligence, saved the honour of Democracy."[a]

M. Etienne Arago, a well-known literary character of Paris, and who but recently brought upon the stage an exceedingly successful comedy, entitled *The Aristocracies*, then spoke to the sentiment—"The development of literature, science, and the fine arts"; exposing, in a brilliant speech, the rapid advance literature and science were sure to make under a free and democratic system.

At the toast—"The future progress of France", the chairman called upon M. Louis Blanc, who was very enthusiastically received by the meeting. He delivered a splendid speech, containing many

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[a] Here and below speeches are quoted according to the reports on the banquet of Dijon printed in *La Réforme*, November 24 and 25, 1847.—*Ed.*

just and striking observations on the past development of France; on the conclusions to draw from it with regard to the future; on the particular character impressed indelibly upon the French Democratic Movement by the revolution. He was repeatedly and deservedly interrupted by applause. It was a speech quite worthy of the first historical writer France now possesses. There is, however, one point upon which we would make a few observations, which we hope will be taken in the same friendly spirit in which we write them.

M. Blanc says—

"We want union in Democracy. And no one may deceive himself, we do not think and labour for France only, but for the whole world, because the future of France contains in it the future of mankind. In fact, we are placed in this admirable position, that, without ever ceasing to be national, we are necessarily cosmopolite, and are even more cosmopolite than national. Whoever would call himself a Democrat, and be at the same time an Englishman, would give the lie to the history of his own country, for the part which England has always played, has been a struggle of egotism against fraternity. In the same manner, he who is a Frenchman, and would not be a cosmopolite, would give the lie to his country's past; for France never could make predominant any idea, except it was for the benefit of the whole world. Gentlemen, at the time of the Crusades, when Europe went to conquer the grave of Christ, it was France who took the movement under her wing. Afterwards, when the priests would impose upon us the yoke of Papist supremacy, the Gallican bishops defended the rights of conscience. And in the last days of the ancient monarchy, who supported young, republican America?[198] France, always France! And what was true of monarchical France, how should it not be true of Republican France? Where, in the book of history, do we find anything resembling that admirable, self-sacrificing disinterestedness of the Republic, when, exhausted by the blood she had shed on our frontiers and on the scaffold, she found yet more blood to shed for her Batavian brethren?[199] When beaten or victorious, she enlightens her very enemies by the sparks of her genius! Let Europe send us sixteen armies, and we shall send her liberty in return."

Now, without intending to deprecate in any manner the heroic efforts of the French Revolution, and the immense gratitude the world owes to the great men of the Republic, we think that the relative position of France and England, with regard to cosmopolitism, is not at all justly delineated in the above sketch. We entirely deny the cosmopolitic[200] character ascribed to France before the revolution, and the times of Louis XI and Richelieu may serve as proofs. But what is it M. Blanc ascribes to France? That she never could make predominant any idea, except it was to benefit the whole world. Well, we should think M. Louis Blanc could not show us any country in the world which could do otherwise than France is said to have done. Take England, for instance, which M. Blanc places in direct opposition to France. England invented the steam-engine; England erected the railway; two things which, we believe, are worth a good many ideas. Well, did England invent them for herself,

or for the world? The French glory in spreading civilisation everywhere, principally in Algiers. Well, who has spread civilisation in America, Asia, Africa, and Australia, but England?[201] Who founded the very Republic, in the freeing of which France took some part? England—always England. If France assisted in freeing the American Republic from English tyranny, England freed the Dutch Republic, just two hundred years sooner, from Spanish oppression.[202] If France gave, at the end of the last century, a glorious example to the whole world, we cannot silently pass by the fact that England, a hundred and fifty years sooner, gave that example,[203] and found at that time, not even France prepared to follow. And, as far as ideas are concerned, those very ideas, which the French philosophers of the 18th century—which Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, D'Alembert, and others, did so much to popularise—where had these ideas first been originated, but in England? Let us never forget Milton, the first defender of regicide, Algernon Sydney, Bolingbroke, and Shaftesbury, over their French more brilliant followers.

If an Englishman "would call himself a democrat he would give the lie to the history of his own country", says M. Blanc. Well, we consider it as the veriest proof of sterling democracy, that it *must* give the lie to its country, that it *must* repudiate all responsibility for a past filled up with misery, tyranny, class oppression, and superstition. Let the French not make an exception to the other democrats; let them not take the responsibility for the doings of their Kings and Aristocrats of former times. Therefore, what M. Blanc thinks a disadvantage to English democrats, we think to be a great advantage, that they *must* repudiate the past, and only look to the future.

A Frenchman is necessarily a cosmopolite. Yes, in a world ruled over by French influence, French manners, fashions, ideas, politics. In a world in which every nation has adopted the characteristics of French nationality. But that is exactly what the democrats of other nations will not like. Quite ready to give up the harshness of their own nationality, they expect the same from the French. They will not be satisfied in the assertion, on the part of the French, that they *are* cosmopolites; assertion which amounts to the demand urged upon all others to become Frenchmen.

Compare Germany. Germany is the fatherland of an immense number of inventions—of the printing press, for instance. Germany has produced—and this is recognised upon all hands—a far greater number of generous and cosmopolitic ideas than France and England put together. And Germany, in practice, has always been humiliated, always been deceived in all her hopes. She can tell best

what French cosmopolitism has been. In the same measure as France has to complain—and quite justly—of the treachery of English policy, Germany has experienced a policy quite as treacherous on the part of France, from Louis XI down to Louis Philippe. If we were to apply the measure of M. Louis Blanc, the Germans would be the true cosmopolites, and yet they do not pretend to this.

So much upon this point. We wish to establish a discussion upon it, as this will only lead to a mutual understanding; to a firm union of French and English Democracy.

After M. Blanc, M. Flocon spoke to the toast: "The Democrats of Europe."

M. Flocon said:

"Look around you, listen to the voices which arise from foreign countries; complaints or menace; sighs or hopes; what tell they? They invoke the principle of the French Revolution; they proclaim in the face of all despotisms, its immortal motto: *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité.* Yes, those very nations, which in the delusions of slavery and ignorance, made an impious war on the revolution; they now come by thousands to take up its standard, and promise to be most ardent defenders of the glorious principles they did not understand in times past. This striking fact is before the eyes of all the world, and I know nothing more terrible to our enemies, nothing which could more effectually recall to our minds our duty. In England, at the side of the old factions, in the face of the richest and most tyrannical aristocracy of the world, the people are organising. An immense association, conducted by experienced leaders, enrols daily thousands of working men, who will undertake to avenge the wrongs of humanity. And the rights of man are not a new watchword in England. At the time of the old civil wars, in the midst of religious fanaticism and political passions, several parties clearly saw the great social truth:

When Adam delved and Eve span
Where was then the gentleman?[204]

That was proclaimed by the Covenanters[205] almost three hundred years ago. The same question is again put; and the cotton lords disdain as much to listen to the complaint of the children of toil, as did the landlords in by-gone times. Therefore, asking what is right will not suffice, the people must be strong enough to take it, and the English people know this. In Belgium, at this very moment, a society is organising, uniting Democrats of all nations, a Democratic Congress[206] is being prepared. In Germany, while the princes play the game of granting gracious constitutions, the people prepare themselves for working out their own salvation."

The speaker then reviewed briefly the Polish, Italian, and Swiss movements, and closed his speech as follows:

"Yes, the seed of the revolution is germinating, the soil is fertile, the splendid flower of hope adorns the fields of the future. But the winter has been long, and we ought soon to take to the sickle, to make our harvest. Let us then take up again the work of the revolution, where our fathers left it. Let us make haste, else we shall have to take it up where they commenced." (*Loud applause.*)

The next toast: "The Sovereignty of the people", was spoken to by M. Ledru-Rollin, deputy.

Letters of apology were read from MM. François Arago, Lamennais, Dupont de L'Eure, and the meeting separated.

This demonstration proves that the provincial Democrats are more and more leaving the party of the *National*, in order to rally around the party of the *Réforme*.

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"From Our Paris Correspondent"

# Karl Marx

## REMARKS ON THE ARTICLE BY M. ADOLPHE BARTELS[207]

M. *Adolphe Bartels* claims that public life is finished for him. Indeed, he has withdrawn into private life and does not mean to leave it; he limits himself, each time some public event occurs, to hurling protests and proclaiming loudly that he believes he is his own master, that the movement has been made without him, M. Bartels, and in spite of him, M. Bartels, and that he has the right to refuse it his supreme sanction. It will be agreed that this is just as much a way of participating in public life as any other, and that by all these declarations, proclamations and protestations the public man hides behind the humble appearance of the private individual. This is the way in which the unappreciated and misunderstood genius reveals himself.

M. A. Bartels knows very well that the democrats of the different nations, in forming a body under the name of a democratic association, have had no other object but to exchange ideas and come to an understanding about the principles which will serve to bring about the union and fraternity of peoples. It goes without saying that, in a society which proposes such a goal for itself, it is the duty of all foreigners to state their opinions frankly, and it is truly ridiculous to call them *schoolmasters* every time they take the floor to fulfil this duty in the association to which they belong. If M. A. Bartels accuses foreigners of wanting to teach lessons it is because they refuse to take lessons from him.

M. A. Bartels will recall, no doubt, that in the provisional committee in which he took part he even proposed to make the Society of German Workers[208] the *nucleus* of the new society to be founded. I had to reject this proposal, in the name of the German

workers. Might it perhaps be that M. A. Bartels meant to lay a trap for us, to contrive the means for a false denunciation?

M. Bartels is free to decry our doctrines as "filthy and barbarous". He does not criticise, he does not prove, he condemns; and he gives proof of his orthodoxy by condemning in advance what he does not understand.

We are more tolerant than M. A. Bartels. We overlook his "blue devils",[a] which are quite innocent devils.

M. A. Bartels being more theocratic than democratic, it is quite natural that he finds an accomplice in the *Journal de Bruxelles.* This paper accuses us of wanting to "*improve the human race*".[209] Let it calm down! Fortunately, we Germans are not unaware that since 1640 the *Congregatio de propaganda fide*[210] has had the monopoly in improving the human race. We are too modest and too few to want to compete with the reverend fathers in that humanitarian industry. Let them take the trouble to compare the report in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*[b] with that of *The Northern Star,* and they will be able to assure themselves that it is only by a mistake that *The Northern Star* makes me say "Chartists—you will be hailed as the *saviours of the human race.*"[211]

The *Journal de Bruxelles* is moved by a more charitable spirit when it reminds us of the example of *Anacharsis Cloots* mounting the scaffold for having wanted to be more patriotic than the patriots of 1793 and 1794. In this respect the reverend fathers are free from all reproach. They have never been more patriotic than the patriots. On the contrary, they have always and everywhere been accused of wanting to be more reactionary than the reactionaries and, what is still worse, of wanting to be more governmental than the national government. When we think of the said experiences which they have just undergone in Switzerland, we are all ready to recognise that the admonitions they address to us so that we should avoid the opposite extreme and similar dangers, are of a generosity worthy of the early Christians. We thank them for this

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[a] Blue devils—*delirium tremens.—Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 388-90.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## LAMARTINE AND COMMUNISM

*Brussels,* December 24. Once again the French papers carry a letter from M. de Lamartine. This time it is communism on which this poetic socialist at last gives his candid opinion having been challenged to do so by Cabet.[212] At the same time Lamartine promises to set forth his views *in detail* on this "important subject" in the near future. For the present he contents himself with a few brief, oracular utterances:

> "My opinion of communism," he says, "may be summarised in a *feeling* (!), namely the following: were God to entrust me with a society of savages to civilise them and make into well-mannered people, the first institution I should give them would be that of property."
>
> "The fact," continues M. Lamartine, "that man appropriates the elements to himself is a law of nature and a precondition of life. Man appropriates the air by breathing, space by striding through it, the land by cultivating it, and even time, by perpetuating himself through his children; property is the organisation of the life principle in the universe; communism would be the death of labour and of the whole of humanity."
>
> "Your dream," M. Lamartine finally consoles M. Cabet, "is too beautiful for this earth."

M. Lamartine is thus an opponent of communism, and what is more not merely of a communist system; in fact, he enters the lists on behalf of the "perpetuity of private property". For his "feeling" tells him three things: 1. that property civilises people, 2. that it is the organisation of the life principle in the world, and 3. that its opposite, communism, is too beautiful a dream for this bad world.

No doubt M. Lamartine "feels" a better world, in which the "life principle" is differently "organised". In this bad world, however, it just so happens that "appropriation" is a precondition of life.

It is not necessary to analyse M. Lamartine's confused feeling in order to resolve it into its contradictions. We wish only to make one single observation. M. Lamartine believes he has proved the perpetuity of bourgeois property by pointing out that property in general forms the transition from the state of savagery to that of civilisation, and by giving us to understand that the process of breathing and the making of children presuppose the right of property just as much as does social private property.

M. Lamartine sees no distinction between the epoch of transition from savagery to civilisation and our own epoch, any more than between the "appropriation" of air and the "appropriation" of the products of society; for both of these are "appropriations", forsooth, just as both epochs are "epochs of transition"!

In his "detailed" polemic against communism M. Lamartine will no doubt find an opportunity to deduce "logically" from these general platitudes arising from his "feeling" a whole series of other, still more general platitudes.—Perhaps then we shall likewise find the opportunity to shed light upon his platitudes "in greater detail". —For the present we shall content ourselves with passing on to our readers the "feelings" which a monarchist-Catholic newspaper opposes to those of M. Lamartine. The *Union monarchique* namely, in yesterday's issue, speaks out against Lamartine's feelings as follows:

> "Here we see how these enlighteners of humanity leave it leaderless. The wretches! ... They have robbed the poor man of the God who comforted him;... they have taken Heaven from him;... they have left man alone with his want and his wretchedness. And then they come and say: 'You wish to possess the earth—it is not yours. You wish to enjoy the good things of life—they belong to others. You wish to share in wealth—that is out of the question. Stay poor, stay naked, stay abandoned—die!'"

The *Union monarchique* comforts the proletarians with God. The *Bien Public,* M. Lamartine's paper, comforts them with the "life principle".

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# Frederick Engels

## THE *RÉFORME* AND THE *NATIONAL*[213]

Following the Lille banquet a controversy developed between the *Réforme* and the *National*, which has now led to a decisive split between the two papers.

The facts are as follows:

From the inception of the reform banquets the *National* has attached itself even more openly than before to the dynastic opposition.[214] At the Lille banquet M. Degeorge of the *National* withdrew together with Odilon Barrot. The *National* expressed its opinion of the Lille banquet in terms that were more than equivocal. Challenged by the *Réforme* to explain itself in more detail, it refused, with the excuse that it did not wish to start polemics with this newspaper. This was no reason at all for failing to comment on facts. To be brief, the *Réforme* did not let the matter drop and eventually attacked M. Garnier-Pagès of the *National* for a speech in which he denied the existence of classes and deleted the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the general phrase of *citoyens français*. Now, at last, the *National* declared that it would defend its friends against a newspaper which cast suspicion on all worthy patriots, such as Carnot, Garnier-Pagès, etc.

The *National*, very soon defeated on every point, could finally hit upon no other expedient than to accuse the *Réforme* of communism.

"You speak of indefinite strivings, of theories and systems which arise among the people, you censure us for openly attacking these—to put it bluntly—communistic strivings. Very well then, declare yourselves directly, either for or against communism. We declare for all to hear that we have nothing in common with the Communists, with these people who deny property, family and country. When the day of battle comes we shall fight not with, but against these abominable strivings. We have no peace, no tolerance for these odious fantasies, for this absurd and barbarous (sauvage) system

which bestialises man and reduces him to the level of a brute (le réduit à l'état de brute). And you believe the people would be with you? The people would surrender what little property they have earned in the sweat of their brow, their family, their country? You believe that the people would ever allow themselves to be persuaded that it is a matter of indifference whether or not Austria brings us under the yoke of her despotism, whether or not the Powers dismember France?"[a]

To such grounds against communism the *National* adds its plans for improving the condition of the workers—postal reform, financial reform, luxury taxes, state subsidies, the abolition of the *octrois*,[215] and free competition.

Correcting the ridiculous ideas of communism held by the *National* is not worth the effort. It is ludicrous, however, that the *National* is still parading the terrifying fantasy of a constantly threatening invasion by the "Great Powers", and that it still believes that beyond the Rhine and across the Channel there are millions of bayonets pointed against France, and hundreds of thousands of cannons aimed at Paris. The *Réforme* has quite correctly replied to this that in the event of an invasion by the Kings it will not be the fortifications which will serve as a rampart, but the peoples themselves.

With reference to the article from the *National* quoted above the *Réforme* declares:

"We are not communistic, and our reason is that communism disregards the laws of production, that it is not concerned with ensuring that enough is produced for the whole of society. But the economic proposals of the Communists stand closer to us than those of the *National*, which accepts the existing bourgeois economics without further ado. We shall defend the Communists against the police and the *National* also in the future, because we acknowledge at least their right of discussion, and because the doctrines that originate from the workers themselves always deserve consideration."

We thank the *Réforme* for the energetic way in which it has stood for true democracy as against the *National*. We thank the *Réforme* for defending communism against it. We willingly acknowledge that the *Réforme* has always defended the Communists whenever they have been persecuted by the government. *Alone* of all the Paris newspapers, the *Réforme* defended the materialistic Communists when they were dragged to court by M. Delangle[216]; on this same occasion M. Cabet almost conceded that the government was right as against the materialists. We are glad that the *Réforme*, even in the more or less undeveloped forms in which communism has so far appeared, has discovered a kernel of truth to which it stands closer

[a] Quoted from the leading article in *La Réforme*, December 21, 1847; the reply of this newspaper given below is from the same source.—*Ed.*

than it does to the representatives of bourgeois economics. On the other hand, we hope to be able to prove to the *Réforme* before long that communism as *we* defend it is still more closely related to the principles of the *Réforme* than to communism itself as it has hitherto been presented in France, and as it now is being spread, in part, abroad.

In its repudiation of the *National*, furthermore, the *Réforme* is only pronouncing the same judgment that the democratic movement in Germany, England and Belgium, indeed everywhere except in France, has long since passed on it.

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# Frederick Engels

## LOUIS BLANC'S SPEECH AT THE DIJON BANQUET[217]

*The Northern Star* in its report of the Dijon banquet criticises the speech of Louis Blanc in remarks with which we completely concur. The union of the democrats of different nations does not exclude mutual criticism. It is impossible without such criticism. Without criticism there is no understanding and consequently no union. We reproduce the remarks of *The Northern Star* in order that we too, for our part, may protest against preconceptions and illusions which are in direct and hostile opposition to the trends of modern democracy and which should be abandoned if the union of democrats of different nations is to remain more than an empty phrase.

At the Dijon banquet, M. Blanc said:

"We want union in Democracy. And no one may deceive himself about this, we do not think and labour for France only, but for the whole world, because the future of France contains in it the future of mankind. In fact, we are placed in this admirable position, that, without ever ceasing to be national, we are necessarily cosmopolite, and are even more cosmopolite than national. Whoever would call himself a *Democrat*, and be at the same time an *Englishman, would give the lie* to the history of his own country, for the part which England has always played in history has been the struggle for egotism against 'fraternité'. In the same manner, he who is a Frenchman, and would not be a cosmopolite, would give the lie to his country's past; for France never could make predominant any idea, except it was for the benefit of the whole world. Gentlemen, at the time of the Crusades, when Europe went to conquer the grave of Christ, it was France who took the movement under her wing. Afterwards, when the priests would impose upon us the yoke of Papist supremacy, the Gallican bishops defended the rights of conscience. And in the last days of the ancient monarchy, who supported young, republican America? France, always France! And what was true of monarchical France, how should it not be true of republican France? Where, in the book of history, do we find anything resembling that admirable, self-sacrificing disinterestedness of the French Republic, when, exhausted by the blood she had shed on our frontiers and on the scaffold, she found yet more blood to shed for her

Batavian brethren? When beaten or victorious, she enlightened her very enemies by the sparks of her genius! Let Europe send us sixteen armies, and we shall send her liberty in return."

*The Northern Star* says with regard to this:

"Now, without intending to deprecate in any manner the heroic efforts of the French Revolution, and the immense gratitude the world owes to the great men of the Republic, we think that the relative position of France and England, with regard to cosmopolitism, is not at all justly delineated in the above sketch. We entirely deny the cosmopolitic character ascribed to France before the revolution, and the times of Louis XI and Richelieu may serve as proofs. But what is it M. Blanc ascribes to France? That she never could make predominant any idea, except it was to benefit the whole world. Well, we should think M. Louis Blanc could not show us any country in the world which could do otherwise than France is said to have done. Take England, for instance, which M. Blanc places in direct opposition to France. England invented the steam-engine; England erected the railway; two things which, we believe, are worth a good many ideas. Well, did England invent them for herself, or for the world? The French glory in spreading civilisation everywhere, principally in Algiers. Well, who has spread civilisation in America, Asia, Africa, and Australia, but England? Who founded the very Republic, in the freeing of which France took some part? England—always England. If France assisted in freeing the American Republic from English tyranny, England freed the Dutch Republic, just two hundred years sooner, from Spanish oppression. If France gave, at the end of the last century, a glorious example to the whole world, we cannot silently pass by the fact that England, a hundred and fifty years sooner, gave that example, and found at that time, not even France prepared to follow. And, as far as *ideas* are concerned, those very ideas, which the French philosophers of the 18th century—which Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, D'Alembert, and others, did so much to popularise—where had these ideas first been originated, but in England? Let us never forget Milton, the first defender of regicide, Algernon Sydney, Bolingbroke, and Shaftesbury, over their French more brilliant followers.

"'If an Englishman would call himself a democrat he would give the lie to the history of his own country,' says M. Blanc.

"Well, we consider it as the veriest proof of sterling democracy, that it *must* give the lie to its country, that it *must* repudiate all responsibility for a past filled up with misery, tyranny, class oppression, and superstition. Let the French not make an exception

to the other democrats; let them not take the responsibility for the doings of their kings and aristocrats of former times. What M. Blanc thinks a disadvantage to English democrats, we think to be a great advantage, that they *must* repudiate the past, and only look to the future.

"'A Frenchman is necessarily a cosmopolite,' says M. Blanc. Yes, in a world ruled over only by French influence, French manners, fashions, ideas, politics. In a world in which every nation has adopted the characteristics of French nationality. But that is exactly what the democrats of other nations will not accept. Quite ready to give up the harshness of their own nationality, they expect the same from the French. They will not be satisfied in the assertion, on the part of the French, that they *are* cosmopolites by the mere fact that they are French, an assertion which amounts to the demand urged upon all others to *become* Frenchmen.

"Compare Germany. Germany is the fatherland of an immense number of inventions—of the printing press, for instance. Germany has produced—and this is recognised upon all hands—a far greater number of generous and cosmopolitic ideas than France and England put together. And Germany, in practice, has always been humiliated, always been deceived in all her hopes. She can tell best what French cosmopolitism has been. Just as France had to complain of the treachery of English policy, Germany experienced an equally treacherous policy on the part of France, from Louis XI down to Louis Philippe. If we were to apply the measure of M. Louis Blanc, the Germans would be the true cosmopolites. *However the German democrats are far from having any such pretensions.*"

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# Frederick Engels

## CHARTIST AGITATION

Since the opening of Parliament Chartist agitation has developed enormously. Petitions are being prepared, meetings held and Chartist agents are travelling everywhere. Besides the great National Petition for the People's Charter which this time, it is hoped, will collect four million signatures, two other petitions for the Chartist Land Company have just been submitted to the people; the first, edited by O'Connor and published in *The Northern Star* this week, can be summarised as follows:

"To the Honourable, the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, Gentlemen:

"We, the undersigned, members of the Chartist Land Company and all workmen, considering that excessive speculation in the products of our work, the unlimited competition and the continual increase in the mechanical means of production have everywhere closed outlets for our work;

"that as the mechanical means of production increase, manual labour decreases and workers are sacked;

"that your recent decision about the temporary suspension of work on the railways will throw thousands of workers out of work, which will flood the labour market and will make the employers again reduce the wages already reduced so many times;

"that, nevertheless, we shall ask no more than to live from the products of our work;

"that we reject all poor rates as an insult, serving only to give the capitalists a reserve to throw at any moment on the labour market in order to reduce wages by means of competition between the workers themselves;

"that while manufacturing industry no longer knows how to employ the masses of proletarians which it has produced, agricultural industry still offers a vast field for our work, for it is sure that by the use of labour the yield of the land of our country can be at least quadrupled;

"that therefore we have formed a company for purchasing land whereby each may be enabled to earn a livelihood for himself and family without being at the expense of

the parish or of individual charity, and without reducing the wages of other workers by competition.

"In this way we therefore pray you, gentlemen, to pass such a law which releases and affranchises the *Land Company* from paying the Stamp duties, as well as the duty on bricks, timber and other building materials and to pass the *Bill* which will be placed before you to this end."

The Bill has also been drafted by Feargus O'Connor, who is soon going to present it to Parliament.

The second petition demands the return to the people of the uncultivated land that is the property of the parishes. This land, which for thirty years has been sold in blocks to great landowners, ought, as the petition requests, to be divided into small fields to be leased or sold on easy terms of payment to the labourers of this land. This petition was adopted in London at a great meeting where Messrs Harney and Jones, editors of *The Northern Star*, supported it in the absence of O'Connor, who was kept in Parliament. It was also adopted at a large meeting in Norwich where Mr. Jones, who is one of the best speakers in England, again gave it his brilliant and irresistible support.

The National Petition has finally[a] been adopted by a large meeting in London. The principal speakers here were Messrs Keen, Schapper (German) and Harney. The address by the latter, above all, was marked by its democratic strength.

"What is our entire political and social system," he said, "but a gigantic fraud, erected and maintained for the benefit of idlers and impostors.

"Behold the Church! The bishops and archbishops appropriate to themselves enormous salaries while leaving the hard-working clergy only a few pounds a year. Millions of pounds, in the shape of tithes, are taken annually from the people; these tithes were originally destined mainly for the upkeep of the churches and the support of the poor; now there are separate rates for that, and the Church 'sacks' all the tithes. I ask, is not such a Church an organised imposture? (Cheers.)

"Behold our House of Commons, representing not the common people, but the aristocracy and the middle class, and dooming six-sevenths of the adult males of this country to political slavery by denying them the right to vote. Is not this house a legalised imposture? (Loud cheers.)

"Behold those venerable peers who, whilst the wail of distress is heard through the land, can sit, evening after evening, waiting for the Coercion Bill coming up from the Commons. Will any one be good enough to show me the utility of the Hospital of Incurables—will any one attempt to defend this hereditary imposture? (Cheers.)

"Of course, the respect I entertain for that blessed specimen of the 'wisdom of our ancestors'—the monarchy—forbids me to speak in other than the most loyal terms of so interesting a sovereign as Queen Victoria, who regularly, once a year, is delivered of a royal speech and a royal baby. (Laughter.) We have just had the speech, and I see an announcement that in March next we are to have the baby. Her most gracious Majesty expresses great concern for her people's sufferings, admires their patience, and

[a] December 20, 1847.—*Ed.*

promises them another baby—and when it comes to babies, she has never yet promised in vain. (Bursts of laughter.) Then, there is Prince Albert, a celebrated hatmaker, a capital breeder of pigs, and a distinguished Field Marshal and who, for all his services, is paid thirty thousand pounds a year. No, citizens, the monarchy is no imposture." (Laughter and applause.)

The speaker, having contrasted with this picture of official society the picture of the people's sufferings, concluded by demanding the adoption of the National Petition for the Charter. The petition was adopted unanimously. Mr. Duncombe will place it on the table in the House of Commons, when it has toured the country. I shall send you the translation of it as soon as I have obtained a copy.[218]

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# Karl Marx

## WAGES[219]

### [A]

Explained already:

1. Wages=price of the commodity.

Hence, generally speaking, wages are determined in the same way as prices.

Human activity=commodity.

Manifestation of life, life activity, appears as mere means; existence divorced from this activity as purpose.

2. As commodity wages depend on competition, demand and supply.

3. The supply itself depends on the cost of production, i.e., on the labour time required for the production of a commodity.

4. Inverse proportion of profits and wages. Opposition of the two classes whose economic existence are profits and wages.[220]

5. Fight for increase or reduction of wages. Workers' associations.

6. Average or normal price of labour; the minimum is valid only for the class of workers, not for the individual. Combinations of workers to maintain wages.

7. Influence on wages of the removal of taxes, protective tariffs, reduction of armies, etc. The minimum is given on average as=the price of the necessary means of subsistence.

### [B]

#### ADDITIONS

#### I. ATKINSON[a]

1. *Hand-loom weavers*[b] (working 15 hours per day). (Half a million of them.)[221]

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[a] W. Atkinson, *Principles of Political Economy*.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English word.— *Ed.*

"Their distress[a] ... an inevitable condition of a species of labour easily learned, and constantly intruded on and superseded by cheaper means of production. A very short cessation of demand, where the competition for work is so great..., produces a crisis. ...improvements, which, by superseding manual labour more and more, infallibly bring with them in the transition much of *temporary suffering*. Example of the hand-loom cotton weavers of the Dacca district of India; either starved or were thrown back into agricultural labour by the competition of English machinery." (Excerpt from the speech of Dr. Bowring in the House of Commons, July 1835.)[b]

(This example on the passing from one trade to another to be used in respect of the debate on free trade.[222])

2. Something to be said on *population theory*.

3. Influence of changed and expanded division of labour on the fixing of wages.

## II. CARLYLE[c]

1. Not only the quantity of wages[a] is to be considered. They vary in quality, depending on the play of circumstances.

2. The advantage of wages: that from now on necessity, interest, haggling, alone link the worker to the employer. No longer anything patriarchal, as in the Middle Ages.

Poor laws, extirpation of vermin, chargeable labourers.[223]

3. The greater part of labour is not skilled labour.[a]

4. The entire theory of Malthus and the economists amounts to saying that it lies with the workers to reduce the demand by not making any children.

## III. M'CULLOCH[d]

"The wages earned by the labourer are only the common and ordinary rate of profit to the proprietors of the machine called *man*, thereto [*dazu*][e] a sum to replace the wear and tear of the machines, or, which is the same thing, to supply the place of the old and decayed labourers with new ones" [p. 319].[f]

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[a] Marx uses the English word.— *Ed.*

[b] Bowring's speech is quoted in W. Atkinson, *Principles of Political Economy*, pp. 36-38.— *Ed.*

[c] Th. Carlyle, *Chartism*.— *Ed.*

[d] J. R. M'Culloch, *The Principles of Political Economy*.— *Ed.*

[e] M'Culloch has here: "exclusive of".— *Ed.*

[f] The words "to replace ... of the machines" and "new ones" are in English in the original.— *Ed.*

First page of Marx's manuscript "Wages"

## IV. JOHN WADE[a]

1. "If the object sought be to render an operative a machine, whereby the greatest quantity of work in a given occupation may be extracted from him, no way so effective as division of labour" [p. 125].

2. A reduction of wages drives the workers either to reduce their spending or to increase their productivity, in factories operated by machines, for instance (and in general), by working longer hours; or, with handicraftsmen, hand-loom weavers, etc., by working harder in the same hour. But since their wages have been reduced precisely because the demand has slackened, they thereby increase the supply at the unfavourable moment. The consequence is that their wages drop still lower, and then the bourgeois come along and say "If the people would only work".

3. Altogether, the general law is that there cannot be *two market prices*, and that the *lower* market price prevails (given equal quality).

Take 1,000 workers of equal skill; 50 are without work; the price is then determined not by the 950 who are employed but by the 50 who are unemployed.

But this law of the *market price* weighs more heavily on the commodity labour than on other commodities, because the worker cannot lay up his commodity in store but must sell his life activity or, deprived of the means of subsistence, must die.

The saleable commodity labour differs from other commodities in particular by its *evanescent nature*, by the impossibility of *accumulating* it, and by the fact that the *supply* cannot be increased or reduced with the same facility as with other products.

4. The humanity of the capitalists consists in buying as much labour as possible at the cheapest price. Agricultural labourers earn more in summer than in winter, although in winter they need more food, fuel and warmer clothing.

5. The abolition of *Sunday*, for example, would be a sheer loss to the workers. The masters seek to reduce wages by leaving them nominally the same but making the workers work a quarter of an hour more, for example, shortening meal times, etc.

6. Wages affected by fashions, the changing seasons, and commercial fluctuations.[224]

7. If the worker, supplanted by the machine, goes into another industry, that is as a rule a *worse* one. He never gets back into his former position.

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[a] J. Wade, *History of the Middle and Working Classes*.— *Ed.*

The machine and the division of labour replace dear by cheap labour.

One has suggested to the workers:

1) savings banks;

2) to learn all possible trades (so that when there is a surplus of workers in one industry the same occurs at once in all industries).

8. In times of stagnation:

a) cessation of work;

b) reduction of wages;

c) the same wage, but employment for fewer days in the week.[225]

9. Concerning the combinations of trade,[a] it is to be remarked:

1. The expenses of the workers (the costs). Invention of machines in consequence of the combinations. Other division of labour. Depression of wages. Deplacement[b] of factories to other localities.

2. If they were all to succeed in keeping wages so high that profits were significantly reduced below the average profits of other countries, or so that capital would grow more slowly, the industry of a country would be ruined, and the workers together with the masters even more so.

Although a reduction in taxes does not benefit the workers, a rise in taxation, on the other hand, harms them. The good thing in the rise in taxation in countries with a developed bourgeoisie is that the estate of small farmers and proprietors (craftsmen, etc.) is thereby ruined and thrown into the working class.

Influence of the Irish in England, the Germans in Alsace, on wages.

## V. BABBAGE[c]

*Truck system.*[226]

## VI. ANDREW URE[d]

General principle of modern industry: to replace adults by children, skilled workers by unskilled, men by women.

*Equalisation of wages*: Main feature of modern industry [see pp. 34, 35].

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[a] The words "combinations of trade" are in English in the original.— *Ed.*

[b] The word "deplacement" is in English in the original.— *Ed.*

[c] Ch. Babbage, *Traité sur l'économie des machines et des manufactures.*— *Ed.*

[d] A. Ure, *Philosophie des manufactures, ou Économie industrielle.*— *Ed.*

## VII. ROSSI[a]

Mr. *Rossi* thinks:

The manufacturer only advances to the worker his share in the product because the latter cannot wait for its sale. This is a speculation which has no direct bearing on the production process. If the worker can maintain himself until the product is sold he will, as an *associé*, claim his share in it afterwards.

Hence, wages are not a constituent element of the product as are capital and the land. They are a mere accident, a form of our social condition. Wages do not belong to capital.

Wages are not a factor indispensable to production. In a different organisation of labour they may disappear [see pp. 369, 370].

## [VIII.] CHERBULIEZ[b]

1. "...The increase of the productive capital does not necessarily entail an increase of the *approvisionnement* for the workers. Raw materials and machinery can be increased while *approvisionnement* is reduced.

"The price of labour depends on a) the absolute quantity of the productive capital; b) on the proportions of the various elements of capital, two social facts on which the will of the workers cannot exert any influence.

2. "It is not so much the *absolute* consumption of the worker as his *relative* consumption which makes his position either happy or unhappy. Beyond the necessary consumption ... the *value* of what we enjoy is *essentially relative*" [pp. 103-04, 105, 109].

When one speaks of the fall or rise of wages one must never lose sight of the whole world market or of the position of the workers in the various countries.

Egalitarian and other attempts to fix wages justly.

The minimum wage itself changes and constantly falls. Example of spirits.

## [IX.] BRAY[c]

### SAVINGS BANKS

Triple machine in the hands of despotism and capital.

1. The money flows back into the national bank, which makes profits by lending it back to the capitalists.

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[a] P. Rossi, *Cours d'économie politique.—Ed.*

[b] A. Cherbuliez, *Riche ou pauvre.—Ed.*

[c] J. F. Bray, *Labour's Wrong and Labour's Remedy.—Ed.*

2. The golden chain by which the government holds a large part of the working class.

3. By this means a new weapon is given into the hands of the capitalists as such [pp. 152, 153].

Once wages have fallen, they never rise to their previous height; absolute and relative wages.

[C]

## I. HOW DOES THE GROWTH OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES AFFECT WAGES?[227]

[Cf. VI, 3][a]

Machinery: Division of labour.

Labour is simplified. Its cost of production is reduced. It becomes cheaper. The competition among the workers increases.

Passing from one industry to another. On this see Dr. Bowring himself in relation to the hand-loom cotton weavers in the region of Dacca in India, in Parliament 1835.

The new work into which the worker is flung, is worse than the former, more subordinate. Adult labour replaced by children's, men's by women's, more skilled by less skilled.

Either working hours increased or wages reduced.

Competition among workers not only in that one sells himself more cheaply than another, but also in that one does the work of two.

In general, the growth of the productive forces has the following consequences:

a) The position of the worker relative to that of the capitalist worsens, and the value of the things enjoyed is relative. The enjoyments themselves are indeed nothing but social enjoyments, relations, connections.

b) The worker becomes an increasingly one-sided productive force which produces as much as possible in as little time as possible. Skilled labour increasingly transformed into simple labour.

c) Wages become more and more dependent on the world market and the position of the worker increasingly subject to chance.

d) In productive capital the share of machinery and raw materials grows much faster than that of *approvisionnement*. The increase of productive capital is therefore not accompanied by a similar increase of the demand for labour.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 428-34.—*Ed.*

Wages depend:

α) on the mass of productive capital as a whole;

β) on the proportion of its constituents.

The worker has no influence on either.

(Were it not for the fluctuations of wages, the worker would take no interest at all in the development of civilisation; he would remain stationary.)

In the competition of the workers with the machine it is to be noted that handworkers (e.g., hand-loom cotton weavers) suffer even more than machine workers directly employed in the factory.

Every development of new productive forces is at the same time a weapon against the workers. All improvements in the means of communication, for example, facilitate the competition of workers in different localities and turn local competition into national, etc.

The cheapening of all commodities, which however does not occur in the case of the most immediate means of subsistence, has as a result that the worker wears a collection of rags and his misery displays the colours of civilisation.

## II. COMPETITION BETWEEN WORKERS AND EMPLOYERS

α) To determine relative wages it should be noted that one taler for one worker and One taler for One employer do not have the same value. The worker must buy everything worse and dearer. His taler commands neither so many nor such good commodities as that of the employer. The worker must be a *spendthrift* and buy and sell against all economic principles. We must remark in general that we have in mind here only one aspect, *wages* themselves. But the exploitation of the worker begins anew as soon as he exchanges the price for his labour back into other commodities.—*Épicier*,[a] pawnbroker, landlord, *tout le monde l'exploite encore une fois.*[b]

β) The employer, by commanding the means of employment, commands the means of subsistence of the worker, i.e., the latter's life depends on him; just as the worker himself degrades his life activity to a mere means of existence.

γ) The commodity labour has great disadvantages against other commodities. For the capitalist, competition with the workers is a mere question of profit, for the workers it is a question of their existence.

Labour is of a *more evanescent* nature than other commodities. It

[a] Grocer.—*Ed.*

[b] Everybody exploits him over again.—*Ed.*

cannot be accumulated. The *supply* cannot be increased or reduced with the same facility as with other commodities.

δ) Factory regime. Housing legislation. Truck system,[a] where the employer cheats the worker by raising the price of goods while leaving the nominal wage the same.

### III. COMPETITION AMONG THE WORKERS THEMSELVES

a) By a general economic law there cannot be *two market prices.* The wages of 1,000 workers of the same skill are determined not by the 950 in employment but by the 50 unemployed. Influence of the *Irish* on the position of the *English workers* and of the Germans on the position of the Alsatian workers.

b) The workers compete with each other not merely by one offering himself more cheaply than another, but by one doing the work of two.

Advantages of the unmarried over the married worker, etc. Competition between workers from villages and towns.

### IV. FLUCTUATIONS OF WAGES

They are occasioned by:

1) Changes in fashions.

2) The changing seasons.

3) Fluctuations in trade.

In case of a crisis

α) the workers will limit their spending, or, to increase their productivity, they will either work longer hours or produce more in the same hour. But since their wages have been reduced because the demand for their product has slackened, they increase the unfavourable proportion of the supply to the demand, and then the bourgeois says: if the people would only work. Their wages drop still lower through their overexertion.

β) In times of crisis:

Complete unemployment. Reduction in wages. No change in wages and reduction of the working days.[228]

γ) In all crises the following circular movement relates to the workers:

The employer cannot employ the workers because he cannot sell his product. He cannot sell his product because he has no buyers. He has no buyers because the workers have nothing to offer in exchange

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[a] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*

but their labour, and precisely for that reason they cannot exchange their labour.

δ) When it is a question of a rise in wages, it is to be noted that one must always have in mind the world market and the fact that the rise in wages is ineffectual since workers in other countries are put out of work.

## V. MINIMUM WAGE

1. The daily wage the worker takes home is the profit which his machine, his body, yields to its owner. Included in it is the sum necessary to replace the wear and tear[a] of the machine, or, what is the same thing, to replace old, worn-out workers by new ones.

2. It is inherent in the minimum wage that the abolition of Sunday, for example, would be a sheer loss to the worker. He would have to earn his wages in harder conditions. This is the purpose of the brave philanthropists who zealously argue against the observance of Sabbath.

3. Although the minimum wage is determined on average by the price of the most indispensable provisions, it is nevertheless to be remarked:

*Firstly*: that the minimum is different in different countries, the potato in Ireland, for example.[229]

*Secondly*: not only that. The minimum itself has a historical movement and sinks always further towards the absolutely lowest level. Example of brandy. Distilled first from draff, then from grain, finally from spirits.

Towards bringing about the really lowest level of the minimum contribute not only

1) the general development of the working machines, the division of labour, the increase in competition among the workers themselves and its liberation from local fetters, but also

2) the growth of taxation and the greater costliness of the state budget, for, although, as we have seen, the abolition of a tax does not benefit the worker, he is harmed by the introduction of any new tax so long as the minimum has not yet fallen to its lowest possible expression, and this is the case with all perturbations and difficulties of civil relations. The growth of taxation, incidentally, brings about the ruin of the small farmers, bourgeois and craftsmen.

Example—after the war of liberation.[230] The progress of industry, which brings with it cheaper products and substitutes.

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[a] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*

3. This minimum tends to become the same in different countries.

4. When wages have once fallen and later rise again, they never rise, however, to their previous level.

In the course of development, there is a double fall in wages:

*Firstly*: relative, in proportion to the development of general wealth.

*Secondly*: absolute, since the quantity of commodities which the worker receives in exchange becomes less and less.

5. With the development of large-scale industry time becomes increasingly the measure of the value of commodities, hence also the measure of wages. Simultaneously the production of the commodity labour becomes cheaper and cheaper and costs less and less working time as civilisation progresses.

The peasant still has free time and can earn something on the side. But big industry (not manufacture) does away with this patriarchal situation. Every moment of the worker's life, of his very existence, thus becomes more and more a matter of haggling.

(Here add the following sections:

1. Suggestions for the improvement of the workers' position. Malthus; Rossi etc.; Proudhon; Weitling.

2. Workers' associations.

3. Positive significance of wage labour.)

## VI. SUGGESTIONS FOR REMEDIES

1. One of the most popular suggestions is the system of *savings banks.*

We will say nothing at all of the impossibility for most of the workers to save.

The purpose, at least the strictly economic meaning of savings banks, is supposed to be: that by their own foresight and wisdom the workers can equalise the good working times with the bad, i.e., distribute their wages in the cycle through which the industrial movement runs in such a way that they actually never spend more than the minimum wage, that which is indispensable to sustain life.

But we have seen that the fluctuations of wages not only revolutionise the worker, but that without the temporary rise of wages above the minimum he would remain excluded from all advances of production, from public wealth, from civilisation, hence from all possibility of emancipation.

He must therefore turn himself into a bourgeois calculating machine, make thrift into a system, and give misery a stationary, conservative character.

In addition, the savings bank system is a triple machine of despotism:

α) The savings bank is the golden chain by which the government holds a large part of the working class. By it they not only acquire an interest in the preservation of the existing conditions. Not only does it lead to a split between that portion of the working class which takes part in the savings banks and the portion which does not. The workers themselves thus give into the hands of their enemies the weapons to preserve the existing organisation of society which subjugates them.

β) The money flows back into the national bank, this lends it again to the capitalists and both share in the profits and thus, with the money borrowed from the people at a miserable rate of interest—which only by this centralisation becomes a mighty industrial lever—increase their capital, their direct ruling power over the people.

2. Another suggestion, very popular with the bourgeoisie, is *education*, especially comprehensive *industrial education.*

α) We shall not draw attention to the trite contradiction which lies in the fact that modern industry replaces compound labour more and more with simple labour which requires no education; we shall not draw attention to the fact that it throws more and more children from the age of seven upwards behind the machine and turns them into a source of income not only for the bourgeois class but for their own proletarian parents; the factory system frustrates the school laws, example Prussia; nor shall we draw attention to the fact that the education of the mind, if the worker had such an education, has no direct effect at all on his wages, that education is altogether dependent on the conditions of life, and that by moral education the bourgeois understands indoctrination with bourgeois principles, and that, finally, the bourgeois class neither has the means, nor if it had them would it use them, to offer the people a real education.

We confine ourselves to stressing a purely economic viewpoint.

β) The true purpose which education has with the philanthropic economists is this: every worker should be trained in as many industries as possible, so that if by the introduction of new machines or by a change in the division of labour he is thrown out of one industry, he can as easily as possible find employment in another.

Assuming this to be possible:

The consequence would be that if there were a surplus of hands in one industry, this surplus would at once spread to all other industries, and even more than before the reduction of wages in one business would lead directly to a general reduction in wages.

Even as it is, since modern industry simplifies work everywhere and makes it easy to learn, the rise of wages in one industry at once causes an influx of workers into this industry and the reduction of wages will more or less directly assume a general character.

We cannot here, of course, consider all the many minor palliatives which are suggested from the bourgeois side.[a]

3. We must, however, turn to a third suggestion, which has had, and continues to have, very significant practical consequences—the *Malthusian theory*.

This entire theory, in so far as we have to consider it here, amounts to the following:

α) The level of wages depends on the proportion of the hands which offer themselves to the hands which are required.

Wages can rise in two ways.

Either when the capital which sets the labour in motion increases so rapidly that the demand for workers increases more rapidly, in quicker progression, than their supply.

Or, secondly, when the population is growing so slowly that competition among the workers remains weak although productive capital does not grow rapidly.

On one side of this proportion, namely the growth of productive capital, you workers can exert no influence.

But you can on the other side.

You can reduce the supply of workers, i.e., the competition among them, by making as few children as possible.

To reveal the utter stupidity, baseness and hypocrisy of this doctrine, the following is sufficient:

β) (This is to be included in I: How does the growth of the productive forces affect wages?)

Wages rise when the demand for labour grows. This demand grows when the capital grows which sets the labour in motion, i.e., when the productive capital grows.

Here there are two main points to be made:

*Firstly*: A main condition for the rise of wages is the growth of the productive capital, and its most rapid possible growth. The main condition for the worker to be in a passable position is, therefore, to depress his position in relation to the bourgeois class more and more, to increase as much as possible the power of his opponent, capital. That is, he can only be in a passable position provided he creates and reinforces the power which is hostile to him, his own opposite. On this condition of creating this hostile power, the means of

[a] Marx later added: "Pauperism".—*Ed.*

employment flow to him from that power and turn him anew into part of the productive capital and into the lever which increases the latter and hurls it into an accelerated movement of growth.

Incidentally, when one has grasped this relationship of capital and labour, all Fourierist and other attempts at mediation appear in their true absurdity.

*Secondly*: Having thus explained this crazy relationship, we must add a second, even more important element.

Namely, what does it mean: Growth of productive capital, and in what conditions does it take place?

Growth of capital=accumulation and concentration of capital. In the same measure in which capital is accumulated and concentrated, it leads:

to work on a larger scale and hence to a new division of labour which simplifies the work still more;

then to the introduction of machinery on a larger scale and to the introduction of new machinery.

That means, therefore, that in the measure in which productive capital grows, there grows

the competition among the workers because the division of labour is simplified and every branch of labour is open to everybody.

Competition also grows among them because in the same measure they have to compete with the machines and are thrown out of work by them. By constantly increasing the scale of operations and because the rate of interest tends to fall more and more through the competition among the capitals offered, the concentration and accumulation of productive capital brings about the following:

Small industrial enterprises are ruined and cannot stand up to competition with the big ones. Entire sections of the bourgeois class are thrown down into the working class. The competition among the workers is therefore increased by the ruin of the small industrialists which is fatally linked with the growth of productive capital.

And at the same time as the rate of interest falls, small capitalists formerly not participating in industry directly are forced to become industrial, i.e., to supply big industry with further victims. From this side, too, the working class is enlarged and competition among the workers increased.

While the growth of the productive forces leads to work on a larger scale, momentary overproduction becomes more and more necessary, the world market more and more extensive, and competition more universal. The crises, therefore, become more and more violent. So the workers are given a sudden encouragement to marry and multiply, they are agglomerated and concentrated in

large masses, and their wages fluctuate more and more. Every new crisis, therefore, creates directly much bigger competition among the workers.

Speaking generally, the growth of the productive forces, with their more rapid means of communication, accelerated circulation and feverish turnover of capital consists in the fact that in the same time more can be produced, and hence, under the law of competition, more must be produced. That is, production takes place in more and more difficult conditions, and so that competition can be put up with in these conditions, production must take place on an ever growing scale and capital must be concentrated in fewer and fewer hands. And so that this producing on a larger scale may be fruitful, the division of labour and machinery must be constantly and disproportionately extended.

This producing in more and more difficult conditions also extends to the worker as part of capital. He must produce more, in more and more difficult conditions, i.e., for less and less wages and more work, at constantly decreasing production costs. So the minimum itself is constantly being reduced to greater exertions with minimum enjoyment.

The disproportion rises geometrically, not arithmetically.[a]

The growth of the productive forces therefore leads to increased power of big capital, to the machine called the worker becoming more and more simple, to an increase in direct competition among the workers through greater division of labour and use of machinery, through a positive premium being placed on the production of people, through the competition of the ruined sections of the bourgeois class, etc.

We can formulate the matter still more simply:

Productive capital consists of three constituent parts:

1) the raw material which is worked up;

2) the machines and materials such as coal, etc., which are necessary to drive the machines; buildings, etc.;

3) the part of capital intended for the maintenance of the workers.

Given the growth of productive capital, in what proportion do these three constituents stand to each other?

The growth of productive capital is linked with its concentration, and with that the fact that it can only be profitable if it is exploited on an ever larger scale.

A large part of capital will therefore be transformed directly into instruments of labour and will operate as such, and the more the

[a] This sentence was written by Marx in the margin.—*Ed.*

productive forces grow, the larger will be this part of capital which is directly transformed into machinery.

The growth of machinery and of the division of labour has the consequence that in a shorter time far more can be produced. Hence the store of raw materials must grow in the same proportion. In the course of the growth of the productive capital the part of capital transformed into raw materials necessarily increases.

There is still the third part of capital, that which is intended for the maintenance of the workers, i.e., transformed into wages.

In what proportion does the growth of this part of productive capital stand to the two others?

The greater division of labour causes a worker to produce as much as three, four, or five did formerly. Machinery has as a consequence the same proportion on a much larger scale.

It further stands to reason that the growth of the parts of productive capital transformed into machinery and raw materials is not accompanied by a similar growth of the part of productive capital intended for wages. In that case the purpose of the use of machinery and the increased division of labour would, of course, be thwarted. It stands to reason that the part of productive capital intended for wages does not grow in the same measure as the part intended for machinery and raw materials. Moreover, in the same measure in which productive capital grows, i.e., the power of capital as such, in the same measure there increases the disproportion between the capital invested in raw materials and machinery and that spent on wages. That means, therefore, that the part of productive capital intended for wages becomes smaller and smaller in relation to that which acts as machinery and raw material.

After the capitalist has put a larger capital into machinery, he is compelled to spend a larger capital on the purchase of raw materials and the fuels required to drive the machines. But if formerly he employed 100 workers, now he will need perhaps only 50. Otherwise he would have perhaps to double the other parts of his capital again, i.e., make the disproportion still greater. He will therefore dismiss 50, or else the 100 must work for the same price as formerly the 50 did. There are, therefore, redundant workers on the market.

With improved division of labour only the capital for raw material will have to be increased. The place of three workers will perhaps be taken by one.

But take the most favourable case. Let the capitalist expand his enterprise so that he can not only retain the previous number of his workers—and, of course, he does not care a fig about waiting until he can do so—but even increase it; in this case production must have

been enormously expanded for it to be possible to retain the same number of workers or even increase it, and the proportion of workers to the productive forces has relatively become infinitely more a disproportion. Overproduction is thereby accelerated, and in the next crisis more workers than ever are unemployed.

It is, therefore, a general law which necessarily arises from the nature of the relation between capital and labour that in the course of the growth of the productive forces the part of productive capital which is transformed into machinery and raw material, i. e., capital as such, increases in disproportion to the part which is intended for wages; i. e., in other words, the workers must share among themselves an ever smaller part of the productive capital in relation to its total mass. Their competition, therefore, becomes more and more violent. In other words: the more productive capital grows, the more, in proportion, the means of employment and the means of subsistence for the workers are reduced, and the more rapidly, in other words, the working population grows in proportion to its means of employment. And this increases in the same measure in which the productive capital as a whole grows.

To compensate the above disproportion it must be enlarged in geometrical proportion, and in order afterwards, in a time of crisis, to readjust it, it is enlarged still more.

This law, which arises simply from the relation of the worker to capital, and which turns even the condition most favourable for him, the rapid growth of productive capital, into an unfavourable one, the bourgeois have changed from a social law into a law of nature by saying that by a law of nature the population grows more rapidly than the means of employment or the means of subsistence.

They fail to understand that the growth of this contradiction is inherent in the growth of productive capital.

We shall return to this later.

Productive force, in particular the social force of the workers themselves, not paid for, is even directed against them.

γ) First absurdity:

We have seen that when productive capital grows—the most favourable case presupposed by the economists—when, therefore, the demand for labour increases relatively, it is in the nature of modern industry and in the nature of capital that the means for the employment of workers do not grow in the same proportion, that the same circumstances which make productive capital grow, make the disproportion between the supply of labour and the demand for it grow still more rapidly, in a word, that the growth of the productive

forces makes grow at the same time the disproportion between the number of workers and the means for their employment. This depends neither on the increase of means of subsistence nor on the increase of the population regarded by itself. It follows necessarily from the nature of large-scale industry and the relationship of labour and capital.

If the growth of productive capital progresses only slowly, however, if it remains stationary or even decreases, the number of workers is always too large in proportion to the demand for labour.

In both cases, the most favourable and the most unfavourable, it follows from the relationship of labour to capital, from the nature of capital itself, that the supply of labour will always be too great for the demand for labour.

δ ) Leaving aside the nonsense that the entire working class cannot possibly take the decision not to make any children, their condition, on the contrary, makes the sexual instinct their chief pleasure and develops it one-sidedly.

After the bourgeoisie has depressed the existence of the workers to a minimum, it wants in addition to limit their acts of reproduction to a minimum.

ε ) That the bourgeoisie, incidentally, does not and cannot mean these phrases and counsels seriously, is clear from the following:

*Firstly*: By replacing adults with children, modern industry places a veritable premium on the making of children.

*Secondly*: Big industry constantly requires a reserve army of unemployed workers for times of overproduction. The main purpose of the bourgeois in relation to the worker is, of course, to have the commodity labour as cheaply as possible, which is only possible when the supply of this commodity is as large as possible in relation to the demand for it, i.e., when the overpopulation is the greatest.

Overpopulation is therefore in the interest of the bourgeoisie, and it gives the workers good advice which it knows to be impossible to carry out.

ι ) Since capital only increases when it employs workers, the increase of capital involves an increase of the proletariat, and, as we have seen, according to the nature of the relation of capital and labour, the increase of the proletariat must proceed relatively even faster.

κ ) The above theory, however, which is also expressed as a law of nature, that population grows faster than the means of subsistence, is the more welcome to the bourgeois as it silences his conscience, makes hard-heartedness into a moral duty and the

consequences of society into the consequences of nature, and finally gives him the opportunity to watch the destruction of the proletariat by starvation as calmly as other natural event without bestirring himself, and, on the other hand, to regard the misery of the proletariat as its own fault and to punish it. To be sure, the proletarian can restrain his natural instinct by reason, and so, by moral supervision, halt the law of nature in its injurious course of development.

λ) The poor laws may be regarded as an application of this theory. Extirpation of vermin. Arsenic. Workhouses.[a] Pauperism in general. The treadmill again within civilisation. Barbarism reappears, but created in the lap of civilisation itself and belonging to it; hence leprous barbarism, barbarism as leprosy of civilisation. Workhouses[a] the Bastilles of the workers. Separation of man and wife.

4. We will now briefly speak of those who want to improve the condition of the workers by a different way of fixing wages.

Proudhon.

5. Finally, among the remarks which philanthropic economists have made on wages, yet another view must be mentioned.

α) Among other economists *Rossi*, in particular, has expounded the following:

The manufacturer only advances to the worker his share in the product because the worker cannot wait for its sale. If the worker could maintain himself until the product was sold he would, as an *associé*, afterwards claim his share, as is the case between the actual and the industrial capitalist. That the worker's share has the particular form of wages is an accident, the result of a speculation, of a specific act which takes place alongside the production process and does not form any necessary constituent element of it. Wages are merely an accidental form of our social conditions. They do not necessarily belong to capital. They are not an indispensable factor of production. They can disappear under another organisation of society.

β) This whole trick amounts to the following: If the workers possessed enough accumulated labour, i.e., enough capital, not to have to live directly on the sale of their labour, the wage form would end. That is, if all workers were at the same time capitalists; which is to presuppose and preserve capital without the contrast of wage labour without which it cannot exist.

γ) Nevertheless, the following admission is to be observed: Wages are no accidental form of bourgeois production, but the whole of

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[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

bourgeois production is a passing historical form of production. All its relationships, capital as well as wages, rent, etc., are transitory and can be abolished at a certain point of development.

## VII. WORKERS' ASSOCIATIONS

An element in the population theory was that it is supposed to lessen the competition among workers. The associations, by contrast, have the purpose of *removing* it and replacing it by *union* of workers.

The economists are right when they remark against the associations:

1. The costs which they cause the workers are mostly greater than the rise in the gains they want to get. In the long run they cannot withstand the laws of competition. These combinations bring about new machines, a new division of labour, removal from one place of production to another. In consequence of all this a reduction of wages.

2. If the combinations were to succeed in keeping the price of labour so high in one country that profits fell significantly in relation to the average profit in other countries, or so that capital was held up in its growth, stagnation and recession of industry would be the consequence, and the workers would be ruined together with their masters. For that, as we have seen, is the condition of the worker. His condition deteriorates by leaps and bounds when productive capital grows, and he is ruined from the start when it declines or remains stationary.

3. All these objections of the bourgeois economists are, as we have said, correct, but only correct from their point of view.[231] If in the associations it really were a matter only of what it appears to be, namely the fixing of wages, if the relationship between labour and capital were eternal, these combinations would be wrecked on the necessity of things. But they are the means of uniting the working class, of preparing for the overthrow of the entire old society with its class contradictions. And from this standpoint the workers are right to laugh at the clever bourgeois schoolmasters who reckon up to them what this civil war is costing them in fallen, injured, and financial sacrifices. He who wants to beat his adversary will not discuss with him the costs of the war. And how far the workers are from such mean-spiritedness is proved to the economists by the very fact that the best-paid workers form the most combinations and that the workers spend all they can scrape from their wages on forming

political and industrial associations and meeting [the costs] of this movement. And if in their moments of philanthropy Messrs the bourgeois and their economists are so gracious as to allow in the minimum wage, that is, in the minimum life, a little tea, or rum, or sugar and meat, it must by contrast appear to them as shameful as incomprehensible that the workers reckon in this minimum a little of the costs of war against the bourgeoisie and that out of their revolutionary activity they even make the maximum of their enjoyment of life.

## VIII. POSITIVE ASPECT OF WAGE LABOUR

Before we conclude, let us draw attention to the positive aspect of wage labour.

α) If one says "positive aspect of wage labour" one says "positive aspect of capital", of large-scale industry, of free competition, of the world market, and I do not need to explain to you in detail how without these production relations neither the means of production—the material means for the emancipation of the proletariat and the foundation of a new society—would have been created, nor would the proletariat itself have taken to the unification and development through which it is really capable of revolutionising the old society and itself. *Equalisation* of wages.

β) Let us take wages themselves in the essence of their evil, that my activity becomes a commodity, that I become utterly and absolutely for sale.

*Firstly*: thereby everything patriarchal falls away, since haggling, purchase and sale remain the only connection, and the money relationship the sole relationship between employer and workers.

*Secondly:* the halo of sanctity is entirely gone from all relationships of the old society, since they have dissolved into pure money relationships.

Likewise, all so-called higher kinds of labour, intellectual, artistic, etc., have been turned into articles of commerce and have thereby lost their old sanctity. What a great advance it was that the entire regiment of clerics, doctors, lawyers, etc., hence religion, law, etc., ceased to be judged by anything but their commercial value.[a]

(*Thirdly*: since labour has become a commodity and as such subject to free competition, one seeks to produce it as cheaply as possible, i.e., at the lowest possible production cost. All physical labour has

[a] Here the manuscript has an insertion: "National, class, property relations."—*Ed.*

thereby become infinitely easy and simple for the future organisation of society.— To be put in general form.)

*Thirdly*: as the workers realised through the general saleability that everything was separable, dissoluble from itself, they first became free of their subjection to a given relationship. The advantage both over payment in kind and over the way of life prescribed purely by the (feudal) estate is that the worker can do what he likes with his money.

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## Frederick Engels

### THE "SATISFIED" MAJORITY.—GUIZOT'S SCHEME OF "REFORM".—QUEER NOTIONS OF M. GARNIER-PAGÈS.—DEMOCRATIC BANQUET AT CHÂLON.—SPEECH OF M. LEDRU-ROLLIN.—A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS.—SPEECH OF M. FLOCON.—THE *RÉFORME* AND THE *NATIONAL*

The French Chambers are now open, and we shall very soon have the pleasure of seeing what effect the Reform agitation has had upon the 225 "satisfied" members of the majority.[a] We shall see whether they will be satisfied, too, with the manner in which Guizot has exposed France in the Swiss question to the ridicule of all Europe. Why, this fat, corrupting and corrupted stock-jobbing, swindling, blood-sucking, and cowardly majority, are the very men to swallow down even that—to say "amen" to the trick which Palmerston, in return for the Spanish marriages, played on his worthy colleague Guizot[232]—to declare that never was France so great, so glorious, so respected, so "satisfied"—as at this very moment.

And it is at this very moment that all the papers of Paris, from the *Débats*[b] to the *Réforme*, discuss, as openly as can be done under the circumstances, the eventuality consequent upon the death of Louis Philippe. The *Débats* afraid of seeing the majority split itself up, warns them every day that this inevitable event, whenever it takes place, will be the signal for the general rendezvous of all political parties; that "republicanism", "communism", "anarchism", "terrorism", and so forth, will then break from their subterraneous caverns, to spread desolation, horror and destruction; that France will be lost—liberty, safety, property will be lost, unless the friends of order (M. Guizot and Co., of course) keep them down with a strong hand; that this perilous moment may occur any day; and that if M. Guizot is not supported in office, all will be lost. The other papers, the *Presse*,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 216-17.—*Ed.*

[b] *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires.*—*Ed.*

the *Constitutionnel*, the *Siècle*, on the contrary, say that quite the reverse will take place, that all the horrors of a bloody revolution will overrun the country, unless the abominable corruptor, Guizot, shall, at the moment of the king's death, have been replaced by their respective political heroes, by M. de Girardin, M. Thiers, or M. O. Barrot. The Radical papers discuss the question from another point of view, as we shall see by and by.

Thus, even the *Débats* agrees indirectly that "satisfied" France only awaits the proper moment for proving her dissatisfaction, in a manner which the frightened *bourgeois* imagination of the *Débats* depicts most ludicrously to its terrified reason. This, however, does not matter to the "satisfied" two hundred and twenty-five. They have a logic of their own. If the people are satisfied, then there is no reason for a change of system. If they are dissatisfied, why, then, their very dissatisfaction is a reason to stick more to the system; for if only one inch was abandoned, there would be a sudden eruption of all the horrors of revolution. Do whatever you like, these *bourgeois* will always draw the conclusion from it that they are the best rulers of the country.

Nevertheless, Guizot will give a small bit of reform. He will add to the electoral list the "capacities", that is, all persons possessing a university degree, lawyers, doctors, and other such humbugs. A glorious reform, indeed. But this will suffice to disarm the "Progressive Conservatives", or, as they call themselves now—for, in want of something else to do, they change names every quarter—the Conservative opposition. And it will be a ready stroke for M. Thiers, who, while sending his second, M. Duvergier de Hauranne, on a Reform banquetting errand, slily prepared his reform-plan, with which he was to surprise the Chambers, and which was equally the same as the one now to be proposed by his rival, Guizot.

There will be a deal of crying, shouting, and noise-making generally in the Chambers; but I hardly think M. Guizot has anything serious to apprehend from his faithful two hundred and twenty-five.

So much for the official world. In the meantime the Reform banquets and the polemic between the *National* and the *Réforme* have continued. The allied oppositions, that is, the left centre (M. Thiers' party), the left (M. Odilon Barrot's party) and the "sensible Radicals" (the *National*), had the banquets of Castres, Montpellier, Neubourg, and others; the ultra-Democrats (the *Réforme*), had the banquet of Châlon. The chief speaker of the banquets of Montpellier and Neubourg was M. Garnier-Pagès, brother of the well-known

democrat of that name,[a] deceased a few years ago. But M. Garnier-Pagès, the younger, is far from being like his brother; he totally lacks that energy, that courage and never-compromising spirit which secured so prominent a position to the deceased leader of French Democracy. At Neubourg, M. Garnier-Pagès, the younger, came out with assertions proving him to be entirely ignorant of the actual state of society, and consequently of the means of improving it. While all modern democracy is based upon the great fact, that modern society is irreparably divided into two classes—the *bourgeoisie*, or possessors of all means of production and all produce, and the proletarians, or possessors of nothing but their labour to live upon; that the latter class is socially and politically oppressed by the former; while the acknowledged tendency of modern Democrats in all countries is to make political power pass from the middle classes to the working classes, these latter constituting the immense majority of the people—in the face of all these facts, M. Garnier boldly asserts that the division of the people into middle classes and working classes does in reality not exist, that it is a mischievous invention of M. Guizot's got up to divide the people; that in spite of Guizot he recognises that all Frenchmen *are* equal—that they all participate in the same life, and that he recognises in France none but *French citizens*! According to M. Garnier-Pagès, then, the monopolising of all instruments of production in the hands of the *bourgeoisie*, which abandons the proletarians to the tender mercies of the economical law of wages, reducing the share of the working men to the lowest level of food, is an invention of M. Guizot's too! According to him, the whole of that desperate struggle now going on in all civilised countries of the world, between Labour and Capital, a struggle the different phases of which are marked by coalitions, trades' unions, murders, riots, and bloody insurrections—a struggle whose reality is testified by the death of the proletarians shot at Lyons, at Preston, at Langenbielau, at Prague,[233] this struggle has been carried on upon no better grounds than a lying assertion of a French professor! What else do the words of M. Garnier-Pagès mean but this? "Let the capitalists continue to monopolise all powers of production—let the working man continue to live upon the merest pittance, but give him, as a compensation for his suffering, the *title* of citizen!" Ay, M. Pagès would under certain circumstances, and with certain restrictions, perhaps, consent to give the people the suffrage; but let them never think of profiting by the gift by passing measures which

[a] Etienne Joseph Louis Garnier-Pagès.—*Ed.*

would essentially alter the actual mode of production and distribution of wealth—which would, in course of time, give to the entire people the command of the productive powers of the country, and do away with all individual "employers"! The *Réforme* was perfectly right in styling this honourable gentleman a *bourgeois radical.*[a]

The Ultra-Democrats had, as I said before, only one banquet, but it was a bumper, and worth a dozen of the coalition party. More than two thousand citizens sat down to dinner at Châlon-sur-Saône. The *National* had been invited, but very significantly had not come. The men of the *Réforme*, accordingly, had it all their own way. M. Ledru-Rollin, who had been designated by the *National* as the chief of the ultra-democratic party, here, accepted this position. He explained his position and the position of his party, by relating in a brilliant abstract, the different phases of French democracy since 1789. He then justified himself against the attacks of the *National*, attacked that paper in turn, and proposed a jury of Democrats to be nominated from all parts of France—one-half by either party—to decide between the *Réforme* and the *National.*

> And now (he said), after having settled this home affair, would it not be a good thing if the French democracy entered into relation with the other democracies? There is at this moment a great movement going on in Europe amongst all the disinherited, who suffer by heart or by hunger. This is the moment to console them, to strengthen them, and to enter into communion with them.... Let us, then, hold a congress of Democrats of all nations, now, when the congress of kings has failed!... There is one republic in Europe, which just now has secured in its own territory the ascendancy of democracy—there is Switzerland, a country worthy of seeing the Democrats of all nations upon its free soil!... And thus, citizens, let me conclude, by coupling to my toast: "To the Unity of the French Revolution", that other one, "The Union of all Democracies".

This speech excited loud applause, and it merited it. We heartily rejoice in M. Ledru-Rollin's oratorial success at Châlon, but at the same time, must protest against an unguarded expression, which, we are sure, has been said without intention to hurt. M. Ledru-Rollin says, that the moment has arrived for French Democrats to console and to strengthen the suffering working men of other nations. The Democrats of *no country*, we are sure, want consolation from whomsoever it be. They admire the revolutionary pride of French Democrats, but they take for themselves the right to be quite as proud and independent. The four millions of English Chartists certainly are strong enough to do their own work for themselves. Glad as we are to see the French democracy take up with enthusiasm

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[a] The reference is to the leading article in *La Réforme*, December 17, 1847.—*Ed.*

the idea of a Democratic Congress, and an alliance of all democracies, we expect, before all things, a perfect reciprocity and equality. Any alliance, which should not recognise this equality as its foundation, would itself be anti-democratic. We know, however, too well the profoundly democratic sentiments of the men of the *Réforme* to doubt of their perfectly agreeing with us; we only wish them to drop for the interest of our common cause, certain expressions, which far from expressing their real sentiments, are an inheritance from the time when the *National* alone represented the French Democracy.

At the same banquet, M. Flocon spoke to the toast:—"The Rights of Man and of the Citizen". He read the declaration of rights of the National Convention,[234] which he declared to be, up to this day, the faithful abstract of true Democratic principles. To this, what he called the true French principle, he opposed the present system of moneyocracy, which places man upon a lower level than even cattle, because man is overabundant, and costs more than he gives in nature when his labour is not required. This system, from the country in which it first arose, he called the English system.

But lo, he said, while the English principle is introduced into the fatherland of the revolution, the English people themselves strive to throw its yoke off their shoulders, and write upon their banners the glorious motto:—"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!" Thus, by one of those painful turns, of which history offers more than one example, the very nation which first gave truth to the world, fallen back into darkness and ignorance, would soon be obliged to ask from its neighbours the revolutionary traditions which itself could not conserve. Shall it ever come thus far with us? No, never, as long as there are Democrats like you, and meetings like this! No, we never will prop up the worm-eaten frame of those English institutions, which the English themselves will no longer support! (No, no!) Well then, to your tents, O Israel! Every one of you rally round his standard! Every one for his faith! Here, on our side, Democracy with her twenty-five millions of proletarians to free, whom she greets with the names of citizens, brothers, equal and free men; there the bastard-opposition, with her monopolies and aristocracy of capital! They speak of reducing the qualification by one-half; we, we proclaim the rights of man and of the citizen! (Loud and long-continued applause, which ended by the whole meeting singing the *Chant du départ.*[235])

We regret not to have room for giving more of the speeches delivered at this splendid and thoroughly Democratic banquet.

At last, the *Réforme* has forced the *National* to enter into a *polemic.* The former journal, in declaring its adhesion to the principles announced by M. Garnier-Pagès, at the Montpellier banquet, in a speech on the French revolution, at the same time disputed the right of men, like M. Garnier, who had sacrificed the interests of Democracy to M. Odilon Barrot and the middle-class opposition, to

act as the representatives of the principles of the Revolution.[a] This, at last, brought out a reply from the *National*, in which Ledru-Rollin in his turn was attacked. The principal points of accusation against the *National* were: 1st. Its support of the bastilles around Paris, by which the inheritance of the revolution was placed under the control of twelve hundred pieces of cannon.[236] 2nd. Its silence last year, upon a pamphlet of M. Carnot,[b] in which he engaged the Democrats to join the Left Centre and the Left, to get them into office as soon as possible, to drop for the moment the Republican principle, and to agitate for an extension of the Suffrage within the limits of the Charter.[237] M. Garnier-Pagès, the younger, had about the same time announced similar principles; the pamphlet declared itself to be the expression of the opinion not of an individual, but of a party in the Chamber. The *Réforme* attacked both M. Garnier's speech and M. Carnot's (son of the celebrated member of the Convention and Republican minister of war[c]) pamphlet, and tried to provoke the *National* to a declaration.[d] But the *National* remained silent. The *Réforme* rightly declared that the policy proposed by both deputies would tend to nothing but to place the Democratic party wholly under the control of MM. Thiers and Barrot, and break it up entirely as a distinct party. 3rd. The *National* following up in practice during the Reform banquet agitation the policy proposed by M. Carnot. 4th. Its virulent and calumniating attacks upon the Communists, while proposing at the same time no practicable or effective remedy for the misery of the working people.

The dispute has been going on for a week at least. At last the *National* retired from the contest, after having conducted it in a very improper manner. It has been regularly beaten; but, in order to mask its defeat, it finally accepted M. Ledru's proposal of a Democratic jury.

We can only declare our full adhesion to the part the *Réforme* has taken in this affair. It has saved the honour, independence, and the strength of French Democracy as a distinct party. It has maintained the principles of the Revolution, which were endangered by the course pursued by the *National*. It has asserted the rights of the working classes in opposition to middle-class encroachments. It has unmasked these *bourgeois* radicals—who would make the people

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[a] The reference is to the leading articles in *La Réforme*, December 15, 17 and 19, 1847.—*Ed.*

[b] L. H. Carnot, *Les radicaux et la charte.*—*Ed.*

[c] Lazare Nicolas Carnot.—*Ed.*

[d] The reference is to the leading article in *La Réforme*, December 20, 1847.—*Ed.*

believe that no class oppression exists—who will not see the frightful civil war of class against class in modern society,—and who have nothing but vain words for the working people. The *Réforme*, by keeping up this contest, until it has succeeded in forcing its haughty rival to break silence, to wave, to retract, to explain, and at last to withdraw,—the *Réforme*, we say, has well merited of Democracy.

Written at the beginning of January 1848

Reprinted from the newspaper

First published in *The Northern Star* No. 533, January 8, 1848 with an editorial note: "From Our Paris Correspondent"

# Frederick Engels

## [THE COERCION BILL FOR IRELAND AND THE CHARTISTS][238]

The Irish Coercion Bill came into force last Wednesday.[a] The Lord Lieutenant[b] was not slow in taking advantage of the despotic powers with which this new law invests him; the act has been applied all over the counties of Limerick and Tipperary and to several baronies in the counties of Clare, Waterford, Cork, Roscommon, Leitrim, Cavan, Longford and *King's County*.[239]

It remains to be seen what the effect of this odious measure will be. In this connection we already have the opinion of the class in whose interests the measure was taken, namely, the Irish landowners. They announce to the world in their organs that the measure will have no effect whatsoever. And in order to achieve this a whole country is being placed in a state of siege! To achieve this nine-tenths of the Irish representatives have deserted their country!

This is a fact. The desertion has been a general one. During the discussion of the Bill the O'Connell family itself became divided: John and Maurice, two of the deceased "Liberator's"[c] sons, remained faithful to their homeland, whereas their cousin,[d] Morgan O'Connell, not only voted for the Bill, but also spoke in its support on several occasions. There were only eighteen members who voted for the outright rejection of the Bill, and only twenty supported the amendment put forward by Mr. Wakley, the Chartist member for a borough on the outskirts of London, who demanded that the

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[a] December 29, 1847.—*Ed.*

[b] Earl of Clarendon.—*Ed.*

[c] Daniel O'Connell.—*Ed.*

[d] Read "brother", a mistake in *La Réforme*.—Ed.

Coercion Bill should also be accompanied by measures aimed at reducing the causes of the crimes which it was proposed to repress. And among these eighteen and twenty voters there were also four or five English Radicals and two Irishmen representing English boroughs, meaning that out of the hundred members which Ireland has in Parliament there were only a dozen who put up serious opposition to the Bill.

This was the first discussion on an important question affecting Ireland which had been held since the death of O'Connell. It was to decide who would take the place of the great agitator in leading Ireland. Up to the opening of Parliament Mr. John O'Connell had been tacitly acknowledged in Ireland as his father's successor. But it soon became evident after the debate had begun that he was not capable of leading the party and, what is more, that he had found a formidable rival in Feargus O'Connor. This democratic leader about whom Daniel O'Connell said, "We are happy to make the English Chartists a present of Mr. F. O'Connor", put himself at the head of the Irish party in a single bound. It was he who proposed the outright rejection of the Coercion Bill; it was he who succeeded in rallying all the opposition behind him; it was he who opposed each clause, who held up the voting whenever possible; it was he who in his speeches summed up all the arguments of the opposition against the Bill; and finally it was he who for the first time since 1835 reintroduced the motion for *Repeal of the Union*,[240] a motion which none of the Irish members would have put forward.

The Irish members accepted this leader with a bad grace. As simple Whigs in their heart of hearts they fundamentally detest the democratic energy of Mr. O'Connor. He will not allow them to go on using the campaign for repeal as a means for overthrowing the Tories in favour of the Whigs and to forget the very word "repeal" when the latter come to power. But the Irish members who support repeal cannot possibly do without a leader like O'Connor and, although they are trying to undermine his growing popularity in Ireland, they are obliged to submit to his leadership in Parliament.

When the parliamentary session is over O'Connor will probably go on a tour of Ireland to revive the agitation for repeal and to found an Irish Chartist party. There can be no doubt that if O'Connor is successful in doing this he will be the leader of the Irish people in less than six months. By uniting the democratic leadership of the three kingdoms[a] in his hands, he will occupy a position which no agitator, not even O'Connell, has held before him.

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[a] England, Scotland and Ireland.—*Ed.*

We will leave it to our readers to judge the importance of this future alliance between the peoples of the two islands. British democracy will advance much more quickly when its ranks are swelled by two million brave and ardent Irish, and poverty-stricken Ireland will at last have taken an important step towards her liberation.

Written on January 4, 1848

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Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

# Frederick Engels

## FEARGUS O'CONNOR AND THE IRISH PEOPLE[241]

The first issue of *The Northern Star* for 1848 contains an address to the Irish people by *Feargus O'Connor*, the well-known leader of the English Chartists and their representative in Parliament. This address deserves to be read from beginning to end and carefully considered by every democrat, but our restricted space prevents us from reproducing it in full.

We would, however, be remiss in our duty if we were to pass it over in silence. The consequences of this forceful appeal to the Irish people will very soon be strongly felt and seen. Feargus O'Connor, himself of Irish descent, a Protestant and for over ten years a leader and main pillar of the great labour movement in England, must henceforth be regarded as the virtual chief of the Irish Repealers[242] and advocates of reform. His speeches in the House of Commons against the recently published disgraceful Irish Coercion Bill[243] have given him the first claim to this status, and the subsequently continued agitation for the Irish cause shows that Feargus O'Connor is just the man Ireland needs.

*O'Connor* is indeed seriously concerned about the well-being of the millions in Ireland. Repeal[a]—the abolition of the Union, that is, the achievement of an independent Irish Parliament—is not an empty word, not a pretext for obtaining posts for himself and his friends and for making profitable private business transactions.

In his address he shows the Irish people that Daniel O'Connell, that political juggler, led them by the nose and deceived them for thirteen years by means of the word "Repeal".

He shows in its true light the conduct of John O'Connell, who has taken up his father's political heritage and who like his father is prepared to sacrifice millions of credulous Irishmen for the sake of

[a] Here and below Engels uses the English term.—*Ed.*

his personal ventures and interests. All O'Connell's speeches at the Dublin Conciliation Hall[244] and all his hypocritical protestations and beautiful phrases will not obliterate the disrepute he has brought upon himself earlier and in particular now in the House of Commons during the debates on the Irish Coercion Bill.

The Irish people must and will see how things stand, and then it will kick out the entire gang of so-called Repealers, who under cover of this cloak laugh up their sleeves and in their purses and John O'Connell, the fanatical papist and political rogue, will be kicked out first of all.

If this were all the address contained, we should not have especially mentioned it.

But it is of much wider importance. For Feargus O'Connor speaks in it not only as an Irishman but also, and primarily, as an English democrat, as a Chartist.

With a lucidity which cannot escape even the most obtuse mind, O'Connor shows that the Irish people must fight with all their might and in close association with the English working classes and the Chartists in order to win the six points of the People's Charter—annual parliaments, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, abolition of the property qualification for members of Parliament, payment of M.P.s and the establishment of equal electoral districts. Only after these six points are won will the achievement of the Repeal have any advantages for Ireland.

Furthermore O'Connor points out that justice for Ireland has already been demanded earlier by the English workers in a petition which received $3^1/_2$ million signatures,[245] and that now the English Chartists have again protested against the Irish Coercion Bill in numerous petitions and that the oppressed classes in England and Ireland must at last fight together and conquer together or continue to languish under the same oppression and live in the same misery and dependence on the privileged and ruling capitalist class.

There can be no doubt that henceforth the mass of the Irish people will unite ever more closely with the English Chartists and will act with them according to a common plan. As a result the victory of the English democrats, and hence the liberation of Ireland, will be hastened by many years. That is the significance of O'Connor's address to the Irish people.

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# Karl Marx

## SPEECH ON THE QUESTION OF FREE TRADE

DELIVERED TO THE DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION OF BRUSSELS AT ITS PUBLIC MEETING OF JANUARY 9, 1848[246]

Gentlemen,—The Repeal of the Corn Laws[247] in England is the greatest triumph of Free Trade in the nineteenth century. In every country where manufacturers discuss Free Trade, they have in mind chiefly Free Trade in corn or raw material generally. To burden foreign corn with protective duties is infamous, it is to speculate on the hunger of the people.

Cheap food, high wages,[a] for this alone the English Free Traders[b] have spent millions, and their enthusiasm has already infected their Continental brethren. And, generally speaking, all those who advocate Free Trade do so in the interests of the working class.[c]

But, strange to say, the people for whom cheap food is to be procured at all costs are very ungrateful. Cheap food is as ill reputed in England as is cheap government in France. The people see in these self-sacrificing gentlemen, in Bowring, Bright & Co., their worst enemies and the most shameless hypocrites.

Everyone knows that in England the struggle between Liberals and Democrats takes the name of the struggle between Free Traders and Chartists. Let us see how the English Free Traders have proved to the people the good intentions that animate them.

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[a] In the 1848 French edition these words are repeated in English after the French.—*Ed.*

[b] In the 1848 French edition, here and below, as a rule, the English is used, though the French "libre-échangiste" also occurs sometimes.—*Ed.*

[c] In the 1848 French edition the end of this phrase reads: "to ease the condition of the working class".—*Ed.*

# DISCOURS

SUR LA QUESTION

# DU LIBRE ÉCHANGE,

PRONONCÉ A

## L'ASSOCIATION DÉMOCRATIQUE

DE BRUXELLES,

Dans la Séance Publique du 9 Janvier 1848,

PAR CHARLES MARX.

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*Imprimé aux frais de l'Association Démocratique.*

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Messieurs,

L'abolition des lois céréales en Angleterre est le plus grand triomphe que le libre échange ait remporté au 19me siècle. Dans tous les pays où les fabricants parlent de libre échange ils ont principalement en vue le libre échange des grains et des matières premières en général. Frapper de droits protecteurs les grains étrangers, c'est infâme, c'est spéculer sur la famine des peuples.

First page of a separate edition of Marx's "Speech on the Question of Free Trade" (Brussels, February 1848)

This is what they said to the factory hands,—

"The duty on corn is a tax upon wages; this tax vou pay to the landlords, those medieval aristocrats; if your position is a wretched one, it is so only on account of the high price of the most indispensable articles of food."

The workers in turn asked of the manufacturers,—

"How is it that in the course of the last thirty years, while our commerce and manufacture[a] has immensely increased, our wages have fallen far more rapidly, in proportion, than the price of corn has gone up?

"The tax which you say we pay the landlords is about three pence a week per worker. And yet the wages of the hand-loom weaver fell, between 1815 and 1843, from 28s. per week to 5s., and the wages of the power-loom weaver, between 1823 and 1843, from 20s. per week to 8s.

"And during the whole of the time that portion of the tax which you say we pay the landlord has never exceeded three pence. And, then, in the year 1834, when bread was very cheap and business lively, what did you tell us? You said, 'If you are poor, it is only because you have too many children, and your marriages are more productive than your labor!'

"These are the very words you spoke to us, and you set about making new Poor Laws, and building workhouses, those bastilles of the proletariat."

To this the manufacturers replied,—

"You are right, worthy laborers: it is not the price of corn alone, but competition of the hands among themselves as well, which determines wages.

"But just bear in mind the circumstance that our soil consists of rocks and sandbanks only. You surely do not imagine that corn can be grown in flower-pots! If, instead of wasting our labor and capital upon a thoroughly sterile soil, we were to give up agriculture, and devote ourselves exclusively to commerce and manufacture, all Europe would abandon its factories, and England would form one huge factory town, with the whole of the rest of Europe for its agricultural districts."

While thus haranguing his own workingmen, the manufacturer is interrogated by the small tradesmen, who exclaim,—

"If we repeal the Corn Laws, we shall indeed ruin agriculture; but, for all that, we shall not compel other nations to give up their own

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[a] The 1848 French edition has here and below "industry" instead of "commerce and manufacture".—*Ed.*

factories, and buy our goods. What will the consequences be? I lose my customers in the country, and the home market is destroyed."

The manufacturer turns his back upon the workingmen and replies to the shopkeeper,—

"As to that, you leave it to us! Once rid of the duty on corn, we shall import cheaper corn from abroad. Then we shall reduce wages at the very time when they are rising in the countries where we get our corn. Thus in addition to the advantages which we already enjoy we shall have lower wages, and, with all these advantages, we shall easily force the Continent to buy of us."

But now the farmers and agricultural laborers join in the discussion.

"And what, pray, is to become of us? Are we to help in passing a sentence of death upon agriculture, when we get our living by it? Are we to let the soil be torn from beneath our feet?"

For all answer the Anti-Corn Law League[248] contented itself with offering prizes for the three best essays upon the wholesome influence of the Repeal of the Corn Laws on English agriculture.

These prizes were carried off by Messrs Hope, Morse, and Greg, whose essays[a] were distributed broadcast throughout the agricultural districts.[b] One of the prize essayists devotes himself to proving that neither the tenant farmer nor the agricultural laborer would lose by the repeal of the Corn Laws, and that the landlord alone would lose.

"The English tenant farmer," he exclaims, "need not fear repeal, because no other country can produce such good corn so cheaply as England. Thus, even if the price of corn fell, it would not hurt you, because this fall would only affect rent, which would go down, while the profit of capital and the wages of labor remain stationary."

The second prize essayist, Mr. Morse, maintains, on the contrary, that the price of corn will rise in consequence of repeal. He is at infinite pains to prove that protective duties have never been able to secure a remunerative price for corn.

In support of his assertion he quotes the fact that, whenever foreign corn has been imported, the price of corn in England has gone up considerably, and that when little corn has been imported the price has fallen extremely. This prize-winner forgets that the importation was not the cause of the high price, but that the high price was the cause of the importation. In direct contradiction of his

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[a] *The Three Prize Essays on Agriculture and the Corn Law.* Published by the National Anti-Corn Law League.—*Ed.*

[b] The 1848 French edition has: "whose books were circulated in the rural districts in thousands of copies."—*Ed.*

colleague he asserts that every rise in the price of corn is profitable to both the tenant farmer and laborer, but does not benefit the landlord.

The third prize essayist, Mr. Greg, who is a large manufacturer and whose work is addressed to the large tenant farmers, could not afford to echo such silly stuff. His language is more scientific.

He admits that the Corn Laws can increase rent only by increasing the price of corn, and that they can raise the price of corn only by inducing the investment of capital upon land of inferior quality, and this is explained quite simply.

In proportion as population increases, it inevitably follows, if foreign corn cannot be imported, that less fruitful soil must be placed under cultivation. This involves more expense and the product of this soil is consequently dearer. There being a demand for all the corn thus produced,[a] it will all be sold. The price for all of it will of necessity be determined by the price of the product of the inferior soil.[b] The difference between this price and the cost of production upon soil of better quality constitutes the rent paid for the use of the better soil.[c]

If, therefore, in consequence of the repeal of the Corn Laws, the price of corn falls, and if, as a matter of course, rent falls along with it, it is because inferior soil will no longer be cultivated. Thus the reduction of rent must inevitably ruin a part of the tenant farmers.

These remarks were necessary in order to make Mr. Greg's language comprehensible.

"The small farmers," he says, "who cannot support themselves by agriculture must take refuge in manufacture. As to the large tenant farmers, they cannot fail to profit by the arrangement: either the landlord will be obliged to sell them their land very cheap, or leases will be made out for long periods. This will enable tenant farmers to invest more capital in their farms, to use agricultural machinery on a larger scale, and to save manual labor, which will, moreover, be cheaper, on account of the general fall in wages, the immediate consequence of the repeal of the Corn Laws."

Dr. Bowring conferred upon all these arguments the consecration of religion, by exclaiming at a public meeting, "Jesus Christ is Free Trade, and Free Trade is Jesus Christ."

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[a] The 1848 French edition does not have the words "thus produced".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1848 French edition has here "requiring greater expenses".—*Ed.*

[c] The 1848 French edition does not have the words "paid for the use of the better soil".—*Ed.*

It will be evident that all this cant was not calculated to make cheap bread tasteful to workingmen.

Besides, how should the workingmen understand the sudden philanthropy of the manufacturers, the very men still busy fighting against the Ten-Hours Bill, which was to reduce the working day of the mill hands from twelve hours to ten?[249]

To give you an idea of the philanthropy of these manufacturers I would remind you of the factory regulations in force in all their mills.

Every manufacturer has for his own private use a regular penal code by means of which fines are inflicted for every voluntary or involuntary offence. For instance, the hand pays so much when he has the misfortune to sit down on a chair, or whisper, or speak, or laugh; if he is a few moments late; if any part of a machine breaks, or if he turns out work of an inferior quality, etc. The fines are always greater than the damage really done by the workman. And to give the workingman every opportunity for incurring fines the factory clock is set forward, and he is given bad material to make into good stuff. An overseer unskilful in multiplying infractions of rules is soon discharged.

You see, gentlemen, this private legislation is enacted for the especial purpose of[a] creating such infractions, and infractions are manufactured for the purpose of making money. Thus the manufacturer uses every means of reducing the nominal wage, and even profiting by accidents over which the workers have no control.

And these manufacturers are the same philanthropists who have tried to persuade the workers that they were capable of going to immense expense for the sole and express purpose of improving the condition of these same workingmen! On the one hand they nibble at the workers' wages in the pettiest way, by means of factory legislation, and, on the other, they are prepared to make the greatest sacrifices to raise those wages by means of the Anti-Corn Law League.

They build great palaces, at immense expense, in which the League takes up[b] its official residence. They send an army of missionaries to all corners of England to preach the gospel of Free Trade; they print and distribute gratis thousands of pamphlets to enlighten the workingman upon his own interests. They spend enormous sums to buy over the press to their side. They organize a vast administrative system for the conduct of the Free Trade movement, and bestow all

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[a] The 1848 French edition does not have the words "the especial purpose of".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1848 French edition has here "as it were".—*Ed.*

the wealth of their eloquence upon public meetings. It was at one of these meetings that a workingman cried out,—

"If the landlords were to sell our bones, you manufacturers would be the first to buy them, and to put them through the mill and make flour of them."

The English workingmen have appreciated to the fullest extent the significance of the struggle between the lords of the land and of capital. They know very well that the price of bread was to be reduced in order to reduce wages, and that the profit of capital would rise by as much as rent fell.

Ricardo, the apostle of the English Free Traders, the leading economist of our century, entirely agrees with the workers upon this point.

In his celebrated work upon Political Economy[a] he says:

> "If instead of growing our own corn ... we discover a new market from which we can supply ourselves ... at a cheaper price, wages will fall and profits rise. The fall in the price of agricultural produce reduces the wages, not only of the laborer employed in cultivating the soil, but also of all those employed in commerce or manufacture" [t. I, pp. 178-79; Eng. ed., p. 137].

And do not believe, gentlemen, that it is a matter of indifference to the workingman whether he receives only four francs on account of corn being cheaper, when he had been receiving five francs before.

Have not his wages always fallen in comparison with profit? And is it not clear that his social position has grown worse as compared with that of the capitalist? Beside which he loses actually. So long as the price of corn was higher and wages were also higher, a small saving in the consumption of bread sufficed to procure him other enjoyments. But as soon as bread is cheap, and wages are therefore low, he can save almost nothing on bread, for the purchase of other articles.

The English workingmen have shown the English[b] Free Traders that they are not the dupes of their illusions or of their lies; and if, in spite of this, the workers have made common cause with the manufacturers against the landlords, it is for the purpose of destroying the last remnant of feudalism, that henceforth they may have only one enemy to deal with. The workers have not miscalculated, for the landlords, in order to revenge themselves upon the manufacturers, have made common cause with the workers to carry the Ten-Hours Bill, which the latter had been vainly

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[a] D. Ricardo, *Des principes de l'économie politique et de l'impôt.—Ed.*

[b] The 1848 French edition does not have the word "English".—*Ed.*

demanding for thirty years, and which was passed immediately after the repeal of the Corn Laws.

When Dr. Bowring, at the Congress of Economists,[a] drew from his pocket a long list to show how many head of cattle, how much ham, bacon, poultry, etc., is imported into England, to be consumed—as he asserted— by the workers, he forgot to state that at the same time the workers of Manchester and other factory towns were thrown out of work by the beginning of the crisis.

As a matter of principle in Political Economy, the figures of a single year must never be taken as the basis for formulating general laws. We must always take the average of from six to seven years, a period during which modern industry passes through the successive phases of prosperity, overproduction, crisis,[b] thus completing the inevitable cycle.

Doubtless, if the price of all commodities falls,—and this is the necessary consequence of Free Trade—I can buy far more for a franc than before. And the workingman's franc is as good as any other man's. Therefore, Free Trade must be advantageous to the workingman. There is only one little difficulty in this, namely that the workman, before he exchanges his franc for other commodities, has first exchanged his labor for the money of the capitalist.[c] If in this exchange he always received the said franc[d] while the price of all other commodities fell, he would always be the gainer by such a bargain. The difficulty does not lie in proving that, the price of all commodities falling, more commodities can be bought for the same sum of money.

Economists always take the price of labor at the moment of its exchange with other commodities, and altogether ignore the moment at which labor accomplishes its own exchange with capital. When it costs less to set in motion the machinery which produces commodities, then the things necessary for the maintenance of this machine, called workman, will also cost less. If all commodities are cheaper, labor, which is a commodity too, will also fall in price, and we shall see later that this commodity, labor, will fall far lower in proportion than all other commodities. If the workingman still pins his faith to the arguments of the economists, he will find, one fine

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[a] See this volume, pp. 274-78 and pp. 282-90.—*Ed.*

[b] The 1848 French edition has "prosperity, overproduction, stagnation, crisis".—*Ed.*

[c] The 1848 French edition has "for capital" instead of "for the money of capitalist".—*Ed.*

[d] The 1848 French edition has "the said franc for the same work".—*Ed.*

morning,[a] that the franc has dwindled in his pocket, and that he has only five sous left.

Thereupon the economists will tell you,—

"We admit that competition among the workers will certainly not be lessened under Free Trade, and will very soon bring wages into harmony with the low price of commodities. But, on the other hand, the low price of commodities will increase consumption, the larger consumption will increase production, which will in turn necessitate a larger demand for labor and this larger demand will be followed by a rise in wages."

The whole line of argument amounts to this: Free Trade increases productive forces. When manufactures keep advancing, when wealth, when the productive forces, when, in a word, productive capital increases, the demand for the labor, the price of labor, and consequently the rate of wages, rises also.

The most favorable condition for the workingman is the growth of capital. This must be admitted: when capital remains stationary, commerce and manufacture are not merely stationary but decline, and in this case the workman is the first victim. He goes to the wall before the capitalist. And in the case of the growth of capital, under the circumstances, which, as we have said, are the best for the workingman, what will be his lot? He will go to the wall just the same. The growth of capital implies the accumulation and the concentration of capital. This centralization involves a greater division of labor and a greater use of machinery. The greater division of labor destroys the especial skill of the laborer; and by putting in the place of this skilled work labor which any one can perform it increases competition among the workers.

This competition becomes more fierce as the division of labor enables a single man to do the work of three. Machinery accomplishes the same result on a much larger scale. The accumulation of productive capital forces the industrial capitalist to work with constantly increasing means of production, ruins the small manufacturer, and drives him into the proletariat. Then, the rate of interest falling in proportion as capital accumulates, the little *rentiers* and retired tradespeople,[b] who can no longer live upon their small incomes, will be forced to look out for some business again and ultimately to swell the number of proletarians. Finally, the more productive capital grows, the more it is compelled to produce for a

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[a] The 1848 French edition does not have the words "one fine morning".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1848 French edition does not have the words "and retired tradespeople".—*Ed.*

market whose requirements it does not know,—the more supply tries to force demand,[a] and consequently crises increase in frequency and in intensity. But every crisis in turn hastens the concentration of capital, adds to the proletariat. Thus, as productive capital grows, competition among the workers grows too, and grows in a far greater proportion. The reward of labor is less for all, and the burden of labor is increased for some at least.

In 1829 there were, in Manchester, 1,088 cotton spinners employed in 36 factories. In 1841 there were but 448, and they tended 53,353 more spindles than the 1,088 spinners did in 1829. If manual labor had increased in the same proportion as productive force, the number of spinners ought to have risen to 1,848; improved machinery had, therefore, deprived 1,400 workers of employment.

We know beforehand the reply of the economists—the people thus thrown out of work will find other kinds of employment. Dr. Bowring did not fail to reproduce this argument at the Congress of Economists. But neither did he fail to refute himself. In 1835, Dr. Bowring made a speech in the House of Commons upon the 50,000 hand-loom weavers of London who have been starving without being able to find that new kind of employment which the Free Traders hold out to them in the distance. Let us hear the most striking portion of this speech of Mr. Bowring.[b]

"The misery of the hand-loom weavers," he says, "is the inevitable fate of all kinds of labor which are easily acquired, and which may, at any moment, be replaced by less costly means. As in these cases competition amongst the work-people is very great, the slightest falling-off in demand brings on a crisis. The hand-loom weavers are, in a certain sense, placed on the borders of human existence. One step further, and that existence becomes impossible. The slightest shock is sufficient to throw them on to the road to ruin. By more and more superseding manual labor, the progress of mechanical science must bring on, during the period of transition, a deal of temporary suffering. National well-being cannot be bought except at the price of some individual evils. The advance of industry is achieved at the expense of those who lag behind, and of all discoveries that of the power-loom weighs most heavily upon the hand-loom weavers. In a great many articles formerly made by hand, the weaver has been placed *hors de combat*; but he is sure to be beaten in a good many more stuffs that are now made by hand."

Further on he says,—"I hold in my hand a correspondence of the governor-general with the East India Company. This correspondence is concerning the weavers of the Dacca district. The governor says in his letter,—A few years ago the East India Company received from six to eight million pieces of calico woven upon the looms of

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[a] The 1848 French edition has: "the more production outstrips consumption, the more supply tries to force demand".—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes Dr. Bowring according to *Principles of Political Economy* by W. Atkinson.—*Ed.*

the country. The demand fell off gradually and was reduced to about a million pieces. At this moment it has almost entirely ceased. Moreover, in 1800 North America received from India nearly 800,000 pieces of cotton goods. In 1830 it did not take even 4,000. Finally, in 1800 a million of pieces were shipped for Portugal; in 1830 Portugal did not receive above 20,000.

"The reports on the distress of the Indian weavers are terrible. And what is the origin of that distress? The presence on the market of English manufactures, the production of the same article by means of the power-loom. A great number of the weavers died of starvation; the remainder has gone over to the other employment, and chiefly to field labor. Not to be able to change employment amounted to a sentence of death. And at this moment the Dacca district is crammed with English yarns and calicoes. The Dacca muslin, renowned all over the world for its beauty and firm texture, has also been eclipsed by the competition of English machinery. In the whole history of commerce, it would, perhaps, be difficult to find suffering equal to what these whole classes in India had to submit to" [W. Atkinson, pp. 36-38].

Mr. Bowring's speech is the more remarkable because the facts quoted by him are correct, and the phrases with which he seeks to palliate them are characterized by the hypocrisy common to all Free Trade discourses. He represents the workers as means of production which must be superseded by less expensive means of production, pretends to see in the labor of which he speaks a wholly exceptional kind of labor, and in the machine which has crushed out the weavers an equally exceptional kind of machine. He forgets that there is no kind of manual labor which may not any day share the fate of the hand-loom weavers.

"The constant aim and tendency of every improvement of mechanism is indeed to do entirely without the labor of men, or to reduce its price, by superseding the labor of the adult males by that of women and children, or the work of the skilled by that of the unskilled workman. In most of the throstle mills, spinning is now entirely done by girls of sixteen years and less. The introduction of the self-acting mule has caused the discharge of most of the (adult male) spinners, while the children and young persons have been kept on" [p. 34; Eng. ed., p. 23].

The above words of the most enthusiastic of Free Traders, Dr. Ure,[a] are calculated to complete the confessions of Dr. Bowring. Mr. Bowring speaks of certain individual evils, and, at the same time, says that these individual evils destroy whole classes; he speaks of the temporary sufferings during a transition period, and does not deny that these temporary evils have implied for the majority the transition from life to death, and for the rest a transition from a better to a worse condition. When he asserts, farther on, that the sufferings of the working class[b] are inseparable from the progress of

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[a] A. Ure, *Philosophie des manufactures, ou Économie industrielle*, t. I.—*Ed.*

[b] The 1848 French edition has "these workers" instead of "the working class".—*Ed.*

industry, and are necessary to the prosperity of the nation, he simply says that the prosperity of the bourgeois class presupposes as necessary the suffering of the laboring class.

All the comfort which Mr. Bowring offers the workers who perish, and, indeed, the whole doctrine of compensation which the Free Traders propound, amounts to this—

You thousands of workers who are perishing, do not despair! You can die with an easy conscience. Your class will not perish. It will always be numerous enough for the capitalist class to decimate it without fear of annihilating it. Besides, how could capital be usefully applied if it did not take care to keep up its exploitable material, i.e., the workingmen, to be exploited over and over again?

But, then, why propound as a problem still to be solved the question: What influence will the adoption of the Free Trade have upon the condition of the working class? All the laws formulated by the political economists from Quesnay to Ricardo, have been based upon the hypothesis that the trammels which still interfere with commercial freedom have disappeared. These laws are confirmed in proportion as Free Trade is adopted. The first of these laws is that competition reduces the price of every commodity to the minimum cost of production. Thus the minimum of wages is the natural price of labor. And what is the minimum of wages? Just so much as is required for production of the articles absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the worker, for the continuation, by hook or by crook, of his own existence and that of his class.

But do not imagine that the worker receives *only* this minimum wage, and still less that he *always* receives it. No, according to this law, the working class will sometimes be more fortunate, will sometimes receive something above the minimum, but this surplus will merely make up for the deficit which they will have received below the minimum in times of industrial depression. That is to say that within a given time which recurs periodically, in other words, in the cycle[a] which commerce and industry describe while passing through the successive phases of prosperity, overproduction, stagnation, and crisis, when reckoning all that the working class has had above and below mere necessaries, we shall see that, after all, they have received neither more nor less than the minimum; i.e., the working class will have maintained itself as a class after enduring any amount of misery and misfortune, and after leaving many corpses upon the industrial battle-field. But what of that? The class will still exist; nay, more, it will have increased.

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[a] The 1848 French edition has "circle" instead of "cycle".—*Ed.*

But this is not all. The progress of industry creates less and less expensive means of subsistence. Thus spirits have taken the place of beer, cotton that of wool and linen, and potatoes that of bread.

Thus, as means are constantly being found for the maintenance of labor on cheaper and more wretched food, the minimum of wages is constantly sinking. If these wages began by letting the man work to live, they end by forcing him to live the life of a machine. His existence has no other value than that of a simple productive force, and the capitalist treats him accordingly. This law of the commodity labor, of the minimum of wages will be confirmed in proportion as the supposition of the economists, Free Trade, becomes an actual fact. Thus, of two things one: either we must reject all political economy based upon the assumption of Free Trade, or we must admit that under this same Free Trade the whole severity of the economic laws will fall upon the workers.

To sum up, what is Free Trade under the present conditions of society? Freedom of Capital. When you have torn down the few national barriers which still restrict the free development[a] of capital, you will merely have given it complete freedom of action. So long as you let the relation of wages-labor to capital exist, no matter how favorable the conditions under which you accomplish the exchange of commodities, there will always be a class which exploits and a class which is exploited. It is really difficult to understand the presumption of the Free Traders who imagine that the more advantageous application of capital will abolish the antagonism between industrial capitalists and wage-workers. On the contrary. The only result will be that the antagonism of these two classes will stand out more clearly.

Let us assume for a moment that there are no more Corn Laws or national and municipal import duties[b]; that in a word all the accidental circumstances which to-day the workingman may look upon as a cause of his miserable condition have vanished, and we shall have removed so many curtains that hide from his eyes his true enemy.

He will see that capital released from all trammels will make him no less a slave than capital trammelled by import duties.

Gentlemen! Do not be deluded by the abstract word Freedom! whose freedom? Not the freedom of one individual in relation to another, but freedom of Capital to crush the worker

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[a] The 1848 French edition has "advance" instead of "free development".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1848 French edition has "no more customs, no more town dues" (octroi).—*Ed.*

Why should you desire farther to sanction unlimited competition with this idea of freedom, when the idea of freedom itself is only the product of a social condition based upon Free Competition?

We have shown what sort of fraternity Free Trade begets between the different classes of one and the same nation. The fraternity which Free Trade would establish between the nations of the earth would not be more real, to call cosmopolitan exploitation universal brotherhood is an idea that could only be engendered in the brain of the bourgeoisie. Every one of the destructive phenomena to which unlimited competition gives rise within any one nation is reproduced in more gigantic proportions in the market of the world. We need not pause any longer upon Free Trade sophisms on this subject, which are worth just as much as the arguments of our prize essayists Messrs Hope, Morse, and Greg.

For instance, we are told that Free Trade would create an international division of labor, and thereby give to each country those branches of production most in harmony with its natural advantages.

You believe perhaps, gentlemen, that the production of coffee and sugar is the natural destiny of the West Indies.

Two centuries ago, nature, which does not trouble itself about commerce, had planted neither sugar-cane nor coffee trees there. And it may be that in less than half a century you will find there neither coffee nor sugar, for the East Indies, by means of cheaper production, have already successfully broken down this so-called natural destiny of the West Indies.

And the West Indies, with their natural wealth, are as heavy a burden for England as the weavers of Dacca, who also were destined from the beginning of time to weave by hand.

One other circumstance must not be forgotten, namely that, just as everything has become a monopoly, there are also nowadays some branches of industry which prevail over all others, and secure to the nations which especially foster them the command of the market of the world. Thus in the commerce of the world cotton alone has much greater commercial importance than all the other raw materials used in the manufacture of clothing. It is truly ridiculous for the Free Traders to refer to the few specialties in each branch of industry, throwing them into the balance against the product used in everyday consumption, and produced most cheaply in those countries in which manufacture is most highly developed.

If the Free Traders cannot understand how one nation can grow rich at the expense of another, we need not wonder, since these same

gentlemen also refuse to understand how in the same country one class can enrich itself at the expense of another.

Do not imagine, gentlemen, that in criticising freedom of commerce we have the least intention of defending Protection.

One may be opposed to constitutionalism without being in favor of absolutism.[a]

Moreover, the Protective system is nothing but a means of establishing manufacture upon a large scale in any given country, that is to say, of making it dependent upon the market of the world; and from the moment that dependence upon the market of the world is established, there is more or less dependence upon Free Trade too. Besides this, the Protective system helps to develop free competition within a nation. Hence we see that in countries where the bourgeoisie is beginning to make itself felt as a class, in Germany for example, it makes great efforts to obtain Protective duties. They serve the bourgeoisie as weapons against feudalism and absolute monarchy,[b] as a means for the concentration of its own powers for the realization of Free Trade within the country.

But, generally speaking, the Protective system in these days is conservative, while the Free Trade system works destructively. It breaks up old nationalities and carries antagonism of proletariat and bourgeoisie to the uttermost point. In a word, the Free Trade system hastens the Social Revolution. In this revolutionary sense alone, gentlemen, I am in favor of Free Trade.

First published in French as a pamphlet at the beginning of February 1848 in Brussels

Printed according to the American edition of 1889, checked with the 1848 French edition

Signed: *Karl Marx*

[a] The 1848 French edition has "ancien régime" instead of "absolutism".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1848 French edition has "government" instead of "monarchy".—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE CHARTIST MOVEMENT

[THE FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS
TO THE WORKING CLASSES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND]

The Society of Fraternal Democrats at its last meeting adopted an address to the workers of Great Britain and Ireland. This address, edited by Mr. Harney, of *The Northern Star*, is published in the latest number of this newspaper.[250]

After recalling, in a portrayal as rapid as eloquent, the sufferings of the working class today, this address calls on the workers of the two islands to complete their party organisation:

On all sides the middle class has laid traps for you. In order to divert you from the People's Charter, the only goal important to you, they spawn all sorts of projects for superficial reforms. But within a few years you have twice had to learn the hard lesson that any scheme of reform emanating from the *bourgeoisie* must be for you "like Dead Sea fruits that tempt the eye, but turn to ashes on the lips". Remember the agitation for the Reform Bill, and that for the repeal of the Corn Laws.

...Nonetheless, you are asked to support a "National League for the Reform of Abuses", an "Anti-State Church Association", an "Anti-Bribery Society", and societies for the reform of the currency, and the abolition of certain taxes, etc., etc. The one design of the projectors of these schemes is to perfect the already dominant power of the middle class. They all combine to resist your rightful claim to the privileges of citizenship: they are therefore your enemies. Were they desirous, as they profess to be, of promoting your welfare, they would aid you to obtain sovereign power. They well know that if you controlled the legislature, all the reforms they seek—and reforms of much greater importance—would be forthwith effected. How then can they call themselves your friends, while refusing you the suffrage?

Let this great truth be impressed upon every working man, that it is from the hut and the hovel, the garret and the cellar, that must come the regenerators of his order and the social saviours of the human race. Receive with joy and fraternal love every man who, belonging to the privileged orders, shall renounce class distinctions, and ally himself with you, but look to no class above your own for your emancipation. ...Practically outlawed by the other classes of the state, you must find in your own clear heads, courageous hearts, and powerful arms the means of effecting your regeneration.

...We must call your serious attention to a wicked and abominable conspiracy against your interests, the conspiracy both by the enemies of all reform, and by many of the middle-class sham-reformers. These conspirators seek to revive those national pre-

judices, now all but extinct, which formerly made the working men of these countries the willing butchers of their fellow men of other lands. They desire to inflame the people of these islands with a dread and hatred of the people of France, under the pretext that the French contemplate the invasion and subjugation of England.

Working men of Great Britain and Ireland, your country is already invaded and subjugated by enemies within—enemies who have reduced you politically and socially to the condition of Helots. You will not dislodge these enemies by increasing the physical power of your rulers. We believe that the veritable people of France—the proletarians—have learnt by experience that, like yourselves, their enemies are not to be found on any foreign shore, but in their own country. In France, as in England, a triumphant moneyocracy rules supreme and grinds the sons of labour to the dust. As in England, the people in France fights against this enemy and for the advent of liberty, equality and fraternity.

Even supposing this country were menaced by aggression from without, England would have nothing to apprehend if her people were freemen. It is not armies, navies or fortresses that constitute the true defence of nations; a nation's best defence consists in a people which is truly free....

Let the privileged classes renounce their unjust usurpations and establish political equality and social justice, and England will have nothing to fear against a world in arms. On the contrary, the people of all countries would hail with joy the march of England's power, if that power were arrayed on the side of the liberty and social emancipation of mankind.

Working men of Great Britain and Ireland, why should you arm yourselves and fight for the preservation of institutions in the privileges of which you have no share? For the maintenance of laws made not to protect, but to constrain you? For the protection of property which you can regard only as the accumulated plunder of the fruits of your labour? You are deprived of the produce of your industry; and then your poverty is made the pretext for withholding from you your citizens' rights! Subjected to plunder, wrong, and insult by the possessors of property, you are asked to pour out your blood in defence of property! Let the privileged and the property-holders fight their own battles! And if they are too weak to do so, let them give the people what belongs to it; let them learn to submit to the popular will; if they do so, the whole nation will form a rampart round these islands which no foreign invader could ever break through!

Your great want is political power as the means to effect your social emancipation; and until that political power is yours, let your resolve be: No vote, no musket! Give us the suffrage, or we will not fight!

Working men of Great Britain and Ireland! Hold in abhorrence the conspirators who would set nation against nation, in the name of that wicked lie, that men of different countries are "natural enemies". Rally round the banner of democracy, with its motto: "All men are brothers!"

Signed on behalf of the Society of Fraternal Democrats: *G. Julian Harney, Ernest Jones, Thomas Clark, Charles Keen* (Great Britain); *J. A. Michelot, H. Bernard* (France); *Carl Schapper, J. Moll* (Germany); *J. Schabelitz, H. Krell* (Switzerland); *Peter Holm, Luntberg* (Scandinavia); *Louis Oborski* (Poland); *C. Pohse, P. Bluhm* (Russia).

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Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx

## THE SITUATION IN FRANCE

What does the Ministry do?—Nothing.

What does the parliamentary, legal opposition do?—Nothing.

What can France expect from the present Chambers?—Nothing.

What does M. Guizot want?—To remain Minister.

What do Messrs Thiers, Molé and Company want?—To become ministers again.

What does France gain from this *ôte-toi, afin que je m'y mette*[a]?—Nothing.

Ministry and opposition are thus condemned to do nothing.

Who alone will accomplish the coming French revolution?—The proletariat.

What will the bourgeoisie do for this?—Nothing.

Written about January 16, 1848

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Published in English for the first time

[a] Get out so that I can get in.—*Ed.*

## Frederick Engels

# EXTRAORDINARY REVELATIONS.—ABD-EL-KADER.—GUIZOT'S FOREIGN POLICY

A curious document has just been published and distributed,[a] as if for a New Year's gift to the Chamber of Deputies. It is a statement of facts explaining how a certain M. Petit got the place of a tax collector (*receveur particulier*) at Corbeil, near Paris, and has been published by M. Petit himself. M. Petit has been forced to this act in consequence of a suit for separation pending between himself and his wife, and in which action it had been alleged that he had bought his place by prostituting his wife to a gentleman intimately connected with M. Guizot. He now declares in his publication—

"Yes, my place was bought, as all places are bought now-a-day; but it was bought not with prostitution, but with hard cash only."

Then he goes on to detail how he first aspired to the office of a Councillor Referendary at the Court of Accounts. How the ministry promised him that place, if he only could procure the resignation of one of the councillors; how the minister's secretary intimated to him, which of the councillors would most likely sell their charge; how he then, for 15,000 francs, procured the wished-for resignation; how then he was told he must procure a resignation of a Councillor Referendary, not of the second, but of the first class, as the government wanted such a one in order to fulfil a promise made by them on their coming into office; how by makeshifts of different sorts, the difference of price of the two resignations was made up; how at last the resignation was procured; how then the ministry wanted not only a resignation like that tendered, but one of a higher

[a] "Réponse de M. Petit, ex-receveur des finances à Corbeil, aux calomnies répandues à l'occasion de son procès en séparation."—*Ed.*

degree still, of a Master Councillor; how this new resignation was also procured by the means of "cash down"; how finally it was offered to M. Petit to accept the tax collectorship of Corbeil, rather than the place in the Court of Accounts; how M. Petit accepted this; how then the different resignations were signed and exchanged against the amounts of money stipulated; and how, two days later, the whole of the royal ordinances were published, accepting the resignations, and promoting and naming the several individuals concerned, to the offices stipulated by the transaction.

These are the principal facts of the matter. There are some others of less importance, proving how M. Petit, as soon as he was once hooked by having paid the first sum, was made to pay more and more. But these I pass over. I only mention, that in the publication of M. Petit all the names are given in full.

You will easily imagine what a noise this little pamphlet has made in Paris. All papers are full of it, and the more so, as the Minister of Finance[a] (to which department the Court of Accounts belongs) under whose direction the above transactions took place, had openly denied anything of the sort ever having occurred, when questioned about it in the Chamber by M. Luneau. M. Luneau, at the time, declared the sale of places in the above department to be a matter of public notoriety. Known to the majority, as well as to the opposition. Known to every one, in short, except, it appeared, to the minister himself. M. Lacave met this by a flat denial.[251] Now the matter has come out in a manner which makes all burking impossible. And yet, although all Paris has been full of it for almost a week past, the government has not opened its mouth.

We only repeat the words of M. Dupin the elder, pronounced when M. Luneau brought the matter forward in the Chamber—

> "It was hardly worth while to make a revolution to abolish the venality of places, if this infamous system is suffered to lift up its head again."

The next subject occupying the papers is the capture of Abd-el-Kader,[252] and the resolution which the government will come to as to his future location. There is no doubt they will confirm and execute the Duke D'Aumale's promise, and send the Emir to Egypt.[253] It is curious that almost all the papers of the Opposition, from the *National* to the *Constitutionnel,* demanded the breach of that promise. Now, there is no doubt the promise was granted conditionally, and leaving the government free to confirm, or not to confirm it. The refusal of confirmation would not directly imply, as

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[a] J. P. J. Lacave-Laplagne.—*Ed.*

the *Sun* has it, an *infamy*. But there is no doubt, either, that a similar act on the part of any other government, particularly the English, would have been treated by those very same papers as the most infamous treason. It is evident, that, it being impossible to replace matters in the same state as they were when Abd-el-Kader conditionally surrendered, it would imply a want of generosity of the first order to refuse to him the confirmation of the conditions of surrender. But in such questions these *national* papers are blind, and would commit the same acts for whose commission they blame others. The only two papers which have spoken in favour of confirming the treaty with Abd-el-Kader, are the *Presse* and the *Réforme*. The first, a monarchical paper, wanted it confirmed, because the government could not give the lie to a son of the king,[a] to a *son of France*; thus reviving the old title of the princes of Royal blood before the revolution.

"No", said the *Réforme*, "the matter is a delicate one—the honour of our country is implied; in such matters we had better be too generous than too narrow, and therefore, confirm the word given, *were it even that of a prince*."[b]

Again, the *Réforme* alone has taken the right view of the matter.

Upon the whole it is, in our opinion, very fortunate that the Arabian chief has been taken. The struggle of the Bedouins was a hopeless one, and though the manner in which brutal soldiers, like Bugeaud, have carried on the war is highly blameable, the conquest of Algeria is an important and fortunate fact for the progress of civilisation. The piracies of the Barbaresque states, never interfered with by the English government as long as they did not disturb their ships, could not be put down but by the conquest of one of these states. And the conquest of Algeria has already forced the Beys of Tunis and Tripoli, and even the Emperor of Morocco,[c] to enter upon the road of civilisation. They were obliged to find other employment for their people than piracy, and other means of filling their exchequer than tributes paid to them by the smaller states of Europe. And if we may regret that the liberty of the Bedouins of the desert has been destroyed, we must not forget that these same Bedouins were a nation of robbers,—whose principal means of living consisted of making excursions either upon each other, or upon the settled villagers, taking what they found, slaughtering all those who resisted, and selling the remaining prisoners as slaves. All these nations of free barbarians look very proud, noble and glorious at a

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[a] Duke of Aumale, son of Louis Philippe.—*Ed.*

[b] From articles in *La Réforme*, January 2, 3 and 5, 1848.—*Ed.*

[c] Abd-ur-Rahman.—*Ed.*

distance, but only come near them and you will find that they, as well as the more civilised nations, are ruled by the lust of gain, and only employ ruder and more cruel means. And after all, the modern *bourgeois,* with civilisation, industry, order, and at least relative enlightenment following him, is preferable to the feudal lord or to the marauding robber, with the barbarian state of society to which they belong.

M. Guizot has laid before the Chambers part of the diplomatic correspondence relating to Switzerland and Italy. The first proves again that he has been regularly *done* by Lord Palmerston, and both prove the intimate alliance France has entered into with Austria. That was the last infamy which as yet had been spared to Louis-Philippistic France. The representative of tyranny, of oppression attained by means the most infamous,—the country of stability and reaction, the ally of France, as reconstituted by two revolutions! Deeper she cannot sink. But this is quite well. The deeper the *bourgeoisie* brings down this country, the nearer draws the day of reckoning. And it will come, before the *bourgeoisie* think of it. There is a party they do not take into account, and that party is the noble, the generous, the brave French people.

The dispute between the *Réforme* and the *National*[a] has been submitted to a jury selected by both parties. All hostilities are suspended. By the end of this month the decision will be given. May it be as it will, we hope the *Réforme* will continue in the only course which can save the Democracy of France.

Written in mid-January 1848

Reprinted from the newspaper

First published in *The Northern Star*
No. 535, January 22, 1848
with an editorial note:
"From Our Paris Correspondent"

[a] See this volume, pp. 385-87, 406-08 and 438-44.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE CHARTIST MOVEMENT

[MEETING IN SUPPORT OF THE NATIONAL PETITION]

The fourth meeting convened for the adoption of the National Petition by the Chartist Council was held in London last Tuesday.[a] Mr. Julian Harney presided. Messrs Clark and Dixon, of the Chartist central committee,[b] West, of Macclesfield, Skelton, Keen, and Fussell spoke in turn. But the orators of the evening were Messrs Harney and Jones. We give extracts of their speeches[c]:

*Mr. Ernest Jones.*—We are assembled here to assist in passing a *Coercion Bill* against the government, and to produce such a "pressure from without", as shall squeeze poor little Lord John Russell into something like a decent and statesman-like shape. We need this pressure, seeing that of all the parliaments we have had, the present parliament is assuredly the most hostile to working men. (A voice: No! no!) Someone says No. But I repeat that no class has ever proved as hostile to the working class as the middle class of England. (Hear, hear.) It has cast down aristocracy on the left, democracy on the right, and lives on the ruins of both. I do not wish to raise the aristocracy. No! Let the bruised serpent lie, for it would sting the hand that healed it.... Under feudalism, the people were fat slaves; under your rule, Sir defender of the middle class, they are lean slaves. (Loud cheers.)

Seeing then that we never had a more middle class, and therefore a more hostile parliament, it is time to organise resistance. And the people knows this. We too are increasing our army; the Old Guards of Chartism are in the field again. We too are enrolling our militia, the starving millions. We too are strengthening our "national defences", courage in our hearts, discipline in our ranks, and unity in our action. (Applause.)

...But there are some gentlemen here who are not satisfied with this, and who say that millions of determined, well organised and well informed men are insufficient to obtain the Charter. These gentlemen tell the people that they must grow rich and then

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[a] January 11, 1848.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the Executive Committee of the National Charter Association.—*Ed.*

[c] Quoted from the report: "The People's Charter.—Important Public Meeting" published in *The Northern Star.*—*Ed.*

they will be free. But I tell you, you must become free and then you will be rich! (Applause.)

Become rich! how? In the workhouse or the gaol? Become rich in the deer forests of our nobles? Become rich on six shillings (8 francs)[a] a week? Become rich in the churchyards of famished Ireland? (Applause.) Go tell it to the unemployed in Manchester—to the 20,000 destitute in Bradford. Go tell it to the Irish tenant, dying by the light of his burning cottage set on fire by his landlord. Go tell it to the beggar at the doors of Grosvenor Square! Go tell him once for all to stay a slave; but do not insult his misery by telling him to become rich! I know you will here point to our glorious *Land Company*[254] to prove that the people can become rich.... But do you imagine that the government will let you go on?... This company has succeeded in rescuing 50,000 families from ruin; but rest assured, Parliament will prevent you from forming other companies, unless you obtain political power!... Let the Land Company members remember their forefathers, the *yeomanry* of England, who all owned the land. How did they lose it? Why, by taxation, which ruined them.

...Now then, gentlemen, make money, it will be wanted for the militia, for the increased army. Make money, it will be wanted for fresh palaces, for new bishops, for new royal babies! Make money, become middle class yourselves, and then, as you know, the middle class will no longer fear you! Make money—and this impossible task will be your only salvation. Not one word about our triumph at Nottingham,[b] of our organisation, of our national petition and our National Convention, now being prepared.

...No, my friends, above all we need the vote.... And you, men of London, you have it more in your power to obtain it than your brothers in the rest of England.... Our gallant men of the north are a long way off; their voices will not be heard, for there are hundreds of miles and plenty of barracks between those petitioners and Parliament. But you, men of London, can go in person and knock at the doors of St. Stephen's,[255] knock till your privileged debtors give you back, trembling, what they have owed you for centuries! So knock, and go on knocking until justice has been done. (Thunderous applause.)

*Mr. Julian Harney.*—We are here to adopt a petition to Parliament.... But we are not asking for mercy or pity. Even were we so degraded as to do such a thing, we know that we have nothing to expect from the pity of our oppressors.... It was not by crying misericordia that our forefathers rescued themselves from the yoke of the traitor Charles I. It was not by begging for mercy that the Americans broke their chains. It was not by crying misericordia that the French people overthrew the tyranny of feudalism, priestcraft and monarchy. (Great cheering.)

No, it would be vain for us to implore Capital for mercy. All our petitions would achieve nothing if they were not followed by other measures. First, we do not ask for pity, we ask for justice. We demand it, not only by the petition, but also by our agitation and our organisation, which is already beginning to terrify the parliamentary middle class. Continue to agitate, then, for when you cease, your petitions are only empty words.

Truly, the prize is worth the struggle. Behold this mighty empire, built up by the strong arms and cemented by the blood of your fathers; this empire of 160 million inhabitants, covering the sixth part of the habitable globe, this empire on which "the sun never sets".[c] How is it that you, owners and conquerors of millions of miles of this

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[a] Here and below the French equivalents were inserted by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] An allusion to O'Connor's election to Parliament.—*Ed.*

[c] A phrase used by contemporaries of king of Spain and German Emperor Charles V about his domains where the "sun never sets".—*Ed.*

fair earth, do not possess a foot of land? That millions of the heirs of this magnificent empire are dying of hunger, that thousands have no shelter from the wintry blast? The natural and manufactured riches of every clime are produced in the limits of the British Empire. Our manufactures are the wonder and envy of the whole world. For skill, industry and heroism our artisans, labourers and sailors are celebrated everywhere. All the elements of greatness and happiness abound, in spite of which you are crushed by misery. This empire is rightfully the property not of an idle, a scheming privileged few, but of the entire people. Is such a prize not worth struggling for? The Charter is the means by which you will win it. (Cheers.) When, therefore, the usurpers ask you to arm in defence of the country, refuse until you have your fair share of its advantages. If you armed yourselves, what would be your fate? Remember the poor soldier who was recently shot in India for insubordination, this is your share; compare it with the share of the Duke of Wellington, who got from the Treasury a sum of two and a half million pounds (60 million francs): So much for the aristocrats.

Well, then! If the aristocrary fears the loss of its broad acres, let it fight for the protection of those acres! If the Church fears the confiscation of its immense revenues, let the parsons and bishops arm themselves! If the Jews and jobbers of 'Change Alley[256] fear the swamping of their funds, let them fight to protect their plunder! If the shopocracy fear the seizure of their tills and their ledgers let them arm and fight to protect their property! But you, men of the people, overworked and ill-paid sons of toil, houseless and shivering serfs of privilege, you who have neither lands, nor revenues, nor rent nor tithes, nor public funds, nor shares, nor profits, nor usury, nor votes, to whom the throne affords no protection and the law no security, fight for something else, or fight not at all! (Great cheering.) If you must fight, fight for yourselves. (Renewed cheering.) When lords and priests and bourgeois ask you to fight, let your answer be: No vote, no musket! Knaves and fools are now rushing into print with talk of national defence; there is only one defence, that of the Chartists: *The land for the people, every man a home, every man a vote, and every man a musket!* (Thunderous applause.)

Written on January 17 and 18, 1848

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Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

Karl Marx
and
Frederick Engels

# MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY[257]

Written in December 1847-January 1848

First published as a separate edition in London in February 1848

Printed according to the text of the English edition of 1888, checked with the German editions of 1848, 1872, 1883 and 1890

Manifest

der

Kommunistischen Partei.

Veröffentlicht im Februar 1848.

Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt Euch!

London.

Gedruckt in der Office der „Bildungs-Gesellschaft für Arbeiter"
von J. E. Burghard.

46, Liverpool Street, Bishopsgate.

Cover of the first German 23-page edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*

A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism. All the Powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre: Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police-spies.

Where is the party in opposition that has not been decried as Communistic by its opponents in power? Where the Opposition that has not hurled back the branding reproach of Communism, against the more advanced opposition parties, as well as against its reactionary adversaries?

Two things result from this fact:

I. Communism is already acknowledged by all European Powers to be itself a Power.

II. It is high time that Communists should openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet this nursery tale of the Spectre of Communism with a Manifesto of the party itself.

To this end, Communists of various nationalities have assembled in London, and sketched the following Manifesto, to be published in the English, French, German, Italian, Flemish and Danish languages.

## I

## BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIANS*

The history of all hitherto existing society** is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master*** and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold

* By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern Capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage-labour. By proletariat, the class of modern wage-labourers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labour-power in order to live. [*Note by Engels to the English edition of 1888.*]

** That is, all *written* history. In 1847, the pre-history of society, the social organisation existing previous to recorded history, was all but unknown. Since then, Haxthausen discovered common ownership of land in Russia, Maurer proved it to be the social foundation from which all Teutonic races started in history, and by and by village communities were found to be, or to have been the primitive form of society everywhere from India to Ireland. The inner organisation of this primitive Communistic society was laid bare, in its typical form, by Morgan's crowning discovery of the true nature of the *gens* and its relation to the *tribe*. With the dissolution of these primeval communities society begins to be differentiated into separate and finally antagonistic classes. I have attempted to retrace this process of dissolution in *Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigenthums und des Staats*, 2nd edition, Stuttgart, 1886. [*Note by Engels to the English edition of 1888, and—less the last sentence—to the German edition of 1890.*]

*** Guild-master, that is, a full member of a guild, a master within, not a head of a guild. [*Note by Engels to the English edition of 1888.*]

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Cover of the 1848 30-page edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*

gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the Middle Ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices,[a] serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.

From the serfs of the Middle Ages sprang the chartered burghers of the earliest towns. From these burgesses the first elements of the bourgeoisie were developed.

The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East-Indian and Chinese markets, the colonisation of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development.

The feudal system of industry, under which industrial production was monopolised by closed guilds,[b] now no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new markets. The manufacturing system took its place. The guild-masters were pushed on one side by the manufacturing middle class;[c] division of labour between the different corporate guilds vanished in the face of division of labour in each single workshop.

Meantime the markets kept ever growing, the demand ever rising. Even manufacture no longer sufficed. Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionised industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, Modern Industry, the place of the industrial middle class, by industrial millionaires, the leaders of whole industrial armies, the modern bourgeois.

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[a] The German editions of 1848, 1872, 1883 and 1890 have "journeymen" ("Gesellen") instead of "journeymen, apprentices".—*Ed.*

[b] In the German editions the beginning of the phrase is: "The former feudal, or guild, organisation of industry".—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions have here and below "middle estate" ("Mittelstand") instead of "middle class".—*Ed.*

Modern[a] industry has established the world market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This development has, in its turn, reacted on the extension of industry; and in proportion as industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the bourgeoisie developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages.

We see, therefore, how the modern bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and of exchange.

Each step in the development of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class.[b] An oppressed class[c] under the sway of the feudal nobility, an armed and self-governing association in the medieval commune*; here independent urban republic (as in Italy and Germany), there taxable "third estate" of the monarchy (as in France),[d] afterwards, in the period of manufacture proper, serving either the semi-feudal[e] or the absolute monarchy as a counterpoise against the nobility, and, in fact, cornerstone of the great monarchies in general, the bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of Modern Industry and of the world market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative State, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie, historically, has played a most revolutionary part.

The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn

* "Commune" was the name taken, in France, by the nascent towns even before they had conquered from their feudal lords and masters local self-government and political rights as the "Third Estate". Generally speaking, for the economical development of the bourgeoisie, England is here taken as the typical country; for its political development, France. [*Note by Engels to the English edition of 1888.*]

This was the name given their urban communities by the townsmen of Italy and France, after they had purchased or wrested their initial rights of self-government from their feudal lords. [*Note by Engels to the German edition of 1890.*]

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[a] The German editions have here and below "large-scale" instead of "modern".—*Ed.*

[b] The words "of that class" were added in the English edition of 1888.—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions have "estate" instead of "class".—*Ed.*

[d] The words "medieval", "(as in Italy and Germany)", "(as in France)" were added in the English edition of 1888.—*Ed.*

[e] The German editions have "estate" instead of "semi-feudal".—*Ed.*

asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors", and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment". It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom—Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.

The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-labourers.

The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation.

The bourgeoisie has disclosed how it came to pass that the brutal display of vigour in the Middle Ages, which Reactionists so much admire, found its fitting complement in the most slothful indolence. It has been the first to show what man's activity can bring about. It has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts, and Gothic cathedrals; it has conducted expeditions that put in the shade all former Exoduses of nations and crusades.

The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form, was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionising of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.

The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connexions everywhere.

The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of Reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilised nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures, there arises a world literature.

The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilisation. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilisation into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image.

The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilised ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West.

The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralised means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralisation. Indepen-

dent, or but loosely connected provinces with separate interests, laws, governments and systems of taxation, became lumped together into one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class-interest, one frontier and one customs-tariff.

The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of Nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalisation of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground—what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labour?

We see then: the means of production and of exchange, on whose foundation the bourgeoisie built itself up, were generated in feudal society. At a certain stage in the development of these means of production and of exchange, the conditions under which feudal society produced and exchanged, the feudal organisation of agriculture and manufacturing industry, in one word, the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces[a]; they became so many fetters. They had to be burst asunder; they were burst asunder.

Into their place stepped free competition, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted to it, and by the economical and political sway of the bourgeois class.

A similar movement is going on before our own eyes. Modern bourgeois society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. For many a decade past the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire bourgeois society. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In

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[a] The German editions add: "they hindered production instead of developing it".—*Ed.*

these crises there breaks out an epidemic[a] that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity—the epidemic of over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed; and why? Because there is too much civilisation, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property[b]; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters, they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.

The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself.

But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons—the modern working class—the proletarians.[c]

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, *i.e.*, capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed—a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital. These labourers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market.

Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labour, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and, consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an append-

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[a] The German editions have: "a social epidemic".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions of 1848 have: "bourgeois civilisation and the conditions of bourgeois property".—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions have: "the modern workers, the *proletarians*".—*Ed.*

age of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack, that is required of him. Hence, the cost of production of a workman is restricted, almost entirely, to the means of subsistence that he requires for his maintenance, and for the propagation of his race. But the price of a commodity, and therefore also of labour,[258] is equal to its cost of production. In proportion, therefore, as the repulsiveness of the work increases, the wage decreases. Nay more, in proportion as the use of machinery and division of labour increases, in the same proportion the burden of toil[a] also increases, whether by prolongation of the working hours, by increase of the work exacted in a given time or by increased speed of the machinery, etc.

Modern industry has converted the little workshop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. Masses of labourers, crowded into the factory, are organised like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois State; they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the overlooker, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. The more openly this despotism proclaims gain to be its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful and the more embittering it is.

The less the skill and exertion of strength implied in manual labour, in other words, the more modern industry becomes developed, the more is the labour of men superseded by that of women.[b] Differences of age and sex have no longer any distinctive social validity for the working class. All are instruments of labour, more or less expensive to use, according to their age and sex.

No sooner is the exploitation of the labourer by the manufacturer, so far, at an end, and he receives his wages in cash, than he is set upon by the other portions of the bourgeoisie, the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc.

The lower strata of the middle class[c]—the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally,[d] the handicraftsmen and peasants—all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly

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[a] The German editions have: "the quantity of labour".—*Ed.*

[b] The German 23-page edition of 1848 has: "of women and children".—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions have: "The former lower strata of the middle estate".—*Ed.*

[d] The German editions have: "and rentiers" instead of "and retired tradesmen generally".—*Ed.*

because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which Modern Industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialised skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population.

The proletariat goes through various stages of development. With its birth begins its struggle with the bourgeoisie. At first the contest is carried on by individual labourers, then by the workpeople of a factory, then by the operatives of one trade, in one locality, against the individual bourgeois who directly exploits them. They direct their attacks not against the bourgeois conditions of production, but against the instruments of production themselves[a]; they destroy imported wares that compete with their labour, they smash to pieces machinery, they set factories ablaze, they seek to restore by force the vanished status of the workman of the Middle Ages.

At this stage the labourers still form an incoherent[b] mass scattered over the whole country, and broken up by their mutual competition. If anywhere they unite to form more compact bodies, this is not yet the consequence of their own active union, but of the union of the bourgeoisie, which class, in order to attain its own political ends, is compelled to set the whole proletariat in motion, and is moreover yet, for a time, able to do so. At this stage, therefore, the proletarians do not fight their enemies, but the enemies of their enemies, the remnants of absolute monarchy, the landowners, the non-industrial bourgeois, the petty bourgeoisie. Thus the whole historical movement is concentrated in the hands of the bourgeoisie; every victory so obtained is a victory for the bourgeoisie.

But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalised, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labour, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individu-

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[a] The German editions have: "They direct their attacks not only against the bourgeois conditions of production, they direct them against the instruments of production themselves."—*Ed.*

[b] This word was inserted in the English edition of 1888.—*Ed.*

al bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (Trades' Unions)[a] against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots.

Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever-expanding union of the workers. This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralise the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to attain which the burghers of the Middle Ages, with their miserable highways, required centuries, the modern proletarians, thanks to railways, achieve in a few years.

This organisation of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers, by taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie itself. Thus the ten-hours' bill in England was carried.[259]

Altogether collisions between the classes of the old society further, in many ways, the course of development of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie finds itself involved in a constant battle. At first with the aristocracy; later on, with those portions of the bourgeoisie itself, whose interests have become antagonistic to the progress of industry; at all times, with the bourgeoisie of foreign countries. In all these battles it sees itself compelled to appeal to the proletariat, to ask for its help, and thus, to drag it into the political arena. The bourgeoisie itself, therefore, supplies the proletariat with its own elements of political and general[b] education, in other words, it furnishes the proletariat with weapons for fighting the bourgeoisie.

Further, as we have already seen, entire sections of the ruling classes are, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the proletariat, or are at least threatened in their conditions of existence.

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[a] The words in parentheses were inserted in the English edition of 1888.—*Ed.*

[b] The words "political and general" were added in the English edition of 1888.—*Ed.*

These also supply the proletariat with fresh elements of enlightenment and progress.[a]

Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole.

Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of Modern Industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.

The lower middle class,[b] the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat, they thus defend not their present, but their future interests, they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat.

The "dangerous class", the social scum,[c] that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue.

In the conditions of the proletariat, those of old society at large are already virtually swamped. The proletarian is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family relations; modern industrial labour, modern subjection to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of national character. Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois

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[a] The German editions have "elements of education" instead of "elements of enlightenment and progress".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions have here and below "middle estates" instead of "the lower middle class" and "the middle class".—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions have "lumpen proletariat" instead of "the dangerous class, the social scum".—*Ed.*

prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests.

All the preceding classes that got the upper hand, sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property.

All previous historical[a] movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious,[a] independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie.

In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat.

Hitherto, every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class, certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. The modern labourer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help

[a] This word was added in the English edition of 1888.—*Ed.*

letting him sink into such a state, that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is[a] the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labour. Wage-labour rests exclusively on competition between the labourers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all, is its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

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[a] The German editions have here: "The accumulation of wealth in the hands of individuals".—*Ed.*

## II

## PROLETARIANS AND COMMUNISTS

In what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole?

The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties.

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian[a] principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and[b] resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

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[a] The German editions have "separate" instead of "sectarian".—*Ed.*

[b] The words "the most advanced and" were added in the English edition of 1888.—*Ed.*

The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties: formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat.

The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered by this or that would-be universal reformer.

They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes. The abolition of existing property relations is not at all a distinctive feature of Communism.

All property relations in the past have continually been subject to historical change consequent upon the change in historical conditions.[a]

The French Revolution, for example, abolished feudal property in favour of bourgeois property.

The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products, that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few.[b]

In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property.

We Communists have been reproached with the desire of abolishing the right of personally acquiring property as the fruit of a man's own labour, which property is alleged to be the groundwork of all personal freedom, activity and independence.

Hard-won, self-acquired, self-earned property! Do you mean the property of the petty artisan[c] and of the small peasant, a form of property that preceded the bourgeois form? There is no need to abolish that; the development of industry has to a great extent already destroyed it, and is still destroying it daily.

Or do you mean modern bourgeois private property?

But does wage-labour create any property for the labourer? Not a bit. It creates capital, *i.e.*, that kind of property which exploits wage-labour, and which cannot increase except upon condition of begetting a new supply of wage-labour for fresh exploitation.

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[a] In the German editions this phrase reads: "All property relations have been subject to constant historical replacement, constant historical change."—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions have: "the exploitation of the ones by the others".—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions have: "the property of the petty bourgeois".—*Ed.*

Property, in its present form, is based on the antagonism of capital and wage-labour. Let us examine both sides of this antagonism.

To be a capitalist is to have not only a purely personal, but a social *status* in production. Capital is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay, in the last resort, only by the united action of all members of society, can it be set in motion.

Capital is, therefore, not a personal, it is a social power.

When, therefore, capital is converted into common property, into the property of all members of society, personal property is not thereby transformed into social property. It is only the social character of the property that is changed. It loses its class character.

Let us now take wage-labour.

The average price of wage-labour is the minimum wage, *i.e.*, that quantum of the means of subsistence, which is absolutely requisite to keep the labourer in bare existence as a labourer. What, therefore, the wage-labourer appropriates by means of his labour, merely suffices to prolong and reproduce a bare existence. We by no means intend to abolish this personal appropriation of the products of labour, an appropriation that is made for the maintenance and reproduction of human life, and that leaves no surplus wherewith to command the labour of others. All that we want to do away with is the miserable character of this appropriation, under which the labourer lives merely to increase capital, and is allowed to live only in so far as the interest of the ruling class requires it.

In bourgeois society, living labour is but a means to increase accumulated labour. In Communist society, accumulated labour is but a means to widen, to enrich, to promote the existence of the labourer.

In bourgeois society, therefore, the past dominates the present; in Communist society, the present dominates the past. In bourgeois society capital is independent and has individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality.

And the abolition of this state of things is called by the bourgeois abolition of individuality and freedom! And rightly so. The abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence, and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at.

By freedom is meant, under the present bourgeois conditions of production, free trade, free selling and buying.

But if selling and buying disappears, free selling and buying disappears also. This talk about free selling and buying, and all the other "brave words" of our bourgeoisie about freedom in general, have a meaning, if any, only in contrast with restricted selling and

buying, with the fettered traders of the Middle Ages, but have no meaning when opposed to the Communistic abolition of buying and selling, of the bourgeois conditions of production, and of the bourgeoisie itself.

You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society, private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few[a] is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths. You reproach us, therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition for whose existence is the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society.

In one word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so; that is just what we intend.

From the moment when labour can no longer be converted into capital, money, or rent, into a social power capable of being monopolised, *i.e.*, from the moment when individual property can no longer be transformed into bourgeois property, into capital,[b] from that moment, you say, individuality vanishes.

You must, therefore, confess that by "individual" you mean no other person than the bourgeois, than the middle-class owner of property. This person must, indeed, be swept out of the way, and made impossible.[c]

Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society; all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labour of others by means of such appropriation.

It has been objected that upon the abolition of private property all work will cease, and universal laziness will overtake us.

According to this, bourgeois society ought long ago to have gone to the dogs through sheer idleness; for those of its members who work, acquire nothing, and those who acquire anything, do not work. The whole of this objection is but another expression of the tautology: that there can no longer be any wage-labour when there is no longer any capital.

All objections urged against the Communistic mode of producing and appropriating material products, have, in the same way, been urged against the Communistic modes of producing and appropriating intellectual products. Just as, to the bourgeois, the disap-

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[a] The words "for the few" were added in the English edition of 1888.—*Ed.*

[b] The words "into capital" were added in the English edition of 1888.—*Ed.*

[c] The words "and made impossible" were added in the English edition of 1888.—*Ed.*

pearance of class property is the disappearance of production itself, so the disappearance of class culture[a] is to him identical with the disappearance of all culture.

That culture, the loss of which he laments, is, for the enormous majority, a mere training to act as a machine.

But don't wrangle with us so long as you apply, to our intended[b] abolition of bourgeois property, the standard of your bourgeois notions of freedom, culture, law, &c. Your very ideas are but the outgrowth of the conditions of your bourgeois production and bourgeois property, just as your jurisprudence is but the will of your class made into a law for all, a will, whose essential character and direction are determined by the economical conditions of existence of your class.[c]

The selfish misconception that induces you to transform into eternal laws of nature and of reason, the social forms springing from your present mode of production and form of property—historical relations that rise and disappear in the progress of production—this misconception you share with every ruling class that has preceded you.[d] What you see clearly in the case of ancient property, what you admit in the case of feudal property, you are of course forbidden to admit in the case of your own bourgeois form of property.

Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists.

On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians, and in public prostitution.

The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital.

Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty.

But, you will say, we destroy the most hallowed of relations, when we replace home education by social.

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[a] The German editions have here and below "education" ["Bildung"] instead of "culture".—*Ed.*

[b] The words "our intended" were inserted in the English edition of 1888.—*Ed.*

[c] In the German editions the end of this sentence reads as follows: "a will, whose content is determined by the material conditions of existence of your class."—*Ed.*

[d] In the German editions this sentence reads as follows: "This selfish conception... you share with all the ruling classes which have perished."—*Ed.*

And your education! Is not that also social, and determined by the social conditions under which you educate, by the intervention, direct or indirect, of society, by means of schools, &c.? The Communists have not invented the intervention of society in education; they do but seek to alter the character of that intervention, and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class.

The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child, becomes all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of Modern Industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labour.

But you Communists would introduce community of women, screams the whole bourgeoisie in chorus.

The bourgeois sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production are to be exploited in common, and, naturally, can come to no other conclusion than that the lot of being common to all will likewise fall to the women.

He has not even a suspicion that the real point aimed at is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production.

For the rest, nothing is more ridiculous than the virtuous indignation of our bourgeois at the community of women which, they pretend, is to be openly and officially established by the Communists. The Communists have no need to introduce community of women; it has existed almost from time immemorial.

Our bourgeois, not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take the greatest pleasure in seducing each other's wives.

Bourgeois marriage is in reality a system of wives in common and thus, at the most, what the Communists might possibly be reproached with, is that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalised community of women. For the rest, it is self-evident that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system, *i.e.*, of prostitution both public and private.

The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality.

The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire

political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation,[a] must constitute itself *the* nation, it is so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word.

National differences and antagonisms between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.

The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilised countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat.

In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.

The charges against Communism made from a religious, a philosophical, and, generally, from an ideological standpoint, are not deserving of serious examination.

Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material[b] existence, in his social relations and in his social life?

What else does the history of ideas prove, than that intellectual production changes its character in proportion as material production is changed? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class.

When people speak of ideas that revolutionise society, they do but express the fact, that within the old society, the elements of a new one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps even pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence.

When the ancient world was in its last throes, the ancient religions were overcome by Christianity. When Christian ideas succumbed in the 18th century to rationalist ideas,[c] feudal society fought its death battle with the then revolutionary bourgeoisie. The ideas of religious liberty and freedom of conscience merely gave expression to the sway of free competition within the domain of knowledge.

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[a] The German editions of 1848 have "the national class" instead of "the leading class of the nation".—*Ed.*

[b] The word "material" was added in the English edition of 1888.—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions have "the ideas of enlightenment" instead of "rationalist ideas".—*Ed.*

"Undoubtedly," it will be said, "religious, moral, philosophical and juridical ideas[a] have been modified in the course of historical development. But religion, morality, philosophy, political science, and law, constantly survived this change.

"There are, besides, eternal truths, such as Freedom, Justice, etc., that are common to all states of society. But Communism abolishes eternal truths, it abolishes all religion and all morality, instead of constituting them on a new basis; it therefore acts in contradiction to all past historical experience."

What does this accusation reduce itself to? The history of all past society has consisted in the development of class antagonisms, antagonisms that assumed different forms at different epochs.

But whatever form they may have taken, one fact is common to all past ages, *viz.*, the exploitation of one part of society by the other. No wonder, then, that the social consciousness of past ages, despite all the multiplicity and variety it displays, moves within certain common forms, or general ideas,[b] which cannot completely vanish except with the total disappearance of class antagonisms.

The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

But let us have done with the bourgeois objections to Communism.

We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, *i.e.*, of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order,[c] and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionising the mode of production.

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[a] In the German editions the beginning of the sentence reads: "'Undoubtedly,' it will be said, 'religious, moral, philosophical, political, juridical ideas, etc.'"—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions have "in forms of consciousness" instead of "or general ideas".—*Ed.*

[c] The words "necessitate further inroads upon the old social order" were added in the English edition of 1888.—*Ed.*

These measures will of course be different in different countries.[260]

Nevertheless in the most advanced countries, the following will be pretty generally applicable:

1. Abolition[a] of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.[b]
3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralisation of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralisation of the means of communication and transport[c] in the hands of the State.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bringing into cultivation of waste-lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal liability of all to labour. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equable distribution of the population over the country.[d]
10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, &c., &c.

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation,[e] the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organise itself as a class, if, by means of

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[a] The German editions have here "expropriation".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions have: "A heavy progressive tax."—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions have "all transport" instead of "the means of communication and transport".—*Ed.*

[d] In the editions of 1848, point 9 reads: "Combination of agriculture with industry, promotion of the gradual elimination of the contradictions between town and countryside." In subsequent German editions the word "contradictions" was replaced by "distinctions".—*Ed.*

[e] The German editions have "associated individuals" instead of "a vast association of the whole nation".—*Ed.*

a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

## III

## SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST LITERATURE

### 1. REACTIONARY SOCIALISM

#### *a. Feudal Socialism*

Owing to their historical position, it became the vocation of the aristocracies of France and England to write pamphlets against modern bourgeois society. In the French revolution of July 1830, and in the English reform agitation, these aristocracies again succumbed to the hateful upstart. Thenceforth, a serious political contest was altogether out of question. A literary battle alone remained possible. But even in the domain of literature the old cries of the restoration period* had become impossible.

In order to arouse sympathy, the aristocracy were obliged to lose sight, apparently, of their own interests, and to formulate their indictment against the bourgeoisie in the interest of the exploited working class alone. Thus the aristocracy took their revenge by singing lampoons on their new master, and whispering in his ears sinister prophecies of coming catastrophe.[a]

In this way arose feudal Socialism; half lamentation, half lampoon; half echo of the past, half menace of the future; at times, by its bitter, witty and incisive criticism, striking the bourgeoisie to the very heart's core; but always ludicrous in its effect, through total incapacity to comprehend the march of modern history.

The aristocracy, in order to rally the people to them, waved the proletarian alms-bag in front for a banner. But the people, so often as it joined them, saw on their hindquarters the old feudal coats of arms, and deserted with loud and irreverent laughter.

* Not the English Restoration 1660 to 1689, but the French Restoration 1814 to 1830. [*Note by Engels to the English edition of 1888.*]

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[a] In the German editions the end of this sentence reads: "and whispering in his ears more or less sinister prophecies."—*Ed.*

One section of the French Legitimists and "Young England"[261] exhibited this spectacle.

In pointing out that their mode of exploitation was different to that of the bourgeoisie, the feudalists forget that they exploited under circumstances and conditions that were quite different, and that are now antiquated. In showing that, under their rule, the modern proletariat never existed, they forget that the modern bourgeoisie is the necessary offspring of their own form of society.

For the rest, so little do they conceal the reactionary character of their criticism that their chief accusation against the bourgeoisie amounts to this, that under the bourgeois *régime* a class is being developed, which is destined to cut up root and branch the old order of society.

What they upbraid the bourgeoisie with is not so much that it creates a proletariat, as that it creates a *revolutionary* proletariat.

In political practice, therefore, they join in all coercive measures against the working class; and in ordinary life, despite their high-falutin phrases, they stoop to pick up the golden apples dropped from the tree of industry,[a] and to barter truth, love, and honour for traffic in wool, beetroot-sugar, and potato spirits.*

As the parson has ever gone hand in hand with the landlord,[b] so has Clerical Socialism with Feudal Socialism.

Nothing is easier than to give Christian asceticism a Socialist tinge. Has not Christianity declaimed against private property, against marriage, against the State? Has it not preached in the place of these, charity and poverty, celibacy and mortification of the flesh, monastic life and Mother Church? Christian[c] Socialism is but the holy water with which the priest consecrates the heart-burnings of the aristocrat.

* This applies chiefly to Germany where the landed aristocracy and squirearchy have large portions of their estates cultivated for their own account by stewards, and are, moreover, extensive beetroot-sugar manufacturers and distillers of potato spirits. The wealthier British aristocracy are, as yet, rather above that; but they, too, know how to make up for declining rents by lending their names to floaters of more or less shady joint-stock companies. [*Note by Engels to the English edition of 1888.*]

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[a] The words "dropped from the tree of industry" were added in the English edition of 1888.—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions have here "feudal lord".—*Ed.*

[c] The German editions of 1848 have "holy" instead of "Christian" (the texts of these editions contain an obvious misprint: "heutige"—of today—for "heilige"—holy).—*Ed.*

### *b. Petty-Bourgeois Socialism*

The feudal aristocracy was not the only class that was ruined by the bourgeoisie, not the only class whose conditions of existence pined and perished in the atmosphere of modern bourgeois society. The medieval burgesses and the small peasant proprietors were the precursors of the modern bourgeoisie. In those countries which are but little developed, industrially and commercially, these two classes still vegetate[a] side by side with the rising bourgeoisie.

In countries where modern civilisation has become fully developed, a new class of petty bourgeois has been formed, fluctuating between proletariat and bourgeoisie and ever renewing itself as a supplementary part of bourgeois society. The individual members of this class, however, are being constantly hurled down into the proletariat by the action of competition, and, as modern industry develops, they even see the moment approaching when they will completely disappear as an independent section of modern society, to be replaced, in manufactures, agriculture and commerce, by overlookers, bailiffs and shopmen.

In countries like France, where the peasants constitute far more than half of the population, it was natural that writers who sided with the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, should use, in their criticism of the bourgeois *régime,* the standard of the peasant and petty bourgeois, and from the standpoint of these intermediate classes[b] should take up the cudgels for the working class. Thus arose petty-bourgeois Socialism. Sismondi was the head of this school, not only in France but also in England.

This school of Socialism dissected with great acuteness the contradictions in the conditions of modern production. It laid bare the hypocritical apologies of economists. It proved, incontrovertibly, the disastrous effects of machinery and division of labour; the concentration of capital and land in a few hands; over-production and crises; it pointed out the inevitable ruin of the petty bourgeois and peasant, the misery of the proletariat, the anarchy in production, the crying inequalities in the distribution of wealth, the industrial war of extermination between nations, the dissolution of old moral bonds, of the old family relations, of the old nationalities.

In its positive aims, however, this form of Socialism aspires either to restoring the old means of production and of exchange, and with

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[a] The German editions have "this class still vegetates" instead of "these two classes still vegetate".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions have "the petty bourgeoisie" instead of "these intermediate classes".—*Ed.*

them the old property relations, and the old society, or to cramping the modern means of production and of exchange, within the framework of the old property relations that have been, and were bound to be, exploded by those means. In either case, it is both reactionary and Utopian.

Its last words are: corporate guilds for manufacture; patriarchal relations in agriculture.

Ultimately, when stubborn historical facts had dispersed all intoxicating effects of self-deception, this form of Socialism ended in a miserable fit of the blues.[a]

### *c. German, or "True", Socialism*

The Socialist and Communist literature of France, a literature that originated under the pressure of a bourgeoisie in power, and that was the expression of the struggle against this power, was introduced into Germany at a time when the bourgeoisie, in that country, had just begun its contest with feudal absolutism.

German philosophers, would-be philosophers, and *beaux esprits*,[b] eagerly seized on this literature, only forgetting, that when these writings immigrated from France into Germany, French social conditions had not immigrated along with them. In contact with German social conditions, this French literature lost all its immediate practical significance, and assumed a purely literary aspect.[c] Thus, to the German philosophers of the Eighteenth Century, the demands of the first French Revolution were nothing more than the demands of "Practical Reason"[262] in general, and the utterance of the will of the revolutionary French bourgeoisie signified in their eyes the laws of pure Will, of Will as it was bound to be, of true human Will generally.

The work of the German *literati* consisted solely in bringing the new French ideas into harmony with their ancient philosophical conscience, or rather, in annexing the French ideas without deserting their own philosophic point of view.

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[a] In the German editions this sentence reads: "In its further development this trend ended in a cowardly fit of the blues."—*Ed.*

[b] In the German editions the beginning of this sentence reads: "German philosophers, semi-philosophers and lovers of fine phrases".—*Ed.*

[c] In the German editions of 1848 there follows: "It must have appeared as idle speculation on true society, on the realisation of humanity." In subsequent German editions the words "on true society" were omitted.—*Ed.*

This annexation took place in the same way in which a foreign language is appropriated, namely, by translation.

It is well known how the monks wrote silly lives of Catholic Saints *over* the manuscripts on which the classical works of ancient heathendom had been written. The German *literati* reversed this process with the profane French literature. They wrote their philosophical nonsense beneath the French original. For instance, beneath the French criticism of the economic functions of money, they wrote "Alienation of Humanity", and beneath the French criticism of the bourgeois State they wrote, "Dethronement of the Category of the General", and so forth.[a]

The introduction of these philosophical phrases at the back of the French historical criticisms[b] they dubbed "Philosophy of Action", "True Socialism", "German Science of Socialism", "Philosophical Foundation of Socialism", and so on.

The French Socialist and Communist literature was thus completely emasculated. And, since it ceased in the hands of the German to express the struggle of one class with the other, he felt conscious of having overcome "French one-sidedness" and of representing, not true requirements, but the requirements of Truth; not the interests of the proletariat, but the interests of Human Nature, of Man in general, who belongs to no class, has no reality, who exists only in the misty realm of philosophical fantasy.

This German Socialism, which took its schoolboy task so seriously and solemnly, and extolled its poor stock-in-trade in such mountebank fashion, meanwhile gradually lost its pedantic innocence.

The fight of the German, and, especially, of the Prussian bourgeoisie, against feudal aristocracy and absolute monarchy, in other words, the liberal movement, became more earnest.

By this, the long wished-for opportunity was offered to "True" Socialism of confronting the political movement with the Socialist demands, of hurling the traditional anathemas against liberalism, against representative government, against bourgeois competition, bourgeois freedom of the press, bourgeois legislation, bourgeois liberty and equality, and of preaching to the masses that they had nothing to gain, and everything to lose, by this bourgeois movement.

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[a] In the German editions this sentence reads: "For instance, beneath the French criticism of money relations they wrote, 'Alienation of Humanity', and beneath the French criticism of the bourgeois State they wrote, 'Elimination of the domination of the abstractly General', etc."—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions have "French theories" instead of "French historical criticisms".—*Ed.*

German Socialism forgot, in the nick of time, that the French criticism, whose silly echo it was, presupposed the existence of modern bourgeois society, with its corresponding economic[a] conditions of existence, and the political constitution adapted thereto, the very things whose attainment was the object of the pending struggle in Germany.

To the absolute governments,[b] with their following of parsons, professors, country squires and officials, it served as a welcome scarecrow against the threatening bourgeoisie.

It was a sweet finish after the bitter pills of floggings and bullets with which these same governments, just at that time,[c] dosed the German working-class risings.

While this "True" Socialism thus served the governments as a weapon for fighting the German bourgeoisie, it, at the same time, directly represented a reactionary interest, the interest of the German Philistines. In Germany the *petty-bourgeois* class, a relic of the sixteenth century, and since then constantly cropping up again under various forms, is the real social basis of the existing state of things.

To preserve this class is to preserve the existing state of things in Germany. The industrial and political supremacy of the bourgeoisie threatens it with certain destruction; on the one hand, from the concentration of capital; on the other, from the rise of a revolutionary proletariat. "True" Socialism appeared to kill these two birds with one stone. It spread like an epidemic.

The robe of speculative cobwebs, embroidered with flowers of rhetoric, steeped in the dew of sickly sentiment, this transcendental robe in which the German Socialists wrapped their sorry "eternal truths", all skin and bone, served to wonderfully increase the sale of their goods amongst such a public.

And on its part, German Socialism recognised, more and more, its own calling as the bombastic representative of the petty-bourgeois Philistine.

It proclaimed the German nation to be the model nation, and the German petty Philistine to be the typical man. To every villainous meanness of this model man it gave a hidden, higher, Socialistic interpretation, the exact contrary of its real character. It went to the extreme length of directly opposing the "brutally destructive" tendency of Communism, and of proclaiming its supreme and

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[a] The German editions have "material" instead of "economic".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions have "To the German absolute governments".—*Ed.*

[c] The words "just at that time" were added in the English edition of 1888.—*Ed.*

impartial contempt of all class struggles. With very few exceptions, all the so-called Socialist and Communist publications that now (1847) circulate in Germany belong to the domain of this foul and enervating literature.*

### 2. CONSERVATIVE, OR BOURGEOIS, SOCIALISM

A part of the bourgeoisie is desirous of redressing social grievances, in order to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society.

To this section belong economists, philanthropists, humanitarians, improvers of the condition of the working class, organisers of charity, members of societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, temperance fanatics, hole-and-corner reformers of every imaginable kind. This form of Socialism has, moreover, been worked out into complete systems.

We may cite Proudhon's *Philosophie de la Misère* as an example of this form.

The Socialistic bourgeois want all the advantages of modern social conditions[a] without the struggles and dangers necessarily resulting therefrom. They desire the existing state of society minus its revolutionary and disintegrating elements. They wish for a bourgeoisie without a proletariat. The bourgeoisie naturally conceives the world in which it is supreme to be the best; and bourgeois Socialism develops this comfortable conception into various more or less complete systems.[b] In requiring the proletariat to carry out such a system, and thereby to march straightway into the social[c] New Jerusalem, it but requires in reality, that the proletariat should remain within the bounds of existing society, but should cast away all its hateful ideas concerning the bourgeoisie.

A second and more practical, but less systematic, form of this Socialism sought to depreciate every revolutionary movement in the eyes of the working class, by showing that no mere political reform, but only a change in the material conditions of existence, in

* The revolutionary storm of 1848 swept away this whole shabby tendency and cured its protagonists of the desire to dabble further in Socialism. The chief representative and classical type of this tendency is Herr Karl Grün. [*Note by Engels to the German edition of 1890.*]

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[a] The German editions have: "want the living conditions of modern society".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions have here: "a more or less complete system".—*Ed.*

[c] This word was added in the English edition of 1888.—*Ed.*

economical relations, could be of any advantage to them. By changes in the material conditions of existence, this form of Socialism, however, by no means understands abolition of the bourgeois relations of production, an abolition that can be effected only by a revolution, but administrative reforms, based on the continued existence of these relations; reforms, therefore, that in no respect affect the relations between capital and labour, but, at the best, lessen the cost, and simplify the administrative work, of bourgeois government.

Bourgeois Socialism attains adequate expression, when, and only when, it becomes a mere figure of speech.

Free trade: for the benefit of the working class. Protective duties: for the benefit of the working class. Prison Reform[a]: for the benefit of the working class. This is the last word and the only seriously meant word of bourgeois Socialism.

It is summed up in the phrase: the bourgeois is a bourgeois—for the benefit of the working class.

### 3. CRITICAL-UTOPIAN SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

We do not here refer to that literature which, in every great modern revolution, has always given voice to the demands of the proletariat, such as the writings of Babeuf and others.

The first direct attempts of the proletariat to attain its own ends, made in times of universal excitement, when feudal society was being overthrown, these attempts necessarily failed, owing to the then undeveloped state of the proletariat, as well as to the absence of the economic conditions for its emancipation, conditions that had yet to be produced, and could be produced by the impending bourgeois epoch alone.[b] The revolutionary literature that accompanied these first movements of the proletariat had necessarily a reactionary character. It inculcated universal asceticism and social levelling in its crudest form.

The Socialist and Communist systems properly so called, those of Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen and others, spring into existence in the early undeveloped period, described above, of the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie (see Section I. Bourgeois and Proletarians).

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[a] The German editions have here: "Solitary confinement".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions have "material conditions" instead of "economic conditions", and the end of the sentence is: "and could be only the product of the bourgeois epoch".—*Ed.*

The founders of these systems see, indeed, the class antagonisms, as well as the action of the decomposing elements in the prevailing form of society. But the proletariat, as yet in its infancy,[a] offers to them the spectacle of a class without any historical initiative or any independent political movement.

Since the development of class antagonism keeps even pace with the development of industry, the economic situation, as they find it, does not as yet offer to them the material conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat. They therefore search after a new social science, after new[b] social laws, that are to create these conditions.

Historical[c] action is to yield to their personal inventive action, historically created conditions of emancipation to fantastic ones, and the gradual, spontaneous[d] class organisation of the proletariat to an organisation of society specially contrived by these inventors. Future history resolves itself, in their eyes, into the propaganda and the practical carrying out of their social plans.

In the formation of their plans they are conscious of caring chiefly for the interests of the working class, as being the most suffering class. Only from the point of view of being the most suffering class does the proletariat exist for them.

The undeveloped state of the class struggle, as well as their own surroundings, causes Socialists of this kind to consider themselves far superior to all class antagonisms. They want to improve the condition of every member of society, even that of the most favoured. Hence, they habitually appeal to society at large, without distinction of class; nay, by preference, to the ruling class. For how can people, when once they understand their system, fail to see in it the best possible plan of the best possible state of society?

Hence, they reject all political, and especially all revolutionary, action; they wish to attain their ends by peaceful means, and endeavour, by small experiments, necessarily doomed to failure, and by the force of example, to pave the way for the new social Gospel.

Such fantastic pictures of future society, painted at a time when the proletariat is still in a very undeveloped state and has but a fantastic conception of its own position, correspond with the first

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[a] The words "as yet in its infancy" were added in the English edition of 1888.—*Ed.*
[b] In both cases the word "new" was added in the English edition of 1888.—*Ed.*
[c] The German editions have "Social" instead of "Historical".—*Ed.*
[d] The word "spontaneous" was added in the English edition of 1888.—*Ed.*

instinctive yearnings of that class for a general reconstruction of society.

But these Socialist and Communist publications contain also a critical element. They attack every principle of existing society. Hence they are full of the most valuable materials for the enlightenment of the working class. The practical measures proposed in them—such as the abolition of the distinction between town and country, of the family, of the carrying on of industries for the account of private individuals,[a] and of the wage system, the proclamation of social harmony, the conversion of the functions of the State into a mere superintendence of production, all these proposals point solely to the disappearance of class antagonisms which were, at that time, only just cropping up, and which, in these publications, are recognised in their earliest indistinct and undefined forms only. These proposals, therefore, are of a purely Utopian character.

The significance of Critical-Utopian Socialism and Communism bears an inverse relation to historical development. In proportion as the modern[b] class struggle develops and takes definite shape, this fantastic standing apart from the contest, these fantastic attacks on it, lose all practical value and all theoretical justification. Therefore, although the originators of these systems were, in many respects, revolutionary, their disciples have, in every case, formed mere reactionary sects. They hold fast by the original views of their masters, in opposition to the progressive historical development of the proletariat. They, therefore, endeavour, and that consistently, to deaden the class struggle and to reconcile the class antagonisms. They still dream of experimental realisation of their social Utopias, of founding isolated "phalanstères", of establishing "Home Colonies", of setting up a "Little Icaria"*—duodecimo editions of the New Jerusalem—and to realise all these castles in the air, they are compelled to appeal to the feelings and purses of the bourgeois. By

* *Phalanstères* were Socialist colonies on the plan of Charles Fourier; *Icaria* was the name given by Cabet to his Utopia and, later on, to his American Communist colony. [*Note by Engels to the English edition of 1888.*]

"Home Colonies" were what Owen called his Communist model societies. *Phalanstères* was the name of the public palaces planned by Fourier. *Icaria* was the name given to the Utopian land of fancy, whose Communist institutions Cabet portrayed. [*Note by Engels to the German edition of 1890.*]

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[a] In the German editions the beginning of this sentence reads as follows: "Their positive propositions concerning the future society, for example, abolition of the contradiction between town and country, of the family, of private profit...".—*Ed.*

[b] This word was added in the English edition of 1888.—*Ed.*

degrees they sink into the category of the reactionary [or][a] conservative Socialists depicted above, differing from these only by more systematic pedantry, and by their fanatical and superstitious belief[b] in the miraculous effects of their social science.

They, therefore, violently oppose all political action on the part of the working class; such action, according to them, can only result from blind unbelief in the new Gospel.

The Owenites in England, and the Fourierists in France, respectively oppose the Chartists and the *Réformistes*.[263]

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[a] In the English edition of 1888 the word "or" is omitted, but it is given in all other authorised editions.—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions have "fanatical superstition".—*Ed.*

## IV

## POSITION OF THE COMMUNISTS IN RELATION TO THE VARIOUS EXISTING OPPOSITION PARTIES

Section II has made clear the relations of the Communists to the existing working-class parties, such as the Chartists in England and the Agrarian Reformers in America.[264]

The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of[a] the future of that movement. In France the Communists ally themselves with the Social-Democrats,* against the conservative and radical bourgeoisie, reserving, however, the right to take up a critical position in regard to phrases and illusions traditionally handed down from the great Revolution.

In Switzerland they support the Radicals, without losing sight of the fact that this party consists of antagonistic elements, partly of Democratic Socialists, in the French sense, partly of radical bourgeois.

In Poland they support the party that insists on an agrarian revolution as the prime condition for national emancipation, that party which fomented the insurrection of Cracow in 1846.[265]

* The party then represented in Parliament by Ledru-Rollin, in literature by Louis Blanc, in the daily press by the *Réforme*. The name of Social-Democracy signified, with these its inventors, a section of the Democratic or Republican party more or less tinged with Socialism. [*Note by Engels to the English edition of 1888.*]

The party in France which at that time called itself Socialist-Democratic was represented in political life by Ledru-Rollin and in literature by Louis Blanc; thus it differed immeasurably from present-day German Social-Democracy. [*Note by Engels to the German edition of 1890.*]

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[a] The words "and take care of" were added in the English edition of 1888.—*Ed.*

In Germany they fight with the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary wav, against the absolute monarchy, the feudal squirearchy, and the petty bourgeoisie.[a]

But they never cease, for a single instant, to instil into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat, in order that the German workers may straightway use, as so many weapons against the bourgeoisie, the social and political conditions that the bourgeoisie must necessarily introduce along with its supremacy, and in order that, after the fall of the reactionary classes in Germany, the fight against the bourgeoisie itself may immediately begin.

The Communists turn their attention chiefly to Germany, because that country is on the eve of a bourgeois revolution that is bound to be carried out under more advanced conditions of European civilisation, and with a much more developed proletariat, than that of England was in the seventeenth, and of France in the eighteenth century, and because the bourgeois revolution in Germany will be but the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution.

In short, the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things.

In all these movements they bring to the front, as the leading question in each, the property question, no matter what its degree of development at the time.

Finally, they labour everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries.

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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[a] In the German editions the end of this sentence reads: "against the absolute monarchy, the feudal landowners and philistinism [Kleinbürgerei]".—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE MOVEMENTS OF 1847[266]

The year 1847 was certainly the most stormy we have experienced for a very long time. A constitution and a United Diet in Prussia[267]; an unexpectedly rapid awakening in political life and a general arming against Austria in Italy; a civil war in Switzerland[268]; a new Parliament of pronounced radical complexion in Britain; in France scandals and Reform banquets; in America the conquest of Mexico by the United States—that is a series of changes and movements such as no other recent year can show.

The last turning point in history was the year 1830. The July revolution in France and the Reform Bill in Britain finally secured the victory of the bourgeoisie; and in Britain this was, indeed, the victory of the industrial bourgeoisie, the manufacturers, over the non-industrial bourgeoisie, the rentiers. Belgium, and to a certain extent Switzerland, followed suit; here again the bourgeoisie triumphed.[269] Poland rose in revolt,[270] Italy chafed under Metternich's heel. Germany was seething. All countries were preparing for a mighty struggle.

But after 1830 there was everywhere a set-back. Poland fell, the insurgents in Romagna were dispersed,[271] the movement in Germany was suppressed. The French bourgeoisie defeated the republicans in France itself, and betrayed the liberals of other countries whom it had spurred on to revolt. The liberal ministry in Britain could accomplish nothing. Finally, in 1840, reaction was in full swing. Poland, Italy, and Germany were politically dead: the *Berliner politisches Wochenblatt*[a] sat enthroned in Prussia; Herr Dahlmann's

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[a] The allusion is to Frederick William IV, who patronised this reactionary newspaper.—*Ed.*

all-too-clever constitution was repealed in Hanover[272]; the decisions of the Vienna Conference of 1834 were in full force.[273] The Conservatives and the Jesuits were thriving in Switzerland. In Belgium, the Catholics were at the helm. Guizot ruled supreme over France. In Britain, under pressure from the growing power of Peel, the Whig government was in its last throes, and the Chartists were vainly endeavouring to reorganise their ranks after their great defeat of 1839.[274] Everywhere the reactionary party was victorious; everywhere the progressive parties were broken up and dispersed. The arrest of the historical movement—this seemed to be the final result of the mighty struggles of 1830.

1840 was, however, also the peak of reaction just as 1830 had been the peak of the revolutionary movement of the bourgeoisie. From 1840 onward the movements against the existing state of affairs began afresh. Though often defeated, in the long run they gained more and more ground. While in England the Chartists reorganised themselves and became stronger than ever, Peel was forced time and again to betray his party, dealing it a fatal blow by the repeal of the Corn Laws,[275] and finally himself to resign. The radicals gained ground in Switzerland. In Germany, and especially in Prussia, the liberals were pressing their demands more vigorously with every year. The liberals emerged victorious from the Belgian elections of 1847. France was an exception, for there the reactionary ministry secured a triumphant majority in the 1846 elections; and Italy remained dead, until Pius IX mounted the papal throne, and at the end of 1846 attempted a few dubious reforms.

So came the year 1847, and with it a series of victories for the progressive parties of nearly all countries. Even where they sustained defeat, this was more advantageous to them than an immediate victory would have been.

The year 1847 decided nothing, but everywhere it brought the parties into sharp and clear confrontation; it brought no final solution of any questions, but it posed all questions in such a way that now they must be solved.

Among all the movements and changes of the year 1847 the most important were those in Prussia, in Italy and in Switzerland.

In *Prussia*, Frederick William IV was at length forced to grant a constitution. The sterile Don Quixote of Sans-Souci,[276] after long struggles and labour-pains, was delivered of a constitution which was to establish for all time the victory of the feudalist, patriarchal, abolutist, bureaucratic, and clerical reaction. But he had miscalculated. The bourgeoisie was strong enough by then to turn even that constitution into a weapon against the king and all the reactionary

classes of society. In Prussia, as everywhere else, the bourgeoisie began by refusing him money. The king was in despair. One could say that in the first days after the refusal of the money Prussia was without a king. The country was in the throes of revolution without knowing it. Then by good luck came the fifteen million from Russia; Frederick William was king again, the bourgeoisie of the Diet crumpled up in alarm, and the revolutionary storm clouds scattered. The Prussian bourgeoisie was, for the time being, defeated. But it had made a great step forward, had won for itself a forum, had given the king a proof of its power, and had worked the country up into a great state of agitation. The question: who shall govern Prussia—the alliance of nobles, bureaucrats, and priests headed by the king, or the bourgeoisie—is now posed in such a way that it must be decided in favour of one side or of the other. In the United Diet a compromise between the two parties was still possible, but today no longer. Now it is a matter of life-and-death struggle between the two. To make matters worse, the committees (those unhappy inventions of the Berlin constitution manufacturers) are now assembling.[277] They will make the already complicated legal issues so enormously more involved, that no man will any longer know where he stands. They will tie matters up into a Gordian knot which will have to be cut with the sword. They will complete the final preparations for the *bourgeois* revolution in Prussia.

We can therefore await the advent of this Prussian revolution with the utmost calm. The United Diet will have to be convened in 1849 whether the king wants it or not. We will give His Majesty a breathing space till then, but not a moment longer. Then he will have to resign his sceptre and his "unimpaired" crown[278] to the Christian and the Jewish bourgeois of his realm.

Thus 1847 was politically a very good year for the Prussian bourgeoisie in spite of their temporary defeat. The bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie of the other German states have also noted this and shown the most heartfelt sympathy towards them. They know that the victory of the Prussian bourgeoisie is their own victory.

In *Italy* we have witnessed the amazing spectacle of the man who occupies the most reactionary position in the whole of Europe, who represents the petrified ideology of the Middle Ages, the Pope,[a] taking the lead in a liberal movement. The movement grew to power in a night, carrying along with it the Austrian archduke of Tuscany[b] and the traitor Charles Albert of Sardinia, undermining the throne

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[a] Pius IX.—*Ed.*
[b] Leopold II, duke of Tuscany.—*Ed.*

of Ferdinand of Naples, its waves sweeping over Lombardy to the Tyrolese and Styrian Alps.

Today the movement in Italy resembles that which took place in Prussia from 1807 to 1812.[279] As in Prussia of those days, there are two issues: external independence and internal reforms. For the moment there is no demand for a constitution, but only for administrative reforms. Any serious conflict with the government is avoided in the meantime so as to maintain as united a front as possible in face of the foreign overlord. What kind of reforms are these? To whose advantage are they? In the first place to that of the bourgeoisie. The press is to be favoured; the bureaucracy to be made to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie (cf. the Sardinian reforms, the Roman consulta,[280] and the reorganisation of the ministries); the bourgeois are to be granted extended influence on communal administration; the *bon plaisir*[a] of the nobles and of the bureaucracy is to be restricted; the bourgeoisie is *to be armed* as *guardia civica.* Hitherto all the reforms have been and could be only in the interests of the bourgeoisie. Compare the Prussian reforms of Napoleonic times. These are exactly the same, only that in many respects they go further: the administration made subservient to the interests of the bourgeoisie; the arbitrary power of the nobility and the bureaucracy broken; municipal self-government established; a militia inaugurated; the corvée abolished. As earlier in Prussia, so today in Italy, the bourgeoisie, owing to its growing wealth and, in particular, to the growing importance of industry and commerce in the life of the people as a whole, has become the class upon which the country's liberation from foreign domination mainly depends.

The movement in Italy is thus a decisively bourgeois movement. All the classes now inspired with a zeal for reform, from the princes and the nobility down to the pifferari and the lazzaroni,[281] appear for the nonce as bourgeois, and the Pope himself is the First Bourgeois in Italy. But once the Austrian yoke has finally been thrown off, all these classes will be greatly disillusioned. Once the bourgeoisie has finished off the foreign enemy, it will start on the separation of the sheep from the goats at home; then the princes and the counts will again call out to Austria for help, but it will be too late, and then the workers of Milan, of Florence, and of Naples will realise that *their* work is only really beginning.

Finally *Switzerland.* For the first time in its history, this country has played a definite part in the European system of states, for the first time it has dared to act decisively and has had the courage to enter

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[a] Power of arbitrary decision.—*Ed.*

the arena as a federal republic instead of as heretofore an agglomeration of twenty-two antagonistic cantons, utter strangers to one another. By most resolutely putting down the civil war, it has assured the supremacy of the central power—in a word, has become centralised. The *de facto* centralisation will have to be legalised through the impending reform of the Federal Pact.

Who, we again ask, is going to profit by the outcome of the war, by federal reform, by the reorganisation of the Sonderbund cantons? The victorious party, the party which was victorious in the individual cantons from 1830 to 1834, the liberals and radicals, i.e., the bourgeoisie and the peasantry. The rule of the patriciate in the former imperial towns was already overthrown as a result of the July revolution. Where it had been practically restored, as in Berne and Geneva, revolutions followed in 1846. Where it as yet remained intact, as for instance in Basle City, it was shaken to its foundations in the same year. There was little feudal aristocracy in Switzerland, and where it still survived it found its chief strength in an alliance with the herdsmen of the upper Alps. These men were the last, the most obstinate and the most rabid enemies of the bourgeoisie. They were the mainstay of the reactionary elements in the liberal cantons. Aided by the Jesuits and the pietists,[282] they covered the whole of Switzerland with a network of reactionary conspiracies (cf. the canton of Vaud). They thwarted all the plans laid before the Diet by the bourgeoisie, and hindered the final defeat of the philistine patriciate in the former imperial cities.

In 1847[a] these last enemies of the Swiss bourgeoisie were completely broken.

In almost all the cantons the Swiss bourgeoisie had had a pretty free hand in commerce and industry. In so far as the guilds still existed, they did little to hamper bourgeois development. Tolls within the country hardly existed. Wherever the bourgeoisie had developed to any considerable extent, political power was in its hands. But although it had made good progress in the individual cantons and had found support there, the main thing was still lacking, namely centralisation. Whereas feudalism, patriarchalism, and philistinism flourish in separated provinces and individual towns, the bourgeoisie needs for its growth as wide a field as possible; instead of twenty-two small cantons it needed *one* large Switzerland. Cantonal sovereignty, which best suited the conditions in the *old* Switzerland, had become a crushing handicap for the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie needed a centralised power, strong enough to

[a] The original has by mistake "1846".—*Ed.*

impose a particular course of development on the legislation of the individual cantons and, by sheer weight of influence, to cancel out the differences in their constitutions and laws, to wipe out the vestiges of the feudal, patriarchal and philistine legislation, and energetically to represent the interests of the Swiss bourgeoisie in relation to other countries.

The bourgeoisie has won for itself this centralised power.

But did not the peasants also help in overthrowing the Sonderbund? Certainly they did! So far as the peasants are concerned, they will play the same part towards the bourgeoisie as they played for so long towards the petty bourgeoisie. The peasants will remain the exploited arm of the bourgeoisie, they will fight its battles for it, weave its calico and ribbons, and provide the recruits for its proletariat. What else can they do? They are owners, like the bourgeois, and for the moment their interests are almost identical with those of the bourgeoisie. All the political measures which they are strong enough to put through, are hardly more advantageous to the bourgeoisie than to the peasants themselves. Nevertheless, they are weak in comparison with the bourgeoisie, because the latter are more wealthy and have in their hands the lever of all political power in our century—industry. With the bourgeoisie, the peasantry can achieve much; against the bourgeoisie, nothing.

It is true that a time will come when the fleeced and impoverished section of the peasantry will unite with the proletariat, which by then will be further developed, and will declare war on the bourgeoisie—but that does not concern us here.

Enough that the expulsion of the Jesuits and their associates, those organised opponents of the bourgeoisie, the general introduction of *civil* instead of religious education, the seizure of most of the church estates by the state, benefit above all the bourgeoisie.

Thus the common factor in the three most noteworthy movements of the year 1847 is that all are primarily and chiefly in the interests of the bourgeoisie. The party of progress was, everywhere, the party of the bourgeoisie.

It is indeed the characteristic feature of these movements that those countries which remained backward in 1830 are precisely those which last year took the first decisive steps to raise themselves to the level of 1830—that is, to secure the victory of the bourgeoisie.

So far, then, we have seen that the year 1847 was a brilliant year for the bourgeoisie.

Let us proceed.

In *Britain* a new parliament has assembled, a parliament which, in the words of John Bright the Quaker, is the most bourgeois ever

convened. John Bright is the best authority in the matter, seeing that he himself is the most determined bourgeois in the whole of Britain. But the bourgeois John Bright is not the bourgeois who rules in France or who thunders with pathetic bravado against Frederick William IV. When John Bright speaks of a bourgeois he means a manufacturer. Ever since 1688, separate sections of the bourgeois class have been ruling in England. But, in order to facilitate their seizure of power, the bourgeoisie has allowed the aristocrats, its dependent debtors, to retain their rule in name. Whereas, in reality, the struggle in England is between sections of the bourgeoisie, between rentiers and manufacturers, the manufacturers are able to represent it as a struggle between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie, or, in case of necessity, as a struggle between the aristocracy and the people. The manufacturers have no interest in maintaining the appearance of government by the aristocracy, for the lords, the baronets and the squires do not owe them a farthing. On the other hand they have a great interest in destroying this appearance, for with it the rentiers lose their last sheet-anchor. The present bourgeois or manufacturers' parliament will see to this. It will change the old feudal-looking England into a more or less modern country of bourgeois organisation. It will bring the British constitution nearer to those of France and of Belgium. It will complete the victory of the English industrial bourgeoisie.

Another advance of the bourgeoisie: for an advance within the bourgeoisie is also an extension and a strengthening of bourgeois rule.

*France* alone appears to be an exception. The power which fell into the hands of the whole of the big bourgeoisie in 1830 is being year by year increasingly limited to the rule of the wealthiest section of this big bourgeoisie, to the rule of the rentiers and the stock exchange speculators. They have made the majority of the big bourgeoisie serve their interest. The minority, which is headed by a section of the manufacturers and shipping owners, is continually diminishing. This minority has now made common cause with the middle and petty bourgeoisie who have no electoral rights and celebrates its alliance at reform banquets. It despairs of ever coming to power with the present electorate. After long hesitation, it has made up its mind to promise a share of political power to the sections of the bourgeoisie next below itself, and especially the bourgeois ideologists, as being the least dangerous—the lawyers, doctors, and so on. It is, of course, still very far from being able to keep its promise.

Thus also in France we see approaching the struggle within the bourgeoisie which in Britain has already been almost ended. But, as

always in France, the situation is more sharply defined, more revolutionary than elsewhere. This distinct division into two camps is also an advance for the bourgeoisie.

In *Belgium* the bourgeoisie won a decisive victory in the elections of 1847. The Catholic ministry was forced to resign, and here also the liberal bourgeoisie now rule for the time being.

In *America* we have witnessed the conquest of Mexico and have rejoiced at it.[283] It is also an advance when a country which has hitherto been exclusively wrapped up in its own affairs, perpetually rent with civil wars, and completely hindered in its development, a country whose best prospect had been to become industrially subject to Britain—when such a country is forcibly drawn into the historical process. It is to the interest of its own development that Mexico will in future be placed under the tutelage of the United States. The evolution of the whole of America will profit by the fact that the United States, by the possession of California, obtains command of the Pacific. But again we ask: "Who is going to profit immediately by the war?" The bourgeoisie alone. The North Americans acquire new regions in California and New Mexico for the creation of fresh capital, that is, for calling new bourgeois into being, and enriching those already in existence; for all capital created today flows into the hands of the bourgeoisie. And what about the proposed cut through the Tehuantepec isthmus?[284] Who is likely to gain by that? Who else but the American shipping owners? Rule over the Pacific, who will gain by that but these same shipping owners? The new customers for the products of industry, customers who will come into being in the newly acquired territories—who will supply their needs? None other than the American manufacturers.

Thus also in America the bourgeoisie has made great advances, and if its representatives now oppose the war, that only proves that they fear that these advances have in some ways been bought too dear.

Even in quite barbarous lands the bourgeoisie is advancing. In Russia, industry is developing by leaps and bounds and is succeeding in converting even the boyars into bourgeois. Both in Russia and Poland serfdom is being restricted and the nobility thereby weakened in the interest of the bourgeoisie, and a class of free peasants is being created which the bourgeoisie everywhere needs. The Jews are being persecuted—entirely in the interest of the settled Christian bourgeois, whose business was spoiled by the pedlars.—In Hungary, the feudal magnates are more and more changing into wholesale corn and wool merchants and cattle dealers, and consequently now appear in the Diet as bourgeois.—What of all

the glorious advances of "civilisation" in such lands as Turkey, Egypt, Tunis, Persia, and other barbarous countries? They are nothing else but a preparation for the advent of a future bourgeoisie. In these countries the word of the prophet is being fulfilled: "Prepare ye the way of the Lord....[a] Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in. Who is this King of glory?"[b] The bourgeois!

Wherever we look, the bourgeoisie are making stupendous progress. They are holding their heads high, and haughtily challenge their enemies. They expect a decisive victory, and their hopes will not be disappointed. They intend to shape the whole world according to their standard; and, on a considerable portion of the earth's surface, they will succeed.

We are no friends of the bourgeoisie. That is common knowledge. But this time we do not grudge the bourgeoisie their triumph. We can chuckle over the haughty looks which the bourgeois deign to bestow (especially in Germany) upon the apparently tiny band of democrats and Communists. We have no objection if everywhere they force through their purposes.

Nay more. We cannot forbear an ironical smile when we observe the terrible earnestness, the pathetic enthusiasm with which the bourgeois strive to achieve their aims. They really believe that they are working on their own behalf! They are so short-sighted as to fancy that through their triumph the world will assume its final configuration. Yet nothing is more clear than that they are everywhere preparing the way for *us*, for the democrats and the Communists; than that they will at most win a few years of troubled enjoyment, only to be then immediately overthrown. Behind them stands everywhere the proletariat, sometimes participating in their endeavours and partly in their illusions, as in Italy and Switzerland, sometimes silent and reserved, but secretly preparing the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, as in France and Germany; finally, in Britain and America, in open rebellion against the ruling bourgeoisie.

We can do still more. We can say all this to the bourgeoisie straight out, we can lay our cards on the table. Let them know in advance that they are working only in our interest. They still cannot for that reason give up their fight against the absolute monarchy, the nobility, and the clergy. They must conquer—or already now go under.

In Germany in a very short time they will even have to ask for our help.

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[a] Isaiah 40 : 3.—*Ed.*

[b] Psalms 24 : 7, 8.—*Ed.*

So just fight bravely on, most gracious masters of capital! We need you for the present; here and there we even need you as rulers. You have to clear the vestiges of the Middle Ages and of absolute monarchy out of our path; you have to annihilate patriarchalism; you have to carry out centralisation; you have to convert the more or less propertyless classes into genuine proletarians, into recruits for us; by your factories and your commercial relationships you must create for us the basis of the material means which the proletariat needs for the attainment of freedom. In recompense whereof you shall be allowed to rule for a short time. You shall be allowed to dictate your laws, to bask in the rays of the majesty you have created, to spread your banquets in the halls of kings, and to take the beautiful princess to wife—but do not forget that

"The hangman stands at the door!"[a]

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[a] Heinrich Heine, "Ritter Olaf".—*Ed.*

## Frederick Engels

# THE BEGINNING OF THE END IN AUSTRIA

"It will endure Metternich and me," said the late Emperor Franz. If Metternich does not wish to give his emperor the lie, he had better die as soon as possible.

This chequered Austrian monarchy, scraped together by theft and by inheritance, this organised jumble of ten languages and nations, this planless mish-mash of contradictory customs and laws, is at last beginning to disintegrate.

Honest German citizens have for years been fervent admirers of the director of this creaking state machine, the cowardly swindler and assassin—Metternich. Talleyrand, Louis Philippe and Metternich, three most mediocre minds and hence most suitable for our mediocre times, are regarded by German citizens as three gods who for thirty years have manipulated world history as if it were a puppet show. Going by his own daily experience, the honest citizen regards history as a kind of plot hatched in a tavern or as feminine gossip on a somewhat larger scale.

Certainly, there is no country over which the tidal wave of revolution, the triple Napoleonic invasions[285] passed away so completely without trace as Austria. Certainly, there is no country where feudalism, patriarchalism and faint-hearted philistinism defended by the paternal rod, have been maintained so immaculately or harmoniously as in Austria. But is it Metternich's fault?

On what does the might, the tenacity, the stability, of the House of Austria rest?

When Italy, France, England, Belgium, North and West Germany, one after another extricated themselves from feudal barbarism during the latter half of the Middle Ages, when industry was

developing, trade expanding, the towns thriving and the burghers acquired political importance, one part of Germany lagged behind West European development. Bourgeois civilisation followed the sea coasts and the course of the big rivers. The inland, especially the barren and impassable mountainous regions, remained the seat of barbarism and of feudalism. This barbarism was especially concentrated in the South German and South Slav inland areas. Protected by the Alps from Italian civilisation and by the mountains of Bohemia and Moravia from that of North Germany, these inland countries had the additional good fortune of being the basin of the only reactionary river in Europe. The Danube, far from linking them with civilisation, brought them into contact with a much more vigorous barbarism.

When the great monarchies developed in Western Europe in the wake of bourgeois civilisation, the inland countries of the Upper Danube likewise had to unite in a great monarchy. This was required if only for the needs of defence. Here, in the centre of Europe, the barbarians of all tongues and of all nations associated under the sceptre of the House of Hapsburg. Here they found in Hungary a mainstay of solid barbarism.

The Danube, the Alps, the rocky breastworks of Bohemia—these are the bases for the existence of Austrian barbarism and of the Austrian monarchy.

The House of Hapsburg supported the burghers against the aristocracy and the towns against the princes because this was the only condition on which a great monarchy was possible. When, later on, it again supported the petty bourgeoisie, this was because the petty bourgeoisie in the rest of Europe had become reactionary themselves with regard to the big bourgeoisie. On both occasions it supported the petty bourgeois for decidedly reactionary purposes. But now this method has miscarried.

The House of Austria was thus from the first the representative of barbarism, of reactionary stability in Europe. Its power rested on the foolishness of the patriarchalism entrenched behind the impassable mountains, on the inaccessible brutality of barbarism. A dozen nations whose customs, character, and institutions were flagrantly opposed to one another clung together on the strength of their common dislike for civilisation.

Hence the House of Austria was invincible as long as the barbarous character of its subjects remained untouched. Hence it was threatened by only one danger—the penetration of bourgeois civilisation.

But this *sole* danger was not to be averted. Bourgeois civilisation

could be warded off for a time, it could be temporarily adapted and subordinated to Austrian barbarism. But it was bound to overcome feudal barbarism sooner or later, and shatter the only link which had held the most variegated provinces together.

This explains Austria's passive, hesitant, cowardly, sordid and underhand policy. Austria can no longer act, as before, in an openly brutal, thoroughly barbarous way because it must make concessions to civilisation every year, and because its own subjects become less reliable every year. Every decisive step would lead to a change at home or in the neighbouring countries, every change would mean a breach in the dam behind which Austria laboriously protects itself against the rising tides of modern civilisation. The first victim of any change would be the House of Austria itself which stands or falls with barbarism. Although Austria was still able to disperse the Piedmontese, Neapolitan and Romagnese rebels with cannon fire in 1823 and 1831, it was forced to set in motion a still undeveloped revolutionary element—the peasantry—in 1846 in Galicia; it had to stop the advance of its troops near Ferrara in 1847 and resort to conspiracy in Rome.[286] Counter-revolutionary Austria uses revolutionary means—this is the surest sign that its end is approaching.

Once the Italian insurrections of 1831, and the Polish revolution of 1830 had been suppressed and the French bourgeois had given guarantees of good behaviour, Emperor Franz could go to his grave in peace; the times seemed miserable enough to endure even his feeble-minded offspring.[a]

As yet the realm of the crowned idiot was still safe from revolutions. But who could ensure it against the *causes* of revolutions?

As long as industry remained domestic industry, as long as every peasant family or at least every village produced its own industrial products, without putting much on the market, industry itself remained feudal and excellently suited to Austrian barbarism. As long as it remained mere manufactory, rural industry, few products of the inland countries were made available for export and foreign trade was minimal, industry existed in a few districts only and was easily adaptable to the Austrian status quo. If manufacture could only produce relatively few big bourgeois even in England and France, then it could only produce a modest middle class in thinly-populated and remote Austria, and even this only here and there. As long as hand labour existed, Austria was safe.

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[a] Ferdinand I.—*Ed.*

But machinery was invented and machines ruined hand labour. The prices of industrial products fell so swiftly and so low that first of all manufacture and then, gradually, the old feudal domestic industry went under.

Austria fortified itself against the machines by a consistent system of prohibitive tariffs. But in vain, it was precisely the system of prohibitive tariffs which was responsible for bringing machinery into Austria. Bohemia used machinery in the cotton industry; Lombardy for silk spinning; Vienna even started to produce machinery.

The results were quick to follow. The workers in manufacture became destitute. The entire population of the manufacturing districts was torn out of its hereditary mode of life. The former philistines grew into big bourgeois and lorded it over hundreds of workers just as their princely and aristocratic neighbours lorded it over hundreds of peasant serfs. Through the collapse of the old type of industry, these peasant serfs lost their old occupations and acquired new needs as a result of the new industry. It was no longer possible to carry on feudal agriculture alongside modern industry. The abolition of corvée became a necessity. The feudal position of the peasants in relation to the landowners became untenable. The towns became thriving. The guilds were oppressive for the consumers, useless for those who belonged to them and intolerable for those engaged in industry. Competition had to be permitted surreptitiously. The position of all classes in society was radically changed. The old classes withdrew more and more into the background before the two new classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Agriculture declined in importance compared with industry, the countryside gave way to the towns.

Such were the consequences of machinery in some areas of Austria, especially in Bohemia and Lombardy. They gave rise to a reaction which affected the entire monarchy to a greater or lesser degree; everywhere they undermined the old barbarism, and with it the foundations of the House of Austria.

While in Romagna in 1831 the battered Austrian soldiers replied to cries of *Viva l'Italia* with grape-shot, in England the first railways were built. Like machinery, railways immediately became a necessity for all European countries. Austria *had* to have them, willy-nilly. In order not to give increased power to the already growing bourgeoisie, the Government built them itself; but it went from Scylla to Charybdis. It prevented the establishment of powerful bourgeois joint stock companies only by borrowing from the same bourgeois the money to build the railways, by putting itself in pawn to Rothschild, Arnstein, Eskeles, Sina, etc.

Still less did the House of Austria escape the effects of the railways. The mountain ranges which separated the Austrian monarchy from the outside world, Bohemia from Moravia and Austria, Austria from Styria, Styria from Illyria, Illyria from Lombardy, fell before the railways. The granite walls behind which each province had maintained a separate nationality and a limited local existence, ceased to be a barrier. All of a sudden the products of large-scale industry, of machinery, forced their way, almost free of transport costs, into the most remote corners of the monarchy, destroyed the old hand labour and shattered the feudal barbarism. Trade between the provinces, and with the civilised outside world, acquired an unheard-of importance. The Danube, flowing towards the backward regions, ceased to be the main artery of the Empire; the Alps and the Bohemian forests no longer exist; the new artery now passes from Trieste to Hamburg, Ostend and Le Havre, far beyond the frontiers of the Empire, through the mountain ranges to the remote coasts of the North Sea and the ocean. Participation in the general interests of the State, in what was happening in the outside world became a necessity. The local barbarism began to disappear, particular interests began to diverge here, to merge there. Nationalities separated in one place to link up somewhere else, and out of the confused agglomeration of mutually alien provinces emerged larger and better defined groups with common tendencies and interests.

"It will endure Metternich and me." The French Revolution, Napoleon and the July upheavals had been withstood. But there was no withstanding *steam*. Steam forced its way through the Alps and the Bohemian forests, steam robbed the Danube of its role, steam tore Austrian barbarism to shreds and thereby pulled the ground from under the feet of the House of Hapsburg.

In Europe and America they now have the pleasure of seeing Metternich and the whole House of Hapsburg crushed between the wheels of the steam-driven machines, and the Austrian monarchy being cut to pieces by its own locomotives. It is an exhilarating sight. The vassals rebel in Italy, and Austria dare not utter a word, the liberal pestilence invades Lombardy and Austria hesitates, vacillates, quakes before its own subjects. In Switzerland the oldest rebels against Austria, the *Ur*-Swiss, yield to Austrian suzerainty[287]; they are attacked, but Austria shivers at the bold words of Ochsenbein: If only *one single* Austrian soldier enters Switzerland I will throw twenty thousand men into Lombardy and proclaim the Italian Republic. And Austria goes off to beg in vain for assistance from the despised courts of Munich, Stuttgart and Karlsruhe. In Bohemia, the estates refuse to pay their taxes of fifty thousand guilders; Austria still wants

to enforce payment but needs its troops in the Alps so badly that for the first time since the foundation of Austria it has to give way to the estates and do without the fifty thousand guilders. In Hungary, the Diet is preparing revolutionary proposals and is sure of a majority for them. And Austria, which needs the Hungarian Hussars in Milan, Modena and Parma, Austria itself puts forward revolutionary proposals[288] to the Diet although it knows very well that these are its own death warrant. This unshakable Austria, this eternal bulwark of barbarism, no longer knows where to turn. It is suffering from the most terrible rash; if it scratches itself in front then it itches behind, and if it scratches behind, then it itches in front.

And with these comical scratchings, the House of Austria scratches itself out of existence.

If old Metternich does not follow his "upright" Franz pretty quickly he may live to see the imperial monarchy which he held together at the price of such exertions falling apart and most of it into the hands of the bourgeoisie; he may live to have the unspeakable experience of seeing the "burgher tailors" and "burgher grocers" refusing to doff their hats to him in the Prater[289] and calling him plain Herr Metternich. A few more shocks, one or two more costly mobilisations and Charles Rothschild will buy up the whole Austrian monarchy.

We observe the victory of the bourgeois over the Austrian imperial monarchy with real satisfaction. We only wish that it may be the really vile, really dirty, really Jewish bourgeois who buy up this venerable empire. Such a repulsive, flogging, paternal, lousy government deserves to be under the heel of a really lousy, unkempt stinking adversary. Herr Metternich can depend on us to shear this adversary later as ruthlessly as Metternich will soon be shorn by him.

The fall of Austria has a special significance for us Germans. It is Austria which is responsible for our reputation of being the oppressors of foreign nations, the hirelings of reaction in all countries. Under the Austrian flag Germans have held Poland, Bohemia, Italy in bondage. We have to thank the Austrian monarchy for the Germans being hated as vile mercenaries of despotism from Syracuse to Trento, from Genoa to Venice. Anyone who has seen what deadly hatred, the bloody and completely justified thirst for revenge against the *Tedeschi*[a] reign in Italy must be moved to an undying hatred of Austria and applaud when this bulwark of barbarism, this scourge of Germany collapses.

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[a] Germans.—*Ed.*

We have every reason to hope that the Germans will revenge themselves on Austria for the infamy with which it has covered the German name. We have every reason to hope that it will be Germans who will overthrow Austria and clear away the obstacles in the way of freedom for the Slavs and Italians. Everything is ready: the victim lies there awaiting the knife which will cut its throat. May the Germans not lose their chance this time; may they be bold enough to say the words which Napoleon himself did not dare to utter—

*La dynastie de Habsbourg a cessé de régner.*[a]

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[a] The Hapsburg dynasty has ceased to reign.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE *DÉBAT SOCIAL* OF FEBRUARY 6 ON THE DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION

The *Débat social* of February 6 defends the Brussels Association Démocratique and its branches.[290] We shall permit ourselves a few comments on the character of this defence.

It may well be in the interest of the Belgian radical party to point out to the Catholics that they are acting against their own interest in denouncing the Belgian radical party. It may well be in the interest of the Belgian radical party to distinguish between lower and higher clergy and to compensate the clergy in general with compliments for the truths it addresses to a part of it. We understand nothing of this. We are merely astonished that the *Débat* could overlook the fact that the attacks of the Flemish Catholic papers against the associations démocratiques were printed immediately in the *Indépendance*,[a] and the *Indépendance* is not, as far as we know, a Catholic newspaper.

The *Débat social* declares that the Belgians are demanding political reforms through the democratic associations.

We realise that the *Débat* has forgotten the cosmopolitan[b] character of the Association Démocratique for a moment. Or perhaps it has not even forgotten it. It has merely remembered that a society which strives to promote democracy in all countries will work first on the country in which it resides.

The *Débat social* is not content with saying what the Belgians want of the associations démocratiques; it goes further, it says what the Belgians do not want of them, what one consequently *should* not want if one belongs to the Association, which the Belgians have founded to demand political reforms. *Avis aux étrangers!*[c]

"The political reforms which the Belgians wish to demand through the democratic associations," says the *Débat*, "are not those utopias pursued by certain democrats in

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[a] *L'Indépendance belge.—Ed.*

[b] See Note 8.— *Ed.*

[c] Warning to foreigners!— *Ed.*

countries where the social institutions permit no hope of any effective reforms, where it is therefore just as reasonable to think of castles in the air as of the modest well-being of the already free nations. He who possesses nothing does just as well in dreaming of millions at a stroke as of a hundred talers of rent or profit."

Here the *Débat* is evidently speaking of the *Communists.*

We should like to ask it if the "modest well-being" of "free" England manifests itself in the Poor Rate growing faster than the population.

We should like to ask it if by the "modest well-being of the free nations" it understands the destitution in Flanders.

We should like it to let us into the secret whereby it intends to replace wages with a 100 talers of *profit* or *rent.* Or does it understand by the "modest well-being of the free nations" the modest well-being of the free capitalists and landowners?

We should finally like to ask it if it has been charged by the Brussels Association Démocratique to give the lie to those utopians who do not believe in "the modest happiness of the free nations".

However, the *Débat social* is evidently not speaking of Communists in general, but of the *German Communists,* who, because political developments in their homeland do not allow them to found a German alliance or a German association libérale,[291] sink in despair into the arms of communism.

We remind the *Débat* that communism originated in England and France, and not in Germany.

German communism is the most determined opponent of all utopianism, and far from excluding historical development in fact bases itself upon it—for the time being we give this assurance to the *Débat social* in return for its own assurance.

Germany is retarded in its political development, it still has a long political development to undergo. We should be the last to deny this. On the other hand, however, we believe that a country of more than 40 million inhabitants, when it prepares for a revolution, will not seek the model for its movement in the radicalism of small free countries.

Does the *Débat* understand by communism the throwing of class antagonisms and of class struggle into sharp relief? In that case, it is not communism which is communistic, but political economy and bourgeois society.

We know that Robert Peel has prophesied that the class antagonism in modern society must erupt in a terrible crisis.[292] We know that Guizot himself in his *History of Civilisation*[a] believes he is

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[a] F.-P.-G. Guizot, *Histoire générale de la civilisation en Europe....—Ed.*

setting forth nothing but particular forms of the class struggle. But Peel and Guizot are utopians. Realists are men who regard the mere statement of social facts as an offence against benevolent worldly wisdom.

The *Débat social* is quite free to admire and to idealise North America and Switzerland.

We ask it whether the political constitution of North America could ever be introduced in Europe without great social upheavals. We believe, for instance, if the *Débat* will pardon our boldness, that the English Charter,[293] if it were to be put forward not by individual enthusiasts for universal suffrage but by a great national party, presupposed a long and arduous unification of the English workers into a class, and that this Charter is being striven for with quite another purpose and must bring about quite different social consequences than the constitution of America or of Switzerland ever strove for or ever brought about. In our eyes those people are utopians who separate political forms from their social foundation and present them as general, abstract dogmas.

The manner in which the *Débat social* attempts to defend the Association Démocratique by simultaneously eliminating "certain democrats" who are dissatisfied with the "modest well-being of the free nations" is demonstrated yet again when it comes to speak of the discussions on free trade held within the Association.[294]

"Six sittings," says the *Débat*, "were devoted to the discussion of this interesting question, and many workers from the various workshops of our city asserted here principles which would not have been out of place at the famous congress of economists held in Brussels in September last." [a]

Before this the *Débat* notes that the Association voted almost unanimously that absolute free trade between all nations should be considered as a goal of democracy.

After this, in the same issue of the *Débat* we find a thoroughly commonplace speech by M. Le Hardy de Beaulieu, scraped together from the most decayed leavings of the English free-trade cookshop.

And to round off, Cobden is glorified.[295]

After this presentation in the *Débat social*, will anyone doubt that the Association voted by a great majority for free trade in the sense of the Congress of Economists and of the bourgeois free traders?

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[a] See F. Engels' articles on the Congress of Economists, this volume, pp. 274-78 and 282-90.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THREE NEW CONSTITUTIONS

Our predictions concerning the imminent triumph of the bourgeoisie[a] are in fact being fulfilled more rapidly than we could have expected. In less than a fortnight three absolute monarchies have been transformed into constitutional states: Denmark, Naples and Sardinia.

The movement in Italy has developed with remarkable rapidity. The Papal State, Tuscany and Sardinia in succession took their place at its head; one country impelled the next further and further, one advance always brought another in its wake. The Italian Customs Union [296] was the first step towards constituting the Italian bourgeoisie, which decisively took the lead in the national movement and came daily more into collision with Austria. The bourgeoisie had achieved almost everything which could be achieved under an absolute monarchy, and a representative constitution daily became a more pressing necessity for it. But the winning of constitutional institutions—this was precisely the difficulty for the Italian bourgeoisie. The princes were reluctant; the bourgeoisie dared not confront them too threateningly as it did not want to throw them into the arms of Austria again. The Italians of the Customs Union might have gone on waiting for a long time, when help suddenly came to them from a quite unexpected quarter—Sicily rebelled; the people of Palermo drove the royal troops out of the city with unprecedented bravery,* the people of Abruzzi, Apulia and Calabria attempted a new insurrection, Naples itself prepared for battle, and Ferdinand

* Palermo with 200,000 inhabitants defeated 13,000 men. Paris with a million inhabitants defeated 7,000 to 8,000 men in the July revolution.

[a] See this volume, pp. 520-29.— *Ed.*

the bloodhound, pressed from all sides, with no hope of obtaining Austrian troops, was the first of all the Italian princes to have to grant a constitution and complete freedom of the press. The news reached Genoa and Turin; both cities demanded that Sardinia should not lag behind Naples; Charles Albert, too involved in the movement to withdraw, and also in need of money on account of armament against Austria—had to yield to the very emphatic representations of Turin and Genoa and similarly grant a constitution. There is no doubt at all that Tuscany must follow, and that Pius IX himself will have to make new concessions.

The Italian bourgeoisie has gained its decisive victory in the streets of Palermo. It is now victorious; what will ensue can only be the exploitation of this victory in all respects and the securing of its results against Austria.

This victory of the Italian bourgeoisie is again a defeat for Austria. How old Metternich must have gnashed his teeth in rage—the man who saw the Neapolitan revolution coming from afar, who again and again begged the Pope and Tuscany for permission to march his troops across their territories, and who nonetheless had to hold back his Pandours and Croats on the Po! One courier after another came to him from Naples; Ferdinand, Cocle and Del Carretto were screaming for help, and Metternich, who in 1823 and 1831 [297] had reigned so omnipotently in Italy, could do nothing. He had to look on quietly and see his last, his most reliable ally defeated and humiliated in Italy, and the whole weight of Naples placed on the scales against Austria thanks to a revolution. And he had a hundred and fifty thousand men waiting on the Po! But England was there, and had the Austrians crossed the Po, it would have been the signal for the occupation of Venice and the bombardment of Trieste—and so Metternich's hangmen had to stand still and watch with their rifles in their hands while Naples was snatched from them.

England's conduct in the whole Italian affair has been very proper. While the other great powers, France as much as Russia, have done everything to support Metternich, England has taken its place, quite alone, on the side of the Italian movement. The English bourgeoisie has the greatest interest in thwarting an Austro-Italian protective customs union and conversely in bringing about an anti-Austrian customs union in Italy based on free trade. For this reason it supports the Italian bourgeoisie, which for the time being itself still needs free trade for its development, and which is therefore the natural ally of the English bourgeoisie.

In the meantime Austria is arming. These armaments are completely ruining its finances. Austria has no money, and it has

turned to Rothschild for a loan; Rothschild has declared that he does not want a war and will not, therefore, provide any money in support of war. Indeed, is there any banker who will still advance money to the rotten Austrian monarchy for a war in which a country like England may involve itself? Metternich can thus no longer count on the bourgeoisie. He turns to the Emperor of Russia who, in the last few years, has also become a great capitalist, thanks to the mines of the Ural and Altai regions and to the corn trade—to the white Tsar, who has already once helped Frederick William IV with 15 million silver rubles, and who in general seems to be turning into the Rothschild of all declining absolute monarchies. Tsar Nicholas is said to have granted 75 millions—in return for a Russian percentage, it goes without saying, and on good security. All the better. If the Tsar has to cover the expenses of the Prussian and Austrian monarchies in addition to his own, if his money is wasted on arming unsuccessfully against Italy, then his treasure will soon be exhausted.

Will Austria risk a war? We hardly think so. Its finances are chaotic; Hungary is in full ferment, Bohemia is not secure; on the battlefield itself, in Lombardy, guerillas would spring up everywhere. And more than anything else the fear of England will restrain Metternich. At this moment Lord Palmerston is the most powerful man in Europe; his decision determines the issue, and this time his decision has been made known clearly enough.

At quite the other end of Europe, in Denmark, a king[a] dies. His son,[b] a coarse, jovial schnapps-tippler, immediately convokes an assembly of notables, a committee of the estates, in order to deliberate upon a common constitution for the Duchies[c] and Denmark. And so that the Germans shall disgrace themselves everywhere, the Duchies have to declare that they do not want this constitution, because it would mean their being torn away from their common German homeland![298]

It is really too ridiculous. The Duchies have a considerably smaller population than Denmark, and yet the number of their representatives is to be the same. Their language is to have equal rights in the assembly, in the official records, in everything. In short, the Danes make every possible concession to the Germans, and the Germans persist in their absurd national obstinacy. The Germans have never been national-minded where the interests of nationality and the interests of progress have coincided; they were always so where

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[a] Christian VIII.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick VII.—*Ed.*

[c] Schleswig and Holstein.—*Ed.*

nationality has turned against progress. Where it was important to be national-minded, they played the cosmopolitans; where it was important not to be directly national-minded, they were so to the point of absurdity. In every case they made themselves ridiculous.

Either the inhabitants of the Duchies are capable people, and more advanced than the Danes—in which case they will obtain preponderance over the Danes in the chamber of estate deputies and have no reason for complaint; or else they are German sluggards and lag behind the Danes in industrial and political development, in which case it is high time they were taken in tow by the Danes. But it is really too absurd for these upright Schleswig-Holsteiners to beg the 40 million Germans to help them against the Danes and to refuse to take up their positions on a battlefield where they can fight with the same advantages as their opponents; it is too absurd that they should appeal to the police of the German Confederation[299] against a constitution.

The Danish constitution is as much a blow against Prussia as the Neapolitan against Austria, although in itself it is only a reaction to abortive Prussian constitutional experiment of February 3.[300] As a further addition to its many embarrassments the Prussian government now has received a new constitutional state as neighbour; at the same time it loses a faithful protegé and ally.

While Italy and Denmark have thus stepped into the ranks of the constitutional states, Germany lags behind. Every nation is moving forward, the smallest, weakest nations are always able to find a point in the European complications which enables them in spite of their big reactionary neighbours to win for themselves one modern institution after another. Only the 40 million Germans never bestir themselves. It is true that they are no longer asleep, but they still only talk and bluster, they have yet to act.

But if the German governments were to set any great hopes on the bourgeoisie's fear of action, then they would be very much deceiving themselves. The Germans are the last in line because their revolution will be quite different from the Sicilian. The German bourgeois and the philistines know very well that behind them stands a daily growing proletariat which on the day after the revolution will put forward quite different demands than they themselves desire. The German bourgeois and philistines therefore behave in a cowardly, indecisive and vacillating manner—they fear a conflict not less than they fear the government.

A German revolution is far more serious than a Neapolitan revolution. In Naples there is a confrontation only between Austria and England; in a German revolution the whole of the East and the

whole of the West will confront each other. A Neapolitan revolution will achieve its aim as soon as downright bourgeois institutions have been won; a German revolution will only really begin when it has got this far.

For this reason the Germans must first of all be thoroughly compromised in the eyes of all other nations, they must become, more than they are already, the laughing-stock of all Europe, they must be *compelled* to make the revolution. But then they will really arise, not the cowardly German burghers but the German workers; they will rise up, put an end to the whole filthy, muddled official German rule and with a radical revolution restore the honour of Germany.

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [ON THE POLISH QUESTION]

SPEECHES IN BRUSSELS, ON FEBRUARY 22, 1848
ON THE OCCASION OF THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY
OF THE CRACOW INSURRECTION[301]

### SPEECH BY MR. KARL MARX

Gentlemen,

There are striking analogies in history. The Jacobin of 1793 has become the Communist of the present day. In 1793, when Russia, Austria and Prussia divided up Poland, the three powers produced the constitution of 1791,[302] which had been condemned unanimously because of its alleged Jacobin principles.

And what had it proclaimed? The Polish constitution of 1791! Nothing other than a constitutional monarchy: legislation placed in the hands of the representatives of the country, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, public judicial trial, abolition of serfdom, etc. And all this was then called pure Jacobinism! Thus you see, gentlemen, that history has moved on. The Jacobinism of those days has today become, as far as liberalism goes, the most moderate imaginable.

The three Powers have marched with history. In 1846 when by incorporating Cracow into Austria they confiscated the last remains of Polish nationality, they gave the name *communism* to what they once called Jacobinism.

Now, what is the communism of the Cracow revolution? Was it communism to have wanted to restore Polish nationality? This is as much as to say that the war waged against Napoleon by the European coalition to save nationalities was a communist war, and that the Congress of Vienna[303] was made up of crowned Communists. Or was the Cracow revolution communist because it wanted to set up a democratic government? Nobody will charge the millionaire citizens of Berne and New York with communist leanings.

Communism denies the necessity for the existence of classes; it wants to abolish all classes, all class distinctions. The revolutionaries of Cracow wanted only to abolish political distinctions between the classes; they wanted to give equal rights to the different classes.

But, briefly, to what extent was the Cracow revolution communist?

Was it perhaps that it tried to break the chains of feudalism, to turn tributary property into free property, into modern property?

If one asked French proprietors: "Do you know what Polish democrats want? The Polish democrats want to have the kind of property ownership which you already have", the French proprietors would answer, "They are quite right." But if you say, with M. Guizot, to the French proprietors: "The Poles want to abolish property as you instituted it by the revolution of 1789 and as it still exists in your country." "What!" they will shout, "they are revolutionaries, Communists; these scoundrels must be trampled down!" The abolition of guilds, of corporations, the introduction of free competition, is now called *communism* in Sweden. The *Journal des Débats* went further: to abolish the unearned income constituted by the right of corruption for two hundred thousand electors, is to abolish a source of revenue, to destroy an acquired property, to be communist. Doubtless the Cracow revolution also wanted to abolish one kind of property. But what kind of property? One which could not be destroyed in the rest of Europe any more than the Sonderbund[304] in Switzerland, both having already disappeared.

No one will deny that in Poland the political question is tied to the social question. The one has always been inseparable from the other.

Better ask it of the reactionaries! During the Restoration[305] were they only fighting political liberalism and its inevitable load of Voltairianism?

A very renowned reactionary writer loudly professed that the highest metaphysics of a de Maistre and of a de Bonald was in the end a question of money, and is not every question of money a directly social question? The men of the Restoration did not conceal the fact that to bring back good politics it was necessary to bring back good property rights, feudal property, moral property. Everybody knows that loyalty to monarchy cannot dispense with tithes and corvée labour.

Let us go further back. In 1789 the political question of the rights of man included the social question of free competition.

And what then happened in England? In all questions from the Reform Bill until the abolition of the Corn Laws,[306] did the political parties fight about anything except changes in property rights, questions of property, social questions?

Here, in Belgium itself, is the struggle of liberalism with Catholicism anything but the struggle of industrial capital with large landed property?

CÉLÉBRATION, A BRUXELLES,

DU DEUXIEME ANNIVERSAIRE

DE LA

# RÉVOLUTION POLONAISE

du 22 février 1846.

## Discours

PRONONCÉS

PAR MM. A. J. SENAULT, KARL MARX, LELEWEL, F. ENGELS
ET LOUIS LUBLINER, AVOCAT.

BRUXELLES.
C. G. VOGLER, LIBRAIRE-EDITEUR.
1848

Cover of the pamphlet containing the speeches "On the Polish Question" by Marx and Engels

And the political questions which have been debated for the last seventeen years, are these not basically social questions?

Thus, however you look at it, whether from a liberal, radical, even aristocratic point of view, could you still reproach the Cracow revolution with having joined a social question to a political question?

The men who led the Cracow revolutionary movement were deeply convinced that only a democratic Poland could be independent, and a democratic Poland was impossible without the abolition of feudal rights, without the agrarian movement which would transform the tied peasants into free proprietors, modern proprietors. Replace the Russian autocrat by Polish aristocrats and you will have given despotism naturalisation papers. It was thus that the Germans, in their war against foreign rule, exchanged one Napoleon for thirty-six Metternichs.[307]

If the Polish lord no longer has a Russian lord over him, the Polish peasant will still have a lord over him, but a free lord in place of a slave lord. This political change will have altered nothing in his social position.

The Cracow revolution has given a glorious example to the whole of Europe, by identifying the national cause with the democratic cause and the emancipation of the oppressed class.

If this revolution has been stifled for the moment by the bloody hands of hired assassins it is now rising gloriously and triumphantly in Switzerland and Italy. It sees the confirmation of these principles in Ireland, where the narrowly nationalist party has gone to its grave with O'Connell, and where the new national party is above all reforming and democratic.[308]

It is Poland once again which has taken the initiative, no longer feudal Poland, but democratic Poland; and from this moment its emancipation has become the point of honour for all the democrats of Europe.

## SPEECH BY MR. FREDERICK ENGELS

Gentlemen,

The insurrection whose anniversary we are celebrating today has failed. After some days of heroic resistance Cracow fell and the bleeding ghost of Poland, which had risen for a moment before the eyes of its assassins, descended again into its grave.

The Cracow revolution was a defeat, a very deplorable defeat. Let us render the last honours to the fallen heroes, lament their setback and offer our sympathy to the twenty million Polish people whom this failure has again enchained.

But, gentlemen, is that all we have to do? Is it enough to shed a tear on the tomb of an unhappy country and to pledge against its oppressors an implacable hatred, till now not very potent?

No, gentlemen! The anniversary of Cracow is not only a day of mourning, it is a day of rejoicing for us other democrats; for the defeat itself contains a victory, a victory whose fruits are ours to gather, while the results of the defeat are only transitory.

This victory is the victory of young democratic Poland over the old aristocratic Poland.

Yes, the latest struggle of Poland against its foreign oppressors has been preceded by a hidden struggle, concealed but decisive within Poland itself, a struggle of oppressed Poles against Polish oppressors, a struggle of democracy against the Polish aristocracy.

Compare 1830[309] and 1846, compare Warsaw and Cracow. In 1830 the ruling class in Poland was as selfish, narrow-minded and cowardly in the legislative body as it was devoted, enthusiastic and courageous on the field of battle.

What did the Polish aristocracy want in 1830? To safeguard its own acquired rights with regard to the Emperor.[a] It limited the insurrection to the little country which the Congress of Vienna was pleased to call the Kingdom of Poland[310]; it restrained the uprising in the other Polish provinces; it left intact the degrading serfdom of the peasants and the infamous condition of the Jews. If the aristocracy, in the course of the insurrection, had to make concessions to the people, it only made them when it was too late, when the insurrection had failed.

Let it be said clearly: the insurrection of 1830 was neither a national revolution (it excluded three-quarters of Poland) nor a social or a political revolution; it changed nothing in the internal condition of the people; it was a conservative revolution.

But within the conservative revolution, within the national government itself, there was one man who vigorously attacked the narrow views of the ruling class. He proposed really revolutionary measures before whose boldness the aristocrats of the Diet recoiled. By calling the whole of ancient Poland to arms, by thus making the war for Polish independence a European war, by emancipating the Jews and the peasants, by making the latter share in landed property, by reconstructing Poland on the basis of democracy and equality, he wanted to make the national cause the cause of freedom; he wanted to identify the interest of all peoples with that of the Polish people.

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[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

Need I name the genius who conceived this plan, at once so vast and so simple? It was Lelewel.

In 1830, these proposals were continually rejected by the blind self-interest of the aristocratic majority. But these principles, ripened and developed by the experience of fifteen years of servitude, we saw inscribed on the flag of the Cracow uprising. At Cracow, it was clearly seen that there were no longer men who had much to lose; there were no aristocrats; every step that was taken bore the stamp of that democratic, I might almost say proletarian, boldness which has only its misery to lose and a whole country, a whole world, to gain. There, no hesitation, no scruples; the three foreign powers were attacked together; the freeing of the peasants, agrarian reform, the emancipation of the Jews were proclaimed, without caring for a moment whether this offended certain aristocratic interests.

The Cracow revolution wanted neither to re-establish ancient Poland nor to preserve what the foreign governments had let remain of the old Polish institutions; it was neither reactionary nor conservative.

No, it was even more hostile to Poland itself than to its foreign oppressors, hostile to the ancient Poland, barbarous, feudal and aristocratic, based on the serfdom of the majority of the people. Far from wanting to re-establish the ancient Poland, it aimed to overthrow it utterly, and to found on its ruins, with a wholly new class, with the majority of the people, a new Poland, modern, civilised and democratic, worthy of the nineteenth century, and which might be really the outpost of civilisation.

The difference between 1830 and 1846, the immense progress made within unhappy Poland itself, bleeding and torn; the Polish aristocracy completely separated from the Polish people and thrown into the arms of the oppressors of its country; the Polish people irrevocably committed to the democratic cause; and finally the class struggle, the motive force of all social progress, established in Poland as here, that is the victory of democracy proved by the Cracow revolution, that is the result which will bear fruit when the defeat of the insurgents has been avenged.

Yes, gentlemen, by the Cracow insurrection the Polish cause, from being national, as it was, has become the cause of all peoples; from a question of sympathy, as it was, it has become a question of interest of all democrats. Until 1846 we had a crime to avenge; henceforth we have allies to support, and we shall do it.

And it is above all our Germany which ought to congratulate itself on this explosion of democratic passion in Poland. We are, ourselves, on the eve of a democratic revolution; we shall have to fight

barbarian hordes from Austria and Russia. Before 1846 we might have had doubts as to what side Poland would take if there were a democratic revolution in Germany. The Cracow revolution has removed all doubts. Henceforth the German people and the Polish people are irrevocably allied. We have the same enemies, the same oppressors, for the Russian government weighs on us as much as on the Poles. The first condition for the deliverance both of Germany and of Poland is the overturning of the present political state in Germany, the downfall of Prussia and Austria, the driving back of Russia beyond the Dniester and the Dvina.

The alliance of the two nations is therefore not by any means a beautiful dream, a charming illusion; no, gentlemen, it is an inevitable necessity resulting from the common interests of the two nations, and it has become necessary through the Cracow revolution. The German people, which until now had little of its own except words, will now have deeds to offer its Polish brothers; and just as we German democrats present here clasp hands with the Polish democrats, so the whole German people will celebrate its alliance with the Polish people on the very field of the first battle won in common over our common oppressors.

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# Frederick Engels

## A WORD TO THE *RIFORMA*

The *Riforma* of Lucca has printed a reply to one of those well-known and vile articles which the *Augsburger Zeitung*[a] is accustomed to publish on instructions from the Imperial Chancellery in Vienna.[311]

That trashy rag from the Lech[b] had not only praised to the skies the loyalty of the 518,000 Austrian soldiers to their feeble-minded Ferdinand, but had also claimed that all these soldiers, Bohemians, Poles, Slovaks, Croats, Heyducks, Wallachians, Hungarians, Italians, etc., were burning with enthusiasm for German unity and would willingly part with their lives for it, *as soon as it should be the will of the Emperor*!

As though this were not precisely the misfortune—that so long as Austria exists Germany has to risk seeing its unity defended by Heyducks, Croats and Wallachians, as though the unity of Germany so long as Austria survives could be anything else but the unity of Germany with Croats, Wallachians, Magyars and Italians!

The *Riforma* replies very aptly to the lying claim of the *All-Gemeine*[c] that Austria is in fact defending the interests of the German nation in Lombardy, and concludes with an appeal to the Germans, drawing a parallel between the Italian movement of 1848 and the German wars of liberation in 1813 and 1815.

The *Riforma* evidently thought that by doing so it was paying a compliment to the Germans, otherwise it would never have equated,

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[a] *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Augsburg).—*Ed.*

[b] Augsburg is situated on the Lech.—*Ed.*

[c] A pun on the name: *Allgemeine Zeitung*—"All-Gemeine" means thoroughly vile.—*Ed.*

against its better judgment, today's progressive Italian movement with precisely those reactionary wars to which Italy directly owes its subjugation to Austria, to which Germany owes the restoration of as much as possible of the old confusion, fragmentation and tyranny, and to which the whole of Europe owes the infamous treaties of 1815.[312]

The *Riforma* may take our word for it: Germany is fully enlightened as to the wars of liberation, both through the consequences of the wars themselves and through the ignominious end to which the heroes of that "glorious" age have come. Only the hired papers of the government still puff their cheeks and trumpet forth praise for that stupidity-intoxicated period, the public laughs and even the iron cross turns red with shame.

Precisely these newspapers, precisely these enthusiastic French-eaters of 1813, are now raising the same outcry against the Italians as they did before against the French, who sing paeons of praise to Austria, to Christian-Germanic Austria, and who preach crusades against Romance knavery and Romance frippery—for indeed Italians are just as much Romance as the French.

Would the Italians like an example of the sympathy they may expect from the worthy blusterers of the age of liberation, of the kind of ideas these red-headed visionaries entertain about the Italian nation? We shall merely quote the well-known song by A[ugust] A[dolf] L[udwig] Follen[a]:

> Yon land of marvels all may sing,
> Where mandolines and soft guitars do ring
> And, 'neath darkling leaf, the golden orange gleams;
> But I the purple German plum esteem
> And Borsdorf's apple on its leafy beam,

and how these poetic ravings of an ever cool-headed philistine drivel on. Then come the most ludicrous pictures of bandits, daggers, fire-belching mountains, Romance knavery, the infidelity of Italian women, bugs, scorpions, poison, vipers, assassins, etc., seen by this virtuous lover of plums running around in dozens on all the highways of Italy, and finally the gushing philistine thanks his God that he is in the land of Love and Friendship, of shindies with chair-legs, of faithful, blue-eyed pastors' daughters, of probity and cosiness, in short in the land of German Loyalty. Such are the superstitious and novelettish ideas entertained by the heroes of 1813 about Italy, which of course they have never seen.

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[a] August Follen composed the music and Johann Friedrichsen wrote the words.—*Ed.*

The *Riforma* and the men of the Italian movement in general can rest assured: public opinion in Germany is definitely on the side of the Italians. The German people have just as great an interest in the fall of Austria as the Italian people. They greet with undivided applause every step forward by the Italian people, and, we hope, they will not be missing from the battlefield at the right moment to put an end to all the Austrian magnificence once and for all.

Written about February 22, 1848

First published in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 16, February 24, 1848

Signed: *F. Engels*

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# Frederick Engels

## REVOLUTION IN PARIS

The year 1848 is turning out well. The Sicilian revolution with its long train of constitutions is hardly over before Paris experiences a victorious insurrection.

The opposition deputies had publicly pledged themselves to defend the right of assembly against Guizot, Duchâtel and Hébert by means of a courageous demonstration.

All the preparations had been made. The hall was ready and awaited the banquet guests. Then suddenly, when the time had come to act, the poltroons of the Left, M. Odilon Barrot at their head, beat, as always, a cowardly retreat.

The banquet was called off. But the people of Paris, stirred up by the loud-mouths in the Chamber, raging at the cowardice of these *épiciers*[a] and made discontented at the same time by protracted general unemployment, the people of Paris refused to be called off.

At midday on Tuesday,[b] all Paris was on the streets. The masses were shouting: "Down with Guizot, long live the Reform!" They proceeded to Guizot's residence, which was protected by the troops with difficulty; but the windows were nevertheless broken.

The masses proceeded to Odilon Barrot's house as well, shouted "Down with Barrot!" and broke his windows, too. M. Barrot, the cowardly originator of the whole outbreak, sent to the government and asked for a security guard!

The troops stood by and quietly looked on. Only the Municipal Guard struck out, and that with the greatest brutality. The Municipal Guard is a corps consisting in the main of natives of Alsace and

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[a] Grocers, here philistines.—*Ed.*

[b] February 22, 1848.—*Ed.*

Lorraine, that is, men who are half German; they receive three and a half fr[ancs] a day and look very plump and well-nourished. The Municipal Guard is the basest body of soldiers in existence, worse than the Gendarmerie, worse than the old Swiss Guard; if the people win, things will go badly for it.

Towards evening the people began to resist. Barricades were set up, guard posts stormed and set on fire. A police spy was cut down in the Place de la Bastille. Arms shops were looted.

At five o'clock marching orders were sounded for the National Guard. But only a very few turned up, and those who did shouted "Down with Guizot!"

During the night calm was restored. The last barricades were taken and the outbreak appeared to be over.

On Wednesday morning, however, the revolt began again with renewed vigour. A large part of the centre of Paris lying to the east of the Rue Montmartre was strongly barricaded; after eleven o'clock the troops no longer dared venture in there. The National Guard gathered in large numbers, but only to hold the troops back from any attacks on the people and to shout "Down with Guizot, long live the Reform!"

There were 50,000 soldiers in Paris, disposed according to Marshal Gérard's defence plan[313] and holding all strategic points. But these points were so numerous that all of the troops were kept busy with them and were thus already forced into inaction. Apart from the Municipal Guard there were almost no soldiers free for an offensive. Gérard's excellent plan was of infinite help to the outbreak; it paralysed the troops and made it easier for them to maintain the passivity to which they were in any case inclined. The detached forts also proved to be anything but beneficial to the government. They had to be kept manned and thus also withdrew a considerable section of the troops from the battle area. No one thought of a bombardment. In general not a single person gave a thought to the fact that these bastilles even existed. One more proof how fruitless are all defence plans against a mass revolt in a great city!

Towards noon the outcry against the Ministry in the ranks of the National Guard was so strong that several colonels sent word to the Tuileries that they would not hold themselves responsible for their regiments if the Ministry were to remain.

At two o'clock the aged Louis Philippe was forced to drop Guizot and form a new Ministry. Hardly had this been made public when the National Guard went home in jubilation and illuminated their houses.

But the people, the workers, the *only ones* who had erected the barricades, battled with the Municipal Guard and thrown themselves against the bullets, the bayonets and the horses' hoofs, these workers had no desire to fight merely for M. Molé and M. Billault.[314] They continued the struggle. While the Boulevard des Italiens was full of joy and jubilation, there was heavy shooting in the Rue Sainte-Avoie and Rambuteau. The battle lasted long into the night and was continued on Thursday morning. Evidence of the general participation of the workers in the battle was the tearing up of the rails on all the railways around Paris.

The bourgeoisie has made its revolution, it has toppled Guizot and with him the exclusive rule of the Stock Exchange grandees. Now, however, in the second act of the struggle, it is no longer one section of the bourgeoisie confronting another, now the proletariat confronts the bourgeoisie.

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News has just arrived that the people have won and proclaimed the Republic. We confess that we had not dared hope for this brilliant success by the Paris proletariat.

Three members of the provisional government belong to the definitely democratic party, whose organ is the *Réforme*. The fourth is *a worker*[a]—for the first time in any country in the world. The others are Lamartine, Dupont de l'Eure and two men from the *National*.[315]

By this glorious revolution the French proletariat has again placed itself at the head of the European movement. All honour to the workers of Paris! They have given the world an impulse which will be felt by every country in turn; for the victory of the Republic in France means the victory of democracy in the whole of Europe.

Our age, the age of democracy, is breaking. The flames of the Tuileries and the Palais Royal are the dawn of the proletariat. Everywhere the rule of the bourgeoisie will now come crashing down, or be dashed to pieces.

Germany, we hope, will follow. Now or never will it raise itself from its degradation. If the Germans have any energy, any pride or any courage, then in a month's time we too shall be able to shout:

*"Long live the German Republic!"*

Written on February 25-26, 1848

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[a] Albert.—*Ed.*

## Frederick Engels

### TO THE EDITOR OF *THE NORTHERN STAR*[316]

Dear Sir,

After the important events accomplished in France, the position taken by the Belgian people and government is of a greater interest than in ordinary times. I hasten, therefore, to inform your readers of what has happened since Friday, 25th of February.

The excitement and inquietude was universal in this town on the evening of that day. All sorts of rumours were spread, but nothing was really believed. The railway station was full of a crowd of people of all classes, anxious for the arrival of news. The French Ambassador, ex-Marquis de Rumigny, himself was there. At half-past twelve at night, the train arrived, with the glorious news of Thursday's revolution, and the whole mass of people shouted, in one sudden outburst of enthusiasm: *Vive la République!* The news spread rapidly all over the town. On Saturday all was quiet. On Sunday, however, the streets were crowded with people, and every one was curious to see what steps would be taken by two societies—the Association Démocratique and the Alliance.[317] Both bodies assembled in the evening. The Alliance, a set of middle-class Radicals, resolved to wait, and thus retired from the movement. The Association Démocratique, however, took a series of most important resolutions, by which this body placed itself at the head of the movement. They resolved to meet daily, instead of weekly; to send a petition to the town-council, reclaiming the arming, not only of the middle-class Civic Guard, but of all citizens in districts. In the evening some rioting took place in the streets. The people cried: *Vive la République,* and assembled in masses around the Town Hall. Several arrests took place, but nothing of any consequence occurred.

Among the individuals arrested, there were two Germans—a political refugee, M. Wolff, and a working man. Now, you must

know that there existed here, in Brussels, a German working men's society,[318] in which political and social questions were discussed, and a German democratic newspaper.[a] The Germans, resident in Brussels, were known for being generally very active and uncompromising democrats. They were almost all members of the Democratic Association, and the vice-president of the German society, Dr. Marx, was also vice-president of the Democratic Association.

The government, perfectly aware of the narrow sentiment of nationalism prevalent among a certain class of the population of a small country like Belgium, immediately profited by these circumstances, in order to spread the rumour that the whole agitation for the Republic had been got up by the Germans—men who had nothing to lose, who had been expelled from three or four countries for their turpitudes, and who intended to place themselves at the head of the intended Belgian Republic. This precious piece of news was reported on Monday through the whole town, and in less than a day the whole mass of the shopocracy, who form the body of the Civic Guard, raised one unanimous outcry against the German rebels, who wanted to revolutionise their happy Belgian fatherland.

The Germans had fixed a place of meeting in a coffee-house, where every one of them was to bring the latest news from Paris. But the outcry of the shopocrats was so great, and the rumours of government measures against the Germans were so manifold, that they were obliged to give up even this innocent means of communicating with each other.

On Sunday evening already the police had succeeded in prevailing upon the publican, proprietor of the German society's room, to refuse them the room for any future meeting.

The Germans behaved perfectly well during these times. Exposed to the most petty persecutions of the police, they yet rested at their post. They assisted every evening at the meeting of the Democratic Association. They abstained from all tumultuous crowding in the streets, but they showed, though personally exposing themselves, that in the hour of danger they would not abandon their Belgian brethren.

When, after a few days, the extraordinary agitation of Sunday and Monday had ceased, when the people had returned to their work, when the government had recovered from their first terror, then commenced another series of persecutions against the Germans. The government published orders, according to which all foreign

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[a] *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung.—Ed.*

working men, from the moment they had no work, were to be expelled the country; and all foreigners indiscriminately, whose passports were out of order, were to be treated in the same way. Thus, while they took these measures, they excited, by the rumours they spread, the masters against all foreign working men, and made it impossible to any German to find work. Even those who had work lost it, and were, from that moment, exposed to an order of expulsion.

Not only against working men out of work, but also against women, they commenced their persecution. A young German Democrat, who lives, according to the French and Belgian custom, with a French lady, just as married people live—and whose presence at Brussels appears to have importuned the police—was suddenly exposed to a series of persecutions, directed against his mistress. She having no passport—and who ever before thought in Belgium of asking passports from a woman?—was threatened with immediate expulsion! and the police declared that it was not for her sake, but for the sake of the individual with whom she lived. Seven times in three days, the Commissary of Police was at her house; she had to pass at his office several times, and was sent to the central police office, escorted by an agent—and if an influential Belgian Democrat had not interposed, she would certainly have been obliged to leave.

But all this is nothing. The persecutions against working men,—the spreading of rumours about such and such an individual to be arrested, or about a general chase after the Germans to be made in all public houses of the town on Tuesday evening, all this is nothing compared with what I have now to report.

On Friday evening,[a] Dr. Marx, amongst others, received a royal ordinance, ordering him to quit the country within twenty-four hours. He was engaged in arranging his trunks for the journey, when, at one o'clock in the morning, and in spite of the law which forbids the violation of the dwelling of a citizen from sunset to sunrise, ten police agents, armed, headed by a commissary of police, broke into his house, seized upon him and led him to the Town Hall prison. No reason was given but that his passport was not in order, though he presented them at least three passports, and though he had resided in Brussels for three years! He was led off. His wife, seized with terror, instantly ran to see a Belgian lawyer, who always offered his services to persecuted foreigners—the same whose friendly interposition has been mentioned above,—M. Jottrand, President of the Democratic Association. On her return, she met

[a] March 3. *The Northern Star* reported this erroneously as "Saturday".—*Ed.*

with a friend, a Belgian, M. Gigot. He accompanied her home. At the door of Dr. Marx's house, they found two of the policemen who had arrested her husband. Where have you taken my husband? asked she. Why, if you will follow us we will show you where he is. They led her, along with M. Gigot, to the Town Hall, but instead of fulfilling their promise, they delivered up both of them to the police, and *they were put into prison.* Mrs. Marx, who had left her three little children[a] at home, with a servant only, was led into a room where she found a set of prostitutes of the lowest order, with whom she had to pass the night. Next morning she was led into a room where she had to stay three hours without fire, shivering with cold. M. Gigot was also detained. M. Marx had been put into a room with a *raving madman,* whom he was obliged to fight every moment. The most brutal treatment on the part of the jailors was joined to this infamous conduct.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, at last, they were conducted before the judge, who very soon ordered their liberation. And of what had Mrs. Marx and M. Gigot been indicted? Of *vagabondage,* because neither of them had a passport in their pockets!

M. Marx was equally liberated, and ordered to leave the country the same evening. Thus, after having been wantonly imprisoned during eighteen of the twenty-four hours left him to settle his affairs; after having had not only himself, but also his wife, separated for all that time from his three children, the eldest of whom has not attained her fourth year, he was sent away without a minute to put his affairs in order.

M. Gigot, on his arrest, had only left the prison the day before. He had been seized, along with three democrats from Liège, at six o'clock on Monday morning, in an hotel, and arrested for vagabondage, because they had no passports. They were ordered to be liberated on Tuesday, but yet detained till Thursday against all law. One of them, M. Tedesco, is yet in prison, accused of nobody knows what. Both he and M. Wolff will be either liberated or placed before the tribunal in the course of this week.

I must say, however, that the Belgian working men and several other democrats of that nation, particularly M. Jottrand, have behaved exceedingly well towards the persecuted Germans. They have shown themselves quite above all petty sentiments of nationality. They saw in us not foreigners but democrats.

I hear that there is an order of arrest out against a Belgian working man and brave democrat, M. de Guasco. Another, M. Dassy, arrested

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[a] Jenny, Laura and Edgar.—*Ed.*

on Sunday last, for rebellion, was before the tribunal yesterday; his judgment is not yet pronounced.

I am daily and hourly expecting my order of expulsion, if not worse, for nobody can foretell what this Belgio-Russian government is about to dare. I hold myself ready to leave at a moment's notice. Such is the position of a German democrat in this *free* country, which, as the papers say, has nothing to envy in the French Republic.

Salutation and Fraternity.

Your old Friend

Brussels, March 5th

First published in *The Northern Star* No. 544, March 25, 1848

Reprinted from the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF *LA RÉFORME*

Dear Sir,

At the present moment the Belgian government is aligning itself entirely with the policy of the Holy Alliance. Its reactionary fury falls on the German democrats with unprecedented brutality. Were we not too distressed by the persecution directed specifically against us, we would openly laugh at the ridiculous attitude assumed by the Rogier ministry when it accuses a few Germans of wishing to impose a republic on the Belgians against their wishes; but it so happens that, in the special case to which we refer, the hateful aspect of it outweighs the absurd.

First of all, Sir, it is as well to know that almost all the Brussels newspapers are edited by Frenchmen, most of whom escaped from France to avoid the ignominious punishments which threatened them in their own country. These Frenchmen now have the utmost interest in protecting the Belgian independence which they all betrayed in 1833.[319] The king,[a] the ministry and their supporters have used these rags to give credibility to the idea that a Belgian revolution, in the republican sense, would merely be an imitation of a *francequillonnerie*,[b] and that all the democratic activity which is now making itself felt in Belgium has only been provoked by some hot-headed Germans.

The Germans do not in the least deny that they openly associated with the Belgian democrats, and this without the slightest degree of

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[a] Leopold I.—*Ed.*

[b] A scornful expression in Flemish, meaning stupidly copying anything that is French.—*Ed.*

hot-headedness. In the eyes of the King's Prosecutor this means arousing the workers against the bourgeois, making the Belgians suspicious of a *German* king they so dearly love, and opening the gates of Belgium to a French invasion.

Having received, on March 3 at five o'clock in the evening, an order to leave the *kingdom* of Belgium within twenty-four hours, I was busy, that same night, with preparing for the journey when a commissary of police, accompanied by ten municipal guards, burst into the place where I was living, searched the whole house, and ended by putting me under arrest on the pretext that I was without papers. Apart from the quite proper papers sent me by M. Duchâtel in expelling me from France,[320] I had at hand the expulsion papers delivered to me by Belgium only a few hours earlier.

I would not have spoken to you, Sir, about my arrest and the brutalities I suffered, were these not connected with an incident which would be difficult to understand even in Austria.

Immediately after my arrest, my wife went to the home of M. Jottrand, President of the Democratic Association of Belgium, to urge him to take the necessary measures. On returning home she found at her door a policeman who told her, with perfect politeness, that if she should wish to speak to M. Marx, she need only follow him. My wife accepted the offer with alacrity. She was taken to the police station, and the Commissary at first told her that M. Marx was not there; then he brutally demanded who she was, why she had gone to M. Jottrand's house, and whether she had her papers with her. A Belgian democrat, M. Gigot, had followed my wife to the police station with the municipal guard, and when he protested strongly against the Commissary's absurd and insolent questions he was silenced by guards who seized him and threw him into a cell. My wife, under the charge of "vagabondage", was taken to the prison at the Hôtel de Ville and locked up in a dark room with prostitutes. At eleven o'clock in the morning she was taken, under police escort and in broad daylight, to the office of the examining magistrate. For two hours she was held in close custody, despite the most vigorous protests from all sides. She stayed there, in bitter cold, exposed to the most shameless remarks by the gendarmes.

Finally she appeared before the examining magistrate, who was surprised that the police, in their solicitude, had not at the same time arrested the young children. The interrogation was naturally a sham, and my wife's only crime consists in the fact that, although belonging to the Prussian aristocracy, she shares the democratic opinions of her husband.

I have not entered into all the details of this revolting affair. I merely add that, when we were released, the twenty-four hours had just ended, and we had to leave without being able to take even the most essential of our belongings.

*Karl Marx,*
Vice-President of the Brussels Democratic Association

Written about March 6, 1848

First published in *La Réforme,* March 8, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx

## [PERSECUTION OF FOREIGNERS IN BRUSSELS][321]

On Sunday, February 27 the Brussels Democratic Association held its first public meeting since the news of the proclamation of the French Republic. It was known in advance that an immense crowd of workers, determined to lend their active help to all measures that the Association would judge it proper to undertake, would be present.

The government, for its part, had spread the rumour that king Leopold was ready to abdicate the moment the people wished it. This was a trap set for the Belgian democrats to make them undertake nothing decisive against such a good king, who asked nothing better than to shed the burden of royalty, provided that he was honourably left a reasonable pension.

At the same time the king's government had ready a list of people whom it considered proper to arrest that very night as disturbers of public order. It had agreed with M. Hody, the chief of public security, to have on this list the foreigners as chief instigators of an artificial riot, as much to cover the arrest of Belgians known as resolute republicans as to awake national susceptibilities. This explains why, later on, his excellency M. Rogier, who is no more Belgian than His Majesty King Leopold is French, had published an ordinance which commanded the authorities to watch carefully the French and the Germans, the former compatriots of M. Rogier, the latter compatriots of Leopold. This ordinance recalls, in its form of wording, the laws on suspects.[322]

This clever plan was executed in a manner the more perfidious and brutal in that the people arrested on the evening of February 27 had abstained from any provocation.

It might be said that pleasure had been taken in arresting these persons in order to maltreat and abuse them at leisure.

Immediately after their arrest they were showered with punches, kicks and sabre-blows; they were spat in the face, these *republicans.* They were maltreated in the presence of the philanthropist Hody, who was delighted to give these foreigners proof of his powers.

As there were no charges against them it only remained to release them. But no! They were kept in the cells for six days! Then the foreign prisoners were separated from the rest and taken directly in Black Marias to the railway station. There they were again put into vans, each in a separate cell, and sent in this way to Quiévrain where Belgian police received them and dragged them to the French frontier.

When at last they were able to collect themselves on the soil of liberty, they found they had in their pockets nothing but expulsion papers, dated the eve of their arrests. One of the expelled persons, M. Allard, is French.

At the same time the government of the Petty King proclaimed, in the Chamber of Representatives, that the Belgian *kingdom,* including the two Flanders,[a] was the best of all possible *republics,* and that it possessed a model police force, directed by a man such as M. Hody, at one and the same time an old republican, a phalansterist and a rejoined Leopoldist. The chamber wept with joy, the Catholic and liberal papers were in ecstasies about the domestic virtues of King Leopold and the public virtues of his servant Rogier.

The Belgian people are republicans. The only Leopoldists are the big bourgeoisie, the landed aristocracy, the Jesuits, the officials and the ex-Frenchmen who, chased out of France, now find themselves at the head of the Belgian administration and the press.

Metternich is delighted to find so opportunely at the French frontier a Coburg, a born enemy of the French revolution. But he forgets that the Coburgs of today no longer count except in questions of marriage.

Written about March 10, 1848

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[a] West and East Flanders—two provinces of the Belgian Kingdom.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [THE SITUATION IN BELGIUM][323]

Brussels, March 18

The Belgian bourgeoisie refused a republic to the people fifteen days ago; now it is preparing itself to take the initiative in the republican movement. It cannot yet be proclaimed out loud, but it is whispered everywhere in Brussels: "Really, Leopold must go; really, only the republic can save us; but what we need is a good solid republic, without organisation of labour, without universal suffrage, without the workers meddling in it!"

This is already some progress. The good bourgeoisie of Brussels who, only a few days ago, desperately denied any intention of wanting to copy the French Republic, have felt the results of the financial crisis in Paris. While still decrying political imitation they submit to financial imitation. While still singing the praises of Belgian independence and neutrality, they found that the Brussels Stock Exchange was completely and most humiliatingly dependent on the Paris Stock Exchange. The cordon of troops which holds the southern frontier has not stopped the lowering of share prices from invading, unimpeded, the guaranteed neutral territory of Belgium.

Indeed, the consternation which reigns in the Brussels market could not be more general. Bankruptcy is decimating the middling and small traders, shares are finding no buyers, quotations are only nominal, money is disappearing more quickly than in Paris, trade is completely stagnant, and most manufacturers have sacked their workmen. Here are a few examples of the general depression: a few days ago a dealer offered to sell one hundred and fifty shares of the Dendre railway at one hundred francs each, which were quoted above par on the London Stock Exchange before the February revolution. The first day he refused 45 francs, the second 35 francs,

and the third day he sold them at 10 francs per share! Land sold for six thousand francs two years ago no longer finds buyers for one third this price.

And now, at this moment of general panic, the government demands, firstly, two-thirds of direct taxes in advance, and then a forced loan of fifty to sixty millions, measures which terrify the tax-payers already dissatisfied with an ever-increasing budget!

This is a state of affairs which has not failed to persuade our good bourgeoisie that, in being enthusiastic for the monarchy, they have gained only full and complete participation in the troubles in France without having shared any of the advantages. This is the real cause of the growing republicanism.

Meanwhile, the workers are not quiet. Ghent has had several days of disturbances; here two days ago there were meetings of many workers, ending in a petition to the king, which Leopold in person came to receive from the calloused hands which presented it to him. More serious demonstrations will soon follow. Every day puts more workers out of work. If the industrial crisis continues, if feelings in the working class warm up a little, the Belgian bourgeoisie, like that of Paris, will make its "mariage de raison" with the republic.

Written on March 18, 1848

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# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

# Karl Marx

## PROTECTIONISTS[324]

1) have never protected small industry, only machine industry. Example: the school of List in Germany. Gülich.[a]

2) If we believe what the protectionists say, they merely preserve the status quo. Protection will never effect sales of the protected product on foreign markets. Hence reactionary.[b]

3) The last consolation of the protectionists is that the country is not exploited by foreign but by domestic capitalists.

4) It is said, indeed, that internal reforms must first be made before one can think of free trade.[c] The power to reform the position of the classes is not ascribed to the protective system itself. But they say it would be foolish to reform international relations before domestic relations have been reformed. But what is the protective system? It is proof that the class which carries it into effect has power in its hands. Therefore, given the protective system [...] the capitalists will not concede anything. Moreover, gentlemen, great social and historical reforms are never made by concessions, by the generosity of the ruling classes, but only through the *nécessité des choses.* They must therefore be forced through. It is therefore ridiculous to believe that in a country where the protective system prevails [...] [...] [...] the relations between capital and labour are reformed in any way. I shall say no more of the protectionists [...] of the question....[c]

Written about September 18, 1847

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[a] In the original Jülich.—*Ed.*

[b] After "reactionary" the following is written between the lines: "*conservateurs*, and if conserved [?], *conservateurs — hommes réactionnaires.*"—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## DEMAND[325]

1) *Demand.* Most economists treat it almost exclusively from the individual standpoint. The world historic development of demand, its first universal development, depends firstly on the products of the various countries of the world becoming known to each other. If in the further course of development demand creates intercourse, initially it is intercourse which creates demand. Demand is the material content of intercourse, the totality of the objects of exchange, of the commodities which come into exchange and trade. Wars, voyages of discovery, etc., all historical events whereby nations are brought into contact, are all so many conditions of expanding demand, of the formation of the world market. The growth of demand consists directly in the first place in the fact that already *existing products* of various countries ⟨in contact, in A⟩ are being exchanged. Demand gradually loses its local etc. character and becomes cosmopolitan. The production of all countries thus enters more and more into the consumption of the individuals of ⟨all regions⟩ of a country.

The *Crusades,* for example, by making known the products of the Orient, greatly increased the demand for such products in Western Europe. (Cf. J., Notebook III, p. 106.) Places where these products stream together for exchange constitute the world market towns; the world market appeared in this form in particular before the discovery of America. In the 14th and 15th centuries Constantinople, the Italian cities, Bruges and London.

Also still at the same time *like fairs,* namely the caravan-like streaming together of merchants. In the 19th century, for example, fairs are of quite subordinate significance. (Cf. J., Notebook III, p. 106.)

How much less these market places depend on their own industry than the latter and its prosperity depend simply on their being the general stores, is proved by the decay of the trade of the Italian cities after 1498, from the moment when *Lisbon* became the chief market for Indian fabrics and spices. *Antwerp*, too, still had the same limited character in the 16th century as Bruges etc. earlier.

*Trade supremacy.* The first dominant *trading nation* are the Dutch (from end of the 16th to the middle of the 17th century). Until then there were only first *trading towns.* The Spaniards and Portuguese form the transition from dominant trading towns to dominant trading nations. Carrying trade and fisheries nevertheless still form a decisive constituent of Dutch supremacy.

The ‹agricultural› *European North-East* in the relation of an agricultural country to the European West. In the same measure in which here industry and shipbuilding increase, the demand for the raw products of the North-East increases and with it their production.

*Holland* as the first trading and industrial nation, from the end of the 16th to the middle of the 17th century, is also the first nation for whom its domestic agriculture is insufficient and where the population is growing in far too great a proportion to domestic agriculture. Therefore carries on the first large-scale trade in grain. *Amsterdam* becomes the chief granary of Western Europe. (Cf. J., Notebook III, p. 107).

Written in December 1847

First published in French in the book Karl Marx, *Œuvres.Économie. II*, [Paris,] 1968

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx

## DRAFT PLAN FOR SECTION III OF THE *MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY*[326]

### *First draft*

1) ⟨Critique⟩ [a] Critical Utopian Systems (Communist).
2)

### *Second draft*

1) Reactionary socialism, feudal, religious petty bourgeois.
2) Bourgeois socialism.
3) German philosophical socialism.[b]
4) Critical utopian systems of literature. Owen, Cabet, Weitling, Fourier, St. Simon, Babeuf.
5) Direct party literature.
6) Communist literature.[327]

Written at the end of December 1847 or the beginning of January 1848

Printed according to the manuscript

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Published in English for the first time

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[a] This word is struck out in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx added this point in the left-hand margin and accordingly altered the original numbering from 3 to 4, 4 to 5, 5 to 6.

# Karl Marx

## PAGE FROM THE ROUGH DRAFT OF THE *MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY*[328]

13) ...Proletarians, for the Ten-Hour Bill without sharing their illusions about the results of this measure.[a]

We have seen, moreover:

The Communists do not put forward a new theory of private property. They merely state the historical fact that the ⟨means of production⟩ [b] bourgeois production relations and with them bourgeois property relations ⟨and⟩ ⟨eith⟩ ⟨certain⟩ of the ⟨devel⟩ ⟨social⟩ development of the social forces of production no longer ⟨are appropriate⟩ and therefore ⟨to the development of industry itself⟩ ⟨and⟩ in t....

But do not argue with us because you measure ⟨oppose⟩ the abolition of bourgeois property by your bourgeois ideas of freedom, culture, etc.! Your ideas themselves ⟨are only⟩ ⟨prod⟩ ⟨are⟩ ⟨correspond⟩ are products of the ⟨existing⟩ bourgeois production and property relations, as your legal system is merely the will of your class elevated into law. ⟨Your⟩ A will whose content is determined by the material living conditions of your class.

⟨Your⟩ You share with all ruling classes that have perished the biased idea of transforming ⟨the⟩ your ⟨bourgeois⟩ production and property relations from historical, ⟨and merely⟩ transitory relations corresponding only to a certain ⟨stage in the⟩ development of the productive forces, into eternal laws of nature and reason.

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[a] The first two lines are in Jenny Marx's hand. The rest in Marx's.—*Ed.*

[b] Deletions in the original are given here in angular brackets.—*Ed.*

What you comprehend for feudal property, you no longer comprehend for bourgeois ⟨conditi⟩ property.

And yet, you cannot deny the fact that ⟨in the course⟩ with the development of ⟨bourgeois⟩ industry the one-sided, on....[a]

The Communists do not put forward any new theory of property. They state a fact. You deny the most striking facts. You have to deny them. You are backward looking utopians.

Written in December 1847-January 1848

First published as a facsimile in the journal *Der Wahre Jakob* No. 565 (6), March 17, 1908

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] In the M S. the whole sentence including deleted words is struck out.—*Ed.*

Bottom of the page from Marx's manuscript, "Protectionists", with drawings by Engels

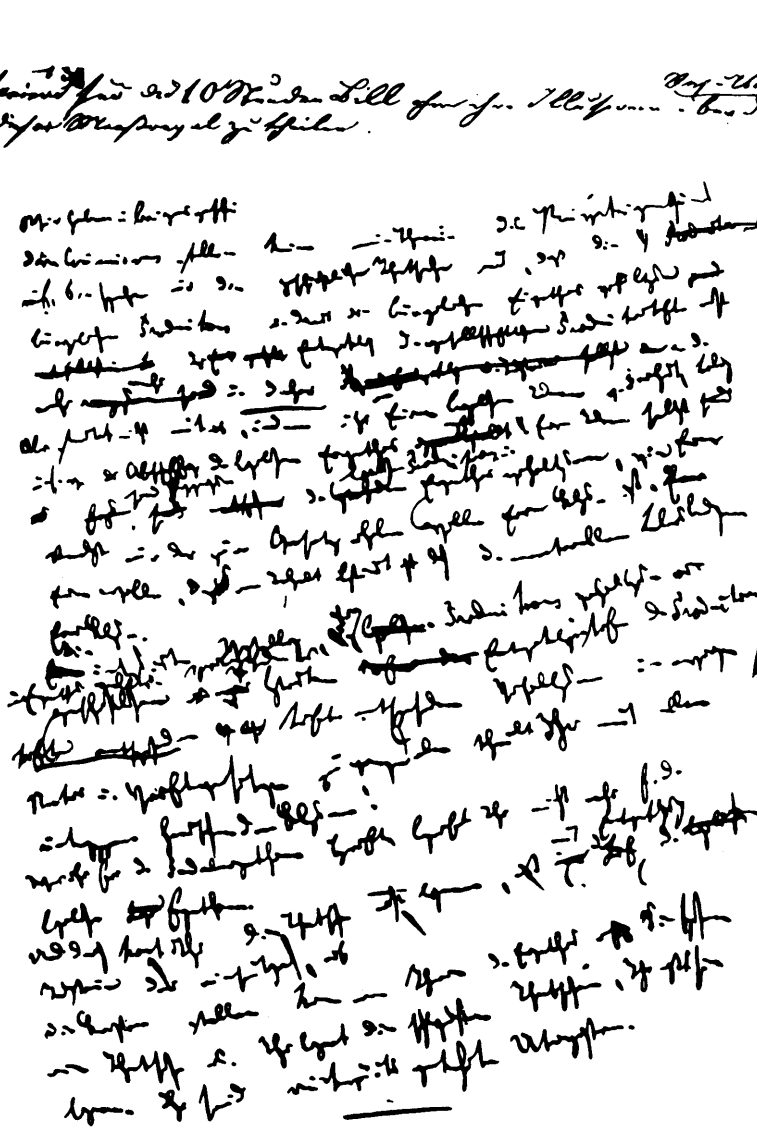

A page of the rough draft of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*

# Karl Marx

## NOTES ON THE ARREST, MALTREATMENT AND EXPULSION OF WILHELM WOLFF BY THE BRUSSELS POLICE FEBRUARY 27 TO MARCH 1, 1848[a]

Petits Carmes.[329] 5 étrangers, 34 Belge

Wolff's right eye is so injured it will hardly regain sight.

Sunday February 27, between 10 and 11 o'clock in the evening.

Real maltreatment in the Hôtel de Ville, blows with the fist from all directions. The real maltreatment first in the police station where there were a number of drunken gardes civiques. Police punched Wolff in the right eye so that the sight....

They tore off his glasses, spat in his face, kicked him, punched him, abused him, etc. One of the gardes civiques proved his valour by joining in these manifestations. They tortured him.

In the meantime Hody arrived, chef de la sûreté publique, notorious philanthropist, hypocritical scoundrel.

Wolff had an interview of ⟨1⟩ $^1/_2$ [hours] with him in the presence of the scoundrel who had arrested him amidst frightful maltreatment.

Hody's indignation at Wolff's visiting him. Spoke furiously against the German Workèrs' Society.[330] "I knew," he said among other things, "that there would be about $^2/_3$ Germans among those arrested tonight." Wolff said ironically: "Oui, insofar as they were already marked in advance for arrest."

Taken from the Permanence to the Amigo.[331] Wolff [..?.] t. evening [...?...]

The whole thing that evening was a provocation organised by the police. The Ministry needed prisoners at any cost, including also Germans.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 567-68.—*Ed.*

*At the Amigo*: soon more arrested persons arrived: those who were placed with Wolff: a Belgian. He was so maltreated and injured by the police that he lost at least a quart of blood. A third person see p. 2.

On *Monday* etc. taken to the Petits Carmes.

On Wednesday the 6 arrested foreigners received their expulsion passports. But Wolff's was dated Sunday, February 27, *before* his arrest. In prison horribly maltreated.

Written early in March 1848

First published in Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, I. Abteilung, Bd. 6, Berlin, 1932

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# APPENDICES

# RULES
# OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE[332]

Working Men of All Countries, Unite!

## SECTION I

## THE LEAGUE

*Art. 1.* The League aims at the emancipation of humanity by spreading the theory of the community of property and its speediest possible practical introduction.

*Art. 2.* The League is divided into *communities* and *circles*; at its head stands the *Central Authority* as the executive organ.

*Art. 3.* Anyone who wishes to join the League is required:

a. to conduct himself in manly fashion;
b. never to have committed a dishonourable action;
c. to recognise the principles of the League;
d. to have acknowledged means of subsistence;
e. not to belong to any political or national association;
f. to be unanimously admitted into a community, and
g. to give his word of honour to work loyally and to observe secrecy.

*Art. 4.* All League members are equal and brothers, and as such owe each other assistance in every situation.

*Art. 5.* All members bear League names.

## SECTION II

## THE COMMUNITY

*Art. 6.* A community consists of at least three and at most twelve members. Increase above that number will be prevented by division.

*Art. 7.* Every community elects a chairman and a deputy chairman. The chairman presides over meetings, the deputy chairman holds the funds, into which the contributions of the members are paid.

*Art. 8.* The members of communities shall earnestly endeavour to increase the League by attracting capable men and always seek to

work in such a way that principles and not persons are taken as guide.

*Art. 9.* Admission of new members is effected by the chairman of the community and the member who has introduced the applicant to the League.

*Art. 10.* The communities do not know each other and bear distinctive names which they choose themselves.

### SECTION III

### THE CIRCLE

*Art. 11.* A circle comprises at least two and at most ten communities.

*Art. 12.* The chairmen and deputy chairmen of the communities form the circle authority. They elect a president from among themselves.

*Art. 13.* The circle authority is the executive organ for all the communities of the circle.

*Art. 14.* Isolated communities must either join an already existing circle authority or form a new circle with other isolated communities.

### SECTION IV

### THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY

*Art. 15.* The Central Authority is the executive organ of the whole League.

*Art. 16.* It consists of at least five members and is elected by the circle authority of the place where it is to have its seat.

### SECTION V

### THE CONGRESS

*Art. 17.* The Congress is the legislative authority of the League.

*Art. 18.* Every circle sends one delegate.

*Art. 19.* A Congress is held every year in the month of August. The Central Authority has the right in important cases to call an extraordinary congress.

*Art. 20.* The Congress in office decides the place where the Central Authority is to have its seat for the current year.

*Art. 21.* All legislative decisions of the Congress are submitted to the communities for acceptance or rejection.

*Art. 22.* As the executive organ of the League the Central Authority is responsible to the Congress for its conduct of its office and therefore has a seat in it, but no deciding vote.

## SECTION VI

## GENERAL REGULATIONS

*Art. 23.* Anyone who acts dishonourably to the principles of the League is, according to the circumstances, ⟨removed⟩ either removed or expelled. Expulsion precludes re-admission.

*Art. 24.* Members who commit offences are judged by the ⟨supreme⟩ circle authority, which also sees to the execution of the verdict.

*Art. 25.* Every community must keep the strictest watch over those who have been removed or expelled; further, it must observe closely any suspect individuals in its locality and report at once to the circle authority anything they may do to the detriment of the League, whereupon the circle authority must take the necessary measures to safeguard the League.

*Art. 26.* The communities and circle authorities and also the Central Authority shall meet at least once a fortnight.

*Art. 27.* The communities pay weekly or monthly contributions, the amount of which is determined by the respective circle authorities. These contributions will be used to spread the principles of the community of property and to pay for postage.

*Art. 28.* The circle authorities must render account of expenditures and income to their communities every six months.

*Art. 29.* The members of the circle authorities and of the Central Authority are elected for one year and must then either be confirmed anew in their office or replaced by others.

*Art. 30.* The elections take place in the month of September. The electors can, moreover, recall their officers at any time should they not be satisfied with their conduct of their office.

*Art. 31.* The circle authorities have to see to it that there is material in their communities for useful and necessary discussions. The Central Authority, on the other hand, must make it its duty to send to all circle authorities such questions whose discussion is important for our principle.

*Art. 32.* Every circle authority and failing that the community, even every League member, must, if standing alone, maintain regular correspondence with the Central Authority or a circle authority.

*Art. 33.* Every League member who wishes to change his residence must first inform his chairman.

*Art. 34.* Every circle authority is free to take any measures which it considers advisable for the security of the circle and its efficient work. These measures must, however, not be contrary to the general Rules.

*Art. 35.* All proposals for changes in the Rules must be sent to the Central Authority and submitted by it to the Congress for decision.

## SECTION VII

## ADMISSION

*Art. 36.* After the Rules have been read to him, the applicant is asked by the two League members mentioned in Art. 9 to reply to the following five questions. If he replies "Yes", he is asked to give his word of honour, and is declared a League member.

These five questions are:

a. Are you convinced of the truth of the principles of the community of property?

b. Do you think a strong League is necessary for the realisation of these principles as soon as possible, and do you wish to join such a League?

c. Do you promise always to work by word and deed for spreading and the practical realisation of the principles of the community of property?

d. Do you promise to observe secrecy about the existence and all affairs of the League?

e. Do you promise to comply with the decisions of the League? Then give us on this your word of honour as guarantee!

In the name and by the order of the Congress

*Heide,*[a] Secretary

The President, *Karl Schill*[b]

London, June 9, 1847

First published in the book: *Gründungsdokumente des Bundes der Kommunisten (Juni bis September 1847)*, Hamburg, 1969

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] Wilhelm Wolff.—*Ed.*

[b] Karl Schapper.—*Ed.*

# [A CIRCULAR OF THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE TO THE LEAGUE MEMBERS JUNE 9, 1847][333]

## THE CONGRESS TO THE LEAGUE[a]

Dear Brothers!

The First Congress of the League, which was called last February by the Central Authority (*Halle*)[334] and opened on June 2 here in London, has concluded its deliberations. In view of the whole position of our League, its sessions could not be public.[335]

But it is incumbent on us, members of the Congress, to make them public for you in retrospect, by at least giving you a survey of our proceedings.

This is all the more our duty as the Central Authority in office up to now had to render account to us, and *we*, therefore, have to tell you how far the Congress was satisfied with this rendering of account. We must also do so, because we have added an article to the new Rules which makes all legislative decisions of the Congress subject to the vote of the individual communities[b]; hence, for this part of our decisions at least, there are two reasons why we owe you a statement of the grounds for them.

After checking credentials the previous *Halle* had first to give the Congress an account of its conduct of office and to report on the state of the League. The delegates declared themselves completely satisfied with the way in which the *Halle* had looked after the interests of the League and had made a start with its reorganisation. That point was thereby disposed of. We take the following brief summary from the report of the Central Authority and from the original letters submitted to the Congress.

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[a] Joseph Moll added afterwards in the original: "IN HAMBURG".—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to Art. 21 of the draft Rules of the Communist League (see this volume, p. 586.)—*Ed.*

In *London* our League is strongest. Freedom of speech and of association immensely facilitates propaganda and gives opportunities to the many able members to use their character and talent for the greatest good of the League and the cause. For this purpose the League uses the German Workers' Educational Society, and also its branch in Whitechapel. Members of the League also take part in the Fraternal Democrats,[336] the French communist discussion clubs,[337] etc.

The previous Paris *Halle* itself realised in how much better a position the London League would be to take over the central leadership of the affairs of the League. The security of all documents and of members of the Central Authority itself is nowhere else as great as here. During its proceedings the Congress had opportunity enough to see that the London communities have a sufficient number of competent people who can be entrusted with the supreme executive authority of the League. It therefore decided that the Central Authority should remain in London.

In *Paris* the League has much declined in recent years.[338] The regional and *Halle* members have for a long time occupied themselves only with quarrels about formalities and alleged breaches of the Rules instead of looking after the affairs of the whole League or of its *Gaus.*[a] In the communities similar time-wasting, superfluous and divisive trifles were dealt with. At most they discussed the old questions which have been talked over again and again, ever since Weitling's *Garantien,*[b] to the point of boredom. In the Paris League itself there was no sign of the slightest progress, not the slightest concern with the development of the principle, or with the movement of the proletariat as it was proceeding in other localities of the League, and *outside the League.* The consequence was that all those who were not satisfied with what they were offered *inside* the League looked outside the League for further enlightenment. This need for enlightenment was made use of by a literary knight of industry and exploiter of workers, the German writer *Karl Grün.*This individual had sided with communism when he noticed that there was money to be made by communist writings. After some time he found that it was dangerous to continue to declare himself a Communist and found occasion to resign in the new book by Proudhon on the economic contradictions[c] which he himself had translated into German. This Grün used the economic statements in this otherwise quite insignificant book as the basis of lectures which

[a] Regions or districts.—*Ed.*
[b] W. Weitling, *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit.—Ed.*
[c] P.-J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques.—Ed.*

he gave in Paris for League members. These lectures were attended by two kinds of people: 1. those who had already enough of communism in general; 2. those who hoped perhaps to get from this Grün enlightenment on a number of questions and doubts never resolved for them in the community meetings. The latter were fairly numerous and consisted of those members of the Paris communities who were the most useful and the most capable of development. For a time this Grün succeeded in dazzling even a number of these with his phrases and his alleged immense learning. The League was thus split. On one side was the party which had exclusively dominated the *Halle* and the region, the party of the Weitlingians; on the other side were those who still believed one could learn something even from Grün. These soon saw, however, that Grün expressed definite hostility to the Communists and that all his teaching was quite unable to replace communism. Heated discussions took place during which it became clear that almost all League members remained loyal to communism and that only two or three defended this Grün and his Proudhonist system. At the same time it was revealed that this same Grün had defrauded the workers, as was his wont, by using 30 francs, the sum collected for the Polish insurgents,[339] for his private purposes, and had also wheedled several hundred francs out of them for the printing of a miserable pamphlet about the dissolution of the Prussian Provincial Diet.[a] But enough; the majority of Grün's former listeners stayed away and formed a new party which was mainly concerned to develop further the communist principle in all its implications and in its connection with social relations. By this split, however, the organisation of the League fell to pieces. In the course of the winter the Central Authority sent an emissary[b] who restored the organisation as far as possible. But soon the quarrels arose again; the three different parties and principles were irreconcilable. The party of progress succeeded with the aid of the Weitlingians in removing from the League the three or four stubborn Grünians who had declared themselves openly against communism. But then, when it came to the election of a delegate to the Congress, the two parties clashed in the regional meeting. The split became incurable, and in order at least to achieve an election, the three communities in which the party of progress was most strongly represented resolved to separate from the two communities on which the main strength of the Weitlingians rested and to elect a congress delegate for themselves at a general meeting. This was done. The Weitlingians

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[a] K. Grün, *Die preussischen Landtags-Abschiede.—Ed.*

[b] Joseph Moll.— *Ed.*

were thereby provisionally removed from the League and the number of League members was reduced by one third. After examining the reasons advanced by both parties, the Congress declared its agreement with the action of the three communities, because the Weitlingian party had everywhere held up the League in its development; this had also been experienced both in London and in Switzerland. The Congress resolved unanimously to remove the Paris Weitlingians from the League and to admit the delegate of the Paris majority[a] to the Congress.

Hence, the number of League members in Paris has been greatly reduced; but, at the same time, obstructive elements have also been removed, and, through the struggle, minds have been quickened to renewed activity. A new spirit is making itself felt, and a completely new energy. The police persecutions seem more or less to have ended; they were in any case not directed against the party which is now victorious and from which only one member was expelled, but struck Grün's party almost alone, proof that information of the Prussian Government was at the bottom of the whole persecution, as will be shown presently. And if the government has dispersed the public meetings at the Barrière, this too mainly hits the Grünians who made loud speeches there and inveighed against the Communists, because here, of course, the Communists could not freely reply to them. Hence, the League is in far better shape in Paris now than at the time when the *Halle* resigned. We are less numerous but we are united and have capable people there.

In *Lyons* the League has regular members who seem to be very active for the cause.

In *Marseilles* we are also established. We have received the following letter about the membership there: "The position of the Marseilles League is not too good. Encouragement by letters would not help much; we shall try to arrange for some of us to go there this autumn and to organise the League anew."

The League has succeeded in gaining a firm footing in Belgium. Brussels has a competent community whose members are Germans and Belgians and who have already founded a second community in Liège among the Walloon factory workers. In that country the prospects for the League are quite encouraging, and we hope that at the next congress Belgium will already be represented by several delegates.

In Germany we had several communities in Berlin which this spring were suddenly dispersed by the police. League members will

[a] Engels.— *Ed.*

have seen from the newspapers that a meeting of workers directed by League members was cancelled by the police, an enquiry was held, and as a result several leading members were arrested. Among the arrested was a certain Friedrich Mentel, a tailor born in Potsdam, about 27 years old, of medium, stocky build, etc. This man, who had formerly been in London and Paris, and in the latter place had belonged to Grün's party and turned out to be a maudlin sentimentalist, and had, by the way, in the course of his travels got to know the situation in the League pretty accurately, was unable to stand up to this little ordeal. This time too it was seen that the weak-mindedness and vagueness of such sentimentalists can find final satisfaction only in religion. Within a few days this Mentel let himself be completely converted by a priest and twice during his arrest took part in the farce of Holy Communion. A Berlin member writes to us as follows: "...he told in court about the communities in Paris, London, Hamburg and Kiel (all of which he had visited himself) and gave the addresses to which Herm. Kriege sent his *Volks-Tribun* to Berlin. To somebody else, he said to his face: 'Did I not sell you these books? Did we not go to meetings at such and such an address? Are you not a member of the League of the Just?' And when the answer to everything was 'No', Mentel said: 'How can you answer for this before God the Almighty and All-knowing?' and other such stupidities." Fortunately, Mentel's baseness did not succeed in confusing the other accused, so the government had no alternative but to let the arrested be acquitted for the time being. Clearly, this Mentel's denunciations are closely connected with the persecutions of the German Communists in Paris. We can only congratulate ourselves that the Grünian Mentel regarded the Grünians themselves as the real leaders of the League and denounced them. Thereby the real Communists were in general protected from the persecutions. Naturally, the entire Berlin circle was disorganised by these events. However, knowing the competence of the members there, we are hopeful that the reorganisation of the League will soon be effected.

*Hamburg* is also organised. But the members there have let themselves be somewhat intimidated by these persecutions in Berlin. The contacts were not broken for a single moment, however.

The League is also established in Altona, Bremen, Mainz, Munich, Leipzig, Königsberg, Thorn, Kiel, Magdeburg, Stuttgart, Mannheim and Baden-Baden. In Scandinavia it is also already established in Stockholm.

The position of the League in *Switzerland* is not as satisfactory as we might wish. Here the party of the Weitlingians was dominant

from the beginning. The lack of development in the communities in Switzerland was particularly evident, on the one hand in their inability to bring the long-standing struggle with the Young Germans[340] to a conclusion, and on the other hand in their religious attitude to the Young Germans and in the fact that they let themselves be exploited in the vilest manner by most despicable knights of industry, such as, for instance, the solemn Georg Kuhlmann of Holstein. As a result of police measures the League was so disorganised in Switzerland that the Congress decided to take extraordinary measures for its reconstitution. The success and the nature of these measures can, of course, only later be made known to the communities.

Concerning *America*, we must wait for more detailed news from the emissary whom the Central Authority has sent there, before a precise report can be given of the final shape of the League's conditions there.[a]

From this report and from the League letters produced two things emerge: firstly, that when the London *Halle* took over the leadership, the League was indeed in a difficult position, that the previous Central Authority[b] had not at all attended to the duties incumbent on it; that it had utterly neglected to hold the whole together, and that in addition to this disorganisation of the League, elements of opposition had gradually germinated even in the individual communities themselves. In these circumstances, which threatened the existence of the League, the London Central Authority at once took the necessary measures: sent out emissaries, removed individual members who were jeopardising the existence of the whole, re-established contacts, called the general congress, and prepared the questions to be discussed there. At the same time it took steps to draw into the League other elements of the communist movement who until then had stood aside from it,[341] steps which were highly successful.

After settling these questions the Congress had to make a review of the Rules. The result of these deliberations lies before the communities in the new Rules, all the articles of which were accepted unanimously, and which the Congress moves should be finally adopted. In justification of the changes made, we make the following observations:

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[a] Down to here the handwriting is Wolff's, from the following paragraph somebody else's, either J. Moll's or H. Bauer's.—*Ed.*

[b] The *Halle* of the League of the Just, which before its transfer from Paris to London consisted mainly of supporters of Weitling.—*Ed.*

The change of name from League of the Just to Communist League was adopted because, firstly, the old name had become known to the governments through the infamous treachery of that Mentel, and that in itself made a change advisable. Secondly, and chiefly, because the old name had been adopted on a special occasion in view of special events[342] which no longer have the slightest bearing on the present purpose of the League. This name is therefore no longer suited to the time and does not in the least express what we want. How many there are who want justice, that is, what they call justice, without necessarily being Communists! We are not distinguished by wanting justice in general—anyone can claim that for himself—but by our attack on the existing social order and on private property, by wanting community of property, by being Communists. Hence there is only one suitable name for our League, the name which says what we really are, and this name we have chosen. In the same spirit we have altered the traditional names *Gau* and *Halle*, which we took over from the political societies and the German character of which produced a disturbing impression given the nature of our anti-nationalist League which is open to all peoples; these names have been replaced by words which really mean what they should mean. The introduction of such simple, clear names serves also to remove from our propagandist League the conspiratorial character which our enemies are so keen to attach to us.

The necessity to re-call the Congress, now called for the first time, to re-call it *regularly* and to transfer to it the entire legislative power of the League subject to confirmation by the communities, was unanimously recognised without discussion. We hope that in the provisions laid down in this respect we have hit on the points which mattered and through which the effective work of the Congress is ensured in the interest of the whole.

As to the omission of the headings, which insofar as they contained legal provisions are replaced by certain articles of the Rules, and insofar as they contained general communist principles are replaced by the Communist Credo, this gives the Rules a simpler and more uniform shape and has at the same time led to a more precise definition of the position of each particular authority.[343]

After the Rules had been dealt with, various proposals were discussed which had been prepared either by the Central Authority or put forward by individual delegates.

First of all, there was discussion of one delegate's proposal to call a new congress in six months time. The Congress itself felt that, as the First Congress, which has been called and had met at a time when the organisation of the League was flagging, it had to regard itself above

all as an organising and constituent assembly. It felt that a new congress was needed to deal thoroughly with the most important questions before it; since at the same time the new Rules had fixed the next congress for the month of August, so that there would be barely two months interval, and since it was also impossible to defer the Second Congress until August 1848, it was decided to call this Second Congress for Monday, November 29 of this year, here in London. We did not let ourselves be deterred by the bad time of the year any more than by the new costs. The League has survived a crisis and must not fight shy of an extraordinary effort for once.—The new League Rules contain the necessary provisions for the election of delegates and so we hope that a large number of circles will send delegates to the Second Congress.

The proposal of the same delegate to set up a special fund for emissaries also found general approval.—The point was made that our League has at its disposal two kinds of emissaries. Firstly, those who are sent out at the expense of the League with special missions to certain localities, either to establish the League in areas where it does not yet exist, or to organise it again where it is in decline. These emissaries must necessarily be under the direct control of the Central Authority.—Secondly, workers who are returning to their own homes or have to make other journeys. Such workers, often very capable men, could be used to the greatest advantage of the League for visits to many communities not far from their travel route, if they are reimbursed on behalf of the League for the additional expenses caused thereby. Such occasional emissaries can, of course, only be under the direct control of the circle authority and only in special cases be placed under the control of the Central Authority. Hence, the Congress decided to instruct the Central Authority to demand from every circle authority a certain financial contribution every three months and from these contributions to set up a fund for sending out emissaries of the first kind. Further, to instruct the circle authorities more than previously to use capable members leaving on journeys as *occasional* emissaries in the manner described and to pay the additional travelling expenses in advance from their own funds. In very special cases the circle authorities can apply to the Central Authority for a contribution for this purpose; whether this financial application is granted, is, of course, decided by the Central Authority. Every emissary is responsible to the authority which has supplied him with funds and must report to it.

All of you will see how necessary it is to organise propaganda through emissaries and to subject it to central leadership. We hope

that our decisions, taken after mature consideration, will meet with your approval and that they may be attended by good success for the cause.

The next question was that of the organ of the League; it was recognised without discussion how necessary such a publication is. It was also readily understood that the paper could appear only in London, and that it should not appear more often than weekly and not less often than monthly.—Title, motto and format were agreed and you will be acquainted with them through the specimen number to be published in July. A commission is in existence to act for the editorial board pending the journal's publication; then an editor, who also has already been appointed,[a] will take over the direction in co-operation with the Commission. This considered, the Congress came to the question of costs. Firstly, various things are needed to complete the printing equipment, in particular an iron press, for which the Central Authority was instructed to call for a contribution from the circles. But then the costs were calculated. It was found that at 2 pence,=4 sous,=2 Silbergroschen,=6 Kreuzers for every weekly issue of one sheet the number of subscribers required to cover the costs would be greater than we can rely on with certainty at present. A monthly paper without an editor would be able to exist with fewer subscribers, but would not fulfil the League's requirements. But whether we would be able to get the number of subscribers needed for a weekly paper was, as we have said, too uncertain for us to enter into the necessary engagements. We therefore resolved as follows: To start with, a specimen number will appear in July free of charge. Then the individual communities will have to send word through their circles how many members they have, for the Congress has decided that at least as long as the journal is a monthly, every member pays for *one* copy, but every community receives only *one*, and the remainder are distributed free. League members must, moreover, make enquiries regarding the number of copies which can with certainty be sold in their area, gather subscribers and report on this, too. Then in November, taking account of the notices received by the Central Authority, the Congress will take further decisions and if possible launch the journal before the New Year. In the meantime the London printing press will be used to print pamphlets.[344]

Finally, the question of the Communist Credo. The Congress realised that the public proclamation of the principles of the League was a step of the greatest importance; that a credo which in a few

[a] Wilhelm Wolff.—*Ed.*

years, perhaps months, might no longer suit the times and no longer correspond to the spirit of the majority, would be as harmful as a suitable credo would be useful; that this step had to be considered with particular care and must not be taken too hastily. Here, just as on the question of the League organ, the Congress became aware that it could not act definitively but only in a constituent role, that it had to give new food to the re-awakening life in the League by discussion on the *plan* of a credo. Hence, the Congress resolved to draft this plan and to submit it to the communities for discussion, so that proposals could be formulated for amendments and additions to be submitted to the Central Authority. The plan is appended.[a] We recommend it for serious and mature consideration by the communities. We have tried on the one hand to refrain from all system-making and all barrack-room communism, and on the other to avoid the fatuous and vapid sentimentality of the tearful, emotional Communists[345]; we have, on the contrary, tried always to keep firm ground under our feet by the constant consideration of the social relations which alone have given rise to communism. We hope that the Central Authority will receive from you very many proposals for additions and amendments, and we will call on you again to discuss the subject with particular zest.[b]

This, dear Brothers, is the survey, the outcome, of our deliberations. We would very much have liked to have definitively settled the items before us, to have founded the League organ, to have proclaimed the communist principles in a credo. But in the interest of the League, in the interest of the comm[unist] movement, we had to set limits to ourselves here, we had to appeal anew to the majority, and to leave it to the second Congress to carry through what we have prepared.

It is now for you, dear Brothers, to prove that you have the cause of the League, the cause of communism, at heart. The League has emerged victorious from a period of decline. Apathy and laxity have been overcome, the hostile elements which had arisen in the League itself have been eliminated. New elements have joined it. The future of the League is secure. But, dear Brothers, our position is not yet such that we can for one moment relax our efforts; all wounds are not yet healed, all gaps have not yet been filled, many painful effects of the struggle we have gone through can still be felt. Therefore the interest of the League, the communist cause, still demands of you a short period of the most strenuous activity;

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[a] See this volume, pp. 96-103.—*Ed.*

[b] From the following paragraph the handwriting is again Wilhelm Wolff's.—*Ed.*

therefore for a few months you must not even for a moment weary in your work. Extraordinary circumstances demand extraordinary effort. A crisis such as our League has gone through, a crisis in which we had first to fight the fatigue caused by the heavy pressure of German and other police harassments and, even more, caused by the hope of an early improvement in social conditions apparently receding ever further from fulfilment; a crisis, furthermore, in which we not only had to fight the persecutions of our enemies, of governments either dominated by or allied to the bourgeoisie against us, but in which we found enemies in our midst who had to be fought and rendered harmless, with regard only for the threatened position of the League, for the menacing disorganisation of the entire German-speaking Communist Party, without any consideration of persons; Brothers, one does not recover from such a crisis overnight. And even if the existence of the League, the strength of the organisation, is re-established, there will have to be months of unceasing work before we can say: We have done our duty as Communists, our duty as League members.

Brothers! In the firm conviction that you will feel the importance of the situation as much as we do; in the firm conviction that you will nevertheless be fully equal to these difficult circumstances, we confidently appeal to you, to your enthusiasm for the cause of the community! We know that the bourgeoisie's infamous lust for gain leaves you hardly a moment to work for the cause; we know that it presses down to the lowest limit even the miserable wage it gives you for your hard work; we know that just now famine and the slump in business weigh on you especially heavily; we know that it persecutes you, imprisons you, ruins your health and endangers your lives if you find time and money despite all to work for the interest of the community; we know all that, and in spite of everything we have not hesitated for one moment to appeal to you for new financial sacrifices, to call on you to redouble your activity. For we ourselves would have to withdraw from the whole movement, blushing and ashamed, if we did not know that the men who elected us to decide on the good of the whole, will vigorously and unhesitatingly put our resolutions into practice; if we did not know that there is no one in our League for whom the interest of the Communist Party, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the victory of the community is not his very own, his dearest interest; if we did not know that people with sufficient determination to organise a league which exposes them to great dangers are also determined and steadfast enough to defy these dangers and to make this League great and mighty over the whole of Europe; if we did not know,

finally, that such people are the more courageous, the more active, the more enthusiastic, the greater the obstacles they face.

Brothers! We represent a great, a wonderful cause. We proclaim the greatest revolution ever proclaimed in the world, a revolution which for its thoroughness and wealth of consequences has no equal in world history. We do not know how far it will be granted to us to share in the fruits of this revolution. But this we know, that this revolution is drawing near in all its might; this we see, that everywhere, in France as in Germany, in England as in America, the angry masses of the proletariat are in motion and are demanding their liberation from the fetters of money rule, from the fetters of the bourgeoisie, with a voice that is often still confused but is becoming ever louder and clearer. This we see, that the bourgeois class is getting ever richer, that the middle classes are being more and more ruined and that thus historical development itself strives towards a great revolution which will one day burst out, through the distress of the people and the wantonness of the rich. Brothers, we all hope to live to see that day, and even if last spring we did not get the chance to take up arms, as the letter of the *Halle*[a] predicted we might, do not let that disconcert you! The day is coming, and on the day when the masses of the people with their solid ranks scatter the mercenaries of the capitalists: on that day it will be revealed what our League was and how it worked! And even if we should not live to see *all* the fruits of the great struggle, even if hundreds of us fall under the grapeshot of the bourgeoisie, all of us, even the fallen, have lived to be in the *struggle*, and this struggle, this victory alone is worth a life of the most strenuous work.

And so, farewell!

In the name of the Congress,

*Heide*,[b]
Secretary

The President,
*Karl Schill*[c]

London, June 9, 1847

First published in the book:
*Gründungsdokumente des Bundes der Kommunisten (Juni bis September 1847)*, Hamburg, 1969

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

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[a] "Ansprache der Volkshalle des Bundes der Gerechten an den Bund", Februar 1847.—*Ed.*

[b] Wilhelm Wolff.—*Ed.*

[c] Karl Schapper.—*Ed.*

# NOTE BY MARX ON THE FORMATION OF THE BRUSSELS COMMUNITY AND CIRCLE OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE AUGUST 5, 1847

*August 5.* Constitution of the new Community.
Elected: President—Marx
Secretary and Treasurer: Gigot

*Circle Authority*: Gigot, Junge, Marx, Wolff.

First published in Russian in the book: Y. P. Kandel, *Marx and Engels—Organisers of the Communist League*, Moscow, 1953

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY TO THE LEAGUE[346]

Working Men of All Countries, Unite!

Brothers:

Three months have now passed since the Congress was held and its Circular[a] was dispatched to you; we therefore now send you another report on our activity since then, and give you a summary of the present state of the League.

We regret that we are unable to send you very encouraging news, but we have resolved to tell you the plain truth, be it encouraging or disheartening. Some of you may well think that emphasis should always be placed on the bright side of the situation so that people should not lose heart; we on the contrary are of the opinion that all should know the enormous and diverse difficulties with which we have to contend. Real men will not be deterred by this, but on the contrary spurred on to new activity.

As long as our League is not strongly and firmly established, as long as it fails to intervene effectively in the course of events, our influence will be insignificant. Admittedly we now have a new basis, and in some places people seem to work with new enthusiasm but on the whole we are still[b] far from the position we should have reached long ago. When the Congress Circular was dispatched we hoped we would receive favourable and definite replies to it from all quarters. The Central Authority had enclosed with it an accompanying letter calling attention once more to the points requiring a response and requesting prompt and definite replies.[347]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 589-600.—*Ed.*

[b] The original has "noch nicht" (still not).—*Ed.*

So far we have only received a definite reply from the Brussels* circle, other places have only acknowledged receipt of the Circular, thanked us for our efforts, made some general comments, and no more.

What is the cause of this negligence and where is it going to lead us? Many German proletarians are anxious to liberate themselves, but, if they do not set about the task more energetically than they have done so far, they will indeed not make much progress. We can't wait for things to fall into our lap. Many people are hindered in their activity by their mental sluggishness; others talk a great deal but when money contributions are requested they pull long faces, make all manner of excuses and give nothing; others again possess a large share of bourgeois cowardice, see policemen and gendarmes at every turn and never believe it is time to act. It gives one the gripes to see all the goings-on. The majority of the proletarians, and the most active at that—those in Silesia, Saxony, Rhenish Prussia, Westphalia and Hesse have poor or indeed no leadership, at least no communist one.

We therefore call upon all members of our League once more to rise up at last out of their sleep and set to work, and we demand that first of all definite replies to the Congress Circular be sent in so that we can at least know whom we can count upon.

After the Congress was over we sent the Congress Circular, the new Rules,[a] the Communist Credo[b] and an accompanying letter from the Central Authority to ten towns in Switzerland, France, Belgium, Germany and Sweden where we have communities. In addition we sent out from London two authorised emissaries to America, one to Norway, one to Germany and one to Holland.[c] All promised the Central Authority to work to the best of their ability and to set up new communities in the places in which they settled and to put them in touch with us.

In accordance with the resolution adopted at the Congress the League's new newspaper[d] should have begun to appear in August[348] and we had been promised articles and also financial support for it; all League members were moreover requested to give all the help

* Yesterday we received a letter from Leipzig, for details see below.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 585-88.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 96-103.—*Ed.*

[c] Johann Dohl.—*Ed.*

[d] *Kommunistische Zeitschrift.—Ed.*

they could. Unfortunately here again most promises have been confined to words alone. Apart from the Brussels circle, which for the time being made a monthly allocation of one pound sterling for printing expenses and five francs for propaganda and Brother Heide[a] who sent us an article, we have received nothing so far. The editorial commission, which from one week to the next was being promised the necessary articles, was finally compelled to do everything itself, so as at least to be able to get the specimen issue out. If we do not receive better support in the future than we have received so far, we shall not make any progress here either. In order to set up our printing-press properly, so that besides the League newspaper we can also print leaflets and small pamphlets, we still need another 600 francs. We are not in a position to raise this sum in London alone.

Since the Congress Circular was sent out we have received news from the following places.

*Sweden.* We received a letter dated Upsala, May 23 from our emissary[b] who travelled to Sweden via Helsingör, crossing the whole country on foot. Here in London, having nothing else, he had filled his kitbag with communist leaflets which he successfully took over the border into Sweden. He writes that in all towns where there are German workers, he called on them in their workshops, distributed our leaflets among them and found their response to our ideas most enthusiastic. Unfortunately, since he did not find any work he was unable to stay in any one place long enough to set up a community. In Stockholm he transmitted to the local community (our communist outpost in the North) the first two circulars from the Central Authority,[349] and his news lent the Brothers there new heart. From Stockholm he went to Upsala, from there on to Gävle, where he worked for a time, and is now on the way to Umeå and Tornea. A communist emissary among the Lapps!

A member of the League who arrived in London from Karlskrona informed us: Brother C., who was previously working in Paris and London, has set up communities in W. and there are already over a hundred League members there now. The Brother from Karlskrona gave us C.'s address and we shall be sending him this Circular together with the New Rules and a special appeal for the League members there. From Stockholm we have received a letter dated July 8 saying that our Brothers there are most zealous supporters of our

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[a] Wilhelm Wolff.—*Ed.*
[b] Albert August Anders.—*Ed.*

principles. A public attack on communism made by a local priest was countered by a League member, Brother Forsell, in a pamphlet written in Swedish in which he expounded our principles to the people as well.[a] Sweden's biggest newspaper, the *Aftonbladet*, also defends communism against the clerics. We were also told in the letter: "The educational society here in Stockholm, which we were formerly able to regard as a gateway to communism has now unfortunately landed in the clutches of the philistines. On the other hand the democratic element within the local Scandinavian society,[350] of which we are all members and which has one of us as President, is pure and unsullied and it is from this society that we recruit our members." Immediately on receiving this letter we made handwritten copies of the Congress Circular, the Communist Credo and the Rules in Latin characters (since most Swedes cannot read German letters) and then sent them everything by post. We are now waiting for their reply to this dispatch.

*Germany.* Approximately six weeks ago an emissary from here went to Berlin taking with him letters from us for the Brothers there, and, in order to put new heart into them, exhorting them to be steadfast. He was to spend only about a week there and then travel to Leipzig, from where he was to send us a report. We are expecting news shortly.

The Brothers in Br.[b] acknowledged receipt of our letters and promised to send us a detailed reply in the immediate future, which they have not yet done.

The Brothers in Hamburg acknowledge receipt of our letters and express their regret that the name League of the Just has been changed and wish the former name restored: they also inform us that it is not at all to their liking when the supporters of W. Weitling and Grün are exposed to such hostile criticism, as was the case in the Congress Circular. They call for moderation and unity and write: "Whether someone stands one rung higher or lower as regards the main principle, that is no reason for us to persecute him and cause a split, for how do you think we can make an impact if we take such a one-sided approach. We attract all forces who wish for progress and then seek to win them over to our ideas gradually by persuasion."

We must reply to the Brothers in Hamburg that the reasons for the change in the name notified in the Congress Circular[c] are

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[a] Carl Daniel Forsell, *Kommunismen och kristendomen...*—*Ed.*

[b] Probably Breslau or Bremen.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 595.—*Ed.*

significant ones and that if no important counter-arguments are put forward, the Central Authority will defend the retention of the name Communist League at the next Congress. This latter name says clearly what we are and what we want, which the previous one did not. League of the Just says everything and nothing, but we must be definite. The Hamburg Brothers would do well to read the reasons given in the Congress Circular once more—if they can refute those arguments then we shall agree with them—we have no right to take mere emotions into consideration.

As regards the second point we stress that we are in no way persecuting Weitling's and Grün's supporters, but purely and simply representing them in their true colours. It is time we came to our senses and therefore we can no longer waste time on dreamers and system-mongers who have no energy for action—we will drag no corpse along behind us. Grün's supporters are people who chatter a great deal about equality without knowing what the word means, who criticise everything except themselves, in other words, opinionated men who talk a great deal, but do nothing. We are no elegant bourgeois and therefore do not beat about the bush but say what we think, i. e., call things by their names.

For over ten years moderation, forbearance and unity have been preached in the League and with all this preaching, with all this brotherly love we have accomplished virtually nothing, and last year the League almost collapsed entirely. We must put an end to this; it is wrong to demand that we should spend our whole life on trifles and idle dreams. Our opinion is that 100 active members are better than 1,000 of whom half are indecisive and lukewarm. Instead of looking back and helping the lame to catch up, we march boldly forward, which will probably get others to their feet somewhat more nimbly as well. The Brothers in Hamburg incidentally do not seem to have got very far with their moderation, for they make no allusion to the dispatch of money for propaganda and printing, and as for the League's newspaper they declare that they are only in a position to take a few copies in view of growing unemployment.

We must make it clear here that every member of the League *is bound* to take a copy of the newspaper; if he is not able to pay for it, then the community he belongs to must do so for him.

Once more, Brothers, let us not allow all our strength to be undermined through untimely moderation, through lumping together opposing forces and thus become a laughing-stock for the other parties. We can make a powerful impact, if we only have the will, and if we do have the will there is only one thing we need: courage! courage! and once again courage! If people are unable or

unwilling to go as far as we do—all well and good; if their intentions are honest, we shall not cease to respect them, but when we are called upon to step backwards in order to join up with such people, then we reply: Never!

Not long ago our Brothers in Leipzig wrote that several members who had been intimidated by the somewhat stark terms of the Central Authority's circular had withdrawn their membership. The others promised to remain loyally united and work to the best of their ability. We can only congratulate the Brothers in Leipzig on having rid themselves of people who lacked the courage to behave as men. The letter which we received from Leipzig yesterday was already written in a quite different and more forceful style than previous letters, which shows that the community there is no longer dogged by indecisiveness.

First of all the community in Leipzig believes that it was necessary to phrase the Credo in terms more scientific and more suitable for all social classes. They suggest an almost complete recast and give their reasons for this. We shall put the suggested changes before the next Congress for discussion. The Central Authority agrees with the majority of the points listed in their letter. The community states further that apart from copies of our newspaper for all the members, they wish to take an extra 12 for distribution. If all communities were to follow the example provided in Leipzig, the League's newspaper could appear weekly and at half the price. We request that all contributions for propaganda and printing that have been collected should be sent in as soon as possible. We hope that a second community can soon be set up in Leipzig; if this does not however take place this community could adhere to those in Berlin[351]; we shall take the necessary steps for this.

From Mn[a] we have received no news, nor do we know any address there, for our correspondent in that town is supposed to have left for Paris. We shall try to restore contact with the communities there as soon as possible.

We were unable to send the Congress Circular to Mainz by post. It was not until four weeks ago that a member from here left for that destination with whom we dispatched everything. Thus we could not have received an answer from there yet. In a letter which we received from the Mainz members some time back we were informed that a second community was about to be set up, which means a circle will be formed. Our Brothers in Mainz are being constantly subjected to

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[a] Probably Munich or Manheim. The Congress Circular to the Communist League (June 1847) mentions communities in both cities.—*Ed.*

police harassment, but this only serves to spur them on to work all the more energetically for our cause. Credit is due to the gallant proletarians in Mainz; if people were as active as that all over Germany, our prospects would be brilliant.

*Holland.* In Amsterdam an educational society has been set up which is in touch with us and has competent men. Three weeks ago we sent an authorised emissary there to set up a community.[352]

*America.* The emissary who this spring set out for New York from here paints us a sad picture of the state of the League in the New World. In New York the League had already made remarkable progress when Weitling arrived[a] and sowed discord there. The meetings were soon the scene of violent disputes and the result was that the whole set-up collapsed. The communities in New York had earlier always been urging us to be moderate and begging us most earnestly to be reconciled with Weitling. After they themselves, a fortnight after Weitling's arrival, entered into a bitter conflict with him, our correspondents there lost heart to such an extent that they no longer wished to write to us any more so as not to have to reveal the sad state of the League there. This is what the emissary sent to New York writes; in this situation he himself was unable to do anything in New York and has now left for the state of Wisconsin, where he promises to promote our cause to the best of his ability.

In Philadelphia there are still several League members whom we have earnestly begged to set up communities there again. We have instructed the two emissaries who left from here for New York and Philadelphia to do their utmost so that the League may be restored in the above-mentioned places, in accordance with the improved Rules.

*France.* In Marseilles things are as before. A number of members from Lyons have gone there, promising to do their very best to inject new life into the League.

From Lyons we have received word that the League members are sparing no effort in our work and are discussing the Credo. The Lyons circle endorses the new Rules with the exception of Section VII, concerning conditions of membership.[b] The Lyons members believe it to be unnecessary to demand that new members take an oath for there are countless cases of people taking all manner of oaths and not keeping any of them; attention should be paid mainly to conduct. We call the Lyons members' attention to the fact that no oath is demanded, but only the new member's word of honour. The Lyons members also write:

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[a] Early in 1847.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 588.—*Ed.*

"Since now in September we are again in a critical position, we beg you to ask the Parisians if they could not spare a few competent members, who would be ready to make a sacrifice for the common cause and settle in Lyons for a time. The old members all want to leave here and we are therefore short of people who can take over the leadership.

"So try to prevent the possibility of this community breaking up.

"As for the newspaper which you will be putting out, we cannot yet stipulate how many copies we can take, because everything will change."

Not a word about money for printing and propaganda.

We urgently request our Brothers in Paris to send a few competent members to Lyons as soon as possible.

From Paris we have been informed that the Rules have been unanimously endorsed there, that the Credo is being discussed in the various communities and that the membership has increased considerably. We have not yet heard anything about the results of their discussions or any news as to whether money is being collected for printing and propaganda. But it must be said to the credit of the Parisians that they recently made significant money contributions by sending a delegate to the Congress[a] and an emissary to Switzerland.[b]

It unfortunately emerges from a private letter written by a Parisian League member[c] and handed to the Central Authority, that there are still many people in the Paris communities who have not yet shaken themselves free of Grün's nonsense and Proudhon's most strange ideas. Oddly enough, these people, who are members of the Communist League, seem to reject communism; they want equality and nothing else. This inner split also seems to be the reason why we so seldom receive any news from Paris. Proudhon has become such a truly German philosopher that he no longer knows himself what he wants; Grün has made Proudhon's ideas still more obscure,[353] so it is now clearly impossible to demand that the people who follow these two really know where they are going. We urge Proudhon's and Grün's supporters to read Marx's *Misère de la philosophie*, which we have heard has already been translated into German.[354] Then they will see that their state where all are equal and which they demand with a great deal of talk and fuss is no different from that of today. This leads people round and round in circles, chasing false ideas, only to end up where they started.

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[a] Frederick Engels.—*Ed.*
[b] Stephan Born.—*Ed.*
[c] Probably Frederick Engels.—*Ed.*

We call upon the Communists in Paris to stand firm together and to work to rid their communities of these false ideas. If Grün's and Proudhon's supporters insist on their principles, then, if they wish to remain men of honour, they should leave the League and start working on their own. There is only room for Communists in our League. As long as there are followers of Grün in our communities, neither they nor we can conduct effective propaganda; our forces will be divided and our young people low in spirits; so separation is better than an internal split.[355]

Weitling's expelled supporters have again sent us a long letter in which they inveigh against us and the Paris communities maintaining that it is they who are the real Communists. At the end of their letter they ask for a reliable address for they have further instructions for us. Yet they make no reference to the fact that they, although in the minority, appropriated the whole Paris League's treasury which one of them had in his keeping. Such behaviour most certainly accords with their leader's theory on theft.[a]

We wrote to them in very polite terms saying that we had acted in accordance with our duty and convinctions and would also insist on what we considered to be right. Their abuse could not therefore hurt us. We sent them the address they asked for but have not heard anything more from them since.

*Switzerland.* The Central Authority informed the Brothers in La Chaux-de-Fonds of the imminent arrival of an emissary[b] and urged them to work with all their might towards a reorganisation of the League in Switzerland.

The Berne community has of late appeared in a somewhat dubious light. We were informed that they were planning to bring out a communist newspaper, *Der Wanderer* and our support was requested.

We sent off 25 francs and a remittance for 50 francs to Lausanne and La Chaux-de-Fonds. However, this money was used by the Berne members to print leaflets by Karl Heinzen, who even then had already shown himself to be the bitterest enemy of the Communists. On June 29 we received another letter from Berne which informed us that the Young Germany[356] group were making use of all possible means to work against the Communists in Switzerland and urged us to found a press organ as soon as possible. At the same time they sent us a small leaflet entitled *Der deutsche Hunger und die deutschen Fürsten*

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[a] An allusion to W. Weitling's book: *Das Evangelium eines armen Sünders* in which he acquits theft as a means of struggle against capitalism (S. 126-33).—*Ed.*

[b] Stephan Born.—*Ed.*

and asked for voluntary contributions so that the "Kriegsartikel",[a] "Vorbereitung", etc., might be more widely distributed. It was stated: "Certain members of the republican party may well have noble intentions, our worthy Heinzen for example, but his hands are tied; he is not the soul of the German republican movement but its right hand for the moment, etc."

Heinzen attacks the Communists most violently; yet the Berne community is printing and circulating his pamphlets and seems to be in close touch with him. This appeared to us suspicious and indeed still does so. We do not want to let ourselves be led by the nose; every honest man must hold up his banner for all to see today. So we wrote a serious letter to the Berne community asking for a prompt explanation, but as yet have received no reply.

Our emissary writes from Geneva that our affairs are progressing in a most heartening way there. Two League members succeeded in setting up a community in Geneva this spring. While the emissary was there a second came into being and a third was planned. In addition there is a public society there which is being used to train efficient Communists. In Geneva our party seems once again to have found a firm footing, and if our Brothers there continue to work as hard as before, then the Communists in Switzerland will soon be stronger than ever. Weitling's expelled supporters, our emissary writes, have already sent to La Chaux-de-Fonds several letters full of the most shameful personal insults to several League members and calling upon the local members to join them. However the communities in La Chaux-de-Fonds have not complied with those people's solicitation and are waiting till our emissary arrives before giving them a final answer. From Geneva the emissary contacted Petersen in Lausanne who still enjoys quite significant influence among the Communists in Switzerland. We hope the former will succeed in winning him over for our movement.

Weitling's followers in Paris have sent a certain Hornschuh as their emissary to Switzerland with the money stolen from our League, in order to bring the communities there over to their side. This Hornschuh is at present in Lausanne. Before that he was in London; we therefore know precisely what he is and can assure you that he is quite incapable of any kind of propaganda work. He is a horribly tedious windbag and in other respects worth precious little as well. When he left London he asked his community for a small advance for the journey promising to pay the money back in the very near

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[a] Karl Heinzen, "Dreissig Kriegsartikeln der neuen Zeit für Offiziere und Gemeine".—*Ed.*

future. The community granted him 25 francs. Two years have passed since then and Hornschuh, despite frequent reminders, has not paid anything back yet. It is really sad that people like Hornschuh, whose sole purpose is to indulge their laziness and self-conceit, still find opportunities to squander away the proletarians' hard earned money.

Our emissary is now touring the towns on Lake Geneva and will then visit La Chaux-de-Fonds, etc. He asked us for additional funds to be able to make this journey and we immediately sent him 50 francs, which we were obliged to borrow however, since our resources are exhausted.

*Belgium.* In Belgium our prospects are good. Since the Congress two circles have been set up in that country; we have not yet established direct contact with the one based in Liège but are expecting letters from them any day.

The Brussels circle is in touch with the Rhenish Prussia people[357] and working most energetically. It has already set up a singing and an educational society[358]; both are led by League members and serve as a preparatory school for the League.

The Rules were adopted in Brussels; however two alterations were proposed for discussion at the next Congress. The first concerns letter (e), Article 3, section I and the second—Article 21, Section V.[a] The Brussels members write: "We hold it for unpolitic to forbid League members to belong to any political or national organisation, since by doing so we deprive ourselves of all opportunities for influencing such organisations." Further on in connection with Article 21, they add: "If the present period were a more revolutionary one, the whole activity of the Congress would be hindered by this restriction. We recall that in 1794 the aristocrats put the same demand before the Convention, in order to paralyse all action."[359]

We request the communities to consider these proposals more closely and to give their delegates to the next Congress appropriate instructions.

As regards the Communist Credo a good number of important alterations were suggested, which we shall put before the Congress for discussion.

As was mentioned above the Brussels circle allocated 25 francs for printing and has agreed to send 5 francs for propaganda work each month. We call upon the other circles to follow this example as soon as possible.

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[a] See this volume, p. 585 and p. 586.—*Ed.*

*London.* The new Rules were unanimously adopted in London and lively discussion of the Credo is in progress in all communities. The local circle authority will be sending us all suggestions for amendments and additions as soon as the discussions are over. During the last two months a large number of League members have left London but we shall have filled the resulting gaps soon. The educational societies provide us with preparatory schools, whose great benefit makes itself felt more and more with each passing day.

In the London circle a remarkable sense of unity reigns and members are keen to devote all their energies to our cause. In the last six months we have spent here over 1,000 francs for pamphlets, etc., for the journal,[a] postage and printing costs, Congress expenses, emissaries, etc. In addition, each member has to pay threepence a week into the educational society[360] fund and, besides, hardly a meeting goes by without private collections being made for the needy. Over half our members are out of work and in dire straits, which means it is becoming impossible for us to bear all these expenses alone as we have done hitherto. We are therefore forced to request all circles and communities most earnestly to contribute as much as they can and as soon as possible to the complete installation of the League printing-press, continued publication of our paper and propaganda work: at the present moment our resources are completely exhausted. In the past we always used to send out money as soon as it was requested and so we believe we can rely on you not to leave us in the lurch now.

The specimen number of our League newspaper sells well in London and arouses great interest among the foreigners living here. We have displayed it for sale in several bookshops and newsstands. We have sent copies to all our regular addresses and have another 1,000 still available, so that we shall be able to send off copies wherever they are required.

With this we come to the end of our report on the state of the League and our work; you can judge now for yourselves how things stand and whether the Central Authority has done its duty as the executive body of the League over the last three months.

You will appreciate that although active work is being carried on here and there, as we noted at the beginning of this letter, in general we are still far from the point we should have reached long since. We therefore hope, Brothers, that you will now muster all your strength so that we shall make rapid steps forward and that in the next report

[a] *Kommunistische Zeitschrift.—Ed.*

we shall be able to give you more encouraging news than has been the case so far.

However, before closing this letter we must ask you to pay particular attention to the following points. We earnestly request that:

1) All circles and independent communities, if it is at all possible, must elect a delegate to the next congress and see to it that he will be able to come to London on November 29 of this year. You know that we were unable to adopt any definitive decisions at the First Congress[361] and that it was thus considered necessary to hold a second one this year. The Second Congress will be most important because it has not only to formulate the Communist Credo but also to determine the final organisation of the League and its press organ and the future pattern of our propaganda work. It is therefore absolutely essential that as many delegates as possible attend this Congress. Brothers! We hope that you will not shrink from any sacrifices which the fulfilment of your duty may require;

2) All circles and communities, which have not yet made any collections for printing and propaganda work must do so without delay. If everyone contributes *something*, then we shall be in a position to engage in forceful action. Without money we cannot carry on any propaganda work. Those circles and communities which have already made collections should dispatch the same to us as soon as possible;

3) All circles and communities, which have not yet sent in definite replies to the Congress Circular should do so without delay;

4) All circles and communities, which have not yet informed us how many copies of our newspaper they wish to take should do so at once. In addition they should inform us of the best and most reliable ways of dispatching the paper to their respective localities;

5) All circles and communities should inform us whether communist propaganda is being carried on in their particular region and if so what form it takes;

6) All members of the League should send to the editorial office essays and poems. Several members promised essays for the first issue, as observed earlier, but these promises have not been kept: we can only attribute this to negligence, which definitely ought not to be prevalent in our organisation.

Hoping to receive favourable and definite news from you soon, we greet you in the name and on behalf of the Central Authority.

*Karl Schapper* *Henry Bauer*

*Joseph Moll*

London, September 14, 1847

P.S. Just as this letter was to be printed, letters arrived from our emissaries in Germany and Switzerland.

From Germany it was reported that the enthusiasm of our Brothers in Berlin is extraordinary, particularly since the important events there.[362] The government has indeed played straight into our hands. Our principles were made public through the uproar about the Communists, and the people, instead of being scared away by these principles, became enthusiastic for them. The emissary concludes his letter with the words: "Brothers, we can look to the future with confidence—there are efficient men on every side who are championing the just cause."

The news from Switzerland also sounds highly favourable. The League is organised there and now established in more than ten different localities. Petersen has been won over. The emissary writes: "In La Chaux-de-Fonds and Le Locle I believe we have the best and most devoted members of our League. Their courage is unshakable." Bravo, Brothers—forward! Weitling's expelled followers have been turned away wherever they went. The misunderstanding with the Berne community has been clarified. We now declare that we were unjust towards the Brothers there. They adhere firmly to our principles. We are extremely happy to be able to announce this.

More details will be supplied in the next report.

The Central Authority

*Karl Schapper* *Joseph Moll*

*Henry Bauer*

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## *THE NORTHERN STAR* ON THE MEETING IN LONDON ON NOVEMBER 29, 1847 TO MARK THE 17TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE POLISH INSURRECTION OF 1830[363]

The anniversary of the Polish Insurrection of 1830 was celebrated on Monday last, the 29th of November, by a public meeting, at the German Society's Hall, Drury Lane.

The meeting had been called by the society of Fraternal Democrats, in conjunction with the Democratic Committee for Poland's Regeneration. The room was crowded with natives of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Germany, Belgium, and Poland.

Mr. *John Arnott* was elected president. Having stated the object of the meeting, the Chairman called on Mr. Stallwood to move the first resolution.

Mr. *Stallwood,* after recounting the heroism of the brave Poles at Warsaw, and their unbounded devotion to the cause of liberty, and eulogising the "Cracow manifesto"[364] as a model for democratic creeds, moved the first resolution as follows:—

"That we regard the dismemberment of Poland as an atrocious crime worthy of the everlasting execration of the human race. That we remember with grateful admiration the heroic efforts made by the Polish people in 1830-31 for the recovery of their country's independence. That we honour the sacred memories of the martyrs who have perished in the glorious struggle to redeem their nation from slavery; and that we sympathise with all the victims of oppression at present suffering in dungeons, chains, and exile."

The Chairman then introduced

Mr. *Ernest Jones,* to second the resolution. Mr. Jones said: To-night, seventeen years ago, Poland woke from her death-sleep, for her death-struggle; to-night, seventeen years ago, she strained her bleeding limbs on the Russian rack, and burst her cords; to-night, seventeen years ago, she rose from a province into a nation! (Cheers.) Warsaw was silent. Russia never less expected insurrec-

tion—when the flame burst forth. Mr. Jones then gave a vivid description of the progress and triumph of the insurrection in Warsaw, particularly dwelling on the circumstance, that until the populace were armed, the issue was doubtful. Then the effect was electrical, and in a few hours, Constantine, the mighty prince, had passed the barrier of Mockstow, with his 11,000 Russians, and spent the night a shivering outcast, beneath a leafless tree. (Applause.) The speaker then alluded to the subsequent course of the insurrection, and expressed his belief that it would have been successful, had it been an insurrection of the people, instead of the aristocracy—had it been based on a manifesto, like the glorious one of Cracow. (Cheers.) But still we need not despond—Poland is ready for a fresh struggle—we have an army of martyrs to canonise—we have an army of heroes to come—and the aspect of Europe forebodes their triumph. The speaker then showed how every country in Europe was on the brink of internal change, analysed the secret weakness of the great powers, and, after a forcible and stirring allusion to Ireland, concluded by calling on his hearers to prepare for the approaching struggle at home and abroad. Mr. Jones' speech was one of great force and eloquence, and excited enthusiastic applause.

M. *Michelot*, in an energetic speech, delivered in the French language, supported the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

*Carl Schapper* rose, amidst great applause, to move the second resolution, and said: Citizens, when men struggle onwards for truth and liberty in a great cause, though they may not at first succeed, they must ultimately prevail—and such men were worthy of all honour—and hence he said honour to the brave Poles. (Loud cheers.) Honour to those who died before Warsaw—honour to those who died by the hand of the public executioner—honour to those who perished in the mines of Siberia, and to those who fell at Cracow, and to all the martyrs for liberty. (Great applause.) In July 1830, France had her revolution, and in the November following, the cry for universal liberty prevailed, and many wished Poland free from Russia, but did not wish Polish serfdom abolished; and he verily believed, had it not been for this desire on the part of the Polish nobles to perpetuate the slavery of the masses, the revolution would have succeeded, and the whole Slavonic race would now have been free. (Loud cheers.) But the Polish proletarians asked, "What is it to us if Poland be free from Russian domination, whilst I am subject to the knout of the Polish noble?" (Hear, hear.) Well, the revolution failed and Poland's sons emigrated, carrying the seeds of freedom with them to Germany, to France, to England, and other nations, and returned with renewed spirit to the Polish soil in 1845; and

issued their famous and ever glorious manifesto of democratic sentiments from the Republic of Cracow. (Great applause.) But, alas, the effort was futile, the bad seed sown in 1830 produced a bad harvest, the tyrants were enabled to employ the peasantry against the patriots,[365] and the revolt was crushed, and the black spirit of Metternich again gloated in the blood of the fallen martyrs of Poland. (Hear, hear.) But happily fraternity was fast spreading, the principles of political and social equality were abroad. (Loud cheers.) Look at Switzerland.[366] (Great applause.) And liberty would progress in spite of the old bloodless spider of the Tuileries. (Groans for "the spider".) The Swiss Radicals had beaten Louis Philippe and Guizot. Then came the beautiful Lord Palmerston, who said, "Let us have the thing settled amicably." "Ay," responded the helpless old spider of Paris, "that's just what I wanted." (Laughter.) And not a single regiment had entered Switzerland, the old spider dared not send them. (Loud cheers.) Well, this was the progress of democracy. Who were the conspirators now? Why, Metternich, the bloodless old spider in France, Lord Palmerston, and the Jesuits. (Loud cheers.) But the people would very quickly put down their conspiracy. (Great cheering.) He had some glorious news for them, a Democratic Society,[367] that is a Society of Fraternal Democrats, had been established in Brussels, and that society had sent a deputy, the learned Dr. Marx, to represent them at this meeting. (Great applause.) Citizen Schapper here read the following document:—

"*To the Members of the Society of Fraternal Democrats*
"*Assembling in London*

"We, the undersigned members of the committee of the Democratic Society, established at Brussels, for advancing the Union and Fraternity of all Nations, have the honour to delegate to you, Dr. Charles Marx, vice-president of this committee, for the purpose of establishing relations of correspondence and sympathy between the two societies. M. Marx has full power to act in the name of this committee for the purposes above mentioned.

"We present to you our fraternal salutations.

"Mellinet (General), honorary president.
"Jottrand, president.
"Imbert, vice-president.
"Picard, secretary.
"George Weerth.
"Lelewel.

"Brussels, Nov. 26th, 1847."

The above address was received with enthusiastic applause. C. Schapper after highly complimenting the great Polish patriot Lelewel, and the grey-haired veteran—"the child of the French Republic"—General Mellinet, concluded by proposing the following resolution:—

"That in pledging all the aid in our power to the Polish patriots, we desire to express our unqualified dissent from the aristocratic spirit which so fatally influenced the struggle of 1830. We recognise in the Cracow Manifesto of 1846 the manifestation of Polish progress, embracing the broad principles of political democracy and social justice, on which alone can be founded veritable liberty and public happiness."

*T. Lucas* in seconding the resolution, expressed his pleasure in meeting so many of his brother democrats. Certain he was that when the English democrats (the Chartists) obtained their liberty, they would be enabled to say to "the old spider in Paris", and all other tyrants "thus far shall ye go but no farther". (Cheers.) The resolution was then unanimously adopted.

Dr. *Marx*, the delegate from Brussels, then came forward, and was greeted with every demonstration of welcome, and delivered an energetic oration in the German language, the substance of which was as follows—He had been sent by the Democrats of Brussels to speak in their name to the Democrats of London, and through them to the Democrats of Britain, to call on them to cause to be holden a congress of nations—a congress of working men, to establish liberty all over the world. (Loud cheers.) The middle classes, the *Free Traders*, had held a congress, but their fraternity was a one-sided one, and the moment they found that such congresses were likely to benefit working men, that moment their fraternity would cease, and their congresses be dissolved.[368] (Hear, hear.) The Democrats of Belgium felt that the Chartists of England were the real Democrats, and that the moment they carried the six points of their Charter, the road to liberty would be opened to the whole world. "Effect this grand object, then, you working men of England," said the speaker, "and you will be hailed as the saviours of the whole human race." (Tremendous cheering.)

*Julian Harney* moved the next resolution as follows:—

"That this meeting rejoices to learn of the establishment of a Society of Fraternal Democrats in Brussels, and responding to the alliance offered by that society, receives its delegate, Dr. Marx, with every feeling of fraternal regard; and this meeting hails with exultation the proposition to hold a Democratic Congress of all ·ations, pledging itself to send delegates to that Congress whenever

summoned by the Fraternal Democratic Societies of London and Brussels."

The mover of the resolution then proceeded to address the meeting at considerable length, on the Polish insurrection of 1830, the progress of Chartism; the prospect of an energetic movement in this country for the obtainment of the Charter, the importance of the Society of Fraternal Democrats, and the vast utility of the suggested Democratic Congress of all nations. His remarks were enthusiastically cheered.

Mr. *Stallwood* seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Three thundering cheers were then given for the glorious Lelewel, three for the heroic General Mellinet, and three for the democrats of Brussels.

*Charles Keen* moved the fourth resolution as follows:

"That recognising the brotherhood of all men, we consider it our duty to struggle for the triumph of democratic principles in all countries, and believing that the establishment of the 'People's Charter' would enable the people of Great Britain to afford aid to the Polish cause, more effective than the paper 'protests' hitherto employed by the British government, we hail with joy the prospect of an energetic effort on the part of the British people to obtain the legislative recognition and parliamentary enactment of their long-withheld rights and franchises."

The speaker said they taught Universal Brotherhood, because they felt the evils resulting from the want of it. Very true, at churches and chapels on a Sunday, they were told that "we are all brethren", but should it rain on their leaving such churches or chapels, and they were to attempt to get into some of their wealthy brethren's carriages, what a row there would be. (Loud laughter.) Yet, ten minutes before those very same men would have been responding to the sentiment, "All men are brethren." (Hear, hear.) Notwithstanding this, Fraternity was a great truism, and before any great lasting and practical good could be accomplished, it must be universally acknowledged, ay, and practised too. (Loud cheers.) They had met to celebrate the Polish Revolution, and the question was, what could they do to aid Poland? Without power—nothing. Let them get the Charter and they would have power. (Cheers.)

Citizen *Engels* (from Paris), in seconding the resolution said—Fellow Citizens, this commemoration of the Polish Revolution is not only an advantage to Poland, but to the whole world, as it causes the principles of democracy to be spread far and wide. (Hear, hear. He, as a German, had great interest in Polish success, as it would much

hasten liberty in Germany, and freedom Germany had resolved to obtain sooner or later. (Loud cheers.) And he firmly believed that no one nation could become free without benefitting all others. He had resided for some time in England, and was proud to boast himself a Chartist "name and all". (Great cheering.) Who were now their chief oppressors? Not the aristocracy, but the wealth takers and scrapers, the middle classes. (Loud cheers.) Hence, it was the duty of the working classes of all nations to unite and establish freedom for all. (Rapturous applause.)

Citizen *Tedesco* (from Brussels, who addressed the meeting in the French language in most eloquent terms, which the following abstract does anything but justice to), said the men of Belgium looked on the English democrats as a leading party, and trusted they would obtain that great measure, the People's Charter. He was delighted with the spirit that prevailed. He should return to Brussels, and relate the good and enthusiastic feeling with which the proletarians of this country were imbued, and their determination to proceed until they had obtained their Charter, and sure he was, that that measure would carry with it a fair day's wages for a fair day's labour. (Hear, hear.) And give such an impulse to the cause of progress, that the whole continent would follow, and universal liberty be established. (Loud cheers.)

Colonel *Oborski*, a Polish exile, said, at the outbreak of the Polish Revolution, two hundred non-commissioned officers had kept three Russian regiments at bay, and when some of the regiments found it was against Poland they were fighting, they turned their arms and fought against their oppressors. Although Old Poland was dead, Young Poland would arise, and become far mightier than her ancestor. (Loud cheers.) He yet hoped to see Poland the first battlefield for liberty. With grateful thanks to the English people he would shout "Hurrah for Democracy!" (Great applause.)

Citizen *Engels* here said, that he had but recently come from Paris, and that the real democrats in that city were in favour of a Congress of Nations. (Loud cheers.) The resolution was then carried unanimously.

*Julian Harney* again came forward and read extracts from the defence of Louis Mieroslawski, one of the chiefs of the insurrection of 1846, and now lying in the dungeons of Berlin under sentence of death.[369] The reading of the said extracts excited great sensation in the meeting. J. Harney then said, he had been particularly gratified by the remarks of his friend Engels. He was glad to see that the feeling of fraternal sympathy for the Poles was strong amongst the Germans. He was sure that if once the Germans obtained their

liberties, they would hasten to perform a great act of national reparation, by undoing the work which the Austrian and Prussian despots helped Catherine to accomplish—the destruction of Poland. He knew that if Frenchmen were free, if they had broken down that disgraceful despotism which had prostrated their country to the lowest depths of shame, their first thought would be the liberation of Poland. (Cheers.) The next time France marched in the direction of Moscow it would not be with an Emperor for her leader. It was a maxim of Napoleon's "that a political blunder was worse than a political crime". He was guilty of both crime and blunder of the worst character; when on reaching Warsaw on his march to Russia, he refused to proclaim the restoration of Poland. Had he proclaimed the republic of Poland to the full extent of its ancient boundaries, he would have re-created the soul of a nation, and twenty millions of people would have formed his army of reserve—an army animated by an unconquerable spirit of enthusiasm and devotion to their emancipator. But no, Napoleon though the scourger of kings was the tyrant of the people; though the most deadly enemy of "divine right", he was not less the enemy of popular sovereignty. He desired to dictate terms to the Northern Autocrat,[a] but for himself, not for Poland, and the other nations trampled under that autocrat's iron heel. His selfishness found the reward it merited. When flying before the avenging lance of the Cossack, and the still more dreadful shafts of the icy tempest and the snow-storm, with their auxiliaries, famine and pestilence; then Napoleon found Poland no rampart of defence, behind which he might have thrown himself to give his stricken hosts time to breathe, and turn upon their pursuers. He had refused to recall Poland to life, and so when he needed her living arm to save him from the blows of the Muscovite, that arm was not. But the coming republic would repair the political crime of the Emperor, and the day was nigh at hand when France would be a Republic and the people of England have their Charter. (Great applause.) The speaker concluded by moving a vote of thanks to the chairman.[b]

*Carl Schapper* seconded the vote of thanks, which was supported by Mr. Isaac Wilson, who expressed how much more pleased he was with the proceedings he had just witnessed, than he was with those of a meeting held some fortnight since under the presidency of Dr. Bowring, at the Crown and Anchor, at which he was necessitated to

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[a] Alexander I.—*Ed.*
[b] John Arnott.—*Ed.*

move an amendment. (Cheers.) The vote of thanks was then carried by acclamation.

The chairman having acknowledged the compliment, three cheers were given "for the heroic martyr Mieroslawski"; three for the "*Réforme* and the French Democrats"; three for "*The Northern Star* and the German Brussels Gazette"[a]; and three dreadful groans for the *Times, Journal des Débats,* and *Austrian Observer.*[b] The *Marseillaise Hymn* was then sung in splendid style by Citizen Moll, and closed these interesting proceedings.

First published in *The Northern Star* No. 528, December 4, 1847

Reprinted from the newspaper

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[a] *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung.* Reported erroneously in *The Northern Star* as "Universal Gazette".—*Ed.*

[b] *Österreichischer Beobachter.—Ed.*

# ADDRESS OF THE DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION OF BRUSSELS TO THE SWISS PEOPLE

THE DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION, ESTABLISHED IN BRUSSELS (BELGIUM), WHOSE AIM IS THE UNION AND FRATERNITY OF ALL PEOPLES, TO THE SWISS PEOPLE

Swiss Brothers,

An unhappy struggle has just ended for you.[370] All the nations have watched it with the anxiety, blended with sorrow, that generous hearts always feel at the sight of a civil war.

We shall not here discuss the causes of this quarrel. The two parties decided to resolve it alone, without calling for intervention from anyone.

Those who, not having been asked, claimed to set themselves up as the official judges of your domestic quarrels must incur the reproach of a culpable imprudence.

But this imprudence threatens to change in character.

All the friends of liberty have the right to be indignant, if not alarmed by it.

More or less ardent, more or less sincere good wishes, and even offers of service for one or other cause, could be explained without resort to any other motives than those of the diversity of human opinions on political or religious matters.

Today it is a question of something else.

The intervention of a congress of royalty[371] in your affairs can only be understood in the sense of an open or hidden attack on your institutions and above all on the development that you have given them in law during the last fifteen years.

Guardians, for nearly six centuries, of the repository of liberty which was exiled by usurping feudalism successively from nearly all other parts of Europe, you owe it to us, Swiss Brothers, you owe it to

yourselves, to defend one last time more this precious heritage, at this supreme hour when all nations are preparing to claim it from you and divide it.

If you let it be seized from your guardianship, the six centuries of persistent vigilance for which we would soon have owed you full gratitude would be lost for you and for the rest of Europe.

Exiled beyond the sea, on the soil of a new world, democratic institutions would have ceased for a long time to be a model for our constant study and imitation.

Government of the State by universally elected leaders;—State administration without crippling financial debts, without the ruin of the worker for the profit of hosts of useless bureaucrats;—the defence of the State without standing armies;—the commercial and industrial prosperity of the State without tariffs;—freedom of belief without theocratic domination;—where shall we find these again, and be able to copy the model of this regime for which all Europe yearns today, if Switzerland allows a concert of kings, bankers, ministers, mercenaries, monopolists, sectarians, to intervene in its affairs?

Their interference can have no other aim but to wipe out once for all from the centre of Europe this example—so fatal for them—of a nation which governs itself without them.

We understand this so well, Swiss Brothers, that, assembled here from all parts of Europe by the political hazards of recent times, and mingling with a small free nation like yours, and rather in your manner, we felt it essential unanimously to express the wish to see you resist the diplomatic intrigues which are contemplated against you.

We urge you therefore not to listen to those treacherous offers of intervention made to you by five Courts (we will not say five peoples) combined to tempt you into a fatal trap.

Fear of their threats, if they carried them out, cannot exist in your hearts. It is only their cunning that you must guard against.

And if their threats were serious, your forces would without boasting be equal to those which the courts in fact control in the midst of the domestic embarrassments increasing for them every day.

Moreover, if they dreamed of constraining you by force, allies would not fail you. Once more, we recommend into your hands, Swiss Brothers, the sacred repository of European democratic liberty which you have guarded so well up to now, and which in recent times you have been able to make flourish to the benefit of the rights and interests of the greatest number.

We offer you, with the future tribute of our gratitude for the firmness which you will show the world,—
the expression of our most sincere sympathy.

On behalf of the above-named Democratic Association, and by virtue of its deliberations in the general assembly of November 29, 1847 after the Polish commemoration celebrated this day at the Hôtel de Ville of Brussels,

The Committee of the Association.

General *Mellinet*, Chief of the civic legions in 1830, Hon. President.
*L. Jottrand*, barrister, former member of the National Congress of Belgium in 1830, President.
*Maynz*, barrister at the Court of Appeal at Brussels.
*Imbert*, Vice-president, former editor of the *Peuple Souverain* of Marseilles.
*Karl Marx*, former editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, Vice-president.[a]
*Lelewel, Joachim*, member of the National Government.
*George Weerth*.
The Secretary of the society, *A. Picard*, barrister at the Court of Appeal at Brussels.
*Spilthoorn*, barrister at the court of Ghent. Leader of the provisional government of Flanders in 1830.
*Pellering*, shoe-maker.
*A. von Bornstedt*, editor of the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*.

The German workers assembled in the society at Brussels[372] have joined in the present address. This is attested by the undersigned members of the committee of this society.
Chairman—*Wallau*.
Vice-chairman—*Hess*.
*Wolff*, secretary.
*Riedel*, treasurer.

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[a] Marx's name was presumably put by proxy for he was in London at that time.—*Ed.*

# MINUTES OF ENGELS' LECTURE TO THE LONDON GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY ON NOVEMBER 30, 1847[373]

Citizens! When Christopher Columbus discovered America 350 years ago, he certainly did not think that not only would the then existing society in Europe together with its institutions be done away with through his discovery, but that the foundation would be laid for the complete liberation of all nations; and yet, it becomes more and more clear that this is indeed the case. Through the discovery of America a new route by sea to the East Indies was found, whereby the European business traffic of the time was completely transformed; the consequence was that Italian and German commerce were totally ruined and other countries came to the fore; commerce came into the hands of the western countries, and England thus came to the fore of the movement. Before the discovery of America the countries even in Europe were still very much separated from one another and trade was on the whole slight. Only after the new route to the East Indies had been found and an extensive field had been opened in America for exploitation by the Europeans engaged in commerce, did England begin more and more to concentrate trade and to take possession of it, whereby the other European countries were more and more compelled to join together. From all this, big commerce originated, and the so-called world market was opened. The enormous treasures which the Europeans brought from America, and the gains which trade in general yielded, had as a consequence the ruin of the old aristocracy, and so the bourgeoisie came into being. The discovery of America was connected with the advent of machinery, and with that the struggle became necessary which we are conducting today, the struggle of the propertyless against the property owners.

Before machines were invented almost every country produced as much as it needed, and commerce consisted only of such products as

one or another country was quite unable to produce; but when machinery came in, so much was produced that in many places it became necessary to stop working and that even people who had previously performed similar work with their own hands bought machine-made goods for their own use. The position of the former workers was thereby completely altered, and the whole of human society, which formerly consisted of four to six different classes, was divided into two mutually hostile classes.

Since the English seized world commerce and raised their manufacturing business to such a height that they could provide almost all the civilised world with their products, and since the bourgeoisie came to political power, they have also succeeded in making further progress in *Asia* and the bourgeoisie has risen there also; through the rise of machinery the barbarian condition of other countries is constantly being done away with. We know that the Spaniards found *East Indies* at the same stage of development as the English did and that the Indians nevertheless went on living in the same way for centuries, i.e., they ate and drank and vegetated, and the grandson worked the land just as his grandfather had done, except that a number of revolutions took place, which, however, were nothing but a struggle of various peoples for domination. Since the English came and spread their manufactures, the livelihood of the Indians was torn from their hands and the consequence was that they abandoned their stable condition. The workers are already emigrating from there and through mixing with other nations they become accessible for the first time to civilisation. The old Indian aristocracy is completely ruined and people are there set against one another just as here.

Later we have seen how *China*, a country which for more than a thousand years has defied development and all history, has now been turned upside down and drawn into civilisation by the English, by machinery.

*Austria*, the China of Europe, the only country whose internal institutions were not shaken by the French Revolution, and where even Napoleon could do nothing, cannot stand up to steam; everything there has suddenly been changed by machinery; protective tariffs have brought machinery into the country. Thereby the petty bourgeoisie has raised itself up and overthrown the high aristocracy, thereby something has happened to Metternich which he certainly never anticipated; at the last Bohemian Diet 50,000 guilders in taxes were denied him by the bourgeoisie. The classes of society have been changed, the small craftsmen are being ruined and forced to become ordinary workers, whereby an element

has entered which can become dangerous to Metternich. In *Italy* also industry has raised itself up, the bourgeoisie everywhere sits on Metternich's neck, so that the government has got into such a dilemma that Metternich has to concede to the Bohemians that they need not pay taxes of 50,000 guilders.

Thus, through the discovery of America all society has been divided into two classes, and without the rise of the world market this would not have happened. The workers of the whole world have everywhere the same interests; everywhere the different classes disappear and the different interests coincide. When, therefore, a revolution breaks out in one country it must necessarily affect the other countries, and only now can real liberation take place.

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Published in English for the first time

# MINUTES OF MARX'S REPORT TO THE LONDON GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY ON NOVEMBER 30, 1847

From Belgium I have to report that a workers' society has been formed there which at present has 105 members.[374] The German workers in Brussels, who formerly were quite isolated, are now already a power, and whereas formerly they were not asked to take part in anything, this year they have already been requested to send a representative of the society to the celebration of the Polish revolution being arranged in Brussels by the city to speak in the name of this society. Should the government press for the suppression of the society, because it is certainly bound to exercise an influence on the Belgian workers themselves, the society has decided to hand over its library, which consists of *300 volumes*, and other objects to the London society.

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I will now add a few remarks on literature. *Louis Blanc* now proves in one of his works[a] that in the French Revolution, at the same moment when the proletariat stormed the Bastille, the prison for the bourgeois, the bourgeoisie took decisions against those who bought the victory for them with their blood. All the leading figures of the revolution are now presented in their true character, a mass of leaflets are being written in the spirit of the proletariat, which are exercising considerable influence on society. The French work more in the interest of a party than for gain. Before the July revolution[b] leaflets circulated in the spirit of the bourgeoisie just as they do now in the spirit of the proletariat.

Of all that has been achieved by German philosophy the critique of religion is the most important thing; this critique, however, has not

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[a] L. Blanc, *Histoire de la révolution francaise.—Ed.*

[b] Of 1830.—*Ed.*

proceeded from social development. Everything that has been written hitherto against the Christian religion has limited itself to proving that it rests on false principles; how, for example, the authors have used one another; what had not yet been examined was the practical cult of Christianity. We know that the supreme thing in Christianity is human sacrifice. *Daumer* now proves in a recently published work[a] that Christians really slaughtered men and at the Holy Supper ate human flesh and drank human blood. He finds here the explanation why the Romans, who tolerated all religious sects, persecuted the Christians, and why the Christians later destroyed the entire pagan literature directed against Christianity. Paul himself zealously argued against the admission to the Holy Supper of people who were not completely initiated into the mysteries. It is then also easy to explain where, for example, the relics of the 11,000 virgins came from; there is a document dating from the Middle Ages in which the nuns of a French convent made a contract with the Abbess to the effect that without the consent of all no further relics must be found. The occasion for this was given by a monk who was constantly travelling from Cologne to Paris and back and every time left relics behind. Everything that happened in this respect has been regarded as a fraud of the priests, but that would be to attribute to them a skill and cleverness far beyond the time in which they lived. Human sacrifice was sacred and has really existed. Protestantism merely transferred it to the spiritual man and mitigated the thing a little. Hence there are more madmen among Protestants than in any other sect. This story, as presented in *Daumer*'s work, deals Christianity the last blow; the question now is, what significance this has for us. It gives us the certainty that the old society is coming to an end and that the edifice of fraud and prejudice is collapsing.

First published in *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, Jg. 8, Leipzig, 1919

Printed according to the *Archiv...*

Published in English for the first time

[a] G. F. Daumer, *Die Geheimnisse des christlichen Altertums.—Ed.*

# MINUTES OF ENGELS' LECTURE TO THE LONDON GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY ON DECEMBER 7, 1847

Citizen *Engels* gives a lecture in which he proves that commercial crises are caused only by overproduction and that the stock exchanges are the main offices where proletarians are made.

First published in *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, Jg. 8, Leipzig, 1919

Printed according to the *Archiv*...

Published in English for the first time

# RULES OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE[375]

Working Men of All Countries, Unite!

## SECTION I

## THE LEAGUE

*Art. 1.* The aim of the League is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the rule of the proletariat, the abolition of the old bourgeois society which rests on the antagonism of classes, and the foundation of a new society without classes and without private property.

*Art. 2.* The conditions of membership are:

A) A way of life and activity which corresponds to this aim;
B) Revolutionary energy and zeal in propaganda;
C) Acknowledgement of communism;
D) Abstention from participation in any anti-communist political or national association and notification of participation in any kind of association to the superior authority.
E) Subordination to the decisions of the League;
F) Observance of secrecy concerning the existence of all League affairs;
G) Unanimous admission into a community.

Whosoever no longer complies with these conditions is expelled (see Section VIII).

*Art. 3.* All members are equal and brothers and as such owe each other assistance in every situation.

*Art. 4.* The members bear League names.

*Art. 5.* The League is organised in communities, circles, leading circles, Central Authority and congresses.

## SECTION II

## THE COMMUNITY

*Art. 6.* The community consists of at least three and at most twenty members.

*Art. 7.* Every community elects a chairman and deputy chairman. The chairman presides over the meeting, the deputy chairman holds the funds and represents the chairman in case of absence.

*Art. 8.* The admission of new members is effected by the chairman and the proposing member with previous agreement of the community.

*Art. 9.* Communities of various kinds do not know each other and do not conduct any correspondence with each other.

*Art. 10.* Communities bear distinctive names.

*Art. 11.* Every member who changes his place of residence must first inform his chairman.

## SECTION III

## THE CIRCLE

*Art. 12.* The circle comprises at least two and at most ten communities.

*Art. 13.* The chairmen and deputy chairmen of the communities form the circle authority. The latter elects a president from its midst. It is in correspondence with its communities and the leading circle.

*Art. 14.* The circle authority is the executive organ for all the communities of the circle.

*Art. 15.* Isolated communities must either join an already existing circle or form a new circle with other isolated communities.

## SECTION IV

## THE LEADING CIRCLE

*Art. 16.* The various circles of a country or province are subordinated to a leading circle.

*Art. 17.* The division of the circles of the League into provinces and the appointment of the leading circle is effected by the Congress on the proposal of the Central Authority.

*Art. 18.* The leading circle is the executive authority for all the circles of its province. It is in correspondence with these circles and with the Central Authority.

*Art. 19.* Newly formed circles join the nearest leading circle.

*Art. 20.* The leading circles are provisionally responsible to the Central Authority and in the final instance to the Congress.

## SECTION V

## THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY

*Art. 21.* The Central Authority is the executive organ of the whole League and as such is responsible to the Congress.

*Art. 22.* It consists of at least five members and is elected by the circle authority of the place in which the Congress has located its seat.

*Art. 23.* The Central Authority is in correspondence with the leading circles. Once every three months it gives a report on the state of the whole League.

## SECTION VI

## COMMON REGULATIONS

*Art. 24.* The communities, and circle authorities and also the Central Authority meet at least once every fortnight.

*Art. 25.* The members of the circle authority and of the Central Authority are elected for one year, can be re-elected and recalled by their electors at any time.

*Art. 26.* The elections take place in the month of September.

*Art. 27.* The circle authorities have to guide the discussions of the communities in accordance with the purpose of the League.

If the Central Authority deems the discussion of certain questions to be of general and immediate interest it must call on the entire League to discuss them.

*Art. 28.* Individual members of the League must maintain correspondence with their circle authority at least once every three months, individual communities at least once a month.

Every circle must report on its district to the leading circle at least once every two months, every leading circle to the Central Authority at least once every three months.

*Art. 29.* Every League authority is obliged to take the measures in accordance with the Rules necessary for the security and efficient work of the League under its responsibility and to notify the superior authority at once of these measures.

## SECTION VII

## THE CONGRESS

*Art. 30.* The Congress is the legislative authority of the whole League. All proposals for changes in the Rules are sent to the Central

Authority through the leading circles and submitted by it to the Congress.

*Art. 31.* Every circle sends one delegate.

*Art. 32.* Every individual circle with less than 30 members sends one delegate, with less than 60 two, less than 90 three, etc. The circles can have themselves represented by League members who do not belong to their localities.

In this case, however, they must send to their delegate a detailed mandate.

*Art. 33.* The Congress meets in the month of August of every year. In urgent cases the Central Authority calls an extraordinary congress.

*Art. 34.* The Congress decides every time the place where the Central Authority is to have its seat for the coming year and the place where the Congress is next to meet.

*Art. 35.* The Central Authority sits in the Congress, but has no deciding vote.

*Art. 36.* After every sitting the Congress issues in addition to its circular a manifesto in the name of the Party.

## SECTION VIII

## OFFENCES AGAINST THE LEAGUE

*Art. 37.* Whoever violates the conditions of membership (Art. 2) is according to the circumstances removed from the League or expelled.

Expulsion precludes re-admission.

*Art. 38.* Only the Congress decides on expulsions.

*Art. 39.* Individual members can be removed by the circle or the isolated community, with immediate notification of the superior authority. Here also the Congress decides in the last instance.

*Art. 40.* Re-admission of removed members is effected by the Central Authority on the proposal of the circle.

*Art. 41.* The circle authority passes judgment on offences against the League and also sees to the execution of the verdict.

*Art. 42.* Removed and expelled members, like suspect individuals in general, are to be watched in the interest of the League, and prevented from doing harm. Intrigues of such individuals are at once to be reported to the community concerned.

## SECTION IX

## LEAGUE FUNDS

*Art. 43.* The Congress fixes for every country the minimum contribution to be paid by every member.

*Art. 44.* Half of this contribution goes to the Central Authority, the other half remains in the funds of the circle or community.

*Art. 45.* The funds of the Central Authority are used:

1. to cover the costs of correspondence and administration;
2. to print and distribute propaganda leaflets;
3. to send out emissaries of the Central Authority for particular purposes.

*Art. 46.* The funds of the local authorities are used:

1. to cover the costs of correspondence;
2. to print and distribute propaganda leaflets;
3. to send out occasional emissaries.

*Art. 47.* Communities and circles which have not paid their contributions for six months are notified by the Central Authority of their removal from the League.

*Art. 48.* Circle authorities have to render account of their expenditure and income to their communities at least every three months. The Central Authority renders account to the Congress on the administration of League funds and the state of the League finances. Any embezzlement of League funds is subject to the severest punishment.

*Art. 49.* Extraordinary and Congress costs are met from extraordinary contributions.

## SECTION X

## ADMISSION

*Art. 50.* The chairman of the community reads to the applicant Art. 1 to 49, explains them, emphasises particularly in a short speech the obligations which the new member assumes, and then puts to him the question: "Do you now wish to enter this League?" If he replies "Yes", the chairman takes his word of honour to the effect

that he will fulfil the obligations of a League member, declares him a member of the League, and introduces him to the community at the next meeting.

London, December 8, 1847

In the name of the Second Congress of the autumn of 1847

The Secretary
Signed *Engels*

The President
Signed *Karl Schapper*

First published in the Appendix to the book: Wermuth und Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Erster Theil, Berlin, 1853

Printed according to the book

# FROM THE REPORT OF THE *DEUTSCHE-BRÜSSELER-ZEITUNG* ON THE NEW YEAR'S EVE CELEBRATION OF THE GERMAN WORKERS' SOCIETY IN BRUSSELS DECEMBER 31, 1847

...Then *Karl Marx* took the floor and proposed a toast in French to the Brussels Democratic Association, emphasising in an acutely drawn, clear analysis the liberal mission of Belgium in opposition to absolutism, forcefully expressing appreciation of the benefits of a liberal constitution, of a country where there is freedom of discussion, freedom of association, and where a humanitarian seed can flourish to the good of all Europe. (Loud applause.)

First published in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 2, January 6, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# THE ASSOCIATION DÉMOCRATIQUE OF BRUSSELS TO THE FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS ASSEMBLING IN LONDON

We received your letter of December last,[a] the proposals contained in which concerning the Democratic Congress of all nations and the establishment of a monthly correspondence between your society and ours were immediately taken into consideration.[376]

The propositions of holding the first Democratic Congress here in Brussels, with a view of calling the second in London; the first Congress to be called by our society for the anniversary of the Belgian revolution in September next, and the programme of business to be prepared by the committee of this society; these propositions were agreed to unanimously and enthusiastically.

The offer of entering into a regular and monthly correspondence with our society was equally hailed with the greatest enthusiasm.

We now proceed to give you an abstract of our progress and general situation.

The state of our society is as prosperous as can possibly be desired. The number of our members is increasing weekly, and the interest taken by the public in general, and by the working classes in particular, in our proceedings is equally on the increase.

The best proof, however, of our progress is the interest excited in the provinces of the country by our movements. From the most important towns of Belgium we have received summons to send delegates for the purpose of establishing democratic societies similar to ours, and keeping up constant relations with the metropolitan association.

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[a] "The Fraternal Democrats assembling in London to the Democratic Association for promoting the fraternity of all nations, assembling in Brussels."—*Ed.*

We have given to these appeals our immediate attention. We sent a deputation to Ghent to call a public meeting with a view of establishing a branch society.[377] The meeting was exceedingly numerous, and received our deputation, consisting of members belonging to several nations, with an enthusiasm hardly to be described. The foundation of a democratic society was immediately decided upon, and the names of members taken down. Since then we have received from Ghent the news that the society is definitively constituted, and has held a second meeting exceeding the first in numbers and enthusiasm. More than three thousand citizens were present, and, we are happy to say, they mostly consisted of working men.

We consider the ground gained at Ghent as a most important progress of our cause in this country. Ghent is the chief manufacturing town of Belgium, numbering above a hundred thousand inhabitants, and being in a great measure the centre of attraction for the whole labouring population of Flanders. The position taken by Ghent is decisive for all working class movement of the country. Thus we may accept the adhesion of the factory workers of that Belgian Manchester to the revival of a pure democratic movement, as implying and foreboding the adhesion of the generality of the Belgian proletarians.

We hope to report in our next further progress in other towns of the country, thus arriving by-and-by at the reconstitution of a strong, united, and organised democratic party in Belgium.

We entirely share in the view which in your recent address to the working people of Great Britain and Ireland you have taken of the question of "National Defences".[a] We hope that this address will contribute in a great measure to the enlightenment of the people of England as to the question who are their veritable enemies.

We have equally seen with great pleasure the steps taken by the mass of the English Chartists to arrive, at last, at a close alliance between the Irish people and that of Great Britain. We have seen that there is a better chance now than ever before to break down that prejudice which prompted the Irish people to confound in one common hatred the oppressed classes of England with the oppressors of both countries. We hope to see very shortly united in the hands of Feargus O'Connor the direction both of the English and the

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[a] "The Fraternal Democrats (assembling in London), to the Working Classes of Great Britain and Ireland" (the document is reproduced in Engels' report; see this volume, pp. 466-67).—*Ed.*

Irish popular movement; and we consider this approaching alliance of the oppressed classes of both countries, under the banner of democracy, as a most important progress of our cause in general.

We conclude by offering to you our fraternal salutations.

The Committee of the Association Démocratique

*L. Jottrand*, Chairman
*K. Marx*, Vice-President
*A. Picard*, Avt., Secretary

Brussels, 13th February, 1848

First published in *The Northern Star* No. 541, March 4, 1848

Reprinted from the newspaper

# FROM THE *DEUTSCHE-BRÜSSELER-ZEITUNG'S* REPORT ON THE MEETING OF THE DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION OF FEBRUARY 20, 1848

*Brussels.* Meeting of the Democratic Association of February 20. President: Herr Marx.—Frederick Engels first took the floor to reply to an article concerning his expulsion from France, published by the French Government in the *Moniteur Parisien.* He related briefly the circumstances in which his expulsion took place.[378]

The association was completely satisfied with the explanations of Frederick Engels. Several speakers expressed this satisfaction and further added remarks concerning the behaviour of the French Government already on the occasion of earlier expulsions of foreigners.

These proceedings were entered in the official report of the Democratic Association....

First published in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 16, February 24, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# FROM THE *DEUTSCHE-BRÜSSELER-ZEITUNG*'S REPORT ON THE BRUSSELS CELEBRATION OF THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1846 CRACOW INSURRECTION[a]

The Cracow revolution was celebrated by a numerous gathering on the evening of the 22nd in the hall of the *Old Court* at Brussels, *rue des soeurs noires,* which was festively illuminated and decorated with Polish and Belgian flags. Several speakers, including Lelewel, Karl Marx, F. Engels, Wallau and Lubliner, the lawyer, took the floor and spoke passionately for the purely democratic character of the Cracow insurrection. We shall report this celebration in detail in our next issue[b] and only remark here that after the public meeting a dinner was held in which about 100 persons took part and at which several toasts were raised by Belgian and German democrats. Nor was the dinner lacking in song.

First published in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 16, February 24, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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[a] See this volume, pp. 545-52.—*Ed.*

[b] This report was never published in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*; the seventeenth and last issue of the paper appeared on February 27, 1848.—*Ed.*

# TO THE CITIZENS, MEMBERS OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC[379]

Brussels, February 28, 1848

Citizens!

The Democratic Association having as its aim the union and brotherhood of all peoples, established a few months ago at Brussels, and composed of members of several European nations which enjoy with the Belgians on their soil institutions which have long allowed the free and public expression of all political and religious opinions, hereby offers you the homage of its congratulations upon the great task the French nation has just accomplished, and of its gratitude for the immense service which this nation has just rendered the cause of humanity.

We have already had occasion to congratulate the Swiss for having led, as they did not long ago, in the work for the emancipation of the peoples[a] which it has fallen to you to promote with the vigour which the heroic population of Paris always displays when its turn comes. We were counting before long on repeating to the French the message we had addressed to the Swiss. But France has greatly advanced the time when we counted on addressing her.

This is only one reason why all the nations should hasten to follow in your footsteps.

We believe we can be sure in surmising that the nations nearest to France will be the first to follow her in the career on which she has just entered.

This conjecture is all the more certain in that France has just made a revolution destined rather to strengthen the bonds which link it to all nations than to menace the independence of any of them. We

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[a] See this volume, pp. 624-26.—*Ed.*

salute in the France of February 1848 not the mistress of the peoples but an example for them—France will henceforward look for no other homage.

We already see the great nation whose destinies you direct today, your sole authority the trust of all, we already see it, citizens, forging again, even with peoples whom she has for long regarded as rivals for power, an alliance which the hateful policy of certain men succeeded in shattering.

England and Germany stretch out their hands once more to your great country. Spain, Italy, Switzerland and Belgium are going either to rise or to remain quiet and free under your threefold aegis.

Poland, like Lazarus, will rise again to the appeal you will make in a threefold language.

It is impossible that Russia itself should not join in, with accents as yet only slightly known to the ear of Western and Southern peoples.

Yours, Frenchmen, yours is the honour, yours is the glory to have laid the main foundations of this alliance of peoples so prophetically sung by your immortal Beranger.

We offer you, citizens, in all the flow of feelings of an immutable fraternity, the tribute of our deepest gratitude.

The Committee of the Democratic Association, whose aim is the union and brotherhood of all peoples, at Brussels.

*L. Jottrand*, barrister, President
*Ch. Marx*, Vice-president
General *Mellinet*, Honorary president
*Spilthoorn*, barrister, President of the Democratic Association at Ghent
*Maynz*, professor at Brussels University
*Lelewel*
*F. Balliu*, treasurer
*A. Battaille*, Vice-secretary
*J. Pellering*, workman
*Labiaux*, merchant

First published in the newspapers *Le Débat social*, March 1, 1848 and *La Réforme*, March 4, 1848

Printed according to *La Réforme*

Translated from the French

Published in full in English for the first time

## TO MR. JULIAN HARNEY, EDITOR OF *THE NORTHERN STAR*, SECRETARY OF THE FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS SOCIETY, LONDON

Brussels, February 28, 1848

You already know of the glorious revolution which has just been carried out in Paris.

We have to communicate to you that, as a result of this important event, the Democratic Association has initiated here a peaceful but vigorous agitation, to obtain through the ways proper to Belgian political institutions the advantages which the French people have won.

The following resolutions have been passed, with enthusiastic acclaim:

1. The Democratic Association will hold meetings every evening and the public will be admitted;

2. An address will be sent in the name of the Association to the provisional government of France,[a] with the aim of expressing our warm feelings for the revolution of February 24;

3. An address will be presented to the municipal council of Brussels, inviting it to maintain public peace and to avoid all bloodshed by organising the municipal forces generally composed of the civil guard, that is to say, the bourgeois who are armed in normal circumstances, and the artisans who can be armed in abnormal times, according to the laws of the country. Arms will thus be entrusted equally to the middle class and the working class.

We will inform you as often as possible of the measures we shall take later, and of our progress.

We hope that you will soon succeed, on your side, in having the People's Charter passed as a law of your country, and that it will serve you in making further progress.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 645-46.—*Ed.*

Finally, we invite you; in this important crisis, to keep in frequent communication with us, and to transmit to us all news of your country of a nature to exercise a favourable effect on the Belgian people.

(Signatures of Committee Members follow)

First published in *Le Débat social*, March 1, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

## FERDINAND FLOCON TO MARX

IN BRUSSELS

Provisional Government

French Republic
Liberty, Equality, Fraternity

In the name of the French People

Paris, March 1, 1848

Good and loyal Marx,

The soil of the French Republic is a field of refuge and asylum for all friends of liberty.

Tyranny exiled you, now free France opens its doors to you and to all those who are fighting for the holy cause, the fraternal cause of all the peoples.

Every agent of the French government must interpret his mission in this sense.

Fraternal greetings.

*Ferdinand Flocon,*
Member of the Provisional Government

First published in the book:
K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*, London, 1860

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

# ORDER OF LEOPOLD I, KING OF THE BELGIANS, FOR MARX'S EXPULSION FROM BELGIUM

Leopold, King of the Belgians,
To all present and to come, Greetings

Considering the laws of September 22, 1835, December 25, 1841 and February 23, 1846
On the proposition of our Minister of Justice,
We have decreed and now decree:

Article One and Only

The here-named Marx, Charles, Doctor of Philosophy, aged about 28 years, born at Trèves (Prussia), is ordered to leave the Kingdom of Belgium within twenty-four hours, and forbidden to return in the future under the penalties contained in Article Six of the afore-cited law of September 22, 1835.

Our Minister of Justice is charged with the execution of the present order.

Done at Brussels on March 2, 1848

[Signed:] *Leopold*

By the royal hand
The Minister of Justice
[Signed:] *De Haussy*

Certified true copy
The Secretary-General
[Signed:] *De Crassier*

Published for the first time

Printed from the original

Translated from the French

# DECISION OF THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE, MARCH 3, 1848[380]

Working Men of All Countries, Unite!

The Central Authority of the Communist League, meeting in Brussels, in accordance with the decision of the former London Central Authority to move the seat of the Central Authority to Brussels and to dissolve itself as Central Authority, by which decision the circle authority of the Brussels leading circle is therefore constituted the Central Authority, considering:

that in the present circumstances any association of League members, in particular of Germans, is impossible in Brussels;

that the leading League members there have already been either arrested or expelled or are hourly expecting expulsion from Belgium;

that at the present moment Paris is the centre of the entire revolutionary movement;

that present circumstances require a thoroughly energetic leadership of the League, for which temporary discretionary power is indispensable,

decides:

Art. 1. The Central Authority is transferred to Paris.

Art. 2. The Brussels Central Authority confers on League member Karl Marx full discretionary power for the temporary central direction of all League affairs with responsibility to the Central Authority to be newly constituted and to the next Congress.

Art. 3. It instructs Marx, in Paris, as soon as circumstances permit, to constitute a new Central Authority from the most suitable League members selected by him, and for that purpose even to call to Paris League members not resident there.

Art. 4. The Brussels Central Authority dissolves itself.

Resolved at Brussels, March 3, 1848.

*The Central Authority*

Signed: *Engels, F. Fisher, Gigot, H. Steingens, K. Marx*

First published in the book: Wermuth und Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Erster Theil, Berlin, 1853

Printed according to the book

# TRAVEL DOCUMENT ISSUED TO MARX ON HIS EXPULSION FROM BELGIUM

Ministry of Justice

Administration of Prisons and Public Security

2nd section
2nd Bureau

*No. 73946*

TRAVEL DOCUMENT

(Law of May 30-June 13, 1790, Decree of May 11, 1815)[a]

DESCRIPTION

| | |
|---|---|
| AGE | *28* years[b] |
| HEIGHT 1 METRE | ... centimetres |
| HAIR | *Black* |
| FOREHEAD | *Average* |
| EYEBROWS | *Black* |
| EYES | *Brown* |
| NOSE | *Average* |
| MOUTH | *do.* |
| BEARD | *Black* |
| SIDE WHISKERS | *Black* |
| MOUSTACHE | *Black* |
| CHIN | *Round* |
| FACE | *do.* |
| COMPLEXION | *Tanned* |
| BUILT | *Heavy* |
| DISTINGUISHING MARKS | |

THE ADMINISTRATOR OF PUBLIC SECURITY

invites the civil and military authorities to allow free passage
from *Brussels* to *Quiévrain*
destination *France*
to M. *Marx, Charles*
Profession *Doctor of Philosophy*
born at *Trier, Prussia*
residing at—and to give him aid and protection in case of need.
The present travel document *is valid for exit from the Kingdom today.*

Done at *Brussels, March 4,* 1848

For THE ADMINISTRATOR OF PUBLIC SECURITY

The Head of the Passport Office

*Becquet*

Signature of bearer
*Dr. K. Marx*[c]

First published as a facsimile in the book: S. Z. Leviova, *Marx in the German Revolution, 1848-49.* Moscow, 1970

Printed from the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first time

[a] This is followed by the Belgian national coat of arms.—*Ed.*
[b] Inaccurate: Marx was born in 1818.—*Ed.*
[c] Signature in Marx's hand.—*Ed.*

# MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE PARIS COMMUNITY OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF MARCH 8, 1848

## MINUTES OF THE COMMUNITY MEETING OF MARCH 8, 1848

Elected *Chairman*: K. Schapper. *Secretary*: K. Marx.

*Schapper*: proposes to constitute ourselves the Paris Circle, no longer a single community.

Supported by Marx and others. Agreed.

Admitted: *Hermann*.

Discussion on the re-admission of removed community members;

*Born* gives a report on the meeting in the café l'Europe; so does *Sterbitzki*. Resolved by a large majority not to go into this café, where Decker and Venedey hold a meeting.

Engler, Buchfink and Vogler (Weitlingians) unanimously admitted.

Unanimously resolved: the three above-named League members instructed to admit members of the Weitling community whom they consider suitable.

*Schilling* unanimously admitted.

Admitted to the public workers' society as:

*President*: H. Bauer.

*Vice-president*: Hermann.

*2 secretaries*: Born and Vogel.

*Treasurer*: Moll.

*3 organisers*: Buchfink, Schapper, Horne.

Agreed that the President shall use the form of address: Friends; anybody else as he likes.

Marx to submit draft Rules for the workers' society.

The public society shall be called *German Workers' Club*.[381]

*Wilhelm Höger* admitted as League member (proposed by Schapper, supported by H. Bauer).

The meeting place of the public society shall be in the centre of the city. Some members are instructed to look for suitable premises.

The League meeting is to be held at No. 6, St. Louis St. Honoré.

Sterbitzki proposes Hermann, who is admitted.

Secretary *K. Marx* Chairman *K. Schapper*

Written by Karl Marx on March 8, 1848

Printed according to the manuscript

First published in Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, I. Abteilung, Bd. 7, 1935

Published in English for the first time

# MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE PARIS CIRCLE OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF MARCH 9, 1848

## MEETING OF MARCH 9, 9 P.M.

Marx submits his draft Rules,[a] which are discussed.

Article 1 adopted with a minority of 2 against. Article 2 adopted unanimously; also Art. 3, Art. 4, Art. 5 and Art. 6.

The draft Rules are therefore adopted without amendments. The Rules of the Communist League are read out by the Secretary. After hearing the Rules the members newly to be admitted declare that they enter the Communist League.

Marx proposes that all members shall give their names and addresses. This is discussed and it is finally resolved that every League member shall give the name by which he is known here, and his address.

Schapper proposes to add another five members to the President and Secretary, so as to form the circle authority of Paris.

One is to be elected from each of the four communities. The elections to be postponed to the next meeting.

Schapper gives a report on the Central Authority. On Schapper's proposal resolved that everybody who speaks rises and removes his hat.

On Marx's proposal the Central Authority will give at the next meeting a report on the situation of the League in general.

Born, who was sent to give a report on the meeting in the *manège*, returns after three-quarters of an hour and describes the miserable state of this society.[382] The next meeting will be held next Saturday at 8 o'clock, café Belge, Rue Grenelle St. Honoré.

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[a] Draft Rules of the German Workers' Club (see this volume, p. 654).—*Ed.*

At the conclusion of the meeting the members give the Secretary their names together with their addresses. Marx proposes that all League members shall wear a *red* ribbon. Agreed unanimously.

On Schapper's proposal it is agreed that one member shall buy a blood-red ribbon for all. *B. Sax* is instructed to do this.

Written by Karl Marx on March 9, 1848

Printed according to the manuscript

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## ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE GERMAN WORKERS' CLUB IN PARIS

The committee of the *German Workers' Club* will announce in the newspaper *La Réforme* the arrangements that it considers to make in order to hold its meetings in public.

H. Bauer, shoemaker; Hermann, cabinet-maker; J. Moll, watchmaker; Wallau, printer; Charles Marx; Charles Schapper.

First published in *La Réforme*, March 10, 1848

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Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

## ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE REGULAR MEETING OF THE GERMAN WORKERS' CLUB IN PARIS

*German Workers' Club*—Meeting on Tuesday, March 14, at the café Picard, 93, rue Saint-Denis. Those who wish to join the club are asked to give their names to:

Hermann, rue du Faubourg St. Antoine 55, c/o M. Scheuffer;
Stumpf, rue Montorgueil 33, c/o M. Schard;
Seidel, rue Oblin 9, c/o M. Glass;
L. Etrich, rue Saint-Marc 5;
Charles Marx,[a] rue Neuve-Ménilmontant 10;
Charles Schapper, rue Neuve Saint-Augustin 22.

First published in *La Réforme*, March 13, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

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[a] The original has a misprint: Clarck.—*Ed.*

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] This article deals with a meeting held in London on September 22. 1845 at which an international society of Fraternal Democrats was formed. The society embraced representatives of Left Chartists, German workers and craftsmen — members of the League of the Just—and revolutionary emigrants of other nationalities. During their stay in England in the summer of 1845, Marx and Engels helped in preparing for the meeting but did not attend it as they had by then left London. Later they kept in constant touch with the Fraternal Democrats trying to influence the proletarian core of the society, which joined the Communist League in 1847, and through it the Chartist movement. The society ceased its activities in 1853.

Engels' article, written to show the significance of international unity of the proletarian and revolutionary democratic forces, was directed at the same time against "true socialism" — the petty-bourgeois socialist trend current among German intellectuals and craftsmen from the end of 1844 onwards. This was Engels' second printed article against "true socialism", the first being "A Fragment of Fourier's On Trade" (see present edition, Vol. 4).

Engels describes the meeting of September 22, 1845 and cites speeches delivered at it according to the report published in *The Northern Star* No. 411, September 27, 1845. Excerpts from the article were published in English in *The Plebs Magazine* No. 2, March 1922. p. 3

[2] *Carmagnole*—a song popular at the time of the French Revolution. Subsequent changes made in the words reflected mass sentiments at various stages of the popular movement.

The *maximum laws* and the *law against buying up food supplies* (June 26, 1793) were adopted by the Convention at the time of deepening food crisis under mass pressures and the campaign for fixed prices conducted by the so-called rabid, representatives of the most radical plebeian trend in the revolutionary camp. The first maximum adopted on May 4, 1793, despite opposition on the part of the Girondists introduced fixed prices on grain; the decree of September 11, 1793, fixed a single price for grain, flour and fodder; fixed prices on other staple goods (second maximum) were introduced on September 29. p. 4

[3] The Jacobin revolutionary government headed by Robespierre fell as a result of the coup of 9-10 Thermidor (July 27-28), 1794.

The *conspiracy of equality* organised by Babeuf and his followers aimed at provoking an armed uprising of the plebeian masses against the bourgeois regime of the Directory and establishing a revolutionary dictatorship as a transitional stage to "pure democracy" and "egalitarian communism". The conspiracy was disclosed in May 1796. At the end of May 1797 its leaders were executed. p. 5

[4] The period from May 31, 1793 to July 26, 1794 was one of the Jacobin revolutionary democratic dictatorship in France. p. 5

[5] The reference is to *associations for improving the conditions of the working classes* set up in a number of Prussian towns in 1844-45 on the initiative of the liberal bourgeoisie who were frightened by the uprising of the Silesian weavers in the summer of 1844. The aim of their founders was to divert the German workers' attention from the struggle for their class interests. p. 6

[6] At *Jemappes* (November 6, 1792) and *Fleurus* (June 26, 1794) the French revolutionary army defeated the forces of the first coalition of the European counterrevolutionary monarchies. p. 6

[7] *Democratic Association*—a workers' organisation founded in London by the most revolutionary elements among the Chartists (George Julian Harney and others) in 1838; it advocated the revolutionary implementation of the Chartist programme. Many of its members were republicans and supported Babeuf's trend of utopian communism. p. 6

[8] *Cosmopolitan* — here and below is to be understood as meaning: free from all national limitations and national prejudices. p. 7

[9] The reference is to the meeting of Chartists and heads of the London communities of the League of the Just with the leading figures of the democratic and revolutionary movements in a number of countries; the meeting took place in London in August 1845. Marx and Engels who were in London at the time took an active part in it. According to a report published in *The Northern Star* No. 406, August 23, 1845, the participants adopted the following resolution proposed by Thomas Cooper and supported by Engels: "That a public meeting of the democrats of all nations, residing in London, be called to consider the propriety of forming an Association for the purpose of meeting each other at certain times, and getting by this means a better knowledge of the movements for the common cause going on in their respective countries."

This event marked an important step towards organising the international meeting held on September 22, 1845 and described by Engels in this article. p. 7.

[10] The reference is to revolutionary events of August 1842 in England when in conditions of economic crisis and increasing poverty violent working-class disturbances broke out in the industrial regions. In Lancashire and a large part of Cheshire and Yorkshire strikes became general, in some places growing into spontaneous insurrections. The government retaliated with massive arrests of Chartist leaders, who afterwards received severe sentences. p. 8

[11] The reference is to the July revolution of 1830 in France which resulted in the overthrow of the Bourbon dynasty. Decisive events took place on July 27-29 in Paris. p. 9

[12] *August 10, 1792* — the day when the monarchy in France was overthrown as a result of a popular insurrection. p. 9

[13] Julian Harney refers to calls for war against England raised in the French Chamber of Deputies and the French bourgeois press due to strained Anglo-French relations in the mid-forties caused by the colonial rivalry between the two powers in West Indies after the establishment of the French protectorate over Tahiti, the annoyance of the English bourgeoisie at French expansion in North Africa (war against Morocco) and the sharp British reaction against the projected Franco-Belgian-Luxembourg customs union. The planned marriage of the son of Louis Philippe to the Spanish Infanta, opening up the prospects for union of the two monarchies under the Orleans crown, added to the tension. p. 11

[14] The *trial of April 1834*—trial of 167 participants in the French workers' and republican movement, accused of high treason in connection with the uprising in Lyons and revolutionary actions in Paris and other towns in April 1834. Among the accused were the leaders of the secret republican *Société des droits de l'homme.* p. 13

[15] The *Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation* was founded in 962 and lasted till 1806. At different periods it included the German, Italian, Austrian, Hungarian and Bohemian lands, Switzerland and the Netherlands, forming a motley conglomeration of feudal kingdoms and principalities, church lands and free towns with different political structures, legal standards and customs. p. 15

[16] *Imperial Court Chamber* (Reichskammergericht) was the supreme court of the Holy Roman Empire. It was established in 1495 and abolished in 1806; initially it had no fixed seat, but from 1693 to 1806 was permanently located in Wetzlar. p. 16

[17] Here the word "metaphysics" is used to denote philosophy as a speculative science transcending practical experience. p. 17

[18] *Constitution of 1791,* approved by the Constituent Assembly, established a constitutional monarchy in France, giving the king full executive powers and the right of veto. This constitution was annulled as a result of the popular uprising of August 10, 1792, which brought about the fall of the monarchy. After the Girondist government (Girondists—the party of the big bourgeoisie) had been overthrown by the uprising of May 31-June 2, 1793 and the revolutionary dictatorship of the Jacobins established, the National Convention adopted a new democratic constitution of the French Republic. p. 18

[19] The reference is to the Constituent Assembly's decision to repeal feudal services, passed on the night of August 4, 1789 under the impact of peasant uprisings all over the country. p. 18

[20] See Note 3. p. 19

[21] After the defeat of Austria in 1805 and of Prussia in 1806 by Napoleon and the establishment of the French protectorate over the German states the latter were obliged to declare war on Britain and join the continental blockade proclaimed by the French Emperor in November 1806, which prohibited all trade with Britain. p. 19

[22] In his articles "The State of Germany" Engels tried to refute the reactionary nationalistic interpretation of German history and, in particular, the glorification of the role played by the German ruling classes in the wars of 1813-14 and 1815 against Napoleonic France. But he gave a somewhat one-sided appraisal of the war itself. The war to liberate Germany from French domination following the defeat of Napoleon's army in Russia in 1812 was, indeed, of a contradictory nature. Its character was affected by the counter-revolutionary and expansionist aims and

policy of the ruling circles in the feudal monarchical states. But especially in 1813, when the struggle was aimed at liberating German territory from French occupation, it assumed the character of a genuinely popular national liberation war against foreign oppression. Later, when he once again considered that period in the history of Germany, Engels in a series of articles entitled "Notes on the War" (1870) stressed the progressive nature of the people's resistance to Napoleon's rule and in his work *The Role of Force in History* (1888) he wrote: "The peoples' war against Napoleon was the reaction of the national feeling of all the peoples, which Napoleon had trampled on." p. 20

[23] The reference is to the Spanish Constitution of 1812 adopted at the time of the national liberation war against Napoleonic rule. Expressing the interests of the liberal nobility and liberal bourgeoisie the constitution limited the king's power by the Cortes, proclaimed the supreme power of the nation and did away with certain survivals of feudalism. The overwhelming power of the feudal and clerical reactionary forces after Napoleon's defeat in 1814 led to the repeal of the constitution, which then became the banner of the liberal-constitutional movement in Spain and other European countries. p. 22

[24] The *Holy Alliance*—an association of European monarchs founded on September 26, 1815 on the initiative of the Russian tsar Alexander I and the Austrian Chancellor Metternich to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries. p. 22

[25] *Peterloo* was the name given at the time (by analogy with the battle of Waterloo) to the massacre by the troops of unarmed participants in a mass meeting for electoral reform at St. Peter's Field near Manchester, on August 16, 1819. p. 23

[26] The *Fundamental Federative Act* (Bundesakte)—a part of the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna held by European monarchs and their ministers in 1814-15, which established the political organisation of Europe after the Napoleonic wars. This Act was signed on June 8, 1815 and proclaimed a German Confederation consisting initially of 34 independent states and four free cities. The Act virtually sanctioned the political dismemberment of Germany and the maintenance of the monarchical-estate system in the German states. From 1815 to 1866 the central organ of the German Confederation was the Federal Diet consisting of representatives of the German states.

The promise to introduce constitutions in all the states of the German Confederation, which was stated in Article 13 of the Bundesakte, was never fulfilled. Article 18 of the Act, which vaguely mentioned a forthcoming drafting of uniform instructions providing for "freedom of the press" in the states of the German Confederation, also remained on paper. p. 26

[27] *Vendée*—a department in Western France; during the French Revolution a centre of largely peasant-based royalist uprising. The word "Vendée" came to denote counter-revolutionary actions. p. 26

[28] The *Corn Laws* (first introduced in the 15th century) imposed high tariffs on agricultural imports in order to maintain high prices on agricultural products on the home market. By the Act of 1815 imports of grain were prohibited as long as grain prices in England remained lower than 80 sh. per quarter. Later further Acts were adopted (1822, 1828 and others) changing the terms for grain imports.

The struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the Corn Laws ended in their repeal in June 1846. p. 28

[29] The reference is to the revolution in Spain which began in January 1820, and also to revolutionary actions in Naples and Palermo in July 1820, in Portugal in August 1820 and Piedmont in March 1821 under the slogan of a constitution and bourgeois reforms. The revolutionary movements were suppressed by the Holy Alliance powers which sanctioned the Austrian intervention in Italy and the French intervention in Spain, and by domestic reaction.

The first secret society of carbonari in France was founded in late 1820-early 1821 after the pattern of the Italian societies of the same name. The society included representatives of diverse political trends and sought to overthrow the Bourbon monarchy. It was smashed by the police in 1822. Some carbonari organisations existed till the early 1830s, participated in the July revolution of 1830, and soon afterwards merged with republican societies.

In 1816-19 an upsurge of the democratic movement for an electoral reform took place in England. However, no reform was accomplished until 1832. p. 31

[30] At the first stage of the national liberation uprising of the Greek people in 1821 the European governments were hostile to the insurgents. However, under pressure from public opinion and as a result of rivalries in the Balkans and the Middle East their attitudes changed. In 1827 Britain, France and Russia signed an agreement undertaking to demand jointly that the Turkish government should stop war in Greece and grant the country autonomy. The refusal of the Sultan to meet these demands led to a military conflict between the European powers and Turkey. The defeat of the Turks in the battle of Navarino (1827) was of great importance for the liberation of Greece. Finally the issue was decided by the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29. The Sultan was compelled to recognise the autonomy of Greece, and soon afterwards its independence. However, the European powers imposed a monarchical form of government on the newly liberated country. p. 31

[31] See Note 11. p. 31

[32] The Polish national liberation uprising of November 1830-October 1831, whose participants belonged mostly to the revolutionary gentry and whose leaders were mainly from aristocratic circles, was crushed by tsarist Russia aided by Prussia and Austria — the states which had taken part in the partition of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century. Despite the defeat the uprising was of a major international significance as it diverted the forces of the counter-revolutionary powers and frustrated their plans to intervene against the bourgeois revolutions of 1830 in France and of 1830-31 in Belgium. As a result of the revolution,Belgium, which had been incorporated into Holland in 1815 by the decision of the Congress of Vienna, became an independent kingdom. For Marx's and Engels' appraisal of the Polish uprising of 1830-31 see pp. 545-52 of this volume. p. 31

[33] The 1832 Reform Act in England granted the franchise to property owners and leaseholders with no less than £ 10 annual income. The proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, who were the main force in the struggle for the reform, remained unenfranchised. p. 32

[34] The conference of the representatives of German states held in June 1834 in Vienna passed a decision which obliged the sovereigns to render mutual support in their struggle against liberal and democratic movements. This decision was recorded in the final protocol of the conference of June 12, 1834, the contents of which were long kept secret. p. 32

[35] In 1844 the British Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, to please the Austrian government ordered the post office to let the police inspect the correspondence of Italian revolutionary immigrants. p. 33

[36] The editorial board of *The Northern Star* altered the date from "February 20" to "March 20". Harney gave this explanation to Engels in a letter of March 30, 1846: "On Saturday I received a long letter from you through We[e]rth, or rather two letters. The one for the *Star* I like very much, it will appear this week. I have altered the date from Febr. 20th, to March 20th, it will thereby not look so stale." p. 33

[37] This is a circular of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee founded by Marx and Engels early in 1846 for the propaganda of communist ideas and correspondence with advanced workers and revolutionary intellectuals in various countries of Europe (similar committees were founded shortly afterwards in London, Paris, Cologne and some other cities). The Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee made use of such circulars, as Engels stated later, "on particular occasions, when it was a question of internal affairs of the Communist Party in process of formation" (F. Engels, "On the History of the Communist League", 1885).

The "Circular Against Kriege" was directed against "true socialism", a trend followed by the German journalist Hermann Kriege who had emigrated to New York in the autumn of 1845. It was also to a considerable extent directed against the egalitarian communism of Weitling, which had found a number of advocates among the supporters of Kriege and the staff of *Der Volks-Tribun* of which he was editor.

It seems likely that the principal part of the "Circular Against Kriege", which was written by Marx and Engels when they were completing the main part of the work on the manuscript of *The German Ideology* (see present edition, Vol. 5), was originally intended for inclusion in Vol. II of that work.

The document against Kriege was circulated in lithographic copies (in Wilhelm Wolff's hand without title).

A copy was sent to New York with a covering letter written by Edgar von Westphalen: "To Herr Hermann Kriege, Editor of *Der Volks-Tribun*.—On behalf of the local *communist society* and as chairman of the meeting which took place on May 11, I am forwarding to you the decision in which our opinion of *Der Volks-Tribun* is expressed. In case you do not publish the decision together with its motivation in your paper it will nevertheless be published in *the press* of Europe and America. We, however, expect that in the nearest future you will send us the issue of *Der Volks-Tribun* containing our resolution to: M. Gigot, rue de Bodenbroek, No. 8, Brussels, May 16, 1846. *Edgar von Westphalen*." Kriege was compelled to comply with this demand and publish the "Circular" in *Der Volks-Tribun* Nos. 23 and 24 of June 6 and 13, 1846, adding his own insinuations against the authors and the ironical title *Eine Bannbulle*. It was also published in the July issue of *Das Westphälische Dampfboot* under the title of "Der Volkstribun, redigirt von Hermann Kriege in New York" without the authors' name. However, the editor of the journal, the "true socialist" Otto Lüning subjected the document to biased re-editing, adding his own introduction and conclusion, in contradiction to the ideas and spirit of the original document and in some cases changing the text arbitrarily. The original text was for a long time unavailable to scholars; in the book *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle*, published by Franz Mehring, the document was printed according to the text in *Das Westphälische Dampfboot*. The authentic version was for the first time reproduced according to the lithographic copy of the "Circular" in Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Erste Abteilung, Bd. 6, Berlin, 1932.

In October 1846, the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee issued a second circular against Kriege written by Marx, the text of which has not yet been found. p. 35

38 *Young America* — an organisation of American craftsmen and workers; it formed the nucleus of the mass National Reform Association founded in 1845. In the second half of the 1840s the Association agitated for land reform, proclaiming as its aim free allotment of a plot of 160 acres to every working man; it came out against slave-owning planters and land profiteers. It also put forward demands for a ten-hour working day, abolition of slavery, of the standing army, etc. Many German emigrant craftsmen, including members of the League of the Just, took part in the movement headed by the National Reform Association. By 1846 the movement among the German workers began to subside. One of the reasons for this was the activity of Kriege's group whose "true socialism" diverted the German emigrants from the struggle for democratic aims. p. 41

39 The reference is to the following passage from Emmanuel Sieyès' *Qu'est-ce que le tiers-état?* published in Paris in 1789 on the eve of the French Revolution: "1. What is the third estate? *Everything*. 2. What was it until now in the political respect? *Nothing*. 3. What is it striving for? To be *something*." p. 48

40 *Essenes* — a religious sect in ancient Judea (2nd century B. C.-3rd century A. D.). p. 50

41 The article was published with an introduction by *The Northern Star* editors informing readers of the supposedly forthcoming publication of the Prussian constitution (the interpretation given in the press to the intention of the King of Prussia to institute a state representative organ on the basis of the united provincial diets) and giving a brief account of the situation in Prussia. The introduction, in particular, stated: "Silesia is in a disordered state, the unhappy people showing every inclination to imitate the Polish peasantry in engaging in an agrarian revolt. Last, not least, financial difficulties add to the embarrassments of the Government and have given rise to a measure involving a further departure from the solemn pledges given by the Crown to the people. On this subject we have been favoured with the following communication from our German correspondent." p. 52

42 According to *Verordnung wegen der künftigen Behandlung des gesammten Staatsschulden-Wesens* (Decree on the future handling of all state debts) issued in Prussia on January 17, 1820, new loans and state debts had to be guaranteed by the forthcoming Prussian assembly of the estates as well as by the government. p. 52

43 The reference is to the *Preussische Seehandlungsgesellschaft* (Prussian sea trade society) — a trade credit society founded in Prussia in 1772 which enjoyed a number of important state privileges. It offered large credits to the government and actually played the part of banker and broker. In 1904 it was officially made the Prussian State Bank. p. 52

44 This letter was written by Marx and Engels on behalf of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee in reply to a statement by the Elberfeld socialist G. A. Köttgen, who tried to unite the supporters of socialist and communist views in Wuppertal (the joint name of Barmen and Elberfeld, in the Rhine province, which subsequently merged). Köttgen's statement, written on May 24, 1846 was sent to Brussels only on June 10 with a covering letter to Engels.

Their internal dissension prevented the socialists and Communists of Wuppertal from following Marx's and Engels' advice concerning, in particular, the organisation of a communist correspondence committee. p. 54

[45] The article was supplied with an editorial introduction beginning with the following words: "Again, rumours are rife in *Germany*, that the long projected Prussian Constitution is at last framed, and will be immediately published. For ourselves, we will believe when we see. The King of Prussia is such a liar that none but asses would repose faith in his most solemn promises. One thing is certain that, if a Constitution is granted, it will be so worthless as to be utterly inadequate to satisfy the popular demands. From our 'German correspondent' we have received the following brief but interesting communication which exhibits his Prussian kingship in a new but not very respectable character. He is about to turn swindler on a large scale. He will borrow, and then 'repudiate'." p. 57

[46] The address of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee to the Chartist leader Feargus O'Connor was written in connection with his victory at the Nottingham election meeting early in July 1846, when he stood for election to the House of Commons. Voting at such meetings (up to 1872) was by show of hands, and all present took part in it. However, only "legitimate" electors (those having property and other qualifications) could take part in subsequent ballot — in which, consequently, candidates who had been outvoted by show of hands could be declared elected. Despite this anti-democratic system, O'Connor was duly elected to Parliament at the August 1847 ballot.

The address of the Brussels Communists was read at a regular meeting of the Fraternal Democrats held on July 20, 1846 and was warmly received there (see *The Northern Star* No. 454, July 25, 1846). p. 58

[47] The reference is to the Repeal of the Corn Laws passed in June 1846. (On the Corn Laws see Note 28.) The movement for the repeal of the Corn Laws was led by the Anti-Corn Law League founded in 1838 by the Manchester manufacturers Cobden and Bright. Acting under the slogan of unrestricted free trade the League fought to weaken the economic and political position of the landed aristocracy and at the same time to reduce workers' wages. p. 58

[48] The *People's Charter*, which contained the demands of the Chartists, was published on May 8, 1838, in the form of a Bill to be submitted to Parliament. It consisted of six clauses: universal suffrage (for men of 21 years of age), annual elections to Parliament, secret ballot, equal constituencies, abolition of property qualifications for candidates to Parliament, and salaries for M.P.s. In 1839 and 1842 petitions for the Charter were rejected by Parliament. In 1847-48 the Chartists renewed a mass campaign for the Charter. p. 58

[49] Early in June 1846 Thomas Cooper started a campaign against O'Connor. In particular he accused him of misusing the funds of the Chartist Cooperative Land Society (later called the National Land Company) founded by the Chartist leader in 1845 (see Note 162).

Cooper set forth his accusations in an open letter "To the London Chartists" (published in June 1846 in *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*) and in other statements. In answer to this, O'Connor wrote two letters: "To the Members of the Chartist Co-operative Land Society" and "To the Fustian Jackets, the Blistered Hands, and Unshorn Chins", published in *The Northern Star* Nos. 448 and 449, of June 13 and 20, 1846. The latter issue carried also numerous statements by Chartist organisations expressing confidence in O'Connor. p. 59

[50] The Tuileries Palace in Paris was the residence of the French monarchs. p. 61

[51] The reference is to the rescripts by Frederick William IV of February 3, 1847 convening the United Diet—a united assembly of the eight provincial diets instituted in 1823. The United Diet as well as the provincial diets consisted of representatives of the estates: the curia of gentry (high aristocracy) and the curia of the other three estates (nobility, representatives of the towns and the peasantry). Its powers were limited to authorising new taxes and loans, to voice without vote during the discussion of Bills, and to the right to present petitions to the King. The dates of its sessions were fixed by the King.

The United Diet opened on April 11, 1847, but it was dissolved as early as June because the majority refused to vote a new loan. p. 64

[52] See Note 28. p. 65

[53] The *Customs Union* (Zollverein) of the German states (initially including 18 states), which established a common customs frontier, was founded in 1834 and headed by Prussia. By the 1840s the Union embraced most of the German states with the exception of Austria, the Hanseatic towns (Bremen, Lübeck, Hamburg) and some small states. Brought into being by the necessity for an all-German market the Customs Union subsequently promoted Germany's political unification. p. 65

[54] *States-general*—a body representing the estates in medieval France. It consisted of representatives of the clergy, nobles and burghers. They met in May 1789—after a 175-year interval—at the time of maturing bourgeois revolution and on June 17 were transformed by the decision of the deputies of the third estate into the National Assembly which proclaimed itself the Constituent Assembly on July 9 and became the supreme organ of revolutionary France. p. 69

[55] The reference is to the national liberation uprising in the Cracow republic which by the decision of the Congress of Vienna was controlled jointly by Austria, Russia and Prussia—who had partitioned Poland at the end of the eighteenth century. The seizure of power in Cracow by the insurgents on February 22, 1846 and the establishment of a National Government of the Polish republic, which issued a manifesto abolishing feudal services, were part of the plan for a general uprising in the Polish lands whose main inspirers were the revolutionary democrats (Dembowski and others). In March the Cracow uprising, lacking active support in other parts of Poland, was crushed by the forces of Austria and tsarist Russia; in November 1846, Austria, Prussia and Russia signed a treaty incorporating the "free town of Cracow" into the Austrian Empire. p. 71

[56] Karl Grün translated into German Proudhon's work *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère*. The book was published in Darmstadt in 1847 under the title *Philosophie der Staatsökonomie oder Nothwendigkeit des Elends*. p. 72

[57] The reference is to Proudhon's letter to Marx of May 17, 1846 (published in *Correspondance de P. J. Proudhon* précédée d'une notice sur P. J. Proudhon par J. A. Langlois, T. II, Paris, 1875), which was an answer to Marx's letter to him of May 5, suggesting that he correspond with the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee in the capacity of a representative of the French proletariat. While in fact rejecting this proposal, Proudhon nevertheless wrote to Marx that he was eager to know Marx's opinion of his latest work. p. 73

[58] The review of Marx's work in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* quoted here has been taken from Karl Grün's article "Meine Stellung zur Judenfrage" published in the *Neue Anekdota*.

*Neue Anekdota*—a collection which appeared in Darmstadt late in May 1845 under the editorship of Karl Grün. It contained newspaper articles by Moses Hess, Karl Grün, Otto Lüning and others, written mainly in the first half of 1844 and banned by the censors. Soon after the publication of the collection Marx and Engels, as can be judged from Grün's letters to Hess, made a number of severe critical remarks about its content. p. 74

[59] Engels intended to publish this work in 1847 as a pamphlet. In the spring of 1847 he sent the manuscript from Paris (where he arrived in August 1846 to organise communist propaganda) to Marx in Brussels to be forwarded to the publisher C. G. Vogler, who had connections with communist circles. Vogler, however, had meantime been arrested (see Marx's letter to Engels of May 15, 1847). Marx gave a high appraisal of this pamphlet, especially of its first part, but was of the opinion that the other two parts were lacking in precision. The extant manuscript is incomplete. Only seven sheets, each folded in four (28 pages altogether), with the author's paging on the first page of each sheet (1, 5, 9, etc.) have been preserved. Pages 21-24 and the last sheets are missing. There is no title to the manuscript. The extant part was first published in the USSR in 1929 in the first edition of Marx's and Engels' *Works* in Russian under the title "The Constitutional Question in German Socialist Literature" and in 1932 in German in Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe* under the title "Der Status quo in Deutschland".

The present title is given according to Engels' letter to Marx of March 9, 1847, in which this work was called "a pamphlet on the constitutional question". p. 75

[60] *Réformistes*—a political party grouped round the Paris newspaper *La Réforme*, which included radical opponents of the July monarchy—republican democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists. The leaders of the *Réforme* party, which also called itself "social-democratic", were Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc and others (see K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, this volume, p. 518). p. 76

[61] Some of the French *legitimists*, advocates of the Bourbon dynasty overthrown in 1830, who upheld the interests of the big hereditary landowners (Villeneuve-Bargemont and others), resorted to social demagogy in their struggle against the financial and industrial bourgeoisie, passing themselves off as defenders of the working people.

*Young England* was a group of conservative writers and politicians, including Disraeli and Ferrand, who were close to the Tory philanthropists and founded a separate group in the House of Commons in 1841. Voicing the discontent of the landed aristocracy at the growing economic and political power of the bourgeoisie, they criticised the capitalist system and supported half-hearted philanthropic measures for improving the conditions of the workers. Young England disintegrated as a political group in 1845 and ceased to exist as a literary circle in 1848.

In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels describe the views of Young England and the above-mentioned ideologists of legitimism as "feudal socialism" (see this volume, pp. 507-08). p. 77

[62] See Note 21. p. 80

[63] See Note 53. p. 80

[64] Apparently, the condition of the working classes of Germany, and primarily the German proletariat, was described in the third, non-extant part of the work. p. 83

[65] See Note 51. p. 92

[66] See Note 53. p. 92

[67] The name of the Spandau fortress near Berlin — a drill hall and a place of imprisonment for "state criminals" in Prussia — is used here as a symbol of the Prussian political system. p. 92

[68] The reference is to the Prussian Government's consent to the incorporation of Cracow into the Austrian Empire after the suppression of the Cracow uprising of 1846 (see Note 55). This act led to the inclusion of Cracow within the Austrian customs frontier and to high import duties there on Prussian goods. p. 93

[69] This document is the draft programme discussed at the First Congress of the Communist League in London on June 2-9, 1847.

The Congress was a final stage in the reorganisation of the League of the Just — an organisation of German workers and craftsmen, which was founded in Paris in 1836-37 and soon acquired an international character, having communities in Germany, France, Switzerland, Britain and Sweden. The activity of Marx and Engels directed towards the ideological and organisational unity of the socialists and advanced workers prompted the leaders of the League (Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll, Heinrich Bauer), who resided in London from November 1846, to ask for their help in reorganising the League and drafting its new programme. When Marx and Engels were convinced that the leaders of the League of the Just were ready to accept the principles of scientific communism as its programme they accepted the offer to join the League made to them late in January 1847.

Engels' active participation in the work of the Congress (Marx was unable to go to London) affected the course and the results of its proceedings. The League was renamed the Communist League, the old motto of the League of the Just "All men are brothers" was replaced by a new, Marxist one: "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!" The draft programme and the draft Rules of the League were approved at the last sitting on June 9, 1847.

The full text of the "Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith" (Credo) became known only in 1968. It was found by the Swiss scholar Bert Andréas together with the draft Rules and the circular of the First Congress to the members of the League (see this volume, pp. 585-600) in the archives of Joachim Friedrich Martens, an active member of the Communist League, which are kept in the State and University Library in Hamburg. This discovery made it possible to ascertain a number of important points in the history of the Communist League and the drafting of its programme documents. It had been previously assumed that the First Congress did no more than adopt a decision to draw up a programme and that the draft itself was made by the London Central Authority of the Communist League (Joseph Moll, Karl Schapper and Heinrich Bauer) after the Congress between June and August 1847. The new documents show that the draft was ready by June 9, 1847 and that its author was Engels (the manuscript found in Martens' archives, with the exception of some inserted words, the concluding sentence and the signatures of the president and the secretary of the Congress, was written in Engels' hand).

The document testifies to Engels' great influence on the discussion of the programme at the Congress — the formulation of the answers to most of the questions is a Marxist one. Besides, while drafting the programme, Engels had to take into account that the members of the League had not yet freed themselves from the influence of utopian ideas and this was reflected in the formulation of the first six questions and answers. The form of a "revolutionary catechism" was also commonly used in the League of the Just and other organisations of workers

and craftsmen at the time. It may be assumed that Engels intended to give greater precision to some of the formulations of the programme document in the course of further discussion and revision.

After the First Congress of the Communist League the "Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith" was sent, together with the draft Rules, to the communities for discussion, the results of which were to be taken into account at the time of the final approval of the programme and the Rules at the Second Congress. When working on another, improved draft programme, the *Principles of Communism*, in late October 1847 (see this volume, pp. 341-57), Engels made direct use of the "Confession of Faith", as can be seen from the coincidences of the texts, and also from references in the *Principles* to the earlier document when Engels had apparently decided to leave formulations of some of the answers as they were.

The "Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith" was published in English for the first time in the book: *Birth of the Communist Manifesto*, International Publishers, New York, 1971. p. 96

70 In their works of the 1840s and 1850s, prior to Marx having worked out the theory of surplus value, Marx and Engels used the terms "value of labour", "price of labour", "sale of labour" which, as Engels noted in 1891 in the introduction to Marx's pamphlet *Wage Labour and Capital*, "from the point of view of the later works were inadequate and even wrong". After he had proved that the worker sells to the capitalist not his labour but his labour power Marx used more precise terms. In later works Marx and Engels used the terms "value of labour power", "price of labour power", "sale of labour power" p. 100

71 *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon* is one of the most important theoretical works of Marxism and Marx's principal work directed against P.-J. Proudhon, whom he regarded as an ideologist of the petty bourgeoisie. Marx decided that he must criticise Proudhon's economic and philosophical views and at the same time clear up a number of questions relating to the theory and tactics of the revolutionary proletarian movement from the scientific-materialist standpoint at the end of 1846, as a result of his reading Proudhon's *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère*, which had appeared a short time earlier. In his letter of December 28, 1846 to the Russian man of letters P. V. Annenkov Marx expounded a number of important ideas which later formed the core of his book against Proudhon. In January 1847, as can be judged from Engels' letter of January 15, 1847 to Marx, the latter was already working on his reply to Proudhon. In writing this book Marx extensively used notes he had made in 1845-47 from works by various authors, primarily economists. (A description of Marx's notebooks was published in Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Erste Abteilung, Bd. 6, Berlin, 1932.) By the beginning of April 1847 Marx's work was completed in the main and had gone to press (see this volume, p. 72). On June 15, 1847 he wrote a short foreword.

The book was published in Brussels and Paris early in July 1847. Marx's followers saw it as a theoretical substantiation of the platform of the proletarian party which was taking shape at the time. While establishing contact on behalf of this party in the autumn of 1847 with the French socialists and democrats grouped around the newspaper *La Réforme*, Engels, speaking to Louis Blanc, one of its editors, called Marx's book against Proudhon "our programme" (see Engels' letter to Marx of October 25-26, 1847). Ferdinand Wolff, a member of the Communist League, published a detailed review of *The Poverty of Philosophy* in *Das Westphälische Dampfboot* for January and February 1848.

The book was not republished in full during Marx's lifetime. Excerpts from §5 ("Strikes and Combinations of Workers") of Ch. II appeared in different years, mostly between 1872 and 1875, in workers' and socialist publications such as *La Emancipacion, Der Volksstaat, Social-Demokrat* (New York) and others. In 1880 Marx attempted to publish his *Poverty of Philosophy* in the French socialist newspaper *L'Égalité*, the organ of the French Workers' Party, but only the foreword and §1 ("The Opposition Between Use Value and Exchange Value") of Ch. I were published.

The first German edition was made in 1885. The translation was edited by Engels, who also wrote a special preface and a number of notes to it. He mentioned in the preface that while editing the translation he had taken into account corrections made in Marx's hand in a copy of the 1847 French edition. (This copy, which contains also numerous underlinings and vertical lines in the margins, is kept in the library of the North-Eastern University at Sendai, Japan; and a photocopy was presented by Japanese scholars to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow.) It is still not known when Marx made these corrections and alterations. But it was certainly prior to 1876, as a copy presented by Marx to Natalia Utina, wife of N. I. Utin, a member of the Russian Section of the First International, on January 1, 1876 is extant in which almost all of these corrections and alterations are reproduced in an unknown hand.

In 1886, the Russian Marxist Emancipation of Labour group published the first Russian edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy* in a translation made by Vera Zasulich from the German edition of 1885. In 1892 a second German edition appeared. It was provided with a short preface by Engels, dealing with corrections of certain inaccuracies in the text (see Note 75). Engels planned a second French edition for the mid-eighties. With this aim in view he made a list of necessary corrections to be inserted ("Notes et changements") using for this purpose the copy bearing the corrections in Marx's hand. However, this plan was implemented only after Engels' death by Marx's daughter Laura Lafargue in 1896. The corrections were made in the text according to the list drawn up by Engels.

In the present edition all corrections and changes made by Marx in the copy of the 1847 edition and reproduced in the copy presented to Natalia Utina, as well as the relevant corrections in the German 1885 and 1892 editions and in the French 1896 edition, have been taken into account. The changes affecting meaning and the stylistic improvements made in these copies and editions are introduced in the text itself, the original version being given in a footnote. Where the author's corrections and remarks are intended to revise or give greater precision to the original formulations and terminology, owing to the further development of Marxist economic theory, they are given in footnotes, the original text being left unaltered. This will enable readers to appreciate actual level attained by Marxist economic theory by 1847.

Italics in quotations are as a rule Marx's. In some cases the editors have inserted periods to indicate an omission by Marx in quotations and give in square brackets page references which are not in the original. References in square brackets are made to pages in the following English editions of works of English authors quoted by Marx from French translations: D. Ricardo. *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation.* Third edition. London, 1821; A. Smith. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.* Vol. I, London, 1835; Ch. Babbage. *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures.* Second edition. London, 1832; A. Ferguson. *An Essay on the History of Civil Society.* Edinburgh, 1767; J. M. Lauderdale. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Public Wealth.* Edinburgh, 1804; J. Steuart. *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Œconomy...* Vol. I, London, 1767; A. Ure. *The Philosophy of Manufactures...,* Second edition. London, 1835.

The first English edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy* was published in London in 1900 by the Twentieth Century press. The translation was made by Harry Quelch. Since then the work has been republished several times in English. p. 105

[72] The reference is to the period which followed the termination of the Napoleonic wars in 1815 and the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty in France. p. 121

[73] See present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 424-31, 440-43 and Vol. 4, pp. 375-88. p. 125

[74] See Note 70. p. 127

[75] The 1847 edition and the German 1885 edition mistakenly have the name of Hopkins, and lower an inexact date of publication of W. Thompson's book (1827 instead of 1824). This served as a pretext for the Austrian economist Anton Menger to reproach Marx with wrong quoting (see A. Menger, *Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag in geschichtlicher Darstellung*, Stuttgart, 1886, S. 50). Engels corrected the mistakes by writing in the preface to the second German edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy* in 1892 the following: "For the second edition I have only to remark that the name wrongly written Hopkins in the French text has been replaced by the correct name Hodgskin and that in the same place the date of the work of William Thompson has been corrected to 1824. It is to be hoped that this will appease the bibliographical conscience of Professor Anton Menger. London, March 29, 1892. Frederick Engels." p. 138

[76] The *Ten-Hours' Bill* was submitted to Parliament several times. In 1847 after a prolonged struggle the Bill was passed, and applied only to children and women. However, many factory owners ignored it. p. 143

[77] *Equitable-labour-exchange bazaars* were organised by Owenites and Ricardian socialists (John Gray, William Thompson, John Bray) in various towns of England in the 1830s for fair exchange without a capitalist intermediary. The products were exchanged for labour notes, or labour money, certificates showing the cost of the products delivered, calculated on the basis of the amount of labour necessary for their production. The organisers considered these bazaars as a means for publicising the advantages of a non-capitalist form of exchange and a peaceful way — together with cooperatives — of transition to socialism. The subsequent and invariable bankruptcy of such enterprises proved their utopian character p. 144

[78] The reference is to the following passage from Adam Smith's work, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*: "In a tribe of hunters or shepherds a particular person makes bows and arrows, for example, with more readiness and dexterity than any other. He frequently exchanges them for cattle or for venison with his companions; and he finds at last that he can in this manner get more cattle and venison, than if he himself went to the field to catch them. From a regard to his own interest, therefore, the making of bows and arrows grows to be his chief business, and he becomes a sort of armourer." (Vol. I, Book I, Chapter II.) p. 147

[79] Marx refers to the first edition of Cooper's book. In his notebook dating to July-August 1845, this passage is quoted from a second enlarged edition published in London in 1831. p. 153

[80] The full text of the passage from Hegel's *Wissenschaft der Logik* quoted here is as follows: "Die Methode ist deswegen als die ohne Einschränkung allgemeine, innerliche und äußerliche Weise, und als die schlechthin unendliche Kraft anzuerkennen,

welcher kein Objekt, insofern es sich als ein Äußerliches, der Vernunft fernes und von ihr unabhängiges präsentiert — Widerstand leisten, gegen sie von einer besonderen Natur seyn und von ihr nicht durchdrungen werden könnte.... Sie ist darum die höchste *Kraft* oder vielmehr die *einzige* und absolute *Kraft* der Vernunft, nicht nur, sondern auch ihr höchster und *einziger* Trieb, *durch sich selbst in Allem sich selbst zu finden und zu erkennen.*" (Bd. III, Abschnitt 3, Kap. 3). p. 164

81 Marx refers to Chapter VIII "De la responsabilité de l'homme et de dieu, sous la loi de contradiction, ou solution du problème de la providence". p. 173

82 *Le Creusot* (Burgundy) — since the 1830s a big centre of the French metallurgical, machine-building and war industry; at the time referred to, the Creusot works belonged to Schneider and Co. founded in 1836. p. 182

83 The reference is to the first cyclic crisis of overproduction which began in England in 1825. The crisis involved all branches of industry, textiles in particular. It was followed by stagnation in trade, reduction of exports by 16 per cent and imports by 15 per cent and the insolvency of several banks. p. 188

84 *In partibus infidelium* — beyond the realm of reality (literally "in the country of infidels") — an addition to the title of Catholic priests appointed to a purely nominal diocese in non-Christian countries. p. 192

85 Quoting from the French edition of J. Steuart's book published in 1789 (the first English edition: J. Steuart. *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Œconomy, being an Essay on the Science of Domestic Policy in Free Nations* was published in two volumes in London in 1767), Marx made some explanatory additions and changes. Thus he added the words "impôt sur la production" (taxes on production), "impôts sur la consommation" (taxes on consumption) and the last sentence: "Chacun est imposé à raison de la dépense qu'il fait" (Everyone is taxed according to his expenditure). He changed the place of the sentence "Chacun est imposé à raison du profit qu'il est censé faire" (Everyone is taxed in proportion to the gain he is supposed to make), which Steuart has after "Ainsi le monarque met un impôt sur l'industrie" (Thus the monarch imposes a tax upon industry). Instead of "le gouvernement limité" Marx used "le gouvernement constitutionnel". p. 196

86 See notes 28 and 47. p. 208

87 In 1836-38 a new cyclic crisis of overproduction swept over Britain and other capitalist countries. p. 208

88 In 1824 under mass pressure Parliament repealed the ban on the trade unions. However, in 1825 it passed a Bill on workers' combinations, which confirming the repeal of the ban on the trade unions at the same time greatly restricted their activity. In particular, mere agitation for workers to join unions and take part in strikes was regarded as "compulsion" and "violence" and punished as a crime. p. 209

89 The laws in operation at that time in France—the so-called Le Chapelier law adopted in 1791 during the bourgeois revolution by the Constituent Assembly, and the penal code elaborated under the Napoleonic empire in 1810 (Code pénal)—forbade workers to form labour unions or go on strike under pain of severe punishment. The prohibition of trade unions in France was abolished only in 1884. p. 209

90 The *National Association of United Trades* was established in England in 1845 by trade union delegates from London, Manchester, Sheffield, Norwich, Hull, Bristol, and

other cities. Its activity was limited to the struggle for improved conditions of sale of labour power ("a fair wage for a fair day's work") and for improved factory legislation. The association existed until the early sixties, but it ceased to play any big part in the trade union movement after 1851. p. 210

[91] The term "instruments of production" is still used by Marx in a broader sense here than in his later works. Subsequently he drew a more strict distinction between "forces of production" in general and "instruments of production" as a component part of the former. p. 211

[92] Engels had in mind first of all Ferdinand Lassalle who widely used the term "workers' estate" in his writings, in particular in his pamphlet *Arbeiterprogramm* (Workers' Programme) published in 1862. The substitution of the terms "workers" or "fourth estate" for "working class" was characteristic of a number of other representatives of petty-bourgeois socialism. p. 212

[93] See Note 50. p. 213

[94] The reference is to the conservative majority in the French Chamber of Deputies who supported Guizot.

Further on Engels used materials published in *Le Moniteur Universel* for June 4, 18, 23 and 26, 1847. p. 214

[95] See Note 47. p. 217

[96] This article was written by Marx in reply to the propaganda of feudal and Christian socialism carried on by the conservative Prussian newspaper *Rheinischer Beobachter*. This propaganda was aimed at diverting the popular masses from revolutionary struggle against the absolutist regime and at using them in the struggle against the bourgeois opposition. Such ideas permeated, in particular, the article criticised by Marx, which was published anonymously in the *Rheinischer Beobachter* No. 206, July 25, 1847 as the eighth part in the series *Politische Gänge*. On September 2, 1847 this article was reprinted in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* without a title but with introductory words quoted by Marx. It is probable that the author of this article was Herr Wagener, a consistorial councillor in Magdeburg, subsequently a conservative leader, who enjoyed the protection of the Prussian Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine, Eichhorn.

Later, in the mid-sixties, while exposing Lassalleans' advances to Bismarck's Government, Marx and Engels referred to this article by Marx as a document demonstrating the firm standpoint of the workers' party in relation to "royal-Prussian government socialism" (see Statement by Marx and Engels to the editorial board of the newspaper *Social-Demokrat*, February 23, 1865).

The article "The Communism of the *Rheinischer Beobachter*" bore the sign [redacted] instead of a signature. The publication of this article and also of the first part of Engels' essays "German Socialism in Verse and Prose" (see this volume, pp. 220-49) marked the beginning of Marx's and Engels' regular contribution to the newspaper of the German emigrants, the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*. A special editorial note in the preceding issue of the newspaper of September 9, 1847 announced the forthcoming publication of these articles without mentioning, however, the authors' names. Prior to this, Marx and Engels contributed only occasionally to the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* (see this volume, pp. 72-74, 92-95), though they approved their associates—Wilhelm Wolff and Georg Weerth and others—doing so. Prior to their regular contribution the paper followed mainly the

line of its editor-in-chief, the petty-bourgeois democrat Adalbert Bornstedt, who tried to combine eclectically various oppositional ideological trends. But by the autumn of 1847 the influence of the proletarian revolutionaries in the paper gained momentum and soon it became a mouthpiece of the proletarian party which was being organised at the time, in fact the organ of the Communist League.

An excerpt from this article was published in English in K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Religion*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1957. p. 220

[97] See Note 51. p. 225

[98] In his speech from the throne at the opening of the United Diet in Prussia on April 11, 1847, Frederick William IV declared that he would never let the "natural relations between the monarch and the people" turn into "conditioned, constitutional" relations and a "written sheet of paper" be a substitute for a "genuine sacred loyalty". p. 232

[99] Under this common title two essays by Engels were published in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* in which he analysed the poetry and literary-critical work and also the aesthetic views of representatives of "true socialism". The first essay dealt with Karl Beck's book, *Lieder vom armen Mann* (Songs of the Poor Man), published at the end of November 1845 as a sample of the poetry of "true socialism". There are grounds for assuming that Engels' essay on Beck may initially have been included as Chapter 3, the manuscript of which is not extant, in Volume II of *The German Ideology* (see present edition, Vol. 5). This work was most probably written in the first half of 1846 in Brussels.

The second essay analysed Karl Grün's book, *Über Göthe vom menschlichen Standpunkte* (About Goethe from the Human Point of View), published at the end of April 1846, as a sample of the prose or literary critique of "true socialism". Engels' letter of January 15, 1847 to Marx shows that he intended to revise it for Volume II of *The German Ideology* (judging by its contents it was to follow Chapter 4 devoted to the analysis of Karl Grün's book: *Die soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien*, Darmstadt, 1845 [The Social Movement in France and Belgium] as a sample of the historiography of "true socialism"). This essay was most probably written by Engels after he had moved from Brussels to Paris, i.e., between August 15, 1846 and January 15, 1847. p. 235

[100] The words "Wahrheit und Recht, Freiheit und Gesetz" (Truth and Right, Freedom and Law) were used as an epigraph to the progressive German newspaper *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*, banned in Prussia in 1842, and in Saxony early in 1843. p 236

[101] *Restoration*—see Note 72.

*Carbonari*—see Note 29. The carbonari held their meetings under the guise of charcoal sales (Ventes). p. 237

[102] *Ventrus*—representatives of the "belly" of the French Chamber (see Note 94). p. 238

[103] An allusion to "Young Germany"—a literary group which appeared in Germany in the 1830s and was under the influence of Heinrich Heine and Ludwig Börne. The group included such writers as Gutzkow, Wienbarg, Mundt, Laube and Jung, whose stories and articles voiced the opposition sentiments of petty-bourgeois and intellectual advocates of freedom of conscience and the press, the introduction of a constitution, emancipation of women, etc. Some of them advocated granting civil

rights to Jews. Their political views were vague and inconsistent; most of them soon became ordinary liberals. p. 243

[104] The reference is to a spontaneous rising of textile workers in Prague in the latter half of June 1844. The events in Prague led to workers' uprisings in many other industrial centres of Bohemia. The workers' movement, which was accompanied by factory and machine wrecking, was suppressed by government troops. p. 244

[105] The *Friends of Light* was a religious trend opposed to the pietism predominant in the official church and supported by Junker circles. p. 248

[106] The first edition of P. H. Holbach's *Système de la nature, ou des loix du monde physique et du monde moral* (London 1770) bore, for conspirational reasons, the name of the Secretary of the French Academy J. B. Mirabaud, who died in 1760, as its author. p. 251

[107] Joseph Addison's tragedy *Cato* was written in 1713; Goethe's *Leiden des jungen Werthers* in 1774. p. 252

[108] The *Federal Decrees of 1819* (the Karlsbad decisions) were drawn up on the insistence of the Austrian Chancellor Metternich at the conference of the German Confederation in Karlsbad in August 1819 and were endorsed by the Federal Diet on September 20, 1819. These decisions envisaged a number of strict measures against the liberal press, the introduction of preliminary censorship in all German states, strict surveillance over universities, prohibition of students' societies, establishment of an investigation commission for the prosecution of participants in the oppositional movement (so-called demagogues). p. 253

[109] *9 Thermidor*—see Note 3.

*18 Brumaire*—the coup d'état of November 9, 1799 which completed the bourgeois counter-revolution and led to the personal rule of General Napoleon Bonaparte. p. 253

[110] In one of the scenes in Goethe's comedy *Der Bürgergeneral* a rural barber who pretended he was a Jacobin general drank a jug of milk and thus angered the master of the house. p. 261

[111] See Note 53. p. 266

[112] *Ghibellines*—a political party in Italy formed in the 12th century in the period of strife between the popes and the German emperors. It included mostly feudal lords who supported the emperors and furiously opposed the papal party of the *Guelphs*, which represented the upper trade and artisan strata of Italian towns. The parties existed till the 15th century. Dante, who hoped that the emperor's rule would help to overcome the feudal dismemberment of Italy, joined the party of the Ghibellines in 1302. p. 271

[113] The International Congress of Economists held in Brussels on September 16-18, 1847 discussed the attitude towards the movement for the repeal of trade restrictions between individual countries started by the British Anti-Corn Law League (see Note 47).

The Communist League members headed by Marx attended the congress, intending to use it for open criticism of bourgeois economics and for defence of working-class interests.

Marx's name was put on the official list of the congress participants (see *Journal des économistes*, t. XVIII, October 1847, p. 275).

During the congress a sharp controversy arose between the bourgeois majority and a group of Brussels Communists, especially after Georg Weerth's speech criticising the free traders' statements about the benefits of free trade to the working class. The organisers of the congress did not let Marx make his speech and closed the discussion. In reply to this Marx and Engels and their followers carried on the polemic with bourgeois economists in the democratic and proletarian press. p. 274

114 An allusion to the fulfilment of Bentham's will by John Bowring (Bentham bequeathed his body for use for scientific purposes). p. 277

115 The report on other sittings of the congress was not published in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*. On these see Engels' article "The Free Trade Congress at Brussels" (this volume, pp. 282-90). p. 278

116 This work is a part of a speech Marx intended to deliver at the International Congress of Economists in Brussels on September 18, 1847. Not being allowed to do so, Marx rewrote it for the press and sent it to a number of Belgian newspapers. It was published only in the *Atelier Démocratique*, September 29, 1847 in French. Announcing the publication of this article the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* wrote on October 7, 1847: "Unfortunately, not a single big Belgian newspaper had the courage or intelligence to print the speech sent to it." Extant are only a preliminary draft of the speech bearing the author's heading "Protectionists" (see this volume, p. 573) and the German translation of its beginning published in Hamm in 1848 by J. Weydemeyer, a friend of Marx and Engels, together with another speech by Marx on the freedom of trade (see this volume, pp. 450-65). Weydemeyer omitted the end of the speech saying that it was repeated in the speech of January 9.

Engels gives the content of Marx's speech in his article "The Free Trade Congress at Brussels" (see this volume, pp. 282-90). p. 279

117 See Note 47. p. 283

118 The full text of Weerth's speech (Engels quotes parts of it word for word, and gives a free account of others) was published in a number of newspapers, in particular, in French (the language in which it was delivered) in the *Atelier Démocratique* and in German in *Die Ameise* (Grimma) on October 15, 1847. The text published in *Die Ameise* is reproduced in the book: Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Zweiter Band, Berlin, 1956, S. 128-33. In some places the text differs from the passages cited by Engels. Apparently Engels recorded facts more exactly; in particular, in the first passage cited by him he corrected the number of the English proletariat (5 million instead of 3 million as in Weerth), and in the second passage the date on which the Chartists concluded an agreement with the free traders (1845 instead of 1843). p. 283

119 The reference is to provocations on the part of the Anti-Corn Law League which sought to use for its own ends the workers' unrest in the industrial districts of England in August 1842. (On the general strike of 1842 see Note 10.) The free traders encouraged the workers' action during the first stage of the strike hoping to direct their movement towards the struggle for the repeal of the Corn Laws. However, the independent class and political character which this strike assumed as it became general led to the direct and active participation of the free trade bourgeoisie in suppressing the movement. p. 285

[120] See Note 46. p. 285

[121] This refers to the movement for Parliamentary reform in England in 1830-31, to the July revolution of 1830 in France and the revolution of 1830-31 in Belgium which led to the separation of Belgium from Holland. p. 285

[122] The reference is to the brutal suppression of workers' risings in Lyons in 1831 and 1834 and to atrocities perpetrated by government troops against starving workers in Buzançais (Indre Department) who had looted corn shipments and storehouses belonging to profiteers early in 1847. p. 285

[123] On the precision subsequently given by Marx and Engels to these terms which express the relations between the worker and the capitalist, see Note 70. p. 289

[124] The two articles by Engels against Karl Heinzen were written in reply to this petty-bourgeois democrat's slanderous attacks against the Communists and communism as a social trend. In particular, the Polemik column of the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 77 for September 26, 1847 contained Heinzen's statement in which, among other things, he accused the Communists of seeking to split the German revolutionary movement. Heinzen used as a pretext an editorial note in No. 73 of the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, September 12, 1847, in which, while refuting the allegation of a certain German newspaper that the article "Der deutsche Hunger und die deutschen Fürsten" published in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* (No. 49, June 20, 1847) was of a communist character, the editors pointed out that the author of the said article was Heinzen who "as is known ... repeatedly attacked communism". Publishing Heinzen's reply to this note, Adalbert Bornstedt, the paper's editor-in-chief, instead of refuting the insinuations it contained called for appeasement between "various shades of German revolutionaries abroad"; in particular he wrote on behalf of the editors: "We consider it our duty to advise both parties in case polemic arises in some other place to give it up."

As is seen from Engels' letter of September 30, 1847 to Marx the first article with a reply to Heinzen was submitted to the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* on September 27. However, Bornstedt, despite his agreement with Marx and Engels on their regularly contributing to the paper, did not publish Engels' article in the next issue (No. 78) on the pretext of lack of space. Compelled to publish it in No. 79 on October 3, 1847 in the Polemik column he again repeated in the editorial note his appeal to both parties to avoid mutual accusations. p. 291

[125] Heinzen visualised the future Germany as a republican federation of autonomous lands, similar to the Swiss Confederation. This was the meaning given by many petty-bourgeois democrats to the slogan of German unity, the symbol of which was the black-red-and-gold banner. Marx and Engels considered such an interpretation of the slogan inconsistent with the struggle against the survivals of medieval seclusion and political disunity. To oppose this they put forward the demand of a single, centralised democratic republic of Germany. p. 293

[126] Engels enumerates some major peasant rebellions of the Middle Ages: the rebellions of Wat Tyler (1381) and Jack Cade (1450) in England, the peasant revolt in France in 1358 (Jacquerie) and the peasant war in Germany (1524-25). In later years as a result of studying the history of the peasant struggle against feudalism and drawing on the experience of revolutionary actions of the peasantry during the revolution of 1848-49 Engels changed his estimate of the peasant movements' character. In *The Peasant War in Germany* (1850) and other works he showed the

revolutionary liberation character of peasant revolts and their role in shaking the foundations of feudalism. p. 295

127 The *Illuminati* (from the Latin *illuminatus*) — members of a secret society founded in Bavaria in 1776, a variety of Freemasonry. The society consisted of oppositional elements from the bourgeoisie and nobility, who were dissatisfied with princely despotism. At the same time a characteristic feature of this society was the fear of the democratic movement, reflected in the rules, which made rank-and-file members blind tools of their leaders. In 1785 the society was banned by the Bavarian authorities. Similar societies existed also in Spain and France. p. 303

128 With this article Engels began contributing to the newspaper of the French republican democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists *La Réforme*. Determined to use the French radical press to spread communist ideas and to promote international unity of revolutionary proletarian and democratic circles in the European countries, Engels established close contacts with the editors of *La Réforme* in the autumn of 1847. In his letter to Marx of October [25-]26, 1847 he wrote that he had made arrangements with Ferdinand Flocon, one of the editors, for the weekly publication of an article on the situation in England. Engels intended to popularise in France the Chartist movement and the material from the Chartist press, primarily *The Northern Star*. The article Engels proposed to Flocon (at first it was intended for Flocon's personal information) was published, as Engels himself stated, without any alterations.

After this the newspaper carried almost every week Engels' articles or summaries of *The Northern Star* reports on the Chartist movement which he translated into French. These summaries, as a rule, bore no title. Sometimes they were published in the column "The Chartist Movement", or "The Chartist Agitation", and usually began with the words "They write from London...". Engels contributed to *La Réforme* up to January 1848. Despite differences in views with the editors (in particular Louis Blanc and Alexandre-Auguste Ledru-Rollin), Engels' articles and his propaganda of Chartism helped to overcome to some extent this paper's national exclusiveness and had a revolutionising influence on its readers—the French working class and radical-minded middle sections. p. 307

129 The intended publication of the Chartist daily newspaper *Democrat* did not materialise. p. 308

130 Only a narrow circle of persons with electoral qualifications took part in the ballot (see Note 46). p. 308

131 On the general strike in England in 1842, see Note 10. p. 309

132 The editors of *L'Atelier* prefaced Engels' article with the following note: "A German worker who has been living in England for a long time has sent us a letter we are giving below concerning one of the articles which was published last month. We hasten to print this letter which deserves being printed for a number of reasons."

On his contacts with *L'Atelier* editors who were under the influence of Christian socialism Engels wrote to Marx on October [25-]26, 1847 in connection with the publication of this article: "I was ... at *L'Atelier*. I brought a correction to my article on the English workers in the last issue.... These gentlemen were very cordial.... They kept on suggesting to me to contribute. However, I shall agree only in the last resort...."

This article was published in English in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles on Britain*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. p. 310

133 The work is a continuation of the polemic with Karl Heinzen. The latter replied to Engels (see this volume, pp. 291-306) with a long article "Ein 'Repräsentant' der Kommunisten" full of rude abuse of his opponent and of the theory of scientific communism in general (Marx ironically called this article "Heinzen's Manifesto Against the Communists"). After the publication of this article in full in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* (No. 84, October 21, 1847) Bornstedt, the editor of the newspaper, again appealed to the contending parties to take the polemic elsewhere as the newspaper could not afford to publish such long articles. However, the editorial board had to agree to publish Marx's reply to Heinzen in full. When they began to publish the reply in No.86 on October 28, 1847 the editors even censured Heinzen in an editorial note for the harsh tone of his attacks. On November 14, before the whole of Marx's article had appeared, the editors published a special note in answer to Heinzen's attempt to continue the polemic: "We refuse to publish in the *Deutsche-Brüseller-Zeitung* Heinzen's letter of November 1 from Geneva in which he attacks the editorial board of this paper in an infamous way and tries to involve the paper and Karl Marx, for his first article in No. 86, without waiting for the continuation, in a vile private squabble. We declare that this is the way we shall deal with Heinzen's subsequent letters, despite his philistine assertions that he has a right to use our paper to express his views. We shall reply to possible public accusations in the proper time and place if we deem it necessary."

Marx's work was published in the Polemik column in several issues. There were some editorial notes to the first part of it (to the expression "grobian literature", literary personages "Solomon and Marcolph", "goose preacher"). Subsequently, however, author's notes were provided. Nos. 92 and 94 of November 18 and 25, 1847 contained errata. All the corrections, some of which are author's improvements, have been taken into account in the present edition.

This work was published in English abridged in K. Marx, *Selected Essays*, Parsons, London, 1926. p. 312

134 This note (to the title of the second instalment of the article) published in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* No. 87, October 31, 1847 was evidently written by Marx in reply to the editorial appeal to the contending parties (see Note 133) to abstain from private polemics. p. 313

135 Here and below Marx cites Shakespeare from August Schlegel and Ludwig Tieck's edition: *Shakspeare's dramatische Werke*, Th. 1-9, Berlin, 1825-33. p. 313

136 *Communes*—self-governing urban communities in medieval France and Italy. For their description see Engels' note to the 1888 English edition and the 1890 German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (this volume, p. 486). p. 320

137 By the *German war of liberation* is meant the struggle for liberation from Napoleonic rule in 1813-14 (for more details, see Note 22). In this war as well as in the campaign of 1815, after Napoleon's short-lived restoration, the German states, including Austria and Prussia, which were members of the Holy Alliance (see Note 24), fought against Napoleonic France in the 6th anti-French coalition, the main organiser of which was Britain. p. 320

138 Marx refers to the "true Levellers" or "Diggers" who broke away from the democratic republican Levellers' movement during the English bourgeois revolution of the mid-17th century. Representing the poorest sections of the population and suffering from feudal and capitalist exploitation in town and countryside, the Diggers, in contrast to the rest of the Levellers, who defended private property,

carried on propaganda for community of property and other ideas of egalitarian communism, attempting to establish common ownership of the land through collective ploughing of communal waste land. p. 321

[139] On the struggle of the English bourgeoisie against the Corn Laws, see Note 47. p. 322

[140] Marx cites the report of the commission under the chairmanship of William Morris Meredith to investigate the operation of the Poor Law. The report submitted to the Pennsylvania Congress on January 29, 1825 was published in *The Register of Pennsylvania* on August 16, 1828. p. 323

[141] Apparently Marx is citing the following edition: Th. Cooper, *Lectures on the Elements of Political Economy*, London, 1831. (The first edition was published in Columbia in 1826.) This is proved by the coincidence of the pages referred to and the relevant passages in the above-mentioned edition, and also by the excerpts copied out by Marx (including the passage cited) in his preparatory notebooks (see *MEGA*, Abt. I, Bd. 6, Berlin 1932, S. 604). p. 324

[142] See Note 38. p. 324

[143] The reference is to the failure of the Peasant War in Germany (1524-25)p. 326

[144] *Thirty Years' War, 1618-48*—a European war, in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Hapsburgs and the Catholic German princes rallied under the banner of Catholicism fought the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherland and a number of German states which had become Protestant. The rulers of Catholic France—rivals of the Hapsburgs—supported the Protestant camp. Germany was the main arena of this struggle, the object of plunder and territorial claims. The Treaty of Westphalia concluded in 1648 sealed the dismemberment of Germany. p. 327

[145] The *September laws* promulgated by the French government in September 1835, restricted the rights of jury courts and introduced severe measures against the press. They provided for increased money deposits for periodical publications and introduced imprisonment and large fines for publishing attacks on private property and the existing political system. The enactment of these laws in conditions of the constitutional July monarchy which had formally proclaimed freedom of the press, emphasised the anti-democratic nature of the bourgeois system. p. 331

[146] *Fontanel*—an artificial ulcer practised in medieval medicine for the discharge of harmful tumours from the body. p. 331

[147] The reference is to the uprising of the Silesian weavers on June 4-6, 1844—the first big class battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in Germany, which assumed the greatest scope in the Silesian villages of Langenbielau and Peterswaldau, and to the uprising of the Bohemian workers in the second half of June 1844. (On this see Note 104.) p. 332

[148] The reference is to the appeals for unity of all Germans against the German monarchs in the name of bourgeois freedoms and constitutional reforms, which were advanced by the participants in the Hambach festival—a political event that took place near the castle of Hambach in the Bavarian Palatinate on May 27, 1832. p. 332

[149] Movement for the repeal of the Corn Laws—see Note 47. On the election of the Chartist leader Feargus O'Connor to Parliament—see Note 46. p. 333

[150] The reference to Mably is not exact: the draft constitution for the Corsicans was drawn up by Rousseau and not by Mably. (J. J. Rousseau, *Lettres sur la législation de la Corse*, Paris, 1765). Mably, as well as Rousseau, drew up the draft constitution for the Poles. (G. Mably, "Du gouvernement et des lois de Pologne" in: *Collection complète des œuvres*, t. 8, Paris, 1794 à 1795.) p. 334

[151] An allusion to the conduct of the representatives of the party of the big bourgeoisie—the Girondists—after they had been removed from government and the Jacobins established their dictatorship in France following the popular uprising of May 31-June 2, 1793. In the summer of the same year the Girondists rose in revolt against the Jacobin government to defend the rights of the departments to autonomy and federation. After the revolt had been suppressed many Girondist leaders (Barbaroux among them) were sentenced by the revolutionary tribunal and executed. p. 335

[152] *Le Comité de salut public* (The Committee of Public Safety) established by the Convention on April 6, 1793 during the Jacobin dictatorship (June 2, 1793-July 27, 1794) was the leading revolutionary government body in France. It lasted till October 26, 1795. p. 335

[153] The reference is to the stories for children written by the German pedagogue J. H. Campe, in particular his book *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*, a section of which was devoted to the Peruvian Incas and the Spanish conquest of Peru. p. 336

[154] An allusion to articles which appeared in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, distorting the ideas of utopian communism and socialism and attempting to ascribe communist views to the radical organs of the German press. Marx exposed this attempt in his article "Communism and the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*" published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* of October 16, 1842 (see present edition, Vol. 1). p. 337

[155] Engels' work *Principles of Communism* reflects the next stage in the elaboration of the programme of the Communist League following the "Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith". This new version of the programme was worked out by Engels on the instructions of the Paris circle authority of the Communist League. The decision was adopted after Engels' sharp criticism at the committee meeting, on October 22, 1847, of the draft programme drawn up by the "true socialist" M. Hess, which was then rejected.

Comparison of the text of the *Principles of Communism* with that of the "Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith" proves that the document written by Engels at the end of October 1847 is a revised version of the Draft discussed at the First Congress of the Communist League. The first six points of the Draft were completely revised. Engels had felt compelled at that time to make some concessions in them to the as yet immature views of the League of the Just leaders. Some of these points were omitted in the *Principles*, others substantially changed and put in a different order. In the rest the arrangement of both documents coincides, though there are several new questions in the *Principles*: 5, 6, 10-14, 19, 20 and 24-26.

The *Principles of Communism* constituted the immediate basis for the preliminary version of the *Communist Manifesto*. In his letter of November 23-24, 1847 to Marx Engels wrote about the advisability of drafting the programme in the form of a communist manifesto, rejecting the old form of a catechism. In writing the *Manifesto* the founders of Marxism used some propositions formulated in the *Principles of Communism*.

The *Principles of Communism* were published for the first time in English in *The Plebs-Magazine,* London, in July 1914-January 1915; a separate edition was put out in Chicago in 1925 (The Daily Workers Publishing C°), in subsequent years they were published several times together with the *Communist Manifesto.* p. 341

156 See Note 70. p. 341

157 The reference is to class-divided societies. Subsequently Engels thought it necessary to make special mention of the fact that in their works written in the 1840s, while touching upon the problem of class antagonisms and class struggle in history, Marx and he made no mention of the primitive classless stage of human development because the history of that stage had as yet been but little studied. (See Engels' note to the English edition of the *Communist Manifesto,* 1888, this volume, p. 482). p. 341

158 In the Appendix to the 1887 American edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (first published in 1845) and also in the Preface to the English edition and in the Preface to the Second German edition (1892), Engels wrote about the recurrence of crises: "The recurring period of the great industrial crisis is stated in the text as five years. This was the period apparently indicated by the course of events from 1825 to 1842. But the industrial history from 1842 to 1868 has shown that the real period is one of ten years; that the intermediate revulsions were secondary, and tended more and more to disappear." p. 347

159 The conclusion that the victory of the proletarian revolution was possible only simultaneously in the advanced capitalist countries, and hence impossible in one country alone, first made by Marx and Engels in *The German Ideology* (see present edition, Vol. 5, Ch. I, 2[5]) and most definitely formulated in the *Principles of Communism,* was arrived at in the period of pre-monopoly capitalism. However, in their later works Marx and Engels found it necessary to give this proposition a more flexible form stressing the fact that a proletarian revolution should be understood as a considerably prolonged and complex process which could develop initially in several main capitalist countries. See, for example, K. Marx, "Revelations about the Cologne Trial" (1853), Marx's letter of February 12, 1870 to Engels and Engels' letter of September 12, 1882 to Kautsky. Under new historical conditions, Lenin, proceeding from the law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism in the era of imperialism, came to the conclusion that the socialist revolution could first triumph either in only a few countries or even in a single country. This conclusion was first formulated by Lenin in his article "On the Slogan of the United States of Europe" (1915). p. 352

160 See Note 38. p. 356

161 This article, written by Engels for *La Réforme* was reprinted in *The Northern Star* No. 524, November 6, 1847 with the following editorial introduction: "The following article, translated from the *Réforme,* the most able of the French journals, and a consistent supporter of the rights of labour in all countries, will cheer the working classes of England with the proud consolation, that henceforth the battle of universal liberty is not to be confined within the limits of our Sea-bound dungeon". p. 358

162 The reference is to the Chartist Land Cooperative Society founded on the initiative of O'Connor in 1845 (later the National Land Company, it lasted till 1848). The aim of the Society was to buy plots of land with the money collected and to lease them to worker shareholders on easy terms. Among the positive

aspects of the Society's activity were its petitions to Parliament and printed propaganda against the aristocracy's monopoly on land. However, the idea of liberating the workers from exploitation, of reducing unemployment, etc., by returning them to the land proved utopian. The Society's activity had no practical success.

Subsequently, in the "Third International Review" written in autumn 1850 Marx and Engels stressed that the failure of the Land Society was inevitable. They emphasised at the same time that for a while the workers could mistake O'Connor's project for a revolutionary measure only because objectively it was directed against big landownership and thus accorded with the tendency of bourgeois revolutions to break up the big landed estates; only the demand for nationalisation of land put forward somewhat later by the Chartists revolutionary wing (O'Brien, Ernest Jones and others) corresponded to the true interests of the working class (it was included into the Chartist programme of 1851).

Engels thought of sending a detailed report on the activities of the Land Society to *La Réforme* as can be seen from the second part of the article; but apparently he never wrote it, though he reproduced the content of petitions adopted later by this Society in his report "Chartist Agitation" (see this volume, pp. 412-14). p. 358

163 The *banquet in London* on October 25, 1847 was to celebrate the election of the Chartist leader Feargus O'Connor and a number of radicals to Parliament. The elections took place on August 5, 1847 in Nottingham. The account of the banquet used by Engels in this article was published in *The Northern Star* No. 523, October 30, 1847. p. 361

164 The demand for so-called *complete suffrage*, expressed vaguely in a way capable of varying interpretation, was proposed by the representatives of the English radical bourgeoisie in the early 1840s to counter the Chartist social and political programme laid down in the People's Charter and the Chartist petitions. Early in 1842 the radical J. Sturge, who was close to the free traders, tried to found a universal suffrage league in Birmingham with the aim of diverting the workers from revolutionary struggle for the Charter. However, the efforts of Sturge and his adherents to influence the Chartist movement and use it for their own ends were resolutely rebuffed by the Chartist revolutionary wing.

Later, however, the radicals went on trying to replace the Chartists' struggle for universal suffrage and fundamental reform of the parliamentary system with a movement for moderate parliamentary reforms. p. 361

165 The reference is to the July revolution of 1830 in France. p. 362

166 The *National Chartist Association*, founded in July 1840, was the first mass workers' party in the history of the working-class movement. In the years of its upsurge it numbered up to 50,000 members. It was headed by an Executive Committee which was re-elected at congresses and conferences of delegates. The Association initiated many political campaigns and Chartists' conventions. However, its work was hindered by lack of ideological and political unity and a certain organisational vagueness. After the defeat of the Chartists in 1848 and the ensuing split in their ranks the Association lost its mass character, but nevertheless under the leadership of the revolutionary Chartists waged a struggle for the revival of Chartism on a socialist basis. It ceased its activities in 1858. p. 362

167 On the parliamentary reform of 1831-32 in England see Note 33. p. 363

[168] The reference is to the Constitution of the French Republic adopted by the Convention during the Jacobins' revolutionary rule, the most democratic of bourgeois constitutions in the 18th and 19th centuries: it established the republican system, proclaimed freedom of the individual, of conscience, of the press, of petitioning, of legislative initiative, the right to education, social relief in case of inability, resistance to oppression. p. 363

[169] *The Northern Star* No. 523, October 30, 1847, published excerpts from Alphonse Lamartine's article "Déclaration de principes", originally printed in the newspaper *Le Bien Public* in Mâcon. p. 364

[170] See Note 18. p. 364

[171] The reference is to comments of the Paris newspapers *La Démocratie pacifique*, October 25 and 26, 1847, *La Presse*, October 24, 1847 and others on Lamartine's programme. p. 361

[172] This article was occasioned by the civil war in Switzerland unleashed by the seven economically backward Catholic cantons which in 1843 formed a separatist union —the Sonderbund—to resist progressive bourgeois reforms and defend the privileges of the church and the Jesuits. The reactionary actions of the Sonderbund headed by the Catholics and the city patricians were opposed by bourgeois radicals and liberals who in the mid-40s were in the majority in most of the cantons and in the Swiss Diet, the supreme legislative body of the Swiss Confederation. In July 1847 the Diet decreed the dissolution of the Sonderbund, and this served as a pretext for the latter to start hostilities against other cantons early in November. On November 23 the Sonderbund army was defeated by the Federal forces. As a result of this victory and the adoption of a new constitution in 1848, Switzerland, formerly a union of states, became a federal state.

The struggle between radicals on the one side and reactionary patriarchal patricians and clericals on the other attracted Engels' attention as early as 1844, when he described it in his article, "The Civil War in the Valais", published in *The Northern Star* No. 344, June 15, 1844 (see present edition, Vol. 3).

In the present article Engels contrasted modern civilisation to patriarchal backwardness, exposing the Swiss reactionaries and their attempts to link counter-revolutionary separatist aims with the historical traditions of the Swiss people. Engels considered Switzerland's past from this point of view. As a result he presented a somewhat distorted picture of certain periods of its history, particularly the struggle against Austria and Burgundy in the Middle Ages which was anti-feudal on the whole. In his later works of 1856-59 on the history of warfare ("Mountain Warfare", "Infantry", etc.) Engels showed the great historical significance of Switzerland's struggle for independence in the 14th and 15th centuries. Engels also changed his view of the peasants' role in Norway (in the article the stress was laid on their patriarchal traditions). In "Reply to Herr Paul Ernest" (1890) Engels pointed out in particular that the existence of free peasants who had not experienced serfdom had a positive effect on Norway's historical development though it was a backward country due to isolation and natural peculiarities. p 367

[173] In the battle of *Sempach* (Canton of Lucerne) on July 9, 1386 the Swiss defeated the Austrian troops of Prince Leopold III.

At *Murten* (Canton of Freiburg) on June 22, 1476 the Swiss defeated the troops of Carl the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. p. 367

[174] Engels uses this term in relation to the mountain cantons which in the 13th and 14th centuries formed the nucleus of the Swiss Confederation. p. 367

[175] The battle in the *Teutoburg Forest* (9 A.D.) ended in the rout of the Roman legions by the Germanic tribes who had risen against the Roman conquerors. p. 367

[176] The battle of *Morgarten* between the Swiss volunteers and the troops of Leopold of Hapsburg on November 15, 1315 ended in victory for the volunteers.

*Marathon, Plataea* and *Salamis*—sites of important battles won by the Greeks during the wars between Greece and Persia (500-449 B.C.). p. 368

[177] The *Grütli oath*—one of the legends woven round the foundation of the Swiss Confederation, the origin of which dates back to the agreement of the three mountain cantons of Schwyz, Uri and Unterwalden in 1291. According to this legend representatives of the three cantons met in 1307 in the Grütli (Rütli) meadow and took an oath of loyalty in the joint struggle against Austrian rule. p. 369

[178] At *Granson* (Canton of Vaud), on March 2, 1476, the Swiss infantry defeated Carl the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. At *Nancy* (Lorraine), on January 5, 1477, the troops of Carl the Bold were routed by the Swiss, the Lorrainians, the Alsatians and the Germans. p. 369

[179] The account of the banquet at Château-Rouge was published in *The Northern Star* No. 508, July 17, 1847. p. 376

[180] The quotation consists of extracts from the leading articles of the *Journal des Débats*, July 13, 15, 18, 19, and August 7, 1847. p. 376

[181] See Note 90. p. 377

[182] See Note 11. p. 378

[183] The events described here took place in Paris at the end of August and the beginning of September 1847. They were provoked by a conflict between shoemakers at a workshop in the Rue St. Honoré and their master, who tried to defraud one of the workers of part of his pay. p. 381

[184] See Note 50. p. 381

[185] This article was first published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *On Britain*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953. p. 383

[186] The session of Parliament opened on November 18, 1847. The democratic forces were represented by the Chartist leader, Feargus O'Connor. p. 383

[187] See Note 166. p. 383

[188] See Note 1. p. 384

[189] The *International League*, or the People's International League, was founded in 1847 by English radicals and free traders. Among its foundation and active members were Thomas Cooper, Sir William Fox, Sir John Bowring and the democratic publicist, poet and engraver William James Linton. The League was also joined by several Italian, Hungarian and Polish emigrants, Giuseppe Mazzini in particular, who was one of its initiators. Its activity was limited to organising meetings and lec-

tures on international problems and distributing pamphlets, and ceased completely in 1848. p. 384

190 In this article Engels used material from *La Réforme*, November 9, 13, 14 and 16, 1847. The banquets of Lille, Avesnes and Valenciennes were held on November 7, 9 and 11, 1847 respectively. p. 385

191 In 1840, under the pretext of fortifying the capital against the external enemy, the French Government began to erect a number of separate forts around Paris. The July monarchy intended them to help safeguard itself against people's revolts. The democratic circles strongly protested against new "Bastilles" being built in Paris. Most of the bourgeois opposition, however, including the followers of the *National*, supported the construction of the forts, justifying it by national defence interests. p. 387

192 Marx's and Engels' participation in the international meeting organised by the Fraternal Democrats to mark the anniversary of the Polish uprising of 1830 showed their eagerness to use their stay in London during the Second Congress of the Communist League (end of November-beginning of December 1847) to strengthen contacts with the democratic and workers' organisations in England. As Vice-President of the Brussels Democratic Association Marx was empowered to establish correspondence between the Association and the Fraternal Democrats and to enter into negotiations on the organisation of an international democratic congress (for details see Note 206).

Concerning the Polish meeting and the reception accorded the German democrats, see this volume, pp. 391-92.

Apart from the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* No. 140, December 3, 1847 and *The Northern Star* No. 528, December 4, 1847 also gave an account of the speeches made by Marx and Engels at the meeting. p. 388

193 This item was in the form of a letter to the editor of *La Réforme*. p. 391

194 The *Democratic Association* (Association démocratique) was founded in Brussels in the autumn of 1847 and united proletarian revolutionaries, mainly German emigrants and advanced bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats. Marx and Engels took an active part in setting up the Association. On November 15, 1847 Marx was elected its Vice-President (the President was Lucien Jottrand, a Belgian democrat), and under his influence it became a centre of the international democratic movement. During the February 1848 revolution in France, the proletarian wing of the Brussels Democratic Association sought to arm the Belgian workers and to intensify the struggle for a democratic republic. However, when Marx was banished from Brussels in March 1848 and the most revolutionary elements were repressed by the Belgian authorities its activity assumed a narrower, purely local character and in 1849 the Association ceased to exist.

*Fraternal Democrats*—see Note 1. p. 391

195 See Note 189. p. 392

196 See Note 145. p. 394

197 The banquet of Dijon, described by Engels, was held on November 21, 1847 and a report on it was given in *La Réforme* on November 24 and 25. Engels repeated his criticism of Louis Blanc's banquet speech somewhat later in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* (see this volume, pp. 409-11). p. 397

198 The reference is to the military alliance concluded in 1778 between Louis XVI and the United States of America during the American War of Independence (1775-83) and to the participation of the French expeditionary corps and navy in the hostilities against England—France's trade and colonial rival. p. 398

199 The reference is to the entry of the French republican army into the Netherlands in January 1795 in support of a local uprising against the aristocratic regime of the Stadholder Wilhelm V. The latter was deposed and the Batavian Republic was established (1795-1806), which soon became dependent on Napoleonic France. p.398

200 For the meaning in which Engels uses the word "cosmopolitism" see Note 8. p. 398

201 In his polemic with Blanc Engels made no attempt to disclose the real nature of the bourgeois "civilisation" the capitalist states were spreading in the economically backward countries. He concentrated here on exposing Louis Blanc's nationalistic bombast about France's so-called civilising role. In their later articles and letters devoted to India, Ireland, China and Iran, Marx and Engels showed that these countries were drawn into the orbit of capitalist relations through their colonial enslavement by capitalist states. They were turned into agrarian and raw material appendages of the metropolis, their natural resources were plundered and their peoples cruelly exploited by the colonialists. The disastrous consequences of English rule in India were described by Marx, in particular, in his "Speech on the Question of Free Trade" (see this volume, pp. 460-61 and 464). p. 399

202 In the latter half of the 16th century the struggle between England and Spain caused by colonial rivalry was closely interwoven with the Netherlands revolution of 1566-1609. The defeat of the Invincible Spanish Armada in 1588 and other victories scored by England over Spain made it easier for the Dutch republic (the United Provinces) to resist the attempts of Spanish absolutism to restore its domination in that region of the Netherlands. In the war against Spain at that period the English and the Dutch often acted as allies. p. 399

203 The reference is to the English revolution of the mid-17th century which led to the eventual establishment of the bourgeois system in the country. p. 399

204 This rhyme was popular among the peasant rebels led by Wat Tyler in 1381 in England. It was widely used by John Ball, one of the leaders of the rebel peasants, in his sermons. It is apparently a paraphrase of the verse by the 14th-century English poet, Richard Rolle de Hampole:

When Adam dalfe and Eve spanne
To spire of Hou may spede,
Where was then the pride of man,
That now marres his meed?

p. 400

205 *Covenanters*—the Scottish Calvinists of the 16th and 17th centuries who concluded special agreements and alliances (covenants) to defend their religion against encroachments on the part of the aristocratic circles tending to Catholicism. On the eve of the 17th-century English revolution the Covenant became for the Scots the political and ideological rallying point of struggle against the absolutism of the Stuarts, for their country's independence. p. 400

206 From the autumn of 1847 onwards the Brussels Democratic Association (see Note 194) discussed the question of convening an international democratic congress to rally the European revolutionary forces in view of impending revolutionary events. Marx and Engels took an active part in preparing for that congress. When in London, at the Second Congress of the Communist League, Marx had talks on the subject with the Chartist leaders and representatives of the proletarian and democratic emigrants. Engels apparently had similar talks with French socialists and democrats. In the beginning of 1848 an agreement was reached to convene the congress in Brussels. It was scheduled for August 25, 1848, the 18th anniversary of the Belgian revolution (see this volume, p. 640). These plans did not materialise, however, because in February 1848 a revolution began in Europe. p. 400

207 This item is Marx's reply to an article by a Belgian publicist, Adolph Bartels, published in the *Journal de Charleroi* on December 12, 1847. Bartels distorted the activity of the revolutionary emigrants resident in Belgium and attacked in particular the communist views of the proletarian German emigrants, their *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* and the international meeting which they helped to organise in London on November 29, 1847 to mark the 17th anniversary of the Polish uprising of 1830.

Bartels' article reflected bourgeoisie's dissatisfaction at the growing influence of the proletarian revolutionaries in the Belgian democratic movement, particularly in the Brussels Democratic Association (see Note 194; Bartels was a foundation member but soon broke away). The article coincided in time with a campaign of slander launched by the Belgian clerical and conservative press, and primarily by the *Journal de Bruxelles*, against the revolutionary German emigrants. p. 402

208 The *German Workers' Society* was founded by Marx and Engels in Brussels at the end of August 1847, its aim being the political education of the German workers who lived in Belgium and dissemination of the ideas of scientific communism among them. With Marx, Engels and their followers at its head, the Society became the legal centre rallying the revolutionary proletarian forces in Belgium. Its best activists were members of the Communist League. The Society played an important part in founding the Brussels Democratic Association. It ceased to exist soon after the February 1848 revolution in France when the Belgian police arrested and banished many of its members. p. 402

209 The *Journal de Bruxelles* of December 14, 1847, gave a distorted account of Marx's speech at the Polish meeting in London on November 29, 1847. p. 403

210 *Congregatio de propaganda fide*—a Catholic organisation founded by the Pope in 1622 with the aim of spreading Catholicism in all countries and fighting heresies. p. 403

211 Marx refers to the report published in *The Northern Star* of December 4, 1847 on the London meeting of November 29 in support of fighting Poland. Marx's speech was abridged and inaccurately rendered. p. 403

212 Lamartine's letter was published in a number of other papers besides *Le Bien Public*, in particular in *La Presse*, *L'Union monarchique*, and as a leaflet entitled *Opinion du citoyen Lamartine sur le communisme*. It was a reply to Etienne Cabet who through the newspaper *Populaire* requested Lamartine to give his opinion of Cabet's communist views. p. 404

[213] Engels' articles in support of the newspaper *La Réforme* in its dispute with the moderate republicans of *Le National* drew the attention of the staff of *La Réforme* and met with their approval, especially that of Ferdinand Flocon, one of its editors. He praised Engels' articles on this subject in *The Northern Star* (see this volume, pp. 375-82, 385-87, 438-44) and in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* (this article), as Engels informed Marx in a letter of January 14, 1848 from Paris. p. 406

[214] The *dynastic opposition*—an oppositional group in the French Chamber of Deputies during the July monarchy (1830-48). The group headed by Odilon Barrot expressed the sentiments of the liberal industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, and favoured a moderate electoral reform, which they regarded as a means to prevent revolution and preserve the Orleans dynasty. p. 406

[215] *Octrois*—city tolls on imported consumer goods, existed in France from the 13th century up to 1949. p. 407

[216] The conspiratorial *Society of Materialistic Communists* was founded by French workers in the 1840s. Its members were influenced by the ideas of Théodore Dézamy, a representative of the revolutionary and materialist trend in French utopian communism.

The trial mentioned by Engels took place in July 1847. The members of the Society were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. p. 407.

[217] The article "Louis Blanc's Speech at the Dijon Banquet" is a version of Engels' report "Reform Movement in France.—Banquet of Dijon" published in *The Northern Star* No. 530, December 18, 1847 (see this volume, pp. 397-401). The *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* published its own version in the form of extracts from *The Northern Star* report. The introductory lines were written by Engels specially for this version, the rest of the text, including the quotation from Louis Blanc's speech, was a translation into German of the part of the report where this speech was criticised. The translation was made almost word for word with but slight deviations which are reproduced here.

For comments on the text, see notes 197-203. p. 409

[218] The translation of the National Petition was not published in *La Réforme*. p. 414

[219] In the latter half of December 1847 Marx delivered several lectures on political economy in the German Workers' Society in Brussels and intended to prepare them for publication in pamphlet form. However, as he later pointed out in the preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859), he did not manage to publish his work *Wage-Labour*, written on the basis of these lectures, because of the February 1848 revolution and his subsequent expulsion from Belgium. Marx's intention to publish these lectures in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* did not materialise either, though on January 6, 1848 the newspaper carried the following note: "At one of the previous meetings of the German Workers' Society Karl Marx made a report on an important subject, 'What Are Wages?' in which the question was presented so clearly, pertinently and comprehensibly, the present situation so sharply criticised and practical arguments cited that we intend soon to make it known to our readers."

Marx's lectures appeared in their final form only in April 1849 in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as the series of articles *Wage-Labour and Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 9). This series was not finished and did not embrace the whole content of Marx's lectures.

Published below is a draft outline of the concluding lectures which Marx had no time to prepare for the press. The manuscript, whose cover bears the words: "Brussels, December 1847", completes *Wage-Labour and Capital.*

The quotations cited in the original in German are either a free translation or paraphrase of writings by various economists and are taken by Marx, as a rule, from his notebooks of 1845-47.

For the use of terms "commodity labour", "value of labour" and "price of labour", see Note 70. p. 415

220 The first four points refer to those of Marx's lectures which were published in the articles entitled *Wage-Labour and Capital.* p. 415

221 The data on the working hours and the number of weavers were taken by Marx from Th. Carlyle's *Chartism*, London, 1840, p. 31, where we read: "Half-a-million handloom weavers, working fifteen hours a day, in perpetual inability to procure thereby enough of the coarsest food...". p. 416

222 An excerpt from Bowring's speech in the House of Commons was used by Marx in his "Speech on the Question of Free Trade" (see this volume, pp. 460-61). p. 416

223 Marx had in mind Carlyle's words about the English Poor Laws: "If paupers are made miserable, paupers will needs decline in multitude. It is a secret known to all rat-catchers: stop up the granary-crevices, afflict with continual mewing, alarm, and going off of traps, your 'chargeable labourers' disappear, and cease from the establishment. A still briefer method is that of arsenic; perhaps even a milder..." (Th. Carlyle, *Chartism*, p. 17). The words "chargeable labourers" are in English in the manuscript. p. 416

224 Marx meant the following passage in J. Wade's *History of the Middle and Working Classes*, p. 252: "The quantity of employment is not uniform in any branch of industry. It may be affected by changes of seasons, the alterations of fashion, or the vicissitudes of commerce." p. 419

225 The reference is to piece-rate wages (see J. Wade, op. cit., p. 267). p. 420

226 Concerning the truck system (Marx used the English term in the manuscript) Babbage wrote: "Wherever the workmen are paid in goods, or are compelled to purchase at the master's shop, much injustice is done to them, and great misery results from it." "...The temptation to the master, in times of depression, to reduce in effect the wages which he pays (by increasing the price of articles at his shop), without altering the nominal rate of payment, is frequently too great to be withstood" (Ch. Babbage, *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures*, second edition, Ld., 1832, p. 304). At the time Marx apparently used the French translation of Babbage's book (Paris, 1833). p. 420

227 Marx gave part of this paragraph in a more extended form in his *Wage-Labour and Capital*, Article V. p. 422

228 See Note 225. p. 424

229 In his notes from Th. Carlyle's *Chartism*, Marx quotes the following passage: "Ireland has near seven millions of working people, the third unit of whom, it appears by Statistic Science, has not for thirty weeks each year as many third-rate potatoes as will suffice them" (p. 25). p. 425

230 The reference is to the war waged by the German people against Napoleon's rule in 1813-14. p. 425

231 Later, when Marx had worked out the theory of surplus value and made a more thorough study of the nature of wages, and the laws determining their rate and level, he came to the conclusion that, contrary to bourgeois economists' opinion, the trade union struggle for higher wages and a shorter working day was of great economic importance and could obtain for the workers more favourable terms for the sale of their labour power to the capitalists. Marx set forth his new point of view in *Wages, Price and Profit* (1865) and in Volume I of *Capital* (1867). p. 435

232 In 1846 the Guizot Government managed to arrange the marriage of the Spanish infanta and Louis Philippe's youngest son and thwart England's plans to marry Leopold of Coburg to Isabella II of Spain. In 1847, during the civil war in Switzerland, the British Foreign Secretary Palmerston avenged this failure of English diplomacy. He persuaded Guizot to espouse a project according to which the five powers were to interfere on the side of the Sonderbund but at the same time secretly assisted the latter's defeat. Guizot's diplomatic manoeuvres suffered a complete failure. p. 438

233 The workers were shot at *Lyons* during the weavers' uprisings in 1831 and 1834.

Clashes between workers and troops at *Preston* took place in August 1842, when spontaneous Chartist disturbances swept through industrial England.

*Langenbielau* (Silesia) was a centre of the weavers' uprising in June 1844. Government troops shot down the rebels.

In *Prague* government troops suppressed the workers' revolt in the summer of 1844. p. 440

234 The reference is to the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* (Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen)—the first part of the French republican constitution of 1793 adopted by the National Convention after the overthrow of the monarchy on August 10, 1792. p. 442

235 *Chant du départ* (Marching Song)—one of the most popular songs of the French Revolution (its authors were Chénier and Méhul). It also remained popular later. p. 442

236 See Note 191. p. 443

237 The reference is to the *Constitutional Charter* (Charte constitutionnelle) adopted after the 1830 revolution. It was the fundamental law of the July monarchy. p. 443

238 This article was first published in English in the book, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. p. 445

239 *King's County* was the name given by the English conquerors to the county of Offaly (Central Ireland) in honour of Philip II of Spain, husband of Mary Tudor, Queen of England. At the same time the neighbouring county of Laoighis (Leix) was renamed Queen's County. p. 445

240 The *Anglo-Irish Union* was imposed on Ireland by the English Government after the suppression of the Irish rebellion of 1798. The Union, which came into force on January 1, 1801, abrogated the autonomy of the Irish Parliament and made Ireland even more dependent on England. After the 1820s the demand for the repeal of the Union was a mass issue in Ireland, but the Irish liberals who headed the national

movement, O'Connell among them, regarded agitation for the repeal only as a means to wrest concessions from the English Government in favour of the Irish bourgeoisie and landowners. In 1835, O'Connell came to an agreement with the English Whigs and discontinued agitation altogether. Under the pressure of the mass movement, however, the Irish liberals were compelled in 1840 to set up the Repeal Association, which they tried to direct towards compromise with the English ruling classes.

The repeal of the Union was put up for discussion in Parliament on November 18, and the Coercion Bill on November 29, 1847. Accounts of O'Connor's part in the debates, his suggestions and petitions demanding the repeal of the Union and protesting against the Coercion Bill were given in *The Northern Star* Nos. 528 and 529, December 4 and 11, 1847. p. 446

[241] This article was first published in English in the book, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. p. 448

[242] *Repealers* were advocates of the repeal of the Anglo-Irish Union and restoration of the Irish Parliament's autonomy. p. 448

[243] See Note 240. p. 448

[244] *Conciliation Hall*—a public hall in Dublin where meetings were often organised by the Repeal Association. p. 449

[245] The reference is to the second national petition presented to Parliament by the Chartists in May 1842. Together with the demand for the adoption of the People's Charter, the petition contained a number of other demands, including that of the repeal of the Union of 1801. The petition was rejected by Parliament. p. 449

[246] The basis of this "Speech on the Question of Free Trade" was the material Marx prepared for a speech he was to have delivered at the Congress of Economists in September 1847 (see this volume, pp. 270-81 and 287-90 and also Note 116), with the addition of new facts and propositions. The *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* of January 6 announced in advance that Marx was to speak on free trade. At the same meeting of January 9 at which Marx made his speech, the Brussels Democratic Association decided to have it published in French and Flemish at the Association's expense. On January 16, 1848, the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* published a report on the meeting and a detailed summary of Marx's speech. "Thanks to *Karl Marx's* speech on the question of free trade," the report said, "this meeting turned out to be one of the most interesting of all held by the Association. The report in French took more than an hour, and the audience listened with unflagging attention all the time." *La Réforme* of January 19, 1848, also carried an item by Bornstedt on Marx's speech.

The speech was published as a pamphlet in French (*Discours sur la question du libre échange*. Prononcé à l'Association Démocratique de Bruxelles, dans la séance publique du 9 Janvier 1848, par *Charles Marx*. Imprimé aux frais de l'Association Démocratique) at the end of January 1848. The Flemish edition apparently did not materialise. The *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* published its first notification of the publication on February 3. That same year the pamphlet was translated into German and published in Hamm (Germany) by Joseph Weydemeyer together with the beginning of the speech Marx was to have delivered at the Congress of Economists (*Zwei Reden über die Freihandels- und Schutzzollfrage von Karl Marx*. Aus dem Französischen übersetzt und mit einem Vorwort und erläuternden Anmerkungen versehen von J. Weydemeyer. Hamm, 1848). In 1885 this work was republished on

Engels' wish as a supplement to the first German edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy* which he had prepared, and since then it has repeatedly been republished with that work.

"The Speech on the Question of Free Trade" was first published in English in 1888 in Boston (USA) under Engels' supervision. He actually edited the translation made by Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky, an American socialist. In a letter of May 2, 1888, Engels wrote to her that he had brought her translation, made from the German version of 1885, nearer to the French original and in several places had "for the sake of clearness taken more liberties". Engels wrote a preface for this edition which was published earlier (July 1888) in German in the journal *Die Neue Zeit* as an article entitled "Protectionism and Free Trade". The American edition of the pamphlet appeared in September 1888 (1889 on the title page). Its title was: *Free Trade.* A Speech Delivered before the Democratic Club, Brussels, Belgium, Jan. 9, 1848. With Extract from *La Misère de la Philosophie* by Karl Marx. Engels was satisfied with the edition (see his letter of September 18, 1888 to Kelley-Wischnewetzky). In this volume "The Speech on the Question of Free Trade" is given in the English translation edited by Engels, except for the title which corresponds to the original. Retained are some technical peculiarities of the Boston edition, e.g., paragraphing which somewhat differs in this respect from the French edition of 1848. Where the texts of the 1888 and 1848 editions differ in meaning this is pointed out in a footnote. Pages of sources quoted by Marx are given in brackets. Reference is also made for the reader's convenience to the English editions of Ricardo and Ure (Third Edition, London, 1821 and Second Edition, London, 1835—respectively) which Marx made use of in French translations at that time. p. 450

[247] See Note 28. p. 450

[248] See Note 47. p. 454

[249] See Note 76. p. 456

[250] The address "The Fraternal Democrats (assembling in London), to the working classes of Great Britain and Ireland" was adopted at the Society's meeting on January 3, 1848 and published in *The Northern Star* No. 533, January 8, 1848. It is quoted below abridged. p. 466

[251] Luneau's interpellation in the Chamber of Deputies concerning the sale of appointments in the Finance Ministry was answered in the negative by the then Minister of Finance, Lacave-Laplagne, on June 13, 1846. The publication of Petit's pamphlet and the sharp reaction to it on the part of the public caused *La Réforme* to publish extracts from the above interchange between Luneau and the Minister of Finance, and also the speech on this subject made by H. M. Dupin, an opposition deputy (quoted by Engels below). p. 470

[252] The liberation struggle of the Algerians led by Emir Abd-el-Kader against the French colonialists lasted with short interruptions from 1832 to 1847. Between 1839 and 1844, the French used their considerable military superiority to conquer Abd-el-Kader's state in Western Algeria. However, he continued guerrilla warfare relying on the help of the sultan of Morocco, and when the latter was defeated in the Franco-Moroccan war of 1844, Abd-el-Kader hid in the Sahara oases. The last stage of this struggle was an insurrection in Western Algeria in 1845-47 which was put down by the French colonialists.

In one of his reports published in *The Northern Star* in 1844 Engels commended the resistance of the local population to the French colonisation of Algeria (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 528-29). In this article (1847) Engels considered the Algerian movement under Abd-el-Kader from a different angle. As the text below shows, he denounced the barbaric methods used by bourgeois France in the conquest of Algeria, but saw this as the inevitable way in which capitalist relations superseded more backward feudal and patriarchal ones and regarded any opposition to this process as doomed to failure. Engels' judgment was undoubtedly influenced by the ideas he then had of the proximity of a socialist revolution in the developed countries, which was to put an end for ever to all social and national oppression. He thought that favourable preconditions for this revolution were created by backward countries being drawn into the orbit of capitalism with its centralising and levelling tendencies, despite all their negative aspects. This judgment was not final, however. Later, after a deeper study of the history of colonial conquests and the resistance of the oppressed masses to colonial domination, Engels emphasised the liberating and progressive nature of the struggle of oppressed peoples against the capitalist colonial system which helped create favourable conditions for the working class to overthrow the capitalist system. It was from this point of view, in particular, that he described the liberation movement of the Algerians in the article "Algeria" written for the *New American Encyclopaedia* in 1857. p. 470

253 Here the editors of *The Northern Star* gave the following note: "This letter should have reached us last week, but was only delivered to us, by the friend who brought it from Paris, on Tuesday last. Before this time our correspondent will have discovered his error in imagining for a moment the possibility of Louis Philippe, or his man of all work, performing a just or generous action. Abd-el-Kader will not be sent to Egypt; he is to be kept a close prisoner in France. Another specimen of the *honour* of kings!—the *honour* of Philippe the Infamous!"

Abd-el-Kader was held in France as a prisoner for about five years. Only in 1852 was he permitted to move to Damascus, Syria. p. 470

254 See Note 162. p. 474

255 *St. Stephen's Chapel*, where the House of Commons sat since 1547, was destroyed by fire in 1834. p. 474

256 *'Change Alley*—a street in London, where the Board of South Sea Company (founded in the beginning of the 18th century) had its offices; a place where all kinds of money operations and speculative deals were conducted. p. 475

257 The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was written by Marx and Engels as the Communist League's programme on the instruction of its Second Congress (London, November 29-December 8, 1847), which signified a victory for the followers of the new proletarian doctrine who had upheld its principles during the discussion of the programme questions.

When Congress was still in preparation, Marx and Engels arrived at the conclusion that the final programme document should be in the form of a Party manifesto (see Engels' letter to Marx of November 23-24, 1847). The catechism form usual for the secret societies of the time and retained in the "Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith" and *Principles of Communism* (see this volume, pp. 96-103 and 341-57), was not suitable for a full and substancial exposition of the new revolutionary world outlook, for a comprehensive formulation of the proletarian movement's aims and tasks.

Marx and Engels began working together on the *Manifesto* while they were still in London immediately after the congress, and continued until about December 13 when Marx returned to Brussels; they resumed their work four days later (December 17) when Engels arrived there. After Engels' departure for Paris at the end of December and up to his return on January 31, Marx worked on the *Manifesto* alone.

Hurried by the Central Authority of the Communist League which provided him with certain documents (e. g., addresses of the People's Chamber (*Halle*) of the League of the Just of November 1846 and February 1847, and, apparently, documents of the First Congress of the Communist League pertaining to the discussion of the Party programme), Marx worked intensively on the *Manifesto* through almost the whole of January 1848. At the end of January the manuscript was sent on to London to be printed in the German Workers' Educational Society's printshop owned by a German emigrant J. E. Burghard, a member of the Communist League.

The manuscript of the *Manifesto* has not survived. The only extant materials written in Marx's hand are a draft plan for Section III, showing his efforts to improve the structure of the *Manifesto*, and a page of a rough copy (both are published in this volume in the section "From the Preparatory Materials", pp. 576 and 577-78).

The *Manifesto* came off the press at the end of February 1848. On February 29, the Educational Society decided to cover all the printing expenses.

The first edition of the *Manifesto* was a 23-page pamphlet in a dark green cover. In April-May 1848 another edition was put out. The text took up 30 pages, some misprints of the first edition were corrected, and the punctuation improved. Subsequently this text was used by Marx and Engels as a basis for later authorised editions. Between March and July 1848 the *Manifesto* was printed in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*, a democratic newspaper of the German emigrants. Already that same year numerous efforts were made to publish the *Manifesto* in other European languages. A Danish, a Polish (in Paris) and a Swedish (under a different title: "The Voice of Communism. Declaration of the Communist Party") editions appeared in 1848. The translations into French, Italian and Spanish made at that time remained unpublished. In April 1848, Engels, then in Barmen, was translating the *Manifesto* into English, but he managed to translate only half of it, and the first English translation, made by Helen Macfarlane, was not published until two years later, between June and November 1850, in the Chartist journal *The Red Republican*. Its editor, Julian Harney, named the authors for the first time in the introduction to this publication. All earlier and many subsequent editions of the *Manifesto* were anonymous.

The growing emancipation struggle of the proletariat in the 60s and 70s of the last century led to new editions of the *Manifesto*. The year 1872 saw a new German edition with minor corrections and a preface by Marx and Engels where they drew some conclusions from the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871. This and subsequent German editions (1883 and 1890) were entitled the *Communist Manifesto*. In 1872 the *Manifesto* was first published in America in *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*.

The first Russian edition of the *Manifesto*, translated by Mikhail Bakunin with some distortions, appeared in Geneva in 1869. The faults of this edition were removed in the 1882 edition (translation by Georgi Plekhanov), for which Marx and Engels, who attributed great significance to the dissemination of Marxism in Russia, had written a special preface.

After Marx's death, the *Manifesto* ran into several editions. Engels read through them all, wrote prefaces for the 1883 German edition and for the 1888 English edi-

tion in Samuel Moore's translation, which he also edited and supplied with notes. This edition served as a basis for many subsequent editions of the *Manifesto* in English—in Britain, the United States and the USSR. In 1890, Engels prepared a further German edition, wrote a new preface to it, and added a number of notes. In 1885, the newspaper *Le Socialiste* published the French translation of the *Manifesto* made by Marx's daughter Laura Lafargue and read by Engels. He also wrote prefaces to the 1892 Polish and 1893 Italian editions.

The 1888 English edition is taken as the basis for the present publication. All the differences in reading between this and the German editions and also Engels' notes to it and to the 1890 German edition are given in footnotes. p. 477

258 See Note 70. p. 491

259 The Ten-Hours' Bill, the struggle for which was carried on a number of years, was passed in 1847 (see Note 76) in the atmosphere of acute contradictions between the landed aristocracy and the industrial bourgeoisie caused by the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 (see notes 28 and 47). To avenge themselves on the industrial bourgeoisie some of the Tories supported this Bill. A detailed description of the stand taken by various classes on the problem of limiting the working day was given by Engels in his articles "The Ten Hours Question" and "The English Ten-Hours' Bill" (present edition, Vol. 10). p. 493

260 In the Preface to the 1872 German edition of the *Communist Manifesto* the authors particularly pointed out that "no special stress is laid" on the transitional revolutionary measures proposed at the end of Section II, and that the concrete character and practical application of such measures would always depend on the historical conditions of the time. p. 505

261 See Note 61. p. 508

262 An allusion to Immanuel Kant's *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft* (Critique of Practical Reason), published just before the French Revolution (1788). p. 510

263 *Réformistes* (referred to below as Social-Democrats, this volume, p. 518)—see Note 60. p. 517

264 See Note 38. p. 518

265 See Note 55. p. 518

266 This article was first published in English in the book, K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, Lawrence, London, 1930. p. 520

267 The reference is to the Prussian United Diet convened in April 1847 (see Note 51), which the Prussian ruling circles considered as the maximum constitutional concession to the liberal bourgeoisie. To counter the demands of the opposition the Prussian king and his supporters tried to substitute this assembly representing the estates for a genuinely representative one. The fact that the majority of the Diet refused to vote the new loans and taxes showed, however, how far the conflict between the monarchy and the bourgeoisie had gone. p. 520

268 See Note 172. p. 520

269 The reference is to the bourgeois revolution in Belgium (autumn 1830) which resulted in Belgium's secession from the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the establishment there of the constitutional monarchy of the Coburg dynasty.

After the July 1830 revolution in France, the movement for liberal reforms intensified also in Switzerland. In a number of cantons, the liberals and radicals succeeded in having the local constitutions revised in a liberal spirit. p. 520

270 See Note 32. p. 520

271 In the beginning of February 1831, revolts took place in a number of provinces of the Papal states—Romagna, Marca and Umbria—and also the dukedoms of Modena and Parma. They were instigated by the carbonari, members of bourgeois and aristocratic revolutionary secret societies. In the course of this bourgeois revolution in Central Italy an attempt was made to abolish the absolute monarchy (in Modena and Parma), to deprive the Pope of temporal power (in Romagna) and to form a new, larger state—an Alignment of Italian Provinces. The revolt was suppressed by the Austrian army at the end of March 1831. p. 520

272 From 1833 a moderately liberal constitution was in force in Hanover. A prominent part in drawing it up was played by the historian Dahlmann. In 1837 the King of Hanover, supported by the landowners, abolished the constitution and in 1840 passed a new constitutional Act, which reproduced the main principles of the State Law of 1819 and minimised the rights of the representative institutions. p. 521

273 The *Vienna Conference* of ministers of a number of German states was called in 1834 on the initiative of the Austrian Chancellor Metternich and the ruling circles of Prussia to discuss measures to be taken against the liberal opposition and the democratic movement. The conference decided to restrict the rights of the representative institutions which existed in some German states, to intensify censorship, to introduce more strict control over universities and to repress oppositional students' organisations. p. 521

274 On July 12, 1839, the English Parliament rejected the Chartist petition demanding the adoption of the People's Charter. The Chartists failed in their attempt to organise in reply a general strike and other revolutionary actions, including armed struggle. The miners' revolt in Newport (Wales) in early November 1839, which the Chartists organised, was crushed by troops, and severe repressions followed. p. 521

275 See Note 28. p. 521

276 *Sans-Souci* (literally "Without Care")—a summer residence of the Prussian kings in Potsdam (near Berlin). p. 521

277 The reference is to the so-called United Committees consisting of the representatives of the Provincial Diets which met in January 1848 to discuss the draft of a new criminal code. Convening these committees, the Prussian government hoped that the apparent preparation of reforms would calm down the growing public unrest. The work of the committees was interrupted by the revolutionary outbursts that swept over Germany at the beginning of March. p. 522

278 Engels alludes to the speech of Frederick William IV at the opening of the United Diet on April 11, 1847: "As the heir to an unimpaired crown which I must and will preserve unimpaired for those that shall succeed me...." p. 522

279 The reference is to the patriotic and reform movement among the liberal nobility and bourgeoisie in Prussia during the country's dependence on Napoleonic France. p. 523

280 *Roman consulta*, or Roman State Council—a consultative body inaugurated by Pope Pius IX in the end of 1847. It included representatives of the liberal landowners and the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie. p. 523

281 *Pifferari* (from "piffero"—pipe)—herdsmen in the Apennines in Central Italy; a common name for Italian wandering singers.

*Lazzaroni*—a contemptuous nickname for declassed proletarians, primarily in the Kingdom of Naples. Lazzaroni were repeatedly used by the absolutist governments in their struggle against the liberal and democratic movements. p. 523

282 *Pietists*—adherents of a mystical Lutheran trend which arose in Germany in the 17th century and placed religious feeling above religious dogmas. Pietism was directed against the rationalist thinking and philosophy of the Enlightenment and in the 19th century was distinguished by extreme mysticism and hypocrisy. p. 524

283 The reference is to the war of 1846-48 between the United States of America and Mexico, as a result of which the USA seized almost half the Mexican territory, including the whole of Texas, Upper California, New Mexico and other regions.

In assessing these events in his article Engels proceeded from the general conception that it was progressive for patriarchal and feudal countries to be drawn into the orbit of capitalist relations because, he thought, this accelerated the creation of preconditions for a proletarian revolution (see Note 252). In subsequent years however, he and Marx investigated the consequences of colonial conquests and the subjugation of backward countries by large states in all their aspects. In particular, having made a thorough study of the US policy in regard to Mexico and other countries of the American continent, Marx in an article, "The Civil War in the North America" (1861), described it as expansion in the interests of the then dominant slave-owning oligarchy of the Southern States and of the bourgeois elements in the North which supported it, whose overt aim was to seize new territories for spreading slavery. p. 527

284 The project of connecting the Pacific Ocean with the Gulf of Mexico by means of a canal through the Isthmus of Tehuantepec was repeatedly put forward in the USA, which strove to dominate the trade routes and markets in Central America. However, in the 1870s the American capitalists rejected this project, preferring to invest their capital in less expensive railway construction in Mexico. p. 527

285 The reference is to the French army's invasion of Austria during the wars of the European coalitions against the French Republic and Napoleonic France. In March 1797 General Bonaparte's troops defeated the Austrian army in Northern Italy, invaded Austria and launched an offensive on Vienna. This impelled the Austrian government to sign an armistice. In 1805, during the war of England, Austria and Russia against Napoleonic France, most of Austria was occupied by French troops following the capitulation of the Austrian army at Ulm (October 1805). During the Austro-French war of 1809 hostilities took place mainly on Austrian territory and ended in the defeat of the Austrians at Wagram (near Vienna), on July 5 and 6, 1809. p. 530

286 In July 1820 the carbonari, aristocratic and bourgeois revolutionaries, rose in revolt against the absolutist regime in the Kingdom of Naples and succeeded in having a moderate liberal constitution introduced. In March 1821, a revolt took place in the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont). The liberals who headed it proclaimed a constitution and attempted to make use of the anti-Austrian movement in Northern Italy for the unification of the country under the aegis of the Savoy dynasty then in power in Piedmont. Interference by the powers of the Holy Alliance and the occupation of Naples and Piedmont by Austrian troops led to the restoration of absolutist regimes in both states.

For details about the suppression of the revolt in Romagna in 1831 by the Austrians, see Note 271.

During the Polish uprising in the free city of Cracow in 1846 (see Note 55) the Austrian authorities provoked clashes between Ukrainian peasants and detachments of the insurgent nobles in Galicia.

In July 1847, fearing the people's movement in the Papal states, the Austrian authorities brought in troops to the frontier town of Ferrara. In Rome itself they supported the circles which strove to abolish the liberal reforms of Pius IX. However, the general discontent in Italy caused by the occupation of Ferrara forced the Austrians to withdraw their troops. p. 532

287 The Sonderbund, a separatist alliance of patriarchal and aristocratic cantons, which unleashed civil war in Switzerland in November 1847 (see Note 172), received money and armaments from Austria and France, under the pretext that they were guarantors of Switzerland's neutrality (under the Paris Treaty of 1815), and counted on their military interference on its side. p. 534

288 In the atmosphere of growing revolutionary unrest in Hungary the Austrian government attempted to seize from the progressive national opposition the initiative in carrying through a number of bourgeois reforms with the aim of splitting its ranks. In 1843 and 1844 Bills were introduced on the development of credit, road construction, the abolition of customs barriers between Austria and Hungary, the regulation of navigation on the Danube, greater representation of cities in the assemblies of the estates, etc. The manoeuvres of the Austrian government could not, however, halt the national movement or make the opposition renounce its demands for radical changes. p. 535

289 *Prater*—a park in Vienna. p. 535

290 Below Marx gives a critical analysis of the article, "Les Associations démocratiques.—Leur principe.—Leur but" ("Democratic Associations.—Their Principles.—Their Aim"), published in the Belgian radical newspaper *Débat social* (editor-in-chief A. Bartels) on February 6, 1848.

About the Brussels Democratic Association, see Note 194. p. 537

291 *Alliance* (founded in 1841) and *Association libérale* (founded in 1847)—liberal bourgeois political organisations in Belgium. p. 538

292 Marx has in mind Robert Peel's speech in the House of Commons on June 29, 1846, when the government's resignation was discussed. p. 538

293 The reference is to the *People's Charter*—the main programme of political changes proposed by the Chartists (see Note 48). p. 539

294 The reference is to the discussion on free trade held at the meetings of the Brussels Democratic Association in January and early February 1848. It was initiated by Marx's speech on the question of free trade on January 9 (see this volume, pp. 450-65), in which he opposed the tendency of certain bourgeois democrats to idealise free trade. In this speech Marx expressed the opinion not only of the proletarian section but of the majority of the Democratic Association. p. 539

295 Marx refers to the articles published in the *Débat social* of February 6, 1848: "Opinion de M. Cobden, sur les dépenses de la guerre et de la marine" ("M. Cobden's opinion of the Expenses on the War and the Navy") and "Discours prononcé par M. Le Hardy de Beaulieu, à la dernière séance de l'Association Belge pour la liberté commerciale" ("Speech by M. Le Hardy de Beaulieu at the Last Meeting of the Belgian Association in Defence of Free Trade"). p. 539

296 In November 1847 the King of Sardinia, the Pope and the Duke of Tuscany agreed to convene a conference of Italian states to form a Customs Union. The project of a Customs Union met the interests of the bourgeois circles which strove to unite the country "from above" in the form of a federation of states under the Pope or the Savoy dynasty. However, this plan was frustrated by the 1848-49 revolution in Italy and its defeat in 1849. p. 540

297 On the events of 1823 and 1831 in Italy, see notes 271 and 286. p. 541

298 Prior to the 1848 revolution the movement among the German population in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein against a common constitution with Denmark (the draft constitution was made public on January 28, 1848) was a separatist one and did not go beyond moderate bourgeois opposition. Its aim was to create in the north of Germany yet another small German state dependent on Prussia. During the 1848-49 revolution the situation changed. The events in Germany imparted to the national movement in Schleswig and Holstein a revolutionary, liberation character. The struggle for the secession of these duchies from Denmark became an integral part of the struggle for the national unification of Germany and was resolutely supported by Marx and Engels. p. 542

299 See Note 26. p. 543

300 The reference is to the rescripts of Frederick William IV convening a United Diet in Prussia (see Note 51). p. 543

301 The report on the meeting in Brussels to mark the second anniversary of the Cracow uprising (see Note 55) was published in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* on February 24, 1848 (see this volume, p. 644). After the meeting a pamphlet in French was issued, containing the reports of the main speakers. The letters of C. G. Vogler, a German publisher in Brussels, member of the Communist League, to Marx, who on March 5, 1848 moved to Paris after his expulsion from Belgium, show that Marx and Engels took a direct part in the publication of this pamphlet. It came out about March 15, 1848 under the title: "*Célébration, à Bruxelles*, du deuxième anniversaire de la *Révolution Polonaise* du 22 février 1846.—Discours prononcés par MM. A. J. Senault, Karl Marx, Lelewel, F. Engels et Louis Lubliner, Avocat, Bruxelles, C. G. Vogler, Libraire-Editeur, 1848." The pamphlet was prefaced with the following short introductory note (possibly written by Marx or Engels):

"Together with the Polish democrats, the Brussels *Democratic Association* consisting of representatives of various nations celebrated at a public meeting the

second anniversary of the Polish revolution of 1846. The hall was crowded out, and the public most enthusiastically expressed its sympathy for the event.

"Unfortunately, we were unable to reproduce the ardent speeches in Flemish made by two workers, MM. Kats and Pellering. M. Wallau, President of the German Workers' Society in Brussels, himself a working man, spoke in German. His extemporaneous and highly enthusiastic speech testified that the German workers fully share the sentiments of their brothers in France and in England.

"The speeches are given here in the order they were made. They are preceded by the Manifesto of the Provisional Government formed in Cracow on February 22, 1846."

Extracts from Marx's speech were first published in English in the journal *Labour Monthly*, February 1948, and in the collection, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.

p. 545

302 The reference is to the constitution of May 3, 1791 adopted by the Four Years' Diet (1788-92). "The Party of Patriots" which constituted a majority in the Diet strove, through a new constitution and reforms, to undermine the rule of feudal anarchy and the domination of the magnates, to strengthen the Polish state (demands to establish a hereditary constitutional monarchy, to abolish the right of every deputy of the nobility to veto the décisions of the Diet) and also to adapt the feudal system to the needs of bourgeois development (the demand to extend the rights of the urban population, and recognise a moderate form of certain bourgeois freedoms). The constitution preserved serfdom, but gave the peasants a certain opportunity to establish state-guaranteed contractual relations with the landowners. The constitution was opposed by the big land magnates, on whose call Prussia and Russia occupied Poland in 1793 and partitioned it for the second time (it was first partitioned by Prussia, Russia and Austria in 1772). After the suppression of the Polish insurrection of 1794 (the insurgents aimed at restoring the 1791 constitution), the Polish state ceased to exist in 1795 as a result of the third partition of Poland by Austria, Prussia and tsarist Russia. p. 545

303 The *Congress of Vienna* (September 1814-June 1815) composed of European monarchs and their ministers established, after the war of the European powers against Napoleonic France, a system of general treaties embracing the whole of Europe (with the exception of Turkey). The Congress decisions helped to restore feudal order and a number of former dynasties in the states previously conquered by Napoleon, sanctioned the political fragmentation of Germany and Italy, the incorporation of Belgium into Holland and the partition of Poland and outlined repressive measures to be taken against the revolutionary movement. p. 545

304 See Note 172. p. 546

305 See Note 72. p. 546

306 On the *Reform Bill of 1832 in England*—see Note 33; on the abolition of the *Corn Laws*—see Note 28. p. 546

307 An allusion to the results of the liberation war of 1813-15 against Napoleon's rule. The victory was taken advantage of by the aristocracy and nobility of the German states to help preserve the political fragmentation of Germany (see Note 26).

p. 549

308 The reference is to the *Irish Confederation* founded in January 1847 by the radical and democratic elements in the Irish national movement who had broken away

from the Repeal Association (see Note 240). The majority of them belonged to the Young Ireland group which was formed in 1842 by the Irish bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals. The Left, revolutionary wing of the Irish Confederation advocated a people's uprising against English rule and tried to combine the struggle for Irish independence with the campaign for democratic reforms. The Irish Confederation ceased to exist in the summer of 1848 after the English authorities crushed the uprising in Ireland. p. 549

309 See note 32. p. 550

310 The Congress of Vienna in 1814-15 liquidated the so-called duchy of Warsaw which depended on Napoleonic France. It was formed by Napoleon in 1807, after the defeat of Prussia, on the Polish territory seized by Prussia as a result of the three partitions of Poland. The Congress repartitioned the duchy between Prussia, Austria and Russia with the exception of the free city of Cracow, which was under the joint protection of the three powers up to 1846. The part incorporated into Russia was called the Kingdom of Poland with Warsaw as its capital. p. 550

311 Engels refers to the editorial in *La Riforma* No. 14, February 11, 1848 in reply to the article "Von der italienischen Gränze" published in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 31, January 31, 1848. p. 553

312 *Treaties of 1815*—see Note 303; on the liberation wars against Napoleonic France and Engels' opinion of them in the forties and subsequent years—see Note 22. p. 554

313 The reference is to the plan of deployment and operation of government troops in case of a revolt in Paris. It was adopted in 1840. p. 557

314 When the Guizot government fell on February 23, 1848, the supporters of the House of Orleans attempted to form a ministry consisting of moderate monarchists (the Orleanists) Thiers, Billault, and others and headed by Count Molé. The victorious people's insurrection in Paris, however, thwarted the plan to retain the Orleans monarchy. p. 558

315 The posts in the French Provisional Government formed on February 24, 1848, were held mainly by moderate republicans (Lamartine, Depont de l'Eure, Crémieux, Arago, Marie, and the two men mentioned by Engels from the *National*, Marrast and Garnier-Pagès). There were three representatives of the *Réforme* in the government—Ledru-Rollin, Flocon and Louis Blanc, and a mechanic Albert (real name Martin). p. 558

316 The editor George Julian Harney added the following introductory note when publishing this letter in *The Northern Star*, March 25, 1848: "The following letter was received at the time the editor was in Paris; hence its non-appearance until now. Thank God, the days of the contemptible, 'constitutional' tyranny of Belgium are numbered. Leopold is packing his carpet bag." p. 559

317 The Brussels *Association Démocratique* and the *Alliance*—see notes 194 and 291. p. 559

318 See Note 208. p. 560

319 The reference is to the double-faced policy of the French Orleanists on the Belgian question in the early 1830s. During the period of the 1830-31 revolution they fos-

tered plans of annexing Belgium and incited the Belgians to fight for secession from Holland. Simultaneously, at the London Conference of the five powers (Britain, France, Russia, Austria and Prussia) held with intervals in 1830 and 1831, they colluded, at the expense of Belgium, with the powers supporting Holland. As a result the Belgians had to accept the unfavourable terms of the agreement with the Dutch King (finally signed in May 1833) and cede part of their territory to him. p. 564

320 By order of the French authorities Marx was expelled from France at the beginning of February 1845 together with other editors of the radical newspaper *Vorwärts!* published in Paris. Its closure was demanded by the Prussian ruling circles. For details about Marx's expulsion and his move to Belgium, see present edition, Vol. 4, p. 235. p. 565

321 In this article Marx used notes which he had made at the beginning of March 1848 on the arrest, maltreatment and expulsion of Wilhelm Wolff by the Brussels police (see this volume, pp. 581-82). p. 567

322 The *laws on suspects*—the decree passed by the French Convention on September 17, 1793 and other measures of the Jacobin revolutionary government which declared suspect and subject to arrest all persons who in one way or another supported the overthrown monarchy, including all former aristocrats and royal officials who had not testified their loyalty to the revolution. These laws were drawn up in such a form that even people not involved in counter-revolutionary activity could be placed in the category of "suspects". p. 567

323 This article was written by Engels shortly before he left Brussels for Paris and was apparently intended for *La Réforme*. However, it was never published and survived only as a manuscript. p. 569

324 This is apparently a rough outline of a speech Marx intended to make on September 18, 1847 at the Congress of Economists in Brussels (see this volume, pp. 287-89 and notes 113 and 116). The outline was written on the last page of the tenth notebook containing extracts Marx made in the latter half of 1845 and in 1846. Some places in the manuscript are indecipherable because of ink blots (in the text they are marked by periods in square brackets). At the bottom of the text itself and in the margins there are several drawings by Engels apparently of participants in the Congress (see illustration between p. 578 and p. 579).p. 573

325 This extract is in Marx's notebook which contains his manuscript "Wages" and is dated December 1847. There is no direct indication of its purpose in the extant manuscripts or letters. It might have been a preparatory outline either for the "Speech on the Question of Free Trade" which Marx delivered on January 9, 1848 at the meeting of the Brussels Democratic Association, or for lectures on political economy which he delivered in December 1847 to the German Workers' Society in Brussels (see notes 219 and 246). It may also have been intended for a non-extant economic work by Marx.

Marx made a few references in the text to one of his notebooks of excerpts dating to the summer of 1847. The notebook contains a synopsis of G. Gülich's book, *Geschichtliche Darstellung des Handels, der Gewerbe und des Ackerbaus der bedeutendsten handeltreibenden Staaten unserer Zeit*, Bd. 1-5, Jena, 1830-45. The passages referred to are in Vol. 1. Marx usually wrote the author's name as Jülich and in the manuscript used only the initial letter "J" to denote the author. p. 574

326 The draft plan is written on the cover of Marx's notebook containing the manuscript "Wages" (see this volume, pp. 415-37) and dated "Brussels, December 1847". p. 576

327 In the final version of the *Communist Manifesto* points 5 and 6 were not elaborated. p. 576

328 This is the only extant page of the rough version of the *Communist Manifesto*. The fair copy sent to London at the end of January 1848 to be printed did not survive. The page of the rough copy refers in part to the first and mainly to the second section of the *Manifesto*. p. 577

329 *Petits Carmes*—a prison in Brussels. p. 581

330 See Note 208. p. 581

331 *Permanence*—a police station at the Town Hall in Brussels open all round the clock. *Amigo*—a preliminary detention jail in Brussels, situated near the Town Hall (it derived its name from the Flemish word "vrunte"—a fenced place, interpreted by the Spaniards during their domination in the Netherlands as "vriend"—friend, and rendered in Spanish as "amigo"). p. 581

332 This document is a draft of the Rules of the Communist League adopted at its First Congress in the beginning of June 1847 (see Note 69) and distributed among the circles and communities for discussion. It shows the reorganisation work done by the League of the Just leaders as agreed with Marx and Engels, who consented early in 1847 to join the League on the condition that it would be reorganised on a democratic basis and all elements of conspiracy and sectarianism in its structure and activity would be eliminated. Engels, who was present at the Congress, took a direct part in drawing up the Rules. The draft recorded the change in the League's name, and it is referred to here as the Communist League for the first time. The new motto, "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!" was also used for the first time. The former leading body, the narrow People's Chamber (*Halle*), was replaced by the supreme body—the Congress, composed of delegates from local circles; the executive organ was to be the Central Authority. The relations between all the League organisations were based on principles of democratism and centralism. At the same time a number of points in the draft showed that the reorganisation was not yet complete and that former traditions were still alive, namely: Art. 1 formulating the aims of the League; one of the points in Art. 3, making the sectarian stipulation that members were not to belong to any other political organisation; Art. 21, limiting the powers of the Congress by the right of the communities to accept or reject its decisions, etc. On the insistence of Marx and Engels these points were later deleted or altered. The Second Congress (November 29-December 8, 1847) adopted the Rules in an improved and more perfect form, which finally determined the structure of the Communist League according to the principles of scientific communism.

This document was discovered, together with the "Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith" in 1968 among the papers of Joachim Friedrich Martens, a member of the Communist League in Hamburg. p. 585

333 The Circular, or report of the First Congress of the Communist League to its members, also discovered among Martens' papers, brings to light important details of the convening and proceedings of the Congress and gives an idea of the process of reorganising the League of the Just. p. 589

334 In February 1847 the leading body of the League of the Just—the People's Chamber (in November 1846 its seat was transferred from Paris to London)—called upon

the League's local organisations to elect delegates to the congress which was to assemble in London on June 1. The People's Chamber address also defined the agenda of the congress. London remained the seat of the League's executive body which, however, in accordance with the adopted draft Rules, then began to function as the Central Authority. p. 589

335 Being an illegal organisation, the Communist League could not hold its congresses openly or publish their materials. p. 589

336 The *London German Workers' Educational Society* was founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other members of the League of the Just. After the Communist League had been founded the leading role in the Society belonged to the League's local communities. At various periods of its activity the Society had branches in the workers' districts in London. In 1847 and 1849-50 Marx and Engels took an active part in the Society's work. But on September 17, 1850, Marx, Engels and a number of their followers withdrew because the Willich-Schapper sectarian and adventurist faction had increased their influence in the Society. In the late 1850s Marx and Engels resumed work in the Educational Society. It existed up to 1918, when it was closed down by the British Government.

*Fraternal Democrats*—see Note 1. p. 590

337 The reference is to the French secret workers' societies of the 1840s in which utopian ideas, both socialist and communist, were current. Some of the societies' members were influenced by the pacifist communism of Cabet, some supported the revolutionary utopian Communists Théodore Dézamy and Auguste Blanqui. p. 590

338 The description given below of the situation in the Paris communities of the League of the Just in 1845-46 corresponds to the information which Engels (he had been in Paris since August 15, 1846) sent to Marx and other members of the Communist Correspondence Committee in Brussels (see Engels' letters of August 19, September 18, October 18 and 23, and December 1846 to Marx and of August 19, September 16, October 23, 1846 to the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee). This part of the report was apparently based on information received from Engels, whose role was decisive in overcoming the ideological confusion within the League's Paris communities and in drawing the demarcation line between their revolutionary wing and the petty-bourgeois elements tending towards "true socialism" and Weitling's egalitarian utopian communism. Possibly this section as a whole was written by Engels. p. 590

339 This refers apparently to the money collected by the Paris members of the League of the Just for the Cracow insurgents of 1846. p. 591

340 The reference is to the revolutionary conspiratorial organisation of German emigrants in Switzerland in the 1830s and 1840s. Initially it consisted mainly of petty-bourgeois intellectuals. Later members of the workers' unions gained influence in Young Germany. In the mid-30s, under pressure from Austria and Prussia, the Swiss government expelled the German revolutionaries and the craftsmen's unions were closed down. Young Germany actually ceased to exist, but its followers remained in the cantons of Geneva and Vaud. In the 1840s Young Germany was resurrected. Influenced by the ideas of Ludwig Feuerbach, its members carried on mainly atheist propaganda among the German emigrants and resolutely opposed communist trends, especially that of Weitling. In 1845 Young Germany was again suppressed. p. 594

341 The reference is apparently to the proposal made to Marx and Engels by the leaders of the League of the Just to join the League and take part in its reorganisation on the basis of the principles of scientific communism. On behalf of the People's Chamber, Joseph Moll had talks with Marx in Brussels and with Engels in Paris at the end of January and the beginning of February 1847. p. 594

342 This reference is apparently to the circumstances which led to the formation of the League of the Just as a result of a split in the Outlaws' League, a secret conspiratorial organisation of German emigrants. The latter was set up in Paris in 1834 and headed by petty-bourgeois democrats (Jakob Venedey and others) and socialists (Theodor Schuster and others). The conflict which arose in the Outlaws' League between the artisan-proletarian elements tending towards utopian communism and the petty-bourgeois republican democrats led to the withdrawal of the supporters of communism, who founded the League of the Just. p. 595

343 The reference is to the changes in the Rules of the League of the Just which were in force prior to the First Congress where it was reorganised into the Communist League. The Rules of the League of the Just have come down to us in the versions of 1838 and 1843, which contained very vague and immature formulations typical of purely conspiratorial organisations. There was possibly yet another, later version of the Rules which is referred to here. p. 595

344 The attempt made by the London Central Authority to arrange for the publication of a regular newspaper or journal of the Communist League failed through lack of funds. It managed to put out only a specimen number of *Kommunistische Zeitschrift*, which appeared in London early in September 1847. It was printed in the print-shop of the London German Workers' Educational Society owned by J. E. Burghard. The influence of Marx and Engels can be traced in its contents. The articles by Wilhelm Wolff, Karl Schapper and others were critical of "true socialism" and various utopian socialist trends, gave a rebuff to Karl Heinzen's attacks on the Communists and expounded a number of points concerning the tactics of the proletarian movement. It was in the specimen number that the motto, "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!", was first used in the press as the epigraph of the journal. When the editing of the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* devolved to a considerable extent upon Marx and Engels (see Note 96), this newspaper became in fact the Communist League's regular organ. p. 597

345 An allusion to the crude egalitarian tendencies in the views of Weitling and his supporters and also utopias of "true socialists". p. 598

346 The Address of the Central Authority of the Communist League dated September 14, 1847 is a quarterly report on the activity of the League after the First Congress (June 1847). It describes the situation in the League in general and the measures taken by the Central Authority to prepare for the Second Congress. Giving important data on the discussion of the draft Rules and the "Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith", the Address reveals the ideological struggle in the local communities between the supporters of Marx and Engels and those of Weitling and Grün. The document testifies to the growing activity of the Brussels circle authority headed by Marx, and to its influence on the affairs of the League as a whole and the elaboration of its programme and organisational principles.

This document, like other documents of the First Congress of the Communist League, was discovered in Hamburg among the papers of J. F. Martens. A note made by Karl Schapper on the last page and addressed to Martens shows that

this copy was intended for the Hamburg community, of which he was a member (it is not reproduced in this volume). p. 602

347 The reference is to the letter which the Communist League's Central Authority elected at the First Congress sent with other Congress documents, in particular its Circular (see this volume, pp. 589-600), to the League's communities in various countries in June 1847. Extant is a version of the letter addressed to the Hamburg community and dated June 24. In this letter the Central Authority asked the Communist League members in the localities whether they were satisfied with the decisions of the First Congress, whether they accepted or rejected the new Rules, whether they could allot funds for the general needs of the organisation, whether they had formed circles in compliance with the Rules, how many copies of the *Kommunistische Zeitschrift* then being prepared they could distribute and to what extent they had managed to launch communist propaganda among the masses. The letter also proposed that the League members should discuss the "Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith" and give their opinion of this programme document, and also take steps to appoint delegates to the next congress. p. 602

348 See Note 344. p. 603

349 The reference is to the documents of the leading body of the League of the Just—the People's Chamber—issued prior to its reorganisation as the Communist League at the First Congress in June 1847: the Address of the People's Chamber of the League of the Just to the League, November 1846 and February 1847. p. 604

350 The *Scandinavian Society*—a radical democratic society in the latter half of the 1840s. It was in contact with the Communist League and consisted mainly of workers and craftsmen. Its chairman was the League member Per Görtrek, a translator, publisher and bookseller. p. 605

351 According to the Communist League's Rules adopted at the First Congress, individual communities in a given locality had either to form a circle or, if there were no other communities, join a circle already in existence (see this volume, p. 586). p. 607

352 Johann Dohl, sent to Amsterdam in August 1847, reported to the Central Authority in October on the foundation in Amsterdam of a Communist League community of eight members.

The *Workers' Educational Society* in Amsterdam was set up on February 14, 1847. Members of the Communist League played an active part in its foundation and work. In March 1848 the London German Workers' Educational Society sent its counterpart in Amsterdam a hundred copies of the *Communist Manifesto*. The leaders of the Educational Society in Amsterdam, who were also Communist League members, were subjected to severe police persecution for organising a mass meeting in Amsterdam on March 24, 1848 in support of the revolution in France and Germany. p. 608

353 The reference is to Karl Grün's propaganda of Proudhon's views among German workers in Paris and to his free translation into German of Proudhon's *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère*, which he published in Darmstadt in 1847 (see Note 56). p. 609

354 Marx's intention to publish a German translation of *The Poverty of Philosophy* did not materialise. During his lifetime only extracts from Chapter II were published in

German (see Note 71). The first German edition of this work, edited by Engels, appeared in 1885. p. 609

355 By the autumn of 1847 a complicated situation had arisen in the League's communities in Paris. The followers of Weitling, expelled by the First Congress, allied themselves with those of Grün. A split took place in October. One of the communities opposed the communist principles and was expelled from the League by a decision of the Central Authority. Engels, then in Paris, wrote to Marx on October 25-26, 1847: "A few days before my arrival the last Grün followers were thrown out, a whole community, half of which, however, will come back. We are only 30 strong. I have at once organised a propaganda community and have been running around all day and beating the drums. I have at once been elected to the circle authority and entrusted with correspondence. Some 20-30 candidates have been nominated for admission. We shall soon be stronger again." p. 610

356 The reference is to the former members of Young Germany, a secret democratic organisation of German emigrants in Switzerland, suppressed by the police in 1845 (see Note 340). They fought against the adherents of communist ideas. p. 610

357 The reference is to the communist groups in Cologne, Westphalia, Elberfeld, which had earlier been in contact with the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee founded by Marx and Engels, and set up Communist League communities after the League's First Congress. p. 612

358 The reference is to the German Workers' Society in Brussels (see Note 208). p. 612

359 The amendments made by the Brussels circle authority to the draft Rules of the Communist League were adopted at the League's Second Congress. They revealed Marx's efforts to work out better organisational principles of the proletarian party and overcome survivals of sectarianism in its structure. The article concerning the approval of Congress decisions by the communities was deleted and the ban of League members belonging to other political organisations was restricted to organisations hostile to the League (see this volume, p. 633).

By aristocrats in the Convention are probably meant the counter-revolutionary elements who opposed the Jacobin centralisation measures aimed at strengthening the revolutionary government. p. 612

360 The reference is to the *London German Workers' Educational Society* (see Note 336). p. 613

361 The "Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith" and the Rules adopted by the First Congress were regarded as preliminary drafts to be discussed in the localities, improved and finally approved at the next congress. p. 614

362 The reference is to the trial of the members of the League of the Just arrested in Berlin in the spring of 1847. The main witness, Friedrich Mentel, who betrayed the League, withdrew his previous evidence (see this volume, pp. 593-95) and the court was compelled to pass only light sentences on some of the accused and to acquit others. p. 615

363 The Chartist *Northern Star* published a report on the international meeting in London organised by the Fraternal Democrats at the premises of the London German Workers' Educational Society (about these organisations, see notes 1 and

336). It was entitled "The Polish Revolution. Important Meeting". Speeches by Marx and Engels were reported rather abridged (for the authorised publication of these speeches, see this volume, pp. 388-90). The report gave details about the meeting which supplemented Engels' short correspondence about it published in *La Réforme* (see this volume, pp. 391-92). p. 616

364 The *Manifesto* issued by the National Government set up on February 22, 1846 in the course of the national liberation uprising in the Cracow republic (see Note 55) called upon the people to fight resolutely for national independence, proclaimed democratic rights, the abolition of feudal services, and the transfer of land allotments to the peasants. p. 616

365 See Note 286. p. 618

366 The reference is to the victory of the progressive forces in the civil war in Switzerland (see Note 172) and to the failure of the Sonderbund's attempts to secure military interference by the European powers in its own interests. p. 618

367 See Note 194. p. 618

368 Marx counterposes the proposal to call an international democratic congress (on the preparations for it, see Note 206) to the International Congress of Economists held in Brussels from September 16 to 18, 1847 (see this volume, pp. 274-90 and Note 113). p. 619

369 In 1845 Ludwik Mieroslawski, in his capacity as a member of the "Centralisation" (the governing body of the Polish Democratic Society), was sent to Posen to organise an uprising in the Polish lands. He was arrested by the Prussian authorities shortly before the scheduled time of the uprising (February 1846) and sentenced to death. The sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. He was set free after the revolution began in Germany in March 1848. p. 621

370 About the *civil war in Switzerland*, see this volume, pp. 367-74 and Note 172. p. 624

371 The reference is to the attempts to organise diplomatic and military interference by the five European powers (France, Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia) in the civil war in Switzerland in the interests of the Sonderbund. They were initiated by the Austrian Chancellor Metternich and supported by the Guizot government. Metternich and Guizot planned to call a conference of the five great powers on the Swiss question to dictate peace terms to the belligerent parties in Switzerland. However, the speedy rout of the Sonderbund's troops and the negative attitude of the British government thwarted these plans. p. 624

372 The reference is to the *German Workers' Society* in Brussels (see Note 208). p. 626

373 During their stay in London as delegates to the Second Congress of the Communist League in late November and early December 1847, Marx and Engels also took part in the meetings of the London German Workers' Educational Society (see Note 336). They made several reports to the members of the Society. The extant records of their speeches, very laconic and of poor quality, are given here and below in the same sequence as in the Minutes of the Society. p. 627

374 See Note 208. p. 630

375 These Rules of the Communist League are based on the draft Rules elaborated by the League's First Congress (see this volume, pp. 585-88). Marx and Engels, who exerted considerable influence on the elaboration of the League's new organisational principles, greatly contributed to improving the text of the Rules and gave it greater precision. In particular, it was they, in all probability, who drew up the new formulation of Article 1 defining the aim of the League. The Rules in their present version were adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist League.

This document was first published in English in the book: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, Lawrence, London, 1930. p. 633

376 Proposals to establish more regular contacts between the democrats of different countries and to prepare an international democratic congress were discussed by the representatives of the Fraternal Democrats with Marx acting on behalf of the Committee of the Democratic Association, during his and Engels' stay in London at the end of November and the beginning of December 1847 (see also notes 192 and 206). p. 640

377 The Democratic Association's deputation sent to Ghent for the opening of the Association's local affiliation included Marx. p. 641

378 In mid-December 1847 Engels arrived in Brussels from London, where he had spent some time after the Second Congress of the Communist League, and at the end of December he returned to Paris with the authority of the Brussels Democratic Association to represent it in the capital of France. The French authorities were alarmed by Engels' resumption of revolutionary propaganda among the Paris workers and craftsmen. At the end of January 1848 the Paris police proceeded against Engels under the pretext that his speech at the New Year's Eve banquet of the German revolutionary emigrants on December 31, 1847 contained political allusions hostile to the French government. On January 29, 1848 Engels was ordered to leave France within 24 hours under the threat of extradition to Prussia. Simultaneously with Engels' expulsion and the police breaking into his flat at night, arrests were made among the German emigrant workers. Despite the slander circulated by the governmental press (accusations of defiant behaviour, and of fighting duels), information about the real reasons behind Engels' expulsion filtered into the oppositional newspapers. p. 643

379 The original of this document is kept in the National Archives in Paris among the papers of the Provisional Government of the French Republic of 1848. The Address was published in the Belgian *Le Débat social* on March 1, 1848, and reprinted in *La Réforme* on March 4. The texts differ slightly. In this edition use is made of the text in *La Réforme*.

In English the Address was published with abbreviations in the *Labour Monthly* No. 2, February 1948. p. 645

380 The Second Congress of the Communist League retained the seat of the Central Authority in London. However, in view of the revolution starting in France, Schapper, Bauer, Moll and other members of the London Central Authority intended to move to the Continent and decided to transfer their powers of general guidance of the League to the Brussels circle authority headed by Marx. But the persecution of revolutionaries which had begun in Belgium, the order for Marx's expulsion and the arrest of other activists of the League compelled the Brussels Central Authority that had been formed to adopt the decision (published below) to dissolve itself and to empower Marx to form a new Central Authority in Paris. Marx arrived in Paris on

March 5 and wrote to Engels (he still remained in Brussels for some time) around March 12, 1848 that the new Central Authority had been recently set up and consisted of Marx (chairman), Schapper (secretary), Wallau, Wolff, Moll, Bauer (members). Engels was appointed in his absence.

An abridged version of this document was first published in French in *Annales parlementaires belges*. Session 1847-1848. Chambre des représentants, séance du 31 mars 1848, p. 1203. This document was first published in English in the *Labour Monthly* No. 3, March 1948. p. 651

381 The *German Workers' Club* was founded in Paris on March 8 and 9, 1848 on the initiative of the Communist League's leaders. The leading role in it belonged to Marx. The Club's aim was to unite the German emigrant workers in Paris, explain to them the tactics of the proletariat in a bourgeois-democratic revolution and also to counter the attempts of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats (among them, Herwegh, Venedey and Decker, the last two being mentioned in the minutes) to stir up the German workers by nationalist propaganda and enlist them into the adventurist march of volunteer legions into Germany. The Club was successful in arranging the return of German workers one by one to their own country to take part in the revolutionary struggle there. p. 654

382 The German Democratic Society, formed in Paris after the February revolution of 1848, held its meetings in a riding school. The Society was headed by petty-bourgeois democrats, Herwegh, Bornstedt, Decker and others who campaigned to raise volunteer legions of German emigrants with the aim of marching into Germany. In this way they hoped to carry out a revolution in Germany and establish a republic there. Marx and Engels resolutely condemned this adventurist plan of "exporting revolution". p. 656

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*Eichhorn, Johann Albrecht Friedrich* (1779-1856) — Prussian statesman, Minister of Worship, Education and Medicine (1840-48).— 222, 233

*Ellis, William*—Chartist, was sentenced on August 6, 1842, to 20 years' deportation to Australia for participation in workers' disturbances.— 13

*Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895)—8, 14, 32, 35, 55, 56, 60, 70, 73, 274, 278, 310, 314-19, 330, 335-36, 338, 380, 385, 388, 391, 392, 414, 482, 563, 592, 609, 620, 621, 632, 644, 652

*Engler*—member of the Communist League in Paris.— 654

*Epps, John* (1805-1869) — English physician and public figure, radical.— 361-63

*Eskeles* — see *Arnstein und Eskeles.*

*Etrich, L.*— member of the German Workers' Club in Paris founded in March 1848.— 658

*Ewart, William* (1798-1869)—English politician, Free Trader.— 277, 282, 283

F

*Faider, Victor*—Belgian lawyer and politician, moderate democrat.— 274-75

*Faraday, Michael* (1791-1867) — English scientist, physicist and chemist.—251

*Faucher, Léon* (1803-1854)—French journalist, politician, moderate liberal.— 207

*Ferdinand I* (1793-1875)—Emperor of Austria (1835-48).—26, 366, 532, 553

*Ferdinand II* (1810-1859) — King of the Two Sicilies (1830-59).— 372, 523, 541

*Ferguson, Adam* (1723-1816) — Scottish historian, philosopher and sociologist.— 181

*Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas* (1804-1872) — German materialist philosopher.— 73, 249, 256, 258, 292, 293

*Fichte, Johann Gottlieb* (1762-1814) — German classical philosopher of the late 18th century-early 19th century.— 17

*Fischer*, F.— member of the Communist League in Brussels.— 652

*Flocon, Ferdinand* (1800-1866) — French politician and journalist, democrat, an editor of the newspaper *La Réforme*.— 385, 386, 387, 397, 400, 438, 442, 558, 649

*Florian, Jean Pierre Claris de* (1755-1794) — French fabulist and dramatist, author of a poem about William Tell.— 368

*Follen, August Adolf Ludwig* (1794-1855) — German journalist and poet, participated in the war against Napoleonic France, was close to the student movement after 1815.— 554

*Fontaine* — see *Berrier-Fontaine, Camille*

*Forsell, Carl Daniel* — member of the Communist League in Sweden.— 605

*Forster, Johann Georg* (1754-1794) — German democratic writer, founder of the Jacobin Club in Mainz, member of government of the Mainz Republic of 1792; emigrated to France where he took part in revolutionary events.— 27

*Fould, Achille* (1800-1867) — French banker and politician, Orleanist, subsequently Bonapartist.— 61, 375

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837) — French utopian socialist.— 256, 514, 516, 517, 576

*Franz (Francis) I* (1768-1835) — Emperor of Austria (1804-35), the last emperor of the Holy Roman Empire known as Franz II (1792-1806).— 21, 530, 532, 534, 535

*Frederick VII (Frederik Carl Christian VII)* (1808-1863) — King of Denmark (1848-63) — 542,

*Frederick William II* (1744-1797) — King of Prussia (1786-97).— 264

*Frederick William III* (1770-1840) — King of Prussia (1797-1840).— 23, 26, 27, 31, 64

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861) — King of Prussia (1840-61).— 23, 52, 55, 57, 64, 65, 69, 71, 92, 93, 232, 233, 333, 521, 522, 526, 542

*Freiligrath, Ferdinand* (1810-1876) — German romantic and later revolutionary poet, member of the Communist League.— 292

*Fröbel, Julius* (1805-1893) — German radical writer and publisher of progressive literature.— 298

*Frost, John* (1784-1877) — English radical; joined the Chartist movement in 1838, sentenced to deportation for life to Australia for organising a miners' uprising in Wales in 1839, was pardoned in 1856 and returned to England.— 13

*Fulchiron, Jean Claude* (1774-1859) — French big capitalist and conservative politician.— 365, 375

*Fussel, John A.*— a Chartist leader in Birmingham.— 473

G

*Garnier-Pagès, Étienne Joseph Louis* (1801-1841) — French politician, headed the republican opposition after the revolution of 1830, brother of Garnier-Pagès, Louis Antoine.— 440

*Garnier-Pagès, Louis Antoine* (1803-1878) — French politician, moderate republican, in 1848 member of the Provisional Government.— 406, 438, 439, 442, 443, 558

*Gérard, Étienne Maurice, comte* (1773-1852) — Marshal of France and statesman, Orleanist.— 557

*Gervinus, Georg Gottfried* (1805-1871) — German historian, liberal.— 222

*Gescheidtle, Karl* — a German worker from Baden, emigrated to the USA.— 49

*Gessner, Salomon* (1730-1788)—Swiss poet and artist.— 318

*Gigot, Philippe Charles* (1819-1860)—participant in the Belgian working-class and democratic movement, member of the Communist League, close to Marx and Engels in the 1840s.— 35, 55, 56, 60, 562, 565, 601, 652

*Girardin, Alexandre, comte de* (1776-1855)—French general, father of Émile de Girardin.—215

*Girardin, Emile de* (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician, editor of *La Presse*; lacked principles in politics; in 1847 opposed the Guizot Government.— 213-16, 375, 439

*Glass* — a house-owner in Paris.— 658

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—17, 249-52, 255-73, 316

*Graham, Sir James Robert George* (1792-1861)—English statesman, a Whig at the beginning of his political career; later supported Peel; Home Secretary (1841-46) in Peel's Cabinet.—33, 213, 217

*Greg, William Rathbone* (1809-1881)—English manufacturer and journalist, a Free Trader.— 454, 455, 464

*Grün, Karl Theodor Ferdinand* (pen name *Ernst von der Haide*) (1817-1887)—German writer, became a "true socialist" in the mid-1840s.— 72-74, 250-58, 260-73, 300, 338, 513, 590-93, 605, 609, 610

*Guasco, Charles Théodore de* (b. 1812)—member of the Belgian democratic and working-class movement; a joiner by trade.—562

*Gudin, Charles Gabriel César* (1798-1874)—adjutant of Louis Philippe; from 1846 Marshal of France; was dismissed from his post in 1847 for swindling.—213

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874) — French historian and statesman; from 1840 up to the February revolution of 1848 actually directed the foreign and domestic policy of France.— 61, 214, 215, 217, 219, 365, 438-40, 468, 469, 472, 481, 521, 538, 539, 546, 556-58, 618

*Gülich, Gustav von* (1791-1847) — German historian and economist; protectionist.— 279, 280, 573

H

*Hansemann, David Justus* (1790-1864) — German capitalist, one of the leaders of Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Minister of Finance of Prussia from March to September 1848.— 333

*Harcourt, François Eugène Gabriel, duc d'* (1786-1865) — French politician and diplomat, liberal, advocate of Free Trade.— 287

*Hardenberg, Karl August von, Prince* (1750-1822)—Prussian statesman, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1804-06, 1807), Chancellor (1810), one of the sponsors of moderate reforms, supported the policy of the Holy Alliance after 1815.— 23

*Harney, George Julian* (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the English labour movement, a leader of the Chartist Left wing.—8-11, 13, 308, 363, 392, 413, 414, 466, 467, 473, 474-75, 486, 619, 621, 647

*Harring, Harro Paul* (1798-1870)—German writer, radical, emigrated in 1828 and lived in various countries of Europe and America, including the USA.— 46, 47, 50

*Harvey, William* (1578-1657) — English physician, one of the founders of scientific physiology, discovered the circulation of the blood.— 194

*Haussy de* — Belgian Minister of Justice in 1848.— 650

*Haxthausen, August Franz Ludwig Maria, Freiherr von* (1792-1866)—Prussian official and economist, author of *Studien über die innern Zustände des Volkslebens, und insbesondere die ländlichen Einrichtungen Russlands*.— 482

*Hébert, Michel Pierre Alexis* (1799-1887)

— French lawyer and statesman, Orleanist, Minister of Justice (1847-February 1848).— 217, 556

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German classical philosopher.—4, 17, 161, 164-68, 169, 254, 256, 258, 265, 270, 292, 317

*Heilberg, Louis (Lazarus)* (b. 1818)—German journalist, emigrated to Brussels, member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee in 1846.— 35

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856) — German revolutionary poet.— 244

*Heinrich LXXII* (1797-1853)—sovereign of the German principality Reuss-Lobenstein-Ebersdorf (1822-48).—339

*Heinzen, Karl* (1809-1880) — German journalist, Radical.— 291-306, 312-22, 324-26, 328, 330-40, 610, 611

*Henri, Joseph* (b. about 1795) — French merchant; attempted on Louis Philippe's life on July 29, 1846, and was sentenced to penal servitude for life.—61

*Hermann* — member of the Communist League, member of the German Workers' Club in Paris founded in March 1848.— 654, 655, 658

*Hess, Moses* (1812-1875) — German radical journalist, one of the main representatives of "true socialism" in the mid-1840s.— 256, 626

*Hilditch, Richard* — English economist in the mid-19th century.— 203

*Hobbes, Thomas* (1588-1679)—English philosopher.— 233

*Hobhouse, John Cam, Baron Broughton de Gyfford* (1786-1869) — British statesman, liberal.— 58

*Hobson, Joshua*—English journalist, Chartist.—8

*Hodgskin, Thomas* (1787-1869) — English economist and journalist, utopian socialist, drew socialist conclusions from the Ricardian theory.—138

*Hody, Alexis Guillaume, baron* (1807-1880)—chief of the secret police in Brussels in the 1840s.—567, 568, 581

*Hofer, Andreas* (1767-1810) — leader of guerrilla warfare against the French army in Tirol in 1809.—26

*Höger, Wilhelm*—member of the Communist League in Paris.—654

*Holbach, Paul Henri Dietrich, baron d'* (1723-1789)—French philosopher of the Enlightenment, atheist.—251, 254, 255

*Holm, Peter*—Danish socialist; in 1847-48 member of the committee of the Fraternal Democrats society, secretary for Scandinavia.—467

*Homer*—semi-legendary Greek epic poet.—314, 315

*Hope, George* (1811-1876)—English farmer, Free Trader.—454, 464

*Horne*—member of the Communist League and German Workers' Society in Paris.—654

*Hornschuh*—member of the League of the Just, Weitlingian.—611-12

*Huskisson, William* (1770-1830)—British statesman, Tory, Secretary of the Board of Trade (1823-27).—209

I

*Iffland, August Wilhelm* (1759-1814) — German actor, dramatist and theatrical manager.— 247

*Imbert, Jacques* (1793-1851)—French journalist, democrat and socialist, participant of the July revolution of 1830; in 1847 vice-president of the Brussels Democratic Association.— 618, 626

*Itzstein, Johann Adam von* (1775-1855) — German statesman, a leader of the liberal opposition in the Baden Diet.—265

J

*Jackson, Charles Thomas* (1805-1880) — American physician, chemist, discovered anaesthetic effect of ether.—260

*Jacoby, Johann* (1805-1877)—German

radical journalist and politician, physician, was close to the Social-Democrats in the 1870s.— 297

*Jefferson, Thomas* (1743-1826)—US statesman and author, Enlightener, ideologist of democratic circles during the War of Independence, President of the USA (1801-09).— 325

*Jerrold, Douglas William* (1803-1857)—English author, dramatist and wit.—59

*Jones, Ernest Charles* (1819-1869)—a leading figure in the English working-class movement, proletarian poet and journalist, a leader of the Left Chartists, friend of Marx and Engels.—13, 362, 391, 413, 467, 473, 616, 617

*Joseph II* (1741-1790) — German Emperor (1765-90).—293, 330

*Jottrand, Lucien Léopold* (1804-1877)—Belgian lawyer and journalist, democrat; in 1847 President of the Brussels Democratic Association.—561, 565, 618, 626, 642, 646

*Junge, Adolf Friedrich* — German worker, member of the League of the Just and the Communist League; emigrated to America early in 1848.—601

*Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis)* (b. c. 60 A.D.-d. after 127)—Roman satirist and poet.—131

K

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804) — German philosopher.— 17, 182, 259

*Keen, Charles* — Chartist, a leader of the Fraternal Democrats society.—392, 413, 467, 473, 620

*Kleist, Bernd Heinrich Wilhelm von* (1777-1811).—German romantic poet and dramatist.—242

*Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb* (1724-1803)—German poet, representative of the German Enlightenment.—256

*Koch, Heinrich* (1800-1879) — German utopian Communist, emigrated to the USA, published several radical and atheist newspapers, *Der Antipfaff* among them.— 48, 50

*Köchlin*—manufacturer in Württemberg.—5

*Konstantin Pavlovich (Constantine)* (1779-1831)—Russian grand duke, brother of Emperor Nicholas I, army commander-in-chief in Warsaw and actually viceroy of the Kingdom of Poland from 1814.—617

*Köttgen, Gustav Adolf* (1805-1882)—German artist and poet; took part in the working-class movement in the 1840s, was close to "true socialism".— 54, 55

*Kotzebue, August Friedrich Ferdinand von* (1761-1819)—German writer and journalist, extreme monarchist.—247

*Krell, H.* (from Lucerne) — member of the Fraternal Democrats society in London, secretary for Switzerland.—467

*Kriege, Hermann* (1820-1850)—German journalist, "true socialist", founder and editor of the New York emigrant newspaper *Der Volks-Tribun*.—37, 39-51, 593

*Kuhlmann, Georg* (b. 1812)—agent provocateur of the Austrian government; preached "true socialism" in the 1840s among the German Weitlingian artisans in Switzerland, using religious terminology and passing himself off as a "prophet".—594

L

*Labiaux, J. L.*—Belgian commercial traveller, democrat, member of the Brussels Democratic Association.—646

*Lacave-Laplagne, Jean Pierre Joseph* (1795-1849)—French Minister of Finance in 1837-39, 1842-47.—470

*La Fayette, Marie Joseph Paul Ives Roch Gilbert Motier, marquis de* (1757-1834)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, one of the leaders of the moderate constitutionalists (Feuillants); subsequently participated in the July revolution of 1830.—9

*Laffitte, Jacques* (1767-1844)—French banker and liberal politician, Prime

Minister (1830-31) under the July monarchy.— 31, 61, 238

*Lagentie de Lavaïsse*—translator of English authors, Lauderdale in particular, into French.— 114

*Lally-Tollendal, Trophime Gérard, marquis de* (1751-1830)—French politician, during the French Revolution belonged to a group of moderate royalists in the Constituent Assembly.— 333

*Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louis de* (1790-1869)—French poet, historian and politician; one of the leaders of the moderate republicans in the 1840s; Minister of Foreign Affairs and de facto head of the Provisional Government in 1848.— 364-66, 395, 404, 405, 558

*Lamennais, Hugues Félicité Robert de* (1782-1854)—French abbot, writer, Christian socialist.— 41, 49, 401

*La Sagra, Ramon de* (1798-1871)—Spanish economist, historian and naturalist; liberal.— 282

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German writer and lawyer, petty-bourgeois socialist, founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863), a founder of the opportunist trend in German Social-Democracy.— 125

*Lauderdale, James Maitland, 8th Earl of* (1759-1839)—British politician and economist, criticised Adam Smith's theory from the viewpoint of vulgar political economy.— 114, 123, 156-57

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French writer and politician, a petty-bourgeois democratic leader, editor of the newspaper *La Réforme*; in 1848, Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government.— 385, 386, 387, 393, 395, 397, 400, 438, 441-43, 518, 568

*Le Hardy de Beaulieu, Jean Charles Marie Joseph* (1816-1871)—Belgian economist, professor of mineralogy; Free Trader.— 274, 539

*Lelewel, Joachim* (1786-1861)—Polish historian and revolutionary; participant in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, a leader of the democratic wing of the Polish emigrants in 1847-48, a Committee member of the Brussels Democratic Association.— 551, 618-20, 626, 644, 646

*Lemontey, Pierre Edouard* (1762-1826)—French historian and economist.— 180, 190

*Leopold I* (1790-1865)—King of the Belgians (1831-65).— 564, 565, 567-70, 650

*Leopold II* (1797-1870)—Grand Duke of Tuscany (1824-59).— 522

*Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim* (1729-1781)—German writer, dramatist, critic and philosopher; early Enlightener.— 256, 257

*Leverrier, Urbain Jean Joseph* (1811-1877)—French astronomer.— 260

*Liebig, Justus von, baron* (1803-1873)—German scientist, agrochemist.— 251

*List, Friedrich* (1789-1846)—German economist, adherent of protectionism.— 279, 280, 287, 324, 573

*Louis XI* (1423-1483)—King of France (1461-83).— 398, 400, 410, 411

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).— 151, 271

*Louis XV* (1710-1774)—King of France (1715-74).— 161, 219

*Louis XVI* (1754-1793)—King of France (1774-92), guillotined during the French Revolution.— 9, 232-34, 333, 371

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-'48).— 62, 213, 215, 219, 238, 376-78, 386-87, 397, 400, 411, 438, 472, 530, 557, 618

*Lubliner, Ludwik Ozeasz* (1809-1868)—Polish revolutionary, emigrated to Brussels; a lawyer by profession.— 644

*Lucas, T.*—democrat, participant in the international meeting on November 29, 1847 in London to mark the 17th anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1830.— 619

*Lucretius (Titus Lucretius Carus)* (99-55 B.C.)—Roman philosopher and poet.—166

*Ludwig (Louis) I* (1786-1868)—King of Bavaria (1825-48).—236, 243, 257

*Ludwig (Louis) I* (1753-1829)—Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt; from 1806 to 1829 — Grand Duke of Hesse and Rhein.—25

*Luneau, Sébastien* (1800-1880)—French politician, member of the Chamber of Deputies in 1831-48.—470

*Luntberg, J.*—member of the Fraternal Democrats society, secretary for Scandinavia.—467

M

*Mably, Gabriel Bonnot de* (1709-1785)—French sociologist, representative of utopian egalitarian communism.—334

*MacAdam*—secretary of the royal society for the improvement of flax-growing in Ireland, Free Trader.—286

*MacCulloch, John Ramsay* (1789-1864)—British economist who vulgarised David Ricardo's theories.—252, 416

*MacGrath, Philip*—Chartist, member of the Executive Committee of the National Chartist Association.—362

*Maistre, Joseph Marie, comte de* (1753-1821)—French writer, monarchist, an ideologist of aristocratic and clerical reaction.—546

*Malouet, Pierre Victor, baron* (1740-1814)—French politician, during the French Revolution belonged to the group of moderate royalists in the Constituent Assembly.—333

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman, economist, founder of the misanthropic theory of population.—290, 426, 428

*Marat, Jean Paul* (1743-1793)—a Jacobin leader in the French Revolution.—6, 11, 386

*Marie de Saint-Georges, Alexandre Thomas* (1795-1870)—a French lawyer and politician, liberal, moderate republican, in 1848 member of the Provisional Government.—378, 387

*Marie Louise* (1791-1847)—daughter of Francis I of Austria; was married to Napoleon I in 1810.—21

*Marrast, Armand* (1801-1852)—French journalist and politician, leader of moderate republicans, editor of *Le National*; in 1848 member of the Provisional Government and Mayor of Paris.—558

*Marx, Edgar* (1847-1855)—Karl Marx's son.—562

*Marx, Jenny (née von Westphalen)* (1814-1881)—Karl Marx's wife.—562, 565-66

*Marx, Jenny* (1844-1883)—Karl Marx's eldest daughter.—562

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883) — 34-37, 55, 56, 60, 72-74, 125, 287, 298, 300, 331, 391, 560-62, 565-66, 601, 618-19, 626, 639, 642-44, 646, 649-58

*Marx, Laura* (1845-1911)—Karl Marx's second daughter.—562

*Masaniello*, properly *Tommaso Aniello* (1620-1647)—an Italian fisherman; leader of the popular anti-feudal revolt in July 1647 against the Spanish Viceroy of Naples.—395

*Maurer, Georg Ludwig* (1790-1872)—German historian, studied the social system of ancient and medieval Germany.—482

*Maynz, Karl Gustav* (1812-1882) — German lawyer, professor at Brussels University, member of the Brussels Democratic Association.—626, 646

*Mellinet, François Aimé* (1768-1852)—Belgian general, participant in the democratic movement and the revolution of 1830 in Belgium, honorary president of the Brussels Democratic Association.—618-20, 626, 646

*Mentel, Christian Friedrich* (b. 1812)—German tailor, member of the League of the Just; was arrested by the Prussian authorities and betrayed the organisation.—593, 595

*Menzel, Wolfgang* (1798-1873)—German

conservative writer and literary critic.— 259, 273

*Meredith, William Morris* (1799-1873)— American lawyer, held several state offices, Secretary of the Treasury in 1849-50.— 323

*Metternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Fürst von* (1773-1859) — Austrian statesman and diplomat, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1809-21), Chancellor (1821-48), an organiser of the Holy Alliance.— 366, 481, 520, 530, 534, 535, 541, 542, 549, 618, 628, 629

*Meyen, Eduard* (1812-1870)—German writer, Young Hegelian; in 1847, Berlin correspondent of the *Trier'sche Zeitung*.— 72-74

*Michelot, Jean A.*—French democrat, emigrated to London, in 1847-48 secretary for France in the Fraternal Democrats society.— 391, 467, 617

*Mieroslawski, Ludwik* (1814-1878)— prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement, participant in the insurrection of 1830-31, in the preparation of a revolt in Poland in 1846 and the revolution of 1848-49; later, a leader of the moderate wing among the Polish democratic emigrants, sided with Bonapartism.—621, 623

*Mill, James* (1773-1836)—English economist and philosopher, adherent of Ricardo's theory, follower of Bentham in philosophy.— 203

*Mill, John Stuart* (1806-1873)—English economist, utilitarian and positivist philosopher.— 152

*Milton, John* (1608-1674) — English poet and journalist, prominent figure in the 17th-century English revolution.— 399, 410

*Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel Victor Riqueti comte de* (1749-1791)—a leading figure in the French Revolution, constitutional monarchist.— 10, 333

*Molé, Louis Mathieu, comte* (1781-1855)— French statesman, Orleanist, Prime Minister (1836-37, 1837-39).—219, 468, 558

*Moll, Joseph* (1812-1849) — a figure in the German and international working-class movement, a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; participant in the 1848-49 revolution; a watchmaker by trade.— 467, 591, 614, 623, 654, 658

*More, Sir Thomas* (1478-1535) — English statesman, Lord Chancellor (1529-32), humanist writer, representative of utopian communism.— 254

*Morgan, Lewis Henry* (1818-1881)— American ethnographer, archaeologist and historian of primitive society. —482

*Morse, Arthur* — English Free Trader.— 454, 464

*Mounier, Jean Joseph* (1758-1806)— French politician, headed a group of moderate royalists in the Constituent Assembly during the French Revolution.— 333

*Müller, Johannes von* (1752-1809) — Swiss conservative historian.— 368

*Münzer, Thomas* (c. 1490-1525) — leader of the urban plebeians and poor peasants during the Reformation and the Peasant War in Germany, advocated ideas of egalitarian utopian communism.—27

*Murner, Thomas* (1475-1537) — German satirist, theologian, opponent of the Reformation.— 313

N

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821) — Emperor of the French (1804-14, 1815).— 10, 19-24, 26, 27, 28, 80, 81, 167, 254, 259, 394, 523, 530, 534, 536, 622, 628

*Nelson, Horatio Nelson, Lord* (1758-1805) —English admiral.— 371

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—366, 542

*Niles, Hezekiah* (1777-1839) — American journalist, publisher of *Niles' Weekly Register*.— 323

*Noakes, John* — English radical journalist.—307-08

O

*Oborski, Ludwik* (1787-1873) — Polish political emigrant resident in London, member of the Fraternal Democrats society.— 392, 467, 621

*Ochsenbein, Johann Ulrich* (1811-1890) — Swiss general, leader of the radicals and liberals, head of the Federal Government (1847-48).— 534

*O'Connell, Daniel* (1775-1847) — Irish lawyer and politician, leader of the liberal wing in the national liberation movement.— 445-46, 448, 549

*O'Connell, John* (1810-1858) — Irish politician, liberal, third son of Daniel O'Connell, head of the Repeal Association after his father's death.— 445, 446, 449

*O'Connell, Maurice* (1803-1853) — Irish liberal, eldest son of Daniel O'Connell.— 445

*O'Connell, Morgan* (1804-1885) — Irish politician, second son of Daniel O'Connell, opposed the campaign for the repeal of the Union of 1801.— 445

*O'Connor, Feargus Edward* (1794-1855) — a leader of the Left wing in the Chartist movement, editor of the newspaper *The Northern Star*.— 8, 13, 58, 59, 285, 308, 358-62, 383, 412, 413, 446-49, 641

*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858) — British utopian socialist.— 514, 517, 576

P

*Paine, Thomas* (1737-1809) — English author, republican, participant in the American War of Independence and the French Revolution.— 13, 27

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount* (1784-1865) — British statesman, Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58 and 1859-65); a Tory at the beginning of his career, from 1830 onwards, a Whig.— 308, 438, 472, 542, 618

*Parny, Evariste Désiré de Forges, vicomte de* (1753-1814) — French poet.—273

*Peel, Sir Robert* (1788-1850) — British statesman, moderate Tory, Prime Minister (1841-46), in 1846 repealed the Corn Laws.— 521, 538, 539

*Pellering, Jean* (1817-1877) — member of the working-class movement in Belgium and of the Brussels Democratic Association; a shoemaker by trade.— 626, 646

*Pericles* (c. 490-429 B.C.) — Greek statesman, head of the Athenian democrats.— 365

*Petersen, Niels Lorenzo* (1814-d. after 1889) — Danish socialist, Weitlingian in the 1840s, later member of the Communist League; active member of the First International; subsequently, one of the leaders of the Left-wing Danish Social-Democrats.— 611

*Petit* — tax collector in Corbeil (department of Seine-et-Oise).— 469, 470

*Petit*, Madame — wife of M. Petit.— 469

*Petty, Sir William* (1623-1687) — English economist and statistician, founder of English classical political economy.— 206

*Philip I* (c. 1052-1108) — King of France (1060-1108).— 148, 149

*Picard, Albert* — Belgian lawyer, member of the Brussels Democratic Association.— 618, 642

*Pitt, William* (1759-1806) — British statesman, Tory; Prime Minister (1783-1801 and 1804-06).— 9

*Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti)* (1792-1878) — Pope (1846-78).— 521, 522, 541

*Plato* (c. 427-c. 347 B.C.) — Greek philosopher.— 365

*Playfair, Lyon Playfair, 1st Baron* (1818-1898) — British chemist, liberal politician.— 251

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*L'Atelier, organe spécial de la classe laborieuse, rédigé par des ouvriers exclusivement* — a monthly of the French artisans and workers who were influenced by the ideas of Christian socialism; published in Paris from 1840 to 1850.— 310, 311

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*Le Débat social, organe de la démocratie* — a weekly newspaper of the Belgian radical republicans, published in Brussels from 1844 to 1849.— 537-39, 646, 648

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*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* — a German-language annual published in Paris and edited by Arnold Ruge and Karl Marx. Only one double issue appeared in February 1844. It carried a few works by Marx and Engels.— 74, 122, 254, 255, 331

*Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*—a newspaper founded by German political emigrants in Brussels; published from January 1847 to February 1848. From September 1847 Marx and Engels regularly contributed to the newspaper which, under their influence, became the organ of revolutionary communist propaganda.— 74, 95, 220, 234, 235, 241, 249, 258, 261, 265, 269, 273, 278, 291, 298, 306, 312, 313, 315-16, 318, 321, 324, 334, 339, 374, 390, 392, 403, 405, 408, 411, 449, 468, 529, 536, 539, 544, 555, 558, 560, 623, 626, 639, 643, 644

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*The Northern Star*—Central Organ of the Chartists, published weekly from 1837 to 1852, first in Leeds, then in London; founded and edited by Feargus O'Connor; one of its editors was George Harney; Engels contributed to it from 1843 to 1850.—8, 13, 15, 21, 27, 33, 52, 53, 57, 59, 63, 64, 70, 71, 219, 290, 307, 308, 311, 358-60, 362, 366, 382, 387, 391-92, 396, 401, 403, 409, 410, 412, 413, 444, 448, 466, 472, 559, 501, 616, 623, 642, 647

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*Rheinischer Beobachter* — a conservative daily published in Cologne from 1844 to the beginning of 1848.— 34, 220, 221, 225, 226-29, 233

*Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform*—a journal of German "true socialists", published by Hermann Püttmann, only two volumes appeared, the first in Darmstadt in August 1845, the second at Bellevue on the German-Swiss border at the end of 1846.—14, 254

*Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*—a daily founded on January 1, 1842 as an organ of the oppositional Rhine bourgeoisie, published up to March 31, 1843 in Cologne. Marx was its editor-in-chief from October 15, 1842 to March 17, 1843, and the newspaper acquired a distinct revolutionary-democratic character, which became the reason for its suppression; Engels was one of its contributors.— 72, 73, 626

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*La Riforma*—a democratic newspaper published in Lucca from November 1847 to the beginning of 1850.—553-55

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*L'Union. Bulletin des ouvriers rédigé et publié par eux-mêmes* — a monthly published in Paris from December 1843 to September 1846 by a group of workers influenced by Saint-Simon's ideas.— 8

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*The Weekly Dispatch* — a newspaper of the English radical bourgeoisie, published under this title in London from 1801 to 1928.— 359

*Das Westphälische Dampfboot* — a monthly of the German "true socialists"; published and edited by Otto Lüning in Bielefeld from January 1845 to December 1846, and in Paderborn from January 1847 to March 1848. It carried some works by Marx and Engels.— 73, 300

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# MARX & ENGELS
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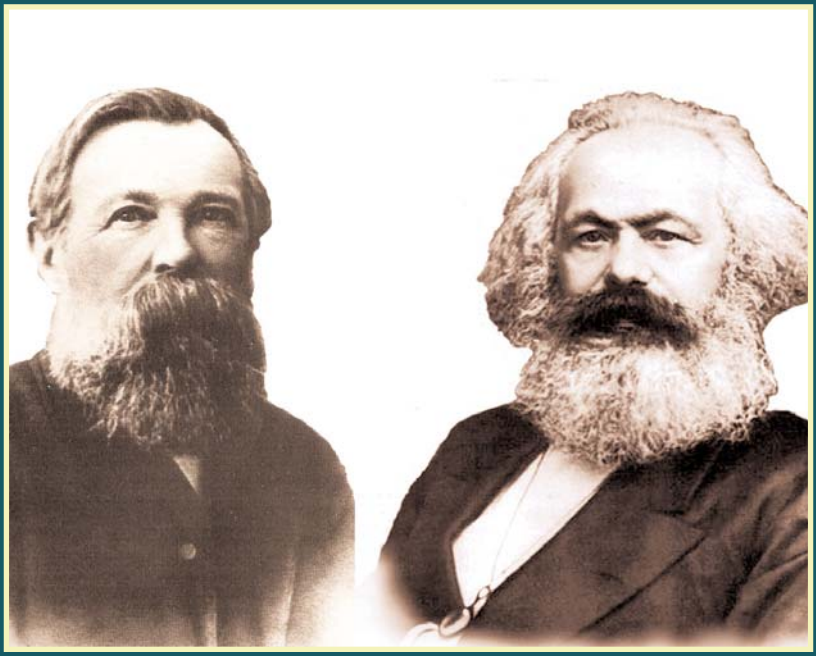

## VOLUME 7

Marx and Engels 1848

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 7

## Marx and Engels 1848

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# Preface

The seventh volume of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels covers the period from March to November 1848. It is the first of three volumes (Vols. 7-9) containing their writings during the revolutionary years 1848 and 1849.

The series of revolutions of this period arose primarily from the crisis of feudalism and absolutism, which still prevailed in a considerable part of Europe. Emerging bourgeois society needed to rid itself of feudal relics and abolish such legacies of the feudal age as the political dismemberment of Germany and Italy and the national oppression of the Poles, Hungarians and other European nations that were striving for independence.

Feudalism had already been swept away in France by the revolution of 1789-94. But another bourgeois revolution became inevitable when the rapacious rule of the financial aristocracy, the top crust of the bourgeoisie, and the political monopoly it enjoyed began to hamper the further development of capitalism.

Unlike previous bourgeois revolutions, those of 1848 and 1849 took place when fundamental social contradictions had already developed within bourgeois society and when the proletariat had already entered the political arena. The deepening conflict between proletariat and bourgeoisie—a conflict which became especially acute in France, and also in England, the most advanced capitalist country at that time—left its imprint on the revolutionary events of that period, influenced their course and determined their specific character.

Marx and Engels in these years made clear the organic unity of their revolutionary theory and practice. They were by no means merely detached observers, but played a very active and practical part in the revolutionary events themselves. They demonstrated their qualities as dedicated revolutionary writers, pamphleteers and

true tribunes of the people, who organised and led the democratic and proletarian movements and headed the vanguard of the working class.

The revolutions of 1848-49 were indeed the first crucial practical test for Marxism both as the scientific world outlook of the working class and as a political movement. Revolutionary epochs, with their rapidly and drastically changing situations, the sharp demarcations of class forces and the powerful rise of the revolutionary activities of the masses are always testing times for party doctrines and ideologies. For Marxism this test in 1848-49 demonstrated the solid foundation and viability of its theoretical and tactical principles. Equally it exposed sectarian and dogmatic features of petty-bourgeois utopian socialism and the theoretical and tactical weaknesses of many of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats.

Before 1848 what had been of paramount importance in Marxism had been the creation of its general theoretical basis—its philosophy, the working out of its dialectical and materialist method to analyse social phenomena. But now immediate problems of political strategy and tactics had urgently to be solved. And Marx and Engels were able accurately to define the intrinsic nature of the tempestuous events of the revolutionary years by clearly revealing the class forces at work, and in many cases to predict the further course and the after-effects of the events. The political programme they put forward at various stages of the revolution expressed the basic requirements of social change. It was a programme to prepare the ground for further social advance by a consistent and complete bourgeois-democratic revolution.

The analysis of current events by Marx and Engels in 1848-49 permanently enriched revolutionary theory with new conclusions and general principles derived from actual experience of the class struggle waged by the masses and, in particular, by the proletariat. Lenin was later to emphasise that "their participation in the mass revolutionary struggle of 1848-49 ... was their point of departure when determining the future pattern of the workers' movement and democracy in different countries. It was to this point that they always returned in order to determine the essential nature of the different classes and their tendencies..." (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, Moscow, 1962, p. 37).

The volume opens with the "Demands of the Communist Party in Germany" drawn up by Marx and Engels in the name of the Central Authority of the Communist League. This set forth concrete political objectives for the proletariat in the German revolution which began

with uprisings in Prussia and other German states in March 1848. And running like a single thread throughout was the sense of the indissoluble connection of the class interest of the proletariat with the national interest. The first demand was for the establishment of a single and indivisible German republic. Marx and Engels saw in the abolition of the economic and political dismemberment of the country, which was divided into some three dozen large and small states, and in the creation of a single democratic German state the necessary precondition for further progress. This demand was then closely linked with another — for the abolition of feudal oppression, the liberation of the peasants from all feudal services and the destruction of the whole economic base of the rule of the nobility. The full programme of the "Demands" provided for the democratisation of the entire economic and political system of the country — the creation of a truly democratic and representative legislative assembly, the introduction of universal suffrage, fundamental legal reforms, universal free education, and universal arming of the people as the sure means to defend their democratic rights.

Marx and Engels looked forward to the heightening and intensification of the revolutionary wave, carried forward by the resolute and rising struggle of the German proletariat, the lower middle class in the towns and the small peasants. These they saw as the social forces which could carry through a successful bourgeois-democratic revolution. And this viewpoint was a very important element of the emerging Marxist doctrine of permanent revolution, for which the starting point was the sweeping away of all survivals of feudalism but for which the goal was the overthrow of the capitalist system effected in the interests of the working class and of all exploited people. They saw in the successful bourgeois-democratic revolution the prologue to a proletarian revolution. And accordingly they outlined in the "Demands" a number of transitional measures, such as the transformation of feudal estates into state property and the organisation of large-scale agriculture on these confiscated lands, the nationalisation of the mines and of all means of transport, provision of work for all workers and state maintenance for those unable to work.

Thus in the "Demands of the Communist Party in Germany" the general propositions just announced in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* were already expressed in concrete terms adapted to the specific situation in one country and the particular conditions of the German revolution of 1848-49.

The bulk of the volume consists of articles by Marx and Engels written after their return to Germany and published in the *Neue*

*Rheinische Zeitung* between June 1 and November 7, 1848. These were articles not just to record and interpret but to influence events. They reflect Marx's and Engels' direct participation in the revolutionary struggle and the tactics they used during the German and the European revolution.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was an organ of democracy—but, as Engels wrote, of "a democracy which everywhere emphasised in every point the specific proletarian character" (see "Marx and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, 1848-1849" written in 1884). This trend of the paper was determined by the specific historical features of the German revolution, the actual alignment of class forces, in which the level of development reached by the German proletariat, its weakness and lack of organisation, made it impracticable to set up immediately a mass proletarian party. Two or three hundred members of the Communist League, scattered throughout the country, could not exert any substantial influence on the broad masses of the people. Marx and Engels, accordingly, decided to take their stand on the extreme Left wing of the democratic movement.

Although the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* carried the banner of democracy, it was nevertheless the official organ of no particular democratic organisation. From the very first days of the revolution Marx and Engels criticised the weaknesses and errors of the German democrats, their inconsistencies and vacillations, and also their inclination to go to extremes and to engage in "revolutionary adventures". Even before returning from Paris, Marx and Engels strongly opposed a scheme drawn up by Herwegh, Bornstedt and other petty-bourgeois democrats to invade Germany with a volunteer corps in order to start a republican uprising. The documents published in this volume (e.g. "Letter to Étienne Cabet, Editor of the *Populaire*" and "To the Committee of the German Democratic Society in Paris") show up the real nature of this plan. As a matter of principle, Marx and Engels repudiated any such adventurous and conspiratorial schemes to "export the revolution". They consistently upheld the proletarian point of view within the general democratic movement. And so they tried to draw the petty-bourgeois democrats into the genuine revolutionary mass struggle and get them to adopt a firmer and more consistent course. At the same time they drew their followers' attention to the importance of organising workers' associations and the political education of the proletariat, indispensable prerequisites for the creation of a workers' mass party.

Marx and Engels defended their line against, in particular, the sectarian views of Gottschalk and his supporters. These had

completely failed to understand the tasks facing the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and had come out against the workers taking any part in the general democratic movement. They were against the struggle for democratic political demands and against joint action with the democrats. The beginning of the conflict between Marx, together with those who shared his convictions, and Gottschalk is reflected in the "Minutes of the Meeting of the Cologne Community of the Communist League" (see this volume, p. 542). Marx and Engels likewise rejected the tactics of Stephan Born, who wanted to circumscribe the fight of the working class by setting it strictly occupational economic goals, which would in fact have diverted the proletariat from the general political tasks that confronted the German people. Though they did not publicly criticise Born's opportunism, since his endeavour to unite the various workers' associations helped to consolidate the forces of the proletariat, they emphatically protested against any attempt to equate Born's programme and tactics with the course pursued by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see "The *Concordia* of Turin").

The editorial board of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which was headed by Marx, became the true headquarters of the militant proletariat. It became in effect the leading centre of the Communist League, directing the political activity of its members throughout Germany during the revolutionary period. The paper's revolutionary propaganda, its unmasking of the counter-revolutionary forces and their abettors, and its defence of democratic demands, won the editors immense prestige in democratic circles of Germany and beyond her borders as courageous fighters for the interest of the people. "Outside, throughout the Reich," Engels wrote later, "wonder was expressed that we carried on our activities so unconcernedly within a Prussian fortress of the first rank, in the face of a garrison of 8,000 troops and in the face of the guardhouse" (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, p. 171).

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*'s stand against the arbitrary behaviour of the courts, the police and the military, against the victimisation of those who took part in the revolutionary movement and against attempts to muzzle the press (see for example the articles "Hüser", "Arrests", "The Attempt to Expel Schapper", "Public Prosecutor 'Hecker' and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*", and others) found widespread support. The paper's great popularity was largely due to its brilliant journalism, its militancy, its precise language, the wide use it made of political exposure, and the devastating sarcasm with which it attacked the enemies of the revolution.

Not only did the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* disseminate revolutionary ideas, it also promoted the organisation of the masses and helped them acquire courage, endurance and readiness for resolute action. The example its editors themselves set by their practical activity in the workers' and democratic organisations of the Rhineland (such as the Cologne Workers' Association and the Cologne Democratic Society), and their constant efforts, by means of the newspaper and through personal contacts, to exert a revolutionary influence on the German proletarian and democratic movement also played a great part in rallying people around the revolutionary standard.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* carried comments not only on vital questions of the German revolutionary movement but also on those of the European one. In their articles Marx and Engels sought to analyse all important aspects of social development during the revolutionary epoch. They saw the revolution in broad historical perspective, as a phase of universal history, and so understood the interconnectedness of widely dispersed events as separate links in a single chain.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, supporting as it did the revolutionary actions in many countries, was rightly regarded as the revolutionary organ not only of German democracy, but also of European democracy. It was the first influential popular newspaper to voice the class interests of the European proletariat and to formulate the democratic and socialist aims of the international proletarian struggle for emancipation. No wonder that progressive leaders of the contemporary European labour movement expressed their admiration for its consistent revolutionary trend. The Chartist *Northern Star* of June 24, 1848, for instance, wrote: "The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* ..., which announces itself 'the organ of democracy', is conducted with singular ability and extraordinary boldness; and we hail it as a worthy, able, and valiant comrade in the grand crusade against tyranny and injustice in every shape and form."

The paper's proletarian and internationalist attitude became especially evident during the uprising of the Paris workers in June 1848. It was the only newspaper in Germany, and practically in the whole of Europe, that from the very outset firmly sided with the insurgents, and fearlessly took their part against the slander and abuse showered on them by the ruling classes and their press. A series of articles and comments by Engels is devoted to the June uprising, as is also one of the most powerful of Marx's articles, "The June Revolution". These articles, which were written while the events were still in progress or immediately afterwards, are imbued

with fighting spirit and at the same time they contain a profound analysis of the causes of the uprising and of its historical significance.

In his article on "The June Revolution" Marx shows the fundamental difference between this uprising and all previous revolutions. It was aimed at the system of exploitation itself, and was the first major manifestation of the profound class contradictions inherent in bourgeois society, "civil war in its most terrible aspect, the war of labour against capital" (see this volume, p. 147). Marx states that the uprising was the predictable consequence of developments in France after February 22 to 24, when the workers and artisans of Paris toppled the July monarchy and set up a bourgeois republic; it was the proletarian masses' reply to the bourgeois attack on their rights. The June events, as Marx demonstrates, destroyed the illusion that universal brotherhood and harmony prevailed in bourgeois society. They revealed the irreconcilable contradictions between the capitalist class and the proletariat, and proved that the only way to emancipate the workers was by the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. It was this that constituted the world-historic significance of the June uprising, despite the serious defeat the workers suffered.

The military aspects of the June events were examined in Engels' articles, "Details about the 23rd of June", "The 23rd of June", "The 24th of June", "The 25th of June", "The *Kölnische Zeitung* on the June Revolution" and "The June Revolution (The Course of the Paris Uprising)", which describe the June uprising as "the first decisive battle of the proletariat" (see this volume, p. 143) and which contain a number of important observations about the nature, the significance and the methods of street and barricade fighting under the conditions existing at that time. These articles provided the basis of the Marxist theory of armed insurrection. Engels admired not only the heroism and selflessness of the barricade fighters, but also the ability of the Paris workers to acquire the necessary practical military skill and knowledge. He wrote: "It is quite remarkable how quickly the workers mastered the plan of campaign, how well-concerted their actions were and how skilfully they used the difficult terrain" (see this volume, p. 159).

Marx and Engels realised from the start that the June uprising in Paris was an event of European importance and regarded it as a turning-point in the European revolution. They pointed out that the insurgents' victory would have radically changed the balance of forces to the advantage of the revolution in all countries. Their defeat, on the other hand, encouraged the counter-revolutionaries everywhere. The French bourgeoisie, by crushing the insurrection,

fought in fact on the same side as feudal and absolutist reaction in Europe, which was beginning to lift up its head again.

After June 1848 Marx and Engels continued attentively to follow events in France and to discuss them in the pages of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* ("Proudhon's Speech against Thiers", "The Paris *Réforme* on the Situation in France", and other articles). Their articles on France show that they still expected a new revolutionary upsurge, in which the French proletariat was to play a leading part. Marx and Engels stressed the connection and interdependence existing between the revolutions in the different European countries. And for this very reason they judged that a victory of the French workers would be of decisive importance, for it would give a new and powerful impetus to the revolutionary struggles of the people in the other European countries. They hoped that this victory would make it easier to carry through to the end the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany and would pave the way for a proletarian revolution throughout Europe.

Engels wrote later that their expectations at that time of a proletarian revolution in the near future were due to some extent to their having overestimated the level of economic development in Europe and also the degree of organisation and class consciousness reached by the proletariat at that time. But neither the objective nor the subjective prerequisites of the revolution were then mature enough for the liquidation of the capitalist mode of production.

The attention of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was, however, invariably focussed on Germany, on the course of the revolution in the German states and the driving forces of the German revolutionary movement and its perspectives.

In their analysis of the immediate outcome of the German March revolution of 1848 Marx and Engels emphasised that the revolution had not been carried through to the end (e.g. in the articles on "The Berlin Debate on the Revolution", "The Debate on Jacoby's Motion" and "The Suppression of the Clubs in Stuttgart and Heidelberg"). Although in Vienna on March 13, in Berlin on March 18 and 19, and also in various other German states the people forced the monarchs to make a number of concessions (they promised to adopt constitutions, to convene national assemblies and to form liberal or semi-liberal governments) they failed to achieve a decisive victory over feudalism. The entire political structure and the entire civil service and police apparatus were left intact. "The Bastille ... has not yet been stormed," wrote the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, stressing that the decisive battle had not yet been won (see this volume, p. 89).

The reason for this half-heartedness of the German revolution was, according to the founders of Marxism, the policy pursued by the liberal bourgeoisie after it had attained power. The German bourgeoisie, scared by the determination of the masses, and especially by the revolutionary action of the French proletariat, betrayed the interests of the people. "The big bourgeoisie, which was all along anti-revolutionary, concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with the reactionary forces, because it was afraid of the people, i.e. of the workers and the democratic bourgeoisie" (see this volume, p. 74). In the articles which dealt with the debates in the Prussian National Assembly and analysed the policy of the Camphausen-Hansemann Ministry and the Auerswald-Hansemann Ministry, which replaced it in July 1848, Marx and Engels firmly opposed the "agreement theory", which the leaders of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie advanced to justify their compromises with the feudal and monarchical forces (see, *inter alia*, "The Government of Action", "The Crisis and the Counter-Revolution").

Marx and Engels clearly foresaw that two antithetical courses were possible after the March uprising. One was that designed to carry the revolution further in the interest of the broad masses of the people, by radically abolishing all feudal and monarchical institutions, all vestiges of feudalism, first of all in agriculture, just as they had been abolished by the French revolution between 1789 and 1794. The other, pursued by the German liberals, was designed to curtail the revolutionary movement and to come to an arrangement with the feudal aristocracy. The second course, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* warned, would inevitably lead to a monarchical counter-revolution and to the partial or complete restoration of the state of affairs which had existed before the March revolutionary events.

Marx and Engels waged a tireless struggle to solve the principal task facing the German revolution—the national unification of the country. In a number of articles (e.g. "The Programmes of the Radical-Democratic Party and of the Left at Frankfurt", "The *Zeitungs-Halle* on the Rhine Province") they expressed their opposition to plans hatched by the German liberals to unite Germany under the hegemony of Prussia or Austria, and likewise to the setting up of a federal state on Swiss lines, a project that had found wide support in democratic circles. Marx and Engels demonstrated that only the establishment of a truly united and truly democratic state could entirely abolish the economic division and political fragmentation of Germany, together with all survivals of medieval particularism and local isolation. Such centralisation, carried through on a

really democratic basis, would, they thought, create favourable conditions for a genuine consolidation of the German proletariat, and of the German revolutionary movement, too, which was greatly hampered by separatist tendencies and by parochial narrow-mindedness. They advocated the unification of Germany "from below". It should be brought about by the revolutionary onslaught of the people on the decaying absolutist system in the states of the German Confederation, and above all in Prussia and Austria. "Germany," Engels wrote, "must become *one* state not only in word but in deed. And to bring this about it is necessary above all that there should be 'neither an Austria nor a Prussia'" (see this volume, p. 400).

Marx and Engels pointed out that Germany's unification was a European problem, and that it could only be achieved in the course of a struggle waged by the revolutionary forces of the European countries against the internal and external forces of reaction, and above all against the counter-revolutionary rulers of Britain and against Russian Tsarism then acting as the principal gendarme of Europe.

It was from this revolutionary point of view that they approached the question of Schleswig-Holstein. According to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the national liberation movement in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which were ruled by the Danish King and inhabited mainly by Germans, had become part of the struggle for the unification of Germany into a single democratic state. The Prussian Government, which by the logic of events was involved in the Schleswig-Holstein war waged by the German Confederation against Denmark, tried to come to an arrangement with the Danish Government; it was prepared to sacrifice German national interests, not only in response to the pressure exerted by Britain and Russia, who supported the Danish Crown, but also because it wanted to disengage the Prussian troops so as to be able to employ them against the masses of the people in Prussia itself. This treacherous policy of the Prussian Government, carried on with the collusion of the Prussian and German liberal bourgeoisie, was unequivocally exposed by Marx and Engels, who regarded it as a fatal concession to the counter-revolutionary powers and an obstacle to German unity. "Prussia, England and Russia," wrote Engels in the article "The Danish-Prussian Armistice", "are the three powers which have greater reason than anyone else to fear the German revolution and its first result—German unity: Prussia because she would thereby cease to exist, England because it would deprive her of the possibility of exploiting the German market, and Russia because it

would spell the advance of democracy not only to the Vistula but even as far as the Dvina and the Dnieper. Prussia, England and Russia have conspired against Schleswig-Holstein, against Germany and against the revolution" (see this volume, pp. 424-25).

A revolutionary war against Tsarism and the other reactionary forces in Europe was regarded by Marx and Engels not only as a means to defend the revolution but as a condition of its further development. They reasoned that in the course of such a war the resistance of the people to the counter-revolutionary forces within the country was also bound to grow and that the preconditions for revolutionary outbursts could come into being even in those countries where popular discontent had not yet led to overt revolutionary action. The news about Russia's unstable internal situation—disturbances taking place in various districts, rising discontent in St. Petersburg etc.—received in Germany and printed in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see "The Russian Note") justified the hope that, in the event of such a war, a revolutionary outbreak might occur even in the Tsarist Empire.

For Marx and Engels power was the fundamental question in every revolution. And in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* they firmly upheld the concept of the sovereignty of the people and the establishment of a people's democratic government as conditions indispensable for the consolidation of the victory of the revolutionary masses and the implementation of the tasks facing the revolutionary movement. These ideas run through "The Assembly at Frankfurt", one of their first articles to appear in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Subsequently the concept of the people's sovereignty was continually returned to by them and, on the basis of the experience gained in the revolutionary struggle, further developed and made more concrete at every stage in the German revolution—at the time of the political crisis in Prussia caused by the action of the people in Berlin on June 14, during the intensification of the fight between the counter-revolutionary and the democratic forces in September, and during the October uprising in Vienna and the ensuing events.

Already the experience of the first months of the revolution convinced Marx and Engels of the necessity to abolish all the old administrative, military and judicial authorities, thoroughly purge the entire government apparatus, and end the rule of the bureaucracy, which was especially powerful in Prussia (see "The Agreement Session of July 4" and other articles). They saw in the arming of the people, who stood up against the counter-revolutionary soldiery, the principal guarantee of the sovereignty of

the people (see "The Agreement Assembly Session of June 17", "The Civic Militia Bill" and other articles).

Marx and Engels, who regarded mass revolutionary struggle as the decisive factor in carrying through the revolution, vigorously supported all who fought in the revolutionary battles, e.g. the Viennese workers who fought again on the barricades in May 1848 to compel the ruling circles to make new concessions; the workers of Berlin who in June 1848 stormed the arsenal to obtain weapons and to repulse the counter-revolutionary conspirators; and the insurgents in Frankfurt am Main who rose in September 1848 in protest against the ratification of the infamous armistice with Denmark by the Frankfurt Assembly.

On the other hand, Marx and Engels emphasised again and again that a premature or badly prepared uprising would only result in defeat and thus strengthen the counter-revolutionary forces. For example, in the articles "Cologne in Danger" and "The 'Revolution of Cologne'" they urged the Cologne workers not to allow the Prussian Government to provoke them to action, but to preserve their forces for the decisive battle. The explanatory campaign conducted by Marx and Engels and their comrades-in-arms in Cologne in fact prevented the destruction of the democratic movement in the Rhine Province during the September crisis.

According to the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, revolutionary action from below must be matched by a vigorous policy in the representative institutions created by the revolution, which should act as constituent assemblies in the name of the people. Marx and Engels fought for the creation of democratic representative bodies, which would reflect the will of the masses, be closely connected with them and rely on their support. By stressing that deputies elected by the people should be accountable to the people and carry out its wishes, they upheld the right of the revolutionary people to exert pressure on elected assemblies and to demand that they adopt effective revolutionary decisions and take steps to implement them ("Freedom of Debate in Berlin" and other articles).

In a number of articles dealing with the German National Assembly and also in a series devoted to the debates in the Prussian National Assembly, Marx and Engels sharply criticised the conduct of the liberal majorities. Because all drastic measures were sabotaged by the liberals, the Frankfurt and Berlin assemblies, which failed to appeal to the masses and never assumed real power, engaged only in futile verbal disputes and became merely pitiable imitations of representative assemblies. The deputies representing the democratic bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, who formed the Left wing in

these assemblies, failed to display sufficient energy either. Marx and Engels often rebuked the parliamentary leaders of the "Left" and the leaders of democratic organisations for their indecision and their refusal openly to side with the people. (See, for example, Marx's article "Appeal of the Democratic Congress to the German People".) They stressed the detrimental effect of the constitutional illusions in the grip of which many Left-wing politicians still remained, and their unfounded hope of carrying through radical measures by parliamentary means alone, without the support of the revolutionary masses.

During the September days Marx and Engels, who were convinced that the conciliatory policy of the Berlin and Frankfurt assemblies merely led to ever increasing concessions to the counter-revolution, coined the slogan of the revolutionary dictatorship of the people to express the concept of the people's sovereignty during the revolution. In the article "The Crisis and the Counter-Revolution" Marx wrote: "Every provisional political set-up following a revolution requires a dictatorship, and an energetic dictatorship at that" (see this volume, p. 431). For the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* this dictatorship constituted power genuinely wielded by the people: this power is by its very nature democratic and at the same time bold and vigorous, capable of crushing all counter-revolutionary conspiracies, of abolishing the monarchy and feudal landownership, and of ensuring the complete victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. That Marx and Engels firmly rejected the sectarian interpretation of revolutionary power as the arbitrary dictatorship of a small group of men is evident from the speech against Weitling which Marx made at the meeting of the Cologne Democratic Society on August 4, 1848 (see this volume, pp. 556-57).

The participation of the masses of the peasantry in the revolutionary struggle was regarded by Marx and Engels as a most important condition for the extension and consolidation of the democratic front. They thought that the spontaneous actions of the peasants which were taking place all over Germany should be rendered organised and purposeful. In such articles as "Patow's Redemption Memorandum", "Debate about the Existing Redemption Legislation" and others Marx and Engels set forth the agrarian programme of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. They called upon the peasants to fight for the immediate and complete abolition without compensation of all feudal services. They vehemently denounced the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie, which was betraying the peasants "who are its *natural allies*,.... without whom it cannot stand up to the aristocracy" (see this volume, p. 295), because it was afraid that to abolish feudal property

might lead to attacks on bourgeois property. Marx and Engels, who spoke for the proletariat, the consistently revolutionary class, were convinced champions of the anti-feudal peasant movement, which they regarded as one of the principal motive forces of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

The struggle for the liberation of the oppressed nations was likewise in the eyes of Marx and Engels integrally connected with this revolution. They welcomed with enthusiasm the upsurge of the national liberation movement among the Poles, Czechs, Hungarians and Italians, and saw in them allies in the fight against feudal and absolutist counter-revolution.

In the articles "Germany's Foreign Policy", "German Foreign Policy and the Latest Events in Prague" and others, Marx and Engels took their stand for the genuine freedom and the brotherhood of all nations and again denounced the German bourgeoisie, which carried on the oppressive national policy of the Hohenzollerns and the Habsburgs. "A revolutionised Germany ought to have renounced her entire past," wrote Engels, "especially as far as the neighbouring nations are concerned. Together with her own freedom, she should have proclaimed the freedom of the nations hitherto suppressed by her" (see this volume, p. 92). According to Marx and Engels the German people could become a free democratic nation only if they supported the liberation movements of the oppressed nations. "Germany will liberate herself to the extent to which she sets free neighbouring nations" (see this volume, p. 166).

The founders of Marxism fought resolutely and consistently for the restoration of an independent Poland and pressed for an alliance of German democrats with the revolutionary wing of the Polish movement, which was fighting not only for national resurrection and liberation but also for the radical democratic reorganisation of Poland. The policy of the Prussian Government, which first provoked a national uprising in Posen and then crushed it, and which under the pretext of "reorganisation" had formally incorporated the greater part of Posen into Germany, was castigated by Engels, in particular in the series of articles entitled "The Frankfurt Assembly Debates the Polish Question". Marx and Engels condemned the attitude of the liberal majority in the Frankfurt National Assembly which sanctioned the new partition of Poland.

In the just-mentioned series of articles on the Polish question, Engels showed that the restoration of the Polish state on a democratic basis would be in the interest of German and international democracy. It would, moreover, strike a heavy blow at the three counter-revolutionary powers — Prussia, Austria, and

Russia—who had shared in the partitioning of Poland. Thus it would help bring about a change in the balance of power in favour of the revolution; and this in turn would make it easier for the Germans "to eradicate patriarchal feudal absolutism in Germany" (see this volume, p. 351).

The national liberation struggle waged by the Czech people in the summer of 1848 was enthusiastically supported by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The potential revolutionary significance of this uprising against the arbitrary rule of the Austrian Government and the Czech feudal aristocracy was stressed by Engels in "The Prague Uprising" and "The Democratic Character of the Uprising". The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* bitterly denounced the massacre of the Prague insurgents which the brutal Austrian soldiery carried through with the connivance of the German liberal bourgeoisie, and pointed out that the crushing of the uprising was bound to have serious consequences for the Czech democratic movement and the German revolution. And it is true that after the tragic events in Prague the leadership of the Czech movement passed entirely into the hands of liberal aristocrats and bourgeois, who looked to the Austrian monarchy and the Russian Tsar for assistance.

Warm sympathy for the Italian people, which was fighting for its freedom and independence, was expressed in a letter written by Marx to the editorial board of the Italian democratic newspaper *Alba* and in several articles of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in which the revolutionary events in Italy were analysed. The Italian revolution, which began with the popular uprising in Sicily in January 1848, was confronted with serious problems. The country consisted of a conglomeration of large and small states, a considerable number of which were oppressively ruled by Austria. The progressive development of Italy was only possible if she liberated herself from foreign domination and abolished the feudal and monarchical regimes. But the Italian liberals, who at the time controlled the Italian movement, were trying to unite the country "from above" within the framework of a constitutional monarchy to be headed by Charles Albert, the King of Sardinia. Marx and Engels called upon the Italian people to take the leadership of the national liberation movement into their own hands, to free themselves from the tutelage of the liberals and monarchists and to frustrate all dynastic intrigues. In many of his articles Engels demonstrated that the self-seeking policy of Charles Albert and his supporters, which counteracted the truly popular resistance to the Austrians, was largely responsible for the reverses the Italians suffered during the Austro-Italian war. He observed that

only a revolutionary people's war could end Austrian domination over Italy.

The articles on the national question which Marx and Engels wrote in 1848 constitute, in sum, an important set of statements making clear their internationalist attitude towards national liberation movements.

Among the most important events of the German and European revolution was the uprising of the Viennese people in October 1848, when for three weeks the workers, students and democratic intellectuals withstood the onslaught of numerically stronger reactionary forces. Marx and Engels believed that the outcome of this rising was bound to affect substantially the fate of the revolution not only in Germany but also in Europe. Marx called the June uprising in Paris the first act of the revolutionary drama, and the October uprising in Vienna the second act (see this volume, p. 505). He emphasised that the Viennese workers had played an outstanding part in this revolutionary battle (ibid., p. 595).

A number of articles published in this volume ("Revolution in Vienna", "The *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung* and the Viennese Revolution", "The Viennese Revolution and the *Kölnische Zeitung*", "The Latest News from Vienna, Berlin and Paris" and "The Victory of the Counter-Revolution in Vienna") and also the speeches delivered by Marx at the committee meetings of the Cologne Workers' Association on October 16 and November 6, 1848, are devoted to the Viennese uprising and analyse the causes which led to its defeat. The principal cause, according to Marx, was the fact that the liberal bourgeoisie in Austria and in Germany deserted the revolution. Vienna was captured "only as a result of the manifold betrayal on the part of the bourgeoisie" (see this volume, p. 598). Marx concluded, moreover, that the failure of the German democrats to organise and lead a popular movement in support of the Viennese insurgents had disastrous consequences. The Viennese events confirmed, indeed, Marx's and Engels' conviction that the treacherous tactics of the bourgeoisie had urgently to be countered by rallying all truly revolutionary forces for the decisive battle against the counter-revolutionary offensive.

Marx and Engels also paid attention to those European countries which, although not directly involved in the revolutionary upheaval, were in one way or another affected by it. In "The *Kölnische Zeitung* on the State of Affairs in England" and other articles about Britain, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* exposed the social conflicts which existed in Britain behind the façade of bourgeois and aristocratic security and stability, and the intensification of these conflicts as the result of

the revolutionary upsurge in the whole of Europe. It stressed the magnitude of the class movement of the British workers who were fighting under the Chartist banner, and it described this fight against the official British establishment as the war of "the organised party of the proletariat against the organised political power of the bourgeoisie" (see this volume, p. 297). It was in the true spirit of proletarian internationalism that Marx and Engels supported the Chartists, who were persecuted by the authorities in 1848, and defended them against the slanderous accusations made by the bourgeois press. They also backed the fight for an independent Ireland, one of the principal hotbeds of revolutionary discontent in the British Isles (see "Cologne in Danger", "The *Neue Berliner Zeitung* on the Chartists").

The articles "The 'Model State' of Belgium" and "The Antwerp Death Sentences" outline the consequences of capitalist development in Belgium, where it was proceeding in an apparently peaceful and constitutional way. But the rule of the liberal bourgeoisie, which was able to crush the incipient republican movement in 1848, had, as is pointed out in these articles, caused the conditions of the workers to deteriorate substantially, and pauperism and criminality to increase. It also strengthened political reaction in the country, so that brutal repressive measures were taken against democrats and socialists, with arrests and deportations of political emigrants. Marx and Engels adduce the example of this bourgeois "model" state to show that in order to preserve its domination and prevent a revolution the ruling bourgeoisie is prepared to resort to the most arbitrary and subtle police methods, which can compete with any that are practised under feudal and absolutist monarchies.

Engels' unfinished sketch "From Paris to Berne" is published at the end of this volume. After being compelled to leave Germany at the end of September 1848, and after his subsequent deportation from Belgium to France, Engels decided to walk from Paris to Switzerland, where he wrote these travel notes. Considerable space is devoted to a description of the French peasants and their way of life and thinking. Engels notes the antipathy of the French peasants to the revolution of 1848 and to the revolutionary movement in the towns, and especially in Paris, together with their Bonapartist sympathies and illusions. This he attributes to the peasants' parochialism and political backwardness. And he adds that the demagogic exploitation of the peasants' proprietary instincts by the bourgeoisie, and the fiscal policy of the Provisional Government, which went against the interests of the peasants and alienated them from the revolution, were also largely responsible for this antipathy.

The Appendices contain a number of documents which illustrate the many-sided revolutionary activity of Marx and Engels in 1848 and their practical work among the people. They comprise papers relating to the Communist League, the Cologne Democratic Society and the Cologne Workers' Association, among the leaders of which were Marx and Engels and their comrades-in-arms. Reports of speeches delivered by Marx and Engels in these organisations and at public meetings are also included: though brief and incomplete, these give some idea of the content of the speeches. The Appendices comprise also a series of documents showing how the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* came into being, and throwing light on the police and court proceedings against its editors and the difficult conditions (they were persecuted by the government authorities and slandered by the "loyal" press) in which Marx and Engels published this newspaper of the revolutionary proletariat.

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The collection of articles written by Marx and Engels in 1848 and 1849 which is presented in Volumes 7 to 9 of this edition is more complete than any previously published. Not only the writings of Marx and Engels which appeared in Volumes 5 and 6 of the Russian and German editions of their *Collected Works* are included, but also many articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* which more recent research carried out in the USSR and the GDR has shown to have been also written by them. Included, too, are a number of documents relating to their activity in workers' and other democratic organisations. This volume contains 16 articles and notes—e.g. "Defeat of the German Troops at Sundewitt", "The Question of Union", "The Downfall of the Camphausen Government", "Reichensperger", "The Milan Bulletin", "Miscellaneous", "The Cologne Committee of Public Safety"—which have never before been published in any edition of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels. Of the 146 articles forming the main section of the volume, 103 are published in English for the first time. The Appendices consist entirely of material not previously published in English.

A specific feature of this volume is the fact that in a number of cases it has not been possible to establish whether a given article was written by Marx or by Engels. Since most of the articles published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* are unsigned and none of the manu-

scripts have been preserved, the question of which of them wrote it is, indeed, generally difficult to answer. And many of the articles seem in any case to be their joint work. In those cases where up to now it has proved impossible to ascertain which one of them wrote a particular item, no name is given at the end of the article.

The titles of the articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* are printed according to the table of contents given in the paper. Those supplied by the editors are in square brackets. Those works included in this volume which have been previously published in English are given either in new or in carefully revised translations. Peculiarities in the presentation of the text of some articles, in particular the manuscripts, are described in the notes.

All the texts have been translated from the German except where otherwise indicated.

The volume was compiled and the preface, notes and subject index written by Tatyana Vasilyeva and edited by Lev Golman (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). The indexes of names and of books and periodicals mentioned or quoted were prepared by Galina Kostryukova (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The translations were made by Gregor Benton, Clemens Dutt, Barbara Ruhemann, Salo Ryazanskaya, Kai Schoenhals and Christopher Upward, and edited by Margaret Mynatt and Barbara Ruhemann (Lawrence & Wishart), Salo Ryazanskaya, Yelena Chistyakova, Margarita Lopukhina and Maria Shcheglova (Progress Publishers) and Vladimir Mosolov, scientific editor (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The volume was prepared for the press by Lyudgarda Zubrilova (Progress Publishers).

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

March-November 1848

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## DEMANDS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN GERMANY[1]

"Workers of all countries, unite!"

1. The whole of Germany shall be declared a single and indivisible republic.

2. Every German, having reached the age of 21, shall have the right to vote and to be elected, provided he has not been convicted of a criminal offence.

3. Representatives of the people shall receive payment so that workers, too, shall be able to become members of the German parliament.

4. Universal arming of the people. In future the armies shall be simultaneously labour armies, so that the troops shall not, as formerly, merely consume, but shall produce more than is necessary for their upkeep.

This will moreover be conducive to the organisation of labour.

5. Legal services shall be free of charge.

6. All feudal obligations, dues, corvées, tithes etc., which have hitherto weighed upon the rural population, shall be abolished without compensation.

7. Princely and other feudal estates, together with mines, pits, and so forth, shall become the property of the state. The estates shall be cultivated on a large scale and with the most up-to-date scientific devices in the interests of the whole of society.

8. Mortgages on peasant lands shall be declared the property of the state. Interest on such mortgages shall be paid by the peasants to the state.

9. In localities where the tenant system is developed, the land rent or the quit-rent shall be paid to the state as a tax.

The measures specified in Nos. 6, 7, 8 and 9 are to be adopted in order to reduce the communal and other burdens hitherto imposed upon the peasants and small tenant farmers without curtailing the means available for defraying state expenses and without imperilling production.

The landowner in the strict sense, who is neither a peasant nor a tenant farmer, has no share in production. Consumption on his part is, therefore, nothing but abuse.

10. A state bank, whose paper issues are legal tender, shall replace all private banks.

This measure will make it possible to regulate the credit system in the interest of the people *as a whole*, and will thus undermine the dominion of the big financial magnates. Further, by gradually substituting paper money for gold and silver coin, the universal means of exchange (that indispensable prerequisite of bourgeois trade and commerce) will be cheapened, and gold and silver will be set free for use in foreign trade. Finally, this measure is necessary in order to bind the interests of the conservative bourgeoisie to the Government.[a]

11. All the means of transport, railways, canals, steamships, roads, the posts etc. shall be taken over by the state. They shall become the property of the state and shall be placed free at the disposal of the impecunious classes.

12. All civil servants shall receive the same salary, the only exception being that civil servants who have a *family* to support and who therefore have greater requirements, shall receive a higher salary.

13. Complete separation of Church and State. The clergy of every denomination shall be paid only by the voluntary contributions of their congregations.

14. The right of inheritance to be curtailed.

15. The introduction of steeply graduated taxes, and the abolition of taxes on articles of consumption.

16. Inauguration of national workshops. The state guarantees a livelihood to all workers and provides for those who are incapacitated for work.

17. Universal and free education of the people.

It is to the interest of the German proletariat, the petty bourgeoisie and the small peasants to support these demands with all possible energy. Only by the realisation of these demands will the millions in

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[a] The leaflet published in Cologne has "cause of the revolution" instead of "Government".— *Ed.*

# Forderungen
der
# Kommunistischen Partei
in
## Deutschland.

„Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt Euch!"

1. Ganz Deutschland wird zu einer einigen, untheilbaren Republik erklärt.

2. Jeder Deutsche, der 21 Jahre alt, ist Wähler und wählbar, vorausgesezt daß er keine Kriminalstrafe erlitten hat.

3. Die Volksvertreter werden besoldet, damit auch der Arbeiter im Parlament des deutschen Volkes sitzen könne.

4. Allgemeine Volksbewaffnung. Die Armeen sind in Zukunft zugleich Arbeiter-Armeen, so daß das Heer nicht blos, wie früher, verzehrt, sondern noch mehr produzirt, als seine Unterhaltungskosten betragen.

Dieß ist außerdem ein Mittel zur Organisation der Arbeit.

5. Die Gerechtigkeitspflege ist unentgeltlich.

6. Alle Feudallasten, alle Abgaben, Frohnden, Zehnten, ꝛc., die bisher auf dem Landvolke lasteten, werden ohne irgend eine Entschädigung abgeschafft.

7. Die fürstlichen und andern feudalen Landgüter, alle Bergwerke, Gruben, u. s. w., werden in Staatseigenthum umgewandelt. Auf diesen Landgütern wird der Ackerbau im Großen und mit den modernsten Hilfsmitteln der Wissenschaft zum Vortheil der Gesammtheit betrieben.

8. Die Hypotheken auf den Bauerngütern werden für Staatseigenthum erklärt. Die Interessen für jene Hypotheken werden von den Bauern an den Staat gezahlt.

9. In den Gegenden, wo das Pachtwesen entwickelt ist, wird die Grundrente oder der Pachtschilling als Steuer an den Staat gezahlt.

Alle diese unter 6, 7, 8 und 9 angegebenen Maaßregeln werden gefaßt, um öffentliche und andere Lasten der Bauern und kleinen Pächter zu vermindern, ohne die zur Bestreitung der Staatskosten nöthigen Mittel zu schmälern und ohne die Produktion selbst zu gefährden.

Der eigentliche Grundeigenthümer, der weder Bauer noch Pächter ist, hat an der Produktion gar keinen Antheil. Seine Konsumtion ist daher ein bloßer Mißbrauch.

10. An die Stelle aller Privatbanken tritt eine Staatsbank, deren Papier gesetzlichen Kurs hat.

Diese Maßregel macht es möglich, das Kreditwesen im Interesse des ganzen Volkes zu regeln und untergräbt damit die Herrschaft der großen Geldmänner. Indem sie nach und nach Papiergeld an die Stelle von Gold und Silber setzt, verwohlfeilert sie das unentbehrliche Instrument des bürgerlichen Verkehrs, das allgemeine Tauschmittel, und erlaubt, das Gold und Silber nach außen hin wirken zu lassen. Diese Maaßregel ist schließlich nothwendig, um die Interessen der konservativen Bourgeois an die Revolution zu knüpfen.

11. Alle Transportmittel: Eisenbahnen, Kanäle, Dampfschiffe, Wege, Posten, ꝛc., nimmt der Staat in seine Hand. Sie werden in Staatseigenthum umgewandelt und der unbemittelten Klasse zur unentgeltlichen Verfügung gestellt.

12. In der Besoldung sämmtlicher Staatsbeamten findet kein anderer Unterschied statt, als der, daß diejenigen mit Familie, also mit mehr Bedürfnissen, auch ein höheres Gehalt beziehen als die Uebrigen.

13. Völlige Trennung der Kirche vom Staate. Die Geistlichen aller Konfessionen werden lediglich von ihrer freiwilligen Gemeinde besoldet.

14. Beschränkung des Erbrechts.

15. Einführung von starken Progressivsteuern und Abschaffung der Konsumtionssteuern.

16. Errichtung von Nationalwerkstätten. Der Staat garantirt allen Arbeitern ihre Existenz und versorgt die zur Arbeit Unfähigen.

17. Allgemeine, unentgeltliche Volkserziehung.

Es liegt im Interesse des deutschen Proletariats, des kleinen Bürger- und Bauernstandes, mit aller Energie an der Durchsetzung obiger Maaßregeln zu arbeiten. Denn nur durch Verwirklichung derselben können die Millionen, die bisher in Deutschland von einer kleinen Zahl ausgebeutet wurden und die man weiter in der Unterdrückung zu erhalten suchen wird, zu ihrem Recht und zu derjenigen Macht gelangen, die ihnen, als den Hervorbringern alles Reichthums, gebührt.

**Das Comite:**

Karl Marx. Karl Schapper. H. Bauer. F. Engels.
J. Moll. W. Wolff.

*Demands of the Communist Party in Germany,*
leaflet published in Cologne in 1848

Germany, who have hitherto been exploited by a handful of persons and whom the exploiters would like to keep in further subjection, win the rights and attain to that power to which they are entitled as the producers of all wealth.

*The Committee:*
*Karl Marx, Karl Schapper, H. Bauer, F. Engels, J. Moll, W. Wolff*

Written between March 21 and 24, 1848

First published as a leaflet in Paris on March 24 or 25, 1848, in the supplement to the *Berliner Zeitungs-Halle* No. 82, on April 5, 1848, and in a number of other German newspapers; it was repeatedly reprinted during the revolution and after its defeat, in particular as a leaflet in Cologne issued not later than September 10, 1848

Printed according to the text of the *Berliner Zeitungs-Halle* collated with the leaflet issued in Cologne

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## LETTER TO ÉTIENNE CABET, EDITOR OF THE *POPULAIRE*[2]

Citizen Cabet,

Would you be so kind as to insert the attached Declaration in the next number of the *Populaire*. The point is not to let the Communist Party be made responsible for an enterprise and conduct which have already reawakened in a part of the German nation the old national and reactionary prejudices against the French people. The Alliance of German Workers,[a] an association of various workers' societies in all European countries, which counts among its members Mr. Harney and Mr. Jones, the English Chartist leaders, is composed entirely of communists and openly professes itself communist. The so-called German Democratic Society in Paris[3] is essentially anti-communist insofar as it claims not to recognise the antagonism and struggle between the proletarian and bourgeois classes. It is, therefore, a question of making a protest and a declaration in the interests of the Communist Party. And it is this which makes us anticipate your compliance. (This note is strictly confidential.)

Fraternal greetings,

*Frederick Engels*
*Karl Marx*

The undersigned committee considers it its duty to inform the various branches of the *Alliance of German Workers* in the different European countries that it has in no way participated in the proceedings, posters and proclamations to appeal to the French

[a] This refers to the Communist League.— *Ed.*

citizens for clothes, arms and money. The *German Workers' Club*[4] is the only one in Paris which maintains relations with the *Alliance*, and it has nothing in common with the society in Paris, called the *Society of German Democrats*, whose leaders are Herr Herwegh and Herr von Bornstedt.

*The Central Committee of the Alliance of German Workers*

(signed) *K. Marx, K. Schapper, H. Bauer, F. Engels, J. Moll, W. Wolff*

Written at the end of March 1848

First published in English in the journal *Science and Society*, 1940, Vol. IV, No. 2

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IN PARIS]

### *To Herr Bornstedt and Others*[5]

Paris, April 1, 1848
22 rue Neuve Saint Augustin

*Copy*

The following will serve as a reply to the note of Herr Bornstedt and others which was this morning left with Marx:

1. Marx has not the least intention of rendering anybody an account for any German newspaper article.
2. Marx has not the least intention of giving an account to any committee or deputation of the German Democratic Society with which he has nothing to do.
3. If Herr Bornstedt and Herr Herwegh demand explanations in their *personal capacity* and not as members of any committee or society, then Herr Bornstedt has already once before privately and also once publicly been told to whom they should address themselves.

First published in Russian in: Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, first ed., Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

Printed according to a copy in Engels' hand

Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEWSPAPER *L'ALBA*[6]

Dear Sir,

A new daily newspaper will be published in Cologne from the first of June; it will be called *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and will be edited by Herr Karl Marx. This paper will advocate in these latitudes the same democratic principles that *L'Alba* represents in Italy. There can therefore be no doubt about the line we shall take on the questions now pending between Italy and Austria. We shall defend the cause of Italian independence, we shall fight to the death Austrian despotism in Italy as in Germany and Poland. We extend a fraternal hand to the Italian people and want to prove to them that the German nation entirely repudiates the policy of oppression which in your country is carried through by the same men who in our country too have always combated freedom. We shall do our utmost to promote the union of, and good understanding between, two great and free nations which have, until now, been led to believe by a nefarious system of government that they were each other's enemy. We shall therefore demand the immediate withdrawal from Italy of the brutal Austrian soldiery, and that the Italian people be placed in a position to express its sovereign will in the question of the form of government which it wants to choose.

In order to enable us to follow Italian affairs, and in order to give you the opportunity of judging the sincerity of our promises, we suggest an exchange of papers. Thus we propose to send you the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* every day and to receive from you *L'Alba* regularly. We hope that you will accept this proposal and ask you to start sending us *L'Alba* as soon as possible so that already in our first issues we can make use of it.

If you wish to send us other information as well we should be pleased to receive it, and assure you that anything likely to serve the cause of democracy in any country will be given our most careful consideration.

Fraternal greetings.

For the editorial board of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*
Dr. *Karl Marx*, Editor

Written at the end of May 1848

First published in the newspaper *L'Alba* No. 258, June 29, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the Italian

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## ARTICLES
## FROM THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

June 1-November 7, 1848

Neue Rheinische Zeitung.
Organ der Demokratie.

№ 1. Köln, Donnerstag, 1. Juni 1848.

# [STATEMENT OF THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*][7]

Originally the date of publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was to be the first of July, and arrangements with correspondents etc. were made with that date in view.

But since the renewed insolence of the reactionaries foreshadows the enactment of German September Laws[8] in the near future, we have decided to make use of every available day and to publish the paper as from June the first. Our readers will therefore have to bear with us if during the first days we cannot offer the abundant variety of news and reports that our widespread connections should enable us to do. In a few days we shall be able to satisfy all requirements in this respect too.

Editorial Board:
Karl Marx, editor-in-chief
Heinrich Bürgers
Ernst Dronke
Friedrich Engels
Georg Weerth
Ferdinand Wolff
Wilhelm Wolff
} editors

Written not later than May 31, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 1, June 1, 1848

# THE ASSEMBLY AT FRANKFURT[9]

*Cologne,* May 31. For a fortnight Germany has had a Constituent National Assembly elected by the German people as a whole.

The German people won its sovereign status by fighting in the streets of almost all cities and towns of the country, and especially on the barricades of Vienna and Berlin. It exercised this sovereignty in the elections to the National Assembly.

The first act of the National Assembly should have been to proclaim loudly and publicly this sovereignty of the German people.

Its second act should have been the drafting of a German Constitution based on the sovereignty of the people and the elimination from the regime actually existing in Germany of everything that contradicted the principle of the sovereignty of the people.

During the whole of its session the Assembly ought to have taken all necessary measures to frustrate any reactionary sallies, to maintain the revolutionary basis on which it depends and to safeguard the sovereignty of the people, won by the revolution, against all attacks.

Though the German National Assembly has met about a dozen times already, it has done none of these things.

But it has ensured the salvation of Germany by the following great deeds.

The National Assembly realised that it must have rules, for it knew that when two or three Germans get together they must have a set of rules, otherwise chair legs will be used to decide matters. And now some schoolmaster had foreseen this contingency and drawn up special standing orders for this High Assembly. A motion was

submitted to adopt this scheme provisionally; though most deputies had not read it, the Assembly adopted it without more ado, for what would become of Germany's representatives without regulations? *Fiat reglementum partout et toujours!*[a]

Herr Raveaux of Cologne tabled a quite simple motion dealing with conflicts between the assemblies at Frankfurt and at Berlin.[10] But the Assembly debates the final standing orders, and although Raveaux's motion is urgent, the standing orders are still more urgent. *Pereat mundus, fiat reglementum!*[b] However, the elected philistines in their wisdom cannot refrain from making a few remarks concerning Raveaux's motion, and while they are debating whether the standing orders or the motion should take precedence, they have already produced up to two dozen amendments to this motion. They ventilate the thing, talk, get stuck, raise a din, waste time and postpone voting from the 19th[c] to the 22nd of May. The matter is brought up again on the 22nd, there is a deluge of new amendments and new digressions, and after long-winded speeches and endless confusion they decide that the question, which was already placed on the agenda, is to be referred back to the sections. Thus the time has happily slipped by and the deputies leave to take their meal.

On May 23 they first wrangle about the minutes, then have innumerable motions read out again, and just when they are about to return to the agenda, that is, to the beloved standing orders, Zitz of Mainz calls attention to the brutal acts of the Prussian army and the despotic abuses of the Prussian commandant at Mainz.[d] What had occurred was an indubitable and successful sally on the part of reaction, an event with which the Assembly was especially competent to deal. It ought to have called to account the presumptuous soldier who dared threaten to shell Mainz almost within sight of the National Assembly, it ought to have protected the unarmed citizens of Mainz in their own houses from the atrocities of a soldiery which had been forced upon them and incited against them. But Herr Bassermann, the waterman of Baden,[e] declares that these are trifles. Mainz must be left to its fate, the whole is more important, the Assembly meets here to consider a set of standing orders in the interests of Germany

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[a] Let there be regulations everywhere and always.— *Ed.*

[b] Engels paraphrases a motto of the German Emperor Ferdinand I: "*Fiat justitia et pereat mundus*" (let justice be done, though the world perish).— *Ed.*

[c] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has "the 18th", evidently a misprint.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 20 and 23.—*Ed.*

[e] A pun on the words *Bassermann* and *Wassermann* (waterman).—*Ed.*

as a whole—indeed, what is the shelling of Mainz compared with this! *Pereat Moguntia, fiat reglementum!*[a] But the Assembly is soft-hearted, it elects a commission that is to go to Mainz to investigate matters and—it is again just the right time to adjourn and dine.

Finally, on May 24, we lose the parliamentary thread altogether. The standing orders would seem to have been completed or to have got lost, at any rate we hear nothing more about them. Instead we are inundated by a veritable flood of well-intentioned motions in which numerous representatives of the sovereign people obstinately demonstrate the limited understanding of a loyal subject.[11] Then follow applications, petitions, protests etc., and in the end the national torrent of hog-wash finds an outlet in innumerable speeches skipping from one subject to another. The fact, however, that four committees have been set up should not be passed over in silence.

Finally Herr Schlöffel asked for the floor. Three German citizens, Esselen, Pelz and Löwenstein, had been ordered to leave Frankfurt that very day, before 4 p.m. The wise and all-knowing police asserted that these gentlemen had incurred the wrath of the townspeople by their speeches in the Workers' Association and must therefore clear out. And the police dare to do this after the German right of citizenship was proclaimed by Preparliament[12] and even after it was endorsed in the draft Constitution[b] of the seventeen "trusted men" (*hommes de confiance de la diète*).[13] The matter is urgent. Herr Schlöffel asks to be allowed to speak on this point. He is refused permission. He asks for the floor to speak on the urgency of the subject, which he is entitled to do according to the standing orders, but on this occasion it was a case of *fiat politia, pereat reglementum!*[c] Naturally, for it was time to go home and eat.

On the 25th, the flood of tabled motions caused the thought-laden heads of the deputies to droop like ripe ears of corn in a downpour. Two deputies then attempted once more to raise the question of the expulsion, but they too were not allowed to speak, even about the urgency of the matter. Some of the documents received, especially one sent by Poles, were much more interesting than all the motions of the deputies. Finally the commission that had been sent to Mainz was given the floor. It announced that it could not report until the following day; moreover it had, of course, arrived too late: 8,000

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[a] Let there be regulations, though Mainz perish.—*Ed.*

[b] F. Weichsel, *Deutschlands Einheit und der Entwurf des Deutschen Reichsgrundgesetzes.*—*Ed.*

[c] Let polity prevail, though the regulations perish.—*Ed.*

Prussian bayonets had restored order by disarming 1,200 men of the civic guard. Meantime, there was nothing for it but to pass on to the agenda. This was done promptly, the item on the agenda being Raveaux's motion. Since in Frankfurt this had not yet been settled, whereas in Berlin it had already lost all significance because of Auerswald's decree,[14] the National Assembly decided to defer the question till the next day and to go and dine.

On the 26th innumerable new motions were introduced and after that the Mainz commission delivered its final and very indecisive report. Herr Hergenhahn, ex-people's representative and *pro tempore* Minister, presented the report. He moved an extremely moderate resolution, but after a lengthy debate the Assembly concluded that even this mild proposal was too strong and resolved to leave the citizens of Mainz to the tender mercies of the Prussians commanded by a Hüser, and "in the hope that the Government will do its duty" the Assembly passed on to the agenda, that is the gentlemen left to have a meal.

Finally, on May 27, after lengthy preliminaries over the minutes, Raveaux's motion was discussed. There was some desultory talk until half past two and then the deputies went to dine, but this time they assembled again for an evening session and at last brought the matter to a close. Because of the extreme tardiness of the National Assembly, Herr Auerswald had already disposed of Raveaux's motion, therefore Herr Raveaux decided to support an amendment proposed by Herr Werner, which settled the question of the people's sovereignty neither in the affirmative nor in the negative.

Our information concerning the National Assembly ends here, but there is every reason to assume that after having taken this decision the meeting was adjourned and the deputies went to dine. If they were able to do this so early, they have to thank Robert Blum, who said:

"Gentlemen, if you decide to pass on to the agenda today, then the whole agenda of this Assembly may be cut short in a very curious manner."

Written by Engels on May 31, 1848 Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 1, June 1, 1848

# HÜSER[15]

*Cologne,* May 31. With the aid of old fortress regulations and antiquated confederate laws Herr Hüser in Mainz has invented a new method to turn Prussians and other Germans into still greater slaves than they were before May 22, 1815.[16] We are advising Herr Hüser to take out a patent for his new invention which would undoubtedly be very profitable. For according to this method two or more drunken soldiers are sent out, who of course will, of their own accord, pick a quarrel with citizens. The authorities intervene and arrest the soldiers; this is sufficient to enable the commandants of each fortress to declare a state of siege for their respective towns, to confiscate all weapons and to leave the inhabitants to the mercy of the brutal soldiery. This plan would be particularly lucrative in Germany since there are more fortresses here directed against the internal enemy than against the enemy from abroad. It would be especially lucrative here since any publicly paid fortress commandant, a Hüser, a Roth von Schreckenstein or a similar feudal name, may dare more than even a king or an emperor, since he can curb the freedom of the press, since he can, for example, forbid the citizens of Mainz (who are not Prussians) to express their antipathy against the King of Prussia and the Prussian political system.

Herr Hüser's project is only part of the grand plan of the Berlin reactionaries who seek to disarm as rapidly as possible all civic guards (particularly along the Rhine), thus step by step annihilating the nascent popular armed forces and delivering us defenceless into the hands of an army that consists mostly of soldiers from other

# Neue Rheinische Zeitung.
## Organ der Demokratie.

№ 1. Köln, Donnerstag, 1. Juni 1848.

Die „Neue Rheinische Zeitung" erscheine vom 1. Juni an täglich.
Der Abonnementspreis beträgt: Für das Vierteljahr in Köln 1 Thlr. 15 Sgr.; für alle übrigen Orte Preußens 2 Thlr. 3 Sgr. 9 Pf. Außerhalb Preußens mit Zuschlag des fremden Zeitungsporto's.
Das Abonnement für den Monat Juni kann nur unter gleichzeitiger Bestellung des nächsten Quartals (Juli, August, September) geschehen. Der Preis dieses vermehrten Quartals beträgt: Für Köln 2 Thlr.; auswärts 2 Thlr. 25 Sgr.
Man abonnirt bei allen Postanstalten und Buchhandlungen des In- und Auslandes; — für Köln in der Expedition der Zeitung bei Hrn. W. Clouth, St. Agatha 12, Köln.

Fernere Anzeigenzeichnungen werden entgegen genommen in der Expedition der Zeitung. Auswärtige werden gebeten, sich ebenfalls dorthin franco zu wenden.

**Insertionsgebühren.**

Für die vierspaltige Petitzeile oder deren Raum . . . 1 Sgr. 6 Pf.

**Die Expedition der „Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung."**


**Das Erscheinen der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung war ursprünglich auf den ersten Juli festgesetzt. Die Arrangements mit den Correspondenten ꝛc. warren auf diesen Termin getroffen.**

**Da jedoch bei dem erneuten frechen Auftreten der Reaktion deutsche September-gesetze in naher Aussicht stehen, so haben wir jeden freien Tag benutzen wollen, und erscheinen schon mit dem ersten Juni. Unsre Leser werden es uns also nachsehen müssen, wenn wir in den ersten Tagen an flüchtichen und mannigfaltigen Correspondenzen noch nicht das reichhaltige Material liefern, wozu unsere ausgedehnten Verbindungen uns befähigen. In wenig Tagen werden wir auch hierin allen Anforderungen genügen können.**


**Redaktions-Comité.**

Karl Marx, Redakteur en Chef.
Heinrich Bürgers,
Ernst Dronke,
Friedrich Engels,
Georg Weerth,
Ferdinand Wolff,
Wilhelm Wolff,
} Redakteure.



**Uebersicht.**

Deutschland. Köln (die Frankfurter Versammlung. — Robert Blums Gefängniß. — Preußische Staatsanzeige. — Polen) — Berlin (Stadtverordn.). — Frankfurt (die Nationalversammlung). — Wien (neue Revolution).

Belgien. Brüssel (Handelspolitik Belgiens).

Italien. Verona (vom Kriegsschauplatz). — Neapel (Auflösung der Deputirtenkammer).

Frankreich. Paris (Ausbruch von Thomas — Fortschritte der Revolution. — Commission für die Nationalwerkstätten. — Gerüchte über eine neue Revolution in Neapel).

England. London (O'Connor, Cobden, Hume. — Mißstände Verwaltung).

Handels- und Börsennachrichten.


## Amtliche Nachrichten.

Der bisherige Privat-Docent, Dr. jur. Berner hierselbst, ist zum außerordentlichen Professor in der juristischen Fakultät der hiesigen Universität ernannt worden.

Bekanntmachung.

Zur Vermehrung des Dienstes, welchen die Bürgerwehr und die zu ihr gehörigen Reserven Corps zur Besitzung des Königlichen Schlosses bei hohen Festtagen leisten gehabt haben, ist in Uebereinstimmung mit dem Kommando der Bürgerwehr die Anordnung getroffen, daß die vorhandenen Spanischen Bürgerkrieges versehen werden, welche zur Nachzeit für den zweiten (Reserve-) Schutzposten gefertigt sind, die neben (zweiten) Schutzposten aber zur freien Posten gefertigt, dieses Wrangeln des Schlosses, welche zur Nachzeit für den zweiten Schutzposten passiren, nehmen, ebenfalls den Weg durch das Portal im Durchgehen, sogenannte Kücken-Portal.

Berlin, den 28. Mai 1848. Königlich Hofmarschall-Amt
(gez.) Graf Keller.

## Deutschland.

☆ Köln, 31. Mai. Seit vierzehn Tagen besitzt Deutschland eine konstituirende Nationalversammlung, hervorgegangen aus der Wahl des gesammten deutschen Volkes.

Das deutsche Volk hat sich in den Straßen fast aller großen und kleinen Städte des Landes, und insgesammt auf den Barricaden von Wien und Berlin seine Souveränetät erobert. Es hatte das Souveränetät in den Wahlen zur Nationalversammlung ausgeübt. Der erste Akt der Nationalversammlung mußte dem, durch Barricadenkampf bei deutschen Volke laut und offenbar zu proklamirenden, ihr zweiter Akt mußte sein, die deutsche Verfassung auf Grundlage der Souveränetät des Volkes auszuarbeiten, und auch den thatsächlich bestehenden Zustande Deutschlands Rücksichtnahme zu ertheilen, und dem Prinzip der Volkssouveränetät wahrzusprechen.

Während ihrer ganzen Session mußte sie die nothigen Maßregeln ergreifen, um alle Reaktionsversuche zu vereiteln, um den revolutionären Boden, auf dem sie steht, zu behaupten, um die Errungenschaft der Revolution, die Volkssouveränetät, vor allen Angriffen sicher zu stellen.

Die deutsche Nationalversammlung hat nun schon an ein Dutzend Sitzungen gehalten, und hat von dem Allen Nichts gethan.

Dieser aber hat sie das Heil Deutschlands durch folgende Großthaten sicher gestellt:

Die Nationalversammlung erkannte, daß sie ein Regiment haben müsse, denn sie wußte, wie jener aber vom Deutsche polemisiren sind, daß sie ein Regiment haben, sonst entschieden die Schwarzen. Nun hatte irgend ein Schutzmacher dieses Fall vorhergesehen und ein neueres Regiment für die hohe Versammlung entworfen. Man trägt auf provisorische Annahme dieses Exercitiums an; die meisten Deputirten kennen es nicht, aber die Versammlung nimmt es ohne Widerrede an, denn was war aus den Vertretern Deutschlands geworden ohne Regiment? Fiat Regimentum pereat et tempus.

Herr Moevaer aus Köln stellte einen ganz unverfänglichen Antrag wegen der Reklamationsfrist zwischen der Frankfurter und Berliner Versammlung. Aber die Versammlung beraubt das neueste Regiment, und obwohl Moevaer Antrag eile, so eilt das Regiment doch noch mehr. Perat mundus! ist regimentum. Dennoch aber kann der Wunsch der gewählten Pfeifbläser sich nicht verlagen, auch einiges über den Moevaer'schen Antrag zu bemerken, um abmählig, nachdem man noch darüber sprach, ob das Regiment oder der Antrag vorgehen sollen, protestiren sich bereits an der zweiten Dutzend Amendements zu diesem Antrage. Man unterhielt sich darüber, man sprach, man hielt Reden, man lasen, man verbreitete die Zeit, und vertagt die Abstimmung vom 1ste auf den 22. Mai. Am 22. kommt die Sache wieder vor; es regnet neue Amendements, neue Abänderungsanträge, und nach langem Reden und wiederholtem Durchlesen der beschlossen man, die bereits auf die Tagesordnung gesetzte Frage an die Abtheilungen zurückzugeben. Damit ist die Zeit glücklich herum und die Herren Deputirten gehen fort.

Am 25. Mai geht man sich erst über das Protokoll; dann kommt man wieder zahlreiche Anträge in Umgang, und dann will man wieder zur Tagesordnung, nämlich zu dem vorgelesenen Regiment übergehen, als Zitz und Mainz die Brauchbarkeit des preußischen Militairs und die bevorstehen Illiaroiaden des preußischen Kommandanten in Mainz zur Sprache bringt. Herr Zitz, ein unbedeutender, ein gelangweilter Realtumsverein vor, ein Fall, der ganz sonderbar zur Komedienz der Versammlung gehörte. Es gab, den abermaligen Sabbaten zur Reckerschaft zu gehen, der es jedoch Mainz fall unter den Augen der Nationalversammlung mit dem Bombardement zu bedrohen, es gab, der einzelnstem Mainzer in ihren eigenen Häusern vor den Bewaffneten einer ihnen aufgedrängten, einer gegen sie aufgehetzten Sabbatrotte zu schießen. Aber Dr. Bassermann, der kaiserliche Reichsminister aus Mainz, der Minister, man muß Mainz, seinem Schicksal überlassen, das Ganze gehe vor, der sehe die Versammlung und brachte ein Interesse von ganz Deutschland ins Treffen! — in der That, wo ist das Bombardement von Mainz dagegen? Parat Augustus, das regimentum! Aber die Versammlung hat ein weiches Herz, und sendet eine Kommission, die nach Mainz gehen und die Sache untersuchen soll, und — es ist richtig wieder Zeit die Sitzung zu schließen und eilen zu gehen.

Am 24. Mai endlich geht und der parlamentarische Faden verloren. Das Regiment scheint fertig geworden aber abhandeln gekommen zu sein, jedenfalls haben wir nichts mehr davon. Dafür aber kurzt ein wahrer Hagelschauer wahlmäßiger Anträge über uns her, in denen zahlreiche Vertreter des souveränen Volkes die Hartnäckigkeit ihres bedrängten Unterthanenverstandes behandeln. Dann kamen Eintwürfe, Hetzsamen, Proteste u. s. w., und endlich und der Nationalfinsche in zahlreichen Reden um zwei Hundertstelen und Tausendste gehendes Debouche. Doch darf nicht verschwiegen werden, daß vier Comité's ernannt wurden.

Endlich verlangte Herr Schlesier das Wort. Drei deutsche Staatsbürger, die Herren Esselen, Petz und Bowenstein haben den Beschluß erhalten, Frankfurt noch an demselben Tage von 4 Uhr Nachmittags zu verlassen. Die doch und wohlweise Polizei behauptete, gemeinsame Herren hatten durch Reden im Arbeitsverein den Unwillen der Bürgerschaft auf sich gezogen und müßten deshalb fort! Und das erlaubt sich der Polizei, nachdem das deutsche Staatsbürgerrecht vom Vorparlament proklamirt, nachdem es selbst im ...und unsre Boos auf der Insel Saalwerth sollen auf Rath,"" unterbrach der Buchhalter mit Schwermuth.

„Ja, du schlägst die Revolution hinein, wie der Hagel in ein Kartoffelfeld, wo der Pflug in den Sonnat" Verschwunden ist unser Hoffen und unser Glück ist aus. In andern Zeiten wenigstens man sich Rachen auf seinem Lager, noch gehörn traumte ich, eine Gualtoine und ein Berrieschl tanzten einen Schauertrio" — Bolzer, Schwindsüchtiges erwacht man am Morgen und sich ma. — den Dwegel, du glaubst man einen vom Galgen Gefallenen zu sehen. Nehr suchend im Gehirn, gringt dieses doch leiten, denn unbeschwungner Geist einem der Zeug hemor und aus den fromsten Erhebungen zu Gott kommt man unwillkürlich mit den Gedanken zurück in die irrtischen Machtsicht. Bei Kugel begann man seine Arbeit, und zitternd erfassen man jeden Brief, denn es ist nur zu wahrscheinlich, daß regend einer: „Mir traurigen Herzen"" oder „Ich lebe mich in die traurige Rechnungsbücher"" oder „Wo den Dering Ter Beschäftige behaure ich"" oder mit irgend einer andern bauferreien Phrase beginnen wird. Jedoch folgen Zahlen um und der Erfolg ist reichstens das in seine Illiaden. Ihrem wadeln und ich wadelt der legte Seufzerbeer. Bangnerei fallen wir die Augen im Wirter um und bei welche auf den Bonnen ich eben, fast ein Entsitzen, als hatten sie nur Augen griffen und geschehen Ewer raus gegrüßen, seit sieben Monaten. Wegen jeres Lanie Poden wird man genannt, als schulterte man eine Mähne zwei Jahre andere Schulterte. Die glückwünschen Freunde und weitlaufigen Anverwandten rennen man an wie der Stadtrat einen Gesetzesbuch. Aufrecht behalten aus, die, welche entreffen: Jet 14 Mann. Reiner traut seinem Nachbar; man betrachtet sich nur ein Robert Macaire ein andern. Auf der Straße geht man rasher wie ein Leichenbitter, verhohnt von rohen Proletariern, ganzy angegaßt vom numerisiertem Volk. Auf der Börse ist es auch nur wenig ein Gespräche. Man hört der Menge an den Mienen frabbeln, was Thoren rennen um die angeschlagenen nothigen Kourie. O, Dert Lenz, wer Erbrmgeschick worten von einer schwerten, sehr schweren Lastenge. Wir ein traurender Jude an den Wassern zu Babylon also hat ich flagend auf meinem Convertsopha." (Schluß f.)


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parts who can easily be stirred up, or are already stirred up, against us.

This has happened in Aachen, Trier, Mannheim and Mainz and can also occur elsewhere.

Written by Engels on May 31, 1848 Printed according to the newspaper

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# [THE LATEST HEROIC DEED OF THE HOUSE OF BOURBON]

The House of Bourbon has not yet reached the end of its glorious career. True, its white flag has recently been rather besmirched and its withering lilies are drooping sadly enough. Charles Louis of Bourbon bartered away one dukedom[a] and had to abandon a second one[b] ignominiously; Ferdinand of Bourbon lost Sicily and in Naples was forced to grant a Constitution to the revolution. Louis Philippe, although only a crypto-Bourbon, nevertheless went the way of all French-Bourbon flesh across the Channel to England. But the Neapolitan Bourbon has avenged the honour of his family brilliantly.

The Chambers are convened at Naples. The opening day is to be used for the decisive battle against the revolution. Campobasso, one of the main police chiefs of the notorious Del Carretto, is surreptitiously recalled from Malta. Large bands of armed *Sbirri*, led by their old ringleaders, again patrol Toledo Street for the first time in a long while. They disarm the citizens, rip off their coats and force them to cut off their moustaches. May 14, the opening day of the Chambers, draws near. The King demands that the Chambers should pledge themselves under oath not to change anything in the Constitution he has granted. They refuse. The national guard declares itself for the deputies. Negotiations take place, the King gives way and the Ministers resign. The deputies demand that the King should publicise his concessions in the form of an ordinance. The King promises such an ordinance for the following day. During

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[a] Lucca.— *Ed.*
[b] Parma.— *Ed.*

the night, however, all troops stationed in the vicinity of Naples move into the city. The national guard realises that it has been betrayed and throws up barricades which are manned by 5,000 to 6,000 men. But they are opposed by 20,000 soldiers, partially Neapolitans and partially Swiss, equipped with 18 cannon. Between them stand the 20,000 *lazzaroni*[17] of Naples who are not participating for the time being.

On the morning of the 15th, the Swiss are still declaring that they will not attack the people. One of the police agents, however, who has mingled with the people, fires upon the soldiers in the Strada de Toledo. Thereupon fort St. Elmo at once hoists the red flag and on this signal the soldiers rush at the barricades. A horrible massacre begins. The national guards defend themselves heroically against the superior strength of four to one and against the cannon shots of the soldiers. Fighting rages from 10 a.m. until midnight. The people would have won in spite of the numerical superiority of the soldiery had the miserable conduct of the French Admiral Baudin not induced the *lazzaroni* to join the royal side.

Admiral Baudin was lying with a fairly large French fleet before Naples. A simple but timely threat to fire upon the castle and the forts would have forced Ferdinand to yield. But Baudin, one of Louis Philippe's old servants who was used to the earlier period of the *entente cordiale*[18] when the existence of the French fleet was merely tolerated, remained inactive, thereby causing the *lazzaroni*, who were already leaning towards the people, to join the troops.

This action of the Neapolitan lumpenproletariat decided the defeat of the revolution. Swiss guardsmen, Neapolitan soldiers and *lazzaroni* combined pounced upon the defenders of the barricades. The palaces along Toledo Street, which had been swept clean with grape-shot, collapsed under the cannon-balls of the troops. The frantic mob of victors tore into the houses, stabbed the men, speared the children, violated the women only to murder them afterwards, plundered everything in sight and then set fire to the pillaged dwellings. The *lazzaroni* proved to be the greediest and the Swiss the most brutal. The base acts and barbarities accompanying the victory of the well-armed and four times stronger Bourbon mercenaries and the always *sanfedistic*[19] *lazzaroni* over the nearly destroyed national guard of Naples, are indescribable.

Eventually, things went too far even for Admiral Baudin. Droves of refugees arrived on his ships and told of the events in the city. The French blood of his sailors was brought to boiling point. Now at last, when the victory of the King was assured, he contemplated a bombardment. The slaughter gradually came to an end. One no

longer murdered in the streets but limited oneself to pillage and rape. The prisoners, however, were led off to the forts and shot without further ado. It was all over by midnight. Ferdinand's absolute rule was restored in fact and the honour of the House of Bourbon was purified with Italian blood.

That is the latest heroic deed of the House of Bourbon and as always it is the Swiss who are fighting the people on behalf of the Bourbons. On August 10, 1792, on July 29, 1830, and during the Neapolitan battles of 1820,[20] everywhere we find the descendants of Tell and Winkelried serving as mercenaries in the pay of the royal family whose name has for years been synonymous throughout Europe with that of absolute monarchy. Now all this will of course soon come to an end. After long disputes, the more civilised cantons have succeeded in prohibiting the military capitulations.[21] The sturdy sons of the original free Swiss League will have to give up kicking Neapolitan women with their feet, revelling in the pillage of rebellious towns and, in case of defeat, being immortalised by Thorwaldsen's lions like the fallen of August 10.

The House of Bourbon, however, may for the time being breathe a sigh of relief. Nowhere has the reaction which set in again after February 24[a] achieved such a decisive victory as at Naples and this in spite of the fact that the first of this year's revolutions began precisely in Naples and Sicily. The revolutionary tidal wave, however, which has inundated Old Europe, cannot be checked by absolutist conspiracies and coups d'état. By his counter-revolution of May 15, Ferdinand of Bourbon has laid the cornerstone of the Italian republic. Already Calabria is in flames, in Palermo a Provisional Government has been formed and the Abruzzi will also erupt. The inhabitants of all the exploited provinces will move upon Naples and, united with the people of that city, will take revenge on the royal traitor and his brutal mercenaries. And when Ferdinand falls he will at least have had the satisfaction of having lived and died a true Bourbon.

Written by Engels on May 31, 1848

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Published in English for the first time

[a] On February 24, 1848, Louis Philippe was overthrown.— *Ed.*

# THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY[22]

*Cologne,* June 1. Every new organ of public opinion is generally expected to show enthusiasm for the party whose principles it supports, unqualified confidence in the strength of this party, and constant readiness either to give the principles the cover of real power, or to cover up real weaknesses with the glamour of principles. We shall not live up to these expectations, We shall not seek to gild defeats with deceptive illusions.

The democratic party has suffered defeat; the principles which it proclaimed at the moment of victory are called in question; the ground it has actually won is being contested inch by inch; much has been lost already and soon the question will arise—what is left?

What is important for us is that the democratic party should understand its position. People may ask why we are concerned with a party, why we do not concentrate on the aims of the democratic movement, the welfare of the people, the happiness of all without distinction.

For such is the law and usage of struggle, and only from the *struggle* of parties can the future welfare arise—not from seemingly clever compromises or from a hypocritical alliance brought about despite conflicting views, interests and aims.

We demand of the democratic party that it grasp the significance of its position. This demand springs from the experience of the past months. The democratic party has allowed the elation of its first victory to go to its head. Intoxicated with the joy of being able at last to proclaim its principles openly for all to hear, it imagined that one had merely to proclaim these principles for them to be immediately realised. It did not go beyond this proclamation after its first victory and the concessions which directly followed it. But while the party

was lavish with its ideas and treated as a brother everyone who did not immediately dare to challenge them, the others—those who retained or obtained power—were active. And their activity is not to be made light of. Keeping their principles to themselves and divulging only those parts that were directed against old conditions already overthrown by the revolution, they carefully held the movement in check, ostensibly in the interests of the evolving legal system and the establishment of formal order. They made seeming concessions to the advocates of the old order to secure their support for their own plans; then they gradually built up the basic elements of their own political system and thus succeeded in occupying an intermediate position between the democratic party and the defenders of absolutism, on the one hand advancing and on the other retarding the movement, being at once progressive—as regards the absolutists—and reactionary—as regards the democrats.

This is the party of the prudent, moderate bourgeoisie, and by this party the people's party, in its first intoxication, allowed itself to be taken in till finally it began to see things in their true light after having been contemptuously spurned, after all sorts of reprehensible intentions had been imputed to it, and its members denounced as agitators.[23] Then it perceived that it had actually achieved nothing but what the gentlemen of the bourgeoisie regarded as compatible with their own well-understood interests. Set in conflict with itself by an undemocratic electoral law and defeated in the elections, the party now has against it two elected bodies; the only doubtful thing about them is, which of them will more strongly oppose its demands. Consequently, the enthusiasm of the party has of course melted away and has been replaced by the sober recognition of the fact that a powerful reaction has gained control, and this, strangely enough, happened before any revolutionary action took place.

Although all this is undoubtedly true, it would be dangerous if the bitter feeling engendered by the first and partly self-induced defeat were to impel the democratic party now to revert to that wretched idealism, which is unfortunately characteristic of the German temperament, and according to which a principle that cannot be put into practice immediately is relegated to the distant future while for the present its innocuous elaboration is left to the "thinkers".

We must clearly warn against those hypocritical friends who, while declaring that they agree with the principles, doubt whether they are practicable, because, they allege, the world is not yet ready for them, and who have no intention of making it ready, but on the contrary prefer to share the common lot of the wicked in this wicked earthly

life. If these are the crypto-republicans whom the *Hofrat* Gervinus fears so much, then we whole-heartedly agree with him: "Such men are dangerous."[a]

Written by Marx on June 1, 1848 Printed according to the newspaper

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[a] Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar,* Act I, Scene 2.—*Ed.*

# CAMPHAUSEN'S STATEMENT AT THE SESSION OF MAY 30[24]

*Cologne*, June 2. *Post et non propter*,[a] in other words Herr *Camphausen* did not become Prime Minister *because of* the March revolution but *after* that revolution. On May 30, 1848, in a most solemn manner and with many protestations, displaying as it were a mysterious carriage of the body to cover the defects of the spirit,[b] Herr Camphausen has revealed this subsequent significance of his Ministry to the Berlin Assembly which sprang from an agreement between him and the indirect electors.

The *thinking friend of history*[c] states that "the Government which was formed on March 29 met soon *after* an occurrence whose significance has not been and will not be misjudged by it".

Herr Camphausen's assertion that he *did not* form a Government *before* March 29 finds confirmation in the issues of the *Preussische Staats-Zeitung* published during the last few months. It may be assumed with confidence that a date, which indicates at least the chronological point of departure of Herr Camphausen's ascension into heaven, possesses great "significance", particularly for Herr Camphausen. What comfort it must be for the fallen barricade fighters to know that their cold corpses serve as visible sign and index finger pointing to the Government of March 29! *Quelle gloire!*[d]

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[a] After and not because of.—*Ed.*

[b] Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, Vol. I, ch. XI.—*Ed.*

[c] An ironical allusion to the subtitle of Karl von Rotteck's *Allgemeine Geschichte vom Anfang der historischen Kenntniss bis auf unsere Zeiten. Für denkende Geschichtsfreunde* (General History from the Beginning of Historical Knowledge Until Our Time. For Thinking Friends of History).—*Ed.*

[d] What honour!—*Ed.*

In one word: after the March revolution, a Camphausen Ministry was formed. This same Camphausen Ministry recognises the "*great significance*" of the March revolution, at least it does not *misjudge* it. The revolution itself is a trifle—its *significance* is what matters! It *signifies* precisely the Camphausen Ministry, at least *post festum.*[a]

"This occurrence"—the formation of the Camphausen Ministry or the March revolution?—"belongs to the most essential contributing factors in the transformation of our *internal* political structure."

Is this passage supposed to mean that the March revolution is "an essential contributing factor" to the formation of the Government of March 29, i.e. the Camphausen Government; or is it supposed merely to say: the Prussian March revolution has revolutionised Prussia! Such a solemn tautology may perhaps be expected from a "*thinking friend of history*"!

"The Government recognises that we stand at its beginning" (namely of the transformation of our internal political conditions) "and that we have a long road *ahead* of us."

In a word, the Camphausen Ministry recognises that it still has a long way *to travel,* i.e. it is looking forward to a *long* life. Brief is art, i.e. the revolution, and long is life,[b] i.e. the Ministry that came after. It gratuitously recognises itself. Or is one to interpret Camphausen's words in some other way? One would certainly not attribute to the *thinking friend of history* the trivial explanation that nations who stand at the beginning of a new historical epoch stand at the beginning and that the road which lies *ahead* of every epoch will be just as long as the *future.*

So much for the *first* part of the laborious, grave, ceremonious, thorough and considered oration of Prime Minister Camphausen. It may be summarised in the following three statements: *After* the March revolution—the Camphausen Ministry. The Camphausen Ministry has great significance. A long road lies *ahead* of the Camphausen Ministry!

Now for the *second* part.

"By no means have we judged the situation to be such," lectures Herr Camphausen, "that a complete upheaval has resulted from this occurrence" (the March revolution), "that the entire structure of our state has been overthrown, that everything that exists has ceased to be legal and that all conditions must be placed on a new legal basis. On the contrary. The Government agreed from the moment of its initial meeting to regard it as essential for its own future that the then convoked

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[a] After the event.—*Ed.*

[b] Modified quotation from Goethe's *Faust,* Erster Teil, "Nacht".—*Ed.*

United Diet[25] meet in reality, regardless of the petitions received opposing such a course, and that the new constitution evolve from the existing structure with the legal machinery offered by it without the bond which ties the old to the new being severed. This incontestably correct policy has been maintained. The electoral law has been submitted to the United Diet and passed with its advice. Later on, the attempt was made to induce the Government to alter this law on its own authority, in particular to change the indirect electoral system into a direct one. The Government did not yield. The Government did not act in a dictatorial way; it could not and *would* not act in such a way. The electoral law has in fact been implemented strictly according to the letter. It was on the basis of this electoral law that the electors and deputies were chosen. You are here on the basis of this electoral law with the power to agree with the Crown on a Constitution which it is to be hoped will endure in the future."

A kingdom for a doctrine! A *doctrine* for a kingdom![a]

First there is the "occurrence"—a bashful euphemism for *revolution.* Afterwards there comes the doctrine and dupes the "occurrence".

The illegal "occurrence" turned Herr Camphausen into the *responsible* Prime Minister, i.e. into a creature that had no place and no meaning within the old state of affairs, within the existing structure. We override the old by a *salto mortale* and, fortunately, we find a responsible Minister. The responsible Minister however is even more fortunate in discovering a doctrine. With the first breath of life of a *responsible Prime Minister* the absolute monarchy died and rotted. Among the latter's victims was to be found primarily the blessed "*United Diet*", that disgusting mixture of Gothic delusion and modern deception.[b] The "United Diet" was the "dear faithful follower", the "pet" of the absolute monarchy. Just as the German republic can only celebrate its entry over the body of Herr Venedey, so the responsible Ministry can only enter over the body of the "dear faithful follower". The responsible Minister now picks out the lost body or conjures up the *ghost* of the dear faithful "United Diet", the ghost indeed makes an appearance, but unfortunately hovers suspended in the air, going through all sorts of bizarre capers because it can no longer find any *ground* under its feet, since the old *foundation of law and trust* has been swallowed up by the "occurrence" of the earthquake. The master magician reveals to the ghost that he has summoned it so as to settle its estate and to be able to act the loyal heir. The ghost cannot find enough praise for these polite manners because in ordinary life the deceased are not permitted to issue posthumous testaments. The most highly flattered ghost nods like a pagod to all that the master magician orders, takes a bow at the exit

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[a] Modified quotation from Shakespeare's *King Richard III,* Act V, Scene 4.— *Ed.*
[b] Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen,* Caput XVII.— *Ed.*

and disappears. The law on indirect elections[26] is its posthumous testament.

The doctrinal trick by which Herr Camphausen "has evolved the new constitution from the existing structure with the legal machinery offered by it" develops as follows:

An illegal occurrence turns Herr Camphausen into an *illegal* person within the meaning of the "existing structure" and of the "old state of affairs": that is into a responsible Prime Minister, a *constitutional Minister.* The constitutional Minister illegally transforms the *anti-constitutional,* dear faithful "*United Diet", based on the estates,* into a *constituent* assembly. The dear faithful "United Diet" creates unlawfully the law of indirect elections. The law of indirect elections creates the Berlin Chamber, the Berlin Chamber draws up the Constitution and the Constitution produces all successive chambers from here to eternity.

Thus, a goose is transformed into an egg and an egg into a goose. Thanks to the Capitol-saving cackling,[27] the nation soon realises, however, that the golden eggs of Leda, which it laid in the revolution, have been stolen. Not even Deputy *Milde* seems to be the bright conspicuous Castor, son of Leda.

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# DEFEAT OF THE GERMAN TROOPS AT SUNDEWITT[28]

*Schleswig*. So the German troops have once again been beaten, once again the German-Prussian policy has suffered a brilliant defeat! This is the outcome of all those solemn promises of a strong, united Germany! — The time that could have been used to press home the initial victory they let slip by in useless negotiations which the enemy only entered into under duress in order to gain time for renewed resistance. And when Russia declared that she would intervene if Jutland were not evacuated, they still failed to recognise what lay behind the offer of an armistice, they lacked the courage to accept the impending conflict, the long-awaited and unavoidable conflict with Russia. Indeed, the proponents of a policy of force were at a loss, they gave in like cowards and during the *retreat* the "brave" guards were defeated by the "little" Danes! If this is not a case of open treason, then it is a manifestation of such immense incompetence that in any case the management of the whole affair must be placed in other hands. Will the National Assembly in Frankfurt at last feel compelled to do what it should have done long since, that is take over foreign policy itself? Or will it here too—"in the trust that governments perform what are the duties of their office"—proceed to the order of the day?

There follows the report of the Danish attack at Sundewitt,[a] taken from the *Schleswig-Holsteiner Zeitung*.

*Rendsburg*, May 29. Yesterday (Sunday, the 28th) was assigned to the relief of confederate troops on outpost duty outside Alsen.[b] This information must have

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[a] The Danish name is Sundeved.— *Ed.*
[b] The Danish name is Als.—*Ed.*

reached the Danes, who are generally well served by their spies in that region. Considerably reinforced by troops that in the last few days had once more been brought over from Fünen[a] to Alsen, they carried out a landing on this side of the river the full significance of which the Germans do not seem to have grasped, since their attention was taken up with the coming on and off guard of their own troops. Soon after the stationing of the new pickets the Germans suddenly found themselves under heavy attack beneath the Düppel[b] Heights from a greatly superior force of Danish infantry and artillery, while at the same time the appearance of a number of ships and gunboats west of Erkensund (near Alnver and Treppe) gave the impression that a landing was also to be carried out there. Clearly this was an attempt by the Danes to split the German forces, but they achieved only a slight measure of success. On the Düppel Heights a fierce battle ensued in which both sides suffered heavy casualties, some of them fatal, as a result of cannon-fire (it is not yet possible to give figures). The Danes fought famously. Their numbers are put at 8,000 men, who took up battle-stations under cover of the deck-guns and flanked by cannon on land, while our men can scarcely have numbered 7,000. It was several hours before the battle was decided, when at last, around 7 o'clock in the evening, the German troops were forced to begin the retreat via Gravenstein northwards to Quars, while the Danes got to within an hour's march of Gravenstein, where our rearguard had stopped.

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[a] The Danish name is Fyn.—*Ed.*
[b] The Danish name is Dybbøl.—*Ed.*

# QUESTIONS OF LIFE AND DEATH

*Cologne*, June 3. The times are changing and we are changing with them. That is a short saying with which our Ministers *Camphausen* and *Hansemann* are also well acquainted. Oh, what they had to put up with from government officials and marshals[29] when they were still modest deputies sitting on the school bench of a provincial diet! And how they were kept on a leash like fifth formers in the Rhenish Provincial Diet by His Most Serene Highness, form-master Solms-Lich! Although they were permitted to indulge in a few exercises in elocution after they had been promoted to the sixth form, to the United Diet,[30] how they were even then disciplined by their schoolmaster, Herr Adolf von Rochow, with the cane presented to him from on high! How meekly they had to take the impertinences of a Bodelschwingh, how attentively they had to admire the broken German of a Boyen, and how limited an understanding of a loyal subject they were obliged to display in face of the crude ignorance of a Duesberg!

Things have changed now. The 18th of March has put an end to all the pedantic political schooling and the pupils of the Provincial Diet have announced their graduation. Herr Camphausen and Herr Hansemann have become Ministers and are delighted to feel their great importance as "indispensable persons".

Everybody that has come in contact with them has been made to feel just how "indispensable" they consider themselves to be and how audacious they have become since their release from school.

They immediately began to re-establish provisionally their old schoolroom, the United Diet. It was here that the grand act of transition from bureaucratic grammar school to constitutional

university was to take place, the solemn presentation, with all due formality, to the Prussian people of their certificate of maturity.

The people declared in numerous memoranda and petitions that they did not want to have anything to do with the United Diet.

Herr Camphausen replied (e.g. during the session of the Constituent Assembly on May 30[a]) that the convocation of the Diet was of *vital importance* to the Ministry and that was that.

The Diet met, a dejected, contrite assembly which despaired of the world, of God and of itself. The Diet had been given to understand that it was merely to adopt the new electoral law; but Herr Camphausen demanded of it not only a paper law and indirect elections, but also twenty-five million in cash. The curiae become confused, they begin to doubt their competence and stammer disjointed objections. There is nothing they can do, however, since after deliberation Herr Camphausen has made up his mind, and if the money is not granted and the "vote of confidence" is withheld Herr Camphausen will depart for Cologne and abandon the Prussian monarchy to its fate. The thought of such a possibility brings cold sweat to the foreheads of the gentlemen of the Diet, all resistance ceases and the vote of confidence is passed with a bitter-sweet smile. These twenty-five million—currency in the airy realm of dreams[b]—clearly show where and how they were enacted.

The indirect elections are proclaimed. A wave of speeches, petitions and deputations rises against them. The ministerial gentlemen reply: the Ministry stands or falls with the indirect elections. After that everything becomes calm once more and both parties can go to sleep.

The Agreement Assembly[c] meets. Herr Camphausen is resolved that an address should be made in reply to his speech from the throne. Deputy Duncker is to make the proposal. A discussion begins during which a pretty lively opposition to the address emerges. Herr Hansemann is bored by the everlasting, confused cross-talk of the clumsy assembly; it becomes unendurable to his sense of parliamentary tact and he declares curtly that they could be spared all this: either an address is forthcoming and in that case all is well, or no address is made and the Ministry resigns. Nevertheless, the debate goes on and finally Herr Camphausen himself steps up to the rostrum to confirm that the question of the address is of vital importance to the Ministry. Finally, when this also has no effect,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 30-32.—*Ed.*

[b] Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen*, Caput VII.—*Ed.*

[c] i.e. the Prussian National Assembly convened on May 22, 1848.—*Ed.*

Herr Auerswald also rises and asserts for the third time that the Ministry stands or falls with the address. The assembly was now sufficiently convinced and, of course, voted for the address.

Thus, our "responsible" Ministers have, within two months, already acquired that experience and self-possession necessary for the conduct of an assembly which M. Duchâtel, who certainly is not to be belittled, gained only after several years of intimate dealing with the last but one French Chamber of Deputies. For some time past M. Duchâtel, too, when the Left bored him with its lengthy tirades, used to declare: the Chamber is free to vote for or against, but we shall resign if it votes against. Thereupon, the timorous majority, for which M. Duchâtel was the "most indispensable" man in the world, flocked around its threatened ringleader like a flock of sheep in a thunderstorm. M. Duchâtel was a frivolous Frenchman and played this game until it became too much for his fellow countrymen. Herr Camphausen is a stalwart and composed German and he will know how far he can go.

Of course, one can save both time and arguments by this method if one is as sure of one's supporters as Herr Camphausen is of the "agreers". The opposition is pretty effectively silenced if every issue is made a question of confidence. That is why this method is most suitable for determined men like Duchâtel and Hansemann who know once and for all what they want and who find all further useless palaver unbearable. This little earthly expedient, however, as our Prime Minister will find out by experience, is not at all suitable for men with debating skills who love "to expound and exchange their views about the past, the present, and the future as well, in great debates" (Camphausen, session of May 31), for men who stand their ground on principles and grasp the meaning of current events with the acumen of philosophers, for elevated minds such as Guizot and Camphausen. He should let his Duchâtel-Hansemann handle such matters and keep to the more elevated sphere where we take such a delight in observing him.

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# THE CAMPHAUSEN GOVERNMENT[31]

*Cologne,* June 3. It is well known that the French National Assembly of 1789 was preceded by an assembly of notables which was composed of the *estates* like the Prussian United Diet. In the decree by which he convoked the National Assembly, Minister Necker referred to the expressed desire of the notables to call together the Estates-General. Thus, Minister Necker held a significant advantage over Minister Camphausen. He did not have to wait for the storming of the Bastille or the overthrow of the absolute monarchy in order afterwards to link the old and new in a doctrinaire fashion so that he could laboriously maintain the *illusion* that France had achieved the new Constituent Assembly by the legal machinery of the old constitution. He possessed still other advantages. He was Minister of France and not Minister of Lorraine and Alsace, whereas Herr Camphausen is not Minister of Germany but Minister of Prussia. And in spite of all these advantages Minister Necker did not succeed in transforming a revolutionary movement into a tranquil reform. The serious malady could not be cured by attar of roses.[a] Herr Camphausen will succeed even less in changing the character of the movement by an artificial theory that draws a straight line of succession between his Ministry and the old conditions which prevailed in the Prussian monarchy. No device can transform the March revolution and the German revolutionary movement as a whole into *incidents* of more or less consequence. Was Louis Philippe elected King of the French *because* he was a Bourbon?

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[a] Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen,* Caput XXVI (paraphrased).—*Ed.*

Was he chosen *although* he was a Bourbon? One may remember that this question divided the parties shortly after the July revolution.[32] And what did the question prove? It proved that the revolution itself was called in question and that the interests of the new ruling class and its political representatives were not the interests of the revolution.

The same significance must be ascribed to the statement of Herr Camphausen that his Government had been brought into the world not *by* the March revolution but *after* the March revolution.

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# THE QUESTION OF UNION

Throughout the whole of North Italy various plots and schemes are being hatched, on the one hand to unite the smaller states with Sardinia and on the other to prevent that union. These intrigues are very similar to those for hegemony in Germany. Charles Albert is seeking to establish an Italian Prussia "on the broadest possible basis", from Nice to Trieste. The affair is of absolutely no national importance; on both sides it is a question of local interests and the gratification of provincial vanities, such as can only be removed through the creation of a united and indivisible Italy. Until then, the decisive factor will continue to be the needs of the moment, and these are *for* union, since this would bring about, at least in some measure, a certain concentration of forces for the struggle against Austria.

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# THE WAR COMEDY

*Schleswig-Holstein.* Indeed, the annals of all history know of no such campaign, no such striking alternation between the force of arms and diplomacy as our current unitedly-German-national war against little Denmark! All the great deeds of the old imperial army with its six hundred commanders, general staffs and military councils, the mutual chicaneries of the leaders of the 1792 coalition, the orders and counter-orders of the blessed Royal and Imperial War Council, are serious and touchingly tragic events compared to the warlike comedy which the new German federal army[33] is performing in Schleswig-Holstein to the resounding laughter of all Europe.

Let us briefly trace the plot of this comedy.

The Danes advance from Jutland and land troops in North Schleswig. The Prussians and Hanoverians occupy Rendsburg and the Eider line. The Danes, who, in spite of all the German bragging, are an alert and brave people, quickly attack and in a *single* battle drive the army of Schleswig-Holstein back towards the Prussians. The latter calmly look on.

At last, Berlin gives the order to advance. The united German troops attack the Danes and at Schleswig overwhelm them by their numerical superiority. The victory was brought about primarily by the Pomeranian guardsmen who handled their rifle-butts as skilfully as they had done previously at Grossbeeren and Dennewitz.[34] Schleswig is conquered once more and Germany is jubilant at the heroic deed of her army.

In the meantime, the Danish fleet which numbers less than twenty ships of any size, seizes the German merchant vessels, blockades all

German ports, and covers the crossings to the islands to which the army withdraws. Jutland is abandoned and partially occupied by Prussian troops who demand an indemnity of 2 million speciestaler.

Before a single taler of the indemnity has been received, however, England sends proposals for mediation on the basis of a withdrawal and the neutrality of Schleswig, and Russia sends threatening Notes. Herr Camphausen falls right into this trap and, on his orders, the Prussians, drunk with victory, withdraw from Veile to Königsau, to Hadersleben, Apenrade[a] and Flensburg. The Danes, who till then had vanished, reappear at once. They pursue the Prussians day and night, throw their withdrawal into confusion, make landings everywhere, defeat the troops of the 10th Federal Corps at Sundewitt[b] and retreat only before superior numbers. In the engagement of May 30, rifle-butts, swung this time by the solid arms of Mecklenburgers, again proved decisive. The German inhabitants flee with the Prussians, all North Schleswig is abandoned to devastation and plunder, and the *Danebrog*[c] flies once more over Hadersleben and Apenrade. It is obvious that Prussian soldiers of all ranks obey orders in Schleswig just as they do in Berlin.

Suddenly there comes an order from Berlin: the Prussians are to advance again. Now they merrily advance northward once more, but the comedy still has long to run. We want to wait and see where the Prussians will this time receive orders to retreat.

In short, it is a genuine quadrille, a military ballet which the Camphausen Ministry is having performed for its own amusement and for the glory of the German nation.

We must not forget, however, that it is the burning villages of Schleswig which supply the illumination for the stage and that it is the cries for vengeance from Danish marauders and partisans which provide the chorus for this performance.

The Camphausen Ministry has on this occasion demonstrated its high calling to represent Germany abroad. Schleswig, twice abandoned to Danish invasions through the fault of this Ministry, will gratefully remember the first diplomatic experiment of our "responsible" Ministers.

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[a] The Danish names are Kongeaa, Haderslev, Aabenraa.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 34-35.—*Ed.*
[c] Danish flag.— *Ed.*

## Let us have confidence in the wisdom and energy of the Camphausen Ministry!

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# THE REACTION

*Cologne*, June 5. The dead ride fast.[a] Herr Camphausen disavows the revolution and the reaction dares to suggest to the Agreement Assembly that the revolution should be stigmatised as a riot. On June 3, a deputy[b] moved that a monument be erected for the soldiers who died on March 18.

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[a] Gottfried Bürger, "Lenore".—*Ed.*
[b] Karl Richter.—*Ed.*

# *COMITÉ DE SÛRETÉ GÉNÉRALE* IN BERLIN[35]

*Cologne*, June 5. Now Berlin, too, has its *Comité de sûreté générale* just as Paris had in the year 1793. There is, however, one difference: the Paris committee was revolutionary, whereas the one in Berlin is reactionary. For according to an announcement which appeared in Berlin, "the authorities entrusted with the maintenance of order" have found it necessary "to join in a combined effort". They have therefore appointed a Committee of Public Safety which has taken up residence in Oberwallstrasse. This new administrative body is composed as follows: 1. President: Puttkamer, director in the Ministry of the Interior; 2. Commandant Aschoff, the former commander-in-chief of the civic militia; 3. Chief of Police Minutoli; 4. Public Prosecutor Temme; 5. Burgomaster Naunyn and two councillors; 6. The chairman of the City Council and three city councillors; 7. Five officers and two soldiers of the civic militia. The committee will

"take notice of all events which disturb or threaten to disturb public order and it promises to subject the facts to a profound and thorough investigation. While circumventing old and inadequate means and methods, and avoiding unnecessary correspondence, the committee will agree upon suitable steps and initiate the rapid and energetic implementation of the necessary orders by the various organs of the administration. Only such joint co-operation can bring speed and safety, combined with the requisite circumspection, into the conduct of business which is often very difficult in the present circumstances. In particular, however, the civic militia, which has assumed the protection of the city, will be enabled, *when required, to lend appropriate weight to the decisions made with its advice by the authorities.* With full confidence in the participation and collaboration of all inhabitants, particularly the honourable (!) estate of artisans *and* (!) workers, the deputies, *free of all party views and aims,* begin their laborious task and hope that they may be able to fulfil it, preferably by the peaceful method of mediation, so that the well-being of all may be assured".

The very unctuous, ingratiating, humbly pleading language used leads one to suspect that what is being formed here is a centre for reactionary activities against the revolutionary people of Berlin. The composition of this committee changes this suspicion to certainty. There is first of all Herr Puttkamer, who as Chief of Police became well known for his expulsions. As under the bureaucratic monarchy, no high authority without at least *one* Puttkamer. Then there is Herr Aschoff, who, because he is as rude as a drill-sergeant and on account of his reactionary intrigues, came to be so hated by the civic militia that it decided to remove him. He has now indeed resigned. Then we come to Herr Minutoli, who in 1846 saved the fatherland in Posen[a] by discovering the Polish conspiracy[36] and who recently threatened to expel the compositors when they were striking because of wages disagreements.[37] Then there are the representatives of two bodies that have become extremely reactionary: the Municipal Government and the City Council, and, finally, among the civic militia officers the arch-reactionary Major Blesson. We hope that the people of Berlin will by no means let themselves be held in tutelage by this arbitrarily constituted committee of reaction.

The committee, by the way, has already started its reactionary activity by asking that the popular procession, announced for yesterday (Sunday),[b] to the grave of those killed in March should be called off since this would be a demonstration and demonstrations in general are held to be an evil.

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[a] The Polish name is Poznań.—*Ed.*
[b] June 4, 1848.—*Ed.*

# THE PROGRAMMES OF THE RADICAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND OF THE LEFT AT FRANKFURT[38]

*Cologne*, June 6. Yesterday we acquainted our readers with the "reasoned manifesto of the radical-democratic party in the Constituent National Assembly at Frankfurt am Main".[39] Today they will find the manifesto of the Left under the heading Frankfurt. At first sight the two manifestos appear to be almost identical except in form, as the radical-democratic party has a clumsy editor and the Left a skilful one. On closer scrutiny, however, several substantially different points stand out. The manifesto of the radicals demands a National Assembly to be set up "*without any property qualification* and by *direct elections*", that of the Left wants it to be convened by "*free universal elections*". *Free universal elections* exclude *property qualifications*, but by no means exclude the *indirect* method of election. In any case why use this vague and ambiguous term?

We encounter once more this greater latitude and flexibility in the demands of the Left compared with the demands of the radical party. The Left wants

"an executive Central Authority elected *by* the National Assembly for a definite period and responsible to it".

It does not say whether this Central Authority has to be elected *from the ranks of the National Assembly*, as the manifesto of the radicals expressly states.

Finally the manifesto of the Left calls for the immediate definition, proclamation and maintenance of the basic rights of the German people against all possible encroachments by individual governments. The manifesto of the radicals is not content with this. It declares that

"all political power of the federal state is now concentrated in the Assembly which must *immediately* bring into operation the various forces and political institutions

falling within its jurisdiction, and direct the home and foreign policies of the federal state".

Both manifestos agree that the "drafting of the German Constitution should be left solely to the National Assembly" and the governments debarred from taking part in it. Both agree that "without prejudice to the people's rights to be proclaimed by the National Assembly" it should be left to the individual states to choose their form of government, whether that of a constitutional monarchy or a republic. Both finally agree that Germany should be transformed into a confederation or a federative state.

The manifesto of the radicals at least expresses the *revolutionary* nature of the National Assembly. It demands appropriate revolutionary action. Does not the mere existence of a *Constituent* National Assembly prove that *there is no longer* any Constitution? But if there is no Constitution, then there is no Government either. And if there is no longer any Government, the National Assembly must govern. Its first move should have been a decree of seven words: "*The Federal Diet*[40] *is dissolved for ever.*"

A Constituent National Assembly must above all be an *active*, revolutionarily active assembly. The Assembly at Frankfurt is engaged in parliamentary school exercises and leaves it to the governments to act. Assuming that this learned gathering succeeds, after mature consideration, in framing the best of agendas and the best of constitutions, of what use is the best agenda and the best Constitution if the governments meanwhile have placed bayonets on the agenda?

Apart from the fact that it was the outcome of *indirect* elections, the German National Assembly suffers from a specifically German malady. It sits at Frankfurt am Main, and Frankfurt am Main is merely an ideal centre, which corresponded to the hitherto ideal, that is merely imaginary, German unity. Frankfurt am Main moreover is not a big city with a large revolutionary population backing the National Assembly, partly defending it, partly spurring it on. It is the first time in world history that the Constituent Assembly of a big nation holds its sessions in a small town. This is the result of Germany's previous history. While the French and English national assemblies met on volcanic ground—Paris and London—the German National Assembly considered itself lucky to find *neutral* ground, where in the most comfortable peace of mind it could ponder over the best Constitution and the best agenda. Yet the present state of affairs in Germany offered the Assembly an opportunity to overcome the drawbacks of its unfortunate physical

situation. It only needed everywhere to counter dictatorially the reactionary encroachments by obsolete governments in order to win over public opinion, a power against which all bayonets and rifle-butts would be ineffective. Instead Mainz, almost within sight of the Assembly, is abandoned to the arbitrary actions of the army, and German citizens from other parts of the country are exposed to the chicanery of the philistines in Frankfurt.[a] The Assembly bores the German people instead of inspiring it or being inspired by it. Although there is a *public* which for the time being still looks with good-natured humour upon the antics performed by the spectre of the resurrected Diet of the Holy Roman Empire,[41] there is no *people* that can find its own life reflected in the life of the Assembly. Far from being the central organ of the revolutionary movement, the Assembly, up till now, was not even its echo.

If the National Assembly forms a Central Authority from its own midst, little satisfaction can be expected from such a Provisional Government, in view of the Assembly's present composition and the fact that it let the favourable moment slip by. If it forms no Central Authority, it puts its seal to its own abdication and will be scattered to the winds at the first stir of a revolutionary current.

It is to the credit of both the programme of the Left and that of the radical group that they have grasped this necessity. Both exclaim with Heine:

> "For when I consider the matter with care,
> We don't need an Emperor really."[b]

Because it is so difficult to decide "*who* shall be emperor", and because there are as many good reasons for an elected emperor as there are for an hereditary emperor, even the conservative majority of the Assembly will be compelled to cut the Gordian knot by electing *no emperor at all.*

It is incomprehensible how the so-called radical-democratic party can advocate, as the ultimate constitutional structure of Germany, a *federation* of constitutional monarchies, small principalities and tiny republics, i.e. a federal state consisting of such heterogeneous elements, headed by a republican Government—for this is what the central body agreed to by the Left really amounts to.

First of all the German Central Government elected by the National Assembly must undoubtedly be set up *alongside* the governments

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[a] See this volume, pp. 16-19.—*Ed.*
[b] Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen,* Caput XVI.—*Ed.*

which still actually exist. But its struggle against the separate governments begins as soon as it comes into existence, and in the course of this struggle either the Central Government and the unity of Germany are wrecked, or the separate governments with their constitutional princes or petty republics are destroyed.

We do not make the utopian demand that at the outset a *united indivisible German republic* should be proclaimed, but we ask the so-called radical-democratic party not to confuse the starting point of the struggle and of the revolutionary movement with the goal. Both German unity and the German Constitution can result only from a movement in which the internal conflicts and the war with the East will play an equally decisive role. The final act of constitution cannot be *decreed*, it coincides with the movement we have to go through. It is therefore not a question of putting into practice this or that view, this or that political idea, but of understanding the course of development. The National Assembly has to take only such steps as are practicable in the first instance.

Nothing can be more confused than the notion advanced by the editor of the democratic manifesto—for all his assurances that "everybody is glad to get rid of his confusion"—that the *federal state of North America* should serve as a model for the German Constitution.

Leaving alone the fact that all its constituent parts have a similar structure, the United States of America covers an area equal to that of civilised Europe. Only a *European* federation would be analogous to it. But in order to federate with other states Germany must first of all become *one* state. The conflict between centralisation and federalism in Germany is a conflict between modern culture and feudalism. Germany fell into a kind of bourgeoisified feudalism at the very moment the great monarchies arose in the West; she was moreover excluded from the world market just when this market was opened up to the countries of Western Europe. Germany became impoverished while the Western countries grew rich; she became countrified while they became urbanised. Even if Russia did not knock at the gates of Germany, the economic conditions alone would compel the latter to introduce rigorous centralisation. Even from a purely bourgeois point of view, the solid unity of Germany is a primary condition for her deliverance from her present wretchedness and for the building up of her national wealth. And how could modern social problems be solved in a territory that is split into 39 small states?

Incidentally, the editor of the democratic programme does not bother about such a minor question as material economic conditions.

He relies on the concept of federation in his reasoning. *Federation* is an *alliance of free* and *equal partners. Hence* Germany must be a *federal state*. But cannot the Germans unite in *one* great state without offence to the concept of an alliance of free and equal partners?

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# THE AGREEMENT DEBATES IN BERLIN[42]

*Cologne*, June 6. The *negotiations for an agreement* etc. are making most satisfactory progress in Berlin. Motions follow motions and most of them are even submitted five or six times to make quite sure that they are not lost on their long way through the sections and committees. At every opportunity the greatest number of preliminary questions, secondary questions, interpolated questions, supplementary questions, and main questions is raised. Whenever one of these great or small questions is taken up, an informal conversation ensues between the delegates "on the floor" and the President, the Ministers etc., thus creating a welcome pause between the demanding "great debates". Especially those anonymous agreers whom the stenographer is in the habit of designating as "votes", love to express their opinions during such genial discussions. These "votes", by the way, are so proud of their right to vote that sometimes "*they vote both yes and no*" as happened on June 2. Alongside this idyll, however, there arises with all the grandeur of tragedy the battle of the great debate, a battle which is not only conducted verbally from the rostrum but is joined by the chorus of the agreers with drumming, murmuring, and confused shouting. Each time the drama ends, of course, with a victory for the virtuous Right and is almost always decided by the conservative army calling for a vote.

During the session of June 2 Herr *Jung* questioned the Foreign Minister about the extradition treaty with Russia.[43] It is known that already in 1842, public opinion forced the abrogation of the extradition treaty, which was, however, renewed during the reaction of 1844. It is known that the Russian Government orders extradited persons to be knouted to death or to be exiled to Siberia. It is known

that the agreed extradition of common criminals and vagabonds offers the desired pretext for the delivery of political refugees into the hands of the Russians.

Foreign Minister *Arnim* replied:

"Surely, no one will object to the extradition of deserters, since it is an accepted practice between friendly states mutually to extradite such people."

We take notice that according to our Minister Russia and Germany are "friendly states". The massive armies which Russia is concentrating along the Bug and Niemen rivers have no other intention, to be sure, than to liberate "friendly" Germany as soon as possible from the terror of the revolution.

"The decision to extradite criminals, by the way, rests in the hands of the courts so that there is every guarantee that the accused will not be extradited before the conclusion of the criminal investigation."

Herr Arnim tries to make the Assembly believe that Prussian courts investigate the evidence which has been gathered against the accused. The opposite is true. Russian or Russian-Polish judicial authorities send a decision to the Prussian judicial authorities, indicting the fugitive. The Prussian court is obliged to check merely the authenticity of this document and if it proves to be genuine, the extradition has to take place. Thus, "there is every guarantee" that the Russian Government has only to beckon to its judges in order to get hold of every fugitive with the aid of Prussian chains as long as the fugitive has not yet been indicted for political offences.

"It goes without saying that *our own subjects* will not be extradited."

"Our own subjects", feudal Baron von Arnim, cannot be extradited under any circumstances because there are no longer "subjects" in Germany since the people took the liberty of emancipating themselves on the barricades.

"Our own subjects"! Are we, who elect assemblies and prescribe sovereign laws to kings and emperors, "subjects" of His Majesty the King of Prussia?

"Our own subjects"! If the Assembly had even a spark of the revolutionary pride to which it owes its existence, it would have drummed the servile Minister off the rostrum and the ministerial bench in a single outburst of indignation. Instead it calmly allowed the stigmatising expression to go unchallenged. Not the slightest protest was heard.

Herr *Rehfeld* questioned Herr Hansemann about the *Seehandlung's*[44] renewed buying up of wool and about the advantages enjoyed by British buyers over German buyers as a result of the discount

offered to the British. The wool industry, depressed by the general crisis, expected to gain at least some small benefit by purchasing at this year's very low wool prices. Along comes the *Seehandlung* and drives up the price of wool by its enormous purchases in bulk. At the same time it offers to facilitate considerably the purchases of British buyers by discounting bills of exchange drawn on London—a measure which is also quite apt to raise the price of wool by attracting new buyers and which gives significant advantages to foreign over domestic purchasers.

The *Seehandlung* is a legacy of absolute monarchy which used it for all sorts of purposes. For twenty years it has caused the 1820 Law on Government Debts[45] to remain an illusion and it has meddled in trade and industry in a most disagreeable fashion.

The question asked by Herr *Rehfeld* is basically of little interest to democracy. It concerns a profit of several thousand talers more or less for either wool producers or wool manufacturers.

The wool producers are almost exclusively large landed proprietors, i.e. feudal lords from Brandenburg, Prussia, Silesia and Posen.

The wool manufacturers are for the most part big capitalists, i.e. gentlemen of the big bourgeoisie.

Hence, the price of wool is a matter not of general interest but of class interests. The question is whether the big landed aristocracy will profit to the exclusion of the big bourgeoisie or whether it will be the other way around.

Herr Hansemann who has been sent to Berlin as the representative of the big bourgeoisie, the party now in power, betrays it to the landed aristocracy, the conquered party.

The only interest which this entire matter holds for us democrats lies in the fact that Herr Hansemann has taken up the cause of the conquered party, that he does not support the merely conservative class but the *reactionary* class. We admit that we did not expect such behaviour from the bourgeois Hansemann.

Herr *Hansemann* assures us, to begin with, that he is no friend of the *Seehandlung* and then adds: Neither the purchasing business nor the mills of the *Seehandlung* can be stopped suddenly. Concerning wool purchases, there are treaties by which the *Seehandlung* ... is committed to buy up a certain amount of wool this year. I believe that if during any year such purchases are not harmful to private trade, it is certainly the case this year (?) ... because otherwise the prices would drop too low.

The entire speech shows that Herr Hansemann is not comfortable while delivering it. He had been induced to do a favour to the

Arnims, Schaffgotsches and Itzenplitzes to the detriment of the wool manufacturers, and he must now defend his rash step with the arguments of modern political economy which is so unmerciful to the interests of the aristocracy. He knows better than anyone else that he is making a fool of the Assembly.

"Neither the purchasing business nor the mills of the *Seehandlung* can be stopped suddenly." Thus, the *Seehandlung* buys wool and lets its mills work at full speed. If the mills of the *Seehandlung* "cannot be stopped" suddenly then the sales obviously also cannot be ended. Thus, the *Seehandlung* will put its woollen products on the market, glut the already overstocked market and depress the already sinking prices even more. In a word, it will make the current commercial crisis even worse and take away the last few remaining customers from the wool manufacturers in order to supply the landed gentry of Brandenburg etc. with money for their wool.

Concerning the English bills of exchange, Herr Hansemann delivers a brilliant tirade describing the enormous advantages which will accrue to the entire country when English guineas flow into the pockets of the landed gentry of Brandenburg. We will of course not discuss these remarks seriously. What we cannot understand is that Herr Hansemann was able to maintain a straight face during his speech.

The same session also debated a committee which is to be formed because of Posen. Concerning that, tomorrow.

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# THE AGREEMENT DEBATES

*Cologne,* June 6. At the *Berlin agreement session* of the 2nd, Herr *Reuter* moved the appointment of a committee of inquiry into the causes of the civil war in Posen.[46]

Herr *Parrisius* demands an immediate debate on this motion.

The President[a] gets ready to call for a vote when Herr *Camphausen* recalls that there has as yet been no debate on Herr *Parrisius'* motion:

> "May I remind you that the passage of this" (Reuter's) "motion would mean the acceptance of an *important political principle* which is certainly entitled (*sic!*) to a test in the sections."

We are put in suspense about the "important principle" contained in Reuter's motion, a secret which Herr Camphausen is not disclosing for the time being.

While we have to show patience in this respect, a complacent debate develops between the Chairman (Herr *Esser,* Vice-President) and several "votes" as to whether or not a debate is permissible on Parrisius' motion. Herr Esser here debates with arguments which sound strange in the mouth of the President of a *soi-disant* National Assembly: "*I was under the impression* that it is permissible to discuss any matter that the Assembly is called upon to decide."

"I was under the impression"! Man proposes and Herr Camphausen disposes by drafting standing orders that nobody can understand and having them adopted provisionally by his Assembly.

Herr Camphausen was gracious this time. He had to have the debate. Parrisius' and Reuter's motions might have been passed without debate, i.e. an indirect vote of no confidence would have

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[a] Karl Milde.—*Ed.*

been rendered against him. And, still worse, what would have become of his "important political principle" without a debate?

Hence, a discussion takes place.

Herr *Parrisius* wants an immediate debate on the main motion so that no time is lost and the committee may possibly report before the debate on the address. Otherwise judgment would be made in the address without any factual knowledge about Posen.

Herr *Meusebach* opposes this move although as yet rather mildly.

But now Herr *Ritz* rises impatiently to put an end to Reuter's subversive motion. He is a royal Prussian *Regierungsrat* and will not tolerate that assemblies, even if they are assemblies for the purpose of agreement, meddle in his special field. He knows of but one authority entitled to do so: the *Oberpräsidium.* He prefers the system of successive appeals to everything else.

"What," he exclaims, "do you, gentlemen, intend to send a commission to Posen? Do you intend to *turn* yourselves into *administrative* or *judicial authorities*? Gentlemen, I cannot perceive from this motion what you are trying to accomplish. Are you going to demand an inspection of the files of the commanding general" (what outrage!) "or the judicial authorities" (horrible) "or perhaps even the administrative authorities?" (In contemplating that possibility, the *Regierungsrat* is at his wits' end.) "Do you want the investigation to be conducted by an improvised committee" (which perhaps has never taken an examination) "dealing with all these matters *which nobody yet clearly understands*?" (Herr Ritz probably only appoints committees to investigate matters which everybody clearly understands.) "This important issue *on which you arrogate to yourselves rights which do not belong to you....*" (Interruption.)

What is one to say to this *Regierungsrat* of sterling worth, to this personification of red tape who has no guile! He is like that provincial character in Cham's little cartoon who, upon arriving in Paris after the February revolution, sees posters with the inscription "*République française*" and runs to the Public Prosecutor-General to denounce these agitators against the royal Government. That man had slept through the entire period.

Herr Ritz, too, has been asleep. The thundering words "committee of inquiry for Posen" roughly shake him awake and, still drowsy with sleep, the astonished man exclaims: "Do you wish to arrogate to yourselves rights which do not belong to you?"

Herr *Duncker* regards a committee of inquiry as superfluous "since the committee on the address must demand the necessary clarifications from the Ministry". As if it were not precisely the job of the committee to compare the "clarifications" of the Ministry with the facts.

Herr *Bloem* spoke of the urgency of the motion. The question ought to be settled before there are deliberations on the address. There had been talk about improvised committees. Herr Han-

semann had the previous day similarly improvised a question of confidence and still a vote had been taken.

Herr *Hansemann,* who had probably thought about his new financial plan during the entire unedifying debate, was rudely awakened from his golden dreams by the mention of his name. He evidently had no idea what it was all about but his name had been mentioned and he had to speak. Only two points of contact had remained in his memory: the speeches of his superior, Camphausen, and Herr *Ritz.* After mouthing a few platitudes about the question of the address he composed the following rhetorical masterpiece from these two speeches:

> "Precisely because we do not yet know all the tasks which the committee will have to perform, whether it will dispatch some of its own members to the Grand Duchy, whether it will have to take care of this or that matter, *all this proves the great importance of the question that is under discussion* (!). To decide this question here and now right away would mean to *decide one of the most important political questions in an improvised fashion.* I do not believe that the Assembly will want to tread this path and I am confident that it will be careful etc."

What contempt Herr Hansemann must have for the entire Assembly to be able to fling such conclusions at this body! We want to appoint a committee which will perhaps have to go to Posen and maybe not. Just because we do not know whether it must remain in Berlin or go to Posen, the question whether a committee ought to be appointed at all is of *great importance.* And because it is of great importance, it is one of the *most important political* questions!

Which question, however, this most important political question is, Herr Hansemann keeps to himself for the time being, just as Herr Camphausen does not reveal his important political principle. Let us be patient once more!

The effect of Hansemann's logic is so crushing that everybody at once begins clamouring for a termination of the debate. Now the following scene ensues:

Herr *Jung* demands the right to speak against the closing of the debate.

*The President*: It seems to me inadmissible to permit you to speak on this.

Herr *Jung*: It is customary everywhere to have the right to speak against the closing of a debate.

Herr *Temme* reads out Article 42 of the provisional standing orders according to which Herr Jung is correct and the President incorrect.

Herr *Jung* is allowed to speak: I am against closing the debate because the Minister was the last person to speak. The words of a

Minister are of the greatest importance because they attract a great party to one side, because a great party does not like to disavow a Minister....

A general, long-drawn-out aha! aha! arises. A terrific uproar begins on the Right.

Commissioner of Justice *Moritz* exclaims from the floor: I move that Jung be called to order since he has offended *the entire Assembly by resorting to personalities*! (!)

Another voice from the "Right" shouts: I second the motion and I protest against....

The uproar grows constantly. *Jung* does his best but finds it impossible to make himself heard. He calls upon the President to uphold his right to speak.

*President: Since the Assembly has decided, my duties are over.*(!!)

Herr *Jung*: The Assembly has not decided. You must first call for a formal vote.

Herr *Jung* is forced to yield. The noise does not abate until he has left the rostrum.

*President*: The last speaker *seems* (!) to have spoken against the termination of the debate. The question is whether someone else still wants to speak for closure.

Herr *Reuter*: The debate for and against closure has already taken up 15 minutes of our time. Should we not leave it on the table?

Thereupon the speaker again takes up the urgency of setting up a committee which compels Herr Hansemann to rise once more and to explain at last his "most important political question".

Herr *Hansemann*: Gentlemen! We are dealing with one of the *greatest political questions*, i.e. whether the Assembly has the desire to venture upon a path that *may involve it in considerable conflicts*!

At last! Herr Hansemann, as a consistent Duchâtel, promptly declares once again that it is a *question of confidence*. For him all questions have only one significance, namely whether they are questions of confidence, and a question of confidence is for him naturally the "greatest political question".

This time Herr *Camphausen* does not seem to be satisfied with this simple method of curtailment. He takes the floor.

"It should be observed that the Assembly could already be informed" (about Posen) "if the deputy had chosen to ask the *question*" (but the deputies wanted to ascertain the facts for themselves). "That would be the *quickest* method of obtaining clarification" (but of what kind?).... "I close with the explanation that the motion simply means that the Assembly ought to decide *whether we should form committees of*

*inquiry for one or another purpose.* I agree entirely that the question must be *thoroughly considered and examined,* but I do not want it so suddenly here and now to become a topic for debate."

Thus, the "important political principle" turns out to be the question whether the Agreement Assembly has the right to form committees of inquiry or whether it will refuse itself this right!

The French Chambers and English Houses have all along formed such committees (select committees) to conduct an inquiry (*enquête,* parliamentary inquiry)[a] and respectable Ministers have never raised objections to them. Without such committees, ministerial responsibility is an empty phrase. But Herr Camphausen contests this right of the members of the Agreement Assembly!

Enough. Talking is easy but voting is difficult. The debate is closed and a vote is to be held. Numerous difficulties, doubts, sophistries and moral scruples make their appearance. But we shall spare our readers the details. After a great deal of speech-making, Parrisius' motion is rejected and Reuter's is sent to the sections. May its ashes rest in peace.

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[a] In the German original the terms "select committees" and "parliamentary inquiry" are given in English in brackets after the German.— *Ed.*

# THE QUESTION OF THE ADDRESS

*Cologne,* June 7. The Berlin Assembly thus has decided to send an address to the King to give the *Government* an opportunity to express its views and to vindicate its administration up to now. It is not to be a vote of thanks along the lines of the old Diet, not even an attestation of respect: His Majesty, according to the admission of His Majesty's "responsible ones", only offers the "most suitable" and "best" *occasion* to bring the principles of the majority "into line" with those of the Government.

If in essence the person of the King represents a mere medium of exchange—we refer once again to the very words of the Prime Minister[a]—a voucher which merely expedites the business in hand, that person is by no means irrelevant to the form of the negotiations. In the first place the representatives of the popular will are thereby put into direct touch with the Crown, a fact from which, as already evident in the debate on the address, it is easy to infer the recognition of the agreement theory, the renunciation of popular sovereignty. In the second place, however, one would hardly address a sovereign to whom one is required to pay one's respect in the same manner as one would address the Ministers. Greater reserve of expression will prevail and hints will take the place of plain words, particularly since it is still up to the Government to decide whether a slight censure is compatible with its continued existence. It may well be, however, that the difficult questions which throw the contradictions into the boldest relief will be touched upon only superficially or not at all. It will be easy to arouse fears of a premature break with the

[a] Ludolf Camphausen.—*Ed.*

Crown perhaps accompanied by serious consequences, and this could be covered up by the assertion that it was not desirable to prejudge matters awaiting more thorough discussion at a later date.

Thus, sincere respect either for the person of the monarch or the monarchical principle in general, apprehension about going too far, and fear of anarchical tendencies offer inestimable advantages to the Ministry during the debate on the address and Herr Camphausen had good reason to call the opportunity "most suitable" and "best" for winning a strong majority.

The question is now whether the people's representatives are inclined to enter into this obedient, dependent relationship. The Constituent Assembly has already greatly weakened its position by failing on its own initiative to call the Ministers to account about their provisional government up to now; that should have been its first task, for it was ostensibly convoked at such an early date because the orders of the Government were to be based upon the indirect will of the people. Indeed, it seems now, *after* it has assembled, that it is supposed to be there merely "for the purpose of agreeing with the Crown upon a Constitution which, it is hoped, will endure in the future".

But instead of proclaiming its true mission from the very start, by proceeding in this way, the Assembly has tolerated the humiliation of being compelled by the Ministers to accept a statement of accounts. It is remarkable that not a single one of its members countered the proposal for the formation of an address committee with a demand that the Ministry appear before the Chamber *without* a special "occasion", solely for the purpose of rendering an account of its activities up to now. And yet this was the only compelling argument against an address, since on all other counts the Ministers were completely right to demand one.

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# A NEW PARTITION OF POLAND[47]

*Cologne*, June 8. The new demarcation line of Herr von Pfuel in Posen is a new rape of Poland. It limits the part that is to be "reorganised" to less than a third of the entire Grand Duchy and joins the far larger part of Great Poland to the German Confederation. The Polish language and nationality are to be recognised only in a small strip along the Russian border. This strip consists of the Wreschen and Pleschen[a] districts and parts of the districts of Mogilno, Wongrowiec, Gnesen, Schroda, Schrimm, Kosten, Fraustadt, Kröben, Krotoschin, Adelnau and Schildberg.[b] The other parts of these districts as well as the entire districts of Buk, Posen, Obornik, Samter, Birnbaum, Meseritz, Bomst, Czarnikow, Chodziesen, Wirsitz, Bromberg, Schubin,[c] and Inowroclaw are transformed without more ado into German soil by the decree of Herr von Pfuel. And yet there is no doubt that even within this "territory of the German Confederation", the majority of the inhabitants still speak Polish.

The old demarcation line at least gave the Poles the River Warta as their frontier. The new one restricts that part of Poland which is to be reorganised by another quarter. Both "the *desire*" of the Minister of War[d] to exclude from reorganisation a three to four mile strip of territory around the fortress of Posen and the wish of various

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[a] The Polish names are Września, Pleszew.— *Ed.*

[b] Wągrowiec, Gniezno, Środa, Śrem, Kościan, Wschowa, Krobia, Krotoszyn, Odolanów, Ostrzeszów.— *Ed.*

[c] Poznań, Oborniki, Szamotuły, Międzychód, Międzyrzecz, Babimost, Czarnków, Chodziez, Wyrzysk, Bydgoszcz, Szubin.— *Ed.*

[d] August Kanitz.— *Ed.*

towns such as Ostrowo[a] etc. to be joined to Germany, serve as convenient pretexts for this measure.

The desire of the Minister of War is perfectly natural. First one steals the city and fortress of Posen which lies ten miles deep inside Polish territory; then one finds the new theft of a three-mile strip desirable so as not to be disturbed in the enjoyment of the previously stolen territory. This further acquisition of land leads again to all sorts of small adjustments, and so one has the best occasion to propel the German frontier further and further towards the Russian-Polish border.

The desire to be incorporated expressed by "German" towns may be explained as follows: all over Poland, Germans and Jews form the main part of the artisans and merchants; they are the descendants of immigrants who fled their homeland for the most part because of religious persecutions. Founding towns in the midst of Polish territory, they have shared for centuries all the vicissitudes of the Polish realm. These Germans and Jews, a very large minority in the country, are trying to make use of the country's present situation to gain mastery. They plead their *German* nature; they are no more German than the German Americans. Annexing them to Germany would entail the suppression of the language and nationality of more than half of Posen's Polish population and especially that part of the province in which the national insurrection raged with the greatest violence and intensity, i.e. the districts of Buk, Samter, Posen and Obornik.

Herr von Pfuel declares that he will regard the new frontier as finally settled as soon as the Ministry ratifies it. He mentions neither the Agreement Assembly nor the German National Assembly who after all have also a word to say when it comes to settling the boundary of Germany. But no matter whether the Ministry, the Agreement Assembly, or the Frankfurt Assembly ratify the decision of Herr von Pfuel, the demarcation line will not be "finally settled" so long as two other powers have not ratified it as well: the German nation and the Polish nation.

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[a] The Polish name is Ostrów Wielkopolski.—*Ed.*

# THE SHIELD OF THE DYNASTY

*Cologne*, June 9. Herr Camphausen, according to the reports of German newspapers, poured out his overflowing heart to his agreers on the 6th of this month. He gave

> "not so much a brilliant speech as one *that flowed from the innermost recesses of his heart*, a speech which reminds one of the passage in St. Paul which reads: 'Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass!'[a] His speech was full of that holy emotion that we call love ... it spoke inspiringly to the inspired ones, the applause did not seem to come to an end ... and a prolonged intermission was necessary to surrender oneself to and absorb its total impact".[b]

And who was the hero of this speech that was full of love and flowed from the innermost recesses of the heart? Who was the subject that inspired Herr Camphausen so much that he spoke inspiringly to the inspired ones? Who was the Aeneas of this Aeneid of June 6?

Who else but the *Prince of Prussia*!

One can read in the stenographic report how the poetic Prime Minister describes the journeys of the modern son of Anchises, how he acted on the day when

> —holy Ilium fell in the fighting,
> Priam too, and the folk of the King, skilled javelin-thrower,[c]

how after the fall of squirearchical Troy, and after a long odyssey on both water and land, he at last arrived at the shores of modern

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[a] 1 Corinthians 13:1.—*Ed.*
[b] *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 161, June 9, 1848.—*Ed.*
[c] Homer, *Iliad*, IV, 164-65, and VI, 448-49 (paraphrased).—*Ed.*

Carthage where he was received in a most friendly fashion by Queen Dido; how he fared better than Aeneas the First since there was a Camphausen who did his utmost to restore Troy and rediscovered the sacred "legal basis", how Camphausen finally permitted Aeneas to return to his Penates and how joy once more reigns in the halls of Troy.[48] One has to read all this as well as countless poetic embellishments so as to feel what it means when an inspirer speaks to inspired ones.

This entire epic, by the way, only serves Herr Camphausen as a pretext for a dithyramb on himself and his own Ministry.

"Yes," he exclaims, "we believed that we were acting in the spirit of the Constitution when *we* took the place of a high personage, when *we* ourselves posed as the personages against whom all attacks were to be directed.... And so it happened. We placed ourselves as a shield before the dynasty and drew all dangers and attacks upon ourselves."

What a compliment for the "high personage" and what a compliment for the "dynasty"! The dynasty would have been lost without Herr Camphausen and his six paladins. As what a mighty "dynasty deeply rooted in the people" must Herr Camphausen regard the House of Hohenzollern, to speak in such a fashion! Verily, if Herr Camphausen had spoken less "inspiringly to the inspired ones", had he been less "full of that holy emotion that we call love", or had he only let his Hansemann speak who is content with "sounding brass"—it would have been better for the dynasty!

"Gentlemen, I am not saying this, however, with challenging pride but rather with the humility that arises from the conviction that the great task with which you and we are entrusted can only be solved if the spirit of *gentleness* and *conciliation* descends also upon this Assembly, if we can find besides your justice also your forbearance."

Herr Camphausen is correct in pleading for gentleness and forbearance from an Assembly which itself is in such need of gentleness and forbearance from the public!

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# COLOGNE IN DANGER

*Cologne,* June 10. The lovely holiday of Whitsuntide had arrived, the fields were green, the trees were blossoming[a] and as far as there are people who confuse the dative with the accusative,[b] preparations were made to pour out the holy spirit of reaction over all lands in a *single* day.

The moment is well chosen. In Naples guard lieutenants and Swiss mercenaries have succeeded in drowning the young liberty in the people's blood.[c] In France, an Assembly of capitalists fetters the Republic by means of Draconic laws[49] and appoints General Perrot, who ordered the shooting at the Hôtel Guizot on February 23, commandant of Vincennes. In England and Ireland masses of Chartists and Repealers[50] are thrown into gaol and unarmed meetings are dispersed by dragoons. In Frankfurt the National Assembly itself now appoints the triumvirate which the blessed Federal Diet proposed and the Committee of Fifty rejected.[51] In Berlin the Right is winning blow by blow through numerical superiority and drumming, and the Prince of Prussia declares the revolution null and void by moving back into the "property of the entire nation".[52]

Troops are being concentrated in Rhenish Hesse; the heroes who won their spurs fighting the republican partisans in the Lake district[53] are encamped all around Frankfurt. Berlin is invested, Breslau[d] is

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[a] The beginning of Goethe's "Reineke Fuchs" (paraphrased).—*Ed.*

[b] An allusion to a grammatical mistake commonly made by people speaking the Berlin dialect.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 24-26.—*Ed.*

[d] The Polish name is Wroclaw.—*Ed.*

besieged and we shall presently discuss how things stand in the Rhine Province.

The reaction is preparing a big coup.

While there is fighting in Schleswig, while Russia sends threatening Notes and gathers 300,000 men at Warsaw, troops are inundating Rhenish Prussia even though the bourgeoisie of the Paris Chamber once again proclaims "peace at any price"!

According to the *Deutsche Zeitung, fourteen entire* infantry regiments (the 13th, the 15th,* the 16th, the 17th, the 25th, the 26th, the 27th, the 28th, the 30th, the 34th, the 35th, the 38th, the 39th, and the 40th), i. e. *a third* of all the Prussian line and guard infantry (45 regiments), are located in Rhenish Prussia, Mainz and Luxembourg. Some of these forces are fully mobilised for war, the rest have been reinforced by calling up a third of the reserves. Besides these there are three uhlan regiments, two hussar regiments and one dragoon regiment as well as a regiment of cuirassiers that is expected to arrive shortly. In addition there is the major part of the 7th and 8th artillery brigades of which at least half are already mobilised (i.e. each battery of foot-artillery has now 121 horses instead of 19, or 8 instead of 2 horse-drawn cannon). In addition a third company has been formed for Luxembourg and Mainz. These troops are drawn up in a wide arc which extends from Cologne and Bonn to Koblenz and Trier and to the French and Luxembourg frontiers. All fortresses are being armed, the moats are stockaded, and the trees of the glacis are razed either completely or in the line of fire.

And what is the situation here in *Cologne*?

The forts of Cologne are fully armed. The artillery platforms are being extended, the embrasures are being cut and the cannon have arrived and are being set up. Work continues on these projects every day from 6 in the morning until 6 in the evening. It is even said that the cannon were driven out of the city during the night *with wheels wrapped in rags* so as to avoid all noise.

The arming of the city wall started at the Bayen Tower and has already advanced to Bastion No. 6, i.e. half the wall has been fortified. On Sector 1, 20 cannon have already been brought up.

Cannon are installed above the gate of Bastion No. 2 (at the Severin gate). They need only to be turned around to bombard the city.

The best proof that these armaments are only ostensibly directed against an external enemy but in reality are aimed *at Cologne itself* lies

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* This is not quite correct since the 13th remains in part and the 15th entirely in Westphalia but they are able to get here by train within a few hours.— *Note by Engels.*

in the fact that here the trees of the glacis have everywhere been left standing. In the event of the troops having to evacuate the city and retreat into the forts, the cannon of the city wall are thereby rendered useless against the forts, whereas the mortars, howitzers and twenty-four pounders of the forts are in no way hindered from lobbing grenades and shells over the trees and into the city. The distance of the forts from the city wall is only 1,400 paces and enables the forts to pour shells that can travel up to 4,000 paces into any part of the city.

Now as to the measures which are *pointed directly against the city.*

The *arsenal* opposite the government building is being *evacuated.* The rifles are nicely wrapped up in order not to attract attention, and are brought into the forts.

Artillery ammunition is brought into the city in *rifle crates* and deposited in bomb-proof magazines all along the city wall.

While we are writing all this, *rifles with bayonets* are being distributed to *the artillery,* although it is a well-known fact that artillery units in Prussia receive no training with these weapons.

Part of the infantry is already in the forts. All of Cologne knows that each company received 5,000 ball-cartridges the day before yesterday.

The following arrangements have been made in case of a clash with the people:

At the first alarm, the 7th (Fortress) Artillery Company is to move into the forts.

Battery No. 37 will then also move out to face the city. This battery has already been equipped fully "ready for war".

The 5th and 8th artillery companies will remain in town for the time being. These companies have 20 shells in each of their caissons.

The hussars are moving from Deutz to Cologne.

The infantry occupies the Neumarkt, the Hahnen gate and the Ehren gate so as to cover the retreat of all troops from the city, and thereafter is also to withdraw into the forts.

The higher officers are moreover doing everything in their power to inculcate in these troops the traditional Prussian hatred for the new order. Nothing is easier during the present state of mounting reaction than to launch, under the pretext of denouncing agitators [54] and republicans, the most vicious attacks against the revolution and the constitutional monarchy.

*Yet Cologne has never been calmer than precisely in recent times.* Except for an insignificant gathering in front of the house of the *Regierungspräsident* and a brawl in the Heumarkt, nothing has occurred for the past four weeks that so much as even alarmed the

civic militia in any way whatever. Thus all these measures are *completely unprovoked.*

We repeat: after these otherwise totally incomprehensible measures, after the troop concentrations around Berlin and Breslau, which have been confirmed to us by letters, after the inundation with troops of the Rhine Province, which the reactionaries hate with such passion, we cannot doubt that reactionary forces are preparing a big general coup.

The eruption here in Cologne seems to have been fixed for *Whit Monday.* The rumour is being assiduously spread that things will "start moving" on that day. They will try to provoke a small row so as to call the troops out immediately, threaten the city with bombardment, disarm the civic militia, arrest the chief agitators, in short to maltreat us in the fashion of Mainz and Trier.[a]

We warn the workers of Cologne earnestly not to fall into this trap set for them by the reactionaries. We urgently plead with them *not to give* the old-Prussian party *the slightest pretext* for placing Cologne under the despotism of martial law. We beg them *to let Whit Sunday and Whit Monday pass in an especially tranquil atmosphere* and thereby frustrate the entire scheme of the reactionaries.

If we give the reaction a pretext for attacking us we will be lost and our fate will be the same as that of the inhabitants of Mainz. If they should feel compelled to attack us and if they really dare to stage an assault, the inhabitants of Cologne will have plenty of opportunity to prove that they too will not hesitate for one moment to defend the gains of March 18 with their blood and lives.

*Postscript.* Just now the following orders have been issued:

*No watchword will be announced* during the two *Whitsuntide holidays* (whereas usually it was issued with special solemnity). The troops will *remain confined to barracks* where the officers will receive the watchword.

As of today, the fortress and auxiliary artillery companies as well as the infantry garrison of the forts will obtain, in addition to their normal rations, daily bread rations for four days in advance *so that they will always have in hand food for eight days.*

The artillery will begin *rifle* practice already at seven o'clock this evening.

Written by Engels on June 10, 1848

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[a] See this volume, pp. 20 and 23.—*Ed.*

# AN ADMISSION OF INCOMPETENCE BY THE ASSEMBLIES OF FRANKFURT AND BERLIN

*Cologne,* June 11. *Both assemblies, the one in Frankfurt and the one in Berlin, have solemnly put on record their admission of incompetence. One assembly, by its vote on the question of Schleswig-Holstein, recognises the Federal Diet as its superior authority.*[55] *The other, by its decision to reject Deputy Berends' motion and by passing to the substantiated order of the day, not only repudiates the revolution,*[a] *but expressly admits that it is solely empowered to agree upon the Constitution* and thereby recognises the basic principle underlying the draft of the Constitution that has been proposed by the Camphausen Government. Both assemblies have given a correct appraisal of their worth. They are both *incompetent.*

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[a] See this volume, pp. 75-86.—*Ed.*

# THE BERLIN DEBATE ON THE REVOLUTION[56]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 14, June 14, 1848]

*Cologne*, June 13. At last the Agreement Assembly has made its position clear. It has rejected the idea of revolution and accepted the theory of agreement.

The matter the Assembly had to decide was this.

On March 18 the King promised a Constitution, introduced freedom of the press together with caution money,[57] and made a series of proposals in which he declared that Germany's unity must be achieved by the merging of Germany in Prussia.

These sum up the real content of the concessions made on March 18. The fact that the people of Berlin were satisfied with this and that they marched to the palace to thank the King is the clearest proof of the necessity of the March 18 revolution. Not only the state, its *citizens* too had to be revolutionised. Their submissiveness could only be shed in a sanguinary liberation struggle.

A well-known "misunderstanding"[58] led to the revolution. There was indeed a misunderstanding. The attack by the soldiers, the fight which continued for 16 hours and the fact that the people had to force the troops to withdraw are sufficient proof that the people completely *misunderstood* the concessions of March 18.

The results of the revolution were, on the one hand, the arming of the people, the right of association and the sovereignty of the people, won *de facto*; on the other hand, the retention of the monarchy and the Camphausen-Hansemann Ministry, that is a Government representing the big bourgeoisie.

Thus the revolution produced two sets of results, which were bound to diverge. The people was victorious; it had won liberties of a pronounced democratic nature, but direct control passed into the hands of the big bourgeoisie and not into those of the people.

In short, the revolution was not carried through to the end. The people let the big bourgeoisie form a Government and the big bourgeoisie promptly revealed its intentions by inviting the old Prussian nobility and the bureaucracy to enter into an alliance with it. Arnim, Kanitz and Schwerin became members of the Government.

The big bourgeoisie, which was all along anti-revolutionary, concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with the reactionary forces, because it was afraid of the people, i.e. of the workers and the democratic bourgeoisie.

The united reactionary parties began their fight against democracy by *calling the revolution in question.* The victory of the people was denied, the famous list of the "seventeen dead soldiers" [59] was fabricated, and those who had fought on the barricades were slandered in every possible way. But this was not all. The United Diet convoked before the revolution was now actually convened by the Government, in order *post festum* to fabricate a legal transition from absolutism to the Constitution. Thus the Government openly repudiated the revolution. It moreover invented the theory of agreement, once more repudiating the revolution and with it the sovereignty of the people.

The revolution was accordingly really called in question, and this could be done because it was only a partial revolution, only the beginning of a long revolutionary movement.

We cannot here go into the question as to why and to what extent the present rule of the big bourgeoisie in Prussia is a necessary transitional stage towards democracy, and why, directly after its ascent to power, the big bourgeoisie joined the reactionary camp. For the present we merely report the fact.

The Agreement Assembly had now to declare whether it recognised the revolution or not.

But to recognise the revolution under these circumstances meant recognising the democratic aspects of the revolution, which the big bourgeoisie wanted to appropriate to itself.

Recognising the revolution at this moment meant recognising the *incompleteness* of the revolution, and consequently recognising the democratic movement, which was directed against some of the results of the revolution. It meant recognising that Germany was in the grip of a revolutionary movement, and that the Camphausen Ministry, the theory of agreement, indirect elections, the rule of the big capitalists and the decisions of the Assembly itself could indeed be regarded as unavoidable transitional steps, but by no means as final results.

The debate on the recognition of the revolution was carried on by both sides with great prolixity and great interest, but with remarkably little intelligence. One seldom reads anything so unedifying as these long-winded deliberations, constantly interrupted by noisy scenes or fine-spun arguments about standing orders. Instead of the great passion of party strife, we have a cool, placid temper which threatens at any moment to sink to the level of amiable colloquy; instead of the biting edge of argument we have interminable and confused talk rambling from one subject to another; instead of trenchant retorts we have tedious sermons on the essence and nature of morality.

Nor has the Left particularly distinguished itself in these debates.[60] Most of its speakers repeat one another; none of them dare tackle the question resolutely and speak their mind in frank revolutionary terms. They are always afraid to give offence, to hurt or to frighten people away. Germany would have been in a sorry plight if the people who fought on March 18 had not shown more energy and passion in battle than the gentlemen of the Left have shown in the debate.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 15, June 15, 1848]

*Cologne*, June 14. Deputy *Berends* from Berlin opened the debate by moving:

"In recognition of the revolution, the Assembly declares that those who fought on March 18 and 19 have rendered a genuine service to their country."

The form of the motion, the classical-Roman laconic style, which was revived by the great French Revolution, was quite appropriate.

On the other hand, the way in which Herr *Berends* argued in support of his motion was all the more inappropriate. He spoke not in a revolutionary but in a placating manner. He had to vindicate the anger of the insulted barricade fighters in the face of an Assembly of reactionaries and yet he calmly delivered a completely dry lecture as if he still spoke as a teacher to the Berlin Craftsmen's Association. The cause he had to defend was quite simple and quite clear but the arguments he advanced were the most confused imaginable.

Herr *Berends* begins:

"Gentlemen, recognition of the revolution is entirely in the nature of things (!). Our Assembly is itself an eloquent recognition of the great movement which has swept through all the civilised countries of Europe. The Assembly is a product of this revolution, and consequently its existence is the actual recognition of the revolution."

Firstly. It is by no means a question of recognising in general that the "great movement which has swept through all the civilised countries of Europe" is a fact; it would be quite superfluous and meaningless to recognise this. It is rather a question of recognising the Berlin street battle, which is passed off as a revolt, as a genuine, real revolution.

Secondly. The Assembly in Berlin is in one respect indeed a "*recognition* of the revolution", since without the Berlin street battle we would have no "agreed" Constitution, but at most an imposed Constitution. But the Assembly is likewise a *rejection* of the revolution, because of the way it was convoked and because of the mandate it was given by the United Diet and by the Ministry. An Assembly standing "on a revolutionary basis" does not agree, it decrees.

Thirdly. By its vote on the address the Assembly has already recognised the agreement theory and by voting against the march to the grave of those killed in the fighting it has already rejected the revolution.[61] It has rejected the revolution by "meeting" at all alongside the Frankfurt Assembly.

Herr Berends' motion has therefore been in fact already twice rejected. Its failure this time was even more inevitable because the Assembly had to express its views openly.

Since the Assembly was reactionary and since it was certain that the people could expect nothing from it, it was in the interest of the Left that the minority who voted *for* the motion should be as small as possible and should comprise only the most resolute members.

Hence there was no need for Herr *Berends* to stand on ceremony. He had to act in the most determined, the most revolutionary way. Instead of clinging to the illusion that it was and wanted to be a constituent assembly, an assembly *standing* on a revolutionary basis, he had to tell the Assembly that it had already rejected the revolution indirectly, and to invite it now to reject it openly.

But not only Berends, the speakers of the Left in general have failed to adhere to this policy, the only policy appropriate to a democratic party. They have been under the illusion that they could persuade the Assembly to make a revolutionary move. They have therefore made concessions, they have tried to soothe, they have spoken of reconciliation and they have consequently *themselves* repudiated the revolution.

It is in a very reserved manner and very wooden language that Herr *Berends* then proceeds to expatiate upon revolutions in general and the Berlin revolution in particular. In the course of his reasoning he encounters the argument that the revolution was

unnecessary because already before the revolution the King[a] had conceded everything, and he replies:

"It is true that His Majesty the King conceded *many things* ... but did these concessions satisfy the people? Did we have the guarantee that this promise would become a reality? I *believe* this assurance was ... only obtained after the battle!... It is well established that such a political transformation can only come to birth and be firmly grounded in the great catastrophes of battle. On March 18 one great concession was not yet made; that is the arming of the people.... Only when the people was armed, did it feel secure against possible misunderstandings.... Struggle is *therefore* (!) certainly *a sort of natural occurrence* (!), but an inevitable occurrence ... a catastrophe in which the transformation of political life becomes a reality, a fact."

This long and confused argument, which abounds in repetitions, shows quite clearly that Herr *Berends* is completely in the dark about the results of the revolution and its necessity. The only results of the revolution known to him are the "guarantee" of the promises of the 18th, and the "arming of the people". He deduces the necessity of the revolution in a philosophical manner by once more giving a rendering of the "guarantee" in a superior style and finally by asseverating that there can be no revolution without a revolution.

The revolution was necessary, surely this means simply that it was necessary in order to obtain what we have obtained now. The necessity of the revolution is directly proportional to its results. But since Herr *Berends* is in the dark about its results, he has of course to resort to exaggerated asseverations in order to deduce the necessity of the revolution.

What were the results of the revolution? Certainly not the "guarantee" of the promises of the 18th, but rather the subversion of these promises.

The promises made on the 18th included a monarchy in which the aristocracy, the bureaucracy, the military and the clergy remained at the helm, but allowed the big bourgeoisie to exercise control by a *granted* Constitution and freedom of the press together with caution money. For the people: German flags, a German navy and compulsory military service in the army of the German Confederation instead of Prussian flags, a Prussian navy and compulsory military service in the Prussian army.

The revolution overthrew all the powers of the absolute monarchy, the aristocrats, the bureaucrats, the military and the clerics. It brought about the exclusive rule of the big bourgeoisie. It gave the people the weapon of freedom of the press without caution money, the right of association and, to some extent, the physical weapon, the musket.

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

But even that is not the main result. The people that has fought on the barricades and has been victorious is entirely different from the people that on March 18 marched to the palace to be enlightened, by means of cavalry attacks, about the significance of the concessions it had received. It is able to achieve things of a quite different nature and it confronts the Government in an entirely different way. The most important achievement of the revolution is *the revolution itself.*

"As an inhabitant of Berlin I can indeed say that it has caused us *painful feelings*" (nothing more!) "... to see this struggle maligned.... I take as my starting point the words of the Prime Minister,[a] who ... declared that it was up to a great nation and all its representatives to work with *clemency towards reconciliation. I appeal to this clemency* when, as a representative of Berlin, I ask you to recognise the events of March 18 and 19. The people of Berlin has certainly on the whole acted very honourably and righteously during the whole period that has passed since the revolution. It is possible that a few excesses have occurred ... and thus I *believe* that it is *appropriate* for the Assembly to declare etc., etc."

The only thing we should like to add to this craven conclusion, which rejects the revolution, is that following such reasoning the motion deserved to be lost.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 16, June 16, 1848]

*Cologne,* June 14. The first amendment put forward in opposition to Berends' motion owed its short existence to Deputy *Brehmer.* It was a diffuse, well-meaning declaration which firstly recognised the revolution, secondly recognised the agreement theory, thirdly recognised all those who had contributed to the sudden change that had taken place, and fourthly recognised the great truth that

No steed, no mounted knight
Protects the lofty summits
Where princes stand,—[b]

thus finally reducing the revolution again to a truly Prussian expression. Herr *Brehmer,* the worthy schoolmaster, wanted to please all parties, and none of them wanted to have anything to do with him. His amendment was dropped without any discussion, and Herr Brehmer retired with all the resignation of a disappointed philanthropist.

Herr *Schulze* (from Delitzsch) has mounted the rostrum. Herr Schulze, too, is an admirer of the revolution, he admires however not

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[a] Ludolf Camphausen.— *Ed.*
[b] Words from the Prussian hymn "Heil Dir im Siegerkranz".— *Ed.*

so much the barricade fighters as the men of the morning after, those who are called the "people" as distinct from the "fighters". He desires that the "attitude of the people *after* the battle" should be especially recognised. His enthusiasm exceeded all bounds when he heard

> "about the restraint and circumspection of the people when it was no longer confronted by an enemy (!) ... about the earnestness and the conciliatory spirit of the people ... about its attitude towards the dynasty ... we observed that the people was well aware that at such moments it *directly faced history itself*"!!

It is not so much the revolutionary activity of the people *during* the battle that enraptures Herr *Schulze*, as its quite non-revolutionary inactivity *after* the battle.

To recognise the magnanimity of the people after the revolution can only signify one of two things:

Either an insult to the people, for to recognise it as a merit that the people did not commit any base acts *after* its victory, is an insult to the people.

Or it means recognising that the people relaxed after the military victory, and that this gave the reaction an opportunity to rise once again.

"Combining both meanings" Herr Schulze has expressed his "admiration which turned into enthusiasm" because the people firstly behaved decently and secondly provided an opportunity for the reaction to recover its strength.

The "attitude of the people" consisted in being so busy enthusiastically "facing history itself" when it should have been making history; in the fact that for all this "attitude", "restraint", "circumspection", "profound earnestness" and "inextinguishable dedication", the people never got round to preventing the Ministers from conjuring away one part after the other of the freedom it had won; and that the people declared the revolution to be complete instead of continuing it. How differently did the Viennese act, who rapidly overwhelmed the reaction and have now won a *Constituent* Imperial Diet instead of an Agreement Assembly.[62]

Thus Herr *Schulze* (from Delitzsch) recognises the revolution on condition of not recognising it. This earned him resounding cheers.

After a short intermezzo concerning procedure, Herr *Camphausen* himself appears on the scene. He observes that according to Berends' motion "the Assembly should express its opinion and give its verdict on an *idea*". For Herr Camphausen the revolution is merely an "*idea*". He "leaves" it therefore to the Assembly to decide whether it wishes to do this. In Camphausen's view there "exist perhaps no considerable differences of opinion" about the matter under

discussion, in accordance with the well-known fact that whenever two German burghers quarrel, they are always *au fond* in agreement.

"If one wants to repeat that ... we have entered a phase which *must bring about*" (that is, it has not yet brought about) "very substantial transformations ... then no one can be more in agreement with this than I."

"If, on the other hand, one intends to say that the state and the political authority have lost their legal foundation and that *the existing authority was overthrown by force* ... then I must protest against such an interpretation."

Up to now Herr Camphausen saw his principal merit in having re-tied the broken thread of legality; now he asserts that this thread has never been broken. This may be completely at variance with the facts, but the dogma of the continuity of the legal succession of power from Bodelschwingh to Camphausen cannot bother about facts.

"If one wants to say that we are on the threshold of events similar to those we know from the history of the English revolution in the seventeenth century and of the French revolution in the eighteenth, events whose upshot is the transfer of power into the hands of a dictator",

then Herr Camphausen must likewise protest.

Our thinking friend of history could of course not miss the opportunity the Berlin revolution provided for palming off those observations which the German burgher is the more eager to hear the more often he has read them in Rotteck's work.[a] The Berlin revolution must be no revolution even for the reason that otherwise it would have to produce a Cromwell or a Napoleon, and Herr Camphausen objects to this.

In the end Herr Camphausen permits his agreers "to express their *feelings* for the victims of a *fateful clash*", but he adds that in this case "many and essential aspects depend on the wording", he would therefore like to have the whole matter referred to a committee.

After another point-of-order episode, a speaker finally comes forward who knows how to pluck at people's heart-strings, because he goes to the root of the matter. This is the Reverend Pastor *Müller* of Wohlau, who supports Schulze's amendment. The pastor does "*not* want to *take up much* of the Assembly's *time* but wishes merely to broach *one* rather *important* point".

The pastor therefore submits the following question to the Assembly.

"The motion has led us to the *moral* sphere, and if we take the motion not in its *surface*" (how does one set about to take a thing *in* its surface?) "but in its *depth*" (there

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[a] Karl von Rotteck, *Allgemeine Geschichte vom Anfang der historischen Kenntniss bis auf unsere Zeiten.—Ed.*

is such a thing as empty depth, just as there is empty length) "we cannot help recognising, however difficult these considerations may be, that the point in question is nothing more nor less than the moral recognition of the uprising. *I therefore ask: is an uprising something moral or is it not?*"

The point at issue is not a party political question but something infinitely more important—a theological-philosophical-moral problem. The Assembly has to come to an agreement with the Crown not about a Constitution but about a system of moral philosophy. "Is an uprising something moral or not?" That is what matters. And what answer does the pastor give to the Assembly which is breathless with suspense?

"*I do not believe, however,* that *we are in the position* here *of having to solve* this high moral principle."!!

The pastor has only tried to get to the bottom of the matter in order to declare that he cannot reach the bottom.

"Many *thoughtful* men have pondered on this subject and have nevertheless not arrived at *any definite solution.* Nor shall we achieve clarity in the course of a brief debate."

The Assembly seems thunderstruck. The pastor presents a moral problem to the Assembly with great trenchancy and all the seriousness that the subject demands; he presents it and then announces that the problem cannot be solved. In this distressing situation, the agreers must have felt as if they were actually standing already "on a revolutionary basis".

But this was nothing but a simple pastoral stratagem to which the pastor resorted in order to induce the Assembly to do penance. He has moreover prepared some balm for the penitent:

"I believe that there is also a third point of view which has to be considered here. The victims of March 18 *acted in a frame of mind which makes moral judgment impossible.*"!!

The barricade fighters were *non compos mentis.*

"But if you ask me whether they were *morally competent,* my answer is a firm—'*yes!*'"

We ask: if the word of God from the countryside allows himself to be elected to the Berlin Assembly merely in order to bore the entire public by his moralising casuistry, is such an action *moral* or is it *not moral*?

Deputy *Hofer,* in his capacity of a Pomeranian peasant, protests against the whole thing.

"For who were the military? Were they not our brothers and sons? Consider well the effect it will have, when the father on the seashore" (in Wendish[63]: *po more*, i.e. Pomerania) "hears how his son has been treated here!"

However the military may have behaved and whether or not they allowed themselves to be made the tools of the most infamous treachery—it makes no difference, they were our Pomeranian boys and therefore three cheers for them!

Deputy *Schultz* of Wanzleben: Gentlemen, the people of Berlin must be recognised. Their courage was boundless. They conquered not only the fear of cannon.

"What is the fear of being pulverised by *grape-shot* compared with the *danger* of being charged with *causing a disturbance in the street* and incurring severe, perhaps even degrading punishment! The *courage* required to take up *this* struggle is so lofty that the courage needed to face the open mouth of a cannon *cannot possibly* be compared with it!"

Accordingly the Germans did not make a revolution before 1848, because they were afraid of the Police Inspector.

Minister *Schwerin* rises to declare that he will resign if Berends' motion is passed.

*Elsner* and *Reichenbach* speak against Schulze's amendment.

*Dierschke* observes that the revolution must be recognised, because "the struggle for moral freedom has not yet ended" and because it was likewise "the moral freedom which called this Assembly into being".

*Jacoby* demands "full recognition for the revolution with all its consequences". His was the best speech made during the entire session.

Finally, after so much morality, tedium, irresolution and reconciliation, we are pleased to see our *Hansemann* mount the rostrum. Now at last we shall hear something resolute and to the point. But no, Herr Hansemann too speaks today in a mild and mediating manner. He has his reasons, he does nothing without good reason. He sees that the Assembly wavers, that the vote is uncertain and that the proper amendment has not yet been found. He would like to have the debate adjourned.

To achieve this he summons up all his ability to speak as gently as possible. The fact is there, it is incontestable. Some, however, call it a revolution, others call it "great events". We must

"not forget that a *revolution* like that in Paris, or like the earlier one in England, has not taken place here, but what has taken place here is a *transaction* between the Crown and the people" (a strange transaction with grape-shot and rifle-bullets!). "Now

precisely because in a certain sense we" (the Ministers) "do not object to the *substance of the matter,* but on the other hand the formulation has to be such that the basis of the Government on which we stand remains feasible"...

therefore the debate ought to be adjourned, so that the Ministers can take counsel.

What it must have cost our Hansemann to use such phrases and to admit that the "basis" on which the Government stands is so weak that it can be overturned by a "formulation"! His only compensation is the pleasure of being able to turn the matter again into a *question of confidence.*

Consequently, the debate was adjourned.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 17, June 17, 1848]

*Cologne,* June 14.—*Second day.*—The debate begins again with a long argument on procedure. When this has been settled

Herr *Zachariä* rises. He wants to propose an amendment designed to help the Assembly out of the predicament. The great ministerial formula has been found. It reads:

"Taking into consideration that the immense importance of the great March events—to which together with the royal consent" (which is itself a "March event", though not a "great" one) "we owe the present constitutional position—and also that the services the fighters have rendered to it" (that is to the royal consent) "are undisputed (!!) and that moreover the Assembly does not regard it as its duty to pass judgments" (the Assembly is to declare that it has no judgment!), "but *to agree with the Crown upon the Constitution,*—the Assembly passes to the agenda."

This muddled and unprincipled amendment, which pays obeisance to all sides, and in which, as Herr Zachariä flatters himself, "everybody, even Herr Berends, will find *everything that he could have possibly intended* in the well-meaning attitude in which the motion was tabled", thus this bitter-sweet pap is the "formulation" on the "basis" of which the Camphausen Government "stands" and is able to stand.

Encouraged by the success of his colleague Müller, Pastor *Sydow* of Berlin ascends into the pulpit. The moral question is on his mind. *He* will solve the question that Müller was unable to solve.

"Gentlemen, allow me at this point *immediately*" (after having already preached for half an hour) "to express what my sense of duty impels me to say: If the debate continues, then, in my opinion, no one should refrain from speaking until he has discharged his bounden duty. (Cheers.)

"Permit me to make a personal observation. *My view* of revolution is (keep to the point!) that where a revolution occurs it is merely a symptom indicating that both sides, the rulers and those they rule, are to blame. This" (this platitude, the cheapest way of disposing of the matter) "is the *higher morality* of the matter and (!) let us not

anticipate the *Christian-moral judgment* of the nation." (For what purpose do the gentlemen think they are there?) (Agitation. Point of order!)

"But gentlemen," continues the imperturbable champion of the higher morality and of the not-to-be-anticipated Christian-moral judgment of the nation, "I am not of the opinion that there may not be times when, with the inevitability of a natural event, political self-defence (!) is imposed upon a nation, and ... I am of the opinion that then the *individual can participate* in it in an *entirely moral way.*" (We are saved, with the help of casuistry!) "*Although it is also possible to participate in an immoral way,* that rests with his conscience."!!

The barricade fighters are not a subject to be examined by the *soi-disant* National Assembly, they ought to be heard in the confessional. Thus the matter is disposed of.

Pastor *Sydow* announces moreover that he has "courage", speaks at length about the sovereignty of the people from the standpoint of the higher morality, is three more times interrupted by impatient clamour and returns to his seat with the pleasing conviction that he has discharged his bounden duty. Now the world knows what opinion Pastor Sydow holds and what opinion he does not hold.

Herr *Plönnis* declares that the matter should be dropped. A statement qualified by so many amendments and amendments to amendments, and worn thin by so much discussion and quibbling, has after all no value. Herr Plönnis is right. But he could have rendered the Assembly no worse service than calling attention to this fact, this demonstration of cowardice on the part of so many members of both sides.

Herr *Reichensperger* from Trier:

"We are not here to construct theories and to *decree history,* we ought to *make history* as far as possible."

By no means! By accepting the substantiated agenda, the Assembly decides that on the contrary its purpose is to *unmake history.* This is indeed also a way of "making history".

"I should like to call your attention to Vergniaud's statement, that the revolution is about to devour its own children." [a]

Alas, this is not the case. On the contrary, its own children are about to devour the revolution!

Herr *Riedel* has discovered that Berends' motion "*is supposed to mean not only what is simply expressed by its words,* but that it conceals a dispute about principles". And this victim of the "higher morality" is a *geheimer Archivrat* and professor!

Another very reverend cleric approaches the platform. It is Herr

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[a] Cf. Vergniaud's speech before the revolutionary tribunal in October 1793.— *Ed.*

*Jonas*, the ladies' preacher from Berlin. He really seems to have mistaken the Assembly for an audience made up of daughters of the educated élite. With all the pretentious prolixity of a true adept of Schleiermacher, he utters an endless series of the most banal commonplaces about the exceedingly important difference between revolution and reform. He was three times interrupted before completing the introduction to his sermon; at last he burst out with the grand proposition:

"Revolution is something diametrically opposed to our present religious and moral consciousness. A revolution is an act which was considered great and glorious in ancient Greece and Rome, but Christianity...." (Vehement interruptions. General confusion. Esser, Jung, Elsner, the Chairman[a] and numerous other speakers are trying to join in the discussion. At long last the popular pulpit orator can be heard again.)

"At any rate, I dispute the right of the Assembly to vote on religious and moral principles, no assembly can vote on such matters" (? what about the consistory and the synod?). "The attempt to decree or declare that the revolution is a high moral principle or anything else" (that is anything at all), "seems to me to be on a par with the Assembly attempting to assert that there is a God or that there is no God, or that there are several Gods."

There we are. The ladies' preacher has succeeded in transferring the question again to the sphere of the "higher morality", and now of course it falls only within the scope of the Protestant church councils and of the catechism manufacturers in the synod.

Thank God! At last, after all this moral fog, our *Hansemann* speaks. With this practical mind, we are quite safe from the "higher morality". Herr *Hansemann* eliminates the entire moral point of view with one disdainful remark:

"I ask, do we have leisure to indulge in such disputes about principles?"

Herr Hansemann recalls that yesterday a deputy spoke about unemployed workers. Herr Hansemann uses this observation to perform an adroit turn. He speaks of the distress of the working class, regrets their poverty and asks:

"What is the reason of the general distress? I believe ... everybody has the feeling that there is as yet no certainty that the existing state of affairs is stable, so long as our constitutional position has not yet been put in order."

Herr Hansemann now speaks from the heart. He exclaims, confidence must be restored! And the best way to restore confidence is to reject the revolution. Then the speaker for the Government, which "sees no reaction", launches into an alarming account of the importance he attaches to the friendly attitude of the reaction.

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[a] Karl Milde.—*Ed.*

"I beseech you to promote harmony among *all classes*" (by insulting the classes that carried through the revolution!); "I beseech you to promote harmony between the people and the army; do not forget that our hope of maintaining our independence depends on the army" (! in Prussia where everyone is a soldier!); "do not forget the difficult situation in which we find ourselves, I do not have to explain this to you in greater detail, anyone *who reads the newspapers attentively*" (and surely all the gentlemen do this) "will *recognise* that the situation is difficult, *extremely difficult.* I consider it inappropriate to sow the *seeds of discord* at this moment.... Therefore, gentlemen, try to *reconcile* the parties, do not raise any question liable to *provoke our opponents,* for this is what *would certainly occur.* The adoption of the motion could have *the most deplorable consequences.*"

How the reactionaries must have smiled when they saw Hansemann, who is usually so intrepid, talking not only the Assembly but also himself into a state of alarm.

This appeal to the fear of the big bourgeois, the lawyers and the schoolmasters in the Chamber was more effective than all the sentimental phrases about the "higher morality". The question was decided. D'Ester threw himself once more into the fray to neutralise the effect, but in vain. The debate was closed and with 196 votes to 177 the Assembly passed to the agenda as substantiated by Zachariä.

Thereby the Assembly passed judgment upon itself, i.e. it admitted that it was without judgment.

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# THE POSITION OF THE PARTIES IN COLOGNE

*Cologne*, June 16. A few days ago we had a by-election here which clearly showed how much the position of the parties has changed since the general election.[64]

Police Superintendent Müller, substitute for Frankfurt, was elected in Gummersbach as deputy to Berlin.

Three candidates competed in the elections. The Catholic party nominated Herr *Pellmann*, the constitutional party (the Citizens' Association)[65] ran Herr *Fay*, a lawyer, and the democratic party backed Herr *Schneider II*, a barrister, and President of the (Stollwerk) Democratic Society.[66]

In the first round (there were 140 voting delegates), Herr Fay received 29 votes, Herr Pellmann 34 and Herr Schneider 52. The rest of the votes were divided.

The second round (139 votes) resulted in 14 votes for Herr Fay, 59 for Herr Pellmann and 64 for Herr Schneider. Thus, the lead of the democratic party was still steadily increasing.

Finally, in the third round (138 votes), Herr Fay did *not* receive a *single* vote. Herr Schneider obtained 55 and Herr Pellmann 75 votes. The gentlemen of the Citizens' Association had given their votes to the Catholic candidate because they feared the Stollwerk democrats.

These votes show how much public opinion here has changed. In the general elections, the democrats were everywhere in the minority. In this by-election, the democrats emerged as the by far most powerful of the three competing parties and only an unnatural coalition of the two other parties was able to defeat them.

We do not blame the Catholic party for entering into this coalition. We only stress the fact that the *constitutional party* has disappeared.

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# THE AGREEMENT ASSEMBLY OF JUNE 15[67]

*Cologne,* June 17. We told you a few days ago: you deny the existence of the revolution. It will prove its existence by a second revolution.[a]

The events of June 14 are merely the first harbinger of this second revolution and already the Camphausen Government is in full dissolution. By placing itself under the protection of the people of Berlin, the Agreement Assembly has decreed a vote of confidence in them.[68] This act is a belated recognition of the March fighters. The Assembly has taken out of the hands of the Ministers the task of drawing up a Constitution and is seeking "agreement" with the people by appointing a committee which will examine all petitions and resolutions relating to the Constitution. This is a belated annulment of its declaration of incompetence.[b] The Assembly promises to begin its constitutional work by a deed: the abolition of the very basis of the old system, namely of the feudal obligations with which the land is burdened. This promises to become another night of August 4.[69]

In a word: on June 15 the Agreement Assembly repudiated its own past just as on June 9 it had repudiated the people's past. It has experienced its March 21.[70]

*The Bastille, however, has not yet been stormed.*

But from the East an apostle of revolution is approaching impetuously and irresistibly. He is already standing at the gates of

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[a] See this volume, pp. 73-75.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 72.—*Ed.*

Thorn.[a] It is the *Tsar. The Tsar will save the German revolution by centralising it.*

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[a] The Polish name is Toruń.—*Ed.*

# THE PRAGUE UPRISING[71]

*Cologne,* June 17. Another massacre similar to that of Posen[72] is being prepared in *Bohemia.* The possibility of a continued peaceful association of Bohemia and Germany has been drowned in the blood of the Czech people shed by the Austrian army.

Prince Windischgrätz had cannon mounted on the Vyshehrad and Hradshin[a] and trained on Prague. Troops were massed and a sudden attack on the Slav Congress[73] and the Czechs was being prepared.

The people discovered these preparations; they went in a body to the Prince's residence and demanded arms. The demand was rejected. Feeling began to run high and the crowds of people with and without arms were growing. Then a shot was fired from an inn opposite the commandant's palace and Princess Windischgrätz dropped, mortally wounded. The order to attack followed immediately; the grenadiers advanced, the people were driven back. But barricades were thrown up everywhere, checking the advance of the military. Cannon were brought into position and the barricades raked with grape-shot. Torrents of blood were shed. The fighting went on throughout the night of the 12th and continued on the 13th. Eventually the troops succeeded in occupying the wide streets and pressing the people back into the narrower quarters of the city where artillery could not be used.

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[a] *Vyshehrad*—southern part of Prague with the old citadel of the same name standing on the right bank of the Vltava; *Hradshin* (the Czech name is Hradčany)—north-western part of Prague with the old castle.—*Ed.*

That is as far as our latest news goes. But in addition it is stated that many members of the Slav Congress were deported from the city under a strong escort. It would appear that the military won at least a partial victory.

However the uprising may end, a war of annihilation by the Germans against the Czechs is now the only possible outcome.

In their revolution the Germans have to atone for the sins of their whole past. They atoned for them in Italy. In Posen they have brought down upon themselves once more the curse of the whole of Poland, and to that is now added Bohemia.

The French were able to win the recognition and sympathy even of the countries to which they came as enemies. The Germans win recognition nowhere and find sympathy nowhere. Even where they adopt the role of magnanimous apostles of liberty, they are spurned with bitter scorn.

And so they deserve to be. A nation which throughout its history has allowed itself to be used as a tool of oppression against all other nations must first of all prove that it has been really revolutionised. It must prove this not merely by a few indecisive revolutions, whose only consequence is to allow the old irresolution, impotence and discord to continue in a modified form; revolutions which let a Radetzky remain in Milan, a Colomb and Steinäcker in Posen, a Windischgrätz in Prague, a Hüser in Mainz, as if nothing had changed.

A revolutionised Germany ought to have renounced her entire past, especially as far as the neighbouring nations are concerned. Together with her own freedom, she should have proclaimed the freedom of the nations hitherto suppressed by her.

And what *has* revolutionised Germany done? She has fully endorsed the old oppression of Italy, Poland, and now of Bohemia, too, by German troops. Kaunitz and Metternich have been completely vindicated.

And the Germans, after this, demand that the Czechs should trust them?

Are the Czechs to be blamed for not wanting to join a nation that oppresses and maltreats other nations, while liberating itself?

Are they to be blamed for not wanting to send their representatives to our wretched, faint-hearted "National Assembly" at Frankfurt, which is afraid of its own sovereignty?

Are they to be blamed for dissociating themselves from the impotent Austrian Government, which is in such a perplexed and helpless state that it seems to exist only in order to register the disintegration of Austria, which it is unable to prevent, or at least to

give it an orderly course? A Government which is even too weak to save Prague from the guns and soldiers of a Windischgrätz?

But it is the gallant Czechs themselves who are most of all to be pitied. Whether they win or are defeated, their doom is sealed. They have been driven into the arms of the Russians by 400 years of German oppression, which is being continued now in the street-fighting waged in Prague. In the great struggle between Western and Eastern Europe, which may begin very soon, perhaps in a few weeks, the Czechs are placed by an unhappy fate on the side of the Russians, the side of despotism opposed to the revolution. The revolution will triumph and the Czechs will be the first to be crushed by it.[74]

The Germans once again bear the responsibility for the ruin of the Czech people, for it is the Germans who have betrayed them to Russia.

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## VALDENAIRE'S ARREST—SEBALDT

*Cologne.* As is well known, the Berlin Agreement Assembly has deferred the debate on Wencelius' motion concerning the imprisonment of *Victor Valdenaire,* the deputy of the district of Trier. And on what grounds! Because no *law* about the immunity of people's representatives can be found in the archives of the old Prussian legislation, just as there are, of course, no people's representatives in the old lumber-room of Prussian history. Nothing is easier than on this basis subsequently to destroy all the achievements of the revolution in the interest of the state treasury. The self-evident demands, requirements and rights of the revolution are not, of course, sanctioned by a legislation whose basis has been exploded by just this revolution. From the moment there were Prussian people's representatives, the *immunity* of the Prussian people's representatives existed. Or should the continued existence of the entire Agreement Assembly be dependent on the mood of a chief of police or a law-court? By all means! *Zweiffel, Reichensperger* and the rest of the Rhenish jurists who transform every political question into procedural wrangling and who could not allow the case of Valdenaire to pass without displaying minute casuistry and gigantic servility, will be entirely safe from such a possibility.

On this occasion we would like to pose a question to Herr Reichensperger II: Has Herr Reichensperger not perhaps been appointed to become *President of the court in Cologne* after Herr Schauberg's retirement, which is supposed to take place on July 1, 1848?

*Valdenaire* was arrested just as he was climbing into the stage-coach to *Merzig* where the election of a *deputy for Frankfurt* was to take place. Valdenaire had secured the great majority of the votes. There

is no easier method to fail an election to which one objects than to arrest the candidate! And the Government, in order to be consistent, does not summon his substitute *Gräff* in spite of his protests. Thus a population of 60,000 fallen out of favour is left unrepresented. We advise Herr Gräff to go to Berlin on his own authority.

Finally, we cannot describe the situation in Trier better than by reproducing the following *warning* issued by the high and mighty Herr *Sebaldt*, the royal *Landrat* and Chief Burgomaster of Trier:

WARNING

For several evenings in a row, unusually numerous crowds of people have shown up on the public squares and streets of the city, which have aroused the fear in nervous people that illegal demonstrations are imminent. I am not one of these nervous people, and I like it well if the street traffic moves freely. If, however, contrary to expectations, some immature persons should get the idea of misusing this traffic for knavish tricks and insulting raillery, I must urge the better part of the public to dissociate itself immediately from these elements, for serious disturbances of public order will be met by serious counter-measures and I should be very sorry if during a possible conflict the careless should come to harm rather than the guilty.

*Trier*, June 16, 1848

The royal *Landrat* and Chief Burgomaster *Regierungs-Rat Sebaldt*

How kindly and patriarchally this eminent man writes!

"*He likes it well if the street traffic moves freely.*" What a pleasant liking Herr Sebaldt has!

*Nervous people* fear a demonstration. The dictator of Trier has the quality of not being nervous. Yet he must show his absolute authority, he must transform the chimeras of the nervous people into *official conjecture* so that he can oppose *serious* disturbances with appropriately *serious* counter-measures.

How surprisingly well the great man is able to combine seriousness and kindliness! The *better* citizens of Trier may slumber in peace under the protection of this serious, yet kindly *providence*.

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# THE AGREEMENT ASSEMBLY SESSION OF JUNE 17

*Cologne,* June 19. "Nothing learned and nothing forgotten"[a]—this saying is as valid for the Camphausen Government as it is for the Bourbons.

On June 14, the people, enraged by the agreers' repudiation of the revolution, march upon the arsenal.[b] They want a guarantee against the Assembly and they know that weapons are the best guarantee. The arsenal is taken by storm and the people arm themselves.

The storming of the arsenal, an event without immediate results, a revolution that stopped halfway, nevertheless had the effect:

1. That the trembling Assembly retracted its decision of the previous day and declared that it would place itself under the protection of the people of Berlin.

2. That it repudiated the Ministry on a vital question and rejected the Camphausen draft Constitution by a majority of 46 votes.

3. That the Ministry immediately disintegrated, that the Ministers Kanitz, Schwerin and Auerswald resigned (of these up to now only Kanitz has definitely been replaced, by Schreckenstein) and that on June 17 Herr Camphausen asked the Assembly to give him three days to replenish his decimated Ministry.

All this was accomplished by the storming of the arsenal.

And at the same time when the *effects* of this self-arming of the people become so strikingly apparent, the Government dares attack that action itself. At the same time when Assembly and Ministry acknowledge the insurrection, the participants of the insurrection are subjected to a judicial investigation, and are dealt with according

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[a] A remark Talleyrand is supposed to have made about the Bourbons.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 89-90.—*Ed.*

to old-Prussian laws, slandered in the Assembly and portrayed as common thieves!

On the very same day when the trembling Assembly places itself under the protection of those who stormed the arsenal, they are described as "robbers" and "violent thieves" in decrees issued by Herr *Griesheim* (Commissioner in the Ministry of War) and Herr *Temme* (Public Prosecutor). The "liberal" Herr Temme whom the revolution brought back from exile, begins a stringent investigation of those who continue the revolution. *Korn, Löwinsohn* and *Urban* are arrested. All over Berlin, police raid after police raid is being carried out. Captain *Natzmer,* who had the sense to recognise the necessity for an immediate withdrawal from the arsenal, the man who by his peaceful retreat saved Prussia from a new revolution and the Ministers from immense danger, this man is tried by a military court which makes use of the articles of war to condemn him to death.

The members of the Agreement Assembly are likewise recovering from their fright. In their session on the 17th, they repudiate the men who stormed the arsenal just as they repudiated the barricade fighters on the 9th. The following events transpired during this session of the 17th.

Herr Camphausen explains to the Assembly that he will now reveal all facts in order that it may decide whether or not to impeach the Ministry because of the storming of the arsenal.

There was a reason, indeed, for impeaching the Ministers, not because they tolerated the storming of the arsenal, but rather because they *caused* it by circumventing one of the most significant results of the revolution: the arming of the people.

Then Herr *Griesheim,* Commissioner in the Ministry of War, rises after him. He gives a lengthy description of the weapons in the arsenal, especially of rifles "of an entirely new type of which only Prussia knows the secret", of weapons "of historical significance" and of all the other marvellous items. He describes the guarding of the arsenal: upstairs there are 250 army troops and downstairs is the civic militia. He refers to the fact that the flow of weapons to and from the arsenal, which is the main armoury of the whole Prussian state, was hardly interrupted by the March revolution.

After all these preliminary remarks with which he tried to arouse the sympathy of the agreers for the arsenal, this most interesting institution, he finally comes to the events of June 14.

The people's attention had always been drawn to the arsenal and the arms deliveries and they had been told that these weapons belonged to them.

The weapons belonged indeed to the people, first of all as national property and secondly as part of the acquired and guaranteed right of the people to bear arms.

Herr Griesheim "could state with certainty that the first shots were fired by the people against the civic militia".

This assertion is a counterpart to the "seventeen dead soldiers" of March.[75]

Herr Griesheim now relates that the people invaded the arsenal, that the civic militia retreated and that "1,100 rifles of the new type of rifle were then *stolen*, an irreplaceable loss" (!). Captain Natzmer had been talked into a "*dereliction of duty*", i.e. into retreating, and the military had withdrawn.

But now the Commissioner from the Ministry of War comes to a passage of his report which causes his old-Prussian heart to bleed: the people desecrated the sacred schrine of old Prussia. Listen:

> "Thereafter *downright atrocities* began to occur in the rooms upstairs. *Theft, robbery and destruction* took place. New weapons were flung down and broken. *Antiques* of irreplaceable value, rifles inlaid with silver and ivory and artistic, hard-to-replace artillery models were destroyed. *Trophies and flags won by the blood of the people, symbols of the nation's honour,* were *torn and besmirched!*" (General indignation. Calls from all sides: Shame! Shame!)

This indignation of the old blade at the frivolity of the people is indeed laughable. The people have committed "downright atrocities" against old spiked helmets, the shakos of the army reserve and other junk "of irreplaceable value"! They have flung down the "new weapons"! What an "atrocity" such an act must represent in the eyes of a veteran lieutenant-colonel who was only allowed to admire the "new weapons" respectfully in the arsenal while his regiment had to practise with the most antiquated rifles! The people have destroyed the artillery models! Perhaps Herr Griesheim is demanding that the people are supposed to put on kid gloves before starting a revolution? But the most horrible event has yet to come—the trophies of old Prussia have been besmirched and torn!

Herr Griesheim relates an event which demonstrates that the people of Berlin showed a most correct revolutionary attitude on June 14. The people of Berlin disavowed the wars of liberation by trampling upon the flags captured at Leipzig and Waterloo.[76] The first thing the Germans have to do in their revolution is to break with their entire disgraceful past.

The old-Prussian Agreement Assembly, however, had of course to cry shame! shame! over an action in which the people for the first time confront in a revolutionary way not only their oppressors but also the glittering illusions of their own past.

In spite of all his whisker-raising indignation over such an outrage, Herr Griesheim does not, however, fail to remark that the whole matter "cost the state 50,000 talers as well as enough weapons to equip several battalions of troops".

He continues:

"It was not the desire to arm the people which caused the assault since the weapons were sold for a few groschen."

The storming of the arsenal, according to Herr Griesheim, was merely the deed of a number of thieves who stole rifles in order to sell them again for a dram of liquor. The Commissioner from the Ministry of War so far owes us an explanation why the "robbers" plundered the arsenal rather than the wealthy shops of the goldsmiths and money-changers.

"Much sympathy has been shown for the unfortunate (!) captain because he violated his duty allegedly to prevent the shedding of citizens' blood; his action has even been portrayed as commendable and deserving of thanks. Today I was even visited by a delegation which is demanding that this deed should be acknowledged by the entire fatherland as deserving of thanks. (Indignation.) It consisted of representatives of the various clubs which are under the chairmanship of Assessor Schramm. (Indignation on the Right and calls of "shame!") One thing is certain, the captain has broken the first and foremost law of the soldier: he has abandoned his post in spite of explicit instructions given him not to leave it without explicit orders. It was put to him that his withdrawal would save the throne, that all troops had left the city and the King had fled from Potsdam. (Indignation.) *He acted in exactly the same manner as the fortress commandant in 1806* who also surrendered that which had been entrusted to him without further ado instead of defending it.[77] Incidentally, the rejoinder that his withdrawal prevented the shedding of citizens' blood does not hold water. Not a hair on anybody's head would have been touched since he surrendered his post at the moment when the rest of the battalion was coming to his aid." (Shouts of "bravo" from the Right, hissing from the Left.)

Herr Griesheim has, of course, forgotten again that Captain Natzmer's restraint saved Berlin from renewed armed fighting, the Ministers from the greatest danger and the monarchy from being overthrown. Herr Griesheim, who again plays the role of lieutenant-colonel to the hilt, sees in Natzmer's act nothing but insubordination, cowardly desertion of his post and treason in the well-known old-Prussian manner of 1806. The man to whom the monarchy owes its continued existence is to be condemned to death. What a wonderful example for the entire army!

And how did the Assembly act at this tale by Herr Griesheim? It became the echo of his indignation. The Left finally protested — by hissing. The Berlin Left is generally behaving in a more and more cowardly and ambiguous manner. Where were these gentlemen, who exploited the people during the elections, on the night of June

14, when the people soon let the advantages gained slip from their grasp again, solely because of their perplexity, and when only a leader was lacking to make the victory complete? Where were Herr Berends, Herr Jung, Herr Elsner, Herr Stein, and Herr Reichenbach? They remained at home or made innocuous complaints to the Ministers. But that is not all. They do not even dare to defend the people against the calumnies and vilifications of the Government Commissioner. Not a single one of them speaks up. Not a single one wants to be responsible for the action of the people which gave them their first victory. They dare not do anything but—*hiss.* What heroism!

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# THE STUPP AMENDMENT

*Cologne,* June 20. Herr *Stupp* from *Cologne* has proposed an amendment to the law concerning the *immunity of deputies* which was not discussed in the Agreement Assembly but which might not be uninteresting to his fellow citizens from Cologne. We do not want to deprive them of the undivided enjoyment of this legislative work of art.

*The Amendment of Deputy Stupp*

Paragraph 1. "No member of the Assembly may be called to account in any manner whatsoever either for his votes or for the words and opinions that he expresses in his capacity as deputy."

*Amendment*: "Delete the word 'words' in the third line."

*Reason*: "It suffices that a deputy may freely express his *opinion*. The expression '*words*' may also comprise slander which entitles the insulted person to sue for libel in a *civil action*. To protect the deputies from such suits seems to be contrary to the respect and honour of the Assembly."

It suffices that the deputy expresses *no opinion at all* but simply drums and votes. Why then not also delete "*opinions*" since opinions must be expressed in "words", may even be expressed in "slanderous" words, and since also slanderous opinions may be "*subsumed*" under the expression "opinions"?

Paragraph 2. "For the duration of the Assembly none of its members may be called to account or arrested for an act liable to punishment without the permission of the Assembly except when that member is caught in the act or within 24 hours thereafter. A similar permission is necessary for an arrest on account of debts."

*Amendment*: "Delete the final sentence: 'A similar permission is necessary for an arrest on account of debts.'"

*Reason*: "We are dealing here with an *infringement of the civil rights of citizens* and the ratification of such an infringement seems to me to be questionable. Though it might be greatly in the interest of the Assembly to keep some deputy in its midst, I still find respect for *civil rights* more important.

"We must, however, bear in mind especially that we are promulgating this law not for the future, i.e. not for the members of a future Chamber, but *for us*. Let us assume that there are members among us who have to fear arrest on account of debts; it would certainly make a bad impression on our voters if we were to protect ourselves against the *legitimate* prosecution of our creditors by a law which we have passed ourselves."

Rather the other way around! It makes a bad impression upon Herr Stupp that the voters have sent members "among us" who could be arrested on account of debts. How lucky were *Mirabeau* and *Fox* not to have had to live under the legislation of Stupp. One single difficulty disconcerts Herr Stupp for a moment, it is "the interest of the Assembly to keep some deputy in its midst". The *interest of the people*—but who wants to speak of that? It is only a question of the interests of a "closed society" which wants to keep someone in its midst while the creditors would like to see him outside in gaol. Collision of two important interests! Herr Stupp could have given a more convincing version of his amendment: individuals who are embarrassed by debts may only be elected representatives of the people with the permission of their respective creditors. They may be recalled at any time by their creditors. In the final analysis, both Assembly and Government are subject to the supreme decision of the *creditors of the state.*

Second *amendment* to Paragraph 2:

"While the Assembly is in session none of its members may be prosecuted or arrested by the authorities without the permission of the Assembly for a punishable act unless he is caught in the act."

*Reason*: "The word 'Assembly' in the first line is taken to mean a corporation, and with regard to this the expression 'duration of the Assembly' seems unsuitable. I am proposing the substitution of 'while the Assembly is in session'.

"It also seems more fitting to replace 'an act liable to punishment' with 'a punishable act'.

"I am of the opinion that we must not exclude *civil proceedings* on account of punishable acts because we would thereby allow an infringement of *civil law*. Hence the addition 'by the authorities'.

"If the addition 'or within the next 24 hours etc.' remains, the judge may arrest any deputy within 24 hours after any transgression."

The Bill assures the immunity of the deputies for the duration of the Assembly, the amendment of Herr Stupp only for "the duration of the sessions", i.e. for 6, or at most 12 hours per day. And what an ingenious justification! One can speak of the *duration of a session* but can one speak of the *duration of a corporation*?

Herr Stupp does not want *the authorities* to prosecute or arrest the deputies without the Assembly's permission. He thus takes the liberty to infringe *criminal law*. But as regards *civil proceedings*! On no account should there be an encroachment upon civil law! Long live

civil law! What the state has no right to do, the private person may carry out! Civil proceedings above everything! Civil proceedings are Herr Stupp's fixed idea. Civil law is Moses and the prophets! Swear by civil law, particularly civil proceedings! People, show respect for the Holy of Holies!

There are no infringements of civil law upon public law but there are "questionable" encroachments of public law upon civil law. Why bother with a Constitution since we possess the *Code civil*[78] as well as civil courts and lawyers?

Paragraph 3. "Any criminal procedure against a member of the Assembly and any arrest is suspended for the duration of the session if the Assembly demands it."

Motion to change Paragraph 3 in the following manner:

"Any criminal procedure against a member of the Assembly and any arrest arising out of it—unless the arrest has been made by virtue of a *judicial verdict*—shall be cancelled at once if the Assembly so decides."

*Reason*: "It is surely not the intention to release deputies from gaol who have already been sentenced to imprisonment by a judicial verdict.

"If the amendment is passed, it will apply also to those who are in gaol on account of debts."

Could the Assembly have the treasonable intention to weaken the "force of a judicial verdict" or even to take into its midst a man who is "in gaol" on account of debts? Herr Stupp is trembling at this assault upon civil proceedings and the force of judicial verdicts. Any question of the sovereignty of the people has now been disposed of. Herr Stupp has proclaimed the *sovereignty of civil proceedings and civil law*. How cruel to snatch such a man away from civil law practice and to throw him into the *inferior* sphere of the legislative power! The sovereign people has committed this "questionable" infringement of "civil law". Herr Stupp, on the other hand, starts civil proceedings against the sovereignty of the people and public law.

Emperor Nicholas, however, may calmly turn back. Upon the first crossing of the Prussian frontier he will be met by Deputy Stupp who will hold in one hand "civil proceedings" and in the other hand a "judicial verdict". For, he will declare with appropriate solemnity: War, what is war? A questionable infringement of civil law! A questionable infringement of civil law!

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# A NEW POLICY IN POSEN

*Cologne*, June 20. Once again there is a new twist to the Posen affair! After the Willisen phase with its lofty promises and enthusiastic proclamations came the Pfuel phase with shrapnel, brandings and shaved heads,[79] the phase of the blood bath and Russian barbarity. Now after the Pfuel phase comes a new phase of reconciliation!

Major *Olberg*, Chief of the General Staff at Posen and chief participant in the massacres and brandings, is suddenly transferred against his will. General *Colomb* is also transferred against his will from Posen to Königsberg. General *Pfuel* (von Höllenstein[a]) has been ordered to go to Berlin and *Oberpräsident Beurmann* has already arrived there.

Thus Posen has been completely deserted by the knights who bore lunar caustic in their coat of arms, were swinging shearing knives and bravely, from secure ambush, mowed down defenceless scythemen with shrapnel at a distance of 1,000 to 1,200 paces. The German-Jewish Polonophobes are shaking. Just like the Poles at an earlier time they find themselves betrayed by the Government.

A light has suddenly dawned upon the Camphausen Government. The danger of a Russian invasion has convinced it that it made an enormous mistake when it surrendered the Poles to the wrath of the bureaucracy and the Pomeranian army reserve. Now that it is too late, it wants to regain the sympathy of the Poles at any price!

Moreover, the entire bloody war of extermination against the Poles with all its cruelties and barbarities which will for ever form a disgraceful chapter in German history, the justifiable deadly hatred

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[a] *Höllenstein* means "lunar caustic".—*Ed.*

of the Poles against us, the now inevitable Russian-Polish alliance against Germany, an alliance by which the enemies of the revolution will be reinforced by a brave people of 20 million, has all this happened and taken place merely in order to give Herr Camphausen the opportunity to stammer his *pater peccavi*?

Does Herr Camphausen really believe that now when he is in need of the Poles, it is possible through gentle oratory and concessions to regain former sympathies which have been drowned in blood? Does he really believe that the stigmatised hands will ever be raised in his defence or that the shaven foreheads will ever expose themselves to Russian sabres? Does he really believe that he can ever lead those who escaped Prussian shrapnel against Russian grape-shot?

And does Herr Camphausen believe that his Government can survive now that he himself has so unambiguously admitted his inability?

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# THE DOWNFALL OF THE CAMPHAUSEN GOVERNMENT

*Cologne,* June 21. 10 p.m. We received the following information from *Berlin,* June 20: ***The Camphausen Government has fallen***; *at 8 o'clock this morning Herr Camphausen returned his portfolio to the King.*[a] *When the Agreement Assembly met this morning after an adjournment due to the proposed changes, the President*[b] *read out a letter from Camphausen announcing his resignation to the Chamber because he had not succeeded in filling the ministerial vacancies. Herr Hansemann, Herr von Auerswald, Herr Bornemann, Herr von Patow, Herr Roth von Schreckenstein and Herr Schleinitz sat on the ministerial bench, Schreckenstein as newly appointed Minister of War and Schleinitz, the well-known favourite of the* ***Princess*** *of* ***Prussia***[c] *and* ***Russophile,*** *as* ***Minister of Foreign Affairs.*** *Hansemann and von Auerswald further declared that now that the Prime Minister had resigned they were all provisional, with the exception of von Schreckenstein and Schleinitz, and would merely handle day-to-day affairs until the formation of a new Cabinet.*

*The Agreement Assembly was moreover asked for an indefinite adjournment of the Chamber.*

*It has been decided to adjourn until next Monday.*

*Our readers will not be surprised by this news. For days now we have been predicting the downfall of the Camphausen Government. And we added: Either a new revolution or a definitely reactionary Government. The attempt at a new revolution has failed.* ***A Russophile Government will pave the way for the Tsar.***

Written on June 21, 1848

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[a] Frederick William IV.— *Ed.*
[b] Karl Milde.— *Ed.*
[c] Augusta, Marie Luise Katharina.—*Ed.*

# THE DOWNFALL OF THE CAMPHAUSEN GOVERNMENT[80]

*Cologne*, June 22.

May the sun shine very clear
Once it, too, will disappear,[a]

and the sun of March 30, tinged by the hot blood of the Poles, has also set.[81]

The Camphausen Government has covered the counter-revolution with its liberal-bourgeois cloak. The counter-revolution now feels strong enough to shake off this irksome mask.

It is possible that the Government of March 30 will be followed for a few days by some untenable Government of the Left Centre. Its real successor will be the *Government of the Prince of Prussia.* Camphausen has the honour of having given the absolutist feudal party its natural boss and himself a successor.

Why pamper the bourgeois guardians any longer?

Are the Russians not standing on the eastern frontier and the Prussian troops on the western border? Have not shrapnel and lunar caustic prepared the Poles for the Russian propaganda campaign?

Have not all steps been taken to repeat in almost all Rhenish towns the bombardment of Prague?[b]

Have not the Danish and Polish wars, and the many small clashes between the military and the people, provided the army with all the time and opportunity in the world to form itself into a brutal soldiery?

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[a] Quotation from Ferdinand Raimund's play *Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt oder der Bauer als Millionär*, Act II, Scene 6.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 91-93.—*Ed.*

Is not the bourgeoisie tired of revolution? And is there not standing in the middle of the ocean the rock upon which the counter-revolution will build its church[a]: *England*?

The Camphausen Government seeks to snatch a pennyworth of popularity,[b] to stir up public compassion by the assurance that it is making its exit from the stage of the state as a *dupe*. It certainly is a case of the deceived deceiver.[c] Since it served the big bourgeoisie, it was compelled to try to cheat the revolution out of its democratic gains; in combating democracy it was forced to ally itself with the aristocratic party and become the tool of its counter-revolutionary aims. The aristocratic party is now strong enough to throw its protector overboard. *Herr Camphausen has sown reaction as envisaged by the big bourgeoisie and he has reaped reaction as envisaged by the feudal party.* One was the well-meant intention of the man, the other his evil fate. A penny's worth of popularity for the disappointed man.

A penny's worth of popularity!

May the sun shine very clear
Once it, too, will disappear!

But it will rise again in the *East*.

Written on June 22, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

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[a] Matthew 16:18 (paraphrased).—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen*, Caput XXIV.—*Ed.*

[c] G. E. Lessing, *Nathan der Weise*, Act III, Scene 7.—*Ed.*

# THE FIRST DEED OF THE GERMAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN FRANKFURT

*Cologne.* The German National Assembly has at last risen to its task! It has at last made a decision of immediate practical value, it has intervened in the Austro-Italian war.[82]

And how has it intervened? Has it proclaimed Italy's independence? Has it sent a courier to Vienna with the order that Radetzky and Welden must at once withdraw behind the River Isonzo? Has it issued a congratulatory message to the Provisional Government of Milan?[83]

Not at all! It has declared that it would *regard any attack upon Trieste as a casus belli.*

This means: The German National Assembly, in cordial agreement with the Federal Diet, allows the Austrians to commit the greatest brutalities in Italy, to plunder, to murder, to pour incendiary rockets into every village and town (see under *Italy*) and then to retreat safely to neutral territory of the German Confederation! It allows the Austrians at any time to inundate Lombardy from German soil with Croats and Pandours[84] but it wants to prohibit the Italians from pursuing the beaten Austrians into their hiding-places! It permits the Austrians to use Trieste to blockade Venice and the mouths of the Piave, the Brenta, the Tagliamento; but it prohibits any hostile action of the Italians against Trieste!

The German National Assembly could not have acted with greater cowardice than it did by adopting this decision. It does not have the courage openly to sanction the Italian war. It has even less courage to prohibit the Austrian Government from conducting the war. Caught in this embarrassing situation, it passes the decision on Trieste (to top it all by acclamation, so as to still its secret fear by loud cries) which

formally neither approves nor disapproves of the war against the Italian revolution but which, nevertheless, approves of it in fact.

This decision is an indirect *declaration of war on Italy*, and because it is an indirect declaration, doubly disgraceful for a nation of 40 million people like the German.

The decision of the Frankfurt Assembly will evoke a storm of protest in all Italy. If the Italians still have some pride and energy, they will answer by a bombardment of Trieste and a march on the Brenner.

But while the Frankfurt Assembly proposes, the French people disposes. Venice has appealed for French aid. After this, the French will probably soon cross the Alps and then it will not be long before we have them on the Rhine.

One deputy[a] has accused the Frankfurt Assembly of being idle. On the contrary! It has already worked so hard that we have one war in the north[b] and another one in the south and that wars in the west and east have become inevitable. We shall be in the fortunate position of having to fight simultaneously the Tsar and the French Republic, reaction and revolution. The Assembly has made sure that Russian and French, Danish and Italian soldiers will meet at St. Paul's Church in Frankfurt.[c] And it is said the Assembly has been idle!

Written by Engels on June 22, 1848

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[a] Kohlparzer.— *Ed.*

[b] The war with Denmark over Schleswig-Holstein.—*Ed.*

[c] The meeting place of the German National Assembly.— *Ed.*

# THE HANSEMANN GOVERNMENT[85]

*Cologne,* June 23. A new turn in the government crisis in Berlin! Our *Hansemann* has been entrusted with the formation of a Cabinet and he will drop pathetically into the arms of the Left Centre together with *Patow, Bornemann, Schleinitz* and *Schreckenstein,* the debris of the old Cabinet. Herr *Rodbertus* is supposed to participate in the new combination. He is the mediator who obtains favour and forgiveness from the Left Centre for the contrite wreckage of the Camphausen Government.

By the grace of Herr Rodbertus, our Prussian Duchâtel sees his wildest dreams coming true—he becomes Prime Minister. Camphausen's laurels did not let him rest. Now he will at last have the opportunity to prove what he is capable of when he is in a position to spread his wings unhindered. Now we will be able to admire in all their glory his gigantic financial plans and his limitless projects for the elimination of all want and misery—those plans which he used to present in such a magnificent light to his deputies. Only now is he in a position to devote to the state the entire range of his talents which he earlier displayed so brilliantly and successfully as railwayman and in other posts. And now it will begin to rain votes of confidence.

Herr Hansemann has surpassed his model. Thanks to Rodbertus' devotion he will be Prime Minister, a position never held by Duchâtel. But we warn him. Duchâtel had his reasons for always remaining ostensibly in the background. Duchâtel knew that the more or less cultured circles of the country both within and without the Chamber need a well-spoken knight of the "great debate", a Guizot or Camphausen, who on every occasion could soothe the consciences and capture the hearts of all audiences with the required arguments, philosophical deductions, statesman-like theories and

other empty phrases. Duchâtel never envied his loquacious ideologists the nimbus of the Prime Minister's office. Caring for real, actual power, he considered vain glitter worthless. He knew that where *he* was, there was real power. Herr Hansemann wants to try it another way, he must know what he is doing. But we repeat, being Prime Minister is not the natural role for a Duchâtel.

We are struck with a painful feeling when we contemplate how soon Herr Hansemann must plunge from his dizzy height. For before the Hansemann Government has been formed, before it has had a single moment to enjoy its existence, it is already doomed.

"The hangman stands at the door,"[a]

reaction and the Russians are knocking and before the cock will have crowed thrice,[b] the Hansemann Government will have fallen despite Rodbertus and despite the Left Centre. Then good-bye to the Prime Minister's office, good-bye financial plans and gigantic projects for the elimination of want; the abyss will swallow them all and best wishes to Herr Hansemann when he quietly returns to his humble civil hearth and can contemplate the fact that life is but a dream.[c]

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[a] Heinrich Heine, "Ritter Olaf", Caput II.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. Mark 14:30.—*Ed.*

[c] An allusion to the title of Calderón de la Barca's play *La vida es sueño* (Life Is a Dream).—*Ed.*

# THE *NEUE BERLINER ZEITUNG* ON THE CHARTISTS

*Cologne*, June 23. The first issue of the *Neue Berliner Zeitung* reports all sorts of curious things about England. It is nice to be original; the *Neue Berliner Zeitung* has at least the merit that it describes conditions in England in quite brand-new fashion. First of all, it says:

"O'Connor, who, indeed, seems to be a man without intelligence or principles, enjoys no esteem here at all."[a]

It is not up to us to decide whether O'Connor possesses as much intelligence and principle as the *Neue Berliner Zeitung*. This scion of ancient Irish kings, this leader of Great Britain's proletariat may in these advantages lag behind the educated Berlin newspaper. You are entirely correct, however, oh educated Berlin newspaper, in what you have to say about his reputation: O'Connor, like all revolutionaries, is held in very bad odour. He has never been able to gain the respect of all the pious people the way you have already done by your first issue. The Berlin newspaper says further:

"O'Connell said that he" (that is O'Connor) "possesses energy but no logic."

That is just splendid. The blessed Dan[b] was an honourable man; the logic of his energy consisted in pulling an annuity of 30,000 pound sterling from the pockets of his poor countrymen. The logic of O'Connor's agitation resulted only in the sale of the entire worldly possessions of this notorious Chartist.

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[a] From an article dated "London, 15. Juni", published in the *Neue Berliner Zeitung* No. 1, June 20, 1848, supplement, p. 9.—*Ed.*

[b] Daniel O'Connell.—*Ed.*

"Mr. Jones, the second leader of the extreme faction of the Chartists, who is now being sought by the courts and who is nowhere to be found, cannot even find anyone to put up bail of 1,000 pound sterling."

That is the third piece of news from our extremely well-educated Berlin newspaper. In these three lines, it states three extreme absurdities. In the first place, bail is out of the question so long as the courts are still searching for someone. Secondly, Mr. Ernest Jones has already been in Newgate[a] for a fortnight. The educated Berlin newspaper was perhaps only invited to tea at another extremely well-educated and well-informed fellow newspaper when quite recently the entire bourgeois press of England gave expression to its brutal joy over Jones' arrest. Thirdly, Mr. Jones has indeed at last found someone who gladly offered to pay 1,000 pound sterling for him, namely none other than the unintelligent and unprincipled O'Connor himself who was, however, turned down by the courts since as a Member of Parliament he cannot put up bail.

The Berlin newspaper ends by alleging that the Chartists in the country's smaller towns frequently have fisticuffs with each other. If you had only once read an English newspaper, esteemed Berlin paper! You would have made the discovery that the Chartists have always had more fun in beating up the police than each other.

We commend the intelligent and principled *Neue Berliner Zeitung* to the special attention of our readers.

Written on June 23, 1848

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[a] The London prison.—*Ed.*

# THREAT OF THE *GERVINUS ZEITUNG*[a]

*Cologne*, June 24.

"There will not be *any trouble* if the prestige of the Frankfurt Assembly and its constitutional provisions keep France in check; Prussia will restore its prestige from its eastern provinces and *in doing this it may perhaps hardly shrink from the temporary loss of its Rhine Province.*" (*Gervinus Zeitung* of June 22.)

How diplomatically the Berlin correspondent of the professorial newspaper writes! Prussia will restore "its prestige *from* its eastern provinces". Where will it restore its prestige? *In* the eastern provinces? Oh no, *from* the eastern provinces. *In* the Rhine Province? Even less so, since in connection with this *restoration* of its prestige it counts "*on a temporary loss of the Rhine Province*", i.e. a temporary *loss* of its "prestige" in the Rhine Province.

Thus in *Berlin* and *Breslau*.[b]

And why will it not restore *with* its eastern province rather than *from* its eastern province the prestige it has apparently lost in Berlin and Breslau?

*Russia* is not the *eastern province* of Prussia, Prussia is rather the *western province* of Russia. But *from* the Prussian eastern province, the Russians will move arm in arm with the worthy Pomeranians to *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* and restore the "*prestige*" *of Prussia*, i.e. the Prussian dynasty and absolute monarchy. This "prestige" was lost on the day when absolutism was forced to push a "*written scrap of paper*", soiled by plebeian blood, between itself and *its* people, and when the Court was compelled to place itself under the protection and supervision of bourgeois grain and wool merchants.[86]

Thus the friend and saviour is to come from the East. What then is the purpose of concentrating soldiers that side of the frontier? It is from the West that the enemy is approaching and it is therefore in the West that the troops should be concentrated. A naive Berlin

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[a] *Deutsche Zeitung* edited by Professor Gervinus.— *Ed.*

[b] Wrocław.— *Ed.*

correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* does not comprehend the heroism of *Pfuel*, that upright Polonophile who accepts a mission to Petersburg without an escort of 100,000 men behind him. *Pfuel* travels to Petersburg *unafraid*! *Pfuel in Petersburg*! *Pfuel* does not hesitate to cross the Russian frontier and the German public spins yarns about Russian forces along the German frontier! The correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* feels sorry for the German public. But let us return to our professorial newspaper!

If from the East the Russians rush to the aid of the Prussian dynasty, from the West the French will rush to help the German people. The "Frankfurt Assembly" may continue to debate calmly the best agenda and the best "constitutional provisions". The correspondent of the *Gervinus Zeitung* hides this opinion by the rhetorical embellishment "that the Frankfurt Assembly and its constitutional provisions" will keep France "in check". Prussia will *lose* the Rhine Province. But why should it *shrink* from such a loss? It will only be "temporary". German patriotism will march once again under Russian command against the French Babylon and also restore for good "the *prestige of Prussia*" in the Rhine Province and in all South Germany. Oh, you foreboding angel, you![a]

If Prussia does not "*shrink from the temporary loss of the Rhine Province*," the Rhine Province shrinks even less from the "*permanent*" loss of Prussian rule. If the Prussians ally themselves with the Russians, the Germans will ally themselves with the French and united they will wage the war of the West against the East, of civilisation against barbarism, of the republic against autocracy.

We want the unification of Germany. Only as the result of the disintegration of the large German monarchies, however, can the elements of this unity crystallise. They will be welded together only by the stress of war and revolution. Constitutionalism, however, will disappear of itself as soon as the *watchword of the time* is: *Autocracy or Republic*. But, the bourgeois constitutionalists exclaim indignantly, who has brought the Russians into German affairs? Who else but the democrats? Down with the democrats!—And they are right!

If we ourselves had introduced the Russian system in our country, we would have saved the Russians the trouble of doing it and we would have saved *the costs of war*.

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[a] Goethe, *Faust*, Erster Teil, "Marthens Garten".—*Ed.*

# PATOW'S REDEMPTION MEMORANDUM[87]

*Cologne*, June 24. During the agreement session of the 20th of this [month], that fateful session during which Camphausen's sun went down and the ministerial chaos began, Herr Patow submitted a memorandum[a] which contains the chief principles according to which he intends to regulate the abolition of feudalism in the countryside.

Reading this memorandum, one cannot understand why there had not been a peasant war long ago in the old-Prussian provinces. What a mess of services, fees and dues, what a jumble of medieval names, one more fantastic than the other! Seigniory, death dues, heriot,[b] tithes on livestock, protection money, Walpurgis rent, bee dues, wax rent, commonage, tithe, liege money,[88] additional rent—all that has been in existence until today in the "best-administered state of the world" and would have continued into all eternity if the French had not made their February revolution.

Yes, most of these obligations, particularly the *most burdensome* among them, would continue into all eternity if Herr Patow were to get his way. It was exactly for this reason that Herr Patow was put in charge of this department so that he should spare the squires from the backwoods of Brandenburg, Pomerania and Silesia as much as possible and cheat the peasants as much as possible of the fruits of the revolution!

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[a] Patow, *Promemoria, betreffend die Massregeln der Gesetzgebung, durch welche die zeitgemässe Reform der guts- und grundherrlichen Verhältnisse und die Beseitigung der noch vorhandenen Hemmungen der Landeskultur bezweckt wird.*—*Ed.*

[b] In the original *Besthaupt* and *Kurmede* are used, which are regional variants of the German expression for heriot.—*Ed.*

The Berlin revolution has rendered these feudal conditions impossible for all time. The peasants, as was quite natural, abolished them at once in practice. All the Government had to do was to legalise the *abolition of all feudal obligations which had in fact already been abrogated by the people's will.*

But its castles must go up in flames before the aristocracy decides upon a fourth of August.[89] The Government, itself represented in this case by an aristocrat, declares for the aristocracy; it submits to the Assembly a memorandum in which the agreers are requested now also to betray to the aristocracy the peasant revolution which broke out in all Germany in March. The Government is responsible for the consequences which the application of Patow's principles will have in the countryside.

For Herr Patow wants the peasants to pay indemnities for the abrogation of all feudal obligations, even the liege money. The only obligations which are to be abolished without compensation are those which are derived from serfdom, from the old tax system and from patrimonial jurisdiction[90] or those which are worthless to the feudal lords (how gracious!), i.e. on the whole *those* obligations which constitute the smallest part of the entire feudal burden.

On the other hand, all feudal redemption payments which have previously been fixed by contract or judgment are to be definitive. This means: the peasants, who have paid off their obligations under the reactionary, pro-aristocratic laws issued since 1816 and particularly those issued since 1840, and who have been cheated out of their property in favour of the feudal lords, first by the law and then by bribed officials, will receive no compensation.

Instead mortgage banks[91] are to be created so as to throw dust into the peasants' eyes.

If all were to go according to the wishes of Herr Patow, the feudal obligations would be just as little removed under his laws as under the old laws of 1807.[92]

The correct title of Herr Patow's essay should be: "Memorandum concerning the Preservation of Feudal Obligations for All Time by Way of Redemption."

The *Government is provoking a peasant war.* Perhaps Prussia will also "*not shrink from the temporary loss*" of *Silesia.*

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# THE DEMOCRATIC CHARACTER OF THE UPRISING[93]

*Prague.* Every day brings further confirmation of our view of the Prague uprising (No. 18 of this paper[a]), and shows that the insinuations of German newspapers which alleged that the Czech party served reaction, the aristocracy, the Russians etc. were downright lies.

They only saw Count Leo Thun and his aristocrats, and failed to notice the mass of the people of Bohemia—the numerous industrial workers and the peasants. The fact that at one moment the aristocracy tried to use the Czech movement in its own interests and those of the camarilla at Innsbruck,[94] was regarded by them as evidence that the revolutionary proletariat of Prague, who, already in 1844, held full control of Prague for three days, represented the interests of the nobility and reaction in general.

All these calumnies, however, were exploded by the first decisive act of the Czech party. The uprising was so decidedly democratic that the Counts *Thun*, instead of heading it, immediately withdrew from it, and were detained by the people as Austrian hostages. It was so definitely democratic that all Czechs belonging to the aristocratic party shunned it. It was aimed as much against the Czech feudal lords as against the Austrian troops.

The Austrians attacked the people not because they were Czechs, but because they were *revolutionaries.* The military regarded the storming of Prague simply as a prelude to the storming and burning down of Vienna.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 91-93.—*Ed.*

Thus the *Berliner Zeitungs-Halle* writes:

"*Vienna,* June 20. The deputation which the local Citizens' Committee[95] had sent to Prague has returned today. Its sole errand was to arrange for some sort of supervision of telegraphic communications, so that we should not have to wait for information 24 hours, as was often the case during the last few days. The deputation reported back to the Committee. They related dreadful things about the military rule in Prague. Words failed them to describe the horrors of a conquered, shelled and besieged city. At the peril of their lives they drove into the city from the last station before Prague by cart, and at the peril of their lives they passed through the lines of soldiers to the castle of Prague.

"Everywhere the soldiers called out to them: 'So you're here, too, you Viennese dogs! Now we've got you!' Many wanted to set upon them, even the officers were extremely rude. Finally the deputies reached the castle. Count Wallmoden took the credentials the Committee had given them, looked at the signature and said: '*Pillersdorf?* He is of no account here.' Windischgrätz treated the plebeian rabble more arrogantly than ever, saying: '*The revolution has been victorious everywhere; here we are the victors and we recognise no civilian authority.* While I was in Vienna things were quiet there. But the moment I left everything was suddenly upset.' The members of the deputation were disarmed and confined in one of the rooms of the castle. They were not allowed to leave until two days later, and their arms were not returned to them.

"This is what our deputies reported, this is how they were treated by the Tilly of Prague[96] and this is how the soldiers behaved, yet people here still act as though they believe that this is merely a fight against the Czechs. Did our deputies perhaps speak Czech? Did they not wear the uniform of the Viennese national guard? Did they not have a warrant from the Ministry and the Citizens' Committee which the Ministry had recognised as a legal authority?

"But the revolution has gone too far. Windischgrätz thinks he is the man who can stem it. The Bohemians are shot down like dogs, and when the time for the venture comes the advance against Vienna will begin. Why did Windischgrätz set Leo Thun free, the same Leo Thun who had put himself at the head of the Provisional Government in Prague and advocated the separation of Bohemia? Why, we ask, was he freed from Czech hands if his entire activity were not a game prearranged with the aristocracy in order to bring about the explosion?

"A train left Prague the day before yesterday. On it travelled German students, Viennese national guards, and families who were fleeing from Prague, for, despite the fact that tranquillity had been restored, they no longer felt at home there. At the first station the military guard posted there demanded that all the passengers without exception hand over their weapons, and when they refused the soldiers fired into the carriages at the defenceless men, women and children. Six bodies were removed from the carriages and the passengers wiped the blood of the murdered people from their faces. This was how Germans were treated by the very military whom people here would like to regard as the guardian angels of German liberty."

Written by Engels on June 24, 1848 — Printed according to the newspaper

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# [NEWS FROM PARIS]

*Cologne*, June 24, 10 p.m. Letters of the 23rd from Paris have failed to arrive. A courier who has passed through Cologne has told us that when he left fighting had broken out in Paris between the people and the national guard,[97] and that he had heard heavy cannon-fire at some distance from Paris.[98]

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# REICHENSPERGER

*Cologne*, June 25. We have the misfortune to be good prophets. What we foretold in No. 19 has come to pass.[a] Herr Reichensperger from Trier really has become President of the provincial court of justice. That is a consolation in these hard times. Guizot-Camphausen may have been overthrown, Duchâtel-Hansemann may be tottering—but the Guizot-Duchâtel system of corruption seems to be intent on striking new roots here. And what do the individuals matter, as long as the thing itself is at hand?—Incidentally, we would recommend Herr Reichensperger to read the address from Berncastel[99] in our special supplement published this morning.[b]

Written on June 25, 1848

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[a] See this volume, p. 94.—*Ed.*
[b] "Berncastel, 18. Juni", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 25, June 25, 1848.—*Ed.*

# [NEWS FROM PARIS]

*Cologne*, June 25, 10 p.m. Letters from Paris have again failed to arrive; the Paris newspapers which came today are those of the 23rd and in the regular course of the postal service they should have arrived already yesterday evening. In these circumstances, the only sources at our disposal are the confused and contradictory reports of Belgian newspapers and our own knowledge of Paris. Accordingly we have tried to give our readers as accurate a picture as possible of the uprising of June 23.[a]

There is no time for further comments. Tomorrow we shall publish a detailed account of our views[b] as well as a detailed report of the meeting of the Paris Chamber on June 23.

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[a] See next article.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 128 and 130-33.—*Ed.*

# DETAILS ABOUT THE 23rd OF JUNE

The insurrection is purely a workers' uprising. The workers' anger has burst forth against the Government and the Assembly which had disappointed their hopes, taken daily recourse to new measures which served the interests of the bourgeoisie against the workers, dissolved the Labour Commission at the Luxembourg, limited the national workshops and issued the law against gatherings.[100] The decidedly proletarian nature of the insurrection emerges from all the details.

The boulevards, the great arteries of Parisian life, became the scenes of the first gatherings. All the way from the Porte St. Denis down to the old rue du Temple was thronged with people. Workers from the national workshops declared that they would not go to Sologne to the national workshops there. Others related that they had left for that place yesterday but had waited in vain at the Barrière Fontainebleau for the travel papers and orders to start the journey which had been promised them the evening before.

Around ten o'clock the call went out for the erection of barricades. The eastern and south-eastern parts of Paris, starting with the Quartier and Faubourg Poissonnière, were quickly barricaded but, it seems, in somewhat unsystematic and desultory fashion. The rues St. Denis, St. Martin, Rambuteau, Faubourg Poissonnière and on the left bank of the Seine the approaches to the faubourgs St. Jacques and St. Marceau—the rues St. Jacques, La Harpe and La Huchette and the adjacent bridges—were more or less strongly fortified. Flags were raised on the barricades which bore the inscription: "Bread or Death!" or "*Work or Death!*"

Thus the insurrection was definitely based on the eastern part of the city which is predominantly inhabited by workers, first of all on

the "*aimables faubourgs*",[a] those of Saint Jacques, Saint Marceau, Saint Antoine, du Temple, Saint Martin and Saint Denis, then on the districts between them (quartiers Saint Antoine, du Marais, Saint Martin and Saint Denis).

The erection of the barricades was followed by attacks. The guard post of the boulevard Bonne Nouvelle, which in almost every revolution is first to be seized, had been occupied by the mobile guard.[101] The post was disarmed by the people.

Soon afterwards, however, the bourgeois guard from the western parts of the city came to the rescue. It reoccupied the post. A second unit occupied the high pavement in front of the Théâtre du Gymnase which commands a large section of the boulevards. The people attempted to disarm the advanced posts, but, for the time being, neither side made use of arms.

At last the order came to capture the barricade across the boulevard at the Porte Saint Denis. The national guard, led by the Police Inspector, advanced; there were negotiations; a few shots were fired—it is not clear from which side—and the firing quickly became general.

Immediately, the guard post of Bonne Nouvelle also opened fire. A battalion of the second legion, which had occupied the boulevard Poissonnière, also advanced with loaded rifles. The people were surrounded on all sides. The national guard, firing from their advantageous and partially secure positions, caught the workers in an intense cross-fire. The workers defended themselves for half an hour. Finally, the boulevard Bonne Nouvelle and the barricades up to the Porte Saint Martin were seized. Here, too, the national guard, attacking around eleven o'clock from the direction of the Temple, had taken the barricades and occupied the approaches to the boulevard.

The heroes who stormed these barricades belonged to the bourgeoisie of the second arrondissement, which extends from the Palais Ex-Royal[102] over the entire Faubourg Montmartre. The wealthy *boutiquiers*[b] of the rues Vivienne and Richelieu and the boulevard des Italiens live here. Here, too, dwell the great bankers of the rues Laffitte and Bergère and also the merry gentlemen of private means of the chaussée d'Antin. Rothschild and Fould, Rougemont de Lowemberg and Ganneron live here. In a word, here lies the Stock Exchange, Tortoni[103] and all that is connected with or dependent on them.

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[a] As Louis Philippe called these suburbs.—*Ed.*

[b] Shopkeepers.—*Ed.*

These heroes, who were threatened first and foremost by the red republic, were also the first on the scene. It is significant that *the first barricade of June 23 was captured by those who were conquered on February 24.* They advanced three thousand men strong. Four companies, marching at the double, captured an overturned omnibus. The insurgents, meanwhile, seemed to have entrenched themselves once again at the Porte Saint Denis, for towards noon General Lamoricière had to move up with strong detachments of the mobile guard, regular troops, cavalry and two cannon in order to seize a strong barricade in conjunction with the second legion (the national guard of the 2nd arrondissement). The insurgents forced a platoon of the mobile guard to retreat.

The battle on the boulevard Saint Denis was the signal for engagements in all eastern districts of Paris. The fighting was bloody. Over 30 insurgents were killed or wounded. The enraged workers vowed to attack from all sides during the following night and to fight the "municipal guard of the republic"[104] to the death.

At eleven o'clock fighting also took place in the rue Planche-Mibray (the continuation of the rue Saint Martin towards the Seine) and one man was killed.

There were also bloody clashes in the region of the Halles, the rue Rambuteau etc. Four or five dead were left lying.

At one o'clock a fight took place in the rue du Paradis-Poissonnière. The national guard fired but the result is unknown. After a bloody clash in the Faubourg Poissonnière, two non-commissioned officers of the national guard were disarmed.

The rue Saint Denis was cleared by cavalry charges.

During the afternoon heavy fighting took place in the Faubourg Saint Jacques. Barricades in the rues Saint Jacques and La Harpe and in the Place Maubert were assaulted with varying degrees of success and *much use of grape-shot.* In the Faubourg Montmartre troops were also using cannon.

The insurgents were on the whole pushed back. The Hôtel de Ville[a] remained free. By three o'clock, the insurrection was confined to the faubourgs and the [Quartier du] Marais.

By the way, *few non-uniformed* national guardsmen (i.e. workers who do not have the money for the purchase of uniforms) were seen under arms. On the other hand, there were people among them who carried *luxury weapons,* hunting rifles etc. Men of the mounted national guards (traditionally the scions of the wealthiest families), too, had entered the ranks of the infantry on foot. On the boulevard

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[a] Town Hall.— *Ed.*

Poissonnière, national guardsmen calmly let themselves be disarmed by the people and then took to their heels.

At five o'clock the battle was still going on when it was all of a sudden suspended by a downpour.

In some places, however, the fighting lasted until late in the evening. At nine o'clock, there was still rifle-fire in the Faubourg St. Antoine, the centre of the working-class population.

Up to then the battle had not yet been fought with the full intensity of a decisive revolution. The national guard, with the exception of the second legion, seems for the most part to have hesitated to attack the barricades. The workers, angry though they were, understandably limited themselves to the defence of their barricades.

Thus, the two parties separated in the evening after making a date for the following morning. The first day of battle resulted in no advantages for the Government. The insurgents, who had been pushed back, could reoccupy the lost positions during the night, as indeed they did. The Government, on the other hand, had two important points against it: it had fired with grape-shot and it had been unable to crush the rebellion during its first day. With grape-shot, however, and one night, not of victory but of mere truce, *rebellion ceases and revolution begins.*

Written by Engels on June 25, 1848

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# NEWS FROM PARIS[105]

*Cologne,* June 26. The news just received from Paris takes up so much space that we are obliged to omit all articles of critical comment.

Therefore only a few words to our readers. The latest news received from Paris is: *The resignation of Ledru-Rollin* and *Lamartine* and their Ministers; the transfer of *Cavaignac's military dictatorship* from Algiers to Paris; *Marrast the dictator in civilian clothes*; *Paris bathed in blood*; *the insurrection* growing into the *greatest revolution that has ever taken place,* into a *revolution of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.* Three days which sufficed for the *July revolution* and the *February revolution* are insufficient for the colossal contours of this *June revolution,* but the *victory of the people is more certain than ever. The French bourgeoisie has dared to do what the French kings never dared—it has itself cast the die.* This *second act of the French revolution* is only the beginning of the *European tragedy.*

Written by Marx on June 26, 1848

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# THE *NORTHERN STAR* ABOUT THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*[106]

The *Northern Star*, the organ of the English Chartists, which is edited by Feargus *O'Connor*, G. Julian *Harney* and Ernest *Jones*, contains in its latest issue an appreciation of the manner in which the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* interprets the English people's movement and advocates democracy in general.

We thank the editors of the *Northern Star* for the friendly and genuinely democratic way in which they have mentioned our newspaper. At the same time we want to assure them that the *revolutionary Northern Star* is the only English newspaper for whose appreciation we care.

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# THE 23rd OF JUNE

We are still finding numerous new facts about the battle of the 23rd. The available material is inexhaustible; time, however, allows us only to publish what is most important and characteristic.

The June revolution offers the spectacle of an embittered battle such as Paris and the world in general have never seen before. The fiercest fighting of all previous revolutions took place during the March days at Milan. An almost entirely unarmed population of 170,000 souls beat an army of 20,000 to 30,000 men! Yet the March days of Milan are child's play compared with the June days of Paris.

What distinguishes the June revolution from all previous revolutions is the *absence of all illusions and all enthusiasm.*

The people are not standing on the barricades as in February singing "*Mourir pour la patrie*".[107] The workers of June 23 are fighting for their existence and the fatherland has lost all meaning for them. The *Marseillaise* and all memories of the great Revolution have disappeared. The people as well as the bourgeoisie sense that the revolution which they are experiencing will be more significant than that of 1789 or 1793.

*The June revolution is the revolution of despair* and is fought with silent anger and the gloomy cold-bloodedness of despair. The workers know that they are involved in a *fight to the death* and in the face of the battle's terrible seriousness, even the cheerful French *esprit* remains silent.

History offers only two other examples which show similarities with the battle that is probably still being fought in Paris at this very moment: the Roman slave war and the 1834 insurrection at Lyons. The old Lyons motto "to work while one lives or to die fighting" has also suddenly reappeared after fourteen years and has been written on the banners.

The June revolution is the first which has actually divided all society into two large hostile armed camps which are represented by Eastern Paris and Western Paris. The unanimity of the February

revolution, that poetic unanimity full of dazzling delusions and beautiful lies so appropriately symbolised by that windbag and traitor Lamartine, has disappeared. Today the inexorable seriousness of reality tears up all the hypocritical promises of February 25. Today the February fighters are battling against each other, and—what has never happened before—all indifference is gone and every man who can bear arms really takes part in the fight either *in*side or *out*side the barricade.

The armies which are fighting each other in the streets of Paris are as strong as the armies which fought in the battle of the nations at Leipzig.[108] This fact alone proves the tremendous significance of the June revolution.

But let us go on to describe the battle itself.

The information which reached us yesterday led us to believe that the barricades had been constructed in somewhat haphazard fashion. The extensive reports of today prove the opposite. Never before have the defence works of the workers been constructed with so much composure and so methodically.

The city was divided into two armed camps. The dividing line ran along the north-eastern edge of the city from Montmartre down to the Porte St. Denis and from there down to the rue St. Denis across the Île de la Cité and along the rue St. Jacques up to the barrière. Everything east of that line was occupied and fortified by the workers. The bourgeoisie attacked from the western part and obtained its reinforcements from there.

Starting early in the morning, the people silently began to erect their barricades. They were higher and firmer than ever before. A colossal red flag was flying on the barricade at the entrance to the Faubourg St. Antoine.

The boulevard St. Denis was fortified very heavily. The barricades of the boulevard, the rue de Cléry, and the adjacent houses which had been transformed into regular fortresses formed a complete system of defence. Here, as we already reported yesterday, the first significant battle broke out. The people fought with indescribable defiance of death. A strong detachment of the national guard made a flanking attack upon the barricade of the rue de Cléry. Most of the barricade's defenders withdrew. Only seven men and two women, two beautiful young *grisettes*, remained at their post. One of the seven mounts the barricade carrying a flag. The others open fire. The national guard replies and the standard-bearer falls. Then a *grisette*, a tall, beautiful, neatly-dressed girl with bare arms, grasps the flag, climbs over the barricade and advances upon the national guard. The firing continues and the bourgeois members of the national

guard shoot down the girl just as she has come close to their bayonets. The other *grisette* immediately jumps forward, grasps the flag, raises the head of her companion and, when she finds her dead, furiously throws stones at the national guard. She, too, falls under the bullets of the bourgeoisie. The firing gets more and more intense and comes both from the windows and the barricade. The ranks of the national guard grow thinner. Aid finally arrives and the barricade is stormed. Of the barricade's seven defenders, only one is left alive and he is disarmed and taken prisoner. The lions and stock exchange wolves of the second legion have carried out this heroic deed against the seven workers and two *grisettes.*

After the joining of the two corps and the capture of the barricade, there is a short and ominous silence. But it is soon interrupted. The courageous national guard opens up a heavy platoon-fire against the unarmed and quiet masses of people who occupy part of the boulevard. They scatter in horror. The barricades, however, were not taken. It was only when Cavaignac himself moved up with infantry and cavalry units that the boulevard up to the Porte Saint Martin was taken after long fighting and only towards three o'clock.

A number of barricades had been erected in the Faubourg Poissonnière, particularly at the corner of the Allée Lafayette, where several houses also served the insurgents as fortresses. An officer of the national guard led them. The 7th Light Infantry Regiment, the mobile guard and the national guard moved against them. The battle lasted half an hour. The troops finally won but only after they had lost about 100 dead and wounded. This engagement took place after 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

Barricades had also been erected in front of the Palace of Justice, in the rue Constantine and the adjacent streets as well as on the Saint Michel Bridge where the red flag was waving. After prolonged fighting these barricades, too, were captured.

The dictator Cavaignac ordered his artillery to take up positions along the Notre-Dame Bridge. From here he took the rue Planche-Mibray and the Cité under fire and could easily bring it [the artillery] into play against the barricades of the rue Saint Jacques.

This latter street was intersected by numerous barricades and the houses were transformed into genuine fortresses. Only artillery could be effective here and Cavaignac did not hesitate for one moment to use it. The roar of the cannon could be heard during the entire afternoon. Grape-shot swept the street. At 7 o'clock in the evening only one barricade had still to be taken. The number of dead was very large.

Cannon were also fired along the Saint Michel Bridge and the rue Saint-André des Arts. Right at the north-eastern end of the city, at the rue Château Landon where a troop detachment had dared to advance, a barricade was also battered down with cannon-balls.

During the afternoon the fighting in the north-eastern faubourgs grew in intensity. The inhabitants of the suburbs of La Villette, Pantin etc. came to the aid of the insurgents. Barricades were erected again and again in very great numbers.

In the Cité a company of the republican guard, under the pretext of wanting to fraternise with the insurgents, had crept between two barricades and then opened fire. The people fell furiously upon the traitors and beat them to the ground one by one. Barely 20 of them found a chance to escape.

The intensity of the fighting grew all along the line. Cannon were fired everywhere as long as daylight prevailed. Later on the fighting was limited to rifle-fire which continued till late into the night. At 11 o'clock the sounds of the military rally could still be heard all over Paris and at midnight there was still shooting in the direction of the Bastille. The Place de la Bastille together with all its approaches was entirely controlled by the insurgents. The centre of their power, the Faubourg Saint Antoine, was heavily fortified. Cavalry, infantry, national guard and mobile guard units stood massed along the boulevard from the rue Montmartre to the rue du Temple.

At 11 p.m. there were already over 1,000 dead and wounded.

This was the first day of the June revolution, a day unequalled in the revolutionary annals of Paris. The workers of Paris fought all alone against the armed bourgeoisie, the mobile guard, the newly organised republican guard and against regular troops of all arms. They held their own with unprecedented bravery equalled only by the likewise unprecedented brutality of their foe. One becomes forbearing towards a Hüser, a Radetzky and a Windischgrätz if one observes how the Parisian bourgeoisie participates with genuine enthusiasm in the massacres arranged by Cavaignac.

The Society of the Rights of Man[109] which had again been set up on June 11, decided in the night of the 23rd-24th to make use of the insurrection in order to advance the *red flag* and accordingly to play its part in the uprising. The Society then held a meeting, decided upon the necessary measures and appointed two permanent committees.

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# THE 24th OF JUNE

Paris was occupied by the military throughout the entire night. Strong pickets were stationed in the squares and boulevards.

At four o'clock in the morning the rally was sounded. An officer and several men of the national guard went from house to house and fetched out men of their company who had failed to report voluntarily.

At the same time the roar of the cannon resumes most violently in the vicinity of the Saint Michel Bridge which forms the juncture between the insurgents on the left bank and those of the Cité. General Cavaignac who this morning has been invested with dictatorial powers, is burning with the desire to employ them against the uprising. Yesterday the artillery was used only in exceptional cases and for the most part only in the form of grape-shot. Today, however, the artillery is brought everywhere into action not only against the barricades but also against houses. Not only grape-shot is used but *cannon-balls, shells* and *Congreve rockets.*

This morning a heavy clash began in the upper part of the Faubourg Saint Denis. Near the northern railway, the insurgents occupied several barricades and a house which was under construction. The first legion of the national guard attacked without, however, gaining any advantage. It used up its ammunition and lost about fifty dead and wounded. It barely held its own position until the artillery arrived (towards 10 o'clock) and blew the house and the barricades to smithereens. The troops reoccupied the northern railway. The battle in this whole neighbourhood (called Clos Saint Lazare which the *Kölnische Zeitung* has transformed into "courtyard of Saint Lazare") continued, however, for a long time and was conducted with great bitterness. "It is a veritable massacre," writes

the correspondent of a Belgian newspaper.[a] Strong barricades went up at the barrières of Rochechouart and Poissonnière. The fortification at the Allée Lafayette was also built up again and yielded only in the afternoon to cannon-balls.

The barricades in the rues Saint Martin, Rambuteau and du Grand Chantier could likewise only be captured with the aid of cannon.

The Café Cuisinier opposite the Saint Michel Bridge was destroyed by cannon-balls.

The main battle, however, took place towards three o'clock in the afternoon on the Quai aux Fleurs where the famous clothing store *La Belle Jardinière* was occupied by 600 insurgents and transformed into a fortress. Artillery and regular troops attack. A corner of the wall is smashed in. Cavaignac, who here commands the firing himself, calls on the insurgents to surrender, otherwise they will all be put to the sword. The insurgents reject this demand. The cannonade begins anew and finally incendiary rockets and shells are poured in. The house is totally destroyed, burying eighty insurgents under the rubble.

The workers also fortified themselves on all sides in the Faubourg Saint Jacques, in the neighbourhood of the Panthéon. Every house had to be besieged as in Saragossa.[110] The efforts of dictator Cavaignac to storm these houses proved so fruitless that the brutal Algerian soldier declared that he would set them on fire if the occupants refused to surrender.

In the Cité, girls were firing from windows at the troops and the civic militia. Here, too, howitzers had to be used in order to achieve any success at all.

The Eleventh Battalion of the mobile guard which attempted to join the insurgents was wiped out by the troops and the national guard. So at least goes the story.

Around noon the insurrection had definitely gained the advantage. All faubourgs, the suburbs of Les Batignolles, Montmartre, La Chapelle and La Villette, in brief, the entire outer rim of Paris from the Batignolles to the Seine as well as the greater part of the left bank of the Seine were in their hands. Here they had seized 13 cannon which they did not use. In the centre, in the Cité and in the lower part of the rue Saint Martin, they advanced towards the Hôtel de Ville which was guarded by masses of troops. Nevertheless, Bastide declared in the Chamber that within an hour the Hôtel de Ville might fall to the insurgents and the stupefaction which this piece of

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[a] *L'Indépendance belge* No. 179, June 27, 1848, p. 3, column 2.—*Ed.*

news evoked caused the Chamber to proclaim a dictatorship and martial law. Cavaignac had hardly been endowed with his new powers when he took the most extreme and cruel measures, such as never before have been used in a civilised city, measures that even Radetzky hesitated to employ in Milan. Once again the people were too magnanimous. Had they used arson in reply to the incendiary rockets and howitzers, they would have been victorious by the evening. They had, however, no intention to use the same weapons as their opponents.

The ammunition of the insurgents consisted mostly of gun-cotton, large amounts of which were produced in the Faubourg Saint Jacques and in the Marais. A cannon-ball foundry was set up in the Place Maubert.

The Government continuously received support. Troops were rolling into Paris throughout the entire night. National guards arrived from Pontoise, Rouen, Meulan, Mantes, Amiens and Le Havre. Troops came from Orléans and artillery and sappers from Arras and Douai; a regiment came from Orléans. On the morning of the 24th, 500,000 rounds of ammunition and twelve artillery pieces arrived in the city from Vincennes. By the way, the railway workers on the northern railway have torn up the tracks between Paris and Saint Denis in order to prevent the arrival of further reinforcements.

These combined forces and that unprecedented brutality succeeded in pushing back the insurgents during the afternoon of the 24th.

The fact that not only Cavaignac but the national guard itself *wanted to burn down* the entire quarter of the Panthéon shows how savagely the national guard fought and how well it knew that it was fighting for its very survival!

Three points were designated as headquarters of the attacking troops: the Porte Saint Denis where General Lamoricière was in command, the Hôtel de Ville where General Duvivier stood with 14 battalions, and the Place de la Sorbonne whence General Damesme attacked the Faubourg Saint Jacques.

Towards noon the approaches to the Place Maubert were taken and the square itself was encircled. At one o'clock the square fell; fifty members of the mobile guard were killed there! At the same time, after an intense and persistent cannonade, the Panthéon was taken, or rather, it surrendered. The 1,500 insurgents who had entrenched themselves here capitulated, probably upon the threat of M. Cavaignac and the infuriated bourgeoisie to set fire to the entire quarter.

At the same time, the "defenders of order" advanced further and further along the boulevards and captured the barricades of the adjacent streets. At the rue du Temple, the workers were forced to retreat to the corner of the rue de la Corderie. Fighting was still going on in the rue Boucherat and also on the other side of the boulevard in the Faubourg du Temple. Single rifle shots were still being fired in the rue Saint Martin and one barricade was still holding out at the Pointe Saint Eustache.

Around 7 p.m. General Lamoricière received two national guard battalions from Amiens which he immediately used to encircle the barricades behind the Château d'Eau.[a] The Faubourg Saint Denis and also almost the entire left bank of the Seine were at that time peaceful and free. The insurgents were besieged in a part of the Marais and the Faubourg Saint Antoine. These two quarters were, however, separated by the boulevard Beaumarchais and the Saint Martin Canal behind it, and the latter could be used by the military.

General Damesme, the commander of the mobile guard, received a bullet wound in his thigh at the barricade of the rue l'Estrapade. The wound is not dangerous. Nor are the representatives Bixio and Dornès as severely injured as was at first believed.

The wound of General Bedeau is also light.

At nine o'clock the Faubourg Saint Jacques and the Faubourg Saint Marceau were as good as captured. The battle had been exceptionally fierce. General Bréa was in command there at the time.

General Duvivier at the Hôtel de Ville had less success. But even here the insurgents were pushed back.

General Lamoricière had cleared the faubourgs Poissonnière, Saint Denis and Saint Martin up to the barrières after overcoming heavy resistance. Only in the Clos Saint Lazare were the workers still holding out; they were entrenched in the Louis Philippe Hospital.

This same information was given by the President[b] to the National Assembly at 9:30 p.m. He was forced, however, to disavow his own statements several times. He admitted that heavy shooting was still going on in the Faubourg Saint Martin.

Thus the situation in the evening of the 24th was as follows:

The insurgents still held about half the terrain which they had occupied in the morning of the 23rd. This terrain consisted of the eastern part of Paris, i.e. the faubourgs St. Antoine, du Temple, St. Martin and the Marais. The Clos St. Lazare and a few barricades along the Botanical Gardens formed their outposts.

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[a] Water Tower.—*Ed.*
[b] Senard.—*Ed.*

All the rest of Paris was in the hands of the Government.

What is most striking in this desperate battle is the savagery with which the "defenders of order" fight. They who in former times displayed such tender feelings for every drop of "citizen's blood" and who had even sentimental fits over the death of the municipal guards[111] on February 24, shoot down the workers like wild beasts. Not a word of compassion or of reconciliation and no sentimentality whatever, but violent hatred and cold fury against the insurgent workers reign in the ranks of the national guard and in the National Assembly. The bourgeoisie, fully conscious of what it is doing, conducts a war of extermination against them. The workers will wreak terrible vengeance on the bourgeoisie no matter whether it wins for the moment or is defeated at once. After a battle like that of the three June days, only *terrorism* is still possible whether it be carried out by one side or the other.

We shall end by quoting some passages from a letter written by a captain of the republican guard who describes the events of the 23rd and 24th as follows:

"I am writing to you while muskets are rattling and cannon are thundering. By about 2 o'clock we had captured three barricades at the head of the Notre-Dame Bridge. Later we moved to the rue St. Martin and marched down its entire length. When we arrived at the boulevard, we saw that it was abandoned and as empty as at 2 o'clock in the morning. We ascended the Faubourg du Temple and stopped before reaching the barracks. Two hundred paces further on there was a formidable barricade supported by several others and defended by about 2,000 people. We negotiated with them for two hours, but in vain. The artillery finally arrived towards 6 o'clock. The insurgents opened fire first.

"The cannon replied and until 9 o'clock windows and bricks were shattered by the thunder of the artillery. The firing was terrible. Blood flowed in streams while at the same time a tremendous thunderstorm was raging. The cobblestones were red with blood as far as one could see. My men are falling under the bullets of the insurgents; they defend themselves like lions. Twenty times we mount an assault and twenty times we are driven back. The number of dead is immense and the number of injured much greater still. At 9 o'clock we take the barricade with the bayonet. Today (June 24) at 3 o'clock in the morning we are still up. The cannon are thundering incessantly. The Panthéon is the centre. I am in the barracks. We guard *prisoners* who are being brought in all the time. There are many injured among them. *Some are shot out of hand.* I have lost 53 of my 112 men."

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# THE 25th OF JUNE

Every day the intensity, violence and fury of the battle increased. The bourgeoisie became more and more ruthless towards the insurgents the more its brutality failed to lead to immediate success, the more it was itself becoming exhausted as a result of fighting, night-watches and bivouacking, and the closer it came to final victory.

The bourgeoisie declared the workers to be not ordinary enemies who have to be defeated but *enemies of society* who must be destroyed. The bourgeois spread the absurd assertion that the workers, whom they themselves had forcibly driven to revolt, were interested only in plunder, arson and murder and that they were a gang of robbers who had to be shot down like beasts in the forest. Yet, for 3 days the insurgents held a large part of the city and behaved with great restraint. Paris would have been reduced to ruins but they would have triumphed had they used the same violent means as were employed by the bourgeoisie and its mercenaries led by Cavaignac.

All the details show with what barbarism the bourgeois conducted themselves during the fighting. Disregarding for the moment the grape-shot, the shells, and the incendiary rockets which they used, it is an established fact that *they gave no quarter at most of the captured barricades.* The bourgeois massacred everyone they found there without exception. In the evening of the 24th over 50 captured insurgents were shot in the Allée de l'Observatoire without any trial. "It is a war of extermination," writes a correspondent of the *Indépendance belge*[a] which itself is a bourgeois paper. On all the

[a] "Paris, dimanche, 23 juin, 2 heures de relevée", *L'Indépendance belge* No. 179, June 27, 1848.—*Ed.*

barricades it was understood that the insurgents would be killed without exception.

When Larochejaquelein said in the National Assembly that something should be done to counteract this belief, the bourgeois would not even let him finish speaking but made such a clamour that the President had to put on his hat and suspend the session. The same kind of clamour broke out again when M. Senard himself later (see below, session of the Assembly[a]) wanted to say a few hypocritical words of mildness and reconciliation. The bourgeois did not want to hear of forbearance. Even at the risk of losing part of their property by a bombardment, they were determined to put an end once and for all to the enemies of order, to plunderers, robbers, incendiaries and communists.

Yet the bourgeois did not display any of that heroism which their journals attempted to attribute to them. From today's session of the National Assembly it is clear that the national guard was paralysed with fear at the outbreak of the insurrection. In spite of all the pompous phrases, reports from all the newspapers of the most diverse trends reveal that on the first day the national guard was very weak, that on the second and third day Cavaignac had to get them out of bed and that he had a corporal and four soldiers lead them into battle. The fanatical hatred of the bourgeois for the revolutionary workers was not capable of overcoming their natural cowardice.

The workers on the other hand fought with unequalled bravery. Although they were less and less capable of replacing their casualties and more and more pushed back by superior strength, they did not tire for one moment. Already from the morning of the 25th they must have realised that the chance of victory had decisively turned against them. Masses upon masses of new troops arrived from all regions. Large contingents of the national guard came to Paris from the outskirts and more distant towns. The regular troops who fought on the 25th numbered 40,000 more men than the normal garrison. In addition, there was the mobile guard of 20,000 to 25,000 men as well as national guard units from Paris and other towns. Moreover, there were several thousand men from the republican guard. The entire armed force which took the field against the insurrection on the 25th certainly numbered some 150,000 to 200,000 men, whereas the workers had at most a quarter of that strength, had less ammunition, no military leadership and no serviceable cannon. Yet they fought silently and desperately against colossal superior

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[a] "Schluss der Sitzung der Nationalversammlung vom 25. Juni", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 29, June 29, 1848.—*Ed.*

strength. Masses upon masses of troops moved on the breaches in the barricades which the heavy guns had created; the workers met them without uttering a sound and fought everywhere down to the last man before they let a barricade fall into the hands of the bourgeois. On Montmartre the insurgents called out to the inhabitants: Either we shall be cut to pieces or we shall cut the others to pieces, but we will not budge. Pray God that we may win because otherwise we shall burn down all Montmartre. This threat, which was not even carried out, counts, of course, as a "despicable plan", whereas Cavaignac's shells and incendiary rockets "are skilful military measures which are admired by everyone"!

On the morning of the 25th, the insurgents occupied the following positions: the Clos Saint Lazare, the suburbs of St. Antoine and du Temple, the Marais and the Quartier Saint Antoine.

The Clos Saint Lazare (the former monastery precinct) is a large expanse of land which is partly built on and partly covered as yet only with houses in construction, streets merely laid out etc. The Northern Railway Station is situated exactly in its middle. In this quarter, which has many irregularly placed buildings and a lot of building material, the insurgents had established a mighty stronghold. Its centre was the Louis Philippe Hospital which was under construction. They had raised imposing barricades which were described by eyewitnesses as quite impregnable. Behind them was the city wall which was hemmed in and occupied by the insurgents. From there their fortifications ran to the rue Rochechouart, that is to the area of the barrières. The barrières of Montmartre were heavily defended and Montmartre itself was completely occupied by them. Forty cannon, which had been firing at them for two days, had not yet reduced them.

Once again the 40 cannon bombarded these fortifications during the entire day. At last, at 6 in the evening, the two barricades at the rue Rochechouart were taken and soon thereafter the Clos Saint Lazare also fell.

At 10 a.m. the mobile guard captured several houses on the boulevard du Temple from which the insurgents had directed their bullets into the ranks of the attackers. The "defenders of order" had advanced approximately to the boulevard des Filles du Calvaire. The insurgents, in the meantime, were driven further and further into the Faubourg du Temple. The Saint Martin Canal was seized in places and from here as well as from the boulevard, the broad and straight streets were taken under heavy artillery fire. The battle was unusually violent. The workers knew full well that here the core of their position was being attacked and they defended themselves

furiously. They even recaptured barricades which they had earlier been forced to abandon. After a long battle, however, they were crushed by the superiority of numbers and weapons. One barricade after another fell. At nightfall, not only the Faubourg du Temple, but, by way of the boulevard and the canal, the approaches to the Faubourg Saint Antoine and several barricades in the faubourg had also been captured.

At the Hôtel de Ville, General Duvivier made slow but steady progress. Moving from the direction of the quays, he made a flanking attack upon the barricades of the rue Saint Antoine and, at the same time, used heavy guns against the Île St. Louis and the former Île Louvier.[112] Here, too, a very bitter battle was fought, details of which are lacking, however. All that is known is that at four o'clock the *Mairie* of the ninth arrondissement and the adjacent streets were captured, that one after another the barricades of the rue Saint Antoine were stormed and that the Damiette Bridge, which gave access to the Île Saint Louis, was taken. At nightfall, the insurgents here had everywhere been driven off and all access routes to the Place de la Bastille had been freed.

Thus the insurgents had been driven out of all parts of the city with the exception of the Faubourg Saint Antoine. This was their strongest position. The many approaches to this faubourg, which had been the real focus of all Paris insurrections, were guarded with special skill. Slanting barricades covering each other, reinforced by cross-fire from the houses, represented a terrifying objective for an attack. Storming them would have cost an infinite number of lives.

The bourgeois, or rather their mercenaries, were encamped in front of these fortifications. The national guard had done little that day. The regular troops and the mobile guard had accomplished most of the work. The national guard occupied the quiet and conquered parts of the city.

The worst conduct was displayed by the republican guard and the mobile guard. The newly organised and purged republican guard fought the workers with great animosity and thereby won its spurs as the republican municipal guard.[113]

The mobile guard, which was mostly recruited from the Paris lumpenproletariat, has already during its brief period of existence, thanks to good pay, transformed itself into the praetorian guard of whoever was in power. The organised lumpenproletariat has given battle to the unorganised working proletariat. It has, as was to be expected, placed itself at the disposal of the bourgeoisie, just as the *lazzaroni* in Naples placed themselves at the disposal of

Ferdinand.[a] Only those detachments of the mobile guard that consisted of *real* workers changed sides.

But in what a contemptible light the entire present state of affairs in Paris appears when one observes how these former beggars, vagabonds, rogues, gutter-snipes and small-time thieves of the mobile guard are being pampered, praised, rewarded and decorated when only in March and April every bourgeois described them as a ruffianly gang of robbers capable of all sorts of reprehensible acts, no longer to be tolerated. These "young heroes", these "children of Paris", whose courage is unrivalled, who climb barricades with the most dashing bravery etc., are treated that way because these ignorant barricade fighters of February now fire just as ignorantly upon the working proletariat as they had formerly fired upon soldiers, because they let themselves be bribed to massacre their brothers for thirty sous a day! Honour to these corrupt vagabonds because they have shot down the best and most revolutionary part of the Parisian workers for thirty sous a day!

The courage with which the workers have fought is truly marvellous. For three full days, 30,000 to 40,000 workers were able to hold their own against more than 80,000 soldiers and 100,000 men of the national guard, against grape-shot, shells, incendiary rockets and the glorious war experiences of generals who did not shrink from using methods employed in Algeria! They have been crushed and in large part massacred. Their dead will not be accorded the honour that was bestowed upon the dead of July and February. History, however, will assign an entirely different place to them, the martyrs of the first decisive battle of the proletariat.

Written by Engels on June 28, 1848

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[a] See this volume, p. 25.—*Ed.*

# THE JUNE REVOLUTION[114]

The workers of Paris were *overwhelmed* by superior strength, but they were not *subdued.* They have been *defeated* but their enemies are *vanquished.* The momentary triumph of brute force has been purchased with the destruction of all the delusions and illusions of the February revolution, the dissolution of the entire moderate republican party and the division of the French nation into two nations, the nation of owners and the nation of workers. The tricolour republic now displays only *one colour,* the colour of the defeated, the *colour of blood.* It has become a *red republic.*

None of the big republican figures, whether of the *National* or the *Réforme,*[115] sided with the people. In the absence of leaders and means other than rebellion itself, the people stood up to the united forces of the bourgeoisie and army longer than any French dynasty with the entire military apparatus at its disposal was ever able to stand up to any group of the bourgeoisie allied with the people. To have the people lose its last illusions and break completely with the past, it was necessary that the customary poetic trimmings of French uprisings—the enthusiastic bourgeois youth, the students of the *école polytechnique,* the tricornes—should be on the side of the suppressors. The medical students had to deny the wounded plebeians the succour of their science. Science does not exist for the plebeian who has committed the heinous, unutterable crime of fighting this time for his own existence instead of for Louis Philippe or Monsieur Marrast.

The Executive Committee,[116] that last official vestige of the February revolution, vanished like a ghost in the face of these grave events. Lamartine's fireworks have turned into the incendiary rockets of Cavaignac.

*Fraternité,* the brotherhood of antagonistic classes, one of which exploits the other, this *fraternité* which in February was proclaimed

# Neue Rheinische Zeitung.

## Organ der Demokratie.

№ 29. Köln, Donnerstag 29. Juni 1848.



**Die „Neue Rheinische Zeitung" erscheint vom 1. Juni an täglich. Bestellungen für das nächste Quartal, Juli bis September, wolle man baldigst machen.**

Alle Postämter Deutschlands nehmen Bestellungen an.

Für Frankreich übernehmen Abonnements Herr **C. A. Alexandre**, Nr. 28, Brandgasse in Straßburg, und 23, rue Notre Dame de Nazareth in Paris; so wie das königliche Ober-Post-Amt in Aachen. Für England die HH. **J. J. Ewer & Comp.** 72, Newgate Street in London. Für Belgien und Holland die respekt. königlichen Briefpost-Aemter und das Postbüreau zu Lüttich.

Abonnementspreis in Köln vierteljährlich 1 Thlr. 15 Sgr., in allen übrigen Orten Preußens 2 Thlr. 3 Sgr. 9 Pf. Außerhalb Preußens mit Zuschlag des fremden Zeitungsportos. Inserate: die vierspaltige Petitzeile oder deren Raum 1 Sgr. 6 Pf.

Anzeigen aller Art erlangen durch die großen Verbindungen der Zeitung die weiteste Verbreitung.


Zu Nr. 28 der „Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung" ist am 28. Juni Morgens eine außerordentliche Beilage ausgegeben und versandt worden.

### Französische Republik.

** Die Pariser Arbeiter sind erdrückt worden von der Uebermacht, sie sind nicht erliegen. Sie sind geschlagen, aber ihre Gegner sind besiegt. Der angeschlagene Triumph der brutalen Gewalt ist erkauft mit der Vernichtung aller Täuschungen und Einbildungen der Februar-Revolution, mit der Auflösung der ganzen alt-republikanischen Partei, mit der Zerspaltung der französischen Nation in zwei Nationen, die Nation der Besitzer und die Nation der Arbeiter. Die triste Republik, die unter dem Rufe: Es lebe die Herrschaft der Geschlagenen, die Farbe des Blutes. Sie ist zur rothen Republik geworden.

Keine republikanische Revolution, sei es vom National, sei es von der Reforme auf Seite des Volks! Ohne andre Führer, ohne andre Mittel als die Eingebung selbst, unbewaffnet auf der vereinigten Bourgeoisie und Soldateska stehend, mußte die französische Proletariat, mit allem militärischen Apparat versehen, einer mit dem Volk vereinigten Fraktion der Bourgeoisie unterliegen. Damit die letzte Illusion des Volks verschwinde, damit gänzlich mit der Vergangenheit gebrochen werde, mußte auch die gewohnte poetische Zutthat der französischen Emeute, die enthusiastische Bourgeoisieagonie, die Zugleiche der ecole polytechnique, die berühmtesten Söhne auf der Seite der Unterdrücker stehn. Die Zöglinge der medizinischen Fakultät mußten den verwundeten Arbeitern die Hülfe der Wissenschaft verlagen. Die Wissenschaft erspart nicht für den Pöbelvieh, das unfähiges, das unsägliche Verbrechen beging, sich einmal für seine eigne Erlösung in die Schanze zu schlagen, statt für Louis Philippe oder für Henri Marrast.

Der letzte offizielle Ruf der Februar-Revolution, die exekutive Kommission ist vor dem Ernst der Ereignisse nur ein Echo-Bild geworden. Lamartine's kraftlosigkeit haben sich verwandelt in die Brandfackeln Cavaignac's.

Die Fraternite, die Bruderlichkeit der entgegengesetzten Klassen, von denen die eine die andere exploitirt, diese Fraternite, im Februar proklamirt, mit großen Buchstaben auf die Stirne von Paris geschrieben, auf jedes Gesellenhaus, auf jede Kaserne — ist nichts, unverfälschter, ihr proletarischer Ausdruck, das ist der — Bürgerkrieg, der Bürgerkrieg in seiner fürchterlichsten Gestalt, der Krieg der Arbeit und des Kapitals. Diese Bruderlichkeit flammte vor allen Fenstern von Paris am Abend des 25. Juni, als das Paris der Bourgeoisie illuminirte, während das Paris des Proletariats verbrannte, verblutete, verdarbe.

Die Bruderlichkeit währte grade so lang, als das Interesse der Bourgeoisie mit dem Interesse des Proletariats verbindet war. Pedanten der alten revolutionären Ueberlieferung von 1793, localistische Systematiker, die bei der Bourgeoisie für das Volk beteiten und denen erlaubt wurde, lange Predigten zu halten und sich so lange zu compromittiren, als der proletarische Löwe in Schlaf gelullt werden mußte, Republikaner, welche die ganze alte bürgerliche Ordnung mit Ihnen bei gebrauten Kopfes verlangten, dynastische Oppositionelle, denen der Zufall an die Stelle eines Ministerwechsels den Sturz einer Dynastie unterschob, Legitimisten, welche die Lieber nicht abwarteten, sondern ihren Schnitt verändern wollten, das waren die Bundesgenossen, womit das Volk seinen Februar machte. Was es in Louis Philipp instinktmäßig haßte, war nicht Louis Philippe, sondern die gebrückte Herrschaft einer Klasse, das Königthum auf Kosten der Arbeit. Aber wie immer großmüthig, nahmt es seinen Feind verwundet zu haben, nachdem er doch gleich seinem Feinde, den gemeinschaftlichen Feind gestürzt hat.

Die Februarrevolution war die schöne Revolution, die Revolution der allgemeinen Sympathie, weil der Gegensatze, die in ihr gegen das Königthum erkämpften, unentwickelt, unentschieden neben einander schlummerten, weil der soziale Kampf, der ihren Hintergrund bildete, nur eine lustige Existenz gewonnen hatte, die Existenz der Phrase, des Worts. Die Junirevolution ist die häßliche Revolution, die abstoßende Revolution, weil an die Stelle der Phrase die Sache getreten ist, weil die Republik das Gesicht seines Feindes selbst entblößte, indem sie ihm die schirmende und verheerende Krone abschlugen.

Ordnung! nur von Schlachtruf Guizots! Ordnung! schrie Sebastiani, der russische Gesandte, als Warschau russisch wurde. Ordnung! schrient Cavaignac, das brutale Echo der französischen Nationalversammlung und der republikanischen Bourgeoisie.

Ordnung! donnerten seine Kartätschen, als sie den Leib des Proletariats zerrissen.

Keine der zahlreichen Revolutionen der französischen Bourgeoisie seit 1789 war ein Attentat auf die Ordnung, denn sie ließ die Herrschaft der Klasse, die diese die Sklaverei der Arbeiter, sie ließ die bürgerliche Ordnung bestehen, so oft auch die politische Form dieser Herrschaft und dieser Sklaverei wechselte. Der Juni hat diese Ordnung angetastet. Wehe über den Juni!

Unter der provisorischen Regierung war es Rastbaud und noch mehr, es war Flocon, der, ungeduldig über die Fortdauer der Arbeiterrevolution, die, wie man in tausend von offiziellen Plakaten abdrucken ließ: „Drei Monat Tions zur Verlängung der Arbeitslosigkeit stellten", es war Pyat und Schoemmerer gewesen, ihnen vor zu predigen, die Februarrevolution sei in ihrem eigenen Interesse gemacht und es handle sich in der Februarrevolution vor allem um die Interessen der Arbeiter. Seit der Eröffnung der Nationalversammlung — wurde man profaisch. Es handelte sich nur noch darum, — die Arbeit auf ihre alten Bedingungen, vor der Minister Triste lage, zurückzuführen. Also die Arbeiter hatten sich im Februar geschlagen, um in eine industrielle Krise geworfen zu werden.

Das Gesetz der Nationalversammlung bestehe darin, den Februar ungeschehen zu machen, wenigstens für die Arbeiter und sie in jeder Arbeitsmühle zurückzuwerfen. Aber selbst das gestahl sich, weil es es wagte in der Gewalt einer Versammlung, wie eines Königs Recht, einer industriellen Krise von unversehlem Charakter zuzusetzen: bis hierhin! Die Nationalversammlung, im brutalen Eifer zu ordnen und den vertrieblichen Februarverbesserten, ergriff selbst die Maßregeln nicht, die auf dem Boden der alten Verhältnisse möglich waren. Die Pariser Arbeiter von 17—25 Juli arbeiten für die Armee oder warfen sie auf das Pflaster; die auswärtigen verwarfen sie und Paris in die Sologne, ohne ihnen selbst die zum Laufsarg gebrauten Gelder auszuzahlen; den erwachsenen Partieen verfiehet sie provisorisch ein Obdachlosen- in militärisch organisirten Werkstätten, unter der Bedingung, daß sie an ferner Wollverlassung Theil nehmen, d. h. unter der Bedingung, daß sie aufhören Republikaner zu sein. Nicht die sentimentalen Februar nach dem Februar reichte aus, nicht die brutale Legislatur nach dem 15. Mai. Faktisch, praktisch mußte entschieden werden. Habt ihr Canaillen die Februarrevolution für Euch gemacht, oder für Uns?

Die Bourgeoisie stellte die Frage so, daß sie den Juni beantwortet werden mußte — mit Kartätschen und Barricaden.

Und dennoch schlägt, wie ein Volksrepräsentant am 25. Juni sagte, die Stimme der ganzen Nationalversammlung. Gut ist bekannt, als Fage und Antwort das Pflaster von Paris in Blut erröthen, bestimmt, die Einen, weil ihre Illusionen im Pulverdampf zerrinnen, die andern, weil sie nicht begreifen, wie das Volk es wagen kann, seine allereigensten Interessen selbstständig zu vertreten. Russisches Geld, englisches Geld, der bonapartistische Adler, die Lilie, Monsieur oder Mr. Monsieur hat besonderes Ereignis ihrem Verbande vermittelt. Beide Theile der Versammlung aber fühlen, daß eine unermeßliche Kluft sie von dem Volke trennt. Kranz wagt, sich für das Volk zu erheben.

Sobald der Sturm vorüber ist, kriecht die Reserve aus und mit Recht jüßt die Majorität jene elenden Utopisten und Heuchler aus, die den Kaudrenvolkmut begehen, auch die Phrase Fraternite, Bruderlichkeit im Mund zu führen. Es handelte sich zu eben um die Abschaffung dieser Phrase und der Illusionen, die ihr wiederzeigt Schoeß verdrängt. Als Lacordaire sagte, der Legitimist, der ritterliche Schwärmer gegen die Infamie erfreute, mit der man Lus reiste! Wird den Besiegten! ausruft, gerüth die Majorität der Versammlung in Begeisterung, als wäre sie von der Tarantel gestochen. Sie schreit Wo! aber die Arbeiter, um zu verdrängen, das Niemand andere der „Besiegte" sein, als sie selbst. Unwerfer sie muß jetzt unterzogen oder die Republik!. Und heute heißt sie triumphirt: Es lebe die Republik!

Der rothe Aberwitz, der sich nur aus erschöpft hat, darf er die Demokraten irren, darf er sich wähnen lassen die Kämpfe um die Staatsform sein lediglich, illusorisch. nur?

Nur schwache feige Gemüther können die Frage aufwerfen. Die Koalitionen, welche aus den Bedingungen der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft selbst hervorgehen, sie müssen durchkämpft, sie können nicht weggeschafft werden. Die beste Staatsform ist die, worin die gesellschaftlichen Gegensätze nicht verwischt, nicht gewaltsam, also unfählich, also nur scheinbar gefesselt werden. Die beste Staatsform ist die, worin sie zum freien Kampf und damit zur Lösung kommen.

Man wird uns fragen, ob wir keine Thränen, keinen Seufzer, kein Wort für die Opfer haben, welche vor der Wuth des Volkes fielen, für die Nationalgarde, die Mobilgarde, die republikanische Garde, die Linie?

Thränen wird ihre Mutterwunden und Wunden pflegen. Dekrete werden sie verherrlichen, feierliche Leichenzüge werden ihre Reste zur Erde bestatten, die offizielle Presse wird sie unsterblich erklären, die europäische Reaktion wird ihnen halbtoten ein Hoch zum Himmel bringen.

Aber die Pöbelvieh, vom Hunger zerrissen, von der Presse gefaßmacht, von den Priestern verlassen, von den Honnetten Diebe geschoten, Brandstifter, Galeerensklaven, ihre Weiber und Kinder in noch grünzeisiteren Elend geßtürzt, ihre besten Lebenden über die Seer beworfnet, — ihnen den Lorbeer um die drohend finstrer Stirn zu winden, das ist das Vorrecht, das ist das Recht der demokratischen Presse.

**Der 25. Juni.**

* Mit jedem Tage nahm die Heftigkeit, die Erbitterung, die Wuth des Kampfes zu. Die Bourgeoisie wurde immer fanatisierter gegen die Insurgenten, je verzweifelter ihre Bemühungen durch zum Ziele führten, je mehr sie selbst im Kampf, Nachtwachen und Bivouakfeuer ermattete, je näher sie ihrem endlichen Siege rückte. Die Bourgeoisie erklärte die Arbeiter nicht für gewöhnliche

### Westphalen.

Der Zufall spielt uns eine Beilage zu Nro. 67 des Osnabrücker Tagblattes in die Hände. Wir sind dem freundlichen Zufall für diese Artigkeit sehr verbunden.

Ein Aufruf an alle Westphalen, von Seiten des Dr. Phil. W. von Brachhausen, Verfasser der oberwähnten Beilage ganz zu Beschluß. Der Raum gestattet es nicht, den ganzen Aufruf wieder zu geben; wir heben es aber für unsre heilige Pflicht, wenigstens einen Theil dieses Dokumentes an die große Glocke zu bringen. „Westphalen! d. h. Hannoveraner, Braunschweiger, Oldenburger und Preußen! An Euch alle muß ich ein ernstes Wort richten," so beginnt der Dr. Phil. W. von Brachhausen, Vicetanzmst. — „Ich habe aufmerksam alle Berichte der Zeitereignisse durchstudirt; ich habe das Gleiche: auf verschwiegenen Wegen, die ich zum Theil verschweigen muß," von den russischen Agenten Kenntniß zu erhalten. — Westphalen! Dir sämmtlichen slavischen Völker (sie tagen jetzt in Prag), die seit langer Zeit von den Russen aufgeschlackt sind, werden noch in diesem Jahre als unsre Feinde in Deutschland erscheinen. — Selbst die Böhmaken und Mähonsen, die Mohamed anerkennen, und alle andern Volksstämme der europäischen Türkei werden mit im Bunde sein — — Es wird sich entscheiden, ob das Russenthum, d. h. die Lüge in Staat, Kirche und Familie auch den Sieg davonträgt, oder ob Deutsche werden frei werden wird, wie unter den karolingischen Kaisern. —

Westphalen! Ihr werdet sogleich einsehen, daß in Eurer Heimath die Hunnschlächten werden geschlagen, und die „rothe Erde" auf 6 Meile hoch Blut werdet werdet. Die Sachsiaren (darunter die türkischen Stämme) werden jenseits des Sauerlandes auf Mainz und Köln, die Russen aber auf Paderborn und Minden vorrücken.

Unter Gottes Beistand und mit Beihülfe der mit und verbündeten Franzosen und Belgier werdet Ihr hoffentlich die Russen überwinden. Die Südwestdeutschen u. s. w. werden mit den Südslawen fertig.

Westphalen! Eure Aufgabe ist eine viel schwerere, denn die Russen werden gerhört von Generalen deutscher Abkunft, die nicht haben den Russen das ja aus Westphalen vorzuzeigen können?" höre ich Euch fragen. Aberdings! Denkt daran, daß noch im 15. Jahrhundert die Russiten, d. h. die eigentlichen Böhmen, die Stadt Soest eingenommen, gerulen haben gegen einen oberdäterischen Reichsfürsten. — Russland Prinzen sind längst bekannt; ganz Deutschland wurde durch seine Spionage bereitet, es wird Alter den Zeitungsvorbereiteten überall seine Manner. Russland wollte längst Deutschland erobern; einem einzigen Deutschlande mit einem Kaiser an der Spitze ist es nicht gewachsen. — Westphalen! bereitet Euch zu einem ernsten Kampfe vor; noch in diesem Jahre wird Euer Sommerkorn von fremden Kriegern gestürmiert werden. Schaart Euch deswegen um Euren König. Ihr Alle, seid der Väter Stille treu und Freude der Tage. Kaiß Friedrich Wilhelm IV. hat uns gefragen. Wo bleiben? Ihr vorzugsweise unter den Völkern Europa's hat Euch der Herr gem gehalten; Ihr allein und die Bergschotten in England sind es, welche Scherzaden haben; fast an jedem Tiner Dörfer habt Ihr Jemanden, der „Bergeschichten" sieht, der Häuser, Straßen, Leichenzüge, Festzüge und dergleichen lange vorher genau so sieht, wie diese daher kommen werden. Westphalen! Ihr kennt alle Schlachtfelder, auf denen in diesem Jahre die „rothe Erde" mit Blut wird getränkt werden; Ihr wißt genau (wenn Ihr Euch besser genau erinnert, wo Euer „Spukkeller" gelegen und vor Burgen, vor 20 Jahren und weiterich noch früher erzählt haben) was in jedem Dorfe passiren wird; nur der Tag des Ereignisses bleibt unbekannt.

Allein auch darüber seid Ihr einigermaßen belehrt worden; Kinder und erwachsene Leute sollen in dem höhern Theile des Paderborner Landes gelesen haben, wie fremde Truppen Gerte abmähen.

Ich wende mich daher an Euch Alle von westphälischen Stamme! Es ist nicht allein ein Kampf um unsere Freiheit und Gleichstellung; es ist ein Kampf, durch den für einige Zeiten die Frage entschieden wird: Ob Europa der Barbaren verfallen und die Lüge mit allen ihren Gefolgen soll am Oberbaum behaltige Sieg und das Land in und Drutschen lebt, und vorzugsweise in Westphalen heimisch ist: Wahrheit in Staat, Kirche und Familie, auch in Asien sich verbreiten wird?

Dieser Aufruf ist datirt: Münster, den 5. Juni 1848, und der ehrenwerthe Herr Verfasser, der Dr. Phil. W. von Brachhausen, Vicetanzmst, sagt in einem Postscriptum noch hinzu, daß der Westphälische Merkur denselben nicht habe abdrucken wollen, weil der Inhalt des Aufrufes zu aufregend sei, als daß man die Brauchvortichtet des Abdruckes übernehmen könne.

Ihr gerade zu den „Spukkeslern" zu gehören, fehlen wir uns noch veranlaßt, dieses Manifest eines der treuesten Söhne unsres guten, treuen Westphalens, als eine Perle westphälischer Literatur in unserm Feuilleton aufzubewahren.

— Die westphälische Post hat außer guten Schinken und Pumpernickeln auch die beruhigende Nachricht mitgebracht, daß die Russenlinie in dem fernsten Fürstenthum Waldeck bei hohen Frucht zu tragen beginnt. Waldeck ist ruhig. St. Durchlaucht steht nun lediglich noch dem Eifen mit der Mistgabelspieße im Munde vor dem Schloßportale auf und abmachen grüßend jeden guten Burger.


First page of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* containing Marx's article "The June Revolution"

and inscribed in large letters on the façades of Paris, on every prison and every barracks—this *fraternité* found its true, unadulterated and prosaic expression in *civil war*, civil war in its most terrible aspect, the war of labour against capital. This brotherhood blazed in front of all the windows of Paris on the evening of June 25, when the Paris of the bourgeoisie held illuminations while the Paris of the proletariat was burning, bleeding, groaning in the throes of death.

This brotherhood lasted only as long as there was a fraternity of interests between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Pedants sticking to the old revolutionary tradition of 1793; socialist doctrinaires who begged alms for the people from the bourgeoisie and who were allowed to deliver lengthy sermons and compromise themselves so long as the proletarian lion had to be lulled to sleep; republicans who wanted to keep the old bourgeois order *in toto*, but without the crowned head; members of the dynastic opposition[117] on whom chance imposed the task of bringing about the downfall of a dynasty instead of a change of government; legitimists,[118] who did not want to cast off their livery but merely to change its style—these were the allies with whom the people had fought their February revolution. What the people instinctively hated in Louis Philippe was not Louis Philippe himself, but the crowned rule of a class, capital on the throne. But magnanimous as always, the people thought they had destroyed their enemy when they had overthrown the enemy of their enemies, their *common* enemy.

The *February revolution* was the *nice* revolution, the revolution of universal sympathies, because the contradictions which erupted in it against the monarchy were still *undeveloped* and peacefully dormant, because the social struggle which formed their background had only achieved a nebulous existence, an existence in phrases, in words. The *June revolution* is the *ugly* revolution, the nasty revolution, because the phrases have given place to the real thing, because the republic has bared the head of the monster by knocking off the crown which shielded and concealed it.

*Order!* was Guizot's war-cry. *Order!* shouted Sébastiani, the Guizotist, when Warsaw became Russian. *Order!* shouts Cavaignac, the brutal echo of the French National Assembly and of the republican bourgeoisie.

*Order!* thundered his grape-shot as it tore into the body of the proletariat.

None of the numerous revolutions of the French bourgeoisie since 1789 assailed the existing *order*, for they retained the class rule, the slavery of the workers, the *bourgeois order*, even though the political

form of this rule and this slavery changed frequently. The June uprising did assail this *order*. Woe to the June uprising!

Under the *Provisional Government* it was considered good form and, moreover, a *necessity* to preach to the magnanimous workers—who, as a thousand official posters proclaimed, "*placed three months of hardship at the disposal of the republic*"—it was both politic and a sign of enthusiasm to preach to the workers that the February revolution had been carried out *in their own interests* and that the principal issue of the February revolution was the *interests of the workers*. With the *opening* of the National Assembly the speeches became more prosaic. Now it was only a matter of *leading labour back to its old conditions*, as Minister Trélat said. Thus the workers fought in February in order to be engulfed in an industrial crisis.

It is the business of the National Assembly to undo the work of February, at least as far as the workers are concerned, and to fling them back to their old conditions. But even this was not done, because it is not within the power of any assembly any more than of a king to tell a universal industrial crisis—*advance up to this point and no further*. In its crude eagerness to end the embarrassment of the February phraseology, the National Assembly did not even take the measures that were *possible* on the basis of the old conditions. Parisian workers aged 17 to 25 were either pressed into the army or thrown onto the street; those from other parts were ordered out of Paris to Sologne without even receiving the money normally due to them under such an order; adult Parisians could for the time being secure a pittance in workshops organised on military lines on condition that they did not attend any public meetings, in other words on condition that they ceased to be republicans. Neither the sentimental rhetoric which followed the February events nor the brutal legislation after May 15[119] achieved their purpose. A real, practical decision had to be taken. For whom did you make the February revolution, you rascals—for *yourselves* or for *us*? The bourgeoisie put this question in such a way that it had to be answered in June with grape-shot and barricades.

The entire National Assembly is nevertheless struck with paralysis, as one representative of the people[a] put it on June 25. Its members are stunned when question and answer make the streets of Paris flow with blood; some are stunned because their illusions are lost in the smoke of gunpowder, others because they cannot understand how the people dare stand up *on their own* for their *own vital* interests. *Russian money, British money, the Bonapartist eagle, the lily*, amulets of

[a] Ducoux.—*Ed.*

all kinds—this is where they sought an explanation of this strange event. *Both parts* of the Assembly feel however that a vast gulf separates them from the people. None of them dares stand up for the people.

As soon as the stupor has passed frenzy breaks out. The majority quite rightly greets with catcalls those pitiful utopians and hypocrites guilty of the anachronism of still using the term *fraternité*, brotherhood. The question at issue was precisely that of doing away with this term and with the illusions arising from its ambiguity. When the legitimist *Larochejaquelein*, the chivalrous dreamer, protested against the infamy of those who cried "*Vae victis! Woe to the vanquished!*" the majority of the deputies broke into a St. Vitus's dance as if stung by a tarantula. They shouted *woe!* to the workers in order to hide the fact that it is precisely they themselves who are the "*vanquished*". Either the Assembly must perish now, or the republic. And that is why it frantically yells—long live the republic!

Is the deep chasm which has opened at our feet to be allowed to mislead the democrats, to make us believe that the struggle over the form of the state is meaningless, illusory and futile?

Only weak, cowardly minds can pose such a question. Collisions proceeding from the very conditions of bourgeois society must be fought out to the end, they cannot be conjured out of existence. The best form of state is that in which the social contradictions are not blurred, not arbitrarily—that is merely artificially, and therefore only seemingly—kept down. The best form of state is that in which these contradictions reach a stage of open struggle in the course of which they are resolved.

We may be asked, do we not find a tear, a sigh, a word for the victims of the people's wrath, for the national guard, the mobile guard, the republican guard and the troops of the line?

The state will care for their widows and orphans, decrees extolling them will be issued, their remains will be carried to the grave in solemn procession, the official press will declare them immortal, European reaction in the East and the West will pay homage to them.

But the plebeians are tormented by hunger, abused by the press, forsaken by the doctors, called thieves, incendiaries and galley-slaves by the respectabilities; their wives and children are plunged into still greater misery and the best of those who have survived are sent overseas. It is the *right* and the *privilege of the democratic press* to place laurels on their clouded threatening brow.

Written by Marx on June 28, 1848 Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 29, June 29, 1848

# THE *KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG* ON THE JUNE REVOLUTION

*Cologne,* June 30. If one reads the following passages from the *London Telegraph* and compares them to the babble about the Paris June revolution that emanates from the German liberals, especially Herr Brüggemann, Herr Dumont and Herr Wolfers, one will have to admit that the English bourgeois, apart from many other distinctions, surpass the *German philistines* in at least *this* regard: although they judge great events from a bourgeois point of view, they judge them as *men* and not in the manner of *gutter-snipes.*

The *Telegraph* comments in its issue No. 122:

"... And here we may be expected to say something of the origin and consequence of this terrible bloodshed.

"*At once it proclaims itself a complete battle between classes.*"

(A kingdom for such a thought—is the mental exclamation of the august *Kölnische Zeitung* and its "Wolfers".)

"It is an insurrection of the workmen against the government they believed themselves to have created, and the classes who now support it. How the quarrel immediately originated is less easy to explain, than to detect its lasting and ever present causes. *The revolution of February* was chiefly effected by the *working classes* [...] and it was proclaimed *to have been made for their advantage.* It was a social, more than a political revolution. The masses of discontented workmen have not all of a sudden sprung, endowed with all the capabilities of soldiers, into existence; nor are their distress and their discontent the offspring merely of the events of the last four months. On Monday only we quoted the statement, perhaps exaggerated, of M. Leroux, which was made, however, in the National Assembly, and not denied [...] that there are in France 8,000,000 beggars and 4,000,000 workmen who have no secure wages. He spoke generally, and meant expressly to describe the time *before* the revolution; for his complaint was, that *since* the revolution nothing had been done to remedy that great disease. The theories of Socialism and Communism which had become rife in France, and now exercise such influence over the public mind, grew

from the terribly depressed condition of the bulk of the population under the government of Louis Philippe [...]. The main fact to be kept in view is *the distressed condition of the multitude as the great living cause of the revolution.* [...]

... "The National Assembly [...] speedily voted to deprive the workmen of the advantages which the politicians of the revolution [...] had so hastily and unthinkingly conferred on them. In a *social,* if not *political,* point of view, a *great reaction* was apparent, and authority was invoked, backed by a large part of France, *to put down the men who had given that authority existence* [....] That they should from such proceedings—first flattered and fed, then divided and threatened with starvation, drafted off to the country, where all the labour connections were destroyed, and a deliberate plan adopted to annihilate their power—that they should have been irritated can surprise no man; that after accomplishing one successful revolution they should have spontaneously thought they could bring about another, is not astonishing, and their chances of success against the armed force of the government, from the great length of time they have already resisted, seem greater than most people were prepared to expect. According to this view, which is confirmed by no political leaders having been detected amongst the people, and by the fact that the *ouvriers* ordered to quit Paris [...] proceeded no further than just outside the banners and then returned, *the insurrection is the consequence of a general feeling of indignation amongst the working classes and not of any political agency.* They fancy their interest is again betrayed by their *own government,* and they have taken up arms now *as they took them up in February* to fight against the *terrible distress* of which they have so long been the victims.

"*The present battle, then,* [...][a] *is but a continuation of the battle which took place in February* [....] *The contest is only a continuation of that struggle which pervades all Europe, more or less, for a fairer distribution of the annual produce of labour.* Put down in Paris now it probably will be; for the force which the new authority has inherited from the old authority that it displaced, is apparently overwhelming. *But, however successfully put down, it will be again and again renewed,* till government either makes a fairer distribution of the produce of labour, or, finding that impossible, retreats from the awful responsibility of attempting it and leaves it to be decided by the [...] open competition of the market.... *The real fight is for the means of comfortable subsistence;* the middle classes have been deprived of them by the politicians who undertook to guide the revolution; *they have been savaged as well as the workmen;* the strongest passions of both are now roused into mischievous activity; and, *forgetting their brotherhood, they make brutal war on each other.* The ignorant if not ill-meaning government, which seems to have no conception of its duty in this extraordinary crisis, [...] has first hurled the workmen on the middle classes, and is now *helping the middle classes to exterminate the deceived, deluded, and indignant workmen.* The principle of the Revolution, *the resolve to fight against distress and oppression,* must not be suffered to bear the blame of this great calamity, it must be thrown rather on those ignorant meddling politicians who have so aggravated all the disasters bequeathed to them by Louis Philippe."

Thus writes a *London* newspaper of the bourgeoisie about the June revolution, a newspaper which represents the principles of *Cobden, Bright* etc. and which after the *Times* and the *Northern Star,* the two despots of the English press, according to the *Manchester Guardian,* is the *most widely read paper in England.*

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[a] Modified quotation. The *Telegraph* has: "The battle, then, that was raging on Friday, Saturday and Sunday."

Let us compare No. 181 of the *Kölnische Zeitung*! This remarkable newspaper transforms the *battle between two classes* into a *battle between respectable people* and *rogues*! What a worthy paper! As if the two classes did not hurl these epithets at each other. It is the same newspaper which *at first*, when rumours about the June uprising began to circulate, admitted *its total ignorance as to the nature* of the insurrection, and *then* had to get the information *from Paris* that *an important social revolution* was taking place whose scope would not be circumscribed *by one defeat. Finally*, strengthened by *one* defeat of the workers, it sees in the insurrection nothing but a battle between "the *enormous majority*" and a "*wild horde*" of "*cannibals, robbers and murderers*".

What was the Roman slave war? *A war between respectable people and cannibals!* Herr *Wolfers* will write Roman history and Herr *Dumont* and Herr *Brüggemann* will enlighten the *workers*, the "unfortunate ones", as to their real rights and duties and

"initiate them into *the science* which leads to order and which *forms* the true citizen"!

Long live the *science of Dumont-Brüggemann-Wolfers*, the secret science! To cite *one* example of this *secret science*: This praiseworthy triumvirate has told its gullible readers throughout two issues that General Cavaignac *wants to mine the district of St. Antoine.* The district of St. Antoine happens to be somewhat *larger than the golden city of Cologne.* The scientific triumvirate, however, that we recommend to the German National Assembly for ruling Germany, the triumvirate *Dumont-Brüggemann-Wolfers*, have overcome this difficulty; they know how to blow up the city of Cologne with one mine! Their notions of the mine which blows up the Faubourg St. Antoine correspond to the notion of the subterranean forces which undermine modern society, caused the Paris earthquake in June and spat up bloody lava from its revolutionary crater.

But dearest triumvirate! Great *Dumont-Brüggemann-Wolfers*, great personalities proclaimed by the world of advertisement! Cavaignacs of the world of advertisement! *We* modestly bowed our heads, bowed them before the greatest historical crisis that has ever broken out: the *class war between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.* We have not created the fact, we have stated it. We have stated that one of the classes is *the conquered one* as *Cavaignac himself* says.[120] On the grave of the conquered, we have cried "*woe!*" *to the victors* and even Cavaignac shrinks from his historical responsibility! And the National Assembly charges with cowardice every member who does not openly accept the terrible historical responsibility. Did we open up the Sibylline Book for the *Germans* so that they should burn it? Do we ask the

Germans to become Englishmen when we describe the battle between the Chartists and the English bourgeoisie?

Germany, however, ungrateful Germany, you may know the *Kölnische Zeitung* and its advertisements but you do not know your greatest men, your *Wolfers*, your *Brüggemann* and your *Dumont*! How much sweat of the brain, sweat of the face and sweat of the blood has been shed in the *battle between classes*, in the battle between free men and slaves, patricians and plebeians, feudal lords and serfs, capitalists and workers! *But only because there was no Kölnische Zeitung.* But, most courageous triumvirate, if modern society produces "*criminals*", "*cannibals*", "*murderers*" and "*plunderers*" in such masses and with such energy that their insurrection shakes the basis of official society, what kind of society is this? What anarchy in alphabetical order! And you believe that you can heal the schism, that you have uplifted the actors and spectators of this terrible drama by dragging them down into a servant tragedy *à la* Kotzebue.

Among the *national guardsmen of the faubourgs St. Antoine, St. Jacques* and *St. Marceau* only *50* could be found who followed the call of the bourgeois bugle. Thus reports the Paris *Moniteur*, the official newspaper, the paper of Louis XVI, *Robespierre, Louis Philippe* and *Marrast-Cavaignac*! There is nothing simpler for the *science* which "turns" a man into a *true citizen*! The three largest faubourgs of Paris, the three most industrialised faubourgs of Paris, whose patterns made the muslins of Dacca and the velvet of Spitalfields pale and fade, are supposed to be inhabited by "cannibals", "plunderers", "robbers" and "criminals". So says *Wolfers*!

And *Wolfers* is an honourable man![a] He has bestowed honours upon the rogues by having them fight greater battles, produce greater works of art and accomplish more heroic deeds than those of Charles X, Louis Philippe, Napoleon and the spinners of Dacca and Spitalfields.

We were just now mentioning the *London Telegraph.* Yesterday our readers heard *Emil Girardin.* The working class, he says, after allowing its debtor, the February revolution, to delay paying off its debts for a month, the working class, the creditor, knocked at the debtor's house with the musket, the barricade and its own body! But *Emil Girardin*! Who is he? No anarchist! Heaven forbid! He is, however, a *republican of the coming day,* a *republican of the morrow* (*républicain du lendemain*) whereas the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the *Wolferses, Dumonts* and *Brüggemanns* are all *republicans of the day before yesterday, republicans before the republic* and *republicans of the eve* (*répub-*

[a] Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, Act III, Scene 2.—*Ed.*

*licains de la veille*)! Can *Emil Girardin* give evidence by the side of *Dumont*?

Admire the patriotism of the Cologne newspaper as it *gloats with malicious pleasure over the deportations and hangings.* It only wants to prove to the world, to the incredulous, stone-blind German world, that the *republic is more powerful than the monarchy* and that the republican National Assembly with Cavaignac and Marrast was able to carry out what the constitutional Chamber of Deputies with Thiers and Bugeaud was unable to do! *Vive la république!* Long live the republic! exclaims the Spartan Cologne paper at the sight of Paris, bleeding, moaning and burning. The crypto-republican! That is why this paper is suspected of being *cowardly* and *unprincipled* by a *Gervinus*, by an *Augsburg paper*[a]! The immaculate one! The Charlotte Corday of Cologne!

Please notice that *not one Paris newspaper*, not the *Moniteur*, not the *Débats* and not the *National*, speaks of "*cannibals*", "*plunderers*", "*robbers*" and "*murderers*". There is only one newspaper, the paper of *Thiers*, the man whose immorality was condemned by *Jacobus Venedey* in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the man against whom the Cologne paper screamed at the top of its voice:

> They are not going to get it,
> Our own free German Rhine,[b]

it is Thiers' paper, the *Constitutionnel*, from which the Belgian *Indépendance* and Rhenish science embodied in *Dumont, Brüggemann* and *Wolfers* derive their knowledge!

Examine now in a critical vein these scandalous anecdotes with which the *Kölnische Zeitung* brands the oppressed, the same newspaper which *at the outbreak of fighting* declared its complete *ignorance* of the nature of the struggle, which *during* the battle declared it to be an "*important social revolution*", and which *after* the battle calls it a boxing match between *the police and the robbers.*

They *looted*! But what did they loot? *Weapons, ammunition, surgical dressings* and the *most necessary items of food.* The robbers wrote on the window shutters: "*Mort aux voleurs!*" *Death to the robbers!*

They "*murdered like cannibals*". The cannibals did not willingly permit the *national guardsmen*, who advanced upon the barricades *behind* the regular troops, to *smash the skulls* of their *wounded*, to shoot their overwhelmed comrades and to stab their women. The cannibals who *exterminated* during a *war of extermination* as a French bourgeois

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[a] *Allgemeine Zeitung.—Ed.*

[b] Nikolaus Becker, "Der deutsche Rhein".—*Ed.*

newspaper writes! They *set on fire*? Yet the *sole* incendiary torch which they hurled against the *legitimate* incendiary rockets of Cavaignac in the 8th arrondissement was a *poetic, imaginary* torch, as the *Moniteur* confirms.

"Some," says Wolfers, "held up high the programme of Barbès, Blanqui and Sobrier, the others hailed Napoleon and Henry V."

The chaste *Cologne* newspaper, which has not been pregnant either with the descendants of Napoleon or with Blanqui, declared already on the second day of the insurrection that the "fight was waged in the name of the *red republic*". What then is she babbling about *pretenders*? She is, however, as has already been intimated, an obdurate *crypto-republican*, a female Robespierre that scents pretenders everywhere, and these pretenders cause her morality to shudder.

"Almost all of them had money and several of them had considerable sums."

There were from 30,000 to 40,000 workers and "almost all of them had money" during this time of want and business slump! The money was probably *so scarce because the workers had hidden it*!

The Paris *Moniteur* has published with the greatest conscientiousness all cases where *money* was found on the insurgents. There were at most *twenty* such cases. Different newspapers and correspondents have repeated these cases and cited different sums. The *Kölnische Zeitung*, with its tried critical tact, which takes all these different reports of the *twenty* cases for so many different cases and then still adds all the cases circulated by rumours, might at best perhaps arrive at 200 cases. And that entitles the paper to state that almost all the 30,000 to 40,000 workers had money! All that has been established is that legitimist, Bonapartist and perhaps Philippist emissaries provided with money mingled or intended to mingle with the barricade fighters. M. *Payer*, that most conservative member of the National Assembly, who spent 12 hours as a prisoner among the insurgents, declares:

"*Most of them were workers who had been driven to desperation by four months of misery.* They said: *Better to die of a bullet than of starvation!*"

"*Many, very many* of the dead," affirms *Wolfers*, "bore the ominous mark with which society stigmatises crime."

That is one of the base lies, shameful calumnies and infamies which *Lamennais*, the foe of the insurgents and the man of the *National*, has stigmatised in his *Peuple constituant*—and which the always chivalrous legitimist *Larochejaquelain* has stigmatised in the National Assembly. The entire lie is based upon the quite

unconfirmed assertion of *one* press-agency, which has *not been corroborated* by the *Moniteur*, that *eleven corpses* had been discovered which were marked with the letters T. F.[a] And in which revolution have the eleven corpses not been found? And which revolution will not brand with these letters eleven times 100?

Let us note that the newspapers, proclamations and illuminations of the victors testify that they starved out, drove to desperation, bayonetted, fusilladed, buried alive and deported the vanquished and desecrated their corpses. And against the conquered there are only *anecdotes*, and only anecdotes that are related by the *Constitutionnel*, reprinted by the *Indépendance* and translated into German by the *Kölnische*. There is no greater insult to truth than to try to prove it by an *anecdote*, says—*Hegel*.[b]

The women are sitting in front of the houses of Paris and scraping *lint* for dressings for the wounded, even the wounded insurgents. The editors of the *Kölnische Zeitung* pour *sulphuric acid* into their wounds.

They have denounced *us* to the bourgeois *police*. We recommend in return that the *workers*, the "*unfortunate ones*", let themselves "be enlightened as to their real rights and duties and initiated into the *science* which leads to order and which forms the true citizen", by the immortal triumvirate *Dumont-Brüggemann-Wolfers*.

Written by Engels on June 30, 1848

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[a] Convict brand (*travaux forcés*: forced labour).— *Ed.*

[b] G. W. F. Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes*. VI. "Der Geist", § Die Bildung und ihr Reich der Wirklichkeit.— *Ed.*

# THE JUNE REVOLUTION[121]

## [THE COURSE OF THE PARIS UPRISING]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 31, July 1, 1848]

Gradually we gain a more comprehensive view of the June revolution; fuller reports arrive, it becomes possible to distinguish facts from either hearsay or lies, and the nature of the uprising stands out with increasing clarity. The more one succeeds in grasping the interconnection of the events of the four days in June, the more is one astonished by the vast magnitude of the uprising, the heroic courage, the rapidly improvised organisation and the unanimity of the insurgents.

The workers' plan of action, which Kersausie, a friend of Raspail and a former officer, is said to have drawn up, was as follows:

The insurgents, moving in four columns, advanced concentrically towards the Hôtel de Ville.

The first column, whose base of operations was the suburbs of Montmartre, La Chapelle and La Villette, advanced southwards from the barrières of Poissonnière, Rochechouart, St. Denis and La Villette, occupied the boulevards and approached the Hôtel de Ville through the rues Montorgueil, St. Denis and St. Martin.

The second column, whose base was the faubourgs du Temple and St. Antoine, which are inhabited almost entirely by workers and protected by the St. Martin Canal, advanced towards the same centre through the rues du Temple and St. Antoine and along the quays of the northern bank of the Seine as well as through all other streets running in the same direction in this part of the city.

The third column based on the Faubourg St. Marceau advanced towards the Île de la Cité through the rue St. Victor and the quays of the southern bank of the Seine.

The fourth column, based on the Faubourg St. Jacques and the vicinity of the Medical School, advanced along the rue Saint Jacques

also to the Cité. There the two columns joined, crossed to the right bank of the Seine and enveloped the Hôtel de Ville from the rear and flank.

Thus the plan, quite correctly, was based on the districts in which only workers lived. These districts form a semicircular belt, which surrounds the entire eastern half of Paris, widening out towards the east. First of all the eastern part of Paris was to be cleared of enemies, and then it was intended to move along both banks of the Seine towards the west and its centres, the Tuileries and the National Assembly.

These columns were to be supported by numerous flying squads which, operating independently alongside and between the columns, were to build barricades, occupy the smaller streets and be responsible for maintaining communications.

The operational bases were strongly fortified and skilfully transformed into formidable fortresses, e.g. the Clos St. Lazare, the Faubourg and Quartier St. Antoine and the Faubourg St. Jacques, in case it should become necessary to retreat.

If there was any flaw in this plan it was that in the beginning of the operations the western part of Paris was completely overlooked. Here there are several districts eminently suitable for armed action on both sides of the rue St. Honoré near the Halles and the Palais National, which have very narrow, winding streets inhabited mainly by workers. It was important to set up a fifth centre of the insurrection there, thus cutting off the Hôtel de Ville and at the same time holding up a considerable number of troops at this projecting strongpoint. The success of the uprising depended on the insurgents reaching the centre of Paris as quickly as possible and seizing the Hôtel de Ville. We cannot know what prevented Kersausie from organising insurgent action in this district. But it is a fact that no uprising was ever successful which did not at the outset succeed in seizing the centre of Paris adjoining the Tuileries. It suffices to mention the uprising which took place during General Lamarque's funeral[122] when the insurgents likewise got as far as the rue Montorgueil and were then driven back.

The insurgents advanced in accordance with their plan. They immediately began to separate their territory, the Paris of the workers, from the Paris of the bourgeoisie, by two main fortifications—the barricades at the Porte Saint Denis and those of the Cité. They were dislodged from the former, but were able to hold the latter. June 23, the first day, was merely a prelude. The plan of the insurgents already began to emerge clearly (and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* grasped it correctly at the outset, see No. 26, special

supplement[a]), especially after the first skirmishes between the advanced guards which took place in the morning. The boulevard St. Martin, which crosses the line of operation of the first column, became the scene of fierce fighting, which, partly due to the nature of the terrain, ended with a victory for the forces of "order".

The approaches to the Cité were blocked on the right by a flying squad, which entrenched itself in the rue Planche-Mibray; on the left by the third and fourth columns, which occupied and fortified the three southern bridges of the Cité. Here too a very fierce battle raged. The forces of "order" succeeded in taking the St. Michel Bridge and advancing to the rue St. Jacques. They felt sure that by the evening the revolt would be suppressed.

The plan of the forces of "order" stood out even more clearly than that of the insurgents. To begin with, their plan was merely to crush the insurrection with all available means. They announced their design to the insurgents with cannon-ball and grape-shot.

But the Government believed it was dealing with an uncouth gang of common rioters acting without any plan. After clearing the main streets by the evening, the Government declared that the revolt was quelled, and the stationing of troops in the conquered districts was undertaken in an exceedingly negligent manner.

The insurgents made excellent use of this negligence by launching the great battle which followed the skirmishes of June 23. It is quite remarkable how quickly the workers mastered the plan of campaign, how well-concerted their actions were and how skilfully they used the difficult terrain. This would be quite inexplicable if in the national workshops the workers had not already been to a certain extent organised on military lines and divided into companies, so that they only needed to apply their industrial organisation to their military enterprise in order to constitute immediately a fully organised army.

On the morning of the 24th they had not only completely regained the ground they had lost, but even added new terrain to it. True, the line of boulevards up to the boulevard du Temple remained in the hands of the troops, thus cutting off the first column from the centre, but on the other hand the second column pushed forward from the Quartier St. Antoine until it almost surrounded the Hôtel de Ville. It established its headquarters in the church of St. Gervais, within 300 paces of the Hôtel de Ville. It captured the St. Merri monastery and the adjoining streets and advanced far beyond the Hôtel de Ville, so that together with the columns in the Cité it almost

[a] See this volume, pp. 124-27.—*Ed.*

completely encircled the Hôtel de Ville. Only one way of approach, the quays of the right bank, remained open. In the south the Faubourg St. Jacques was completely reoccupied, communication with the Cité was restored, reinforcements were sent there, and preparations were made for crossing to the right bank.

There was no time to be lost. The Hôtel de Ville, the revolutionary centre of Paris, was threatened and was bound to fall unless the most resolute measures were taken.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 32, July 2, 1848]

Cavaignac was appointed dictator by the terrified National Assembly. Accustomed as he was in Algeria to "energetic" action, he did not have to be told what to do.

Ten battalions promptly moved towards the Hôtel de Ville along the wide Quai de l'École. They cut off the insurgents in the Cité from the right bank, secured the safety of the Hôtel de Ville and even made it possible to attack the barricades surrounding it.

The rue Planche-Mibray, and its continuation, the rue Saint Martin, were cleared and kept permanently clear by cavalry. The Notre-Dame Bridge, which lies opposite and leads to the Cité, was swept by heavy guns, and then Cavaignac advanced directly on the Cité in order to take "energetic" measures there. The "*Belle Jardinière*", the main strongpoint of the insurgents, was first shattered by cannon and then set on fire by rockets. The rue de la Cité was also seized with the aid of gun-fire; three bridges leading to the left bank were stormed and the insurgents on the left bank were pressed back. Meanwhile, the 14 battalions deployed on the Place de Grève and the quays freed the besieged Hôtel de Ville and reduced the church of Saint Gervais from a headquarters to a lost outpost of the insurgents.

The rue St. Jacques was not only bombarded from the Cité but also attacked in the flank from the left bank. General Damesme broke through along the Luxembourg to the Sorbonne, seized the Quartier Latin and sent his columns against the Panthéon. The square in front of the Panthéon had been transformed into a formidable stronghold. The forces of "order" still faced this unassailable bulwark long after they had taken the rue St. Jacques. Gun-fire and bayonet attacks were of no avail until finally exhaustion, lack of ammunition and the threat of the bourgeois to set the place on fire compelled the 1,500 workers, who were completely hemmed in, to surrender. At about the same time, the Place Maubert fell into the hands of the forces of "order" after a long and courageous resistance, and the insurgents,

deprived of their strongest positions, were forced to abandon the entire left bank of the Seine.

Meanwhile the troops and national guards stationed on the boulevards of the right bank of the Seine were likewise put into action in two directions. Lamoricière, who commanded them, had the streets of the faubourgs St. Denis and St. Martin, the boulevard du Temple and part of the rue du Temple cleared by heavy artillery and swift infantry attacks. By the evening he could boast of brilliant successes. He had cut off and partly surrounded the first column in the Clos St. Lazare; he had pushed back the second column and by advancing along the boulevards had thrust a wedge into it.

How did Cavaignac win these advantages?

First, by the vastly superior force he was able to use against the insurgents. On the 24th he had at his disposal not only the 20,000-strong Paris garrison, the 20,000 to 25,000 men of the mobile guard and the 60,000 to 80,000 available men of the national guard, but also the national guard from the whole environs of Paris and from many of the more distant towns (20,000 to 30,000 men) and in addition 20,000 to 30,000 soldiers who were called in with the utmost dispatch from the neighbouring garrisons. Even on the morning of the 24th he had well over 100,000 men at his disposal, and by the evening their numbers had increased by half. The insurgents, on the other hand, numbered 40,000 to 50,000 men at most!

Secondly, by the brutal means he used. Until then cannon had been fired in the streets of Paris only once, i.e. in Vendémiaire 1795, when Napoleon dispersed the insurgents in the rue Saint Honoré with grape-shot.[123] But no artillery, let alone shells and incendiary rockets, was ever used against barricades and against houses. The people were unprepared for this, they were unable to defend themselves, for the only counteraction they could take was to set fire to houses, but this was repugnant to their sense of what was right. Up till then the people had no idea that this brand of Algerian warfare could be used right in the centre of Paris. They therefore retreated, and their first retreat spelt their defeat.

On the 25th Cavaignac attacked with even larger forces. The insurgents were confined to a single district, the faubourgs Saint Antoine and du Temple; in addition they still held two outposts, the Clos St. Lazare and a part of the St. Antoine district up to the Damiette Bridge.

Cavaignac, who had received further reinforcements of 20,000 to 30,000 men as well as a substantial park of artillery, first attacked the isolated outposts of the insurgents, especially the Clos St. Lazare. The insurgents were entrenched here as in a fortress. After a

12-hour bombardment with cannon and mortar shells, Lamoricière finally succeeded in dislodging the insurgents and occupying the Clos St. Lazare, but not until he had mounted a flank attack from the rues Rochechouart and La Poissonnière, and had demolished the barricades by bombarding them with 40 guns on the first day and with an even greater number on the next.

Another part of his column penetrated through the Faubourg Saint Martin into the Faubourg du Temple, but was not very successful. A third section moved along the boulevards towards the Bastille, but it did not get very far either, because a number of the most formidable barricades there resisted for a long time and only succumbed after a fierce cannonade. The houses here suffered appalling destruction.

Duvivier's column advancing from the Hôtel de Ville pressed the insurgents back still further with the aid of incessant artillery fire. The church of St. Gervais was captured, a long stretch of the rue Saint Antoine well beyond the Hôtel de Ville was cleared, and several columns moving along the quay and streets running parallel to it seized the Damiette Bridge, which connected the insurgents of the St. Antoine district with those of the St. Louis and Cité islands. The Saint Antoine district was outflanked and the insurgents had no choice but to fall back into the faubourg, which they did in fierce combat with a column advancing along the quays to the mouth of the St. Martin Canal and thence along the boulevard Bourdon skirting the canal. Several insurgents who were cut off were massacred, hardly any were taken prisoner.

The St. Antoine district and the Place de la Bastille were seized in this operation. Lamoricière's column managed to occupy the whole boulevard Beaumarchais by the evening and join up with Duvivier's troops on the Place de la Bastille.

The capture of the Damiette Bridge enabled Duvivier to dislodge the insurgents from the Île St. Louis and the former Île Louvier. He did this with a commendable display of Algerian barbarity. Hardly anywhere in the city was heavy artillery used with such devastating effect as in the Île St. Louis. But what did that matter? The insurgents were either driven out or massacred and among the blood-stained ruins "order" triumphed.

One more post remained to be seized on the left bank of the Seine. The Austerlitz Bridge, which east of the St. Martin Canal links the Faubourg St. Antoine with the left bank of the Seine, was heavily barricaded and had a strong bridgehead on the left bank where it adjoins the Place Valhubert in front of the Botanical Gardens. This bridgehead, which after the fall of the Panthéon and the Place

Maubert was the last stronghold of the insurgents on the left bank, was taken after stubborn resistance.

Only their last bulwark, the Faubourg St. Antoine and a part of the Faubourg du Temple, was thus left to the insurgents on the following day, the 26th. Neither of these faubourgs is very suitable for street-fighting; the streets there are fairly wide and almost perfectly straight, offering full play for the artillery. Their western side is well protected by the St. Martin Canal, but the northern side is completely exposed. Five or six perfectly straight, wide streets run from the north right into the centre of the Faubourg Saint Antoine.

The principal fortifications were at the Place de la Bastille and in the rue Faubourg St. Antoine, the main street of the whole district. Remarkably strong barricades were set up there, built partly of big flagstones and partly of wooden beams. They were constructed in the form of an angle pointing inward in order partly to weaken the effect of the gun-fire, partly to offer a larger defensive front making cross-fire possible. Openings had been made in the fire-proof walls of the houses so that the rows of houses were connected with each other, thus enabling the insurgents to open rifle-fire on the troops or withdraw behind the barricades as circumstances demanded. The bridges and quays along the canal as well as the streets running parallel to it were also strongly fortified. In short, the two faubourgs the insurgents still held resembled a veritable fortress, in which the troops had to wage a bloody battle for every inch of ground.

On the morning of the 26th the fighting was to be resumed, but Cavaignac was not keen on sending his troops into this maze of barricades. He threatened to shell them; mortars and howitzers were brought up. A parley was held. Cavaignac meanwhile ordered the nearest houses to be mined, but this could only be done to a very limited extent, because the time was too short and because the canal covered one of the lines of attack; he also ordered internal communication to be established between the occupied houses and the adjoining houses through gaps in the fire-proof walls.

The negotiations broke down and fighting was resumed. Cavaignac ordered General Perrot to attack from the Faubourg du Temple and General Lamoricière from the Place de la Bastille. The barricades were heavily shelled from both directions. Perrot pushed forward fairly rapidly, occupied the remaining section of the Faubourg du Temple and even penetrated into the Faubourg St. Antoine at several points. Lamoricière's advance was slower. The first barricades withstood his guns, although his grenades set the first houses of the faubourg on fire. He began once more to negotiate. Watch in hand he awaited the moment when he would have the

pleasure of shelling and razing to the ground the most thickly populated district of Paris. Some of the insurgents at last capitulated, while others, attacked in the flank, withdrew from the city after a short battle.

It was the end of the June barricade fighting. Skirmishes still continued outside the city, but they were of no significance. The insurgents who fled were scattered in the neighbourhood and were one by one captured by cavalry.

We have given this purely military description of the struggle to show our readers with what heroic courage, unity, discipline and military skill the Paris workers fought. For four days 40,000 of them opposed forces four times their strength, and were within a hairbreadth of victory. They almost succeeded in gaining a footing in the centre of Paris, taking the Hôtel de Ville, forming a Provisional Government and doubling their number not only by people from the captured parts of the city joining them but also from the ranks of the mobile guard, who at that time needed but a slight impetus to make them go over to their side.

German newspapers assert that this was the decisive battle between the red and the tricolour republics, between workers and bourgeois. We are convinced that this battle will decide *nothing* but the disintegration of the victors. Moreover, the whole course of events proves that, even from a purely military standpoint, the workers are bound to triumph within a fairly short space of time. If 40,000 Paris workers could achieve such tremendous things against forces four times their number, what will the whole mass of Paris workers accomplish by concerted and co-ordinated action!

*Kersausie* was captured and by now has probably been shot. The bourgeois can kill him, but cannot take from him the fame of having been the *first to organise street-fighting*. They can kill him, but no power on earth can prevent his techniques from being used in all future street-fighting. They can kill him, but they cannot prevent his name from going down in history as the *first commander-in-chief of barricade fighting*.

Written by Engels on June 30 and July 1, 1848

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# GERMANY'S FOREIGN POLICY[124]

*Cologne,* July 2. All hitherto existing rulers and their diplomats have employed their skill and efforts to set one nation against another and use one nation to subjugate another, and in this manner to perpetuate absolute rule. Germany has distinguished herself in this respect. During the last 70 years alone, she has furnished the British, in exchange for English gold, with mercenaries to be used against the North Americans fighting for their independence; when the first French revolution broke out it was the Germans again who, like a rabid pack, allowed themselves to be set upon the French; in a vicious manifesto issued by the Duke of Brunswick they threatened to raze the whole of Paris to the ground[125]; they conspired with the émigré aristocrats against the new order in France and were paid for this in the form of subsidies received from England. When the Dutch, for the first time in two hundred years, finally hit upon the sensible idea of putting an end to the mad rule of the House of Orange and establishing a republic,[126] it was the Germans again who acted as the hangmen of freedom. The Swiss, too, could tell a tale about their German neighbours, and it will be some time before the Hungarians recover from the harm which Austria, i.e. the German Imperial Court, inflicted upon them. Indeed, German mercenary troops were sent as far as Greece to prop up the little throne of dear Otto,[127] and German policemen were sent even to Portugal. Then there were the congresses after 1815, Austria's expeditions to Naples, Turin and the Romagna; the imprisonment of Ypsilanti, the German-imposed war of suppression which France waged against Spain[128]; Dom Miguel[129] and Don Carlos,[130] who were supported by Germany; the reaction in Britain had Hanoverian troops at its disposal; German influence has led to the dismemberment of Belgium and the establishment of a Thermidorian rule there; in the

very heart of Russia Germans are the mainstay of the *one* autocrat and of the smaller ones; all Europe is flooded with sprigs of the House of Coburg.

Poland has been plundered and dismembered and Cracow throttled with the help of German soldiers.[131] German money and blood have helped to enslave and impoverish Lombardy and Venice, and directly or indirectly to stifle any movement of liberation throughout Italy by means of bayonets, gallows, prisons and galleys.[a] The list of sins is much longer, let us close it.

The blame for the infamies committed with the aid of Germany in other countries falls not only on the governments but to a large extent also on the German people. But for the delusions of the Germans, their slavish spirit, their aptitude as mercenaries and "benign" jailers and tools of the masters "by divine right", the German name abroad would not be so detested, cursed and despised, and the nations oppressed by Germany would have long since been able to develop freely. Now that the Germans are throwing off their own yoke, their whole foreign policy must change too. Otherwise the fetters with which we have chained other nations will shackle our own new freedom, which is as yet hardly more than a presentiment. Germany will liberate herself to the extent to which she sets free neighbouring nations.

Things are indeed beginning to look brighter. The lies and misrepresentations which the old government organs have been so busy spreading about Poland and Italy, the attempts at stirring up enmity artificially, the turgid phrases proclaiming that German honour or German power is at stake—all these formulas have lost their magic power. The official patriotism is effective only when these patriotic postures conceal material interests, only among a section of the big bourgeoisie whose business depends on this official patriotism. The reactionary party knows this and makes use of it. But the great mass of the German middle class and the working class understand or feel that the freedom of the neighbouring nations is the guarantee of their own freedom. Is Austria's war against Italy's independence or Prussia's war against the restoration of Poland popular, or on the contrary do they not destroy the last illusions about such "patriotic" crusades? However, neither this understanding nor this feeling is sufficient. If Germany's blood and money are no longer to be squandered, to her own detriment, in suppressing other nations, then we must achieve a really popular government, and the old edifice must be razed to the ground. Only then can an

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[a] See this volume, pp. 385-87 and 395-98.—*Ed.*

international policy of democracy take the place of the sanguinary, cowardly policy of the old, revived system. How can a democratic foreign policy be carried through while democracy at home is stifled? Meanwhile, everything possible must be done to prepare the way for the democratic system on this side and the other side of the Alps. The *Italians* have issued a number of declarations which make their friendly attitude towards Germany perfectly clear. We would mention the Manifesto of the Provisional Government at Milan[132] addressed to the German people[a] and the numerous articles written in the same vein, which are published in the Italian press. We have now received further evidence of this attitude—a private letter from the administrative committee of the newspaper *L'Alba*, published in Florence, to the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. It is dated June 20, and says among other things:

"We thank you sincerely for the esteem in which you hold our poor Italy.[b] Meanwhile we whole-heartedly assure you that all Italians know who really violates and attacks their liberty; they know that their most deadly enemy is not the strong and magnanimous German people, but rather their unjust, despotic, and cruel government; we assure you that every true Italian longs for the moment when he will be free to shake hands with his German brother, who, once his inalienable rights are established, will be able to defend them, to respect them himself and to secure the respect of all his brothers for them. Placing our trust in the principles to whose careful elaboration you have dedicated yourselves, we remain

Your faithful friends and brothers
(signed) *L. Alinari*"

The *Alba* is one of the few papers in Italy which firmly advocate democratic principles.

Written by Engels on July 2, 1848

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[a] *Il Governo provvisorio alla Nazione Germanica*, April 6, 1848.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 11-12.—*Ed.*

# MARRAST AND THIERS

We have continuously drawn the attention of the readers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* to the intrigues of the party of the *National*, personified by *Marrast*. We have investigated the underhanded means by which this party strives to seize the dictatorship. At the same time we have pointed out how the dictatorship of Marrast conjures up the dictatorship of Thiers.

Several facts strikingly illustrate how much the party of the *National*, due to its victory, has already succumbed to the party of Thiers which is now closely fused with the dynastic opposition.[133]

The appointment of *Carnot*, a man of the *National*, as Minister has stirred up a violent uproar in the National Assembly. *Marie*'s candidature for the presidency of the National Assembly was rivalled by *Dufaure*'s candidature and, as the *Débats* reports, was only approved because he was known as "the wisest and most moderate man of the old Executive Committee",[a] i.e. because he made the most concessions to the old dynastic party and because he drafted the Bill on gatherings, the continuation of the September Laws,[134] and sponsored and defended it in the National Assembly! The fact remains that "Marrast" and "Thiers" threw dice for the presidency of the National Assembly.

This does not satisfy, however, the "dynastic opposition". One of the first laws that it is preparing is a law concerning the municipal councils, a law which is directly aimed against the autocracy and influence of Marrast, the Mayor of Paris. And he will fall.

In a few days the entire National Assembly will tear itself apart. The reaction will proceed until the party of the *National* is excluded

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[a] "Paris, 29 juillet", *Journal des Débats*, July 30, 1848.—*Ed.*

from all exercise of power. "Republic" and "dynastic opposition" will confront each other once more, but the republic will no longer win on the terms of February.

The people will no longer indulge in fancies. It will no longer "hide its revenge under a bushel" as Caussidière puts it and it will no longer "fling its wrath into the torrents of Styx".[a] *Qui vivra verra.*

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[a] From Caussidière's speech in the National Assembly on June 27, 1848 (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 31, July 1, 1848, supplement).—*Ed.*

# THE AGREEMENT DEBATES

*Cologne,* July 2. After the tragedy the idyll, after the thunder of the Paris June days, the beating of the drums of the Berlin agreers. We had completely lost sight of the gentlemen but now we learn that at the very moment when Cavaignac shelled the Faubourg St. Antoine, Herr Camphausen gave a nostalgic farewell address and Herr Hansemann submitted the programme of the new Ministry.

First of all, we observe with pleasure that Herr Hansemann has taken our advice and has *not* become Prime Minister.[a] He has realised that it is greater to *make* Prime Ministers than to *be* one.

The new Government, in spite of the borrowed name (*prête-nom*) of Auerswald, is and remains the *Hansemann* Government. It shows itself as such by presenting itself as the Government of *Action* and of accomplishing things. Herr Auerswald has certainly no claim to be a Minister of action!

Herr Hansemann's programme is well known. We will not examine the points of his political programme since they have already provided feed for the more or less petty German newspapers. There is only one point that nobody has dared to examine. We want to make up for that omission so that Herr Hansemann should not feel neglected.

Herr Hansemann declares:

"There is at present no more effective means to revive industry and thus to eliminate the poverty of the labouring classes than to restore the weakened confidence in the preservation of law and order and to establish soon a firm constitutional monarchy. By concentrating all our efforts on this aim, *we can best counteract unemployment and poverty.*"

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[a] See this volume, pp. 111-12.—*Ed.*

At the beginning of his programme, Herr Hansemann has already said that he proposes to submit new repressive laws for this purpose insofar as the old (police state!) legislation does not suffice.

That is plain enough. The old despotic legislation does not suffice! The abolition of the poverty of the working class is not the province of the Minister of Public Works or the Minister of Finance but of the Minister of *War!* First repressive laws, to be followed by grape-shot and bayonets—indeed, "there is no more effective means"! Perhaps Herr Schreckenstein,[a] whose mere name—according to the Westphalian address[b]—strikes terror into the agitators, wants to continue his heroic deeds of Trier[135] and become a Cavaignac on a reduced Prussian scale?

But Herr Hansemann has still other means besides the "most effective" one:

> "What is *also* necessary for this purpose is to procure employment by public works projects of genuine usefulness to the country."

Herr Hansemann will thus "order still more comprehensive work for the good of *all* industrious classes of the people" than Herr Patow. But he will do this

> "when the Government succeeds in removing the anxieties over the possible overthrow of the political system which are nourished by unrest and *agitation* and in *restoring* the general *confidence* necessary to obtain the required *finances*".

For the moment Herr Hansemann cannot order any public works to be started because he cannot obtain any money. He can only obtain the money when confidence is restored. But, as he himself says, when confidence is restored, the workers will be employed and the Government will no longer *need* to procure jobs for them.

Herr Hansemann's measures for the abolition of poverty are going round in a circle which is by no means vicious but rather very virtuous in a bourgeois sense. For the moment Herr Hansemann has nothing to offer the workers but the September Laws[136] and a reduced version of Cavaignac. This is indeed a Government of *Action!*

It is not our purpose to examine the recognition of the revolution in his programme. The "well-informed G-correspondent" of the *Kölnische Zeitung* has already hinted to the public how far Herr Hansemann has saved the legal basis for the benefit of the

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[a] The name, literally translated, means "terror-stone".—*Ed.*

[b] "Adresse der Krieger und Wehrmänner des Kreises Hagen vom 19. Juni 1848" (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 25, June 25, 1848, special supplement).—*Ed.*

neighbouring journalist.[a] As regards the revolution Herr Hansemann has recognised that it is basically no revolution.

Herr Hansemann had hardly finished when Prime Minister *Auerswald* rose, for he was obliged to say something as well. He took out a written scrap of paper and read approximately the following thoughts, only not in verse:

> Gentlemen! I am happy today
> To tarry at your meeting,
> Where many a noble kindred spirit
> Lovingly howls a greeting.
> My feelings at this very moment
> Are quite beyond all measure;
> And oh! these truly blissful hours
> All my life I'll treasure![b]

We want to emphasise that we have given the most favourable interpretation to the somewhat unintelligible scrap of paper of the Prime Minister.

Herr Auerswald has hardly finished when our Hansemann jumps up again in order to prove by raising a question of confidence that he has not changed his tune. He demands that the draft address[c] be referred back to committee and says:

> "The reception which this first motion will find in the Assembly will be a measure of the amount of confidence that the High Assembly has in the new Ministry."

This was really too much. Deputy *Weichsel*, no doubt a reader of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, angrily rushes to the rostrum and protests emphatically against this everlasting method of the question of confidence. So far, so good. But once a German has begun to talk, it is hard to stop him, and so Herr Weichsel let himself go in a long discourse about this and that, about the revolution, the year 1807 and the year 1815, about a warm heart beating beneath a shirt and several other topics. All this he said because "he felt it necessary to get these matters off his chest". A dreadful clamour, mingled with a few bravos from the Left, forced the worthy fellow to leave the rostrum.

Herr Hansemann assured the Assembly that it was by no means the Ministry's intention to raise *frivolous questions of confidence.* It would not be worth the trouble to discuss the issue further since on

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[a] Marx and Engels frequently use this expression when referring to Karl Brüggemann, the editor-in-chief of the *Kölnische Zeitung.—Ed.*

[b] Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen,* Caput XII.— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 62-63.— *Ed.*

this occasion it was not really a full question of confidence but only half a question.

There ensues debate such as seldom occurs. Everybody speaks at once and the debate wanders off into a myriad trivialities. The question of confidence, the agenda, standing orders, Polish nationality, adjournment, accompanied by bravos and clamour, all circulate for some time. At last Herr *Parrisius* observes that Herr Hansemann has put a motion on behalf of the Government, whereas the Government as such cannot put motions but can only make communications.

Herr *Hansemann* replies that it was a slip of the tongue. The motion was really no motion but merely a *request* from the Government.

The grandiose question of confidence is thus reduced to a mere "request" of the Ministers!

Herr Parrisius rushes to the rostrum from the left side, Herr Ritz from the right. At the summit they confront each other. A collision is unavoidable since neither of the two heroes wants to withdraw. At this point, the Chairman, Herr Esser, begins to speak and both heroes turn back.

Herr *Zachariä* adopts the Government's motion as his own and demands an immediate debate.

Herr Zachariä, the obedient servant of this as well as the previous Government, who had once before played the redeeming angel by just at the right moment. proposing an amendment to Berends' motion, could not find anything to say in support of his motion. What had been stated by the Finance Minister sufficed entirely.

A lengthy debate now ensues with the indispensable amendments, interruptions, table-banging, blustering and sophistries about rules of procedure. It would be asking too much of us to lead our readers through this labyrinth. We can merely point out to them some of the more charming aspects of this confusion:

1. Deputy *Waldeck* enlightens us: the address cannot be referred back to the committee since the committee no longer exists.

2. Deputy *Hüffer* elaborates: the address is not a reply to the Crown but to the Ministers. The Ministers who produced the speech from the throne no longer exist. How are we supposed to reply to someone who does not exist any more?

3. Deputy d'Ester draws the following conclusion in the form of an amendment: the Assembly wishes to drop the address.

4. The amendment is disposed of by Chairman *Esser* in the following manner: This proposal seems to be a new motion and not an amendment.

That is the whole skeleton of the debate. To this meagre skeleton, however, there adheres a mass of bloated flesh in the form of speeches by the Ministers Rodbertus and Kühlwetter, the deputies Zachariä, Reichensperger II etc.

The situation is exceedingly strange. Herr Rodbertus himself says that it is

"unprecedented in the history of parliaments that a Government resigns while the draft of an address is on the table and the debate about it is supposed to begin!"

During its first six weeks of parliamentary life, Prussia has on the whole had the good fortune of encountering events almost all of which were "unprecedented in the history of parliaments".

Herr Hansemann finds himself in the same dilemma as the Chamber. The address, ostensibly a reply to the speech from the throne by Camphausen-Hansemann, is in reality supposed to be a reply to the Hansemann-Auerswald programme. The committee which was complaisant towards Camphausen is therefore supposed to show similar complaisance towards Herr Hansemann. The difficulty is merely to convince people of the need for this demand which is "unprecedented in the history of parliaments". All means are employed. Rodbertus, the Aeolian harp of the Left Centre, murmurs the most gentle sounds. Kühlwetter makes soothing gestures in all directions: it is, of course, possible that a new examination of the draft address "might convince everybody that *no changes need now be made after all* (!) but in order to win this conviction" (!!) the draft ought to be returned once more to the committee! Finally, Herr Hansemann, who as always is bored by a long debate, cuts the knot by stating bluntly why the draft should be returned to the committee: he does not want the new changes to slip in through the back door in the form of ministerial amendments, they should rather, in the form of committee proposals, strut into the hall through a large folding-door with wide-open leaves.

The Prime Minister declares that it is necessary that

"the Government should *collaborate in a constitutional way* in the drafting of the address".

Even after much cogitation, we are unable to explain what this is supposed to mean and which Constitution Herr Auerswald has in mind, particularly since Prussia *does not have* a Constitution at all at this moment.

Only two speeches from the side of the opposition need be mentioned: those of Herr d'Ester and Herr Hüffer. Herr d'Ester successfully ridiculed Herr Hansemann's programme by using Herr

Hansemann's former disparaging remarks about abstractions, useless quarrels over principles etc. against the very abstract programme. D'Ester called upon the Government of *Action* "at last to proceed to action and to set aside questions of principle". We have already mentioned above his proposal, which was the only sensible one that was made in the course of the day.

Herr *Hüffer*, who most clearly expressed the correct point of view in relation to the address, also formulated it most clearly in relation to Herr Hansemann's request: the Government demands that we should have enough confidence in it to send the address back to the committee and it makes the continuation of its existence dependent upon such a decision. The Government, however, can only demand a vote of confidence for actions which *it carries out itself* but not for actions which *it requires of the Assembly*.

In short: Herr Hansemann demanded a vote of confidence and the Assembly, to spare Herr Hansemann unpleasantness, gave an indirect vote of censure to its address committee. Under the Government of Action the deputies will soon find out what the famous treasury-whip[a] is.

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[a] Engels uses the English term and adds a German translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

# ARRESTS

*Cologne,* July 3. Up to now the Government of *Action* has only proved itself as the Ministry of the Police. Its first act was the arrest of Herr *Monecke* and Herr *Fernbach* in Berlin. Its second act was the arrest of Bombardier *Funk* in Saarlouis. Now "action" is beginning to make itself felt here in Cologne too. This morning Dr. *Gottschalk* and Lieutenant (ret.) *Anneke* were arrested. We are reserving our judgment since we are still lacking definite information about the reasons for their arrest and the manner in which it was carried out.

The workers will be sensible enough not to let themselves be provoked into creating a disturbance.

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# ARRESTS

*Cologne,* July 4. We promised our readers yesterday that we would come back to the arrest of Dr. *Gottschalk* and *Anneke.* Up to now we have only been able to obtain greater details about Anneke's arrest.

Six to seven policemen entered Anneke's residence between six and seven in the morning, immediately maltreated the maid in the hall and then silently sneaked up the stairs. Three of them remained in the anteroom while four invaded the bedroom where Anneke and his wife, who is in an advanced state of pregnancy, were asleep. One of these four pillars of justice was already at this early hour somewhat unsteady, being filled with "spirit", the true fluid of life: firewater.

Anneke asked what they wanted. He should go along with them! was the laconic answer. Anneke asked that at least his sick wife should be spared and asked the gentlemen to go into the anteroom. The gentlemen of the Holy Hermandad[137] declared that they would not leave the bedroom. They urged Anneke to dress quickly and did not even permit him to speak to his wife. Once they found themselves in the anteroom, the urging turned into assault during which one of the policemen smashed a glass door. Anneke was *pushed down* the stairs. Four policemen led him off to the new gaol. Three of them remained with Frau Anneke to guard her until the arrival of the Public Prosecutor.

According to the law, there must be at least one *official of the court police* (a police inspector or similar person) present during an arrest. Why such formalities, however, since the people possess two assemblies, one in Berlin and one in Frankfurt, to represent their rights?

Half an hour later, Public Prosecutor *Hecker* and Examining Magistrate *Geiger* came to search the house.

Frau Anneke complained that the Public Prosecutor had left the arrest to police whose brutality was unconstrained by the presence of any member of the municipal authorities. Herr Hecker declared that he had given *no orders to commit brutalities.* As if Herr Hecker could order brutalities!

Frau *Anneke*: It seems that the police were sent ahead *alone* so that the authorities would not have to assume the responsibility for their brutality. Besides, the arrest was not carried out according to legal procedure since none of the police produced a warrant. One of them merely pulled a scrap of paper out of his pocket which Anneke was not allowed to read.

Herr *Hecker*: "The police were *judicially commanded* to proceed with the arrest." Does not the command of a judge also fall under the command of the law? The Public Prosecutor and the Examining Magistrate confiscated a mass of papers and pamphlets, including Frau Anneke's whole briefcase, etc. Incidentally, Examining Magistrate Geiger has been designated as *Police Superintendent.*

Anneke was interrogated for half an hour in the evening. A supposedly seditious speech that he made during the last popular assembly at the Gürzenich Hall[138] was given as the reason for his arrest. Article 102 of the *Code pénal*[139] speaks of public orations which *directly* incite to conspiracy against the Emperor and his family or which aim at disturbing the public peace by civil war, the illegal use of armed force or open vandalism and looting. The Code does not contain the Prussian "excitement of dissatisfaction". For lack of the Prussian law, Article 102 will be employed for the time being wherever its employment is a judicial impossibility.

A great show of military force accompanied the arrest. From four o'clock onwards the troops were confined to barracks. Bakers and artisans were allowed in but not let out again. Towards six o'clock the hussars moved from Deutz to Cologne and rode through the whole city. The new gaol was occupied by 300 men. For today, four new arrests have been announced, those of Jansen, Kalker, Esser and a fourth one. *Eyewitnesses* assure us that Jansen's posters, in which he urged the *workers to remain calm,* were *torn down from* the walls by the police yesterday evening. Was that done in the interest of order? Or was someone looking for a pretext to carry out carefully prepared plans in the good old city of Cologne?

Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel is supposed to have inquired earlier at the Provincial Court of Appeal at Arnsberg whether he should arrest Anneke on the basis of his former conviction[140] and

have him transported to Jülich. The royal amnesty seems to have stood in the way of this well-meaning intention. The matter was referred to the Ministry.

Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel, moreover, is supposed to have declared that he would within a week put an end to March 19, the clubs, freedom of the press and other outrages that the evil year 1848 had brought to Cologne on the Rhine. Herr Zweiffel is not among the sceptics.

Is Herr Zweiffel perhaps combining the executive with the legislative power? Are the laurels of Chief Public Prosecutor supposed to cover the weak points of the people's representative? Once again we will scrutinise our much beloved stenographic reports and give the public a true picture of the work of the people's representative and Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel.[a]

Those are the actions of the *Government of Action*, the Government of the Left Centre, the Government of transition to an old aristocratic, old bureaucratic and old Prussian Government. As soon as Herr Hansemann has fulfilled his transitory function, he will be dismissed.

The Berlin Left, however, must realise that the old regime is willing to let it keep its small parliamentary victories and large constitutional designs as long as the old regime in the meantime is able to seize all the really important positions. It can confidently recognise the revolution of March 19 inside the Chamber provided the revolution can be disarmed outside of it.

Some fine day the Left may find that its parliamentary victory coincides with its real defeat. *Perhaps German development needs such contrasts.*

The Government of Action recognises the revolution in principle in order to carry out the counter-revolution in practice.

Written on July 4, 1848

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[a] See this volume, pp. 94-95.—*Ed.*

# THE AGREEMENT DEBATES

*Cologne,* July 4. Today we will take up the agreement session of June 28. The Assembly is confronted by a new President,[a] a new set of standing orders and new Ministers. One can therefore imagine how great is the confusion.

After lengthy preliminary debates about standing orders and other matters, Deputy *Gladbach* was finally allowed to speak. A few days ago in Spandau, the Prussian soldiery forcibly disarmed, and in some instances even arrested, on their return from Schleswig-Holstein, the members of the 6th Company of the Volunteer Corps which had been disbanded for republican sentiments. It had no legitimate reason or legal authority whatever to carry out this act. In law, the army cannot take such steps on its own initiative at all. Most of these volunteers, however, had formerly fought on the barricades of Berlin and the gentlemen of the guard had to get even with them.

Herr *Gladbach* questioned the Ministry on this act of military despotism.

The Minister of War, *Schreckenstein,* declares that he does not know anything about this matter and that he must reserve the right to demand a report on it from the appropriate authority.

Hence the people pay a Minister of War so that he does not yet know in Berlin on the 28th what steps the military took on the 25th a mere three hours from Berlin, in Spandau, and so that, right in front of his eyes, as it were, a mere three hours from Berlin, lieutenants of the guard should occupy the railway stations and seize the weapons from the armed nation (weapons which belong to the people, and

[a] Wilhelm Grabow.—*Ed.*

which they captured on the battlefield), without even deigning to honour the Minister of War with a report! But to be sure, Lieutenant-Colonel Schlichting who accomplished this heroic deed acted according to "instructions", which he probably receives from Potsdam, and it is probably also to Potsdam that he reports!

Tomorrow, the well-informed Minister of War pleads, tomorrow I will *perhaps* be able to give an answer!

There follows a question by Zacharias: The Ministry had promised a Bill on the civic militia. Will this Bill be based upon the principle of arming the whole nation?

The new Minister of the Interior, Herr Kühlwetter, answers: Indeed, a civic militia Bill was under consideration, but it had not yet been discussed in the Ministry, hence he could not say anything further about it.

Thus the new Ministry has been formed so precipitously and has reached so little agreement upon its guiding principles that even the burning question of the arming of the nation has not yet been debated!

A second question by Deputy *Gladbach* concerned the definitive appointing of burgomasters and other officials by the authorities hitherto empowered to do so. Since the entire prevailing administration will continue to exist only on a provisional basis, it will be able to fill the existing vacancies also only provisionally until it is determined by legislation how and by whom the different authorities are to be appointed. Nevertheless, burgomasters and other officials have been appointed definitively.

Minister *Kühlwetter* expresses his general agreement with Herr Gladbach and will allow only provisional burgomasters to be appointed.

President Grabow skilfully evades a further question by Herr *Gladbach* about the suspension of the many officials hated by those they administer; during the initial flush of revolutionary ardour a number of these officials, especially in the country, having been put to flight.

After some debates on procedure, the question of Deputy *Dierschke* concerning the Köslin address[141] and its furtherance by the governments and the rural district administrations was reached. But the deputy had completely forgotten that his question had been put on the agenda and he had failed therefore to bring along the papers necessary to substantiate his case. Thus there was nothing left for him to do but to indulge in a few general phrases about the reaction, to accept a highly unsatisfactory reply from the Minister and to be told by the President that he must surely be satisfied with it.

But he had still to put a second question: Whether or not the Ministers intended to oppose the reactionary schemes of the aristocracy and the party of the officials.

In this case, too, he seems to have forgotten the necessary papers. Once again he spouts declamatory phrases instead of quoting facts and demands nothing better from the Ministry than that it issue a proclamation against reaction.

Herr *Kühlwetter* answers, of course, that the views of lords of the manor and of officials were not his concern, only their actions were. These people had the same freedom as Herr *Dierschke*, and besides, would Herr Dierschke please cite facts. In duly dignified manner, he rejected the absurd idea of an "enactment" against reaction. Herr Dierschke then cited the fact that in his district of Ohlau the *Landrat* had stated that the National Assembly would not be unanimous until it was glued together with grape-shot, and that their deputy (Dierschke himself) had said that it would be a trifle to string up a Minister.

The Chairman deduced from this remark that Herr Dierschke was now also satisfied in regard to the second question and Herr Dierschke could not think of any objections to raise.

Herr *Hansemann*, however, is not satisfied. He accuses the speaker of having digressed from the main question. He

> "leaves it to the Assembly to judge the propriety of making personal accusations against officials when proof of these accusations is not supplied at the same time".

After delivering this proud challenge and being greeted by the resounding applause of the Right and the Centre, Herr Hansemann sits down.

Deputy *Elsner* puts an urgent motion. He calls for the immediate appointment of a committee of inquiry into the situation of the spinners and weavers as well as of the entire Prussian linen manufacture.

In a brief and striking speech Herr *Elsner* tells the Assembly how the old Government had in every single case sacrificed the linen industry to dynastic and legitimist interests or rather notions. Spain, Mexico, Poland and Cracow served as proofs.[142]

Fortunately the facts were striking and affected only the old Government. Therefore no difficulties were raised by any side. The Government put itself at the disposal of the committee in advance and the motion was passed unanimously.

There follows a question by *d'Ester* concerning the shaved Poles.[143]

*D'Ester* declares that he does not just seek information about the fact but specifically about the measures taken by the Government

against this treatment. That was the reason why he was not just addressing himself to the Minister of War but to the entire Government.

Herr *Auerswald:* If d'Ester does not want an answer to this specific case "the Government is not *interested*" in replying.

Really, the Government is not "interested" in replying to the question! What novelty! It is indeed customary to ask questions precisely in those cases in which "the Government is *not a bit interested*". Precisely *because* it is not interested in answering it, precisely for that reason, Herr Prime Minister, the Government is asked the question.

The Prime Minister, by the way, must have believed that he was not among his superiors but among his subordinates. He attempts to make the reply to the question dependent upon the interest shown not by the Assembly but by the Government.

We attribute it solely to the inexperience of President Grabow that he did not call Herr Auerswald to order for this bureaucratic arrogance.

The Prime Minister, by the way, gave the assurance that the shaving of Poles would be vigorously counteracted but that he could not reveal any details until a later date.

*D'Ester* is very willing to agree to a delay but wants to know the date when Auerswald intends to answer.

Herr *Auerswald,* who must be hard of hearing, replies: I believe that there is nothing in my declaration which indicates that the Ministry does not wish (!) to revert to this matter at a later date. But he cannot yet fix the date.

*Behnsch* and *d'Ester* moreover declare explicitly that they are also demanding further information about the fact itself.

Then follows *d'Ester*'s second question: What was the meaning of the military preparations in the Rhine Province, particularly in Cologne, and did perhaps the necessity arise to protect the frontier with France?

Herr *Schreckenstein* replies: For several months now no troops have gone to the Rhine with the exception of individual reservists. (To be sure, brave Bayard, but there were already too many troops there.) Not just Cologne but *all* fortresses are being fortified so that the fatherland should not be endangered.[a]

Thus if the troops are not drafted into the forts at Cologne where they have nothing to do and are in very poor quarters, if the artillery units do not get any rifles, if the troops do not receive bread for a

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[a] See this volume, pp. 68-71.—*Ed.*

week in advance and if the infantry is not provided with live bullets and the artillery with grape and ball shot, the fatherland is in danger? Thus, according to Herr Schreckenstein, the fatherland is only *out of* danger when Cologne and the other big cities are *in* danger!

By the way,

"all troop movements must be left entirely to the judgment of a military person, i.e. the Minister of War, otherwise he cannot be responsible"!

Imperial Baron Roth von Schreckenstein[a] of the terror-inspiring name sounds like a young girl whose virtue is threatened rather than the Prussian *pro tempore* Bayard without fear and reproach!

When Deputy d'Ester, M.D., who truly is a dwarf by the side of the mighty Imperial Baron Roth von Schreckenstein, asks the said Schreckenstein about the meaning of one or another measure, the great Imperial Baron believes that the little M.D. wants to take away his prerogative freely to decide on the disposition of troops. In such an event he could of course no longer be responsible!

In a word, the Minister of War declares that he must not be *called to account*; otherwise he would not *be accountable* at all.

By the way, what weight does a deputy's question carry compared with the "judgment of a military person, and particularly a Minister of War"!

Although *d'Ester* declares that he is not satisfied, he nevertheless draws from Schreckenstein's answer the conclusion that the military preparations are designed to protect the French frontier.

Prime Minister *Auerswald* protests against this conclusion.

If *all* border fortresses are fortified, it stands to reason that *all* frontiers are "protected". If *all* frontiers are protected, surely the *French* frontier, too, is "protected".

Herr Auerswald admits the correctness of the premises but "rejects" the deduction "in the name of the Government".

We, on the other hand, "assume in the name" of common sense that Herr Auerswald is not merely hard of hearing.

*D'Ester* and *Pfahl* protest at once. *Reichenbach* declares that Neisse,[b] the most significant Silesian fortress against the East, is not being fortified at all and that it is in a most sorry plight. When he begins to give details, the Right supported by the Centre makes a terrible racket and Reichenbach is forced to leave the rostrum.

Herr *Moritz*:

"Count Reichenbach has given *no* reason for addressing the Assembly (!). I believe that I may speak for *the same reason* (!!). I consider it to be unparliamentary and

[a] The name, literally translated, means "terror-stone".—*Ed.*
[b] The Polish name is Nysa.—*Ed.*

unheard of in the history of parliaments to *embarrass* the Ministry in such a manner ... (great commotion), to bring up matters which should not be discussed before the public ... we have not been sent here to *endanger* the fatherland." (A terrible din ensues. Our Moritz has to get off the rostrum.)

Deputy Esser I calms the tumult by a disquisition, as thorough as it is appropriate, on Paragraph 28 of the standing orders.

Herr *Moritz* protests; he had not intended to correct a fact but merely "wanted to speak for the same reason as Count Reichenbach"! The conservative faction supports him and grants him a loud cheer, whereas the extreme Left bangs on the tables.

*Auerswald*:

"Is it appropriate to discuss in detail the defensive capacity of Prussia either in individual cases or as a whole?"

We note in the first place that the discussion did not deal with the defensive capacity of the state but rather with the *defencelessness* of the state. Secondly, what is inappropriate is not that the Minister of War should be reminded of his duties but rather that he should make military preparations against domestic opponents and not against external foes.

The Right is terribly bored and calls for an end to the debate. The President, in the midst of much noise, declares that the matter is settled.

Next on the agenda is a motion by *Jung*. Herr Jung deems it appropriate to be absent. What a wonderful representation of the people!

Now comes a question by Deputy *Scholz*. It reads literally as follows:

"Question to the Minister of the Interior inquiring whether he is able or inclined to supply information on the *inopportune introduction of constables in the districts*."[144]

*President*: To begin with I am asking whether this question has been *understood*.

(It has not been understood and it is read once again.)

Minister *Kühlwetter*: Indeed, I do not know what information is demanded of me. I do not understand the question.

*President*: Is there support for the question? (It is not supported.)

*Scholz*: I withdraw my motion for the time being.

We, too, are "withdrawing" for today after this priceless scene which is "unheard of in the history of parliaments".

Written by Engels on July 4, 1848

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# LEGAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

*Cologne*, July 6. We have just received the following rejoinder to the article printed in yesterday's [*Neue*] *Rheinische Zeitung* dated "Cologne, July 4" which dealt with the arrest of Dr. Gottschalk and Anneke.[a]

"I declare it to be a falsehood that I answered the complaint of Frau Anneke concerning the arrest of her husband without the presence of a member of the municipal authorities in the following manner:

"'I have given *no orders to commit brutalities*.'

"Rather, I merely remarked that I should regret it if the police had conducted themselves in an unseemly manner.

"I furthermore declare it to be a falsehood to state that I used the expression:

"'The police were *judicially commanded* to proceed with the arrest.'

"I merely observed that the arrest was effected by virtue of a warrant to appear in court issued by the Examining Magistrate.

"Under the law, such warrants are discharged by court bailiffs or agents of the armed forces. The presence of an official of the court police is nowhere prescribed.

"The defamations and insults contained in this article, directed against Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel and the police who carried out the arrest, will be evaluated in the legal proceedings which will be initiated on this count.

Cologne, July 5, 1848

*Hecker*, Public Prosecutor"

Our esteemed readers may perceive from the preceding that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has gained a new contributor of great promise—the *Public Prosecutor's office*.

We have erred on a *single* point of law. During an arrest there is no need for an "*official of the court police*" but merely for an *agent of the*

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[a] See this volume, pp. 177-79.— *Ed.*

*public authority*. With what careful guarantees the Code assures the safety of the person!

Incidentally, the fact that the police did not produce their warrant remains illegal. It also remains illegal that they, as we are subsequently informed, *scrutinised documents* even *before* the appearance of Herr Hecker and his companion. But above all the *brutalities*, which Herr Hecker *regretted*, remain illegal. We are amazed to see court proceedings pending not against the police but against the newspaper that has denounced their impropriety.

The *insult* could only refer to one of the policemen of whom it was said that he "*was unsteady*" at an early hour for more or less spiritual or spirituous reasons. If the investigation, however, as we do not doubt for one moment, should prove the correctness of the evidence, namely the brutalities committed by the agents of the public authority, then we believe that we shall have only acted in the interests of the gentlemen accused by us by carefully emphasising, with the complete impartiality becoming the press, the only "*extenuating circumstance*". And this affable statement of the only extenuating circumstance is transformed into an "insult" by the Public Prosecutor.

And now as to the insult or defamation of Chief Public Prosecutor *Zweiffel*!

We have simply reported, and as we have ourselves indicated in the report, we have reported *rumours*, rumours which reached us from a reliable source. The press not only has the right but the duty to keep a close watch on the conduct of the people's representatives. At the same time we pointed out that Herr Zweiffel's past parliamentary activity seems to be in line with the anti-popular remarks ascribed to him. Is it really the intention to deprive the press of the right to *judge* the parliamentary activity of a representative of the people? What then is the purpose of the press?

Or does not the press have the right to detect in the people's representative *Zweiffel* too much of the Chief Public Prosecutor and in the Chief Public Prosecutor too much of the people's representative? Why then in Belgium, France etc. the debate on incompatibilities?

As to the *constitutional usage*, one should read again how the *Constitutionnel*, the *Siècle* and the *Presse* during the reign of Louis Philippe judged the parliamentary activity of *Hébert, Plougoulm* etc. at the time when these men occupied the highest positions in the Public Prosecutor's office and at the same time served as deputies. One should read how the Belgian newspapers, particularly the strictly constitutional ones such as the *Observateur*, the *Politique* and

the *Emancipation*, barely a year ago judged the parliamentary activity of M. *Bavay* when he combined in one person the office of deputy and Public Prosecutor-General.

And what was always allowed under the Guizot Ministry and the Rogier Ministry should not be allowed under a *monarchy built on the broadest democratic foundation*? A right which was not contested by any Administration of the French Restoration becomes a wrong under the *Government of Action* which recognises the *revolution in principle*?

Incidentally, the public has been able to convince itself from our special supplement of this morning just how correctly we have judged the course of events. *Rodbertus* has left the Government and *Ladenberg* has entered it. The Government of the Left Centre has *transformed* itself in a few days into a decidedly *old-Prussian reactionary Government*. The *Right* has dared a *coup d'état*,[145] and the *Left* has *withdrawn with the threats*.

And is it not palpably clear that the most recent acts in Cologne were part of the great plan of campaign of the *Government of Action*?

Just now we are being informed that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has been banned from the house of detention. Do the prison rules provide for such a prohibition? Or are the politically accused condemned to the penalty of having to read exclusively the *Kölnische Zeitung*?

Written by Marx on July 6, 1848

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# THE BERLIN AGREEMENT DEBATES

*Cologne*, July 6. While ministerial crisis No. 2 continues in Berlin, we would like for the time being, in the words of Deputy *Mätze*, to return "from these tempests" to the hitherto "calm lake" of the agreement debates. Say what you like, we have spent here more than one hour of genial cheerfulness—

> Here, breeding and custom hold sway,
> And many a quiet pleasure blooms
> Amidst us to this day.[a]

It is the turn of the session of *June 30*. Right from the beginning it opens with significant and very peculiarly characteristic occurrences.

Who has not heard of the great campaign of the 57 family heads from Berg and Mark who set out to save the fatherland? Who does not know with what defiance of death this cream of conservative philistinism, forsaking wives, children and business, set out to step into the breach to give battle to the revolution in a fight to the death, in a word, to go to Berlin and present to the Ministry a petition against agitators?

These 57 paladins then also presented to the Agreement Assembly an address containing mild, reactionary pious wishes. The address is read. A few gentlemen of the Right wish also to have the signatures read. The secretary begins to read but is interrupted by shouts of "Enough, enough!"

Deputy *Berg*:

"The document which has just been read must be either a motion or a petition. If it is a motion I would like to know which member has adopted it. If it is a petition, let it be sent to the appropriate committee so that we may *no longer be bored with it.*"

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[a] Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen*, Caput XXV.—*Ed.*

This laconic answer of Herr Berg disposes of the matter. The President[a] stammers a few apologies and puts aside the address of the 57 family heads.

Thereupon rises an old friend of ours and of the Left, Deputy *Schultz* from Wanzleben:

"The day before yesterday I withdrew my motions concerning civil marriage etc. with the explanation that my proposed Bills are to be drafted differently by me. I find in the stenographic reports that my remarks are followed by the comment: '*Laughter.*' It may be that somebody or other has laughed at my remarks, but if so, he certainly did it *without reason.*" (Renewed laughter.)

Deputy Schultz from Wanzleben explains now with the most ingenuous good nature that he only wanted to do his best, that he would be happy to be taught better, that he had been convinced of the imperfections of his Bills, that he could, however, hardly move amendments to his own proposals and that he therefore considered it his duty not to "submit" his motion to the Assembly in its original form but to withdraw it for the time being.

"I cannot find anything laughable in this and I must protest if by the word 'laughter' my judicious procedure is presented as *laughable.*"

Deputy Schultz from Wanzleben fares like the Knight Tannhäuser:

Whenever I think about this *laughter,*
My eyes shed sudden tears.[b]

Deputy *Brill* remarks that the otherwise excellent stenographic reports lack the statement by Minister Hansemann that the programme of the present Ministry is a continuation of the speech from the throne. He remembered this particularly well because being a printer it had reminded him of the phrase "to be continued", which he used to print so often.

This frivolous treatment of the most serious subjects enrages Deputy *Ritz* exceedingly. He rushes to the rostrum and states:

"Gentlemen, I believe that the dignity of this Assembly demands that in our speeches we refrain from relating *parables* and comparisons which are out of place here. They are also *unparliamentary.* (Considerable agitation.) I do not consider our great *hilarity* during the previous session as commensurate with the dignity of the Assembly ... in the interest of this Assembly's dignity I would recommend a certain *sobriety.*"

"In the interest" of the "sobriety" recommended by Deputy Ritz we would recommend that "in the interest of the Assembly's dignity"

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[a] Wilhelm Grabow.— *Ed.*
[b] Heinrich Heine, "Der Tannhäuser", Caput 2.— *Ed.*

Deputy Ritz should speak as little as possible because his words are always followed by "great hilarity".

It became revealed at once, however, how much the well-meaning intentions of such worthies as Herr Schultz from Wanzleben and Herr Ritz are inevitably misunderstood in this wicked world. For President *Grabow* appointed the scrutineers and among them were to be found none others than Herr Schultz from Wanzleben for the Left Centre (laughter) and Herr Brill for the Right Centre (hilarity). Concerning Herr Brill, our readers should know that this deputy who belongs to the extreme Left has seated himself in the Right Centre smack into the midst of the Upper Silesian and Pomeranian peasants where, by his popular oratorical talents, he has defeated quite a number of the reactionary party's insinuations.

Then follows the question of Herr *Behnsch* concerning the Russian Note which is supposed to have caused the withdrawal of Wrangel from Jutland.[a] *Auerswald* denies the existence of this Note despite the *Morning Chronicle* and the Russian *Bee*.[b] We believe that Herr Auerswald is right. We do not believe that Russia has sent an official "Note" to Berlin. But neither we nor Herr Auerswald can know what Nicholas sent to Potsdam.

Herr *Behnsch* also puts a question on the Note of Major Wildenbruch addressed to the Danish Government[146] according to which the Danish war was merely a feigned war and a dalliance designed to work off "superabundant patriotism".[c]

Herr *Auerswald* finds some reason for *not* answering this question.

After a boring and confused discussion about the committee of experts there occurs finally a truly interesting parliamentary scene, a scene during which a certain amount of indignation and passion victoriously rises above the stereotyped drumming of the Right. We owe this scene to Deputy *Gladbach*. The Minister of War had promised today to answer his question on the disarming and arrest of the returned volunteers.[d]

As soon as the President indicates that this subject is reached, Lieutenant-Colonel *Griesheim*, who is an old acquaintance of ours, rises and begins to speak. This bureaucratic-soldierly importunity is, however, rejected at once by a vigorous interruption.

The *President* states that under Paragraph 28 of standing orders

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[a] See this volume, pp. 42-44.— *Ed.*

[b] A reference to the Russian periodical *Severnaya Pchela* (The Bee of the North).— *Ed.*

[c] Heinrich Heine, "Bei des Nachtwächters Ankunft zu Paris". In *Zeitgedichte*.— *Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 180-81.— *Ed.*

assistants to Ministers may only speak with the permission of the Assembly.

*Griesheim*: I am here as representative of the Minister of War.

*President*: I have *not* been so *informed.*

*Griesheim*: Well, if the *gentlemen* do not want to listen to what I have to say.... (Aha! Agitation.)

"The gentlemen!" For Herr Griesheim "the gentlemen" surely ought to be the "High Assembly"! The President should have called Herr Griesheim to order because of his repeated disregard for all propriety.

The Assembly wants to listen to Herr Griesheim. First, however, Herr *Gladbach* is given the floor to amplify his question. He explains first of all that he has put the question to the Minister of War and he demands that he be present and under standing orders the Assembly has the right to demand this. The President, however, sets this aside and Mr. Gladbach, bearing in mind the urgency of the matter, goes into the substance of his question. He relates that the volunteers, after they had left their corps and returned home because of the application of military despotism, had been branded in Spandau as vagabonds "by the execrable police system that had crept out of its hiding places overnight". He relates that in Spandau they had been disarmed, detained and sent home under police orders. Herr Gladbach is the first deputy who has succeeded in relating such an ignominious deed with entirely appropriate indignation.

Herr *Griesheim* declares that this measure was taken upon the request of police headquarters in Berlin.

Herr *Gladbach* now reads the honourable discharge of one of the volunteers signed by Prince Friedrich of Schleswig-Holstein and contrasts it to the police pass, quite vagabond-like in tone, which was issued to the same volunteer "*upon ministerial decision*" in Spandau. He points to the *arrest, forced labour* and *cash fines* threatened in the police pass, gives the lie to Herr Griesheim's assertion that this measure originated with the Chief of Police by citing an official document, and asks whether perhaps there existed a special *Russian* Ministry in Spandau.

For the first time the Ministry was caught out in a direct lie. The entire Assembly becomes extremely excited.

The Minister of the Interior, Herr Kühlwetter, finally has to get up perforce and stammer a few apologies. *All that had happened* had been the disarming of 18 armed men—merely an illegal act! One could not tolerate armed bands moving through the countryside without permission—22 volunteers who are returning home! (Without permission!)

The initial words of the Minister are received with unambiguous signs of displeasure. Even the Right is still too much under the depressing influence of the facts not to keep at least quiet. But they soon pull themselves together as they perceive how their unfortunate Minister painfully manoeuvres under the laughter and the grumbling of the Left, and greet his lame excuses with loud cheers; part of the Centre joins in and Herr Kühlwetter finally gathers enough courage to say: Not I, but my predecessor has ordered this measure, but I herewith declare that I fully approve it and should the case arise I would do the same.

The Right and the Centre reward the courage of their heroic Kühlwetter with a thundering cheer.

*Gladbach*, however, does not let himself be intimidated. He mounts the rostrum amidst the noise and clamour of the conservatives and asks once more: How is it possible that Herr Schreckenstein, who was the Minister already before the Spandau incident, *did not know anything about it*? How is it possible that *four* volunteers with good testimonials can endanger the security of the state? (Interruption—the gentlemen of the Centre raise points of order.) The question is not settled. How can one forcibly send these people home like vagabonds? (Interruption and noise.) I still have not received an answer to my question about the police pass. These people have been maltreated. Why does one tolerate a pack of Sunday-school heroes who to the disgrace of the capital (loud noise) have arrived armed from Wuppertal? (Noise. Cheers.)

*Kühlwetter* finally comes clean: this action had been taken under the pretext of a doubtful proof of identity! Thus an honourable discharge signed by the General Staff of Schleswig-Holstein is for the police bureaucrats of Herr Kühlwetter proof of identity which is "open to doubt"? What a strange bureaucracy!

Several more deputies speak against the Ministers until the President finally drops the matter and Deputy *Mätze* leads the Assembly from the tempests of this debate to the calm seas of the life of a schoolteacher where we leave them, wishing them the most beautiful idyllic joys.

We are pleased that a deputy of the Left has at long last succeeded by a well-reasoned question and resolute demeanour in forcing the Ministers to run the gauntlet and in causing a scene which recalls French and English parliamentary debates.

Written by Engels on July 6, 1848

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# THE GOVERNMENT OF ACTION

*Cologne*, July 7. We have a *new ministerial crisis*. The *Camphausen* Ministry *fell*, the *Hansemann* Ministry *faltered*. The *Government of Action* had a life-span of *a week* in spite of all the little household remedies, cosmetics, press trials, arrests, in spite of the arrogant impudence with which the bureaucracy once again reared its document-dusty head, hatching petty, brutal plots of vengeance for its dethronement. The "*Government of Action*", composed entirely of mediocrities, was at the start of the Agreement Assembly's most recent session still so deluded as to believe in its own imperturbability.

By the end of the session[a] it was completely routed. This momentous session convinced Prime Minister von *Auerswald* that he should tender his resignation; nor did Minister von *Schreckenstein* want any longer to remain as Hansemann's train-bearer and thus the entire Ministry yesterday betook themselves to the King at Sanssouci. What was decided there we shall learn tomorrow.

Our Berlin #correspondent writes in a postscript:

"Just now the rumour is spreading that *Vincke*, *Pinder* and *Mevissen* have been urgently sent for to help in the formation of a new Ministry."

If this rumour is confirmed we shall *finally* have come from the Government of mediation through the Government of Action to the Government of the counter-revolution. *At last!* The very brief life-span of this ministerial counter-revolution would suffice to show to the people in full life-size these dwarfs who raise their diminutive heads at the slightest stirring of reaction.

Written by Marx on July 7, 1848

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[a] July 4, 1848.— *Ed.*

# THE AGREEMENT DEBATE

*Cologne*, July 8. Simultaneously with the news of the dissolution of the Hansemann Ministry the stenographic report about the agreement session of July 4 reached us. It was during this session that the resignation of Herr Rodbertus, the first symptom of this dissolution, was announced, and at the same time the two contradictory votes concerning the Posen committee and the exodus of the Left have greatly accelerated the Ministry's disintegration.

The announcements of the Ministers regarding the resignation of Rodbertus published in the stenographic report contain nothing new. We shall skip them.

Herr *Forstmann* rose: He had to protest against the expressions which Herr Gladbach used on June 30[a] in referring to the "deputation of the most honourable men of Rhineland and Westphalia".

Herr *Berg*: I have already a few days ago observed in connection with the standing orders that the reading of this petition is out of place here and that it bores me.[b] (Exclamation: It bores *us*!) Well then, *us*. I have spoken for myself and *several others* and the circumstance that we are being bored today by a supplementary observation does not invalidate this remark.

Herr *Tüshaus*, the expert adviser of the central section on the question of the Posen committee, gives a report. The central section proposes that a committee be formed to investigate all questions concerning the Posen affair, and leaves open the question what funds shall be put at the committee's disposal for this purpose.

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[a] See this volume, p. 193.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 189.— *Ed.*

Herr Wolff, Herr Müller, Herr Reichensperger II and Herr Sommer have proposed amendments which have all met with support and are down for discussion.

Herr *Tüshaus* adds to his report a few comments directed against the idea of a committee. The truth, in this case, too, was evidently to be found as always in the middle and after long and contradictory reports one would merely arrive at the conclusion that both sides were to blame. With that one would be exactly where one is at present. One should at least first ask for a detailed report by the Government and then decide what to do further.

Why did the central section select a reporter who speaks against his own report?

Herr *Reuter* explains the reasons which caused him to put the motion to appoint the committee. Finally he remarks that he had no intention of making an accusation against the Ministers and that as a jurist he knew only too well that up to now all ministerial responsibility was illusory so long as there existed no law concerning this point.

Herr *Reichensperger II* rises. He protests his boundless sympathies for Poland and hopes that the day may not be far when the German nation pays off its old debt of honour to the grandchildren of Sobieski. (As if this debt of honour had not been paid off a long time ago by the eight partitions of Poland, by shrapnel, lunar caustic and canings!)

"We must, however, also maintain the calmest circumspection since German interests must always come first."

(The German interests are, of course, to keep as much as possible of this territory.) And Herr Reichensperger is especially opposed to the appointment of a committee to investigate the evidence:

"This is a question which should be dealt with expressly by *history* or the courts."

Has Herr Reichensperger forgotten that he himself declared during the debate on the revolution that the gentlemen were here "*to make history*"?[a] He concludes with a juridical sophistry about the position of the deputies. We shall return later to the question of competence.

Now, however, Herr *Bauer* from Krotoschin,[b] himself a German Pole, rises to defend the interests of his community.

"I would like to ask the Assembly to draw a veil over the past and to occupy itself solely with the future of a people that has every right to lay claim to our sympathy."

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[a] See this volume, p. 84.— *Ed.*

[b] The Polish name is Krotoszyn.— *Ed.*

How touching! Herr Bauer from Krotoschin is so taken up with sympathy for the future of the Polish people that he wants to "draw a veil" over its past, over the barbarities of the Prussian soldiery, the Jews and the German Poles. The matter should be dropped in the interest of the Poles themselves!

"What does one hope to gain from such depressing discussions? If you find the Germans guilty will you, therefore, be less concerned for the preservation of their nationality, and the safety of their person and their property?"

That was, indeed, a magnificent show of candour! Herr Bauer from Krotoschin admits that the Germans could possibly be wrong, but even so German nationality must be supported at the expense of the Poles!

"I am unable to perceive how digging through the rubbish of the past can produce anything beneficial for a satisfactory solution of these difficult questions."

There certainly would not be anything "beneficial" in store for the German Poles and their fervent allies. That is why they are so much opposed to it.

Herr Bauer then seeks to intimidate the Assembly: such a committee would inflame the minds of people once again, incite fanaticism anew, and might lead to a new bloody clash. These philanthropic considerations prevent Herr Bauer from voting for the committee. Nor can he vote against it since that might create the impression that his mandataries have reason to fear the committee. Thus out of consideration for the Poles he is *against* the committee and out of consideration for the Germans he is *for* it, and to maintain his perfect impartiality in this dilemma, he does not vote at all.

*Bussmann* of Gnesen,[a] another deputy from Posen, regards his mere presence as proof that Germans, too, live in Posen. He wants to prove statistically that there are "whole masses of Germans" who live in his region. (Interruption.) Furthermore, over two-thirds of the entire property is supposed to be in German hands.

"On the other hand I believe that I can provide the proof that we Prussians not merely *conquered* Poland *with our weapons* (!?!) in 1815 but that we have conquered it a second time by our intelligence" (of which this session offers samples) "through 33 years of peace. (Interruption. The President asks Herr Bussmann not to digress from the question.) I am not opposed to a reorganisation; but the most sensible reorganisation would be a system of local government with election of officials. Such a measure combined with the Frankfurt decisions for the protection of all nationalities would offer Poland every guarantee. I am, however, very much opposed to the line of demarcation. (Interruption. A second reprimand.) Well, if I must not digress from the subject, I am against the committee because it is useless and provocative; incidentally,

[a] The Polish name is Gniezno.— *Ed.*

I am not afraid of it and I shall support the committee if it comes to the point.... (Interruption: He is therefore speaking in favour of it!) No, I am speaking against it.... Gentlemen, in order that you may at least understand why the insurrection came about I will explain to you in a few words...." (Interruption. Disagreement.)

*Cieszkowski*: "Don't interrupt! Let him finish speaking!"

*President*[a]: "I am asking the speaker again to speak strictly to the question."

*Bussmann*: "I have spoken out against the idea of a committee and I have nothing further to add!"

With these angry words the enraged German-Polish lord of the manor leaves the rostrum and hurries back to his seat to the ringing laughter of the Assembly.

Herr *Heyne*, the deputy from the Bromberg district, tries to save the honour of his countrymen by voting for the committee. Nevertheless, he cannot refrain either from accusing the Poles of deceit, fraud etc.

Herr *Baumstark*, also a German Pole, is likewise against the committee. The reasons are always the same.

The Poles abstain from the discussion. Only Pokrzywnicki speaks for the committee. It is well known that the Poles have all along pressed for an investigation while it now becomes apparent that the German Poles, with one exception, have all protested against it.

Herr *Pohle* is so much a Pole that he regards all Posen as part of Germany and declares the border between Germany and Poland to be a "dividing wall running through Germany".

The defenders of the committee were mostly long-winded and their arguments betrayed little acumen. Just like their opponents, they repeated themselves over and over again. Their arguments were mostly of a hostile and trivial nature and much less entertaining than the biassed protestations of the German Poles.

Tomorrow we shall come back to the attitude of the Ministers and officials in regard to this question and to the well-known question of competence.

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[a] Wilhelm Grabow.— *Ed.*

# THE MINISTERIAL CRISIS

*Cologne*, July 8.[147] With great tenacity, the *Hansemann* Ministry postpones its dissolution by a few days. The Finance Minister especially seems to be too patriotic to leave the administration of the exchequer in unskilled hands. From a parliamentary point of view the Ministry was dissolved, and yet it continues to exist in fact. It seems that it has been decided in Sanssouci to make one more attempt to prolong its life. The Agreement Assembly itself, on the point of administering the death blow to the Ministry at any moment, recoils the next, frightened by its own desires, and the majority seems to surmise that if the Hansemann Ministry is not yet a Ministry to its liking, a Ministry to its liking would at the same time be a Ministry of crisis and of decision. Hence its vacillations, its inconsistencies, its wanton invectives and its sudden turns to remorse. And the *Government of Action*, with unshakeable, almost cynical equanimity, accepts this borrowed, humiliating life which at any moment may be called into question and which only feeds on the alms of weakness.

Duchâtel! Duchâtel! The inevitable demise of the Ministry, laboriously postponed by only a few days, will be as inglorious as its existence. Tomorrow's edition[a] will present to our readers a further contribution to the evaluation of this existence by our Berlin #correspondent. We can summarise the agreement session of July 7 in a few words.[b] The Assembly teases the Hansemann[c] Ministry, it takes pleasure in inflicting partial defeats upon it; the Ministry bows its head half smiling, half frowning, but at the leave-taking, the High Assembly calls after it: "*No harm meant!*" and the stoic triumvirate *Hansemann-Kühlwetter-Milde* murmurs in response: *Pas si bête! Pas si bête!*[d]

Written by Marx on July 8, 1848

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[a] The version printed in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 40 has: "Today's edition".— *Ed.*

[b] For a more detailed report see this volume, pp. 216-22 and 226-31.— *Ed.*

[c] In the original a play on the words *hänseln* (to tease) and Hansemann.— *Ed.*

[d] We are not that stupid!— *Ed.*

# THE AGREEMENT SESSION OF JULY 4

(SECOND ARTICLE)

*Cologne*, July 9. The series of articles[a] based upon authentic documents, which we started three days ago, clearly show that the appointment of an investigation committee with unrestricted powers is an urgent and necessary act of justice towards the Poles.

The old-Prussian officials, who from the outset assumed a hostile attitude towards the Poles, saw their existence threatened by the promises of reorganisation. They sensed danger in the smallest act of justice towards the Poles. Hence the fanatical fury with which, supported by the unrestrained soldiery, they fell upon the Poles, broke the conventions, maltreated the most harmless people and permitted or sanctioned the greatest infamies merely to force the Poles to a fight in which the Poles were bound to be crushed by vastly superior forces.

The Camphausen Ministry, which was not only weak, perplexed and badly informed but remained *deliberately*, on principle, inactive, allowed everything to go its own way. The most horrifying barbarities were perpetrated, and Herr Camphausen did not stir.

What reports are now available on the civil war in Posen?

On the one hand there are the biassed, slanted reports of the originators of this war: the officials and the officers, and the data based on their evidence which the Ministry can quote. The Ministry *itself* is biassed as long as it includes Herr Hansemann. These documents are biassed, but they are *official*.

On the other hand there are the facts collected by the Poles, their written complaints to the Ministry, especially the letters of Arch-

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[a] [Ernst Dronke,] "Die preussische Pacificirung und Reorganisation Posens", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Nos. 38-40, July 8-10, 1848.—*Ed.*

bishop Przyluski to the Ministers.[a] These documents for the most part have no official character, but their authors are prepared to prove the truth of their statements.

The two kinds of reports totally contradict each other and the committee is supposed to investigate which side is right.

The committee, except in a few instances, can only do this by travelling to the spot in order to clear up at least the most significant points by the hearing of witnesses. If it is forbidden to do this, its entire activity becomes illusory. It may practise a certain historical-philological criticism and it may declare that one or another report is more trustworthy, but it will not be able to resolve anything.

Thus the entire importance of the committee depends on its authority to question witnesses, hence the eagerness of all the Polonophobes in the Assembly to remove this authority by all sorts of subtle and ingenious arguments, hence also the coup d'état at the end of the session.[148]

Deputy *Bloem* said in the debate on the 4th [of July]:

"Does one genuinely seek the truth if, as a few amendments want it, the truth is to be derived from documents submitted by the Government? Most certainly not! Whence did the government documents originate? For the most part from the reports of officials. Whence did the officials originate? From the old system. Have these officials vanished? Have new *Landräte* been appointed through new, popular elections? By no means. Do the officials inform us about the true mood? The old officials report today just as they did formerly. It is, therefore, apparent that a mere examination of ministerial records will lead us nowhere."

Deputy *Richter* goes even further. He sees in the behaviour of the Posen officials only the most extreme, but inevitable, result of the preservation of the old system of administration and the old officials in general. Similar conflicts between the duties and the interests of the old officials could also occur at any time in other provinces.

"Since the revolution we have had a new Ministry and even a second one but a Ministry is, of course, only the soul which has to set up a uniform organisation everywhere. In the provinces, however, the old administrative organisation has remained the same everywhere. Do you expect a different picture? One does not pour new wine into old rotten skins. Accordingly we have the most terrible complaints in the Grand Duchy. Should we not *therefore* form a committee even if only to show how very necessary it is in the other provinces as well as in Posen to replace the old organisation by a new one suited to the times and circumstances?"

Deputy *Richter* is right. After a revolution, the first necessity is to replace all civil and military officials as well as part of the judiciary,

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[a] Leon Przyluski, ["Die Korrespondenz des Erzbischofs von Posen, Przyluski, mit dem Berliner Kabinett",] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Nos. 5, 7, 10, 14, 38 and 39, June 5, 7, 10 and 14, and July 8 and 9, 1848.— *Ed.*

and especially officials in the *Public Prosecutor's office.* Otherwise the best measures of the Central Authority fail through the obstinacy of subordinates. The weakness of the French Provisional Government and the weakness of the Camphausen Ministry are the bitter fruits of just such a situation.

In Prussia, however, where for forty years a thoroughly organised bureaucratic hierarchy has dominated the administration and the military with absolute force, in Prussia where that very same bureaucracy was the chief enemy that was vanquished on March 19, there the complete replacement of all civil and military officials was infinitely more urgent. The Government of mediation, of course, did not feel called upon to carry through revolutionary necessities. It had admittedly the task not to do anything and therefore left the real power for the time being in the hands of its old enemies, the bureaucrats. It "mediated" between the old bureaucracy and the new conditions. In return the bureaucracy through its "mediation" presented the Ministry with the civil war in Posen and the responsibility for barbarities such as have not occurred since the Thirty Years' War.[149]

As heir to the Camphausen Ministry, the Hansemann Ministry was forced to take over all the assets and liabilities of its testator, that is not only the majority in the Chamber but also the events and officials in Posen. Thus the Ministry had a direct interest in making the committee's investigation as illusory as possible. The speakers representing the Ministry's majority, especially the jurists, used their entire stock of casuistry and sophistry to discover a profound, principled reason for prohibiting the committee from questioning witnesses. We would stray too far afield if we allowed ourselves to be involved here in admiring the jurisprudence of a Reichensperger etc. We have to limit ourselves to bringing to light the painstaking disquisition of Minister *Kühlwetter.*

Herr *Kühlwetter,* leaving entirely aside the material question, begins with the declaration that the Government would be extremely pleased if such committees were to assist it in performing its difficult task by clarifications etc. Indeed, if Herr Reuter had not had the fortunate idea of proposing such a committee,[a] Herr Kühlwetter himself would undoubtedly have insisted upon it. One should give the committee the most far-reaching tasks (so that it may never finish its business); he entirely agreed that any scrupulous weighing of its actions was unnecessary. Let the committee include the entire past,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 57-61.— *Ed.*

present and future of the Province of Posen in the scope of its activity; the Ministry would not scrupulously examine the committee's competence insofar as it was only a question of clarifications. One could, of course, go too far, but he would leave it up to the wisdom of the committee whether it wanted to take into its scope, for example, the question of the dismissal of the Posen officials as well.

So much for the introductory concessions of the Minister which, embellished with a few philistine declamations, were given several vigorous cheers. However the "*buts*" were to follow.

"*But* since it has been remarked that the reports about Posen cannot possibly shed accurate light because they came only from *officials*, and moreover old-time officials, I consider it to be my duty to defend an honourable profession. If it be proved true that individual officials have neglected their duty, then let us punish the individuals who neglect their duty but *officialdom* as such must never be denigrated just because a few individuals have violated their duty."

What a bold stand Herr Kühlwetter has taken! To be sure a few individual violations of duty have taken place but on the whole the officials have done their duty honourably.

And, indeed, the mass of Posen officials *have* done their "duty", their "duty to their official oath", to the entire old-Prussian system of bureaucracy and to their own interests which concur with this duty. They have fulfilled their duty by using every means to destroy the 19th of March in Posen. It is exactly for that reason, Herr Kühlwetter, that it is your "duty" to dismiss these officials *en masse.*

But Herr Kühlwetter speaks of a duty which is determined by pre-revolutionary laws, whereas here it is a matter of an entirely different duty which arises after every revolution and which consists of interpreting correctly the altered conditions and of furthering their development. To ask of the officials to replace the bureaucratic with the constitutional standpoint and to support the revolution in the same way as the new Ministers, that means, according to Herr Kühlwetter, to denigrate an honourable profession.

Herr Kühlwetter also rejects the general accusation that favouritism was shown to party chiefs and that crimes remained unpunished. Specific cases should be cited.

Does Herr Kühlwetter perhaps maintain in all seriousness that even a small part of the brutalities and atrocities committed by the Prussian soldiery, tolerated and supported by the officials and cheered by the German Poles and Jews, have been punished? Herr Kühlwetter states that he has not yet been able to examine the colossal amount of material in all its aspects. Indeed, he seems at the most to have examined it in one aspect alone.

It is now that Herr Kühlwetter takes up "the most difficult and delicate question", namely the *forms* in which the committee should transact its business. Herr Kühlwetter would have liked to have this question discussed more thoroughly, for,

"as has been rightly remarked, this question contains a question of principle, the question of the *droit d'enquête*".[a]

Herr Kühlwetter now blesses us with a longish discourse about the separation of powers in the state which surely contains much that is new for the Upper Silesian and Pomeranian peasants in the Assembly. To hear in the year of our Lord 1848 a Prussian Minister, and a "Minister of action" at that, solemnly interpreting Montesquieu from the rostrum makes a strange impression.

The separation of powers which Herr Kühlwetter and other great political philosophers regard with the deepest reverence as a sacred and inviolable principle is basically nothing but the profane industrial division of labour applied for purposes of simplification and control to the mechanism of the state. Just like all sacred, eternal and inviolable principles it is only applied as long as it suits existing conditions. Thus, for example, in a constitutional monarchy, the ruler possesses both legislative and executive power; in the Chambers, furthermore, legislative power mingles with control over executive power etc. This indispensable limitation on the division of labour in the state is expressed by political sages of the calibre of a "Minister of action" in the following manner:

"The legislative power, inasmuch as it is exercised by popular representation, has its own organs; the executive power has its own organs, and the judicial power no less so. It is *therefore* (!) inadmissible for one branch to lay claim to the organs of another unless such power has been transferred to it *by a special law*."

A divergence from the separation of powers is inadmissible "unless" it is dictated "by a special law". And the other way round: the application of the dictated separation of powers is similarly inadmissible "unless" it is dictated "by special laws"! What profundity! What revelations!

Herr Kühlwetter does not mention the case of a revolution where the separation of powers comes to an end without "a special law".

Herr Kühlwetter now argues at great length that the authority of the committee to question witnesses under oath, to summon officials etc., in short, to see with *its own eyes*, is an infringement upon the separation of powers and must be established by a special law. As

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[a] The right of investigation.—*Ed.*

an example, the Belgian Constitution is cited, Article 40 of which expressly gives the Chambers the *droit d'enquête.*

But, Herr Kühlwetter, is there in Prussia legally and factually a separation of powers in the sense that you interpret it, i.e. in the constitutional sense? Is not the existing separation of powers the limited, trimmed one which corresponds to the *absolute,* the bureaucratic monarchy? How then can one use constitutional phrases for it before it has been reformed constitutionally? How can Prussia have an Article 40 of a Constitution as long as this Constitution itself does not yet exist at all?

Let us summarise. According to Herr Kühlwetter the appointment of a committee with unlimited authority is an infringement on the constitutional separation of powers. The constitutional separation of powers does not yet exist at all in Prussia; hence there can also be no infringement upon it.

It is supposed to be introduced, however, and according to Herr Kühlwetter it must be regarded as *already existing* during the provisional revolutionary state of affairs in which we live. If Herr Kühlwetter were right we would surely also have to presume the existence of constitutional *exceptions*! And these constitutional exceptions surely include the right of legislative bodies to carry out investigations!

But Herr Kühlwetter is by no means right. On the contrary: the provisional revolutionary state of affairs consists in the fact that the separation of powers has been provisionally *abolished* and that the legislative authority seizes executive power or that the executive authority seizes legislative power for the time being. It does not make any difference whether the revolutionary dictatorship (and it is a dictatorship no matter how feebly it is enforced) is in the hands of the Crown or of an Assembly or both. French history since 1789 provides plenty of examples of all three cases if Herr Kühlwetter wants them.

The provisional state of affairs to which Herr Kühlwetter appeals actually speaks against him. It gives the Assembly yet other attributes besides the mere right of investigation; it even empowers it, if need be, to transform itself into a *court of justice* and to judge without laws!

Had Herr Kühlwetter been able to foresee these results, he might perhaps have been more careful in speaking of the "recognition of the revolution".

But he may rest assured:

> Germany, pious nursery,
> Is not a Roman cutthroats' den,[a]

[a] Heinrich Heine, "Zur Beruhigung". In *Zeitgedichte.—Ed.*

and Messrs. the agreers may sit as long as they like, they will never become a "Long Parliament".[150]

We find, by the way, a significant difference when we compare the bureaucratic doctrinaire of the Government of Action with his doctrinaire predecessor, Herr Camphausen. Herr Camphausen, at any rate, possessed infinitely more originality. He almost approached Guizot whereas Herr Kühlwetter does not even reach the tiny Lord John Russell.

We have sufficiently admired the state philosophical wealth of Kühlwetter's oration. Let us now examine the purpose, the actual practical reason for this moss-covered wisdom, for this entire separation theory *à la* Montesquieu.

For Herr Kühlwetter now comes to the results of his theory. The Ministry, by way of exception, is inclined to instruct the authorities to comply with the requirements of the committee. It must, however, oppose the committee giving direct instructions to the authorities, i.e. the committee, which has no direct connection with the authorities and which has no power over them, cannot force them to convey other information to it than they consider appropriate. In addition there is the tedious routine and the endless hierarchy of appeals authorities! It is quite a pretty trick to render the committee illusory under the pretext of the separation of powers!

"It cannot be the intention to transfer to the committee the entire job of the Government!"

As if anybody intended giving the committee the right to *govern*!

"*In addition* to the committee, the Government would have to continue its inquiry into the underlying causes of dissension in Posen" (it is exactly because it has already "inquired" for such a long time without finding *out* anything that there is reason enough to exclude it now altogether from such an inquiry), "and since this purpose would be served by a double road there would often be unnecessary waste of time and effort and conflicts could hardly be avoided."

According to all hitherto existing precedents, the committee would certainly spend much "unnecessary time and effort" if it were to agree to Herr Kühlwetter's proposal for the protracted hierarchy of appeals authorities. In this way, conflicts would also occur much more easily than if the committee were to deal directly with the authorities and could immediately clear up misunderstandings as well as put down bureaucratic obduracy.

"It seems *therefore* (!) to be in the nature of things that the committee will seek to achieve its purpose in *agreement* with the Ministry and with its *constant co-operation*."

It gets better and better! A committee which is supposed to control the Ministry is also supposed to work in agreement with it

and with its constant co-operation! Herr Kühlwetter is not at all embarrassed to let it be known that he would find it desirable to have the committee under his control and not the other way round.

"If, on the other hand, the committee should want to assume an isolated position, the question must arise whether the committee wants to and is able to assume the responsibility which rests with the Government. It has already been observed with as much truth as intelligence that the inviolability of the deputies is incompatible with this responsibility."

The question is not one of administration but merely of establishing facts. The committee is to receive the authority to employ the means necessary for this purpose. That is all. It goes without saying that the committee will be responsible to the Assembly for either the neglect or the excessive use of these means.

The whole matter has as little to do with ministerial responsibility and deputies' irresponsibility as with "truth" and "intelligence".

In short, under the pretext of the separation of powers Herr Kühlwetter warmly recommends these proposals to the agreers for the solution of the conflict without, however, making a precise proposal. The Government of Action feels that it stands on uncertain ground.

We cannot go into the debate which ensued. The results of the voting are known: the defeat of the Government in the roll-call vote and the coup d'état of the Right which adopted a motion after it had already been defeated. We have already reported all that.[a] We only add that among the Rhinelanders who voted *against* giving unlimited authority to the committee we noticed the names of:

Arntz, LL. D., Bauerband, Frencken, Lensing, von Loe, Reichensperger II, Simons and last but not least our Chief Public Prosecutor *Zweiffel.*

Written by Engels on July 9, 1848

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[a] See this volume, p. 188.— *Ed.*

# LEGAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

*Cologne*, July 10. Yesterday *eleven* compositors of our newspaper as well as Herr Clouth were summoned to appear as witnesses before the examining magistrate on Tuesday, July 11. It is still a question of finding the author of the incriminatory article.[a] We recall that at the time of the old *Rheinische Zeitung*, the time of the censorship and the Arnim Government, when they tried to find out who had sent in the famous "Marriage Bill",[151] there were neither house searches nor were examinations of compositors and the printshop owner resorted to. In the meantime, of course, we have experienced a revolution which had the misfortune to be recognised by Herr Hansemann.

We have to revert once again to the July 5 "*rejoinder*" of Public Prosecutor *Hecker*.[b]

In this rejoinder Herr Hecker accuses us of *lying* with respect to one or another remark which we ascribed to him. Perhaps we have now the means at our disposal to correct the correction, but who will vouch that during this unequal battle we will not once again be answered with Paragraph 222 or Paragraph 367 of the Penal Code?

Herr *Hecker's rejoinder* ends with the following words:

> "The *defamations and insults* contained in this article" (dated Cologne, July 4), "directed against Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel and the police who carried out the arrest, will be *evaluated* in the *legal proceedings* which will be initiated on this count."

*Evaluation!* Have the *black-red-gold* colours been "*evaluated*" in the "legal proceedings" which were initiated by the *Kamptz* Government?[152]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 177-79.— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 186. In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung:* "July 6", which is a misprint.— *Ed.*

Let us consult the Penal Code.[153] Paragraph 367 reads:

"Whosoever at public places ... or in an authentic and public document, or in a printed or unprinted piece of writing which has been posted, sold or distributed, accuses someone of facts which, *if they were true,*[a] could result in the prosecution of the accused in a criminal or police court, or merely expose him to the contempt and hatred of his fellow citizens, is guilty of the offence of defamation."

Paragraph 370: "If the fact which forms the subject of the accusation should, after *due process of law,* prove to be true, then the originator of the accusation shall go free of all punishment. Only proof which is derived from a *verdict* or some other *authentic document* is regarded as *legal.*"

In order to elucidate this paragraph we shall still add Paragraph 368:

"Consequently it will be *of no avail* to the originator of the accusation *to plead* in his defence that *he will undertake to provide proof*; nor can he enter *the plea* that the *documents or the facts are notorious* or that the accusations which gave rise to the prosecution were copied or extracted from foreign papers *or other printed matter.*"

The imperial era with all its crafty despotism radiates from these paragraphs.

According to *ordinary* human understanding, somebody is *defamed* if he is charged with fictitious evidence. According to the *extraordinary* understanding of the Penal Code, however, he is defamed if he is charged with *real* facts that can be *proved* but not in an *exceptional* manner, not by a *verdict* or by an *official document.* Oh for the miraculous power of verdicts and official documents! Only facts which have been *judged in court,* only *officially documented* facts are *true* and *genuine* facts. Has there ever been a penal code which has more maliciously *defamed* the most ordinary common sense? Has any bureaucracy ever thrown up a similar Chinese Wall between itself and the public? Covered with the shield of this paragraph, officials and deputies are *immune* like constitutional kings. These gentlemen may *commit* as many facts as they deem proper "which will expose them to the hatred and contempt of their fellow citizens", but these facts must not be pronounced, written or printed on penalty of loss of civil rights in addition to the inevitable prison sentence and fine. Long live the freedom of the press and free speech moderated by Paragraphs 367, 368 and 370! You are arrested illegally. The press denounces this illegality. *Result:* the denunciation is "*evaluated*" in "legal proceedings" because of the "defamation" of the venerable official who has committed the illegality, unless a miracle occurs and a *verdict* has already been rendered yesterday about the illegality which he commits today.

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[a] All italics in the quotations from the Penal Code are by Marx.—*Ed.*

No wonder that the Rhenish jurists, among them the *people's representative Zweiffel*, voted against a *Polish commission* with absolute authority! From their point of view, the Poles ought to have been sentenced to loss of their civil rights and also mandatory imprisonment and fine because of their "*defamation*" of Colomb, Steinäcker, Hirschfeld, Schleinitz, the Pomeranian army reserve and the old-Prussian police. Thus this peculiar pacification of Posen would be most gloriously crowned.

And what a contradiction it is to use these paragraphs of the Penal Code in order to label the rumour of the threat of getting rid of "March 19, the clubs and freedom of the press" a "*defamation*"![a] As if the use of Paragraphs 367, 368 and 370 of the Penal Code against political speeches and writings were not the real definitive destruction of March 19, clubs and freedom of the press! What is a club without freedom of speech? And what is freedom of speech with Paragraphs 367, 368 and 370 of the Penal Code? And what is March 19 without clubs and freedom of speech? The suppression of freedom of speech and the press in *deed*: is there a more striking proof that only *defamation* could tell fables about the *intention* of this deed? Beware of signing the address which was drawn up yesterday at the Gürzenich Hall.[154] The Public Prosecutor's office would "*appreciate*" your address by initiating "*legal proceedings*" on the count of the "*defamation*" of *Hansemann* and *Auerswald*. Or may only *Ministers* be defamed with impunity, defamed in the sense of the French Penal Code, that code of political slavery carved in such a pithy style? Do we have responsible Ministers and irresponsible policemen?

Thus it is not that the incriminatory article can be *evaluated* by the use of the paragraphs on "*defamation in a juridical sense*", a defamation in the sense of *despotic fiction* which is an outrage to common sense. All that can thereby be evaluated are purely and simply the accomplishments of the March revolution, that is the height reached by the counter-revolution and the recklessness with which the bureaucracy may revive and enforce weapons still to be found in the arsenal of the old legislation against the new political life. This use of the calumny paragraphs in attacks upon the *people's representatives* is a marvellous method of shielding these gentlemen from criticism and of depriving the press of the protection of the jury system.

Let us now pass from the charge of *defamation* to the charge of *insult*. Here Paragraph 222 is applicable; it reads as follows:

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[a] See this volume, p. 179.—*Ed.*

"If one or more officials from the administrative or judicial authorities *during the exercise of their official duties* or *as a result of these duties* suffer any *verbal* insults which aim at an attack upon their honour or delicacy of feeling, the person who insults them in this way shall be punished with imprisonment of from one month to two years."

When the article appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* Herr *Zweiffel* was acting as *people's representative in Berlin* and by no means as an *official of the judicial authorities in Cologne.* It was indeed impossible to insult him in the exercise of his official duties or as a result of these duties since he was not performing any official duties. The honour and delicacy of feeling of the gentlemen of the police, however, could only then come under the protection of this article if they had been insulted *in words* (*par parole*). We have *written,* however, and not *spoken,* and *par écrit* is not *par parole.* Thus, what is there left to do? The moral is to speak with more circumspection of the lowest of policemen than of the foremost of princes and in particular not to take liberties with the most irritable gentlemen of the Public Prosecutor's office. We remind the public once more that *similar* prosecutions have been started simultaneously in different places such as Cologne, Düsseldorf and Koblenz. What a strange method of coincidence!

Written by Marx on July 10, 1848

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# GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY AND THE LATEST EVENTS IN PRAGUE

*Cologne,* July 11. Despite the patriotic shouting and beating of the drums of almost the entire German press, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* from the very first moment has sided with the Poles in Posen, the Italians in Italy, and the Czechs in Bohemia. From the very first moment we saw through the machiavellian policy which, shaking in its foundations in the interior of Germany, sought to paralyse democratic energies, to deflect attention from itself, to dig conduits for the fiery lava of the revolution and forge the weapon of suppression within the country by calling forth a narrow-minded *national hatred* which runs counter to the cosmopolitan character of the Germans, and in national wars of unheard-of atrocity and indescribable barbarity trained a brutal soldiery such as could hardly be found even in the Thirty Years' War.[155]

What deep plot it is to let the Germans under the command of their governments undertake a crusade against the freedom of Poland, Bohemia and Italy at the same moment that they are struggling with these same governments to obtain freedom at home! What an historical paradox! Gripped by revolutionary ferment, Germany seeks relief in a *war of restoration,* in a campaign *for* the consolidation of the old authority *against* which she has just revolted. Only a *war against Russia* would be a war of *revolutionary Germany,* a war by which she could cleanse herself of her past sins, could take courage, defeat her own autocrats, spread civilisation by the sacrifice of her own sons as becomes a people that is shaking off the chains of long, indolent slavery and make herself free within her borders by bringing liberation to those outside.

The more the light of publicity reveals in sharp outlines the most recent events, the more facts confirm our view of the national wars

by which Germany has dishonoured her new era. As a contribution to this enlightenment we publish the following report by a *German* in Prague even though it reached us belatedly:

Prague, June 24, 1848 (delayed)

The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of the 22nd [of this month] contains an article[a] about the assembly of Germans held in Aussig[b] on the 18th [of this month] in which speeches were made which show such ignorance of our recent events and, in part, to put it mildly, such a willingness to heap abusive accusations upon our independent press that [this] writer considers it his duty to correct these errors as far as this is now possible and to confront these thoughtless and malicious persons with the firmness of truth. It comes as a surprise when a man like "the founder of the League to Preserve German Interests in the East"[c] exclaims before an entire assembly: "There can be no talk of forgiveness so long as the battle in Prague continues and, should the victory be ours, we must make full use of it in future." What victory then have the Germans achieved and what conspiracy then has been crushed? Whoever, of course, lends credence to the correspondent of the *Deutsche Allgemeine*, who, it seems, is always only superficially informed, and whoever trusts the pathetic catchwords of "a small-time Polonophobe and Francophobe" or the articles of the perfidious *Frankfurter Journal* which seeks to incite Germans against Bohemians just as it stirred up Germans against Germans during the events in Baden, such a person will never obtain a clear view of the situation here. Everywhere in Germany the opinion seems to prevail that the battle in the streets of Prague was aimed solely at the suppression of the German element and the founding of a Slav republic. We will not even discuss the latter suspicion, for it is too naive; in regard to the former, however, not the smallest trace of a rivalry between nationalities could be observed during the fighting on the barricades. Germans and Czechs stood side by side ready for defence, and I myself frequently requested a Czech-speaking person to repeat what he had said in German, which was always done without the slightest remark. One hears it said that the outbreak of the revolution came two days too early; this would imply that there must already have been a certain degree of organisation and at least provisions made for the supply of ammunition; however, there was no trace of this either. The barricades grew out of the ground in a haphazard way wherever ten to twelve people happened to be together; incidentally, it would have been impossible to raise any more barricades, for even the smallest alleys contained three or four of them. The ammunition was mutually exchanged in the streets and was exceedingly sparse. There was no question whatsoever of a supreme command or of any other kind of command. The defenders stayed where they were being attacked and fired without direction and without command from houses and barricades. No thought of a conspiracy could have had any foundation in such an unguided and unorganised resistance, unless this is suggested by some official declaration and publication of the results of an investigation. The Government, however, does not seem to find this appropriate, for nothing has transpired from the castle that might enlighten Prague about its bloody June days. With the exception of a few, the imprisoned members of the Svornost[156] have all been released again. Other prisoners are also being released, only Count

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[a] "Aussig, 18. Juni", *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, supplement to No. 174, June 22, 1848.— *Ed.*

[b] The Czech name is Usti.— *Ed.*

[c] Johann Wuttke.— *Ed.*

Buquoy, Villány and a few others are still under arrest, and one fine morning we will perhaps read a poster on the walls of Prague according to which it was all based on a misunderstanding. The operations of the commanding general do not suggest protection of Germans against Czechs either; for in that case, instead of winning the German population to his side by explaining the situation to them, storming the barricades and protecting the life and property of the "loyal" inhabitants of the city, he evacuates the Old City, moves to the left bank of the Moldau[a] and shoots down Czechs and Germans alike; for the bombs and bullets that flew into the Old City could not possibly seek out only Czechs, they mowed people down without looking at the cockade. How can one rationally deduce a Slav conspiracy when the Government up to now has been unable or unwilling to give any clarification?

Dr. Göschen, a citizen of Leipzig, has drawn up a letter of thanks to Prince von Windischgrätz, to which the general should not ascribe too much importance as an expression of the popular voice. Citizen Göschen is one of those circumspect liberals who suddenly turned liberal after the February days; he was the initiator of a letter of confidence to the Saxon Government concerning the electoral law while the whole of Saxony cried out in indignation, for one-sixth of her inhabitants, especially some of her more able citizens, thereby lost their first civil right, the right to vote; he is one of those who spoke out emphatically in the German League against the admission of German non-Saxons to the election in Saxony and—listen to the double-dealing—who shortly afterwards in the name of his club promised to the League of the non-Saxon German citizens who reside in Saxony complete co-operation in the election of a deputy of its own for Frankfurt. In short, to characterise him in a word: he is the founder of the German League. This man has addressed a letter of thanks to the Austrian general and thanked him for the protection which he allegedly bestowed upon the entire German fatherland. I believe that I have shown that the events do not as yet prove at all to what extent, if any, Prince von Windischgrätz has deserved well of the German fatherland. Only the result of the investigation will determine that. We will, therefore, leave the "high courage, the bold enterprise and firm endurance" of the general to the judgment of history. As for the expression "cowardly assassination" in regard to the death of the Princess[b] we will only mention that it has by no means been proved that that bullet was intended for the Princess who had enjoyed the undivided respect of all Prague. If it should be the case, however, the murderer will not escape his punishment, and the grief of the Prince was surely no greater than that of the mother who saw her nineteen-year-old daughter, also an innocent victim, carried off with a shattered skull. I am in complete agreement with Citizen Göschen concerning the passage in the address which speaks of "brave bands that fought so gallantly under your leadership", for if he had been able to observe, as I did, the warlike vehemence with which these "brave bands" rushed upon the defenceless crowd in the Zeltner Lane on Monday at noon, he would have found his expressions much too weak. Much as it hurts my military vanity, I have to admit that I myself, peacefully strolling among a group of women and children near the temple, allowed thirty to forty royal and imperial grenadiers to put myself to flight together with these people and so effectively that I had to leave my entire baggage, i.e. my hat, in the hands of the victors, for I considered it unnecessary to wait for the beatings, which were being administered to the crowd behind me, to reach me as well. I had the opportunity, nevertheless, to observe that six hours later at the Zeltner Lane barricade these same royal and imperial grenadiers thought it proper to fire for half an hour with canister-shot and six-pounders at this barricade which was defended by at most

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[a] The Czech name is Vltava.— *Ed.*
[b] Maria Eleonora Windischgrätz.— *Ed.*

twenty men, and then not to take it, however, until it was abandoned by its defenders around midnight. There was no hand-to-hand fighting except in a few instances where the superior strength was on the side of the grenadiers. To judge by the devastation of the houses, the Graben and the Neue Allee were largely cleared by artillery, and I leave it open whether or not it takes great defiance of death to clear a broad avenue of a hundred barely armed defenders with canister-shot.

Concerning the most recent speech by Dr. Stradal from Teplitz[a] according to which "the Prague newspapers are acting for foreign interests", that is presumably Russian, I declare in the name of the independent press of Prague that this comment is either an abundance of ignorance or an infamous calumny whose absurdity has been and will be sufficiently proved by the attitude of our newspapers. Prague's free press has never defended any other goal than the preservation of Bohemia's independence and the equal rights of both nationalities. It knows, however, very well that German reaction is seeking to rouse a narrow-minded nationalism just as in Posen and in Italy, partly *in order to suppress the revolution in the interior of Germany* and partly to *train the soldiery for civil war.*

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[a] The Czech name is Teplice.— *Ed.*

# THE AGREEMENT DEBATES OF JULY 7

*Cologne*, July 12. It was not until late last night that we received the report about the agreement session of July 7. The stenographic reports, which usually arrived here not more than 24 hours after the epistolary reports, are constantly arriving later instead of earlier.

How easily this delay could be remedied is demonstrated by the speed with which the French and English newspapers carry the reports of their legislative assemblies. The sessions of the English Parliament often last until four o'clock in the morning and yet four hours later the stenographic report of the session is printed in *The Times* and distributed to all parts of London. The French Chamber, which seldom began its sessions before one o'clock, terminated them between five and six and yet already around seven o'clock the *Moniteur* had to deliver a copy of the deliberations taken down in shorthand to all Paris newspaper offices. Why cannot the praiseworthy *Staats-Anzeiger* get ready just as quickly?

Let us now turn to the session of the 7th, the session during which the Hansemann Ministry was teased. We shall pass over the protests which were submitted immediately at the start, d'Ester's motion concerning the repeal of the decision adopted towards the end of the session of the 4th[a] (this motion remained on the agenda) and several other motions which were on the agenda. We shall begin right away with the questions and the disagreeable motions which today were raining down upon the Ministry.

Herr *Philipps* was the first to speak. He asked the Ministry what measures had been taken to protect our borders against Russia.

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[a] See this volume, p. 207.— *Ed.*

Herr *Auerswald*: I do not consider this question suitable for an answer in this Assembly.

We very readily believe Herr Auerswald. The only reply that he could possibly give would be "*None*", or, if you want to be precise: the transfer of several regiments from the Russian frontier to the Rhine. The only thing that surprises us is that the Assembly allowed this amusing reply of Herr Auerswald, this appeal to the *car tel est notre bon plaisir*,[a] to pass, without much ado, with merely some hissing and cheering.

Herr *Borries* proposes that the graduated income tax of the lowest tax level should be remitted for the last six months of 1848 and that all coercive measures to collect the arrears for the first six months at the same level should be discontinued immediately.

The motion goes to the relevant committee.

Herr *Hansemann* rises and declares that such financial matters ought to be very thoroughly examined. One could, incidentally, wait the more readily as next week he proposes to table several financial Bills among which will be one referring to the graduated income tax.

Herr *Krause* asks the Minister of Finance whether it would be possible to replace the milling and slaughter taxes as well as the graduated income tax with an income tax by the beginning of 1849.

Herr *Hansemann* has to get up again and declare irritably that he had already stated that he will table the financial Bills next week.

But his ordeal is not yet over. Only now Herr *Grebel* rises and submits a lengthy motion every word of which must be a stab through Herr Hansemann's heart:

Considering that it was by no means sufficient to motivate the prospective compulsory loan by merely asserting that the treasury and finances were exhausted;

Considering that for the debate on the compulsory loan itself (against which Herr Grebel protests as long as a Constitution is not in force which fulfils all promises) an examination of all books and records of the state budget was necessary, Herr Grebel submits:

that a committee be appointed which will inspect all books and records concerning the administration of the finances and the treasury since 1840 and report on the matter.

But even worse than Herr Grebel's motion are his arguments in support of it. He mentions the many rumours about the squandering and unlawful spending of the state treasury that alarm public

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[a] Because this is our will (the closing phrase of royal edicts introduced by Louis XI).— *Ed.*

opinion. In the interest of the people, he demands to know where all the money has gone that it has paid during 30 years of peace. He declares that the Assembly could not vote a single penny as long as such an explanation is not given. The compulsory loan has created an enormous sensation. The compulsory loan condemns the entire hitherto existing financial administration. The compulsory loan is the penultimate step towards the bankruptcy of the state. The compulsory loan surprised us all the more since we were accustomed to hear constantly that the financial situation was excellent and that the state treasury would make unnecessary any loan even in the case of an important war. Herr Hansemann himself had estimated at the United Diet that the state funds must amount to at least 30 million. This, of course, was only to be expected since not only were the same high taxes paid as during the war years, but the amount of the taxes was constantly increasing.

Then, suddenly, there came the news of the intended compulsory loan and with that, with this painful disappointment, confidence sank at once to zero.

The only means of restoring confidence was the immediate, unreserved explanation of the financial situation of the state.

Herr Hansemann, to be sure, had attempted to sweeten the bitter pill of his communication on the compulsory loan by a humorous address; but he had nevertheless to admit that a compulsory loan would produce an unpleasant impression.

Herr *Hansemann* answers: It goes without saying that if the Ministry requests money, it will also give all the necessary information as to how the money that has so far been raised was spent. You should wait until I submit the financial Bills which I have already mentioned twice. As to the rumours, it is incorrect that the state treasury contained enormous sums and that they have been reduced during recent years. It is natural that an excellent financial position should have been transformed into a critical one, considering the recent years of distress and the current political crisis which goes hand in hand with unprecedented economic stagnation.

"It has been stated that the compulsory loan will be a precursor of the state's bankruptcy. No, gentlemen, it *must* not be that. On the contrary, it *must* serve the *invigoration of credit.*"

(It *must*, it *must*, as if the effect of the compulsory loan upon credit depends upon the pious wishes of Herr Hansemann!) How unfounded these apprehensions are is shown by the rise of the government securities. Gentlemen, wait for the financial Bills which I am herewith promising you for the fourth time.

(Hence the credit of the Prussian state is in such bad shape that no

capitalist will advance money even at usurious rates of interest and Herr Hansemann sees no other alternative than the compulsory loan, the last resort of bankrupt states. And all the while Herr Hansemann speaks of rising state credit because the government stocks have laboriously crept upward by two to three per cent to the same extent that March 18 has receded! And how the stocks will tumble when the compulsory loan is put into effect!)

Herr *Behnsch* urges the appointment of the proposed financial investigation committee.

Herr *Schramm*: The relief of want from state funds was not worth mentioning and if freedom has cost *us* money, it has up to now certainly not cost the *Government* anything. On the contrary, the Government has rather spent money in order that freedom may not advance to its present state.

Herr *Mätze*: In addition to our knowledge that there was nothing left in the state treasury, we are now being informed that it has been empty for a long time. This piece of news is new proof of the need to appoint a committee.

Herr *Hansemann* has to get up once more:

> "I have never said that there is nothing and that there has not been anything in the state treasury. On the contrary, I declare that the state treasury has significantly increased during the past six to seven years."

(Compare Herr Hansemann's memorandum to the United Diet with the speech from the throne and now we shall all the less know where we stand.)

*Cieszkowski*: I am in favour of Grebel's motion because Herr Hansemann keeps making us promises and yet every time when financial matters come up for debate, he refers us to elucidations that *he* will make in the near future but that are never given. This dilatoriness is the more incomprehensible as Herr Hansemann has now been a Minister for over three months.

Herr *Milde*, the Minister of Trade, at last comes to the aid of his hard pressed colleague. He implores the Assembly not to appoint the committee. He promises the greatest frankness on the part of the Ministry. He protests that it will be given a detailed account of the state of affairs. But now the Government should be left alone, for at the moment it is busy steering the ship of state out of the difficulties in which it finds itself at present. The Assembly will surely lend a helping hand. (Cheers.)

Herr *Baumstark*, too, attempts to some extent to come to Herr Hansemann's aid. The Minister of Finance, however, could not have found a worse and more tactless defender:

"It would be a *bad* Minister of Finance who attempted to conceal the financial situation, and if a Minister of Finance says that he will make the necessary submissions we must either consider him an *honest man or the contrary* (!!!). (Commotion.) Gentlemen, I have not insulted anybody. I have said if *a* Minister of Finance, not if *the* Minister of Finance (!!!)."

*Reichenbach*: What has happened to the wonderful days of the great debates, of questions of principle and of confidence? In those days Herr Hansemann longed for nothing more than to be able to enter the fray and now, when he has the opportunity to do so, and in his own field at that, he is evasive! Indeed, the Ministers keep making promises and establishing principles for the sole purpose of violating them a few hours later. (Commotion.)

Herr *Hansemann* waits to see whether anyone will rise to defend him, but there is no one to speak for him. At last he sees with horror that Deputy Baumstark is rising and in order to prevent him from labelling him once again as an "honest man", he quickly takes the floor himself.

We expect the tormented Lion Duchâtel, pricked by needles and tugged by the whole opposition, to rise to his full stature, to crush his opponents, in short, to ask for a *vote of confidence in the Government.* Alas, there is nothing left of his original firmness and daring, and the old greatness has all melted away just like the state treasury during the hard times! The great financier stands bent, broken and misunderstood; things have come to such a pass that he has to give *reasons*! And what reasons, to boot!

"Anybody who concerns himself with financial affairs and the many *figures* (!!) which occur in them, knows that a thorough discussion of financial matters is not possible on the occasion of a question, that the problems of taxation are so comprehensive that legislative assemblies have spent days and even weeks debating them" (Herr Hansemann thinks of his brilliant speeches in the erstwhile United Diet).

But who is demanding a thorough discussion? What has been requested of Herr Hansemann first of all has been an answer, a simple yes or no, concerning the question of taxes. Furthermore, he has been asked for his approval of a committee to investigate the administration of the state treasury etc. up to now. When he refused both, reference was made to the contrast between his former promises and his present reticence.

The committee should start its work immediately precisely because it takes time "to discuss financial affairs and the many figures which occur in them".

"I had good reasons, by the way, for not raising financial matters at an earlier date since I believed that it would be better for the country's position if I waited a little longer. I had hoped that the peace of the country and with it the state credit would

somewhat increase. I do not want to see these hopes disappointed and it is my conviction that I *did well not to table these Bills at an earlier date.*"

What disclosures! Herr Hansemann's financial Bills which were supposed to shore up the state credit are of such a nature that they are a threat to the state credit!

Herr Hansemann deemed it better to keep the financial situation of the country a secret for the time being!

If the state finds itself in such a situation, it is irresponsible of Herr Hansemann to make such a vague statement instead of immediately presenting the state of the finances frankly and, by letting the facts speak for themselves, vanquish all doubts and rumours. In the English Parliament, such a tactless utterance would immediately be followed by a vote of no confidence.

Herr *Siebert*:

"Up to now we have done nothing. All important questions, as soon as they matured for solution, were broken off and pushed aside. We have not yet made a single decision which contained anything in its *entirety*, we have not completed anything. Shall we once more proceed in this fashion today and postpone answering the question merely on the basis of promises? Who can guarantee that the *Ministry will remain at the helm for another week?*"

Herr *Parrisius* moves an amendment according to which Herr Hansemann is called upon to present within a fortnight the necessary documents on the administration of the finances and the treasury from the year 1840 to an auditing committee of 16 members to be elected immediately. Herr Parrisius explains that this is a special mandate from his electorate: they want to know what has happened to the state funds which had amounted to over 40 million in 1840.

Surely this amendment, which is stronger than the original motion, will sting the weary Duchâtel into action! Surely he will now put the question of confidence in the Government!

On the contrary! Herr Hansemann who *opposed* the motion has no objections whatsoever to this amendment with its insulting time limit! He merely observes that the matter will require an astonishing amount of time and expresses his sympathy for the unfortunate members of the committee who will have to take on this laborious task.

There follows a debate about the voting during which a few more unpleasant comments are made concerning Herr Hansemann. Then the vote is taken, the various motivated and unmotivated demands to proceed to the order of the day are rejected and the Parrisius amendment, which is supported by Herr Grebel, is almost unanimously adopted.

Herr Hansemann escaped a decisive defeat only by his lack of resistance and the self-abnegation with which he accepted Parrisius' insult. Bent, broken and destroyed he sat on his bench like a defoliated tree that arouses the compassion of even the most cruel mockery. Let us remember the words of the poet:

It ill beseems the sons
Of Germany to mock the fallen
Great with heartless puns![a]

The second half of the session will be reported tomorrow.

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[a] Heinrich Heine, "Der Tambourmajor". In *Zeitgedichte.*—*Ed.*

# HERR FORSTMANN ON THE STATE CREDIT

*Cologne*, July 13. During the agreement session of the 7th [of this month], Herr *Forstmann* knocked down all doubts of the unprincipled Left concerning the imperturbability of the Prussian state credit by the following irrefutable argument:

"Please decide whether the confidence in Prussia's finances sank to zero when yesterday on the Stock Exchange a $3^1/_2$ per cent government security stood at 72 per cent while the rate of discount was $5^1/_2$ per cent."

One can see that Herr Forstmann is no more a speculator on the Stock Exchange than he is an economist. If Herr Forstmann's hypothesis that the price of government securities stands always in an inverse relationship to the price of money were correct, then the quotations of the Prussian $3^1/_2$ per cent securities would indeed be unusually favourable. In that case, with a discount rate of $5^1/_2$ per cent, they should be listed not at 72 per cent but only at $63^7/_{11}$. But who has told Herr Forstmann that this inverse relationship exists at every particular moment of a business slump and not as an average over 5 to 10 years.

On what does the price of money depend? It depends on the relationship of supply and demand at a given time and upon the currently existing scarcity or abundance of money. On what does the scarcity or abundance of money depend? It depends on the state of industry at the particular time and on the stagnation or prosperity of commerce in general.

On what does the price of government securities depend? It depends likewise on the relationship of supply and demand at the time. But on what does this relationship depend? It depends on many circumstances, which in Germany, in particular, are extremely complicated.

State credit is of decisive importance in France, England, Spain and in general in those countries whose government securities are traded on the *world market.* State credit plays a secondary role in Prussia and the smaller German states whose securities are quoted only on the small local exchanges. Here most government securities are not used for speculation but for the safe investment of capital and to secure a fixed *rent.* Only a disproportionately small part reaches the stock exchanges and is traded. Almost the entire national debt is in the hands of small pensioners, widows and orphans, boards of guardians, etc. A fall of the exchange quotations due to the decrease of the state credit is an additional reason for this type of state creditors *not* to sell their stocks. The interest is just enough for them to get by. If they sell these stocks at a heavy loss, they are ruined. The small number of securities which circulates on the few small local exchanges cannot, of course, be subject to the enormous and rapid fluctuations of supply and demand, of rise and fall like the enormous mass of French, Spanish etc. securities which are mainly designed for speculation and are traded on all the world's great stock exchanges in large quantities.

Hence it happens only rarely in Prussia that capitalists, through lack of money, are forced to sell their bonds at any price and thereby push down the exchange prices, while in Paris, Amsterdam etc. that is an everyday occurrence, which particularly after the February revolution affected the incredibly rapid fall of the French government securities much more than the diminished state credit.

In addition, fictitious purchases (*marchés à terme*),[157] which make up the bulk of the stock exchange transactions in Paris, Amsterdam etc., are *prohibited* in Prussia.

This entirely different commercial position of the Prussian securities based on local exchanges and the French, English, Spanish etc. securities which are traded on the world market, explains the fact that the prices of the Prussian securities do not reflect the most minute political complications of their state in anything like the measure in which this is the case with French etc. securities, that the state credit has not by a long shot the decisive and rapid influence on the market price of the Prussian stocks that it has upon the securities of other states.

In the measure in which Prussia and the small German states are pulled into the maelstrom of European politics and in which the domination of the bourgeoisie is developing, in the same measure government securities, just like landed property, will lose this patriarchal, inalienable character, will be drawn into circulation, become an ordinary, frequently exchanged article of commerce, and

perhaps even be allowed to lay claim to a modest existence on the world market.

Let us draw from these facts the following conclusions:

*Firstly*: It is not contested that the market price of government securities will *on average over a lengthy period* rise everywhere in the same ratio as the rate of interest falls and vice versa, given that the state credit remains unchanged.

*Secondly*: In France, England etc. this ratio prevails even during shorter periods because there the speculators own the largest part of the government securities and because, due to shortage of money, people are frequently compelled to sell and this governs the daily ratio between the exchange price and the rate of interest. Hence, this ratio often really prevails even at a particular moment.

*Thirdly*: In Prussia, on the other hand, this ratio exists only on average over relatively long periods because the amount of disposable government securities is small and the stock exchange business is limited; because sales due to shortage of money, which actually govern this relation, occur only rarely; because the prices of securities at these local stock exchanges are primarily determined by local influences whereas the price of money is determined by the influence of the world market.

*Fourthly*: If thus Herr Forstmann wants to draw conclusions for the Prussian state credit from the ratio of the price of money to the market price of the government securities, he only proves his total ignorance of these relations. The quotation of 72 for the $3^1/_2$ per cent stocks, with a discount rate of $5^1/_2$ per cent, demonstrates *nothing in favour of* the Prussian state credit, and the compulsory loan speaks *entirely against* it.

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# THE AGREEMENT DEBATES

*Cologne*, July 14. Today we come to the second half of the agreement session of the 7th [of this month]. After the debate about the financial committee, which was so painful for Herr Hansemann, there occurred yet another series of small woes for the ministerial gentlemen. It was a day of urgent motions and questions, of attacks on and embarrassment for the Ministry.

Deputy *Wander* proposed that any official who orders the unjust arrest of a citizen should be obliged to make full reparation and besides should be jailed for a period four times as long as the person he arrested.

The motion, as not urgent, is sent to the relevant committee.

Minister of Justice *Märker* declares that the adoption of this motion would not only fail to strengthen the legislation hitherto in force against officials who carry out unlawful arrests, but that it would actually weaken this legislation. (Cheers.)

The Minister of Justice only forgot to observe that according to the laws hitherto in force, particularly the old Prussian Law, it is *hardly possible* for an official to arrest anybody *unlawfully*. The most arbitrary arrest may be justified by the paragraphs of the most time-honoured Prussian Law.

We want to call attention, by the way, to the most unparliamentary method which the Ministers have fallen into the habit of using. They wait until a motion *is referred* to the relevant committee or section and then they still continue to discuss it. They are then certain that *nobody* can *answer* them. Thus Herr Hansemann acted in the case of Herr Borries' motion [a] and now Herr Märker follows suit.

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[a] See this volume, p. 217.— *Ed.*

Ministers trying to get away with such parliamentary improprieties in England and France would have been called to order very differently. But not in Berlin!

Herr *Schulze* (from Delitzsch): A motion to request the Government *at once* to hand over to the Assembly for debate in committee the already completed or soon to be completed constitutional Bills.

This motion again contained an indirect reproof of the Government for its negligence or intentional delay in submitting Bills to supplement the Constitution. The reproof was the more painful as during that same morning two Bills had been submitted, including the Bill on the civic militia. Thus, had the Prime Minister shown any energy, he would have decisively rejected this motion. But instead he makes only a few general remarks about the Government's desire to meet all just wishes of the Assembly in every possible way and the motion is adopted by a large majority.

Herr *Besser* asks the Minister of War about the absence of service regulations. The Prussian army is the only one which lacks such regulations. Hence there exist in all army units down to company and squadron level the greatest differences of opinion about the most important service matters, particularly about the rights and duties of the various ranks. There exist, to be sure, thousands of orders, ordinances and instructions but they are worse than useless precisely because of their countless number, their confusion and the contradictions which prevail in them. Besides, every such official document is mixed up and rendered unrecognisable by as many different corollaries, elucidations, marginal notes and notes to the marginal notes as there are intermediate authorities through which it passes. This confusion naturally works to the advantage of the superior in all kinds of arbitrary acts whereas the subordinate only reaps the disadvantage of it. The subordinate, therefore, knows no rights but only duties. There used to be service regulations called the pigskin regulations, but they were *taken away from those individuals who had a copy of them* during the 1820s. Since then *no subordinate* may cite them *to his advantage* whereas the *higher* authorities are allowed to cite them constantly *against* the subordinates! It is the same with the service regulations of the guard corps which are never communicated to the army or made accessible to subordinates who are nevertheless punished under them! The staff officers and generals naturally only profit from this confusion which allows them to exercise the most extreme arbitrariness and the harshest tyranny. The subaltern officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers, however, suffer under it and it is in their interest that Herr Besser questions General Schreckenstein.

How Herr *Schreckenstein* must have been astonished when he had to listen to this lengthy "quill-driving"—to use a popular term from the year 1813! What, the Prussian army does not have service regulations? What absurdity! Honestly, the Prussian army has the best, and at the same time the shortest, regulation in the world consisting of only two words: "*Obey orders!*" If a soldier of this "unbeaten" army is cuffed, kicked and struck with rifle-butts, if he has his beard or nose pulled by a lieutenant not yet of age and just escaped from officers' training school, and if he should complain, it is: "*Obey orders!*" If a tipsy major after dinner and for his special amusement marches his battalion into a swamp up to the waist, and there lines them up in square formations, and a subordinate dares to complain, it is: "*Obey orders!*" If officers are forbidden to visit one or another café and they take the liberty to comment, it is: "*Obey orders!*" This is the best service regulation, for it fits every occasion.

Of all the Ministers, Herr *Schreckenstein* is the only one who has not yet lost heart. This soldier who served under Napoleon, who for thirty-three years has practised the senseless Prussian spit and polish and has heard many a bullet whistle, will certainly not be afraid of agreers and questioners, particularly not when the great "Obey orders!" is in danger!

Gentlemen, he says, I am bound to know better. I ought to know what changes have to be made. It is here a question of tearing down, and tearing down must not be allowed to prevail since rebuilding is very difficult. The military organisation has been created by Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, Boyen and Grolmann, it comprises 600,000 armed and tactically trained citizens and offers a secure future to every citizen as long as there is discipline. I shall maintain it and that is all I have to say.

Herr *Besser*: Herr Schreckenstein has not answered the question at all. It seems evident, however, from his remarks that he believes service regulations would slacken discipline!

Herr *Schreckenstein*: I have already stated that I will do what is expedient for the army and benefits the *service.*

Herr *Behnsch*: We can at least demand that the Minister answers yes or no or declares that he does not wish to reply. Up to now we have only heard evasive phrases.

Herr *Schreckenstein*, annoyed: I do not consider it in the interest of the *service* to discuss this question any further.

The service, always the service! Herr Schreckenstein believes that he is still the commander of a division and that he is speaking to his officer corps. He imagines that as Minister of War, too, he only needs be concerned with the service and not with the legal relations

between the individual ranks of the army, least of all with the relations of the army to the state as a whole and its citizens! We are still living under Bodelschwingh; the spirit of the old Boyen seems to prevail unbroken at the Ministry of War.

Herr *Piegsa* asks about the maltreatment of Poles at *Mielzyn* on June 7.

Herr *Auerswald* declares that he must first wait for full reports.

Thus *an entire month* of 31 days after the event Herr Auerswald is not yet fully informed! What a wonderful administration!

Herr *Behnsch* asks Herr Hansemann as to whether at the presentation of the budget he will give a survey of the administration of the *Seehandlung*[158] since 1820 and of the state treasury since 1840.

Herr *Hansemann* declares amidst resounding laughter that he will be able to reply in a week's time.

Herr *Behnsch* once again inquires about government support of emigration.

Herr *Kühlwetter* replies that this is a German affair and refers Herr Behnsch to Archduke John.

Herr *Grebel* asks Herr Schreckenstein about the officials of the Military Administration who are simultaneously officers of the army reserve and who do active service during the army reserve exercises thereby depriving other officers of the army reserve of the opportunity to perfect their training. He moves that these officials be released from service in the army reserve.

Herr *Schreckenstein* declares that he will do his duty and even take the matter into consideration.

Herr *Feldhaus* asks Herr Schreckenstein about the soldiers who lost their lives on the march from Posen to Glogau[a] on June 18 and the measures taken to punish this barbarity.

Herr *Schreckenstein*: The matter has taken place. The report of the regimental commander has been submitted. The report of the General Command which arranged the stages of the march is still lacking. I cannot yet say, therefore, whether the order of march was transgressed. Besides, we are in this case passing judgment on a staff officer and such judgments are painful. It is to be hoped that the "High General Assembly" (!!!) will wait until the reports have arrived.

Herr Schreckenstein does not consider this barbarity a barbarity, he merely asks whether the major in question has "*obeyed orders*". What does it matter if 18 soldiers die miserably like so many heads of cattle on a country road so long as *orders* are *obeyed*!

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[a] The Polish name is Glogów.— *Ed.*

Herr *Behnsch* who had asked the same question as Herr Feldhaus says: I withdraw my question which has now become superfluous but I demand that the Minister of War fixes a day on which he will answer. Three weeks have already passed since this incident and the reports could have been here long ago.

Herr *Schreckenstein:* We have not wasted a moment; the reports from the General Command were requested immediately.

The *President*[a] wants to skip over the matter.

Herr *Behnsch*: I am only asking the Minister of War to give an answer and to fix a day.

*President*: Would Herr Schreckenstein....

Herr *Schreckenstein*: It is not yet possible to surmise when that will be.

Herr *Gladbach*: Paragraph 28 of standing orders lays the obligation upon Ministers to fix a day. I also insist upon it.

*President*: I am asking the Minister once again.

Herr *Schreckenstein*: I cannot fix a specific day.

Herr *Gladbach*: I insist upon my demand.

Herr *Temme*: I am of the same opinion.

*President*: Would the Minister of War perhaps in a fortnight....

Herr *Schreckenstein*: That could very well be. I shall answer as soon as I know whether or not orders have been obeyed.

*President*: All right then, in a fortnight.

This is how the Minister of War carries out "his duty" to the Assembly!

Herr *Gladbach* has yet another question, directed to the Minister of the Interior concerning the suspension of unpopular officials and the merely temporary, provisional filling of vacancies.

Herr *Kühlwetter*'s answers are most unsatisfactory and further remarks of Herr Gladbach are drowned after brave resistance by the muttering, shouting and hissing of the Right which is at last moved to fury by so much insolence.

A motion by Herr *Berends* to place the army reserve, which has been called up for domestic service, under the command of the civic militia is not recognised as urgent and is thereupon withdrawn. Thereafter a pleasant conversation begins about all sorts of subtleties linked to the Posen committee. The storm of questions and urgent motions has passed and the last conciliatory sounds of the famous session of July 7 fade away like the soft whispering of zephyr and the pleasant murmuring of a meadow brook. Herr Hansemann returns

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[a] Wilhelm Grabow.—*Ed.*

home with the consolation that the blustering and table-banging of the Right has woven a few flowers into his crown of thorns, and Herr Schreckenstein smugly twirls his moustache and murmurs: "Obey orders!"

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# THE DEBATE ON JACOBY'S MOTION[159]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 48, July 18, 1848]

*Cologne,* July 17. Again a "great debate", to use an expression of Herr Camphausen, has taken place, a debate which lasted two full days.

The substance of the debate is well known—the reservations the Government advanced regarding the immediate validity of the decisions passed by the National Assembly and Jacoby's motion asserting the Assembly's right to pass legally binding decisions without having to await anyone's consent, and at the same time objecting to the resolution on the Central Authority.[160]

That a debate on this subject was possible at all may seem incomprehensible to other nations. But we live in a land of oaks and lime-trees[a] where nothing should surprise us.

The people send their representatives to Frankfurt with the mandate that the Assembly assume sovereign power over the whole of Germany and all her governments, and, by virtue of the sovereignty the people have vested in the Assembly, adopt a Constitution for Germany.

Instead of immediately proclaiming its sovereignty over the separate states and the Federal Diet,[161] the Assembly timidly avoids any question relating to this subject and maintains an irresolute and vacillating attitude.

Finally it is confronted with a decisive issue—the appointment of a provisional Central Authority. Seemingly independent, but in fact guided by the governments with the help of Gagern, the Assembly elects as Imperial Regent a man whom these governments had in advance designated for this post.[b]

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[a] Heinrich Heine, "Zur Beruhigung". In *Zeitgedichte.—Ed.*

[b] Archduke John of Austria.—*Ed.*

The Federal Diet recognises the election, pretending, as it were, that only its confirmation makes the election valid.

Reservations are nevertheless made by Hanover and even by Prussia, and it is the Prussian reservation that has caused the debate of the 11th and 12th.

This time, therefore, it is not so much the fault of the Chamber in Berlin[a] that the debates are vague and hazy. The irresolute, weak-kneed, ineffectual Frankfurt National Assembly itself is to blame for the fact that its decisions can only be described as so much twaddle.

*Jacoby* introduces his motion briefly and with his usual precision. He makes things very difficult for the speakers of the Left, because he says everything that can be said about the motion if one is to avoid enlarging upon the origin of the Central Authority, whose history is so discreditable to the National Assembly.

In fact, the deputies of the Left who follow him advance hardly any new arguments, while those of the Right fare much worse—they lapse either into sheer twaddle or juridical hair-splitting. Both sides endlessly repeat themselves.

Deputy *Schneider* has the honour of first presenting the case for the Right to the Assembly.

He begins with the grand argument that the motion is self-contradictory. On the one hand, the motion recognises the sovereignty of the National Assembly, on the other hand, it calls upon the Agreement Chamber to censure the National Assembly, thus placing itself above it. Any individual could express his disapproval but not the Chamber.

This subtle argument, of which the Right seems to be very proud seeing that it recurs in all the speeches of its deputies, advances an entirely new theory. According to this theory, the Chamber has fewer rights with regard to the National Assembly than an individual.

This first grand argument is followed by a republican one. Germany consists for the most part of constitutional monarchies, and must therefore be headed by a constitutional, irresponsible authority and not by a republican, responsible one. This argument was rebutted on the second day by Herr *Stein*, who said that Germany, under her federal constitution, had always been a republic, indeed a very edifying republic.

"We have been given a mandate," says Herr Schneider, "to agree on a constitutional monarchy, and those in Frankfurt have been given a similar mandate, i.e. to agree with the German governments on a Constitution for Germany."

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[a] The Prussian National Assembly.— *Ed.*

The reaction indulges in wishful thinking. When, by order of the so-called Preparliament[162]—an assembly having no valid mandate—the trembling Federal Diet convened the German National Assembly, there was no question at the time of any agreement; the National Assembly was then considered to be a sovereign power. But now things have changed. The June events in Paris have revived the hopes of both the big bourgeoisie and the supporters of the overthrown system. Every squire from the backwoods hopes to see the old rule of the whip re-established, and a clamour for "an agreed German Constitution" is already arising from the Imperial Court at Innsbruck to the ancestral castle of Henry LXXII. The Frankfurt Assembly has no one but itself to blame for this.

"In electing a constitutional supreme head the National Assembly has therefore acted according to its mandate. But it has also acted in accordance with the will of the people; the great majority want a constitutional monarchy. Indeed, had the National Assembly come to a different decision, I would have regarded it as a misfortune. *Not* because I am *against the republic*; in *principle* I admit that the republic—and I have quite definitely made up my mind about it—*is the most perfect and most noble form of state,* but in reality we are still very far from it. We cannot have the form unless we have the spirit. We cannot have a republic while we lack *republicans,* that is to say, noble minds capable, at all times, with a clear conscience and noble selflessness, and not only in a fit of enthusiasm, of subordinating their own interests to the common interest."

Can anyone ask for better proof of the virtues represented in the Berlin Chamber than these noble and modest words of Deputy Schneider? Surely, if any doubt still existed about the fitness of the Germans to set up a republic, it must have completely vanished in face of these examples of true civic virtue, of the noble and most modest self-sacrifice of our Cincinnatus-Schneider! Let Cincinnatus pluck up courage and have faith in himself and the numerous noble citizens of Germany who likewise regard the republic as the most noble form of state but consider themselves bad republicans—they are ripe for the republic, they would endure the republic with the same heroic equanimity with which they have endured the absolute monarchy. The republic of worthies would be the happiest republic that ever existed—a republic without Brutus and Catiline, without Marat and upheavals like those of June, it would be a republic of well-fed virtue and solvent morality.[a]

How mistaken is Cincinnatus-Schneider when he exclaims:

"A republican mentality cannot be formed under absolutism; it is not possible to create a republican spirit *offhand,* we must first educate our children and grandchildren in this way. At present I would regard a republic as the greatest

[a] Modified quotation from Heinrich Heine's "Anno 1829". In *Romanzen.—Ed.*

calamity, for it would be anarchy under the desecrated name of republic, despotism under the cloak of liberty."

On the contrary, as Herr *Vogt* (from Giessen) said in the National Assembly, the Germans are republicans *by nature*, and to educate his children in the republican spirit Cincinnatus-Schneider could do no better than bring them up in the old German tradition of propriety, modesty and God-fearing piety, the plain and honest way in which he himself grew up. Not anarchy and despotism, but those cosy beer-swilling proceedings, in which Cincinnatus-Schneider excels, would be brought to the highest perfection in the republic of worthies. Far removed from all the atrocities and crimes which defiled the First French Republic, unstained by blood, and detesting the red flag, the republic of worthies would make possible something hitherto unattainable: it would enable every respectable burgher to lead a quiet, peaceful life marked by godliness and propriety. Who knows, the republic of worthies might even revive the guilds together with all the amusing trials of non-guild artisans. This republic of worthies is by no means a fanciful dream; it is a reality existing in Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck and Frankfurt, and even in some parts of Switzerland. But its existence is everywhere threatened by the contemporary storms, which bid fair to engulf it everywhere.

Therefore rise up, Cincinnatus-Schneider, leave your plough and turnip field, your beer and agreement policy, mount your steed and save the threatened republic, *your* republic, the *republic of worthies*!

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 49, July 19, 1848]

*Cologne*, July 18. Herr Waldeck takes the floor after Herr Schneider, in support of the motion.

"The present position of the Prussian state is surely quite without precedent, and one *really* cannot conceal the fact that it is also *somewhat* precarious."

This beginning is likewise somewhat precarious. We get the impression that we are still listening to Deputy Schneider:

"It must be said that Prussia was destined to exercise hegemony in Germany."

This is the same old-Prussian illusion, the cherished dream of merging Germany in Prussia and of declaring Berlin the German Paris. Herr Waldeck, it is true, sees this cherished hope dwindling, but he hankers after it with painful feelings, and he blames both the previous and the present Government for the fact that Prussia is not at the head of Germany.

Unfortunately the fine days have passed when the Customs Union[163] paved the way for Prussian hegemony in Germany, days when provincial patriots could believe that "the Brandenburg stock has determined the fate of Germany for 200 years" and will continue to do so in the future, the fine days when the disintegrating Germany of the Federal Diet could regard even the Prussian bureaucratic strait jacket as a last means of maintaining some sort of cohesion.

"The Federal Diet, on which public opinion has passed judgment long since, is disappearing and suddenly the Constituent National Assembly in Frankfurt emerges before the eyes of an *astonished world*!"

The "world" was naturally "astonished" when it saw *this* Constituent National Assembly. One need only read the French, English and Italian newspapers to understand this.

Herr Waldeck then explains at some length that he is against the idea of a German emperor and gives up his place on the rostrum to Herr Reichensperger II.

Herr *Reichensperger II* declares the supporters of Jacoby's motion to be republicans and desires them to state their aims as candidly as did the republicans in Frankfurt. Then he too asserts that Germany is not yet in possession of the

"full measure of civic and political virtues which have been described by a great political scientist[a] as the essential precondition for a republic".

If Reichensperger, the patriot, says this, Germany must be in a bad way!

Herr Reichensperger continues, the Government has made no reservations (!) but merely expressed wishes. There was reason enough for this and I also hope that the National Assembly will not always ignore the opinions of governments when making decisions. It is outside our competence to lay down the sphere of competence of the Frankfurt National Assembly; the National Assembly itself has refused to advance theories concerning its own competence; it has acted in a practical manner when necessity has demanded action.

In other words, at the time when the Frankfurt Assembly was omnipotent, it failed during the revolutionary agitation to settle the inevitable conflict with the German governments with one decisive stroke. It has preferred to postpone the decision and to fight small skirmishes with one or another Government over each individual resolution, skirmishes which weaken the Assembly the further it recedes from the time of the revolution and the more it compromises itself in the eyes of the people by its feeble actions. And

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[a] Montesquieu.— *Ed.*

in this respect, Herr Reichensperger is quite right: it is not worth our while to come to the aid of an Assembly which has forsaken itself!

But it is touching when Herr Reichensperger says:

"It is therefore *unstatesmanlike* to discuss such questions of competence; what matters is simply to solve practical questions as they arise."

It is indeed "unstatesmanlike" to dispose of these "practical questions" once and for all by means of a forceful decision; it is "unstatesmanlike" if, in the face of reactionary attempts to halt the movement, the revolutionary mandate were asserted, a mandate which every Assembly that has come into being as a result of barricade fighting possesses. Cromwell, Mirabeau, Danton, Napoleon and the entire English and French revolutions were indeed exceedingly "unstatesmanlike", but Bassermann, Biedermann, Eisenmann, Wiedenmann and Dahlmann behave in a very "statesmanlike" manner! "Statesmen" disappear altogether when a revolution takes place, and the revolution must be temporarily dormant for "statesmen" to re-emerge, and, moreover, statesmen of the caliber of Herr Reichensperger II, the deputy for the Kempen district.

"If you depart from this system, it will be difficult to avoid conflicts with the German National Assembly and with the governments of individual [German] states; at any rate you will unfortunately promote discord and, as a result of discord, anarchy will raise its head and nothing will then save us from civil war. Civil war, however, marks the beginning of still greater misfortune.... It is not out of the question that people may in that case say—order has been restored in Germany, by our Eastern and Western friends!"

Herr Reichensperger may be right. If the Assembly engages in a discussion of competence, it may give rise to clashes, possibly leading to a civil war and intervention by the French and the Russians. If the Assembly does not discuss this, however, and, in fact, it has not done so, a civil war is even more certain. The conflicts which, at the beginning of the revolution, were still fairly simple, every day become more involved, and the longer the decision is delayed, the more difficult and the more bloody will be the solution.

A country like Germany, which is forced to work its way up from indescribable fragmentation to unity, which, if it does not want to perish, needs the more stringent revolutionary centralisation, the more divided it has been up to now, a country which contains twenty Vendées,[164] which is sandwiched between the two most powerful and most centralised states of the Continent and surrounded by numerous small neighbours, with whom it is on strained terms, if not

at war—such a country cannot, in the present period of universal revolution, avoid *either civil war or war with other countries.* These wars, which we will certainly have to face, will be the more perilous and devastating, the more irresolute is the conduct of the people and its leaders and the longer the decision is postponed. If Herr Reichensperger's "statesmen" remain at the helm, we might witness another Thirty Years' War.[165] But, fortunately, the force of events, the German people, the Emperor of Russia and the French people also have a say in the matter.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 53, July 23, 1848]

*Cologne*, July 22. Current events, Bills, armistice proposals etc. at last allow us once more to return to our beloved agreement debates. On the rostrum we see Deputy von *Berg* from Jülich, a man in whom we are interested for two reasons; first, because he is a Rhinelander, and second, because he is a ministerialist of very recent date.

Herr Berg has several reasons for opposing Jacoby's motion. The first is this:

> "The first part of the motion, which requires us to express our disapproval of a decision made by the German Parliament, this first part is nothing but a protest made in the name of a minority against a legal majority. It is nothing but an attempt by a party which has been *defeated within* a legislative body *to obtain support from outside*; it is an attempt whose consequences are *bound to lead to civil war.*"

Mr. Cobden, with his motion to abolish the Corn Laws, also belonged to the minority in the House of Commons from 1840 to 1845. He belonged to "a party which" had "been defeated within a legislative body". What did he do? He sought "support from outside". He did not simply state his disapproval of parliamentary decisions, he went much further; he set up and organised the Anti-Corn Law League[166] and the Anti-Corn Law press, in short, the whole enormous agitation against the Corn Laws. According to Herr Berg, this was an attempt that was "bound to lead to civil war".

The minority in the erstwhile United Diet likewise sought "support from outside". Herr Camphausen, Herr Hansemann and Herr Milde had no scruples whatever over this. The facts that stand as proof of this are well known. It is obvious that the consequences of their conduct, according to Herr Berg, were "bound to lead to civil war". They led not to civil war, however, but to the Ministry.

We could cite a hundred more such examples.

The minority in a legislative body, if it does not want to bring about civil war, must not, therefore, seek support from outside. But

what then does "from outside" mean? It means the constituents, i.e. the people who *create* the legislative body. If one is no longer supposed to obtain "support" by influencing these constituents, where is one to gain support?

Are the speeches of Hansemann, Reichensperger, von Berg and so on, delivered merely for the benefit of the Assembly or also for the public, to whom they are presented in stenographic reports? Are not these speeches likewise means by which this "party within a legislative body" seeks, or *hopes*, to obtain "support from outside"?

In short, Herr Berg's principle would lead to the abolition of all political propaganda. For propaganda is simply the practical application of the immunity of advocates of freedom of the press and of freedom of association, i.e. of freedoms which legally exist in Prussia. Whether these freedoms lead to civil war or not is not our concern. It is sufficient that they exist, and we shall see where it "leads", if they continue to be infringed.

"Gentlemen, these efforts of the minority to find strength and recognition outside the legislative authority did not begin today or yesterday, they date from the first day of the German uprising. The minority expressed its objections and left the Preparliament, and the result was civil war."

First, as regards Jacoby's motion, there is no question of a "minority objecting and leaving".

Secondly, "the efforts of the minority to find recognition outside the legislative authority" did, it is true, "not begin today or yesterday", for they date from the moment when legislative authorities and minorities came into being.

Thirdly, it is not the fact that the minority expressed its objections and left the Preparliament which led to civil war, but Herr Mittermaier's "moral conviction" that Hecker, Fickler and their associates were traitors to their country, and the measures which the Government of Baden consequently took and which were dictated by the most abject fear.[167]

The civil war argument, which is, of course, apt to throw the German burgher into a dreadful state of alarm, is followed by the argument about the absence of a mandate.

"We have been elected by our constituents in order to establish a Constitution in Prussia; the same constituents have sent other citizens to Frankfurt, to set up a Central Authority there. It cannot be denied that the constituent who gives the mandate is certainly entitled to approve or disapprove the mandatary's actions, but the constituents have not authorised us to speak on their behalf in this respect."

This weighty argument has been greatly admired by the legal experts and legal dilettanti in the Assembly. We have no mandate!

Nevertheless, two minutes later, the same Herr Berg asserts that the Frankfurt Assembly was "convoked in order to create the future Constitution of Germany, in concert with the German governments", and it is to be hoped that the Prussian Government will *not*, in this case, ratify it without consulting the Agreement Assembly or the Chamber which is to be elected under the new Constitution. The Ministry has nevertheless immediately informed the Assembly of its recognition of the Imperial Regent,[a] as well as of its reservations, thereby inviting the Assembly to pronounce its decision.

It is therefore precisely the point of view expressed by Herr Berg, his own speech and Herr Auerswald's information which lead to the conclusion that the Assembly certainly has a mandate to deal with the Frankfurt resolutions.

We have no mandate! Hence, if the Frankfurt Assembly reintroduces censorship, if it sends Bavarian and Austrian troops to Prussia to support the Crown in a conflict between the Chamber and the Crown, then Herr Berg has "no mandate"!

What mandate has Herr Berg? Literally only this: "to agree with the Crown upon the Constitution". By no means has he, therefore, a mandate to put down parliamentary questions, and to agree to laws on immunity, on the civic militia, on redemption and to all other laws not mentioned in the Constitution. This is what reactionaries daily assert. Berg himself says:

"Every step beyond this mandate is a breach of faith, it is an abandonment of the mandate or even a betrayal!"

Nevertheless, under the force of necessity, Herr Berg and the entire Assembly constantly abandon their mandate. The Assembly must do so due to the revolutionary, or rather, at present, reactionary, provisional state of affairs. Because of this provisional state, everything serving to safeguard the achievements of the March revolution falls within the competence of the Assembly and if it can achieve this by exerting moral influence on the Frankfurt Assembly, then the Agreement Chamber is not only entitled, but even obliged, to do so.

Then follows the Rhenish-Prussian argument, which is of special importance for us Rhinelanders, because it shows how we are represented in Berlin.

"We Rhinelanders and Westphalians and the inhabitants of other provinces as well have *absolutely* no bond with Prussia other than the fact that we have *come under the jurisdiction of the Prussian Crown.* If we dissolve this bond, the state disintegrates. I do not understand at all, and I believe most deputies from my province do not

[a] Archduke John of Austria.— *Ed.*

understand either, what benefit a Berlin republic would be to us. We might prefer rather a republic in Cologne."

We shall not discuss at all the idle speculations about what we "might prefer" if Prussia is turned into a "Berlin republic", nor the new theory about the conditions of existence of the Prussian state etc. As Rhinelanders, we simply protest against the statement that "we have come under the jurisdiction of the Prussian Crown". On the contrary the "Prussian Crown" has come *to us.*

The next speaker against the motion is Herr *Simons* from Elberfeld. He repeats everything that Herr Berg has said.

He is followed by a speaker from the Left and then by Herr *Zachariä.* Zachariä repeats everything that Herr Simons has said.

Deputy *Duncker* repeats everything that Herr Zachariä has said, but he also adds a few other things, or he expresses what has been said before in such an extreme way, that we find it advisable to deal briefly with his speech.

"Do we, the Constituent Assembly of 16 million Germans, reinforce the authority of the German Central Government and the authority of the German Parliament in the minds of the people by thus censuring the Constituent Assembly of all Germans? Do we not thereby undermine the willing obedience which the individual nationalities must [accord] it, if it is to work for Germany's unity?"

According to Herr Duncker, the authority of the Central Government and the National Assembly and this "willing obedience" exist; the obedience consists in the *people* submitting blindly to this authority, whereas the individual *governments* make *reservations* and, when it suits them, refuse to obey.

"What is the point of making theoretical statements in our time, when the force of fact is so immense?"

Recognition of the sovereignty of the Frankfurt Assembly by the representatives "of 16 million Germans" is thus merely a "theoretical statement"!?

"If, in future, a resolution passed in Frankfurt were to be *regarded* by the Government and Parliament of Prussia as impossible and impracticable, would there then be any possibility of carrying through such a resolution?"

Hence, the mere opinions, the *views* held by the Prussian Government and Parliament are supposed to be capable of making the resolutions of the National Assembly *impossible.*

"Today, we may say whatever we like, but the Frankfurt resolutions could not be carried through, if the entire Prussian people, if two-fifths of Germany, refused to submit to them."

Here we have again all the old Prussian arrogance, the Berlin national patriotism in all its old glory, with the pigtail and crooked

stick of old Fritz.[a] It is true, we are only a minority, only two-fifths (and not even that) but we will certainly show the majority that *we* are masters in Germany, that we are Prussians!

We do not advise the gentlemen of the Right to provoke a conflict of this kind between "two-fifths" and "three-fifths". The numerical balance may prove to be quite different, and many a province may remember that it has been German from time immemorial, but that it has been Prussian for only thirty years.

Herr Duncker has a remedy, however. Those in Frankfurt must, along with us, "pass only those resolutions that express the reasonable collective will, the true opinion of the public, so that they can be approved by the moral consciousness of the nation", i.e. resolutions after Deputy Duncker's own heart.

"If we, and those in Frankfurt, pass such resolutions then we are, and they are, sovereign, otherwise we are not sovereign, even if we decree it ten times over."

After this profound definition of sovereignty, which is in keeping with his moral consciousness, Herr Duncker heaves a sigh: "In any case, this belongs to the future", and thus concludes his speech.

Lack of space and time prevents us from discussing the speeches of the Left made on the same day. Nevertheless, even from the speeches of the Right presented here, our readers will have realised that Herr Parrisius was not entirely mistaken when he moved the adjournment because "the temperature in the hall has risen so high that it is impossible to maintain *absolute clarity of thought*"!

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 55, July 25, 1848]

*Cologne*, July 24. A few days ago, when the pressure of world events caused us to interrupt our account of the debate, a neighbouring journalist[b] was kind enough to carry on the report in our stead. He has already drawn the attention of the public to "the profusion of penetrating thoughts and bright ideas" and to "the fine and healthy feeling for true freedom" displayed by "the speakers of the majority", and especially by our incomparable Baumstark, "during this great debate, which lasted two days".[c]

We must bring our report of the debate to a hasty close, but cannot refrain from presenting a few examples from the "profusion"

[a] King Frederick II of Prussia.— *Ed.*

[b] Karl Brüggemann.— *Ed.*

[c] "Köln, 20. Juli. Die Debatte über den Jacobyschen Antrag", *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 203, July 21, 1848.— *Ed.*

of "penetrating thoughts and bright ideas" expressed by the Right.

Deputy *Abegg* opened the second day of the debate[a] with a threat to the Assembly: to get to the bottom of this motion, one would have to repeat all the Frankfurt debates in their entirety—and the High Assembly is obviously not entitled to do this! Their constituents "with their practical tact and practical sense" would never approve of this! Incidentally, what is to become of German unity, if (now follows a particularly "penetrating thought") people "do *not simply* confine themselves to making *reservations*", but express their "firm approval or disapproval of the Frankfurt resolutions". In this case nothing remains but "purely formal submissiveness"!

Of course, "purely formal submissiveness" can be evaded by "reservations" and, if need be, even directly denied—that cannot harm German unity; but to approve or disapprove of these resolutions and to judge them with regard to their style, logic or usefulness—that's the limit!

Herr *Abegg* concludes with the observation that it was for the Frankfurt Assembly, and *not* the Berlin Assembly, to comment upon the reservations presented to the Assembly in Berlin, *not* that in Frankfurt. One ought not to anticipate the Frankfurt deputies as this would surely be an insult to them!

The gentlemen in Berlin are not competent to express an opinion on statements made by their own Ministers.

Let us skip the idols of the small people, such as *Baltzer, Kämpf* and *Gräff*, and make haste to hear the hero of the day, the incomparable *Baumstark*.

Deputy *Baumstark* declares that he would never pronounce himself incompetent, unless he is forced to admit no knowledge of the matter in hand—and surely eight weeks of debate cannot leave one with no knowledge of the matter?

Consequently, Deputy Baumstark is *competent*. Namely, in the following manner:

"I ask whether, as a result of the wisdom we have shown so far, we are fully entitled" (i.e. competent) "to confront an Assembly, which has attracted
general interest in Germany,
and the admiration of the whole of Europe,
thanks to its noble-mindedness,
its high intelligence
and its moral political standpoint,
that is thanks to everything that has made the name of Germany great and glorious throughout history? I *submit* to it" (i.e. I declare myself *incompetent*) "and wish that the Assembly, sensing the truth (!!), would likewise submit" (i.e. declare itself *incompetent*)!

[a] July 12, 1848.— *Ed.*

"Gentlemen," continues the "competent" Deputy Baumstark, "it was stated at yesterday's session that there has been talk of a republic etc. which is unphilosophical. But it cannot possibly be unphilosophical to describe the responsibility of the person who heads the state, as a characteristic feature of the republic, in the democratic sense. Gentlemen, it is certain that all political philosophers, from *Plato down to Dahlmann*" (Deputy Baumstark could indeed not go further "down"), "have expressed this view, and we must not contradict this more than a thousand-year-old truth (!) and historical fact, without very special reasons, which have yet to be adduced."

Herr Baumstark thinks, therefore, that sometimes there can be "very special reasons" to contradict even "historical facts". Indeed, the gentlemen of the Right usually have no scruples in this respect.

Herr Baumstark, moreover, declares himself once again *incompetent*, by pushing the competence on to the shoulders of "all political philosophers, from Plato down to Dahlmann". Herr Baumstark, of course, does not belong to this category of political philosophers.

"Let us consider this political edifice! *One* Chamber and a responsible Imperial Regent, and this on the basis of the present electoral law! Further examination will show that it is against all *common sense*."

Then Herr Baumstark makes the following penetrating pronouncement which, even on the closest examination, will not be against all "common sense".

"Gentlemen, a republic requires two things, popular opinion and leading personalities. If we make a closer examination of our German popular opinion, we shall find that it contains very little about *this* republic (namely that of the Imperial Regent previously mentioned).

Thus, Herr Baumstark once more declares himself *incompetent*, and this time, in his place, it is *popular opinion* that is competent to judge the republic. Popular opinion, therefore, has more "knowledge" about the matter than Deputy Baumstark.

At last, however, the speaker proves that there are also matters about which he has some "knowledge", and first and foremost among these is popular sovereignty.

"Gentlemen, history—I have to return to this—proves that *we have had popular sovereignty since time immemorial*, but it has assumed different forms under different conditions."

Then follows a series of "extremely penetrating thoughts and bright ideas" about Brandenburg-Prussian history and popular sovereignty causing the neighbouring journalist to forget all worldly sufferings in a fit of constitutional ecstasy and doctrinaire bliss.

"When the Great Elector[a] disregarded, and *indeed* (!) crushed" (to "crush" something is certainly the best way of disregarding it), "the decaying elements of the

[a] Frederick William of Brandenburg.—*Ed.*

estates, which were infected with the poison of French demoralisation" (the right of the first night had in fact been gradually buried by the "French demoralised" civilisation!), "he was generally acclaimed by the people, deeply imbued with the moral feeling that this gave strength to the German, and especially the Prussian, political edifice."

One has to admire the "deep moral feeling" of the Brandenburg philistines of the seventeenth century who, profoundly moved by their profits, acclaimed the Elector when he attacked their enemies, the feudal lords, and sold privileges to the philistines—but one has to admire even more the "common sense" and "bright ideas" of Herr Baumstark, who regards this acclamation as an expression of "popular sovereignty"!

"At that time, everybody, without exception, paid homage to the absolute monarchy" (since otherwise he would have been flogged) "and the Great Frederick would never have achieved such importance had he not been supported by *genuine* popular sovereignty."

The popular sovereignty of flogging, serfdom and soccage services is, for Herr Baumstark, *genuine* popular sovereignty. An artless admission!

From genuine popular sovereignty, Herr Baumstark now goes on to consider *false* popular sovereignties.

"But there followed a different period, that of constitutional monarchy."

This is then proved by a long "constitutional rigmarole" in which, to cut a long story short, he asserts that, from 1811 to 1847, the people of Prussia called continuously for a Constitution, and never for a Republic (!). This is naturally followed by the remark that "the people has turned away in indignation" from the recent republican insurrection in Southern Germany.

From this it follows quite naturally that the second kind of popular sovereignty (although it is no longer the "genuine" one) is the "constitutional sovereignty proper".

"This is the kind of popular sovereignty which divides political power between the King and the people, it is *divided* popular sovereignty" (let the "political philosophers, from Plato down to Dahlmann", tell us what this is supposed to mean), "which the people must receive *unimpaired* and *unconditionally* (!!), but without depriving the King of any of his constitutional power" (what laws define this power in Prussia since the 19th March?). "This point is quite clear" (especially in Deputy Baumstark's mind); "the concept has been determined by the history of the constitutional system and no one can still entertain any doubts about it" (it is only when one reads Deputy Baumstark's speech that, unfortunately, "doubts" arise again).

Finally "there is a third kind of popular sovereignty, the democratic-republican kind, which is supposed to rest on the so-called broadest basis. What an unfortunate expression is '*broadest basis*'!"

Then Herr Baumstark "raises a word" against this broadest basis. This basis leads to the decline of countries, to barbarism! We have no Cato, who could give the republic a moral foundation. Herr Baumstark then begins to blow Montesquieu's old horn of republican virtue—a horn which has long been out of tune and full of dents—and to blow it so loudly that the neighbouring journalist,[a] in transports of admiration, chimes in likewise and, to the astonishment of all Europe, demonstrates brilliantly that it is "precisely republican virtue ... which leads to constitutionalism"! Meanwhile, Herr Baumstark changes his tune and also comes to constitutionalism but through the *absence* of republican virtue. The reader can imagine the splendid effect of this duet when, after a series of the most heart-rendingly discordant notes, the two voices finally unite to produce the conciliatory chord of constitutionalism.

After a lengthy argument, Herr Baumstark comes to the conclusion that the Ministers have actually made "no *real* reservation" at all, but merely "a *slight* reservation concerning the future" and, in the end, he finds himself on the broadest basis, since he considers only a *democratic* and constitutional state to be Germany's salvation. He is so "overwhelmed by the prospect of Germany's future" that he gives vent to his feelings by crying:

"Cheers, three cheers for the popular-constitutional, hereditary German monarchy!"

He was indeed quite right when he said—this unfortunate broadest basis!

Several speakers from both sides then take the floor but, after Deputy Baumstark, we dare not present them to our readers. We shall just mention Deputy *Wachsmuth's* declaration that his principal tenet is the point made by the noble Stein: The will of free men is the unshakeable support of every throne.

"That strikes right to the core of the matter!" exclaims our enraptured neighbouring journalist. "Nowhere does the will of free men prosper more than in the shelter of the unshakeable throne, and nowhere does the throne rest more securely than on the intelligent love of free men!"[b]

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[a] Karl Brüggemann.—*Ed.*

[b] "Köln, 20. Juli. Die Debatte über den Jacobyschen Antrag", *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 203, July 21, 1848.—*Ed.*

Indeed, the "profusion of penetrating thoughts and bright ideas" and the "healthy feeling for true freedom" displayed by the speakers of the majority in this debate are far from matching the depth and penetration of the thoughts of the neighbouring journalist!

Written by Engels between July 17 and 24, 1848

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# THE SUPPRESSION OF THE CLUBS IN STUTTGART AND HEIDELBERG

*Cologne,* July 19.

> My Germany got drunk with toasts,
> You, you believed them all,
> And every black-red-golden tassel
> As well as each pipe-bowl![a]

And that, upright German, has indeed been your fate once again. You believe you have made a revolution? Deception! You believe that you have overcome the police state? Deception! You believe that you possess freedom of association, freedom of the press, the arming of the people and other beautiful slogans which were bandied about on the March barricades? Deception, nothing but deception!

> But when the blissful glow wore off,
> Beloved friend, you stood bewildered.[b]

Bewildered about your indirectly chosen, so-called National Assemblies,[168] bewildered about the renewed expulsions of German citizens from German cities, bewildered about the tyranny of the sabre in Mainz, Trier, Aachen, Mannheim, Ulm, and Prague, bewildered about the arrests and political trials in Berlin, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Breslau[c] etc.

But there was one thing left to you, upright German, the clubs! You were able to attend the clubs and to complain to the public about the political swindles of the last few months. You could pour out your heavy heart to like-minded fellow citizens and find consolation in the words of like-minded, equally oppressed patriots!

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[a] Heinrich Heine, "An Georg Herwegh". In *Zeitgedichte.*— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid.— *Ed.*
[c] Wrocław.— *Ed.*

But now even this has come to an end. The clubs are incompatible with the preservation of "order". In order that "confidence may be restored" it is urgently necessary to put an end to the subversive activities of the clubs.

Yesterday we related that the *Württemberg* Government downright *prohibited* the Democratic District Association in Stuttgart by a royal ordinance.[a] One does not even bother any longer to haul the leaders of the clubs before a court but instead falls back upon the old police measures. Yes, the gentlemen *Harpprecht, Duvernoy* and *Maucler* who countersigned this ordinance go even further: they prescribe extra-legal penalties for the violators of this prohibition, penalties of up to one-year imprisonment. They devise penal laws, without the Chambers' approval, and exceptional penal laws at that, merely "on the strength of Paragraph 89 of the Constitution".

It is no better in *Baden.* Today we report the prohibition of the Democratic Student Union in Heidelberg.[b] There, generally, the right of association is not so openly contested except in the case of the *students,* on the strength of the old, long abolished special laws of the Federal Diet,[169] the students are threatened by the penalties prescribed by these invalid laws.

We shall now probably have to expect the suppression of our clubs next.

We have a National Assembly in Frankfurt so that the governments may take such measures in complete safety without incurring the wrath of public opinion. This Assembly will, of course, pass over these police measures to the agenda just as lightly as over the revolution in Mainz.[c]

Thus it is not in order to achieve anything in the Assembly but merely in order to force the majority of the Assembly to proclaim once again before all Germany its alliance with reaction that we call upon the deputies of the extreme Left in Frankfurt to propose:

That the originators of these measures, particularly Herr Harpprecht, Herr Duvernoy, Herr Maucler and Herr Mathy, *be impeached* for violating the fundamental rights of the German people.

Written by Engels on July 19, 1848

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[a] "Stuttgart, 15. Juli", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 49, July 19, 1848.— *Ed.*

[b] "Heidelberg, 17. Juli", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 50, July 20, 1848.— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 17-19.— *Ed.*

# THE PRUSSIAN PRESS BILL[170]

*Cologne*, July 19. We had thought that today we might be able to amuse our readers once again with the agreement debates, in particular to present to them the brilliant speech of Deputy Baumstark,[a] but events prevent us from doing so.

Charity begins at home. When the existence of the press is threatened, even Deputy Baumstark is abandoned.

Herr Hansemann has submitted to the Agreement Assembly a provisional press law. The paternal solicitude of Herr Hansemann for the press calls for immediate consideration.

In former times the *Code Napoléon* was beautified by the most edifying headings of the Prussian Law. Now, after the revolution, this has been changed: now, the Prussian Law is enriched by the most fragrant blossoms of the Code and the September Laws. Duchâtel, of course, is no Bodelschwingh.

We have already several days ago given the main points of the press Bill.[b] No sooner had a defamation trial given us the chance to prove that Articles 367 and 368 of the *Code pénal* stand in starkest contradiction to freedom of the press,[c] than Herr Hansemann proposes not only to extend them to the entire kingdom but also to make them three times worse. We rediscover in the new draft all that has already become dear and valued to us by practical experience:

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[a] See the end of the article "The Debate on Jacoby's Motion", July 24, 1848 (this volume, pp. 242-47).— *Ed.*

[b] "Berlin, 14. Juli (Pressgesetz)", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 47, July 17, 1848.— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 209-10.— *Ed.*

We find it prohibited—on pain of imprisonment from three months to three years—to make a charge against anybody which would make him punishable by law or merely "expose him to public contempt". We find it prohibited to demonstrate the truth of the matter in any other way than by a "valid legal document", in short, we rediscover the most classical monuments of the Napoleonic despotism over the press.

Indeed, Herr Hansemann keeps his promise to let the old provinces share in the advantages of Rhenish legislation!

Paragraph 10 of the Bill tops all these regulations: in the case of calumny directed at *state officials* in respect to the exercise of their official duties, the ordinary punishment may be *increased by half.*

If an official in the exercise or on the occasion (*à l'occasion*) of the exercise of his duties is *insulted in words* (*outrage par parole*), the punishment under Article 222 of the Penal Code is a prison sentence of from one month to two years. Despite the benevolent efforts of the Public Prosecutor's office, this article has hitherto not been used against the press, and for very good reasons. In order to remedy this situation, Herr Hansemann has transformed this article into the above-mentioned Paragraph 10. In the first place, "on the occasion" is transformed into the more convenient "in *respect* to the exercise of their duties". Secondly, the troublesome *par parole* is changed to *par écrit.* In the third place, the penalty is trebled.

From the day when this Bill becomes law, Prussian officials may relax. If Herr Pfuel brands Polish hands and ears with lunar caustic and the press publishes it—four and a half months to four and a half years imprisonment! If citizens are inadvertently thrown into prison even though it is known that they are not the right ones and the press communicates this fact—four and a half months to four and a half years imprisonment! If *Landräte* turn themselves into *commis voyageurs* for reaction and collectors of signatures for royalist addresses and the press unmasks these gentlemen—four and a half months to four and a half years imprisonment!

From the day when this Bill becomes law, officials may with impunity carry out any arbitrary act, any tyrannical and any unlawful act. They may calmly administer beatings or order them, arrest and detain people without a hearing; the press, the only effective control, has been rendered ineffective. On the day when this Bill becomes law, the bureaucracy may celebrate a festival: it will have become mightier, less restrained and stronger than it was in the pre-March period.

Indeed, what remains of freedom of the press if that which *deserves* public contempt can no longer be held up to public contempt?

According to the laws hitherto in force the press could at least adduce facts to back up its general assertions and accusations. This will now come to an end. The press will no longer *report*, it will be allowed merely to *speak* in general *phrases* so that well-meaning people from Herr Hansemann down all the way to the beer-parlour politicians will have the right to say that the press is merely *reviling* and is not *proving* anything! Precisely for this reason the press is being prohibited from offering proofs!

We recommend, by the way, that Herr Hansemann make the following addition to his well-meaning draft. He should also declare it punishable to expose the officials to public ridicule besides penalising their exposure to public contempt. This omission might otherwise be painfully regretted.

We will not go in detail into the paragraphs dealing with obscenity or the regulations concerning confiscations etc. They surpass the *crème* of the press legislation of Louis Philippe and the Restoration. We do want to mention just one regulation: under Paragraph 21, the Public Prosecutor may request the confiscation not only of materials already printed but even of a *manuscript* which has only just been *handed over for printing*, if its contents condone a crime or offence that is liable to official prosecution! What a wide field of activity for philanthropic prosecutors! What a charming diversion to be able to go at any time to newspaper offices and demand to be shown for examination any "manuscript which has just been handed over for printing" since it might just be possible that it condoned a crime or offence!

Compared with this, how odd seems the solemn paragraph of the draft Constitution and of the "Fundamental Rights of the German Nation" which reads: *The censorship can never again be restored!*

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# THE *FAEDRELAND* ON THE ARMISTICE WITH DENMARK[171]

*Cologne*, July 20. In order that the fatherland may see for itself that the so-called revolution with its National Assembly, Imperial Regent[a] etc. accomplished nothing more than a thorough revival of the famous Holy Roman Empire of the German nation,[172] we reprint the following article from the Danish *Faedreland*. It is to be hoped that the article will suffice to prove to even the most trusting friends of the established order that forty million Germans have once again been duped by two million Danes with the assistance of English mediation and Russian threats just as happened all the time under the "constant augmenters of the Empire".[b]

The *Faedreland*, Minister Orla Lehmann's own newspaper, speaks about the armistice as follows[c]:

"If one looks at the armistice solely from the vantage point of our own hopes and wishes one cannot, of course, be satisfied with it; if one assumes that the Government had the choice between this armistice and the prospect of expelling the Germans from Schleswig with Swedish and Norwegian aid, forcing them to recognise Denmark's right to settle the affairs of this duchy in conjunction with its inhabitants—then, indeed, one would have to admit that the Government has acted irresponsibly by agreeing to the armistice. This choice, however, did not exist. One has to assume that both England and Russia, the two great powers which have the most direct interest in this controversy and its settlement, have demanded the conclusion of an armistice as a condition for their future sympathy and mediation; that the Swedish-Norwegian Government has likewise demanded that an attempt at a peaceful arrangement be made before it decides to render any effective aid and that it will give such aid only with the delimitation set out at the very beginning, namely that such aid must not serve a reconquest of Schleswig but merely the defence of Jutland and the

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[a] Archduke John of Austria.—*Ed.*
[b] Part of the title of the Holy Roman Emperors.—*Ed.*
[c] No. 179 of July 13, 1848.—*Ed.*

islands. Thus the alternative was as follows: on the one hand the gain of a respite so as to await the course of events abroad and to complete the political and military organisation at home; on the other hand the prospect of desperate single combat against superior strength; even if our army, which is half as strong as the federal army, were to have launched an assault upon the advantageous positions of the enemy, it would have been as good as impossible to achieve victory but the fight could well have led to the occupation of the entire peninsula by the Germans after the withdrawal of the Swedish-Norwegian forces; a combat which would at best have led to dearly bought, useless victories and at worst held out the prospect of the exhaustion of all our defence forces and a humiliating peace."

The Danish newspaper then proceeds to defend the conditions of the armistice as advantageous to Denmark. It describes as groundless the fear that the resumption of war would occur during the winter when the German troops could cross the ice to Fünen and Alsen.[a] The Germans would be as incapable as the Danes of sustaining a winter campaign in such a climate whereas the advantages of a three-month truce would be very great for both Denmark and the loyal population of Schleswig. If no peace was concluded within the three months, the armistice would be automatically prolonged until spring. The paper continues:

"The lifting of the blockade and the freeing of the prisoners will be approved; the return of the seized ships, however, may perhaps have aroused the dissatisfaction of certain individuals. It must be remembered that the capture of German ships was rather a means of coercion to deter the Germans from crossing our frontier, and had by no means the purpose of enriching ourselves by the acquisition of foreign private property; moreover, the value of these ships is not nearly so great as some would like to believe. If these ships were to come under the hammer during the present stagnation both in our own and in European trade generally, they would *at the very most* fetch *1½ million*, i.e. the cost of the war for two months. And in exchange for these ships we obtain the evacuation of both duchies by the Germans as well as compensation for the goods requisitioned in Jutland. Thus the means of coercion we have used has fulfilled its purpose and its now being halted is quite in order. It seems to us that *the evacuation of three counties by a superior army* which we had no prospect of evicting by our own strength makes up tenfold for the small advantage that the state might have derived from the sale of the seized ships."

Paragraph 7 is described as the most questionable one. It is supposed to prescribe the continuation of the special Government for the duchies which in fact means a continuation of "Schleswig-Holsteinism". The King of Denmark is supposed to be bound to the *notables* of Schleswig-Holstein for the selection of the two members of the Provisional Government and it would be quite difficult to find one who is not a "Schleswig-Holsteinian". In return, however, the "entire insurrection" is expressly disavowed, all decisions of the

[a] The Danish names are Fyn and Als.— *Ed.*

Provisional Government are annulled and the *status quo ante* March 17 is restored.

"Thus we have examined the most essential conditions of the armistice from a Danish point of view. Now, for a change, let us try to take the German point of view.

"All that Germany is demanding is the release of the ships and the lifting of the blockade.

"It gives up the following:

"Firstly, *the duchies*, occupied by an army which up to now has suffered no defeat and is strong enough to maintain its positions against an army twice as strong as the one which has confronted it up to now;

"Secondly, *Schleswig's admission to the Confederation*, which was solemnly announced by the Federal Diet and confirmed by the National Assembly's admission of the deputies from Schleswig;

"Thirdly, the *Provisional Government*, which it recognised as legitimate and with which it negotiated in that capacity;

"Fourthly, the *Schleswig-Holstein party*, whose demands, which were supported by the whole of Germany, have not been ratified but referred to the decision of non-German powers;

"Fifthly, the Augustenburg pretenders,[a] to whom the King of Prussia had personally pledged his support but who are not mentioned at all in the armistice, and who have been assured of neither amnesty nor asylum;

"Finally, *the costs caused by the war*, which are borne in part by the duchies and in part by the Confederation, but *which will be refunded insofar as they were borne by Denmark proper*.

"It seems to us that our overwhelmingly strong enemies have much more to find fault with in this armistice than we, the small, despised nation."

Schleswig has had the incomprehensible desire to become German. It is quite in order that it should be punished for that and that it should be left in the lurch by Germany.

Tomorrow we shall carry the text of the armistice.[b]

Written by Engels on July 20, 1848

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[a] Duke Christian August and Prince Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 266-69.— *Ed.*

# THE CIVIC MILITIA BILL

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 51, July 21, 1848]

*Cologne,* July 20. *The civic militia is disbanded,* that is the *chief paragraph* of the Bill on the establishment of a civic militia, even though this paragraph appears at the very end of it as Paragraph 121, in the modest form:

"By the establishment of the civic militia under this law, all armed units, which at present either belong to or exist side by side with the civic militia, are herewith disbanded."

The disbandment of the units which do not belong directly to the civic militia has started without much ado. The disbandment of the civic militia itself can only be brought about under the pretext of *reorganising* it.

Legislative propriety necessitated the inclusion of the conventional constitutional phrase in Paragraph 1:

"It is the *function* of the civic militia to *protect constitutional freedom* and lawful order."

In order to live up to the "*nature of this function*", however, the civic militia may neither think nor speak of public affairs nor consult or decide about them (Paragraph 1), neither assemble nor arm (Paragraph 6), nor show any sign of life except by permission of the superior authorities. It is not that the civic militia "protects" the Constitution from the authorities but rather the authorities protect the Constitution from the civic militia. Thus the civic militia has to "obey" blindly the "demands of the authorities" (Paragraph 4) and to abstain from all interference "in the activities of communal, administrative or judicial authorities", and must also abstain from all arguments. If it "refuses" to obey passively, the *Regierungspräsident*

may "*suspend it from service*" for four weeks (Paragraph 4). If it should moreover arouse the royal displeasure, a "royal decree" may order "its *suspension*" for "six months", or even "disbandment"; thereupon it *shall* be re-formed only after six months have passed (Paragraph 3). Thus there "shall exist a civic militia in every community of the kingdom" (Paragraph 2), that is insofar as the *Regierungspräsident* or the King does not find it necessary to order the exact opposite in every community. Whereas matters of state are not within the "competence" of the civic militia, the civic militia, on the contrary, is "within the competence of the Minister of the Interior", i.e. the *Police Minister* who is its natural superior and who "by the nature of his function" is the faithful Eckart of "constitutional freedom" (Paragraph 5). Insofar as the civic militia is not ordered by the *Regierungspräsident* and the other officials "to protect constitutional freedom", i.e. to carry out the judgment of the authorities, i.e. to be commandeered for *service*, its specific life's work is to implement a set of *service regulations* designed by a royal *colonel*. This set of service regulations is its Magna Carta[173] for whose protection and execution it was, so to speak, created. Long live the *service regulations*! Finally, enrolment in the civic militia provides the occasion to make every Prussian "after completion of his 24th and before the completion of his 50th year of life" swear the following *oath*:

> "I swear loyalty and obedience to the King, the Constitution and the laws of the kingdom."

The poor Constitution! How cramped, bashful, civilly modest and with what submissive attitude it stands between the King and the law. First there is the royalist oath, the oath of the dear faithful ones, then the constitutional oath and finally an oath which does not make any sense at all unless it be a legitimist one indicating that besides the laws derived from the Constitution there are still other laws which originate from royal authority. And now the good citizen belongs from head to foot to the "competence of the Ministry of the Interior".

This worthy fellow has received weapons and uniform on condition that he first of all relinquish his primary political rights, the right of association, etc. He fulfils his task to protect "constitutional freedom", according to the "nature of the function", by blindly carrying out the orders of the authorities, by exchanging the usual civil liberty which was tolerated even under the absolute monarchy for the passive, automatic and disinterested obedience of the soldier. A fine school, as Herr Schneider said in the Agreement

Assembly,[a] to bring up the republicans of the future! What has become of our *citizen*? A hybrid between a Prussian policeman and an English constable! Yet for all his losses he is consoled by the set of *service regulations* and the knowledge that he is obeying orders. Would it not be more original to dissolve the nation in the army rather than to dissolve the army in the nation?

This *transformation of constitutional phrases into Prussian facts* is a truly bizarre spectacle.

If Prussianism condescends to become constitutional, constitutionalism ought surely to take the trouble to become Prussian. Poor constitutionalism! Worthy Germans! They have been moaning for so long that the "*most solemn*" promises were not fulfilled. Soon they will have only *one* fear, the fear of seeing the fulfilment of these solemn promises! The nation is punished *par où il a péché*.[b] You have demanded *freedom of the press*? You will be *punished* by freedom of the press, and you will get censorship without censors, censorship by the Public Prosecutor's office, censorship by a law that discovers in the "nature of the function" of the press that it must be concerned with everything except the authorities, the infallible authorities, the censorship of prison sentences and fines. As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so you are to pant after the good old much-maligned and much-misunderstood censor, the last of the Romans under whose ascetic providence you led such a comfortable and safe life.

You demanded a *people's militia*? You will get a set of *service regulations*. You will be put at the disposal of the authorities. You will get military drill and schooling in passive obedience until your eyes water.

Prussian acumen has found out that every new constitutional institution offers the most interesting opportunity for new penal laws, new rules, new punishments, new supervision, new chicanery and new bureaucracy.

Still more constitutional demands! Still more constitutional demands! exclaims the Government of Action. We have an *act* for every demand!

*Demand*: Every citizen must be armed to protect "constitutional freedom".

*Answer*: From now on every citizen comes under the competence of the Ministry of the Interior.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 233-35.— *Ed.*

[b] By its sins.— *Ed.*

It would be easier to recognise the Greeks in the shape of the animals into which Circe transformed them than to recognise the constitutional institutions in the fantastic images into which they have been transfigured by *Prussianism* and its *Government of Action.*

The *Prussian reorganisation of Poland* is followed by *the Prussian reorganisation of the civic militia!*

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 52, July 22, 1848]

*Cologne,* July 21. We have seen that the "general stipulations" of the *civic militia* Bill amount to the following: the civic militia has ceased to exist. We shall touch very briefly upon yet some other sections of the Bill to distil from them the spirit of the "Government of Action", and here, too, we have to be selective in handling the raw materials of the pseudonymous institute. A great number of paragraphs presuppose new community and district regulations, a new administrative division of the monarchy etc., all creatures that conduct their hidden lives, as is well known, in the secret-pregnant womb of the Government of Action. Why then has the Government of Action issued the Bill on the reorganisation of the civic militia before the promised Bills on the community and district regulations etc.?

In Section III we find two service lists: the list of the respectable people serving in the civic militia and the list of citizens who are supported from public funds (Paragraph 14 [and Paragraph 16]). The host of officials, of course, is not included among the people who are supported from public funds. It is generally known that in Prussia these officials constitute the productive class proper. The poor, however, like the slaves in ancient Rome, "are only to be called up under extraordinary circumstances". If because of their civil dependence the poor are as little qualified to protect "constitutional freedom" as the *lazzaroni* in Naples,[174] do they deserve to occupy a subordinate position in this new institute of passive obedience?

Apart from the poor, we find a far more important distinction between the *solvent* and *insolvent* people on the active list of the militia.

But first another observation. Under Paragraph 53:

"Throughout the country, the civic militia must wear the same simple uniform prescribed by the King. The uniform must not be of such a kind that it gives occasion for confusion with the army."

Of course! The clothing must be of such a kind that the army is distinct from the civic militia and the civic militia from the people, and that no confusion can occur on such occasions as hand-to-hand combat, shooting and similar war manoeuvres. The *service* uniform *as such* is, however, as indispensable as the *service* list and the *service* regulations. It is precisely the *service* uniform which is the livery of freedom. This livery causes a significant rise in the cost of equipping a civic militiaman and the increased cost of this equipment gives the welcome excuse for creating an infinite abyss between *bourgeois* and *proletarian* members of the civic militia.

Listen to this:

> Paragraph 57: "Every member of the civic militia must pay *out of his own pocket* for uniform (in case one is required), service badges and weapons. The community, however, is obliged to provide these items at its expense in the quantities required for the equipment of *soldiers on duty who cannot pay the costs from their own means.*"
>
> Paragraph 59: "The community retains the right of possession of the items of equipment that it has supplied and *it can keep these in special stores when not in service use.*"

Thus, all those who cannot equip themselves militarily from top to toe, and that is the great majority of the Prussian population, the entire working class and a large part of the middle class, are *all* legally *disarmed* "except during the period of service", whereas the *bourgeois* section of the civic militia remains at all times in possession of its weapons and uniforms. Since in the guise of the "community" the same bourgeoisie "can keep in special stores the items of equipment that it has supplied", it is not only in possession of its *own* weapons but, in addition, is in possession of the weapons of the proletariat of the civic militia, and it "*can*" and "*will*" refuse to hand out these weapons even for "*service use*" if political collisions occur which are not to its liking. Thus the political privilege of capital has been restored in its most inconspicuous but most effective and decisive form. Capital has the privilege of possessing arms as opposed to those who own little, just as medieval feudal barons over against their serfs.

In order that this privilege should operate in its full exclusiveness, Paragraph 56 states that

> "in the countryside and in towns of less than 5,000 inhabitants it suffices to arm civic militiamen with pikes or swords, and with this kind of armament only a *service badge* to be determined by the colonel need be worn in place of a uniform".

In all towns of *more than* 5,000 inhabitants the *uniform* must enlarge the *property qualification*, which alone enables a man to bear arms, and with it increase the numbers of the proletariat in the civic

militia. Just as this proletariat, that is the largest part of the population, have uniforms and weapons only *on loan*, so they have the *right to bear arms* in general only *on loan*; their existence as servicemen is only on loan and—*beati possidentes*, blessed are the propertied! The moral uneasiness with which a *borrowed garb* envelops an individual, particularly in the case of soldiers where the borrowed uniform flits successively from one body to another, this moral uneasiness is, of course, the first requisite for Romans called upon "to protect constitutional freedom". By contrast, however, will not the proud self-esteem of the *solvent* civic militia grow, and what more can be desired?

And even these stipulations, which render the right to bear arms illusory for the greater part of the population, are encased in still more novel and more restrictive stipulations, in the interests of the propertied section of the population, the privileged capitalists.

For the community needs to have in stock merely enough items of equipment required by that part of the insolvent servicemen "who are on active service". Under Paragraph 15, the conditions for "active service" are as follows:

> "In all communities where the total number of men currently available for service exceeds the 20th part of the population, the representatives of the community have the right to limit the personnel on active service to that part of the population. If they make use of this authorisation, they must lay down a service roster in such a way that all men currently available for service take their turn in due course. At every turn, however, not more than a third may leave at any one time; and all age groups must be called up at the same time in proportion to the available number of civic militiamen contained in each group."

And now one should try to calculate for what tiny fraction of the proletariat of the civic militia and the total population these items of equipment are *really* provided by the community?

In yesterday's article we observed how the *Government of Action* is reorganising the constitutional institution of the civic militia along the lines of the old-Prussian, bureaucratic state. Only today we see it at the height of its mission and observe how it is forming this institution of the civic militia along the lines of the July revolution and Louis Philippe and in the spirit of the epoch which crowns capital and pays homage

> With drums and trumpets
> To its youthful splendour.[a]

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[a] Modified quotation from Heinrich Heine's poem "Berg-Idylle". In *Die Harzreise*.—*Ed.*

A few words to the Hansemann-Kühlwetter-Milde Government. A few days ago a circular letter against the intrigues of the reaction was sent by Herr Kühlwetter to every *Regierungspräsident.* What has led to this phenomenon?

The Government of Action intends to establish the rule of the bourgeoisie by simultaneously reaching a compromise with the old police and feudal state. While it is engaged in this dual and contradictory task, it sees that the rule of the bourgeoisie, which has still to be set up, and the existing Government itself are constantly outflanked by the absolutist and feudal reaction—and it is bound to succumb. The bourgeoisie cannot achieve domination without previously gaining the support of the people as a whole, and hence without acting more or less democratically.

But attempting to combine the Restoration period with the July period, and causing the bourgeoisie, which is still grappling with absolutism, feudalism, the country squires, and the rule of the military and the bureaucracy, already at this stage to exclude the people, and to subjugate and bypass it, is tantamount to attempting to square the circle. This is a historical problem which will frustrate the efforts even of a Government of Action, even of the Hansemann-Kühlwetter-Milde triumvirate.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 54, July 24, 1848]

*Cologne,* July 23. The section of the *civic militia Bill* which deals with the "*election and appointment of superiors*" is a genuine *labyrinth* of *electoral methods.* We want to play Ariadne and give the modern Theseus, the praiseworthy civic militia, the thread that will guide him through the labyrinth. The modern Theseus, however, will be as ungrateful as the ancient one and, having killed the Minotaur, will treacherously abandon his Ariadne, the press, upon the rock of Naxos.

Let us number the different passages of the labyrinth.

*Passage One. Direct elections.*

Paragraph 42. "The leaders of the civic militia up to and including captains, are elected by the civic militiamen on *active service.*"

*Side passage.* "The civic militiamen on active service" constitute only a small part of the really "able-bodied" personnel. Compare Paragraph 15[a] and our article of the day before yesterday.

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[a] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has "Paragraph 25", evidently a misprint.—*Ed.*

Thus the "direct" elections, too, are only so-called direct elections.

*Passage Two. Indirect elections.*

Paragraph 48. "The battalion's major is elected with an absolute majority of votes by the captains, platoon leaders and corporals of the respective companies."

*Passage Three. Combination of indirect elections with royal appointment.*

Paragraph 49. "The *colonel* is appointed by the *King* from a list of three candidates elected by the leaders of the respective battalions down to and including the platoon leaders."

*Passage Four. Combination of indirect elections with appointment by the commanders.*

Paragraph 50. "The respective commanders will appoint adjutants from among the platoon leaders, battalion clerks from among the corporals and battalion drum-majors from among the drummers."

*Passage Five. Direct appointment by bureaucratic means.*

Paragraph 50. "The sergeant and the clerk of a company are appointed by the captain, the sergeant-major and the clerk of a squadron by a cavalry captain and the corporal by the platoon leader."

Thus if these electoral methods begin with adulterated direct elections, they end with the unadulterated cessation of *all* elections, namely with the discretion of the captains, cavalry captains and platoon leaders. *Finis coronat opus.*[a] This labyrinth has its apex, its point.

The crystals—ranging from the effulgent colonel to the insignificant corporal—which are precipitated in this complicated chemical process, settle for six years.

Paragraph 51. "Elections and appointments of leaders are made for *six* years."

It is hard to understand why after such precautionary measures the Government of Action needed to commit another gaffe by shouting in the face of the civic militia, in the "general regulations": You are to be transformed from a *political* into a purely *police* institution and you are to be reorganised as a nursery for *old-Prussian drill.* Why take away the illusion?

The *royal* appointment is so like a *canonisation* that in the section on "*Civic Militia Courts*" we find no courts for "*colonels*" but only courts for ranks up to *major.* How could a royal colonel possibly commit a crime?

In contrast, the mere existence as a militiaman is to such an extent a *profanation* of the citizen, that a word from his superior officers, a

[a] The end crowns the work.—*Ed.*

word from the infallible royal colonel, or even from the first chap that comes along who has been appointed sergeant by the captain or corporal by the platoon leader, is enough to rob the militiaman of his *personal freedom* for 24 hours and to have him arrested.

Paragraph 81. "Every superior may reprimand his *subordinate* while on service; he can even *order* his *immediate arrest and imprisonment for 24 hours* if the subordinate is guilty of drunkenness while on duty or *some other* gross violation of *service regulations*."

The superior, of course, decides *what* constitutes *some other* gross violation of service regulations and the *subordinate* has to obey orders.

Thus if the citizen at the very beginning of the Bill matures towards the "nature of his function", the "protection of constitutional freedom", by ceasing to be what according to Aristotle is the function of man—a "*zoon politikon*", a "political animal" [a]—he only completes his calling by surrendering his freedom as a citizen to the discretion of a colonel or a corporal.

The "*Government of Action*" seems to subscribe to some peculiar oriental-mystical notions, to a sort of *Moloch cult.* To protect the "constitutional freedom" of *Regierungspräsidenten,* burgomasters, police superintendents, chiefs of police and police inspectors, officials of the public prosecution, presidents or directors of law-courts, examining magistrates, justices of the peace, village mayors, Ministers, clergymen, military personnel on active service, frontier, customs, tax, forestry and postal officials, superintendents and warders of all kinds of penal institutions, the executive security officers and of the people under 25 and over 50 years of age—all of them persons who according to Paragraphs 9, 10, and 11 do not belong to the civic militia—to protect the "constitutional freedom" of this élite of the nation, the rest of the nation must let its constitutional freedom and even personal freedom die a bloody sacrificial death upon the altar of the fatherland. *Pends-toi,Figaro! Tu n'aurais pas inventé cela!* [b]

It is hardly necessary to mention that the section dealing with *penalties* has been worked out with voluptuous thoroughness. The entire institution, in accordance with "the nature of its function", is, of course, to be purely a penalty for the desire of the praiseworthy citizenry to have a Constitution and a civic militia. We merely observe that in addition to the *legally* determined criminal cases, the *service regulations,* the Magna Carta of the civic militia, devised by the *royal colonel* in consultation with the major and with the permission of the

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[a] Aristotle, *Politica,* I, 1, 9.— *Ed.*

[b] Hang yourself, Figaro, you would not have thought of that! (Modified quotation from Beaumarchais' *La folle journée, ou le mariage de Figaro,* Act V, Scene 8.) — *Ed.*

apocryphal "district representation", give rise to a new specimen collection of penalties (see Paragraph 82 and the subsequent paragraphs). It goes without saying that *fines* can be substituted for *imprisonment* so that the difference between the *solvent* and *insolvent* members of the civic militia, i.e. the difference between the *bourgeoisie* and the *proletariat* of the civic militia invented by the "Government of Action", may enjoy penal sanction.

The *exempt judiciary*, which the Government of Action had by and large to give up in the Constitution, is smuggled back again into the civic militia. All disciplinary offences of the men and corporals of the civic militia are within the competence of company courts consisting of two platoon leaders, two corporals and three civic militiamen (Paragraph 87). All disciplinary offences of "leaders of companies belonging to the battalion, from platoon leaders up to and including majors", are under the jurisdiction of battalion courts consisting of two captains, two platoon leaders and three corporals (Paragraph 88). For the major there is a specially exempt judiciary since the same Paragraph 88 prescribes that "if the investigation concerns a major, the battalion court will be joined by two majors serving as members of the court". Finally, a colonel, as has already been mentioned, is *exempt* from any court.

The admirable Bill ends with the following paragraph:

(Paragraph 123.) "The rules concerning the participation of the civic militia in the defence of the fatherland in case of war and its armament, equipment and provisioning to be carried out then are reserved for the law on the organisation of the army."

In other words: *the old army reserve continues to exist side by side with the reorganised civic militia.*

Does not the *Government of Action* deserve to be *impeached* just because of this Bill and the projected armistice with Denmark?

Written on July 20-23, 1848

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# THE ARMISTICE WITH DENMARK[175]

*Cologne*, July 21. As our readers know, we have always regarded the Danish war with great equanimity. We have joined neither in the blatant bluster of the nationalists, nor in the well-worn tune of the sham enthusiasm for sea-girt Schleswig-Holstein.[a] We knew our country too well, we knew what it means to rely on Germany.

Events have fully borne out our views. The unimpeded capture of Schleswig by the Danes, the recapture of the country and the march to Jutland, the retreat to the Schlei, the repeated capture of the duchy up to Königsau[b]—this utterly incomprehensible conduct of the war from first to last has shown the Schleswigers what sort of protection they can expect from the revolutionary, great, strong, united etc. Germany, from the supposedly sovereign nation of forty-five million. However, in order that they lose all desire to become German, and that the "Danish yoke" appear infinitely more desirable to them than "German liberty", Prussia, in the name of the German Confederation,[176] has negotiated the armistice of which we print today a word-for-word translation.

Hitherto it has been the custom, when signing an armistice, for the two armies to maintain their positions, or at most a narrow neutral strip was interposed between them. Under this armistice, the first result of the "prowess of Prussian arms", the victorious Prussians withdraw over 20 miles, from Kolding to this side of Lauenburg, whereas the defeated Danes maintain their positions at Kolding and

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[a] Engels paraphrases the first words of a song which was written by Matthäus Friedrich Chemnitz in 1844.—*Ed.*

[b] The Danish name is Kongeaa.—*Ed.*

relinquish only Alsen.[a] Furthermore, in the event of the armistice being called off, the Danes are to advance to the positions they held on June 24, in other words they are to occupy a six to seven miles wide stretch of North Schleswig without firing a shot—a stretch from which they were *twice* driven out—whereas the Germans are allowed to advance only to Apenrade[b] and its environs. Thus "the honour of German arms is preserved" and North Schleswig, exhausted because it was deluged with troops four times, is promised a possible fifth and sixth invasion.

But that is not all. A part of Schleswig is to be occupied by Danish troops even during the armistice. Under Clause 8, Schleswig is to be occupied by regiments recruited in the duchy, i.e. partly by soldiers from Schleswig who took part in the movement, and partly by soldiers who at that time were stationed in Denmark and fought in the ranks of the Danish army against the Provisional Government. They are commanded by Danish officers and are in every respect *Danish* troops. That is how the Danish papers, too, size up the situation.

The *Faedreland* of July 13 writes:

> "The presence in the duchy of *loyal* troops from Schleswig will undoubtedly substantially harden popular feeling which, now that the country has experienced the misfortunes of war, will forcefully turn against those who are the cause of these misfortunes."

On top of that we have the movement in Schleswig-Holstein. The Danes call it a *riot*, and the Prussians *treat* it *as a riot*. The Provisional Government, which has been recognised by Prussia and the German Confederation, is mercilessly sacrificed; all laws, decrees etc., issued after Schleswig became independent, are abrogated; on the other hand, the repealed Danish laws have again come into force. In short, the reply concerning *Wildenbruch*'s famous Note, a reply which Herr Auerswald refused to give,[c] can be found here in Clause 7 of the proposed armistice. Everything that was revolutionary in the movement is ruthlessly destroyed, and the Government created by the revolution is to be replaced by a legitimate administration nominated by three legitimate monarchs. The troops of Holstein and Schleswig are again to be *commanded by Danes and thrashed by Danes*; the ships of Holstein and Schleswig are to remain "*Dansk-Eiendom*"[d] as before, despite the latest order of the Provisional Government.

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[a] The Danish name is Als.— *Ed.*
[b] The Danish name is Aabenraa.— *Ed.*
[c] See this volume, p. 191.— *Ed.*
[d] "Danish property."— *Ed.*

The new Government which they intend to set up puts the finishing touch to all this. The *Faedreland*[a] declares:

"Though in the limited electoral district from which the Danish-elected members of the new Government are to be chosen we shall probably not find the combination of energy, talent, intelligence and experience which Prussia will dispose of when making her selection", this is not decisive. "The members of the Government must of course be elected from among the population of the duchies, but no one prevents us giving them secretaries and assistants *born* and *residing in other parts of the country*. In selecting these secretaries and administrative advisers one can be guided by considerations of fitness and talent without regard to local considerations, and it is likely that these men will exert a great influence on the spirit and trend of the administration. Indeed, it is to be hoped that even *high-ranking Danish officials* will accept such a post, though its official status may be inferior. Every true Dane will consider such a post an honour under the present circumstances."

This semi-official paper thus promises the duchies that they will be swamped not only with Danish troops but also with Danish civil servants. A partly Danish Government will take up its residence in Rendsburg on the officially recognised territory of the German Confederation.

These are the advantages which the armistice brings Schleswig. The advantages for Germany are just as great. The admission of Schleswig to the German Confederation is not mentioned at all. On the contrary, the decision of the Confederation is *flatly repudiated* by the composition of the new Government. The German Confederation chooses the members for Holstein, and the King of Denmark chooses those *for Schleswig*. Schleswig is therefore under Danish, and not German, jurisdiction.

Germany would have rendered a real service in this Danish war if she had compelled Denmark to abolish the Sound tax, a form of old feudal robbery.[177] The German seaports, hard hit by the blockade and the seizure of their ships, would have willingly borne the burden even longer if it led to the abolition of the Sound tax. The governments also made it known everywhere that the abolition of this tax must at any rate be brought about. And what came of all this boastfulness? Britain and Russia want the tax kept, and of course Germany obediently acquiesces.

It goes without saying that in exchange for the return of the ships, the goods requisitioned in Jutland have to be refunded, on the principle that Germany is rich enough to pay for her glory.

These are the advantages which the Hansemann Ministry offers to the German nation in this draft armistice. These are the fruits of a war waged for three months against a small nation of a million and a

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[a] No. 180, July 14, 1848.— *Ed.*

half. That is the result of all the boasting by our national papers, our formidable Dane-haters!

It is said that the armistice will not be concluded. General Wrangel, encouraged by Beseler, has definitely refused to sign it, despite repeated requests by Count Pourtalès, who brought him Auerswald's order to sign it, and despite numerous reminders that it was his duty as a Prussian general to do so. Wrangel stated that he is above all subordinated to the German Central Authority, and the latter will not approve of the armistice unless the armies maintain their present positions and the Provisional Government remains in office until the peace is concluded.

Thus the Prussian project will probably not be carried out, but it is nevertheless interesting as a demonstration of how Prussia, when she takes over the reins, defends Germany's honour and interests.

Written by Engels on July 21, 1848 Printed according to the newspaper

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# THE ARMISTICE "NEGOTIATIONS"

The armistice has still neither been signed nor definitively rejected. Reports both from Wrangel's headquarters and from Copenhagen continually contradict one another. All that is certain is that Wrangel initially refused to sign, that Mr. Reedtz returned to Copenhagen with this refusal and that as a result fresh troops were embarked for Jutland from the 15th July onwards. The *Börsen-Halle* says[a] that on receiving the news of another three-day cease-fire the English and Swedish ambassadors,[b] together with Mr. Reedtz, left Copenhagen for Kolding. They are said to be joining General Neumann, who has been sent there from Berlin, in an attempt to overcome Wrangel's opposition.

All this news reaches us via Copenhagen, while from Berlin and from Wrangel's headquarters we hear nothing but empty rumours. Our present constitutional right of access to information is in this sense no different from the old mystery-mongering. We read of the things which concern us most closely in the newspapers of countries furthest away from us.

According to a letter in the *Faedreland* the Jutes have reacted fairly peacefully to the German invasion.

Written by Engels on or about July 23, 1848

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[a] "Kopenhagen, den 19. Juli", *Börsen-Halle* No. 11224, July 21, 1848.—*Ed.*

[b] Henry Wynn and Elias Lagerheim.—*Ed.*

# THE *CONCORDIA* OF TURIN

*Cologne*, July 23. We have recently mentioned the newspaper *L'Alba* which appears in Florence and which has held out its fraternal hand to us across the Alps.[a] It was to be expected that another journal, *La Concordia* in Turin, a newspaper of opposite colours, should declare itself in an opposite, though by no means hostile, manner. In a former issue *La Concordia* expressed the opinion that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* backs any group as long as it is "*oppressed*".[b] The paper was led to this not very sensible invention by our judgment of the events in Prague and our sympathy for the democratic forces against the reactionary Windischgrätz and Co.[c] Perhaps the Turin journal has become more enlightened in the meantime about the so-called *Czech* movement.

Lately, however, *La Concordia*[d] felt induced to devote a more or less doctrinaire article to the *Nuova Gazzetta Renana*.[e] It has read in our newspaper the programme for the Workers' Congress[178] which is to be convened in Berlin and the eight points which are to be discussed by the workers are disturbing it to a significant degree.

After faithfully translating the whole, it begins a sort of criticism with the following words:

"There is much that is true and just in these proposals, but the *Concordia* would betray its mission if it did not raise its voice against the errors of the socialists."

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[a] See this volume, p. 167.—*Ed.*
[b] *La Concordia* No. 161, July 7, 1848.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, pp. 91-93 and 119-20.—*Ed.*
[d] *La Concordia* No. 168, July 15, 1848.—*Ed.*
[e] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.*—*Ed.*

We on our part protest against the "error" of the *Concordia* which consists in mistaking the programme issued by the respective commission for the Workers' Congress, and which we merely reported, for *our own.* We are nevertheless ready to enter upon a discussion on political economy with the *Concordia* as soon as its programme offers something more than a few well-known philanthropic phrases and picked-up free trade dogmas.

Written on July 23, 1848

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# THE AGREEMENT DEBATES ON THE DISTRICT ESTATES

(AGREEMENT SESSION OF JULY 18)

*Cologne*, July 25. Among the many confused, purposeless and purely personal documents and negotiations that occur at the beginning of each session, we want to stress today two points.

The first one is the declaration by ex-Minister *Rodbertus*, submitted in writing to the President and repeated from the rostrum: It is true that he had put his name down as a speaker *against* Jacoby's motion [a] but, for all that, had wanted to speak *only* against its first part, which disapproves of the Frankfurt decision, and *at the same time against* the respective *declaration of the Ministry* made on July 4. As is known, the debate was broken off before Herr Rodbertus had the opportunity to speak.

The second point is a declaration by Herr *Brodowski* in the name of all Polish deputies made with regard to any possible declaration of the German-Polish delegates: He did not recognise the legality of the incorporation of a part of Posen into the German Confederation on the grounds of the treaties of 1815 and the declaration of the Provincial Estates, provoked by the King, *against* its admission into the Confederation.[179]

"I do not know of a subsequent *legal way* because *the nation has not yet been consulted on it.*"

Then follows the final debate on the address. As is known, the address was rejected amid shouts of the Left: "Twice repeated question of confidence!" and general laughter.

Now it was the turn of the committee's report dealing with the motion of 94 deputies to rescind the authority of the District Estates to levy taxes.

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[a] See this volume, p. 232.—*Ed.*

We are going into this matter deliberately. It makes us recall once again a piece of genuine old-Prussian legislation, and the mounting reaction more and more holds up this legislation to us as a faultless model, while the Government of Action, not wanting to represent the Government of transition, becomes every day more of an unabashed eulogist for the Bodelschwingh Ministry.

By a series of laws, all of which are of more recent date than 1840, the District Estates have been authorised to decide upon taxes with binding effect for the inhabitants of the districts.

These District Estates are a marvellous example of old-Prussian "representation". All the large landowning peasants of the district send *three* deputies. As a rule, every town sends *one*; but *every squire* is a *member of the District Estates by virtue of his birth.* Not at all represented are the workers and part of the petty bourgeoisie in the towns, and the small proprietors and non-established inhabitants in the countryside, who together form the overwhelming majority. These non-represented classes are nevertheless taxed by the deputies, namely by the gentlemen who are "members of the District Estates by virtue of their birth"; how and for which purposes we shall see presently.

These District Estates, who moreover are entitled to dispose quite independently of the district assets, are in decisions on taxation bound by the permission either of the *Oberpräsident* or of the King, and additionally, when they are divided and one estate votes in a different way, by the decision of the Minister of the Interior. One can see how cunningly the old Prussianism knew how to preserve the "vested rights" of the big landowners, but at the same time also the right of superintendence of the bureaucracy.

The fact that the right of superintendence of the bureaucracy exists only in order to prevent any encroachment by the District Estates on the rights of the officialdom and not in order to protect the inhabitants of the district, particularly those who are not represented at all, from encroachments by the District Estates, has been expressly recognised by the report of the central commission.

The report closes with the motion to rescind the laws which entitle the District Estates to levy taxes.

Herr *Bucher*, who gave the report, speaks to the motion. Precisely those decisions of the District Estates which most oppressed and embittered the non-represented ones, had been singled out by the local governments for confirmation.

"It is precisely a curse of the police state, which in principle has been abolished but which in fact unfortunately continues to exist to this day, that the higher the standing of an official or authority in this hierarchy of mandarins, the more they feel that they

are able also to understand such detailed measures although they are that much further removed from local needs."

The proposal was the more commendable since it was not constructive but merely *destructive.*

"It cannot be denied that up to now the Assembly has *not* been *fortunate* in its attempts at *productive* activity ... it might be advisable, therefore, to devote ourselves for the time being more to *destructive* activity."

The speaker suggests accordingly that especially the reactionary laws issued since 1815 should be abolished.

This was too much. The reporter had not only denounced old Prussianism, bureaucracy and the District Estates, he had even cast an ironic side-glance at the products of the agreement debates so far. Here was a favourable opportunity for the Ministry. In any case, even out of consideration for the Court, it could not admit that only the laws issued by the present King[a] would be rescinded.

Herr *Kühlwetter* therefore rises.

"The District Estates are constituted in such a way that their constitution will undoubtedly be changed because"—the whole business of estates altogether contradicts the principle of equality before the law? On the contrary! Merely "because now every squire is still a member of the District Estates by virtue of his birth, a town, however, no matter *how many manors* it may contain, is entitled to send only one deputy to the District Estates and the rural communities are represented by only three deputies".

Let us take a look at the hidden plans of the Government of Action. The estate system had to be abolished in the central national representation, that could not be avoided. In the smaller areas of representation, however, that is in the local districts (perhaps also in the provinces?), the attempt will be made to *preserve the representation by estates* by doing away with only the most egregious advantages of the squirearchy over the burghers and peasants. That Herr Kühlwetter's explanation cannot be interpreted in any other way emerges from the fact that the report of the central commission directly refers to the application of the principle of equality before the law in the district representation. Herr Kühlwetter, however, passes over this point in deepest silence.

Herr Kühlwetter has no objection to the *content* of the motion. He is merely asking whether it is necessary to give validity to the motion by "way of legislation".

"The danger that the District Estates may abuse their right to tax is *surely not so great....* The Government's right of supervision is *by no means so illusory* as has been presented; it has *always* been exercised conscientiously and in that way 'the lowest class of tax payers has been relieved from contributions as much as possible'."

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

Of course! Herr Kühlwetter was a bureaucrat under Bodelschwingh and even at the risk of compromising the entire Government of Action he has to defend the past heroic deeds of the Bodelschwingh bureaucracy. We notice that Herr Hansemann was absent when his colleague Kühlwetter made him fraternise so much with Herr Bodelschwingh.

Herr Kühlwetter declares that he has already instructed all the local governments not to confirm any more taxation by the District Estates until further notice, and with that the purpose is surely achieved.

Herr *Jentzsch* spoils the Minister's game by observing that it is the District Estates' custom to assess the turnpike tolls, which benefit the manorial estates most, in accordance with the *principles of the graduated tax from which the estates of the aristocracy are entirely exempted.*

Herr *Kühlwetter* and Herr *von Wangenheim,* who is an interested party, attempt to defend the District Estates. In particular von Wangenheim, a Justice of the Court of Appeal, District Estate of Saatzig, delivers a long eulogy on this laudable institution.

Deputy *Moritz,* however, again thwarts the effect. What good is Herr Kühlwetter's instruction? If the Ministry should one day have to resign, the local governments would disregard the instruction. If we have laws as bad as these, I cannot see why we should not rescind them. And as far as the denied abuses are concerned,

"not only have the District Estates abused their authority to levy taxes by showing *personal favouritism,* by deciding upon expenditures which were not for the common good of the district, but they have even decided upon highway construction in the interest of certain individuals, of a privileged class.... The district town of Ruppin was to be connected to the railway line Hamburg-Berlin. Instead of letting the highway pass through the town of Wusterhausen, the *local Government refused* to let this highway run through this small, impoverished town—even though this town declared that it would pay the additional cost from its own funds—and on the contrary decided that the highway was to run through *three estates of one and the same lord of the manor*"!!

Herr *Reichenbach* calls attention to the fact that the Ministry's instruction has no effect whatsoever upon the district assets which are entirely at the disposal of the District Estates.

The *Minister* replies with a few lame phrases.

Herr *Bucher* declares that in his opinion the Minister is by no means *entitled* to issue instructions, which *in effect rescind* existing laws. Only by legislation could an improvement be brought about.

Herr Kühlwetter stammers yet a few more incoherent words to defend himself, and then a vote is taken.

The Assembly adopts the motion of the central commission whereby the laws authorising the District Estates to levy taxes and dispose of the district assets are rescinded, with the addendum:

"decisions of the District Estates taken on the basis of these decrees notwithstanding".

It is obvious that the "acts" of the Government of Action consist of police-type attempts at reaction and parliamentary defeats.

(To be continued)[a]

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[a] See Engels' article "The Agreement Debate about the Valdenaire Affair" (pp. 301-04 of this volume).—*Ed.*

# THE BILL ON THE COMPULSORY LOAN AND ITS MOTIVATION[180]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 56, July 26, 1848]

*Cologne*, July 25. A notorious rogue of London's blessed district of St. Giles appeared before the Assizes. He was accused of having relieved the chest of a notorious City miser of £2,000.

"Gentlemen of the jury," began the accused, "I will not lay claim to your patience for very long. Since my defence will be of an economical nature, I shall use words economically. I have taken £2,000 from Mr. Cripps. Nothing is more certain than that. I have, however, only taken from a private person in order to give to the public. What happened to the £2,000? Did I perhaps keep them egoistically? Search my pockets. I will sell you my soul for a farthing if you are able to find one penny. You will find the £2,000 at the tailor's, the shopkeeper's,[a] the restaurateur's etc. Thus what have I done? I have taken '*idle* sums of money which' could be retrieved from the grave, in which avarice kept them, '*only by a compulsory loan*' and '*put them into circulation*'. I was an agent of circulation and circulation is the foremost requirement for national wealth. Gentlemen, you are Englishmen! You are economists! You will surely not condemn a benefactor of the nation!"

The economist of St. Giles resides in Van Diemen's Land[b] and has the opportunity to think about the blind ingratitude of his fellow countrymen.

He did not live in vain, however. His principles form the basis of *Hansemann's compulsory loan.*

Explaining the *motives* for this measure, Herr Hansemann states that "the admissibility of the compulsory loan rests upon the well-founded supposition that a major portion of the available cash lies *idle* in the possession of private individuals in *small and large sums* and *can be put into circulation only by a compulsory loan*".

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[a] This word is in English in the German original.—*Ed.*

[b] Now Tasmania. From 1803 to 1854 a British penal colony.—*Ed.*

When you *consume* a capital, you bring it into circulation. If you do not bring it into circulation, the state will *consume* it in order to bring it into circulation.

A cotton manufacturer employs 100 workers, for example. He pays to each of them 9 silver groschen daily. Thus every day 900 silver groschen, i.e. 30 talers, migrate from his pocket into the pockets of the workers and from there into the pockets of the *epiciers*,[a] landlords, shoemakers, tailors etc. This migration of the 30 talers is known as their *circulation*. From the moment when the manufacturer can sell his cotton material only at a loss or not at all, he ceases to produce and to employ his workers, and with the cessation of production the migration of the 30 talers, i.e. their *circulation*, ceases. We shall create circulation by force! exclaims Hansemann. Why does the manufacturer let his money lie *idle*? Why does he not let it circulate? When the weather is fine, many people circulate in the open air. Hansemann drives the people outside and forces them to circulate so as to create fine weather. What a great weather-maker!

The ministerial and commercial crisis robs the capital of bourgeois society of its interest. The state helps society to its legs by taking away its capital as well.

In his book on *Circulation*[b] the Jew *Pinto*, the famous eighteenth-century stock exchange speculator, recommends speculating in stocks. He states that although speculation does not produce circulation, it promotes circulation, that is the migration of wealth from one pocket into another. Hansemann is transforming the exchequer into a wheel of fortune upon which the property of the citizens circulates. Hansemann-Pinto!

In his "*preamble*" for the "Bill on the Compulsory Loan", Hansemann is encountering one great difficulty. Why has the *voluntary loan* not produced the required sums?

The "unreserved confidence" which the present Government enjoys is well known. Also well known is the rapturous patriotism of the big bourgeoisie whose main complaint is that a few agitators have the insolence not to share its confidence. The loyalty declarations from all the provinces are well known. But "for a' that and a' that",[c] Hansemann is compelled to transform the poetic voluntary loan into the prosaic compulsory loan!

For example, in the district of Düsseldorf, aristocrats have

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[a] Grocers.—*Ed.*

[b] Isaac Pinto, *Traité de la circulation et du crédit.*—*Ed.*

[c] Quoted from Ferdinand Freiligrath's translation ("Trotz alledem!") of Robert Burns' poem "For a' that and a' that".—*Ed.*

contributed 4,000 talers and officers 900 talers, and where does more confidence reign than among the aristocrats and officers of the district of Düsseldorf? We will not even mention the contributions of the princes of the Royal House.

But let Hansemann explain this phenomenon to us.

"Up to now *voluntary* contributions have come in slowly. This is *probably* to be ascribed *less to a lack of confidence* in our state of affairs than to the *uncertainty* about the *real needs* of the state, since people seem to believe it permissible to wait and see *if and to what extent the monetary resources of the nation might be drawn upon.* On this *circumstance* rests the hope that everybody will contribute *voluntarily* according to his ability once the *duty to contribute* has been demonstrated to be an *imperative necessity.*"

The state, finding itself in dire need, appeals to patriotism. It politely asks patriotism to deposit 15 million talers on the altar of the fatherland, and moreover not as a gift but only as a voluntary *loan.* One possesses the greatest confidence in the state but turns a deaf ear towards its cry for help! Unfortunately one finds oneself in such a state of "*uncertainty*" about the "*real needs* of the state" that one decides after the greatest spiritual torment not to give the state *anything* for the time being. One has, indeed, the greatest confidence in the state authority, and the honourable state authority claims that the state needs 15 million talers. It is certainly due to confidence that one does not trust the assertions of the state authority and rather views its clamour for 15 million as a mere frivolity.

There is a famous story about a stout-hearted *Pennsylvanian* who never lent a dollar to his friends. He had such confidence in their orderly mode of life, and he gave such credit to their business that to the day of his death he never gained the "certainty" that they were in "real need" of a dollar. He regarded their impetuous demands as rather a test of his confidence, and the confidence of this man was unshakeable.

The Prussian state authority found the entire state inhabited by Pennsylvanians.

Herr Hansemann, however, explains this strange economic phenomenon by yet another peculiar "*circumstance*".

The people did not contribute voluntarily "because they believed it permissible to wait and see *if and to what extent their monetary resources might be drawn upon*". In other words: nobody paid voluntarily because everybody waited to see *if and to what extent* he would be *forced* to pay. What circumspect patriotism! What most canny confidence! It is upon this "*circumstance*", namely that behind the blue-eyed, sanguine voluntary loan there stands now the sinister, hypochondriacal compulsory loan, that Herr Hansemann "rests his *hope* that everybody will contribute *voluntarily* according to

his ability". By now even the most obdurate doubter must have lost his uncertainty and must have gained the conviction that the state authority is really serious about its need for money. The entire misfortune, as we have seen, lay just in this embarrassing uncertainty. If you do not give, it will be taken from you, and the taking will cause both you and us inconvenience. We hope, therefore, that your confidence will lose some of its exaggerated character and will express itself in well-ringing talers instead of hollow-sounding phrases. *Est-ce clair?*[a]

Much as Herr Hansemann is basing his "*hopes*" upon this "*circumstance*", he has nevertheless himself become infected by the brooding temperament of his *Pennsylvanians* and he feels induced to look around for yet stronger *incentives* to confidence. The confidence indeed exists but it does not want to reveal itself. It needs *incentives* to drive it out of its latent state.

"In order to create an even stronger motive" (than the prospect of the compulsory loan) "for voluntary participation, however, Paragraph 1 projects an interest rate of $3^1/_3$ per cent for the loan, and a date" (October 1) "is left open up to which voluntary loans are to be accepted at 5 per cent."

Thus Herr Hansemann puts a *premium* of $1^2/_3$ per cent upon voluntary loans, and now, to be sure, patriotism will flow freely, coffers will jump open and the golden flood of confidence will stream into the exchequer.

Herr Hansemann naturally finds it "just" to pay the big shots $1^2/_3$ per cent more than he is paying the little people who will part with their essentials only under duress. In addition they will have to bear the *cost of the appeal* as punishment for their less comfortable circumstances.

Thus the biblical saying is realised. For whosoever hath, to him shall be given; but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath.[b]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 60, July 30, 1848]

*Cologne*, July 29. Just as Peel once invented a "sliding scale" [181] for the duty on corn, Hansemann-Pinto has invented one for involuntary patriotism.

"A progressive scale will be employed for the obligatory contributions," our Hansemann says in his preamble, "since the ability to supply money obviously rises in *arithmetical* progression with the amount of a person's wealth."

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[a] Is that clear?—*Ed.*
[b] Matthew 13:12.—*Ed.*

The ability to supply money rises with wealth. In other words: the more money one has at one's disposal the more money one has to dispose of. So far, it is undoubtedly correct. The fact, however, that the ability to supply money rises only in *arithmetical* progression even if the various amounts of wealth are in *geometrical* proportion is a discovery by Hansemann which is bound to earn him greater fame with posterity than Malthus gained by the statement that food supply grows only in arithmetical progression whereas population grows in geometrical progression.[a]

Thus, for example, if different amounts of wealth are to each other as

1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256, 512,

then, according to Herr Hansemann's discovery, the ability to supply money grows in the ratio of

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

In spite of the apparent growth of the obligatory contribution, the ability to supply money, according to our economist, decreases to the same degree that wealth increases.

In a short story by Cervantes[b] we find the chief Spanish financier in a lunatic asylum. This man had discovered that the Spanish national debt would vanish as soon as

"the Cortes approve a law that all vassals of His Majesty between the ages of 14 and 60 are obliged to fast on bread and water for one day during each month, and that on a day freely to be chosen and decided. The monetary value of the fruits, vegetables, meat dishes, fish, wines, eggs and beans which would otherwise have been consumed on that day would be delivered to His Majesty, without holding back one penny on pain of punishment for perjury".

Hansemann shortens the procedure. He calls upon all his Spaniards who possess an annual income of 400 talers to find one day in the year on which they can do without 20 talers. According to the sliding scale, he has asked the small fry to refrain from just about all consumption for 40 days. If they cannot find the 20 talers between August and September, a bailiff will look for them in October in accordance with the words: seek and ye shall find.[c]

Let us further examine the "*preamble*" which the Prussian Necker reveals to us.

"Any income," he instructs us, "derived from industry in the widest sense of the word, that is irrespective of whether it is subject to a business tax, as is the case with

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[a] [Th. R. Malthus,] *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, pp. 25-26.—*Ed.*
[b] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares: Coloquio de los perros.*—*Ed.*
[c] Matthew 7:7; Luke 11:9.—*Ed.*

doctors, lawyers etc., can only be taken into consideration *after the subtraction of the operating expenditures* including any interest to be paid on debts, *since the net income can only be found in this way.* For *the same reason the working capital* must be disregarded if the loan contribution which is calculated from *income exceeds that calculated from the working capital.*"

*Nous marchons de surprise en surprise.*[a] The *income* can only be taken into consideration *after the subtraction of the working capital* since the compulsory loan can and ought to be nothing but an extraordinary form of *income tax.* And the operating costs belong as little to the income of an industrialist as the stem and root of a tree belong to its fruits. Hence *for the reason* that only the income is to be taxed and not the working capital, it is precisely the working capital that is taxed and not the income if this first method seems more profitable to the exchequer. Thus it is a matter of complete indifference to Herr Hansemann "in which way the *net* income is found". He is looking for "the way in which the *greatest* income is found" for the exchequer.

Herr Hansemann who lays hands on the working capital itself can be compared to a savage who cuts down a tree in order to seize hold of its fruits.

"Thus if" (Art. 9 of the Bill) "the loan contribution to be calculated from the working capital is greater than the tenfold amount of the income, the first method of estimation will be employed", that is one "will resort to" the "working capital" itself.

Hence the exchequer may base its demands upon wealth rather than income whenever it chooses.

The people demands inspection of the mysterious Prussian exchequer. The Government of Action answers this tactless demand by reserving the right to make a thorough inspection of the ledgers of all merchants and an inventory of the wealth of everybody. The constitutional era in Prussia opens not with the control of the finances of the state by the people but rather by letting the state control the wealth of the people so as to open the door to the most brazen intervention of the bureaucracy into civil intercourse and private relationships. In Belgium, too, the state has had recourse to a compulsory loan, but there it modestly limited itself to tax records and mortgage deeds, i.e. to available public documents. The Government of Action on the other hand introduces the Spartanism of the Prussian army into the Prussian national economy.

Hansemann, to be sure, attempts in his "preamble" to appease the citizen by all sorts of mild phrases and friendly persuasion.

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[a] We go from one surprise to another.—*Ed.*

"The distribution of the loan," he whispers to him, "will be based upon *self-assessment.*" All "recrimination" is to be avoided.

"*Not even* a *summary* listing of the individual parts of one's property will be required.... The district commission set up to *examine self-assessments* will call for appropriate contributions by way of *amicable* exhortations, and only if this method should be unsuccessful will it estimate the amount. The citizen can *appeal* against this decision to a regional commission etc."

Self-assessment! Not even a *summary* listing of the individual parts of one's property! Amicable exhortations! Appeal!

Tell me, what more do you want?[a]

Let us start at the end, with the *appeal.*

Article 16 lays down:

"The collection will be carried out at the fixed dates *irrespective of any appeals made* with the proviso of repayment if the appeal is found justified."

Thus first comes the *execution*, the appeal notwithstanding, and afterwards the justification, the execution notwithstanding!

There is more to come!

"The costs" which are caused by the appeal "shall be borne by the appellant if his appeal is totally *or partially* rejected and if need be will be collected by executive action" (Art. 19).

Anybody who is familiar with the economic impossibility of an exact estimate of wealth will realise at first sight that an appeal can *always* be *partially* rejected and that the appellant will always be the loser. No matter what the nature of the appeal, a fine is its inseparable shadow. Let us have every respect for the appeal!

Let us return from the appeal, the end, to the beginning, the *self-assessment.*

Herr Hansemann does not appear to be afraid that his Spartans will assess themselves too heavily.

Under Art. 13

"voluntary declarations of the persons obliged to contribute are the *foundation* of the distribution of the loan".

Herr Hansemann's architecture is such that one cannot deduce the further outline of his structure from its foundation.

Or rather the "voluntary declaration" which, in the form of a "statement", is "to be filed with officials appointed by the Finance

[a] Modified quotation from Heinrich Heine, "Du hast Diamanten und Perlen". In *Die Heimkehr.—Ed.*

Minister or by the regional administration on his behalf", this foundation is now substantiated more thoroughly. Under Art. 14

"one or more commissions will be formed to examine the filed declarations; their presidents and other members to the number of not less than five are *to be appointed by the Finance Minister or an authority acting on his behalf*".

Thus the *appointment* made by the Finance Minister or the authority acting on his behalf forms the *foundation* proper of the examination.

If the self-assessment varies from the "*estimate*" made by the district or town commission appointed by the Finance Minister, the "self-assessor" is called upon to give an *explanation* (Art. 15). He may give an explanation or not, it all depends whether it "*suffices*" for the commission appointed by the Finance Minister. If it does not suffice,

"it is the duty of the commission to determine the contribution by its *own assessment* and to *inform* the contributories thereof".

First the contributory assesses himself and informs the official thereof. Then the official makes an assessment and informs the contributory thereof. What has become of the "self-assessment"? The foundation has foundered. Whereas the self-assessment only gives rise to a serious "examination" of the contributory, the assessment by a stranger turns at once into execution. For Art. 16 decrees:

"The transactions of the district (town) commissions are to be filed with the regional administration which will *forthwith* compile the lists of the bond amounts and pass them on to the respective collectors for collection—if necessary by way of execution—under the regulations governing the collection of [...] taxes."

We have already seen that all is not "roses" with the appeals. The appeals path hides still other thorns.

*Firstly*: The regional commission which examines the appeals consists of deputies who are elected by the delegates etc. elected under the law of April 8, 1848.

But the compulsory loan divides the entire state into two hostile camps, the camp of the obstructionists and the camp of the men of good will against whose rendered or proffered contributions no objections have been raised by the district commission. The deputies may only be elected from the camp of the men of good will (Art. 17).

*Secondly*: "A commissioner appointed by the Finance Minister will preside; an official may be attached to him for his assistance" (Art. 18).

*Thirdly*: "The regional commission is authorised to *order* special appraisal of *property or incomes* and for this purpose is entitled to *draw*

*up inventories* or *order the inspection of commercial ledgers.* If these measures do not suffice, the appellant may be required to swear an affidavit" [Art. 19].

Thus, whoever refuses to accept without reservation the "assessment" of the officials appointed by the Finance Minister, may, as a penalty, have to reveal all his financial affairs to two bureaucrats and 15 competitors. Thorny path of appeal! Thus Hansemann only mocks his public when he says in his preamble:

"The distribution of the loan is based upon self-assessment. In order to make sure that this is *in no way offensive, not even a summary listing of the individual parts of one's property will be required.*"

Not even the penalty for "perjury" of Cervantes' project designer is lacking in the project of the Minister of action.

Instead of tormenting himself with his sham arguments, our Hansemann would have done better to join the character in the comedy who says:

"How can you expect me to pay old debts and enter upon new ones *unless you lend me money?*" [a]

At this moment, however, when Prussia, attending to her particularist interests, is seeking to commit a treachery against Germany and to rebel against the Central Authority, it is the *duty of every patriot* to refuse to contribute a single penny voluntarily to the compulsory loan. Only by persistent deprivation of nourishment can Prussia be forced to surrender to Germany.

Written on July 25 and 29, 1848

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[a] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares: Coloquio de los perros.—Ed.*

# ARMISTICE NEGOTIATIONS WITH DENMARK BROKEN OFF

*Cologne*, July 27. We have just received letters from *Copenhagen* according to which the *armistice negotiations have really been broken off.* On July 21, the Swedish and British ambassadors,[a] with the rest of the diplomats who had gone to the headquarters, returned to Copenhagen *without having achieved their object.* Although General Neumann brought General Wrangel a *definite order* from the King of Prussia[b] to sign the armistice and although the armistice had already been ratified on the Prussian and Danish sides, *Wrangel's refusal was as definite* and instead he set new conditions which were firmly rejected by the Danes. It is said that he did not even grant the foreign diplomats an audience. The Danes were particularly opposed to Wrangel's stipulation that final consent *was up to the Imperial Regent.*[c]

It is therefore solely thanks to General Wrangel's firm stand that Germany has this time been saved from one of the most ignominious treaties that history has ever known.

Written by Engels on July 27, 1848

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[a] Elias Lagerheim and Henry Wynn.— *Ed.*
[b] Frederick William IV.— *Ed.*
[c] Archduke John of Austria.— *Ed.*

# THE DISSOLUTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATIONS IN BADEN

*Cologne*, July 27. The reactionary police measures against the right of association follow each other in rapid succession. First it was the Democratic Association in Stuttgart that was abolished, then it was the turn of the Association in Heidelberg.[a] Success made the gentlemen of the reaction bold; now the Baden Government has banned all democratic associations in Baden.

All this occurs at the same moment when the *soi-disant* National Assembly in Frankfurt is occupied with the task of securing for all time the right of association as one of the "fundamental rights of the German people".

The primary condition for the right of free association must be that no association and no society can be dissolved or prohibited by the police, that such measures can only be taken after a court sentence has established the illegality of the association or of its actions and purposes and the originators of these actions have been punished.

This method, of course, is much too protracted for the disciplinarian impatience of Herr *Mathy*. Just as it was too much trouble for him first to obtain a warrant of arrest or at least to have himself appointed as a special constable, before, in virtue of the policeman in his nature, he arrested Fickler[182] as a "traitor to his country", just so contemptible and impractical the judicial and legal path appears to him now.

The motives for this new police violence are most edifying. The associations had allegedly affiliated to an organisation of democratic

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[a] See this volume, pp. 248-49.—*Ed.*

associations for all of Germany which had originated at the Democratic Congress in Frankfurt.[183] This Congress is alleged to have

"set as its goal the establishment of a democratic republic" (as if that were prohibited!) "and what is meant by the means by which this goal is to be reached is shown by, among other things, sympathies for the rebels expressed in those resolutions" (since when are "sympathies" unlawful "means"?), "as well as by the fact that the Central Committee of these associations even refused to grant any further recognition to the German National Assembly and called for the formal separation of the minority for the purpose of forming a new Assembly by unlawful means".[a]

There follow the resolutions of the Congress concerning the organisation of the democratic party.

Thus, according to Herr Mathy, the associations of Baden are to be held responsible for the resolutions of the Central Committee even if they do *not carry* them *out*. For if these associations, following the request of the Frankfurt Committee, had really issued an address to the Left in the National Assembly urging its withdrawal, Herr Mathy would not have failed to announce this. Whether or not the request concerned is illegal is for the courts and not for Herr Mathy to decide. And to declare illegal the organisation of the party into districts, congresses and central committees, one has really to be Herr Mathy! And are not the constitutional and reactionary associations[184] organising themselves according to this model?

Well, of course!

It "appears inadmissible and pernicious to undermine the basis of the constitution and thus to shake the entire state edifice by the force of the associations".

The right of association, Herr Mathy, exists just so that one may "undermine" the constitution with impunity, provided, of course, one does it legally! And if the power of the associations is greater than that of the state, so much the worse for the state!

We are calling once more upon the National Assembly to indict Herr Mathy at once if it does not want to lose all prestige.

Written by Engels on July 27, 1848

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[a] Quoted from the article "Karlsruhe, 23. Juli. Ernst der Regierung, die Aufhebung der demokratischen Vereine betreffend", *Deutsche Zeitung* No. 206, July 26, 1848.— *Ed.*

# THE BILL PROPOSING THE ABOLITION OF FEUDAL OBLIGATIONS[185]

*Cologne,* July 29. If any Rhinelander should have forgotten what he owes to the "foreign rule", to the "yoke of the Corsican tyrant", he ought to read the Bill providing for the abolition without compensation of various obligations and dues. The Bill has been submitted by Herr Hansemann in this year of grace 1848 "for the consideration" of his agreers.[186] Seigniory, allodification rent, death dues, heriot,[a] protection money, legal dues and fines, signet money, tithes on live-stock, bees etc.—what a strange, what a barbaric ring these absurd terms have for our ears, which have been civilised by the French Revolution's destruction of feudalism and by the *Code Napoléon.* How incomprehensible to us is this farrago of medieval dues and taxes, this collection of musty junk from an antediluvian age.

Nevertheless, put off thy shoes from off thy feet, German patriot, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground. These barbarities are the last remnants of Christian-German glory, the last links of the historical chain which connects you with your illustrious ancestors all the way back to the forests of the Cherusci. The musty air, the feudal mire which we find here in their classic unadulterated form are the very own products of our fatherland, and every true German should exclaim with the poet:

> For oh, this is the wind of home
> on my cheeks and caressing my hand!
> And all this country highway dirt
> is the dirt of my fatherland![b]

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[a] In the original *Besthaupt* and *Kurmede* are used, which are regional variants of the German expression for heriot.—*Ed.*

[b] Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen,* Caput VIII. The English translation is taken from Heinrich Heine, *Germany. A Winter's Tale,* L. B. Fischer, New York, 1944.—*Ed.*

Reading the Bill, it seems at first glance that our Minister of Agriculture Herr *Gierke*, on the orders of Herr Hansemann, has brought off a terrifically "bold stroke",[a] has done away with the Middle Ages by a stroke of the pen, and of course quite gratuitously.

But when one looks at the Bill's *motivation*, one discovers that it sets out straight away to prove that in fact *no* feudal obligations *whatever* ought to be abolished without compensation, that is to say, it starts with a bold assertion which directly contradicts the "bold stroke".

The Minister's practical timidity now manoeuvres warily and prudently between these two bold postures. On the left "the general welfare" and the "demands of the spirit of our time"; on the right the "established rights of the lords of the manor"; in the middle the "praiseworthy idea of a freer development of rural relations" represented by Herr Gierke's shamefaced embarrassment—what a picture!

In short, Herr Gierke fully recognises that feudal obligations in general ought to be abolished only against compensation. Thus the most onerous, the most widespread, the principal obligations are to *continue* or, seeing that the peasants have in fact already done away with them, they are to be *reimposed*.

But, Herr Gierke observes,

> if, nevertheless, particular relations, whose intrinsic justification is insufficient or whose continued existence is incompatible with the demands of the spirit of our time and the general welfare, are abolished *without compensation*, then the persons affected by this should appreciate that they are making a few sacrifices not only for the good of all but also in their own well-understood interests, in order that relations between those who have claims and those who have duties shall be peaceful and friendly, thereby helping landed property generally to maintain the political status which befits it for the good of the whole".

The revolution in the countryside consisted in the actual abolition of all feudal obligations. The Government of Action, which recognises the revolution, recognises it in the countryside by destroying it surreptitiously. It is quite impossible to restore the old *status quo* completely; the peasants would promptly kill their feudal lords—even Herr Gierke realises that. An impressive list of insignificant feudal obligations existing only in a few places are therefore abolished, but the principal feudal obligation, simply epitomised in the term *compulsory labour*, is reintroduced.

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[a] The expression *ein kühner Griff* (a bold stroke) was first used by Karl Mathy and Heinrich von Gagern in the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848 and quickly became popular.—*Ed.*

As a result of all the rights that are to be abolished, the aristocracy will sacrifice less than 50,000 talers a year, but will thereby save several million. Indeed the Minister hopes that they will thus placate the peasants and even gain their votes at future parliamentary elections. This would really be a very good deal, provided Herr Gierke does not miscalculate.

In this way the objections of the peasants would be removed, and so would those of the aristocrats, insofar as they correctly understand their position. There remains the Chamber, the scruples of the legal and radical pettifoggers. The distinction between obligations that are to be abolished and those that are to be retained—which is simply the distinction between practically worthless obligations and very valuable obligations—must be based as regards the Chamber on some semblance of legal and economic justification. Herr Gierke must prove that the obligations to be abolished 1. have an insufficient inner justification, 2. are incompatible with the general welfare, 3. are incompatible with the demands of the spirit of our time, and 4. that their abolition is fundamentally no infringement of property rights, no expropriation without compensation.

In order to prove the insufficient justification of these dues and services Herr Gierke delves into the darkest recesses of feudal law. He invokes the entire, "originally very slow development of the Germanic states over a period of a thousand years". But what use is that to Herr Gierke? The deeper he digs, the more he stirs up the stagnant mire of feudal law, the more does that feudal law prove that the obligations in question have, not an insufficient justification, but from the feudal point of view, a very solid justification. The hapless Minister merely causes general amusement when he tries his hardest to induce feudal law to make oracular pronouncements in the style of modern civil law, or to make the feudal lord of the twelfth century think and judge like a bourgeois of the nineteenth century.

Herr Gierke fortunately has inherited Herr von Patow's principle that everything emanating from feudal sovereignty and serfdom is to be abolished without payment, but everything else is to be abolished only against payment of compensation.[a] But does Herr Gierke really think that special perspicacity is required in order to show that all and every obligation subject to repeal "emanates from feudal sovereignty"?

It is hardly necessary to add that for the sake of consistency Herr

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[a] See this volume, pp. 117-18.— *Ed.*

Gierke constantly insinuates modern legal concepts into feudal legal regulations, and in an extremity he always invokes them. But if Herr Gierke evaluates some of these obligations in terms of the modern ideas of law, then it is incomprehensible why the same should not be done with all obligations. In that case, however, compulsory labour service, faced with the freedom of the individual and of property, would certainly come off badly.

Herr Gierke fares even worse when he advances the argument of public welfare and the demands of the spirit of our time in support of his differentiations. Surely it is self-evident that if these insignificant obligations impede the public welfare and are incompatible with the demands of the spirit of our time, then this applies in still greater measure to such obligations as labour service, the corvée, liege money[187] etc. Or does Herr Gierke consider that the right to pluck the peasants' *geese* (Clause 1, No. 14) is out of date, but the right to pluck the *peasants themselves* is not?

Then follows the demonstration that the abolition of those particular obligations does not infringe any property rights. Of course, only spurious arguments can be adduced to prove such a glaring falsehood; it can indeed only be done by reckoning up these rights to show the squires how worthless they are for them, though this, obviously, can be proved only approximately. And so Herr Gierke sedulously reckons up all the 18 sections of Clause 1, and does not notice that, to the extent in which he succeeds in proving the given *obligations* to be worthless, he also succeeds in proving *his proposed legislation to be worthless.* Virtuous Herr Gierke! How it pains us to have to destroy his fond delusions and obliterate his Archimedean-feudalist diagrams.

But there is another difficulty. Both in previous commutations of the obligations now to be abolished and in all other commutations, the peasants were flagrantly cheated in favour of the aristocracy by corrupt commissions. The peasants now demand the revision of all commutation agreements concluded under the previous Government, and they are quite justified in doing so.

But Herr Gierke will have nothing to do with this, since "formal right and law are opposed" to it; such an attitude is altogether opposed to any progress, since every new law nullifies some old formal right and law.

"The consequences of this, it can confidently be predicted, will be that, in order to secure advantages to those under obligations by means that run counter to the eternal legal principles" (revolutions, too, run counter to the eternal legal principles), "*incalculable damage* must be done to a very large section of landed property in the state, and hence (!) to the state itself."

Herr Gierke now proves with staggering thoroughness that such a procedure

> "would call in question and undermine the entire legal framework of landed property and this together with numerous lawsuits and the great expenditure involved would cause great damage to landed property, which is the principal foundation of national welfare"; that it "would be an encroachment on the legal principles underlying the validity of contracts, an attack on the most indubitable contractual relations, the consequences of which would shake all confidence in the stability of civil law, thereby constituting a grave menace to the whole of commercial intercourse"!!!

Herr Gierke thus sees in this an infringement of the rights of property, which would undermine all legal principles. Why is the abolition of the obligations under discussion without compensation not an infringement? These are not merely indubitable contractual relations, but claims that were invariably met and not contested since time immemorial, whereas the demand for revision concerns contracts that are by no means uncontested, since the bribery and swindling are notorious, and can be proved in many cases.

It cannot be denied that, though the abolished obligations are quite insignificant, Herr Gierke, by abolishing them, secures "advantages to those under obligation by means that run counter to the eternal legal principles" and this is "directly opposed to formal right and law"; he "undermines the entire legal framework of landed property" and attacks the very foundation of the "most indubitable" rights.

Really, Herr Gierke, was it worth while to go to all this trouble and commit such a grievous sin in order to achieve such paltry results?

*Herr Gierke does* indeed *attack property*—that is quite indisputable—but it is feudal property he attacks, not modern, bourgeois property. By destroying feudal property he *strengthens* bourgeois property which arises on the ruins of feudal property. The only reason he does not want the commutation agreements revised is because by means of these agreements feudal property relations were converted into *bourgeois* ones, and consequently he cannot revise them without at the same time formally infringing bourgeois property. Bourgeois property is, of course, as sacred and inviolable as feudal property is vulnerable and—depending on the requirements and courage of the Ministers—violable.

What in brief is the significance of this lengthy law?

It is the most striking proof that the German revolution of 1848 is merely a *parody of the French revolution of 1789.*

On August 4, 1789, three weeks after the storming of the Bastille,

the French people, in a *single* day, got the better of the feudal obligations.[188]

On July 11, 1848, four months after the March barricades, the feudal obligations got the better of the German people. *Teste Gierke cum Hansemanno.*[a]

The French bourgeoisie of 1789 never left its allies, the peasants, in the lurch. It knew that the abolition of feudalism in the countryside and the creation of a free, landowning peasant class was the basis of its rule.

The German bourgeoisie of 1848 unhesitatingly betrays the peasants, who are its *natural allies,* flesh of its own flesh, and without whom it cannot stand up to the aristocracy.

The perpetuation of feudal rights and their endorsement in the form of the (illusory) commutations—such is the result of the German revolution of 1848. That is much ado about nothing.

Written by Marx on July 29, 1848 Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 60, July 30, 1848

[a] Testified by Gierke and Hansemann.—*Ed.*

# THE *KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG* ON THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN ENGLAND[189]

*Cologne*, July 31.

"Where is it possible in England to discover *any trace of hatred* against the class which *in France is called the bourgeoisie?* This hatred was *at one time* directed against the aristocracy, which by means of its corn monopoly imposed a heavy and unjust tax on industry. The bourgeois *in England enjoys no privileges*, he depends on his own diligence; in France under Louis Philippe he depended on monopolies, on privileges."[a]

This great, this scholarly, this veracious proposition can be found in Herr Wolfers' leading article in the always well-informed *Kölnische Zeitung*.

It is indeed strange. England has the most numerous, the most concentrated, the most classic proletariat, a proletariat which every five or six years is decimated by the crushing misery of a commercial crisis, by hunger and typhus; a proletariat which for half its life is redundant to industry and unemployed. One man in every ten in England is a pauper, and one pauper in every three is an inmate in one of the Poor Law Bastilles.[190] The annual cost of poor-relief in England almost equals the entire expenditure of the Prussian state. Poverty and pauperism have been openly declared in England to be necessary elements of the present industrial system and the national wealth. Yet, despite this, where in England is there any trace of hatred against the bourgeoisie?

There is no other country in the world where, with the huge growth of the proletariat, the contradiction between proletariat and

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[a] "Köln, 28. Juli. Die europäische Revolution und die Handelsfreiheit", *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 211, July 29, 1848.— *Ed.*

bourgeoisie has reached such a high level as in England; no other country presents such glaring contrasts between extreme poverty and immense wealth—yet where is there any trace of hatred against the bourgeoisie?

Obviously, the associations of workers, set up secretly before 1825 and openly after 1825,[191] associations not for just *one* day against a *single* manufacturer, but permanent associations directed against entire groups of manufacturers, workers' associations of entire industries, entire towns, finally associations uniting large numbers of workers throughout England, all these associations and their numerous fights against the manufacturers, the strikes, which led to acts of violence, revengeful destructions, arson, armed attacks and assassinations—all these actions just prove the love of the proletariat for the bourgeoisie.

The entire struggle of the workers against the manufacturers over the last eighty years, a struggle which, beginning with machine wrecking, has developed through associations, through isolated attacks on the person and property of the manufacturers and on the few workers who were loyal to them, through bigger and smaller rebellions, through the insurrections of 1839 and 1842,[192] has become the most advanced class struggle the world has seen. The class war of the Chartists, the organised party of the proletariat, against the organised political power of the bourgeoisie, has not yet led to those terrible bloody clashes which took place during the June uprising in Paris, but it is waged by a far larger number of people with much greater tenacity and on a much larger territory—this social civil war is of course regarded by the *Kölnische Zeitung* and its Wolfers as nothing but a long demonstration of the love of the English proletariat for its bourgeois employers.

Not so long ago it was fashionable to present England as the classic land of social contradictions and struggles, and to declare that France, compared with England's so-called unnatural situation, was a happy land with her Citizen King, her bourgeois parliamentary warriors and her upright workers, who always fought so bravely for the bourgeoisie. It was not so long ago that the *Kölnische Zeitung* kept harping on this well-worn tune and saw in the English class struggles a reason for warning Germany against protectionism and the "unnatural" hothouse industry to which it gives rise. But the June days have changed everything. The horrors of the June battles have scared the *Kölnische Zeitung*, and the millions of Chartists in London, Manchester and Glasgow vanish into thin air in face of the forty thousand Paris insurgents.

France has become the classic country as regards hatred of the bourgeoisie and, according to the present assertions of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, this has been the case since 1830. How strange. For the last ten years English agitators, received with acclamation by the entire proletariat, have untiringly preached fervent hatred of the bourgeoisie at meetings and in pamphlets and journals, whereas the French working-class and socialist literature has always advocated reconciliation with the bourgeoisie on the grounds that the class antagonisms in France were far less developed than in England. The men at whose very name the *Kölnische Zeitung* makes the triple sign of the cross, men like Louis Blanc, Cabet, Caussidière and Ledru-Rollin, have, for many years before and after the February revolution, preached peace with the bourgeoisie, and they generally did it *de la meilleure foi du monde*.[a] Let the *Kölnische Zeitung* look through any of the writings of these people, or through the *Réforme*, the *Populaire*, or even the working-class journals published during the last few years like the *Union*, the *Ruche populaire* and the *Fraternité*—though it should be sufficient to mention two works which everybody knows, Louis Blanc's entire *Histoire de dix ans*, especially the last part, and his *Histoire de la révolution française* in two volumes.

But the *Kölnische Zeitung* is not content with merely *asserting* as a fact that no hatred exists in England against "the class which in France is called the *bourgeoisie*" (in England too, our well-informed colleague, cf. the *Northern Star* for the last two years)—it also explains *why* this must be so.

*Peel* saved the English bourgeoisie from this hatred by repealing the monopolies and establishing Free Trade.

"The bourgeois in England enjoys no privileges, no monopolies; in France he depended on monopolies.... It was Peel's measures that saved England from the most appalling upheaval."

By doing away with the monopoly of the *aristocracy*, Peel saved the *bourgeoisie* from the threatening hatred of the proletariat, according to the amazing logic of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

"The English people, we say: the *English people* day by day increasingly realise that only from *Free Trade* can they expect a solution of the vital problems bearing on all their present afflictions and apprehensions, a solution which was recently attempted amid streams of blood.... We must not forget that the first notions of Free Trade came from the *English people*."

The English people! But the "English *people*" have been fighting the Free Traders since 1839 at all their meetings and in the press,

[a] In good faith.—*Ed.*

and compelled them, when the Anti-Corn Law League[193] was at the height of its fame, to hold their meetings in *secret* and to admit only persons who had a ticket. The people with bitter irony compared the practice of the Free Traders[a] with their fine words, and fully identified the bourgeois with the Free Trader. Sometimes the English people were even forced temporarily to seek the support of the aristocracy, the monopolists, against the bourgeoisie, e.g. in their fight for the ten-hour day.[194] And we are asked to believe that the people who were so well able to drive the Free Traders off the rostrum at *public* meetings, that it was these "English *people*" who originally conceived the ideas of Free Trade! The *Kölnische Zeitung*, in its artless simplicity, not only repeats mechanically the illusions of the big capitalists of Manchester and Leeds, but lends a gullible ear to their deliberate lies.

"The bourgeois in England enjoys no privileges, no monopolies." But in France things are different:

> "The worker for a long time regarded the bourgeois as the monopolist who imposed a tax of 60 per cent on the poor farmer for the iron of his plough, who made extortionate profits on his coal, who exposed the vine-growers throughout France to death from starvation, who added 20, 40, 50 per cent to the price of everything he sold them...."

The only "monopoly" which the worthy *Kölnische Zeitung* knows is the *customs* monopoly, i.e. the monopoly which only *appears* to affect the workers, but actually falls on the bourgeoisie, on all industrialists, who do not profit from tariff-protection. The *Kölnische Zeitung* knows only a local, legally created monopoly, the monopoly which was attacked by the Free Traders from Adam Smith to Cobden.

But the *monopoly of capital*, which comes into being without the aid of legislation and often exists despite it, this monopoly is not recognised by the gentlemen of the *Kölnische Zeitung*. Yet it is this monopoly which directly and ruthlessly weighs upon the workers and causes the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Precisely this monopoly is the *specifically modern* monopoly, which produces the modern class contradictions, and the solution of just these contradictions is the specific task of the nineteenth century.

But this *monopoly of capital* becomes more powerful, more comprehensive, and more threatening *in proportion as the other small and localised monopolies disappear.*

The freer competition becomes as a result of the abolition of all "monopolies", the more rapidly is capital concentrated in the hands

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[a] Here and below these two words are given in English in the German original.— *Ed.*

of the industrial barons, the more rapidly does the petty bourgeoisie become ruined and the faster does the industry of England, the country of capital's monopoly, subjugate the neighbouring countries. If the "monopolies" of the French, German and Italian bourgeoisie were abolished, Germany, France and Italy would be reduced to proletarians compared with the all-absorbing English bourgeoisie. The pressure which the individual English bourgeois exerts on the individual English proletarian would then be matched by the pressure exerted by the English bourgeoisie as a whole on Germany, France and Italy, and it is especially the petty bourgeoisie of these countries which would suffer.

These are such commonplace ideas that today they can no longer be expounded without causing offence—to anyone but the learned gentlemen of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

These profound thinkers see in Free Trade the only means by which France can be saved from a devastating war between the workers and the bourgeois.

To reduce the bourgeoisie of a country to the level of the proletariat is indeed a means of solving class contradictions which is worthy of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

Written by Engels on July 31, 1848 Printed according to the newspaper

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# THE AGREEMENT DEBATE ABOUT THE VALDENAIRE AFFAIR

*Cologne,* August 1. Once again we have to catch up with a couple of agreement sessions.

During the session of July 18 the motion calling for the summoning of Deputy Valdenaire was discussed.[a] The central section called for its adoption. Three Rhenish jurists spoke against it.

First there was Herr *Simons* of Elberfeld, a former Public Prosecutor. Herr Simons was apparently under the impression that he was still in the Assizes or in the police court. He demeaned himself like a Public Prosecutor by making a formal plea against Herr Valdenaire and for the judicature. He said: The matter has been placed before the indictment board and will be quickly decided there. Valdenaire will either be freed or referred to the Assizes. If the latter should occur

> "it would be exceedingly desirable that the whole case is not then pulled apart so that judgment is not delayed".

As far as Herr Simons is concerned, the interests of the judicature, i.e. the convenience of the indictment board, the Public Prosecutor and the Court of Assizes, carry much more weight than the interest of freedom and the immunity of the people's representatives.

Herr Simons then throws suspicion first upon Valdenaire's defence witnesses and afterwards upon Valdenaire himself. He declares that the Assembly "would not be deprived of any talent" by

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[a] See this volume, pp. 94-95.—*Ed.*

his absence. He then proceeds to pronounce him unfit to sit in the Assembly as long as he is not completely cleared of every suspicion of having plotted against the Government or rebelled against the armed forces. As far as talent is concerned, one could, according to Herr Simons' logic, arrest nine-tenths of the praiseworthy Assembly just as well as Herr Valdenaire and still not deprive it of any talent whatever. As far as the second argument is concerned, it does indeed redound to Herr Simons' honour that he has never hatched any "plots" against absolutism nor been guilty of "rebellion against the public authority" on the March barricades.

After Valdenaire's substitute, Herr *Gräff*, had irrefutably proved that neither was there the slightest suspicion against Valdenaire nor had the action in question been unlawful (since it consisted in having helped the *legally constituted civic militia*, which was occupying the barricades of Trier with the *approval of the Municipal Council* in the execution of its functions), Herr Bauerband rises to support the Public Prosecutor's office.

Herr *Bauerband* also has a very weighty scruple:

"Would not the summoning of Valdenaire prejudice the future judgment of the jury?"

Profoundly thoughtful doubts which are made still more insoluble by the simple remark of Herr *Borchardt*: Whether the *non*-summoning of Valdenaire would not likewise prejudice the jury? The dilemma is really so profound that a thinker of even greater mental force than Herr Bauerband might spend years trying in vain to resolve it. There is perhaps only *one* man in the entire Assembly who has enough strength to solve the riddle: Deputy *Baumstark*.[a]

Herr Bauerband continues to plead for a while in an extremely verbose and confused manner. Herr *Borchardt* answers him briefly. After him, Herr *Stupp* gets up in order to say also so much against Valdenaire that he "had in every respect nothing (!) to add" to the speeches of Simons and Bauerband. All this is, of course, enough reason for him to continue speaking until he is interrupted by shouts calling for the closure of the debate. Herr Reichensperger II and Herr Wencelius speak briefly in favour of Valdenaire and, as we know, the Assembly decides to summon him. Herr Valdenaire has played a trick on the Assembly by not obeying the summons.

Herr *Borchardt* puts the following motion: In order to prevent the impending executions of the death penalty before the Assembly has given its decision on Herr Lisiecki's motion which advocates the

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[a] The name, literally translated, means as strong as a tree, i.e. very strong.— *Ed.*

abolition of capital punishment, a decision should be made on this motion within a week.

Herr *Ritz* is of the opinion that such a precipitous procedure would not be *parliamentary*.

Herr *Brill*: If we shall in the near future, as I certainly hope, abolish the death penalty it would certainly be very *unparliamentary* to decapitate somebody in the meantime.

The President would like to terminate the discussion but the popular Herr *Baumstark* has already mounted the rostrum. Casting fiery glances and his face flushed with noble indignation, he exclaims:

"Gentlemen, permit me to say a *serious word*! The subject here in question is not of the kind that should be treated lightly from this rostrum by referring to decapitation as an unparliamentary matter!" (The Right, which looks upon decapitation as the height of parliamentarism, bursts into tempestuous shouts of bravo.) "It is a subject of the greatest, most serious significance" (it is well known that Herr Baumstark says this of every topic he discusses). "Other parliaments ... the greatest men of legislation and science" (i.e. "all political philosophers, from Plato down to Dahlmann") "have occupied themselves with this problem for 200 to 300 years" (each of them?) "and if you want us to be blamed for having passed over such an important question with such levity...." (Bravo!) "Nothing but my conscience impels me ... but the question is too serious ... *surely, one more week* will not make any difference!"

Because the subject is of the greatest, most serious significance the serious words of the noble Deputy Baumstark become the rashest frivolity. Is there, indeed, greater frivolity than Herr Baumstark's apparent intention to discuss the abolition of capital punishment for the next 200 to 300 years and in the meantime to let decapitations continue at a smart pace? "Surely, one more week will not make any difference" and the heads which will roll during this time will not make any difference either!

Incidentally, the Prime Minister[a] declares that it is not intended to carry out death sentences for the time being.

After Herr Schulze from Delitzsch has expressed a few ingenious scruples concerning rules of procedure, Borchardt's motion is rejected. On the other hand, an amendment by Herr Nethe, which recommends greater dispatch to the central commission, is adopted.

Deputy *Hildenhagen* proposes the following motion: Until the relevant Bill has been submitted, the President should terminate every session with the following solemn pronouncement:

"We, however, are of the opinion that the Ministry should work most zealously on the submission of the new municipal laws."

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[a] Rudolf von Auerswald.— *Ed.*

This edifying proposal was unfortunately not designed for our bourgeois times.

We are not Romans, we smoke tobacco.[a]

The attempt to carve from the raw material of President Grabow the classical figure of an Appius Claudius and to apply the solemn *Ceterum censeo*[b] to the municipal legislation failed under "huge mirth".

After Deputy *Bredt* of Barmen has asked the Minister of Trade three fairly mildly-worded questions on the unification of all Germany into a customs union and into a maritime league with navigation duties, and finally on provisional protective tariffs, and after he has received similarly mild, but also rather unsatisfactory answers to his questions from Herr *Milde*, Herr *Gladbach* is the last speaker of the session. Herr *Schütze* of Lissa[c] had intended to move that he be called to order because of his vigorous language during the debate over the disarming of the volunteers.[d] He decided, however, to withdraw his motion. Herr Gladbach, however, quite unceremoniously challenged the brave Schütze and the entire Right and to the great annoyance of the hidebound Prussians related the amusing anecdote of a Prussian lieutenant who, having fallen asleep on his horse, rode into the midst of the volunteers. These troops greeted the officer with the song "Sleep, Baby, Sleep" and for this offence they were to be court-martialled! Herr Schütze stammered a few words which were as indignant as incoherent and the session was terminated.

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[a] Heinrich Heine, "Zur Beruhigung". In *Zeitgedichte*.—*Ed.*

[b] "*Ceterum censeo, Carthaginem esse delendam*" (As for the rest, Carthage must be destroyed)—the words with which Cato the Elder usually concluded every speech in the Senate (from 157 B. C. onwards).—*Ed.*

[c] The Polish name is Leszno.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 180-81 and 191-93.—*Ed.*

# THE MILAN BULLETIN

In yesterday's issue of this newspaper we published the victory bulletin of the Provisional Government in Milan and then went on to mention the conflicting victory bulletins from Bolzano in the Augsburg newspaper[a] and from Trieste.[b]

We held the *first* of these to be the more credible because the information contained in the bulletin that reached us direct from Milan was simultaneously confirmed by reports from two different cities in Switzerland—Zurich and Basle—which have numerous commercial and close geographical links with Milan. But in evaluating the information we had to give special weight to the fact that the Austrian reports of victory were dated earlier and spoke of the battle on July 23, whereas the Milan bulletin dealt with the events of the 24th and the early hours of the 25th.[195] Because of this combination of circumstances we did not doubt that the Italian victory had actually taken place. The Austrians, moreover, had already previously published reports of victories, for example of a victory at Curtatone[196] which later turned out to have been an Austrian defeat, and furthermore it was none other than the Augsburg paper that had acclaimed this alleged victory.[c] A comparison of the reports of both sides shows that the Italians really did win a victory, but that this victory was wrenched from them by the advance of fresh Austrian troops. If anything could have led us

[a] i.e. the *Allgemeine Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

[b] "Mailand, 25. Juli", "Mailand, 26. Juli", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 62, August 1, 1848.—*Ed.*

[c] The *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 155 (special supplement), June 3, 1848, p. 4, and No. 156, June 4, 1848, pp. 2486-2487.—*Ed.*

astray, it would have been that ambitious but totally incompetent individual *Charles Albert*, about whom we have already repeatedly expressed our opinion. Despite all the bad qualities of this "sword of Italy", the possibility still existed that at least one of his generals, favoured by such uncommonly advantageous positions, might have possessed the military skill to claim the victory for the Italian colours. Reality shows that this has not happened. And therewith Charles Albert's fate is sealed. Even his present throne, not to mention the visionary one of the whole of Italy, must shortly collapse. As victor, he could have looked forward to gratifying his ambition for a while; vanquished, he will very soon be tossed to one side as a useless tool by the Italians themselves. After many bloody sacrifices, Italy will surely triumph and show that it has no need of that wretched individual the King of Sardinia to achieve its freedom and national independence.

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# THE RUSSIAN NOTE[197]

*Cologne,* August 1. Russian diplomacy has invaded Germany for the time being not with an army, but with a Note in the form of a circular to all Russian Embassies. This Note found its first lodgings in the official organ of the German Imperial Administration at Frankfurt[a] and it was soon also well received at other official and unofficial newspapers. The more extraordinary it is that Mr. Nesselrode, the Russian Foreign Minister, should indulge in this sort of public statecraft, the more important it is to subject this action to a closer inspection.

During the happy period preceding 1848, German censorship saw to it that no word could be printed which might incur the displeasure of the Russian Government, not even under the heading of Greece or Turkey.

Since the evil March days, however, this convenient expedient is unfortunately no longer available. Nesselrode therefore becomes a journalist.

According to him it is the "German press, whose hatred for Russia seemed for a moment suspended", which with respect to the Russian "security measures" along the frontier had seen fit to make the "most unfounded assumptions and commentaries". After this restrained introduction there follow stronger words which read:

> "The German press is daily spreading the most absurd rumours and the most malicious calumnies against us."

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[a] "Die russische Note", *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung* No. 210 (second supplement), July 28, 1848.—*Ed.*

Soon, however, there is talk of "raving declamations", "madmen" and "perfidious malevolence".

At the next press trial, a German Public Prosecutor may well use the Russian Note in his evidence as an authenticated document.

And why is the German, especially the "democratic" press to be attacked, and if possible, to be destroyed? Because it misjudges the Russian Emperor's "benevolent as well as unselfish sentiments" and his "openly peaceful intentions"!

"Has Germany ever had to complain about us?" asks Nesselrode on behalf of his ruler.[a] "During the entire time when the Continent had to endure the oppressive rule of a conqueror, Russia shed her blood *to help* Germany *preserve her integrity and independence.* The Russian territory had long been liberated when Russia still continued to follow her German allies to all the battlefields of Europe, and to assist them."

In spite of her numerous and well-paid agents, Russia is labouring under the gravest delusion if she thinks that in the year 1848 she can arouse sympathies by evoking the memory of the so-called wars of liberation. And are we to believe that Russia shed her blood for us Germans?

Apart from the fact that before 1812 Russia "supported" Germany's "integrity and independence" by an open alliance and secret treaties with Napoleon, she was later sufficiently indemnified for her so-called aid by robbery and pillage. Her aid was for the princes who were allied to her, her assistance, in spite of the Proclamation of Kalisch,[198] for the representatives of absolutism, "by the grace of God", against a ruler who had emerged from the revolution. The Holy Alliance and its unholy works, the bandit congresses of Carlsbad, Laibach, Verona etc.,[199] the Russian-German persecutions of every enlightened word, as a matter of fact all politics since 1815 which were guided by Russia ought indeed to have impressed upon our memories a profound sense of gratitude. The House of Romanov, along with its diplomats, may rest assured; we will never forget *this* debt. As for Russia's aid during the years 1814 and 1815, we would sooner be susceptible to any other feeling than that of gratitude for that aid paid for with English subsidies.

The reasons are obvious for discerning minds. If Napoleon had remained victor in Germany, he would have removed at least three dozen beloved "fathers of their people" with his well-known energetic formula. French legislation and administration would have created a solid base for German unity and spared us 33 years of humiliation and the tyranny of the Federal Diet which is, of course,

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[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

highly praised by Mr. Nesselrode. A few Napoleonic decrees would have completely destroyed the entire medieval chaos: the compulsory labour services and tithes, exemptions and privileges, the entire feudal and patriarchal systems which still torment us from end to end of our fatherlands. The rest of Germany would long since have reached the level which the left bank of the Rhine reached soon after the first French revolution; we would have neither Uckermark grandees nor a Pomeranian Vendée[200] and we would no longer have to inhale the stuffy air of the "historical" and "Christian-Germanic" swamps.

Russia, however, is magnanimous. Even if no gratitude is expressed, the Emperor retains as much as ever his old "benevolent as well as unselfish sentiments" towards us. Yes, "in spite of insults and challenges the attempt to change our" (Russia's) "sentiments has not been successful".

These sentiments manifest themselves for the time being in a "passive and watchful method", a method in which Russia has undeniably achieved great virtuosity. She knows how to wait until the appropriate moment seems to have arrived. Notwithstanding the colossal troop movements which have taken place in Russia since March, Mr. Nesselrode is so naive as to try to make us believe that the Russian troops "remained immobile within their cantonments". The Russian Government remains animated by sentiments of "peace and reconciliation" in spite of the classical: "Gentlemen, saddle your horses!",[a] in spite of the confidential outpouring of heart and bile against the German people by Abramowicz, Chief of Police in Warsaw, and in spite of or rather because of the threatening and successful Notes from Petersburg. Russia perseveres in her "openly peaceful and defensive attitude". In the Nesselrode circular, Russia is portrayed as patience personified and as a pious, much-maligned and insulted innocence.

We want to enumerate some of Germany's crimes against Russia which are listed in the Note: 1. "hostile mood", and 2. "fever of change in the whole of Germany". Such a "hostile" mood towards so much benevolence on the part of the Tsar! How grievous this must be for the paternal heart of our dear brother-in-law. And to top it all, this execrable disease called "fever of change"! This is actually the first, albeit in this case the second, dreadfulness. From time to time Russia bestows another kind of disease upon us: the cholera. Be that as it may! Not only is this "fever of change" contagious but it often

[a] Nicholas I is reported to have addressed these words to his officers after being informed that the February 1848 revolution had taken place in France.—*Ed.*

reaches such a virulent intensification that highly-placed personages are easily compelled to make hasty departures for England![a] Was the "German fever of change" perhaps one of the reasons for dissuading Russia from an invasion in March and April? The third crime: The Preparliament of Frankfurt[201] has represented war against Russia as a necessity of the time. The same has happened in associations and newspapers and is all the more unpardonable since according to the clauses of the Holy Alliance and the later treaties between Russia, Austria and Prussia, we Germans are only supposed to shed our blood in the interest of the princes and not in our own interest. 4. There has been talk in Germany of reconstituting old Poland within her true borders of 1772.[202] The knout over you and then off to Siberia! But no, when Nesselrode wrote his circular, he had not yet heard of the Frankfurt Parliament's vote on the question of incorporating Posen. Parliament has atoned for our sins and a mild, forgiving smile now howers upon the lips of the Tsar. The 5th crime of Germany: "Her regrettable war against a Nordic monarchy." In view of the success of the menacing Note from Russia, the rapid retreat of the German army ordered by Potsdam and the declaration issued by the Prussian Ambassador in Copenhagen on the motives and purposes of the war,[203] Germany deserved a milder punishment for her impertinence than would have been admissible without these circumstances. 6. "Open advocacy of a defensive and offensive alliance between Germany and France." Lastly, 7. "The reception given to the Polish refugees, their free trips on the railways and the insurrection in the Posen region."

If the diplomats and similar persons had not received the gift of language "so as to conceal their thoughts"[b] both Nesselrode and brother-in-law Nicholas would have embraced us with shouts of joy and thanked us ardently for having lured so many Poles from France, England, Belgium etc. to the Posen region and for having made it easy for them to be transported there only to have them mowed down by grape-shot and shrapnel, branded with lunar caustic, slaughtered, sent off with shorn heads etc., and, on the other hand, to exterminate them in Cracow by a treacherous bombardment, if possible completely.

And Russia, faced with these seven mortal sins of Germany, has nevertheless remained on the defensive and not taken the offensive? Yes, that's how it is, and it is for this reason that the Russian diplomat

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[a] An allusion to the flight of the Prince of Prussia to England during the March revolution.— *Ed.*

[b] Words attributed to Talleyrand.— *Ed.*

is asking the world to admire the love of peace and the moderation of his Emperor.

The Russian Emperor's rule of procedure "from which he has so far not deviated for one moment", according to Mr. Nesselrode,

> "is not to interfere in any way in the internal affairs of countries which want to change their organisation; on the contrary, to allow these nations complete freedom to effect the political and social experiments which they want to undertake without let or hindrance on his part, and not to attack any power which has not attacked him. On the other hand, he is determined to repel any encroachment upon his own internal security and to make sure that if the territorial balance of power is anywhere destroyed or altered, that will not be done at the expense of our own legitimate interests."

The Russian Note forgets to add the illustrative examples. After the July revolution the Emperor assembled an army along the western frontier so as, allied with his faithful followers in Germany, to give practical proof to the French how he would allow the nations "complete freedom to effect their political and social experiments". The fact that he was disturbed in his rule of procedure was not his fault but that of the Polish revolution of 1830[204] which gave his plans a different direction. Soon thereafter, we saw the same procedure with respect to Spain and Portugal. The evidence is his open and secret support of Don Carlos and Dom Miguel. When at the end of 1842 the King of Prussia wanted to issue a sort of constitution according to the estates principle, on the most comfortable "historical" basis, which had played such an admirable role with respect to the Patents of 1847,[205] it was, of course, Nicholas who would not tolerate it and thus cheated us "Christian Germans" out of the joy of having these Patents for several years. He did all this, as Nesselrode says, because Russia never interferes in the internal organisation of a country. We hardly need to mention Cracow.[206] Let us merely recall the most recent sample of the imperial "rule of procedure": the Wallachians overthrow the old Government and replace it provisionally by a new one. They want to transform the entire old system and create an organisation patterned after those of civilised nations. "So as now to let them effect their political and social experiments in complete freedom" a Russian army corps invades the country.[207]

After that anybody can guess the nature of the application of this "rule of procedure" to Germany. But the Russian Note makes our own deduction unnecessary. It reads:

> "So long as the *Confederation*, no matter what *new forms* it may assume, leaves the neighbouring states untouched, and does not seek to expand its territorial limits by force or try to assert its lawful authority beyond the *limits* set by the *treaties*, the Emperor will also *respect* its *internal* independence."

The second passage which refers to the same subject reads still more clearly:

"If Germany should actually succeed in solving her organisational problem without detriment to her internal calm, and without the new forms impressed on her nationality being of a kind which endanger the tranquillity of other states, we shall sincerely congratulate ourselves on that for the same reasons which made us hope for her strength and unity under her previous political forms."

But the following passage sounds most clear and removes any possible doubt; here the circular speaks of Russia's incessant efforts to recommend and preserve harmony and unity in Germany:

"*Of course, we are not referring to that material unity of which a democracy addicted to a levelling and aggrandising process is dreaming today*, and which, if it could realise its ambitious theories as it interprets them, would inevitably sooner or later plunge Germany into a state of war with all adjacent states, but rather to the *moral unity*, that sincere conformity of views and intentions in all political questions which the *German Confederation* had to negotiate in external affairs.

"Our policy had only one aim: *to preserve this unity* and to strengthen the bonds which link the German governments with each other.

"That which we wanted in those days, we still desire today."

As one can see from the preceding passage, the Russian Government most willingly allows us *moral* unity, only no *material* unity, no replacement of the present Federal Diet by a central authority, not the mere semblance of central authority, but a genuine and seriously effective central authority based on popular sovereignty. What magnanimity!

"That which we wanted in those days" (before February 1848), "we still desire today."

That is the only phrase of the Russian Note which nobody will call in question. But we should like to tell Mr. Nesselrode that desire and fulfilment are still two separate things.

The Germans now know exactly where they stand as far as Russia is concerned. As long as the old system, painted over with new, modern colours, persists, or if one obediently moves back again to the Russian and "historical" track after having strayed from it in a "moment of intoxication and exultation", Russia will remain "openly peaceful".

The internal conditions of Russia, the raging cholera, the partial insurrections in individual districts, the revolution plotted in Petersburg which was, however, prevented just in time, the conspiracy inside the citadel of Warsaw, the volcanic soil of the Kingdom of Poland,[208] all these are at any rate circumstances which have contributed to the Tsar's benevolent as well as "unselfish sentiments" towards Germany.

But of much greater influence upon the "passive and watchful method" of the Russian Government was undoubtedly the course of events in Germany proper up to the present.

Could Nicholas in person have taken better care of his affairs and carried out his intentions sooner than has up to now been done in Berlin-Potsdam, in Innsbruck, in Vienna and Prague, in Frankfurt and in Hanover and in almost every other cosy corner of our fatherland, now again filled with Russian moral unity? Have not (lunar caustic) Pfuel, Colomb and the shrapnel general[a] in Posen and Windischgrätz in Prague worked so well as to enrapture the Tsar's heart? Did not Windischgrätz receive a brilliant letter of commendation from Nicholas via Potsdam from the hands of young Mr. Meyendorf? And do the gentlemen Hansemann-Milde-Schreckenstein in Berlin and the Radowitzes, Schmerlings and Lichnowskis in Frankfurt leave anything to be desired as far as Russia is concerned? Must not the *Bieder-* and *Basser*dom[b] in the Frankfurt Parliament form a soothing balm for many a pain of the most recent past? In such circumstances Russian diplomacy did not need any armies to invade Germany. It is perfectly right to be content with the "passive and watchful method", and the just discussed Note!

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[a] Alexander Adolf von Hirschfeld.—*Ed.*

[b] An allusion to the deputies Biedermann and Bassermann; the German word *Biederkeit* means "respectability".—*Ed.*

# MISCELLANEOUS[209]

Very shortly a Bill on defamation along entirely new lines will be laid before the Chamber. Our criticism of the article of the *Code Napoléon* in connection with Hecker's suit against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was evidently only too well founded.[a]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 208-11.—*Ed.*

# BAKUNIN[210]

In number 36, of this paper, we communicated a rumour circulating in Paris, according to which George Sand was stated to be possessed of papers which placed the Russian refugee, Bakunin, in the position of an agent of the Emperor Nicholas.[a] We gave publicity to this statement, because it was communicated to us simultaneously by two correspondents wholly unconnected with each other. By so doing, we only accomplished the duty of the public press, which has severely to watch public characters. And, at the same time we gave to Mr. Bakunin an opportunity of silencing suspicions thrown upon him in certain Paris circles. We reprinted also from the *Allgemeine Oder Zeitung* Mr. Bakunin's declaration, and his letter addressed to George Sand, without waiting for his request.[b] We publish now a literal translation of a letter addressed to the Editor of the *New Rhenish Gazette,* by George Sand, which perfectly settles this affair.[c]

To the editor
Sir,

Under the date line Paris, July 3, you have published the following article (there follows a translation of the relevant item) in your newspaper. The facts conveyed by your correspondent are entirely false and do not have even the slightest semblance of truth. I have never had the smallest scrap of evidence in support of the imputations you seek to make against Mr. Bakunin, who was banished from France by the dethroned King.[d] I have therefore never had any warrant for the slightest doubt about the sincerity of Mr. Bakunin's character and the honesty of his views.

Yours etc.
*George Sand*

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[a] "Bakunin", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 36, July 6, 1848.—*Ed.*

[b] "Bakunin. Erklärung", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 46 (supplement), July 16, 1848.—*Ed.*

[c] This passage is given in Marx's own translation as printed in *The Morning Advertiser,* September 2, 1853.—*Ed.*

[d] Louis Philippe.—*Ed.*

P.S. I appeal to your honour and your conscience to publish this letter immediately in your newspaper.

La Châtre (Dept. Indre), July 20, 1848

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# THE HANSEMANN GOVERNMENT AND THE OLD-PRUSSIAN CRIMINAL BILL

*Cologne*, August 3. We have already often said that the Hansemann Government extols the Bodelschwingh Ministry in every possible way.[a] After the recognition of the revolution follows the recognition of the old-Prussian state of affairs. That's the way of the world.[b]

That Herr Hansemann, however, would achieve *such* virtuosity that he even praises *those* deeds of such gentlemen as Bodelschwingh, Savigny and consorts which he used to combat with the greatest vehemence in his days as Rhenish deputy to the Provincial Diet, that is a triumph with which the Potsdam camarilla had certainly not counted. And yet! Please read the following article of the latest *Preussische Staats-Anzeiger*[c]:

*Berlin*, August 1. The most recent issue of the journal of the Ministry of Justice reported in its "unofficial part" statistical observations about the death penalty as well as a survey of death sentences passed and confirmed between the years 1826 and 1843 (inclusive) with the exception of sentences passed in the so-called demagogical investigations. This work was undertaken with the utilisation of documents of the Ministry of Justice and, because of the importance of the issue, should claim the special attention of the reader in this respect. According to the survey, in the aforementioned period of time:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. In the Rhine Province | 189 | death | sentences | were | passed, | 6 | confirmed |
| 2. In the other provinces | 237 | " | " | " | " | 94 | " |
| altogether | 426 | death | sentences | were | passed, | 100 | confirmed, |

of which, however, four were not carried out because of flight or death of the criminals.

If the Bill on the new Penal Code of 1847 had been in force during that period there would have been:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. In the Rhine Province only | 53 | death | sentences | | passed, | 5 | confirmed |
| 2. In the other provinces only | 134 | " | " | | " | 76 | " |
| altogether | 187 | death | sentences | | passed, | 81 | confirmed, |

provided that the same principles were applied to the confirmation as heretofore. Thus, the death penalty would not have been imposed on 237 criminals who were

[a] See this volume, p. 274.—*Ed.*
[b] Modified quotation from Goethe's *Faust*, Erster Teil, "Garten".—*Ed.*
[c] "Berlin, 1. August", *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger* No. 90, August 2, 1848.—*Ed.*

sentenced to death under the existing laws. Nor would the death penalty have been carried out on 19 executed criminals.

According to the survey, there were annually on the average:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. In the Rhine Province | $10^{9}/_{18}$ | death | sentences passed | and | $^{6}/_{18}$ | confirmed |
| 2. In the other provinces | 13 | " | " | " | $5^{4}/_{18}$ | " |

If, however, the Bill had been in force at the time, there would have been annually on the average:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. In the Rhine Province only | $2^{17}/_{18}$ | death | sentences passed | and | $^{5}/_{18}$ | confirmed |
| 2. In the other provinces only | $7^{7}/_{18}$ | " | " | " | $4^{4}/_{18}$ | " |

And now admire the mildness, the excellence and the glory of the Royal Prussian Criminal Bill of 1847! Perhaps as much as one entire death sentence less would have been carried out in the Rhine Province in 18 years! What advantages!

But the innumerable defendants who would have been deprived of a jury and sentenced and jailed by royal justices, the disgraceful corporal punishments which here on the Rhine would have been carried out with old-Prussian rods, here, where we freed ourselves of the rod forty years ago; the dirty proceedings consequent upon the crimes against morals, unknown to the Code, which would have been conjured up again by the depraved haemorrhoidal imagination of the knights of the Prussian Law; the most inexorable confusion of juridical concepts, and finally the innumerable political trials consequent upon the despotic and insidious regulations of that contemptible patchwork, in a word, the *Prussianising* of the entire Rhine Province; do the Rhenish renegades in Berlin really believe that we would forget all this on the account of *one* fallen head?

It is clear: Herr Hansemann, through his agent in the judicial branch, Herr Märker, wants to carry through that which was beyond Bodelschwingh. He really wants now to bring into force the thoroughly hated old-Prussian criminal Bill.

At the same time we learn that the jury system will only be introduced in Berlin, and even there only on an experimental basis.

Thus: not the introduction of Rhenish law to the old-Prussians but the introduction of old-Prussian law to the Rhinelanders is the great result, the tremendous "achievement" of the March revolution! *Rien que ça.*[a]

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[a] Nothing but that.— *Ed.*

# THE *KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG* ON THE COMPULSORY LOAN

*Cologne,* August 3. Number 215 of the *Kölnische Zeitung* carries the following appeal to Rhenish patriotism:

"As we have just been reliably informed, up to today, about 210,000 talers in contributions to the voluntary loan, partly in cash and partly by subscription, have been received here in the city of Cologne. It is to be expected that persons who up to now have not contributed to this government loan will recognise and fulfil their duty as citizens within the next ten days, *the more so* since their own advantage is bound to counsel them to lend their money at 5 per cent interest *before* August 10—rather than at $3^1/_3$ per cent after that date. It is particularly necessary that the rural inhabitants, who up to now have not yet contributed to the loan in the right proportion, should not miss this deadline. *Otherwise compulsion would have to be used where patriotism and correct insight are lacking.*"

A total of $1^2/_3$ per cent premium has been placed upon the patriotism of the taxpayers and yet "for a' that and a' that"[a] patriotism persists in its latent condition! *C'est inconcevable.*[b] A difference of $1^2/_3$ per cent! Can patriotism resist this ringing argument of $1^2/_3$ per cent?

It is our duty to explain this wonderful phenomenon to our beloved fellow newspaper.

By what means does the Prussian state want to pay not 5, but only $3^1/_3$ per cent? By new taxes. And if the usual taxes are not enough, as is to be expected, by a new compulsory loan. And by what means compulsory loan No. II? By compulsory loan No. III. And by what means compulsory loan No. III? By *bankruptcy.* Thus patriotism

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[a] Quoted from Ferdinand Freiligrath's translation ("Trotz alledem!") of Robert Burns' poem "For a' that and a' that".—*Ed.*

[b] This is incomprehensible.—*Ed.*

commands that the road which the Prussian Government has entered upon must be barricaded in every possible way, not by talers but by protests.

Prussia, moreover, is already enjoying an extra debt of 10 million talers for the Hunnish war in Posen. Thus a voluntary loan of fifteen million talers would only be a bill of indemnity for the intrigues of the secret cabinet in Potsdam[211] which, against the orders of the weak cabinet at Berlin, conducted this war in the interests of the Russians and the reaction. The junker counter-revolution condescends sufficiently to appeal to the purse of the townsmen and peasants who afterwards must pay for its heroic deeds. And the hard-hearted "rural inhabitants" resist such condescension? The "Government of Action", moreover, demands money for the *constabulary business* and you do not possess the "correct insight" into the blessings of the constabulary which has been brought from England to Prussia? The "Government of Action" wants to gag you and you refuse to give it the money for the gags? What a strange lack of insight!

The Government of Action needs money to make the particular interests of the Uckermark prevail against German unity. And the rural inhabitants of the administrative district of Cologne are deluded enough not to want to bear the costs for the defence of Uckermark-Pomeranian nationality in spite of the premium of $1^2/_3$ per cent? What has become of patriotism?

Finally, our patriotic fellow newspaper which threatens "*execution*" forgets in its ardour that the compulsory loan has not yet been voted by the Agreement Assembly[a] and the ministerial Bills have the same force of law as editorials of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

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[a] The Prussian National Assembly.— *Ed.*

# PROUDHON'S SPEECH AGAINST THIERS

*Paris,* August 3. The day before yesterday we were able to render Proudhon's speech only piecemeal.[212] We will now enter upon a thorough discussion of it.[a] M. Proudhon starts with the explanation that the February revolution was nothing but the emergence of socialism which attempted to assert itself in all the following events and phases of this revolution.

"You want to finish with socialism. Oh well, just watch. I will lend you a helping hand. The success of socialism does not by any means depend upon a single man; the present battle is by no means a battle between myself and M. Thiers, but between labour and privilege."

M. Proudhon demonstrates instead that M. Thiers has only attacked and slandered his private life.

"If we proceed on that level, I would suggest to M. Thiers: let us both go to confession! You confess your sins, and I will confess mine!"

The point at issue was the revolution. The financial committee regarded the revolution as a fortuitous event, as a surprise, whereas he, Proudhon, had taken it seriously. In the year 93 property had paid its debt to the republic by paying a third of taxes. The revolution of 48 must remain in a "proportional relationship". In the year 93 the foes had been despotism and foreign countries. In the year 48, pauperism was the foe. "What is this *droit au travail*", this right to work?

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[a] "Paris, 31. Juli...—National-Versammlung", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 64, August 3, 1848, pp. 3-4.—*Ed.*

"If the demand for labour were greater than the supply there would be no need for any promises on the part of the state. This, however, is not the case. Consumption is very low. The stores are full of goods and the poor are naked! And yet which country has a greater propensity to consume than France? If instead of 10 million, we were given 100, i.e. 75 francs per head and per day, we certainly would know how to consume it." (Hilarity in the Chamber.)

The rate of interest is supposed to be the basic cause of the people's ruin. The creation of a national bank of two milliards which would lend its money without interest and grant the free use of the land and of houses would bring immense advantages. (Vigorous interruptions.)

"If we stick to *this* (laughter), if the fetishism of money were supplanted by the realism of gratification (renewed laughter), then there would exist the guarantee of labour. Let the duties on the instruments of labour be abolished and you are saved. Those who maintain the opposite, may they be called Girondists or Montagnards, are no socialists and no republicans (Oh! Oh!).... Either property will smash the republic or the republic will smash property." (Calls of: enough!)

M. Proudhon now becomes enmeshed in a lengthy discourse about the significance of interest and how the rate of interest could be reduced to zero. M. Proudhon stands on weak grounds as long as he maintains this economic point of view even though he creates an immense scandal in this bourgeois Chamber. But whenever, excited by just this scandal, he adopts the proletarian point of view, the Chamber seems to go into nervous convulsions.

"Gentlemen, my ideas are different from yours. I represent a different point of view from yours! The liquidation of the old society began on February 24 with the fight between the bourgeoisie and the working class. This liquidation will be accomplished either by violent or by peaceful means. All will depend upon the discernment of the bourgeoisie and its greater or lesser resistance."

M. Proudhon now proceeds to elaborate his idea of "the abolition of property". He does not intend to abolish property all at once but only gradually. It is for this reason that he had stated in his journal[a] that *rent of land was a voluntary gift of the earth* which the state must gradually abolish.

"I have thus on the one hand explained the meaning of the February revolution to the bourgeoisie; I have given notice to property so that it may hold itself ready for liquidation and so that the property owners may be held responsible for their refusal."

A thunderous roar arises from several sides: responsible in what way?

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[a] *Le Représentant du Peuple. Journal quotidien des travailleurs.*—*Ed.*

"By that I mean if the property owners will not liquidate voluntarily, *we* will carry through this liquidation."

Several voices: Who are *we*?

Other voices: Send him to the lunatic asylum at Charenton. (Tremendous excitement; a proper storm accompanied by thunder and the roaring of wind.)

"If I say *we*, I identify *myself* with the proletariat and you with the bourgeoisie."

M. Proudhon then enters upon the specification of his tax system and he becomes once again "scientific". This "science" which has always been Proudhon's weakness becomes his strength in this narrow-minded Chamber by giving him the boldness to combat with his pure, genuine "science" the defiled financial science of M. Thiers. M. Thiers has proved his practical financial discernment. During his administration, the state treasury decreased while his personal fortune increased.

When the Chamber paid little attention to Proudhon's further arguments, he declared bluntly that he would continue speaking for at least $^3/_4$ of an hour. When the majority of the Chamber was thereupon getting ready to leave he proceeded once again to direct attacks upon property.

"By the February revolution alone you have abolished property!"

One could almost say that terror kept the people glued to their seats every time that Proudhon said anything against property.

"By recognising in the Constitution the right to work, you have proclaimed the recognition of the abolition of property."

Larochejaquelein asks whether one has the right to steal. Other deputies do not want to let M. Proudhon continue.

"You cannot destroy the consequences of the *faits accomplis*" (accomplished facts). "If debtors and tenants are still paying, they are doing so of their own free will." (Tremendous uproar. The President calls the speaker to order: Everybody is obliged to pay his debts.)

"I am not saying that the liabilities have been repealed but those who are trying to defend them here are destroying the revolution....

"What are we, representatives? Nothing. Nothing at all. The power which gave us power lacked principle and basis. Our entire authority is force, despotism and the might of the stronger. (New eruption of the storm.) Universal suffrage is an accident and in order that it may gain significance, it must be preceded by organisation. We are not ruled by law or justice. We are ruled by force, necessity, providence.... April 16th, May 15th, June 23rd, 24th and 25th are facts, nothing more than facts, which are legitimised by history. We can do today whatever we want to. We are the stronger ones. Let us not speak therefore of rebels. Rebels are those who have no other right than that of superior might but will not recognise this right for others. I know that my

motion will not be accepted. But you are in a position where you can only escape death by accepting my motion. It is a question of credits and labour. Confidence will never return, nay, it is impossible for it to return...." (Horrible!) "For all that you might say that you are trying to create a respectable, moderate republic, capital does not dare to show itself under a republic which has to hold demonstrations in favour of the workers. While capital is thus waiting for us so as to liquidate us, we are waiting for capital so as to liquidate it. February 24 has proclaimed the right to work. If you eliminate this right from the Constitution, you proclaim the right to insurrection.

"Place yourselves for ever under the protection of bayonets, prolong the state of siege for ever: capital will still be afraid and socialism will keep its eyes on it."

The readers of the *Kölnische Zeitung* know M. Proudhon of yore. M. Proudhon, who, according to the reasoning of the agenda, has attacked morality, religion, family and property, was not so long ago still the acclaimed hero of the *Kölnische Zeitung*. Proudhon's "so-called social-economic system" was thoroughly glorified in articles from correspondents in Paris, in feuilletons and in lengthy treatises. All social reforms were to proceed from Proudhon's determination of value. The story of how the *Kölnische Zeitung* made this dangerous acquaintance does not belong here. But how strange! The very newspaper which in those days looked upon Proudhon as a saviour, now cannot find enough invective to label him and his "lying party" as corrupters of society. Is M. Proudhon no longer M. Proudhon?

What we were attacking in M. Proudhon's theory was the "utopian science" by which he wanted to settle the antagonism between capital and labour, between proletariat and bourgeoisie.[a] We shall come back to this point. His whole system of banking and his entire exchange of products is nothing but a petty-bourgeois illusion. Now, when to realise this pale illusion he is compelled to speak as a democrat in the face of the whole bourgeois Chamber and is expressing this antagonism in harsh terms, the Chamber cries of offence against morality and property.

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[a] See Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon.*—*Ed.*

# DR. GOTTSCHALK

*Cologne,* August 4. Dr. Gottschalk had his three first interrogations published in the *Zeitung des Arbeiter-Vereines zu Köln.* As a punishment, the warders he has had up to now have been removed and a new gaoler appointed in the person of warder *Schröder.*[a]

"The latter was not willing to take over his duties without an exact inventory," writes the local workers' paper, "and so Dr. Gottschalk and his cell were searched again, customs-style. Although nothing suspicious was found, a much closer watch than before is being kept on him."[b]

*Public* proceedings in the Rhine Province are a sheer illusion as long as they are supplemented by "*Spanish Inquisition proceedings*".[213]

In order to appreciate Gottschalk's arrest, one should read the *Gervinus Zeitung.*[c] The forceful intervention of the Public Prosecutor, it says, has *restored confidence once more.* On the other hand, the approaching festivities[d] are diverting the attention of the frivolous citizens of Cologne from all thought of politics. And these same citizens of Cologne, to whom the Government has handed over Gottschalk and the Cathedral festivities, these same ungrateful citizens, the *Gervinus Zeitung* exclaims, forget all these good deeds of the Prussian Government as soon as it stammers the first word about a compulsory loan!

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[a] "Die Beiden Verhöre des Herren Dr. Gottschalk" and "Der dritte Verhör des Dr. Gottschalk" (*Zeitung des Arbeiter-Vereines zu Köln* Nos. 16 and 18, July 20 and 27, 1848).—*Ed.*

[b] "Köln", ibid., No. 20, August 3, 1848.—*Ed.*

[c] *Deutsche Zeitung.*—*Ed.*

[d] Celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Cologne Cathedral in August 1848.—*Ed.*

The arrest of Gottschalk and Anneke, the press trials, and so on, have restored *confidence*. In the city, confidence is the basis of *public credit*. Therefore lend the Prussian Government money, a great deal of money, and it will lock up even more people, stage even more press trials, manufacture even more confidence. More arrests, more press trials, more reaction from the Government. But in honest exchange—mark this well—more money, more and more money from the citizens!

We advise the Prussian Government in its financial difficulties to take refuge in a measure tried and tested under Louis XIV and Louis XV. Let it sell *Lettres de cachet! Lettres de cachet! Lettres de cachet!*[214] as a means of restoring confidence and filling up the Prussian treasury!

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# DEBATE ABOUT THE EXISTING REDEMPTION LEGISLATION

*Cologne*, August 4. The Berlin Assembly from time to time unearthes all sorts of old-Prussian dirt and just now when the black-white knighthood becomes daily more insolent, such revelations come in very handy.

The session of July 21st dealt again with the feudal obligations. Following a deputy's motion, the central section proposed that the pending negotiations or court hearings on redemptions and the division of common property be suspended either by the authorities or on application by one of the interested parties.

Deputy *Dierschke* examined the mode of redemption existing up to now. He explained, to begin with, how the method of redemption itself already takes advantage of the peasant:

"Compensation for corvée" (compulsory labour),[a] "for instance, has been fixed in a very partial manner. It has not been taken into account that the wages for corvée, which in former centuries were stipulated at 1 or 2 silver groschen, corresponded to the *then prevailing prices* of natural produce and the conditions of the times, and that they represented, therefore, an appropriate equivalent for work done, so that neither the lords of the manor nor the serfs should have a preponderant advantage. A free labourer, however, must now be paid 5 to 6 instead of 2 silver groschen per day. If now one of the interested partners of a service relationship requests redemption he will have to pay, after first converting corvée days into substitute days, a differential amount of at least 3 silver groschen per day, which will amount to a yearly rent (based upon 50 days) of 4 to 5 talers. The poor peasant cannot afford such payments since he often possesses barely a quarter of a morgen[b] of land and cannot find sufficient opportunity for work elsewhere."

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[a] Dierschke used the word *Robotdienste* (corvée). Engels has inserted *Frondienste* (compulsory labour) in brackets.—*Ed.*

[b] An old German land measure, varying in different localities between 0.25 and 1.23 hectares.—*Ed.*

This passage of Herr Dierschke's speech leads to all sorts of observations about the famous enlightened legislation of 1807-11,[215] none of which made it appear in a very favourable light.

First of all, it is evident from this that the compulsory labour services (especially those in Silesia of which Herr Dierschke is speaking) are certainly not a rent or fee which is paid in kind, they are not a compensation for the use of the land; despite Herr Patow and Herr Gierke they are nothing but an "outcome of seigniory and serfdom" and hence ought to be *abolished without compensation* according to the very *own principles* of these great statesmen.

Wherein consisted the obligation of the peasant? In placing himself at the disposal of the lord of the manor during certain days of the year or for certain specified duties. But certainly not gratuitously. He received a wage for this which originally completely equalled the daily wage of free labour. Thus the advantage of the landlord consisted not in the gratuitous or merely cheaper labour of the peasant but in the fact that he had labourers at his disposal for the usual wage whenever he needed them without being obliged to employ them when he did not need them. The advantage to the landlord did not consist in the monetary value of the service in kind but rather in its *compulsory* nature. It did not consist in the economic disadvantage but rather in the *constraint* of the peasant. And this obligation is not supposed to be an "outcome of seigniory and serfdom"!

If Patow, Gierke and Co. want to be consistent, there is no doubt that in accordance with their original character, these labour services must be abolished *without compensation.*

But what is the situation if we take their *present* nature into account?

For centuries the compulsory services remained the same and so did the wages for these services. But the price of food increased and so did the wages for free labour. The compulsory service, which at the beginning brought equal economic advantage to both parties and often even resulted in well-paid work during the peasant's idle days, gradually became, to use the language of Herr Gierke, an "actual charge on his land" and a direct monetary gain for the gracious landlord. To the certainty that he will always have a sufficient number of labourers at his disposal, he could now add a hefty cut which he made in the wages of these workers. By means of a consistent, century-old trickery the peasants were cheated of a steadily growing part of their wage so that they finally received only a third or a quarter of it. Let us assume that a farmstead is obliged to supply only *one* worker for only 50 days a year and that the daily

wage has increased on the average by only 2 silver groschen for the past 300 years. Then the gracious landlord will have earned a full 1,000 talers off this *one* worker. The interest on 500 talers over 300 years at 5 per cent will be 7,500 talers. Altogether he will have made 8,500 talers off *one* worker, and that according to an estimate which does not take into account half the actual position!

What deduction can be made from all this? A rent ought to be paid not by the peasant to the gracious lord but by the gracious lord to the peasant, that is not by the farmstead to the manor, but by the manor to the farmstead.

The Prussian liberals of 1848, however, do not judge like this. On the contrary, the Prussian judicial conscience declares that it is not the nobleman who must indemnify the peasant but the peasant who must pay compensation to the nobleman for the difference between statute wages and free wages. It is exactly *because* the peasant has been cheated out of the wage difference for so long by his gracious lord that he has now to indemnify his gracious lord for the cheating. For whosoever hath, to him shall be given; but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath.[a]

The difference in wages is therefore calculated and the annual amount is regarded as rent of land. It flows in this form into the pockets of the gracious lords. If the peasant wants to redeem it, it will be capitalised at 4 per cent (not even at 5 per cent) and this capital, which is 25 times the amount of the rent, will have to be paid off. It is obvious that the peasant is being dealt with in a thoroughly businesslike fashion. Our foregoing estimate of the aristocracy's profits was thus entirely justified.

The upshot is that peasants often have to pay from 4 to 5 talers rent for a quarter of a morgen of bad land whereas one morgen of good land free from corvée can be had for three talers rent per annum!

The redemption can also be achieved by surrendering a piece of land of the same value as the capital sum that is outstanding. Only the more prosperous peasants, of course, can do this. In that case, the lord of the manor gets a piece of land as premium for the skill and persistence with which he and his ancestors have defrauded the peasants.

That is the theory of redemption. It corroborates entirely what has taken place in all other countries where feudalism has gradually been abolished, in particular in England and Scotland: the transformation of feudal into bourgeois property and of seigniory

[a] Matthew 13:12.—*Ed.*

into capital means in every case a new crass defrauding of the bondsman to the advantage of the feudal lord. The bondsman must *purchase* his freedom every time and he must buy it dearly. The bourgeois state acts according to the principle: only death is gratuitous.

The theory of redemption, however, proves even more.

As Deputy *Dane* observes, the inevitable result of these enormous demands upon the peasants is that they fall into the hands of usurers. Usury is the inevitable companion of a class of *free* small peasants as has been demonstrated in France, the Palatinate and the Rhine Province. The Prussian science of redemption managed to let the small peasantry of the old provinces partake of the joys of being squeezed by usurers even before they were freed. The Prussian Government, in general, has always had a knack for subjecting the oppressed classes to the pressure of feudal and of modern bourgeois conditions at the same time, thus making the yoke twice as heavy.

One has to add to this another matter, to which Deputy *Dane* also calls attention: the tremendous costs which mount in proportion to the negligence and inaptness of the commissioner who is paid by the term.

"The town of Lichtenau in Westphalia paid 17,000 talers for 12,000 morgen and *this has not yet covered the costs* (!!)."

Even more telling proof is provided by the practice of redemption. The land commissioners, continues Herr Dierschke, i.e. the officials who prepare the redemption,

"appear in three capacities. First, they appear as *examining officials*. In this capacity they interrogate the parties, determine the factual basis of the redemption and calculate the amount of compensation. They often carry out their task in a very one-sided manner and often do not take into account the existing legal conditions for in part they lack legal knowledge. Furthermore, they appear in part as *experts* and *witnesses* by themselves autonomically appraising the value of the redeemable objects. In the end they give their *testimony* which almost amounts to a decision since the general commission must as a rule rely on their opinions which are derived from local conditions.

"Finally there is the fact that the land commissioners do not enjoy the confidence of the rural population because they often put the parties at a disadvantage by letting them wait for hours while they *eat with relish at the table of the landlord*" (who is himself a party) "whereby they particularly arouse the mistrust of the parties against themselves. When after a waiting period of three hours, the threshing gardeners[216] are finally admitted, the land commissioners often roar at them and brusquely reject their rejoinders. Here I can speak from my own experience because I assisted the interested party of peasants in my capacity as attorney-at-law in cases involving redemptions. The dictatorial power of the land commissioners must therefore be removed. The combination of the threefold capacity as examining magistrate, witness and judge in *one and the same* person cannot be justified either."

Deputy *Moritz* defends the land commissioners. Herr *Dierschke* answers: I can state that there are very many among them who disregard the interests of the peasants. I myself have even called for the investigation of some of them and I can give proof of this if demanded.

Minister *Gierke,* of course, appears again as defender of the old-Prussian system and the institutions which have emerged from it. The land commissioners must, of course, also be praised again:

"I must leave it to the judgment of the Assembly, however, to decide whether it is just to use this rostrum to make accusations which *lack all proof and are entirely unsubstantiated!*"

And Herr Dierschke is offering proofs!

Since, however, his Excellency Gierke seems to be of the opinion that notorious facts can be knocked down by ministerial assertions, we shall shortly submit a few "proofs" which will show that Herr Dierschke, far from exaggerating, has not by a long way condemned the conduct of the land commissioners sufficiently strongly.

So much for the debate. The amendments submitted were so numerous that the report accompanied by them had to be referred back to the central section. Thus the definitive decision of the Assembly has yet to be made.

Among these amendments, there is one by Herr *Moritz* which calls attention to a further edifying measure of the old Government. He proposes the cessation of all negotiations concerning mill dues.

For when in the year 1810 it was decided to abolish the feudal prerogatives and banalities,[217] a commission was appointed simultaneously to compensate the millers for the fact that they were now exposed to free competition. This was already a paradoxical decision. Were the guild masters compensated for the abolition of their privileges? But there are special circumstances in this case. The mills paid extraordinary dues for the enjoyment of feudal prerogatives and banalities. Instead of simply abolishing these, they were given a compensation and the dues were continued. The form is paradoxical but there remains at least a *semblance* of justice in this case.

It so happens, however, that in the provinces added since 1815, the mill dues have been kept, the feudal prerogatives and banalities have been abolished and yet *no compensation* has been given. This is old-Prussian equality before the law. The industrial law, to be sure, abolishes all business taxes but under the trade regulations of 1845 and the law on compensation all mill dues are in case of doubt to be regarded not as business taxes but as *land taxes.* Innumerable law

cases have resulted from this jumble and these violations of the law. The law-courts have contradicted each other in their sentences and even the Supreme Court has pronounced the most contradictory judgments. Just what was formerly regarded by the ex-legislative power as "land tax" emerges from a case cited by Herr Moritz: a mill in Saxony to which belongs, except for the mill buildings, only the water power but not the land, is burdened with a "land tax" of *four wispels*[a] of grain!

Indeed, say what you like, Prussia has always been the most wisely, most justly and best administered state!

Written by Engels on August 4, 1848

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[a] Prior to 1872 a grain measure in Germany; in Prussia it was equal to 1,319 litres (approximately 36 bushels).— *Ed.*

# THE "MODEL STATE" OF BELGIUM

*Cologne,* August 6. Let us once again cast a glance upon Belgium, our constitutional "*model state*", the monarchical El Dorado with the broadest *democratic* basis, the university of the Berlin statesmen and the pride of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

Let us look, to begin with, at the economic conditions of which the much-praised political constitution only forms the gilded frame.

The Belgian *Moniteur*—Belgium has her *Moniteur*—carries the following piece of news about Leopold's greatest vassal: *pauperism.*[a]

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| In the province of | | *Luxembourg* | 1 | inhabitant | out | of | 69 | receives | support |
| " | " | *Namur* | 1 | " | " | " | 17 | " | " |
| " | " | *Antwerp* | 1 | " | " | " | 16 | " | " |
| " | " | *Liége* | 1 | " | " | " | 7 | " | " |
| " | " | *Limburg* | 1 | " | " | " | 7 | " | " |
| " | " | *Hainaut* | 1 | " | " | " | 6 | " | " |
| " | " | *Eastern Flanders* | 1 | " | " | " | 5 | " | " |
| " | " | *Brabant* | 1 | " | " | " | 4 | " | " |
| " | " | *Western Flanders* | 1 | " | " | " | 3 | " | " |

This growth of pauperism will necessarily be followed by a further increase in pauperism. All individuals who maintain an independent existence lose their civil equilibrium as a result of the assistance tax with which these poor fellow citizens burden them and they too plunge into the abyss of public charity. Pauperism creates pauperism

[a] "Emigration aux Etats-Unis de l'Amérique du Nord", *Le Moniteur belge* No. 212, July 30, 1848, p. 2074.—*Ed.*

at an increasing rate. To the same extent, however, that pauperism increases, *crime* increases and the life source of the nation itself, the *youth*, is demoralised.

The years 1845, 1846 and 1847 offer sad documents on that score.[a]

The number of young boys and girls under 18 years of age who were in judicial confinement:

| | 1845 | 1846 | 1847 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Boys | 2,146 | 4,607 | 7,283 |
| Girls | 429 | 1,279 | 2,069 |
| Sum: | 2,575 | 5,886 | 9,352 |
| Sum total: | 17,813 | | |

Thus starting with 1845 there is an approximately annual doubling of the number of juvenile delinquents *under* 18 years of age. According to this ratio, Belgium would have 74,816 juvenile delinquents in the year 1850 and 2,393,312 in the year 1855, i.e. more than the number of young people under 18 years of age she has and more than half her population. By 1856 all Belgium would be in gaol, the unborn children included. Could the monarchy hope for a *broader* democratic basis? *Equality* prevails in gaol.

Both types of Morison pill have been tried in vain on the national economy: on the one hand free trade and on the other hand protective tariffs. Pauperism in Flanders was born under the system of free trade, it grew and became stronger under the protective tariffs against foreign linen goods and linen yarn.

Thus while pauperism and crime grow among the proletariat, the bourgeoisie's sources of income are drying up as the recently published comparative tabulation of the Belgian foreign trade during the first six months of the years 1846, 1847 and 1848 proves.

With the exception of arms and nail factories, which have been exceptionally favoured by circumstances, the cloth factories which maintain their ancient renown and the zinc production which compared to overall production is insignificant, the whole of Belgian industry is in a condition of decay or stagnation.

With a few exceptions, there is a considerable decrease in the *export* of the products of the Belgian mines and metalworks.

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[a] The data on juvenile delinquency are taken from: Edouard Ducpétiaux, *Mémoire sur l'organisation des écoles de réforme*, pp. 4-5.—*Ed.*

We quote a few examples[a]:

| | First six months 1847 | First six months 1848 |
|---|---|---|
| *Coal* (in metric tons) | 869,000 | 549,000 |
| *Pig iron* | 56,000 | 35,000 |
| *Cast iron wares* | 463 | 172 |
| *Iron,* rails | 3,489 | 13 |
| *Wrought iron wares* | 556 | 434 |
| *Nails* | 3,210 | 3,618 |
| Total: | 932,718 | 588,237 |

Thus the total decrease of these three types of articles for the first six months of 1848 amounts to 344,481 tons which is somewhat more than $^1/_3$.

We come to the linen industry.

| | First six months 1846 | First six months 1847 | First six months 1848 |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Linen yarn* [in kilograms] | 1,017,000 | 623,000 | 306,000 |
| *Linen fabric* | 1,483,000 | 1,230,000 | 681,000 |
| Total: | 2,500,000 | 1,853,000 | 987,000 |

The decrease of the first six months of 1847 compared with those of 1846 amounted to 657,000 kilograms, the decrease in 1848 compared with that in 1846 amounts to 1,613,000 kilograms or 64 per cent.

The export of books, crystal ware and window glass has decreased enormously. So has the export of raw and dressed flax, tow, tree bark and manufactured tobacco.

The spreading pauperism, the unprecedented hold that crime has over young people, and the systematic deterioration of Belgian industry form the material basis of the following constitutional gaieties: The pro-government journal *Indépendance* numbers over 4,000 subscribers as it never grows tired of proclaiming. The aged *Mellinet,* the only general who saved Belgian honour, is confined to quarters and in a few days will appear before the Assizes in Antwerp.[b] The lawyer *Rolin* from Ghent, who conspires against

[a] The figures are quoted from "Exportations.—Marchandises belges", *Le Moniteur belge* No. 213, July 31, 1848, pp. 2085-2087.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 404-06.—*Ed.*

Leopold in the interest of the Orange family and conspires against his later allies, the Belgian liberals, in the interest of Leopold of Coburg, this Rolin, the double apostate, has obtained the portfolio of Public Works. The ex-pedlar Cha-a-azal, *Fransquillon*,[a] Baron and Minister of War, swings his large sabre and saves the European equilibrium. The *Observateur* has augmented the programme of the September Day Celebrations[218] by a new amusement: a procession, an *Ommeganck General*, in honour of the *Doudou* of Mons, the *Houplala* of Antwerp and the *Mannequin Pisse* of Brussels. The *Observateur*, the journal of the great *Verhaegen*, is perfectly in earnest. Finally, what compensates for Belgium's suffering is the fact that it has risen to become the university of Berlin's Montesquieus—of a Stupp, a Grimm, a Hansemann and a Baumstark—and that it enjoys the admiration of the *Kölnische Zeitung*. Oh happy Belgium!

Written by Marx on August 6, 1848

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Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] A Belgian name for an admirer of everything French.—*Ed.*

# THE FRANKFURT ASSEMBLY DEBATES THE POLISH QUESTION[219]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 70, August 9, 1848]

*Cologne*, August 7. The Frankfurt Assembly, whose debates even during the most excited moments were conducted in a truly German spirit of geniality, at last pulled itself together when the Posen question came up. On this question, the ground for which had been prepared by Prussian shrapnel and the docile resolutions of the Federal Diet, the Assembly had to pass a clear-cut resolution. No middle course was possible; it had either to save Germany's honour or to blot it once again. The Assembly acted as we had expected; it sanctioned the seven partitions of Poland, and shifted the disgrace of 1772, 1794 and 1815 from the shoulders of the German princes to its own shoulders.[220]

The Frankfurt Assembly, moreover, declared that the seven partitions of Poland were benefactions wasted on the Poles. Had not the forcible intrusion of the Jewish-German race lifted Poland to a level of culture and a stage of science which that country had previously never dreamed of? Deluded, ungrateful Poles! If your country had not been partitioned you would have had to ask this favour yourselves of the Frankfurt Assembly.

Pastor Bonavita Blank of the Paradise monastery near Schaffhausen trained magpies and starlings to fly in and out. He had cut away the lower part of their bill so that they were unable to get their own food and could only receive it from his hands. The philistines who from a distance saw the birds alight on the Reverend's shoulders and seem to be friendly with him, admired his great culture and learning. His biographer says that the birds *loved their benefactor.*[a]

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[a] [F. G. Benkert.] *Joseph Bonavita Blank's ... kurze Lebens-Beschreibung.—Ed.*

Yet the fettered, maimed, branded Poles refuse to love their Prussian benefactors!

We could not give a better description of the benefactions which Prussia bestowed on the Poles than that provided by the report which the learned historiographer Herr *Stenzel* submitted on behalf of the Committee for International Law, a report which forms the basis of the debate.

The report, entirely in the style of the conventional diplomatic documents, first recounts how the Grand Duchy of Posen was set up in 1815 by "incorporation" and "merging". Then follow the promises which at the same time Frederick William III made to the inhabitants of Posen, i.e. the safeguarding of their nationality, language and religion, the appointment of a native governor, and participation in the famous Prussian Constitution.[221]

The extent to which these promises were kept is well known. The freedom of communication between the three fragments of Poland, to which the Congress of Vienna could the more easily agree the less feasible it was, was of course never put into effect.

The make-up of the population is then examined. Herr Stenzel calculates that 790,000 Poles, 420,000 Germans and about 80,000 Jews lived in the Grand Duchy in 1843, making a total of almost 1,300,000.

Herr Stenzel's statement is challenged by the Poles, notably by Archbishop Przyluski,[a] according to whom there are considerably more than 800,000 Poles, and, if one deducts the Jews, officials and soldiers, hardly 250,000 Germans, living in Posen.

Let us, however, accept Herr Stenzel's figures. For our purposes it is quite sufficient. To avoid all further discussion, let us concede that there are 420,000 Germans living in Posen. Who are these Germans, who by the inclusion of the Jews have been brought up to half a million?

The Slavs are a predominantly agricultural people with little aptitude for urban trades in the form in which up to now they were feasible in the Slav countries. The first crude stage of commerce, when it was still mere hawking, was left to *Jewish* pedlars. With the growth of culture and population the need for urban trades and urban concentration made itself felt, and *Germans* moved into the Slav countries. The Germans, who after all had their heyday in the philistinism [*Kleinbürgerei*] of the imperial cities of the Middle Ages, in the sluggish inland trade conducted in caravan style, in a restricted

[a] Leon Przyluski, ["Die Korrespondenz des Erzbischofs von Posen, Przyluski, mit dem Berliner Kabinett",] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Nos. 5, 7, 10, 14, 38 and 39, June 5, 7, 10 and 14, and July 8 and 9, 1848.—*Ed.*

maritime trade, and in the handicraft workshops of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries organised on guild lines—the Germans demonstrated their vocation as the philistines of world history by the very fact that they still to this day form the core of the petty bourgeoisie throughout Eastern and Northern Europe and even in America. Many, often most of the craftsmen, shopkeepers and small middlemen in Petersburg, Moscow, Warsaw and Cracow, in Stockholm and Copenhagen, in Pest, Odessa and Jassy, in New York and Philadelphia are Germans or of German extraction. All these cities have districts where only German is spoken, and some of them, for example Pest, are almost entirely German.

This German immigration, particularly into the Slav countries, went on almost uninterruptedly since the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Moreover, from time to time since the Reformation, as a result of the persecution of various sects large groups of Germans were forced to migrate to Poland, where they received a friendly welcome. In other Slav countries, such as Bohemia and Moravia, the Slav population was decimated by German wars of conquest, whereas the German population increased as a result of invasion.

The position is clearest in Poland. The German philistines living there for centuries never regarded themselves as politically belonging to Germany any more than did the Germans in North America; just as the "French colony" in Berlin and the 15,000 Frenchmen in Montevideo do not regard themselves as belonging to France. As far as that was possible during the days of decentralisation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they became Poles, German-speaking Poles, who had long since renounced all ties with the mother country.

But the Germans brought to Poland culture, education and science, commerce and trades.—True, they brought retail trade and guild crafts; by their consumption and the limited intercourse which they established they stimulated production to some extent. Up to 1772 Poland as a whole was not particularly well known for her high standard of education and science, and the same applies to Austrian and Russian Poland since then; of the Prussian part we shall speak later. On the other hand, the Germans in Poland prevented the formation of Polish towns with a Polish bourgeoisie. By their distinct language, their separateness from the Polish population, their numerous different privileges and urban judicial systems, they impeded centralisation, that most potent of political means by which a country achieves rapid development. Almost every town had its own law; indeed towns with a mixed population had, and often still have, different laws for Germans, Poles and Jews. The German Poles

remained at the lowest stage of industrial development; they did not accumulate large capitals; they were neither able to establish large-scale industry nor control any extensive system of commerce. The Englishman Cockerill had to come to Warsaw for industry to strike root in Poland. The entire activity of the German Poles was restricted to retail trade, the handicrafts and at most the corn trade and manufacture (weaving etc.) on the smallest scale. In considering the merits of the German Poles it should not be forgotten also that they imported German philistinism and German petty-bourgeois narrow-mindedness into Poland, and that they combined the worst qualities of both nations without acquiring their good ones.

Herr Stenzel seeks to enlist the sympathy of the Germans for the German Poles:

> "When the kings ... especially in the seventeenth century, became increasingly powerless and were no longer able to protect the native Polish peasants against the severest oppression by the nobles, the German villages and towns, too, declined, and many of them became the property of the nobility. Only the larger royal cities kept some of their old liberties" (read: privileges).

Does Herr Stenzel perhaps demand that the Poles should have protected the "Germans" (i.e. German Poles, who are moreover also "natives") better than themselves? Surely it is obvious that foreigners who immigrate into any country must expect to share the good and bad with the indigenous inhabitants.

Let us pass now to the blessings for which the Poles are indebted to the Prussian Government in particular.

Frederick II seized the Netze district[a] in 1772, and in the following year the Bromberg canal was built, which made inland navigation between the Oder and Weichsel[b] possible.

> "The region, which for centuries was an object of dispute between Poland and Pomerania, and which was largely desolate as a result of countless devastations and because of vast swamps, was now brought under cultivation and populated by numerous colonists."

Thus, the first partition of Poland was no robbery. Frederick II merely seized an area which "for centuries was an object of dispute". But since when has there no longer existed an independent Pomerania which *could* have disputed this region? For how many centuries were in fact the rights of Poland to this region no longer challenged? And in general, what meaning has this rusted and rotten

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[a] After the name of the River Netze (the Polish name is Noteć).—*Ed.*

[b] The Polish name is Vistula.—*Ed.*

theory of "disputes" and "claims", which, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, served the purpose of covering up the naked commercial interests and the policy of rounding off one's lands? What meaning can it have in 1848 when the bottom has been knocked out of all "historical justice" and "injustice"?

Incidentally, Herr Stenzel ought to bear in mind that according to this junk-heap doctrine the Rhine borders between France and Germany have been "an object of dispute for millennia", and that Poland could assert her claims to suzerainty over the province of Prussia and even over Pomerania.

In short, the Netze district became part of Prussia and hence ceased to be "an object of dispute". Frederick II had it colonised by Germans, and so the "*Netze brethren*", who received such praise in connection with the Posen affair, came into being. The state-promoted Germanisation began in 1773.

"*According to all reliable information*, all the Jews in the Grand Duchy are Germans and *want* to be Germans.... The religious toleration which used to prevail in Poland and the possession of certain qualities which were lacking in the Poles, enabled the Jews in the course of centuries to develop activities which penetrated deep into Polish life" (namely into Polish purses). "As a rule they have a thorough command of both languages, although they, and their children from the earliest years, speak *German* at home."

The unexpected sympathy and recognition which Polish Jews have lately received in Germany has found official expression in this passage. Maligned wherever the influence of the Leipzig fair extends as the very incarnation of haggling, avarice and sordidness, they have suddenly become German brethren; with tears of joy the honest German presses them to his bosom, and Herr Stenzel lays claim to them on behalf of the German nation as Germans who *want* to remain Germans.

Indeed, why should not Polish Jews be genuine Germans? Do not "they, and their children from the earliest years, speak German at home"? And what German at that!

Incidentally, we would point out to Herr Stenzel that he might just as well lay claim to the whole of Europe, one half of America, and even part of Asia. German, as everyone knows, is the universal language of the Jews. In New York and Constantinople, in St. Petersburg and Paris "the Jews, and their children from the earliest years, speak German at home", and some of them even a more classical German than the Posen Jews, the "kindred" allies of the "Netze brethren."

The report goes on to present the national relations in terms that are as vague as possible and as favourable as possible to the alleged half a million Germans consisting of German Poles, "Netze

brethren", and Jews. It says that German peasants own more land than the Polish peasants (we shall see how this has come to pass), and that since the first partition of Poland enmity between Poles and Germans, especially Prussians, reached its highest degree.

"By the introduction of its exceptionally rigidly regulated political and administrative orders" (what excellent style!) "and their strict enforcement, Prussia in particular seriously disturbed the old customs and traditional institutions of the Poles."

Not only the Poles but also the other Prussians, and especially we from the Rhine, can tell a tale about the "rigidly regulated" and "strictly enforced" measures of the worthy Prussian bureaucracy, measures which "*disturbed*" not only the old customs and traditional institutions, but also the *entire social* life, industrial and agricultural production, commerce, mining, in short all social relations without exception. It is, however, not to the bureaucracy of 1807-48 that Herr Stenzel refers here but to that of 1772-1806, to the officials of the most genuine, dyed-in-the-wool Prussianism, whose baseness, corruptibility, cupidity and brutality were clearly evident in the treacherous acts of 1806.[222] These officials are supposed to have protected the Polish peasants against the nobles and received in return nothing but ingratitude; of course the officials ought to have understood "that nothing, not even the good things granted or imposed, can compensate for the loss of national sovereignty".

We too know the way in which quite recently the Prussian officials used "to grant or impose everything". What Rhinelander, who had dealings with recently imported old-Prussian officials, did not have an opportunity to admire their inimitable, impertinent obtrusiveness, their impudent meddlesomeness, their overriding insolence and combination of narrow-mindedness and infallibility. True, among us, in most cases, these old-Prussian gentry soon lost some of their roughness for they had at their disposal no "Netze brethren", no secret inquisition, no Prussian law and no floggings which last deficiency even brought some of them to an early grave. We do not have to be told what havoc they wrought in Poland, where they could indulge in floggings and secret inquisitions to their heart's content.

In short, the arbitrary Prussian rule won such popularity that "already after the battle of Jena, the hatred of the Poles found vent in a general uprising and the ejection of the Prussian officials". This, for the time being, put an end to the bureaucratic rule.

But in 1815 it returned in a somewhat modified form. The "best", "reformed", "educated", "incorruptible" officialdom tried its hand at dealing with these refractory Poles.

"The founding of the Grand Duchy of Posen, too, was not conducive to the establishment of cordial relations, since ... at that time the King of Prussia could not possibly agree to have any single province set up as an entirely independent unit, thus turning his state, as it were, into a federal state."

Thus according to Herr Stenzel, the King of Prussia could "not possibly agree" to keep his own promises and the treaties of Vienna! [223]

"When, in 1830, the sympathies which the Polish nobility showed for the Warsaw uprising caused anxiety, and after systematic efforts were subsequently made by means of various arrangements (!)—notably by buying up the Polish landed estates, dividing them and handing them over to the Germans—gradually to eliminate the Polish nobility altogether, the latter's resentment against Prussia increased."

"By means of various arrangements"! By prohibiting Poles from buying land brought under the hammer, and similar measures, which Herr Stenzel covers with the cloak of charity.

What would Rhinelanders say if among us, too, the Prussian Government were to prohibit Rhinelanders from buying land put up for sale by order of the court. Sufficient pretexts could easily be found, namely: in order to amalgamate the population of the old and new provinces; in order that the natives of the old provinces could share in the blessings of parcellation and of the Rhenish laws; in order that Rhinelanders be induced to emigrate to the old provinces and implant their industries there as well, and so on. There are enough reasons to bestow Prussian "colonists" on us too. How would we look upon people who bought our land for next to nothing while competition was excluded, and who did it moreover with the support of the Government; people who were thrust upon us for the express purpose of accustoming us to the intoxicating motto "With God for King and Fatherland" [a]?

After all we are Germans, we speak the same language as the people in the old provinces. Yet in Posen those colonists were sent methodically, with relentless persistence, to the domains, the forests and the divided estates of the Polish nobility in order to oust the native Poles and their language from their own country and to set up a truly Prussian province, which would surpass even Pomerania in black-and-white fanaticism.

In order that the Prussian peasants in Poland should not be left without their natural masters, they were sent the flower of Prussian knighthood, men like *Tresckow* and *Lüttichau*, who also bought landed estates for next to nothing, and with the aid of government

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[a] These words are taken from the decree on the establishment of an army reserve issued by Frederick William III on March 17, 1813.—*Ed.*

loans. In fact, after the Polish uprising of 1846,[224] a joint-stock company was formed in Berlin, which enjoyed the gracious protection of the highest personages in the land, and whose purpose was to buy up Polish estates for German knights. The poor starvelings from among the Brandenburg and Pomeranian aristocracy foresaw that trials instituted against the Poles would ruin numerous big Polish landowners, whose estates would shortly be sold off dirt-cheap. This was a real godsend for many a debt-ridden Don Ranudo from the Uckermark. A fine estate for next to nothing, Polish peasants who could be thrashed, and what is more, a good service rendered to King and Fatherland—what brilliant prospects!

Thus arose the third German immigration into Poland, Prussian peasants and Prussian noblemen settled throughout Posen with the declared intention, supported by the Government, not of Germanising, but of *Pomeranising* Posen. The German Poles had the excuse of having contributed in some measure to the promotion of commerce, the "Netze brethren" could boast that they had reclaimed a few bogs, but this last Prussian invasion had no excuse whatever. Even parcellation was not consistently carried through, the Prussian aristocrats following hard on the heels of the Prussian peasants.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 73, August 12, 1848]

*Cologne*, August 11. In the first article we have examined the "historical foundation" of Stenzel's report insofar as he deals with the situation in Posen before the revolution. Today we proceed to Herr Stenzel's history of the revolution and counter-revolution in Posen.

"The German people, who at all times is filled with compassion for all the unfortunate" (so long as this compassion costs nothing), "always deeply felt how greatly its princes wronged the Poles."

Indeed, "deeply felt" within the calm German heart, where the feelings are so "deeply" embedded that they never manifest themselves in action. Indeed, there was "compassion", expressed by a few alms in 1831 and by dinners and balls in aid of the Poles, so long as it was a matter of dancing and drinking champagne for the benefit of the Poles, and of singing "Poland is not yet lost!"[a] But when were the Germans prone to do something really decisive, to make a real sacrifice!

[a] The words are from the Polish national anthem.—*Ed.*

"The Germans honestly and fraternally proffered their hand to expiate the wrongs their princes had perpetrated."

Indeed, if it were possible to "expiate" anything with sentimental phrases and dull tub-thumping, then the Germans would emerge as the purest people in the annals of history.

"Just at the moment, however, when the Poles shook hands" (that is, took the fraternally proffered hand) "the interests and aims of the two nations already diverged. The Poles' only thought was for the restoration of their old state at least within the boundaries that existed before the first partition of 1772."

Surely, only the unreasoning, confused, haphazard enthusiasm, which from time immemorial has been a principal adornment of the German national character, could have caused the Germans to be surprised by the Polish demands. The Germans wanted to "*expiate*" the injustice the Poles had suffered. What started this injustice? To say nothing of earlier treacheries, it certainly started with the first partition of Poland in 1772. How could this be "expiated"? Of course, only by restoration of the *status quo* existing *before* 1772, or at least by the Germans returning to the Poles what *they* had robbed them of since 1772. But this was against the interests of the Germans? Well, if we speak of interests, then it can no longer be a question of sentimentalities like "expiation" etc.; here the language of cold, unfeeling practice should be used, and we should be spared rhetorical flourishes and expressions of magnanimity.

Moreover, firstly, the Poles did not at all "*only* think" of the restoration of the Poland of 1772. In any case what the Poles did "*think*" is hardly our concern. For the time being they *demanded* only the reorganisation of the *whole* of Posen and mentioned other eventualities only in case of a German-Polish war against Russia.

Secondly, "the interests and aims of the two nations diverged" only insofar as the "interests and aims" of revolutionary Germany in the field of international relations remained exactly the same as those of the old, absolutist Germany. If Germany's "interest and aim" is an alliance with Russia, or at least peace with Russia at any price, then of course everything in Poland must remain as it was hitherto. We shall see later, however, to what extent the *real* interests of Germany are identical with those of Poland.

Then follows a lengthy, confused and muddled passage, in which Herr Stenzel expatiates on the fact that the German Poles were right when they wanted to do justice to Poland, but at the same time to remain Prussians and Germans. Of course it is of no concern to Herr Stenzel that the "when" excludes the "but" and the "but" the "when".

Next comes an equally lengthy and confused historical account, in which Herr Stenzel goes into detail in an attempt to prove that, owing to the "diverging interests and aims of the two nations" and the ensuing mutual enmity which was steadily growing, a bloody clash was *unavoidable*. The Germans adhered to the "*national*" interests, the Poles merely to the "*territorial*" interests. In other words, the Germans demanded that the Grand Duchy should be divided according to nationalities, the Poles wanted the whole of their old territory.

This is again not true. The Poles asked for reorganisation but at the same time stated that they were quite willing to relinquish the frontier districts with a mixed population where the majority are Germans and *want* to join Germany. The inhabitants, however, should not be declared German or Polish by the Prussian *officials* at will, but according to their *own* wishes.

Herr Stenzel goes on to assert that Willisen's mission was of course bound to fail because of the (alleged, but nowhere existing) resistance of the Poles to the cession of the predominantly German districts. Herr Stenzel was able to examine the statements of Willisen about the Poles and those of the Poles about Willisen. These *published* statements prove the opposite. But this happens if "one is a man who", as Herr Stenzel says, "has studied history for many years and deems it his duty never to utter an untruth and never to conceal what is true".

With the same truthfulness which never conceals what is true, Herr Stenzel easily passes over the cannibalism perpetrated in Posen, the base and perfidious violation of the Convention of Jaroslawiec,[225] the massacres of Trzemeszno, Miloslaw and Wreschen,[a] the destructive fury of a brutal soldiery worthy of the Thirty Years' War,[226] and does not say a word about it.

Now Herr Stenzel comes to the four partitions of Poland recently effected by the Prussian Government. First the Netze district and four other districts were torn away (April 14); to this were added certain parts of other districts. This territory with a total population of 593,390 was incorporated in the German Confederation on April 22. Then the city and fortress of Posen together with the remainder of the left bank of the Warta were also included, making an additional 273,500 persons and bringing the combined population of these lands to *double* the number of Germans living in the whole of Posen even according to *Prussian* estimates. This was effected by an Order in Council on April 26,[b] and already on May 2 they were

[a] The Polish name is Września.— *Ed.*

[b] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has "April 29", evidently a misprint.— *Ed.*

admitted to the German Confederation. Now Herr Stenzel pleads with the Assembly that it is absolutely essential for Posen to remain in German hands, that Posen is an important, powerful fortress, with a population of over 20,000 Germans (most of them Polish Jews) who own two-thirds of all the landed property etc. That Posen is situated in the midst of a purely Polish territory, that it was forcibly Germanised, and that Polish Jews are not Germans, does not make the slightest difference to men who "never utter an untruth and never suppress what is true", to historians of Herr Stenzel's calibre.

In short, Posen, for military reasons, should not be relinquished. As though it were not possible to raze the fortress, which, according to Willisen, is one of the greatest strategic blunders, and to fortify Breslau[a] instead. But ten million (incidentally this is again not true—barely five million) have been invested, and it is of course more advantageous to retain this precious work of art and 20 to 30 square miles of Polish land into the bargain.

With the "city and fortress" of Posen in one's hands, it will be all the easier to seize still more.

"But to keep the fortress it will be necessary to secure its approaches from Glogau, Küstrin and Thorn[b] as well as a fortified area facing the east" (it need be only 1,000 to 2,000 paces wide, like that of Maestricht facing Belgium and Limburg). "This," continues Herr Stenzel with a smile of satisfaction, "will at the same time ensure undisturbed possession of the Bromberg canal; but numerous areas with a predominantly Polish population will have to be incorporated into the German Confederation."

It was for all these reasons that lunar caustic Pfuel, the well-known philanthropist, carried through two new partitions of Poland, thus meeting all the desires of Herr Stenzel and incorporating three-fourths of the Grand Duchy into Germany. Herr Stenzel is the more grateful for this procedure, since the revival of Louis XIV's chambers of reunion[227] with augmented powers must evidently have demonstrated to this historian that the Germans have learned to apply the lessons of history.

According to Herr Stenzel, the Poles ought to find consolation in the fact that their share of the land is more fertile than the incorporated territory, that there is considerably less landed property in their part than in that of the Germans and that "no unbiassed person will deny that the lot of the Polish peasant under a German Government will be far more tolerable than that of the

[a] The Polish name is Wrocław.—*Ed.*
[b] The Polish names are Głogów, Kostrzyn and Toruń.—*Ed.*

German peasant under a Polish Government"! History provides some curious examples of this.

Finally, Herr Stenzel tells the Poles that even the small part left to them will enable them, by practising all the civic virtues,

"to befittingly prepare themselves for the moment, which at present is still shrouded in the mists of the future, and which, quite pardonably, they are trying—perhaps too impatiently—to precipitate. One of their most judicious fellow citizens exclaimed very pertinently. 'There is a crown which is also worthy of your ambition, it is the *civic crown*!' A German would perhaps add: It does not shine, but it is solid!"

"It is solid!" But even more "solid" are the real reasons for the last four partitions of Poland by the Prussian Government.

You worthy German—do you believe that the partitions were undertaken in order to deliver your German brothers from Polish rule; to ensure that the fortress of Posen serves as a bulwark protecting you from any attack; to safeguard the roads of Küstrin, Glogau and Bromberg,[a] and the Netze canal? What a delusion!

You have been shamefully deceived. The sole reason for the recent partitions of Poland was to *replenish the Prussian treasury*.

The earlier partitions of Poland[b] up to 1815 were annexations of territory by force of arms; the partitions of 1848 are *robbery*.

And now, worthy German, see how you have been deceived!

After the third partition of Poland the estates of the Polish *starosten*[c] and those of the Catholic clergy were confiscated by Frederick William II in favour of the state. As the Declaration of Appropriation issued on July[d] 28, 1796, says, the estates of the church in particular constituted "a *very considerable* part of landed property as a whole". The new domains were either managed on the King's account or leased, and they were so extensive that 34 crown-land offices and 21 forestry divisions had to be set up for their administration. Each of these crown-land offices was responsible for a large number of villages; for example, altogether 636 villages came under the ten offices of the Bromberg district, and 127 were administered by the Mogilno crown-land office.

In 1796, moreover, Frederick William II confiscated the estates and woodlands of the convent at Owinsk and sold them to the merchant von Tresckow (forefather of the brave Prussian troop leader in the last heroic war[e]). These estates comprised 24 villages

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[a] The Polish name is Bydgoszcz.—*Ed.*

[b] In 1795.—*Ed.*

[c] *Starosten*—formerly a nobleman in Poland who held a fief of the Crown.—*Ed.*

[d] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has "March".—*Ed.*

[e] An ironic allusion to the war against Denmark over Schleswig-Holstein.—*Ed.*

with flour mills and 20,000 morgen[a] of forest land, worth at least 1,000,000 talers.

Furthermore, the crown-land offices of Krotoschin, Rozdrazewo, Orpiszewo and Adelnau,[b] worth at least two million talers, were in 1819 made over to the Prince of Thurn und Taxis to compensate him for the post-office privileges in several provinces which had become part of Prussia.

Frederick William II took over all these estates on the pretext that he could administer them better. Nevertheless, these estates, the property of the Polish nation, were given away, ceded or sold, and the proceeds flowed into the *Prussian* treasury.

The crown lands in Gnesen, Skorzencin and Trzemeszno were broken up and sold.

Thus 27 crown-land offices and forestry divisions, to a value of *twenty million talers* at the very least, still remain in the hands of the Prussian Government. We are prepared to prove, map in hand, that all these domains and forests—with very few exceptions, if any at all—are located in the incorporated part of Posen. To prevent this rich treasure from reverting to the Polish nation it had to be absorbed into the German Confederation, and since it could not go to the German Confederation, the German Confederation had to come to it, and three-fourths of Posen were incorporated.

That is the true reason for the four famous partitions of Poland within two months. Neither the protests of this or that nationality nor alleged strategic reasons were decisive—the frontier was determined solely by the position of the domains, and the rapacity of the Prussian Government.

While German citizens were shedding bitter tears over the invented sufferings of their poor brothers in Posen, while they were waxing enthusiastic about the safety of the Eastern Marches of Germany, and while they allowed themselves to be infuriated against the Poles by false reports about Polish barbarities, the Prussian Government acted on the quiet, and feathered its nest. This German enthusiasm without rhyme or reason merely served to disguise the dirtiest deed in modern history.

That, worthy German, is how you are treated by your responsible Ministers!

Actually however you ought to have known this beforehand. Whenever Herr Hansemann has a hand in something, it is never

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[a] An old German land measure, varying in different localities between 0.25 and 1.23 hectares.—*Ed.*

[b] The Polish name is Odolanów.— *Ed.*

a matter of German nationality, military necessity or suchlike empty phrases, but always a matter of cash payment and of net profit.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 81, August 20, 1848]

*Cologne,* August 19. We have examined in detail Herr Stenzel's report, which forms the basis of the debate. We have shown that he falsifies both the earlier and the more recent history of Poland and of the Germans in Poland, that he confuses the whole issue, and that Stenzel the historian is not only guilty of deliberate falsification but also of gross ignorance.

Before dealing with the debate itself we must take another look at the Polish question.

The problem of Posen taken by itself is quite meaningless and insoluble. It is a fragment of the Polish problem and can only be solved in connection with and as a part of it. Only when Poland exists again will it be possible to determine the borders between Germany and Poland.

But can and will Poland exist again? This was denied during the debate.

A French historian has said: *Il y a des peuples nécessaires*—there are *necessary nations.* The Polish nation is undoubtedly one of the necessary nations of the nineteenth century.

But for no one is Poland's national existence more necessary than for us Germans.

What is the main support of the reactionary forces in Europe since 1815, and to some extent even since the first French revolution? It is the Russian-Prussian-Austrian *Holy Alliance.* And what holds the Holy Alliance together? The *partition of Poland,* from which all the three allies have profited.

The tearing asunder of Poland by the three powers is the tie which links them together; the robbery they jointly committed makes them support one another.

From the moment the first robbery of Polish territory was committed Germany became dependent on Russia. Russia ordered Prussia and Austria to remain absolute monarchies, and Prussia and Austria had to obey. The efforts to gain control—efforts which were in any case feeble and timid, especially on the part of the Prussian bourgeoisie—failed entirely because of the impossibility of breaking away from Russia, and because of the support which Russia offered the feudalist-absolutist class in Prussia.

Moreover, as soon as the allies attempted to introduce the first

oppressive measures the Poles not only rose to fight for their independence, but simultaneously came out in *revolutionary* action against their own internal social conditions.

The partition of Poland was effected through a pact between the big feudal aristocracy of Poland and the three partitioning powers. It was not an advance, as the ex-poet Herr Jordan maintains, it was the last means the big aristocracy had to protect itself against a revolution, it was thoroughly reactionary.

Already the first partition led quite naturally to an alliance of the other classes, i.e. the nobles, the townspeople and to some extent the peasants, both against the oppressors of Poland and against the big Polish aristocracy. The Constitution of 1791[228] shows that already then the Poles clearly understood that their independence in foreign affairs was inseparable from the overthrow of the aristocracy and from the agrarian reform within the country.

The big agrarian countries between the Baltic and the Black seas can free themselves from patriarchal feudal barbarism only by an agrarian revolution, which turns the peasants who are serfs or liable to compulsory labour into free landowners, a revolution which would be similar to the French revolution of 1789 in the countryside. It is to the credit of the Polish nation that it was the first of all its agricultural neighbours to proclaim this. The first attempted reform was the Constitution of 1791; during the uprising of 1830 Lelewel declared an agrarian revolution to be the only means of saving the country, but the Diet recognised this too late; during the insurrections of 1846 and 1848 the agrarian revolution was openly proclaimed.

From the day of their subjugation the Poles came out with revolutionary demands, thereby committing their oppressors still more strongly to a counter-revolutionary course. They compelled their oppressors to maintain the patriarchal feudal structure not only in Poland but in all their other countries as well. The struggle for the independence of Poland, particularly since the Cracow uprising of 1846, is at the same time a struggle of *agrarian democracy*—the only form of democracy possible in Eastern Europe—against *patriarchal feudal absolutism.*

So long, therefore, as we help to subjugate Poland, so long as we keep part of Poland fettered to Germany, we shall remain fettered to Russia and to the Russian policy, and shall be unable to eradicate patriarchal feudal absolutism in Germany. The creation of a democratic Poland is a primary condition for the creation of a democratic Germany.

But the restoration of Poland and the settlement of her frontiers

with Germany is not only necessary, it is the most easily solvable of all the political problems which have arisen in Eastern Europe since the revolution. The struggle for independence of the diverse nationalities jumbled together south of the Carpathians is much more complicated and will lead to far more bloodshed, confusion and civil wars than the Polish struggle for independence and the establishment of the border line between Germany and Poland.

Needless to say, it is not a question of restoring a bogus Poland, but of restoring the state upon a viable foundation. Poland must have at least the dimensions of 1772, she must comprise not only the territories but also the estuaries of her big rivers and at least a large seaboard on the Baltic.

The Germans could have secured all this for Poland and at the same time protected their own interests and their honour, if after the revolution they had had the courage, for their own sake, arms in hand, to demand that Russia relinquish Poland. Owing to the commingling of Germans and Poles in the border regions and especially along the coast, it goes without saying that both parties would have had to make some concessions to one another, some Germans becoming Polish and some Poles German, and this would have created no difficulties.

After the indecisive German revolution, however, the courage for so resolute an action was lacking. It is all very well to make florid speeches about the liberation of Poland and to welcome passing Poles at railway stations, offering them the most ardent sympathies of the German people (to whom had these sympathies not been offered?); but to start a war with Russia, to endanger the European balance of power and, to cap all, hand over some scraps of the annexed territory — only one who does not know the Germans could expect that.

And what would a war with Russia have meant? A war with Russia would have meant a complete, open and effective break with the whole of our disgraceful past, the real liberation and unification of Germany, and the establishment of democracy on the ruins of feudalism and on the wreckage of the short-lived bourgeois dream of power. War with Russia would have been the only possible way of vindicating our honour and our interests with regard to our Slav neighbours, and especially the Poles.

But we were philistines and have remained philistines. We made several dozen small and big revolutions, at which we ourselves took fright even before they were accomplished. We talked big, but carried nothing through. The revolution narrowed our mental horizon instead of broadening it. All problems were approached from the standpoint of the most timid, most narrow-minded, most

illiberal philistinism, to the detriment, of course, of our real interests. From the standpoint of this petty philistinism, the great question of Poland's liberation was therefore reduced to the paltry slogan calling for reorganisation of a part of the Province of Posen, while our enthusiasm for the Poles turned into shrapnel and lunar caustic.

War with Russia, we repeat, was the only possible means of upholding Germany's honour and Germany's interests. We shrank from it and the inevitable happened—the reactionary soldiery, beaten in Berlin, raised their head again in Posen; under the pretext of saving Germany's honour and national integrity they raised the banner of counter-revolution and crushed our allies, the revolutionary Poles—and for a moment the hoodwinked Germans exultantly applauded their victorious enemies. The new partition of Poland was accomplished, and only the sanction of the German National Assembly was still missing.

The Frankfurt Assembly still had a chance to mend matters: it should have excluded the whole of Posen from the German Confederation and left the border question open until it could be discussed with a restored Poland *d'égal à égal.*

But that would be asking too much of our professors, lawyers and pastors who sit in the Frankfurt National Assembly. The temptation was too great. These peaceful burghers, who had never fired a rifle, were, by simply rising or remaining seated, to conquer for Germany a country of 500 square miles and to incorporate 800,000 "Netze brethren", German Poles, Jews and Poles, even though this was to be done at the expense of the honour and of the real, lasting interests of Germany—what a temptation! They succumbed to it, they endorsed the partition of Poland.

What the motives were, we shall see tomorrow.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 82, August 22, 1848]

*Cologne*, August 21. We shall leave aside the preliminary question as to whether the deputies from Posen should take part in the discussion and voting and proceed at once to the debate on the main question.

Herr *Stenzel*, the reporter, opened the debate with an appallingly confused and verbose speech. He poses as a historian and a conscientious man, he speaks of fortresses and field-works, of heaven and hell, of sympathies and German hearts. He goes back to the eleventh century to prove that the Polish nobility has always oppressed the peasants. He uses a few meagre facts from Polish history as an excuse for an unending stream of the most insipid

commonplaces about nobility, peasants, towns, benefactions of the absolute monarchy etc. He defends the partition of Poland in a clumsy and self-conscious manner; he explains the provisions of the Constitution of May 3, 1791, in such a completely muddled way that those members not already familiar with it now know even less about it. He is just about to turn to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw when he is interrupted by the exclamation: "This is too much!" and by the President.

Thrown into complete confusion, the great historian continues with the following touching words:

"I shall be brief. The question is—what are we to do? This question is quite natural" (!literally). "The nobility wants to restore the Empire. It asserts that it is democratic. I do not doubt that this is meant in honesty. However, gentlemen, it is quite natural (!) for certain estates to cherish great illusions. I believe completely in their sincerity, but when princes and counts must join the people, I do not know how the merging is to come about" (why should that concern Herr Stenzel!). "In Poland it is impossible" etc.

Herr Stenzel speaks as if in Poland there were no difference at all between nobility and aristocracy. Lelewel's *Histoire de Pologne,* which he himself quotes, Mieroslawski's *Débat entre la révolution et la contrerévolution en Pologne* and a great many other recent publications could disabuse the "man who has studied history for many years". Most of the "princes and counts" mentioned by Herr Stenzel are precisely those against whom Polish democracy is fighting.

Therefore, Herr Stenzel thinks, the nobility with its illusions should be dropped and a Poland for the peasants set up (by incorporating one Polish district after another into Germany).

"You should, on the contrary, hold out your hands to the poor peasants so that these can rise up and perhaps (!) succeed in establishing a free Poland, and not only in establishing it but also in maintaining it. That, gentlemen, is the main thing!"

Elated with victory, the historian leaves the rostrum accompanied by exultant shouts of "Bravo!", "Excellent!" from the national twaddlers of the Centre groups.[229] To describe the new partition of Poland as a blessing for the Polish peasants, this astonishingly absurd turn of events was of course bound to bring tears of emotion to the eyes of the genial and philanthropic mass in the Centre of the Assembly!

Next comes Herr *Goeden* from *Krotoszyn,* a German Pole of the first water. He is followed by Herr *Senff* from *Inowroclaw,* a fine example of a "Netze brother", devoid of guile. He put his name down as a speaker against the motion tabled by the committee but spoke for the motion and, as a result of this trick, a speaker against the motion lost his turn.

The way the "Netze brethren" behave here is the most ludicrous comedy one can imagine and shows once again what a genuine Prussian is capable of. We all know that the profit-hungry Jewish-Prussian small fry from Posen, who fought against the Poles, acted in close unity with the bureaucracy, the royal Prussian officers and the Brandenburg and Pomeranian squirearchy, in short with all who were reactionary and old-Prussian. The betrayal of Poland was the first insurrection of the counter-revolution, and no one was more counter-revolutionary than the "Netze brethren".

Now let us here in Frankfurt take a look at these rabidly Prussophile schoolmasters and officials with their "God for King and Fatherland",[a] who call their counter-revolutionary betrayal of Polish democracy a revolution, a real and genuine revolution in the name of the sovereign "Netze brotherhood", who trample historical rights under foot and over the allegedly dead Poland exclaim: "Right is on the side of the living!"[b]

But that's how the Prussian behaves: on the Spree by "the grace of God", on the Warta the sovereign people; on the Spree mob riots, on the Warta the revolution; on the Spree "historical right which does not have no date",[c] on the Warta the right of the living facts which date from yesterday—but for all that his faithful Prussian heart is devoid of guile, is honest and upright!

Let us hear Herr Goeden.

"This is the second time that we are having to defend a cause which is so important and so momentous for our country that, had it not of itself turned out (!) to be entirely right as far as we are concerned, it *would have been necessary to make it so* (!!). Our right is rooted not so much in the past as in the *fast beating pulse*" (and especially in beatings with the butt-end) "of the *present*."

"As a result of the" (Prussian) "occupation, the Polish peasants and townspeople found themselves in a state of security and well-being which they had never known previously." (Especially not since the time of the Polish-Prussian wars and the partitions of Poland.)

"The infringement of justice implied in the partition of Poland is completely expiated by the humane attitude of your" (the German) "people" (and in particular by the floggings ordered by Prussian officials), "by its diligent work" (on Polish land which has been stolen and given away), "and in April of this year also by its *blood*!"

The blood of Herr Goeden from Krotoszyn!

"The *revolution* is our right and we are here on the strength of it!"

"The proof that we have been legally incorporated into Germany does not consist of parchment documents, turned yellow with age; we have not been acquired through

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[a] These words are taken from the decree on the establishment of an army reserve issued by Frederick William III on March 17, 1813.—*Ed.*

[b] Modified quotation from Schiller's "An die Freunde".—*Ed.*

[c] This ungrammatical phrase occurred in a speech of the Right-wing Deputy Lichnowski (see this volume, p. 369).—*Ed.*

marriage, inheritance, purchase or exchange; we are Germans, and belong to our fatherland because *a sovereign will* which is rational and just impels us, a will which is based on our geographical position, our language and customs, our numbers (!), our property, but above all on our German way of thinking and our love of our fatherland."

"Our rights are so secure and rest so firmly in the *modern concept of the world*, that one does not even need a German heart to be compelled to recognise this!"

Long live the "sovereign will" of the Prussian-Jewish "Netze brotherhood", a will which rests in the "modern concept of the world", relies on the shrapnel "revolution" and is rooted in the "fast beating pulse" of the present, with its martial law! Long live the German nationalism of the bureaucrats' salaries in Posen, of the plunder of church and state property and of loans *à la* Flottwell!

The oratorical knight of superior rights is followed by the impertinent "Netze brother". Even Stenzel's motion is still too polite towards the Poles for Herr Senff of Inowroclaw; he therefore proposes a somewhat ruder wording. With the same impudence with which he used this pretext to put his name down as a speaker against the motion, he now declares that to debar the Posen deputies from voting was a disgraceful injustice.

"I believe that the deputies from Posen are *especially* competent to take part in the voting, for it is the most important rights of those who have sent us here which are at issue."

Herr Senff then talks about Poland's history since the first partition, elaborating it with a series of deliberate falsifications and gross lies so that, in comparison, Herr Stenzel is a pitiable dabbler. Everything that is tolerable in Posen owes its inception to the Prussian Government and the "Netze brethren".

"The Grand Duchy of Warsaw was set up. The Prussian officials were replaced by Polish officials and, in 1814, hardly a trace remained of the benefits these provinces derived from Prussian rule."

Herr Senff is quite right. "No trace remained" of serfdom or of the cash contributions that Polish districts had to pay to Prussian educational institutions, e.g. the University of Halle, or of the extortions and brutalities perpetrated by Prussian officials who did not speak Polish. But Poland was not yet lost[a] for, thanks to Russia, Prussia began to thrive once more and Posen was again incorporated into Prussia.

"From that time on, the Prussian Government renewed its efforts to improve conditions in the Province of Posen."

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[a] The words are from the Polish national anthem.—*Ed.*

Those who want to know more about this should read Flottwell's memorandum of 1841.[a] Up to 1830, the Government did *nothing* at all. Flottwell found only *four* miles of highway in the whole Grand Duchy! Shall we enumerate Flottwell's benefactions? Herr Flottwell, a cunning bureaucrat, sought to bribe the Poles by building roads, opening up rivers, draining marshes etc.; but he bribed them not with the money of the Prussian Government, but *with their own money.* All those improvements were, in the main, carried through with the aid of private and district resources and, though the Government occasionally contributed some money, this was only a small fraction of the amount it extracted from the province as taxes and revenues from the Polish state and church domains. The Poles, moreover, are indebted to Herr Flottwell not only for the continuing suspension (since 1826) of district council elections, but especially for the gradual expropriation of Polish landowners as a result of the Government buying up the auctioned estates of noblemen and reselling them only to loyal Germans (Order in Council of 1833). The last benefaction of Flottwell's administration was the improvement of the educational system. But this too was a measure designed to further Prussianisation. Prussian teachers were to Prussianise the young noblemen and future Catholic priests in the secondary schools, and the peasants in the primary schools. In an unguarded outburst, Herr Wallach, the *Regierungspräsident* of the Bromberg administrative district, has divulged the purpose of these educational establishments. He writes to Herr Beurmann, the *Oberpräsident,* that the *Polish language* is one of the *chief obstacles* to the dissemination of education and well-being among the rural population. This is indeed quite true if the teacher does not speak Polish.

Incidentally, it was again the Poles themselves who paid for these schools. For, first of all, the majority, including the most important institutes, which did not, however, directly serve the goal of Prussianisation, were founded and endowed by private contributions or by the Provincial Estates and, secondly, even the schools designed to Prussianise the population were maintained out of the revenues of monasteries secularised on March 31, 1833, and only 21,000 talers a year, for ten years, were granted by the treasury.

Herr Flottwell admits, moreover, that all reforms were initiated by the Poles. The fact that the greatest benefactions of the Prussian Government consisted in the collection of large revenues and taxes

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[a] "Denkschrift des Oberpräsidenten Herrn Flottwell, ueber die Verwaltung des Gros-Herzogthum Posen, vom Dezember 1830 bis zum Beginn des Jahres 1841."—*Ed.*

and in enlisting young men into the Prussian military service, is passed over in silence by Herr Flottwell, just as it is by Herr Senff.

In short, all the benefactions of the Prussian Government simply amount to the provision of posts for Prussian non-commissioned officers in Posen, be it as drill-master, schoolmaster, policeman or tax-collector.

We cannot discuss in detail the other unfounded accusations which Herr Senff levels against the Poles, nor his false statistical data. It is sufficient to say that the purpose of Herr Senff's speeches is simply to make the Assembly detest the Poles.

Herr *Robert Blum* follows. As usual, he delivers what is called a *profound* oration, i.e. an oration which contains more opinion than reason and more rhetoric than opinion, and which, incidentally, as a piece of rhetoric—as we have to admit—produces no greater effect than the "modern concept of the world" of Herr Goeden from Krotoszyn. Poland is the rampart against Nordic barbarism ... if the Poles have vices it is the fault of their oppressors ... old Gagern declares that the partition of Poland is the nightmare that weighs on our time ... the Poles warmly love their fatherland and, in this respect, we might take a leaf out of their book ... danger is imminent from Russia ... if the red republic were victorious in Paris and desired to liberate the Poles by force of arms, what then, gentlemen?... Let us not be prejudiced etc., etc.

We are sorry for Herr Blum, but when all these fine observations are divested of their rhetorical flourishes, nothing remains but the most vapid political hot air, be it political hot air on a grand scale and in high style—as we gladly admit. Even when Herr Blum asserts that, to be consistent, the National Assembly must act in Schleswig, Bohemia, the Italian Tyrol, the Russian Baltic provinces and Alsace according to the same principle as in Posen, the argument is justified only with regard to the stupid lies about nationality and the convenient inconsistency of the majority. When, again, he asserts that, if Germany wants to behave decently, she can conduct negotiations on Posen only with an already existing Poland, we shall not deny this, but merely observe that this argument—the only weighty one of his speech—had been advanced hundreds of times before by the Poles themselves and in a much more convincing way, whereas Herr Blum, with great "restraint and indulgent moderation", shoots it quite ineffectively, like a blunt rhetorical arrow, at the callous breast of the majority.

Herr Blum is right when he says that shrapnel is no argument, but he is wrong—and he knows it—when he tries impartially to take a

"moderate" superior standpoint. Herr Blum may not clearly understand the Polish question, but that is his own fault. He is in a sorry plight however, first, when he hopes to prevail upon the majority to demand even a report from the Central Authority, and secondly, when he imagines he will gain anything by virtue of a report furnished by the Ministers of this Central Authority, who, on August 6, submitted so disgracefully to the Prussian desire for sovereignty.[230] To sit with the "extreme Left" one must first of all entirely discard indulgent moderation and refrain from attempts to secure anything, however small, from the majority.

Whenever the Polish question is debated, almost the entire Left indulges, as usual, in declamation or even in extravagant rhapsody, without discussing the facts and the actual content of the question. Yet, with regard to this question in particular, there is ample material available and the facts are extremely convincing. But this requires that one really studies the problem, and one can of course save oneself the trouble, since, having passed through the purgatory of the election, one is no longer accountable to anybody.

We shall return to the few exceptions to this rule in the course of the debate. Tomorrow we shall say a few words to Herr Wilhelm Jordan, who is no exception, but who this time, in the literal sense and for definite reasons, follows the multitude.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 86, August 26, 1848]

*Cologne*, August 25. At last, thank God, we leave the low sandy plain of vapid political hot air and enter the more elevated Alpine regions of great debate. At last we mount the cloud-covered peak where eagles nest, where man finds himself face to face with the gods and looks down disdainfully on the diminutive rabble that far, far below grapples with the few arguments at the disposal of the ordinary human intellect. At last, after the skirmishes of a Blum with a Stenzel, a Goeden, a Senff of Inowroclaw, the great battle begins, during which Ariostian heroes scatter the splintered arrows of their mind all over the battlefield.

The ranks of the combatants open reverentially and Herr *Wilhelm Jordan* of Berlin advances with drawn sword.

Who is Herr Wilhelm Jordan of Berlin?

In the heyday of German men of letters, Herr Wilhelm Jordan of Berlin was one such in Königsberg. Semi-legal meetings were held in

the Böttchershöfchen. Herr Wilhelm Jordan went to one, read a poem of his—"Der Schiffer und sein Gott" [The Skipper and His God]—and was expelled.

Herr Wilhelm Jordan of Berlin went to Berlin. Certain student meetings were held there. Herr Wilhelm Jordan recited a poem—"Der Schiffer und sein Gott"—and was expelled.

Herr Wilhelm Jordan of Berlin went to Leipzig. There, too, some innocuous meetings were held. Herr Wilhelm Jordan recited a poem—"Der Schiffer und sein Gott"—and was expelled.

Herr Wilhelm Jordan, moreover, published several of his writings: a poem "Glocke und Kanone" [Bell and Cannon]; a collection of Lithuanian folk-songs, including some of his own manufacture, in particular songs of Poland written by himself; translations of George Sand's works; a periodical, the incomprehensible "comprehended world"[a] etc.—all this in the service of the renowned Herr Otto Wigand, who has not yet got on so far as his French original, M. Pagnerre; furthermore, he published a translation of Lelewel's *Histoire de Pologne,* with an introduction full of enthusiasm for Poland etc.

The revolution came. *En un lugar de la Mancha, cuyo nombre no quiero acordarme*[b]—in a locality in the German Mancha, in Brandenburg, where Don Quixotes still thrive, a locality the name of which I do not like to remember, Herr Wilhelm Jordan of Berlin proposed himself as candidate for the German National Assembly. The peasants of the district were amiably constitutional men. Herr Wilhelm Jordan delivered several impressive speeches, full of the most constitutional amiability. The delighted peasants elected the great man as their deputy. As soon as he arrived in Frankfurt, the noble "irresponsible" man took his seat on the "extreme" Left and voted with the republicans. The peasants who, as electors, have produced this parliamentary Don Quixote, send him a vote of no confidence, reminding him of his promises and recalling him. But Herr Wilhelm Jordan considers that his word is as little binding as that of a king and at every opportunity continues to sound his "bell and cannon" in the Assembly.

Each time Herr Wilhelm Jordan mounted the pulpit of St. Paul's Church,[c] he in fact recited only a poem—"Der Schiffer und sein Gott"—but this does not mean that he therefore deserves to be expelled.

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[a] *Die begriffene Welt. Blätter für wissenschaftliche Unterhaltung.—Ed.*

[b] "At a certain village of *La Mancha,* which I shall not name"—the words with which Cervantes' *Don Quixote* begins.—*Ed.*

[c] The meeting place of the German National Assembly in Frankfurt.—*Ed.*

Let us listen to the great Wilhelm Jordan's latest ringing of the bell and the most recent roar of his cannon about Poland.

"On the contrary I believe that we must raise ourselves to the *world-historical standpoint*, from which the Posen affair has to be examined in terms of its significance as an episode in the great Polish drama."

The powerful Herr Wilhelm Jordan has, with one move, raised us high above the clouds to the lofty, snow-capped Chimborazo of the "world-historical standpoint" and unfolds an infinite prospect before us.

But, to begin with, he remains for a moment in the commonplace sphere of "special" deliberation, and with much success at that. Here are a few examples:

"It" (the Netze district) "later, as a result of the Treaty of Warsaw" (i.e. the first partition), "came under Prussian rule and has since remained in Prussia, if one leaves out of accout the short interlude of the Duchy of Warsaw."

Herr Jordan speaks here of the Netze district as *distinct* from the rest of Posen. What source does he use here, this knight of the world-historical standpoint, the expert in Polish history, the translator of Lelewel? None other than the speech of Herr Senff of Inowroclaw! He sticks so closely to this source, that he quite forgets that, in 1794, the other, Polish part of Posen "came under Prussian rule and, if one leaves out of account the short interlude of the Duchy of Warsaw, has since remained in Prussia". But the "Netze brother" Senff never mentioned this, and the "world-historical standpoint" consequently knows merely that the administrative district of Posen "came under Prussian rule" only in 1815.

"Furthermore, from time *immemorial*, the western districts of Birnbaum, Meseritz, Bomst and Fraustadt[a] have been German as regards the overwhelming majority of their inhabitants—you can see this even from the *names* of these towns."

And the district of Międzychód, Herr Jordan, was "from time immemorial Polish", as regards the overwhelming majority of its inhabitants—you can see this even from the name, can't you, Herr Jordan?

The district of Międzychód is nothing but the district of Birnbaum. Międzychód is the Polish name of the town.

What backing will these etymological chambers of reunion of the "world-historical standpoint" of the "comprehended world" obtain from the Christian-German Herr *Leo*! Not to mention the fact that Mailand, Lüttich, Genf, Kopenhagen[b] have been "German from

[a] The Polish names are Międzychód, Międzyrzecz, Babimost, Wschowa.—*Ed.*
[b] The German names for Milan, Liége, Geneva and Copenhagen.—*Ed.*

time immemorial, as you can see even from their names". Does not the "world-historical standpoint" also deduce the immemorial Germanity of Haimons-Eichicht, Welsch-Leyden, Jenau and Kaltenfelde "even from their names"? True, he will have trouble finding these primevally German names on the map and when he learns that they denote Le Quesnoi, Lyons, Genoa and Campo Freddo, he will only have Herr Leo, who manufactured them, to thank for his embarrassment.

What will the world-historical standpoint say, if presently the French claim Cologne, Coblence, Mayence and Francfort as primevally French territory? Woe then to the world-historical standpoint!

But let us dwell no longer on these *petites misères de la vie humaine*,[a] they also befall greater men. Let us follow Herr Wilhelm Jordan of Berlin, as he soars to higher spheres. He says of the Poles that one

> "likes them more the further away one is from them and the less one knows about them, and one likes them less the closer one gets to them". Hence the reason for "this affection is not some superior quality of the Polish character but rather a certain *cosmopolitan idealism*".

But how does the world-historical standpoint explain that the peoples of the world do not "like" a certain nation, either when they are "at a great distance from it" or when they "get closer" to it, and that, with rare concurrence, they despise, exploit, deride and spurn this nation? This is the *German* nation.

The world-historical standpoint will say, this is due to "*cosmopolitan materialism*", thus extricating himself.

Quite untroubled by such petty objections, however, the world-historical eagle on his mighty pinions soars higher and higher, until he reaches the pure ether of the idea that exists in itself and for itself, and gives vent to the following heroic world-historical Hegelian hymn:

> "Even if one vindicates history, which in the course of its necessary progress inexorably crushes with its iron heel a nation that is no longer strong enough to maintain its position among equal nations, it would nevertheless be inhuman and barbaric to feel no sympathy when one observes the long suffering of such a people, and I am far from harbouring such callous thoughts." (God will not fail to reward you for this, noble Jordan!) "But it is one thing to be moved by a tragedy, and quite another to attempt to undo this tragedy. It is precisely the fact that the hero succumbs to iron necessity that turns his fate into *true tragedy* and, trying to interfere with the course of destiny and out of human considerations attempting to stay the revolving wheels of history and turn them back once more, is to expose oneself to the danger of being crushed by them. The desire to restore Poland simply because her ruin justly fills us with sorrow, is, to my mind, imbecile sentimentality!"

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[a] Small mishaps of life.—*Ed.*

What an abundance of ideas! What profound wisdom! What stirring language! Thus speaks the world-historical standpoint, once he has corrected the shorthand reports of his speeches.

The Poles have the choice; if they want to stage a "true tragedy" they have to submit humbly to being destroyed by the iron heel and the revolving wheels of history and say to Nicholas: Thy will be done! If, however, they want to rebel and, for a change, try to use the "iron heel of history" to crush their oppressors, then there is no "true tragedy", and Herr Wilhelm Jordan of Berlin can no longer take any interest in them. Thus speaks the world-historical standpoint whose aesthetic knowledge stems from Professor Rosenkranz.

What was the inexorable, the iron necessity which has temporarily destroyed Poland? It was the decline of the noblemen's democracy based on serfdom, that is the development of a big aristocracy *within* the nobility. This was a step forward, as it was the only way out of the antiquated noblemen's democracy. What was the result? The iron heel of history, i.e. the three Eastern autocrats, crushed Poland. The aristocracy was compelled to enter into an alliance with foreign states, in order to cope with the noblemen's democracy. The Polish aristocracy until recently, and partially even up to the present, remained the faithful ally of Poland's oppressors.

What is the reason for the inexorable, the iron necessity for Poland's liberation? It is the fact that the rule of the aristocracy in Poland, which has continued, since 1815, at least in Posen and Galicia, and to some extent even in Russian Poland, is today just as antiquated and hollow as was the democracy of the lower nobility in 1772. It is the fact that the establishment of a form of agrarian democracy has become vital to Poland, not only politically but also socially; the fact that agriculture, the source of existence of the Polish people, will be ruined, if the peasants who are serfs or liable to labour services, do not become free landowners, and the fact that an agrarian revolution cannot possibly be carried through without simultaneously winning a national existence and taking possession of the Baltic coast and the estuaries of the Polish rivers.

And Herr Jordan of Berlin calls this attempting to stay the revolving wheels of history and trying to turn them back once more!

It is true that the old Poland of the *noblemen's* democracy died and was buried long since, and only Herr Jordan can expect that anyone wants to nullify the "true tragedy" of this Poland, but the "hero" of this tragedy has produced a strapping son, and many a foppish

Berlin literary man may indeed shudder at the thought of making his closer acquaintance. This son, who is still only preparing to act out *his* drama and to put his shoulder to the "revolving wheels of history", but who is bound to achieve success, this son is the Poland of the *peasant* democracy.

Some stale literary flourishes, a little imitated contempt of the world—which in Hegel was a sign of audacity, but becomes a cheap and nonsensical platitude in Herr Jordan—in short a sample of the bell and cannon, "sound and fury"[a] expressed in inadequate sentences and, in addition, incredible confusion and ignorance of quite ordinary historical circumstances—this is what the world-historical standpoint amounts to.

Long live the world-historical standpoint and its comprehended world!

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 90, August 31, 1848]

*Cologne*, August 26. The second day of battle provides an even grander picture than the first. True, we miss Herr Wilhelm Jordan of Berlin, whose lips captivated the hearts of all who heard him, but let us be modest, a Radowitz, Wartensleben, Kerst and Rodomont-Lichnowski are not to be despised.

Herr *Radowitz* mounts the rostrum first. The speech of the leader of the Right is short, firm and calculated. No more declamation than necessary. Wrong premises, but concise rapid conclusions based on these premises. An appeal to the *fear* of the Right. Cold-blooded certainty of success which banks on the cowardice of the majority. Profound contempt for the entire Assembly, for the Right as well as the Left. These are the outlines of the short speech delivered by Herr Radowitz, and we understand very well the effect these few icy and unostentatious words were bound to produce in an assembly used to hearing the most pompous and shallow rhetorical exercises. Herr Wilhelm Jordan of Berlin would have been delighted, if with his entire "comprehended" and not comprehended world of images he had produced a tenth of the effect Herr Radowitz produced with his short and, basically, also quite superficial speech.

Herr Radowitz is not a man of "character", not a steadfast worthy, but he is a person with clear-cut, distinct traits; one needs only to read one of his speeches to know him thoroughly.

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[a] Goethe, *Faust*, Erster Teil, "Marthens Garten".—*Ed.*

We have never coveted the honour of being an organ of any particular group of the parliamentary Left. On the contrary, because of the various different elements from which the democratic party has been formed in Germany, we have considered it essential to keep an especially close watch on the democrats. In view of the lack of energy, of decision, of talent and of knowledge we have encountered among the leaders, with a few exceptions, of all parties, we are pleased that Herr Radowitz is at least a worthy *opponent.*

Herr Radowitz is followed by Herr Schuselka. In spite of all previous warnings, he nevertheless makes a touching appeal to the heart. An immensely long-winded discourse, interspersed with a few historical arguments and occasionally some Austrian common sense. On the whole, it has a wearisome effect.

Herr Schuselka has gone to Vienna, having been elected a member of the Imperial Diet which meets in that city. This is the right place for him. If in Frankfurt he sat on the Left, there he will find himself in the Centre. If in Frankfurt he had some influence, his first speech in Vienna will prove a failure. This is the fate of all literary and philosophical great pot-house politicians, who use the revolution only to improve their own position—if for a moment they are placed on really revolutionary ground, they disappear at once.

The *ci-devant* Count *von Wartensleben* follows. Herr Wartensleben steps forth as a portly, honest man overflowing with benevolence, who tells anecdotes about his march as a member of the army reserve to the Polish frontier in 1830, he then turns into Sancho Panza and speaks in proverbs to the Poles, e.g. a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, and, at the same time, he quite innocently manages to slip in the following perfidious remark:

> "What is the reason that even Polish officials were not prepared to take over the reorganisation of the part that was to be ceded? I fear they are themselves afraid, they feel that they are not yet advanced enough to be able to organise the population in an orderly manner, and consequently merely pretend that it is Polish patriotism which prevents them from making even the initial preparations for a happy resurrection!"

In other words, the Poles have, for eighty years, been continuously fighting and sacrificing their lives and property for a cause which they themselves regard as impossible and absurd.

In conclusion Herr Wartensleben is in agreement with Herr Radowitz.

Mr. Janiszewski from Posen, a member of the Posen National Committee, mounts the rostrum.

Mr. Janiszewski's speech is the first piece of truly parliamentary eloquence to be delivered from the rostrum of St. Paul's Church. At

last we hear a speaker who does not simply try to win the approval of the hall, but whose language is marked by true dynamic passion, and who, for this reason, produces an effect quite different from that produced by any of the preceding speakers. Blum's appeal to the conscience of the Assembly, Jordan's cheap bombast, Radowitz's cold logic, Schuselka's genial prolixity, all, without exception, sink into insignificance by the side of this Pole who fights for the existence of his nation and demands the restoration of his legitimate rights. Janiszewski speaks in an impassioned and forceful way, but without declamation. He merely reports facts with the justified indignation, without which a correct description of such facts is impossible and which is doubly justified after the shameless misrepresentations made earlier in the debate. His speech, which in fact constitutes the core of the debate, refutes all earlier attacks against the Poles, makes amends for the mistakes of the supporters of the Poles, leads the debate back to the only real and just basis, and deprives speakers of the Right who are to follow of the most high-sounding arguments in advance.

"You have swallowed the Poles, but, by God, you shall not digest them!"[231]

This striking summary of Janiszewski's speech will endure, as will also the pride with which he replies to the begging speeches of the supporters of the Poles:

"I do not come to you as a beggar, I come relying on my legitimate right; I do not ask for sympathy but only for justice."

Mr. Janiszewski is followed by Herr Kerst, a head-master from Posen. The Pole fighting for the existence and the social and political freedom of his people is followed by a Prussian schoolmaster who has immigrated to Posen and is fighting for his salary. The fine passionate indignation of the oppressed is followed by the trite impudence of the bureaucrat who lives on oppression.

The partition of Poland "which today is called a disgrace" was at the time "a *quite ordinary event*".

"The right of peoples to separate according to nationality is a brand-new right recognised nowhere.... It is only *actual possession* which matters in politics."

These are a few of the pithy expressions on which Herr Kerst bases his arguments. They are followed by the most clumsy contradictions:

"As a result of the acquisition of Posen, a piece of land has been incorporated into Germany which is indeed predominantly Polish", and a little later: "As far as the Polish part of Posen is concerned, it has not asked to be joined to Germany and, as far as I know, you, gentlemen, do not intend to admit this part against its will!"

In this connection he gives statistical data about the population ratio, data which correspond to the famous survey of the "Netze brethren", according to which only those are regarded as Poles who do not speak any German, and all those are deemed Germans who speak a little broken German. Finally comes a most artificial calculation, by which he proves that the minority that voted *for* joining Germany, when the vote was taken in the Posen Provincial Diet—a minority of 17 to 26—was really a majority.

"It is true that under the Provincial Law there must be a majority of $^2/_3$ to pass resolutions. Now, it is true that 17 is not quite $^2/_3$ of 26, but the missing fraction is so small that over such a serious question it cannot really be taken into consideration."!!

Thus, if the minority is $^2/_3$ of the majority, then it is "under the Provincial Law" a majority! The old Prussians will greatly honour Herr Kerst for this discovery.—But in fact the position is this—in order to make an *application*, $^2/_3$ must vote for it. Admission into the German Confederation was such an application. Application for admission was therefore only legal if $^2/_3$ of the Assembly, i.e. $^2/_3$ of the 43 who took part in the division, voted for it. But, instead, almost $^2/_3$ voted against it. But what does it matter? For 17 is almost "$^2/_3$ of 43"!

It is not surprising that the Poles are not so well "educated" as are the citizens of the "*Staat der Intelligenz*"[a] if this intelligent state sends them teachers who are such expert arithmeticians.

Herr *Clemens* from Bonn makes the correct observation that the Prussian Government was not interested in the Germanisation of Posen but in its *Prussianisation*, and compares the attempts to Prussianise Posen with similar attempts in the Rhineland.

Herr *Ostendorf* of Soest, the son of red soil,[b] reads from a compendium of political platitudes and twaddle, he indulges in possibilities, probabilities and conjectures, jumping from one subject to another, from Herr Jordan to the French, from the red republic to the redskins of North America, and puts the Poles on a par with them, and the "Netze brethren" on a par with the Yankees. An audacious comparison worthy of the red soil! Imagine Herr Kerst, Herr Senff and Herr Goeden as backwoodsmen in a log hut with shotgun and spade—what a priceless comedy!

Herr *Franz Schmidt* from Löwenberg mounts the rostrum. He speaks calmly and unostentatiously. This is all the more commendable since Herr Schmidt belongs to a profession which is usually

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[a] See G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie. Vorrede, gesprochen zu Heidelberg den 28sten Oktober 1816*, note.—*Ed.*

[b] Westphalia.—*Ed.*

excessively fond of declamation, i.e. the German Catholic priesthood. Herr Schmidt's speech, after that of Janiszewski, is certainly the best of the whole debate, because it is the most convincing and best informed. Herr Schmidt demonstrates that the committee's display of learning (the content of which we have already examined[a]) hides abysmal ignorance of actual conditions. Herr Schmidt, who has lived for many years in the Grand Duchy of Posen, shows that even with regard to this small district, which he knows in great detail, the committee has made the crudest blunders. He shows that the committee has failed to give the Assembly adequate information about any of the decisive questions and has even called upon the Assembly to make decisions at random without any factual data or any knowledge of the matter. He demands in the first place information about the actual state of affairs. He proves that the proposals of the committee are incompatible with their premises. He quotes Flottwell's memorandum and calls upon Flottwell, who is also present as a deputy, to make a statement should the document not be genuine. He finally makes public the fact that the "Netze brethren" came to Gagern and, by false news about an alleged uprising in Posen, tried to persuade him to bring the debate to a rapid close. True, Gagern denied this, but Herr Kerst has loudly boasted of it.

The majority has taken revenge on Herr Schmidt for his bold speech by seeing to it that the speech was falsified in the stenographic reports. Herr Schmidt himself three times rectified the nonsense inserted in one passage, but it was nevertheless printed. Table-banging against Schlöffel,[b] crude violence against Brentano[232] and falsification against Schmidt—the gentlemen of the Right are indeed subtle critics!

Herr Lichnowski concludes the sitting, but we shall save this friend of ours for the next article; one should not act precipitately when dealing with a speaker of Herr Lichnowski's calibre!

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 91, September 1, 1848]

*Cologne*, August 31. The *bel-homme* of the Assembly, the German Bayard, the knight without fear and without reproach, the ex-Prince (Paragraph 6 of the Fundamental Rights[233]) von *Lichnowski* mounts the rostrum with chivalrously courteous propriety and a self-satisfied smile. With the pure accents of a Prussian lieutenant and with

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[a] See this volume, pp. 337-49.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 18.—*Ed.*

disdainful nonchalance, he divests himself of the few disconnected thoughts he has to communicate to the Assembly.

The handsome knight is definitely a necessary element in this debate. If there is anyone to whom Herr Goeden, Herr Senff and Herr Kerst have still not demonstrated the worth of the German Poles sufficiently clearly, the example of the knight Lichnowski will show him what a disgusting phenomenon—despite the comely figure—is the Prussianised Slav. Herr Lichnowski and the German Poles are kindred spirits; by his mere appearance on the rostrum, Herr Lichnowski makes the dossier more complete. The *slachcic*[a] from Upper Silesia who has been transformed into a Prussian squire from the backwoods provides a living example of what the loving Prussian Government intends to do with the nobility of Posen. Herr Lichnowski, despite all his protestations, is not a German, he is a "reorganised" Pole; he does not speak German, he speaks Prussian.

Herr *Lichnowski* begins with the assertion that he feels the most chivalrous sympathy for the Poles, he pays compliments to Mr. Janiszewski, he upholds the Poles' claim to "the great poetry of martyrdom", and then he suddenly makes an about turn and asks: Why has this sympathy waned? Because "the Poles fought in the first line at the barricades" in all insurrections and revolutions! This is indeed a crime that will no longer be committed once the Poles are "reorganised". Incidentally, we can give Herr Lichnowski the reassuring information that even among the "Polish emigrants" and even among the Polish nobility in exile who, according to Herr Lichnowski, have sunk so low, there are people who have remained entirely uncontaminated by any contact with the barricades.

Now follows an amusing scene.

*Lichnowski*: "The gentlemen of the Left, who trample under foot documents that have turned yellow with age, have, in a conspicuous way, evoked historical rights. There is no justification for stressing one date as against another in the interest of the Polish cause. With regard to historical right there does not exist no date."[b] (Loud laughter on the Left.)

"With regard to historical right there does not exist no date." (Loud laughter on the Left.)

*President*: "Gentlemen, allow the speaker to finish the sentence, do not interrupt him."

*Lichnowski*: "Historical right does not have no date." (Laughter on the Left.)

*President*: "Please do not interrupt the speaker, silence, please!" (Agitation.)

*Lichnowski*: "As regards historical right, no date exists" (cheers and hilarity on the Left) "which could vindicate a greater degree of right than any earlier date!"

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[a] A Polish nobleman.—*Ed.*

[b] This ungrammatical phrase of Lichnowski's is used several times by Engels in this series of articles.—*Ed.*

Were we not justified in saying that the noble knight speaks not German, but Prussian?

The historical right which "does not have no date" encounters a formidable adversary in our noble paladin.

"If we go further back into history, we find" (in Posen) "many districts which were Silesian and German; if we go back still further, we reach the time when Leipzig and Dresden were built by Slavs, and we then arrive at Tacitus, and God only knows, where the gentlemen would lead us if we were to broach this subject."

The world must be in a bad way. The estates of the Prussian knights must be mortgaged beyond redemption, the pressure of their Jewish creditors must have become formidable, their promissory notes must be coming due for payment in rapid succession, public auction, imprisonment, dismissal from service owing to thoughtlessly incurred debts—all these horrors of extreme pecuniary distress must threaten the Prussian knights with inevitable ruin, for things to have come to such a pass that a Lichnowski attacks the same historical right in whose defence he won his spurs at Don Carlos' round table.[234]

True, only God knows whither the bailiffs would convey the lean knights[a] if we were to broach the subject of the historical right governing debts! Yet, are these debts not their best quality and the only one that can serve the Prussian paladins as an excuse?

The *bel-homme* then comes to his subject and observes that, when speaking to the German Poles, one should not "paint a vague picture of a remote and obscure future Poland" (!); he thinks the Poles would not be satisfied with Posen:

"If I had the *honour* to be a Pole, I would every morning and every evening ponder on the re-establishment of the old Polish kingdom."

But since Herr Lichnowski does not "have the honour", since he is merely a reorganised Pole of Upper Silesia [*Wasserpolack*],[235] he ponders on quite different and less patriotic matters "every morning and every evening."

"To be frank, I must say that a few hundred thousand Poles must become Germans, which, to tell the truth, would not, under the present conditions, be a misfortune for them either."

On the contrary, how nice it would be if the Prussian Government laid out a new plantation to grow still more of the wood from which the Lichnowskis are made.

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[a] "The lean knights" (*die magere Ritterschaft*) is from Heinrich Heine's poem *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen*, Caput VIII.—*Ed.*

The moustache-twirling knight continues to talk for some time in the same pleasantly nonchalant manner, which is in the main intended for the ladies in the gallery, but is still good enough for the Assembly as well, and then concludes:

"I have nothing more to say. It is now up to you to decide whether to absorb five hundred thousand Germans or to turn them away ... but in that case, you will cross out the poem of our old national bard: 'As far as the German language rings, and God in Heaven his poem sings.'[a] Strike out this poem!"

It is indeed bad that, when old Arndt wrote his poem, he did not think of the Polish Jews and their German. But fortunately, we have our Upper Silesian paladin. Who is not aware of the nobility's old obligations to the Jews, obligations that have become respectable in the course of centuries? What the old plebeian omitted, Lichnowski, the knight, remembers.

As far as a Polish Jew jabbers of German a spate,
Lends at high interest, falsifies money and weight

—that is the extent of Herr Lichnowski's fatherland!

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 93, September 3, 1848]

*Cologne*, September 2. The third day of the debate revealed a general weariness. The same arguments are repeated without any improvement and the stenographic report would have been dull enough to send one to sleep if the first honourable speaker, Citizen *Arnold Ruge*, had not produced his rich stock of new reasons.

Citizen Ruge moreover [knows] his merits better than anyone else. He promises:

"I will apply *all* the *passion* I possess and *all* my *knowledge*."

He tables a motion; this is, however, not an ordinary motion, not a motion in general, but the only correct motion, the *true* motion, the absolute motion:

"*There is nothing else that can be proposed and that is admissible.* One can choose to do something else, gentlemen, for man is able to deviate from the correct path. By deviating from what is right, man shows that he has free will ... but what is right does not thereby cease to be right. In our case, my motion represents the *only right thing* that can be done."

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[a] From Ernst Moritz Arndt's poem "Des Deutschen Vaterland".—*Ed.*

(In this case therefore, Citizen Ruge sacrifices his "free will" to what is "right".)

Let us closer examine the passion, the knowledge and the only right thing of Citizen Ruge.

"The destruction of Poland is a shameful injustice because it has stifled the remarkable development of a nation that had rendered great services to the European family of nations and in a resplendent way had developed chivalry, one of the aspects of medieval life. The republic of nobles was prevented by despotism from bringing about its own internal (!) abolition, which would have been possible by means of the Constitution that had been prepared during the revolutionary period."

The people in Southern France were, in the Middle Ages, no closer to the people in Northern France than the Poles are now to the Russians. In the Middle Ages, the Southern French, commonly called Provençals, achieved not only a "remarkable development", they even led European development. They were the first modern nation to have a literary language. Their poetry was regarded by all Romance peoples, and even by the Germans and the English, as a model unequalled at the time. They vied with the Castilians, the Northern Frenchmen and the English Normans in the perfection of feudal chivalry and were equal to the Italians in industry and commerce. They did not only develop "one aspect of medieval life" "in a resplendent way", they even produced a flash of the ancient Hellenic culture in the darkest Middle Ages. The people from Southern France have, therefore, rendered not only great, but immeasurable "services to the European family of nations". Nevertheless, like the Poles, they were first partitioned between Northern France and England and later completely subjugated by the Northern French. From the wars against the Albigenses[236] to Louis XI, the Northern French — who were culturally just as inferior to their Southern neighbours as the Russians to the Poles — waged continuous wars of conquest against the Southern French and, finally, conquered the whole country. The Southern French "republic of nobles" (this designation is quite correct for its heyday) "was prevented by despotism" (Louis XI) "from bringing about its own internal abolition", which would have been certainly no less possible there, owing to the rise of the middle class in the towns, than it would have been in the Polish case by means of the Constitution of 1791.

The Southern French fought against their oppressors for centuries — but historical development was inexorable. After a struggle lasting three centuries, their beautiful language was reduced to a patois and they themselves were turned into Frenchmen. Northern French despotism ruled over Southern

France for three hundred years and, only then, did the Northern French make amends for their oppressive rule—by destroying the last vestiges of Southern French independence. The Constituent Assembly divided up the independent provinces, and it was the iron fist of the Convention that first turned the inhabitants of Southern France into *Frenchmen* and, in reparation for their nationality, gave them democracy. What Citizen Ruge says about the Poles is, however, quite literally a fitting description of the three hundred years of oppression:

> "Russia's despotism has not liberated the Poles; the annihilation of the Polish nobility and the exile of so many noble families from Poland has not established democracy or humane conditions of life in Russia."

But the subjugation of Southern France by the Northern French has never been called "shameful injustice". What is the reason, Citizen Ruge? Either the subjugation of Southern France is a shameful injustice, or the subjugation of Poland is not a shameful injustice. It is up to Citizen Ruge to decide.

What is the difference between the Poles and the people of Southern France? Why was Southern France like inert ballast taken in tow by the Frenchmen from the North, even as far as the total obliteration of its nationality, whereas the Poles have every prospect of finding themselves very soon in the van of all Slav nationalities?

As a result of social conditions which we cannot explain in detail here, Southern France became the reactionary section of France. Its opposition to Northern France very soon became opposition to the progressive classes in the whole of France. It became the principal support of feudalism and has remained the backbone of the French counter-revolution up to now.

Poland, on the other hand, became a revolutionary part of Russia, Austria and Prussia, as a result of social conditions which we examined earlier (No. 81).[a] Its opposition to its oppressors was, at the same time, opposition to the big aristocracy in Poland itself. Even the nobility, which was in part still feudal, supported the democratic-agrarian revolution with quite unprecedented selflessness. Poland had already become the focus of East-European democracy, when Germany was still floundering in the ideology of the most insipid constitutionalism and high-flown philosophy.

This, and not the resplendent development of chivalry which belongs to the past, guarantees the restoration of Poland and makes it inevitable.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 350-53.— *Ed.*

But Herr Ruge has also a second reason for the necessity of an independent Poland within the "European family of nations".

"The violence which has been done to the Poles has scattered them throughout Europe and they are everywhere giving vent to their anger over the injustice they suffered ... the Polish spirit has been humanised and purified in France and in Germany (!?): the Polish emigration constitutes *propagation of freedom*" (No. 1). "The Slavs have become capable of entering the great European family of nations" (the "family" is unavoidable!) "for ... their emigration has become the true *apostolate of freedom*" (No. 2). "The entire Russian army (!!) has been infected with modern ideas by the Poles, these *apostles of freedom*" (No. 3.). "I respect the forthright conviction of the Poles, which they have demonstrated throughout Europe, to make *propaganda* for *freedom* with all their might" (No. 4). "Throughout the annais of history they will be honoured for being *pioneers*" (No. 5), "*wherever they have acted as pioneers* (!!!).... The Poles are the *element of freedom*" (No. 6), "which has been tossed into Slavdom; they have *led* the Slav Congress in Prague[237] towards *freedom*" (No. 7), "they have been active in France, Russia and Germany. The Poles consequently constitute an effective element in present-day culture as well, they are effective, and because they are effective, because they are necessary, they are by no means dead."

Citizen Ruge has to prove that the Poles are, first, necessary, and second, not dead. He does this by saying: "Because they are necessary, they are by no means dead."

If one removes a few words—Poles, element, freedom, propaganda, culture, apostolate—from the above lengthy passage, in which one and the same idea is repeated seven times, one can see what remains of the whole bombastic statement.

Citizen Ruge has to prove that the restoration of Poland is necessary. He proves this in the following way: The Poles are not dead, on the contrary they are very much alive, they are effective, they are the apostles of freedom in the whole of Europe. What is the reason for this? The violence, the shameful injustice perpetrated on them, has scattered them all over Europe, where they gave vent to their anger over the injustice they suffered, to their just revolutionary anger. This anger has been "purified" during their exile, and this purified anger has enabled them to become apostles of freedom and has placed them "first at the barricades". What follows from this? Wipe out the shameful injustice, the violence done, restore Poland, and the "anger" ceases, in can no longer be purified, the Poles go home and cease to be "apostles of freedom". If it was only the "anger over the injustice they suffered" that turned the Poles into revolutionaries, then the removal of the injustice will turn them into reactionaries. If the only thing that keeps the Poles alive is reaction to oppression, then remove oppression and they will be dead.

Citizen Ruge therefore proves the exact opposite of what he wants

to prove. His arguments show that, in the interest of freedom and of the European family of nations, Poland must *not be re-established.*

Incidentally, the fact that, when discussing Poland, Citizen Ruge mentions only the emigrants and sees only emigrants at the barricades, throws a strange light on his "knowledge". We certainly do not want to hurt the feelings of the Polish emigrants, who have proved their energy and courage on the battlefield and during eighteen years of conspiratorial activity in the interests of Poland. But we cannot deny that those who are well acquainted with the Polish emigrants know that they are far from being as apostolically freedom-loving and as keen on barricade fighting as they are depicted by Citizen Ruge who, in good faith, repeats ex-Prince Lichnowski's assertions. The Polish emigrants have steadfastly persevered, have endured much and have worked hard for the restoration of Poland. But have the Poles within Poland done less, have they not braved greater dangers, have they not risked incarceration in Moabit and Spielberg, the knout and Siberian mines, Galician butcheries[238] and Prussian shrapnel? But all this does not exist for Herr Ruge. He has not noticed either that the Poles who did not emigrate, have absorbed much more of the general European culture and have understood the needs of Poland, where they have lived all the time, much better than almost all the emigrants apart from Lelewel and Mieroslawski. All intelligent thinking which exists in Poland, or to use Ruge's expression, which "has come to the Poles and upon the Poles", is attributed by Citizen Ruge to their stay abroad. In No. [81][a] we have shown that the Poles did not have to go either to the French political dreamers—who failed in February, thanks to their own phrases—or to the profound German ideologists—who have not yet been able to find an opportunity to fail—in the quest for an understanding of their country's needs; and that Poland itself was the best school to gain an understanding of what Poland needs. It is the great merit of the Poles that they were the first to realise and to propagate the fact that, for all Slav nations, the only possible form of liberation is agrarian democracy and not, as Citizen Ruge imagines, that the Poles "introduced into Poland and Russia" general phrases, such as "the great idea of political freedom, which matured in France, and even (!) the philosophy which emerged in Germany" (and in which Herr Ruge was submerged).

After this speech by Citizen Ruge, the Poles can exclaim: God protect us from our friends and we will protect ourselves from our enemies! But it has always been the greatest misfortune of the Poles

[a] See this volume, pp. 350-53.—*Ed.*

that their non-Polish friends defend them with the worst possible arguments.

It certainly speaks in favour of the Left in Frankfurt that, apart from a few exceptions, the deputies of the Left were perfectly delighted with Citizen Ruge's speech on Poland, a speech which contained the following passage:

"Whether we have in mind democratic monarchy, democratised monarchy (!) or pure democracy, let us not quarrel about this; *on the whole we want the same thing*—freedom, national freedom, and rule of the people!"

Are we expected to be enthusiastic about a Left that allows itself to be carried away when someone says that it wants "on the whole the same thing" as the Right, as Herr Radowitz, Herr Lichnowski, Herr Vincke and all the other fat or lean knights? A Left whose head has been turned with rapture and which forgets everything as soon as it hears a few empty slogans, such as "national freedom" and "rule of the people"?

But let us leave the Left and return to Citizen Ruge.

"So far, no revolution that swept the world was greater than the revolution of 1848."

"As regards its principles, it is the most humane revolution" for these principles have arisen as a result of the glossing over of the most contradictory interests.

"It is the most humane revolution as regards its decrees and proclamations", for they represent a compendium of philanthropical fantasies and sentimental phrases about fraternity produced by all the feather-heads of Europe.

"It is the most humane revolution as regards its actuality", that is the massacres and barbarities in Posen, the murderous incendiarism of Radetzky, the ferocious cruelties committed in Paris by the victors of June, the butcheries in Cracow and Prague, the rule of brutal soldiery everywhere—in short, all the outrages which constitute the "actuality" of this revolution today, September 1, 1848, and which have spilled more blood in four months than was spilled in 1793 and 1794 taken together.

The "humane" Citizen Ruge!

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 96, September 7, 1848]

*Cologne*, September 6. We have followed the historical investigations about the necessity of the existence of Poland undertaken by the "humane" Citizen Ruge. Citizen Ruge has spoken so far about

the bad past, the period of despotism, he has edited the *events* of *irrationalism*; he comes now to the present, to the glorious year 1848, to the revolution, he is now on his home ground, he now edits the "*rationale* of events".[239]

"How can the emancipation of Poland be brought about? It can be brought about by agreements in which the two great civilised nations of Europe participate; they, together with Germany, a liberated Germany, are *therefore* bound to form a new Triple Alliance, for they think the same way and, *on the whole*, want the same thing."

Here, in *one* bold passage, we have the whole rationale of events in foreign policy—alliance between Germany, France and Britain, all three of whom "think the same way and, on the whole, want the same thing", a new Rütli Federation[240] concluded by the three modern Swiss—Cavaignac, Leiningen and John Russell! It is true that France and Germany, with God's help, have meanwhile again retrogressed so far that as regards general political principles their governments "think" more or less "the same way" as official circles in Britain, that stable counter-revolutionary rock surrounded by the sea.

But the countries do not only "think" the same way, they "also, on the whole, want the same thing". Germany wants Schleswig, and Britain does not want to cede it to her; Germany wants protective tariffs, and Britain wants free trade; Germany wants unity, and Britain wants to see her disunited; Germany wants to be independent, and Britain seeks to subjugate her industrially—but what does that matter? "On the whole" they nevertheless want "the same thing"! And as to France, France issues tariff laws directed against Germany and France's Minister Bastide sneers at schoolmaster Raumer, who represents Germany there—hence it is obvious that France "on the whole" wants "the same thing" as Germany! Indeed, Britain and France prove in the most striking manner that they want the same thing as Germany, by threatening her with war, Britain on account of Schleswig and France on account of Lombardy!

Citizen Ruge is ideologically naive enough to believe that nations which have certain political ideas in common, would, just for that reason, conclude an alliance. Altogether, Citizen Ruge's political palette has only two colours—black and white, slavery and freedom. The world for him is divided into two great camps—into civilised nations and barbarians, freemen and serfs. The boundary line of freedom, which six months ago was situated on the other side of the Rhine, now coincides with the Russian frontier, and this advance is called the revolution of 1848. It is in this confused manner that the

present movement is reflected in Citizen Ruge's head. That is how he translates the battle-cry of those who fought at the barricades in February and March into Pomeranian.[a]

If we translate it from the Pomeranian back into German, we find that the three civilised nations, the three free peoples, are those where bourgeois rule exists in various forms and at various stages of development, whereas the "slaves and serfs" are peoples ruled by patriarchal and feudal absolutism. For Arnold Ruge, the *farouche*[b] republican and democrat, freedom denotes the most ordinary "insipid" liberalism, the rule of the bourgeoisie, with perhaps some quasi-democratic forms — so that is the poodle's core![c]

Citizen Ruge argues that France, Britain and Germany must of course be allies, because the bourgeoisie rules in these countries. And if the objective interests of the three countries are diametrically opposed to one another, if free trade with Germany and France is an indispensable condition for the existence of the British bourgeoisie, if protective tariffs against Britain are an indispensable condition for the existence of the French and German bourgeoisie, if, in many respects, similar relations obtain between Germany and France, and if this Triple Alliance amounted, in practice, to the industrial subjugation of France and Germany? — "Narrow-minded egoism, mean mercenary minds," mutters Ruge, the Pomeranian thinker, into his blond beard.

Herr Jordan spoke of the tragic irony of universal history. Citizen Ruge is a striking example of this. He, like the rest of the more or less ideological Left, sees his most cherished pet fantasies, his greatest mental efforts, wrecked by the class whom he represents. His philanthropically cosmopolitan project is wrecked by mean mercenary minds and he himself must, unknowingly and unintentionally, represent precisely these mercenary minds in a more or less ideologically distorted fashion. The ideologist proposes, the shopkeeper disposes. Tragic irony of universal history!

Citizen Ruge then says that France "has declared that, though the treaties of 1815[241] have been torn up, she is nevertheless willing to recognise the territorial division as it exists at present". "This is quite right" for Citizen Ruge has found something in Lamartine's manifesto,[242] which so far nobody tried to find there — that is the

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[a] Paraphrase from Heinrich Heine who spoke about Ruge as a man who knew "how to translate Hegel into Pomeranian". — *Ed.*

[b] Fierce, wild. — *Ed.*

[c] "The poodle's core" (*des Pudels Kern*) — Goethe, *Faust*, Erster Teil, "Studierzimmer". — *Ed.*

basis of a new international right. He explains this in the following way:

"The new *historical* (!) right" (No. 1) "must proceed from this relationship with France. Historical right is the *right of nations*" (! No. 2). "In the case we are discussing (?), it is the new *international right*" (! No. 3). "This is the only correct interpretation of *historical right*" (!No. 4). "Any other interpretation of *historical right*" (!No. 5) "is absurd. There is no other *international right*" (!No. 6). "*Historical right*" (No. 7) "is the right" (at last!) "which is *brought about by history* and *sanctioned by time*, since it" (which?) "annuls and tears up hitherto existing treaties and replaces them by new ones."

In *short*, historical right—edits the rationale of events!

Thus it is written, word for word, in the acts of the apostles of German unity, i.e. the stenographic reports of Frankfurt, page 1186, column one—and people complain that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* criticises Herr Ruge by means of exclamation marks! But this dizzy gyrating dance of historical right and international right was, of course, bound to stun the worthy members of the Left, as they were bound to be filled with admiration when the philosopher from Pomerania called out to them with unshakeable certainty: "Historical right is the right which is brought about by history and sanctioned by time" etc.

"History" has indeed always "brought about" the exact opposite of what had been "sanctioned by time", and the sanction of "time" has always consisted in overturning that which had been "brought about by history".

Citizen Ruge then tables the "only correct and admissible" motion:

"To instruct the Central Authority, in concert with Britain and France, to prepare a congress for the restoration of a free and independent Poland; all powers concerned are to be invited to send their envoys to this congress."

What upright, honest views! Lord John Russell and Eugène Cavaignac are to restore Poland. The English and French bourgeoisie are to threaten Russia with war so as to bring about the liberation of Poland, which at present is a matter of complete indifference to them! At this time of general confusion and disarray, when the effect of every piece of reassuring news causing shares to rise by $^1/_8$ per cent is nullified by six disturbing blows, when industry is struggling against creeping bankruptcy, when commerce is stagnant, when the unemployed proletariat has to be supported by enormous sums of money to prevent it from taking a last desperate stand—at this moment, can the bourgeoisie of the three civilised nations be expected to create an additional difficulty? And what a difficulty! A war with Russia, which has been the closest ally of Britain since February! War with Russia, a war which, as everybody knows, would spell the downfall of the German and French

bourgeoisie! To what advantage? None at all. This is indeed more than Pomeranian ingenuousness!

But Citizen Ruge is absolutely confident that a "peaceful solution" of the Polish question is possible. This is getting better and better! And why? Because the point now is:

> "What the treaties of Vienna *want* must now be put into practice and really carried out.... The treaties of Vienna wanted to maintain the right of *all* nations against the *great* French nation ... they wanted the restoration of the German nation."

Now it becomes clear why Herr Ruge "on the whole wants the same thing" as the Right. The Right also wants the treaties of Vienna carried out.

The treaties of Vienna are the epitome of the great victory of reactionary Europe over revolutionary France. They are the classic form in which European reaction ruled for fifteen years during the Restoration period. They restore legitimacy, monarchy by divine right, feudal aristocracy, clerical rule, and patriarchal jurisdiction and administration. But since victory was won with the help of the English, German, Italian, Spanish and especially the French *bourgeoisie*, concessions had also to be made to the bourgeoisie. While the sovereigns, aristocrats, priests and bureaucrats divided the rich spoils among themselves, the bourgeoisie was put off with promissory notes drawn on the future, which were not honoured and which nobody had any intention of honouring. Instead of examining the real practical content of the treaties of Vienna, Herr Ruge assumes that these empty promises are their true content, and that reactionary practice is merely an improper misinterpretation!

One must indeed be an astonishingly good-natured person to believe, after 33 years, after the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, that these promissory notes will still be paid and to imagine that the sentimental phrases in which the illusory promises of Vienna are wrapped up have still any meaning in the year 1848.

Citizen Ruge appears as the Don Quixote of the treaties of Vienna.

Finally, Citizen Ruge reveals a great secret to the Assembly—it is only the fact that the treaties of 1815 were broken in Cracow in 1846 which caused the revolutions of 1848. Let this be a warning to all despots!

To sum up, Citizen Ruge has not changed in any way since we last met him in the field of literature. He still uses the same phrases which he had learned by heart and repeated ever since he worked as the door-keeper of German philosophy at the *Hallischen* and *Deutschen Jahrbücher*; there is still the same confusion, the same

jumble of views, the same lack of ideas, the same gift of presenting the most banal and nonsensical ideas in a pompous manner, the same lack of "knowledge", and, in particular, the same pretensions to the approbation of the German philistine, who has never heard the like in his life.

Here we conclude our summary of the debate on Poland. To expect us to deal with Herr Löw from Posen and the other great intellects that follow, is asking too much.

The debate as a whole leaves a sad impression. So many long speeches and so little content, so little knowledge of the subject and so little talent! The worst debate in the previous or the present French Chamber or in the British House of Commons contains more intelligence, more expert knowledge and more real content than this discussion, which lasted for three days and dealt with one of the most interesting subjects of modern politics. *Everything* could have been made of it, and the National Assembly simply turned it into political twaddle.

There has indeed never and nowhere been an assembly like this!

The results are well known.[243] Three-quarters of Posen has been conquered but it has been conquered not by force, or "German industry" or the "plough", but by political twaddle, false statistics and timorous decisions.

"You have swallowed the Poles, but, by God, you shall not digest them!"[a]

Written by Engels between August 7 and September 6, 1848

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[a] See this volume, p. 366.—*Ed.*

# THE DANISH ARMISTICE AND HANSEMANN

*Cologne*, August 10. We draw our readers' attention to our article on *Denmark*.[a] The Danish newspapers have furnished us with some quite new disclosures about the behaviour of the "Government of Action" in the armistice affair.[b] So, in one way or another, Herr Hansemann's secret transgressions are coming to light after all.

Written by Engels on August 10, 1848

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[a] See "Kopenhagen, 5. August", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 72, August 11, 1848.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 266-70 and 287.— *Ed.*

# THE GERMAN CITIZENSHIP AND THE PRUSSIAN POLICE

*Cologne*, August 11. It is well known how the Prussian army paid homage to German unity on August 6.[244] The *Prussian police* must not lag behind the Prussian army. Never have there been in its opinion more *German foreigners* or *foreign Germans* in Prussia than since an indivisible German National Assembly, a German Imperial Regent[a] and a German Imperial Government have been meeting in Frankfurt.

Herr *Geiger*, acting Police Superintendent, whose accession to the throne was greeted by us earlier[b] with misgivings, seems to have received the special order to purge Cologne of German *foreigners* and to tolerate only Prussian *subjects* within the walls of the old imperial city. If he is consistent, who will save a person's right of domicile except the police, the army, the bureaucracy and the natives? Herr Geiger himself will not be missing among these "*last of the Mohicans*".

We shall report at a later time about the conflicts the editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Karl Marx*, had with regard to the Prussian right of citizenship.[c] Today we are dealing with Herr *Karl Schapper*, a contributor and proof-reader of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

Herr Schapper has received an invitation to visit the Police Inspector of his district this morning. The Police Inspector informed him that due to an order of Herr Geiger, he would have to leave Cologne and the Prussian state by tomorrow because he is a

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[a] Archduke John of Austria.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 178.— *Ed.*

[c] Ibid., pp. 407-10.— *Ed.*

foreigner. The Inspector informed him at the same time that he would extend the period by a week out of courtesy.

Herr Schapper is not only a German but he is also a *citizen of Nassau* and he is equipped with a Nassau passport *in optima forma.*[a] Herr Schapper resides at Cologne with his wife and three children. His crime consists of being a member of the Democratic Society and the Workers' Association[245] as well as being the proof-reader of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* These are, of course, three crimes all at once.

"*Every German possesses the general German citizenship,*" reads the first paragraph of the German Fundamental Rights[246] which has already been approved. Herr Geiger seems to interpret this in such a way that every German has the right to be expelled from 37 German states. Besides the legislation of the National Assembly, there is now Geiger's legislation!

For Herr *Hansemann,* however, the Minister of action, we have a piece of advice: he may use police methods against deputies at his own discretion, but there is no playing around with the press. It can open the book of the bourgeois past and

> If you are after a little amusement,
> You may go dancing, but I'll play the tune[b]—

no matter how many *Geigers* may threaten with their *violins.*[c]

Written on August 11, 1848

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[a] In all formality.— *Ed.*

[b] Mozart, *The Marriage of Figaro,* English version by Edward. J. Dent, Oxford University Press, London, 1937, Act I, Cavatina Figaro.— *Ed.*

[c] Play on the words Geiger—the name of the Police Superintendent of Cologne—which literally translated means "violinist", and *violine* (derived from the French word *violon* meaning both "violin" and "prison").— *Ed.*

# THE ITALIAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE AND THE CAUSE OF ITS PRESENT FAILURE[247]

With the same celerity with which they were expelled from Lombardy in March, the Austrians have now returned in triumph and have already entered Milan.

The Italian people spared no sacrifice. They were prepared at the cost of life and property to complete the work they had begun and win their national independence.

But this courage, enthusiasm and readiness to make sacrifices were nowhere matched by those who stood at the helm. Overtly or covertly, they did everything to use the means at their disposal, not for the liberation of the country from the harsh Austrian tyranny, but to paralyse the popular forces and, in effect, to restore the old conditions as soon as possible.

The Pope,[a] who was worked on more and more every day and won over by the Austrian and Jesuitical politicians, put all the obstacles in the way of the Mamiani Ministry which he, in conjunction with the "Blacks"[b] and the "Black-Yellows",[c] could find. The Ministry itself delivered highly patriotic speeches in both Chambers, but did not have the energy to carry out its good intentions.

The Government of Tuscany distinguished itself by fine words, but even fewer deeds. But the arch-enemy of Italian liberty among the native princes was and remains Charles Albert. The Italians should have repeated and borne in mind every hour of the day the saying: "Heaven protect us from our friends, we will protect ourselves from our enemies!" They hardly needed to fear Ferdinand

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[a] Pius IX.— *Ed.*

[b] An allusion to the Jesuits.— *Ed.*

[c] An allusion to the Austrians, whose colours were black and yellow.— *Ed.*

of Bourbon, he was unmasked long ago. Charles Albert, on the other hand, let himself be acclaimed everywhere as "*la spada d'Italia*" (the sword of Italy) and the hero whose rapier was Italy's best guarantee of freedom and independence.

His emissaries went to all parts of Northern Italy portraying him as the only man who could and would save the country. To enable him to do this, however, it was necessary to set up a North Italian kingdom. Only this could give him the power required not only to oppose the Austrians but to drive them out of Italy. The ambition which had previously made him join forces with the Carbonari,[248] whom he afterwards betrayed, this ambition became more inflamed than ever and made him dream of a plenitude of power and magnificence before which the splendour of all the other Italian princes would very soon pale. He thought that he could appropriate the entire popular movement of 1848 and use it in the interests of his own miserable self. Filled with hatred and distrust of all truly liberal men, he surrounded himself with people more or less loyal to absolutism and inclined to encourage his royal ambitions. He placed at the head of the army generals whose intellectual superiority and political views he did not have to fear, but who neither enjoyed the confidence of the soldiers nor possessed the talent required to wage a successful war. He pompously called himself the "liberator" of Italy while making it a condition that those who were to be liberated accept his yoke. Seldom was a man so favoured by circumstances as he was. His greed, his desire to possess a great deal and if possible everything led in the end to his losing all that he had gained. So long as there was no firm decision that Lombardy would join Piedmont, so long as the possibility of a republican form of government still existed, he remained in his entrenchments and did not move against the Austrians, although they were relatively weak at the time. He let Radetzky, d'Aspre, Welden, and others seize the towns and fortresses of the Venetian provinces one by one and did not stir a finger. Only when Venice sought the refuge of his crown did he deign to give his help. The same applies to Parma and Modena. Radetzky meanwhile had mustered strength and made all preparations for an attack which, in view of the incompetence and blindness of Charles Albert and his generals, led to a decisive victory. The outcome is well known. Henceforth Italians can and will no longer entrust their liberation to a prince or king. On the contrary, in order to save themselves they must completely discard this useless "*spada d'Italia*" as quickly as possible. If they had done this earlier, and had superannuated the King with his system and all the hangers-on, and had formed a democratic union, it is likely that by now there would

have been no more Austrians in Italy. Instead, the Italians not only bore all the hardships of a war waged with fury and barbarity by their enemies and suffered the heaviest sacrifices in vain, but were left defenceless to the thirst for vengeance of the Metternich-Austrian reactionaries and their soldiery. Anyone reading Radetzky's manifestos to the people of Lombardy and Welden's manifestos to the Roman legations will understand that to the Italians Attila and his Hun hordes would have appeared merciful angels. The reaction and restoration have triumphed. The Duke of Modena,[a] called "*il carnefice*" (the hangman), who loaned the Austrians 1,200,000 florins for war purposes, has returned as well. The people, in their magnanimity, have so often made a stick for their own back, that it is time they got wiser and learned something from their enemies. Although, during his previous reign, the Duke had imprisoned, hanged and shot thousands of people for their political convictions, the Modenese let him depart unmolested. Now he has returned to discharge his sanguinary princely office with redoubled zeal.

The reaction and restoration have triumphed, but only for a time. The people are so deeply imbued with the revolutionary spirit that they cannot be held in check for long. Milan, Brescia and other towns showed in March what this spirit is capable of. The excessive suffering inflicted upon them will lead to a new rising. By taking into account the bitter experience of the past months, Italy will be able to avoid new delusions and to secure her independence under a single democratic banner.

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[a] Francis V.—*Ed.*

# CHARLES ALBERT'S BETRAYAL

The newspapers of Turin, Genoa etc. are loudly complaining that the cause of Italy's freedom and independence has been betrayed by him and by those who up to the very last moment were repeatedly swearing under oath that they would win or die for Italy. What was earlier uttered only by a small handful of men—that Charles Albert is a traitor—is now loudly repeated day after day by the mass of the people and by all those newspapers that have not completely sold out to the perfidious King of Sardinia. This insight will later bear its fruit; this time, however, it has come too late. Since the battles of Goito and Mozambano[249] it became more and more clear to many people as the days went by that the Sardinian was either plotting a betrayal or was totally incapable of carrying out the task that he has undertaken. He lapsed into complete inactivity and whatever was done was against all the rules of common sense, of politics and of the art of war. For a long time now many questions have been obtruding themselves on the public's attention. Some of the answers to these questions have in fact already been given, and others will shortly come to light. Who, for example, constantly obstructed the arrangements for the arming of the whole people? Who distributed and dispersed the Italian army over so many points and neglected to form a reserve-line, with the result that every defeat was bound to lead to ruin? Why did Charles Albert not advance on Vicenza? Why did the army in Valleggio lack bread? Why did the Modenese desert? How did it happen that the Lombardian volunteers did not find a single cannon on the banks of the Mincio? How was it that the cartridges distributed during the battle to several Piedmontese corps could not be used because the bullets were too big? And lastly: how

could Charles Albert, who had long since decided to retreat, still order the destruction of a large number of houses in the suburbs of Milan, to the value of 30 million lire? There is only one answer to these questions, unless we are prepared to assume the most lamentable and incredible incompetence, and that is that Charles Albert behaved just as treacherously and perfidiously in the year 1848 as he did in the year 1821, when he shamelessly betrayed his fellow conspirators and helped to deliver them up to the hangman's rope, to the galleys and to banishment.[250]

Written by Engels on August 16, 1848

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# THE ATTEMPT TO EXPEL SCHAPPER

*Cologne,* August 18.

"We demand a universal German right of domicile and full freedom of movement throughout the German fatherland."

So said His Majesty Frederick William IV in his charter of March 18.[251]

But the King proposes and Herr Geiger disposes. Herr Geiger, acting Police Superintendent of Cologne, is insisting on the expulsion of Herr Karl Schapper on the pretext that Herr Schapper is a citizen of *Nassau* and moreover a German *in partibus infidelium.*[a]

Yesterday a police-sergeant pushed his way into Frau Schapper's bedroom and deposited the following letter, which we reproduce exactly as it was written. What might appear to be incorrectness is perhaps nothing more than a *Prussian* protest against *German* grammar.

Herr Schapper,

I am instructed to inform you that the Police Superintendent still continues to insist that you should leave the city, should you however have any objection to raise against the laws then please lodge an appeal immediately with the Police Inspector, to be sent to him immediately.

Cologne 17/8. 48

*Quetting*
Police-Sergeant

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[a] Beyond the realm of reality (literally "in the country of infidels")—an addition to the title of Catholic bishops appointed to a purely nominal diocese in non-Christian countries.— *Ed.*

Thereupon, Herr Schapper addressed the following note to the Police Inspector:

Dear Sir,

Under the date of the 11th of this month you signified to me that I must leave the city of Cologne within a week, in accordance with the decision of Herr Geiger, Police Superintendent. I had already lodged a protest against the decision on that occasion. You have now communicated to me through a police-sergeant that the said expulsion order still stands but that I may appeal against it. This I am now doing and I base my case on the following reasons.

1) As early as *March 18,* 1848, the day *before* the March revolution, the King of Prussia issued a charter calling on all German states to observe a universal German right of domicile and admit the freedom of movement. No Prussian authority ought to refuse the citizens of another German state what the King of Prussia has demanded for citizens of the Prussian state. The charter of March 18 either has no meaning at all or it implies the abolition of all earlier provisions for the expulsion of non-Prussian German citizens.

2) On July 21 of this year the German National Assembly at Frankfurt adopted Paragraph 2, Article 1, of the German Fundamental Rights[252] in a form which expressly forbids all expulsions of Germans from German cities or states. It says:

> "Every German has the right to *sojourn and make his domicile,* acquire real estate etc., etc. ... pursue any type of employment *in any part of the territory of the Empire....*
>
> "The conditions of sojourn and domicile will be laid down for the whole of Germany ... by a law of domicile issued by the imperial authority. Until such a time as these laws of the Empire are proclaimed, the exercise of the said rights is open to every German in every German state *under the same conditions as apply to the citizens of the state in question.*
>
> "No German state may make any distinction in connection with civil, penal or adjective law between its own citizens and the citizens of any other German state whereby the latter, as foreigners, are treated at a disadvantage."

According to this paragraph I have the right, until the proclamation of the relevant laws of the Empire, to sojourn or domicile in Cologne, a town situated on the territory of the German Empire, and gain my livelihood as a proof-reader under the same conditions as the citizens of the Prussian state. But citizens of the Prussian state can only be expelled from Cologne, under the existing laws, if they have no means of subsistence. I have not been accused of lacking these and if I were I could at any time prove the contrary, since my salary as proof-reader on the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is sufficient to guarantee myself and my family a decent standard of living.

It is not valid to object that the relevant paragraph of the Fundamental Rights has not yet been promulgated. It has all along been the practice of administrative authorities in all constitutional states to suspend the execution of regulations such as the right of expulsion and other restrictions on personal freedom when a resolution abolishing these regulations has been passed by the appropriate Legislative Assembly and only awaits formal promulgation.

We are here dealing, then, with a resolution of the National Assembly which abolishes the powers of expulsion and a royal charter which recognises this resolution in advance. Consequently I believe that I am fully within my rights when I declare

> that I protest against the expulsion order, which was not even communicated to me in writing or accompanied by a statement of reasons, as an illegal act and that I will only yield to force.

Sir, I would ask you to be so kind as to lodge this protest with the appropriate authorities and to forward the decision to me as soon as possible, for if it is ignored I will appeal immediately to the royal *Regierungspräsident* or the Ministry of the Interior and in the last instance to the Berlin Constituent Assembly and the German National Assembly.

Cologne, August 17, 1848

(signed) *Karl Schapper*

The "*cathedral of German unity*", in which the solemn speeches that our great political architects made for three days running culminate, has, as its foundation stone the expulsion of a *citizen of Nassau from Cologne* on the Rhine.

Written on August 18, 1848

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# GEIGER AND SCHAPPER

*Cologne,* August 22. At the request of Police Superintendent Geiger (from Koblenz), Herr Schapper has been ordered to leave Cologne, since he is not a Prussian subject but a citizen of Nassau. The Workers' Association, of which Herr Schapper is an active member, feels compelled to make this cause its own and to protest against the arbitrary expulsion of Herr Schapper. Last Friday the protest was handed over to Herr Dolleschall in the absence of Herr Geiger. Since Herr Dolleschall declared that he knew nothing of the affair, the deputation appointed to deliver the protest was postponed to the following Tuesday, August 22, so as to be able to speak to Herr Geiger himself. Today Herr Geiger received the deputation with the declaration that the matter was no longer in his hands but that following an article in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*[a] the Ministry had asked him, Geiger, for a detailed report on the affair. The report had been sent off today; it was therefore no longer within his powers either to carry out or to countermand the expulsion of Schapper. One member of the deputation believed he understood Herr Geiger to say that Herr Schapper's expulsion order emanated from the Ministry, whereupon Herr Geiger vehemently assured the deputation on his most sacred word of honour that it was *he* who had taken the initiative in this measure. He referred first of all to his special knowledge of the law, since he had earlier been an examining magistrate; but that was not the only reason.

"I believe that I have acted not only as Police Superintendent, but also in accordance with the dictates of reason: *I* have acted as *I myself.*"

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[a] See this volume, pp. 383-84.— *Ed.*

He knew full well, he added, that everything he said would be reprinted in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and given a special interpretation, but that did not worry him: "*I* have acted as *I myself.*" Another member of the deputation pointed out to him that if Herr Geiger had acted as *"I myself"*, then this *"I"* was surely none other than the *"I"* of the Police Superintendent and it was of course possible that this *"I"* was in accordance with the dictates of reason. But the Workers' Association also had an "I", the "I" of 6,000 workers, and this "I" probably carried just as much weight as Herr Geiger's "I" and was likewise in accordance with the dictates of reason. The Workers' Association, he added, protested against a measure that went against all existing laws and the Frankfurt National Assembly. The first member of the deputation demanded that Herr Geiger at least disavow the measure; Herr Geiger refused, and gave the deputation the assurance that for his part, until the Minister gave a reply, Herr Schapper could stay undisturbed in Cologne. Herr Geiger also refused to give an explanation as to how his report had been drawn up. Has Herr Geiger taken different decisions from Herr Gagern and is a citizen of Nassau not a German citizen, who is entitled to settle in any of the 34 German fatherlands?

Written on August 22, 1848

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# THE *KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG* ABOUT ITALY

*Cologne,* August 26. Yesterday we were condemned to having to listen to the political hot air of a writer of belles-lettres, Herr Wilhelm Jordan of Berlin, who lectured from the world-historical standpoint.[a] Fate is pursuing us relentlessly. A similar lot befalls us today: the main achievement of March consists in the belles-lettres writers having monopolised political life.

Herr *Levin Schücking* of Münster, the fourth or fifth wheel on the advertising wagon of Herr Dumont, has published an article in the *Kölnische Zeitung* on "our policy in Italy".[b]

And what does "my friend Levin with the eerie eyes"[c] have to say?

"There has never been a *more propitious* moment for Germany than the present one to place its policy vis-à-vis Italy upon a healthy basis which promises to endure for centuries. We have gloriously" (!by the betrayal of Charles Albert) "wiped off the disgrace with which our flags were besmirched by a people that in times of fortune easily becomes overweening. At the head of a matchless army, worthy of admiration not only in victory and battle but also for its patience and endurance, *barba bianca*, the *White-Beard*, planted Germany's glorious (!?) double-headed eagle on the battlements of the *rebellious* town where more than six hundred years ago the imperial *Red-Beard* hoisted the same banner as a *symbol of Germany's sovereignty over Italy. This sovereignty still belongs to us today.*"

Thus speaks Herr Levin Schücking of the *Kölnische Zeitung.*

In those days when Radetzky's Croats and Pandours were driven out of Milan by an unarmed people after a five-day battle, in those

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[a] See this volume, pp. 359-64.— *Ed.*

[b] "Unsere Politik in Italien", *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 238, August 26, 1848.— *Ed.*

[c] From Ferdinand Freiligrath's poem "Die Rose".— *Ed.*

days when the "army worthy of admiration" which had been routed at Goito withdrew to Verona, in those days the political lyre of "my friend Levin with the eerie eyes" was silent! But ever since the reinforced Austrian army achieved an undeserved victory because of the equally cowardly and clumsy betrayal of Charles Albert, a betrayal which we predicted innumerable times, ever since then the neighbouring journalists have been reappearing on the scene, ever since then they have been trumpeting about the "wiped-off disgrace", risking parallels between Frederick Barbarossa and Radetzky Barbabianca and reducing heroic Milan, which made the most glorious revolution of 1848, to a mere "rebellious town". Ever since then "sovereignty over Italy" belongs to us Germans, to whom otherwise nothing ever belongs.

"Our flags"! The black-and-yellow rags of the Metternich reaction which are being trodden under foot in Vienna, those are the flags of Herr Schücking of the *Kölnische Zeitung*!

"Germany's glorious double-headed eagle"! That selfsame heraldic monster which had its feathers plucked by the armed revolution at Jemappes, Fleurus, Millesimo, Rivoli, Neuwied, Marengo, Hohenlinden, Ulm, Austerlitz and Wagram [253] happens to be the "glorious" Cerberus of Herr Schücking of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

When the Austrians were beaten, they were separatists [*Sonderbündler*] [254] and practically traitors to their country. Ever since Charles Albert was caught in the trap and they have moved to the Ticino, they have become "Germans" and it is "*we*" who have accomplished all this. We have no objections to the *Kölnische Zeitung* having achieved the victories of Volta and Custozza and conquered Milan [255], but then it will also have to assume the responsibility for the — to it — very well known brutalities and infamies of that barbarian army "whose patience and endurance are worthy of admiration", just as it also assumed in former times the responsibility for the Galician slaughter.[256]

"This sovereignty still belongs to us today. Italy and Germany are nations around which nature and history have after all formed a bond. They belong together providentially, being related like science and art, thought and sentiment."

Just like Herr Brüggemann and Herr Schücking!

And it is exactly for that reason that the Germans and Italians have constantly fought each other for 2,000 years. It is exactly for that reason that the Italians shook off German oppression again and again. It is exactly for that reason that German blood has so often reddened the streets of Milan. All this was done to prove that Germany and Italy "belong together providentially".

It is exactly because Italy and Germany "are related" that Radetzky and Welden have allowed the burning and plundering of all Venetian towns!

My friend Levin with the eerie eyes now demands that we surrender Lombardy up to the River Etsch[a] because the people does not want us even if a few poor "*cittadini*"[b] (the learned Herr Schücking thus refers to the *contadini*, peasants) received the Austrians jubilantly. But if we conduct ourselves as "a free people",

> "then it [the Italian people] will gladly offer us its hand in order to let *us* guide it along a path which it cannot enter upon by itself, the path to freedom".

Indeed! Italy which won for herself freedom of the press, a jury system and a Constitution before Germany had awakened from the laziest slumber; Italy which at Palermo fought the first revolution of this year[257]; Italy which without weapons conquered the "matchless" Austrians at Milan, that Italy cannot enter upon the path to freedom without being guided by Germany, which means by a Radetzky! Of course, if it takes a Frankfurt Assembly, a meaningless central power, 39 separatist leagues [*Sonderbünde*] and the *Kölnische Zeitung* to walk the path of freedom....

Enough of that! So as to make sure that the Italians "will let themselves be guided towards freedom" by the Germans, Herr Schücking retains Italian Tyrol and Venetia for the enfeoffment of an Austrian archduke and he sends

> "2,000 South German imperial troops to Rome so that Christ's vicar may restore order in his own domain".

But unfortunately

> The French and Russians own the land,
> The English rule the sea;
> But we in dream's ethereal realm
> Hold sovereign mastery.
>
> Our unity is perfect there,
> Our might beyond dispute.
> The other folk in solid earth
> Have meanwhile taken root.[c]

And up there in the ethereal realm of dreams we also possess "sovereignty over Italy". Nobody knows this better than Herr Schücking. After he has developed this worthy policy of sovereignty for the benefit of the German Empire, he closes with a sigh:

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[a] The Italian name is Adige.—*Ed.*
[b] Citizens.—*Ed.*
[c] Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen*, Caput VII.—*Ed.*

"A policy which is great, high-minded and worthy of a power like that of the German Empire has unfortunately always been regarded by us as fantastic *and thus it will probably be for a long time to come!*"

We recommend Herr Schücking as door-keeper and frontier guard of German honour upon the summit of the Stilfser Ridge. From up there the vigorous literary supplement of the *Kölnische Zeitung* may survey Italy and make certain that not one iota of "Germany's sovereignty over Italy" will be lost. Only then can Germany sleep calmly.

Written by Engels on August 26, 1848

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# THE *ZEITUNGS-HALLE* ON THE RHINE PROVINCE[258]

*Cologne,* August 26. The *Berliner Zeitungs-Halle* contains the following article[a]:

"We recently had occasion to mention that the time has come when the spirit which for so long has held together the old political entities is gradually vanishing. As regards Austria, hardly anyone will call this in question, but in Prussia, too, the signs of the times confirming our observation are becoming daily more manifest, and we cannot turn a blind eye to them. There is at present only one interest capable of tying its various provinces to the Prussian state, namely that of developing liberal political institutions and jointly establishing and promoting a new and free mode of social relations. Silesia, which is making vigorous advances on the road to political and social progress, will hardly be happy in Prussia unless Prussia as a state is entirely adequate to these aspirations. As regards the Province of Saxony we know only too well that ever since its incorporation into the Prussian state it has resented it at heart. And as to the Rhine Province, surely everybody will still remember the threats which the Rhenish deputies made here prior to March 18, and thus helped to precipitate the turn of events. There is a growing spirit of alienation in this province. New evidence of this is provided in a now rather widely distributed leaflet which contains no mention of the publisher or place of publication."

The leaflet referred to by the *Zeitungs-Halle* is presumably known to all our readers.

What must please us is the view—which is at last advanced by at least *one* of the inhabitants of Berlin—that Berlin does not play the role of Paris as far as either Germany or the Rhineland in particular is concerned. Berlin is beginning to realise that it cannot govern us, cannot acquire the authority befitting a capital city. Berlin has amply proved its incompetence during the indecisive March revolution,

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[a] "Das Rheinlands Herz zu Preussen", *Berliner Zeitungs-Halle* No. 194, August 24, 1848.—*Ed.*

during the storming of the arsenal and during the recent disturbances.[259] To the irresolution displayed by the people of Berlin is added a complete lack of talent in all parties. Since February the whole movement has not produced a single man in Berlin capable of leading his party. The spirit in this capital of the "spirit" is indeed very willing but just as weak as the flesh. The Berliners even had to import their Hansemann, their Camphausen and their Milde from the Rhine or Silesia. Far from being a German Paris, Berlin is not even a Prussian Vienna. It is not a metropolis, it is a "seat of the Court".

It is, however, noteworthy that even in Berlin people are coming to the conclusion, long widespread in the Rhineland, that German unity can come about *only as a result of the disintegration* of the German so-called great powers. We have never concealed our views on this point. We are not enraptured with either the past or present glory of Germany, with either the wars of independence[260] or the "glorious victories of German arms" in Lombardy and Schleswig. But if Germany is ever to achieve anything she must unite, she must become *one* state not only in word but in deed. And to bring this about it is necessary above all that there should be "neither an Austria nor a Prussia".[a]

Incidentally, "the spirit" which "for so long held together" us and the old Prussian provinces was a very palpable, crude spirit; it was the spirit of 15,000 bayonets and a number of cannon. It was not for nothing that a military colony of *Wasserpolacken*[261] and Kashubians was set up here on the Rhine, and that our young men had to serve in guards regiments in Berlin. This was done not in order to reconcile us with the other provinces, but to stir up hatred between the provinces and to exploit the national enmity between the Germans and Slavs, and the regional hatred of every petty German province against all the neighbouring provinces, in the interests of patriarchal feudal despotism. *Divide et impera!*

It is indeed time to put an end to the fictitious role assigned to the Berliners by "the provinces", i.e. by the junkerdom of the Uckermark and Further Pomerania, in their panic-stricken declarations, a role which the Berliners promptly accepted. Berlin is not and will never become the seat of the revolution, the capital of democracy. Only the imagination of the knights of Brandenburg, terrified at the prospect of bankruptcy, the debtor's prison and the lamp-post, could ascribe to Berlin such a role, and only the coquettish vanity of the Berliners could believe that Berlin rep-

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[a] From Ernst Moritz Arndt's poem "Der Freudenklang".—*Ed.*

resented the provinces. We acknowledge the March revolution, but only for what it really was. Its greatest shortcoming is that it has not revolutionised the *Berliners*.

The *Zeitungs-Halle* believes that the disintegrating Prussian state can be cemented by means of liberal institutions. On the contrary. The more liberal the institutions are, the more will the heterogeneous elements be at liberty to separate, and the clearer will become the necessity of dissociation and the more evident the incompetence of the politicians of all parties in Berlin.

We repeat, the Rhine Province by no means objects to remaining within *Germany*, together with the old Prussian provinces, but trying to compel it to remain for ever within Prussia, whether it be an absolutist, a constitutional or a democratic Prussia, means making Germany's unity impossible, perhaps means even losing for Germany — we express the general attitude of the people — a large and beautiful territory by attempting to keep it for Prussia.

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# MEDIATION AND INTERVENTION. RADETZKY AND CAVAIGNAC[262]

The armistice[263] concluded as the result of Charles Albert's treachery will expire in about three weeks (on September 21). France and Britain have offered to act as mediators. The *Spectateur républicain*, Cavaignac's paper, writes that Austria has not yet stated whether she will accept or decline the offer. France's dictator is getting annoyed over the discourtesy of the Austrians and threatens armed intervention if by a given date the Viennese Cabinet does not reply, or rejects mediation. Will Austria allow a Cavaignac to prescribe the peace terms to her, especially now after the victory over democracy in Vienna[264] and over the Italian "rebels"? Austria understands perfectly well that the French bourgeoisie wants "peace at any price", that the freedom or bondage of the Italians is altogether a matter of complete indifference to the bourgeoisie and that it will agree to anything so long as it is not openly humiliated and thus reluctantly compelled to draw the sword. It is said that Radetzky will pay a short visit to Vienna in order to say the decisive word about mediation. He does not have to travel to Vienna to do that. His policy has now prevailed, and his opinion will be none the less weighty for his remaining in Milan. If Austria were to accept the basis for peace proposed by Britain and France, she would do so not because she is afraid of Cavaignac's intervention but for much more pressing and compelling reasons.

The Italians were just as much deluded by the March events as the Germans. The former believed that foreign rule at any rate was now at an end; the latter thought that the old system was buried for good and all. On the contrary, the foreign rule in Italy is worse than ever, and in Germany the old system has recovered from the few blows it

sustained in March and it acts with greater ferocity and vindictiveness than ever before.

The Italians are now making the mistake of expecting salvation from the present Government of France. Only the fall of this Government could save them. The Italians are further mistaken in regarding the liberation of their country as possible while democracy in France, Germany and other countries continues to lose ground. Reaction, to whose blows Italy has succumbed, is not merely an Italian phenomenon, it is a European phenomenon. Italy alone cannot possibly free herself from the grip of this reaction, least of all by appealing to the French bourgeoisie, which is the real pillar of reaction in Europe as a whole.

Before reaction can be destroyed in Italy and Germany, it must be routed in France. A democratic social republic must first be proclaimed in France and the French proletariat must first subjugate its bourgeoisie before a lasting victory of democracy is conceivable in Italy, Germany, Poland, Hungary and other countries.

Written by Engels on August 31, 1848 Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 91, September 1, 1848

# THE ANTWERP DEATH SENTENCES[265]

*Cologne*, September 2. Belgium, the model constitutional state, has produced a further brilliant proof of the excellence of her institutions. *Seventeen death sentences* resulting from the ridiculous Risquons-Tout affair[266]! Seventeen death sentences to avenge the humiliation inflicted upon the prudish Belgian nation by a few imprudent men, a few hopeful fools,[a] who attempted to raise a small corner of the constitutional cloak! Seventeen death sentences—what savagery!

The Risquons-Tout affair is well known. Belgian workers in Paris joined forces to attempt a republican invasion of their country. Belgian democrats came from Brussels to support the venture. Ledru-Rollin assisted as much as he could. Lamartine, the "noble-minded" traitor, who was as ready with fine words and ignoble deeds for foreign as for French democrats—Lamartine, who prides himself on having conspired with the anarchists, like a lightning-conductor with the lightning—Lamartine at first supported the Belgian Legion the better to be able later to betray it. The Legion set out. Delescluze, Commissioner of the Department du Nord, *sold* the first column to Belgian railway officials; the train in which it travelled was treacherously hauled into Belgian territory right into the midst of the Belgian bayonets. The second column was led by *three Belgian spies* (we were told this by a member of the Paris Provisional Government, and the course of events confirms it), and these treacherous leaders brought it into a forest on Belgian territory, where an ambush of loaded guns was waiting for it. The column was shot to pieces and most of its members were captured.

This tiny episode of the 1848 revolution—an episode which assumed a farcical aspect as a result of the many betrayals and the magnitude ascribed to it in Belgium—served the Brussels judiciary as

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[a] *Hoffnungsvolle Toren* (hopeful fools)—from Goethe's poem "Prometheus".—*Ed.*

a canvas on which to embroider the most colossal plot that was ever devised. Old General Mellinet, the liberator of Antwerp, Tedesco and Ballin, in short the most resolute and most active democrats of Brussels, Liége and Ghent, were implicated. M. Bavay would even have M. Jottrand of Brussels dragged into it, had not the latter known things and possessed documents whose publication would greatly compromise the entire Belgian Government, the wise Leopold included.

Why were these democrats arrested, why were these most monstrous proceedings started against men who had as little to do with the whole affair as the jurymen who faced them? It was meant to scare the Belgian bourgeoisie and, under cover of this scare, to collect the excessive taxes and compulsory loans, which are the cement of the glorious Belgian political edifice, and the payments on which were rather behindhand.

In short, the accused were arraigned before the Antwerp jury, the élite of the Flemish faro-playing fraternity, who lack both the *élan* of French political dedication and the cool assurance of magnificent English materialism, i.e. before those dried-cod merchants who spend their whole life vegetating in philistine utilitarianism, in the most short-sighted and timid profiteering. The great Bavay knew his men and appealed to their fear.

Indeed, had anyone ever seen a republican in Antwerp? Now thirty-two of the monsters faced the terrified men of Antwerp, and the trembling jury in concert with the wise bench consigned seventeen of the accused to the tender mercies of Article 86 and others of the *Code pénal*, i.e. the death sentence.

Mock trials were also held during the Reign of Terror in 1793, and convictions based on other facts than those officially stated did occur, but even the fanatical Fouquier-Tinville did not conduct a trial so distinguished by clumsy barefaced lies and blind partisan hatred. Moreover, is Belgium in the grip of a civil war and are the armies of half Europe assembled at her frontiers conspiring with the rebels, as was the case in France in 1793? Is the country in danger? Has a crack appeared in the crown? On the contrary, no one intends to subjugate Belgium, and the wise Leopold still drives every day without an escort from Laeken to Brussels and from Brussels to Laeken.

What has the 81-year-old Mellinet done to be sentenced to death by jury and judges? The old soldier of the French Republic saved the last spark of Belgian honour in 1831. He liberated Antwerp and in return Antwerp condemns him to death! His only sin is that he defended his old friend Becker against the insinuations of the Belgian official press and did not change his friendly attitude

towards Becker even when the latter was plotting in Paris. Mellinet was in no way connected with the plot. And because of this he is without further ado sentenced to death.

As to Ballin, he was a friend of Mellinet's, often visited him, and was seen in the company of Tedesco in a coffee-house. Reason enough to sentence him to death.

And finally Tedesco. Had he not visited the German Workers' Association,[267] did he not associate with people on whom the Belgian police had planted stage daggers? Had he not been seen with Ballin in a coffee-house? The case was established—Tedesco had provoked the great battle of Risquons-Tout—to the scaffold with him!

And so with the others.

We are proud of being able to call many of these "conspirators", sentenced to death only because they are democrats, our friends. If the venal Belgian press slings mud at them, then we, at least, want to vindicate their honour before the face of German democracy; if their country disowns them, we want to acclaim them.

When the President of the Court pronounced the death sentence on them, they passionately exclaimed: "Long live the republic!" Throughout the whole procedure and the reading of the sentence they behaved with truly revolutionary steadfastness.

And now listen to what the wretched Belgian press has to say:

"The verdict," writes the *Journal d'Anvers*, "has caused no more of a sensation in the city than the entire trial, which aroused hardly any interest. Only among the working classes" (read: the lumpenproletariat) "can one find sentiments hostile to the paladins of the republic; the rest of the population hardly took any notice of it. The attempt to bring about a revolution does not cease to appear absurd to them even after the death sentence, which, in any case, no one believes will be executed."

To be sure, if the citizens of Antwerp were afforded the interesting spectacle of watching the guillotining of seventeen republicans headed by old Mellinet, their liberator, then they would certainly have taken notice of the trial.

The savagery of the Belgian Government, the Belgian jury and law-courts lies precisely in the fact that they play with death sentences.

The *Libéral Liégeois* says: "The Government wanted to show its *strength*, but it has merely demonstrated its *savagery*."

But then that has always been the lot of the Flemish nation.

Written by Engels on September 2, 1848 Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 93, September 3, 1848

# THE CONFLICT BETWEEN MARX AND PRUSSIAN CITIZENSHIP[268]

*Cologne*, September 4. As has already been mentioned earlier,[a] Karl Marx, the editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, has become involved in a conflict with Prussian citizenship. This affair is a new example of the way in which the attempt is made to conjure away the promises of March. How the matter stands emerges from the following document that Marx has sent to the Minister of the Interior, Herr Kühlwetter:

Dear Minister,

Permit me to protest against a decision of the local royal administration which affects me personally.

I left my homeland, Rhenish Prussia, during the year 1843 in order to settle for the time being in Paris. In 1844 I learned that the royal *Oberpräsidium* in Koblenz had sent to the respective border police authorities an order to arrest me because of my writings. This piece of news was also published in the censured Berlin newspapers.

From that moment on, I regarded myself as a political refugee. Later on, in January 1845, I was expelled from France at the direct instigation of the then Prussian Government and settled in Belgium.

Since here too the Prussian Government applied to the Belgian Ministry for my expulsion, I was finally forced to relinquish Prussian nationality. I had to use this last expedient in order to escape these persecutions. The best proof that I only asked for permission to emigrate in self-defence is the fact that I did not accept citizenship in

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[a] See this volume, p. 383.— *Ed.*

any other state even though it was offered to me by members of the Provisional Government in France after the February revolution.

After the March revolution, I returned to my homeland and applied for citizenship in Cologne in the month of April. It was readily granted to me by the local City Council. Under the law of December 31, 1842, the matter was sent for confirmation to the royal administration. I then received from the local acting Police Superintendent, Herr Geiger, a communication which reads as follows:

"Dear Sir,

"I am herewith informing you that in view of your position up to now the royal administration has for the present not used in your favour Paragraph 5 of the law of December 31, 1842, which authorises it to bestow the status of a Prussian subject upon a foreigner. You are therefore still to be regarded as a foreigner. (Paragraphs 15 and 16 of the cited law.)

Cologne, August 3, 1848
acting Police Superintendent
(signed) Geiger

To
Dr. Marx, Esquire,
No. 2678."

I regard the decision of the royal administration as unlawful on the following grounds:

Under the decision of the Federal Diet of March 30 of this year, political refugees, too, may vote for and be elected to the German National Assembly provided they return to Germany and declare that they want to resume their German citizenship.[269]

The decision of the Preparliament,[270] which it is true does not have a direct legal force but nevertheless sets the standard of the prospects and promises which were held out to the German people immediately after the revolution, accords the right to vote and to be elected even to all those political refugees who became *citizens abroad* but want to resume their German citizenship.

In any case, the decision of the Federal Diet and the electoral regulations of the Camphausen Government which are based upon it, are legally valid in Prussia.

Since I declared clearly enough my intention to resume my German citizenship by virtue of my application to obtain the right to reside in Cologne, it is an established fact that I had the right to vote for and to be elected to the German National Assembly. Thus I at least possess citizenship rights in the German Empire.

If, however, I possess the greatest right which a German can

possess, so much less reason is there for refusing me the lesser right of *Prussian* citizenship.

The royal administration at Cologne refers to the law of December 31, 1842. This law, taken together with the above-mentioned decision of the Federal Diet, also speaks in my favour.

Under Paragraph 15, 1 and 3, a subject loses his Prussian citizenship if he asks to be relieved of it or if he has resided abroad for ten years. After the revolution many political refugees who had been abroad for more than ten years returned home and so had lost their rights as Prussians under Paragraph 15 of the above-mentioned law as much as I have. Some of them, Herr J. Venedey, for example, even sit in the German National Assembly. Thus, if they wanted to, the Prussian "police authorities" (Paragraph 5 of the law) could likewise refuse Prussian citizenship to these German legislators!

Finally, I deem it to be thoroughly improper that the local royal administration or Police Superintendent Geiger uses the word "subject" in the notice sent to me, considering that both the former and the present Ministry have barred this designation from all official documents and speak instead only of citizens. It is equally improper, disregarding for the moment my right to Prussian citizenship, to label me, a citizen of the German Empire, as a "foreigner".

Furthermore, if the royal administration "in view of my position up to now" refuses to confirm my Prussian citizenship, it cannot refer to my material circumstances since, even according to the text of the law of December 31, 1842, only the City Council of Cologne could decide this issue and has done so in my favour. Thus it can only refer to my activities as editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and that means in view of my democratic attitude and my opposition to the present Government. But even if the local district administration or the Ministry of the Interior in Berlin should have the authority, which I deny, to withhold from me my Prussian citizenship because this is a special case which comes under the decision of the Federal Diet of March 30, such tendentious reasons could only be employed in the old police state, not however by revolutionary Prussia and her responsible Government.

Finally, I must mention that Police Superintendent Müller, upon my comment that I could not transfer my family from Trier to Cologne under these uncertain circumstances, assured me that there would be no objections to my renaturalisation.

For all of these reasons I demand that you, Herr Minister, instruct the local royal district administration to confirm my right (request) to

take up residence which was approved by the local City Council, and thereby to restore my Prussian citizenship to me.

Please, Herr Minister, accept the assurances of my perfect esteem.

Cologne, August 22, 1848

*Karl Marx*

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# THE DANISH ARMISTICE[271]

*Cologne*, September 7.

"What will become of Germany if she is no longer led by Prussia, if Prussia's armies no longer protect Germany's honour, if Prussia's strength and influence as a great power perish in the fanciful might of an imaginary German Central Authority!"

Thus boasts the Prussian party, the party of the heroes "with God for King and Fatherland",[a] the counter-revolutionary knighthood of Further Pomerania and the Uckermark.

Well, Prussia *has* led, Prussia has protected Germany's honour, in Schleswig-Holstein.

And what was the result? After a series of easy, inglorious victories over a weak enemy, after a warfare which was paralysed by the most pusillanimous diplomacy, after the most disgraceful retreats before a *beaten* army, finally, an armistice which is so dishonourable for Germany that even a *Prussian* general[b] found reason not to sign it.

The hostilities and negotiations began anew. The Imperial Regent[c] authorised the Prussian Government to conclude an armistice. This authorisation *had not been countersigned by any of the Imperial Ministers* and it did not therefore possess *any validity whatsoever*. It recognised the first armistice, but with the following modifications: 1. Even before the conclusion of the armistice, the members of the new Government of Schleswig-Holstein "are to be agreed upon in such a manner that the permanency and the salutary

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[a] From Frederick William III's decree on the formation of an army reserve, issued on March 17, 1813.— *Ed.*

[b] Wrangel.— *Ed.*

[c] Archduke John of Austria.— *Ed.*

effectiveness of the new Government appear safeguarded". 2. All the laws and decrees of the Provisional Government issued before the conclusion of the armistice are to retain full validity. 3. All the troops that remain behind in Schleswig-Holstein are to remain under the command of the German commander-in-chief.

If one compares this directive with the stipulations of the first Prussian-Danish project, then its purpose becomes quite evident. It certainly does not secure all that victorious Germany could have demanded, but by making quite a few concessions for form's sake, it saves many matters in effect.

The first stipulation was intended to guarantee that within the new Government the Schleswig-Holstein (German) influence would retain predominance over the Danish. And what does Prussia do? It agrees that Karl *Moltke*, the *head of the Danish party* in Schleswig-Holstein, becomes the head of the new Government and that Denmark obtains *three* votes in the Government against *two* for Schleswig-Holstein.

The second stipulation was supposed to accomplish the recognition although not of the Provisional Government itself which had been recognised by the Federal Diet, but of its activity up to now. Its decisions were to be maintained. And what does Prussia do? Under the pretext that Denmark, too, will drop its illusory decisions issued from Copenhagen for the duchies, and which never acquired even the shadow of legal force except upon the Island of Alsen,[a] under this pretext, counter-revolutionary Prussia agrees to nullify all decisions of the Provisional Government.

The third stipulation finally was to bring about the provisional recognition of the unity of the duchies and their incorporation into Germany. By placing all troops remaining in Schleswig and Holstein under the German commander-in-chief, it was supposed to thwart the attempt of the Danes to smuggle the Schleswigers serving in the Danish army back into Schleswig. And Prussia? Prussia agrees to separate the Schleswig troops from the Holstein troops, to remove them from the supreme command of the German general and to put them simply at the disposal of the new Government which is $^3/_5$th Danish.

Besides, Prussia was only authorised to conclude an armistice of three months (Article 1 of the original draft) but concluded one of seven months on its own authority, i.e. it granted a truce to the Danes during the winter months when the chief weapon of the Danes, their fleet, became useless for a blockade of the German and Schleswig

[a] The Danish name is Als.— *Ed.*

coasts and during a time when the cold would have enabled the Germans to cross the ice of the Little Belt, to conquer Fünen[a] and to limit Denmark to Zealand.

In short, Prussia has spurned its authority in respect of all three points. And then why not? After all, it *had not been countersigned*! And did not Herr Camphausen, the Prussian envoy to the Central Authority, state point-blank in his communication of September 2 to "His Excellency"(!!) Herr Heckscher that on the basis of that authority the Prussian Government

"considered itself empowered *to negotiate without any restrictions*"?

But that is not all. The Imperial Regent sends "his" Under-Secretary of State Max Gagern to Berlin and from there to Schleswig in order to supervise the negotiations. He sends along with him an authorisation which once again is *not countersigned*. Herr Gagern—we do not know how he was treated in Berlin—arrives in the duchies. The Prussian negotiators are in Malmö. He is not told anything. The ratifications are exchanged in Lübeck. Herr Gagern is informed that this has taken place and that he can now calmly go home again. Naturally there is nothing left to do for the unfortunate Gagern with his not countersigned authorisation but to return to Frankfurt and to bemoan the shabby role which he has played.

Thus the glorious armistice was born which ties the Germans' hands during the most favourable time for war, which dissolves the revolutionary Government and democratic Constituent Assembly of Schleswig-Holstein, which destroys all decrees of this Government — a Government that the Federal Diet had recognised — which delivers the duchies to a Danish Government led by the hated Moltke, which pulls the Schleswig troops out of their regiments, withdraws them from the German supreme command and delivers them up to the Danish Government that may dissolve them at its discretion, which forces the German troops to withdraw from Königsau[b] to Hanover and Mecklenburg and which delivers Lauenburg into the hands of the old reactionary Danish Government.*

Not just Schleswig-Holstein, but all Germany, with the exception of old parts of Prussia, is enraged about this ignominious armistice.

* This trick was accomplished in the following way: the old Government was dissolved. Thereupon Denmark re-elected the first, Prussia the second and both of them together the third member of the old Government.— *Note by Engels.*

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[a] The Danish name is Fyn.— *Ed.*
[b] The Danish name is Kongeaa.— *Ed.*

The Imperial Government, to be sure, trembled at first upon being informed about it by Herr Camphausen but in the end it shouldered the responsibility for it after all. What else could it have done? Herr Camphausen seems to have threatened and official Prussia is still a power for the cowardly counter-revolutionary Imperial Government. But now it was the turn of the National Assembly. Its approval was necessary, and edifying as this Assembly is, "His Excellency" Herr Heckscher was nevertheless ashamed to come forward with this official document. He read it aloud to the accompaniment of a thousand bows and the most humble pleas for calm and moderation. The result was a general outburst. Even the Right Centre, indeed a part of the Right and Herr *Dahlmann* himself flew into the most violent fit of anger. The committees were ordered to report within 24 hours. In view of this report, it was decided to discontinue immediately the retreat of the troops. No decision has yet been taken concerning the armistice itself.

The National Assembly for once has finally passed an energetic resolution even though the Government declared that it would resign, if the resolution is carried. This resolution is not the cancellation but a *breach* of the armistice. In the duchies it will create not only excitement but open opposition to the execution of the armistice and to the new Government and it will bring about new complications.

But we have little hope that the Assembly will repudiate the armistice. Herr Radowitz only needs to obtain nine votes from the Centre and he has a majority. And should he not be able to do that during the few days when the matter rests?

If the Assembly decides to uphold the armistice, we shall have the proclamation of a republic and civil war in Schleswig-Holstein, the subjugation of the Central Authority by Prussia, the universal contempt of all Europe for the Central Authority and the Assembly and yet just enough complications as will suffice to crush any future Imperial Government under unsolvable difficulties.

If it decides to discard the armistice, we shall have another European war, a rupture between Prussia and Germany, new revolutions, the disintegration of Prussia and the *genuine unification of Germany.* The Assembly should not let itself be intimidated: at least two-thirds of Prussia supports Germany.

But will the representatives of the bourgeoisie at Frankfurt not rather swallow any insult and will they not rather place themselves under Prussian servitude than risk a European revolutionary war and expose themselves to new storms which would endanger their own class rule in Germany?

We believe that they will. Their cowardly bourgeois nature is too powerful. We do *not* have enough confidence in the Frankfurt Assembly to believe that it will redeem in Schleswig-Holstein Germany's honour which it has already sacrificed in Poland.

Written by Engels on September 7, 1848

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# EDITORIAL NOTE ACCOMPANYING THE ARTICLE "THE FINANCIAL PROJECT OF THE LEFT" [272]

We find it hard to understand that deputies on the Left submit financial plans for the procurement of the necessary funds to a Ministry that they intend to overthrow. The principal and in Herr Hansemann's case perhaps the only means of overthrowing a Ministry is precisely the *refusal* of funds. If at least some reforms had been included in the financial plan—but no, its aim is to spare the Government the hated measure of a compulsory loan. But what could be better for the opposition than the Ministry making itself hated?

Written by Engels on September 8, 1848

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# THE FALL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ACTION

**Cologne, September 8, 10 p. m. The Government of Action has fallen. After it had "stumbled" several times, it was only able to stay in office by insolence.** Finally, the constantly rising pretensions of the Government revealed the secret of its existence to the Assembly.

In yesterday's session of the Agreement Assembly **Stein's motion**[273] was debated. The motion reads:

> "It was the urgent duty of the Government to issue without more ado the decree which was approved on August 9 to pacify the country and avoid a break with the Assembly."

The Government declared that it would not consider any attempt at whitewashing or mediation.

The Left declared that it would walk out if the Assembly were to drop its resolution of August 9.

After a meaningless speech by the Prime Minister,[a] Deputy *Unruh* introduced the following amendment at yesterday's session:

> "Taking into account that the resolutions of August 9 do not constitute any investigation into attitudes or any constraint of conscience, but that they merely intend to bring about the agreement between the people and the army which is necessary in a constitutional state and that it is their purpose to avoid reactionary endeavours as well as further conflicts between the citizens who belong to the army and those who are civilians",

the Assembly declares

**"that the Government does not possess the confidence of the country if it hesitates any further to issue to the army a decree which corresponds to the resolution of August 9."**

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[a] Rudolf von Auerswald.—*Ed.*

This amendment of the **Left Centre** was opposed by a second one from the **Right Centre** advanced by Deputy Tamnau.

It reads:

> "The National Assembly wishes to make the following declaration: by its resolution of August 9 of this year, the National Assembly intended to bring about a decree to the commanders of the army similar to the one promulgated by the Ministries of Finance and of the Interior to the *Regierungspräsidenten* on July 15. It does not intend to oblige the officers of the army to set forth their political views or to prescribe to the Minister of War the text of the decree. **It regards such a decree, in which the officers of the army are warned against reactionary and republican endeavours, as necessary in the interest of civil peace and for the advancement of the new constitutional state system."**

After the debate had gone on for some time, the "noble" *Schreckenstein* declared on behalf of the Government that he **agreed** with the **Tamnau** amendment. And this after the proud protestation that it would not accept any mediation!

After the debate had continued again for some time and after even Herr *Milde* had warned the Assembly not to become a **revolutionary National Convention** (Herr Milde's fear is entirely superfluous!) a vote is taken with an enormous throng of people pressing towards the meeting hall:

The result of the division:

The **Unruh amendment** was **rejected** by 320 votes to 38.

The **Tamnau amendment** was **rejected** by 210 votes to 156.

**The Stein motion was adopted by 219 votes to 152. The majority against the Ministers**:

**67 votes.**

One of our Berlin correspondents reports:

Today the excitement in the city was great. Thousands of people surrounded the meeting house of the Assembly, so that, when the President read the quite loyal address of the civic militia, Herr Reichensperger moved that the Assembly shift its sessions to another town since Berlin was endangered.

Indescribable rejoicing broke out when news of the Government's defeat became known to the assembled crowd, and when the deputies of the Left came out, they were accompanied as far as Unter den Linden by incessant "*Vivats!*" But when Deputy Stein (the mover of today's vote) was caught sight of, the enthusiasm reached its climax. Several men from the people immediately lifted him upon their shoulders and carried him thus in a triumphal procession to his hotel in the Taubenstrasse. Thousands of people joined this procession and to the accompaniment of endless hurrahs the masses rolled across the Opera House Square. Never before has such an

expression of joy been seen here. The greater the previous anxiety about success, the more surprising the brilliant victory.

Against the Government voted: the Left, the Left Centre (the Rodbertus-Berg party) and the Centre (Unruh, Duncker, Kosch). The President[a] voted for the Government on all three issues. According to this, a Waldeck-Rodbertus Government will enjoy an absolute majority.

Thus in a few days we shall have the pleasure of seeing the author of the compulsory loan, the Minister of action, "*His Excellency*" Herr Hansemann, pass through here in order to return to his "bourgeois[b] past" and to reflect on Duchâtel and Pinto.

Camphausen fell respectably. Herr Hansemann who brought about Camphausen's fall by his intrigues, Herr Hansemann has met with a very sad end! Poor Hansemann-Pinto!

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[a] Wilhelm Grabow.— *Ed.*
[b] In the original *bürgerlich*, which can mean "civil" or "bourgeois".— *Ed.*

## HIS SUCCESSORS

*Cologne*, September 9. So the prospect is held out of a Waldeck-Rodbertus Ministry. We do not believe it. The King[a] will hardly submit to these gentlemen's demands, especially since his journey to Cologne.[274] Consequently there is no other choice than Radowitz and Vincke, an open break with the Assembly, an open break with the revolution—and there is no need to say what will follow next.

Written by Engels on September 9, 1848

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

# THE DANISH-PRUSSIAN ARMISTICE[275]

*Cologne,* September 9. Again we revert to the Danish armistice—we are given time to do this owing to the thoroughness of the National Assembly, which, instead of taking prompt and energetic decisions and *compelling* the appointment of new Ministers, allows the committees to deliberate in the most leisurely manner and leaves the solution of the government crisis to God—a thoroughness which barely conceals "our dear friends' lack of courage".[a]

The war in Italy was always unpopular with the democratic party, and has for a long time been unpopular even with the democrats of Vienna. The storm of public indignation over the war of extermination in Posen could be staved off only for a few weeks by means of falsifications and lies on the part of the Prussian Government. The street-fighting in Prague,[b] despite all the efforts of the national press, aroused sympathy among the people only for the defeated, but not for the victors. The war in Schleswig-Holstein, however, from the outset was popular also among the *people.* What is the reason?

Whereas in Italy, Posen and Prague the Germans *were fighting against the revolution,* in Schleswig-Holstein they *were supporting it.* The Danish war is the first *revolutionary war* waged by Germany. We therefore *advocated* a resolute conduct of the Danish war from the very beginning, but this does not denote the slightest kinship with the sea-girt bourgeois beer-garden enthusiasm.

It is a sad thing for Germany that her first revolutionary war is the most ridiculous war ever waged.

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[a] Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen,* Caput XIX.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 91-93 and 119-20.—*Ed.*

Let us come to the point. The Danish nation is in commercial, industrial, political and literary matters completely dependent on Germany. It is well known that the real capital of Denmark is not Copenhagen but Hamburg; that for a whole year the Danish Government copied all the United Diet experiments conducted by the Prussian Government which expired on the barricades; that Denmark obtains all her literary as well as material sustenance via Germany, and that apart from Holberg, Danish literature is a poor imitation of that of Germany.

Impotent though Germany has been from time immemorial, she has the satisfaction of knowing that the Scandinavian nations, and especially Denmark, have fallen under her sway, and that compared with *them* she is even revolutionary and progressive.

Do you require proofs? Then read the polemics carried on by the Scandinavian nations against each other ever since the concept of Scandinavianism arose. Scandinavianism is enthusiasm for the brutal, sordid, piratical, Old Norse national traits, for that deep-rooted inner life which is unable to express its exuberant ideas and sentiments in words, but can express them only in deeds, namely in rudeness towards women, perpetual drunkenness and wild berserk frenzy alternating with tearful sentimentality.

Scandinavianism and the theory of kinship with sea-girt Schleswig-Holstein[a] appeared simultaneously in the territories of the King of Denmark. The two concepts are correlated; they evoked each other and were in conflict with each other, thereby asserting their existence.

Scandinavianism was the form taken by the Danes' appeals for Swedish and Norwegian support. But as always happens with the Christian-Teutonic nation, a dispute immediately arose as to who was the genuine Christian-Teuton, the true Scandinavian. The Swede contended that the Dane had become "Germanised" and had degenerated, the Norwegian said the same of the Swede and the Dane, and the Icelander of all three. Obviously, the more primitive a nation is, the more closely its customs and way of life resemble those of the Old Norse people, the more "Scandinavian" it must be.

*Morgenbladet* from Christiania[b] for November 18, 1846, is lying in front of us. This charming sheet contains the following amusing passages in an article on Scandinavianism.

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[a] A paraphrase of the first words of a song written in 1844 by Matthäus Friedrich Chemnitz.— *Ed.*

[b] Now called Oslo.— *Ed.*

After stating that the whole concept of Scandinavianism is nothing but an attempt by the Danes to create a movement in their own interest, the paper writes about the Danes:

"What have these gay, vivacious people in common with the ancient, gloomy and melancholy world of warriors (*med den gamle, alvorlige og vemodsfulde Kjämpeverden*)? How can this nation, which—as even a Danish writer admits—has a docile and gentle disposition, believe itself to be spiritually related to the tough, lusty and vigorous men of a past age? And how can these people with their soft southern accent imagine that they speak a northern tongue? Although the main trait of our nation and the Swedes, like that of the ancient Northerners, is that our feelings are kept hidden in the *innermost* part of the soul, and not given *outward* expression, nevertheless these sentimental and affectionate people, who can so easily be astonished, moved and swayed and who wear their hearts upon their sleeves, nevertheless these people believe that they are of a northern cast and that they are akin to the two other Scandinavian nations!"

*Morgenbladet* attributes the degeneration of the Danes to their association with Germany and the spread of German traits in Denmark. The Germans have indeed

"lost their most sacred asset, their national character; but feeble and insipid though the German nation is, there is another nation still more feeble and insipid, namely the Danes. While the German language is being ousted in Alsace, Vaud and on the Slav border" (!! the services of the "Netze brethren" still remained unnoticed at the time) "it has made enormous progress along the Danish border."

The Danes, we are told, now had to oppose their nationality to the Germans and for this purpose they invented Scandinavianism. The Danes were unable to resist,

"for the Danish nation, as we have said before, was *essentially Germanised*, although it did not adopt the German language. The writer of these lines has seen it admitted even in a Danish paper that the *Danish* nation *does not differ essentially from the German nation*."

Thus *Morgenbladet*.

Of course, it cannot be denied that the Danes are a more or less civilised nation. Unfortunate Danes!

By the same right under which France took Flanders, Lorraine and Alsace, and will sooner or later take Belgium—by that same right Germany takes over Schleswig; it is the right of civilisation as against barbarism, of progress as against stability. Even if the agreements were in Denmark's favour—which is very doubtful—this right carries more weight than all the agreements, for it is the right of historical evolution.

So long as the Schleswig-Holstein movement remained a purely legal philistine agitation of a civic and peaceful nature it evoked enthusiasm only among well-meaning petty bourgeois. When, before the outbreak of the February revolution, the present King of

Denmark[a] at his accession promised a liberal Constitution for all his territories, envisaging the same number of deputies for the duchies as for Denmark, and the duchies were opposed to this, the petty-bourgeois parochial nature of the Schleswig-Holstein movement became distastefully conspicuous. The issue, at that time, was not so much union with Germany—did a Germany exist at that time?—as separation from Denmark and establishment of a small independent parochial state.

But then came the revolution, which gave the movement a different character. The Schleswig-Holstein party was forced either to attempt a revolution or to perish. It quite correctly chose the revolution. The Danish promises, which were very favourable before the revolution, were quite inadequate after the revolution; union with Germany—formerly an empty phrase—now acquired meaning. Germany made a revolution and as usual Denmark copied it on a small provincial scale.

The Schleswig-Holstein revolution and the Provisional Government to which it gave rise behaved at first still in a rather philistine way, but the war soon compelled them to adopt a democratic course. This Government, whose members are all moderate liberal worthies, formerly kindred spirits of Welcker, Gagern and Camphausen, has given Schleswig-Holstein laws which are more democratic than those of any other German state. The Kiel Provincial Assembly is the only German assembly based not only on universal suffrage but on direct elections. The draft Constitution which the Government submitted to it was the most democratic Constitution ever drawn up in the German language. As a result of the revolutionary war, Schleswig-Holstein, which had always trailed behind Germany in political matters, suddenly acquired more progressive institutions than all the rest of Germany.

The war we are waging in Schleswig-Holstein is therefore a truly revolutionary war.

And who, from the outset, supported Denmark? The three most counter-revolutionary powers in Europe—*Russia, England* and the *Prussian Government.* As long as it was possible the Prussian Government merely *pretended* to be waging a *war*—this is evidenced by Wildenbruch's Note,[276] by the alacrity with which the Prussian Government, on the representations of England and Russia, ordered the withdrawal from Jutland, and finally by the two armistice agreements. Prussia, England and Russia are the three powers which have greater reason than anyone else to fear the German revolution

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[a] Frederick VII.—*Ed.*

and its first result—German unity: Prussia because she would thereby cease to exist, England because it would deprive her of the possibility of exploiting the German market, and Russia because it would spell the advance of democracy not only to the Vistula but even as far as the Dvina and the Dnieper. Prussia, England and Russia have conspired against Schleswig-Holstein, against Germany and against the revolution.

The war that may now arise from the decisions taken at Frankfurt would be a war waged by Germany against Prussia, England and Russia. This is just the kind of war that the flagging German movement needs—a war against the three great counter-revolutionary powers, a war which would *really* cause Prussia to merge into Germany, which would make an alliance with Poland an indispensable necessity and would lead to the immediate liberation of Italy; a war which would be directed against Germany's old counter-revolutionary allies of 1792-1815, a war which would "imperil the fatherland" and for that very reason save it by making the victory of *Germany* dependent on the victory of democracy.

The bourgeois and the junkers at Frankfurt should not deceive themselves—if they decide to reject the armistice they will be setting the seal to their own downfall, just as the Girondists did during the first revolution when they took part in the events of August 10 and voted for the death of the ex-King,[a] thereby preparing their own downfall on May 31.[277] If, on the other hand, they accept the armistice, they will still be sealing their own downfall: they will be placing themselves under the jurisdiction of Prussia and cease to have any say in things. It is up to them to choose.

The news of Hansemann's downfall probably reached Frankfurt before the vote was taken. This may influence the vote significantly, especially since it is expected that a Government of Waldeck and Rodbertus will follow who, as we know, recognise the sovereignty of the National Assembly.

The future will show. But we repeat—Germany's honour is in bad hands!

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[a] Louis XVI.—*Ed.*

# ARRESTS

*Cologne*, September 11. We are addressing the following request for information to whichever gentlemen in the Public Prosecutor's department it may concern:

Is it true that at 8 o'clock yesterday evening Herr Salget and Herr Blum Jr., from Cologne, who had already formed a workers' association in Cassel, were arrested in Wesseling, by the Burgomaster Herr von Geier, on the instigation of the parson? They had intended to form a workers' association[a] in Wesseling too, but were arrested before they had even spoken a word in public and before the meeting had begun.

Is it true that the only reason for this arrest, which did in fact take place, was the pastor's denunciation that the two gentlemen wanted (!) to stir up the workers?

Assuming that this is how matters stand, will the Public Prosecutor take steps to deal with this outrageous infringement of the law or—in expectation of the Radowitz Ministry and of the speedy abolition of the right of free association—will he give Herr von Geier a vote of thanks?

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[a] See also this volume, pp. 579-80.—*Ed.*

# THE CRISIS AND THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION[278]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 100, September 12, 1848]

*Cologne,* September 11. Anyone reading the reports from Berlin printed below can judge for himself whether we predicted the course of the government crisis correctly. The Ministers resigned; it seems that the camarilla did not approve of the Government's plan to dissolve the Agreement Assembly and to use martial law and guns in order to remain in office. The junkers from the Uckermark are thirsting for a conflict with the people and a repetition of the Parisian June scenes in the streets of Berlin, but they will never fight for the Hansemann Government, they will fight for a **Government of the Prince of Prussia.** The choice will fall on *Radowitz, Vincke* and similar reliable men who keep aloof from the Berlin Assembly and are in no way committed to it. The Government of the Prince of Prussia which is to be bestowed on us will comprise the cream of the Prussian and Westphalian knights associated for form's sake with a few bourgeois worthies from the extreme Right, such as Beckerath and his like, to whom will be assigned the conduct of the prosaic commercial side of the business of state. Meanwhile hundreds of rumours are being spread, Waldeck or Rodbertus is perhaps summoned, and public opinion is misled, while at the same time military preparations are being made to come out openly at the appropriate moment.

We are facing a decisive struggle. The simultaneous crises at Frankfurt and Berlin and the latest decisions of the two Assemblies compel the counter-revolution to wage its last fight. If the counter-revolution in Berlin dares to spurn the constitutional principle of majority rule, if it confronts the 219 members of the majority with twice as many guns, if it dares to defy the majority not

only in Berlin but also in Frankfurt by presenting to them a Government which is quite unacceptable to either of the two Assemblies—**if it thus provokes a civil war between Prussia and Germany, then the democrats know what they have to do.**

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 101, September 13, 1848]

*Cologne*, September 12. Although already by midday we may receive news of the definite formation of a new Government as described by us yesterday and confirmed from other quarters, the government crisis in Berlin continues. There are only two solutions to this crisis:

Either a Waldeck Government, recognition of the authority of the German National Assembly and recognition of popular sovereignty;

Or a Radowitz-Vincke Government, dissolution of the Berlin Assembly, abolition of the revolutionary gains, a sham constitutionalism or even the United Diet.

Don't let us shut our eyes to the fact that the conflict which has broken out in Berlin is a conflict not between the agreers and the Ministers, but between the Assembly, which for the first time acts as a *Constituent* Assembly, and the *Crown*.

The point is whether or not the latter will have the courage to dissolve the Assembly.

But has the Crown the right to dissolve the Assembly?

True, in constitutional states the Crown in case of disputes has the right to dissolve the legislative chambers convened on the basis of the Constitution and to appeal to the people by means of new elections.

Is the Berlin Assembly a constitutional, legislative chamber?

It is not. It has been convened "to come to an agreement with the Crown on the Prussian Constitution", it has been convened not on the basis of a Constitution, but on that of a *revolution*. It received its mandate by no means from the Crown or from the Ministers answerable to the Crown, but from those who elected it and from the Assembly itself. The Assembly was sovereign as the legitimate expression of the revolution, and the mandate which Herr Camphausen jointly with the United Diet prepared for it in the shape of the electoral law of April 8 was nothing but a *pious wish*, in regard to which the Assembly had to decide.

At first the Assembly more or less accepted the theory of agreement. It realised that in doing so it had been cheated by the Ministers and the camarilla. At last it performed a sovereign act,

acting for a moment as a constituent assembly and no longer as an Assembly of Agreement.

Being the sovereign Assembly of *Prussia*, it had a perfect right to do this.

A sovereign assembly, however, cannot be dissolved by anybody, and cannot be given orders by anybody.

Even as a mere Agreement Assembly, even according to Herr Camphausen's own theory, it has *equal status* with the Crown. Both parties *conclude* a political treaty, both parties have an equal share of sovereignty—that is the theory of April 8, the Camphausen-Hansemann theory, the *official* theory recognised by the Crown itself.

If the Assembly and the Crown have *equal rights, then the Crown has no right to dissolve the Assembly.*

Otherwise, to be consistent, the Assembly would also have the *right to depose the King.*

The dissolution of the Assembly would therefore be a *coup d'état.* And how people reply to a coup d'état was demonstrated on July 29, 1830, and February 24, 1848.[a]

One may say the Crown could appeal again to the same voters. But who does not know that *today* the voters would elect an entirely different assembly, an assembly which would treat the Crown with much less ceremony?

Everyone knows that after the dissolution of this Assembly it will only be possible to appeal to *voters of an entirely different kind* from those of April 8, that the only elections possible will be elections carried through under the tyranny of the sword.

Let us have no illusions.

If the Assembly wins and succeeds in setting up a Left Government, then the power of the Crown existing *alongside* the Assembly is broken, then the King is merely a paid servant of the people and we return again to the morning of March 19—provided the Waldeck Government does not betray us, as did many a Government before it.

If the Crown wins and succeeds in setting up a Government of the Prince of Prussia, then the Assembly will be dissolved, the right of association abolished, the press muzzled, an electoral law based on property qualifications introduced, and, as we have already mentioned, even the United Diet may be reinvoked—and all this will be done under cover of a military dictatorship, guns and bayonets.

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[a] The reference is to the overthrow of Charles X in July 1830 and of Louis Philippe in February 1848.— *Ed.*

Which of the two sides will win depends on the attitude of the people, especially that of the democratic party. It is up to the democrats to choose.

We have again the situation of July 25. Will they dare to issue the decrees being devised in Potsdam? Will the people be provoked to make the leap from July 26 to February 24 in a *single* day?[279]

The will to do it is certainly there, but what about the courage!

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 102, September 14, 1848]

*Cologne,* September 13. The crisis in Berlin has advanced a step further. *The conflict with the Crown,* which yesterday could still be described as inevitable, *has actually taken place.*

Our readers will find below the King's reply to the resignation of the Ministers.[280] By this letter the Crown itself comes to the fore, sides with the Ministers and opposes the Assembly.

It goes even further—it forms a Government outside the Assembly, it nominates *Beckerath,* who represents the extreme Right at Frankfurt and who, as everyone knows, will never be able to count on the support of the majority in Berlin.

The King's message is countersigned by Herr *Auerswald.* Let Herr Auerswald, if he can, justify the fact that he thus uses the Crown to cover up his ignominious retreat, that at one and the same time he tries to hide behind the constitutional principle as far as the Chamber is concerned and tramples on the constitutional principle by *compromising the Crown and invoking the republic.*

Constitutional principle! shout the Ministers. Constitutional principle! shouts the Right. Constitutional principle! faintly echoes the *Kölnische Zeitung.*

"Constitutional principle!" Are these gentlemen really so foolish as to believe that it is possible to extricate the German people from the storms of 1848, and from the imminent threat of collapse of all traditional institutions, by means of the Montesquieu-Delolme worm-eaten theory of division of powers, by means of worn-out phrases and long exploded fictions!

"Constitutional principle!" But the very gentlemen who want to save the constitutional principle at all costs should realise first of all that at a provisional stage it can only be saved by energetic action.

"Constitutional principle!" But the vote of the Berlin Assembly, the clashes between Potsdam and Frankfurt, the disturbances, the reactionary attempts, the provocations of the brutal soldiery—has all this not shown long ago that despite all the empty talk we *are* still on a

*revolutionary basis*, and the pretence that we have already reached the basis of an *established*, complete constitutional monarchy only leads to collisions, which have already brought the "constitutional principle" to the brink of the abyss?

Every provisional political set-up following a revolution requires a dictatorship, and an energetic dictatorship at that. From the very beginning we blamed Camphausen for not having acted in a dictatorial manner, for not having immediately smashed up and removed the remains of the old institutions. While thus Herr Camphausen indulged in constitutional dreaming, the defeated party strengthened its positions within the bureaucracy and in the army, and occasionally even risked an open fight. The Assembly was convened for the purpose of agreeing on the terms of the Constitution. It existed as an equal party alongside the Crown. Two equal powers in a provisional situation! It was this division of powers with the aid of which Herr Camphausen sought "to save freedom"—it was this very division of powers in a provisional situation that was bound to lead to conflicts. The Crown served as a cover for the counter-revolutionary aristocratic, military and bureaucratic camarilla. The bourgeoisie stood behind the majority of the Assembly. The Government tried to mediate. Too weak to act resolutely on behalf of the bourgeoisie and the peasants and overthrow the power of the nobility, the bureaucracy and the army chiefs at one blow, too unskilled to avoid always harming the bourgeoisie by its financial measures, the Government merely succeeded in compromising itself in the eyes of all the parties and bringing about the very clash it sought to avoid.

In any unconstituted state of affairs it is solely the *salut public*, the public welfare, and not this or that principle that is the decisive factor. The only way in which the Government could avoid a conflict between the Assembly and the Crown lay in recognising the public welfare as the sole principle, even at the risk of the Government *itself* coming into conflict with the Crown. But it preferred "not to compromise" itself in Potsdam. It never hesitated to employ public welfare measures (*mesures de salut public*), dictatorial measures, against the democratic forces. What else was the application of the old laws to political crimes, even after Herr Märker had recognised that these articles of the Prussian Law ought to be repealed? What else were the wholesale arrests in all parts of the kingdom?

But the Government carefully refrained from intervening against the counter-revolution in the name of public welfare.

It was this half-heartedness of the Government in face of the counter-revolution, which became more menacing with every day,

that compelled the Assembly *itself to dictate* measures of public welfare. If the Crown represented by the Ministers was too weak, then the Assembly itself had to intervene. It did so by passing the resolution of August 9. It did so in a form still rather mild, by merely warning the Ministers. The Ministers took no notice of it.[281]

Indeed, how could they have agreed to it? The resolution of August 9 flouted the constitutional principle, it is an encroachment of the legislative power on the executive power, it destroys the division of powers and their mutual control, which are essential in the interests of freedom, it turns the Assembly of Agreement into a *National Convention.*

There follows a running fire of threats, a vociferous appeal to the fears of the petty bourgeois and the prospect of a reign of terror with guillotines, progressive taxes, confiscations and the red flag.

To compare the Berlin Assembly with the Convention. What irony!

But these gentlemen were not altogether wrong. If the Government continues in the way it has been doing, we shall have a Convention before long—not merely for Prussia, but for Germany as a whole—a Convention which will have to use all means to cope with the civil war in our twenty Vendées and with the inevitable war with Russia. At present, however, we merely have a parody of the Constituent Assembly.[282]

But how have the Ministers who invoke the constitutional principle upheld this principle?

On August 9, they calmly allowed the Assembly to break up in the belief that the Ministers would carry out the resolution. They had no intention of making known to the Assembly their refusal to do so, and still less of resigning their office.

They ruminated on the matter for a whole month and finally, when threatened with a number of parliamentary questions, they curtly informed the Assembly that it was self-evident that they would not put the resolution into effect.

When the Assembly thereupon instructs the Ministers, nevertheless, to put the resolution into effect, they take refuge behind the Crown, and cause a rupture between the Crown and the Assembly, thus invoking the republic.

And these gentlemen still talk about the constitutional principle!

To sum up:

The inevitable conflict between two powers having equal rights in a provisional situation has broken out. The Ministry was unable to govern with sufficient energy; it has failed to take the necessary measures of public welfare. The Assembly has merely performed its

duty in demanding that the Ministry do its duty. The Ministry declares this to be an encroachment upon the rights of the Crown and discredits the Crown at the very moment of its resignation. The Crown and the Assembly confront each other. The "agreement" has led to separation, to conflict. It is possible that arms will decide the issue.

The side that has the greater courage and consistency will win.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 104, September 16, 1848]

*Cologne*, September 15. The government crisis has once again entered a new phase, due, not to the arrival and vain efforts of the impossible Herr Beckerath, but to the *army revolt in Potsdam and Nauen.*[283] The conflict between democracy and aristocracy has broken out even *within the guard regiments.* The soldiers consider that the resolution carried by the Assembly on the 7th liberates them from the tyranny of their officers; they cheer the Assembly and send letters of thanks to it.

This has wrenched the sword from the hands of the counter-revolutionaries. They will not dare now to dissolve the Assembly, and since this cannot be attempted, they will have to give in, carry out the resolution of the Assembly and form a Waldeck Ministry.

It is quite possible that the soldiers in revolt at Potsdam will save us a revolution.

Written by Marx on September 11, 12, 13 and 15, 1848

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Nos. 100, 101, 102 and 104, September 12, 13, 14 and 16, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

# ARMY ORDER, ELECTION CANDIDATES, SEMI-OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON PRUSSIAN AMBIGUITY

We have received Danish newspapers up to September 9. An army order of September 4 gives the following instructions: General *Krogh* takes over command in Jutland, headquarters Viborg. For the duration of the armistice the garrison in Alsen[a] has a special command. The corps in the field is quartered as far as possible in its recruiting areas and is therefore spread across Jutland and the islands. Forty to fifty men per company remain under arms, the rest will be sent home on leave, and the brigade commanders are instructed to inspect their troops frequently and prepare for a new campaign. However, since the King[b] wants to make a personal inspection of the troops before they go on leave, these decisions will not be carried out until further orders. It is also unlikely that they will be, for as the postscript of the *Faedreland* announced on the 9th, news of the decision passed by the National Assembly about suspending the withdrawal has just reached Copenhagen in private letters.

The Danes can rely fairly firmly on the troops recruited in North Schleswig, this is evident from the fact that it was precisely these sections of the army that were moved to the vicinity of the Schleswig frontier or Alsen.

The liberal party in Copenhagen has put forward its list of candidates for the approaching elections. The representatives of the middle class, the editors of the *Faedreland* and other "men of the people" of the "constitutional monarchy established on a democratic

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[a] The Danish name is Als.— *Ed.*
[b] Frederick VII.— *Ed.*

basis" (note how thoroughly the Danes have plagiarised the Germans) have met to draw up the list. It consists of a bank manager, a director of a life-insurance institution, two schoolmasters, an attorney, a lieutenant-colonel, a naval officer, two artisans and a "*disvacheur*" (!). It can be seen what sort of intellectual forces are at the disposal of the "*Hovedstad*".[a]

The Prussian Government is unfortunate. In the Danish affair too it has managed to give Prussia a reputation for ambiguity which almost verges on treason against both sides. This ambiguity has always been a well-known feature of Prussian policy; we need only think of the "Great" Elector's[b] betrayal of Poland when he suddenly went over to Sweden, of the Basle Peace, of 1805 and more recently of the ambiguity through which the Ministry enticed Poland into the trap.[284] And now, in the Danish affair, the Prussian Government has abused the interests of the German people and not even earned a word of thanks from Denmark. Let us listen to what the *Faedreland* says:

"According to the note of the Prussian Prime Minister Auerswald (to the Provisional Government in Rendsburg), which we publish below, it is plain that Prussia is playing a very ambiguous role. In the first place it is extremely surprising that the Prussian Government should have any dealings at all with the rebel Government in the duchies. Furthermore, Herr Auerswald has in more than one respect completely twisted the meaning of the terms of the armistice. Although the armistice was in no way intended to furnish any basis for a final peace, Herr Auerswald nonetheless claims that through it conditions are being prepared that will bring about a favourable final solution. He talks further of the significance of the terms whereby the federal troops are to remain in Schleswig and the Schleswig-Holstein army corps is to continue at its present strength, even though the armistice stipulates that the Schleswig and the Holstein troops should be separated and the federal troops remain in Altona. Lastly, he puts forward a similar falsehood when he says that the legal situation in the duchies is to continue on its present basis, whereas the armistice says that the decrees issued since March 17 both by the King of Denmark and by the Provisional Government should be repealed. As regards the Central Authority, it has shown such a lack of firmness towards the Assembly in its negotiations over Limburg[285] that from that side one can really expect anything."

Written by Engels on September 14, 1848

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 103, September 15, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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[a] Capital.— *Ed.*
[b] Frederick William.— *Ed.*

# FREEDOM OF DEBATE IN BERLIN[286]

*Cologne*, September 16. Ever since the beginning of the crisis the counter-revolutionary press keeps alleging that the deliberations of the Berlin Assembly are not free from interference. In particular, the well-known correspondent "G" of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, who also discharges his duties only "temporarily pending the appointment of a successor",[287] refers with obvious fear to the "8,000 to 10,000 strong-arm men" in the Kastanienwäldchen who "morally" support their friends of the Left. The *Vossische*, *Spenersche* and other newspapers have set up a similar wail, and on the 7th of this month Herr Reichensperger has even tabled a motion frankly demanding that the Assembly be removed from Berlin (to Charlottenburg perhaps?).

The *Berliner Zeitungs-Halle* publishes a long article[a] in which it tries to refute these accusations. It declares that the large majority obtained by the Left was by no means inconsistent with the former irresolute attitude of the Assembly. It can be shown, it says,

> "that the voting of the 7th[b] could have taken place *without conflicting* with the former attitude even of those members who previously voted always for the Government, that it was indeed from their point of view in perfect harmony with their former position...." The members who came over from the Centre parties "had laboured under a delusion; they *imagined* that the Ministers carried out the will of the people; they had taken the endeavours of the Ministers to restore law and order for an expression of their own will, i.e. that of the majority of deputies, and had not *realised* that the Ministers could accede to the popular will only when it did not run counter to the will of the Crown, but not when it was opposed to it".

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[a] "Berlin, 14. September", *Berliner Zeitungs-Halle* No. 213, September 15, 1848.— *Ed.*

[b] September 7, 1848.— *Ed.*

Thus the *Zeitungs-Halle* "explains" the striking phenomenon of the sudden change in the attitude of so many deputies by ascribing it to the notions and delusions of these deputies. The thing could not be presented in a more innocent way.

The paper admits, however, that intimidations did occur. But, it says,

> "if outside influences did have any effect, it was only that they partially counterbalanced the ministerial misrepresentations and artful temptation, thus enabling the many weak and irresolute deputies to follow their *natural vital instinct*...."

The reasons which induced the *Zeitungs-Halle* thus morally to justify the vacillating members of the Centre parties in the eyes of the public are obvious. The article is written for these gentlemen of the Centre parties rather than for the general public. For us, however, these reasons do not exist, since we are privileged to speak plainly, and since we support the representatives of a party only as long and insofar as they act in a *revolutionary* manner.

Why should we not say it? The Centre parties certainly were intimidated by the masses on September 7[a]; we leave it open whether their fear was well founded or not.

The right of the democratic popular masses, by their presence, to exert a moral influence on the attitude of constituent assemblies is an old revolutionary right of the people which could not be dispensed with in all stormy periods ever since the English and French revolutions. History owes to this right almost all the energetic steps taken by such assemblies. The only reason why people dwelling on the "legal basis" and the timorous and philistine friends of "freedom of debate" lament about this right, is that they do not want any energetic decisions at all.

"Freedom of debate"—there is no emptier phrase than this. The "freedom of debate" is, on the one hand, impaired by the freedom of the press, by the freedom of assembly and of speech, and by the right of the people to take up arms. It is impaired by the existing state power in the hands of the Crown and its Ministers—the army, the police and the so-called independent judges, who depend, however, on every promotion and every political change.

The freedom of debate is always a phrase denoting simply independence of all influences that are not recognised in law. It is only the recognised influences, such as bribery, promotion, private interests and fear of a dissolution of the Assembly, that make the debates really "free". In times of revolution, however, this phrase

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[a] See this volume, pp. 417-19.—*Ed.*

becomes entirely meaningless. When two forces, two parties in arms confront each other, when a fight may start at any moment, the deputies have only this choice:

Either they place themselves *under the protection of the people,* in which case they will put up occasionally with a small lecture;

Or they place themselves *under the protection of the Crown,* move to some small town, deliberate under the protection of bayonets and guns or even a state of siege, in which case they will raise no objections when the Crown and the bayonets dictate their decisions to them.

Intimidation by the unarmed people or intimidation by an armed soldiery—that is the choice before the Assembly.

The French Constituent Assembly transferred its sessions from Versailles to Paris. It would be quite in character with the German revolution if the Assembly of Agreement were to move from Berlin to Charlottenburg.

Written on September 16, 1848 Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 105, September 17, 1848

# RATIFICATION OF THE ARMISTICE[288]

*Cologne*, September 19. The German National Assembly has ratified the armistice. We were not mistaken: "Germany's honour has fallen into bad hands."[a]

The vote was taken amidst uproar and complete darkness, when the benches of the deputies were thronged with strangers, diplomats etc. A majority of two forced the Assembly to vote simultaneously on two entirely different questions. The armistice was carried, Schleswig-Holstein sacrificed, "Germany's honour" trampled under foot and the *merging of Germany in Prussia* decided by a majority of 21 votes.

On no other issue has there been such a clear expression of public opinion. On no other issue have the gentlemen of the Right so openly admitted that they uphold a cause which is *indefensible*. In no other issue were Germany's interests so indubitable and so obvious as in this. The National Assembly has made its decision—it has pronounced the *death sentence* upon itself and upon the so-called Central Authority created by it. If Germany had a Cromwell it would not be long before he would say: "You are no Parliament.... Depart, I say.... In the name of God,—go!"[b]

There is talk of the impending withdrawal of the Left. If it had courage, this poor derided Left, which has been attacked with fists by the majority and in addition called to order by the noble Gagern! Never has a minority been so insolently and consistently maltreated

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[a] See this volume, p. 425.— *Ed.*

[b] The words Cromwell used when dissolving the Rump Parliament on April 20, 1653.— *Ed.*

as has been the Frankfurt Left by the noble Gagern and his 250 champions of the majority. If only it had courage!

Lack of courage is ruining the entire German movement. The counter-revolution just as much as the revolutionary party lacks the courage for decisive blows. All Germans, whether on the Right or on the Left, know now that the present movement must lead to terrible clashes, to bloody battles, fought either to suppress it or to carry it through. But instead of courageously facing these unavoidable battles, instead of fighting them out with a few rapid and decisive blows, the two parties—the party of the counter-revolution and that of the movement—virtually conspire to put them off as long as possible. It is due to this constant resort to petty expedients, to trivial concessions and palliatives, to these attempts at mediation, that the unbearable and uncertain political situation has led everywhere to numerous isolated uprisings, which can only be liquidated by bloodshed and the curtailment of rights already won. It is this fear of struggle that gives rise to thousands of minor clashes making the year 1848 exceptionally sanguinary and so complicating the position of the contending parties that in the end the struggle is bound to become the more violent and destructive. But "our dear friends' lack of courage"![a]

The crucial struggle for Germany's centralisation and democratic organisation cannot possibly be avoided. Every day brings it nearer despite all attempts to gloss over it and compromise. The complex situation in Vienna, Berlin and Frankfurt demands a decision, and if everything should fail because of German timidity and indecision, we shall be saved by France. The consequences of the June victory are now taking shape in Paris—the royalists are getting the better of Cavaignac and his "pure republicans" in the National Assembly, in the press and in the clubs; a general uprising is threatening to break out in the legitimist South; Cavaignac has to resort to Ledru-Rollin's revolutionary remedies, i.e. to departmental commissioners invested with extraordinary powers; it was with the greatest difficulty that he managed to defend himself and his Government in Parliament last Saturday. Another such division, and Thiers, Barrot and company, the men in whose interests the June victory was won, will possess a majority, Cavaignac will be thrown into the arms of the red republic, and the struggle for the republic's existence will begin.

If Germany's irresoluteness should persist, this new phase of the French revolution will also be a signal for a fresh outbreak of open

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[a] Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen*, Caput XIX.—*Ed.*

struggle in Germany, a struggle which we hope will take us a little further and will at least free Germany from the traditional fetters of her past.

Written by Engels on September 19, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 107, September 20, 1848

# THE UPRISING IN FRANKFURT[289]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 107 (supplement), September 20, 1848]

*Cologne,* September 19, 7 p.m. The German-Danish armistice has raised a storm. A sanguinary revolt has begun in Frankfurt. The workers of Frankfurt, Offenbach and Hanau, and the peasants of the surrounding districts, are defending with their lives Germany's honour betrayed by the National Assembly to a Prussian Government which has ignominiously resigned.

The outcome of the struggle is still uncertain. Until yesterday evening the soldiers apparently made little progress. In Frankfurt, apart from the Zeil and perhaps a few other streets and squares, artillery is of little use, and cavalry of almost no use at all. In this respect the people are in an advantageous position. Citizens of Hanau, armed with weapons from the arsenal they had stormed, have come to their assistance, as have also peasants from numerous villages in the vicinity. Yesterday evening the military probably numbered about 10,000 men and very little artillery. Large reinforcements of peasants must have arrived during the night, and considerably smaller ones of soldiers, the immediate vicinity being denuded of troops. The revolutionary temper of the peasants in the Odenwald, Nassau and the Electorate of Hesse precluded further withdrawals; it is likely that communications have been interrupted. If today the insurgents are still holding out, then the whole of the Odenwald, Nassau, the Electorate of Hesse and Rhenish Hesse will take up arms, the entire population between Fulda, Koblenz, Mannheim and Aschaffenburg will be in arms, and there are insufficient troops available to crush the uprising. And who will answer for Mainz, Mannheim, Marburg, Cassel and Wiesbaden—towns in which hatred of the brutal soldiery has reached its

highest pitch as a result of the bloody excesses of the so-called federal troops? Who will answer for the peasants on the Rhine, who can easily prevent troops being sent along the river?

We admit, nevertheless, that we have little hope of the courageous insurgents being able to win the day. Frankfurt is too small a town, the number of troops is disproportionately large, and the well-known counter-revolutionary sentiments of the local petty bourgeoisie are too great to allow us to be very hopeful.

But even if the insurgents are defeated, this will settle nothing. The counter-revolution will become arrogant, it will enslave us for a time by introducing martial law, by suppressing freedom of the press, and banning the clubs and public meetings; but before long the crowing of the Gallic cock[a] will announce the hour of liberation, the hour of revenge.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 108, September 21, 1848]

*Cologne*, September 20. The news from Frankfurt is beginning to gradually confirm our fears of yesterday. It seems certain that the insurgents have been ejected from Frankfurt, and that now they are holding only Sachsenhausen, where they are said to be strongly entrenched. A state of siege has been declared in Frankfurt; anyone caught carrying weapons or resisting the "federal authority" is to be court-martialled.

Thus the gentlemen in St. Paul's Church are now on an equal footing with their colleagues in Paris. They can now at their leisure and under the rule of martial law reduce the fundamental rights of the German people to a "minimum".

The railway line to Mainz is torn up in many places, and the post arrives either late or not at all.

It appears that artillery decided the outcome of the fight in the wide streets and enabled the army to attack the fighters on the barricades from the rear. Additional factors were the zeal with which the petty bourgeois of Frankfurt opened their houses to the soldiers, thus giving them every advantage in the street-fighting, and the superior strength of the troops, swiftly brought up by rail, over the peasant contingents, which arrived showly on foot.

But even if the fight has not been renewed in Frankfurt itself, it certainly does not mean that the uprising has been crushed. The

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[a] Heinrich Heine, "Kahldorf über den Adel, in Briefen an den Grafen M. von Moltke". Einleitung.— *Ed.*

angry peasants are not likely to put their weapons down forthwith. Though they may not be able to break up the National Assembly, they still have enough at home that has to be cleared away. The storm that was repelled outside St. Paul's Church can spread to six or eight petty princely residences and to hundreds of manorial estates. The peasant war begun this spring will not come to an end until its goal, the liberation of the peasants from feudalism, has been achieved.

What is the reason for the persistent victory of "order" throughout Europe and for the numerous recurrent defeats of the revolutionary party from Naples, Prague and Paris to Milan, Vienna and Frankfurt?

It is because all parties know that the struggle impending in all civilised countries is quite different from, infinitely more significant than, all previous revolutions; in Vienna and Paris, in Berlin and Frankfurt, in London and Milan the point at issue is the *overthrow of the political rule of the bourgeoisie,* an upheaval whose immediate consequences are enough to terrify all portly, stockjobbing bourgeois.

Is there a revolutionary centre anywhere in the world where the red flag, the battle emblem of the united proletariat of Europe, has not been found flying on the barricades during the last five months?

In Frankfurt, too, the fight against the Parliament of the combined landowners and bourgeois was waged under the red flag.

The reason for all these defeats is that every uprising that now takes place is a direct threat to the political existence of the bourgeoisie, and an indirect threat to its social existence. The people, mostly unarmed, have to fight not only the organised power of the bureaucratic and military state which the bourgeoisie has taken over, they have to fight the armed bourgeoisie itself. The people, who are unorganised and poorly armed, are confronted by all the other social classes, who are well organised and fully armed. That is the reason why up to now the people have been defeated and will continue to be defeated until their opponents are weakened either through dissension, or because the army is engaged in war—or until some important event impels the people to begin a desperate fight and demoralises their opponents.

Such a great event is impending in France.

Hence we need not give up hope, even though during the last four months the barricades everywhere have been defeated by grapeshot. On the contrary, every victory of our opponents was at the same time a defeat for them, for it divided them and, ultimately, gave control not to the conservative party that was victorious in

February and March, but in each case to *the* party that had been *overthrown* in February and March. Only for a short time did the victory won in Paris in June establish the rule of the petty bourgeoisie, the *pure* republicans; hardly three months have passed and the big bourgeoisie, the constitutional party, is threatening to overthrow Cavaignac and drive the "pure ones" into the arms of the "reds". This will happen in Frankfurt too—the victory will benefit, not the respectable gentlemen from the Centre parties, but those of the *Right.* The bourgeoisie will have to give pride of place to the gentlemen representing the military, bureaucratic and junker state and will very soon taste the bitter fruits of its victory.

May these bitter fruits do it good! Meanwhile we shall await the moment when the hour of liberation for Europe will have struck in Paris.

Written by Engels on September 19 and 20, 1848

First published in the supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 107 and in No. 108, September 20 and 21, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

# THE *FAEDRELAND* ON THE ARMISTICE

*Cologne*, September 21. It is common knowledge that the so-called National Assembly in Frankfurt approved of the armistice on Prussia's assurance that the Danish Government has *officially given notice* of its readiness to agree to *modifications*.

It is well known, however, what intrigues went on during the voting on the preliminary question. The intrigues over the main question took place *outside* the Assembly.

Listen to what the *Faedreland* of September 16 says:

After explaining the disadvantages of the armistice that was actually signed as compared with the first draft, the newspaper comes to the advantages for Denmark. England and Russia would intervene if the war broke out again; German unity, held together with difficulty by the Danish war, would immediately disintegrate; the population of Jutland could be trained as an army reserve and the army doubled in size:

"and 60,000 troops on the narrow peninsula, backed up by the fleet, are a *Dannevirke* which big, united Germany would think twice about storming".

"But whatever the terms of the armistice, it is plain that once it is signed, ratified and guaranteed, it would be irresponsible if we neglected to fulfil its terms, or tolerated their infringement by our enemies. There is no question of our Government doing such a thing, there can and must be no doubts about this, and for this reason it would be wrong to get alarmed at all the rumours hawked around in Schleswig-Holstein publications about changes in the terms *once they have been accepted*. We are fully aware that Prussian generals and officials and the Germans in general, with a few honourable exceptions, do not take their commitments and their vows, their *bona fides* so very seriously; we are quite ready to believe that General Wrangel had the effrontery to put proposals to the Danish Commissioner, Mr. Reedtz, suggesting a breach of the terms in order to make them more acceptable to his friends in Schleswig-Holstein; we are quite ready to believe that both the Frankfurt Assembly and the Prussian Ministry consider it quite in order to urge us to agree to arbitrary

changes in a matter that has already been signed and sealed in due form. But we also believe that the worst thing our Government could do would be to permit them to alter even one jot or tittle of the treaty, for then "German honesty" would have no qualms about trampling the whole thing under foot. If Karl Moltke cannot find any co-regents, since it has been laid down how these are to be appointed, the Danish Government can proceed to choose two whose agreement is certain in advance, and it is then *up to Prussia to find two of its own.* If the people of Schleswig-Holstein are not willing to obey, it is *up to Prussia to force* them to. And if on the last appointed date, that is tomorrow, September 17, there is anything essential missing in the execution of the treaty after we for our part have conscientiously fulfilled all our obligations, then it is *up to the Danish Government* to set a final deadline, and if this also expires without any further developments, then it is the *right and duty of the Danish Government to move the army to Schleswig and have it occupied.* We will then see what Europe has to say and what guarantees and obligations actually mean. *We* certainly have no need to fear the consequences; whatever they are, it is easier to endure them than to disgrace ourselves in our own eyes and in the eyes of the whole world, than to allow ourselves to be treated as the bondsman (*Trael*) of German arrogance and German dishonesty.

"We are pleased to say that as we lay down our pen we can give the *positive assurance* ***that as far as Danish Government is concerned any modification*** of the armistice convention which has been concluded ***is out of the question.***

Thus the semi-official organ of the Danish Cabinet.

And now? Who is the deceiver now, who the deceived, who the *deceived deceiver*[a]?

Written by Engels on September 21, 1848

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 109, September 22, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] G. E. Lessing, *Nathan der Weise*, Act III, Scene 7.— *Ed.*

# THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION

*Cologne,* September 22. It has happened after all! The Government of the Prince of Prussia is in being and the counter-revolution intends to risk the final decisive blow.[290]

Read the following letter by a deputy:

"*Berlin,* September 20, 10 p.m. We have just learned beyond doubt that an entirely *counter-revolutionary Government* has been formed, namely" (then follows the list of Ministers which we gave yesterday in accordance with the special edition of the *Zeitungs-Halle*). "At tomorrow's session this same Government will read out a royal message wherein the *prospect of the disbandment of the Assembly* will be held out. The result of this is a *declaration of permanence* which will probably lead to a new and very bloody *revolution.* All parties of the National Assembly are consulting permanently in their usual premises. The population is very excited. Wrangel has held a military review today. Everything seems to be in question!"

It has happened after all! The Crown seeks the protection of the Uckermark grandees and the Uckermark grandees oppose the revolutionary movement of the year 1848. The Don Quixotes of Further Pomerania, these old warriors and debt-encumbered landed proprietors, will finally have their opportunity to cleanse their rusty blades in the blood of the agitators.[291] The guards, crowned with the cheap glory of Schleswig, are supposed to strike the decisive blow against the revolution which intrudes upon the rights of the Crown, which wants to prohibit the officers from plotting secretly and which intends, by the implacable hand of Hansemann's financial measures, to take a terribly "bold dip"[a] into the already limp purse of the Brandenburg junkers. The guards will take revenge for the

[a] An expression first used by Karl Mathy and Heinrich von Gagern in the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848; it became quickly popular.— *Ed.*

humiliation of March 18, disperse the Berlin Assembly and the officers will ride down Unter den Linden over the corpses of the revolutionaries.

Go on! Forward with God for King and Fatherland![a]

Written on September 22, 1848

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 110, September 23, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] From Frederick William III's decree on the formation of an army reserve issued on March 17, 1813.— *Ed.*

# [THE COLOGNE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY][292]

*Cologne*, September 23. As already announced in this newspaper, the Committee of Public Safety has notified the authorities here that it has undertaken 1) to co-operate in the preservation of peace and 2) to watch over the gains of the revolution.[a] Herr von Wittgenstein has passed on this news to Public Prosecutor Hecker just as he received it, together with an official request to investigate whether the Committee's plans in any way constitute a punishable offence.

Poor Herr Hecker! Already overburdened with the duties of his office, he now has also to take over the capacity for judging from the administrative officials!!!

Written about September 23, 1848

First published in the supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 112, September 26, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, pp. 586-87.— *Ed.*

# [PUBLIC PROSECUTOR HECKER QUESTIONS PEOPLE WHO HAD ATTENDED THE WORRINGEN MEETING]

*Cologne*, September 24. The Public Prosecutor, Herr Hecker, is the most harassed man in Cologne. For several days now he has been personally questioning witnesses in an attempt to find out what sort of sins against the Holy Spirit of penal law were committed at the public meeting at Worringen.[293] Up to now the results of his inquiries are said to have been extremely meagre, 1) because nothing illegal happened and 2) because it is unlikely that witnesses still remember what each individual said and especially in what context he said it. As regards 2), we think it better to refer Herr Hecker to the band of disguised policemen and *mouchards* who were wandering around the meadow taking notes in shorthand. But there again, if some of these pillars of the state are unable to give any evidence, we should not be surprised. One of them in particular was so drunk even at midday that he made his way in tears from one bar to the next gratefully accepting the drinks offered him and telling people "in confidence" that it is true he was here as a spy, but apart from this he was a decent fellow.

Written on September 24, 1848, or later

First published in the supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 112, September 26, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# [COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN COLOGNE]

*Cologne*, September 25. Scarcely had the official news of the formation of the counter-revolutionary Government[a] reached the Rhine when the Public Prosecutor's office here suddenly developed not only an almighty appetite for arrests but a zeal for activity such as was not encountered even in the old police state.

The counter-revolutionary campaign started this morning. Its heroes have won victories in some fields and suffered defeats in others—a fate that has befallen even greater generals. The intention was to lead away a few dozen Cologne democrats as early morning spoils and to delight the local wailers[294] over their breakfasts with the news. However, part of the prey was wrested from these gentlemen. For example, *Wachter*, captain of the 9th Company of the civic militia, was snatched by the people from the clutches of the Holy Hermandad.[295] Six guardians of the law forced their way into the house of our fellow citizen *Moll*. The crowd that quickly gathered around the house and its threatening attitude caused two of these gentlemen to flee into the attic and a third into the cellar. Unfortunately the house has only one exit. Moll acceded to the wishes of these terrified gentlemen and asked the people to allow the brigade of six men to withdraw in safety.

*Becker* and *Schapper*, on the other hand, were led off to gaol in the early hours of the morning. There are reports that in addition to Bürgers several other members of the editorial staff of our newspaper are on the proscribed list and that attempts have been made to arrest them.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 448-49.—*Ed.*

If these gentlemen go ahead with their plans, it will soon be a mystery how the editorial work of our newspaper is to be carried out. But we believe we can declare that all the manoeuvres directed against us will fail in their main aim and that our readers will continue as usual to receive the newspaper regularly. It is merely a question of who will first lose their sense of humour: the gentlemen from the Public Prosecutor's office or the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

We would add that even now some policemen etc. are on their way to Mülheim to punish several hated democrats there with arrest and imprisonment.

Written on September 25, 1848

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 112, September 26, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# [AN ATTEMPT TO ARREST MOLL]

*Cologne,* 11 a. m. This morning a detachment of the 29th Regiment was sent into the Kranz to carry out Moll's arrest. The soldiers were driven back and with the aid of the workers Moll got away safely.

Written on September 25, 1848

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 113, September 27, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# [STATE OF SIEGE IN COLOGNE][296]

**Cologne, September 26. Today we are also omitting the synopsis. We are hurrying to print the paper. We are being informed by a reliable source that the city will be placed in a state of siege within an hour or two, that the civic militia will be dissolved and disarmed, that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung*, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and the *Wächter am Rhein* will be suspended, that courts martial will be instituted and that all the rights gained in March are to be suppressed. It is reported that the civic militia is not inclined to let itself be disarmed.**

Written on September 26, 1848

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 113, September 27, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# [EDITORIAL STATEMENT CONCERNING THE REAPPEARANCE OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*]

**Due to the interest shown, particularly in *Cologne*, for the preservation of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, we have been able to overcome the *financial* difficulties brought about by the state of siege and to let the paper reappear. The editorial board remains the same. *Ferdinand Freiligrath* has newly joined it.**

***Karl Marx***
**Editor-in-Chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung***

Written by Marx on October 11, 1848

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 114, October 12, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# REVOLUTION IN VIENNA[297]

*Cologne*, October 11. In its *first* issue (for June 1) the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* wrote of a revolution (on May 25) in Vienna. Today, when we resume publication for the *first* time after the break caused by the declaration of a state of siege in Cologne, we bring news of the much more important Viennese revolution of October 6 and 7. Detailed reports on the events in Vienna compel us today to omit all analytical articles. Only a few words of comment, therefore, on the revolution in Vienna. Our readers will see from the reports of our Vienna correspondent[a] that the bourgeoisie's distrust of the working class threatens, if not to wreck the revolution, at least to hamper its development. However that may be, the repercussions of this revolution in Hungary, Italy and Germany foiled the entire plan of campaign devised by the counter-revolution. The flight from Vienna of the Emperor and of the Czech deputies[298] compels the Viennese bourgeoisie to continue the fight unless it is prepared to surrender unconditionally. The Frankfurt Assembly, which is just now engaged in presenting us Germans with

**a national gaol**
**and a common whip,**[b]

has been rudely awakened from its day-dreaming by the events in Vienna, and the Government at Berlin is beginning to doubt the efficacy of the *state of siege* as a panacea. The state of siege, like the revolution, is making a round-the-world tour. A large-scale experiment has just been made to impose a state of siege on a whole

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[a] Müller-Tellering.— *Ed.*
[b] Heinrich Heine, "Der Tannhäuser", Caput 3.—*Ed.*

country, Hungary. This attempt has called forth a revolution in Vienna instead of a counter-revolution in Hungary. The state of siege will not recover from this setback. Its reputation has been permanently ruined. By an irony of fate, simultaneously with Jellachich, *Cavaignac*, the hero of the state of siege in the West, has been singled out for attack by all the factions who were saved in June by his grape-shot. Only by resolutely going over to the revolution will he be able to hold out for some time.

Following the latest news from Vienna, we publish several reports sent on October 5, because they reflect the hopes and fears current in Vienna about the fate of Hungary.

Written by Marx on October 11, 1848 Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 114, October 12, 1848

# THE LATEST NEWS FROM THE "MODEL STATE"

*Brussels*, October 8. *La Nation* yesterday led off with the following article about two members of the editorial staff of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Herr Frederick Engels and Herr Ernst Dronke:

"The expulsions are succeeding one another and are unfortunately all too similar. While we are still awaiting a few words of explanation about the expulsion of Herr Adam, a similar measure is taken against two German citizens who were foolish enough to rely on the protection which the Belgian Constitution grants every foreigner. Yes, this protection exists in the wording of the Constitution; until a few days ago it even beamed down from one of the façades of that charming little constitutional monument with which the courtyard of the Palais de Nation was graced; but as soon as the intoxication of the national holidays[299] is over, the liberals who rule over us hurriedly stuff away the slogans with which they so gallantly regaled the inquisitive citizens of the city and the provinces. Brussels has returned to normal and the police is fulfilling exactly as before its lofty mission of compensating by its brutal manners for the generosity of our ill-advised constitutional theories.

"Herr Engels and Herr Dronke had been staying in our city for a few days. Both members of the editorial staff of a democratic journal, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, they left Cologne to avoid the consequences of warrants issued for their arrest because of a few speeches made at public meetings. They made their way to Belgium not in order to abuse that Belgian hospitality which on account of its rarity can be so valuable, but only to wait for the money they needed to continue their journey to Paris. The unhappy events that occurred in Cologne *after their departure* strengthened them in their intention. The Prussian Government has been blessed with good fortune since it followed the Belgian example and set out on the broad constitutional path—after finding a general[a] who decreed a state of siege and the suspension of the press *à la* Cavaignac, it also managed to find a public prosecutor-general[b] who agreed to employ the concept of moral complicity *à la* Hébert and *à la* de Bavay. But Herr Engels and Herr Dronke had forgotten that though the traveller proposes the police disposes.

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[a] Kaiser.— *Ed.*
[b] Zweiffel.— *Ed.*

"Scarcely had the news of their arrival in Brussels the day before yesterday become public when an inspector with his retinue turned up in their hotel. They were having their dinner. The inspector took them to the Town Hall and from there to the prison of the Petits-Carmes, whence after an hour or two they were transported in a sealed carriage to the Southern Railway Station. The police were merely using their powers in relation to "vagabonds" and, as it happened, the papers of our political refugees were not in order. It is true that they had on them a safe-conduct issued by the Cologne authorities stating that they were members of the civic militia of that city; moreover as a result of their stay in Brussels before March, they had friends who could prove their identity. But the police, ***only too well informed about them***, preferred to treat them as vagabonds before any proof to the contrary could be obtained.

"If this is obstinacy, at least it is not blind obstinacy.

"Judging from the way in which the arrests are at present taking place, we believe that this article will probably have its sequels in future issues, unless the friends of liberty of all countries become convinced that it is better 'to refrain under all circumstances from dropping in on us during their travels through this world'."

It is clear from this that the Belgian Government is increasingly learning to recognise its position. The Belgians gradually become policemen for all their neighbours, and are overjoyed when they are complimented on their quiet and submissive behaviour. Nevertheless, there is something ridiculous about the good Belgian policeman. Even the earnest *Times* only jestingly acknowledged the Belgian desire to please. Recently it advised the Belgian nation, after it had got rid of all the clubs, to turn itself into one big club with the motto: "*Ne risquez rien!*"[a]

It goes without saying that the official Belgian press, in its cretinism, also reprinted this piece of flattery and welcomed it jubilantly. The fact that in its very first issue the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* quite properly ridiculed any illusions about the Belgian "model" state makes it easier to understand, moreover, why the Belgian Government meted out such brutal treatment to two members of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*'s editorial staff.[b]

The Belgian press itself reveals to us how the Belgian Government seeks to perpetuate these illusions. The following report is printed word for word in the *Messager de Gand*:

"We now know of what this Germany consists that cherishes such great admiration for us. This Germany consists of Herr *Wolfers* from Louvain, whom M. Rogier pays to produce enthusiastic articles about Belgium in German for the *Kölnische Zeitung*. In view of the search for all possible ways to economise, it seems to us that we could easily abolish the fund of admiration which we are paying to all the journalists in Europe. In Brussels, in the provinces, in Paris, in London and even as far as Bucharest we are buying their compliments at a very high price. Savings in this field could add up to a

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[a] "London, Monday, October 2, 1848", *The Times* No. 19383, October 2, 1848.— *Ed.*

[b] "Brüssel, 30. Mai", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 1, June 1, 1848.— *Ed.*

sum not to be despised. In London, for example, the Belgian who writes admiring articles about Belgium for the *Times* and for the *Daily News*[a] has to be paid out of the 80,000 francs allocated to our embassy. As soon as the Prince Ligne is installed we shall have to pay for the admiration of a Roman journalist as well."

Are these revelations not delightful? But I have not finished yet. *La Nation* carries the following small item in its issue of October 10.

"We have often noticed that the 'private correspondent's' column in the *Indépendance*, dated Frankfurt and Berlin, is as like the articles in the *Kölnische Zeitung* (to which Wolfers contributes) as two drops of dirty water. This newspaper does not appear on Sundays; and the *Indépendance*, too, has no private correspondent's column on Mondays."

We need not add much. To show its gratitude to the *Indépendance* for copying its German news from the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the *Kölnische Zeitung* in turn obtains its views on Belgium and France from the *Indépendance*.

But as everyone knows, the *Indépendance* is the organ of the same M. Rogier who buys admiration for Belgium, who had the Belgian patriots of 1830, and the eighty-year-old General Mellinet, condemned to death[b] and who has political refugees conveyed across the frontier in sealed carriages.

Written between October 8 and 11, 1848

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[a] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has "*New England*".— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 405-06.— *Ed.*

# THE "REVOLUTION OF COLOGNE"[300]

*Cologne,* October 12. The *Kölnische Zeitung* tells us that the "revolution of Cologne" of September 25 was a Shrovetide farce and the *Kölnische Zeitung* is right.[a] The "Garrison Headquarters of Cologne" plays Cavaignac on September 26. And the *Kölnische Zeitung* admires the wisdom and moderation of the "Garrison Headquarters of Cologne". Who, however, is more comical—the workers who practised barricade building on September 25, or the Cavaignac who most solemnly proclaimed a state of siege on September 26, suspended the newspapers, disarmed the civic militia and prohibited the associations?

The poor *Kölnische Zeitung*! The Cavaignac of the "revolution of Cologne" cannot be an inch taller than the "revolution of Cologne" itself. The poor *Kölnische Zeitung*! It must regard the "revolution" as a joke and has to take seriously the "Cavaignac" of this merry revolution. What a vexatious, ungrateful and contradictory topic!

We will not waste a word on the competence of the Garrison Headquarters. D'Ester has exhausted that subject.[301] We regard, moreover, the Garrison Headquarters as a subordinate tool. The real authors of this peculiar tragedy were the "*loyal citizens*", the *Dumonts* and their associates. Thus it was no wonder that Herr Dumont had the address against d'Ester, Borchardt and Kyll disseminated by his newspapers.[302] What these "loyal ones" had to defend was not the action of the Garrison Headquarters but their own action.

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[a] "Köln, 29. September. Die Barrikaden in Köln", *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 268, September 30, 1848.— *Ed.*

The event at Cologne wandered through the Sahara Desert of the German press in the form given to it by the *Journal des Débats* of Cologne. That is sufficient reason to revert to it.

*Moll,* one of the most popular leaders of the Workers' Association,[303] was to have been arrested. Schapper and Becker had already been arrested. A *Monday* had been selected for the execution of this measure, a day on which, as is well known, the majority of workers are not working. Thus it must have been known beforehand that the arrests might arouse a great deal of ferment among the workers and that they might even give rise to violent resistance. It was a strange accident that these arrests were planned to take place on a Monday! It was the more easy to foresee the excitement since on the occasion of Stein's Army Order, after Wrangel's proclamation[304] and Pfuel's appointment as Prime Minister, a decisive counter-revolutionary blow and thus a revolution emanating from Berlin was expected at any moment. The workers, therefore, had to regard the arrests not as legal but as *political* measures. They viewed the Public Prosecutor's office only as a counter-revolutionary authority. They believed that it was the intention to rob them of their leaders on the eve of important events. They decided to prevent Moll's arrest at all costs and they left the scene of action only after they had accomplished their purpose. The barricades were not built until the workers, who had assembled on the Altenmarkt, learned that the army was advancing to attack from all sides. They were not attacked; hence they did not have to defend themselves either. They had learned, moreover, that no important news at all had arrived from Berlin. Hence they withdrew after they had spent the greater part of the night waiting in vain for the enemy.

Nothing is more ridiculous, therefore, than the reproach of cowardice which has been levelled against the workers of Cologne.

One has reproached them on yet other scores in order to justify the state of siege and to fashion the events in Cologne into a small June revolution. Their actual plan is supposed to have been the looting of the good city of Cologne. This accusation is based upon the alleged looting of *one* drapery shop. As if not every city has its contingent of thieves who naturally take advantage of days of public excitement. Or does one mean by looting the plundering of gunsmith's shops? If this is the case, the Cologne Public Prosecutor's office should be sent to Berlin to prepare the case against the March revolution. Without the looted gunsmith's shops, we would perhaps never have had the satisfaction of witnessing the transformation of Herr Hansemann into a bank President and of Herr Müller into a Secretary of State.

But enough of the workers of Cologne. Let us discuss the so-called *democrats*. What do the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the *Deutsche Zeitung*, the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* and whatever the other "loyal" papers may be called, accuse them of?

The heroic Brüggemanns, Bassermanns etc. demanded blood and the tender-hearted democrats have out of *cowardice* not allowed the blood to flow.

The facts are simply these: the democrats declared to the workers in the Kranz (on the Altenmarkt), in the Eiser Hall[305] and upon the barricades that they did not want a "*putsch*" under any circumstances. At this moment, however, when no large issue would drive the entire people into combat, and any rising would be bound to fail, such a rising would be the more senseless since tremendous events might occur within the next few days and one would thus render oneself unfit to fight *before* the day of decision. Once the Government in Berlin dares a counter-revolution, the day will have arrived for the people to dare a revolution. The judicial investigation will confirm our statement. Instead of standing in "nocturnal darkness" in front of the barricades with "folded arms and ominous glances" and "contemplating the future of their people",[a] the gentlemen of the *Kölnische Zeitung* would have done better to stand on the barricades haranguing the deluded crowd with their words of wisdom. What good is wisdom *post festum*[b]?

On the occasion of the events in Cologne, the respectable press reserved its worst treatment for the civic militia. Let us distinguish. That the civic militia refused to degrade itself by becoming the docile servant of the police, was its duty. That it turned over its weapons voluntarily can only be excused by one fact: the liberal section of it knew that the illiberal section would jubilantly take the opportunity to rid itself of the weapons. Partial resistance, however, would have been useless.

The "revolution of Cologne" has had *one* result. It has revealed the existence of a phalanx of more than 2,000 saints whose "satiated virtue and solvent morale"[c] leads a "free life"[d] only in a state of siege. Perhaps one day the occasion will arise to write an "*acta sanctorum*", the biographies of these saints. Our readers will then find out how

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[a] "Köln, 29. September. Die Barrikaden in Köln", *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 268, September 30, 1848.— *Ed.*

[b] After the event.— *Ed.*

[c] Heinrich Heine, "Anno 1829" (modified).— *Ed.*

[d] Schiller, *Die Räuber*, Act IV, Scene 5.— *Ed.*

the "treasures" are obtained that neither "moths nor rust" doth corrupt[a] and they will learn in which way the economic background of the "loyal way of thinking" is acquired.

Written by Marx on October 12, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

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[a] Matthew 6:20.— *Ed.*

# THE PFUEL GOVERNMENT

*Cologne*, October 13. When the *Camphausen* Government fell we said:

"The Camphausen Government has covered the counter-revolution with its liberal-bourgeois cloak. The counter-revolution now feels strong enough to shake off this irksome mask. It is possible that the Government of March 30 will be followed for a few days by some untenable Government of the *Left Centre* (Hansemann). Its real successor will be the *Government of the Prince of Prussia*." (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 23, June 23.)[a]

And in fact the Government of *Pfuel* (of *Neufchâtel*) followed the *Hansemann* Government.

The Pfuel Government handles constitutional phrases in the same way as the Frankfurt Central Authority treats "German unification". If we compare the *corpus delicti*, the real body of the Government, with its echo, its constitutional declarations, appeasings, mediations and agreements in the Berlin Assembly, we can only use Falstaff's phrase:

"*Lord, lord, how subject we old men are to this vice of lying!*"[b]

The Pfuel Government can only be followed by a *Government of the revolution.*

Written by Marx on October 13, 1848

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[a] See this volume, p. 107.— *Ed.*

[b] Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, Part Two, Act III, Scene 2.— *Ed.*

# THIERS' SPEECH CONCERNING A GENERAL MORTGAGE BANK WITH A LEGAL RATE

M. Thiers is publishing in the *Constitutionnel* a pamphlet about *Property*.[306] We shall take up this classically written triviality more thoroughly as soon as the publication has appeared in its entirety. M. Thiers has suddenly discontinued it. For the time being it is enough for us to observe that the "great" *Belgian* newspapers, the *Observateur* and the *Indépendance*, rave about M. Thiers' work. Today we shall follow up for a moment the speech dealing with mortgage debentures[307] which M. Thiers delivered on October 10 in the French National Assembly, a speech which according to the Belgian *Indépendance* has dealt the "*coup de grâce*" to paper money. But M. Thiers is also, as the *Indépendance* says, an orator who handles political, financial and social questions equally well.

This speech interests us only because it illustrates the tactic of the knights of the old state of affairs, a tactic with which they correctly confront the Don Quixotes of the new state of affairs.

If you demand a partial reform of the industrial and commercial conditions as was done by M. Turck whom Thiers was answering, they will confront you with the concatenation and interaction of the organisation as a whole. If you demand the transformation of the organisation as a whole, then you are destructive, revolutionary, unscrupulous, utopian and you overlook *partial* reforms. Hence the result: leave everything as it is.

M. Turck for example wants to make it easier for the peasants to turn their landed property to account by means of official mortgage banks. He wants to bring their property into circulation without it having to pass through the hands of usurers. For in France, as generally in the countries where the land is divided into lots, the

power of the feudal lords has been transformed into the power of the capitalists and the feudal obligations of the peasants have been transformed into bourgeois mortgage obligations.

What does M. Thiers reply to begin with?

If you want to help the peasant by means of public banks you will encroach upon the small tradesman. You cannot aid one without hurting the other.

Consequently we have to transform the *entire system of credit*?

By no means! That is a utopia. Thus M. Turck is dismissed without ceremony.

The small tradesman for whom M. Thiers cares so tenderly is the *big* Bank of France.

The competition of paper bills for two thousand million mortgages would ruin its monopoly and dividends and perhaps still something more.[a] Behind M. Thiers' argument therefore stands Rothschild in the background.

Let us take up another of M. Thiers' arguments. The mortgage proposal, M. Thiers states, does not actually concern *agriculture* at all.

M. Thiers remarks that it lies in the "*nature*" of things that landed property can be put into circulation only under onerous conditions, that it can be turned to account only with difficulty and that capital shuns it, so to speak. For, he says, it yields only a small profit. But on the other hand, M. Thiers cannot deny that it lies in the "nature" of modern industrial organisation that all industries, hence agriculture as well, only prosper if their products and their instruments can easily be turned to account, put into circulation and mobilised. This is not the case with land. *Hence* the conclusion would be: *agriculture* cannot prosper within the existing civilised conditions. Therefore the existing conditions must be changed and M. Turck's proposal is a small, even if inconsistent, beginning. By no means! exclaims M. Thiers. "Nature", i.e. the present social conditions, condemns agriculture to its present state. The present social conditions are "*nature*", i.e. they are unalterable. The assertion of their immutability is, of course, the most irrefutable proof against proposals for any change. If "monarchy" is nature then any republican attempt is a rebellion against nature. According to M. Thiers, it is also obvious that landed property *naturally* always yields the same small profits whether the capital is advanced to the landowner at 3 per cent by the state or at 10 per cent by the usurer. Thus it is by virtue of "nature".

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[a] Marx uses the English words "something more".— *Ed.*

By identifying industrial profit with the rent yielded by agriculture, M. Thiers also makes an assertion which plainly contradicts the present social conditions which he calls "nature".

Whereas industrial profit in general falls constantly, rent of land, i.e. the value of the soil, rises constantly. Thus M. Thiers ought to explain the phenomenon that the peasant is constantly becoming more impoverished in spite of it. Of course, he does not want to discuss that subject.

Furthermore Thiers' comments on the *difference* between French and English agriculture are really of a remarkable superficiality.

Thiers instructs us that the entire difference consists of the *land tax*. We pay a very high land tax, the Englishmen none. Apart from the inaccuracy of the latter assertion, M. Thiers certainly knows that in England agriculture is burdened with the poor-rate as well as a mass of other taxes which do not exist in France. M. Thiers' argument is used in its inverted meaning by English adherents of small-scale agriculture. Do you know, they ask, why English corn is more expensive than the French? Because we pay a *rent* and a high rent at that, something that the French do not do since on the average they are not tenants but small proprietors. Therefore, long live small property!

It takes the entire insolent triviality of Thiers to reduce the English concentration of [ownership of] land, the instrument of labour, whereby the use of machinery and the division of labour is made possible on a large scale in agriculture, and the interaction of English industry and English trade with agriculture—to reduce all these highly complex relations to the meaningless phrase that the English pay no *land tax*.

We shall contrast M. Thiers' opinion that the present mortgage procedure in France is a matter of indifference to agriculture with the opinion of the greatest French agricultural chemist. *Dombasle* has proved conclusively that French agriculture will become an impossibility if the present mortgage system in France continues to develop according to "*nature*".[a]

What insolent shallowness it takes anyway to assert that landed property relations are immaterial to agriculture, in other words that the social relations under which production takes place are immaterial to production!

By the way, there is hardly any need to add that M. Thiers, who

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[a] C.-J.-A. Mathieu de Dombasle, *Annales agricoles de Roville, ou mélanges d'agriculture, d'économie rurale, et de législation agricole.*— *Ed.*

wants to retain credits for the big capitalists, cannot give any credit to the small ones. It is precisely the credit of the big capitalists which spells lack of credit for the small ones. We deny, to be sure, that within the present system it is possible to aid the small landed proprietors by some clever financial trick. Thiers, however, had to maintain this view since he regards the present world as the best of all possible worlds.

In regard to this part of Thiers' speech we want to make just one further observation: by opposing the mobilisation of landed property and on the other hand praising English conditions, he forgets that it is exactly in England that agriculture possesses in the highest degree *the* advantage of being run like a factory and that the rent of land, i.e. landed property, is a movable, transferable security quoted on the Stock Exchange just like any other. Factory-type agriculture, i.e. the management of agriculture in the manner of big industry, on its part requires the mobilisation and exchangeability of landed property with commercial facility.

The second part of M. Thiers' speech consists of attacks on *paper money* in general. He labels the issuing of paper money on the whole as *counterfeiting*. He reveals to us the great truth that if one throws too large a quantity of the means of circulation, i.e. money, on the market, one devalues money itself and thus cheats doubly: the individual and the state. Allegedly this is especially the case with mortgage banks.

All these discoveries can be found in the worst *catechisms* of political economy.

Let us distinguish. It is clear that we do not increase production, i.e. real wealth, by arbitrarily increasing money, be it paper or metal currency. We do not double our tricks in a card game by doubling the chips.

On the other hand it is just as clear that if production is inhibited by a lack of chips, of means of exchange, of money, every increase of the means of exchange, every decrease in the difficulty of obtaining the means of exchange, implies at the same time an *increase in production*. Bills of exchange, banks etc. owe their origin to these needs of production. In this way mortgage banks can lead to the improvement of agriculture.

M. Thiers, however, does not fight for metal currency as opposed to paper money. He has speculated too much on the Stock Exchange to be swayed by the prejudices of the old mercantilists. What he opposes is the regulation of credit by society as represented by the state as against the regulation of credit by monopoly. Thus Turck's proposal for a general mortgage bank whose bills would have a legal

rate of exchange was the beginning of a regulation of credit in the general interest of society, even though this proposal in isolation means little.

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# THE *FRANKFURTER OBERPOSTAMTS-ZEITUNG* AND THE VIENNESE REVOLUTION

*Cologne,* October 18.

"A peculiar destiny seems to hold sway over Germany. When one believes that one has reached the point where it is possible to help with the reconstruction of the common fatherland, when one *raises one's eyes gratefully towards heaven for this blessing,* then the thunderclouds which are still hanging over Europe, discharge new and mighty claps and make *the hands tremble* which have dedicated themselves to the drawing up of a Constitution for Germany. We have just experienced such a thunderclap again in *Vienna.*"

Thus complains the *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung,* the *Moniteur* of the Imperial Administration. This worthy paper, whose recent editor[a] appeared on the list of Guizot's paid creatures, took itself *au sérieux* for a moment. The Central Authority with its parliamentary framework, the Council of Frankfurt, appeared to it as a serious power. Instead of issuing their counter-revolutionary orders directly to their subjects, the 38 German governments let the Central Authority in Frankfurt issue to them the order to carry out their own decisions. Everything was running smoothly just as at the time of the Direct Commission of Mainz.[308] The Central Authority was able to imagine that it was a power and its *Moniteur* was able to imagine that it was a *Moniteur.* It sang "Now thank ye all our God, your hands raised up to heaven".

And now we "experience" a thunderclap from Vienna. The "*hands*" of our Lycurguses "*tremble*" in spite of the army in spiked helmets which are so many lightning-conductors of the revolution; in spite of the decrees which declare criticism of black-red-golden

[a] Karl Peter Berly.—*Ed.*

persons and *gesta*[a] to be a criminal offence[309]; and in spite of the strong language of those gigantic figures, Schmerling, Mohl and Gagern. The revolutionary monster roars anew—and in Frankfurt they "*tremble*". The *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung* is frightened out of its thanksgiving prayer. It tragically grumbles at its iron fate.

In Paris the party of Thiers is in control, in Berlin the Pfuel Government with Wrangels in all the provinces; in Frankfurt a central gendarmerie; in all Germany a more or less hidden state of siege; Italy pacified by the gentle Ferdinand and Radetzky; after the annihilation of the Magyars Jellachich, the commander of Hungary, proclaiming together with Windischgrätz "Croatian freedom and order" in Vienna; in Bucharest the revolution drowned in blood; the Danube principalities blessed by the good deeds of the Russian regime; in England all the Chartist leaders arrested and deported; Ireland too starved to be able to move—tell me, what more do you want?[b]

The Viennese revolution has not yet won. Its first summer lightning suffices, however, to illuminate all the positions of the counter-revolution in Europe and thus to render inevitable a universal fight to the death.

The counter-revolution is not yet destroyed but it has made *a fool* of itself. With the hero *Jellachich* all its heroes are transformed into comical figures, and with *Fuad Effendi*'s proclamation after the blood bath of Bucharest,[310] all proclamations of the friends of "constitutional freedom and order", from the proclamations of the Imperial Diet down to the most insignificant statement of the wailers, are parodied to death.

Tomorrow we shall discuss at length the immediate situation in Vienna and the Austrian situation in general.

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[a] Deeds.—*Ed.*

[b] From Heinrich Heine's poem "Du hast Diamanten und Perlen". In *Die Heimkehr*.—*Ed.*

# REPLY OF THE KING OF PRUSSIA TO THE DELEGATION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

*Cologne,* October 18. The King is consistent at any rate. His Majesty never contradicts himself. On the occasion of the festival celebrating the building of Cologne's cathedral, he told the delegation of the Frankfurt National Assembly:

"Gentlemen, I fully understand the significance of your Assembly. I realise very well how important your Assembly is!" The voice of His Majesty then assumed a very solemn and biting tone: "But please do not forget that there are still sovereigns in Germany"—at this point His Majesty placed his hand upon his heart and spoke with uncommon emphasis—"and do not forget that I am one of them!"

A similar reply was also given to the delegation of the Berlin Assembly when it visited His Majesty at Bellevue Castle on October 15[a] in order to congratulate him. The King said:

"We are in the process of constructing an edifice which is to last for centuries. But, gentlemen, I would like to call your attention to one matter. We still possess an hereditary authority *by the grace of God*"—these words were spoken by the King with great emphasis—"which is surely envied in many places and which is still endowed with full powers. It is the only foundation upon which that edifice can be constructed if it is to last for as long as I have indicated."

The King is consistent. He would always have been consistent had it not been for the unfortunate fact that the March days interposed that fateful scrap of paper between His Majesty and his people.[311]

At this moment, His Majesty, just as he did before the March days, seems again to believe in Slavdom's "*legs of iron*"[b]. Perhaps the

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[a] Birthday of Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. Daniel 2:33.—*Ed.*

people in Vienna will turn out to be the magician who will transform the iron into clay.

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# REPLY OF FREDERICK WILLIAM IV TO THE DELEGATION OF THE CIVIC MILITIA

*Cologne,* October 18. *Frederick William IV* replied to *Rimpler,* the commander of the civic militia of Berlin, in response to the latter's congratulations on the occasion of October 15[a]:

"I know that a heroic and brave people is also a *loyal* one. But do not forget *that you obtained the weapons from me* and that I demand that you stand up dutifully for the preservation of order, law and freedom."

Constitutional kings are *not responsible,* on the understanding that they are *not answerable,* in the constitutional sense, of course. Their actions, their words, their countenances do not belong to them, they belong to the *responsible Ministers.*

*Hansemann,* for example, on the occasion of his exit, had the King say that he considered the execution of Stein's Army Order[312] incompatible with constitutional monarchy. *Pfuel* carried it out, that is in the parliamentary sense. Hansemann was compromised, in the constitutional sense. The King had not contradicted himself, because he had not spoken, always in the constitutional sense.

Thus the above declaration of the King is nothing but a *ministerial* declaration and as such is subject to criticism.

If *Pfuel* claims that the King has created the civic militia on his own accord, then he claims that the King is the *originator* of the *March revolution* which is nonsense, even in the constitutional sense.

Apart from this.

After God had created the world and the kings by the grace of God, he relinquished the smaller industry to human beings. Even "*weapons*" and lieutenants' uniforms are manufactured by profane

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[a] Birthday of Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

methods and the profane method of manufacturing does not create from nothing as the heavenly industry does. It needs raw materials, the tools of labour and wages, all items which are summed up by the unpretentious term: *production costs*. These production costs are defrayed for the state by *taxes* and the taxes are raised by the *work of the nation*. Thus in an *economic* sense it remains an enigma how any king can *give* anything to a nation. First of all, the people have to produce weapons and give the weapons to the king, in order to obtain weapons from the king. In all cases, the king can only give what is given to him. That is the position in an *economic sense*. It so happens, however, that *constitutional* kings arise exactly at those moments when people find the clue to this *economic secret*. Therefore the initial causes for the overthrow of the kings by the grace of God have always been *questions of taxation*. It is the same in Prussia. Even the *immaterial* goods, the privileges, which the nations allowed the kings to *grant* to them, were not only bestowed by them upon the kings in the first place but in order to get them back the people always had to pay *in cash*—in blood and ringing coin. Trace, for example, *English* history since the eleventh century and you will be able to calculate pretty accurately how many crushed skulls and how many pound sterling every constitutional privilege cost. Herr Pfuel apparently wants to take us back to the good old times of the *Davenant Economic Chart*.[a] In this chart concerning English production we read among other items:

Section 1. *Productive workers*: kings, officers, lords, country clergymen etc.

Section 2. *Unproductive workers*: sailors, peasants, weavers, spinners etc.

According to this chart section 1 produces and section 2 receives. It is in this sense that Herr Pfuel says the king gives.

Pfuel's declaration shows what one expects in Berlin from the hero of "Croatian order and freedom".[b]

The most recent incidents in Berlin remind one of the conflicts in Vienna on August 23 between the civic militia and the people, conflicts which were also provoked by the camarilla. *That August 23 was followed by October 5.*[313]

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[a] [Ch. Davenant,] *An Essay upon the Probable Methods of making a People Gainers in the Ballance of Trade*, pp. 23, 50.—*Ed.*

[b] Jellachich.—*Ed.*

# THE *RÉFORME* ON THE JUNE INSURRECTION

*Paris.* When on June 29 the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was the *only* European newspaper, with the exception of the English *Northern Star*, which had the courage and the discernment to give a true appreciation of the June revolution,[a] it was not refuted but denounced.

The facts have subsequently confirmed our interpretation even for the weakest eye as long as interest has not entirely destroyed the eyesight.

At that time the *French* press, too, disgraced itself. The resolute Paris newspapers were suppressed. The *Réforme*, the only radical newspaper which Cavaignac allowed to continue to exist, stammered excuses for the magnanimous June fighters and begged the victor to treat the conquered with some humanity as an act of charity. The beggar, of course, was not listened to. It took first the complete course of the June victory, the months-long diatribes of the provincial newspapers which were not fettered by the state of siege and the obvious resurrection of the Thiers party[314] to bring the *Réforme* to its senses.

On the occasion of the amnesty project of the extreme Left, it remarked in its issue of October 18:

"The people did not punish anybody when they descended from the barricades. The people! In those days it was the ruler, the sovereign and the victor. One kissed its feet and hands, saluted its tunic and acclaimed its noble sentiments. And rightly so. It was magnanimous.

"Today the people has its children and brothers in the dungeons, on the galleys and before courts martial. After hunger had exhausted its patience, after it had seen a

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[a] See this volume, pp. 144 and 147-49.—*Ed.*

whole crowd of ambitious people whom it had picked out of the gutter, calmly walk by and ascend to palaces, after it had for three long months put its trust in the republic, it finally lost its head in the midst of its starving children and slowly dying fathers and plunged into battle.

"It has paid dearly. Its sons have dropped under a hail of bullets and those who remained were divided into two parts. One part was thrown to the courts martial, the other was packed up for deportation without investigation, without the right of defence and without a verdict! This method is strange for any land, even for the land of the Kabyles.

"Never during its twenty years' existence did the monarchy dare to do anything similar.

"In those days the journals that speculate in dynasties arrived inebriated by the corpses' smell, boldly and immediately ready to insult the dead" (cf. the *Kölnische Zeitung* of June 29) "spewing forth calumnies of odious malice, drawing and quartering the honour of the people before the judicial investigation and dragging the vanquished, the dead and the living, before special courts. They denounced them to the destructive fury of the national guard and the army and turned themselves into agents for the hangmen and servants of the pillory. These lackeys of insane desires for vengeance invented crimes; they exacerbated our misfortune and they perfected the insult and the lie!" (Cf. the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of July 1 concerning the French *Constitutionnel*, the Belgian *Indépendance* and the *Kölnische Zeitung*.[a])

"The *Constitutionnel* openly displayed gruesome mutilations and despicable atrocities. It knew very well that it was *lying* but that suited its business and its politics, and being businessman and diplomatist all at the same time, it sold 'by the crime' as elsewhere one sells 'by the yard'. This beautiful speculation had to end some time or other. The contradictions poured out: not a single name of a galley convict could be found in the documents of the courts martial or the bulletins of transportation. There were no longer any means to degrade the despair, and one kept silence, having cashed in on the profit."

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[a] See this volume, pp. 150-56.—*Ed.*

# ENGLISH-FRENCH MEDIATION IN ITALY

*Cologne,* October 21. The *English-French mediation in Italy has been given up.* The death's head of diplomacy grins after every revolution and particularly after the reactions which follow every revolution. Diplomacy hides itself in its perfumed charnel-house as often as the thunder of a new revolution rumbles. The *Viennese revolution* has blown away French-English diplomacy.

*Palmerston* has admitted his impotence and so has *Bastide.* The Viennese revolution, as they explain, has put an end to the boring correspondence of these gentlemen. Bastide has officially notified of this fact Marquis *Ricci,* the Sardinian envoy.

When the latter asked "whether France would under certain circumstances take up arms in favour of Sardinia"[a] the *farouche* republican Bastide (of the *National*) made a curtsy once, twice, thrice and sang:

> Put trust in me and help yourselves
> Then God will help you, brothers.[b]

France, he said, abides by the principle of *non-intervention,* that same principle which was fought by *Bastide* and the other gentlemen of the *National* for years during Guizot's times.

The "*respectable*" French Republic would have made a deadly fool of itself in regard to this *Italian* question were it not above all disgrace since the portentous June.

*Rien pour la gloire!*[c] say the friends of business in all circumstances. *Rien pour la gloire!* is the motto of the virtuous, the moderate, the

[a] "Question italienne. Dernière phase de la médiation anglo-française (Communication)", *La Presse* No. 4499, October 19, 1848.— *Ed.*

[b] Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen,* Caput XII.— *Ed.*

[c] Mere honour is worth nothing.—*Ed.*

decent, the sedate, the respectable, in a word, the bourgeois republic. *Rien pour la gloire!*

*Lamartine* was the imaginary picture which the bourgeois republic had of itself, the exuberant, fantastic, visionary conception which it had formed of itself, the dream of its own splendour. It is quite remarkable what one can imagine! As Aeolus unleashed all the winds from his bag, so Lamartine set free all spirits of the air, all the phrases of the bourgeois republic, and he blew them towards the east and the west, empty words of the fraternity of all nations, of the impending emancipation of all the nations by France and of France's sacrifice for all the nations.

He did—*nothing*.

It was *Cavaignac* who undertook to supply the deeds corresponding to Lamartine's phrases and *Bastide*, his outward turned organ.

They calmly allowed the shocking scenes in Naples, the shocking scenes in Messina and the shocking scenes in the Milan region to take place before their very eyes.[315]

And so that not the least bit of doubt should remain as to the fact that the same *class* as well as the same foreign policy prevail in the "*respectable*" republic as under the constitutional monarchy, under Cavaignac as well as under Louis Philippe, in case of strife between nations, one has recourse to the old and eternally new means, the *entente cordiale* with England,[316] with the England of Palmerston and with the England of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

History could not, however, omit the *climax*, the point. *Bastide*, an editor of the *National*, had to grasp England's hand frantically. And the *entente cordiale* has been the main trump which the poor Anglophobe *National* played off against Guizot all life long.

On the gravestone of the "respectable" republic, will be inscribed: *Bastide-Palmerston.*

But even Guizot's *entente cordiale* has been surpassed by the "respectable" republicans. The officers of the French fleet let themselves be treated to a banquet by the Neapolitan officers and cheered the health of the *King of Naples, the idiotic tiger* Ferdinand, on the still smoking ruins of Messina. Above their heads, however, the phrases of *Lamartine* were evaporating.

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# THE "MODEL CONSTITUTIONAL STATE"

*Cologne,* October 21. We always revert again, and always with renewed satisfaction, to Belgium, our *"model constitutional state"*.

We proved in a previous number of our newspaper that *"pauperism"* is *"Leopold's greatest vassal"*. We showed that if the *crimes* of just the boys and girls under 18 years of age were to continue to develop spontaneously at the same ratio as in 1845-47, "by 1856 all Belgium would be in gaol, the unborn children included". We proved in the same article that the drying up of Belgium's industrial sources of income keeps in step with the growth of pauperism and crime (No. 68 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*).[a]

Today we will look at the *financial* situation of the *"model state"*.

| | Francs |
|---|---|
| The regular budget of 1848 | 119,000,000 |
| The first compulsory loan | 12,000,000 |
| The second compulsory loan | 25,000,000 |
| Banknotes with a fixed rate of exchange | 12,000,000 |
| Total sum: | 168,000,000 |
| In addition banknotes with a fixed rate of exchange guaranteed by the state | 40,000,000 |
| Total: | 208,000,000 |

[a] See this volume, pp. 333-36.—*Ed.*

Belgium, so Rogier tells us, stands like a rock amid world-historic tempests, but is not affected by them. It stands on the bed-rock of its broad institutions. The 208,000,000 francs are the prosaic translation of the miraculous power of those model institutions. Constitutional Belgium will not be brought down by revolutionary development. It will perish ignominiously through *bankruptcy.*

The *liberal* Belgian Government, the Rogier Government, like all liberal governments, is nothing but a Government of capitalists, bankers and the big bourgeoisie. We shall see right away how in spite of growing pauperism and declining industry, it does not disdain the most cunning means to exploit ever anew the entire nation for the benefit of the bank barons.

The second loan listed in the above compilation, has been chiefly wrested from the Parliament by the assurance that *government bonds* were to be redeemed. These government bonds had been issued under the Catholic *de Theux* Government by the Catholic Finance Minister *Malou.* These were the government bonds issued against voluntary loans made to the state by a few financial barons. They constituted the main theme, the inexhaustible theme of the howling diatribes which our Rogier and his liberal accomplices directed against the de Theux Government.

And what does the liberal Government proceed to do? It announces in the *Moniteur*—Belgium has its *Moniteur*—a new issue of government bonds at 5 per cent.

What shamelessness to issue government bonds after a compulsory loan of 25,000,000 francs has been obtained surreptitiously solely under the pretext that the so much maligned government bonds issued by Malou were to be redeemed! But that is not all.

The government bonds are issued at 5 per cent. Belgian securities, which are also guaranteed by the state, yield an interest of 7 and 8 per cent. Who then will put his money into government bonds? And besides, the situation of the country in general and the compulsory loans have left few who are able to make voluntary loans to the state.

What then is the purpose of this new issue of government bonds?

The *banks* have not yet been able by far to put into circulation all the notes with a legally fixed rate of exchange which the liberal Government had authorised them to issue. There are in their portfolios still several million of these useless securities which naturally yield nothing as long as they remain hermetically sealed in the portfolios. Is there a better way of putting these securities into circulation than to give them to the state in exchange for government bonds which yield 5 per cent?

Thus the bank draws 5 per cent on several million scraps of paper which have not cost it anything and which only have an exchange value at all because the state has given them an exchange value. The taxable Belgian masses will find in the next budget a deficit of an additional several hundred thousand francs which they will be in duty bound to raise, all for the benefit of the poor bank.

Is it surprising that the Belgian financial barons find the constitutional monarchy more lucrative than the republic? The Catholic Government cherished and protected primarily the *holiest,* i.e. the *material,* interests of the landlords. The liberal Government looks with equally tender care after the interests of the landlords, the financial barons and the court lackeys. Is it any wonder that under its skilful direction these so-called parties, which equally voraciously pounce upon the national wealth, or rather in the case of Belgium, upon the national poverty, and which on such occasions sometimes quarrel amongst themselves, now, fully reconciliated, fall into each other's arms and form only one big party: the "*national party*"?

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# PUBLIC PROSECUTOR "HECKER" AND THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*[317]

*Cologne,* October 28. No. 116 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* carried *in the feuilleton section,* i.e. outside the political part of the newspaper, "*A Word to the German People*" signed "*Hecker*". This "*historical document*" was printed by a number of German newspapers *before* the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* printed it. Other German newspapers, Rhenish-Prussian and old-Prussian not excluded, carried it later. Even the *Kölnische Zeitung* possessed enough historical sense to print the proclamation of Struve and likewise that of Fuad Effendi.[318]

We do not know whether the laurels of the republican Hecker did not let Public Prosecutor Hecker sleep in peace. Was the astonished world to learn that the German revolution had been twice beaten by the flight of the republican Hecker to New York and the presence of the Public Prosecutor Hecker in Cologne? It cannot be denied. Posterity will see in these two giant figures the dramatic synopsis of the contradictions of the modern movement. A future *Goethe* will unite them in a *Faust.* We shall leave it to him to which Hecker he wants to assign the role of Faust and to which that of Wagner.

In short. The fantastic farewell address of the republican Hecker was followed by the no less fantastic case of Public Prosecutor Hecker.

Or are we mistaken? Does Hecker, the Public Prosecutor, believe that *"the word to the German people"* is the product of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* itself, that this newspaper with its inventive maliciousness has signed its own proclamation "Hecker" in order to make the German people believe that Hecker, the Public Prosecutor, is emigrating to New York, that Hecker, the Public Prosecutor, proclaims the German republic, that Hecker, the Public Prosecutor, officially sanctions pious revolutionary wishes?

Such a trick was credible because the document reproduced in the supplement to No. 116 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is not signed *Friedrich* Hecker but *tout bonnement* "Hecker". A Hecker without flourishes, a simple Hecker! And does not Germany possess a twofold Hecker?

And who of the two is the "simple Hecker"? In any case, this simplicity remains ambiguous and, in our opinion, embarrassing for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.*

Be that as it may, Herr Hecker, the Public Prosecutor, apparently viewed the *"word to the German people"* as a *product* of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* He saw in it a *direct appeal to overthrow the Government,* high treason in its most developed form or at the very least complicity in high treason which according to the *Code pénal*[319] constitutes "simple" high treason.

Thus Herr Hecker requested the examining magistrate to "*assume*" not that the undersigned responsible publisher,[a] but that the editor-in-chief, *Karl Marx,* is guilty of high treason. But to "assume" somebody *guilty of high treason* means in other words to put him into prison for the time being and to punish him until further notice with detention pending investigation. We are dealing here with the "imposition" of solitary confinement. The examining magistrate refused to do this. Once Herr Hecker has conceived of an idea, he pursues his idea. To "constitute" the editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* became a *fixed idea* for him just as the name of "Hecker" underneath the "farewell address" was for him *fictitious.* Hence he turned to the Council Chamber. The Council Chamber declined. He went from the Council Chamber to the Senate of Appeal. The Senate of Appeal refused to become involved. Herr Hecker, the Public Prosecutor, however, did not give up his fixed idea to "constitute", always in the above sense, the editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Karl Marx.* As one can see, the ideas of the Public Prosecutor's office are not speculative ideas in the Hegelian sense. They are ideas in the Kantian sense, notions of *"practical"* reason.

*Karl Marx* could never be directly "accused" of high treason, even if the printing of revolutionary facts or proclamations constituted a newspaper guilty of high treason. In the first place, one had to charge *the one* who had *signed* the newspaper, especially in this case, where the document in question appeared *in the feuilleton section.* What else could one do? One idea leads to another. One could cite *Karl Marx,* under Article 60 of the *Code pénal,* as an

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[a] Korff.— *Ed.*

accomplice to the crime allegedly committed by the responsible publisher. One can also cite him, if one wants to, as an accomplice of that declaration even if it was printed in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. Hence *Karl Marx* received a summons from the examining magistrate. He appeared and his evidence was taken down. The compositors were, as far as we know, summoned as witnesses, the proof-reader was summoned as a witness and the owner of the printshop was summoned as a witness. Finally, though, the *responsible publisher* was invited as a *witness*. We do not understand the last summons.

Is the alleged author supposed to bear witness against his accomplice?

So that nothing is omitted from our narrative: a police raid was conducted against the office of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

Hecker, the Public Prosecutor, has surpassed Hecker, the republican. The one accomplishes rebellious facts and issues rebellious proclamations. The other, despite every reluctance, erases facts from the memoirs of contemporary history, from the *newspapers*. He makes what has happened not to have happened. If the "bad press" reports revolutionary facts and proclamations, it commits twofold high treason. It is a moral accomplice since it only reports the rebellious facts because it is inwardly titillated by them. It is an accomplice in the ordinary juridical sense; by reporting, it disseminates, and by disseminating, it turns itself into a tool of the rebellion. It will, therefore, be "constituted" on both counts and will thus enjoy the *fruits* of the "constitution". The "good press", by contrast, will have the monopoly to report or not to report, to falsify or not to falsify revolutionary documents and facts. *Radetzky* has made use of this theory by prohibiting the Milanese newspapers to report the Viennese facts and proclamations. The *Milanese Newspaper*,[a] on the other hand, reported in place of the great Viennese "revolution" a small Viennese riot especially composed by Radetzky. It is rumoured that an insurrection has nonetheless broken out in Milan.

Herr Hecker, the Public Prosecutor, is, as everybody knows, a *contributor* to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.[b] As our contributor we forgive him much except the sin against the unholy "spirit" of our newspaper. And he commits this sin by transforming, with a lack of critical faculty unheard of in a contributor to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the proclamation of Hecker the fugitive into the proclamation of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Friedrich Hecker adopts a

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[a] *Gazzetta di Milano*.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 186.—*Ed.*

*passionate* attitude and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* a *critical* attitude towards the movement. Friedrich Hecker expects everything from the magic influence of single *personalities.* We expect everything from the collisions which arise from the economic *conditions.* Friedrich Hecker travels to the United States in order to study the "republic". The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* finds that the grandiose class struggles which are taking place in the *French Republic* are more interesting subjects of study than those in a republic in which in the west class struggles do not yet exist and in the east move only within the old quiet English forms. For Friedrich Hecker social questions are consequences of political struggles, for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* political struggles are merely the manifestations of social collisions. Friedrich Hecker could be a good tricolour republican. The actual opposition of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* only begins with the tricolour republic.

How, for example, could the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* without completely repudiating its past, have called upon the German people to

> "rally around the men who hold high the banner of popular sovereignty and who guard it faithfully, the men of the extreme Left in Frankfurt am Main; join firmly by word and deed the brave leaders of the republican rising".

We have repeatedly declared that we are not a "parliamentary" newspaper and that we do not hesitate, therefore, from time to time to draw the wrath of even the extreme Left of Berlin and Frankfurt upon our heads. We have called upon the gentlemen of Frankfurt to join the people, we have never called upon the people to join the gentlemen of Frankfurt. And "the brave leaders of the republican rising", where are they and who are they? Hecker is, as is well known, in America, Struve is in prison. Is it *Herwegh?* The editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* in particular Karl Marx, have at public meetings decisively opposed Herwegh's initiative[320] in Paris without fearing the ill favour of the excited masses. They were, therefore, duly mistrusted at that time (compare the *Deutsche Volkszeitung*[321] among others) by *utopians* who mistook themselves for *revolutionaries.* Are we supposed to join the people of the opposite opinion now that events have repeatedly confirmed our predictions?

But let us be just. Herr Hecker, the Public Prosecutor, is still a young contributor to our newspaper. The novice in politics just as the novice in natural science resembles that painter who knows only two colours, white and black, or, if you prefer, black-white and red. The finer differences within each *espèce* reveal themselves only to the skilled and experienced eye. And besides, was Herr Hecker not dominated by the fixed idea to *"constitute"* Karl Marx, the

editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* a fixed idea which melted in the purgatory neither of the Investigating Court, nor of the Council Chamber, nor of the Senate of Appeal; hence it must be a fire-proof fixed idea.

The greatest achievement of the March revolution is unquestionably, to use the words of Brutus Bassermann, the "rule of the most noble and best" and their rapid rise on the scale of power. We hope therefore that the merits of Public Prosecutor *Hecker,* our esteemed contributor, will also carry him to the heights of the state's Olympus, as the snow-white doves which were harnessed to the chariot of Aphrodite, carried her with lightning speed to Olympus. As everybody knows, our Government is constitutional. Pfuel is full of enthusiasm for constitutionalism. It is the custom in constitutional states to pay close attention to the recommendations of opposition newspapers. We are therefore moving on constitutional grounds when we advise the Government to *award* to our Hecker the vacant position of *Chief Public Prosecutor* of Düsseldorf. Public Prosecutor *Ammon* of Düsseldorf, who, as far as we know, has not yet earned a life-saving medal for his services to the fatherland, will not hesitate for one moment to dictate reverential silence to his own possible claims in view of the higher merits. If, however, Herr *Heimsoeth* should become Minister of Justice, as we hope he will, we will recommend Herr Hecker as *Attorney General.* We expect still bigger things for Herr Hecker. Herr Hecker is still young. And as the Russians say: the Tsar is great, God is greater still, but the *Tsar is still young.*

Written by Marx on October 28, 1848

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 129, October 29, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# "APPEAL OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE"[322]

*Cologne,* November 2. We give below the appeal of the "Democratic Congress"[323]:

*TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE!*

During long humiliating years, the German people groaned under the yoke of despotism. The bloody deeds of Vienna and Berlin justified the hope that its freedom and unity would be realised at one blow. The diabolical cunning of an execrable reaction balked this development, thus cheating the heroic people of the fruits of its grandiose insurrection. Vienna, a main bulwark of German freedom, finds itself at the moment in the greatest danger. Sacrificed by the intrigues of a still powerful camarilla, it was to be delivered again to the fetters of despotism. But its noble population rose as one man and opposes the armed hordes of its oppressors resolute unto death. The cause of Vienna is the cause of Germany and the cause of freedom. With the fall of Vienna, the old tyranny will raise its banner higher than ever, Vienna's victory would mean its destruction. It is up to us, German brothers, not to allow Vienna's freedom to perish and not to sacrifice it to the fortune of war of barbaric hordes. It is the most sacred duty of the German governments to rush to the aid of their hard pressed sister city with all their influence. It is, however, at the same time also the most sacred duty of the German people—in the interest of its freedom and in the interest of its self-preservation—to make every sacrifice for the salvation of Vienna. The German people must never draw upon itself the humiliation of blunt indifference when the most precious things, when everything is at stake. Therefore we ask you, brothers, to contribute, each according to his strength, to save Vienna from perdition. What we are doing for Vienna, we are doing for Germany. It is up to you to help! The men whom you have sent to Frankfurt in order to establish freedom have rejected the request to help Vienna with derision. It is up to you now to act! With your powerful and unshakeable energy, demand from your governments that they submit to your majority and save the German cause and the cause of freedom in Vienna. Hurry! You are the power, your will is law! Arise, ye men of freedom, arise in all German lands and wherever else the thought of freedom and humanity inflames noble hearts! Arise,

before it is too late! Save the freedom of Vienna. Save the freedom of Germany. The present generation will admire you, posterity will reward you with immortal glory!

October 29, 1848

***The Democratic Congress in Berlin***

In this appeal lack of revolutionary energy is replaced by sermonising, wailing and ranting[324] behind which hides the most decided lack of thought and passion.

Just a few samples!

The appeal expected of the Vienna and Berlin March revolutions "the realisation of the unity and freedom" of the German people *"at one blow"*. In other words: the appeal dreamed of *"one blow"* which would render the *"development"* of the German people towards "unity and freedom" superfluous.

Immediately thereafter, however, the fantastic "one blow" which replaces the development is transformed into a *"development"* which was *balked* by the reaction. A phrase which reduces itself to nothing!

We are disregarding the monotonous repetition of the basic theme: Vienna is in danger and with Vienna Germany's freedom. Help Vienna and you will help yourselves! This thought has not been given flesh and blood. This *one* phrase is wrapped around itself so many times until it has been extended into a piece of oratory. We merely observe that artificial, insincere ranting always lapses into this clumsy rhetoric.

"It is up to us, German brothers, not to allow Vienna's freedom to perish and not to sacrifice it to the fortune of war of barbaric hordes."

And how are we to do this?

First of all, by an appeal to the sense of duty of the *"German governments"*. *C'est incroyable!*[a]

"It is the *most sacred duty of the German governments* to rush to the aid of their hard pressed sister city with all their influence."

Is the Prussian Government supposed to send Wrangel or Colomb or the Prince of Prussia against Auersperg, Jellachich and Windischgrätz? Did the "*Democratic*" Congress have the right to assume for one moment this childish and conservative attitude to the German governments? Did it have the right to separate for one moment the cause and the "most sacred interests" of the German governments from the cause and the interests of "Croatian order and freedom"? The governments will smile in self-satisfaction at this virginal enthusiasm.

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[a] That is incredible!—*Ed.*

And the people?

The people are exhorted in general "to make every sacrifice for the salvation of Vienna". Fine! The "people", however, expect particular demands of the Democratic Congress. Whoever demands everything, demands nothing and obtains nothing. Thus the *particular* demand, the whole point is:

"With your powerful and unshakeable energy, *demand* from *your governments* that they submit to your majority and save the German cause and the cause of freedom in Vienna. Hurry! You are the power, your will is law! Arise!"

Let us assume that great popular demonstrations succeed in compelling the governments to take steps in a semi-official way for the salvation of Vienna; we would be blessed with a second edition of "Stein's Army Order". The very idea of using the present "German governments" as "saviours of freedom"—as if in carrying out *imperial punitive measures* they were not fulfilling their true calling and their "most sacred duties" as the Gabriels of "constitutional freedom". The "Democratic Congress" had to be silent about the German governments or it had to reveal unsparingly their conspiracy with Olmütz[a] and Petersburg.

Even though the appeal recommends *"speed"* and there is indeed no time to lose, the humanistic phraseology carries it beyond the borders of Germany and beyond every geographical boundary into the cosmopolitan, misty land of "noble hearts" in general.

"Hurry! Arise, ye men of freedom, arise in all German lands and *wherever else* the thought of freedom and humanity inflames noble hearts!"

We do not doubt that there are such "hearts" even in Lapland. In Germany and *wherever else*! By evaporating into this pure and indefinite phrase the "appeal" has gained its true expression.

It remains unforgivable that the "Democratic Congress" countersigned such a document. Neither will "the present generation admire it for this" nor will "posterity reward it with immortal glory".

Let us hope that the people, in spite of the "appeal of the Democratic Congress", will awaken from its lethargy and that it will aid the Viennese in the only way it is still able to do at this moment, by defeating the counter-revolution at home.

Written by Marx on November 2, 1848 — Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 133, November 3, 1848

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[a] The Austrian Emperor and his Ministers fled to Olmütz (Olomouc) during the uprising in Vienna.— *Ed.*

# THE PARIS *RÉFORME* ON THE SITUATION IN FRANCE[325]

*Cologne,* November 2. Even *before* the June uprising we repeatedly exposed the illusions of the republicans who cling to the traditions of 1793, the republicans of the *Réforme* (of "Paris"). The June revolution and the movement to which it gave rise are compelling the utopian republicans gradually to open their eyes.

A leading article in the *Réforme* for October 29 reveals the struggle going on within the party between its old delusions and the new facts.

The *Réforme* says:

> "In our country the fights waged to seize the reins of government have long been *class wars,* struggles of the bourgeoisie and the people against the nobility when the First Republic came into being; the sacrifices of the armed people without, and rule of the bourgeoisie within during the Empire; the attempts to restore feudalism under the older branch of the Bourbons; finally, in 1830, the triumph and rule of the bourgeoisie—that is our history."

The *Réforme* adds with a sigh:

> "We certainly regret that we have to speak of *classes,* of ungodly and hateful divergences, but these divergences exist and we cannot overlook this fact."

That is to say: up to now the *Réforme* in its republican optimism saw only *"citoyens"*, but it has been so hard pressed by history that the splitting up of the *"citoyens"* into *"bourgeois"* and *"prolétaires"* can no longer be dismissed by any effort of imagination.

The *Réforme* continues:

> "The despotism of the bourgeoisie was broken in February. What did the people demand? Justice for all and equality. That was its primary slogan, its primary desire. The wishes of the bourgeoisie, whose eyes had been opened by the flash of lightning, were at first the same as those of the people."

The *Réforme* still judges the February revolution by the speeches made during that month. The despotism of the bourgeoisie, far from having been broken during the February revolution, was completed by it. The Crown, the last feudal halo, which concealed the rule of the bourgeoisie, was cast aside. The rule of capital emerged undisguised. Bourgeoisie and proletariat fought against a common enemy during the February revolution. As soon as the common enemy was eliminated, the two hostile classes held the field of battle alone and the decisive struggle between them was bound to begin. People may ask, why did the bourgeoisie fall back into royalism, if the February revolution brought bourgeois rule to its completion? The explanation is quite simple. The bourgeoisie would have liked to return to the period when it ruled without being responsible for its rule; when a puppet authority standing between the bourgeoisie and the people had to act for it and to serve it as a cloak. A period when it had, as it were, a crowned scapegoat, which the proletariat hit whenever it aimed at the bourgeoisie, and against which the bourgeoisie could join forces with the proletariat whenever that scapegoat became troublesome and attempted to establish itself as an authority in its own right. The bourgeoisie could use the King as a kind of lightning-conductor protecting it from the people, and the people as a lightning-conductor protecting it from the King.

Since the illusions, some of them hypocritical, some honestly held, which became widespread immediately after the defeat of Louis Philippe, are mistakenly accepted by the *Réforme* as facts, the developments *following* those days in February appear to it as a series of errors, awkward accidents, that a great man adequate to the needs of the moment could have avoided. As though Lamartine, that delusive light, had not been the true man of the moment!

The *Réforme* bemoans the fact that the true man, the great man, has not yet appeared, and the situation gets worse every day.

"On the one hand the industrial and commercial crisis grows; on the other hand hatred grows and all strive towards contradictory goals. Those who were oppressed before February 24 seek their ideal of happiness and freedom in the conception of an entirely new society. The only concern of those who governed under the monarchy is to regain their realm in order to exploit it with redoubled harshness."

Now what is the attitude of the *Réforme* towards these sharply antagonistic classes? Does it realise even vaguely that class contradictions and class struggle will disappear only with the disappearance of classes?

No. Just now it admitted that class contradictions exist. But class contradictions are based on economic foundations, on the existing

mode of material production and the conditions of commerce resulting from it. The *Réforme* knows no better way of changing and abolishing these contradictions than to disregard their real basis, that is these very material conditions, and to withdraw into the hazy blue heaven of republican ideology, in other words, into the poetic February period, from which it was violently ejected by the June events. It writes:

"The saddest aspect of these internal dissensions is the obliteration, the loss of patriotic, national sentiments,"

i.e. of just that patriotic and national enthusiasm which enabled both classes to veil their distinct interests, their conditions of life. When they did that in 1789, their real contradictions were not yet developed. What at that time was an adequate expression of the real position, is today merely an escape from the existing situation. What had substance then, is today just a relic.

"France," concludes the *Réforme,* "evidently suffers from a deep-seated malady, but it is curable. It is caused by a confusion of ideas and morals, by a neglect of justice and equality in social relations, and by depravity resulting from egoistical teaching. The means for reorganisation must be sought in this sphere. Instead people have recourse to material means."

The *Réforme* presents the whole case as a matter of "conscience", and moral twaddle is then used as a means to solve everything. The antithesis of bourgeoisie and proletariat accordingly derives from the ideas of these two classes. And where do these ideas derive from? From the social relations. And where do these relations derive from? From the material, economic conditions of life of the hostile classes. According to the *Réforme,* if the two classes are *no longer conscious* of their real position and their real contradictions, and become intoxicated with the opium of the "patriotic" sentiments and phrases of 1793, then their difficulties will be solved. What an admission of helplessness!

Written by Marx on November 2, 1848 Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 133, November 3, 1848

# [THE VIENNESE REVOLUTION AND THE *KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG*]

*Cologne,* November 3. Our readers have never indulged in utopian hopes in regard to *Vienna. After* the June revolution, we believed in *every baseness* of the **bourgeoisie**. We said immediately in the *first* issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* when it reappeared after the state of siege: "The bourgeoisie's distrust of the working class threatens, if not to *wreck* the revolution, at least to *hamper* its development. However that may be, the repercussions of this revolution in Hungary, Italy and Germany foiled the entire plan of campaign devised by the counter-revolution."[a]

We would therefore *not be surprised* by a defeat of Vienna. We would only find ourselves called upon to break off any negotiation with the *bourgeoisie* which measures freedom by the *freedom to trade* and we would without conciliation and without accommodation oppose the miserable German middle class which gladly relinquishes its own rule on condition that it may continue to trade *without a fight.* The English and French bourgeoisie is ambitious; the infamy of the German bourgeoisie would be confirmed by Vienna's defeat.

Thus: at no time have we vouched for the victory of the Viennese. Their *defeat* would not come as a surprise to us. It would only *convince* us that no peace with the *bourgeoisie* is possible, not even for the period of transition, and that the people must remain indifferent in the battles between the bourgeoisie and the Government and must wait for their victories or defeats in order to exploit them. Once again: our readers have only to consult our back issues in order to satisfy themselves that neither the victory nor the defeat of the Viennese can surprise us.

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[a] See this volume, p. 457.—*Ed.*

What does surprise us, however, is the latest special edition of the *Kölnische Zeitung*. Does the Government deliberately spread false rumours about Vienna in order to calm the excitement in Berlin and the provinces? Does *Dumont pay* the Prussian *state telegraph* so that *he*, Dumont, receives news from the "Berlin" and "Breslau" morning papers which do not reach the "bad press"? And whence did Dumont get his "telegraphic dispatch" this morning, which we did not receive? Has *Birk* from Trier, a mere cipher who has replaced Wittgenstein, been engaged as editor by Dumont? We do not believe it. For even a Brüggemann, a Wolfers, a Schwanbeck, all that is still no *Birk*. We doubt that Dumont has engaged *such* a nonentity.

Today at 6 p. m., *Dumont*, who lied away the February and March revolutions, carries among his first reports once again a "telegraphic" report according to which Vienna has surrendered to the "Wendish itch", the "Windischgrätz".[a]

It is possible. But the possibilities of the once *blood-dripping* "Brüggemann",[326] the ex-correspondent of *the old Rheinische Zeitung*, this worthy whose *views* always go hand in hand with the "*exchange value*" of views in general, his possibilities are based upon the *Preussische Staats-Anzeiger* and the *Breslauer Zeitung*. The tales of "*Brüggemann*" or of the *Kölnische Zeitung* concerning the *February*, *March* and *October* revolutions will offer their peculiar contribution to history.

Now we shall give the reports which report nothing.[327]

Written by Marx on November 3, 1848

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[a] A play on the words *wendische Krätze*—Wendish itch—and the name Windischgrätz.—*Ed.*

# THE LATEST NEWS FROM VIENNA, BERLIN AND PARIS[328]

*Cologne,* November 4. *The outlook brightens.*

There is no direct news yet from *Vienna.* But even according to the official *Prussian newspapers,* it is clear that *Vienna* has not surrendered and that *Windischgrätz* deliberately or as a result of a *misunderstanding* issued to the world a *false telegram.* The "good" press, like an orthodox, multilingual echo, willingly repeated the message although it tried hard to mask its malicious glee behind hypocritical mournful phrases. Stripped of all their fantastic and self-contradictory trash, the reports from Silesia and Berlin bring out the following facts. By October 29 the imperial bandits had obtained control only of a few suburbs. The reports received up till now do *not* show that they have gained a foothold in Vienna itself. The whole story of Vienna's surrender boils down to a few *treasonable proclamations of the Vienna Town Council.* The advanced guard of the Hungarian army attacked Windischgrätz on October 30, and *was said* to have been driven back. On October 31 Windischgrätz resumed the bombardment of Vienna—without result. His army is now between the Viennese and the over 80,000-strong Hungarian army. Windischgrätz's infamous manifestos evoked uprisings or at least very threatening movements in all provinces. Even the Czech fanatics in Prague, the neophytes of the Slovanská Lípa,[329] have awakened from their wild dreams and declared *for Vienna* against the imperial Schinderhannes.[a] *Never* before has the counter-revolution dared to proclaim its plans with such foolish brazenness. Even at *Olmütz,*[b] that

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[a] Jack the Skinner, a name given to Johann Bückler, a German robber chief.— *Ed.*

[b] The Czech name is Olomouc.— *Ed.*

Austrian Koblenz,[330] the crowned idiot[a] can feel the ground shaking beneath his feet. The fact that the troops are led by the world-famed *Sipehsalar*[b] *Jellachich*—whose name is so great that "*at the flash of his sabre the frightened moon hides behind the clouds*" and "the roar of cannon" always "points the way" in which he must hurriedly decamp—leaves no doubt that the people of Hungary and Vienna

> Horsewhip that scum into the Danube River,
> Go castigate that overweening rabble,
> Those starveling beggars, all so tired of living,
> That horde of miscreants, rogues and vagabonds,
> Croatian riff-raff, abject peasant hirelings,
> That vomit, spewed up by a glutted homeland
> For desperate ventures and for *certain doom.*

Later reports will give appalling details of the crimes perpetrated by Croats and other knights of "law and order and constitutional freedom". The European bourgeoisie ensconced in stock exchanges and other convenient observation posts loudly acclaims the gory spectacle; the same wretched bourgeoisie that broke into screams of moral indignation because of a few harsh acts of popular justice and with a thousand voices unanimously anathemised the "murderers" of honest Latour and noble Lichnowski.

The *Poles,* avenging the Galician murders,[331] are once more advancing at the head of the liberators of Vienna, just as they march at the head of the Italian people and everywhere act as high-minded *generals of the revolution.* Three cheers for the *Poles!*

The *Berlin camarilla,* intoxicated with the blood of Vienna, blinded by the pillars of smoke rising from the burning suburbs, stunned by the Croats' and haiduks' shouts of victory, has dropped its cloak. "Peace has been restored in Berlin." *Nous verrons.*[c]

Finally, from *Paris* come the first subterranean rumbles announcing the earthquake that will bury the respectable republic under its own ruins.

*The outlook brightens.*

Written by Marx on November 4, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 135, November 5, 1848

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[a] Ferdinand I.—*Ed.*
[b] Commander-in-chief.—*Ed.*
[c] We shall see.—*Ed.*

# OUR BOURGEOISIE AND DR. NÜCKEL

*Cologne*, November 4. The news of the victory of the Croats and Wends in Vienna so enraptured our Cologne bourgeoisie that they celebrated with bottles of champagne and through Dr. *Nückel* proposed the following fundamental motion at the evening session of the Town Council on November 3:

"That the Town Council is not obliged to give the workers work. That this is nothing but relief and that the daily wages of workers employed by the city should consequently be fixed at a lower rate than the daily wages of workers employed by private masters."

An additional reason given by Dr. *Nückel* was that it was necessary by means of this differential to stem the rush of workers to municipal employment.

Herr *Böker* managed with difficulty to get this question adjourned.

Dr. *Nückel* has proclaimed the dogma of the local bourgeoisie. For this, the workers owe Dr. Nückel their heartfelt thanks.

It was quite consistent that our men of property, who so joyfully welcomed the declaration of a *state of siege in Cologne*, celebrated the *bombardment of Vienna* and the *restoration of Croatian freedom* as a victory, just as they had celebrated the refined cruelty of the June victors.

Written by Marx on November 4, 1848

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# NEWS FROM VIENNA

*Cologne,* November 5. *Letters and newspapers from Vienna failed to arrive.* The newspapers from *Breslau*[a] which we have received, the *Allgemeine Oderzeitung,* the *Schlesische Zeitung* and the *Breslauer Zeitung,* contain, properly speaking, *nothing.*

Several *Berlin morning* papers of November 3 carry the following news item, one newspaper having received it from *Hietzing,* the others from *Vienna*:

"*The city of Vienna is entirely occupied by imperial troops.*"

The *Kölnische Zeitung* prints this report, which it received from Breslau and which "*is described as reliable*", and it confirms this report by a "telegram" from Berlin, which "in itself" is of course reliable.

Let us leave aside the anonymous note from Breslau[b] and proceed to the *telegram* printed in big letters in the *Kölnische Zeitung.*[c]

The telegram was dispatched from Vienna at noon on November 1.

The letter to Dumont, if he received the news in writing, was sent at 8 *a.m.* on November 3, with the Berlin mail.

On the *evening* of November 3, this news was circulating merely as a rumour throughout Berlin, and the newspapers of November 4 published on the evening of November 3 *deny it.*

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[a] Wrocław.—*Ed.*

[b] "Breslau, 2. Nov." and "Berlin, 3. Nov.", *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 299 (second edition), November 5, 1848.—*Ed.*

[c] *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 299 (second edition), November 5, 1848, p. 1.—*Ed.*

*Hence we have no news from Vienna.* Dumont, who reported the burning and capture of Vienna since October 6, could by way of exception have got hold of the right fact on one day in the month.

Written by Marx on November 5, 1848

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# THE VICTORY OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN VIENNA[332]

*Cologne,* November 6. *Croatian freedom and order won the day* and celebrated this victory with arson, rape, looting and other atrocities. *Vienna is in the hands of Windischgrätz, Jellachich and Auersperg.* Hecatombs of human victims are sacrificed on the grave of the aged traitor Latour.

The gloomy forecasts of our Vienna correspondent[a] have come true, and by now he himself may have become a victim of the butchery.

For a while we hoped Vienna could be liberated by Hungarian reinforcements, and we are still in the dark regarding the movements of the Hungarian army.

*Treachery* of every kind prepared the way for Vienna's fall. The entire history of the *Imperial Diet* and the *Town Council* since October 6 is a tale of continuous treachery. Who are the people represented in the Imperial Diet and the Town Council?

The *bourgeoisie.*

A part of the Viennese *national guard* openly sided with the camarilla from the very beginning of the October revolution. Towards the end of the October revolution another part of the national guard in collusion with the imperial bandits fought against the proletariat and the Academic Legion.[333] To which strata do these groups of the national guard belong?

To the *bourgeoisie.*

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[a] [Eduard von Müller-Tellering], "Wien, 21. October", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 127, October 27, 1848.—*Ed.*

The bourgeoisie in *France,* however, *headed* the counter-revolution only after it had broken down all obstacles to the rule of its own class. The bourgeoisie in *Germany* meekly joins the *retinue* of the absolute monarchy and of feudalism before securing even the first conditions of existence necessary for its own civic freedom and its rule. In France it played the part of a tyrant and made its own counter-revolution. In Germany it acts like a slave and carries out the counter-revolution for its own tyrants. In France it won its victory in order to humble the people. In Germany it humbled itself to prevent the victory of the people. History presents no more *shameful and pitiful spectacle* than that of the *German bourgeoisie.*

Who fled from Vienna in large numbers leaving their wealth to be watched over by the magnanimous people, the people whom, in reward for their watchman's duties, they maligned while away and whose massacre they witnessed on their return?

The *bourgeoisie.*

Whose innermost secrets were revealed by the thermometer which dropped whenever the people of Vienna showed signs of life, and rose whenever the people were in the throes of death? Who used the runic language of the *stock exchange quotations?*

The *bourgeoisie.*

The "German National Assembly" and its "Central Authority" have betrayed Vienna. Whom do they represent?

Mainly the *bourgeoisie.*

The victory of "Croatian order and freedom" in Vienna depended on the victory of the "respectable" republic in Paris. Who won the day in June?

The *bourgeoisie.*

European counter-revolution began its orgies with its victory in Paris.

In February and March armed force was beaten everywhere. Why? Because it represented only the *governments.* After June it was everywhere victorious because the *bourgeoisie* everywhere had come to a secret understanding with it, while retaining official leadership of the revolutionary movement and introducing all those half measures which by the very nature of things were bound to miscarry.

The national fanaticism of the Czechs was the most powerful instrument of the Viennese camarilla. *The allies are already at loggerheads.* In this issue our readers will find the protest of the Prague delegation against the insolent rudeness with which it was greeted in Olmütz.[a]

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[a] The Czech name is Olomouc.— *Ed.*

This is the *first symptom of the struggle which will break out between the Slav party and its hero Jellachich on the one hand, and the party of nothing but the camarilla, which stands above all nationality, and its hero Windischgrätz on the other.* Moreover the German peasants in Austria are not yet pacified. Their voice will be loudly heard above the caterwauling of the Austrian nationalities. And from a third quarter the voice of the Tsar, the friend of the people,[a] reaches as far as Pest; his executioners are waiting for the word of command in the Danube principalities.

Finally, the last decision of the German National Assembly at Frankfurt, which incorporates German Austria into the German Empire, should lead to a gigantic conflict, unless the German Central Authority and the German National Assembly see it as their task to enter the arena in order to be hissed off the stage by the European public. For all their pious resignation the struggle in Austria will assume gigantic dimensions such as world history has never yet witnessed.

The second act of the drama has just been performed in *Vienna,* its first act having been staged in Paris under the title of *The June Days.* In Paris the mobile guard,[334] in Vienna "Croats"—in both cases *lazzaroni,* lumpenproletariat hired and armed—were used against the working and thinking proletarians. We shall soon see the third act performed in *Berlin.*

Assuming that *arms* will enable the counter-revolution to establish itself in the whole of Europe, *money* would then kill it in the whole of Europe. European *bankruptcy, national bankruptcy* would be the fate nullifying the victory. Bayonets crumble like tinder when they come into contact with the salient "economic" facts.

But developments will not wait for the expiry of the bills of exchange drawn by the European states on European society. The crushing counterblow of the June revolution will be struck in *Paris.* With the victory of the "red republic" in Paris, *armies* will be rushed from the *interior* of their countries to the frontiers and across them, and the *real strength* of the fighting parties will become evident. We shall then remember this June and this October and we too shall exclaim:

***Vae victis!***

The purposeless massacres perpetrated since the June and October events, the tedious offering of sacrifices since February and March, the very cannibalism of the counter-revolution will convince

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[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

the nations that there is only *one means* by which the murderous death agonies of the old society and the bloody birth throes of the new society can be *shortened*, simplified and concentrated—and that is by *revolutionary terror*.

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Frederick Engels

# FROM PARIS TO BERNE [335]

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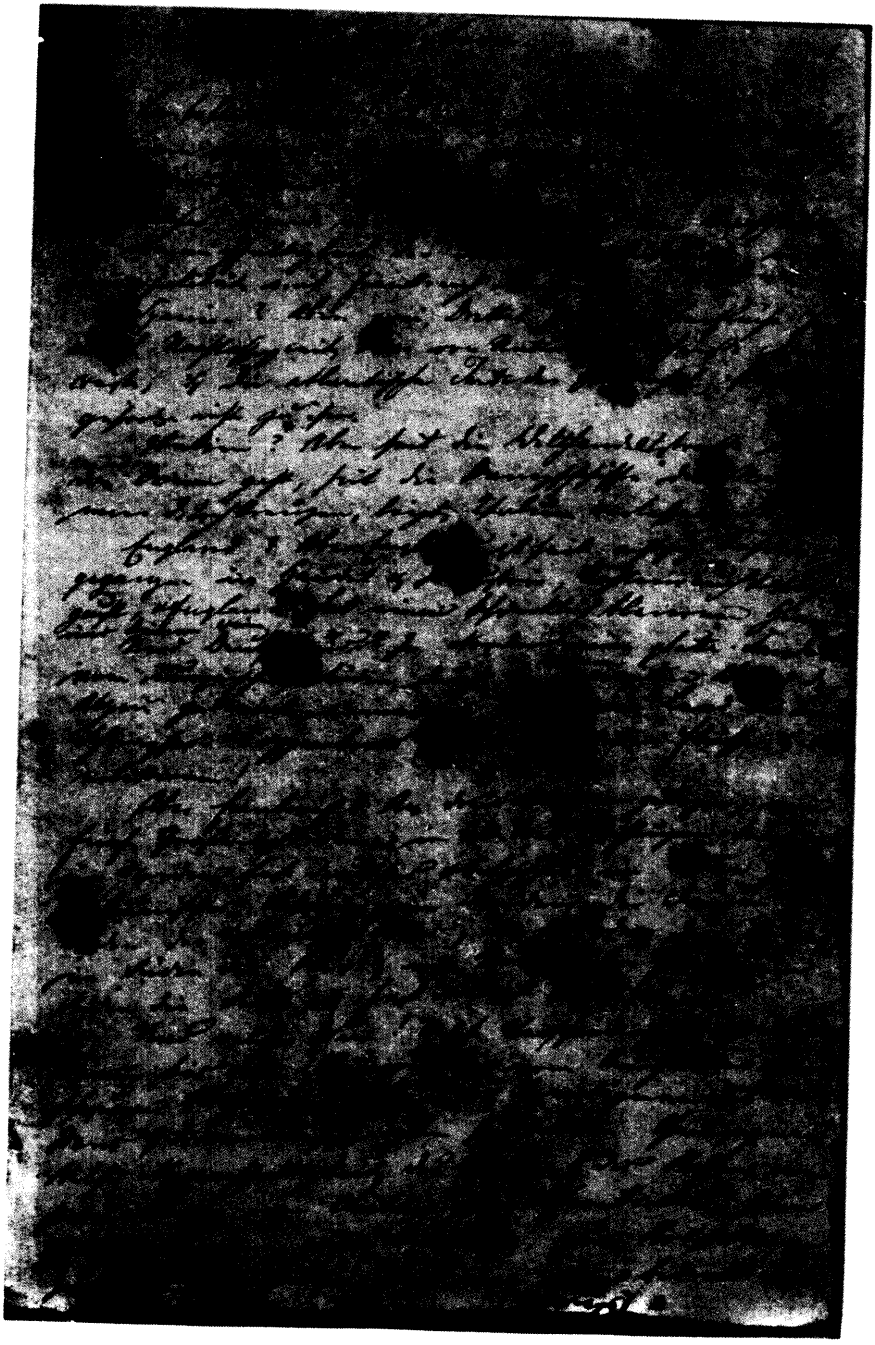

First page of Engels' travel notes "From Paris to Berne"

# I

## SEINE AND LOIRE

*La belle France!* The French certainly have a beautiful country and they are right to be proud of it.

What country in Europe can compare with France in wealth, in the variety of its gifts of nature and products, in its universality?

Spain? But neglect or nature has turned two-thirds of its area into a hot, stony desert, and the Atlantic side of the peninsula, Portugal, does not belong to it.

Italy? But ever since world trade has been routed across the ocean, ever since steamships have plied the Mediterranean, Italy has lain isolated.

England? But for the last eighty years England has been reduced to trade and industry, coal-smoke and cattle-raising, and England has a fearfully leaden sky, and no wine.

And Germany? In the north, a flat, sandy plain, cut off from Southern Europe by the granite wall of the Alps, poor in wine, a land of beer, schnaps and rye bread, of rivers and revolutions that have dried up!

But France! Washed by three seas, traversed in three directions by five great rivers, in the north an almost German and Belgian climate, in the south almost Italian; wheat in the north, maize and rice in the south; *colza*[a] in the north, olives in the south; flax in the north, silk in the south, and wine nearly everywhere.

And what wine! What a diversity, from Bordeaux to Burgundy, from Burgundy to the heavy St. Georges, Lünel and Frontignan of the south, and from that to sparkling champagne! What variety of white and of red, from Petit Mâcon or Chablis to Chambertin, Château Larose, Sauterne, Roussillon and Ai Mousseux! And

[a] Rape.—*Ed.*

furthermore each of these wines intoxicates in its own way, with a few bottles one can experience every intermediate state from a Musard quadrille to the *Marseillaise*, from the exultation of the cancan to the tempestuous fever heat of revolution, and then finally with a bottle of champagne one can again drift into the merriest carnival mood in the world!

And only France has a Paris, a city in which European civilisation has its finest flowering, in which all the nerve-fibres of European history unite and from which emanate at measured intervals those electric shocks which can shake a whole world; a city whose population combines a passion for pleasure with a passion for historical action like no other people, whose populace know how to live like the most refined Epicurean of Athens and to die like the most intrepid Spartan, Alcibiades and Leonidas in *one* person; a city which really is, as Louis Blanc[a] says, the heart and mind of the world.

If one looks across Paris from a high point in the city or from Montmartre or the terrace of Saint-Cloud, if one strolls through its environs, one concludes that France knows what it possesses in Paris, that France has been prodigal of its best in tenderly fostering Paris. Like an odalisque on a glittering, bronze-coloured divan, this proud city lies beside the warm, vine-covered hills of the winding Seine valley. Where in the whole world is there a view like that from the two Versailles railways down over the green valley with its countless villages and little towns, and where are there such delightfully situated, such smartly and trimly constructed, such tastefully laid-out villages and little towns as Suresnes, Saint-Cloud, Sèvres, Montmorency, Enghien and countless others? By whichever gate one may leave, though one choose one's route at random, everywhere one encounters the same fine surroundings, the same taste in the use of the topography, the same elegance and cleanliness. And yet again it is only the Queen of Cities itself which has created this splendid setting for itself.

But of course you need a France as well, to make a Paris, and only when one has become acquainted with the abundant wealth of this magnificent country does one understand how this radiant, sumptuous, incomparable Paris could come about. One does not understand it, of course, if one comes from the north, speeding by train across the plains of Flanders and Artois and the hills of Picardy

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[a] Evidently a slip of the pen for the words quoted are taken from a draft address to the Government of the French Republic submitted by Auguste Blanqui in March 1848.— *Ed.*

with neither forest nor vineyard. There one sees only corn-fields and pasture, whose uniformity is interrupted only by marshy river valleys and distant scrubby hills; and only when one enters within range of the atmosphere of Paris, at Pontoise, does one see something of "beautiful France". One begins to understand Paris a little more if one approaches the capital through the fertile vales of Lorraine, the vine-garlanded chalk hills of Champagne and along the beautiful Marne valley; one understands it better still if one travels through Normandy, now following and now cutting across the meanders of the Seine on the railway from Rouen to Paris. The Seine seems to exhale the air of Paris right down to its mouth; the villages, the towns, the hills, everything reminds one of the countryside near Paris, except that everything becomes finer, more sumptuous, more tasteful as one approaches the centre of France. But I did not fully understand how Paris was possible until I went along the Loire and from there turned across the hills to the vineyard valleys of Burgundy.

I had known Paris in the last two years of the monarchy, when the bourgeoisie was revelling in the full enjoyment of its dominance, when trade and industry were faring passably, when the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois youth still had money for its pleasures and for squandering it away, and when even some of the workers were still well enough placed to be able to participate in the general high spirits and light-heartedness. I had seen Paris again in March and April, in that brief intoxication of the republican honeymoon, when the workers, optimistic fools[a] that they were, cheerfully and without any hesitation "decided to endure three months of misery"[b] for the republic's sake, when they ate dry bread and potatoes by day and when evening came, planted liberty-trees along the boulevards, let off fire-crackers and sang the *Marseillaise* for all they were worth, and when the bourgeoisie, hiding in their houses all day, attempted to appease the wrath of the people with coloured lanterns. I returned — much against my will, by Hecker! — in October. Between the Paris of those days and now there lay the 15th May and the 25th June, there lay the most fearful struggle the world had ever seen, there lay a sea of blood and fifteen thousand dead. Cavaignac's shells had blown Paris's irrepressible gaiety sky-high; the sound of the *Marseillaise* and the *Chant du départ* had ceased, only the bourgeoisie was still humming its *Mourir pour la patrie*[336] between its teeth; the workers, who had neither bread nor arms, ground their

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[a] *Hoffnungsvolle Toren* (optimistic fools) from Goethe's poem "Prometheus".— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 148.—*Ed.*

teeth in suppressed resentment; in the school of the state of siege, the exuberant republic had very soon become respectable, tame, well-behaved, and moderate (*sage et modérée*). But Paris was dead, it was no longer Paris. On the boulevards, no one but the bourgeoisie and police spies; the dance-halls and theatres deserted; the *gamins* engulfed in mobile guard jackets, bought for 30 sous a day by the respectable republic, and the stupider they became the more the bourgeoisie celebrated them—in brief, it was the Paris of 1847 again, but without the spirit, without the life, without the fire and the ferment which the workers brought to everything in those days. Paris was dead, and this beautiful corpse was all the more uncanny for being so beautiful.

I could endure it no longer in this dead Paris. I had to leave it, no matter whither. So first of all to Switzerland. I had not much money, that meant going on foot. Nor was I set on taking the shortest route; one does not readily part from France.

Thus one fine morning I set out and without any fixed plan marched due south. I lost my way among the villages once I had left the city's outskirts behind me; there was nothing strange in that. Eventually I found myself on the highroad to Lyons. I followed it for some distance, leaving it from time to time to climb the hills. From the top one has splendid views up and down the Seine, to Paris and to Fontainebleau. One sees the river meandering far, far away in the broad valley, vineyards on the hills on both sides, further away the blue hills beyond which flows the Marne.

But I did not wish to enter Burgundy by so direct a route; I wanted to reach the Loire first. So on the second day I left the highroad and went over the hills towards Orléans. I lost my way among the villages again of course, as my only guides were the sun and the peasants, cut off from the whole world and unable to tell right from left. I spent the night in some village whose name I was never able to make out in the peasant patois, fifteen leagues from Paris, on the watershed between Seine and Loire.

This watershed is formed by a broad ridge which extends from south-east to north-west. On either side it is intersected by numerous valleys, watered by small streams or rivers. Up on the wind-swept summit only corn, buckwheat, clover and vegetables do well; but vines grow everywhere on the valley sides. The eastward-facing slopes are nearly all covered with great masses of those limestone rocks which the English geologists call bolderstones[a] and which one

[a] This form of the English word is used in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

often finds in secondary and tertiary hill-country. The huge blue rocks, between which green shrubs and saplings grow, provide a pleasant contrast to the meadows of the valley and the vineyards of the opposite slope.

Gradually I came down into one of these little river valleys and followed it for a while. Eventually I came upon a highway with people on it from whom I was able to discover where in fact I was. I was not far from Malesherbes, midway between Orléans and Paris. Orléans itself lay too far to the west for my purpose; Nevers was my next goal, and so I once more went up over the nearest hill, heading due south. A very pretty view from the top: the pleasant little town of Malesherbes between wooded hills, numerous villages on the slopes, and up on a hill-top Castle Châteaubriand. And what was even more to my liking: opposite, on the far side of a narrow ravine, a departmental road leading due south.

There are three kinds of road in France: the state roads, formerly called royal roads, now national, fine broad highways connecting the most important towns with each other. These national roads, which in the region of Paris are not merely excellently made but true luxury roads, magnificent elm-lined avenues sixty feet wide and more, and paved in the middle, become poorer, narrower and less tree-lined the further one proceeds from Paris and the less important the road is. In some places they are then so bad that they are scarcely passable for pedestrians after two hours of moderate rain. The second class consists of the departmental roads, providing secondary communications, financed from departmental funds, narrower and less resplendent than the national roads. The third class, finally, is made up of the major vicinal routes (*chemins de grande communication*), maintained from canton resources, narrow unassuming roads, but in some places in better condition than the bigger highways.

I struck uphill straight across country in the direction of my departmental road and found to my extreme delight that it went due south in an absolutely straight line. Villages and inns were few and far between; after marching for several hours I eventually came upon a large farm where I was served most hospitably with some refreshments, for which I drew some grotesque faces on a piece of paper for the farmer's children and declared with all gravity: this one was a speaking likeness of General Cavaignac and that one of Louis Napoleon, these of Armand Marrast, Ledru-Rollin etc. The farm-folk stared at these distorted faces in great awe, thanked me in their delight and at once fixed these strikingly life-like portraits on the wall. These good people also told me that I was on the road from

Malesherbes to Châteauneuf on the Loire, to which I had still some twelve leagues to go.

I trampled through Puiseaux and another small town whose name I have forgotten, and late in the evening arrived in Bellegarde, an attractive fair-sized place, where I spent the night. The route over the plateau, which incidentally here produces wine in many places, was rather monotonous.

Next morning I set off for Châteauneuf, another five leagues, and from there along the Loire on the national road from Orléans to Nevers.

> Under almond trees in blossom
> On the verdant banks of Loire,
> To lie dreaming, oh how pleasant,
> Of the place I found my love[a]—

so sings many an enthusiastic German youth and many a tender Teutonic maiden in the melting words of Helmina von Chezy and the molten melody of Carl Maria von Weber. But anyone who goes looking for almond trees and gentle, sweet romance on the Loire, as was the fashion in Dresden back in the twenties, is the victim of the kind of appalling delusion which is really permissible only in Germany amongst congenital bluestockings of the third generation.

From Châteauneuf via les Bordes to Dampierre one scarcely catches a glimpse of this romantic Loire. The road goes over the hill-tops at a distance of two or three leagues from the river, and only rarely does one see the water of the Loire glinting in the sun far away. The district is rich in wine, cereals and fruit; down by the river there are luxuriant pastures; the view of the valley, which has no woods and is surrounded only by undulating hills, is however rather monotonous.

In the middle of the road, near some farm-houses, I came across a caravan of four men, three women and several children, accompanied by three heavily-laden donkey-carts, cooking their midday-meal at a big fire on the open highway. I stopped for a moment: I was not mistaken, they were speaking German, in the broadest South German dialect. I spoke to them; they were delighted to hear their native tongue in the middle of France. They were as it happened from the Strasbourg area of Alsace, and travelled into the interior of France in this way every summer, earning their keep by basket-weaving. When I asked whether this gave them enough to live on,

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[a] Carl Maria von Weber's opera *Euryanthe* (libretto by Helmina von Chezy), Act I, Scene 2.— *Ed.*

they said: "Hardly, if we had to buy everything; mostly we're begging." Slowly, another man, of advanced age, crawled out of one of the donkey-carts, in which he had a complete bed. There was something very gypsy-like about the whole band with the ill-assorted garments they had scrounged. For all that they had an easy-going air about them and chattered interminably to me about their journeys, and in the middle of the merriest gossiping the mother and the daughter, a gentle, blue-eyed creature, almost came to pulling each other's tousled red hair. I couldn't but admire the irrepressible force with which the easy-going and emotional German character would come out, even from beneath the most gypsy-like pattern of life and attire; I wished them good day and continued my journey, accompanied for some distance by one of the gypsies, who before eating permitted himself the pleasure of an amble on the sharp-boned crupper of a lean donkey.

That evening I reached Dampierre, a small village not far from the Loire. Here the Government was employing three or four hundred workers from Paris, the remnants of the former national workshops,[337] to build a dyke to prevent flooding. They were workers of every kind, goldsmiths, butchers, cobblers, carpenters, right down to the rag-and-bone man of the Paris boulevards. I found some twenty of them at the inn where I spent the night. A hefty butcher, who had already been promoted to a kind of supervisory position, spoke of the undertaking with great enthusiasm: they were earning between 30 and 100 sous a day, according to how they worked, it was easy to make 40 to 60 sous, if one showed any aptitude. He wanted to enrol me in his brigade there and then; I would soon get into the swing and certainly be earning 50 sous a day by the second week, I could make my fortune, and there was enough work for another six months at least. I would not have minded exchanging my pen for a spade for a month or two for a change; but I had no papers, and that would have landed me in a nice pickle.

These workers from Paris had not lost any of their old gaiety. They pursued their work, ten hours a day, amid laughter and jokes, entertained themselves in their leisure hours with outrageous pranks and in the evenings amused themselves by "*déniaising*"[a] the peasant girls. But apart from this they were quite demoralised as a result of being isolated in a small village. Not a trace of concern with the interests of their class, and with current political issues which touch the workers so closely. They appeared not to read any papers any more. Their political activity went no further than giving nicknames;

[a] Initiating, seducing.—*Ed.*

one of them, a big, strong lout, they called Caussidière, another, a bad worker and utter drunkard, responded to the name of Guizot, etc. The exhausting work, their relatively good living conditions and especially the separation from Paris and transfer to a remote, quiet corner of France had reduced their horizon remarkably. They were already on the point of turning into rustics, and they had only been there for two months.

The next morning I reached Gien and thus at last the Loire valley itself. Gien is a little town with crooked streets, a fine embankment and a bridge over the Loire, which here barely equals the Main at Frankfurt in breadth. It is altogether very shallow and full of sandbanks.

From Gien to Briare the road goes along the valley at a distance of about a quarter of a mile[a] from the Loire. It proceeds in a south-easterly direction, and the country gradually assumes a southerly character. The avenue is lined with elms, ashes, acacias or chestnuts; the valley floor comprises luxuriant pastures and fertile fields, amongst whose stubble a second harvest of the richest clover was sprouting, and which are bordered by long lines of poplars; on the other side of the Loire, in the hazy distance, a line of hills, on this side, right by the highroad, a second chain of hillocks, planted with vines in its entirety. The valley of the Loire is not at all strikingly beautiful or romantic here, as people tend to say it is, but it does create a most agreeable impression; all this rich vegetation testifies to the mild climate without which it could not flourish. Even in the most fertile areas of Germany I have nowhere found plants growing in such profusion as on the road between Gien and Briare.

Before I leave the Loire, a few words as to the inhabitants of the area I passed through and their way of life.

The villages within four or five hours travel from Paris cannot be taken as the measure for villages in the rest of France. Their disposition, the architecture of the houses, the mores of the inhabitants are far too much dominated by the spirit of the great metropolis from which they live. Only at a distance of ten leagues from Paris, in remote upland areas, does the countryside proper begin, does one see real farm-houses. A characteristic of the whole region as far as the Loire and into Burgundy is that the peasant-farmer conceals the entrance to his house as far as possible from the highroad. In the upland areas every farmyard is surrounded by a wall; one enters by a gate and then in the yard itself

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[a] Engels uses the German word *Meile*, a linear measure which at that time differed in length in different German states but can be regarded as roughly 4½ miles.— *Ed.*

one must look for the door to the house which is usually situated towards the rear. In this area, where most of the peasants have cows and horses, the farm-houses are fairly big; on the Loire, on the other hand, where there is much market-gardening and even well-to-do peasants own few cattle or none at all and cattle-raising is a separate branch of husbandry left to the larger landowners or tenant farmers, the farm-houses become smaller and smaller, often so small that one cannot conceive how there is room within for a peasant family with its equipment and stores. But here too the entrance is on the side facing away from the road, and in the villages the public houses and shops are almost alone in having doors facing the street.

The peasants of this area for the most part enjoy a really good life, despite their poverty. The wine, at least in the valleys, is mostly their own produce, good and cheap (this year two or three sous a bottle), the bread is everywhere, except in the highest places, good, wheaten bread and there is in addition excellent cheese and magnificent fruit, which people in France eat of course always with the bread. Like all country-people they eat little meat, but a lot of milk, vegetable soups and in general a vegetable diet of outstanding quality. The living standard of the French peasant between the Seine and the Loire is three times higher than that of the North-German peasant, even if he is significantly better off.

These peasants are good-natured, hospitable, light-hearted folk, helpful and obliging to the stranger in every possible way, and even when speaking the broadest patois, still true, courteous Frenchmen. Despite their exceedingly highly developed sense of property towards the land which their fathers won from the nobility and the clergy, they still possess many of the patriarchal virtues, especially in the villages set back from the main roads.

But peasants will be peasants, and the conditions of life of the peasants do not for one moment cease to assert themselves. Despite all the private virtues of the French peasant, despite the more advanced conditions of life he enjoys in comparison with the peasant to the east of the Rhine, the peasant in France, as in Germany, is a barbarian in the midst of civilisation.

The isolation of the peasant in a remote village with a rather small population which changes only with the generations, the hard, monotonous work, which ties him more than any serfdom to the soil and which remains always the same from father to son, the stability and monotony of all his conditions of life, the restricted circumstances in which the family becomes the most important, most decisive social relationship for him—all this reduces the peasant's horizon to the narrowest bounds which are possible in modern

society. The great movements of history pass him by, from time to time sweep him along with them, but he has no inkling of the nature of the motive force of these movements, of their origin and their goal.

In the Middle Ages and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was alongside the movement of the middle class in the towns a peasant movement, which, however, constantly put up reactionary demands and, without producing any significant results for the peasants themselves, only succeeded in assisting the towns in their struggles for emancipation.

In the first French revolution the peasants acted in a revolutionary manner just so long as was required by their most immediate, most tangible private interests; until they had secured the right of ownership to their land which had hitherto been farmed on a feudal basis, until feudal relations were irrevocably abolished and the foreign armies ejected from their district. Once this was achieved, they turned with all the fury of blind avarice against the movement of the big towns which they failed to understand, and especially against the movement in Paris. Countless proclamations by the Committee of Public Safety, countless decrees by the Convention, above all those concerning the maximum and the profiteers,[338] mobile columns and travelling guillotines had to be directed against the obdurate peasants. And yet no class benefited more from the Terror which drove out the foreign armies and put down the civil war than these same peasants.

When Napoleon overthrew the bourgeois regime of the Directory, restored calm, consolidated the new property relations of the peasants and sanctioned them in his *Code civil* and drove the foreign armies ever further from the frontiers, the peasants rallied to him with enthusiasm and became his chief support. For the French peasant is nationalistic to a fanatical degree; la France has come to mean a great deal to him now that he has become hereditary proprietor of a piece of France; foreigners he only knows in the form of devastating invading armies which inflict a maximum of damage on him. Hence the French peasant's unbounded nationalism, hence his equally unbounded hatred of *l'étranger*. Hence the passion with which he went to war in 1814 and 1815.

When the Bourbons returned in 1815, when the exiled aristocracy once more raised claims to the landed property they had lost in the revolution, the peasants saw all their revolutionary conquests threatened. Hence their hatred of Bourbon rule and their jubilation

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[a] Of 1830.—*Ed.*

when the July revolution[a] restored to them security of possession and the tricolour.

From the July revolution onwards, the peasants' participation in the general interests of their country came once more to an end. Their wishes had been fulfilled, the land they owned was no longer threatened, at the village *Mairie* the same flag was once more flying which had meant victory to them and their fathers for a quarter of a century.

But as always the fruits they enjoyed from their victory were few. The bourgeoisie began at once to exploit its rural allies to the utmost extent. The fruits of fragmentation and of the divisibility of the land, the impoverishment of the peasants and the mortgaging of their land, had already begun to ripen under the Restoration; after 1830 their manifestations became ever more widespread and ever more menacing. But the pressure which big capital exerted on the peasant remained for him simply a private relationship between himself and his creditor; he did not see and could not see that these private relationships, which were becoming increasingly widespread and increasingly the rule, were gradually developing into a class relationship between the class of big capitalists and that of small landowners. It was not the same situation as it had been with feudal burdens, whose origin had been long since forgotten, whose significance had long since fallen into oblivion, which were no longer payment for services rendered, and which had long ago become nothing but a burden oppressing one party. In the present case, with a mortgage debt, the peasant or at least his father has had the money paid out to him in solid five-franc pieces; the debt-certificate and the mortgage-repayment book remind him if necessary of the origin of the burden; the interest he has to pay, even the oppressive, constantly renewed subsidiary payments to the usurer are modern, bourgeois liabilities which apply in similar form to all debtors; the oppression operates in a quite modern, up-to-date guise, and the peasant is bled white and ruined in accordance with precisely the same principles of law which alone guarantee him his property. His own *code civil*, his modern-day bible, becomes a rod for his own back. The peasant can see no class relationship in the usurious mortgage terms, he cannot demand their abolition without simultaneously endangering his own property. The pressure of usury, instead of propelling him into the movement, utterly confuses him. The only way in which he can imagine relief is in a reduction of taxes.

When, in February of this year, a revolution took place in which the proletariat appeared for the first time with demands of its own, the peasants showed not the faintest comprehension. If the republic

had any meaning for them, it was merely: reduction of taxes and maybe occasionally something about national honour, war of conquest and the Rhine frontier. But when on the morning after Louis Philippe's fall the war between the proletariat and bourgeoisie broke out in Paris, when the stagnation of trade and industry had repercussions in the countryside and the peasant's produce, already devalued in a year of good harvests, fell yet further in price and became unsaleable, when to crown it all the battle of June spread fear and terror to the furthermost corners of France, a universal cry of the most fanatical fury arose amongst the peasants against revolutionary Paris and the eternally dissatisfied Parisians. Of course! For what did the stubborn, narrow-minded peasant know of proletariat and bourgeoisie, of a democratic social republic, of the organisation of labour, of matters whose fundamental conditions and causes could never exist within the narrow confines of his village! And when occasionally, through the murky channels of the bourgeois journals, he acquired a vague notion of what was at issue in Paris, when the bourgeoisie had tossed him the great slogan they aimed against the workers of Paris: *ce sont les partageux*, they are people who want to share all property and all the land, the peasants' indignation knew no bounds, their cry of fury was redoubled. I have spoken to hundreds of peasants in the most diverse regions of France, and all were in the grip of this fanatical hatred of Paris and especially the workers of Paris. "I wish that cursed Paris would be blown sky-high during the day tomorrow"—and that was the most charitable of benedictions. It goes without saying that the peasants' age-old contempt for town-dwellers was merely increased and vindicated by this year's events. The peasants, the countryside must save France; the countryside produces everything, the towns live off our corn, dress in our flax and our wool, we must restore the proper order of things; we peasants must take charge of affairs ourselves—this was the eternal refrain that sounded, more or less clearly, more or less deliberately, through all the peasants' confused talk.

And how do they hope to save France, how do they hope to take charge of affairs themselves? By electing Louis Napoleon Bonaparte as President of the Republic, a great name borne by a confused, vain, diminutive fool! Every peasant I spoke to was just as enthusiastic about Louis Napoleon as he was full of hatred for Paris. These two passions and the most unthinking, bovine amazement at the whole European upheaval are the sum total of the French peasant's politics. And the peasants have over six million votes, more than two-thirds of all the votes in the elections in France.

It is true that the Provisional Government did not manage to bind

the interests of the peasants to the revolution; with the increase of 45 centimes in the land tax, which chiefly hit the peasants, it made an unforgivable, irreparable mistake. But even if it had won over the peasants to the revolution for a few months, they would have deserted it in the summer. The present attitude of the peasants towards the revolution of 1848 is not the consequence of any mistakes or chance blunders; it is in the nature of things, it is based upon the conditions of life, the social position of the small landowner. The French proletariat, before it enforces its demands, will first have to put down a general peasants' war, a war which even the writing-off of all mortgage debts can only postpone for a short time.

One must have spent a fortnight in the almost exclusive company of peasants, peasants from the most diverse regions, one must have had the opportunity of encountering everywhere this same obtuse narrow-mindedness, this same total ignorance of all urban, industrial and commercial conditions, this same blindness in politics, this same wildly uninformed surmising about everything beyond the village, this same application of the standards of peasant life to the mightiest factors of history — in short, one must have come to know the French peasant especially in 1848 in order to experience the utterly disheartening effect which this refractory stupidity engenders.

## II

## BURGUNDY

Briare is a quaint little old town at the mouth of the canal which joins the Loire to the Seine. Here I took stock of the route and decided it would be better to go to Switzerland via Auxerre instead of via Nevers. I therefore left the Loire and turned across the hills towards Burgundy.

The fertility of the Loire valley declines gradually but fairly slowly. One climbs imperceptibly, and only five or six miles from Briare, in the region of Saint-Sauveur and Saint-Fargeau, does one reach the beginnings of the forested, cattle-raising uplands. The ridge between the Yonne and the Loire is higher even here, and the whole of this western part of the Department of the Yonne is generally fairly hilly.

It was in the region of Toucy, six leagues from Auxerre, that I first heard the peculiar, naively-broad dialect of Burgundy, a patois which here and throughout Burgundy proper remains pleasant and attractive, whereas in the higher regions of the Franche Comté it takes on a ponderous, clumsy, almost didactic tone. It is like the naive dialect of Austria, which gradually changes into the coarse Upper Bavarian. In a remarkably un-French way the Burgundian patois constantly stresses the syllable preceding that which takes the main emphasis in good French, it turns iambic French into trochaic and in so doing strangely distorts the subtle accentuation which the educated Frenchman manages to impart to his speech. But, as I said, in Burgundy proper, it continues to sound rather nice and from the lips of a pretty girl even charming: *Mais, mâ foi, monsieur, je vous demande ûn peu....*[a]

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[a] But indeed, sir, I ask you ... (the accents indicate the syllables stressed in the Burgundian patois).—*Ed.*

If one can draw comparisons, the Burgundian is on the whole the Austrian of France. Naive, good-natured, confiding in the highest degree, having a great deal of native wit within their familiar social surroundings, full of naively odd ideas about everything that transcends them, comically clumsy in unfamiliar circumstances, for ever indestructibly good-humoured — in this these good people are almost one and all alike. The amiable, good-hearted Burgundian peasant is the first one forgives for his complete political vacuity and his starry-eyed enthusiasm for Louis Napoleon.

Incidentally, the Burgundians undeniably have a stronger admixture of German blood than the French who live further to the west; their hair and complexion are lighter, their physique a little bigger, especially in the women, there is already a marked decrease in that sharp critical intelligence and incisive wit, in place of which there is a more straightforward sense of humour and sometimes a faint touch of geniality. But the gaiety of the French is still markedly to the fore, and in carefree light-heartedness the Burgundian is second to none.

The hilly western part of the Department of the Yonne derives its living chiefly from cattle-raising. But Frenchmen everywhere are poor cattle-farmers, and these Burgundian cattle appear thin and small. However alongside cattle-raising a great deal of corn is grown and fine wheaten bread is eaten everywhere.

The farm-houses here also begin to resemble those in Germany; they are again larger and combine dwelling, barn and stables under one roof; but here too the door is still mostly sideways from the road or turned completely away from it.

On the long descent that takes one down to Auxerre, I saw the first Burgundy vines, for the most part still weighed down with the fantastically rich grape-harvest of 1848. On many vines the leaves were almost completely concealed by grapes.

Auxerre is a small, rugged township, rather unimpressive from within, with a pretty embankment by the Yonne and in places the beginnings of those boulevards which no French departmental capital can be without. In normal times it must indeed be quiet and dead, and the Prefect of the Yonne cannot have needed to spend much on organising the obligatory balls and dinners which under Louis Philippe he had to offer to the local notabilities. But now Auxerre was full of life, such as only occurs once a year. If Citizen Denjoy, the representative of the people who got so worked up in the National Assembly because the premises where the democratic social banquet in Toulouse took place were decorated in red, if this worthy Citizen Denjoy had accompanied me to Auxerre, he would have

thrown a fit in sheer horror. It was not just one hall here but the whole town which was decorated in red. And what a red! The walls and staircases of the houses, the blouses and shirts of the people were coloured with the most unambiguous, the most blatant blood-red; dark-red streams filled even the gutters and bespattered the paving stones, and a sinister-looking blackish, foaming-red liquid was being carried about the streets in great tubs by sinister bearded men. The red republic with all its horrors appeared to be holding sway, the guillotine, the steam guillotine appeared to be working continuously, the *buveurs de sang*,[a] of which such fearful tales are recounted in the *Journal des Débats*, were obviously celebrating their cannibalistic orgies here. But the red republic of Auxerre was most innocent, it was the red republic of the Burgundian wine-harvest, and the drinkers of blood who consume the noblest produce of this red republic with such intense pleasure, are none other than the most respectable republicans, the bourgeoisie, big and small, of Paris. And in this context that honourable Citizen Denjoy also has a certain weakness for things red, despite the best intentions.

If only one could have had one's pockets full of money in that red republic! The 1848 harvest was so infinitely rich that not enough barrels could be found to take all the wine. And what is more, of such quality—better than '46, perhaps even better than '34! The peasants came pouring in from all sides to buy up what was still left of the '47 at bargain prices—at 2 francs per cask of 140 litres of good wine; cart after cart came in by every gate with empty barrels, and yet they could not cope. I saw with my own eyes a wine-merchant in Auxerre pouring out several barrels of '47, quite good wine, into the street, simply in order to accommodate the new wine, which offered very different prospects to the speculator of course. I was assured that this wine-merchant had poured away as many as forty large barrels (*fûts*) in this way in a few weeks.

Having consumed several pints of both the old and the new, I crossed the Yonne in the direction of the hills on the right bank. The highroad follows the valley; however I took the old, shorter road across the hills. The sky was overcast, the weather gloomy, I was myself rather tired, and I therefore spent the night in the first village, a few kilometres from Auxerre.

Next morning I set out very early in the most magnificent sunshine imaginable. The route passed with never a break between vineyards over a fairly high ridge. But on top, I was rewarded for the exertion of the climb by a most splendid panorama. Before me, the

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[a] Drinkers of blood.—*Ed.*

hilly downward slope all the way to the Yonne, then the green valley of the Yonne, rich in meadows and planted with poplars, with its many villages and farms; beyond it the grey stone Auxerre, nestling against the scarp on the far side; villages everywhere, and everywhere, as far as the eye could see, vines, nothing but vines, and the most brilliant warm sunshine, attenuated only in the distance by a touch of autumn in the air, beating down over this great cauldron in which the August sun brews one of the noblest of wines.

I do not know what the reason is for the peculiar charm of these French landscapes which are not distinguished by any particularly attractive contours. It is of course not this detail or that, it is the whole, the ensemble, which invests them with the stamp of satisfaction such as is rarely found elsewhere. The Rhine and the Moselle have more beautiful combinations of crags, Switzerland has greater contrasts, Italy a fuller palette of colours, but no country has regions that make up so harmonious an ensemble as France. It is with an extraordinary inner peace that the eye roves from the broad, luxuriant meadows of the valley to the hills which are covered with vines of equal luxuriance right to their summits, and to the countless villages and towns rising from the foliage of the fruit-trees. There is nowhere a piece of bare ground, nowhere a discordant patch of infertility, or a harsh outcrop of rock with walls inaccessible to vegetation. Everywhere flora in profusion, a fine, rich green just taking on a shade of autumnal bronze, set off by the brilliance of a sun which even halfway through October still burns hotly enough for not a single grape to be left unripe on the vine.

I went a little further and a second, equally fine view unfolded before me. Far below, in a narrower bowl in the hills, lay Saint-Bris, a small township that likewise earned its livelihood entirely from the vine. The same components as before, but more closely huddled together. Pastures and gardens down in the valley round the little town, vineyards all round about on the slopes of the bowl, only on the north side ploughed fields or fields and meadows of green clover growing on the stubble. Down in the streets of Saint-Bris the same bustle as in Auxerre; everywhere barrels and wine-presses, and all the inhabitants busy amidst laughter and jokes with pressing the grape-juice, pumping it into the barrels or carrying it through the streets in great vats. Amongst it all, a market was being held; in the broader streets peasant carts were halted with vegetables, corn and other field produce; the peasants with their white Phrygian caps and the peasant women with their Madras handkerchiefs round their heads thronged gossiping, shouting, laughing amongst the vintners;

and the little town of Saint-Bris presented a picture of such lively bustle that one could believe one was in a big city.

Past Saint-Bris my way took me once more up a hill by a long ascent. But I climbed this hill with especial pleasure. Everybody was still occupied with the grape-harvest here, and a grape-harvest in Burgundy has a merriness about it of a different order to one in the Rhineland even. At every step I found the gayest company, the sweetest grapes and the prettiest girls; for here, where there is a small town always within three hours travel, where the population has a great deal of contact with the outside world by virtue of their trade in wine, here a certain degree of sophistication prevails, and no one assumes this sophistication more rapidly than the womenfolk, for they derive the most immediate and striking benefits from it. No French townswoman dreams of singing

> If I were as pretty
> As the girls who're country-bred,
> I'd wear a yellow straw hat
> With a rose-red ribbon tied.[a]

On the contrary, she knows only too well that it is to the town, to the absence of arduous labour, to civilisation and its hundred aids to cleanliness and arts of toiletry that she owes the perfecting of her charms; she knows that even if country girls have not already inherited that coarse-boned build from their parents which the Frenchman so abhors and which is the pride of the Germanic race, country girls—as a result of exacting farm labour in the most burning sunshine and the heaviest rain alike, the difficulties in the way of keeping clean, the absence of any aids to physical culture, and their admittedly venerable but no less ungainly and tasteless attire—will mostly end up as ungainly, waddling scarecrows, comically dolled up in garish colours. Tastes vary; our German compatriots mostly prefer the farmer's daughter, and they are perhaps right to do so: all due respect for the kicks—similar to those of a trooper—and especially the fists of a strapping dairymaid; all honour to the grass-green and fiery-red check gown that embraces her mighty waist; hats off to that impeccably flat expanse that reaches from the back of her neck down to her heels and gives her from behind the appearance of a board covered with brightly coloured calico! But tastes vary, and so that portion of my fellow citizens which differs from me, though being no less worthy of respect for that, must forgive me if the cleanly-washed, smoothly-combed, slimly-built Burgundian women from Saint-Bris and

[a] Goethe, "Kriegserklärung" (modified).—*Ed.*

Vermenton made a pleasanter impression on me than those earthily dirty, tousled, young Molossian buffaloes between the Seine and the Loire who gape at one as though struck dumb if one rolls a cigarette, and take to their heels screaming if one asks them the way in good French.

It will therefore readily be believed that I spent more time lying in the grass with the vintners and their girls, eating grapes, drinking wine, chatting and laughing, than marching up the hill, and that it would have taken me no longer to have climbed the Blocksberg or even the Jungfrau than this insignificant ridge. The more so since one can eat one's fill of grapes sixty times over each day and has thus the best of excuses at each vineyard to establish contact with these constantly laughing and obliging people of both sexes. But everything must come to an end, and this hill was no exception. It was already afternoon when I descended the far side into the delightful valley of the Cure, a small tributary of the Yonne, to the little town of Vermenton, which has an even finer setting than Saint-Bris.

Not far beyond Vermenton, this attractive region comes to an end. One gradually approaches the higher ridge of the Faucillon which divides the basins of the Seine, the Rhône and the Loire. From Vermenton one climbs for several hours and crosses a broad infertile plateau, where rye, oats and buckwheat largely take the place of wheat.[a]

[a] At this point the following note is written in an unknown hand: "[The manuscript breaks off here.]"—*Ed.*

# APPENDICES

# RECEIPTS OF THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE FOR MONEY RECEIVED AND PAID OUT[339]

## I

April 2, 1848

Communist League
Workers of all countries, unite!

The Central Authority certifies that it has received the sum of twenty-five francs (f. c.[a]) from its member Karl Marx.

Paris, April 2, 1848

For the Central Authority
*K. Marx*
*Engels*
*Henry Bauer*
*Joseph Moll*

## II

Communist League
Workers of all countries, unite!

The Central Authority has received an advance of seventy-four francs 20 centimes from its member Marx, which is hereby confirmed.

Paris, April 2, 1848

For the Central Authority
*Engels*
*Bauer*
*J. Moll*

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[a] *Fidei-commissum.— Ed.*

## III

Communist League
Workers of all countries, unite!

League member Friedrich Crüger acknowledges that he has received the sum of twenty-five francs as an advance from the Central Authority and he promises to repay this sum as soon as possible to the League.

Paris, April 2, 1848

*Friedrich Crüger*

First published in *Der Bund der Kommunisten. Dokumente und Materialen*, Bd. 1, 1836-1849, Berlin, 1970

Printed according to the manuscripts

Published in English for the first time

# TO ALL WORKERS OF GERMANY[340]

*BROTHERS AND WORKERS!*

If we do not want once again to be the most deceived of all, and do not want for a long series of years to be exploited, despised and downtrodden by a handful of men, then we must not lose a moment, we must not remain inactive for a single minute.

Isolated, as we have been hitherto, we are weak although we number millions. United and organised, on the other hand, we shall constitute an irresistible force. Therefore, brothers, everywhere in towns and villages form workers' associations in which our conditions are discussed, measures proposed to change our present situation, representatives from the working class to the German Parliament nominated and elected, and all other steps taken that are necessary for safeguarding our interests. Furthermore, all workers' associations in Germany must as quickly as possible enter into and keep in contact with one another.

We propose that for the time being you choose *Mainz* as the centre for all the workers' associations and that you enter into correspondence with the undersigned Executive Committee so that we can agree on a common plan and as soon as possible definitively decide the seat of the Central Committee etc. at a meeting of delegates of all the associations.

We expect letters *without postage pre-paid,* just as for our part we shall write to the associations *without pre-payment.*

Mainz, April 5, 1848

***The Workers' Educational Association in Mainz***

*On behalf of the Executive Committee*

Speaker
***Wallau***

Writer
***Cluss***

*Address*: Secretariat of the Workers' Educational Association in Mainz, c/o Herr *Adolf Cluss*, Mainz, Franziskanergasse No. 156$^1/_2$.

First published in the *Deutsche Volkszeitung* No. 8, April 8, 1848, the *Mannheimer Abend-Zeitung* No. 100, April 10, 1848, and in the supplement to the *Seeblätter* No. 89, April 13, 1848

Printed according to the *Deutsche Volkszeitung*

Published in English for the first time

# MARX'S APPLICATION FOR PRUSSIAN CITIZENSHIP[341]

To the police authorities in Cologne

I have the honour herewith to request you to prevail upon the relevant Department to grant me citizenship in the city of Cologne. I was born on May 5, 1818, in Trier, studied at the local gymnasium and at the universities of Bonn and Berlin. In 1842 and 1843 I lived in Cologne as editor of the now defunct *Rheinische Zeitung*. When that newspaper ceased to exist I went abroad and relinquished my Prussian citizenship. After the events which took place recently, I returned to my country and now I intend to settle with my family in Cologne.[a]

Cologne, April 13, 1848

Yours faithfully,
*Dr. Karl Marx*

Address: Apostelstrasse 7

First published in the *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* No. 3, 1968

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] The following version of the last sentence is given in the rough draft of this letter: "Following an invitation to take part in the editing of a newspaper that is to be founded in Cologne, I have now returned to my country, and intend to settle with my family in Cologne."—*Ed.*

# ACCOUNT OF A STATEMENT MADE BY KARL MARX TO THE COLOGNE POLICE INSPECTOR

The petitioner, the politically unreliable *Dr. Karl Marx*, was born in Trier on May 5, 1818, lived in Cologne in 1842-43, worked as editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, subsequently he went abroad and from there he obtained the enclosed permission to emigrate, which was issued by his home town Trier,[342] and has therefore lost his Prussian citizenship.

According to his statement he is working on a book on economics which he intends to publish and he proposes to live partly on the proceeds of his writings and partly the personal property of his wife,[a] who, together with their three children,[b] is still staying in Trier.

The stamp attached to the application has been cancelled and is duly enclosed herewith.

Cologne, April 19, 1848

*Hünermund,*
Police Inspector

First published in the *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* No. 3, 1968

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Published in English for the first time

[a] Jenny Marx.— *Ed.*
[b] Their daughters Jenny and Laura and their son Edgar.— *Ed.*

# PROSPECTUS FOR THE FOUNDING OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*[343]

A new spirit has broken through in Germany. It has overthrown the old regime, it has doomed the old world to destruction. It demands a new society, a new life.

It is the spirit of the *people.* The people has taken sovereign power, the people that does not want any division, any class rule, which regards its component parts as co-operating members of one great body. It is its will that is to guide its life, regulate its work, create its well-being.

The first task for this will is to create the forms in which it can deploy its strength safe from oppression or falsification. These are the forms of *democracy.* Already the people is preparing to elect a double representation[a] from which it expects the establishment of its rights, the division of the state powers and the guarantee of order, in short, a new Constitution.

This is great, difficult work, even though only preparatory. The overthrown power will resist it, personal interest will not voluntarily submit to the demands of the whole. Democracy must stand its ground in the struggle against both these enemies of an order which serves the will of the whole, and whose purpose is the good of the whole: it will have on its side the experience of the past and the needs of the present.

The immediate aim of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is to co-operate vigorously in this immediate public work. For the time being its chief task will be a thorough examination of the questions which relate to the constitution of Germany and Prussia in conjunction with the same or similar questions which occupy people abroad. It will not close its columns to any tendencies except those stemming from

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[a] A reference to the election of the Prussian and the German National Assemblies.— *Ed.*

absolutism or particular interests, it will not represent any particular party within the democracy, it will not proceed according to any preconceived theory and will not prematurely reject any view, even if it has not yet found general sympathy.

But if the political formation of the fatherland is the most immediate of the great tasks which the German nation is determined to solve, it is by no means the greatest and by far not the most difficult task. Political democracy is merely the means to achieve thoroughgoing changes in civil society. All wishes, all demands are directed to this end. The worst sufferings of unemployment, of deprivation, of misery weigh on the great majority of the nation, in particular the working class. The general demand, the general longing is to abolish a condition in which the existence of the whole is dependent on the carelessness of the governing, on the accidental insight or short-sighted egoism of private individuals, a condition which indeed still lacks guiding principles and general institutions, without which there can be no free activity, no security of earning a living, no true enjoyment of life. Everywhere, in agriculture, in industry, in commerce, in education etc., there is a recognised need for the most important reforms. The nation demands a free, happy life in free, happy work.

Between the will and the deed, between decision and execution, there is, however, a great distance, a hard road. Difficulties of every kind stand in the way. Not only malevolence, but incompetence, even more, will have to be overcome. Here every ounce of energy is required to overcome ignorance, narrow-minded particularism, and monopolistic aspirations; it is necessary to subordinate the conflicting interests, due to occupation and locality, to a common order which establishes and maintains the well-being of the whole, to organise work, intercourse and consumption according to the conditions of life of a great nation which strives to promote the well-being of the whole and of every individual not by war and exploitation but by peaceful exchange and united cooperation.

It is in this field, however, that the least thorough preparations have been made; here, where the need became general before the insight did, it is above all the press which is qualified to bring the existing circumstances to public notice, to examine the conditions for change, to discuss the means of reform, to help educate public opinion, to give a salutary direction to the will of the whole. This, then, is also the task of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, on which it will concentrate its efforts more and more, in the measure in which political discussions retreat into the background.

No special justification is needed for the choice of the city of Cologne as the seat of such an enterprise. Cologne, the capital of the Rhine Province, the capital of all West Germany, as perhaps no other place in Germany, offers a suitable locality and the resources required for the publication of a great newspaper. Cologne can also confidently look forward to any change in the conditions of work and intercourse which is at the same time an improvement, and apart from the patriotism of its inhabitants, their local interest alone would make them sympathetic towards any reforms contributing to the well-being of the nation.

While, therefore, the prospects for the success of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* can in every respect be said to be most favourable, there arises the question of the financial resources which must be raised to cover the costs in the initial period, so long as the number of subscribers and advertisements have not yet made the enterprise secure. For this purpose a capital of 30,000 talers is required, half of which is to be regarded as a reserve fund. This capital is to be raised through a limited joint-stock company.

It will be divided into 600 shares of fifty talers each, and the payment will be in such instalments as to enable the less affluent also to promote the enterprise by their participation.

Lists for the subscription of shares are open at:

Herr W. Clouth, at St. Agatha No. 12
" Wolff & Kapferer, Hochstrasse No. 55
" Max Kemmerich, St. Katharinen 2 B
" Esch & Henn, Kleine Sandkaul No. 1.

Please send applications from outside Cologne to:

Dr. Daniels, Mittelstrasse No. 2,
Cologne, April 1848.

By "provisional agreement" of the first shareholders, the following conditions have been added to those announced above:

1) As soon as 200 shares are subscribed, a general meeting of shareholders will be called to agree upon the Rules of the company. The latter thereupon comes into operation.

2) The management of the editorial office and the engagement of contributors and correspondents will be the responsibility of Herr Heinrich Bürgers.

Written by Heinrich Bürgers in April 1848

Printed according to the journal

First published in the *Westphälisches Dampfboot* No. 12, May 17, 1848

Published in English for the first time

# MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COLOGNE COMMUNITY OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE[344]

*MEETING OF MAY 11, 1848*

President Marx asks Gottschalk what his opinion or his decision is in regard to the League: what attitude towards the League he, Gottschalk, now intends to adopt.

Gottschalk states that he repeats his resignation already submitted, since the transformation undergone by the present conditions required also a recasting of the Rules of the League, and under the existing Rules his personal freedom was in jeopardy; he states, however, that in all cases where the League might call upon his energies he would when the occasion arises do everything in his power.

***H. Bürgers***, President
***Jos. Moll,*** Secretary

First published in: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Bd. 7, 1935

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English foi the first time

# ARTICLES OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG* COMPANY[345]

## Article 1

From today for a period of five years, a limited joint-stock company is formed for the purpose of publishing a daily newspaper under the title *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie.*

## Article 2

As a business the company carries the name H. Korff & Co., and a change of the latter shall have no effect on the continued existence of the company.

## Article 3

The premises of the newspaper office in Cologne at any given time shall be the address of the company.

## Article 4

The capital of the company, which is fixed at 30,000 Prussian talers, will be raised by 600 shares of 50 talers each, and shareholders shall at once proceed to form the company.

### Article 5

Payment of shares is made, if necessary, in instalments of between 5 and 10 per cent which are called on the order of the managers[a] of the company announced by two insertions in the company's newspaper.

### Article 6

If a shareholder does not pay a demanded instalment within the specified time, the company has the right either to declare forfeited the rights arising from the subscription, and from any payments already made, or to take him to court to force him to comply with contract.

### Article 7

Interim receipts will be issued against payment of instalments, which on completion of payment are exchanged against shares.

### Article 8

Interim receipts and shares are signed by the company managers.

### Article 9

Shares bear serial numbers, are registered and, like the interim receipts, are transferable.

### Article 10

The transfer of shares and interim receipts is performed by a declaration to that effect, signed by both the transferor and the transferee, and if fifty shares are already issued in the name of the transferee, only by permission of the managers, and in this case the company reserves the right to acquire the shares presented for transfer, for the purpose of amortisation.

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[a] In the original the word *Gerant* is used, which means the person who is legally responsible for the management of the newspaper and also the responsible publisher of the newspaper. In the article this word is rendered as "manager". In ensuing documents, where the other aspects seem to be predominant, the term "responsible publisher" is used.—*Ed.*

# Statut

der

# „Neuen Rheinischen Zeitungs-Gesellschaft."

§ 1.

Es bildet sich eine Kommandite-Aktien-Gesellschaft von heute ab auf die Dauer von fünf Jahren, welche den Zweck hat, ein Tageblatt unter dem Titel: „Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Organ der Demokratie" herausgegeben.

§ 2.

Als Firma führt die Gesellschaft den Namen H. Korff & Comp. und hat die Aenderung derselben auf das Fortbestehen der Gesellschaft keinen Einfluß.

§ 3.

Das jedesmalige Lokal der Zeitungs-Expedition in Cöln ist das Domizil der Gesellschaft.

§ 4.

Das Kapital der Gesellschaft, welches auf 30,000 Thaler Pr. Cour. festgesetzt ist, wird durch 600 Aktien, jede zu 50 Thaler zusammengebracht und treten Comparenten als Gesellschaft sofort zusammen.

§ 5.

Die Einzahlung der Aetien-Beträge erfolgt nach Bedürfniß in Raten von 5 bis 10 pCt., die Einforderung derselben geschieht gemäß Bestimmung der Geranten der Gesellschaft durch zweimalige Bekanntmachung in der Zeitung der Gesellschaft.

§ 6.

Zahlt ein Aktionair einen eingeforderten Einschuß nicht

### Article 11

Every shareholder shares in the gains and losses of the company in proportion to the number of his shares, but is answerable for its liabilities only with the amount of his share.

### Article 12

Every shareholder living elsewhere is obliged to choose an address in Cologne; failing that, the address of the company is regarded as such.

### Article 13

The heirs or assigns of a shareholder can in no circumstances apply for affixation of seals, form an opposition, demand an inventory or licitation, even if there are among them minors or other disqualified persons; they must content themselves with the annual balance-sheet and the dividends as they are fixed for the other shareholders.

### Article 14

The company is represented by a manager (Hermann Korff) and two co-managers (Louis Schulz and Stephan Adolph Naut), whose shares are called in for the period of their management.

### Article 15

The manager assumes legal liability for the content of the newspaper, handles the commercial business of the company, the publication of the newspaper, the editing of advertisements and checking of proofs. The commercial direction is in his hands with the co-operation and control of the two co-managers.

As emolument for their trouble the manager and co-managers receive a percentage of the income from subscriptions after deducting postage and stamp duty: 5 per cent of the first thousand subscriptions, 4 per cent of the next thousand, 3 per cent of the third thousand, 2 per cent of the fourth and thereafter 1 per cent of every thousand. The manager receives one-fifth of this amount, the two co-managers two-fifths each. In addition, the manager receives an annual salary of 800 talers. To be valid, all bills and promissory notes require the signatures of the manager and the two co-managers.

## Article 16

The managers are expressly forbidden to participate, either directly or indirectly, in any similar enterprise.

## Article 17

The salaried manager cannot allow a substitute to represent him without the permission of the co-managers, whereas the latter may do so any time they like on their own responsibility.

## Article 18

The retirement of one or more of the managers either through death or termination of the employment does not entail the dissolution of the company and does not affect this agreement in any way. In such a case those who remain in office must in the first week after the demise or termination of employment call a general meeting to decide on the filling of the vacancy.

## Article 19

After one year has passed, the manager is allowed to leave the company, giving three months notice. Likewise, the two co-managers are entitled by unanimous decision and with the co-operation of the general meeting to give three months notice to the manager. The co-managers are entitled to leave at any time, giving three months notice.

## Article 20

The managers must contact a bank in the usual commercial manner and transfer to it, at interest, all cash which is not for immediate use or necessary for the current expenses of the week, so as to be able to use it at any time it may be needed. Repayments by the bank must be receipted over the signature of the manager and the two co-managers.

## Article 21

The general meeting of shareholders elects annually a Supervisory Board consisting of seven members which superintends the conduct of business.

## Article 22

Every member of the Supervisory Board is entitled to resign from his position if he has announced his intention in writing six weeks before. If the position of a member of the Board falls vacant, the Supervisory Board nominates a substitute who keeps his position until it is definitively filled by the general meeting.

## Article 23

The Supervisory Board takes all decisions by majority vote in the presence of at least five members. If the voting is equal, the chairman has the casting vote.

## Article 24

Minutes are taken of all proceedings and decisions and are signed by the Supervisory Board members present.

## Article 25

The Supervisory Board meets regularly once a month; at the invitation of the chairman as often as he deems necessary, or if two members or one of the managers demand it.

## Article 26

The Supervisory Board stands by the managers as controlling committee, checks the books and shares record at any time, either directly or through an authorised shareholder or non-shareholder, inspects the cash and the balance-sheet.

## Article 27

The members of the Supervisory Board receive neither salary nor a premium for their trouble.

## Article 28

Every year in the month of February a general meeting is held, the first of these in the year 1849. Extraordinary general meetings may be called as often as the Supervisory Board deems necessary, or if

one of the managers or 20 members of the company who own at least 40 shares demand it.

### Article 29

The invitation to ordinary or extraordinary general meetings is extended twice through the company's newspaper, to extraordinary ones with a brief indication of the agenda. Ordinary general meetings are called by the Supervisory Board, extraordinary ones by the latter or by one of the managers.

### Article 30

The general meeting consists of all shareholders whose shareholdings have been entered in the company's register for at least six weeks. Registration is effected for the first time by signing the company contract, later upon written demand with the company. The holder of one share has one vote, of four shares two votes, of ten shares three votes, of fifteen shares four votes, of twenty and more shares five votes. Absentees can be represented by shareholders, but these can never combine more than ten votes in one person. Written authority for representation of absent shareholders must be submitted to the Supervisory Board for inspection on the day of the general meeting at the latest.

### Article 31

All decisions are taken by an absolute majority; if voting is equal, the chairman has the casting vote. All elections, however, are made by simple majority. If two or more persons receive equal votes, the election is decided by lot.

### Article 32

Elections are always held by secret ballot, but decisions only when holders of at least 50 shares demand it.

### Article 33

In case of a secret ballot the chairman appoints two scrutineers and distributes the ballot papers which carry on the reverse side the number of votes and his signature. Every authorised representative

can cast a separate ballot paper for each shareholder he represents, in addition to his own.

Article 34

Regular items for the agenda of the general meeting are:

a) Managers' report on last year's business;
b) Supervisory Board's report on the audit of the accounts;
c) decisions on any criticism raised by the Supervisory Board against the accounts, and endorsement;
d) election of members of the Supervisory Board;
e) decision on matters referred to the general meeting by the Supervisory Board, the managers, or individual shareholders.

Article 35

Special motions by individual shareholders must be received by the managers at the latest a week before the general meeting, otherwise they are entitled to defer the decision to the next general meeting.

Article 36

Minutes of the proceedings of the general meeting are taken by a shareholder appointed by the chairman; to be valid, they must be signed by the chairman, the Supervisory Board members present, and at least two other shareholders.

Article 37

The managers draw up a balance-sheet annually on 1st December and together with the receipts pass it on for auditing to the Supervisory Board at the latest on 20th January. The Board must present it to the ordinary general meeting together with its report.

Article 38

During the last days before the general meeting the balance-sheet and receipts must be available to all shareholders for inspection in the business premises of the company.

Article 39

If at the closing of the annual accounts after deduction of interest a net surplus is shown, then 1) all contracted royalties are settled, and

2) ten per cent is put to a reserve fund for unexpected losses and improvements of the newspaper and for extraordinary expenditures, and 3) the remaining sum is distributed as dividends among the shareholders.

### Article 40

The use of the reserve fund, which must not exceed the sum of 10,000 talers, is decided by the general meeting upon the motions of the Supervisory Board and the managers.

### Article 41

The managers announce by two insertions in the company's newspaper where the interest and dividends can be collected annually commencing on 1st March.

### Article 42

Interest and dividends which have not been collected within two years from the pay-day announced, or collection of which has not been notified by any person within the specified period, become the property of the company.

### Article 43

The company is automatically dissolved before the expiry of the period specified in Article 1 if losses occur which exhaust four-fifths of the subscribed share capital.

### Article 44

In all these cases the managers must call an extraordinary meeting which shall decide on the manner in which the company is to be liquidated.

### Article 45

Changes of Articles can be decided at a general meeting by a majority of three-quarters of the voters present or represented if their general content was indicated in the notice.

## Article 46

Disputes between the company and shareholders shall be settled by arbitration.

*Printed by W. Clouth in Cologne*

First published as a separate leaflet in July 1848

Printed according to the leaflet

Published in English for the first time

# LEGAL INVESTIGATION AGAINST THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

*Cologne,* July 7. The responsible publisher[a] of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* Korff, and its editor-in-chief, Karl Marx, were interrogated yesterday at the office of the examining magistrate, both of them being accused of insulting or libelling the Chief Public Prosecutor, Herr Zweiffel, and the policemen who arrested Anneke. The interrogation began at 4 o'clock. After its conclusion, at about 6 o'clock, the examining magistrate and Public Prosecutor *Hecker* accompanied the accused to the office of the editorial board, where with the aid of a police inspector a search of the premises took place in order to discover the manuscript and thus the author of the inculpated article.[b] There was found a note in an unknown handwriting but it was not a copy of the inculpated article. This note was added to the dossier of the indictment against *Marx and consorts.* In view of this last expression, it seems that it is intended to institute proceedings against the editorial board *en masse* although the responsible publisher, Korff, who alone appends his signature to the newspaper, undertakes, of course, also the legal responsibility for it.

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 38, July 8, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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[a] *Gerant.* See footnote on p. 544.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 177-79.—*Ed.*

# LEGAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

*Cologne*, July 22. This morning the editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Karl Marx, was again summoned before the examining magistrate to be interrogated on account of the incriminated article on the arrest of Herr Anneke. This time the summons did not include the responsible publisher of the newspaper, Herr Korff.

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 53, July 23, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# REPORT OF THE SPEECHES MADE BY MARX AND ENGELS AT THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IN COLOGNE ON AUGUST 4, 1848[346]

[...] Hereupon Dr. *Marx*, editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, examines the principles of Herr Weitling, pronounced at the meeting of the Democratic Society held a fortnight ago,[a] and in a pithy and fairly long speech seeks to prove, on the grounds of the historical development of the revolutions that have taken place during the last few centuries, that the separation of political and social interests assumed by Weitling is as unthinkable as their direct opposition, that, rather, the political and social interests must interpenetrate. The claim that social development retards political development was also incorrect; unfortunately, in respect of social development we Germans had only now arrived at the point which the French had already reached in the year 1789; the present contradictions could only be resolved by sharply defining them and emphasising the interests of the individual classes; only in this way, that is by using intellectual weapons, can an amicable settlement be achieved. The disregard of the position of the various strata of the population to one another, the refusal to make reciprocal concessions and wrong notions about class relations have led to the bloody outcome in Paris. The dictatorship which Weitling proposed as the most desirable constitutional form is, for similar reasons, regarded by Marx as impractical and quite unfeasible, since power cannot be attained by a single class; the intention to carry on a dictatorship in accordance with a system devised by a single brain, deserves to be called nonsensical. On the contrary, the governing power, just as the Provisional Government in Paris, must consist of the most heteroge-

[a] On July 21, 1848.—*Ed.*

neous elements, which by means of an exchange of views have to agree on the most appropriate mode of administration.

Herr *Engels* reports on the Government's rejection of the application for citizenship of Dr. Marx.[a] As the latter was a Rhineland Prussian by birth, and as since the March revolution all political refugees have had their citizenship restored to them, this interpretation of citizenship involved injustice and breach of faith; he would thereby be regarded as a foreigner who could be expelled at any time.

First published in the newspaper *Der Wächter am Rhein*, 2. Dutzend, No. 1, August 23, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, pp. 407-10.—*Ed.*

# ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CONVOCATION OF THE RHENISH DISTRICT CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATIONS[347]

*Cologne,* August 4. In accordance with the decision of the Democratic Congress in Frankfurt, which resolved that Cologne should be the seat of the Executive for the Prussian Rhine Province and authorised the democratic associations there to convene a district congress for organising the democratic party in the province, the Central Committee of the associations here[348] invites all democratically-minded associations in the Rhine Province to appoint delegates to this congress, which will take place here on Sunday, August 13. The delegates must report their arrival in the upstairs hall of the Stollwerk premises.

The Central Committee
of the three democratic associations in Cologne

***Schneider II, Marx***
(For the Democratic Society)

***Moll, Schapper***
(For the Workers' Association)

***Becker, Schützendorf***
(For the Association for Workers and Employers

At a moment when reaction, operating under the name of itinerant "constitutional" congresses, is reviewing and concentrating its forces throughout the state, democrats do not need any more exhaustive exposition of the necessity for an energetic counter-

attack. They merely have to make use of the same freedoms which the Association "With God for King and Fatherland"[a] and its branch associations enjoy.

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 66, August 5, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] Words from the decree of Frederick William III issued on March 17, 1813, announcing the setting up of the army reserve.— *Ed.*

# THE LEGAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

*Cologne*, August 4. Our entanglement with the office of the Public Prosecutor continues to take its course. Last Monday the responsible publisher *Korff* was again summoned before the examining magistrate and yesterday two of our editors, Dronke and Engels, were cited as *witnesses*. Dronke is away at present; Engels appeared but was not interrogated on oath, since it is supposed that the note recently confiscated in our office[a] is in his handwriting and it is possible, therefore, that he, too, will be involved in the indictment.

It is clear that the prosecution is not satisfied with the manager functioning as the responsible publisher. The editor-in-chief has to be implicated, the author of the article in question has to be discovered, the editors — *any one* of whom could be the author of the article in question — have to be made to give evidence *against one another*, indeed, if possible, *against themselves*.

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 66, August 5, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, p. 554.—*Ed.*

# KARL MARX TO POLICE SUPERINTENDENT GEIGER[349]

To Police Superintendent *Geiger*
Here.

Sir, I inform you that I have immediately appealed[a] to the Ministry of the Interior against the paper drawn up by you[b] and that I continue to regard myself as before as a citizen of the German Empire.

Cologne, August 5, 1848

Editor-in-Chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* *Dr. Karl Marx*

First published in the *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* No. 3, 1968

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, pp. 407-10.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 408.— *Ed.*

# FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IN COLOGNE HELD ON AUGUST 11, 1848

After the minutes of the preceding general meeting had been read and approved at the request of acting President Marx, Herr *Wolff* read out the protest to the German National Assembly against the partition of Poland,[a] which was joyfully greeted and adopted with acclamation.

Herr *Rittinghausen* gave many reasons vindicating Herr Marx's right to citizenship recently contested by the Prussian Government.[b] He considered that the best thing would be, by means of a deputation tomorrow, to make the Government reverse this illegal and altogether ridiculous action, and if the Government is unwilling to do that, to send a protest at such behaviour directly to the Minister. The protest was read and adopted, and in the event of the refusal of citizenship for Marx not being withdrawn people will be invited to sign the protest this evening.

Herr *Marx* dwelt in more detail on the grounds proving the injustice of the measures adopted against him, and the applause of the whole meeting testified to the force of his arguments. The circumstance on account of which the Government refused him the right of citizenship really lies in the fact that previously attempts had been made in vain to win him over to the side of the Government.

Herr *Engels* reported a new vexatious police measure against Schapper by which the latter is threatened with deportation.[c] He described the intervention of the police and especially stressed that in any case Schapper as a citizen of Nassau has the right to be

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[a] See this volume, pp. 564-65.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 407-10.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., pp. 383-84.—*Ed.*

regarded as a German and as such, by the decision of the Frankfurt National Assembly, is entitled to reside in any of the 38 German states.

Rittinghausen, Schneider and Bürgers were elected as delegates to put the case of Marx and Schapper before the *Regierungspräsident* and the Police Superintendent and try to effect a reversal of the decisions in question.

Deputy *Gladbach*, whose appearance was greeted with stormy applause, explained at length that salvation should not be expected to come either from the Berlin Assembly or from the Frankfurt Assembly.

Herr *Engels* stressed that it was Gladbach who had always distinguished himself by his liberal outlook and audacity and especially by his vigorous protest against the way the Schleswig-Holsteiners were dealt with in Spandau.[a] Thereupon three cheers were given for Herr Gladbach.

First published in the newspaper *Der Wächter am Rhein*, 2. Dutzend, No. 2, August 25, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, pp. 180-81 and 192-93.—*Ed.*

# PROTEST OF THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IN COLOGNE AGAINST THE INCORPORATION OF POSEN IN THE GERMAN CONFEDERATION[350]

*Cologne,* August 12. The *Democratic Society* of Cologne has submitted the following protest to the National Assembly:

To the High National Assembly!

The Democratic Society of Cologne, considering

1. that Germany, which is engaged in a struggle for freedom, does not desire to oppress other nationalities but to promote their efforts for freedom and independence;
2. that the liberation of Poland is a vital question for Germany;
3. that Poland has in fact been repeatedly robbed of its freedom and national independence by three despots;
4. that since 1792 all attacks upon Poland and all partitions of Poland have always been aimed by reaction against the freedom of the whole of Europe, and, on the other hand, whenever a liberation of the peoples took place there was insistence also on the restoration of Poland;
5. that even the Committee of Fifty,[351] in the name of the German people, indignantly rejected any share in the outrage committed against Poland and clearly proclaimed the duty of the German people to co-operate in the restoration of an independent Poland;
6. that after the March revolution even the King of Prussia, compelled by the force of public opinion, solemnly assented to the reorganisation of Posen;
7. that despite that the National Assembly in Frankfurt, which, it is true, arose from indirect elections, in its sitting of July 27, 1848, voted for the incorporation of three-quarters of the Grand Duchy of Posen in the as yet non-existent German Empire and thereby incurred the guilt of a new partition of

Poland and the flouting of liberty in the same way as did the Vienna Congress and the German Federal Diet;

8. that nevertheless the healthy part of the German people will not and cannot take any part in oppressing the Polish nation for the benefit of reaction and in the interests of a number of Prussian bureaucrats, landowners and hucksterers;

resolves in its sitting today:

to make a formal protest against the decision adopted by the German National Assembly on July 27, 1848, in regard to the Grand Duchy of Posen and herewith to lay before Germany, Poland and the whole of Europe its vigorous objections to this incorporation which is solely of advantage to the reactionary party in Prussia, Russia and Austria.

On behalf of the *Democratic Society*,
***The Committee***

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 74, August 13, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# THE LEGAL INVESTIGATION AGAINST THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

*Cologne*, August 12. The interesting relations between our newspaper and the Public Prosecutor's office continue to take their course. Yesterday one of our editors, Ernst Dronke, was again summoned to appear before the examining magistrate as a witness. There was no interrogation on oath since information had been received that, on the evening after Anneke's arrest, Dronke had visited Anneke's wife and obtained there particulars about the arrest. When the witness asked against whom the indictment was being made, an explanation of the term "Marx and consorts" was given to the effect that it was merely possible that the responsible publisher Korff would be indicted whereas they intended to indict the editor-in-chief, Karl Marx, as the supposed author of the incriminated article.

Incidentally, Dronke stated that he did not consider himself bound to tell the truth, since as editor it was possible he might be implicated in the authorship of the article and he would not testify against himself.

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 74, August 13, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# RECORD OF ENGELS' SPEECH AT THE PUBLIC MEETING OF THE FIRST CONGRESS OF RHENISH DEMOCRATS HELD AT COLOGNE ON AUGUST 13, 1848

FROM A NEWSPAPER REPORT

*Engels* from Cologne: A characteristic feature of the Rhineland is hatred of Prussian officialdom and dyed-in-the-wool Prussianism; it is to be hoped that this attitude will endure.

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 101, September 13, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# NOTE IN THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG* ON MARX'S DEPARTURE FOR VIENNA

*Cologne*, August 24. The editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Karl Marx, yesterday went to Vienna for a few days.[352]

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 85, August 25, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# FROM A NEWSPAPER ITEM LISTING THE NAMES OF VISITORS WHO HAD JUST ARRIVED IN VIENNA

*New Arrivals*

August 27

Herr Steriol Damesa, merchant, from Semlin.— Baroness Beust, wife of the royal and imperial cavalry captain from Tarnow.— Herr Anton Feuerstein, merchant, from Schwarzenberg.— Herr Carl Marx, Ph. D., from Paris.[353]— Messrs. Alex. Kusa and Basil. Ghika, men of private means, from England.[a]

First published in the *Wiener Zeitung* No. 236, August 30, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] There follows a list of other persons who had arrived in Vienna that day.— *Ed.*

# NEWSPAPER REPORTS OF MARX'S SPEECH IN THE VIENNA DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION ON AUGUST 28, 1848

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 94, September 5, 1848]

*Vienna*, August 29. At yesterday's meeting of the Democratic Association it was discussed whether the Association should approach the Emperor or the Imperial Diet so as to bring about the downfall of Minister Schwarzer or rather the fall of the entire Doblhoff Ministry. Herr Julius Fröbel and Herr Marx were present as guests and both took part in the debate from different standpoints.

Herr Julius Fröbel was of the opinion that the Association should approach the Emperor, whereas Herr Marx maintained that the democratic principle was to be found in the Imperial Diet. No one here is surprised that the Berlin "theoretical" so-called democrats in practice seek to "reach agreement" with the sovereigns.

[*Der Radikale* No. 64, August 31, 1848]

*Vienna*, August 30. The meeting of the Democratic Association on the 28th of this month is one of the most interesting and important events in our current history. Among the guests present we mention the well-known political writer *Julius Fröbel* and the editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Herr *Karl Marx*; both of them have become important on account of their particular fate. As writers, too, they occupy a definite position which is of importance for Germany....

Herr *Marx* was of the opinion that it was a matter of indifference *who* was Minister, for here too—as in Paris—it was now a question of the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. His speech was very witty, trenchant and instructive....

[*Wiener Zeitung* No. 252 (supplement), September 17, 1848]

... in a Viennese Association, where a debate about the dismissal of the Ministers was in progress, an *academic from abroad* really had the audacity to say the following:

"Up to now the speakers mentioned only two great powers, the Imperial Diet and the Emperor, to whom they intended to appeal in order to bring about the dismissal of the Ministers; but the greatest power, the people, has been forgotten! *We must appeal to the people and must try to influence it employing every possible means. We must raise a storm against the Government, and must work towards this end in every possible way, even using Mephistophelian means. We must use the press, posters and discussions to achieve this.*"[354]

Printed according to the newspapers

Published in English for the first time

# NEWSPAPER REPORTS OF MARX'S SPEECH IN THE FIRST WORKERS' ASSOCIATION OF VIENNA ON AUGUST 30, 1848

[*Die Constitution* No. 133, September 1, 1848]

Dr. Marx spoke about the workers, especially the German workers abroad.—The national workshops and the latest workers' revolution in Paris. He asserted that the German workers could be proud that a considerable number of those deported were their compatriots.—The Chartists in England and the recent Chartist movements. England and the complete emancipation of the workers of Europe. Belgium.

[*Der Volksfreund* No. 109, September 3, 1848]

Dr. *Marx*, editor of the [*Neue*] *Rheinische Zeitung*, greeted the Association and said that he felt it an honour to speak also to a workers' association in Vienna, as he had already done in Paris, London and Brussels.

Printed according to the newspapers

Published in English for the first time

# REPORT OF MARX'S LECTURE ON WAGE LABOUR AND CAPITAL AT THE MEETING OF THE FIRST WORKERS' ASSOCIATION OF VIENNA ON SEPTEMBER 2, 1848[355]

...Dr. Marx delivered a fairly long lecture on wage labour and capital. He said in his introduction that all revolutions are social revolutions. Capital consists not of money, but of raw materials, instruments of production and articles of consumption; wage labour produces capital as distinct from the products. The assertion that the interests of the capitalist and of the wage labourer are identical is false. Along with division of labour, competition among the workers grows and wages fall; but this occurs still more owing to the use of machines. Production costs determine wages. Civilisation does not increase the well-being of the workers, but does the opposite. Taxes and the price of the necessities of life increase.

The lecturer spoke also about the remedies that had been tried and their inadequacy, such as, for example, Malthus' theory of over-population. The workhouses in England. Industrial training. Abolition of protective tariffs and of taxes. Finally, he stated that conditions must improve because not all the workers are used as workers, but part of them are maintained....

First published in *Die Constitution* No. 136, September 5, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# REPORT OF PLATOON LEADER MENTÉS OF THE COLOGNE CIVIC MILITIA

*Third Standard* Company No. XVI

***Report***

of the 5th Platoon of the Standard Guard of September 1, 1848

Absent from the standard guard without excuse:

| | |
|---|---|
| Corporal Herr C. Mohr | Sculptor |
| ditto " Ferd. Rhien | Pharmacist |
| Militiaman J. A. Fischer | Cap-maker |
| ditto G. Weerth | Editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* |
| ditto E. Dronke | ditto |
| ditto F. Engels | ditto |
| ditto F. Schnabel | Cap-maker[a] |
| ditto C. Kayser | Merchant |
| ditto R. Kayser | ditto |
| ditto M. Olzem | ditto |
| ditto Jac. Schmidt | Shoemaker |
| ditto Fried. Greven | Butcher |
| ditto Wm. Engels | Garment-maker |
| ditto Joh. Struben | ditto |
| ditto Ign. Wieners | — |
| ditto J. P. Mohr | Roofer |
| ditto M. Woocker | Grocer |
| ditto C. Deckker | — |

Cologne, September 2, 1848

Platoon leader
*M. Mentés*

Printed according to the manuscript
Published for the first time

[a] In the original the whole line is crossed out and the following note inserted: "he turned up".—*Ed.*

# REPLY

No. 201 of the *Breslauer Zeitung* publishes a report from Berlin that knight Schnapphahnski[356] has bought many shares in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and for this reason the series of feature articles about him has come to an end, because it is not possible for a newspaper to wage a polemic against its own shareholders. The allegedly democratic *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* considers itself bound to reproduce this insinuation in its columns. Whatever concoctions it may be desired to invent in Berlin, a *Silesian* newspaper ought to have known that this assertion was a lie and why it was a lie. Unfortunately for it, however, the treacherous assertion comes too late. No. 92 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which was published long before the arrival of No. 201 of the *Breslauer Zeitung*, contains the continuation of the feature articles in question. Moreover, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is the newspaper of a party and has already given sufficient proof that it is not to be bought.

**The Responsible Publishers**
**of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung***

First published in the supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 93, September 3, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# LEGAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

*Cologne*, September 5. Yesterday one of our editors, *Friedrich Engels*, was again summoned to appear before the examining magistrate in the investigation against Marx and consorts,[a] but this time not as a witness but as co-accused. The preliminary investigation has ended, and if the Public Prosecutor's office does not make any further proposals, the Council Chamber will shortly have to decide whether Marx, Engels and Korff will have to appear before the Assize Court on the charge of insulting or libelling Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel and the six policemen.

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 95, September 6, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, p. 566.—*Ed.*

# ADDRESS TO THE GERMAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN FRANKFURT ADOPTED BY A PUBLIC MEETING HELD IN COLOGNE ON SEPTEMBER 7, 1848[357]

An armistice with Denmark, which has been ratified by Prussia, has been presented by the Prussian Government to the Imperial Government, and by the Imperial Government to you.

The undersigned German citizens resident in Cologne protest against this armistice, and, considering:

1. that Prussia has concluded this armistice on the basis of an authorisation issued by the Imperial Regent[a] but not countersigned by any responsible Imperial Minister, and hence legally invalid;
2. that Prussia has exceeded this authorisation in every point thus pursuing only the interests of absolutism and its own, un-German plans;
3. that no political agreement may be concluded without *previous* authorisation of the National Assembly;
4. that this armistice forces the victorious German troops to an ignominious retreat, instals a Danish Government in Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg, betrays to Denmark the Provisional Government, which arose from the revolution and was recognised by Germany, and all its decisions; withdraws the Schleswig troops from the German High Command and delivers Schleswig-Holstein to civil war;
5. that whereas Germany has constantly fought the revolution in Italy, Posen and Prague, the Danish war is the only one in which Germany defends the revolution against legitimism and absolutism;

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[a] Archduke John of Austria.—*Ed.*

request you: to *reject* the armistice concluded by Prussia in violation of the authorisation and in defiance of the Central Authority and the National Assembly, and to defend the revolution in Schleswig-Holstein even at the risk of a European war, and never again to entrust the present Prussian Government with diplomatic negotiations on behalf of Germany; and, finally, to declare that Germany will on no account force the Danish-speaking North Schleswig to become a part of Germany against its will.

Cologne, September 7, 1848

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 98, September 9, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE COLOGNE WORKERS' ASSOCIATION HELD ON SEPTEMBER 11, 1848

After reading the minutes of the previous meeting, the secretary, Citizen Kalker, declared that because of his departure from here, which would take place tomorrow, it would no longer be possible for him to give his services as secretary of the Association and that he herewith handed over his functions to the Association.

Thereupon Citizen Blum jun. was proposed as secretary and accepted.

The latter then took the floor and related the detailed circumstances of the arrest of himself and Citizen Salget last Sunday evening in Wesseling by the Burgomaster of that place.[a] For, on their way back to Cologne, after visiting a Workers' Association founded earlier in Cassel, they visited the Workers' Association in Wesseling; they had spoken there about social reform for barely a quarter of an hour, when Geier, the local Burgomaster, suddenly appeared accompanied by a policeman, arrested them, and placed them in custody in the latter's house, but next morning, with the most friendly civility, he let them go home peacefully.

President Moll thereupon asked Citizen Blum whether he had perhaps promised the Burgomaster of Wesseling not to take any steps against him, and when the question was answered in the negative, he moved that, to safeguard their rights and prevent similar illegal and arbitrary arrests, the meeting should decide to take the necessary steps, namely through the courts, which was agreed unanimously.

Citizen Röser requested the managing committee of the Society to invite the Workers' Association in Frechen to the public meeting to

[a] See this volume, p. 426.—*Ed.*

be held on the 15th in Worringen. The secretary was instructed to comply.

Citizen Dronke: We have now reached a point which could be more important and fraught with more consequences than many might perhaps think. The Government of Action has fallen, along with its world-enchanting financial plans. But let us not assume that we are now at the goal of our desires, or that anything will be done for us; let us not even count on getting a Government of the Left. On the contrary, we now have the prospect of a Government which does not even belong to the Chamber and will consist of people from the past, von Vincke etc. Behind such a Government stands absolutism in all its grandeur, all its insolence and arrogance. It will probably wish to disperse the Chamber with the aid of Pomeranian bayonets, and then the struggle between monarchy and nation will be inevitable. Perhaps while we are sitting here they are already fighting on the barricades in Berlin.

Thereupon the meeting turned to the social question, and President Moll remarked that we had come to a halt on the question whether an organisation of work was possible or not.[358] People often threw at us the failure of the national workshops in France[359] in order to prove that an organisation of work was impossible.

Citizen Engels made a lengthy speech on this subject. His speech was received with great applause.

After a written reply from the local Town Council had been read, concerning the request that the expenses of our delegates to the workers' congress in Frankfurt[360] be defrayed, in which the Town Council asks for further details, the meeting was closed.

Voluntary contributions amounted to 11 silver groschen and 7 pfennigs.

First published in the *Zeitung des Arbeiter-Vereines zu Köln* No. 33, September 21, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# LETTER WRITTEN BY VON KÜHLWETTER, MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR, TO KARL MARX[361]

To *Dr. Marx*, Esquire, in *Cologne*

In reply to your submission of the 23rd of last month,[a] I have to inform you that I cannot consider it illegal that for the time being the Royal Government in Cologne has rejected your request to be accorded the status of Prussian, since you do not possess a *right* to naturalisation; for your status of Prussian became extinct under Paragraph 20 of the law of December 31, 1842, Statute Book 1843, p. 17, by your acceptance of the Deed of Release which you requested for the purpose of emigrating to North America in the year 1845,[362] of which you also availed yourself when you settled abroad. A claim to readmission, however, is neither conferred on the emigrant by that law nor can it be derived from the decision of the Prussian Assembly of March 30 of this year nor from general legal principles.

Berlin, September 12, 1848

Minister of the Interior
*von Kühlwetter*

First published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt* No. 176, June 27, 1913

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, pp. 407-10.— *Ed.*

# MASS MEETING AND THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY

*Cologne,* September 14. We return to the subject of yesterday's mass meeting and its results, since these have caused a fairly considerable sensation in our city.

The mass meeting on the Frankenplatz was opened shortly after 12 o'clock by Herr W. Wolff, who briefly explained its purpose and proposed that Herr H. Bürgers should preside over it. Herr Bürgers, who was elected by acclamation, came on to the platform and gave the floor again to Herr Wolff, who then proposed that a Committee of Public Safety be formed to represent the parts of the population of Cologne not represented in the existing legal authorities. Herr F. Engels seconded the motion, which was supported also by Herr H. Becker and Herr E. Dronke. The proposal was adopted amid stormy applause by the audience of at least 5,000-6,000 persons, with only five votes against, after no opposer had come forward despite repeated invitations. It was then decided to fix the number of members of the Committee at 30, and these 30 were elected.[363] Since these included also two, Gottschalk and Anneke, who were under arrest, two substitutes for them were also elected.

Herr F. Engels then proposed the following address to the Berlin Assembly:

To the Assembly which is to agree on the Prussian Constitution in Berlin.

The undersigned citizens of Cologne,

considering:

> that the Assembly which is to agree on the Prussian Constitution has made it the bounden duty of the Government to issue without further delay the decree

decided on August 9 concerning reactionary efforts of officers so as to calm the country and also avoid a breach with the Assembly[a];

that in consequence of this decision the Auerswald-Hansemann Government has been dismissed and the King has charged Imperial Minister Beckerath, who has just been overthrown, to form a new Government;

that Herr Beckerath by no means affords the requisite guarantees for implementing the decision of the Assembly; and that, on the contrary, in view of his known counter-revolutionary sentiments, an attempt to dissolve the Assembly is to be expected;

that an Assembly elected by the people for reaching agreement on the Constitution between King and people cannot be unilaterally dissolved, because otherwise the Crown would not be on a level with, but *above* the Assembly;

that a dissolution of the Assembly would therefore be a coup d'état;

call upon the [members of the] Assembly,

in the event of an attempt to dissolve the Assembly, to do their duty and defend their seats even against the force of bayonets.

This address was unanimously adopted, following which the meeting came to an end.

Although numerous delegates from the Citizens' Association were present in the upper parts of the square, and although it is said that a number of well-known "wailers"[364] did their utmost to recruit rowdies by persuasion and the offer of money, and furthermore although policemen in plain clothes were present in fairly large numbers, nevertheless the meeting was skilful enough to prevent all attempts at disturbing the peace.

Meanwhile the commanders of the civic militia were sitting in the Town Hall and debating what to do, for some of them considered that disturbances were bound to occur. In the middle of their deliberations the door opened and the leaders of the Citizens' Association burst into the room, declaring that the Committee of Public Safety was the first step towards revolution, that Cologne was in danger and the red republic on the verge of being proclaimed,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 417-18.—*Ed.*

and that if the civic militia by itself was insufficient to maintain order, the *Citizens' Association with all its resources* would put itself *at the disposal of Herr von Wittgenstein*! Herr von Wittgenstein was adroit enough to refuse this offer and to refrain also from calling any of the civic militia to arms. The consequences proved how right the civic militia was on this occasion.

Not satisfied with this, while the mass meeting was still in progress, the gentlemen of the Citizens' Association posted up copies of a "Protest", which we reproduce below. Within five minutes the Protest, which was *unsigned*, disappeared without trace from every part of the city. Towards evening it reappeared as a leaflet in bold type, printed at the press of the *Kölnische Zeitung* and distributed to subscribers to this newspaper. This time it had the following amusing introduction:

*Cologne*, September 13, 1848

The so-called democrats want to exploit the alarm caused by the latest decisions of the Assemblies in Frankfurt and Berlin in order to regain the ground they have increasingly lost and to provoke a conflict at all costs. With this aim, too, the significance and danger of the friction between the army and the citizens which occurred in Cologne on the 11th of this month has been recklessly depicted with deliberate exaggeration and exploited for criminal purposes.[365] By means of a wall-poster, even this morning a mass meeting was convened to be held in the open air at midday, and this meeting actually elected by acclamation a list of persons who had been proposed and agreed upon in advance, to a Committee of Public Safety.

It is unquestionably true that no one should recognise such an authority, which has arisen from a casually assembled mass of people, bypassing the existing official bodies, and that the members of this committee, should they presume to act as such, at once make themselves liable to legal proceedings. It is however better to prevent crimes than to punish them after they have been committed and perhaps claimed many victims.

Hence it is our duty to warn all citizens and to call their attention to the present danger.

To this end, the following protest is issued, together with an appeal:

**Protest**

The formation of a Committee of Public Safety is the first step towards

***Revolution.***

Whoever wants true freedom and order is invited to support the existing authorities with all his might, to oppose the criminal efforts of a minority and to protest against the formation of a Committee of Public Safety.

In particular, all members of the civic militia are urged to do their duty and energetically protect law and order. The pretended danger from the army is non-existent, but the real danger arises from the formation of a Committee of Public Safety.

***Several members of the managing committee of the Cologne Citizens' Association.***

The Committee of Public Safety held its first meeting yesterday evening and in the first place decided to file this amusing protest, and the gentlemen of the Citizens' Association will evidently have to be satisfied with that. The Committee elected a president,[a] a secretary[b] and three members of an Executive Committee.[c] Furthermore, it adopted a communication addressed to the *Regierungspräsident*, the Commandant's office, the Town Council, and the command of the civic militia, in which it notified these authorities of its formation and informed them that it would use all legal means to pursue the aim of maintaining calm, in agreement with the authorities wherever possible, but at the same time watching over the preservation of the people's rights. It resolved moreover to announce this by means of a wall-poster to the inhabitants of Cologne. We shall publish both documents tomorrow.

This morning, people's minds have already been to some extent set at rest. People laugh at yesterday's alarm which caused them to see in the Committee a Provisional Government, a *comité de salut public*, a conspiracy for a red republic, in short, everything but what it actually is: a *committee* elected directly and publicly by the people, a committee which undertakes the task of representing the interests of the part of the population not represented in the legally instituted authorities, a committee which operates only in a legal way and has no intention of wanting to arrogate any other authority than the moral influence which the right of free association, the laws, and the confidence of the electors allow it to exert.

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 103, September 15, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] Hermann Becker.— *Ed.*
[b] Funk.— *Ed.*
[c] Weyll, Bernigau and Moll.— *Ed.*

# MASS MEETING IN WORRINGEN

*Cologne*, September 18. Yesterday a large public meeting took place at Worringen. From Cologne five or six large Rhine barges, each with a few hundred persons, and with the red flag at the prow, made the trip down the Rhine. More or less numerous delegations were present from Neuss, Düsseldorf, Krefeld, Hitdorf, Frechen and Rheindorf. The meeting, which was held in a meadow at the side of the Rhine, comprised at least 6,000-8,000 persons.

Karl *Schapper* from Cologne was appointed chairman, and Friedrich *Engels* from Cologne secretary. On a proposal put by the chairman, the meeting declared unanimously, except for one vote, in favour of a republic, and in fact for a democratic social republic, a *red republic*.

On the proposal of Ernst *Dronke* from Cologne, the same address to the Berlin Assembly that had been adopted the previous Wednesday at the meeting on the Frankenplatz in Cologne (in which the Assembly was called upon, in the event of its being dissolved, not to give way even before the force of bayonets[a]) was also unanimously adopted by the Worringen meeting.

On the proposal of Joseph *Moll* from Cologne, it was decided to *recognise* the Committee of Public Safety elected at the public meeting in Cologne and on the motion of a member of the meeting three hearty cheers were given for this Committee.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 582-84.—*Ed.*

On the proposal of Friedrich *Engels* from Cologne, the following address was unanimously adopted:

To the German National Assembly in Frankfurt.

The German citizens here assembled hereby declare that if as a result of the resistance of the Prussian Government to the decisions of the National Assembly and the Central Authority a conflict should arise between Prussia and Germany, they will be ready to sacrifice their lives and property on the side of Germany.

Worringen, September 17, 1848

On the proposal of Schultes from Hitdorf it was resolved that the *Kölnische Zeitung* did not represent the interests of the Rhine Province.

In addition, there were speeches by W. *Wolff* from Cologne, F. *Lassalle* from Düsseldorf, *Esser* from Neuss, *Weyll, Wachter, Becker* and *Reichhelm* from Cologne, *Wallraf* from Frechen, *Müller,* a member of the Worringen Workers' Association, *Leven* from Rheindorf, and *Imandt* from Krefeld. The proceedings concluded with a short speech by Henry *Brisbane* of New York, the well-known editor of the democratic-socialist *New-York Tribune.*

During the meeting, news came from a trustworthy source that it was intended "on Tuesday to send the 27th Regiment again to Cologne, to draw in also the remaining battalions of the regiment, to provoke conflicts between the soldiers and the citizens, and to take advantage of this occasion to proclaim the city in a state of siege, to disarm the civic militia, and in short to deal with us in the same way as with Mainz".[a]

In case this report should actually prove to be well founded and a clash take place, the inhabitants of the areas around Cologne present at the meeting promised their help. In fact, the people from Worringen are only waiting to be called upon for them to appear on the scene.

Let the ex-commander of the civic militia, Herr Wittgenstein, take note of this.

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 106, September 19, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, pp. 20 and 23.—*Ed.*

# DECISION OF THE MASS MEETING[366]

***The favour of reprinting is requested.***

PROCLAMATION

**The citizens assembled in a mass meeting in Cologne on September 20,[a]**

**considering:**

**that the decision of the Frankfurt National Assembly of the 16th, approving the dishonourable armistice with Denmark, is a betrayal of the German people and of the honour of German arms,**

**declare:**

**Article 1. The members of the Frankfurt so-called National Assembly, with the exception of those who have announced to the people their readiness to resign, are traitors to the people;**

**Article 2. The fighters at the barricades in Frankfurt have rendered a meritorious service to the fatherland.**

**This proclamation is to be distributed as widely as possible by wall-posters and through the press.**

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[a] A separate leaflet with the text of the Proclamation was also issued. In this leaflet the introductory phrase was printed in the following form: "The citizens assembled in a mass meeting, which was summoned by the Committee of Public Safety, the Democratic Association and the Workers' Association, in Cologne on September 20...."—*Ed.*

## The office of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is prepared to accept contributions for the support of the insurgents and their families.[a]

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 110, September 23, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] In the leaflet this sentence is replaced by the following text: "The office of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has consented to accept contributions in aid of those who fought on the barricades in Frankfurt and their families, and it will forward them to Deputy Schlöffel from Silesia for appropriate use.

"The other democratic newspapers will undoubtedly act in a similar way."— *Ed.*

# ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE RESPONSIBLE PUBLISHERS OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

***TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS***

During the state of siege imposed on Cologne, when the pen has to submit to the sabre, the

***NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG***

has been forbidden to appear and for the time being is unable to fulfil its obligations to its esteemed subscribers.

We hope, however, that the exceptional situation will continue only for a few days more, and then during the month of October we shall be able to ensure the dispatch of our newspaper to our subscribers in an *enlarged format*, with *new powerful means* for its support, the more punctually because before long the printing will be done by a new rapid printing-press.

Cologne, September 28, 1848

***THE RESPONSIBLE PUBLISHERS***

Published as a leaflet

Printed according to the leaflet

Published in English for the first time

# ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE RESPONSIBLE PUBLISHERS OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

***TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS***

According to the assurance of the office of the Fortress Commandant received in reply to our inquiry, the state of siege will end in Cologne on October 4 and accordingly the

*NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

WILL APPEAR AGAIN ON OCTOBER 5.[367]

We take this opportunity, therefore, to invite the friends of our paper, with references to the circular of September 28, to subscribe for the 4th quarter, and accordingly to notify the nearest post-office as soon as possible.

*New equipment will enable us in future to avoid any irregularity in dispatch.*

The subscription rate for three months in Cologne is 1 taler 15 silver groschen, and in all other places in Prussia 1 taler 24 silver groschen 6 pfennigs. Advertisements are 1 silver groschen 6 pfennigs per 8-point line of column width (4 columns per page) or the equivalent space.

Cologne, September 30, 1848

***THE RESPONSIBLE PUBLISHERS***

Published as a leaflet

Printed according to the leaflet

Published in English for the first time

# INVITATION TO SUBSCRIBE TO THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was quite unjustifiably suppressed for some days by the armed reaction during the state of siege imposed on the city of Cologne. After today's lifting of the state of siege, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* will *once more defend the democratic interests of the whole people with energy and circumspection. This is just now the more essential since we have all seen with what brazen ruthlessness the armed reaction has come out in the most recent period in opposition to the freedom justly won by the people.* Making this announcement to supporters of democracy, we ask them at the same time for really numerous subscriptions for the fourth quarter now commencing, since the democratic newspapers, which moreover encounter hostility from many sides, *especially need the active co-operation of their supporters.*

For Cologne, the subscription per quarter costs 1 taler 15 silver groschen. In Prussia outside Cologne it is 1 taler 24 silver groschen 6 pfennigs. Outside Prussia the printed matter mail charges in the foreign country concerned have to be added.

Advertisements: per 8-point line of column width (4 columns per page) or the equivalent space, cost 1 silver groschen 6 pfennigs.

Cologne, October 3, 1848.

***H. Korff***

Responsible Publisher
of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

Published as a leaflet

Printed according to the leaflet

Published in English for the first time

# WARRANT FOR THE ARREST OF HEINRICH BÜRGERS AND FRIEDRICH ENGELS

*Warrant for arrest.* The persons described below have taken refuge in flight from the investigation instituted against them on account of crimes envisaged in Articles 87, 91 and 102 of the Penal Code. On the basis of the order for their appearance in court issued by the examining magistrate here, I therefore request all authorities and officials whom it may concern to be on the look-out for them and, if discovered, to arrest them and have them brought before me.

Cologne, October 3, 1848

For the Chief Public Prosecutor,
Public Prosecutor ***Hecker***

*Description.* I. Name: *Joh. Heinr. Gerhard Bürgers*; occupation: writer; place of birth and residence: Cologne; religion: Catholic; age: 28 years; height: 5 feet 7 inches; hair, eyebrows and eyes: brown; forehead: round; nose: thin; mouth: medium; beard: brown; teeth: good; chin and face: oval; complexion: healthy; figure: slender; language: German.

II. Name: *Friedrich Engels*; occupation: merchant; place of birth and residence: Barmen; religion: Evangelical; age: 27 years; height: 5 feet 8 inches; hair and eyebrows: dark blond; forehead: ordinary; eyes: grey; nose and mouth: well-proportioned; teeth: good; beard: brown; chin and face: oval; complexion: healthy; figure: slender.

First published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 271, October 4, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# BLACK LIST

*Cologne,* October 13. A very well-informed friend in *Brussels* writes to us:

"*Engels* and *Dronke* were arrested and transported across the frontier in a prison van only because they were imprudent enough to give their names.[a] A worker from Cologne, *Schmitz,* who is supposed to have played an active part in the freeing of Wachter, shared the same fate. The fact is that the Brussels police had a long list of persons who have fled from Cologne. Thus the Belgian police were accurately informed also about the alleged participation of Schmitz in the freeing of Wachter."

Is perhaps acting Police Superintendent *Geiger* informed about the authors and senders of this black list?

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 116, October 14, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, pp. 459-61.—*Ed.*

# FROM THE MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE COLOGNE WORKERS' ASSOCIATION ON OCTOBER 16, 1848. ENTRY OF MARX'S SPEECH IN CONNECTION WITH HIS ASSUMPTION OF THE PRESIDENCY

The acting President, Citizen Röser, stated that Dr. Marx had acceded to the request of the deputation sent to him from the Association that he should put himself at the head of our Association, and he therefore asked him to take his seat.

Dr. Marx: His position in Cologne was precarious. The reply he had received from ex-Minister Kühlwetter to his request for renaturalisation[a] was tantamount to a concealed order for his expulsion. He would, of course, lodge a protest against it in the National Assembly. On the other hand, he was to be tried at the Assize Court for an alleged press offence. Moreover, owing to the temporary dispersion of the editorial board of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* he was overburdened with work. Nevertheless, he was ready, provisionally until Dr. Gottschalk was set free, to accede to the desire of the workers. The Government and the bourgeoisie ought to realise that, despite their acts of persecution, there were always persons to be found who would be ready to put themselves at the disposal of the workers.

Dr. Marx then spoke in some detail about the revolutionary activities of the German workers abroad, and in conclusion stressed their outstanding role in the recent Vienna revolution. He therefore proposed an address to the Vienna Workers' Association. (Adopted with acclamation.)...

The President's proposal (concerning the rules of procedure) was that the first hour should be devoted to the interests of the Association (i.e. to its internal and external affairs), that during the

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[a] See this volume, p. 581.—*Ed.*

second hour social and political questions should be discussed, and that the meeting should begin at 8.30. (Adopted.)...

First published in the *Zeitung des Arbeiter-Vereines zu Köln* No. 40, October 22, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE COLOGNE WORKERS' ASSOCIATION ON OCTOBER 22, 1848

The President, Dr. *Marx*, opened the meeting with some remarks about the system of indirect election.

Citizen Röser: We have received a request to send a delegate to the Democratic Congress to be held in Berlin on the 26th of this month.[a] In this connection, however, the question arises whether the Workers' Association should send someone separately or together with the Democratic Association. At the last committee meeting of your Association decision was taken in favour of the former alternative, namely to act independently, but it remains for the general meeting to give its approval and in connection with such acceptance it is essential that the question of cost should be taken into account. Therefore I move:

That we elect a delegate to represent us alone, and that we levy a voluntary contribution to cover the expenses.

The motion was adopted and the contributions fixed at a minimum of one silver groschen....

Citizen Beust was proposed and elected delegate to the Congress in Berlin.

The President, Dr. Marx, and the Vice-President, Citizen Röser, were confirmed in their official positions by the meeting....

First published in the newspaper *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit* No. 2, October 29, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, pp. 490-92.— *Ed.*

# FROM THE MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE COLOGNE WORKERS' ASSOCIATION ON NOVEMBER 6, 1848. ENTRY RELATING TO MARX'S REPORT ON THE EVENTS IN VIENNA

... The President, Dr. Marx, gave a short report on the events in Vienna and stressed especially that it was only as a result of the manifold betrayal on the part of the bourgeoisie there that it became possible for Windischgrätz to capture the city....

First published in the newspaper *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit* No. 6, November 12, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# NOTES
# AND
# INDEXES

## NOTES

[1] "Demands of the Communist Party in Germany" were written by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in Paris between March 21 (when Engels arrived in Paris from Brussels) and March 24, 1848. This document was discussed by members of the Central Authority, who approved and signed it as the political programme of the Communist League in the revolution that broke out in Germany. In March it was printed as a leaflet, for distribution among revolutionary German emigrant workers who were about to return home. Austrian and German diplomats in Paris informed their respective governments about this as early as March 27, 28 and 29. (The Austrian Ambassador enclosed in his letter a copy of the leaflet which he dated "March 25".) The leaflet soon reached members of the Communist League in other countries, in particular, German emigrant workers in London.

Early in April, the "Demands of the Communist Party in Germany" were published in such German democratic papers as *Berliner Zeitungs-Halle* (special supplement to No. 82, April 5, 1848), *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* (No. 96, April 5, 1848), *Mannheimer Abendzeitung* (No. 96, April 6, 1848), *Trier'sche Zeitung* (No. 97, April 6, 1848, supplement), *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (No. 100, April 9, 1848, supplement), and *Zeitung für das deutsche Volk* (No. 21, April 9, 1848).

Marx and Engels, who left for Germany round about April 6 and some time later settled in Cologne, did their best along with their followers to popularise this programme document during the revolution. In 1848 and 1849 it was repeatedly published in the periodical press and in leaflet form. Not later than September 10, 1848, the "Demands" were printed in Cologne as a leaflet for circulation by the Cologne Workers' Association both in the town itself and in a number of districts of Rhenish Prussia. In addition to minor stylistic changes, point 10 in the text of the leaflet was worded differently from that published in March-April 1848. At the Second Democratic Congress held in Berlin in October 1848, Friedrich Beust, delegate from the Cologne Workers' Association, spoke, on behalf of the social question commission, in favour of adopting a programme of action closely following the "Demands". In November and December 1848, various points of the "Demands" were discussed at meetings of the Cologne Workers' Association.

Many editions of the "Demands" published during the revolution and after its defeat have survived to this day in their original form, some of them as copies kept in the police archives.

At the end of 1848 or the beginning of 1849 an abridged version of the "Demands" was published in pamphlet form by Weller Publishers in Leipzig. The slogan at the beginning of the document, the second paragraph of point 9 and the last sentence of point 10 were omitted, and the words "The Committee" were not included among the signatories.

In 1853, an abridged version of the "Demands" was printed, together with other documents of the Communist League, in the first part of the book *Die Communisten-Verschworungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts,* published in Berlin for purposes of information by Wermuth and Stieber, two police officials, who staged a trial against the Communists in Cologne in 1852.

Later Engels reproduced the main points of the "Demands" in his essay *On the History of the Communist League,* published in November 1885 in the newspaper *Sozialdemokrat,* and as an introduction to the pamphlet: K. Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten Prozess zu Köln,* Hottingen-Zürich, 1885.

English translations of the "Demands of the Communist Party in Germany" appeared in the collections: *The Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels* with an introduction and explanatory notes by D. Ryazanoff, Martin Lawrence, London (1930); K. Marx, *Selected Works,* Vol. II, ed. V. Adoratsky, Moscow-Leningrad, Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR (1936); ibid., New York (1936); *Birth of the Communist Manifesto,* edited and annotated, with an Introduction by D. J. Struik, International Publishers, New York, 1971, and in other publications. p. 3

[2] The letter to the editor of the *Populaire* and the Declaration are in Engels' handwriting. Both documents were drawn up at the end of March 1848 after Engels' arrival in Paris and reflect the struggle which the leaders of the Communist League were waging against those German petty-bourgeois emigrant leaders in Paris, Herwegh and Bornstedt among others, who intended to speed up revolution in Germany by moving in a volunteer legion organised by using private donations and subsidies from the Provisional Government of the French Republic. Appeals to enlist were accompanied by demagogic appeals to the patriotic and revolutionary sentiments of German emigrants. Marx, Engels and other members of the Central Authority of the Communist League spoke out against the adventurist nature of such plans to "export revolution" and advised German workers instead to return to their home country individually in order to take part in the revolutionary events that were brewing there. "We opposed this playing with revolution in the most decisive fashion," Engels later wrote in his work *On the History of the Communist League.* "To carry out an invasion, which was to import the revolution forcibly from outside, into the midst of the ferment then going on in Germany, meant to undermine the revolution in Germany itself, to strengthen the governments and to deliver the legionaries ... defenceless into the hands of the German troops."

The letter and the Declaration were first published in English in the journal *Science and Society,* 1940, Vol. IV, No. 2. The first publication in the language of the original appeared in the collection *Der Bund der Kommunisten. Dokumente und Materialien,* Bd. I, 1836-1849, Berlin, 1970. p. 8

[3] The *German Democratic Society* (below it is called the Society of German Democrats) was formed in Paris after the February revolution of 1848. The society was headed by petty-bourgeois democrats, Herwegh, Bornstedt (the latter expelled from the Communist League) and others, who campaigned to raise a volunteer legion of German emigrants with the intention of marching into

Germany. In this way they hoped to carry out a revolution in Germany and establish a republic there. Late in April 1848 the volunteer legion moved to Baden where it was dispersed by government troops. p. 8

[4] The *German Workers' Club* was founded in Paris on March 8 and 9, 1848, on the initiative of Communist League leaders. The club's aim was to unite German emigrant workers in Paris, to explain to them the tactics of the proletariat in a bourgeois-democratic revolution, and also to counter the attempts of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats to stir up the German workers by nationalist propaganda and enlist them into the adventurist invasion of Germany by volunteer legions. The club successfully arranged the return of German workers one by one to their home country to take part in the revolutionary struggle there. p. 9

[5] On March 29, 1848, the supplement to No. 89 of the *Trier'sche Zeitung* carried a report from Paris, dated March 24, in which the activity of the German Democratic Society (see Note 3) was criticised. This article was apparently written by one of Marx's followers in the Communist League, probably with Marx's help. The author vehemently denounced the idea of an armed invasion of Germany by the volunteer legion and stated that the German Workers' Club associated with the Communist League had nothing to do with this venture.

Deeply hurt by this article, the leaders of the German Democratic Society sent Marx a note signed by Bornstedt, Löwenfels, Börnstein, Volk and Mayer in which they demanded the author's name. The reply is published here from a copy made by Engels. After Marx had rejected their demand, one of the society's leaders, Herwegh, wrote a memorandum for the German periodicals (on April 3, 1848), in which he justified the idea of a volunteer legion and venomously attacked communists. p. 10

[6] Marx's letter was published in *L'Alba* on June 29, 1848, with the following introductory note by the editors: "We publish the following letter received from Cologne to show what feelings the noble-minded Germans entertain towards Italy; they ardently wish to establish fraternal relations between the Italian and German peoples, whom European despots have tried to set against each other."

The reply by the editors of *L'Alba*, signed by L. Alinari, is quoted in Engels' article "Germany's Foreign Policy" (see this volume, p. 167).

An English translation of this letter was published in the magazine *Labour Monthly* No. 5, 1948, and in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Moscow, 1955, London, 1956). p. 11

[7] This statement of the editorial board was printed in the first number of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which appeared in the evening of May 31, but was dated June 1, 1848. (In English the statement was published in the magazine *Labour Monthly* No. 5, 1948, and in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972.)

Marx and Engels began to plan the publication of a German revolutionary paper as far back as March 1848 when they were still living in Paris. On March 26 and 28, 1848, Engels wrote about this plan to his brother-in-law Emil Blank.

The publication of a proletarian newspaper was regarded by Marx and Engels as an important step towards a mass party of the German proletariat, which, they believed, should be founded on the basis of the Communist League. On their arrival in Germany, they realised that the conditions for creating such a party were not yet ripe: the German workers were disunited; their immaturity and lack of

organisation made them easy prey to narrow craft and petty-bourgeois influences and particularist moods, while the Communist League, for which there was no sense in continuing secret activities during the revolution, was too weak and small in number to be instrumental in consolidating the workers. Marx and Engels realised this after studying the reports submitted by the Central Authority emissaries on the situation in the League's local communities. In this context, the role of a newspaper in influencing the masses, in their ideological and political education and consolidation, seemed peculiarly important. The paper could be used for political guidance of the activities of Communist League members, who were instructed by Marx and Engels to avail themselves of every legal opportunity and join the emerging workers' associations and democratic societies.

Marx and Engels decided to publish the paper in Cologne, the capital of the Rhine Province, one of the most economically and politically advanced regions in Germany. The new paper was given the name of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* to emphasise that it was to continue the revolutionary-democratic traditions of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, which Marx had edited in 1842 and 1843. Taking account of the specific circumstances, with the absence of an independent mass workers' party in Germany, Marx, Engels and their followers entered the political scene as a Left, actually proletarian, wing of the democratic movement. This determined the stand of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which began to appear under the subtitle "The Organ of Democracy".

When they started the paper, Marx and Engels had to cope with serious financial difficulties as well as with the opposition from sectarian elements in the Communist League (Hess, Anneke and others), who intended to publish a purely local sheet under a similar title. In April and May 1848, Marx and Engels worked hard selling shares in the paper, finding contributors and establishing regular contacts with democratic periodicals in other countries. The editorial committee was known for its unanimity of views, well-co-ordinated work and strict division of functions.

As a rule, Marx and Engels wrote the editorials formulating the paper's stand on the most important questions of the revolution. These were usually marked "*Köln" and "**Köln". Sometimes editorial articles marked with one asterisk were printed in other sections under the heading of news from Italy, France, England, Hungary and other countries. In the early months of the paper's existence Marx was fully occupied with administrative and organisational matters and most of the leading articles were written by Engels. In addition to this, Engels also contributed critical reviews of debates in the Berlin and Frankfurt National Assemblies, articles on the national liberation movements in Bohemia, Posen and Italy, and on the war in Schleswig-Holstein, revolutionary developments in Hungary and political life in Switzerland. Wilhelm Wolff contributed articles on the agrarian question, on the condition of the peasants and their movement, particularly in Silesia. He was also responsible for the current events section. Georg Weerth wrote feuilletons in verse and prose. Ernst Dronke was for some time the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* correspondent in Frankfurt am Main and wrote several articles on Poland. Ferdinand Wolff was for a long time one of the paper's correspondents in Paris. The only article which Heinrich Bürgers wrote for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was almost entirely rewritten by Marx. Ferdinand Freiligrath, who became one of the paper's editors in October 1848, published his own verses.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was a daily paper (from September 1848 it appeared every day except Monday). Its editors often published a second edition

on one day in order to supply their readers with prompt information on all the most significant revolutionary developments in Germany and Europe; supplements were printed when there was too much material to be squeezed into the four pages of the number, while special supplements and special editions printed in the form of leaflets carried the latest and most important news.

The consistent revolutionary tendency of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, its militant internationalism and political accusations against the Government displeased its bourgeois shareholders in the very first months of the paper's existence; its editors were persecuted by the Government and attacked in the feudal-monarchist and liberal-bourgeois press. Following the appearance of the paper's first number, which carried Engels' article "The Assembly at Frankfurt" (see this volume, pp. 16-19), a large number of the shareholders withdrew their financial support, and articles in defence of the June uprising of the Paris proletariat frightened away most of the rest. The editors now had to rely on German and Polish revolutionary circles for funds.

To make Marx's stay in the Rhine Province more difficult, the Cologne authorities, on instructions from Berlin, refused to reinstate him with the rights of Prussian citizenship (which Marx had renounced in 1845); on several occasions he and other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* were summoned to court. On September 26, 1848, when a state of siege was introduced in Cologne, several democratic newspapers, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* among them, were suspended. To avoid arrest, Engels, Dronke and Ferdinand Wolff had to leave Germany for a time. Wilhelm Wolff stayed in Cologne but for several months lived illegally. When the state of siege was lifted, the paper resumed publication on October 12, thanks to the great efforts of Marx who sank all his ready money into the paper. Until January 1849, the whole burden of the work, including editorial articles, lay on Marx's shoulders since Engels had to stay out of Germany (in France and Switzerland).

Persecution of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* editors by the legal authorities and the police was intensified, particularly after the counter-revolutionary coup in Prussia in November-December 1848.

In May 1849, when the counter-revolution went into the offensive all over Germany, the Prussian Government issued an order for Marx's expulsion from Prussia on the grounds that he had not been granted Prussian citizenship. Marx's expulsion and repressions against other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* caused publication of the paper to be ceased. Its last issue (No. 301), printed in red ink, came out on May 19, 1849. In their farewell address to the workers, the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* said that "their last word will everywhere and always be: *emancipation of the working class!*" p. 15

[8] The *September Laws*, promulgated by the French Government in September 1835, restricted the rights of jury courts and introduced severe measures against the press. They provided for increased money deposits (caution money) for periodical publications and introduced imprisonment and large fines for publication of attacks on private property and the existing political system. p. 15

[9] The opening session of the all-German National Assembly, the purpose of which was to unite the country and draft a Constitution, took place on May 18, 1848, in Frankfurt am Main at St. Paul's Church. Among the deputies elected in various German states late in April and early in May, there were 122 government officials, 95 judges, 81 lawyers, 103 teachers, 17 manufacturers and wholesale dealers, 15 physicians and 40 landowners. The liberal deputies, who were in the majority,

turned the Assembly into a mere debating club, incapable of taking any resolute decisions.

In writing this and the following articles concerning the debates in the Frankfurt National Assembly, Marx and Engels made use of the stenographic reports which later appeared as a separate publication, *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen constituirenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main*, Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig, 1848-1849.

Engels' article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 16

[10] At the sitting of the Frankfurt National Assembly on May 19, 1848, the liberal Deputy Raveaux proposed that Prussian deputies elected to both the Berlin and Frankfurt Assemblies should have the right to be members of both. The Berlin Assembly, i. e. the Prussian National Assembly, was convened on May 22, 1848, to draft a Constitution "by agreement with the Crown". The Assembly was elected under the electoral law of April 8, 1848, by universal suffrage and an indirect (two-stage) voting system. Most of the deputies belonged to the bourgeoisie or liberal bureaucracy. p. 17

[11] *The limited understanding of a loyal subject*—an expression used by the Prussian Minister of the Interior von Rochow. In his letter of January 15, 1838, addressed to the citizens of Elbin who expressed their dissatisfaction at the expulsion of seven oppositional professors from the Hanover Diet, Rochow wrote: "Loyal subjects are expected to exhibit due obedience to their king and sovereign, but their limited understanding should keep them from interfering in affairs of heads of state." p. 18

[12] The *Preparliament*, which met in Frankfurt am Main from March 31 to April 4, 1848, consisted of representatives from the German states, most of its delegates being constitutional monarchists. The Preparliament passed a resolution to convoke an all-German National Assembly and produced a draft of the "Fundamental Rights and Demands of the German People". Although this document proclaimed certain rights and liberties, including the right of all-German citizenship for the residents of any German state, it did not touch the basis of the semi-feudal absolutist system prevalent in Germany at the time. p. 18

[13] The *seventeen "trusted men"* who represented the German governments were summoned after the March revolution in Germany by the Federal Diet, the central body of the German Confederation (which was founded in 1815 by the Congress of Vienna). The "trusted men", among them Dahlmann, von Schmerling, Uhland and Bassermann, met in Frankfurt am Main from March 30 to May 8, 1848, and drafted an all-German Imperial Constitution based on constitutional-monarchical principles.

The *Federal Diet* consisted of representatives of the German states. Though it had no real power, it was nevertheless a vehicle of feudal and monarchical reaction. After the March revolution of 1848, reactionary circles in the German states tried to revive the Federal Diet and use it to undermine the principle of popular sovereignty and prevent the democratic unification of Germany. p. 18

[14] Auerswald's decree, dated May 22, 1848, and published on May 23, 1848, in the *Preussische Staats-Anzeiger* No. 21, p. 215, included Raveaux's proposal (see Note 10). p. 19

[15] The article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx, *On Revolution*, ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971 ("The Karl Marx Library" series), Vol. 1. p. 20

[16] On May 22, 1815, Frederick William III who, during the war with Napoleonic France, had to respond to the demand for a Constitution, issued a decree in which he promised "popular representation", that is, to set up Provincial Assemblies of the Estates in Prussia and to convoke an all-Prussia representative body. All that ever resulted from these promises, however, was the law of June 5, 1823, which created Provincial Assemblies of the Estates with limited, advisory functions.

The *German Confederation*—see Note 13. p. 20

[17] *Lazzaroni*—a contemptuous nickname for declassed proletarians, primarily in the Kingdom of Naples. They were repeatedly used by the absolutist Government in the struggle against liberal and democratic movements. p. 25

[18] The reference is to the "cordial agreement" (*entente cordiale*) between France and England in the early period of the July monarchy (1830-35). The "agreement", however, proved unstable and was soon followed by intensified contradictions. p. 25

[19] *Sanfedists* (from *santa fede*—holy faith)—supporters of the papacy who joined terrorist gangs to fight against the Italian national liberation movement. p. 25

[20] On *August 10, 1792*, the monarchy in France was overthrown by a popular uprising in Paris. The sculpture of a dying lion by Thorwaldsen was installed in Lucerne some time later, to commemorate the Swiss guards who were killed defending the royal palace.

On *July 29, 1830*, the Bourbons were overthrown in France.

In *July 1820*, the Carbonari, aristocratic and bourgeois revolutionaries, rose in revolt against the absolutist regime in the Kingdom of Naples and succeeded in having a moderate liberal Constitution introduced. Intervention by the powers of the Holy Alliance, however, led to the restoration of the absolutist regime in Naples.

On all these occasions Swiss mercenaries were used by the counter-revolutionary forces. p. 26

[21] The reference is to treaties concluded between the middle of the fifteenth and the middle of the nineteenth centuries between Swiss cantons and European states for the supply of Swiss mercenaries. p. 26

[22] An article dealing with this subject was originally written by Heinrich Bürgers, but Marx editorially deleted half of it and rewrote the rest (see Marx's letter to Ferdinand Lassalle of September 15, 1860).

An English translation of this article was first published in the collections: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung", 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, and Karl Marx, *The Revolutions of 1848. Political Writings*, Vol. 1, London, Penguin Books, 1973. p. 27

[23] In 1848-49 the advocates of a bourgeois constitutional system in Germany called the republican democrats "agitators" (*Wühler*) and these in turn called their opponents "wailers" (*Heuler*). p. 28

[24] On March 29, 1848, the Camphausen Government in which Hansemann held the post of the Minister of Finance replaced the Government of Count Arnim-Boitzenburg, which had been formed on March 19, 1848, when revolution broke out in Prussia.

In writing this and other articles concerning the Prussian National Assembly, the authors made use of the stenographic reports, which later came out as a separate edition entitled *Verhandlungen der constituirenden Versammlung für Preussen 1848*, Berlin, 1848.

The article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx, *The Revolutions of 1848. Political Writings*, Vol. 1, London, Penguin Books, 1973.

p. 30

[25] The *United Diet*—an assembly of representatives from the eight Provincial Diets of Prussia, similarly based on the estate principle. The United Diet sanctioned new taxes and loans, discussed new Bills and had the right to petition the King.

The First United Diet, which opened on April 11, 1847, was dissolved in June, following its refusal to grant a new loan. The Second United Diet met on April 2, 1848, when the Camphausen Ministry was in office. It passed a law on the elections to a Prussian National Assembly and sanctioned the loan. The United Diet session was closed on April 10, 1848. p. 32

[26] See Note 10. p. 33

[27] According to tradition, around 390 B. C. the Gauls captured Rome with the exception of the Capitol, whose defenders were warned of the approaching enemy by the cackling of the geese from the Temple of Juno. p. 33

[28] In this article Engels describes one of the episodes in the war between Germany and Denmark over Schleswig and Holstein.

By the decision of the Congress of Vienna (1815) the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were incorporated into the Kingdom of Denmark in spite of the fact that Germans constituted the majority of the population in Holstein and in Southern Schleswig. Under the impact of the March revolution, the national liberation movement of the German population grew in strength and assumed a radical and democratic nature, becoming part of the struggle for the unification of Germany. Volunteers from all over the country rushed to the aid of the local population when it rose up against Danish rule arms in hand. Prussia, Hanover and other states of the German Confederation sent to the duchies federal troops, under the command of the Prussian General Wrangel, who entered Jutland on May 2. The Prussian Government, however, declined to take a firm stand on the Schleswig-Holstein issue, for it feared a popular outbreak and an intensification of the revolution. The liberal majority of the Frankfurt National Assembly also cherished secret hopes of an agreement with the Danish ruling circles, at the expense of national unity. Things were complicated by the intervention of Britain, Sweden and Russia in favour of Denmark, and their demand that federal troops be withdrawn from the duchies. (In this connection, Engels alludes to the Note of May 8, 1848, which Chancellor Nesselrode handed in to the Berlin Cabinet and in which this demand was accompanied by the threat of a break between Russia and Prussia.)

All these circumstances had a negative effect on the military operations against Denmark undertaken by the German federal troops and volunteer detachments.

The report on the defeat of the German federal troops appeared on May 30, 1848, in No. 11179 of the *Börsen-Halle,* and was then reprinted in most of the German papers. In English it appeared on June 3 in *The Times* No. 19880. p. 34

[29] The reference is to the presidents of the Provincial Diets of the Estates, which were formed in 1823 and consisted of heads of princely families, representatives of the nobility (the latter enjoying the greatest influence), and representatives of towns and rural communities. The competence of the Diets was limited to local economic and administrative problems. They could also express opinions on government Bills submitted for discussion. p. 36

[30] See Note 25. p. 36

[31] The article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx, *The Revolutions of 1848. Political Writings,* Vol. 1, London, Penguin Books, 1973. p. 39

[32] An allusion to the speech which the French lawyer André Dupin addressed to the Duke of Orléans (representative of the younger branch of the Bourbons), made King of the French by the July revolution of 1830. In his speech, Dupin emphasised that the Duke of Orléans was elected "not *because* he was a Bourbon but *although* he was a Bourbon". This was an answer to the question whether the King should adopt the name of Philippe VII or Louis Philippe. p. 40

[33] Concerning the German-Danish war over Schleswig-Holstein see Note 28. p. 42

[34] The army of the anti-French coalition, in which Prussian forces participated, defeated Napoleon's army in the vicinity of Berlin at the battles of *Grossbeeren* (August 23, 1813) and *Dennewitz* (September 6, 1813). p. 42

[35] Excerpts from an announcement published in the supplement to the *Berliner Zeitungs-Halle* No. 128, June 4, 1848, under the title "Berliner Tagesgeschichte" [Sicherheits-Ausschutz], are quoted in this article with some digressions. p. 46

[36] In February 1846, the Prussian police in Posen tracked down the leaders of preparations for a national liberation uprising in Poland and carried out wholesale arrests. As a result, a general uprising aimed at restoring Poland's independence was staved off and only sporadic outbursts occurred (among them an unsuccessful attempt by a group of Polish revolutionaries to capture the Posen fortress on March 3). Only in the Republic of Cracow, which since the Congress of Vienna had been under the joint control of Austria, Russia and Prussia, did the insurgents gain power on February 22 and create a National Government of the Polish Republic, which issued a manifesto abrogating all feudal obligations. The Cracow uprising was suppressed in early March 1846 and, in November, Austria, Prussia and Russia signed a treaty incorporating the free city of Cracow into the Austrian Empire. p. 47

[37] In late April and early May 1848, Berlin was the scene of a compositors' strike for higher wages and shorter working hours. The workers disregarded the threat of deportation, and succeeded in forcing their employers to abandon an attempt to make them sign, as a condition of agreement, a statement in which the workers would acknowledge their "errors" and repent. p. 47

[38] The article was first published in English in the collections: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, and Karl Marx, *The Revolutions of 1848. Political Writings,* Vol. 1, London, Penguin Books, 1973. Excerpts from it appeared earlier in the collection: Karl Marx, *On Revolution,* ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971, under the title "A United German State", which was supplied by the editors. p. 48

[39] The Left wing of the Frankfurt National Assembly consisted of two factions: the Left (Robert Blum, Karl Vogt and others), and the extreme Left known as the radical-democratic party (Arnold Ruge, Friedrich Wilhelm Schlöffel, Franz Zitz and others). Though the sympathies of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* were with the extreme Left wing rather than with more moderate groups of democrats, it criticised the former for their vacillations and halfway stand on the basic problems of the German revolution—abolition of feudal survivals and unification of the country. p. 48

[40] See Note 13. p. 49

[41] The *Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation* was founded in 962 and lasted till 1806. At different times, it included the German, Italian, Austrian, Hungarian and Bohemian lands, Switzerland and the Netherlands, forming a motley conglomeration of feudal kingdoms and principalities, church lands and free cities with different political structures, legal standards and customs. p. 50

[42] The *agreement debates* (*Vereinbarungsdebatten*) was the name given by Marx and Engels to the debates in the Prussian National Assembly, which met in Berlin in May 1848 to draft a Constitution "by agreement with the Crown" according to the formula proposed by the Hansemann-Camphausen Government. Marx and Engels labelled the Berlin Assembly, which adopted this formula and thereby rejected the principle of popular sovereignty, the "Agreement Assembly" and its deputies "the agreers". p. 53

[43] The reference is to the treaty signed by Russia and Prussia on March 29, 1830, on the extradition of deserters, prisoners of war and criminals. A secret declaration adopted simultaneously with the agreement made persons guilty of political offences also subject to extradition. The governments of both countries used this convention in their struggle against the Polish national liberation movement. p. 53

[44] Abbreviation for *Preussische Seehandlungsgesellschaft* (Prussian Sea Trade Society). This trade credit society, founded in 1772, enjoyed a number of important state privileges. It offered large credits to the Government and actually played the part of banker and broker. In 1904 it was made the Prussian State Bank. p. 54

[45] According to the *Verordnung wegen der künftigen Behandlung des gesammten Staatsschulden-Wesens* (Decree on the Future Handling of All Government Debts), issued in Prussia on January 17, 1820, new loans and government debts had to be guaranteed by the forthcoming Prussian Assembly of the Estates, as well as by the Government. p. 55

[46] After the March revolution of 1848, an insurrection of the Poles broke out in the Duchy of Posen for liberation from the Prussian yoke. The Polish peasants and artisans took an active part in this together with members of the lesser nobility.

The Prussian Government was forced to promise that a committee would be set up to carry through the reorganisation of Posen (creation of a Polish army, appointment of Poles to administrative and other posts, recognition of Polish as an official language etc.). Similar promises were given in the Convention of April 11, 1848, signed by the Posen Committee and the Prussian Commissioner. On April 14, 1848, however, the King of Prussia ordered that the Duchy of Posen be divided into an eastern Polish part and a western "German" part, which was not to be "reorganised". During the months following the suppression of the Poles by Prussian troops that broke the Convention, the demarcation line was pushed further and further east and the promised "reorganisation" was never carried out. p. 57

[47] In the table of contents of this issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the article is listed under the title "A New Partition of Poland", but the text itself begins with the heading "The Seventh Partition of Poland". This refers to the decree issued on June 4, 1848, by General Pfuel, the commander of Prussian troops in Posen, which further extended the territory of the western "German" part of the duchy at the expense of its eastern "Polish" part, which was to be "reorganised" as promised by the Government, but never was (see Note 46). This was the fourth time that the line of demarcation was pushed further east to the detriment of the Polish population (the three previous occasions were April 14, April 22 and May 2, 1848). Ironically calling this the "seventh partition of Poland", Engels shows it to be a continuation of the policy of appropriation of Polish lands by the European powers. This found reflection in the three partitions of Poland (by Prussia, Austria and Russia) at the end of the eighteenth century (1772, 1793, 1794-95); in the transfer to Russia (by Napoleon, under the Peace Treaty of Tilsit concluded in 1807) of a part of Polish territory in exchange for recognition of the Duchy of Warsaw, created by Napoleon as a vassal state; in the decision of the Congress of Vienna (1815), which abolished the Duchy of Warsaw and once again sanctioned the annexation of the Polish lands by Prussia, Russia and Austria, and also in Austria's annexation of the free city of Cracow in 1846. p. 64

[48] The reference is to the return of the Prince of Prussia to Berlin (on June 4, 1848) from England, where he had fled during the March revolution. p. 67

[49] Following the unsuccessful revolutionary action of the Paris workers on May 15, 1848, the Constituent Assembly adopted a decree on the reorganisation of national workshops, and steps were taken to abolish them altogether; a law was passed banning gatherings in the streets, a number of democratic clubs were closed and other police measures taken. p. 68

[50] *Repealers*—supporters of the repeal of the Anglo-Irish Union of 1801, which abrogated the autonomy of the Irish Parliament. Ever since the 1820s, the demand for the repeal of the Union became a mass issue in Ireland. In 1840, a Repeal Association was founded whose leader, Daniel O'Connell, proposed a compromise with the English ruling circles. In January 1847 its radical elements broke away from the Association and formed an Irish Confederation; representatives of its Left revolutionary wing stood at the head of the national liberation movement and in 1848 were subjected to severe repression. p. 68

[51] The *Committee of Fifty* was elected by the Preparliament (see Note 12) in April 1848, mainly from among the representatives of its constitutional-monarchist majority, with moderate republicans receiving only 12 seats. The Committee rejected the

proposal of the Federal Diet (see Note 13) to create a directory of three men to constitute a provisional Central Authority of the German Confederation.

At the beginning of June 1848, a similar proposal was submitted to the Frankfurt National Assembly. As a result of the debate, the Assembly decided on June 28 to form a provisional Central Authority composed of an Imperial Regent and an Imperial Ministry. p. 68

[52] The "*property of the entire nation*" — the words inscribed by armed workers in Berlin on the walls of the palace of the Prince of Prussia, who had fled to England during the March revolution of 1848. p. 68

[53] The reference is to the republican insurrection in Baden, led by the petty-bourgeois democrats Friedrich Hecker and Gustav Struve, which was crushed in April 1848. The main regions of the insurrection were the Lake district (Seekreis) and the Black Forest (Schwarzwald). p. 68

[54] See Note 23. p. 70

[55] On June 9, 1848, the Frankfurt National Assembly rejected a Bill bringing the approval of any future peace treaty with Denmark within the Assembly's jurisdiction. The Assembly thus avoided taking any responsibility for the final settlement of the Schleswig-Holstein question and allowed the Federal Diet complete freedom of action on this issue. p. 72

[56] Part of this article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 73

[57] The decree on the press, by Frederick William IV, published on March 18, 1848, cancelled the censorship of periodicals and introduced caution money (from 500 to 2,000 talers) instead as a guarantee against the publication of anti-government articles; this system existed in Prussia until the adoption of the 1874 press law. p. 73

[58] This was how the conflict between the King and the United Diet (see Note 25) in 1847 was described in government circles. p. 73

[59] On March 24, 1848, soldiers and non-commissioned officers killed on the night of March 18 during the popular insurrection were buried at the Invaliden Cemetery in Berlin. In their public announcements the authorities deliberately underestimated the number of casualties in order to disguise the extent of the fighting and to cover up the fact that the troops had been beaten by the people. p. 74

[60] Among the Left deputies of the Prussian National Assembly were Johann Jacoby, Georg Jung, Karl d'Ester and Benedikt Waldeck. p. 75

[61] On June 3, 1848, the Berlin National Assembly debated a motion that members of the Assembly should join the march, organised by students, to the grave of the revolutionary fighters who had fallen in March; the motion was rejected by a majority vote. p. 76

[62] On May 15 and 26, 1848, there was a popular armed uprising in Vienna to defend the gains achieved during the March revolution. This forced the Austrian

Emperor Ferdinand I to proclaim the manifestos of May 16 and June 3, in which he made a number of new concessions; among other things, he gave the status of Constituent Assembly to the Imperial Diet, which was about to be convened. p. 79

63 *Wends*—the German name for the Labe Slavs who, in the early Middle Ages, occupied the territory between the Elbe (Labe) and the Oder (Odra). In the middle of the eleventh century, while fighting against German and Danish expansion, they formed an early feudal confederation, which existed till the first third of the twelfth century; it also comprised a group of West-Slavonian tribes living on the Baltic coast (future Pomerania), who were ethnically close to the Wends. p. 82

64 In this article the outcome of the Cologne by-election of June 14, 1848, is compared with that of the general election that had taken place on May 10, 1848. Both were elections of deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly.

The article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx, *The Revolutions of 1848. Political Writings*, Vol. 1, London, Penguin Books, 1973. p. 87

65 *Citizens' associations (Bürgervereine)*, consisting of moderate liberal elements, arose in Prussia after the March revolution. Their aim was to preserve "law and order" within the framework of a constitutional monarchy, and to combat "anarchy", i. e. the revolutionary-democratic movement. p. 87

66 The *Democratic Society* in Cologne, which met in Franz Stollwerk's Café, was founded in April 1848. Among its members were small proprietors, workers and artisans. Marx and Engels took an active part in the management of the Society. At the meetings, Marx, Engels and other members of the editorial staff of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* managed to get certain resolutions adopted which unmasked the anti-revolutionary policy of the Prussian Government and condemned the irresolute conduct of the Berlin and Frankfurt Assemblies. A year later, when Marx and his followers took practical steps to create an independent mass party of the proletariat, they decided to sever all organisational links with petty-bourgeois democrats, and withdrew from the Democratic Society. Nevertheless they continued to give support to the revolutionary actions of democratic forces in Germany. p. 87

67 Enraged by the disavowal of the March revolution by the Prussian National Assembly (see this volume, pp. 73-86), workers and artisans from Berlin stormed the arsenal on June 14, 1848, in order to arm the people in readiness to defend the gains of the revolution. This was, however, a spontaneous and unorganised action and military reinforcements as well as civic militia detachments quickly dispersed and disarmed the people. p. 89

68 Influenced by the revolutionary action of the working people of Berlin, the Prussian National Assembly adopted a resolution of June 15, 1848, which declared that the Assembly "does not need the protection of the armed forces but instead places itself under the protection of the people of Berlin". p. 89

69 *During the night of August 4, 1789*, the French Constituent Assembly, under the impact of the growing peasant unrest, announced the abrogation of a number of feudal obligations which had already been abolished by the insurgent peasants. p. 89

[70] *On March 21, 1848*, Frederick William IV, frightened by the barricade fighting in Berlin, issued an appeal "To My People, and the German Nation" in which he promised to set up a representative institution based on the estate principle, and to introduce a Constitution, ministerial responsibility, public trials, juries etc. p. 89

[71] This article was first published in English in the magazine *Labour Monthly*, 1948, Vol. XXX, No. 4, and also in the collections: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, and Karl Marx, *The Revolutions of 1848. Political Writings*, Vol. 1, London, Penguin Books, 1973. p. 91

[72] See Note 46. p. 91

[73] The *Slav Congress* met in Prague on June 2, 1848. It was attended by representatives of the Slav countries forming part of the Austrian Empire. The Right, moderately liberal wing, to which Palacký and Šafařik, the leaders of the Congress, belonged, sought to solve the national problem through autonomy of the Slav countries within the framework of the Habsburg monarchy. The Left, radical wing (Sabina, Frič, Libelt and others) wanted to act in alliance with the revolutionary-democratic movement in Germany and Hungary. Radical delegates took an active part in the popular uprising in Prague (June 12-17, 1848), which was directed against the arbitrary rule of the Austrian authorities, and were subjected to cruel reprisals. On June 16, the moderate liberal delegates declared the Congress adjourned for an indefinite period. p. 91

[74] After the suppression of the Prague uprising, the Czech liberals took the lead of the national movement, which they turned into an instrument against the revolutionary-democratic forces of Germany and Hungary, and into a prop for the Habsburg monarchy and, indirectly, for Russian Tsarism. This was the reason why the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* denounced this movement in the months that followed. p. 93

[75] See Note 59. p. 98

[76] The reference is to the wars waged by the peoples of Europe against Napoleonic France in 1813-14 and 1815, following the defeat of Napoleon's army in Russia in 1812. These were, indeed, of a contradictory nature and their character was affected by the counter-revolutionary aims and expansionist policy of the ruling circles in the feudal monarchical states fighting on the side of the anti-French coalition. But especially in 1813, when the struggle was aimed at liberating German territory from French occupation, they turned into a genuinely popular national liberation war against foreign oppression. In this passage, Engels ridicules the over-patriotic zeal with which the representatives of Germany's ruling classes speak of the 1813-14 and 1815 wars. Later, when once again considering that period of the history of Germany, Engels in a series of articles entitled "Notes on the War" (1870) stressed the progressive nature of the people's resistance to Napoleon's rule and in his work *The Role of Force in History* (1888) wrote: "The peoples' war against Napoleon was the reaction of the national feeling of all the peoples, which Napoleon had trampled on."

The battle of the nations at *Leipzig* (October 16-19, 1813) ended with victory for the Russian, Prussian, Austrian and Swedish troops over Napoleon's forces.

At the battle of *Waterloo* (June 18, 1815) Napoleon's forces were defeated by British and Prussian troops commanded by Wellington and Blücher. p. 98

[77] Most Prussian fortresses capitulated to the French without a fight after the defeat of the Prussian troops at Jena and Auerstedt (October 14, 1806). The fortress of Cüstrin, for instance, surrendered to a small French detachment on November 10, 1806, and Magdeburg, with its many-thousand-strong garrison and artillery, was surrendered by General Kleist on November 8, 1806, after the first salvo fired by the French from light field mortars. p. 99

[78] *Code civil*—French code of civil law of 1804 known as the *Code Napoléon*. This Code was introduced by Napoleon into the conquered regions of Western and South-Western Germany and remained the official law of the Rhineland even after that region's union with Prussia. p. 103

[79] The Prussian General Pfuel ordered the heads of captured insurrectionists in Posen in 1848 to be shaved and their arms and ears branded with lunar caustic (in German *Höllenstein*, i. e. stone of hell). This was how he got the nickname "von Höllenstein". p. 104

[80] The assault upon the arsenal on June 14, 1848 (see Note 67) led to a ministerial crisis in Prussia and the downfall of the Camphausen Government. The conservative and aristocratic members of the Government, Kanitz, Schwerin and Arnim, resigned on June 17. An attempt to reorganise the Government failed and on June 20 the entire Ministry resigned.

The article was first published in English in the collections: Karl Marx, *On Revolution*, ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971 ("The Karl Marx Library" series), and Karl Marx, *The Revolutions of 1848. Political Writings*, Vol. 1, London, Penguin Books, 1973. p. 107

[81] The Camphausen Government began its activities on *March 30, 1848*. At about the same time, a national liberation uprising broke out in Posen and was cruelly suppressed by this Government (see Note 46). p. 107

[82] The reference is to the national liberation war against Austrian domination. On March 18, 1848, a popular armed uprising broke out in Milan, the capital of Lombardy; and after five days of bitter fighting the Austrian troops were driven out. The Austrians were also driven out of the Venice region, where a republic was proclaimed. On March 25, Charles Albert, King of Sardinia (Piedmont), declared war on Austria in the hope of exploiting the patriotic movement in his own dynastic interests. In April, the Italian army won a number of minor victories in the vicinity of Verona, but the hesitant policy of Charles Albert resulted in a serious defeat for the Italians at Custozza on July 25, 1848, and the Austrian army under the command of Field Marshal Radetzky reoccupied Milan on August 6. On August 9, Charles Albert concluded an armistice, which aroused vehement popular protests. Once again Lombardy found itself under the yoke of the Austrian Empire.

Fighting was resumed in March 1849, but the Sardinian forces were routed on March 21-23 at the battles of Mortara and Novara. p. 109

[83] The Provisional Government of Lombardy was formed on March 22, 1848, after the Austrian troops had been driven out of Milan; its members were mainly moderate liberals. p. 109

[84] *Pandours*—soldiers of the Austrian army, whose irregular infantry units were recruited mainly in the South-Slav provinces of the Austrian Empire. p. 109

[85] The article was written a few days before a new Government which replaced the Camphausen Ministry was finally formed. The formal head of the new Government—the so-called Government of Action (June 26-September 21, 1848)—was Rudolf von Auerswald, a dignitary close to the Court; Hansemann, one of the candidates for the post of Prime Minister, remained the Minister of Finance just as he had been under Camphausen, but was the actual leader of the Government. Representatives of the Right groups, such as Milde and Gierke, entered the Ministry together with some of the former Ministers. Karl Rodbertus, one of the leaders of the Left Centre, was also a member of the Government, but he soon resigned from his post. p. 111

[86] An allusion to the speech from the throne made by Frederick William IV at the opening of the United Diet on April 11, 1847. The King said he would never agree to grant a Constitution which he described as a "written scrap of paper".

The words "bourgeois grain and wool merchants" refer to Camphausen who, in his youth, engaged in oil and corn trading, and to Hansemann who started his commercial career as a wool merchant. p. 115

[87] An English translation of this article was first published in the collection: Karl Marx, *On Revolution*, ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971 ("The Karl Marx Library" series), under the title "Prussia's Feudal Reforms". p. 117

[88] *Liege money*—dues which the feudal lord was entitled to receive on the selling of a vassal estate. p. 117

[89] See Note 69. p. 118

[90] *Patrimonial jurisdiction*—the right of landlords to pass judgment upon their peasants and to fine them; limited in Germany in 1848 and abolished in 1877. p. 118

[91] The Bill on the establishment of *mortgage banks* envisaged the founding of annuity-offices for the realisation of the redemption of peasant obligations under terms extremely favourable to the landlords. The bank was to advance compensation to the landlords amounting to eighteen times the value of the annual obligations of the peasants, the latter having to pay back this sum within 41 years. p. 118

[92] Between 1807 and 1811, the Ministers Stein and Hardenberg carried out certain agrarian reforms in Prussia. In October 1807, serfdom was abolished but all the feudal obligations of the peasants remained. In September 1811, the peasants received the right to redeem their obligations on the condition that they surrendered up to half of their land to the landlord or paid a corresponding sum of money. In 1845, the amount of the redemption payment was established at twenty-five times the value of annual feudal dues. p. 118

[93] The article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 119

[94] Following the revolutionary action of the Viennese masses on May 15, 1848, Emperor Ferdinand and his Court fled to Innsbruck, a small town in Tyrol, which became the mainstay of feudal aristocratic counter-revolution.

Engels is referring to the spontaneous rising of textile workers in Prague towards the end of June 1844. The revolt, in the course of which mills were destroyed and machines smashed, was brutally crushed by Austrian troops. p. 119

[95] The full title of this Committee, which was set up in Vienna during the revolutionary events of May 1848, was the Committee of Citizens, the National Guard and Students for Maintaining Safety and Order and Defending the Rights of the People. p. 120

[96] By referring to Windischgrätz as the Tilly of Prague Engels is comparing him with Johann Tilly, the army commander of the Catholic League during the Thirty Years' War, famous for the savage way he dealt with the Protestant population of conquered towns as well as for his military pillage. p. 120

[97] The *national guard*—an armed civic militia that was formed in Paris at the beginning of the French revolution of 1789-93 and existed, with intervals, till August 1871. During the February revolution of 1848, a considerable section of the national guard took the side of the insurgents, but in the course of the Paris uprising in June 1848 the Provisional Government employed the national guards of bourgeois districts in the fight against the workers. p. 121

[98] In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* this item was followed by a report on the events in Paris printed in smaller type and based, apparently, on the French newspapers which had just arrived. Part of it read: "The immediate cause of the new uprising was measures directed at abolishing the national workshops—censuses of the workers, expulsion of workers who were not born in Paris to their native parts or to Sologne to build canals, introduction of piecework in the remaining workshops etc.—as well as the law on reintroduction of caution money for journals, open attacks (see today's issue of our paper, 'Paris', June 22) on the popular press, debates in the National Assembly so closely resembling those in the Chamber of Peers under Louis Philippe that even the noble knight *Montalembert*, in his speech at the session on the 22nd, said the same things, in a somewhat different form, which he had said shortly before the February revolution in defence of money-bags, the law against street gatherings etc."

The report quoted at length the French newspaper *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*'s account of the events of June 22 in Paris. It was hostile towards the insurgents and misrepresented their conflict with the Minister of Public Works, Marie, a moderate republican and spokesman of the Government. For this reason the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*'s report ended with a warning: "It should not be forgotten that the *Journal des Débats*, which printed this report, is an old Court sheet and *Marie* is an advocate of the law against street gatherings and the man of the *National*." p. 121

[99] This refers to the address sent by the electors of Berncastel to August Reichensperger, their deputy in the Prussian National Assembly, expressing their indignation at his conduct, and that of other deputies from the Rhine Province, during the debate on the revolution: their vote to pass on to the agenda was considered repudiation of the revolution. p. 122

[100] The reference is to the *Labour Commission* that met at the Luxembourg Palace under the chairmanship of Louis Blanc. This was set up on February 28, 1848, by the Provisional Government under pressure from the workers, who demanded a

Ministry of Labour. The Commission, in which both workers and employers were represented, acted as mediator in labour conflicts, often taking the side of the employers. The revolutionary action of Paris workers on May 15, 1848, led to the end of the Luxembourg Commission, since the Government disbanded it next day.

*National workshops* were instituted by a government decree immediately after the February revolution of 1848. The Government thus sought to discredit Louis Blanc's ideas on the organisation of labour in the eyes of the workers and, at the same time, to utilise the workers of the national workshops organised on military lines in the struggle against the revolutionary proletariat. Revolutionary ideas, however, continued to gain ground among workers employed in the national workshops, and the Government took steps accordingly to limit the number of workers employed in them, to send some off to public works in the provinces etc. This caused great indignation among the Paris proletariat and was one of the reasons for the June uprising. After its suppression, the Cavaignac Government issued a decree disbanding the national workshops (July 3, 1848).

On June 7, 1848, the Constituent Assembly passed a *law against gatherings*. Any violation of this law was punishable by imprisonment of up to ten years. p. 124

[101] The *mobile guard* was set up by a decree of the Provisional Government on February 25, 1848, to fight against the revolutionary masses. These armed units consisted mainly of lumpenproletarians and were used to crush the June uprising in Paris. p. 125

[102] The *Palais Royal* was the residence of Louis XIV from 1643; in 1692 it became property of the Orléans branch of the Bourbons. Following the February revolution of 1848 it was proclaimed state property and its name was changed to Palais National. p. 125

[103] The reference is to the *Café Tortoni* on the boulevard des Italiens; when the Stock Exchange was closed, business transactions were carried on in this café and its vicinity. As distinct from the official Stock Exchange, the Café Tortoni and the adjacent district became known as the "small Stock Exchange". p. 125

[104] The *municipal guard of the republic* (also known as the republican guard)—a detachment of 2,600 men subordinated to the Prefect of Police—was formed on May 16, 1848, by decree of the French Government, frightened by the revolutionary action of the Paris workers on May 15. The republican guard fulfilled police functions in Paris. p. 126

[105] This article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 128

[106] An article published in *The Northern Star* No. 557, June 24, 1848, under the title "The New Rhenish Gazette" stated: "*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is the title of a new daily journal lately started at Cologne. This journal, which announces itself 'the organ of the democracy', is conducted with singular ability and extraordinary boldness; and we hail it as a worthy, able, and valiant comrade in the grand crusade against tyranny and injustice in every shape and form. The principal editor is Dr. *Marx*, one of the ablest of the defenders of Labour's rights in Europe. The assistant editors include W. Wolff, of Breslaw, a sterling democrat; Dr.

Dronke, of Coblentz, ex-state prisoner; F. Wolff, of Cologne (was ten years in Paris); H. Bürgers (of Cologne, a favourite popular orator, and member of the first popular assembly at Frankfort); Frederick Engels, whose able writings have often graced the columns of the *Star*; and George Weerth, a name honourably known to our readers as the unmasker of the Freetrade delusionists at the celebrated Brussels Conference. We wish our contemporary a long career of usefulness and victory." p. 129

107 Words from the French patriotic song based on the Song of the Girondists from *Chevalier de Maison-Rouge*, a play by Alexandre Dumas (father) and Auguste Maquet which was staged in 1847. The words and music of the refrain are taken from Rouget de Lisle. The song won wide popularity not long before the 1848 revolution and was known as "the second *Marseillaise*". p. 130

108 See Note 76. p. 131

109 The *Society of the Rights of Man and the Citizen* was a democratic organisation that arose during the July monarchy. Led by Armand Barbès, Aloysius Huber and others, the Society united a number of clubs in the capital and the provinces and fought for the implementation of the Jacobin Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen adopted in 1793. Some of the members of this Society were leaders of the June uprising. For instance, the retired officer Kersausie, Chairman of the Society's Committee of Action, drew up a plan for an armed uprising which was partially carried out during the June events in Paris. p. 133

110 The reference is to the heroic defence of Saragossa during the Spanish people's war of liberation against Napoleon's rule. The city was twice besieged by the French (from June to August 1808 and from December 1808 to February 1809) and it was only after the second siege, during which over 40,000 of its defenders perished, that Saragossa surrendered to the superior forces of the French. p. 135

111 The *municipal guard of Paris*, formed after the July revolution of 1830, was subordinate to the Prefect of Police and used to suppress popular uprisings. Following the February revolution of 1848, the municipal guard was disbanded. p. 138

112 The *Île Louvier*, separated from the right bank by a narrow branch of the Seine, was connected with the mainland in 1844, forming a stretch between the boulevard Morland and the Henry IV embankment. p. 142

113 An allusion to the fact that, in suppressing the proletarian uprising, the republican guard undertook police functions similar to those of the monarchist municipal guard. p. 142

114 A passage from this article by Marx was later included in the first article of the series "From 1848 to 1849" (subsequently published by Engels under the title *The Class Struggles in France*), printed in the journal *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-Ökonomische Revue* in 1850.

An English translation of this article was first published in 1851 under the title "June 29, 1848" in No. 16 of the Chartist weekly *Notes to the People* which was edited by Ernest Jones. Later translations appeared in England and the United

States between the 1920s and the 1940s. In 1972 the article was published in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, and in 1973 in the collection Karl Marx, *The Revolutions of 1848. Political Writings*, Vol. 1, London, Penguin Books. p. 144

[115] The party which formed around the daily paper *Le National* in the 1840s was composed of moderate republicans headed by Armand Marrast; it was supported by the industrial bourgeoisie and a section of the liberal intellectuals.

The party that supported the French daily *La Réforme* consisted of democrats and republicans headed by Ledru-Rollin; petty-bourgeois socialists led by Louis Blanc were also associated with it. p. 144

[116] The *Executive Committee* (the Commission of the Executive Government)—the Government of the French Republic set up by the Constituent Assembly on May 10, 1848, to replace the Provisional Government which had resigned. It survived until June 24, 1848, when Cavaignac's dictatorship was established. p. 144

[117] The *dynastic opposition*—an oppositional group in the French Chamber of Deputies during the July monarchy (1830-48). The group headed by Odilon Barrot represented the views of the liberal industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, and favoured a moderate electoral reform, which they regarded as a means of preventing revolution and preserving the Orléans dynasty. p. 147

[118] The *legitimists* were supporters of the Bourbon dynasty, which was overthrown in 1830. They upheld the interests of the big hereditary landowners. p. 147

[119] See Note 49. p. 148

[120] The reference is to an official poster which appeared in the streets of Paris on June 26 announcing that "the insurgents have been defeated, the struggle has ceased, and order has triumphed over anarchy". p. 152

[121] This article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 157

[122] The reference is to the Paris uprising of June 5-6, 1832, prepared by the Left wing of the republicans as well as by members of secret societies including the Society of the Friends of the People. The uprising flared up during the funeral of General Lamarque, an opponent of Louis Philippe's Government. The insurgent workers threw up barricades which they defended with great courage and persistence. p. 158

[123] The royalist uprising in Paris on 12 and 13 Vendémiaire (October 4 and 5), 1795, was suppressed by the republican troops under the command of General Bonaparte. p. 161

[124] An abridged English translation of this article was first published in the magazine *Labour Monthly*, London, 1923, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 32-33. The article was published in full in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung", 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 165

[125] On July 25, 1792, the Duke of Brunswick, commander-in-chief of the Austro-Prussian army fighting against revolutionary France, issued a manifesto, in which he threatened to raze the whole of Paris to the ground. p. 165

[126] In 1785 an uprising against the rule of the aristocracy and the Catholic clergy who supported William of Orange broke out in the Netherlands. The uprising, which was led by the republican bourgeoisie, deposed William of Orange. Two years later, however, with the help of Prussian troops, he again became the Stadholder of the Netherlands. p. 165

[127] Under an agreement between Britain, France and Russia concluded at the London Conference of 1830, Greece, whose people rose in revolt against Turkish rule in 1821 and won national independence, was to become a monarchy. The Bavarian Prince Otto was made King of Greece in 1832 while still a minor. He arrived in Greece accompanied by Bavarian troops and high officials and ruled as Otto I. This rule was strongly opposed by the Greek people. p. 165

[128] At the Congress of the Holy Alliance (a covenant of European monarchs founded on September 26, 1815, on the initiative of the Russian Emperor Alexander I and the Austrian Chancellor Metternich), which began in Troppau in October 1820 and ended in Laibach in May 1821, the principle of intervention in the internal affairs of other states was officially proclaimed. Accordingly, the Laibach Congress decided to send Austrian troops into Italy to crush the revolutionary and national liberation movements there. French intervention in Spain with similar aims was decided at the Congress of Verona in 1822.

Ypsilanti was a Greek patriot who made an unsuccessful attempt to raise a revolt against Turkish rule in March 1821. He fled to Austria, was arrested and imprisoned until 1827. p. 165

[129] In the 1820s and 1830s Austria and Prussia supported the clerical and feudal party headed by Dom Miguel, which opposed any measures designed to restrict absolutism in Portugal. p. 165

[130] Austria and Prussia supported Don Carlos, who in 1833 started a civil war in Spain in order to win the throne with the help of the clerical and feudal party. p. 165

[131] See Note 36. p. 166

[132] See Note 83. p. 167

[133] The party of the *National*—see Note 115.

The *party of Thiers* united bourgeois politicians with royalist tendencies supporting the Orléans dynasty and voicing their opinions in the newspaper *La Constitutionnel*. Before February 1848, they upheld a monarchy with republican institutions and thereafter a republic with monarchical institutions.

The *dynastic opposition*—see Note 117. p. 168

[134] The *Executive Committee*—see Note 116.

The *September Laws*—see Note 8. p. 168

[135] The reference is to the clashes between Prussian troops stationed at Trier and its citizens on May 2, 3 and 4, 1848, provoked by the authorities. On the order of

Schreckenstein, commander of the 2nd Army Corps, the civic militia of Trier was disbanded. p. 171

[136] See Note 8. p. 171

[137] The *Holy Hermandad*—a league of Spanish cities founded at the end of the fifteenth century with the co-operation of the royal authorities who wanted to make use of wealthy townspeople in their fight against the feudal magnates in an attempt to establish royal absolutism. From the middle of the sixteenth century the armed forces of the Holy Hermandad carried out police functions. Thus the police in general has often been ironically labelled the "Holy Hermandad". p. 177

[138] Anneke spoke at the meeting of the Cologne Workers' Association (see Note 245) which took place at the Gürzenich Hall on June 25, 1848, to debate the setting up of a united commission which was to consist of representatives from the three democratic organisations of Cologne: the Democratic Society, the Workers' Association and the Association for Workers and Employers. p. 178

[139] The *Code pénal*—the penal code adopted in France in 1810 and introduced into the regions of Western and South-Western Germany conquered by the French. The *Code pénal* and the *Code civil* remained in effect in the Rhine Province even after the region was annexed by Prussia in 1815. The Prussian Government attempted to reduce the sphere of its application and reintroduce the Prussian Penal Code: a whole series of laws and decrees were promulgated designed to guarantee feudal privileges. These measures, which met great opposition in the Rhineland, were annulled after the March revolution by the decrees issued on April 15, 1848. p. 178

[140] On March 3, 1848, Anneke was arrested together with Gottschalk and Willich because they had helped to organise a mass meeting in Cologne. All three were accused of "incitement to revolt and founding an illegal association". They were released from prison on March 21, 1848, on the royal amnesty. p. 178

[141] The *Köslin address*—on May 23, 1848, junkers and officials of the town of Köslin (Pomerania) issued an appeal to the Prussian population to march on Berlin to crush the revolution. p. 181

[142] These countries were the chief markets for Prussia's spinning and weaving industry. They were lost even before the revolution of 1848 and 1849. p. 182

[143] The Prussian General Pfuel ordered the heads of captured Polish insurgents in Posen to be shaved in order to humiliate them. p. 182

[144] During the summer of 1848, a special detachment of armed men dressed in civilian clothes was set up in Berlin. These persons were to be used in addition to the regular police to break up street gatherings and mass demonstrations. Another of their functions was to gather intelligence. These special policemen were called "constables" by analogy with the special constabulary employed in England to disperse the Chartist demonstration on April 10, 1848. p. 185

[145] At the close of the session of July 4, 1848, the Prussian National Assembly decided to grant the committee investigating the events at Posen unlimited authority. Contrary to all parliamentary rules, representatives of the Right attempted to

organise a vote on a motion to limit the powers of the committee. The deputies of the Left walked out of the Assembly in protest. The Right made use of this to pass the motion prohibiting the committee from travelling to Posen and interrogating witnesses and experts on the spot. Thus the Assembly's original decision was illegally annulled. For debates on the Posen committee see this volume, pp. 57-61, 195-98 and 200-07. p. 188

146 On April 8, 1848, during a secret mission on behalf of the King of Prussia Major Wildenbruch handed a Note to the Danish Government. It stated that Prussia was not fighting in Schleswig-Holstein in order to rob Denmark of the duchy but merely in order to combat "radical and republican elements in Germany". The Prussian Government tried every possible means to avoid official recognition of this compromising document. p. 191

147 The article was published in a special supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 39, and also in No. 40 of this newspaper where it was dated "Cologne, July 9". p. 199

148 See Note 145. p. 201

149 The *Thirty Years' War, 1618-48*—a European war, in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the German Catholic princes rallied under the banner of Catholicism and fought against the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands and a number of German states. The rulers of Catholic France—rivals of the Habsburgs—supported the Protestant camp. Germany was the main arena for this struggle, the object of plunder and territorial claims. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) sealed the political dismemberment of Germany. p. 202

150 The *Long Parliament* (1640-53)—the English Parliament which was convened by Charles I and became the constituent body of the English revolution. p. 206

151 On October 20, 1842, the *Rheinische Zeitung* published a Bill on divorce which was being secretly prepared in government quarters. This started a broad public discussion of the Bill in the newspapers. The publication of the Bill in the *Rheinische Zeitung* and the blunt refusal of its editors to name the person who had sent in the text of the Bill was one of the reasons for the suppression of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. For details see present edition, Vol. 1, pp. 274-76 and 307-10. p. 208

152 *Kamptz*—member of the Central Investigation Commission in Mainz (see Note 308), which was instituted in 1819 by decision of the conference of German states. He was one of the instigators of the campaign against the representatives of the opposition among students, intelligentsia and other liberal elements; known as the "demagogues", they upheld Germany's unity and constitutional reforms.

*Black, red and gold*—the colours of the national liberation movement in Germany. p. 208

153 See Note 139. p. 209

154 On the motion of the Democratic Society (see Note 66), the popular meeting that gathered in Cologne at the Gürzenich Hall on July 9, 1848, adopted an address to

the Prussian National Assembly in which the activities of the Auerswald-Hansemann Government were denounced and the Prussian Assembly was asked to declare the Ministry "divested of the confidence of the country". p. 210

155 See Note 149. p. 212

156 *Svornost*—the Czech national militia formed after the revolutionary events of March 1848 in the Austrian Empire. It was recruited mainly from among students. Its main detachment guarded the Czech Museum in Prague where the Slav Congress was in session (see Note 73). During the June uprising in Prague, this detachment was disarmed and arrested by government troops. The Austrian authorities disbanded the national militia even though it was commanded by moderate representatives of the Czech movement (Baron Karel Villány) who disapproved of the insurgents. p. 213

157 *Fictitious purchases*—business transactions concluded for a definite period during which no transfer of goods or securities takes place. The speculative element arises from the difference between rates of exchange on the market and commodity prices. p. 224

158 See Note 44. p. 229

159 The first article, dated "Cologne, July 17", from the cycle "The Debate on Jacoby's Motion", was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. All the other articles in this cycle are published in English for the first time. p. 232

160 On June 28, 1848, the Frankfurt National Assembly decided to set up a provisional Central Authority consisting of the Imperial Regent (Archduke John of Austria) and an Imperial Ministry. Since the Central Authority had neither a budget nor an army of its own, it possessed no real power.

In the Prussian National Assembly the formation of a provisional Central Authority was debated at the session of July 11, 1848, when Johann Jacoby tabled this motion on behalf of the Left deputies. p. 232

161 See Note 13. p. 232

162 See Note 12. p. 234

163 The *Customs Union* (*Zollverein*) of the German states, which established a common customs frontier, was founded in 1834 and headed by Prussia. Brought into being by the necessity for an all-German market, the Union embraced all the larger German states with the exception of Austria. p. 236

164 *Vendée*—a department in Western France; during the French Revolution the centre of a largely peasant-based royalist uprising. The word "Vendée" came to denote counter-revolutionary actions. p. 237

165 See Note 149. p. 238

166 The *Anti-Corn Law League* was founded in 1838 by the Manchester factory owners Cobden and Bright. By demanding unrestricted free trade, the League fought for the abolition of the Corn Laws, which established high tariffs on imported

agricultural produce in order to maintain high prices on the home market. In this way, the League sought to weaken the economic and the political position of the landed aristocracy, as well as to cut workers' wages. The struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landowning aristocracy over the Corn Laws culminated in their repeal in 1846. p. 238

[167] On April 2, 1848, the republican minority headed by Friedrich Hecker and Gustav Struve walked out of the Preparliament (see Note 12), to show its opposition to the policy of compromises pursued by the liberal majority. They counted on support among broad circles of the revolutionary-minded population in Southern and Western Germany, particularly in Baden. Frightened by the growth of the republican movement, the Baden Government decided to increase its army, asked for military assistance from neighbouring German states and issued an order for the arrest of the republican Joseph Fickler, who was denounced by the liberal Karl Mathy. These measures led to the republican uprising on April 12, 1848, under the leadership of Hecker and Struve. Ill-prepared and lacking organisation, the uprising was crushed by the end of April. p. 239

[168] In most German states elections to the Frankfurt National Assembly were indirect. Under the law of April 8, 1848, the Prussian National Assembly too was elected by two-stage voting. p. 248

[169] See Note 13. p. 249

[170] An English translation of this article was first published in the collection: Karl Marx, *The Revolutions of 1848. Political Writings*, Vol. 1, London, Penguin Books, 1973. p. 250

[171] In June 1848, Danish and Prussian plenipotentiaries met at Malmö (Sweden) to negotiate an armistice in the war over Schleswig-Holstein (see Note 28). An agreement was reached on July 8 and approved by the King and the Prussian Government, but the commander-in-chief, General Wrangel, refused to sign it because it was obviously disadvantageous to the German side. The armistice was signed in a modified form on August 26, 1848 (see Note 271). p. 253

[172] See Note 41. p. 253

[173] An ironical allusion to the Magna Carta Libertatum—a deed which the insurgent barons of England forced King John to sign on June 15, 1215. Magna Carta introduced certain limitations on the royal prerogative, primarily to the advantage of the big feudal lords. Some concessions were also granted to the knights and the townspeople. p. 257

[174] See Note 17. p. 259

[175] On the armistice negotiations with Denmark see Note 171.

The article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 266

[176] See Note 13. p. 266

[177] The *Sound tax* was a toll which, from 1425 to 1857, Denmark collected from all foreign vessels passing through the Sound. p. 268

[178] The *Workers' Congress* met in Berlin between August 23 and September 3, 1848, on the initiative of several workers' organisations. At this Congress, many workers' associations united into the Workers' Fraternity. The programme of the Congress was drawn up under the influence of Stephan Born and set the workers the task of implementing narrow craft-union demands, thereby diverting them from the revolutionary struggle. A number of its points bore the stamp of Louis Blanc's and Proudhon's utopian ideas. The editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* did not approve of the general stand taken by Born, but they refrained from criticising his views in the press, bearing in mind the progressive nature of the endeavour to unite workers' associations. The programme of the Workers' Congress was published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (No. 31, July 1, 1848) as a report from Berlin without editorial comment. p. 271

[179] On April 6, 1848, the Posen Assembly of the Estates rejected the proposal of the Prussian Government to incorporate the Grand Duchy of Posen into the German Confederation (see Note 13). p. 273

[180] The government Bill on the compulsory loan was submitted to the Prussian National Assembly on July 12, 1848. p. 278

[181] *Sliding scale*—a way of regulating tariffs on imported grain products practised in England during the operation of the Corn Laws, a system of raising or lowering tariffs in proportion to the fall or rise of grain prices on the home market. One set of sliding-scale regulations was introduced by the Peel Ministry in 1842. p. 281

[182] On *special constables* see Note 144.
On *Fickler's arrest* see Note 167. p. 288

[183] The *First Democratic Congress* in Frankfurt am Main was held between June 14 and 17, 1848; it was attended by delegates from 89 democratic and workers' associations from different towns in Germany. The Congress decided to unite all democratic associations and to set up district committees headed by the Central Committee of German democrats, with headquarters in Berlin. Fröbel, Rau and Kriege were elected members of the Central Committee and Bayrhoffer, Schütte and Anneke—their deputies. Even after this decision, the democratic movement in Germany still lacked unity and organisation because of the weakness and vacillations of its petty-bourgeois leaders.

The Congress discussed the political programme and organisational structure of the democratic party. A programme point that ran as follows was adopted: "There is only one acceptable constitution for the German people: a democratic republic, i.e. a system under which the whole society is responsible for the freedom and welfare of its every member." However, nothing definite was said about the ways to attain this aim. p. 289

[184] Moderate liberal elements in Germany, adherents of the constitutional monarchy, began to unite into constitutional associations and clubs, headed by the Constitutional Club in Berlin, and into citizens' associations (see Note 65). Associations of Right-wing forces sprang up alongside them, particularly in Prussia, such as the Prussian associations (*Preussenvereine*) and the counter-revolutionary Association for the Protection of Property and the Well-Being of All

Classes. Catholic organisations in the Rhine Province—associations of Pius IX (*Piusvereine*)—which campaigned for a moderate constitutional programme resorting to demagogical phraseology, joined either the liberal or the reactionary camp. p. 289

185 This article was first published in English in the collections: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, and Karl Marx, *The Revolutions of 1848. Political Writings*, Vol. 1, London, Penguin Books, 1973. p. 290

186 Feudalism was abolished, and juries and the *Code Napoléon* were introduced in the Rhine Province during the French Revolution and Napoleon's Empire. Feudal relations were not restored in the Rhineland even after its incorporation into Prussia (1815) where remnants of feudalism survived in spite of the reforms of 1807-11, allowing redemption of feudal obligations.

The Bill abolishing feudal obligations was submitted to the Prussian National Assembly by the Minister of Agriculture Gierke on July 11, 1848, and discussed on July 18. p. 290

187 See Note 88. p. 293

188 See Note 69. p. 295

189 This article was first published in English in the magazine *Labour Monthly*, 1948, Vol. XXX, No. 8, and later in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 296

190 Under the Poor Law of 1834 the only relief available to the poor who were fit for work was admission to a workhouse. These were dubbed "Poor Law Bastilles". p. 296

191 In 1824, under mass pressure the English Parliament repealed the ban on trade unions. However, in 1825 it passed a Bill on workers' associations confirming the repeal of the ban on the trade unions but vigorously limiting their activities. Merely to urge workers to join a union and take part in a strike was considered, for example, as "coercion" and "violence" and was liable to criminal prosecution. p. 297

192 This refers to bloody clashes between workers and police in Birmingham, Glasgow, Newcastle and Sunderland in 1839. The most significant event was the Newport rising in November 1839, due to the deplorable conditions of the South-Wales miners and growing discontent after Parliament had turned down the Chartist petition and a number of popular Chartist agitators (Henry Vincent and others) were arrested. The leaders of the insurrection intended it to lead to a general armed struggle for the People's Charter. Three poorly armed insurgent detachments (numbering 3,000 men) entered Newport at dawn on November 4 but were dispersed by troops and police who had been brought in advance. On January 13, 1840, the leaders of the insurgents were sentenced to capital punishment which was commuted to transportation as a result of a protest campaign.

When Parliament rejected the second Chartist petition in August 1842 in conditions of economic crisis and growing poverty, disturbances broke out in some

of the industrial districts in England. In Lancashire and in a considerable part of Cheshire and Yorkshire strikes assumed a general nature and in some places (Stockport, Preston and others) they turned into spontaneous revolts. The Government responded with mass arrests and severe sentences for Chartist leaders. p. 297

[193] See Note 166. p. 299

[194] The fight for legislative restriction of the working day to ten hours began in England as early as the end of the eighteenth century, and from the 1830s on large sections of the workers became involved in it. In an attempt to use this popular slogan against the industrial bourgeoisie, representatives of the landed aristocracy supported the Ten Hours' Bill in Parliament. The Bill limiting working hours for women and young children was passed by Parliament on June 8, 1847. p. 299

[195] This refers to the battle of Custozza, near Verona, between the Austrian army, under the command of Radetzky, and Piedmont troops under the command of King Charles Albert. The fighting went on for three days, from July 23 to 25, without bringing decisive victory to either side. Eventually the Austrian command mustered superior forces and dealt a heavy blow at the Piedmont troops, who were scattered largely due to poor generalship which doomed them to inaction at the decisive moment. p. 305

[196] In the battle of *Curtatone* (five kilometres from Mantua) on May 29, 1848, the Austrian troops forced the Tuscany corps, which fought on the side of the Piedmont army, to retreat. The resistance offered by this corps, however, enabled the Piedmont troops to regroup their forces and on May 30, in the battle of Goito, to hurl back the Austrians to their former positions. Nevertheless, the Piedmont command failed to make use of this success. p. 305

[197] This article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx, *The Revolutions of 1848. Political Writings*, Vol. 1, London, Penguin Books, 1973.

In this article the phrase "secret treaties with Napoleon" refers to the *Treaty of Tilsit* signed in July 1807 by France, Russia and Prussia. In an attempt to split the defeated powers, Napoleon made no territorial claims on Russia and even managed the transfer of part of the Prussian monarchy's eastern land to Russia. He consolidated an alliance with Alexander I when the two emperors met in Erfurt in the autumn of 1808. At the same time, this treaty imposed harsh terms on Prussia, which lost nearly half its territory to the German states dependent on France, had to pay indemnities, had its army limited etc. However, Russia, as well as Prussia, had to sever alliance with England and, to her disadvantage, join Napoleon's Continental System. Napoleon formed the vassal Duchy of Warsaw on Polish territory seized by Prussia during the partitions of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century, and planned to use the duchy as a springboard in the event of war with Russia. Sharp contradictions between France and Russia led to Napoleon's campaign against Russia in 1812. p. 307

[198] This refers to the "Appeal to the Germans" issued on March 25, 1813, in Kalisch after the defeat of Napoleon's Grand Army in Russia in 1812. The Russian Tsar and the King of Prussia called upon the Germans to fight Napoleon and demagogically promised them freedom and independence. It later transpired that the monarchs' intention was to use the national liberation movements to strengthen the feudal monarchies and privileges of the nobility. p. 308

199 For the *congresses of the Holy Alliance* held in *Laibach* and *Verona*, see Note 128.
The delegates of the states forming the German Confederation held a conference in Carlsbad in August 1819. On the initiative of the Austrian Chancellor Metternich and with the approval of the Russian Tsar, measures of struggle against the opposition movement were worked out. The decisions of the conference were approved by the Federal Diet (see Note 13) on September 20, 1819. The Carlsbad decisions envisaged the introduction of preliminary censorship in all German states, strict supervision of universities, prohibition of students' societies, establishment of an investigation commission to suppress so-called demagogues. p. 308

200 See Note 164. p. 309

201 See Note 12. p. 310

202 The first partition of Poland took place in 1772 between Prussia, Austria and Russia. p. 310

203 See Note 146. p. 310

204 This refers to the *Polish national liberation uprising of November 1830-October 1831*. The majority of its participants were revolutionary nobles (the *szlachcics*) and its leaders came from the ranks of the aristocracy. It was suppressed by Russian troops, with the support of Prussia and Austria. In spite of its defeat, the uprising was of major international significance because it diverted the forces of counter-revolution and thwarted their plans regarding the bourgeois revolution of 1830 in France and the 1830-31 revolution in Belgium. p. 311

205 This refers to the rescripts by Frederick William IV of February 3, 1847, convening the United Diet, in which the King referred to the laws on estates representation promulgated in Prussia between the 1820s and the 1840s. The convocation of the United Diet (see Note 25) was presented by the King as implementation of his earlier promises to introduce a Constitution. p. 311

206 An allusion to the suppression of the Cracow national liberation uprising in 1846 by Austrian troops and the abolition of the status of the free city of Cracow ("the Cracow Republic") by decision of the three powers — Austria, Prussia and Russia (see Notes 36 and 47). p. 311

207 In the summer of 1848, the anti-feudal movement and the struggle for complete liberation from the yoke of the Turkish Sultan grew in intensity in the Danube principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia), which formally remained autonomous possessions of Turkey. The movement in Wallachia grew into a bourgeois revolution. In June 1848, a Constitution was promulgated, a liberal Provisional Government was formed and George Bibesco, the ruler of Wallachia, abdicated and fled from the country.
On June 28, 1848, twelve-thousand Russian troops entered Moldavia and in July of the same year, Turkish troops also invaded the country. Intervention helped to restore the feudal system and the subsequent entry of Turkish troops into Wallachia, with the consent of the Tsarist Government, brought about the defeat of the bourgeois revolution. p. 311

208 Grave economic difficulties (almost universal crop failure) and natural calamities (cholera epidemics and devastating fires) exacerbated the class contradictions in

Russia in the spring and summer of 1848. This year witnessed the rise of the peasant movement, cholera "riots" in St. Petersburg and Riga and popular revolts in some gubernias, for example, in Vladimir Gubernia. An important seat of revolutionary ferment was the Kingdom of Poland. p. 312

209 The item was printed in the column "French Republic". It deals with the Press Bill submitted to the French Constituent Assembly at the end of July 1848 and widely discussed in the German press. The Bill provided for severe punishment for insult, in the press, of the authorities, attacks on property, religion and family principles. It was passed by the Assembly on August 9-11, 1848. p. 314

210 The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of July 6, 1848, carried a report received from Ewerbeck, its Paris correspondent, under the heading "Bakunin". The author reported the current rumour that Mikhail Bakunin was in the secret service of Nicholas I and that George Sand was in possession of evidence to this effect. Such rumours circulated among Polish emigrants even before the 1848 revolution. On July 16, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* reprinted Bakunin's statement to the editors of the *Allgemeine Oder Zeitung* in which he refuted these accusations. It also carried Bakunin's letter to George Sand asking her to make a public statement testifying to the falsity of the rumour, which discredited him as a revolutionary. On August 3, Marx received George Sand's letter to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* through the Polish democrat Kościelski and immediately published it with an introductory note from the editors.

In 1853 certain English newspapers accused Marx of having used the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* to spread insinuations against Bakunin. Early in September 1853 Marx refuted these charges — the authors of which were emigrants hostile to proletarian revolutionaries — in statements to the editors of the *Morning Advertiser* and the *People's Paper* (see present edition, Vol. 12). In the statement to the *Morning Advertiser* he recalled that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had published Bakunin's letters of self-acquittal and the relevant letter of George Sand; he also quoted the editors' introductory note to this letter.

Subsequently, in his letter to Lassalle written on March 3, 1860, Marx gave the following description of this episode: "I printed in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* a denunciation of Bakunin received from two different sources in Paris, the one being a Pole I knew and the other — the *Paris lithographic bulletin*, which would anyway have circulated this denunciation to *all* papers even if *I* had not printed it. The fact that the accusation was made *publicly* was in the interest of the cause as well as of Bakunin himself. I reprinted *immediately* Bakunin's refutation which appeared in the *Neue Oder Zeitung*. Kościelski, whom Bakunin sent to Cologne in order to challenge me to a duel, examined the *letters from Paris* and became convinced that as an editor I was *in duty bound* to have the denunciation printed (it appeared as a report with no comments). *Thereupon* he wrote to Bakunin informing him that he could no longer represent his interests. Kościelski became one of the best and most treasured friends of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. I gave public satisfaction to Bakunin in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and made it up with him when we met in Berlin in August 1848. Subsequently (in 1851) I broke a lance defending him in the *Tribune*." (This refers to "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany", an article which Engels wrote for Marx and in which he highly praised Bakunin as a participant in the Dresden uprising of May 1849.) p. 315

[211] An allusion to the closest entourage of Frederick William IV (the Gerlach brothers, Radowitz and other prominent figures with counter-revolutionary aspirations). p. 320

[212] Proudhon's speech is set forth and quoted in this article according to newspaper reports. The full text of Proudhon's speech at the session of the French National Assembly on July 31, 1848, was published in *Compte rendu des séances de l'Assemblée nationale,* Vol. II, Paris, 1849, pp. 770-82. p. 321

[213] The *Inquisition proceedings*—a form of criminal proceedings under absolutism, which allowed extremely wide powers to judges, who combined the functions of prosecutor and examining magistrate, trial in camera, and the use of torture to obtain evidence. The Inquisition proceedings became particularly notorious in Catholic Church courts and especially those of the Holy Inquisition which examined crimes of heresy. p. 325

[214] *Lettres de cachet,* i.e. warrants for arrest signed by the King of France at the time of the absolute monarchy. Any person could be imprisoned without investigation or court proceedings. p. 326

[215] See Note 92. p. 328

[216] The *threshing gardeners (Dreschgärtner)*—the name applied in some places in Germany, particularly in Silesia, to dependent peasants who rented a plot of land with a house from the landowner and, in return, had to work for him (mainly harvesting) for a small payment in cash or in kind. p. 330

[217] *Banalities* (the original has *Zwangs- und Bannrechte*)—feudal lords' right to impose taxes on peasants for the obligatory use of flour mills, wine presses etc. owned by feudal lords. p. 331

[218] Traditional holidays with carnivals in Belgium to celebrate its separation from Holland and its independence proclaimed at the time of the 1830 revolution. p. 336

[219] The debates on the Grand Duchy of Posen were held in the Frankfurt National Assembly on July 24-27, 1848. p. 337

[220] See Note 47. p. 337

[221] Engels refers to the repeated promises of Frederick William III to introduce a Constitution in Prussia based on the estate principle. p. 338

[222] This refers to the cowardly and servile conduct of the Prussian bureaucracy after the defeat of Prussia by Napoleonic France in the battles of Jena and Auerstedt in October 1806 (see also Note 77). p. 342

[223] The treaties signed by Russia, Prussia and Austria in Vienna on May 3, 1815, and the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna signed on June 9, 1815, which legalised the abolition of the Duchy of Warsaw established in 1807 by Napoleon and a new partition of the Polish lands between Austria, Prussia and Russia, pledged that representative bodies and national political institutions would be set up in all

Polish lands. In Posen this resulted in the convocation of an assembly of the estates endowed with advisory functions. p. 343

224 See Note 36. p. 344

225 The *Convention of Jaroslawiec* was concluded between the Posen Committee of Polish insurgents and the Prussian Commissioner General Willisen on April 11, 1848. It stipulated that the Polish insurgents were to lay down their arms and disband. In return, the Poles were promised the "national reorganisation" of Posen, i.e. the formation of a Polish army, the appointment of Poles to administrative and other posts and recognition of Polish as an official language. However, the Convention was treacherously violated by the Prussian administration, and the national liberation movement in Posen was brutally suppressed by Prussian troops. The border between the western ("German") part of the Duchy of Posen, which was not liable to reorganisation, and the eastern (Polish) one, was shifted further to the east. The promised "reorganisation" was never carried out. p. 346

226 See Note 149. p. 346

227 The *chambers of reunion* (*chambres de réunion*) were set up by Louis XIV in 1679-80 to justify and provide legal and historical grounds for France's claims to certain lands in neighbouring states, primarily in the territory of Germany; these lands were subsequently occupied by French troops. p. 347

228 The *Polish Constitution of 1791* expressed the aspirations of the progressive sections of the nobility and urban bourgeoisie. It abolished the *liberum veto* (the principle that resolutions of the Diet could only be passed unanimously) and the elective monarchy, provided for a Government responsible to the Diet and granted the urban bourgeoisie various political and economic rights. The Constitution was directed against feudal anarchy and aimed at strengthening the Central Authority; it also alleviated to some extent the position of peasant serfs by recognising the legal force of commutation agreements between landowners and peasants. As a result of the revolt of the nobility and the interference on the part of Catherine II of Russia and Frederick William II of Prussia, the Constitution was repealed in 1792-93 and a second partition of Poland between Russia and Prussia took place. p. 351

229 The majority of deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly were members of the liberal *Centre* which, in its turn, was split into two factions—the *Right Centre* (Dahlmann, Gagern, Bassermann, Mathy, Mevissen and others) and the *Left Centre* (including Mittermaier, Werner and Raveaux). The deputies of both centres were supporters of the constitutional monarchy. p. 354

230 On August 6, 1848, troops of all German states were, by an order issued by the Imperial Minister of War Peucker on July 16, 1848, to take the oath of allegiance to the Imperial Regent Archduke John at the celebration parade. Frederick William IV, who himself claimed to be the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of the German Confederation, cancelled the parade in Prussia appointed for August 6. p. 359

231 Janiszewski apparently quoted the following words by Jean Jacques Rousseau addressed to the Poles: "If you cannot prevent the enemy from swallowing you

up, try at least to prevent him from digesting you." See also his work *Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne, et sur sa réformation projette.* p. 366

232 At a session of the Frankfurt National Assembly on August 7, 1848, Deputy Brentano spoke in favour of amnesty for the participants in the Baden republican uprising and for their leader Hecker. The Right-wing deputies kept interrupting Brentano and finally forced him to leave the rostrum. p. 368

233 Paragraph 6 of the *Fundamental Rights of the German People* worked out by the Frankfurt National Assembly as part of the future Constitution (it was adopted on August 2, 1848) abolished all estates privileges and all titles not connected with office. p. 368

234 Don Carlos who, in 1833, appeared as a pretender to the Spanish throne against Isabella, daughter of King Ferdinand VII, referred to the 1713 law prohibiting succession to the throne along the female line. In 1838-40, Lichnowski took part in the civil war unleashed by Don Carlos and was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general. p. 370

235 *Wasserpolacken*—original name of ferrymen on the Oder who were mainly natives of Upper Silesia; subsequently it became widespread in Germany as a nickname of Silesian Poles. p. 370

236 The *Albigensian wars* (1209-29) were waged by the feudal magnates of Northern France, together with the Pope, against the movement of townspeople and the lesser nobility, supported by peasants, in Languedoc, in the south, who were seeking independence from the north. This movement took the form of a "heresy", being directed against the power and doctrine of the Catholic Church as well as against the secular power of the feudal state. And its adherents were called "Albigenses" from the city of Albi, one of their main centres. The Albigensian heresy was wiped out after twenty years of war, and a considerable part of Languedoc annexed to the lands of the French kings. The whole of Languedoc was annexed to France in 1271, retaining, however, a measure of self-government which was finally abolished at the time of the absolute monarchy. p. 372

237 See Note 73. p. 374

238 During the Cracow national liberation uprising in 1846 (see Note 36) the Austrian authorities provoked clashes in Galicia between Ukrainian peasants and detachments of Polish insurgents. When the uprising was suppressed, the participants in the peasant movement in Galicia were severely persecuted. p. 375

239 The *Wahl-Manifest der radicalen Reformpartei für Deutschland* written by Ruge and published in *Die Reform* No. 16, April 16, 1848, proclaimed "the editing of the *rationale* of events" as the main task of the National Assembly. p. 377

240 The reference is to one of the legends woven round the foundation of the Swiss Confederation, the origin of which dates back to the agreement of the three mountain cantons of Schwyz, Uri and Unterwalden in 1291. According to this legend, representatives of the three cantons met in 1307 in the Grütli (Rütli) meadow and took an oath of loyalty in the joint struggle against Austrian rule. p. 377

[241] This refers to a system of general treaties set up by the Vienna Congress (September 1814-June 1815) which embraced the whole of Europe, with the exception of that part then incorporated in Turkey. The decisions of the Congress helped to restore feudal order, perpetuated the political fragmentation of Germany and Italy, sanctioned the incorporation of Belgium into Holland and the partitions of Poland and outlined measures to combat the revolutionary movement. p. 378

[242] *Lamartine's manifesto* (of March 4, 1848)—a circular of the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the foreign policy principles and goals of the Provisional Government of the French Republic. p. 378

[243] On July 27, 1848, the Frankfurt National Assembly approved the decision passed earlier by the Federal Diet (see Note 13) to include a number of regions of the Grand Duchy of Posen into the German Confederation, sanctioned the powers vested in the twelve deputies elected from these regions (though the Polish population had refused to take part in elections to the Frankfurt Parliament), confirmed the demarcation line established by General Pfuel in Posen after the repeated transference of this line further east and obliged the Prussian Government "to guarantee the security of Germans residing in Posen".

This decision aroused strong indignation in democratic circles in Germany. For example, on August 11, a general meeting of the Cologne Democratic Society, presided over by Marx, adopted a resolution of protest against the Frankfurt Assembly decisions on the Polish question and sent it to the Assembly (see this volume, pp. 564-65). p. 381

[244] See Note 230. p. 383

[245] For the Cologne Democratic Society, see Note 66.

The *Cologne Workers' Association*—a workers' organisation founded by Andreas Gottschalk on April 13, 1848. Its 300 members had increased to 5,000, the majority of whom were workers and artisans, by the beginning of May. The Association was led by the President and the committee, which consisted of representatives of various trades. The newspaper *Zeitung des Arbeiter-Vereines zu Köln* was the organ of the Association, but from October 26 it was replaced by the *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit.* There were a number of branches of the Association. After Gottschalk's arrest, Moll was elected President on July 6 and he held this post till the state of siege was proclaimed in Cologne in September 1848, when he had to emigrate under threat of arrest. On October 16, Marx agreed to assume this post temporarily at the request of Association members. In November Röser became acting President and on February 28, 1849, Schapper was elected President and remained in this post until the end of May 1849.

The majority of the leading members (Gottschalk, Anneke, Schapper, Moll, Lessner, Jansen, Röser, Nothjung, Bedorf) were members of the Communist League.

During the initial period of its existence, the Workers' Association was influenced by Gottschalk who, sharing many of the views of the "true socialists", ignored the historical tasks of the proletariat in the democratic revolution, carried on sectarian tactics of boycotting indirect elections to the Federal and Prussian National Assemblies and came out against support of democratic candidates in elections. He combined ultra-Left phrases with very legalistic methods of struggle (workers' petitions to the Government and the City Council etc.) and supported the demands of the workers affected by craft prejudices etc. From the very

beginning, Gottschalk's tactics were resisted by the supporters of Marx and Engels. At the end of June a change-over took place under their influence in the activities of the Workers' Association, which became a centre of revolutionary agitation among the workers, and from the autumn of 1848 onwards, also among the peasants. Members of the Association organised democratic and workers' associations in the vicinity of Cologne, disseminated revolutionary literature, including the "Demands of the Communist Party in Germany", and carried on among themselves education in scientific communism through the study of Marx's writings. The Association maintained close contact with other workers' and democratic organisations.

When, in the spring of 1849, Marx and Engels took steps to organise the advanced workers on a national scale and actually started preparing for the creation of a proletarian party, they relied to a considerable extent on the Cologne Workers' Association.

The mounting counter-revolution and intensified police reprisals prevented further activities of the Cologne Workers' Association to unite and organise the working masses. After the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* ceased publication and Marx, Schapper and other leaders of the Association left Cologne, it gradually turned into an ordinary workers' educational society. p. 384

246 Paragraph 1 of Article 1 of the *Fundamental Rights of the German People* worked out by the Frankfurt National Assembly was adopted at its session of July 21, 1848, with the following wording: "Every German possesses the general German right of citizenship from which it accrues that a citizen of every separate state enjoys all rights of a naturalised citizen of another state." p. 384

247 After the battle of Custozza (see Note 195) the Piedmont troops retreated. On August 4, 1848, they were defeated near Milan, into which the Austrian army of Radetzky entered on August 6. On August 9, 1848, an armistice was concluded under which Piedmont undertook to withdraw its armed forces from the cities and fortresses of Lombardy and Venice, thus surrendering them to the Austrians.

This article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 385

248 *Carbonari*—members of bourgeois and aristocratic revolutionary secret societies which appeared in Italy in the early nineteenth century. They fought for national independence and unification of Italy and at the same time demanded liberal-constitutional reforms. The Carbonari played an important role in the revolutionary developments in the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia early in the 1820s and also during the revolutionary struggle in Italy against Austrian rule and local feudal monarchies in the 1830s.

During the revolution of 1821 in Piedmont, Prince Charles Albert of Carignano made overtures to the Carbonari and they appointed him regent. However, afraid to lose his right to the Sardinian Crown if events took an unfavourable turn, he fled from Turin, abdicated his regency and helped to suppress the movement. p. 386

249 The battle of *Goito* (May 30, 1848) was part of the hostilities between the allied Italian forces and Austrian vassals, which started with the battle of Curtatone (see Note 196).

The battle of *Mozambano* (July 24, 1848) was an episode in the battle of Custozza (see Note 195) between the Piedmont and Austrian armies.

In both cases, the Piedmont Command proved incapable of energetic action against the enemy and of taking advantage of successes achieved at separate sectors along the front. p. 388

[250] See Note 248. p. 389

[251] Quotations are taken from the rescript of Frederick William IV dated March 18, 1848, on the speeding up of the convocation of the United Diet (see Note 25). p. 390

[252] See Note 246. p. 391

[253] This is a list of the battles between the Austrians and the French during the French Revolution, the Directory, the Consulate and the Empire, in which the Austrian army was defeated at Jemappes (November 6, 1792), at Fleurus (June 26, 1794), at Millesimo (April 13-14, 1796), at Rivoli (January 14-15, 1797), at Neuwied (April 18, 1797), at Marengo (June 14, 1800), at Hohenlinden (December 3, 1800), at Ulm (October 17, 1805), at Austerlitz (December 2, 1805), at Wagram (July 5-6, 1809). p. 396

[254] *Sonderbund*—a separatist union formed by the seven economically backward Catholic cantons of Switzerland in 1843 to resist progressive bourgeois reforms and defend the privileges of the church and the Jesuits. The decree of the Swiss Diet of July 1847 on the dissolution of the Sonderbund served as a pretext for the latter to start hostilities against other cantons early in November. On November 23, 1847, the Sonderbund army was defeated by federal forces. p. 396

[255] On the defeat of the Piedmont army at Custozza on July 25, 1848, see Note 195. On July 26-27 the Austrians routed the Piedmont troops at Volta and on August 6, 1848, occupied Milan. p. 396

[256] See Note 238. p. 396

[257] The revolution of 1848 in Italy, followed by revolutionary events in other European countries, was started by the people's uprising of January 12 in Palermo and the successful armed struggle in Sicily against the absolute monarchy of the Neapolitan Bourbons. p. 397

[258] This article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 399

[259] For the storming of the arsenal, see Note 67.

On August 21, 1848, meetings and demonstrations were held in Berlin against the assault, engineered by reactionary forces, on members of the Democratic Club in Charlottenburg (then a suburb of Berlin). The demonstrators demanded the resignation of the Auerswald-Hansemann Ministry and the punishment of those involved in the incidents in Charlottenburg; they also threw stones at the building in which Auerswald and other Ministers met. The Government retaliated with further repression. p. 400

[260] This refers to Prussia's participation in the wars of the anti-French coalition against Napoleon in 1813-14 and 1815 (see Note 76). p. 400

[261] See Note 235. p. 400

[262] This article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 402

[263] The armistice between Sardinia and Austria concluded on August 9, 1848 (see Note 247), was originally to last six weeks but was prolonged. It was annulled on March 12, 1849, but soon after hostilities were resumed the Sardinian army was defeated, Charles Albert abdicated and Victor Emmanuel II, the new King, again concluded an armistice with the Austrians on March 26. p. 402

[264] On August 21, 1848, workers' disturbances started in Vienna, caused by the growth of unemployment and the Government's decree on the reduction of wages. On August 23 the national guards of bourgeois and aristocratic districts opened fire on unarmed workers who were protesting against this measure. The counter-revolutionaries who supported Emperor Ferdinand (who returned to Vienna from Innsbruck on August 12) and his court camarilla, and were preparing to attack the achievements of the revolution, took advantage of the situation, which had undermined the unity of the democratic forces. p. 402

[265] This article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 404

[266] The so-called *Risquons-Tout trial*, held in Antwerp from August 9 to 30, 1848, was a fabrication of the Government of Leopold, the King of the Belgians, against the democrats. The pretext was a clash, which took place on March 29, 1848, between the Belgian Republican Legion bound for its home country from France and a detachment of soldiers near the village of Risquons-Tout not far from the French border. Mellinet, Ballin, Tedesco and other principal accused were sentenced to death, but this was later commuted to 30 years imprisonment, and still later they were pardoned. p. 404

[267] The *German Workers' Association* was founded by Marx and Engels in Brussels at the end of August 1847, with the aim of politically educating German workers residing in Belgium and spreading the ideas of scientific communism among them. Its best cadres were members of the Communist League and it maintained contacts with Belgian workers' and democratic associations. Its activities ceased soon after the February revolution of 1848 in France when its members were arrested and deported by the Belgian police. p. 406

[268] On his arrival in Cologne on April 11, 1848, Marx successfully applied to the Cologne City Council for citizenship. However, the decision was subject to approval by the local royal authorities who were slow in answering. At the beginning of August 1848, after four months' delay, Marx was informed that his application had been turned down. The conduct of the Cologne authorities aroused indignation in the city's democratic circles. The Cologne Democratic Society sent a deputation demanding that police measures against Marx should cease (see this volume, pp. 562-63). In reply to Marx's complaint, the Prussian Minister of the Interior Kühlwetter approved the decision of the local authorities on September 12, 1848 (see this volume, p. 581). Although the protest campaign

prevented reactionary circles from carrying out their schemes with regard to Marx immediately, he was in danger of being deported from Prussia as a "foreigner". Subsequently, the Prussian Government deported Marx for alleged "violation of the right of hospitality". This act and repressive measures against other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* caused the newspaper to cease publication in May 1849. p. 407

269 Under the impact of the March revolution in the German states, the Federal Diet (see Note 13) established by its special decision of March 30, 1848, the representation quota to the German National Assembly. On April 7, an amendment to this decision was approved which extended the right to vote and to be elected to political refugees who returned to Germany and were reinstated in German citizenship. p. 408

270 See Note 12. p. 408

271 On August 26, 1848, an armistice for the term of seven months was signed between Denmark and Prussia in the Swedish city of Malmö. The armistice provided for a ceasefire between Prussia and Denmark, replacement of the provisional authorities in Schleswig by a new Government to be formed by the two contracting parties (the representatives of the Danish monarchy predominant), separation of the troops of Schleswig and Holstein, and other onerous terms for the national liberation movement in the duchies. The revolutionary-democratic reforms which had been introduced were now virtually eliminated. Though the Prussian ruling circles had waged the war against Denmark in the name of the German Confederation, they sacrificed all-German interests to dynastic and counter-revolutionary considerations when they concluded the armistice. They were also prompted by the desire to avoid complications with Russia and Britain, which supported Denmark. Nonetheless, as Engels foresaw, on September 16, the Frankfurt National Assembly approved by a majority vote the armistice concluded in Malmö. p. 411

272 This editorial note was published in parentheses at the end of the article "The Financial Project of the Left" in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. It gave the following information:

"*Berlin*, Sept, 6. The deputies Waldeck, Zenker, Anwandter, Krackrügge, Reuter, d'Ester, Stein, Elsner, Otto, Behrends, Jacoby, Schultz and others on the Left have placed the following financial plan before the National Assembly:

"The Ministry is empowered to issue paper money to the sum of — million talers at 3 $^1/_3$ per cent interest and to be redeemed in twenty consecutive years against an annual sum of — million talers.

"This paper money will bear the name 'Prussian interest-bearing notes'."

The author then lists the terms of issue and circulation of the above-mentioned "interest-bearing notes" and quotes the opinion of the Left-wing deputies on the advantages of their financial project. The following consideration is given particular mention:

"The above plan will provide the Government with the means it needs to meet the requirements of the state and save it from resorting either to the hated measure of a compulsory loan or the expensive one of a loan from individual bankers....

"By issuing smaller denominations the interest-bearing notes plan will satisfy the pressing need for a freer circulation of capital, which does not occur in the

case of a loan ... make it possible to exchange government bonds, which are sluggish in circulation and exposed to big fluctuations in exchange, for interest-bearing notes; it will also give the private individual and every worker the chance to invest his savings at interest without losing his disposal of them and free him from the cumbersome savings-banks and from the intermediary of bankers with their usual deductions for commission.

"The interest-bearing notes plan will entice out of its hiding-place and bring into circulation the ready cash at present lying unproductively in the hands of timid capitalists and as a necessary consequence promote the flow of ready cash back to the state banks, while at the same time impeding the export abroad of coined metal. This can only be to the benefit of the country....

"The same security that in any case would have to be put up by the Government for any loan will form the security for the Prussian interest-bearing notes, but this plan spares the Government the humiliation of having to haggle with foreign bankers over the amount to be gained by the latter at the expense of Prussia; the plan also gives the Government a favourable opportunity to show the world that Prussia possesses sufficient means within itself to pay for its requirements, thereby reinforcing the confidence of the Prussian people in their own strength and emancipating them from the arbitrary power of foreign usurers." p. 416

[273] On August 9, 1848, in view of the frequent sorties of Prussian officers, the Prussian National Assembly voted for the proposal of Stein, a deputy of the Left, requesting the Minister of War to issue an army order to the effect that officers opposed to a constitutional system were bound to quit the army. Despite the National Assembly's decision, Schreckenstein, the Minister of War, did not issue the order; so Stein tabled his motion for the second time at the session of the National Assembly on September 7. As a result of the voting, the Auerswald-Hansemann Ministry had to resign. Under the Pfuel Ministry that followed, the order though in modified form was issued on September 26, 1848, but this also remained on paper. p. 417

[274] This refers to the visit of Frederick William IV to Cologne on August 13-15, 1848, in connection with the festivities to mark the sixth centenary of the laying of the cornerstone of St. Peter's Church. p. 420

[275] This article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 421

[276] See Note 146. p. 424

[277] Re *August 10, 1792*, see Note 20.

During *May 31-June 2, 1793*, the Girondist Government representing the republican circles of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, which strove to prevent the further development of the revolution, was overthrown by the masses in Paris. Twenty-nine Girondist leaders were expelled from the National Convention (later on, many of them took part in counter-revolutionary conspiracies and riots), and the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the Jacobins was established in France. p. 425

[278] The second, third and fourth articles of this series (dated September 12, 13 and 15) were published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* under the title "Crisis."

Excerpts of the third article were first published in English in the magazine *Labour Monthly*, 1948, Vol. XXX, No. 9, and in the collection: Karl Marx, *On Revolution*, ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971; all these articles were published in English in full in the collections: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, and Karl Marx, *The Revolutions of 1848. Political Writings*, Vol. 1, London, Penguin Books, 1973. p. 427

279 Decrees (*ordonnances*) issued by the King of France on *July 26, 1830*, abolished freedom of the press, dissolved Parliament and changed the electoral law, reducing the electorate by seventy-five per cent. These emergency measures taken by Charles X's Government led to the July 1830 bourgeois revolution in France as a result of which the Bourbon monarchy was replaced by the Louis Philippe liberal monarchy.

On *February 24, 1848*, the Louis Philippe monarchy was overthrown and the Second Republic proclaimed in France. p. 430

280 In his message of September 10, 1848, Frederick William IV agreed with the view of his Ministers that the resolution passed by the Prussian National Assembly on September 7, 1848 (see Note 273), was an infringement of the "principle of constitutional monarchy", and approved their decision to resign as a protest against the Assembly's action. p. 430

281 This refers to Stein's proposal accepted by the Prussian National Assembly on August 9 on the resignation of reactionary officers (see Note 273). The Assembly passed a resolution couched in rather mild terms after it had discussed the situation in the army following the shooting down on July 31 by the garrison of the Schweidnitz fortress in Silesia of the civil guard and townspeople, as a result of which 14 people were killed and 32 seriously wounded. The Minister of War was asked to warn officers to abstain from "reactionary tricks", and it was recommended that they resign from the army if they disagreed with the resolution. The Auerswald-Hansemann Ministry raised no objection because it was sure the deputies would not demand the faithful implementation of the resolution. But the Minister of War's non-observance of the Assembly's recommendations led to a conflict between the Government and the Assembly and to a ministerial crisis. p. 432

282 *Vendée*—see Note 164.

The Constituent Assembly in France (*Constituante*) held its sessions from July 9, 1789, to September 30, 1791. p. 432

283 On September 13, 1848, a clash took place between the soldiers and officers of the 1st and 2nd Regiments of the Guards stationed in Potsdam. This was provoked by the Command detaining a letter written by the soldiers to Deputy Stein and the National Assembly thanking them for adopting the September 7 resolution on the resignation of reactionary officers. During these disturbances the lower ranks at one point resorted to building barricades. Cuirassiers of the Guards stationed in Nauen refused to obey their officers and attack the civil population. p. 433

284 In 1648 Frederick William, the Elector of Brandenburg, supported the candidature of John Casimir to the Polish throne; in 1656, after taking advantage of the King of Poland's difficult situation he concluded a military pact with Charles Gustav, King of Sweden, and supported his claims to the Polish crown. In

the war of 1655-60 between Sweden and Poland, he manoeuvred between the warring parties and thus secured the final incorporation of Eastern Prussia in Brandenburg.

On April 5, 1795, in Basle, Prussia concluded a separate peace treaty with France, the first anti-French coalition having already begun to disintegrate.

In November 1805, Russia and Prussia concluded a convention in Potsdam on joint action against Napoleonic France. The Prussian Government undertook to join the third anti-French coalition (Britain, Austria, Russia and Naples), but after the defeat sustained by the Austrian and Russian armies at Austerlitz, it renounced its obligations. p. 435

285 This refers to the debate in the Frankfurt National Assembly in the summer and autumn of 1848 on the status of Limburg, a province of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, then part of the German Confederation. Numerous explanations on this subject were offered to the Assembly by representatives of the so-called Central Authority (the Imperial Ministry). p. 435

286 This article was first published in English in the collections: Karl Marx, *On Revolution*, ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971, and Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung", 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 436

287 After the Ministers sent in their resignation, Frederick William IV, in his message of September 10, 1848, while expressing his agreement with their motives for resigning, asked them to carry out their duties pending the appointment of successors. p. 436

288 This article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung", 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 439

289 On September 16, 1848, the Frankfurt National Assembly ratified the Malmö armistice by a majority vote. This evoked profound indignation among democratic circles and the broad masses. On September 17 the citizens of Frankfurt and the surrounding neighbourhood held a mass protest meeting at which they demanded that the Assembly be dissolved and a new representative body set up. The Imperial Government countered by summoning Prussian and Austrian troops to Frankfurt. An insurrection broke out the next day, but the poorly armed people sustained a defeat despite their stubborn barricade fighting. Unrest in many parts of Germany, particularly in the Rhineland, and another attempt at a republican uprising in Baden on September 21, were an echo of the Frankfurt events.

The first article on the Frankfurt uprising had no title because it was published in the supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* which had no table of contents.

The article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung", 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 442

290 On September 21, 1848, a Ministry headed by Pfuel was formed in Prussia by royal order. It consisted of top officials and high-ranking officers. Outwardly its attitude towards the National Assembly was one of loyalty, but actually the Pfuel Ministry sought to organise and unite the counter-revolutionary forces. Pfuel and

his colleagues paved the way for the overtly counter-revolutionary Government of Count Brandenburg (November 8, 1848), which accomplished a coup d'état in Prussia. p. 448

291 See Note 23. p. 448

292 The Committee of Public Safety consisting of 30 people was formed by the democratic and workers' organisations of Cologne at their mass meeting on September 13, in view of the ministerial crisis in Prussia, the menace of a counter-revolutionary coup and the increasing popular unrest in the Rhine Province aroused by the armistice with Denmark concluded at Malmö. The editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, including Marx, Engels, Wolff, Dronke and Bürgers, as well as the leaders of the Cologne Workers' Association Schapper and Moll, were elected among its members. The Committee of Public Safety became a guiding centre of the Cologne solidarity movement with the Frankfurt insurgents and of the mass struggle against encroachments on the revolutionary gains and democratic freedoms by the Prussian authorities, who started openly to persecute members of democratic and proletarian organisations. p. 450

293 The public meeting at Worringen (near Cologne), at which, besides the townspeople, peasants from the neighbouring villages were present, was called by the workers' and democratic organisations on September 17, 1848. It played an important part in rallying the masses to fight against the counter-revolution. The meeting recognised the Committee of Public Safety in Cologne, adopted an address supporting the protest made by democratic circles against the armistice between Prussia and Denmark and declared for a democratic social republic in Germany. For details on the meeting see this volume, pp. 586-87. p. 451

294 See Note 23. p. 452

295 See Note 137. p. 452

296 The Cologne authorities, frightened by the upsurge of the revolutionary-democratic movement, resorted to police persecution and on September 26, 1848, placed the city in a state of siege "to safeguard the individual and property". The military commandant's office issued an order prohibiting all associations that pursued "political and social aims", cancelled all meetings, disbanded and disarmed the civic militia, instituted courts martial and suspended publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and a number of other democratic newspapers. On October 2 the protest campaign made the Cologne military authorities lift the state of siege, and on October 3 subscription to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was resumed. However, Marx was not able to resume publication of the newspaper until October 12 because of lack of funds and because Engels and Dronke had had to leave Cologne, under threat of arrest. p. 455

297 In English, this article was first published in an abridged form in the magazine *Labour Monthly*, 1948, Vol. XXX, No. 10, and in full in the collections: Karl Marx, *On Revolution*, ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, and Karl Marx, *The Revolutions of 1848. Political Writings*, Vol. 1, London, Penguin Books, 1973. p. 457

298 A popular uprising that took place in Vienna on October 6-7, 1848, was sparked off by the orders of the Austrian Government to dissolve the Hungarian Diet and

send Austrian troops to the Croatian Ban Jellachich who, supported by the Imperial Court, had started a counter-revolutionary campaign against Hungary but sustained defeat at the hands of the Hungarian revolutionary troops on September 29. The masses, headed by the petty-bourgeois democrats, prevented the Vienna garrison from marching on Hungary and, after fierce fighting, captured the city. The Austrian Emperor and his court fled to Olmütz (Olomouc) on October 7, 1848, and were later followed by the Ministry. The majority of Czech deputies to the Austrian National Assembly (*Reichstag*) who belonged to the national-liberal party departed for Prague in haste. p. 457

299 The reference is to the holidays held in September 1848 to mark the eighteenth anniversary of the Belgian revolution of 1830. p. 459

300 This article was first published in English in the collections: Karl Marx, *On Revolution*, ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971, and Karl Marx, *The Revolutions of 1848. Political Writings*, Vol. 1, London, Penguin Books, 1973. p. 462

301 At the session of the Prussian National Assembly on September 29, 1848, Deputy d'Ester demanded that the Government lift the siege of Cologne and call the Cologne Garrison Headquarters to account for unlawful actions. p. 462

302 On October 2, 1848, a group of counter-revolutionary bourgeois in Cologne (Stupp, Ammon and others) handed an address to the Prussian National Assembly in which they stated that the demand that the siege of Cologne be lifted put forward by d'Ester and supported by the Rhine Province deputies Borchardt and Kyll allegedly "does not reflect the mood and opinions of the burghers". p. 462

303 See Note 245. p. 463

304 For *Stein's Army Order* see Note 273.

On September 17, 1848, the commander of the Brandenburg military area, General Wrangel, issued an army order which demanded that "public law and order" be secured, threatened "elements who were against law" and called upon the soldiers to rally around their officers and the King. p. 463

305 When the popular unrest in Cologne provoked by the arrests of democratic and workers' leaders on orders of the Cologne authorities was at its highest, Marx and his associates called upon the workers to refrain from premature armed actions and from succumbing to provocation in a situation unfavourable for the revolutionary forces. Marx uttered this warning at the meeting of the Cologne Workers' Association in the Kranz Hotel on September 25, 1848, and later at a popular meeting in the Eiser Hall attended by members of the Cologne Democratic Society. p. 464

306 Thiers' work published in the newspaper *La Constitutionnel* in September and October 1848, was later printed in pamphlet form under the title *De la propriété*, Paris, 1848. p. 467

307 Thiers' speech was a reply to the proposal made by Deputy Turck to found a state mortgage bank with a fixed rate of exchange. p. 467

308 The *Direct Commission of Mainz* was founded in 1819 by decision of the Carlsbad conference of German states (see Notes 152 and 199) to investigate "tricks of the

demagogues", i.e. for the struggle against the opposition movement in the German states. The Commission, whose members were appointed by the individual governments of the German states, was authorised to hold direct inquiries and make arrests in all the states of the German Confederation. p. 472

309 The reference is to the "law on the protection of the Constituent National Assembly and the officials of the Central Authority" according to which offences against National Assembly deputies and the officials of the Central Authority were punishable by imprisonment. This law was a repressive measure adopted by the Frankfurt National Assembly majority and the Imperial Government on October 9, 1848, i.e. after the September uprising in Frankfurt.

*Black-red-golden*—a symbolic combination of colours signifying the unity of Germany. p. 473

310 In September 1848 Turkish troops supported by the Tsarist Government occupied Wallachia to suppress the national liberation movement. In Bucharest, they were guilty of bloody outrages against the civil population. The proclamation published by the Turkish government commissioner Fuad Effendi declared the necessity of establishing "constitutional order" and "eliminating all vestiges of the revolution". p. 473

311 See Note 86. p. 474

312 See Note 273. p. 476

313 On *events of August 23 in Vienna* see Note 264.

On October 5, 1848, it became known in Vienna that Austrian troops were to be sent to suppress the Hungarian national liberation movement and that a battalion of grenadiers had received marching orders. This news caused general indignation and a popular uprising on October 6 and 7. p. 477

314 See Note 133. p. 478

315 On May 15, 1848, a popular uprising in Naples, caused by King Ferdinand II's infringement of constitutional rights, was savagely crushed (see this volume, pp. 24-26), declassed elements (*lazzaroni*) being active in its suppression.

Early in September 1848 Neapolitan troops sent by Ferdinand II to suppress the revolutionary movement in Sicily bombarded the town of Messina for four days and, having captured it, committed violent outrages. Ferdinand earned for himself the derisive nickname "Bomba".

The capture of Milan by Austrian troops on August 6, 1848, was accompanied by outrages against the population. p. 481

316 See Note 18. p. 481

317 In the summer of 1848 the Cologne Public Prosecutor's office was already trying to start legal proceedings against the editors and the publisher of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, accusing them of insulting the Public Prosecutor and police in connection with the newspaper's defence of the arrested leaders of the Cologne Workers' Association Gottschalk and Anneke (see this volume, pp. 176-79). In the autumn, the Cologne Public Prosecutor Hecker issued orders to bring to trial Marx, the editor-in-chief, and Korff, the newspaper's responsible publisher, for

printing a number of articles, including the proclamation "To the German People" written by the republican Friedrich Hecker. Despite the negative findings of the examining magistrate, who in October 1848 stated that there were insufficient grounds for prosecution, the Public Prosecutor's office insisted on pressing its accusations and, in addition, put forward new ones (see Marx's article "Three State Trials against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*", present edition, Vol. 8). Another charge was brought against Marx for his participation in the revolutionary movement as a leader of the Cologne democratic organisation. p. 485

[318] See Note 310. p. 485

[319] See Note 139. p. 486

[320] The reference is to the opposition of Marx and his followers in March 1848 to the plan of the German legion of volunteers to enter Germany with the aim of starting a revolution; this plan was supported by Herwegh, Bornstedt and others (see Note 2). p. 488

[321] The *Deutsche Volkszeitung* for April 17, 1848, published a report from Paris which censured the German communists' negative attitude towards Herwegh's plan. p. 488

[322] This article was first published in English in the collections: Karl Marx, *On Revolution*, ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971, and Karl Marx, *The Revolutions of 1848. Political Writings*, Vol. 1, London, Penguin Books, 1973. p. 490

[323] The reference is to the *Second Democratic Congress* which was held in Berlin from October 26 to 30, 1848. Here, a new Central Committee of German democrats (d'Ester, Reichenbach, Hexamer) was elected, the question of constitutional principles was discussed and the "Declaration of the Rights of Man" adopted. However, the motley composition of the Congress led to discord and differences on the main issues. In response to the proposal of the Left-wing representatives to appeal to the people to support the Viennese insurgents, the majority of the delegates, who were against it, walked out. But the appeal was adopted by the rest of the delegates. Though worded in a bombastic style, it actually contained merely an appeal for aid from German governments which were manifestly hostile to revolutionary Vienna. On the whole, instead of adopting resolute measures to mobilise the masses for struggle against counter-revolution, the Congress limited itself to passing sterile and contradictory resolutions.

It took a more consistent and radical position during the discussion of the social question on October 30. Several points of the "Demands of the Communist Party in Germany" were made the basis of the practical proposals of the reporter on this question (the reporter being a delegate from the Cologne Workers' Association Beust) which were submitted for discussion by the Congress to all democratic societies. p. 490

[324] See Note 23. p. 491

[325] This article was first published in English in the collections: Karl Marx, *On Revolution*, ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971, and Karl Marx and Frederick

Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 493

[326] An ironical allusion to the previous political activities of Brüggemann who for his participation in the student opposition movement and his support for freedom of the press at the Hambach festivities (1832), was sentenced to death for "high treason". This sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. During the amnesty in 1840 Brüggemann was pardoned. p. 497

[327] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* gives reports on events in Vienna from the above-mentioned *Preussische Staats-Anzeiger*, and the *Allgemeine Oder-Zeitung*. p. 497

[328] This article was first published in English in the collections: Karl Marx, *On Revolution*, ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971, and Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 498

[329] *Slovanská Lípa*—a Czech national society founded at the end of April 1848. The leadership of the society in Prague was in the hands of moderate liberals (Šafařík, Gauč), who joined the counter-revolutionary camp after the Prague uprising in June 1848, whereas the provincial branches were mostly led by radicals. p. 498

[330] During the French Revolution, Koblenz was the centre for the counter-revolutionary émigrés. p. 499

[331] See Note 238. p. 499

[332] This article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx, *On Revolution*, ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971. p. 503

[333] The *Academic Legion*—a student military organisation set up in Vienna in March 1848. Each faculty of the University formed a detachment divided into companies. The majority of the Legion were radical democrats. Lecturers and professors of the University as well as writers, poets, journalists and doctors, made up part of the Legion. The Legion played an important part in the revolutionary movement in Austria in 1848. p. 503

[334] See Note 101. p. 505

[335] Frederick Engels' travel notes "From Paris to Berne" have survived in the form of an unfinished fair copy. Prior to his trip the following events took place: On September 26, 1848, a state of siege was declared in Cologne and an order to arrest some of the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Engels among them (see this volume, p. 593), was issued. Engels emigrated to Belgium and, together with Dronke who joined him en route, arrived in Brussels; but the Brussels police arrested both of them and, on October 4, deported them from Belgium (see this volume, pp. 459-60). On October 5, Engels and Dronke arrived in Paris. After a few days, Engels, who had almost no ready money, started on foot for Switzerland. About November 9 he reached Berne via Geneva and Lausanne, where he stayed for a while. Engels began writing his travel notes in Geneva, as evidenced by the original title to the manuscript, "From Paris to Geneva". The manuscript is appended with two sheets of sketches drawn by Engels en route (see illustrations between pages 508 and 509 of this volume) between Auxerre (France) and Le Locle (Switzerland).

*On the first sheet* there are the following designations (in angular brackets are names crossed out by Engels; in square brackets—inexact names of localities in the manuscript):

1) Route from *Auxerre to Chalon* with marks:
"Auxerre—Saint-Bris—Vermenton—Pont aux Alouette—Lucy le Bois—Avallon—⟨Rouvray⟩—Saulieu—⟨in the direction of Dijon⟩—Chanteaux—Rouvray—in the direction of Dijon—Arnay-le-Duc—Château—(a long village)—here I went to the post-office—coal mines—an inn—a beautiful valley, wine—the same—Chagny—Chalon."

2) Route from *Beaufort to Geneva* with marks:
"Beaufort—Orgelet—Ain—Moirans—Pont du Lizon [in the manuscript Pt. d'Ison]—Saint-Claude—La Meure—Mijoux—Gex—Ferney—Succony—Geneva."

On the same sheet there are several drawings, including one of a rider in the Hungarian uniform. There are also discernible names:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Czechs | Croats | Serbians | Poles |
| Magyars | Illyrians | Bosnians | Ruthenians |
| Slovaks | Slovenes | Bulgarians | |

*On the second sheet* there are the following designations:

1) Route from *Auxerre to Geneva* with marks:
"Auxerre—Saint-Bris—Vermenton—Pont aux Alouette—Lucy le Bois—Avallon—⟨Rouvray⟩—Saulieu—Arnay-le-Duc—a long village—Ivry—La Cange—Chagny—Chalon—Saint-Marcel—Louhans—Beaufort—Orgelet—Ain—Moirans—two mountains—Pont du Lizon [in the manuscript Pt. d'Ison]—Saint-Claude—La Meure—Mijoux—Gex—Geneva."

2) Route from *Moirans to Saint-Claude* with marks:
"Moirans—wind mills—Pont du Lizon [in the manuscript Pt. d'Ison]—Saint-Claude."

3) Route from *Geneva to Le Locle* with marks:
"Geneva—Bellerive—Coppet—Nyon—Rolle—Aubonne—Morges—Cossonay—La Sarraz—Orbe—Yverdon—Saint-Croix—Fleurier—Travers—Les Ponts—Le Locle."

An ethnographic note and drawings appended to the manuscript suggest that Engels stopped writing his travel notes when, at Marx's request, he started on an article "The Struggle in Hungary" (see present edition, Vol. 8). p. 507

336 *Chant du départ* (A Marching Song)—one of the most popular songs of the French Revolution. It also remained popular later.
*Mourir pour la patrie*—see Note 107. p. 513

337 See Note 100. p. 517

338 The *maximum laws* and the *law against buying up food supplies* (June 26, 1793; in the manuscript Engels uses the German transliteration *Akkapareurs* for the French word *accapareur*—meaning "usurer", "profiteer") were adopted by the Convention under pressure from the masses, who were demanding fixed prices and effective measures against profiteers in food at a time of deepening food crisis and rising prices. The first maximum adopted on May 4, 1793, introduced fixed prices for grain; the decree of September 11, 1793, fixed a single price for grain and flour; on September 29, 1793, fixed prices on other staple goods (second maximum) were introduced. p. 520

339 All the three receipts are in Engels' handwriting. p. 533

340 The address "To All Workers of Germany" on behalf of the Mainz Workers' Educational Association was drafted by the emissary of the Communist League who arrived from Paris, member of the Central Authority Karl Wallau, and Communist League member Adolf Cluss. The address was published in several democratic newspapers. On April 8, 1848, on their way to Cologne, Marx and Engels stopped at Mainz where, together with the local communists, they discussed the further plan of action aimed at preparing ground for a mass party of the German proletariat with the Communist League forming its nucleus. p. 535

341 On December 1, 1845, Marx, then residing in Brussels, asked officially to be relieved of his Prussian citizenship with the intention of depriving the Prussian authorities, who were making attempts to get him expelled from Belgium, of any opportunity to interfere in his affairs. After the March revolution of 1848 in Germany Marx returned to his homeland and applied for Prussian citizenship.

He wrote his application to the police office on the second day after his arrival in Cologne. The rough copy of the application has also survived. The fair and the rough copy of the application are written in an unknown hand; the signature, place and date are in Marx's handwriting. The fair copy differs considerably in some places from the rough one, which mentions Marx's intention to publish the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Apparently Marx thought better about informing the police of this.

On April 18 Marx was summoned to Police Inspector Hünermund who wrote an account of Marx's statement. From the text of the account (see next document) it is evident that Marx declined once again to reveal to the police his plans to publish a newspaper.

Subsequent events showed that Marx had good reason not to trust the police. The Cologne regional police office deliberately delayed answering his application and, after the publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, it firmly rejected it. In a report to the Minister of the Interior, the regional police office described the editors of the newspaper as very dangerous revolutionaries who were striving to overthrow the existing system. *Oberpräsident* of the Cologne Province Eichmann called Marx the "soul" of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, stressing that he was "the most prominent figure among the republicans of Cologne". The Prussian Government did their best to induce the Cologne police to take measures against the activities of the editor-in-chief of the revolutionary newspaper. This was why Marx was refused Prussian citizenship (see this volume, pp. 407-10). p. 537

342 This document is not included among those kept in the police archives, connected with granting Marx Prussian citizenship. Apparently it was given back to Marx. p. 538

343 This document reflects events prior to the publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and gives new information on the situation in which Marx and his followers were campaigning for the foundation of a truly revolutionary proletarian organ. Before his arrival in Cologne, Marx, who was already planning this publication, got to know from Georg Weerth's letter that Hess and Anneke, members of the Cologne communities of the Communist League, intended to found a democratic newspaper of the same title. An announcement of the publication of a new paper printed in the *Kölnische Zeitung* on April 7, 1848, above their signatures showed that it was going to be an ordinary local petty-bourgeois

paper, having nothing to do with the class struggle of the proletariat and lacking any understanding of the true tasks of the German revolution. The announcement evoked different responses: various rich bourgeois offered financial advice, petty-bourgeois intellectuals offered to collaborate, Communist League members expressed astonishment at the paper's programme. Marx and Engels hastened their return to Germany.

On April 11, 1848, they arrived in Cologne and at once started to discuss the idea of a newspaper with Communist League members. Marx and his followers succeeded in strengthening their position. Hess, who was barred from taking part, left Cologne for Paris.

Much effort was made to settle issues with the democrats who, as one of the conditions for supporting the newspaper, demanded a repudiation of republican propaganda; financial problems were also acute, since the cautious attitude of the Rhenish bourgeois towards Marx and Engels' convictions greatly reduced the financial sources for the newspaper. In mid-April, Engels went to Barmen, Elberfeld and other towns to seek out shareholders.

The decision to include Heinrich Bürgers, who was prone to the petty-bourgeois influence, on the editorial board of the newspaper was a compromise. Bürgers wrote the prospectus, published here, in the spirit of petty-bourgeois socialism, in a moderate and ellusive tone (even the bourgeois *Elberfelder Zeitung* mentioned on April 30, 1848, the "indefinite expressions" of this "socialist republican document"). The prospectus, however, expressed the intention of publishing an all-German political newspaper rather than a local sheet and the necessity of paying attention to the social question and the condition of the "workers' estate". It also proved the importance of choosing Cologne — the centre of the Rhine Province, the most progressive in Germany — as the place of its publication. The names of the editors were not mentioned. Although by that time it had already been decided that Marx would be editor-in-chief, the composition of the editorial board was not yet settled.

Displaying great resourcefulness and persistence in overcoming political and financial difficulties, Marx succeeded in enlisting on the editorial board true proletarian revolutionaries, thus ensuring a clear revolutionary line for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. In a brief space of time he completed the formidable organisational preparations for a daily political newspaper. At the end of May, the newspapers of the Rhine Province and other parts of Germany announced that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* would begin publication on June 1, 1848. p. 539

344 Before the March revolution of 1848, there existed in Cologne a Communist League community which included d'Ester, Daniels, Bürgers, Anneke, Gottschalk and others, the majority being under the influence of the "true socialists". At the beginning of April 1848, the community was joined by Communist League members who had returned from emigration. As seen from the minutes published in this volume, soon after the arrival of Marx and Engels in Cologne sharp differences arose between them and Gottschalk. This document is signed by Bürgers and Moll, the leaders of the community; Marx was present at the sitting as the President of the Central Authority of the Communist League. p. 542

345 The meeting of the shareholders who financed the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was held at the end of May 1848, and a provisional committee was elected consisting of Hermann Korff, Karl Wachter and Georg Weerth who apparently undertook the final editing of the Articles. The document was discussed at meetings of shareholders on June 18 and 21; in July, the Articles, printed as a separate pamphlet by Wilhelm Clouth, were sent to the shareholders.

From the very beginning, differences arose between shareholders and editorial board. Many of the shareholders, displeased at the revolutionary trend of the newspaper, refused their contributions. They were particularly disturbed by the articles in defence of the proletarian uprising in Paris in June 1848. This led to the editor-in-chief, Marx, seeking other financial sources (the aid of the German and Polish democrats etc.) including his own personal means. p. 543

346 Hermann Becker, one of the leaders of the Cologne Democratic Society, despite Marx's objections, invited Wilhelm Weitling who had returned from emigration to address a general meeting.

In his speech delivered on July 21, 1848, Weitling, who called himself "a democrat, socialist and communist", proclaimed as a vital task of the revolution the establishment of a dictatorial Provisional Government consisting of a narrow circle of persons—"very keen people", having in mind himself as the sole dictator. Like Gottschalk, Weitling ignored the bourgeois-democratic character of the revolution and called for immediate and revolutionary fulfilment of his utopian plans for social transformation, considering that political questions merely distracted from the main aim. At the next meeting of the Democratic Society on August 4, Marx gave his reply. We can only judge the contents of his speech from this newspaper report. The author of this highly imperfect report, apparently, did not clearly understand the meaning of Marx's speech and some propositions are therefore presented in very confusing and inexact manner.

In his speech, Marx dealt especially with the peculiarities of the German revolution and its vital task: to eliminate the remnants of feudalism. In his controversy with Weitling, Marx stressed the close connection between political and social struggle, the inseparability and interdependence of political and social demands. The principal difference between Marx's position and that of Weitling was also manifest in the issue of the form of government which should be established after the victory of the revolution. Emphatically rejecting the idea of a one-man dictatorship, Marx saw the necessity to establish a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship founded on the union of those classes which had accomplished the revolution—proletariat, peasantry and petty bourgeoisie. p. 556

347 The First Rhenish District Congress of Democratic Associations was held in Cologne on August 13 and 14, 1848. Marx and Engels took part in the work of the Congress.

It was proposed that regional committees should be organised of representatives of democratic associations, with their headquarters in a number of cities. The Regional Committee of the Rhine Province and Westphalia was to have its seat in Cologne. The Central Committee of the three democratic associations in Cologne (see Note 348), which was organised prior to the Congress, was confirmed as the Rhenish Regional Democratic Committee, which included, besides its President Schneider II, Marx, Schapper and Moll. Under the influence of the Communist League members—deputies to the Congress—a resolution was passed on the necessity of conducting work among the factory proletariat and also among the peasants. The Congress recommended that every possible support be rendered to the democratic press (this primarily concerned the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*). p. 558

348 The Central Committee of the three democratic associations of Cologne—the Democratic Society, the Workers' Association and the Association for Workers and Employers—was organised at the end of June on a decision of the First

Democratic Congress in Frankfurt am Main. This Committee functioned as the Regional Committee until the convocation of the Rhenish Congress of Democrats. Marx was its member. p. 558

349 The document is written in an unknown hand, but signed by Marx. p. 561

350 This protest was made on August 11, 1848, at a general meeting of the Cologne Democratic Society. The meeting was presided over by Marx (see this volume, p. 562). p. 564

351 In its address "To the German People" on April 6, 1848, the Committee of Fifty, which was elected by the Preparliament in April 1848 (see Note 51) and consisted mostly of liberals, called for support for activities aimed "at returning Poles their homeland". This call was, however, very vaguely worded. p. 564

352 Marx went to Vienna to strengthen ties with the democratic workers' organisations and to collect funds for the publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in view of the refusal of many shareholders to subsidise the newspaper after it came out in defence of the Paris insurgents. Marx left Cologne on August 23, and stayed for a few days in Berlin, where he met Left-wing deputies of the Berlin National Assembly, the Russian revolutionary Mikhail Bakunin and other democrats.

Marx arrived in Vienna on August 27. The next day, at a meeting of the Democratic Association, he spoke against the representative of the Berlin Central Committee of Democrats, Julius Fröbel, who supported the proposal to petition the Emperor to dismiss Minister of Labour Schwarzer — the main culprit in the bloody clashes between the bourgeois national guard and the workers in Vienna on August 23, 1848. Marx was opposed on principle to conciliating monarchs. On August 30 Marx delivered a lecture to the first Vienna Workers' Association on the June insurrection in Paris, noting that German emigrant workers had taken part in it, and on September 2 lectured on wage labour and capital. During his talk with the leader of the German-Bohemian faction in the Austrian National Assembly (*Reichstag*) Borroš, he was convinced that the national antagonism between Czechs and Germans did not extend to relations between the workers of the two nationalities since these were united by common class interests.

On his way back, Marx visited Dresden and again Berlin. Here he attended sessions of the Prussian National Assembly and met the Polish revolutionary Kościelski who in the name of the Polish democrats later sent him two thousand talers for the publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. About mid-September Marx returned to Cologne. p. 568

353 Reference to Paris is apparently made because of the passport Marx had on him, issued by the Paris police office on March 30, 1848 (see illustrations between pages 408 and 409 of this volume). p. 569

354 This excerpt was in the retrospective review signed PBS and published in the supplement to the *Wiener Zeitung*. The author of the review wrote with overt hostility about the "encroaches" of the Left organisations, criticising "a certain association" — this refers to the Vienna Democratic Association — because it let foreign politicians "drastically criticise" the measures of the Austrian Government and breed "distrust". Having cited Marx, the author exclaims: "For me these words are unforgettable as they reflect all the chasm, all plans of this party." p. 571

[355] On September 8, 1848, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* published the following note by its Vienna correspondent Müller-Tellering concerning this report: "At today's sitting of the first Vienna Workers' Association Marx delivered a speech on the social-economic question." p. 573

[356] In a series of satirical articles, Georg Weerth ridiculed the Prussian reactionary Prince Lichnowski under the name of the knight Schnapphahnski. The articles "Life and Deeds of the Famous Knight Schnapphahnski" were published unsigned in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in August-September and December 1848. p. 575

[357] The public meeting in Cologne at which this address was adopted in connection with the debates on the ratification of the armistice at Malmö (see Note 289) in the Frankfurt National Assembly, was convened on the initiative of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, as may be judged from the extant handwritten notes which Marx wrote later (at that time he was away). Engels apparently took part in the drafting of the address. The editorial board of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* published the text of the address in the editorial marked "Cologne, September 8" and supplied it with the following note: "Last night a public meeting was held in Rauch's Riding School to protest against the Prussian-Danish armistice and against the Prussian civic militia law which has been partially passed. Although the posters announcing the meeting were put up only late in the morning, the large hall, which holds no fewer than two and a half thousand people, was filled to overflowing, and at least twice that number were turned away because there was no room...." p. 577

[358] During the summer of 1848, the Cologne Workers' Association discussed the social question. Marx's followers (Schapper, Moll and others) were trying to explain to the workers the groundlessness of utopian plans to transform society on the basis of existing capitalist relations, like Louis Blanc's scheme to create a workers' association with the aid of the state ("organisation of labour"), and other similar petty-bourgeois socialist projects. Engels made a detailed report, but its content was not noted in the minutes. The Cologne discussion on the social question was of great importance for the dissemination of the ideas of scientific communism among the workers. p. 580

[359] See Note 100. p. 580

[360] On July 15, 1848, an Artisans' Congress opened in Frankfurt to work out the Trade Rules. As apprentices were not admitted to the Congress by the worker-masters, the former convened their own congress on July 20 and invited representatives from the workers' associations. The work of the Apprentices' Congress lasted,with intervals, till September 20. At the Congress along with the protest against the narrow position of the Artisans' Congress and the criticism of the Trade Rules the following ideas were widespread: the ideas of the German economist Winkelblech (who took part in the work of both congresses) on the re-establishment of guilds, his theory of "federal socialism", and the desire to evade political questions. The Apprentices' Congress supported the idea of establishing the all-German Workers' Union with the aim of improving the workers' conditions and proposed to the National Assembly that a "social Parliament" be convoked and a "social Ministry" be formed. p. 580

[361] A copy of this letter sent to the Cologne regional administration is extant. The postscript runs as follows: "The copy of the above-mentioned instruction is sent to the royal regional administration for information, being at the same time a reply to the notice of the 20th of last month on remission of the application." p. 581

[362] In his letters to Görtz, the Chief Burgomaster of Trier, of October 17 and November 10, 1845 (see present edition, Vol. 4), Marx supported his request to be released from Prussian citizenship by stating his intention to emigrate to the United States of America (no other documents testifying to this intention are available). In accordance with this, the letter of *Regierungspräsident* of Trier von Auerswald to *Oberpräsident* of the Rhine Province and the Minister of the Interior of November 6, 1845, concerning Marx's release from citizenship mentions the same motive. Officially Marx was released from Prussian citizenship on December 1, 1845. p. 581

[363] On the election of Marx, Engels and other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* to the Cologne Committee of Public Safety see Note 292. p. 582

[364] The *Citizens' Association*—see Note 65.
*Wailers*—see Note 23. p. 583

[365] On September 11, 1848, soldiers of the 27th Regiment billeted in Cologne clashed with citizens supported by the democratic part of the civic militia. p. 584

[366] This proclamation was published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* without title and also as a separate leaflet the title of which is given here. The text of the leaflet differs somewhat from the version printed in the newspaper. Different wording is given in the footnotes. p. 588

[367] Because of its lack of funds and other difficulties the publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was resumed not on October 5 but 12, 1848. p. 591

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*Barbarossa*—see *Frederick I* ("*Barbarossa*" or "*Redbeard*")

*Barbès, Armand* (1809-1870)—French revolutionary, a leader of secret societies during the July monarchy; deputy to the Constituent Assembly in 1848; sentenced to life imprisonment for his participation in the popular insurrection of May 15, 1848, and pardoned in 1854; emigrated to Belgium.—155

*Barrot, Camille Hyacinthe Odilon* (1791-1873)—French politician, leader of the liberal dynastic opposition until February 1848; from December 1848 to October 1849 headed the Ministry, which relied on a monarchist coalition.—440

*Bassermann, Friedrich Daniel* (1811-1855)—German politician, represented the Baden Government in the Federal Diet during the 1848-49 revolution; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre).—17, 237, 313, 464, 489

*Bastide, Jules* (1800-1879)—French politician and journalist, an editor of the newspaper *Le National* (1836-46); moderate republican, Minister of Foreign Affairs from May until December 1848.—135, 377, 480, 481

*Baudin, Charles* (1784-1854)—French admiral.—25

*Bauer* (died c. 1850)—Prussian official in Krotoschin (Posen); deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848.—196, 197

*Bauer, Heinrich* (b. 1813)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; shoemaker.—7, 9, 533

*Bauerband, Johann Joseph* (1800-1878)—German lawyer; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—207, 302

*Baumstark, Eduard* (1807-1889)—German professor; deputy to the

Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.— 198, 219, 242-46, 250. 302, 303, 336

*Bavay, Charles Victor de* (1801-1875) —Belgian officer of justice; Public Prosecutor-General at the Brussels Court of Appeal from 1844.— 188, 405, 459

*Bayard, Pierre Terrail, Seigneur de* (c. 1475-1524)—French warrior called by his contemporaries the "*chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*".— 184, 368

*Beaumarchais, Pierre Augustin Caron de* (1732-1799)—French dramatist.—264

*Becker, Félix*— French poet and revolutionary, took part in the Polish uprising of 1830-31; an organiser of the Belgian Legion formed in Paris in February and March 1848.— 406

*Becker, Hermann Heinrich* (1820-1885)— German lawyer and journalist, a leader of the Cologne Association for Workers and Employers, member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats, editor of the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* (from May 1849 to July 1850); member of the Communist League from 1850.— 452, 463, 558, 582, 585, 587

*Becker, Nikolaus* (1809-1845)— German poet.— 154

*Beckerath, Hermann von* (1801-1870)— German banker, moderate liberal; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848; Minister of Finance in the Imperial Government (August and September 1848).— 427, 430, 433, 583

*Bedeau, Marie Alphonse* (1804-1863) —French general and politician, moderate republican in 1848.— 137

*Behnsch*— deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.— 183, 191, 219, 228, 230

*Berends, Julius* (b. 1817)— owner of a printing-press at Berlin; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.— 72, 75, 77, 78, 79, 82-84, 100, 173, 230

*Berg, Philipp Karl Peter von* (1815-1866)— Prussian Catholic priest; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848.— 189, 195, 238-41, 419

*Berly, Karl Peter* (1781-1847)— German journalist, editor of the *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung* (1829-47), secret agent of the French Government during the July monarchy.— 471

*Bernigau* (d. 1849)— Cologne democrat, member of the Committee of Public Safety in Cologne.— 585

*Beseler, Wilhelm Hartwig* (1806-1884)— Schleswig-Holstein politician, in 1848 head of the Provisional Government of Schleswig-Holstein, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre).— 269

*Besser*— Prussian official, liberal; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848.— 227-28

*Beurmann, Karl Moritz von* (1802-1870)— Prussian official, *Oberpräsident* of Posen (1848).— 104, 357

*Beust*— Baroness.— 569

*Beust, Friedrich von* (1817-1899)— Prussian officer, member of the Committee of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848); an editor of the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung* (September 1848-February 1849); delegate to the Second Democratic Congress in Berlin (October 1848); in 1849 took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising.—597

*Biedermann, Friedrich Karl* (1812-1901)— German historian and liberal journalist; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Centre) in 1848.— 237, 313

*Birk, Johann*— Prussian official, acting *Regierungspräsident* of Cologne from September 1848.— 497

*Bixio, Jacques Alexandre* (1808-1865) —French journalist, moderate republican, an editor of the newspaper *Le National*, Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly (1848), deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849).— 137

*Blanc, Jean Joseph Louis* (1811-1882)— French petty-bourgeois socialist, historian; in 1848 pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie.— 298, 512

*Blank, Joseph Bonavita* (1740-1827)— German Catholic priest, professor of natural sciences at Würzburg University.— 337

*Blanqui, Louis Auguste* (1805-1881)— French revolutionary, utopian communist, organised several secret societies and plots; during the 1848 revolution adhered to the extreme Left of the democratic and proletarian movement.— 155

*Blesson, Johann Ludwig Urbain* (1790-1861)—German military writer, commander of the Berlin civic militia in June 1848.— 47

*Bloem, Anton* (1814-1885)—German lawyer; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing, later Left Centre) in 1848.— 58, 201

*Blum (Junior)*—secretary of the Cologne Workers' Association (from September 11, 1848).— 426, 579

*Blum, Robert* (1807-1848)—German democrat, journalist, leader of the Left in the Frankfurt National Assembly; took part in the defence of Vienna in October 1848; court-martialled and executed.— 19, 359, 366

*Bodelschwingh, Ernst, Baron von* (1794-1854)—Prussian conservative statesman, Minister of Finance from 1842, Minister of the Interior (1845 to March 1848).— 36, 80, 229, 250, 274, 276, 317, 318

*Böker*— member of the Cologne Town Council.— 500

*Borchardt, Friedrich*—German democrat, lawyer from Cologne; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.— 302, 303, 462

*Bornemann, Friedrich Wilhelm Ludwig* (1798-1864)—Prussian lawyer, liberal, Minister of Justice (March-June 1848); deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.— 106, 111

*Bornstedt, Adalbert von* (1808-1851)— German journalist, founded and edited the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* (1847-48); a leader of the German Democratic Society in Paris; member of the Communist League until he was expelled in March 1848; a secret agent of the Prussian police during the 1840s.— 9, 10

*Borries, von*—Prussian official; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—217, 226

*Bourbons*—French royal dynasty (1589-1792, 1814-15 and 1815-30).— 24, 40, 96, 429, 520

*Bourbons*—royal dynasty in Naples (1735-1806 and 1814-60).— 23-26

*Boyen, Leopold Hermann Ludwig von* (1771-1848)—Prussian general, organiser of an army reserve during the war against Napoleon, Minister of War (1814-19, 1841-47).— 36, 228, 229

*Bréa, Jean Baptiste Fidèle* (1790-1848)—French general, took part in suppressing the June uprising of 1848, shot down by the insurgents.— 137

*Bredt*—Prussian official; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing, later Right Centre) in 1848.— 304

*Brehmer*—German teacher; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.— 78

*Brentano, Lorenz Peter* (1813-1891)— Baden democrat, lawyer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; headed the Baden Provisional Government in 1849.— 368

*Bright, John* (1811-1889) — English manufacturer, a leader of the free traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League.— 151

*Brill*— German democrat; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.— 190, 191, 303

*Brisbane, Albert* (the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* gives his name as *Henry*) (1809-1890) — American journalist, follower of Fourier.— 587

*Brodowski, Alexander von* (1794-1865) — Polish landowner; in 1848 member of the Posen National Committee and deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing).— 273

*Brüggemann, Karl Heinrich* (1810-1887) — German journalist, moderate liberal; editor-in-chief of the *Kölnische Zeitung* (1845-55).— 150, 152-53, 156, 242, 396, 464, 497

*Brunswick, Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand, Duke of* (1735-1806) — German general; in 1792-94 was in command of the Austro-Prussian armies fighting against France.— 165

*Brutus, Marcus Junius* (c. 85-42 B.C.) — Roman politician, republican, an initiator of the conspiracy against Julius Caesar.— 234, 489

*Bucher, Lothar* (1817-1892) — Prussian official, journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848.— 274, 276

*Bückler, Johann* (c. 1780-1803) — German robber whose nickname was Jack the Skinner (*Schinderhannes*).— 498

*Bugeaud de la Piconnerie, Thomas Robert* (1784-1849)—French marshal, member of the Chamber of Deputies during the July monarchy, Orleanist; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1848-49).—154

*Buquoy (Buquoi), Jiři František August de Longueval* (1781-1851) — Czech count of French descent; in 1848 represented the liberal wing of the national movement; arrested after the June uprising in Prague.— 214

*Bürger, Gottfried August* (1747-1794) — German poet.— 45

*Bürgers, Heinrich* (1820-1878) — German radical journalist, contributed to the *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842-43); member of the Cologne Community of the Communist League (1848); an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.— 15, 452, 541, 542, 563, 582, 593

*Bussmann*— landowner from Posen; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.— 197

C

*Cabet, Étienne* (1788-1856) — French writer, advocate of utopian communism, author of *Voyage en Icarie*.— 8, 298

*Camphausen, Ludolf* (1803-1890) — German banker, a leader of the liberal bourgeoisie in the Rhineland; Prussian Prime Minister (March to June 1848), Prussian envoy at the Central Authority (July 1848-April 1849).— 30-33, 36-40, 43-45, 57-63, 66, 67, 72, 73, 74, 78, 79, 80, 83, 89, 96, 97, 104-08, 111, 115, 117, 122, 170, 174, 194, 200, 202, 206, 232, 238, 400, 408, 413, 414, 419, 424, 428, 429, 431, 466

*Campobasso*— police official in Naples before the 1848 revolution.— 24

*Carlos, Don (Carlos Maria Isidro)* (1788-1855) — pretender to the Spanish throne, supported by the feudal aristocracy and the clericals who unleashed a civil war in Spain (1833-40).— 165, 311, 370

*Carnot, Lazare Hippolyte* (1801-1888) — French journalist and politician, moderate republican; Minister of Education in the Provisional Government, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848).— 168

*Catiline (Lucius Sergius Catilina)* (c. 108-62 B. C.) — Roman politician, patri-

cian, organiser of the conspiracy against the aristocratic republic.— 234

*Cato, Marcus Porcius (the Elder)* (234-149 B. C.) — Roman statesman and writer, upheld aristocratic privileges; censor in 184 B. C.— 246, 304

*Caussidière, Marc* (1808-1861) — French democrat, took part in the Lyons uprising of 1834; Prefect of Police in Paris after the February 1848 revolution, deputy to the Constituent Assembly; emigrated to England in June 1848.— 169, 298, 518

*Cavaignac, Louis Eugène* (1802-1857) — French general and politician, moderate republican, took part in conquering Algiers; following the February 1848 revolution became governor of Algiers; War Minister of France from May 1848; played a leading part in suppressing the June uprising, head of executive power (June-December 1848).— 128, 132-36, 139-41, 147, 152-55, 160-63, 170, 171, 377, 379, 402, 440, 445, 457, 459, 462, 478, 481, 513, 515

*Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de* (1547-1616) — Spanish author.— 282, 286, 360, 365, 380, 448, 467

*Cham (Amédée de Noé)* (1819-1879) — French cartoonist, contributed to the satirical journal *Le Charivari*.— 58

*Chambord, Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonne, Comte de* (1820-1883) — representative of the elder Bourbon line, pretender to the French throne under the name of Henry V.— 155

*Charles II (Charles Louis de Bourbon)* (1799-1883) — Duke of Lucca (1815-47), Duke of Parma from 1847, abdicated in 1849.— 24

*Charles X* (1757-1836) — King of France (1824-30).— 153

*Charles Albert (Carlo Alberto)* (1798-1849) — King of Sardinia (1831-49).— 41, 305, 306, 385-89, 395, 396

*Chazal, Pierre Emanuel Félix, Baron* (1808-1892) — Belgian general, took part in the 1830 revolution; War Minister (1847-50, 1859-66); originally a cloth merchant in Brussels.— 336

*Chezy, Helmina (Helmine) von* (1783-1856) — German romantic authoress.— 516

*Christian Karl Friedrich August* (1798-1869) — Duke of Schleswig-Holstein.— 255

*Cieszkowski, August* (1814-1894) — Polish philosopher and economist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.— 198, 219

*Cincinnatus, Lucius Quinctius* (5th cent. B.C.) — Roman politician and general, patrician, model of virtue and simplicity.—234

*Clemens, Friedrich Jacob* (1815-1862) — German philosopher and theologian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848.—367

*Clouth, Wilhelm* — owner of the Cologne printshop in which the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was printed from June 1 to August 27, 1848.— 208, 541, 553

*Cluss, Adolf* (d. after 1889) — German engineer, member of the Communist League; secretary of the Workers' Educational Association in Mainz (1848); in 1849 emigrated to the United States where he stood as a disciple and follower of Marx and Engels.— 535

*Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865) — English manufacturer, a leader of the free traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League.— 151, 238, 299

*Coburg* — descendants of the Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha dynasty, occupied thrones in Belgium, Portugal and other European countries.— 166

*Cockerill, John* (1790-1840) — English manufacturer.— 340

*Colomb, Friedrich August von* (1775-1854) — Prussian general who commanded the Prussian Army Corps in Posen (1843-48).— 92, 104, 210, 313, 491

*Congreve, Sir William* (1772-1828) —English officer and military inventor.—134

*Corday d'Armont, Marie Anne Charlotte* (1768-1793)—participant in a counter-revolutionary conspiracy during the French Revolution, assassin of Marat, executed on the decision of the Revolutionary Tribunal.—154

*Cripps*.—278

*Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—a leader of the English revolution; became Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland in 1653.—80, 237, 439

*Crüger, Friedrich*—member of the Communist League, took part in the activity of the Workers' Brotherhood founded by Stephan Born.—534

D

*Dahlmann, Friedrich Christoph* (1785-1860)—German liberal historian and politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848.—237, 414

*Damesa, Steriol*—merchant.—569

*Damesme, Edouard Adolphe Marie* (1807-1848)—French general, commanded the mobile guard during the suppression of the June 1848 uprising.—136, 137, 160

*Dane*—deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—330

*Daniels, Roland* (1819-1855)—German physician, member of the Cologne Community of the Communist League, friend of Marx and Engels.—541

*Danton, Georges Jacques* (1759-1794)—prominent figure in the French Revolution; leader of the Right wing of the Jacobins.—237

*Davenant, Charles* (1656-1714)—English economist and statistician, mercantilist.—477

*Deckker, C.*—grocer, member of the Cologne civic militia.—574

*Del Carretto, Francesco Saverio* (c. 1777-1861)—Italian politician, Minister of the Police in the Neapolitan Kingdom (1831-January 1848).—24

*Delescluze, Louis Charles* (1809-1871)—French revolutionary; Government Commissioner of the Department du Nord (1848); member of the Paris Commune (1871).—404

*Delolme, Jean Louis* (1741-1806)—Swiss statesman and lawyer, advocate of constitutional monarchy.—430

*Denjoy, Jean François Polinis* (1809-1860)—French politician, monarchist; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49); later deputy to the Legislative Assembly.—525

*Dierschke*—Prussian judicial official; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—82, 181, 182, 327, 328, 330, 331

*Doblhoff, Anton, Baron von* (1800-1872)—Austrian statesman, moderate liberal; Minister of Trade (May 1848) and Minister of the Interior (from July to October 1848).—570

*Dolleschall*—police official at Cologne.—393

*Dombasle, Christophe Joseph Alexandre Matthieu de* (1777-1843)—French agronomist.—469

*Dornès, Auguste* (1799-1848)—French journalist and politician, moderate republican; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848).—137

*Dronke, Ernst* (1822-1891)—German writer, at first "true socialist", later member of the Communist League and an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.—15, 459, 560, 566, 580, 582, 586, 594

*Duchâtel, Charles Marie Tanneguy, Comte* (1803-1867)—French statesman, Orleanist; Minister of the Interior (1839 and 1840-February 1848).—38, 60, 111, 122, 199, 220, 221, 250, 419

*Ducoux, François Joseph* (1808-1873)—French physician and politician, moderate republican; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848); after the June uprising became Prefect of Police in Paris.—148

*Duesberg, Franz von* (1793-1872)—Prussian Minister of Finance (1846-March 1848).—36

*Dufaure, Jules Armand Stanislas* (1798-1881)—French lawyer, Orleanist; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848), Minister of the Interior (October-December 1848) in the Cavaignac Government.—168

*Dumont, Joseph* (1811-1861)—German journalist, moderate liberal; in 1831 became owner of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.—150, 152-54, 156, 395, 462, 497, 501

*Duncker*—Prussian official; in 1848 a leader of the Left Centre in the Prussian National Assembly.—37, 58, 241, 242, 419

*Duvernoy, Heinrich Gustav* (1802-1890)—Württemberg statesman, Minister of the Interior (1848-49) in the liberal Government.—249

*Duvivier, Franciade Fleurus* (1794-1848)—French general, took part in suppressing the June 1848 insurrection.—136, 137, 142, 162

E

*Eisenmann, Gottfried* (1795-1867)—German journalist, physician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Centre, later Left wing) in 1848.—237

*Elsner, Karl Friedrich Moritz* (1809-1894)—Silesian radical journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—82, 85, 100, 182

*Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895).—7, 15, 511-18, 522, 524-29, 560, 563, 567, 575, 582, 586, 593, 594

*Engels, W.*—tailor, member of the Cologne civic militia.—574

*Esselen, Christian* (1823-1859)—German writer, democrat; in 1848 a leader of the Workers' Association in Frankfurt, editor of the *Allgemeine Arbeiter-Zeitung*.—18

*Esser, Christian Joseph* (born c. 1809)—German worker, member of the Cologne Workers' Association; in 1849 editor of its newspaper *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit*.—178, 587

*Esser I, Johann Heinrich Theodor*—Prussian official, lawyer, clerical; Vice-President of the Prussian National Assembly (Centre) in 1848.—57, 85, 173, 185

*d'Ester, Karl Ludwig Johann* (1813-1859)—German socialist and democrat, physician; member of the Cologne community of the Communist League; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; in October 1848 became a member of the Central Committee of Democrats.—86, 173-75, 182-84, 216, 462

F

*Fay, Gerhard* (1809-1889)—German lawyer, liberal.—87

*Feldhaus*—German teacher; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—229

*Ferdinand I* (1793-1875)—Emperor of Austria (1835-48).—456, 499, 570

*Ferdinand II* (1810-1859)—King of Sicily and Naples (1830-59).—24-26, 143, 385-86, 471, 483

*Fernbach*—German democratic student.—176

*Feuerstein, Anton*—merchant.—569

*Fickler, Joseph* (1808-1865)—German democratic journalist, a leader of the Baden democratic movement in 1848-49.—239, 288

*Fischer, J. A.*—cap-maker, member of the Cologne civic militia.—574

*Flottwell, Eduard Heinrich von* (1786-1865)—Prussian statesman, Minister of Finance (1844-46), *Oberpräsident* of Posen and later of Westphalia; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—356, 357, 368

*Forstmann*—German merchant; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—195, 223, 225

*Fould, Achille* (1800-1867)—French banker and politician, Orleanist, subsequently Bonapartist; Minister of Finance several times in the period between 1849 and 1867.—125

*Fouquier-Tinville, Antoine Quentin* (1746-1795)—leading figure in the French Revolution; Public Prosecutor of the Revolutionary Tribunal (1793).—405

*Fox, Charles James* (1749-1806)—English statesman, leader of the Whig Party.—102

*Francis V* (1819-1875)—Duke of Modena (1846-59).—387

*Frederick I* ("*Barbarossa*" or "*Redbeard*") (c. 1123-1190)—German King from 1152, Holy Roman Emperor (1155-90); waged several campaigns against Italy.—395, 396

*Frederick II (the Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—242, 340, 341

*Frederick VII (Frederik Carl Christian VII)* (1808-1863)—King of Denmark (1848-63).—255, 268, 422-24, 434, 435

*Frederick William* (1620-1688)—Elector of Brandenburg (1640-88).—244, 245, 435

*Frederick William II* (1744-1797)—King of Prussia (1786-97).—348, 349

*Frederick William III* (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—338, 343, 355, 411, 449

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—20, 54, 62, 63, 73, 77, 106, 194, 255, 273, 275, 287, 311, 390, 391, 420, 430, 474, 476, 564, 583

*Freiligrath, Ferdinand* (1810-1876)—German poet; member of the Communist League; one of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* editors in 1848-49.—395-97, 456

*Frencken*—Prussian official; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—207

*Friedrich Christian August* (1829-1880)—Duke of Schleswig-Holstein (Prince from 1863); officer of the General Staff of the Schleswig-Holstein army (1848).—192, 255

*Fröbel, Julius* (1805-1893)—German radical writer and publisher; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—570

*Fuad Pasha Mehemmed* (1814-1869)—Turkish statesman, government commissioner in the Danube principalities (1848); took a leading part in suppressing the national liberation movement; in later years Minister of Foreign Affairs and Grand Vizier.—473, 485

*Funk*—German democrat, member of the Democratic Society of Cologne (1848).—176, 585

G

*Gagern, Heinrich Wilhelm August, Baron von* (1799-1880)—German politician, deputy to and President of the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre), President of the Imperial Ministry (December 1848-March 1849).—232, 358, 368, 394, 424, 439, 440, 448, 473

*Gagern, Maximilian Ludwig, Baron von* (1810-1889)—German official; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848; brother of Heinrich Gagern.—413

*Ganneron, Auguste Victor Hippolyte* (1792-1847)—French industrialist, banker and politician.—125

*Geier*—Burgomaster of Wesseling.—426, 579

*Geiger, Wilhelm Arnold*—Prussian police official, examining magistrate (1848) and then Police Superintendent of Cologne.—178, 384, 390, 391, 393, 394, 408, 409, 561, 594

*Gervinus, Georg Gottfried* (1805-1871)—German historian, liberal; editor of the *Deutsche Zeitung* (1847 to October 1848); deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848.—29, 154

*Ghika, Basil.*—569

*Gierke*—Prussian official; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; Minister of Agriculture in the Auerswald-Hansemann Government (June-September 1848).—291-95, 328, 331

*Girardin, Emile de* (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician; between 1830s and 1860s was editor of the newspaper *La Presse* several times; often changed his political views.—153

*Gladbach, Anton* (d. 1873)—German democrat; in 1848 deputy to the Prussian National Assembly from Mülheim in the Rhine Province (Left wing); President of the Democratic Club in Berlin.—180, 181, 191-93, 195, 230, 304, 563

*Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton, Count Neithardt von* (1760-1831)—Prussian field marshal, an organiser of the liberation struggle against Napoleon's rule; took part in drawing up and carrying out Prussian army reforms.—228

*Goeden, Adolf*—German physician in Posen; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—354, 355, 358, 359, 367, 369

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—116, 484, 528

*Göschen*—Chairman of the German League in Leipzig (1848).—214

*Gottschalk, Andreas* (1815-1849)—German physician, member of the Cologne community of the Communist League; President of the Cologne Workers' Association (April-June 1848); exponent of the "Left" sectarian tendencies in the German working-class movement.—176, 177, 186, 325, 326, 542, 582, 595

*Grabow, Wilhelm* (1802-1874)—Chief Burgomaster of Prenzlau, moderate liberal; President of the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—180-83, 185, 190-92, 193, 197, 198, 230, 273, 304, 419

*Gräff, Joseph*—Prussian judicial official; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—95, 243, 302

*Grebel*—Prussian official, justice of the peace; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—217-19, 221, 229

*Greven, Fried.*—butcher, member of the Cologne civic militia.—574

*Griesheim, Karl Gustav von* (1798-1854)—Prussian military official; representative of the Ministry of War in the Prussian National Assembly (1848).—97-99, 192

*Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl* (1785-1863)—German philologist, professor of Berlin University, liberal; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Centre) in 1848.—336

*Grolmann, Karl Wilhelm Georg von* (1777-1843)—Prussian general, took part in the liberation struggle against Napoleon's rule; in 1806 participated in drawing up and carrying out Prussian army reforms.—228

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and conservative statesman who actually directed France's home and foreign policy from 1840 until the February revolution of 1848.—38, 68, 111, 122, 147, 188, 206, 472, 480, 481, 518

H

*Hansemann, David Justus* (1790-1864)—German capitalist, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Minister of Finance from March to September 1848.—36-38, 54, 55, 59, 60, 67, 73, 83, 106, 111, 112, 115, 122, 170-75, 179, 182, 190, 194, 195, 199, 200, 202, 208, 210, 216-21, 226, 229, 230, 239, 250-52, 262, 268, 276, 278-84, 286, 290, 291, 295, 313, 317, 336, 350, 382, 384, 400, 416, 419, 425, 427, 429, 448, 463, 466, 476, 583

*Harney, George Julian* (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the English labour movement, a Chartist leader (Left wing); editor of *The Northern Star*.—8, 129

*Harpprecht, Heinrich von* (1802-1859)—lawyer, President of the Supreme Court of Württemberg.—249

*Hébert, Michel Pierre Alexis* (1799-1887)—French lawyer and statesman, Orleanist; Chief Public Prosecutor (from 1841), Minister of Justice (1847-February 1848).—187, 459

*Hecker*—Prussian judicial official, Public Prosecutor at Cologne (1848).—178, 186, 187, 208, 239, 314, 450, 451, 484-88, 513, 554, 593

*Hecker, Friedrich Karl Franz* (1811-1881)—German democrat, a leader of the Baden republican uprising in April 1848; emigrated to the USA.—485-89

*Heckscher, Johann Gustav Wilhelm Moritz* (1797-1865)—German lawyer, Imperial Minister of Justice (July-August 1848) and Minister of Foreign Affairs (August-September 1848); deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre).—413, 414

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—156, 364, 486

*Heimsoeth, Heinrich*—Prussian official; lawyer at the Court of Appeal in Cologne (1848).—489

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—50, 112, 172, 189, 190, 205, 222, 248, 261, 284, 290, 304, 397, 457, 480

*Heinrich LXXII* (1797-1853)—Prince of Reuss-Lobenstein-Ebersdorf, a tiny German principality (1822-48).—234

*Henry V*—see *Chambord, Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonne, Comte de*

*Hergenhahn, August* (1804-1874)—German liberal politician; in 1848-49 Prime Minister of Nassau; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre).—19

*Herwegh, Georg Friedrich* (1817-1875)—German democratic poet, a leader of the German Democratic Society in Paris.—9, 10, 488

*Heyne*—Burgomaster of Bromberg (Posen); deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848.—198

*Hildenhagen, Louis*—German clergyman; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848.—303

*Hirschfeld, Alexander Adolf von* (1787-1858)—Prussian general; took part in suppressing the insurrection in Posen (1848).—210, 313

*Hofer*—German peasant; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—81

*Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—67

*Holberg, Ludvig, Baron* (1684-1754)—Danish writer, historian and philosopher.—422

*Homer*—semi-legendary epic poet of Ancient Greece, author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.—66

*Hüffer, Johann Hermann* (1784-1855)—Chief Burgomaster of Münster, moderate liberal; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—173-75

*Hünermund, Eduard*—Police Inspector in Cologne.—538

*Hüser, Johann Hans Gustav Heinrich von* (1782-1857)—Prussian general; commandant of Mainz (1844-49).—17, 19, 20, 92, 133

I

*Imandt, Peter*—German teacher, democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; in later years a political émigré; member of the Communist League, follower of Marx and Engels.—587

*Itzenplitz*—a family of Prussian counts.—56

J

*Jacoby, Johann* (1805-1877)—German radical writer and politician; a leader of the Left wing in the Prussian National Assembly (1848); in the 1870s was close to the Social-Democratic Party.—82, 232, 233, 235, 236, 238, 239, 240-41, 242-43, 273

*Janiszewski, Jan Chryzostom* (1818-1891)—Polish theologian and politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848.—365, 366, 368, 369

*Jansen, Johann Joseph* (1825-1849)—German democrat, member of the Communist League; a leader of the Workers' Association in Cologne (1848), follower of Gottschalk; shot for his participation in the Baden-Palatinate insurrection of 1849.—178

*Jellachich (Jellačić), Josef, Count* (1801-1859)—Austrian general, Ban of Croatia; took part in suppressing the revolution of 1848-49 in Hungary and Austria.—458, 473, 477, 491, 499, 503

*Jentzsch*—deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Centre) in 1848.—276

*John (Johann)* (1782-1859)—Archduke of Austria, Imperial Regent from June 1848 until December 1849.—229, 232, 240, 253, 287, 411, 413, 577

*Jonas, Ludwig* (1797-1859)—German theologian, clergyman in Berlin; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—85

*Jones, Ernest Charles* (1819-1869)—prominent figure in the English labour movement, proletarian poet and journalist, a Chartist leader (Left wing); friend of Marx and Engels.—8, 114, 129

*Jordan, Wilhelm* (1819-1904)—German writer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848; at first belonged to the Left wing, but after debates on Poland, joined the Centre.—351, 359-64, 366, 367, 378, 395

*Jottrand, Lucien Léopold* (1804-1877)—Belgian lawyer and writer, democrat; President of the Democratic Association in Brussels (1847).—405

*Jung, Georg Gottlob* (1814-1886)—German writer, Young Hegelian, a manager of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—53, 59, 84, 100, 185

K

*Kaiser*—major-general.—459

*Kalker, Johann Wilhelm*—secretary of the Workers' Association in Cologne in 1848.—178, 579

*Kämpf*—German teacher; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848.—243

*Kamptz, Karl Christoph Albert Heinrich von* (1769-1849)—Prussian conservative statesman; Minister of Justice (1832-42).—208

*Kanitz, August Wilhelm Karl, Count von* (1783-1852)—Prussian general; Minister of War (May and June 1848) in

the Camphausen Government.—64, 74, 96

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—486

*Kaunitz-Rietburg, Wenzel Anton, Prince von* (1711-1794)—Austrian statesman and diplomat, a supporter of an "enlightened" form of absolutism; took part in the first partition of Poland (1772); a bitter enemy of the French Revolution.—92

*Kayser, C.*—merchant, member of the Cologne civic militia.—574

*Kayser, R.*—merchant, member of the Cologne civic militia.—574

*Kersausie, Joachim René Théophile Gaillard de* (1798-1874)—French revolutionary, took part in the July revolution of 1830; headed the Committee of Action of the Society of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (1848); author of a military plan implemented by the participants in the June uprising in Paris; later joined the Garibaldi movement.—157, 158, 164

*Kerst, Samuel Gottfried* (1804-1875)—deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Centre) in 1848.—364, 366-69

*Kohlparzer, Franz Xaver*—deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848.—110

*Korff, Hermann*—Prussian officer, democrat; in 1847 was discharged from the army on account of his political views; responsible publisher of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); subsequently emigrated to the USA.—486, 543, 554, 555, 560, 566, 576, 592

*Korn*—German democrat; took part in the revolutionary movement in Berlin (1848).—97

*Kosch, Raffael Jakob* (1803-1872)—German physician, moderate liberal; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848.—419

*Kotzebue, August Friedrich Ferdinand von* (1761-1819)—German writer and journalist, extreme monarchist.—153

*Krause*—deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Centre) in 1848.—217

*Krogh, Gerhard Christopher* (1785-1860)—Danish general, commander-in-chief of the Danish army (from July 1848 until April 1849, and in 1850) during the Schleswig-Holstein war.—434

*Kühlwetter, Friedrich Christian Hubert von* (1809-1882)—Prussian statesman; Minister of the Interior in the Auerswald-Hansemann Government (June to September 1848).—174, 181, 182, 185, 192, 193, 199, 202-07, 229, 230, 262, 275-76, 407, 581, 595

*Kusa, Alex.*—569

*Kyll, Ulrich Franz*—German lawyer, democrat; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—462

L

*Ladenberg, Adalbert von* (1798-1855)—member of the Prussian bureaucracy, Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine (1848-50).—188

*Lagerheim, Elias* (1791-1864)—Swedish diplomat, Ambassador to Denmark (1848).—270, 287

*Lamarque, Maximilien, Comte de* (1770-1832)—French general; a leader of the liberal opposition during the Restoration period and under the July monarchy.—158

*Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louis de* (1790-1869)—French poet, historian and politician; a leader of the moderate republicans in the 1840s; Minister of Foreign Affairs and virtually head of the Provisional Government (1848).—128, 131, 144, 378, 404, 481, 494

*Lamennais, Hugues Félicité Robert de* (1782-1854)—French abbot, writer, Christian socialist.—155

*Lamoricière, Christophe Léon Louis Juchault de* (1806-1865)—French general, moderate republican; participated in suppressing the June uprising of 1848; Minister of War in the Cavaignac Government (June to December 1848); deputy to the Constituent Assembly.—126, 136, 137, 161, 162, 163

*Larochejaquelein (La Rochejaquelein), Henri Auguste Georges Du Vergier, Marquis de* (1805-1867)—French politician, a leader of the legitimist party; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848).—140, 149, 155, 323

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German writer and lawyer, petty-bourgeois socialist; participated in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863); an initiator of the opportunist trend in the German Social-Democratic movement.—587

*Latour, Theodor, Count Baillet von* (1780-1848)—Austrian conservative statesman; Minister of War in 1848; killed in October 1848 during the uprising in Vienna.—499, 503

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French writer and politician, a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats; editor of *La Réforme*; Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government in 1848.—128, 298, 404, 440, 515

*Lehmann, Peter Martin Orla* (1810-1870)—Danish liberal, editor of the newspaper *Faedrelandet* (1839-42); Minister without Portfolio in 1848.—253

*Leiningen, Karl Friedrich Wilhelm, Prince von* (1804-1856)—Bavarian general, Imperial Prime Minister (August-September 1848).—377

*Lelewel, Joachim* (1786-1861)—Polish historian and revolutionary; participant in the Polish uprising of 1830-31; a leader of the democratic wing of the Polish emigrants; Committee member of the Brussels Democratic Association in 1847-48.—351, 354, 360, 361, 375

*Lensing* (b. 1783)—canon from the Rhine Province; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—207

*Leo, Heinrich* (1799-1878)—German historian and writer, extreme monarchist, ideologist of Prussian junkerdom.—361

*Leonidas*—King of Sparta (c. 488-480 B. C.); hero of the battle of Thermopylae during the Greco-Persian war.—512

*Leopold I* (1790-1865)—King of Belgium (1831-65).—333, 336, 405, 482

*Leroux, Pierre* (1797-1871)—French writer, utopian socialist; deputy to the Constituent (1848-49) and Legislative (1849) Assemblies.—150

*Leven*—German democrat.—587

*Lichnowski, Felix Maria, Prince von* (1814-1848)—Prussian officer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing); killed during the September 1848 uprising in Frankfurt.—313, 364, 368-71, 375, 376, 499, 575

*Ligne, Eugène Lamoral, Prince de* (1804-1880)—Belgian statesman, Ambassador to France from 1843 to 1848, to Italy in 1848-49.—461

*Lisiecki*—official in Posen; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—302

*Loe, Maximilian, Baron von*—Prussian landowner; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—207

*Louis XI* (1423-1483)—King of France (1461-83).—372

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—326, 347

*Louis XV* (1710-1774) — King of France (1715-74).— 326

*Louis XVI* (1754-1793) — King of France (1774-92); guillotined during the French Revolution.— 153, 425

*Louis Napoleon* — see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850) — Duke of Orléans, King of the French (1830-48).— 24, 25, 39, 144, 147, 151, 153, 187, 252, 261, 296, 279, 315, 429, 481, 494, 522, 525

*Löw, Hermann* (1807-1879) — German professor; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848-49.— 381

*Löwenstein, Lipmann Hirsch* (d. 1848) — German orientalist, democrat; President of the Workers' Association in Frankfurt in 1848, delegate to the First Democratic Congress held in Frankfurt (June 1848).— 18

*Löwinsohn, Moritz* — German democrat, a director of the Berlin People's Club, delegate to the Second Democratic Congress held in Berlin (October 1848).— 97

*Lüttichau, Christian Friedrich Tönne, Count von* — Prussian official.— 343

M

*Machiavelli, Niccolò* (1469-1527) — Italian politician, historian and writer.— 212

*Malou, Jules Edouard Xavier* (1810-1886) — Belgian statesman; Minister of Finance (1844-47).— 483

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834) — English clergyman and economist, advocated the misanthropic theory of population.— 282, 573

*Mamiani della Rovere, Terenzio, Count* (1799-1885) — Italian poet and journalist, philosopher and politician, advocate of constitutional monarchy; Minister of the Interior to Pope Pius IX (from May to August 1848).— 385

*Marat, Jean Paul* (1743-1793) — a Jacobin leader during the French Revolution.— 234

*Marie de Saint Georges, Alexandre Pierre Thomas Amable* (1795-1870) — French lawyer and politician, moderate republican; in 1848 Minister of Public Works in the Provisional Government, later Minister of Justice in the Cavaignac Government.— 168

*Märker, Friedrich August* (1804-1889) — Prussian statesman; Minister of Justice in the Auerswald-Hansemann Government (from June to September 1848); deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Centre) in 1848.— 226, 318, 431

*Marrast, Armand* (1801-1852) — French writer and politician, leading moderate republican, editor-in-chief of *Le National*; member of the Provisional Government and Mayor of Paris (1848).— 128, 144, 153, 154, 168, 515

*Marx, Jenny* (née *von Westphalen*) (1814-1881) — wife of Karl Marx.— 538

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883).— 7-12, 15, 383, 407-09, 456, 486, 487, 488, 489, 538, 541, 554-58, 561-63, 566, 568-73, 576, 595, 597, 598

*Mathy, Karl* (1807-1868) — official, journalist and politician from Baden, moderate liberal; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848.— 249, 288, 289, 448

*Mätze* — German teacher; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.— 189, 193, 219

*Maucler, Paul Friedrich Theodor Eugen, Baron von* (1783-1859) — conservative statesman from Württemberg; Minister of Justice from 1818; Chairman of the Privy Council (1831-April 1848).— 249

*Mellinet, François Aimé* (1768-1852) — Belgian general of French descent; participant in the democratic movement and in the 1830 revolution in Belgium; Honorary President of the

Democratic Association in Brussels; one of the accused at the Risquons-Tout trial.—335, 405-06, 461

*Mentés, M.*—platoon leader in the Cologne civic militia.—574

*Metternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince* (1773-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat; Foreign Minister (1809-21) and Chancellor (1821-48); a founder of the Holy Alliance.—92, 387, 396

*Meusebach, von*—Prussian official; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—58

*Mevissen, Gustav von* (1815-1899)—German banker; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848-49.—194

*Meyendorf, Pyotr Kazimirovich, Baron* (1796-1863)—Russian diplomat; envoy to Berlin (1839-50).—313

*Mieroslawski, Ludwik* (1814-1878)—prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement; took part in the insurrection of 1830-31, in the preparations for the uprising of 1846 and in the 1848-49 revolution; later, a leader of the moderate wing of Polish democratic emigrants; sympathetic to Bonapartism.—354, 375

*Miguel, Maria Evarist (Miguel Maria Evaristo de Braganza)* (1802-1866)—King of Portugal (1828-34).—165, 311

*Milde, Karl August* (1805-1861)—Silesian manufacturer, moderate liberal; in 1848 Minister of Trade in the Auerswald-Hansemann Ministry (from June to September), President of the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing).—33, 57, 59, 85, 106, 199, 219, 238, 262, 304, 313, 400, 418

*Minutoli, Julius, Baron von* (1805-1860)—Prussian official and diplomat; Chief of Police in Berlin in 1847 and 1848.—46, 47

*Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, Comte de* (1749-1791)—leading figure in the French Revolution, advocate of constitutional monarchy.—102, 237

*Mittermaier, Karl* (1787-1867)—German lawyer, moderate liberal; a leader of the Left Centre in the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848.—239

*Mohl, Robert von* (1799-1875)—German lawyer, moderate liberal; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; Imperial Minister of Justice (1848-49).—473

*Mohr, C.*—sculptor, corporal in the Cologne civic militia.—574

*Mohr, J. P.*—roofer, member of the Cologne civic militia.—574

*Moll, Joseph* (1813-1849)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, a watchmaker by trade; a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; President of the Cologne Workers' Association (from July to September 1848), member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats; killed in battle during the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849.—7, 9, 452, 454, 463, 533, 542, 558, 579, 580, 585, 586

*Moltke, Karl, Count von* (1798-1866)—Schleswig-Holstein statesman, leader of the Danish counter-revolutionary party; from September 1848 head of the Provisional Government of Schleswig-Holstein formed after the armistice between Prussia and Denmark.—412, 413, 447

*Monecke, Edmund*—German student, democrat.—176

*Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de* (1689-1755)—French philosopher and sociologist, Enlightener.—204, 206, 236, 246, 336, 430

*Moritz, Daniel Samuel*—Prussian judicial official; deputy to the Prussian Nation

al Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848.—60, 185, 276, 331, 332

*Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus* (1756-1791)—Austrian composer.—385

*Müller*—German pastor; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Centre) in 1848.—80, 81, 83

*Müller*—member of the Workers' Association in Worringen (the Rhine Province) in 1848.—587

*Müller, Friedrich* (b. 1811)—Police Superintendent in Cologne; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848.—87, 196, 409, 463

*Müller-Tellering, Eduard von* (born c. 1808)—German lawyer and journalist, democrat; *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* correspondent in Vienna in 1848 and 1849; after the revolution emigrated and made slanderous accusations against Marx and Engels.—457, 503

*Musard, Philippe* (1793-1859)—French musician and composer.—512

N

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—80, 153, 161, 228, 237, 250, 251, 290, 308, 309, 314, 520

*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—Prince, nephew of Napoleon I, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—155, 515, 522, 525

*Natzmer, von* (d. 1890)—Prussian officer, sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment in a fortress for refusal to shoot at the people during the storming of the arsenal in Berlin on June 14, 1848; escaped in 1849.—97-99

*Naunyn*—Burgomaster of Berlin in 1848.—46

*Naut, Stephan Adolph*—a co-manager of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Company.—547

*Necker, Jacques* (1732-1804)—French banker and politician; Minister of Finance on several occasions in the 1770s and 1780s, attempted to carry out reforms.—39, 282

*Nesselrode, Karl Vasilyevich, Count* (1780-1862)—Russian statesman and diplomat; Foreign Minister (1816-56), Chancellor of State from 1845 onwards.—307-12

*Nethe*—Prussian official; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Centre) in 1848.—303

*Neumann, von*—Prussian general, chief adjutant of the King of Prussia.—270

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—103, 191, 308-13, 363, 505

*Nückel*—member of the Cologne Town Council.—500

O

*O'Connell, Daniel* (1775-1847)—Irish lawyer and politician, leader of the liberal wing of the national liberation movement.—113

*O'Connor, Feargus Edward* (1794-1855)—a Chartist leader (Left wing), editor of *The Northern Star*.—113, 114, 129

*Olberg*—Prussian officer; in 1848 took part in suppressing the national liberation movement in Posen.—104

*Olzem, M.*—merchant, member of the Cologne civic militia.—574

*Orange*—stadholders of the Netherlands from 1572 to 1795 with intervals, royal dynasty after 1815.—165, 336

*Ostendorf, Gottfried Friedrich Johannes Julius* (1823-1877)—German teacher, moderate liberal; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848-49.—367

*Otto I* (1815-1867)—Bavarian prince, King of Greece (1832-62).—165

P

*Pagnerre, Laurent Antoine* (1805-1854) — French publisher, republican; deputy to the Constituent Assembly in 1848.—360

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount* (1784-1865) — British statesman, Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58 and 1859-65); at the beginning of his career a Tory, from 1830 onwards, a Whig.—480, 481

*Parrisius, Eduard Rudolf* (1818-1905) — Prussian officer of justice; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848.—57, 58, 61, 173, 221-22, 242

*Patow, Erasmus Robert, Baron von* (1804-1890) — Prussian statesman, Minister of Trade, Industry and Public Works in the Camphausen Ministry (from April to June 1848).—106, 111, 117, 118, 171, 292, 328

*Payer, Jean Baptiste* (1818-1860) — French scholar; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848).— 155

*Peel, Sir Robert, 1st Baronet* (1788-1850) — British statesman, moderate Tory; Prime Minister (1841-46); repealed the Corn Laws in 1846.—281, 298

*Pellmann, Anton*—German lawyer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848.— 87

*Pelz, Eduard* (1800-1876) — German journalist, democrat; a leader of the Workers' Association in Frankfurt (1848) and editor of the *Deutsche Volkszeitung* and *Allgemeine Arbeiter-Zeitung*.— 18

*Perrot, Benjamin Pierre* (1791-1865) — French general; took part in suppressing the June 1848 uprising in Paris.—68, 163

*Pfahl*— Prussian notary; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—184

*Pfuel, Ernst Heinrich Adolf von* (1779-1866) — Prussian general; Governor of Neuchâtel in 1832-48; commandant of Berlin in March 1848; headed the suppression of the uprising in Posen in April and May 1848; Prussian Prime Minister and Minister of War in September and October 1848.—64, 65, 104, 116, 251, 313, 347, 463, 466, 473, 476, 477, 489

*Philipps, Adolf* (1813-1877) — Prussian official; Vice-President of the Prussian National Assembly in 1848.— 216

*Piegsa*— Polish teacher; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—229

*Pillersdorf, Franz, Baron von* (1786-1862) — Austrian statesman; Prime Minister (from May to July 1848). — 120

*Pinder, Julius Hermann* (b. 1805) — Prussian official, moderate liberal; *Oberpräsident* of Silesia, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—194

*Pinto, Isaac* (1715-1787) — Dutch stockjobber and economist.— 279, 281, 419

*Pius IX* (*Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti*) (1792-1878) — Pope (1846-78).— 385

*Plato* (c. 427-c. 347 B.C.)— Greek philosopher.— 244-45, 303

*Plönnis*— Prussian official; Vice-President of the Prussian National Assembly in 1848.— 84

*Plougoulm, Pierre Ambroise* (1796-1863) — French official, lawyer; member of the Chamber of Deputies (1846-48).—187

*Pohle*— Prussian officer of justice; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Centre) in 1848.—198

*Pokrzywnicki*— Prussian official of Polish descent; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—198

*Pourtalès, Albert, Count von* (1812-1861) — Prussian diplomat.— 269

*Prince of Prussia*—see *William I*

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist, a founder of anarchism; deputy to the Constituent Assembly in 1848.—321-24

*Przyluski, Leon* (1789-1865)—Archbishop of Gnesen and Posen (1845-65).—201, 338

*Puttkamer, Eugen von* (1800-1874)—Prussian official; Chief of Police in Berlin from 1839 to 1847.—46, 47

Q

*Quetting*—police-sergeant in Cologne.—390

R

*Radetzky, Josef, Count of Radetz* (1766-1858)—Austrian field marshal; commander-in-chief of the Austrian forces in Northern Italy from 1831; headed suppression of the Italian national liberation movement in 1848 and 1849.—92, 109, 133, 136, 376, 386, 387, 395-97, 402, 473, 487

*Radowitz, Joseph Maria von* (1797-1853)—Prussian general, conservative statesman; a leader of the Right wing in the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848 and 1849.—314, 364-66, 376, 414, 426-28

*Raimund, Ferdinand* (1790-1836)—Austrian actor and dramatist.—107-08

*Raspail, François Vincent* (1794-1878)—French natural scientist, journalist and socialist; participant in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; deputy to the Constituent Assembly.—157

*Raumer, Friedrich Ludwig Georg von* (1781-1873)—German historian; in 1848 Imperial Ambassador to Paris, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre).—377

*Raveaux, Franz* (1810-1851)—German politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848-49.—17-19

*Reedtz, Holger Christian* (1800-1857)—Danish statesman, diplomat; represented the Danish Government during the armistice negotiations in the Schleswig-Holstein war (1848-50); Minister of Foreign Affairs (1850-51).—270, 446

*Rehfeld*—deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Centre, later Right wing) in 1848.—54-55

*Reichenbach, Eduard, Count von* (1812-1869)—Silesian democrat; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; member of the Central Committee of Democrats from October 1848.—82, 100, 184, 220, 276

*Reichensperger I, August* (1808-1895)—German lawyer and politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848-49.—84, 94, 122

*Reichensperger II, Peter Franz* (1818-1892)—German lawyer and politician; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848; brother of August Reichensperger.—94, 174, 196, 202, 207, 236-38, 302, 418, 436

*Reichhelm*—German democrat; member of the Cologne Committee of Public Safety in 1848.—587

*Reuter* (died c. 1860)—Prussian official; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—58, 60, 61, 196, 202

*Rhien, Ferdinand*—pharmacist, corporal in the Cologne civic militia.—574

*Ricci, Alberto* (1795-1876)—Sardinian diplomat, Ambassador to France.—480

*Richter, Karl* (1804-1869)—German clergyman, professor of theology; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—45, 201

*Riedel, Adolf Friedrich Johann* (1809-1872)—Prussian politician; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—84

*Rimpler, O.*—Prussian resigned artillery officer; commander of the Berlin civic militia from July 1848.—476

*Rittinghausen, Moritz* (1814-1890)—German journalist and politician, democrat, contributor to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, member of the Cologne Democratic Society and, later, of the German Social-Democratic Party.—562, 563

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*Allgemeine Oderzeitung*—a German newspaper published in Breslau (Wrocław) in 1846-49; in 1848 voiced democratic views.—501

*Allgemeine Zeitung*—a German conservative daily founded in 1798; from 1810 to 1882 it was published in Augsburg.—154, 305, 464

*Arbeiter-Zeitung*—see *Zeitung des Arbeiter-Vereines zu Köln*

*Die begriffene Welt. Blätter für wissenschaftliche Unterhaltung*—a monthly published by Wilhelm Jordan in Leipzig in 1845-46.—360

*Berliner Zeitungs-Halle*—a German daily published by Gustav Julius in Berlin from 1846; in 1848-49 it was a leading democratic newspaper.—7, 119, 399, 401, 436, 437, 448

*Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*—a German newspaper published in Berlin from 1740 to 1874. In 1848-49 it took a constitutional-monarchist stand.—436

*Börsen-Halle. Hamburgische Abendzeitung für Handel, Schiffahrt und Politik*—a German daily published from 1805.—270

*Breslauer Zeitung*—a German daily founded in Breslau in 1820; in the 1840s voiced liberal views.—497, 501, 575

*La Concordia*—an Italian liberal daily published in Turin in 1848-49.—271, 272

*Die Constitution. Tagblatt für constitutionelles Volksleben und Belehrung*—a democratic newspaper which appeared in Vienna from March to October 1848; its editor was L. Häfner.—572, 573

*Le Constitutionnel*—a French daily published in Paris from 1815 to 1817 and from 1819 to 1870; in the 1840s it voiced the views of the moderate wing of the Orleanists

and during the 1848 revolution became the mouthpiece for the monarchist bourgeoisie (the Thiers party).—154, 156, 187, 467, 479

*Daily News*—an English liberal newspaper, which appeared under this title in London from 1846 to 1930 as an organ of the industrial bourgeoisie.—461

*Débats*—see *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*

*Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*—a German newspaper published under this title in Leipzig from 1843 to 1879; until the summer of 1848 it voiced conservative views and later liberal ones.—213

*Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst*—a Young Hegelian literary and philosophical journal published under this title in Leipzig from July 1841 under the editorship of Arnold Ruge. In January 1843 it was closed down and prohibited throughout Germany.—380

*Deutsche Volkszeitung*—a German democratic daily published in Mannheim in April 1848 under the editorship of Julius Fröbel and Eduard Pelz.—488, 536

*Deutsche Zeitung*—a German daily published in Heidelberg under the editorship of Georg Gervinus from 1847 to September 1848; then, up to 1850, it appeared in Frankfurt am Main; it supported constitutional monarchy and unification of Germany under Prussian hegemony.—69, 115, 116, 325, 464

*Düsseldorfer Zeitung*—a German daily published under this title in Düsseldorf from 1826 to 1926.—575

*L'Emancipation*—a Belgian daily founded in Brussels in 1830.—188

*Faedrelandet*—a Danish newspaper published in Copenhagen from 1834 to 1839 weekly, and then daily; in 1848 it was the semi-official organ of the Danish Government.—253, 254, 267, 268, 269, 434, 435, 446-47

*Frankfurter Journal*—a German daily published in Frankfurt am Main from the seventeenth century up to 1903.—213

*Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung*—a German newspaper published in Frankfurt am Main from 1619 up to 1866; it was owned by Thurn und Taxis princes; during the 1848-49 revolution it was the organ of the Imperial Regent and Imperial Ministry.—307, 472, 473

*La Fraternité de 1845. Organe du communisme*—a workers' monthly of the Babouvist trend, published in Paris from January 1845 to February 1848.—298

*Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit*—a German newspaper, organ of the Cologne Workers' Association, published in Cologne from October 26, 1848, twice a week. On January 14, 1849, Gottschalk's followers made an attempt to substitute it by the *Freiheit, Arbeit*, a newspaper disavowed by the leaders of the Association; the paper resumed publication on February 8, 1849, and appeared up to the middle of 1849.—597, 598

*Gazzetta di Milano*—an Italian newspaper published from 1816 to 1875; until the late 1850s it was the official organ of the Austrian authorities in Northern Italy.—487

*Gervinus Zeitung*—see *Deutsche Zeitung*

*Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst*—a literary and philosophical journal of the Young Hegelians published in Leipzig from January 1838 to June 1841. In July 1841 it began to appear under the title *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst*. Until June 1841 the journal was edited by Arnold Ruge and Theodor Echtermeyer in Halle and from July 1841, by Arnold Ruge in Dresden.—380

*L'Indépendance belge*—a Belgian liberal daily founded in Brussels in 1831.—139, 154, 156, 335, 461, 467, 479

*Le Journal d'Anvers*—a Belgian conservative Catholic newspaper published in Antwerp from 1848 to 1878.—406

*Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*—a French daily founded in Paris in 1789; a government organ during the July monarchy; during the 1848 revolution it voiced monarchist views.—154, 168, 463, 526

*Kölnische Zeitung*—a German daily published under this title from 1802 to 1945; in the 1840s organ of the liberal bourgeoisie; in 1848-49 advocated anti-revolutionary tendencies and fought against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.—116, 134, 150, 152-55, 171, 188, 296-300, 319, 320, 324, 333-36, 395-98, 430, 436, 461, 462, 464, 479, 487, 496, 501, 584, 587, 595

*Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*—a German daily published in Berlin from 1785; in the 1840s advocated moderate liberal views; also known as the *Vossische Zeitung* after its owner Christian Friedrich Voss.—436

*Le Libéral Liégeois*—a Belgian daily of a radical trend published in Liége from 1845 to 1848.—406

*The London Telegraph*—an English daily published in London in 1848.—150-52, 153

*The Manchester Guardian*—an English daily, organ of the free traders; from the middle of the 19th century organ of the Liberal Party; founded in Manchester in 1821.—151

*Mannheimer Abendzeitung*—a German radical daily founded in 1842 by Karl Grün; ceased publication at the close of 1848.—536

*Le Messager de Gand et des Pays-Bas*—a daily published in Ghent from 1830; it was subsidised by the Dutch Orangists and the local Flemish bourgeoisie associated with them; in 1848 it came out in support of the demands advanced by the workers.—460

*Le Moniteur belge. Journal officiel*—a Belgian daily founded in Brussels in 1831, official organ of the Government.—333, 483

*Le Moniteur universel*—a French daily, official organ of the Government, published in Paris from 1789.—153-56, 216, 472

*Morgenbladet*—a Norwegian newspaper founded in Christiania (Oslo) in 1819; in the 1830s and 1840s was an organ of what was known as the "people's party".—422

*The Morning Chronicle*—an English daily published in London from 1769 to 1865; in the 1840s became the organ of the Whigs.—191

*La Nation, organe quotidien démocrate socialiste*—a Belgian democratic newspaper published in Brussels from 1848 to 1856.—459, 460

*Le National*—a French daily published in Paris from 1830 to 1851; in the 1840s, organ of the moderate republicans.—144, 154, 155, 168, 480, 481

*Neue Berliner Zeitung*—a German conservative and monarchist daily published in Berlin from June to October 1848.—113, 114

*Neue Kölnische Zeitung für Bürger, Bauern und Soldaten*—a German revolutionary-democratic newspaper published in Cologne in 1848-49 by Friedrich Anneke and Friedrich Beust.—455

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a German daily published in Cologne under the editorship of Marx from June 1, 1848, to May 19, 1849 (with an interval between September 27 and October 12, 1848); organ of the revolutionary proletarian wing among the democrats during the revolution of 1848-49 in Germany.—11, 12, 15, 19, 23, 26, 29, 33, 35, 38, 40, 41, 44, 45, 47, 52, 56, 61, 63, 65, 67, 71, 72, 86, 88, 90, 93, 95, 99, 105, 106, 108, 110, 112, 114, 116, 118, 119, 120-23, 127-29, 133, 138, 143, 149, 156, 158, 164, 167-69, 172, 175, 176, 179, 185, 186, 187, 188, 193, 194, 198-99, 207, 208, 211, 212, 215, 222, 225, 231, 235, 238, 242, 247, 249, 252, 255, 265, 269, 270, 271, 272, 277, 286, 287, 289, 300, 304-06, 313, 314, 318, 320, 324, 326, 332, 336, 371, 376, 379, 381-84, 387, 389, 391-94, 398, 401, 403, 406, 407, 409, 410, 415, 416, 419, 420, 425, 426, 433, 435, 438, 440, 445, 447, 450, 451-53, 458, 459, 460, 465, 466, 471, 473, 475, 477-79, 481, 482, 484-89, 492, 495-97, 499, 500, 502, 506, 539-53, 554-56, 559-61, 565-68, 570, 572, 574-75, 578, 585, 587 589-92, 594, 595

*New-York Daily Tribune*—an American paper founded by Horace Greeley and published from 1841 to 1924. Until the mid-1850s, it was an organ of the Left wing of the American Whigs, later—organ of the Republican Party. In the 1840s and 1850s it took a progressive stand against the slave-owning system; Marx and Engels began to contribute to the paper in August 1851.—587

*The Northern Star*—an English weekly, central organ of the Chartists; published from 1837 to 1852, first in Leeds, then in London. Its founder and editor was Feargus O'Connor, George Harney being one of its co-editors. Engels contributed to the paper from 1843 to 1850.—129, 151, 298, 478

*L'Observateur belge*—a Belgian liberal daily published in Brussels from 1835 to 1860.—187, 336, 467

*Le Peuple constituant*—a French republican daily published in Paris from February to July 1848; its editor was Hugues Lamennais.—155

*Le Politique*—a Belgian daily published in Brussels in 1847 and 1848, organ of the constitutionalists.—187

*Le Populaire de 1841*—a French newspaper published in Paris from 1841 to 1852; it propagated peaceful utopian communism; up to 1849 it was edited by Etienne Cabet.—298

*La Presse*—a French daily published in Paris from 1836; in the 1840s, mouthpiece for the opposition to the July monarchy; organ of moderate republicans in 1848-49, later a Bonapartist paper.—187

*Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*—a paper founded in Berlin in 1819; from 1819 to April 1848 it was a semi-official organ of the Prussian Government.—30, 216, 316, 497

*Der Radikale. Deutsche Zeitung für In- und Ausland*—an Austrian democratic paper published in Vienna in 1848.—570

*La Réforme*—a French daily, organ of the republican democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists, published in Paris from 1843 to 1850. Several of Engels' articles were published in this paper between October 1847 and January 1848.—144, 298, 478, 493-95

*Le Représentant du Peuple. Journal quotidien des travailleurs*—a French newspaper published in Paris between April and August 1848 under the editorship of Proudhon.—322

*Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*—a German daily founded on January 1, 1842, as an organ of the Rhenish bourgeois opposition, and published in Cologne till March 31, 1843. When edited by Marx (from October 15, 1842, to March 17, 1843), the paper became a mouthpiece of revolutionary-democratic ideas which led to its suppression. Engels was one of its contributors.—208, 497

*La Ruche populaire*—a French workers' monthly published in Paris from 1839 to 1849; it was associated with utopian socialists.—298

*Schlesische Zeitung*—a German daily published in Breslau (Wrocław) from 1742; organ of the constitutional monarchists on the eve and during the revolution of 1848-49.—501

*Schleswig-Holsteinische Zeitung* (Altona).—34

*Seeblätter*—a German paper published in Constance from 1837 to 1849; it voiced moderately liberal ideas until 1848, when it assumed a democratic trend.—536

*Severnaya pchela* (*Northern Bee*)—a Russian political and literary newspaper, semi-official organ of the Tsarist Government, published in St. Petersburg from 1825 to 1864.—191

*Le Siècle*—a French daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939. In the 1840s it was an oppositional organ which demanded electoral and other reforms.—187

*Le Spectateur républicain*—a French journal published in Paris from July to September 1848.—402

*Spenersche Zeitung*—see *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*

*Staats-Anzeiger*—see *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*

*Staats-Zeitung*—see *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*

*The Times*—an English conservative daily founded in London in 1785.—151, 216, 460, 461

*L'Union. Bulletin des ouvriers rédigé et publié par eux-mêmes*—a French monthly published in Paris from December 1843 to September 1846 by a group of workers influenced by Saint-Simon's ideas.—298

*Der Volksfreund. Zeitschrift für Aufklärung und Erheiterung des Volkes*—an Austrian democratic newspaper published in Vienna.—572

*Vossische Zeitung*—see *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*

*Der Wächter am Rhein*—a German democratic newspaper published in Cologne in 1848 and 1849 under the editorship of Kramer.—455, 563

*Wiener Zeitung*—an official daily published in Vienna from 1780 to 1931.—569, 571

*Zeitung des Arbeiter-Vereines zu Köln*—a German newspaper, organ of the Cologne Workers' Association, published from April to October 1848; edited by Andreas Gottschalk (till July 1848) and by Joseph Moll (from July to September).—325, 455, 596

*Zeitungs-Halle*—see *Berliner Zeitungs-Halle*

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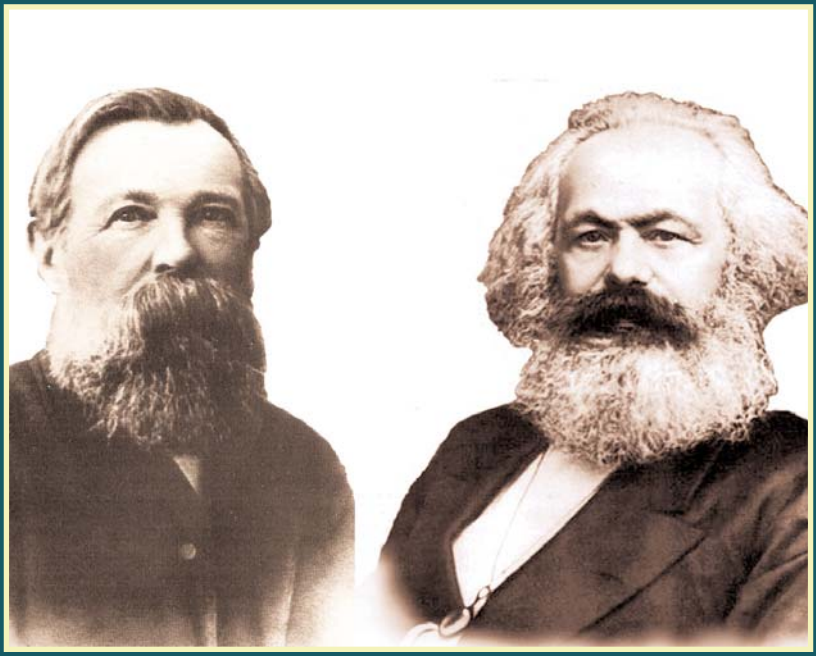

## VOLUME 8

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# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 8

## Marx and Engels 1848-49

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# Preface

Volume Eight of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains their writings from November 8, 1848,to March 5, 1849. This is the second of three volumes (Vols. 7-9) covering the period of revolutions in 1848 and 1849.

The bulk of the volume consists of articles written by Marx and Engels for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, organ of the revolutionary-proletarian wing of German and European democracy. These articles, like the rest of the contents of this volume—the letters written by Engels on behalf of the workers' organisations of Switzerland, the accounts (published in the Appendices) of Marx's and Engels' speeches at the meetings of workers and democrats in Cologne, and so on—demonstrate the part which Marx and Engels played in the revolutionary events of those days. Edited by Marx and Engels, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was a fearlessly revolutionary journal. It consistently exposed the manoeuvres of the monarchist-aristocratic circles and of the liberal bourgeoisie whose connivance they enjoyed; it was the genuine organiser of the people's struggle. Through this newspaper, Marx and Engels directed the activity of Communist League members in various parts of Germany, influenced the German working-class and democratic movement as a whole, and promoted the unity and mobilisation of all the country's revolutionary forces.

These articles by Marx and Engels show the continuous, dialectical change in class forces during the revolution, the real meaning of the events taking place in Germany and other countries and the social background to the acute political conflicts. The conclusions they then drew have made a major contribution to the

Marxist teaching on the class struggle, explaining in detail working-class strategy and tactics at each new stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

In the period covered by this volume the counter-revolutionary forces were fighting hard against the people's gains in the first months of the 1848 revolution. The defeat of the Paris proletariat in June was the signal for a general counter-attack by monarchist-aristocratic and Right-wing bourgeois circles whose aim was the complete or partial restoration of the old order.

The bourgeois-democratic revolutions in France and Germany were, indeed, largely in a stage of decline—yet the masses everywhere continued the struggle to defend their achievements. Police persecution notwithstanding, the democratic and proletarian organisations did not abandon their activity.

In these conditions, Marx and Engels concentrated their efforts on explaining the real situation to the broad masses, the real threat of defeat for the revolution, and on mobilising resistance against the counter-revolution. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* editors did everything in their power to unite the workers and revolutionary democrats, urging them to make use of parliamentary as well as other methods to bring about a turn of the tide in favour of the revolution.

Marx and Engels realised that if the revolutionary struggle was to succeed, it must not be confined within a national framework but become international; the international solidarity of the democratic and proletarian movement in all the major European countries should be counterposed to the bloc that was being formed by the internal and external counter-revolutionary forces. They saw in every revolutionary centre in any part of Europe an integral element of the general European revolutionary movement. They devoted particular attention to Italy and Hungary, where, despite the general downward trend of the European revolution, an upsurge of popular revolutionary energy was evident—a fact justifying their hopes that the reactionaries' attempts at restoration would yet be finally frustrated and the revolution be renewed with greater depth and scope.

The volume begins with Marx's article "The Crisis in Berlin". This, together with his series of articles "Counter-Revolution in Berlin", came as the immediate response to the counter-revolutionary coup d'état which had taken place in Prussia. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had already in September 1848 warned that a coup d'état was imminent, and had pointed out that unless the

Prussian National Assembly took steps to rally the support of the masses, it would first be turned out of Berlin and then dissolved (see present edition, Vol. 7, p. 429). The prognosis proved correct. Early in November 1848, Frederick William IV charged the reactionary General Brandenburg with forming a government, and the provincial city of Brandenburg was declared to be the new seat of the Assembly. Marx saw this coup as a direct result of the suppression of the uprisings of the Paris proletariat in June and of the masses in Vienna in late October and November 1848.

At the moment of political crisis Marx proposed what should be done. His tactical platform of struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces envisaged not only active defence but also a counter-offensive to carry forward and consolidate the revolution. As an immediate reply to the coup d'état, he put forward on November 12, 1848, the slogan of refusal to pay taxes (see this volume, p. 21). This move would not only weaken the counter-revolution by undermining its financial resources, but—most important of all—would draw the masses of the people into action. At the same time, he adapted his tactical proposals to the actually developing conditions of the struggle. Thus the appeal of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats of November 14, 1848, which was written by Marx, advised, for the time being, against any violent resistance to the collection of unpaid taxes under a writ of execution. While the Prussian National Assembly had as yet not decided to call on the masses to refuse to pay taxes and this slogan was not supported in the other provinces, such resistance could only have developed into premature and sporadic acts of rebellion. The situation changed when, under the influence of numerous local appeals, the National Assembly adopted on November 15 a decision on the refusal to pay taxes which was to come into force on November 17. Non-payment of taxes had now acquired nation-wide significance and the authority of the National Assembly. Marx immediately called on the masses and the workers' and democratic organisations to resist the collection of taxes by all means, including violence. On November 17 he wrote in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*: "It is high treason to pay taxes. Refusal to pay taxes is the primary duty of the citizen!" (see this volume, p. 36). From November 19 to December 17 the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* carried in large type on its front page the slogan "No More Taxes!!!"

The Rhenish District Committee of Democrats' appeal of November 18, written by Marx, called for the organisation of a people's militia everywhere, the re-election of municipal councils that had refused to obey the decision of the National Assembly, the

setting up of committees of public safety. Marx saw such committees as embryos of provisional revolutionary organs of power to replace Prussian officialdom. And he was himself a member of the People's Committee in Cologne, which played a considerable role in organising the campaign against tax payments in the Rhine Province. The Second District Congress of Democratic Associations of the province, held on November 23 with Marx as one of the delegates, approved Marx's programme of action (see this volume, p. 46).

Meanwhile, the liberal-democratic majority in the Prussian National Assembly confined itself to passive resistance. Many local democrats also remained irresolute. And Marx warned that their tactics of passive resistance were dooming the movement to failure. Such tactics, he wrote, "resemble the vain struggle of a calf against its slaughterer" (see this volume, p. 38). Profiting by their opponents' weakness, the Prussian counter-revolutionaries carried the coup d'état to its conclusion: on December 5, 1848, the Prussian National Assembly was dissolved.

Marx analysed the causes of the counter-revolutionary victory in Prussia in a series of articles, "The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-Revolution", in his articles "Montesquieu LVI", "The Berlin *National-Zeitung* to the Primary Electors" and "Camphausen", and in his speech at the trial of members of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats on February 8, 1849. The first of these works was particularly important. It contained a general account of the German revolution and in what respects it differed from the previous battles waged against feudalism by the European bourgeoisie. Contrasting the events of 1848 in Germany with the English revolution of the seventeenth century and the French revolution of the eighteenth, Marx concluded that there were different types of bourgeois revolutions and that the differences between them were determined primarily by historical conditions—the specific features of the different stages in the emergence of bourgeois society, the degree of development of the class contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the oppressed classes, the proletariat above all.

The revolution in Germany, Marx pointed out, was, like the preceding revolutions in England and France, the result of an acute contradiction between the dominance of the feudal ruling class, whose bulwark was the monarchy, and the bourgeois relations which were taking shape. However, as distinct from the English bourgeoisie of the seventeenth century and the French bourgeoisie of the eighteenth, when the proletariat and the other exploited sections of the urban population "did not yet constitute independent classes or

class sub-divisions", the Prussian bourgeoisie was already being challenged by an emerging working class which was beginning to fight for its own interests. And it could see in the example of France what a menacing turn the class struggle of the proletariat could take. That is why "from the first it was inclined to betray the people and to compromise with the crowned representative of the old society.... It stood at the helm of the revolution not because it had the people behind it but because the people drove it before them; it stood at the head not because it represented the initiative of a new social era but only because it represented the rancour of an old one" (see this volume, pp. 161, 162-63).

Whereas in England and France the bourgeois revolutions had led to a radical change in the political system corresponding to the requirements of the capitalist mode of production, the March revolution of 1848 in Prussia left intact "the old bureaucracy, the old army, the old boards of prosecuting magistrates" (see this volume, p. 317). The Prussian bourgeoisie decided to make its way to power, not with the help of revolution but by a deal with the aristocracy and the monarchy. Hence the "theory of agreement with the Crown" which was put forward by the Prussian liberal constitutionalists and which covered up, as Marx and Engels repeatedly stressed, the bourgeoisie's betrayal of the revolutionary cause. The opposition to the revolution by considerable sections of the Prussian, mainly big, bourgeoisie and their fear of the masses thus dictated their efforts to remain on "a legal basis", their renunciation of resolute struggle against the forces of feudal-monarchist reaction. Fearing for their own property, they nipped in the bud every encroachment on feudal property and thereby alienated the peasantry, their natural ally in the struggle against feudalism. This cowardly and essentially treacherous stand of the bourgeoisie doomed the bourgeois-democratic revolution to defeat in conditions when the working class was not yet itself ready to lead a revolutionary-democratic movement of the whole nation and had not yet achieved sufficient class consciousness and organisation.

The coup d'état in Prussia, Marx stressed, was the logical result of the policy of the Prussian so-called liberal governments which succeeded one another after March 1848 and surrendered position after position to the counter-revolutionary monarchists and aristocrats. And so, during the November crisis in Prussia, far from energetically supporting the Prussian National Assembly in its conflict with the Crown, the liberal majority of the Frankfurt National Assembly declared the Berlin decision on the refusal to pay taxes to be illegal and thus actually helped the Brandenburg

Government to implement its counter-revolutionary designs. In his article "The Frankfurt Assembly" Marx branded this as an act of treachery. Subsequently, too, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* continually exposed the Frankfurt Assembly's connivance at counter-revolution (see the article "Report of the Frankfurt Committee on Austrian Affairs" and others).

In 1848-49 Marx and Engels became finally convinced that the bourgeoisie was step by step losing its effectiveness as an advanced opponent of feudalism. The counter-revolutionary degeneration of the European bourgeoisie—even though in certain sectors of the struggle and in certain countries (Hungary, Italy) it was still acting in a revolutionary way—made it necessary drastically to reassess the disposition of class forces in the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the conditions for its victory. Since the bourgeoisie was losing the ability to carry through bourgeois-democratic reforms by means of revolution, it fell to the working class to head the people's struggle for total liquidation of the remnants of feudalism. Thus changes in the position of the various classes by the middle of the nineteenth century led Marx and Engels to the idea of the hegemony of the working class in the bourgeois-democratic revolution—an idea which was elaborated by Lenin in the new historic conditions of the twentieth century. During the 1848-49 revolution, Marx and Engels were already directing their efforts to preparing the working class for this role by accelerating the growth of its class consciousness and the creation of a revolutionary working-class party.

At the trial of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats, Marx told the bourgeois jury that the bourgeoisie was in duty bound to fight to abolish feudal relations and absolutism. And yet, he said, by their appeals to preserve "a legal basis" the Prussian liberals were merely seeking to perpetuate the old laws and to impose them on the new social system which had arisen during the revolution. Society, he continued, was not founded on the law but, on the contrary, "the law must be founded upon society, it must express the common interests and needs of society... which arise from the material mode of production prevailing at the given time" (see this volume, p. 327). The preservation of old laws in despite of new needs of social development, the striving to impose on society an obsolete political system already doomed by the new conditions, led to social crises only to be resolved by revolution. He accused Prussia's ruling circles of conspiring against the people, against the law and order established as a result of the popular revolution in March 1848. He emphasised that, having in effect violated all legality, the Crown had no right to accuse the revolutionary movement's leaders of illegal

activity. Refusal to pay taxes was a natural and legitimate means of self-defence for the people. "If the Crown makes a counter-revolution, the people has the right to reply with a revolution" (see this volume, p. 339).

Analysing the events in Prussia and Germany, Marx concluded that there was no middle way between the complete victory of the feudal absolutist forces, with the abolition of freedom of assembly, association and the press, and a new upsurge of the revolution, as a result of which the proletariat, the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie would establish a democratic republic and proceed to carry out social measures to prepare the ground for transition to the proletarian revolution. Marx pointed out that "a purely *bourgeois revolution* and the establishment of *bourgeois rule* in the form of a *constitutional monarchy* is impossible in Germany, and that only a feudal absolutist counter-revolution or a *social republican revolution* is possible" (see this volume, p. 178).

Marx and Engels saw the German revolution as part of the European revolution, the course and prospects of which they followed closely in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. It was to these problems that Marx devoted his articles "The Revolutionary Movement in Italy" and "The Revolutionary Movement", in which he noted that the triumphant progress of the European revolution in February and March 1848 had been followed by a reactionary counter-offensive. The prevention of the workers' demonstration of April 10 in London had weakened the revolutionary impetus of Chartism, and the June defeat of the French proletariat was a heavy blow for the European revolutionary movement as a whole. On August 6, Milan was retaken by Austrian troops; on November 1, revolutionary Vienna fell. This was followed by the counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Berlin.

Soberly assessing the consequences of the defeat of the revolution, Marx emphasised the importance of these lessons for the masses who at the beginning of the revolution had been prey to illusions, fine phrases about universal brotherhood and so on. "The chief result of the revolutionary movement of 1848 is not what the peoples won, but what they lost—the *loss of their illusions*" (see this volume, p. 197).

As regards the prospects of the revolution in Europe in 1849, Marx placed his hopes on the imminence of a new victorious rising of the French proletariat which would provide the impulse for a revolutionary upsurge in other countries of Europe, including Germany.

Marx saw in bourgeois-aristocratic England, with its enormous industrial and commercial might, a serious threat to the French

proletariat and the cause of the revolution. He compared the England of that time to "the rock against which the revolutionary waves break.... A revolution of the economic relations in any country of the European continent," he stressed, "in the whole European continent without England, is a storm in a teacup" (see this volume, p. 214). That is why, taking account of the actual situation, Marx predicted that a victorious move by the French proletariat would call forth a military clash on a European and even on a world-wide scale—inasmuch as the involvement of England, as a colonial power, was inevitable. But in the course of this armed struggle between the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary forces, the preconditions could again mature for a Chartist rising in England itself. "England will head the counter-revolutionary armies, just as it did during the Napoleonic period, but through the war itself it will be thrown to the head of the revolutionary movement and it will repay the debt it owes in regard to the revolution of the eighteenth century" (see this volume, p. 215).

This volume contains a large group of articles and reports written by Engels during his forced stay in Switzerland from November 1848 to the middle of January 1849. While living in that country of "classical" bourgeois federalism, Engels used every opportunity to disabuse of their illusions the South-German petty-bourgeois democrats who rejected the slogan of a centralised German democratic republic and saw the Swiss state system as a model for Germany. Engels' reports on the sittings of the Federal Assembly and its chambers show up the provincial limitations of political life in Switzerland, the narrow-mindedness, pettiness and prejudices of most of the politicians there. At the same time, Engels did not overlook progressive aspects of the struggle against aristocratic reaction and clericalism, the eradication of patriarchalism, the implementation of certain centralising reforms. His article "The German Central Authority and Switzerland" and his reports on the Swiss conflict with Austria and the so-called Imperial Government formed by the Frankfurt National Assembly defended the right of the Swiss to repulse the attempts of the reactionaries to interfere in their internal affairs, in particular the demands for the extradition or expulsion of revolutionary refugees.

Engels followed closely the development of the working-class movement in the Swiss Republic. In his reports "The Ex-Principality", "The New Institutions.—Progress in Switzerland", "Elections.—Sydow" and others, he emphasised that "the actual

revolutionary forces of the people are among the Swiss and German workers" (see this volume, p. 59). He himself took part in the First Congress of the German Workers' Associations of Switzerland held from December 9 to 11, and was able to ensure that many of its decisions stressed the need for drawing the workers into the political struggle, and not merely into the struggle for limited economic demands. This point of view was constantly defended by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* against some of the leaders in the German working-class movement who were inclined, like Stephan Born, to see the tasks of the proletarian struggle only in terms of economic reforms. Elected by the Congress to the Central Commission of the newly created Union of German Workers' Associations in Switzerland, Engels worked hard to promote international links between the Swiss workers and the proletarian and democratic organisations of Germany (see "Address of the Central Commission of the Workers' Associations of Switzerland to the Executive of the March Association in Frankfurt am Main" and the "Letter of the Central Commission of the Workers' Associations in Switzerland to the Association in Vivis").

In the middle of January 1849, when he was no longer in danger of arrest if he appeared in Germany, Engels, who was eager to engage in active revolutionary work in his own country, returned to Cologne and continued, in association with Marx, to work with great energy on the editorial board of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. This was when the newspaper published a number of his articles on the Hungarian revolution, on the national contradictions and conflicts in the Slav regions of the Austrian Empire, and on the national question as one of the most important problems of the revolution in Europe.

The struggle of oppressed nations for freedom and independence had Marx's and Engels' firm support. In a number of articles, they stressed the high importance for European democracy of the Polish people's national liberation movement. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* wrote with keen sympathy about the Italians' struggle for liberation from Austrian oppression and for national unification. A new wave of revolutionary events in a number of Italian states (the Papal states, Tuscany, Sicily etc.), the fall of the counter-revolutionary and moderate liberal governments there under pressure from the masses, and the prevailing republican influence were all welcomed as portents of possible change in general European revolutionary development in the interests of the working class and democracy. "After six months of almost uninterrupted defeats for democracy, after a series of unprecedented triumphs for the

counter-revolution, there are at last indications of an approaching victory of the revolutionary party," wrote Marx about the turn of events in Italy at the end of November 1848 (see this volume, p. 101). The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* greeted the proclamation of a republic in Rome on February 7, 1849, as an important revolutionary act (see this volume, p. 414).

In Hungary, too, the liberation struggle was entering upon a new phase which Marx and Engels believed could help rekindle the flame of general European revolution. Led by Kossuth's revolutionary Government, the Hungarian people were heroically repulsing the Austrian counter-revolutionaries, who, after the suppression of the Vienna uprising, had hurled heavy armed forces against them. Taking advantage of the contradictions between the Hungarian landowner and bourgeois top crust and the national minorities, the Austrian ruling classes dragged into the war against revolutionary Hungary national formations recruited in the Slav lands of the Austrian Empire and Transylvania—Serbs, Croats, Rumanians and others. They were able to direct the national movements of these peoples against the Hungarian revolution largely also because Kossuth's Government had long refused to grant these peoples autonomy and satisfy other national demands.

Marx and Engels stressed that the Hungarian people's national liberation war against the Habsburg monarchy was a genuinely revolutionary war, part of the revolutionary-democratic struggle of the people of Europe. They saw the fighters for the independence of Hungary, and also of Poland, as allies of the European proletariat and revolutionary democracy, part of the forces undermining such bulwarks of international counter-revolution as the Austrian Empire, the Prussian monarchy and Tsarist Russia. By shaking the might of the Habsburg Empire, the Hungarian revolution, wrote Marx and Engels, was having a big influence on the course of the European revolution.

As early as November 1848, Marx was devoting close attention to the revolutionary events in Hungary and asked Engels, who was then in Switzerland, to write an article about them. In January 1849, this article appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* under the title "The Magyar Struggle". It was followed by a series of articles and reports in which the course of military operations in Hungary was analysed.

These articles refuted the reports of the "brilliant successes" of the Austrian army and the hopeless predicament of the Hungarians, spread by the official Austrian news bulletins and seized on by a number of German newspapers, liberal ones included. Engels noted that the German press as a whole adopted an attitude of open

hostility and nationalist arrogance towards the Hungarians' struggle. Sifting and comparing the forced admissions contained in Austrian bulletins and local newspapers, he pieced together the true picture of the successful defensive battles being fought by the Hungarian army, which in fact possessed resources sufficient not only for defence but also for a counterblow. Subsequent events confirmed the accuracy of Engels' military forecasts (see the articles "European War Inevitable", "From the Theatre of War" and others). He pointed out that on the Hungarian side it was a genuinely revolutionary and popular war, and showed itself to be such in the very methods of warfare being used—mobilisation of all the forces of the people to repulse the invading enemy and the combination of regular army operations with widespread guerilla warfare. Despite the Austrian advantage in numbers and arms, the Hungarian army was superior in its fighting qualities, its revolutionary enthusiasm, its high morale, and in the support of the people and the unity of the rear and the front. The rear of the Austrian army of occupation was, as Engels constantly noted in his articles, extremely unreliable and the rebel movement occasionally flared up behind the lines. He gave a high appraisal of the political and military leaders of the Hungarian revolution, including the Polish revolutionaries who had joined Hungary's liberation struggle, and of the Hungarian Government's energy and resolution and its anti-feudal reforms. He spoke of Lajos Kossuth as a revolutionary leader "who for his nation is Danton and Carnot in one person" (see this volume, p. 227).

Engels saw danger, not only for the Hungarian but also for the European revolution, in the Austrian reactionaries' appeal for military aid from Tsarist Russia. The appearance of the first Tsarist detachments in Transylvania was interpreted by him, on the one hand, as testifying to the weakness of the Habsburg monarchy, which had proved incapable of suppressing the Hungarian revolutionary movement with its own forces, and, on the other hand, as the danger signal of an impending union of the counter-revolutionary states, a rebirth of the policy of the Holy Alliance, a policy of brutally imposing monarchist counter-revolutionary governments on the nations.

The use by the counter-revolutionary forces of a number of Slav peoples against Hungary, and also what was known as Austro-Slavism, a programme for uniting the Slavs under the aegis of the Habsburgs, provoked Engels to a violent attack on pan-Slavism. The denunciation of pan-Slavism was, for him, an integral part of the struggle against the bourgeois-landowner nationalist ideology. This campaign was vigorously fought by the editors of the *Neue Rheinische*

*Zeitung*, who also condemned other forms of nationalism—pan-Germanism, pan-Scandinavianism and the like.

In their entire approach to the national question, Marx and Engels invariably asked which class forces were playing the leading role in the national movements, to what extent they were helping to weaken the reactionary states, and whether they were reserves of the revolution or were, on the contrary, playing into the hands of counter-revolution. The class criterion was for them decisive in assessing any national movement. For in the course of the revolution, the entire character of a national movement may change depending on the preponderance of the various classes in it. In 1848-49, when the struggle against absolutism and the remnants of feudalism was complicated by violent national conflicts, the ruling classes deliberately sought to fan the flames of national hatred still higher, by deceit or violence to involve individual nations in predatory and counter-revolutionary wars, and to incite them against those peoples who were fighting for the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and for truly national liberation. It was in this sense that Engels spoke in 1848-49 of revolutionary and counter-revolutionary peoples (see his article "The Magyar Struggle", "Democratic Pan-Slavism" and others).

In those years, owing to a number of historical causes, the development of the national movement of some of the Austrian Slav peoples was complicated and rife with contradictions. When the representatives of revolutionary-democratic trends had been defeated or pushed into the background, the leadership of these movements fell into the hands of monarchistic bourgeois and landowner elements who in effect subordinated them to the interests of the Habsburg monarchy and Russian Tsarism. Just before the 1848 revolution, Marx and Engels had sympathised with the independence struggle of the Slav peoples in the Austrian Empire (see Engels' article "The Beginning of the End in Austria", Vol. 6 of the present edition); and in June 1848 they expressed complete solidarity with the popular uprising in Prague (see Vol. 7 of the present edition, pp. 92 and 119). But after the defeat of the uprising, as the character of the national movements of a number of Slav peoples changed and reactionary Austro-Slavism showed its hand, they condemned these movements, describing them as counter-revolutionary and hostile to the cause of democracy and the working class.

Nor did Engels forget that the Austrian Slavs themselves were in many respects victims of the cunning and provocative policy of the Austrian reactionaries, who were only too free with their demagogi-

cal promises of autonomy. The Slav peoples, he wrote, would have to pay dearly for this deception: when they had finished with the Hungarians, the Habsburgs would trample on the illusions of a "Slav Austria", of a "federative state of nations with equal rights", and in particular of "democratic institutions" for the Austrian Slavs. These peoples "will have to suffer the same military despotism which they helped to impose on the Viennese and Magyars" (see this volume, pp. 375 and 376). In "War.—Discord between the Government and the Southern Slavs", "The War in Hungary", "Croats and Slovaks in Hungary" and other articles, Engels cited numerous facts showing how the Slav peoples had become painfully aware that they had been deceived and were being used for purposes contrary to their real interests. He noted with satisfaction the emerging sympathy for revolutionary Hungary among some of the Austrian Slavs, for instance in Slovakia (see this volume, pp. 442 and 469).

However, it must be evident to us today that the articles "The Magyar Struggle" and "Democratic Pan-Slavism" contain some erroneous judgments on the past and future of the small Slav peoples incorporated into Austria. Contrary to the picture of the predatory, oppressive policy of the German states in the east of Europe which Engels gave in his series of articles "The Frankfurt Assembly Debates the Polish Question" (see Vol. 7 of the present edition) and other works, in these articles he represented the subjugation of some of the Slav peoples as having been connected exclusively with the spread of civilisation and culture. History has not confirmed Engels' opinion that the small Slav peoples of Central Europe were doomed to be absorbed and assimilated by their larger and more highly civilised neighbours. The tendency towards political centralisation which resulted from the development of capitalism and caused the small peoples to lose their national independence, concealed from Engels another tendency which was not sufficiently manifest at the time, namely, the sharpening of the oppressed peoples' struggle for independence, for setting up their own states.

In these pronouncements, Engels was probably influenced by the gravity of the political situation at the time, and this accounted for the sharp polemical tone of his articles, all the heat of which was directed against the counter-revolutionary forces then going over to the offensive. A certain part was played in this by the idea which Marx and Engels entertained at that time of the nearness of a simultaneous victory of the proletarian revolution in the developed countries, a revolution which would have put an end to both social and national oppression and for which more favourable conditions would have been provided by capitalism drawing into its orbit the

backward peoples still in the stage of feudalism. As for the tendencies towards decentralisation, including those which took the form of national demands, Marx and Engels regarded them often enough as a factor slowing down the development of the favourable conditions.

This point of view was not final. Later on, substantial corrections were made which took into account the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples in Europe and in the colonial countries against national enslavement, a struggle which was developing with ever growing vigour. Thus already at the period when the Crimean war of 1853-56 was looming ahead, Engels supported the demand of national independence for the small Slav and other peoples in the Balkan Peninsula who were oppressed by the reactionary Turkish Empire.

Yet Engels' opinion in 1848-49 that the small Slav peoples of the Austrian Empire would hardly play a progressive role in the future was not expressed without reservations. "If at any epoch while they were oppressed the Slavs had begun a *new revolutionary history*, that by itself would have proved their viability," he wrote (see this volume, p. 371). Subsequent developments have shown that the Slav peoples who were oppressed and enslaved under the Austrian Empire proved entirely viable in the national sense, succeeded in creating their own statehood, and later, as a result of the victorious socialist revolution, set about establishing a highly advanced social system, greatly contributing to human progress.

Much of the material in this volume reflects the struggle waged by Marx and Engels to rally the revolutionary-democratic forces in Germany after the counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Prussia, as well as their efforts to develop the class consciousness of the German proletariat and to prepare the ground for the creation of a mass independent proletarian party. An important place in this struggle was occupied by the defence of the German people's democratic rights and liberties against the reactionaries, in particular against their encroachments on the revolutionary press, one of their main targets being the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The article "Three State Trials against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*", the speeches for the defence by Marx and Engels at the trial of the newspaper's editors on February 7, 1849, and other writings, administered a body blow against the initiators of these reactionary moves. They bore witness to the effectiveness of the revolutionary press in forming progressive public opinion, exposing the arbitrariness of counter-revolutionary

power and organising the struggle against a reactionary political system (see this volume, pp. 316-17).

In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx and Engels defended members of the democratic movement in general who were victims of police persecution. The articles "The Prussian Counter-Revolution and the Prussian Judiciary", "The Tax-Refusal Trial", "Lassalle" and others informed the public of the lawlessness of the Prussian police authorities and showed up the whole Prussian police and judicial system.

During preparations for the elections for the Second Chamber of the Prussian Diet, which replaced the dissolved National Assembly, Marx and Engels worked to unite all the democratic forces without, however, glossing over the disagreements existing in the democratic camp. They punctured the parliamentary illusions associated with the Constitution imposed by the King, which not only the liberals but also certain democrats represented as a guarantee that democratic reforms would be carried out by peaceful and constitutional means.

In his articles "The Berlin *National-Zeitung* to the Primary Electors" and "The *Kölnische Zeitung* on the Elections", Marx exposed the vain belief that this Constitution would be a means of solving the social question, and also the attempts of the liberals to comfort themselves and the people with hopes of its revision in a progressive spirit. He foretold that it would indeed be revised, but only "insofar as it suits the King and the Second Chamber consisting of country squires, financial magnates, high-ranking officials and clerics" (see this volume, p. 257).

In opposition to the liberals and some of the democrats, Marx considered broad popular participation in the elections not as a means of directly achieving political and social aims by constitutional methods, but primarily as a means of politically activating the masses and preparing them for future revolutionary battles. The successes of the democrats at the electoral meetings and in the Chamber itself, he thought, would provide them with additional opportunities to influence the masses in this direction and resist the reactionaries. But he never ceased to emphasise that the pressing political and social problems could be solved only by a new revolution carried out by the working class, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry. "Are not precisely these classes the most radical, the most democratic, of society as a whole?" Marx wrote. "Is it not precisely the proletariat that is the specifically *red* class?" (see this volume, p. 289).

Marx and Engels also defended their tactical line in the revolutionary struggle in heated arguments with sectarians in the working-class movement. In particular, the adherents of Gottschalk

in the Cologne Workers' Association were arguing against taking any part in the parliamentary elections, and trying to convince the workers that it would make no difference to them whether Germany was a monarchy or a republic. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* pointed out that this could lead only to the isolation of the proletariat from the other democratic forces, and that the democratic republic was the form of state which corresponded most closely to the interests of the working class and its allies and was best adapted to the tasks of their future revolutionary struggle. Under the influence of Marx and his supporters it was decided at committee meetings of the Workers' Association in January 1849 "to take part in the general electoral committees ... and to represent the general democratic principle there" (see this volume, p. 514).

While calling on the workers to take an active part in the democratic movement, Marx and Engels at the same time tried to help them become aware how much their own interests were politically and socially opposed to those of the bourgeoisie. Characteristic in this respect is Marx's article "A Bourgeois Document" which describes the Prussian bourgeoisie crawling "in the most servile reverence before throne, altar, army, bureaucracy and feudalism" and its "*shameless maltreatment of the working class*" (see this volume, p. 219).

The section "From the Preparatory Materials" contains the rough drafts of two of Marx's articles and also the draft of the judiciary part of his speech at the trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on February 7, 1849.

The Appendices include reports on the meetings of the Committee of the Cologne Workers' Association and on the general meeting of its members. Although these reports are extremely brief and resemble minutes, they give a vivid picture of the ideological, educational and organisational work carried out by Marx and Engels in a mass workers' association which they were striving to transform into the foundation on which the future party of the German proletariat was to be built. The Cologne Workers' Association of which Marx was elected President *pro tem.* in the autumn of 1848 was becoming, due to the influence of Marx and other members of the Communist League, more and more a proletarian class organisation which took an increasingly active part in the political struggle.

Also included in the Appendices are reports on the "democratic banquets", or people's meetings, which took place in February 1849. Such banquets became a recognised form of political work among the masses and were held to commemorate the anniversaries of the

February and March revolutions. A number of the documents in this section convey the extent of official harassment and police persecution to which the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and its editors were subjected.

* * *

In compiling this volume, account has been taken, not only of the contents of Volume 6 of the German and Russian editions of Marx's and Engels' *Works*, but also of the results of research carried out in recent years in the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic to establish the authorship of articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Newly discovered articles by Marx, "Decision of the Berlin National Assembly", "Tax Refusal and the Countryside", "Position of the Left in the National Assembly", together with Engels' reports from Switzerland and his articles on the revolutionary war in Hungary—in all 52 articles and reports—have been included in this volume. Of the 130 works in the main section, 114 are being published in English for the first time, as is noted on each occasion at the end of the translation. Articles previously translated into English are accompanied by editorial notes giving the date of the first English publication. All the items in "From the Preparatory Materials" and the Appendices are being published in English for the first time.

Account has also been taken of the latest conclusions of German and Soviet research concerning the insufficiently justified inclusion in previous editions of certain articles attributed to Marx.

Wherever it has been impossible, on the basis of the materials available, to ascertain to which of the two authors—Marx or Engels—an article or item in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* belongs, the author's name is not included at the end of the translation. If such data are available, the author's name is given.

The titles of articles published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* are taken from the table of contents in the newspaper. Titles provided by the editors of the present edition have been printed in square brackets. When newspaper sources quoted by Marx or Engels are not available, references are given to reproductions of the corresponding items in other newspapers.

The volume is provided with Notes, a Name Index, an Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature, an Index of Periodicals and a Subject Index. For the reader's convenience, there is a Glossary of Geographical Names occurring in the text in the form customary in the German press of the time, but now archaic or Germanised.

Explanatory footnotes are provided for Swiss geographical names still current in a German, French or Italian form.

The volume was compiled and the Preface and Notes written by Vladimir Sazonov and edited by Lev Golman (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

Albina Gridchina and Yuri Vasin (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU) prepared the Name Index, the Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature, the Index of Periodicals and the Glossary of Geographical Names, and Vladimir Sazonov the Subject Index.

The translations were made by Gregor Benton, Clemens Dutt, W. L. Guttsman, Frida Knight, Barbara Ruhemann, Barrie Selman, Christopher Upward, Joan and Trevor Walmsley (Lawrence & Wishart), and Richard Dixon and Salo Ryazanskaya (Progress Publishers), and edited by Maurice Cornforth, Clemens Dutt, Frida Knight, Christian Maxwell and Margaret Mynatt (Lawrence & Wishart), Richard Dixon, Lydia Belyakova, Tatyana Grishina and Natalia Karmanova (Progress Publishers), and Larisa Miskievich, scientific editor (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The volume was prepared for the press by Lyudgarda Zubrilova (editor) and Nadezhda Korneyeva (assistant editor) for Progress Publishers.

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## ARTICLES FROM THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

November 8, 1848-March 5, 1849

Neue
Rheinische Zeitung
Organ der Demokratie.
№ 138. Köln, Donnerstag, den 9. November. 1848.

# THE CRISIS IN BERLIN[1]

*Cologne,* November 8. The situation looks very complicated, but it is very simple.

The *King,* as the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* correctly notes,[a] stands "*on the broadest basis*" of his "*hereditary*" rights "*by the grace of God*".

On the other side, the *National Assembly* has *no basis whatever,* its purpose being to constitute, to lay the basis.

Two sovereign powers.

The connecting link between the two is *Camphausen,* the *theory of agreement.*[2]

When these two sovereign powers are no longer able to agree or do not want to agree, they become two hostile sovereign powers. The *King* has the *right* to throw down the gauntlet to the Assembly, the *Assembly* has the *right* to throw down the gauntlet to the King. The *greater right* is on the side of the *greater might.* Might is tested in *struggle.* The test of the struggle is *victory.* Each of the two powers can prove that it is right only by its *victory,* that it is wrong only by its *defeat.*

The King until now has not been a *constitutional* king. He is an *absolute* monarch who decides for or against constitutionalism.

The Assembly until now has not been *constitutional,* it is *constituent.* It has so far attempted to constitute constitutionalism. It can continue or discontinue its *attempts.*

Both the King and the Assembly temporarily acquiesced in the constitutional ceremonial.

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[a] In the article "Ministerium Brandenburg" published on November 5, 1848.—*Ed.*

The King's demand that a Brandenburg Ministry which is to his liking be appointed in defiance of the majority in the Chamber, is the demand of an *absolute monarch.*

The Chamber's presumption, by means of a deputation *straight* to the King, to forbid the formation of a Brandenburg Ministry is the presumption of an *absolute Chamber.*

The King and the Assembly have sinned against constitutional convention.

The King and the Assembly have both retreated to their original sphere, the King deliberately, the Chamber unwittingly.

The King is at an advantage.

*Right* is on the side of *might.*

*Legal phrases* are on the side of *impotence.*

A *Rodbertus* Ministry would be a cipher in which plus and minus neutralise each other.

Written by Marx on November 8, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 138, November 9, 1848

Neue

# Rheinische Zeitung

## Organ der Demokratie.

№ 138. Köln, Donnerstag den 9. November. 1848.

Uebersicht.

Deutschland. Köln (Die heutige Krise.) Dortmund (Wiederbeginn der „N. Rh. Z.“). Berlin. (Nationalversammlung. — Huldigung des Jahres — Tattag von Jena und Auerstädt. — Politische Huldigungen und Wien. — Militärrichter. — Ministerratsgerichte. — Leichenbegängniß. — Das Abentheuer von vom 3 Oktober und von 3 Januar. — Berg. — Schreiben einer temperamentlosen Tugendin; Bernburg. (Dombau-Kommission.) Polen. (Der Belagerungszustand.) Braunschweig. (Wahlordnung). Wien. (Wahlschlagworte Professoren und die Bewegung von Minister- und Oberpräsident. — Abgeordnung Wiens. — Die Belagerungen. — Bewegung von Wien. — Der Reichstag. — Die Wiener Zeitung. — Zu Ruhe in Wien. — Professoren und die Gewerbevereine. — Das Manifest des Reichstags an den Kaiser vom 25. Oktober.) Prag. (Verboten der Spaziergang in der Period der Sieger). Mainzer. (Universität). Frankfurt. (Nationalversammlung. Neues wiener Ministerium).

Polen. Krakau. (Krakau bombardiert).

Ungarn. Preßb. (Perpet. — Kossuth Manifest.) Preßburg. (Die Insurgenten vor Wien. — Aufsatz in Preßburg).

Frankreich. Paris. (Nationalversammlung. — Vermischtes.)

Italien. Turin. (Nachrichten über den Krieg in Neapel. — Deserteur hingerichtet. — Der Aufstand in der ersten Tonkunstler.)

Großbritannien. London. (Kossuth bei Hermann. — Kossuth und der Vertrauten Staaten.) Dublin. (Gälisland und O'Dohperty.)

Belgien. (Oberstadt-Zum Chapo).

## Deutschland.

* Köln, 8. November. Die Situation scheint sehr verwickelt; sie ist sehr einfach.

Der König, wie die „Neue Preußische Zeitung“ richtig bemerkt, steht „auf der breitesten Grundlage seiner angestammten gottesgnadlichen Rechte.

Auf der andern Seite steht die Nationalversammlung auf gar keiner Grundlage, sie soll erst konstituiren. Grund legen.

Zwei Souveräne!

Das Mittelglied zwischen Beiden ist Camphausen, die Vereinbarungsthronrede.

Sobald die beiden Souveräne sich nicht mehr verständigen können oder wollen, verwandeln sie sich in zwei feindliche Souveräne. Der König hat das Recht der Versammlung, die Versammlung hat das Recht, dem Könige den Hauptschatz bazuverweigern. Das größere Recht ist auf der Seite der größern Macht. Die Macht entscheidet sich im Kampfe. Der Kampf entscheidet sich in Sieg. Beide Mächte können das Recht nur durch den Sieg bewähren, ihr Unrecht nur durch die Niederlage.

Der König war bisher kein konstitutioneller König. Er ist ein absoluter König, der sich zum Konstitutionalismus entschließt oder entschließen.

Die Versammlung war bisher nicht konstitutionell, sie ist konstituirend. Sie hat bisher den Konstitutionalismus zu konstruiren gesucht. Sie kann von ihrer Sucht ablassen oder nicht ablassen.

Beide, der König und die Versammlung haben sich einstweilen der konstitutionellen Ceremonie gefügt.

Die Forderung des Königs, ein ihm beliebiges Ministerium Brandenburg trotz der Kammermajorität zu bilden, ist die Forderung eines absoluten Königs.

Die Annahme der Kammer, dem Könige durch eine direkte Deputation die Bildung des Ministeriums Brandenburg zu anbringen, ist die Annahme einer absoluten Kammer.

Der König und die Versammlung haben gegen die konstitutionelle Ceremonie gefehlt.

Der König und die Versammlung haben sich „jeder auf sein ursprüngliches Gebiet, zurückgezogen, der König bewußt, die Kammer unbewußt.

Der Vortheil ist auf Seiten des Königs.

Das Recht ist auf der Seite der Macht.

Die Rechtsphrase ist auf der Seite der Ohnmacht.

Das Ministerium Robertus wäre die Null, worin plus und minus sich paralysiren.

= Dortmund. Der dem Anscheine nach von der königl. preuß. Post gegen die „Neue Rheinische Zeitung“ geübte Verkäufer erscheint nur noch vereinzelten Erkundigungen doch weniger planmäßig zu sein.

Die Postbegleiter, so erzählt man mir, beklärmten die Robertuerer um Exemplare der „N. Rh. Ztg.“, was diese seien meist gutmüthig genug, solche aus ihren Petermappen herausgeringen. Das vernünftige denn die vielgerügten Derangements in den ungetreuen Blättern und Beilagen, sonne auch mitunter Besämungen. Nach der „Kölnischen Zeitung“ frage Niemand, die sei zu langweilig.

Auch sollen die Postbediener mit Bezug das demokratische Gift dr. „N. Rh. Ztg.“ einzuzeigen und einzelne Exemplare bedauld einige Zeit zurückhalten.

Diese Entwendung erinnert daran, wie vorhem auch Heinrich Heine's große Zeugnisse anfangs nur schon bezahlt, fortgewiesen und dann wieder aufgenommen worden, bei endlich die großen Beschlüsse Jungen sich an dem hohen Gott herausfinden, und manche ihren „zugenthaften Betreffend“ von sich warfen.

Die Abonnenten der „Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung“ mögen vielmehrhin auf ihrem Rechte bestehen, aber sich bemühen ferner, wenn ihre Exemplare auf dieser Weise Propagandas machen.

* Berlin, 6 Nov. Der zu Ehren des Abg. Johann Jacoby veranstaltete Fackelzug fand gestern Abend statt und hatte sich, begünstigt vom schönsten Wetter, einer allgemeinen Theilnahme zu erfreuen. An 50,000 Menschen mögen den Fackelzug begleitet haben, welcher sich vom Alexanderplatze erhobe und dann durch die Königsstraße, Spittelmarkt, Schloßplatz, Schloßfreiheit, Linden, Chausseestraße und Taubenstraße vor Hyllins Hotel zog, wo Jacoby wohl den Mitgliedern der Linken ihre Versammlung hielten. Der Zuschauermassen Stärker weit einer Anrede an Jacoby, wurde zu verzichten, daß das Volk von Berlin ihm nicht feiern Dank, sondern seine Zufriedenheit und Anerkennung der Worte, welche er am 2. Nov. an den König gerichtet, zu erkennen geben wolle. Jacoby antwortete von den Fenstern des Hotels Stiedel herab und lautlos lauschten die versammelten Tausende seinen Worten. Er dankte für die Ehre, welche man ihm erzeigte, er habe aber nur seine Pflicht gethan, indem er die Wahrheit unumwunden gesprochen. Worte verhallen jedoch manchmal vor den Ohren der Könige, nur Thaten können von Erfolg sein. Sollten bedenkliche Fürsten fortfahren, unter dem Schutz der Centralgewalt die bloßig errungene Volkssouveränität wieder an sich zu reißen, so erhebe man sich mit der That. Er schloß mit einem Hoch auf die tobedmuthigen Wiener. Man forsch zu den versammelten Mitgliedern der Linken, in deren Namen der Abg. D'Ester erwiderte und mit einem Hoch auf die Demokratie schloß.

Die Abgeordneten Jung und Berendt haben folgenden dringenden Antrag der Nationalversammlung eingereicht: Die hohe Versammlung wolle beschließen: § 48 der allgemeinen Gewerbe-Ordnung vom 17. Juli 1845, wonach Buch- und Kunsthändler, Antiquarer, Inhaber von Leihbibliotheken oder Lesekabinetten, Verfertiger von Zinngießereien und Bildern, Erbsgrossmen, Buch- und Steindrucker eine besonderen Erlaubniß der Regierung zur Führung ihres Gewerbes bedürfen — ist aufzuheben.

Dieser Antrag wird folgendermaßen motivirt. Die Censur ist abgeschafft, und kein Grundsatz ist tiefbeim so allgemein anerkannt und so allgemein auf seine Art, auf keinem auch so verletzend Umwege, eine Wiederkehr oder auch nur eine mittelbare Anwendung derselben geradezu werden werde. — Wenn aber bestimmen Gewerbe, welche die Verbreitung der Geistesworte zum Gegenstande haben, noch immer der Konzession bedürfen, so ist es leicht erkennbar, daß dadurch die Regierung in den Stand gesetzt wird, einen Einfluß auf die Presse zu gewinnen, der die garantirte Freiheit derselben illusorisch machen könnte.

Es hat noch mehrere, gewichtige Gründe dafür, in unseren großen Städten zahlreiche Kolonnaden ephemerer Schriften und die sogenannten Kriegerbuch-Buchhandler hervorgerufen, die seit dem 18 März ohne Konzession den so nothwendigen Detailverkehr der Geistesworte betreiben. — Plötzlich erinnert sich die Polizei des am Schlusse des 18. März hingestellten § 84, und verlangt allentalben die Anlegung einer Konzession. — Es ist also sehr wünschenswerth, diese jungen Gewerbe, welche recht eigentlich die Bildung des Volkes und selben Zusammenhang mit dem Geistesleben der gebildeten Stände vermitteln, durch Aufhebung dieses Paragraphen zu sichern.

Von Wien sind viele politische Flüchtlinge hier angekommen. Dieselben haben sich der zur Zeit dort herrschenden Schreckensherrschaft und der Unterdrückung durch die Jesuiten entzogen. Sie haben sich hier an die Regierungsbehörde gewendet und an die Nationalversammlung gewendet, damit von der Nationalversammlung die nöthigen Schritte geschehen, das Ministerium zu verbinden, diese Flüchtlinge aufzunehmen.

Die Wiederkehr wollen fort. Graf Brandenburg will das neue Ministerium nicht bilden, und man behauptet sogar, es sei schon nach Berlin zurückgereist. So viel ist gewiß, daß noch kein Minister versammelt und der Bildung eines Ministeriums Brandenburg zu anbringen, ist die Annahme einer absoluten Kammer.

Der König und die Versammlung haben gegen die konstitutionelle Ceremonie gefehlt.

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* Berlin, 6 Nov. Der zu Ehren des Abg. Johann Jacoby veranstaltete Fackelzug fand gestern Abend statt und hatte sich, begünstigt vom schönsten Wetter, einer allgemeinen Theilnahme zu erfreuen. An 50,000 Menschen mögen den Fackelzug begleitet haben, welcher sich vom Alexanderplatze erhobe und dann durch die Königsstraße, Spittelmarkt, Schloßplatz, Schloßfreiheit, Linden, Chausseestraße und Taubenstraße vor Hyllins Hotel zog, wo Jacoby wohl den Mitgliedern der Linken ihre Versammlung hielten. Der Zuschauermassen Stärker weit einer Anrede an Jacoby, wurde zu verzichten, daß das Volk von Berlin ihm nicht feiern Dank, sondern seine Zufriedenheit und Anerkennung der Worte, welche er am 2. Nov. an den König gerichtet, zu erkennen geben wolle. Jacoby antwortete von den Fenstern des Hotels Stiedel herab und lautlos lauschten die versammelten Tausende seinen Worten. Er dankte für die Ehre, welche man ihm erzeigte, er habe aber nur seine Pflicht gethan, indem er die Wahrheit unumwunden gesprochen. Worte verhallen jedoch manchmal vor den Ohren der Könige, nur Thaten können von Erfolg sein. Sollten bedenkliche Fürsten fortfahren, unter dem Schutz der Centralgewalt die bloßig errungene Volkssouveränität wieder an sich zu reißen, so erhebe man sich mit der That. Er schloß mit einem Hoch auf die tobedmuthigen Wiener. Man forsch zu den versammelten Mitgliedern der Linken, in deren Namen der Abg. D'Ester erwiderte und mit einem Hoch auf die Demokratie schloß.

Die Abgeordneten Jung und Berendt haben folgenden dringenden Antrag der Nationalversammlung eingereicht: Die hohe Versammlung wolle beschließen: § 48 der allgemeinen Gewerbe-Ordnung vom 17. Juli 1845, wonach Buch- und Kunsthändler, Antiquarer, Inhaber von Leihbibliotheken oder Lesekabinetten, Verfertiger von Zinngießereien und Bildern, Erbsgrossmen, Buch- und Steindrucker eine besonderen Erlaubniß der Regierung zur Führung ihres Gewerbes bedürfen — ist aufzuheben.

Dieser Antrag wird folgendermaßen motivirt. Die Censur ist abgeschafft, und kein Grundsatz ist tiefbeim so allgemein anerkannt und so allgemein auf seine Art, auf keinem auch so verletzend Umwege, eine Wiederkehr oder auch nur eine mittelbare Anwendung derselben geradezu werden werde. — Wenn aber bestimmen Gewerbe, welche die Verbreitung der Geistesworte zum Gegenstande haben, noch immer der Konzession bedürfen, so ist es leicht erkennbar, daß dadurch die Regierung in den Stand gesetzt wird, einen Einfluß auf die Presse zu gewinnen, der die garantirte Freiheit derselben illusorisch machen könnte.

Es hat noch mehrere, gewichtige Gründe dafür, in unseren großen Städten zahlreiche Kolonnaden ephemerer Schriften und die sogenannten Kriegerbuch-Buchhandler hervorgerufen, die seit dem 18 März ohne Konzession den so nothwendigen Detailverkehr der Geistesworte betreiben. — Plötzlich erinnert sich die Polizei des am Schlusse des 18. März hingestellten § 84, und verlangt allentalben die Anlegung einer Konzession. — Es ist also sehr wünschenswerth, diese jungen Gewerbe, welche recht eigentlich die Bildung des Volkes und selben Zusammenhang mit dem Geistesleben der gebildeten Stände vermitteln, durch Aufhebung dieses Paragraphen zu sichern.

Von Wien sind viele politische Flüchtlinge hier angekommen. Dieselben haben sich der zur Zeit dort herrschenden Schreckensherrschaft und der Unterdrückung durch die Jesuiten entzogen. Sie haben sich hier an die Regierungsbehörde und an die Nationalversammlung gewendet, damit von der Nationalversammlung die nöthigen Schritte geschehen, das Ministerium zu verbinden, diese Flüchtlinge aufzunehmen.

Die Wiederkehr wollen fort. Graf Brandenburg will das neue Ministerium nicht bilden, und man behauptet sogar, er sei schon nach Berlin zurückgereist. So viel ist gewiß, daß noch kein Minister versammelt und der Bildung eines Ministeriums Brandenburg zu anbringen, oder irgend Einem ein Portefeuille angetragen worden ist.

Die Mitglieder der Linken, welche für Abschaffung des Adels gestimmt, haben letztem über Adelstitel abgelegt. Reichenbach, Reich, Berg unterschreiben jetzt ohne alle andern Adelsprädikate.

Von den andern Kreisen will man noch nichts von der Niederlegung der Adelstitel hören. Die bohnlichen Garde-Offiziere, die jetzt dann und wann die gefiedert Berlin in Straßenkampf von Barrikaden und Schanzen und besiegen, sind wahrlich aber kein Artikel der Verfassung und schneiden alle tausend Donnerwetter, daß dieser Artikel die Verordnung des Königs nicht erhalten können noch dürfe. Die Herren verfechten, daß sie jedenfalls binnen 14 Tagen nach Berlin kommen werden. Sie wollen die Demokraten zurechtzugen. Sie wissen nur noch nichts von der Wiederkehr.

Berlin, 6 November. Bis heute ist das große Werk der Ministerialschöpfung noch nicht vollbracht. Die Kandidaten, welche (?)-Bonn-Berlin-Ministerium (Ober Minister) bilden, Wiederverfrachende Kabinetten: Die Hauptangabe dieses Ministeriums wird die Herbeiführung des offenen Bruches der Krone mit der Nationalversammlung zeig. zum Volke sein. Daran zweifelt Niemand mehr, der Winter rückt heran, die Soldaten in der Umgegend von Berlin werden täglich schwieriger. In der heutigen Sitzung der Nationalversammlung wurde die „Verfassungsfrage“ hab abzuändern zu werden. Die Sitzung war ungeheuer langweilig, wie ein Kapitzenmarkt nach durchschwärmter Nacht. Die Revolution schien von den Tribünen zu sein, die Nationalversammlung versteckt und — beruhigt sich wieder. Es wurden nur Petitionen verlesen.

In großem Zuge begleitete am Sonntag Morgen das Volk die Leiche des von der Bürgerwehr verwundeten und an der Wunde gestorbenen Musikmeisterbataillonsers zu Grabe. Die Bürgerwehr hat sich bereit, den Mördern seiner Bürgerschaft dafür zu strafen, daß ähnliche Brutalitäten künftig nicht wieder stattfinden sollen. (?)

* Berlin. Die Geschichte der frechen Jagdwerkschaft wird durch Wesselhöft. Was ich da unterzeichnete gegen die Sperrlichen Zeigen den „neuen Jagdgesetzes“, welche die „Neue Pr. Ztg.“ und mitbeteilt? Man höre das herzzerreißende Ehrenlied von „den drei Hämmeln und den drei Männern, welch den Innovations Angelegenheiten des Journals des Prinzen von Preußen.

Noch ist das Jagdgesetz nicht publiziert und schon sangen seine verbrechischen Zeugen an, fröhlich zu werden. Ein in der Nähe von Trebbin (?) den ungeheuerlichen Jagdgesetzes lieferte jüngstes den Beweis dafür, daß ed der einmal aufgeschnitten Degen nach fremden Eigenthum stiehl oder heraus! aufnimmt, ob er Gott einen Hasen einen Hammel erlegt. Der Hirt einst benachbarten Gutsherrn verdrehte sich die Schaafsherrn. Der Herr, als plötzlich ein Mann mit den Worten auf ihn zutrat: „Weh gab es hier nicht, Fleisch muß man doch haben, also gib nur einen Hammel her.“ Während der Schäfer sich noch gegen diese unerhörte Zumutung bezeugt, fielen weiterhin zwei Schafe, ein „Schaf hängt werden, zwei andere fanden hinterm davon. Der Schäfer mit um auf das geröthete Thier zuschreiten, es treten ihm aber zwei Männer entgegen, von denen der Eine ihm mit vorgehaltenem Gewehr bedeutet, daß er stehen, zu stehen. So muß der Kerndse ruhig mit ansehen, wie der eine Kerl den geroteten Hammel davonschleppt, während der Andere ein lebendiges Thier packt und mit ihm fortgeht.

Das ist die schreckliche „Geschichte von den drei Hammeln und den drei Männern.“

Man weiß, daß das Schäfsel der Aristokratie von jeher mit den Schafsäcken der Schaafe in eins verwebt war. In England, Schottland, in Canaien, in der Camagne (?) Rom, in Schlesien, in Brandenburg und andern pommerschen Kulturgegenden hatten der Rechthum, der materielle Basis des Adels, von den Schafen her. Wie haben selbst nicht angekannen, im britischen Norden das im fabischen Italien ganze rechtsvoletie Gegenden durch Verwandlung des Ackerlands in Dickwiesen zu verdeen, und an die Stelle der Menschen Schafe zu setzen. Das Ebenthuer von den „drei Hammeln und den drei Männern“ hat daher einen sehr höheren Sinn, wie die „N. Pr. Ztg.“ mit ihrem Jagdhammelgesetz Jagdrecht richtig herausbuchstabiert.

* Berlin. Der gegenwärtig in der Transfeuer Nationalversammlung [illegible] Abg. v. Bismarck-Bohlen, wird behauptet, in wenigen Tagen seinen Sitz in der hiesigen Versammlung einnehmen, wodurch der Irgeteren ein schwerer Verlust erwachsen wurde, indem Hr. v. Berg heftiger als sein Gesinnungsgenosse gewiß hat. Berg bringt daher auf die schleunige Bildung des neuen Ministeriums.

So die „Neue Preuß. Ztg.“: Berg ist hoffentlich nicht der Zeit, auf die neue ministerielle Krise gehaut wird. Berg ist der N. Preuß. Ztg. der Stern des Abends, von dem da geschrieben heißt: Und er ist der bekannte Berg, der Mann zur Welt legt.

Deutsche „N. Preuß. Ztg.,“ unser Lieblingsorgan bringt folgen- Chronik:

Es sein schmackhaften Thaten des Dienstag Abend haben wir leide und eine nachzutragen. Wahrend am Abend sich der Minister des Auswärtigen, Hr. v. Denhoff, in der Nationalversammlung befand, in welcher gerade die Debatte über die Wiener Frage tobte, traf die telegraphische Depesche im Ministerium des Auswärtigen ein, daß Wien dem Fürsten Windischgrätz seine Unterwerfung auf Gnade oder Ungnade angeprizt habe. Die wichtige Nachricht, die der Debatte eine ganz andere Wendung gehen machte, wurde sofort aufgeschrieben, in ein Couvert an den Minister verschlossen und der Portier des Hotels zur schleunigen Ueberbringung abgesandt. Als der Mann an das Schaafsgitter des Hotels kam, fand er dasselbe von der Menge belagert, er suchte sich durchzudrängen und hat, ihm den Eingang zu gestatten, da er wichtige Depeschen an den Minister zu überbringen hatte. Kaum hatte er dies gesagt, so fiel die Rotte über ihn her, man schlug ihn, zerfetzte den Brief, erbrach bruchstücken und ein Mann lief die Depesche vor. Trotz der Bitten des Portiers wurde ihm auch die Rückgabe des Briefes verweigert und er zur Rückkehr gezwungen. Er erfuhr der Minister erst die Inhalt und den Inhalt der Nachricht, als er nach Mitternacht in sein Hotel zurückkehren konnte, durch einen Portier, der bei Depesche hatte gerechnet hörte!

Sächsischer Bermerkenswert des Jahrhunderts!

* Berlin, 6. Nov. Nationalversammlung.

Um 10 Uhr Vormittags zeigt der Präsident Unruh an, daß der Gesandtenvertrag: Eingang wurde aufgenommen sei. Auf der Tagesordnung vom Gesandtenbeschluß der Partikularsicherung in ferner Berathung die Versammlung einzugehen kann, wenn sie nicht ordnet beschließt. Die rechte Seite beantragt letztere Beschlüsse der Eigenen und zwar nur auf Gesetzgebung angelegt; wird verworfen. Der Minister Kintzer ist allein am Ministertisch anwesend.

Ein Schreiben des Ministers Eichmann, in Verzeichnung des Ministerpräsidenten, wird verlesen, wonach eine Königl. Verfügung mit den Entwurfe einer provisorischen Gesetzes zur interimistischen Regierung der Gesetzgebung und zur gutachtlichen Begutachtung in Sachen, der Versammlung zur Erklärung zugeht. Dieser Gesetzentwurf wird der betreffenden Zentralgesetzgebung zur Berichterstattung überwiesen.

Ebenso bittet die Versammlung mit der Zugesicherung der vorgeschlagenen Gesetzes [illegible] Auf der Tagesordnung wird die Berathung [illegible] Abg. Baumstark erstattet den Bericht der Petitionscommission, wobei es auch so viel geht man zur Zugesicherung oder der verwandt beschlossen an die betreffenden Ministerien.

Um 1 Uhr wurde die Sitzung geschlossen, nachdem durch Mannichfaltigkeiten wurde morgen sich wieder mit der Petitionen zu beschäftigen. Die nächste Tagesordnung die Berathung der Verfassung, wird aber in der Minderheit, weil zu erwarten steht, daß morgen so viel neue Ministerien noch nicht anwesend sein wird.

Bernburg, 2. Nov. Abermals ist unser fruher so ruhiges Städtchen in die große Aufregung versetzt. Nach Coroßmannung des neuen Ministeriums nämlich war der Sonntag in seinen Geschäften recht vergnügt gefeiert, und vollendete vergnügen die Berfassung, sogar namentlich die Kirchlichkeit ins Herzogs hell. Gestern nun wurde das ganze Werk noch einmal vergnügt, und noch

First page of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 138 containing Marx's article "The Crisis in Berlin"

# THE EX-PRINCIPALITY[3]

*From the Republic of Neuchâtel,* November 7. You will be interested to hear something also from a little country that until recently enjoyed the blessings of Prussian rule, but which was the first of all the lands under the Prussian Crown to raise the banner of revolution and drive out the Prussian paternal Government. I am speaking of the former "principality of Neuenburg and Vallendis",[4] in which Herr Pfuel, the present Prime Minister, performed his first administrative exercises as Governor and was deposed by the people in May of this year, even before he could win laurels in Posen[5] and gather votes of no confidence as Prime Minister in Berlin. This little country has now assumed the prouder title of "République et Canton de Neuchâtel", and the time is probably not far off when the last Neuchâtel guardsman brushes his green tunic in Berlin. I must confess it gave me an amusing feeling of satisfaction five weeks after my flight from the Prussian Holy Hermandad[6] to be able once more to walk about unmolested on what is *de jure* still Prussian soil.

Incidentally, the Republic and Canton of Neuchâtel evidently finds itself in much more comfortable circumstances than the late principality of Neuenburg and Vallendis; for at the recent elections to the Swiss National Council the republican candidates received over 6,000 votes, whereas the candidates of the royalists, of the *bédouins,*[a] as they are called here, hardly mustered 900 votes. The Great Council,[7] too, consists almost entirely of republicans, and only Les Ponts, a small mountain village dominated by the aristocrats, sent

[a] This nickname of the Swiss royalists is an allusion to the fact that the old Swiss cantons preserved patriarchal relations similar to those found in the social organisation of an Arab nomadic tribe, the Bedouin.—*Ed.*

Calame, ex-State Councillor of the royal Prussian Neuenburg principality, as its representative to Neuchâtel, where a few days ago he had to swear an oath of loyalty to the Republic. Instead of the old royalist *Constitutionnel Neuchâtelois*, there is published now—in La Chaux-de-Fonds, the largest, most industrialised and most republican place in the canton—a *Républicain Neuchâtelois*, written it is true in very bad Swiss-French of the Jura, but otherwise not at all badly edited.

The clock- and watch-making industry of the Jura and the lace manufacture of Traverstal, which are the main sources of livelihood of this little country, are beginning to prosper again, and the Montagnards,[a] in spite of the snow here being already a foot deep, are gradually regaining their old cheerfulness. Meanwhile the *bédouins* go about looking very dejected, displaying uselessly the Prussian colours on their breeches, blouses and caps, and sighing in vain for the return of the worthy Pfuel and the decrees that began: "*Nous Frédéric-Guillaume par la grâce de Dieu.*" High up in the Jura, 3,500 feet above sea-level, the Prussian colours, black caps with white edging, have the same dejected look and are as ambiguously smiled at as among us on the Rhine; if one did not see the Swiss flags and the big placards with the words "République et Canton de Neuchâtel", one might think one was at home. Incidentally, I am glad to be able to report that in the Neuchâtel revolution, as in all the revolutions of 1848, the *German workers* played a decisive and very honourable role. For that reason, too, they are allotted the fullest measure of the aristocrats' hatred.

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[a] i.e. the revolutionary-minded population of the mountain canton of Neuchâtel who were engaged mainly in clock- and watch-making. They were given the name by analogy with the representatives of the revolutionary Montagne—the Jacobins—in the French Convention of 1792-93.— *Ed.*

# THE NEW INSTITUTIONS.—PROGRESS IN SWITZERLAND[8]

*Berne,* November 9. The new legislative Federal Assembly, consisting of the Swiss National Council and the Council of States, has been gathered here since the day before yesterday. The city of Berne has done its utmost to give them as brilliant and seductive a reception as possible. There has been music, festive processions, illuminations, the boom of cannon and the peal of bells—nothing has been forgotten. The sessions began the day before yesterday. In the National Council, which is elected by universal suffrage and according to the number of inhabitants (Berne has returned 20 deputies, Zurich 12, the smallest cantons two or three each), the overwhelming majority of deputies are liberals of a radical hue. The decidedly radical party is strongly represented, and the conservatives have only six or seven seats out of over a hundred. The Council of States, which is made up of two deputies from each canton and one deputy from each demi-canton, on the whole resembles the last Diet[9] as regards composition and character. The *Ur*-cantons have once again returned several true separatists,[10] and as a result of the indirect elections, the reactionary element, though definitely in a minority, is nevertheless more strongly represented in this Council than it is in the National Council. As a matter of fact, by abolishing binding mandates[a] and invalidating half votes, the Council of States has been turned into a rejuvenated version of the Diet and has been

[a] i.e. the instructions which the deputies of the Swiss Diet received from their cantonal governments and which greatly impeded the adoption of general decisions.— *Ed.*

pushed into the background by the creation of the National Council. It plays the thankless role of a Senate or a Chamber of Peers, of a drag on the assumed excessive desire for innovation of the National Council, the role of heir to the mature wisdom and careful reflection of the forefathers. This dignified and sedate institution already shares the fate of similar bodies in England and America, and the now defunct one in France. Even before it has shown any signs of life it is looked down upon by the press and overshadowed by the National Council. Practically no one talks about the Council of States, and if it does make itself talked about it will be so much the worse for it.

Although the National Council is supposed to represent the entire Swiss "nation", it has already at its first sitting given proof of typically Swiss disunity and absorption with trifles, if not of petty cantonal spirit. Three votes had to be taken to elect a President, although there were only three candidates with any serious chances, and moreover all three of them from Berne. The three gentlemen in question were Ochsenbein, Funk and Neuhaus; the first two represent the old radical party of Berne, the third the old liberal, semi-conservative party. In the end Herr Ochsenbein was elected by 50 votes out of 93, that is, with a very narrow majority. One can understand the Zurich and other *Moderados*[11] preferring the wise and very experienced Herr Neuhaus to Herr Ochsenbein, but the fact that Herr Funk, who has exactly the same political colouring as Herr Ochsenbein, should have been put forward as a competing candidate and received support in two votings, shows how unorganised and undisciplined the parties still are. At any rate the election of Ochsenbein means that the radicals gained a victory in the first contest of the parties. In the subsequent election of a Vice-President, five votes had to be taken to produce an absolute majority. On the other hand, the staid and experienced Council of States almost unanimously elected the *Moderado* Furrer from Zurich as its President in the first round of voting. These two elections amply illustrate how different a spirit reigns in the two Chambers and that they will soon take different courses and enter into conflict with each other.

The choice of a federal capital will be the next interesting issue to be debated. It will be interesting for the Swiss because the financial interests of very many of them are involved, and interesting for people abroad because precisely this debate will reveal most clearly to what extent the old parochial patriotism, the petty cantonal narrow-mindedness has been discarded. The competition is most intense between Berne, Zurich and Lucerne. Berne would like to see

Zurich satisfied with the federal university, and Lucerne with the federal court of law, but in vain. Berne at any rate is the only suitable city, being the point where German and French Switzerland merge, the capital of the largest canton and the emerging centre of the whole Swiss movement. But in order to become a real centre, Berne must also possess the university and the federal court. But try and explain that to the Swiss whose fanaticism for their cantonal town has been roused! It is quite possible that the more radical National Council will vote for radical Berne, and the sedate Council of States for sedate, wise and prudent Zurich. An extremely difficult situation will then arise.

There has been considerable unrest in *Geneva* during the last three weeks. The reactionary patricians and bourgeois, who, from their villas, keep the villages around Geneva in almost feudal dependence, managed with the help of their peasants to push through all their three candidates in the elections to the National Council. But the committee declared the elections invalid, as more ballot-papers were returned than had been issued. Only this measure was able to pacify the revolutionary workers of Saint-Gervais, crowds of whom were already marching through the streets and shouting "*Aux armes!*" The attitude of the workers in the course of the week that followed was so menacing that the bourgeois preferred not to vote at all rather than provoke a revolution with the inevitable scenes of horror of which there had already been warning, especially since the Government threatened to resign if the reactionary candidates were once more elected. The radicals meanwhile altered their list of candidates, to which they added some more moderate names, made up for lost canvassing time, and obtained 5,000 to 5,500 votes in the new elections, that is almost a thousand more than the reactionaries had received in the previous round. The three reactionary candidates obtained hardly any votes; General Dufour, who received the highest number, managed to poll 1,500 votes. Elections to the Great Council were held a week later. The city elected 44 radicals, and the countryside, which had to elect 46 councillors, returned almost exclusively reactionaries. The *Revue de Genève* is still arguing with the bourgeois newspapers as to whether all 46 are reactionary or half a dozen of them will vote for the radical Government. We shall soon know. The confusion in Geneva may increase; for if the Government, which is here elected directly by the people, is forced to resign, then during the new elections the same thing might easily happen as during the second elections to the National Council, and a radical government could be confronted with a reactionary majority in the Great Council. It is moreover certain that the workers of

Geneva are only waiting for an opportunity to safeguard the threatened gains of 1847[12] by a new revolution.

On the whole, compared with the early forties, Switzerland has made considerable progress. This is nowhere so striking as among the working class. Whereas the old spirit of parochial narrow-mindedness and pedantry still holds almost undivided sway among the bourgeoisie and especially in the old patrician families, or has, at best, assumed more modern forms, the Swiss workers have developed to a remarkable degree. Formerly, they kept aloof from the Germans and displayed the most absurd "free Swiss" national arrogance, complained about the "foreign rogues" and showed no interest whatever in the contemporary movement. Now this has changed. Ever since working conditions have deteriorated, ever since Switzerland has been democratised, and especially since the minor riots have given place to European revolutions and battles such as those waged in Paris in June and in Vienna in October[13]—ever since then the Swiss workers have participated more and more in the political and socialist movements, have fraternised with the foreign workers, especially the German workers, and have abandoned their "free Swiss attitude". In the French part of Switzerland and in many of its German districts, Germans and German Swiss are members of the same workers' association on an equal footing, and associations consisting mainly of Swiss workers have decided to join the proposed organisation of German democratic associations which has partly come into being. Whereas the extreme radicals of official Switzerland dream at best of a Helvetian republic,[14] one and indivisible, Swiss workers often express the view that the whole of little Switzerland's independence will soon perish in the impending European storm. And this is said quite calmly and indifferently, without a word of regret, by these proletarian traitors! All the Swiss I have met expressed great sympathy for the Viennese, but among the workers it amounted to real fanaticism. No one speaks about the National Council, the Council of States, the riot of the priests in Freiburg,[15] but Vienna was on everybody's lips all day long. One would think that Vienna were again the capital of Switzerland as it was in the days before William Tell, that Switzerland belonged again to Austria. Hundreds of rumours were bruited about, debated, called in question, believed, refuted, and all possible aspects were thoroughly discussed. And when, at last, the news of the defeat of the heroic Viennese workers and students and of Windischgrätz's superior strength and barbarity was definitely confirmed, the effect on these Swiss workers was as though their own fate had been decided in Vienna and their own country had succumbed. Though

this feeling is not yet a universal one, it is steadily gaining ground among the Swiss proletariat, and the fact that it already exists in many localities is, for a country like Switzerland, a tremendous advance.

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# COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN BERLIN[16]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 141, November 12, 1848]

*Cologne,* November 11. The *Pfuel Ministry* was a "*misunderstanding*"; its real meaning is the *Brandenburg Ministry.* The Pfuel Ministry was the *table of contents,* the Brandenburg Ministry is the *content* itself.

*Brandenburg in the Assembly and the Assembly in Brandenburg.*[17]

**Thus runs the epitaph of the House of Brandenburg.**[a]

The Emperor Charles V was admired because he had himself buried while still alive [18] To have a bad joke engraved on one's tombstone is to go one better than the Emperor Charles V and his penal system, his criminal code.[19]

*Brandenburg in the Assembly and the Assembly in Brandenburg!*

A King of Prussia once put in an appearance in the Assembly. That was not the real Brandenburg. The Marquis of Brandenburg who appeared in the Assembly the day before yesterday was the real King of Prussia.

*The guardroom in the Assembly, the Assembly in the guardroom*—that means: *Brandenburg in the Assembly, the Assembly in Brandenburg!*

Or will the *Assembly in Brandenburg*—Berlin, as is well known, is situated in the Province of Brandenburg—be master ... of the *Brandenburg in the Assembly*? Will Brandenburg seek the protection of the Assembly as a Capet once did in another Assembly?[20]

**Brandenburg in the Assembly and the Assembly in Brandenburg** is an expression with many meanings, ambiguous and portentous.

As we know, it is much easier for the peoples to cope with *kings* than with *legislative assemblies.* History gives us a whole list of abortive revolts of the people against national assemblies. It knows only two important exceptions to this rule. The English people in the person

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[a] This refers to the Hohenzollerns, who became hereditary margraves of Brandenburg in 1417.—*Ed.*

of *Cromwell* dissolved the *Long Parliament*, and the French people in the person of *Bonaparte* dissolved the *Corps legislatif*. But the Long Parliament had long ago become a *Rump*, and the *Corps legislatif* a *corpse*.

Are the *kings* more fortunate than the peoples in their *revolts against legislative assemblies*?

*Charles I, James II, Louis XVI* and *Charles X* are hardly promising ancestral examples.

There are luckier ancestors in *Spain* and *Italy* however. And recently in *Vienna*?

But one must not forget that a *Congress of Nations* was in session in Vienna and that the *representatives of the Slavs*, except for the Poles, went over to the imperial camp with bands playing.[21]

The struggle of the camarilla in Vienna against the Imperial Diet was at the same time a struggle of the *Slav* Diet against the *German* Diet. It was not *Slavs*, however, who seceded in the Berlin Assembly, it was only *slaves*, and slaves do not constitute a party; at best they are camp-followers of a party. The members of the Right who left the Berlin Assembly[22] have not strengthened the enemy camp, they have infected it with a fatal malady—with *treason*.

The *Slav* party *was victorious* in Austria together with the camarilla. It will now *fight* the camarilla over the spoils. If the Berlin camarilla is victorious it will not have to share the victory with the *Right* or to defend it against the *Right*; the Right will be given a *tip*—and *kicks*.

The Prussian Crown is within its *rights* in confronting the Assembly as an *absolute Crown*. But the Assembly is in the *wrong* because it does not confront the Crown as an *absolute assembly*. To begin with it should have had the Ministers *arrested* as *traitors, traitors to the sovereignty of the people*. It should have *proscribed* and *outlawed* all officials who obey orders others than those of the Assembly.

But the *political* weakness characterising the actions of the National Assembly in *Berlin* may become a source of *civic* strength in the *provinces*.

The bourgeoisie would have liked so much to transform the *feudal monarchy* into a *bourgeois monarchy* in an *amicable* way. After depriving the feudal party of armorial bearings and titles, which are offensive to its civic pride, and of the dues appertaining to feudal property, which violate the bourgeois mode of appropriation, the bourgeoisie would have liked so much to unite with the feudal party and together with it enslave the people. But the old bureaucracy does not want to be reduced to the status of a servant of a bourgeoisie for whom, until now, it has been a despotic tutor. The feudal party does not want to see its marks of distinction and interests burnt at the altar of the

bourgeoisie. Finally, the Crown sees in the elements of the old feudal society—a society of which it is the crowning excrescence—its true, native social ground, whereas it regards the bourgeoisie as an alien, artificial soil which bears it only under the condition that it withers away.

The bourgeoisie turns the intoxicating "*grace of God*" into a sober *legal title*, the rule of blood into the rule of paper, the royal sun into a civic astral lamp.

Royalty, therefore, was not taken in by the bourgeoisie. Its reply to the partial revolution of the bourgeoisie was a full-fledged counter-revolution. It drove the bourgeoisie once more into the *arms of the revolution, of the people*, by crying out to it:

*Brandenburg in the Assembly and the Assembly in Brandenburg.*

While admitting that we do not expect the bourgeoisie to answer in a manner befitting the occasion, we must not omit to remark, on the other hand, that in its rebellion against the National Assembly the Crown, too, resorts to hypocritical half measures and hides its head under the constitutional veil at the very moment when it tries to cast off this irksome veil.

*Brandenburg* makes the *German Central Authority*[23] *give* him the *order* for his *coup d'état. The regiments of the guards marched into Berlin by order of the Central Authority.* The Berlin counter-revolution is carried out by order of the German Central Authority. Brandenburg orders Frankfurt to give him this order. It denies its sovereignty at the very moment when it wants to establish it. Herr Bassermann of course eagerly seized the opportunity to play the servant as master. But he has the satisfaction that the master in his turn plays the servant.

Whatever the outcome in Berlin may be, the *dilemma* is: either the *King* or the *people*—and the people will be victorious with the cry, *Brandenburg in the Assembly and the Assembly in Brandenburg.*

We may have to go through a hard school, but it is the preparatory school for a **complete revolution**.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 141, November 12, 1848, second edition]

*Cologne*, November 11. The *European revolution* is describing a *circle.* It started in Italy and assumed a European character in Paris; the first repercussion of the February revolution took place in Vienna; the repercussion of the Viennese revolution followed in Berlin; European *counter-revolution* struck its first blow in Italy, in Naples; it assumed a European character in Paris in June; the first repercussion of the June counter-revolution followed in Vienna; it

comes to a close and discredits itself in Berlin. *The crowing of the Gallic cock in Paris will once again rouse Europe.*[24]

But in *Berlin the counter-revolution is bringing itself into disrepute. Everything becomes disreputable in Berlin, even counter-revolution.*

In *Naples* the *lazzaroni*[25] are leagued with the monarchy against the bourgeoisie.

In *Paris* the greatest struggle ever known in history is taking place. The bourgeoisie is leagued with the *lazzaroni* against the working class.

In *Vienna* we have a whole swarm of nationalities who imagine that the counter-revolution will bring them emancipation. In addition—the secret spite of the bourgeoisie against the workers and the Academic Legion; strife within the civic militia itself[26]; finally, attack by the people supplying a pretext for the attack by the Court.

*Nothing like that is happening in Berlin.* The bourgeoisie and the people are on one side and the drill-sergeants on the other.

*Wrangel* and *Brandenburg*, two men who have no head, no heart, no opinions, nothing but mustachios[a]—such is the antithesis of this querulous, self-opinionated, irresolute National Assembly.

*Will*—be it even that of an ass, an ox, a moustache[a]—is all that is needed to tackle the weak-willed grumblers of the March revolution. And the *Prussian Court, which has just as little will as the National Assembly,* seeks out the *two most stupid men* in the monarchy and tells these lions: *represent will.* Pfuel still had a few grains of brain. But *absolute stupidity* makes even the grumblers of the March achievements flinch.

> "*With stupidity the gods themselves struggle in vain*",[b]

exclaims the perplexed National Assembly.

These Wrangels and Brandenburgs, these blockheads who can *want* because they have no will of their own, because they want what they are *ordered,* and who are too stupid to question the orders they are given with a faltering voice and trembling lips—they, too, *discredit* themselves because they do not get down to *skull-cracking,* the only job these *battering-rams* are good for.

*Wrangel* does not go beyond confessing that he recognises only a National Assembly that obeys orders. *Brandenburg* is given a lesson in parliamentary behaviour, and after having shocked the Chamber with his crude, repulsive jargon appropriate to a drill-sergeant, he

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[a] In the original *Schnurrbart* in both cases.—*Ed.*
[b] Schiller, *Die Jungfrau von Orleans,* Act III, Scene 6.—*Ed.*

allows the "tyrant to be tyrannised" and carries out the orders of the National Assembly by humbly *begging* for permission to speak, though he had just attempted to *take* this right.[27]

*"I had rather be a tick in a sheep*
*Than such a valiant ignorance."*[a]

Berlin's calm attitude *delights* us; the ideals of the Prussian drill-sergeants prove unavailing against it.

But the National Assembly? Why does it not pronounce the *mise hors de loi*[b]? Why does it not outlaw the Wrangels? Why does not one of the deputies step into the midst of Wrangel's bayonets to outlaw him and address the soldiers?

Let the Berlin National Assembly leaf through the *Moniteur*, the *Moniteur* for 1789-95.

And what should *we* do at the present time?

**We should refuse to pay taxes**. A Wrangel and a Brandenburg understand—for these creatures learn Arabic from the Hyghlans[28]—that they wear a sword and get a uniform and a salary. But *where* the sword, the uniform and the salary come from—that they do not understand.

*There is only one means of defeating the monarchy,* and that is to do it before the *advent of the anti-June revolution,* which will take place *in Paris* in December.[29]

The monarchy defies not only the people, but the bourgeoisie as well.

Defeat it therefore in a bourgeois manner.

And how can one defeat the monarchy in a bourgeois manner?

By starving it out.

And how can one starve it out?

By refusing to pay taxes.

Consider it well. All the princes of Prussia, all the Brandenburgs and Wrangels produce no *bread for the army.* It is you who produce even the bread for the army.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 142, November 14, 1848]

*Cologne,* November 13. Just as once the French National Assembly, on finding its official meeting place closed, had to continue its session in the *tennis-court,* so now the Prussian National Assembly has to meet in the *shooting-gallery.*[30]

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[a] Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida,* Act III, Scene 3.—*Ed.*
[b] Outlawing.— *Ed.*

A decision adopted in the shooting-gallery declares *Brandenburg a traitor.* The text, as received from our Berlin correspondent (who signs his articles ⊙ ), is contained in our special edition issued this morning, but it is not mentioned in the report published in the *Kölnische Zeitung.*[a]

However, we have just received a letter from a **member of the National Assembly** which we quote *word for word*:

**"The National Assembly has unanimously (242 members) declared that by introducing this measure (dissolution of the civic militia) Brandenburg has committed high treason, and any person who actively or passively co-operates in the implementation of this measure is to be regarded as a traitor."**[31]

*Dumont*'s trustworthiness is well known.

Since the National Assembly has declared *Brandenburg a traitor,* the **obligation to pay taxes** ceases **automatically**. *No taxes are to be paid to a government guilty of high treason.* Tomorrow we shall inform our readers in greater detail **how in England, the oldest constitutional country**, a **refusal to pay taxes** operated during a similar conflict.[32] Incidentally, the *traitorous Government itself* has shown the people the right way **when it immediately refused to pay taxes** (allowances etc.) **to the National Assembly** in order to **starve it out.**

The aforementioned deputy writes further:

**"The civic militia will not hand over its arms."**

*A fight therefore seems inevitable,* and it is the ***duty of the Rhine Province to hasten to the assistance of the Berlin National Assembly with men and weapons.***

Written by Marx on November 11 and 13, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Nos. 141, 141 (second edition) and 142, November 12 and 14, 1848

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[a] On November 12, 1848 (special supplement).—*Ed.*

# [DECISION OF THE BERLIN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY][33]

***Berlin***, November 11, 7.45 p.m.

About 6 o'clock news came that Rimpler had been ordered to hand over all arms of the civic militia by 4 o'clock tomorrow. In the meantime the Assembly had adopted the following decision:

1) That General Brandenburg is **guilty of high treason**; 2) that the civic militia shall not give up its arms and, if necessary, shall repel **force by force**; 3) that any officer who gives the order to fire against citizens shall be charged with **high treason**.—In addition, a commission was appointed to discuss the question of **tax refusal**.

At its morning sitting the Assembly had already appointed a commission *to discuss tax refusal.*

When the National Assembly reached the playhouse, they found the entrance barred. Inside a company of soldiers was bivouacking. Their captain refused to allow Herr von Unruh to enter. The National Assembly then proceeded from there to the assembly hall, where they were likewise refused admittance. They then met in the Hotel de Russie.

*Evening of November 11.* The National Assembly transferred its afternoon sitting to the shooting-gallery in Lindenstrasse. On Monday it will move into the Köllnische Rathaus.[34] From what I hear, the Stock Exchange has offered credit and the city councillors are willing to guarantee the deputies' allowances. Several deputations from Spandau, Magdeburg and Pomerania have arrived here to acknowledge the authority of the Assembly.

During the course of the day a "*proclamation*" of the *King* was published, countersigned by the Ministers. This proclamation, which is reminiscent of similar proclamations by *Dom Miguel*, seeks to justify the prorogation of the National Assembly. A second royal decree disbands the civic militia; and a third appoints *Rintelen*, chief presiding judge of the Court of Appeal at Naumburg, to be Minister of Justice.[a]

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[a] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 142, November 14, 1848.— *Ed.*

**The royal *Supreme Court*, asked by Herr Bornemann whether the Crown had the right to prorogue, to transfer or to close down the National Assembly convened here in the name of the whole country, replied with a unanimous "No!"**

In Berlin the rumour was circulating that at *Breslau* the troops have been driven out of the town and Brandenburg's hotel destroyed.

We cannot give credence to this rumour, for a letter which has just reached us from Breslau, dated 1 o'clock in the morning of November 11, contains no mention of this. The main contents of this letter are as follows:

At its sitting on November 10 the Central Committee of the civic militia decided to request that the City Council (and the City Councillors) take steps for the immediate general arming of all men capable of bearing arms and declare that it will recognise and protect the National Assembly under all circumstances and acknowledge it as the only seat of government. The *Oberpräsident*[a] declared to a deputation sent to meet him that he would not go beyond the law, but that he would never undertake any action against the National Assembly, nor lend his hand to such action. He would resign from office immediately if he was asked to do anything contrary to the law. He did not recognise the necessity for prorogation of the National Assembly.

The Chief of Police,[b] who was also present, gave his support to these declarations. He did not recognise any right to dissolve the Chamber and would immediately resign from office if anything of the sort were to happen.

The Central Committee of the Breslau civic militia has declared itself a permanent body.

Since the National Assembly **has declared** Prime Minister Brandenburg **guilty of high treason, the obligation to pay taxes automatically ceases**, for it would be impermissible to support his treasonable administration with taxes.—**Therefore, to pay taxes is now tantamount to high treason and refusal to pay taxes is the primary duty of the citizen**.

Written by Marx on November 11, 1848

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 141 (special edition), November 12, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] Eichmann.— *Ed.*
[b] Minutoli.— *Ed.*

# [SITTING OF THE SWISS CHAMBERS]

*Berne*, November 12. In the sittings held so far, the two Swiss Chambers have not yet debated any of the more important questions. Last week the main business was the constituting of the two Councils; the debate on the publication of proceedings (which, as is known, has been dropped for the present without any conclusion being reached); the recall of deputies elected with reservations regarding the new Constitution.[35] During yesterday's sitting the oath for the federal authorities was finalised and the salaries of the Federal Council fixed (6,000 Swiss francs for the President, 5,000 for each of the councillors, and 4,000 and free residence for the Chancellor). It will now no longer be possible to delay the choice of the federal capital and the appointment of the Federal Council. In addition the *Vorort*[a] yesterday informed both Councils of the measures taken with regard to Tessin.[36] Tessiners have appealed against the *Vorort* to the new federal authorities; however, it is not to be expected that the latter will modify or revoke altogether the decisions taken by their predecessors.

Written by Engels on November 12, 1848

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 147 (second edition), November 19, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] Berne.—*Ed.*

# [CAVAIGNAC AND THE JUNE REVOLUTION][37]

*E. Girardin* is pitiable in his apologia for the imperialistic cretin *Louis Napoleon*, the "*little constable*"[38]; he is likeable in his attacks on *Cavaignac*, the warrior hero of M. Marrast. Since November 7 he has been publishing in consecutive issues a philippic against the *hero of the European bourgeoisie*, which has fallen in love with his Arabian nightcap.[39] Perfidious as this bourgeoisie is, it has sacrificed him to the *Sipehsalar*[a] *Jellachich*, who is now the *lion* of the European hucksters.

We give our readers in full the *acte d'accusation* made by *La Presse*. In contrast to all European newspapers of great or small format, we have conceived the *June revolution* in a way that history has confirmed.[b] We insist on coming back from time to time to its chief factors and chief *dramatis personae*, since the *June revolution* is *the centre* around which the European revolution and counter-revolution revolve.[c] The distance from the June revolution, as we stated at the time when it was taking place, marked the zenith of counter-revolution, which had to make its tour of Europe. The return to the June revolution is the real beginning of the European revolution. Therefore, back to *Cavaignac*, to the *inventor of the state of siege*.

Written by Marx on November 13, 1848

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 142 (second edition), November 14, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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[a] Supreme commander.—*Ed.*

[b] See Karl Marx, "The June Revolution" (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 144-49).— *Ed.*

[c] See Karl Marx, "The Victory of the Counter-Revolution in Vienna" (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 503-06).— *Ed.*

# APPEAL OF THE DEMOCRATIC DISTRICT COMMITTEE OF THE RHINE PROVINCE[40]

## APPEAL

*Cologne,* November 14. The Rhenish District Committee of Democrats calls upon all democratic associations in the Rhine Province immediately to convene their associations and organise everywhere in the neighbourhood popular meetings in order to encourage the entire population of the Rhine Province to refuse to pay taxes, since this is the most effective means to oppose the arbitrary acts committed by the Government against the assembly of Prussian people's representatives.

It is necessary to advise against any violent resistance in the case of taxes collected under a writ of execution, but it can be recommended that at public sales people should refrain from bidding.

In order to agree on further measures, the District Committee is of the opinion that a congress of deputies from all associations should be held, and herewith invites them to meet on Thursday, November 23, at 9 a.m. (in the Eiser Hall, Komödienstrasse).

Cologne, November 14, 1848

For the District Committee

***Karl Marx*** ***Schneider II***

Written by Marx on November 14, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 143, November 15, 1848

# IMPEACHMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT[41]

***The city of Brandenburg refuses to have anything to do with the Brandenburg Ministry and sends an address of thanks to the National Assembly.***

***In its addresses the whole country recognises only the government of the National Assembly.***

***The Ministry has committed a further act of high treason by defying the Habeas Corpus Act[42] and proclaiming a state of siege without the assent of the National Assembly and by expelling the National Assembly itself from the shooting-gallery at the point of the bayonet.***

**The National Assembly has its seat in the people and not in the confines of this or that heap of stones. If it is driven out of Berlin it will meet elsewhere, in Breslau, Cologne, or any other place it thinks fit. It has declared this in the decision it adopted on the *13th*.[a]**

**The Berliners scoff at the state of siege and will not allow themselves to be in any way restrained by it. Nobody is handing over his arms.**

**Armed men from various parts of the country are hurrying to the assistance of the National Assembly.**

**The guards refuse to obey orders. More and more soldiers are fraternising with the people.**

**Silesia and Thuringia are in full revolt.**

We, however, appeal to you, citizens—send money to the democratic Central Committee in Berlin. But pay no taxes to the counter-revolutionary Government. The National Assembly has

[a] This decision was adopted at the evening sitting of November 12, 1848.— *Ed.*

declared that refusal to pay taxes is justified in law. It has not yet adopted a decision on this out of consideration for the officials. A *starvation diet* will make these officials realise the power of the citizenry and will make them also good citizens.

Starve the enemy and refuse to pay taxes! Nothing is sillier than to supply a traitorous government with the means to fight the nation, and the means of all means is *money*.

Written by Marx on November 15, 1848 Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 143 (special edition), November 15, 1848

# Extra-Blatt

## zu Nr. 143 der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung.

Mittwoch, den 15. November.

# Das Ministerium ist in Anklagezustand versetzt.

**Die Stadt Brandenburg will nichts wissen von dem Ministerium Brandenburg und schickt eine Dank-Adresse an die Nationalversammlung.**

**Das ganze Land erkennt in seinen Adressen nur die Regierung der Nationalversammlung an.**

**Das Ministerium begeht neuen Hochverrath, indem es im Gegensatze zu dem Habeas-Corpus-Act ohne Genehmigung der Nationalversammlung den Belagerungszustand ausgesprochen und die Nationalversammlung selbst mit Bajonnetten aus dem Schützenhause vertrieben hat.**

Die Nationalversammlung hat ihren Sitz im Volke, nicht in dem Umkreis dieser oder jener Steinhaufen. Vertreibt man sie aus Berlin, so wird sie in einem andern Orte tagen, in Breslau, Köln oder wo es ihr gutdünkt. Sie hat in ihrer Sitzung vom 13. diesen Beschluß gefaßt.

Die Berliner moquiren sich über den Belagerungszustand und lassen sich in keiner Weise durch denselben einschränken. Niemand liefert die Waffen ab.

Von verschiedenen Gegenden sind Bewaffnete der National-Versammlung zur Hülfe geeilt.

Die Garden verweigern den Gehorsam. Die Soldaten fraternisiren immer mehr mit dem Volke.

Schlesien und Thüringen sind in vollem Aufstande.

Wir aber, Bürger, rufen euch zu: Schickt Geld dem demokratischen Centralausschusse nach Berlin. Zahlt dagegen keine Steuern an die contrerevolutionäre Regierung. Die National-Versammlung hat erklärt, daß die Steuerverweigerung rechtlich begründet sei. Sie hat sie noch nicht beschlossen aus Rücksicht für die Beamten. Die **Hungerkur** wird diese Beamte die Macht des Bürgers kennen lehren, und sie selbst zu guten Bürgern machen.

Hungert den Feind aus und verweigert die Steuern! Nichts thörichter als einer hochverrätherischen Regierung Mittel zum Kampfe gegen die Nation zu bieten und das Mittel aller Mittel ist — **Geld**.

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# Das Vaterland in Gefahr.

Heute Mittwoch den 15. November Mittags halb 1 Uhr

**Versammlung**

der Landwehrmänner und Reservisten aller Waffengattungen einschließlich deren Offiziere im Eiser'schen Saale.

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Der Gerant: Korff.
Druck J. W. Dietz, untre Hutmacher 17.

Special edition of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* with Marx's article "Impeachment of the Government"

# STATEMENT

*Cologne,* November 16. The *Kölnische Zeitung* in its issue of November 16 draws a wholly invented connection between the "Appeal of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats"[a] and an "*Assurance*" about the refusal to pay taxes[43] alleged to have been sent to the provinces by the extreme Left of the Prussian National Assembly. Nothing is known to the undersigned of a news report spread by members of the extreme Left concerning a refusal to pay taxes already decided on by the National Assembly.

***Karl Marx*** ***Schneider II***

Written by Marx on November 16, 1848

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 145, November 17, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, p. 24.— *Ed.*

# CONFESSIONS OF A NOBLE SOUL[a]

*Cologne*, November 16. We predicted to the Right what would await them if the camarilla was victorious—a *tip* and *kicks*.[b]

We were mistaken. The struggle has not yet been decided, but they are already being given *kicks* by their chiefs, without receiving any *tip*.

The *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, Dame of the Army Reserve Cross "with God for King and Fatherland", *the official organ of those now in power*, states in one of its recent issues that the deputies *Zweiffel* (Chief Public Prosecutor in Cologne) and *Schlink* (Counsellor of the Court of Appeal in Cologne) are—let the reader guess—"*revolutionary stomachs*" [*Magen*] (the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* writes "*Mägen*"[c]). It speaks of these gentlemen's "*inexpressible emptiness of thought and absence of thought*". It finds even "*Robespierre's fantasies*" far superior to the ideas of these "*gentlemen of the central section*". *Avis à*[d] *Messieurs Zweiffel et Schlink!*

In the same issue of this newspaper *Pinto-Hansemann*[44] is declared to be a "*leader of the extreme Left*",[e] and according to the same newspaper there is only one remedy for leaders of the extreme Left—*summary justice*—the *rope*. *Avis à M. Pinto-Hansemann, ex-Minister of action and of the constabulary.*[45]

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[a] This is the title of the sixth book of Goethe's novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p.15.—*Ed.*

[c] "Der Bericht der Zentralabteilung über Kirche und Schule", *Neue Preussische Zeitung* No. 115 (supplement), November 11, 1848.—*Ed.*

[d] Take notice.—*Ed.*

[e] In the leading article of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* No. 115, November 11, 1848.—*Ed.*

For an *official news-sheet*, the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* is too naively frank. It tells the various parties too explicitly what is locked in the files of the Santa Casa.[46]

In the Middle Ages, people used to open Virgil at random in order to prophesy. In the Prussian Brumaire of 1848, people open the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* to save themselves the trouble of prophesying.[47] We shall give some new examples. What has the camarilla in store for the *Catholics*?

Listen!

No. 115 of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* states:

"*It is equally untrue that the state*" (namely the royal Prussian state, the state of the Army Reserve Cross in its pre-March period) "*has assumed a* ***narrow denominational*** *character and has guided religious affairs from this one-sided standpoint.* ***Admittedly this reproach, if it were true, would be an expression of definite praise.*** *But it is untrue;* for it is *well known* that our Government has expressly abandoned the ***old and good standpoint*** of an ***evangelical government.***"

It is well known that *Frederick William III* made religion a branch of *military discipline* and had dissenters[48] thrashed by the police. It is well known that *Frederick William IV*, as one of the twelve minor prophets, wanted through the agency of the *Eichhorn-Bodelschwingh-Ladenberg* Ministry to convert the people and men of science forcibly to the *religion of Bunsen*. It is well known that even under the *Camphausen* Ministry the *Poles* were just as much plundered, scorched and clubbed because they were *Poles* as because they were *Catholics*. The *Pomeranians* always made a point of *thrusting their bayonets* through images of the Virgin Mary in Poland and *hanging* Catholic priests.

The persecution of *dissenting Protestants* under *Frederick William III* and *Frederick William IV* is equally well known.

The former immured in fortresses the Protestant pastors who repudiated the ritual and dogmas that he himself had invented. He was a great inventor of soldiers' uniforms and rituals. And the latter? The *Eichhorn* Ministry? It suffices to mention the name of the Eichhorn Ministry.

But all that was a mere nothing!

"**Our Government had expressly abandoned the old and good standpoint of an evangelical government.**" Await therefore the *restoration* of Brandenburg-Manteuffel, you *Catholics of the Rhine Province* and *Westphalia* and *Silesia*! Previously you were punished with *rods*, you will be scourged with *scorpions*.[a] *You will get to know* "*expressly the old and good standpoint of an* **evangelical** *government*"!

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[a] Paraphrased words of Rehoboam, King of Judah. See 1 Kings 12:11.—*Ed.*

And as for the *Jews*, who since the emancipation of their sect have everywhere put themselves, at least in the person of their eminent representatives, at the *head of the counter-revolution*—what awaits them?

There has been no waiting for victory in order to throw them back into their ghetto.

In *Bromberg* the Government is renewing the old restrictions on freedom of movement and thus robbing the Jews of one of the first of Rights of Man of 1789, the right to move freely from one place to another.

That is "*one*" aspect of the government of voluble **Frederick William IV** under the auspices of *Brandenburg-Manteuffel-Ladenberg*.

In its issue of November 11[a] the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* threw out *well-being* as bait to the "liberal-*constitutional* party". But it was already shaking its head doubtfully over the *constitutionalists*.

"For the time being at any rate, our *constitutionalists* are still *exceedingly shy of admitting*, when together in their clubs or in their public press, that they are *reactionaries*."

However, it adds soothingly and pertinently:

"*Every single one*" (*of the liberal-constitutionalists*) "*has long ago ceased to conceal* that at the present time there is no salvation except in *legal reaction*,"

that is to say, in making the *law reactionary* or *reaction legal, elevating reaction to the level of law*.

In its issue of November 15[b] the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* already makes short work of the "*constitutionalists*" who want *reaction* elevated to the level of *law*, but are opposed to the Brandenburg-Manteuffel Ministry because it wants *counter-revolution sans phrase*.[c]

"The *ordinary constitutionalists*," it says, "must be *left to their fate*."

Captured together! Hanged together!

*For the information of the ordinary constitutionalists!*

And wherein lies the *extraordinary constitutionalism of Frederick William IV* under the auspices of Brandenburg-Manteuffel-Ladenberg?

The official government organ, the Dame of the Army Reserve Cross with God for King and Fatherland, betrays the secrets of *extraordinary constitutionalism*.

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[a] "Aus Breslau, den 8. November", *Neue Preussische Zeitung* No. 115, November 11, 1848.—*Ed.*

[b] "Ob Königtum, ob Republik", *Neue Preussische Zeitung* No. 118, November 15, 1848.—*Ed.*

[c] Without mincing the matter.—*Ed.*

The "simplest, most straightforward and least dangerous remedy", of course, is "to remove the Assembly to another place", from a capital to a guardroom, from Berlin to Brandenburg.

However, this removal is, as the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* reveals, only an "*attempt*".

"*The attempt must be made,*" it says, "*to see whether the Assembly by removal to another place regains internal freedom along with the re-achievement of external freedom of movement.*"

In Brandenburg the Assembly will be *externally free*. It will no longer be under the influence of the blouses,[a] it will only still be under the influence of the sabres of moustached cavalrymen.

But what about *internal freedom*?

Will the Assembly in Brandenburg *free* itself from the prejudices and reprehensible revolutionary sentiments of the nineteenth century? Will *its soul* be *free* enough to proclaim once more as *official articles of faith* feudal hunting rights, all the musty lumber of former feudal burdens, social estate distinctions, censorship, tax inequalities, aristocracy, absolute monarchy and the death penalty, for which Frederick William IV is so enthusiastic, the plundering and squandering of national labour by

> "the pale canaille who are looked upon
> as faith, love and hope"[b]

by starved country junkers, guard lieutenants and personifications of good conduct records? Will the National Assembly even in Brandenburg be *internally free* enough to proclaim once more all these items of the old wretchedness to be *official articles of faith*?

It is known that the counter-revolutionary party put forward the constitutional watchword: "*Completion of the work on the Constitution!*"

The organ of the Brandenburg-Manteuffel-Ladenberg Ministry *scorns* to wear *this mask* any longer.

"The state of affairs," the *official organ* admits, "has reached a point at which *even the long desired completion of the work on the Constitution can no longer help us.* For who can *any longer conceal* from himself that a legal document which has been dictated to the people's representatives, *paragraph by paragraph*, under threat of the wheel and the gallows, and which has been *wrung from the Crown* by these same representatives, *will be considered binding only as long as the most direct compulsion is capable of maintaining it in force.*"

Therefore, to *abolish* once again, *paragraph by paragraph*, the meagre rights of the people achieved through the National Assembly in Berlin—such is the task of the National Assembly in Brandenburg!

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[a] That is workers.—*Ed.*

[b] Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen*, Caput VIII.—*Ed.*

If it does not completely *restore* the old lumber, *paragraph by paragraph*, that just proves that while it is true that it has regained "*external freedom of movement*" in Brandenburg, it has not regained *internal freedom* as claimed by Potsdam.[49]

And how should the Government act against the spiritual obduracy, against the *internal lack of freedom* of the Assembly that has migrated to Brandenburg?

"*Dissolution ought to follow,*" exclaims the *Neue Preussische Zeitung.*

But the idea occurs to it that perhaps the *people* is *internally still less free* than the Assembly.

"It would be possible," it says, shrugging its shoulders, "for *doubt* to arise *whether new primary elections might not produce a still more pitiful result than the first.*"

In its primary elections the people is said to have *external freedom of movement.* But what about *internal freedom?*

That is the question![a]

The statutes of the Assembly resulting from new primary elections could exceed the old ones in their iniquity.

What is to be done then against the "old" statutes?

The Dame of the Army Reserve Cross strikes an attitude.

"*The fist gave birth to them*" (the old statutes of the Assembly after March 19), "*the fist will overthrow them—and that in the name of God and right.*"

The *fist* will restore the "good old government".

The *fist* is the ultimate argument of the Crown, the *fist* will be the ultimate argument of the people.

Above all, let the people ward off the mendicant hungry fists which take out of their pockets civil lists—and cannon. The boastful fists will become emaciated as soon as they are no longer fed. *Above all, let the people refuse to pay taxes* and—later it will be able to count on which side is the *greater number of fists.*

All the so-called March achievements *will be considered binding only as long as the most direct compulsion is capable of maintaining them in force. The fist gave birth to them, the fist will overthrow them.*

That is what the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* says, and what the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* says, Potsdam has said. Therefore, let there be no more illusion! *The people must put an end to the halfway measures of March, or the Crown will put an end to them.*

Written by Marx on November 16, 1848

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[a] Shakespeare, *Hamlet,* Act III, Scene 1; these words are written by Marx in English.— *Ed.*

# THE *KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG*

*Cologne,* November 16. The editorial board of the *Kölnische Zeitung* in its issue of November 16 describes itself brilliantly as follows:

"In *our wavering* between fear of anarchy today and fear of reaction tomorrow one is forcibly reminded of Luther's words: 'Man is like a drunken peasant; if he mounts a horse on one side, he falls off on the other.'"

*Fear* is the emotion of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

Written by Marx on November 16, 1848

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# NO MORE TAXES!!![50]

*Cologne*, November 16. All the Berlin newspapers, with the exception of the *Preussische Staats-Anzeiger*, *Vossische Zeitung*, and *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, have failed to appear.

The civic militia has been disarmed in the Privy Councillors' quarter,[51] but only there. It is the same battalion that dastardly murdered the engineering workers on October 31.[52] The disarming of this battalion strengthens the popular cause.

The National Assembly has again been driven out of the Köllnische Rathaus by force of arms. It assembled then in the Mielentz Hotel, where finally it unanimously (by ***226 votes***) adopted the following decision on the *refusal to pay taxes*:

> "***So long as the National Assembly is not at liberty to continue its sessions in Berlin, the Brandenburg Ministry has no right to dispose of government revenues and to collect taxes.***
>
> "***This decision comes into force on November 17.***
>
> ***The National Assembly, November 15.***"

***From today, therefore, taxes are abolished!!! It is high treason to pay taxes. Refusal to pay taxes is the primary duty of the citizen!***

Written by Marx on November 16, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

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# A DECREE OF EICHMANN'S

*Cologne,* November 18.

"The calls which are to be heard for a refusal to pay taxes make it my duty to utter a serious warning against them to the province entrusted to my care.

"After the King has publicly set out the weighty reasons for the removal of the National Assembly from Berlin, after a large part of the deputies has acknowledged the right of the Crown, and the German National Assembly equally with the Central Authority in Frankfurt has concurred with this acknowledgement, it cannot be my intention to add my voice to the verdict on this act of the Government which is being arrived at by the inhabitants of the Rhine Province.

"My official position alone obliges me to oppose with all the means at my disposal every attack against the laws and their implementation, without which no state can exist. Such an attack is to be seen in the calls to stop paying taxes, which are the indispensable means for maintaining law and order, taxes which have been legally imposed and can only be altered through a law.

"After my experience of the respect which the inhabitants of the province have for the law, I cannot envisage its violation by them, which would have serious consequences. On the contrary, I am confident that they will unshakeably resist such temptations directed against their honour and the common weal. As regards those unexpected cases where this confidence should nevertheless prove mistaken, I expect from all provincial and local authorities that they will ensure the payment of taxes by employing all the powers conferred on them by the laws and that they will do their duty without hesitation.

Cologne, November 17, 1848

*Oberpräsident* of the Rhine Province
(signed) Eichmann"

Such is the text of the reply of ex-Minister and *Oberpräsident Eichmann* to the appeal of the Rhenish Committee of Democrats.[a]

[a] See this volume, p. 24.— *Ed.*

When Herr Eichmann wrote this, his Epistle to the Thessalonians,[a] did he already know of the *decision of the National Assembly on the refusal to pay taxes?*

Eichmann previously represented the Brandenburg-Manteuffel elements within the Pfuel Ministry. He represents them now at the head of the Rhine Province. Eichmann embodies the *counter-revolution of the Government* in the Rhine Province.

Herr Eichmann's decrees, therefore, have the same value as those of Herr Brandenburg. *Arraignment for high treason* will sooner or later be the most fitting termination of the career of Herr Eichmann, this worthy man who in his youthful years with indefatigable zeal dispatched "traitors to the state" to imprisonment in fortresses.

In the above decree, Herr *Oberpräsident* Eichmann declares himself an *open enemy of the National Assembly,* in complete contrast to Herr *Oberpräsident Pinder* in Silesia, who is known to be a royalist. Herr Eichmann has *therefore ceased to be Oberpräsident,* just as his master, Brandenburg, has ceased to be a Minister. *Herr Eichmann has dismissed himself.* Officials who carry out his counter-revolutionary orders do so at their risk.

If the inhabitants of the Rhine Province wish to support the National Assembly in a more effective way than by mere addresses, if they are not prepared to kneel stupidly and unresistingly before the knout, they must compel *all authorities,* in particular *the Regierungspräsidenten, Landräten, burgomasters* and urban authorities, to make a *public* declaration as to whether *they* recognise the National Assembly and are willing to carry out its decisions, *oui ou non?* In case of refusal, and especially of direct contravention of these decisions, such officials are to be declared 1. *dismissed from office,* 2. *guilty of high treason,* and provisional *committees of public safety* appointed in their place, whose orders are alone to be regarded as valid. Where counter-revolutionary authorities seek forcibly to frustrate the formation and official activity of these committees of public safety, *force must be opposed by every kind of force. Passive* resistance must have *active resistance* as its basis.[53] *Otherwise it will resemble the vain struggle of a calf against its slaughterer.*

Written by Marx on November 18, 1848

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[a] An allusion to the Epistles of St. Paul to Thessalonians.— *Ed.*

# [TAX REFUSAL AND THE COUNTRYSIDE]

*Cologne,* November 18. Lack of space prevents publication today of the numerous fresh messages of support for the National Assembly in Berlin. They will be published in one of our next issues.[54]

There are reports that barricades have been erected in *Wittlich* (Trier administrative district) to prevent the entry of the 27th Regiment. We have an eyewitness report that townsmen in *Berncastel* are sharpening up old lances and manufacturing scythes with which they mean to hasten to Wittlich.

It is reported that in *Bonn* force was used at the gates to bring in flour and cattle *tax-free* and that this led to a conflict.

Today the new acting Chief Burgomaster of this city, Herr *Gräff,* Counsellor of the Court of Appeal, protected by a body of armed men who occupied the entrance to the Town Hall, first attended a sitting of the Municipal Council. In order to prevent possible conflicts in case of refusal to pay the slaughter tax on the *oxen* to be brought in in the next few days by the cattle-dealers, the Municipal Council is said to have decided to send a deputation to meet the dealers at the gate and come to an *agreement* with them.

The following report has reached us from Westphalia:

"The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has already succeeded in having the tax-collector who was sent the day before yesterday from Arnsberg to Neheim forced to leave almost empty-handed, since the peasants refused to pay any taxes at all."

We have received similar reports from various country places in the Rhine Province.

Berlin can only be safeguarded through the revolutionary energy of the provinces. The larger provincial towns, in particular the

provincial capitals, can only be safeguarded through the revolutionary energy of the countryside. The ***refusal to pay taxes*** (whether *direct* or *indirect* taxes) gives the *countryside* the best opportunity to serve the revolution.

Written by Marx on November 18, 1848

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# APPEAL[55]

*Cologne*, November 18. The Rhenish District Committee of Democrats calls upon all democratic associations in the Rhine Province to have the following measures decided upon and carried out:

1. Since the Prussian National Assembly itself has ruled that taxes are not to be paid,[a] their forcible collection must be resisted everywhere and in every way.

2. In order to repulse the enemy a people's militia must be organised everywhere. The cost of weapons and ammunition for impecunious citizens is to be defrayed by the community or by voluntary contributions.

3. The authorities are to be asked everywhere to state publicly whether they recognise the decisions of the National Assembly and intend to carry them out. In case of refusal committees of public safety are to be set up, and where possible this should be done with the consent of the local councils. Local councils opposed to the Legislative Assembly should be elected afresh by a universal vote.

Cologne, November 18

For the Rhenish District Committee
of Democrats

***Karl Marx*** ***Karl Schapper*** ***Schneider II***

Written by Marx on November 18, 1848

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[a] See this volume, p. 36.— *Ed.*

## ELECTIONS TO THE FEDERAL COURT.— MISCELLANEOUS

*Berne,* November 18. Yesterday I gave you the names of the eight members of the Federal Court just elected.[56] In the course of yesterday's joint sitting the following were also appointed: *Jolly* from Freiburg (one of the local National Councillors, whose election had been annulled), Dr. Karl *Brenner,* editor of the *Schweizerische National-Zeitung* in Basle, and the lawyer *Jauch* from Uri, thus bringing the membership of the Federal Court up to the full complement of eleven judges. *Kern* was appointed President and Dr. *K. Pfyffer* Vice-President.

As you know, the National Council annulled the elections in the Freiburg canton because only those electors who were prepared to swear allegiance to the new Federal Constitution were allowed to vote.[57] The next day it confirmed its decision by rejecting almost unanimously (73 against 13) Funk's motion for the matter to be decided by *both* Councils. Apart from the local gossip which this decision evoked in Berne, it gave rise also to very bitter discussions between the radicals of German and French Switzerland. The matter stands as follows: according to the Federal Constitution, the first National Council is to be elected by all Swiss citizens of at least 20 years of age who are in other respects qualified to vote in their canton. For the rest, all arrangements, regulations and more detailed provisions are left to the individual cantons. The oath of allegiance demanded by the Freiburg administration is a condition for the suffrage in many other cantons as well; in these cantons every Swiss citizen who exercises his right to vote for the first time must swear allegiance to the cantonal Constitution. Clearly, the *intention* of the authors of the new Constitution was to ensure universal suffrage for the elections; but according to the *wording* of the Constitution the Freiburg administration is in the right, and in the circumstances in

which it finds itself confronted by a compact hostile majority dominated by the priests, it had either to demand the oath or resign. The German radicals stand by the intention of the legislators, whereas the French, with Waadt[a] at their head, base themselves on the letter of the Constitution in order to rescue the Freiburg administration and the five radical votes in the National Council which they so much desire. They declare the decision of the National Council to be an indirect approval of the rebellion of the Bishop of Freiburg,[b] which—and in this they are quite correct—is bound to bring about the overthrow of the Freiburg radical administration and the establishment of a Sonderbund government in this canton.[58] They call the Berne and other German radicals "theoreticians", "makers of empty abstractions", "doctrinaires" etc. It is true that the German-Swiss radicals, most of whom are lawyers, often adhere too closely to their legalistic standpoint, whereas the men of Waadt and Geneva, who have been trained in the revolutionary French school, are better politicians and sometimes make light of questions of law.

The most forthright newspaper of this French-Swiss trend is the *Nouvelliste Vaudois* of Lausanne, the "organ of the revolution declared permanent", as the conservatives and even the moderate liberals call it. This newspaper, which moreover is written not without wit and a light hand, hoists the banner of the red republic without reservation, declares its support of the June insurgents in Paris, calls the death of Latour in Vienna "a mighty act of justice of the sovereign people" and with bitter irony ridicules the pietistic-reactionary *Courrier Suisse*, which rolled its eyes and howled at such an abomination. Yet this *Nouvelliste* is the organ of a powerful party in the Waadt administration, indeed one can almost say the organ of the majority in this administration. Nevertheless in Waadt absolutely everything goes on in an orderly way, the people are calm and enthusiastically support their Government, as the elections to the National Council prove once again.

According to a semi-official report of the *Revue de Genève*, the decisions of the diocesan conference about the Bishop of Freiburg (you will have learnt of them long ago[59]) will be ratified by Geneva, with a few small reservations due to previous concordats. The other cantons in the diocese have already ratified them. The newspaper further reports that as soon as all ratifications have been received Bishop Marilley will be set free, since the Freiburg canton has stated that it is ready to put a stop to the criminal proceedings begun

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[a] The French name is Vaud.—*Ed.*
[b] Marilley.—*Ed.*

against him for participation in the recent attempt at an uprising.

People are very excited over the choice of the federal capital. If Berne is not going to be chosen—and it is regarded as a portent of this that no one from Berne has been appointed either as President[a] or Vice-President[b] of the Federal Council—a movement will break out here which would result in the overthrow of Ochsenbein, a majority for the radical trend (Stämpfli, Niggeler, Stockmar etc.) and the revision of the Federal Constitution which has only just been adopted. For, according to the Constitution, both Councils must be dissolved and new ones elected for a revision of the Constitution, if 50,000 enfranchised Swiss citizens demand it. Berne by itself can easily collect this number of signatures, without counting the masses who would come from the leading Romance-speaking cantons, stimulated by the prospect of a one-Chamber system and greater centralisation. However, all suppositions about the votes of the Swiss Councils are guesswork; the unlimited fragmentation, that inevitable consequence of the historical federative republic, the indescribable confusion of interests, and the inconceivable medley of determining motives must render futile all talk about probabilities and possibilities.

Written by Engels on November 18, 1848

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[a] The President was Furrer.—*Ed.*
[b] The Vice-President was Druey.—*Ed.*

# THE CITY COUNCIL

*Cologne*, November 20. The Cologne Municipal Council has sent a petition to Berlin in which it urgently begs the King[a] to dismiss the Ministry in order to save the monarchy.[b]

The Cologne City Council, or Herr Dumont and Co., addresses itself to the King at a time when the entire Rhine Province is turning away from the King in order to turn towards the Constituent Assembly. Herr Dumont, or the City Council, wants to save the King, whereas the Rhine Province is thinking only of saving itself. As if the salvation of the King had any connection with the salvation of the Rhine Province! At a moment when the kings and emperors are trying to save themselves by means of martial law and bombardments, the City Council wants to save the King. Who has authorised the City Council to save the King and issue a petition which is a most servile product of Cologne good-for-nothings? Judging from previous relations between the King and the Cologne City Council, the latter is begging for nothing more than to be kicked.

If the City Council had paid more attention to the decision of the Berlin deputies[c] than to the King's autocratic will and his salvation, it would long ago have ordered the Cologne city gates to be manned in order to prevent the levying of taxes and to emphasise the will of the Chamber. The Cologne City Council, therefore, must be dismissed without delay. All judicial and tax authorities that do not exert the utmost energy to hinder the levying of taxes must be treated as guilty of high treason.

If the city of Cologne does not dismiss its City Council and at once send two new deputies to Berlin in place of the two who ran away,[d] it deserves—the *knout*.

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[b] "Petition des Kölnes Gemeinderates", *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 311 (second edition), November 19, 1848.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 36.—*Ed.*

[d] The reference is to Haugh and Wittgenstein who left the Assembly—together with other Right-wing deputies—after hearing the King's order transferring its sitting from Berlin to Brandenburg.—*Ed.*

# APPEAL

*Cologne*, November 20.

*Democrats of the Rhine Province,*

Instead of summoning *Oberpräsident* Eichmann, the well-known Chief Public Prosecutor **Zweiffel** has, through Examining Magistrate **Leuthaus**, summoned your Committee to appear tomorrow on a charge of public incitement to rebellion.

A scandal is expected; the Cologne Garrison Headquarters has made all preparations; in accordance with the order issued by a treacherous Ministry, on this occasion Cologne is to be declared in a state of siege.

Frustrate this hope. Whatever may befall us, conduct yourselves calmly.

The Congress is going to take place under any circumstances.[60]

The Rhine Province will sooner shed its last drop of blood than submit to the rule of the sword.

***Karl Marx*** ***Karl Schapper*** ***Schneider II***

Written by Marx on November 20, 1848

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# ON THE PROCLAMATION OF THE BRANDENBURG-MANTEUFFEL MINISTRY ABOUT TAX REFUSAL

*Cologne,* November 21. The Brandenburg-Manteuffel Ministry has issued an order to all royal administrative authorities to employ forcible measures to collect taxes.[a]

The Brandenburg-Manteuffel Ministry, whose position is illegal, recommends coercion against the recalcitrant and mildness towards the propertyless.

It thus establishes two categories of non-payers: those who refuse to pay in order to comply with the will of the National Assembly, and those who do not pay because they are unable to pay. The intention of the Ministry is only too clear. It wants to divide the democrats; it wants to make the peasants and workers count themselves as non-payers owing to lack of means to pay, in order to split them from those not paying out of regard for legality, and thereby deprive the latter of the support of the former. But this plan will fail; the people realises that it is responsible for solidarity in the refusal to pay taxes, just as previously it was responsible for solidarity in payment of them.

The struggle will be decided between the force that pays and the force that is paid.

Written by Marx on November 21, 1848

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[a] "An sämtliche königlichen Regierungen", *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger* No. 200, November 20, 1848.— *Ed.*

# THE CHIEF PUBLIC PROSECUTOR AND THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

*Cologne,* November 21. Who takes a legal stand, *Oberpräsident* Eichmann or the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*? Who ought to be put in prison, the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* or *Oberpräsident* Eichmann? This question is at present awaiting decision by Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel. Will the Public Prosecutor's office, which Zweiffel represents, side with the Brandenburg Ministry or will he, as an old contributor to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*,[61] take the side of his colleagues? This question is at present awaiting decision by the public.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was pressing for cessation of payment of taxes prior to the decision of the National Assembly[a]; it upheld legality before the legislative power did so. And if this anticipation of legality is an illegality, then for six whole days the editorial board of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had been taking an illegal stand. Six days Herr Zweiffel could have instituted proceedings, but on the seventh day he would have had to give up his inquisitorial zeal.

On the seventh day, however, when the work of creation had been completed and Herr Zweiffel had celebrated the Sabbath, and the National Assembly had elevated the refusal to pay taxes to the level of law, *Präsident* Eichmann proposed to Herr Zweiffel to institute proceedings against those who had provoked the refusal to pay taxes. Who provoked the refusal to pay taxes? The editorial board of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* or the National Assembly in Berlin? Whom should Herr Zweiffel arrest: his old colleagues, the deputies in Berlin, or his old co-workers, the editors of the *Neue Rheinische*

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[a] See this volume, pp. 20-21, 24 and 25-26.— *Ed.*

*Zeitung*, or the Prefect, Herr Eichmann? So far Herr Zweiffel has not arrested anyone.

We propose, therefore, that some other Zweiffel should arrest Herr Zweiffel because before the Sabbath he did not arrest the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, and after the Sabbath he did not arrest Herr Eichmann.

Written by Marx on November 21, 1848

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# THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE IN BERLIN AND COLOGNE

*Cologne*, November 21. In Berlin the Public Prosecutor's office has capitulated to a *traitor to the state*. The Chief Public Prosecutor, Herr Sethe, instead of complying with the National Assembly's demand that he should do his duty in respect of the traitor Brandenburg, has resigned.

The Rhenish District Committee of Democrats, which is endeavouring to make the legal decision of the National Assembly as widely known as possible, and which therefore demands that the plans of a *traitor to the state* should be frustrated,[a] is being prosecuted by the Cologne Public Prosecutor on a charge of—*rebellion* (?!).

"He who has might, has right."—The representatives of the *right* are everywhere on the side of *might*.

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[a] See this volume, p. 41.—*Ed.*

# THE FRANKFURT ASSEMBLY[62]

*Cologne,* November 22. The Frankfurt Parliament has declared the decision of the Berlin Assembly regarding the refusal to pay taxes null and void as being illegal. It has thereby sided with Brandenburg, with Wrangel, with specific Prussianism. Frankfurt has moved to Berlin, and Berlin to Frankfurt. The German Parliament is in Berlin, and the Prussian Parliament in Frankfurt. The Prussian Parliament has become a German Parliament, and the German one has become a Brandenburg-Prussian Parliament. Prussia was to be merged into Germany, now the German Parliament at Frankfurt wants Germany to be merged into Prussia!

German Parliament! Whoever spoke of a German Parliament after the grave events in Berlin and Vienna. After the death of Robert Blum no one gave another thought to the life of the noble Gagern. After the setting up of the Brandenburg-Manteuffel Ministry no one thought any more about a Schmerling. The professors who "made history" for their own amusement had to allow the shelling of Vienna, the murder of Robert Blum and the barbarity of Windischgrätz! The gentlemen who were so greatly concerned about the cultural history of Germany left the practical management of culture in the hands of a Jellachich and his Croats! While the professors were evolving the theory of history, history ran its stormy course without bothering about the professorial history.

The decision taken the day before yesterday has destroyed the Frankfurt Parliament. It has driven the Frankfurt Parliament into the arms of the traitor Brandenburg. The Frankfurt Parliament is guilty of high treason, it must be brought to trial. If a whole people rises to protest against an act of royal tyranny, and if this protest is

made in an entirely legal way—by refusing to pay taxes—and an assembly of professors declares—without being at all competent to do so—that the refusal to pay taxes, this revolt of the whole people, is illegal, then this assembly places itself outside the law, it commits high treason.

It is the duty of all members of the Frankfurt Assembly who voted against this decision to resign from this "deceased Federal Diet".[63] It is the duty of all democrats to elect these resigned "Prussians" to the German National Assembly in Berlin in place of the "Germans" who have left. The National Assembly in Berlin is not a "fragment", it is a complete entity, for it has the right to take decisions. But the Brandenburg Assembly at Frankfurt will become a "fragment", for the inevitable resignation of the 150 deputies will surely be followed by that of many others who do not wish to set up a Federal Diet at Frankfurt. The Frankfurt Parliament! It fears a red republic and decrees a *red monarchy*! We do not want a *red* monarchy, we do not want the crimson Crown of Austria to extend its sway over Prussia, and we therefore declare that the German Parliament is guilty of high treason! Nay, we do it too much honour; we impute to it a political importance which it has long since lost. The severest judgment has already been passed upon it—disregard of its rulings and total oblivion.

Written by Marx on November 22, 1848 Printed according to the newspaper

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# [STATE OF SIEGE EVERYWHERE]

*Cologne*, November 22. We predicted that the Cologne City Council would receive kicks in answer to its petition to the King.[a] We were mistaken. It is true that the Municipal Council did receive kicks, although not from the King, but from Manteuffel-Brandenburg.[64] *Tant pis!*[b] We said further that after the decision of the Frankfurt Parliament, it was the duty of the Left to withdraw from it.[c] According to what we hear, not only the Left, but also the Left Centre has withdrawn in order to form a democratic Central Committee. *Tant mieux!*[d]

States of siege everywhere, such are the achievements of the March revolution. Düsseldorf in a state of siege! A town is besieged in order to be conquered. All Prussian towns are being gradually declared in a state of siege, in order to be reconquered. The whole of Prussia has to be reconquered because the whole of Prussia has become disloyal to Prussia. How is the state of siege put into effect? By disarming the citizens. How can a city like Cologne, which is already disarmed, be declared in a state of siege for a second time? By first of all being given back its arms. To put Cologne in a state of siege for a second time means putting weapons in its hands. Long live the state of siege!

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[a] See this volume, p. 45.— *Ed.*
[b] So much the worse! — *Ed.*
[c] See this volume, p. 52.— *Ed.*
[d] So much the better!—*Ed.*

# [POSITION OF THE LEFT IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY]

*Cologne,* November 22. We have heard from private sources that the ***Left*** and the ***Left*** Centre of the National Assembly in Frankfurt decided yesterday evening at a closed sitting ***to withdraw, to constitute themselves a democratic committee for Germany, and at the same time to issue an appeal to the German people.***

In publishing this information, we do not guarantee its authenticity, but we are convinced this is the only course open to the Left and the Left Centre. Were they not to take it, they would be signing their own death warrants.

Written by Marx on November 22, 1848

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# NEWS FROM SWITZERLAND

*Berne*, November 20. I have just heard from officials of the Federal War Department that the *German Central Authority is reported to have declared war on Switzerland.*[65] The courier arrived yesterday evening, and the *Vorort* was said to have gone into session at 11 o'clock the same evening. Measures had already been taken for serious war preparations. It was stated further that *50,000 imperial troops were concentrating on the Swiss frontier* to begin hostilities.

I am passing this news to you exactly as I heard it. I myself do not believe it, although the source is reliable. I would not credit even the Imperial Government with *such* lunacy.

Written by Engels on November 20, 1848

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# [RESULT OF THE ELECTIONS TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL]

*Berne*, November 21. Here is the result of the elections to the National Council which took place the day before yesterday: ex-member of the Great Council Fischer (conservative), 1,793 votes, elected. Weingart 1,315, Matthys 1,266, Blösch (conservative) 1,256 votes. As none of the last three has an absolute majority, the two radicals Weingart and Matthys still remain in the ballot and Weingart will probably be elected. The fact that the radicals are having at least one of their candidates returned is due to the participation of the Berne militia battalion which happened to be on service in Freiburg and voted to a man for the radicals.

Written by Engels on November 21, 1848

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# ELECTIONS.—SYDOW

*Berne,* November 21. At yesterday's sitting the *Federal Assembly* (the two Councils in joint session) dealt with the Freiburg elections.[a] Earlier, the *Vorort* had announced that it intended to come to an agreement with Tessin and therefore desired the withdrawal of the troops that had been ordered there.[66] Further (because of the complications with the Imperial Government), the *Vorort* wants the Federal Diet to constitute itself as soon as possible.

Herr Escher wishes to resign as representative of the Confederation in Tessin.

Herr Furrer declares that for the time being, until the next session, he accepts the position of Federal Councillor and Federal President. This means that four members (Furrer, Ochsenbein, Frei-Herose and Näff) are present; Herr Ochsenbein declares the Federal Council to be constituted, and leaves the chair of the Assembly, which Herr Escher takes over, and the four Federal Councillors are sworn in.[67]

Proceeding to the agenda, Herr Brugisser proposes a motion in the name of the majority of the commission concerned calling for the revocation of the decision by which the National Council annulled the Freiburg elections.[68] The minority demands that the decision of the National Council be confirmed. Messrs. Kopp, Anton Schnyder, Pottier, Eytel, Pittet, Castella (Freiburg), Weder (St. Gallen), Ochsenbein and Fazy spoke in support of the majority motions and Messrs. Tanner, Trog, Escher, Frei, Streng and Imobersteg in support of the minority. The arguments were mostly of a legal nature, but the defenders of the Freiburg elections laid tremendous

[a] See this volume, pp. 42-43.—*Ed.*

emphasis on the political necessity to retain the Freiburg Government and to avoid exposing the canton once again to the intrigues of the clergy. The majority motion of the commission was finally adopted by 68 votes to 53, which meant that the decision of the National Council annulling the Freiburg elections was revoked.

The *Suisse* and the *Verfassungsfreund* are jubilant, for this decision ensures them five votes for Berne as the federal capital. The *Nouvelliste Vaudois* will also rejoice, for the radical Freiburg Government and the five radical votes on the National Council are for the time being guaranteed. The *Berner Zeitung*, although much closer in its principles to the *Nouvelliste* than to the two above-mentioned Ochsenbein newspapers, nevertheless declares that the decision of the Federal Assembly is the first victory for cantonal sovereignty in the new Confederation. In our opinion, the *Berner Zeitung* is wrong. Most speakers for the majority were certainly not serious about the issues of principle which were advanced during this debate, least of all Herr Eytel, who even went so far as to speak against the supporters of unity. With them it was purely a matter of practical interests; this is clear from the newspapers mentioned above, which pay homage to diametrically opposed parties and whose followers nevertheless used the same arguments in support of the same side. Most members of the minority, on the other hand, and especially the Berne radicals, were serious about the principles involved. But it is open to question whether these gentlemen did not allow themselves to be carried rather too far by their legal conscience.

To everyone's surprise, His Excellency Herr von Sydow, the Prussian envoy, returned here the day before yesterday after a year's absence. It is known that after the Sonderbund war[69] he took up residence in worthy Basle—birds of a feather etc. The significance of his sudden return is not yet known. Probably it has none at all. At least he has made no communication to the *Vorort*[70] or to the Federal Council. Besides, his whole staff has for the time being remained in Basle.

So my report yesterday[a] about disagreements with the Imperial Government did have some truth in it.—To be sure, there is no question of a declaration of war, nor has any new Note arrived from the Empire. But news of the 50,000 imperial troops said to be concentrating on the Swiss frontier and forming a cordon between Constance and Basle was certainly received the day before yesterday in the evening by the *Vorort* which, as I wrote to you, thereupon went

[a] See this volume, p. 55.—*Ed.*

into session the very same evening. We shall soon learn what sort of counter-measures it and the now constituted Federal Council have decided on.

The day before yesterday elections took place in the Mittelland district (Berne and vicinity) for two National Councillors to take the places of Dufour, who was elected in three constituencies and opted for Seeland, and of Ochsenbein, who on account of his election to the Federal Council loses his title of National Councillor. The conservative (i. e. reactionary) candidates Fischer and Blösch obtained 1,059 and 893 of the city's votes respectively, the two radicals Weingart and Matthys, 559 and 540.[a] Fischer's election is certain, while that of Blösch, who is the object of greater antipathy, is less so. The considerable conservative majority in the city of Berne is mainly due to the influence exercised on the elections by the rich and long established patrician families here. By far the greater part of the electorate is dependent on them and only breaks away from their tutelage in moments of crisis or when a candidate presents himself who, like Ochsenbein, has popular antecedents and has managed to achieve a respected position in Switzerland. Here, as in most places in Switzerland, the actual revolutionary forces of the people are among the Swiss and German workers, but since they have no permanent residence in the city, they only very rarely have the right to vote, even if they are citizens of the canton.[71] This circumstance, together with the fact that as soon as things become quieter the influence of the patricians once more begins to spread, explains the conservative elections which never fail to come about a few years after each liberal or radical revolution.

At today's sitting of the National Council, Dr. Steiger of Lucerne was elected President in place of Ochsenbein. The Assembly is debating the Tessin affair. In the course of a long and, for an Italian, very lifeless speech, Pioda (of Tessin) made numerous accusations against the representatives and troops of the Confederation in Tessin. Escher of Zurich, however, strove to refute these charges. If possible I shall send an additional report on the outcome of the sitting.[b] It looks as though this will be unqualified approval for the *Vorort* and the representatives, and at best simply an agenda based on the *Vorort*'s announcement yesterday (see above) that everything has been settled.

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[a] See this volume, p. 56. The difference in the number of votes is explained by the fact that in the previous report Engels quoted the preliminary result of the voting.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 142-53.— *Ed.*

There were several more speeches, including a final one from Colonel Ziegler. In this he supplemented the majority motions approving the steps taken by the *Vorort* with a motion ordering the Government of Tessin to pay at least a part of the costs and to express its appreciation of the representatives. The discussion was then adjourned until tomorrow on a motion from the President.

Written by Engels on November 21, 1848

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# [DEBATE IN THE NATIONAL COUNCIL]

*Berne,* November 22. At today's sitting of the National Council, there was a long debate in which General Dufour made an excellent speech in support of Tessin. All the other military men in the Council—Ziegler, Michel, Benz etc.—bitterly opposed Tessin and after Pioda had made an admirable reply to all the attacks, a motion of the minority on the commission

"to intern the Italian refugees who took part in the recent uprising and to leave the execution of this decision to the Government of Tessin"

was rejected on a roll-call by 62 votes to 31. On the other hand, the majority motions

"1) to expel *all* Italian refugees from the canton of Tessin into the Swiss interior, taking into account humanitarian considerations, on which the representatives of the Confederation shall decide",

and

"2) to forbid the canton of Tessin until further notice to allow Italian refugees to remain there",

were adopted by 62 votes to 31 and 50 votes to 46 respectively. The two Zurich deputies, Escher and Furrer, decided the issue by skilfully influencing the German Swiss; Furrer threw his whole weight as President of the Federal Council onto the scales against Dufour's noble gentlemanliness and almost brought the matter to a vote of confidence. The 31 votes for Tessin were, with five or six exceptions, all French Swiss. During the roll-call one heard nothing but "*oui*" and "*nein*", not one "*non*", and only five or six "*jas*". Romance Switzerland was hopelessly overwhelmed by the Germans.

The remaining points in the majority motion, to which the minority (Herr Pioda) also agreed, are just being adopted. The sitting and the post-office close at the same time. More details of this interesting debate tomorrow.[72]

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# [RAVEAUX'S RESIGNATION.—VIOLATION OF THE SWISS FRONTIER]

*Berne*, November 23. Raveaux's resignation from his embassy post[a] is causing quite a sensation here and is unanimously approved. But great indignation has been caused by the German troops' violation of the frontier at Sulgen, and still more by their commander's cavalier apology. What! Thirty-five soldiers enter Swiss territory, weapons in hand, and force their way into a village. They surround a pre-selected house where a pre-selected refugee, Herr Weisshaar, is supposed to be hiding, and make as if to search it. They persist in their purpose despite being told repeatedly that they are on Swiss soil, threaten to use force and finally have to be driven off by peasants wielding cudgels and throwing stones. And despite those incontestable circumstances which prove beyond doubt that the attack was premeditated, the commander maintains that the troops did not know that they were on Swiss soil.

How then can we explain the strange fact that such a large detachment was commanded only by a non-commissioned officer, not at least by a lieutenant, as is otherwise invariably the case, particularly in Germany, which is teeming with lieutenants? How can we explain this, if not by the fact that the presence of an officer, who *would* certainly know that much geography, would have been far too compromising? The Swiss Government will certainly not rest content with an apology flung down so cavalierly after an insult so lightly committed. The Zurich authorities have already instituted an inquiry and the affair will probably end not with an apology from

[a] Imperial commissioner in Switzerland.—*Ed.*

Switzerland to the Barataria's Reich,[73] but with the Barataria's Reich apologising to Switzerland.

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# MANTEUFFEL AND THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY

*Cologne,* November 24. *The Minister Manteuffel declared yesterday to the imperial commissioners*[a] *at present in Berlin that the Prussian Government would not submit to the decision of the Frankfurt Assembly to form a popular Ministry*[74] *because this was an* **internal** *matter.*

Hence *Manteuffel* agrees with us that the decision of the Frankfurt Assembly on the **refusal to pay taxes**[b] is also null and void, because it concerns only an **internal** matter.

It is possible, of course, that the Brandenburg-Manteuffel Ministry will help to convert the *Rhine Province into an external matter for Prussia.*

Written on November 24, 1848

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[a] Simson and Hergenhahn.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 51-52.— *Ed.*

# THE GERMAN CENTRAL AUTHORITY AND SWITZERLAND

*Cologne,* November 24. In the comedies of last century, notably the French, there never failed to be a servant who amused the public because he was continually being cudgelled, cuffed and, in especially effective scenes, even kicked. The role of this servant is certainly a thankless one, but still it is enviable compared with a role which is being continuously performed at our Frankfurt imperial theatre: compared with the role of the Imperial Minister of Foreign Affairs. The servants in the comedy at least have a means of avenging themselves—they are witty. But the Imperial Minister!

Let us be fair. The year 1848 is no year of roses for any Minister of Foreign Affairs. Up to now Palmerston and Nesselrode have been glad to be left in peace. Eloquent Lamartine, who with his manifestos moved even German old maids and widows to tears, has had to slink away in shame with broken wings and bedraggled feathers. His successor, Bastide, only a year ago in the *National* and the obscure *Revue nationale,* as official trumpeter of war, gave vent to the most virtuous indignation at Guizot's cowardly policy. Now he sheds silent tears every evening on reading his *œuvres complètes de la veille*[a] and at the bitter thought that day by day he is sinking more and more to the level of Guizot of the respectable republic. Nevertheless all these Ministers have one consolation: if things have gone badly for them in big matters, they have been able to take their revenge in small matters, on Danish, Sicilian, Argentinian, Wallachian and other remote questions. Even the Prussian Minister of

[a] Collected works of the day before.—*Ed.*

Foreign Affairs, Herr Arnim, when he concluded the unpleasant armistice with Denmark,[75] had the satisfaction not only of being duped, but also of duping someone, and this someone was—the Imperial Minister!

In fact, the Imperial Minister of Foreign Affairs is the only one of them all who played a completely passive role, who received blows, but did not deal a single one. From the first days of his entry into office he has been the predestined scapegoat on whom all his colleagues of neighbouring states vented their spleen, on whom they all took reprisals for the petty sufferings of diplomatic life, a share of which they too had to bear. When he was beaten and tortured, he remained silent, like a lamb being led to the slaughter. Where is there anyone who can say that the Imperial Minister ever harmed a hair of his head? Truly the German nation will never forget Herr Schmerling for having dared with such determination and consistency to resume the traditions of the old Holy Roman Empire.[76]

Need we give further confirmation of Herr von Schmerling's courageous patience with a list of his diplomatic successes? Need we return to the journey of Herr Max Gagern from Frankfurt to Schleswig, that worthy parallel to the old story of *Sophia's Journey from Memel to Saxony*?[77] Need we again rake up the whole edifying history of the Danish armistice? Need we dwell on the unsuccessful offer of mediation in Piedmont and on Herr Heckscher's diplomatic study trip at the expense of the Empire? There is no need to do so. The facts are too recent and too striking for it to be necessary even to mention them.

But there is a limit to everything, and in the end even the most patient man must show his teeth, as the German philistine says. True to this maxim of a class which our worthy statesmen declare to be the great, well-meaning majority in Germany, Herr von Schmerling at last also felt the need to show his teeth. The sacrificial lamb looked for a scapegoat and believed it had finally found one in the shape of Switzerland. Switzerland—with scarcely two and a half million inhabitants, republicans into the bargain, the refuge from which Hecker and Struve invaded Germany[78] and seriously alarmed the new Holy Roman Empire—can one find a better and, at the same time, a less dangerous opportunity of proving that "great Germany" has teeth?

An "energetic" Note was immediately dispatched to the *Vorort* Berne because of the machinations of the refugees. The *Vorort* Berne, however, being conscious of its rights, replied no less energetically to "great Germany" in the name of "little Switzerland". But this did not at all intimidate Herr Schmerling. His capacity to

bite grew with astonishing rapidity, and already on October 23, a new, still "more energetic" Note was drafted and on November 2 handed to the *Vorort*.[79] In it Herr Schmerling now threatened naughty Switzerland with the birch. The *Vorort,* even swifter in its actions than the Imperial Minister, replied two days later with the same calm and determination as before, and therefore Herr Schmerling will now put into effect his "provisions and measures" against Switzerland. He is already most busily engaged in this, as he has stated in the Frankfurt Assembly.[a]

If this threat was the usual imperial farce such as we have seen so many times this year, we would not waste a single word on it. Since, however, one can never sufficiently credit the stupidity of our imperial Don Quixotes, or rather imperial Sanchos, in administering the Foreign Office of their Barataria island,[80] it may easily happen that owing to this Swiss conflict we shall be involved in all kinds of new complications. *Quidquid delirant reges* etc.[b]

Let us then examine somewhat more closely the imperial Note to Switzerland.

It is well known that the Swiss speak German badly and are not much better at writing it. But the Note in reply from the *Vorort* is, as regards style, a perfect masterpiece worthy of Goethe compared with the schoolboyish, clumsy German of the Imperial Ministry, which is always at a loss for the right expressions. The Swiss diplomat (Federal Chancellor Schiess, it is said) seems to have deliberately used a specially pure, limpid and refined language in order in this respect too to form an ironical contrast to the Note of the Imperial Regent,[c] which could certainly not have been written in a worse style by one of Jellachich's red-coats.[81] In the imperial Note there are sentences which are quite incomprehensible, and others which are extremely clumsy, as we shall see later. But are not these sentences written precisely "in the *straightforward language* which the Government of the Imperial Regent will always consider it its duty to use in international intercourse"?

Herr Schmerling does no better in respect of the content. In the first paragraph he recalls

"the fact that in regard to the German Note of June 30 of this year for several weeks before any reply followed, proceedings took place in the Diet[82] in a tone which at that time would have made it impossible for a representative of Germany to stay in Switzerland".

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[a] At its sitting on November 18, 1848.—*Ed.*

[b] First words of the line from Horace: "*Quidquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.*" — *Ed.*

[c] Archduke John of Austria.— *Ed.*

(This is also a sample of the style.)

The *Vorort* is good-natured enough to prove to the "Government of the Imperial Regent" from the minutes of the Diet that these debates "for several weeks" were limited to a single brief session on *one single* day. It is clear, that our Imperial Minister, instead of looking up the documentary records, prefers to trust to his own confused memory. We shall find still further proofs of this.

Incidentally, the Government of the Imperial Regent could regard this obligingness of the *Vorort*, its readiness to come to the assistance of the Government's poor memory, as a proof of the "good-neighbourly attitude" of Switzerland. Indeed, if the Government of the Imperial Regent had taken into its head to speak in a Note in such a fashion about the debates of the English Parliament, the dry arrogance of Palmerston would have dealt with it in quite a different way! The Prussian and Austrian ambassadors in London can tell it what was said in public proceedings about their respective states and Notes, without anyone thinking that their stay in London was thereby rendered impossible. These tyros want to teach Switzerland international law and do not even know that the only thing that concerns them in the proceedings of sovereign assemblies is what is decided, but not what is said! These logicians assert in the same Note, "Switzerland should know that attacks on freedom of the press could not emanate from Germany" (it suffices to print these lines in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* to make them bitterly ironical!)—and they even want to meddle with the freedom of debate of the highest organ of authority in Switzerland at that time!

"There is no conflict here over principles. It is not a question of the right of asylum or of freedom of the press. Switzerland should know that attacks on these rights cannot emanate from Germany. Germany has repeatedly stated that it will not tolerate their abuse, it has recognised that the right of asylum must not become an industry for Switzerland" (what does that mean?), "a state of war for Germany" (the right of asylum a state of war—what German!), "that there must be a difference between shelter for the persecuted and a hiding-place for highway robbers."

"A hiding-place for highway robbers"! Have Rinaldo Rinaldini and all the robber chieftains who made their appearance with Gottfried Basse in Quedlinburg descended with their bands from the Abruzzi Mountains to the Rhine in order at a suitable time to plunder Upper Baden? Is Karl Moor on the march from the Bohemian forests? Has Schinderhannes also left behind a brother's son, who as the "nephew of his uncle"[a] wants to continue the dynasty from Switzerland? Far from it! Struve, now in the Baden

[a] An allusion to Louis Bonaparte.—*Ed.*

prison, Madame Struve, and a few workers who crossed the frontier *unarmed*—these are the "highway robbers" who had their "hiding-place" in Switzerland, or allegedly still have it there. The imperial authority, not satisfied with the prisoners on whom it can take revenge, is so lost to all decency that it hurls abuse across the Rhine at those who were lucky enough to escape.

"Switzerland knows that it is not being asked to persecute the press in any way, that it is not a question of newspapers and leaflets, but of their authors, who at the very frontier day and night wage a base contraband war against Germany by the mass smuggling in of inflammatory writings."

"Smuggling in"! "Inflammatory writings"! "Base contraband war"! The expressions become ever more elegant, ever more diplomatic—but has not the Government of the Imperial Regent "considered it its duty to use straightforward language"?

And, in fact, its language is remarkably "straightforward"! It does not demand from Switzerland any persecution of the press; it is not speaking about "newspapers and leaflets", but about "their *authors*". The activities of the latter must be put a stop to. But, worthy "Government of the Imperial Regent", when proceedings are instituted in Germany against a newspaper, e.g. the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, is it a question of the newspaper which is in everyone's hands and can no longer be withdrawn from circulation, or of the "authors", who are put in prison and brought before the court? This worthy Government does not demand any persecution of the press, it merely demands persecution of the *authors* of the press. Well-meaning persons! Wonderful "straightforward language"!

These authors "wage a base contraband war against Germany by the mass smuggling in of inflammatory writings". This crime of the "highway robbers" is truly unpardonable, the more so since it goes on "day and night", and the fact that Switzerland tolerates it is a flagrant violation of international law.

From Gibraltar whole shiploads of English goods are smuggled into Spain, and the Spanish priests declare that the English "by smuggling in evangelical inflammatory writings", e.g. the Spanish Bibles published by the Bible Society, wage a base contraband war against the Catholic Church. Barcelona manufacturers also curse the base contraband war waged from Gibraltar against Spanish industry by the smuggling in of English calico. But were the Spanish ambassador to complain about it just once, Palmerston would reply to him: Thou blockhead,[a] that is just what we took Gibraltar for!

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[a] Engels wrote these two words in English.—*Ed.*

Hitherto all other governments have shown too much tact, taste and consideration to complain in Notes about smuggling. But the naive Government of the Imperial Regent speaks in such "straightforward language" that it most artlessly declares that Switzerland has violated international law if the Baden customs officials do not display the appropriate vigilance.

"Switzerland, finally, cannot be unaware also that the right of foreign countries to resist such *iniquity* cannot depend on whether the Swiss authorities lack the strength or desire to prevent it."

The Government of the Imperial Regent seems completely "unaware that the right" of Switzerland to leave in peace everyone who obeys the laws of the land, even if he wages a base contraband war etc. by smuggling in etc., "cannot depend on whether the *German* authorities lack the strength or desire to prevent" this smuggling. The Government of the Imperial Regent should take to heart Heine's reply to the Hamburger who moaned to him about a big fire:

Get yourselves better laws
And better fire-hoses[a]—

and then it would no longer need to make itself ridiculous by its straightforward language.

"The conflict is only over the facts," it goes on to say, and therefore we shall at last hear about some other significant facts besides the base contraband war. We are eager for them.

"The eminent *Vorort* demands, on the grounds of its lack of information, that it be supplied with definite proof of actions which could confirm the accusations made against the Swiss authorities."

Obviously, a very reasonable demand on the part of the eminent *Vorort*. And will the Government of the Imperial Regent most willingly accede to this just demand?

By no means! Just listen:

"But a controversial procedure between governments on generally known matters is not customary among nations."

That is a rough lesson in international law for arrogant little Switzerland, which believes itself entitled to be as impertinent towards the Government of the Imperial Regent of great Germany as little Denmark was at one time. It should take note of the example of the Danish armistice and be more modest. Otherwise the same thing might happen to it.

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[a] Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen,* Caput XXI.— *Ed.*

When the extradition of a common criminal is demanded from a neighbouring state, a controversial procedure is involved, however "generally known" the crime. But the controversial procedure, or rather the mere proof of guilt which Switzerland demands before taking measures—not against common criminals who have crossed the border, nor against refugees, no, against its *own officials*, elected on the basis of a democratic popular vote—such proof "is not customary among nations"! Truly, the "straightforward language" cannot be denied even for a moment. It could not be *more straightforwardly* confessed that there are no proofs to put forward.

There now follows a hail of questions in which all these generally known facts are enumerated.

"Does anyone doubt the activity of the German agitators in Switzerland?"

Of course no one does, just as no one doubts the activity of Herr Schmerling in Frankfurt. It is clear that most of the German refugees in Switzerland pursue some "activity". The only question is *what* their activity is, and obviously Herr Schmerling himself does not know, otherwise he would tell us.

"Has anyone any doubt about the refugee press?"

Of course no one has. Yet Herr Schmerling himself states that attacks on freedom of the press could not emanate from Germany. And if they were to come from there, Switzerland would certainly know how to repulse them. What then does this question mean? If we translate it from "straightforward language" into plain German, it can only mean: Switzerland should abolish freedom of the press for the refugees. *A un autre,*[a] *Monsieur de Schmerling!*

"Has Germany to give Europe proof of the pilgrimage to Muttenz?"

Of course not, cunning "Government of the Imperial Regent"! But to prove that these pilgrimages were the cause of Struve's invasion or possibly of some other enterprise giving greater grounds for complaint against Switzerland—to prove that would bring no discredit to the Government of the Imperial Regent, but would be all the more difficult.

Once again the *Vorort* is obliging enough to do more than "is customary among nations", and to remind Herr Schmerling that the pilgrimages to Muttenz[83] directly concerned *Hecker*, that Hecker was *against* the second invasion, that he even went to America in order to dispel all doubts about his intentions, that among the pilgrims there

[a] Tell that to somebody else.—*Ed.*

were prominent members of the German National Assembly. The *Vorort* is tactful enough, even in presence of the tactless Note of Herr Schmerling, not to mention the final and most striking reason: namely, that the "pilgrims" after all returned to Germany, where at any moment they could be called to account by the Government of the Imperial Regent for any punishable action, for all their "activity" in Muttenz. That this did not happen is the best proof that the Government of the Imperial Regent possesses no data incriminating the pilgrims, and that therefore it is still less able to reproach the Swiss authorities in this respect.

"Or the meetings in Birsfeld?"

"Straightforward language" is a fine thing. Anyone who, like the Government of the Imperial Regent, "has considered it his duty in international intercourse" to use this language, has merely to prove that meetings in general, or even meetings of refugees, took place in Birsfeld to be able to accuse the Swiss authorities of gross violation of international law. Other mortals, of course, would first of all have had to show what occurred at these meetings that was contrary to international law. But, of course, they are "generally known facts", so generally known that I am prepared to bet that among the readers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* there are not three to be found who have any idea what meetings Herr Schmerling is talking about.

"Or the warlike preparations of the malefactors, who are able to pursue their activity along the frontier, in Rheinfelden, Zurzach, Gottlieben and Laufen?"

Praise God! At last we learn something more definite about the "activity" of the refugees! We did Herr von Schmerling an injustice in expressing the opinion that he did not know what the refugees were doing. He knows not only *what* they are doing, but also *where* they are doing it. *Where* do they do it? In Rheinfelden, Zurzach, Gottlieben and Laufen along the frontier. *What* do they do? "Pursue their activity"!

"*They pursue their activity*"! Monstrous violation of all international law — their activity! What then does the Government of the Imperial Regent do in order not to violate international law? Is it perhaps "its excesses" [a]?

But Herr von Schmerling speaks of "warlike preparations". And since among the towns where, to the terror of the whole Empire, the refugees pursue their activity there are several that belong to the Aargau canton, the *Vorort* takes it as an example. It again does

[a] A pun: the German *Wesen* here means "activity", *Unwesen* "excesses".— *Ed.*

something more than is necessary, it once again does more than "is customary among nations", and offers to prove by means of a "controversial procedure" that at that time only 25 refugees were living in the Aargau canton, that of these only ten took part in Struve's second expedition of volunteers,[84] and that even they entered Germany *unarmed.* That is all there was of "warlike preparations". But what does that mean? The other fifteen, who remained behind, were the most dangerous. They obviously only remained behind in order to continue to "pursue their activity" without interruption.

These are the weighty accusations of the "Government of the Imperial Regent" against Switzerland. More than this it is unable to put forward, nor does it need to do so, since it "is not customary among nations" etc. But if Switzerland is so shameless as still not to be shattered by these accusations, the "decisions" and "provisions" of the Government of the Imperial Regent will not fail to have a shattering effect. The world is curious to know what these decisions and provisions will consist of, and is all the more curious because Herr Schmerling is preparing them in the greatest secrecy and does not want to communicate any details even to the Frankfurt Assembly. Meanwhile the Swiss press has already shown that all reprisals Herr Schmerling might take are bound to have a more harmful effect on Germany than on Switzerland and, according to all reports, the Swiss regard the "provisions and decisions" of the Government of the Imperial Regent with the greatest equanimity. Whether the Ministers in Frankfurt will be of the same mind, especially if English and French Notes intervene, remains to be seen. One thing is certain: the affair will end, like the Danish war, in a new disgrace, which on this occasion, however, will fall on *official* Germany alone.

Written by Engels on November 24, 1848

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# DRIGALSKI—LEGISLATOR, CITIZEN AND COMMUNIST[85]

*Cologne*, November 24. Düsseldorf has been declared in a state of siege; the Brandenburg-Wrangel Ministry has found worthy representatives in Herren *Spiegel-Drigalski*. The first of these gentlemen is a simple *Regierungspräsident*, but the second combines various qualities. He is not only a lieutenant-general and commander of a division—as such he figures in the army lists and as "supreme" legislator of the city and entire municipality of Düsseldorf—he is also an author and says of himself that he is at the same time a "citizen" and—a *communist*, and all that with God for King and Fatherland.[a] These two gentlemen, the simple as well as the multicoloured one, have discovered that the state of law in Düsseldorf can only be maintained by *extraordinary* measures; hence they have found themselves "compelled" to declare the entire municipality of Düsseldorf in a state of siege "for the protection of law and order".[86]

We have known for a long time that the Brandenburg Government can only preserve itself by *extraordinary* means; we know that its existence would have come to an end long ago if the country were not in a state of siege. The state of siege is the *state of law* of the Brandenburg Government.

"A state of siege, gentlemen, means a *state of war*," declared Prime Minister von *Pfuel* at the agreement sitting[b] of September 29.[87] At that time the matter concerned the city and fortress of Cologne, at

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[a] The words "with God for King and Fatherland" are from Frederick William III's decree of March 17, 1813, on organising the army reserve.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the sitting of the Prussian National Assembly held to draw up a Constitution by agreement with the Crown.—*Ed.*

that time it was a question of an uprising, the decisions of the courts could not be carried out, the lawful force—the civic militia—could not ensure tranquillity, barricades had been erected; force could only be opposed by force. Such was the assertion at least of those who defended the state of siege, at least they still made an effort to save external appearances by relying on allegedly established facts. Now, however, the matter is regarded much more lightly; Düsseldorf is not in revolt, the activity of the courts has not been prevented for a single moment, the civic militia has always been ready to execute lawful orders; indeed one cannot appeal even to the obsolete *instructions* of the year 1809, on which the main stress was laid at that time, for Düsseldorf is not a fortress. But Düsseldorf with rare energy has declared itself *in favour of the tax refusal*; that sufficed for the two supporters of Brandenburg to establish the state of law, that is to say, to declare the city *outside the law*.

We shall not go into the accusations which are intended to serve as a pretext for proclaiming the state of siege; we recommend them to the attention of the judicial authorities as being *false* accusations, for nowhere has legal proof been adduced to support them; they are calumnies which come under Articles 367 et seq. of the Penal Code.[88] We desire here merely to set out the illegalities of which Herren *Spiegel* and *Drigalski* have made themselves guilty for the purpose of protecting law and order.

After these two gentlemen had proclaimed the state of siege and "*thereby* supreme power passed to the military authorities", "communist and citizen" Drigalski issued the following decrees:

1. The legally existing authorities remain in office and will be given the most energetic support in the measures undertaken by them.

That means that the legally existing authorities, insofar as they have a *legal* basis of existence, are dismissed, but they remain in office in order to support Herr von Drigalski.

"I expect," says Drigalski to his "co-citizens", "that all well-intentioned inhabitants will facilitate *the application of the laws* for me, and that *the authorities will support me in this with complete determination.*"

Herr Drigalski not merely makes the laws, he also applies them; the legally existing authorities are his henchmen. And the "independent" judges of the Düsseldorf district court and the Chief Public Prosecutor and his colleagues calmly put up with all that! They see no violation of the law in their being removed from office, they pay homage to the legislator Drigalski and rejoice at being allowed at this price to continue to draw their salaries. Fie! Are you not ashamed,

gentlemen, under the rule of the sword, to issue orders for arrests and institute criminal proceedings? Or perhaps the arrest of Herr *Lassalle*, who, trusting unfortunately all too boldly in his good right and the protection of the judicial authorities, did not want to evade the state of siege, is only an act of private revenge on the part of Herr *Drigalski*? Perhaps proceedings against this man and his helpers based on Articles 114, 123 and 124 have already been instituted secretly and are in process?

The *second* law of Herr Drigalski states:

"All associations having political and social aims are abolished."

What does Herr Drigalski care about the law of April 6, Paragraph 4![89] If, in accordance with that law, "all Prussians are entitled without previous police permission to unite in societies for purposes which do not contravene the existing laws", that is obviously one of those "achievements" which must be annulled as quickly as possible, that is to say, are incompatible with Drigalski's legislation.

*Third* and *fourth* laws. Herr von *Drigalski* controls street traffic and business hours of public houses. As if Düsseldorf had become Paris, he issues a law against *attroupements*.[a] But he is not merely a big figure as a policeman, he betrays also special talent as a night-watchman: he imposes a curfew.

*Fifth* law.

"In view of its impending reorganisation, the civic militia is disbanded and must surrender its arms as from today."

This law is a complex of illegalities. We distinguish the following:

a) The civic militia is *disbanded*. According to the ordinary laws, specifically the Civic Militia Law of October 17,[90] the militia can be disbanded only by a royal Cabinet Order. Has Herr von Drigalski perhaps a secret Cabinet Order *in petto*? Well then, why does he not publish it, as he published the statement of the Chief Postmaster, Maurenbrecher?[91] Of course, this statement was at once repudiated as a lie by the Düsseldorf militia. Herr von Drigalski has no Cabinet Order, he acts on his own assumption of plenipotentiary powers and assumes royal prerogatives, although he is a *royal*-minded "*citizen* and *communist*".

b) The civic militia is not *merely removed from its duties*. Herr von Drigalski is not satisfied with merely seizing for himself the official power of the *Regierungspräsident*. As far as illegality is concerned, he

[a] Gatherings.—*Ed.*

would have already done quite enough by merely removing the militia from its duties. Paragraph 4 of the law of October 17 states:

"If the civic militia of a municipality or district refuses to obey the orders of the authorities or interferes in the activities of municipal, administrative or judicial authorities, then the *administrative head of the governmental area* may provisionally remove it from its duties, provided he gives the grounds for so doing."

Hence removal from duties could be pronounced only by the *Regierungspräsident,* but not by a lieutenant-general or divisional commander, nor by a citizen, nor finally by a communist, even a "royal Prussian communist".

But Herr Drigalski has his own good reasons for at once acting as royalty without regard for the regular instances. If he had dealt with the militia merely as a *Regierungspräsident* he could not have *disarmed* it. But

c) "the civic militia must surrender its arms as from today". Mere removal from duties in no way justifies the taking away of arms. Otherwise officers who have been suspended would also have to give up their swords. But Herr Drigalski is right; if the militia had been allowed to keep its arms, it would probably not have allowed itself to be removed from duties by *him*; it would have fulfilled its function as Paragraph 1 of the law prescribes.

d) Herr von Drigalski orders the arms to be handed over *to him.* Since he feels himself called upon to act as if he were royalty, he is not concerned about the royal order on compliance with the law on the institution of the civic militia. Here Paragraph 3 states:

"The arms supplied by the state to the municipalities remain *in the possession of the latter in any case* until the time indicated above."

The "city administration and Municipal Council" of Düsseldorf raise no objection to this order. Instead of protesting against this illegality and standing up for the rights of the municipality, they exhort the citizens to adopt a "calm, legal attitude" towards their new dictator.

*Sixth law.*

"Anyone found engaging in open and armed resistance to the orders of the legal authorities, or who exposes the troops to danger or disadvantage by treacherous behaviour, *shall be brought before a military tribunal.*"

According to the law safeguarding personal freedom,[92] *no one may be brought before any judge other than the one designated by the law. Special courts and extraordinary commissions are inadmissible. No punishment can be threatened or imposed other than in accordance with the law.* According to the same law, this provision can *never* be suspended for

any time or area, *even in case of war or insurrection.* For even then, according to Paragraph 8, only Paragraphs 1 and 6 can be suspended, but only *by decision and under the responsibility of the Ministry of State.* Yet Herr von Drigalski decrees that civilians are to be tried by a military tribunal. It can no longer be a matter for surprise that he orders arrests to be made and for this purpose violates the sanctity of the home. These provisions can at least still be suspended, although not by Herr von Drigalski. For the rest, it is a matter of indifference whether one believes the assertion of the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*[a] that Lassalle's arrest was carried out in a wholly irregular manner or the assurance given by the *Kölnische Zeitung* that the arrest occurred by order of the examining magistrate.[b] The *Kölnische Zeitung,* of course, takes the side of the military commandant in order to put the blame on the examining magistrate. In any case, the arrest is illegal; for in an illegal situation no legal actions can be undertaken. In a state of war, civil justice ceases to be operative. If the examining magistrate continues to function, he assumes the position of a member of a *military tribunal*; the *articles of war* become his code of law. The Düsseldorf Public Prosecutor's office is well aware of its new situation; for if it still considered its competence to be that laid down in the Rhenish Penal Code it would have intervened long ago, if only on the basis of Paragraph 9 of the Habeas Corpus Act, which states:

*"No preliminary permission of the authorities is necessary for taking legal action against public officials, civil or military, for violating the above-mentioned provisions by exceeding their official powers."*

In order to become fully acquainted with the power of our Rhenish institutions, the question still remains whether the Prosecutor-General, Herr *Nicolovius,* under whose supervision are all officials of the judicial police, even the examining magistrates, will approve the attitude of the Düsseldorf Public Prosecutor's office. To a deputation which visited him yesterday in order to demand that he should exercise his official powers in relation to the Düsseldorf events, Herr *Nicolovius* is said to have replied that he did not have at his disposal any legal provisions on the basis of which he could intervene. We say only that Herr Nicolovius is said to have made that reply, although this utterance was communicated to us in a most trustworthy way. Nevertheless we cannot believe it, for otherwise we

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[a] "Düsseldorf, vom 22. November", *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* No. 311, November 24, 1848.—*Ed.*

[b] "Neueste Nachrichten. Düsseldorf, 23. November", *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 315, November 24, 1848.— *Ed.*

would have to assume that Herr Nicolovius has completely forgotten the *Code pénal* together with all the laws that have been promulgated since March of this year.

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# [THREE STATE TRIALS AGAINST THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*]

*Cologne,* November 24. At this moment three state trials against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* are impending — we do not include the judicial proceedings against *Engels, Dronke, Wolff* and *Marx* for alleged "unnewspaperlike" political offences.— We are assured from well-informed sources that at least a dozen more inquisitions have been instituted against the **"scurrilous sheet"**— the official expression of the *ci-devant*[a] Public Prosecutor and actual Chief Public Prosecutor *Hecker* (*c'est du Hecker tout pur*[b]).[93]

*First crime.* Violent attack on the maidenly "*delicacy*" of six royal Prussian police officers and of the king of the Cologne Public Prosecutor's office, Herr Chief Public Prosecutor *Zweiffel*[94]— people's representative *in partibus infidelium*;[95] who carries out his duties for the time being neither in Berlin nor in Brandenburg, but in *Cologne* on the Rhine. On the Rhine! on the Rhine! there our vines do grow![c] We, too, prefer the Rhine to the Spree and the Disch Hotel to the Mielentz Hotel.[96]

*Va pour la délicatesse des gens d'armes!*[d] As far as the "delicacy" of Herr *Zweiffel* is concerned, for us it is a "*noli me tangere!*"[e] We were morally incensed at the indelicate vote of non-confidence by which his electors are said to have caused him to beat a retreat. As true guardians of the maidenly "*delicacy*" of Herr *Zweiffel*, we request him *to refute publicly* the statement of Herr *Weinhagen* of Cleve. Herr

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[a] Former.—*Ed.*
[b] It's genuine Hecker.—*Ed.*
[c] Matthias Claudius, "Rheinweinlied".— *Ed.*
[d] So much for the delicacy of the police! — *Ed.*
[e] Not to be touched! — *Ed.*

*Weinhagen* stated in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* over his signature that he could communicate facts injurious to the "honour and delicacy" of Herr Zweiffel. He could even provide *proof* of these facts, he wrote, but he was compelled to refrain from publishing them as long as Herr Zweiffel could take refuge in the article of the *Code pénal*, by which every denunciation, even the most well-founded, is prosecuted as *calumny* unless it can be proved by a judicial verdict or authentic documents. We appeal therefore to the "honour and delicacy" of Herr *Zweiffel*!

*Second crime.* The simple Hecker and the dichotomous Hecker.

*Third crime.* This crime, which took place in 1848, is being prosecuted on the demand of the *Imperial Ministry*. The *crime—Schnapphahnski*! A *feature article as a criminal*![97]

In its indictment, the Imperial Ministry is said to have described the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as the worst newspaper of the "bad press". For our part, we declare the imperial authority to be the most comic of all comic authorities.

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# PERSONALITIES OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL

*Berne*, November 24. It will not be unwelcome to the readers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* to learn something about the personalities who are now called upon to rule Switzerland under the control of the two Councils,[a] and who have now just begun their work. Five members of the Federal Council accepted their election without reservation, another, Herr Furrer, has accepted provisionally until the spring, and about acceptance by the seventh (Munzinger) there can be no doubt.

The President of the Federal Council, Herr *Furrer*, is a typical Zuricher. He has, as the French would say, *l'air éminemment bourgeois.*[b] Clothes, demeanour and features, including his silver-mounted spectacles, reveal at the very first glance the "citizen of the imperial free town", who, as President of the *Vorort* and the Diet[98] respectively, has, it is true, become somewhat civilised, but has yet remained "every inch a provincial".[c] The chief merit of Herr Furrer, one of the most important lawyers of the "Swiss Athens" (as the Zurich philistine likes to call his little town of 10,000 inhabitants), is that by his consistent efforts and moderate liberalism the September regime in Zurich[99] was overthrown and the canton was won back to the party of progress. As President of the Diet he remained true to his principles. Moderate progress in internal affairs and the strictest neutrality in external affairs was the policy he

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[a] The National Council and the Council of States which made up the Federal Assembly of Switzerland.— *Ed.*

[b] An eminently bourgeois appearance.—*Ed.*

[c] A paraphrase of Lear's words in Shakespeare's tragedy *King Lear*, Act IV, Scene 6.— *Ed.*

pursued. That he has now become President of the Federal Council is more a matter of accident than of design. People would have preferred a man from Berne; but then there was only the choice between Ochsenbein, against whom there was great antipathy, and Neuhaus, who now in 1848 has been just as conservative in his activity as five or six years ago and for that reason was not elected at all to the Federal Council. Owing to this difficulty a Zuricher was chosen, and in that case Furrer was of course the most suitable. Thus Furrer by no means represents quite exactly the majority of the Federal Assembly, but at any rate he is the representative of the majority of German Switzerland.

The Vice-President, *Druey*, is in all respects the opposite of Furrer and the best representative that French Switzerland could send. Whereas Furrer is too moderate for the majority and particularly for the radical minority, Druey on the other hand is far too radical for most. Whereas Furrer is a moderate bourgeois liberal, Druey is a resolute supporter of the red republic. The prominent role played by Druey in the recent revolutionary events in his canton is well known; less well known but all the greater for that are the multifarious services he has rendered his canton (Waadt). Druey, a socialist democrat of the Louis Blanc shade, a first-class authority on constitutional law, and the quickest and most industrious worker in the whole of Switzerland, is an element in the Federal Council which in time is bound to win more and more influence and have the most beneficial effect.

Owing to his antecedents, *Ochsenbein*, leader of the volunteer bands against Lucerne, President of the Diet which decided on the war against the Sonderbund,[100] colonel of the Berne reservists in that campaign, has become well known and popular not only in Switzerland, but throughout Europe. Less well known, however, is his attitude since the February revolution. The partially socialist character of that revolution, the measures of the Provisional Government in France, and the whole movement of the French proletariat, served to no small extent to intimidate him, the *démocrate pur*, whom the French would count as belonging to the party of the *National*.[101] He gradually drew closer to the moderate trend. Especially in external policy, in which he had shown so much energy before and during the war against the Sonderbund, he became more and more inclined to the old system of so-called strict neutrality, which in reality is nothing but the policy of conservatism and connivance with reaction. Thus as President of the *Vorort*, he delayed in recognising the French Republic, and behaved ambiguously, to say the least, in regard to the Italian affair. In addition, the

unrestrained passion which he displayed in presiding over the Diet, and which often caused him to take a biassed attitude towards the radicals, made him many enemies among these, and especially among the French Swiss. If any other choice had been possible for the Berne member of the Federal Council than between him and Neuhaus, Ochsenbein would have obtained far fewer votes.

Colonel *Frey-Hérosé* from Aargau is considered one of the most capable of Switzerland's military men. He was Chief of the General Staff during the campaign against the Sonderbund. Like most Swiss staff officers, he too for a fairly long time played a political role in his canton, and in consequence became familiar also with civil administration. In any case, in his new post he will perform excellent work for the Military Department. As regards his political views, he is one of the stauncher liberals of his canton.

State Councillor *Franscini* from Tessin is certainly one of the most respected public figures in the whole of Switzerland. For many years he has worked tirelessly in his canton. It was mainly he who in 1830, already *before* the July revolution, succeeded in bringing the despised Tessin, which was considered politically backward, to be the first in all Switzerland, and without a revolution, to replace the old oligarchic Constitution by a democratic one. It was he again who headed the 1840 revolution, which for the second time overthrew the surreptitiously restored domination of the priests and oligarchs.[102] Furthermore, it was Franscini who, after that revolution, organised afresh the administration, which had fallen into complete disorder in the hands of the reactionaries, put a stop to the innumerable occurrences of theft, fraud, bribery and squandering and, finally, as far as the means of a poor mountain region allowed, once more organised education in the schools, which had completely gone to ruin under the direction of the monks. He thereby deprived the priests of one of their chief means of influencing the people, and the results[a] become more evident each year by the increasing confidence of the Tessiners in their Government. In addition, Franscini is regarded as the most expert economist in Switzerland and is the author of the best books on Swiss statistics (*Statistica della Svizzera*, Lugano, 1827, *Nuova Statistica della Svizzera*, 1848). He is a staunch radical and in the Federal Council will side with Druey rather than with Ochsenbein and Furrer. The people of Tessin especially value him, the leader of their Government for many years, for his "honourable poverty".

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[a] In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* there is an editorial note: "To be continued in the supplement."—*Ed.*

Government Councillor *Munzinger* from Solothurn is the most influential man in his canton, which he has represented in the Diet almost continuously since 1830, and which he has actually ruled for several years. As a semi-radical newspaper of French Switzerland, the *Gazette de Lausanne*, puts it, he is said to *cacher sous les apparences de la bonhomie un esprit fin et pénétrant*,[a] which means that concealed beneath the outward appearance of a good-natured fellow he possesses that petty cunning which in the imperial free towns is regarded as diplomatic ability. As for the rest, he is a moderate man of progress *à la* Furrer and he demands that Switzerland should concern itself with its own affairs and leave the high politics of Europe to God and Lord Palmerston. Hence he speaks extremely unfavourably of the foreign refugees, who so far have always been a source of unpleasantness for Switzerland. Together with the Swiss Athenian, Dr. Escher, he has recently in Tessin again given proofs of his attitude in this respect.[103] In general, Furrer and Munzinger in the Federal Council perfectly represent the prejudices and narrow-mindedness of the "enlightened" German Swiss.

Finally, Herr *Näff* from St. Gallen, about whom I can say very little. He is said to have done much to improve the administration in his canton, and has also distinguished himself in other respects. The canton of St. Gallen, one can read in Swiss newspapers, is in general one containing the richest and most excellent men; but these excellent men suffer from the misfortune that not much is heard about them, and in any case they seem to lack initiative. Nevertheless, in his special capacity as administrator, Herr Näff is apparently not without merit. As regards his political views, he stands midway between Furrer and Ochsenbein; he is more resolute than the former, but does not go as far as could perhaps be expected of the latter judging by his antecedents.

In view of this composition of the Federal Council, there is no doubt about the policy Switzerland will pursue in the immediate future. It is the same policy as the old Diet and the *Vorort* Berne pursued under the leadership of Ochsenbein, and later of Funk (who without Ochsenbein is a nonentity). In internal affairs — strict implementation of the new Federal Constitution which still leaves too much scope to the sovereignty of the cantons; in external affairs — strict neutrality, of course stricter or milder according to circumstances, in particular stricter in relation to Austria. The moderate party definitely has the upper hand, and it is probable that Herr Ochsenbein will vote with it on most questions.

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[a] Conceal a shrewd, penetrating mind under a kind-hearted appearance.— *Ed.*

But in order to understand how in such circumstances a minority, like Druey and Franscini, could agree to be elected and expose themselves to the prospect of being continually outvoted, how such a collegium can rule jointly—to understand this one must either be a Swiss or have seen how Switzerland is governed. Here, where all the executive authorities deliberate jointly, the principle followed is: Just accept the position; true, you are in the minority today, but perhaps you may still be of some use; and who knows whether in a year or two, owing to deaths, resignations etc., you will not find yourself in the majority. That is the natural consequence of the fact that governing collegiums are formed by means of elections. Then, just as in the legislative assemblies, each party tries at least to consolidate its position by securing the entry of one or several candidates to the collegium, and to ensure a minority for itself, as long as it cannot achieve a majority. If its candidates wished to refuse election, as would certainly happen in larger countries, the party would not take it amiss. But the Federal Council is no *commission du pouvoir exécutif*,[104] and Druey's position is infinitely remote from that of Ledru-Rollin.

The Swiss press as a whole asserts that the Federal Council consists of men of first-class talents. I doubt, however, whether a single one of its members apart from Druey and Franscini would ever play an outstanding role in a larger country, and whether any of the three other members, with the exception of Frey-Hérosé and Ochsenbein, would manage to achieve even an important *secondary* role.

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# REPORT OF THE FRANKFURT COMMITTEE ON AUSTRIAN AFFAIRS

*Cologne,* November 27. Some forty years ago there were people who described *Germany in Its Deepest Humiliation.*[105] It is as well that they have already been gathered *ad patres.*[a] They could not now write such a book; they would not know what title to give it, and if they chose the old one they would contradict themselves.

Because for Germany there is always, as the English poet says, "beneath the lowest deep a lower still".[b]

We believed that the conclusion of the Danish armistice[106] signified the utmost depths of shame. It seemed to us that after the activity of the imperial envoy Raumer in Paris, of Heckscher in Italy, and of the Commissioner Stedtmann in Schleswig-Holstein, and after the two Notes to Switzerland,[c] the humiliation of Germany could not go farther. The actions of the two imperial commissioners in regard to *Austrian* affairs prove that we were mistaken. How incredibly far the German imperial commissioners go in their disregard for the honour of Germany, what stupid incapacity, cowardice or treachery can be inherent in the men of the old liberalism, is abundantly evident from the recently issued "Report of the Committee for Austrian Affairs etc.,"[107] and especially from the 20 documents it contains.

On October 13, Herren Welcker and Mosle travelled from Frankfurt on the orders of the Central Authority "to mediate in *Vienna* affairs". Persons not conversant with the new central

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[a] To their fathers.—*Ed.*

[b] John Milton, *Paradise Lost.* The quotation is in English in the German original.— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 67-68.— *Ed.*

diplomacy expected news of their arrival in Vienna within a few days. It was not known at the time that imperial commissioners have their own itineraries. The Imperial Regent's[a] Eisele and Beisele[108] took the most direct route to *Vienna*—via *Munich*. With the well-known travel map from the *Jobsiade*[109] in their hands, they arrived there in the evening of October 15. Until noon of October 17 they studied the Vienna events in cosy company with the Bavarian Ministers and the Austrian chargé d'affaires. In their first letter to Herr Schmerling they gave an account of their preliminary studies. In Munich the pair had a moment of illumination. They passionately desired the arrival of a "third colleague", if possible a Prussian, "because we would then be better able to cope with our great mission". The Herr "colleague" did not appear. The hope of a trinity was wrecked; the poor couple had to go out into the world alone. What then will become of the "great mission"? The great mission travels in the pockets of Herren Welcker and Mosle to Passau. Before crossing the Austrian Rubicon, the "great mission" sends out a proclamation in advance. It was frightful over there on the other side![b]

"Here, too," Welcker writes to Schmerling, "on the Austrian frontier the population is by no means free from revolutionary and terrorist symptoms." Indeed, "only by the intervention of a military occupation of the bridge was even the national guard of Krems rendered incapable of depriving their Emperor of it and therefore to some extent of making him a prisoner".

What reader would be so hard-hearted as not to appreciate fully these feelings of the fine soul of a political encyclopaedia [*Staatslexikonseele*]![c] After the two gentlemen had gathered strength in Passau from midday on the 18th to early on the 20th, they betook themselves to Linz.

They had left Frankfurt on October 13; in the evening of the 20th they were already in Linz. Is not this tremendous speed proof enough of the importance of their "great mission"? Were they perhaps spurred on by special instructions to this enormous haste? It suffices to say that after seven full days the gentlemen arrived in Linz. This town, which with its "big factory population already influenced by emissaries from Vienna" had aroused anxious

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[a] Archduke John of Austria.—*Ed.*

[b] Paraphrase of a line from Schiller's ballad "Der Taucher": "Da unten aber ist's fürchterlich."—*Ed.*

[c] An allusion to the *Staats-Lexikon oder Encyklopädie der Staatswissenschaften, in Verbindung mit vielen der angesehensten Publicisten Deutschlands*, hrsg. von Carl von Rotteck und Carl Welcker, Bd. 15, Altona, 1843.—*Ed.*

forebodings in Herr Welcker during his stay in Passau, showed absolutely no signs of the gallows which he and his Herr colleague had probably envisaged in their imagination. On the contrary:

"The entire national guard with its officers and musicians ... received us in ceremonial formation with the German flag flying, and together with the surrounding people welcomed us with repeated cheers."

Therefore Linz—the revolutionary Sodom—turns out to be a well-disposed town, having sufficient *bonhomie* to welcome our excellent imperial commissioners with due ceremony. All the more dreadful does Vienna appear in the Welcker-Mosle reports to Herr Schmerling as the most godless Gomorrah, as a bottomless pit of anarchy etc.

On the 21st the gentlemen embarked on a steamship and went to Krems. On the way they reported to Frankfurt that they had been met with a guard of honour in Linz, that the main guard had paraded before them under arms, and other equally important matters. At the same time they prepared three letters: to Windischgrätz, to Minister Krauss, and to the Presidium of the Imperial Diet.

Should anyone still not be completely satisfied with the more than eight days activity of our imperial commissioners, let him now accompany them during the night of October 21-22 to the headquarters of Windischgrätz in Stammersdorf. Here the Central Authority in the shape of its commissioners appears before us in all its glory.

"Windischgrätz," say Welcker-Mosle, "rejected every attempt at influence on our part with a *certain harshness*."

In other words, they were received with kicks and had to make themselves scarce. "Indeed, he would not even see our credentials," Welcker complains to his Minister Schmerling. And to fill the cup of bitterness to overflowing: Windischgrätz did not offer a drop of wine to the personifications of the Central Authority confronting him, not even a tot of brandy.

Our commissioners therefore once more seated themselves in their carriage, sadly humming the words "*O du Deutschland etc.*",[a] and continued their journey to—Vienna? Heaven forbid! To Olmütz, "to the imperial residence". And they did well to do so. Otherwise the whole imperial joke would have lost its point, the last act would

[a] These words are from a German folk song well known in Ernst Moritz Arndt's adaptation under the title "Ausmarsch des Jahrs 1815".—*Ed.*

be missing from the mediation farce. If they were treated like stupid schoolboys by Windischgrätz, they found in Olmütz

"*a much more obliging reception* on the part of the Emperor and the imperial family" (cf. p. 11 of the report, letter No. 6).

They were invited to a meal and, as they write further to Herr Schmerling, "we had the pleasure of the *most gracious* reception". It is not at all the German lackey character that is expressed here, but the most sincere thankfulness which finds its appropriate expression in the song: "After so much suffering etc." [a]

After all the dining and wining the famous "great mission" still remains to be fulfilled. Our two commissioners address themselves in writing to Minister Baron von *Wessenberg*.

"Your Excellency" (begins the letter of October 25), "we humbly request you to *be so good* as to fix a time at which it will be convenient for you to receive our thanks for the benevolent reception which has been accorded our mission and ourselves by His Royal Imperial Majesty and Your Excellency, and to inform us of your views and decisions in respect of the following points concerning the fulfilment of our mission."

The "following points" say in a great many words that the commissioners wish to be allowed to go to Vienna for the purpose of mediation.

The whole letter, as also the second one to Wessenberg, is drafted in such a complicated last-century government office style, and is so full of excessive politeness and servility that it really does one good to be able to read Wessenberg's replies immediately after it. Compared with the Austrian Minister, the two commissioners give the impression in this correspondence of being two loutish peasants confronting a highly cultured nobleman, before whom they bow and scrape in a comical fashion and try to make use of really select expressions.

Wessenberg replied to the above-mentioned letter as follows:

"Your Excellencies, I must apologise for being so late in replying to your letter of today.... As regards your well-meant intention to make one more attempt in Vienna to settle the dissension there, it seems to me necessary first of all to acquaint you with the state of affairs there at the present time. It is not a question of negotiating with a party, but solely of suppressing an insurrection etc." (cf. p. 16 of the report).

Together with this reply, he returned them their credentials.

They repeated their request on October 27.

"We must regard it as our urgent duty," they say, "once more *most humbly to request* Your Excellency and through you the Imperial Government to send us as quickly as possible to Vienna under safe escort with lenient and conciliatory instructions and conditions, so that in this terrible crisis we can make use of the assuaging and personal influence embodied in us and our mission."

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[a] From Rossini's opera *Tancredi*.—*Ed.*

We have seen how this "assuaging and personal influence" operated in the fourteen days after they left the gates of Frankfurt.

It exerted such a powerful effect on Wessenberg that in his reply he gave no answer to their request. He gave them some items of news from Vienna, half untrue at that, and remarked ironically:

"Furthermore, that revolts like that of the proletarians in Vienna cannot easily be suppressed without the use of means of coercion has been confirmed recently by the events in Frankfurt!" [110]

It was impossible for Herren Welcker and Mosle to withstand such arguments; hence they desisted from further attempts and waited with their "assuaging and personal influence" for the events that would come about.

On October 28 they again reported to Schmerling about their "great mission". In response to an offer by Wessenberg they handed their message to a courier whom the former was sending to Frankfurt. The courier departed, but not the message, which only arrived in Frankfurt on November 6. If they had not dined at the imperial table, if the imperial family, and especially Archduke Karl, had not spoken to them in such a friendly way—the commissioners must have gone out of their minds at such bad luck.

There now followed two days of silence. The "assuaging influence" was resting on the Sabbath after so much labour.

Then, on October 30, Wessenberg gave them official news of the surrender of Vienna. Their decision was taken. True, on October 28 they still expressed the opinion (p. 14 of the report),

"It seems that he" (Windischgrätz), "like the influential persons here" (in Olmütz), "is *all too greatly* dominated by the idea not only of subjugating Vienna but of inflicting a revengeful punishment for previous wrong-doing."

However, since then Wessenberg has assured them—and how should an imperial commissioner dare to doubt it—that

"the Austrian Government, in making use of this victory, will be guided by principles suitable for ensuring the sympathy of its subjects".

"We can therefore assume," exclaim Welcker-Mosle in a tone of imperial pathos, "that *nevertheless* our proposals have had some influence." Therefore, nevertheless? O certainly! For eight days you have most magnificently amused Wessenberg, Archduke Karl, Sophia & Co. You were an aid to the royal imperial digestion, *Welcker-Mosle*!

"After that assurance of the Minister, we regard our task as having been accomplished and we shall tomorrow" (October 31) "begin our return journey via Prague."

Such is the conclusion of the last message of Herren Welcker-Mosle.

And, in fact, you are right; your "great mission" of conciliation and mediation was fulfilled. Why should you now go to Vienna? Were not those apostles of humanity, Windischgrätz and Jellachich, masters of the city? Have not the red-coats [111] and the royal imperial troops by means of plunder, arson, murder and rape preached the gospel of peace and constitutional liberty in a way comprehensible to all?

How effective your "assuaging influence" has been, how splendidly you have carried out your task — is evident from the death-rattles of the murdered, the desperate cries of the ravished, it is testified by the thousands in the prisons, it is taught us by the blood-stained shade of *Robert Blum*.

Your task was to supplement the trilogy staged by Windischgrätz, Jellachich and Wessenberg by helping to perform a farce in Olmütz. That task has been worthily carried out; with great virtuosity you have played to the end the role of the "*bamboozled uncle*", if not something worse.

Written on November 27, 1848

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# NEWS

*Cologne,* November 28. In its issue of November 17 the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* stated:

"And as for the *Jews,* who since the emancipation of their sect have everywhere put themselves, at least in the person of their eminent representatives, at the *head of the counter-revolution*—what awaits them? There has been no waiting for victory in order to throw them back into their ghetto." [a]

At the time, we quoted government decrees from *Bromberg.* Today we have a still more striking fact to report. The big "Three Crowns" masonic lodge in Berlin—it is well known that the *Prince of Prussia* is the supreme head of the Prussian freemasons, just as *Frederick William IV* is the supreme head of the Prussian religion—has put a stop to the activity of the *Minerva* lodge in Cologne. Why? *Because it has Jews among its members. Let the Jews take note of this!*

A circular of the Brandenburg Ministry to all administrative bodies, which we came upon by chance, calls upon them to carry out *mass arrests of the leaders of the clubs.*

We are assured from a trustworthy source that *Cologne, Düsseldorf, Aachen etc.* will be given imperial troops, in fact *Austrians,* as a Christmas present from our most gracious sovereign. Probably they will include *Croats, Serezhans, Czechs, Raizes, Serbs etc.,*[112] so that "order and calm" will be established in the Rhine Province as in Vienna. By the way, people say that the Rhine Province borders not on *Russia* but on *France. Let the most gracious sovereign take note of this!*

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[a] See this volume, p. 32.— *Ed.*

# SITTINGS OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL AND THE COUNCIL OF STATES

*Berne*, November 25. Yesterday's sitting of the National Council did not come any nearer to solving the question of the federal capital and, if anything, it made the solution even more remote. It was decided, against the majority, to choose the federal capital not by secret ballot at a joint sitting of the two Councils, but through a law to be deliberated by each Council separately. If this happens a conflict will ensue, as I conjectured earlier[a]; the National Council will choose Berne and the Council of States will choose Zurich. This is admitted by members of both Councils. Unless the Council of States revokes this decision, it is impossible to see how the conflict is to be resolved. In addition, the federal capital that is to be chosen was placed under obligation to procure and furnish the necessary quarters for the legislative federal assemblies and the Central Government and likewise to provide a mint. After that, unlimited credit facilities were granted to the Federal Council by a large majority. Similar credit was simultaneously granted by the Council of States, and therefore has the force of law.

Today there was first a sitting of the Council of States, then of both Councils jointly, and afterwards of the National Council. At the joint sitting Druey and Franscini were sworn in as Federal Councillors. Since I was prevented from attending the sittings, I shall report any further developments of importance tomorrow.

Written by Engels on November 25, 1848

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[a] See this volume, p. 44.— *Ed.*

# [LETTERS OPENED]

*Cologne,* November 28, 11 p.m. Two of the items of correspondence that have reached us this evening, one postmarked *Berne* and the other *Paris,* have clearly been *opened* by an official or semi-official hand. The seal was missing. The wafers with which the letters had been re-sealed *were not yet dry. Sedlnitzky,* too, is making propaganda with *Windischgrätz.*

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# JOINT SITTING OF THE COUNCILS.— THE FEDERAL COUNCIL

*Berne,* November 26. Contrary to the intention and declared purpose that the Federal Councillors Druey and Franscini were both to be sworn in at yesterday's joint sitting of the Councils,[a] only the former was sworn in. Franscini had not arrived as heavy snow had held up the stage-coach over the St. Gotthard. The Federal Council was then empowered to swear in those Federal Councillors and Federal Judges who did not arrive until after the eventual adjournment of the two legislative Councils.

A sitting of the Council of States had taken place earlier to discuss the draft Bill adopted two days ago by the National Council on the question of the federal capital. This question, which had already been posed in a complicated manner by the National Council, was here made even more complicated. Fazy of Geneva proposed a motion to keep the seat of government in Berne for a provisional period of one year, and in the meantime to work out a more detailed law which would also include the obligations to be imposed on the canton with regard to the security of the federal authorities. The question was being treated much too lightly. The Swiss people should also first be given an opportunity to express its wishes. Briatte of Waadt, President of the Council of States, shared this opinion. Other members proposed further amendments: that the seat of the Federal Government should be determined by a vote at a joint sitting; that like the old *Vorort* it should be changed, but only every six years, at least until the federal university is established etc. The debate had to be broken off because the time allocated for the joint

[a] See this volume, p. 95.— *Ed.*

sitting had expired; it will be resumed today. Rüttimann (Zurich) proposed to refer the draft back to the commission together with the amendments.

After the joint sitting, the National Council remained assembled to discuss the draft Bill submitted by the Federal Council on taking over all the Swiss postal establishments by the Confederation as from January 1, 1849, with the individual cantons continuing meanwhile to administer them until the postal system is finally settled, but the federal authorities having full powers to alter the rounds etc., etc. The draft was adopted *séance tenante*[a] with slight changes by Druey and others. Today the National Council is discussing the law proposed by the radical Dr. Emil Frei (Baselland) on responsibility of the executive officials of the Swiss Confederation; and, time permitting, the draft Bill proposed by Ochsenbein on the establishment of a federal university.

The Federal Council, the executive authority, has already sat several times. Provisionally, Furrer has taken over external affairs, Ochsenbein military affairs and Frei-Herose finance. The Federal Council of War has been accordingly thanked for its services and suspended from activity. The Federal Council has further decided to announce to the cantons, to Switzerland's diplomatic agents abroad and to the foreign powers that it has been constituted. It has likewise decided to lodge a complaint with the Imperial Government regarding the territorial violation in the canton of Zurich,[b] and at the same time to make inquiries, in the relevant cantons, as to the behaviour of the refugees and the truth of the facts published by the imperial authorities in the *Oberpostamts-Zeitung*.[113]

Written by Engels on November 26, 1848

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[a] On the spot.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 63-64.— *Ed.*

# THE ORGAN OF MANTEUFFEL AND JOHANN— THE RHINE PROVINCE AND THE KING OF PRUSSIA

*Cologne.* The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* confirms *Manteuffel's* statement which we have already published[a] concerning the Frankfurt Central Authority and Assembly. Manteuffel's organ says:

**"The proclamation of the Imperial Regent[b] may be very well meant. We Prussians, however, must decisively reject it, the people no less than the Crown."[c]**

Manteuffel's organ has guessed our inmost thoughts.

The same official newspaper instructs us as follows about the validity of the Frankfurt decisions[114]:

"*We Prussians have no other master than our King. And only what he approves in the Frankfurt decisions, only that will be binding for us, because* **He**" (Prussian style!) "*finds it good and for no other reason.*"

We "*Prussians*"!!! In the great haggling over human beings in Vienna, we *Rhinelanders* had the good fortune to win an "*Archduke*" of the Lower Rhine, who has not fulfilled the conditions on which he became "Archduke".[115] A "*King of Prussia*" exists for us only through the Berlin *National Assembly,* and since no Berlin *National Assembly* exists for our "*Archduke*" of the Lower Rhine, no "*King of Prussia*" exists for us. We fell to the lot of the Archduke of the Lower Rhine owing to the haggling over nations! As soon as we have got so

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[a] See this volume, p. 65.— *Ed.*

[b] Archduke John of Austria. The reference is to the "Proklamation des Reichsverwesers an das deutsche Volk, den Konflikt zwischen der Krone und der Nationalversammlung in Preussen betreffend", November 21, 1848.— *Ed.*

[c] *Neue Preussische Zeitung* No. 129, November 28, 1848.—*Ed.*

far that we no longer recognise the selling of human souls, we shall ask the "Archduke of the Lower Rhine" about his "**title to ownership**".

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# THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN ITALY[116]

*Cologne,* November 29. After six months of almost uninterrupted defeats for democracy, after a series of unprecedented triumphs for the counter-revolution, there are at last indications of an approaching victory of the revolutionary party. Italy, the country whose uprising was the prelude to the European uprising of 1848 and whose collapse was the prelude to the fall of Vienna—Italy rises for the second time. Tuscany has succeeded in establishing a democratic government, and Rome has just won a similar government for itself.

London, April 10; Paris, May 15 and June 25; Milan, August 6; Vienna, November 1[117]—these are the four important dates of the European counter-revolution, the four milestones marking the swiftly accomplished stages of its latest triumphal march.

Not only was the revolutionary might of the Chartists *broken* in *London on April 10,* but the *revolutionary propaganda impact of the February victory* was also for the first time *broken.* Those who correctly assess England and the role she plays in modern history were not surprised that the continental revolutions passed over her without leaving a trace for the time being. England, a country which, through her industry and commerce, dominates all the revolutionary nations of the Continent and nevertheless remains relatively independent of her customers because she dominates the Asian, American and Australian markets; a country in which the contradictions of present-day bourgeois society, the class struggle of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, are most strongly developed and most acute, England more than any other country pursues her own, independent, course of development. The fumbling approach of continental provisional governments to the solution of problems and the

abolition of contradictions is not required in England, for *she* is more competent in dealing with and solving them than any other country. England does not accept revolution from the Continent; when the time comes England will *dictate revolution to the Continent.* That was England's position and the necessary consequence of her position, and hence the victory of "order" on April 10 was quite understandable. But who does not remember how this victory of "order", this first counterblow to the blows of February and March, gave fresh support to the counter-revolution everywhere and raised daring hopes in the hearts of those who were called conservatives! Who does not remember how throughout Germany the action of London's special constables was immediately accepted as a model by the entire civic militia! Who does not remember the impression made by this first proof that the movement which had broken out was not unconquerable!

*On May 15, Paris* promptly provided its counterpart to the victory of the English conservative party. The outermost waves of the revolutionary flood were stemmed on April 10; on May 15 its force was broken at its very source. April 10 demonstrated that the February movement was not irresistible; May 15 demonstrated that the insurrection could be checked in Paris. The revolution defeated at its centre was of course bound to succumb at the periphery as well. And this happened to an increasing extent day by day in Prussia and the smaller German states. But the revolutionary current was still strong enough to ensure two victories of the people in Vienna, the first also on May 15, the second on May 26, while the victory of absolutism in Naples, likewise won on May 15, acted because of its excesses rather as a counterbalance to the victory of order in Paris.[118] Something was still missing, though. Not only had the revolutionary movement to be defeated in Paris, but armed insurrection had to be divested of the spell of invincibility in Paris itself; only then could the counter-revolution feel safe.

And that happened at *Paris* in a battle lasting four days, from *June* 23 to 26. Four days of gun-fire put an end to the impregnability of the barricades and the invincibility of the armed people. What did Cavaignac demonstrate by his victory if not that the laws of warfare are more or less the same in a street and in a defile, whether faced by a barricade or by an entanglement or bastion? That 40,000 undisciplined armed workers, without guns or howitzers and without deliveries of ammunition, can withstand a well-organised army of 120,000 experienced soldiers and 150,000 men of the national guard supported by the best and most numerous artillery and abundantly supplied with ammunition for no more than four days? Cavaignac's

victory was the sheerest suppression of the smaller force by a force numerically seven times as big; it was the most inglorious victory ever won, the more inglorious for the blood that it cost despite the overwhelmingly superior forces. Nevertheless the world regarded it with amazement as if it were a miracle, for this victory won by superior forces divested the people of Paris and the Paris barricades of the aura of invincibility. By defeating 40,000 workers, Cavaignac's 300,000 men defeated not only the 40,000 workers, but, without realising it, defeated the European revolution. We all know what an impetuous storm of reaction set in from that day. There was nothing now to restrain it; the people of Paris were defeated with shell and grape-shot by conservative forces, and what could be done in Paris could be repeated elsewhere. Nothing remained to democracy after this decisive defeat but to make as honourable a retreat as possible and at least defend foot by foot in the press, at public meetings and in parliaments, the ground which could no longer be held.

The next great blow was the *fall of Milan.*[a] The recapture of Milan by Radetzky was indeed the first European event following the June victory in Paris. The double-headed eagle on the spire of the Milan Cathedral signified not only the fall of Italy as a whole, it signified also the restoration of *Austria*, the restoration of the stronghold of European counter-revolution. Italy crushed and Austria resurrected—what more could the counter-revolution demand! Indeed, with the fall of Milan there was an immediate slackening of revolutionary energy in Italy, Mamiani was overthrown in Rome, the democrats were defeated in Piedmont; and simultaneously the reactionary party raised its head again in Austria and from its centre, Radetzky's headquarters, it began with renewed courage to spread the net of its intrigues over all provinces. Only then did Jellachich assume the offensive, only then was the great alliance of the counter-revolution with the Austrian Slavs completed.

I say nothing of the brief intermezzi in which the counter-revolution gained local victories and conquered separate provinces, of the setback in Frankfurt,[119] and so on. They are of local, perhaps national, but not European significance.

Finally, the work that was begun on the day of Custozza[120] was completed on November 1—just as Radetzky had marched into Milan so did Windischgrätz and Jellachich march into Vienna. Cavaignac's method was employed, and employed successfully,

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[a] In August 1848.—*Ed.*

against the largest and most active focus of German revolution. The revolution in Vienna, like that in Paris, was smothered in blood and smoking ruins.

But it almost seems as if the victory of November 1 also marks the moment when the retrogressive movement reaches the turning-point and a crisis sets in. The attempt to repeat the bold exploit of Vienna bit by bit in Prussia has failed. Even if the country should forsake the Constituent Assembly, the most the Crown can expect is merely a partial victory which will decide nothing, and at any rate the first discouraging effect of the Viennese defeat has been nullified by the clumsy attempt to copy it in every detail.

While Northern Europe has either been forced back again into the servitude of 1847 or is laboriously defending the gains won during the first months against the attacks of the counter-revolution, Italy is suddenly rising again. Leghorn, the only Italian city which the fall of Milan spurred on to a victorious revolution, Leghorn has at last imparted its democratic *élan* to the whole of Tuscany and has succeeded in setting up a radically democratic government, more radical than any that ever existed under a monarchy, and more radical than most formed in a republic. This Government responded to the fall of Vienna and the restoration of Austria by proclaiming an Italian Constituent Assembly. The revolutionary fire-brand which this democratic Government has thus hurled into the midst of the Italian people has kindled a fire: in Rome the people, the national guard and the army have risen as *one* man, have overthrown the evasive, counter-revolutionary Government and secured a democratic government, and first among the demands they succeeded in putting through is a government based on the principle of Italian nationality, that is to say, the sending of delegates to the Italian Constituent Assembly as proposed by Guerazzi.[121]

That Piedmont and Sicily will follow suit is beyond doubt. They will follow just as they did last year.

And then? Will this second resurrection of Italy within three years—like the preceding one—herald the dawn of a new upsurge of European democracy? It almost looks as if it will. The measure of the counter-revolution has been filled to overflowing. France is about to throw herself into the arms of an adventurer[a] in order to escape the rule of Cavaignac and Marrast; Germany is more divided than ever; Austria is overwhelmed; Prussia is on the eve of civil war. All the illusions of February and March have been ruthlessly crushed

[a] Louis Bonaparte.—*Ed.*

beneath the swift tread of history. Indeed, the people have nothing more to learn from any further victories of the counter-revolution!

It is up to the people, when the occasion arises, to apply the lessons of the past six months *in good time* and *fearlessly.*

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# GERMAN PROFESSORIAL BASENESS

*Cologne*, November 29. The lackey nature of German professors finds its ideal surpassed in the learned gentlemen of Berlin and Halle. Such a servile frame of mind would shame a Russian serf. The pious Buddhist who credulously swallows the excrement of his Dalai Lama hears with astonishment about the Berlin and Halle Buddhists whose prostitution before royalty "by the grace of God" seems to him like a fable. He only believes in its reality when he is shown the addresses of the Berlin and Halle professors to the King of Prussia dated November 24 and 21 respectively, with the original signatures.[a]

"Freedom of discussion was abolished, the lives of the deputies menaced, the dignity of the Assembly and the honour of the nation besmirched, and the most well-intentioned and just proposals for putting an end to this reign of terror were frustrated by the resistance of those whom it was to benefit."

With these and other such brazen lies, and with the most servile assurances of inborn loyalty, 80 Berlin professors—including Hengstenberg, Schönlein, Ehrenberg, Böckh, the two Grimms etc.—have concocted an address to the King in which they bray in chorus their learned applause for the coercive measures of the Brandenburg Ministry.

The address of 19 Halle professors has a similar sound, but they go so far in their comicality as to speak incidentally of the "seriousness of their profession".

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[a] "Adresse der Berliner Professoren an den König von Preussen", November 24, 1848; "Erklärung von Prorektor und Senat der Königlichen vereinten Friedrichs-Universität" in Halle, November 21, 1848 (*Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*, November 25 and 26, 1848).—*Ed.*

The central feature in both addresses is an indescribable fury at the *refusal to pay taxes*. This is very easy to understand! No more taxes — and privileged erudition goes bankrupt. This money-greedy race of professors needs only the remotest threat to its purse for all science to be engulfed in fire and flames. Their monopoly is rooted in royalty "by the grace of God". They write addresses to the King expressing their devotion, that is to say, they are devoted until death to their own monopoly. If the people achieves final victory, these gentlemen will quickly, in spite of all the "seriousness of their scientific profession", manage to put themselves on the side of popular sovereignty, now so greatly condemned by them. The people, however, will cry out to them "too late" [122] and put a speedy end to the whole evil of privileged erudition.

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## SITTING OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.— THE COUNCIL OF STATES.— PROTEST OF THE POPE.— IMPERIAL GRAIN EMBARGO.— THE VALAISAN GREAT COUNCIL

*Berne,* November 26. At yesterday's sitting the National Council dispatched both items on the agenda (Emil Frei's motion on the law of responsibility and Ochsenbein's on the federal university) by referring them to the Federal Council. During the discussion on the university some strange remarks were made. Lusser from Uri saw in the project the ruin of his canton's finances. Hungerbühler from Berne similarly resisted the idea of a university with all his might: he said it was a luxury expenditure and that there were already enough people whose heads had been turned through too much learning. The Alcibiades of the Swiss Athens, Herr Escher from Zurich, also thought it necessary to wait first for the financial means. Alcibiades had good reason to press for an ordinary agenda; he was well aware that the Berne deputies intended to grab the seat of the Federal Government for themselves and let Lucerne be satisfied with the Federal Court and Zurich with the "Federal Higher School". But the ambition of the Athenians of Switzerland goes beyond that, and all but two of them voted, although to no avail, for an ordinary agenda.

In the Council of States the law on the seat of the Federal Government was approved in the draft proposed by the National Council and only one addendum was made, by Rüttimann, concerning the security of the federal authorities. Thus, it has now been decided that the seat of the Federal Government be chosen separately in each Council, and not by ballot, but according to the usual voting procedure. We shall see what comes of this.

A few days ago the canton of *Neuchâtel* witnessed scenes of great confusion. News arrived that all the State Councillors except one (Herr Steck) had tendered their resignations. All the members of the Republic's National Council and Council of States immediately went

home in great consternation. From what we have heard, the dispute resulted from a violent attack on the part of Herr Steck and was settled by a commission of the Great Council appointed specially for the purpose. At the sitting the day before yesterday the State Councillors withdrew their resignations amidst loud cries of *vive la république* from the Great Council.

The Pope[a] has protested against the decisions of the five cantons of the Freiburg diocese, which are relieving Bishop Marilley of his episcopal duties and taking steps to set up a provisional administration of the bishopric.[123] If these measures are not revoked, he is threatening to issue "other decrees to which his conscience commits him towards the Catholic world". The *Schweizerischer Beobachter*, the local reactionary newspaper, consoled itself two nights ago with the hope that since a republic had now been proclaimed in Rome (the worthy paper was made to believe this), the papacy was finished with[124] and the Catholic world had regained its freedom, which meant that the confused situation in Freiburg would also be resolved!

There are conflicting reports from the German frontier as to whether or not a grain embargo has been introduced. It is known for sure that so far it has at the most been introduced at Lake Constance; for on the 24th, the day before yesterday, as many Swabian corn growers as ever before came to the market in Zurich.

The Valaisan Great Council has taken the decision to levy the taxes necessary to pay the Sonderbund war reparations not, as elsewhere, on the enormously rich monasteries, but on the municipalities. The proportion that Valais has to pay amounts to 1,600,000 Swiss francs. So, instead of the monks who were the original instigators of the insurrection, it is the poor people of the canton who will have to pay this tax. In the meantime, the reverend fathers are carting away more and more of their property to Piedmont, just as the *patres* of the Great St. Bernhard have already done. These priestlings, famous in school books and sentimental stories for their dogs and for their alleged selfless devotion to travellers dying in the snow, are in reality tremendously rich and live extremely comfortably. They have taken all their riches, their cattle, their money and their effects to Aosta, where they are also now staying and partaking copiously of Piedmontese wine. When Radetzky marched into Milan,[b] these philanthropists celebrated the happy event with banqueting and cannon-fire, for which they were brought before the Piedmontese

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[a] Pius IX.—*Ed.*
[b] On August 6, 1848.— *Ed.*

courts. This *ecclesia pressa*[a] left nothing behind in their wintry monastery but a little bread and bacon, with which a few servants entertain travellers. However, the *Suisse* doubts whether the above decision was actually taken, even though it was printed in the *Journal du Valais*.

Written by Engels on November 26, 1848

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[a] Persecuted church.— *Ed.*

# [SITTING OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL]

*Berne,* November 27. At today's sitting of the National Council the question of publishing a bulletin of proceedings was once again taken up, but owing to the small number of members present it was very soon adjourned until tomorrow.

Written by Engels on November 27, 1848

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# BERNE DECLARED FEDERAL CAPITAL.— FRANSCINI

*Berne,* November 28. At today's sitting of the National Council *Berne was declared the federal capital* by 58 votes to 42. All that is now needed is the ratification of the Council of States, which in the opinion of the Berne public is a foregone conclusion. There will be a sitting of the Council of States at 4 o'clock this afternoon, when it will take a decision on this matter. As the post goes at half past four, it will be impossible for me to send a report today on the outcome of this sitting.

At yesterday's sitting the Council of States ratified the National Council's decision on the Tessin question[a] without amending it, which means that it has force of law. In the debate, which was somewhat long drawn out, Federal Councillor Franscini, who arrived the day before, particularly distinguished himself with a speech in support of the Tessiners. Carteret of Geneva also spoke out energetically in support of the Italian refugees and protested against their being referred to as "culprits" in this assembly, whereas they deserved the sympathy of all Swiss people for their aspirations and their struggles. It was indeed by demonstrating such active sympathy that the Tessiners proved that they were genuinely Swiss. In spite of this and several other vigorous protestations, especially against Article 2, which deprives Tessin of the right to grant asylum, the decision of the National Council was, as I have said, ratified in its entirety by a sizeable majority. Here too the German cantons were the decisive factor, even though a few German deputies also supported the Tessiners in the Council of States.

Written by Engels on November 28, 1848

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[a] See this volume, pp. 61-62.— *Ed.*

# [NEWS FROM SWITZERLAND]

*Berne*, November 29. At yesterday's sitting of the Council of States the law centralising the control of the posts in the hands of the federal authorities as from January 1, 1849,[a] was debated and approved without amendments. It had already received the approval of the National Council. The decision on the seat of the Federal Government was on the agenda. However, since the National Council was debating this decision at the same time and had already taken the initiative, the sitting was adjourned until four o'clock. At four o'clock the Council proceeded to the vote. At the first vote Berne received 21 votes, Zurich 13 and Lucerne 3, which gave an absolute majority to Berne. *Berne is therefore definitively the seat of the Swiss federal authorities.*

This morning both Councils came together to swear in Federal Councillor Franscini. Franscini delivered a longish speech in Italian which was applauded by all. Thereupon the Federal Assembly adjourned indefinitely. It was left to the Federal Council to reconvene the Assembly at the appropriate time.

The Federal Council made the following distribution of departments among its members: Furrer, as President, was put in charge of external affairs and general direction of federal policies; Druey, justice and police; Ochsenbein, war; Franscini, internal affairs; Munzinger, finance; Frei-Herose, taxes on commerce and turnpike money (*péages*); Näff, posts and public works.

The two recent elections in Berne for the National Council[b] resulted in victories for the liberals; in Mittelland Weingart was elected and in Emmenthal, governor Karrer.

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[a] See this volume, p. 98.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 56 and 59.— *Ed.*

It goes without saying that the people of Berne are jubilant at their elevation to citizens of the capital of Switzerland. Last night there were any number of torchlight processions and serenades; in addition, the inevitable roar of cannon; bell-ringing seems to be left to the "imperial authority". There was naturally quite a serenade in front of the Erlacher Hof, where the Federal Council has its seat, and Steiger and Furrer made speeches.

I have just heard that Luvini fought a duel with Colonel Berg because of the latter's provocative remarks during the Tessin debate. It appears that no one was hurt; however, I cannot yet say anything definite on that score.

Written by Engels on November 29, 1848

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# DUEL BETWEEN BERG AND LUVINI

*Berne*, November 30. In the duel yesterday between Herren Berg and Luvini, Herr Berg sustained fairly severe wounds in the arm and in the side. The weapon chosen was the officer's broadsword (*briquet d'ordonnance*). When Herr Berg left yesterday he had to be carried to the carriage.

Written by Engels on November 30, 1848

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## THE CLOSING OF THE GERMAN FRONTIER.— THE EMPIRE.—THE COUNCIL OF WAR

*Berne,* December 1. Thank God! At last it *appears* that the official news of the closing of the German frontier has reached the Federal Council and we shall now know what the position is. It was high time, considering how long their worships in the Central Authority have been taunting us Swiss and making fools of us. The Federal Council is said to have decided not to put even a single company of Swiss troops in the field against the mighty formation of 50,000 imperial troops. The imperial authorities can judge from this how much Switzerland fears their decisions, precautionary measures, threats and troop formations. Of course, the "Empire" does not have the same military system as Switzerland, which has no standing army at all but within a week can raise 150,000 trained and battle-ready troops—that is twice as many as the classical land of the military parade with its celebrated Scharnhorstian system of military organisation.

Even though the conflicting rumours about the closing of the frontier are threatening to dry up as a source of merriment for the Swiss, we can still rely on the "Empire" for something to laugh at. Yesterday the German and especially the Frankfurt imperial newspapers presented us in all seriousness with yet another fat canard: the recent invasion of Lörrach by refugees—or rather bandits—and the battle in which four real live Badenese dragoons succumbed! There is no need to tell you that the whole ridiculous story, which provoked the greatest hilarity here, is pure mystification. However, I can tell you that the Empire citizens' fear of the couple of volunteers who may still be prowling about on the border makes a hilarious impression on every Swiss. The newly coined

phrase, "Scared as six Empire citizens by one volunteer", has permanently entered the language. The latest article in the *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung* about the continuing subversive activities of the refugees along the frontier has greatly helped to keep up the laughter at the expense of the Empire.[a] What important revelations Herr Schmerling's spies have made! Metternich[b] is in Muttenz and has been seen in Birsfeld, where Neff too is residing and writing and receiving many letters. Siegel and Katzenmaier are staying in Emmishofen—and they say the Empire need not tremble! Even more terrifying, the Swiss Government tolerates the presence in Dornach, close to the German frontier, of—"a few *canteen-keeper stragglers* from Lörrach and the vicinity" !!! In addition to that, "it is generally believed" that fresh "predatory incursions" *would* have taken place *if*... etc., etc. And was there not sniping across the Rhine from Gross-Laufenburg? When, how and by whom the imperial newspaper has of course no idea. In short, if the Empire is in such a bad state that it shakes to its foundations just because Metternich is seen in Birsfeld and a few canteen-keeper stragglers are wasting away in Dornach, Switzerland will certainly have no part in propping up such a rotten building! What is more, these confused reports strung together by Empire *mouchards*[c] contradict themselves in every line: for example, Metternich is said to be the *only* refugee in Muttenz, and yet three lines further on "there are reports from Muttenz that *they* (!!) are once more *arming* there" !! "They"—means Metternich, all on his own! And it is for this—for making them the laughing-stock of the whole world with such clumsy contradictions—that the imperial authorities pay their *mouchards* in Switzerland! *Trema, Bisanzio,*[d] Metternich has been seen in Birsfeld and "several canteen-keeper stragglers" in Dornach have sworn your destruction!

But let us leave the Empire aside. The Federal Council of War has been dissolved *pro forma,* but immediately reconstituted as a military commission, Herr Ochsenbein, as head of the Federal War Department, taking over as chairman. The *Berner Zeitung* sharply criticises this reconstitution or retention of the most cumbersome and costly item of the old Federal Government. In its opinion, the Military Council has never achieved anything but the appointment of a few aristocratic officers and the birth, after protracted labour

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[a] "Die Fortdauer der Überstände an der Schweizergrenze", *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung* No. 314 (supplement), November 24, 1848.—*Ed.*

[b] Germain Metternich.—*Ed.*

[c] Informers.—*Ed.*

[d] Tremble, Byzantium! (Donizetti, *Belisario.*)—*Ed.*

pains, of federal drill regulations [*Kamaschenreglement*]. These regulations proved so expensive that for the same price the whole army might have been equipped with puttees [*Kamaschen*] and boots. For the rest, the Military Council restricted itself to drawing its daily allowance of sixteen francs per head and because of all the difficulties and hair-splitting has long since given up all hope of ever achieving anything.

Besides the duel between Luvini and Berg, there were prospects of a second one—between Pioda and Michel from Graubünden—as a result of the Tessin debate in the National Council. Colonel Michel had expressed himself in an unbecoming manner and ended up angrily declaring Pioda to be a downright liar. Pioda answered extremely calmly and properly, but afterwards called the old federal war-horse to account. Thereupon Michel made statements that gave complete satisfaction to Pioda and his friends and with that the affair was allowed to rest.

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# THE FEDERAL COUNCIL AND THE FOREIGN AMBASSADORS.— THE FEDERAL COUNCIL IN TESSIN.— CENTRALISATION OF POSTS.— GERMAN ARMY COMMANDER'S APOLOGY

*Berne*, December 2. Since announcing the constitution of the new federal authorities and the simultaneous expiry of the 1815 treaty,[125] the Federal Council has already received the assurance from all the foreign ambassadors that they believed they could promise in advance their governments' recognition of the new authorities and the new Constitution. Only the British ambassador, Master[a] Peel, made no mention of recognition, and merely stated tersely that he had communicated the announcement to his Government. As Russia has no representative here, no statement has, of course, come from that power.

The Federal Council has appointed as its representatives in Tessin Colonel Stehlin from Basle and Colonel Briatte from Waadt, both of them members, and the latter President, of the Council of States. The radical Briatte will, it is hoped, act differently from Herr Escher and Herr Munzinger.[126] Incidentally, all Italian refugees of military age have been removed from Tessin into the interior of Switzerland.

Further, the Federal Council has started to apply the law on the centralisation of posts. Herr Laroche-Stehelin from Basle has been appointed acting Postmaster-General of Switzerland, and two commissions have been set up, the first to assess the materials to be taken over from the cantons and private individuals, the second to draft a law on the organisation of the Swiss posts.

The German army commander concerned has made the appropriate apology in a letter to the Federal Council[b]; he declares himself ready to give the satisfaction required, and announces that those concerned have already been handed over for punishment.

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[a] This word is given in English in the original.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 63 and 98.— *Ed.*

# SWISS EVIDENCE OF THE AUSTRIAN ARMY'S HEROIC DEEDS IN VIENNA

*Cologne*, December 5. While the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* and other bought newspapers exalt a Windischgrätz and a Jellachich to heaven for restoring law and order, crown the valiant Austrian troops with laurels and never tire of recounting the horrors of the democratic reign of terror, a new source of information has suddenly appeared in the Swiss press to serve the chronicling of the latest Viennese events. This source consists of the Swiss citizens who with difficulty and in mortal danger, and after maltreatment, escaped from the myrmidons of "order", and having returned to their homeland, publish their experiences during the "days of terror" and the "war of order". And indeed not raging "proletarians", but big capitalists, people who owned enormous factories in Vienna, most trustworthy bourgeois of conservative convictions — and a Swiss conservative is well known to be the equivalent of a German "wailer" [127] raised to the second power — and their reports are not appearing in radical scandal sheets but in the most serious conservative newspapers. We have taken the following details from one such description in the *Basler Intelligenzblatt*:

Herr *Specker* of St. Gallen was director of a big machine factory which stood quite isolated on the Tabor, the extreme customs boundary of Vienna. He, like his workers and foremen, all of them Swiss, had neither taken part in the fighting, nor had weapons in the house. Only 15 workers had remained on duty with the factory's fire-pump set up in the yard. At the approach of the military, General *Wyss*, patrician of Berne and chief of the Austrian General Staff, gave Herr Specker his word of honour that nothing would happen to his building if he had no weapons and if no shots were fired from the factory. The house was searched by the troops and

nothing was found. In spite of this another detachment of riflemen asserted that shots had been fired from the house (very understandably, as they had permission to loot any house from which shots were fired). The "Swiss dogs", who had trusted the word of their compatriot General Wyss so implicitly that they had even left their wives and children in the factory, were most brutally mishandled by these soldiers, and only saved by the intervention of another officer. The latter took them to the guardroom. A neighbour pointed at one of the workers passing by and said: "He, too, was at the dismantling of the Tabor bridge." Immediately, without being allowed to say a word, the worker was put up against a wall and shot. In the guardroom guns were pointed at the "Swiss dogs" and only a loaded pistol brought out by the officer held the soldiers back. Director Specker was stood up against the wall, three soldiers set on him, one cocked his gun, put the barrel to Specker's mouth and fiddled about with the trigger. One of the officers took out his watch and said: "You have a quarter of an hour, Swiss dog, then you'll be shot, so say your prayers!" Before the time was up, the officer who had previously saved them returned, and took him to General Wyss, who reproached him for "breaking his word"! The general obstinately maintained that shots had been fired from the factory, although Herr Specker proved that this was physically impossible. At last he obtained a pass for himself and his people to Florisdorf. On returning to the factory they found everything in wrack and ruin and looted bare. Herr Specker's family had been chased around the house with rifle-shots; the book-keeper, a Swiss, riddled with bullets, rolled in his death throes in the garden and anyone who approached him was shot at, so that the unfortunate man was left till late at night to lie there and die. His name was *Kunz*. In the end the survivors succeeded in getting away safely to Florisdorf.

The machine manufacturer Bollinger, also a Swiss, who made himself famous by his work on the spire of St. Stephen's, succeeded with the help of fire-pumps in protecting his factory from being burned down. But here too the Austrians broke in under the false pretence that shots had been fired from the factory, and they plundered and demolished the whole building, set fire to it, and stabbed Bollinger's brother to death as he tried to escape from the flames. Another Swiss resident in Vienna, Madame Bodener, had her child shot in her arms by the Croats.

The report holds out prospects of still further information about the heroic deeds of the brave Austrian army as soon as other Swiss citizens return. At the same time, it depicts in most moving terms the assurance and calm of the armed proletarians, and the courteousness

and decency with which the Swiss were treated during the so-called reign of terror of the Vienna proletariat and students.

We repeat: the originators of these reports are not radicals, not proletarians and malcontents, but big capitalists and true full-blooded Swiss aristocrats. Will the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* not let its various correspondents ζρ , MW, ⌗, △ , and others in Vienna collect information as to whether this is not word for word true? We have given names, locality, and all other details as exactly as the paper can wish. But it will of course be wary.

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# [THE FRENCH WORKING CLASS AND THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS][128]

*Paris.* Raspail or Ledru-Rollin? Socialist or Montagnard? That is the question which is now splitting the party of the red republic into two hostile camps.[129]

What is this dispute really all about?

Ask the journals of the Montagnards, the *Réforme*, the *Révolution*, and they will tell you that they themselves cannot make it out; that the socialists have drawn up the same programme,[a] word for word, as the Mountain,[b] a programme of permanent revolution, of progressive taxes and death duties, and of organisation of labour; that there is no dispute on principles, and that the whole untimely scandal has been instigated by a few jealous and ambitious men who are deceiving the "religion and the good faith" of the people and out of egotism casting suspicion on the men of the people's party.

Ask the journal of the socialists, the *Peuple*, and you will be answered with bitter expletives about the ignorance and empty-headedness of the Montagnards, with endless legal, moral and economic treatises, and finally with the mysterious hint that at bottom it is all about Citizen Proudhon's new panacea, which they say is going to outdo the old socialist phrases of Louis Blanc's school.[c]

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[a] A reference to "Manifeste électoral du Peuple", *Le Peuple* No. 4, November 8-15, 1848.— *Ed.*

[b] A reference to "Declaration au peuple", *La Réforme* No. 310, November 9, 1848.—*Ed.*

[c] [P.-J. Proudhon,] "Argument à la Montagne", *Le Peuple* No. 5, November 15-21, 1848.— *Ed.*

Finally, ask the socialist workers, and they will answer you shortly: Ce sont des *bourgeois*, les montagnards.[a]

Once again, the only ones who hit the nail on the head are the workers. They will have nothing to do with the Mountain because the Mountain consists only of *bourgeois*.

The socialist-democratic party, even before February, consisted of two different factions; first, of the spokesmen, deputies, writers, lawyers etc., with their not inconsiderable train of petty bourgeois who formed the party of the *Réforme* proper; secondly, of the mass of Paris workers, who were not at all unconditional followers of the former, but, on the contrary, were very distrustful allies, and adhered more closely to them or moved farther away from them, according to whether the *Réforme* people acted with more resolution or with more vacillation. In the last months of the monarchy the *Réforme* acted with great resolution in consequence of its polemic with the *National*, and the relationship between it and the workers was very close.

The *Réforme* people therefore also entered the Provisional Government as representatives of the proletariat.

There is no need to go into details here about how they were in the minority in the Provisional Government and hence, incapable of asserting the workers' interests, only served the pure republicans[130] to put off the workers until the pure republicans had re-organised public power, which was now *their* power over against the workers; how Ledru-Rollin, the leader of the *Réforme* party, was persuaded by Lamartine's phrases of self-sacrifice and by the lure of power to enter the Executive Commission[131]; how he thereby split and weakened the revolutionary party, partially putting it at the disposal of the Government, and so caused the failure of the insurrections of May and June, nay, even fought against them himself. The facts are still too fresh in the memory.

Enough said; after the June insurrection, after the overthrow of the Executive Commission and the rise of the pure republicans to exclusive domination[132] in the person of Cavaignac, the party of the *Réforme*, of the democratic-socialist petty bourgeoisie, lost all illusions about the development of the Republic. It was pushed into opposition, it was free again, acted again as opposition and resumed its old connections with the workers.

As long as no important questions were raised, as long as it was only a question of exposing the cowardly, treacherous and reaction-

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[a] They are *bourgeois*, those Montagnards.— *Ed.*

ary policy of Cavaignac, so long the workers could put up with being represented in the press by the *Réforme* and the *Révolution démocratique et sociale.* The *Vraie République* and the real working-class papers had anyway already been suppressed by the state of siege, by tendentious trials and surety payments. They could equally well put up with being represented in the National Assembly by the Mountain. Raspail, Barbès and Albert were under arrest, Louis Blanc and Caussidière had had to flee. The clubs were in part closed, in part under strict supervision, and the old laws against freedom of speech continued and still continue in operation. Enough examples of how these laws were used against the workers were given in the newspapers every day. The workers, faced with the impossibility of having their own representatives speak, had again to be content with those who had represented them before February, with the radical petty bourgeois and their spokesmen.

Now the question of the Presidency arises. There are three candidates: Cavaignac, Louis Napoleon and Ledru-Rollin. For the workers Cavaignac was out of the question. The man who shot them down in June with grape-shot and incendiary rockets could only count on their hatred. Louis Bonaparte? They could only vote for him out of irony, to raise him by the ballot today and overthrow him again by force of arms tomorrow, and with him the honourable, "pure" bourgeois republic. And finally, Ledru-Rollin, who recommended himself to the workers as the only red, socialist-democratic candidate.

Really, after the experiences of the Provisional Government, of May 15 and June 24, could the workers be expected once again to give a vote of confidence to the radical petty bourgeoisie and Ledru-Rollin? To the same people who on February 25, when the armed proletariat ruled Paris, when they could have obtained everything, had only lofty, reassuring phrases instead of revolutionary action, only promises and vain hopes instead of quick and decisive measures, only the flag, the fine phrases and the styles of 1793, instead of the energy of 1793? To the same people who shouted with Lamartine and Marrast: First and foremost the *bourgeois* must be *reassured,* and who in doing so forgot to carry on the revolution? To the same people who on May 15 were undecided and on June 23 had artillery fetched from Vincennes and battalions from Orléans and Bourges?

And yet, the people might have voted for Ledru-Rollin so as not to split the votes. But then came his speech of November 25 against Cavaignac in which he once again took the side of the victors, reproached Cavaignac for not having acted with sufficient energy

against the revolution, for not having had more battalions in readiness against the workers.

This speech deprived Ledru-Rollin completely of all credit with the workers. Even now, after five months, after having had to suffer all the consequences of the June battle so to speak on his own body, even now he still sides with the victors against the vanquished, he is proud of having demanded more battalions against the insurgents than Cavaignac could supply!

And the man who considers the June fighters were not vanquished quickly enough wants to be the head of the party which has entered upon the heritage of the June martyrs?

After that speech the candidature of Ledru-Rollin was lost for the Paris workers. The opposing candidature of Raspail, already put forward earlier and already having earlier enjoyed the sympathy of the workers, was victorious in Paris. If the ballot papers of Paris had decided, Raspail would now be President of the Republic.

The workers know very well that Ledru-Rollin is not yet played out, that he still can and will render great service to the radical party. But he has forfeited the confidence of the workers. For his weakness, his petty vanity, his dependence on high-sounding phrases, through which even Lamartine mastered him, *they*, the workers, have had to suffer. No service he can render will make them forget that. The workers will always know that when Ledru-Rollin becomes energetic again, his energy will only be that of the armed workers standing behind him and driving him on.

By giving Ledru-Rollin a no-confidence vote, the workers also gave a no-confidence vote to the whole of the radical petty bourgeoisie. The indecision, the dependence on the traditional phrases of *dévoûment*[a] etc., the forgetting of revolutionary action over revolutionary reminiscences, are all qualities which Ledru-Rollin shares with the class he represents.

The radical petty bourgeois are only socialistic because they clearly see before their eyes their ruin, their transition into the proletariat. They are enthusiastic for the organisation of labour and revolution in the relationship between capital and labour not as petty bourgeois, as possessors of a little capital, but as future proletarians. Give them political domination, and they will soon forget the organisation of labour. Political domination gives them, of course, at least in the intoxication of the first moment, the prospect of the acquisition of capital, of salvation from threatening ruin. Only when the armed proletarians stand behind them with bayonets at the ready, only then

[a] Devotedness.—*Ed.*

will they remember their allies of yesterday. That is how they acted in February and March, and Ledru-Rollin, as their leader, was the first to act like that. If they are now disappointed, does that alter the workers' attitude to them? If they come back in sackcloth and ashes, does that entitle them to demand that the workers now, under quite different circumstances, shall fall into the trap again?

By voting not for Ledru-Rollin but for Raspail, the workers give them to understand that they will not do so, that they know how they stand in relation to the radical petty bourgeoisie.

But Raspail—what services has Raspail rendered the workers? How can *he* be placed in opposition to Ledru-Rollin as a socialist *par excellence*?

The people know full well that Raspail is no official socialist, no system-maker by profession. The people want none of the official socialists and system-makers, they are fed up with them. Otherwise, Citizen Proudhon would be their candidate, and not the hot-blooded Raspail.

But the people have a good memory and are not nearly so ungrateful as it pleases certain unappreciated reactionary celebrities, in their modesty, to maintain. The people still remember very well that Raspail was the first to reproach the Provisional Government for its inactivity, for its preoccupation with mere republican stuff and nonsense. The people have not yet forgotten the *Ami du Peuple, par le citoyen*[a] Raspail, and since Raspail was the first to have the courage—and it did require courage—to speak out in revolutionary fashion against the Provisional Government, and since Raspail represents not any particular socialist *couleur*, but only the social *revolution*, the people of Paris vote for Raspail.

It is not at all a question of a few petty measures solemnly proclaimed in the manifesto of the Mountain as the salvation of the world. It is a question of the social revolution which will give the French people something very different from these incoherent, already stale phrases. It is a question of the energy to carry through this revolution. It is a question whether the petty bourgeoisie will have this energy, after it already once proved powerless. And the proletariat of Paris, by voting for Raspail, replies "*No!*"

Hence the amazement of the *Réforme* and the *Révolution* that one can accept their phrases and yet not vote for Ledru-Rollin, although he proclaims these phrases. These worthy papers, which think of themselves as working-class papers and yet are now more

[a] By Citizen.—*Ed.*

than ever before papers of the petty bourgeoisie, cannot, of course, realise that the same demand which on the lips of the workers is revolutionary, is on *their* lips a mere phrase. Otherwise they would not have their own illusions.

And Citizen Proudhon and his *Peuple*? More of them tomorrow.

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# [PROUDHON]

*Paris.* Yesterday we spoke of the Montagnards and the socialists, of the candidatures of Ledru-Rollin and of Raspail, of the *Réforme* and the *Peuple* of Citizen Proudhon. We promised to return to Proudhon.

Who is Citizen Proudhon?

Citizen Proudhon is a peasant from the Franche-Comté who has done a variety of jobs and engaged in a variety of studies. He first drew public attention to himself by a pamphlet published in 1842: *What Is Property?*[a] The reply was: "Property is theft."

The surprising repartee startled the French. The Government of Louis Philippe, the austere Guizot, who has no sense of humour, was narrow-minded enough to take Proudhon to court. But in vain. In the case of such a piquant paradox any French jury can be relied on for acquittal. And so it came to pass. The Government disgraced itself and Proudhon became a famous man.

As to the book itself, it corresponded throughout to the above résumé. Every chapter was summed up in a curious paradox in a manner which is new to the French.

For the rest, it contained partly legal and moral, partly economic and moral treatises, each of which sought to prove that property amounts to a contradiction. As to the legal points, these can be admitted, inasmuch as nothing is easier than to prove that the whole of jurisprudence amounts to nothing but contradictions. As to the economic treatises, they contain little that is new, and what is new in them is based on wrong calculations. The rule of three is everywhere most disgracefully mishandled.

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[a] P.-J. Proudhon, *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?*—*Ed.*

The French, however, were unable to cope with the book. For the jurists it was too economistic, for the economists too legalistic and for both too moralistic. *Après tout, c'est un ouvrage remarquable,*[a] they said finally.

But Proudhon was hankering after greater triumphs. After various long-forgotten minor writings, there appeared at last in 1846 his *Philosophie de la misère,* in two enormous tomes. In this work, which was to establish his fame for ever, Proudhon applied a badly mishandled Hegelian philosophical method to a curiously misunderstood political economy and sought by all kinds of transcendental leaps to found a new socialist system of a free association of workers. This system was so new that in England, under the name of Equitable Labour Exchange Bazaars or Offices,[133] it had already gone bankrupt ten times ten years earlier in ten different towns.

This ponderous, pseudo-learned, bulky work, in which eventually not only all previous economists but all previous socialists too were told the rudest things, made absolutely no impression on the easy-going French. This way of speaking and reasoning was new to them and much less to their taste than the curious paradoxes of Proudhon's earlier work. Similar paradoxes were not lacking here either, it is true (as when Proudhon declared himself quite seriously a "personal enemy of Jehovah"[b]), but they were, so to speak, buried under the allegedly dialectical lumber. The French again said: *C'est un ouvrage remarquable,* and put it aside. In Germany, the work was of course received with great reverence.

*Marx* at the time issued a pamphlet in reply, which was as witty as it was thorough (*Misère de la philosophie. Réponse à la Philosophie de la misère de M. Proudhon.* Par Karl Marx, Bruxelles et Paris, 1847), and which in thought and language is a thousand times more French than Proudhon's pretentious monstrosity.

As to the real content of Proudhon's two works in criticism of the existing social relationships, one can, after reading them both, say with a clear conscience that it amounts to zero.

As to his proposals for social reforms, they have, as already mentioned, the advantage of having been brilliantly proved in England a long time ago by multiple bankruptcy.

That was Proudhon before the revolution. While he was still engaged in efforts to bring out a daily newspaper, *Le Représentant du Peuple,* without capital but by means of a calculation unequalled in its contempt for the rule of three, the Paris workers be-

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[a] After all, it is a remarkable work.— *Ed.*

[b] Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen,* Caput XXIII.— *Ed.*

stirred themselves, chased out Louis Philippe and founded the Republic.

Proudhon first became a "citizen" by virtue of the Republic; afterwards by virtue of the Paris workers' vote, given on the strength of his honest socialist name, he became a representative of the people.

So the revolution flung Citizen Proudhon out of theory into practice, out of his sulking corner into the forum. How did this obstinate, high-handed, self-taught man, who treats all previous authorities — jurists, scholars, economists and socialists — with equal contempt, who declares all previous history to be drivel and introduced himself, so to speak, as the new Messiah; how did he behave now that he himself was to help make history?

We must say to his credit that he began by taking his seat on the extreme Left, among the same socialists, and voting with the same socialists whom he so deeply despised and had so vehemently attacked as ignorant, arrogant dolts.

It is put about, of course, that in the party meetings of the Mountain he renewed his old violent attacks on his former opponents with fresh vehemence, that he declared them one and all to be ignoramuses and phrase-mongers who did not understand the ABC of what they were talking about.

We readily believe it. We even readily believe that the economic paradoxes which Proudhon uttered with all the dry passion and confidence of a doctrinaire caused no small embarrassment to *Messieurs les Montagnards.* Very few among them are theoreticians of economics and they rely more or less on little Louis Blanc; and little Louis Blanc, though a much more significant brain than the infallible Proudhon, is all the same too intuitive a nature to be able to cope with his learned economic pretensions, odd transcendence and seemingly mathematical logic. Moreover, Louis Blanc soon had to flee, and his flock, helpless in the field of economics, remained unprotected, exposed to the merciless claws of the wolf Proudhon.

We need hardly repeat that in spite of all these triumphs Proudhon is still an extremely weak economist. Only his weakness does not happen to lie within the grasp of the mass of French socialists.

Proudhon won the greatest triumph of his life on the rostrum of the National Assembly. On one occasion, I do not remember which, he took the floor and angered the bourgeois of the Assembly for an hour and a half with an endless string of truly Proudhonist paradoxes, each crazier than the other, but all calculated to shock the listeners most rudely in their dearest and most sacred feelings. And

all this was delivered with his dry academic indifference, in a toneless, academic Franche-Comté dialect, in the driest, most imperturbable style in the world — the effect, the St. Vitus's dance of the enraged bourgeois, was not at all bad.[134]

But this was the highlight of Proudhon's public activity. In the meantime he continued to belabour the workers, both through the *Représentant du Peuple* — which, after bitter experiences with the rule of three, had gradually materialised and soon was transformed into the *Peuple* pure and simple — as well as in the clubs, in favour of his theory of happiness for all. He was not without success. *On ne le comprend pas*, the workers said, *mais c'est un homme remarquable.*[a]

Written by Engels at the beginning of December 1848

Printed according to the manuscript

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Published in English for the first time

[a] You can't understand him, but he is a remarkable man.—*Ed.*

# HERR RAUMER IS STILL ALIVE

*Cologne*, December 6. Recently we mentioned the addresses of loyalty sent by the Halle and Berlin professors to the King.[a] Today we have to announce that Herr von Raumer, imperial envoy *in partibus*,[b] who at the present time is to be found in the antechambers of Bastide and Cavaignac, has fully joined in the professors' ignominy by stating his agreement with those addresses. As a matter of fact, nothing else was to be expected of an imperial envoy like Herr Raumer. But there seems to be yet another reason for his statement. For months past Herr Raumer has been entirely forgotten in Germany. In his longing to be rescued somehow from that oblivion, he eagerly seized the opportunity offered him by his fellow bonzes in Berlin and promptly published the above-mentioned statement. This production of Raumer's is to be found in the latest issue of the *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*.[c]

Written by Marx on December 6, 1848

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 162, December 7, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, pp. 106-07.— *Ed.*
[b] See Note 95.— *Ed.*
[c] Issue No. 215, December 5, 1848.— *Ed.*

# [SECOND STAGE OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION]

*Cologne*, December 6. The counter-revolution has reached its second stage. The National Assembly has been dissolved. An imposed Constitution has been proclaimed by the "grace of the All-Highest" without more ado.[135]

All the hypocrisy over the "agreement"[136] which has been going on since May has been stripped of its last mask.

The March revolution is declared null and void and royal power "by the grace of God" celebrates its triumph.

The camarilla, the junkers, the bureaucracy, and the entire reaction, with and without uniform, are jubilant because the stupid people is at last to be driven back into the stall of the "Christian-Germanic" state.

Written by Marx on December 6, 1848

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Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# THE COUP D'ÉTAT OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION [137]

*Cologne,* December 7. *The National Assembly has been dissolved. The representatives of the people have been dispersed "by the grace of God".*

The reason given by the Government for this act of violence adds bitter contempt to the coup d'état carried through 'with such insolence.[138]

The National Assembly now reaps the fruits of its chronic weakness and cowardice. For months it allowed the conspiracy against the people to carry on its work unmolested, to grow strong and powerful, and hence has now become its first victim.

The people, too, is now suffering for its sins, committed out of magnanimity, or rather stupidity, in March and again in April and May, and finally through so-called passive resistance. It has now been taught a lesson which it will probably put to profit. Its next victory will put an end to "agreement" and to all other phrases and hypocrisies.

Written by Marx on December 7, 1848 — Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 163, December 8, 1848

# MEASURES CONCERNING THE GERMAN REFUGEES

*Berne,* December 5. The Federal Council has now taken measures to deal with the German refugees, partly in order to deprive the imperial authority of the pretext for hostile measures, partly to show its impartiality towards Tessin and to carry through in practice also in the northern cantons the triumph of the policy of strict neutrality which was won in the Tessin debate.[a] The policy of Furrer-Munzinger-Ochsenbein is being pursued everywhere. A circular of the Federal Council addressed to the border cantons concerned repeats the basic principles expressed by the *Vorort,* and again insists on the internment of all refugees who took part in the Struve campaign[139]; and in order to give weight to this demand the President of the Federal Assembly, Dr. Steiger, already left yesterday as representative of the Confederation to visit the northern cantons.

There can be no objection to the measure in itself. Nobody will blame Switzerland for not wanting to get involved in unpleasantness because of a few volunteer insurgents who are thirsting for adventure and heartily bored in their exile. But why then the previous bold talk against Germany, the positive assurance that the Swiss had done their duty, when it is now indirectly admitted that they did not do it, when they are only now seeking to satisfy themselves how far the cantons have obeyed the orders of the *Vorort?*— It is not to be denied that this decision of the Federal Council, an act of justice towards Tessin, is a complete *démenti* of the last official act of the *Vorort,* and though the Note[b] received unanimous applause, this beginning of disavowal in the Note will cause little joy.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 61-62 and 112.— *Ed.*

[b] Sent to the Imperial Government on November 4, 1848. See this volume, pp. 67-68.— *Ed.*

Nothing has been heard about the closing of the German frontier, except that the whole of Swabia is protesting against it. Whether it will take place or not is again left to God to decide. In any case, the Federal Council has decided for the present not to range any troops opposite the imperial division.

The Federal Military Council has now concluded its current business and has been definitely disbanded. In its place there will be a War Office which Ochsenbein, as head of the Military Department, will organise and direct.

The new Spanish ambassador, Herr Zayas, who arrived here a few days ago with credentials for the *Vorort,* has now presented these to the Vice-President of the Federal Council, Herr Druey, and thereby made immediate contact with the new authorities.

The press is much incensed over the treatment of the Swiss in Vienna, of which I recently gave you some examples.[a] It insists on the Federal Council demanding satisfaction and compensation from Austria. In particular the behaviour of the Bernese General Wyss arouses general indignation here. This general's brother is a master builder here in Berne.

Written by Engels on December 5, 1848

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 165, December 10, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, pp. 120-22.— *Ed.*

# THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 165, December 10, 1848]

*Berne*, December 6. Who in this period of European storms is concerned about Switzerland? Certainly almost no one apart from the imperial authority, which suspects there is a volunteer insurgent lying in ambush behind every bush on the left bank of the Rhine from Constance to Basle. And yet Switzerland is an important neighbour for us. Today constitutional Belgium is the official model state,[a] but who in these stormy days will guarantee us that tomorrow a republican Switzerland will not be an official model state? Already I know more than one *farouche*[b] republican who wishes nothing more than to transfer the Swiss political system with its large and small councils — federal, national, council of states, and other councils — across the Rhine, i. e. to transform Germany into a large-scale Switzerland, and then lead a calm and peaceful life in all godliness and honour as a member of the Great Council or a *Landammann*[c] of the Baden, Hesse or Nassau canton.

At any rate, therefore, we Germans should be concerned about Switzerland, and what the Swiss think, say and do may very soon be held up to us as a model. Hence it can do no harm if in advance we acquaint ourselves to some extent with the kind of customs and people the twenty-two cantons of the "Confederation" have produced in their Federative Republic.

It is reasonable for us first of all to consider the cream of Swiss society, the men whom the Swiss people themselves have appointed as their representatives; I am referring to the National Council which meets in the Town Hall in Berne.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 333-36 and 482-84.— *Ed.*
[b] Fierce.— *Ed.*
[c] President of a canton.— *Ed.*

Anyone who comes to the public gallery of the National Council is bound to be surprised at the variety of figures the Swiss people has sent to Berne to deliberate on matters common to the whole nation. One who has not already seen a good deal of Switzerland will hardly understand how a small country of a few hundred square miles and of less than two and a half million inhabitants can produce such a colourful assembly. But it is not at all surprising. Switzerland is a country in which four different languages are spoken—German, French, Italian (or rather Lombardian) and Romansh—and which combines all stages of culture, from the most advanced machine industry down to the most unadulterated pastoral life. The Swiss National Council combines the cream of all these nationalities and stages of culture and therefore looks anything but national.

There cannot be any question of definite seats, of separate parties in this semi-patriarchal assembly. The radicals have made a feeble attempt to seat themselves on the extreme left, but they do not seem to have been successful. Each member sits where he likes and often changes his place three or four times during one sitting. But most members have certain favourite seats which finally they always occupy, so that after all the assembly is divided into two rather sharply separated parts. On the three front semicircular benches one sees men with sharply defined features, many with beards, with well-kept hair and modern clothes of Parisian cut. Seated here are the representatives of French and Italian Switzerland, or the "Welch" members as they are called here; on these benches it is rare for anything but French to be spoken. But behind the Welch members sits a curiously motley society. True, no peasants in Swiss national costumes are to be seen; on the contrary, these are all people whose clothing bears the stamp of a certain degree of civilisation; here and there one even sees a more or less modern frock-coat, the owner usually possessing decorous features; then half a dozen Swiss officer types in civilian dress, looking very much alike, more solemn than military, their faces and clothing somewhat old-fashioned and to some extent reminiscent of Ajax in *Troilus and Cressida*[a]; lastly the bulk of the assembly, consisting of more or less elderly, old-fashioned gentlemen with features and costumes that defy description, each one different, each one a distinct type and in the main also a type for caricature. All varieties of the petty bourgeois, the *campagnard endimanché*,[b] and the oligarchy of the cantons are here represented, but all equally respectable, all terribly serious, all

[a] A drama by Shakespeare.—*Ed.*
[b] Peasant in his Sunday best.—*Ed.*

wearing equally heavy silver-rimmed spectacles. These are the representatives of German Switzerland, and this bulk of the assembly is sent by the smaller cantons and outlying areas of the larger ones.

The presidential chair facing this assembly is occupied by the famous Dr. Robert Steiger from Lucerne, who a few years ago was sentenced to death under the Siegwart-Müller administration, and is now the President of the Swiss Federal Assembly. Steiger is a small thickset man with clear-cut features, to which his grey hair, brown moustache, and even the inevitable silver-rimmed spectacles, provide a not unpleasant background. He carries out his duties with great calm and perhaps somewhat excessive restraint.

The discussion corresponds to the physiognomy. Only the Welch members, and not even all of them, speak a fully civilised, rhetorical form of language. The Bernese, who among the German Swiss have most of all adopted Romance customs, most closely resemble them. Some temperamental fire, at least, is still to be found among them. The Zurichers, these sons of the Swiss Athens, speak with the gravity and precision appropriate to someone halfway between a professor and a factory foreman, but always "educatedly". The officers speak with solemn slowness, without much skill or content, but always decisively as though their battalion stood behind them ready for action. Finally, the main body of the assembly provides orators who are more or less well-meaning, cautious and conscientious, and who weigh up the arguments on one side and the other but nevertheless in the end always come down on the side of their cantonal interests; almost all of them speak very clumsily and in some places according to their own rules of grammar. When the discussion turns on a question of cost, it always starts from them, particularly from the representatives of the *Ur*-cantons. In this respect the Uri canton has already a well-deserved reputation in both Councils.

Consequently, on the whole the discussion is dull, calm, mediocre. The National Council has very few talented orators who would be successful also in larger assemblies; so far I know only of two, Luvini and Dufour, and perhaps Eytel. True, I have not yet heard several of the more influential members; but neither their successes in the assembly nor the newspaper reports of their speeches are such as to justify great expectations. Only Neuhaus is said to be a brilliant orator. How indeed could oratorical ability develop in assemblies which represent at most a few hundred thousand people and have to concern themselves with the most petty local interests? At any rate, the defunct Diet[140] was a diplomatic rather than a legislative assembly; in it one could learn how to distort instructions and find a plausible way out of a situation, but not how to rouse an assembly

and dominate it. Hence the speeches of the National Council members are mostly limited to motives for voting, with every speaker setting out the facts which induce him to vote in this way or that, and so without the slightest embarrassment he calmly repeats again what has already been repeated *ad nauseam* by previous speakers. Especially the speeches of the bulk of the representatives display this patriarchal sincerity. And once one of these gentlemen has the floor, as a matter of course he uses the opportunity also to voice his opinion at length on all the incidental points raised in the discussion, although they may have been disposed of long ago. Amidst this friendly chatter of the decent old fellows, a few main speeches laboriously keep the threads of the discussion together, and when the sitting ends one confesses to have seldom heard anything more boring. Philistinism, which lends a certain originality to the *physique*[a] of the assembly because it is rarely seen in this classical form, here too remains *au moral*[b] flat and tedious. There is little passion and no question at all of wit. Luvini is the only one who speaks with rousing, forceful passion, Dufour the only one who impresses by genuinely French clarity and precision. Frey from the Basle canton represents humour, which at times Colonel Bernold also attempts with some success. The French Swiss totally lack French wit. Throughout the existence of the Alps and the Jura not a single tolerable pun has been produced on their slopes, nor any quick, trenchant repartee heard there. The inhabitant of French Switzerland is not merely *sérieux*, he is *grave*.

The discussion which I will describe in some detail here concerns the Tessin affair and the Italian refugees in Tessin.[c] The circumstances are well known: the so-called intrigues of the Italian refugees in Tessin gave Radetzky the pretext for taking unpleasant measures; the *Vorort* Berne sent to Tessin federal representatives with extended powers[d] and also a brigade of troops; the uprising in Veltlin and in Valle Intelvi prompted a number of refugees to return to Lombardy, which they succeeded in doing in spite of the vigilance of the Swiss frontier posts; they crossed the frontier, without arms however, took part in the uprising and after the defeat of the insurgents, again unarmed, returned from Valle Intelvi to the Tessin area, and from there they were deported by the Tessin Government. Meanwhile Radetzky intensified his reprisals in the frontier area and redoubled his protests to the federal representatives.

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[a] Outward appearance.—*Ed.*
[b] In essence.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, pp. 59-60, 61-62 and 112.—*Ed.*
[d] Escher and Munzinger.—*Ed.*

The latter demanded the deportation of all refugees without distinction; the Tessin Government refused; the *Vorort* confirmed the measure of the representatives; the Tessin Government appealed to the Federal Assembly, which in the meantime had begun its session. The National Council had to decide on this appeal and on the factual assertions put forward by both sides, concerning especially the behaviour of the Tessiners towards the representatives and the Swiss troops.

The majority of the commission appointed on this matter proposed the deportation of *all* the Italian refugees from Tessin, their internment in the interior of Switzerland, a ban on the entry of new refugees into Tessin, and in general that the measures taken by the *Vorort* should be confirmed and adhered to. The report of the commission was given by Herr Kasimir Pfyffer from Lucerne. But long before I had made my way to the public gallery through the crowded audience, Herr Pfyffer ended his rather dry report, and Herr Pioda was given the floor.[a]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 165, December 10, 1848, second edition]

Herr Pioda, Secretary of State in Tessin, who was the sole representative of the minority in the commission, proposed the deportation of only those refugees who had taken part in the last uprising and against whom, therefore, there were positive grounds for action to be taken. Herr Pioda, a major and battalion commander during the war against the Sonderbund,[141] despite his mild, blonde appearance, displayed great courage at the time at Airolo, and held his ground for a week against more numerous, better-trained and better-armed enemy troops which, in addition, had occupied a more advantageous position. Pioda's speech is as mild and full of feeling as his outward appearance. Since he speaks French perfectly, both as regards accent and fluency, I would at first have taken him for a French Swiss and was astonished to learn that he was an Italian. However, when he came to speak of the reproaches levelled against the Tessiners, when in contrast to these reproaches he described the actions of the Swiss troops, who behaved almost as if they were in enemy country, when he began to get heated, he revealed if not passion, at any rate that lively, thoroughly Italian eloquence which resorts at times to antiquated forms and at others to a certain modern, sometimes exaggerated, magniloquence. To his credit I

[a] The newspaper here has an editorial note: "To be continued."—*Ed.*

must say that in this last respect he knew how to keep within bounds, and these passages in his speech had a very good effect. On the whole, however, his speech was too long and too emotional. The German Swiss possess Horace's *aes triplex*,[a] and all the fine phrases, all the noble sentiments of the good Pioda made no impression on their breasts, which are as hard as they are broad.

The next to speak was Herr Doctor Alfred Escher from Zurich. *A la bonne heure*[b]—he is a man *comme il en faut pour la Suisse.*[c] Herr Doctor Escher, federal representative in Tessin, Vice-President of the National Council, the son—if I am not mistaken—of the well-known machine-builder and engineer Escher who canalised the Linth and founded a huge engineering works near Zurich. Herr Doctor Escher is not so much a Zuricher as a "Swiss Athenian". His frock-coat and waistcoat have been made by the best *marchand tailleur*[d] in Zurich; one sees the praiseworthy and partly successful effort to meet the demands of the Paris fashion magazine; but one sees also the influence of the town's original sin, which compelled the cutter to go back to the age-old, customary, petty-bourgeois lines. Like the frock-coat, so the man. The fair hair is very carefully cut, but in a horribly bourgeois manner, as also the beard—for our Swiss Alcibiades wears a beard, of course, a caprice of the Zuricher from a "good family" that strongly reminds one of the first Alcibiades. When Herr Doctor Escher takes the presidential chair to replace Steiger for a short time, he carries out this manoeuvre with a mixture of dignity and elegant nonchalance of which M. Marrast could be envious. One sees clearly that he is taking advantage of those few moments in the soft upholstery of the arm-chair to rest his back, weary from sitting on a hard bench. In a word, Herr Escher is as elegant as it is only possible to be in the Swiss Athens; moreover, he is wealthy, handsome, strongly built, and not more than 33 years old. The ladies of Berne need to beware of this dangerous Alcibiades of Zurich.

Herr Escher, in addition, speaks very fluently and in such good German as is only possible for a Swiss Athenian: an Attic idiom with a Doric accent, but without grammatical mistakes, and not every member of the National Council from German Switzerland is capable of that; like all the Swiss he speaks with the most terrifying solemnity. If Herr Escher were 70 years of age he could not have

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[a] "*Illi robur et aes triplex circa pectus erat*". (Horace, *Carminum*, Ode 3.)—*Ed.*

[b] Excellent.—*Ed.*

[c] Such as Switzerland needs—*Ed.*

[d] Merchant tailor.—*Ed.*

adopted a more solemn tone than he did the day before yesterday—yet he is one of the youngest members of the assembly. Moreover, he has another quality not typical of the Swiss. The point is that every German Swiss has only a single gesture for all his speeches, in all circumstances and throughout his life. Herr Doctor Kern, for instance, stretches out his right arm to the side at right angles with his body; the various officers have exactly the same gesture, the only difference being that they hold the arm straight out in front of them instead of to the side; Herr Tanner from Aarau makes a bow after every third word; Herr Furrer bows first to the front, then in a half-turn to the right and then to the left; in short, if all the German-speaking members of the National Council were assembled, a fairly complete signalling code would result. Herr Escher's gesture consists in stretching out his arm in front of him and making a movement with it exactly like that of a pump-handle.

As for the content of Herr Doctor Escher's speech, there is no need for me to repeat his list of the complaints of the federal representatives, since almost all these complaints have reached most of the German newspapers through the *Neue Zürcher-Zeitung*. There was absolutely nothing new in the speech.

Zurich solemnity was succeeded by Italian passion: after Herr Dr. Escher came Colonel Luvini. Luvini is an excellent soldier, to whom the Tessin canton owes its whole military organisation; as the military leader he led the 1840 revolution. In August 1841, when the overthrown oligarchs and priests launched an attack from Piedmont and tried to make a counter-revolution, Luvini by his swift and energetic action suppressed the attempt in a single day. During the war against the Sonderbund he was the only one to be taken prisoner solely because the Bündeners left him in the lurch. Luvini very quickly leapt from his seat to defend his fellow countrymen against Escher. The fact that Herr Escher's reproaches were couched in the stilted but outwardly calm language of a schoolteacher did not make them any the less bitter; on the contrary, everyone knows that doctrinaire wisdom is in itself sufficiently intolerable and wounding.

Luvini replied with all the passion of an old soldier and Tessiner, who is Swiss by accident but Italian by nature.

"Are not the people of Tessin here being strongly reproached because of their 'sympathy with Italian freedom'? Yes, it is true that the Tessiners sympathise with Italy, and I am proud of the fact, and I shall not cease to pray to God every morning and evening for the liberation of this country from its oppressors. Yes, despite Herr Escher, the Tessiners are a calm and peaceful people, but if daily and hourly they have to watch the Swiss soldiers fraternise with the Austrians, with the police detachments

of a man whose name I can never pronounce without a bitterness that comes from the depths of my soul, with Radetzky's hirelings—how can they fail to be embittered, they before whose very eyes, as it were, the Croats commit the most shocking atrocities? Yes, the Tessiners are a calm and peaceful people, but when they are sent Swiss soldiers who take sides with the Austrians, and in some places behave like the Croats, then, of course, they cannot be calm and peaceful!" (There follows an enumeration of facts about the behaviour of the Swiss troops in Tessin.) "It is already hard and sad enough to be oppressed and enslaved by foreigners, yet this is tolerated in the hope that the day will come when the foreigners will be driven out; but when my own brothers and members of the Confederation enslave me, when they, as it were, put a rope round my neck, then truly...."

The President's bell interrupted the speaker. Luvini was called to order. He said a few more words and ended his speech rather abruptly and irritably.

The fiery Luvini was followed by Colonel Michel from Graubünden. The Bündeners, with the exception of the Italian-speaking inhabitants of Misox, have always been bad neighbours to the Tessiners, and Herr Michel remained true to the traditions of his homeland. Speaking in the highly solemn tone of a man of worth, he tried to cast suspicion on the statements of the Tessiners, launched into a series of uncalled-for denunciations and slanders against the Tessin people, and was even tactless and ignoble enough to reproach the Tessiners because they (rightly) laid the blame for their defeat at Airolo on Michel's fellow countrymen, on the Bündeners. He concluded his speech by kindly proposing that part of the frontier occupation costs should be imposed on the Tessin Government.

On a motion by Steiger, the debate was then adjourned.

The following morning the first to speak was Herr Colonel Berg from Zurich. I shall not describe his appearance for, as I have pointed out, the German-Swiss officers all look alike. Herr Berg is the commander of the Zurich battalion stationed in Tessin, the insolent behaviour of which was described by Luvini with numerous examples. Herr Berg, of course, had to defend his battalion, but as he soon came to the end of the factual assertions put forward for this purpose, he launched into a series of the most unrestrained personal attacks on Luvini.

"Luvini," he said, "ought to be ashamed to talk about the discipline of the troops and moreover to cast suspicion on the discipline of one of the finest and most orderly battalions. For if what happened to Herr Luvini had happened to me I would long ago have resigned. What happened to Herr Luvini was that in the war against the Sonderbund he was defeated in spite of his army being numerically superior, and on being given the order to advance, replied that it was impossible, as his troops were demoralised etc. Incidentally, I should like to have a word with Herr Luvini on this matter, not here but somewhere else; I like to look my opponent in the eye."

All these and numerous other provocative statements and insults were uttered by Herr Berg in a tone that was in part dignified, in part blustering. He obviously wanted to imitate Luvini's *fougueuse*[a] rhetoric, but his effort was a complete fiasco.

As the story of Airolo has already cropped up twice in my report and has now come up again, I shall briefly recall the main circumstances. Dufour's plan in the war against the Sonderbund was as follows: while the main army attacked Freiburg and Lucerne, the Tessiners were to advance over the St. Gotthard, and the Bündeners over the Oberalp into the Urserental, liberate and arm the liberal-minded population there, and by this diversion cut off Wallis from the *Ur*-cantons[142] and compel the main Lucerne army of the Sonderbund to divide into two. The plan failed, firstly because the men of Uri and Wallis had already occupied the St. Gotthard before hostilities began and secondly because of the half-heartedness of the Bündeners. The latter totally failed to mobilise the Catholic militia, and even the troops that were mobilised let themselves be dissuaded from further advance by the Catholic population at a meeting in the Disentis High Court. Hence Tessin was quite alone, and bearing in mind that the military organisation of this canton was still very immature and that the entire Tessin army numbered only about 3,000, the weakness of Tessin compared with the Sonderbund is easily grasped. Meanwhile the men of Uri, Wallis and Unterwalden had been reinforced by more than 2,000 men with artillery and on November 17, 1847, they descended the St. Gotthard with their entire force and broke into Tessin. The Tessin troops were deployed in echelons up the Leventinatal from Bellinzona to Airolo; their reserves were in Lugano. The Sonderbund troops, concealed by a dense mist, occupied all the heights around Airolo, and when the mist dispersed Luvini saw that his position was lost before a shot had been fired. Nevertheless he assumed the defensive and after a battle lasting many hours, in which the Tessiners fought with the greatest courage, his troops were thrown back by the numerically stronger enemy. At first the retreat was covered by some army units, but the Tessin recruits, attacked on the flanks from the heights and fired on by artillery, were soon in total disorder and could only be brought to a halt at eight hours' distance from Airolo, behind the Moesa. Anyone who knows the St. Gotthard road will understand the huge advantages of an army coming down from above, especially if it has artillery, and the impossibility for an army retreating down the mountain to make a stand anywhere and deploy its forces in the

[a] Fiery.—*Ed.*

narrow valley. Moreover the Tessiners who were actually involved in the battle by no means outnumbered the Sonderbund troops, on the contrary. For this defeat, therefore, which incidentally had no further consequences, it was not Luvini who was to blame but, firstly, his numerically weak and untrained troops, secondly, the unfavourable terrain, thirdly and mainly, the absence of the Bündeners, who allowed themselves to quaff Veltlin wine in Disentis instead of being on the Oberalp, and who at last came to the help of the Tessiners over the St. Bernard, *post festum*, with two battalions. And this victory of the Sonderbund, at the only place where it was superior in numbers, is used to reproach the Tessiners by those who shamefully left them in the lurch or who won cheap laurels at Freiburg and Lucerne, fighting three against one!

As you know, these attacks by Berg against Luvini resulted in a duel in which the Welch man severely disabled the Zuricher.[a]

But let us return to the debate. Herr Dr. Kern from Thurgau rose to support the proposals of the majority. Herr Kern is a typical Swiss, tall, broad-shouldered, with not unpleasant clear-cut features and somewhat theatrical hair, such as perhaps an honest Swiss would imagine Olympian Jupiter; he is dressed somewhat like a man of learning, his look, tone of voice and bearing indicate unshakeable determination. Herr Kern is considered one of the most accomplished and shrewdest lawyers in Switzerland. "With his characteristic logic" and highly declamatory manner of speaking, the President of the Federal Court began to expound on the Tessin question, but soon I was so bored that I preferred to go to the Café italien and drink a glass of Wallis wine.

When I returned, Kern had already been followed by Almeras from Geneva, Homberger, Blanchenay from Waadt and Castoldi from Geneva—more or less important local figures whose fame in the Confederation is only just beginning. Eytel from Waadt was speaking.

In Switzerland, where people are proportionately as large as ordinary cattle, Herr Eytel may be considered delicately built, although in France he would pass for a *jeune homme fort robuste.*[b] He has a handsome, delicate face, fair moustache and fair curly hair, and like the Waadt people in general he reminds one of a Frenchman more than do the other inhabitants of Welch Switzerland. It goes without saying that he is one of the main supporters of the ultra-radical, red-republican trend among the Waadt people.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 114, 115.—*Ed.*

[b] Quite robust young man.—*Ed.*

Moreover, he is still young and certainly not older than Escher. Herr Eytel spoke with great vehemence against the federal representatives.

"They behaved in Tessin as though Tessin were not a sovereign state, but a province which they had to administer as pro-Consuls; truly, if these gentlemen had acted in that way in a French canton, they would not have been allowed to remain there long! Yet these gentlemen, instead of thanking God that the Tessiners put up so calmly with their lust for domination and their fantastic ideas, even complain of being badly received!"

Herr Eytel speaks very well but is somewhat too long-winded. Like all the French Swiss, he fails to come to the point.

Old Steiger also said a few words from his presidential chair in favour of the majority proposals and then our Alcibiades Escher took the floor for the second time in order to repeat once more the account he had already given. But this time he attempted a rhetorical conclusion in which his schoolboy's exercise was evident three miles away.

"Either we are neutral or we are not neutral, but whatever we are, that we must wholly be, and old Swiss loyalty demands that we should keep our word, even if given to a despot."

From this new and striking idea, Herr Escher's tireless arm pumped out the broad stream of a solemn peroration, and when he had completed it Alcibiades, obviously pleased with himself, sat down again.

Herr Tanner from Aarau, President of the Supreme Court, was the next speaker. He is a lean, puny man of medium height who speaks very loudly about very uninteresting matters. Basically his speech was nothing but the hundredfold repetition of one and the same grammatical mistake.

He was followed by Herr Maurice Barman from French Wallis. To look at him no one would believe that he fought so bravely at Pont de Trient in 1844, when the men of Upper Wallis led by the Kalbermattens, Riedmattens and other Mattens[a] attempted a counter-revolution in the canton.[143] Herr Barman's outward appearance is that of a tranquil bourgeois but is by no means unpleasant; he speaks thoughtfully and rather disjointedly. He repulsed Berg's personal attacks on Luvini and supported Pioda.

Herr Battaglini from Tessin, who looks rather bourgeois and could remind a malicious observer of Dr. Bartholo in *Figaro*, read out a rather long discourse in French about neutrality in favour of

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[a] *Matten* also means "meadows".— *Ed.*

his canton, a statement which contained perfectly correct principles but was listened to with only very superficial attention.

Suddenly the conversations and moving about in the assembly ceased. There was complete silence and all eyes turned to a beardless, bald old man with a big aquiline nose, who began to speak in French. This little old man, who in his simple black suit and with his completely civilian appearance was more like a professor than anything else, and who struck one only by his expressive face and lively, penetrating glance, was General *Dufour,* that same Dufour whose far-sighted strategy crushed the Sonderbund almost without bloodshed. What a distance separated him from the German-Swiss officers of that assembly! Those Michels, Zieglers, Bergs etc., those narrow-minded fire-eaters, those pedantic martinets, cut a very characteristic figure in comparison with the small unpretentious Dufour. One could see at a glance that it was Dufour who was the brain behind the whole war against the Sonderbund, whereas these Ajaxes full of a sense of their own worth were only the fists he needed for carrying out his decisions. The Diet had truly chosen correctly and found the necessary man.

But when one hears Dufour speak one becomes really astounded. This old officer in the Engineers, who has spent his whole life only organising artillery schools, drawing up regulations and inspecting batteries, who has never taken part in parliamentary proceedings, never spoken in public, spoke with an assurance and with a fluency, elegance, precision and clarity that is admirable and unique in the Swiss National Council. This maiden speech[a] of Dufour's on the Tessin question, as far as its form and content are concerned, would have created the greatest sensation in the French Chamber; in every respect it far surpasses Cavaignac's[b] three-hour speech which made him the leading lawyer in Paris—if one can judge from the text published in the *Moniteur.* As for beauty of language, it is doubly deserving of recognition in someone from Geneva. The national language of Geneva is a Calvinistically reformed French, broad, flat, poor, monotonous and colourless. Dufour, however, did not speak in the language of Geneva, but in real, genuine French. Moreover, the sentiments which he expressed were so noble, so soldierly in the *good* sense of the word, that they made the petty professional jealousies and petty cantonal narrowness of the German-Swiss officers stand out in glaring contrast.

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[a] The words "maiden speech" are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to Éléonore Louis Godefroy Cavaignac.—*Ed.*

"I am glad that everyone is talking about neutrality," said Dufour. "But what is neutrality? It consists in our not undertaking or allowing to be undertaken anything by which the state of peace between Switzerland and neighbouring states would be endangered. Nothing less, but also nothing more. We have the right, therefore, to grant asylum to refugees from abroad, it is a right of which we are proud. We regard it as a duty which we owe to misfortune. But on one condition: that the refugee submits to our laws, that he does not undertake anything that could endanger our security at home or abroad. That a patriot driven from his country by tyranny endeavours, from our territory also, to win back the freedom of his homeland, I can understand. I do not reproach him in any way on that account, but then we also have to see what we must do. If, therefore, a refugee takes up his pen or his musket to oppose the neighbouring Government—all right, we shall not deport him for it, that would be unjust, but we shall remove him from the frontier, intern him. That is demanded by our own security and by our regard for neighbouring states; nothing less but also *nothing more.* If, on the other hand, we take steps not only against the insurgent volunteer who has penetrated into foreign territory, but also against the brother or the father of that volunteer, against one who has remained in peace, then we are doing more than we are obliged to do, then we are no longer neutral, we take the side of a foreign government, the side of despotism against its victims." (General applause.) "And precisely now when Radetzky, a man for whom certainly no one in this assembly has any sympathy, is already demanding from us this unjust removal of *all* refugees from the frontier zone, when he is backing up his demand by threats, indeed, by hostile measures, precisely now it is least of all fitting for us to accede to the unjust demand of a more powerful opponent, because it would look as if we were bowing to superior force, as if we had taken this decision because a stronger opponent demanded it." (Bravo!)

I regret that I cannot give more of this speech and more word-for-word extracts from it. But there are no stenographers here, and I have to write from memory. Suffice it to say that Dufour astonished the entire assembly both by his oratorical skill and by the unpretentiousness of his speech as well as by the weighty arguments he put forward, and that after declaring he would vote for Pioda's proposal, he returned to his seat amid general applause. I have never on any other occasion heard applause during debates in the National Council. Dufour's speech decided the matter; after it there was nothing more to be said, and Pioda's proposal was carried.

However, this did not suit the knights of the small cantons whose consciences had been shaken, and to the call for an end to the debate they replied by casting 48 votes for its continuance. Only 42 voted for ending the debate, which therefore continued. Herr Veillon from Waadt proposed that the whole matter be referred to the Federal Council. Herr Pittet from Waadt, a handsome man with French features, spoke in favour of Pioda, fluently but verbosely and in a doctrinaire tone, and it seemed that the discussion was petering out when, finally, Herr Furrer, President of the Confederation, rose to speak.

Herr Furrer is a man in the prime of life, a counterpart of Alcibiades Escher. If the latter represents the Swiss Athens, Herr Furrer represents Zurich. If Escher tends to look like a professor, Furrer tends to look like a factory foreman. Together they are a complete representation of Zurich.

Herr Furrer, of course, is a man who favours the most absolute neutrality and since he saw his system seriously threatened as a result of Dufour's speech, he had to employ the most extreme measures to ensure himself a majority. It is true that Herr Furrer has only been Federal President for three days, but in spite of that he proved that he understands the politics of no-confidence questions despite Duchâtel and Hansemann. He declared that the Federal Council was extremely eager for the decision of the National Council, because this decision would be a decisive turning-point in the entire policy of Switzerland etc. After a little embellishment of this *captatio benevolentiae*,[a] he gradually proceeded to expound his own opinion and that of the majority of the Federal Council, namely, that the policy of neutrality must remain and that the view of the majority of the commission was also the view of the majority of the Federal Council. He said all this with such solemn dignity and in such an insistent tone that there was a hint of the no-confidence question in every word of his speech. One must bear in mind that in Switzerland the executive power is not an independent power alongside the legislative, as in a constitutional monarchy or in the new French Constitution, but only the derivative and instrument of the legislative power. One must bear in mind that it is not at all the custom for the executive power to resign if its wishes are disregarded by a decision of the legislative assembly; on the contrary, it is accustomed to carry out this decision most obediently and wait for better times. And since the executive power likewise consists of an elected council in which there are also various shades of opinion, it is of no great importance if the minority in the executive council has a majority on some questions in the legislative council. And here at least two members of the Federal Council, Druey and Franscini, were for Pioda and against Furrer. Consequently, from the point of view of Swiss customs and views, Furrer's appeal to the assembly was quite unparliamentary. But what does that matter? The weighty voice of the Federal President gave new courage to the knights of the small cantons, and when he returned to his seat, they even attempted a "bravo" which faded away without any response, and demanded an end to the debate.

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[a] Attempt to win goodwill.—*Ed.*

But old Steiger was fair enough to give the floor first to Herr Pioda—as the reporter for the minority. Pioda spoke with the same calm and decorum as before. He again refuted all the accusations while briefly summing up the debate. He warmly defended his friend Luvini, whose *fougueuse* eloquence had perhaps somewhat carried him away but who, and this should never be forgotten, on a previous occasion had saved his canton for Switzerland. Finally, he touched upon Airolo and expressed his regret that this word had been mentioned here and, moreover, mentioned by the side from which he least of all expected it.

"It is true that we suffered a defeat at Airolo," he said. "But how did it come about? We stood there alone, our little, sparsely populated canton against the whole weight of the *Ur*-cantons and Wallis, which hurled themselves upon us and crushed us, although we defended ourselves bravely. It is true, we were defeated. But is it seemly for you" (turning to Michel) "to reproach us for it? You, gentlemen, you are to blame for the fact that we were defeated; you should have been on the Oberalp and have struck the Sonderbund forces in the flank, and it was you who were not there and who left us in the lurch, and that was why we were defeated. Yes, you did arrive, gentlemen, but when it was too late, when it was all over—then at last you arrived!"

Colonel Michel leapt up in a fury and with a face red as a lobster and declared that it was a lie and a slander. Called to order by loud murmurs and the President's bell, he continued somewhat more calmly. He said he knew nothing about having been supposed to be on the Oberalp. All he knew was that after getting the order he came to the aid of the Tessiners and in fact was the first to arrive.

Pioda replied as calmly as before: it had not entered his mind to attack Herr Michel personally, he had merely spoken of the Graubündeners in general, and it was a fact at any rate that they should have supported the Tessiners by descending from the Oberalp. If Herr Michel did not know that, it was easily explained by the fact that at the time he commanded only a battalion, and therefore the general plans of the campaign could very well have remained unknown to him.

With this intermezzo, which further led to private discussions of various kinds between these gentlemen outside the assembly hall and was finally settled by mutually satisfactory statements, the debate came to an end. The voting was by roll-call. The Frenchmen and four or five Germans voted with the Tessiners, the mass of the German Swiss voted against them. Tessin was deprived of the right to afford asylum, Radetzky's demands[144] were agreed to, neutrality at any price was proclaimed, and Herr Furrer could feel satisfied with himself and the National Council.

Such is the Swiss National Council, where the flower of the statesmen of Switzerland meet. I find that they are distinguished from other legislators by only one virtue, greater *patience*.

Written by Engels on December 6, 1848

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# THE BOURGEOISIE AND THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION[145]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 165, December 10, 1848]

*Cologne*, December 9. We have never concealed the fact that ours is not a *legal basis*, but a *revolutionary basis*. Now the Government for its part has abandoned the false pretence of a legal basis. It has taken its stand on a revolutionary basis, for the *counter-revolutionary* basis, too, is *revolutionary*.[146]

§ 6 of the law of April 6, 1848, lays down:

"The right to approve all *laws* as well as to determine the national budget and the *right to grant taxes* must in any case belong to the future representatives of the people."

§ 13 of the law of April 8, 1848, reads:

"The Assembly convened on the basis of this law is called upon to *establish* the *future Constitution* by agreement with the Crown and during the period of its existence to exercise the prerogatives of the former imperial estates, in particular regarding the granting of taxes."

The Government sends this Agreement Assembly to the devil, most autocratically imposes a *soi-disant*[a] Constitution[147] upon the country and grants itself the taxes which the representatives of the people had refused it.

The Camphausen epic, a sort of pompous *legal Jobsiade*,[148] has been brought to an abrupt end by the Prussian Government. In retaliation the great *Camphausen*, the author of this epic, continues coolly to deliberate in Frankfurt as envoy of this same Prussian Government, and goes on scheming with the Bassermanns in the interests of this same Prussian Government. This Camphausen, who invented the theory of agreement in order to preserve the legal basis, that is in order first of all to cheat the revolution of the respect that is

[a] Self-styled.— *Ed.*

Neue
# Rheinische Zeitung
Organ der Demokratie.

№ 170. Köln, Samstag den 10. Dezember. 1848.

# Keine Steuern mehr!!!

Ueberſicht.
Deutſchland. Köln (Die Bourgeoiſie und die Contrerevolution. Fortſetzung — Der Bürgermaggeumann.) Wetzlar. (Verhaftungen — Verſammlungsverbot.) Frankfurt. (Verhaftungen.) Koblenz. (Die Regierungsblätter und ihr Motto. — Zumuth zu Polterbern.) Wiesbaden. (Die Regierungsblätter.) Berlin. (Die Reactionäre und — zu und die Muſen. — Verbot der Nationalzeitung. — Polizeiwirthſchaft. — Demokrat. Preßgeſ. — Das Miniſterium Brandenburg und die engliſche Preſſe. — Kinderverkäufe.) Darmſtadt. (Die Constitutionell. — Staatsrechtliches.) Mainz. (Ein Beſchluß des hieſigen Bezirksrathes.) Eltingen. (Adreſſe an einen Reichstagsdeputirten.)
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Franzöſiſche Republik. Paris. (Die Wahl Louis Napoleons. — Nationalfeſtes. — Eingriffe der Miniſtien. — Napoleon, Bugeaud, Federn Radic. — Die Moderaten. — Girardin. Lamartine. — Die Wahlliſten. — Verbindung der Rothen mit den Napoleonsleuten. — Vermächtniß. National-Verſammlung.)
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Amerika. (Neueſte Nachrichten aus den Vereinigten Staaten, Mexiko, Yucatan, Haiti, Havannah, Venezuela und Bogota. — Das reactionäre Oberamt). Rio-Janeiro. (Roſas Rüſtungen).
Aſien. (Zuſtand am Cap der guten Hoffnung).

## Deutſchland.

* Köln, 15 Dezember. (Fortſetzung.) Die Vereinbarungsſtrategie, welche die im Miniſterium Camphauſen zur Regierung gelangte Bourgeoiſie ſofort als „bereites“ Grundlage des preußiſchen contrat social proklamirte, war keineswegs eine hohle Theorie; ſie war vielmehr gewachſen auf dem Baume des „gebildeten“ Lebens.

Die Märzrevolution hat den Souverain von Gottes Gnaden keineswegs dem Volksſouveräne unterjocht. Sie hat nur die Krone, den abſolutiſtiſchen Staat, gezwungen, ſich mit der Bourgeoiſie zu verſöhnen, ſich mit ihrem alten Rivalen zu vereinbaren.

Die Krone wird der Bourgeoiſie den Adel, die Bourgeoiſie wird der Krone das Volk opfern. Unter dieſer Bedingung wird das Königthum bürgerlich und die Bourgeoiſie königlich werden.

Nach dem März giebt es nur noch dieſe zwei Mächte. Sie dienen ſich wechſelſeitig als Bligableiter der Revolution. Alles nationale auf „breiteſter demokratiſcher Grundlage.“

Das war das Geheimniß der Vereinbarungstheorie. Die Oel- und Waſſerhunde, welche das erſte Miniſterium nach der März-Revolution bildeten, gefielen ſich in der Rolle, die blosgeſtellte Krone mit ihren plebejiſchen Zitzegen zu decken. Sie ſchwenkten in dem Dockgeweihe, hochlog in ſein und widerſtrebten, ihrem tauben Nomenklatum aus reiner Großmuth abſolvirt — von dem Nomenklatum des vereinigten Landtags — die Ritzt, welche der Thron zu verſchlingen bedroht, mit dem Leichnam ihres ehemaligen Feudalcollegen zu ſchlingen. Mit ſpezieller ſich der Minister Camphauſen als Mehlmutter des konſtitutionellen Thrones. Der brave Mann war offenbar über ſich ſelbſt, über ſeine eigene Großmuth geruhrt. Die Krone aber Anhang ſuchte wider-ſtreben wieſe bemühigende Protektorſchaft, ſie machte bonne mine à mauvais jeu in Erwartung beſſerer Tage.

Die bald aufgelöſte Kamer, die für ihre Sitzen und Gehalte ſitzende Bureaucratie, der geduldmüthige Feudalbund, deſſen Führer ſich auf konſtitutionellen Standverrriſen befand, überſchütteten leicht mit einigen ſüßen Worten und Kuſen den Bourgeoiſ Gemüthsamme.

Die preußiſche Bourgeoiſie war nominellſter Beſitzer der Herrſchaft, ſie zwiſelte keinen Augenblick, daß die Mächte des alten Regimes ihre Hinterthür ſich ihr zu Gebot geſtellt und in eben ſo viele bewährte Mittel ihrer eigenen Allmacht verwandelt hätten.

Nicht nur im Miniſterium, in dem ganzen Umfang der Monarchie war die Bourgeoiſie von dieſem Wahne betrunken.

Die einzigen Debatten unter den preußiſchen Bourgeoiſie nach dem März, die oft blutigen Chiſanen der Bürgerwehr gegen das unbewaffnete Proletariat, fanden ſie nicht in der Armee, in der Bureaucratie und ſelbſt in den Feudalherrn willig unterwürfige Helfershelfer, ſondern in den Kraftanſtrengungen, mögen ſich die inſulten Vertreter der Bourgeoiſie aufſchwangen, die Gemeinderathe — deren zuvorkügſt ſervile Gemeinden von einem Wunderſtreiche, Jetzlich und Meiſam ſtatter in angemeſſener Weiſe beſchwitzt wurde — die Bürgerwehr

due to it, at the same time invented the mines which were later to blow up the legal basis together with the theory of agreement.

This man introduced the *indirect* elections that produced an assembly to which, at a moment of sudden revolt, the Government could shout: **Trop tard!**[149] He recalled the Prince of Prussia, the head of the counter-revolution, and did not disdain an official lie to turn the Prince's flight into a study trip.[150] He let the old Prussian laws dealing with political crimes and the old courts continue to function. Under his government the old bureaucracy and the old army gained time to recover from their fright and to reconstitute themselves completely. All the leading personalities of the old regime were left untouched in their positions. Under Camphausen the camarilla carried on a war in Posen,[151] while he himself carried on a war in Denmark. The Danish war was intended as an overflow for the superabundant patriotism of the German youth, against whom also after their return the police took the appropriate measures. This war was intended to give some popularity to General Wrangel and his notorious Guards regiments and to rehabilitate the Prussian soldiery in general. This purpose achieved, the sham war had to be ended at any price by a disgraceful armistice, which was once again agreed on at Frankfurt am Main by the same Camphausen with the German National Assembly. The outcome of the Danish war was the appointment of the "*Commander-in-Chief of the two Marches*"[152] and the return to Berlin of the Guards regiments which had been driven out in March.

And the war which the Potsdam camarilla waged in *Posen* under the auspices of Camphausen!

The war in Posen was more than a war against the Prussian revolution. It was the fall of Vienna, the fall of Italy, the defeat of the heroes of June. It was the first decisive victory gained by the Russian Tsar over the European revolution. And all this was done under the auspices of the great *Camphausen*, the thinking friend of history,[a] the knight of the great debate, the champion of agreement.

Under *Camphausen* and with his help the counter-revolution seized all important positions; it prepared an army ready for action while the Agreement Assembly debated. Under *Hansemann-Pinto*,[153] the Minister of action, the old police force was fitted out with new uniforms, and the bourgeoisie waged a war—as bitter as it was petty—against the people. The conclusion from these premises was

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[a] An ironical allusion to *Allgemeine Geschichte vom Anfang der historischen Kenntniss bis auf unsere Zeiten*, by Karl von Rotteck, a well-known work at the time. Its subtitle was: *Für denkende Geschichtsfreunde* (For Thinking Friends of History).—*Ed.*

drawn under *Brandenburg*'s rule. The only things needed for this were a moustache and a sword instead of a head.

When Camphausen resigned we exclaimed:

*He has sown reaction as interpreted by the bourgeoisie, he will reap reaction as interpreted by the aristocracy and absolutism.*[a]

We have no doubt that His Excellency, the Prussian envoy *Camphausen*, at this moment considers that he himself is a feudal lord and will have come to a peaceable agreement with this "misunderstanding".

One should not, however, commit the error of ascribing initiatives of world-historic significance to such mediocrities as a Camphausen or a Hansemann. They were nothing but the mouthpieces of a class. Their language, their actions, were merely the official echo of the class which brought them to the forefront. They were simply the big bourgeoisie placed in the forefront.

The representatives of this class formed the *liberal opposition* in the blissfully deceased *United Diet*, which Camphausen resurrected for a moment.

The gentlemen of this liberal opposition have been reproached with having betrayed their principles after the March revolution. This is a fallacy.

The big landowners and capitalists, who were the only ones represented in the United Diet, in short the money-bags, became wealthier and more educated. With the development of bourgeois society in Prussia, in other words, with the development of industry, trade and agriculture, the old estate distinctions had, on the one hand, lost their material basis.

The aristocracy itself was largely bourgeoisified. Instead of dealing in loyalty, love and faith, it now dealt primarily in beetroot, liquor and wool. Its tournaments were held mainly on the wool market. On the other hand, the absolutist state, which in the course of development had lost its old social basis, became a restrictive fetter for the new bourgeois society with its changed mode of production and its changed requirements. The bourgeoisie had to claim its share of political power, if only by reason of its material interests. Only the bourgeoisie itself could secure legal fulfilment of its commercial and industrial requirements. It had to wrest the administration of these, its "most sacred interests", from the hands of an antiquated bureaucracy which was both ignorant and arrogant. It had to demand control over the national wealth, of which it considered itself the creator. Having deprived the bureaucracy of the monopoly

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 108.—*Ed.*

of so-called education and conscious of the fact that it possessed a far superior knowledge of the real requirements of bourgeois society, the bourgeoisie had also the ambition to secure for itself a political status in keeping with its social status. To attain this aim it had to be able freely to debate its own interests and views and the actions of the Government. It called this "*freedom of the press*". The bourgeoisie had to be able to *enter* freely *into associations.* It called this "*freedom of association*". As a necessary consequence of *free competition,* it had likewise to demand *religious liberty* and so on. Before March 1848 the Prussian bourgeoisie was well on the way to realising all its aims.

The Prussian state was in financial difficulties. Its borrowing power was exhausted. This was the secret behind the convocation of the United Diet. Although the Government struggled against its fate and ungraciously dissolved the United Diet, lack of money and of credit facilities would inevitably have driven it gradually into the arms of the bourgeoisie. Those who are kings by the grace of God have always bartered their privileges for hard cash, as did the feudal barons. The first great act of this world-historic deal in all the Christian-Germanic states was the emancipation of the serfs; the second great act was the constitutional monarchy. "*L'argent n'a pas de maître*",[a] but the *maîtres* cease to be *maîtres* as soon as they are demonetised.

And so the liberal opposition in the United Diet was nothing else than the opposition of the bourgeoisie to a political form that no longer corresponded to its interests and needs. In order to oppose the Court, the bourgeoisie had to court the people.

It may have really imagined that its opposition was *for* the people.

Obviously, the rights and liberties which the bourgeoisie sought *for itself* could be demanded from the Government only under the slogan: *popular rights* and *popular liberties.*

This opposition, as we have said, was well on the way to its goal when the *February storm* broke.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 169, December 15, 1848]

*Cologne,* December 11. When the March deluge — a Biblical deluge in miniature — subsided, it left on the surface of Berlin no prodigies, no revolutionary giants, but traditional creatures, thickset bourgeois figures — the liberals of the United Diet, the representatives of the

[a] "Money has no master."—*Ed.*

conscious Prussian bourgeoisie. The main contingents for the new Ministries were supplied by the *Rhine Province* and *Silesia*, the provinces with the most advanced bourgeoisie. Behind them came a whole train of Rhenish lawyers. To the same extent that the bourgeoisie was pushed into the background by the feudal aristocracy, the Rhine Province and Silesia were replaced in the Ministries by the old Prussian provinces. The only link of the Brandenburg Ministry with the Rhine Province now is through a single Elberfeld Tory. *Hansemann* and *von der Heydt*! These two names represent for the Prussian bourgeoisie the whole difference between March and December 1848!

The Prussian bourgeoisie reached the highest positions in the state, not, however, by means of a *peaceful deal with the Crown*, as it had desired, but as the result of a *revolution*. It was supposed to defend, not its own interests, but *those of the people*—for a *popular movement* had prepared the way for the bourgeoisie—against the Crown, in other words, against *itself*. For the bourgeoisie regarded the Crown simply as a cloak provided by the grace of God, a cloak that was to conceal its own profane interests. The inviolability of *its* own interests and of the political forms corresponding to these interests, when translated into constitutional language, was supposed to read: *inviolability of the Crown*. Hence the enthusiasm of the German bourgeoisie and in particular of the Prussian bourgeoisie for the *constitutional monarchy*. Therefore, although the Prussian bourgeoisie welcomed the February revolution together with its repercussions in Germany because it had placed the helm of state in their hands, it also upset their plans, because their rule was thus bound by conditions which they neither wanted nor were able to fulfil.

The bourgeoisie did not raise a finger; they simply allowed the people to fight for them. Hence the rule that was transferred to them was not the rule of a general who has defeated his adversary, but the rule of a committee of public safety to which the victorious people entrusts the protection of its interests.

*Camphausen* was still clearly aware of this embarrassing situation, and the weakness of his Ministry was entirely due to this feeling and the circumstances that gave rise to it. Even the most shameless actions of his Government are therefore tinted by a sort of shamefaced blush. Open *shamelessness* and *insolence* were *Hansemann*'s privilege. The red *colouring* is all that distinguishes these two painters one from the other.

The *March revolution in Prussia* should not be confused either with the *English* revolution of 1648 or with the *French* one of 1789.

refugees, a centralisation which cannot be harmed and which is therefore in a position to perform its functions. The deputy from Biel[a] himself was of this opinion and spoke against transferring the duties of the Central Association to the Executive of the military association. But all are, of course, free to join the military association; they are only asked not to join it *as associations*, so that the association can never be harmed as such, but only individual persons, if perchance new persecutions should take place.

Having thus replied to each of the points mentioned in your letter, we refer you to the enclosed minutes for the further decisions of the Congress and ask you on behalf of the Congress to join the Union of German Associations founded hereby and to advise us as soon as possible of your having done so.

We appeal to you again: give way in secondary matters as others have given way and will give way in future, so as to save the main object; join the nucleus of the Union which has already been founded by several associations with much sacrifice in money and time, and which can only succeed if we all stand together, forget the past and no longer allow ourselves to be divided by minor differences of opinion!

Greetings and fraternal good wishes.

On behalf of the Congress,
***The Central Commission***

Berne, about December 25, 1848
Address: Herr N. Berger,
Käfichgässlein No. 109, Bern

Written by Engels

First published in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Heft 4, 1960

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] Julius Standau.—*Ed.*

# REFUTATION

The *literary lumpenproletariat* of Herr Dumont, which accepts with the most touching passive resistance all the kicks bestowed on it by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, is trying to revenge itself by denouncing the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* to the police on account of articles which they have *not* written. Thus, according to the *Kölnische Zeitung* of December 25, *Freiligrath* is alleged to be the author of a report from Cologne in the *Deutsche Schnellpost*, published in New York, and *for that reason* is said to have participated in the cat's concert dedicated to the patrons of the *Kölnische Zeitung* on November 3. It seems that the laurels won by "*Maltheser*"[a] prevent the editors of the *Kölnische Zeitung* from sleeping.

Written on December 26, 1848

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 179, December 27, 1848

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[a] See this volume, p. 191.—*Ed.*

# THE NEW "HOLY ALLIANCE"

*Cologne,* December 30. It is already generally known that some months ago a new "Holy Alliance" was concluded between Prussia, Austria and Russia.[200] The treaty itself will very shortly be brought into the light of day and it will be possible for it to be made public. The soul of this alliance of the rulers "by the grace of God and the knout" is Russia. On the other hand, the whole of Russian policy and diplomacy, with few exceptions, is borne on the shoulders of Germans or German Russians. Indeed, wherever absolutism and counter-revolution are actively at work, Germans are always to be found, but nowhere more so than at the focal point of the permanent counter-revolution, Russian diplomacy. There, in the first place, is Count Nesselrode, a German Jew; then come Baron von Meyendorf, ambassador in Berlin, from Estonia, and his assistant, adjutant of the Tsar, Colonel Count Benkendorff, also from Estonia. Working in Austria is Count Medem, a Courlander, with several assistants, including a Herr von Fonton, all of them Germans. Baron von Brunnow, Russian ambassador in London, also a Courlander, acts as an intermediate and mediating link between—Metternich and Palmerston. Finally, in Frankfurt, Baron von Budberg, a Livonian, acts as Russian chargé d'affaires. These are a few examples. We could cite several dozen more, without mentioning the creatures of the Petersburg Tsar[a] who occupy high and highest posts in Germany and at the same time are in high Russian pay.

The role played by the Austrian Archduchess Sophia, now the Dowager Empress, in the cause of the Holy Alliance and the enemies of the people, is so notorious as to need no description. Sophia

[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

herself, however, is in turn powerfully influenced by Grand Duchess Helena, wife of Grand Duke Michael and daughter of Prince Paul von Württemberg. Helena serves as the most intimate link between Nicholas and Sophia and the notorious Archduke Ludwig.

Moreover, already some months ago these persons agreed on the plan according to which the Austrian martial-law Emperor[a] will marry the surviving daughter[b] of the Grand-ducal married couple in order that the new "Holy Alliance" will be indissolubly welded together and Russia brought ever closer to its goal, the establishment in Germany of the most complete rule of the knout.

Written on December 30, 1848

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 183, December 31, 1848

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[a] Franz Joseph.—*Ed.*
[b] Catherine.—*Ed.*

# THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT[201]

*Cologne,* December 31. Never was a revolutionary movement opened with such an edifying overture as the revolutionary movement of 1848. The Pope gave it the blessing of the Church,[202] and Lamartine's aeolian harp vibrated with tender philanthropic tunes to the text of *fraternité,* the brotherhood of members of society and nations.

> Welcome all ye myriad creatures!
> Brethren, take the kiss of love![a]

Driven out of Rome, the Pope is at present staying at Gaeta under the protection of the tigerish idiot Ferdinand; Italy's "*iniciatore*"[203] conspires against Italy with Austria, Italy's traditional mortal enemy, whom in happier days he threatened to excommunicate. The recent French presidential elections have given statistical proof of the unpopularity of Lamartine, the traitor. There has been no event more philanthropic, humane, and weak than the February and March revolutions, nothing more brutal than the inevitable consequences of this *humanity of weakness.* The proofs are Italy, Poland, Germany, and, above all, those who were defeated in June.

But the defeat of the French workers in June was the defeat of the June victors themselves. Ledru-Rollin and the other men of the Mountain were ousted by the party of the *National,* the party of the bourgeois republicans; the party of the *National* was ousted by Thiers-Barrot, the dynastic opposition; these in turn would have had to make way for the legitimists[204] if the cycle of the three restorations had not come to an end, and if Louis Napoleon were something

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[a] Schiller, "An die Freude".—*Ed.*

more than an empty ballot-box by means of which the French peasants announced their entry into the revolutionary social movement, and the French workers their condemnation of all leaders of the preceding periods—Thiers-Barrot, Lamartine and Cavaignac-Marrast. But let us note the fact that the inevitable consequence of the defeat of the revolutionary French working class was the defeat of the republican French bourgeoisie, to which it had just succumbed.

The defeat of the working class in France, the victory of the French bourgeoisie was at the same time the renewed fettering of the nationalities who had responded to the crowing of the Gallic cock with heroic attempts to liberate themselves. Prussian, Austrian and English *Sbirri*[a] once more plundered, ravished and murdered in Poland, Italy and Ireland. The defeat of the working class in France, the victory of the French bourgeoisie was at the same time the defeat of the middle classes in all European countries where the middle classes, united for the moment with the people, had responded to the crowing of the Gallic cock with sanguinary insurrections against feudalism. Naples, Vienna, Berlin! The defeat of the working class in France, the victory of the French bourgeoisie was at the same time a victory of East over West, the defeat of civilisation by barbarism. The suppression of the Rumanians by the Russians and their tools, the Turks, began in Wallachia[205]; Croats, Pandours, Czechs, Serezhans[206] and similar rabble throttled German liberty in Vienna, and the Tsar is now omnipresent in Europe. The overthrow of the bourgeoisie in France, the triumph of the French working class, the emancipation of the working class in general, is therefore the rallying-cry of European liberation.

But *England*, the country that turns whole nations into its proletarians, that takes the whole world within its immense embrace, that has already once defrayed the cost of a European Restoration, the country in which class contradictions have reached their most acute and shameless form—*England* seems to be the rock against which the revolutionary waves break, the country where the new society is stifled even in the womb. England dominates the world market. A revolution of the economic relations in any country of the European continent, in the whole European continent without England, is a storm in a teacup. Industrial and commercial relations within each nation are governed by its intercourse with other nations, and depend on its relations with the world market. But the

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[a] Policemen.—*Ed.*

world market is dominated by England, and England is dominated by the bourgeoisie.

The liberation of Europe, whether brought about by the struggle of the oppressed nationalities for their independence or by overthrowing feudal absolutism, depends therefore on the successful uprising of the French working class. Every social upheaval in France, however, is bound to be thwarted by the English bourgeoisie, by Great Britain's industrial and commercial domination of the world. Every partial social reform in France or on the European continent as a whole, if designed to be lasting, is merely a pious wish. And only a *world war* can overthrow the old England, as only this can provide the Chartists, the party of the organised English workers, with the conditions for a successful rising against their gigantic oppressors. Only when the Chartists head the English Government will the social revolution pass from the sphere of utopia to that of reality. But any *European war* in which England is involved is a world war, waged in Canada as in Italy, in East Indies as in Prussia, in Africa as on the Danube. A European war will be the first result of a successful workers' revolution in France. England will head the counter-revolutionary armies, just as it did during the Napoleonic period, but through the war itself it will be thrown to the head of the revolutionary movement and it will repay the debt it owes in regard to the revolution of the eighteenth century.

The table of contents for 1849 reads: **Revolutionary rising of the French working class, world war.**

Written by Marx on December 31, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 184, January 1, 1849

## SWISS-ITALIAN AFFAIRS

*Berne,* December 28. The Swiss troops have hardly been withdrawn from the Lombardy border and Radetzky's chicaneries are already beginning again. He has written to the federal representatives in Tessin saying there is a disturbing trade in weapons on the frontier, and the federal representatives have talked the Tessin Government into authorising several house searches in Mendrisio. A few muskets have been found and confiscated. It cannot be foreseen on what grounds this violation of the privacy of the home and seizure of foreign property will be justified. It is only surprising that the Tessin Government has lent itself to such practices.

The Neapolitan recruiting in Lucerne and the *Ur*-cantons[a] appears however to be leading nowhere. It is not as if they had not found a sufficient number of stalwart Alpine lads who would give their skins for ready money and be happy to do Croat services in Ferdinand's army; on the contrary! But the whole business is foundering on the impossibility of getting from Switzerland to Naples.

According to the enlistment agreements,[207] the recruits must be transported via Genoa, and the Turin Government refuses transit. It is now said that the recruits are to be brought to Trieste and embarked there. This news has caused great alarm among the recruits. They do not want to go to Austria. They are afraid of being put among real Croats and led against the Magyars, and they are now petitioning the Lucerne Government Council to insist on the Genoese route. Strange. As if it were not a matter of indifference to these henchmen of the counter-revolution whether they massacre Magyars or Messinese! But of course there is a big difference between Austrian paper money and Neapolitan full-weight gold ducats!

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[a] See this volume, p. 183.—*Ed.*

Incidentally, the Lucerne Government seems to imitate the Bernese Government in wanting to suspend the enlistment agreements till the Swiss merchants in Naples and Messina are indemnified.[208] At least, it has inquired of the Federal Council about the arrangements for compensation. So that leaves only the *Ur*-cantons, and these will not suffer any encroachment upon the right of every citizen to sell himself as long as the Federal Constitution allows it, i.e. as long as the present enlistment agreements have still to run. This right of self-sale is one of the finest and oldest privileges of the free *Ur*-Swiss, and if these brave "first-born sons of freedom" tried to defend their "five-hundred-year-old rights" against the new Federal Constitution, it was above all on account of this special right which the new Constitution has annulled. The military enlistment agreements are really a vital matter for the *Ur*-cantons. For five hundred years they have been the drainage channel for the superfluous population, and hence the best guarantee for the existing barbarous state of things. Annul the enlistment agreements, and you will unleash a real revolution in these so-called *clean*, i.e. in fact extremely unclean, democracies.

The younger sons of peasants, now setting off for Naples and Rome, will have to stay at home; they will find no occupation either in their own cantons or in the rest of Switzerland, which is already suffering enough from "over-population"; they will form a new class of peasant proletarians, who by their very existence must bring all the old relations of property, property acquirement and law of these pastoral races, established for a thousand years, into the utmost confusion. Where would these sterile mountain lands get the means to feed the paupers deposited there from all sides on the frontier by expulsion orders? The core of such a class of paupers already exists and threatens in an exceedingly disagreeable way this traditional patriarchalism. And even if—which is not to be expected—in the next few years the European revolution observes the same respect as hitherto towards Swiss neutrality, the article of the new Federal Constitution forbidding enlistments is preparing a revolutionary ferment which will eventually completely uproot the oldest and most firmly entrenched seat of reactionary barbarism in Europe. Like the monarchies, the reactionary republics are going under, dying of pecuniary consumption, of the "pale melancholy of financial need".

Written by Engels on December 28, 1848

First published in the supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 185, January 3, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# A BOURGEOIS DOCUMENT[209]

*Cologne,* January 4. In England, where the rule of the bourgeoisie has reached the greatest development, public charity too, as we know, has assumed the most noble and magnanimous forms. In English workhouses[a]—public institutions in which the surplus labour population is allowed to vegetate at the expense of bourgeois society—charity is cunningly combined with the *revenge* which the bourgeoisie wreaks on the wretches who are compelled to appeal to its charity. Not only do the poor devils receive the most wretched and meagre means of subsistence, hardly sufficient for the propagation of the species, their activity, too, is restricted to revolting, unproductive, meaningless drudgery, such as work at the treadmill, which deadens both mind and body. These unfortunate people have committed the crime of having ceased to be an object of exploitation yielding a profit to the bourgeoisie—as is the case in ordinary life—and having become instead an object of expenditure for those born to derive benefit from them; like so many barrels of liquor which, left unsold in the warehouse, become an object of expenditure to the wine merchant. To bring home to them the full magnitude of their crime, they are deprived of everything that is granted to the lowest criminal—association with their wives and children, recreation, talk—everything. Even this "*cruel charity*" of the English bourgeoisie is due not to sentimental but to thoroughly practical and rational reasons. On the one hand, if all the paupers in Great Britain were suddenly thrown into the street, bourgeois order and commercial activity would suffer to an alarming extent. On the

[a] Here and below this word is given in English in the original.—*Ed.*

other hand, British industry has alternate periods of feverish over-production, when the demand for hands can hardly be satisfied, and the hands are nevertheless to be obtained as cheaply as possible, followed by periods of slack business, when production is far larger than consumption and it is difficult to find useful employment even at half pay for half the labour army. Is there a more ingenious device than the workhouse for maintaining a reserve army in readiness for favourable periods while converting them in these pious institutions during unfavourable commercial periods into machines devoid of will, resistance, claims and requirements?

The Prussian bourgeoisie differs favourably from the English bourgeoisie, since in contrast to British political arrogance reminiscent of pagan Rome it displays Christian humility and meekness in the most servile reverence before throne, altar, army, bureaucracy and feudalism; instead of displaying the commercial energy which conquers whole continents, it engages in domestic retail trade of a Chinese type, and tries to confound the impetuous titanic spirit of inventiveness in industry by clinging staunchly and virtuously to the traditional semi-guild routine. But the Prussian bourgeoisie approaches its British ideal in one respect—in its *shameless maltreatment of the working class.* That, as a body, it in general lags behind the British bourgeoisie, is due simply to the fact that, on the whole, as a *national class,* it has never achieved anything of importance and never will, because of its lack of courage, intelligence and energy. It does not exist on a national scale, it exists only in *provincial, municipal, local, private* forms, and in *these* forms it confronts the working class even more ruthlessly than the English bourgeoisie. Why is it that since the Restoration the peoples longed for Napoleon, whom they had just before chained to a lonely rock in the Mediterranean[a]? Because it is easier to endure the tyranny of a genius than that of an idiot. Thus the English worker can feel a certain national pride in face of the German worker, because the master who enslaves him enslaves the whole world, whereas the master of the German worker, the German bourgeois, is himself *everybody's servant,* and nothing is more galling and humiliating than to be the *servant of a servant.*

We publish here without any alterations the "*Worker's Card*", which proletarians engaged on municipal works have to sign in the good city of Cologne; this historical document shows the cynical attitude of our bourgeoisie towards the working class.

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[a] An allusion to Elba, the island to which Napoleon I was exiled during the Bourbon restoration in 1814.—*Ed.*

WORKER'S CARD

§1. Every worker must *strictly obey* the instructions and orders of *all municipal supervisors,* who have been sworn in as *police officers. Disobedience and insubordination will entail immediate dismissal.*

§2. No worker is allowed to move from one section to another or to leave the building-site *without the special permission of the supervisor.*

§3. Workers purloining wheelbarrows, carts or other equipment from another section in order to use them in their work will be dismissed.

§4. Drunkenness, disturbance of the peace, and starting up squabbles, quarrels and fights entail immediate dismissal.—In *appropriate cases* moreover legal proceedings will be taken against the culprits.

§5. A worker arriving *ten minutes late* at his place of work will be given no work on that *particular half day;* if this should occur three times he *may* be dismissed altogether.

§6. If workers are dismissed at their own request or by way of punishment, they will receive their wages at the next regular pay-day in accordance with the work done.

§7. A worker's dismissal is noted in the Worker's Card.—Should the dismissal be by way of punishment, the worker, *according to the circumstances,* is barred from re-employment either at the same place of work or at all municipal works.

§8. The *police* are always to be informed when workers are dismissed by way of punishment and of the reasons for their dismissal.

§9. Should workers have any *complaints* to make *against the building-site supervisor,* these are to be lodged with the *town clerk of works* through an elected delegation of three workers. This officer will examine the cause of the complaint on the spot and *give his decision.*

§10. The working hours are from six thirty in the morning to twelve noon and from one o'clock in the afternoon till evening darkness sets in. (Wonderful style!)

§11. The worker is employed on these conditions.

§12. Payment is made on the building-site on Saturday afternoon.

The sworn building-site supervisor, for the present [...]
whose instructions have to be obeyed.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Cologne*<br>Signature<br>or sign | of the worker | Assigned to section of ... and has etc.<br>Signature of the building-site supervisor |

Could the *Russian* edicts of the Autocrat of All the Russias to his subjects be couched in more Asiatic terms?

The municipal, and even "*all municipal* supervisors, who have been sworn in as *police officers*", must be "strictly obeyed". "*Disobedience* and *insubordination* will entail *immediate* dismissal." First of all, therefore, *passive obedience.* Then, according to §9, the workers have the right to complain to "the *town clerk of works*". The decisions of this pasha are irrevocable and directed, of course, *against the workers,* if only in the interests of the hierarchy. And once this decision has been taken and the municipal interdict laid upon the workers, woe to them, for they will then be placed under *police surveillance.* The last semblance of their civic freedom disappears,

for, according to § 8, "the *police* are always to be informed when workers are dismissed by way of punishment and of the reasons for their dismissal".

But gentlemen, if you dismiss a worker, if you terminate a contract by which he gives *his labour* for *your wages*, what on earth has the *police* to do with this termination of a *civil agreement*? Is the municipal worker a convict? Have you *denounced* him to the *police* because he did not pay due deference to you, his hereditary, most wise and noble-minded masters? Would you not deride the citizen who *denounced* you to the *police* for having broken some delivery contract, or failed to pay a bill when it was due, or drunk too much on New Year's eve? Of course you would! But as regards the worker you are bound by no civil agreement, you lord it over him with the caprice of the *lords by the grace of God*! The police must, on your behalf, keep a record of his conduct.

Under § 5, a worker arriving *ten minutes* late is punished with the loss of *half a day's labour*. What a punishment in comparison with the offence! You are *centuries* late, but the worker is not allowed to arrive *ten minutes* after half past six without losing *half a working day*.

Finally, in order that this patriarchal arbitrariness should not be in any way restricted and the worker be entirely dependent on your whim, you have left the mode of punishment, as far as possible, to the discretion of your uniformed servants. Dismissal and denunciation to the police is, according to § 4, to be followed in "*appropriate* cases", that is in cases which you will be pleased to regard as appropriate, by "legal proceedings against the culprits". Under § 5, the worker who arrives late for the third time, i.e. ten minutes after half past six, "*may*" be dismissed altogether. In case of dismissal by way of punishment, § 7 states, "the worker, *according to the circumstances*, is barred from re-employment either at the *same* place of work or at *all* municipal works", and so on and so forth.

What scope for the whims of the annoyed bourgeois is given in this criminal code of our municipal Catos, these great men who grovel before Berlin!

This model law shows *what sort of Charter our bourgeoisie*, if it stood at the helm of state, *would impose on the people*.

Written by Marx on January 4, 1849 Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 187, January 5, 1849

# A NEW-YEAR GREETING

*Cologne*, January 8. That priests and precentors, vergers and organ-blowers, barbers and night-watchmen, field guards, grave-diggers etc. send us New-Year greetings, is a custom that is as old as it is ever recurrent, and one which leaves us cold.

The year 1849, however, is not content with the traditional. Its arrival has been marked by something unprecedented, a New-Year greeting from the King of Prussia.[a]

It is a New-Year wish addressed not to the Prussian people, nor "To my dear Berliners", but "To my army".[210]

This royal New-Year message looks on the army "with pride" because it remained loyal

> "*when*" (in March) "*revolt disturbed the peaceful development of liberal institutions towards which I wished cautiously to lead My people*".

Previously people spoke of the March events, of "misunderstandings", and so forth. Now there is no longer need for disguise: the March "misunderstandings" are cast in our face as "*revolt*".

The royal New-Year greeting breathes on us the same spirit as that which emanates from the columns of the "Dame of the Cross".[b] Just as the former speaks of "revolt", so the latter speaks of inglorious "March criminals", of the criminal rabble which upset the tranquillity of Court life in Berlin.

If we ask why the March "revolt" should be so particularly revolting, we are told in reply: "because it disturbed the peaceful development of liberal (!!) institutions etc."

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[b] That is *Kreuz-Zeitung (Neue Preussische Zeitung).—Ed.*

If you were not peacefully at rest in Friedrichshain,[211] you March rebels, you would now have to be rewarded with "powder and shot" or penal servitude for life. By your wickedness did you not indeed disturb "the peaceful development of liberal institutions"? Does one need to be reminded of that royal Prussian development of "liberal institutions", of the most liberal development in the squandering of money, of the "peaceful" expansion of bigotry and royal Prussian jesuitry, of the peaceful development of police and barrack rule, of spying, deception, hypocrisy, arrogance, and finally the most disgusting brutalisation of the people alongside of the most shameful corruption among the so-called upper classes? There is all the less need for such a reminder because we have only to look around, to stretch out our hands, in order to see that "disturbed development" again in full bloom and to refresh ourselves with a double edition of the above-mentioned "liberal institutions".

"My army," the royal message of greetings goes on to say, "has kept its old glory and won new glory."

Indeed it has! It has won so much glory that at most the Croats could lay claim to greater.

But where and how has it won it? In the first place:

"It adorned its banners with new laurels when Germany required our weapons in Schleswig."

The Prussian Note sent by Major Wildenbruch to the Danish Government[212] is the basis on which the new Prussian glory has been erected. The entire conduct of the war conformed excellently to that Note, which assured the Danish Herr cousin[a] that the Prussian Government was not at all in earnest, it was merely throwing out a bait to the republicans and throwing sand in the eyes of other people in order to gain time. And to gain time is to gain everything. Later agreement would be reached in the jolliest of ways.

Herr Wrangel, about whom public opinion was led astray for rather a long time, Herr Wrangel left Schleswig-Holstein secretly like a thief in the night. He travelled in civilian clothes in order not to be recognised. In Hamburg all the innkeepers declared that they could not give him shelter. They considered their houses, and the windows and doors in them, to be dearer to them than the laurels of the Prussian army, which were despised by the people although embodied in this illustrious gentleman. We should not forget either that the only success in this campaign of useless and senseless

[a] Frederick VII.—*Ed.*

movements hither and thither, which was wholly reminiscent of the procedure of the old imperial courts of justice (see our issues at the time[a]), was a strategic mistake.

The only surprising thing about this campaign is the inexpressible cheek of the *Danes*, who mischievously hoaxed the Prussian army and completely cut off Prussia from the world market.

To complete the Prussian glory in this connection, one must include also the peace negotiations with Denmark and the Malmö armistice which resulted from them.[213]

If the Roman Emperor,[b] on sniffing a coin in the receipts from the public conveniences, could say: "*Non olet*" (it does not smell), the Prussian laurels won in Schleswig-Holstein, on the other hand, are marked in ineradicable characters: "*Olet!*" (it stinks!).

Secondly, "My army victoriously overcame hardships and dangers when it was necessary to combat insurrection in the Grand Duchy of Posen".

As far as the "victoriously overcome hardships" are concerned, they are as follows: Prussia, firstly, exploited the magnanimous illusion, fostered by smooth words from Berlin, of the Poles, who regarded the "*Pomeranians*" as German comrades-in-arms against *Russia*, and therefore calmly disbanded their army, let the Pomeranians march in, and only reassembled their scattered military cadres when the Prussians most vilely maltreated them when they were defenceless. And as for the Prussian feats of heroism! The heroic deeds of the "glorious" Prussian army were accomplished not *during* the war, but *after* the war. When Mieroslawski was presented to the June victor, Cavaignac's first question was how the Prussians had managed to be defeated at *Miloslaw*. (We can prove this by eyewitnesses.) 3,000 Poles, hardly armed with scythes and pikes, struck twice and twice forced 20,000 Prussians to retreat, although the latter were well organised and liberally equipped with weapons.[214] In its wild flight the Prussian cavalry itself threw the Prussian infantry into confusion. The Polish insurrection kept its hold on Miloslaw, after twice driving the counter-revolutionaries out of the city. Still more shameful than the Prussians' *defeat at Miloslaw* was their final *victory at Wreschen*, prepared for by a defeat.[215] If an unarmed but Herculean opponent confronts a coward armed with pistols, the coward flees and fires his pistols from a respectable distance. That is how the Prussians behaved at *Wreschen*. They fled to

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[a] A reference to Engels' articles "The War Comedy" and "The Armistice with Denmark" (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 42-44 and 266-69).—*Ed.*

[b] Vespasian.—*Ed.*

In 1648 the bourgeoisie was allied with the modern aristocracy against the monarchy, the feudal aristocracy and the established church.

In 1789 the bourgeoisie was allied with the people against the monarchy, the aristocracy and the established church.

The revolution of 1789 (at least in Europe) had as its prototype only the revolution of 1648; the revolution of 1648 only the revolt of the Netherlands against Spain.[154] Both revolutions were a century in advance of their prototypes not only in time but also in content.

In both revolutions the bourgeoisie was the class that *really* headed the movement. The *proletariat* and the *non-bourgeois strata of the middle class* had either not yet any interests separate from those of the bourgeoisie or they did not yet constitute independent classes or class sub-divisions. Therefore, where they opposed the bourgeoisie, as they did in France in 1793 and 1794, they fought only for the attainment of the aims of the bourgeoisie, even if not *in the manner* of the bourgeoisie. *All French terrorism* was nothing but a *plebeian way* of dealing with the *enemies of the bourgeoisie*, absolutism, feudalism and philistinism.

The revolutions of 1648 and 1789 were not *English* and *French* revolutions, they were revolutions of a *European* type. They did not represent the victory of a *particular* class of society over the *old political order*; they *proclaimed the political order of the new European society*. The bourgeoisie was victorious in these revolutions, but the *victory of the bourgeoisie* was at that time *the victory of a new social order*, the victory of bourgeois ownership over feudal ownership, of nationality over provincialism, of competition over the guild, of the division of land over primogeniture, of the rule of the landowner over the domination of the owner by the land, of enlightenment over superstition, of the family over the family name, of industry over heroic idleness, of bourgeois law over medieval privileges. The revolution of 1648 was the victory[a] of the seventeenth century over the sixteenth century; the revolution of 1789 was the victory of the eighteenth century over the seventeenth. These revolutions reflected the needs of the world at that time rather than the needs of those parts of the world where they occurred, that is England and France.

There has been nothing of all this in the *Prussian March revolution.*

The February revolution actually *abolished* the constitutional monarchy and nominally *abolished* the rule of the bourgeoisie. The Prussian March revolution was intended to *establish* nominally a

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[a] In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*: "the revolution".— *Ed.*

constitutional monarchy and to *establish* actually the rule of the bourgeoisie. Far from being a *European revolution* it was merely a stunted after-effect of a European revolution in a backward country. Instead of being ahead of its century, it was over half a century behind its time. From the very outset it was a *secondary* phenomenon, and it is well known that secondary diseases are harder to cure and at the same time cause more harm than the primary diseases do. It was not a question of establishing a new society, but of resurrecting in Berlin a society that had expired in Paris. The Prussian March revolution was not even a *national, German* revolution; from the outset it was a *provincial Prussian* revolution. All sorts of provincial uprisings—in Vienna, Cassel, Munich etc.—took place alongside it and contested its lead.

Whereas 1648 and 1789 gained boundless self-confidence from being at the apex of creation, it was the ambition of the Berlin revolution of 1848 to constitute an anachronism. Its light was like that of the stars which reaches us, the inhabitants of the Earth, only after the bodies from which it emanated have been extinct for a hundred thousand years. The March revolution in Prussia was, on a small scale — just as it was on a small scale in everything — such a star for Europe. Its light was that of the corpse of a society which had long ago decayed.

The German bourgeoisie developed so sluggishly, timidly and slowly that at the moment when it menacingly confronted feudalism and absolutism, it saw menacingly confronting it the proletariat and all sections of the middle class whose interests and ideas were related to those of the proletariat. The German bourgeoisie found not just one class *behind* it, but all Europe hostilely *facing* it. Unlike the French bourgeoisie of 1789, the Prussian bourgeoisie, when it confronted the monarchy and aristocracy, the representatives of the old society, was not a class speaking for the *whole* of modern society. It had sunk to the level of a kind of *social estate* as clearly distinct from the Crown as it was from the people, with a strong bent to oppose both adversaries and irresolute towards each of them individually because it always saw both of them either in front of it or behind it. From the first it was inclined to betray the people and to compromise with the crowned representative of the old society, for it itself already belonged to the old society; it did not represent the interests of a new society against an old one, but renewed interests within an obsolete society. It stood at the helm of the revolution not because it had the people behind it but because the people drove it before them; it stood at the head not because it represented the initiative of a new social era but only because it represented the

rancour of an old one. A stratum of the old state that had failed to break through and was thrown up on the surface of the new state by the force of an earthquake; without faith in itself, without faith in the people, grumbling at those above, trembling before those below, egoistic towards both sides and aware of its egoism; revolutionary in relation to the conservatives and conservative in relation to the revolutionaries. It did not trust its own slogans, used phrases instead of ideas, it was intimidated by the world storm and exploited it for its own ends; it displayed no energy in any respect, but resorted to plagiarism in every respect, it was vulgar because unoriginal, and original in its vulgarity; haggling over its own desires, without initiative, without faith in itself, without faith in the people, without a world-historic mission, an abominable dotard finding himself condemned to lead and to mislead the first youthful impulses of a virile people so as to make them serve his own senile interests—sans eyes, sans ears, sans teeth, sans everything[a]—such was the *Prussian bourgeoisie* which found itself at the helm of the Prussian state after the March revolution.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 170, December 16, 1848]

*Cologne,* December 15. The *theory of agreement,* which the bourgeoisie, on attaining governmental power in the shape of the *Camphausen* Ministry, immediately declared the "broadest" basis of the Prussian *contrat social,* was by no means an empty theory; on the contrary, it grew on the tree of "*golden*" life.

The sovereign by the grace of God was by no means subjected to the sovereignty of the people as a result of the March revolution. The Crown, the absolutist state, was merely compelled to come to an understanding with the bourgeoisie, to *come to an agreement* with its old rival.

The Crown is ready to sacrifice the aristocracy to the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie is ready to sacrifice the people to the Crown. Under these circumstances the monarchy becomes bourgeois and the bourgeoisie monarchical.

Only these two powers still exist since the March revolution. They use each other as a sort of lightning-conductor against the revolution. Always, of course, on the "*broadest democratic basis*".

Therein lay the *secret of the theory of agreement.*

The oil and wool merchants[155] who formed the first Ministry after the March revolution took pleasure in their role of protecting the

[a] Cf. Shakespeare, *As You Like It,* Act II, Scene 7.—*Ed.*

exposed Crown with their plebeian wings. They were highly delighted at having gained access to the Court and reluctantly driven by pure magnanimity to abandon their austere Roman pose, i.e. the Roman pose of the United Diet, to use the corpse of their former popularity to fill the chasm that threatened to engulf the throne. Minister *Camphausen* plumed himself on being the *midwife* of the constitutional throne. The worthy man was evidently deeply moved by himself, his own magnanimity. The Crown and its hangers-on reluctantly suffered this humiliating protection and made *bonne mine à mauvais jeu*,[a] hoping for better days to come.

The *bourgeois gentilhomme*[b] was easily taken in by a few honeyed words and curtsies from the partly disintegrated army, the bureaucracy that trembled for its positions and salaries, and the humiliated feudals, whose leader[c] was engaged in a constitutional educational journey.

The Prussian bourgeoisie was *nominally* the ruler and did not for a moment doubt that the powers of the old state had placed themselves unreservedly at its disposal and had become devoted adjuncts of its own omnipotence.

Not only in the Ministry but throughout the monarchy the bourgeoisie was intoxicated with this delusion.

Did not the army, the bureaucracy and even the feudal lords act as willing and obedient accomplices in the only heroic deeds the Prussian bourgeoisie performed after the March revolution, namely, the often sanguinary machinations of the civic militia against the unarmed proletariat? Did not the subdued *Regierungspräsidenten* and penitent divisional generals listen with admiration to the stern patriarchal admonitions which the *local councillors* addressed to the people—the only efforts, the only heroic deeds of which these local councillors, the local representatives of the bourgeoisie (whose obtrusive servile vulgarity the Windischgrätzes, Jellachiches and Weldens afterwards repaid with kicks), were capable after the March revolution? Could the Prussian bourgeoisie have doubted after this that the former ill will of the army, bureaucracy and feudal aristocracy had been transformed into respectful loyalty to the bourgeoisie, the magnanimous victor who had put a curb both upon itself and upon anarchy?

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[a] A good face on a bad game.—*Ed.*

[b] An ironical allusion to the German liberal leaders whom Marx compares with Jourdain, hero of Molière's comedy *Le bourgeois gentilhomme*.—*Ed.*

[c] The reference is to the Prince of Prussia.—*Ed.*

Clearly the Prussian bourgeoisie now had only one task—to settle itself comfortably in the saddle, get rid of the troublesome anarchists, restore "law and order" and retrieve the profit lost during the March storm. It was now merely a question of reducing to a minimum the *costs* of its rule and of the March revolution which had brought it about. The weapons which, in its struggle against the feudal society and the Crown, the Prussian bourgeoisie had been compelled to demand in the name of the people, such as the right of association and freedom of the press, were they not bound to be broken in the hands of a deluded people who no longer needed to use them to fight *for* the bourgeoisie and who revealed an alarming inclination to use them *against* the bourgeoisie?

The *bourgeoisie was convinced* that evidently only one obstacle stood in the way of its *agreement* with the Crown, in the way of a deal with the old state, which was resigned to its fate, and that obstacle was the people—*puer robustus sed malitiosus,*[a] as Hobbes says. The *people* and the *revolution*!

The *revolution* was the *legal title of the people*; the vehement claims of the people were based on the revolution. The revolution was the bill of exchange drawn by the people on the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie came to power through the revolution. The day it came to power was also the day this bill became due. The bourgeoisie had to *protest* the bill.

*Revolution* on the lips of the people meant: you, the bourgeois, are the *Comité du salut public*, the Committee of Public Safety, to whom we have entrusted the government not in order that you should *come to an agreement* with the Crown regarding your own interests but in order that you should implement our interests, the interests of the people, *in face of* the Crown.

*Revolution* was the people's protest against the agreement between the bourgeoisie and the Crown. The bourgeoisie that was making an agreement with the Crown *had therefore to protest* against the *revolution.*

And that was done under the great *Camphausen. The March revolution was not recognised.* The representative National Assembly at Berlin set itself up as the *representative of the Prussian bourgeoisie,* as the *Agreement Assembly,* by *rejecting* the motion recognising the March revolution.[156]

The Assembly sought to undo what had been done. It vociferously declared to the Prussian people that the people did not come to an agreement with the bourgeoisie in order to make a revolution against

[a] A robust but malicious fellow (Thomas Hobbes, *De cive,* Preface).—*Ed.*

the Crown, but that it was making a revolution in order that the Crown would come to an agreement with the bourgeoisie against the people! Thus was the *legal title* of the revolutionary people annulled and the *legal basis* secured for the conservative bourgeoisie.

*The legal basis!*

*Brüggemann,* and through him the *Kölnische Zeitung,* have prated, fabled and moaned so much about the "legal basis", have so often lost and recovered, punctured and mended that "legal basis", tossed it from Berlin to Frankfurt and from Frankfurt to Berlin, narrowed and widened it, turned the simple basis into an inlaid floor and the inlaid floor into a false bottom (which, as we know, is a principal device of performing conjurors), and the false bottom into a bottomless trapdoor, so that in the end the legal basis has rightly turned for our readers into the basis of the *Kölnische Zeitung*; thus, they could confuse the shibboleth of the Prussian bourgeoisie with the private shibboleth of Herr Joseph Dumont, a necessary invention of *Prussian* world history with the arbitrary hobby-horse of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, and regard the legal basis simply as the basis on which the *Kölnische Zeitung* thrives.

The *legal basis,* namely, the *Prussian legal basis*!

The *legal basis* on which Camphausen, the knight of the great debate, the resurrected phantom of the United Diet and the Agreement Assembly, acted *after* the March revolution—is it the constitutional law of 1815 or the law of 1820 regarding the Provincial Diet, or the edict of 1847, or the electoral and agreement law of April 8, 1848 [157]?

*It is none of these.*

"Legal basis" simply meant that the revolution had gained no ground and the old society had not lost its ground; that the March revolution was only an "occurrence" that gave the "impulse" for an "agreement" between the throne and the bourgeoisie, preparations for which had long been made within the old Prussian state, and the need for which the Crown itself had already announced in earlier royal decrees, but had not, prior to March, considered as "*urgent*". In short, the "*legal basis*" meant that *after* the March revolution the bourgeoisie wanted to negotiate with the Crown on the same footing as *before* the March events, as though no revolution had taken place and the United Diet had achieved its goal without a revolution. The "legal basis" meant that the legal title of the people, *revolution,* did not exist in the *contrat social* between the Government and the bourgeoisie. *The bourgeoisie deduced its claims from the old Prussian legislation, in order that the people should not deduce any claims from the new Prussian revolution.*

Naturally, the *ideological cretins* of the bourgeoisie, its journalists, and suchlike, had to pass off this embellishment of the bourgeois interests as the real interests of the bourgeoisie, and persuade themselves and others to believe this. The phrase about the legal basis acquired real substance in the mind of a *Brüggemann.*

The *Camphausen* Government fulfilled its task, the task of being an *intermediate link* and a *transitional stage.* It was the *intermediate link* between the bourgeoisie which had risen on the shoulders of the people and the bourgeoisie which no longer required the shoulders of the people; between the bourgeoisie which apparently represented the people in face of the Crown and the bourgeoisie which really represented the Crown in face of the people; between the bourgeoisie coming away from the revolution and the bourgeoisie which had come out as the core of the revolution.[a]

In keeping with its role, the Camphausen Government coyly and bashfully confined itself to *passive resistance* against the revolution.

Although it rejected the revolution in theory, in practice it *resisted* only its claims and *tolerated* only the re-establishment of the old political authorities.

The bourgeoisie in the meantime believed that it had reached the point where *passive resistance* had to turn into *active offensive.* The *Camphausen* Ministry resigned not because it had committed some blunder or other, but simply because it was the *first* Ministry following the March revolution, because it was the *Ministry of the March revolution* and by virtue of its origin it had to conceal that it represented the bourgeoisie under the guise of a dictatorship of the people. Its dubious origin and its ambiguous character still imposed on it certain conventions, restraints and considerations with regard to the sovereign people which were irksome to the bourgeoisie, and which a second Ministry originating directly from the Agreement Assembly would no longer have to reckon with.

Its resignation therefore puzzled the saloon-bar politicians. It was followed by the *Hansemann* Government, the *Government of Action,* as the bourgeoisie intended to proceed from the period when it *passively* betrayed the people to the Crown to the period of *active* subjugation of the people to its own rule exercised in agreement with the Crown. The *Government of Action* was the *second* Government *after* the March revolution; that was its whole secret.

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[a] This is evidently a misprint: is should read "the core of the counter-revolution".— *Ed.*

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 183, December 31, 1848]

*Cologne*, December 29.

*"Gentlemen, business is business!"*[a]

*In these few words Hansemann epitomised the whole liberalism of the United Diet.* This man was the required head of a government based on the Agreement Assembly, a government which was to turn *passive resistance* to the people into an *active offensive* on the people, the *Government of Action.*

No Prussian Government contained so many *bourgeois* names! Hansemann, Milde, Märker, Kühlwetter, Gierke! Even *von Auerswald*, the sort of label acceptable at Court, belonged to the liberal aristocracy of the Königsberg opposition which paid homage to the bourgeoisie. *Roth von Schreckenstein* alone represented the old bureaucratic Prussian feudal nobility among this rabble. *Roth von Schreckenstein!* The surviving title of a vanished novel about robbers and knights by the late *Hildebrandt.*[b] But *Roth von Schreckenstein* was merely the feudal setting for the bourgeois jewel. *Roth von Schreckenstein* in a bourgeois government meant this, spelled out in capital letters: the Prussian feudalists, the army and bureaucracy are guided by the newly arisen star, the Prussian bourgeoisie. These powerful figures have placed themselves at its disposal, and the bourgeoisie has set them up in front of its throne, just as bears were placed in front of the rulers of the people on old heraldic emblems. Roth von Schreckenstein is merely intended to be the bear of the bourgeois Government.

On *June 26* the Hansemann Government presented itself to the National Assembly. Its effective existence began only in *July*. The *June revolution* was the background of the Government of Action, just as the *February revolution* formed the background of the Government of Mediation.

The bloody victory of the Paris bourgeoisie over the proletarians of Paris was exploited against the people by the Prussian bourgeoisie, just as the bloody victory of the Croats at Vienna was exploited against the bourgeoisie by the Prussian Crown. The suffering of the Prussian bourgeoisie after the Austrian November was *retribution* for the suffering of the Prussian people after the French June. In their short-sighted narrow-mindedness the German philistines mistook

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[a] A quotation from Hansemann's speech in the first United Diet on June 8, 1847.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to Hildebrandt's novel *Kuno von Schreckenstein oder die weissagende Traumgestalt.*—*Ed.*

themselves for the French bourgeoisie. They had overturned no throne, they had not abolished feudal society, still less its last vestiges, they did not have to uphold a society they themselves had created. After June, as after February, they believed, as they had since the beginning of the sixteenth century and during the eighteenth century, that they would be able in their traditional crafty money-making manner to pocket three-quarters of the profit produced by someone else's labour. They had no inkling that behind the French June lurked the Austrian November and behind the Austrian November, the Prussian December. They did not suspect that whereas in France the throne-shattering bourgeoisie was confronted by only one enemy, the proletariat, the Prussian bourgeoisie, grappling with the Crown, possessed only one ally—the people. Not as if these two groups had no hostile and contradictory interests, but because they were still welded together by *the same* interests in face of a third power which oppressed them both equally.

The Hansemann Government regarded itself as a *government of the June revolution.* In contrast to the "red robbers", the philistines in every Prussian town turned into "respectable republicans", without ceasing to be worthy royalists, and occasionally overlooking the fact that their "reds" wore *white-and-black*[a] cockades.

In his speech from the throne on June 26, Hansemann gave short shrift to Camphausen's mysteriously nebulous "monarchy on *the broadest democratic basis*".

"*Constitutional monarchy based on the two-chamber system* and the joint exercise of legislative power by the two Chambers and the Crown"—that was the dry formula to which he reduced the portentous motto of his enthusiastic predecessor.

"Modification of the most essential relationships that are incompatible with the new constitution, liberation of property from the fetters that hamper its most *advantageous utilisation* in a large part of the monarchy, reorganisation of the administration of justice, reform of fiscal legislation and particularly *annulment of tax exemptions* etc." and above all "*strengthening of the power of the state* which is necessary for safeguarding the *freedom* which has been won" (by the citizens) "against reaction" (i.e. using the freedom in the interests of the feudal aristocracy) "and anarchy" (i.e. using the freedom in the interests of the people) "and for *restoring the shaken trust*"

—such was the Government's programme, the programme of the Prussian bourgeoisie in office, whose classical representative is *Hansemann.*

In the United Diet Hansemann was the most bitter and the most cynical adversary of trust, for—"*Gentlemen, business is business!*" Hansemann in office proclaimed the "*restoration of the shaken trust*" a

[a] Black and white were the Prussian colours.—*Ed.*

foremost necessity, for—this time he addressed the *people* as previously he had addressed the *throne*—for

*"Gentlemen, business is business!"*

Previously it was a question of the trust that *gives* money, this time of the trust that *makes* money; then it was a matter of *feudal* trust, the sincere trust in God, King and Fatherland, now it was *bourgeois* trust, trust in trade and commerce, in interest-bearing capital, in the solvency of one's commercial friends, that is, commercial trust; it is not a matter of faith, charity or hope, but of *credit.*

Hansemann's words, "*restoration of the shaken trust*", expressed the fixed idea of the Prussian bourgeoisie.

*Credit* depends on the confidence that the exploitation of wage labour by capital, of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie, of the petty bourgeois by the big bourgeois, will continue in the traditional manner. Hence any political stirring in the proletariat, whatever its nature, even if it takes place under the direct command of the bourgeoisie, shakes this trust, impairs credit. "Restoration of the shaken trust" when uttered by Hansemann signifies:

*Suppression of every political stirring in the proletariat* and in all social strata whose interests do not completely coincide with the interests of the class which believes itself to be standing at the helm of state.

Hansemann accordingly placed the "*strengthening of the power of the state*" side by side with the "restoration of the shaken trust". But he was mistaken as to the character of this "power of the state". He sought to strengthen the state power which served credit and bourgeois trust, but he strengthened the state power which demands trust and if necessary extorts this trust with the help of grape-shot, because it has no credit. He wanted to economise on the costs of bourgeois rule but instead burdened the bourgeoisie with the exorbitant millions which the restoration of Prussian feudal rule cost.

He told the workers very curtly that he had an excellent remedy for them. But before he could produce it the "shaken trust" must first of all be restored. To restore this trust the working class had to give up all political activity and interference in matters of state and revert to its former habits. If it followed his advice and trust were restored, this mysterious potent remedy would prove effective, if only because it would no longer be required or applicable, since in this case the malady itself—the subversion of the bourgeois law and order—would have been eliminated. And what need is there of medicine when there is no malady? But if the people obstinately stuck to their purpose, very well, then he would "*strengthen* the power of the state", the police, the army, the courts, the bureaucracy, and

would set his bears on them, for "trust" had become a "money matter", and:

*"Gentlemen, business is business!"*

Hansemann's programme, even though he may smile at this, was an *honest* programme, a well-intentioned programme.

He wanted to strengthen the power of the state not only against anarchy, that is against the people, he wanted to strengthen it also against reaction, that is against the Crown and feudal interests insofar as they attempted to assert themselves against the purse and the "*most essential*", that is the most modest, political claims of the bourgeoisie.

The very composition of the Government of Action was a protest against this "reaction".

It differed from all previous Prussian Ministries in that its real *Prime Minister* was the *Minister of Finance.* For centuries the Prussian state had carefully concealed the fact that the departments of war, internal and foreign affairs, church and school matters and even the royal household as well as faith, charity and hope depended on profane *financial* matters. The Government of Action placed this tiresome bourgeois truth uppermost by placing Herr Hansemann at its head, a man whose ministerial programme like his opposition programme was summarised in the words:

*"Gentlemen, business is business!"*

The monarchy in Prussia became a "money matter".

Now let us pass from the programme of the Government of Action to its actions.

It really carried out its threat of "*strengthening the power of the state*" against "*anarchy*", that is against the working class and all sections of the middle class who did not stick to the programme of Herr Hansemann. It can even be said that, apart from increasing the tax on beet-sugar and spirits, this *reaction* against so-called *anarchy*, i.e. against the revolutionary movement, was the only serious action of this Government of Action.

Numerous lawsuits against the press based on Prussian Law or, where it did not exist, on the *Code pénal*, numerous arrests on the same "sufficient grounds" (Auerswald's formula), introduction of a system of constables in Berlin [158] at the rate of one constable per every two houses, police interference with the freedom of association, the use of soldiers against unruly citizens and of the civic militia against unruly proletarians, and the introduction, by way of deterrent, of a state of siege—all these events of Hansemann's

Olympiad are still vividly remembered. There is no need to give details.

This aspect of the efforts of the Government of Action was summarised by *Kühlwetter* in the following words:

"A state that wants to be really free must have a really large police force as its executive arm",

to which Hansemann himself muttered one of his usual remarks:

"This will also greatly help to *restore trust* and *revive the rather slack commercial activity.*"[a]

The Government of Action accordingly "*strengthened*" the old Prussian police force, the judiciary, the bureaucracy and the army, who, since they receive their *pay* from the bourgeoisie, also *serve* the bourgeoisie, as Hansemann thought. At any rate, they were "*strengthened*".

On the other hand, the mood of the proletariat and bourgeois democrats was expressed by *one* event. Because a few reactionaries maltreated some democrats in Charlottenburg, the people stormed the residence of the Prime Minister in Berlin.[159] This shows how popular the Government of Action had become. The next day Hansemann tabled a law against riotous gatherings and public meetings. This shows how cunningly he intrigued against reaction.

Thus the actual, tangible, popular activity of the Government of Action was of a purely *police* character. In the eyes of the proletariat and the *urban* democrats this Ministry and the Agreement Assembly, whose majority was represented in the Ministry, and the Prussian bourgeoisie, the majority of whom constituted the majority in the Agreement Assembly, represented the *old,* refurbished *police and bureaucratic state.* To this was added resentment against the bourgeoisie, because it governed and in the *civic militia* had become an integral part of the police.

The "achievement of the March events", as the people saw it, was that the liberal gentlemen of the bourgeoisie, too, took *police* duties upon themselves. There was thus a double police force.

Not the actions of the Government of Action, but the drafts of its organic laws show clearly that it "*strengthened*" the "*police*"—the ultimate expression of the old state—and spurred it into action only in the interest of the bourgeoisie.

In the Bills relating to *local government, juries,* and the *civic militia,* introduced by the Hansemann Ministry, *property* in one form or

[a] Quotations from the speeches made by Kühlwetter and Hansemann in the Prussian National Assembly on August 9, 1848.—*Ed.*

another always forms the demarcation line between the *lawful* and the *unlawful.* All these Bills contain the most servile concessions to royal power, for the bourgeois Ministry believed that royalty had become harmless to it and was its ally; but to compensate for that the ascendancy of capital over labour is all the more ruthlessly emphasised.

The civic militia law approved by the Agreement Assembly was directed against the bourgeoisie itself and had to provide a legal pretext for disarming it. According to the fancy of the bourgeoisie, however, it was to become valid only after the enactment of the local government regulation and the promulgation of the Constitution, that is after the consolidation of the rule of the bourgeoisie. The experience which the Prussian bourgeoisie has gained in connection with the civic militia law may contribute to its enlightenment and show it that for the time being all its actions that are meant to be directed against the people are only directed against itself.

As far as the people are concerned, the Hansemann Ministry is in *practice* epitomised by the old-Prussian police and in *theory* by the offensive *Belgian* differentiation between bourgeois and non-bourgeois.[160]

Now let us pass on to another section of the ministerial programme, to *anarchy against reaction.*

In this respect the Ministry has more pious wishes to show than real deeds.

Among the pious *bourgeois* wishes are the partition and sale of domains to private owners, the abandonment of banking to free competition, the conversion of the *Seehandlung*[161] into a private institution etc.

It was unfortunate for the Government of Action that all its economic attacks against the feudal party took place under the aegis of a *compulsory loan,* and that in general its attempts at reformation were seen by the people merely as financial expedients devised to replenish the treasury of the strengthened "power of the state". Hansemann thus won the hatred of one party without winning the approval of the other. And it has to be admitted that he only ventured to attack feudal privileges in earnest when "*money matters*" closest to the Minister of Finance, when *money matters as understood by the Ministry of Finance,* became pressing. In this narrow sense he told the feudal lords:

*"Gentlemen, business is business!"*

Thus even his positively bourgeois efforts directed against the feudalists reveal the same police taint as his negative measures

designed to "*revive commercial activity*". For in the language of political economy the *police* is called *exchequer*. The increase in the beet-sugar and liquor duties which Hansemann passed through the National Assembly roused the indignation of the money-bags, standing with God for King and Fatherland, in Silesia, the Marches, Saxony, East and West Prussia etc. But while this measure angered the industrial landowners in the old Prussian provinces, it caused no less displeasure among the bourgeois distillers in the Rhine Province, who perceived that their conditions of competition compared with those of the old Prussian provinces had been made even more unfavourable. And to crown all, it angered the working class in the old provinces, for whom it only meant, and could only mean, a *rise in the price of a prime necessity*. This measure therefore merely amounted to replenishing the treasury of the "strengthened power of the state". This example suffices, since it is the only action against the feudalists *actually* taken by the Government of Action, the only Bill of this nature which really became law.

Hansemann's "Bills" abrogating all *exemptions* from graduated and *land taxes*,[162] and his projected income tax caused the landowning votaries of "God, King and Fatherland" to respond as if bitten by a tarantula. They denounced him as a *communist* and even today the Prussian Dame of the Cross[a] crosses herself three times at the mention of Hansemann's name. That name sounds to it like Fra Diavolo.[b] The repeal of all exemptions from the land tax, the only important measure to be introduced by a Prussian Minister during the glorious reign of the Agreement Assembly, failed because of the *narrow-mindedness of the Left concerning principles*. Hansemann himself had justified this narrow-mindedness. Was the Left to provide new financial resources for the Ministry of the "*strengthened power of the state*" before the Constitution had been completed and sworn to?

The bourgeois Ministry *par excellence* was so unlucky that its most radical measure had to be frustrated by the radical members of the Agreement Assembly. It was so barren that its whole crusade against feudalism merely resulted in a *tax increase*, which was equally odious to all classes, and the abortive outcome of its entire financial acumen was a *compulsory loan*: two measures, which ultimately only provided *subsidies for the campaign of the counter-revolution against the bourgeoisie*. But the *feudal lords* were convinced of the "nefarious" intentions of

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[a] An allusion to the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* also known as the *Kreuz-Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

[b] *Fra Diavolo*—a sobriquet of Michele Pezza, an Italian bandit; the title character of an opera by Auber.—*Ed.*

the *bourgeois* Ministry. Thus even the financial struggle of the Prussian bourgeoisie against feudalism merely proved that owing to its unpopularity and impotence it was only able to collect *money against itself* and—*Gentlemen, business is business!*

Just as the bourgeois Ministry succeeded in equally offending the urban proletariat, the bourgeois democrats and the feudal lords, so did it manage to alienate and antagonise even the *peasantry* oppressed by feudalism, and in this it was eagerly supported by the *Agreement Assembly.* It should not be forgotten that during half of its existence this Assembly was appropriately represented by the Hansemann Ministry and that the bourgeois martyrs of today were yesterday the train-bearers of Hansemann.

During Hansemann's rule Patow introduced a Bill abolishing feudal obligations (see the criticism of it we published earlier[a]). It was a most wretched botchwork, the product of the helpless bourgeois desire to abolish feudal privileges, those "conditions that are incompatible with the new constitution", and of bourgeois fear of revolutionarily attacking any kind of property whatever. Wretched, timid and narrow-minded egoism blinded the Prussian bourgeoisie to such an extent that it repulsed the *peasantry,* its *essential ally.*

On *June 3* deputy *Hanow* moved

> "that all pending proceedings which concern the settlement of landowner-peasant relations and the commutation of services be immediately discontinued at the request of one of the sides until the promulgation of a new law based on just principles".

Not until the *end of September,* that is four months later, under the Pfuel Government, did the Agreement Assembly pass a Bill designed to discontinue pending proceedings between landowners and peasants, after rejecting all liberal amendments and retaining the "reservation about the provisional establishment of current obligations" and the "collection of disputed dues and arrears".[163]

In *August,* if we are not mistaken, the Agreement Assembly declared that *Nenstiel*'s motion that "*labour services be abolished immediately*" was *not urgent.*[164] Could the peasants be expected to consider it an urgent matter for them to take up the cudgels for this Agreement Assembly which had thrown them back into conditions inferior to those they had actually won after the March events?

The French bourgeoisie began by emancipating the peasants. Together with the peasants it conquered Europe. The Prussian bourgeoisie was so preoccupied with its *most narrow,* immediate

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 117-18, 290-95 and 327-32.—*Ed.*

interests that it foolishly threw away even this ally and turned it into a tool of the feudal counter-revolutionaries.

The *official* history of the dissolution of the bourgeois Ministry is well known.

Under its aegis, the "power of the state" was "strengthened" to such an extent and the popular energy so weakened that already on July 15 the Dioscuri Kühlwetter and Hansemann were obliged to issue a warning against reactionary machinations of civil servants, and especially *Landräte*, to all *Regierungspräsidenten* in the monarchy; that later an "*assembly of the nobility and big landowners for the protection*" of their privileges[165] met in Berlin alongside the Agreement Assembly; and that finally, in opposition to the so-called Berlin National Assembly, a "diet of local communities for the protection of the threatened property rights of landowners", a body originating in the Middle Ages, was convoked in Upper Lusatia on September 4.

The energy expended by the Government and the so-called National Assembly against these increasingly menacing counter-revolutionary symptoms found adequate expression in paper admonitions. The bourgeois Ministry reserved bayonets, bullets, prisons and constables exclusively for the people "*so as to restore the shaken trust and revive commercial activity*".

The incidents at *Schweidnitz*, where the soldiery in fact murdered the bourgeoisie in the person of the civic militia, finally roused the National Assembly from its apathy. On August 9 it braced itself for a heroic deed, that of the Stein-Schultze army order, whose most drastic measure of coercion was an appeal to the *tact* of the Prussian officers.[166] A measure of coercion indeed! Did not royalist honour forbid the officers to follow the dictates of bourgeois honour?

On *September 7*, a month after the Agreement Assembly had passed the Stein-Schultze army order, it once more decided that its decision was a real decision and should be carried out by the Ministers. Hansemann refused to do this and resigned on September 11, after appointing himself a bank director at a yearly salary of 6,000 talers, for—*Gentlemen, business is business!*

Finally, on *September 25*, the Agreement Assembly gratefully agreed to *Pfuel*'s thoroughly watered-down formula of acceptance of the Stein-Schultze army order, which by that time Wrangel's parallel army order and the large number of troops concentrated around Berlin had turned into a *bad joke*.

A mere glance at these dates and the history of the Stein-Schultze army order suffices to show that the army order was not the *real*

reason for Hansemann's resignation. Is it likely that Hansemann, who did not shy at recognising the revolution, should have shied at this paper proclamation? Are we to believe that Hansemann, who, whenever the portfolio slipped from his fingers, always picked it up again, has this time, in a fit of virtuous exasperation, left it on the ministerial benches to be hawked about? No, our Hansemann is no fanatic. Hansemann was simply duped, just as in general he was the representative of the duped bourgeoisie. He was allowed to believe that on no account would he be dropped by the Crown. He was made to lose his last semblance of popularity in order that the Crown should at last be able to sacrifice him to the rancour of the country junkers and get rid of this bourgeois tutelage. Moreover, the plan of campaign agreed upon with Russia and Austria required that the Ministry should be headed by a general appointed by the camarilla from outside the Agreement Assembly. The old "power of the state" had been sufficiently "strengthened" under the bourgeois Ministry to venture on this coup.

Pfuel was a disappointment. The victory of the Croats at Vienna made even a Brandenburg a useful tool.

Under the Brandenburg Ministry the Agreement Assembly was ignominiously dispersed, fooled, derided, humiliated and persecuted, and the *people*, at the decisive moment, remained *indifferent*. The *defeat* of the Assembly was the *defeat of the Prussian bourgeoisie*, of the *constitutionalists*, hence a *victory for the democratic party*, however dear it had to pay for that victory.

And the *imposed* Constitution?

It had once been said that never would a "scrap of paper" be allowed to come between the King and *his* people.[167] Now it is said: there shall be *only a scrap of paper* between the King and *his* people. The *real* Constitution of Prussia is the *state of siege*. The imposed French Constitution had only one article—the 14th, which invalidated it.[168] Every article of the imposed Prussian Constitution is an Article 14.

By means of this Constitution the Crown grants new privileges—that is upon *itself*.

It permits itself to dissolve the Chambers indefinitely. It permits Ministers in the interim to issue any desired law (even those affecting property and so forth). It permits deputies to impeach Ministers for such actions, but at the risk, under the state of siege, of being classed as "internal enemies". Finally, it permits itself, should the stock of the counter-revolution go up in the spring, to replace this nebulous "scrap of paper" by a Christian-Germanic Magna Charta[169] *organically* growing out of the distinctions of the medieval social estates, or

to drop the constitutional game altogether. Even in the latter case the conservative bourgeois would fold their hands and pray:

"*The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord!*"[a]

The history of the Prussian bourgeois class, like that of the German bourgeois class in general between March and December, shows that a purely *bourgeois revolution* and the establishment of *bourgeois rule* in the form of a *constitutional monarchy* is impossible in Germany, and that only a feudal absolutist counter-revolution or a *social republican revolution* is possible.

But that the viable section of the bourgeoisie is bound to awake again from its apathy is guaranteed above all by the *staggering bill* which the counter-revolution will present it with in the spring and, as our Hansemann so sensibly says:

"*Gentlemen, business is business!*"

Written by Marx on December 9, 11, 15 and 29, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Nos. 165, 169, 170 and 183, December 10, 15, 16 and 31, 1848

[a] Job 1:21.—*Ed.*

# A NEW ALLY OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION

*Cologne*, December 11. The counter-revolution has acquired a new ally: the Swiss Federal Government.

Already five days ago we learned from a thoroughly trustworthy source that the recent rumours of an intended incursion of the German refugees into Baden, of arming at the frontier, and of a mythical battle near Lörrach between volunteer insurgents and imperial troops—that all these peculiar rumours were "agreed upon" between the ruling party of Furrer-Ochsenbein-Munzinger in the Swiss Federal Council and the German imperial authority in order to give the said party an excuse for taking measures against the refugees and thereby helping to establish a good agreement with the imperial power.[a]

We did not immediately communicate this news to our readers, because we could not unreservedly believe in such an intrigue. We waited for confirmation, and confirmation was not long in coming.

It was already noticeable that these rumours were not published by Baden newspapers which, being on the spot, should be the best and earliest informed, but by Frankfurt newspapers.

It was furthermore noticeable that the *Frankfurter Journal* was already informed from Berne on December 1 that the Federal Council had issued a circular on the question of the refugees and sent a commissioner, whereas the Berne newspapers, several of which (*Verfassungs-Freund* and *Suisse*) are in direct contact with members of the Federal Council, did not publish the news until December 3.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 116-17 and 141-42.—*Ed.*

Now at last we have the circular to the cantonal authorities before us in the *Suisse*,[a] and if previously we could still doubt the adhesion of Switzerland to the new Holy Alliance,[170] now all doubts have been removed.

The circular begins with *rumours* of new armings of the political refugees and of an intended new incursion into the Baden area. These rumours, which all Switzerland and all Baden know to be false, serve as the *grounds* for the new extraordinary measures against the refugees. The decisions of the Federal Assembly about Tessin are mentioned only to justify the competence of the Federal Council to adopt these measures but not its obligation to do so; on the contrary the essential difference between the situation in Tessin and in the northern cantons is *expressly recognised.*

Then come the following instructions:

1) All refugees who took part in Struve's expedition,[171] or who otherwise offer no personal guarantees of tranquil behaviour, are to be removed from the frontier cantons;

2) all refugees without distinction are to be kept under close supervision;

3) a list of all refugees coming under 1) is to be sent to the Federal Council and to all frontier cantons, and

4) possible exceptions to internment are to be left to the decision of the representative of the Confederation, Dr. Steiger, whose instructions in general are to be followed.

Then follows the demand for the "*strict*" fulfilment of these instructions, since otherwise, if it becomes necessary to call out troops, the costs will have to be borne by the frontier canton concerned.

The whole circular is drafted in harsh language, highly insulting to the refugees, and concludes with the words:

> "Switzerland must not become an assembly area for foreign parties which so greatly misconceive their situation on neutral soil and so often trample under foot the interests of the country that hospitably receives them."

Now compare this bitter language with that of the Note of November 4[b]; bear in mind that the rumours on which the circular is based are *notoriously false*; that, as we have been informed from the frontier today, the representative of the Confederation, Dr. Steiger, has *already completed* his inspection in the Aargau canton, against which the imperial authority put forward most complaints, and has

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[a] *La Suisse* No. 291, December 6, 1848.—*Ed.*

[b] Note of the *Vorort* Berne to the Imperial Government (see this volume, pp. 67-68 and 136).—*Ed.*

found that the refugees concerned were interned long ago and that he has no more to do there (he is already in Liestal); that the Note of November 4 already asserts and the Swiss press (e.g. *Schweizer Bote, Basellandschaftliches Volksblatt, National-Zeitung* etc.) long ago proved that all the frontier cantons fulfilled their duties long ago; bear in mind, finally, that after long uncertainty, after the most contradictory reports about the closing of the frontier, now for the last two or three days all our Swiss newspapers and letters have been unanimous in saying that *absolutely no* measures of coercion are being applied against Switzerland, and indeed that the order given to certain frontier posts for stricter supervision of the movement of people was revoked already 24 hours later; bear all this in mind and say whether the circumstances do not confirm in the minutest detail the report given by us above.

At any rate, it is well known that Herren Furrer, Ochsenbein, Munzinger etc. have long cherished a burning desire to put an end once for all to the "excesses of the refugees".

We congratulate Herr Schmerling on his new friends. We only wish that, if *he* too were to enter Switzerland as a refugee—which could very well happen before the three years' official duration of the present Federal Council expires—these friends of his will not consider him as one of those refugees who "offer no personal guarantees".

Written on December 11, 1848

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 166, December 12, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# THE CALUMNIES OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

*Cologne*, December 13. The article of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of July 4,[a] on account of which the responsible publisher, *Korff*, the editor-in-chief, *Marx*, and the editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, *Engels*, are to appear before the assizes on the 20th inst., concludes with the following words:

"Those are the actions of the *Government of Action*, the Government of the Left Centre, the *Government of transition to an old aristocratic, old bureaucratic and old Prussian Government.* As soon as Herr Hansemann has fulfilled his *transitory function*, he will be dismissed.

"The Berlin Left, however, must realise that the old regime is willing to let it keep its small parliamentary victories and large constitutional designs as long as the old regime in the meantime is able to seize all the really important positions. *It can confidently recognise the revolution of March 19 inside the Chamber provided the revolution can be disarmed outside of it.*

"*Some fine day the Left may find that its parliamentary victory coincides with its real defeat. Perhaps German development needs such contrasts. The Government of Action recognises the revolution in principle in order to carry out the counter-revolution in practice.*"

Facts have proved to what extent the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has ***calumniated*** the Prussian Government and its henchmen.

Written by Marx on December 13, 1848

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 168, December 14, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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[a] "Arrests" (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 177-79) quoted below.—*Ed.*

# URSULINE CONVENT.— RECRUITING FOR THE GRAPE-SHOT KING.— THE "BURGHERS' COMMUNE".— COMMISSION ON A GENERAL CUSTOMS TARIFF

*Berne*, December 9. The last convent in the Berne canton, that of the Ursulines in Pruntrut in the Jura, is approaching its end. The Government Council [*Regierungsrat*][a] has decided to propose to the Great Council the dissolution of this convent in fulfilment of the Diet's decision banning from Switzerland all orders affiliated to the Jesuits (to which the Ursulines belong).

After Radetzky had again allowed the Neapolitan-Swiss recruits through Lombardy, King Ferdinand likewise immediately suggested that recruiting should again be allowed in Switzerland. Lucerne and the *Ur*-cantons naturally hastened to permit recruitment; the Berne Government, for whom the enlistment agreements[172] are anyway a thorn in the flesh, luckily found an excuse to continue prohibiting recruitment for the present. It states in particular that according to the enlistment agreement (which is a relic inherited from the revered regime of Herr Neuhaus), the recruits would be obliged to go via Genoa, a route which is still barred to them; and further, the Neapolitan Government would first have to indemnify the Swiss in Naples for the damage by looting etc., done on May 15.[173] The god-fearing *Beobachter*[b] is of course fearfully shocked by this violation of inviolable Swiss loyalty, which moreover prevents a great number of fine young canton citizens from making a glorious career (!), jeopardises the future of the Berne soldiers in Naples, causes recruiting sergeants present in Berne to starve, and reduces the income of the publicans on whose premises the military bounty would be drunk away. These are the kind of arguments with which the reactionary Swiss press wages its war.

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[a] i.e. the Government of the canton.— *Ed.*

[b] *Schweizerischer Beobachter.—Ed.*

The local conservative patricians have suffered a hard blow. For there is a so-called burghers' commune within the commune itself. This commune, the core of which is the patriciate, made sure, in spite of all the revolutions, that the former monastery estates and other state and town domains to which it is entitled as the former holder of sovereignty, should not be transferred with sovereignty to the state or the town respectively, but be kept by it in collective ownership. Only a small part of these highly valuable estates, on which the patricians still wax fat today, is to go to the town, but the "burghers" always refused to give it up. Now at last, through the choice of Berne as the federal capital and the consequent heavy city expenses, the burghers' commune has been forced to surrender its share to the town commune, the so-called residents' commune,[174] and moreover to pledge a "substantial" contribution to the costs of the federal capital. The patricians declare Zion to be in danger, and they have good reason, for the federal capital threatens their purses very seriously.

The Federal Council has formed under the presidency of the head of the Trade and Customs Department, Herr Näff, a commission which is to prepare the abolition of canton duty and the creation of a Swiss customs tariff, and propose the necessary measures. Switzerland will also get protective tariffs now, which will not, it is true, be high but will completely achieve their purpose owing to the advanced development of most branches of Swiss industry and to the low wages. England, Paris, Mühlhausen and Lyons will suffer most from these measures.

Written by Engels on December 9, 1848

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 168, December 14, 1848

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Published in English for the first time

# ADDRESS OF THE CENTRAL COMMISSION OF THE WORKERS' ASSOCIATIONS OF SWITZERLAND TO THE EXECUTIVE OF THE MARCH ASSOCIATION IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN[175]

*To the Executive of the March Association in Frankfurt am Main*

Citizens,

The German associations of Switzerland held a Congress here in Berne on the 9th, 10th and 11th of this month; they have joined together in a permanent union and appointed the Berne Association as the District Union.[176]

The undersigned Central Commission herewith informs you of the founding of the Union.

It also informs you that the Congress has decided to enter into correspondence with the March Association. A closer union with the latter is excluded by Article 1 of our common Rules, in which the Swiss associations explicitly declare themselves for a democratic social republic.[177]

The Congress has also instructed us to make known to you its decided disapproval of the measures taken by the German imperial authority against Switzerland. These measures, as unjust as they are ridiculous, not only serve to compromise Germany in the eyes of all Europe; for us German workers in Switzerland they have the particular disadvantage that they jeopardise our position materially and put us German democrats in a false position in relation to our friends, the democrats of Switzerland.

We hope that one of the delegates of the March Association will take the earliest opportunity to inform the so-called National Assembly[a] of this official expression of opinion of the German workers in Switzerland.

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[a] The German National Assembly in Frankfurt.—*Ed.*

In the meantime we look forward to your communications and letters.

Greetings and fraternal good wishes.

*The Central Commission*
*of the German Workers' Associations*
*of Switzerland*

Berne, December 1848[a]

Written by Engels in mid-December 1848

Printed according to the manuscript

First published in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Heft 4, 1960

Published in English for the first time

[a] The back of the document bears the address: "To Herr Trützschler, deputy at Frankfurt am Main."—*Ed.*

# [DISMISSAL OF DRIGALSKI]

*Cologne*, December 17. The "citizen and communist" Drigalski,[a] who introduced the censorship, abolished it again, and then threatened to **suspend** the local newspaper,[b] has, we have just heard, been **suspended** himself. A pity, a great pity!

*Postscript.* Misfortune travels fast! Herr Spiegel, *Regierungspräsident*, also bids us farewell. According to reports current all over the town, he has been **dismissed**.

Written by Marx on December 17, 1848

First published in the supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 172, December 19, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, pp. 75-80.—*Ed.*
[b] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.*—*Ed.*

# THE TRIAL OF GOTTSCHALK AND HIS COMRADES

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 175, December 22, 1848]

*Cologne,* December 21. This morning the trial of *Gottschalk, Anneke* and *Esser* began at the extraordinary assizes here.

The accused were escorted like the lowest criminals *in fetters* from the new remand prison to the court building, where a not inconsiderable armed force was present.

Our readers are aware that we regard the jury system as at present organised as anything but a guarantee. The register qualification gives a definite class the privilege of choosing the jury from its midst. The method of compiling the lists of jury members gives the Government the monopoly of selecting from the privileged class those individuals who suit it. For the Herr *Regierungspräsident* draws up a list of a certain number of individuals which he selects from the lists of jury members of the entire administrative area; the *judicial* representatives of the Government prune this list down to 36, if our memory does not deceive us. Finally, at the time of the actual formation of the jury, the Public Prosecutor's office has the right to prune for a third time the last list, the outcome of class privilege and a double governmental distillation, and to reduce it to the final requisite dozen.

It would be a real miracle if such a constitution of the jury did not place accused persons who have openly opposed the privileged class and the existing state authority directly in the absolute power of their most ruthless enemies.

But the *conscience* of the jurymen, we shall be told in reply, their *conscience*; could one demand a greater guarantee than that? But,

*mon Dieu*, a man's conscience depends on his knowledge[a] and his way of life.

The conscience of a republican is different from that of a royalist, that of a property owner is different from that of one who owns no property, that of a thinking person is different from that of one incapable of thought. One who has no vocation for being a juryman other than that of the register qualification has the conscience of the register qualification.

The "conscience" of the privileged is precisely a privileged conscience.

Although, therefore, the jury as at present constituted appears to us to be an institution for asserting the privileges of a few and by no means an institution for safeguarding the rights of all; although, in the present case especially, the Public Prosecutor's office has made the most extensive use of its powers in order to eradicate from the last list the last dozen names displeasing to it—nevertheless we have not a moment's doubt of the *acquittal* of the accused. Our guarantee is the *bill of indictment*. Reading it, one could believe it an ironically phrased defence document of Gottschalk and his comrades.

Let us summarise this *indictment*, the only analogy to which is the indictment against Mellinet and Co. (the Risquons-Tout trial in Antwerp[178]).

In Cologne there is a Workers' Association.[179] Gottschalk was president of it, and Anneke and Esser members of its Executive Committee. The Workers' Association, the indictment informs us,

> "had a special organ, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, edited by Gottschalk, and anyone who did not have the opportunity of attending in person the meetings of the Association could learn from this newspaper the dangerous *tendencies* of the Association to flatter the proletariat and work for communism and the overthrow of the existing order".[b]

Therefore, one could acquaint oneself with *tendencies* but not with *illegal acts. The proof is*: Until the arrest of Gottschalk and the others, the prosecuting magistrates did not bring forward any charge against the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, and *after* Gottschalk's arrest it was only once condemned—in the monster trial instituted by the prosecuting magistrates here, on the charge of insulting these magistrates.[180]

> "But the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* itself," the indictment admits, "does not seem to have taken the trouble to conceal anything in its reports on the subject" (the proceedings of

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[a] In the original there is a pun on the words *Gewissen* (conscience) and *Wissen* (knowledge).—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below the indictment is quoted from M. F. Anneke's book *Der Politische Tendenz-Prozess gegen Gottschalk, Anneke und Esser*, which is named later in this article.—*Ed.*

the Workers' Association, of the meetings of its Executive Committee and of its branches).

If, therefore, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* could not be prosecuted on account of its "reports" of the proceedings of the Workers' Association, then this Association itself could not be prosecuted on account of its proceedings.

The only accusation levelled against the Workers' Association is the same as that against the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, viz the *objectionable tendency of this Association.* Do the March achievements include also *trials based on tendency,* trials against tendencies that have remained mere tendencies? Up to now our *September Laws*[181] have not yet been promulgated. Gottschalk and his comrades were by no means arrested and accused because of illegal reports of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* or illegal proceedings of the Workers' Association. The indictment makes no secret of this. It was not the previous activity of the Workers' Association that set the wheels of justice in motion, but—listen to this:

"From June 14 to 17 of this year a Congress was held in Frankfurt of delegates from a multitude of democratic associations that have arisen in Germany. Gottschalk and Anneke were delegates representing the Cologne Workers' Association. As is known, this Congress expressed itself *openly in favour of a democratic republic,* and the *authorities here expected a repercussion of the movement there,* when on Sunday, June 25, once more a general meeting of the Workers' Association was announced to be held in the Gürzenich Hall."

*The authorities here expected a repercussion of the Frankfurt movement.* But what movement had taken place in Frankfurt? The *Democratic Congress* had expressed itself *openly* in favour of the *objectionable* tendency of a *democratic republic.* A "*repercussion*", therefore, of this "*tendency*" was expected and it was intended to engage in a struggle against this *echo.*

As is known, the *Democratic Congress* in Frankfurt and the *Central Committee* in Berlin, appointed to carry out its decisions, held their sessions without any opposition from the authorities.[182]

The German governments therefore, in spite of the *objectionable tendency,* had to recognise the lawfulness of the Frankfurt Congress and of the organisation of the democratic party decided upon by the Congress.

But the Cologne authorities "*expected* nevertheless" a *repercussion* of the Frankfurt movement. They expected to have an opportunity of catching Gottschalk and his comrades on illegal ground. In order to create this opportunity, on June 25 the police authorities sent "police inspectors *Lutter* and *Hünnemann*" to attend the general

meeting of the Workers' Association in the Gürzenich Hall and "specially instructed them to observe what took place there". At the same general meeting there happened to be present "the bookbinder Johann *Maltheser*", who, as the indictment states regretfully, "*would be a chief witness, if he were not in the pay of the police authorities*", that is to say, in other words, if he were not a *paid police spy*. Finally, there was present there, probably out of pure patriotic fanaticism, the "**candidate assessor von Groote**", who gives Anneke's speech at the general meeting "in more detail than anyone else, *since he wrote it down during the sitting itself*".

It is clear that the Cologne authorities *were expecting a crime to be committed* on June 25 by *Gottschalk* and his comrades. All arrangements were made by the police to confirm the occurrence of this possible crime. And once the authorities "*expect*", they do not want to *expect* in vain.

"The reports" of the police inspectors and other minor assistants officially sent to confirm an *expected* crime

> "gave occasion for the state authorities on July 2 to demand a judicial investigation against Gottschalk and Anneke on account of their inflammatory speeches delivered" (it should say *expected*) "at that public meeting. Their arrest and the seizure of their papers took place on July 3.
>
> "On July 5, after a number of witnesses had been heard and more detailed information had become available, the investigation was extended to the whole previous activity of the leaders of the Workers' Association and thereby to several members of the latter, especially to the cooper *Esser* etc. The results of the investigation of the accused relate in part to their speeches in the Workers' Association, in part to their papers and the printed material spread by them".

The *real result of the investigation—we shall prove it tomorrow from the text of the indictment itself*—is that the movement expected on June 25 was confined to a movement of the authorities—this echo of the Frankfurt movement; that *Gottschalk and his comrades have had to atone for the deceived expectation of the authorities on June 25 by undergoing six months' close confinement during examination. Nothing is more dangerous than to deceive the state authority's expectations of earning a medal for saving the fatherland.* No one likes to be disappointed in his expectations, least of all the *state authority.*

If the whole way in which the crime of June 25 was *staged* shows us the state authority as the sole creator of this crime drama, the text of the indictment enables us to admire the astute versatility by which it spun out the prologue over six months.

We quote word for word from *Der Politische Tendenzprozess gegen Gottschalk und Konsorten,* published by M. F. Anneke, Publishing House of the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung.*

"After the investigation had gone on for about five to six weeks, it was declared closed by the Examining Magistrate Leuthaus, who had replaced Herr Geiger, the latter having been promoted to the post of Police Superintendent. Public Prosecutor Hecker, however, after looking through the dossiers, put forward new *demands* to which the examining magistrate agreed. After about 14 days, the preliminary investigation was closed for the second time. After Herr Hecker had made a fresh study of the dossiers at his leisure, *he once more put forward a number of new demands.* The examining magistrate did not want to accept them, nor did the Council Chamber. Herr Hecker appealed to the board of prosecuting magistrates and this instance laid down that some of the demands should be allowed, but others rejected. Among the latter, for example, was the demand that *on the basis merely of a list of names of persons from all parts of Germany* which was found in Anneke's portfolio, all these persons, some 30 or 40 in number, *should be subjected to judicial investigation.*

"After the investigation had been successfully spun out so far, and could not reasonably be still further extended, the Council Chamber on September 28 ordered the dossiers to be handed over to the board of prosecuting magistrates. The latter confirmed the indictment on October 10, and on October 28 the Prosecutor-General signed the bill of indictment.

"*It was therefore luckily too late for this trial to come before the regular quarterly assizes, which had begun on October 9.*

"After November 27 an extraordinary session of the assizes was fixed. *It was intended that if possible this session also should be missed.* The dossiers of the preliminary examination were sent to the Ministry of Justice with the request that the trial should be referred to another court of assizes. However, the Ministry of Justice found no sufficient grounds for this and towards the end of November the accused *Gottschalk, Anneke* and *Esser* were finally referred to the extraordinary assizes here on December 21."

During this long prologue, the *first examining magistrate, Geiger, was promoted to acting Police Superintendent,* and *Public Prosecutor Hecker to Chief Public Prosecutor.* Since Herr *Hecker* in this last capacity was moved from *Cologne* to *Elberfeld shortly before the beginning* of the extraordinary assizes, he will not appear before the jury at the same time as the accused.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 176, December 23, 1848]

*Cologne,* December 22. On what day did the Gürzenich general meeting, which was convened to confirm an "*expected*" crime, take place? It was on *June 25.* This was the day of the definitive defeat of the *June insurgents* in Paris. On what day did the state authorities begin proceedings against Gottschalk and his comrades? It was on July 2, i.e. at the moment when the Prussian bourgeoisie and the Government allied with it at that time, carried away by their thirst for revenge, believed that the time had come to finish off their political opponents. On *July 3,* Gottschalk and his associates were arrested. On *July 4,* the *present counter-revolutionary* Ministry in the person of *Ladenberg* joined the *Hansemann* Ministry. On the same day, the *Right wing* in the Berlin Agreement Assembly ventured on a *coup*

*d'état* by unceremoniously rejecting in *the same sitting*, after part of the Left wing had dispersed,[183] a decision regarding *Poland* which had been adopted by a majority.

These facts are eloquent. We could prove by the testimony of witnesses that on July 3 a "certain" person declared: "The arrest of Gottschalk and his associates has made a favourable impression on the public." It suffices, however, to point to the issues of the *Kölnische*, the *Deutsche*, and the *Karlsruher Zeitung* of the dates mentioned to convince oneself that during those days it was not the "echo" of the imaginary "*Frankfurt movement*", but rather the "echo" of "*Cavaignac's movement*" which resounded a thousandfold in Germany and, among other places, also in *Cologne*.

Our readers will recall: On June 25 the Cologne authorities "expected" a repercussion of the "Frankfurt movement" on the occasion of the general meeting of the Workers' Association in the Gürzenich Hall. They will recall further that the starting point for the judicial investigation against Gottschalk and his comrades was not any actual crime committed by Gottschalk etc. *prior to* June 25, but solely the *expectation* of the authorities that on June 25 at last some palpable crime *would be* committed.

The expectation in regard to June 25 was disappointed and suddenly June 25, 1848, is transformed into the year 1848. The accused are made *responsible for the movement of the year 1848.* Gottschalk, Anneke and Esser are charged with

"having *in the course of the year 1848*" (note the elasticity of this expression) "made a *conspiracy* in Cologne with the aim of changing and overthrowing the Government concerned and of fomenting a civil war by misleading the citizens into taking up arms against one another, *or at any rate*" (take note!), "*or at any rate* by speeches at public meetings, by printed material and posters, having incited to attempts at assassination and *suchlike aims*".

That is to say, therefore, they are charged with having made a *conspiracy*, "*or at any rate*" with not having "made" **any** conspiracy. But then at any rate "to attempts at assassination and *suchlike* aims". That is to say, to attempts at assassination or something of the sort! How magnificent the juridical style is!

*So* it is stated in the board of prosecuting magistrates' decision for committal to trial.

In the conclusion of the indictment itself, mention of *conspiracy* is *dropped* and "in *accordance* with it" Gottschalk, Anneke and Esser are charged with

"having in the *course of the year 1848*, by speeches at public meetings as well as by printed material, *directly* incited their fellow citizens to alteration of the Constitution *by force*, to armed rebellion against the royal power and to the arming of one part of the

citizens against another, without, however, these incitements having been successful—a crime envisaged in Article 102, in combination with Articles 87 and 91 of the Penal Code".

And why did the authorities *in the course of the year 1848* not intervene before July 2?

Incidentally, for the gentlemen to be able to speak of an "*alteration of the Constitution by force*", they would *in the first place* have had to furnish proof that a *Constitution existed.* The Crown has *proved* the contrary by sending to the devil the Agreement Assembly. If the agreers had been more powerful than the Crown, they would perhaps have conducted the proof in the *reverse direction.*

As regards the incitement "to *armed* rebellion against the royal power and to the *arming* of one part of the citizens against another", the indictment tries to prove it:

1. by speeches of the accused in the course of the year 1848;
2. by unprinted;
3. by printed documents.

*Ad.* 1. The *speeches* provide the indictment with the following *corpus delicti*[a]:

At the sitting of May 29, *Esser* finds that a "*republic*" is the "*remedy for the suffering of the workers*". *An incitement to armed rebellion against the royal power!* Gottschalk declares that "*the reactionaries* will *bring about* the republic". Some workers complain that they do not have enough "to keep body and soul together". Gottschalk replies to them: "You should learn to *unite,* to distinguish your friends from your disguised enemies, to make yourselves capable of *looking after your own affairs.*"

An obvious *incitement to armed rebellion against the royal power* and *to the arming of one part of the citizens against another*!

The indictment sums up its proofs in the following words:

"The witnesses who have been examined concerning these earlier meetings, both members and non-members, on the whole speak only in praise of Gottschalk and Anneke, especially the former. He is said to have always warned against excesses, and to have tried to calm rather than incite the masses. In doing so he indeed indicated the republic as the final goal of his efforts, which, however, was to be achieved not by a street riot but only by the majority of the people being won over to the view that there was no salvation except in a republic. *As is clearly seen, by thus setting out to undermine gradually the foundations of the existing order, he was understandably often hard put to it to restrain the impatience of the vulgar crowd.*"

It is precisely because the accused *calmed* the masses instead of *inciting* them that they showed *clearly* their nefarious tendency

[a] Body of the crime.—*Ed.*

*gradually to undermine the foundations of the existing order*, that is, in a *legal* way to make a *use, objectionable* to the authorities, of freedom of the press and the right of association. And that is what the indictment calls: "*Incitement to armed rebellion against the royal power* and to the *arming of one part of the citizens against another*" *!!!*

Finally comes the general meeting of *June 25*, which was "*expected*" by the authorities. In regard to it, the indictment says: "*detailed testimonies are available*". And what results from these detailed testimonies?—That Gottschalk made a report on the Frankfurt events; that the union of the three democratic associations in Cologne was discussed,[184] and that Gottschalk delivered a "concluding speech", which especially attracted the attention of **Maltheser** and the **candidate assessor von Groote**, and ended with the "*point*": "To go on waiting requires more courage than to strike at random. One must wait until the reaction takes a step which results in pressure for the proclamation of a republic." *Obvious incitement to armed rebellion against the royal power and to the arming of one part of the citizens against another!!!*

As far as *Anneke* is concerned, according to the indictment

> "*there is nothing more against him* than that, in the debate *on the union of the three associations*" (the three democratic associations of Cologne), "he spoke very vigorously for this union, addressing the meeting also as *republican citizens*".

A speech in favour of the "*union*" of the three democratic associations of Cologne is obviously "*incitement to the arming of one part of the citizens against another*"!

And the mode of address as "*republican citizens*"! Herren **Maltheser** and **von Groote** might have felt themselves insulted by this mode of address. But does not General *von Drigalski* address himself and the citizens of Düsseldorf as "*communist citizens*"?

Looking at this net product of the "*expected*" general meeting of June 25, one can understand that the state authority had to take refuge in the *course of the year 1848*, and that is what it did by acquiring information about the movement in this year through the seizure of letters and printed documents; for example, it confiscated three issues of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* which could be bought for four pfennigs a copy in any street.

From the letters, however, it became convinced of the "*political fanaticism*" prevailing in Germany in the year 1848. A letter of Professor *Karl Henkel* from Marburg to Gottschalk seemed to it particularly "fanatical". To punish him it denounced this letter to the Hesse Government and had the satisfaction that a judicial investigation would be instituted against him.

But the final result derived from the letters and printed documents is that in 1848 fanaticism of all kinds was at work in people's minds and on paper, and in general events took place which resembled as closely as one egg does another "*armed rebellion against the royal power and the arming of one part of the citizens against another*".

Gottschalk and his comrades, however, were busily occupied with all this, whereas the state authority only became aware of the "*repercussion*" of this astonishing movement through confiscating the printed documents and letters of the accused![185]

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# THE PRUSSIAN COUNTER-REVOLUTION AND THE PRUSSIAN JUDICIARY[186]

*Cologne.* The chief result of the revolutionary movement of 1848 is not what the peoples won, but what they lost—the *loss of their illusions.*

*June, November* and *December* of 1848 are gigantic milestones on the path to the disenchantment and disintoxication of the minds of the European peoples.

High in the list of the last illusions which keep the German people in chains is its *superstitious faith* in the *judiciary.*

The prosaic north wind of the Prussian counter-revolution has blighted also this flower of the people's imagination, whose true Motherland is Italy—eternal Rome.

The actions and statements of the *Rhenish Court of Appeal,* of the *Supreme Court of Berlin,* and of the *Courts of Appeal* of *Münster, Bromberg* and *Ratibor,* against *Esser, Waldeck, Temme, Kirchmann* and *Gierke* prove once again that the French *Convention* is and remains the beacon for all revolutionary epochs. It inaugurated the revolution by means of a decree *dismissing all officials.* Judges, too, are nothing but officials, as the above-mentioned courts have testified before the whole of Europe. Turkish *kadis* and Chinese collegiums of mandarins can countersign without qualms the most recent decrees of those "*high*" courts against their colleagues.

Our readers already know the decrees of the Berlin Supreme Court and of the Ratibor Court of Appeal. Today we are concerned with the *Münster Court of Appeal.*[187]

First of all, however, a few words more about the *Rhenish Court of Appeal*, the *summus pontifex*[a] of Rhenish jurisprudence, which has its seat in Berlin.

As is well known, the Rhenish jurists (with a few honourable exceptions) found nothing more urgent to do in the Prussian Agreement Assembly than to cure the Prussian Government of its old prejudice and old resentment. They proved to that Government in fact that their previous opposition merely signified as much as the opposition of the French parliament before 1789[188]—the obstinate and would-be liberal assertion of *guild interests*. Like the liberal members of the French National Assembly of 1789, so the liberal Rhenish jurists in the Prussian National Assembly of 1848 were the *worthiest of the worthy* in the army of servility. The Rhenish-Prussian prosecuting magistrates outdid the old-Prussian inquisitorial judges in "political fanaticism". The Rhenish jurists had, of course, to maintain their reputation also *after* the dissolution of the Agreement Assembly. Thought of the laurels of the old-Prussian Supreme Court prevented the Rhenish-Prussian Court of Appeal from sleeping. Its chief presiding judge *Sethe* sent to judge of the Supreme Court of Appeal *Esser* (not to be confused with the "well-meaning" Cologne "Essers"[b]) a letter similar to that of the presiding judge of the Supreme Court *Mühler* to judge of the Secret Supreme Court *Waldeck*[189] But the Rhenish-Prussian court was able to go one better than the old-Prussian court. The presiding judge of the Rhenish Court of Appeal[c] played a trump card against his competitors by committing the treacherous *rudeness* of informing the Berlin public of the letter to Herr Esser in the *Deutsche Reform*,[d] before he had communicated it to Herr Esser himself. We are convinced that the *entire Rhine Province* will reply to Herr Sethe's letter *by a monster address to our worthy veteran countryman, Herr Esser.*

Not something is rotten in the "state of Denmark",[e] but *everything.*

Now for *Münster*!

Our readers have already heard of the protest of the Court of Appeal in Münster against the reappointment of its director *Temme.*

The matter can be summarised as follows:

The Ministry of the counter-revolution had, directly or indirectly, insinuated to the Secret Supreme Court, the Rhenish Court of

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[a] The supreme pontiff.—*Ed.*
[b] Esser I and Esser II.—*Ed.*
[c] Sethe.—*Ed.*
[d] No. 56, December 21, 1848 (morning edition).—*Ed.*
[e] Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene 4.—*Ed.*

Appeal, and the Courts of Appeal in Bromberg, Ratibor and Münster, that the *King*[a] *would view with extreme disfavour the return of Waldeck, Esser, Gierke, Kirchmann and Temme to their high judicial posts, because they had continued to attend the Assembly in Berlin and had participated in the decision to refuse to pay taxes. So would those courts protest against it.*

All the high courts (at the outset the Rhenish Court of Appeal vacillated; great artists achieve their successes not by being the first but by being the last to perform) accepted this suggestion and sent protests from and to Berlin. The *Münster Court of Appeal* was stupid enough to address *directly to the King* (the so-called *constitutional* King) a protest against *Temme*, which states word for word

"that by participation in the illegal sittings of a faction of the adjourned National Assembly he had put himself in open rebellion against His Majesty's Government and by taking part in voting in favour of the motion on refusing to pay taxes he had taken the path of revolution and tried to hurl the fire-brand of anarchy into the fatherland",

and which then continues:

"It is contrary to our sense of justice, to the demands of the public for integrity on the part of the director of a provincial collegium of magistrates, and to the responsibilities of the latter concerning the training of young law officers and his position in relation to the junior officials of courts, that after such events the aforesaid *Temme* should retain his official position in the collegium here. Therefore, Your Majesty, we feel compelled by our consciences most humbly to express the urgent desire to see ourselves freed from official relation to director Temme."[b]

The address is signed by the whole collegium except for one member, a brother-in-law of *Minister of Justice Rintelen.*

On December 18, this Minister of Justice sent Herr Temme in Münster a copy of this address "*for his decision*", after Temme had already resumed his post here *without opposition from the cowards.*

During the morning of December 19, as the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* reports, Temme appeared for the first time in a plenary sitting of the provincial Court of Appeal and took his seat as director beside deputy chief presiding judge von Olfers. As soon as the sitting began, he asked to speak and in brief said approximately the following:

"He had received a rescript from the Minister of Justice with a copied enclosure. This enclosure contained a petition of the 'high collegium', to which he now had the honour to belong, protesting against his reinstatement in his post. The Minister of Justice had sent him this petition for his information and 'for him to take a

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted from the *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger* No. 229, December 19, 1848,—*Ed.*

decision accordingly'. The protest of the 'high collegium' was obviously based on his political activity; but of this as in general of his political views, he did not intend to speak here, for he did not have to defend them before the 'high collegium'. Further, as far as his 'decision' was concerned, he had already given effect to it by taking his seat here as director, and he could assure the 'high collegium' that he would not vacate it until judgment and law compelled him to do so. Moreover, he was not of the opinion that the collegial relationship should be upset by the diversity of political views; for his part at least that would be avoided as far as possible."[a]

The worthiest of the worthy were thunderstruck. They sat there dumb, motionless, like stone figures, as if a Medusa's head had been hurled into the collegium of mandarins.

The worthy Court of Appeal in Münster! In its professional zeal it has caused numerous people to be questioned and arrested because they wanted the decision of the National Assembly on the refusal to pay taxes to be carried out. By its statement about Herr Temme, which had even been addressed directly to the throne, the worthy provincial Court of Appeal has formed itself into—a party and pronounced a *prejudiced opinion*, and therefore it is impossible for it any longer to play the role of judge in relation to another party.

It will be recalled that the alleged coercion of the Prussian National Assembly by the Berlin mob was used as the pretext for the first coup d'état of the Brandenburg Ministry.[190] In order not to exercise any coercion against the deputies, the Ministry continued the "*wild chase*"[191] begun against them in Berlin, even *after* the deputies had returned to their homes!

Minister of Justice Rintelen states in his decree, which we reprint further below:

"The illusion deliberately fostered by many persons, that the hitherto existing criminal laws, particularly those concerned with crimes against the state, are no longer valid since March of this year, has greatly contributed to increase anarchy and has perhaps also had a dangerous influence on individual courts."

Most of the actions of Herr Rintelen and of the courts *under his jurisdiction* provide further proof that since the forcible dissolution of the National Assembly only *one* law continues to be valid in Prussia, *the arbitrary will of the Berlin camarilla.*

On March 29, 1844, the Prussian Government promulgated the notorious disciplinary law against the judges,[b] by which, through a mere decision of the Ministry, they could be deprived of their posts,

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[a] Quoted from the report "Münster, vom 20. Dez." published in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* No. 336, December 23, 1848.—*Ed.*

[b] "Gesetz, betreffend das gerichtliche und Disziplinar-Strafverfahren gegen Beamten."—*Ed.*

moved or pensioned off. The last *United Diet*[192] abolished this law and restored the validity of the fundamental principle that judges could be dismissed, moved or pensioned off only by a lawfully delivered judgment.[a] The imposed Constitution confirms this principle. Are not these laws being trampled under foot by the courts which, in accordance with the prescription of the Minister of Justice, Rintelen, want by *moral compulsion* to drive their politically compromised colleagues into giving up their posts? Are not these courts turning themselves into an officer corps which casts out any member whose political views do not suit its royal Prussian "*honour*"?

And is there not also a law on the *non-liability* and *inviolability* of the *people's representatives*?

Hot air and empty sound!

If the *Prussian Constitution* had not annulled itself already by its own articles and the manner of its origin, it would be annulled owing to the simple fact that its ultimate guarantor is the *Supreme Court of Berlin*. The Constitution is guaranteed by the *responsibility of the Ministers*, and the *non-liability of the Ministers* is guaranteed by the court that has been granted to them, which is no other than the *Supreme Court in Berlin*, the classical representative of which is Herr *Mühler*.

The most recent rescripts of the Supreme Court, therefore, are neither more nor less than the obvious *cassation of the imposed Constitution*.

In *Austria*, owing to the Government's direct *threats to plunder* the *bank*,[193] which the Viennese people left *untouched* at the time of its greatest and most justified resentment against financial feudalism, the *bourgeoisie* realises that its betrayal of the proletariat surrendered precisely what this betrayal was intended to safeguard—*bourgeois property*. In *Prussia*, the *bourgeoisie* sees that, owing to its cowardly trust in the Government and its treacherous distrust of the people, the indispensable *guarantee of bourgeois property—bourgeois administration of justice*—is threatened.

With the dependent state of the judiciary, the bourgeois administration of justice itself becomes dependent on the Government; that is to say, bourgeois law itself is replaced by the arbitrary action of officials. *La bourgeoisie sera punie, par où elle a péché*—the bourgeoisie will be punished by that in which it has sinned—by the *Government*. That the servile statements of the highest Prussian courts are only the first symptoms of the approaching absolutist

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[a] The reference is to the "Verordnung über einige Grundlagen der künftigen Preussischen Verfassung".—*Ed.*

transformation of the courts, is borne out by the following recent decree of the Ministry of Justice:

"By the general ordinance of October 8 of this year, my predecessor in office has already called attention to the fact that it is the prime task of the judicial authorities to maintain respect for the law and its effective action, that they can best serve their country by fulfilling this task, because true freedom can flourish only on the basis of law. Since then, unfortunately, in many places there have occurred very serious outbreaks of an anarchist activity which mocks at law and order; in some parts of the country even violent revolts against the authorities have taken place and have not everywhere been energetically countered. In view of such a regrettable state of affairs, I now, after His Majesty's Government has taken a decisive step to save the state, which has been brought to the brink of the abyss, I now address myself anew to the judicial authorities and the Public Prosecutors of the whole country, to request them to do their duty everywhere and without regard for persons. Whoever the guilty person may be, he must not escape the legal punishment that has to be brought to bear in the speediest possible way.

"With especially deep regret I have been compelled to note, both from individual reports of the provincial authorities and from official newspapers, that some judicial officials also, unmindful of their special professional duties, have in part let themselves be carried away into committing obviously illegal actions, and in part have not shown the courage and fearlessness through which alone terrorism could be successfully countered. I expect steps to be taken in regard to them also, with establishment of the facts and if necessary the institution of a judicial investigation, without lenience and with the utmost expedition, for officials responsible for the administration of justice, who are entrusted with preserving the prestige of the laws, have by their own violation of the law been doubly at fault; and it is especially necessary to expedite the proceedings against them because the operation of the law must not be allowed to remain in the hands of such officials. If among those guilty there are officials in respect of whom, on the basis of existing regulations, a formal investigation cannot be made, or on whom suspension from office, which must always be considered as a duty in cases of this kind, cannot be imposed without higher authorisation, then steps must be taken to establish the facts in order to justify the investigation without a special instruction, and after that the requisite permission obtained as speedily as possible. With regard to candidate assessors and junior lawyers attending the courts, it must be borne in mind that there are special rules governing their dismissal from state service.

> "The illusion deliberately fostered by many persons: that the hitherto existing criminal laws, particularly those concerned with crimes against the state, are no longer valid since March of this year,

has greatly contributed to increase anarchy and has perhaps also had a dangerous influence on individual courts. In view of the excellent state of mind of the Prussian judicial officials, which on the whole they still display, it suffices to point to the well-known juridical principle that laws remain in force until annulled or modified through legislation, as well as to the express provision of Article 108 of the constitutional document of the 5th of this month, in order to be assured that the honourable Prussian judicial officials, in their whole-hearted interest for true moral and political freedom, will put above everything the prestige of law and order.

"Guided by these principles and scorning all personal dangers, we shall go forward confident of victory over crime, over anarchy. Precisely thereby we shall most essentially contribute to ensure that the Prussian state, previously so brilliant, will once again display its moral strength and will no longer tolerate—to use the words of a

brave Frankfurt deputy—that wickedness and gross violence should continue to exist among us.

"The presiding judges of the courts, and also the Prosecutor-General in Cologne, should accordingly instruct the officials of their departments to do what is necessary, and keep me informed in respect of which officials, and for what offences, suspensions are being pronounced and judicial investigations instituted.

Berlin, December 8, 1848

Minister of Justice *Rintelen*"

If one day the revolution in Prussia is victorious, it will not find it necessary, like the February revolution, to abolish the irremovability of the older class of judges by a special decree. It will find this caste has given documentary evidence of the renunciation of its privilege in the authentic declarations of the *Rhenish Court of Appeal, the Supreme Court in Berlin,* and the *Courts of Appeal in Bromberg, Ratibor and Münster.*

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## MEASURES AGAINST GERMAN REFUGEES.— RETURN OF TROOPS FROM TESSIN.— THE PATRICIANS' COMMUNE

*Berne*, December 24. The new measures of the Federal Council, which are so gratefully recognised by the Empire, do not merely consist of the circular and Steiger's journey of inspection[a]; they consist in particular of the expulsion from Switzerland of three absolutely non-dangerous refugees who published an absolutely blameless, merely informative pamphlet about the latest rising in Baden,[b] and furthermore of the steps taken against the newspaper *Die Revolution* and against the so-called *Hilf Dir* military association.[194]

The volunteer commander, J. Ph. Becker of Biel, who has been a citizen of the Berne canton for the past year, was the head of a military organisation of the above name, which is said to have had the aim of organising all the German volunteers living in Switzerland into a German Legion. It seems a dangerous business but was not really so at all. The Legion only existed on paper; there was no question of weapons, still less of drilling; its only object was to hinder more over-hasty and unplanned volunteer campaigns, and since *all* these are necessarily over-hasty and unplanned—as is proved by the two of Lucerne, the two of Baden, and the one of Val d'Intelvi [195]—the military association would inevitably have led to the prevention of such volunteer campaigns *altogether*. For that reason neither the Baden nor the Swiss Government had anything to do with it, and as the leaders of the organisation owing to all sorts of beloved memories of all secret societies as well as to more or less

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[a] See this volume, pp. 180-81.—*Ed.*

[b] T. W. Löwenfels, F. Neff und G. Thielemann, *Die zweite republikanische Aufstand in Baden*, Basel, 1848.—*Ed.*

bragging behaviour gave the Government a pretext for intervening; and as, moreover, the whole plan came under the Berne law on volunteer insurgents, there was the best possible opportunity to see here a far-reaching conspiracy and preparations for a new attack on Baden in the near future. Added to this was Becker's indiscretion in announcing, on the title page, his weekly *Revolution* as the "organ of the democratic military association '*Hilf Dir*'". That was enough: Herr Ochsenbein, who by chance or intentionally came to Biel, brought about the intervention of the public authorities. The specimen issue of the *Revolution* was seized, one of the editors, Michel, banished from the canton, and Becker's house searched. After that there were second thoughts. The attack on the freedom of the press was too provocative. The distraint was again lifted, and the *Revolution* will continue to appear[a]; but a judicial investigation against Becker has begun, and it will probably be the end of the military association "*Hilf Dir*". The German imperial philistine can once more sleep in peace.

In Tessin, all the troops have been discharged. The extent to which the Tessiners were slandered by the East Swiss is shown by the excellent understanding between the Bernese battalion sent there and the population. It is true, of course, that this battalion began by behaving quite differently from the men of Zurich and Appenzell. At one of the banquets given to the officer corps, Colonel Seiler of Berne declared that neutrality was a necessary evil, and that he looked forward to the time when the Swiss, free from these fetters, would fight for liberty in the ranks of the other peoples. The battalion collected a day's pay as a contribution for the refugees from Italy. If the gentlemen from Zurich and Appenzell had acted in the same way instead of taking pleasure in fulfilling odious gendarme functions and fraternising with Austrian officers, the Tessiners would have given them a very different reception.

Some days ago there was a highly amusing meeting of philistines in Berne. The residents' commune met to decide whether they wanted to take over the burden of being the seat of the Federal Government. The patricians, beaten in the last burghers' commune meeting,[b] and seeing with their own eyes that the property dispute between the burghers and the residents was really beginning, wanted to have their revenge here. With the actual handing over of the property of the residents' commune the town was made independent of the patriciate, they lost a large number of lucrative posts and the main

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[a] Subsequently it appeared as *Die Evolution*.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 183-84.—*Ed.*

props of their overwhelming influence in the Commune Council, not to mention the direct heavy financial loss. So they launched into all their intrigues in order—to remove again the seat of the Federal Government from Berne! They declared that the costs of the seat of the Federal Government had been stated so uncertainly that there was a risk of being shamefully cheated by the Federal Council. Further, the state and not the town should bear the bulk of the costs; and under these pretexts they proposed to grant a miserable 300,000 francs, but no more. The law concerning the seat of the Federal Government demands however unreserved acceptance of the conditions within a month, and the month expires on December 28. The acceptance of the proposals made by the patricians was thus equivalent to a refusal to make Berne the seat of the Federal Government. The patricians' plausible proposals for economy and safeguards met with tremendous approval from the Berne philistines, so that the radicals who wanted *à tout prix* to keep the federal capital there almost despaired of succeeding in their object. It was debated all day, and not till evening did the radicals collect 419 votes against 314 for the unconditional acceptance of the obligations proposed by the Federal Assembly. There you have an example of the petty parochialism which dares to try to lay down the law, even in the capital city of Switzerland!

Written by Engels on December 24, 1848

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# LETTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMISSION OF THE WORKERS' ASSOCIATIONS IN SWITZERLAND TO THE ASSOCIATION IN VIVIS

TO THE ASSOCIATION IN VIVIS

Friends, Brothers,

We, the Central Commission set up by the Congress, have before us for reply your letter of December 7.[196] Since the Congress has now established the foundations for the unification of the various associations, we shall not deal with your reproaches to the Zurich Association[197] but go straight on to answer the different points of your letter which concern the proposed centralisation.

You demand, first, that at the Congress the votes of associations given only by letter should be included in the count, justifying this by reference to the democratic principle. The Congress discussed this matter and also the reasons you give, but it believed that it could not accept them. It took the view that in that case no congress would be necessary and the associations would only need to send letters to the Central Commission, which could then add up the votes and proclaim the result. This is more or less the manner in which the associations have been in communication up to now and which yielded no results, while the Congress was easily able to put matters to rights in a few days. And this was because more can be achieved, and understanding can more easily be reached, in a few hours of oral consultation than by years of correspondence. Associations which send no delegates cannot, of course, take part in the *debates* of the Congress, they cannot hear what reasons for and against are being put forward, and since in the end these reasons decide the voting, they cannot, of course, vote either. Otherwise it would not be possible ever to reach a majority decision. If you think this is not democratic, we take the view that no democratic state in the world has ever accepted your opinion in this respect, but invariably taken ours: in America, in Switzerland, in France, as in all former

democracies, the principle has always held good that those who send no delegates cannot vote either. Incidentally, the Congress has seen to it that in future every association can be represented by the Congress taking over the entire costs of the delegates. At this Congress, too, you could perhaps have been represented; Lausanne, which lacked the means to send a delegate, arranged for a citizen in Berne[a] to represent them and sent him his instructions.[198]

It is certainly to be regretted that up to now there has been so little unity among the associations in Switzerland, and also that so many contradictory proposals for the Central Association were put forward. For this very reason it was an excellent idea of the Zurich Association to suggest a Congress. The provisional regulations which it drafted were, of course, only a suggestion on which the Congress had to vote, and which it altered considerably, as you will see from the enclosed printed copy of the minutes. But now, when a beginning at least has been made through the debates of the delegates of ten different associations, it is most desirable that the unrepresented associations should adhere to the centralisation which has at last been started and that they should yield in the same way that almost every other represented association has yielded on one point or another of its opinion and submitted to the decisions of the majority. Without mutual concessions we can never achieve anything.

Your suggestion that the Executive of the "*Hilf Dir*" military association be proclaimed the Central Association was very seriously considered, but was rejected. The *Hilf Dir* military association is a banned association under the local laws (the law on volunteers) and thus all *associations* joining it as *associations* would likewise be in danger of being dissolved and deprived of their funds. Moreover, the military association will only take over the military organisation, but does not see it as its task to represent the associations also with respect to social-democratic propaganda and correspondence with Germany. The Berlin Central Committee and the Workers' Committee in Leipzig[199] would not be able to risk entering into correspondence with the military association, even on innocent matters, without exposing themselves to dissolution and arrest; and the other way round, the military association would likewise not be able to conduct a regular correspondence with these committees without exposing itself to the most persistent persecution by the Swiss authorities. Above all, however, we want a centralisation which does not give the governments any pretext for new persecutions of

[a] Frederick Engels.—*Ed.*

a distance at which they could fire grape-shot, grenades containing 150 bullets, and shrapnel against pikes and scythes which, as is well known, cannot be effective at a distance. Previously shrapnel had only been fired by Englishmen against semi-savages in the East Indies. Only the stalwart Prussians, in fanatical fear of Polish courage and conscious of their own weakness, used shrapnel against their so-called fellow citizens. They had, of course, to look for a method of killing masses of Poles at a distance. Close to, the Poles were too terrible. Such was the *glorious victory at Wreschen.* But, as already stated, the heroic deeds of the Prussian army begin only *after* the war, just as the heroic deeds of the prison warder begin *after* sentence has been pronounced.

That *this* glory of the Prussian army will go down in history is guaranteed by the thousands of Poles killed with shrapnel, pointed bullets etc. as a result of Prussian treachery and black-and-white trickery, and by those later branded with lunar caustic.[216]

Adequate testimony to this second laurel wreath of the counter-revolutionary army has been provided by the villages and towns burnt by the Prussian heroes, by the Polish inhabitants beaten up and massacred in their homes with rifle-butts and bayonets, and by the acts of plunder and violence of all kinds committed by the Prussians.

Immortal glory for these Prussian warriors in Posen, who paved the way trodden shortly afterwards by the Neapolitan executioner,[a] who battered with shot and shell his loyal capital city and allowed the soldiery to plunder it for 24 hours.[217] Honour and glory to the Prussian army for the Posen campaign! For it served as a shining example for the Croats, Serezhans, Ottochans[218] and other hordes of Windischgrätz and Co., who, as Prague (in June), Vienna, Pressburg etc. have proved, were inspired to be its most worthy imitators.

And, lastly, even *this* courage of the Prussians against the Poles occurred only owing to fear of the Russians.

"All good things come in threes."[b] Hence "My army" also had to win a triple glory. The occasion for it was not lacking. For "its participation in the maintenance of order (!) in South Germany won fresh recognition for the name of Prussia".

Only malice or an attempt at belittlement could make one deny that "My army" performed the most effective services as jailor and policeman for the Federal Diet, which modernised itself on being rebaptised and had itself called the Central Authority.[219] It is equally undeniable that the Prussian name gained full recognition in

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[a] Ferdinand II.—*Ed.*

[b] Lessing, *Minna von Barnhelm,* Act I, Scene 2.—*Ed.*

guzzling South-German wine, meat, cider etc. The starving Brandenburgers, Pomeranians etc. grew patriotic paunches, the thirsty ones refreshed themselves, and in general succeeded in polishing off everything that the South Germans who provided them with billets set before them with such heroic courage that the Prussian name has gained the most noisy recognition there. It is a pity that the billet money has not yet been paid; the recognition would be still noisier.

The glory of "My army" is really inexhaustible; nevertheless, one must not omit to mention that

> "whenever I called, it stood ready, in complete loyalty and in *complete discipline*",

nor omit to communicate to posterity the equally remarkable statement that

> "My army countered abominable calumnies by its excellent spirit and *noble self-control*."

How flattering for "My army" is this greeting, evoking as it does the pleasant recollection of its "complete discipline" and "noble self-control", and at the same time once more its heroic deeds in the Grand Duchy,[a] and furthermore the laurels it won in Mainz, Schweidnitz, Trier, Erfurt, Berlin, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Aachen, Coblenz, Münster, Minden etc. We others, however, who do not belong to "My army", can in this way widen our limited conceptions as humble subjects. To shoot down old men and pregnant women, to rob (officially documented in the neighbourhood of *Ostrowo*), to maltreat peaceful citizens with rifle-butts and sabres, to destroy houses, to make attacks in the night on unarmed people with weapons hidden under cloaks, waylaying (recall what happened at Neuwied)—these and similar heroic deeds are termed in Christian-German language "*complete discipline*" and "*noble self-control*"! Long live self-control and discipline, since those murdered under this watchword are in fact dead.

The few passages of this royal Prussian New-Year greeting which we have touched upon here show us that this document in its significance and spirit is on the same level as the manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick[b] about 1792.[220]

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[a] Posen.—*Ed.*

[b] Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand.—*Ed.*

# THE MAGYAR STRUGGLE[221]

*Cologne,* January. While in Italy the first counterblow is already being struck against the counter-revolution of last summer and autumn, in the plains of Hungary the last stage of the struggle to suppress the movement which arose directly out of the February revolution is being completed. The new Italian movement is the prologue of the movement of 1849, the war against the Magyars is the epilogue to the movement of 1848. Probably this epilogue will yet pass into the new drama that is being prepared in secret.

Like the first scenes of the revolutionary tragedy of 1848, which rapidly succeeded one another, and like the fall of Paris and Vienna, this epilogue too is heroic, and pleasantly heroic after the partly colourless and partly petty episodes of the period between June and October. The last act of 1848 passes through *terrorism* into the first act of 1849.

For the first time in the revolutionary movement of 1848, for the first time since 1793, a nation surrounded by superior counter-revolutionary forces dares to counter the cowardly counter-revolutionary fury by revolutionary passion, the *terreur blanche* by the *terreur rouge.*[a] For the first time after a long period we meet with a truly revolutionary figure, a man who in the name of his people dares to accept the challenge of a desperate struggle, who for his nation is Danton and Carnot in one person—*Lajos Kossuth.*

The superiority of forces is frightful. The whole of Austria, 16 million fanaticised Slavs in the forefront, against 4 million Magyars.

Mass uprising, national manufacture of arms, issue of banknotes, short shrift for anyone hindering the revolutionary movement, revolution in permanence—in short, all the main features of the

[a] The white terror by the red terror.—*Ed.*

glorious year 1793 are found again in the Hungary which Kossuth has armed, organised and inspired with enthusiasm. This revolutionary organisation, which on pain of utter ruin had to be completed, so to speak, in 24 hours, was lacking in Vienna, otherwise Windischgrätz would never have been able to enter it. We shall see whether he will succeed in entering Hungary in spite of this revolutionary organisation.

Let us take a closer look at the struggle and the combatant parties.

The Austrian monarchy arose out of the attempt to unite Germany in a single monarchy just as the French kings up to Louis XI did in France. The attempt failed because of the pitiful provincial narrow-mindedness of both the Germans and the Austrians, and because of the corresponding petty commercial spirit of the Habsburg dynasty. Instead of the whole of Germany, the Habsburgs obtained only those South-German lands which were in direct conflict with the isolated Slav tribes, or in which a German feudal nobility and German burghers ruled jointly over enslaved Slav tribes. In both cases the Germans of each province required support from outside. This support they received through the association against the Slavs, and this association came into being through the union of the provinces in question under the sceptre of the Habsburgs.

That is how German Austria originated. It suffices to read in any textbook how the Austrian monarchy came into being, how it split up and arose again, all in the course of struggle against the Slavs, to see how correct this description is.

Adjacent to German Austria is Hungary. In Hungary the Magyars waged the same struggle as the Germans in German Austria. A German wedge driven between the Slav barbarians in the Archduchy of Austria and Styria went hand in hand with the Magyar wedge driven in the same way between the Slav barbarians on the Leitha. Just as in the south and north, in Bohemia, Moravia, Carinthia and Kraina the German nobility ruled over Slav tribes, Germanised them and so drew them into the European movement, the Magyar nobility likewise ruled over Slav tribes in the south and north, in Croatia, Slavonia and the Carpathian territories. The interests of both were the same; opponents of both were natural allies. The alliance of the Magyars and the Austrian Germans was a necessity. All that was still lacking was some great event, a heavy attack on both of them, in order to make this alliance indissoluble. Such an event came with the Turks' conquest of the Byzantine Empire. The Turks threatened Hungary and, secondly, Vienna, and for centuries Hungary came indissolubly under the Habsburg dynasty.

But the common opponents of both became gradually weak. The Turkish Empire became powerless, and the Slavs lost the strength to revolt against the Magyars and Germans. Indeed, a part of the German and Magyar nobility ruling in Slav lands adopted Slav nationality and thereby the Slav nationalities themselves became interested in preserving the monarchy, which had more and more to defend the nobility against the developing German and Magyar bourgeoisie. The national contradictions were disappearing and the Habsburg dynasty adopted a different policy. The same Habsburg dynasty which had climbed to the German imperial throne on the shoulders of the German burghers became more decisively than any other dynasty the champion of the feudal nobility against the burghers.

In the same spirit Austria participated in the partition of Poland.[222] The important Galician elders and army commanders, the Potockis, Lubomirskis and Czartoryskis, betrayed Poland to Austria and became the most loyal supports of the Habsburg dynasty, which in return guaranteed them their possessions against attacks from the lower nobility and burghers.

But the burghers in the towns continually grew in wealth and influence and the progress of agriculture alongside that of industry changed the position of the peasants in relation to the landowners. The movement of the burghers and peasants against the nobility became more and more menacing. And since the movement of the peasants, who everywhere are the embodiment of national and local narrow-mindedness, necessarily assumes a local and national character, it was accompanied by a resurgence of the old national struggles.

In this state of affairs, Metternich achieved his master stroke. With the exception of the most powerful feudal barons, he deprived the nobility of all influence on state administration. He sapped the strength of the bourgeoisie by winning to his side the most powerful financial barons—he had to do this, the state of the finances made it compulsory for him. Supported in this way by the top feudal and financial aristocracy, as well as by the bureaucracy and the army, he far more than all his rivals attained the ideal of an absolute monarchy. He kept the burghers and the peasantry of each nation under control by means of the aristocracy of that nation and the peasantry of every other nation, and he kept the aristocracy of each nation under control by its fear of that nation's burghers and peasantry. The different class interests, the national features of narrow-mindedness, and local prejudices, despite their complexity, were completely held in check by their mutual counteraction and

allowed the old scoundrel Metternich the utmost freedom to manoeuvre. How far he succeeded in this setting of one nation against another is proved by the Galician scenes of slaughter when the democratic Polish movement which began in the interests of the peasantry was crushed by Metternich by means of the Ruthenian peasants themselves who were animated by religious and national fanaticism.[223]

The year 1848 first of all brought with it the most terrible chaos for Austria by setting free for a short time all these different nationalities which, owing to Metternich, had hitherto been enslaving one another. The Germans, Magyars, Czechs, Poles, Moravians, Slovaks, Croats, Ruthenians, Rumanians, Illyrians and Serbs came into conflict with one another, while within each of these nationalities a struggle went on also between the different classes. But soon order came out of this chaos. The combatants divided into two large camps: the Germans, Poles and Magyars took the side of revolution; the remainder, all the Slavs, except for the Poles, the Rumanians and Transylvanian Saxons, took the side of counter-revolution.

How did this division of the nations come about, what was its basis?

The division is in accordance with all the previous history of the nationalities in question. It is the beginning of the decision on the life or death of all these nations, large and small.

All the earlier history of Austria up to the present day is proof of this and 1848 confirmed it. Among all the large and small nations of Austria, only three standard-bearers of progress took an active part in history, and still retain their vitality—the *Germans*, the *Poles* and the *Magyars*. Hence they are now revolutionary.

All the other large and small nationalities and peoples are destined to perish before long in the revolutionary world storm. For that reason they are now counter-revolutionary.

As for the *Poles*, we refer the reader to our article about the debates on the Polish question in Frankfurt.[a] In order to curb their revolutionary spirit, Metternich had appealed to the Ruthenians, a nationality differing from the Poles by its somewhat different dialect and especially by its Greek orthodox religion. The Ruthenians had belonged to Poland for a long time and learned only from Metternich that the Poles were their oppressors. As though in the old Poland the Poles themselves were not oppressed just as much as the Ruthenians, as though under Austrian domination Metternich was not their common oppressor!

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 337-81.— *Ed.*

So much for the Poles and Ruthenians who, moreover, because of their history and geographical position, are so sharply separated from Austria proper that we have had to get them out of the way first of all in order to reach clarity in regard to the chaos of the other peoples.

Let us, however, also remark at the outset that the Poles have revealed great political understanding and a true revolutionary spirit by now entering into an alliance with their old enemies, the Germans and Magyars, against the pan-Slav counter-revolution. A Slav people for whom freedom is dearer than Slavism proves its vitality by this fact alone, and thereby already assures a future for itself.

We pass now to Austria proper.

Situated to the south of the Sudetic and Carpathian mountains, in the upper valley of the Elbe and in the region of the Middle Danube, Austria in the early Middle Ages was a country populated exclusively by Slavs. By language and customs these Slavs belong to the same stock as the Slavs of Turkey, the Serbs, Bosnians, Bulgarians, and the Slavs of Thrace and Macedonia; these, in contrast to the Poles and Russians, are called Southern Slavs. Apart from these related Slav nationalities, the vast region from the Black Sea to the Bohemian forests and Tyrolean Alps was inhabited only by a few Greeks in the south of the Balkans, and in the Lower Danube region by scattered Rumanian-speaking Wallachians.

Into this compact Slav mass a wedge was driven by Germans from the west and the Magyars from the east. The German element conquered the western part of Bohemia and pushed forward on both sides of the Danube as far as the other side of the Leitha. The Archduchy of Austria, part of Moravia, and the greater part of Styria were Germanised and thus separated the Czechs and Moravians from the inhabitants of Carinthia and Kraina. In the same way Transylvania and Central Hungary up to the German frontier was completely cleared of Slavs and occupied by Magyars, who here separated the Slovaks and a few Ruthenian localities (in the north) from the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and subjected all these peoples to their rule. Finally, the Turks, following the example of the Byzantines, subjugated the Slavs south of the Danube and the Sava, and the historical role of the Southern Slavs was ended for ever.[224]

The last attempt of the Southern Slavs to play an independent part in history was the Hussite war,[225] a national peasant war of the Czechs under the flag of religion against the German nobility and the supremacy of the German Emperor. The attempt failed, and

ever since then the Czechs have remained fettered under the yoke of the German Empire.

On the other hand, their conquerors—the Germans and Magyars—took over the historical initiative in the Danube regions. Without the aid of the Germans and particularly of the Magyars, the Southern Slavs would have become Turkish, as actually happened to part of them, indeed Mohammedan, as the Slavs of Bosnia still are today. And for the Southern Slavs of Austria this is a service which is not too dear even at the price of exchanging their nationality for German or Magyar.

The Turkish invasion of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was a second edition of the Arab invasion of the eighth century. Charles Martel's victory was repeatedly rewon at the walls of Vienna and on the Hungarian plain. As then at Poitiers, and later at Wahlstatt, during the invasion of the Mongols,[226] there was here once more a threat to the whole of European development. And where it was a matter of saving this, how could it be achieved by a few nationalities, like the Austrian Slavs, which had long ago disintegrated and become impotent and which, moreover, themselves needed to be saved?

The situation internally was like that externally. The class that was the driving force and standard-bearer of the movement, the bourgeoisie, was everywhere German or Magyar. The Slavs could only with difficulty give rise to a national bourgeoisie, and the Southern Slavs only in quite isolated cases. And with the bourgeoisie, industrial power and capital were in the hands of Germans or Magyars, German culture developed, and intellectually too the Slavs became subordinate to the Germans, even as far as Croatia. The same thing happened—only later and therefore to a lesser extent—in Hungary, where the Magyars together with the Germans took the lead in intellectual and commercial affairs. But the Hungarian Germans, although they retained the German language, became genuine Hungarians in disposition, character and customs. Only the newly introduced peasant colonists, the Jews and the Saxons in Transylvania, are an exception and stubbornly retain an absurd nationality in the midst of a foreign land.

And if the Magyars were a little behind the German Austrians in civilisation, they have recently brilliantly overtaken them by their political activity. Between 1830 and 1848 there was more political life in Hungary alone than in the whole of Germany, and the feudal forms of the old Hungarian Constitution were better exploited in the interests of democracy than the modern forms of South-German constitutions. And who was at the head of the movement here? The

Magyars. Who supported Austrian reaction? The Croats and Slovenes.

Against the Magyar movement, as also against the reawakening political movement in Germany, the Austrian Slavs founded a Sonderbund[227]—*pan-Slavism.*

Pan-Slavism did not originate in Russia or Poland, but in Prague and in Agram.[228] Pan-Slavism means the union of all the small Slav nations and nationalities of Austria, and secondarily of Turkey, for struggle against the Austrian Germans, the Magyars and, eventually, against the Turks. The Turks are only incidentally included here and, as a nation which is also in a state of complete decline, can be entirely disregarded. In its basic tendency, pan-Slavism is aimed against the revolutionary elements of Austria and is therefore reactionary from the outset.

Pan-Slavism immediately gave proof of this reactionary tendency by a double betrayal: it sacrificed to its petty national narrow-mindedness the only Slav nation which up to then had acted in a revolutionary manner, the *Poles;* it *sold* both itself and Poland to the *Russian Tsar.*

The direct aim of pan-Slavism is the creation of a Slav state under Russian domination, extending from the Erzgebirge and the Carpathians to the Black, Aegean and Adriatic seas—a state which would include, besides the German, Italian, Magyar, Wallachian, Turkish, Greek and Albanian languages, also approximately a dozen Slav languages and basic dialects. All this would be held together not by the elements which have hitherto held Austria together and ensured its development, but by the abstract quality of Slavism and the so-called Slav language, which is at any rate common to the majority of the inhabitants. But where does this Slavism exist except in the minds of a few ideologists, where is the "Slav language" except in the imagination of Herren Palacký, Gaj and Co., and, to some extent, in the old Slav litany of the Russian church, which no Slav any longer understands? In reality, all these peoples are at the most diverse stages of civilisation, ranging from the fairly highly developed (thanks to the *Germans*) modern industry and culture of Bohemia down to the almost nomadic barbarism of the Croats and Bulgarians; in reality, therefore, all these nations have most antagonistic interests. In reality, the Slav language of these ten or twelve nations consists of an equal number of dialects, mostly incomprehensible to one another, which can be reduced to different main stems (Czech, Illyrian, Serbian, Bulgarian) and which, owing to the total neglect of all literature and the lack of culture of the majority of these peoples, have become a sheer patois, and with few

exceptions have always had above them an *alien*, non-Slav language as the written language. Thus, pan-Slav unity is either pure fantasy or—*the Russian knout.*

And what nations are supposed to head this great Slav state? Precisely those nations which for a thousand years have been scattered and split up, those nations whose elements capable of life and development were *forcibly* imposed on them by other, non-Slav peoples, those nations which were saved from downfall in Turkish barbarism by the victorious arms of non-Slav peoples, small, powerless nationalities, everywhere separated from one another and deprived of their national strength, numbering from a few thousand up to less than two million people! They have become so weak that, for example, the race which in the Middle Ages was the strongest and most terrible, the Bulgarians, are now in Turkey known only for their mildness and soft-heartedness and set great store on being called *dobre chrisztian*, good Christians! Is there a single one of these races, not excluding the Czechs and Serbs, that possesses a national historical tradition which is kept alive among the people and stands above the pettiest local struggles?

Pan-Slavism was at its height in the eighth and ninth centuries, when the Southern Slavs still held the whole of Hungary and Austria and were threatening Byzantium. If at that time they were unable to resist the German and Magyar invasion, if they were unable to achieve independence and form a stable state even when both their enemies, the Magyars and Germans, were tearing each other to pieces, how will they be able to achieve it today, after a thousand years of subjection and loss of their national character?

There is no country in Europe which does not have in some corner or other one or several ruined fragments of peoples, the remnant of a former population that was suppressed and held in bondage by the nation which later became the main vehicle of historical development. These relics of a nation mercilessly trampled under foot in the course of history, as Hegel says,[a] these *residual fragments of peoples* always become fanatical standard-bearers of counter-revolution and remain so until their complete extirpation or loss of their national character, just as their whole existence in general is itself a protest against a great historical revolution.

Such, in Scotland, are the Gaels, the supporters of the Stuarts from 1640 to 1745.

Such, in France, are the Bretons, the supporters of the Bourbons from 1792 to 1800.

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[a] See G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte. Einleitung.—Ed.*

Such, in Spain, are the Basques, the supporters of Don Carlos.

Such, in Austria, are the pan-Slavist *Southern Slavs,* who are nothing but the *residual fragment of peoples,* resulting from an extremely confused *thousand years of development.* That this residual fragment, which is likewise extremely confused, sees its salvation only in a reversal of the whole European movement, which in its view ought to go not from west to east, but from east to west, and that for it the instrument of liberation and the bond of unity is the *Russian knout*—that is the most natural thing in the world.

Already before 1848, therefore, the Southern Slavs had clearly shown their reactionary character. The year 1848 brought it fully into the light of day.

When the February storm broke, who made the Austrian revolution? Vienna or Prague? Budapest or Agram? The Germans and Magyars, or the Slavs?

It is true that among the more educated Southern Slavs there was a small democratic party which, although not wanting to renounce its nationality, nevertheless desired to put it at the disposal of the struggle for freedom. This illusion, which succeeded in arousing sympathy also among West-European democrats, sympathy that was fully justified as long as the Slav democrats took part in the struggle against the common enemy—this illusion was shattered by the bombardment of Prague. After that event all the South-Slav races, following the example of the Croats, put themselves at the disposal of Austrian reaction. Those leaders of the South-Slav movement who continue to talk drivel about the equality of nations, about democratic Austria, and so on, are either stupid dreamers, such as, for example, many journalists, or they are scoundrels like Jellachich. Their democratic assurances have no more significance than the democratic assurances of official Austrian counter-revolution. It suffices to say that in practice the restoration of the South-Slav nationality begins with the most savage outbursts of fury against the Austrian and Magyar revolution, with a first great good turn rendered to the Russian Tsar.

Apart from the higher nobility, the bureaucracy and the military, the Austrian camarilla found support only among the Slavs. The Slavs played the decisive part in the fall of Italy, the Slavs stormed Vienna, and it is the Slavs who are now attacking the Magyars from all sides. At their head as spokesmen are the Czechs under Palacký, as leaders of armed forces the Croats under Jellachich.

That is the gratitude shown for the fact that the German democratic press in June everywhere sympathised with the Czech

democrats when they were shot down by Windischgrätz, the same Windischgrätz who is now their hero.

To sum up:

In Austria, apart from Poland and Italy, it is the Germans and Magyars in 1848, as during the past thousand years already, who have assumed the historical initiative. They represent the *revolution.*

The Southern Slavs, who for a thousand years have been taken in tow by the Germans and the Magyars, only rose up in 1848 to achieve their national independence in order thereby at the same time to suppress the German-Magyar revolution. They represent the *counter-revolution.* They were joined by two nations, which had likewise long ago degenerated and were devoid of all historical power of action: the Saxons and the Rumanians of Transylvania.

The Habsburg dynasty, whose power was based on the union of Germans and Magyars in the struggle against the Southern Slavs, is now prolonging the last moments of its existence through the union of the Southern Slavs in the struggle against the Germans and Magyars.

That is the political aspect of the question. Now for the military aspect.

The region inhabited exclusively by Magyars does not form even one-third of the whole of Hungary and Transylvania. In the area from Pressburg, northwards from the Danube and Theiss up to the rear of the Carpathians there live several million Slovaks and a few Ruthenians. In the south, between the Sava, Danube and Drava, there live Croats and Slovenes; farther to the east, along the Danube is a Serb colony of more than half a million people. These two Slav stretches are linked by the Wallachians and the Saxons of Transylvania.

On three sides, therefore, the Magyars are surrounded by natural enemies. If the Slovaks, occupying the mountain passes, were of a less lukewarm disposition, they would be dangerous opponents, in view of their region being excellently adapted for guerilla warfare.

As things are, however, the Magyars have only to withstand from the north attacks of invading armies from Galicia and Moravia. In the east, on the other hand, the Rumanians and Saxons rose up in a mass and joined the Austrian army corps there. Their situation is an excellent one, partly because of the mountainous nature of the country and partly because they occupy most of the towns and fortresses.

Finally, in the south are the Banat Serbs, supported by the German colonists, the Wallachians and also an Austrian corps, protected by the vast Alibunar morass and almost impregnable.

The Croats are protected by the Drava and the Danube, and since they have at their disposal a strong Austrian army with all its auxiliary resources, they advanced into the Magyar region already before October and now have little difficulty in holding their line of defence on the Lower Drava.

Finally, from the fourth side, from Austria, the serried columns of Windischgrätz and Jellachich are now advancing. The Magyars are encircled on all sides, and encircled by an enemy of vastly superior power.

The fighting is reminiscent of that against France in 1793, but with the difference that the sparsely populated and only half-civilised country of the Magyars is far from having at its disposal the resources which the French Republic then had.

The weapons and munitions manufactured in Hungary are bound to be of very poor quality; in particular, it is impossible for the manufacture of artillery to go ahead rapidly. The country is far smaller than France and every inch of territory lost is therefore a much greater loss. All that is left to the Magyars is their revolutionary enthusiasm, their courage and the energetic, speedy organisation that Kossuth was able to give them.

But for all that, Austria has not yet won.

"If we fail to beat the imperial troops on the Leitha, we shall beat them on the Rabnitz; if not on the Rabnitz, we shall beat them at Pest; if not at Pest, then on the Theiss, but in any case we shall beat them."[a]

So said Kossuth, and he is doing his utmost to keep his word.

Even with the fall of Budapest, the Magyars still have the great Lower Hungarian steppe, a terrain as it were specially created for cavalry guerilla warfare and offering numerous almost unassailable points between the swamps where the Magyars can dig themselves in. And the Magyars, who are almost all horsemen, possess all the qualities needed to wage such a war. If the imperial army dares to enter this desert region, where it will have to obtain all its provisions from Galicia or Austria, for it will find nothing, absolutely nothing on the spot, it is impossible to see how it will be able to hold out. It will achieve nothing in a closed formation; and if it splits up into flying detachments it is lost. Its clumsiness would deliver it irretrievably into the hands of the swift Magyar cavalry detachments, without any possibility of pursuit even if it should be victorious, and every isolated soldier of the imperial army would find a mortal

[a] From Kossuth's speech in the Hungarian parliament on November 9, 1848 (*Közlöny*, November 11, 1848).—*Ed.*

enemy in every peasant, in every herdsman. War in these steppes is like war in Algeria, and the clumsy Austrian army would require years to end it. And the Magyars will be saved if they hold out for only a few months.

The Magyar cause is not in such a bad way as mercenary black-and-yellow[a] enthusiasm would have us believe. The Magyars are not yet defeated. But if they fall, they will fall gloriously, as the last heroes of the 1848 revolution, and only for a short time. Then for a time the Slav counter-revolution will sweep down on the Austrian monarchy with all its barbarity, and the camarilla will see what sort of allies it has. But at the first victorious uprising of the French proletariat, which Louis Napoleon is striving with all his might to conjure up, the Austrian Germans and Magyars will be set free and wreak a bloody revenge on the Slav barbarians. The general war which will then break out will smash this Slav Sonderbund and wipe out all these petty hidebound nations, down to their very names.

The next world war will result in the disappearance from the face of the earth not only of reactionary classes and dynasties, but also of entire reactionary peoples. And that, too, is a step forward.

Written by Engels about January 8, 1849 — Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 194, January 13, 1849

[a] The colours of the Austrian flag.—*Ed.*

## HERR MÜLLER.— RADETZKY'S CHICANERY TOWARDS TESSIN.— THE FEDERAL COUNCIL.—LOHBAUER

*Berne,* January 8. The Neapolitan Government, which is getting more and more worried about the non-arrival of Swiss recruits, has now sent one of its Swiss staff officers, Herr Tobias Müller, here to confer with the Federal Council about the change of the route of the recruits, as the stipulated port of embarcation, Genoa, is closed to them. This Herr Müller is eminently suitable for such a mission. Not only has he fought in Italy against freedom for many years; he had already in 1831 taken up arms in his home town (Freiburg) against the revolution. Radetzky, who knows his men, received him with distinction, embraced him in front of his General Staff, and praised him and the Swiss in Naples in general in glowing terms for their "loyalty to their *King*" (!) and their bravery in the service of their "King". However, Herr Müller will very likely come up against difficulties: even the liberalism which prevails in the Federal Council is no friend to the enlistment agreements,[229] any more than are the liberal governments of Berne and Lucerne.

While Radetzky fraternises with the Swiss in Naples, his chicaneries against Tessin are beginning all over again. He has informed the Government there that Mazzini is still hiding in the canton and has even revealed to it his hiding-place. He further complains that weapons are continuing to be smuggled into Lombardy. The Government has decided to investigate the first point and, if Mazzini is really again in the canton, to expel him; as to the second point, the Government let it lie on the table, since it was not its business to serve the Austrians as frontier guard. Radetzky has incidentally threatened to enforce the closing of the frontier again if smuggling of arms does not cease.

The Federal Council is busy with the draft laws to be put before the next Federal Assembly. Among these are the Customs Law, organisation of postal services, proposals for military organisation, and so on. It must be admitted that while the highly esteemed Frankfurt Assembly in its extravagant helplessness and helpless extravagance has not up to now produced anything but its own *misère,* the Swiss federal authorities are quietly carrying through one bourgeois centralisation step after another. A number of centralising laws will be put before the Councils in March, will be debated and adopted in May and June, and will come into force in June. For such small, detailed reforms the present ruling liberal generation of Swiss politicians (one cannot say statesmen) have an incontestable talent. In a few years the centralisation of Switzerland will be completed as far as the Constitution allows, and then the Constitution itself will become a fetter on the further development of the country, and the one and indivisible republic will become a necessity. All this on the—impossible—supposition that the European storm which is building up will leave Switzerland as neutral as did the year 1848.

But really, what kind of a nation is this, which in a time of revolution like the present is striving for no more than the abolition of cantonal customs, cantonal posts and other cantonal institutions which for many many years past have been heavily oppressive! Which in the midst of the birthpangs of a new historical epoch sees as its highest goal an improved edition of the historically outdated Federal Republic and the *first beginnings,* already necessitated by the Sonderbund war,[230] of bourgeois centralisation! What small beer in the ferment of the glorious European movement!

The Federal Council has moreover taken an extremely strange step. It has again appointed the well-known Herr *Lohbauer* of Berlin as Professor of Military Science. Herr Lohbauer, refugee of 1830, radical, later renegade, was, as is well known, summoned through the Eichhorn clique in the forties to Berlin, where he worked on the *Staats-Zeitung,*[a] on the *Janus* and on other ultra-reactionary and pietist organs of the press. Herr Lohbauer is, if we are not much mistaken, the author of that lackey's kick in the shape of an article in the *Staats-Zeitung* with which Herwegh was thrown out of the royal states after his letter to His Majesty. Herr Lohbauer was never a soldier, and yet he is to lecture here on military science.[231] Only Herr Ochsenbein, who appointed him, can know the meaning of that.

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[a] *Allgemeine Preussische Staats-Zeitung.—Ed.*

In most of the cantons the Great Councils are now in agreement, and fighting against the pettiest local interests. The Zurich Great Council has elected our friend Dr. Alcibiades Escher as Burgomaster (*id est* chief of the Executive). The Berne Great Council will meet on the 15th.

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# THE LAST VOLUNTEER INSURGENTS

*Berne*, January 8. The second instance of the Court of Appeal here has sentenced Herr J. Ph. Becker and Herr H. Hattemer in Biel, the first to one year, the second to six months' exile from the canton, for founding the military association "*Hilf Dir*".[232] The other accused were acquitted. This brings to an end the famous story of the much-talked-of third volunteer insurgents' campaign, and the Central Authority can now once more devote its entire valuable time to the question of the German monarch and the German fleet. God bless their sour efforts for the well-being of the "whole fatherland".

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# BUDGET

*Berne,* January 9. The Cantonal Budget has now been so far discussed in the Government Council that it can be presented to the Great Council which is to assemble shortly. It conforms with other European budgets in also having a deficit, of 43,000 francs out of a total of about 5 million francs. Of these 5 million, about 800,000 francs are covered by revenue from state property, 1,800,000 by indirect taxes, the rest by tolls. Thus the population pays per head almost exactly 4 Swiss francs (1 taler 18 sgr.) in direct taxes, and about $3^1/_2$ francs in indirect taxes. If all the reductions proposed by Finance Director Stämpfli (leader of the local radicals) had gone through, the result would have been a surplus of 80,000 francs instead of a deficit. But this did not suit the liberal majority of the Government Council, who calmly leave it to the aristocrats to make the eternal complaint of the "disastrous financial situation" in order to lay the blame for this on the radical Stämpfli. In reality, the canton's finances were brought into complete disorder and squandered by the notorious Neuhaus Government, and if order has been restored now, we have only Herr Stämpfli to thank for this.

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# PRIESTS' REBELLION

*Neuchâtel,* January 9. We now have a priests' rebellion here. The *vénérable compagnie des pasteurs,*[a] who had led a splendid life among the pious regiment of God's grace—every pastor was the Eichhorn of his parish—have suffered a hard blow through the Republic. That is, the reverend gentlemen must be elected in future by the parishes themselves, and only for a *limited period.* Imagine the alarm! God's word no longer granted by one of God's ordained authorities, but hired out by the hour for ready cash just like a donkey or a day-labourer! The decision is taken, not by God-given will of the Royal Government, but by profane free competition, the pastor sinks to the position of an ordinary hired worker, the flock becomes a profane "employer" and can dismiss its worker if he does not carry out his task to its satisfaction. The indignation of the venerable company exceeds all bounds. They immediately issued a proclamation in which, in the most pitiful and lamentable way, they bleated against the desecration of the most holy. Naturally this only aroused universal derision. But in secret, these gentlemen, the old friends of the Jesuits and the Sonderbund, are intriguing against the Republic and conspiring to restore Frederick William, by the grace of God. The Government is magnanimous enough to allow these impotent machinations to go on for the time being. The patriotic associations will be adequate to counterbalance the ambitions of the priests. These patriotic associations are now forming everywhere. Starting from the mountains, from La Chaux-de-Fonds, Locle and the Traverstal, the home of our revolution,[233] they are spreading all over

[a] The venerable company of pastors.—*Ed.*

the canton. Even the royalist village of Les Ponts has got its own association. This organisation of democracy through the people itself will be the best means of thwarting the plots of all the *bédouins*[a] and priests.

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[a] The local nickname of royalist candidates for election to the Swiss National Council (see this volume, p. 7).—*Ed.*

# THE SWISS PRESS

*Berne,* January 11. Year by year the political press in Switzerland becomes increasingly active. Besides some twenty literary magazines, there are now 98 political newspapers in the 22 cantons. But one should not imagine that among them there are any large-size newspapers like the German or even the French. Except for a few newspapers in the Waadt canton, they are all only half a printed sheet and in quarto, and scarcely a dozen of them are published daily; a small number appear five times, most of them three times and some only once a week. With few exceptions they are all wretchedly managed and written. And, of course, on the restricted basis of cantonal conditions in this country, and in the extremely petty polemics which is the only possible kind here, how can any considerable journalistic talent develop and what really talented journalist would consent to be restricted to these meagre conditions and to the space of a quarto sheet that appears three times a week!

The best quality of the Swiss press is its brazenness. People say such things to one another publicly in the newspapers, make unblushingly such insolent personal attacks, that a Rhenish Public Prosecutor for whom Article 370[a] of the *Code pénal*[234] is sacrosanct would not be able to stand it for three days in such a country.

But that is all. If one leaves out of account this recklessness which, incidentally, is quite without wit or humour, almost nothing is left but the most servile bowing and scraping to the repellent narrow-mindedness of a small nation, which in addition to its smallness is split and immeasurably puffed up—a nation of antediluvian Alpine

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[a] See this volume, p. 317.—*Ed.*

herdsmen, hidebound peasants and disgusting philistines. That in large countries a newspaper takes the lead from its party and never undertakes anything against the interests of the party is quite understandable, and does little harm to freedom of discussion, because every trend, even the most progressive, has its press organs. But in the parochial conditions of Switzerland, the parties themselves are parochial, and the press is just as parochial as the parties. Hence the narrow-minded viewpoints from which everything is looked at; hence the absence of any press organs for trends which are indeed progressive, but which even in Germany have long been current. Hence the fear of even the most radical newspapers to diverge one iota from the narrow-minded programme of their party calculated only on the most immediate future, their fear to attack even the most extreme features of Swiss national narrow-mindedness. Anyone who violated sacred national feeling would immediately be punished by patriarchal lynch justice. What else does the honest Swiss need his fists for?

Such is the average level of the Swiss press. Above this level are the best newspapers of Romance Switzerland and Berne; below this level is the great mass of newspapers of East Switzerland.

Let us begin with the press of the Swiss capital. In Berne a certain centralisation of the Swiss press is already taking place. The press of the canton is already concentrated there and is beginning to a certain extent to gain the influence befitting a capital city.

The chief organ of the reactionary, or as it is called here the aristocratic, party is the *Schweizerischer Beobachter*, which the *Berner-Zeitung* rightly calls the *Moniteur* of Swiss officers in the service of foreign states. This prim little newspaper (issued three times a week) praises the heroic deeds of the Swiss Croats in Italy, attacks the radicals with the dirtiest weapons, defends the enlistment agreements,[235] fulsomely praises the aristocrats, extols Radetzky and Windischgrätz, defends the murder of Robert Blum, slanders the revolution in all countries and denounces refugees to the Government. This noble sheet has really no editor; it is compiled from all kinds of dispatches and items from idle sons of patricians, and from place-seekers of the Municipal Council. A worthy companion to it is the *Intelligenzblatt*, an organ which has on the front page only announcements, while the back page is filled with articles praising the pietism and profit-making of the patrician landowners. *Die Biene* is intended to act as the *Charivari* of this party. But since nowadays the patrician gentlemen on the whole have more to weep over than to laugh at, the humour of this *Biene* is of a terribly dull and lame variety.

The moderate or liberal party, the party of Ochsenbein, has the *Berner Verfassungs-Freund* as its main organ. This newspaper, the editor of which is Dr., formerly Professor, Karl Herzog, is regarded as the semi-official organ of Ochsenbein. Edited by a fairly experienced hand, but without a trace of talent, the newspaper limits itself to defending the actions of the Government and Federal Council, insofar as these actions emanate from the Ochsenbein party. In regard to the eastern cantons, especially the *Ur*-cantons,[236] it is of course fearfully liberal, and even in matters of foreign policy it sometimes issues a resounding trumpet-call in order, behind the warlike tone, to smuggle in the most non-committal neutrality. A more or less obscure newspaper, the *Bundeszeitung*, steers approximately the same course, as does also the French newspaper, *La Suisse*, edited in bad French by the Piedmontese Bassi. While not so directly linked with the Government as the *Verfassungs-Freund*, it is no less zealous in flattering the ruling liberal majority, and with great persistence but little success it attacks the revolutionary press of French Switzerland, in particular the *Nouvelliste Vaudois*. It behaves more decently in regard to the Italian question in which its editor takes a direct part.—These three newspapers appear daily.

The radical party has the largest number of newspapers. At their head is the *Berner-Zeitung*, of which the editor-in-chief is the barrister Niggeler, Vice-President of the Great Council and member of the Council of States. This newspaper is the organ of the markedly radical party of the German part of the canton, represented in the Government Council by Finance Director Stämpfli. Implementation of democracy in the legislation and administration of the canton, from which much ancient rubbish has still to be removed, the greatest possible centralisation throughout Switzerland, abandonment of the policy of neutrality at the first opportunity—these are the main principles in the editing of this newspaper.

The most eminent representatives of Berne radicalism participate in this work, and it is therefore not surprising that the *Berner-Zeitung* is the best edited newspaper not only in the canton, but in the whole of German Switzerland. If the editors and contributors could write quite freely the newspaper would be much better still, the one and indivisible Helvetian republic[237] would come into prominence, with a very red coloration at that; but that cannot be done just now; the party would not yet tolerate it. Appearing alongside the *Berner-Zeitung* from January 1, and also daily, is *L'Helvétie fédérale*, the successor of the newspaper *Helvétie*, formerly published in Pruntrut[a]

[a] The French name is Porrentruy.—*Ed.*

in the Jura, organ of the Jura radicals and their leader, Colonel Stockmar, a member of the Government Council. The old *Helvétie* was definitely red; the new one is equally so, indeed in an even more marked degree.

The *Schweizer Zeitung* (previously *Der Freie Schweizer*) is likewise a representative of radicalism, but exclusively of the bourgeois variety, and therefore restricts itself wholly to demanding economic reforms which are advantageous to the ruling, propertied class. For the rest, however, this newspaper too goes beyond the usual Swiss cantonal narrow-mindedness (neutrality, sovereignty of the cantons etc.). Besides these three dailies, the Berne radicals have also a humorous newspaper, and in fact the only good one in Switzerland—the *Gukkasten* of Jenni. The *Gukkasten* (a weekly) restricts itself purely to Swiss and, particularly, Berne canton interests, but precisely for this reason it has succeeded in becoming a power in the land, so that it played an important part in the fall of the Neuhaus Government and is now trying to ensure that the Ochsenbein party does not remain at the helm too long. The merciless wit by which Jenni seeks to strip the halo of popularity from every one of the governing personalities, including Ochsenbein himself, has brought him innumerable court cases and vexations under the Neuhaus Government, and subsequently threatening letters and savage attacks. But all in vain, and the highly placed gentlemen of Berne still await the appearance of each fresh Saturday issue of the *Gukkasten* with considerable trepidation. When Blum was shot, the *Gukkasten*'s weekly cartoon depicted an executioner's block and axe, surrounded by a mass of broken crowns, with the caption: "The only remedy." When the sedate bourgeois of Berne waxed indignant over this, it was followed by a cartoon in the next issue showing a lamp-post with a crown dangling from it, and with the caption: "*Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*[a]—in memory of Messenhauser!"

Until the New Year, the *Seeländer Anzeiger*, published by J. A. Weingart, a member of the National Council and the Great Council, was the sole representative of socialism. The *Seeländer Anzeiger* preaches a curious mixture of tearfully sentimental and philanthropic socialism with red revolution. It keeps the former for the Berne canton, but speaks of the latter as soon as it deals with foreign countries. As regards literary form, this weekly is one of the worst edited periodicals of the canton. For the rest, in spite of the Christian soft-hearted outpourings of his soul, Herr Weingart in politics supports the most outspoken radicalism. Since the New Year, the

[a] Mild in manner, radical in substance.—*Ed.*

*Seeländer Anzeiger* has had a rival in the shape of another weekly, *Der Unabhängige*, which it is true has set itself a rather thankless task: in the conditions of the Berne canton and Switzerland in general to find starting points for propaganda of the fundamentals of socialism and to propose measures for getting rid of at least the most blatant evils. At any rate, this little newspaper is the only one in the whole of Switzerland which has adopted the right course to gain support for its ideas in this country, and if its chances of success are in proportion to the fury it has already aroused among the high and highest authorities, then its prospects are by no means bad.

Of the newspapers published outside the city, I shall mention only one: the *Evolution*, as Becker, the leader of the volunteer insurgents, has now renamed his *Revolution*.[a] This most outspoken of all the newspapers published in Switzerland alone calls for a new European revolution, for which it tries to win supporters among its entourage. By way of thanks, the peaceful burghers detest it, and it finds few readers, apart from the German refugees in Switzerland, Besançon and Alsace.

In a forthcoming article I shall examine in more detail the newspapers published outside Berne.[238]

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[a] See this volume, p. 205.—*Ed.*

# PROTECTIONIST AGITATION.— RECRUITING INTO THE NEAPOLITAN ARMY

*Berne*, January 12. The protective tariff agitation in Switzerland is growing more and more lively, and so, in the same proportion, is the movement in the interest of preserving the free trade system which has existed up to now. The arguments of both sides are equally excellent and it is very hard to see how Switzerland will extricate itself from the dilemma. The protectionist party points to the yearly increasing pressure of foreign competition on home industry and the proportionately vanishing prospects for providing work for the growing unemployed population. As against this the free traders stress the price increases of industrial products, affecting the agricultural majority of the people, and the impossibility for a nation of two million people to protect a border as extended, and as suitable for smuggling, as the Swiss border, without ruinous expense. Both parties are perfectly right; without protective tariffs one branch of Swiss industry after another is ruined; with protective tariffs the federal finances are ruined. To unite both, the *Berner Verfassungs-Freund* proposes a *juste-milieu* tariff which would ruin both together. In March the Federal Councils will have to break their teeth on the impossible solution of this problem.

In Geneva for some time past, Neapolitan recruiting officers were seen going around trying to raise recruits for the service of His Bombarding Majesty.[239] Ferdinand must need the sturdy Swiss very badly if he even allows recruiting in cantons with which he has no enlistment agreement. But the Geneva Government soon put an end to these activities. It declared all engagements already entered into as null and void, forbade all recruiting, and threatened the recruiting officers with harsh punishment. The mercenaries of the Neapolitan hyena thereupon withdrew in all haste from the Geneva area.

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# MÜLLER.—THE FREIBURG GOVERNMENT.—OCHSENBEIN

*Berne*, January 13. The great Herr Tobias Müller has at last arrived in the canton of Uri and is demanding from the Government that the depot of Neapolitan recruits, which was previously in Genoa, now be moved to Altorf, from whence he will send them by one route or another to Naples. It is not known whether the Government will agree to his demands; even if it does, it is still questionable whether the other governments bound by the enlistment agreement will be satisfied with the proposed move.—A troop of Lucerne recruits are, it is said, to be forwarded via Trieste to Naples, to the scandal of the whole civilised world.

The Freiburg Government, which in general is guilty of strangely arbitrary actions, has again, despite the new Federal Constitution, had a Schwyz canton citizen deported. Already earlier it had just as unceremoniously thrown out Herr Sieber of Zurich, editor of the *Wächter* of Murten, and present co-editor of the *Berner-Zeitung*. Both cases will come before the Federal Assembly, and it is hoped it will see that the Constitution is respected.

A wonder has come to pass: the press organ of the neutral Herr Ochsenbein, the *Verfassungs-Freund*, recognises repentantly that the Tessiners were not so much in the wrong in their quarrels with Radetzky and the East-Swiss troops.[a] He stammers his *pater, peccavi*[b] and tries to cover the matter up with an *Iliacos intra peccatur muros et extra*.[c] And yet the Tessin government councillors are the most confirmed anti-neutralists among the supporters of what Ochsen-

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[a] See this volume, p. 136.—*Ed.*
[b] Father, I have sinned.—*Ed.*
[c] Sins are committed inside and outside the walls of Ilion.—*Ed.*

bein, in a malicious appeal to Swiss narrow-mindedness, calls "foreign policy". But the Tessiners have become very popular in Berne as a result of the reports of the Berne soldiers, and Herr Ochsenbein has got to remain popular in Berne; and finally, this is the bottom of the business, the Federal Council, without any cause, has just *made* the canton of Tessin again *responsible* for all further complications with Radetzky. But whenever Herr Ochsenbein perpetrates in the Federal Council a practical dirty trick, the *Verfassungs-Freund* must, in theory, clothe it in magnanimous and noble language. That's how they rule the stupid peasants in this country. Oh, democracy!

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# MONTESQUIEU LVI[240]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 201, January 21, 1849]

*Cologne*, January 20. The "honourable" *Joseph Dumont* allows an anonymous writer, who is not paid by him but pays him and who in the feature section seeks to influence the *primary electors*, to address the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in the following way[a]:

"The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the *Organ of Democracy*, has been pleased to take notice of the articles published in this paper under the title 'To the Primary Electors', and to state that they were taken from the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*.[241]

"In face of this *lie*, we simply declare that these articles are paid for *as advertisements*, and that, with the exception of the first one, taken from the *Parlaments-Korrespondenz*, they were written in Cologne and their author has up to now not even seen, let alone read, the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*."

We understand how important it is for Montesquieu LVI to authenticate his *property*. We also understand how important for Herr Dumont is the statement that he is "*paid*" even for the leaflets and advertisements which he sets up, prints and distributes in the interest of his class, the *bourgeoisie*.

As for the anonymous writer, he is aware of the French saying: "Les beaux esprits se rencontrent."[b] It is not his fault that his own intellectual products and those of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* and of the "Prussian associations"[242] are as alike as two peas.

We *have never read* his advertisements in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, but the leaflets produced by Dumont's printing-house and sent to us from various quarters, we deemed worthy of a casual glance. Now,

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[a] Here follows the statement by the *Kölnische Zeitung* editors published in their paper on January 20, 1849 (issue No. 17), following the address "To the Primary Electors".—*Ed.*

[b] Great minds think alike.—*Ed.*

however, comparison has shown us that the same stuff plays the simultaneous role of advertisement and leaflet.

In order to atone for the injustice we have done to the anonymous Montesquieu LVI we have imposed upon ourselves the harsh penance of reading all his advertisements in the *Kölnische Zeitung* and making his intellectual private property available to the German public as "common property".[243]

*Here is wisdom!*

Montesquieu LVI is chiefly concerned with the *social question.* He has found the "easiest and simplest way" to *solve* it, and he extols his Morison pill[244] with the most unctuous, naively shameless pathos of a quack.

"The easiest and simplest way, however, to achieve this" (that is the solution of the social question) "is to accept the Constitution imposed on December 5 last year, revise it, then make everyone swear allegiance to it, and thus to establish it. *This is our only way to salvation. Consequently,* any man who has a sympathetic heart for the misery of his poor brothers, who wants to feed the hungry and clothe the naked ... anyone, in short, who *wants to solve the social question*[a] ... *should not vote for anyone who is opposed to the Constitution*" (Montesquieu LVI).

Vote for Brandenburg-Manteuffel-Ladenberg, and the *social question* will be solved in the "simplest" and "easiest way"! Vote for Dumont, Camphausen, Wittgenstein or else for *dii minorum gentium*[b] such as Compes and Mevissen—and the *social question* will be solved! The "social question" for *a vote*! He who "wants to feed the hungry and clothe the naked" should vote for Hansemann and Stupp! One social question less for each vote! Acceptance of the imposed Constitution—*voilà la solution du problème social!*[c]

We do not for a moment doubt that neither Montesquieu LVI nor his patrons in the citizens' associations will wait for the imposed Constitution to be accepted, revised, sworn, and promulgated before "feeding the hungry and clothing the naked".[245] Measures have already been taken to this end.

During the last few weeks circulars have been distributed here in which capitalists inform craftsmen, shopkeepers etc. that, in view of the present state of affairs and the revival of credit, the rate of interest, for philanthropical reasons, has been raised from 4 to 5 per cent. First solution of the social question!

The Municipal Council here has in the same spirit drawn up a "*Worker's Card*" for the unfortunate people who must either starve

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[a] In the *Kölnische Zeitung*: "social questions".—*Ed.*

[b] The gods of minor nations.—*Ed.*

[c] There is the solution of the social problem!—*Ed.*

or sell their hands to the city (cf. No. 187 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*[a]). It will be remembered that under this Charter imposed on the workers, the worker who has lost his job is bound by contract to place himself under *police surveillance.* Second solution of the social question!

Shortly after the March events, the Municipal Council established an eating-house in Cologne at cost prices, beautifully furnished, with fine rooms that could be heated etc. *After* the granting of the Constitution other premises were substituted for this, premises managed by the poor-law administration, where there is no heating, no crockery, where food may not be consumed on the spot and where a quart of indescribable gruel costs eight pfennigs. Third solution of the social question!

While they ruled Vienna the workers guarded the Bank, the houses and the wealth of the bourgeois who had fled. These same bourgeois, on their return, denounced these workers to Windischgrätz as "robbers" who ought to be *hanged.* The unemployed who applied to the Municipal Council were put into the army to fight Hungary. Fourth solution of the social question!

In Breslau the wretched people who were obliged to seek refuge in the poor-house were calmly exposed to cholera by the Municipal Council and the Government, which deprived them of the most essential physical necessaries of life, and took notice of the victims of their cruel charity only when they themselves were attacked by the disease. Fifth solution of the social question!

In the Berlin Association "with God for King and Fatherland",[246] a supporter of the imposed Constitution declared that it was distressing that in order to further one's interests and plans one still had to pay compliments to the "*proletariat*".

That is the solution of the "solution of the social question"!

"The Prussian spies are so dangerous because they are never paid but are always hoping to be paid," says our friend Heine. And the Prussian bourgeois are so dangerous because they never pay but always promise to pay.

During an election the English and French bourgeois spend quite a lot of money. Their corrupt practices are well known. The Prussian bourgeois "are the most shrewd"! They are much too virtuous and upright to dip into their pocket; they pay with the "*solution of the social question*". And that costs nothing. Montesquieu LVI, however, as Dumont officially assures us, pays at least for the advertisements

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[a] See this volume, pp. 218-21.—*Ed.*

in the *Kölnische Zeitung* and adds—gratis—the solution of the "*social questions*".

The practical part of our Montesquieu's *petites œuvres* thus boils down to the following: Vote for Brandenburg-Manteuffel-Ladenberg! Elect Camphausen-Hansemann! Send us to Berlin, just let our people establish themselves there. That is the *solution of the social question*!

The immortal *Hansemann* has solved these questions. First, the establishment of law and order to revive credit. Then, the solution of the "social question" with powder and shot, as in 1844, when "my dear Silesian weavers ought to be helped"![247]

Vote therefore for the friends of the imposed Constitution!

But Montesquieu LVI accepts the imposed Constitution only to be able afterwards to "revise" and "swear allegiance to it"!

My dear Montesquieu! Once you have accepted the Constitution you can revise it only on its own basis, that is insofar as it suits the King and the Second Chamber consisting of country squires, financial magnates, high-ranking officials and clerics. This only possible revision has been judiciously indicated already in the imposed Constitution itself. It consists in abandoning the constitutional system and restoring the former Christian-Germanic *system of estates.*

*After* the acceptance of the imposed Constitution this is the only possible and only permitted revision, which cannot have escaped the shrewd Montesquieu.

Thus the *petites œuvres* of Montesquieu LVI, in their practical part, amount to this: Vote for Hansemann-Camphausen! Vote for Dumont-Stupp! Vote for Brandenburg-Manteuffel! Accept the imposed Constitution! Elect delegates who accept the imposed Constitution—and all this under the pretext of solving "the social question".

What the hell does the pretext matter to us, when it is a question of the imposed Constitution.

But our Montesquieu of course prefaces his practical instructions for the solution of "the social question", the quintessence of his monumental work, with a theoretical part. Let us examine this theoretical part.

The profound thinker explains first *what the "social questions" are.*

"What then, in effect, is the social question?

"Man must and wants to live.

"To live he needs dwellings, clothes and food.

"Dwellings and clothes are not produced by nature at all, and only a scanty and by no means sufficient amount of food grows naturally.

"Hence man himself must procure everything to satisfy these needs.

"This he does by labour.

"*Labour, therefore, is the first condition of our life; without labour we cannot live.*

"Among primitive peoples everybody built his own hut, made his own clothes from animal skins and gathered fruit for his meals. That was the primitive state.

"But if man needs nothing beyond shelter, clothes and food, if he satisfies merely his *physical* wants, then he remains at the same level as the animals, for animals can do this too.

"But man is a higher being than an animal, he needs more, he needs joy, he must raise himself to moral values. But he can do that only if he lives in society.

"But once men began to live in societies entirely new conditions arose. They soon perceived that work was much easier when each individual performed only one particular job. Thus, one made clothes, another built houses, a third provided food, and the first gave the second what he lacked. The various social estates of men thus developed automatically, one becoming a hunter, another a craftsman, and a third a cultivator. But men did not stop at this, for humanity must go forward. People began to invent. They invented spinning and weaving, they learned to forge iron and tan hides. The more inventions were made the more diverse did the crafts become, and the easier did farming become with the aid of the plough and spade which the handicrafts gave it. One thing helped another and everything was interconnected. Then intercourse started with neighbouring peoples; one people had what the other needed, and the latter possessed things the former lacked. These were exchanged. Thus *trading* arose, that is a new branch of human activity. Thus culture advanced step by step; from the first clumsy inventions through the centuries down to the inventions of our day.

"Thus, the sciences and the arts arose among men and life became ever richer and more varied. The physician treated the sick, the clergyman preached, the merchant traded, the farmer tilled the land, the gardener grew flowers, the mason built houses, for which the carpenter made the furniture, the miller ground flour from which the baker baked bread. Everything was interconnected, no one could live in isolation, nobody could satisfy all his needs himself.

"These are the social relations.

"They have arisen quite naturally of their own accord. And if today you make a revolution which destroys the very foundations of these relations, and if tomorrow you start life anew, *then relations exactly the same as the present ones will arise again.* This has been so for thousands of years among all the nations on earth. And if anyone draws a distinction between the workers and the bourgeoisie this is a *big lie. We all work,* each in his own way, each according to his strength and abilities. The physician works when he visits the sick, the musician when he plays a dance tune, the merchant when he writes his letters. Everyone works, each at his job."

*Here is wisdom! He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.*[a]

*What, then, in effect is the situation with the physiological question?*

Every corporeal being presupposes a certain weight, density etc. Every organic body consists of various component parts, each of which performs its own special function, and reciprocal interaction takes place between the organs.

"*These are physiological relations.*"

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[a] Matthew 11 : 15.—*Ed.*

Montesquieu LVI cannot be denied an original talent for simplifying science. He ought to be granted a patent (without government guarantee).

The products of labour cannot be produced without labour. One cannot reap without sowing, one cannot have yarn without weaving etc.

Europe will bend in admiration before the great genius who here, in Cologne, without any aid from the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* has himself brought these truths to light.

In their work men enter into certain relations with one another. There takes place a *division of labour* which may be more or less diversified. One person bakes, another forges iron, one person agitates [*wühlt*], another wails [*heult*],[248] Montesquieu LVI writes and Dumont prints. *Adam Smith*, acknowledge thy master!

These discoveries, that *labour* and the *division of labour* are essential conditions of life of every human society, enable Montesquieu LVI to draw the conclusion that the existence of the "*various social estates*" is quite natural, that the distinction between "bourgeoisie and proletariat" is a "*big lie*", that even if a "*revolution*" were completely to destroy the existing "social relations" today, "*relations exactly the same as the present ones will arise again*", and finally that for anyone who has "a sympathetic heart for the misery of his poor brothers" and who wishes to gain the respect of Montesquieu LVI, it is absolutely necessary to elect delegates in keeping with the ideas of Manteuffel and the imposed Constitution.

"*This has been so for thousands of years among all the nations on earth*"*!!!* In Egypt there was labour and division of labour—and *castes*; in Greece and Rome labour and division of labour—and *free men and slaves*; in the Middle Ages labour and division of labour—and *feudal lords* and *serfs, guilds, social estates* etc. In our day there is labour and division of labour—and *classes*, one of which owns all means of production and all means of subsistence, while the other lives only so long as it sells its labour,[249] and it sells its labour only so long as the employing class enriches itself by purchasing this labour.

Is it not obvious, therefore, that "*for thousands of years it has been the same among all the nations on earth*" as it is in *Prussia* today, since *labour and division of labour* have always existed in one form or another? Or is it, on the contrary, evident that the social relations, the property relations, were always overthrown by the constantly changing method of labour and division of labour?

In 1789 the bourgeois did not tell feudal society that an aristocrat should remain an aristocrat, a serf a serf and a guildsman a guildsman—because there is no society without labour and division

of labour. There is no life without breathing of air. Hence, argues Montesquieu LVI, breathe the stuffy air and do not open any window.

One must possess the naively clumsy insolence of a German imperial philistine grown grey in crass ignorance to contribute oracular pronouncements upon problems on which our century is breaking its teeth, after having rammed the first elements of political economy—labour and division of labour—in a superficial and distorted manner into his inert head.

"There is no society without labour and division of labour.

*Therefore*

"Elect friends of the imposed Prussian Constitution, and only friends of the imposed Constitution, as delegates."

This epitaph some day will be inscribed in large letters on the walls of the magnificent marble mausoleum which a grateful posterity will feel obliged to erect for Montesquieu LVI (not to be confused with Henry CCLXXXIV of Reuss-Schleiz-Greiz-Lobenstein-Eberswalde[a]) who solved the social question.

Montesquieu LVI does not conceal from us "*where the difficulty lies*" and what he intends to do as soon as he is proclaimed a lawgiver.

"*The state,*" he teaches us, "*must see to it that everybody receives sufficient education to be able to learn something useful in this world.*"

Montesquieu LVI has never heard that under existing conditions the division of labour replaces complex labour by simple labour, the labour of adults by that of children, the labour of men by that of women, the labour of the independent workers by automatons; that, in proportion as modern industry develops, the education of workers becomes unnecessary and impossible. We refer the Montesquieu of Cologne neither to *Saint-Simon* nor to *Fourier* but to *Malthus* and *Ricardo*. This worthy should first acquaint himself with the rudiments of present-day conditions before trying to improve them and making oracular utterances.

"*The community must take care of people who have been reduced to poverty as a result of illness or old age.*"

And if the community itself is reduced to poverty which will be the inevitable result of the 100-million tax imposed simultaneously with the new Constitution and the epidemically recurring states of siege—what then, Montesquieu?

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[a] An allusion to Henry LXXII, Prince of Reuss-Lobenstein-Ebersdorf.—*Ed.*

*"When new inventions or commercial crises destroy entire industries the state must come to their assistance and find remedies."*

Little versed as he may be in the things of this world, it can hardly have escaped the Montesquieu of Cologne that "new inventions" and commercial crises are features just as permanent as the Prussian ministerial decrees and legal basis. New inventions, especially in Germany, are only introduced when competition with other nations makes it vital to introduce them; and should the newly arising branches of industry be expected to ruin themselves in order to render assistance to the declining ones? The new industries that come into being as a result of inventions come into being precisely because they can produce more cheaply than the declining industries. What the deuce would be the advantage if they had to feed the declining industries? But it is well known that the state, the Government, only seems to give. It has to be given something first in order to give. But who should give to it, Montesquieu LVI? The declining industry, so that it declines even faster? Or the rising industry, so that it withers even as it rises? Or those industries that have not been affected by the new inventions, so that they go bankrupt because of the invention of a new tax? Think it over carefully, Montesquieu LVI!

And what about the commercial crises, my dear man? When a European commercial crisis occurs the Prussian state is above all anxious to extract the last drops, by means of distraint etc., from the usual sources of revenue. Poor Prussian state! In order to neutralise the effect of commercial crises, the Prussian state would have to possess, in addition to national labour, a third source of income in Cloud-Cuckoo-Land. If royal New-Year greetings,[a] Wrangel's army orders or Manteuffel's ministerial decrees could indeed conjure up money, then the "*refusal to pay taxes*" would not have caused such panic among the Prussian "well-beloved loyal subjects", and the social question, too, would have been solved without an imposed Constitution.

It will be remembered that the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* called our *Hansemann a communist* because he intended to do away with exemption from taxation. In Cologne our Montesquieu, who has never read the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, has *all by himself* conceived the idea of calling everyone a "communist" and "red republican" who endangers the imposed Constitution. Therefore, vote for Manteuffel, or you are not only personal enemies of labour and the division of labour, but also communists and red republicans.

[a] See this volume, pp. 222-26.—*Ed.*

Acknowledge Brüggemann's latest "legal basis" or renounce the *Code civil.*[250]

*Figaro, tu n'aurais pas trouvé ça!*[a]

More about Montesquieu LVI tomorrow.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 202, January 22, 1849]

*Cologne,* January 21. With the sly petty cunning of an experienced *horse-dealer, Montesquieu LVI* seeks to sell the "gift horse", the imposed Constitution, to the primary electors. He is the Montesquieu of the horse-fair.

Anyone not wanting the imposed Constitution wants a republic, and not just a republic, but a red republic! Unfortunately, the issue in our elections is least of all a republic, or a red republic; it is simply this:

Do you want the old *absolutism* together with a refurbished *system of social estates,* or do you want a bourgeois *system of representation*? Do you want a political constitution in keeping with the "existing social relations" of past centuries, or do you want a political constitution in keeping with the "existing social relations" of your century?

In this case, therefore, it is least of all a question of fighting against bourgeois property relations similar to the struggle that is taking place in France and is being prepared in England; rather it is a question of a struggle against a political constitution which endangers "*bourgeois* property relations" by surrendering the helm of state to the representatives of "*feudal* property relations", to the King by the grace of God, the army, the bureaucracy, the country squires, and a few financial magnates and philistines who are allied with them.

Beyond a doubt, the imposed Constitution has solved the social question in keeping with the views of these gentlemen.

What is the "*social question*" as understood by the *government official*? It is the maintenance of his salary and his present position, which is superior to the people.

What is the "*social question*" as understood by the nobility and its big landowners? It is the maintenance of the hitherto existing feudal rights of the landowners, seizure of the most lucrative posts in the army and civil service by the families of the landed nobility, and

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[a] Figaro, you would not have found that out! An allusion to "*Ah, Figaro, pends-toi; tu n'as pas deviné celui-là!*" (Figaro, hang yourself; you didn't find that one!) from Beaumarchais' comedy *La folle journée, ou le mariage de Figaro,* Act V, Scene 8.— *Ed.*

finally direct alms from the public purse. Apart from these palpable *material* and therefore "*most sacred*" interests of the gentlemen "with God for King and Fatherland"[a] it is for them, of course, also a question of preserving those social privileges which distinguish their race from the inferior race of the bourgeois, peasants and plebeians. The old National Assembly was dispersed precisely because it dared to lay hands on these "most sacred interests". As we have already indicated, these gentlemen, by "revision" of the imposed Constitution, understand simply the introduction of a *system of social estates*, that is to say, a form of political constitution representing the "social" interests of the feudal aristocracy, the bureaucracy and the monarchy by the grace of God.

We repeat, there is not the slightest doubt that the imposed Constitution solves the "social question" in keeping with the views of the aristocracy and the bureaucracy, in other words, it presents these gentlemen with a form of government which ensures the exploitation of the people by these demigods.

But has the imposed Constitution solved the "social question" from the standpoint of the *bourgeoisie*? In other words, does the bourgeoisie receive a political system enabling if freely to administer the affairs of its class as a whole, i.e. the interests of commerce, industry and agriculture, to make the most productive use of public funds, to manage the state budget as cheaply as possible, to protect national labour effectively from without, and within the country to open up all sources of national wealth silted by feudal mud?

Does history provide a single example showing that under a king imposed by the grace of God, the bourgeoisie ever succeeded in achieving a political system in keeping with its material interests?

In order to establish a constitutional monarchy it was twice compelled to get rid of the Stuarts in Britain, and the hereditary Bourbons in France, and to expel William of Orange from Belgium.[251]

What is the reason for this?

A hereditary king by the grace of God is not a particular individual but the physical representative of the old society within the new society. State power in the hands of a king by the grace of God is state power in the hands of the old society existing now merely as a ruin; it is state power in the hands of the feudal social estates, whose interests are profoundly antagonistic to those of the bourgeoisie.

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[a] A quotation from Frederick William III's decree of March 17, 1813, on organising the army reserve.—*Ed.*

But it is precisely the "*King by the grace of God*" who forms the basis of the imposed Constitution.

Just as the feudal strata of society regard the monarchy by the grace of God as their *political apex*, so does the monarchy by the grace of God regard the feudal estates as its *social foundation*, the well-known "*monarchical wall*".[252]

Therefore, whenever the interests of the feudal lords and of the army and bureaucracy controlled by them clash with the interests of the bourgeoisie, the monarchy by the grace of God will invariably be impelled to a coup d'état and a revolutionary or counter-revolutionary crisis will arise.

Why was the National Assembly dispersed? Only because it upheld the interests of the bourgeoisie against the interests of feudalism; because it wanted to abolish the feudal relations hampering agriculture, to subordinate the army and bureaucracy to trade and industry, to stop the squandering of public funds and abolish aristocratic and bureaucratic titles.

All these were questions *chiefly* and *directly* affecting the *interests of the bourgeoisie.*

Thus, *coups d'état* and *counter-revolutionary crises* are vital conditions for the monarchy by the grace of God, which the March and similar events compelled to humiliate itself and reluctantly to accept the semblance of a bourgeois monarchy.

Can *credit* ever revive again under a political system which inevitably culminates in coups d'état, counter-revolutionary crises and states of siege?

What a delusion!

Bourgeois industry *must* burst the fetters of absolutism and feudalism. A revolution against both only demonstrates that bourgeois industry has reached a level when it must either win an appropriate political system or perish.

The system of bureaucratic tutelage guaranteed by the imposed Constitution spells *death* for industry. It is sufficient to look at the Prussian administration of mines, the factory regulations etc. When an English manufacturer compares his costs of production with those of a Prussian manufacturer, he will always first of all note the time losses which the Prussian manufacturer incurs because he has to observe bureaucratic rules.

What sugar-refiner does not remember the Prussian trade agreement with the Netherlands in 1839?[253] What Prussian factory owner does not blush at the memory of 1846, when the Prussian Government in deference to the Austrian Government banned exports to *Galicia* for a whole province, and when one bankruptcy

after another occurred in Breslau the Prussian Government declared with astonishment that it had had no idea that there were such important exports to Galicia etc.!

Men of the same race are placed at the helm of state by the imposed Constitution, and this "gift" itself comes from the same men. Consequently, examine it twice.

The Galicia adventure draws our attention to another point.

At that time the counter-revolutionary Prussian Government in league with Austria and Russia sacrificed Silesian industry and Silesian trade.[254] This manoeuvre will be constantly repeated. The banker of the Prussian-Austrian-Russian counter-revolution, from which the monarchy by the grace of God with its monarchical walls will always have to seek *outside* support, is *England.* The same *England* is German industry's most dangerous opponent. These two facts, we believe, speak for themselves.

At home, an industry fettered by bureaucracy and an agriculture fettered by feudal privileges; abroad, a trade sold by the counter-revolution to England—such is the fate of Prussia's national wealth under the aegis of the imposed Constitution.

The report of the "Financial Commission" of the dispersed National Assembly has thrown sufficient light on the management of national wealth by the grace of God.

The report however mentions only by way of example the sums taken from the treasury to support the tottering monarchical walls and gild foreign pretenders to the absolute monarchy (Don Carlos). But these monies, purloined from the pockets of the rest of the citizens to enable the aristocracy to live in appropriate style and to keep the "buttresses" of the feudal monarchy in good condition, are only of secondary importance compared with the state budget imposed simultaneously with Manteuffel's Constitution. The main features of the imposed state budget are, first of all, a *strong army* to enable the minority to rule the majority; as large an army as possible of officials so that as many of them as possible, by virtue of their private interests, are alienated from the common interest; unproductive employment of public monies in order that wealth, as the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* says, should not make the *subjects* overbold; immobilisation wherever possible of public monies instead of employing them in industry in order that at easily predictable moments of crisis the Government by the grace of God should independently confront the people. The basic principle of the imposed Prussian Constitution is to use the taxes for maintaining the state power as an oppressive, independent and sacred force contraposed to industry, commerce and agri-

culture, instead of *degrading* it into a profane *tool* of bourgeois society.

The gift is worthy of the donor. The Constitution is of a piece with the present Prussian Government that presented it. To characterise *this Government's hostility towards the bourgeoisie* it is sufficient to point to its proposed *trade regulations*. On the pretext of *advancing towards association* the Government attempts to *return to the guild system*. Competition compels the manufacturer to produce more and more cheaply and therefore on a constantly increasing scale, i.e. with *more capital*, with a continuously *expanding division of labour* and constantly *increasing use of machinery*. Every new division of labour depreciates the traditional skill of the craftsmen, every new machine ousts hundreds of workers, production on a larger scale, that is with more capital, ruins small trade and petty-bourgeois enterprise. The Government promises to protect the handicrafts against the factories, acquired skills against division of labour, and small capital against big capital, by means of *feudal guild institutions*. Thus, the German nation, particularly the Prussian, which only with the utmost difficulty and effort resists complete defeat by English competition, is to become its defenceless prey, forced to accept a form of trade organisation that is incompatible with modern means of production and is already burst wide open by modern industry.

We are certainly the last people to desire the rule of the bourgeoisie. We were the first in Germany to raise our voice against the bourgeoisie when today's "men of action" were spending their time complacently in petty squabbles.

But we say to the workers and the petty bourgeois: it is better to suffer in modern bourgeois society, which by its industry creates the material means for the foundation of a new society that will liberate you all, than to revert to a bygone form of society, which, on the pretext of saving your classes, thrusts the entire nation back into medieval barbarism.

But medieval social estates and conditions are, as we have seen, the *social foundation* of the Government by the grace of God. This Government is unsuitable for modern bourgeois society. It necessarily tries to create a society in its own image. It is *entirely consistent* when it attempts to replace free competition by the guild system, mechanical spinning by the spinning-wheel and the steam plough by the hoe.

Why is it then that, under these circumstances, the Prussian bourgeoisie, in complete contrast to its French, English and Belgian predecessors, proclaims as its shibboleth the imposed Constitution

(and with it the monarchy by the grace of God, the bureaucracy and the junkers)?

The commercial and industrial sections of the bourgeoisie throw themselves into the arms of the counter-revolution for fear of the revolution. As though counter-revolution were not the overture to revolution.

There is moreover a section of the *bourgeoisie* that, quite indifferent to the interests of its class as a whole, pursues its own particular interests, which may even be inimical to those of its class.

These are financial magnates, big creditors of the state, bankers, and rentiers, whose wealth increases proportionately to the poverty of the people, and finally men whose business depends on the old political structure, e.g. *Dumont* and his literary lumpenproletariat. These are ambitious professors, lawyers and similar persons, who can only hope to obtain respectable posts in a state where betrayal of the people's interests to the Government is a lucrative business.

These are individual manufacturers who do well out of their transactions with the Government; contractors whose considerable profits depend on the general exploitation of the people; philistines who lose their importance in political life on a large scale; local councillors who under cover of the old institutions arrange their private shady affairs at the expense of the public; oil merchants who by betrayal of the revolution have become Excellencies and Knights of the Eagle[a]; bankrupt cloth merchants and speculators in railway shares who have become royal bank directors[b] etc., etc.

"It is they who are the friends of the imposed Constitution." If the bourgeoisie has a *sympathetic heart for these poor brothers* and if it wants to be worthy of the respect of Montesquieu LVI, then it should elect *delegates in keeping with the imposed Constitution.*

Written by Marx on January 20-21, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Nos. 201 and 202, January 21 and 22, 1849

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[a] Probably an allusion to the supporters of the Prussian royal house, whose coat of arms featured an eagle.—*Ed.*

[b] An allusion to Camphausen and Hansemann.—*Ed.*

# [ANSWER FROM COLONEL ENGELS][255]

*Cologne.* We have received from Colonel Engels the following answer to our question of two days ago.

"To the insertion in No. 203 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* the answer is No.

"Only private persons have permitted themselves to express the opinion, unlawful in my view, that not enough by a long chalk has been done to these houses by the soldiers.

"*Cologne,* January 24, 1849

*Engels,* Colonel,
2nd Commandant

"To the esteemed editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.*"

We will very likely have new questions to put to Herr Engels in the next few days, and particularly about the elections.

Written by Engels on January 25, 1849

First published in the supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 205, January 26, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# THE PRUSSIAN WARRANT FOR THE ARREST OF KOSSUTH

*Cologne*, January 21. We have just received the following edifying document published in the *Oppelner Kreisblatt*:

"*Warrant of Arrest.* According to a statement of the royal imperial Austrian governmental commission in Cracow, measures have been taken in Hungary to enable Kossuth under a false name to reach Hamburg via Breslau. It is supposed that he will take the route through Myslowitz, Gleiwitz and Kosel.

"On the basis of instructions from the Herr *Oberpräsident* of the province of Silesia, I order all police authorities, local courts and gendarmerie to keep a sharp look-out for Kossuth, whose description is given below, and in the event of his appearance on their territory to arrest him and to deliver him to me safely for further steps."

(Here follows, as already stated, Kossuth's description.) This edifying document is signed:

"Oppeln, January 17, 1849

Royal *Landrat Hoffmann*"

What have our readers to say to that? The Manteuffels of Upper Silesia by the grace of God would be quite pleased to arrest the great agitator Kossuth if he were defeated and succeeded in crossing the frontier, and to deliver him to his executioners for the speediest pardon with gunpowder and shot. If Kossuth is in actual fact handed over, this will be *the most foul betrayal, the most infamous violation of international law* that history has ever known.

Under the old legislation of the German Confederation,[256] of course, Prussia was obliged to hand over to German Austria, on the demand of the latter, political refugees charged with actions carried out on the *territory of the German Confederation.* The revolution overthrew the old legislation of the German Confederation, and *even under the Pfuel Government refugees from Vienna* were safe in Berlin.

But Prussia has no such obligations in relation to *Hungary*. Hungary is an independent state and if Prussia hands over Hungarian refugees who can be charged only with actions carried out on Hungarian territory, it commits the same *disgraceful and infamous* deed as if it handed over Russian or Polish refugees to Russia.

Even under the Bodelschwingh regime the authorities did not dare to hand over to Austria the refugees from Galicia and Cracow who had crossed the border into Prussia.[257] But, on the other hand, of course, at that time we were under an absolute monarchy, and today we are a constitutional state!

Moreover, if Kossuth crosses into Prussian territory he will not be a political refugee but a *belligerent party that has crossed into neutral territory*.

German Austria, an independent union of states, is waging war against Hungary, an independent state; the reason for it is no concern of Prussia's. Even in 1831 the authorities did not dare to hand over to Russia the Poles who had crossed the border into Prussia[258]; but at that time, too, we were under an absolute monarchy, and today we are a constitutional state!

We draw the attention of public opinion to the benevolent intentions of the Prussian Government in regard to Kossuth. We are convinced that this will suffice to arouse such a storm of sympathy for the greatest man of the year 1848, and such a storm of indignation against the Government, that even a Manteuffel will not dare to oppose it.

But, of course, for the time being Kossuth still rules in Debreczin, with the enthusiastic support of the entire Magyar people; his valiant hussars still gallop over the Hungarian plains,[259] Windischgrätz still stands in perplexity facing the swamps of the Theiss, and your warrants of arrest are ridiculous rather than frightening!

Written by Engels on January 21, 1849

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 207, January 28, 1849

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# THE BERLIN *NATIONAL-ZEITUNG* TO THE PRIMARY ELECTORS

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 205, January 26, 1849]

*Cologne,* January 25. Although rarely, it does happen from time to time that one has the pleasure of seeing a signpost of the good old pre-March times rising out of the alluvial deposit which the double deluge of revolution and counter-revolution has left behind. Mountains have been shifted, valleys have been filled up, and forests levelled to the ground, but the signpost still stands in its old place, painted in the old colours, and still bearing the old inscription: "To Schilda!"[260]

Just such a signpost stretches its wooden arm towards us from No. 21 of the *Berlin National-Zeitung* with the inscription: "*To the primary electors.* To Schilda!"

The well-meant advice of the *National-Zeitung* to the primary electors states first of all:

> "The hour has come when the Prussian people is about to exercise for the second time its hard-won universal suffrage" (as if the so-called universal suffrage, granted from above, with its different interpretation in each village, were the same suffrage as that of April 8![261]), "from which are to come the men who for the second time have to declare what is the spirit (!), the opinion (!!) and the will (!!!) not of separate social estates and classes, but of the whole people."

We shall not speak of the turgidly clumsy style of this sentence which advances slowly and long-windedly from one word to the next. Universal suffrage, it says, should reveal to us the will not of separate social estates and classes, but of the whole people.

Fine! But what does "the whole people" consist of?

Of "separate social estates and classes".

And what does "the will of the whole people" consist of?

Of the separate contradictory "wills" of the "separate social estates and classes", hence precisely of the will which the *National-*

*Zeitung* describes as the direct opposite of the "will of the whole people".

What a great logician the *National-Zeitung* is!

For the *National-Zeitung*, however, there exists a *single* will of the whole people, which is not the sum of contradictory wills, but a united, definite will. How can that be?

It is—the will of the majority.

And what is the will of the majority?

It is the will which derives from the interests, the situation in life, and the living conditions of the majority.

Consequently, in order to have one and the same will, the members of the majority must have the same interests, the same situation in life, and the same living conditions, or for the time being they must be linked with one another by their interests, their situation in life, and their living conditions.

In plain language: the will of the people, the will of the majority, is the will not of separate social estates and classes, but of *a single class* and of those other classes and sections of classes which are subordinated to this one ruling class socially, i.e. industrially and commercially.

"But what are we to say to that?" That the will of the whole people is the will of a ruling class?

Of course, and it is precisely universal suffrage that acts as the compass needle which, even if only after various fluctuations, nevertheless finally points to this class which is called upon to rule.

And this good *National-Zeitung* still continues, as in 1847, to chatter about an imaginary "will of the whole people"!

Let us proceed. After this elevating exordium the *National-Zeitung* astounds us with the following significant remark:

"In January 1849 the state of affairs is different from the May days of 1848 so rich in hope and elation" (why not also in piety?).

All was then adorned with blossom,
And the sun's rays shone with laughter,
And the birds sang so full of hope,
And the people hoped and thought—
They were deep in thought.[a]

"At that time there seemed to be complete unanimity that the great reforms, which should have been undertaken in Prussia already long ago if on the foundations laid in 1807-14 there had been further construction in the spirit of that time and in accord with the higher level of culture and understanding since achieved, would now have to be carried out completely and without delay."

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[a] Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen,* Caput VIII.—*Ed.*

"At that time there seemed to be complete unanimity"! Grand, delightful naivety of the *National-Zeitung*! At that time, when the Guards, gnashing their teeth in fury, were retreating from Berlin, when the Prince of Prussia had to flee in haste from Berlin in a postilion's jacket, when the upper ranks of the nobility and bourgeoisie had to suppress their anger at the ignominy which the King was made to suffer in the palace-yard when the people forced him to remove his hat before the dead bodies of those killed during the March days—"at that time there seemed to be complete unanimity"!

Heaven knows, it is already overdoing it to have imagined anything of the sort. But now, after one has had to admit to having been cheated, to proclaim one's cheated gullibility from the house-tops—truly, *c'est par trop bonhomme*![a]

And on what did there "seem to be complete unanimity"?

On "that the great reforms, which *should have been* undertaken ... if ... *there had been* further construction ... would now *have* to be carried out".

On that there was—no, there *seemed* to be—complete unanimity.

The great March achievement, expressed in worthy language!

And what "reforms" were these?

Development of the "foundations laid in 1807-14 in the spirit of that time and in accord with the higher level of culture and understanding since achieved".

That is to say in the spirit of 1807-14, and at the same time in quite a different spirit.

The "*spirit* of that time" consisted quite simply in the extremely *material* pressure of the French of that time on the Prussian junker monarchy of that time, as well as in the likewise unfavourable financial deficit of the Prussian kingdom at that time. In order to make the bourgeois and the peasant capable of paying taxes, in order to introduce at least in appearance among the royal Prussian subjects some of the reforms which the French had lavished on the conquered parts of Germany—in short, in order in some degree to patch up the decayed monarchy of the Hohenzollerns that was splitting at every seam, *for the sake of that* a few niggardly so-called urban by-laws, redemption orders, army institutions etc. were introduced. The only distinction of these reforms was that they were a whole century behind the French revolution of 1789, and indeed even behind the English revolution of 1640. And that is supposed to be the foundations for Prussia that has been revolutionised?

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[a] That is too simple-minded!—*Ed.*

But old-Prussian conceit always sees Prussia in the centre of world history, whereas in reality world history has always dragged the "state of reason"[a] after it, through the mire. This old-Prussian conceit has, of course, to ignore the fact that as long as Prussia was not kicked by the French, it calmly remained on the undeveloped foundations of 1807-14 and never stirred at all. It has to ignore the fact that these foundations were long ago forgotten when the glorious bureaucratic-junker royal Prussian monarchy in February last year received a new and so powerful push from the French that it most gloriously toppled over from its "foundations of 1807-14". It has to ignore the fact that for the royal Prussian monarchy it was in no way a question of these foundations, but merely one of warding off the further consequences of the push received from France. But Prussian conceit ignores all that, and when it suddenly receives the push, it cries out, like a child crying for its nurse, for the decayed foundations of 1807-14.

As if the Prussia of 1848, as regards territory, industry, trade, means of communication, culture and class relations, were not a totally different country from the Prussia of the "foundations of 1807-14"!

As if since that time two quite new classes—the industrial proletariat and the class of free peasants—had not intervened in its history; as if the Prussian bourgeoisie of 1848 were not quite different from the timid, docile and grateful petty bourgeoisie of the time of the "foundations"!

But all that is of no avail. A loyal Prussian must not know anything but his "foundations of 1807-14". Those are the foundations on which further construction will take place—and that is the end of the matter.

The beginning of one of the most colossal historical revolutions is shrunken into nothing more than the ending of one of the pettiest pseudo-reform swindles—that is how revolution is understood in old Prussia!

And in this self-complacent narrow-minded fantasy from the country's history "there seemed to be complete unanimity"—of course, only in Berlin, thank God!

Let us proceed.

"Those social estates and classes which had to renounce privileges and special rights ... which were destined in the future to stand only on an equal footing with all

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[a] Marx uses ironically the expression *Staat der Intelligenz* by which Hegel designates the Prussian state (see G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie. Vorrede, gesprächen zu Heidelberg den 29-sten Oktober 1816* (Note).—*Ed.*

their fellow citizens ... seemed prepared for that renunciation—inspired by the conviction that the old state of things had become untenable, that it was in their own well-understood interest...."

Look at this meek and mild, sincerely humble bourgeois—how once again he conjures away the revolution! The nobility, the priests, the bureaucrats, the officers, "seemed prepared" to renounce their privileges, not because the armed people forced them to do so, not because in the first moments of terror at the European revolution, the demoralisation and disorganisation irresistibly spreading in their own ranks made them incapable of resistance—no! The peaceful, benevolent "agreements" (to use Herr Camphausen's language) of February 24 and March 18,[a] which were advantageous to both sides, "inspired" them with the "conviction" that this "was in their own well-understood interest"!

That the March revolution, and above all February 24, was in the well-understood interest of the Herren cabbage-junkers, members of church councils, *Regierungsräte*, and Guards lieutenants—that is indeed a truly monumental idea!

But, unfortunately!

"Today it is no longer like that. The beneficiaries and adherents of the old state of affairs, far from themselves helping, *as is their duty* (!), to see that the old rubbish is cleared away and the new house built, want only to prop up the old ruins beneath which the ground shook so dangerously and to embellish them with some forms in appearance appropriate to the new period."

"Today it is no longer like that"—as it *appeared* to be in May, i.e. it is no longer what it was not in May, or it is precisely the same as it was in May.

That is the sort of language in which the Berlin *National-Zeitung* is written and, what is more, its writers are proud of it.

In a word: May 1848 and January 1849 differ from one another only *in appearance*. Previously the counter-revolutionaries *seemed* to understand their duty—today they actually and openly do not, and the peaceful bourgeois moans about it. After all, it is the *duty* of the counter-revolutionaries to renounce their interests for the sake of their own well-understood interest! It is their *duty* themselves to cut their vital arteries—yet, they do not do so—thus moans the exponent of well-understood interest!

And why do your enemies not do now what, as you say, is nevertheless their duty?

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[a] On February 24, 1848, Louis Philippe was overthrown in France; March 18, 1848—the beginning of the revolution in Prussia.—*Ed.*

Because in the spring you yourselves did not do *your* "duty", because at that time, when you were strong, you behaved like cowards and quaked before the revolution that was to make you great and powerful; because you yourselves let the old rubbish remain and complacently admired yourselves in the mirror wearing the aureole of a half success! And now, when the counter-revolution has become strong overnight and sets its foot on your neck, when under *your* feet the ground shakes dangerously—now you demand that the counter-revolution should become your servant, should clear away the rubbish that you were too weak and cowardly to clear away, that it, grown mighty, should sacrifice itself for you who are weak?

What childish fools you are! But wait a little and the people will rise up and with a single mighty push will throw you to the ground together with the counter-revolution against which you are now so impotently yapping!

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 207, January 28, 1849, second edition]

*Cologne*, January 27. In our first article we did not take into account one circumstance which could, at any rate apparently, serve to excuse the *National-Zeitung*; the *National-Zeitung* is not free in what it writes—it is under *martial law*. And under martial law it has, of course, to sing:

> Bid me not speak, bid me be silent,
> To keep my secret is for me a duty;
> I would for you my inmost soul lay bare,
> 'Tis only fate that will not let me do so!!![a]

Even under martial law, however, newspapers are not published in order to say the opposite of what they think; moreover, martial law has nothing to do with the first half, which we considered previously, of the article in question.

Martial law is not to blame for the inflated, nebulous style of the *National-Zeitung*.

Martial law is not to blame for the fact that after March the *National-Zeitung* created for itself all sorts of naive illusions.

Martial law does not at all compel the *National-Zeitung* to make the 1848 revolution the train-bearer of the reforms of 1807-14.

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[a] Goethe, "Mignon". From the novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, Book V, Chapter 16.—*Ed.*

In short, martial law in no way compels the *National-Zeitung* to entertain such absurd notions about the course of development of the revolution and counter-revolution in 1848 as we proved it to hold two days ago. Martial law affects not the past but the present.

Therefore, in our criticism of the *first* half of the article in question, we did not take martial law into account, and precisely for this reason we shall take it into account today.

After ending its historical introduction, the *National-Zeitung* addresses the primary electors in the following way:

> "It is a matter of safeguarding the progress initiated, of consolidating the achievements."

What "progress"? What "achievements"? The "progress" expressed in the fact that "today it is no longer like that", as it "appeared" to be in May? The "achievement" that "the beneficiaries of the old state of affairs are far from themselves helping, as is their duty, to see that the old rubbish is cleared away"? Or the granted "achievements" which "prop up the old ruins and embellish them with some forms in appearance appropriate to the new period"?

Martial law, gentlemen of the *National-Zeitung*, is no excuse for absence of thought and confusion.

The "progress" which just now has been most successfully "initiated" is regression to the old system, and we are daily advancing farther along this path of progress.

The sole "achievement" left to us—and it is not a specifically Prussian, not a "March" achievement, but the result of the 1848 European revolution—is the most general, most determined, most blood-thirsty and most violent counter-revolution, which is itself only a phase of the European revolution, and hence only the generator of a new, universal and victorious revolutionary counterblow.

But perhaps the *National-Zeitung* knows that just as well as we do, and only dare not say it because of martial law? Listen to this:

> "We do not want a *continuance of the revolution*; we are enemies of all *anarchy*, all *acts of violence* and *arbitrariness*; we want *law, tranquillity* and *order*."

Martial law, gentlemen, compels you at most to be *silent*, never to *speak*. Therefore we put on record the sentence just quoted: if it is *you* who are speaking through its words, so much the better; if it is martial law that is speaking, there is no need for you to make yourselves its organ. Either you are revolutionary, or you are not. If you are not, then we are opponents from the outset; if you are, you should have been *silent*.

But you speak with such conviction, you have such an honest past, that we can safely assume that martial law has absolutely nothing to do with this asseveration.

"We do not want a continuance of the revolution." That means: we want the continuance of the counter-revolution. For it is a historical fact that either one does not put an end to violent counter-revolution at all, or one does so only through revolution.

"We do not want a continuance of the revolution", that means: we recognise that the revolution is ended, that it has reached its goal. And the goal which the revolution had reached on January 21, 1849, when the above-mentioned article was written, this goal was precisely—counter-revolution.

"We are enemies of all anarchy, all acts of violence and arbitrariness."

That means enemies also of the "anarchy" which occurs after every revolution until the new conditions have been consolidated, enemies of the "acts of violence" of February 24 and March18, enemies of the "arbitrariness" which ruthlessly shatters a decayed system and its decrepit legal supports!

"We want law, tranquillity and order"!

Indeed, the time has been well chosen to bow down before "law, tranquillity and order", to protest against the revolution, and to concur in the cheap outcry against anarchy, acts of violence and arbitrariness! It has been well chosen, at the very moment when under the protection of bayonets and cannons the revolution is officially branded as a *crime*, when "anarchy, acts of violence and arbitrariness" are openly put into practice through ordinances countersigned by the King, when the "law", imposed on us by the camarilla, is always used *against* us and never *for* us, when "tranquillity and order" consist in leaving the counter-revolution in "peace", so that it can re-establish *its* old-Prussian "order" of things.

No, gentlemen, it is not martial law that speaks through you—it is most unadulterated *Odilon Barrot*, translated into Berlin language, with all his narrow-mindedness, all his impotence, all his pious wishes.

There is no revolutionary who is so tactless, so childish, so cowardly, as to deny the revolution at the very moment when counter-revolution is celebrating its most glittering triumphs. If he cannot speak, he acts, and if he cannot act, he prefers to remain perfectly silent.

But is it not possible, perhaps, that the gentlemen of the *National-Zeitung* are pursuing a cunning policy? Are they perhaps

speaking so tamely in order on the eve of the elections to win over to the opposition yet another section of the so-called moderates?

From the very first day that the counter-revolution swooped down on us, we said that from now on there are only two parties: "revolutionaries" and "counter-revolutionaries"; only two slogans: "the democratic republic" or "the absolute monarchy".[a] Everything in between is no longer a party but only a faction. The counter-revolution has done everything to make our statement come true. The elections are the most brilliant confirmation of that.

And at such a time, when the parties confront one another so sharply, when the struggle is being conducted with the greatest ferocity, when only the overwhelming superiority of organised soldiery prevents the struggle from being fought out arms in hand—at such a time all conciliation policy ceases. One needs to be Odilon Barrot himself to play the role of Odilon Barrot at such a time.

But our Berlin Barrots have their reservations, their conditions, their interpretations. They are wailers, but by no means simply wailers; they are wailers with a reservation: "that is to say", wailers from the quiet opposition:

> "We, *however*, want *new* laws, such as are required by the awakened free spirit of the people and the principle of equality; we want a *genuinely democratic-constitutional order*" (i.e. a genuine absurdity); "we want tranquillity which rests on *more* than bayonets and martial laws, which is a politically and morally (!) based pacification of mind arising from the conviction, guaranteed by deeds and institutions, that every class of the people has its rights etc., etc."

We can spare ourselves the labour of completing this sentence, written in conformity with martial law. It suffices to say that these gentlemen "want" not revolution, but only a small nosegay from the *results* of revolution; a little democracy, but also a little constitutionalism; a few new laws, abolition of feudal institutions, bourgeois equality etc., etc.

In other words, the gentlemen of the *National-Zeitung* and those from the Berlin ex-Lefts, whose organ it is, want to obtain from the counter-revolution precisely that for which the counter-revolution dispersed them.

Nothing learnt and nothing forgotten![262]

These gentlemen "want" the very things they will never obtain except by a new revolution. But they do not want a new revolution.

A new revolution would bring them also quite other things than are contained in the above-quoted modest bourgeois demands. And

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[a] See this volume, p. 178.—*Ed.*

for that reason these gentlemen are quite right in not wanting any revolution.

Fortunately, however, historical development is little concerned about what the Barrots "want" or "do not want". The Parisian prototype Barrot also "wanted" on February 24 only to achieve quite modest reforms, in particular a ministerial portfolio for himself; and he had hardly laid hands on both of these when the waves broke over him and he disappeared with all his virtuous petty-bourgeois retinue in the revolutionary deluge. Now, too, when at last he has once more obtained a ministerial post, he again "wants" various things; but nothing of what he wants is coming about. Such has ever been the fate of the Barrots. And the same thing will happen to the Berlin Barrots as well.

Under martial law or without it, they will continue to bore the public with their pious wishes. At most they will secure the adoption on paper of a few of these wishes, and finally they will be put on the shelf either by the Crown or by the people. In any case they will be put on the shelf.

Written by Marx between January 25 and 27, 1849

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# THE SITUATION IN PARIS

*Paris,* January 28. The danger of a popular uprising has been removed for the time being by the vote of the Chamber *against* dealing with the prohibition of the clubs as a matter of urgency, i.e. against prohibition of the clubs in general.[263] But a new danger is emerging: *the danger of a coup d'état.*

Read today's issue of the *National* and say whether fear of a coup d'état is not visible in *every line.*

"Today's vote is a fatal blow for the Cabinet, and we now challenge Messrs. Odilon Barrot, Faucher and *tutti quanti* to hold their portfolios any longer...."

So far the *National* seems to be of good cheer. But listen to the end of the sentence:

"...without entering into open revolt against the spirit and letter of the Constitution!"

And what would Messrs. Odilon Barrot, Faucher and *tutti quanti* care about entering into open revolt against the Constitution? Since when have Barrot and Faucher been enthusiastic about the Constitution of 1848!

The *National* no longer *threatens* the Ministers; it shows them that they must resign, it shows the President[a] that he must dismiss them. And that in a country where for the last thirty years the resignation of the Ministers after such a vote has been a matter of course!

It is to be hoped, says the *National,* that the President of the Republic will realise that the majority and the Cabinet are in

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[a] Louis Bonaparte.—*Ed.*

complete disagreement, that by dismissing the Cabinet, he will strengthen the ties between him and the majority, and that there is only one obstacle to a good understanding between him and the majority: the Cabinet.

Yes, the *National* is trying to ensure the Ministry an honourable retreat: it would like the charge against the Ministers to be dropped. The vote is punishment enough. This extreme measure could be avoided until the Ministers have really violated the Constitution by an accomplished act.

Yes, the newspaper finally exclaims, *everything* makes it the *duty* of the Cabinet to resign; its own words are binding upon it to such an extent that we hesitate to believe it will dare to remain in power. Monsieur Barrot stated this evening that if the urgency motion is rejected, the *Assembly itself* will bear the responsibility for events. Very well, when responsibility ceases, power too must cease. If the Cabinet does not want to be responsible for events, then it must not direct them. By rejecting responsibility, Monsieur Barrot has tendered his resignation.

In short, the *National* does not believe in the voluntary retirement of the Ministry any more than in its dismissal by the President.

But if the Ministry wants to defy the vote of the Assembly, then there is nothing left for it except—a *coup d'état.*

Dissolution of the National Assembly and preparation for the restoration of the monarchy by military force, that is what lurks behind the fear of the *National* of the Ministry continuing in office.

Therefore the *National* and the red newspapers ask the people only to remain calm and to give no pretext for intervention, since any revolt can only support the Cabinet which is falling, can only be of service to the royalist counter-revolution.

That a coup d'état is becoming ever more imminent, is proved by the incidents involving Changarnier and the officers of the mobile guard.[264] The *bouchers de Cavaignac*[a] have no desire to let themselves be used for a royalist coup; that is why they are to be dissolved; they murmur and Changarnier threatens to have them cut to pieces, and he puts their officers under arrest.

The situation seems to become more complicated; in fact, however, it is becoming very simple, as simple as it always is on the eve of a revolution.

The conflict between the Assembly and the President together with his Ministers has reached breaking point. France can no longer exist in the state of impotence which has reigned in it for the last ten

[a] Cavaignac's butchers.—*Ed.*

months; the deficit, the depressed state of industry and commerce, the pressure of taxation, which ruins agriculture, become daily more intolerable; large-scale, trenchant measures become more and more urgent, and each new Government is more impotent and inactive than the one before; until finally Odilon Barrot has carried inactivity to the extreme and for six weeks has done absolutely nothing at all.

In that way, however, he has greatly simplified the situation. After him, there can no longer be any Ministry of the decent republic. The mixed governments (the Provisional Government and the Executive Commission [265]), the Government of the *National*, the Government of the old Lefts—that has all been gone through, it is all worn out, used up. Now it is the turn of Thiers, and Thiers is the undisguised restoration of the monarchy.

*Restoration of the monarchy* or — a *red republic*, this is now the only alternative in France. The crisis may still be delayed for a few weeks, but it is bound to break out. Changarnier-Monk[266] with his three hundred thousand, who are entirely at his disposal for 24 hours, seems reluctant to wait any longer.

Hence the anxiety of the *National*. It recognises its inability to master the situation; it knows that any forcible change of government will bring its strongest enemies into power, that it is equally lost with a monarchy and a red republic. Hence its sighing for a peaceful deal, its politeness to the Ministers.

We shall very soon see whether it is necessary for the final victory of the red republic that France should go through the monarchical phase for a while. It is possible, but not probable.

But one thing is certain: the decent republic is falling to pieces, and after it — even if there are first of all some small intermezzi — the only possibility is the *red republic*.

Written on January 28, 1849

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# [THE SITUATION IN PARIS]

*Cologne,* January 30. When yesterday morning we announced in a special edition the imminent outbreak of a storm in Paris, wailers[267] among the primary electors to the First Chamber wrote under our fly-sheet: *It's a lie! It's no use intimidating us!* and other such philistine strong expressions.

These miserable people regarded our special edition as a mere electoral manoeuvre, as if the First Chamber and the Second Chamber too, and the entire Prussian movement into the bargain, could induce us to falsify the history of the European revolution!

*Stupp* is an elector to the First Chamber! The rentier von *Wittgenstein* is an elector to the First Chamber! Chancellor von *Groote* is an elector to the First Chamber! And yet the revolutionary monster in Paris is capable of roaring afresh! *Quelle horreur!*

In our issue today, we said, *inter alia,* on the Paris situation:

"The danger of a popular uprising has been removed for the time being by the vote of the Chamber *against* dealing with the prohibition of the clubs as a matter of urgency, i.e. against prohibition of the clubs in general. But a new danger is emerging: *the danger of a coup d'état....* If the Ministry wants to defy the vote of the Assembly, then there is nothing left for it except—a *coup d'état.* Dissolution of the National Assembly and preparation for the restoration of the monarchy by military force, that is what lurks behind the fear of the *National* of the Ministry continuing in office.... That a coup d'état is becoming ever more imminent, is proved by the incidents involving Changarnier and the officers of the mobile guard.... The situation seems to become more complicated; in fact, however, it is becoming very simple, as simple as it always is on the eve of a revolution. The

conflict between the Assembly and the President together with his Ministers has reached breaking point.... *Restoration of the monarchy* or — a *red republic,* this is now the only alternative in France.... The decent republic is falling to pieces, and after it — even if there are first of all some small intermezzi—the only possibility is the *red republic.*" [a]

In the special edition we announced the crisis for the 29th.

The reports of the 29th from Paris printed below will show our readers how accurate our reports were and the striking correctness of our description today of the French situation.[268]

Written on January 30, 1849

First published in the special supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 209, January 31, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

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[a] See this volume, pp. 281-83.— *Ed.*

# THE *KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG* ON THE ELECTIONS[269]

*Cologne*, January 30. The *Kölnische Zeitung* has at last also obtained reports on the elections, and they are indeed reports which to some extent pour oil on its wounds.

"The democratic reports on the elections," exclaims the worthy Brüggemann, intoxicated with joy, "the democratic reports on the elections" (i.e. the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*) "have *grossly exaggerated.* Protests are now reaching us *from all sides.*"[a]

From all sides! The *Kölnische Zeitung* intends to crush us with the weight of its "protests". Will two pages of compressed election bulletins, each one a "gross exaggeration" of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, each one proving a victory of the constitutionalists, produce a deep-red blush of shame on our cheeks?

On the contrary.

"Protests are now reaching us from all sides."

The worthy Brüggemann does not "exaggerate". He actually got *summa summarum four* whole protests: from the west (Trier), north (Hamm), south (Siegburg) and east (Arnsberg)! Are those not "protests from all sides" against the "gross exaggeration of the democratic reports on the elections"?

For the time being, let us leave to the *Kölnische Zeitung* the pleasure of believing that the constitutionalists were victorious in these four decisive localities. At any rate this pleasure is soured by pain because all the same in many places the constitutionalists were defeated owing to the "masses' susceptibility to being seduced".

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[a] Quoted from the article "Die Wahlen", *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 25, January 30, 1849.—*Ed.*

Naive confession of the constitutionalists that *for them* the "masses" are not "susceptible to being seduced"!

One consolation, however, remains for the *Kölnische Zeitung*. And what is this consolation? It is that the Coblenz correspondent of the *Deutsche Zeitung* is a comrade in misfortune, that in this unfortunate state of affairs he uttered appropriate words, worthy of figuring in the first columns of the *Kölnische Zeitung*:

> "Note that the *political question* in this point also, as everywhere, becomes a small one compared with the social question, that it *becomes entirely merged in the latter.*"

Until a few days ago the *Kölnische Zeitung* did not want to hear about the social question. On this subject belonging to the other world it never had occasion to speak, or at most it did so with a certain frivolity (insofar as it is possible for the *Kölnische Zeitung* to be frivolous). It adopted an atheistic, disbelieving, free-thinking attitude towards it. Then suddenly it underwent the same experience as the fisherman in *A Thousand and One Nights*. Just as, before the fisherman, the genie arose gigantically out of the bottle he had fished up from the sea-bed and unsealed, so before the trembling *Kölnische Zeitung* there suddenly arises out of the election urn the menacing gigantic spectre of the "social question". Terrified, the worthy Brüggemann sinks to his knees; his last hope vanishes, the spectre at a gulp swallows his entire "political question", which for years he had tenderly cherished, together with its legal basis and accessories.

Clever policy of the *Kölnische Zeitung*. It tries to put a good face on its *political* defeat by means of its *social* defeat.

This discovery that it has been defeated not only in the political field, but in the social field as well, is the greatest experience it has gained from the primary elections!

Or was perhaps the *Kölnische Zeitung* enthusiastic even earlier over the "social question"?

In point of fact, Montesquieu LVI had stated in the *Kölnische Zeitung* that the social question was infinitely important and that recognition of the imposed Constitution was the solution of the social question.[a]

But recognition of the imposed Constitution—that is pre-eminently what the *Kölnische Zeitung* calls the "*political* question".

*Prior* to the elections, therefore, the social question became merged in the *political* question, *after* the elections the political question becomes merged in the *social* question. That, therefore, is

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[a] See this volume, p. 255.—*Ed.*

the difference, that is the experience from the primary elections, namely, that what is correct *after* the elections is exactly the opposite of what was gospel truth *prior* to the elections.

"The political question becomes merged in the social question"!

Let us leave out of account that already before the elections we explained as clearly as possible that there could be no talk of a "social question" as such, that each class has its *own* social question, and that this social question of a definite class involves at the same time a definite political question for this class.[a] Let us leave out of account all these light-hearted marginal notes when confronting the serious, solid *Kölnerin*, and let us analyse as far as possible the line of thought and mode of speech of this strong-charactered and profound newspaper.

By the social question, the *Kölnische Zeitung* understands the question: how are the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants and the proletariat to be helped?

And now, since at the primary elections the petty bourgeoisie, peasants and proletarians emancipated themselves from the big bourgeoisie, the upper nobility and the higher bureaucracy, now the *Kölnische Zeitung* exclaims: "The political question becomes merged in the social question"!

A fine consolation for the *Kölnische Zeitung*! Therefore the fact that the workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie routed by striking majorities the big bourgeois and other highly respected constitutional candidates of the *Kölnische Zeitung* is no defeat of the "constitutionalists", but merely a victory of the "social question"! The fact that the constitutionalists were defeated does not prove that the democrats were victorious, but that politics has no part to play in the face of material questions.

Profound thoroughness on the part of our neighbouring journalist[b]! These petty bourgeois, hovering on the brink of ruin, are they enthusiastic about the imposed Constitution? These peasants, oppressed by mortgages and usurers, and crushed under feudal burdens, are they enthusiastic about the finance and feudal barons who are their exploiters, and for whose direct benefit the imposed Constitution was invented? And, finally, these proletarians, who suffer simultaneously from the administrative passion of our bureaucrats and from the lust for profit of our bourgeoisie, have they any reason to rejoice that the imposed Constitution provides a new tie linking these two classes that suck the blood of the people?

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[a] See this volume, pp. 262-63.—*Ed.*

[b] That is of Brüggemann.—*Ed.*

Are not all these three classes interested above all in the abolition of the First Chamber, which represents not them, but their direct opponents and oppressors?

In point of fact, the *Kölnische Zeitung* is right: the social question swallows up the political question. In the interest of the "social question" the classes that have newly joined the political movement will vote against their own political interests and for the imposed Constitution!

Can the petty bourgeois and peasants, and, the more so, the proletarians, find a better political form for representing their interests than the democratic republic? Are not precisely these classes the most radical, the most democratic, of society as a whole? Is it not precisely the proletariat that is the specifically *red* class?—That does not matter, exclaims the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the social question swallows up the political question.

According to the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the victory of the social question is at the same time the victory of the imposed Constitution.

But the "social question" of the *Kölnische Zeitung* has also a very special feature. Read the report of the *Kölnische Zeitung* on the elections to the First Chamber[270] and their "fortunate outcome", which consists in the fact that Herr Joseph Dumont has become an elector. That at any rate solves the real social question for the *Kölnische Zeitung*, and compared with it all the subordinate "social questions" which could perhaps crop up in connection with elections to a plebeian Second Chamber disappear.

May the storm of the world-historic "political question", which at the present time is menacingly rising in Paris, not mercilessly break to pieces the *Kölnische Zeitung*'s delicate "social question"!

Written by Marx on January 30, 1849

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 210, February 1, 1849

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# THE STRUGGLE IN HUNGARY[271]

*Cologne*, February 2. The war in Hungary is nearing its end. "*Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.*"[a]

Thus spoke the *Kölnische Zeitung* a few days ago.[b] It had been fooled by Welden into thinking that the Assembly in Debreczin had dissolved both itself and the army, and that Kossuth was about to flee to Grosswardein with the rest of his following.

The mountain in labour this time was none other than the *Kölnische Zeitung* itself.

The 17th Army Bulletin,[c] to which Welden imputed the above lie, reports two new operations of the imperial troops: firstly, the departure of a corps from Pest via Gyöngyös to Miskolcz, and secondly, Schlick's plan to operate in two columns against Tokaj, one via Kaschau, the other via Janosfalva and Baranya. Both are concentric movements against the Theiss, behind which the Magyars have taken up positions.

From the border of Transylvania to Szegedin the Theiss describes a semicircle the centre of which is Grosswardein: this semicircle forms the Magyar defence line. On the Upper Theiss it is covered by the fortresses of Sziget and Munkács; on the Middle Theiss by impassable swamps which begin a few miles from Munkács, accompany the Theiss on both sides to its mouth and render an

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[a] "The mountains are in labour and a ridiculous mouse will be born" (Horace, *De Arte Poetica*, 139).—*Ed.*

[b] "Ungarn (Vom Kriegs-Schauplatz)", *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 25 (supplement), January 30, 1849.—*Ed.*

[c] "17. Armee-Bulletin", *Wiener Zeitung* No. 19, January 23, 1849.—*Ed.*

attack from north and west very difficult. In the south the Körös and its tributaries offer a line of defence which is likewise covered by uninterrupted swamps and moreover by the advanced fortress of Temesvár. So, defended on three sides by swamps and rivers, the Debreczin Heath stretches away to the Transylvanian hills and offers the Magyars an excellent point for concentrating their armies, all the better since Bem has freed their rear by the conquest of Transylvania.

So long as the Magyars hold their ground on the Drava and in the Banat, Debreczin, the centre of their operations, can only be attacked from the north (Schlick) and west (Windischgrätz), and both the above movements are said to be preludes to this attack.

Miskolcz and Tokaj, the two towns to which the imperial troops are now marching, are barely six miles[a] from each other. Tokaj is one of the most advantageous crossing points over the Theiss; Miskolcz lies close enough to enable the troops sent there, depending on circumstances, to join Schlick's corps at Tokaj or to cross the Theiss by themselves a little lower down and if successful to advance on Debreczin.

This plan of the imperial army, which the 17th Bulletin trumpets around the world with such pomp, is, however, not so easy to carry out. From Pest to Miskolcz is more than 30 miles, across desolate heath land, inhabited either by hardly anybody or else by enemies. From Eperies to Tokaj it is also 30 miles, also through decidedly hostile and poor country. The provisioning alone of the two advancing corps would greatly delay their march; the bad roads, which with the present thaw are becoming completely impassable, make it quite impossible for them to reach their destination in less than a fortnight. And once arrived they will find themselves facing the Magyar army, at the crossings of the Theiss, entrenched between swamps, in positions with covered flanks, where the imperial troops cannot deploy their superior strength, where, on the contrary, a few regiments can hold up a whole army. Nay, even were they to succeed in forcing the crossings over the Theiss, the Austrian artillery and heavy cavalry would be utterly lost between the swamps, in marshy ground, in which they will constantly be bogged.

What grandiose successes these two columns have had so far can already be seen from the fact that the 18th Army Bulletin, which we reported yesterday,[b] is completely *silent* about them. Where they are,

[a] One German mile is equal to 4.7 English miles.—*Ed.*

[b] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 211, February 2, 1849 (a report from Vienna with a reprint of the 18th Army Bulletin from the *Wiener Zeitung* No. 24, published on January 28, 1849).—*Ed.*

how far they have advanced, what successes they have had—of that Welden tells us *not one syllable*, and for good reasons.

But, says Welden,

"according to the news received from Hungary, our troops enjoy *brilliant success* everywhere"

—and the *Kölnische Zeitung* believes Herr Welden.

Let us look a little more closely at these "brilliant successes".

Four "successes" are reported. Of these three are in areas where there is no decisive fighting, but where the Magyars are merely striving to keep the imperial troops busy at points of secondary importance and thus to divide them. Only the fourth "success" has been won on the Theiss, where Hungary's fate is being decided.

In the north-west, between the Waag and the Gran, in the south-west, between the Drava and the Danube, and in the south, in the Banat, three Hungarian corps are so far keeping a considerable part of the imperial forces busy, thereby preventing Windischgrätz from pushing forward to the Theiss with any considerable numbers. Against these three corps the imperial forces, so they say, have had "brilliant successes". *Voyons!*[a]

*First success.* In the north-east, where "Slovakia"[272] is now placed, Baron Csorich has beaten General Görgey at Schemnitz and has taken Schemnitz. When one considers that Görgey's corps is simply a lost outpost which has to stand its ground in the rear of the imperial army as long as possible; and when one considers that Görgey is operating not on Magyar but on purely Slovak ground, one sees that this success is not very "brilliant".

Moreover, Csorich was to be supported by Götz and Sossay's columns. But Sossay was urgently called to Neutra "there to assist in the pacification of the part of the country *already occupied*" (a *purely Slav* comitat[b]), and Götz had his hands full "maintaining his position at Mossocz and *protecting* the Turócz comitat from the insurgents whom Lieutenant-Field Marshal Csorich had *beaten* and *scattered*(!!)".

"The *at-last-to-be-hoped-for*" (hence still a long way off) "capture of Leopoldstadt and the occupation of Neuhäusel ... *should* suffice to strengthen the good spirit which is *beginning* (!) to develop everywhere in the Trentschin comitat and to *contribute* to the restoration of law and order."

What brilliant successes! The at-last-to-be-hoped-for capture of a not-yet-captured fortress offers the hope that the much-hoped-for

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[a] Let us see!—*Ed.*

[b] A comitat is a Hungarian county.—*Ed.*

good spirit of a long since occupied region will not, one hopes, always remain a pious wish, and the hope that law and order may at least partially approach realisation!

An uncaptured fortress, a beaten armv which nevertheless threatens an entire comitat and keeps several army corps in check, a much-hoped-for good spirit here, an only too real bad spirit there, risings threatened everywhere, and all this on Slovak, not Magyar territory—that is the first "brilliant success"!

*Second "brilliant success"*. A second doomed outpost of the Magyars is in the south-west, between the Danube and the Drava, under the partisan leader Damjanich. Here the brilliant success consists in Count Nugent having ordered the occupation of Kaposvár so as to reach the enemy's flank. What brilliant success there is in that is not yet clear. The occupation of Eszék by imperial troops is, it is true, reported by several papers, but the 18th Bulletin does not yet know of it and does not even expect it.

*Third "brilliant success"*. General Todorovich has captured Werschetz in the Banat and is "energetically pursuing" the Magyars to Moravicza.

From Werschetz to Moravicza is exactly *three miles* and the position at Moravicza between the Alibunar swamp and the mountains is far more favourable than that at Werschetz.

At any rate it is well known that the Banat is so far from the centre of operations and that the attacks against the Magyars have been so sporadic that even the most brilliant successes of the imperials would here be of no importance whatsoever.

*Fourth "brilliant success"*. Hitherto we have seen the imperial troops, it is true, operating on not very decisive terrain, but at least we saw them operating with some semblance of success. Now at last we come to a decisive terrain, and here the success consists in a *defeat* of the imperial troops.

General Ottinger had advanced from Pest as far as the Theiss, to Szolnok. The road was fairly good; from Pest to Szolnok there is a railway, and all that was needed was to follow the rails. The imperial advanced guard had already occupied the bridge at Szolnok. The crossing of the Theiss appeared to be secured for the right wing of the imperial troops. The left wing under Schlick, operating from Tokaj, the centre from Miskolcz, the right wing under Ottinger from Szolnok, were to force the Theiss crossings and march concentrically on Debreczin. But the imperial gentlemen had reckoned without their host. The Magyars crossed the frozen river, drove Ottinger back four miles all the way to Czegléd, and only gave up the pursuit when Ottinger had received reinforcements near Czegléd and taken

up a strong position. According to the Bulletin, it is true, the Magyars are supposed to have gone back across the Theiss, but at all events they now control the crossing and Herr Ottinger, having so hastily retreated, will hardly force it so soon.

These are the "brilliant successes" of the imperial troops against the disbanded, demoralised, scattered army of Kossuth's rebels. A glance at the map shows that the Magyars have lost nothing since they decided to retreat behind the Theiss. As the latest Austrian *unofficial* reports announce, they are at Miskolcz and await the attacks of Schlick and Windischgrätz. They will not accept battle there either, but will withdraw behind the Theiss. The decisive battle will be fought at the crossings of this river, or, if these are forced, in the Debreczin Heath. And even if the Magyars are routed here, guerilla warfare will begin in the heaths and swamps of Lower Hungary and in the Transylvanian mountains in the same way as it has already begun in the "parts of the country already occupied", to the great regret of the 18th Bulletin. What such warfare can achieve in a sparsely populated country and on a suitable terrain has been proved by the Carlist bands in Spain, and is now being proved again by Cabrera.[273]

But Kossuth has not come to that yet. Although the *Kölnische Zeitung* in its childlike naivety had him taken prisoner yesterday, he is still free and has a considerable army at his disposal. For him it is no longer a question of standing his ground for months on end; he only needs to offer resistance for three or four more weeks. In three to four weeks at most the tables will be turned in Paris: either the Restoration wins there for the moment, and then Hungary may fall, too, so that the counter-revolution may be altogether triumphant; or the revolution will win, and then the Austrian gentlemen will march in haste to the Rhine and to Italy, to be chased back to Hungary by the Red Pantaloons.[a]

In conclusion, let us note the most brilliant of all the imperial troops' successes: Herr Welden's bulletins have at last found a believer who swears by them — and this One is the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

Written by Engels on February 2, 1849

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[a] The French army.—*Ed.*

# CAMPHAUSEN

*Cologne*, February 3. We learn from an entirely reliable source that the Brandenburg Ministry will resign before the Chambers open, and that Herr Camphausen will be presented to the Chambers at their opening as the new Prime Minister.

We were sure that something of the kind was being prepared when, a few days ago, the shrewd statesman's friends here spread a rumour that he was tired of political activity:

> Oh! the bustle makes me weary;
> What use all the joy and pain?
> Sweet peace come, and
> In my heart begin your reign![a]

and for that reason wanted to withdraw into peaceful domestic life and restrict his reflections to the less agitating field of speculation in dairy produce.

It should be clear to every intelligent person: Herr Camphausen felt the need to get himself invited once again to save the Crown and, "touched by his own magnanimity", to play a second time the role of "midwife of the constitutional throne" with his well-known aplomb.

The bourgeois opposition in the Chamber will rejoice at this parliamentary "victory". The Germans are forgetful and easily forgive. Those same Lefts who last year opposed Herr Camphausen will gratefully welcome his new accession to office as a great concession on the part of the Crown.

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[a] Goethe, "Wandrers Nachtlied".—*Ed.*

But in order that the people should not allow itself to be deceived a second time, we shall briefly recall the most outstanding deeds of this thinking statesman.

Herr Camphausen resurrected the *United Diet* that was buried on March 18 and reached agreement with it on some of the basic principles of the future Constitution.[274]

Herr Camphausen thereby reached agreement on the *legal basis*, i.e. indirect denial of the revolution.

Herr Camphausen furthermore conferred on us the blessing of *indirect elections*.[275]

Herr Camphausen once again denied the revolution as regards one of its chief results, by transforming the Prince of Prussia's flight into a study trip and recalling him from London.[276]

Herr Camphausen organised the civic militia in such a way that from the outset it was transformed from being the arming of the people into the arming of a class, so that the people and the militia confronted each other as enemies.

At the same time Herr Camphausen allowed the old-Prussian bureaucracy and army to be reconstituted and to become daily more capable of preparing counter-revolutionary coups d'état.

Herr Camphausen was responsible for the memorable shrapnel slaughter of practically unarmed Polish peasants.[277]

Herr Camphausen began the war against Denmark to provide an outlet for superabundant patriotism and to restore the popularity of the Prussian Guards. Having achieved this aim, he made every effort to help secure the adoption in Frankfurt of the disgraceful Malmö armistice,[278] which was essential for Wrangel's march on Berlin.

Herr Camphausen confined himself to abolishing a few reactionary old-Prussian laws in the Rhine Province, but left the whole police-state civil-code legislation in existence in all the old provinces.

Herr Camphausen was the first to intrigue against the unity—at that time still definitely revolutionary—of Germany, first of all by convening alongside the Frankfurt National Assembly his Berlin agreement parliament and subsequently by acting in every way against the decisions and influence of the Frankfurt Assembly.

Herr Camphausen demanded of his Assembly that it should restrict its constitutional mandate merely to "reaching agreement".

Herr Camphausen further demanded of it that it should issue an address to the Crown in which it acknowledged this—as if it were a constitutional chamber which could be adjourned or dissolved at will.

Herr Camphausen further demanded of it that it should deny the revolution and even made this a question of confidence in the Cabinet.

Herr Camphausen laid before his Assembly a draft Constitution, which is on much the same lines as the imposed Constitution[a] and aroused a universal storm of indignation at the time.

Herr Camphausen boasted of having been the Minister of mediation, but this mediation was nothing but mediation between the Crown and the bourgeoisie for joint betrayal of the people.

Herr Camphausen at last resigned when this betrayal had been fully negotiated and was sufficiently mature to be put into practice by the Government of Action and its constables.[279]

Herr Camphausen became the ambassador to the so-called Central Authority and continued to be so under all the Ministries. He remained ambassador at the time when in Vienna the Croatian, Ruthenian and Wallachian troops violated German territory, fired on Germany's leading city and set it ablaze and treated it more outrageously than any Tilly treated Magdeburg.[280] He remained ambassador and did not lift a finger.

Herr Camphausen remained ambassador under Brandenburg, thereby taking his share in the Prussian counter-revolution, and subscribed his name to the recent Prussian Circular Note which openly and without disguise demanded the restoration of the old Federal Diet.[281]

Herr Camphausen now at last takes over the Ministry in order to cover the retreat of the counter-revolutionaries and to safeguard the November and December achievements for us for a long time to come.

These are some of the great deeds of Herr Camphausen. If he now becomes Minister he will hasten to add to the list. For our part, we shall keep the most precise possible account of them.

Written by Marx on February 3, 1849

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[a] "Entwurf eines Verfassungs-Gesetzes für den preussischen Staat", May 20, 1848.—*Ed.*

# FROM THE BANAT

*From the Banat.* Hardly have the Serbs, Austrians, Banat Germans, Croats, Gipsies and Turkish Serbs succeeded in pushing the Magyars back a little when the bitterest quarrels are breaking out in the newly-manufactured Banat-Serbian nation. Stratimirovich stood on his own initiative as candidate for the dignity of voivode and thereby incurred such enmity from Patriarch Rajachich that the latter issued an order to arrest and deliver the most popular Serbian leader wherever he might be found.

Up to now the Turkish Serbs have supplied 20,000 auxiliary troops to the Banat Serbs. How many Russians are among them it is difficult to say. As recently as on January 19, 700 Serbs and 400 armed Gipsies crossed the Danube at Boljevcze and Pancsova to help the Banatians. That is how the Austrian united monarchy [*Gesamtmonarchie*] is keeping alive!

The power of the Hungarian insurrection is by no means destroyed, but at present is still very considerable, for numerous volunteers flock to the Magyar detachments from all parts of the country. The Magyars still have four strong army corps in the field: in Upper Hungary under Görgey, on the Theiss under Kossuth, in the Banat against the Serbs and in Transylvania under Bem; these can still fight for several months if they carefully avoid any major blow. The fighting has already lasted six whole weeks, and yet the number of Hungarian fighters has increased rather than decreased.

If they succeed, as is their intention, in prolonging hostilities until war breaks out in Upper Italy, the cause is by no means lost. Even in

the Ödenburg comitat right on the Austrian border, one finds the liveliest sympathy for Kossuth among the country people; quite recently in a village, after a black-and-yellow[a] sermon, the peasants cheered the dictator,[282] whereupon a detachment of troops came, arrested the seven most respected persons in the place and marched them off; to this hour nobody knows what has become of them.

Written by Engels on February 3, 1849

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[a] Colours of the Austrian flag.—*Ed.*

# THE 19th ARMY BULLETIN AND COMMENTARIES ON IT

The 19th Army Bulletin has been published.[a] Even assuming we give credence to this document, the recent advantages gained by the imperial troops are hardly worthy of mention.

We are told nothing of the army corps in the Slovak (north-west) comitats. Obviously, therefore, this corps still has its hands full with "pacifying the parts of the country already occupied".

We are also told nothing of the troops sent from Pest to Miskolcz, who were to establish contact between Windischgrätz and Schlick, and who, as will no doubt be remembered, we prophesied would have rather a long journey.[b] Of these troops, whose advanced posts, according to supposed letters from Schlick's camp, are said to be already at Miskolcz, we also hear nothing. Proof that they have not got very far.

We likewise hear nothing of the Banat Gipsy bands.

And, lastly, we are told nothing whatsoever of the troops sent out against Bem. In general, for some time now not only the official bulletins but also the otherwise so boastful unofficial fabrications have maintained a total silence with respect to Bem. Sufficient proof that the imperial troops have not won any laurels fighting against him either. Thus, with no news whatsoever of Bem, we ought not to be at all surprised if very soon he suddenly appears at Schlick's rear, or on his flanks, and manages to upset the whole imperial plan.

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[a] "19. Armee-Bulletin", *Wiener Zeitung* No. 27, February 1, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 291.— *Ed.*

We hardly need mention that the Bulletin does not say a word either about the storming of Leopoldstadt, a lie which has been spread six times by the martial-law newspapers, and six times believed by Mama Dumont.[a] We must assume therefore that there is still "hope" that this fortress will be captured.

All this, then, is *not* said in the Bulletin. What does it actually say?

It has knowledge of the situation in three places: on the Slavonian border, at Szolnok, and on the Upper Theiss. Of course, from these three places it once more reports "brilliant successes".

*First*:

"Master of the Ordnance Count Nugent, who set out on January 25 from Kanizsa to march to Fünfkirchen in order to disperse the rebels who had banded together there, transferred his headquarters to Fünfkirchen on January 29. The rebels, numbering 4,000 men with 10 cannon, left that town on January 26 and may have taken the direction of Esseg to assemble there, sheltered by the fortress which is occupied by the rebels. They will not, however, succeed in doing this as that fortress is encircled by the brigade of Colonel van der Nüll of the Gradiskan border regiment, and Master of the Ordnance Count Nugent also will follow them in that direction. The appearance of the royal imperial army in the Baranya and Tolna comitats has completely annihilated the elements hostile to the Government."

Let us first note that according to this the Esseg fortress on the Drava has not been taken, as the rumours circulating since the establishment of martial law maintained, but has so far only been "encircled", an encirclement which is all the more likely to be broken by the "4,000 men with 10 cannon" as it is *absolutely impossible* to maintain an encirclement on the left bank of the Drava because of the extensive swamps.

The further success is that Nugent has advanced as far as Fünfkirchen. As, according to the 18th Bulletin, Kaposvár had been occupied by the imperial troops, all that has been gained is that the army has advanced its position by some ten miles parallel to the Drava. The result of this is nothing but more difficulty in provisioning, which will grow worse in the same measure as the army approaches the heart of Hungary. Incidentally the Magyars appear to be pursuing the same tactics here as Görgey did in the Slovak region: they hold the towns as long as possible and then begin to fight a guerilla war in the countryside. What is said about the pacification of the Baranya and Tolna comitats reminds one entirely of the way Slovakia was pacified. We shall soon be hearing that the army has been unable to advance here either because it has first to restore peace and order in the comitats that have already been conquered.

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[a] i.e. the *Kölnische Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

*Second*:

"As was already reported in the 18th Bulletin, the Ottinger cavalry brigade, reinforced by three battalions of infantry and two batteries of foot-artillery, has taken up position at Czegléd. On receiving the news that the rebels intended to attack that position, Field Marshal Prince Windischgrätz felt decided to march against them with all available troops, hoping that the rebels would accept battle. However, they did not dare to risk a decisive engagement this time either, and seeing the reinforcements approaching, they hastily withdrew across the Theiss, with the Grammont brigade in pursuit."

Well then! The fact that Windischgrätz himself went to Czegléd "with all available troops" proves that Herr Ottinger must have suffered a severe set-back there. Even the "three battalions and two batteries" received as reinforcements were of no avail! All the gains amount to is that the Austrians are at Szolnok, that is once more on the Theiss.

It is odd that Windischgrätz should be annoyed that the rebels have yet again refused to accept *battle*. As though it had not been the plan from the very outset where possible for the time being to avoid all decisive battles, to lure the imperial troops as far into Hungary as possible and to organise peasant war and guerillas in their rear! When the time is ripe they will "risk a decisive engagement".

*Third*:

"Having already successfully cleaned up the Zips, Lieutenant-Field Marshal Count Schlick has by now achieved the same with respect to the rebels in the Zemplin comitat, and has then set out for Tokaj where Kossuth's supporters have gathered from various points. On January 19 the advanced guard of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schlick, under the command of Major Piattoli, encountered the enemy at Szanto and drove him back towards Tokaj. On January 21 reconnaissance showed that the enemy had retreated and taken up a rather favourable position at Tokaj, Tarczal and Keresztúr. On January 22 Lieutenant-Field Marshal Count Schlick opened the general assault on that position. Major Herczmanovsky led his gallant Stephan battalion along with a squadron of imperial light cavalry and four cannon in the attack on Keresztúr, while Lieutenant-Field Marshal Count Schlick advanced on Tarczal via Tallya and Mad with the main column. The battle ended in victory for the imperial troops. The enemy suffered considerable losses, particularly in dead among the Polish legion.[a]"

This advantage comes as a complete surprise. Schlick drove the Hungarians' advanced posts back a few miles and met them in battle at Tallya and Keresztúr. "The battle ended in victory for the royal imperial troops," says the laconic report of success. Not a word about whether Tallya and Keresztúr have been taken, or whether the Magyars have withdrawn across the Theiss. The same will probably

[a] This legion was nearly 3,000 men strong and fought against the imperial troops from December 1848.—*Ed.*

happen with this battle, which was such a great victory and so singularly lacking in success, as happened with Ottinger's last victory, which in the end turned out to be a defeat. No skill is required to "clean up the Zips" since the Zips is inhabited mainly by Germans. The Zemplin comitat is inhabited by Ruthenians,[283] who for the time being are still friendly towards the imperial troops, and here, too, it sounds odd to hear talk of "cleaning up".

The main conclusion to be drawn from the Bulletin is that the imperial troops are occupying two positions on the Theiss at a great distance from each other. The two corps have no contact with each other. Kossuth will probably quite soon attempt the decisive blow: he will either throw all his forces into separate attacks on the two corps, or break through between them, march on Pest, and attack the Austrians from the rear.

And while this state of affairs persists, while the imperial troops, despite their superior strength, advance only with extreme hesitation and caution, all their columns operating individually without thinking of concentrating their forces, while the Magyars stand armed on the other side of the Theiss, the martial-law press reports that Kossuth has been taken prisoner near Stry in Galicia. And German newspapers reprint that.

Written by Engels on February 5, 1849

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# THE FIRST TRIAL OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*[284]

[SPEECH BY KARL MARX]

Gentlemen of the jury! The proceedings today have a certain importance because Articles 222 and 367 of the *Code pénal*[285] invoked in the indictment against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* are the only ones from Rhenish legislation available to the state authorities, unless there is direct incitement to revolt.

You are all aware of the very special predilection of the prosecuting magistrates for taking legal action against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. In spite of all their diligence, however, up to now they have not succeeded in accusing us of any other offences than those envisaged in Articles 222 and 367. In the interests of the press, therefore, I consider it necessary to make a closer examination of these articles.

But before I enter into a legal analysis, allow me to make a personal observation. The Public Prosecutor has described as a *vilification* the passage in the incriminated article which states: "Is Herr Zweiffel perhaps combining the executive with the legislative power? Are the laurels of Chief Public Prosecutor supposed to cover the weak points of the people's representative?"[a] Gentlemen, it is quite possible for someone to be a very good Chief Public Prosecutor and at the same time a bad people's representative. He is perhaps a good Chief Public Prosecutor only because he is a bad people's representative. The prosecution seems to be little versed in parliamentary history. What underlies the question of incompatibility, which takes up so much space in the proceedings of the constitutional Chambers? The distrust of executive officials, the

[a] See present edition, Vol. 7, p. 179.—*Ed.*

# Zwei
# politische Prozesse.

Verhandelt vor den Februar-Assisen in Köln.

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**I.**

**Der erste Preßprozeß der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung.**

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**II.**

**Prozeß des Kreis-Ausschusses der rheinischen Demokraten.**

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**Köln, 1849.**

Verlag der Expedition der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung.

Title-page of the pamphlet *Two Political Trials* containing Marx's and Engels' speeches at the Cologne trials

suspicion that an executive official will readily sacrifice the interests of society to the interests of the existing Government and is therefore fitted to be anything rather than a people's representative. And now consider in particular the situation of a Public Prosecutor. In what country would it not be considered incompatible with the high post of people's representative? I remind you of the attacks on Hébert, Plougoulm and Bavay in the French and Belgian press, and in the French and Belgian Chambers, attacks aimed precisely against the contradictory combination of the qualities of a Prosecutor-General and a parliamentary deputy in the same person. These attacks never resulted in the institution of court proceedings, not even under Guizot, and the France of Louis Philippe and the Belgium of Leopold ranked as model constitutional states. In England, it is true, matters are different with the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General.[a] But their position is also essentially different from that of a *procureur du roi.* They are indeed more or less judicial officials. We, gentlemen, are not constitutionalists, but we take up the standpoint of the gentlemen who are accusing us in order to beat them on their own ground with their own weapons. Hence we appeal to constitutional usage.

The Public Prosecutor would like to wipe out a large period of parliamentary history—by means of a moral platitude. I decisively reject his charge of vilification, and I explain it as due to his ignorance.

I pass now to a discussion of the juridical question.

My defence counsel[b] has already proved to you that without the Prussian law of July 5, 1819,[286] the indictment on the charge of insulting Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel would have been invalid from the outset. Article 222 of the *Code pénal* speaks only of "*outrages par paroles*", of *oral* insults, not of written or printed ones. The Prussian law of 1819, however, was intended to supplement Article 222, not to abolish it. The Prussian law can extend to written insults the punishment prescribed in Article 222 only where the *Code* would impose it if the insults were in oral form. Written insults must occur under the same circumstances and conditions as envisaged by Article 222 for oral insults. It is therefore necessary to define exactly the meaning of Article 222.*

* Article 222 reads textually as follows: "Lorsqu'un ou plusieurs magistrats de l'ordre administratif ou judiciaire auront reçu dans *l'exercice de leurs fonctions ou à l'occasion de cet exercice* quelque outrage par paroles tendant à inculper leur honneur ou

[a] These titles are in English in the German original.—*Ed.*
[b] Schneider II.—*Ed.*

In the motives given for Article 222 (Exposé par M. le conseiller d'état Berlier, séance de février 1810[a]) it is stated:

"Il ne sera donc ici question que des *seuls outrages* qui compromettent la *paix publique* c.àd. de ceux dirigés contre les fonctionnaires ou agents publics dans l'exercice ou à l'occasion de l'exercice de leurs fonctions; dans ce cas ce n'est plus un particulier, c'est l'ordre public qui est blessé... La hiérarchie politique sera dans ce cas prise en considération: celui qui se permet des *outrages ou violences* envers un officier ministériel est coupable sans doute, mais il commet un moindre *scandale* que lorsqu'il outrage un magistrat."

That is to say, in translation:

"It will therefore be a question here *only* of insults which violate *public order*, public peace, that is to say, therefore, insults directed against officials or public agents during the exercise of or in connection with the exercise of their functions; in this case it is no longer a private person, it is public order which is harmed.... In this case the political hierarchy will be taken into consideration: one who indulges in insults or acts of violence directed against a ministerial official is undoubtedly guilty, but he causes a lesser scandal than when he insults a judge."

From these motives, gentlemen, you see what the legislator intended by Article 222. Article 222 is "*only*" applicable to insults directed against officials which violate, put at risk, public order, public peace. When is public order, *la paix publique*, violated? Only when a revolt for the purpose of overthrowing the laws is attempted or when the implementation of the existing laws is prevented, i.e. when resistance is exercised against the official who is executing the law, when the *performance of his office* by a functioning official is interrupted or impaired. The resistance can be confined to mere grumbling, to insu ting language; it can go as far as acts of violence, forcible insubordination. *Outrage*, insult, is merely the lowest degree of *violence*, of insubordination, of violent resistance. Hence in the motivation there is mention of "*outrages ou violences*", "insults *or* acts of violence". The concept is the same in both; *violence*, act of violence, is only an aggravation of *outrage*, of insult against the functioning official.

In these motives, therefore, it is presumed: 1) that the official was insulted during the exercise of his office; 2) that he was *present in*

leur délicatesse, celui qui les aura ainsi outragés sera puni d'un emprisonnement d'un mois à deux ans." ["If one or more officials of the administrative or judicial system during *the exercise of their functions or on the occasion of such exercise* have been subjected to insult by words tending to impugn their honour or delicacy, the person who has insulted them in this way will be punished by imprisonment from one month to two years."]—*Note by Marx.*

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[a] Expositions by Counsellor of State Berlier, sitting of February 1810.—*Ed.*

*person* when he was insulted. In no other case does a real disturbance of public order take place.

The same presumption is to be found in the whole section concerning "*outrages et violences envers les dépositaires de l'autorité et de la force publique*", i.e. "insults and acts of violence against those who are entrusted with public power and public authority". The various articles of this section present the following gradations of acts of resistance: facial expressions, words, threats, acts of violence; the last-named in their turn are graded according to their gravity. Finally, in all these articles provision is made for more severe punishment in cases where these various forms of insubordination occur in a court of law. Here the greatest "*scandal*" is caused and there is the most blatant hindrance to the execution of the laws and violation of the *paix publique*.

Article 222, therefore, is applicable to *written* insults against officials only when they occur 1) in the presence in person of the official, 2) during the performance of his office. My defence counsel, gentlemen, has cited such an example for you. He himself would have come under Article 222 if, for example, now during the assizes proceedings he had insulted the presiding judge in a written proposal or something of that sort. On the other hand, under no circumstances can this article of the *Code pénal* be applied to a newspaper article which "insults" in the absence of the functioning official and long after the performance of his official duty.

This interpretation of Article 222 gives you the explanation for what appears to be a defect, an inconsistency, of the *Code pénal*. Why am I permitted to insult the King, whereas I am not permitted to insult the Chief Public Prosecutor? Why does the *Code* not prescribe any punishment for *lèse-majesté* as Prussian Law[287] does?

Because the King himself never performs the functions of an official, but always causes them to be performed by someone else, because the King never acts towards me in a personal way, but always only through his representatives. The despotism of the *Code pénal* deriving from the French Revolution is immensely different from the patriarchal-schoolmasterly despotism of Prussian Law. The Napoleonic despotism strikes me down as soon as I actually obstruct state power, even if it is only by insulting an official who, during the performance of his office, exercises state power in relation to me. On the other hand, outside the performance of his office, the official becomes an ordinary member of civil society, without privileges, without special protection. Prussian despotism, on the other hand, confronts me in the shape of an official with a superior, sacrosanct being. His official character is as integral part of his personality as

consecration is of a Catholic priest. For Prussian laymen, i.e. those who are not officials, the Prussian official always remains a priest. To insult such a priest, even one who is not functioning, who is not present, and who is back in private life, remains a profanation of religion, a desecration. The higher the official the more serious the profanation of religion. The highest degree of insult to a state priest is therefore an insult offered to the King, *lèse-majesté*, which according to the *Code pénal* is a criminal impossibility.

But it will be said that if Article 222 of the *Code pénal* speaks only of *outrages* against officials "*dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions*", of insults against officials during the exercise of their functions, then there would be no need to prove that the *presence in person* of the official is presumed by the legislator and is the necessary condition for any insult coming under Article 222. But to the words "*dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions*", Article 222 adds "*à l'occasion de cet exercice*".

The public prosecution translates this: "with relation to their office". I shall prove to you, gentlemen, that this translation is incorrect and is directly contrary to the intention of the legislator. Take a look at Article 228 of the same section. It states: Anyone who *strikes* an official "*dans l'exercice de ses fonctions ou à l'occasion de cet exercice*" will be punished by imprisonment for two to five years. Can this be translated: "with relation to his office"? Can one deal *relative* blows? Is the presumption of the presence in person of the official abandoned here? Can I thrash one who is not present? It is obvious that this must be translated: "Anyone who strikes an official on the *occasion* of the performance of his official duty". The phrase in Article 228 is word for word the same as in Article 222. The words "*à l'occasion de cet exercice*" have obviously the same meaning in both. Far from excluding the condition of the *presence in person* of the official, therefore, this addition on the contrary presupposes it.

The history of French legislation offers you a further striking proof. You will recall that in France in the first period of the Restoration, the parties were inexorably opposed to one another—in parliament, in the courts of justice; in Southern France they were literally at daggers drawn. The assize courts at that time were nothing but martial-law tribunals of the victorious party against the defeated party. The opposition press lashed out mercilessly at the verdicts of the juries. Article 222 was no weapon against this hateful polemic because this article could only be applied to insults against jurymen while they were in session and present in person. Hence in 1819 a new law was concocted which punishes any attack on the *chose jugée*, on a verdict which has been pronounced. The *Code pénal* knows nothing of this inviolability of a judicial verdict. Would it

have been supplemented by a new law if Article 222 dealt with insults "*with relation to*" the performance of an office?

What then is the meaning of the phrase: "*à l'occasion de cet exercice*"? It is intended to do no more than safeguard an official from attacks shortly *before* or *after* the performance of his office. If Article 222 spoke only of "insults and acts of violence" against an official during the actual duration of the performance of his office, I could throw a court bailiff down the stairs after the execution of his warrant and maintain that I had not insulted him until he had ceased to confront me in the official capacity of a court bailiff. I could attack and thrash a justice of the peace while he was on the way to my home to carry out his judicial police function and could avoid the punishment envisaged in Article 228 by maintaining that I had maltreated him not during but prior to his performance of his office.

The phrase "*à l'occasion de cet exercice*", *on the occasion* of the performance of an office, is intended therefore to ensure the safety of an official performing his official function. It concerns insults or acts of violence which take place, it is true, not directly during the performance of an official duty, but shortly *before* or *after* it, and—what is the essential thing—are *vitally* connected with the performance of the office, and therefore under all circumstances presuppose the *presence in person* of the maltreated official.

Is any further proof needed that Article 222 is not applicable to our newspaper article, even if by it we insulted Herr Zweiffel? When that article was written, Herr Zweiffel was *absent*; at that time he was living not in Cologne, but in Berlin. When that article was written, Herr Zweiffel was not functioning as Chief Public Prosecutor, but as an agreer.[a] Hence he could not be insulted or abused as functioning Chief Public Prosecutor.

Apart from all that I have said so far, there is another way in which it can be shown that Article 222 is not applicable to the incriminated *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* article.

This follows from the distinction which the *Code pénal* draws between *insult* and *calumny*. You will find this distinction precisely defined in Article 375. After speaking of "calumny", it states here:

"Quant aux injures ou aux expressions outrageantes qui ne renfermeraient l'imputation d'aucun fait précis" (in Article 367 on calumny this is called: "des faits, qui s'ils existaient", facts which "if they were real *facts*"), "mais celle d'un vice déterminé, ... la peine sera une amende de seize à cinq cent francs".—"Defamations or

[a] i.e. a deputy of the Prussian National Assembly, called upon to work out a Constitution by agreement with the Crown.—*Ed.*

insulting expressions which do not contain the imputation of a definite fact, but certainly the imputation of a definite vice, will ... be punished by a fine of sixteen to five hundred francs."

Article 376 states further:

"All other defamations or insulting expressions ... entail a simple police punishment."

What, therefore, does calumny involve? Defamations which charge the one defamed with a *definite fact.* And what does insult involve? The imputation of a definite vice and insulting expressions in general terms. If I say: you have stolen a silver spoon, that is a calumny against you in the sense of the *Code pénal.* If, on the other hand, I say: you are a thief, you have thievish desires, then I am *insulting* you.

But the article in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* by no means reproaches Herr Zweiffel by saying: Herr Zweiffel is a traitor to the people, Herr Zweiffel has made infamous statements. On the contrary, the article states explicitly: "Herr Zweiffel, moreover, is said to have declared that he would within a week put an end to March 19, the clubs, freedom of the press and other outrages of the evil year 1848 at Cologne on the Rhine."[a]

Herr Zweiffel, therefore, is charged with having made a quite definite statement. Hence if one of the two Articles 222 and 367 were applicable in this case, it would not be Article 222, which deals with insults, but only Article 367, which is concerned with calumny.

Why has the public prosecution applied Article 222 to us instead of Article 367?

Because Article 222 is much more indefinite and makes it much easier to smuggle in a conviction once it is intended that there shall be a conviction. Violation of "*délicatesse et honneur*", of delicacy and honour, admits of no exact measurement. What is honour, what is delicacy? What is the violation of them? It depends purely on the individual with whom I am dealing, on his degree of education, on his prejudices, on his imagination. There is no other measuring rod for it than the *noli me tangere*[b] of the pretentious vanity of an official who imagines himself to be incomparable.

But Article 367, too, which concerns calumny, is inapplicable to the article in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.*

Article 367 demands a "*fait précis*", a definite fact, "*un fait qui peut exister*", a fact which can be a *real* fact. But Herr Zweiffel is not charged with having abolished freedom of the press, with having

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 7, p. 179.— *Ed.*

[b] Not to be touched.— *Ed.*

closed down the clubs and destroyed the March gains in some place or other. It is a mere statement that is laid to his charge. Article 367, however, calls for the imputation of definite facts,

> "which, if they were real facts, would expose the one to blame for them to criminal or police court proceedings or even merely to the contempt or hatred of the citizens".

The mere *statement* about doing something or other does not expose me to either criminal or police court proceedings. It cannot even be said that it necessarily exposes me to the hatred or contempt of the citizens. A statement can, it is true, be the expression of a very base, hateful and contemptible frame of mind. Nevertheless, is it not possible that in my excitement I may utter a statement which threatens actions that I am incapable of carrying out? Only an act proves whether my statement is *seriously* meant.

Moreover, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* says: "Herr Zweiffel *is said* to have declared." In order to calumniate someone I must not cast doubt on my own assertion as occurs here with the use of the "*is said*"; I must express myself categorically.

Finally, gentlemen of the jury, the "*citoyens*", the citizens, whose hatred or contempt, according to Article 367, must be evoked by my imputation of a fact for it to be a *calumny*, these *citoyens*, these citizens no longer exist at all in political matters. There are only party adherents. What earns me hatred and contempt among the members of one party earns me love and honour among the members of the other party. The organ of the present Ministry, the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, has accused Herr Zweiffel of being a kind of *Robespierre*.[a] In its eyes, in the eyes of its party, our article did not expose Herr Zweiffel to hatred and contempt, but freed him from the burden of hatred and contempt which he had been made to bear.

It is of very great interest to attach weight to this remark, not so much for the pending case as for all cases where an attempt may be made by the public prosecution to apply Article 367 to political polemics.

In general, gentlemen of the jury, if you want to apply to the press Article 367 on calumny as interpreted by the public prosecution, then you abolish freedom of the press by means of the Penal Code, whereas you have recognised this freedom by a Constitution and won it by a revolution. You sanction every arbitrary action of the officials, you permit every official villainous action, you punish only the denunciation of villainy. What then is the use of the hypocrisy of a free press? If existing laws enter into open contradiction to a newly achieved stage of social development, then it is up to you, gentlemen

[a] See this volume, p. 30.—*Ed.*

of the jury, to come between the dead behests of the law and the living demands of society. It is up to you then to anticipate legislation until it knows how to comply with social needs. This is the noblest attribute of the assize court. In the present case, gentlemen, this task is facilitated for you by the letter of the law itself. You have only to interpret it in the sense of our time, our political rights, and our social needs.

Article 367 concludes with the following words:

> "La présente disposition n'est point applicable aux faits dont la loi autorise la publicité, ni à ceux que l'auteur de l'imputation était, *par la nature de ses fonctions ou de ses devoirs, obligé de révéler ou de réprimer.*"—"The present provision is not applicable to facts which the law permits to be made public, nor to those which, *owing to the nature of his office or his duty,* the author of the imputation *was bound* to reveal or prevent."

There is no doubt, gentlemen, that the legislator was not thinking of the free press when he spoke of the *duty* of denunciation. But neither did he think that this article would ever be applied to the free press. It is well known that under Napoleon there was no freedom of the press. Hence if you want to apply the law to a stage of political and social development for which it was not intended, then apply it *fully,* expound it in the spirit of our time, let the press have the benefit also of this concluding sentence of Article 367.

Article 367, taken in the narrow sense of the public prosecution, excludes proof of truth and only permits denunciation when it is supported by public documents or already available judicial verdicts. Why should the press *post festum,* after a judgment has been pronounced, still make its denunciation? It is by profession the public watchdog, the tireless denouncer of those in power, the omnipresent eye, the omnipresent mouthpiece of the people's spirit that jealously guards its freedom. If you interpret Article 367 in this sense, and that is how you must interpret it if you do not want to take away the freedom of the press in the interests of governmental power, the Code offers you at the same time a means of dealing with encroachments of the press. According to Article 372, in a case of denunciation, the proceedings and decision regarding the offence of calumny should be suspended during the investigation of the facts. According to Article 373, a denunciation which proves to be a calumny is punishable.

Gentlemen, you need only to glance at the incriminated article to convince yourselves that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* far from having any *intention* of insult or calumny, merely fulfilled its duty of denunciation when it attacked the local prosecuting magistrates and police. The hearing of the witnesses has proved to you that in regard to the police we have reported only the real facts.

The point of the whole article, however, lies in the prophecy of the subsequently carried out counter-revolution; it is an attack on the Hansemann Ministry, which marked its entry by the peculiar assertion that the greater the police force, the freer the state. This Ministry imagined that the aristocracy had been defeated and that only one task remained for it to accomplish: to rob the people of their revolutionary achievements in the interests of a particular class, the bourgeoisie. Thus it paved the way for the feudal counter-revolution. What we denounced in the incriminated article was nothing more and nothing less than the obvious phenomenon, from the evidence of our most immediate surroundings, of systematic counter-revolutionary activity on the part of the Hansemann Ministry and the German governments in general.

It is impossible to regard the arrests in Cologne as an isolated occurrence. To be convinced of the contrary, one has only to cast a fleeting glance at the history of the period. Shortly before there was the prosecution of the press in Berlin, based on the provisions of the old Prussian Law. A few days later, on July 8, J. Wulff, President of the Düsseldorf People's Club, was arrested, and house searches were carried out among many committee members of this club. Wulff was subsequently acquitted by the jury, as indeed at that time no political trial received the sanction of the jury. On the same date, July 8, in Munich, officers, officials and supernumerary officials were forbidden to take part in public meetings. On July 9, Falkenheim, President of the "Germania" Association in Breslau, was arrested. On July 15, in the Citizens' Association [288] in Düsseldorf, Chief Public Prosecutor Schnaase delivered a speech containing a formal indictment of the People's Club, the President of which had been arrested on July 8 by his order. There you have an example of the lofty impartiality of the prosecuting magistrates, an example of how the Chief Public Prosecutor acts at the same time as adherent of a party, and the party adherent as Chief Public Prosecutor. Undeterred by the legal proceedings taken against us because of our attack on Zweiffel, we then denounced Schnaase.[a] He took care not to reply to us. On the same day that Chief Public Prosecutor Schnaase delivered his philippic against the Düsseldorf People's Club, the Democratic District Association in Stuttgart was closed down by a royal ordinance. On July 19, the Democratic Students' Association in Heidelberg was dissolved, as also on July 27 all democratic associations in Baden and shortly afterwards all those in Württem-

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[a] Reference to the report "Bürgerverein" (Düsseldorf), published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 48, July 18, 1848.—*Ed.*

berg and Bavaria. And ought we to have remained silent about this obvious conspiracy of treason against the people on the part of all the German governments? The Prussian Government at that time did not dare to do what the governments of Baden, Württemberg and Bavaria did. It did not dare because the Prussian National Assembly had just begun to get an inkling of the counter-revolutionary conspiracy and to show fight against the Hansemann Ministry. But, gentlemen of the jury, I tell you frankly, with the utmost conviction: if the Prussian counter-revolution is not smashed soon by a Prussian people's revolution, freedom of association and freedom of the press will be completely destroyed in Prussia as well. They have already been partially done away with by the states of siege. In Düsseldorf and in some Silesian regions the authorities have even dared to re-introduce *censorship.*

However, it is not merely the general state of affairs in Germany, but the general Prussian state of affairs that obliged us to view with extreme distrust every action of the Government and to denounce to the people the slightest symptoms of its system. The prosecuting magistrates here in Cologne have given us quite special grounds for exposing them before public opinion as a counter-revolutionary tool. In July alone, we had to denounce three illegal arrests. On the first two occasions Public Prosecutor Hecker remained silent, on the third occasion he tried to justify himself, but after our reply he kept silent for the simple reason that there was nothing he could say.[289]

And under these circumstances the public prosecution dares to assert that it is not a question of a denunciation, but of a petty malicious calumny? This view is based on a peculiar misunderstanding. As far as I am concerned, I assure you, gentlemen, that I prefer to follow the great events of the world, to analyse the course of history, than to occupy myself with local bosses, with the police and prosecuting magistrates. However great these gentlemen may imagine themselves in their own fancy, they are *nothing*, absolutely *nothing*, in the gigantic battles of the present time. I consider we are making a real sacrifice when we decide to break a lance with *these* opponents. But, firstly, it is the duty of the press to come forward on behalf of the oppressed in its immediate neighbourhood. And furthermore, gentlemen, the edifice of servitude has its most specific support in the subordinate political and social powers which directly confront the private life of an individual, of a living person. It is not sufficient to fight against general relationships and the highest authorities. The press must decide to enter the lists against a *specific* police officer, a *specific* Public Prosecutor, a *specific Landrat.* What caused the defeat of the *March revolution*? It reformed only the

highest political summit, it left all the groundwork of this summit intact—the old bureaucracy, the old army, the old boards of prosecuting magistrates, the old judiciary which had been created, had developed and grown grey in the service of absolutism. The first duty of the press now is *to undermine all the foundations of the existing political state of affairs.* (Applause in the hall.)

[SPEECH BY FREDERICK ENGELS]

Gentlemen of the jury, the previous speaker has been concerned mainly with the charge of insulting the Chief Public Prosecutor, Herr Zweiffel. Permit me now to draw your attention to the accusation of calumniating the police. It is primarily a matter of the legal provisions on which the indictment is based.

Article 367 of the Penal Code states:

"A person is guilty of the offence of calumny who in public places or in public meetings, or in an authentic and public document or in a *printed* or unprinted *writing* which has been exhibited, *sold* or distributed, accuses anyone of such facts which, if they were true, would expose the one to blame for them to criminal or police court proceedings or even merely to the *contempt* or *hatred of the citizens.*"

Article 370 adds:

"If through process of law the fact constituting the object of the accusation is *proved to be true,* the author of the accusation is free from all punishment.... *Only* proof which arises from a *judicial verdict* or some other *authentic document* is regarded as *legal proof.*"

Gentlemen, the public prosecution has given you *its* interpretation of these provisions of the law and on that basis has asked you to pronounce us guilty. Your attention has already been drawn to the fact that these laws were promulgated at a time when the press was under censorship and political relationships were quite different from what they are now, and on these grounds my defence counsel[a] has expressed the opinion that you should no longer consider these obsolete laws as binding upon you. The public prosecution has concurred with this view, at least as regards Article 370. It made a statement to the following effect: "For you, gentlemen of the jury, it will be mainly a question of whether the truth of the facts in question has been *proved*"—and I thank the prosecution for this admission.

But even if you should not be of the opinion that at least Article 370 in its limitation of the proof of truth is obsolete, you will certainly think that the articles cited must have a different interpretation from

[a] Schneider II.—*Ed.*

that which the public prosecution tries to give them. It is precisely the privilege of the jury to interpret the laws, independently of all traditional judicial practice, as their common sense and conscience dictate. We are indicted under Article 367 for having accused the police officers in question of actions which, if they were true, would expose them to the contempt and hatred of the citizens. If you interpret these words "hatred and contempt" in the sense that the prosecution would like to give them, then, so long as the provisions of Article 370 remain in force, all freedom of the press ceases to exist. In that case, how can the press fulfil its primary duty, the duty of protecting the citizens against excesses committed by officials? As soon as it denounces such an excess to public opinion, it will be brought before the assize court and—if things turn out as the prosecution would like—will be sentenced to imprisonment, a fine and loss of civil rights; unless it is able to adduce a judicial verdict, i.e. unless it publishes its denunciation only when it no longer serves any purpose!

How little appropriate to present-day conditions are the passages of the laws that have been cited, at least in the interpretation that the prosecution would like to give them, is proved by a comparison with Article 369. This states:

> "With regard to calumnies which have been given currency by means of *foreign newspapers*, legal proceedings can be taken against those who sent the articles to the newspapers ... or who helped towards the *import and circulation* of these newspapers within the country."

According to this article, gentlemen, it would be the duty of the public prosecution daily and hourly to institute proceedings against the royal Prussian postal officials. For is there even a single one of the three hundred and sixty-five days of the year on which the Prussian postal service by the conveyance and delivery of some foreign newspaper or other does not help towards "the import and circulation" of calumnies in the sense of the prosecution? Nevertheless, it does not occur to the public prosecutors to institute proceedings against the postal service.

Furthermore, bear in mind, gentlemen, that these articles of the law were written at a time when the censorship made it *impossible* to calumniate *officials* through the press. According to the legislator's intention, therefore, those articles could only serve the purpose of protecting *private persons*, but not *officials*, from calumny, and in that way only have they any meaning. But owing to the fact that since the winning of freedom of the press the actions of officials also can be placed before the forum of public opinion, the point of view is

essentially altered. And it is precisely here, where there are such contradictions between old legislation and new political and social conditions, it is precisely here that the jury has to intervene and by a new interpretation adapt the old law to the new conditions.

But, as already stated: the prosecution itself has recognised that, despite Article 370, for you, gentlemen, it is mainly a question of whether the truth has been proved. The prosecution has therefore attempted to invalidate the proof of truth as we placed it before you by the evidence of witnesses. Let us therefore look at the newspaper article in question to test whether the accusations have in fact been proved and whether, at the same time, they really constitute a calumny. At the beginning of the article, it is stated:

"Six to seven policemen entered Anneke's residence between 6 and 7 in the morning, immediately maltreated the maid in the hall" [a] etc.

Gentlemen, you have heard Anneke's evidence on this point. You will recall that I wanted to question the witness Anneke again about the maltreatment of the servant girl and that the presiding judge declared this interrogation superfluous since the matter had been sufficiently established. I ask you now: have we calumniated the police in this matter?

Further: "Once they found themselves in the anteroom, the urging turned into assault during which one of the policemen smashed a glass door. Anneke was pushed down the stairs." Gentlemen, you heard the evidence of the witness Anneke; you will recall that the witness Esser told how the policemen came out of the house with Anneke "at full speed" and *bundled* him into the van. I ask you again, gentlemen, have we committed any calumny here?

Finally, there is a passage in the article the correctness of which has not been proved with *literal exactitude*. It is as follows: "One of these four pillars of justice was already at this early hour somewhat unsteady, being filled with 'spirit', the true fluid of life: firewater."

I admit, gentlemen, that all that has been established here by what Anneke expressly stated is as follows: "Judging by their behaviour, the policemen could very well have been drunk", that it has only been established that the policemen *behaved* as if they were drunk. But, gentlemen, compare what we said two days later in reply to the rejoinder of Public Prosecutor *Hecker*: "The insult could only refer to one of the policemen of whom it was said that he was *unsteady* at an early hour for more or less spiritual or spirituous reasons. If the investigation, however, as we do not doubt for one moment, should

[a] See present edition, Vol. 7, p. 177.—*Ed.*

prove the correctness of the evidence, namely the brutalities committed by the agents of the public authority, then we believe that we shall have only acted in the interests of the gentlemen accused by us by carefully emphasising, with the complete impartiality becoming the press, the *only extenuating circumstance.* And this affable statement of the only extenuating circumstance is transformed into an insult by the Public Prosecutor."[a]

You see from this, gentlemen, that we ourselves called for an investigation of the facts in question. It is not our fault that the investigation did not take place. Moreover, as far as the reproach of drunkenness is concerned, I ask you of what importance can it be for a royal Prussian policeman if it is said that he has drunk a glass too much? As to whether that can be regarded as a calumny, I appeal to public opinion throughout the Rhine Province.

And how can the prosecution speak of calumny when the alleged victims of calumny are not named, not even precisely indicated? There is the mention of "six to seven policemen". Who are they? Where are they? Have you heard, gentlemen, of any *particular* policeman who has been exposed to "the hatred and contempt of the citizens" as a result of this article? The law expressly demands that the calumniated individual must be precisely indicated. In the passage of the article in question no particular policeman but at most the royal Prussian police as a whole can find that it has been defamed. It can feel insulted by newspapers making public the fact that illegal and brutal acts are committed by members of this corps with impunity. But, gentlemen, it is no crime to accuse the royal Prussian police in general of brutal behaviour. I challenge the public prosecution to show me the passage in the law which makes it punishable to insult, defame or calumniate the royal Prussian corps of policemen, if indeed there can be any talk of calumny here.

In general, the public prosecution has regarded the article in question as merely proof of an unbridled passion for calumniation. Gentlemen, the article has been read to you. Did you find in it that we considered in isolation the more or less unimportant illegalities which occurred at the time in Cologne, that we exploited them and exaggerated them in order to satisfy our alleged rancour against the lower officials? Did we not, on the contrary, put these facts in their place as a link in the great chain of attempts on the part of reaction which were taking place at the time throughout Germany? Did we confine ourselves to the police and the prosecuting magistrates in

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[a] "Legal Proceedings against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*" (see present edition, Vol. 7, p. 187).— *Ed.*

Cologne, or did we go into the matter more thoroughly and trace its causes as far back as the secret Ministry of State in Berlin?[290] But, of course, it is less dangerous to attack the great secret Ministry of State in Berlin than the little Public Prosecutor's office in Cologne—and as a proof of this we stand here before you today.

Look at the end of the article.[a] It states: "Those are the actions of the Government of Action, the Government of the Left Centre, the Government of transition to an old aristocratic, old bureaucratic and old Prussian Government. As soon as Herr Hansemann has fulfilled his transitory function, he will be dismissed."

You will remember, gentlemen, what happened in August of last year: how Hansemann was "dismissed" as superfluous, of course under the more decent form of voluntary resignation, and how the Pfuel-Eichmann-Kisker-Ladenberg Ministry, literally an "old aristocratic, old bureaucratic, old Prussian Ministry", immediately succeeded him.

The article says further: "The Berlin Left, however, must realise that the old regime is willing to let it keep its small parliamentary victories and large constitutional designs as long as the old regime in the meantime is able to seize all the really important positions. It can confidently recognise the revolution of March 19 inside the Chamber provided the revolution can be disarmed *outside* of it."

I certainly need waste no words in proving how correct this view of the situation was. You yourselves know that in proportion as the power of the Left in the Chamber increased, the power of the people's party *outside* the Chamber was destroyed. Do I need to enumerate for you the unpunished brutal actions of the Prussian soldiery in innumerable cities, the increasing imposition of states of siege, the many cases of disarming the civic militia, and finally Wrangel's heroic expedition against Berlin, in order to show how the revolution was actually disarmed and how in actual fact the old power seized all decisive positions.

And then at the end is the remarkable prophecy: "Some fine day the Left may find *that its parliamentary victory coincides with its real defeat.*"

How literally this came to pass! The very day on which the Left at last achieved a majority in the Chamber was the day of their real defeat. It was precisely the parliamentary victories of the Left that led to the coup d'état of November 9, to the removal and adjournment of the National Assembly, and finally to its dissolution

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[a] The reference is to the article "Arrests" quoted at the beginning of this speech.—*Ed.*

and the imposing of a Constitution. The parliamentary victory of the Left directly coincided with its complete defeat outside parliament.[291]

This political forecast which has so literally come true, gentlemen, is therefore the result, the summing up, the conclusion that we drew from the acts of violence which had taken place throughout Germany, including Cologne. And yet there has been talk of a blind passion for calumniation. In actual fact, does it not look as if we have been brought before you today, gentlemen, in order to answer for the crime that we correctly reported correct facts and drew the correct conclusions from them?

To sum up: You, gentlemen of the jury, have at the present moment to decide about freedom of the press in the Rhine Province. If the press is to be forbidden to report what occurs before its very eyes; if in every complicated case it has to wait until a judicial verdict has been passed on it; if it must first ask every official, from the Minister down to the policeman, whether he would feel his honour or delicacy impugned by the facts of the case being mentioned, irrespective of whether these facts are true or not; if the press is faced with the alternative of either falsifying events or remaining completely silent—then, gentlemen, freedom of the press is at an end, and if that is what you want, then pronounce us "*guilty*"!

Delivered on February 7, 1849

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# THE TRIAL OF THE RHENISH DISTRICT COMMITTEE OF DEMOCRATS[292]

## [SPEECH BY KARL MARX]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 231, February 25, 1849]

Gentlemen of the jury, if this action had been brought *before* December 5, I could have understood the charge made by the Public Prosecutor. Now, *after* December 5, I do not understand how he dares to invoke against us laws which the Crown itself has trampled under foot.

On what does the public prosecution base its criticism of the National Assembly and of the decision on the refusal to pay taxes? On the laws of April 6 and 8, 1848.[293] And what did the Government do on December 5, when it on its own authority granted a Constitution and imposed a new electoral law on the country? It tore up the laws of April 6 and 8, 1848. These laws are no longer valid for the supporters of the Government, so why should they still be valid for the opponents of the Government? On December 5 the Government took its stand on a *revolutionary* basis, namely, on a *counter-revolutionary* basis. In relation to it there are now only revolutionaries or accomplices. Even the mass of citizens who act on the basis of the existing laws, who uphold the existing law in face of infringements of that law, have been turned into rebels by this Government itself. *Before* December 5 opinion concerning the removal of the National Assembly, its dispersal and the introduction of a state of siege in Berlin could have been divided. *After* December 5 it is a well-established fact that these measures were intended to usher in the counter-revolution and that therefore every means was permissible against a group that itself no longer recognised the conditions under which it was a *government* and consequently could no longer be acknowledged by the country as a government.

Gentlemen, the Crown could have preserved at least the semblance of legality, but it has not deigned to do so. It could have dispersed the National Assembly and then let the Ministry come forward and tell the country: "We have dared to carry out a coup

d'état—circumstances have forced us to do it. Formally, we have exceeded the bounds of the law, but there are moments of crisis when the very existence of the state is at stake. At such moments there is only *one* inviolable law — the existence of the state. There was no Constitution when we dispersed the Assembly. Therefore no Constitution could be infringed. But there exist two organic laws—those of April 6 and 8, 1848. Actually there is only *one* organic law, the *electoral law.* We call on the country to carry through new elections in accordance with *this* law. We, the *responsible Ministry,* will then appear before the Assembly that has emerged from these primary elections. This Assembly, we trust, will recognise that the coup d'état was a *saving action* necessitated by circumstances. It will subsequently sanction the coup d'état. It will declare that we infringed a legal formula in order to save the country. Let it pass judgment on us."

If the Ministry had acted in this way, it could have had some *semblance* of right to arraign us. The Crown would have saved the semblance of legality, but it could not, it *would* not do it.

The March revolution, as seen by the Crown, was a savage fact. One savage fact can be erased only by another savage fact. By rejecting new elections on the basis of the law of April 1848, the Ministry *denied* its own *responsibilities and rejected the very court to which it was responsible.* At the very outset it turned the appeal from the National Assembly to the people into a mere pretence, a fiction, a deception. By inventing a First Chamber based on the property qualification as an integral part of the Legislative Assembly, the Ministry tore up the organic laws, departed from the legal basis, falsified the people's elections and prevented the people from passing any verdict on the "saving action" of the Crown.

And so, gentlemen, the fact cannot be denied, and no future historian will deny it: the Crown has made a revolution, it has overthrown the existing legal system, it cannot appeal to the laws it has itself so scandalously annulled. After successfully carrying out a revolution one can hang one's opponents, but one cannot convict them. They can be put out of the way as defeated enemies, but they cannot be arraigned as criminals. After a revolution or counter-revolution has been consummated the annulled laws cannot be used against the *defenders* of these laws. That would be a cowardly pretence of legality which you, gentlemen, will not sanction by your verdict.

I have already told you, gentlemen, that the Government has falsified the verdict which the people passed on the "saving action of the Crown". The people nevertheless has already decided *against* the

Crown and *for* the National Assembly. The elections to the Second Chamber are the only lawful elections because they alone were based on the law of April 8, 1848. Practically all the deputies who were for the refusal to pay taxes were re-elected to the Second Chamber, many of them even two or three times. Schneider II, my co-defendant, is himself a deputy for Cologne. Thus, the question of the National Assembly's right to vote for the refusal to pay taxes has in fact been decided already by the people.

But irrespective of this highest pronouncement, you will all agree with me, gentlemen, that in the present case no crime in the ordinary sense of the word has been committed, that no infringement of the law falling within your jurisdiction has occurred. Under ordinary conditions the existing laws are enforced by the public authorities; whoever breaks these laws or prevents the public authorities from enforcing them is a criminal. In the present case one public authority has broken the law, another public authority, it makes no difference which, has upheld it. The struggle between two political powers lies neither within the sphere of civil law, nor within the sphere of criminal law. The question of who was in the right, the Crown or the National Assembly, is a matter for history. All the juries, all the courts of Prussia together cannot decide it. Only one power can supply the answer—history. I do not understand, therefore, how, on the basis of the *Code pénal,* we could be placed in the dock.

That this was a struggle between two powers, and only power can decide between two powers—that, gentlemen, has been declared by both the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary press. This was proclaimed even by an organ of the Government a short time before the struggle was decided. The *Neue Preussische Zeitung,* the organ of the present Ministry, clearly realised this. A few days before the crisis it said approximately the following: It is no longer a question of right but of power, and the old monarchy by the grace of God will show that it still has this power. The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* correctly understood the situation. Power against power. Victory would decide between them. The counter-revolution carried the day but we have seen only the first act of the drama. The struggle in England lasted over twenty years. Charles I came out on top several times and ended up on the scaffold. Who, gentlemen, can guarantee to you that the present Ministry and the officials who acted and continue to act as its tools will not be convicted of high treason by this Chamber or its successors?

Gentlemen, the Public Prosecutor has tried to base his accusation on the laws of April 6 and 8. I have been compelled here to demonstrate to you that it is these laws which acquit us. But I make

no secret of the fact that I have never recognised these laws and never will. They never had any validity for the deputies elected by the people, still less could they prescribe the course of the March revolution.

How did the laws of April 6 and 8 come into being? By agreement between the Government and the *United Diet.* It was an attempt to maintain continuity with the old legal system and to play down the revolution which had done away with that system. Men like Camphausen thought it important to preserve a semblance of legal continuity. And how did they preserve this semblance? By a series of obvious and absurd contradictions. Let us for a moment adopt the old legal point of view. Was not the very existence of Minister Camphausen, a *responsible Minister,* a Minister who had not climbed the ladder of officialdom, unlawful? The position of Camphausen, the *responsible Prime Minister,* was unlawful. This official, who has no *legal* existence, convenes the United Diet to have it pass laws it was not *legally* competent to pass. This inconsistent and self-contradictory playing with formalities was called legal progress, maintenance of the legal basis!

But let us leave aside the formal aspect, gentlemen. What was the United Diet? It represented old, decayed social relations. It was against these relations that the revolution was directed. And the representatives of the vanquished society are asked to endorse organic laws designed to recognise, guide and organise the revolution against this old society! What an absurd contradiction! The Diet was overthrown together with the old monarchy.

On this occasion we are directly confronted by the so-called *legal basis.* It is the more necessary for me to deal with this point since we are justly regarded as opponents of the legal basis, and since the laws of April 6 and 8 owe their existence merely to the formal recognition of the legal basis.

The Diet represented primarily big landed property. Big landed property was indeed the foundation of medieval, *feudal society. Modern bourgeois society, our* own society, on the other hand, is based on industry and commerce. Landed property itself has lost all its former conditions of existence, it has become dependent on commerce and industry. Agriculture, therefore, is carried on nowadays on industrial lines, and the old feudal lords have now sunk to the level of producers of cattle, wool, corn, beetroots, spirits etc., i.e. people who trade in industrial products just as any other merchant. However much they may cling to their old prejudices, they are in fact being turned into bourgeois, who manufacture as much as possible and as cheaply as possible, who buy where they can

get goods at the lowest price and sell where they can obtain the highest price. The mode of living, production and income of these gentlemen therefore gives the lie to their traditional pompous notions. Landed property, as the predominant social factor, presupposes a *medieval mode of production and commerce.* The United Diet represented this medieval mode of production and commerce which had long since ceased to exist, and whose representatives, though they clung to the old privileges, likewise enjoyed and exploited the advantages of the new society. The new bourgeois society, grounded on an entirely different foundation, on a changed mode of production, was bound to seize also political power, which had to be wrenched from the hands of those who represented the interests of a declining society, a political power, whose whole structure has arisen out of entirely different material conditions of society. *Hence the revolution.* The revolution was consequently directed as much against the *absolute monarchy,* the supreme political expression of the old society, as against the *representation by estates,* which represented a social system that had been long ago destroyed by modern industry or, at most, the still presumptuous ruins of the dissolved *estates* which bourgeois society was overtaking and pushing into the background more and more every day. How then was the idea conceived to allow the United Diet, the representative of the old society, to dictate laws to the new society which asserted its rights through the revolution?

Allegedly in order to maintain the *legal basis.* But, gentlemen, what do you understand by maintaining the legal basis? The maintenance of laws belonging to a bygone social era and framed by representatives of vanished or vanishing social interests, who consequently give the force of law only to those interests which run counter to the public needs. But society is not founded upon the law; that is a legal fiction. On the contrary, the law must be founded upon society, it must express the common interests and needs of society—as distinct from the caprice of the individuals—which arise from the material mode of production prevailing at the given time. This *Code Napoléon,* which I am holding in my hand, has not created modern bourgeois society. On the contrary, bourgeois society, which emerged in the eighteenth century and developed further in the nineteenth, merely finds its legal expression in this Code. As soon as it ceases to fit the social relations, it becomes simply a bundle of paper. You cannot make the old laws the foundation of the new social development, any more than these old laws created the old social conditions.

They were engendered by the old conditions of society and must perish with them. They are bound to change with the changing

conditions of life. To maintain the old laws in face of the new needs and demands of social development is essentially the same as hypocritically upholding out-of-date particular interests in face of the up-to-date general interests. *This maintenance of the legal basis* aims at asserting such particular interests as if they were the *predominant* interests when they are *no longer dominant*; it aims at imposing on society laws which have been condemned by the conditions of life in this society, by the way the members of this society earn their living, by their commerce and their material production; it aims at retaining in function legislators who are concerned only with particular interests; it seeks to misuse political power in order forcibly to place the interests of a minority above the interests of the majority. The maintenance of the legal basis is therefore in constant conflict with the existing needs, it hampers commerce and industry, it prepares the way for *social crises*, which erupt in *political revolutions*.

That is what adherence to the legal basis and the maintenance of the legal basis really mean. Relying on these phrases about the legal basis, which arise either from conscious deceit or unconscious self-deception, the United Diet was convoked, and this Diet was made to frame organic laws for the National Assembly the need for which was created by the revolution and which owed its existence to the revolution. And on the strength of these laws the National Assembly is to be judged!

The National Assembly represented modern bourgeois society as against the feudal society represented in the United Diet. It was elected by the people for the purpose of independently enacting a Constitution appropriate to the conditions of life which had come into conflict with the old political organisation and laws. It was therefore from the very beginning a sovereign, constituent assembly. The fact that it all the same stooped to entertain the point of view of the agreement was mere formal courtesy towards the Crown, mere ceremony. I need not here go into the question whether the Assembly—in opposition to the people—had the right to adopt the standpoint of agreement. It considered that a collision with the Crown should be averted by a display of goodwill on both sides.

One thing is certain, however: the laws of April 6 and 8, which were agreed with the United Diet, were formally invalid. The only material significance they have is that they state and lay down the conditions under which the National Assembly could really express the sovereign will of the people. The laws passed by the United Diet were merely a formula by which the Crown was saved the humiliation of having to proclaim: *I have been defeated!*

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 232, February 27, 1849]

Now, gentlemen of the jury, I shall proceed to examine more closely the speech of the Public Prosecutor.[a]

He said:

"The Crown ceded part of the power which had been wholly in its hands. Even in the ordinary course of things a deed of renunciation does not go beyond what is clearly stated in the words of renunciation. But the law of April 8, 1848, neither grants the National Assembly the right to refuse to vote taxes, nor stipulates that Berlin must necessarily be the seat of the National Assembly."

Gentlemen, power lay *broken* in the hands of the Crown, and the Crown ceded power in order to save the fragments. You will remember that immediately after his accession to the throne, the King[b] formally pledged his word of honour at Königsberg and Berlin not to concede constitutional government. You will remember that when opening the United Diet in 1847 the King solemnly swore that he would not allow a scrap of paper to come between him and *his* people.[294] After the March events of 1848, in the imposed Constitution, the King proclaimed himself a *constitutional* monarch. He put this abstract, outlandish flummery, that scrap of paper, between himself and his people. Will the Public Prosecutor dare to assert that the King voluntarily contradicted in so manifest a way his own solemn declarations, that in the eyes of the whole of Europe he voluntarily committed the glaring inconsistency of permitting the agreement or the Constitution! The King made the concessions which the revolution *compelled* him to make. Neither more nor less.

The popular analogy which the Public Prosecutor has made unfortunately proves nothing. It is true that if I renounce anything, I renounce only what I have *expressly* renounced. If I made you a gift, it would indeed be impudent if, on the basis of the deed of gift, you tried to compel me to undertake further obligations. But after the March events it was the people that made the gift and the Crown which received it. Obviously, the nature of the gift must be interpreted in accordance with the intentions of the giver and not those of the receiver, i.e. in accordance with the intentions of the people and not those of the Crown.

The absolute power of the Crown was broken. The people had won the day. The two sides concluded a truce and the people was cheated. The Public Prosecutor himself has taken pains to demonstrate at some length that the people was deceived. To

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[a] Bölling.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

challenge the right of the National Assembly to refuse to vote taxes, the Public Prosecutor has explained to you in detail that if there was something of this kind in the law of April 6, 1848, it was certainly no longer to be found in the law of April 8, 1848. The interval of two days was thus used to deprive the representatives of the people of the rights which had been conceded to them two days earlier. Could the Public Prosecutor have more strikingly compromised the *honesty* of the Crown, could he have more irrefutably proved the *intention to deceive* the people?

The Public Prosecutor says further:

"The right to *transfer* and *prorogue* the National Assembly is a consequence of the executive power and is recognised in all constitutional countries."

As to the right of the *executive* to *transfer* the meeting place of the legislative Chambers, I challenge the Public Prosecutor to cite even a single law or example in support of his assertion. In England, for instance, according to an old historical prerogative, the King could convene Parliament wherever he pleased. There is no law stating that London is the legal seat of Parliament. As you know, gentlemen, in England the most important political freedoms are in general sanctioned not by Statute Law but by Common Law; such, for instance, is the case with freedom of the press. But should an English Ministry take it into its head to transfer Parliament from London to Windsor or Richmond, it is sufficient to put the idea into words to realise how impossible it is.

True, in countries that have a constitutional government, the Crown has the right to *prorogue* the Chambers. But it must not be forgotten that on the other hand all constitutions specify *for how long* the Chambers can be prorogued and when they have to be summoned again. Prussia had no Constitution, it was only going to be created; no legal time-limit for summoning a prorogued Chamber existed, consequently no prorogation right of the Crown existed. Otherwise the Crown could have prorogued the Chamber for ten days, for ten years, or for ever. How could one be sure that the Chambers would ever be summoned or allowed to meet for any length of time? The existence of the Chambers alongside the Crown was left to the discretion of the Crown, the legislative power—if one could speak of legislative power in this context—had become a fiction.

Gentlemen, this example shows where any attempt to compare the conflict between the Prussian Crown and the Prussian National Assembly with the conditions obtaining in constitutional countries leads to. It leads to the *maintenance of absolute monarchy*. On the one

hand, the rights of a constitutional executive power are conferred upon the Crown, on the other, there is no law, no tradition, no organic institution able to impose on it the restrictions proper to a constitutional executive power. The representatives of the people are expected to play the role of a *constitutional* Chamber confronting an *absolute* monarchy!

Is there any need to explain that in the case under consideration no *executive power* confronted a *legislative power,* that the constitutional division of powers cannot be applied to the *Prussian National Assembly* and the Prussian Crown? Let us disregard the revolution and consider only the official *theory of agreement.* Even according to this theory two sovereign powers confronted each other. That is beyond any doubt. One of these two powers was bound to break the other. Two sovereign powers cannot function simultaneously, side by side, *in one state.* This is an absurdity, like the squaring of the circle. Material force had to decide the issue between the two sovereign powers. But it is not our task here to go into the question of whether agreement was possible or impossible. It is sufficient that two powers entered into relations with each other in order to conclude an agreement. Camphausen himself admitted that agreement might not be achieved. From the rostrum he pointed out to the agreers the danger that faced the country if the agreement did not come into being. The danger lay in the initial relationship of the Agreement Assembly to the Crown, and after the event an attempt is made to hold the National Assembly responsible for this danger by denying this initial relationship, by turning the Assembly into a *constitutional Chamber*! It is an attempt to overcome a difficulty by leaving it out of account.

Gentlemen, I think I have shown you that the Crown had no right either to transfer or to prorogue the Assembly of agreers.

But the Public Prosecutor did not confine himself to examining whether the Crown had the *right* to transfer the National Assembly; he has tried to prove that this transfer was *expedient.* "Would it not have been expedient," he exclaims, "if the National Assembly had obeyed the Crown and moved to Brandenburg?" According to the Public Prosecutor, the expediency of such an act was due to the position of the Chamber itself. The Chamber was not free in Berlin, and so forth.

But is it not obvious what purpose the Crown pursued in ordering this transfer? Had not the Crown itself divested all officially advanced reasons for the transfer of any semblance of veracity? It was not a question of freedom of deliberation, but of whether the Assembly should be sent home and a Constitution imposed, or

whether a spurious Assembly should be created by summoning more docile representatives. When, unexpectedly, a sufficient number of deputies arrived in Brandenburg to form a quorum, the pretence was abandoned and the National Assembly was declared to be dissolved.

Incidentally, it goes without saying that the Crown had no right to declare the National Assembly either free or unfree. No one but the Assembly itself could decide whether it had the necessary freedom of deliberation or not. Nothing would be more convenient for the Crown than, whenever the National Assembly passed resolutions the Crown disliked, to declare that it was not free, that it was irresponsible, and to ban it!

The Public Prosecutor has also spoken about the Government's duty to protect the dignity of the National Assembly against the terrorism of the Berlin population.

This argument sounds like a satire on the Government. I will not speak here of its treatment of individuals, of men who, after all, were the elected representatives of the people. It sought to humiliate them in every possible way, they were persecuted in the most infamous way and a sort of wild chase[295] was organised against them. But let us leave aside individuals. How was the dignity of the National Assembly and of its *work* maintained? Its archives were given over to the soldiery who used the documents of the various departments, the royal messages, draft laws and preliminary studies, as spills to light pipes with, burned them in stoves, and trampled on them.

Not even the formalities of a legal warrant were observed; the archives were seized without even an inventory being drawn up.

It was part of the plan to destroy all this work which had cost the people so much, in order to make it easier to vilify the National Assembly and to quash the planned reforms which were abhorrent to the Government and the aristocracy. Is it not simply ridiculous to assert after all this that the Government transferred the National Assembly from Berlin to Brandenburg out of tender concern for its dignity?

Now I come to the statement of the Public Prosecutor regarding the *formal validity* of the decision to refuse payment of taxes.

The Public Prosecutor says that in order to make the decision on the refusal to pay taxes formally valid, the Assembly should have submitted it to the *Crown for sanctioning.*

But, gentlemen, the Crown in its own person did not face the Assembly, it was represented by the Brandenburg Ministry. Consequently, according to the absurd claim of the Public Prosecutor, the Assembly should have reached an agreement with

the Brandenburg Ministry to proclaim that Ministry guilty of high treason and to prevent it from collecting taxes. What meaning can this demand have other than that the National Assembly should submit unconditionally to every request of the Brandenburg Ministry?

Another reason why the tax refusal decision was formally invalid, says the Public Prosecutor, was that a motion can become law only after the *second reading.*

On the one hand, when dealing with the National Assembly *essential* forms of procedure are ignored which ought to have been binding and, on the other, the National Assembly is expected to observe even the most unessential *formalities.* As simple as that! A Bill objectionable to the Crown is passed in the first reading, after which the second reading is prevented by force of arms, and the Bill remains invalid because there was no second reading. The Public Prosecutor does not take into consideration the exceptional state of affairs that obtained when, threatened with bayonets in their meeting hall, the people's representatives adopted this decision. The Government commits one arbitrary act after another. It has flagrantly violated the principal laws, the Habeas Corpus Act, and the Civic Militia Law.[296] It arbitrarily establishes an unlimited military despotism under the guise of the state of siege. It sends the people's representatives to the devil, and while on the one hand impudently infringing *all laws,* it, on the other hand, demands the most punctilious observation of even the *rules of procedure.*

Gentlemen, I do not know whether it is deliberate misrepresentation—I am far from assuming this on the part of the Public Prosecutor—or ignorance when he says:

> "The National Assembly did not want any *negotiations*" and it "did not seek any negotiations".

If the people blame the Berlin National Assembly for anything, it is for its desire for negotiations. If the members of the Assembly themselves regret anything, it is their desire for an agreement. It was this desire for an agreement which gradually alienated the Assembly from the people, caused it to lose all its positions, and finally, when it was not backed by the nation, exposed it to the attacks of the Crown. When at last it wanted to assert its will it found itself alone and powerless, precisely because it had no will and had not been able to assert it at the right time. It first manifested this desire for an agreement when it renounced the revolution and sanctioned the *theory of agreement,* when it degraded itself by turning from a revolutionary National Assembly into a dubious society of agreers. It

carried the weakness for negotiation to extremes when it accepted Pfuel's pseudo-recognition of Stein's army order as valid. The publication of this army order was itself a farce, since it could only be regarded as a comical echo of Wrangel's army order.[297] Nevertheless, instead of going beyond it, the Assembly snatched at the attenuated interpretation of the Pfuel Ministry, which made the order meaningless. To avoid any serious conflict with the Crown, the Assembly accepted the feeble semblance of a demonstration against the old reactionary army as a real demonstration. It hypocritically pretended seriously to regard what was no longer even a pseudo-solution of the conflict as the real solution of the conflict. As little as the Assembly wanted to fight, so eager was it for negotiations—and the Public Prosecutor describes it as pugnacious and quarrelsome.

Need I mention another symptom showing the conciliatory nature of this Chamber? You will remember, gentlemen, the agreement between the National Assembly and Pfuel about the law suspending commutations.[a] If the Assembly was unable to destroy the enemy in the army, then it was above all necessary to win a friend in the peasantry. But it refrained from attempting even this. To negotiate, to avoid a conflict with the Crown, to avoid it at any cost—that was the Assembly's chief concern, which it placed above even its own self-preservation. And this Assembly is blamed for not wanting to negotiate, not attempting to negotiate!

It still tried to negotiate when the conflict had already broken out. You know, gentlemen, the pamphlet by *Unruh*,[b] a man of the Centre. You will have seen from it that every attempt was made to avoid a clash; that deputations were sent to the Crown and were turned away; that some deputies tried to argue with the Ministers and were superciliously and arrogantly rebuffed; that the Assembly offered to make concessions and that these were derided. Even at the time when it could only be a matter of preparing for war, the Assembly still wanted to make peace. And the Public Prosecutor accuses this Assembly of not wanting to negotiate and not attempting to negotiate!

The Berlin National Assembly was obviously abandoning itself to a very great illusion and did not understand its own position and its own conditions of existence, when *before* the conflict and even *during* the conflict it believed that an amicable arrangement and negotiation with the Crown was still possible and worked towards it.

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[a] See this volume, p. 175.—*Ed.*

[b] H. V. Unruh, *Skizzen aus Preussens neuester Geschichte*, Magdeburg, 1849.—*Ed.*

The Crown did not want and could not want any negotiation. Gentlemen of the jury, let us not deceive ourselves concerning the nature of the struggle which began in March and was later waged between the National Assembly and the Crown. It was not an ordinary conflict between a Ministry and a parliamentary opposition, it was not a conflict between men who were Ministers and men who wanted to become Ministers, it was not a struggle between two political parties in a legislative Chamber. It is quite possible that members of the National Assembly belonging to the minority or the majority believed that this was so. The decisive factor, however, is not the opinion of the agreers, but the real historical position of the National Assembly as it emerged both from the European revolution and the March revolution engendered by the latter. What took place here was not a political conflict between two parties within the framework of *one* society, but a *conflict between two societies*, a social conflict, which had assumed a political form; *it was the struggle of the old feudal bureaucratic society with modern bourgeois society*, a struggle between the society of *free competition* and the *society of the guild system*, between the society of landownership and the industrial society, between the society of faith and the society of knowledge. The *political* expression corresponding to the old society was the Crown by the grace of God, the bullying bureaucracy and the independent army. The *social* foundation corresponding to this old political power consisted of privileged aristocratic landownership with its enthralled or partially enthralled peasants, the small patriarchal or guild industries, the strictly separated social estates, the sharp contradiction between town and country and, above all, the domination of the countryside over the town. The old political power—the Crown by the grace of God, the bullying bureaucracy, the independent army—realised that its essential material basis would disappear from under its feet, as soon as any encroachment was made on the basis of the old society, privileged aristocratic landownership, the aristocracy itself, the domination of the countryside over the town, the dependent position of the rural population and the laws corresponding to these conditions of life, such as the local government regulations, the criminal law and so forth. The National Assembly made such an attempt. On the other hand, that old society realised that political power would be wrenched from its hands, as soon as the Crown, the bureaucracy and the army lost their feudal privileges. The National Assembly wanted to abolish these privileges. It is not surprising, therefore, that the army, the bureaucracy and the nobility joined forces in urging the Crown to effect a coup de main, and it is not surprising that the Crown, knowing that its own

interests were closely linked with those of the old feudal bureaucratic society, allowed itself to be impelled to a coup d'état. For the *Crown represented* feudal aristocratic society, just as the *National Assembly represented* modern bourgeois society. The conditions of existence in modern bourgeois society require that the bureaucracy and the army should be reduced from being rulers of commerce and industry to their tools, and *turned* into mere organs of bourgeois intercourse. This society cannot tolerate that restrictions are placed on agriculture by feudal privileges and on industry by bureaucratic tutelage. This is contrary to free competition, the vital principle of this society. It cannot tolerate that foreign trade relations should be determined by considerations of the Court's international policies instead of by the interests of national production. It must subordinate fiscal policy to the needs of production, whereas the old state has to subordinate production to the needs of the Crown by the grace of God and the patching up of the monarchical walls, the social pillars of this Crown. Just as modern industry is indeed a leveller, so modern society must break down all legal and political barriers between town and country. Modern society still has *classes*, but no longer *social estates*. Its development lies in the struggle between these classes, but the latter stand united against the estates and their monarchy by the grace of God.

The monarchy by the grace of God, the supreme political expression, the supreme political representative of the old feudal bureaucratic society, is consequently unable to make any *sincere* concessions to modern bourgeois society. Its own instinct of self-preservation, and the society which backs it and on which it leans will constantly impel it to retract the concessions it has made, to maintain its feudal character and to risk a counter-revolution. Counter-revolution is a constantly recurrent condition of existence for the Crown after a revolution.

On the other hand, modern society, too, cannot rest until it has shattered and abolished the political power, the traditional official power, by which the old society still forcibly maintains itself. For the rule of the Crown by the grace of God is the rule of antiquated social strata.

Hence no peace is possible between these two societies. Their material interests and needs bring them into mortal combat. One side must win, the other must lose. That is the only possible negotiation between them. Hence, too, there can be no peace between the supreme political representatives of these two societies, between the Crown and the representatives of the people. Thus, the National Assembly had only the choice of either yielding to the old society or confronting the Crown as an independent power.

Gentlemen, the Public Prosecutor has described the *refusal to pay taxes* as a measure "which shakes the *foundations of society*". The refusal to pay taxes has nothing to do with the foundations of society.

Generally speaking, gentlemen, why do taxes, the granting or the refusal of taxes, play such an important role in the history of constitutionalism? The reason is very simple. Just as serfs purchased privileges from the feudal lords with ready money, so do entire nations purchase privileges from feudal monarchs. Monarchs needed money for their wars with foreign nations and especially for their struggle against the feudal lords. The more commerce and industry developed the greater grew their need for money. But the third estate, the middle classes, grew to the same extent and disposed of increasing financial resources; and in the same degree they purchased liberties from the monarchs by means of taxes. To make sure of these liberties they retained the right at definite intervals to renew the monetary obligations, i.e. the right to vote or to refuse to vote taxes. You can trace the details of this development especially well in English history.

In medieval society, therefore, taxes were the only bond between the emerging bourgeois society and the ruling feudal state, a bond which compelled the state to make concessions to bourgeois society, to allow its development and to meet its needs. In modern states this right to grant and refuse taxes has been turned by bourgeois society into a means of controlling the Government, the committee administering its general interests.

You will find therefore that *partial tax refusal* is an integral part of every constitutional mechanism. This type of tax refusal operates whenever a *budget* is rejected. The current budget is voted only for a definite period; moreover, after being prorogued the Chambers must be reconvened after a very short interval. Hence it is impossible for the Crown to make itself independent. Rejection of a budget means a definite tax *refusal* if the Ministry does not win a majority in the new Chamber or if the Crown does not nominate a Ministry in accordance with the wishes of the new Chamber. The rejection of a budget is therefore the *parliamentary form of a refusal to pay taxes.* This form could not be employed in the conflict under consideration because a Constitution did not yet exist, but had first to be created.

But a refusal to pay taxes as it has occurred here, a refusal which not only rejects a new budget but prohibits even the payment of current taxes, is by no means unprecedented. It happened very frequently in the Middle Ages. Even the old German Imperial Diet and the old feudal Diets of Brandenburg adopted decisions on refusing to pay taxes. Nor is there any lack of examples in modern

constitutional states. In England in 1832 the refusal to pay taxes led to the downfall of Wellington's Ministry. And bear in mind, gentlemen, that in England it was not Parliament which decided to refuse taxes, but the people which proclaimed and carried out this decision on its own authority.[298] England, however, is the historic land of constitutionalism. Far be it from me to deny that the English revolution, which brought Charles I to the scaffold, began with refusal to pay taxes. The North American revolution, which ended with the Declaration of Independence of North America from England, started with refusal to pay taxes. The refusal to pay taxes can be the harbinger of very unpleasant events in Prussia too. It was not John Hampden, however, who brought Charles I to the scaffold, but only the latter's own obstinacy, his dependence on the feudal estates, and his presumptuous attempt to use force to suppress the urgent demands of the emerging society. The refusal to pay taxes is merely a sign of the split between the Crown and the people, merely evidence that the conflict between the Government and the people has already reached a menacing degree of tensity. It is not the cause of the split or the conflict, it is merely an expression of this fact. At the worst, it leads to the overthrow of the existing Government, the existing political system. The foundations of society are not affected by this. In the present case, moreover, the refusal to pay taxes was a means of society's self-defence against the Government, which threatened its foundations.

Finally, the Public Prosecutor accuses us of having gone further in the incriminated appeal than the National Assembly itself. He says:

> "For one thing, the National Assembly did not publish its decision."

Gentlemen, am I to give a serious reply to the accusation that the decision not to pay taxes was not even published in the *Statute Book*?

Furthermore, he says that, unlike us, the National Assembly did not incite to the use of *force* and in general did not take a revolutionary stand, but wanted to remain on a legal basis.

The Public Prosecutor previously described the National Assembly as unlawful, now he considers it lawful—in each case to present us as criminals. But if the collection of taxes is declared unlawful, am I not obliged to resist by force the forcible practice of this illegality? Even from this standpoint, therefore, we were entitled to repel force by force. Incidentally, it is quite correct that the National Assembly wanted to keep to a purely legal basis, that of passive resistance. Two roads were open to it, the revolutionary road—it did not take it, those gentlemen did not want to risk their necks—or the refusal to

pay taxes which did not go beyond passive resistance. It took the second road. But to give effect to the refusal to pay taxes the people had to take a revolutionary stand. The conduct of the National Assembly was by no means a criterion for the people. The National Assembly, as such, has no rights; the people has merely entrusted it with the defence of the people's rights. If the Assembly does not act in accordance with the mandate it has received, then this mandate lapses. The people then takes the stage itself and acts on its own authority. If, for example, a national assembly were to sell itself to a treacherous government, the people would have to kick them out, both the Government and the Assembly. If the Crown makes a counter-revolution, the people has the right to reply with a revolution. It does not require the sanction of a national assembly to do this. The fact that the Prussian Government is attempting to commit a treasonable act has been stated by the National Assembly itself.

Gentlemen of the jury, to sum up briefly, the Public Prosecutor cannot charge us under the laws of April 6 and 8, 1848, after these laws have been torn up by the Crown itself. These laws by themselves are not decisive, as they were arbitrarily concocted by the United Diet. The decision of the National Assembly regarding the refusal to pay taxes had the force of law both formally and materially. We went further than the National Assembly in our appeal. This was our right and our duty.

In conclusion, I repeat that only the first act of the drama is over. The struggle between the two societies, the medieval and the bourgeois society, will again be waged in political forms. As soon as the Assembly meets, the same conflicts will arise again. The *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, the organ of the Government, already prophesies—the same people have elected again, that means the Assembly will have to be dispersed a second time.

Whatever new path the new National Assembly may choose, the inevitable result will be—either *complete victory of the counter-revolution* or a *new victorious revolution.* It may be that the victory of the revolution is possible only after the counter-revolution has been completed.

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# THE TAX-REFUSAL TRIAL

*Cologne*, February 9. If the verdict of the jury the day before yesterday in the case against our newspaper was of great importance for the press, the acquittal yesterday of Marx, Schneider and Schapper is decisive for all tax-refusal cases brought for trial in the Rhenish courts. The fact itself was quite simple and admitted of no doubt. The incriminated document states:

"The Rhenish District Committee of Democrats calls upon all democratic associations in the Rhine Province to have the following measures decided upon and carried out:

"1. Since the Prussian National Assembly itself has ruled that taxes are not to be paid, their forcible collection must be *resisted everywhere and in every way.*

"2. *In order to repulse the enemy a people's militia* must be organised everywhere....

"3. The authorities are to be asked everywhere to state publicly whether they recognise the decisions of the National Assembly and intend to carry them out. In case of refusal *committees of public safety* are to be set up.... Municipal councils opposed to the Legislative Assembly should be elected afresh by a *universal vote.*"[a]

This document is intelligible enough. Quite apart from the question whether the decision on the refusal to pay taxes is legally valid or not the document obviously presented an example of incitement to revolt and to civil war. The accused also did not conceal that the word "enemy" (see Paragraph 2) should be understood as the *internal* enemy, the armed might of the Government. Neverthe-

[a] See this volume, p. 41 (Marx's italics here).—*Ed.*

less the state authorities, despairing of a conviction under this article of the Code, have selected a milder indictment: the call for rebellion and resistance to the agents of state power (Article 209 et seq.).

Hence the case turned only on the political question: whether the accused were authorised by the decision of the National Assembly on the refusal to pay taxes to call in this way for resistance to the state power, to organise an armed force against that of the state, and to have government authorities removed and appointed at their discretion.

After a very brief consultation, the jury answered this question in the *affirmative*.

After this verdict, most likely *Lassalle* and *Cantador* will soon also be set free. There is no reason to expect that the Cologne board of indicting magistrates will be of a different opinion from that of the jury in the case of Marx, Schneider and Schapper.

Incidentally, tomorrow we shall return in particular to the question of Lassalle.[299] There seems to be a benevolent intention to drag out his case beyond the next assizes (in March) and thus to impose on him three more months of detention under examination. It is to be hoped, however, that the verdict of the Cologne jury will frustrate such philanthropic plans. Tomorrow we shall give some pleasant details as to how Lassalle is being treated in Düsseldorf prison.[a]

Written by Marx on February 9, 1849

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[a] See this volume, p. 344.—*Ed.*

# POLITICAl TRIAL

*From Weimar Region,* February 3. Under this date-line the *Frankfurter Journal* writes:

"Now at last the days are approaching when our first assize court will deliver its verdict here on the results of the impending political examinations. After the commencement of the proceedings had been continually postponed from one week to the next, now at last, according to what is being said, it is definitely fixed for the 15th of this month. The court sittings will open with the trial of the leaders of the democratic party who were arrested here and in Jena in October last year, Dr. Lafaurie, candidate Rothe, the student Amelung, Dr. Otto and the writer Jäde. These are almost the only ones of the mass of people arrested during those days against whom the Public Prosecutor could find material at all for an indictment. The examination conducted against the writer Deinhard, resident here, who was also arrested at that time, yielded so little result that after Deinhard had spent two months in the unhealthy prison cells of our criminal court, the Public Prosecutor was unable even to frame an indictment against him. Candidate Lange from Jena, who was also arrested at that time, suffered four attacks of haemorrhage in Weimar prison, and was only then taken in a half-dead state to his parents in Jena, where he died soon afterwards, on January 7 of this year, after again being interrogated for three consecutive days by the criminal court. Our jurymen, however, will be very surprised when, instead of the alleged plans for high treason, rumours of which have been so much spread and discussed, they will be presented with the simple, trifling facts on which the indictment against the above-mentioned persons is based."

(It is to be hoped that at its next victory the people will not, as in March, be so simple-minded or forgetful as to allow all their executioners to remain in their lucrative posts. On the contrary, it is fairly safe to assume that it will hasten to subject the whole gang of reactionary officials, and among them first and foremost the

blood-thirsty legal hypocrites also called "judges", to six months of detention under examination in Pennsylvanian prisons,[300] and then for further reform will use them in railway and road construction.)

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# LASSALLE

*Cologne*, February 10. We promised yesterday[a] to return to the question of *Lassalle*. Already for eleven weeks Lassalle has been confined in Düsseldorf prison, and only now has the investigation of simple facts which no one denies come to an end, only now is the Council Chamber reaching a decision. The case has been successfully prolonged to a point where the Council Chamber and board of indicting magistrates, by merely keeping to the maximum legal term, can drag out the case beyond the forthcoming Düsseldorf assizes and so favour the prisoner with a further three months of detention under investigation!

And what a detention under investigation that is!

It is well known that recently a deputation of various democratic associations of Cologne handed Prosecutor-General Nicolovius an address signed by several thousand citizens which requested: 1) speedier examination of the case against the Düsseldorf political prisoners, 2) decent treatment of them during their detention under investigation. Herr Nicolovius promised to take these just demands into consideration as far as possible.

From the following example, however, it can be seen how much concern is shown in Düsseldorf prison for the Prosecutor-General, the laws and the most ordinary requirements of decency.

On January 5 a prison warder went so far as to indulge in brutal treatment of Lassalle, and to cap it all he went to the prison governor and complained that Lassalle had assaulted him.

An hour later the prison governor accompanied by the examining magistrate[b] entered Lassalle's cell and, without greeting him, took

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[a] See this volume, p. 341.—*Ed.*
[b] Ebermeier.—*Ed.*

him to task for what had occurred. Lassalle interrupted him by remarking that among educated people it was customary to offer a greeting when entering anyone's room, and that he considered himself entitled to demand this politeness from the prison governor.

This was too much for the prison governor. In a fury he advanced on Lassalle, pushed him back against the window and, gesticulating furiously, shouted at the top of his voice:

"Listen you, here you are *my* prisoner and nothing more: you have to comply with the prison rules, and if you don't like it, I shall have you thrown into a *dark cell*, and *something even worse* could happen to you!"

At this, Lassalle also lost his temper and told the prison governor that the latter had no right to punish him on the basis of the prison rules since he was in detention under investigation; that loud shouting was no use and proved nothing; and although the building was a prison, *this* was nevertheless *his* room, and if the prison governor (pointing his finger at him) came *here to him*, he had to greet him.

Now the governor completely lost his head. He rushed at Lassalle, brandished his fists at him and shouted:

"Don't point your finger at me or I shall slap you in the face with my own hand so that...."

Lassalle immediately requested the examining magistrate to bear witness to this scandalous treatment and placed himself under his protection. The examining magistrate tried to calm the prison governor, but succeeded only after the latter had several times repeated his threat to strike Lassalle.

After this edifying scene Lassalle addressed a proposal to the Public Prosecutor, von Ammon, that proceedings should be instituted against the prison governor, Herr Morret. Indeed, the violent actions of the governor constitute not only maltreatment and serious insult, but also an act exceeding his official powers.

Herr von Ammon replied that an investigation into prison officials exceeding their official powers could not be instituted without previous permission from the administrative authorities, and told Lassalle to apply to the Government. In so doing he referred to an old Cabinet Order of 1844.[301]

Article 95 of the granted so-called Constitution states:

"No previous permission from the authorities is required for instituting proceedings against public civil or military officials for violating the law by exceeding their official powers."

Article 108 of the same Charter expressly abrogates all laws that contradict this Charter. But it was in vain that Lassalle referred the Public Prosecutor to Article 95. Herr von Ammon insisted on his conflicting view regarding competence and dismissed Lassalle with the pleasant remark: "You seem to forget that you are a prisoner under investigation!"

Were we not right in saying that the so-called Constitution has been granted only against us, and not against the officials?

Thus, threats of slaps in the face, the dark cell and *corporal punishment*—for that is the "something worse" which Herr Morret was keeping in reserve—that was the "decent treatment" of political prisoners that the deputation was promised!

Incidentally, let us point out that, according to the law, prisons for investigation should be *quite separate* from penal prisons and that prisoners in the former should be under a totally different regime from that of prisoners serving a sentence. In Düsseldorf, however, there is no special prison for preliminary investigation, and prisoners under investigation, after being illegally confined in a penal prison, must in addition obey the *rules for sentenced prisoners*, can be put in a dark cell and can be subjected to corporal punishment! In order to achieve this praiseworthy aim in regard to Lassalle, the aforesaid Morret summoned a disciplinary commission which is to see that Herr Lassalle gets a share of the above-mentioned pleasant things. And the Herren examining magistrates and public prosecutors apparently accept all this quite calmly or else they hide behind conflicting views on competence!

Lassalle addressed himself to the Prosecutor-General. We, for our part, are giving publicity to the whole case in order that public opinion will support the prisoner's complaint.

We hear, incidentally, that Lassalle has at last been released from solitary confinement and is at least sharing the same prison as Cantador.

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# WAR.—DISCORD BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE SOUTHERN SLAVS

The *Kölnische Zeitung*, which is known to support Windischgrätz against the Magyars, today describes the reports of Magyar victories appearing in the reactionary *Breslauer Zeitung*, which is hostile to the Magyars, as "utterly ridiculous exaggerations".[a] We have printed those reports and shall, of course, await further information before going into them in greater detail. This much is certain—that the imperial troops have met unexpected obstacles on the Theiss, otherwise they would have crossed the river long ago; according to "reliable" Austrian reports, Schlick has already marched on Debreczin a dozen times, whereas he has not even crossed the Theiss!

Meanwhile, for the edification of that reliable source, Schwanbeck, we should like to present a few short news items taken from the royal imperial Augsburg newspaper,[b] on whose reliability one can surely depend. It will be remembered that for some time now we have been drawing attention to the so-called democratic group of the Austrian Slavs,[c] and also to the conflict which these fanatics were bound to become involved in with the Olmütz Government. We described Jellachich as the first and Stratimirovich as the second representative of this trend.[302] That this particular group, whose mouthpiece is the *Südslavische Zeitung* at Agram, is also gaining ground in *Croatia itself*

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[a] *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 35 (first supplement), February 10, 1849.—*Ed.*
[b] *Allgemeine Zeitung*.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, pp. 235-36.—*Ed.*

is borne out by the following article taken from the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*[a]:

"As I have already reported, the machinations of the Serbian General Stratimirovich are gaining in importance as he has many followers among the Serbs and seems to exert a particular influence on the Tchaikists.[303] We do not doubt the general claim that his attempts to stir up opposition to Patriarch Rajachich do not stem from any kind of agreement with the Magyars but simply from his own ambitious aims; only how sad it is to see the Slav element, which Austria should and must cling to in the storm, being itself abandoned to the storms of egoistical factionalism! Stratimirovich is offended as he felt he had been thwarted in his hopes of succeeding to the position of voivode on the death of General Šuplikac, and he now broods on vengeance. Whether this is at the expense of the union which is so necessary amongst the people and at the expense of the well-being of his own country, does not worry him. Stratimirovich was fortunate enough to distinguish himself at the very beginning of the struggle against the Magyars with a small troop of victorious Serbs[304]; he was also fortunate enough to make himself indispensable, as it were, and in particular to achieve more at St. Thomas and the Roman ramparts[305] than did many other generals one could name with regular troops. He quickly rose from the rank of *Oberleutnant* to that of general. Assigned to the deputation which his country sent to Olmütz, he succeeded in helping to fulfil the Serbs' most cherished wishes as far as their nationality and independence were concerned, and when this was followed shortly afterwards by the sudden death of Šuplikac, who had only just recently been appointed voivode, the wish of the troops and of the country designated him as the probable successor. That is how things stand from this point of view. But in *Croatia, too,* things *do not seem as bright* as they tend to appear in the usual superficial reports. Reliable persons coming from that country assert that people are not happy about the Ban's[b] absence being prolonged and that his popularity is endangered, since the Croats see in him their Ban and *not simply the Austrian Lieutenant-Field Marshal.* Nor, apparently, is the appointment of Baron Kulmer as Minister meeting with the kind of approval in the country that had been initially expected, as he is generally considered to be a tool in the hands of the Court. The news of his appointment is said even to have given rise to a hostile demonstration during which part of the forest-land he owns in Croatia *was set on fire.* From all this, and also from the daily increasing irritation revealed in the language of the Agram newspapers, it becomes clear that one will not be able to deal with the Slavs so easily."

On the other hand, the same newspaper confirms Dembiński's arrival at Debreczin. It reports from Pest:

"General Dembiński really is in Debreczin. Members of the Hungarian House of Representatives are there also in large numbers, and by contrast the insurgents can only count 11 magnates among their number. Fortune appears to have turned its back on the rebel leader Bem in Transylvania; at least, despite his boastful reports, refugees seeking help keep arriving at the rump parliament. A decree issued by *Közlöny* of Debreczin, the Magyar *Moniteur,* states that Meszaros, the Minister of War, has resigned because of illness, and has been replaced by General Vetter."

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[a] Here and elsewhere reports from Pest of February 1 and from Vienna of February 2 and 3, 1849, are quoted. They were published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 38, February 7, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] The Governor or Regent, i. e. Jellachich.—*Ed.*

It contains the following on Dembiński himself:

"*Vienna*, February 3. The fanatic Magyars expect the talents of that famous Polish general, Dembiński, who is said to have been placed in supreme command of all Magyar troops, to bring them great success. Born in 1791, Dembiński came to Vienna in 1807 to attend the Engineering Academy, fled from the town secretly in 1809 and, at the age of eighteen, joined the ranks of the Fifth Polish Mounted Rifle Regiment. He fought against the Russians and so distinguished himself in the 1812 campaign at the battle of Smolensk that Napoleon promoted him to captain on the very battlefield. Too proud to enter the service of the Russians, he thereupon lived in quiet seclusion for many years, until the Polish revolution of 1830 gave him the opportunity to distinguish himself as a colonel with his cavalry brigade of 4,000 men. He managed to delay the whole Russian force of 60,000 men under Marshal Diebitsch for a whole day during the battle of Grokhov.[306]"

Written by Engels on February 10, 1849

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# [THE WAR IN HUNGARY]

At last official Austrian reports have again arrived from Transylvania. They confirm Bem's rapid advance to the vicinity of Hermannstadt, which was seriously threatened by him, and inform of a battle which occurred on January 21 somewhere between Hermannstadt and Mediasch (Medgyes), in which the Magyars are said to have been beaten. They are said to have been pursued as far as Stolzenburg, some of them having already taken the road to Torda (Torenburg) in the direction of Klausenburg. Five cannon and four ammunition wagons are said to have fallen into the hands of the Austrians under Puchner. The resistance put up by the Magyars is described as having been very stubborn. We shall await further reports to ascertain whether this "victory" was really so "brilliant". The Austrians give their own losses as 60-70 dead and 98 wounded.

Just how credible the Austrian reports are can be seen from the Transylvanian documents published on this occasion in the *Wiener Zeitung*.[a]

In an address to the Hermannstadt civic militia on January 19 Bem's army is described as "the Hungarian troops who have been repulsed by the victorious army in Hungary, and have had to flee to Transylvania". Puchner too, in his order of the day, boasts about huge victories in Hungary, which of course for us were long ago reduced to their true value by the news which came later.

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[a] *Wiener Zeitung* No. 32, February 7, 1849.—*Ed.*

The Rumanians are said to have marched 25,000 men of the *Landsturm* to Hermannstadt. On the other hand, the Szeklers[307] and the Hungarians in Transylvania can hardly be relied on; Puchner, in his order of the day, and the Transylvanian papers agree that the royal imperial black-and-yellow[a] spirit cannot make any headway amongst them at all, and that they are joining the movement wherever Bem shows himself.

In Hungary itself the peasant risings in the rear of the imperial troops are beginning to assume a serious character. On January 15 the imperial troops occupied and subjugated *Gran* on the Danube, above Pest, but on January 26 they left the town again. They marched towards Ofen[b] because Windischgrätz needed them urgently after the battle at Szolnok. Immediately the royal imperial standards and eagles were torn down, Madarasz's posters[308] calling for revolt were put up, and people were heard to shout "*Eljen*[c] Kossuth". The peasants from the left bank of the Danube who had not surrendered their arms came into the town, fired on chief justice Koller, took juror Biro off to Komorn,[309] abolished the jurisdiction of the comitats, and appointed chief notary Palkovicz as president. The imperial troops sent orders for the pontoon bridge to be brought up; Simunich intended to cross the Danube at this point in order to carry out Wrbna's order to march immediately to Pest. Since, however, at the same time a letter arrived from the National Defence Committee[310] at Debreczin with the order that the *Landsturm* was to be organised and the enemy's supplies cut off or destroyed, it was decided that the bridge should not be brought up and that the orders from Debreczin would be carried out. The comitat moved to Batorkesz, where it is protected from Komorn. Furthermore troops are said to have been sent from Ofen to Gran. This news is taken from the official *Wiener Zeitung*.

For the rest, the very fact that the Austrians have no fresh news whatsoever from the Theiss to a certain extent provides confirmation—by way of omission—of the Magyars' reports that they have been victorious. On the other hand, the *Magyar* correspondent of the *Breslauer Zeitung* again reports a number of interesting and highly probable facts. Colonel Montecuccoli of the royal imperial army is reported taken prisoner by the Magyars at Gyöngyös. Kövesd (five miles this side of Miskolcz) and Keresztúr (north of Tokaj) are said to be in the hands of the Magyars. The imperial troops sallying forth from Temesvár are said to have been almost completely annihilated

[a] Colours of the Austrian imperial flag.—*Ed.*
[b] The Hungarian name is Buda.—*Ed.*
[c] Long live.—*Ed.*

by the Hungarians hurriedly approaching from Szegedin. The newspaper then adds:

"Very bad blood has been caused in Ofen by the fact that the lovable poet and Catholic priest *Czuczar* has been led away in heavy irons to six years' confinement in a fortress because of an inspiring war-song he had composed. In general one notices that the military rule is becoming *much stricter* here since the most recent defeats suffered by the Austrian troops. Arrests for the most innocuous remarks are the order of the day. Any strangers coming here from Debreczin and the surrounding area are immediately taken off to police headquarters, subjected to strict interrogation, and then released with the prohibition to say a word about events. Curiosity, however, knows no restraint and people here are fairly well informed. It is believed that the Hungarian Theiss army will renew its attack on the imperial troops at Szolnok in the next few days.—The news has come from Debreczin that the Hungarian General Mór Perczel has been appointed commander in Transylvania. Bem will head the Banat army in Hungary.

"The Hungarian *regular* forces are given at 160,000, and if one considers that these forces are being led by two world-famous generals, Dembiński and Bem, and that in addition to the natural defences afforded by Transylvania and the great Theiss area, the Hungarians also have the majority of the fortresses and the most important of them under their control, then it seems more than ridiculous that warrants of arrest should be made out for Kossuth in Vienna. They must think the public is totally blind to be fooled by manoeuvres of that kind."

Meanwhile new quarrels are breaking out daily among the little nations which have been liberated from what is described as the oppression of the Magyars—they are quarrelling either among themselves or with the Austrian Government. The *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* says:

"A deputation of Rumanians was due to arrive at Olmütz to lodge a complaint about the encroachments of the Serbs from the Banat.— In Istria, where language and customs are pre-eminently Italian, people are most strenuously resisting the plan to incorporate this province in Croatia, and protests against it have been made and published."

In the Voivodina the Karlowitz Government has voiced support for Stratimirovich and annulled the warrant for his arrest issued by Patriarch Rajachich. The Patriarch will not have anything to do with a voivode; before the Voivodina is constituted, he says, the districts of Kikinda and Becse, of Bács and Baranya must be united with it. He says this should be aimed at and, on the other hand, the machinations and intrigues of ambitious people should be restrained, "so that the imperial army *does not treat the Serbs as it did the Magyar rebels*"![a] The *Südslavische Zeitung* is already beginning to make serious complaints, but these dreamers will, of course, only

[a] A quotation from Rajachich's proclamation published in the *Südslavische Zeitung* and cited by the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 31, February 6, 1849.— *Ed.*

open their eyes when it is too late and military rule has been established in their province. Incidentally anyone can see that these differences of opinion can only be most helpful to the Magyar cause.

Here is just a sample of the way in which these Serbs wage war, and it is confirmed by two South-Slav newspapers, *Vestnik* and *Napredak*, dated January 27. Weisskirchen in the Banat wanted to surrender and sent a deputation to General Todorovich to this end. Todorovich had already heard earlier that the people of Weisskirchen had killed all the Serbs in their town, and he asked the deputation: "Who among you delegates is a Serb?" The Germans shrugged their shoulders. "Go then," said Todorovich, "I'm not going to negotiate with you." Thereupon the Serbian army stormed Weisskirchen and captured it. Only two Serbs were found in the town, and both of them had had their eyes put out. Travellers say that Todorovich then had fifty main culprits sought out and all fifty hanged. He stood the rest in a line and had every fifth person shot. Reports have it that 400 were shot in this way.

Those are the valiant heroes with whom the *Kölnische Zeitung* sympathises!

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# [THE DIVISION OF LABOUR IN THE *KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG*]

*Cologne,* February 10. With the best will in the world, we were unable last week to pay attention even to our best friends, our nearest neighbours. Other matters—everyone knows which—kept us busy.[311] Let us hasten now to make up for the omission and turn our gaze first of all to our neighbouring journalists.

The division of labour is carried out in the *Kölnische Zeitung* with rare team work. We shall disregard the more remote part of the newspaper, pages 3 and 4, where the noble Wolfers praises Belgium and does his best to ensure that Henry V regains the throne of his forefathers and grants a Constitution "on the Belgian model". We shall keep only to the newspaper's frontispiece, its first page. Here our friend Schücking has his own little nook in the basement where he displays for his votaries the latest products of his doctrinaire fantasy and fantastic doctrinairism in prose and verse. Who does not know the interesting "Political Conversations", in which the talented author endeavoured—as he himself says—to extricate a Mephistopheles from the pigskin of a German professor, but succeeded only in producing a Wagner?[312] Above this basement nook, on the first floor, Herr Dumont has opened his spacious political salons, in which these great men Brüggemann and Schwanbeck (not to be confused with Weissbrodt) do the honours of the house. Brüggemann is responsible for the *thinking* part, for saving principle in all catastrophes, for preserving the legal basis despite all earthquakes, for the elegiac genre, for swan-songs and requiems. Schwanbeck is responsible for the *declamatory* part, for the exalted lyricism, for moral indignation, for dithyrambs and storms. Intoxicated with enthusiasm, Schwanbeck's phraseology reaches the

highest peaks of Olympus, and if its course is not always steady, it never ceases to be rhythmical and, in fact, it accounts for almost all the involuntary hexameters in which the *Kölnische Zeitung* abounds.

The first one whom we come across today is precisely this same sublime Schwanbeck. In an article, *de dato* "Cologne, February 7",[a] he enlightens us about the after-pains of absolutism and the after-pains of revolution.

The great Schwanbeck pours out all the vials of his wrath on the Prussian people because it either did not vote at all or voted in the wrong way.

"This National Assembly *should* put the finishing touch to the construction of a constitutional-monarchical state, and yet, who still doubts that some in this Assembly will undermine this construction work because they are no longer monarchists, and others because they are still absolutists and have not yet become constitutionalists, and both of them because they are just not supporters of a constitutional monarchy? From the two opposite poles storms will blow, a dead past will fight against a distant, perhaps never attainable future, and who knows whether the present will not be lost as a result!"

Note the mighty strength of the style resulting from these classic lines. Every phrase is a rugged, compressed entity, every word has the stamp of moral indignation. Picture in your mind as tangibly as possible the struggle between the "dead past" and the "distant, perhaps never attainable future". There cannot be anyone who does not seem to see how the "perhaps never attainable future" will nevertheless be attained by the "dead past", how like furies the two of them come to blows, and how, precisely because of the unattainability of the one and the dead state of the other, the present is being increasingly lost while storms blow from the opposite poles!

Do not regard this as a trifle. For if we are allowed to pronounce an opinion about such great men, we must say: if in Brüggemann the thought usually runs away with the style, in Schwanbeck, on the other hand, the style runs away with the thought.

And, in fact, who would not in virtuous indignation lose sight of the style when one finds that an Assembly to whom not only the King of Prussia but also the *Kölnische Zeitung* itself has given the mission of putting the finishing touch to the construction of a constitutional-monarchical state, that such an Assembly consists of people either too far to the Left or too far to the Right to achieve the aforesaid benevolent aim? Especially when "storms blow from the opposite poles" and "the present will be lost" for the *Kölnische Zeitung*!

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[a] *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 33, February 8, 1849.—*Ed.*

It is bad enough for the *Kölnische Zeitung* when the people elect deputies who do not want *what* they "*should*" want according to the *Kölnische Zeitung*; but it is even worse for the people when it scoffs at the Cassandra voice of a Schwanbeck and, instead of a man of a constitutional-monarchical pattern from "the great centre of the nation", it elects people who have either ceased to be monarchists or have not yet become constitutionalists. *Tu l'as voulu, George Dandin!*[a] Schwanbeck will exclaim sadly when the terrible conflict between the dead past and the perhaps never attainable future swallows up the present!

"In other words, the signs of *reaction* and the signs of a *new* or, rather, a *permanent revolution* have not failed to appear."

After this notable discovery, Cassandra-Schwanbeck takes a look at Austria. Schwanbeck's look at Austria is always watchful. Austria is his second fatherland; here earlier, he waxed indignant at the tyranny of Viennese demagogy, here he now devours the Magyars, here the author of lofty dithyrambs is finally moved also by a tender feeling, a slight pang of conscience over those on whom martial law bestowed the mercy of gunpowder and shot! Hence the tender glance which the prophet full of foreboding casts on Austria in each of his leading articles.

"What then has changed?" (namely, in Austria). "Unrestricted bureaucracy has been replaced by unrestricted democracy, and then by unrestricted military power, and in the end everything has remained as it was!"

Sad result of the revolutions, melancholy consequence of peoples never having been willing to heed the voice of misunderstood Cassandras! "In the end everything has remained as it was!" True, Metternich's traditional government differs in many respects from the present counter-revolutionary military rule; and, in particular, the good-natured Austrian people of Metternich's time is quite different from the present revolutionary people which grinds its teeth in fury; moreover, in history the counter-revolution has always led merely to a more thoroughgoing, bloodier revolution. But what does that matter? "In the end everything has remained as it was", and despotism remains despotism.

The philistine pot-house politicians who constitute "the great centre of the German nation", to use one of Schwanbeck's expressions, these worthies who at every temporary counterblow exclaim: "What was the use of rebellion, we are again precisely

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[a] You asked for it, George Dandin! (Molière, *George Dandin*, Act I, Scene 9).—*Ed.*

where we were before", these profound experts on history who can never see more than two paces in front of them—they will be delighted to find that the great Schwanbeck has precisely the same point of view as they have.

After this inevitable glance at Austria, Cassandra once more turns to Prussia and prepares to cast a glance into the future. The elements of reaction and the elements of revolution are duly weighed against each other. The Crown and its servants, Wrangel, martial law (with pious wishes for its abolition), and the "Prussian associations"[313] are each in turn subjected to a thorough scrutiny. Then he goes on to say:

"However, in spite of all that we must nevertheless admit that the number of our reactionaries is not a very heavy item in the balance of forces. Worse is the fact that the *great centre of the nation* has become so accustomed to absolutism that it is still quite unable to understand self-government, out of sheer *laziness*. You, who were absent from those elections in such large numbers ... you are the true supporters of absolutism! ... There is no more disgusting phenomenon in the whole world than a nation which is *too lazy for free political life*."

"Great centre of the German nation", you are unworthy of your Schwanbeck!

This "centre of the nation" which "is too lazy for free political life" is, as it later turns out, no other than the *bourgeoisie*. A painful admission, hardly made less bitter by the self-satisfaction of moral indignation about this disgraceful "indolence" of the great centre of the nation!

"But matters are still worse with the after-pains of the *revolution*. Our nation is richer than one would imagine in persons of a romantic and fantastic character, in clever demagogues" (a naive admission!) "and in thoughtless masses devoid of any trace of political education. The year 1848 had to show us for the first time what a *mass of anarchical elements* was concealed in this calm, justice-loving, sensible people, how a vague yearning for revolution took possession of it, and how the *convenient* means" (at any rate far more "convenient" than profound leading articles full of dithyrambs in the *Kölnische Zeitung*) "of revolution came to be regarded ... as a panacea."

Whereas the "centre" is too *lazy*, the periphery, the "mob", the "thoughtless masses" are too industrious. The "clever demagogues" linked with the "mass of anarchical elements", in contrast to the "laziness" and "indolence" of the bourgeoisie, are bound, of course, to evoke gloomy forebodings in the soul of a Schwanbeck!

"Such is the natural course of things: the blow gives rise to the counterblow."

With this further great achievement of thought, which is bound to serve later on as the theme for some eloquent variations, Cassandra comes to an end and draws the following conclusion:

"The right path to a truly free political life will be available only when *the great centre of the nation, the strong and intelligent bourgeoisie*, has become sufficiently united

and powerful to make these deviations to the Left and the Right an impossibility. We have before us a North-German newspaper in which ... the following is written: '... the bourgeoisie has already gained the upper hand over both extremes — the Left and the Right — and the future belongs to it alone!' We fear this rejoicing is still premature; if proof of this is desired 'the elections in Prussia will provide it'."

Such is the great song of lamentation expressing the moral indignation of the newest Cassandra at the wrongness of this wicked world, which is unwilling to advance along the lines advocated by the *Kölnische Zeitung*. Such is the result of Schwanbeck's researches into the "dead past", the "distant, perhaps never attainable future", and the doubtful "present": The real, decisive struggle is being waged not between the feudal bureaucratic monarchy and the bourgeoisie, nor between the bourgeoisie and the people, it is being waged between the monarchy and the people, between the *absolutists* and the *republicans;* and the *bourgeoisie,* the *constitutionalists* are withdrawing from the field of battle.

We shall not indulge here in any further comments on whether the bourgeoisie has really withdrawn from the struggle, whether it has done this from laziness or from weakness, and what the elections in Prussia prove. It is sufficient, the *Kölnische Zeitung* admits, that in the present struggle the bourgeoisie is no longer in the forefront, that it is no longer its interests which are at stake, and that the struggle is being waged for an absolute monarchy or a republic.

And now compare that with the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* since November of last year, and say whether we did not give an analysis in every issue and at every opportunity — on the occasion of the counter-revolution in Vienna, the counter-revolution in Berlin, and the imposed Constitution—and whether in the long article "The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-Revolution"[a], and in several articles before the primary elections, we did not explain in detail how the weakness and cowardice of the German bourgeoisie made counter-revolution possible, and how the counter-revolution, for its part, pushed the bourgeoisie aside and made inevitable a direct struggle between the relics of feudal society and the extreme pole of modern society, between the monarchy and the republic! What we, three months ago, described as historically inevitable due to the whole course of the German revolution, the *Kölnische Zeitung* presents in the form of a weak and confused conjecture, as the result of charlatan attempts to guess the contents of the ballot-box in the forthcoming elections on March 5. And this weak and confused

[a] See this volume, pp. 154-78.—*Ed.*

conjecture is held to be such a discovery that it is at once put forward piping hot for the indulgent public to enjoy in the shape of a turgid, pompous leading article prefaced with the sign △. Naive *Kölnerin*!

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# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

We print below the fifth report of the Galician army corps,[a] which *confirms* in part the *Magyars' reports of victory*. It is clear that Schlick suffered defeat at Tarczal and Tokaj before the Theiss, otherwise he would not have retreated as far as Boldogkováralya, five miles from the battlefield. The description of the battle is also significantly uncertain. What is certain, however, is that Schlick *retreated* from the Theiss after being involved in heavy fighting there. The report that he later drove the Hungarians back across the Theiss is no more than a martial-law rumour.

News coming in from Transylvania is quite different from what Puchner's latest reports of victory would lead one to expect. Instead of fleeing to Thorenburg after the battle at Hermannstadt, Bem *threatened* that town *once more* on January 26. Although he had received reinforcements, Puchner was forced to withdraw all his troops and concentrate them before the town of Hermannstadt. This makes it appear as if the battle of Hermannstadt and all the later encounters were no more than a prelude and as if the really decisive battle was still to be fought. In the Bukovina also there is already fear of another invasion by Bem, who, even according to Austrian reports, has 40,000 men with him.

In the South, according to letters from Agram which have appeared in the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*, which is hostile to the Magyars, the town of Esseg has been stormed by the imperial

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[a] See "Fünfter Armeebericht des F. M. Z. Schlick", *Wiener Zeitung* No. 33, February 8, 1849.—*Ed.*

troops. The Magyar garrison is meanwhile still holding out inside the fortress. The differences of opinion between Stratimirovich and Rajachich still persist.

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# DEMOCRATIC PAN-SLAVISM[314]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 222, February 15, 1849]

*Cologne*, February 14. We have often enough pointed out that the romantic dreams which came into being after the revolutions of February and March, such as ardent fantasies about the universal fraternal union of peoples, a European federative republic, and eternal world peace, were basically nothing but screens hiding the immeasurable perplexity and inactivity of the leading spokesmen of that time. People did not see, or did not want to see, what had to be done to safeguard the revolution; they were unable or unwilling to carry out any really revolutionary measures; the narrow-mindedness of some and the counter-revolutionary intrigues of others resulted in the people getting only sentimental phrases instead of revolutionary deeds. The scoundrel Lamartine with his high-flown declarations was the classical hero of this epoch of betrayal of the people disguised by poetic floridity and rhetorical tinsel.

The peoples who have been through the revolution know how dearly they have had to pay because in their simplicity at the time they believed the loud talk and bombastic assurances. Instead of safeguards for the revolution—everywhere reactionary Chambers which undermined the revolution; instead of fulfilment of the promises given at the barricades—counter-revolution in Naples, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, the fall of Milan, and the war against Hungary; instead of the fraternal union of peoples—renewal of the Holy Alliance on the broadest basis under the patronage of England and Russia. And the very same persons who in April and May responded jubilantly to the high-flown phrases of the epoch, now only blush with shame at the thought of how at that time they allowed themselves to be deceived by idiots and rogues.

People have learned by bitter experience that the "European fraternal union of peoples" cannot be achieved by mere phrases and pious wishes, but only by profound revolutions and bloody struggles; they have learned that the question is not that of a fraternal union of all European peoples under a single republican flag, but of an alliance of the revolutionary peoples against the counter-revolutionary peoples, an alliance which comes into being not on *paper*, but only on the *battlefield*.

Throughout Western Europe these bitter but necessary experiences have completely discredited Lamartine's phrase-mongering. In the east, on the other hand, there are still sections, ostensibly democratic, revolutionary sections, which are not tired of echoing these phrases and sentimental ideas and preaching the gospel of the European fraternal union of peoples.

These sections—we leave out of account some ignorant German-speaking dreamers such as Herr A. Ruge etc.—are the *democratic pan-Slavists* of the various Slav peoples.

The programme of democratic pan-Slavism lies before us in the shape of a pamphlet: *Aufruf an die Slaven.* Von einem russischen Patrioten, Michael *Bakunin,* Mitglied des Slavencongresses[315] in Prag. Koethen, 1848.[a]

Bakunin is our friend. That will not deter us from criticising his pamphlet.

Hear how Bakunin at the very beginning of his Appeal adheres to the illusions of last March and April:

"The very first sign of life of the revolution was a cry of hate against the old oppression,[b] a cry of sympathy and love for all oppressed nationalities. The peoples ... felt at last the disgrace with which the old diplomacy had burdened mankind, and they realised that the well-being of the nations will never be ensured as long as there is a single nation anywhere in Europe living under oppression.... Away with the oppressors! was the unanimous cry; all hail to the oppressed, the Poles, the Italians and all the others! No more wars of conquest, but only the one last war fought out to the end, the good fight of the revolution for the final liberation of all peoples! Down with the artificial barriers which have been forcibly erected by congresses of despots[c] in accordance with so-called historical, geographical, commercial and strategical necessities! There should be no other frontiers[d] than those natural boundaries drawn in accordance with justice and democracy and established by the sovereign will of the peoples themselves on the basis of their national characteristics. Such is the call issued by all the peoples." Pp. 6, 7.

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[a] *Appeal to the Slavs.* By a Russian patriot Mikhail Bakunin, member of the Slav Congress in Prague. Koethen, 1848.—*Ed.*

[b] In Bakunin's pamphlet: "gegen die alte Unterdrückungspolitik"—"against the old policy of oppression".—*Ed.*

[c] A reference to the Vienna Congress of 1814-15.—*Ed.*

[d] In Bakunin's pamphlet: "zwischen den Nationen"—"among the nations".—*Ed.*

In this passage we already find reproduced all the rapturous enthusiasm of the first months after the revolution. There is not a word about the actually existing obstacles to such a universal liberation, or about the very diverse degrees of civilisation and the consequent equally diverse political needs of the individual peoples. The word "freedom" replaces all that. There is not a word about the actual state of things, or, insofar as it does receive attention, it is described as absolutely reprehensible, arbitrarily established by "congresses of despots" and "diplomats". To this bad reality is counterposed the alleged will of the people with its categorical imperative, with the absolute demand simply for "freedom".

We have seen who proved to be the stronger. The alleged will of the people was so disgracefully deceived precisely because it trusted in such fantastic abstraction from the conditions actually prevailing.

"By its plenipotentiary power the revolution declared the despotic states dissolved; dissolved the Prussian state ... Austria ... the Turkish Empire ... and, finally, the last hope of the despots ... the Russian Empire ... and as the final goal of all—the universal federation of the European republics." P. 8.

As a matter of fact, here in the west it must strike us as peculiar that after all of these beautiful plans have come to grief at the *first* attempt to fulfil them they can still be regarded as something meritorious and great. Certainly, the unfortunate thing was precisely that although the revolution "by its own plenipotentiary power declared the despotic states dissolved", at the same time "by its own plenipotentiary power" it did not lift a finger to carry out its decree.

At that time the Slav Congress was convened. The Slav Congress adopted completely the standpoint of these illusions. Listen to this:

"With a lively sense of the common ties of history (?) and blood, we swore not to allow our fates to separate us again from one another. Pronouncing a curse on the policy of which we have so long been the victims, *we ourselves asserted* our right to complete *independence* and *vowed* that henceforth this should be *common to all the Slav peoples.* We recognised the independence of Bohemia and Moravia ... we held out our fraternal hand to the German people, to democratic Germany. In the name of those of us who live in Hungary, we offered the Magyars, the furious enemies of our race ... a fraternal alliance. Nor did we forget in our alliance for liberation those of our brothers who groan under the Turkish yoke. We solemnly condemned the treacherous policy which three times cut Poland into pieces.... All that we proclaimed, and together with the democrats of all peoples (?) we demanded freedom, equality and the brotherhood of all nations". P. 10.

Democratic pan-Slavism today still puts forward these demands:

"At that time we felt confident of our cause ... *justice* and *humanity* were wholly on our side, and nothing but illegality and barbarity on the side of our enemies. The ideas to which we devoted ourselves were *no empty figments of a dream,* they were the ideas of the *sole true and necessary policy,* the policy of *revolution.*"

"Justice", "humanity", "freedom", "equality", "fraternity", "independence"—so far we have found nothing in the pan-Slavist manifesto but these more or less ethical categories, which sound very fine, it is true, but *prove absolutely nothing* in historical and political questions. "Justice", "humanity", "freedom" etc. may demand this or that a thousand times over; but if the thing is impossible it does not take place and in spite of everything remains an "empty figment of a dream". The pan-Slavists' illusions ought to have become clear to them from the role played by the mass of the Slavs after the Prague Congress. They ought to have understood that all pious wishes and beautiful dreams are of no avail against iron reality, and that their policy at any time was no more the "policy of revolution" than was that of the French Republic. Nevertheless, today, in January 1849, they still come to us with the same old phrases, in the content of which Western Europe has been disillusioned by the bloodiest counter-revolution!

Just a word about "universal fraternal union of peoples" and the drawing of "boundaries established by the sovereign will of the peoples themselves on the basis of their national characteristics". The United States and Mexico are two republics, in both of which the people is sovereign.

How did it happen that over Texas[316] a war broke out between these two republics, which, according to the *moral theory*, ought to have been "fraternally united" and "federated", and that, owing to "geographical, commercial and strategical necessities", the "sovereign will" of the American people, supported by the bravery of the American volunteers, shifted the boundaries drawn by nature some hundreds of miles further south? And will Bakunin accuse the Americans of a "war of conquest", which, although it deals a severe blow to his theory based on "justice and humanity", was nevertheless waged wholly and solely in the interest of civilisation? Or is it perhaps unfortunate that splendid California has been taken away from the lazy Mexicans, who could not do anything with it? That the energetic Yankees by rapid exploitation of the Californian gold mines will increase the means of circulation, in a few years will concentrate a dense population and extensive trade at the most suitable places on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, create large cities, open up communications by steamship, construct a railway from New York to San Francisco, for the first time really open the Pacific Ocean to civilisation, and for the third time in history give world trade a new direction? The "independence" of a few Spanish Californians and Texans may suffer because of it, in some places "justice" and other moral principles may be violated; but what does

that matter compared to such facts of world-historic significance?

We would point out, incidentally, that this theory of universal fraternal union of peoples, which calls indiscriminately for fraternal union regardless of the historical situation and the stage of social development of the individual peoples, was combated by the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* already long before the revolution, and in fact in opposition to their best friends, the English and French democrats. Proof of this is to be found in the English, French and Belgian democratic newspapers of that period.[317]

As far as pan-Slavism in particular is concerned, in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 194[a] we showed that, apart from the well-meaning self-deceptions of the democratic pan-Slavists, it has in reality no other aim than to give the Austrian Slavs, who are split up and historically, literarily, politically, commercially and industrially dependent on the Germans and Magyars, a basis of support, in Russia on the one hand, and on the other hand in the Austrian united monarchy, which is dominated by the Slav majority and dependent on Russia. We have shown how such little nations, which for centuries have been taken in tow by history against their will, must necessarily be counter-revolutionary, and that their whole position in the revolution of 1848 was actually counter-revolutionary. In view of the democratic pan-Slavist manifesto, which demands the independence of all Slavs without distinction, we must return to this matter.

Let us note first of all that there is much excuse for the political romanticism and sentimentality of the democrats at the Slav Congress. With the exception of the Poles—the Poles are not pan-Slavists for very obvious reasons—they all belong to peoples which are either, like the Southern Slavs, necessarily counter-revolutionary owing to the whole of their historical position, or, like the Russians, are still a long way from revolution and therefore, at least for the time being, are still counter-revolutionary. These sections, democratic owing to their education acquired abroad, seek to bring their democratic views into harmony with their national feeling, which is known to be very pronounced among the Slavs; and since the real world, the actual state of things in their country, affords no basis, or only a fictitious basis for such reconciliation, there remains for them nothing but the other-worldly "airy kingdom of dreams",[b] the realm of pious wishes, the policy of fantasy. How

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[a] See this volume, pp. 233-36.— *Ed.*

[b] Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen*, Caput VII.— *Ed.*

splendid it would be if the Croats, Pandours[318] and Cossacks formed the vanguard of European democracy, if the ambassador of a republic of Siberia were to present his credentials in Paris! Certainly, such prospects would be very delightful; but, after all, even the most enthusiastic pan-Slavist will not demand that European democracy should wait for their realisation—and at present it is precisely those nations for whom the manifesto specially demands independence that are the special enemies of democracy.

We repeat: apart from the Poles, the Russians, and at most the Turkish Slavs, no Slav people has a future, for the simple reason that all the other Slavs lack the primary historical, geographical, political and industrial conditions for independence and viability.

Peoples which have never had a history of their own, which from the time when they achieved the first, most elementary stage of civilisation already came under foreign sway, or which were *forced* to attain the first stage of civilisation only by means of a foreign yoke, are not viable and will never be able to achieve any kind of independence.

And that has been the fate of the Austrian Slavs. The Czechs, among whom we would include the Moravians and Slovaks, although they differ in respect of language and history, have never had a history of their own. Bohemia has been chained to Germany since the time of Charles the Great. The Czech nation freed itself momentarily and formed the Great-Moravian state, only immediately to come under subjection again and for five hundred years to be a ball thrown from one to another by Germany, Hungary and Poland. Following that, Bohemia and Moravia passed definitely to Germany and the Slovak regions remained with Hungary. And this historically absolutely non-existent "nation" puts forward claims to independence?

The same thing holds for the Southern Slavs proper. Where is the history of the Illyrian Slovenes, the Dalmatians, Croats and Shokazians[319]? Since the eleventh century they have lost the last semblance of political independence and have been partly under German, partly under Venetian, and partly under Magyar rule. And it is desired to put together a vigorous, independent, viable nation out of these tattered remnants?

More than that. If the Austrian Slavs were a compact mass like the Poles, the Magyars and the Italians, if they were in a position to come together to form a state of 12-20 million people, then their claims would surely be more serious. But the position is just the opposite. The Germans and Magyars have pushed themselves in between them like a broad wedge to the farthest extremities of the

Carpathians, almost to the Black Sea, and have separated the Czechs, Moravians and Slovaks from the Southern Slavs by a broad band 60-80 miles[a] wide. To the north of this band are 5 1/2 million Slavs, to the south 5 1/2 million Slavs, separated by a compact mass of 10-11 million Germans and Magyars, made allies by history and necessity.

But why should not the 5 1/2 million Czechs, Moravians and Slovaks form one state, and the 5 1/2 million Southern Slavs together with the Turkish Slavs form another state?

Take a look at any good linguistic map at the distribution of the Czechs and their neighbours akin to them in language. They have thrust themselves into Germany like a wedge but on both sides they have been eaten into and pressed back by the German element. One-third of Bohemia speaks German; for every 34 Czechs in Bohemia there are 17 Germans. Yet it is precisely the Czechs who are supposed to form the core of the intended Slav state; for the Moravians, too, are considerably interspersed with Germans, and the Slovaks with Germans and Magyars and furthermore completely demoralised in a national respect. And what a Slav state that would be, in which in the final analysis the *German urban bourgeoisie would hold sway*!

The same thing applies to the Southern Slavs. The Slovenes and Croats cut off Germany and Hungary from the Adriatic Sea; but Germany and Hungary *cannot* allow themselves to be cut off from the Adriatic Sea on account of "geographical and commercial necessities", which, it is true, are no obstacle to Bakunin's fantasy, but which nevertheless do exist and are just as much vital questions for Germany and Hungary as, for example, the Baltic Sea coast from Danzig to Riga is for Poland. And where it is a question of the existence, of the free development of all the resources of big nations, such sentimental considerations as concern for a few scattered Germans or Slavs will not decide anything! This apart from the fact that these Southern Slavs are likewise everywhere mingled with German, Magyar, and Italian elements, that here too a mere glance at a linguistic map shows the planned South-Slav state torn into disconnected tatters, and that at best the whole state would be delivered into the hands of the *Italian* bourgeois of Trieste, Fiume and Zara, and the *German* bourgeois of Agram, Laibach, Karlstadt, Semlin, Pancsova and Weisskirchen!

But could not the Austrian Southern Slavs unite with the Serbs, Bosnians, Morlaks[320] and Bulgarians? Certainly they could if, besides the difficulties mentioned above, there did not exist also the age-old

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[a] German mile equals 4.7 English miles.—*Ed.*

hatred of the Austrian frontier dwellers for the Turkish Slavs on the other side of the Sava and Unna; but these people, who for centuries have considered one another as rascals and bandits, despite all their racial kinship hate one another infinitely more than do the Slavs and Magyars.

In point of fact, the position of the Germans and Magyars would be extremely pleasant if the Austrian Slavs were assisted to get their so-called rights! An independent Bohemian-Moravian state would be wedged between Silesia and Austria; Austria and Styria would be cut off by the "South-Slav republic" from their natural *débouché*[a] — the Adriatic Sea and the Mediterranean; and the eastern part of Germany would be torn to pieces like a loaf of bread that has been gnawed by rats! And all that by way of thanks for the Germans having given themselves the trouble of civilising the stubborn Czechs and Slovenes, and introducing among them trade, industry, a tolerable degree of agriculture, and culture!

But it is precisely this yoke imposed on the Slavs under the pretext of civilisation that is said to constitute one of the greatest crimes of the Germans and Magyars! Just listen to this:

"Rightly do you rage, rightly do you breathe vengeance against that *damnable German policy*, which has thought of nothing but your ruin, which *has enslaved you for centuries....*" P. 5.

"...The *Magyars*, the *bitter enemies* of our race, who number hardly four millions, have presumed to seek to impose their yoke on eight million Slavs...." P. 9

"I know all that the Magyars have done to our Slav brothers, what crimes they have committed against our nationality, and how they have trampled underfoot our language and independence." P. 30.

What then are the great, dreadful crimes committed by the Germans and Magyars against the Slav nationality? We are not speaking here of the partition of Poland,[321] which is not at issue here, we are speaking of the "centuries of injustice" supposed to have been inflicted on the Slavs.

In the north, the Germans have reconquered from the Slavs the formerly German and subsequently Slav region from the Elbe to the Warthe; a conquest which was determined by the "geographical and strategical necessities" resulting from the partition of the Carolingian kingdom. These Slav areas have been fully Germanised; the thing has been done and cannot be undone, unless the pan-Slavists were to resurrect the lost Sorbian, Wendish and Obodritian languages[322] and impose them on the inhabitants of Leipzig, Berlin and Stettin. But up to now it has never been disputed that this conquest was to the advantage of civilisation.

[a] Outlet.—*Ed.*

In the south, the Germans found the Slav races already split up. That had been seen to by the non-Slav Avars,[323] who occupied the region later inhabited by the Magyars. The Germans exacted tribute from these Slavs and waged many wars against them. They fought also against the Avars and Magyars, from whom they took the whole territory from the Ems to the Leitha. Whereas they carried out Germanisation here by force, the Germanisation of the Slav territories proceeded much more on a peaceful basis, by immigration and by the influence of the more developed nation on the undeveloped. German industry, German trade and German culture by themselves served to introduce the German language into the country. As far as "oppression" is concerned, the Slavs were not more oppressed by the Germans than the mass of the German population itself.

As regards the Magyars, there are certainly also a large number of Germans in Hungary, but the Magyars, although numbering "hardly four millions", have never had the occasion to complain of the "damnable German policy"! And if during *eight centuries* the "eight million Slavs" have had to suffer the yoke imposed on them by the four million Magyars, that alone sufficiently proves which was the more viable and vigorous, the many Slavs or the few Magyars!

But, of course, the greatest "crime" of the Germans and Magyars is that they prevented these twelve million Slavs from becoming *Turkish*! What would have become of these scattered small nationalities, which have played such a pitiful role in history, if the Magyars and Germans had not kept them together and led them against the armies of Mohammed and Suleiman, and if their so-called oppressors had not decided the outcome of the battles which were fought for the defence of these weak nationalities! The fate of the "twelve million Slavs, Wallachians and Greeks" who have been "trampled underfoot by seven hundred thousand Osmans" (p. 8), right up to the present day, does not that speak eloquently enough?

And finally, what a "crime" it is, what a "damnable policy" that at a time when, in Europe in general, big monarchies had become a "historical necessity", the Germans and Magyars united all these small, stunted and impotent little nations into a single big state and thereby enabled them to take part in a historical development from which, left to themselves, they would have remained completely aloof! Of course, matters of this kind cannot be accomplished without many a tender national blossom being forcibly broken. But in history nothing is achieved without violence and implacable ruthlessness, and if Alexander, Caesar and Napoleon had been capable of being moved by the same sort of appeal as that which

pan-Slavism now makes on behalf of its ruined clients, what would have become of history! And are the Persians, Celts and Christian Germans of less value than the Czechs, Ogulians and Serezhans[324]?

*Now*, however, as a result of the powerful progress of industry, trade and communications, political centralisation has become a much more urgent need than it was then, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. What still has to be centralised is being centralised. And *now* the pan-Slavists come forward and demand that we should "set free" these half-Germanised Slavs, and that we should abolish a centralisation which is being forced on these Slavs by all their material interests!

In short, it turns out these "crimes" of the Germans and Magyars against the said Slavs are among the best and most praiseworthy deeds which our and the Magyar people can boast of in their history.

Moreover, as far as the Magyars are concerned, it should be specially pointed out here that, particularly since the revolution, they have acted much too submissively and weakly against the puffed-up Croats. It is notorious that Kossuth made all possible concessions to them, excepting only that their deputies were not allowed to speak the Croatian in the Diet. And this submissiveness to a nation that is counter-revolutionary by nature is the only thing with which the Magyars can be reproached.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 223, February 16, 1849]

*Cologne*, February 15. We concluded yesterday with the proof that the Austrian Slavs have never had a history of their own, that from the historical, literary, political, commercial and industrial points of view they are dependent on the Germans and Magyars, that they are already partly Germanised, Magyarised and Italianised, that if they were to establish independent states, not they, but the German and Italian bourgeoisie of their towns would rule these states, and finally, that neither Hungary nor Germany can tolerate the detachment and independent constitution of such unviable, small intercalated states.

All that, however, would still not be decisive. If at any epoch while they were oppressed the Slavs had begun a *new revolutionary history*, that by itself would have proved their viability. From that moment the revolution would have had an interest in their liberation, and the special interest of the Germans and Magyars would have given way to the greater interest of the European revolution.

Precisely that, however, never happened. The Slavs—once again we remind our readers that here we always exclude the Poles—were

always the *main instruments of the counter-revolutionaries.* Oppressed at home, outside their country, wherever Slav influence extended to, they were the *oppressors of all revolutionary nations.*

Let no one object that we speak here on behalf of German national prejudices. In German, French, Belgian and English periodicals, the proofs are to be found that it was precisely the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* who already long *before* the revolution most decisively opposed all manifestations of German national narrow-mindedness.[325] Unlike many other people, they did not castigate the Germans at random or on the basis of mere hearsay; on the contrary, they proved from history and mercilessly exposed the despicable role that Germany has certainly played in history, thanks to its nobles and burghers and thanks to its crippled industrial development; they have always recognised the superiority of the great historical nations of the west, the English and the French, compared with the backward Germans. But precisely for that reason we should be permitted not to share the fantastic illusions of the Slavs and allowed to judge other peoples as severely as we have judged our own nation.

Up to now it has always been said that the *Germans* have been the *Lanzknechte*[a] of despotism throughout Europe. We are far from denying the shameful part played by the Germans in the shameful wars against the French revolution from 1792 to 1815, and in the oppression of Italy since 1815 and of Poland since 1772; but who stood behind the Germans, who used them as their mercenaries or their vanguard? England and *Russia.* After all, up to the present day the Russians boast of having brought about the fall of Napoleon through their innumerable armies, which is at any rate largely correct. This much, at least, is certain, that of the armies which by their superior power drove back Napoleon from the Oder as far as Paris, three-quarters consisted of Slavs, Russians or Austrian Slavs.

And then, too, the Germans' oppression of the Italians and Poles! A wholly Slav power and a semi-Slav power competed in the partition of Poland; the armies which crushed Kosciuszko consisted for the most part of *Slavs*; the armies of Dibich and Paskevich were exclusively *Slav* armies. And in Italy for many years the *Tedeschi*[b] alone had the ignominy of being regarded as oppressors. But, once again, what was the composition of the armies which best let themselves be used for oppression and for whose savage acts the

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[a] Spear-bearers.— *Ed.*
[b] Germans.—*Ed.*

Germans were blamed? Once again, they consisted of *Slavs*. Go to Italy and ask who suppressed the Milan revolution; people will no longer say: the *Tedeschi*—since the *Tedeschi* made a revolution in Vienna they are no longer hated—but: the *Croati*. That is the word which the Italians now apply to the whole Austrian army, i.e. to all that is most deeply hated by them: *i Croati*!

Nevertheless, these reproaches would be superfluous and unjustified if the Slavs had anywhere seriously participated in the movement of 1848, if they had hastened to join the ranks of the revolutionary peoples. A single courageous attempt at a democratic revolution, even if it were crushed, extinguishes in the memory of the peoples whole centuries of infamy and cowardice, and at once rehabilitates a nation, however deeply it had been despised. That was the experience of the Germans last year. But whereas the French, Germans, Italians, Poles and Magyars raised high the banner of the revolution, the *Slavs one and all* put themselves under the banner of the *counter-revolution*. In the forefront were the Southern Slavs, who had already for many years upheld their counter-revolutionary separatist aims against the Magyars; then came the Czechs, and behind them—the *Russians*, armed for battle and ready to appear on the battlefield at the decisive moment.

It is well known that in Italy the Magyar hussars went over to the Italians *en masse*, that in Hungary whole Italian battalions put themselves at the disposal of the Magyar revolutionary Government and are still fighting under the Magyar flag; it is well known that in Vienna the German regiments sided with the people and even in Galicia were by no means reliable; it is well known that masses of Austrian and non-Austrian Poles fought against the Austrian armies in Italy, in Vienna and in Hungary, and are still fighting in the Carpathians; but where has anyone ever heard of Czech or South-Slav troops revolting against the black-and-yellow flag[a]?

On the contrary, up to now it is known only that Austria, which was shaken to its foundations, has been kept alive and for the time being is once again in safety owing to the enthusiasm of the Slavs for the black-and-yellow flag; that it was precisely the Croats, Slovenes, Dalmatians, Czechs, Moravians and Ruthenians who put their contingents at the disposal of Windischgrätz and Jellachich for suppressing the revolution in Vienna, Cracow, Lemberg and Hungary; and what furthermore we have now learned from Bakunin is that the Prague *Slav Congress was dispersed* not by Germans, but by Galician, Czech and Slovak *Slavs*, and "*nothing but Slavs*"! P. 33.

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[a] The colours of the Austrian flag.—*Ed.*

The revolution of 1848 compelled all European peoples to declare themselves for or against it. In the course of a month all the peoples ripe for revolution had made their revolution, and all those which were not ripe had allied themselves against the revolution. At that time it was a matter of disentangling the confused tangle of peoples of Eastern Europe. The question was which nation would seize the revolutionary initiative here, and which nation would develop the greatest revolutionary energy and thereby safeguard its future. The Slavs remained silent, the Germans and Magyars, faithful to their previous historical position, took the lead. As a result, the Slavs were thrown completely into the arms of the counter-revolution.

But what about the Slav Congress in Prague?

We repeat: the so-called democrats among the Austrian Slavs are either scoundrels or fantasts, and the latter, who do not find any fertile soil among their people for the ideas imported from abroad, have been continually led by the nose by the scoundrels. At the Prague Slav Congress the fantasts had the upper hand. When the fantasy seemed dangerous to the *aristocratic* pan-Slavists, Count Thun, Palacký & Co., they betrayed the fantasts to Windischgrätz and the black-and-yellow counter-revolution. What bitter, striking irony is contained in the fact that this Congress of dreamers, defended by the dreamy Prague youth, was dispersed by soldiers of their own nation, and that, as it were, a military Slav Congress was set up in opposition to the day-dreaming Slav Congress! The Austrian army which captured Prague, Vienna, Lemberg, Cracow, Milan and Budapest—that is the real, active Slav Congress!

How unfounded and vague was the fantasy at the Slav Congress is proved by its results. The bombardment of a town like Prague would have filled any other nation with inextinguishable hatred of its oppressors. But what did the Czechs do? They kissed the rod which had bloodily chastised them, they eagerly swore obedience to the flag under which their brothers had been slaughtered and their wives ravished. The street-fighting in Prague was the turning-point for the Austrian democratic pan-Slavists.[326] In return for the prospect of obtaining their pitiful "national independence", they bartered away democracy and the revolution to the Austrian united monarchy, to the "centre", "the systematic enforcement of despotism in the heart of Europe", as Bakunin himself says on p. 29. And for this cowardly, base betrayal of the revolution we shall at some time take a bloody revenge against the Slavs.

It has at last become clear to these traitors that they have nevertheless been cheated by the counter-revolution and that for the Austrian Slavs there can be no thought of either a "Slav Austria" or a

"federative state of nations with equal rights", and least of all of democratic institutions. Jellachich, who is no bigger a scoundrel than most of the other democrats among the Austrian Slavs, bitterly regrets the way in which he has been exploited, and Stratimirovich, in order not to allow himself to be exploited any longer, has proclaimed an open revolt against Austria. The Slovanská-Lípa associations[327] once more everywhere oppose the Government and every day gain fresh painful experience of the trap into which they let themselves be enticed. But it is now too late; powerless in their own homeland against the Austrian soldiery, which they themselves re-organised, rejected by the Germans and Magyars whom they have betrayed, rejected by revolutionary Europe, they will have to suffer the same military despotism which they helped to impose on the Viennese and Magyars. "Submit to the Emperor so that the imperial troops do not treat you as if you were rebellious Magyars"—these words of the Patriarch Rajachich express what they have to expect in the immediate future.

How very differently have the *Poles* behaved! For the last eighty years oppressed, enslaved, plundered, they have always been on the side of the revolution and proclaimed that the revolutionisation of Poland is inseparable from the independence of Poland. In Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Italy, Hungary, the Poles shared the fighting in all the revolutions and revolutionary wars, regardless whether they were fighting against Germans, against Slavs, against Magyars, or even against *Poles*. The Poles are the only Slav nation that is free from all pan-Slavist aspirations. They have, however, very good reasons for that: they have been oppressed mainly by *their own* so-called *Slav brothers*, and among the Poles hatred of Russians takes precedence over hatred of Germans, and with full justification. But because the liberation of Poland is inseparable from the revolution, because Pole and revolutionary have become synonymous, for Poles the sympathy of all Europe and the restoration of their nation are as certain as are for the Czechs, Croats and Russians the hatred of all Europeans and a most bloody revolutionary war of the entire west against them.

The Austrian pan-Slavists ought to understand that all their desires, insofar as they can be fulfilled, have been realised in the restoration of the "Austrian united monarchy" under Russian protection. If Austria collapses, what is in store for them is the revolutionary terrorism of the Germans and Magyars, but by no means, as they imagine, the liberation of all the nations enslaved under the sceptre of Austria. They must therefore wish that Austria continues to hold together, and indeed that Galicia remains with

Austria, so that the Slavs retain a majority in the state. Here, therefore, *pan-Slavist* interests are already *directly opposed* to the restoration of *Poland*, for a Poland without Galicia, a Poland that does not extend from the Baltic to the Carpathians, is no Poland. But equally for that reason a "Slav Austria" is still a mere dream; for without the supremacy of the Germans and Magyars, without the two centres of Vienna and Budapest, Austria will once again fall apart, as its whole history up to recent months has proved. Accordingly, the realisation of pan-Slavism would have to be restricted to Russian patronage over Austria. The openly reactionary pan-Slavists were therefore quite right in holding fast to the preservation of the united monarchy; it was the only means of saving anything. The so-called democratic pan-Slavists, however, were in an acute dilemma: either renunciation of the revolution and at least a partial salvation of nationality through the united monarchy, or abandonment of nationality and salvation of the revolution by the collapse of the united monarchy. At that time the fate of the revolution in Eastern Europe depended on the position of the Czechs and Southern Slavs; we shall not forget that at the decisive moment they betrayed the revolution to Petersburg and Olmütz for the sake of their petty national hopes.

What would be said if the democratic party in Germany commenced its programme with the demand for the return of Alsace, Lorraine, and Belgium, which in every respect belongs to France, on the pretext that the majority there is Germanic? How ridiculous the German democrats would make themselves if they wanted to found a pan-Germanic German-Danish-Swedish-English-Dutch alliance for the "liberation" of all German-speaking countries! German democracy, fortunately, is above such fantasies. German students in 1817 and 1830 were peddling that kind of reactionary fantasies and today throughout Germany are being given their deserts. The German revolution only came into being, and the German nation only began to become something, when people had freed themselves completely from these futilities.

But pan-Slavism, too, is just as childish and reactionary as pan-Germanism. When one reads the history of the pan-Slavist movement of last spring in Prague, one could imagine oneself back in the period of thirty years ago: tricolour sashes, ancient costumes, ancient Slav Masses, complete restoration of the time and customs of the primeval forests; the Svornost—a complete replica of the German *Burschenschaft*, the Slav Congress—a new edition of the Wartburg Festival,[328] the same phrases, the same fantasies, the same

subsequent lamentation: "We had built a stately house",[a] etc. Anyone who would like to read this famous song translated into Slav prose has only to read Bakunin's pamphlet.

Just as in the long run the most pronounced counter-revolutionary frame of mind, the most ferocious hatred of Frenchmen, and the most narrow-minded national feeling, were to be found among the members of the German *Burschenschaften*, and just as later they all became traitors to the cause for which they had pretended to be enthusiastic—in exactly the same way, only more speedily, because 1848 was a year of revolution, the democratic semblance among the democratic pan-Slavists turned into fanatical hatred of Germans and Magyars, into indirect opposition to the restoration of Poland (Lubomirski), and into direct adherence to the counter-revolution.

And if some sincere Slav democrats now call on the Austrian Slavs to join the revolution, to regard the Austrian united monarchy as their chief enemy, and indeed to be on the side of the Magyars in the interests of the revolution, they remind one of a hen which despairingly circles the edge of a pond where the young ducklings which she has hatched out now suddenly escape from her into a totally foreign element into which she cannot follow them.

But let us not harbour any illusions. Among all the pan-Slavists, nationality, i.e. imaginary common Slav nationality, *takes precedence over the revolution.* The pan-Slavists want to join the revolution on condition that they will be allowed to constitute all Slavs without exception, regardless of material necessities, into independent Slav states. If we Germans had wanted to lay down the same fantastic conditions, we would have got a long way in March! But the revolution does not allow of any conditions being imposed on it. Either one is a revolutionary and accepts the consequences of the revolution, whatever they are, or one is driven into the arms of the counter-revolution and one day finds oneself, perhaps without knowing or desiring it, arm in arm with Nicholas and Windischgrätz.

We and the Magyars should guarantee the Austrian Slavs their independence—that is what Bakunin demands, and people of the calibre of Ruge are capable of having actually made such promises to him in secret. The demand is put to us and the other revolutionary nations of Europe that the hotbeds of counter-revolution at our very door should be guaranteed an unhindered existence and the free right to conspire and take up arms against the revolution; it is demanded that we should establish a counter-revolutionary Czech

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[a] A song by August Binzer written in 1819 on the dissolution of a student association in Jena.—*Ed.*

state in the very heart of Germany, and break the strength of the German, Polish and Magyar revolutions by interposing between them Russian outposts at the Elbe, the Carpathians and the Danube!

We have no intention of doing that. To the sentimental phrases about brotherhood which we are being offered here on behalf of the most counter-revolutionary nations of Europe, we reply that hatred of Russians was and still is the *primary revolutionary passion* among Germans; that since the revolution hatred of Czechs and Croats has been added, and that only by the most determined use of terror against these Slav peoples can we, jointly with the Poles and Magyars, safeguard the revolution. We know where the enemies of the revolution are concentrated, viz. in Russia and the Slav regions of Austria, and no fine phrases, no allusions to an undefined democratic future for these countries can deter us from treating our enemies as enemies.

And if Bakunin finally exclaims:

> "Truly, the Slav should not *lose* anything, he should *win*! Truly, he should live! And we shall live. As long as the *smallest part* of our rights is contested, as long as a *single member is cut off from our whole body*, so long will we fight *to the end*, inexorably wage a *life-and-death struggle*, until the Slavs have their place in the world, great and free and independent—

if revolutionary pan-Slavism means this passage to be taken seriously, and in its concern for the imaginary Slav nationality leaves the revolution entirely out of account, then we too know what we have to do.

Then there will be a struggle, an "inexorable life-and-death struggle", against those Slavs who betray the revolution; an annihilating fight and ruthless terror—not in the interests of Germany, but in the interests of the revolution!

Written by Engels on February 14-15, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

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# PRUSSIAN FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER BODELSCHWINGH AND CO.

*Cologne,* February 16. Herr von Bodelschwingh, the Minister who was "dismissed" in March, is in a hurry to step back into the light from the concealment where he has meantime been: von Bodelschwingh has been elected deputy to the Second Chamber. A worthy choice by the Teltow Peasants' Association.

If the democratic press has hitherto concerned itself little with the ex-Ministers and other ex-individuals, it is now time to illuminate the former doings of this species of persons. We now refresh the memories of our readers and of the Public Prosecutor as to Herr von Bodelschwingh's conduct in office as Finance Minister.

Herr von Bodelschwingh became Finance Minister in the spring of 1842 and occupied this post until May 3, 1844.

He used to enjoy talking of his conduct in office. He had a predilection for "revelations". For instance he revealed to the commissions of the estates[329] on October 24, 1842, that "the finances in Prussia are subject to a *limited* publicity, namely, that resulting from the triennial publication of the state budget estimates in the Collected Statutes". He went on to explain the manner in which a Prussian state budget is drawn up. It is based "principally on averages calculated from the final accounts of the administration in the three years preceding the drawing up of the budget estimates".

On October 26 the same Herr von Bodelschwingh revealed further that revenue in the last seven years had risen by more than $5^1/_2$ million talers and that a further increase was to be expected (*Staats-Zeitung* Nos. 306 and 307[a]). At that time one *had no choice* but

[a] Here and further quotations are from the report on the sittings of the united estates committees on October 25 and 26 presided by Bodelschwingh published in the *Allgemeine Preussische Zeitung* Nos. 306 and 307, November 4 and 5, 1842.— *Ed.*

to believe the Finance Minister because the "limited publicity" surrounded Prussia's finances with an impenetrable obscurity. Now, however, one must at least doubt the truth of the assurances the Finance Minister then gave, because a number of things have recently become public about the way the finances were formerly administered.

The financial estimates published in the Collected Statutes are supposed to be based on the calculation of the average special budget estimates of the individual departments of the administration, which are produced on the basis of the *actual* revenue of the previous 3 years. If this is correct, each budget estimate in the Collected Statutes must contain the approximate average of actual revenue and expenditure over the previous years. If this is not the case, the budget estimate, according to Herr von Bodelschwingh's own statement, is *fraudulent*, a *fraudulent public document.*

In 1844 a budget estimate was published in the Collected Statutes (p. 96)[a] which was countersigned by Herr von Bodelschwingh. In this estimate, the sum of 57,677,194 talers concludes both the income and expenditure columns. That then must have been the amount of the average revenue and expenditure of the previous years. In fact, however, both revenue and expenditure in the years before were far higher. The Government later informed the members of the First United Diet of the final accounts of the Exchequer for 1840-46.[330]

According to these the amounts are

| | for revenue | for expenditure |
|---|---|---|
| 1843 | 73,822,589 talers | 79,102,787 talers |
| 1842 | 73,876,338 " | 75,269,431 " |
| 1841 | 71,987,880 " | 74,185,443 " |
| | 219,686,807 talers | 228,557,661 talers |

So the correct average total revenue was 73,228,935 talers, and expenditure 76,185,887 talers. Herr von Bodelschwingh therefore understated both revenue and expenditure, to be specific, he failed to mention 15,551,741 talers of revenue and 18,508,693 talers of expenditure *for each year.* These sums, it is true, might have to be adjusted to some extent when precisely accounted for, insofar as the triennial averages of the special budget estimates for the individual departments of administration are not drawn up entirely anew when each budget is drawn up and may stretch back beyond 1841, indeed

[a] *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preussischen Staaten 1844*, Berlin.—*Ed.*

as far back as 1838. A significant reduction in the sums not accounted for will however not be produced as a result; for in 1840, annual revenue again amounted to 71,059,475 talers and expenditure to as much as 77,165,022 talers. We have no official figures for the years 1839 and 1838. However, since with the same financial legislation the state income in peacetime does not alter suddenly but only gradually, one can safely assume that the state revenue in 1838 and 1839 totalled at least 70 million talers.

Herr von Bodelschwingh's budget estimate is, therefore, *fraudulent* like many, probably, of those of his predecessors and of his two successors up to 1848. Herr von Bodelschwingh must have known that he was publishing something incorrect. The real condition of the state finances was not unknown to him. The divergences from the truth were so conspicuous that Bergius, a *Regierungsrat* in Breslau, and following him even Bülow-Cummerow, without being acquainted with the accounts, publicly pointed out these inaccuracies in advance. Of course, if Herr von Bodelschwingh had come out with the truth, his revelations and speeches before the commissions of the Provincial Diets would have met with a different reception. With the "limited publicity" given to Prussian finances, he was able to cut a fine figure, whereas with full publicity only disgrace and censure would have awaited him. He spoke with satisfaction of the increase of $5^1/_2$ million talers in revenue, but failed to mention that from 1840 to 1843 *expenditure* had exceeded revenue by 14,976,401 talers. Although the country had had to provide 290,746,282 talers in those 4 years, these large sums still could not cover the inordinate expenditure of 305,722,683 talers. Such an expenditure without war, without adequate representation of industrial and commercial interests abroad, without a navy, without significant financial assistance for agriculture and trades at home! Magnificent buildings for the King, favouritism in the civil service, presents to junkers and bureaucrats, and the army with its parades and reviews had cost the country enormous sums. Well, of course, Herr von Bodelschwingh was not the man to confess that. So he drew up a fraudulent budget to persuade the people that less was being taken in revenue and less spent.

The drawing-up of fraudulent budgets is and will always be a dubious undertaking. The laws of Prussia prescribe severe penalties for such misconduct by officials. The budget estimates published in the Collected Statutes are after all public documents. No one will question that. It is true Prussian Law has laid down no special penalties for civil servants drawing up fraudulent public documents. However, a decree of June 3, 1831 (von Kamptz's *Jahrbücher*, Vol. 37,

p. 407[a]) stipulates that in the case of such acts the penalties for fraud or misconduct by officials are applicable. And the findings of the Prussian courts have since then been in accordance with this. Concerning misconduct by officials, Prussian Law, Part II, Section 20, § 333[b], lays down the following:

"Whoever wilfully contravenes the regulations of his office shall be *immediately dismissed* and furthermore sentenced, according to the nature of the misconduct and the injury caused, to an appropriate fine or imprisonment or confinement in a fortress and declared ineligible for all public offices."

Dismissal and a declaration of ineligibility for all public offices along with fine or imprisonment are then what *according to the law* awaits persons who draw up fraudulent budgets. Should Herr von Bodelschwingh not be able to clear himself of the strongest suspicion of having published a fraudulent budget, it is the *duty* of the judge to pass these sentences on him. We demand that he and the Public Prosecutor should elucidate the affair.

The fine, imprisonment or confinement in a fortress are to be decided according to the nature of the injury caused. The injury which Herr von Bodelschwingh in company with his predecessors and his successors in office has inflicted on the country is so great, is of such magnitude, as can only be inflicted on a whole people by Ministers and other persons in the highest positions. It is our intention here to establish the amount involved; at the same time we observe that we immediately encounter in this connection a further ministerial abuse of office.

The Cabinet Order of January 17, 1820 fixes the necessary *expenditure* for the Prussian state budget at 50,863,150 talers. It then goes on to say verbatim:

"The aforementioned sum, which We have accepted as the requirement for current administration, may *in no circumstances* be increased. The heads of the individual administrative departments are personally responsible in this to Us, and the whole Ministry of State the more so, particularly as the total sum approved by Us is sufficient for the purposes indicated in the budget instructions to date."

What is meant by the "requirement of current administration" emerges quite unambiguously from the further context, in which the administration of the government debt is contrasted with "current administration". Expenditure for current administration means all

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[a] K. A. Kamptz, *Jahrbücher für die Preussische Gesetzgebung, Rechtswissenschaft und Rechtsverwaltung*, Bd. 37, Berlin, 1831.— *Ed.*

[b] *Allgemeines Landrecht für die Preussischen Staaten*, 2. Theil, 20-sten Titel, § 333.— *Ed.*

those payments from the treasury which are not used for paying the interest on or paying off the national debt. These, as we have seen, according to the Cabinet Order of January 17, 1820, which has not been rescinded to this day, must never exceed the sum of 50,863,150 talers. The Cabinet Order is published in the Collected Statutes of 1820, and there has never been any doubt that such orders published before the declaration of constitutional monarchy had legal force in Prussia. Any excess over the legally prescribed sum therefore contravenes the law and is abuse of office by the Ministers.

The accounts for the state financial administration for 1840-46 which were conveyed to the First United Diet and the digests of the final accounts of the financial administration for 1847[a] which were submitted to the now dissolved National Assembly, provide proof that every Minister from 1840 to 1847 failed each year to comply with his obligations. Each year they spent more, substantially more, on current administration than they were legally entitled to. To put matters in a more balanced perspective, we shall now stop referring to Herr von Bodelschwingh alone, and refer instead to all the Ministers of Finance from 1840 to 1847. To be specific, they were: Count Alvensleben from 1835 to 1842, von Bodelschwingh from 1842 to 1844, Flottwell from May 3, 1844, to August 16, 1846, and von Duesberg from that time until the overthrow of the Ministry by the March revolution. All these Ministers are equally involved. A simple presentation of the facts will make it clear how the nascent prosperity of a country is ruined by a succession of corrupt senior officials.

Current expenditure, that is expenditure for the year, after deduction of the part used for the national debt, could not, as we have seen, legally amount to more than ... 50,863,150 talers.

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1840 however expenditure was | 77,165,022 talers. |
| From this subtract: | |
| for the paying off of debts . . . . . | 8,579,345 " |
| allegedly transferred to the treasury reserves . . . . . | 613,457 " |
| Total | 9,192,802 talers |
| What is left is therefore the expenditure on current administration . . | 67,972,220 talers |

[a] "Uebersicht von der Resultaten den Finanzverwaltung im Jahre 1847" in *Vorlagen an die National-Versammlung*, [Berlin] 1848.— *Ed.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Accordingly in that year were illegally disbursed . . . . . | . . . . . | 17,109,070 talers |
| In 1841 expenditure was . . . . . | 74,185,443 talers | |
| Of which the national debt and the treasury reserves took . . . . . | 14,419,563 " | |
| Therefore for current administration . | 59,765,880 talers | |
| Thus in excess of the legal . . . . . | 50,863,150 " | |
| | | 8,902,730 talers |
| In 1842 expenditure was . . . . . | 75,269,431 talers | |
| Of this, nothing was transferred to the treasury reserves, and the national debt took . . . . . | 8,684,865 " | |
| Current expenditure therefore remains . . . . . | 66,584,566 talers | |
| Thus in excess of the legal sum . . . . | | 15,721,416 talers |
| In 1843 expenditure was . . . . . | 79,102,787 talers | |
| The treasury reserves and the national debt took . . . . . | 8,261, 981 " | |
| Expenditure on current administration according to this amounted to . | 70,840,806 talers | |
| Above the legal . . . . . | 50,863,150 " | |
| was spent . . . . . | . . . . . | 19,977,656 talers |
| In 1844 expenditure amounted to . . . | 78,243,308 talers | |
| Of this, deduct for the treasury reserves and for paying the interest on and paying off the debts . . . . . | 9,252,605 " | |
| So that current expenditure remained | 68,990,703 talers | |
| In other words, in excess of the . . . . | 50,863,150 " | |
| | | 18,127,553 talers |
| In 1845 expenditure amounted to . . . | 77,903,361 talers | |
| Nothing is transferred to the treasury reserves, and the national debt took | 7,267,082 " | |
| Current expenditure was therefore . . | 70,636,279 talers | |
| That is, in excess of the legal . . . . . | 50,863,150 " | |
| | | 19,773,129 talers |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1846 expenditure was . . . . . | 78,562,335 talers | |
| Nothing is passed to the treasury reserves, and the national debt took . . . . . | 7,423,831 " | |
| Expenditure for current administration remained . . . . . | 71,138,504 talers | |
| Therefore in excess of the legal . . | 50,863,150 " | |
| | | 20,275,354 talers |
| In 1847 expenditure amounted to . . . | 80,392,730 talers | |
| From this deduct . . . . . | 6,207,650 " | |
| expended on social relief and . . . . | 7,209,192 " | |
| for the national debt, a total of . . . | 13,416,842 " | |
| There remains therefore expenditure on current administration . . . . . | 66,975,888 talers | |
| Thus in excess of the legal . . . | 50,863,150 " | |
| | | 16,112,738 talers |
| | Total | 135,999,646 talers |

Almost **one hundred and thirty-six million talers** have been **illegally** squandered in the last 8 years under the administration of Ministers Alvensleben, Bodelschwingh, Flottwell and Duesberg out of the state coffers, that is out of the people's purse, the earnings of the poor! And these people are walking about with their stars and their medals, and, as in the case of Flottwell, still hold high offices of state! The daily press recently aired the case of an official in the judiciary — thought to be a democrat — who was imprisoned because he was accused of having parted improperly with 50 talers. 50 talers and 136 million!

It may be that the sum fixed in 1820 no longer corresponded to the needs of the state in more recent times. But then the Government ought to have come forward openly and *legally* announce new budget estimates. But it did not wish, it did not dare to do so. It did not wish to because of its absolutist hankerings, it did not dare to because it was afraid to lay bare the administration of finances. Reviews with Queen Victoria, christenings, weddings, churches, the Bishopric of Jerusalem, the old, half-forgotten papers of Frederick II,[331] knights' castles, helmets, Guards lieutenants, junkers, priests and bureaucrats etc., etc., what role these plagues of

the people have played and still play in the finances of Prussia is not for the people to know. So the *Prussian* management was continued in secret, and Ministers became criminals even in the eyes of the law in force. They have not, of course, found a judge yet.

The manner in which the management of the Prussian finances under Frederick William IV is exhausting the state coffers emerges from the following analysis.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1840. | Carried over from previous years . . . . . | 16,949,157 talers |
| | Revenue for current year . . . . . | 71,059,475 " |
| | Total | 88,008,632 talers |
| | From this deduct expenditure for current year . . . . . | 77,165,022 " |
| | Balance in hand . . . . . | 10,843,610 talers |
| 1841. | Carried over from previous years . . . . . | 10,843,610 talers |
| | Revenue for current year . . . . . | 71,987,880 " |
| | Total | 82,831,490 talers |
| | From this deduct expenditure for current year at . . . . . | 74,185,443 " |
| | Balance in hand . . . . . | 8,646,047 talers |
| | (The budget drawn up by Alvensleben in the Collected Statutes is balanced with 55,867,000 talers for revenue and expenditure!) | |
| 1842. | Carried over from previous years . . . . . | 8,646,047 talers |
| | Revenue for current year . . . . . | 73,876,338 " |
| | Total | 82,522,385 talers |
| | Expenditure for current year . . . . . | .75,269,431 " |
| | Balance in hand . . . . . | 7,252,954 talers |
| 1843. | Carried over from previous years . . . . . | 7,252,954 talers |
| | Revenue for current year . . . . . | 73,822,589 " |
| | Total | 81,075,543 talers |
| | Expenditure for current year . . . . . | 79,102,787 " |
| | Balance in hand . . . . . | 1,972,756 talers |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1844. | Carried over from previous years | 1,972,756 talers |
| | Revenue for current year | 75,976,613 " |
| | Total | 77,949,369 talers |
| | Expenditure for current year | 78,243,308 " |
| | Deficit | 293,939 talers |
| 1845. | Revenue for current year | 77,025,034 talers |
| | Deduct from this deficit from 1844 | 293,939 " |
| | Leaving | 76,731,095 talers |
| | Expenditure for current year | 77,903,361 " |
| | Thus deficit | 1,172,266 talers |
| 1846. | Revenue for current year | 75,721,698 talers |
| | Deduct from this deficit from 1845 | 1,172,266 " |
| | Leaves | 74,549,432 talers |
| | Expenditure for current year | 78,562,335 " |
| | Thus deficit | 4,012,903 talers |
| | (The First United Diet is convened by the Royal Decree of February 3. It does not however vote any credits.) | |
| 1847. | Revenue for current year | 79, 518,543 talers |
| | Deduct from this deficit from 1846 | 4,012,903 " |
| | Leaves | 75,505,640 talers |
| | Expenditure for current year amounts to | 80,392,730 " |
| | Thus deficit | 4,887,090 talers |

In order to meet the most necessary expenditure, 4,000,000 talers are *drawn from the treasury reserves,* by which means revenue is raised to 83,518,543 talers. So *the old administration began the year 1848 with a deficit in the treasury,* and *with the depletion of the treasury reserves.* The balance in the current account was reduced over the 8 years 1840-47 from 16,949,157 talers to a deficit of 4,887,090, that is by 21,836,247 talers.

| | |
|---|---|
| Revenue in the 8 years amounted to | 598,988,170 talers |
| Expenditure | 620,824,417 " |
| A deficit therefore of exactly the sum just calculated | 21,836,247 talers |

No denials can undo this reduction in the reserves, even though the Government seeks to conceal it by carrying over balances of revenue and expenditure from one year to another, in fact in such a way that an apparent credit balance is still shown in the accounts when there is already a deficit. Thus in "peacetime", when "calm" and "order" prevailed, the Prussian finances were ruined by the Prussian Government. When the movements of 1848 came and the money-market suffered, the state was not able to support the private sector but at this time of depression was forced to demand new sacrifices to ensure its survival. The Herren bourgeois have the Prussian ex-Ministers and their aiders and abettors to thank for that. If the latter had not violated the law when in office, there would have been 136 million talers ready cash available instead of the deficit, and credit could then have been maintained. That is the injury caused, to which § 333 of the Prussian criminal law refers.

Deficit in the treasury—and just look at the revenue! Every year we have noted a revenue from over 71 to approximately 80 million. But that is only the *net* revenue, that is the surplus from the various administrative departments after *deduction of administrative costs.* In taxation, customs, the post-office, forestry etc., all the salaries, office expenses etc. concerning these departments of the administration have been subtracted in advance, and only the remaining balance is entered as revenue. And yet the country has had to pay for the salaries and office expenses for tax, forestry, postal officials etc., as well as the gratuities and presents to the *Oberpräsidenten* and commanding generals. These administrative expenses deducted in advance are estimated at 20,887,541 talers in the budget estimates for 1847. If we add this, annual revenue amounted to between 90 and 100 million and annual expenditure was actually over 100 million talers. The people produced sums of this order—and an empty treasury is the result!

The Cabinet Order of January 17, 1820, contained, as we have seen, an instruction concerning how Ministers should conduct their official business. Herr von Bodelschwingh has acted, we cannot assume otherwise, knowingly and wilfully in defiance of this instruction. He therefore again incurs the penalty of the above-mentioned § 333, Section 20, Part II of Prussian Law. The law passes sentence upon him of *dismissal, a fine or confinement in a fortress* and *ineligibility for all public offices.* Since the injury he has inflicted upon the country is of the greatest magnitude, the severest sentence of imprisonment permitted by the law must be applied to him.

The ex-Ministers von Alvensleben, Flottwell and von Duesberg find themselves in exactly the same situation.

The civil laws themselves stipulate that these ex-ministerial gentlemen are obliged to compensate the country for the injury inflicted on it, in other words the illegally disbursed 136 million talers. In this case Prussian Law, § 341, Section 20, Part II, decrees:

"Whenever an official cannot make good the injury done to the state or to any third person by deliberate dereliction of duty, he shall, *after serving his sentence, be detained for labour in a public institution* until such time as the injury has by one means or another been made good."

And one more trifle! As administrative surpluses the following sums were transferred to the treasury reserves:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| From | the | administration | of | 1840 . . . . . | 613,457 talers |
| " | " | " | " | 1841 . . . . . | 2,837,000 " |
| " | " | " | " | 1843 . . . . . | 1,000,000 " |
| " | " | " | " | 1844 . . . . . | 2,000,002 " |
| | | | | Together | 6,450,459 talers |

According to accounts relating to the treasury reserves, however, since July 1, 1840, only 6,423,332 talers[a] from administrative savings were transferred to the treasury. In the Government's current account, therefore, 27,127 talers[b] more were entered as *transferred to the treasury* than *the latter received.* Herr von Alvensleben, Herr von Bodelschwingh, Herr Flottwell and Herr von Duesberg, what has become of the 27,127 talers? They were surely not embezzled, by any chance, were they?

Will a Public Prosecutor and a bench of judges be found for these ex-ministerial gentlemen? Meanwhile Herr von Bodelschwingh is a member of the Second Chamber!

Written by Marx on February 16, 1849

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[a] "Denkschrift über die Verwaltung des Staatsschatzes für die Zeit von 1840 bis 1846" in *Der Erste Vereinigte Landtag in Berlin 1847,* 1. Theil.— *Ed.*

[b] In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*: "17, 127 talers"; in the article "Further Contribution on the Old-Prussian Financial Administration" it was corrected as a misprint (see this volume, p. 418).— *Ed.*

# STEIN

*Cologne*, February 16. The Breslau "*Association for Law and Order*" (an association "with God for King and Fatherland"[332]) has addressed an open letter to Dr. Julius Stein which states, *inter alia*, that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* let itself be deceived just as much as the worthy philistines of Breslau by the conservative speeches of Herr Stein and "considered him lost for the cause of democracy".

We like definite positions. We have never flirted with a parliamentary party. The party *we* represent, the party of the people, exists in Germany as yet only in an elementary form. But where it is a matter of a struggle against the *existing Government*, we ally ourselves even with our enemies. We accept as a fact the official Prussian opposition as it has arisen out of the hitherto pitiful conditions of German culture, and therefore, during the electoral struggle, we put *our* own views into the background.[a] Now, *after* the elections, we are again asserting our old ruthless point of view in relation not only to the Government, but also to the official opposition.

The "Association for Law and Order" is mistaken. We do not consider Herren Stein, Waldeck and Co. as "lost for the cause of democracy". We have always congratulated democracy on not being represented by people like Stein, Waldeck and Co.

In one of our first issues we stated that the extreme Left of the Berlin Agreement Assembly, with the exception of three or four persons, would form the extreme Right in a Convention.[b] We never included Stein and Waldeck among these three or four persons.

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[a] See this volume, p. 514.— *Ed.*

[b] "Die Sitzung der Nationalversammlung vom 7. und 8. August", published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 74, August 13, 1848.— *Ed.*

As for Herr Stein himself, we recall the time when he attacked the republicans on fanatically constitutional grounds, when in the *Schlesische Zeitung* he roundly *denounced* the representatives of the working class and *had them denounced* by a schoolteacher whose ideas were akin to his own and who is now a member of the "Association for Law and Order".

Just as pitiful as the Agreement Assembly itself was the so-called democratic group of this Assembly. It could be foreseen that these gentlemen, in order to be re-elected, would now recognise the imposed Constitution. It is characteristic of the standpoint of these gentlemen that *after* the elections they are disavowing in the democratic clubs what *before* the elections they assented to at meetings of the electors. This petty, crafty liberal slyness was never the diplomacy of revolutionaries.

Written on February 16, 1849

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# THREE STARS VERSUS TRIANGLE

*Cologne*, February 16. A few davs ago we offered condolences to the leading article of the *Kölnische Zeitung* signed Δ which saw in the elections to the Second Chamber (see No. 33 of the *Kölnische Zeitung*) the defeat of the *"great Centre"* of the German nation and discerned two Chambers, one of which would not yet be constitutional, the other not yet monarchical.[a]

"Storms will blow from opposite poles, a dead past will fight against a distant, perhaps never attainable future."

And what will become of the "*Centre* of the German nation"? Thus wailed *Schwanbeck.*

*Brüggemann*, of the three stars, is storming from the "opposite pole" against his friend in today's issue of the same *Kölnische Zeitung.*[b]

*No Centre*, says the man of the "legal basis", the merry gentleman who, with solemn pedantry, invariably raises the *status quo* to an immortal *principle*; *no Centre*, that is the joke of it. No Centre, that is *no cowardice, no indecision, no hollow ambition*! No Centre, that is the doctrine of it! The Centre will in future dissolve into a "*true*" Left and a "*true*" Right! That is the true meaning of it.

Thus Brüggemann, the "true" man of "*true*" decision.

In other words: Brüggemann shifts from *the Centre* to *the Right*: the "parliamentary correspondence" has brought him to parleying. We tremble for the Right.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 354-59.— *Ed.*

[b] Reference is to the leading article "Kein Zentrum" signed *** in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 40, February 16, 1849.— *Ed.*

But let the melancholy Δ, dying of too much thinking in the night, argue with the merry three stars. *Ça ne nous regarde pas!*[a]

Written by Marx on February 16, 1849

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[a] That does not concern us.—*Ed.*

# THE VIENNA CORRESPONDENT OF THE *KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG*

*Cologne,* February 17. One riddle less in world history! Herr Schwanbeck, editor of the *Kölnische Zeitung* who writes under the sign △, and at the same time writes reports for that paper from *Vienna* under the sign ♤ ♤, has, as is well known, continued as long as possible under both trade marks to slander the Magyars, accusing them of cowardice and villainy, and has not merely defeated but repeatedly annihilated them, and acclaimed in dithyrambs the entry of the combined army with its courts martial into the various towns and comitats of Hungary.

Herr Schwanbeck himself now solves the riddle; like Achilles, only our Schwanbeck himself can heal the wounds he has caused.

And what is the solution of the riddle?—It is *fear of Welden.* Hence the vilification of the Viennese and Magyars, the miserable lies about the military successes of the Austrians, the crawling and ogling in relation to the Croats and Pandours.[333]

For, says the famous Schwanbeck, for, he says:

> "Up to now, in fact, anyone who dared to doubt the victorious advance of the imperial army at *all* points of the monarchy was formally belied by Governor Baron Welden and awarded the honorary title of *malicious scoundrel*" (*Kölnische Zeitung* No. 40).[a]

Out of respect for Welden, readers of the *Kölnische Zeitung* have for two months had to be lied to and deceived by the Vienna reports about the war in Hungary under the sign of ♤ ♤.

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[a] Published on February 16, 1849.—*Ed.*

*Goethe* said of *Pustkuchen*:

"If even whales have lice, then I must have mine too."[a]

*Kossuth* can say the same of *Schwanbeck*.

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[a] Goethe, "Zahme Xenien" V.— *Ed.*

## SAEDT

*Cologne,* February 17. Every little market town has its *esprit fort*[a]; the Cologne prosecuting magistrates have theirs too. The *esprit fort* of the Cologne prosecuting magistrates is a certain *Saedt, homo novus atque ignotus*[b] (which being translated means profound thinker).

There are two kinds of audacity: the audacity of superiority and the audacity of intellectual poverty which derives its strength from its official position, from being conscious of fighting with privileged weapons etc. Which of the two kinds the *esprit fort* of the Cologne prosecuting magistrates showed yesterday afternoon in expounding his case against Kinkel,[334] the public themselves will decide when the minutes of the court proceedings are available to them. At the same time they will take into consideration that Herr Saedt is still young.

However, it would not be in accordance with our journalistic function if we were any longer to withhold from the European public *one* utterance of our *esprit fort.* We know that the Demosthenes of the Cologne prosecuting magistrates tried by means of a subsequent interpretation to make amends for the passage we shall cite. But we have too much respect for the original inspiration of the ebullient genius to allow us to depreciate it by the enfeebling commentary arising from subsequent reflection.

Herr *Saedt,* deputy Public Prosecutor, said:

*In German*: "Sie dürfen alles, was ich sage, widerlegen, aber Sie dürfen meinen Vortrag nicht kritisieren."

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[a] Wit.—*Ed.*

[b] A man new and unknown.—*Ed.*

*In French*: M. *Saedt*, substitut du procureur du roi, s'adressant à l'accusé:

"Libre à vous de réfuter tout ce que je viens de dire, mais il ne vous appartient pas de critiquer le réquisitoire d'un substitut du procureur du roi." (Avis[a] à la *Réforme*, à la *République* et à la *Révolution*.)

*In English*: The Queen's Counsel, Mr. *Saedt*, to the defendant:

"You may refute all I say, but you have no right to criticise my speech" (N. B. Our English contemporaries, principally the *Northern Star*, are requested to publish the above).

*In Italian*: Sig. *Saedt*, accusatore publico, replicò:

"Dite quanto volete in rifutazione di questo che ho detto, ma vi è difeso di criticare il mio requisitorio." (Avviso[a] all' *Alba*, al *Contemporaneo* ed alla *Concordia*.)

*In Spanish*: El fiscal, Sennor *Saedt*, dijo, hablando al acusado:

"Sennor, Vmd puede refutar todo que ho dicho; pero el que vengo de decir por requisitorio, es defendido de tocarlo." (Pregamos los jornales radicales de Madrid de publicar esas lineas.[b])

*In Danish*: "De kunne gjensige alt hvad jeg siger, men De have intet Ret at kritisere mit Requisitoire (Angreb)." (De danske demokratiske Tidender ville vaere meget glaedt at meddele det danske Publikum den foregaaende Bewiis af de preussiske Magistraters Sandhed.[c])

Let Herr Saedt decide for himself in which language his utterance sounds most amusing.

Written by Engels on February 17, 1849

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[a] For consideration.—*Ed.*

[b] We request the radical newspapers in Madrid to reprint these lines.—*Ed.*

[c] The Danish democratic newspapers will gladly inform the Danish public of the above statement which testifies to the truthfulness of the Prussian judiciary officials.—*Ed.*

# THE *KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG* ON THE MAGYAR STRUGGLE

*Cologne*, February 17.

"I have now the basis found
Wherein my anchor holds for ever"

—sings the brave Schwanbeck from the Protestant hymn-book. The indignant champion of virtue, despite the "Austrian Note" and the "feeling of deepest indignation",[a] finally comes forward in support of Windischgrätz on the *front page* of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.[b]

Listen to this:

"The so-called democratic press in Germany has sided with the Magyars in the Austro-Hungarian conflict.... Certainly strange enough! The German democrats siding with that aristocratic caste, for which, in spite of the nineteenth century, its own nation has never ceased to be *misera contribuens plebs*[c]; the German democrats siding with the most arrogant oppressors of the people!"

We do not quite remember whether we have already drawn the attention of the public to one peculiar characteristic of the brave Schwanbeck, namely, that he is accustomed to give only conclusions without any premises. The passage quoted above is just such a conclusion, the premise of which has never seen the light of day.

But even if the Magyars were an "aristocratic caste" of the "most arrogant oppressors of the people", what does that prove? Does it make Windischgrätz, the murderer of Robert Blum, the slightest bit

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[a] Quoted from the leading article "Die österreichische Note vom 4. Februar" published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 37, February 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] In the leading article "Der ungarische Krieg" published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 41, February 17, 1849.— *Ed.*

[c] Poor tax-paying plebeians.— *Ed.*

better? Do the knights of the "united monarchy", the special enemies of Germany and friends of Schwanbeck—Windischgrätz, Jellachich, Schlick and their like—want perhaps to *suppress* the "aristocratic caste" and introduce freedom of peasant landownership? Are the Croats and Czechs perhaps fighting for Rhenish parcellation of the land and the *Code Napoléon*?

In 1830, when the Poles rose against Russia, was it then a question whether merely an "aristocratic caste" was at their head?[335] At that time it was in the first place a question of driving out the foreigners. The whole of Europe sympathised with the "aristocratic caste", which certainly started the movement; for the Polish republic of the nobility was at any rate a huge advance compared with Russian despotism. And was not the French suffrage of 1830, which was the monopoly of 250,000 voters, in point of fact just as great a political enslavement of the *misera contribuens plebs* as the rule of the Polish nobility?

Let us suppose that the March revolution in Hungary was purely a revolution of the nobility. Does that give the Austrian "united" monarchy the right to oppress the Hungarian nobility, and thereby also the Hungarian peasants, in the way it oppressed the Galician nobility and, *through the latter*, the Galician peasants as well (cf. the Proceedings of the Lemberg Provincial Diet of 1818)? But the great Schwanbeck, of course, is not obliged to know that the greater part of the Hungarian nobility, just like the greater part of the Polish nobility, consists of mere proletarians, whose aristocratic privileges are confined to the fact that they cannot be subjected to corporal punishment.

The great Schwanbeck, of course, is even less obliged to know that Hungary is the only country in which since the March revolution feudal burdens on the peasants have legally and in fact totally ceased to exist. The great Schwanbeck declares the Magyars to be an "aristocratic caste", "most arrogant oppressors of the people", "aristocrats"—and this same great Schwanbeck does not know, or does not want to know, that the Magyar *magnates*, the Esterházys etc., deserted at the very beginning of the war and came to Olmütz to pay homage, and that it is precisely the "aristocratic" officers of the Magyar army who from the beginning of the struggle until now have every day carried out a fresh betrayal of their national cause! Otherwise, how is it that today the majority of the Chamber of Deputies is still with Kossuth in Debreczin, whereas only eleven magnates are to be found there?[336]

This is the Schwanbeck of the *front* page, the Schwanbeck of the dithyrambs in the leading article. But the Schwanbeck of the third

page, the man who stormed Leopoldstadt[a] six times, captured Eszék four times, and several times crossed the Theiss, Schwanbeck the strategist had after all to have his revenge.

"But then the war took a lamentable, truly pitiable course. Continually, almost without a struggle, the Magyars abandoned all their positions; without any resistance they evacuated even their fortified royal city, and faced with Jellachich's Croats retreated beyond the Theiss."

"Almost without a struggle"—i.e. after they *had held back* the Austrians for *two whole months* between the Leitha and the Theiss—they retreated "almost without a struggle". Gallant Schwanbeck, who judges the greatness of a general not by the *material* results he achieves but by how many men he has allowed to be killed!

"Without any resistance, they evacuated their fortified royal city"! But one should know that *Ofen* is indeed fortified on the western side, but not on the eastern side. The Danube was ice-bound, so the Austrians could march across it with cavalry and carts, occupy Pest and from there bombard defenceless Ofen.

If Deutz had not been fortified and the Rhine had been frozen over and if, in view of that, a French army had marched across the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Wesseling and Worringen, and at Deutz had trained 100 cannon on Cologne, then gallant Schwanbeck would surely have advised Colonel Engels to defend Cologne to the last man. Brave Schwanbeck!

The Magyars, "faced with Jellachich's Croats retreated beyond the Theiss". And will the great Schwanbeck deny that these "Croats" totalled 250,000-300,000 men, including the corps of Windischgrätz, Jellachich, Götz, Csorich, Simunich, Nugent, Todorovich, Puchner etc., etc., and the irregular troops at the River Drava and in the Banat? And all those are "Jellachich's Croats"? Incidentally, that a Schwanbeck, himself a kinsman of the Croats and not much in his element in history and geography, should be enthusiastic about the Croats is easy to understand.

But of course: "... we, too, are far from regarding the official reports from the Austrian army headquarters as *gospel truth*." On the contrary, Schwanbeck at times finds in reports, for example Schlick's,

"*a gap* which the reader has to fill in with *all kinds of suppositions* and *in the end it is not surprising* (!!) that these suppositions *turn out to be more doubtful than they ought to*

[a] A district in Vienna.—*Ed.*

*be* (!!!). We suspect that Puchner, too, is accustomed to draw up his bulletins in *somewhat too rosy colours.* According to them, he is having a most splendid triumphal march against the 'rebel general'.[a] Then suddenly *to our very great astonishment* (!) we read an appeal from him in which he implores the Saxons and Wallachians at all costs not to lose heart, and then we suddenly learn that the defeated Bem is in front of Hermannstadt in the middle of Saxony, and the poor Germans (!!) finally can think of no better resort than to look to the Russians for protection. *There is a slight contradiction here between the official reports and the events,* a contradiction for which only the *inaccuracy* (!!) of the former can be blamed."

Citizen Schwanbeck confesses that the Austrian bulletins, and following them the *Kölnische Zeitung,* lied most shamelessly about the alleged progress of the Austrians; when later on it is no longer possible to deny that it was a lie, truth-loving Schwanbeck calls it "a slight contradiction between the official reports and the events"!

"But if we by no means regard the Austrian army reports as oracles, that still does not mean the Magyar victory bulletins have gained the least bit in our eyes" (which have been busy with the above "slight contradiction"). "They are the products of *fantasy,* and would be quite pleasant reading if only they were not so *dreadfully ludicrous.*"

These "bulletins" are so "dreadfully ludicrous" that up to now they have asserted nothing but what the great Schwanbeck himself has to admit is in accordance with the facts. Or is Tokaj in the hands of Schlick? Has a single Austrian crossed the Theiss at Szolnok? Have the imperial troops advanced a single step in the last 14 days?

The 22nd Austrian Bulletin, which we have just received (see below[b]) saves Citizen Schwanbeck the trouble of replying. It makes it clear to us that the Austrians are not yet even as far as was asserted in the 20th and 21st bulletins.

"After all there is no change: the war in Hungary is approaching its end by giant strides."

That is clear. Schwanbeck already said so 14 days ago: "The war in Hungary is coming to an end. *Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.*"[c] That was on the very day when Schwanbeck announced for the first time that the Austrians had victoriously entered Debreczin. Since then 14 days have elapsed and in spite of the Magyars having "terribly exaggerated", the Austrians have still not crossed the Theiss, much less entered Debreczin.

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[a] The *Kölnische Zeitung* has "rebel generals".—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 404-08.—*Ed.*

[c] The mountains are in labour and a ridiculous mouse will be born (Horace, *De Arte Poetica,* 139).—*Ed.*

"It cannot surprise anyone that Bem's crowd which is being joined from all sides by fleeing bands of Hungarians, has swollen into an army for which the numerically small imperial forces in Transylvania are no match."

It certainly does not! But what can surprise us is how it is possible to speak about "being joined from all sides by fleeing bands of Hungarians" so long as the Hungarians occupy the line of the Theiss and Maros and Citizen Schwanbeck, despite his most ardent prayers, is unable to smuggle a single imperial soldier across it; further, it surprises us that the "fleeing bands" suddenly form an army, without the armies which are pursuing them being at once at hand to drive them from each of their new positions. But, of course, the great Schwanbeck believes that the Hungarians, having been beaten in his nebulous fantasy, would immediately flee from the Danube as far as the Aluta, without looking back to see whether they were being pursued or not.

Citizen Schwanbeck has made himself the Carnot of the nineteenth century by discovering the new manoeuvre by which *fleeing bands* coming from all sides can suddenly form a *victorious army.*

This new victorious army could, of course, cause serious complications. However, says Schwanbeck:

"We shall see *in what way Russia here will pronounce its veto.*"

The brave Schwanbeck, who here calls on Russia for help against the Magyars, is the same Schwanbeck who on March 22 of last year published an article full of moral indignation against the Russian Tsar[a] and declared that if Russia interfered in our affairs (and after all the Magyar affair is certainly our affair), then he, Schwanbeck, would issue a call that *would make the Tsar's throne tremble.* This is the same Schwanbeck who from the beginning has had the duty in the *Kölnische Zeitung* of salvaging the liberal reputation of the newspaper in the safe countries of Eastern Europe by timely manifestations of hatred against the Russians and obligatory shrewd expression of free-thinking. But the East-European complications seem to annoy him and in order to be able to devote himself wholly to his "feeling of deepest indignation" at the Austrian Note,[337] he calls on the Russians to come to Transylvania to end the struggle.

The best reply to the whole of this moralising and Windischgratz-like blustering article is the 22nd Austrian Army Bulletin,

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[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

which the readers will find below. In order to explain to Schwanbeck, who right up to the last sentence of his article reveals partly boundless ignorance of geography and strategy, and partly dependence on the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, where he stands with this Bulletin, we are simultaneously giving our own comments on it.

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# BULLETIN No. 22

No. 22, the "Victory Bulletin" of the imperial army, has been published.[a] It is the funniest that has yet appeared.

"Owing to the greater distance of the theatre of war, which, with the retreat of the rebels across the Theiss has been pushed back as far as Transylvania, we have not until now been able to supply news of the successes gained by the army of His Highness Field Marshal Prince zu Windischgrätz."

From the Theiss to Transylvania is after all a distance of forty miles and more. As yet not a single Austrian has crossed the Theiss. Yet when Schlick is on the Hernath and Windischgrätz at Szolnok, with neither of them able to advance one step further, this is described in the swaggering language of royal imperial reports as follows: the theatre of war has been pushed back as far as Transylvania.

And what is the nature of the "successes gained by the army of His Highness Prince Windischgrätz"?

*First "success":*

"After the retreat from Pest one section of the rebels headed in the direction of Grosswardein and Debreczin, the other under Görgey made their way to Schemnitz and, after plundering the mountain towns, at first set off via Neusohl for Rosenberg. There, however, finding that the St. Marton and Turany passes had already been occupied by Major-General von Götz's troops, they headed for the Zips, where they met with a battalion of Nugent's infantry led by Major von Keisewetter, with whom battle took place at Kirchdorf and Hertnek on February 3 and 4.

"In the meantime reinforcements sent from Eperies by Lieutenant-Field Marshal Count Schlick immediately strengthened the occupation of the Braniszka Pass, and as

[a] In the *Wiener Zeitung* No. 38, February 14, 1849, and in other Austrian newspapers.— *Ed.*

another column of Deym's brigade advanced from Kaschau via Margitfalva, and the always active Major-General von Götz with Prince Jablonowsky's brigade, which had reached Telgarth via Brisen on the 8th inst., was also immediately detached against Leutschau, it looks as if the rebels, threatened on all sides in the Zips, are even more encircled than ever, all the roads along the Galician border from Neumarkt, Kroscienko, Piwniczna, Tylicz as far as Dukla having at the same time been occupied in greater numbers under the command of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Vogel operating from Tarnów, and the *Landsturm* having been mustered all the way along that section."

The "direction of Grosswardein and Debreczin" is no more than an exaggerated euphemism used by Herr Welden to describe the fact that the Hungarians have reached the *Theiss*. He might just as well have claimed that they had withdrawn "in the direction" of the Black Sea.

Welden then goes on to tell us that Görgey "made for Schemnitz after the retreat from Pest". We have known this for a long time and what Herr Welden should have informed us of outright is how Görgey was *driven out* of the town. Earlier there had been a great deal of boasting that Görgey had been thrown back towards the Theiss, and almost annihilated in fact. Now the victory report suddenly admits that he has occupied the *Zips*, which has already been "cleaned up" by Schlick several times, and is now *operating in Schlick's rear*. The extent to which Görgey is threatening the imperial troops in this position can be seen from the way in which reinforcements are hurriedly sent against him. *Götz*'s corps was never successful against him (Csorich's corps has disappeared from the battlefield, and one concludes that the "ridiculous exaggerations" of the Magyars must have been right after all when they reported that Windischgrätz recalled it post-haste to Pest); Schlick had sent a column to the Braniszka Pass against Görgey "from Eperies" (i. e. four weeks ago); in addition, a second column was detached against him "from Kaschau", in other words also from Schlick's corps; and yet in spite of all these reinforcements, Görgey, in his position in the Carpathian Mountains, represents such a threat to the Austrians that Vogel in *Galicia*, operating from Tarnów, has reinforced all the positions on a sector of some twenty miles and *has mustered the Landsturm*.

In other words: instead of "being threatened on all sides in the Zips" Görgey is in fact *himself threatening* not only *Schlick*'s position on the Hernath but also *Galicia*. And that is the worst thing that could happen to the imperial forces. An invasion of this purely Polish part of Galicia could have very unpleasant consequences for the Austrians at a time when the peasants have been disappointed in the royal imperial promises.

*Second "success":*

"Up to now heavy drifting ice on the Theiss has made the crossing of the river difficult both at Tokaj and Szolnok for that column of the First Army Corps which has advanced as far as the right bank. This has given the enemy time to turn more towards Transylvania, after an unsuccessful attempt on Arad, in order to link up with the column led by Bem, the rebel chief, who, as we have already reported earlier, on being pushed back from the Bukovina, marched via Bistritz and Maros-Vásárhely to Hermannstadt, where he was so powerfully repulsed by the general-in-command, Baron Puchner.

"The column of rebels which left Grosswardein for Klausenburg headed towards Karlsburg where they attempted to take Mühlenbach on the 5th. In this area, between Deva, Hatzeg and Szászváros, there is a formation of 3,000 Rumanians under the command of Captain Czernovich, which is guarding this section against the rebels—there is also a good garrison at the fortified castle at Deva.

"Meanwhile the general in command in the Banat, Lieutenant-Field Marshal Baron Rukavina, has formed a division under Lieutenant-Field Marshal von Gläser and Major-General Baron Mengen out of units of the Todorovich corps, and it is to operate in the Maros valley against Transylvania and simultaneously to threaten Grosswardein."

So the Austrians have *still not crossed the Theiss*; their successes consist in having for three weeks been unable, here in the decisive sector of the war, to advance *one single step*.

"Drifting ice" has apparently allowed the Magyars to turn "more" towards Transylvania. What a delightful use of the word "more"! If the Magyars were able to detach a column from Debreczin in the direction of Arad and Klausenburg that is proof that they have *more troops* than are required to defend the Theiss line. Or would Welden have us believe that the Magyars would take advantage of drifting ice, which can be over within a week, to expose their most important position and send the troops so urgently needed on the Theiss off on a stroll to Transylvania, which takes at least four to five weeks there and back?

The Hungarian column which fired on Arad came from the Banat according to an earlier bulletin. In addition a second column "from Grosswardein" has therefore gone to Transylvania. After these reinforcements we shall soon be hearing from Bem.

And how do things look in Transylvania? The Magyar reinforcements have advanced as far as Karlsburg and Mühlenbach. But no one need fear that things are going badly for the imperial forces! For there are after all 3,000 Rumanians at Hatzeg, Deva and Szászváros "who are guarding this section against the rebels".

*Which* "section"? Well, the section from Hatzeg etc., namely a "section" which is *completely off* the Magyars' route, and where it would not occur to them to march! The Magyar column is marching from Karlsburg to Hermannstadt in order to link up with Bem,i. e. in

an easterly direction; the 3,000 Rumanians are to the south-west, in the furthermost corner of Transylvania, and will most probably stay there until the second Magyar column moves up the Maros from Arad and disperses them.

In addition, however, the newly formed Banat division led by Gläser is said "to be operating in the Maros valley against Transylvania and *simultaneously* threatening Grosswardein".

*"Simultaneously"!!*

In order "to threaten Grosswardein" this division—assuming it had already reached the Maros, whereas it is in fact no further than the Temes—would have to cover a distance of 20 miles to the *north* (in a straight line) crossing the Maros, the White, the Black and the Rapid Körös and three lines of swamps. In order to be able to operate in the Maros valley against Transylvania, the same division would have to march about 30 miles to the *east.* These two movements, one northwards and the other eastwards, it is supposed to execute "*simultaneously*"!

*Third success:*

"The two brigades of Major-General Dietrich and Count Pallfy, which were part of the corps of Master of the Ordnance Count Nugent, have both advanced, the one heading left via Boly to Mohács, the other via Siklos-Baranyavar towards Esseg, where the fortress is surrounded by royal imperial troops right up to the foot of the glacis, and has already made surrender proposals."

An important success already credited to Nugent himself two weeks ago, which now turns out not to have been achieved yet, for the "two brigades" have still not reached Esseg!

*Fourth success:*

"The rebels led by Nemegey crossed the Danube at Mohács, and in the defile between Bezdán and Zombor fell into the hands of the Serbs who were in that area having advanced along the left bank of the Danube from the Roman rampart, and on this occasion the greater part of the rebel army was massacred and dispersed by the Serbs."

Assuming this to be correct, it could have been no more than a small-scale guerilla skirmish. Long ago the Austrians trumpeted the news that the Magyars who had been driven back from the Drava were supposed to have retreated as far as Szegedin, i. e. as far as the Theiss!

*Fifth and final "success":*

"After the surrender of Leopoldstadt the division under Lieutenant-Field Marshal von Simunich received orders from the Herr Field Marshal[a] to advance along the Waag towards Komorn to tighten the blockade of this fortress.—During this advance

[a] Windischgrätz.—*Ed.*

fighting broke out on the 8th inst. not far from Neuhäusel between the division and a detachment of rebels which had set out from Komorn and crossed the Neutra above Naszvad to plunder the area, and above all to take salt into the fortress, where it is scarce and where diseases are already very much on the increase.—In this battle four companies of the Archduke Wilhelm's infantry and a squadron of Banderial hussars attacked an enemy unit of 1,200 men so courageously that the commander, one officer and 90 Honveds[a] were taken prisoner and a considerable number of dead and wounded were left behind on the battlefield."

Here the "success" amounts to Simunich managing, over a period of more than two weeks, to push forward *exactly seven miles* in an area which had already been three or four times "pacified", "cleaned up" and "purged", where a "good spirit" has begun to germinate once more—and that comes to half a mile a day; add to that the constant battles and you will understand why Simunich the hero has still not covered the ten miles from Leopoldstadt to Komorn.

These then are the "successes of His Highness Prince Windischgrätz": pompous reiteration of earlier bulletins, boastful statements about what is to happen, and the result of it all is that in reality *nothing has happened.* The case with the bulletins is exactly the same as that of the great Schwanbeck with the Prussian Chamber: "the present is being lost" for them through a "dead past" and a "distant, perhaps never attainable future".[b]

Written by Engels about February 17, 1849

First published in the supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 225, February 18, 1849

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[a] Soldiers of the Magyar Defence Committee.—*Ed.*

[b] Engels refers to the leading article in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 33, February 8, 1849, quoted by Marx in his article "The Division of Labour in the *Kölnische Zeitung*" (see this volume, pp. 354-59).— *Ed.*

# CROATS AND SLOVAKS IN HUNGARY

*Cologne*, February 18. Whilst for some days now the Austrian papers have been spinning yarns about Ottinger having been victorious over Dembiński—at Debreczin!!—the storm clouds are gathering with increasing density in the Slav provinces of Hungary, threatening the royal imperial united monarchy. For some time now—since the storming of Vienna, in fact[a]—we have been drawing people's attention to the inevitability of a split between the Austrian Government and the Slavs.[b] That split is now an open one.

Let us begin with the *Serbs*. The *Grazer Zeitung* received from Temesvár the following report supporting the Austrian view:

"Serbian encroachments are beginning in the Banat, and, if the signs are not deceptive, this will eventually require *armed intervention*, especially since some of the Serbs are being more presumptuous than even the Magyarisers[338] in their attempts totally to suppress the other nationalities in the voivodeship, and the Rumanians and the Germans there are therefore arming for open resistance. The split between the senior military authorities and the voivodeship is *already almost an open one*, and I can assure you that we must prepare ourselves for a *struggle with the Serbs*. At any event we have now come to see that the sympathy that was supposed to exist for the Austrian cause is not of the same purity as that of the Croats. Matters will shortly come to a *head*."

It is well known that Karlowitz, the seat of the Banat Government, i. e. of the Serbian chief committee, the vice-president of which is the "rebel" Stratimirovich,[339] has been declared in a state of siege.

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[a] After November 1, 1848.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 347-49.— *Ed.*

But just what is one to make of the "purity" of the Croats' "sympathy"? This is what we hear:

"*Prague,* February 13. The events in Croatia are causing a great stir in Czech circles. Now, they say, the question of whether Jellachich will stick by his country or by the dynasty will have to be resolved. *The officers are already saying quite openly that, when we have finished with Hungary, it will be a case of marching to Croatia.*"

This is what the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*[a] says, and the Slav *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* is just as clear:

It has received information dated February 11 from Kremsier to the effect that written reports of dissatisfaction among the Slovaks and Croats were becoming daily more numerous. There were none but Magyars among the newly appointed commissioners of the Austrian Government in the Slovak comitats, their decrees were issued in Magyar, and they "threatened people with death" if they refused to accept their official communications. It is further reported that Jellachich was highly dissatisfied that his troops were to be split up and some of them employed on garrison-duty, whilst other troops were to be placed under his command. The ruse is a good one. Jellachich, who has been under suspicion for six to eight weeks anyway, and has been kept under surveillance by Windischgrätz's agents, is being thus rendered harmless. And at this point the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* adds:

"What is Jellachich likely to say about the state of siege at *Karlowitz*? Might his reaction not be to think: It could be your turn next—? For now there is only Agram, the Croats, who have not had the principle of equality amongst the various nationalities applied to them—for the Germans, the Hungarians, the Poles, the Italians and the Czechs in particular have already become familiar with that equality of status that a state of siege creates."

Furthermore, it is already known that Windischgrätz has appointed a new Hungarian government commission in Pest, which, to the great consternation of the Croats, is laying claim to all the rights which the old Hungarian Government possessed, thus reducing to naught the intended kingdom of the Southern Slavs. The Croats were already dreaming of being independent of Hungary and suddenly a decree arrives from Pest addressed to the Croatian authorities demanding submission—and on top of it all the decree is written in *Magyar,* without a Croat translation!! The *Slavenski jug* immediately publishes it in the original and cannot contain its indignation.[340] The Croats are foaming; they are being treated just as

[a] *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 48, February 17, 1849.—*Ed.*

they were under Kossuth! And that is the reward they get for their faithful efforts to save the united monarchy!

Anyone wanting to know how all this fits together should read the Vienna *Presse*. In that paper there is an article in which Prince Windischgrätz is openly reproached for having allowed himself already to become too closely involved with the *Hungarian aristocracy*. He is accused of allowing a great number of Magyar magnates, some of whom had been captured, others having changed their allegiance, to walk about Pest as they please; he is even said to have conferred distinctions on them and so on.

It is obvious that the aristocrat Windischgrätz knows full well that he can only achieve his goal of maintaining the power of the nobility in Hungary by maintaining the *Magyar* nobility in power. That is why he is granting the Magyar magnates protection and giving them preferential treatment. He is indifferent to any suffering this may cause to the Croats and the Slovaks: having finished the business of subduing Hungary and restoring the rule of the aristocracy there, he will manage to deal with the Slavs, who are in disarray and powerless without Austrian leadership—just think of Prague! [341]

And the great Schwanbeck seeks the nobility not in *Windischgrätz*'s camp but in *Kossuth*'s! *Voilà ce que c'est que d'être un savant sérieux*![a]

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[a] That is what it means to be a serious savant.—*Ed.*

# MILITARY ART OF THE ROYAL IMPERIAL ARMY

*Cologne,* February 18. Windischgrätz is exceptionally unlucky. He could have become one of the greatest generals of the century if he did not always have the most unpredictable accidents. Schwanbeck has already proved that he would have done incomparable heroic deeds if the Hungarians had only stood their ground against him. But the worst thing that has happened to the great Windischgrätz is now revealed by the royal imperial semi-official correspondence in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*. For in its supplement of February 15 of this year, that newspaper says word for word the following:

> "Concerning the operations of Prince Windischgrätz in the month of January, I must recall that eight army columns were intended to march into the interior of Hungary in the middle of December and at that time were ten to twelve days from Buda-Pest. This disposition of the Field Marshal had been made *in anticipation of a rational form of warfare.* The Magyars *thwarted* this anticipation by putting up a fabulously superior force *everywhere except where* it could have produced the most favourable outcome, if such were at all possible. Of the columns to which Windischgrätz had given dates at the Hungarian capitals, *only* those of the Ban,[a] of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Wrbna and the reserve corps led by the Field Marshal were able to carry out their orders; the superiority of the Magyar forces prevented the other formations from doing so."

Windischgrätz had counted on the Magyars pursuing a "*rational form of warfare*". If they had conducted this rational warfare, Windischgrätz would have signally defeated them. But what they did was to put up a "*fabulously superior force everywhere except where*" it could have been at all effective. And in consequence of this

[a] Jellachich.—*Ed.*

boundless irrationality all the dispositions of the great Windischgrätz came to nothing.

Just because the Magyars made one blunder after another, and because even the gods themselves fight in vain against stupidity, Windischgrätz's most learned combinations foundered on the Magyars' ignorance of strategy!

Did ever a fellow have luck as bad
As Burgomaster Tschech has had—[a]

and Field Marshal Windischgrätz, who could not beat his enemies simply because they were *too stupid* for him?!

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[a] From a popular song about Burgomaster Tschech's attempt on Frederick William IV on July 26, 1844:

Hätte je ein Mann so'n Pech
Wie der Bürgermeister Tschech etc.—*Ed.*

# PROCLAMATION OF A REPUBLIC IN ROME[342]

The Italian Constituent Assembly is quite unlike the Frankfurt National Assembly. The Italians know that the unity of a country split into feudal principalities can only be established by abolishing dynastic rule. The Italians led the dance in 1848, and they are leading again in 1849. But what progress! Italy no longer has Pius IX, nor France her Lamartine. The fantastic period of the European revolution, the period of enthusiasm, goodwill and flowery speeches, was fittingly concluded with fire-balls, massacres on a grand scale and deportations. Austrian Notes, Prussian Notes and Russian Notes were the most appropriate replies to Lamartine's proclamations.

From their Pythian tripod of thoroughness and perseverance the Germans are in the habit of looking down with haughty disdain on the superficiality of the Italians. A comparison between the Italian 1848 and the German 1848 would provide the most striking answer. In drawing this comparison one would above all have to take into account that revolutionary Italy was kept in check by Germany and France, whereas revolutionary Germany was not restricted in her movements.

The *republic in Rome* is the beginning of the revolutionary drama of 1849.

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# WINDISCHGRÄTZ.—JEWS AND SOUTHERN SLAVS

Jews are known to be cheated cheats everywhere, but especially in Austria. They exploited the revolution and are now being punished for it by Windischgrätz. Incidentally, anybody who knows how powerful the Jews are in Austria will appreciate what an enemy Windischgrätz has taken on by issuing the following proclamation:

*Pest*, February 13 (official *Wiener Zeitung*, evening supplement). "Proclamation. In my proclamations of November 13 and December 13 of last year and of January 7 of this year I acquainted all inhabitants of Hungary with the task I have to solve, namely, the restoration of peace, order and legality. I have also had the satisfaction of seeing the effect, evident everywhere, of these proclamations. Only individual localities, duped by infamous agitators, are still attempting to disturb the so necessary calm and order by spreading Kossuth's appeals, orders and decisions. Inhabitants of Hungary! You have seen what leniency I have exercised, on the assumption that the majority are misled and seduced rather than truly rebellious people; but whoever still tries to make common cause with the Debreczin party of rebellion, to accept or spread its orders, or to maintain any kind of connection with it and to stir up the communities, can no longer count on any leniency, he must receive the punishment for high treason.

"I am sending out in various directions troops, whose commanders will be authorised to use the *jus gladii*[a]; anyone found carrying on him a *proclamation* by Kossuth, or any *writing, letter, newspaper etc.*, issued by his party, will inexorably be treated *under martial law*, in the same way as anyone concealing arms or inciting people to disobedience.—Any postmaster or postal employee who accepts such writings, letters or proclamations from the area of Debreczin, or worse, forwards them, will be hanged.—Finally, I would like to warn the Jews of Ofen and Pest, but particularly those of Old Ofen, to refrain from entering into any understanding under any name whatever with the traitor Kossuth, the so-called *honvédmi bizotmány*,[b] and the rebel Assembly, for it has come to my knowledge that it is in fact mainly Israelites who allow themselves to be used as spies and suppliers of the rebels, and that they also make it their business to spread false and bad news about the alleged victories

[a] The right of the sword.— *Ed.*
[b] Defence Committee.— *Ed.*

of the rebels so as thereby to arouse fear and mistrust; hence, for every Israelite who is sentenced under military or martial law for the above-mentioned offences, the Jewish community to which he belongs will pay a fine of 20,000 guldens C. M.[343] Ofen Headquarters, February 11, 1849.

Alfred Prince zu Windischgrätz *m. p.*,[a] Royal Imperial Field Marshal"

It is clear from this proclamation that things are going very badly for "citizen and communist" Windischgrätz.[b]

And, incidentally, to come back to the Jews: Windischgrätz's attempt to filch money from them has already "begun to be put into effect" as the *Code Napoléon* says. For the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* reports the following:

"The Jews are to pay a lump sum of 1,200,000 florins in redemption of the abolished toleration tax, and that in five years, but they have not paid the quotas due either last year or this. The amount in arrears has now been called in.—The printer *Eisenfels* was arrested yesterday."

It seems to us priceless that the Jews must still pay for their emancipation. In Prussian this is called "redemption of feudal dues".

Otherwise there is nothing to report from Hungary except that in *Pest* the forwarding agent Franz *Förster* was shot under martial law on February 8 for taking part in a revolt by attempting to confiscate the steamboat *Hermine* in Gran.

The *Leipziger Zeitung* reports as follows on the increasingly comical complications among the Slavs (the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has, of course, known this for a long time):

"*Vienna*, February 14. From several provinces of the monarchy we hear of stubborn refusals to supply the demanded recruits. In the Praschin district of Bohemia the peasants refuse under the pretext that the Imperial Diet has not sanctioned the latest recruiting ordered on such a lavish scale. Quite a noticeable ferment is observed in the countryside even more than in the capital, Prague. If, as we are assured, the Government shortly proposes compensation for the abolished *Urbar* duties,[344] a new and more serious shock will be added to the innumerable and seemingly endless shocks of our public life. Confusion is growing in the South-Slav areas; but evidently a most dangerous storm is brewing, the aim and end of which cannot yet be discerned. General Todorovich has had a state of siege declared in Karlowitz, the seat of the Serbian National Committee.[c] The chaos in Serbian affairs is further increased by the specifically Austrian efforts of Consul Mayerhofer. With barely concealed fury the Southern Slavs cry: Betrayal! They claim that *all the measures taken lately by the Government in Hungary are directed towards restoring ultra-Magyarism, insofar as it is disguised in old aristocratic garb.* In Agram, the agitation has reached a

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[a] Sign-manual.— *Ed.*

[b] Engels draws a parallel here with the "citizen and communist" Drigalski (see this volume, pp. 75-80).— *Ed.*

[c] Chief Otbor.— *Ed.*

most disturbing degree.—Jellachich is in Szolnok. The following is a reliable fact: He has protested against the separation and dismemberment of his corps. He had to do this in order not to jeopardise his exceptional popularity in the Slav world. In Croatia there is energetic pressure for the convocation of the Provincial Diet.[a] With this the dictatorship with which Jellachich was vested in the summer will come to an end."[345]

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[a] Sabor.—*Ed.*

# FURTHER CONTRIBUTION ON THE OLD-PRUSSIAN FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

*Cologne*, February 21. We must supplement our article in No. 224 of the newspaper on von Bodelschwingh and Co. and the Prussian financial administration.[a] At the end of that article we pointed out that the books of the treasury show 27,127 Reichstalers (17,127 is a misprint) less than were transferred to it according to the accounts of the exchequer. Since then we have found in the accounts published by the Government[346] a note which solves the riddle as to the whereabouts of this money.

The fact is that the so-called savings on the cost of administration in 1844, amounting to 2,000,002 Reichstalers, were not paid in cash to the treasury but were used to buy Prussian state bonds to this amount. Because of the market rate at the time, a loss of 27,127 Reichstalers was incurred on their purchase. The Prussian Ministers are, or were, brilliant financiers! The present case makes this obvious again. So we no longer need to ask the Herren ex-Ministers what has become of these 27,127 Reichstalers, we can tell them that, owing to their cleverness in this one business deal, not merely 27,000 but more than 400,000 Reichstalers have been lost. This reproach is incurred in the first place by Herr Flottwell, for he was Finance Minister at the time. It may be that he is an honest man. But it makes no difference to the country whether its Ministers harm it owing to incapacity or to ill will. An investigation of this matter can be of interest at most to the Minister's family.

In his memo on the treasury dated April 6, 1847, the then Finance Minister von Thile says quite frankly that in regard to the treasury the following two principles hold good:

[a] See this volume, pp. 379-89.— *Ed.*

1. that the balance in hand must always be in *cash, in coin of the realm*;

2. that no payments of any kind may be made from the treasury except for the purpose of armaments.

As far as the first principle is concerned, it is correct that, if there is to be a treasury at all, it has a rational meaning only if it consists of *cash or precious metal.* A government which is unable to rely on the strength of the people may, of course, need a reserve for so-called difficult times. If its credit, too, is impaired on the Stock Exchange, it must have some means in reserve to help it escape from this embarrassment, but that can only be done by means of cash or precious metal. Gold and silver are at all times the means to open the hearts of the bourgeois. But depreciated paper of little worth is the most certain way to lose also the "respect" of the Stock Exchange. When the credit of the state has fallen so low that the aid of the treasury is essential, there is nothing more humiliating on the Stock Exchange than to have to offer state bonds for sale and look for buyers. Anyone who has ever observed the activity of one of the larger stock exchanges will know what contempt is to be seen in the features and gestures of the money speculators when at such times they are offered government securities. For the rest, the speculator may be a Commerce Counsellor and very "well-intentioned".

The purchase of state bonds, therefore, was the most incompetent operation that the Prussian Government could undertake.

Herr von Thile states in the above-mentioned memo that he was *compelled* to accept state bonds to the value of 1,972,875 Reichstalers instead of 2,000,002 Reichstalers in *cash.* We do not attach any importance to this excuse of being "compelled". But if the accounts are correct, the purchase of the government securities was carried out by the exchequer. Otherwise the whole amount would have had to be supplied to the state treasury in cash. Hence Herr Flottwell seems to have been closely connected with the successful financial operation.

How petty-bourgeois parsimony, which is eager to save a small sum in interest but is not capable of dealing with the greater financial enterprises of a state, ends most ignominiously by doubling the loss, is evident from the figures given below.

To the loss on purchase compared with the nominal value ..... 27,127 Rt.
must be added the far greater loss on sale. From March to the beginning of July 1848 the market

| | |
|---|---|
| rate of the state bonds fluctuated between 66% G. (April 4) and $83^1/_2$% Br.[a] (March 21). Since the market rate falls at once when a large amount of scrip is put on sale, one must assume that the Government did not receive more than 70% in getting rid of its state bonds. The loss incurred on the sale, therefore, was probably not less than 30% of the nominal value of 1,972,875 Rt., i.e. ..... | 591,840 Rt. |
| a total of | 618,967 Rt. |
| From this loss must be subtracted the interest for 3 years at 69,048 Rt. ..... | 207,144 Rt. |
| Hence the net loss probably amounts to ..... | 411,823 Rt. |

Almost a quarter of the total amount has been lost and furthermore the state's credit has become still weaker owing to the depreciated market rate of the state bonds.

We cite this small sample of the wisdom of Prussian Ministers of Finance and Exchequers *à la* Flottwell-Thile only because it forms a necessary supplement to our article mentioned above. Otherwise we would not concern ourselves with minor matters when great ones provide us with such rich material.

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[a] G. (*Geld*—money)—market rate at which the scrip is in demand; Br. (*Brief*—letter)—market rate at which the scrip is offered for sale.—*Ed.*

# A DENUNCIATION

*Cologne*, February 22. In the *Oberpostamts-Zeitung*, the former editor[a] of which was a paid agent of Guizot (cf. Taschereau's *Revue rétrospective*[347]) and an unpaid agent of Metternich, as is notoriously also the entire Thurn und Taxis postal service—that crab-sidling system of national carriers, which is a burden to German industry and is in conflict with the railways; whose continued existence after the March revolution is almost incomprehensible and whose immediate abolition will be one of the first acts of the German Constituent Assembly shortly to be opened (the assembly in St. Paul's Church[b] was notoriously never a Constituent Assembly) for since Joseph II it has never been anything but a refuge for Austrian spies—in this imperial organ for denunciation belonging to the ex-Prince of Thurn und Taxis, the responsible editor H. Malten (already recognisably described by the old *Rheinische Zeitung*) states the following, asserting that it is a reprint of a Paris report from a newspaper which we do not read[c]:

"To the shame of the German name, we have to admit that there are Germans who engage in agitation among us on the most extensive, not to say most shameless scale. There exists here a special Bureau of Reds, by which all inflammatory articles that in any way incite against order in human society are dispatched to the provinces as speedily as possible. It is not enough that Germans participate in this unseemly business on behalf of France; we owe it to them also that a nefarious propaganda is continually spreading its network throughout Germany. From the witches' cauldron of this same revolutionary kitchen the German part of the Rhine valley throughout its entire length is inundated with revolutionary literature about which the *Neue*

[a] K. P. Berly.—*Ed.*

[b] The Frankfurt National Assembly.—*Ed.*

[c] Below is cited the reprint in the *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung* No. 44, February 20, 1849, of the Paris correspondence published in *Die Deutsche Reform*.—*Ed.*

*Rheinische Zeitung* could have a lot to say, if it did not find it fitting to maintain a careful silence on this subject. In Upper Baden, for several months already the lower strata of the people have been subjected to agitation from Paris. That there are connections between the democrats here and the refugees in Switzerland is also a fact."

In reply to this foul denunciation we declare: 1) that we *have never concealed our* connections with the French, English, Italian, Swiss, Belgian, Polish, American and other democrats, and 2) that we ourselves produce here in Cologne the "revolutionary literature" with which *we* actually do "inundate the German part of the Rhine valley" (and not it alone!). For that we need no assistance from Paris; for several years we have been accustomed to our Parisian friends receiving more from us than we get from them.

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# BULLETIN No. 23.— FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

Army Bulletin No. 23[a] has appeared. It says:

"Simultaneously with the already announced successes achieved against the insurgents by our gallant army under Colonel Urban in Northern Transylvania despite the cold and the heavy snowfall, we were gratified to hear of a similar and no less brilliant success at Arad achieved by the troops of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Gläser, who according to his orders is instructed to operate in the Maros valley against Transylvania with his division composed of units from the Todorovich corps.

"The insurgents attempted to cross at Szadorlak in a strong column, and thus threatened our left flank. Thereupon Lieutenant-Field Marshal Gläser ordered two battalions of Peterwardein border guards[348] to capture the first houses of Old Arad and brought up one battalion of Leiningen and then one battalion of Illyrian Banaters for the assault.

"After a drawn-out, bloody engagement the enemy was thrown back, all the batteries set up by the insurgents on the right bank of the Maros facing the fortress were destroyed, and all the cannon mounted in them, 23 in number, were captured; of these, 11 heavy guns were removed to the fortress, 3 were sunk in the Maros, 3 were spiked, 2 were placed at the disposal of the royal imperial Austro-Serbian army corps and 4 dismantled by the valiant Temesvár artillery; 3 enemy ammunition wagons were captured, and in addition enemy ammunition dumps were blown up in several places.

"Because of the hostility displayed by its inhabitants Old Arad was subjected to a grenade attack from the fortress and in many places fires were started which continued to burn all night.—Forty prisoners were also taken in the fighting.

"According to a dispatch of February 13 just received from Master of the Ordnance Count Nugent in Esseg, the fortress of Esseg surrendered on the same day without waiting to be attacked.

"Three of the gates were immediately occupied by the besieging troops, and on the morning of the 14th the garrison laid down its arms on the glacis.

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[a] Published in the *Wiener Zeitung* No. 42, February 18, 1849, and in other newspapers.—*Ed.*

"On the 13th news came from Berthodfalva, a few hours from Eperies, about the column of General Götz, who—as we have already related—had joined up with the brigade of General Prince Jablonowsky at Tyrnau and pursued the fleeing rebel corps under Görgey towards Leutschau.

"This news said that the enemy column, which is indeed a strong one and is accompanied by a strong train of artillery and wagons, after forcing the Zips where it destroyed all bridges and roads, had taken the road from Eperies to Kaschau in order to seek contact with the other rebel hordes in the area of the Theiss.

"Lieutenant-Field Marshal Count Schlick with his three brigades has taken up a position at Torna on the flank of this laboriously moving and all-devastating enemy column, so as to be best able to attack it as soon as he has linked up with the column under General Götz, which has indeed now been done via Margitfalva, Einsiedl and Schmöllnitz.

"General Götz engaged in a skirmish with a rebel raiding-party at Margitfalva, in which several hussars were captured, who supplied detailed information about the position and intentions of the enemy.

"As a large unit under Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schulzig has taken up positions at Miskolcz, we shall shortly be able to give a detailed report of events in these areas.

"Vienna, February 17, 1849."

From this victory report it emerges, then, that Esseg really has capitulated and that Arad has been relieved by the imperial forces; whether their success on the Maros is of the importance that the bulletin would attribute to it, remains to be seen.

On the other hand, the situation of the imperial forces on the Upper Theiss is very poor. According to the last bulletin, Schlick was at Tokaj firing across the Theiss at the Hungarians drawn up on the other side, and today we find him beating a hasty retreat in a north-westerly direction, to avoid the danger of being attacked in the rear by Görgey and being caught between two fires.

Görgey's manoeuvre is really brilliant. By forcing the Zips into the Sáros comitat, occupying Eperies and continuing from there down the River Hernath, following exactly the same path that Schlick had taken, he fell on him full in the rear and forced him to withdraw from Tokaj *more than twelve miles deep* into the Torna comitat, and so to take up a position between Götz (in the Zips) and Schulzig (at Miskolcz). Thus Görgey is now able to advance directly to the Theiss and *reinforce the main Magyar army* with his entire column which is "*indeed a strong one*", and, as the bulletin itself says, is well equipped with artillery. Perhaps he still has a few words to say to Schlick in passing.

Further unofficial news about Hungary circulating in Vienna is as follows:

*Vienna*, February 18. According to the latest reports of the 18th from Pest, we may shortly expect decisive news from the Theiss area. After the arrival of the news that Szegedin has surrendered and sent

a deputation to meet the advancing Serbs, the Ban of Croatia[a] has set up his headquarters at Szolnok, and everyone is preparing for a major battle. The inhabitants of Szegedin, who had offered to deliver cattle and supplies to the imperial army, have had a levy of half a million guldens imposed on them. The people of Szegedin are known to have hitherto been the keenest supporters of Kossuth. They supplied his army with everything. From Debreczin reports up to the 12th have been reaching Pest through refugees. Mészáros is still in charge of the Ministry of War, and Kossuth is more fanatical than ever. The former has written to Prince Windischgrätz that he and his forces will defend themselves to the last man, and would rather perish than surrender. In view of the very gloomy news from Transylvania, where Bem appears to be the master, this sort of language is quite explicable. According to the war reports of the Kossuth faction in Debreczin, Kronstadt has been captured by the Szeklers[349] after a street-battle etc. Other rumours, however, would have it that the Russians have come to the rescue and saved the situation.

The *Breslauer Zeitung* has a dispatch from the Hungarian border which is on the whole favourable to the Austrians, but is nevertheless forced to admit that the Austrian war bulletins only give a highly incomplete picture of the battles in Transylvania and beyond the Theiss because they always stress only the gains of the royal imperial troops, and make no mention whatsoever of the thorny way in which they have been achieved, for all reports direct from the theatre of war agree that the Magyars have been defending themselves with the utmost desperation for the last few weeks, and have inflicted severe damage on the royal imperial army. The regiments under Schlick, Ottinger and Götz have already suffered significant losses, and the Croats, who are already longing to be back home and still feel a deep-seated respect for the Hungarian cavalry, are showing signs of a mood that is giving their Ban cause for misgivings.

It is even said that odd units of the Croat battalions have gone over to the Magyars, which I cannot vouch for however. What is causing Prince Windischgrätz most trouble is the condition of the roads, which is quite appalling in the present thaw, especially between the Danube and the Theiss, rendering the transportation of heavy artillery downright impossible; only with the greatest effort and on wagons with wheel-rims a foot across is it possible to move the 3- and 6-pound cannon. Twelve-pound batteries, in which the superiority

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[a] Jellachich.—*Ed.*

of Austrian artillery really lies, are totally untransportable, thus creating an equalisation of the armaments of the two sides that must necessarily prolong the fighting. Even if its outcome is not in doubt (!), many a day may well elapse before Windischgrätz can report to Olmütz: "The country is quiet!" In the end the Magyar forces, which still have a strength of 60,000-70,000 men, could concentrate in Transylvania, where *Bem reigns supreme*, and the nature of the terrain is particularly favourable to a stubborn defence.

The Vienna *Lloyd*[a] also says that Pest is arming strongly:

"Since yesterday (the 14th) reinforcements for the Theiss army have been leaving continuously. A decisive battle is expected to take place there in the next few days. These new forces being sent to the Theiss could number at least 11,000 men."

The *Österreichischer Correspondent* mentions a victory of the Serbs over a greatly superior force of Magyars at Szento. Unfortunately, the otherwise so omniscient bulletin knows nothing about this.

This much is certain: for the present "the war in Hungary" is not yet "coming to an end".

Written by Engels on February 23, 1849

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[a] *Lloyd* No. 84, February 18, 1849.—*Ed.*

# LATEST NEWS OF THE MAGYARS.— VICTORY ON THE THEISS.— BRUTALITY OF THE AUSTRIANS.—STATE OF THE WAR IN GENERAL

The *Allgemeine Oder-Zeitung* cites the following, among other things, from the reports of a Hungarian who left Pest on the 17th:

When the Magyar army withdrew from Pest to the other side of the Theiss, the dismay of the inhabitants of the two cities[a] was extreme, especially on the part of the Magyars, who saw their last hope of freedom dashed and lamented that in abandoning the capital the army was disgracing itself before all Europe. Nevertheless, the policy of the Hungarian Government was a shrewd one, *fully realising* as it did that *in their eagerness to save their property* the inhabitants of the two cities would have helped the enemy. Later on, of course, when it turned out that the Austrian Government was not sparing any of those involved, these people realised that they were up against an implacable enemy. The atrocities committed by the Austrian troops in the area of Buda-Pest exceeded all bounds. In this, the Croats outdid all the others. What they could not use they destroyed. Two days after the retreat of the Hungarians across the Theiss an army corps of 20,000 men under *Ottinger* occupied Szolnok, with its rearguard in *Abony*. In this position the Austrians were attacked by a Hungarian corps about 12,000 strong under Perczel, and would have been completely annihilated had not an advancing Hungarian army unit under Brigadier *Kasinsky* been delayed. In any case, the Austrians saw themselves forced to flee, which they did under cover of night, and were unable to rally their forces until they reached *Czegléd*. It was remarkable to watch the terror that seized them — that is the cavalry and the officers — and how they were forever shouting, "Onward! Onward! The butchering dogs" (as they call the Hungarian hussars) "are hard on our heels!"

On the 21st the Hungarians arrived at Abony, and this time they were 22,000 strong. General *Dembiński* was with them, though not in command at that stage. The day after the battle at Szolnok a division of Austrian cuirassiers[350] advanced as far as St. Marton, where the Hungarian outposts were positioned, and what occurred there was incredible: they were attacked by six Hungarian hussars who killed twenty of them and took some of them prisoner.

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[a] Buda (Ofen) and Pest, which were then two independent cities.—*Ed.*

At dawn on the 23rd the Hungarians reached Czegléd, where the Austrians had taken up a very favourable position. The Hungarians attacked, beat the Austrians and pursued them through the town right out into the vineyards of Alberty. There they heard that an Austrian corps of considerable size was marching via Alau towards *Debreczin*, and this news compelled them to give up the pursuit. General Dembiński, however, expressed his dissatisfaction with the entire execution of this attack, which in his opinion should have led to the complete annihilation of the Austrian corps.

The news of the defeat of Ottinger's corps reached Pest straightaway, and the townspeople once again sought out their red feathers, but their hopes were soon disappointed. The Hungarians crossed the Theiss and burned the bridge at Szolnok. This was used by the Austrians as a pretext to boast of victories, and fear of their brutality safeguarded them against contradiction. It was a sorry state of affairs for the local populace, who had hoped that they had already been freed from the Austrian yoke. The Austrians came in greater numbers and with demands even harsher than before.

Some houses were forced to billet 30 to 40 soldiers, and the officers were callous enough to throw old men out of their beds and lie down in them themselves, saying, "You Hungarians can sleep on the ground. That's good enough for you dogs."

These reports will be continued.[a]

The *Schlesische Zeitung*, a reactionary paper every bit as good as the *Breslauer Zeitung*, gives for its part the following account of the state of affairs in Hungary:

*Pest*, February 12. The war is dragging on longer than one would have expected, which is primarily due to the fact that the Magyars have found a staunch ally in the mild winter. The overflowing of the rivers as well as the almost completely impassable roads are confronting the Austrian army with well-nigh insuperable obstacles. The Theiss is now the demarcation line between the opposing armies. There is fighting now at one point, now at another, from Tokaj to Szegedin, a distance of more than 40 miles. The halfway point on this line is Szolnok. There has already been fierce fighting at this point, but *it still remains under the control of the Magyars.* It is of importance because it is situated in the centre of fighting.

On the Upper Theiss, i.e. in the area of Tokaj, *the Magyars are rising up in large numbers*, the population having been driven to desperation by the cruelties of the war. The population in and around Miskolcz is extremely agitated, as in the whole of Borsod comitat. The gains made here by the Austrians are always quickly snatched away from them again. Downstream from Szolnok, and indeed a long way upstream too, the land on both sides of the Theiss is so badly flooded that *it is under water for a mile on either side in many places, which usually lasts well on into April.* Only the local inhabitants are familiar with this terrain. Any foreign military force entering it can easily be driven by them into the swamps and floods.

Further downstream around Csongrad and Szantó the roads are at present quite impassable for an army corps, for the artillery would sink in the marshy roads. This is the road to Szegedin and Arad. The Austrian army, particularly the Croats, attempted to push forward here but became convinced that it was impossible. Rumour has it that for this reason Prince Windischgrätz has fallen out with Jellachich. The latter got as far as the steppes of Keczkemet, but was pushed back again. This region is inhabited by the Cumans and the Jazyges,[351] an extremely powerful race of men who are

[a] See this volume, pp. 443-44.—*Ed.*

noblemen every one and recognise only the imperial palatine as their supreme authority. They are impassioned Magyars.

Between the Theiss and the border of Transylvania the towns are considerable distances apart, it is true, but are unusually populous. Thus, for example, the market-town of Csoba has a population of 24,000, and Gozula nearly 18,000. All are enthusiastic Magyars.

Further down in the Banat the Serbs are certainly pressing forward, but the Hungarians, nevertheless, still hold a good deal of country.

If General Bem succeeds in the plan which he now seems to have of setting out from Hermannstadt (in Transylvania) by way of the Szászváros and Deva through the mountain passes to Hungary and joining the Magyars there, their cause will take a favourable turn. And there are no particularly great obstacles in his path. For *Transylvania is almost completely conquered,* and the Wallachians were already defeated when Bem turned on the Saxons. Many of these are said to have joined up with him in the area of Kronstadt, doubtless only because there was no other course open to them. Only the fortress of Karlsburg (between Klausenburg and Mühlenbach) might have offered some resistance, but it is said to be in the hands of the Hungarians already.

On the right bank of the Danube, as in the Carpathians, the fighting is mostly confined to skirmishes. All along the stretch from the borders of Styria to the Danube patrol-corps have been formed which keep the Austrian army under General Nugent on the move. Several of these have respected Hungarians at their head. The occasional sorties made from Komorn serve to protect these guerillas. Even this virginal fortress would have fallen had the winter lasted another month, for it would then have been possible to approach it across the frozen rivers. On one side flow two arms of the Danube; on the other, the Waag and the Neutra. The fortress itself rises scarcely 50 feet above the plains, but from there it is quite inaccessible. Cannon-ball can hardly reach it, whereas the besieged are, on the other hand, able to inflict great damage on the besiegers. When Napoleon sent out Marshal Duroc to Komorn to reconnoitre during the war with the Austrians, not long before the Treaty of Pressburg,[352] the Marshal returned with the laconic verdict: "*Sire! imprenable.*"[a]

In the Carpathians, too, the Magyars still have support, and neither is there any lack of patrol-corps, particularly in the comitats of Trentschin, Honth and Abaujvár.

From all this it is evident that the war is *still far from being at an end,* and that Austria will still have to raise large fighting forces before it conquers an enemy *whose morale is improving with every day that passes,* and which is now better led, partly by French and Polish officers, than it was in the beginning.

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[a] Your Majesty, impregnable!—*Ed.*

## [MORE NEWS OF THE MAGYARS]

No fresh news direct from the theatre of war. The *Allgemeine Oder-Zeitung* continues the "Reports of a Hungarian"; owing to lack of space we must hold it over until our next issue. How Görgey is proceeding in Kaschau and what fear he inspires in the Austrians is proved by a letter from *Pest* dated February 10:

"The news is now spreading that General *Görgey* has occupied the town of *Kaschau.* His first measure was to depose the entire Town Council, all the imperial customs officials and salt-office officials, and an enormous levy was imposed on the burghers. Early this morning a fully equipped brigade left the town, consisting of one battalion of fusiliers, two divisions of light cavalry, four battalions of infantry and two cavalry batteries, with all the necessary wagons of ammunition, powder and field-requisites, marching in the direction of Waitzen."

Further we hear again from Transylvania from various sources of the Russians' entry, while the official reports still remain silent about it. Thus reports of the 9th have arrived from Bucharest giving an account of the entry of the Russians at the request of the citizens of Hermannstadt and Kronstadt, adding that the advancing Russians had immediately encountered a unit of Szeklers and given them a sound beating. Yet the newly arrived courier sent by Lieutenant-Field Marshal Puchner from Hermannstadt on the 8th, who reports the destruction of Bem's army at Salzburg, says nothing about the entry of the Russians, and even Puchner's official report is silent on this point.

In Pressburg, J. Csenkly of Hetye in Hungary has been sentenced to four years prison for illegal possession of arms.

In Croatia the conflict between the nationalist Southern Slavs and the royal imperial authorities is becoming increasingly more violent.

Thus the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* is informed from Agram, February 15:

"Bitterness against the Ministry is growing here from day to day. News comes in almost hourly showing all too clearly that the Government is not in earnest with its pledges to the Croats, indeed indicating on the contrary that it is eager to effect the restoration of the old system of Magyar oppression. The agitation caused by the recently mentioned Magyar official letter from Count Almásy[a] had still not subsided when another Magyar order from the Ofen Board of Works arrived, enjoining the chief engineer in Croatia to apply henceforth to the Hungarian central authorities, as all the obstacles which had hitherto disrupted the old" (pre-March) "conduct of official business had been completely eliminated. This Magyar official order, which aroused irritation in all quarters, was followed by another, German, decree from the Vienna Ministry of Trade, whereby the chief engineer, Vauthier-Rauchefort, one of the keenest supporters of the Magyars, about whom there had been frequent complaints that he was in secret communication with Kossuth, was called to the office of the Ministry of Public Works and appointed ministerial adviser."

In consequence of this, the Ban's Council in Agram[b] has now issued an official edict prohibiting all authorities from carrying out orders originating from "Magyar insolence" and instructing them instead to send such unlawful communications to the Ban's Council, who will see to it that these are used as proof of the usurpation of its authority. At the same time this edict announces that not only is there no Magyar administration in the three united kingdoms[c] but that no interference from it in official business would ever be tolerated.

At the same time, refusal to be conscripted is on the increase in Bohemia. Today we hear:

The majority of the communities in the Prachin district of Bohemia are refusing to enforce conscription, since they have been informed that the decree in question originated from the Ministry and not from the Imperial Diet. It is to be feared that the peasant disturbances in this region may shortly spread to the whole country.

In short, despite all efforts, old Austria is disintegrating more and more every day. A revolutionary push from Italy or France, and it will belong to the past.

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[a] See this volume, p. 410.— *Ed.*

[b] i. e. the government of Croatia during the 1848-49 revolution.— *Ed.*

[c] i.e. Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia.—*Ed.*

# THE RUSSIANS IN TRANSYLVANIA [353]

*Cologne*, February 26. *Ten thousand Russians are in Transylvania.*

It can no longer be denied, all concealment and obfuscation has become impossible, the facts are there, the *official Wiener Zeitung*[a] *itself* has admitted it.

So these were the tremendous victories of the imperial hired soldiery, this is the result of all the pompous bulletins of Welden, Windischgrätz, Schlick and Puchner: the great-power Austria *had to call in Russian help* to get the better of four and a half million Magyars.

At this new turning-point in Hungarian affairs let us survey once more the course of the war as the most recent news reflects it.

The territory which at this moment is occupied by the Magyars under Kossuth forms a large rectangle, 70-90 miles long and 30-40 miles wide, bounded in the north and the west by the Theiss, in the east by the Carpathians and in the south by the Maros. It embraces in an area of 2,500 square miles the central Hungarian plain and the mountainous regions of Transylvania. In addition Komorn on the Upper Danube is also in the hands of the Hungarians.

In the *south*, where the Magyars were always weakest, the Austrians, Slovenes and Austrian Serbs succeeded with the help of Turkish Serbs and disguised Russians[b] to push the Magyars beyond the Maros. There fighting took place near Arad, in which the Austrians advanced to the northern (right) bank of the Maros.

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[a] An apparent reference to the report published in the *Wiener Zeitung* No. 44, February 21, 1849, and given on pp. 435-36 of this volume.— *Ed.*

[b] A mistake by Engels: Russians did not take part in the battle at Arad.— *Ed.*

According to their own assertion they gained a victory and captured fifteen pieces of siege artillery trained on Arad, but, equally according to their own statement, withdrew again across the Maros. As far as we know, up to now they have not yet succeeded in breaking through the line of the Maros and as long as that does not happen there can be no question of the great expedition which Rukavina is supposed to undertake against Grosswardein and Transylvania.

In the *west* and the *north-west* the Theiss with its extensive floods and boundless marshes provides the Magyars with an almost impregnable line of cover. As long as the Russians did not take part in the fighting this was the decisive centre of the theatre of war. Once Windischgrätz was in Debreczin the war would have dissolved into mere guerilla fighting. The Magyars knew this and therefore their main army did not offer serious resistance anywhere up to the Theiss. They were only concerned to hold out until the end of the cold weather which enabled the imperial forces to pass all rivers and marshes like firm ground, and which delivered Pest and Ofen into their hands with hardly a chance of resistance. While the main army thus withdrew slowly, the two wings remained in advanced positions, in the north in the Slovak comitats and in the south between the Drava and the Danube, held out as long as they could, forced the enemy army to divide and in the end withdrew, the one through the Carpathians towards the Theiss, the other across the Danube back to the Banat army.

Only the inane ignorance of German hack journalists who had sold themselves to Austria and had never had a map in their hands or followed a strategic operation, could see in this masterly plan, based on detailed knowledge and survey of the terrain, nothing else than cowardice, sheer cowardice, on the part of the Magyars. People of any sense and knowledge would at least have lied and boasted less absurdly than the mass of the German common liars, who had gone grey under censorship, corruption and gross ignorance.

Success has demonstrated the operational skill of the Magyars. It took six weeks for the first imperial soldier of the main army to see the Theiss, and while the river was then still frozen over, the battles of Szolnok, Czegléd, Tarczal and Tokaj showed the Austrians how Hungarians fight when offering serious resistance. Ottinger thrown back beyond Czegléd, Schlick to Boldogköváralya and a general lament over the Magyars' sudden and unexpected resistance from all the martial-law papers, hitherto delirious with victory—those were the first results of the "victorious" advance of the Austrians to the Theiss. Then followed the thaw, the Magyars withdrew over the Theiss and the ice-drift prevented the imperial

troops from following them. The ice-drift ceased, but not the inundations and swamping of both banks to a breadth of several miles. The imperial troops stood helpless facing the swamps and the torrential river and no one dared to cross although Windischgrätz sent reinforcement after reinforcement from Pest. But *the Magyars dared to cross,* because a short time ago we suddenly heard that Miskolcz, four miles this side of the Theiss, was again in their hands and, as we shall see later, the official royal imperial reports have done more than confirm this.

While Windischgrätz, Jellachich and Schlick were thus glad to be able to hang on to their positions, Nugent in the south gave battle to Damjanich, and in the north Götz, Simunich and Csorich to Görgey. In the south, where the Hungarian Banat army had already been pushed back, the Austrians succeeded in breaking up Damjanich's cut-off corps into guerilla forces, which still keep in check a sizable body of troops in the area between the Drava, the Danube and the forest of Bakony. In the north on the other hand, Görgey, one of the swiftest and most daring insurgent leaders, managed to defend the Slovak comitats for two whole months against three entire army corps by bold large-scale guerilla warfare and a series of brilliant individual actions. Although the royal imperial bulletins annihilated him countless times, he always reappeared on the field of battle, repulsed one Austrian general after another, and prevented their unification through rapid marches and constantly repeated attacks. Only the fall of Leopoldstadt decided his retreat before a three- or fourfold superiority. He retreated into the Upper Carpathians and by that gave the imperial troops such a fright that the whole of Galicia was armed, then thrust forward into the Zips and from there into Eperies and Kaschau. There he stood in the rear of Schlick. The latter, cut off from Windischgrätz by the Magyar corps which had advanced to Miskolcz, and now in danger of being surrounded on three sides, retreated hastily in a north-westerly direction, intending to unite with Götz and his associates in Leutschau. Then suddenly "powerful hostile forces" thrust at Polgár and Tiszafüred across the Theiss, unite with the column from Miskolcz and advance towards Rimaszombat, i.e. between Windischgrätz and Schlick. This forces Schlick to change his entire plan, leave Götz in the Carpathians to his fate and get ahead of the main column of the Magyars through a hasty south-westerly march in the direction of Rimaszombat.

By this masterly devised manoeuvre of the Magyars Schlick is thrown back into Slovakia, Götz is isolated in the Upper Carpathians, the unification of Görgey with the main Magyar army is assured and

the whole of North-East Hungary liberated from the imperial troops.

All these events, which occurred between February 10 and 14, are admitted even in the official *Wiener Zeitung*. Among the rest of the howling Austrian and German press too, a curious lowering of the tone could recently be observed. Not to mention the mourning of our nearest neighbours, the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* is forced today to admit:

"The struggle may be yet a little prolonged. The country is too big and the insurgents have good leaders in the Poles."[a]

And now even the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*:

"The reports from Hungary which have arrived here to date vary widely in character. Those from the south are clearly favourable to our forces, those from the north *clearly unfavourable*."

And in another article:

"If we glance over the newest facts from Hungary in the various journals of decidedly conservative colour there seems to be a *slight up-and-down movement* in the successes of the imperial army.

"The occupation of Kaschau by Görgey too is not conducive to a belief in the dissolution of the Hungarian army, its destruction and dispersal and the ending of the war, which was regarded as imminent at the beginning of the year."

It is "still difficult to explain how, with the well-ordered troop combinations and with geographically correct manoeuvres which we have a right to expect from such an excellently organised and led army, isolated bodies of Magyar troops are in a position to move about with not insignificant forces in the line of operations, or behind it, or to converge again in places from which we believed them to have been dislodged for the whole duration of the campaign".

That is how things are in the north-west. It is no longer a case of defending the line of the Theiss against the Austrians; it is the Austrians who must not let themselves be thrown back into Slovakia and behind the Danube. For the last week the *Hungarians*, not the Austrians, *have been the attackers*.

And finally in the *south-east*, in Transylvania? Here the bulletins reported Bem as being defeated again and again by Puchner, here the "rebels" seemed to be completely defeated. Then suddenly the *Wiener Zeitung*[b] brings the following official lamentation:

"Since the bloody victory which the commanding general, Baron von Puchner, secured on January 21 against the three times stronger enemy at Hermannstadt, the troops retained for the defence of the town *could unfortunately not prevent* their communication with *the Banat and Karlsburg being severed by the enemy*, who had settled in the surrounding area like vandals, confiscating all stores of food and animals ready

[a] *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 54, February 23, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] No. 44, February 21, 1849.—*Ed.*

for slaughter and having them carried away together with other pillaged property to the depot at Klausenburg.

"With the shortages which in consequence had arisen on our side, the complaints and petitions of the flourishing chief cities of the loyal Saxon region, Kronstadt and Hermannstadt, became ever louder and more urgent. Even earlier, when these towns *were threatened by the marauding and perfidious Szekler hordes,* they appealed in their distress to the Russian commanding general in Wallachia, von Lüders, for possible assistance. When, through the *severing of the lines of communication with the main imperial army operating in Hungary, all prospects of an early arrival* of reinforcements vanished, when the enemy *attracted daily new rebel groups* and succeeded through deceitful pretences in *inciting all the Szeklers anew to disloyalty and armed insurrections,* Lieutenant-Field Marshal von Puchner was stormed on all sides with requests to call for Russian support so that the most prosperous part of the loyal Saxon region should not be abandoned to ruin and the blind destructive fury of blood-thirsty marauders.

"Moved by the imperative need to attack Bem, the chief of the rebels, *before the rebel mobs who were converging to his assistance from several sides made him overwhelmingly strong, but at the same time unable* with *his small forces to face the enemy resolutely* and protect the Saxon region from the devastation of the Szeklers, Lieutenant-Field Marshal von Puchner felt impelled to listen to the voice of humanity and to take into consideration the requests for Russian assistance made jointly by the Rumanian and Saxon nations, although he had received no authority for this from the Imperial Government. To this end he assembled a Council of War on February 1 in Hermannstadt. Just at the closure of this assembly a courier brought the official news from Kronstadt that *the armed Szekler hordes, 15,000 strong,* had crossed the frontiers of their region and that as a result, with the rich trading centre of *Kronstadt* now *threatened* with inevitable destruction *by these bands,* delay created the greatest danger.

A lot could be said about this royal imperial *Miserere,* but it is not necessary. Every line breathes consciousness of defeat, shame at being unable to tell any more lies and at having to abjure all past boastings.

So that was at the bottom of all the official bulletins and of the Magyar "exaggerations"! The Magyars attacking and advancing on the Theiss, the Austrians halted on the Maros, Transylvania irretrievably lost to the imperial cause unless the *Russians* intervene!

There is in Germany a literary lumpenproletariat, cowardly and lying stay-at-homes, who dare to revile as cowards these Magyars, this heroic nation of a few millions which so ran to earth the whole great Austria, the entire proud "united monarchy", that Austria is lost without the Russians.

"This fact," the official report continues ashamedly,

"this fact conclusively influenced the decision of the Council of War, which eventually *called in the help of the Russians for the protection of Hermannstadt and Kronstadt.* Consequent on the request made by Lieutenant-Field Marshal von Puchner, *6,000 imperial Russian troops entered Kronstadt on February 1 and 4,000 entered Hermannstadt on February 4 for the period of the threatening danger.*"

To know how many Russians are taking part in the fighting against the Magyars we shall have to await the next "Magyar exaggerations".

The further reported successes of Puchner, however insignificant, would never have come about without the Russian auxiliary troops, to judge from all that has happened hitherto.

Let it be known and not forgotten that Bulletin No. 24,[a] which appeared on the previous evening, ascribes the advantages secured from February 4 to 7 solely to the fighting abilities of the imperial troops and is completely silent about the entry of the Russians.

As we know, Bem stood before Stolzenburg. From there Puchner drove him on the 4th to Mühlenbach (where he claims to have captured 16 guns), then on the 6th to Szászváros, and on the 7th to Deva. There Bem still is.

Supposing this is true, Puchner would never have succeeded in pushing back 12 miles in 4 days a commander like Bem, who had crossed Transylvania with the greatest speed several times from one end to the other and who had always proved himself far superior to the constantly defeated Austrian, had it not been due to the most crushing superiority in numbers, due to the Russian auxiliary troops and Russian staff officers who are in any case better soldiers than these old-fashioned Austrians.

If Bem stands indeed near Deva his plan is obvious. He has withdrawn from Mühlenbach to the Maros and proposes to leave Transylvania for a time to the Austrians, who have their hands full with the Szekler guerilla bands, and to move down the Maros towards Arad, to push the Serbs back into the Banat and to advance on Kossuth's left wing. That Puchner should pursue him is out of the question for the present. But Gläser at Arad and Rukavina at Temesvár will soon get to hear of Bem and before a week has passed we shall probably hear how the indefatigable Pole operates against Szegedin and against the right wing of Windischgrätz. At least it is impossible to draw any other conclusions from the direction in which he is moving.

Without the Russians Puchner would have been annihilated and Transylvania subjugated in a few days. The Szeklers and the Magyars of the territory were themselves enough to keep the Saxons and the Wallachians in check. Bem could have followed as the victor the route which he now takes in his retreat, could have joined up with Kossuth and Dembiński and by that means have decided the outcome of the campaign. Victory was assured for their combined forces. Pest would have been taken in a few days and — *on March 15 Dembiński was of course in Vienna.*

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[a] *Wiener Zeitung* No. 45, February 22, 1849.—*Ed.*

Then the Russians join the fray and throw the weight of the Tsar's Empire into the scales on Austria's side. And that, of course, is decisive.

Such indeed are the heroic deeds of these brave knights of martial law, Windischgrätzes, Jellachiches, Nugents and Schlicks. To set upon a small nation of four and a half million from eight sides with all Austria's might, to call for help from Turkish Croats, Bosnians and Serbs and in the end, as soon as the small nation has gathered its strength and driven out the traitors from its midst, to be soundly and roundly beaten!

These were indeed glorious laurels which the invincible Windischgrätz gained with the help of Russian reinforcements! Wonderful victories won by the alliance of the united European barbarians against the most advanceed outpost of European civilisation.

No one could have guessed, however, that the most subtle point in the grandiose campaign plan of Windischgrätz, the last strategic trump of the great general,was to be the appeal to the Russians. And yet, one might have known it: Has Austria ever been victorious by other means?

The Magyars, the last indomitable fighters of the revolution of 1848, may well succumb like the heroes of June in Paris or the fighters of October in Vienna, overwhelmed by the superior forces which again surround them on all sides. It will depend on the degree of the Russian participation whether the war against them will come to an end speedily or otherwise. If we West Europeans in the meantime persist in our silent apathy, if we offer only passive resistance and sighs of impotence to the infamous and traitorous attack of the Russians on our Magyar brothers, then the Magyars are lost — *and it will be our turn next.*

Indeed, the invasion of Transylvania by the Russians is the most infamous betrayal, the most villainous breach of international law in history. What is the open coalition of the despots in 1792, what is the silent connivance of the German powers at Russia in the Polish war, what is the partition of Poland itself[354] in comparison with this cowardly, treacherous strangling of a small heroic nation, carried out underhand and with typical Russian perfidy. What are all the infamies of past British, Russian and Austrian policies compared with this unmentionable villainy.

*Austria* wages a war of oppression against the Magyars, *Russia* attacks them from behind, and *Prussia* stands at the border, warrant in hand, to arrest the refugees and hand them over to their executioners. One year after the European revolution, on February

21, 1849, the Holy Alliance[355] stands before us resurrected in all its martial-law banditry and police blackguardism.

Thus far have we come. They dare to do such things in front of the whole of Europe and all Europe does not dare to move a finger. The official French Republic quietly rejoices and wishes that it too bordered on Russia so as to exterminate the anarchists the more easily. Why after the revolution in France and in Germany did we show so much generosity, magnanimity, consideration and kind-heartedness, if we did not wish the bourgeoisie again to raise its head and betray us, and the calculating counter-revolution to plant its foot on our neck?

But be patient. The "hydra of revolution" is not yet stilled. Look to Italy — the power of hired bayonets is not the last decisive power of history. Be patient. The day will come, and come soon, when a new revolution will make its bloody round through Europe, a revolution which, instead of bending its knee before mere phrases about the republic or haggling over the paltry "gains of March", will not sheathe its sword until it has avenged all the betrayal and all the infamy of the last nine months. Then we shall call to account all those who have permitted and supported this disgraceful betrayal of our Magyar fellow fighters. And then, despite the Russians, we shall strike off the shackles of Hungary and Poland!

Written by Engels on February 26, 1849

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# RUSSIAN INVASION.—SERBS.—PROSPECTS FOR THE AUSTRIANS.—FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

There is absolutely no fresh news from the war theatre. But from all quarters reports are arriving which confirm our report of yesterday about the bad situation in which the imperial troops find themselves everywhere, except in Transylvania freed with the help of the Russians.[a] As proof we are reproducing below a dispatch from the Pressburg correspondent of the *Breslauer Zeitung* and the concluding paragraphs of the "Reports of a Hungarian" from the *Allgemeine Oder-Zeitung*.

The Austrians have without any doubt only reluctantly decided to appeal to the Russians. It is crystal-clear that the Russian invasion is bound to give a new impetus to the pan-Slavist movements of the Czechs and the Southern Slavs. These nationalities who have for a long time been used to look to the Tsar as their natural patron and ultimate liberator, are now receiving striking proof that Austria has neither the power nor the will to ensure their national development. And now for the first time the Russian Tsar[b] enters upon the stage, acts for them at the decisive moment and confirms with deeds the hopes which they place in him. Thus the Tsar now appears before the Austrian Serbs, Croats, Czechs etc. as the supreme protector of the Slav nationality as he did previously before the Turkish Serbs. And that the Slav national aspirations can be as menacing for the Austrian "united monarchy" as the armed resistance of the Magyars we have seen repeatedly.

With the Russian invasion of Transylvania the Tsar has taken a new step towards the realisation of pan-Slavism. He has proclaimed

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[a] See this volume, pp. 432 and 453-55.—*Ed.*
[b] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

the alliance of the Russians and the Austrian Slavs and made himself the *de facto* sovereign of the Austrian Slavs. The others are of course already under his sway. The Poles are his servants, the Turkish Slavs his vassals, and now he poses as the protector of the Austrian Slavs too. Only one more step and Austria falls completely under his suzerainty just like Turkey. At this price the "united monarchy" saves itself for a few months from destruction at the hands of the revolution!

At a people's assembly at Mitrowitz in the Banat the Serbs proclaimed the Patriarch[a] supreme ruler of their nation and Stratimirovich a rebel, declaring martial law against all enemies of the Emperor. The Patriarch who in Temesvár directs the affairs of the Voivodina, together with Todorovich and the Serbian deputies, is said to confirm these resolutions. At the battle of Arad the very popular Serbian Major Jovanovich fell into the hands of the Magyars. The following shows that the Magyars were in any case not defeated as decisively in this battle as the bulletins alleged. The Patriarch offered to the Magyar General Damjanich (who thus, as we incidentally learn, was fortunate enough to reach the Banat army across the Danube and the Theiss) to exchange Jovanovich against 200 Magyars. Damjanich replied that as far as he knew the Serbs did not have 200 Magyar prisoners in their hands! The Serbs, by the way, are arming on some scale in Serbia as within the Banat. In the Serbian principality a national convention[b] has been summoned and is discussing the mobilisation of 1,000 auxiliary troops in each of the country's 18 districts.

So that one should see what a small and nationally mixed country the new Serbian Voivodina is and how absurd the pretensions of the pan-Slavists are to create small Slav states in all corners of Hungary, we give the following statistical notes from the Belgrade *Serbske Noviny*:

"The Voivodina comprises territorially the following: 1. the Sirmische comitat[c], 2. the Peterwardein regiment, 3. the comitat of Bács, 4. the battalion of the Tchaikists,[356] 5. the comitat of Torontal, 6. the former German Banat regiment (now named Pancsova regiment), 7. the former Illyrian Banat regiment (now called Weisskirchen regiment) and the comitat of Temesvár. The area totals 719 square miles, with 75 towns and market centres, 706 villages, 221,182 houses and 1,605,808 inhabitants. The inhabitants can be divided according to their national origin into 917,916 Serbs, 26,200 Slovaks, 13,000 Bulgarians, 283,000 Wallachians, 278,400 Germans, 6,160 French and 81,132 Magyars. Of the inhabitants 877,620 are Greek Orthodox, 627,994

[a] Rajachich.—*Ed.*

[b] Skupština.—*Ed.*

[c] This comitat, like the Peterwardein regimental district, was part of the Military Border Area.—*Ed.*

Roman Catholics, 12,494 United Catholics, 46,311 Lutherans, 30,642 Calvinists, 17 Arians[357] and 10,730 Jews. The Catholic Southern Slavs are included among the 917,916 Serbs. The former border regiment of the Wallachian Banat remains outside the territory of the Voivodina, and will be incorporated into Transylvanian Rumania (Wallachia)."

This small so-called national Serbian country thus contains 700,000 Germans, Wallachians, Magyars etc. compared with 900,000 Serbs. And the 900,000 Serbs are not even all Serbs but include also the "Catholic Southern Slavs", that is the Shokazians[358] of Syrmien and of the comitat of Bács, who are not Serbs at all. And this is supposed to be a nation with national needs and above all the need to be separate from Hungary!

We now give the report of the *Breslauer Zeitung*:

"*Pressburg*, February 18. The wet and stormy weather has made the notorious roads of our country so bottomless that the large army corps can move forward only with untold difficulties, and the heavy artillery and other heavy vehicles are indeed getting stuck. Under these circumstances the numerous Hungarian patrol-corps are gaining one advantage after the other and the Austrian army is being fooled in a variety of ways. The commander-in-chief of the latter[a] seems indeed to have become impatient and would very much like to lead a major attack, for which purpose he has dispatched large forces in the direction of Szolnok. As a result the rumour circulates that a serious encounter has taken place there and that the Magyars have been thrown back beyond the Theiss.— One can, however, entertain a certain suspicion concerning these reports because the Hungarians are at present *too well led* not to make use of the golden opportunity to draw the enemy into the marshes of the Theiss and to destroy him there without any great difficulty. The many patrol-corps which *spring up everywhere* in Lower Hungary will not fail to harass him on all sides if he should advance too far, cut off his supplies and capture and destroy any troops which move away from the main army. In a certain sense the war in lower Hungary can be *compared with Napoleon's campaign in Russia*, and if the Austrian army should advance too far it could meet with fate similar to that of the French at the time.— Under these circumstances Windischgrätz will be in a *difficult position*. To act quickly and secure with one decisive blow a change of fortune for his cause is virtually impossible, but if he hesitates the strength of the Magyars will continue to grow. Capitulation is said to have been offered but the Magyars have declined with disdain.— If we cast a glance at the map we shall see that the Austrian army, despite its advances and its reported victories, *is surrounded by large and small formations of the Magyar army as if by a net.* From the borders of Styria via the Plattensee[b] to Esseg in Croatia the country appears to have been conquered but *everywhere there are patrol-corps* which seriously molest the Austrians.

"On the other side, that is from the Danube to the Carpathians, things are no better. One becomes convinced of this when one reads the reports of the Austrians being driven hither and thither through constant engagements. Here the Hungarian patrol-corps have a particularly suitable terrain, and most of the inhabitants, *even the majority of the Slovaks*, secretly side with them. Only this explains how the Magyars can continue to make their sallies far into Galicia almost with impunity. In the east the

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[a] Windischgrätz.—*Ed.*
[b] Lake Balaton.— *Ed.*

Theiss is the great barrier which protects the Magyars, and wherever the Austrians have attempted to push across they have always been thrown back with losses.

"If it should come to a major battle, and if the Austrians should lose it, as they possibly might, then their retreat would be a very dangerous one. For they could well fear that the people would rise up everywhere. The commander-in-chief does not seem to conceal the precariousness of his situation."

The following is the end of the "Reports of a Hungarian" from the *Allgemeine Oder-Zeitung*.[a] This could also serve as proof how little "exaggerated" the Magyar reports are.

"Thanks to Kossuth's clever measures all the youth of Pest has gone off to Debreczin. People with detailed knowledge of events on the other side of the Theiss say that the Hungarian army is 120,000-150,000 strong, commanded by three capable Polish generals[b] and supported by a considerable contingent of artillery and that in case of need it could be augmented by the 100,000-strong Hungarian *Landsturm*. The well-known Rosa with his troops occupies the forest of Bakony.

"The Austrians put three bridges across the Theiss, one near Szolnok, one near Tiszafüred and the third near Zibok, which the Hungarians used to cross the river and to defeat the enemy on the 11th inst.

"Order and the strictest discipline rule throughout the Hungarian army, especially since the Polish generals have assumed supreme command. The comitats on the other side of the Theiss are resolved to defend themselves to the last man and the majority of the young men who fled to Debreczin on the entry of the Austrians into Pest have joined the Hungarian army, whose soldiers range from 17 to 40, and even 60 years of age, all inspired with love for their country.

"Kossuth, I hear from reliable sources, recently made in Debreczin a speech, such as has never been heard before.

"The hall was filled with deputies and other persons, the gallery with ladies; he made the deputies and all present swear to stand by him in the struggle against Austria. All hands rose to take the oath. A long silence followed this taking of the oath, then he pronounced in a strong voice just these words: **'Now the fatherland is saved.'**

"The majority of royal imperial troops who were stationed in Pest and Buda were withdrawn in the direction of Erlau and Czegléd and only about 4,000 men remained. There was talk of the headquarters of Prince Windischgrätz being moved to Erlau. In spite of the great victories which the Austrians claimed to have won but which in fact the Hungarians won, they did not fail to train the cannon of the fortress of Buda on the town of Pest. An order was given to the inhabitants of the fortress to lay in provisions for themselves for three months. Those who were unable to do so were to leave their homes.

"Why all these fearful preparations, in absolute contradiction to the absurd news according to which the Austrian army operates now near Debreczin, now in Transylvania! Even the soldiers are demoralised. Officers and soldiers complain loudly that they have been forced to take up arms against the Hungarians, who have not done them any harm. ***The most stupid and at the same time the most cruel are the Bohemians.***

"The former Prime Minister, Count Louis Batthyány, was interrogated fourteen times and refused fourteen times to answer, saying: 'I was a Minister and I shall

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[a] See this volume, pp. 427-28.—*Ed.*

[b] Henryk Dembiński, Józef Bem and Józef Wysocki.—*Ed.*

only answer when summoned before a tribunal of Hungarian magnates.' Generals Moga and Hrabovsky, two old men whose life was without blemish, were sentenced to twenty years confinement in a fortress; Count Lasar, son-in-law of General Moga and colonel of the Honvéd,[359] was to be executed but the magnanimous Prince Windischgrätz commuted his sentence to *10 years imprisonment in chains*, loss of his title of nobility and dismissal in disgrace from the army!!"

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# SPEECH FROM THE THRONE

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 234, March 1, 1849]

*Cologne*, February 28. The speech from the throne which to the great indignation and annoyance of the *Kölnische Zeitung* was reported *prematurely* yesterday evening to the readers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, proved to be *authentic*. Only a single passage, the one relating to the *state of siege* in Berlin, was altered overnight. In so doing the Brandenburg Ministry destroyed the whole point of its speech.

This passage, as reported by us yesterday evening in its original form, reads:

"To restore the rule of law, a state of siege had to be proclaimed in the capital and its immediate environs. This cannot be lifted until such time as public safety, which is still threatened and for which this measure was essential, is durably safeguarded by firm laws. The drafts of these laws will be presented to you without delay." [360]

This passage, even though it was hushed up, gives away the whole secret of the speech from the throne. In plain language it means: the *exceptional* states of siege will be lifted as soon as the *general* state of siege has been imposed on the entire kingdom by laws and has become part of our constitutional customs. The series of these "firm" laws will begin with September legislation [361] on associations and the press. [a]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 235, March 2, 1849]

*Cologne*, March 1. Let us first of all note that the speech from the throne has the full approval of the *Kölnische Zeitung*. The paper

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[a] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* then gave the text of the speech from the throne.—*Ed.*

raises a few objections about the actions of the Government mentioned in the speech from the throne, but none at all about the speech itself.

"The King's speech from the throne is truly a *constitutional speech from the throne*"—

thus the sagacious newspaper begins its reprint of the speech from the throne in a paraphrasing leading-article form.[a]

"*A constitutional* speech from the throne"! Of course, to anyone who had expected a "speech directly from the King's heart", an importunate moralising outpouring of the heart such as used to occur in the United Diet, or a Brandenburg-Wrangel type of rodomontade with clinking of spurs and twirling of moustaches, this document must seem extremely "constitutional".

One thing is certain: Manteuffel coped with his task far better than Camphausen by completely leaving out the "talented declamation" of 1847.[362] The bourgeois Minister presented a document of bourgeois-like dullness, limping and boring in language and content. With the greatest *bonhomie*, the Minister from the nobility submits to using the boring constitutional form in order by its means in fluent, easy language to scoff at the Chambers and all constitutionalism.

As for the serious content of the speech from the throne, this is reduced to practically nothing owing to the hushing up of the passage about the retention of the state of siege, which we mentioned yesterday. This was the only passage in which the Ministry spoke to the Chambers honestly and frankly.

One would have to be the *Kölnische Zeitung* or the Berlin *National-Zeitung* to take the rest of the speech from the throne seriously. One who only with respectful awe and solemn mien ventures to observe such constitutional supreme state functions as were performed the day before yesterday in Berlin,will, of course, in his innocence never be able to understand how something so holy can be misused in frivolous wit. But anyone who attaches as little importance to the whole constitutional comedy as Herr Manteuffel does will not be so lacking in taste as to take *au sérieux* the document which the Minister caused to be delivered the day before yesterday to the reverential public of the White Hall[363] through the lips of the King by the grace of God.

We believe we shall be doing Herr Manteuffel a service if we point out the correct meaning of his speech from the throne to the

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[a] *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 51, March 1, 1849.—*Ed.*

German public, which unfortunately is not accustomed to witty sallies.

You expect Manteuffel to boast of his successfully accomplished counter-revolution, to threaten the Chambers with loaded rifles, razor-sharp swords etc., in the manner of a clumsy sergeant-major *à la* Wrangel. Nothing of the kind! Manteuffel passes over all this with only a few lightly uttered phrases, as if it were something quite self-evident.

"The events that are fresh in the memory of all of you, gentlemen deputies of the First and Second Chambers, compelled me in December of last year to dissolve the Assembly which had been convened to reach agreement on the Constitution. At the same time—being convinced of the absolute necessity of finally restoring a firmly based state of public law—I gave the country a Constitution, the content of which faithfully fulfils the promises I made in March of last year."[364]

Herr Manteuffel speaks as if it were a question of some most insignificant trifle—the replacement of an old frock-coat by a new one, the appointment of a supernumerary official or the arrest of an agitator. Forcible transference, adjournment and dissolution of a sovereign assembly, state of siege, a sabre-rule—in short, the whole coup d'état—is reduced to "events that are fresh in the memory of all of you". In exactly the same way as the knightly Ban Jellachich would relate with the most elegant insouciance how his red-coats had burned alive the inhabitants of some village or other.

And now you have the "*faithful fulfilment* of the promises I made in March of last year" in the form of the imposed so-called Constitution. And do you consider cunning Manteuffel to be so limited in intelligence as to have said that in all seriousness? *Allons donc!*[a]

Such a beginning is striking. But one must be able to make use of this initial astonishment in order to pass on to still more astonishing things. Herr Manteuffel can do that:

"Since then the tension under which a great part of the country was living a few months ago has given way to a calmer mood; confidence, which previously had been so deeply shaken, is gradually being restored, trade and industry are beginning to recover from the stagnation to which they threatened to succumb."

What glances the worthy deputies have exchanged when they heard those words! Trade and industry are recovering! And why not? Why should not this same Manteuffel who can impose a Constitution be able to impose also an upswing in "trade and industry"? The aplomb with which Manteuffel utters this colossal

[a] Oh, nonsense!—*Ed.*

assertion is truly remarkable. *Mais nous marchons de surprise en surprise*[a]:

"You know, gentlemen, that I have reserved for you the right to revise the Constitution. It is for you now to come to an agreement on this among yourselves and with my Government."

Of course, gentlemen, "come to an agreement"! But the humour of the situation lies precisely in the fact that two such Chambers as Manteuffel imposed on "My people" *can* never "come to an agreement among themselves"! Otherwise why was the First Chamber invented? And if, gentlemen, you were even to come to an agreement *among yourselves*, which is by no means to be expected, you would then have to come to an agreement with "My Government"—and that you will never arrive at, Manteuffel can guarantee!

And so, gentlemen deputies of the First and Second Chambers, you are already sufficiently busy revising the Constitution. Since "I" have learnt from experience that an *agreement* between *two* agents is already impossible, "I" considered it expedient on this occasion to try to achieve an agreement between *three factors which admit of no agreement*. And if you do not go on trying to come to an agreement until doomsday without getting one inch farther forward, Manteuffel will pledge himself to become a contributor to the *National-Zeitung*.

Therefore, gentlemen, "come to an agreement"!

If, however, contrary to all human expectation, you after all succeed in solving what for decency's sake can only be called your task, you will still not be a single step farther forward. To meet such a case "My Government" has issued a dozen laws "for implementing the Constitution", which strip this Constitution of the last semblance of liberalism. Among other things, they include two decrees on trade corporations[365] which are worthy of the year 1500, and which can give such an advantageously combined representative institution as you are work that will make your head ache for ten years.

"All these decrees will be presented to you without delay for your approval."

Therefore, gentlemen, "approve" them!

But then "My Government" will without delay put before you proposals concerning the state of siege—September laws, gagging laws,[366] laws for suppression of clubs etc. And until you "have approved" them—and it is to be hoped that this will never happen—the state of siege will, of course, continue.

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[a] But we go from surprise to surprise.—*Ed.*

And do you think that with that your work will have been accomplished? On the contrary, the most important thing only comes now:

"In addition you will have to undertake a discussion of various laws, which are in part essential for implementing the Constitution and the drafts of which will gradually be put before you. I particularly recommend for your most careful consideration the drafts for the new local government system and for the new district, regional and provincial systems, the law on education, the law on church administration, the law on income tax, the law on land taxation, the law on redemption from corvée obligations, and on the abolition without compensation of some of them, and also on the establishment of annuity offices."

With these different occupations, gentlemen, which altogether amount to about three dozen organic laws containing several thousand paragraphs, you will have, God willing, so much to do that the revision of the Constitution as well as the approval of the preliminary laws, and the discussion of drafts laid before you will be at most half fulfilled. If you manage to do even that much you will have accomplished a superhuman labour. In the meantime the state of siege will continue everywhere and will also be introduced where it does not yet exist (who is to prevent us from putting the whole of Prussia in a state of siege "district by district"?); in the meantime the imposed so-called Constitution with the imposed additional laws will continue in force. Consequently there will remain the hitherto existing botched local government system, the existing district, regional and provincial system of representation, the existing absence of freedom of education, the exemption of the higher nobility from land taxation, and the corvée obligations of the peasants.

In order, however, that you will not be able to complain, there will be laid before you, in addition to all these unfulfillable tasks, *two budgets*— for 1849 and for 1850. Will you rise from your seats in indignation at so much work? So much the better, gentlemen deputies of the First and Second Chambers. In that case, on the basis of the imposed so-called Constitution "My Government" will continue to levy the hitherto existing taxes for all eternity. In addition, there is still some money left of the 25 million voted by the United Diet, and if "My Government" should need more, it will know what it has to do.

But should you wish to follow in the footsteps of the dissolved National Assembly, then, gentlemen, I will remind you that the "organisation, fighting capacity and loyalty" of the Prussian army "have withstood the severest tests"—especially in the great drive against the agreers in November of last year.

And now, gentlemen deputies of the First and Second Chambers, after steps have been taken to ensure that, because of the composition of the two Chambers, you will not be able to reach agreement *among yourselves*, and because of the composition of "My Government" you will not be able to reach agreement *with this Government*, after such a disorderly mass of materials has been laid before you that, apart from anything else, you will never be able to complete even the tiniest part of it, and after in this way the preservation of the bureaucratic-feudal-military despotism has been guaranteed—now take note of what the fatherland expects of you:

"Gentlemen deputies of the First and Second Chambers! The fatherland now confidently expects from the co-operation of its representatives with My Government the consolidation of the re-established legal order so as to be able to enjoy constitutional liberties and their peaceful development. The protection of these liberties and of legal order—these two fundamental conditions of public welfare—will always be the object of My conscientious care. In this work I count on your assistance. May your activity, with God's help, serve to exalt the honour and glory of Prussia, whose people, in close union with their princes, have already successfully overcome many hard times, and may it prepare for the fatherland in both the narrower and the broader sense a peaceful and blessed future!"

That is the speech from the throne of Citizen Manteuffel. And there are people who are so greatly lacking in taste that they call such a skilful comedy a "*constitutional speech from the throne*"!

Truly, if anything could prompt Herr Manteuffel to surrender his portfolio, it would be such a misinterpretation of his best intentions!

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# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR IN TRANSYLVANIA AND HUNGARY

There is still no up-to-date news from the theatre of war. What we learn consists almost entirely of further details about events which are already known.

On the upper reaches of the Theiss the Magyars occupy both sides of the river. Through Görgey's daring manoeuvre—"carried out with a degree of dexterity not expected of him" (*Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*)—the entire country to the east of the Theiss and Hernath has been cleared of the enemy. Through the simultaneous advance of Dembiński across the Theiss the imperial troops have been thrown back along their whole left wing and centre and only below Szolnok they are still at the Theiss. So when the Austrian newspapers report that Schlick "has joined the main army" or that he "has reached the head of the main army" that means no more than that the remains of the 4 brigades he commands *have been thrown back* onto Windischgrätz's troops instead of securing the left wing.

Profiting by this opportunity, as the Magyar correspondent of the *Breslauer Zeitung* reports,

> "the major part of the Polish regiment of Rothkirch has gone over to the Hungarians and entered Debreczin in triumph. Among the prisoners there are also two generals. *The comitats of Zips, Sáros, Abaujvár, Zemplin, Unghvar and Heves are thus, due to the complete defeat and expulsion of the imperial troops, again under the control of the Hungarians*".

The *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* confirms in two reports of the 20th from Pest that Görgey has joined up with the main Magyar army and that this army "has again taken up a threatening position" and "seems to be decided to give battle".

The above-mentioned Magyar correspondent goes on to report:

"From Kaschau many refugees have arrived in Pest. Count Szirmay, one of the richest Hungarian magnates, has been killed by the enraged people in the most gruesome manner. He had caused himself to be hated because it was due to his betrayal that Schlick entered Kaschau. He had also attempted to raise a volunteer battalion for the imperial army. He was a major in the imperial army."

How precarious the situation on the left wing is for the Austrians is demonstrated by the regular dispatches of reinforcements there. Nearly every day Ban Jellachich inspects in Pest new troops leaving for there. The Magyar correspondent in a report on the 22nd says:

"On the 20th a brigade with a large quantity of artillery left Pest in the direction of Hatvan. It consisted mostly of Croats. Ban Lieutenant-Field Marshal Jellachich held a review of the brigade and delivered an address to it. The public which attended looked on unmoved. Then a general came rushing up and shouted, 'Off with your hats when the Emperor is acclaimed!' The public turned about as one man and left. From that too you can judge of the mood, which is getting more bitter every day."

The reinforcements which Görgey brought to the main Magyar army consist according to the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* of 9,000 men, including 1 battalion of grenadiers, 1 battalion of Este infantry, 2 battalions of Wasa, 8 divisions (16 squadrons) of hussars, 30 cannon and 12 howitzers. That these figures underestimate rather than overestimate the truth may be concluded from the sentiments of the paper from which they were taken.

At Windischgrätz's centre and right wing little has changed. Szolnok on the Theiss is still in the hands of the Austrians while the Magyars hold the opposite bank. While the former build entrenchments at Szolnok, both sides shoot at each other with cannon across the Danube.

Szegedin, lower down on the Theiss, which has been reported three or four times as captured by the Austrians, has according to today's reports been taken yet again. This time however by troops dispatched from Pest, which had joined up near Szegedin with the Serbs approaching from the south to seize this important point dominating the confluence of the Maros with the Theiss. *Se non è vero, è ben trovato.*[a]

On the other hand the Austrian correspondent reports from a private letter that

"shortly after its capture *Arad* was wrested from the imperial troops, some of the latter having dispersed too quickly into the houses of the town to look for food, and

[a] It's well devised even if it is not true.— *Ed.*

the insurgents availed themselves of this circumstance to assemble rapidly and drive back our troops. The commanders are said not to have been to blame, as they could not prevent the totally exhausted troops, allegedly Serbs and men from Peterwardein,[367] from seeking food".

The heroic deeds of the Serbian army stationed here consist mainly in destroying and burning, looting, torturing with fire, killing and raping. The places around Szegedin, as well as Maria-Theresienstadt, Zombor and other places have been treated most disgustingly by these Turkish barbarians and have been almost destroyed. One need only hear what the pro-Czech *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* says:

"In the Banat the Serbs are advancing victoriously, but robbery and arson mark their passage and many Hungarian and German localities have had to pay a terrible price for daring to show sympathy for the cause of the Hungarians. Zombor, an important trading city, has been partly consumed by flames, as the Serbs set fire to all houses whose owners had earlier taken part in enforcing the martial law applied against the Serbs by the Hungarians.

"Yesterday and today there is general talk here that the Serbs have finally succeeded in taking Szegedin, and in that case we can only commiserate with the many Hungarians who live there, for the Serbs will hardly treat them with lenience."

Further back, on the Drava and Danube, the army of Nugent is concentrated around *Peterwardein*, the surrender of which is "to be hoped for", to use the language of an earlier bulletin. His army too is distinguishing itself by the most shameful barbarities. The inhabitants of Siklosz are said to have shot at the Imperials after they had previously welcomed them with open arms. What does Nugent do? He immediately surrounds the town, trains cannon loaded with shrapnel on all the gates and sets the place on fire. Whoever escaped from the flames fell victim to the shrapnel. The *Kölnische Zeitung* finds this "strange".

To sum up all these operations we must agree with the following judgment borrowed from the *Leipziger Zeitung*:

"Military experts assure us that in the operations in Hungary significant mistakes have been committed and that Prince Windischgrätz *failed to reveal himself as an outstanding army commander.*"

A conclusion to which we had already been led almost every day for a long time.

Finally we have now from *Transylvania* the reports of the local papers on the entry of the Russians. In *Kronstadt* this event was preceded by a declaration of martial law. From this town the *Satellit* of February 2 reports:

"In order to prevent the threatened attack on Kronstadt by the Szeklers, yesterday and today strong contingents of Cossacks, Russian riflemen, grenadiers and a whole

artillery park with the necessary personnel under the command of the imperial Russian General von Engelhardt have entered Kronstadt and been quartered on the population. Tomorrow a further battalion of Russian infantry is expected. The cannon have been installed between the Promenade and the Schlossberg and adequately supplied for immediate action. Day and night they are guarded by a strong contingent of Cossacks and grenadiers, while Russian riflemen guard the fortifications."

Further, dated February 6, a report on the fighting between Engelhardt and the Szeklers:

"February 4 was a hot day for our district. Early in the morning the Russian Major-General Engelhardt went on reconnaissance towards Honigberg with a battalion of Russian infantry, 170 Cossacks, two pieces of field artillery and three companies from the 1st Rumanian Border Regiment. Halfway there he noticed numerous Szekler groups moving through the mist towards Petersberg, probably in order to attack Kronstadt from there. The Russians advanced against them and the Szeklers opened cannon-fire. As the enemy was numerically superior the Russian general sent immediately into the town for his remaining troops. They arrived with 84 Austrian dragoons and 45 hussars after more than two hours during which Engelhardt engaged the Szeklers with attacks by the Cossacks, skirmishes and cannon-fire. Then General Engelhardt attacked the four times (!) stronger (!) enemy in earnest, drove him from the heights between Petersberg and Honigberg and after five and a half hours of fighting forced him to retreat. On the Russian side 1 officer and 2 privates were killed, on the Austrian side 1 officer and 3 privates (2,400 Russians and about 500 Austrians were involved in the fighting). The enemy suffered 150 casualties in killed and wounded and fled leaving cannon, weapons, munitions etc. behind."

*Kronstadt (Siebenbürger Wochenblatt).*[a] The following proclamation to the citizens of Kronstadt was made by the Russian general.

"To the citizens of Kronstadt. Some evil-minded Kronstadt citizens have spread the false rumour that I had quarrelled with the royal imperial Austrian General von Schurter and that I had intended to leave the town with my troops! I have on the contrary found a good comrade in Herr General von Schurter and shall continue to esteem and honour him as such. If I have sent back my baggage-carts to Wallachia that has been done simply and solely in the interest of the local inhabitants as it would have been difficult for them to find forage for the 700 uhlans who are arriving today as well as for the teams of horses of the baggage-carts. The entire contents of the baggage-carts, consisting of biscuits, remain in the town and only the empty carts were dispatched. This false rumour is therefore an infamous and stupid lie; even if I myself were not in accord with General von Schurter I would nevertheless remain here for the protection of this city, for that is the All-highest will of my Emperor and Lord.[b]

"Kronstadt, January 29 (February 10), 1849

Major-General *von Engelhardt*"

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[a] The reports from this newspaper cited here and below were also published in the *Grazer Zeitung* No. 56, February 25, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] Nicholas I.— *Ed.*

*Kronstadt*, February 10. The expected Russian uhlans arrived here yesterday afternoon. The Szeklers, whom the imperial Russian General von Engelhardt taught a lesson (!) on the 4th inst., have nevertheless again crossed the River Alt near Hidveg and have entered Marienburg. From there they yesterday again molested the community of Heldsdorf and requisitioned a quantity of bread, hay and oats (*Siebenbürger Wochenblatt*).

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# [EUROPEAN WAR INEVITABLE]

*Cologne,* March 2. The second sitting of the Second Chamber has produced two not uninteresting results: firstly, that the Right has so far been **21** votes stronger than the Left, not ten as we were informed yesterday; and secondly, the *official announcement of the termination of the armistice of Malmö.*[368] The latter event naturally leads to a thousand-and-one diplomatic speculations. Thus, the Russian Cabinet is said to have concluded conditionally a mutual defensive and offensive alliance with Denmark; a Russian courier is said to have brought to Berlin the order to resist all possible demands of the Chamber absolutely etc. We shall report tomorrow what is substantiated of these rumours.

We learn from *Italy*: in *Turin* Gioberti is *definitely dismissed* and *Chiodo* definitely Prime Minister. The Chamber has sanctioned the change of ministry and in agreement with the Ministers has decided on the **immediate resumption of the war against Austria.**[369] The Austrian expedition to Ferrara gives ample cause for this.

In *Tuscany* it seems that Laugier's attempt at reaction is failing completely.[370] The Grand Duke,[a] despairing of his luck, is said to have set sail to his Holy Father[b] in Gaeta.

Apart from the alleged retreat of the Austrians from Ferrara (already reported yesterday by the *Wiener Zeitung*) there is nothing new from the *Roman Republic.*

According to the *Moniteur du soir, Sicily* **has proclaimed a republic.**[371]

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[a] Leopold II.—*Ed.*
[b] Pius IX.—*Ed.*

*Favourable news beyond all expectation* has reached us from Hungary. According to *imperial* as well as Magyar reports the **Magyars have reached Hatvan, three stages from Pest.** This victorious advance is the first result of Görgey's collaboration with the main Magyar army. The Austrians are sending all their troops post-haste towards Hatvan. In a few days a *decisive battle* will be fought there.[372]

This is the condensed content of the news which arrived this evening. War in Denmark, war in Italy, and more war than ever in Hungary—involvements every one of which would suffice in these times, calamitous for all the existing powers, to engender a *European war.* That war will come, it must come. It will divide Europe into two armed camps, not according to nations or national sympathies, but according to the level of civilisation. On the one side the revolution, on the other the coalition of all outmoded estate-classes and interests; on the one side civilisation, on the other barbarism. The victory may be tardy but it cannot be in doubt.

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# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

How things stand with the imperial cause emerges from the silence of the official reports better than from any other circumstance. Tonight, it is true, we have not received our Vienna letters and newspapers, but the Berlin evening papers, which customarily bring the news from Vienna at the same time as the *Wiener Zeitung*, do not contain anything either. Profound silence from the otherwise so talkative Vienna commandant's office on the operations on the Theiss, the Maros and in Transylvania.

Unofficial reports make up for this. The pro-Austrian reports from Vienna and the Magyar report in the *Breslauer Zeitung* from Hungary agree on one fact: *the Magyar army stands at Hatvan, six miles from Pest,* where a decisive battle is in preparation.

Some say: the insurgents have been *driven back* into this area by Schlick, Schulzig and Götz; others maintain: the victorious Magyars have *advanced* into this area.

Who is right?

A glance at the map decides the question. According to the latest news, Görgey marched from Kaschau down along the Hernath so as to join up with Dembiński. Dembiński on his part crossed the Theiss below the Hernath estuary and advanced in a north-westerly direction through Miskolcz. As a result the left wing (Schlick, Schulzig and Götz, who has been driven into the Upper Carpathians) was threatened at its communications with the main army and attacked simultaneously by Dembiński on the right and by Görgey on the left flank. The Schlick-Schulzig corps therefore withdrew at once from Torna to Rimaszombat. According to the latest (royal imperial official) news, the two armies confronted each other at Rimaszombat.

Now we suddenly find the whole position completely changed. The Magyars have gone from Rimaszombat, over twenty miles from Pest, to Hatvan, six miles from Pest, and a *decisive battle* is expected there.

If Schlick had beaten the Magyars their line of retreat would not have been to the Danube, where they would have encountered the centre of the enemy army, but to the Theiss and Hernath, where the entire region is in Magyar hands. But if the Magyars retained the upper hand they could not advance from their positions on the Upper Theiss and Hernath in order to reach Pest *in any other direction* than that of *Hatvan.* For the way from Kaschau to Pest leads in a straight line through Rimaszombat and Hatvan! The roads from Miskolcz to Pest and from Polgár and Tiszafüred (the two crossing points of the main Magyar army over the Theiss) to Pest also lead through Hatvan!

If then, as the Vienna reports say,

> "the insurgents under Görgey and Dembiński, pursued by Generals Schlick, Schulzig and Götz, have been driven into the area of Hatvan",

they have been pressed to the very point *to which they would anyway have had to get as victors,* the point on which all the various Magyar corps marching upon Pest would converge.

Hence: either the Austrian generals are such dolts that their victories lead the enemy to exactly *the same result* as their defeats, that they render a better service to their enemies when they defeat them than when they let themselves be defeated by them, or the imperial reports have once again lied brazenly.

That the latter is the case—although we do not wish thereby in the least to diminish the clumsiness of the royal imperial generals—that yet another attempt has been made to cover up a shameful defeat by pompous assertions of victory, is proved by the concluding sentence:

> "It is to be expected, therefore, that in the next few days a major blow will be struck against them [the insurgents]." [a]

There is at Hatvan either only one Magyar corps or a whole army. In the first case one cannot speak of a "major blow"; in the second case it will hardly be credited that the three corps of the royal imperial left wing, which could not even cope with Görgey alone, have defeated and "pursued" an entire army of which Görgey's troops form only a small part.

And even if the main Hungarian army had been "driven" to

[a] Here and above we are quoting from Bulletin No. 24 of the Austrian army published in the *Wiener Zeitung* No. 45, February 22, 1849.—*Ed.*

Hatvan, would it wait there until the entire army of Windischgrätz had come to the aid of the "pressing" Austrian corps so as to strike a "major blow", or would it march back as fast as possible to the Theiss, hindered by nobody since its rear is completely free?

It is as clear as daylight: since Görgey joined the main Magyar army the Austrians have been driven back at all points of their left wing and centre. Where Schlick and his associates are roaming, nobody tells us.

The present position of the Magyars, north-east of Pest, speaks, however, more clearly than all reports. For the Magyars to be able to march from Rimaszombat to Hatvan, Schlick had first to be rendered harmless, that is chased ten miles further back to the Slovak mountain towns, where, separated from the main army by the Danube bend, he stands quite isolated and powerless. Then, the vanguard of the main royal imperial army, even the main army itself, had to be thrown back five to seven miles further; for it is not long since Windischgrätz occupied all the country as far as Erlau, in which town he actually wanted to set up his headquarters! And both these events must have taken place, otherwise how did a Magyar army get within six miles of Pest?

Until more accurate reports come in we shall hardly have any alternative but to give credence to the Magyar "exaggeration" of the *Breslauer Zeitung*, evidently written in Pest, the more so because this "exaggeration" bears all the internal and external marks of the greatest truthfulness. It reports that the Magyars standing at Hatvan belong to the Hungarian *northern army*. (Görgey, who, moreover, has evidently been reinforced by a corps of the Theiss army.) It says:

"As on January 27, when the Hungarian *Theiss army* twice beat the imperial army at Szolnok and at Czegléd, so also now in Pest everything is being evacuated and prepared for a retreat, following the repeated victories of the *northern army* over the imperial Lieutenant-Field Marshal Count *Schlick*. All military offices, regimental stores etc. have been forwarded to Raab since the day before yesterday. The *victorious Hungarian northern army*, which can shake hands with the Hungarian Theiss army, according to the unanimous statements of travellers, yesterday *set up its outposts* three stages from Pest, that is in *Hatvan*. It is commanded by the Polish General *Klapka* and the excellent Hungarian General *Görgey*, both of whom are, however, under the *supreme command of Dembiński*. As on January 27, a proclamation was also issued yesterday, signed by Commander Count Wrbna, informing the inhabitants of both towns[a] that the rebels were threatening to advance on Pest, and so part of the garrison had gone to meet the enemy. The inhabitants were therefore particularly warned to keep calm, since at any attempt at an insurrection the Ofen fortress would at once begin a bombardment. *In Pest a great battle is expected in the next few days.*

"*Postscript*. A courier just arrived from Pest has brought news that *much artillery has left Ofen under grenadier escort, and that between today and tomorrow one must be prepared for*

[a] Buda and Pest.—*Ed.*

*a battle in the neighbourhood of Pest.* The Komorn garrison has driven out the imperial forces from Old Szony."

Moreover, Kossuth has recently given very palpable proof that he is in no mind to tolerate the Austrians behaving like veritable barbarians in that part of the country which for strategic reasons he must abandon. He has used the only means which helps in such cases: to retaliate measure for measure. The Magyar correspondent (*Breslauer Zeitung*) writes:

"In *Debreczin, the imperial Colonel Fligely* is said *likewise to have been shot in reprisal for the shooting* in *Ofen*, contrary to all international law, *of the Hungarian Major Spöll.*—From an Austrian officer we learnt at the same time that Windischgrätz has received a letter of the Hungarian Government, according to which *reprisals will immediately follow any repetition of the execution* of Hungarian prisoners. *The 73 imperial staff officers* who are held prisoners in Debreczin have also *sent a letter to Windischgrätz* in which they implore him to refrain from further action against Hungarian prisoners of war so as to spare their own lives. On this occasion we were given the names of five *imperial generals* who are *prisoners* in Debreczin. These two letters have had more effect on Windischgrätz than all the German addresses and interpellations in connection with the execution of Blum, and *since then no executions at all have taken place in Ofen*; however, it must be noted that the sentences have also been postponed, probably to a more favourable time. Yesterday a number of ladies of high rank were arrested in Pest. The Hungarian women yield nothing to the Polish women in patriotic enthusiasm and sacrifice."

From the other sectors of the theatre of war we have only very scanty Austrian news. In the south-west the royal imperial General Dietrich entered Sexard (Tolna comitat) on the 14th, drove out Kossuth's hussars and arrived in Pest on the 19th. So, here too, on the right bank of the Danube, there are still Kossuth's hussars and they are even holding towns!

A correspondent of the *Allgemeine Oder-Zeitung* reports from Transylvania that *Bem*, whom the imperial bulletins have already reported to be either dead or a prisoner, has repulsed Herr Puchner in the Banat, whither the latter had pursued him, has marched to Klausenburg, where he won over a large number of Hungarian and Szekler groups, and has again *taken the offensive* against the united Austrians and Russians in the Saxon region.[373] We shall leave open for the time being the question of how much truth there is in this report. In part it is, however, confirmed by the report of the *Grazer Zeitung* from Temesvár that the insurgent troops, pressed into Transylvania, have again tried to enter the Banat at Facset-Lugos and that the imperial troops were thereby forced to leave Arad in great haste so as not to be cut off.[a]

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[a] *Grazer Zeitung* No. 54, February 23, 1849.—*Ed.*

These reports prove how correctly we have understood the position of the warring parties. A decisive victory over the imperial army before Pest, the outbreak of war in Italy, and Austria will fall to pieces in spite of all Russian interventions!

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# LASSALLE

*Cologne*, March 3. People still remember the notorious case where an unfortunate girl was brought before the *assize court* on a charge of *infanticide*. The jury acquitted her. Later on, she was brought before a police court for *concealment of pregnancy*. Amid the general laughter of the public, the Court's decision to prosecute was quashed.

The Düsseldorf Court is following in the footsteps of its illustrious predecessor.

By a decision of the Düsseldorf Court dated February 22, *Lassalle*, *Cantador* and *Weyers* were committed to the *assize court, charged with making inflammatory speeches*. We have no objection to that. But by a decision of the same Court, *Lassalle* is a *second time* being brought before a *police court* on the grounds that in a *speech at Neuss*[347] he is alleged to have called for "*violent resistance to officials*" (a crime under Articles 209, 217).[375]

Let us, first of all, establish the facts.

Among the circumstances adduced as motives for Lassalle's committal to the assize court is *this same speech at Neuss*. The Court alleges that in this speech he "*called for arming against the state power*" (a crime under Articles 87, 91, 102).

On the *basis of one and the same speech*, therefore, Lassalle is brought on one occasion before the assize court, and on a second occasion before the police court. If the jury acquits him, he will be convicted by the police court. And if the police court does not convict him, in any case he will remain in custody on remand until the police court acquits him. Whatever the verdict of the jury, Lassalle will continue to be deprived of his freedom, and the Prussian state is saved.

We repeat: it is on the basis of *one and the same speech* that Lassalle is committed by the Düsseldorf Court first to the assize court and secondly to the police court. It is the *same* fact in each case.

Furthermore, apart from that.

If in a speech I "call for arming against the state power", is it not self-evident that I am calling for "violent resistance to officials"? The *existence* of the state power is embodied precisely in its *officials,* the army, the administration and the courts. Apart from this, its physical embodiment, it is but a shadow, an idea, a name. The overthrow of the Government is impossible without violent resistance to its officials. If in a speech I call for *revolution,* it is superfluous to add: "*offer violent resistance to the officials*". According to the procedure of the Düsseldorf Court, *everyone* without exception who is committed to the assizes under Articles 87 and 102 on a charge of incitement to overthrow the Government can subsequently be brought before the police court under Articles 209 and 217.

And is there not in the *Code d'instruction criminelle*[376] an article which states:

"Toute personne acquittée légalement ne pourra plus être reprise ni accusée à raison du même délit"?

In *translation*:

"No one who is legally acquitted can again be taken in charge or accused on the basis of the same offence."

But it makes no difference to the actual state of affairs whether *after* I have been acquitted by the jury I am *subsequently* brought before the police court for the same offence, or whether the verdict of the jury is annulled *in advance* by my being first of all 1) committed for trial before the assize court and 2) brought before the police court for the same offence.

We ask the Düsseldorf Court whether its patriotic zeal has not clouded its legal acumen. We ask Examining Magistrate *Ebermeier* whether he is entirely free from *personal enmity* towards Lassalle. We ask, finally, a certain official of the Düsseldorf Public Prosecutor's office whether he did not declare: "The acquittal of Cantador and Weyers is of no great concern to us, but we must in any case hold Lassalle."

We doubt whether Lassalle has the same desire to be listed for an incredibly long period in the inventory of "*subjects of the state*" *par excellence.*

The Lassalle case is important for us not only because it concerns the liberty and rights of a fellow-citizen, one of our party friends. It is

above all important because the issue is whether the exclusive competence of the *assize court for political offences* will or will not suffer the same fate as all the so-called *March gains*, whether the salaried lawyers will be able at their discretion to degrade the assize court with its unpaid jury to the mere semblance of a court of justice, in the event of some fact not being recognised by the jury as a political crime or offence, by immediately referring the same fact to the judgment of a police court as an ordinary offence. Why in general have these crimes and offences been withdrawn from the competence of ordinary courts and referred to the assize court? Obviously it has been presumed that, in spite of the honour and sensitivity of the salaried judges, in political trials they represent anything but the interests of the accused.

We shall take up this subject again.[a]

Written by Marx on March 3, 1849

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[a] See this volume, pp. 474-76.—*Ed.*

# THE WAR IN HUNGARY

*Cologne,* March 3. Today's news from the Hungarian theatre of war is limited to a confirmation and partial elaboration of yesterday's. It is said, indeed, to be Dembiński himself who stands at Hatvan, while *two French generals* stand a few miles further back at Gyöngyös with a Magyar corps. The magnitude of the danger is shown by the continuing dispatches of troops from Pest to the Theiss.

According to other, also imperial, reports of the 25th from Pest, *Windischgrätz* has set up his headquarters in Gödöllö, almost halfway between Pest and Hatvan, and his vanguard under General *Zeisberg* is already back in *Gyöngyös.*

"The rebels," it is said, "are retreating as before at Szolnok, but this time they will hardly escape without bloodshed, since General *Götz* is operating from the mountain towns, and Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schlick has *again* taken the offensive, so there is joint action from all sides."

Here we learn various new things. First, the great military commander *Götz,* whom we had lost sight of on the Galician border after his defeat by Görgey high up in the Carpathian Mountains, reappears. He reappears—in the mountain towns, fifteen to twenty miles south-west of his last position. So, during the week he was lost, Görgey's alleged "pursuer" has effected quite a considerable *retreat.*

We also hear that Schlick has *again taken* the offensive. So he had given it up for a time. Instead of "driving back" the Magyars to Hatvan, as we were told yesterday, he was the one to be "driven back". Today, then, it is indirectly admitted that Schlick has suffered a setback. Where, we are not told. Neither are we told where he is now. Presumably, Görgey has driven him back from Rimaszombat

through Lasoncz in the direction of Ipolyság, and now he is trying to push forward again over the mountains.

Finally, it is said that the Magyars are again retreating and that Gyöngyös has again been taken from them. How far this news is correct we leave open. But even if it is correct, the question still arises whether only the Magyar advance guard has gone back to the main army, whether the movement backwards is a movement of *concentration,* or whether it is a retreat. In the first case it would merely be the precursor of a decisive battle. In the other case, if the Magyars should again cross the Theiss without accepting a decisive battle, neither would that prove anything at all in favour of the imperial army. One could only conclude in that case that the Magyars had thought it necessary to make their demonstration at the gates of Pest so as to encourage their followers, to train their young soldiers who are not yet much used to open battle, and perhaps also to make some recruits in the districts Jazyg and Kuman, while at the same time being not sufficiently advanced in their military organisation to venture a decisive blow with safety.

We hear from all sides that the Magyars do not confine themselves to defending their position with the forces they have already gathered, but that, on the contrary, they are using their unassailable position behind the Theiss for preparation on the grandest scale. The Austrian reports themselves admit:

"The Hungarian forces have gained time to organise and have now *become impressive.*"

And the Magyar correspondent of the *Breslauer Zeitung* reports from Debreczin:

"The *Magyar troops* have of late had *frequent military exercises,* in particular *great battle manoeuvres under fire,* at which *Frau Kossuth* always appeared in a carriage-and-six and sought to encourage the soldiers by friendliness and praise. Kossuth's spouse is certainly a remarkable woman, full of ambition and patriotism, who willingly shares all dangers with her husband, and one of the clumsiest slanders which the Austrian party sought to spread from the beginning so as to discourage the Hungarian patriots and make them distrustful, was its announcement that Kossuth had already sent his wife and family to Hamburg to hasten to North America ahead of him."

That the Royal Imperial Government is becoming less and less confident in a rapid and happy outcome of the Hungarian war is proved by the negotiations with Debreczin, which are constantly resumed in spite of the hostilities. They founder, however, on two Austrian demands: *compensation* to Austria *for the costs of war,* and the *handing over of all the principal leaders.*

While the main Magyar army occupied Hatvan, the Magyar left wing attacked Szolnok, where the Austrians had dug entrenchments

and, according to one report, had even put up a bridge across the Theiss. The Honvéds crossed, attacked the Austrians, and are said to have driven them out of Szolnok.

In the *south* the capture of Szegedin by the Austrians is still questionable. Today the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* declares again that Szegedin is still in the hands of the Magyars, who have beaten off two assaults by the Serbs. Knićanin, on the other hand, is said to have destroyed part of the garrison during a sortie.

From a report by Rukavina taken from the *Grazer Zeitung* it is clear that the fortress of Arad was certainly not relieved by the entry of the Serbs and Austrians, but that, on the contrary, the Austrians have retreated again without having achieved anything and have again abandoned Old and New Arad to the Magyars (Bulletin No. 23 is accordingly to be corrected).[a] This report says, after describing the course of the fighting similarly to the Bulletin [b]:

"*Since it was neither timely* nor intended to occupy Old Arad for further operations, our brave troops, having fully carried out their intentions (!), withdrew again the very same day to New Arad and on the 9th, under quite minor vanguard skirmishes, *to their previously determined positions.* Enemy losses are considerable. Our losses were, besides 80 men, three officers killed and five wounded. Temesvár, February 10, 1849. Baron *Rukavina*, Lieutenant-Field Marshal."

The Magyar correspondent of the *Breslauer Zeitung* reports from Transylvania that not 10,000 but 20,000 Russians are in Transylvania and unashamedly take part in the fighting against the Magyars and Szeklers. Nevertheless, the *Szeklers* are said to have *resumed the offensive*, crossed the Aluta at Marienburg and occupied Heldsdorf near Kronstadt. Incidentally, the Transylvanian mail has again failed to arrive in Vienna for several days. Concerning the Russian intervention the *Breslauer Zeitung* writes "from Hungary".

"The entry of the Russians into Transylvania has immensely embittered not only Hungarians but Austrians as well, since for several weeks it has been no secret that the Russians had offered their aid on condition that *Austria* gave its *consent* to the *incorporation of the Danubian principalities into Russia*, which has for long been the Russians' intention. This *consent has been fully granted.*"

Subsequently we have learnt from the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* that part of Görgey's corps has indeed *advanced* through the Carpathians *to Sandec in Galicia.* Unit after unit was sent there from Zymiec, and the Magyars eventually retreated again, probably motivated by Görgey's changed plan.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 423-24.— *Ed.*

[b] *Grazer Zeitung* No. 54, February 23, 1849.— *Ed.*

The Austrian Government has at last realised that in the present state of the war in Hungary it is utterly lost unless it concedes the demands of the Southern Slavs. It has further seen that it cannot put a better curb on militant and freedom-proud Hungary, once it has been subjugated, than a series of small Slav states separated from Hungary, which will restrain the Magyar element on all sides. It has therefore prevailed upon Windischgrätz to "reorganise" Hungary. Croatia, Slavonia, the Serbian Voivodina and Transylvania will be separated from Hungary, constituted into three independent provinces and, along with Galicia and Dalmatia, chained to the "German hereditary dominions". The Ban's Council commission sent from Agram to the Hungarian Royal Chancellory[a] in Pest has obtained from Windischgrätz the order for the Royal Chancellory to pay out the Croat finances which it has hitherto administered. The Hungarian central authorities in Ofen have been instructed in future to regard Croatia, Slavonia, the Voivodina and Transylvania as not belonging to their sphere. For the time being the Slovaks are apparently to be fobbed off with an order to the royal imperial commissioners to conduct their correspondence in the Slovak language. The Slovaks, incidentally, are not inclined to be driven in the slightest degree to national fanaticism, in spite of all the royal imperial efforts. They alone of all the Slav peoples of Hungary have decided Magyar sympathies.

Nevertheless, the sympathies of the Croats for the Austrian Government are not yet too certain. The royal imperial troops rule the country; a priest at Agram, who declared the Slavs to be the saviours of the Emperor and the entire monarchy, landed his village in a temporary state of siege and won himself the title of "traitor to the Emperor". In Agram there are constant complaints about the "machinations" of the *Magyar party*, and as a result the Committee of Public Safety has threatened all disseminators of malicious rumours with court martial.

In Agram there has been a comical affair, with which we will end today's report on Hungary: Bishop Haulik deposed the Vice Archpriest Stoos, one of the "most respected Croat patriots", on account of a pamphlet against the celibacy of priests. Moreover, he refused to celebrate a requiem mass for Voivode Šuplikac because the latter was allegedly a heretic and did not believe that the Holy Ghost proceeds equally from the Son and from the Father. The man moreover issues all his writings in Latin. Now the whole storm of

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[a] The supreme financial body of Hungary subordinate to the Austrian Emperor and the state treasury in Vienna.— *Ed.*

Croat pan-Slavist patriotism is rising against Bishop Haulik, and the poor bishop must feel that his Croats believe even more in Ban Jellachich than in the Holy Ghost.

Written by Engels on March 3, 1849

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 237, March 4, 1849

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# [FROM THE HUNGARIAN THEATRE OF WAR]

Direct news from the theatre of war is today again very scanty. From Pest we hear that the Magyars, after giving the Austrians a wholesome fright by their sudden advance, are again withdrawing to the Theiss. According to the *Lloyd*[a] the imperial troops are said to be occupying the line from Waitzen to Consencz (?) and from Hatvan to Szolnok. Windischgrätz has really departed from Pest into the area of Gyöngyös.

On the other hand, it is confirmed today that Bem in Transylvania has once again *decisively beaten* the hero Puchner. Bem had assembled his troops at Deva, in that narrow defile where the martial-law papers were already hoping that Puchner and Rukavina would block him and force him to capitulate. For according to an earlier bulletin, 3,000 Rumanians were standing there, barring every exit. To the great astonishment of all believers in the bulletins, instead of 3,000 Rumanians, there are suddenly no fewer than 4,000 Magyars with 8 cannon standing there, with whom Bem has joined. On February 9 he attacks the pursuing Austrians, defeats them after fourteen hours' fighting, wipes out several whole regiments and drives the fleeing royal imperial army *back to Hermannstadt*, where it re-formed only on the 12th. The Austrian right wing tried to make a stand at Alvinz on the Maros, but was thrown back to Karlsburg.

So *Bem is again master of the western half of Transylvania.* In the *eastern half* the Szeklers stand behind the Aluta, two hours from

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[a] *Lloyd* No. 99, February 27, 1849, evening edition.— *Ed.*

Kronstadt. The following is the official report on the fighting at the latter place:

"The hostile advance into Burzenland of the Szeklers, who have repeatedly perjured themselves (!), induced the Russian General Engelhardt to make a reconnaissance in strength in the direction of Petersberg at 7 a.m. on the 4th of this month with one Russian battalion, 150 Cossacks and two cannon, supported by one battalion of the 1st Regiment of Rumanians.

"Barely an hour from Kronstadt the reconnaissance already encountered the enemy who was moving in strong columns from Honigberg in the direction of Petersberg and who, noticing the weakness of our troops, attacked them with tenfold superior strength, without, however, making them yield.

"During the engagement the Kronstadt garrison was alerted, the entire military force followed the reconnaissance and two Russian battalions with six cannon, then a squadron of Savoy dragoons entered the line of battle in two columns.

"Although under heavy, well-maintained fire from covered positions, the Russian artillery forced the enemy's centre to yield, while a second detachment of Russian troops took the heights near Petersberg, well occupied by the enemy, and thereby made the enemy's retreat general.—He withdrew through Honigberg across the Alt bridge, which he destroyed behind him, and took up positions on the other side, but here also was forced by well-aimed artillery fire to retreat further, and with that the engagement, which had begun at 8 a.m., ended at 2 p.m.

"The enemy's retreat across the Alt was so rapid that only three prisoners could be taken. His strength was 8,000 to 9,000 infantrymen, 500 cavalrymen, all well armed, and six cannon. An enemy column approximately 1,200 men strong, which was moving from Marienburg to Szunyogszeg, returned to Heldsdorf at the beginning of the bombardment." [a]

According to this, the Szeklers are masters of the eastern half of the country, and in spite of the 20,000 Russian soldiers, who have marched to the chief Saxon cities, *all Transylvania*, with the exception of Kronstadt and Hermannstadt, is *in the hands of the Magyars*.—What credit the brutish Flemings of Transylvania, our kith and kin, do to us Germans, emerges from the following fact:

"*Kronstadt*, February 5. The local Town Council has *sent a message of thanks* to General von *Lüders*, who is in command of the Russian troops in the Danubian principalities." [b]

On the Bukovina border the imperial gentlemen are not advancing either. They claim to have got as far as Bistritz, but the matter is still in doubt. Listen to the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*:

"Colonel Urban has already advanced from the Bukovina side as far as Bistritz in Transylvania, and Lieutenant-Field Marshal von Malkowsky was already by then two miles from Bistritz in Maroszeny, where he reconnoitred, and on the second day withdrew to his headquarters in Dorna to obtain reinforcements and thereupon to advance at once."

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[a] *Grazer Zeitung* No. 59, February 28, 1849.—*Ed.*
[b] *Die Presse* No. 50, February 28, 1849.—*Ed.*

"Two hours from" a town which one occupies, one no longer "reconnoitres". So Bistritz is still Magyar, and Malkowsky has retreated to Watra Dorna, in Bukovina territory.

In conclusion we add the following correspondence of the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* of February 23 from Pest:

"In the near future there is likely to be a decisive blow struck in the theatre of war in our neighbourhood. Two days ago there was already that brisk activity at headquarters which usually precedes important actions. Today, as I learnt from a fairly reliable source, the Prince himself[a] is to start and move his headquarters further forward to Gödöllö, Grassalkovich's one-time country-seat, four hours' journey from here. According to the statements of some officers, the Hungarian fighting force is surrounded (!) so that it must expect complete defeat unless (!) it again finds a little back door open (!!). The day before yesterday a convoy of more than 300 prisoners was brought in, and all from the above areas.

"The convoy consisted of Honveds of various battalions, deserted troops of the line, hussars and two carts of civilian prisoners. The greatest sensation was caused by a lady who rode at the front in a cart and was wrapped up to her nose in a cloak and shawl. The gullible crowd took her for the wife of General Görgey; later they made her a mistress of the latter. She had been arrested because her short, curly hair and her strong, somewhat unfeminine features aroused the suspicion that she was a man disguised as a woman. On examination her right to wear petticoats was indeed established, but important letters of highly treasonable content and 2,000 florins in Hungarian banknotes were found in her bustle."

Written by Engels on March 4, 1849

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[a] Windischgrätz.—*Ed.*

# THE PROCEEDINGS AGAINST LASSALLE

*Cologne*, March 3. Our readers will remember the deputation which at the beginning of this year appeared before Prosecutor-General Herr Nicolovius to intercede for *Lassalle, Cantador* and *Weyers*, who were arrested in Düsseldorf in November.[377] At the time the Prosecutor-General promised that those arrested should be granted every facility consistent with the purpose of detention before trial; he promised to have the inquiry conducted as speedily as possible and gave the solemn assurance that it was not remotely thinkable that the inquiry would be as long drawn out as was the case in the trial of Gottschalk and comrades.[a]

Since then two months have gone by, our readers have in the meantime had occasion to obtain evidence of the "facilities" which Lassalle in particular has enjoyed during this period[b]; they know the civility with which Herr Morret, the prison governor, behaved, how the prisoner on remand was threatened with penitentiary discipline, how an extraordinary court was set up for him whose sentence is still awaited, and which may possibly be confinement in a cell.

The second promise, of the speediest possible conduct of the inquiry, was to be kept as brilliantly as the first.

The inquiry has now been in progress for almost three and a half months; Lassalle was, as we know, arrested on November 22. This lengthy period has not sufficed to bring the accused before the quarterly assizes due to start in Düsseldorf on the 5th inst. Without extraordinary assizes three more months of detention will be required before the case can be brought before a jury, although the

[a] See this volume, pp. 191-92.— *Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 344-46.—*Ed.*

examining magistrate had already declared the inquiry closed more than three weeks ago.

After the obvious, undeniable procrastination of which the Rhenish prosecution was guilty in the Gottschalk trial, after the general disapproval which the proceedings evoked at the time, after the specific warning not to fall into the same error again, the Prosecutor-General stated today to a deputation consisting of Herren K. Schapper, K. Marx, F. Engels, M. Rittinghausen, P. Hatzfeldt and H. Bürgers, that the work necessary to prepare the proceedings could not be completed in time for the next quarter session!

Herr Nicolovius maintained, it is true, that this was purely due to the course of the inquiry itself, which had assumed an unexpectedly wide scope, and he could not admit that the trial's postponement, which had now become necessary, had been caused by the *way* the inquiry was conducted.

We will not reproach the Prosecutor-General for shielding his officials; this is entirely in keeping with the hierarchical order; but we are not obliged to be so considerate.

We have remarked above that the examining magistrate had already declared the inquiry closed more than three weeks ago. Two days after the accused had gone through the final hearing, Lassalle was suddenly called before the examining magistrate again. A letter was placed before him in which, during the November days, he had called for armed reinforcement for Düsseldorf. He did not deny having written the letter, and following this statement the inquiry was again resumed. The accused are now said to owe it to this additional inquiry that their trial will not come before the next assizes. For that is the revelation which Herr Nicolovius made to the deputation today.

It is clear. If the fatal letter, which entailed new hearings of witnesses, in consequence of which the examining judges' findings are too late for the preparations necessary for the public hearing to be completed within the next three weeks, if this document had only been received by the public prosecution in office during the inquiry, when the inquiry was nearing completion, or if Public Prosecutor von Ammon I had at once passed it on to the examining magistrate for use during the inquiry, then nobody could be taken to task and the accused could only blame their cruel fate for putting new material in the way of an already voluminous investigation at such a late hour. But this is not the case.

That letter which is said to have caused the whole delay *has been in the hands of Herr von Ammon for almost three weeks* without his

bothering to pass it on to the examining magistrate. So exactly the time which would have sufficed entirely to prepare the proceedings for the next assizes, exactly that time was allowed by the Public Prosecutor to elapse, so as to instigate a new investigation afterwards, when the inquiry was closed. The Public Prosecutor will not deny the accuracy of this fact; he has himself already admitted that the letter had been quietly lying in his cabinet for that length of time.

We therefore ask: was it not obviously the intention of Herr von Ammon to protract the trial in this way? Is he not guilty of deliberately causing an evident intentional delay? We at least cannot find any motive which could entitle the representative of the public prosecution to withhold from the inquiry for weeks on end a document on which he himself places the greatest value. We hear, it is true, that the Public Prosecutor has used the three weeks to make provisional inquiries. But to us it appears irresponsible to wish to make inquiries only when the investigation in progress is alone called upon to provide the necessary information on the facts of the case.

To us it appears that the true motive for this procedure is nothing but fear of the public proceedings of a trial which has already been decided in favour of the accused by the recent trials in Cologne, and secret hopes of an early amnesty, which would, of course, be preferable to acquittal by jury.

Written by Marx on March 3, 1849

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# MAGYAR VICTORY

*Cologne,* March 5. The Magyar reports on the war in Hungary, according to the *Kölnische Zeitung,* are nothing but "fantasies" and "ridiculous exaggerations". It is the more remarkable that up to now the brave *Kölnerin* has *not yet proved a single case of exaggeration.* But how could it, indeed? Up to now confirmation of the Magyar news has invariably arrived three days later!

We did not proceed as the *Kölnische Zeitung* did. From the beginning we decidedly took the side of the Magyars. But we have never allowed our bias to influence our judgment of the Magyar reports. We have not declared these reports to be either exaggeration or gospel; we have compared them with the rest of the news and *established* their trustworthiness *critically.* And thus we found, indeed, that in the main they contained correct news, that a few days later they were invariably confirmed, directly or indirectly, by the Austrian bulletins.

After this preamble, we open our Hungarian report for today with the news that according to the Magyar correspondence (*Breslauer Zeitung*) **Bem won a brilliant victory over Puchner and on February 15 took Hermannstadt by storm.** This news is taken from the *official Hungarian Moniteur* (*Közlöny*) of February 21. In Debreczin this victory was celebrated on the 20th with a gun salute and *Te Deum.* During the battle, Bem received two shots in the left hand, as a result of which he had to have three fingers amputated. "*There is no longer any trace of the Russians in Transylvania.*" Puchner is said to have fled to Temesvár.

We see that this news bears the stamp of complete trustworthiness. Yesterday, the news from Transylvania about Bem covered events up to the 12th, on which day Puchner tried to reassemble his troops that had been driven back in wild flight from Deva to Szászváros, from Szászváros to Mühlenbach, from Mühlenbach to Hermannstadt, in position before Hermannstadt. In Hermannstadt itself, as we know, he found only 4,000 Russians for his reinforcement, who, however, were evidently insufficient, with the rest of his army, to hold the ground against Bem's army. It is therefore absolutely credible that Bem—"*unfortunately* a good soldier", as the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* says—delivered there the last decisive blow to the admittedly incapable Puchner and stormed the town itself.

With this victory Bem is again *master of all Transylvania.* Only Kronstadt, situated in the extreme south-eastern corner, and the environs of Bistritz in the extreme north-east are still in imperial hands. Malkowsky has made an incursion into the Bistritz area from Bukovina. We know that this noble hero evacuates the whole of Bukovina and retreats close to the Russian border whenever Bem merely shows up in the distance. Now, when Bem is 30 to 40 miles away, the brave Malkowsky has again taken the offensive and has been operating for three weeks in the Carpathians. The result of this daring enterprise is that Malkowsky has occupied Bistritz, a *Saxon* town, and thereby has in *three weeks* occupied precisely *five miles* of Transylvanian territory. The 25th *Army Bulletin,* just arrived (see below), reports that his troops have "once again fought a very lucky battle", so lucky that after the battle "they returned to their positions in Bistritz", that is, they did *not even retain the battlefield.* Very lucky, indeed!

In the *south* the Hungarians, according to the same Magyar report, have also won at *Arad* a *significant victory,* at which 300 men of the Leiningen regiment went over to them.

From the *Theiss* the news is as follows. According to the Bulletin, Windischgrätz transferred his headquarters to Hatvan on the 24th, and to Gyöngyös on the 25th, which does not mean, however, that he was in Gyöngyös on the 25th. On this the Magyar correspondent, again a day in advance of the Austrian news, reports:

"From Pest we learn from a reliable source that *Windischgrätz was beaten at Zibakhaza on the 26th,* and that, therefore, in Ofen everything is held in readiness for retreat. The pontoon equipment has already left for Raab. The artillery park, however, was taken from the General Meadow at Ofen into the fortress itself. Two thousand men are said to have gone over to the Hungarians from the Croats. A great sensation has been caused in Pest by the arrest of Mr. A. Wodjaner, the son of the richest banker in Hungary."

On this arrest, which has caused the greatest scandal in Pest and which shows the Hungarian bourgeoisie what it has to expect from the imperial army, another report says the following:

"Kossuth had founded a cloth factory on shares, without himself being a shareholder. Wodjaner was appointed its director. The factory was endowed with a working capital of 60,000 florins. When Pest was occupied by imperial troops, 20,000 florins of this were requisitioned without regard to the representations that the enterprise was one of private industry. In spite of this objection, and although the 20,000 florins had already been paid, on February 25 the demand was made that now the entire 60,000 florins should be paid over. When the partner, Albert Wodjaner, opposed this demand, he was publicly arrested on February 26, which created much stir. Thereupon the 60,000 florins were paid, and on the next day he was released."

The division of Hungary in the interest of the Southern Slavs is confirmed. The *Pesther Courier* reports the following:

"*Pest*, February 22. Yesterday a manifesto of His Majesty the Emperor was published in the Pest comitat, according to which in future the *Kameralgüter*[378] of Croatia,[378] the Serbian Voivodina, of the Bács, Torontal, Temes and Csanád comitats and of Transylvania are to be administered separately from the other estates belonging to the Hungarian Crown. According to the same manifesto, passports must in future be issued in German and the work of the Hungarian customs offices which formerly existed at the frontiers, will have to cease."[a]

To complete the above news we now give, first, the remaining reports of the Magyar correspondence, from which one can see how little Debreczin dreams of defeat:

"From a reliable source I can report to you that Count Erbach, the second aide of Prince Windischgrätz, has been taken prisoner and brought to Debreczin. In the Debreczin *Moniteur* (*Közlöny*), of February 13, Ernst Kiss is named as Field Marshal and resident in Debreczin. The *Wiener Zeitung* made out long ago that this Hungarian hero had gone over to the imperial side. General L. Mészáros is again Minister of War. The same issue also contains the proceedings of the House of Representatives[b] of February 12, in which an excerpt from Kossuth's speech is very remarkable for its indication that the Court in Olmütz appears to have condescended, behind the back of Windischgrätz, to take part in peace negotiations. In the night of February 25-26 many wagons of wounded men were taken to Pest from Szolnok. Windischgrätz is now in Gödöllö near Pest, but Jellachich is still in Pest. In the place of General Ottinger, Lieutenant-Field Marshal Count Schlick, whose previous army corps was almost wiped out at Tokaj and in the Zips, has taken over command of the imperial army at Szolnok."

Furthermore, we give a report of the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* on the conduct of the war in the south, which is the more trustworthy as it appears in a paper written in the Slav interest:

"According to authentic reports, Szegedin is in the hands of Serbs, who have imposed on this poor town a contribution of 500,000 florins C. M.; but it is

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[a] Reprinted in *Die Presse* No. 51, March 1, 1849.—*Ed.*
[b] State Assembly.—*Ed.*

to be feared that the payment of this sum, a considerable one for Szegedin, will not be the only blow to strike the inhabitants. The Serbs have much to avenge, and we have no reason to believe that they will be generous in revenge. Many refugees have already arrived here from the Banat area and their accounts amply confirm these sad conjectures. The streets are everywhere crowded with their poor comrades in misfortune, who, not knowing where to turn, roam about hungry, desperate and without shelter; for their huts, where they slept calm and carefree only yesterday, have now become heaps of rubble! I spoke to one of these refugees, who vividly described the sufferings he had undergone during the flight; while he barely escaped death in one place, in another he nearly lost his hand, since some Serbs, who assaulted him in rapacious fury, wanted to hack off his hand because they could not pull the signet ring from his finger quickly enough. But I will not trouble you further with accounts of similar cruelties and atrocities."

Finally, the official Bulletin No. 25 itself, which tells us further only that Götz and Jablonowsky have again occupied the towns of Eperies and Kaschau abandoned by General Görgey as he moved on:

"His Excellency Field Marshal Prince Windischgrätz started out on the 24th inst. from Ofen and on that day transferred his headquarters to Hatvan and, on the 25th,to Gyöngyös. Thereby communications with the corps of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Count Schlick were restored. According to reports received from Transylvania, the most active and careful Colonel Urban has again survived a very happy skirmish with the insurgents in Baiersdorf, in the neighbourhood of Bistritz. To obtain precise information on the position of the insurgents, Colonel Urban started from Jád on the 18th inst., marched through Bistritz via Heidendorf to the junction of the roads to Baiersdorf and Szeretfalva, where he sent off an outflanking column under Major Wieser against Szeretfalva. With the main force he advanced against Baiersdorf, there encountered the Polish Legion and stormed the place with bayonets. After this heated and victorious battle the enemy was driven back towards Magyaros. In this battle the seriously wounded insurgent Colonel Riczko, two officers and 200 men were taken prisoner; three guns, a cart, an imperial and an insurgent standard, ammunition and baggage were captured. Unfortunately, we on our side lost Senior Lieutenant Count Baudissin of the Savoy dragoons, who there met a hero's death for Emperor and fatherland. After the purpose of this enterprise had been achieved, Colonel Urban returned to his position in Bistritz. Colonel Urban speaks with high praise of the courage and endurance of all his troops, of the Rumanian auxiliaries as well as of the Galician cordon battalion, the regiments of the Karl Ferdinand infantry and the Savoy dragoons. In Upper Hungary, the division of Baron Ramberg, consisting of Götz's and Jablonowsky's brigades, occupied Eperies and Kaschau on the 21st inst."

Written by Engels on March 5, 1849

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# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

# Karl Marx

## [PROHIBITION OF A TORCHLIGHT PROCESSION FOR GOTTSCHALK]

NOTE[379]

At 10 o'clock on Friday (December 23) a deputation from the Workers' Association went to see Geiger, the Police Superintendent, to get permission to hold a torchlight procession for Gottschalk. Geiger stated that he could not permit this as "it was not allowed". A second deputation then went to see Commandant Engels.

He asked for the names of those who wished to see him. Beckhausen and another man came in and explained that they had come from police headquarters and that permission to hold the torchlight procession had been refused there. They now wished to request him.

Engels was already prepared. No names had yet been mentioned, nothing had yet been said about for whom and for what purpose the torchlight procession was to be held; he interrupted:

"The authorities had the men arrested and so on; it is true that they have been acquitted by the jury; but because they once had them arrested the authorities cannot now allow the torchlight procession to take place."

He also refused "*under any circumstances*" to allow a song with accompaniment.

Written by Marx in December 1848

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# Karl Marx

## FRAGMENT OF THE DRAFT OF "THE BOURGEOISIE AND THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION"[380]

5) ... in a word *low* ... thus even these unseemly things already made him into a type characteristic of the class which he represented, and thus lent him a charm of his own for the impartial observer of Prussian bourgeois natural history.

Let us pass on from the programme to its execution, and let us not forget that the Hansemann Ministry characterises the epoch in which the upstart German philistine is at pains to play the role of the English or French bourgeois.

Hansemann, characteristic of his Ministry....

Written by Marx at the end of December 1848

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# Karl Marx

## DRAFT OF A SPEECH AT THE TRIAL OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*[381]

### II. JURIDICAL

*Ad Article 222.*

"Lorsqu'un ou plusieurs magistrats de l'ordre administratif ou judiciaire auront reçu *dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions ou à l'occasion de cet exercice* quelque outrage par paroles tendant: inculper leur honneur ou leur délicatesse, celui qui les aura ainsi outragés, sera puni d'un emprisonnement d'un mois à deux ans.—Si l'outrage a eu lieu à l'audience d'une cour ou d'un tribunal, l'emprisonnement sera de deux à cinq ans."[a]

What is *honneur*? What is *délicatesse*?

The distinction between "insult" and "calumny" is contained in *Article 375*, which reads as follows:

"Quant aux injures ou aux expressions outrageantes qui ne renfermeraient l'imputation *d'aucun fait précis*, mais *celle d'un vice* déterminé, si elles ont été proférées dans des lieux ou réunions publics ou insérées dans des écrits imprimés ou non, qui auraient été répandus et distribués, la peine sera une amende de seize francs à cinq cents francs." *§ 376.* "Toutes autres injures ou expressions outrageantes qui n'auront pas eu ce double caractère de gravité et de publicité, ne donneront lieu qu'à des peines de simple police."[b]

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[a] "If one or more officials of the administrative or judiciary system *during the performance of their official functions or on the occasion of this performance* have been subjected to insult by words tending to impugn their honour or delicacy, the person who has insulted them in this way will be punished by imprisonment from one month to two years.—If the insult took place at the sitting of a court or tribunal, the imprisonment will be from two to five years."—*Ed.*

[b] "As regards insults or insulting expressions which do not contain the imputation of *any precise act,* but *that of a definite vice,* if they have been put forward in public places or meetings or inserted in writings, whether printed or not, which have been disseminated and distributed, the punishment will be a fine of from sixteen to five hundred francs." *§ 376.* "All other insults or insulting expressions which do not have this double character of seriousness and publicity will entail only a simple police punishment."—*Ed.*

*Calumny*, therefore, is present only where I impute to someone a *fait précis*, a definite act, which he himself is supposed to have committed. If I call someone a thief, then only Article 375 is applicable. The term "thief" is not a "*fait précis*", it is not at all the imputation of an "act", but only an "*expression outrageante*", the imputation of a "definite vice". Yesterday at such and such a place you stole a couple of silver spoons, is on the other hand calumny. Instead of the fine under § 375 it incurs the much heavier punishment of imprisonment and loss of civil rights. The reason is: in the latter case the thing is more probable, greater damage to honour, and so on. Just as Article 375 concerns a private person, Article 222 concerns an official when the *délit*[a] is committed against him in the performance of his duties. In accordance with the hierarchical spirit of the Code, an insult to a functioning official is punished more severely than an insult to an ordinary person. In content and concept, Article 222 is entirely identical with Article 375. Article 222 is simply an intensification of the punishment, as of the crime. Article 375 is applied in respect of officials engaged in performing their function.

Article 222 does not take the place of Article 367, where the crime of calumny against functioning officials is committed, but of Article 375. Otherwise crimes against private persons would be more severely punished than crimes against functioning officials, which is contrary to the spirit of the Code.

Therefore 1) Article 222 is identical with Article 375.
2) Article 222 differs from Article 367, just as 367 does from 375.

As regards Zweiffel, the *only* incriminating statement can be: "Furthermore, Herr Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel is said to have stated that within eight days etc. he would put an end to it."[b] Hence Article 222 (375) is not applicable, for which it would have to be said: "Zweiffel is said to have made base and dishonourable statements"...[c] and the particular statement is a "*fait précis*", a definite and precisely adduced utterance.

But Article 222 is not applicable for other reasons, too:

2) Zweiffel was not functioning at all.

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[a] Offence.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the following passage in the incriminated article "Arrests" printed in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*: "Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel, moreover, is said to have declared that he would within a week put an end to March 19, the clubs, freedom of the press and other outrages of the evil year 1848 at Cologne on the Rhine" (see present edition, Vol. 7, p. 179).—*Ed.*

[c] The manuscript is indecipherable here.—*Ed.*

A page from Marx's draft of a speech at the trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

The words in Article 222 "*dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions ou à l'occasion de cet exercice*" and the words "*outrage par paroles*" express the same thought, and demonstrate in an equally convincing way that in this article the legislator had in view only insults which occur *immediately* on the occasion of an official function, hence must be made *orally,* and that Article 222 does not cover insults which are made in written form *long* after *the completion of the official function.*

If the insult must have taken place "*par paroles*", orally, then that already implies that it is made during the performance of the official function. If we prove that in Article 222 the legislator had in view only insults uttered in the *presence in person* of the official, it is thereby shown that no insult comes under Article 222 which is made long afterwards and in the absence of the official *in written form.* (A written insult in itself presupposes the absence of the person insulted, the presence of the person insulted presupposes an *oral* insult.)

In the motives given for Article 222 (exposé par M. le conseiller d'état Berlier, séance du 6 février 1810), it is stated:

"Il ne sera donc ici question que des seuls outrages qui compromettent la *paix publique* c.àd. de ceux dirigés contre les fonctionnaires ou agents publics dans l'exercice ou à l'occasion de l'exercice de leurs fonctions; dans ce cas ce n'est plus seulement un particulier, c'est l'ordre public qui est blessé... La hiérarchie politique sera dans ce cas prise en considération: celui qui se permet des *outrages ou violences* envers un officier ministériel est coupable, sans doute, mais il commet un moindre scandale que lorsqu'il outrage un magistrat."[a]

It follows from this:

The legislator regards *the* insult against which he invokes Article 222 as the lowest degree of *resistance* to a functioning official, as a revolt and *résistance* against the functioning official which is confined to grumbling without going as far as acts of violence. How otherwise could such an "*outrage*" violate "*la paix publique*"? *La paix publique* is violated only when a revolt for overthrowing the laws is undertaken in one way or another, or when any official performing the duties of his office testifies to resistance to the law, whether by deed or only by insulting utterances. If today I insult the Chief Public

[a] "It will therefore be a question here only of insults which violate *public peace,* that is to say, insults directed against officials or public agents during the performance or on the occasion of the performance of their functions; in this case it is no longer a private person, it is public order which is harmed.... In this case the political hierarchy will be taken into consideration: one who indulges in *insults or acts of violence* directed against a government agent is undoubtedly guilty, but he causes a lesser scandal than when he insults a judge."—*Ed.*

Prosecutor in a newspaper, I do not thereby disturb *la paix publique,* and it is expressly stated in the motives quoted above:

"Il ne sera donc ici question que des *seuls* outrages qui compromettent la paix publique."

In the same passage it is stated:

"Ainsi qui se permet des *outrages ou violences* envers un officier."[a]

*Outrage* and *violence* are here regarded as identical in concept and are treated as crimes differing only in the degree of their gravity. But just as *violence* can only be committed in the presence in person of the functioning official, so *outrage,* the lowest degree of the same offence, requires the personal presence of the official. Otherwise the insult does not cause any *disturbance to the performance of an official function,* and therefore also no disturbance of *la paix publique.*

If, however, this presence in person of the official (the insulted person) is necessary, the insult can only be committed orally, *par parole,* and cannot be extended to include insults in writing, or at any rate only in those cases where written insults are possible during the performance of an official function. (For example, the examining magistrate.) Hence, too, there is no provision for *lèse-majesté* in the Code. If the Code understands insults to officials only in such a way that the official is insulted during the performance of his office and in fact in his own *presence in person,* crimes of *lèse-majesté* in this sense would be impossible, because the King does not perform any function *personally,* but only causes it to be performed by others, and consequently can never be insulted in the sense of Article 222, during *appearance in person* and *immediate functioning.*

By the addition of "*à l'occasion de cet exercice*", it seems that the matter assumes a different character and that the requirement of presence in person ceases to exist. This interpretation is best refuted by § 228, which states:

"Tout individu qui, même sans armes, et sans qu'il en soit résulté de blessures, aura frappé un magistrat dans l'exercice de ses fonctions, ou à l'occasion de cet exercice, sera puni d'un emprisonnement de deux à cinq ans.—Si cette voie de fait a eu lieu à l'audience d'une cour ou d'un tribunal, le coupable sera puni du carcan."[b]

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[a] "Thus anyone who indulges in *insults or violence* against an official."—*Ed.*

[b] "Any person who, even unarmed and without any wounds resulting, strikes an official during the performance of his functions, or on the occasion of this performance, will be punished by imprisonment from two to five years.—If such an act has taken place during the sitting of a court or tribunal, the guilty person will be punished by the pillory."—*Ed.*

Presence in person, therefore, continues to be essential through the words "*à l'occasion*", for I cannot strike anyone in his absence. Moreover, "*à l'occasion*" does not mean "in relation to ", but "on the occasion of". I cannot deal any "relative" blows.

The legislator has added here the words "*à l'occasion*" only so that the case envisaged by Articles 222 and 228 is not restricted merely to the *duration* of the official action, so that the insult can take place also *immediately before* or *immediately afterwards*, but always *immediately* linked with the official function, and must take place in the presence in person of the official.

As I can strike an official only in his presence, so, too, the case envisaged by Article 222, since it contains the same phrase "*à l'occasion de cet exercice*" as is required also by Article 228 concerning *coups*[a] and *blessures*,[b] can take place only in the presence of the official and therefore by means of words.

There is no calumny in respect of the police:

a) Proof of the truth.

b) Because they are not *named*. The word "policeman" does not denote a particular individual, but is a collective concept.

There is no calumny in respect of Zweiffel:

a) Zweiffel not accused of any "*faits, qui s'ils existaient*"[c] etc., but merely of "*mots*".[d] This distinction justified. An "utterance"[e] not only does not make one punishable by law, but equally does not make "the citizen hated and despised".

b) Zweiffel "is said". An assertion which is to be believed must not cast doubt on itself....[f]

*Article 367* concludes with the words:

"La présente disposition n'est point applicable aux faits dont la loi autorise la publicité, ni à ceux que l'auteur de l'imputation était, par la nature de ses fonctions ou de ses devoirs, obligé de révéler ou de réprimer."[g]

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[a] Blows.—*Ed.*

[b] Wounds.—*Ed.*

[c] "Facts, which if they were real facts."—*Ed.*

[d] Words.—*Ed.*

[e] This, evidently, refers to Zweiffel's utterance cited in the incriminated article "Arrests" (see p. 486).—*Ed.*

[f] Here the manuscript is illegible.—*Ed.*

[g] "The present provision is not applicable to facts which the law permits to be made public, nor to those which the author of the imputation, owing to the nature of his functions or duties, was bound to reveal or repress."—*Ed.*

There is, in addition:

§ 372. "Lorsque les faits imputés seront punissables suivant la loi, et que l'auteur de l'imputation les aura dénoncés, il sera, durant l'instruction sur ces faits, sursis à la poursuite et au jugement du délit de calomnie."[a]

§ 309.

Written by Marx on February 7, 1849

Printed according to the manuscript

First published in Russian in: Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 43, 1976

Published in English for the first time

[a] "When the acts imputed are punishable in accordance with the law and they have been denounced by the author of the imputation, he shall be remanded for proceedings and decision in regard to the offence of calumny during the investigation of these acts."—*Ed.*

# APPENDICES

# SUMMONS FOR KARL MARX[382]

*Cologne*, November 13. The "*redacteur en chef*" of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has just received a fresh *summons*, for November 14, from the examining magistrate's court here.

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 142, November 14, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# KARL MARX

*Cologne*, November 14. Upon the news that **Karl Marx**, the *redacteur en chef* of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, had received a summons to appear this morning before the examining magistrate's court, a considerable crowd of people gathered at the Court of Appeal to demonstrate their sympathy and await the outcome. When Karl Marx reappeared he was greeted with loud applause and accompanied to the Eiser Hall, where he said a few words of thanks for the people's sympathy and stated that he had merely been questioned in the *final hearing* of the *Hecker* case, for Herr Hecker, former Public Prosecutor, now Chief Public Prosecutor, believed he had been denounced as a republican by Karl Marx through the publication in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of a document signed "*Hecker*".[a]

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 143, November 15, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See the article "Public Prosecutor 'Hecker' and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*" (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 485-89).— *Ed.*

# FREDERICK ENGELS' PETITION FOR PERMISSION TO RESIDE IN BERNE[383]

DRAFT

To the Directorate of Justice and Police of the Canton of Berne, in Berne.

On the instruction of the passport office, I take the liberty of submitting a petition for permission to reside in Berne.

I was living in Cologne (Rhenish Prussia) as a writer, when I became involved in the court investigation[a] instituted following the unrest which broke out in that city on September 25 and 26 of this year and was threatened with arrest. I evaded this arrest by flight, and a few days later a warrant was issued against me (*Kölnische Zeitung* of October 1, 2 and 3),[b] through which my status as political refugee is established. I offer if necessary to produce a copy of this warrant for the Directorate.

On arrival in Switzerland I preferred to claim the hospitality of the canton and city of Berne rather than that of any other place

1. because Berne is sufficiently far from the German border to deprive the German authorities of any pretext for importuning the Swiss Government with claims and assertions that I am abusing the right of asylum by subversive activities etc.[c];

2. because just now Berne affords me the opportunity to study in the work of the Swiss Federal Assembly the practical effect of a Constitution from which Germany in any case can learn much,

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[a] The following phrase: "instituted against me on a charge of instigating to revolt etc., etc.", is crossed out in the manuscript.— *Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 7, p. 593.— *Ed.*

[c] The following phrase: "calling for an uprising against the German Government etc.", is crossed out in the manuscript.— *Ed.*

particularly at a time when the German people may be in a position to give itself a Constitution similar to this in one or another respect.

I presume that my exile will not be of too long a duration, for apart from the slight prospect of stability of the present order of things in Prussia, I have every reason to expect a verdict of acquittal from the Cologne jury, and by my flight I mainly intended only to escape a lengthy detention on remand. I believe, therefore, that by next spring I shall be able to return to my country.

As far as my means of subsistence are concerned, they are perfectly secured, as I can prove if necessary.

Also on the instruction of the passport office, I enclose the passport which the French Provisional Government issued on request when in the month of April of this year I returned from Paris to my homeland, and which was forwarded to me from Cologne.

I take this opportunity to assure the Directorate of my highest esteem.

*Frederick Engels*

Berne, Postgasse No. 43 B,
c/o Herr Haeberli, November 15, 1848

First published in Russian in: Marx and Engels, *Works* (first edition), Vol. XXV, 1934, and in German in: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Bd. 7, 1935

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# DECISION OF THE LOCAL COURT CHAMBER

*Cologne,* November 21. The Chamber of the provincial court of justice in Cologne this morning committed Dr. jur. *Becker* to the Court of Assizes. On the other hand, it decided with respect to the co-defendants *Wachter, Bürgers, Engels* and associates that the records should be laid aside until these persons had given themselves up in custody.

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 149, November 22, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# [DECISION OF THE COURT CHAMBER CONCERNING ENGELS AND OTHER CO-DEFENDANTS]

*Cologne,* November 22. On November 21 the Chamber of the provincial court of justice in Cologne committed Dr. jur. *Becker* to the Court of Assizes. On the other hand, it decided with respect to the co-defendants *Wachter, Bürgers, Engels* and associates that the records should be laid aside until these gentlemen had given themselves up in custody.

Herr *Bürgers* followed this hint, stepped up to the bar and was acquitted.

First published in the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung* No. 58, November 23, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# A DEPUTATION TO CHIEF PUBLIC PROSECUTOR ZWEIFFEL

*Cologne*, November 22. Yesterday Herren Karl Marx, Karl Schapper and Schneider II were to appear before the examining magistrate on account of the appeal in the name of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats (No. 147 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*).[a] It was generally said that there was to be an immediate arrest of those summonsed. However unlikely this appeared to many well versed in the law, the People's Committee[384] nevertheless took the occasion to obtain assurance on this point by sending a deputation to Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel. The latter stated as expected that no warrant for the arrest of the summonsed had been applied for and that such a warrant could only possibly be issued if the appeal were to lead to rebellion; because in that case the *offence* of the summonsed under Articles 209 and 217[385] (which at present could only be tried in a police court) would become a *crime*.

Incidentally, contrary to the view of the Chief Public Prosecutor that according to the point of law mentioned the summons *should have been* issued, the deputation expressed the view that at this time, when the National Assembly exists in Berlin as the only legitimate authority in Prussia, steps must immediately be taken above all against those officials and authorities who violently oppose the

[a] See this volume, p. 41.— *Ed.*

decisions of the National Assembly or invite such opposition, as happened recently in the case of *Oberpräsident* Eichmann in Coblenz.[a]

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 150, November 23, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, p. 37.— *Ed.*

# [COMMUNICATION ON THE HEARING OF MARX, SCHAPPER AND SCHNEIDER II BY THE EXAMINING MAGISTRATE]

*Cologne,* November 25. In the questioning of Marx, Schapper and Schneider II before the examining magistrate's court on account of the second appeal issued in the name of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats,[a] the statement of the accused, to the effect that they had drawn up and signed that appeal, was recorded, and thereupon the questioning was closed. None of the accused persons was arrested. This in reply to various letters received by the District Committee.

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 153 (second edition), November 26, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, p. 46.— *Ed.*

# TRIALS OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

*Cologne*, December 5. A few days ago the *redacteur en chef* of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Karl Marx*, was once more summoned to the examining magistrate's court. Four articles induced the Central Authority to sue for libel: 1. Schnapphahnski; 2. an article from Breslau on Lichnowski; 3. an article in which there is talk about a "*falsifying*" report by a certain "comical Stedtmann"; 4. the publication of the "declaration of treason against the people", adopted in the Eiser Hall, against the Frankfurt majority on the Schleswig-Holstein question.[386]

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is now most eagerly awaiting further libel charges from Berlin, Petersburg, Vienna, Brussels and Naples.

The first case of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* versus the prosecuting magistrates and the police will be heard on December 20.[387]

We have so far not heard that any Rhenish prosecuting magistrate has found any article of the *Code pénal* applicable to the crude, obvious violations of the law by all the Rhenish authorities.

"*Distinguendum est!*" "*Il faut distinguer*"[a] is the motto of the brave Rhenish prosecuting magistrates.

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 161, December 6, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] One must distinguish.—*Ed.*

# [MANDATE OF THE LAUSANNE WORKERS' ASSOCIATION FOR FREDERICK ENGELS]

Brother,

Because of the impossibility of sending a delegate we have elected you to represent us at the Workers' Congress in Berne[388]; as an old fighter for the proletariat you will certainly not fail in your task here either, although you will have to deal in this case not with bourgeois and other sordid souls, for it is only proletarians whom you will have to act with and for; accordingly, we tell you briefly our wishes regarding a central association.

1) The purpose of the united associations must be:
   a. Foundation of a central association and a central treasury.
   b. *Social* and political education of the workers.
   c. To establish contact with the German Workers' Committee in Leipzig,[389] in order chiefly to strengthen the links between the workers.
2) The duty of the elected central association must be:
   a. To establish contact with the Workers' Committee in Leipzig.
   b. To facilitate correspondence, mainly to distribute the paper (*Verbrüderung*) issued by the Central Committee.
   c. To administer the central treasury and to render its accounts every six months.
   d. Immediately to inform the fraternal associations of all important events.
3) Duties of the fraternal associations to each other and to the central association:
   a. Every member pays a contribution of at most 1 batz[a] per month, while the exchange of letters is always conducted not pre-paid by either side.

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[a] A Swiss coin, equal to 30-32 pfennigs.— *Ed.*

b. Every branch association must issue cards to its members.
c. Every member holding a card has free entry into every association, but the card must be signed by the president of the last association of which he was a member.

Concerning our choice: As before we think that the Berne Association is the most suitable one.In case our last circular should be discussed: it was purely the consequence of the fact that already this summer we had nominated the Berne Association to be the Central Association, but since we had no information at all on the state of affairs, we called a meeting here which decided on the above circular. We have rejected the contribution of $^1/_2$ batz per week because it would lead to a reduction in the number of members and thus the income would not be much higher.

In the name of the forty-one members of the Association

Greetings and handshake
*G. Schneeberger*
*Bangert*
*Chr. Haaf*

Lausanne, 8.12.1848

First published in: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Bd. 7, 1935

Printed according to the manuscript

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Verhandlungen in Bern am 9. December 1848, Abends 9½, bis 11½ Uhr.

Die Versammlung der Vereine zu Bern stellt der deutsch National-Verein zu Zürich einen Congreß von Abgeordneten der deutschen Vereine in der Schweiz nach Bern auf den 9. 10. und 11. December berufen.

Es erscheinen durch Abgeordnete die Vereine zu

Basel,
Thun,
La Chaux de fonds,
Genf,
Burgdorf,
Kiel,
Zürich zwei Vereine,
Bern, und angemeldet wird
Lausanne.

Von den Vereinen in Bern waren anwesend zum Theil zur Berathung erschienen.

Bern übernahm provisorisch das Präsidium, die Vollmacht der Abgeordneten wurden geprüft und richtig befunden.

Man schritt zur Wahl des Bureaus und wählte zum ersten Mal zum Präsidenten den Abgeordneten von Biel, zum zweiten Mal einen Schriftführer den Abgeordneten von Zürich.

Es wird folgendes beschlossen:

1. Am 11. December Morgens 9 Uhr die Congreß zu eröffnen, ebenso beschließt man einen die Berathung der Statuten der Vereinigung, welche beyerlei wird, auf dem Anlaß von Zürich zu beginnen, und feinen die Berathung über die politischen und Arbeiterfragen anzuschließen.
2. Die Beschlüsse des Congresses sind bindend für die Vereine welche Abgeordnete geschickt haben; die übrigen Vereine werden sie angeboten und es steht ihnen frei; den Vereinigung beizutreten oder nicht.
3. Es gelten nur die Stimmen der Vereine, die anwesend sind durch Abgeordnete und jeder Abgeordnete führt nur eine Stimme.
4. Nur die Beschlüsse, welche aber die Anfrage werden gerade Stimmen.
5. Im Protokoll werden nur die Namen der Abgeordneten, Gemeinden und die der Vereine genannt.

Für Protokoll
der Schriftführer
Marx
W. Bindernz

A page of the minutes of the Congress of German Workers' Associations in Switzerland, at which Engels was the secretary

# [COMMUNICATION CONCERNING ORDERS FOR THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG* FOR THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1849]

Orders for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* for the next quarter, January to March 1849, should be placed as soon as possible, namely in **Cologne** at the Dispatch Department of the paper (at 17 Hutmacher); **outside** Cologne, at any post-office in Germany.

For France, subscriptions will be accepted by M. *G. A. Alexandre,* 28 Brandgasse, *Strassburg,* and at 23 rue Notre Dame de Nazareth, *Paris,* and by the Royal Chief Post-Office in *Aachen*; for England by Messrs. *J. J. Ewer* & Co., 72 Newgate Street, *London*; for Belgium and Holland by the respective royal post-offices and the post-office in *Liége.*[a]

By the abolition of the stamp duty the price of the subscription is reduced and from now on this is for *Cologne* **only 1** *taler* **7** *silver groschen* **6** *pfennigs*; at all Prussian post-offices, postage included, **only 1** *taler* **17** *silver groschen* per quarter; for subscribers in other parts of Germany a proportional amount for postage is added.

The editorial board remains unchanged.

**The previous months' issues of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* are its programme. Through its personal connections with the heads of the democratic party in England, France, Italy, Belgium and North America the editorial board is able to reflect the political and social movement abroad more correctly and clearly for its readers than any other paper. In this respect the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is the organ not only of German, but of European democracy.**

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[a] In issues Nos. 176-95 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* this passage reads as follows: "For France, subscriptions will be accepted by the Royal Chief Post-Office in Aachen; for Holland by the royal post-offices and for Great Britain by the Belgian royal post-office in Ostend."— *Ed.*

*Advertisements*: A brevier line of column width (4 columns per page) or the equivalent space: 1 silver groschen 6 pfennigs.

Advertisements of all kinds obtain very wide circulation through the many connections of our paper.

## The Responsible Publishers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

Published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Nos. 172-95, December 19, 1848-January 14, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# PRESS LAW PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG* ADJOURNED

*Cologne,* December 20. The proceedings instituted against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* came before the assizes today. Dr. *Marx,* the *redacteur en chef,* Herr *Korff,* the responsible publisher of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* and Herr *Engels* were the defendants. The latter was absent. The charge was that of insulting Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel and libelling the police. The proceedings were adjourned on grounds of nullity.[390]

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 174, December 21, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# DRIGALSKI'S LAWSUIT AGAINST THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

*Cologne,* December 21. Today Dr. *Marx* was again summoned before the examining magistrate for alleged libel against the "citizen and communist" Herr *Drigalski.*[a] How many proceedings against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* this new one makes, it is difficult to say, there being so many of them.

We regret, incidentally, that Herr Drigalski misjudges us so badly. He has only our articles about him to thank if he gets a little bit of European fame. What black ingratitude, Herr "citizen and communist" *Drigalski*!! A sign that the times are becoming more and more corrupt when appreciation for services rendered has disappeared even from a royal Prussian communist heart.

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 175, December 22, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, pp. 75-80.— *Ed.*

# FROM THE MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE COLOGNE WORKERS' ASSOCIATION JANUARY 15, 1849

After the minutes of the previous meeting have been read and adopted, Röser, the Chairman, asks whether Citizen Prinz, the editor, is present and, on being told that he has already left, says that as an official of the Association Prinz should be taken to task for his recent conduct and for the changes he has made in the paper[a] without notifying the Association....

Citizens Marx and Schapper, seconded by many others, move that in addition to Citizen Prinz as editor of the official organ of the Association an editorial commission should be appointed which should see that this organ truly represents the interests of the Association and is directed in the spirit of our party.[391]

The motion is adopted and Citizens Schapper, Röser and Reiff are appointed to this editorial commission.

Citizen Westermann reads out the "statement" issued from Brussels by Dr. Gottschalk and cannot declare himself in agreement with his course.[392]

However, Citizen Marx, seconded by Schapper, moves that the matter should be left aside for the time being, since the statement issued was too doubtful and vague for any definite conclusions to be drawn from it; but that, to clear up the matter, a commission be appointed which should sum up the parts that appear vague, and send a letter to Dr. Gottschalk asking him for clarification and explanation.

This motion meets with general approval, and Citizens Dr. Marx, Anneke, Schapper, Röser and Esser are nominated and appointed to the commission....

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[a] *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit.—Ed.*

Citizen Anneke proposes that the forthcoming elections[393] be discussed at future meetings.

Citizen Schapper thinks that, if this had been done about four weeks ago, we could perhaps have achieved something good as a party of our own, but it is now too late, since we are not at all organised yet; it would not be possible for the Workers' Association to get its own candidates elected.

Citizen Marx is also of the opinion that the Workers' Association as such would not be able to get candidates elected now; nor is it for the moment a question of doing anything with regard to principle, but of opposing the Government, absolutism, and the rule of feudalism, and for that, simple democrats, so-called liberals, who are also far from satisfied with the present Government, are sufficient. Things have to be taken as they are. Since it is now important to offer the strongest possible opposition to the absolutist system, plain common sense demands that if we realise that we cannot get our own view of principle accepted in the elections, we should unite with another party, also in opposition, so as not to allow our common enemy, the absolute monarchy, to win.

It is hereupon resolved to take part in the general electoral committees which are to be set up in this town after its division into electoral districts, and to represent the general democratic principle there.

Citizens Schapper and Röser are appointed to effect a closer liaison between workers and democrats; they are to take part in the committee meetings of the Democratic Association[394] and report here on them.

First published in the *Freiheit, Arbeit* No. 3, January 21, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# RECORD OF ENGELS' RESIDENCE PERMIT FOR THE CANTON OF BERNE AND HIS DEPARTURE FOR GERMANY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Alien's surname and Christian name | — | Engels, Friedrich |
| Place of birth or home | — | Barmen (Prussia) |
| Profession | — | Writer |
| Wife and children | — | — |
| Nature of deposit | — | Passport issued by the Government of France dated March 30, 1848, for one year[395] |
| Place of residence for which permit is issued: | | |
| Community | — | Berne |
| District | — | Berne |
| Residence permit: | | |
| Date | — | December 23, 1848 |
| Valid until | — | December 31, 1849 |
| Fee | — | 40 guldens |
| Remarks | — | Based on the decision of the *Regierungsrat* of December 9, 1848. This permit was issued moreover with the proviso that the applicant would conduct himself in a peaceable and absolutely irreproachable manner. Left for Germany. Documents extracted January 18, 1849.[a] |

First published in Russian in the magazine *Voprosy Istorii* No. 11, 1970

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] The last two sentences are in a different handwriting.—*Ed.*

# [ENGELS BEFORE THE EXAMINING MAGISTRATE]

*Cologne*, January 27. Yesterday one of the September refugees, Frederick *Engels*, editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, again appeared before the examining magistrate. After a brief hearing it was stated that there was no case against him. This announcement serves to correct a brief notice in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*.

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# JURY ACQUITS MARX, ENGELS AND KORFF

*Cologne*, February 7, 2 p. m. *Marx*, *Engels* and the *responsible publisher* of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, who had been accused of libelling the police and offending the delicacy of Herr *Zweiffel* and Herr *Hecker*, have just been acquitted by the jury.

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# ACQUITTAL OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

*Cologne*, February 8. As we have already reported in some copies of yesterday's issue, at the assizes session yesterday the case was heard against the *redacteur en chef, Marx*, the editor, *Engels*, and the responsible publisher of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, concerning the article dated *Cologne*, July 4 (in the issue of July 5, 1848[a]). The article concerned the arrest of Herr Anneke and led to a charge of libelling the police who made the arrest (Art. 367 of the *Code pénal*) and of insult to Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel (Art. 222 of the *Code pénal*). The defendants were *acquitted* by the jury after brief deliberations.

This trial, the first of the many proceedings instituted against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, is important because this time the above-cited Articles 222 and 367 (in connection with Art. 370) were interpreted and applied in the decisions of the jury quite differently from the way done earlier by the Rhenish police courts. Except for those relating to direct instigation to civil war and rebellion, these articles are the only ones which the acumen of the Rhenish prosecution has so far succeeded in applying to the press. The jury's verdict of acquittal is therefore a new guarantee of the freedom of the press in Rhenish Prussia.

We shall report the proceedings as soon as possible in excerpt.[b]

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[a] See the article "Arrests" (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 177-79).— *Ed.*

[b] See the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 221, February 14, 1849. For the speeches by Marx and Engels at this trial see this volume, pp. 304-22.— *Ed.*

Today *Marx* again stands before the jury along with *Schneider*, the deputy for Cologne, and *Schapper*, for an appeal to **refuse to pay taxes**, which they issued as members of the District Committee of Democrats.[a]

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 217, February 9, 1849

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[a] See this volume, p. 41.— *Ed.*

# [JURY ACQUITS MARX, SCHNEIDER II AND SCHAPPER]

*Cologne,* February 8, 1 p. m. *Marx, Schneider II* and *Schapper* have just been *acquitted* by the jury.[a]

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 217, February 9, 1849

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[a] For Marx's speech at the trial see this volume, pp. 304-17.— *Ed.*

# TWO TRIALS OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

*Cologne,* February 8. Yesterday and today two press cases were again heard in the assizes against Marx, editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* Engels and Schapper, members of the paper's staff, and today against Marx, Schapper and the lawyer Schneider II, who are charged with having incited the people against the Government in connection with refusal to pay taxes. The crowd of people was extraordinary. In both cases the accused undertook their own defence and sought to prove that the charges were groundless, in which they succeeded insofar as the jury in both cases pronounced a verdict of *not guilty.*

In political trials the Government nowadays really has no luck at all with the juries. A few officers of the local garrison[a] who took part in the popular movements in September of last year may fare worse; they fled over the border to Belgium when things went awry, but have now presented themselves again and are awaiting the decision in the proceedings which have already been instituted against them.[396]

First published in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* No. 203, February 16, 1849

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[a] Adamski and Niethake.—*Ed.*

# DEMOCRATIC BANQUET[397]

*Mülheim* on the Rhine, February 11 (received late). Today a democratic banquet took place here, arranged by the Workers' Association. Members of the Cologne Workers' and Democratic Associations were invited. Instrumental music and songs alternated with toasts supported by lengthy speeches.

*Bengel*, President of the local Workers' Association, developed the connection of the present with the past in a long report. *Lucas* gave a toast to the guests, especially the men who, like the *redacteur en chef* of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung Karl Marx*, who was present, had in words and deeds upheld the rights of the working class long before the February revolution. *Schapper* toasted the "democratic republic". *Karl Marx* spoke of the participation of the German workers in the struggles in France, England, Belgium and Switzerland. He raised a toast to *Gladbach*, one of the few agreers[a] who truly represented the interests of the people. *Frederick Engels* toasted the Hungarians and Kossuth. *Ott* of Worringen spoke about constitutional liberalism, aristocracy and democracy, *Fischbach* about the misery of the people and means of redress. *Gladbach* cast a retrospective glance at the dissolved National Assembly and in a lively report criticised its weakness, its indecision, and its lack of revolutionary understanding. *Krahe*, finally, spoke on the slogan of the February revolution: "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

The first democratic banquet in the Rhine Province was so successful that it will surely be imitated.

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 225, February 18, 1849

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[a] Deputies of the Prussian National Assembly.— *Ed.*

# REPORT ON THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE WORKERS' ASSOCIATION FEBRUARY 1849

Röser, the President, opened the meeting and, after a brief introduction concerning the reason for calling a general meeting, called upon Citizen Schapper to speak on the effectiveness of the Association since the last general meeting.

Citizen Schapper gave a detailed account of the work done at the committee meetings which have taken place so far and by the branch associations, and outlined the main issues which had been dealt with.

He then expounded the plan for reorganising the Association, which consists in the following:

To increase the present total of three branch associations until there are eight or nine of them in the most convenient parts of the city; to make enrolment in one of these branches a condition of membership of the Association; to fix a monthly contribution of one silver groschen, nine pfennigs of which to be retained in the branch associations to provide for a library, and three pfennigs to be paid into the general treasury of the Workers' Association; and to hold a general meeting every fortnight in the Eiser Hall, which all members of the branch associations may attend without having to pay a special contribution, a condition which is not, however, applicable to non-members. In addition he announced that Herr Marx and Herr Engels had also offered to deliver fortnightly social lectures, alternating with the President of the Association, these also to be free of charge to members.

Citizen Schapper proposed that a vote be taken to ascertain whether the Association approved of this plan, and also that a commission be appointed to draw up the Statute for the Association in which the plan should be set forth exactly.

A vote was taken. The proposed plan was approved and passed on to a commission, which had already been nominated for this purpose at a committee meeting, to draw up the Statute of the Association in accordance with the plan and present it for approval at the next general meeting.[398]

Citizen Bedorf reported on the income and expenditure of the Association and on the state of the treasury.

The meeting confirmed the decisions taken by the committee to resume publication of the former newspaper *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit*, and to appoint Chr. Jos. Esser to the post of editor.

It was decided to hold a general meeting on the Sunday after Shrove Tuesday, and on that occasion to lay down the Statute of the Association.

The meeting was then closed.

First published in the *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit* No. 3, February 15, 1849

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# MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE COLOGNE WORKERS' ASSOCIATION FEBRUARY 15, 1849

## COMMITTEE MEETING, FEBRUARY 15, 1849

The minutes of the previous meeting are read and adopted. Citizen Carstens[a] then proposes that the red flag, previously confiscated, should be recovered from the police authorities along with the 250 copies of Freiligrath poems which are rightful property of the Workers' Association. The proposal is adopted. At the same time Citizen Schapper proposes that the money transmitted by the Workers' Association to Citizen Esser, which at his arrest was unlawfully extorted from him to pay transport costs, should be recovered from the person concerned. This proposal too was adopted. Thereupon Citizen Schapper spoke on the current political issues and said, among other things, the following:

Although the elections are now over it is quite impossible to give an exact overall assessment of the strength of the various parties. It is true that the Second Chamber has hardly come up to our expectations but nevertheless it has still turned out fairly well in view of the bribery and threats of the wailers' party.[399] As for the First Chamber, the whole verminous band of ultra-reactionaries and wailers is represented there, and it is therefore only of use to us insofar as, should it one day come to a clash, we then shall have the most splendid opportunity of removing the most active of the wailers.

The Chamber elected in Saxony has turned out to be very democratic. Already divided, Germany will be split up even further by the intended secession of Schleswig from Holstein,[400] and that through Germany's impotent narrow-minded Central Authority, which has suffered further disgrace and humiliation over the

[a] Friedrich Lessner.—*Ed.*

Austrian question owing to the fathers of the Confederation at Frankfurt, intimidated by Austria's threats, having declared the separation of Austria from Germany, against which the Austrian Cabinet has now protested.

In Hungary the Magyars have so far done well and would continue to do so were the French Government, quite inconsistently with its own principle, not to look calmly on as the Russians entered Transylvania to suppress Hungarian freedom. The same applies to Italy where, despite counter-revolutionary activity, the revolution is once more in the ascendant, and where Tuscany, regardless of its pietist Grand Duke,[a] will unite with Rome to form a closer-knit republic.[401]

Citizen Schapper then spoke in detail about Hungary, Italy and also France where Bugeaud, the general of the army in the Alps, has stated that they are called upon to purge France of all its socialist elements, and so on. Then he spoke about Odilon-Barrot and the Chamber, and then about California, the land of gold, where despite the great quantities of gold there is nevertheless a shortage of all essential provisions. After that he spoke about the notorious petition initiated by a group of pietists from the Wupper valley, who demand that an ardent prayer be addressed to heaven each time a session of the Chambers is opened!

After that, on a motion by Engels, the Association decided to appoint a commission which is to contact one of the democratic associations to make the necessary arrangements for a banquet to be held here to celebrate the anniversary of the February revolution in France,[b] and that the commission be composed of Citizens Schapper, Röser and Reiff.

The meeting was then closed.

First published in the *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit* No. 6, February 24, 1849

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[a] Leopold II.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 529-30.— *Ed.*

# LETTER OF THE COLOGNE COMMANDANT COLONEL ENGELS TO THE *OBERPRÄSIDENT* OF THE RHINE PROVINCE

To Your Excellency the *Oberpräsident* of the Rhine Province Herr *Eichmann*

The editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, Herr Marx (!), is becoming increasingly more audacious now that he has been acquitted by the jury, and it seems to me high time that this man was deported, as one certainly does not have to put up with an alien who is no more than tolerated in our midst, befouling everything with his poisonous tongue, especially as our own home-grown vermin are doing that quite adequately.

This morning I again demanded his deportation from Police Superintendent *Geiger*. He asked me to submit my request in writing, which I did, and it ran as follows:

"About nine months ago (!) the Commandant's Department was obliged to refuse *Marx*, the editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, permission to be accepted as a citizen of *Cologne* and to become a naturalised Prussian[402] on weighty and adequate grounds. This man's behaviour has since then been such that it seems to me highly dangerous to continue to tolerate him here any longer. He takes the liberty to insult in any way he thinks fit our Constitution, our King[a] and the highest government officials in his increasingly popular paper, constantly seeking to promote even greater feelings of discontent and indirectly calling upon the people to revolt. The Commandant's Department therefore demands, in the interest of the security of the fortress of Cologne, that the Police Department order the deportation of *Marx*, whose presence has been tolerated hitherto."

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

I have the honour of informing Your Excellency immediately of this matter, as in the final instance an appeal might be addressed to you regarding this case. The deportation of this man would strengthen the position of the police and restore to them greater respect, and I request Your Excellency's support in this matter and beg you to confer with the General Headquarters should you deem it necessary.

I remain, with the deepest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant

*Engels*, Colonel

Cologne, February 17, 1849

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# BANQUET OF FEBRUARY 24

*Cologne*, February 27. The day before yesterday a banquet was given in the Eiser Hall to celebrate the anniversary of the French February revolution. The great hall, which holds between 2,000 and 3,000 people, was filled to capacity.

*Karl Marx*, elected President by acclamation, had to decline since he was otherwise engaged. At general request, *Karl Schapper* took the chair and opened the meeting with a toast to the memory of the victims fallen in February and June in Paris and in all other revolutionary struggles of 1848.

*Schneider*, the lawyer and Cologne deputy, then took leave of his electors. Deputy *Gladbach* soon afterwards also said a few words on the causes of success of the recent counter-revolution and invited the people of Cologne to rise for the protection of their representatives in the event of new acts of violence against the Chamber. (This in reply to the denunciation in today's *Kölnische Zeitung*.[403])

The following toasts were also proposed: Dr. *Rittinghausen* to the democratic social republic. *F. Engels*, editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*: to the fighting Italians, above all the Rome republic. *C. Cramer*: to the memory of Robert Blum. Deputy *Wöhler* of the Frankfurt National Assembly: to German democracy. *Guffanti*, merchant: to Ledru-Rollin and the French democrats. Ex-bombardier *Funk*: damnation to tyrants. Dr. *Weyll*: to the women present. Dr. *Becker*: to the democrats of all nations. *Kurth*, carpenter: to Kossuth and the Magyars. *Schapper*: to the political prisoners and refugees, in particular the Germans in Besançon.[404] *Carstens*,[a] worker: to the future social revolution. Ferd. *Wolff*, editor

[a] Friedrich Lessner.— *Ed.*

of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*: to the right to work. *Hausmann*, worker: to unity. *C. Cramer*: to Mieroslawski and the Polish fighters of 1848. *Kamp*, publican of Bonn: to the fraternity of all nations. *Blum*, student: to the Wuppertal democrats. *Müller*, worker: to Mellinet, Tedesco and the other 15 Risquons-Tout defendants in Antwerp.[405] *Röser*, worker: to the memory of Robespierre, Saint-Just, Marat and the other heroes of 1793.

The celebration, which was from time to time enlivened by music, the singing of the *Marseillaise*, the song of the Girondists[a] etc. and performances of the Workers' Choral Society under the direction of Herr Herx, concluded with a cheer for the "general democratic social republic".

A collection for the German refugees in Besançon was taken during the meeting and yielded a not inconsiderable sum.

During the whole evening troops were in the district and strong patrols passed through the streets; this was, however, occasioned rather by the repeated scuffles of the soldiers among themselves than by the banquet.

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[a] The patriotic song *Les Girondins* popular in 1848, which was known more by its refrain "Mourir pour la patrie" ("To die for the fatherland").— *Ed.*

# NOTES
# AND
# INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] Marx's article "The Crisis in Berlin" and his series of articles "Counter-Revolution in Berlin" were written in response to the first moves in the counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Prussia. On November 1, 1848, Frederick William IV dismissed the moderate liberal Pfuel Ministry, and an openly counter-revolutionary Ministry headed by Brandenburg and Manteuffel was formed. On November 9 a royal decree transferred the Prussian National Assembly from Berlin to Brandenburg, a small provincial town. This was the beginning of the coup d'état which ended with the dissolution of the Assembly on December 5, 1848. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, under Marx's editorship, started a campaign to mobilise the people against the counter-revolution.

In English this article was first published in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was founded by Marx as a militant organ intended to reach and to influence the masses and, by their ideological and political education and consolidation, to prepare the ground for a mass party of the German proletariat. At the same time, it served to direct the activities of the Communist League which Marx and Engels founded in 1847 and regarded as the embryo of the future proletarian party. At the peak of the 1848 revolution, the League itself was too weak and numerically small to immediately rally the workers. There was no point in secret activity during the revolution, and Marx and Engels instructed League members throughout Germany to use the legal opportunities afforded by joining the workers' associations and democratic societies which were being formed. In the situation that had arisen only a proletarian revolutionary newspaper could direct and co-ordinate the activities of Communist League members and mobilise the masses to carry through the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

It was decided to publish the newspaper in Cologne, the capital of the Rhine Province, one of the most economically and politically advanced regions in Germany (here there were considerable cadres of the proletariat, and the *Code Napoléon* which was in force provided for greater freedom of the press than Prussian Law). The newspaper was given the name of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* to emphasise that it was to continue the revolutionary-democratic traditions of the *Rheinische Zeitung* edited by Marx in 1842 and 1843. Taking account of the specific circumstances, with no independent mass workers' party in Germany, Marx,

Engels and their followers entered the political scene as the Left, actually proletarian, wing of the democratic movement. This determined the stand of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which began to appear under the subtitle *Organ der Demokratie* (Organ of Democracy).

The first issue of the newspaper appeared in the evening of May 31, 1848, and was dated June 1. The editorial board consisted of Karl Marx (editor-in-chief), Heinrich Bürgers, Ernst Dronke, Georg Weerth, Ferdinand and Wilhelm Wolff and Frederick Engels, joined in October 1848 by the poet Ferdinand Freiligrath. All the editors were members of the Communist League. The editorial board was known for its unanimity of views, smooth working and precise division of functions. Besides reading and answering letters and helping the editor-in-chief, each member had to deal with a definite range of questions. The editorial board had its correspondents in different parts of Germany and abroad. It established regular contacts with a number of democratic periodicals in other countries.

As a rule, Marx and Engels wrote the editorials formulating the newspaper's stand on the most important questions of the revolution. These were marked "* Köln" or "** Köln". Sometimes editorial articles marked with one asterisk were printed in other sections under the heading of News from Italy, France, Hungary, Switzerland and other countries. In addition to editorials, Engels wrote articles on other subjects, including the course of the revolutionary liberation movement in Italy, the revolutionary war in Hungary, the political life of Switzerland, and so on. Wilhelm Wolff contributed articles on the agrarian question, on the condition of the peasants and the peasant movement, particularly in Silesia. He was also responsible for the current events section. Georg Weerth wrote feuilletons and Ernst Dronke contributed various reports (including reports from Paris). The only article which Heinrich Bürgers wrote for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was practically rewritten by Marx. He was more successful as the newspaper's representative at workers' meetings. Freiligrath published his revolutionary poems in the newspaper.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was a daily (from September 1848 it appeared every day except Monday). On some days a second edition was put out in order to supply the readers with prompt information on all the most important revolutionary developments in Germany and Europe; supplements were printed when there was too much material for the four pages of the issue, and special supplements and special editions in the form of leaflets carried the latest and most important news.

Even in the first months of the newspaper's existence the bourgeois shareholders started to complain of the consistent revolutionary line of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, its militant internationalism and political denunciations of the Government. Its editors were persecuted by the Government and attacked in the feudal monarchist and liberal bourgeois press. Shareholders were especially scared off by articles in defence of the June 1848 uprising of the Paris proletariat.

To make Marx's stay in the Rhine Province more difficult, the Cologne authorities, on instructions from Berlin, refused to reinstate him in his rights as a Prussian citizen (which Marx had renounced in 1845), and on several occasions instituted legal proceedings against him and other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. On September 26, 1848, when a state of siege was declared in Cologne, several democratic newspapers, including the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, were suspended. To avoid arrest, Engels, Dronke and Ferdinand Wolff had to leave Germany for a time. Wilhelm Wolff stayed in Cologne but for several months lived in hiding. When the state of siege was lifted the paper resumed publication on October 12, thanks to the great efforts of Marx who contributed all his ready money to the paper. Until January 1849, the main burden of the work, including

editorial articles, lay on Marx's shoulders since Engels had to stay out of Germany (in France and Switzerland).

Persecution of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* editors by the legal authorities and the police was particularly intensified after the counter-revolutionary coup in Prussia in November-December 1848. On February 7, 1849, Marx, Engels and Hermann Korff, the responsible publisher, were summoned to appear before a jury in Cologne, and the next day Marx, together with Schapper and lawyer Schneider, was brought to trial as the leader of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats. But in both cases Marx and his associates were acquitted thanks to skilful defence.

The failure of these prosecutions compelled the authorities to resort to other means for the prohibition of the revolutionary periodical. In May 1849, when the counter-revolution went into the offensive all over Germany, the Prussian Government issued an order for Marx's expulsion from Prussia on the grounds that he had not been granted Prussian citizenship. Marx's expulsion and new repressions against other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* put an end to the publication of the newspaper. Its last issue (No. 301), printed in red ink, came out on May 19, 1849. In their farewell address to the workers, the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* said, "Their last word everywhere and always will be: *emancipation of the working class!*" p. 3

2 By the "*theory of agreement*" (*Vereinbarungstheorie*) the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie sought to justify its policy of compromise in the revolution. The "agreement theory" meant that the Prussian National Assembly convened in May 1848 was to draft a Constitution and introduce a constitutional system, not on the basis of its sovereign and constitutive rights, but "by agreement with the Crown". By accepting this formula, which was advanced by the Camphausen-Hansemann Government, the Assembly's liberal majority in fact abandoned the principle of popular sovereignty and gave freedom of action to the counter-revolutionaries who wanted to restore the absolute power of the King. Beginning with the early issues of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Marx and Engels sharply criticised the "theory of agreement" calling its supporters "agreers" and the Berlin Assembly—the "Agreement Assembly". They warned that this theory would only serve the King as a screen for preparing a counter-revolutionary coup d'état and the forcible dissolution of the Assembly. p. 3

3 This article, as well as a number of other reports below, was written by Engels during his forced stay in Switzerland. On September 26, 1848, a state of siege was declared in Cologne and an order was issued for the arrest of some of the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, including Engels. Engels emigrated from Prussia to Belgium, where he was arrested by the Brussels police and on October 4 deported to France. After a short stay in Paris Engels went on foot to Switzerland (see his travel notes "From Paris to Berne" in Vol. 7 of the present edition, pp. 507-29). About November 9 Engels arrived in Berne via Geneva and Lausanne and remained there until January 1849. While in emigration he regularly sent to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* articles and various items of information. p. 7

4 In 1707-1806 the *principality of Neuenburg and Vallendis* (the German names for Neuchâtel and Valangin) was a dwarf state under the rule of Prussia. In 1806, during the Napoleonic wars, Neuchâtel was ceded to France. In 1815, by decision of the Vienna Congress, it was incorporated into the Swiss Confederation as its 21st canton but at the same time retained its vassal dependence on Prussia. On February 29, 1848, a bourgeois revolution in Neuchâtel put an end to Prussian

rule and a republic was proclaimed. However, up to 1857 Prussia constantly laid claim to Neuchâtel and was forced to renounce it officially only under pressure from France. p. 7

[5] An allusion to General Pfuel's participation in the suppression of the national liberation uprising in Posen, a duchy under Prussia's rule, which took place in the spring of 1848. On his orders the insurgents who had been taken prisoner had their heads shaved and their hands and ears branded with lunar caustic (in German *Höllenstein*, i.e. stone of hell); hence his nickname "von Höllenstein". p. 7

[6] The *Holy Hermandad* (Holy Brotherhood)—a league of Spanish towns set up at the end of the fifteenth century with the approbation of the King to fight against the powerful feudal lords. From the middle of the sixteenth century the armed detachments of the Holy Hermandad performed police duties. Thus the police in general was often ironically labelled the "Holy Hermandad". p. 7

[7] In accordance with the Constitution of the Swiss Confederation adopted on September 12, 1848, the *National Council* (*Nationalrat*) consisted of deputies elected every three years by universal suffrage. The Constitution also provided for the existence of the *Council of States* (*Ständerat*) made up of two deputies from each canton. The two Councils constituted the Federal Assembly (*Bundesversammlung*), the supreme legislative body in Switzerland.

*Great Councils* (*Gross Räte*)—legislatures of urban cantons set up under the Swiss Constitution of 1803. p. 7

[8] In English this article was first published in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 9

[9] *Demi-cantons*—out of the 22 Swiss cantons three—Appenzell, Basle and Unterwalden—were for various reasons (geographical, religious etc.) divided into demi-cantons: Appenzell into Innerrhoden and Ausserrhoden, Basle into Basle and Baselland, and Unterwalden into Obwalden and Nidwalden.

*Diet* (*Tagsatzung*)—supreme organ of the Swiss Confederation which existed until the latter was reorganised and transformed from a union of states into a federal state in 1848. The Diet consisted of representatives of the separate cantons. In 1848 it adopted a new Constitution and yielded place to the Federal Assembly consisting of two Chambers (the National Council and the Council of States). p. 9

[10] The *Ur-cantons* (*Urkantönli*) are the mountain cantons of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden which in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries formed the nucleus of the Swiss Confederation. During the civil war of 1847 these cantons, as members of the Sonderbund, opposed the progressive forces of Switzerland.

*Separatists*—members of the Sonderbund, a separatist union formed by the seven economically backward Catholic cantons of Switzerland in 1843 to resist progressive bourgeois reforms and defend the privileges of the Church and the Jesuits. The decree of the Swiss Diet of July 1847 on the dissolution of the Sonderbund served as a pretext for the latter to start hostilities against the other cantons early in November. On November 23, 1847, the Sonderbund army was defeated by the federal forces. p. 9

[11] During the bourgeois revolution of 1820-23 in Spain, the liberal party split into a Right wing, the *Moderados*, and a Left wing, the *Exaltados*. p. 10

[12] On May 21, 1847, the canton of Geneva adopted a new bourgeois-democratic Constitution. Among other things, it legalised freedom of faith and the election of the State Council (the cantonal Government) directly by the people, granted suffrage to persons living on allowances, introduced free primary instruction etc. The canton's previous Constitution was abolished by its Great Council as a result of a popular uprising in October 1846 in which a decisive role was played by the workers of Saint-Gervais. p. 12

[13] For the proletarian uprising in Paris on June 23-26, 1848, see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 124-28 and 130-64.

The popular uprising in Vienna on October 6-7, 1848, flared up in response to the Austrian Government's order to dissolve the Hungarian Sejm and to dispatch Austrian troops to aid the Croatian Ban Jellachich who, supported by the Emperor's court, had started a counter-revolutionary campaign against Hungary and been defeated by the Hungarian revolutionary forces on September 29. Headed by the petty-bourgeois democrats, the masses prevented the Vienna garrison from marching to Hungary and seized control of the city after a fierce struggle. However, the insurgents did not receive the necessary support from other revolutionary forces in Austria and Germany and revolutionary measures were sabotaged by the Vienna bourgeoisie. The Hungarian troops were not energetic enough in their march to the aid of the insurgents and were halted by Jellachich on October 29 while the counter-revolutionary army of Windischgrätz had already been fighting in the city itself from October 26. On November 1 the resistance of the insurgents was broken. The restoration of the Habsburgs to power was accompanied by savage counter-revolutionary terror. p. 12

[14] In the spring of 1798, after the troops of the French Directory entered Switzerland, the one and indivisible Helvetian Republic was proclaimed there and a Constitution adopted on the pattern of the French Constitution of 1795. For the first time in the history of the country a central government was created, the equality of the cantons declared, the privileges of the estates and feudal dependence of the peasants abolished, the medieval guilds liquidated etc. Swiss participation in France's wars against the forces of the anti-French coalition was accompanied by a struggle between the progressive and reactionary forces within the country for preserving or abolishing the Helvetian Republic. The latter was abolished in 1803 by Napoleon, who restored, with certain modifications, the previous decentralised state system of the Swiss Confederation. In 1815 the Vienna Congress acknowledged Switzerland's permanent neutrality and approved the Federal Act adopted by the Swiss Diet in 1814, which limited the powers of the central Government still more. Though particularism was restored, on the whole the anti-feudal measures of the Helvetian Republic remained in force. p. 12

[15] The riot which took place on October 24, 1848, in Freiburg (Fribourg) was organised by the Catholic priests led by Bishop Marilley, and aimed at overthrowing the democratic Government of the canton. It was quickly suppressed. p. 12

[16] In English this article was first published in full in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. Prior to this, an excerpt from the article published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on November 12, 1848, appeared under the title "We Refuse to Pay Taxes" in the book: Karl Marx, *On Revolution*, ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971 ("The Karl Marx Library" series). p. 14

[17] Speaking of the Brandenburg Ministry, Frederick William IV said: "Either Brandenburg in the Assembly or the Assembly in Brandenburg." In its issue of November 9, 1848, the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* changed this to: "Brandenburg in the Assembly and the Assembly in Brandenburg." p. 14

[18] The Emperor Charles V is said to have ordered his own funeral to be performed and to have taken part in the burial service shortly before his death. p. 14

[19] The criminal code of Charles V (*Constitutio criminalis carolina*), adopted by the Imperial Diet in Regensburg in 1532, was notorious for its extremely cruel penalties. p. 14

[20] During the uprising of August 10, 1792, which overthrew the French monarchy, Louis XVI (of the Bourbon dynasty originating from the Capet dynasty) sought protection in the National Assembly. The next day he was arrested. The Convention which tried him found him guilty of conspiring against the freedom of the nation and the state security and sentenced him to death. On January 21, 1793, Louis XVI was guillotined. In its issues Nos. 19, 21, 22, 26 and 98 for June 19, 21, 22, 26 and September 9, 1848, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* published a series of articles under the title "Die Verhandlungen des National-Konvents über Louis Capet, Ex-König von Frankreich" describing the trial of Louis XVI. p. 14

[21] Marx is speaking here about the Austrian Imperial Diet which was in session in Vienna from July 1848. The majority of its Slav deputies were associated with the bourgeoisie or the landowners and sought to set up a Slav federal constitutional-monarchic state under the supremacy of Austria and its Emperor. During the Vienna uprising of October 6-7, 1848, the deputies belonging to the Czech national-liberal party urgently left Vienna for Prague, where they continued to provide assistance to the fugitive Emperor in Olmütz (Olomouc) in his struggle against the Vienna insurgents. p. 15

[22] When on November 9, 1848, the Prussian National Assembly was informed of the royal decree transferring it from Berlin to Brandenburg the majority of the Right-wing deputies obediently left the building. p. 15

[23] On June 28, 1848, the Frankfurt National Assembly decided to set up a provisional Central Authority (*Zentralgewalt*) consisting of the Imperial Regent (Archduke John of Austria) and an Imperial Ministry. This provisional Central Authority had neither a budget nor an army of its own, possessed no real power, and was an instrument of the counter-revolutionary policy of the German princes. p. 16

[24] In the preface to his book *Kahldorf über den Adel in Briefen an den Grafen M. von Moltke*, which Heine published in March 1831, he says with reference to the French revolution of 1830: "The Gallic cock has now crowed a second time, and in Germany, too, day is breaking." p. 17

[25] *Lazzaroni*—a contemptuous nickname for declassed proletarians, primarily in the Kingdom of Naples. They were repeatedly used by the Government in the struggle against liberal and democratic movements. p. 17

[26] The *Academic Legion*—a student militarised organisation founded in Vienna in March 1848. Each faculty of the University formed a detachment divided into companies. The Legion consisted mostly of radical democrats. It also included University lecturers and professors as well as writers, poets, journalists and physicians. The Academic Legion played a significant role in the Austrian

revolutionary movement in 1848. It was dissolved after the suppression of the October uprising in Vienna.

The *civic militia* (*Bürgerwehr*)—the Vienna national guard formed after the March events; it was in its social composition a motley organisation: besides artisans and small shopkeepers, it included representatives of the bourgeoisie. Its bourgeois units took part in firing on the workers' demonstration already in August 1848. During the October uprising in Vienna the bourgeois elements of the national guard were pushed into the background and the artisans and small shopkeepers had the upper hand. p. 17

[27] This refers to the speech made by Brandenburg in the Prussian National Assembly on November 9, 1848. In this and other articles that follow, when speaking of events and debates in the Prussian National Assembly, use has been made as a rule of the shorthand reports subsequently published as a separate book: *Verhandlungen der constituirenden Versammlung für Preussen*, Berlin, 1848. p. 18

[28] In its issue of November 3, 1848, the *Kölnische Zeitung* carried an article about an imaginary African tribe, the Hyghlans, an intermediate form between man and ape. "Many of them," it said, "learn Arabic." On November 5, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* ridiculed the report, adding: "This discovery is at any rate of the greatest importance for the party of the wailers for whom the Hyghlans will provide a fitting reinforcement."

For the *wailers* see Note 127. p. 18

[29] According to the French Constitution adopted on November 4, 1848, the presidential elections had to take place in December 1848. The President, as head of the executive, was given wide powers by the Constitution, which reflected the growing counter-revolutionary trend among the ruling bourgeoisie, which had been frightened by the June uprising of the workers in Paris. As a result of the December 10 elections Louis Bonaparte became President of the Republic. Three years later he carried out a coup d'état. p. 18

[30] Marx draws an analogy between the events in Versailles on June 20, 1789 (when the delegates of the States General, which on June 17 declared themselves to be the National Assembly, took an oath in the tennis-court not to disperse until a Constitution had been drawn up), and the events in Berlin on November 11, 1848. On November 9, 1848, a royal decree was read to the delegates transferring the sittings of the Prussian National Assembly from Berlin to Brandenburg but the majority decided to continue their deliberations in Berlin. The next day they were expelled from the building (the playhouse) where their sittings had been held hitherto; from November 11 to 13 the delegates met in the Berlin shooting-gallery, which was occupied by soldiers in the evening of November 13. p. 18

[31] This decision was adopted by the Prussian National Assembly on November 11, 1848, at a sitting in the Berlin shooting-gallery (see *Verhandlungen der constituirenden Versammlung für Preussen. 1848*, Bd. 9, Suppl.-Bd.). p. 19

[32] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 142 (second edition) and No. 143, for November 14 and 15, 1848, carried an article by Georg Weerth under the heading "Die Steuerverweigerung in England bei Gelegenheit der Reform-Bill im Jahre 1832" p. 19

[33] This article is a report from Berlin worked up by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* editorial board. The most important information was as in this volume printed in larger type and worded by the editors accordingly. The entire conclusion was

written by Marx. The rest of the text (published here in small type) contains emphasis by the editors.

This was the first time that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* called on the population to refuse to pay taxes in reply to the coup d'état begun by the Prussian counter-revolutionary forces. p. 20

[34] The *Köllnische Rathaus* (Cologne Town Hall) was situated in the centre of Berlin which in the middle of the nineteenth century was still called Kölln or Altkölln (Old Cologne). p. 20

[35] In the Freiburg (Fribourg) and other Swiss cantons the Government made recognition of the cantonal Constitution one of the conditions for voting at the elections to the Federal Assembly. In Freiburg this measure was directed against clergymen who tried to get their deputies elected to the National Council.

Many members of the National Council, however, regarded this as a violation of the universal suffrage introduced by the 1848 Constitution and managed to have the elections in the Freiburg canton annulled (for details see this volume, pp. 42-43). Subsequently this decision was reviewed and the annulment of the Freiburg elections reversed (see this volume, pp. 57-58). p. 22

[36] Under pressure from Radetzky, commander-in-chief of the Austrian army in North Italy, the *Vorort* Berne sent its representatives and a military detachment to Tessin, a canton bordering on Italy, where Italian refugees who supported the insurgent movement against Austria had found asylum. The representatives demanded that all the Italian refugees should be deported from Tessin into the interior of the country. The Tessin Government refused to fulfil this demand and agreed to deport only those Italians who had taken a direct part in the insurgents' movement. The conflict was discussed in the columns of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* for several months. Engels gave details of the debate on it in the new Swiss Federal Assembly in his article "The National Council" (see this volume, pp. 138-53).

The *Vorort* (the main canton)—the name given to a Swiss canton in whose capital the Diet, and later the Federal Assembly, held its sittings before Berne was proclaimed the Swiss capital. In 1803-09, there were six main cantons—Freiburg, Berne, Solothurn, Basle, Zurich and Lucerne; in 1815 their number was reduced to three: Zurich, Berne and Lucerne, and the seat of the Diet changed every two years.

Until the Constitution of 1848, the *Vorort* authorities to a certain extent fulfilled the functions of the country's Government and its representative was President of the Diet. p. 22

[37] Marx wrote "Cavaignac and the June Revolution" as an editorial introduction to a series of articles published under the title "Herr Cavaignac" in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 142 (second edition), No. 145 (special supplement), No. 146, No. 147 (second edition), No. 157 (supplement) and No. 158, November 14, 17, 18 and 19, December 1 and 2, 1848. These articles were reprinted (with certain changes) from the newspaper *La Presse* where they were published from November 7 to 11, 1848, under the general title: "M. Cavaignac devant la Commission d'Enquête sur l'insurrection du 23. juin", their author being Émile Girardin, editor of the newspaper, republican and later follower of Bonaparte. p. 23

[38] "*Little constable*" (*kleiner Konstabler*)—an ironical paraphrase of "little corporal", a nickname given to Napoleon I by the French soldiers in allusion to the fact that, while in emigration in England, Louis Bonaparte joined the detach-

ments of special constables used to break up the Chartist demonstration of April 10, 1848. p. 23

[39] An allusion to General Cavaignac's part in the conquest of Algeria and his behaviour as Governor there in 1848 when he brutally suppressed the Arab national liberation movement. It was these "exploits" of Cavaignac that gave him the reputation of a reliable "limb of the law" in the eyes of the French bourgeoisie. p. 23

[40] The Central Commission of representatives of the three democratic organisations of Cologne—the Democratic Society, the Workers' Association and the Association for Workers and Employers—was set up at the end of June 1848 by decision of the First Democratic Congress in Frankfurt am Main; Marx was a member of the Commission. Until the convocation of the Rhenish Congress of Democrats, this Commission functioned temporarily as the District Committee. The First Rhenish Congress of Democrats, which was held in Cologne on August 13 and 14, 1848, with the participation of Marx and Engels, confirmed the composition of the Central Commission of these three Cologne democratic associations as Rhenish District Committee of Democrats. Besides the President, lawyer Schneider II, it included Marx, Schapper and Moll. The activities of the Committee covered not only the Rhine Province but also Westphalia. The Congress adopted a decision on the necessity to carry on work among factory workers and peasants.

On November 14, 1848, at the beginning of the counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Prussia, the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats called on the population to refuse to pay taxes, even before the Prussian National Assembly had adopted a decision to this effect. Until the Assembly recognised this slogan and the campaign for the refusal to pay taxes developed in other provinces, Marx judged it necessary to temporarily restrain the people from forcible resistance to the collection of taxes. However, he put the slogan of armed resistance on the agenda when, on November 15, the Assembly at last adopted a decision on the refusal to pay taxes as of November 17. From November 19 to December 17 the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* carried the slogan "No More Taxes!!!" on its front page.

There was a wide response to the appeal in the Rhine Province (see this volume, pp. 39-40).

In English the text of the appeal was first published in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 24

[41] At its sitting on November 13, 1848, held in the Berlin shooting-gallery, the Prussian National Assembly approved the report of a special commission describing the Brandenburg Ministry's actions as acts of high treason. The Assembly decided to publish the report and convey it to the Public Prosecutor for him to take action (see *Verhandlungen der constituirenden Versammlung für Preussen. 1848*, Bd. 9, Suppl.-Bd.).

This article was published in English for the first time in the collection: Karl Marx, *On Revolution*, ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971, and then in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 25

[42] The reference is to the law safeguarding personal freedom passed by the Prussian National Assembly on August 28, 1848, and signed by the King on September 24. It was called the Habeas Corpus Act by analogy with the English Writ of Habeas Corpus. The law was published in the *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger* No. 148, September 29, 1848.

A *Writ of Habeas Corpus* is the name given in English judicial procedure to a document enjoining the relevant authorities to present an arrested person before a court on the demand of persons interested to check the legitimacy of the arrest. Having considered the reasons for the arrest, the court either frees the person arrested, sends him back to prison or releases him on bail or guarantee. The procedure, laid down by an Act of Parliament of 1679, does not apply to persons accused of high treason and can be suspended by decision of Parliament. p. 25

43 This refers to the editors' introduction to the "Appeal of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats" published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 308 on November 16, 1848. p. 29

44 An allusion to the similarity between the measures proposed by Hansemann, the Prussian Minister of Finance (i.e. a compulsory loan as a means to stimulate money circulation), and the views of Pinto, the eighteenth-century Dutch stockjobber, who regarded stockjobbing as a factor speeding up money circulation. Cf. the article "The Bill on the Compulsory Loan and Its Motivation" (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 278-86). p. 30

45 The Auerswald-Hansemann Government (the so-called Government of Action) was in power from June 25 to September 21, 1848 (see Note 153).

Besides the ordinary police, a body of armed civilians was set up in Berlin in the summer of 1848 for use against street gatherings and mass demonstrations and for spying. These policemen were called constables by analogy with the special constables in England who played an important part in breaking up the Chartist demonstration of April 10, 1848. p. 30

46 *Santa Casa* (the Sacred House)—headquarters of the Inquisition in Madrid. p. 31

47 The *Prussian Brumaire of 1848*—an ironical comparison of the counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Prussia with that in France on the 18th Brumaire (November 9), 1799, as a result of which the dictatorship of General Bonaparte was established in the country.

In the Middle Ages people used to believe that there was special wisdom in the works of the Roman poet Virgil. They regarded his poems as divinely inspired and treated him as an oracle. p. 31

48 *Dissenters* or *dissidents*—members of religious trends and sects not belonging to the established church; in this particular case adherents of various Protestant sects who did not recognise orthodox Lutheranism. p. 31

49 *Potsdam*—a town near Berlin, the residence of the Prussian kings where military parades and reviews of the Prussian army were held. p. 34

50 In English this article was published in the collection: Karl Marx, *On Revolution*, ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971, and in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 36

51 The *Privy Councillors' quarter* (*Geheimratsviertel*)—a district in the south-west of Berlin inhabited mainly by Prussian officials. p. 36

52 On October 31, 1848, a mass demonstration was held in Berlin in protest against the cruelty with which the Austrian counter-revolution crushed the Vienna uprising. The demonstration ended when unarmed engineering workers were attacked by the 8th Battalion of the bourgeois civic militia. This incident provided

the Prussian reaction with an excuse for replacing the Pfuel Government by the openly counter-revolutionary Brandenburg Government. p. 36

[53] The majority of the National Assembly adhered to the tactics of passive resistance in their struggle against the counter-revolutionary actions of the Brandenburg Government when it began the coup d'état. These tactics amounted to not obeying the Government's orders, including the one on the transfer of the Assembly from Berlin to Brandenburg. The Assembly refrained from more effective forms of resistance to the counter-revolutionary forces, and only after much procrastination did it adopt the decision on the refusal to pay taxes, interpreting it, moreover, in the spirit of passive disobedience to the authorities. Even the Left-wing deputies did not dare call on the people to arm and deal an open blow against reaction, which the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* saw as the real means of struggle against the coup d'état. As a result of the tactics of passive resistance the Government—which on November 10 brought the troops of General Wrangel into Berlin and declared a state of siege there—managed, by force, arrests and intimidation, to make the Assembly cease its work in Berlin. Then, on December 5, after the resumption of its sittings in Brandenburg in early December 1848, the Government issued orders dissolving it altogether and introducing a Constitution imposed by the King. p. 38

[54] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* published the messages of support for the National Assembly in Berlin on November 21, 25 and 26 (Nos. 148, 152 and 153). p. 39

[55] This appeal gave the Prussian authorities a pretext for instituting legal proceedings against Marx, Schapper and Schneider II, who were members of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats. The trial took place on February 8, 1848, and ended with the jury returning a verdict of not guilty (see this volume, p. 520).

In English the appeal was first published in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 41

[56] This report did not appear in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

In accordance with the new Constitution of the Swiss Confederation adopted on September 12, 1848, members of the Federal Court were elected at a joint sitting of the two Chambers of the Federal Assembly: the National Council and the Council of States. The eight members elected earlier were: Johann Kern (canton of Thurgau), Kasimir Pfyffer (Lucerne), Migy (Berne), Rüttimann (Zurich), Brosi (Graubünden), Zenrufinen (Wallis), Favre (Neuenburg) and Blumer (Glarus).

The Federal Court was responsible for the speedy settlement of conflicts which the Diet (see Note 9) had formerly taken years over, and for passing sentence on persons who were charged with high treason but still remained unpunished. p. 42

[57] See Note 35. p. 42

[58] For the *rebellion of the Bishop of Freiburg* see Note 15.
For the *Sonderbund* see Note 10. p. 43

[59] On October 25, 1848, Bishop Marilley was arrested. On October 30, a diocesan conference of representatives of the Freiburg, Berne, Vaud, Neuchâtel and Geneva canton governments was held in Freiburg (Fribourg). It decided to set the bishop free but to prohibit his stay and activities on the territory of these five cantons. The opening of this conference was announced in the *Neue Rheinische*

*Zeitung* No. 136, November 7, 1848. Possibly Engels wrote about the conference decision in the above-mentioned report, which did not appear in the newspaper (see Note 56). p. 43

60 The reference is to the Second Rhenish Congress of Democrats, which was held in Cologne on November 23, 1848. It discussed questions connected with the tax-refusal campaign and also the question of drawing the peasants into the struggle against the counter-revolution. Marx took part in the deliberations of the Congress, which approved his slogans of action and the tactics of active struggle against the coup d'état in Prussia. For reasons of security the newspaper did not cover the sessions of the Congress and gave only extremely laconic reports on its decisions. Thus, the second edition of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 153, November 26, 1848, carried the following item: "The Congress of Rhenish democrats, held on November 23, approved the decisions adopted by the District Committee.—Detailed instructions will be communicated by the delegates to their associations." p. 46

61 On July 5, 1848, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 35 published the article "Arrests" giving details of the arrest of Gottschalk and Anneke, then leaders of the Cologne Workers' Association (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 177-79). This article served as a pretext for charging the editors with insulting Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel and the police officers who made the arrests. Public Prosecutor Hecker sent a letter to the newspaper refuting the article "Arrests" and threatening the editors. Marx published the letter in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and called the Cologne Public Prosecutor's office a "new, promising contributor" to that newspaper (see the article "Legal Proceedings against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*", present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 186-88). p. 48

62 The *German National Assembly* which opened on May 18, 1848, in St. Paul's Church, in the free city of Frankfurt am Main, was convened to effect the unification of the country and to draw up its Constitution. Among the deputies elected in various German states late in April and early in May there were 122 government officials, 95 judges, 81 lawyers, 103 professors, 17 manufacturers and wholesale dealers, 15 physicians and 40 landowners. The liberal deputies, who were in the majority, turned the Assembly into a mere debating club. At the decisive moments of the revolution—during the September crisis connected with the signing of Prussia's armistice with Denmark to the detriment of Germany's national interests, during the October uprising in Vienna and the coup d'état in Prussia—the liberal majority helped the counter-revolutionary forces. Thus, the German National Assembly disavowed the decision of the Prussian National Assembly on refusal to pay taxes by 275 votes to 150. The decision referred to in this article was adopted by the Frankfurt National Assembly on November 20, 1848.

In writing this and other articles on the debates in the Frankfurt National Assembly, Marx and Engels made use of the shorthand reports of its sittings which later appeared as a separate publication, *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen constituirenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main*, Frankfurt am Main, 1848-49. p. 51

63 The *Federal Diet*—the representative body of the German Confederation, that ephemeral union of German states founded by decision of the Vienna Congress in 1815. Consisting of representatives of the German states, the Federal Diet had no

real power and served as a vehicle of feudal and monarchist reaction. After the March 1848 revolution in Germany the Right-wing circles tried in vain to revive the Federal Diet and use it to undermine the principle of popular sovereignty and prevent the democratic unification of Germany. p. 52

[64] Marx refers to the rejection by Prime Minister Brandenburg of the petition presented by a delegation from the Cologne Municipal Council and other Rhenish delegations asking to be given an audience by the King. When the delegates said that in case of refusal they would suspend payment of taxes, the Prime Minister threatened to resort to bayonets. p. 53

[65] This rumour was based on the conflict between the German Central Authority, or the so-called Imperial Government (see Note 23), which acted in the name of the Frankfurt National Assembly, and the Swiss authorities. Early in October the Imperial Government sent a Note to Berne demanding the cessation of the actions of the German republican refugees and their expulsion from the cantons bordering on Germany. This and the next Note, of October 23, contained both demands and threats, which, however, were rejected by the Swiss Government. The conflict accompanied by frontier incidents continued. Its essence was revealed by Engels in his article "The German Central Authority and Switzerland" (see this volume, pp. 66-74). p. 55

[66] See Note 36. p. 57

[67] A few days before the publication of this report, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 198 of November 21, 1848, carried the following report marked with two asterisks:

"*Berne*, November 16. I hasten to inform you of the results of the elections to the executive Federal Council held at today's joint sitting of the National Council and the Council of States. The following were elected:

"President: Burgomaster Furrer, of Zurich;

"Vice-President: State Councillor Druey, of Waadt;

"Members: Colonel Ochsenbein, of Berne;
Colonel Franscini, of Tessin;
Herr Munzinger, of Solothurn;
Herr Näff, of St. Gallen;
Herr Steiger, of Lucerne.

"The moderate party which has an overwhelming majority in both Councils also had its candidates elected against the candidates of the radical party: Eytel, Stämpfli, Luvini etc."

This information, probably supplied by Engels, contained certain inaccuracies which can be explained by the fact that the Federal Council had not finally constituted itself by that time. Instead of Ochsenbein, Steiger was elected President of the National Council; and the seventh member of the Federal Council was Frey-Hérosé of Aargau. For the details see Engels' article "Personalities of the Federal Council" (this volume, pp. 83-87).

The Federal Council was the supreme executive body of the Swiss Republic. The President of the Republic, elected from among the Council members, was also President of the Federal Council. p. 57

[68] See Note 35. p. 57

[69] See Note 10. p. 58

[70] See Note 36. p. 58

[71] According to the Constitution of the Swiss Confederation of 1848, Swiss citizens had the right to vote after three months' permanent residence. p. 59

[72] The following report from Berne, dated November 23, 1848, appeared in the supplement to No. 154 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* but it elucidated other questions ("Raveaux's Resignation—Violation of the Swiss Frontier", see this volume, pp. 63-64). Engels gave detailed information about the debates in the National Council on the Tessin conflict in his article "The National Council", published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on December 10, 1848 (see this volume, pp. 138-53). p. 62

[73] The *Barataria's Reich*—an ironical name which Engels gave to the future united German state for which the members of the Frankfurt parliament were drafting a Constitution; an allusion to the imaginary island of Barataria of which Sancho Panza was made Governor in Cervantes' novel *Don Quixote.* p. 64

[74] During the coup d'état in Prussia the Frankfurt National Assembly undertook to settle the conflict between the Prussian National Assembly and the Crown. For this purpose, first Bassermann (one of the liberal leaders) and then Simson and Hergenhahn went to Berlin as imperial commissioners. In mid-November the Frankfurt National Assembly adopted a decision calling on the Central Authority to help, through the imperial commissioners in Berlin, to form a Ministry which would enjoy the confidence of the country, that is a Ministry more acceptable to the Prussian bourgeoisie than the obviously counter-revolutionary Brandenburg-Manteuffel Ministry. However, this decision proved ineffective because the Frankfurt Assembly's liberal majority openly disapproved of the campaign for refusal to pay taxes as a means of struggle against the coup d'état. The mediation of the imperial commissioners proved to be helpful to the counter-revolutionaries since it diverted the democratic forces in the German states from real support of the Prussian National Assembly in its struggle against the Brandenburg-Manteuffel Ministry. p. 65

[75] The reference is to the armistice between Denmark and Prussia concluded in the Swedish city of Malmö on August 26, 1848. Though the Prussian ruling circles waged the war against Denmark over Schleswig and Holstein in the name of the German Confederation, they sacrificed general German interests to dynastic and counter-revolutionary interests when they concluded the armistice. They were moved by the desire to release troops for the suppression of the revolution in Prussia, and also by pressure from Russia and Britain, which supported Denmark. Besides a ceasefire between Prussia and Denmark, the armistice provided for the replacement of the provisional authorities in Schleswig with a new government, to be formed by the two contracting parties (representatives of the Danish monarchy were dominant in it), separation of the Schleswig and Holstein armed forces and other harsh terms for the national liberation movement in the duchies. The revolutionary-democratic reforms which had been introduced were now virtually eliminated.

The Malmö armistice and its ratification by the Frankfurt National Assembly caused popular dissatisfaction and protests in Germany. p. 67

[76] The *Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation* was founded in 962 and lasted till 1806. At different times it included German, Italian, Austrian, Hungarian and Bohemian lands, Switzerland and the Netherlands, forming a motley conglomeration of feudal kingdoms and principalities, church lands and free cities with different political structures, legal standards and customs. p. 67

[77] Maximilian Gagern's journey to Berlin and Schleswig, made on instructions from the Government of the Imperial Regent John to take part in the armistice negotiations with Denmark in the summer of 1848, ended in a complete failure since both Prussia and Denmark ignored the representative of the impotent Central Authority.

Engels compares this fruitless journey of Gagern's with that of the heroine in Johann Hermes' novel *Sophiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen* which was popular in Germany at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century: after spending more than ten years on her journey she failed to reach her destination. p. 67

[78] In April 1848 Baden was the scene of a republican uprising led by the petty-bourgeois democrats Friedrich Hecker and Gustav Struve. It started with republican detachments invading Baden from the Swiss border. But this poorly prepared and poorly organised uprising was crushed by the end of April. p. 67

[79] The first Note to the *Vorort* (main canton) Berne (see Note 36), dated October 4, 1848, and signed by Franz Raveaux, an imperial commissioner in Switzerland, was published in several German newspapers including the *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger* No. 163 of October 14, 1848. The same day, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (in the supplement to issue No. 116) carried a report from Berne dated October 8 setting forth the content of the Note from the main canton Berne written in reply to the imperial Note. The full text of the Note, dated October 5, was reproduced in the *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung* on October 10 (No. 275, second supplement) and October 11, 1848 (No. 276).

A new Note of the German Central Authority, dated October 23 and also signed by Raveaux, was published in the *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung* No. 298 on November 6, 1848. An announcement about its delivery to the Berne authorities appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 140, November 11. The main canton Berne's reply of November 4 was published in the *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung* No. 304 and in the first supplement to it on November 13, 1848. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* likewise published the text of this Note in its issue No. 143, November 15, 1848. p. 68

[80] See Note 73. p. 68

[81] An allusion to the special troops supplied by the so-called Military Border Area—i.e., military settlements formed in the southern border regions of the Austrian Empire between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. The inhabitants of these regions—Serbs, Croats, Rumanians, Szeklers, Saxons, and others—were allotted plots of land by the state, for which they had to serve in the army, pay taxes and fulfil certain public duties. While serving in the army they wore red coats and caps. In 1848 they formed part of the counter-revolutionary army of the Croatian Ban Jellachich deployed against revolutionary Vienna and Hungary.

The names of these border regiments and battalions derived either from the names of the regions where they were formed, the names of the central towns of the corresponding border areas, or the nationality making up the majority of the military unit. p. 68

[82] See Note 9. p. 68

[83] After the defeat of the Baden republican uprising in April 1848 (see Note 78), one of its leaders, Friedrich Hecker, emigrated to Switzerland and lived in Muttenz (Basle canton) until September 1848, when he left for America. p. 72

[84] The reference is to the invasion of Baden from Swiss territory by detachments of German republican refugees led by Gustav Struve on September 21, 1848, following the news of the ratification by the Frankfurt National Assembly of the armistice in Malmö and the popular uprising in Frankfurt in reply to it. Supported by the local republicans, Struve proclaimed a German Republic in the frontier town of Lörrach and formed a provisional government. However, the insurgent detachments were shortly afterwards scattered by the troops, and Struve, Blind and other leaders of the uprising were imprisoned by decision of a court martial (they were released during another republican uprising in Baden in May 1849). p. 74

[85] The words "citizen and communist" were taken by Marx from the address of General Drigalski, commander of a division quartered in Düsseldorf, to the population. The address was published in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* No. 311, November 24, 1848. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* reprinted it immediately after this article. Drigalski said in the address:

"As a communist truly devoted to God and my King, I declare hereby that for the benefit of my poor brothers of the Düsseldorf commune I shall, as long as I live here, pay yearly the sum of thousand talers by monthly instalments to the city poor fund through the Government's central treasury.... Fellow citizens, follow this example and be communists in the noble sense of this word and soon here, as everywhere else, there will be calm, peace and confidence.

"Düsseldorf, November 23, 1848

Citizen *von Drigalski*" p. 75

[86] The state of siege in Düsseldorf was declared on November 22, 1848, the order of Spiegel and Drigalski to that effect being published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 314 (second edition), November 23, 1848. p. 75

[87] Pfuel's speech in the Prussian National Assembly on September 29, 1848, was connected with the declaration of a state of siege in Cologne on September 26. The Cologne authorities had been scared by the growing revolutionary-democratic movement and the campaign of protest against the Prussian-Danish armistice concluded in Malmö and ratified by the Frankfurt Assembly. Pfuel tried to justify this measure, but general indignation against the actions of the Cologne authorities and their condemnation by the Left deputies in the Assembly compelled the Government to issue an order lifting the state of siege in Cologne as of November 2, 1848. p. 75

[88] The *Penal Code* (*Code pénal*), adopted in France in 1810 and introduced into the regions of West and South-West Germany conquered by the French, remained in effect in the Rhine Province even after its incorporation into Prussia in 1815. The Prussian Government attempted to reduce the sphere of its application and by a whole series of laws and orders to reintroduce in this province Prussian Law designed to guarantee feudal privileges. These measures, which met with great opposition in the Rhine Province, were annulled after the March revolution by the decree of April 15, 1848. p. 76

[89] The law of April 6—"Decision on Some Principles of the Future Prussian Constitution" ("Verordnung über einige Grundlagen der künftigen Preussischen Verfassung")—was adopted by the *Second United Diet*, an assembly of representatives from the eight provincial diets of Prussia. Like the provincial diets, the United Diet was based on the estate principle. It sanctioned new taxes and loans, discussed new Bills and had the right to petition the King.

The *First United Diet* opened on April 11, 1847, but was dissolved in June because it refused to grant a new loan. The Second United Diet met on April 2, 1848, after the revolution of March 18-19 in Prussia. It adopted decrees, decisions and a law on the elections to the Prussian National Assembly, and sanctioned the loan, following which its session was closed. p. 77

90 The *Civic Militia Law* was adopted on the basis of the Bill introduced in mid-July of 1848 by the Auerswald-Hansemann Ministry. It reflected the desire of the Prussian liberals to prevent the masses from joining the civic militia formed after the March revolution in Prussia, and to convert it into a purely bourgeois military organisation. (For the criticism of it by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* see the article "The Civic Militia Bill", present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 256-65.) The law in effect abolished the militia as an autonomous armed organisation and subordinated it to the King and the Minister of the Interior. This dependence of the civic militia on the Government was utilised by the counter-revolutionary forces during the coup d'état in Prussia. p. 77

91 The reference is to a statement made by the Düsseldorf Chief Postmaster (*Oberpostdirektor*) Maurenbrecher on November 21, 1848, and published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 314 (second edition) on November 23. This statement accused a group of officers of the Düsseldorf civic militia of "sacrilegiously" violating the secrecy of the postal service and correspondence because they tried to find out at the post-office whether postal orders for large sums of money had arrived from the *Regierungspräsident*. p. 77

92 For the *law safeguarding personal freedom* see Note 42. Below Marx quotes Paragraph 9 of this law. p. 78

93 In addition to the proceedings instituted earlier against the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the Cologne Public Prosecutor Hecker gave instructions, in the autumn of 1848, to bring to court the editor-in-chief Karl Marx and the responsible publisher Hermann Korff, for publishing in their newspaper a number of items which were not to the liking of the authorities, including the proclamation "To the German People" by the republican Friedrich Hecker. Although the examining magistrate declared in October 1848 that there were no serious grounds for prosecution, the Public Prosecutor insisted on his former accusations and even advanced new ones.

In his article "Public Prosecutor 'Hecker' and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*" (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 485-89), Marx sharply criticised the Cologne Public Prosecutor's office, using the coincidence of the names of the Public Prosecutor and the republican to call the former either "simple Hecker" ("*tout bonnement*") ("*C'est du Hecker tout pur*"—"it's genuine Hecker", as he wrote in French) or "the dichotomous Hecker". This was the "second crime" of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see this volume, p. 82). p. 81

94 The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was accused by the Cologne authorities of insulting police officers and Public Prosecutor Zweiffel in the summer of 1848, by publishing the article "Arrests" exposing the repressive measures against Gottschalk and Anneke, leaders of the Cologne Workers' Association (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 177-79). Later this accusation was made at the trial of Marx and Engels (see this volume, pp. 304-22, 511 and 517). p. 81

95 *In partibus infidelium*—literally: in parts inhabited by unbelievers. The words are added to the title of Roman Catholic bishops appointed to purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries. p. 81

[96] The *Disch Hotel* was in Cologne; the *Mielentz Hotel*—a hotel in Berlin where the Prussian National Assembly, driven out of its former premises, held its sitting on November 15, 1848. p. 81

[97] At the end of September 1848, the Imperial Minister of Justice, Kisker, demanded that the Cologne Public Prosecutor should institute legal proceedings against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* editors for publishing a series of feature articles which ridiculed Prince Lichnowski, a reactionary deputy of the Frankfurt National Assembly, under the name of the knight Schnapphahnski. Written by Georg Weerth, the feature articles "Leben und Taten des berühmten Ritters Schnapphahnski" were published unsigned in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in August, September and December 1848 and in January 1849. p. 82

[98] Concerning the *Vorort* see Note 36.
Concerning the Swiss *Diet* see Note 9. p. 83

[99] On September 6, 1839, the canton of Zurich was the scene of a putsch organised by conservatives and clericals which led to the overthrow of the liberal Government formed on the basis of the 1831 Constitution and brought the conservatives to power. This conservative Government was in turn replaced when the liberals won the elections in 1845. p. 83

[100] See Note 10. p. 84

[101] The reference is to the party of moderate republicans headed by Armand Marrast which formed around the newspaper *Le National* in the 1840s; it was supported by the industrial bourgeoisie and a section of the liberal intellectuals connected with it. p. 84

[102] The draft Constitution for Tessin was approved by the people of this canton on July 4, 1830, three weeks before the July revolution in France which led to the overthrow of the Bourbons and exerted a great influence on Switzerland.
December 1839 saw the revival of the liberal and radical movement in Tessin. As a result of the popular uprising on December 8 a provisional government was set up and the Great Council of Tessin was replaced by a new one with the radical Stefano Franscini at its head. The attempts of the conservative party to take the lead were finally defeated after the elections of November 15, 1840, which brought victory to the liberals. p. 85

[103] Munzinger and Escher, the main canton Berne's representatives in Tessin at the time of the so-called *Tessin conflict* (see Note 36), insisted that all Italian refugees in Tessin and their families should be removed into the interior of the country. Their demand was contrary to the principle of sovereignty of the cantons. p. 86

[104] *Commission du pouvoir exécutif* (the Executive Commission)—the Government of the French Republic set up by the Constituent Assembly on May 10, 1848, to replace the Provisional Government which had resigned. It existed until June 24, 1848, when Cavaignac's dictatorship was established during the June proletarian uprising. The majority in the Commission were moderate republicans, Ledru-Rollin being the only representative of the Left. p. 87

[105] The reference is to an anonymous patriotic pamphlet, *Deutschland in seiner tiefen Erniedrigung* (Nuremberg, 1806), directed against Napoleon's rule. For the

publication of this pamphlet the bookseller Johann Philipp Palm was shot by the French authorities. p. 88

[106] See Note 75. p. 88

[107] The full title of this report in German is "Bericht des Ausschusses für die österreichischen Angelegenheiten über die Anträge der Abgeordneten Venedey, Heinrich Simon, Wiesner und Bauernschmied, sowie über mehrere die österreichischen Angelegenheiten betreffende Petitionen". It was published in the book: *Verhandlungen der deutschen verfassunggebenden Reichsversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main*, Bd. 2, Frankfurt am Main, 1848-49, S. 602-19. The report was read out by Deputy H. Löwe, of Posen, at the 119th sitting of the Frankfurt National Assembly on November 20, 1848. Appended to it were letters of the two imperial commissioners Welcker and Mosle to the Imperial Minister Schmerling and the Austrian Prime Minister Wessenberg; these letters are repeatedly quoted in this article. Subsequently, touching on Welcker and Mosle's mission when dealing with the October uprising in Vienna in his work *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, Engels wrote: "The travels of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza form matter for an Odyssey in comparison to the heroic feats and wonderful adventures of these two knights-errant of German Unity.... Their dispatches and reports are perhaps the only portion of the Frankfurt transactions that will retain a place in German literature; they are a perfect satirical romance, ready cut and dried, and an eternal monument of disgrace for the Frankfurt Assembly and its government" (see present edition, Vol. 11). p. 88

[108] *Eisele* and *Beisele*, here nicknames for Welcker and Mosle, are comic characters from a pamphlet by Johann Wilhelm Christern published anonymously, *Doctor Eisele's und Baron von Beisele's Landtagsreise im April 1847. Genrebilder aus der neuesten Zeitgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1847. These names also appeared in the Munich *Fliegenden Blättern* in 1848. p. 89

[109] *Die Jobsiade. Ein komisches Heldengedicht*—satirical poem by Karl Arnold Kortum published in 1784 and repeatedly reprinted in the nineteenth century. The comic travel map attached to it was a closed labyrinth. p. 89

[110] An allusion to the uprising in Frankfurt am Main which broke out following the ratification of the Malmö armistice by the majority of the National Assembly on September 16, 1848. Next day, there was a mass meeting of protest in the suburbs of Frankfurt attended by the inhabitants of the city and the neighbouring towns and localities who demanded the dissolution of the Assembly and the formation of a new representative body. The Imperial Government called in Prussian and Austrian troops. When an uprising flared up on the following day, the poorly armed people were defeated after stubborn barricade fighting. There was popular unrest in many parts of Germany in response to the Frankfurt events. p. 92

[111] See Note 81. p. 93

[112] The Austrian troops of Windischgrätz and Jellachich which suppressed the Vienna uprising were mostly recruited from the South-Slav peoples.

*Serezhans*—special units in border regiments (200 men per regiment) recruited in the Serbian and Croatian regions of the Military Border Area (see Note 81). In peacetime they protected the frontier and in wartime fulfilled vanguard, outpost and patrol duties.

*Raizes* (*Raizen, Razen, Rascier*)—the name given to the Orthodox Serbs and often used for Serbs in general. It is apparently derived from the name of one of the first settlements of Serbian tribes, the ancient town Rassa, centre of the Raschka region. p. 94

113 A reference to the documents relating to the activities of the German refugees in the border cantons of Switzerland published in the *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung* No. 301 (special supplement), November 9, 1848. p. 98

114 See Note 74. p. 99

115 By decision of the Vienna Congress (1814-15) the lands on the left and the right banks of the Rhine were incorporated into Prussia, and among other titles bestowed on the King of Prussia was that of Archduke of the Lower Rhine. In his manifesto of April 5, 1815, issued on the occasion of the incorporation of this territory into Prussia, Frederick William III promised to introduce representative institutions in the Rhine Province and throughout the country. p. 99

116 An English translation of this article was first published in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 101

117 On *April 10, 1848*, a Chartist demonstration in London was broken up by troops and special constables; the purpose of the demonstration was to present the third Chartist Petition to Parliament.

On *May 15, 1848*, the bourgeois national guard suppressed the revolutionary actions of the Paris workers.

On *June 25, 1848*, the rising of the workers of Paris was crushed.

On *August 6, 1848*, Milan was occupied by Austrian troops, who suppressed the national liberation movement in North Italy.

On *November 1, 1848*, the troops of Windischgrätz took Vienna. p. 101

118 As a result of the revolutionary actions of the masses in Vienna, primarily of the workers and students, on May 15 and 16, the Imperial Government was forced to give up the idea of creating an elective two-Chamber parliament and to introduce changes into the electoral law, adopted shortly before that, by extending the franchise. The armed people also secured the abrogation of the order of May 14 dissolving the Central Committee of the national guard and the Academic Legion (see Note 26).

On May 15, 1848, a popular uprising in Naples caused by King Ferdinand's infringement of constitutional rights was brutally crushed, the *lazzaroni* (see Note 25) taking an active part in its suppression. p. 102

119 This refers to the suppression of the popular uprising in Frankfurt am Main on September 18, 1848 (see Note 110). p. 103

120 On July 25, 1848, at Custozza (North Italy), the Austrian army under Radetzky defeated the Piedmont troops. This was followed by the capture of Milan on August 6 and the conclusion on August 9 of an armistice between Austria and the Kingdom of Sardinia under which the latter was to withdraw its troops from the towns and fortresses of Lombardy and Venice and to hand them over to the Austrians. p. 103

121 The uprising in Leghorn (Grand Duchy of Tuscany) began at the end of August 1848 and ended on September 2 with the rout of the government troops. Fearing that the uprising might spread all over Tuscany, the Grand Duke Leopold II

dismissed the moderate liberal Government of Capponi. On October 27 a democratic government of Tuscany was formed headed by Montagnelli. It was he who put forward the slogan of convening an Italian Constituent Assembly (Guerazzi became a member of the Government).

The victory of the people in Tuscany called forth mass demonstrations in Rome (Papal states) demanding the convocation of an Italian Constituent Assembly, resumption of the war with Austria, formation of a provisional democratic government, and social reforms. On November 16, in response to the attempts of the Papal Swiss Guard to disperse the demonstration, the people erected barricades near the Vatican and attacked it. Pius IX yielded, and a new government was set up in Rome with the participation of Left liberals and democrats. p. 104

122 "*Troppo tardi, santo padre, troppo tardi!*" ("Too late, Holy Father, too late!") cried the revolutionary-minded people of Rome when Pius IX, after much procrastination, issued an edict on March 15, 1848, introducing a watered-down Constitution of the Papal states. p. 107

123 See Note 59. p. 109

124 Fearing the growth of the revolutionary movement in Rome (see Note 121), Pius IX fled from Rome on the night of November 24, 1848, and took up residence in the Neapolitan fortress of Gaeta. Meanwhile a struggle flared up in the Papal states between the revolutionary democrats who stood for the proclamation of a republic and the liberals who sought to bring back the Pope to Rome and get his sanction for certain constitutional concessions. In the course of this struggle the liberals were defeated and on February 9, 1849, a Roman Republic was founded. p. 109

125 The reference is to the treaty (drawn up by the Swiss Diet in 1814 and approved by the Vienna Congress in 1815) which acknowledged Switzerland's permanent neutrality. Under this treaty the Swiss Confederation was defined as a federation of 22 cantons. When a Constitution was introduced in 1848, this treaty became invalid. p. 119

126 Concerning the position of Escher and Munzinger as the representatives of the Berne canton in Tessin during the so-called Tessin conflict, see Note 36. p. 119

127 In 1848-49 moderate bourgeois constitutionalists in Germany called the republican democrats "*agitators*" (*Wühler*) and these in turn called their opponents "*wailers*" (*Heuler*). p. 120

128 The articles "The French Working Class and the Presidential Elections" and "Proudhon" were written by Engels in early December 1848 during his stay in Switzerland and were intended for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. However, they were not published and came down to us in manuscript form. p. 123

129 In view of the presidential elections in France scheduled for December 10, 1848, the party of the petty-bourgeois democrats, which had formed a bloc for a time with the petty-bourgeois socialists (Louis Blanc and others) and grouped round the newspaper *La Réforme* (its representatives in the Constituent and later in the Legislative Assembly called themselves Montagnards or the Mountain by analogy with the Montagnards in the Convention of 1792-94), nominated its leader, Ledru-Rollin, as a candidate for the presidency. The proletarian socialists,

however, preferred their own candidate, Raspail, a well-known scientist and revolutionary with communist views. Proudhon's followers, grouped round his newspaper *Le Peuple*, also supported Raspail.

The differences between the supporters of these two candidates revealed the internal contradictions among the revolutionary democrats. To characterise these differences Engels made use of the material published in the French democratic and socialist periodicals, in particular, the article "Encore et toujours la présidence" in *La Réforme*, November 14, 1848, and the leading article in *La Révolution démocratique et sociale* No. 10, November 10, 1848. p. 123

130 By the "pure" (or tricolour) republicans are meant members of the *National* party (see Note 101). p. 124

131 See Note 104. p. 124

132 For the revolutionary events in Paris on May 15, 1848, see Note 117.

The *June insurrection*—the proletarian uprising in Paris on June 23-26, 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 124-28 and 130-64). p. 124

133 *Equitable Labour Exchange Bazaars or Offices* (the name is given in English in the German original) were founded by the workers' co-operative societies in various towns of England in 1832. This movement was headed by Robert Owen, who founded such a bazaar in London. The products of labour at these bazaars were exchanged for a kind of paper "money" issued as labour "tickets", a working hour being the unit. These bazaars were an attempt by the utopians to organise exchange without money in the conditions of capitalist commodity production and soon proved to be a failure. p. 130

134 Concerning this speech of Proudhon's in the French National (Constituent) Assembly on July 31, 1848, see the article "Proudhon's Speech against Thiers" published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 321-24). p. 132

135 The royal order dissolving the Prussian National Assembly was issued on December 5, 1848. In the Ministry's explanation accompanying the order the Assembly was accused of having disregarded the royal decree of November 8 ordering it to move from Berlin to Brandenburg, a measure allegedly designed "to protect the deputies' freedom of deliberation from the anarchistic movements in the capital and their terroristic influences".

The imposed Constitution came into force on December 5, 1848, simultaneously with the dissolution of the Assembly. This Constitution provided for a two-Chamber parliament. By means of age and property qualifications the First Chamber was made a privileged "Chamber of the Gentry", while under the electoral law of December 6, 1848, a considerable part of the working people was excluded from the two-stage election to the Second Chamber. According to this Constitution, in case of war or "disorders" "guarantees" of personal freedom, inviolability of the home, freedom of the press, assembly and association etc. were suspended. Wide powers were assumed by the King: he had the right to convene or dissolve the Chambers, to appoint Ministers, to declare war or conclude peace; he had the executive power entirely in his hands, while sharing the legislative power with the Chambers. All this, together with the direct proviso that the King could review the Constitution on his own initiative, played into the hands of the counter-revolutionaries. p. 134

[136] See Note 2. p. 134

[137] An English translation of this article first appeared in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 135

[138] See Note 135. p. 135

[139] The *Vorort*—see Note 36.
Concerning the *Struve campaign* see Note 84. p. 136

[140] See Note 9. p. 140

[141] See Note 10. p. 142

[142] See Note 10. p. 146

[143] The reference is to the anti-constitutional coup d'état in the Wallis (Valais) canton in May 1844, when the Upper Wallis opponents of bourgeois reforms, instigated by the Jesuits and the clergy, overthrew the liberal Government and annulled the cantonal Constitution of 1840. In a battle at Pont-de-Trient on May 21, 1,500 men of Lower Wallis headed by Maurice Barman were defeated by the 8,000-strong army of General Kalbermatten. With the change of government the Wallis canton joined the Sonderbund (see Note 10) in June 1844. p. 148

[144] In October 1848 there was an uprising in North Lombardy (Veltlin and other places) against the Austrian occupation troops of Radetzky. Giuseppe Mazzini, who had emigrated to Switzerland after Milan was occupied by the Austrians in September 1848, issued an appeal to the insurgents and tried to help them by organising an expedition of Italian refugees who had settled in the Swiss frontier canton of Tessin.

Crossing the frontier at Valle Intelvi the members of the expedition joined the insurgents, but the uprising was soon crushed and the surviving refugees returned to Switzerland. This provided Radetzky with a pretext for demanding from the Swiss Government the deportation of all Italian refugees, but the Tessin authorities refused to satisfy this demand. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* published a number of reports on the course of the uprising in Lombardy (in the section "Italy"). p. 152

[145] The second article in the series "The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-Revolution" (of December 11, 1848) was first published in English in the book: Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Vol. I, Moscow, 1950. The series was first published in full in English in the collection: Karl Marx, *On Revolution,* ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971, and then in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 154

[146] Below Marx quotes "Decision on Some Principles of the Future Prussian Constitution" ("Verordnung über einige Grundlagen der künftigen Preussischen Verfassung") and the electoral law for the convocation of the National Assembly adopted by the Second United Diet (see Note 89) on April 6 and 8, 1848. Both documents were published in the book *Verhandlungen des zum 2. April 1848 zusammenberufenen Vereinigten Landtages, zusammengestellt von E. Bleich,* Berlin, 1848. p. 154

[147] This refers to the Constitution imposed by the Prussian King on December 5, 1848, simultaneously with the publication of the order dissolving the Prussian National Assembly (see Note 135). p. 154

[148] See Note 109. p. 154

[149] *Trop tard!* (too late!)—apparently by analogy with *Troppo tardi!* Cf. Note 122. p. 157

[150] During the March revolution of 1848 the Prince of Prussia fled to England, but on June 4, aided by the Camphausen Ministry, he returned to Berlin. At the sitting of the Prussian National Assembly on June 6 Camphausen sought to present this cowardly flight of the Prince as a journey undertaken for educational purposes. p. 157

[151] After the March revolution of 1848 in Germany an insurrection of the Poles broke out in the Duchy of Posen for their liberation from the Prussian yoke. The mass of the Polish peasants and artisans took part in it together with members of the lesser nobility. The Prussian Government was forced to promise that a commission would be set up to carry out the reorganisation of Posen: creation of a Polish army, appointment of Poles to administrative and other posts, recognition of Polish as the official language etc. On April 14, 1848, however, the King ordered the division of the Duchy of Posen into an eastern Polish part and a western "German" part, which was not to be "reorganised". During the months following the suppression of the Polish insurrection by the Prussian military, in violation of all agreements with the Poles, the demarcation line was pushed further and further east and the promised "reorganisation" was never carried out.

Under the impact of the March revolution, the national liberation movement of the German population in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which had been incorporated into the Kingdom of Denmark by decision of the Vienna Congress (1815), grew in strength and became radical and democratic, forming part of the struggle for the unification of Germany. Volunteers from all over the country rushed to the aid of the local population when it rose in arms against Danish rule. Prussia, Hanover and other states of the German Confederation sent to the duchies federal troops under the command of the Prussian General Wrangel. However, the Prussian Government which feared a popular outbreak and an intensification of the revolution sought an agreement with Denmark at the expense of the general German interests. The situation was complicated by the intervention of Britain, Sweden and Tsarist Russia in favour of the Kingdom of Denmark. The seven months' armistice concluded between Prussia and Denmark at Malmö on August 26, 1848 (see Note 75), in fact preserved Danish rule in Schleswig and Holstein. The war, resumed at the end of March 1849, ended in 1850 with the victory of the Danes and the two duchies remained part of the Kingdom of Denmark. p. 157

[152] On September 15, 1848, General Wrangel, who was associated with the reactionary Court clique, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Brandenburg military district, which included Berlin. The *Markgrafschaft* (Marches) of Brandenburg, the original core of Prussia, consisted in the Middle Ages of two parts, the Kurmark and the Neumark, hence the title of the general: "Commander-in-Chief of the two Marches." p. 157

[153] Concerning *Hansemann-Pinto* see Note 44.

The "Government of Action" which succeeded the Camphausen Government was in power from June 25 to September 21, 1848, Auerswald being formally its head. Hansemann, Finance Minister as in the Camphausen Ministry, actually directed the Ministry's activity. p. 157

154 Marx refers to the revolution in the Netherlands in 1566-1609 which was a combination of the national liberation war against absolutist Spain and the anti-feudal struggle of the progressive forces. The revolution ended with the victory of the north, where Europe's first bourgeois republic—the United Provinces (the Dutch Republic)—was established, and with the defeat of the southern provinces, which remained under Spanish rule. p. 161

155 An allusion to Camphausen, who was formerly an oil and corn dealer, and to Hansemann, who started as a wool merchant. p. 163

156 Early in June 1848, the Prussian National Assembly, under pressure from the Government and the moderate constitutionalists, rejected a resolution giving due credit to the participants in the revolution of March 18-19, 1848, in Prussia. After long debates (described by Engels in his article "The Berlin Debate on the Revolution", present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 73-86), the Assembly decided by a majority vote to proceed to the next items on the agenda. The Assembly's renunciation of the March revolution aroused the indignation of the Berlin workers and artisans who, on June 14, took the arsenal by storm to arm themselves and defend their revolutionary gains. The uprising was put down by the army and the bourgeois civic militia. p. 165

157 Marx refers here to the numerous promises of the kings of Prussia to introduce a Constitution and representative bodies in the country. On May 22, 1815, a decree was issued by the King in which he promised the setting up of provincial diets of estates, the convocation of an all-Prussia representative body, and a Constitution. Under the National Debt Law of January 17, 1820, state loans could only be issued with the consent of the provincial diets. But these promises made under pressure from the bourgeois opposition movement remained a dead letter. All that happened was that a law of June 5, 1823, established provincial diets with restricted advisory functions.

Financial difficulties compelled Frederick William IV on February 3, 1847, to issue an edict convening the United Diet (*Vereinigte Landtag*), a body consisting of representatives of all the provincial diets of Prussia. The United Diet refused to grant a loan to the Government and was soon dissolved. The electoral law of April 8, 1848 (Marx quotes it above, on p. 154 of this volume), promulgated as a result of the March revolution, provided for the convocation of an Assembly to draft a Constitution by "agreement with the Crown". The two-stage system of voting established by this law secured the majority for the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the Prussian officials. p. 166

158 By *Prussian Law* is meant the *Allgemeines Landrecht für die Preussischen Staaten* approved and published in 1794. It included the criminal, constitutional, civil, administrative and ecclesiastical law and was strongly influenced by feudal ideas in the sphere of jurisdiction.

*Code pénal*—see Note 88.

*Constables*—see Note 45. p. 171

159 On August 21, 1848, Berlin was the scene of mass meetings and demonstrations in protest against attacks on members of the Democratic Club by reactionaries in Charlottenburg, a Berlin suburb. The demonstrators, who demanded the resignation of the Auerswald-Hansemann Ministry, threw stones at the building where Auerswald and other Ministers were staying. The Government replied to the August events with fresh repressive measures. p. 172

[160] The Belgian Constitution of 1831 adopted after the victory of the bourgeois revolution of 1830 established a high property qualification, thus depriving a considerable part of the population of the suffrage. p. 173

[161] The reference is to the *Preussische Seehandlungsgesellschaft* (the Prussian Maritime Trading Company)—a trade and credit society, founded in 1772 and enjoying a number of important state privileges. It granted large credits to the Government and actually played the part of its banker and broker. In 1904 it was made the official Prussian state bank. p. 173

[162] A Bill abrogating exemption from graduated tax payments for the nobility, officers, teachers and the clergy was submitted by Hansemann to the Prussian National Assembly on July 12, 1848. A Bill abrogating exemption from the land tax was tabled on July 21, 1848. p. 174

[163] At the sitting of the Prussian National Assembly on July 21, 1848, the Bill introduced on the basis of Deputy Hanow's motion of June 3, 1848, was voted down and considered for the second time on September 30. Accepted this time, the Bill was approved by the King on October 9. p. 175

[164] Nenstiel's motion was introduced as early as June 2, 1848, and the decision mentioned by Marx, which in effect postponed indefinitely the abolition of peasant labour services, was adopted on September 1, 1848. p. 175

[165] The reference is to the Congress of big landowners which met in Berlin on August 18, 1848. It was convoked by the leaders of the Association for the Protection of Property and the Advancement of the Well-Being of All Classes of the Prussian People. The Congress changed the name of the Association to: Association for the Protection of the Interests of Landowners; the Congress became known as the "Landowners' Parliament". p. 176

[166] On July 31, 1848, the garrison of the Silesian fortress of Schweidnitz fired at a demonstration of the civic militia and local population protesting against the provocative actions of the military; 14 people were killed and 32 seriously wounded.

The Schweidnitz events served as a pretext for a discussion of the situation in the army by the Prussian National Assembly.

On August 9, 1848, the Assembly adopted the proposal of Deputy Stein, with amendments by Deputy Schultze, requesting the Minister of War to issue an army order to the effect that officers opposed to the constitutional system were bound in honour to resign from the army. Despite the Assembly's decision Schreckenstein, the Minister of War, did not issue any such order. Stein therefore tabled his motion for the second time at the sitting of the National Assembly on September 7, 1848. As a result of the voting, the Auerswald-Hansemann Ministry had to resign. Under the Pfuel Ministry which followed, the order, though in a milder form, was at last issued on September 26, but this also remained a dead letter. Earlier, on September 17, General Wrangel issued an army order which made it clear that the military intended to launch an open offensive against the revolution. It urged the maintenance of "public order", threatened those "who were trying to entice the people to commit unlawful acts", and called upon the soldiers to rally round their officers and the King. p. 176

[167] A reference to the speech from the throne made by Frederick William IV at the opening of the United Diet on April 11, 1847. The King said he would

never agree to grant a Constitution which he described as a "written scrap of paper". p. 177

168 Article 14 of the Constitutional Charter Louis XVIII granted in 1814 read: "The King is the head of the state." p. 177

169 *Magna Charta Libertatum*—the charter which the insurgent barons forced King John of England to sign in 1215. It limited the powers of the King in the interests of the feudal lords, and also contained some concessions to the knights and burghers. p. 177

170 An allusion to the attempts made by the European counter-revolutionary forces in 1848-49 to restore the Holy Alliance, a league of European monarchs set up in 1815 on the initiative of Austrian Chancellor Metternich and Russian Tsar Alexander I to put down the revolutionary movement. p. 180

171 See Note 84. p. 180

172 The reference is to the agreements concluded from the fifteenth to the mid-nineteenth century between Swiss cantons and European states for the supply of Swiss mercenaries. In many West-European countries the mercenaries were used by the counter-revolutionary monarchist forces. p. 183

173 The King's guard consisting of Swiss mercenaries and *lazzaroni* (see Note 25) took an active part in suppressing the popular uprising in Naples on May 15, 1848 (see Note 118). *Lazzaroni* and soldiers broke into the houses of the people of Naples, including foreigners, looted them and committed violence. p. 183

174 *Burghers' communes* (*Bürgergemeinden*) came into being at the end of the Middle Ages. They granted their members certain economic and political privileges including exemption from a number of duties and tax payments, the right to use the commune's property and advantages in filling lucrative government offices. One became a member of the commune either by birth or by living in a given place for a definite period of time and possessing immovable property, or by paying an admission fee.

In the course of time it became more and more difficult to enter a commune, which led to the division of the Swiss population into citizens (*Bürger*) and residents (*Einwohner*), the latter being deprived of the above-named privileges. Within the burghers' commune there appeared a still closer corporation of representatives of the old patrician families who in fact established a monopoly of practically all the major government posts. Abolition of the privileges of the burghers' commune began during the Helvetian Republic in 1798-99, when all the Swiss were made equal in rights and political power was transferred to the residents' commune (*Einwohnergemeinde*), which was declared to be the holder of sovereignty in the name of the entire nation. The Federal Constitution adopted in 1848 enlarged still more the rights of the residents' commune while the burghers' commune only retained philanthropic functions and power over its own property. p. 182

175 This address was written by Engels, as a member of the Central Commission, on the instructions of the First Congress of the German Workers' Associations in Switzerland which took place in Berne between December 9 and 11, 1848. The Congress was attended by representatives from democratic and workers' associations in a number of Swiss towns. It adopted the rules of the Union of German Associations of Switzerland. In accordance with these rules, a Central

Association (the Berne Workers' Association was elected as such) was to be at the head of the Union, and current leadership was to be exercised by a Central Commission consisting of five members. Engels was a member of the Commission elected on December 14.

Differences arose at the sitting on December 10 when the Congress discussed the question of the attitude towards the March Association. A delegate of the Berne Association spoke against establishing contacts with this non-republican organisation. Nevertheless, the majority of delegates were in favour of an address proposing to the March Association to keep up correspondence. The text of the address was approved by the Congress on December 11. When Engels compiled it he had to take into account the Congress decision. However, in the text of the address written in the name of the Central Commission he managed to reflect the views of the proletarian revolutionaries who regarded this Association only as a fellow traveller in the German revolution and thought that co-operation with it was possible only within strict limits.

The *March Association*, which had branches in various towns of Germany, was founded in Frankfurt am Main at the end of November 1848 by the Left-wing deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly. Fröbel, Simon, Ruge, Vogt and other petty-bourgeois democratic leaders of the March associations, thus named after the March 1848 revolution in Germany, confined themselves to revolutionary phrase-mongering and showed indecision and inconsistency in the struggle against the counter-revolutionaries, for which Marx and Engels sharply criticised them. p. 185

[176] By 1848, the Berne Association became one of the biggest and most influential German workers' associations in Switzerland. Its members held democratic republican views and were considerably influenced by Weitling and Stephan Born. It disintegrated in the spring of 1849. p. 185

[177] According to Article 1 of the Rules of the Union of German Associations in Switzerland adopted at the Berne Congress, the aim of the new organisation was "to educate members of the Union in the socio-democratic and republican spirit and use all legal means at its disposal so that socio-democratic and republican principles and institutions would be acknowledged by the Germans and put into practice". p. 185

[178] The so-called *Risquons-Tout trial*, held in Antwerp from August 9 to 30, 1848, was a fabrication of the Government of Leopold, King of the Belgians, against the democrats. The pretext was a clash which took place on March 29, 1848, between the Belgian republican legion bound for home from France and a detachment of soldiers near the village of Risquons-Tout not far from the French border. The bill of indictment was published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 45, July 15, 1848, No. 47, July 17, 1848, No. 49 and in the supplement to this issue, July 19, 1848. Mellinet, Ballin, Tedesco and other main accused were sentenced to death, but this was commuted to 30 years imprisonment; later they were pardoned.

See Engels' article "The Antwerp Death Sentences" in Vol. 7 of the present edition, pp. 404-06. p. 189

[179] The *Cologne Workers' Association* (*Kölner Arbeiterverein*)—a workers' organisation founded by Andreas Gottschalk on April 13, 1848. The initial membership of 300 had increased to 5,000 by early May, the majority being workers and artisans. The Association was headed by a President and a committee consisting of representa-

tives of various trades. The *Zeitung des Arbeiter-Vereines zu Köln* was the Association's newspaper, but on October 26 it was replaced by the *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit.* There were a number of branches. After Gottschalk's arrest Moll was elected President on July 6 and he held this post till the state of siege was proclaimed in Cologne in September 1848, when he had to emigrate under threat of arrest. On October 16, Marx agreed to assume temporary presidency at the request of the Association members. In November Röser began to fulfil the duties of President, and on February 28, 1849, Schapper was elected to the post and remained in it until the end of May 1849.

The majority of the leading members (Gottschalk, Anneke, Schapper, Moll, Lessner, Jansen, Röser, Nothjung, Bedorf) were members of the Communist League.

During the initial period of its existence, the Workers' Association was influenced by Gottschalk, who shared many of the views of the "true socialists", ignored the historical tasks of the proletariat in the democratic revolution, pursued sectarian tactics of boycotting indirect elections to the German and Prussian National Assemblies and came out against support of democratic candidates in elections. He combined ultra-Left phrases with very moderate methods of struggle (workers' petitions to the Government and the City Council etc.), and supported the demands of the workers affected by artisan prejudices etc. From the very beginning, Gottschalk's sectarian tactics were resisted by the supporters of Marx and Engels. At the end of June under their influence a change took place in the activities of the Workers' Association, which became a centre of revolutionary agitation among the workers, and from the autumn of 1848, also among the peasants. Members of the Association organised democratic and workers' associations in the vicinity of Cologne and disseminated revolutionary publications, including the "Demands of the Communist Party in Germany". They carried on among themselves education in scientific communism through the study of Marx's writings. The Association maintained close contact with other workers' and democratic organisations.

With a view to strengthening the Association Marx, Schapper and other leaders reorganised it in January and February 1849. On February 25, new Rules were adopted according to which the main task of the Association was to raise the workers' class and political consciousness.

When in the spring of 1849 Marx and Engels took steps to organise the advanced workers on a national scale and actually started preparing for the creation of a proletarian party, they relied to a considerable extent on the Cologne Workers' Association.

The mounting counter-revolution and intensified police reprisals prevented further activities of the Cologne Workers' Association to unite and organise the working masses. After the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* ceased publication and Marx, Schapper and other leaders of the Association left Cologne, it gradually turned into an ordinary workers' educational society. p. 189

[180] The reference is to the trial of A. Brocker-Evererts, owner of the printshop which printed the *Zeitung des Arbeiter-Vereines zu Köln* (published from April to October 1848 and edited first by Andreas Gottschalk and from July to September by Joseph Moll). The trial took place on October 24, 1848. Brocker-Evererts was accused of printing in issues 12 and 13 of the newspaper (July 6 and 9, 1848) the articles "Arrest of Dr. Gottschalk and Anneke" and "Arrests in Cologne" insulting Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel and the police. The jury sentenced him to a month's imprisonment and laid down that if the newspaper resumed

publication he would have to pay a big fine. Beginning from October 26 the Cologne Workers' Association published the newspaper *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit.* p. 189

181 The laws promulgated by the French Government in September 1835 restricted the rights of juries and introduced severe measures against the press: increased money deposits for periodicals and large fines and imprisonment for the authors of publications directed against property and the existing political system. p. 190

182 The *First Democratic Congress* was held in Frankfurt am Main from June 14 to 17, 1848. It was attended by delegates of 89 democratic and workers' associations from different towns in Germany. The Congress decided to unite all democratic associations and to set up district committees headed by a Central Committee of German Democrats with its headquarters in Berlin. Fröbel, Rau and Kriege were elected to the Central Committee and Bairhoffer, Schütte and Anneke their deputies. However, due to the weakness and vacillations of the petty-bourgeois leaders, even after the Congress the democratic movement in Germany still lacked unity and organisation. p. 190

183 At the close of its sitting on July 4, 1848, the Prussian National Assembly decided to grant unlimited powers to the committee investigating the Posen events (see Note 151). In violation of parliamentary rules, the Right attempted to have a motion voted to limit the committee's powers. The Left walked out of the Assembly in protest and the Right took advantage of this and carried a motion prohibiting the committee from travelling to Posen and interrogating witnesses and experts on the spot, thereby unlawfully annulling the Assembly's original decision. This incident is described in Engels' article "The Agreement Session of July 4" (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 200-07). p. 193

184 Concerning the union of the three democratic associations in Cologne—the Democratic Society, the Workers' Association and the Association for Workers and Employers—see Note 40. p. 195

185 After keeping Gottschalk and Anneke in prison for almost six months, the authorities were compelled to release them when the assizes acquitted them on December 23, 1848. p. 196

186 An excerpt from this article was first published in English under the title "The Prussian Counter-Revolution and the Judiciary" in the collection: Karl Marx, *On Revolution,* ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971. p. 197

187 The report on the decisions of the Courts of Appeal in Ratibor (Racibórz), Bromberg (Bydgoszcz) and Münster and the decision of the Berlin Supreme Court were printed in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 174, December 21, 1848. p. 197

188 *French parliaments*—judicial institutions which arose in the Middle Ages. The Paris Parliament was the supreme appeal body and at the same time performed important executive and political functions, such as the registration of royal decrees, without which they had no legal force, etc. The parliaments enjoyed the right to remonstrate government decrees. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries their members were officials of high birth, representatives of the so-called silk gown nobility. The parliaments, which finally became the bulwark of

Right opposition to absolutism and impeded the implementation of even moderate reforms, were abolished in 1790, during the French Revolution. p. 198

189 The reference is to the edict of the Berlin Supreme Court of December 16, 1848, signed by Mühler and published in the *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger* No. 229 on December 19, 1848. p. 198

190 The reference is to the transfer of the sittings of the Prussian National Assembly from Berlin to Brandenburg. This was the beginning of a counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Prussia which ended with the dissolution of the National Assembly and imposition of a Constitution by the King. p. 200

191 An allusion to a German legend according to which the souls of the dead, led by the "wild hunter", fly about shrieking fearfully at night. People who meet these ghosts are doomed to wander with them for ever. p. 200

192 See Note 89. p. 201

193 In December 1848, the counter-revolutionary Austrian Government was not supported by the Imperial Diet on the question of the compulsory loan and asked the bank for a loan. However, it succeeded in obtaining a loan only after threatening the bank with confiscation of all its ready cash. p. 201

194 The reference is to the attempt by Gustav Struve and other political refugees to organise an uprising in Baden in September 1848 (see Note 84).

The "*Hilf Dir*" *military association* was founded in the autumn of 1848 by Johann Philipp Becker, a leader of the democratic and working-class movement. With its Central Committee in Biel (canton of Berne), it united societies consisting mainly of artisans formed in various towns in Switzerland.

The "Hilf Dir" military association pursued a democratic policy and aimed at uniting all German volunteer units in Switzerland for the purpose of establishing a republic in Germany. It was organised as a secret conspiratorial society, on the lines of those in France and Italy. The Swiss authorities, under pressure from German counter-revolutionary circles and the Imperial Government in particular, instituted proceedings against Becker and other initiators of the military association. Becker was sentenced to expulsion from the Berne canton for twelve months. p. 204

195 The *republican uprisings in Baden in April and September 1848*—see Notes 78 and 84.

The uprising in Val d'Intelvi (Lombardy) and the part played in it by refugees living in Switzerland—see Engels' article "The National Council" (this volume, pp. 138-53) and Note 144.

The *Lucerne campaigns* were organised in response to the decision adopted by the reactionary Great Council of the Lucerne canton in October 1844, granting unlimited powers to the Order of Jesuits in matters of religion and public education. The liberal circles of the canton made an attempt to overthrow the Government, organising on December 8 a campaign of volunteer detachments against Lucerne. The insurgents were dispersed by government troops. The second campaign, organised for the same purpose from the territory of the neighbouring cantons on March 31, 1845, also proved a failure. p. 204

196 In its letter of December 7 to the forthcoming First Congress of the German Workers' Associations in Berne (see Note 175), the Association in Vivis objected to a number of proposals advanced by the democratic German National Associa-

tion in Zurich, suggesting in particular that the new Union should be headed by the "Hilf Dir" military association in Biel (see Note 194). The letter was discussed at the Congress sitting of December 10, 1848. The Congress directed the Central Commission, formed to exercise current leadership of the Union of Workers' Associations in Switzerland (with Engels as its secretary), to answer the letter and persuade the Vivis Association to renounce its demands and join the Union. p. 207

197 The reference is to the German National Association in Zurich founded in April 1848, a democratic organisation of German intellectuals and workers living in Switzerland. It was influenced by petty-bourgeois democrats: Fröbel, Ruge and others. In the summer of 1848 the National Association joined the Union of Democratic German Associations founded by the First Democratic Congress in Frankfurt am Main (see Note 182). In August 1848 the National Association appealed to all the German associations in Switzerland to convene a congress and unite. Its representatives took an active part in the First Congress of German Associations in Switzerland held from December 9 to 11, 1848. p. 207

198 On December 8, 1848, the Lausanne Workers' Association sent Engels a mandate, delegating him to the Congress (see this volume, pp. 505-06). The leaders of this Association, G. Schneeberger, Chr. Haaf and Bangert, wrote in this connection to the Berne Workers' Association on December 8, 1848: "We cannot send a delegate because of the inactivity of the Vivis Association (which recognises only the Association in *Biel* as the central body). Therefore we have decided to authorise our friend *Engels*. If, however, he cannot attend, our friend Frost will act as our delegate." p. 208

199 The *Central Committee of German Democrats* (d'Ester, Reichenbach, Hexamer) was elected at the Second Democratic Congress held in Berlin from October 26 to 30, 1848.

The *Central Committee of German Workers* in Leipzig, headed by Stephan Born, was elected at the Workers' Congress held in Berlin from August 23 to September 3, 1848. At this Congress the Workers' Fraternity, a union of workers' associations, was founded. Its programme was drawn up under the influence of Born and was concerned only with narrow craft-union demands, thereby diverting the workers from the revolutionary struggle. A number of its points bore the stamp of Louis Blanc's and Proudhon's utopian ideas. Marx and Engels did not approve of the general stand taken by Born, but they refrained from publicly criticising his views, bearing in mind his endeavour to unite the workers' associations. p. 208

200 See Note 170. p. 211

201 An excerpt from this article was first published in English in the journal *Labour Monthly*, London, 1923, Vol. 5, No. 1. Another excerpt appeared in the collection: Karl Marx, *On Revolution*, ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971. An English translation was first published in full in the book: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 213

202 The reference is to the manifesto published on February 10, 1848, by Pius IX, who had previously carried out a number of liberal reforms and sanctioned the formation of a secular government. In the manifesto the Pope gave the blessing of the Church to the Italian people. Although the manifesto hinted that Pius IX disapproved of the demand for a Constitution, it was interpreted as an approval of the movement for constitutional reforms which had developed after the popular

uprising in Sicily in January 1848 against the rule of the Bourbons of Naples.

Under the impact of the French revolution in February 1848 Pius IX was compelled to issue a decree on March 15, 1848, introducing a moderate Constitution in the Papal states. p. 213

203 After the popular uprising in Rome on November 16, 1848 (see Note 121), Pius IX fled on November 24 to the fortress of Gaeta in the Kingdom of Naples. p. 213

204 The *Mountain*—see Note 129.

The *party of the "National"*—see Note 101.

The *dynastic opposition*—an opposition group headed by Odilon Barrot in the French Chamber of Deputies during the July monarchy (1830-48). It expressed the views of the liberal industrial and commercial bourgeoisie and favoured a moderate electoral reform, regarding it as a means of preventing revolution and preserving the Orléans dynasty. The dynastic opposition was close to the monarchist pro-Orleanist bourgeois politicians headed by Thiers, whose mouthpiece was the newspaper *Constitutionnel*. Until February 1848 this group stood for a monarchy with republican institutions and subsequently for a republic with monarchical institutions.

The *legitimists*—supporters of the Bourbon dynasty, which was overthrown in 1830. They upheld the interests of the big hereditary landowners. p. 213

205 In the summer of 1848, the anti-feudal movement and the struggle for complete liberation from the rule of the Turkish Sultan gained strength in the Danube principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, which formally remained autonomous possessions of Turkey. The movement in Wallachia grew into a bourgeois revolution. In June 1848, a Constitution was proclaimed, a liberal Provisional Government was formed and George Bibesco, the ruler of Wallachia, abdicated and fled from the country.

On June 28, 1848, a 12,000-strong Russian army corps entered Moldavia and in July Turkish troops also invaded the country. The Russian and Turkish intervention helped restore the feudal system and the subsequent entry of Turkish troops into Wallachia with the consent of the Tsarist Government brought about the defeat of the bourgeois revolution there. There were bloody reprisals against the population in Bucharest. A proclamation of the Turkish government commissioner Fuad-Effendi declared it necessary to establish "law and order" and "eliminate all traces of the revolution". p. 214

206 *Pandours*—irregular infantry units of the Austrian army recruited mainly in the South-Slav provinces of the Austrian Empire.

*Serezhans*—see Note 112. p. 214

207 See Note 172. p. 216

208 The reference is to the Swiss citizens living in the Kingdom of Naples who suffered maltreatment and material losses as a result of the suppression of the popular uprising in Naples on May 15, 1848 (see Note 118), and the fierce four-day bombardment and plunder of Messina early in September 1848, after it had been captured by the royal troops sent by Ferdinand II to crush the revolutionary movement in Sicily. p. 217

209 An English translation of this article was first published in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 218

210 *"To my dear Berliners"*—an appeal of Frederick William IV published in the morning of March 19, 1848, during the people's uprising in Berlin.

*"To my people and the German nation"*—an appeal of Frederick William IV published on March 21, 1848.

*"To my army"*—a New-Year message of Frederick William IV signed by him in Potsdam on January 1, 1849, and published in the *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger* No. 3, January 3, 1849. p. 222

211 *Friedrichshain*—a park in Berlin where the insurgents killed on the barricades during the uprising on March 18, 1848, were buried. p. 223

212 On April 8, 1848, during his secret mission on behalf of the King of Prussia, Major Wildenbruch handed a Note to the Danish Government which stated that Prussia was not fighting in Schleswig-Holstein to rob Denmark of the duchy but merely to combat "radical and republican elements in Germany". The Prussian Government tried every possible means to avoid official recognition of this compromising document. p. 223

213 See Note 75. p. 224

214 The reference is to the battle at Miloslaw on April 30, 1848, during the national liberation insurrection in the Duchy of Posen (see Note 151). As a result, the Polish insurgents commanded by Mieroslawski forced the Prussian troops under General Colomb to retreat. p. 224

215 The reference is apparently to the battle at Sokoluv, near Wreschen (Września), where on May 2, 1848, a 3.000-strong Prussian detachment under General Hirschfeld attacked the insurgents commanded by Mieroslawski, who was leading them north to Kujavia intending to continue the struggle there. The insurgents beat off the Prussian attacks and continued their march northwards. But owing to the enemy's superiority in manpower and armaments and disagreements among the commanders, the insurgents were compelled to capitulate on May 9, 1848. p. 224

216 See Note 5. p. 225

217 The reference is to the popular uprising in Naples on May 15, 1848 (see Note 118). p. 225

218 The reference is to the suppression by Windischgrätz's counter-revolutionary troops of the uprising in Prague on June 12-17, 1848, directed against the arbitrary rule of the Austrian authorities (see Engels' articles "The Prague Uprising" and "The Democratic Character of the Uprising", present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 91-93 and 119-20), and also of the uprising in Vienna in October 1848. In December 1848 Windischgrätz's army, which included the troops of the Croatian Ban Jellachich, intervened in Hungary to suppress the national liberation movement and seized Pressburg (Bratislava) and other towns.

*Serezhans*—see Note 112.

*Ottochans (Ottočans)*—soldiers of the Austrian border regiment formed in 1746 and stationed in Ottočac (Western Croatia). p. 225

219 The Imperial Government formed by the Frankfurt National Assembly and headed by Archduke John of Austria took over from the former Federal Diet (see Note 63) its functions of suppressing the revolutionary movement, particularly in

South Germany, with military support from a number of German states including Prussia. p. 225

220 On July 25, 1792, the Duke of Brunswick, who was Commander-in-Chief of the Austro-Prussian army fighting against revolutionary France, issued a manifesto threatening the French people to raze Paris to the ground. p. 226

221 This article was first published in English in the book: Karl Marx, *The Revolutions of 1848, Political Writings*, Vol. 1, London, Penguin Books, 1973. p. 227

222 The reference is to Austria's participation—along with Prussia and Russia—in the first (1772) and third (1795) partitions of Poland. The third partition led to the liquidation of the Polish state. The Austrian Empire annexed a considerable part of Southern Poland and Western Ukraine (Galicia) hitherto belonging to Poland. p. 229

223 The reference is to the events in early 1846. In February an unsuccessful attempt at a national liberation uprising was made in the Polish lands. Only in the Republic of Cracow, which from the Vienna Congress of 1815 had been under the joint control of Austria, Russia and Prussia, did the insurgents seize power on February 22 and create a National Government, which issued a manifesto abrogating all feudal obligations. The uprising was suppressed in early March 1846 and Cracow was again incorporated into the Austrian Empire. During the uprising the Austrian authorities provoked clashes between Ukrainian (Ruthenian) peasants and detachments of Polish insurgents, taking advantage of the oppressed peasants' hatred of the Polish nobility. But when the uprising was crushed, the participants in the peasant movement in Galicia were subjected to severe repressions.

The *Ruthenians*—the name given in nineteenth-century West-European ethnographical and historical works to the Ukrainian population of Galicia and Bukovina, which was separated at the time from the bulk of the Ukrainian people. p. 230

224 Engels expressed this point of view more precisely in his articles written in the spring of 1853 on the prospects of the national liberation struggle of the Slavs and other peoples of the Balkan Peninsula against the oppression of the Turkish Empire. He supported the right of the Southern Slavs in the Balkans to form their own independent state (see Frederick Engels, "What Will Become of European Turkey?", present edition, Vol. 12). p. 231

225 The *Hussite wars*, named after the Czech patriot and reformer Jan Huss (1369-1415), began with a popular uprising in Prague on July 30, 1419. The revolutionary wars of the Czech people against feudal exploitation, the Catholic Church and national enslavement continued until 1437 and ended in the defeat of the Hussites. p. 231

226 In the battle at Poitiers (Central France) in 732, also known as the battle of Tours, the Franks led by Charles Martel, the actual ruler of the Frankish state of the Merovingians, defeated the Arabs who had invaded France from Spain.

In 1241 the German and Polish knights were defeated by the Mongolian invaders near Wahlstatt (Dobře Pole) in Silesia. But the Mongols, having sustained heavy losses in this battle and the previous campaigns, were forced to cease their advance westward from conquered Moravia, Hungary and Dalmatia and return to their East-European and Asian possessions. p. 232

227 See Note 10. p. 233

228 The reference is to the *Slav Congress* which met in Prague on June 2, 1848. It was attended by representatives of the Slav regions of the Austrian Empire. The Right, moderately liberal wing, to which Palacký and Šafařík, the leaders of the Congress, belonged, sought to solve the national question through autonomy of the Slav regions within the framework of the Habsburg monarchy. The Left, radical wing (Sabina, Frič, Libelt and others) wanted joint action with the democratic movement in Germany and Hungary. The radical delegates took an active part in the popular uprising in Prague (June 12-17, 1848) and were subjected to severe reprisals. On June 16, the moderately liberal delegates declared the Congress adjourned indefinitely.

The *Sabor* (Diet) *of the Southern Slavs* opened in Agram (Zagreb) on June 5, 1848. It was attended by delegates from the Croats, Serbs of the Voivodina, Slovenes and Czechs. Representatives of the liberal landowners and the top sections of the commercial bourgeoisie in Croatia prevailing at the *Sabor* expressed their loyalty to the Habsburgs and restricted the national programme to the demand of autonomy for the united Slav territories within the Austrian Empire. Only a small group of democratic delegates connected the struggle for the national cause with the revolutionary struggle against feudal monarchist regimes. p. 233

229 See Note 172. p. 239

230 See Note 10. p. 240

231 On November 19, 1842, the democratic poet Georg Herwegh was received by Frederick William IV. Disappointed with the outcome of the audience, Herwegh wrote a letter to the King accusing him of violating his promise to introduce freedom of the press. The letter was published in the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* on December 24, 1842, and later in other German and foreign newspapers. To counteract the influence of this letter on public opinion Frederick William IV ordered the semi-official newspapers to publish articles discrediting Herwegh.

After the publication of this article of Engels' in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Lohbauer sent a statement to its editorial board in which he rejected suggestions of his involvement in publication of the feuilletons against Herwegh on the grounds that before his arrival in Berlin he had served in the General Staff in Württemberg and had nothing to do with Herwegh's expulsion. His statement was published in the supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 199, January 19, 1849. p. 240

232 See Note 194. p. 242

233 The reference is to the bourgeois revolution in Neuchâtel (principality of Neuenburg) in February 1848, which put an end to its vassal dependence on the Prussian King and proclaimed Neuchâtel a republic (see Note 4). p. 244

234 See Note 88. p. 246

235 The *Swiss Croats in Italy*—an ironical allusion to the Swiss mercenaries in the service of counter-revolutionary governments in a number of Italian states.

*Enlistment agreements*—see Note 172. p. 247

236 The *Ur-cantons*—see Note 10. p. 248

237 See Note 14. p. 248

238 The continuation of this article was never written. Engels wrote two more small reports on the Swiss affairs, which were published in the same issue (No. 197) of

the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see this volume, pp. 251-53). The publication of his reports from Switzerland ceased because in mid-January 1849 Engels returned to Cologne and worked as an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. p. 250

239 Ferdinand II of Naples earned the derisive nickname "King Bomba" after he had ordered the savage bombardment of Messina (Sicily) by a punitive force in September 1848 (see Note 208). p. 251

240 This article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 254

241 The supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 197 of January 17, 1849, carried an item in the section "Neueste Nachrichten" to the effect that the leaflets addressed to the voters had been reprinted from the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* at the printing-press of the *Kölnische Zeitung* and distributed throughout the country by the citizens' associations (see Note 245), which sponsored the *Kölnische Zeitung*. p. 254

242 The reference is to the Prussian Association for a Constitutional Monarchy founded in June 1848 and its local branches. They were composed of Prussian landowners who had adopted bourgeois methods and customs and members of the bourgeoisie. The Association and its branches supported the counter-revolutionary policy of the Government and were labelled in the democratic press "societies of denunciators". p. 254

243 Marx refers to the addresses to the primary electors regularly published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* in January 1849 (Nos. 10-18) in connection with the primary elections to the Prussian Lower Chamber fixed for January 22 (the elections were in two stages: those elected at the primary elections were to elect deputies on February 5). Some of the addresses contained direct attacks on the communists (e.g. No. 14 of January 17, 1849) and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (first supplement to No. 15, January 18, 1849, and No. 17, January 20, 1849).

Quoted below is the address "To the Primary Electors", published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 11, January 13, 1849. p. 255

244 *Morison pills*—pills invented by the English quack James Morison and widely advertised as a cure for all illnesses in the mid-1820s. Their main ingredient was the juice of certain tropical plants. p. 255

245 *Citizens' associations* (*Bürgervereine*), consisting of moderate liberal elements, appeared in Prussia after the March revolution. Their aim was to preserve "law and order" within the framework of a constitutional monarchy, and to combat "anarchy", i.e. the revolutionary-democratic movement.

The last article of the Constitution imposed on December 5, 1848, and the decree on the convocation of the Chambers provided for a revision of the Constitution by the two Chambers before it was finally accepted and sworn to. The Prussian ruling circles subsequently availed themselves of this provision to revise the Constitution along the lines of extending royal prerogatives and the privileges of the aristocracy and the junkers. p. 255

246 The reference is to one of the Prussian associations founded by the Right forces after the March 1848 revolution in Germany. These associations functioned as organs of the junkers' counter-revolution (see Note 242).

"With God for King and Fatherland"—a phrase from the decree on the organisation of the army reserve promulgated by Frederick William III on March 17, 1813. p. 256

247 An allusion to the suppression of the Silesian weavers' uprising in June 1844. p. 257

248 An allusion to *Wühler* (agitators) and *Heuler* (wailers) (see Note 127). p. 259

249 In their works of the 1840s and 1850s, prior to Marx's elaboration of his theory of surplus value, Marx and Engels used the terms "value of labour", "price of labour", "sale of labour" which, as Engels noted in 1891 in the introduction to Marx's pamphlet *Wage Labour and Capital,* "from the point of view of the later works were inadequate and even wrong". After Marx had shown that the worker sells to the capitalist not his labour but his labour power, Marx and Engels used more precise terms—"value of labour power", "price of labour power" and "sale of labour power". p. 259

250 *Code civil* (*Code Napoléon*)—French Civil Code published in 1804. It was introduced by Napoleon in the conquered regions of West and South-West Germany and remained in force in the Rhine Province after its incorporation into Prussia in 1815. p. 262

251 In Britain Charles Stuart (King Charles I) was executed in 1649 and James Stuart (King James II) fled in 1688.

In France the Bourbons were overthrown twice, in 1792 and in 1830.

In Belgium William of Orange, King of the Netherlands, was overthrown in 1830 and Belgium was proclaimed a kingdom independent of Holland. p. 263

252 An allusion to the words from Frederick William IV's speech on March 6, 1848,at the last sitting of the United Commission of the Estates formed of representatives of the provincial diets: "Stand like a mighty wall, united by your confidence in Your King, Your best friend." p. 264

253 The trade agreement which Prussia (on behalf of the German Customs Union) concluded with the Netherlands on January 21, 1839, established low import duties on Dutch sugar, thus causing considerable harm to the Prussian sugar industry and the trade of German towns. p. 264

254 The reference is to the joint actions of Austria, Prussia and Russia against the Cracow Republic during the national liberation uprising in the free city of Cracow, and the agreement concluded by these powers on incorporating Cracow into the Austrian Empire (see Note 223). p. 265

255 The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 203, January 24, 1849, carried an item "'My Army' in Cologne" dealing with the outrages committed by the Prussian soldiery. At the end of it a question was put to Colonel Engels, the second commandant of Cologne, whether he had really replied to the demands of the owners of houses destroyed by the soldiers that "in one of those houses 11 talers were stolen from a soldier" and that therefore he believed that "not enough by a long chalk has been done to these houses by the soldiers". p. 268

256 The *German Confederation*—an association of German states formed by the Vienna Congress on June 8, 1815. It initially included 34 states and 4 free cities with a feudal-absolutist system of government. The Confederation consolidated

the political and economic fragmentation of Germany and retarded its development. p. 269

257 The reference is to the refugees who fled to Prussia from the free city of Cracow and from Galicia, which was under Austrian domination, after the suppression of the Cracow uprising and of the Ukrainian peasant movement in Galicia in 1846 (see Notes 223 and 254). p. 270

258 Engels refers to the Polish national liberation insurrection of 1830-31. The majority of its participants were revolutionary nobles and most of its leaders came from the aristocracy. The insurrection was suppressed by Russian troops, with the support of Prussia and Austria. After the troops sent by Nicholas I captured Warsaw in September 1831, the remnants of the insurgent army crossed the Prussian and Austrian borders early in October and were interned there. p. 270

259 The Hungarian plains between the Danube and the Theiss. p. 270

260 *Schilda*—the name of a town whose inhabitants, portrayed in the sixteenth-century popular German satirical book *Schildbürger*, typified philistine narrow-mindedness and dullness. p. 271

261 The electoral law of April 8, 1848, established a procedure of elections "to the Assembly for an agreement on a Prussian Constitution" on the basis of universal suffrage, which was, however, restricted by the system of *indirect* (two-stage) *elections*. The electoral law of December 6, 1848, promulgated immediately after the imposed Constitution, retained the two-stage elections to the Lower Chamber but gave the franchise only to "independent Prussians", which allowed the Government arbitrarily to limit the electorate. p. 271

262 *Nothing learnt and nothing forgotten.* This phrase is commonly thought to have been coined by Talleyrand in reference to the Bourbons. Its origin, however, goes back to Admiral de Panat who, in 1796, said about the royalists: "*Personne n'a su ni rien oublier ni rien prendre*" ("Nobody has been able to forget anything or learn anything").

For the *wailers* mentioned above see Note 127. p. 279

263 On January 26, 1849, Faucher, Minister of the Interior in the Government of the liberal monarchist Odilon Barrot, submitted to the Constituent Assembly a draft Bill on the right of association. Its first clause ran as follows: "Clubs are prohibited." Faucher demanded that the Constituent Assembly should immediately discuss his Bill, but the deputies refused. On January 27 Ledru-Rollin, supported by 230 deputies, charged the Government with violating the Constitution and demanded its resignation. However, due to the votes of monarchists and moderate republicans, the draft Bill on the right of association (better known as the draft Bill on clubs) was passed by the National Assembly on March 21, 1849. This was a serious blow to freedom of assembly and association and above all to workers' associations. p. 281

264 The *mobile guard* was set up by a decree of the Provisional Government on February 25, 1848, to fight against the revolutionary masses. Its units consisted mainly of lumpenproletarians and were used to crush the June uprising of Paris workers. After Louis Bonaparte was elected President (December 10, 1848), the Government, fearing that the mobile guard might side with the republicans, decided to disband it. They curtailed its numbers and deprived it of many privileges: some of the guards were enrolled as soldiers in army units, and

many officers were deprived of their rank. This gave rise to disturbances in the mobile guard, and soon afterwards it was disbanded. p. 282

265 See Note 104. p. 283

266 An allusion to the similarity between the schemes for restoring the monarchy in December 1848, when the Orleanist Changarnier assumed command of the national guard and the Paris garrison, and the part played by General Monk in the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660. p. 283

267 See Note 127. p. 284

268 The reports of January 29, 1849, from Paris printed with an introductory article by Marx, described the general excitement in Paris caused by rumours that the Government was going to forcibly dissolve the National Assembly. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* correspondent wrote that Paris was flooded with soldiers but that the mobile guard had sided with the workers. Louis Napoleon, he reported, had left the palace and joined his troops who received him with a gloomy silence or even exclamations such as "Long live the Red Republic!" Only the bourgeois lst Legion greeted him with "Long live Bonaparte!", "Long live the Ministers!" Everybody was waiting for news from the National Assembly which was to determine the subsequent course of events. The day before, the *Moniteur* had reported that at the session of the Cabinet of Ministers President Louis Bonaparte declared that he fully supported the Government. p. 285

269 In the *primary elections* to the Second Prussian Chamber on January 22, 1848, the democrats in Cologne won a considerable victory: they made up two-thirds of the electors. They also won in many other towns and rural localities in the Rhine Province. This victory, which proved the correctness of the tactics pursued by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*—that of uniting all democratic forces in the elections—aroused apprehensions not only on the part of the authorities but also of the moderate liberals, whose reaction to the elections was reflected in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. p. 286

270 The reference is to the article "Elections to the First Chamber" published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 24, January 28, 1849. The article expressed an opinion that as opposed to "a somewhat revolutionary-democratic Second Chamber", the First Chamber would be "the pillar of the Crown, law and order and genuine freedom", and called upon the electors to see to it that the "highest culture" and "statesmanly wisdom" should be represented in it by people of really outstanding talent. p. 289

271 With this article Engels began his series of reports on the Hungarian revolutionary war against the Austrian monarchy. He used army bulletins of the Austrian command published in the official *Wiener Zeitung* and other Austrian newspapers as his main source. In spite of the tendentious and fragmentary character of the information given in them, which Engels himself later emphasised in his letter to Marx on April 3, 1851, he managed to give a fairly exact general picture of the military developments. "At the time," he wrote in this connection to Marx on July 6, 1852, "we presented the course of the Hungarian war in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* with amazing correctness on the basis of *Austrian* reports and made brilliant, though cautious, forecasts." Engels also wrote about his reports on the Hungarian war in his letter to H. G. Lincoln, editor of the *Daily News*, on March 30, 1854, offering his services as a war correspondent. In the early 1850s Engels took up a systematic study of military science and the art of war and began to collect

additional material on the Hungarian war (*Memoirs* of Görgey, commander-in-chief of the Hungarian army, biographies of Hungarian generals, the Kossuth Government's official periodicals etc.) with the intention of writing a special work on the history of the revolutionary wars in Hungary and Italy, but these plans did not materialise.

Engels began his reports on the Hungarian events when the situation in revolutionary Hungary was extremely grave. On December 16 Windischgrätz's counter-revolutionary army marched to the south, in the direction of Buda and Pest (two neighbouring towns at the time), and captured them early in January 1849. The Hungarian revolutionary Government (National Defence Committee) headed by Kossuth and the parliament (State Assembly) moved to Debreczin. At the same time counter-revolutionary troops advanced from Galicia (General Schlick's corps), Silesia, the Banat and in other regions. The reactionary German periodicals exaggerated the successes of the Austrian army and foretold a speedy and final defeat of Hungary. Engels, on the other hand, pointed out that Hungary had defence reserves and the possibility to bring about a radical turn in the fortunes of war, which indeed happened soon afterwards. p. 290

272 The reference is to the Slovak corps formed in 1848 by L. Stur and J. Hurbann under the control of Austrian officers. The corps consisted of Slovak and to some extent Czech students. In 1848-49 it took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary. The corps did not enjoy the sympathy of the people of Slovakia. p. 292

273 The reference is to the civil war in Spain in 1833-40 which was unleashed by the clerical and feudal circles headed by Don Carlos, the pretender to the throne. The Carlist forces commanded by Zumalacarregni and Cabrera-y-Griño operated in Catalonia and the Basque provinces using guerilla methods of warfare. After the 14-thousand-strong army of the Carlists failed to take Madrid in 1837, the Carlist movement declined and was defeated by 1840. In 1848 Cabrera tried to revive it by organising a revolt of the Carlists in Catalonia but was seriously wounded and fled to France. p. 294

274 The *United Diet*—see Notes 89 and 157. p. 296

275 See Note 261. p. 296

276 See Note 150. p. 296

277 The reference is to the suppression of the Polish national liberation uprising in Posen in April-May 1848 (see Note 151). p. 296

278 See Note 75. p. 296

279 The *Government of Action*—see Note 153.
*Constables*—see Note 45. p. 297

280 Johan Tilly, the army commander of the Catholic League during the Thirty Years' War (1618-48), stormed Magdeburg on May 20, 1631, and allowed his soldiers to plunder it. The town was almost completely burnt down and ruined and about 30 thousand people were killed. p. 297

281 The Prussian Government's Circular Note of January 23, 1849, addressed to all Prussian diplomats in the German states, formulated a plan for restoring the

Federal Diet (see Note 63)—the central body of the German Confederation established by decision of the Vienna Congress in 1815. p. 297

282 On September 22, 1848, after the Croatian Ban Jellachich started intervention against revolutionary Hungary, the Hungarian Sejm formed the National Defence Committee headed by Kossuth to exercise control over Count Batthyány's liberal Government. After Jellachich had been defeated and Batthyány's Government had resigned, the National Defence Committee took over the Government's functions on October 8 and Kossuth was vested with extensive powers corresponding to a wartime situation. p. 299

283 See Note 223. p. 303

284 The trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was begun on February 7, 1849. Karl Marx, editor-in-chief, Frederick Engels, co-editor, and Hermann Korff, responsible publisher, were tried by the Cologne jury court. They were accused of insulting Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel and calumniating the police officers who arrested Gottschalk and Anneke, in the article "Arrests" published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 35, July 5, 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 177-79).

Though the legal proceedings were instituted on July 6, the trial was only fixed for December 20 and then postponed. Marx's and Engels' defence counsel was Karl Schneider II and Korff's was Hagen. The jury acquitted the defendants.

Marx's and Engels' speeches were published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as part of a detailed account of the whole trial, which also included the speeches of the Public Prosecutor (not word-for-word but abridged, with references to the publications in the *Kölnische Zeitung*), of all the accused and defence counsels. The account was apparently edited by Marx and Engels, and the texts of their speeches can be considered as their own, as emerges in particular from a comparison of Marx's speech with the preparatory material for it (see this volume, pp. 485-92). The emphasis in the quotations from the articles of the *Code pénal* is the author's. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* accounts of this trial and of another, that of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats, which was held the next day, were published as a separate pamphlet in the spring of 1849.

Marx's and Engels' speeches were not reprinted in Marx's lifetime. They were published in an abridged form shortly before Engels' death in the German Social-Democratic Party papers—the Berlin *Socialdemokrat* No. 37, September 12, 1895, and the *Sächsische Volksblatt* No. 111, September 19, 1895—under the title "Zwei verschollene Vertheidigungsreden von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels". p. 304

285 See Note 88. p. 304

286 The reference is to the Prussian law on punishment for written insults which was promulgated on July 5, 1819, for the Rhine and other provinces where the *Code pénal* remained in force after 1815 ("Verordnung wegen Bestrafung schriftlicher Beleidigungen in den Provinzen, wo das französische Strafgesetzbuch vorläufig noch gesetzliche Kraft hat"). p. 307

287 See Note 158. p. 309

288 See Note 245. p. 315

289 The reference is to three articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* denouncing the actions of the prosecuting magistrates against the Cologne democrats, written in connection with the arrest of Julius Wulff (No. 40, July 10, 1848), Falkenheim

(No. 43, July 13, 1848) and Joseph Wolff (No. 62, August 1, 1848). In response to the last article Public Prosecutor Hecker came out with a refutation (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 64, August 3, 1848), in reply to which the newspaper published the article "Herr Hecker and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*" (No. 65, August 4,1848). p. 316

290 An allusion to the reactionary entourage of Frederick William IV (the Gerlach brothers, Radowitz and others). This Court camarilla was frenziedly counter-revolutionary and played an active part in preparing and staging the coup d'état in Prussia in November-December 1848. p. 321

291 On November 9, 1848, after Prime Minister Brandenburg declared that the Prussian National Assembly had to move to Brandenburg, the Ministers and some of the Right deputies left the sitting. The remaining majority, on the insistence of the Left deputies, decided that the King had no right to adjourn or transfer the Assembly without the consent of the people's representatives. However, despite the National Assembly's decision to continue its session in Berlin, the Government, supported by General Wrangel's troops, who arrived in Berlin the next day, carried out the coup d'état (see also Notes 53 and 135). p. 322

292 The trial of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats took place on February 8, 1849. Karl Marx, Karl Schapper and the lawyer Schneider II were summoned to the Cologne jury court, accused of incitement to revolt in connection with the Committee's appeal of November 18, 1848, on the refusal to pay taxes (see this volume, p. 41). They were acquitted.

One of the responses to the trial in the revolutionary press was Marx's article published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on February 10 (see this volume, pp. 340-41).

Marx's speech was included in the general account of the trial published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Nos. 226 and 231-33 at the end of February 1848; the account also contained the incriminated appeal of November 18, the report of the speech of Public Prosecutor Bölling, and speeches of the other defendants.

In the spring of 1849 this account was published as a separate pamphlet, which also included the account of the trial of February 7 against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see Note 284). It was not reprinted in Marx's lifetime. In 1885 it was published as a pamphlet, *Karl Marx von den Kölner Geschwornen Prozess gegen den Ausschuss der Rheinischen Demokraten wegen Aufrufs zum bewaffneten Widerstand*, Hottingen, Zürich, with a preface by Engels, in the "Social-Democratic Library" series, and reprinted with the other pamphlets of the series in 1887. It was also put out in 1895 in Berlin.

Marx's speech in abridged form or extracts from it were published in Social-Democratic periodicals of the time (*Der Socialdemokrat* Nos. 24 and 26, June 11 and 23, 1885; the Polish journal *Walka klas* No. 517, I-III, 1886) and as a supplement to the Russian edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy* issued in Geneva.

An English translation of Marx's speech was first published in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 323

293 See Notes 89 and 146. p. 323

294 See Note 167. p. 329

295 See Note 191. p. 332

296 For *Habeas Corpus* see Note 42.
The *Civic Militia Law* adopted by the National Assembly on October 17, 1848, made the civic militia completely dependent on the Government (see Note 90). Despite this, the counter-revolutionary government circles considered the existence of the civic militia to be dangerous and on November 12, 1848, after Wrangel's troops arrived in Berlin, it was disarmed. p. 333

297 See Note 166. p. 334

298 Marx refers to the reform movement in England. As a result of this movement the British Parliament passed the Reform Act of 1832, which extended the franchise and put an end to the old and corrupt constituencies ("rotten boroughs"). In protest against the opposition to the Reform Bill on the part of the Tories and the House of Lords, the participants in the movement organised mass meetings and advanced the slogan "No Bill, no taxes!" Political unions of the bourgeoisie also called for refusal to pay taxes and withdrawal of deposits from the banks. After the House of Lords rejected the Bill for the third time in March 1832, and Grey's Whig Government, which had proposed the Bill, resigned, the Tories headed by Wellington (Prime Minister in 1828-30) failed to form a government. The King was compelled to turn to the Whigs, who by threatening to pack the House of Lords with new peers succeeded in carrying through the Bill. p. 338

299 Lassalle was arrested in Düsseldorf on November 22, 1848, on the charge of incitement to arming against the Government during the campaign for refusal to pay taxes. The judiciary of the Rhine Province used all means to drag out his case. On Lassalle's request, expressed in his letters to Marx and Engels, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* came out in his defence and that of other persecuted Düsseldorf democrats. It carried a number of articles exposing the abuses and illegal actions of the judiciary and the prison authorities against Lassalle (see this volume, pp. 344-46, 474-76). An article on Lassalle, written later on, is published in Vol. 9 of the present edition. Marx and Engels also participated in the steps taken by the Cologne democratic organisations to induce the judiciary to speed up the investigation of the case. In particular they were among the deputation who visited Prosecutor-General of the Rhine Province Nicolovius on March 3, 1849, and protested against the protraction of Lassalle's case (see this volume, p. 344). The trial was held on May 3 and 4; Lassalle was acquitted. p. 341

300 *Pennsylvanian prisons*—solitary confinement prisons. The first such prison was built in Philadelphia (State of Pennsylvania) in 1791. In the nineteenth century this system of confinement was widely used in Europe; in Germany it was applied in 1844 in the Moabit Prison in Berlin and in several others. p. 343

301 The reference is apparently to the law of March 29, 1844, on judicial and administrative and criminal court procedure in bringing an action against officials. p. 345

302 The reference is to the Government of the Austrian Empire. During the popular uprising in Vienna in October 1848 the Emperor and his court left the capital on October 7 and moved to the provincial town of Olmütz (Olomouc) in Moravia. Olmütz became the centre of the counter-revolutionary forces. Soon after the fall of Vienna in November 1848 a new government was formed of representatives of the landowning aristocracy and the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie headed by Prince Schwarzenberg. Ferdinand II abdicated and his nephew Franz Joseph acceded to the throne on December 2, 1848. p. 347

303 *Tchaikists* (or *tchaikashi*)—Austro-Hungarian infantry who served on small sailing vessels and rowing boats (*tchaikas*) in the Military Border Area making pontoon bridges and transporting troops along the Danube, Theiss and Sava. They were recruited mainly from the Serbs inhabiting the Tchaikash Area in Slavonia. From 1764 they formed a special battalion. p. 348

304 The war between the Serbs and the Magyars began in May 1848 over the conflict between the Hungarian Government and the Serbian national movement which demanded autonomy for the Voivodina. The movement was not homogeneous in its social composition and political tendencies. Liberal bourgeois (Stratimirovich and others) and more reactionary landowners prevailed in it, which made it possible for the Austrian ruling circles to use it against the Hungarian revolution. On the other hand, the Hungarian revolutionaries, by refusing to meet the national demands of the Serbs and other Slav nationalities incorporated in the Hungarian state, contributed to making them side with the Habsburgs. It was only on July 28, 1849, i.e. on the eve of its fall, that the Hungarian Republic officially proclaimed the equality of all nationalities inhabiting Hungary.

Having consolidated their domination to a considerable degree with the help of the Croats, Serbs of the Voivodina etc., the ruling classes of the Austrian Empire, far from fulfilling their promises and granting autonomy to the Slav and other peoples of the multinational state, pursued a still more rigid policy of centralisation, abolishing all remnants of self-government in the national regions. p. 348

305 The reference is apparently to the *Limes Romanus*, a system of fortifications built along the frontiers of the Roman Empire, mainly during the rule of Emperor Hadrian (117-138). Remnants of the *Limes Romanus* still survive. Part of it ran through Western Hungary and the South-Slav border regions of the Austrian Empire. p. 348

306 In the battle at Grokhov (Grokhuv) on February 25, 1831, the Polish insurgent troops halted the offensive of the Tsarist army commanded by Diebitsch which had been sent to suppress the Polish insurrection of 1830-31 (see Note 258). p. 349

307 *Szeklers*—an ethnic group of Hungarians, mostly free peasants. In the thirteenth century their forefathers were settled by Hungarian kings in the mountain regions of Transylvania to protect the frontiers. The region inhabited by them was usually called Szekler land.

The majority of Szeklers sided with the Hungarian revolution. p. 351

308 The reference is probably to the appeals of Jozef Madarasz, a Left-winger in the State Assembly of the Hungarian Republic in Debreczin, published in the newspaper *Debreczenski Lapok*. He called on the people to struggle not only against the Austrians but also against the agreers in the Assembly, demanded that the Assembly should be dissolved and new elections declared, and pointed to the need to organise an insurrectionary movement and render all possible assistance to the Hungarian revolutionary army. p. 351

309 *Komorn* (*Komárom*), a fortified camp and fortress in North-Western Hungary, remained in the hands of the Hungarians in the rear of the Austrian army during its offensive in late 1848 and early 1849. Subsequently the fortress held out against several sieges by the Austrian forces and played an important part in the operations of the Hungarian revolutionary army. p. 351

[310] See Note 282. p. 351

[311] An allusion to the trials of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats which took place on February 7 and 8, 1849 (see this volume, pp. 304-39). p. 354

[312] The reference is to the series "Politische Gespräche" by Levin Schücking published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* Nos. 29, 30, 34 and 35 on February 3, 4, 9 and 10, 1849. Wagner, a character in these "Conversations", says to Professor Urian: "You have always played the part of Mephistopheles a bit." p. 354

[313] See Note 242. p. 357

[314] An English translation of this article was first published in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Russian Menace to Europe*, London, 1953. p. 362

[315] See Note 228. p. 363

[316] The reference is to the war of 1846-48 between the United States of America and Mexico, as a result of which the USA seized almost half of Mexico's territory, including the whole of Texas, Upper California, New Mexico and other regions.

In assessing these events in the article Engels proceeded from the general conception that it was progressive for patriarchal and feudal countries to be drawn into the orbit of bourgeois relations because, he thought, this accelerated the creation of preconditions for a proletarian revolution. In subsequent years, however, he and Marx fully understood the deplorable consequences of colonial conquests and the subjugation of backward countries by large states. In particular, having made a thorough study of the history of US aggression in Mexico and other countries of the American continent, Marx in his article "The Civil War in North America" (1861) described it as expansion in the interests of the then dominant slave-owning oligarchy in the Southern States and of the bourgeois elements in the North which supported it, as a policy aimed at seizing new territories to spread slavery. p. 365

[317] The reference is to Marx's and Engels' criticism of bourgeois cosmopolitanism and their substantiation of the internationalist position of the working class in the national question set forth in the proletarian and democratic newspapers (the Chartist newspaper *Northern Star*, the *Brüsseler-Deutsche-Zeitung*, the French *La Réforme*), in particular their speeches "On Poland" (November 29, 1847) and "On the Polish Question" (February 22, 1848), Marx's "Speech on the Question of Free Trade", and Engels' articles "The Anniversary of the Polish Revolution of 1830", "Reform Movement in France.—Banquet of Dijon" and "Louis Blanc's Speech at the Dijon Banquet" (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 388-90, 545-52, 450-65, 391-92, 397-401, 409-11). p. 366

[318] See Note 206. p. 367

[319] *Shokazians*—the name of Catholic Serbs. p. 367

[320] *Morlaks*—one of the nationalities inhabiting Dalmatia, descendants of the Romanised Illyrian tribes which lived in Northern Dalmatia (Split and Zadar regions) and Southern Istria and subsequently merged with the neighbouring Serbs; they were mostly Catholics. p. 368

[321] See Note 354. p. 369

322 These are the languages of the West-Slav tribes which in the Middle Ages lived between the Elbe, Saale and Oder.

*Wends*—originally a general name given in Germany to different Laba (Elbe) Slavs, one branch of which was the Sorbs or Lužice Serbs.

*Obodrites* (*Bodryci*)—the largest tribe of Laba Slavs living in the region of the Lower Elbe and Mecklenburg Bay. They made up the core of the Wendish Power, an early feudal national Slav grouping formed in the 1040s. In the middle of the twelfth century, as a result of the German feudalists' expansion to the east accompanied by the extermination or enslavement of the local population, the Wendish Power broke up and the Laba Slavs were subjugated and Germanised. Only the Lužice Serbs have preserved their language and national features.

p. 369

323 *Avars*—a union of tribes in which nomadic Turkic tribes dominated. Coming from Asia, the Avars established themselves in the sixth century in the eastern regions of Central Europe and in the Balkans and formed their state, the Avar Khaganate, constantly waging wars with the Slavs, Germanic tribes and Byzantines. However, as a result of the risings of the subjugated Slav tribes and the blows struck by the Byzantines and Franks, the Avarian state was weakened.

In the 790s the Avars were utterly defeated by Charlemagne's Frankish army and later on fully assimilated by the peoples of the Western Black-Sea regions and the Danube area.

p. 370

324 *Ogulians*—reservists from the inhabitants of Ogulin (Western Croatia) registered with the Karlstadt (Karlovac) infantry regiment formed by the Austrian authorities in the mid-eighteenth century to guard the frontiers; the headquarters of the regiment was in Ogulin.

*Serezhans*—see Note 112.

p. 371

325 See Engels' articles "The State of Germany", "German Socialism in Verse and Prose", his speech "On Poland", "Three New Constitutions" and "A Word to the *Riforma*" (present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 15-33, 235-73, 389-90, 540-44 and 553-55).

p. 372

326 An allusion to the changed nature of the Czech national movement after the suppression of the popular uprising in Prague on June 12-17, 1848. In its first stage—from the beginning of the March events to the Prague uprising—the Czech revolutionary democrats played a prominent part in the movement, and the Czech peasants and the urban lower strata, including the working class, actively participated in the struggle against feudalism and absolutism. This struggle was fully in the interests of the European revolutionary movement and was vigorously supported by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* directed by Marx and Engels (see the articles "The Prague Uprising" and "The Democratic Character of the Uprising", present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 91-93, 119-20). In the summer of 1848 the Czech liberals, representing the bourgeoisie and the landowners, took the lead of the national movement which they turned into an instrument against the revolutionary-democratic forces of Germany and Hungary, and a prop for the Habsburg monarchy and, indirectly, for Russian Tsarism. The orientation of the new leaders of other Slav peoples in Austria towards supporting the Habsburgs and the Tsar so as to secure the satisfaction of their national demands also ran counter to the interests of the revolution. For this reason the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* denounced the Austrian Slavs' movement in its new stage.

p. 374

[327] The *Slovanská Lípa*—a Czech national society founded at the end of April 1848. The leadership of the society in Prague was in the hands of moderate liberals (Šafařík, Gauč), who joined the counter-revolutionary camp after the suppression of the Prague uprising in June 1848, whereas the provincial branches were mostly led by representatives of the radical Czech bourgeoisie. p. 375

[328] *Svornost*—the Czech national militia formed after the revolutionary events of March 1848 in the Austrian Empire. It was recruited mainly from among students. Its main detachment guarded the Czech Museum in Prague, where the Slav Congress was in session in June 1848. During the popular uprising in Prague, this detachment was disarmed. The Austrian troops disarmed the national militia despite the fact that it was commanded by moderate representatives of the Czech movement who disapproved of the insurgents.

*Burschenschaften*—German students' associations which sprang up under the influence of the liberation war against Napoleon. They advocated German unification. However, alongside progressive ideas extremely nationalistic ideas were widespread in the *Burschenschaften.*

The *Wartburg Festival* was organised by German students' associations on October 8, 1817, to mark the 300th anniversary of the Reformation and developed into a demonstration for the unification of Germany and of protest against the reactionary policy of Metternich and the ruling circles of other states of the German Confederation. At the same time the festival revealed strong nationalistic and pan-German sentiments. p. 376

[329] The *commissions of the estates* of the provincial diets, whose competence was limited to local economic and administrative problems, were instituted in Prussia in 1842. They were elected from among the members of the provincial diets on the estate principle and formed a single advisory body known as the "united commissions". With the help of this institution, which was but a make-believe representative body, Frederick William IV hoped to introduce new taxes and obtain a loan. p. 379

[330] The minutes of the First United Diet (see Note 89) cite the "Uebersicht von den Resultaten der Finanzverwaltung in den Jahren 1840 bis einschliesslich 1846" presented by the Prussian Government (see *Der Erste Vereinigte Landtag in Berlin 1847*, 1. Teil, Berlin, 1847). Marx probably bases his calculations on data from this survey. Some inaccuracies in the tables cited in this article are corrected on the basis of the book *Preussens Erster Reichstag*, 7. Th., Berlin, 1847. p. 380

[331] In 1841 Frederick William IV donated 430,000 marks to establish an English-German Protestant Bishopric in Jerusalem.

Papers of Frederick II were published in Prussia from 1846. p. 385

[332] See Note 245. p. 390

[333] See Note 206. p. 394

[334] On February 16 and 17, 1849, the Cologne court tried Gottfried Kinkel, the editor of the democratic *Neue Bonner Zeitung.* The indictment against him was that in describing in 1848 the outrages of the Prussian soldiery in Mainz in his newspaper (then called *Bonner Zeitung*), he had insulted the Prussian garrison of the town. The court sentenced Kinkel to a month's imprisonment. p. 396

[335] See Note 258. p. 399

336 The reference is to the Hungarian State Assembly evacuated from Pest to Debreczin during the advance of the Austrian army in December 1848. Some Right-wing deputies went over to Windischgrätz. p. 399

337 The reference is to Austrian Prime Minister Prince Schwarzenberg's Note of February 4, 1849, addressed to the Frankfurt National Assembly, in which, in the name of his Government, he opposed the formation of a united German state. The Note was published in the *Wiener Zeitung* No. 39, February 15, 1849. p. 402

338 *Magyarisers*—a group of influential aristocratic landowners in Croatia, Slavonia, the Serbian Voivodina and other ethnic regions who advocated Magyarisation of the population in these areas. The narrow selfish interests of this group had nothing in common with the Hungarian revolution. They proved to be a cause of the Hungarian Government's nationalist mistakes. p. 409

339 The reference is to the *chief committee governing the Serbian Voivodeship* or *Chief Odbor*—an executive body formed by the Assembly (*Skupština*) of representatives of the Serbian communities in the South-Slav border regions of the Austrian Empire in May 1848. The Assembly proclaimed the Voivodina an autonomous region within the Empire.

The chief committee was the scene of struggle between the liberal group headed by Stratimirovich, who was elected President, and the clerical-feudal group who professed loyalty to the Habsburgs and opposed liberal reforms. Early in 1849 the second group, headed by Patriarch Rajachich, prevailed. It directed the national movement of the Voivodina Serbs towards still closer collaboration with the Austrian counter-revolutionary Government. The latter, however, after using the Serbs to fight revolutionary Hungary, broke its promises and refused, in March 1849, to grant them autonomy. p. 409

340 The reference is to the decree sent to Croatia by Count Moritz Almásy, head of the Hungarian Provisional Finance Chamber formed under the auspices of Windischgrätz in Pest after the Hungarian revolutionary army left the town. The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 45 of February 14, 1849, reprinted the following note to the text of this decree from the Agram newspaper *Slavenski jug*: "We publish this new act of Austrian politics without comment. The Croatians who have learned that loyalty to our Emperor and King and our Habsburg-Lotharingian Royal House is paid for with blood and money, must now also learn to understand such decrees in Magyar." p. 410

341 The reference is to the cruel suppression by the Austrian reactionaries headed by Windischgrätz of the popular uprising in Prague in June 1848 (see Note 218). p. 411

342 As a result of the popular uprising Pius IX was compelled to give his consent to the establishment of a temporal Ministry and the convocation of a Constituent Assembly on the basis of universal suffrage on November 16, 1848. The subsequent development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution led to the election of the Constituent Assembly on January 21, 1849, which on February 9 deprived Pius IX of his temporal power and proclaimed a republic. The Roman Republic existed until July 3, 1849, when it was crushed by foreign intervention.

In English this article was first published in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 414

[343] According to the convention in 1753 the 20-gulden or conventional system of money circulation was introduced in Austria and Bavaria: 20 guldens were to be coined out of one Cologne mark of pure silver (approximately 234 grams). Since then silver and gold money was called conventional money (C.M.). By the beginning of the nineteenth century metal money was practically replaced by paper money, called "Vienna currency", and the coining of metal money almost ceased. But the conventional system was still preserved. As the amount of paper money in circulation increased, especially during the 1848-49 revolution, the rate of the conventional money constantly rose, which prompted the population to hoard gold and silver coins. p. 416

[344] *Urbar duties* (*Urbariallasten*)—duties of the feudal-bound peasants registered in the *Urbars*, inventories of feudal land possessions. Beginning with the thirteenth century they also included taxes and other incomes as provided by law. p. 416

[345] In June 1848, at the time of the conflict between the Croatian nationalists and the Austrian Government which refused to meet their demands, the *Sabor* (Diet) meeting in Agram (Zagreb) (see Note 228) vested the Croatian Ban Jellachich at first with dictatorial powers. However, Jellachich, who represented the Croatian nobility, quickly came to terms with the Austrian Court and used his dictatorship to suppress the peasant movement in Croatia. The Austrian Government, which had dismissed Jellachich from the post of Ban during the conflict, reinstated him at the beginning of September 1848 and appointed him commander of the imperial troops in Hungary. Placing Croatian formations at the service of the Austrian reaction, Jellachich took part in the counter-revolutionary campaign against Hungary and in suppressing the popular uprising in Vienna. p. 417

[346] As to the source of the data on the finances of the Prussian monarchy between 1840 and 1846 and in 1847 used in this article, see Note 330. p. 418

Issue No. 3 of the *Revue rétrospective ou Archives secrètes du dernier Gouvernement*, published by Jules Taschereau, carried a list of the secret funds of the July monarchy's Foreign Ministry for 1840, 1842, 1844-47 in which the annual pension of the editor of the *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung* Karl Berly, a secret agent of the Guizot's Government, was mentioned. p. 421

[348] *Peterwardein border guards*, like Serezhans, Ottochans and other South-Slav army formations, guarded the Austro-Turkish border (the so-called Military Border Area). They were named after their respective regimental or company districts and communities (see also Notes 81, 112 and 218). p. 423

[349] See Note 307. p. 425

[350] Cavalry units in the Austrian army included not only squadrons but larger tactical formations—divisions which usually consisted of two squadrons. p. 427

[351] *Cumans*—descendants of Polovtsi (Kumans), a Turkic nationality. They appeared on the territory of Hungary in the ninth century together with the Magyars, but the bulk settled there in the thirteenth century, fleeing from the Mongolian yoke after the battle on the Kalka River.

*Jazyges* (*Iazyges, Jaszok*)—descendants of the Sarmatian tribes. They first appeared on the territory of Hungary about the eleventh century.

Cumans and Jazyges, who had been granted land by the Hungarian kings, formed two independent districts between the Theiss, Danube and Gran. For their special services to the Hungarian Crown a large part of the population were

granted nobility. Palatin, the imperial governor in Hungary, was their supreme judge and ruler. p. 428

352 The *Treaty of Pressburg* (Bratislava) signed on December 26, 1805, between Austria and Napoleonic France put an end to the war of the Austrian monarchy against Napoleon within the third anti-French coalition (Britain, Austria, Russia and Sweden). The signing of the treaty was preceded by the capitulation of the Austrian army at Ulm (October 17-20) and the defeat of the Austrian and Russian forces at Austerlitz (December 2). p. 429

353 In this article Engels pays special attention to the condition in Transylvania at the turning-point of the revolutionary war in Hungary. In January and February 1849 the Hungarian revolutionary troops checked the Austrian offensive on almost all the fronts and, harassing the Austrians by repeated attacks and continuous fighting, prepared for the decisive battle in April 1849.

In Transylvania as in other national regions which were part of Hungary at the time, the struggle was waged in the conditions of sharp national contradictions. The majority of its motley population—Rumanians, Hungarians including Szeklers, and Germans, mostly from Saxony—were Rumanian peasants exploited by the Hungarian landowners and Austrian officials. Though the advanced part of the Rumanian bourgeoisie and intelligentsia welcomed the Hungarian revolution of 1848, the Austrian agents using social and national antagonisms organised an uprising of the Rumanians against revolutionary Hungary in September 1848. The Rumanian legions under Colonel Urban fought against the Hungarians together with the Austrian troops of Baron Puchner. However, the Polish refugee Bem, appointed commander of the Hungarian army in Transylvania in December 1848, prevented Puchner from entering Hungary via Transylvania and during January-March 1849 managed to inflict several serious blows upon the counter-revolutionary forces in Transylvania proper.

A small contingent of Russian troops sent to Puchner's aid by Lüders, the commander of the Tsarist expeditionary corps in Wallachia, failed to stop Bem's advance and by the end of March the latter had practically driven the enemy out of Transylvania. Bem's success was furthered by his desire to reconcile the national contradictions between Hungarians and Rumanians notwithstanding the resistance of the representatives of the Hungarian Government, who expressed the interests of the Hungarian nobility. (Later Engels specially emphasised this in his article "Bem" written for the *New American Encyclopedia.*) The Rumanian democrat Balčescu also called for joint action by the Rumanians and Hungarians against the Habsburgs. Janku, the leader of the insurrectionary movement of the Rumanian poor peasants, held similar views.

However, the Hungarian revolutionaries among the bourgeoisie and the nobility realised too late that co-operation with the downtrodden nationalities was necessary. This made it possible for the Austrian ruling circles to use the Rumanian national movement in Transylvania, headed by the clerical-aristocratic clique, as a weapon against revolutionary Hungary. After the suppression of the Hungarian revolution in Transylvania, the Austrians established a regime of ruthless national oppression there despite all their demagogic promises. p. 432

354 After agreeing on the possibility of joint action against republican France in July 1791, Austria and Prussia signed a treaty in February 1792. The Austro-Prussian alliance encouraged by Tsarist Russia became the core of the first anti-French coalition, which by March 1793 was joined by Britain, Russia, Sardinia, Naples, Spain, Holland and some of the German principalities. In 1795 the coalition broke up.

The suppression by the Tsarist army of the 1794 Polish uprising led by Kosciuszko is connected with the first anti-French coalition. The insurgents demanded that the Constitution which had been proclaimed by the Four Years' Sejm (1788-92) should again come into force. The adoption of the Constitution had been used as a pretext for the occupation of Poland by Prussia and Russia in 1793 and led to the second partition of Poland (the first was carried out by Prussia, Russia and Austria in 1772). After the suppression of the Kosciuszko uprising a third partition of Poland between Austria, Prussia and Tsarist Russia took place in 1795 and the Polish state ceased to exist. p. 438

355 See Note 170. p. 438

356 See Note 303. p. 441

357 *Arians*—a trend in Christian religion which was widely spread among several German tribes in the fourth and fifth centuries. Arian heresy was condemned by the official church in 381. p. 442

358 See Note 319. p. 442

359 *Honvéd*—literally: defender of the homeland; the name given to the Hungarian revolutionary army of 1848-49, which was set up by decision of the Hungarian revolutionary Government on May 7, 1848, on the formation of ten battalions of the Honvéd. p. 444

360 The original text of the speech from the throne made by Frederick William IV at the inaugural sitting of the Prussian Diet was published in a special supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 233, February 28, 1849. In the text of the speech published after this article in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 234, March 1, 1849, this passage was changed as follows: "To my greatest regret a state of siege had to be proclaimed in the capital and its immediate environs to restore the rule of law and public safety. Corresponding proposals will be presented to you, gentlemen, without delay." Below in the article the speech from the throne is cited from the latter publication. p. 445

361 The reference is to the draft laws on clubs and meetings, posters and the press which were being prepared by the Government (on this see Marx's article "Three New Draft Laws" published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on March 13, 1849, present edition, Vol. 9). These drafts are compared with the reactionary press laws passed in France in September 1835 (see Note 181). p. 445

362 The reference is to the speech from the throne by Frederick William IV at the inaugural sitting of the Second United Diet (see Note 89) on April 2, 1848; the text of the speech was prepared by the Camphausen Ministry. p. 446

363 The *White Hall*—a hall in the royal palace in Berlin where the first joint sitting of the two Chambers of the newly convened Prussian Diet was held on February 26, 1849. p. 446

364 On March 21, 1848, Frederick William IV, frightened by the barricade fighting in Berlin, issued an appeal "To my people and the German nation" (see Note 210) in which he promised to set up a representative institution based on the estates, grant a Constitution, make Ministers responsible, introduce jury courts etc. p. 447

365 The reference is to the two decrees on amending the old trade statute—introducing chambers of commerce (*Gewerberäte*) and trade courts (*Gewer-*

*begerichte*)—which were issued by the Prussian Government on February 9, 1849. p. 448

366 *Gagging laws*—the name given to the six exceptional laws passed in England in 1819 after the cutting down by hussars and yeomanry of participants in a mass meeting for electoral reform at St. Peter's Field, Manchester (the so-called battle of Peterloo); the laws restricted freedom of assembly and the press. p. 448

367 See Note 348. p. 453

368 Taking advantage of the forthcoming expiration of the seven months' armistice signed by Denmark and Prussia at Malmö (see Note 75) the Prussian ruling circles refused to prolong it with a view to raising the prestige of the Prussian monarchy by waging the war, which was very popular in Germany, and realising their aggressive plans. Military operations were resumed in March 1849 and proceeded with varying success. Eventually, under pressure from the Great Powers, Prussia signed a peace treaty with Denmark in Berlin on July 2, 1850, temporarily renouncing its claims to Schleswig and Holstein and treacherously leaving the population of these duchies to continue the war alone. The Schleswig-Holstein troops were defeated and compelled to cease resistance. As a result both duchies remained within the Kingdom of Denmark. p. 456

369 The moderate liberal Gioberti who headed the Piedmont Government strove to use the movement which had spread in Italian states for an all-Italy Constituent Assembly and unification of the country in a democratic way in order to carry out the plan of establishing a federation of Italian states which was in the interests of the Savoy dynasty. After the proclamation of a republic in Rome on February 9, 1849, and the beginning of a campaign for a republic in Tuscany, Gioberti made efforts to restore the power of Pius IX and Grand Duke Leopold II with military aid from Piedmont. Such a policy and his refusal to carry out progressive reforms in Piedmont made Gioberti extremely unpopular and led to his resignation on February 21, 1849. Under mass pressure and apprehensive over the future of the Savoy dynasty in the impending crisis in Italy, the Piedmont ruling circles were compelled to declare on March 12, 1849, the resumption of the war against Austria. However, the Piedmont army, which was poorly prepared for the war and led by monarchist generals who were afraid to impart a really popular character to the war, was soon routed by the Austrians. On March 26 the new King of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel, was compelled to sign an armistice with Austria on more onerous terms than in August 1848. p. 456

370 The reference is to the failure of the counter-revolutionary General Laugier, supported by the Piedmont ruling circles and the Austrians, to interfere with the development of revolutionary events in Tuscany and prevent the abdication of Grand Duke Leopold II and the proclamation of a Tuscan republic. On January 30, 1849, the Grand Duke fled to Siena, and later to Gaeta, the residence of Pius IX. On February 18, a republic was proclaimed at a popular meeting (official introduction of the republican system was postponed till the convocation of a Constituent Assembly, which never took place due to sabotage by the moderate wing of the movement). p. 456

371 The information reproduced by Engels from a French newspaper was not entirely correct. However, the events which marked the beginning of the culminating stage of the struggle between the revolutionary movement in Sicily and the Government of King Ferdinand of Naples provided a basis for rumours about the

proclamation of a Sicilian republic. On February 25, 1849, Ferdinand sent the Sicilians an ultimatum. Though promising to sanction the restoration of the 1812 Constitution he demanded disarmament and consent to occupation of the major parts of the island by Neapolitan troops. The refusal of the Sicilians to accept the ultimatum led to fierce fighting; although the Neapolitan forces were superior in numbers and arms, the Sicilians offered resistance until the beginning of May 1849. p. 456

372 The thoughts expressed here show Engels' keen insight into future military developments in Hungary. Indeed, the general counter-offensive of the Hungarian revolutionary army was launched in the mentioned region at the beginning of April 1849. On April 2, the revolutionary army won a major victory at Hatvan, followed by a series of strong blows at the enemy. Thus, Engels' forecast did not come true so far as the time of the offensive was concerned, but was quite correct in respect of the place of concentration of the main Hungarian forces for a decisive blow and its direction. p. 457

373 A major part of the urban population in Transylvania was made up of Germans (Saxons) who constituted about 16 per cent of the region's total population. p. 461

374 On November 22, 1848, Lassalle delivered a speech at a popular meeting in Neuss (near Düsseldorf) in which he called upon the people to offer if necessary armed support to the Prussian National Assembly. Lassalle was arrested on the same day. On the legal proceedings against Lassalle see Note 299. p. 463

375 Here and elsewhere, the reference is to the articles of the *Code pénal* (see Note 88). p. 463

376 *Code d'instruction criminelle*—the French Criminal Code in force in the Rhine Province of Prussia. Further Article 360 of this Code is cited. p. 464

377 The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 186, January 4, 1849, carried information about the deputation of sixteen Düsseldorf citizens to Prosecutor-General Nicolovius among whom were members of the Cologne Workers' Association and the Democratic Society. The deputation handed in a petition signed by 2,800 Düsseldorf citizens, the text of which the newspaper appended to the report. p. 474

378 *Kameralgüter*—landed estates which passed into the ownership of the Crown after the death of the last descendant of a feudal family, confiscated lands etc. The *Kameralgüter* also gave the owner the right to collect taxes and other privileges, and were managed by a special administration directly subordinated to the Hungarian Royal Chancellory in Ofen. p. 479

379 This note was probably written as a rough draft (many words and sentences are crossed out in the manuscript) of a report for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, but no item on this subject appeared in the newspaper.

The occasion for writing this note was a clash of the Workers' Association (see Note 179) and the democratic organisations in Cologne with the police and military authorities who wanted to prevent the people's procession on the occasion of the release from prison on December 23 of Gottschalk, Anneke and others acquitted by the jury after six months of imprisonment. The acquittal was seen by the masses as a victory of the democratic movement, which they wanted to celebrate by procession. The authorities prohibited this procession and it did not take place. p. 483

380 This fragment is apparently part of the draft of the fourth article in the series "The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-Revolution" which dealt with Hansemann and the Government of Action (see Note 153) he in practice headed. Some of the ideas were reflected in the published version of the article (see this volume, pp. 168-70). p. 484

381 The extant part of the draft of a speech at the trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* held on February 7, 1849 (see Note 284), refers to that part of Marx's speech in which, on the basis of a legal analysis of the relevant articles of the French *Code pénal,* he refutes the accusation levelled at the newspaper's editors of insulting Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel and calumniating the police officers. To what extent Marx used this draft in the speech itself can be seen by comparing it with the published text (see this volume, pp. 304-17). The manuscript of the draft has come down to us in an incomplete and rough form, indecipherable in some places. p. 485

382 Marx was summoned before the examining magistrate on November 14, 1848, after the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* published the second article in the series "Counter-Revolution in Berlin" containing a call to refuse to pay taxes as a measure against the counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Prussia (see this volume, pp. 16-18). However, fearing the people's reaction to the persecution of the editors of a popular newspaper, the authorities confined themselves to confirming one of the charges brought against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* earlier, after it had published the appeal "To the German People" by the republican Friedrich Hecker (see Note 93). p. 495

383 Engels wrote this petition when he arrived in Berne about November 9, 1848, as a political refugee. On the reasons for his departure to Berne see Note 3. The warrant for his arrest and trial, mentioned in the petition, was issued by the Cologne judiciary, who, on the demand of the Imperial Minister of Justice, instituted proceedings against him and a number of other persons for their speeches at the public meeting in Cologne on September 26, 1848. Later, the judicial authorities found it expedient to annul the case, and this was officially announced at the end of January 1849, when Engels, who had returned to Germany, was summoned before the examining magistrate (see this volume, p. 516). p. 497

384 The People's Committee was elected on November 13, 1848, at a public meeting in Cologne held in protest against the transfer of the Prussian National Assembly from Berlin to Brandenburg. It consisted of 25 representatives of Cologne democratic and proletarian circles, among them Marx, Beust, Nothjung, Weyll and Schneider II. The Committee became one of the organising centres of the people's struggle in the Rhine Province against the coup d'état in Prussia. It sought to rearm the civic militia, which was disarmed in September 1848, when a state of siege was declared in Cologne, and reorganise the army reserve on a democratic basis; it carried out agitation among soldiers and attempted to create a workers' volunteer detachment. Taking part in the tax-refusal campaign, the People's Committee tried to draw into it peasants from the neighbouring localities. p. 501

385 Article 209 of the *Code pénal* (see Note 88) concerns resistance to the representatives of state power, and Article 217, incitement to rebellion. p. 501

386 Marx, Korff and others were accused by the Imperial Ministry of having libelled deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly in: 1) Georg Weerth's series of feuilletons *Leben und Taten des berühmten Ritters Schnapphahnski* directed against Lichnowski, a Right-wing deputy, and published anonymously in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in August, September and December 1848 and January 1849; 2) a report from Breslau in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 95 for September 6, 1848, about Prince Lichnowski's machinations in the electoral campaign; 3) a report from Frankfurt am Main in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 102 for September 14, 1848, exposing false information in the report by Stedtmann, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly, concerning the vote on the armistice with Denmark; 4) a resolution of a public meeting in Cologne published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 110 for September 23, 1848, in which the deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly who had voted for the armistice with Denmark were accused of having betrayed the nation (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 588-89). p. 504

387 The trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* fixed for December 20, 1848, was postponed and was heard on February 7, 1849 (see this volume, pp. 304-22 and Note 284). p. 504

388 The First Congress of German Workers' Associations and Democratic Organisations of Switzerland was held in Berne on December 9-11, 1848. On the work of the Congress and Engels' participation in it see Note 175. p. 505

389 The reference is to the Central Committee of German Workers in Leipzig (see Note 199). p. 505

390 Marx's and Engels' defence counsel, lawyer Schneider II, demanded that the proceedings be adjourned in view of the fact that the accused had not been informed of the trial in due time (ten days prior). The trial took place on February 7, 1849. p. 511

391 When the *Zeitung des Arbeiter-Vereines zu Köln* (see Note 180) ceased to appear, the newspaper *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit*, which began publication on October 26, 1848, became the organ of the Cologne Workers' Association (see Note 179). The publisher was Röser, Vice-President of the Cologne Workers' Association, and the responsible editor was W. Prinz. At the end of December 1848, as a result of Gottschalk's interference in the paper's affairs, its publication was interrupted. From January 14, 1849, the newspaper *Freiheit, Arbeit* began to appear, its publisher being the printer Brocker-Evererts. Prinz, its responsible editor and a supporter of Gottschalk, pursued the policy of splitting the Cologne Workers' Association. He refused to submit to the editorial commission which had been appointed at the committee meeting of the Cologne Workers' Association on January 15 and consisted of Schapper, Röser and Reiff; therefore the committee meeting of January 29 resolved that the *Freiheit, Arbeit* could not be regarded as the Association's newspaper and that the *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit* should resume publication; Christian Joseph Esser was appointed its editor. The *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit* reappeared on February 8 and continued publication up to the middle of 1849. The *Freiheit, Arbeit* continued to appear until June 17, 1849. It sharply attacked Marx and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*'s editorial board and published various malicious insinuations against them. p. 513

392 After December 23, when the members of the Cologne Workers' Association, Anneke, Esser and Gottschalk, were acquitted, the last-named tried to keep aloof

from the Association (at first he went to Bonn, and later to Paris and Brussels); at the same time, he endeavoured, through his associates, to cause a split in the ranks of the organisation and again impose a sectarian policy on it. In a statement written in Brussels on January 9, 1849, and published in the *Freiheit, Arbeit* on January 18, Gottschalk explained his "voluntary exile" by the fact that, despite the acquittal, many of his fellow citizens remained convinced of his guilt. He declared that he would come back only "at the call of the hitherto supreme arbiter in the country" (an allusion to Frederick William IV) or "at the call of his fellow citizens". For an appraisal of this ambiguous statement see the decision of Branch No. 1 of the Cologne Workers' Association (present edition, Vol. 9). p. 513

393 According to the decree of December 5, 1848, the elections of electors were fixed for January 22, and the election of deputies to the Second Chamber of the Prussian Diet for February 5, 1849. p. 514

394 The Democratic Society in Cologne was set up in April 1848; it included workers and artisans as well as small businessmen. Marx, Engels and other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* who directed the Society's activity wanted to orientate it towards a resolute struggle against the counter-revolutionary policy of the Prussian ruling circles and exposure of the liberal bourgeoisie's policy of agreement. In April 1849, Marx and his followers, who had practically begun to organise an independent mass proletarian party, considered it best to dissociate themselves from the petty-bourgeois democrats and withdrew from the Democratic Society. Meanwhile they continued to support the revolutionary actions of the German democratic forces. p. 514

395 The passport which Engels produced to obtain a residence permit for the canton of Berne was issued by the Government of the French Republic on March 30, 1848. At that time Marx and Engels were preparing to go to Germany, intending to take a direct part in the German revolution. On April 6 they left Paris for their native country. p. 515

396 Lieutenants Adamski and Niethake took part in the September events in Cologne and in November 1848 were elected to the People's Committee (see Note 384). When the threat of arrest arose, they fled to Belgium, but were arrested there and deported to France. On December 14, after their voluntary return to Germany, they were court-martialled. On May 29, 1849, the court martial deprived Adamski of his commission and sentenced him to nine months' imprisonment in a fortress. p. 521

397 The banquet in Mülheim on the Rhine described here was one of the first democratic banquets arranged in the Rhine Province to mark the anniversaries of the February revolution in France and the March revolution in Germany. Considering these banquets as a form of revolutionary education of the masses, Marx and Engels took part in some of them. p. 522

398 The new Statute of the Cologne Workers' Association was adopted on February 25, 1849. According to it, the Association's main task was to raise the workers' class and political consciousness and it was to be built not on the guild principle as before, but on a territorial basis; consistent democratisation was to apply in the internal life of the organisation, and simultaneously the authority of its elected leading body—the Committee—was to increase. Nine branches were set up as planned. All this contributed to extend popular support for the Association and to enhance its political influence. p. 524

399 See Note 127. p. 525

400 See Note 75. p. 525

401 After the flight of Grand Duke Leopold II on January 31, 1849, and the establishment on February 8 of the radical Government (triumvirate) consisting of Guerazzi, Montagnelli and Mazzini, the movement for a republic and unity with the Roman Republic intensified in Tuscany. The radicals regarded this as the beginning of a democratic achievement of Italian unity. On February 18, 1849, a public meeting in Florence proclaimed the foundation of a Tuscan republic. However, under pressure from the liberals and moderate democrats the Guerazzi Government postponed the formal proclamation of the republic until the convocation of the Tuscan Constituent Assembly. As moderate elements dominated the Assembly, the triumvirate again postponed the establishment of a republic on March 27, 1849. The republic had not yet been officially proclaimed when a counter-revolutionary revolt on April 11, 1849, brought Leopold II back to power. Guerazzi's policy of yielding to pressure from the moderates also upset the plan for uniting Tuscany with the Roman Republic. p. 526

402 On his arrival in Cologne on April 11, 1848, Marx, who was compelled to renounce his Prussian citizenship in 1845, petitioned the Cologne City Council to grant him the right of citizenship and received a favourable reply. But this decision had to be confirmed by the royal provincial government, which early in August 1848, after four months of delay, informed Marx that his petition had been turned down. Marx lodged a complaint with the Minister of the Interior, Kühlwetter, but on September 12, 1848, the latter confirmed the decision of the provincial government (see present edition, Vol. 7, p. 581). Though the campaign of protest prevented the reactionaries from immediately carrying out all their intentions towards the editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the threat of expulsion from Prussia as a foreigner hovered over him. Later the Prussian Government expelled Marx from Prussia under the pretext that he "had abused hospitality". Due to this act and repressions against other editors, the newspaper ceased publication in May 1849. p. 527

403 On February 27, 1849, the *Kölnische Zeitung* carried a report on the banquet of February 24. The item said in particular: "Deputy Gladbach especially distinguished himself among the orators by his thunderous speeches against the House of Hohenzollern, Count Brandenburg and others." p. 529

404 The reference is to the group of participants in the Baden uprising of April 1848 who emigrated to Besançon (France); later, under the name of the Besançon company and headed by Willich, they took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849. p. 529

405 See Note 178. p. 530

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*Alexander of Macedon (Alexander the Great)* (356-323 B.C.)—general and statesman of antiquity.—370

*Almásy (Almási), Moritz, Count* (1808-1881)—Hungarian conservative politician, champion of pro-Austrian policy; after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution, President of the restored Hungarian King's Chamber (until 1853), of which he was Vice-President prior to 1848.—431

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*Amelung, Hermann*—German student, in 1848 member of the Jena District Committee of Democrats.—342

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*Anneke, Friedrich* (1818-1872)—Prussian artillery officer discharged from the army for his political views; member of the Communist League, one of the founders of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848), editor of the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung*, member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats.—188, 189, 191, 192-95, 319, 513, 514, 518

*Anneke, Mathilde Franziska* (1818-1884)—German writer, in 1848-49 contributed to democratic periodicals; wife of Friedrich Anneke.—191

*Arndt, Ernst Moritz* (1769-1860)—German writer, historian and philologist; took part in the struggle against Napoleon's rule; in 1848-49 deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre).—90

*Arnim-Suckow, Heinrich Alexander, Baron von* (1798-1861)—Prussian statesman, moderate liberal, Minister of Foreign Affairs (from March 21 to

June 19, 1848), deputy to the First Chamber (1849).—67

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*Auerswald, Rudolf von* (1795-1866)—Prussian statesman, liberal aristocrat, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (June-September 1848), *Oberpräsident* of West Prussia (September 1848-50).—168, 171

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*Bakunin, Mikhail* (1814-1876)—Russian democrat, journalist, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; one of the ideologists of anarchism in later years; opposed Marxism in the First International; was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress of 1872 for his splitting activities.—363, 365, 368, 373, 374, 377, 378

*Bangert*—member of the Lausanne Workers' Association in 1848.—506

*Barbès, Armand* (1809-1870)—French revolutionary, one of the leaders of secret societies during the July monarchy; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848); sentenced to life imprisonment for participating in the popular rising of May 15, 1848; was amnestied in 1854 and emigrated to Belgium.—125

*Barman, Maurice* (1808-1878)—Swiss politician, deputy of the Wallis (Valais) canton to the National Council (1848-57).—148

*Barrot, Camille Hyacinthe Odilon* (1791-1873)—French politician, leader of the liberal dynastic opposition until February 1848; from December 1848 to October 1849, head of the Ministry, which relied on a monarchist coalition.—214, 278-80, 281-83, 526

*Basse, Gottfried* (1778-1825)—Prussian bookseller and writer; publisher of novels about knights and robbers.—69

*Bassermann, Friedrich Daniel* (1811-1855)—German politician, represented the Baden Government in the Federal Diet during the 1848-49 revolution; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre).—16, 154

*Bassi (Bassy), J. F.*—Swiss journalist of Italian descent; editor of the liberal newspaper *La Suisse* (1840s and 1850s).—248

*Bastide, Jules* (1800-1879)—French politician and journalist; one of the editors of the newspaper *Le National* (1836-46); moderate republican; Minister of Foreign Affairs (May-December 1848).—66, 133

*Battaglini, Carlo* (1812-1888)—Swiss politician, lawyer, deputy of the Tessin canton to the National Council (1848-51, 1862-75, 1884-87).—148

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*Becker, Hermann Heinrich* (1820-1885)—German lawyer and journalist, one of the leaders of the Association for Workers and Employers in Cologne; member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats, editor of the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* (May 1849-July 1850), member of the Communist League (from 1850).—499, 500, 529

*Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886)—German revolutionary, took part in the democratic and revolution-

ary movement of the 1830s and 1840s in Germany and Switzerland; editor of the newspaper *Die Evolution* (*Die Revolution*); prominent figure in the First International in the 1860s and delegate to all its congresses; friend and comrade-in-arms of Marx and Engels.—204, 205, 242, 250

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*Bengel, Franz Wilhelm* (born c. 1819)—German democrat, President of the Workers' Association in Mülheim (Rhine Province) in 1848-49.—522

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*Benz, Rudolf, von Pfungen* (1810-1872)—Swiss politician, colonel, participant in the war against the Sonderbund; deputy of the Zurich canton to the National Council (1848-49).—61

*Berg*—Swiss army officer; deputy to the National Council (1848).—114, 115, 118, 145, 146-49

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*Bergius, Karl Julius* (1804-1871)—Prussian official, lawyer and journalist, *Regierungsrat* in Breslau (Wroclaw) in 1849.—381

*Berlier, Théophile, comte* (1761-1844)—French politician and lawyer, deputy to the Convention, member of the State Council after the coup d'état of the 18th Brumaire of 1799.—308, 489

*Berly, Karl Peter* (1781-1847)—German journalist, editor of the *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung* (1829-47), secret agent of the French Government during the July monarchy.—421

*Bernold, Joseph Leonhard* (1809-1872)—Swiss politician, colonel; deputy to the National Council (1848).—141

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*Blanc, Jean Joseph Louis* (1811-1882)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, historian; in 1848 member of the Provisional Government and President of the Luxembourg Commission; pursued a policy of agreement with the bourgeoisie.—84, 123, 125, 131

*Blanchenay, Louis* (1800-1881)—Swiss politician, deputy of the Waadt (Vaud) canton to the National Council (1848-60).—147

*Blösch, Eduard Eugen* (1807-1866)—Swiss conservative politician, represented Berne in the Diet in the 1840s, head of the conservative opposition in the Great Council of the Berne canton (from 1846); in the 1850s held important government posts.—56, 59

*Blum*—German student, participated in the democratic banquet of February 24, 1849, in Cologne.—530

*Blum, Robert* (1807-1848)—German democrat, journalist, leader of the Left wing in the Frankfurt National Assembly; in October 1848 participated in the defence of Vienna and was shot by decision of the Austrian court martial.—51, 93, 247, 249, 398, 461, 529

*Böckh, Philipp August* (1785-1867)—German philologist and historian; professor and for a number of

years head of Berlin University.—106

*Bodelschwingh, Ernst, Baron von* (1794-1854)—Prussian conservative statesman, Finance Minister (from 1842), Minister of the Interior (1845-March 1848); in 1849 deputy to the Second Chamber (Right wing).—31, 270, 379, 381, 382, 383, 385, 388, 389, 418

*Bölling*—Prussian judiciary official, Public Prosecutor (1849), prosecutor at the Cologne trial of May 29, 1849.—329

*Bollinger*—Swiss capitalist, owner of a factory near Vienna, witness of the brutalities of the Austrian counter-revolutionary military.—121

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*Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

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*Brenner, Johann Karl* (1814-1883)—Swiss lawyer and journalist, founder and editor of the Basle *Schweizerische National-Zeitung*; member of the Federal Court from November 1848.—42

*Briatte, Georges François, von* (1805-1877)—Swiss radical politician, lawyer, colonel; in the 1840s represented the Waadt (Vaud) canton in the Diet, President of the Council of States (1849 and 1853).—97, 119

*Brüggemann, Karl Heinrich* (1810-1887)—German journalist, moderate liberal, editor-in-chief of the *Kölnische Zeitung* (1846-55).—167, 262, 286, 288, 354, 392

*Brugisser, Peter* (1806-1870)—Swiss politician; deputy to the National Council (1848).—57

*Brunnow, Filipp Ivanovich, Baron* (1797-1875)—Russian diplomat; in the 1840s and 1850s envoy and later ambassador to London.—211

*Bückler, Johann* (c. 1780-1803)—German robber nicknamed Hans the Flayer (Schinderhannes); in a number of literary works depicted as a "noble robber" and defender of the poor.—69

*Budberg, Andrei Fyodorovich, Baron von* (1817-1881)—diplomat of Tsarist Russia, chargé d'affaires at Frankfurt from January 1848 and later ambassador to Berlin.—211

*Bugeaud de la Piconnerie, Thomas Robert* (1784-1849)—French marshal, Orleanist, commander of troops which crushed the republican uprising in Paris in 1834; in 1848-49 commander-in-chief of the Alpine army, deputy to the Legislative Assembly.—526

*Bülow-Cummerow, Ernst Gottfried Georg von* (1775-1851)—German journalist and politician, expressed the interests of big landowners.—381

*Bunsen, Christian Karl Josias, Baron von* (1791-1860)—Prussian diplomat, writer, theologian; ambassador to London (1842-54).—31

*Bürgers, Heinrich* (1820-1878)—German radical journalist, contributor to the *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842 and 1843); member of the Cologne community of the Communist League (1848); one of the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; subsequently became a Progressist.—475, 499, 500

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*Cabrera-y-Griño (Ramon), Count de Morella* (1810-1877)—Spanish general, one of the Carlist leaders.—294

*Caesar, Gaius Julius* (c. 100-44 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman.—370

*Calame, Henri Florian* (1807-1863)—Swiss journalist and politician, member of the Great Council of the Neuchâtel canton (1848-63).—8

*Camphausen, Ludolf* (1803-1890)—German banker, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Prime Minister (March-June 1848), Prussian envoy to the Central Authority (July 1848-April 1849).—3, 31, 154, 157, 158, 160, 163, 165-67, 255, 257, 267, 275, 295-97, 326, 446

*Cantador, Lorenz*—German merchant, participant in the 1848-49 revolution; commander of the civic militia in Düsseldorf (1848); in December 1848 was arrested for call to armed resistance to the royal power; was released in March 1849 and emigrated to the USA.—341, 346, 474

*Capet*—see *Louis XVI*

*Carlos, Don (Carlos Maria Isidoro)* (1788-1855)—pretender to the Spanish throne, henchman of the feudal aristocracy and clericals who unleashed civil war in Spain (1833-40).—235, 265, 294

*Carnot, Lazare Nicolas* (1753-1823)—French mathematician; political and military figure in the French Revolution, Jacobin; took part in the Thermidor coup in 1794.—227, 402

*Carolingians*—Frankish royal dynasty (751-843).—369

*Carstens*—see *Lessner, Friedrich*

*Carteret, Antoine Desiré* (1813-1889)—Swiss statesman and politician; member of the Great Council of the Geneva canton (1848-51) and of the Council of States (1847-49).—112

*Castella*—Swiss radical politician; member of the Government of the Freiburg (Fribourg) canton (1847-56).—57

*Castoldi, Jean Jacques* (1804-1871)—Swiss radical politician, lawyer; deputy of the Geneva canton to the National Council (1848-51).—147

*Cato, Marcus Porcius (Cato the Elder)* (234-149 B.C.)—Roman statesman and writer.—221

*Caussidière, Marc* (1808-1861)—French democrat, participant in the Lyons uprising of 1834; Prefect of the Paris police after the February revolution of 1848; deputy to the Constituent Assembly; emigrated to England in June 1848.—125

*Cavaignac, Éléonore Louis Godefroy* (1801-1845)—French writer, lawyer and politician; democrat, participant in the 1830 revolution; a leader of the republican society of the Friends of the People during the July monarchy; brother of Louis Eugène Cavaignac.—149

*Cavaignac, Louis Eugène* (1802-1857)—French general and politician, moderate republican; took part in the conquest of Algeria; after the February 1848 revolution, Governor of Algeria; from May 1848 War Minister of France; directed the suppression of the June uprising; head of executive power (June-December 1848).—23, 102-04, 124-26, 133, 214, 282

*Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de* (1547-1616)—Spanish writer.—68

*Chambord, Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonné d'Artois, duc de Bordeaux, comte de* (1820-1883)—representative of the elder line of the Bourbons, pretender to the French throne under the name of Henry V.—354

*Changarnier, Nicolas Anne Théodule* (1793-1877)—French general and politician, monarchist; deputy to the Constituent and the Legislative Assembly; after June 1848 commanded the Paris garrison and national guard; took part in dispersing the demonstration of June 13, 1849, in Paris.—282, 284

*Charlemagne* (*Charles the Great*) (c. 742-814)—King of the Franks (768-800) and Roman Emperor (800-14).—367

*Charles I* (1600-1649)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1625-49), beheaded during the revolution.—15, 325, 338

*Charles V* (1500-1558)—King of Spain (1516-56), Holy Roman Emperor (1519-56).—14

*Charles X* (1757-1836)—King of France (1824-30).—15

*Charles Martel* (c. 688-741)—Frankish mayor of the palace, in 715 became actual ruler of the Frankish state.—232

*Chiodo, Agostino, Baron* (1792-1861)—Italian general and statesman; after the fall of the Gioberti Government in Turin in 1849 took the post of Prime Minister.—456

*Christern, Johann Wilhelm*—author of the anonymously published satirical pamphlet *Doctor Eisele's und Baron von Beisele's Landtagsreise im April 1847*.—89

*Claudius, Matthias* (1740-1815)—German poet, author of several songs.—81

*Compes, Josef Gerhard* (1810-1887)—German lawyer, liberal politician; in 1848 and 1849 deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre).—255

*Cramer, Carl*—German democrat; publisher and editor of the Cologne democratic newspaper *Der Wächter am Rhein* (1848-49).—529, 530

*Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—one of the leaders of the English revolution, Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653.—15

*Csenkly, J.*—Hungarian patriot; sentenced to imprisonment in 1849 by the Austrian court for concealing arms.—430

*Csorich* (*Čorić*), *Anton, Barun od Monte Creto* (1795-1864)—Austrian general of Croat descent; took part in suppressing the October 1848 uprising in Vienna and in the war against revolutionary Hungary.—292, 400, 405, 434

*Czartoryskis*—family of Polish princes.—229

*Czernovich*—captain of a Rumanian detachment which took part with the Austrian troops in the campaign against Hungarian guerillas on the Theiss.—406

*Czuczar* (mid-19th cent.)—Hungarian Catholic priest, author of a patriotic song calling on the people to fight against Austrian rule.—352

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*Damjanich, János* (1804-1849)—Hungarian general, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, comrade-in-arms of Kossuth; after the defeat of the revolution was executed by the Austrian authorities on October 6, 1849, together with twelve other Hungarian generals.—293, 434, 441

*Danton, Georges Jacques* (1759-1794)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, leader of the Right-wing Jacobins.—227

*Deinhard, Heinrich Marianus* (first half of 19th cent.)—German democratic writer from Weimar.—342

*Dembiński, Henryk* (1791-1864)—Polish general and prominent figure in the national liberation movement, participant in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31; commander-in-chief of the Hungarian revolutionary army (February-April 1848) and the Northern Theiss army; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated first to Turkey and then to France.—348-49, 352, 409, 427-28, 437, 443, 451, 458, 459, 460, 466

*Demosthenes* (384 or 383-322 B.C.)—Greek orator and politician.—396

*Deym, Count*—commander of a brigade in the Austrian army which crushed the revolution in Hungary (1848-49).—404

*Dibich-Zabalkanski, Ivan Ivanovich (Diebitsch-Sabalkanski, Hans Karl Friedrich Anton), Count* (1785-1831)—Russian field marshal, commander-in-chief of the Tsarist army which suppressed the Polish insurrection of 1830-31.—349, 372

*Dietrich*—Austrian general, participant in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—407, 461

*Donizetti, Gaetano* (1797-1848)—Italian composer.—117

*Drigalski, von*—Prussian general, in 1848 commanded a division in Düsseldorf.—75-79, 187, 195, 416, 512

*Dronke, Ernst* (1822-1891)—German journalist, at first a "true socialist", later a member of the Communist League and an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.—81

*Druey, Henri* (1799-1855)—Swiss radical statesman; took part in drafting the 1848 Constitution; member of the Federal Council (1848-55), and President of the Swiss Confederation in 1850.—44, 84, 85, 87, 95, 97, 98, 113, 137, 151

*Duchâtel, Charles Marie Tanneguy, comte* (1803-1867)—French statesman, Orleanist; Minister of the Interior (1839 and 1840-February 1848).—151

*Duesberg, Franz von* (1793-1872)—Prussian Finance Minister (1846-March 1848).—383, 385, 388, 389

*Dufour, Guillaume Henri* (1787-1875)—Swiss general and liberal politician; in 1847 commanded the federal army in the war against the Sonderbund; deputy to the National Council in 1848-49.—59, 61, 140, 141, 146, 149-51

*Dumont, Joseph* (1811-1861)—German journalist, moderate liberal; in 1831 became publisher of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.—19, 45, 166, 210, 254, 255, 257, 259, 289, 301, 354

*Duroc, Geraud Christophe Michel, duc de Friuli* (1772-1813)—French general and diplomat, Napoleon's aide-de-camp in the campaigns of 1805-06 and 1807.—429

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*Ebermeier (Ebermeyer)*—Prussian judiciary official in Düsseldorf; examining magistrate in 1849.—344, 464

*Ehrenberg, Christian Gottfried* (1795-1876)—German naturalist, professor of Berlin University.—106

*Eichhorn, Johann Albrecht Friedrich* (1779-1856)—Prussian conservative statesman, Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine (1840-48).—31, 240, 244

*Eichmann, Franz August* (1793-1879)—representative of the old-Prussian aristocratic bureaucracy; *Oberpräsident* of the Rhine Province (1845-50), Minister of the Interior in the Pfuel Government (September-October 1848), deputy to the First Chamber (1849).—21, 37, 38, 46, 48, 49, 321, 502, 527, 528

*Eisenfels*—Hungarian printer of Jewish descent; victim to arbitrariness of the Austrian occupation forces (1849).—416

*Engelhardt, Anton Yevstafyevich* (1795-1872)—Russian general; took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—454-55, 472

*Engels*—Prussian colonel and, from 1851, general; commandant of Cologne (in the 1840s and 1850s).—268, 400, 527, 528

*Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895).—58, 81, 182, 208, 224, 317, 475, 497-98, 499, 500, 505, 511, 515, 516, 517, 518, 521, 522, 523, 526, 529

*Erbach*—Austrian army officer, an aide-de-camp of Windischgrätz; took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—479

*Escher, Alfred* (1819-1882)—Swiss politician, lawyer, moderate liberal; President of the Great Council of the Zurich canton (1847), federal representative in Tessin: from 1849 repeatedly elected President of the National Council.—57, 59, 61, 86, 108, 119, 141, 144, 148, 151, 241

*Esser, Christian Joseph* (born c. 1809)—German worker, member of the Cologne Workers' Association; editor of its newspaper *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit* in 1849.—188, 189, 191-94, 319, 513, 524, 525

*Esser I, Johann Heinrich Theodor*—Prussian official, lawyer, clerical; in 1848 Vice-President of the Prussian National Assembly (Centre).—198

*Esser II, Ferdinand Joseph*—Prussian official, clerical; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly in 1848 (Right Centre); President of the Cologne Citizens' Association.—198

*Esser, J. P.*—Prussian judiciary official, counsellor of the Rhenish Court of Appeal in Berlin, democrat; in 1848 deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing); in 1849 deputy to the Second Chamber (Left wing).—197-99

*Este, Maximilian Joseph Johann Ambros Karl, Archduke of Austria* (1782-1863)—Master of the Ordnance, chief of the 4th Infantry Regiment of the Austrian army.—452

*Esterházy of Galántha, Paul Anthony (Pál Antál), Prince* (1786-1866)—Hungarian magnate, diplomat in the service of the Austrians, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Hungarian Government (March-September 1848).—399

*Eytel, Jules* (1817-1873)—Swiss politician, a radical leader in the Waadt (Vaud) canton, deputy to the National Council (1848).—57, 58, 140, 147, 148

F

*Falkenheim*—German democrat, President of the "Germania" society in Breslau (Wrocław) (1848).—315

*Faucher, Léon* (1803-1854)—French writer and politician, moderate liberal, Orleanist; Minister of the Interior (December 1848-May 1849), later Bonapartist.—281

*Fazy, Jean Jacob (James)* (1794-1878)—Swiss statesman and journalist, radical, head of government of the Geneva canton (1846-53 and 1855-61); in the 1850s pursued a pro-Bonapartist policy.—57

*Ferdinand II* (1810-1859)—King of Sicily and Naples (1830-59).—183, 213, 216, 225, 251

*Fischbach*—German democrat; took part in the democratic banquet organised in 1849 by the Workers' Association in Mülheim (Rhine Province).—522

*Fischer, Alois*—Swiss conservative politician, member of the Council of States and, from November 1848, of the National Council.—56, 59

*Fligely, August von* (1810-1879)—Austrian colonel, participant in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—461

*Flottwell, Eduard Heinrich von* (1786-1865)—Prussian statesman; Finance Minister (1844-46), *Oberpräsident* of Posen and later of Westphalia; in 1848-49 deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing).—383, 385, 388, 389

*Fonton, Felix Petrovich, von* (b. 1801)—Russian diplomat; in 1848 counsellor of the Russian Embassy in Vienna.—211

*Förster, Franz* (d. February 1849)—Hungarian patriot, shot by decision of the Austrian court martial.—416

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—260

*Francis Charles (Franz Karl)* (1802-1878)—Archduke of Austria, father of Emperor Francis Joseph I.—92

*Francis (Franz) Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-1916).—212

*Franscini, Stefano* (1796-1857)—Swiss radical politician and economist of Italian descent; in 1848 deputy to the Federal and the National Councils.—85-87, 95, 97, 112, 113, 151

*Frederick II (Frederick the Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—385

*Frederick VII (Frederik Carl Christian VII)* (1808-1863)—King of Denmark (1848-63).—223

*Frederick William III* (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—31, 75, 99

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—31, 32, 33, 45, 53, 199, 222, 244, 329, 386, 413, 527

*Freiligrath, Ferdinand* (1810-1876)—German romantic and later revolutionary poet, member of the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49).—210, 525

*Frey (Frei), Remigius Emil* (1803-1889)—Swiss statesman, lawyer; deputy of the Basle canton to the National Council (1848-51).—57, 98, 108, 141

*Frey-Hérosé (Frei-Herose), Friedrich* (1801-1873)—Swiss military man and politician; in 1848 deputy to the Federal and the National Councils.—57, 85, 87, 98, 113

*Funk*—German democrat, member of the Cologne Democratic Society (1848).—529

*Funk, Alexander Ludwig* (1806-1871)—Swiss politician and statesman; President of the Federal Assembly (1848), then deputy to the National Council.—10, 42, 86

*Furrer, Jonas* (1805-1861)—Swiss politician, moderate liberal, lawyer; in 1848 President of the Diet and then of the Swiss Confederation, Burgomaster of Zurich.—10, 44, 57, 61, 83-86, 98, 113, 114, 136, 144, 150-52, 179, 181

G

*Gagern, Heinrich Wilhelm August, Baron von* (1799-1880)—German politician, from May to December 1848 deputy to and President of the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre), Imperial Prime Minister (December 1848-March 1849).—51

*Gagern, Maximilian Ludwig, Baron von* (1810-1889)—German official, in 1849 deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre); brother of Heinrich Gagern.—67

*Gaj, Ljudevit* (1809-1872)—Croatian journalist, philologist and politician, one of the leaders of the South-Slav (Illyrian) national movement, advocate of a federation of national regions under the Habsburg monarchy.—233

*Geiger, Wilhelm Arnold*—Prussian police official, examining magistrate (1848) and then Police Superintendent in Cologne.—192, 483, 527

*Gierke*—Prussian official, in 1848 deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre); Minister of Agriculture in the Auerswald-Hansemann Government (June-September 1848); deputy to the First Chamber in 1849.—168, 197, 199

*Gioberti, Vincenzo* (1801-1852)—Italian politician, philosopher, representative of the liberal-monarchist wing of the national movement; from December 1848 to February 1849 Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont).—456

*Girardin, Émile de* (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician; between the 1830s and 1860s was editor of *La Presse* several times; notorious for his lack of principles in politics.—23

*Gladbach, Anton* (d. 1873)—German democrat; in 1848 deputy of Mülheim to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing), President of the Democratic Club in Berlin.—522, 529

*Gläser*—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—406, 407, 423, 437

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—30, 68, 276, 295, 395

*Görgey, Arthur* (1818-1916)—military leader of the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, a commander and, from April to June 1849, commander-in-chief of the Hungarian army, War Minister (from May 1849); expressed conservative sentiments of the nobili-

ty; became an advocate of agreement with the Habsburgs and then of capitulation.—292, 298, 301, 404-05, 424, 430, 434, 435, 451, 452, 457, 458-60, 466, 468, 473, 480

*Görgey*—wife of Arthur Görgey.—473

*Gottschalk, Andreas* (1815-1849)—German physician, member of the Cologne community of the Communist League; President of the Cologne Workers' Association (April-June 1848); represented "Left" sectarian trend in the German working-class movement.—188-96, 474, 475, 483, 513

*Götz, Christian* (1783-1849)—Austrian general, took part in suppressing the Italian national liberation movement and in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—292, 400, 404, 405, 424, 425, 434, 458, 459, 466, 480

*Gräff, Joseph*—German democrat, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing); in November 1848 acting Burgomaster of Bonn.—39

*Grammont von Lithal, Franz, Baron* (1799-1849)—Austrian general, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—302

*Grassalkovich* (19th cent.)—owner of a castle in Gödöllö (near Pest).—473

*Grimm brothers*—see *Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl* and *Grimm, Wilhelm Carl*

*Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl* (1785-1863)—German philologist, author of a historical grammar of the German language (*Die deutsche Grammatik*) and of folklore adaptations; professor in Göttingen and then in Berlin, liberal.—106

*Grimm, Wilhelm Carl* (1786-1859)—German philologist, co-author of his brother in his main works, professor in Göttingen and then in Berlin.—106

*Groote, von*—Prussian judiciary official, witness for prosecution at Gottschalk's trial.—191, 195, 284

*Guerazzi, Francesco* (1804-1873)—Italian writer and politician, moderate democrat; member of the Tuscany Provisional Government (from February 1849), head of executive power in Tuscany (March and April 1848).—104

*Guffanti, Wiegand*—German merchant, democrat; member of the Cologne People's Committee (1848).—529

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and conservative statesman; actually directed home and foreign policy of France from 1840 until the February revolution of 1848.—66, 129, 307, 421

## H

*Haaf, Chr.*—member of the Lausanne Workers' Association (1848).—506

*Habsburg (-Lothringen), Wilhelm Franz Karl* (b. 1827)—Archduke of Austria, held commanding posts in the Austrian army (1848-49) which took part in suppressing the national liberation movement in Italy and in the war against revolutionary Hungary.—408

*Habsburgs*—dynasty of emperors of the Holy Roman Empire from 1273 to 1806 (with intervals), of Austria (from 1804) and of Austria-Hungary (from 1867 to 1918).—228, 229, 236

*Hampden, John* (1595-1643)—English politician during the 17th-century revolution, a leader of opposition to the absolutist regime.—338

*Hanow, Friedrich*—German official; in 1848 deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre); in 1849 deputy to the Second Chamber (Left wing).—175

*Hansemann, David Justus* (1790-1864)—German capitalist, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Finance Minister (March-September 1848).—30, 151, 157, 158, 160, 163, 167-79, 182, 192, 255, 257, 261, 267, 315, 316, 321, 484

*Hattemer, Heinrich* (1809-1849)—German philologist, participant in the Baden republican uprising in

April 1848; refugee in Switzerland; a leader of the "Hilf Dir" military association.—242

*Hatzfeldt, Melchior Gustav Paul, Count von H.-Wildenburg* (1831-1901)—German diplomat, son of Sophie Hatzfeldt.—475

*Haugh*—judge of the Provincial Court, deputy to the Berlin National Assembly (Centre).—45

*Haulik, György* (1788-1869)—Archbishop of Zagreb, big landowner.—469, 470

*Hausmann*—German worker, took part in the democratic banquet in Cologne on February 24, 1849.—530

*Hébert, Michel Pierre Alexis* (1799-1887)—French lawyer and statesman, Orleanist; Chief Public Prosecutor of the Royal Court (from 1841), Minister of Justice (1847-February 1848).—307

*Hecker*—Prussian judiciary official, Public Prosecutor in Cologne (1848).—81, 82, 192, 316, 319, 496

*Hecker, Friedrich Karl Franz* (1811-1881)—German democrat, a leader of the Baden republican uprising in April 1848; emigrated first to Switzerland and then to the USA.—67, 72

*Heckscher, Johann Gustav* (1797-1865)—German lawyer, Imperial Minister of Justice (July-August 1848) and Minister of Foreign Affairs (August-September 1848); ambassador of the Imperial Government to Italy; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre).—67

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—130, 234, 274

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—33, 71, 130, 256, 272, 366

*Heinrich LXXII* (1797-1853)—Prince of Reuss-Lobenstein-Ebersdorf, a tiny German principality (1822-48).—260

*Helena*—see *Yelena Pavlovna*

*Hengstenberg, Ernst Wilhelm* (1802-1869)—German theologian, professor of Berlin University, editor of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, extreme conservative.—106

*Henkel, Karl Heinrich* (1802-1873)—German lawyer; elected to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848; resigned on July 3, re-elected in March 1849 (Left Centre).—195

*Henry V*—see *Chambord, Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonné d'Artois, duc de Bordeaux, comte de*

*Herczmanovsky*—major of the Austrian army, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—302

*Hergenhahn, August* (1804-1874)—Public Prosecutor at the Supreme Court of Appeal in Wiesbaden; Prime Minister of Nassau (1848-49); deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre); an imperial commissioner sent to Berlin in November 1849 to settle the conflict between the King and the Prussian Assembly.—65

*Hermes, Johann Timotheus* (1738-1821)—German theologian and writer; author of the novel *Sophiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen*.—67

*Herwegh, Georg Friedrich* (1817-1875)—German democratic poet; a leader of the German Democratic Society in Paris (1848).—240

*Herx*—leader of the Workers' Choral Society in Cologne.—530

*Herzog, Karl* (1798-1857)—Swiss journalist and liberal politician, editor of the *Berner Verfassungs-Freund*.—248

*Heydt, August, Baron von der* (1801-1874)—banker in Elberfeld, Prussian statesman; Minister of Trade, Industry and Public Works (December 1848-62); deputy to the Second Chamber in 1849.—160

*Hildebrandt, Johann Andreas Karl* (1764-1848)—German writer, author of adventure stories and tales of chivalry.—168

*Hobbes, Thomas* (1588-1679)—English philosopher.—165

*Hoffmann*—Prussian *Landrat* in Oppeln (1849).—269

*Hohenzollern*—see *Frederick William IV*

*Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—14, 273

*Homberger, Heinrich* (1806-1851)—Swiss liberal politician, lawyer; from 1848 deputy of the Waadt (Vaud) canton to the National Council.—147

*Horace* (*Quintus Horatius Flaccus*) (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—68, 143

*Hrabovsky* (*Hrabovszky*) *von Hrabova, Johann* (*Janos*), *Baron* (1779-1852)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal of Hungarian descent; in early 1847 commander of troops in Slavonia and Syrmien; in 1848 headed the Hungarian army fighting against the Southern Slavs; in 1850 was sentenced to death for non-fulfilment of military duties; later the death sentence was commuted to ten-year imprisonment.—444

*Hungerbühler*—Swiss statesman and politician; deputy of the Berne canton to the National Council (1848-75).—108

*Hünnemann*—police inspector in Cologne (1848).—190

I

*Imobersteg* (*Im Obersteg, im Obersteg*), *Jakob* (1813-1875)—Swiss lawyer; deputy to the National Council (1848-58); member of the Supreme Court (1846-49).—57

J

*Jablonowsky, Felix, Prince* (1808-1857)—Austrian major-general; took part in suppressing the popular uprising in Prague (in June 1848) and in the war against revolutionary Hungary (1848-49).—405, 424, 480

*Jäde, Karl Heinrich Christian* (1815-1873)—German writer, member of the Jena District Committee of Democrats (1848).—342

*James* (*Joseph*) *II* (1741-1790)—Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1765-90).—421

*James II* (1633-1701)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1685-88).—15

*Jauch, Franz* (1807-1867)—Swiss lawyer, liberal, member of the Federal Court (1848-52).—42

*Jellachich de Buzim* (*Jellačić*), *Josef, Count* (1801-1859)—Austrian general, Ban of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia (1848-59); took an active part in suppressing the popular uprising in Vienna in October 1848 and in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—23, 51, 68, 93, 103, 120, 164, 235, 237, 347-48, 373, 375, 399, 400, 410, 412, 416-17, 425, 428, 434, 438, 447, 452, 470, 479

*Jenni* (*Jenny*)—Swiss radical journalist, editor of the Berne humoristic newspaper *Gukkasten*.—249

*John* (*Johann Baptist Joseph Fabian Sebastian*) (1782-1859)—Archduke of Austria; Imperial Regent of Germany (June 1848 to December 1849).—68, 89, 99

*Jolly*—member of the Swiss Federal Court; in 1848 deputy of the Freiburg (Fribourg) canton to the National Council.—42

*Jovanovich*—Serbian major, took part in the Serbian national movement in the Voivodina and in the war against revolutionary Hungary (1848-49).—441

K

*Kalbermatten, Wilhelm* (1793-1875)—Swiss general; headed the counter-revolutionary coup d'état in the Wallis (Valais) canton in 1844; in 1847 fought for the Sonderbund in the civil war; after its defeat emigrated to Italy, served in the Papal army.—148

*Kamp*—German democrat, attended the democratic banquet in Cologne on February 24, 1849.—530

*Kamptz, Karl Christoph Albert Heinrich von* (1769-1849)—Prussian conservative statesman, Minister of Justice (1832-42).—381, 382

*Karrer, Karl, von Bumpliz* (1815-1886)—Swiss lawyer; deputy of the Berne canton to the National Council (1848-86); member (from 1850) and later President of the Berne Great Council.—113

*Kasinsky*—one of the commanders of the Hungarian revolutionary army in 1848 and 1849.—427

*Katzenmaier (Katzenmayer), Nepomuk*—German merchant, participant in the Baden republican uprising in April 1848, later refugee in Switzerland.—117

*Keisewetter, von*—Austrian major, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary (1848-49).—404

*Kern, Johann Konrad* (1808-1888)—Swiss politician, lawyer and diplomat; from November 1848 deputy of the Thurgau canton to the National Council, from July 1850, President of the National Council; President of the Federal Court (1848-49).—42, 144, 147

*Kinkel, Johann Gottfried* (1815-1882)—German poet and democratic journalist, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; fled to London where he became a petty-bourgeois refugee leader and fought against Marx and Engels.—396

*Kirchmann, Julius Hermann von* (1802-1884)—German lawyer, writer and philosopher, radical; in 1848 deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre); in 1849 deputy to the Second Chamber, later member of the Progressist Party.—197, 199

*Kisker*—Prussian judiciary official; Minister of Justice in the Pfuel Government (September-October 1848); deputy to the First Chamber (1849).—321

*Kiss, Ernst (Erne)* (d. 1849)—general of the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49); executed by the Austrian authorities on October 6, 1849, together with twelve other Hungarian generals.—479

*Klapka, György* (1820-1892)—general of the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49); commandant of the Komorn (Komárom) fortress (June-September 1849); emigrated after the revolution; returned to Hungary in 1867.—460

*Knićanin, Stephan Petrović* (1809-1855)—Serbian politician and statesman; from July 1848 to March 1849 commander of a volunteers' detachment from the principality of Serbia which took part in the struggle of the Voivodina Serbs against the Hungarian revolutionary army.—468

*Koller*—Hungarian judiciary official (1849), supporter of the Austrian monarchy.—351

*Kopp, Alois*—Swiss politician; member of the National Council (1848).—57

*Korff, Hermann*—Prussian officer, democrat; in 1847 was discharged from the army for his political views; responsible publisher of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); subsequently emigrated to the USA.—182, 510, 517

*Kortum, Karl Arnold* (1745-1824)—German poet and writer, author of the satiric poem *Die Jobsiade*.—89, 154

*Kosciuszko, Tadeusz Andrzej Bonawentura* (1746-1817)—Polish general and a leader of the national liberation movement; in 1776-83 took part in the American War of Independence; leader of the Polish uprising of 1794.—372

*Kossuth, Lajos* (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement; headed bourgeois-democratic elements during the 1848-49 revolution; head of the Hungarian revolutionary Government; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated first to Turkey and then to England and America.—227, 228, 237, 269, 270, 294, 298, 299, 302, 303, 351, 352, 371, 395, 399, 410, 411, 415, 425, 431, 437, 443, 461, 467, 479, 522, 529

*Krahe*—German watchmaker; member of the Cologne Workers' Association in 1848-49.—522

*Krauss, Philipp, Baron von* (1792-1861)—Austrian statesman; Finance Minister (1848-51).—90

*Kühlwetter, Friedrich Christian Hubert von* (1809-1882)—Prussian statesman; Minister of the Interior in the Auerswald-Hansemann Government (June-September 1848), later *Regierungspräsident* in Düsseldorf, *Oberpräsident* of Westphalia.—168, 172, 174, 176

*Kulmer, Franz, Baron von* (1806-1853)—Austrian politician; viceroy of the Agram (Zagreb) comitat (1840s); from December 1848 Minister without portfolio.—348

*Kunz* (d. October 1848)—Swiss by birth; accountant at Specker's works near Vienna; victim to arbitrary acts of the Austrian military.—121

*Kurth*—German worker, carpenter; in 1848-49 member of the Workers' Association and the Democratic Society in Cologne; took part in the democratic banquet on February 24, 1849.—529

L

*Ladenberg, Adalbert von* (1798-1855)—representative of Prussian bureaucracy; Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine (November 1848-December 1850).—32-33, 192, 255, 257, 321

*Lafaurie* (*Lafourie*), *Wilhelm Adolf* (born c. 1816)—German philosopher; in 1848 member of the District Committee of Democrats in Jena.—342

*Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louis de* (1790-1869)—French poet, historian and politician; a leader of moderate republicans in the 1840s; from February to May 1848 Minister of Foreign Affairs and *de facto* head of the Provisional Government.—66, 124, 125, 126, 213, 214, 362, 363, 414

*Lange, Ferdinand* (c. 1823-1849)—candidate of theology; in 1848 member of the District Committee of Democrats in Jena.—342

*Laroche* (*La Roche-Stehelin*), *Benedikt* (1802-1876)—Swiss banker; in 1848 Postmaster-General; subsequently held various administrative posts in the Basle canton.—119

*Lasar, György, Count* (1807-1861)—captain of the Austrian army, colonel of the Hungarian revolutionary army; in January 1848 gave himself up to the Austrian command which sentenced him to death, the death sentence being commuted to ten-year imprisonment; released in 1850.—444

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German writer and lawyer, petty-bourgeois socialist; in 1848-49 took part in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province; founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863); initiator of the opportunist trend in German Social-Democracy.—77, 79, 341, 344-46, 463-65, 474, 475

*Latour, Theodor, Count Baillet von* (1780-1848)—Austrian conservative statesman; in 1848 War Minister; was killed during the Vienna uprising in October 1848.—43

*Laugier, K., de*—Italian general; in 1848 took part in the national liberation war against Austria as commander of the Tuscan division; later on opposed the republican movement in Tuscany and Rome.—456

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician; a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats; editor of *La Réforme*; Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government (February-May 1848); member of the Constituent and the Legislative Assembly (head of the Montagnards).—87, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 129, 213, 529

*Leiningen-Westerburg, Christian Franz Seraphin Vincenz, Count* (1812-1856)—Austrian general; partici-

pated in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—423, 478

*Leopold I* (1790-1865)—King of Belgium (1831-65).—307

*Leopold II* (1797-1870)—Grand Duke of Tuscany (1824-59).—456, 526

*Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim* (1729-1781)—German writer, critic and philosopher of the Enlightenment.—225

*Lessner, Friedrich* (1825-1910)—prominent in the German and international working-class movement; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; prosecuted at the Cologne communist trial in 1852; member of the General Council of the First International; friend and comrade-in-arms of Marx and Engels.—525, 529

*Leuthaus*—Prussian judiciary official; examining magistrate in Cologne in 1848.—46, 192

*Lichnowski, Felix Maria, Prince von* (1814-1848)—Prussian army officer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing); killed during the Frankfurt uprising in September 1848.—82, 504

*Lohbauer, Rudolf*—Prussian journalist; in the early 1830s radical, then emigrated to Strassburg; professor in Berne from 1835; in the 1840s returned to Berlin where he contributed to Prussian government and pietist periodicals.—239, 240

*Louis XI* (1423-1483)—King of France (1461-83).—228

*Louis XVI* (1754-1793)—King of France (1774-92); guillotined during the French Revolution.—15

*Louis Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Napoleon*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—129, 131, 275, 307

*Löwenfels, T. W.*—German writer; a refugee in Switzerland; participated in the republican uprising in Baden in September 1848.—204

*Lubomirski, Jerzy, Prince* (1817-1872)—participant in the Slav Congress in Prague; deputy to the Austrian Imperial Diet in 1849.—377

*Lubomirskis*—family of Polish princes.—229

*Lucas*—member of the Workers' Association in Mülheim (Rhine Province) in 1849.—522

*Lüders, Alexander Nikolayevich, Count* (1790-1874)—Russian general, in 1848 commander of the occupation corps in Moldavia and Wallachia; in 1849 fought in the war against the Hungarian army in Transylvania.—436, 472

*Ludwig Joseph Anton* (1784-1864)—Archduke of Austria.—212

*Lusser, Florian* (1820-1889)—Swiss Public Prosecutor; deputy of the Uri canton to the National Council (1848-60).—108

*Luther, Martin* (1483-1546)—leader of the Reformation; founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany; ideologist of the German burghers.—35

*Lutter*—Prussian official; police inspector in Cologne in 1848.—190

*Luvini, Giacomo* (1795-1862)—Swiss colonel of Italian descent, radical politician, lawyer; in 1847 fought in the war against the Sonderbund; deputy of the Tessin canton to the National Council from 1848.—114, 115, 118, 140, 141, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 152

## M

*Madarasz, Jozef*—Hungarian politician and lawyer, editor of Left newspapers; during the 1848 revolution the Left-wing leader of the Hungarian State Assembly.—351

*Malkowsky von Dammwalden, Ignaz* (1784-1854)—Austrian general of Polish descent; participated in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—472, 473, 478

*Malten, H.*—German conservative journalist; editor of the *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung* (1848-49).—421

*Maltheser, Johann*—Prussian police spy, bookbinder by trade.—191, 195, 210
*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, author of the theory of population.—260
*Mamiani della Rovere, Terenzio, Count* (1799-1885)—Italian poet, journalist, philosopher and politician; advocate of constitutional monarchy; Minister of the Interior of the Papal states (May-August 1848).—103
*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von* (1805-1882)—Prussian conservative statesman; Minister of the Interior (November 1848-November 1850); deputy to the First and Second Chambers (1849), Prime Minister (1850-58).—31-33, 38, 47, 51, 53, 65, 99, 255, 257, 259, 261, 269, 270, 446, 450
*Marat, Jean Paul* (1743-1793)—a Jacobin leader in the French Revolution.—530
*Marilley, Étienne* (1804-1889)—Bishop of Freiburg (1846-79), instigator of an anti-democratic revolt in Freiburg (Fribourg) on October 24, 1848.—43, 109
*Märker* (*Märcker*), *Friedrich August* (1804-1889)—Prussian statesman; Minister of Justice in the Auerswald-Hansemann Government (June-September 1848).—168
*Marrast, Armand* (1801-1852)—French journalist and politician; a leader of moderate republicans; editor of *Le National*; in 1848 member of the Provisional Government and Mayor of Paris; President of the Constituent Assembly (1848-49).—23, 104, 125, 143, 214
*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883).—24, 29, 41, 46, 81, 130, 182, 274, 304, 308, 323, 340, 341, 475, 495, 496, 501, 503, 504, 511-14, 517, 522, 523, 527, 529
*Matthys, Andreas, von Rütschelen* (1817-1872)—Swiss lawyer, radical; member of the Great Council of the Berne canton from 1846.—56, 59
*Maurenbrecher, Peter Wilhelm* (1777-1861)—Prussian official; Chief Postmaster in Düsseldorf (1817-50).—77
*Mayerhofer*—Austrian top-rank official in the Serbian Voivodina in 1849.—416
*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—a leader of the national liberation and democratic movement in Italy; in 1849 head of the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic.—239
*Medem, Pavel Ivanovich, Count* (1800-1854)—Russian diplomat, ambassador to Vienna.—211
*Mellinet, François Aimé* (1768-1852)—Belgian general; participant in the democratic movement and the 1830 revolution in Belgium; Honorary President of the Brussels Democratic Association; a defendant at the Risquons-Tout trial.—189, 530
*Mengen, Karl, Baron von* (1774-1851)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal; fought in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—406
*Messenhauser, Caesar Wenzel* (1813-1848)—Austrian army officer and man of letters; commander of the national guard and commandant of Vienna during the uprising in October 1848; shot after the city was seized by the Austrian troops.—249
*Mészáros, Lázár* (1796-1858)—Hungarian general; Minister of War in 1848-49; after the suppression of the revolution emigrated first to Turkey and then to the USA.—425, 479
*Metternich, Germain*—German democrat; after the September 1848 uprising in Frankfurt emigrated to Switzerland; in May 1849 returned to Germany to take part in the Baden uprising.—117
*Metternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince von* (1773-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1809-21) and Chancellor (1821-48); an organiser of the Holy Alliance.—211, 229, 230, 356, 421
*Mevissen, Gustav von* (1815-1899)—German banker; in 1848-49 deputy

to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre).—255

*Meyendorf (Meyendorff), Pyotr Kazimirovich, Baron von* (1796-1863)—Russian diplomat, ambassador to Berlin (1839-50).—211

*Michel*—an editor of *Die Evolution*.—205

*Michel, Georg* (1804-1867)—Swiss colonel; fought in the war against the Sonderbund; deputy of Graubünden to the National Council (1848-60).—61, 118, 145, 149, 152

*Mieroslawski, Ludwik* (1814-1878)—prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement; participant in the 1830-31 Polish insurrection, in the preparations for the 1846 uprising in the Polish lands and in the revolution of 1848-49; subsequently a leader of the moderate wing of Polish democratic emigrants; sided with Bonapartism.—224, 530

*Miguel, Maria Evarist (Dom Miguel)* (1802-1866)—King of Portugal (1828-34); head of the clerical-absolutist party.—20

*Mikhail Pavlovich* (1798-1849)—Russian Grand Duke, brother of Nicholas I.—212

*Milde, Karl August* (1805-1861)—Silesian manufacturer; moderate liberal; Minister of Trade in the Auerswald-Hansemann Government (June-September 1848); in May and June 1848 President of the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing).—168

*Milton, John* (1608-1674)—English poet and writer; prominent in the English revolution.—88

*Minutoli, Julius, Baron von* (1805-1860)—Prussian official and diplomat; in 1847-48 *Polizeipräsident* of Berlin.—21

*Moga, Johann (János), Prince* (1785-1861)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal of Magyar descent; general of the Hungarian revolutionary army; in October 1848 was removed from this post for his refusal to help revolutionary Vienna; after the victory of the counter-revolution sentenced to twenty years of penal servitude.—444

*Mohammed II* (1430-1481)—Sultan of Turkey (1451-61).—370

*Mohammed IV* (1642-1692)—Sultan of Turkey (1648-87).—370

*Molière (Jean Baptiste Poquelin)* (1622-1673)—French playwright.—164, 356

*Monk (Monck), George, 1st Duke of Albemarle* (1608-1670)—English general and statesman; first monarchist, then general in Cromwell's army; in 1660 helped to restore the Stuarts to power.—283

*Montecuccoli (Montecuculi), Albert, Count* (1802-1852)—Austrian colonel of Italian descent; took part in the suppression of the uprising in Vienna in October 1848 and in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—351

*Morison, James* (1770-1840)—English quack who amassed wealth through the sale of so-called Morison's pills.—255

*Morret*—Prussian police officer; governor of the prison in Düsseldorf in 1848-49.—345, 346, 474

*Mosle, Johann Ludwig* (1794-1877)—German army officer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49); imperial commissioner in Vienna (August-October 1848).—88-90, 92

*Mühler, Heinrich Gottlob von* (1780-1857)—Prussian judiciary official; Minister of Justice (1832-44); in 1848 presiding judge of the Supreme Court in Berlin.—198, 201

*Müller*—German worker; took part in the democratic banquet in Cologne on February 24, 1849.—530

*Müller, Tobias (Tobie)* (1795-1875)—Swiss captain and then colonel, served in the Neapolitan army (from 1825); took part in the suppression of the 1848 revolution in Naples and in the war against the Roman Republic in 1849.—239, 252

*Munzinger, Martin Joseph* (1791-1855)—Swiss liberal; member of the Federal

Council (1848-55); President of the Swiss Confederation (1851).—83, 86, 113, 119, 136, 141, 179, 181

N

*Näff, Wilhelm Matthias* (1802-1881)—Swiss lawyer and liberal politician; member of the Federal Council (1848).—57, 86, 113, 184

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—15, 215, 219, 314, 349, 372, 399, 429, 442

*Napoleon III (Louis Napoleon)* (1808-1873)—nephew of Napoleon I; President of the Second Republic (1848-51); Emperor of the French (1852-70).—23, 69, 104, 125, 213, 238, 281

*Neff, Friedrich* (1821-1849)—German artisan; a refugee in Switzerland; took part in the uprisings in Baden in September 1848 and in 1849.—117, 204

*Nemegey*—Hungarian patriot, participant in the revolution of 1848-49.—407

*Nenstiel, Johann*—German merchant; in 1848 deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Centre).—175

*Nesselrode, Karl Vasilyevich, Count* (1780-1862)—Russian statesman and diplomat; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1816-56), Chancellor of State (from 1845).—66, 211

*Neuhaus, Johann Karl Friedrich* (1796-1849)—Swiss moderate liberal; President of the Diet (1841); deputy to the National Council (1848).—10, 84, 85, 140, 183, 243, 249

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—211, 212, 377, 402, 440, 454

*Nicolovius, Georg Heinrich Franz*—Prussian judiciary official; Prosecutor-General of the Rhine Province in 1848.—79, 344, 346, 474-75

*Niethake*—German army officer, democrat; member of the Cologne People's Committee in November 1848.—521

*Niggeler, Niklaus* (1817-1872)—Swiss lawyer, radical; editor of the *Berner-Zeitung* in 1848.—44, 248

*Nugent, Laval, Count von Westmeath* (1777-1862)—Austrian Master of the Ordnance; took part in the suppression of the national liberation movement in Italy in 1848 and in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—293, 301, 400, 404, 407, 423, 429, 434, 438, 453

*Nüll, Friedrich van der* (died c. 1854)—Austrian colonel and later general; from 1848 commander of the 8th Border Infantry Regiment.—301

O

*Ochsenbein, Johann Ulrich* (1811-1890)—Swiss statesman and politician; radical and later on liberal; President of the Diet during the war against the Sonderbund; head of the Federal Government (1847-48); in 1848 President of the National Council and member of the Federal Council.—10, 57-59, 84-87, 98, 108, 113, 117, 137, 179, 181, 205, 240, 248, 249, 252, 253

*Olfers, von*—Prussian judiciary official.—199

*d'Orléans, Louis Philippe Joseph, duc* (called *Philippe Egalité*) (1747-1793)—cousin of the King of France Louis XVI; sided with the Revolution in 1789; deputy to the Convention.—307

*Ott*—German democrat from Worringen (Rhine Province).—522

*Ottinger, Franz, Baron von* (1792-1869)—Austrian general; fought in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—293-94, 302, 409, 425, 427, 428, 433, 479

*Otto, Karl Christian* (born c. 1818)—doctor of philosophy; in 1848 member of the Jena District Committee of Democrats.—342

P

*Palacký, František* (1798-1876)—Czech historian and liberal politician; Chairman at the Slav Congress in Prague in June 1848; deputy to the Austrian Imperial Diet in 1848-49; champion of a federation of autonomous Slav areas within the confines of the Habsburg monarchy.—233, 235, 374

*Palkovicz*—Hungarian judiciary official.—351

*Pallfy, Moris, Count*—Hungarian general; sided with the Austrian army and fought in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1849.—407

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58 and 1859-65); a Tory at the beginning of his career, from 1830 onwards, a Whig.—66, 69, 70, 86, 211

*Paskevich, Ivan Fyodorovich* (1782-1856)—Russian general-field marshal; from June 1831 commander-in-chief of the Tsarist army suppressing the Polish insurrection; in 1849 commander-in-chief of the Russian troops participating in the war against revolutionary Hungary.—372

*Patow, Erasmus Robert, Baron von* (1804-1890)—Prussian statesman; Minister of Trade, Industry and Public Works in the Camphausen Government (April-June 1848).—175

*Paul Karl Friedrich August* (1785-1852)—Prince of Württemberg.—212

*Peel, Sir Robert* (1822-1895)—English diplomat; son of Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel; chargé d'affaires in Berne (1847-February 1849).—119

*Perczel, Mór* (1811-1899)—general of the Hungarian revolutionary army in 1848-49; after the suppression of the revolution emigrated to Turkey and in 1851 to England.—352, 427

*Pezza, Michele* (1771-1806)—Italian merchant; during the Napoleonic wars led the struggle against the French in South Italy; in 1806 was seized and hanged; prototype of Fra Diavolo, the title character in an opera by Auber.—174

*Pfuel, Ernst Heinrich Adolf von* (1779-1866)—Prussian general; Governor of Neuchâtel (1832-48); commandant of Berlin (March 1848); in May 1848 commanded the troops suppressing the uprising in Posen; in September and October 1848 Prime Minister and War Minister.—7, 14, 17, 38, 75, 175, 176, 269, 321, 334

*Pfyffer, Kasimir* (1794-1875)—Swiss lawyer; deputy of the Lucerne canton to the National Council (1848).—42, 142

*Piattoli*—Austrian major of Italian descent; fought in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—302

*Pinder, Julius Hermann* (b. 1805)—Prussian official, moderate liberal; in 1848 *Oberpräsident* of Silesia, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing); deputy to the First Chamber (1849).—38

*Pinto, Isaac* (1715-1787)—Dutch stockjobber and economist.—30, 157

*Pioda, Giovan Battista* (1808-1882)—Swiss politician of Italian descent; participant in the war against the Sonderbund (1847); deputy of the Tessin canton to the National Council (1848-49).—59, 61, 118, 142, 143, 148, 150, 151, 152

*Pittet, Benjamin* (d. 1863)—Swiss politician and statesman; deputy of the Waadt (Vaud) canton to the National Council (1848-51).—57, 150

*Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti)* (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—109, 213

*Plougoulm, Pierre Ambroise* (1776-1863)—French judiciary official; member of the Chamber of Deputies (1846-48).—307

*Potockis*—family of Polish counts.—229

*Pottier, Adrien Felix* (1793-1855)—Swiss politician; from 1848 to 1855 member of the Great Council of the Freiburg canton and deputy of this canton to the National Council.—57

*Prinz, W.*—member of the Cologne Workers' Association; editor of the newspaper *Freiheit, Arbeit*; supporter of Gottschalk.—513

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist, a founder of anarchism; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848).—123, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132

*Puchner, Anton, Baron von* (1779-1852)—Austrian general; fought in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—350-51, 360, 400, 430, 435-37, 461, 471, 478

*Pustkuchen-Glanzow, Johann Friedrich Wilhelm* (1793-1834)—German writer, author of lampoons against Goethe.—395

R

*Radetzky, Josef, Count von Radetz* (1766-1858)—Austrian field marshal; commander of the Austrian troops in North Italy from 1831; in 1848-49 suppressed the Italian national liberation movement.—103, 109, 141, 150, 152, 183, 216, 239, 247, 252, 253

*Rajachich (Rajačić), Josef* (1785-1861)—Metropolitan of Karlowitz; from 1848 Patriarch of Austrian Serbs; Right-wing leader of the Serbian national movement (1848-49); ruler of the Voivodina from February to August 1849.—298, 348, 352, 361, 375, 441

*Ramberg, Georg Heinrich, Baron von* (1786-1855)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal; fought in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—480

*Raspail, François Vincent* (1794-1878)—French naturalist and journalist, socialist; took part in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; deputy to the Constituent Assembly.—123, 125, 126, 127, 129

*Raumer, Friedrich Ludwig Georg von* (1781-1873)—German historian; in 1848 imperial ambassador to Paris; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre).—88, 133

*Raveaux, Franz* (1810-1851)—German politician, democrat; in 1848-49 deputy of Cologne to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre); imperial commissioner in Switzerland.—63

*Reiff, Wilhelm Joseph* (born c. 1824)—member of the Cologne Workers' Association and of the Communist League, from which he was expelled in 1850; prosecuted at the Cologne communist trial in 1852.—513, 526

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—English economist.—260

*Riczko*—colonel of the Hungarian revolutionary army in 1848-49.—480

*Riedmatten, Augustin* (1796-1867)—Swiss army officer; in 1844 headed the counter-revolutionary coup d'état in the Wallis (Valais) canton; in 1848-49 took part in the suppression of the revolutionary movement in Naples and Sicily.—148

*Rimpler, O.*—Prussian retired army officer, from July 1848 commanded the civic militia of Berlin; in November 1848 surrendered to Wrangel's counter-revolutionary army.—20

*Rintelen, F. Wilhelm von* (d. 1869)—Prussian conservative official, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing); Minister of Justice in the Brandenburg Government (November 1848-April 1849); deputy to the First Chamber (1849).—20, 199-203

*Rittinghausen, Moritz* (1814-1890)—German democratic journalist and politician; contributor to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; member of the Cologne Democratic Society and later of the German Social-Democratic Party.—475, 529

*Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de* (1758-1794)—leader of the

Jacobins in the French Revolution; head of the revolutionary Government (1793-94).—30, 313, 530

*Rodbertus-Jagetzow, Johann Karl* (1805-1875)—German economist; in 1848 leader of the Left Centre in the Prussian National Assembly; subsequently theoretician of "state socialism".—4

*Rosa, Šandor*—a leader of the Hungarian peasants in their struggle against the feudal lords; on Kossuth's initiative, took part in the war of revolutionary Hungary, fought with his detachment against the Austrian troops; hero of many Hungarian folk songs.—443

*Röser, Peter Gerhard* (1814-1865)—German worker, cigar-maker; a leader of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848-49) and publisher of its newspaper *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit*; member of the Communist League.—513, 514, 523, 526, 530

*Rossini, Gioacchino Antonio* (1792-1868)—Italian composer.—91

*Rothe, Karl Gustav* (born c. 1823)—German theologian, member of the Jena District Committee of Democrats (1848).—342

*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical writer, Young Hegelian; in 1848 deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing).—363, 377

*Rukavina, Georg (Džuro), Baron von Vidovgrad* (1777-1849)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal of Croatian descent; fought in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—406, 433, 437, 468, 471

*Rüttimann*—Swiss politician; in 1848 deputy of the Zurich canton to the National Council.—98, 108

S

*Saedt, Otto Joseph Arnold* (1816-1886)—Prussian judiciary official; from 1848 Public Prosecutor in Cologne; conducted prosecution at the Cologne communist trial in 1852.—396, 397

*Saint-Just, Antoine Louis Léon de* (1767-1794)—a Jacobin leader in the French Revolution.—530

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—260

*Schapper, Karl* (c. 1812-1870)—outstanding figure in the German and international working-class movement; a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Communist League Central Authority and of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats; a leader (1848-49) and then President of the Cologne Workers' Association (February to May 1849); after the revolution a leader of a sectarian group in the Communist League; subsequently member of the General Council of the First International.—41, 46, 340, 341, 475, 501, 503, 513, 514, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 525, 526, 529

*Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von* (1755-1813)—Prussian general and politician; War Minister (1807-10) and Chief of the General Staff (1807-13); reorganised the Prussian army.—116

*Schiess, Johann Ulrich* (1813-1883)—Swiss politician and diplomat.—68

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, playwright, historian and philosopher.—17, 89, 213

*Schinderhannes*—see *Bückler, Johann*

*Schlick zu Bassano und Weisskirchen, Franz Heinrich, Count* (1789-1862)—Austrian general, chief of the 4th Hussar Regiment; fought in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—290, 291, 293, 300, 302, 347, 360, 399, 400, 401, 404-05, 424, 425, 433, 434, 438, 451, 452, 458-60

*Schlink*—Prussian judiciary official; in 1848 deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing and then the Centre).—30

*Schmerling, Anton von* (1805-1893)—Austrian statesman, liberal; in 1848-49 deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre); Minister of the Interior (July-September 1848), Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (September-December 1848).—51, 67-68, 72-74, 89, 90-91, 92, 117, 181

*Schnaase, Karl Julius Ferdinand* (1798-1875)—Prussian lawyer and art historian; in 1848 Chief Public Prosecutor in Düsseldorf and subsequently member of the Supreme Court in Berlin.—315

*Schnapphahnski*—see *Lichnowski, Felix*

*Schneeberger, G.*—member of the Lausanne Workers' Association in 1848.—506

*Schneider II, Karl*—German lawyer, democrat; in 1848 President of the Cologne Democratic Society and member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats; defence counsel of Marx and Engels at the trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on February 7, 1849; in 1849 deputy to the Second Chamber (extreme Left wing).—24, 29, 41, 46, 307, 317, 325, 340, 341, 501, 503, 519, 520, 521, 529

*Schnyder, Anton*—Swiss politician and statesman; deputy to the National Council in 1848.—57

*Schönlein, Johann Lukas* (1793-1864)—German physician, professor of Berlin University; monarchist.—106

*Schreckenstein, Ludwig Johann Karl Gregory Eusebius, Baron Roth von* (1789-1858)—Prussian general; War Minister (June-September 1848).—168

*Schücking, Levin* (1814-1883)—German writer, contributor to the *Kölnische Zeitung* (1845-52).—354

*Schultze*—Prussian judiciary official; in 1848 deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing).—176

*Schulzig, Franz Joseph, Baron von* (1787-1864)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal; fought in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—424, 458, 459

*Schurter*—Austrian general; took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—454

*Schwanbeck, Eugen Alexis* (1821-1850)—German journalist, an editor of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.—347, 354-58, 392, 394, 395, 398-403, 411, 412

*Sedlnitzky, Josef, Count von Choltiz* (1778-1855)—chief of the Venice police which was in charge of censorship (1817-48).—96

*Seiler, Fritz*—Swiss colonel; member of the Great Council of the Berne canton (1831-35 and 1838-45); deputy of the Berne canton to the National Council (1848).—205

*Sethe, Christoph Wilhelm Heinrich* (1767-1855)—Prussian judiciary official.—50, 198

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English poet and dramatist.—18, 34, 83, 139, 163, 198

*Sieber, Johann Kaspar* (1821-1878)—Swiss teacher and journalist; editor-in-chief of the *Murter Wächter* and an editor of the *Berner-Zeitung*.—252

*Siegel (Sigel), Franz* (1824-1902)—army officer from Baden; democrat; participant in the revolutionary movement in Baden; one of the military leaders of the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849; then refugee in Switzerland, England and from 1852 in the USA; took part in the American Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—117

*Siegwart-Müller, Konstantin* (1801-1869)—Swiss statesman; President of the Diet (1844); in 1845 Chairman of the Military Council of the Sonderbund; after the latter's defeat fled abroad.—140

*Simson, Martin Eduard Sigismund von* (1810-1899)—Prussian politician and lawyer; in 1848 member and from December 1848 to May 1849 President of the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre); in November 1848 was sent as an imperial commissioner to Berlin to settle the conflict

between the King and the Prussian Assembly.—65

*Simunich, Balthasar, Baron von* (1785-1861)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal of Serbian descent; took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—351, 400, 407, 408, 434

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—259

*Sophia* (1805-1872)—Archduchess of Austria, mother of Emperor Francis Joseph I.—92, 211, 212

*Sossay, Anton, Baron von* (1790-1874)—Austrian major-general and subsequently lieutenant-field marshal; took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—292

*Specker, David* (1796-1863)—Swiss director of a works near Vienna; eyewitness of the brutalities of the Austrian soldiery during the suppression of the Vienna uprising in October 1848.—120, 121

*Spiegel-Borlinghausen, Baron von*—Prussian official; *Regierungspräsident* in Düsseldorf (1848).—75, 76, 187

*Spöll* (d. 1849)—major in the Hungarian revolutionary army in 1848-49.—461

*Stämpfli, Jakob* (1820-1879)—Swiss radical; editor of the *Berner-Zeitung* in the 1840s and 1850s; deputy of the Berne canton to the National Council (1848-54); subsequently President of the Swiss Confederation (1856, 1859 and 1862).—44, 243, 248

*Standau, Julius*—German teacher; participant in the democratic movement in Germany in the 1830s and 1840s; an organiser of the "Hilf Dir" military association in Biel (Switzerland); after the suppression of the revolution emigrated to the USA.—209

*Steck*—Swiss politician; Councillor of State in the Neuchâtel canton in 1848.—109

*Stedtmann, Karl* (1804-1882)—Prussian moderate liberal politician; in 1848 deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Centre), member of the commission for signing an armistice in Malmö; imperial commissioner in Schleswig-Holstein (September 1848-March 1849).—88, 504

*Stehlin* (*Stehelin*), *August* (1812-1886)—Swiss colonel; deputy of the Basle canton to the Council of States (1848-49); federal representative in Tessin (1848).—119

*Steiger, Jakob Robert* (1801-1862)—Swiss liberal politician, deputy of the Lucerne canton to the National Council (1848-49) and President of the National Council (1848).—59, 114, 136, 140, 143, 145, 148, 152, 180, 204

*Stein, Julius* (1813-1889)—Silesian teacher and journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49 and to the Second Chamber (extreme Left wing) in 1849.—168, 334, 390, 391

*Stockmar, Xavier* (1797-1864)—Swiss radical; deputy of the Jura canton to the National Council in 1848.—44, 249

*Stoos, Pal* (1806-1862)—Hungarian clergyman of Croatian descent; sympathised with the Croatian national movement.—469

*Stratimirovich, Georg* (*Džordže*) (1822-1908)—leader of the national movement of the Serbs in the Voivodina, moderate liberal; commander of the Serbian units in the Austrian army; took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary (1848-49).—298, 347-48, 352, 361, 375, 409, 441

*Streng, Johann Baptist* (1808-1883)—Swiss politician; deputy to the National Council in 1848.—57

*Struve, Amalie* (d. 1862)—participant in the democratic movement in Germany in 1848-49; wife of Gustav Struve.—70

*Struve, Gustav von* (1805-1870)—German democrat, journalist; a leader of the republican uprisings in Baden in April and September 1848 and of the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849; after the suppression of the revolution emigrated to the USA.—67, 69, 74, 136, 180

*Stuarts*—royal dynasty in Scotland (1371-1714) and England (1603-49 and 1660-1714).—263

*Stupp, Heinrich Joseph* (1793-1870)—Prussian official, clerical; in 1848 deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing).—255, 257, 284

*Suleiman II* (1642-1691)—Sultan of Turkey (1689-91).—370

*Šuplikac, Štepán* (1786-1848)—Serbian colonel of the Ogulin Border Regiment; subsequently major-general; in October 1848 was elected by the Skupština voivode (commander-in-chief of the Voivodina's troops).—348, 469

*Sydow, Rudolf von*—Prussian diplomat; in 1845-48 Prussian ambassador to Switzerland.—58

*Szirmay de Szirma, István, Count* (1794-1857)—Hungarian aristocrat.—452

T

*Tanner, Karl Rudolf* (1794-1849)—Swiss poet and politician, President of the Supreme Court in the Aargau canton; in 1848 deputy of the Aargau canton to the National Council.—57, 144, 148

*Taschereau, Jules Antoine* (1801-1874)—French journalist; an editor of *Le National*; in 1833-38 and 1848 publisher of the journal *Revue rétrospective*; deputy to the Constituent and the Legislative Assembly (Right wing) in 1848-49; subsequently a Bonapartist.—421

*Tedesco, Victor André* (1821-1897)—Belgian lawyer, socialist; a founder of the Brussels Democratic Association and member of the Communist League; in 1847-48 an associate of Marx and Engels; a defendant at the Risquons-Tout trial.—530

*Temme, Jodocus Donatus Hubertus* (1798-1881)—German democrat; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848 and to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1849.—197-200

*Thielemann, G.*—participant in the Baden republican uprising in September 1848.—204

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman; Prime Minister (1836, 1840); deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848) and to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); hangman of the Paris Commune; President of the Republic (1871-73).—213, 214

*Thile, Ludwig Gustav von* (1781-1852)—Prussian general and conservative statesman; Finance Minister in 1847.—418, 420

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*Breslauer Zeitung*—German daily founded in Breslau (Wrocław) in 1820; repeatedly changed its political orientation; in the 1840s held liberal views; in 1848-49 campaigned against revolutionary Hungary.—347, 351, 425, 428, 440, 442, 451, 458, 460, 467, 468, 477

*Bundeszeitung*—see *Schweizerische Bundeszeitung*

*Le Charivari*—French republican satirical newspaper published in Paris from 1832 to 1934; ridiculed the regime of the July monarchy and in 1848 supported Cavaignac's dictatorship.—247

*La Concordia*—Italian liberal daily published in Turin in 1848-49 under the editorship of Giuseppe Gentille.—397

*Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*—daily published in German in Prague in 1848-49.—352, 410, 416, 431, 435, 451, 453, 468, 472, 473, 479

*Constitutionnel Neuchâtelois*—Swiss constitutional-monarchist newspaper published thrice weekly in Neuchâtel from 1831 to February 1848.—8

*Il Contemporaneo*—Italian radical daily published in Rome from 1846; was suppressed by the Pope's decree of July 15, 1849.—397

*Le Courrier Suisse*—Swiss conservative newspaper published in Lausanne from 1840 to 1853.—43

*Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*—German newspaper published under this title in Leipzig from 1843 to 1879; until the summer of 1848 was conservative but later adopted liberal views.—410

*Die Deutsche Reform. Politische Zeitung für das constitutionelle Deutschland*—German constitutional-monarchist daily published in Berlin from June 20, 1848, to 1851.—198, 421

*Deutsche Schnellpost für Europäische Zustände, öffentliches und sociales Leben Deutschlands*—newspaper of the German moderate democratic emigrants in the USA published twice weekly in New York from 1843 to 1851.—210

*Deutsche Zeitung*—German daily published in Heidelberg from 1847 to October 1848, and up to 1850 in Frankfurt am Main; organ of the advocates of constitutional monarchy and unification of Germany under Prussian hegemony.—193, 287

*Düsseldorfer Zeitung*—German daily published under this title in Düsseldorf from 1826 to 1926; was liberal in the 1840s.—79, 199, 200, 516

*Die Evolution. Ein politisches Wochenblatt*—revolutionary-democratic workers' weekly, organ of the German refugees in Switzerland, published in Biel (Berne canton) in 1848 and 1849 under the editorship of Johann Philipp Becker; a specimen issue appeared on December 1, 1848, under the title *Die Revolution*.—204, 205, 250

*Frankfurter Journal*—German daily published in Frankfurt am Main from 1615 to 1903; was liberal in the 1840s.—179, 342

*Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung*—German newspaper published in Frankfurt am Main from 1619 to 1866; during the 1848-49 revolution was the organ of the Imperial Regent and the Imperial Government.—98, 117, 421

*Der Freie Schweizer*—Swiss radical daily published in Berne in 1848 and 1849; in 1849 was renamed *Schweizer Zeitung*.—250

*Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit*—German newspaper, organ of the Cologne Workers' Association, published twice weekly in Cologne from October 26, 1848. From January 14, 1849, Gottschalk's supporters tried to replace it with the newspaper *Freiheit, Arbeit* which was disavowed by the Association's leadership. On February 8 the publication of the newspaper was resumed and it appeared until the middle of 1849.—513, 524

*Gazette de Lausanne et Journal Suisse*—Swiss daily founded in Lausanne in 1798, organ of the liberal-democratic party.—86

*Grazer Zeitung*—Austrian daily founded in Graz in 1785.—454, 461, 468

*Der Gukkasten*—Swiss radical humoristic weekly published in Berne from 1840 to the end of 1849 under the editorship of Jenni.—249

*L'Helvétie fédérale*—see *L'Helvétie*

*L'Helvétie. Journal politique, industriel et littéraire*—Swiss radical daily published in Pruntrut from 1832 to 1850; from January to November 1849 appeared under the title *L'Helvétie fédérale* in Berne.—248

*Janus. Jahrbücher deutscher Gesinnung, Bildung und That*—German pietist yearbook published in Berlin from 1845 to 1848.—240

*Journal du Valais*—Swiss liberal newspaper published in Sion, Wallis (Valais) canton, from 1848 to 1857.—108

*Karlsruher Zeitung*—German daily, official organ of the Grand Duchy of Baden, published in Karlsruhe from 1757.—193

*Kölnerin*—see *Kölnische Zeitung*

*Kölnische Zeitung*—German daily published under this title from 1802 to 1945; organ of the liberal bourgeoisie, exponent of anti-revolutionary trends in 1848-49, waged struggle against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.—19, 29, 35, 79, 166, 193, 210, 254, 255, 257, 286-89, 290, 292, 294, 301, 347, 354-59, 392, 394, 398, 401, 402, 445, 453, 477, 529

*Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*—German newspaper published in Berlin from 1785; in the 1840s held moderate liberal views; also known as the *Vossische Zeitung* after its owner.—36

*Közlöny, hivatalos lap*—Hungarian daily, organ of the revolutionary Government of Hungary, published in Pest and Debreczin in 1848 and 1849 and in Szegedin from July 1849.—237, 348, 477, 479

*Kreuz-Zeitung*—see *Neue Preussische Zeitung*

*Leipziger Zeitung*—German conservative newspaper published under this title in Leipzig from 1810.—416, 453

*Der Lloyd*—Austrian conservative newspaper appearing twice a day in Vienna from 1848 to 1854.—426, 471

*Moniteur du Soir*—French daily published in Paris from 1831; organ of the supporters of the July monarchy until 1848; organ of the Bonapartists after 1848.—456

*Le Moniteur universel*—French daily, official government newspaper published in Paris from 1789; organ of the revolutionary Government during the French Revolution.—18, 149, 247

*Murter Wächter*—Swiss radical newspaper published in Murten (Freiburg canton) from January 1848.—252

*Napredak*—Serbian newspaper published in Karlowitz (Karlovce) in 1848-49.—353

*Le National*—French daily published in Paris from 1830 to 1851; organ of the moderate republicans in the 1840s.—66, 84, 124, 213, 281-83, 284

*National-Zeitung*—German liberal newspaper published under this title in Berlin from April 1, 1848, to 1915.—271-79, 446, 448

*National-Zeitung*—see *Schweizerische National-Zeitung*

*Neue Kölnische Zeitung für Bürger, Bauern und Soldaten*—German revolutionary-democratic newspaper published in Cologne from September 10, 1848, to July 14, 1849.—181

*Neue Preussische Zeitung*—German conservative daily, organ of the big Prussian landowners and Court circles; was published in Berlin from June 1848; known also as *Kreuz-Zeitung* because the heading contained a cross bearing the slogan "Forward with God for King and Fatherland!"—3, 30-34, 36, 99, 174, 222, 254, 259, 261, 265, 313, 325, 339

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—German daily, organ of the proletarian revolutionary democrats during the German revolution of 1848-49, published in Cologne under Marx's editorship from June 1, 1848, to May 19, 1849 (with an interval from September 27 to October 12, 1848).—14, 16, 18, 21, 39, 48, 49, 69, 70, 73, 81-83, 85, 94, 138, 142, 154, 159, 161, 168, 182, 188, 192, 210, 254, 256, 262, 268, 276, 286, 291, 304, 311-15, 323, 358, 362, 366, 371, 390, 416, 421, 422, 445, 493, 496, 501, 504, 509-10, 516, 517, 518, 521, 522, 527, 529, 530

*Neue Zürcher-Zeitung*—see *Zürcher-Zeitung*

*The Northern Star*—English weekly, central organ of the Chartists, published from 1837 to 1852, first in Leeds and, from November 1844, in London. Its founder and editor was Feargus O'Connor, George Harney being one of its editors. Engels contributed to the paper from 1843 to 1850.—397

*Nouvelliste Vaudois*—Swiss cantonal newspaper founded in 1798 and published in Lausanne until 1914; in the 1840s adhered to radical views.—43, 58, 248

*Oppelner Kreisblatt*—weekly newspaper of the authorities in Oppeln (Silesia), published from 1840.—269

*Österreichischer Correspondent*—daily organ of the Austrian Government, published under this title in Vienna in 1848 and 1849 (from November 1848 to April 1849 in Olmütz).—426

*Pesther Courier*—organ of the Austrian administration in Pest in 1848-49.—479

*Le Peuple. Journal de la République démocratique et sociale*—French social-reformist newspaper published in Paris in 1848-50; from April 1848 it was called *Le Représentant du Peuple*, from September 1848 to June 13, 1849, *Le Peuple* and later *La Voix du peuple* and *Le Peuple de 1850*; its editor was Pierre Joseph Proudhon.—123, 128, 129, 130, 132

*Die Presse*—Austrian liberal daily published in Vienna from July 1848 to 1896. In 1861 and 1862, when the paper adopted an anti-Bonapartist stand, Marx published articles and reports in it.—411, 472, 479

*La Presse*—French daily published in Paris from 1836; in the 1840s expressed the interests of the circles opposed to the July monarchy; it was the organ of the moderate republicans in 1848-49, and later a Bonapartist newspaper. Émile Girardin was its editor from 1836 to 1857.—23

*Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*—newspaper founded in Berlin in 1819; under this title was published from May 1848 to July 1851 as an official organ of the Prussian Government.—36, 106, 133, 199, 240, 379

*La Réforme*—daily organ of the French republican democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists published in Paris from 1843 to 1850. Engels published several articles in it from October 1847 to October 1848.—123-24, 127, 129, 397

*Le Représentant du Peuple*—see *Le Peuple*

*Le Républicain Neuchâtelois*—Swiss liberal-republican newspaper published from March 1848 to October 1849 in La Chaux-de-Fonds and from November 1849 to 1856 in Neuchâtel.—8

*La République*—French daily, organ of the radical republicans, published in Paris from February 1848 to December 1851.—397

*Die Revolution*—see *Die Evolution*

*La Révolution démocratique et sociale*—French daily, organ of the democratic republicans, published in Paris from November 1848 to June 1849 under the editorship of Charles Delescluze.—123, 124-25, 127, 397

*Revue de Genève et Journal Suisse*—Swiss radical newspaper published in Geneva from 1842 and edited by Jean Jacob Fazy; appeared under this title until 1861, when it merged with *La Nation Suisse*. During the Second Empire in France it adopted a Bonapartist stand.—11, 43

*Revue nationale*—French Christian-democratic journal published by Philippe Buchez and Jules Bastide in Paris from May 1847 to July 1848.—66

*Revue rétrospective ou Archives secrètes du dernier Gouvernement*—French monthly published in Paris from 1833 to 1838; in 1848 appeared irregularly.—421

*Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*—German daily founded on January 1, 1842, as an organ of the oppositional circles of the Rhenish bourgeoisie, and published in Cologne till March 31, 1843; Marx was its editor from October 15, 1842, to March 17, 1843; under his influence the newspaper assumed a pronounced revolutionary-democratic character, which led to its suppression by the Government; Engels also contributed to it.—527

*Der Satellit*—supplement to the *Kronstädter Zeitung* (Transylvanian pro-Austrian newspaper) published in Kronstadt (Braşow).—453

*Schlesische Zeitung*—German daily published in Breslau (Wrocław) from 1742, organ of the constitutional-monarchist circles prior to and during the revolution of 1848-49.—391, 428

*Der Schweizer Bote*—see *Der aufrichtige und wohlerfahrene Schweizer Bote*

*Schweizerische Bundeszeitung*—see *Berner Verfassungs-Freund*

*Schweizerische National-Zeitung*—Swiss daily published in Basle from 1842.—42, 181

*Der Schweizerischer Beobachter*—Swiss liberal daily published in Basle from 1842; in 1848 its editor was Johann Karl Brenner.—42, 183

*Schweizerischer Beobachter*—Swiss newspaper published thrice weekly in Berne from 1833 to 1850.—183, 247

*Schweizer Zeitung*—see *Der Freie Schweizer*

*Der Seeländer Anzeiger*—Swiss weekly, organ of the petty-bourgeois socialists, published in Biel from 1837 to 1841 and in Berne from 1841 to 1852.—249, 250

*Serbske Noviny*—official organ of the Serbian Government published in Belgrade from 1835.—441

*Siebenbürger Wochenblatt*—weekly published in Kronstadt (Braşow).—454, 455

*Slavenski jug*—Croatian newspaper published in Agram (Zagreb) from 1848 to 1850.—410

*Staats-Anzeiger*—see *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*

*Staats-Zeitung*—see *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*

*Südslavische Zeitung*—Croatian newspaper, in 1849 organ of the Austro-Slav liberal-monarchist circles, published in German in Agram (Zagreb) from 1849 to 1852.—347, 352

*La Suisse*—Swiss liberal newspaper published in Berne from 1846 to 1860.—58, 110, 179, 248

*Der Unabhängige*—Swiss weekly published in Berne in 1848-49.—250

*Die Verbrüderung. Correspondenzblatt aller deutschen Arbeiter*—workers' journal, organ of the Central Committee of the German Workers. published twice a week in Leipzig from October 1848 to June 1850; up to May 1849 its editor was Stephan Born.—505

*Verfassungs-Freund*—see *Berner Verfassungs-Freund*

*Vossische Zeitung*—see *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*

*La vraie République. Journal quotidien, politique et littéraire*—French political and literary daily, organ of the radical republicans; appeared under this title in Paris from March 26 until August 21, 1848, when it was banned. From March 29 to June 13, 1849, it bore the title *Journal de la vraie République*, its editorial board including Armand Barbès, Pierre Leroux and George Sand.—125

*Wächter*—see *Murter Wächter*

*Wiener Zeitung*—Austrian daily, official government newspaper, published in Vienna from 1780 to 1931. The *Wiener Zeitung* had several supplements, including *Abend-Beilage zur Wiener Zeitung*.—290, 291, 300, 350, 351, 404, 415, 423, 432, 435, 437, 456, 458, 459, 479

*Zeitung des Arbeiter-Vereines zu Köln*—German newspaper published in April-October 1848, organ of the Cologne Workers' Association; until July 1848 it was edited by Andreas Gottschalk, and in July-September by Joseph Moll and Karl Schapper.—189-90, 195

*Zürcher-Zeitung*—Swiss liberal daily published in Zurich from 1780; it appeared under the title *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* until 1821, when it was renamed.—144

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# GLOSSARY OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES [a]

| | |
|---|---|
| Agram | Zagreb |
| Breslau | Wrocław |
| Bromberg | Bydgoszcz |
| Eperies | Prešov |
| Erlau | Eger |
| Esseg (Eszék) | Osijek |
| Fiume | Rijeka (Rieka) |
| Fünfkirchen | Pécs |
| Gleiwitz | Gliwice |
| Gran | Esztergom |
| Grosswardein | Oradea |
| Hermannstadt | Sibiu |
| Karlowitz (Karlovce) | Karlovci Sremski |
| Karlsburg | Alba Julia |
| Karlstadt | Karlovac |
| Kaschau (Kassa) | Kosiče |
| Klausenburg (Kolozsvár) | Cluj |
| Komorn (Komarno) | Komárom |
| Kosel | Koźle |
| Kronstadt | Braşow |
| Lemberg | Lvov |
| Leopoldstadt | Leopoldov |
| Leutschau (Löcse) | Levoča |
| Marienburg (Földvar) | Feldioară |
| Mediasch | Medias |
| Misox (Moesa) | Mesocco |
| Myslowitz | Mysłowice |
| Neheim | Neheim-Hüsten |
| Neuhäusl | Nové Zámky |
| Neutra | Nitra |
| Oberlausitz (Lausitz) | Upper Lusatia |
| Ödenburg | Sopron |
| Ofen | Buda |
| Olmütz | Olomouc |
| Oppeln | Opole |
| Pancsova | Pančevo |
| Peterwardein | Petrovaradin |
| Plattensee | Balaton |
| Posen | Poznań |
| Pressburg (Pozsony) | Bratislava |
| Raab | Györ |
| Rátibor | Racibórz |
| Rimaszombat | Rimavská Sobota |
| Schemnitz (Selmeczbanya) | Banska Štiavnica |

[a] This glossary includes geographical names occurring in Marx's and Engels' articles in the form customary in the German press of the time but differing from the national names or from those given on modern maps. The left column gives geographical names as used in the German original (when they differ from the national names of the time, the latter are given in brackets); the right column gives corresponding names as used on modern maps and in modern literature.— *Ed.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Schweidnitz | Swidnica |
| Semlin | Zemun |
| Stettin | Szczecin |
| Szegedin | Szeged |
| Szeretfalva | Sereth |
| Temesvár | Timişoara |
| Waag (Vag) | Váh |
| Waitzen (Vácz) | Vác |
| Weisskirchen | Bela Crkva |
| Werschetz (Versecz) | Vršac |
| Wreschen | Września |

# MARX & ENGELS
# COLLECTED WORKS

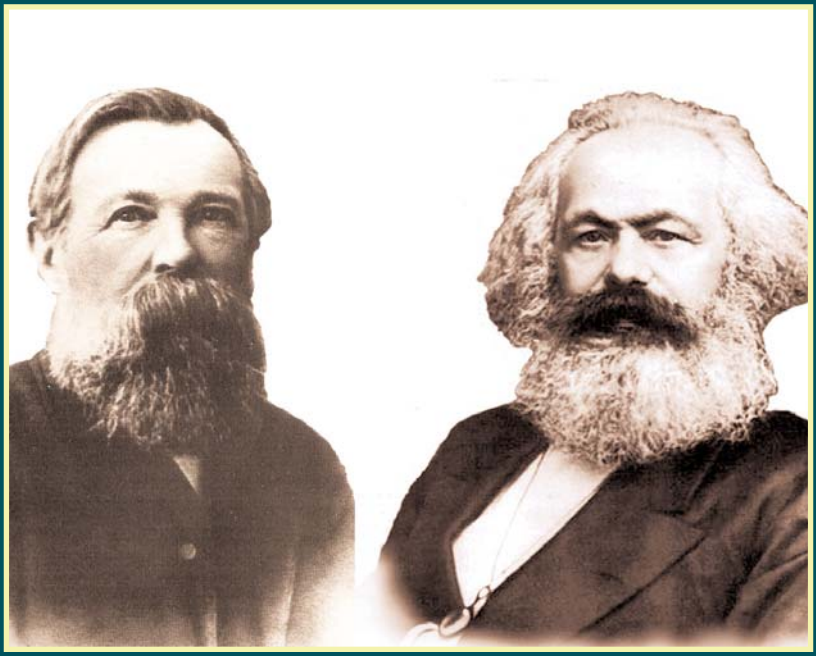

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### Marx and Engels 1849

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 9

## Marx and Engels 1849

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# Preface

Volume 9 of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels is the last in the group of three volumes which show the activities of the founders of scientific communism during the revolutionary years 1848 and 1849. It covers the period from March 6, 1849 to August 1849.

Like volumes 7 and 8, this volume consists in the main of articles written by Marx and Engels for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, an organ of German and European democracy, and in particular of its revolutionary proletarian wing. It was during the last stage of the revolution, when the objective preconditions for uniting the proletariat and creating a proletarian mass party began to take shape, that the proletarian trend of the paper edited by Marx and Engels became especially pronounced. During this period the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* played an increasingly important role as the legal centre which directed the activity of the Communist League members and inspired the revolutionary actions of the proletarian masses.

Marx's and Engels' strategy and tactics during the revolution were based on their materialist conception of the dialectic of social change and on the theoretical generalisation of the experience gained by the masses in the struggle. Their activities in that period, as in the earlier stages of the revolution, demonstrated the organic unity of revolutionary theory and practice. In the circumstances that arose in the spring of 1849, they brought a new element into their tactics: still seeking to rally all revolutionary forces against the advancing counter-revolution, they tried to promote an independent political line for the working class, and to differentiate it from the general

democratic movement by creating a political proletarian mass organisation.

The distinctive features of the spring and summer of 1849 were the rearguard actions fought by the revolutionary forces and the increasing attacks made by the counter-revolutionaries on the people's democratic achievements. The reactionary ruling circles in Austria, Prussia and Tsarist Russia were seeking to revive the Holy Alliance in order to crush the revolutionary movement with the help of the French monarchists and the British bourgeois and aristocratic oligarchy. At the same time the people everywhere continued to defend their political and social rights. Proletarian and democratic organisations became increasingly active in spite of police persecutions. A national liberation struggle was waged in Hungary and many parts of Italy. Peasants' uprisings took place in Slovakia, Galicia and the Bukovina. A new clash between proletarian and petty-bourgeois democrats on the one hand and the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie on the other was imminent in France. All this led Marx and Engels to expect that a new revolutionary surge would soon take place in Europe, Germany included (see, for instance, this volume, p. 57).

They pinned their hopes on the French proletariat taking the revolutionary initiative, for they thought it would be able to repel any attack by international counter-revolution. They expected the working class to play a major part in the next stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and that this would make it possible to extend and consolidate democratic achievements vital to the proletariat, and to carry the revolutionary process further and transform it into a proletarian revolution. Writing about the workers of the Rhine Province Engels observed that "the present movement is only the prologue to another movement a thousand times more serious, in which the issue will concern their own, the workers', most vital interests" (see this volume, p. 449). Thus the course of events in 1848 and 1849 helped them shape their ideas about the relations of the bourgeois-democratic and proletarian stages of the revolution. These ideas form part of the Marxist theory of "permanent revolution", which Marx and Engels were to formulate more explicitly and fully later on the basis of analysing the lessons of these events.

Despite the increasingly counter-revolutionary climate in Germany, the militant spirit and revolutionary optimism of their articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* continued unabated. The paper constantly called upon the masses to remain vigilant and to fight on against the counter-revolution.

It was the altered balance of class forces in the spring of 1849, the treachery of the liberal bourgeoisie, which became more and more evident, and the vacillation of the petty-bourgeois democrats, which led Marx, Engels and their comrades in the Communist League to do everything they could to ensure the ideological and political independence of the proletariat, and its leading role in the revolutionary struggle. They took practical steps to create a working-class political party embracing the whole of Germany, whose core was to be the Communist League—a task which Marx and Engels had put forward already at the beginning of the revolution. They took into account the fact that the months of revolutionary struggle had brought about changes in the political consciousness of the most advanced section of the German workers, that the German workers were beginning to free themselves from the influence of petty-bourgeois ideas and that the labour movement was overcoming its limitations and disunity. Events were destroying the narrow framework of the craft guilds and turning them towards politics. The Workers' Fraternity and other German workers' organisations were becoming politically active. There was a tendency to unite the workers' associations and to set up a single German workers' organisation with social as well as political aims. Marx and Engels were eager to play their part in forming this German workers' organisation. They did all they could to strengthen the Cologne Workers' Association, to establish contacts between it and other workers' associations and to call a Workers' Congress of the whole of Germany (see this volume, pp. 502-03).

On April 14, 1849, Marx, Engels and their associates, supported by the most class-conscious section of the workers, resigned from the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats in order to set up a new and "closer union of the workers' associations" consisting of like-minded people (see this volume, p. 282). Soon afterwards the Cologne Workers' Association under their leadership decided to establish relations with the union of German workers' associations and to withdraw from the Union of the Democratic Associations of the Rhine Province (see this volume, p. 494). However, according to Marx and Engels the ideological, political and organisational separation from the petty-bourgeois democrats did not mean that the working class should refuse to take part in concerted actions with members of the democratic movement. On the contrary, they constantly stressed that all progressive forces must unite more closely in the struggle against the counter-revolution. But they considered that in the given situation united action could not be achieved within the framework of a single organisation.

Marx's work *Wage Labour and Capital*, which is published in this volume, played an important part in preparing the German workers ideologically for setting up an independent political party. The work is based on lectures given by Marx at the German Workers' Society in Brussels in December 1847. He had been prevented from publishing it at the time by the outbreak of the February revolution in France. It was printed in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in April 1849 as a series of leading articles. In these articles Marx emphasised in particular the class nature of the objectives set forth in the newspaper. In his short preface to the series Marx wrote: "Now, after our readers have seen the class struggle develop in colossal political forms in 1848, the time has come to deal more closely with the economic relations themselves on which the existence of the bourgeoisie and its class rule, as well as the slavery of the workers, are founded" (see this volume, p. 198).

*Wage Labour and Capital* shows how far economic theory had been worked out by Marx at the end of the 1840s.

In this work Marx examines the nature of the production relations in bourgeois society, which are based on the exploitation of wage labour. He points out that capital and wage labour are mutually interdependent, and on the other hand he emphasises the antagonistic nature of these relations and the radical opposition between the interests of capitalists and workers. He shows that capital comes into being only at a definite stage of social development, and that capitalist society is therefore a historical, transient phenomenon. Bourgeois economists for the most part defined "capital" as a sum of material objects and resources, or accumulated labour. In contrast to this superficial view Marx maintained that the transformation of material objects or accumulated labour into capital presupposes definite social relations. Marx writes—and this has become a classical definition of *capital* in Marxist political economy: "*Capital*, also, is a social relation of production. It is a *bourgeois production relation*, a production relation of bourgeois society" (see this volume, p. 212).

*Wage Labour and Capital* marks an important step in making clear the economic basis of capitalist exploitation. By means of vivid examples Marx shows that the value produced by the worker exceeds the value of the means of subsistence which he receives in the form of wages, and that this excess is the source of the capitalist's profit. After examining various aspects of the problem of wages, Marx states an important law, namely that even under the most favourable circumstances for the worker the relative share of wages in the social product falls compared with the share appropriated by the capitalist. Profit and wages stand in inverse proportion to one another. Marx concludes that the growth of capital and the development of the

productive forces in bourgeois society were bound to lead to the increasing exploitation of the wage-workers.

So long as the capitalist mode of production continues, the working class cannot free itself from the oppressive system of wage labour. Marx stressed that as social wealth and the productivity of labour increase in bourgeois society, the proletariat forges for itself "the golden chains by which the bourgeoisie drags it in its train" (see this volume, p. 221).

*Wage Labour and Capital* was written at a time when Marxist political economy had not yet arrived at its mature scientific formulation. In this work Marx still uses the terms "labour as a commodity", "value of labour" and "price of labour", which he took over from the English classical economists, though he gave these terms a new meaning. In 1891, when Engels prepared this work for a mass edition, he changed throughout the term "labour as a commodity" to "labour power as a commodity" etc. All these changes are given in footnotes in this volume. In the Preface to Volume II of *Capital*, Engels wrote that in working out the theory of surplus value in the 1850s Marx showed that "it is not labour which has a value. As an activity which creates value it can no more have any special value than gravity can have any special weight, heat any special temperature, electricity any special strength of current. It is not labour which is bought and sold as a commodity, but labour *power*. As soon as labour power becomes a commodity, its value is determined by the labour embodied in this commodity as a social product. This value is equal to the labour socially necessary for the production and reproduction of this commodity" (Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1974, pp. 18-19).

*Wage Labour and Capital* marks an important stage in the working out of a proletarian political economy. And at the same time it exhibits to a marked degree Marx's talent for popularising and explaining complicated economic problems to workers in a language which they can understand. The work greatly helped to spread the ideas of scientific communism among the working class.

*Wage Labour and Capital* as well as other articles and reports on current political questions written by Marx and Engels for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* provided material for political discussions in the workers' associations and helped to make the German workers class conscious. The importance of the paper as a centre which united the forces of the revolutionary proletariat and explained and propagated the programme and tactical principles of the Communist League, was constantly growing. But the victory of the counter-revolution, and the fact that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was forced to

cease publication and Marx and Engels were compelled to leave Prussia cut short their intensive activity and prevented them from putting into practice their plan for creating a workers' mass party.

Marx and Engels expected the liberation struggle of the oppressed nationalities to play a significant role in the revolutionary strategy of the proletariat. They stressed the importance of Poland's liberation for the European democratic movement and constantly returned to the history of Poland's partition and subjugation by the Prussian monarchy, the Austrian Empire and Russian Tsarism (see the article "Posen"). They warmly welcomed the national liberation movements of the Italian and Hungarian peoples. The renewed military operations of the Piedmontese against Austria in the spring of 1849 were regarded by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as a new indication that the revolution was continuing to develop and as a serious blow at the Habsburg monarchy which was now obliged to wage a war on two fronts, against both Hungary and Italy.

Engels analysed the military campaign in Northern Italy in the articles "The War in Italy and Hungary" and "The Defeat of the Piedmontese" and in a series of reports printed under the heading "From the Theatre of War" in the section "Italy". These articles, which express the author's sympathy for the Italian people and call upon them to throw off the Austrian yoke, contain many shrewd observations on the specific features of revolutionary national liberation wars and the conditions required for winning them. In his article "The Defeat of the Piedmontese" Engels writes: "A nation that wants to conquer its independence cannot restrict itself to the *ordinary* methods of warfare" (see this volume, p. 171). In order to gain victory it has to turn the war into a genuinely revolutionary war supported by the masses of the people.

The reason for the reverse suffered by the Piedmontese army was, according to Engels, above all the policies of the liberal and monarchical groups in Piedmont, which were strongly opposed to the transformation of the war into a truly popular war, for they were afraid that this might lead to a revolutionary upsurge and thus undermine their own rule. "There is only one means to counter the treachery and cowardice of the Government: revolution," Engels pointed out (see this volume, p. 151). The defeat of the Piedmontese put the last revolutionary strongholds in Italy, the republics of Venice and Rome, in a very difficult position. Only a European, and above all a French, revolutionary outbreak could, as Engels wrote, save the situation.

Hungary was another centre where, in the opinion of Marx and Engels, a revolutionary conflagration might start which could spread to the whole of Europe. The Hungarian liberation struggle entered a new phase at that time. The heroic people's army, directed by Kossuth's revolutionary government, defied the armed forces of the Habsburg monarchy. In the spring of 1849 the Hungarian troops started their successful counter-offensive.

Marx and Engels watched the developments in the Hungarian revolutionary war closely and with great sympathy. In February 1849, at Marx's request, Engels began to write military and political surveys of the Hungarian events. Most of them were published under the heading "From the Theatre of War" in the section "Hungary" of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The first articles of this series are published in Volume 8 of this edition; the remainder form a significant part of this volume. Engels' article "Hungary", which generalises and partly sums up his analysis of the Hungarian revolutionary struggle, was published in the last issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on May 19, 1849 (see this volume, pp. 455-63).

This series reveals Engels' remarkable talent in military matters. On the basis of Austrian Army Bulletins and reports printed in official Austrian and in German conservative and liberal newspapers, which as a rule were pro-Austrian—that is, on the basis of sources containing very tendentious and contradictory information—Engels, by critically sifting and comparing facts, was able to give a realistic account of the military operations. Closely following the course of events, he created a true and exact, though not a detailed (from the sources available to him this was quite impossible) picture showing the main features of the war. Moreover, many of these surveys (for instance "The Military Reports of the *Kölnische Zeitung*") contained sharp polemical remarks directed at the enemies of the Hungarian revolution, and also exposed the lies disseminated by the German chauvinistic newspapers. Engels' military reports, masterpieces which passionately defended the just cause of embattled Hungary, did much to spread the truth about the Hungarian national liberation struggle in Germany.

Even when the Austrian counter-revolutionary army, which had occupied a substantial part of Hungary, was still conducting offensive operations and the German conservative press was triumphantly announcing that Austria's final victory was imminent, Engels, assessing the military situation with great acuity, observed that the Hungarian revolutionary forces had sufficient resources not only for defence but also for launching a decisive counter-offensive. This prediction, like many others made by Engels in the military

sphere, proved true. The April counter-offensive of the Hungarian army, as Engels noted in several of his articles, clearly revealed the genuinely revolutionary and popular nature not only of the war the Hungarians were waging, but also of their way of conducting military operations. Mobilisation of all national forces to repulse the invaders, energy and mobility, well-concerted action of the regular troops and the widespread guerilla movement, and the fact that the enemy was attacked not only at the front but also in the rear—these were the positive features mentioned by Engels in his analysis of the Hungarian campaign. "The entire might of all the 36 million Austrians has been frustrated and the victorious army which in Welden's words 'amazed half Europe' has been balked by the daring and enthusiasm of a small nation of barely five million people," he wrote in the article "Hungarian Victories". "The imperial forces are learning once again in Hungary the lesson they were taught at Jemappes and Fleurus 50 years ago: it is unwise to make war on revolution" (see this volume, p. 349).

When comparing the Austrian and Hungarian military systems Engels emphasised that the former exemplified the clumsiness, the mechanical drill and the stereotyped tactics peculiar to the armed forces of the feudal absolute monarchies, whereas the Hungarians demonstrated the mobility, initiative and tactical versatility, as well as the ability to take quick resolute decisions and to engage in daring manoeuvres, which are characteristic of a popular army welded together in the fire of a revolution. In his article "War in Hungary" Engels wrote, "The Magyars, though inadequately drilled and armed, oppose everywhere the most subtle calculation, the most masterly use of the terrain, the clearest overall view of the situation and the most daring and swift execution to the indolent and mindless but well-drilled mass of the Austrian armies. Superiority in genius is here doing battle with superiority in numbers, weapons and arms drill" (see this volume, p. 232). In its morale, in unity of the front and rear and support from the masses of the people, the Hungarian army far surpassed its enemy. Engels had a high opinion of the political and military leaders of the Hungarian revolution, of Kossuth and his associates, of the volunteers from Austria and especially of Polish commanders, like Bem and Dembiński, who chose to take part in the revolutionary war.

Engels considered that the strength of the Hungarian revolution stemmed from the progressive social and political transformation which had been carried out in the country, i.e. the abolition of many hitherto existing feudal institutions, the introduction of agrarian reforms and the deposition of the Habsburg dynasty. "The

Hungarians' first measure was to carry out a social revolution in their country, to abolish feudalism," Engels wrote in the article "Hungary" (see this volume, p. 463). Hungary, he said, showed once again that the national liberation movement acquired both strength and stability when together with the fight for independence there was the radical elimination of all feudal relics from the social and political structure.

The abolition of feudal obligations and the other measures which the leaders of the Hungarian revolution carried through in the interest of the peasantry, said Engels, not only ensured that the Hungarian peasants supported the revolution and played an active part in it, but also aroused sympathy for the Magyar struggle among the peasantry in various Slav areas of the Austrian Empire, in particular among the Slovaks, the Poles of Galicia and the Western Ukrainians in the Bukovina. At the end of April 1849 Engels wrote: "Fresh support for the Magyars, which just now, on the eve of their probable victory, is of the greatest significance, is *the Polish peasant rising* which is about to break out in Galicia" (see this volume, p. 345). In another report he observed that the Slovaks joined the Hungarians, after the latter had "abolished the feudal burdens of the Slovak peasants and made a number of concessions with regard to language and nationality" (see this volume, p. 390).

One of the most important indications of the growing anti-feudal struggle in the Slav areas of Austria was the peasant movement among the Ukrainians in the Bukovina which was led by Lucian Kobylica. Engels welcomed the struggle of the peasants against the nobility in this "most remote corner of the united monarchy" as a symptom of an impending peasant war throughout the Habsburg Empire, and noted the ties which existed between the peasant leaders and the Hungarian revolutionaries (see this volume, p. 289).

The successes of the Hungarian revolutionary army weakened the hold of the Austrian ruling circles on the subjugated Slav nationalities (Czechs, Croats, Serbs of the Voivodina etc.) in the Austrian Empire. By lies and false promises the Habsburgs had been trying to set one nationality against the other so as to use them as tools in the fight against the revolutionary movements in Hungary and Italy. Engels hoped that the further development of the Hungarian war would lead to changes in the national movements of these peoples and that the pro-Austrian elements would be pushed aside and the progressive forces would prevail, thus transforming these movements from reserve armies of the Austrian counter-revolution and of Tsarism into allies of revolutionary Hungary and

of the European revolution as a whole. In his articles he cited facts to demonstrate that the Czechs and Southern Slavs did indeed have revolutionary leanings, sympathised with the Magyars and were growing more and more dissatisfied with the military despotism of the Austrian ruling classes and their bureaucratic and centralising tendencies. It was in this light that the people in the Slav areas regarded the Constitution which was imposed on the "united and indivisible Austrian monarchy" by Francis Joseph on March 4, 1849, and in which the earlier promises of autonomy were cynically flouted. In his brilliant denunciatory article "Military Dictatorship in Austria" (which has reached us in manuscript) Engels wrote in this connection: "The wrath previously felt only by the Germans and Magyars at the Austrian habit of gaining victory by cowardly acts of treachery, and after the victory surpassing in barbarity the most brutal bandits, this wrath was now shared by the Slavs as well. They were ensnared by the prospect of a 'Slav Austria', they were made use of to win victory in Italy and Hungary, and by way of thanks they are now being subjected again to the old Metternich whip" (see this volume, p. 105). In a number of articles, particularly in "From the Theatre of War.—The Confused Situation in Serbia" (see pp. 144-47) Engels quotes newspaper reports about an imminent revolutionary uprising in Bohemia which had prompted the Government to declare a state of siege in Prague; about the declining prestige of the Right-wing Czech leaders and the growing influence of the supporters of a Czech-German-Hungarian revolutionary alliance; and about the tendency observed in members of the Croatian and Serbian national movements to establish closer relations with the Magyars.

But at the same time Engels criticised the Right wing of the Serbian, Croatian and Slavonian movements which was still intent on union with the Habsburgs and on creating an autonomous Slav state within the framework of the Austrian Empire, although the Austrian ruling clique had thrown off its mask and had openly shown its hostility to Slav national interests (see this volume, pp. 307-10). The national movement of the Southern Slavs did not manage at the time to shake off the domination of these Right-wing sections, which were accomplices of the Austrian counter-revolution. This was partly the fault of the Hungarian leaders, who refused to recognise the national demands of the Serbs and other Slavs incorporated in Hungary under the administrative division in force at the time. Almost to the end of the revolution, the Hungarian Government pursued a national policy based mainly on the principle of Magyarisation and underestimation of the national aspirations of the

other nationalities. Only on July 28, 1849, when the Hungarian revolutionary Government was about to fall, did it officially proclaim equality of rights for all the nationalities inhabiting the country.

Marx and Engels considered that the consolidation of the European reactionary forces and the attempts to form an Austro-Russian-Prussian counter-revolutionary alliance spelt danger not only to the Hungarian but also the European revolution. They considered that the impending armed intervention by Tsarist Russia in Hungary was fraught with grave danger (see for example "The Third Party in the Alliance", "The Tsar and His Subordinate Knyazes" etc.). Engels' hopes were never realised that the Hungarian revolutionary army would extend its operations into Austria, and that a fresh revolutionary conflagration would occur in Austria itself before Tsarist troops could come to the aid of the Habsburg monarchy. Owing to the defeat of the revolutionary and democratic forces in the other countries, the Hungarian national liberation movement, despite the successes it achieved in the spring of 1849, could not withstand the onslaught of the joint forces of the counter-revolution, and in the beginning of August 1849 the Hungarian revolution was crushed.

Marx and Engels pressed for an intensification of the struggle for a united democratic German republic brought about by a democratic transformation of the existing backward and divided petty states. They strongly opposed plans for the unification of Germany "from above", dominated by junker Prussia or feudal Austria, and were against the Prussianisation of Germany.

The main obstacle to the progressive development of Germany was, in their view, the counter-revolutionary Hohenzollern monarchy in Prussia, the bulwark of the most conservative sections—the aristocracy, the bureaucracy and the military—of the old society, which endeavoured to stifle the revolution completely and to re-establish the pre-revolutionary absolutist regime in a slightly refurbished form and masked by the "granted" Constitution. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* exposed the counter-revolutionary schemes of the Prussian ruling clique and the reactionary court camarilla in a number of articles, for example, "Government Provocations" and "The Counter-Revolutionary Plans in Berlin". Predicting the further course of development in Prussia, Engels wrote that one of the ultimate aims of the Prussian reactionaries was to set up a dictatorship of the sabre and to revise the limited Constitution of December 5, 1848, so as to make it even more conservative. Their intention was "by new dictated measures to get rid of the

troublesome fetters which even the martial-law Charter of December 5 still imposed on our counter-revolution" (see this volume, p. 370).

The anti-democratic Bills introduced by the Brandenburg-Manteuffel Government in Prussia and designed to abolish freedom of assembly and association and freedom of the press and restore the former Prussian patriarchal laws were sharply attacked in Marx's articles "Three New Bills", "The Hohenzollern General Plan of Reform" and "The Hohenzollern Press Bill". Not a single case of coercion and arbitrary police rule escaped exposure in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see "Dissolution of the Second Chamber", "Longing for a State of Siege", "Counter-Revolutionary Offensive and Victory of the Revolution", "The New Martial-Law Charter" etc.).

The Prussian kings and their myrmidons were branded by Marx and Engels as hangmen of the liberation movement not only in Prussia but in the whole of Germany. Marx called them "*the royal terrorists*" who "are in practice brutal, disdainful and mean, in theory cowardly, secretive and deceitful, and in both respects *disreputable*" (see this volume, p. 453). He emphasised that to pursue a counter-revolutionary policy directed against the people was well-established tradition in the house of Hohenzollern. And about Frederick William II, he wrote in the article "The Deeds of the Hohenzollern Dynasty": "It is well known that in 1792 he entered into a coalition with Austria and England to suppress the glorious French Revolution and invaded France" (see this volume, p. 419). The history of rise of this Prussian dynasty, which became firmly established by means of plunder, treachery and violence, is narrated by Marx with biting sarcasm.

In a number of articles published in this volume—"Draft Address of the Second Chamber", "The Debate on the Address in Berlin", "Sitting of the Second Chamber in Berlin, April 13", "The Debate on the Law on Posters"—Engels deals with the proceedings in the Second Chamber of the Prussian Diet which was convoked on the basis of the "granted" Constitution of December 5, 1848, after the Prussian coup d'état. He exposes the attempts of the Government to consolidate the counter-revolutionary regime by means of the Diet, and then proceeds to criticise the members of the Left opposition, i.e. the liberals and democrats. Engels is indignant because the opposition, including the extreme Left, fail to defend the democratic rights of the people and "moderate their claims to the same extent as those of the Right increase theirs", thus revealing their lack of political principles and their compliant attitude (see this volume, p. 136). For they think that it is possible by parliamentary and con-

stitutional methods to achieve that which in the existing situation can only be achieved by revolutionary means, by the use of arms. "Instead of adopting an extra-parliamentary position in the parliament, the only honourable one in such a Chamber, they make one concession after another to parliamentary expediency; instead of ignoring the constitutional point of view as far as possible, they actually seek an opportunity of coquetting with it for the sake of peace" (p. 136). The wavering and indecision of the Left wing in the German Assembly at Frankfurt were also unreservedly condemned by Marx and Engels (see Marx's articles "The March Association" and "The Frankfurt March Association and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*"). They saw it as dangerous collusion with the counter-revolution.

Along with their criticism of the constitutional delusions of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats, Marx and Engels outlined the principles of truly revolutionary parliamentary tactics. The democratic forces should use parliaments—even those composed mainly of reactionary deputies—to expose the intrigues of the ruling circles and to mobilise the people against them. They should combine parliamentary forms of struggle with extensive non-parliamentary mass action, for the latter is the main thing in the fight against counter-revolutionary attacks and in the defence of the people's democratic achievements. And they should recognise that the decisive role in this struggle belongs to the proletariat, a class which, as Engels said, "by its very position ... is revolutionary" and is the main danger to the counter-revolutionary order (see this volume, p. 326).

The events which followed very quickly confirmed Marx's and Engels' opinion of the groundlessness of constitutional illusions. The Prussian Government, which deemed that oppositional views were being too strongly expressed in the Second Chamber of the Prussian Diet, summarily dissolved it on April 27, 1849.

The bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany now entered its final phase, which was marked by mass action in defence of the imperial Constitution drawn up by the Frankfurt National Assembly and rejected by the King of Prussia and the counter-revolutionary governments of the other German states.

According to Marx and Engels, the imperial Constitution could not as such provide a programme or a banner for the proletariat and the revolutionary democrats. As to the question of German unification, the Constitution not only reflected the readiness of the liberal, Prussophile majority of the Frankfurt National Assembly to resort to compromise but also retained the monarchical form of

government. Marx and Engels had been warning for a long time that the anti-revolutionary policy of compromise pursued by the liberals in the National Assembly would end ingloriously, with the dissolution of the Assembly by the counter-revolutionary forces as soon as they felt that they no longer needed it as a protection against the pressure of the popular movement. "On the monument to be erected at the site of its wretched activity," said the article "Vienna and Frankfurt", "the wayfarer will read: 'Perished through its own fault, through cowardice, professorial stupidity and chronic meanness, amid in part the revengeful derision, and in part the complete indifference of the people'" (see this volume, p. 48). In the articles "A Prussian Kick for the Frankfurt Assembly" and "A New Prussian Kick for the Frankfurt Assembly" Marx and Engels depicted the complete political helplessness of the liberals and moderate democrats in the Frankfurt Parliament and their inability to repulse the reaction and to defend their own creation, the imperial Constitution.

Although Marx and Engels clearly understood the limitations of this Constitution, they emphasised the revolutionary nature of the popular movement that came to its defence. The defence of the Constitution was in fact a fight to preserve the still surviving achievements of the revolution, for though the Constitution was couched in extremely moderate terms, it nevertheless proclaimed a number of civil liberties and paved the way to overcoming the country's political fragmentation. Engels wrote: "The people regard every step, however small, towards the unification of Germany as a step towards abolition of the petty sovereigns and liberation from the oppressive burden of taxation" (see this volume, p. 378). In a series of articles ("News from Southern Germany", "The Prussian Army and the Revolutionary Uprising of the People", "The Approaching Revolution", "The Uprising in Elberfeld and Düsseldorf", "The Uprising in the Berg Country", "Elberfeld" etc.) the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* greeted those who had fought, weapons in hand, in Saxony, the Rhine Province and South-West Germany, spoke of their fighting spirit and examined the democrats' chances of victory, and at the same time they denounced the murderous action of the punitive expeditions and the treachery of the moderate bourgeoisie. The fact that the armies in the Palatinate and Baden went over to the insurgents was in their eyes a reassuring sign, of great significance for the prospects of the revolution (see this volume, p. 399).

Marx and Engels hoped that the campaign for the imperial Constitution would develop into a national uprising, which, spreading through the whole of Germany, would merge with the

Hungarian revolution, the national liberation struggle of the Italian people and the revolutionary action of the French proletariat, to form one mighty stream. Although Marx and Engels did not agree with the political principles and tactics of the petty-bourgeois leaders of the movement in defence of the Constitution, they supported it with all the means at their disposal. Engels and other members of the Communist League took part in the Elberfeld uprising, and later fought in the insurgent army of Baden and the Palatinate against the counter-revolutionary troops.

But the German petty-bourgeois leaders proved incapable of solving revolutionary tasks. Marx and Engels tried in vain to persuade them to act more resolutely and in particular to induce the Left-wing deputies of the National Assembly to summon the revolutionary army of Baden and the Palatinate to Frankfurt, and thus to transfer the main battlefield to the centre of Germany. The uprisings in defence of the imperial Constitution lacked central direction, were isolated from one another and remained localised. They were brutally put down by the counter-revolutionary troops. The last centres of the movement in Baden and the Palatinate were suppressed in July 1849.

The Prussian Government had wanted for a long time to find a suitable opportunity to settle accounts with the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. During the May uprisings of 1849 the angry voice of the newspaper was particularly irksome to the powers that be. As the Chartist *Democratic Review* wrote, the newspaper proclaimed "in every line 'war to the knife' against his Prussian kingship, and all the oppressors and betrayers of the German people" (see this volume, p. 513).

In order to put an end to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the Government took advantage of Marx not being a Prussian citizen to expel him from Prussia, and began reprisals against the other editors. The last issue of the paper, printed in red, appeared on May 19, 1849. In it Marx summed up the newspaper's relentless fight for the revolutionary cause. He stressed the paper's role as harbinger of the militant consolidation of the revolutionary forces, defender of working-class interests and herald of the principles of proletarian internationalism (see the article "The Summary Suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*"). He reminded his readers of the newspaper's solidarity with those who fought in the proletarian uprising in Paris and, addressing the men behind the police persecution, said: "*Was not the essence of the June revolution the essence of our paper?*" (see this volume, p. 453). The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had defended the

democratic and national interests of the German people with equal fortitude and consistency. Marx proudly wrote, "We have saved the revolutionary honour of our country" (see this volume, p. 454).

The address to the workers of Cologne concludes thus: "In bidding you farewell the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* thank you for the sympathy you have shown them. Their last word everywhere and always will be: *emancipation of the working class!*" (see this volume, p. 467).

After the suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx and Engels used every opportunity to write for the surviving democratic press in the same revolutionary spirit. Several of their articles and statements published in this volume were written for the German democratic papers which were still able to appear.

In his article "The Revolutionary Uprising in the Palatinate and Baden" Engels answered the attempts of the German conservative press to blacken the revolutionaries fighting there. After refuting false accusations, Engels pointed out that the revolutionary struggle in South-West Germany was a component part of the European revolutionary movement. "The Palatinate and Baden," he wrote, "will stand on the side of freedom against slavery, of revolution against counter-revolution, of the people against the sovereigns, of revolutionary France, Hungary and Germany against absolutist Russia, Austria, Prussia and Bavaria" (see this volume, p. 476).

The sketch "Repudiation", written by Engels after the end of the military campaign in Baden and the Palatinate, was aimed at several petty-bourgeois German emigrants in Switzerland who tried to cast aspersions on one of the proletarian units of the insurgent army, a unit in which Engels himself had fought.

Marx's article "The 13th of June", which can also be found in this section, is of special importance. It discusses the political crisis in France which was bound up with the opposition of the Mountain—a petty-bourgeois party—against the Government and President Louis Bonaparte, who in violation of the Constitution had sent an army to Italy to crush the Roman Republic. The leaders of the Mountain, refusing more resolute measures at this crucial moment, called upon the masses to take part in an unarmed demonstration. Marx, who was in Paris at the time, saw the demonstrators being dispersed by troops.

Anticipating in this article the detailed analysis of these events which he was to give in *The Class Struggles in France*, Marx showed that the fiasco of the "parliamentary uprising" was the logical outcome of the French petty-bourgeois democrats' inconsistencies,

which could be traced right back to the anti-proletarianism which the leaders, for instance Ledru-Rollin, had displayed during the rising of the Paris workers in June 1848. "... June 13, 1849 is only the retaliation for June 1848. On that occasion the proletariat was deserted by the 'Mountain', this time the 'Mountain' was deserted by the proletariat" (see this volume, pp. 478-79). Marx regarded the events of June 13, 1849 as a severe blow to the European revolutionary movement as a whole. The defeat suffered by the French petty-bourgeois democrats helped consolidate the political monopoly of the conservative, monarchist forces in France and, in the last analysis, it paved the way for the counter-revolutionary Bonapartist coup d'état of December 2, 1851.

The Appendices in this volume contain documents illustrating Marx's and Engels' participation in the work of various democratic and proletarian organisations. These give an idea of how Marx and Engels directed the activities of the Cologne Workers' Association, and of how their associates fought sectarian and splitting elements. This section also contains material about the Congress of the Workers' Associations of the Rhineland called in connection with the planned Congress of all the German Workers' Associations—to which Marx and Engels attached great importance, since it marked a new stage in the creation of a mass proletarian party. Also included are documents relating to the persecution of Marx and Engels by the Prussian authorities, and to the legal proceedings against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and its editors, as well as comments of the workers' and democratic press in Germany and England on the closing down of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and Marx's expulsion from Prussia. The police inspector's notification of Marx's expulsion from Paris in the summer of 1849 shows that the harassment of Marx continued and that this time it was organised by the French bourgeois government. All these documents throw light on the situation in which Marx and Engels worked during the last months of the revolution.

Nearly all revolutionary movements in Europe were defeated in the summer of 1849. The reasons which led to this defeat were pretty thoroughly examined by Marx and Engels in many of the articles published in volumes 7 to 9 of this edition. Again and again they had warned that unless the revolutionary forces succeeded in bringing about a radical change in the course of events, the swing over of a considerable section of the European bourgeoisie to the counter-revolutionary camp and the vacillation of the petty-

bourgeois democrats would be fatal to the bourgeois-democratic revolution. In 1848-49 the bulk of the people, including the workers, had not yet reached a sufficient degree of political independence and ideological maturity to enable them ultimately to change the direction of social development in favour of the revolution.

However owing to the intrinsic laws governing revolutionary processes in general, as Marx and Engels observed later, the events of 1848 and 1849 influenced the historical process not only in this particular revolutionary period, but also at subsequent stages. The revolutions of 1848 and 1849 left unsolved a number of social and political tasks which remained, however, on the agenda of history. These revolutions, moreover, brought about significant changes in the social consciousness of various classes of society.

The years 1848 and 1849 were of special importance for the future development of Marxism. They confirmed the correctness and viability of its main conclusions and provided material for its further enrichment. On the other hand, none of the doctrinaire and sectarian trends in the revolutionary movement was able to stand the test of revolutionary reality, and the collapse of their illusions, antiquated traditions and utopian doctrines was one of the positive results of the revolution. The defeat of the revolutionary movement could shake neither the methodological basis of the Marxist theory, nor the political ideas and the strategic and tactical principles which Marx and Engels had put forward. For they were truly scientific conclusions drawn from progressive social processes which were actually taking place and which, though at that time they manifested themselves merely as tendencies of social development, later increasingly succeeded in forcing their way into history. Lenin was perfectly justified in saying that "the tactics of Marx in 1848 were *correct* ... they and only they really provided reliable, firm and unforgettable lessons for the proletariat" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 47).

The strategy and tactics worked out by Marx and Engels in 1848 and 1849 is an invaluable asset of the revolutionary labour movement of many countries. Many times has recourse been made—and it will continue to be made—to the lessons of that period.

* * *

This volume contains not only the writings of Marx and Engels which were published in Volume 6 of the Russian and German editions of their *Collected Works*, but also many articles and

documents discovered as a result of research carried out in the USSR and the GDR during the last few years. A total of 102 articles and reports, amounting to nearly one half of this volume, were only recently published as part of Volume 43 of the Second Russian Edition of the *Works* of Marx and Engels.

Of the 146 articles forming the main section of the volume, 140 appear in English for the first time and this is noted on each occasion at the end of the translation. Only *Wage Labour and Capital*, "The Deeds of the Hohenzollern Dynasty", "Counter-Revolutionary Offensive and Victory of the Revolution", "The Summary Suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*", "Hungary" and "To the Workers of Cologne" have been previously published in English. Apart from a passage which appeared in the *Democratic Review*, the Appendices consist entirely of material not previously published in English. All the texts have been translated from the German except where otherwise stated.

Since it has not always been possible to determine whether a given article was written by Marx or by Engels, the author's name at the end of the article appears only where it has been definitely established which one of them wrote the article in question.

The titles of the articles are taken, wherever possible, from the tables of contents printed in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Those supplied by the editors of the present edition are in square brackets. If a periodical from which Marx and Engels quote is not available, references to other publications in which the material in question was also published are given in footnotes and also in the index of quoted and mentioned literature.

The volume was compiled and the preface and notes written by Velta Pospelova and edited by Lev Golman (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). The name index, the index of quoted and mentioned literature and the index of periodicals were prepared by Irina Shikanyan with the help of Evgenia Dakhina and Natalia Lapitskaya. For the reader's convenience, there is a glossary of geographical names which, in addition to the form generally used in the German press of the time, gives their modern equivalents. The glossary was prepared by Yury Vasin and the subject index by Vladimir Sazonov (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

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The volume was prepared for the press by the editor Margarita Lopukhina and the assistant editor Natalia Kim (Progress Publishers).

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## ARTICLES FROM
## THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

March 6-May 19, 1849

Pränumerationspreis in Köln 1 Thlr. 17½ Sgr. bei allen preußischen Postanstalten 1 Thlr. 17 Sgr. — Im Buchhandel monatlich 15 Sgr. — Man pränumerirt bei der hierortigen Post-Spedition in Deutschland an der Zeitungs-Liste, Frankreich in Paris an der Zeitungs-Liste, 20 Rue Vivienne, und an L. Jonas, 3 Rue Neuve Jacques Bonsens.

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# THE STATE OF TRADE[1]

*Cologne,* March 6. *An Englishman is never more unhappy than when he does not know what to do with his money.* Therein lies the secret of all grandiose speculations, all profit-making enterprises, but it is also the secret of all bankruptcies, all financial crises and commercial depressions.

In 1840, 1841 and subsequent years, it was the new Asian markets, besides the customary commerce with the European continent, which claimed a special share of English export trade. Manufacturers and exporters had every reason to greet Sir Henry Pottinger[2] on the Manchester stock exchange with loud cheers. But the good times quickly passed. Canton, Bombay and Calcutta soon overflowed with unsalable goods, and capital, which no longer found any outlet in that direction, for a change once more sought application inside the country; it was poured into railway construction and so opened up a field for speculation in which the latter was soon rampant to a quite unprecedented extent.

According to a conservative estimate, the total sum invested in the enterprises could be put at 600 million and it would perhaps have gone still higher if the failure of the potato harvest in England, Ireland and many regions of the Continent, and further the high price of cotton, and as a result of both the reduced sale of manufactured goods, as well as, finally, the excessive railway speculation, had not caused the Bank of England on October 16, 1845 to raise the bank rate by one-half per cent.

In view of the superstitious fear in which the Britisher holds the omnipotence of his bank, this slight rise in the bank rate or, in other words, this lack of confidence on the part of the bank directors, at

once affected the existing level of activity, so that a general mood of dejection set in, and the apparent prosperity was immediately followed by the restriction of credit and numerous bankruptcies. Consequently one of those great commercial crises, like those of 1825 and 1836, would have immediately developed if the repeal of the Corn Laws[3] that followed soon afterwards had not suddenly come to the aid of the falling confidence, and once more stimulated the spirits of the entrepreneurs.

For the commercial world expected so much from the immediate consequences of this great measure that it found it easy to forget about the tribulations which had just overtaken it. The settlement of the Oregon conflict which promised a continuation of the hitherto extremely flourishing trade with America, and the British victories in the Punjab[4] which ensured peace in Hindustan, played their part, of course, in a revival of spirits. And although the bad harvest of 1845 was followed by a similar one in 1846, although everywhere the reserves of former times had to be drawn upon and a credit for business purposes involved paying 12-15 per cent, despite all this, all the spinning mills of Lancashire and Yorkshire were set in continual motion as though crop failures, railway speculations and glutted markets had now suddenly become mere trifles which could be coped with in a trice.

This happy state of affairs, however, was not destined to last long, for whereas in September 1847 Dr. Bowring at the Brussels Free Trade Congress was still expounding with such highly comical eloquence the marvellous consequences of the repeal of the Corn Laws,[a] it was already noticed in London that even the "all-powerful measures of Sir Robert Peel" were no longer able to save the country from the catastrophe which had so long been feared. One had to submit to fate and the London firms which, like Read Irving and Co., owned landed property worth almost one million pounds on Mauritius, were the first to start a series of bankruptcies—because of the shattered state of affairs in that part of the English colonies—they collapsed, taking with them in their fall numerous smaller East-Indian and West-Indian firms.

At the same time the big wigs of the factory districts realised that they had been mistaken about the consequences of the repeal of the Corn Laws. Business with all parts of the world was at a standstill and

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[a] See Engels, "The Economic Congress" and "The Free Trade Congress at Brussels" and Marx, "Speech on the Question of Free Trade" (present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 274-78, 282-90 and 450-65).—*Ed.*

panic spread simultaneously in the City of London and in the stock exchanges of Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds etc.

Consequently, the crisis of October 1845, which had been delayed by various events, finally broke out in September 1847. Confidence was at an end. Courage had run out. The Bank of England abandoned the banks inside the country; these banks withheld credit from traders and manufacturers. Bankers and exporters restricted their business with the Continent, the continental trader, in his turn, put pressure on the manufacturer who owed him money; the manufacturer, of course, reimbursed himself at the expense of the wholesaler, and the latter fell back on the *boutiquier*.[a] Each one of them hit out at the others and gradually the distress due to the trade crisis affected the whole world, from the giants of the City of London down to the smallest German shopkeeper.

This was *before* February 24, 1848! England experienced the worst days in the last four months of 1847. There was a clean sweep of the railway speculators; between August 10 and October 15, twenty of the leading London firms trading in colonial merchandise, with a capital of £5 million, and paying dividends of about 50 per cent, went bankrupt; and in the factory districts the distress reached its peak when in Manchester on November 15, only 78 out of 175 spinning mills were working full-time, and 11,000 workers were out of work.

So ended the year 1847. It was reserved for the Continent to experience during 1848 the after-effects of this English crisis—after-effects that on this occasion were, of course, all the more perceptible because the political transformations did not exactly help to make good the consequences of this extraordinary English occurrence.

We now come to the most interesting moment in the recent history of commerce, namely, the influence which the revolutions had on commercial activity.

The tables of English export trade provide us with the best illustration of this because, in view of the dominant position of England in world trade, the contents of these tables are nothing but an expression in figures of the political and commercial situation or, more correctly, the expression in figures of the ability to pay of the various nations.

Therefore, when we see that exports in April 1848 fell by £1,467,117, and in May by £1,122,009, and that total exports in

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[a] Retail salesman.—*Ed.*

1847 amounted to £51,005,798, and in 1848 to only £46,407,939, conclusions very unfavourable to the revolutions could, it is true, be drawn from this and such an idea could be arrived at all the more easily because exports in January and February 1848, i.e. immediately before the outbreak of revolution, were actually £294,763 higher than in 1847.

Nevertheless, such a view would be completely erroneous. Because, firstly, the increased exports in January and February, i.e. precisely in the two months separating the peak of the crisis from the revolution, are easily explained by the fact that the Americans, in return for their enormous deliveries of grain to England at that time, took more British manufactured goods than ever before and thus at least for a short while prevented the falling off that would otherwise have arisen. But, in addition, English trade history provides most striking proof that exports do not diminish immediately after a crisis, but only when sufficient time has passed for the crisis to spread also to the Continent.

The increased export of the first two months of 1848, therefore, should by no means mislead us, and we can turn without misgivings to a consideration of the total decline during the whole year.

This decline, as we have already mentioned, compared with 1847 amounted to £4,597,859—certainly a considerable decrease, which in the hands of the reactionaries, who behave in politics like yapping curs and in trade like old women, became an argument against the revolution, one that is only too effectively used towards the uninformed.

But there is nothing easier than to refute the fallacious assertions of the party of reaction, for one has only to look up the tables of exports for the past 30 years to demonstrate that the decrease in exports in 1848, brought about by the combined influence of a trade crisis and a revolution, bears no comparison with the decline in exports of previous years.

After the trade crisis of 1825, in which year total exports amounted to £38,870,851, exports dropped to £31,536,724 in 1826. Thus there was a decrease of £7,334,127. After the crisis of 1836, when exports amounted to £53,368,572, exports dropped to £42,070,744 in 1837. The decrease, therefore, was £11,297,828. Nothing can be more striking than that!

Hence after two trade crises, which, it is true, were caused exclusively by the over-production of manufactured goods but in their extent cannot at all be compared with the crisis just ended, the drop in exports was double that of 1848, a year which was preceded by a glut in the Asian markets, two bad harvests, and speculation on a

scale never seen before in the world, and a year when every corner of old Europe was shaken by revolutions!

In truth, trade got off easily in 1848! The revolutions contributed to the fact that now and then trade stagnated, that sales became difficult and dangerous, and that many persons collapsed under the burden of their obligations. During the past year, however, under Louis Philippe, the same difficulties would have been met with in Paris in discounting a miserable 20,000 or 30,000 francs as under the republic. In Southern Germany, on the Rhine, in Hamburg and in Berlin, with or without the revolution we would have had our bankruptcies; and business in Italy would have been depressed just as much under Pius as under the heroes of Milan, Rome and Palermo.[5]

It is just as ludicrous, therefore, to ascribe the revival of trade to the temporary victories of the counter-revolution. The French are not paying 25 per cent more for wool at the London wool auctions because some of Louis Philippe's Ministers are again in power,—no, they are having to pay more because they need the wool, and they need more of it, their demand is growing, precisely because in the last years of Louis Philippe's rule it had greatly decreased. Such a fluctuation of demand can be observed throughout the history of commerce.

And the English are once more working a full day in all the mines, foundries, spinning mills, and in all their ports, not because a certain Prince Windischgrätz orders the summary shooting of the Viennese people,—no, they are at work because the markets of Canton, New York and St. Petersburg wish to be supplied with manufactures, because California is opening up a new market which the speculators regard as inexhaustible, because the bad harvests of 1845 and 1846 were followed by two good harvests in 1847 and 1848, because the English have given up railway speculation, because money has returned to its customary channels, and the English will go on working ... until there is a new trade crisis.

Above all, we must not forget that it was by no means the monarchical countries that in recent years were the chief source of employment for English industry. The country which has almost continuously placed the most colossal orders for English goods and whose demand at the present time, too, is able to empty the markets of Manchester, Leeds, Halifax, Nottingham, Rochdale, and all the great emporia of modern industry, and which can enliven the ocean with its ships—is a republican country, the United States of North America. And it is just now that these states are prospering most of all, when all the monarchical states of the world are collapsing.

If, however, in the recent period a few branches of *German* industry have to some extent improved their position, they owe it solely to the *English* period of prosperity.[a] From the whole of the history of commerce the Germans should know that they have no commercial history of their own, that they have to suffer for English crises, while in periods of over-production in England, a minute percentage is all that falls to their lot. But they have nothing to thank their Christian-Germanic governments for except accelerated bankruptcy.

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[a] This word is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR[6]

Yesterday's news of Magyar victories[a] has been followed today by an Austrian assurance of victory. The *Österreichischer Correspondent* reports from Olmütz:

"The following telegraphic dispatch has just reached Olmütz: Field Marshal Prince *Windischgrätz* defeated the insurgents at Kapolna[7] on February 26 and 27. The enemy fled in two directions. An entire battalion was taken prisoner."

The commentary to this report may be found in the following lines, which have also been corroborated from other quarters:

"In Vienna the news of the imperial victory was known on March 2 only as a stock exchange rumour: *the letters which arrived by the post from Pest on that day were not released.*"

It can be seen that the news of the imperial victory bears all the marks of a Windischgrätz triumph: the letters which are supposed to confirm it are *withheld by the post-office* in Vienna. This is the first time that the Vienna Government has had to resort to such methods. The victory must have been a brilliant one indeed!

Still no news from Transylvania about the battle on the 15th between Bem and Puchner.[8] The latest reports stop at the 14th but indicate that a Magyar victory is likely the following day. An issue of the *Lithographierte Correspondenz* from Vienna writes:

"At last we again have received letters direct from Hermannstadt up to the 14th, they are however anything but reassuring.

"Lieutenant-Field Marshal Puchner is *evidently still not strong enough* to take the offensive against the fanatical bands of the Szeklers[9] and the hordes of Bem. There seems to be some reluctance, for political reasons, to employ Russian aid to the extent that the sorry state of the Grand Duchy demands. The commercial letters from

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[a] See Engels, "Magyar Victory" (present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 477-80).—*Ed.*

Hermannstadt and Kronstadt sound very miserable. From Temesvar it was reported to Hermannstadt that *the Serbs have refused to come to the aid of Transylvania.* This is also evident from the irresolute movements of generals Rukavina, Gläser and Todorovich."

The Austrians have suffered a fresh defeat at the hands of Kossuth, not on the battlefield but at the shopkeepers' counters and the portable stands of the Jewish pedlars. Kossuth saw that the imperial authorities were compelled to redeem his one- and two-gulden notes and immediately arranged the production of 15- and 30-kreutzer notes.[10] Windischgrätz, outraged at this high treason against the royal imperial exchequer, has now issued the following proclamation[a]:

"The rebels, who have fled to Debreczin, tireless in confusing even further the already severely disrupted conditions of the country, have, in addition to the banknotes already issued without right or authority, produced 30- and 15-kreutzer notes which are already beginning to circulate. These notes are mainly coming into the hands of the poorer classes of artisans and country people who, almost entirely lacking a livelihood, are already hard-pressed, and should be particularly preserved from harm. For the time being, therefore, and until an order is issued concerning the Hungarian banknotes as well, I declare these completely illegal notes for 30 and 15 kreutzers null and void, and prohibit their acceptance both at public cash-offices and in private exchange."

As if Herr Windischgrätz could prevent the circulation of the Magyar banknotes as long as Austria is unable to issue any ready money and especially small coins!

According to Austrian reports, Görgey, whom the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* calls a man "with no talent for generalship" (!!),[b] is said to have resigned the command. We need not point out how absurd such rumours are. In the meantime we present the following report from the Austrian *Lloyd* on the latest operations of this skilful partisan in the Zips[c]:

"Until the 18th of last month Lieutenant-Field Marshal Ramberg, who commanded the two brigades of royal imperial troops under General Götz and Prince Jablonowsky in the Zips areas, was continuously engaged in skirmishes with Görgey's insurgent forces. [...] For Görgey had sent his baggage trains with a small escort from Kaschau, an area from which royal imperial troops had withdrawn, to the Theiss in the direction of Debreczin, and in order to protect this transport he used all his forces to halt the troops pursuing him, and therefore retained scarcely two squadrons of hussars in Kaschau. After his rearguard had been forced back from Wallendorf

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[a] Windischgrätz's proclamation was first published in the *Pesther Zeitung* and then reprinted in the evening supplement to the *Wiener Zeitung* No. 51, February 28, 1849, and in *Der Lloyd* No. 101 (evening edition), February 28, 1849.— *Ed.*

[b] "Pest, 25. Febr.", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 52, March 2, 1849.— *Ed.*

[c] The following is the quotation from "Käsmark, 23. Februar" published in *Der Lloyd* No. 104 (morning edition), March 2, 1849.— *Ed.*

to Margitfalva—when the royal imperial fusiliers captured five cannon (!)—he concentrated his main strength on this road, which, forming a narrow defile in the valley of the River Hernad, severely impeded the advance of the royal imperial troops. On the road to Eperies the smaller corps of Hungarians withdrew hastily, fearing to be cut off on the mountain road by the former garrison of Kaschau. [...] The *infantry* of the Hungarians is generally appalling, not only because it is neither trained nor disciplined—for these shortcomings would be to some extent compensated for *in battle by the phisical agility peculiar to the Magyars and their proven scorn for death*—but chiefly because their *officers* are incompetent and cowardly, *collected from all corners of the world*, and inspire no confidence in their men. [...] On the other hand, the *hussars*, whose officers, although mostly promoted NCOs, are ignorant, but at least courageous men, retain their inherent bravery; here in the mountains they could not often be used, but they frequently dismounted from their horses to cover the cannon and encourage the others; on outpost duty they are reckless in their daring and cause the royal imperial troops a good deal of trouble. [...]

"The engagements between the insurgents and the royal imperial troops were limited in this area to skirmishes and artillery salvoes; as the battalions drew nearer the insurgents retired; on the 19th, they assembled in Kaschau and then tried to reach the Theiss by forced marches in order either to effect a meeting with Dembiński or to *flee* to Debreczin. (!) [...]

"The town of Kaschau was illuminated to greet the insurgents, and received Görgey with a torchlight parade, thus saving itself from a levy such as was imposed on Eperies. Now the evil guests have fled, and on the 19th of last month Eperies was re-occupied by the royal imperial troops; and Kaschau, the day before yesterday.[a] In the village of Petrovian between Eperies and Kaschau, where the peasants had captured several hussars and taken them over the mountains to the royal imperial troops, the rebels had the local magistrate and a juryman shot as a punishment. We, the Zipsers, got off with a black eye; only the towns and villages on the Kaschau mountain road incurred severe damage during the various skirmishes. The earlier-mentioned attack by the imperial Major Kiesewetter was made on the town of Neudorf to punish it for its treachery, and it is now occupied by four companies of the Slovak *Landsturm* under Štúr, which naturally cannot be compared with the pleasantness of an occupation by the imperial troops. **We are all however disturbed by the presence of a rebel force under the insurgent Colonel Aulich in Lublau, which by all appearances intends to operate in the rear of the imperial army,** for men are claiming to have seen hussars first in one place, then in another; meanwhile, to our consolation, General Vogl has advanced from Galicia with 4,000 men via Bartfeld, and he will probably drive these hordes out of the border mountains before long (?)."

As a counterpart of this we present the following report from Agram of the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* on the South-Slav complications:

"*Agram*, February 25. In its latest issue, the *Napredak* [Напредак] discusses the causes of the state of siege which was imposed on Karlowitz; it endorses the view that the activities of the Central Committee[11] gave rise to this military measure. The *Napredak* excuses the Patriarch[b] by whose order the state of war was proclaimed in Karlowitz; the above newspaper further reports that at present the Patriarch is ruling

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[a] On February 21, 1849.—*Ed.*
[b] Rajachich.—*Ed.*

alone, while the Odbor (Central Committee) has relinquished its duties and refrains from intervening publicly in the administration of the voivodeship. The differences between Rajachich and Stratimirovich are—judging by this newspaper—by no means eliminated yet. This is also averred by a member of the Serb constitutional commission recently arrived here, who hardly described things in the Voivodina as being at their best. From the information supplied by this member I am able to report the following to you on the situation there. *The majority of the people is for Stratimirovich*, only Syrmien and the Peterwardein borders[12] are opposed to him, there Radosavljevich, who was elected regimental commander and confirmed by the Patriarch, has totally paralysed the efforts of Stratimirovich. The Patriarch is reported to have been appointed civil governor, and—which sounds rather strange—also military head of the voivodeship. It has been confirmed that Rajachich *has been having repeated conflicts with the commanding officer at Temesvar*, with whom he used always to be on friendly terms. The latter is said to be working with all his energy to bring the Banat border under his control, and *to restore the old military authority there.* In fact several senior officers have apparently banded together whose endeavours are *aimed solely at everywhere placing obstacles in the path of the Serbs.* Rukavina and Todorovich are said to be at the head of this anti-Serb coterie. The latter is said to have lost the sympathies of all through his gruff, offensive conduct and his exaggeratedly 'black-and-yellow'[a] sentiments; his intolerance of everything that does not carry the royal imperial *port d'epée* apparently goes so far that he intended to grant the Serb national officers only corporals' pay.—The Serb constitutional commission recently commenced its work; the first result of its deliberations is an electoral law for the Voivodina, the draft of which is already completed."[b]

The "united monarchy" (*Gesamtmonarchie*) still has a number of strange experiences in store if the pan-Slavist uproar[13] that is now fermenting throughout Slav Austria breaks out some day!

Written by Engels about March 6, 1849

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[a] The Austrian imperial colours.— *Ed.*

[b] "Agram, February 25", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 51 (supplement), March 1, 1849.— *Ed.*

# THE MILITARY REPORTS OF THE *KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG*

The *Kölnische Zeitung* celebrated yesterday a day of rejoicing, unfortunately subdued by a measure of moral indignation. The cause of its rejoicing was the telegraphic dispatch from Olmütz reporting the alleged victory of Windischgrätz; the moral indignation had naturally been caused by nobody else but us, with our observations about the greater or lesser credibility of the Magyar reports. What! This deplorable paper, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, presumes to maintain that the *Kölnische Zeitung* "has not yet proved the Magyar reports guilty of a *single case* of exaggeration", but that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* itself has "critically ascertained the credibility of these reports"! And then three exclamation marks, each more wrathful and indignant than the last.

Let us leave unruffled the holy zeal with which our neighbouring journalist fights for Truth, Justice and Windischgrätz. Let us be content for today—as the news from Hungary is very meagre—with "critically ascertaining" the "credibility" of yesterday's report in the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

The *Kölnische Zeitung* commences with an important mien:

"Today we are in a position to give *more definite news* from the two theatres of war." Namely this: "Today we undergo the same experience with regard to the long Magyar victory-report in the *Breslauer Zeitung* as we so frequently had with regard to these reports: once again we must confirm that it has been nothing but a *ridiculous exaggeration*. The alleged *defeat* of Windischgrätz turns out to be a *victory* for the same; and there is *not a word of truth in the reported capture of Hermannstadt* by Bem."[a]

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[a] Here and below Engels quotes the article "From the Theatre of War" published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 56, March 7, 1849.—*Ed.*

That sounds grand enough. At a single stroke two fat "exaggerations" in the Magyar report have thus been supposedly discovered—we beg your pardon, communicated by our neighbouring journalist to his readers at second hand from Austrian newspapers.

But let us now look at the matter in detail.

Firstly, the famous Olmütz telegraphic dispatch is reproduced and set up as an authority beyond all doubt. But why, we ask, does the triumphant Cologne newspaper not find it fitting to carry a news item that places this dispatch in a very strange light? On the same day that the Vienna Government distributed in Vienna the news of Windischgrätz' alleged victory, it *stopped all letters and newspapers from Pest at the post-office.* Probably in joy at the mighty victory of the armed forces of the fatherland. The *Kölnische Zeitung* must have read this news, as we did, in at least half a dozen East-German newspapers. But in order not to disturb the joy of its readers at the victory of "German arms", it does the same as the Austrian Government and withholds this piece of news. That is a sample of the way the *Kölnische Zeitung* "critically ascertains" the "credibility" of the Austrian victory dispatches.

But there is more to come. The Magyars are supposed to have been defeated at Kapolna. This is "significant".

"Kapolna is after all to the east of Gyöngyös; the Hungarians were thus in full *backward* movement."

When one is in "backward movement", reasons the worthy Cologne paper, one cannot but be defeated! Our neighbouring journalist has at last cast a glance at the map and discovered that the Magyars must have been defeated at Kapolna because "Kapolna is after all to the east of Gyöngyös"! Yes, very "significant" indeed!

Further:

"The *Schlesische Zeitung,* whose reporter incidentally knows nothing about the recent battle, has *in this connection* (!) been informed from Vienna: 'The Hungarians have withdrawn again on all sides, Prince Windischgrätz will cross the Theiss and march on *Debreczin.* The big battle must be fought shortly, or (!) Debreczin will be lost, the Rump Parliament[14] dissolved and consequently the whole insurrection at an end.'[a]"

"Prince Windischgrätz *will* cross the Theiss and march on Debreczin." Prince Windischgrätz says so, and it is the duty of every respectable citizen to believe him implicitly. "Prince Windischgrätz *will*"! It is now, thank heavens, nearly six weeks since "Prince

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[a] "Wien, 2. März", *Schlesische Zeitung* No. 53 (first supplement), March 4, 1849.—*Ed.*

Windischgrätz *will* cross the Theiss" and "*march* on Debreczin", and he is still in the same place. If, however, like our neighbouring journalist, one knows how to distinguish between "more definite news" and "ridiculous exaggerations", the entire Hungarian war has come to an end with the assurance of "Prince Windischgrätz" that he "*will* cross the Theiss" and "*march* on Debreczin". "Debreczin is lost, the Rump Parliament dissolved and consequently the whole insurrection at an end." The matter is settled in the twinkling of an eye. Our neighbouring journalist, who has "crossed" the Theiss and conquered Debreczin so many times already, according to whom more Magyars have already been killed than all Hungary has inhabitants, and who was already rejoicing four weeks ago: "The war in Hungary is coming to an end"—this same journalist has suddenly been re-electrified after a lengthy period of dejection, and is again shouting, "The war is coming to an end, *parturiunt montes*[a]" etc., and these are no "ridiculous exaggerations" but "more definite news"!

In this manner of making the Austrians win victories, the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* is a dangerous rival to the *Kölnische Zeitung*. For instance it reports today from Pest:

"A reverse inflicted on the royal imperial troops in Transylvania through infamous treachery *is, on the other hand, compensated for by the fact that Komorn is at present being heavily attacked,*[15] and a bombardment has already taken place."[b]

"So much for the main theatre of war. With this *renewed* Austrian *offensive* the Hungarian war has entered its *second stage* here."

How many "stages" our neighbour cares to make the Hungarian war enter is of little consequence. More interesting would be an answer to the question: how many "stages" has the reporting of the *Kölnische Zeitung on* the Hungarian war entered?

We pointed out right at the beginning of the war, even before the Austrians were in Pest, that the real battle-ground only begins beyond Pest, between the Theiss and the Danube, and that the scene of the final decision will be on the Theiss itself, or perhaps even on the far side of it. Even then we stated that the special proficiency of the Magyars in war, that the particular shortcomings of the Austrians, the difficulty of ensuring supplies and the whole nature of the terrain refer the Magyars to this area.[c] On various occasions, and

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[a] A reference to "Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus." (Mountains will be in labour, the birth will be a single laughable little mouse.) Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 139.—*Ed.*

[b] "Wien, 28. Febr.", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 52 (second supplement), March 2, 1849.—*Ed.*

[c] See Engels, "The Struggle in Hungary" (present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 290-94).—*Ed.*

as recently as a few days ago, we have pointed out that all the "backward movements" of the Hungarians towards the Theiss do not determine anything whatsoever, because it is the Theiss that is their natural line of defence, behind which, for the present, they are fairly unassailable. We repeat: the further Prince Windischgrätz advances, the more difficult will his position become, the weaker his army, and the greater the Magyars' chances of victory. Moreover, the longer the decisive moment is postponed, the more time the Magyars have to arm, organise and reinforce their recently created army, while the position of the imperial forces is deteriorating rather than improving.

Supposing, then, that the Magyar report of the defeat of the Austrians were really false, their "victory" would anyway be restricted to insignificant skirmishes with the Magyar rearguard, whose job it was to cover the retreat of the main army in the direction of the Theiss and Hernad. A commanding officer like Dembiński will not accept a decisive battle *before* a river when he can fight much better *beyond* the river, unless he is *perfectly sure* of the outcome.

But as stated: hitherto there is no news, and neither the Magyar report nor the telegraphic dispatch have been confirmed in any way. The Vienna letters and newspapers have not reached us, the Breslau papers have likewise failed to arrive because there is no Monday issue, the Berlin papers have nothing new to tell, the Leipzig and Prague papers, which present the news one day later, only contain letters from Pest of the 27th which are still in ignorance of the battle which began on the 26th, and—a remarkable thing indeed—they do not print the Olmütz victory dispatch either.

Now to continue:

"We *lack* further news from Transylvania."

This news, that there is no news, is certainly very "definite"! An excellent fashion in which to repudiate the "ridiculous exaggerations" of the Magyars!

"The *Breslauer Zeitung*, which is by no means impartial" (a naive remark from the mouth of our Magyarophobe neighbour!), "is *surely* depicting the position of the Austrians *too gloomily*, for though it was *certainly very precarious* earlier on, it has *after all* improved recently."

"Surely, after all"! "It has *after all* improved!" "*Surely* depicting *too* gloomily"! Remarkably "more definite" news, in which nothing is "definite" except the tearful admission that the position of the Austrians was "*certainly very precarious earlier on*"!

"The story of the storming of Hermannstadt is a Magyar invention; for this is supposed to have occurred on February 15, and yet the Vienna *Lloyd* contains in its columns a letter from Hermannstadt of February 16 whose writer knows nothing of the alleged storming, but on the contrary etc."

And this letter from Hermannstadt, which is said to be dated the 16th, contains nothing whatsoever about the fate of the defeated Puchner, who rallied his troops again on the 12th outside Hermannstadt, contains nothing of the position of Bem advancing via Mühlbach, but merely drivels on about the raids of the Szeklers, about the few days left to hold out until "the victorious royal imperial troops, approaching ever nearer and nearer and closing in from all sides" (from whence?) eliminate the danger and so on. In short, this letter actually says nothing but what has long been known, and bears all the signs of a document fabricated in Vienna itself. Why are there then no official or semi-official reports available, if private newspapers have news from Hermannstadt of the 16th? And in a fictitious document like this the *Kölnische Zeitung* places its implicit trust! By means of information like this it "critically ascertains" the "ridiculous exaggerations" of the Magyar reports!

In addition, the *Kölnische Zeitung* contains some ludicrous snatches of gossip about the amateur theatres of the officers in Komorn, about the alleged dismissal of Görgey, about the "intentions" of Nugent etc., concluding, as usual, with "*a series of noteworthy judgments* from the Austrian press on the intervention of the Russians". When the gentlemen themselves lose their powers of judgment, this series of noteworthy judgments presents itself at the right moment for reproduction by anyone who cares to do so.

Such are the gentlemen of the *Kölnische Zeitung*. Too cowardly to indulge in any sort of polemic, which would be bound utterly to expose their hollowness, ignorance and empty-headedness, this literary lumpenproletariat seeks to vent its anger at all the blows it receives on the small Magyar people fighting against a force vastly superior to it. What does it matter to the *Kölnische Zeitung* that this heroic people of five million led, moreover, by officers who were nothing but traitors, is forced to defend itself against the entire might of Austria and Russia, against whole fanaticised nations, that it has taken on an unequal struggle compared with which the French revolutionary war was child's play. First it abused them as "cowards", "braggarts" etc., and when these cowards eventually put the whole of mighty Austria to flight, when they forced it humbly to beseech the Russians for aid, like a tiny sixth-rate countrv, against the few million Magyars, when 20,000 Russians then placed their weight in the scales in favour of Austria, this honourable little paper was

unable to restrain its jubilation. And even now, as soon as there comes the slightest piece of news favourable to the imperial murderers, joy reigns in the columns of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, and it exults at the victory of the side enjoying the most crushing superiority, gloats over the desperate struggle of a small nation of heroic courage against two of the biggest powers of Europe!

When censorship still existed, in 1831, no German newspaper dared to cheer the Russians as they drew ever tighter circles around Warsaw.[16] Then all was sympathy for Poland, and those who did not agree at least kept quiet. But today we have freedom of the press, and the *Kölnische Zeitung* may unimpeded throw all its despicable drivel in the face of the Magyars in the most brutal fashion.

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## [THE 26th AUSTRIAN ARMY BULLETIN]

Just now, when the above article had already been written, we have received the following 26th Bulletin, in which the gallant Windischgrätz at last gives us an explanation of his brilliant victory at Kapolna announced by telegraph[a]:

"From Gyöngyös, Field Marshal Windischgrätz gave Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schlick the command to leave Petervasara on February 26 and join the main army by way of Verpeleth, in order to attack the insurgents with combined forces. The corps of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Wrbna and that of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schwarzenberg encountered the enemy outside Kapolna on February 26. At first the latter showed the intention of threatening our left flank by occupying a wooded height with two battalions. He was, however, driven from there by a bayonet attack. Then, he attempted to pierce our centre with his cavalry, but was repulsed there too, and retired at all points towards Kapolna and Kaal. The fall of darkness put an end to the day's fighting. Early on the 27th Field Marshal Windischgrätz ordered the attack to be continued, having heard of the delayed arrival of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schlick, who had been held up by the enemy's occupation of the narrow defile of Sirok and only succeeded in taking it after a stubborn fight. He pushed back the enemy as far as Verpeleth, where the latter gained a footing, and only surrendered this place after fierce fighting. The enemy again attempted to take Kapolna and made two attacks with numerous heavy guns, which were, however, unsuccessful. After the fighting had gone on all day, the insurgents withdrew and took up a position at Maklar. During the capture of Kapolna the Zanini battalion defending the church was taken prisoner. The casualties on the enemy side were 200-300 killed and 900-1,000 captured; those of the royal imperial troops were slighter, although the exact figures are not yet available."

It may be seen from this Bulletin:

1) That on the 26th, as the Magyar "exaggeration" *quite correctly* observes, the *Hungarians had indeed got the better of Windischgrätz.* For

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[a] "26. Armee-Bulletin. Vom 3. März."—*Ed.*

were it true, as the Bulletin claims, that the imperial forces had been victorious on the 26th, on the following day, having been reinforced by the Schlick-Schulzig corps, they would have been in a position to inflict a severe defeat on the Magyars.

2) That Windischgrätz' "*victory*" is limited to an extremely insignificant skirmish, as the small number of casualties on the Magyar side proves. In two days of battle, 300 killed! As for the captured battalion, that means little.

There are still aristocratic traitors among the officers of the Hungarian army, who are only waiting for an opportunity to position their troops in such a way that they can be captured with due decency. The death-defying bravery of the Magyar soldiers even favours such treachery.

3) That the imperial forces should know the casualties of the *Hungarians* so exactly, whereas they have not yet established *their own,* is likewise highly "significant".

4) Finally: as far as the definite gains of the imperial forces are concerned, these are limited to *exactly one mile*[a] *of captured terrain.* The Hungarians engaged in battle at Kapolna and Verpeleth, and are now at Maklar, which lies one mile to the east. Erlau, about the same distance to the north of Maklar, is obviously also still in the possession of the Magyars, supporting their right flank; otherwise the Bulletin would have trumpeted out the recapture of this important town with due exultation.

5) *Summa Summarum*: After achieving the purpose of their expedition before the gates of Pest, the Hungarians have withdrawn, without engaging in any decisive battle on terrain that is less favourable to them. They have only fought insofar as it was necessary in order to cover their retreat to the Theiss and Hernad and to keep the imperial forces at a respectable distance. This object *has been fully attained.*

The whole tone of the Bulletin, and the fact that the imperial troops, according to their own report, have only advanced one mile, prove this. The result of the Hungarian advance to within six miles of Pest, quite apart from the moral impression, is this: Görgey is reunited with the main army, the comitats between the Hernad, Theiss and the Carpathians have been cleared of Austrians. The Magyars can lean their right wing on the Carpathians and establish direct contact with the Galician revolutionaries[17]; they have forced

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[a] In this and other articles we have used "mile" when Engels uses the German word *Meile.* At that time *Meile* was a linear measure of different length in different German states, but it can be regarded as roughly $4^1/_2$ miles.—*Ed.*

Schlick away from his base of operations (Galicia), and thus compelled the Austrians to alter their entire plan of campaign.

Let the *Kölnische Zeitung*, which as we know has news of the 16th from Transylvania, tell us, though, why the Bulletin says nothing of the events that occurred around Hermannstadt up to the 16th.

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# THE ENGLISH SOLDIER'S OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

*Cologne,* March 7. The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* in great triumph publishes the English army oath of allegiance[a] and rejoices immeasurably at the discovery that the English soldier swears loyalty only to the Queen[b] but not to the Constitution. Should we then in Prussia, in the youngest constitutional state, should we, *contrary* to the example of the oldest constitutional country, compel our soldiers to swear allegiance to the Constitution?

But the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* forgets to inform the readers how the English soldier stands in relation to civil laws.

As a matter of course, the British soldier, for *all* offences which are not *mere offences against discipline,* is tried by the ordinary courts, the county courts, petty sessions, quarter sessions[18] or assize courts, and in all conflicts with other citizens he is treated *simply* as a *citizen.*

But that is not all. In England every citizen, whether an official, a soldier or whatever he is, is responsible before the law for all his actions and cannot plead as an excuse that the action in question was ordered by his superior. For example, a revolt occurs. Troops are called in. Legal demands to disperse are or are not issued. The people do not disperse. A civilian official (always a justice of the peace or an urban *elected* official) gives permission for the army to intervene, or does not do so. The soldiers open fire, there are deaths. The findings of an inquest on those killed come before a coroner's jury which establishes the facts in each case. If the jury decides that the intervention of the armed forces was not justified by the

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[a] Published under the heading "Berliner Zuschauer", *Neue Preussische Zeitung* No. 54, March 6, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] Victoria.—*Ed.*

circumstances, it brings in a verdict of *premeditated murder* against all the participants, including therefore the *civilian official* who gave permission for the intervention of the troops, the *officer* who gave the order to fire, and *all the soldiers who actually opened fire.*

If the civilian official did not give permission for intervention, the consequence is merely that he does not figure in the verdict. Matters remain unaltered as far as the officers and soldiers are concerned.

This verdict of premeditated murder is a formal indictment, on the basis of which criminal proceedings are instituted before the regular courts with their juries.

The English soldier, therefore, is by no means regarded by the law as a machine that has no will of its own and must obey without argument any order given it, but as a "free agent",[a] a man possessing free will, who at all times must know what he is doing and who bears responsibility for all his actions. English judges would give a stern reply to an accused soldier if he defended himself by saying that he had been ordered to fire and that he had had to "obey orders"!

In Prussia things are quite different. In Prussia the soldier declares that his immediate superior gave him the order to fire, and this frees him from all punishment. In Prussia, and likewise in France, the official is assured of complete impunity for every violation of the law when he can prove that the order for it had come from his proper superior in the proper hierarchical way.

The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* will probably take our word for it that we do not hold the view that the brief formula of an oath can alter a man and turn a black-and-white[b] Guards lieutenant into an enthusiast for "constitutional freedom".

In the last twelve months, the gentlemen who are "with God for King and Fatherland"[c] have themselves, through their own praiseworthy kith and kin, gained the most pleasant experience of the significance of the oath. We are not at all against the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* making the army swear allegiance to the king, the Dalai Lama or the man in the moon, so long as "My glorious army",[19] in the way which has been described above, *is put in exactly the same position in relation to the laws as the army in England.*

Written on March 7, 1849

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[a] These words are in English in the original.—*Ed.*
[b] The colours of the Prussian monarchy.—*Ed.*
[c] From the motto of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung.*—*Ed.*

# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

Yesterday we already presented an extract from the last (26th) Army Bulletin published in the Vienna *Lithographierte Correspondenz.*[a] Today we have the complete text of the Bulletin before us.[b]

However hard Windischgrätz endeavours to give the action at Kapolna the character of a major battle, however violently he flings about bayonet-charges, cavalry attacks and bombardments—he is soundly defeated in his aim by the figures he himself gives of the dead and captured. 200-300 killed on the Magyar side in a major two-day battle in which "we had to deal with the *main force* of the enemy at all points"! It can be seen that the Magyars for their part threw no more than a few corps into the fighting which, as we said already yesterday, were at the most intended to cover the retreat of the main army and keep the Austrians at a respectable distance. For a battle between two large armies, particularly one lasting two days, results in far greater losses than a few hundred men.

But Windischgrätz exaggerates even more ridiculously when he speaks of the "*numerical superiority*" of the Magyars. The war in Hungary would have been over long ago if the small Magyar nation could even achieve "*numerical*" *equality* with the imperial troops—but numerical superiority! The superiority of 5 million over 31 million!!

One report goes as far as to maintain that 27,000 Austrians defeated twice as many Magyars at Kapolna! But this report is, in addition, so remarkably skilfully and credibly written that it relates in the same breath that, having retired to Erlau, the Magyars were met there by *Götz.* It is known, however, that Götz is wandering around some 30 miles away in the area of Kaschau and Eperies, and now he is suddenly supposed to have marched all the way to Erlau!

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[a] See this volume, pp. 19-21.—*Ed.*

[b] "Wien, 3. März", *Der Lloyd* No. 107 (evening edition), March 3, 1849; "Wien, 3. März", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 65, March 6, 1849.—*Ed.*

Otherwise the Bulletin contains nothing new, and we can safely put it aside.

Now to Transylvania. Here it is true that Bem has not taken Hermannstadt, and that for very simple reasons. After absorbing the 4,000 strong column from Hungary, he marched along the Maros in order *to join up with the Szekler Landsturm.*[20] While he was advancing from Mühlbach by way of Mediasch, the Szeklers from the opposite direction came to meet him and took Schässburg with 7,000 men on the 16th. The garrison and a part of the civic militia escaped to Hermannstadt; Bem pursued them and is now once again in the vicinity of this town, as a letter of the 18th from Hermannstadt relates. According to one report it is said to have already been evacuated by Puchner.

From this it is evident that Bem has executed another of those victorious advances across Transylvania in which he has already greatly distinguished himself several times. His connections with the intrepid Szeklers, who live close by the Moldavian border, after being momentarily threatened by Puchner and the Russians, have been restored; Sachsenland[21] is in extreme peril, he "*now has the keys of Sachsenland in his hands*".

The Saxons moreover complain of the lack of good leadership from above, and of the Romanians' lack of courage. The latter are said to be displaying extreme cowardice. One report says[a]:

"The only trouble is the lack of good leadership from above and the lack of courage and endurance on the part of the Wallachian troops. All the unsuccessful engagements have hitherto been lost through the fault of the Wallachians. At Salzburg the regular Wallachian army threw itself flat on its belly at the first cannon shot, and at Kronstadt the Russians had to form up behind the Wallachians to prevent them from running away. But if the battle is won, they are always the foremost and cruellest in looting, and spare neither the enemy nor their wounded comrades lying on the battlefield."

This shows what gangs of brigands the royal imperial regime is employing to maintain its authority. Moreover, the *Siebenbürger Bote* is awaiting the following royal imperial reinforcements:

"According to reports received the corps heading for Transylvania under generals Gläser, Todorovich and Mengen is said to comprise the following troops: 8 battalions of infantry, Leiningen, Rukavina, men from Peterwardein,[22] Romanians, Illyrians, and German-Banat Borderers; 5 squadrons of Uhlans, 300 mounted Serbs, 80 Serezhans; one Congreve battery, one mounted foot-battery, two ordinary foot-batteries, 5 Serbian cannon. A total of 15,000 men."[b]

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[a] Engels quotes from the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 57 (special supplement), March 8, 1849.— *Ed.*

[b] "Nachrichten vom Kriegsschauplatz", *Der Siebenbürger Bote* No. 22, February 19, 1849.— *Ed.*

The Transylvanian Flemings[23] will have to pray many a Lords Prayer before these alleged 15,000 men get through. Unfortunately Damjanich and Vetter on the Lower Maros are still giving them more than enough to do, accordingly they are leaving Transylvania to the Russians.

From the Banat theatre of war, little news.[24] The Serbs boast of the following heroic deeds:

"Theresiopel has been taken by the Serbs, and on the 25th it is reported from the Sava that a skirmish has occurred at Futtak between the Syrmien provincial battalion and the Magyar garrison of Neusatz as a result of which the former town was reduced to ashes by the Magyars."

The truth or otherwise of this we leave as a matter for conjecture. At the same time we hear that the great hero Nugent, whom we have assumed to have long since reached the Lower Theiss or the area of Peterwardein, has still not even crossed the Danube, but *is only now* "thinking of crossing" this river "near Mohacs"!!

And while he is amusing himself with these thoughts the Magyars are taking the greatest liberties in his close vicinity, in the Tolna comitat, on the *right* bank of the Danube, at the rear of Ofen. Here, in a region which was—how many times—"cleaned up" by the royal imperial troops, the long-lost Perczel suddenly turns up as a guerilla leader and sets the whole area in motion. Just listen:

"In Battaszek an imperial officer was taken prisoner as a result of this agitation, in Paks an imperial courier was stopped and his escort of two men disarmed. In Dombovar district all cattle belonging to Prince Esterházy were slaughtered. In Laczhaza, too, just as the market was being held, 50 insurgents appeared from Duna Vecse and Solt with their lead-studded whips and seized all the cattle driven there for sale."

That was today's news. The victory of Windischgrätz reduced to a pointless and ineffectual attack, Bem's operations in Transylvania as skilful as they are successful, the Serbs in the Banat still standing on the banks of the Maros at a loss what to do, Nugent still unable to cross the Danube and move into the Banat, the area between the Drava and the Danube preparing to revolt against the imperial authorities—that is the résumé of the position of the warring parties according to the latest reports.

Written by Engels on March 8, 1849

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# THE 27th BULLETIN.—MILITARY REPORTS

We have today a new Austrian Bulletin. Before we examine it more closely, however, we should like to return briefly to the battle at Kapolna and to mention some observations taken from the pro-Metternich Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*[a] which, coming from *that* newspaper, are altogether highly "indicative". This paper, which usually supports so enthusiastically the black-and-yellow[b] cause, comes out with the following complaints:

"As is the case with most of the army's communiqués from Hungary, in the communiqué dealing with Kapolna (see below) we unfortunately find that very important points are again missing: one learns nothing about the strength of the respective combating armies, the previous movements of the enemy, the divisions comprising the enemy's forces, the names of their leaders, not even the name of their commander-in-chief. And yet the report otherwise contains many details which are to some extent trivial."

And it goes on to say:

"It is equally remarkable that the Bulletin dealing with the battle at Kapolna also talks of the enemy's numerical superiority, although the combined forces of Windischgrätz and Schlick were involved in the fighting there. The Field Marshal can hardly have fewer than 100,000 to 120,000 men under his command in Hungary. It is true that they are widely dispersed throughout the country, and Windischgrätz has to try to encircle the enemy in a wide arc with his various army corps. But neither can the Magyars operate with their combined forces from *one* central point; Komorn, Peterwardein, Szegedin etc. are still holding out, and there is still fighting in the Banat, in Transylvania and on the Theiss. We have searched *in vain* through the Vienna, Agram and Temesvar newspapers for information on the questions which thrust themselves upon one in this context."

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[a] The following quotation is from the article "Oesterreich" published in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 65, March 6, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] The Austrian imperial colours.—*Ed.*

Such doubts expressed by the Augsburg *Allgemeine* martial-law paper make any further comment from us superfluous. Now to turn to the 27th Army Bulletin[a]:

"On February 26 and 27 the head of the column of the advancing main army under His Highness Field Marshal Prince zu Windischgrätz attacked the rebels from behind the Tarna between Kapolna and Kaal and drove them back. The columns of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schlick, which had advanced towards Verpeleth and Erlau, had taken the enemy in the flank and, as a result of this successful move, threatened his line of retreat towards Miskolcz and Tokaj. On February 28 the Field Marshal advanced all along the line and on that day moved his headquarters to Maklar, just after the enemy had left it and retreated towards Mezö-Kövesd.

"Quickly following the hurried retreat of the enemy the cuirassier regiment of Prince Karl of Prussia came upon the rearguard of the enemy which was concentrated near Mezö-Kövesd, a fierce cavalry battle took place, this being supported by the Wyss and Montenuovo brigades which were moving forward. In this first battle Major Prince Holstein and two officers were wounded. On March 1 the Field Marshal undertook large-scale reconnaissance along the whole line across the whole of the plain, which stretches from Mezö-Kövesd via István to the Theiss, however this did not produce the desired results because of the heavy fog and the snow.

"In the meantime the corps of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schlick was operating on the right flank of the enemy, who was thus obliged in the course of that day to evacuate Mezö-Kövesd and retreat via Szemere and Eger Farmos towards Poroszlo. The Deym brigade, from the corps under the command of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schlick, occupied Mezö-Kövesd.

"About midday, when the fog had lifted somewhat, the reconnoitring vanguard reported that the enemy had moved off in the direction of the Theiss and his crossing-point at Tisza-Füred. The Field Marshal at once dispatched three brigades along the enemy's line of retreat, and his rearguard was contacted at Szemere.

"At Eger Farmos the enemy tried once more to offer resistance but was thrown back, and in the evening the place was occupied by our victorious troops. At the same time the Field Marshal had dispatched a brigade of the first army corps, under the command of Major-General Zeisberg, from Besenyö along the road to Poroszlo, and on the morning of March 2, the date of the last report from the headquarters at Maklar, the whole army was advancing towards the Theiss."

As was to be expected, the Magyars have once more withdrawn beyond the Theiss. We have said it a hundred times: it would have been irresponsible and reckless of them if they had engaged in a decisive battle on the right bank of the Theiss without being *quite sure* of victory. The superior strength of the Austrians was still too great, a fact which is borne out by the above report from the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*. The Austrians were able to concentrate their main forces, whilst the Magyars had had to leave a strong reserve force behind, in particular a large part of their young troops at Debreczin, and generally beyond the Theiss. They have demonstrated to the Austrians that they are dealing neither with "cowards"

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[a] "27. Armee-Bulletin. Vom 5. März."—*Ed.*

nor with a motley "rabble", and they did *well* to retreat once more beyond the Theiss after having achieved their aim.

Just how much respect Herr Windischgrätz now has for the Hungarian army is clear from all his operations. On February 28 he occupies Maklar, i.e. advances by only *one hour.* On March 1 he has reached Mezö-Kövesd, i.e. he is yet again one mile further on. There he does not attempt anything like a general attack but merely "large-scale reconnaissance"!! We notice that after his immense victory at Kapolna Windischgrätz pursued the Magyars with such vigour that after two or three miles he had *already lost trace of them* and had to reconnoitre to establish where they were!

Meanwhile Schlick was operating "on the right flank of the enemy"—and his great achievement, as a result of this, was that the "enemy" retreated to the very point to which he would have had to retreat *without* this splendid manoeuvre, namely to Tisza-Füred, his main crossing-point on the Theiss. All in all, Schlick, in his flanking movement, which incidentally looks highly peculiar on the map, has apparently treated the withdrawing Magyar army with just as much respect as Windischgrätz has at the front. In short, on March 2 the headquarters of the courageous Windischgrätz was still at Maklar, i.e. exactly *one* mile further on from the position held by Windischgrätz on the morning of February 26, six days before his great two-day victory!

From this position, on March 2, the whole army was "advancing towards the Theiss". We know that this is the third time that the imperial troops are "advancing towards the Theiss", and presumably they will have the same success this time that they had previously, and that will mean stopping at the Theiss and having to confine themselves to casting longing glances over to the unattainable Debreczin heath.

From the north we hear:

> "The division of Lieutenant-Field Marshal *Ramberg* had already pushed its vanguard from Kaschau along the road which forks at Hidas-Nemethy, leading to *Tokaj* on the left and *Miskolcz* on the right."

In plain language: the above-mentioned division has pushed forward its vanguard exactly *four miles*, and this along a road where no large enemy forces are roaming about, but at most enemy guerillas, Kossuth hussars. Immense progress, achieved with remarkable bravery!

The Bulletin goes on to tell of several battles before Komorn,[25] which are more evidence of the courage of the Komorn garrison than of progress on the part of the Austrians. The reader will recall

that as early as January the *Kölnische Zeitung* had the Komorn garrison hoisting the white flag at least ten times. And the alleged "initial bombardment" of Komorn, which was said already to have taken place, is now shown to have meant that, not the Austrians were firing bombs at Komorn, but on the contrary the Komorn garrison fired shells at the Austrians. The Bulletin says:

"At Komorn several battles occurred on the right bank of the Danube between the insurgents and the troops of the Lederer brigade—thus, as early as February 17, the garrison at Komorn made a sortie with nine companies, two guns, and half a squadron of hussars, and protected by brisk cannon-fire launched an attack from the bridgehead upon the left flank of the detachment occupying O-Szöny, under the command of Major Kellner of the Khevenhüller infantry. Major Kellner attacked the insurgents and drove them back, killing seventeen of them.—The garrison attempted a similar sortie on February 24, this time with two battalions of infantry, half a squadron of hussars and three guns. The enemy opened fire briskly on the position of Major Kellner, who was occupying O-Szöny with the second Khevenhüller battalion, half a squadron of Fiquelmont dragoons and half a battery of twelve-pounders. Forty shells hit the place causing fires in five points, as a result of which several houses were burned to the ground. Thanks to Major Kellner's expedient measures and the determination of his troops it was possible to check the fire. When, later, the offensive was begun, actively supported by a division under Captain Schmutz's command from the same regiment, which was dispatched with two cannon to the enemy's right flank, the insurgents, who lost fifty men, were driven back within the range of the garrison's cannon by the brave battalion, which thus managed to repulse this sortie as well.—Now Lieutenant-Field Marshal Simunich's division has arrived there on the left bank of the Danube. The Veigl brigade, which is part of it, is stationed on the left bank of the Waag. The Sossay brigade, which already arrived in N. Tany several days ago, is occupying the island of Schütt, and at Gönyö they are busy trying to construct a pontoon bridge in order to link up the two banks of the Danube for the besieging troops. As the battering train from Leopoldstadt has arrived* at Komorn the bombardment of the fortress will begin within the next few days."

Finally we learn the following, something which, printed in a royal imperial *Army* Bulletin, must astonish us:

"According to official reports from Cracow, which are dated March 3, 600 Cossacks are occupying the Russian border on their own territory from Michalovice to the Weichsel and from there to the Pilica. Cracow, which according to other reports was said to have been bombarded and even occupied by the Russians, was quiet, although numerous emissaries and gun-runners were bent on disturbing the peace. Lieutenant-Field Marshal Legeditsch there was perfectly prepared for any eventuality."

So *Cracow* is now also part of the theatre of war. When the official royal imperial bulletins start declaring this themselves, one is obliged to draw strange conclusions!

So much for the official news. From the unofficial sources we report the following:

The Karlowitz *Napredak* reports from the Banat:

"Subotica (Theresiopel) has been taken by the Serbs. The battle was fierce. The troops consisted of detachments from Todorovich's forces and a section of the Serbian auxiliary corps under the command of Kničanin. The Serbs lost 144 men, the number of Magyar dead is not yet known. The Magyars have suffered their most significant defeat here."[a]

From Transylvania only one report from Malkowsky has come in, telling of the curious operations at Bistritz. As we have already examined this[b] we do not need to touch on it again today. The only thing of interest to us is the following naive aphorism, which appeared in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, referring to the Germans' surprise at the arrival of the Russians:

"The Austrian army wishes, of course, to wage this battle without outside aid, but the *Austrian and Russian armies are old comrades in war and have fought side by side countless times on German battlefields. This is something those people apparently wish to forget who talk in such exaggerated terms of Russian support*"!!?[c]

Finally, for the amusement of our readers, we include the letter written by the Vladika[d] of Montenegro to the Serbian leader Kničanin, to accompany the decoration sent to him:

"To the illustrious Mr. Stephan Kničanin,

"Oh pride of our nation! You have totally justified the reputation of the heroes of Dushan and Karageorge. I, and every true Serb, owe you the deepest gratitude. Your noble spirit prompted you to sacrifice yourself for your nation and to hasten to the aid of your suffering comrades. For these reasons I shall always love you and hold you in great esteem, and in deepest gratitude for your untiring efforts I am sending you this likeness of the immortal Obilich. It will most fittingly adorn the breast of the victor of Tomasevec and the deliverer of Pancsova. Receive it then, heroic young scion of heroic forefathers, receive it with the same sincerity and delight with which, accompanied by fraternal greetings, it is sent.

Cetinje, January 28 (February 9), 1849

Vladika of Montenegro, *P. Petrovic Njegoš*, m.p."[e]

Moreover, just how close to the verge of bankruptcy Kossuth has brought the Austrians is evident from the following "proclamation":

"Since the news that Hungarian banknotes in Austria were to be withdrawn from circulation and confiscated has reached wide sections of the public, we wish to reassure

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[a] This passage was also published in the newspaper *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 55, March 6, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] See Engels, "From the Hungarian Theatre of War" and "Magyar Victory" (present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 471-73 and 477-80).—*Ed.*

[c] "Pesth, 26. Febr.", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 65, March 6, 1849.—*Ed.*

[d] Ruler and metropolitan.—*Ed.*

[e] "Von der Save, 26. Febr.", *Der Lloyd* No. 107 (evening edition), March 3, 1849. m.p.—abbreviation of "manu propria"—with one's own hand.—*Ed.*

the public and to announce *that withdrawal or confiscation of Hungarian banknotes does not apply to private transactions in Hungary.* Ofen, March 2, 1849. Royal imperial army general headquarters."[a]

To sum up: At most Windischgrätz will reach the Theiss, the Serbs are at the Maros, Malkowsky is outside Bistritz.—All of them are just as far as they were four weeks ago. This is the "second stage" that, according to yesterday's *Kölnische Zeitung*,[b] the Hungarian war has entered.

Written by Engels about March 9, 1849

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[a] "Ofen, 2. März", *Der Lloyd* No. 109 (evening edition), March 5, 1849.—*Ed.*
[b] *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 56, March 7, 1849. See also this volume, p. 15.—*Ed.*

# RUGE

*Cologne,* March 9. The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* contains the following statement of its old contributor Arnold Ruge, the Pomeranian personality and Saxon thinker.

"*Berlin,* March 5. The present members of the Central Committee of German Democrats,[26] d'Ester, Reichenbach and Hexamer, announce a new democratic newspaper entitled *Allgemeine demokratische Zeitung,*[a] which will be '*in reality*' an organ of the party in Berlin. This announcement could arouse the suspicion that the newspapers *Reform* and *Zeitungs-Halle* are *not really* organs of the party, and in the introduction to the announcement it is even fairly clearly indicated that both of them have been *suppressed.* The passage where the Central Committee proclaims and accepts the *suspension* by Wrangel as being *definitive suppression,* reads word for word as follows: 'The severe trials which the Democratic Party in recent months has had to endure in all parts of Germany have convinced it both of the necessity for a strong organisation, and of *the need for it to be represented in the press by definite organs belonging to the party.* Through their sabre regime the rulers have succeeded in *many places*' (the 'sabre regime' however exists only in *Berlin*!) 'in *suppressing* democratic organs of the press, *because* the ***individuals concerned*** *were unable to make such great sacrifices as would render these violent measures ineffective.*' Because of the sabre regime, everyone thinks only of *Berlin* when he reads of the 'many places'. Even democracy *as a whole* could have made these measures 'ineffective' only by abolishing the sabre, for Wrangel made both Berlin and the Berlin postal service inaccessible to the democratic organs of the press. Let the Central Committee name the means, or the 'sacrifices', by which in our situation *it* would have been able to make this violence ineffective. Even in Wrangel's opinion, however, the *Reform* and the *Zeitungs-Halle* have *not* been *'suppressed'.* However, according to my experience, democrats who have received the circular of the Central Committee, understand it to mean that the *Reform* and the *Zeitungs-Halle* would cease to appear and would be replaced by the *Allgemeine demokratische Zeitung.* I feel compelled to clear up this misunderstanding. *The 'Reform' has not been definitively closed down and, as soon as the state of siege in Berlin has been lifted, it will continue to be published in Berlin,* and indeed as a *real* organ of the Democratic Party, one which by

[a] This paper was never published.—*Ed.*

virtue of the definite decisions of the Lefts of the dissolved National Assembly[27] and of the former Central Committee of German Democrats no less '*belongs*' to the party than the new newspaper imposed from above by two members of the present Central Committee (d'Ester and Hexamer).

The Editorial Board of the *Reform*
*Arnold Ruge*"

Author's postscript: "*I* request all the highly respected editorial boards of German newspapers to publish this *our* statement[a] in their columns."

To our great satisfaction, we learn from this memorable statement that the *ci-devant* Frankfurt "editor of the rationale of events"[28] and at present book publisher—undoubtedly "as such"—declares that he is by no means satisfied with the *imposition* of a new democratic newspaper "in Berlin", a newspaper which is supposed to be "in reality" an organ of the "party in Berlin".

Herr Arnold Ruge, Frankfurt "editor of the rationale of events" and Berlin editor of the *Reform*, maintains "as such" that it was *also* the organ of the "party in Berlin"; by a decision of the "former" Central Committee of Democrats, the *Reform had been* (*elle avait été*, as the French say) "an organ belonging to the party". True, the "former" Central Committee no longer exists "in reality". Nevertheless the newly arising *Reform* can still be a "real" organ of the defunct Central Committee and of the superseded Left of the "dissolved" National Assembly.

Herr Arnold Ruge may certainly attack the newly imposed Berlin *Allgemeine demokratische Zeitung*, a rival in the publishing sphere; outside Berlin there will undoubtedly be fewer competitors for the honorary title of an organ of the "party in Berlin". We were at least never under any misapprehension regarding the *Reform* as the "real" organ of the "party in Berlin"; we are capable also of fully appreciating patriot Ruge's conquest over himself in connection with the above-mentioned "sacrifices". But in any case, it remains a most curious contradiction. The worthy printshop proprietor Ruge takes his stand on the *basis of legality* in order to maintain that his own newspaper, the *Reform*, is the "real" (patently *sans garantie du gouvernement*[b]) organ of the party. On the other hand, the philosopher Ruge takes his stand on the basis of revolt against the "real" democratic Central Committee in order "really" to be able to make further "sacrifices" in his sense of the word (that of a publisher).

A fact that might help to solve this contradiction is given below:

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[a] "Erklärung der Redaction der *Reform*", *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 67 (supplement), March 8, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] Without government guarantee.—*Ed.*

The democratic Central Committee told Ruge that it was prepared to appoint the *Reform* as its *Moniteur*[a] on condition that Ruge would refrain from all argumentation and writing.

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[a] Official organ of the French Government.—*Ed.*

# THE MARCH ASSOCIATION

*Cologne,* March 10. The Frankfurt so-called "March Association"[29] of the Frankfurt so-called "Imperial Assembly"[30] has had the insolence to send *us* the following lithographed letter:

"The March Association has decided to compile a list of all newspapers which have given us space in their columns and to distribute it to all associations with which we are connected in order that with the assistance of these associations the newspapers indicated will be given preference in being supplied with any relevant *announcements.*

"In informing you herewith of this list, we believe it is unnecessary to draw your attention to the importance of the paid '*announcements*' of a newspaper as a source of income for the whole enterprise.

"Further, the Central March Association has decided to recommend the associations to favour with their support the *Teutsches Volksblatt,* a democratic-constitutional newspaper appearing in *Würzburg,* edited by Dr. Eisenmann, in view of the fact that this newspaper is under the threat of succumbing to the competition of anti-democratic newspapers, and the editor has stated that he is not in a position to make further sacrifices over and above those he has already made.

Frankfurt, end of February 1849.

*The Managing Committee of the Central March Association*"

In the enclosed list of newspapers which "have given space in their columns to the March Association" and to which the supporters of the "March Association" should give preference in supplying "relevant announcements", one finds also the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* which, in addition, is given the honour of an asterisk.

We hereby announce to all the left-handed and the extreme left-handed members[31] of this so-called "March Association" of the *ci-devant* "Imperial Assembly" that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has never consented to become the organ of a parliamentary party, least of all of a party of the comical Frankfurt imperial club, that our newspaper has never given space in its columns to the so-called

"March Association" of this club, and that in general the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has no knowledge of any "March Association". If, therefore, the "March Association" in its lithographed report to those newspapers which have really given it space in their columns designates our newspaper as one of its organs, this is simply calumny against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and absurd boasting on the part of the "March Association". No doubt the patriotic upright men of the "March Association" will know how to reconcile this with their "conscience".

The reference of the "March Association" to our newspaper becomes still more ill-mannered owing to the "decision" of the Association to recommend the "democratic-constitutional" newspaper (the Germanic periodical: *Teutsches Volksblatt*) of "Dr. Eisenmann". Who would not be touched by the sad fate of the great "Germanic" primeval martyr Eisenmann? What upright man will not feel it as a blow that "Dr." Eisenmann, who sold his prison reminiscences to the "democratic-constitutional" King of Bavaria[a] for 12,000 guldens, cannot make "further sacrifices" and is under the threat of succumbing to the publishing "competition" of the ordinary newspapers that are not imposed and that are against the "March Association"? We leave it to the patriots to calculate into what deep neglect the *Teutsches Volksblatt* must have fallen if Eisenmann, the martyr with 12,000 guldens and deputy with a 5-taler salary, has to appeal for public "support". In any case, things must have gone badly, very badly, with the "democratic-constitutional" Eisenmanns if they produce a fictitious begging letter from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the only newspaper in Germany which has always attacked the "shameless, mean beggars" from among the patriots and imperial-beggarly assemblies.

To the dirty remark of the profit-greedy competition-goaded patriots about "the importance of the *paid* announcements of a newspaper as a *source of income for the whole* enterprise", we, of course, do not reply. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has always differed from the patriots not only generally but also in that it has never regarded political movements as a territory for swindlers or a source of income.

Written by Marx on March 10, 1849

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[a] Maximilian II.—*Ed.*

# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

There is no news at all from the theatre of war today. The only interesting item concerning the most recent Austrian war operations is another article today in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung,* the martial-law paper, which proves above all how low our contemporary journalists have sunk. The *Kölnische Zeitung* is full of enthusiasm for Windischgrätz and goes no further than expressing regret that he is a poor writer of German—as if his intentionally inept style were not ten times more adept than the language of the most profoundly conceived leading articles of the *Kölnische Zeitung*! If Windischgrätz is "confused" and "obscure" in his reports that is only because he has intentionally made them confused and obscure, whether it be to conceal defeats or to make insignificant "advantages", which the Magyars granted him of their own accord, appear to be outstanding victories. But the *Kölnische Zeitung* is not so stupid as it looks. It finds Windischgrätz's reports contradictory or obscure and confused. And what does it conclude from that? Not that Windischgrätz is a bad commander-in-chief but rather a bad—stylist!

Whether the *Kölnische Zeitung* is in the pay of Austria we do not know. But we do know that the *Augsburger Zeitung* is in Austria's pay. And yet the *Augsburger Zeitung* is a thousand times more honest than the *Kölnische Zeitung.*

Compare, for instance, yesterday's article in that steadfast newspaper[a] with the following lines taken from the Augsburg paper, whose lack of principles is well known:

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[a] A reference to the article "Ungarn" in the supplement to the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 59, March 10, 1849.—*Ed.*

"The complications in the Hungarian revolutionary war are *unfortunately continuously growing.* Until a few days ago, when he moved his headquarters to Gyöngyös, Field Marshal Prince Windischgrätz remained on the defensive with the main body of the army, whilst the rebels were able to throw all their forces against the weakest points of our line, harass our detached units and often expose them to considerable danger. Whilst the rest of the army stands still, the Serbs, instead of operating concentrically with it, are conquering the Voivodina for themselves and somewhat more besides. Exposed to the bold operations of Bem in the strategically completely neglected Transylvania, Puchner has in his final moment of extreme need to seek Russian help in order to protect the Saxon towns, which alone in Transylvania have remained loyal to the Emperor, and all the victories of the ageing warrior, all the valour of his troops will not suffice to expel the rebel chief, who hour by hour can call upon the spare units of insurgents in Hungary as reinforcements, from the borderlands of that unfortunate country."[a]

The extent to which the Magyar reports boil down to nothing more than "ridiculous exaggerations" is shown by the following fact. The Magyars announced that they had captured Erbach, the Austrians prudently kept quiet about the matter. Now the *Deutsche Zeitung* in Frankfurt writes on March 6:

"Count Erbach, who, accompanied by only one dragoon, had been sent by General Schlick to Field Marshal Windischgrätz, was attacked by a unit of Magyar insurgents and taken prisoner. He was taken off to Debreczin and has written several letters here from there. He has been treated very well, numerous old comrades received him warmly, and his letters are apt to give us a more favourable idea of the Magyars' activity than one usually deduces from indirect reports."[b]

The remaining news from Hungary is summarised in the following report from Vienna, which the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* publishes:

"The leaders of the Jewish community in Pest had gone to the camp of the Field Marshal to complain that payment of the arrears of the toleration tax[32] amounting to 110,000 florins had been demanded in cash in twenty-florin coins, and that all Hungarian Jewish communities had been made collectively responsible for treasonable crimes of individuals. The Prince dismissed the complaints in very ungracious terms, and particularly strong words are said to have fallen about delegates Fischhof and Goldmark.—The army, which has been brought up to a strength of 700,000 men and has been put on a war footing, costs so much that one could easily be accused of exaggerating when working out the figure; but it certainly costs far more than can be afforded on the basis of the resources of the country without resorting to extraordinary efforts. And only the peasants, who have been released from the personal obligations and land taxes, appear to be in a healthy state, all other classes without exception being sick and infirm. Having new taxes imposed on him would make an illusion of the letters patent of September 7, 1848[33] as far as the peasant is concerned, consequently for the time being the only expedients left are loans and, according to the signs so far, to an even greater extent paper money. The big bankers

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[a] This paragraph is taken from the article "Wien (näheres über die Schlacht bei Kapolna)" published in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 66, March 7, 1849.— *Ed.*

[b] "Graf Erbach", *Deutsche Zeitung* No. 66, March 7, 1849.— *Ed.*

are constantly buying gold and silver, in the former particular preference being given to ring ducats and gold sovereigns. The Hungarian banknote crisis has by no means rendered this paper worthless, on the contrary, transactions are said to have been completed in Vienna and Pressburg yesterday in 5-florin and 100-florin notes at 86 and 90. That is why an announcement in Pest (see below) had a soothing effect and revived trading in agricultural products, which was transacted almost exclusively in Hungarian banknotes; since no check has, as yet, been carried through on the banknotes already issued this leaves, so to speak, a loophole open for Kossuth's banknote production. This much seems certain: there must be sound reasons for Prince Windischgrätz to show such forbearance and restraint in Hungary in contrast to the procedure adopted in the Austrian provinces."[a]

Incidentally, it is now even more widely acknowledged than ever that the noble Windischgrätz is hand in glove with the Magyar aristocrats such as the Josikas, the Széchenyis, the Esterházys. These are the "sound reasons" that he has. And just a fortnight ago the *Kölnische Zeitung* was looking for the "higher nobility" in the Debreczin camp. *Voilà ce qui s'appelle des savants sérieux!*[b]

From the new royal imperial model state, which goes under the name of Serbska Voivodina, we hear the following news:

"*Semlin*, February 24. At a general meeting held at Temesvar on the 15th of this month the internal administration of the Serbian Voivodina was organised in the following way: administrator and president of the Voivodina: Patriarch Josef Rajachich; vice-presidents: Joseph Rudics, Basil Fogarassy and Stretko Michailovich; heads of sections: 1. matters concerning the church: S. Kačanski, abbot, with four advisers; 2. ecclesiastical affairs and education: Eugen Gjurkovich with four advisers; 3. diplomatic affairs: Jacob Zivanovich with four advisers; 4. political questions: Marcus Popovich with five advisers; 5. economic and financial matters: Johann Šuplikac with five advisers; 6. administration of the law: Thodor Radosavljević with three advisers.—National secretary and director of the administrative office Johann Stankovich; secretary of the Voivodina Alex Stojacković.—Supreme Court: chairman Carl Latinovich; vice-president Joseph Mathich with twelve members. Economic and financial department: chairman Georg Warsan; Joseph Iovanovich, treasurer; Franz, vice-controller; Kolarovich, keeper of accounts with four advisers. First national commissioner Michael[c] Krestić. Agents Kosta Iovanovich, Svetozazhulitich.

"From this impartial election one can see that the Serbian deputies, worthy representatives of their constituents, having eliminated every trace of national hatred and religious differences—for Rudics, Fogarassy, Stein, Stminger and Wachtler are not Serbs and are adherents of the Catholic faith—bore strictly in mind only the elected people's qualifications to hold the offices entrusted to them, and that they are intent on establishing equality of status of every nationality in the Voivodina. In addition to the heads of the sections mentioned, the deputies of every Serb community have also been summoned to Kikinda, where *'sub Praesidio Patriarchae'*[d] they are laying

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[a] "Wien, 5. März", *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 68, March 9, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] These are people called real scholars (Paul de Kock, *L'amant de la lune*).—*Ed.*

[c] The name is given incorrectly in the newspaper; it should be "Nicolá".—*Ed.*

[d] Under the chairmanship of the Patriarch.—*Ed.*

the foundation of the constitution of the Serbian Voivodina and outlining its basic rights, and they will present this for approval to the Austrian Government" (*Lloyd*).[a]

"*Agram.* To our great astonishment we have read a report from Constantinople in a Belgrade newspaper published in Serbian[b] according to which the Austrian internuncio,[c] Count Stürmer, had a conference with the Porte Minister for External Affairs[d] on February 7 and asked him: 'What position does the Porte intend to adopt should the Austrian Slavs rise in revolt against the imperial Government?' The answer was that the Porte would remain neutral. However the question raises much more far-reaching considerations in our minds than the answer does. Is it possible that the masses of Russian troops in the Danube principalities are also connected with a similar question of the royal imperial Government?"[e]

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[a] "Semlin, 24. Februar", *Der Lloyd* No. 107 (evening edition), March 3, 1849.— *Ed.*

[b] *Serbske Novine* (*Сpбске Новине*).— *Ed.*

[c] Title of the Austrian diplomatic representatives in Istanbul from 1678 to 1856.— *Ed.*

[d] Ali Mehemet Paşa.— *Ed.*

[e] *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 55, March 6, 1849.— *Ed.*

# THE MODEL REPUBLIC[34]

*Berne,* March 10. Just as Belgium is hailed by the constitutional bourgeoisie and ideologists as the "model state"[a] so is Switzerland the ideal of the republican bourgeoisie and ideologists. Switzerland is not ruled by a king, there is no nobility, taxes are moderate, the country enjoys a state of profound peace;—the only things that people find to grumble about are matters that have been disposed of, such as Jesuits and separatist [Sonderbund[35]] activities. Why, only recently a radical newspaper, the *Neue Deutsche,* was envying Switzerland its peace and contentment. It grieves us to have to destroy this idyllic view of the happiness and well-being of the Swiss people, and to have to point out ugly blemishes "in that most faithful mirror, which reflects freedom". Let us first of all review a few public meetings. On March 5 at Schönbühl in the canton of Berne a so-called communist meeting took place, which was very well attended by workers. The subjects under discussion were the poor-law administration and the emigration question. The descriptions given by the speakers of the conditions of the working people in Switzerland demonstrated the need for speedy and drastic remedies; however, the way in which this was discussed betrayed a great degree of helplessness and showed that, despite all the republican institutions, the proletariat still has very little understanding of its own position and the means of achieving its own salvation.

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[a] Cf. Marx, "The 'Model State' of Belgium" (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 333-36).—*Ed.*

The conservatives succeeded in exploiting the social movement for their own ends. The most vehement attacks were directed against the radical Government of Berne and in particular against those in charge of finance, and the defenders of the existing Government were only partially successful in justifying it. A *revision of the Constitution*[36] was decided upon as a remedy, but several speakers declared that they would follow a legal course only temporarily and tentatively. As a revision of the Constitution is the means by which the conservatives and in particular the patricians of Berne are seeking to oust the present Government, their plan to rouse the proletariat against the Government has for the time being been successful. This truly Jesuit tendency was even more evident at the meeting of the central committee of the Society for Emigration of the Berne canton, which was recently held at the Klösterli at Berne. Delegates from 25 superior bailiwicks, approximately 1,000 people, met to discuss every possible way of solving the emigration problem to the advantage of many thousands of unemployed and hungry citizens. As the Great Council,[a] on hearing the report of the government official Schneider, had not pursued the matter with the necessary energy and dedication, here too a revision of the Constitution was proposed without taking into consideration the fact that any attempt to oust the present radical Government would simply make possible the return of the people supporting the old system.

For this purpose a petition is to be circulated in all bailiwicks, and as soon as the 8,000 signatures required under the Constitution have been obtained, the necessary steps will be taken for resolving this problem. As the emigration question is being argued out and discussed everywhere because of the daily increase in unemployment and the growing scarcity of food, particularly in the Bernese Alps, it is not unlikely that the required number of signatures will be obtained, and that means that the present government will then have a big obstacle placed in its way.

In St. Gallen too the working-class movement is making progress.

"Whilst," according to the *Wächter*, "the *Arbeiter* undertakes theoretical experiments in social communism, they have started to put it into practice in the Gasterland under the presidency of Hofstitter; they intend to reduce the rate of interest to 2 per cent etc."

In fact where the radicals are now in power, they ought to take care not to repulse the workers through their indifference. The

[a] Supreme body of cantonal administration.—*Ed.*

Swiss proletariat is still largely what one describes as lumpen-proletariat, prepared to sell themselves to anyone who will make extravagant *promises*. The clergy and the aristocrats do not of course remind the starving people of the times when the peasant was forced to pay tithes to the parish and the lord of the manor; they only ask, what is the present government doing for you? And the most loyal supporters of the Government are unable to reply. If the proletariat in Switzerland were strong enough and sufficiently advanced to form an independent party then opposition to the present radicalism would certainly be justified; under the present circumstances, however, every stand that is taken against the radical politicians amounts to a concession towards the conservatives.

The radicals should be generally much more go-ahead and active. It is not enough to attack reactionary personalities and to make indiscreet jokes about religion; the party whose main concern is foreign policy [*Auslandspartei*] should oppose the neutralist politicians with the same energy that Herr Ochsenbein and company displayed towards the Jesuits and separatists. It is more dangerous to delay at this stage than it was before. The question of the re-enlistment treaties,[37] which is being resolved by nine-tenths of the Swiss people in opposition to the cowardly and doctrinaire interpretation of the Federal Council, provides the radicals with a weapon capable of quickly putting an end to the present wretched state of things. The report from the political department (Furrer), which was presented to the Swiss Federal Council[a] and dealt with the subject of the re-enlistments, and which is being hailed by most newspapers, especially the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, as the *ne plus ultra*[b] of political wisdom, allows us an insight into the small shopkeeper mentality that pervades the Federal Council, which lets a few pennies and the principles of civil law guide it in its foreign policy making:

"Where," asks Furrer, "are we to get the money to pay compensation? It is absolutely impossible for us to pay anything like a substantial portion of this sum from the Federal Treasury.——This sum would therefore have to be provided by the cantons. However, if one considers the circumstances calmly and dispassionately and refuses to allow oneself to be carried away by blind enthusiasm, then one will see that getting this money together is also an impossibility, especially as far as the future is concerned, even if one grants that the present can exert such an inspiring influence."

And elsewhere:

"A large nation which cannot even muster a few regiments will hardly be capable of maintaining independence and political freedom for any length of time."

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[a] On February 20, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] The uttermost point attainable, the summit of achievement, acme.—*Ed.*

The Italian republics will no doubt one day express their thanks in the appropriate manner to the neighbouring Swiss republic for this official declaration on the part of its highest-ranking functionary. The *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, the semi-official organ of the Federal President, had declared that the decision that the ending of the existing re-enlistment treaties is a matter coming under the jurisdiction of the cantons, was taken unanimously by the Federal Council. That is incorrect. The Italian Franscini was not present and the man of "permanent revolution", Druey, had intended to make proposals to the Federal Assembly according to which "the re-enlistment treaties should be abolished when the position in Italy and Switzerland demanded it". He moved, moreover, that enlistment in the Neapolitan regiments be stopped until the matter had been resolved, and that is the main point.

Herr Ochsenbein, the Napoleon of the separatist wars, seeks to introduce not only the Prussian Lohbauer[38] but also the Prussian uniform. However, this laudable intention is being frustrated thanks to the question of cost.

The offer made by some Frenchmen to set up a casino in Switzerland caused great moral indignation among the virtuous republicans. The casino tenants in Germany must have been frightened by the decision of the venerable National Assembly in Frankfurt, otherwise they would not place the gentlemen governing the separatist cantons in the difficult position of having to choose between great financial advantage and traditional morality. The Great Council at Lucerne has also turned down by 79 votes to 67 a proposal to that effect made by a Herr Bias; the section of the people's association there has also sent a petition to the Federal authorities expressing the same sentiments; consequently the entrepreneurs addressed their requests to Schwyz (Stand) and St. Gallen (Rapperswyl), without seeing their wishes fulfilled however. Those gentlemen will now no doubt have to put up with the energy of the tenant of the casino at Homburg, who stated that his casino would endure longer than all Frankfurt parliaments.

The Great Council,[a] which resumed sitting a few days ago, and which still allows itself to be presided over by Herr von Tillier, despite the fact that he is suspected of high treason, is discussing, article by article, the employment regulations, from which we can find nothing to remark on here except the stipulation that political refugees may follow any occupation without further proof of

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[a] Of the canton of Berne.—*Ed.*

reciprocity. Moreover, the Department of the Interior has proposed that a sum of 8,000 frs. be earmarked for science, the arts etc.

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# VIENNA AND FRANKFURT

*Cologne,* March 12. It was on the 15th of this month that the Imperial Diet in Kremsier intended to begin its consideration of the draft Constitution completed by the commission. The royal imperial brutes of summary jurisdiction then considered that the moment had come to thrust on the Imperial Diet the Constitution "by the grace of God", which had been lying ready for a long time, and to put an end to the whole Kremsier comedy of popular representation that had until then been tolerated.[39]

The whole imposition manoeuvre had already been worked out in the summer of last year between the anointed and unanointed counter-revolutionaries in Schönbrunn-Vienna, Potsdam-Berlin, London (where Metternich, as the master-spider of the Holy Alliance, sits at the centre of the web slowly spun around the peoples rising in revolt for their freedom), and Paris. That it was first of all put into operation by the Potsdam King[a] was due solely to the situation in Prussia which allowed such a step to be taken earlier than in Austria.[40]

In November, official Austria hurled the blood-stained head of Robert Blum at the feet of the deputies in St. Paul's Church.[b] A few days before this, the fine twin-pair of Imperial Commissioners, Welcker-Mosle, had returned from Windischgrätz's antechamber and from gourmandising in Olmütz covered with such disgrace that anyone else but the worthy Welcker-Mosle would have put a bullet through his brain rather than have dared to look anyone on earth in

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the Frankfurt National Assembly (see p. 36).—*Ed.*

the face. Instead of that, this diplomatic twin-pair even bragged about their roundabout travels.[41]

The majority of the National Assembly was "*satisfait*" just as the French Chamber under Louis Philippe declared itself "*satisfait*" even when faced with the vilest actions and the most striking proofs of corruption.

The blood of the murdered Robert Blum has indeed stained the faces of the deputies in St. Paul's Church. Their cheeks certainly reddened, not however because of shame or fury and an outburst of deepest indignation, but with the colour of pleasure and satisfaction. It is true, fresh Imperial Commissioners were sent to Austria. But the only result they achieved was to redouble the contempt with which the Austrian side had already treated the so-called National Assembly representatives and the Germany they had betrayed.

"*Mocht nix, 's is olles Aans!*"[a]—this was and is the motto of these gentlemen.

It will be recalled that shortly before the arbitrary acts of the Prussian Government Bassermann, Simson and, of course, the "noble" Herr Gagern etc. were in Berlin as Imperial Commissioners.[42]

And once again there are Imperial Commissioners in Austria, in Olmütz, while there, just as in Berlin, the Imperial Diet is being dispersed and a Constitution "by the grace of God" imposed on the people by means of Croats, Serezhans, Huzuls[43] etc.

Wherever freedom of the people is to be destroyed, Commissioners of the so-called Central Authority make their appearance like expectant vultures. Their sense of smell has always proved correct.

Now at last the Frankfurt frog-pond should realise that its turn will soon come. It itself will be punished for all its sins. On the monument to be erected at the site of its wretched activity the wayfarer will read: "Perished through its own fault, through cowardice, professorial stupidity and chronic meanness, amid in part the revengeful derision, and in part the complete indifference of the people."

Yet even now some of these miserable wretches dare to boast of the "fundamental rights" emanating from the Frankfurt factory[44] and are proud of them as though they were a great achievement. With the garrulity of washerwomen, they chattered about "fundamental *rights*" like scholastics in the Middle Ages, while the "*fundamental power*" of the Holy Alliance and its accomplices became ever more strongly organised and scoffed louder and louder at the chatter of the professors and philistines about fundamental rights. The former

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[a] It does not matter, it is all one (Vienna dialect).—*Ed.*

affixed their "fundamental *rights*" to a scrap of paper, whereas the latter, the men of the counter-revolution, inscribed their "fundamental *power*" on keenly sharpened swords, guns and Slav redcoats.[45]

As soon as the German people in any part of the Germanic fatherlands made use or seemed to want to make use of their original fundamental right, that of revolt against feudal or philistine-constitutional tyranny, Frankfurt with the utmost haste sent "imperial troops" in order to punish the people and make them submissive by billeting troops, by plunder, massacres and military excesses of all kinds, and in order to maintain the tools of the counter-revolution in good condition, that is to say, to fatten them well at the expense of the people and its "fundamental rights" and to fortify them for further heroic deeds.

In such cases the Frankfurt gentlemen always had the necessary power, since they borrowed it from the ranks of the above-mentioned "fundamental power" of our gracious sovereigns.

Consequently, it is not surprising that the Frankfurt frog-pond has to maintain an impotent silence and look on helplessly whenever the anointed gentlemen proclaim *their* "fundamental rights", even if the fundamental rights of the gentlemen "by the grace of God" are aimed directly against it.

Hence also it will and must calmly witness that the Austrian Tamerlane[a] has now dictated 13 fundamental rights to his beloved "subjects" among whom is a considerable number of Germans by the grace of God and Sophia, and simultaneously with this coup he has once again dealt a rough slap in the face to the Frankfurt heroes. And that according to law and justice!

Written on March 12, 1849

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[a] Emperor Francis Joseph I.—*Ed.*

# [THREE NEW BILLS]

*Cologne,* March 12. The Prussian monarchical power considers the time has come at last to unfold its full glory. The "unweakened" Crown, by the grace of God,[46] has today imposed on us three new Bills—on *associations* and *meetings,* on *posters,* and on the *press*—in which the Chambers are invited to burden us with a compact phalanx of the most delightful September-type laws.[47]

Tomorrow we shall publish the texts of these Bills with their preambles insofar as they have reached us. We shall return—more than once—to these magnificent Prussian products.[a] Today we give only a brief summary of them!

I. *The law on associations.*

"All meetings must be notified 24 hours in advance."

Thus, hastily convened meetings in response to suddenly occurring important events are banned, and it is just such meetings that are most important of all. Everyone must be allowed access, consequently it is forbidden to charge an entrance fee to cover the costs of the meeting. At meetings of associations a quarter of the space must be left for non-members of the association, so that the associations will be compelled to obtain larger and more expensive premises and so that paid agents of the police will be able to disrupt all discussion by noise, uproar and rowdy behaviour, and make every meeting impossible. And if all this should not yield the desired result, it is left open to "representatives of the police department" on any pretext to "immediately dissolve" any meeting in the same way as the

[a] See this volume, pp. 65-69, 125-32, 320-29.—*Ed.*

supreme head of the "police department", His Majesty our most gracious king, "immediately dissolved" the Agreement Assembly.[48] As soon as the police declare a meeting dissolved, all those present must leave at once unless they wish to share the fate of the Berlin paladins of agreement, i.e. if they do not want to be driven from the hall by bayonets.

True, the associations do not have to obtain any "preliminary permission", but instead they have to comply with such a mass of preliminary announcements and formalities for the local authorities that for that reason alone their activity becomes almost impossible. Public out-door meetings, processions etc., etc., on the other hand, definitely *require* preliminary police permission. Finally, in order to put an end to the wearing of red ribbons, rosettes and caps, the law further revives the old regulations for persecuting persons wearing black-red-and-gold[a] badges.

Such is the "right of association and assembly" that a year ago the truth-loving Hohenzollern, who keeps his word, guaranteed us with trembling lips!

II. *The law on posters.* All posters of a political nature, except for invitations to attend legal, *permitted* meetings (thus once again all meetings are only most graciously "*permitted*") are *forbidden.* Consequently, in troubled times the executive committees of the associations are not even allowed by posters to request the people to *keep calm,* in order that not a single victim will escape the heroic soldiery! Further: the *sale* or *free distribution* of printed matter in public places is also forbidden, unless one has a special *licence, which can be withdrawn at any moment!* In other words: the Prussian monarchical power wishes to present us with an *improved edition* of the law on *crieurs publics,* which in the worst times of Louis Philippe's bourgeois despotism was wrung from the terrified Chamber of Deputies in France.[49]

And what is the motive given for this law? It is that posters and newspaper-sellers obstruct street traffic, and that posters spoil the appearance of many public buildings!

III. *The law on the press.* But all that is nothing compared with the charming proposals by which it is intended to gag the press. It is known that in general since 1830 the benefaction of the Hohenzollern to the people consisted merely in ennobling the Prussian fatherly patriarchalism by combining it with the modern artful enslavement after the manner of Louis Philippe. Flogging has been retained and penal servitude added to it; censorship has continued

[a] The colours of the movement for the unification of Germany.—*Ed.*

and at the same time the full flower of the September legislation has been bestowed on us. In a word, we have simultaneously been given the benefit of all the advantages of feudal servitude, bureaucratic police administration and modern bourgeois *legal* brutality. And this is what is called "the world-famous liberalism of Frederick William IV".

The new Hohenzollern press Bill, after a long series of complicated formal definitions, favours us with a matchless fusion of: 1. the Code Napoléon, 2. the French September laws, 3. and chiefly the laudable *Prussian Law.*[50]

Para. 9 is borrowed from the Code [Napoléon]: In those provinces where the Prussian Law is in force an attempt, an incitement to commit a crime, even if successful, was hitherto less severely punished than the crime itself. In these areas a provision of the Code [Napoléon] is now introduced by which incitement to commit a crime, when successful, is regarded as equivalent to the crime itself.

Para. 10. The French September legislation states: Anyone who attacks *property* and the *family*, the foundations on which civil society is based, or incites citizens to *hatred or contempt for one another*, is liable to be punished by imprisonment for up to two years.

Compare the loi du 9 Sept. 1835, Article 8:

"Toute attaque contre la propriété ... toute provocation à la haine entre les diverses classes de la société sera punie" etc.[a]

The only difference is that the Prussian version: to incite *citizens* in general to hatred etc. for one another is much more ludicrous.

All the subsequent paragraphs of the Bill have been drawn up solely in order once more to confer on the Rhine Province the same magnificent features of the Prussian Law which we had enjoyed to the full for 33 years and of which we were deprived shortly after March 18.[51] Among other things, the following new crimes, totally unknown to our own Rhenish legislation, are to be thrust on us.

1. The arousing of *hatred and contempt towards institutions of the state or its government* by means of actual falsehoods or of facts that cannot be legally proven.

2. "Utterances" about a *legally existing* religious society (under the imposed Constitution[52] even Turks and pagans are legally existing religious societies!), which are calculated (!) to spread hatred and contempt for it.

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[a] "Any attack on property ... any attempt to foment hatred between the various classes of society will be punished" etc. (*Collection complète des lois, décrets* ... par J. B. Duvergier; à Paris 1836; tome trente-cinquième, année 1835.)—*Ed.*

These two new crimes introduce among us a) the old-Prussian "*arousing of discontent*" and b) the old-Prussian concept of *insulting religion*, and are punished by *imprisonment* for up to two years.

3. *Lèse-majesté* and, in particular, *want of reverence (!!)* for
a) the king (!)
b) the queen (!!)
c) the heir to the throne (!!!)
d) any other member of the royal house (!!!!)
e) the supreme head of a German state (!!!!!),
is punished by imprisonment of from one month to *five years!*

4. The edifying provision that the assertion even of facts that can be proved to be true is to be punished as insult if it demonstrates the *intention to insult!*

5. Insult
1) *to either of the Chambers,*
2) to one of their members,
3) to a *state authority* (the Code does not recognise any insult to corporations as such),
4) to an official or member of the armed forces. All this is "*in connection* with their official function" and is punished by imprisonment of up to 9 months.

6. *Insult or calumny in private life.* The Code Napoléon recognises only *publicly uttered* or disseminated insults or calumnies. The new Bill, on the other hand, intends *to subject to the control of the police and Public Prosecutor's office and/or make punishable all utterances made in private conversation, in the home, in the bosom of the family, in private letters, i.e. it intends to organise the vilest, most universal espionage.* The military despotism of the all-powerful French empire respected at least the freedom of private conversation; it remained—at any rate in its legislation—outside the threshold of the private dwelling. Prussian paternal constitutional supervision and punishment reaches into the inmost sanctum of the private dwelling, into the most secret refuge of family life, which even the barbarians regarded as inviolable. Yet the same law, three Articles earlier, punishes all attacks against the family by two years' imprisonment!

Such are the new "achievements" which it is intended to bestow on us. Three of the cruellest laws mutually supplementing one another in order to attain the acme of cruelty and perfidy which is quite unprecedented—such is the price for lifting the state of siege in Berlin over which the "unweakened" Crown wants to strike a bargain with the Chambers!

The intention is obvious. The press Bill, at least, does not impose anything very new on the old provinces. The Prussian Law

was already bad enough. The main anger of the embodiment of the divine grace is turned against *us Rhinelanders. They want to reimpose on us the very same infamous Prussian Law* which we have hardly got rid of, the removal of which, while we are still chained to Prussia, has at last enabled us to breathe somewhat more freely.

The wishes of the King by the grace of God are clearly stated through the mouthpiece of his servant Manteuffel in the preamble to this charming document: the King desires *"the establishment of a legal system that is as uniform as possible"* — i. e. he desires the elimination of the hated French law and the universal introduction of the disgraceful Prussian Law. Further the King desires "to fill the gap" which was caused "in the greater part of the *Rhine Province*" (just listen!) by the abolition of "the penal law on *lèse-majesté* in consequence of the decree of *April 15, 1848*"!

This means that the new penal law is intended to deprive us Rhinelanders of the only thing left to us of the results of the so-called revolution of 1848: *The undiminished validity of our own system of law.*

It is intended that we shall become *Prussians* at all costs, Prussians after the heart's desire of his All-gracious Majesty, with the Prussian Law, arrogant nobility, tyranny of officialdom, rule by the sabre, flogging, censorship and obedience to orders. These legislative proposals are only the very beginning. We have before us the plan of the counter-revolution, and our readers will be amazed at the plans that are being envisaged. We do not doubt that the gentlemen in Berlin will once again be strangely disappointed in the inhabitants of the Rhine Province.

We shall return again and again to these disgraceful Bills, on account of which alone *the Ministers* must be put *into the dock.* But there is something we must already say today: if the Chamber adopts anything looking even remotely similar to these Bills, *then it is the duty of the Rhenish deputies immediately to resign from the Chamber, which by such decisions seeks to throw their electors back into the patriarchal barbarism of the old-Prussian legislation.*

Written by Marx on March 12, 1849

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# GOVERNMENT PROVOCATIONS

*Cologne,* March 12. The high anointed and unanointed lords want to revenge themselves for their sufferings in March 1848 by redoubled joy in March 1849. To this end they have moved heaven and earth so that on the various anniversary dates of the March events in the German fatherlands disturbances will take place in as many parts of Germany as possible thus offering the counter-revolutionaries new opportunities for acts of violence. For weeks past, therefore, the constitutional and aristocratic newspapers have daily concocted stories about enormous preparations for March insurrections, about repeated incursions of republican volunteer bands across the French and Swiss frontiers — in Switzerland there are about 15 1/2 German republicans; and on each occasion alarm has been aroused in the breasts of worthy philistines by hot air from "reliable sources", "indubitable indications", and "authentic reports". But the jokers endowed with divine grace sit calmly behind the scenes, rejoicing at the effects of their reports *à la* Santa Claus which are being systematically spread by the whole of the servile press, and they smile in a superior manner when the stupid philistines take these calculated cries of alarm *au sérieux.*

In this respect, Baden, i.e. Bekk, had to open the ball. Thereupon the hireling journalists began at once to repeat faithfully this whole litany about incursions, putsches and other foolishness. Then Württemberg and Bavaria had to hasten to perform similar services. Huckstering, venal Frankfurt, which has sold itself, this arrogant and worthless imperial city could not and did not want its "daily press" to lag behind. Hessians also, both the blind and the sighted,[a] as well as

[a] "Blinder Hesse" (blind Hessian) denotes a weak-sighted or weak-minded person.— *Ed.*

the Stüve-dominated Hanoverians, and the Brunswick makers of long sausages, and all the other hosts of passion martyrs among the imperial peoples of Germany—they all had to play the same tune. This was performed best of all by most worthy Wrangel-Manteuffel. Four hundred false passports for German refugees in Besançon were prepared, and in addition orders on how to behave and emissaries were dispatched to all corners of the black-and-white territory[a] in order to raise the loudest possible hullabaloo in the press and by oral propaganda about the approaching republican March insurrectionists.

However, many of those Christian-Germanic organs of the press, taking no notice of the very wily directives, made much too loud a noise at the very beginning. They then attempted to correct this mistake by a still stronger beating of drums and still more shameless lies.

Of course, Herr *Hansemann*, too, immediately and most willingly gave his support to this vociferous company in his new newspaper.[b] While apparently belonging to the opposition in the First Chamber, he makes up for this delusive appearance by printing in his newspaper, as a loyal shield-bearer of Manteuffel-Brandenburg, the most absurd information and correspondents' reports about the threatening March insurrections. We shall give only *one* example. He prints the following fabrication from Cologne as the very latest news:

"For some days we have been living—so to speak—in a state of complete anarchy. One has only to go into the streets to find that even *in broad daylight* there are *crowds of workers* strolling about, partly begging, partly robbing; the ale-houses and tobacco shops in particular are subject to numerous attacks. Matters have gone so far that for several days our town hall had to be guarded by a large force of soldiers. At night *no one can feel safe in the streets.* The worst feature in all this is that the mood of the workers is being artificially stimulated so as to bring about a full-scale insurrection on March 18."

Here in Cologne it suffices to reprint this article to expose all its perfidiousness and absurdity.

What could be seen here in broad daylight, and to an increased extent at night, were incessant bloody *fights between troops of different branches of the armed forces.* The intention, it seems, is to drown interpellations about "My glorious army"[53] by calumnies *against the workers.*

The governments are openly preparing for coups d'état which are

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[a] Prussia.—*Ed.*
[b] *Constitutionelle Zeitung.*—*Ed.*

intended to complete the counter-revolution. Consequently, the people would be fully justified in preparing for an insurrection. But it knows perfectly well that the complicated situation in France, and especially in Hungary and Italy, will inevitably in the near future provide an opportunity for a rising. It will not therefore allow itself to be decoyed into a clumsily laid trap.

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# AN AUSTRIAN REPORT PUBLISHED IN THE AUGSBURG *ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG*

There are no direct reports. The post from Vienna, which was due yesterday, failed to arrive even in Breslau and Berlin, and the post expected for today is missing once again together with all postal deliveries from Berlin. We are therefore printing today several extracts from an article published in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* which is well suited to cast a good deal of light on the black-and-yellow[a] bragging in which certain German newspapers indulge[b]:

"After the slight resistance which the imperial troops encountered as they proceeded through Hungary as far as Pest, the news of the two-day battle at Kapolna, which ended *without a decisive result* after fierce fighting, came as a considerable surprise. This was the first important battle with the insurgents, who for the first time brought their regular troops into action, men whose *acknowledged bravery*, under the leadership of a skilful commander like Perczel, was further increased by the *fanaticism of the hussars*. The battle proved that with more training and discipline the Magyars are *fighting with a courage and contempt for death* which has characterised this nationality for centuries. Yet, apart from demonstrating this, the battle *did not alter* matters *in any other way*, for, according to reports of March 2, the insurgents moved from Maklar to Mezö-Kövesd on February 28 and went back on the road from there to Poroszlo and Tisza-Füred, *in orderly line* but with the intention of crossing the Theiss; their rearguard fought with imperial troops at Kövesd and then later at two other places, in order to cover their retreat. Prince Windischgrätz brought his headquarters forward as far as Mezö-Kövesd and dispatched General Zeisberg to Tisza-Füred via Besenyö in order, if possible, to cut off the insurgents' retreat across the bridge there; should this manoeuvre prove successful then their leader, General Dembiński, would have to engage his troops in a second general battle in order to force the crossing of the

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[a] The Austrian imperial colours.— *Ed.*

[b] There follows a quotation from "Wien, 5. März", published in Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 68, March 9, 1849.— *Ed.*

Theiss; otherwise they could cross the river without any trouble, join forces with the corps of insurgents which was constantly engaged in skirmishes with the imperial Ottinger brigade at Szolnok, and once more offer resistance to the Field Marshal. Anyone who puts together in his mind the present bitter clashes with the hints in the November edition of the Kossuth newspaper, and has read Kossuth's warnings that a retreat on the part of the Hungarian army into the interior of the country, were it to occur, should not be regarded as flight but rather as a strategic plan, anyone who has read his proclamation to the peasants telling them to arm themselves in the rear of the imperial troops, to cut off all supplies and to ambush individual units, and anyone who has read his instructions on conducting guerilla warfare etc., will understand the reasons for the speedy retreat to Pest and for the striking circumstance that Prince Windischgrätz was faced with a force of only 24,000 insurgents under Görgey. The insurgents had abatises and entrenchments built at Pressburg, Wieselburg and Raab, anticipating that these defensive measures would induce the imperial army to procure a fairly large artillery park and the necessary horses for it, and that they themselves would gain time to bring up their recruits from the Slav comitats in the area of the Theiss, to obtain the rifles ordered from Belgium and to train their army. The insurgents retreated as far as Pest almost without striking a blow because they intended to raise a *Landsturm* in the rear of the imperial troops and to weaken their strength by means of the garrisons left behind at Pressburg, Oedenburg and Raab and of the besieging troops at Komorn."

The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* then proceeds to a naturally one-sided, Austrian review of the war, and then goes on:

"In the meantime 8 brigades of imperial troops had joined forces at Rimaszombat and advanced on the insurgents—50,000 men with 120 cannon—who had joined forces at Mezö-Kövesd and Kapolna. Prince Windischgrätz brought several cavalry regiments from Pest to Gyöngyös and took charge of approximately 40,000 imperial troops and, as we are told, 140 cannon for the attack on the insurgents, who had taken up an advantageous position. The hussars fought stubbornly and recklessly, and it was they who for some time held the victory of the imperial army in the balance; the regular infantry, which consisted of barely 8,000 men, fought with courage and tenacity; the men of the army reserve held good for longer than usual but were soon however abandoned by their inexperienced and cowardly officers; the Italian Zanini battalion, which had deserted, was captured by the imperial troops at Kapolna; and the result was that the regular insurgents who continued fighting were no longer a match for the on-rushing columns of imperial troops and had thereupon only to cover the retreat of the whole insurgent force, thus preventing a rout. Just how much such troops can achieve when led by skilful and courageous officers is shown by the Hungarian infantry in Italy which incontestably belongs to the most courageous section of the Austrian army; it is a great pity that in their delusion they are fighting here for an insurrection which causes more harm in Hungary the longer it lasts. Baron Jellachich has gone to Temesvar to assume supreme command over the imperial and Serbian troops; his authority and energy will succeed in restraining the Serbs, who wish to regard the districts occupied with the assistance of the imperial army as their own property, and will succeed in containing their arbitrary behaviour. The Serbs under Kničanin are positioned outside Szegedin, two successive attacks have been repulsed by the Magyars who are weaker in number. In Transylvania Bem appears to have recovered and to be advancing on Hermannstadt, Lieutenant-Field Marshal Gläser, however, is said to be approaching him, in which case his corps could not escape being taken prisoner"(!).

## As to other news items, the following is worth mentioning:

"*Pesth,* March 3. The Solt district has received an order from Debreczin stating that all men between 18 and 30 years of age are to take up arms and march against the Raizen.[54]

"Several Honved[55] officers, who had promised never again to fight against the imperial troops and were released from the fortress of Esseg, are said to be engaged in organising a popular uprising " (*Lloyd*).[a]

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[a] "Pesth, 3. März", *Der Lloyd* No. 110 (morning edition), March 6, 1849.—*Ed.*

# [FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

Once more the post from Berlin, which has just arrived and which was due yesterday evening, does not contain any letters or papers from Vienna. Nor were they received in Breslau. March 8 is the last date for which we have direct news from Vienna, and that contains *nothing more than rumours* from the Hungarian theatre of war. According to an issue of the *Lithographierte Correspondenz*, Windischgrätz has crossed the Theiss with his troops at Tisza-Füred. According to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* he was totally beaten straight after that in a great battle.

All the reports from Transylvania agree on the point that Bem and the Szeklers[56] control the whole country, with the exception of Kronstadt and Hermannstadt. Schässburg is still occupied by the Szeklers. Bem is said to have been summoned to the main army at Debreczin and another audacious Pole, Budinski, to have assumed his command in Transylvania. Just what is true in all these rumours one cannot say. However, the total silence on the part of all the official newspapers does not bode well for the fortunes of the royal imperial forces.

Reports have been confirmed that Perczel has neither been captured nor gone to Switzerland, but that *he is stirring up the population of the Tolna comitat in the rear of the imperial troops.* He had just time enough in Pest to pay a few polite visits and escaped to Tolna just as the military authorities began to search for him.

Whilst the people is thus rising in the Austrians' rear in the *South-West* the same is occurring in the *North-West.* Reports from various sides indicate that here, where Görgey was able for so long to hold up three whole army corps, once again a corps of 10,000-12,000 men is operating against the Slovak mountain towns and has

completely destroyed the Czech, Moravian and Slovak volunteer corps under Štúr and Hurban. The leader of the Magyar-Slovak corps (for most of the Slovaks sympathise with the Magyars, and in these regions, which are inhabited almost entirely by Slovaks and Germans, it is quite impossible to raise an army corps without Slovaks) is said to be a certain *Clouth*. Individual refugees arriving at Miava on the Moravian border have passed this information on to the Slovanská-Lípa[57] at Prague.

The following item, taken from the *Siebenbürger Bote*, is likewise entertaining. It is a sample of the "ridiculous exaggerations" of the imperial forces in Transylvania, and it is now going the rounds in all the German papers. Whilst the imperial troops were retreating with all haste to Pest and Losoncz, the *Siebenbürger Bote*, whose military reports are acknowledged as having "an official character", had them achieve the following glorious victories:

"*Hermannstadt*, February 22. On the evening of the day before yesterday we received the news that from February 10 to 12 the combined troops of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schlick and Schulzig had fought a murderous battle against the Hungarian rebels and *taken Grosswardein*. It was reported that *the whole battle-line from Debreczin to Grosswardein was strewn with the innumerable corpses of those who had fallen in battle, which were piled up in heaps*. The same news arrived here the day after from three other places"(!!!).[a]

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[a] "Hermannstadt, 22. Februar", *Der Siebenbürger Bote* No. 24, February 23, 1849.— *Ed.*

# [AUSTRIAN DEFEATS]

The latest newspapers and letters have just arrived from Vienna and Bohemia. The official silence continues. On the other hand it is evident from unofficial reports:

1) that the imperial troops have been *beaten* at Szolnok. Instead of crossing the Theiss at Poroszlo, a section of the main Hungarian army set off down the Theiss, and, having joined forces with other Magyar mobile columns, attacked the royal imperial troops stationed outside Szolnok from the rear. At the same time the Magyars who were positioned on the right bank of the Theiss pressed forward over the river. The imperial troops were completely beaten, the railway from Szolnok to Abony was destroyed and the whole area occupied by the Magyars. Szolnok has therefore been snatched from the imperial troops *for a second time;*

2) that things do not look very bright for the imperial troops both at their centre and on their left flank: on March 5 *a huge number of cannon, Congreve batteries and waggon teams* from Kapolna *arrived in Pest* and were transported to the fortress of Ofen. And the great commander Windischgrätz—he is said to be *slightly wounded—has moved his headquarters back to Ofen.* He has transferred command to Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schlick, ordering him to advance across the Theiss without any further delay, to storm Debreczin and put an end to the affair!

In brief: The imperial forces have been beaten at Szolnok once more and dislodged from the town; Windischgrätz has gone back to Ofen and his artillery and waggon train have followed him; thus the imperial forces must also have been beaten there.

One defeat of the Austrians is certain, a second one probable—*Finis Hungariae!*

Written by Engels about March 14, 1849

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# THE HOHENZOLLERN GENERAL PLAN OF REFORM

*Cologne,* March 14. "The *exceptional* states of siege will be lifted as soon as the *general* state of siege has been imposed on the entire kingdom by laws and has become part of our constitutional customs. The series of these 'firm' laws will begin with *September legislation on associations and the press.*"

These are the words we used to accompany the publication of the speech from the throne (No. 234 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*[a]). And what is the content of the first parliamentary act of the Government? It comes before the Chambers and declares:

"We shall deliver you from the state of siege. In exchange you will impose permanent martial law on meetings, associations and the press."

We cannot for a moment conceal the fact that from the outset the parliamentary Left by its timid behaviour has made it easier for the Government to go over to the offensive.

We shall compare *en détail* the splendid three Bills with the September laws, with the pre-March Bill on criminal legislation, and with the Prussian Law.[58] But first of all we inform our readers of the *general plan of the old-Prussian reformers,* to which our special supplement[b] the day before yesterday already drew attention.

On the very same day on which the unofficial Berlin newspapers published the three splendid Bills, the *Neue Preussische Zeitung,* that *Moniteur* of Brandenburg providence, published an "*Opinion on the Essential Tasks of the Present Assembly of the So-called Representation of*

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[a] See article "Speech from the Throne" (present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 445-50).— *Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 50-54.— *Ed.*

*the People.*"[a] The Hohenzollern dynasty and its Brandenburg Government are of too "*noble*" a lineage to be hypocritical at moments when the sun of "power" shines on the unweakened Crown.[59] At such moments the royal heart knows no restraint and humiliates the plebeian masses by a rough, unceremonious expression of its most intimate desires and thoughts. It has pleased fate—the fact cannot be concealed—, heartless fate, more than once by a peculiar turn of events to bring to naught prophecies, threats and desires which "our good King", Frederick William IV (the ingenious *Frederick William IV*, who in putting on the crown used precisely the same words as Napoleon had when assuming the iron crown of Lombardy)[60] uttered at moments of triumphant power, moments of "divine intoxication", as *Goethe* says.[b] But it is well known that iron destiny rules even over the gods. In any case, for a royal heart, just as for a woman's heart, and for every heart, it remains an intoxicating supreme delight to give full vent without hindrance to one's most intimate thoughts, and to attune the world if only by a speech, by a document, to the desires of one's own heart.

Hence the outpouring of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, which is more or less that of the royal heart, is in itself of great psychological interest; on the other hand, it lets the people know what is expected of them, what if necessary will be *obtained by force* from them—of course, in their own well-understood interest.

The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* (No. 59, supplement), in order to facilitate a survey of the *Hohenzollern general plan of reform*, has arranged it *under headings*, which in any case is a commendable condescension towards the public. Was it not at liberty to report the royal decisions in apocalyptic form in the manner of the Revelations of St. John? Let us keep to the headings!

The "essential tasks of the present assembly of the so-called representation of the people" are sub-divided as follows:

1) *Purging the Chamber from political criminals. A Jove principium.*[c] The first law for a Chamber which should act in accordance with the wishes of the royal heart, is to transform itself in accordance with the wishes of the royal heart. For the time being, its composition is still a product of disrespectful universal suffrage, even if it is indirect suffrage.

And what does the royal heart demand?

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[a] "Votum über die wesentlichen Aufgaben der jetzt versammelten sogenannten Volksvertretung", *Neue Preussische Zeitung* No. 59 (supplement), March 11, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] J. W. Goethe, "Westöstlicher Diwan".—*Ed.*

[c] A divine principle—from Virgil's *Bucolica*.—*Ed.*

The present representation of the people, the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* divulges, is disfigured by "a *blemish*" which makes it unworthy and incapable of "being in its entirety an embodiment of *Prussian* honour, *Prussian* loyalty and love of the Fatherland". This is a nuisance of which it must rid itself, in order to be "righteous" in the eyes of His Majesty.

"This blemish, this nuisance, consists in the fact that its membership includes persons who took part in the criminal actions of the parliamentary faction headed by *Unruh,* particularly in the *factional decision on refusal to pay taxes.*"

"The Government," it goes on to say, "owing to its own regrettable *weakness* or from *distrust* of the *judiciary,* which indeed is *to a large exent infected with revolutionary sentiments,* did not put those men *on trial.* To make up for this *omission,* this *mistake,* is the task of the *Chambers;* to press for this is particularly the *duty of all judges* and *lawyers* who are members of the Chambers, if only *to preserve the vanishing honour of their profession.* A motion therefore *must* be put to the *Government*—and it should be one of the *first* actions after the Chamber has been constituted—that the Minister of Justice should now institute a court investigation and punishment of these criminals. *Such an expurgation is the first and most urgent requirement for the successful progress of the deliberations.*"

It is the dearest wish of the King to see punishment meted out to the tax-refusing evil-doers and desecrators unto the third generation.[a] The royal Government was too *weak* to fulfil this wish. The royal-Prussian people was so *shameless,* so obstinate that it once more elected evil-doers and sinners as its representatives in open revolt against the Emperor's heart. It is now up to the *Chambers* to *compel* the royal Government to carry out the most personal intentions of His Majesty. On bended knees, they must beg the Ministry to allow them to expel from their midst all infected elements who are in a higher sense *not presentable at court.* And, above all, the theologians and Pharisees, the "judges and lawyers", have to save their "profession", whose "honour" began to vanish from the moment Manteuffel began to harbour the suspicion, of course without foundation, that the Prussian Themis might remain blind to the clear hints of the Crown. But how can a judiciary save its honour in the eyes of the people, for which every fancy of the embodiment of divine grace would not be a law, which would not obey implicitly the orders of the King himself?

It is well known that in all religions penitence, sacrifice, and if possible self-sacrifice, are the real essence of divine worship, of the cult. The so-called representation of the people, in order to prove that it is a representation of the royal heart—and the royal heart is the vital, individualised incarnation of the real heart of the

[a] Exodus 20:5.—*Ed.*

people—the "so-called" representation of the people must therefore above all sacrifice *itself, that is itself as an emanation of the sovereignty of the people,* on the steps of the throne.

It must cast out all members who are obnoxious to His Majesty and deliver them to prison and the executioner as an expiatory offering of the religion of absolute monarchy. In that way it will atone, firstly, for the crime of its *original sin,* the sin of having been brought into existence by popular sovereignty. At the same time it will expiate a crime-laden past which is defamatory of royalty and therefore blasphemous. It will purify itself to become a true expression of the fullness of royal power. From a "*so-called*" popular representation it will become a *real* popular representation—in the higher, royal Prussian sense. The King is the *real* Prussian people. The real Prussian people—which must in no way be confused, after the bad foreign custom, with the superficial *number* of inhabitants of the state—therefore elects representatives solely in order that the royal wishes shall be re-echoed to the King as the people's wishes and in this way the most secret demands of his sovereign heart achieve a reality both prosaic and generally accepted in the form of public legislative proposals and decisions of the Chamber.

Consequently, we expect from the Berlin Chambers that they will commence their cult of the King by *self-sacrifice,* by casting out the sinners *who refuse payment of taxes.*

The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* does not conceal that even then the Chamber will still not be righteous in the eyes of His Majesty. The other part of the sacrifice, however, cannot be performed by the Chamber as a corporation. It remains dependent on the active consciousness of sin and the self-crucifixion of the individual members concerned.

"It is true that such a purge," says the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* with a sigh, "would not expel all *those* members whom, because of their antecedents in politics and statesmanship, it would be desirable to see removed for so long as they fail to *realise* and *repent* their *share* in the misfortune of the Fatherland and to *take a vow publicly pledging* themselves to check to the best of their ability the crimes[a] for which in part they were personally to blame. Nevertheless, it stands to reason that there can be no question of expelling from the Chambers on *legal* grounds all those persons who have served the revolution, who in particular between *March 18 and November 8* as highly placed officials have been *used up in this service*" (genuine Prussian grammar). "It would however be desirable that their *own consciousness* should cause them to absent themselves, unless they turn over a *new leaf* in the way indicated above. Also, in connection with this" (supreme) "wish, in all fairness distinctions make themselves felt, for example, *between Rhenish traders,* who should become pillars of the state

[a] In the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*: "Verderben" (ruin) and not "Verbrechen" (crimes).—*Ed.*

overnight, and men of the *old-Prussian*" (feudal) "families, whose honourable names have from of old been most closely bound up with the history of our royal house and of the *original heart-lands*" (is *Silesia* also an original heart-land?) "of the monarchy."

We told the "*Rhenish traders*" about this long ago. It is only with *dégoût*[a] that the feudal house of Hohenzollern chose this bourgeois canaille as a lowly tool and it waits impatiently for the moment when it can get rid of them with kicks in a radical fashion. *Hansemann! Camphausen! Kühlwetter!* On your knees! Clothed in a penitent's shroud in front of the royal palace, in full view of the people, with ashes strewn on your crime-laden heads, vow and publicly testify that in the most profound remorse you repent having for a moment dared with bourgeois-constitutional intrigues to prepare the counter-revolution, the accomplishment of which befits only "My glorious army"[61] and—you skinflints, haggling serfs, pedantic traders in fats,[62] cunning railway speculators—having not only saved the throne, but having even boasted of this salvation in high-flown woe-begone phrases. On your knees! Don the penitent's shroud! Or get you to a monastery!

And as regards the "*men of the old-Prussian families*", *nobly-born* and *favoured by predestination* off-shoots of the *chosen* people, we expect in the near future to read in the *Staats-Anzeiger* obituary notices of these, of an *Arnim, Auerswald, Bonin, Pfuel.* Only if they go voluntarily to their death can we believe in their repentance. From a *Rhenish trader* such as *Hansemann,* such greatness of soul is not to be expected. Hansemann is a Voltairean of the most objectionable sort, superficial, and above all, hard-hearted in money matters.

Vanish therefore from the Chambers, leave the stage, you living monuments of March 18, of royal tribulations, humiliations, inconsistencies and weaknesses! Withdraw from the Chambers, or condemn yourselves to be the scapegoats for March 18!

The Chambers themselves, however, will present the tax-refusers to the royal throne as a hecatomb of their purification and expiation and thus make themselves worthy of fulfilling the further "tasks" dictated by the King to "the so-called representation of the people".

(Continuation follows)[b]

Written by Marx on March 14, 1849

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[a] Distaste.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 125-32.—*Ed.*

# THE CENSORSHIP

*Cologne,* March 14. The German daily press is certainly the flabbiest, sleepiest and most cowardly institution under the sun! The greatest infamies can be perpetrated before its very eyes, even directed against itself, and it will remain silent and conceal everything; if the facts had not become known by *accident,* one would never have learnt through the *press* what splendid March violets have been brought into being by divine grace in some places.

Last autumn citizen and communist Drigalski[63] tried to re-introduce censorship in Düsseldorf, on the pretext of the state of siege.[a] The attempt succeeded for two days; but the storm it aroused in public opinion compelled the sabre-bearing gentlemen immediately to abandon their yearning for censorship.

But what does the situation look like in the old provinces?[64]

*For three months censorship has existed in all its glory in two different districts,* but the entire old-Prussian press calmly passes over this scandalous encroachment on its rights!

Just listen to this:

*Rosenberg,* in Silesia, March 7. No. 19 of the *Rosenberg-Kreuzburger Telegraph* publishes the following statement at the top of the page.

"We ask the readers of our newspaper not to blame us for the delay in the appearance of this issue and its incompleteness, but to take into account that we are still under the state of siege and that the *Telegraph*—which *has* recently *been under the censorship* of the local royal district president, Herr Sack, who has been elected as a deputy to the Second Chamber—after his departure to Berlin *has now been placed under direct military censorship.*

*"The editorial board."*

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[a] See Marx, "Drigalski—Legislator, Citizen and Communist" (present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 75-80).—*Ed.*

Furthermore:

Unrestrained *censorship has* likewise *been in existence* in *Erfurt since November 25.* The press there was at first censored by Herr *F. W. Huthsteiner,* now a police inspector, ex-editor of the *Barmer Zeitung* that had at one time been liberal under the censorship. Huthsteiner was ostensibly a liberal or democrat, later a subordinate of Duncker and a permanent Prussian policeman. Although this respectable gentleman even deleted articles from the unfortunate Berlin *National-Zeitung* (!), his official activity was nevertheless considered to be insufficiently Prussian and he was replaced by an *officer.* Therefore *military censorship* exists in Erfurt as well.

But that is not all: censorship is introduced also for newspapers and other publications printed abroad, i.e. outside the area under the state of siege. The *Erfurter Adressblatt* of February 7 contains the following announcement:

"On orders from the royal Commandant's office here, the Erfurt public is warned, on pain of **'appropriate police punishment'** and **'immediate arrest',** against the *distribution* or bill-posting of materials printed outside the town *which cast suspicion on government measures or launch malicious attacks against them,* and thereby have the effect of *alienating the minds* of the population from the existing constitutional *government,* or which tend to *provoke* animosity against specific classes of the population and, consequently, *unrest and friction in our town.*

Erfurt, February 5, 1849.

*The Municipal Administration, Police Department."*

The restoration of censorship, and the replacement of ordinary by military censorship, are surely things which closely concern the press. Yet the press of neighbouring places—the press of Breslau, Berlin, Leipzig—accept all that as if it were a matter of course! In fact the German press is still the old "*good press*".

But we ask our somnolent deputies in Berlin: will they still fail to move that the Ministers be promptly brought to trial?

Written on March 14, 1849

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# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

There is little to add to the reports published this morning. The reports on the battle at Szolnok are extremely vague; but it seems that the Karger imperial brigade stationed there was attacked by the Magyars from the rear at Abony and driven to the opposite (left) bank of the Theiss, which is wholly in Magyar hands. If this is so, the brigade is lost and not a man can escape being killed or taken prisoner. Three battalions were sent from Pest to Abony; but they were too late, of course. Just as they were leaving by train, the defeated General Zeisberg arrived in Pest from Szolnok. He had to go by carriage as far as Abony, since the railway was already destroyed.

In Budapest new fortifications are being erected.

"The blockhouses at the two bridgeheads of the suspension bridge," writes the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*, "should be completed shortly and offer a firm bulwark against attacks, not easy to take.

"In spite of the announcement that there can be no question of calling in or confiscating Hungarian notes in private circulation in Hungary, there is a heavy surcharge on the purchase of Austrian banknotes with Hungarian paper money, and the latter's rate of exchange is likely to fall day by day, since the merchants here have to make many more payments of considerable sums to the other patrimonial dominions, in particular to Vienna, than they will be receiving from there. The Israelites of the capital have been given renewed orders to pay the instalments on the notorious arrears of the toleration-tax redemption in silver pieces of twenty, but the community has been granted an extension of a fortnight, or of 18 days, according to another report." [a]

From the comitat of *Tolna* we learn from the same paper:

"The Tolna county is again *in full rebellion*, despite its declarations of allegiance. The speeches which Moriz Perczel recently made at public meetings there sowed bad

[a] "Pest, 5. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 59, March 10, 1849.—*Ed.*

seed, and the military authority was informed too late when he stayed incognito at his father's baronial estate a few days ago. Only his carriage and his innocent valet fell into the hands of the imperial troops."[a]

Nor do things look too brilliant for the imperial arms in the *south*. Let us quote once more the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*:

"As regards the capture of Alt-Arad a considerable snag has been encountered. General Todorovich wanted to leave his whole corps behind as garrison, but some of the officers regarded three battalions as sufficient for the purpose. So it happened that, when the main body of the Serbs moved into their camp, the defeated Magyars returned across the Maros, and as a result two battalions were driven out and one was partly captured, partly cut down."[b]

When the imperial troops took Esseg, they expected that the garrison would rush to join the imperial army, but of the four companies of former regular troops of the imperial army *not one man* and of all the Honveds[65] only *16 men* were recruited.

The following news comes from Croatia, on which "independence" has been imposed. The *Agramer Zeitung* writes:

"We hear from a reliable source that the Ministry of Trade intends in the near future to begin the regulation of the River Sava upstream to Sissek and then the building of a railway from Sissek to Agram and thence to Karlstadt and Steinbrück."[c]

Quite in order. Let the Royal and Imperial Government make rivers navigable there, build railways, bring commerce and industry into the country, and it will discover for how much longer it will then be able to rely on its Croats. No sooner will the Croat exchange the red-coat[66] for the frock-coat, than his enthusiasm for the martial-law emperor[d] will automatically cease.

Ban[e] Jellachich has told the Banal Council that he has granted an amnesty to the pro-Magyar Croats—including the six party leaders[67]—who fled to Hungary and were banned when they did not return after being asked three times.

Lastly, it is reported from the Turkish border that

"there is a great deal of activity in Turkey. In Bosnia large bodies of troops are being armed and concentrated at Travnik. Although scouts report that threats against

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[a] "Pest, 6. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 59, March 10, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] "Von der Drave, 27. Feb.", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 56 (first supplement), March 7, 1849.—*Ed.*

[c] The passage is quoted from the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 59, March 10, 1849.—*Ed.*

[d] Francis Joseph.—*Ed.*

[e] Ban or Banus—Viceroy or Governor.—*Ed.*

the borderers[68] are sometimes heard being uttered, it is more likely that these preparations are connected with the political intrigue Palmerston is hatching in Constantinople regarding the Danube provinces with no lesser an aim than to drive the Russians from Moldavia and Wallachia and so uncover the Austrian flank to the east. Austria can expect a strong Note with regard to the 10,000 Russian troops protecting Transylvania."[a]

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[a] "Von der Drave, 27. Feb.", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 56 (first supplement), March 7, 1849.—*Ed.*

# [FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

Today there is no news from the theatre of war, except for the Magyar report of the *Breslauer Zeitung*. It shows that the Austrians were indeed decisively defeated in the battle of Szolnok and forced to retreat towards Pest. *Kecskemét* is said to be again occupied by the Magyars. The Serezhan Colonel Albert Jellačić, Major Prince Holstein and even the royal imperial General Ottinger are said to have been killed.

The Magyar report claims that Stuhlweissenburg (on the right bank of the Danube, towards Vienna) is occupied by Magyars, and that in consequence of the Magyars' latest advances Prince Lobkowitz has gone to Debreczin to offer them *mediation proposals. More details tomorrow.*

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# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

Today's *Breslauer Zeitung* carries two Magyar reports, of March 6 and 7, which this time are for once written in a somewhat confused manner.[69] One gets from them a sense of the immense impression which the sudden hasty retreat of the Austrians made in Pest, and the thousand rumours it produced in which facts are mixed up with exaggerations.

At *Mezö-Kövesd,* one mile[a] beyond Maklar and two beyond Kapolna, a great battle is said to have taken place on March 3, in which Dembiński *totally defeated the imperial troops* by the masterly use of the terrain and skilful tactical manoeuvres. Their losses are given as 7,000 men and 60 cannon.

It is quite certain that the Hungarians have by no means retreated across the Theiss, as was trumpeted abroad by Austrian papers, but that on this side of the Theiss something must have happened that looks like a defeat of the imperial troops (even if the above particulars should prove exaggerated). Windischgrätz does not retreat without good reason.

That the imperial troops were also defeated at *Szolnok* and that their army corps which was drawn up there has been taken prisoner, as we surmised, is confirmed by the Magyar report of March 6:

"Yesterday morning at 7 a.m. the imperial army received another decisive blow. For the 5,000-strong Grammont brigade in Szolnok on the Theiss was surrounded by a Hungarian army which had crossed the Theiss at Czibakháza, and was taken prisoner along with Lieutenant-Field Marshal *Grammont* after a terrible carnage.

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[a] See footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*

General *Ottinger* of the cavalry there received a fatal wound from which he died yesterday in Ofen."[a]

Moreover, the Hungarians did not stop there. According to the Magyar report they advanced to *Szégléd* and there on the 5th, in bloody fighting, *defeated the imperial troops* (probably those three supporting battalions which were brought from Pest by Zeisberg). They have also re-occupied Kecskemét, a very important town between the Theiss and the Danube. In consequence of these defeats Jellachich is said to have followed Prince Windischgrätz and also *to have left Pest.* It is said that the fortifications around Pest are being demolished by the imperial troops themselves; so they do not want to defend Pest itself but merely to dominate it by the cannons from Ofen. The fortress of Ofen is being amply provisioned, but even from here guns of large calibre are being removed, which suggests that a very prolonged defence is not contemplated.

Thus far the reports of the Magyar correspondent which sound *probable.* The following appears less probable:

Görgey is said to be advancing towards Raab with an army corps and to be about to cut off the retreat of the imperial troops—whether this advance is occurring north or south of the Danube is not stated.

The Magyars are said to have crossed the Danube below Pest and to have occupied *Stuhlweissenburg* (in the rear of Pest) to cut off the retreat by way of the Fleischhackerstrasse.

What truth there is in these two rumours cannot be determined. But at any rate they seem exaggerated.

The Magyar correspondent reports further from the Hungarian camp:

"Travellers from Debreczin relate that on a motion by Kossuth the Hungarian National Assembly has decreed that a *Landsturm* is to be raised to support the regular army. Most of the deputies have been instructed to organise the *Landsturm* in their capacity of government commissioners. This extraordinary measure appears to have been taken following the news of the Russian intervention in Transylvania. The same travellers also relate that Minister of Police Ladislaus Madarász has resigned from the Provisional Government in Debreczin."[70]

From Vienna it is further reported on the 9th:

"The news I gave in my communication of yesterday about the battle at Szolnok is confirmed. *The Hungarians have gained a brilliant victory,* and they very nearly seized the headquarters. Prince Windischgrätz himself is seriously wounded in one arm. *Nothing at all is yet known* of the Zeisberg brigade but it is said *to have been completely wiped out.* The Karger brigade *was driven into the Theiss and only a few escaped.* General

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[a] The passages quoted here and below are taken from a report published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 63 (second edition), March 15, 1849.—*Ed.*

Karger himself owes his escape exclusively to the devotion of three dragoons, who together with him fought their way through. In short, *the defeat of the Austrians was general,* and even the enemy acknowledges that the leaders of the Hungarian army have demonstrated extraordinary strategic genius. In addition to the names recently given to you, generals Duchatel (probably meaning Duhamel), a Frenchman, Guyon (an Englishman), and Prince Czartoryski (son of Adam Czartoryski) deserve to be commended; they stood courageously by the side of General Dembiński, who was in supreme command."

Kossuth has *appointed* the Serbian leader *Stratimirovich Ban of Croatia and voivode of Serbia,* a choice which has found general approval since both Serbs and Croats hold this handsome and brave young man in high esteem.

"*Postscript.* 3 p.m. A traveller coming from Pest, who left the city on the 9th (?), reports that at the time of his departure the city was *full of excitement;* in *Ofen extensive defence measures* were being taken and both cities were teaming with a multitude of soldiers; the Magyars, on the other hand, *were hourly expecting their compatriots to march in,* and in many places the national enthusiasm gave vent to fiery exclamations, in spite of the great number of soldiers who, however, had other things to attend to."

Others write also from Vienna:

"The *tactics of Prince Windischgrätz* towards the fiery Magyars and Poles are the object of much disapproval by the army itself, which appears to be demoralised by them. The many generals commanding the Hungarians are receiving more and more reinforcements, and there is *no prospect of an early end* without treachery on one side or notable reinforcements on the other."[a]

Windischgrätz has, moreover, declared that *unless he receives reinforcements of* **50,000 men** *he cannot cope with the Magyars!!*

Let the *Kölnische Zeitung* now say what "stage" the Hungarian war has entered with these new Magyar victories and with this statement of Windischgrätz.[b]

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[a] "Wien, 10. März", *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 73, March 14, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 15 and 32.—*Ed.*

# THE MILLIARD

*Cologne,* March 15. Already soon after the February revolution there was a shortage of money in Paris. *Respect de la propriété*[a] was proclaimed universally and the poor petty bourgeois thought that this applied to them. The Provisional Government[71] was all the more willing to show its *respect de la propriété,* since the bank at once lent it 50 million without interest. The Provisional Government consisted mainly of petty bourgeois of the *National* and was misled by the *magnanimity* of the bank. The 50 million were soon exhausted. Meanwhile the shareholders and owners of the banknotes had time to make the best use of *respect de la propriété* by withdrawing all their gold from the bank. The petty bourgeois, who for their part also wished to take advantage of *respect de la propriété,* went to their banker in order to have their bills of exchange—which had been drawn against their *propriété,* i.e. against their industrial enterprises, *boutiques*[b] or factories—discounted. The bankers put forward the excuse of lack of money and refused to discount the bills. The petty bourgeois then went to other bankers in order to have their bills endorsed by their bankers and discounted in the bank; the bankers refused their endorsement. *Respect de la propriété!* It was therefore precisely the bankers who were the first to violate *respect de la propriété,* although they themselves knew very well how to exploit it. Then a general complaint arose that credit, *confiance*[c] had been lost. On the other hand, the petty bourgeois still did not abandon their

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[a] Respect for property.—*Ed.*

[b] Shops.—*Ed.*

[c] Confidence.—*Ed.*

*respect de la propriété*; they thought that if "calm and order" were re-established, confidence also would return and then, their *propriété* serving as cover, their bills would surely be discounted. It is common knowledge that after the June battle,[72] when calm and order had been restored, all *propriété* came into the pockets of the bankers, as a result of judicial concordats, and that the petty bourgeois only understood the meaning of "respect", when their "property" had gone. Obviously, it was the workers who suffered most as a result of the financial crisis brought about by the big bourgeoisie. Just at the time when the Provisional Government, in order to solve its own difficulties, invented the notorious 45-centime tax,[73] a poster signed by workers appeared on the walls. It began with the words: *avez-vous besoin d'argent?* (do you need money?) and it contained a direct proposal to demand the return of the milliard granted to the *émigrés* in 1825 as compensation. Who were those *émigrés*? They were the very same people who had incited and supported from abroad the war against France and who had then returned to France in the company of foreigners. Who were to be found among the *émigrés* who benefited from the compensation? The Duke of Orleans, i.e. the King who had recently been driven out,[a] and the legitimists,[74] i.e. the followers of the King who had been driven out long ago.[b] The Constituent Assembly and the Convention had decreed the confiscation of the property of the *émigré* traitors; the kings and *émigrés* who had returned after both restorations[75] awarded the compensation to themselves and their friends. The kings were again driven out, the decisions of the Constituent Assembly and the Convention regained their full validity, and what could be more natural than that the compensation should again benefit the people. The poster which thus set out the demand for the return of the milliard was read by the workers with general jubilation; they stood round it in thousands and discussed its content in their own way. This continued for a whole day; the next day the poster had vanished from the walls. Recognising the serious danger threatening them, the legitimists and Orleanists[76] had paid large sums to hire persons for the special purpose of destroying all traces of the poster during the night. At that time there was a passion for new organisational plans. Everyone was thinking only of how to invent a new system and to introduce it at once into the "state", in spite of all existing conditions. The Provisional Government hit on the unfortunate idea of inventing the 45-centime tax to be imposed on the peasants. The

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[a] Louis Philippe I.—*Ed.*
[b] Charles X.—*Ed.*

workers thought that the 45 centimes would have the same effect as the milliard: a tax on landed property—and they abandoned the plan regarding the milliard. The *Journal des Débats*, as also the stupid *National*, strengthened them in this opinion, and in their leading articles they argued that real capital was the "earth", original landed property, and that the Provisional Government had every right to levy this tax in favour of the workers. When the tax actually began to be levied, the peasants raised a terrible outcry against the urban workers. "What?" said the peasants, "we are worse off than the workers. We have to borrow capital at high rates of interest in order to cultivate our land and to be able to feed our families, and, besides the taxes and interest paid to the capitalists, are we also to pay for the upkeep of the workers?"

The peasants turned away from the revolution because, instead of promoting their interests, it was detrimental to their interests. The workers realised how cunning a tax the reactionary party had suggested and only now the meaning of *respect de la propriété* became clear to them as well: the difference between formal and actual property became evident; it turned out that bourgeois capital had, so to speak, separated the land from the earth, that the formal owner of the land had become a vassal of the capitalist, and that the tax fell only on the indebted vassal. And when, in addition, the real owner of the land made the poor peasants even more conscious of his power, by withdrawing credit, by levying a distress etc., then the revolution became even more hateful to them. The legitimists, who as big landowners possessed great influence in the countryside, exploited this situation, and the intrigues of the royalists on behalf of Henry V then began. In these distressing circumstances for the revolution, May 15[77] arrived. Barbès' demand for the milliard, although advanced in a different form, struck the people once again like a flash of lightning and set them on fire. Even the June battle could not stamp out this thought of the milliard and now that the trial of Barbès has begun in Bourges,[78] this idea has increasingly gripped the peasants. To demand from the legitimists, who were their landlords and blood-suckers, the return of the milliard which they, the peasants, had raised—that was a more attractive bait than Napoleon. The agitation for the repayment of the milliard has already spread throughout France and if it were put forward for decision by universal suffrage, more votes would be cast for it than for Napoleon. The demand for the milliard is the first revolutionary measure to draw the peasants into the revolution. The petitions coming from all parts and the tone in which they are composed prove that this revolutionary measure has already struck

deep roots. In Cluny people demand not only the return of the milliard, but also the 3 per cent interest which it had yielded since 1825. From the start of the trial in Bourges these petitions have piled up in such a way that the judges in Bourges as well as the entire reactionary party begin to feel uneasy. Agey, Ancey, Malain, St. Vibald, Vittaux and numerous other communes have today again sent petitions to the Chamber through their parliamentary representatives. Under the headline "*Rappel du milliard*",[a] the newspapers day by day print the names of fresh communes giving their adherence to this magnificent measure. Soon on all the walls, in all the communes, it will be possible to read: "*Rappel du milliard*", and if the forthcoming elections[b] are held under this slogan, we shall be interested to see what the capitalists, whether they are called legitimists, Orleanists or bourgeois, can counterpose to this milliard in order to push aside the democratic candidates who intend to enter the new Chamber with the dowry of this milliard in order to use it for the benefit of the peasants and workers. But that is still not all. Louis Napoleon has been promising the peasants everywhere not only the return of the money paid under the 45-centime tax, but a reduction of taxation in general. The petitions generally put forward the demand that the greater part of the milliard be used for this purpose. As for the legal reasons for the return of the milliard, these have already been stated immediately after the July revolution in 1830. At that time paying out the money still remaining from the milliard was suddenly discontinued. If what had already been paid out was not demanded back at that time, it was only because Louis Philippe himself and his family had received a very large part of this money.

Since it is impossible for the counter-revolutionary party to dispute the justice of this measure, it contents itself for the time being with calling attention to the difficulty of implementing it. The difficulty is said to lie in discovering the persons who have received more or less large sums from the compensation granted. But nothing could be easier. Let us begin with the large sums. At the head of the list is the Duke of Orleans (later Louis Philippe) and his sister, Madame Adelaide, with 50 million, and one had only to take these 50 million from the countless estates which the National Assembly recently restored to the royal family.

Prince de Condé received 30 million, and who inherited this sum?

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[a] Return of the milliard.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to the elections to the Legislative Assembly which were held on May 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

The Duke d'Aumale and Madame de Feuchères. A good beginning, therefore, could be made with this! The royal family owns huge forests and estates in France, and the peasants are already beginning to calculate how much they have lost by the fact that these millions were not returned to them already in 1830.

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# THE FRANKFURT MARCH ASSOCIATION AND THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

*Cologne,* March 15. We are returning once more to the unfortunate March Association,[a] this fitting offspring of the "March revolution". We are being reproached "with harming the cause of freedom" since we undermine the March Association. But did we not already in December 1848, to the horror of the *Kölnische Zeitung,* denounce the March Association as the *unconscious tool of counter-revolution?*[79] Did we not, therefore, already long ago communicate to the "March Association" our opinion of the "March Association"? Were the March Association an organisation of a revolutionary party, were it even only a logical sound fruit of the *March revolt,* we would put up with such ineptitude as its *speculation with announcements* undoubtedly was. In the first place the March Association displays no activity unless perhaps the issuing of addresses ranks as such; further, the March Association is an optimistic simpleton between the constitutionalists (whom we regard as worse supporters of reaction than the club of the Knight von Radowitz[80]) and some really worthy democrats who have allowed their sight to be clouded by nebulous ideas of imperial conciliation. The majority in that central commercial association[b] will always be governed by the indecision peculiar to it; the Association will perhaps stimulate discontent among the people, but at the decisive moment it will betray them and subsequently bemoan its error. Well, may the commercial association fare well! Its sensitivity in other respects does not move us, and freedom of the press seems still to be understood by these

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[a] See this volume, pp. 36-37.—*Ed.*

[b] A pun (*Kommerz*=commerce, *März*=March) referring to the leading forces of the Central March Association.—*Ed.*

liberal people merely as their personal achievement. Herr Eisenmann, for example, openly declared himself a constitutionalist for all time and an opponent of republicanism at the very same meeting of the March Association where the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was mentioned as a model of "true German disunity". Thus, it is being demanded of us that, out of a doltish desire for unification, we should support the newspaper of a man who, whatever else he may be the devil only knows, is at any rate a German national-minded dolt. For the sake of decency we would "take along with us" these gentlemen as far as they like, if it were not that their task in Frankfurt is to be "irremovable". There are thinking friends of history[81] among these gentlemen. It can hardly have escaped their notice that not merely in Germany but everywhere and at all times, in spite of all March Associations, the Feuillants[82] invariably had to be got out of the way before the outbreak of the real revolution. What use is it to the adherents of the social republic if the very same Vogt, who blustered "above all" against Bonaparte in the manner of the beer drinkers of a small university,[a] will become an unsuccessful imperial Barrot of a Bonaparte of the German empire?[83]

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[a] In Giessen.—*Ed.*

# [DRAFT ADDRESS OF THE SECOND CHAMBER]

*Cologne,* March 16. Below we give for the information of our readers the *draft Address of the Second Chamber,*[84] a pale, servile copy of the speech from the throne.[a] Its author is the notorious knight of the red land,[b] valiant (!) von *Vincke.*

The Commission that drafted the Address

"gratefully *recognises*" (Old-Testament style) "the establishment" of "legal order through the Constitution of December 5 of last year".[85]

The Commission even *expresses* this gratitude in the name of the "*Prussian people*". And why should, according to the Commission, the people be thankful for the December Constitution imposed by the sabre? Because it is "imbued with a longing for the *restoration* of *public legal order*". Unfortunate knight Vincke! He has had to prove that he is the champion of the "*legal basis*", which is his speciality. But how is it possible to recognise the "legal basis" when confronted with the Brandenburg Government which shattered this very basis of legality by tearing up the laws of April 6 and 8, 1848[86]? Nothing is simpler! The Government has imposed a *new* legal basis, *martial law* and simultaneously the *Charter,* the Code and philosophy of *martial law*—the Constitution of December 5. First the Government abolishes "public legal order". Then the Government proclaims some other "public legal order", the first that comes to hand, e. g. a Croatian one, a legal basis of *quelconque.*[c] Then the Commission for drafting the Address in the name of the Prussian people, and Vincke

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 445-50.—*Ed.*
[b] Westphalia.—*Ed.*
[c] Any kind.—*Ed.*

in the name of the Prussian Commission for drafting the Address, have nothing more urgent to do than to welcome the restoration of *some sort* (any sort, no matter what) of "public legal order"! The legal basis is dead! Long live the legal basis! If, tomorrow, the Prussian Government is overthrown, if a Comité du salut public[87] is proclaimed in Berlin, then among the first to offer congratulations and invite guests to the wedding there will undoubtedly be a "champion of the legal basis", some Vincke or other, who in moving tones will recognise the "restoration of" *some sort* of "public legal order".

The Address Commission and the dead ride fast.[a] First of all, "gratitude" (according to the prescription of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*) for the coup d'état of December 5! Then the martial-law Constitution as the "henceforth valid fundamental law of the Prussian state"! Finally, the vow to carry out the "*revision* wholly inspired by reverence and loyalty towards Your Royal Majesty", i.e. a *revision in the sense desired by the donor.* In this way, it is to be hoped, we shall be led back to the period even *prior* to the United Diet[88]!

As for *Berlin's "state of siege"*, the Address Commission will be governed exclusively by the platitude that "true freedom cannot exist *without law and order*". People know the battle-cry of "*law and order!*" from the events in Warsaw.[89] If only Prussia could exist without money or obtain money without these importunate parliamentary chatterers! As for the states of siege sporadically occurring "outside the city of Berlin", the Address Commission considers it appropriate "to await a further report from Your Royal Majesty's Government". Meanwhile Erfurt and the districts of Silesia where a state of siege has been declared are left out in the cold. Vincke is *satisfait* as long as the Erfurt and Rosenberg military censorships[b] do not "cross out" his draft Address. There is no danger of that!

Vincke then makes a promise in the name of the Address Commission, and the commission makes a promise in the name of the Second Chamber, and the Second Chamber makes a promise in the name of the people to fulfil "by strenuous effort" and as satisfactorily as possible the tasks which the royal Prussian Government has entrusted to the "so-called representation of the people". Good luck!

"We too recognise with joy that the Prussian army has proved its military renown during the days of struggle and its loyalty in the course of severe trials."

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[a] "The dead ride fast" from G. A. Bürger, *Lenore.—Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 70-71.—*Ed.*

The Danish campaign of the Imperial Court of Law! [90] The battles at Miloslavl and Wreschen! The victories in Anhalt, in Mainz, in Frankfurt am Main! [91] More than this! Vincke joyfully recognises the loyalty with which "My glorious army" hounded Vincke's predecessor and used the official documents of the old National Assembly as fuel for the stove. Vincke has every reason to rejoice. Without the "loyalty" of the "Prussian army in the course of severe trials", our Vincke would never have had the opportunity to immortalise himself by this draft Address which he himself drew up. Moreover, we may point out incidentally that in this matter, too, the Address Commission copies in schoolboy fashion the provisions in the Hohenzollern general plan of reform [a] as given by the *Neue Preussische Zeitung.*

And the *German question?*

"Prussia" will shrink from "no sacrifice" in order to seize Little Germany,[b] by means other than those with which Frederick the Great seized Silesia. In regard to "conquests", modern Prussia subscribes to the principle of "peaceful" progress. Moreover, the Address Commission "hopes" that "all the German governments will come to an *understanding* with the German National Assembly". *We* hope that the German governments will not pay much attention to this imperial training-college for teachers.

The Address Commission further expresses the wish that there be "no disturbance of the peace" as a result of "the termination of the armistice by the Danish King". Vincke knows very well that this Danish termination of the armistice is not meant to be taken more seriously than the Prussian-Danish war itself.[92] The Prussian troops act as imperial troops in Schleswig-Holstein, the Schleswig-Holstein troops act as imperial troops in South Germany, the former here and the latter there declaring martial law!

Condolences for the death of Prince Waldemar, and assurances of readiness for self-sacrifice, by means of which von Bodelschwingh, Riedel, von Seckendorf, Arnim, Harkort, Count Renard, Camphausen, Vincke, Grün and suchlike rabble stoop to the role of Prussian Lycurguses and Solons; piety, respect for the law, public spirit, justice, providence, the hearts of the kings and the future of Prussia, "and with it the future of Germany",—all that is served up as a dessert by the Address Commission through the good offices of von Vincke!

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[a] See Marx, "The Hohenzollern General Plan of Reform" (this volume, pp. 65-69).— *Ed.*

[b] i.e. the whole of Germany apart from Austria.— *Ed.*

*Idiocy* must have rights of citizenship in a national assembly and in a nation which a von Vincke, by means of such a miserable botchwork produced in the name of a commission, in the name of a Chamber, and in the name of the people itself, can dare to turn into the laughing-stock of the European gallery.

Written by Engels on March 16, 1849

First published in the special supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 247, March 16, 1849

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# [FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

Our correspondence and newspapers from Vienna and Prague have again failed to arrive today. Nor do the Breslau, Leipzig and other papers carry a word from the Austrians on the military operations. The Magyar correspondent of the *Breslauer Zeitung*, on the other hand, writes of new fighting in the area of Szegléd, of great masses of wounded who were brought to Pest, and of preparations for retreat. But it does not yet report anything decisive either.

What is most striking about the Austrian silence is that nothing is reported from *anywhere*. Formerly, there was always some little corner from which the imperial side could report some small advantage. But now this also has ceased. The Magyars appear suddenly to be developing a quite unexpected energy at all points, placing the most unforeseen obstacles in the way of the advance of the 250,000 imperial troops.

Since February 16 or 17, that is for four weeks, there has been no news from Transylvania. Not a word of the advance towards Tokaj of the troops of Götz, Ramberg and Jablonowsky. Not a word of Nugent's operations in Syrmien. Not a syllable about the deeds of Rukavina, Todorovich and Gläser in the Banat. If we learn a word here or there, we learn it through unofficial, vague rumours.

In short, the silence of the official reports is becoming more and more uncanny, and the contents of the unofficial reports are becoming more and more menacing for Austria. On the latter a few details tomorrow.

According to a report in the *Allgemeine Oder-Zeitung*, the Austrians are preparing to allow *the Russians to march into Cracow*, as well as into Transylvania.

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# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

Now, following the résumé published in today's special supplement,[a] here are the detailed reports from the Hungarian theatre of war.

First concerning the operations *at Pest.* The fighting appears to be concentrated in the area of Szegléd, accordingly both the Hungarian and the royal imperial forces must have moved significantly south. At any rate we no longer hear of any fighting in the area of Erlau, Kapolna or Mezö-Kövesd. Jellachich is therefore said to have also moved off to Szegléd. It is confirmed that Windischgrätz, vexed by his ill successes, has moved his headquarters back to Ofen and has thus withdrawn from active command. That he has been wounded is, however, disputed. The great defeated general is now drawing all troops by any means available to himself, even from the Komorn siege corps and from Cracow, so as somehow to maintain his position.—With regard to the latest military operations the Magyar correspondent of the *Breslauer Zeitung* of March 9 writes:

"Yesterday a battle must have taken place in the direction of Szolnok for very many waggons full of wounded were brought in during the night. The fact that still no Bulletin has been issued and also that, on the orders of the military command, the entire front of the Donauzeile facing the fortifications of the Pest bridgehead had suddenly to be cleared and is being occupied by the military, points to a new defeat. For this last measure can only have been taken for the purpose of covering a hasty retreat. Moreover, the higher officers of the Ofen fortress garrison have today sent their wives away. Direct news is entirely lacking, since no traveller from the lower areas is allowed to approach Pest. Another battle is expected today, unless the heavy rain which is falling continually prevents it. If the battle is fought nevertheless, the retreat will involve heavy losses for the defeated side, for the roads there turn into deep mud whenever it rains, making it altogether unthinkable to bring away the guns and baggage. In Pest meat has risen in price by 2 kreutzers per pound because *a Hungarian raiding corps drove away a large consignment of oxen from Gödöllö, three hours from here.*

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[a] See this volume, p. 90.—*Ed.*

From *Debreczin* we learn that the Hungarian Government has accused of high treason and deposed Johann Hám, the Lord Primate of Hungary, and two other high prelates, who remained in Pest. The clever and liberal Hungarian historian, Horvath Mihaly, formerly Canon, later Bishop of Chanad, has been appointed Lord Primate" (this is also confirmed from another source). "When last night many spectators gathered at the bringing in of the wounded, they were dispersed by a strong patrol sent out for the purpose. Incidentally, all hospitals and barracks are so overcrowded with wounded that newcomers had to be laid on the stairs and in the forecourts."

Moreover, that the imperial cause is in a very peculiar way can also be deduced from a proclamation of Prince Windischgrätz from Ofen headquarters, dated March 8,[a] prohibiting all direct or indirect intercourse with the rebels and the inhabitants of the areas occupied by them for the duration of the state of siege. Similarly, all trading links are disrupted. Anyone acting against these prohibitions is to be dealt with under martial law, as well as all who aid and abet them in any way. The goods, however, are confiscated and sold for the benefit of the state treasury.

In the rear of the imperial armies things look equally jolly. What stage these gentlemen at Komorn have reached and what illusions they endeavour to spread is shown by the following communication of the government *Lloyd* from Pressburg:

"While the main army under Field Marshal Windischgrätz, tireless in the pursuit of the enemy, is already active on the other side of the Theiss (!), the second army corps is operating at Komorn, where, according to reliable reports, a great offensive will begin on the 15th of this month (!). For this purpose *many* (!) steamboats with *very many* howitzers of *every* calibre and with *fourfold* powder supplies have been dispatched there from Vienna, Ofen and Esseg. On our bank of the Danube several tugboats, equipped with cannon and bombs in the manner of warships, are tied up, intended to serve as the main transport of the reserve. It will probably take but a few rocket-throwing exercises to bring the Komorn garrison to its senses and lead to the surrender of the fortress and the re-opening of the waterway between Vienna, here and Pest."[b]

The same article which began with these absurd boasts goes straight on to admit that the Slovak peasants do not want to have anything to do with the royal imperial occupation. For besides other arrests,

"last week 12 peasants from nearby Slovak villages accused of concealment of arms with evil intent, were placed under arrest, brought here, and sentenced to two, three or four years' imprisonment depending on their crime".

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[a] The proclamation was published in the article "Pest, 9. März" in *Der Lloyd* No. 121 (evening edition), March 12, 1849, and also in the *Wiener Zeitung* No. 61, March 13, 1849.— *Ed.*

[b] "Pressburg, 9. März", *Der Lloyd* No. 119 (evening edition), March 10, 1849. Below the same article is quoted.— *Ed.*

The Slovaks, -who have been vainly incited to rebellion several times already, are so loyal to the Magyars that only 1,400 men out of 2 to 3 million could be recruited for Austria. Read the following report from Leutschau (Zips), which also confirms that the imperial troops are still where they were when Görgey moved to the Theiss:

"*Leutschau*, March 1. The Slovak *Landsturm* consists up to now of 15 companies of 90 men each. Three companies form the Leutschau garrison, five that of Eperies; the rest are moving to Kaschau. Yesterday, General Ramberg imposed a war-tax of 20,000 florins on this town. More than 500 people have fled from Eperies for fear of Görgey, many of them as far as Pest."

From the *south* we hear only that *Szegedin is still in the hands of 40,000 Magyars*, and that 30,000 Serbs are standing by ready to take the town.

Finally, we have received several reports from Transylvania, but which, strangely, still do not go beyond February 16 or 17. According to one of them (a Saxon report), Bem is supposed to be dangerously ill as a result of a wound in his hand; another report, about the Szeklers[93] taking Schässburg, is interesting because of the details which it gives of the strength of the Szeklers at a single point. On February 16, about 8,000 men and 12 cannon from Mediasch, 5,000 men and five cannon from Udvarhely and 3,000 men from Maros-Vásárhely advanced simultaneously on Schässburg. These fighting forces caused the brave Austro-Russian troops under Major von der Heydt and the virtuous civic militia of the town to withdraw without a fight to Hermannstadt and to leave wives, children and property to the mercy of the Szekler robber bands. These are said to have immediately imposed a war-contribution of 30,000 florins on the town:

"a much greater sum would be exacted from the administrative localities. The enemy was looking for lead and tin, as much as could be raised; he even fetched up the cartridges which had been sunk in the wells and dried the powder in the sun to make it usable again."[a]

Finally we quote the following interesting report from *Cracow*. This shows how completely preconcerted is the plot between Russia and Austria.

"*Cracow*, March 12. The royal imperial General *Legeditsch*, in command here, yesterday had Prince Stanislaw Jablonowski summoned before him and informed him quite abruptly that the municipal authority should make an application to the

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[a] "Hermannstadt, 15. Febr.", *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 74 (supplement), March 15, 1849.—*Ed.*

administration asking *the Russian troops standing on the border to enter Cracow to maintain calm, since he* (Legeditsch) *would have to march off to Hungary with all Austrian forces.* The Prince, however, replied to the royal imperial General that the *people of Cracow would certainly not make such a request* and should the town be completely denuded of troops, the citizenry would guarantee to maintain law and order.

"It will be remembered that General Puchner in Transylvania, before the entry of the Russian troops, made a similar indirect demand to the towns of Kronstadt and Hermannstadt that they should call for Russian aid."

Finally, on the question of the Hungarian banknotes, the despotism of the sabre had to yield to the *necessitas rerum,*[a] the absence of credit of the royal imperial state. Part of the Kossuth notes have already been called in, despite the weeping and gnashing of teeth of the Pest petty bourgeoisie.

"In fact Field Marshal Windischgrätz on the 9th of this month issued an announcement in Pest by which Hungarian 100-florin and 5-florin notes were banned from acceptance at public counters. This announcement produced great consternation there and all transactions are at this moment completely disrupted."[b]

The Pest Fair, which is anyway sparsely attended, is therefore unlikely to be held at all. The Hungarian one- and two-florin notes will hardly have any other fate.

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[a] Force of circumstances.— *Ed.*

[b] "Wien, 12. März", *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 64 (special supplement), March 16, 1849.— *Ed.*

# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

As the Vienna mail has again failed to arrive, we are again without any direct news from Hungary. What has reached us via Prague and Augsburg contains very little that is new.

The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* carries a report from Pest of the 8th to the effect that Szolnok is again occupied by imperial troops.[a] Later reports, as we shall see, sound quite different. The *Allgemeine Zeitung*, incidentally, admits that the imperial troops have suffered "a considerable defeat" at Szolnok, in which "of two companies barely 40 men were saved". Concerning the fighting, the same paper reports from *Abony* near Szolnok:

"After the day of Kapolna we advanced as far as Kövesd, and then to Poroszlo. As the cavalry was unable to operate there because of the marshy nature of the ground, we received orders to go to Szolnok. We arrived just in time to put an end to the fighting which 15,000 Hungarians with 40 cannon had begun against two brigades and which cost us dear, for the Karger brigade was driven out of Szolnok. At the moment reinforcements are arriving from Pest and we shall oppose them with 15,000 men and 36 to 40 cannon, but we do not doubt that they will withdraw when they see a significant deployment of strength. The bravery of our troops is very commendable. *Szolnok got into Hungarian hands yesterday, it is true,* but by tonight we shall surely have it back again."[b]

What we are to think of these boasts about the re-taking of Szolnok is evident from a report from Pest, printed in the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* which says:

"The Ban did indeed start from Pest yesterday, and that at 4 a.m. Unfortunately we know nothing at all about the events in the theatre of war in our immediate

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[a] "Pesth, 8. März", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 72, March 13, 1849.— *Ed.*

[b] "Abony bei Szolnok, 6. März", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 72, March 13, 1849.— *Ed.*

neighbourhood, between Szegléd and Abony, it is said. The local secret agitators tell marvels about the strength of the rebel army, nay even that it takes six hours to cross their camp. Of course,these rumours are obviously much exaggerated, but it cannot be denied that along the Szolnok route *a considerable insurgent army* has now already for the second time *advanced closer to the capital than is desirable.* The anxiety of the loyally-inclined is even more increased by the doubtless necessary *measures to safeguard the communications* between the fortress of Ofen and the New Edifice, the new and only citadel of Pest. Yesterday afternoon *embrasures* were made in this construction, in great haste, and the inhabitants of the houses in the neighbourhood received strict orders to hold themselves in such *readiness to march* that they would be able to leave their quarters with bag and baggage *within six hours* of receiving notice. Moreover, the buildings, workshops etc. of the company which is building the suspension bridge, situated next to the blockhouses of the suspension bridge, were yesterday hastily demolished on both banks of the Danube. Hence a *gloomy mood* prevails among the few local loyalists, while the opposing party finds it difficult to hide its secret joy."[a]

How things are going in general for the imperial side is evident even from the fact that Windischgrätz has strictly prohibited all traffic and commerce with the areas occupied by the Magyars so as to cut off their connections. All individuals trafficking there are to be arrested and their goods confiscated. Extraordinary police measures against aliens have also been ordered for the approaching Pest Fair.

There is still not the slightest news from the left wing of the main army (Schlick). The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* claims, it is true, that he has already been standing 8 hours from Debreczin and that it was not yet known whether he had gone back again.[b] But this is a most impudent lie; Maklar, where the imperial armies were standing according to their own reports, is fully 15 German miles[c] from Debreczin, and the Theiss, with its milewide belt of swamps, lies between, 10 miles from Debreczin. In the absence of facts the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* boasts as follows[d]:

"We confidently expect (!) good results from the operations of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Count Schlick, and in general we may claim with pride (!) that Count Schlick has proved a most excellent general, especially in his plight after the skirmish at Tokaj!"

The *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* also confirms that the Magyars have occupied the southern part of the Pest comitat at *Kecskemét.* They have even advanced to the Danube and are in contact with the insurgents on the opposite bank (the Tolna comitat):

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[a] "Pest, 9. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 61, March 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] "Pesth, 8. März", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 72, March 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

[c] See footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*

[d] This and the following quotations are taken from two items "Pest, 8. März" published in the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 60 (second supplement), March 12, 1849.—*Ed.*

"One of the main centres of insurgent activity is Kalocsa; they are stirring up the entire neighbourhood, particularly the Tolna comitat, on the other side of the Danube. There the rebels are so bold that they sink every ship that passes on the Danube. The peasants of Földvar and Duna Vecse are distinguishing themselves particularly in this respect. They have not the smallest fear of the royal imperial troops, imagining that 12,000 Honveds are at Kalocsa. They are constantly being made more fanatical by posters from Debreczin."

It follows from this that along the whole stretch from Duna Vecse to Tolna (9 to 10 miles as the crow flies) both banks of the Danube are in the Magyars' hands and shipping is greatly threatened.

The following report shows how the war is being conducted in this area and how little prospect the clumsy Austrians have of coping with these elusive bands of rebels.

"The detachment of troops which left a few days ago for Duna Földvar (Tolna comitat) by steamer to suppress the latest revolt has never come face to face with the enemy. Although the tugboat was shot at on landing, the mutineers dispersed like chaff in the wind even before the troops had disembarked. A true guerilla war! The Simunich brigade, according to a rumour, is said to be entering a fortified camp near the Bicske estate of Count Kasimir Batthyány, four hours drive from Ofen, to maintain the security and continuity of the new order of things beyond the Danube."

From Transylvania not a word.

From the Banat

"it is *expected* that simultaneously with the arrival of the Ban[a] (in the campaign against Szolnok) the long line of the Austro-Serb troops which extends from Baja to Temesvar *will* now be set in motion" (*Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*).

Indeed! Now at last we learn that the famous division Lieutenant-Field Marshal Gläser formed from the troops of Rukavina, Todorovich and other generals, greeted with so many newspaper fanfares, which was to conquer Transylvania and Grosswardein, has not even stood its ground on the Maros but has retreated to Temesvar! Magyar reports indeed told us this long ago, but they were not to be believed, of course!

And in another article in the same paper we read:

"Until yesterday (March 7) neither Szegedin nor Theresiopel (Subotica) were captured, in the neighbourhood of which, as I have already reported, the Serbs won a brilliant victory and literally made hay of the Magyars, and a Magyar corps has advanced in this direction. This is related by travellers who have come from these areas today."[b]

But thereby hangs a tale. The Serbs are to the highest degree dissatisfied with their chiefs. Patriarch Rajachich is making himself

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[a] Jellachich.— *Ed.*

[b] "Von der Drave, 8. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 61, March 13, 1849.— *Ed.*

daily more unpopular by outlawing Stratimirovich, by his intervention against the National Committee,[94] which he has now disbanded, reconstituted and moved to Becskerek, and by other arbitrary measures. Stratimirovich has disappeared and seems to have gone over to the Magyars. Rukavina and Todorovich are Serbs, it is true, but above all royal imperial generals, who know no other nationality than the Austrian. Moreover, considerable tension exists between the regular troops and the Serb frontier guards and volunteers.

"The Serbs complain of a shortage of cavalry, and, what is more, the imperial troops are in no hurry to leap to the aid of the Rascians,[95] a designation which has become popular again among the military" (*Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*).[a]

In short, since Stratimirovich has gone, the Serbs have become obstinate and what is more are *negotiating with the Magyars*, as even the Vienna papers report. What effect Kossuth's appointment of Stratimirovich as Ban and voivode will have remains to be seen.

Another blow for the Austrians is being prepared here by the *recall of the Turkish Serbs from Hungary*. The *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* reports on this:

"By a princely decree from Belgrade the Serbs who are fighting on Austrian soil are recalled. Whether Knićanin's corps is included is not known, since the order is couched in too general terms. Our Serbs interpret this measure with suspicion, claiming to know that the Olmütz Court[b] has worked for this decree through diplomatic channels. Others see in it purely a matter of organisation and conscription, while we are inclined to connect it with the Turkish armament measures. Certainly, the Serbian irregulars knew nothing better than looting, killing and burning; they were the dregs of Serbia. Their rapacity was quite indiscriminate. They dragged their booty across the Sava by the cartload, and, wherever these hordes broke in, the complaint went up from all sides: Heaven preserve us from these friends, we can cope with our enemies."[c]

The same paper writes in another article on this affair:

"Another untoward circumstance which fills us with gloomy forebodings is the recall of the troops of the Serb Principality from the Voivodina. We are unable to penetrate the secret of this policy. It is said that The Porte, England and France have demanded the recall of these troops. We do not believe this, at any rate they had no right to do so; for the troops who came to our aid from the principality were not regular troops of whom the local government can dispose as it pleases, they are volunteers who came to take part in the liberation struggle of their compatriots. The Serbs, however, had a right to take part in this struggle, for Serbia is a constitutional

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[a] "Agram, 5. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 60, March 11, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] The Austrian Court fled to Olmütz (Olomouc) during the Vienna uprising in October 1848.—*Ed.*

[c] "Von der Drave, 8. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 61, March 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

country, its people are free people. There is no end to the South-Slav troubles, indeed they are increasing with every passing day."[a]

The following announcement by the Patriarch, dated Gross-Kikinda, February 24, shows moreover that the plundering by the Serbs must be very bad:

"As looting is on the increase by both the auxiliaries and even our regulars, I feel compelled to order: 1) Nobody shall dare to purchase any cattle or other effects taken as booty. 2) In case of violation the purchaser will lose both the booty he has bought and the purchase money handed over. 3) All objects taken as booty will be confiscated wherever found and the matter reported to me through the appropriate authority."[b]

But what angers the Serbs most, who are, after all, waging a national struggle, is the action taken in the interest of *Germanisation* by the noble Banus Jellachich, who as Ban is at the same time chief of the Military Border district.[96] The *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* received the following report from the Sava dated March 1:

"Ban Jellachich has become the chief talk of the day; his latest action is cloaked in the darkness of secrecy, and the Southern Slavs do not regard him without suspicion. His order to the Patriarch announcing that the *German language* is to be re-introduced in the local Military Border district, was very badly received here. Indeed, Ban Jellachich has not grasped the implications of this pronouncement. The Serbs kindled the national war solely to rid themselves of the rule of an alien nation, to save from destruction their literature (!), their art (!), their songs, all their national treasures, to which they cling with loyal hearts; the Serbs will not readily obey this order. Whatever may have induced the highly respected Ban to issue it, we do not doubt for a moment that the Patriarch will reject it."

Clearly, the noble, gallant Ban is playing a most contemptible role. Sent for a time to Pest, under suspicion, he served the Government to cover all its acts that were unpalatable to the Slavs with his name and position. The noble personage, once having entered into relations with the Austrians, has irrevocably broken with the Magyars. Now, too late, he realises that despite his Slav cunning he has been ignominiously duped by the imperial side and cannot even refuse to sign such a disgraceful declaration as his recent one about his alleged quarrel with Windischgrätz. It serves him right.

Peterwardein is surrounded. The garrison is said to have taken all its officers prisoner as disloyal and traitorous.

We have learned more details about the battle in Slovakia against the Czechoslovak volunteers. The fighting took place at Turan on the Waag (at the foot of the Jablunka Pass, already once before so

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[a] "Von der Save, 1. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 60 (second supplement), March 12, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] "Semlin, 4. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 61, March 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

ominous for Messrs. Štúr and Hurban). The Magyar-Slovak corps, 12,000 strong, which was victorious here, is occupying the High Carpathians and is said to be under the command of Klapka and Aulich.

The Austrian Government is said to have disavowed Puchner's invitation to the Russians to enter Transylvania and insists on their withdrawal as soon as 15,000 Banat troops have arrived in Transylvania as reinforcements. But since the Serbs refuse to march, the Russian corps will surely stay for the time being.

The following is reported in Pest from Debreczin, according to the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*:

A deputy is said to have proposed that the National Assembly should recognise the Emperor Francis Joseph as the legitimate King of Hungary. Nyáry was the first to support this pacification proposal, and even Kossuth made a brilliant speech in favour of the proposal which was then unanimously adopted.[a]

A letter from Pest the next day adds:

"The news from Debreczin reported yesterday appears to find confirmation, and the National Assembly is indeed said to have recognised the Emperor Francis Joseph as legitimate King of Hungary. This recognition rests, however, on the Pragmatic Sanction, and the demands which Kossuth's party piles up on this basis we still remember from the last Imperial Diet but one.[97] According to reports received it has also been explicitly added that this step had been induced above all by the wish to prove to the European monarchies, especially to the great powers in the immediate neighbourhood, that there was not the least intention to found a united, big, perhaps even red, Sarmato-Magyar republic. This would therefore seem not to be a step towards actual pacification."[b]

If the Magyars have really taken this decision, such a manoeuvre would basically have little significance. If they are victorious and stand before Vienna, the "legitimate King of Hungary" will soon come to his end.

Moreover, in another letter from the Drava we read:

"In and around Debreczin everything looks extraordinarily martial and warlike. An imperial officer who was discharged under bond because he did not want to fight against his brothers gave us information from which we single out the following as remarkable. 'Kossuth's army,' he said, 'must amount to about 100,000 men and the artillery to 400 (?) cannon. Rockets of a unique kind are being made. A regular infantry is also available and seven old-style hussar regiments, besides which seven more hussar regiments have been formed, the Kossuth-, Mészáros-, Batthyány-, Madarász-, Hunyadi-hussars etc. There is much drilling and for up to six miles from Debreczin the villages are very strongly fortified, and it would be a great mistake to think of victory over these rebels as easy and rapid'; so far the statements of our

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[a] "Pest, 8. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 60 (second supplement), March 12, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] "Pest, 9. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 61, March 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

informant. As far as our knowledge of the movements on the Theiss goes, we believe that our operations have to be carried out with all seriousness and caution, since skilful manoeuvres will here be necessary, and the troops in Hungary, at least at this present decisive moment, still appear to us *insufficient*. I do not want to be accused of pessimism. We see among the rebels much energy and among the masses in and around Romania[a] a veritable fanaticism; hence we regret the delay in recruitment in the northern provinces, since this hampers the Government in fighting the Magyars."[b]

With this report, which should make our neighbouring journalist[c] rejoice, we conclude for today, still waiting for *finem Hungariae.*

Written by Engels about March 17, 1849

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[a] An allusion to Transylvania.— *Ed.*

[b] "Von der Drave, 8. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 61, March 13, 1849.— *Ed.*

[c] An ironic reference to the journalist who wrote about the war in Hungary for the *Kölnische Zeitung* (see this volume, pp. 13-18).— *Ed.*

# [MILITARY DICTATORSHIP IN AUSTRIA][98]

*Cologne*, March 17. The year 1848 was the year of disappointment with revolutionary memories, illusions and other phrases. In 1848 the insurgent people of half Europe let themselves be put off with phrases, colourful rags, addresses and processions; and it was quite consistent that the revolution of 1848 should end in universal counter-revolutionary and military dictatorship.

The revolution of 1848 however had at least the result that it not only completely enlightened the people everywhere about the previous phrases, but that it also started a conflagration in the old Europe which all the Cavaignacs and Windischgrätzes in the world will be unable to stamp out.

1849 is the year of disillusion with the omnipotence of military dictatorship.

The military dictatorship comes to grief above all owing to two things: firstly, its inability to solve any of the complications; secondly, its costliness. It collapses as soon as it has to organise or as soon as it has to find regular sources of finance.

The first example of this collapse of military dictatorship is afforded by the "time-honoured" Imperial State of Austria, which could only save its existence by the most violent and extreme rule of the sabre. At the present moment Austria is perishing because of rule by the sabre.

When the revolution was quelled in Vienna with the help of the Slavs, when Pest was captured by the Slav-Austrian army,[99] when the heroes of martial law believed they could easily deal with the remainder of the Magyar revolution, and that within a fortnight they would re-establish the entire old predatory state from the Ticino and Po to the Dnieper and the Carpathians, the Olmütz camarilla quickly prepared a plan. It was intended, as soon as the sabre dictatorship had been introduced throughout Hungary, to dissolve

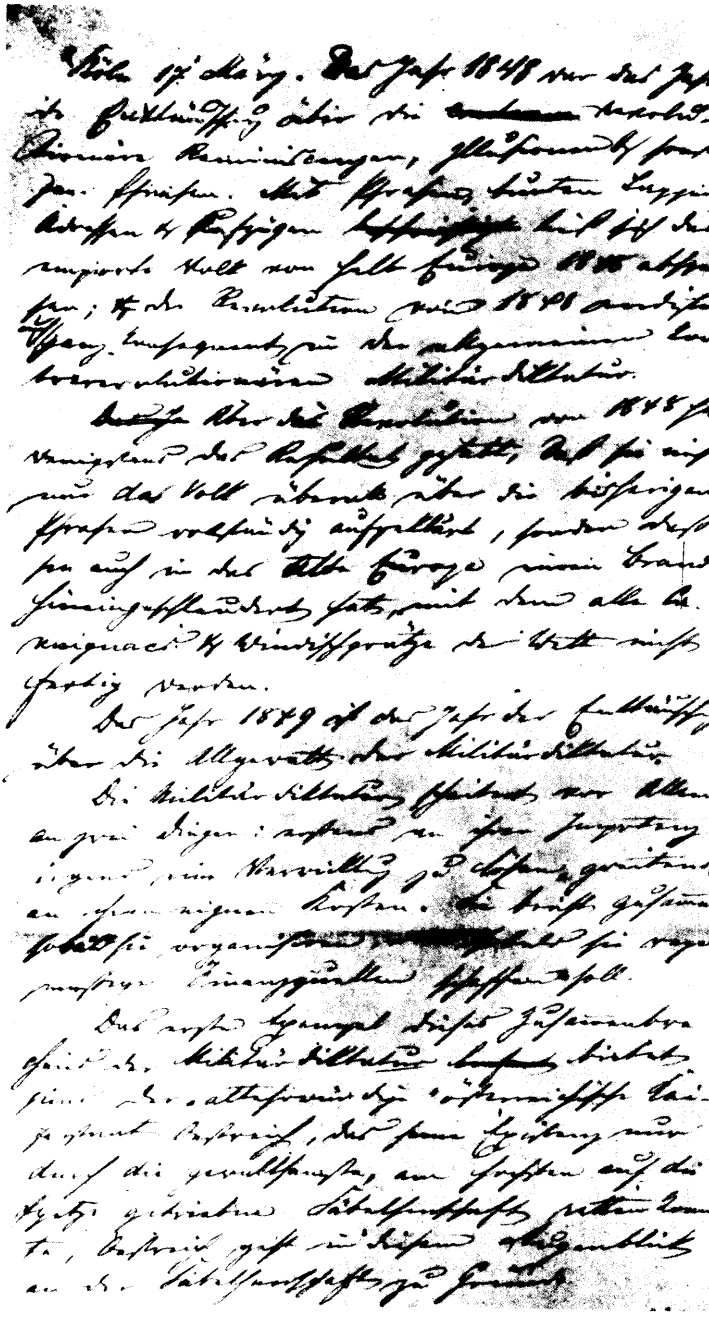

The first page of Engels' article "Military Dictatorship in Austria"

the Kremsier Imperial Diet, which had been useful previously on account of the Slavs, to cast aside the Slavs as a worn-out tool, to impose *pro forma* a Constitution which would never be implemented, and to restore the old Metternich system by the old method, the enslavement of one nation by another.

The defeats of the imperial robber bands at the Theiss delayed the execution of this benevolent project. The Slavs were still needed on the battlefield.

But the rumour of the imminent imposition of this plan spread. The Imperial Diet became apprehensive. The Slav Club[100] became daily more dangerous for the Ministers. Agreement was reached that on March 15 the draft Constitution should be adopted in its entirety, thus forestalling the imposition of a Constitution. No other course remained for the camarilla but to risk a desperate coup, to steal a march on the Imperial Diet, and *prematurely*, and in spite of the Slavs, to disperse the Imperial Diet and impose the so-called Constitution.[101]

This martial-law Charter burst like a bomb among the medley of Austrian peoples. The wrath previously felt only by the Germans and Magyars at the Austrian habit of gaining victory by cowardly acts of treachery, and after the victory to surpass in barbarity the most brutal bandits, this wrath was now shared by the Slavs as well. They were ensnared by the prospect of a "Slav Austria", they were made use of to win victory in Italy and Hungary, and by way of thanks they are now being subjected again to the old Metternich whip. Instead of a "Slav Austria" they are being given a so-called "equality of rights of nations", which denotes here an *equal lack of rights* of all nations in face of the all-powerful camarilla of the higher nobility, which has no nationality at all. Instead of the much vaunted "freedoms", they are being given bayonets, an Imperial Diet whose majority consists of Slavs is being dispersed by cudgel blows, and the holy cradle of pan-Slavism, Prague, is threatened with a state of siege.[a]

That is all the benefit the Austrian Slavs, and particularly the Czechs, have derived from allying themselves with the camarilla in order to achieve their national separatist[102] aims instead of joining the German and Magyar revolutions. The Germans and Magyars often enough warned them of what they would gain as a result; but they have chosen this. A province which, on the pretext of wanting to achieve a *special* freedom for itself, joins in a conspiracy with the counter-revolution against freedom for the whole country, deserves

[a] After this paragraph Engels deleted the following words: "The Czechs who form the vanguard of the Austrian Slavs, are the...." — *Ed.*

nothing better than that finally it, too, should be cheated by the counter-revolution and cast aside.

Little is yet known of the effect of the new counter-revolutionary coup d'état on the Slavs. No news has yet come from the south or from Galicia. The Moravians are a people too demoralised and enfeebled to be likely to regard the matter otherwise than with fatuous indifference. The Czechs, on the other hand, the spokesmen of the Austrian Slavs and the ones most insultingly swindled, have already expressed their feelings. Their rage knows no bounds. They have been so greatly disappointed that public opinion in Prague has been completely revolutionised. The heads of the Slav alliance with the camarilla, the previous idols of the Czechomaniacs, people such as the *Palackys, Strobachs, Brauners,* are the object of general imprecation. The German-Bohemian deputies were greeted at the railway station in Prague with loud, jubilant cries. Indeed, *Borrosch* the Germanophil, whose house in Prague had only shortly before been demolished, made a *truly triumphant entry into the capital city of pan-Slavism.* The Czech students carried him shoulder high from the railway station, innumerable cries of "hurrah" for the *German Lefts* in the Imperial Diet were uttered, and the assembled people of Prague sang "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland".[a]

Now the Czechs, too, want to elect deputies to Frankfurt, now when it is too late. But the Austrian Government will probably reply by issuing a decree recalling all the Austrian deputies sitting in St. Paul's Church.[103]

These pronouncements by the Czechs will exert a decisive influence on the way the other Austrian Slavs will react to the martial-law Charter. In spite of all seeming concessions, the Croats and especially the Serbs will grasp the real reason for the imperial gift, and the Galician peasants will pull wry faces when they learn that they must now after all pay compensation for the feudal burdens.

The enthusiasm for Austria and the Emperor, not only of the Slav enthusiasts for nationalism and freedom, but of the Slav peasants as well, will come to an end through this coup d'état. Within fourteen days Austria will be unable to rely to the slightest degree on the Slavs, any more than it can on the Germans and Italians; Austria has now nothing else to depend on than its 600,000 soldiers and—Russia.

It is this coup d'état, which is intended to establish irrevocably the unity and indivisibility of the whole predatory state, that will give the

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[a] "What is the Fatherland of a German" from Ernst Moritz Arndt's poem "Der Teutschen Vaterland" (music by Gustav Reichardt).—*Ed.*

impulse for the overthrow of the Austrian monarchy, and perhaps for European wars and revolutions.

In Hungary, the army has for the second time been thrown back from the Theiss, and the strength of the Magyar revolution is daily growing more formidable; the Serbs are negotiating with the Magyars, and perhaps—even according to Austrian reports—have already gone over to them; in Croatia, dissatisfaction is daily increasing; Vienna is a volcano which can hardly be kept under by 30,000 bayonets; Italy is on the threshold of war, which at this moment has perhaps already broken out, a war in which Radetzky's demoralised bands will find opponents quite different from those of last year; the financial position is daily growing worse, each month bringing a deficit of more than five million guldens; and in addition there is now the break with the Slavs, who have had a gauntlet flung in their face at a time when they were still urgently needed, precisely as if it were desired to provoke Jellachich to lead his Croats and borderers with drums beating into the Magyar camp!

That is too much for the old Austria. Only the intervention of Russia could save it, and the intervention of Russia, one more step farther than hitherto, means inevitably—a *European war.*

Such is the pass to which Austria has been brought by the military dictatorship; it has been brought to the verge of collapse, to the most complete dissolution, to the brink of bankruptcy.

The sabre can terrorise, but its power goes no further than that. The terrorism exercised by the sabre is the stupidest and most brainless of all. But the fact that a revolution has been put down by grape-shot does not mean that anything has been accomplished; it is easy to proclaim and put into effect a state of siege, but to *emerge from it* again, that is after all the chief thing, and that requires more than just a moustache.

Precisely to come out of the exceptional state of siege, to come out of the provisional regime, and in order to "*put an end to the revolution*", the aristocratic wielders of the sabre have imposed the Constitution. And precisely this Constitution is the cause that the Austrian revolution is *only now really beginning.*

"God save Emperor Francis!"[a]

Written by Engels on March 17, 1849

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[a] L. L. Haschka, National and State Anthem of Austria. Music by Joseph Haydn.—*Ed.*

# [THE 18th OF MARCH]

*Cologne*, March 18. We confess to our readers that we do not know how to write any leading article for today. The March revolution in Berlin, that feeble echo of the revolution in Vienna,[104] never aroused our enthusiasm. On March 19, 1848, Berlin sang: "*In Jesus is my trust!*"[a] We advise the worthy Berliners this time to say on March 18: "*In Wrangel is my trust!*"

The anniversary the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* will celebrate will be that of *June 25*.[105]

And what will the *Kölnische Zeitung* do, that is to say, the "Cologne bourgeoisie"?

On March 22, 1848, the chief reproach of the *Kölnische Zeitung* against Herr von "Arnim" was that he had *banned* the *Rheinische Zeitung*. At that time Camphausen was not yet a Minister. We mention this for clarification.

We still remember the happy time when *Camphausen* collaborated with us in Cologne.[106] The attitude of Camphausen to us in the past and our present attitude to him—therein lies the *secret of the March revolution of 1848.*

Written by Marx on March 18, 1849

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[a] Initial words of the song "Jesus meine Zuversicht!"—*Ed.*

# [THE *NEUE PREUSSISCHE ZEITUNG* ON THE OCCASION OF THE 18th OF MARCH]

*Cologne*, March 18. The organ of *Frederick William IV*, the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, writes as follows on the occasion of March 18, 1849:

**"Double woe, however, to the people that solemnly commemorates its revolution; to sin is human, but to take pride in the sin and to celebrate one's crime is of the devil."**[a]

In a feature article of the same issue, the newspaper calls the struggle on March 18 and 19 a "**bloody farce**"! That is the fitting reward "to My people"[107] for having made *half* a revolution.

Further, the newspaper reports that a few days ago Wrangel went to "*inspect*" *Friedrichshain*.[108]

We shall await what Herr Wrangel will "**inspect**" on March 18, 1850.

Written by Marx on March 18, 1849

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[a] *Neue Preussische Zeitung* No. 64, March 17, 1849.—*Ed.*

# [FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

The Vienna papers are missing again tonight. Frankly, we cannot explain this limitless muddle, which is becoming worse every day.

We have received news from Pest via Breslau up to the 11th of March. No official word from the theatre of war; but Magyar and Austrian reports, though not official, are in the main in *complete* agreement.

It is becoming more and more evident every day that for the last fortnight the imperial troops have suffered one defeat after another. At least half the royal imperial Austrian generals have proved to be sheer dolts and Windischgrätz, though no less incompetent, is now throwing them out of the command. *Zeisberg* has completely disappeared, *Karger* and *Deym*, who compromised themselves at Szolnok, are the subject of an enquiry; *Wrbna*, who according to Magyar reports was chiefly to blame for the defeat of the Austrians at Mezö-Kövesd, is also said to be involved in an enquiry, and, as all reports indicate, has "fallen into disgrace" and "likely to be pensioned off".

The nature of the so-called victory at Kapolna is revealed in the following report of the Vienna *Lithographierte Correspondenz*:

"According to the report of the Kapolna notary, who had to arrange for the burial of the fallen in the battle there, the number of dead on the Hungarian side was *1,500 and on the imperial side 4,000*."[a]

Moreover, it is evident from Austrian reports that *Schlick* attended *a war council in Ofen* and that he is to take over the command of the Northern Army, Ban *Jellachich* that of the Southern Army, and that

[a] The report was reprinted under the heading: "Wien, 14. März" in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 76, March 17, 1849 and in *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 66 (second edition), March 18, 1849.—*Ed.*

Field Marshal *Windischgrätz* will remain in Ofen. It seems that people are not completely satisfied that the twin capitals[109] will be maintained.

The following reports of the Magyar correspondent of the *Breslauer Zeitung* show what impression Windischgrätz's latest measures regarding the Hungarian banknotes[110] have made in Pest:

"Commercial circles in Pest wanted to hold a meeting to consult about this measure, but Prince Windischgrätz would not allow it. The excitement in Pest was so great that the Prince found himself compelled to send 40,000 guldens in small Austrian banknotes to pay the workers' wages.—The Pest Commercial Bank also wanted to issue a circular saying that it would accept Hungarian notes as before, but Windischgrätz prohibited the Bank from accepting these notes. The Josephi Fair now being held in Pest is as good as non-existent because of the confusion over the banknotes, and in the end it is the Austrian merchants who are most hit by this, since they can neither sell nor collect outstanding amounts."

New evidence of the quite extraordinary measures which the imperial army finds itself compelled to introduce simply to retain the positions it now holds, is to be found in a decree of Windischgrätz from Ofen on March 10, which subjects the nobility and the citizens and also the cities and villages which join the rebellion to military requisitions without claim to compensation; next those sections of the nobility and the citizens which proved inactive in the imperial cause are required to bear the cost of provisioning the army; but in this case receipts will be issued and the claim to compensation is reserved. The faithful and loyal inhabitants have a special claim to full compensation; those who cause damage will incur sequestration of property.

The Magyar correspondent reports from the comitats of Tolna and Baranya:

"Yesterday the Mohacs mail was returned; Mohacs and Fünfkirchen were occupied by the Hungarians. The Hungarian General Perczel has marched with 10,000 men into Pentele on the Ofen bank of the Danube. Pentele is about 8 miles distant from Ofen. 400 imperial soldiers were driven out of Földvar on the Danube by the village peasants. On the Pest side operations proceed slowly and it appears that the main force of the Hungarians is crossing over to the Ofen bank of the Danube. The Hungarians seem very anxious to save Pest from bombardment, and must therefore direct their main offensive against Ofen, and when that is taken, Pest will fall automatically."

Reports that *Fünfkirchen* is in the hands of the Magyars and that a strong Magyar corps is marching to the right bank of the Danube certainly require confirmation.

The following (Austrian) report comes from Komorn:

"Six thousand sixty-pound bombs have been brought up for the bombardment of Komorn; communication trenches are being dug around the fortress and water is run

into them so as to flood the subterranean buildings of the fortress (!). The garrison consists of 10 battalions. The inhabitants must hand over food mostly for nothing, since they cannot give change for the Kossuth 100-florin notes with which the men pay."[a]

"Communication trenches" by means of which "subterranean buildings are flooded" have hitherto been unknown and must be an entirely new royal imperial Austrian invention, rather like the famous balloons which were to bombard Venice.

The following report comes from Transylvania; it must surely be very painful to the neighbouring journalist who is such a Russophil:

"News has arrived in a roundabout way from Transylvania which brings us up to the 4th of the month. The cities of Kronstadt and Hermannstadt have to *produce a sum of 1,000 florins per day for the billeting of Russian troops,* about which they have complained to the general in command. Bem is still at Mediasch and Puchner is limited to his previous forces. *Without significant Russian support* (?) or a diversion from the Banat (!) the pacification of unhappy Transylvania is unthinkable."[b]

A diversion from the Banat! As if the Serbs had not been refusing for six weeks to leave their homeland to save the haggling Flemish Jews in the Transylvanian Sachsenland![111] And even if they wanted to, as if 40,000 Magyars on the Maros did not give them more than enough to do!

According to the *Ost-Deutsche Post,*[c] Dembiński is said to have resigned because of a dissension with Görgey, and Görgey is supposed to have become Commander-in-Chief on the Theiss. This news, which must have been sent from Pest on the 10th at the latest, appears to be a pure martial-law rumour, and is not even remotely confirmed by anyone. We give it only for the sake of completeness.

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[a] This report was first published in the *Breslauer Zeitung* and then under the dateline "Wien, 14. März" reprinted in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 66 (second edition), March 18, 1849.— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid.— *Ed.*

[c] "Wien, 12. März", *Ost-Deutsche Post* No. 45, March 13, 1849.— *Ed.*

# MILITARY REPORTS FROM HUNGARY

*Cologne,* March 19. At last a Bulletin again, the 28th. But we search this document, printed in the *Wiener Zeitung* of March 15, in vain for reports from the Theiss, the main theatre of war; in vain we ask where Jablonowsky, Götz and their associates have gone; it is precisely on the most important events that the official Bulletin maintains a silence which speaks very loudly. On the other hand, it reports the following mighty advances of the imperial troops:

1) From *Transylvania:*

"To put an end to the devastating action of the enemy, who threatens to reduce the Saxon districts to complete ruin by the most oppressive requisitioning of money and victuals, and also to gain the line of the Kokel and thence to advance further towards Maros-Vásárhely and to link up with the corps of Lieutenant-Field Marshal von Malkowsky, who has advanced to Bistritz, the Commanding General, Lieutenant-Field Marshal Puchner, ordered the van der Nüll brigade to advance to Stolzenburg on the 28th of last month, to Markt-Schelken on March 1, to Arbegin and Frauendorf on the 2nd, to which it was followed on the 3rd by the main corps consisting of the two brigades of Stutterheim and Kalliani. After the first brigades had fought a victorious vanguard skirmish on March 2, the next day—when all three brigades had come together—the enemy was gradually driven back from all three positions which the insurgents had occupied (before Kopisch, at the inn of Grossprobsdorf and at Mediasch), with a loss of 300 dead and wounded and 85 prisoners. The insurgents withdrew in great haste to Maros-Vásárhely, whither they were pursued by a cavalry division,[112] an infantry battalion and two guns under Lieutenant-Colonel Bussek after the occupation of Mediasch. Since preparations are now being made for the occupation of Maros-Vásárhely communication with the Malkowsky corps and Colonel Urban as well as with the Bukovina will be restored."

Even if all this were true it proves merely that the imperial forces, evidently *reinforced by the Russians,* have taken Mediasch, while Bem was prevented by his wound from taking command. Thereby the imperial forces have gained a few miles of terrain. If the Bulletin

boasts of the fact that preparations are being made for the occupation of Maros-Vásárhely and the to-be-expected restoration of communications with Malkowsky's corps in the Bukovina, it must be taken into consideration that Puchner is in Mediasch and Malkowsky at most in Bistritz, and that between these two places there lie 20 to 25 miles of high mountain country, so the boast of preparing to establish communications will mean about as much as if the Italians were to claim that by giving notice to the Piedmontese armistice[113] they had made preparations for "establishing communications" with the Magyars.

Incidentally, that Bem is seriously ill and that the Szeklers (for good reasons) have imposed really substantial contributions on the Saxon philistines as reward for their black-and-yellow[a] enthusiasm is proved by the following communication[b]:

"*Hermannstadt*, February 26. Bem, who is ill, drove to Maros-Vásárhely on the 23rd; his arm is in a very dangerous condition as a result of the amputation of a finger.—Schässburg has had to pay a contribution of 30,000 florins C.M.[114] and recently another 100,000 florins C.M. have been demanded from it and the administrative localities.—All the newspapers have mentioned the 195,000 men of the Romanian *Landsturm*; I can assure you that this figure exists merely on paper."

2) The Bulletin reports about *Komorn*:

"According to reports of the siege command of Komorn the pontoon bridge between Acs and Gönyö is completed and the closer encirclement of Komorn is thereby accomplished. On the 11th of this month the garrison of the Waag bridgehead made a sortie against Hetény, which was, however, beaten back by the Veigl brigade."

Duroc explained to Napoleon that Komorn was "impregnable". Short of betrayal, therefore, the imperial forces will not get in, and the Magyars have already taken strong measures to protect themselves against treason.

3) From the *Banat*:

"After the entire left bank of the Maros from the Transylvanian border to the Theiss was cleared of the enemy in February by the operations of the imperial Austro-Serbian army corps and the troops under Lieutenant-Field Marshal Baron Rukavina, Commanding General in the Banat, and secured by a well-planned arrangement of our troops in combination with the two fortresses of Arad and Temesvar, *it seemed no longer necessary for the Serb auxiliary corps to remain* in the Banat and in the Bacska comitat, and General Todorovich *was in a position* to comply with the wish expressed earlier by the Princely Serb Government, by allowing this brave auxiliary corps to go home to its peaceful occupation. At the beginning of this month the auxiliary corps returned to Belgrade in two steamboats along the Theiss and

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[a] The Austrian imperial colours.—*Ed.*
[b] *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 62, March 14, 1849.—*Ed.*

Danube. On March 1 General Todorovich had his headquarters at Turkish Kanizsa on the Theiss, three hours from Szegedin and Theresiopel, in the direction of which the vanguard troops were moved forward on both banks of the Theiss into the immediate neighbourhood of these towns."

Really! The Serb auxiliary corps was no longer necessary! And what, then, has become of the mighty expedition to Transylvania and Grosswardein, which the last Bulletin but two announced with so much pomp?[a] After the left bank of the Maros has been cleared, the imperial troops suddenly confine themselves to the defensive, instead of marching on! But there are reasons for this, for which we must not, of course, ask the royal imperial bulletins. On the other hand, the organ of the Slavs, the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*, is enlightening us on this point. This paper carries a letter *from the Sava*, of March 9[b]:

"With every day dissensions increase among us, with every day our situation becomes more oppressive, and we are learning by experience that in this great struggle of the nations we *have helped to stage* the uncommonly instructive fable *of the squeezed lemon.* We have not yet recovered from the shock produced by the last order of Ban Jellachich introducing the German language; we have not yet forgotten the profound grief which stirred within us when we heard that all volunteer forces from the Serb principality might return home, and blow after blow new misfortunes are rained upon us. And now Prince Windischgrätz has issued an order to Patriarch Rajachich and General Todorovich to *dissolve all national departments* which have existed in the Voivodina since its conquest, and likewise *to abolish all garrisons except the imperial garrisons,* and to restore the *old army commands* and regiments to their former powers. This order of the Field Marshal caused much suspicion and dissatisfaction, and everyone was anxiously waiting for the reply of the Patriarch which, when it appeared, cheered the gloomy faces and gave room for hope. It said: 'So long as I am the administrator of these lands, I shall and will not admit this dissolution; this must not and cannot be. If you, however, insist on your order, I shall dissolve everything, but I cannot be held responsible for what the nation will say to that.' No less satisfactory was the reply of General Todorovich. *A most disagreeable impression* has been made by the news of the dissolution of the Kremsier Imperial Diet and the Constitution which has been imposed.[115]"

And when the Bulletin reports on the siege of Peterwardein as follows:

"Master of Ordnance[116] Count Nugent himself is engaged in the negotiations about the surrender of the important fortress of Peterwardein, where among the majority of the troops and of the population such a strong inclination to return to their duties has shown itself that this gives us great hope that we shall again see the royal imperial colours decorate this important military point in a few days, as they do the fortress of Esseg",

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[a] See this volume, p. 62.— *Ed.*

[b] *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 62 (second supplement), March 14, 1849.— *Ed.*

the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* replies with the following South-Slav *Miserere*:

"*From the Drava.* March 9. Nugent has moved his headquarters from Dalja to Čerevič in Syrmien, but Dalja must remain occupied since it could serve as a base for a sudden raid. Incidentally, the fact that troop detachments are frequently ordered to two different places and then it turns out that these contradictory orders were given in most pressing circumstances, indicates to some extent how insufficient our armed forces are.

"At Theresiopel in the Bacska comitat the Magyar troops mentioned yesterday were opposed only by three battalions and they had to yield to too great a superior force.

"In the operations against Peterwardein we are advancing rapidly. Consignments of siege guns leave Esseg daily in this direction, so *there is not a word of truth in the babble about the imminent surrender of the fortress.* Everything rests on sanguine illusions, although what has not yet happened will beyond doubt (!) happen, perhaps (!!) soon (!!!). The Austrian Serbs, who are much disgusted at the recall of their brothers from the other side of the border, do not even approve of the imperial troops operating against Peterwardein, for they regard this fortress as their own property and claim that their own national troops should take it. In the light of Stratimirovich's reservations, this reflects a certain mood which is now becoming articulate among the masses and the middle classes in the form of an admission that one wants to see whether Magyars, Swabians or Serbs will rule here. And here too we see that the particularist interests have the upper hand, and that there seems to be more concern for their attainment than for the preservation of the federal empire."[a]

It is quite evident that thunderclouds are gathering in the Serbian Voivodina for the foundering Austrian united monarchy, and that we were right to point out some time ago how little the camarilla can still rely on the Serbs.[b] But the following lines show that this does not refer to the Serbs alone, but that *all the Southern Slavs* share the same discontent with the renewed Austrian perfidy:

"Some Agram papers of the 9th already publish the imposed Constitution and reports on the dissolution of the Imperial Diet. We searched these papers in vain for effusions of joy; on the contrary, the *Slavenski jug* of the 10th expresses unconcealed resentment, and the *Südslavische Zeitung* of the 9th contains a few lines deploring this event."[c]

The official *Wiener Zeitung* moreover contains the following from Agram:

"For several days mobile national guards have been arriving, having arbitrarily left their posts on the cordon, alleging that they have received neither pay nor bread for some weeks. Whether this is really so, and if it is so, whose fault it is, we do not know; but in any case we must regret the return of our guards, who, against all expectations, devoted themselves eagerly to the cordon service, since the distrust aroused in the guardsmen by any withholding of their pay can have incalculably bad consequences. In any case it would be desirable for the worthy Banal Council[117] to discover the

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[a] *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 63, March 15, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 97-98.—*Ed.*

[c] "Pest, 10. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 62, March 14, 1849.—*Ed.*

reasons for this unauthorised return of the guards, make them public, and finally punish the guilty severely."[a]

All danger to the Magyars from the Slav south has consequently been eliminated, particularly since Knićanin, the most popular Serbian leader after Stratimirovich, has likewise returned to his fatherland, Turkish Serbia.

4) The Bulletin suddenly admits in the most naive way that, as the Magyar correspondence quite correctly reported, the Hungarian guerillas have again advanced to the Danube in the rear of the Austrians:

"The communication by water along the Danube has only been interrupted by bands of armed *Landsturm* brought together by hostile fanatics in the area of Kalocsa, Pataj and Solt, who wanted to stir up the right bank of the Danube at Paks and Földvar previously completely pacified. Suitable reinforcements which the garrison of Fünfkirchen has received from Slavonia, under Colonel Reiche, an expedition which three days ago went in 15 tugboats to the disturbed areas of both banks of the Danube on order from His Highness Field Marshal Prince Windischgrätz, and the operations of those troops of the army corps of Master of Ordnance Count Nugent which had been stationed at Szekszard and Mohacs and were commanded by Colonel Baron Lederer, will already have put a stop to these vain enterprises of dispersed enemy hordes and *made* the threatened areas permanently *safe*."

"Will have made safe"! The royal imperial bulletins' habit of never reporting genuinely completed actions but only actions still to be accomplished, is becoming all too repetitive. If Welden does not give up this habit it will probably become impossible even for the *Kölnische Zeitung* to defend his bulletins.

In short: that the peasants *have* rebelled is a *fact*, and that the Austrians *will* pacify them is a *futurity*.

This is all the Bulletin reports. Fortunately, the silence of this official document does not prevent our receiving other news from the Theiss. A report asserts that Szolnok has again been evacuated by the Magyars. That this is a lie is proved by the silence of the Austrian Bulletin. On the contrary, the imperial troops are in a very difficult position there. The *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* wails from Pest on March 10:

"If only the hundredth part of the verbal bulletins of the Magyars is to be believed we shall have the Hungarians in Pest-Ofen on March 15 at the latest. For my part I still rely confidently on the victory of the imperial arms. According to a fairly reliable source the Austrian army was still in Abony yesterday; but according to the reports of the local malcontents the imperial troops have withdrawn far beyond Szegléd and the Hungarians took this place at the point of the bayonet. Today the decisive battle is to be fought. May the God of Victory be with the imperial flag. I do not see ghosts and I

[a] *Wiener Zeitung* No. 62, March 14, 1849.—*Ed.*

do not believe in premonitions, but my heart will beat more calmly when the 15th of March has gone happily by. On that date, according to my blind faith, the last spark of danger for Pest-Ofen will be extinguished. The Hungarians are said to be firmly determined to celebrate this day with a mighty deed of arms."[a]

So there is still danger for Budapest! The Vienna *Lithographierte Correspondenz* writes, moreover:

"On the other hand, the reports on the stubborn resistance with which the royal imperial army is meeting corroborate each other. The latter has been increased to 148,000 men, it is true; but only a third of this number is used in military operations. The courage and daring of the Hungarian hussars is reported to be excellent and in particular the Wallmoden cuirassier regiment has suffered heavily from them. The inhospitable nature of the region in which the royal imperial troops are now encamped also contributes to making the campaign more difficult."

*Maklar*, according to authentic news the most remote village occupied by the imperial troops, was *burnt down* by them because there five waggons of ammunition have been played into the hands of the Magyars. The alleged culprits, five in number, were executed without ceremony. Such is the civilised conduct of the war by which the noble Windischgrätz seeks to ensure the victory which has hitherto eluded his colours. He also issued the following proclamation, the essential contents of which we indicated yesterday[b]:

*Pest.* "Hereby the following is decreed:

"1) All requisitioning will from now on be borne by the nobility and citizens who have taken part in the rebellion in Hungary without claim to any compensation or indemnification.

"2) All cities and villages which join the rebellion or which allow themselves to be misled into joining the *Landsturm* under any pretext whatever also come into this category.

"3) The heads of any comitat, district, town and village, as well as all public officials and landowners who leave their posts or residences at the approach of the royal imperial troops and thereby not only make the provisioning of the army more difficult but also lead to the oppression of the poor and innocent classes of the population, will immediately have their entire property, movable or immovable, conscribed and sequestered, and the produce and cattle found will at once be used to provision the royal imperial troops. Individuals and officials causing any damage to the imperial treasury with evil intent, who make loyal subjects of His Majesty the object of persecution or, given the opportunity, fail to prevent this to the best of their ability, come into the same category.

"4) Whatever else may be required for the provisioning of the royal imperial troops will be collected from that section of the more prosperous noblemen and citizens which has proved inactive in the sacred and just cause of His Majesty our most gracious Emperor and King.[c] These requisitions are, however, exacted against receipt and their claim to indemnification is reserved.

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[a] *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 62, March 14, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 111.—*Ed.*

[c] Francis Joseph I.—*Ed.*

"5) The peasants are obliged, it is true, to deliver immediately and without opposition any objects of requisition which are demanded by the royal imperial troop commanders, but complete compensation is guaranteed them from the properties of the above-mentioned categories 1, 2 and 3.

"6) In particular all those who have suffered or will suffer damage at the hands of the rebels for showing firm loyalty to His Majesty have a claim to complete compensation.

"7) Should the compensation from the properties of the three mentioned categories guaranteed under paragraphs 5 and 6 be insufficient, the damages to those concerned will be conscientiously assessed by impartial commissions, and apportioned to the comitat or the whole land according to circumstances on fair principles.

Headquarters, Ofen, March 10, 1849.

Alfred, Prince zu Windischgrätz,
Royal Imperial Field Marshal."[a]

The fusillades are also beginning again. Thus the *Breslauer Zeitung* writes:

"According to reports of the 13th from Pest the Major of the perjured Zanini infantry regiment, who was taken prisoner at Kapolna, has been shot under martial law."

We hope Kossuth will not fail to take proper revenge for this foul murder.

These measures, combined with the stubborn silence of "Prince" Windischgrätz, prove more clearly than anything how brilliantly the all-mighty royal imperial army is faring on the Theiss and how soon "the war in Hungary will come to an end".

Finally we have from the Carpathians the following brief note which only proves how little progress the imperial forces are making there and how much the inhabitants of the Zips dislike the Slovak so-called *Landsturm*, which consists of mere riff-raff. The mass of the Slovak people, as we have often said already, support the Magyars. The article reads:

"*Kaschau*, March 3. Field Marshal Ramberg has issued a proclamation by virtue of which the population is ordered to regard the Slovak *Landsturm* with the same respect as the imperial troops. At the same time the leader of the *Landsturm* is authorised in accordance with the proclamation issued by Prince Windischgrätz on January 1 of this year *to raze to the ground* any place that dares to attack them.—Tomorrow Hurban, Štúr and other elected (!) trusted representatives (!) of the Slovak people are going to Olmütz to present to the Emperor the just wishes and grievances (!) of their people."[b]

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[a] "Pest", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 62 (second supplement), March 14, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] "Kaschau, 3. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 63, March 15, 1849. The date of Windischgrätz's proclamation as given by the newspaper is not accurate. It was signed on December 26, 1848.—*Ed.*

Messrs. Štúr and Hurban are such good "trusted representatives" of the Slovaks that they have already been chased over the Jablunka Pass to Moravia several times by these selfsame Slovaks!

Lastly we draw attention to a proclamation of Windischgrätz of the 11th,[a] in which he demonstrates how little the cause of the insurgents is a national cause since among 100 prisoners one meets at least 60 individuals of different nationality.

*Quod erat demonstrandum!* The Magyars have always had it cast in their teeth that their struggle was *not* a fight for liberty but a *national* struggle! Indeed! Nobody is so clever as an Austrian Field Marshal! In the same proclamation *the hard-pressed Windischgrätz calls for volunteer corps against the Magyars.*

A fine opportunity for our colleagues, the gentlemen of the *Kölnische Zeitung*!

Written by Engels on March 19, 1849

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[a] "An die Bewohner Ungarns. Vom 11. März", *Wiener Zeitung* No. 64 (evening supplement), March 15, 1849.—*Ed.*

# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

Striking evidence of the fortunes of the imperial cause is given by the following report from Vienna:

"The claim made by several newspapers that *the situation in Hungary has taken a serious turn* has been *officially denied.* Yet the public firmly believes this to be so."

Consequently, the day after the publication of an official bulletin,[a] Welden still has to make a point of assuring the people that the situation in Hungary has not "taken a serious turn"! As though such a fact were not itself quite enough!

In addition, the following martial-law gossip has been disseminated in Vienna:

"The army operating in *Hungary* is occupying the following positions: *Tokaj* is occupied by Götz's brigade, *Miskolcz* by Jablonowsky's brigade; Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schlick's army corps is at *Erlau*; and the bulk of the army is concentrated between this area and *Szolnok*; the Ban has his headquarters at *Szegléd*, the Prince Field Marshal at *Ofen*."

It is very difficult to deny that Schlick is at Erlau and Jellachich at Szegléd, for already a week ago they were occupying these positions which are situated far in the rear. But it is obviously untrue that Jablonowsky is in Miskolcz and especially that Götz is in Tokaj. The authors of yesterday's Bulletin must surely have known this.

The *Breslauer Zeitung* contains the following report from Hungary, which on this occasion, exceptionally, we must regard as very dubious, and at least *the first half* as nothing but gossip circulating in Pest:

"The *Rascians*[118] have *again been routed by the Hungarians* at Theresiopel. As a result, the imperial commandant of the Temesvar fortress, General Rukavina, has

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[a] i.e. the 28th Army Bulletin. See this volume, pp. 113-20.—*Ed.*

sent a courier to Windischgrätz at Pest requesting immediate assistance, as otherwise he would have to surrender. *The Hungarian General Görgey has raised the siege of the Komorn fortress, which was already being bombarded by the imperial Lieutenant-Field Marshal Simunich. Simunich has retreated towards Leopoldstadt, leaving behind a great quantity of baggage.* Lieutenant-Field Marshal Count *Schlick*, to whom Windischgrätz entrusted the conduct of the retreat, *arrived in Pest* yesterday. In private conversation, Schlick expressed the greatest admiration for *Dembiński*.—Because of the new, extremely tight blockade, we are without reliable information on the present position of the Hungarian army, but the continuing return flow of guns and ammunition clearly indicates that the Hungarians are advancing. Yesterday, a *Hungarian patrol* entered *Promontor*, an hour and a half from Ofen, causing the greatest alarm in the Ofen fortress. Most of the Viennese wholesalers who are in Pest for the Josephi Fair currently in progress, have had their goods packed and sent back to Vienna."

Through the Austrian correspondent we have received the following reports from Transylvania. We are printing these, too, only with the greatest reservations, for they are excessively biased in favour of the Austrian side.

"*Kronstadt*, February 22. The local Saxon magistrate, who initially approached General Lüders for Russian help, seems already now not to be very happy about having done so. The Russians here have indeed acted in a rather extraordinary manner. There are reports of things occurring which, if they were confirmed, *would indeed make the speedy removal of the Russian auxiliary troops desirable.* In Kronstadt a sort of income tax has been levied on the inhabitants for the maintenance of the Russian troops; while we previously thought that this burden would on no account be imposed upon us.— *There is talk of large Turkish armies arriving here after marching through Wallachia; more Russian troops are also expected here.*"

"*Hermannstadt*, February 26. Diverse rumours are circulating here about *Bem*, proof that there is no precise information about his movements. Today it was said here that Bem had died as a result of the amputation he had undergone (!), which I do not yet believe. What is true is that he is short of munitions. As (!) he is expecting reinforcements and munitions from Hungary via Klausenburg, he is directing his force towards Maros-Vásárhely; for (!) even though Colonel Urban is operating with only four battalions of regulars, Bem is much more afraid of this hero than of all the corps commanders together with the Russian Cossacks. After spending two weeks here in inactivity, the troops were today beginning to move. At this moment two brigades are on the march, one towards Schässburg, the other towards Blasendorf via Mediasch. The Romanian Prefect A. Sever, who was posted in Resinari with 400 *Landsturm* men, has also received orders to march towards Blasendorf. Assistance from the Banat has still not arrived; on the other hand, there is talk of more Russian troops on their way here. I give the less credence to this as reports from the neighbouring country all agree that *large Turkish forces are moving towards Wallachia.*"

Written by Engels about March 20, 1849

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# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

Since the failure of the second attempt of the imperial forces to cross the Theiss, military operations have again come to a halt. Windischgrätz is in Ofen, ostensibly to settle administrative matters; Schlick and Jellachich have held a council of war with him, at which the plan of operations was substantially changed. Schlick remains in command of the army of the North; Jellachich, having vainly sought for months to effect a crossing of the Theiss at Szolnok, will now give this up altogether and move southwards to Theresiopel, to unite his forces with the Serbs and border troops stationed at Szegedin, and will probably try to capture Szegedin, in order then to cross the Theiss there and operate on its left bank against Debreczin. The Magyars will know how to give him an appropriate welcome. It is questionable whether he will succeed in persuading the Serbian *Landsturm*, which constitutes the bulk of the troops stationed there, to join his army.

In the Banat of Temesvar, all is quiet. The Serbs, whose awareness of Austria's perfidy, by which they were duped, is growing daily, are not attacking anywhere. But without them, the imperial troops stationed there can do nothing. The *Südslavische Zeitung* reports from there:

"At Alt-Arad, the insurgents have once again concentrated a considerable body of troops under the command of the insurgent General Damjanich (previously a captain in the Rukavina regiment), General Vetter (previously a major in the Don Miguel regiment) and Colonel Gaal (a pensioned-off royal imperial Lieutenant-Colonel), who is leading the siege of the fortress."[a]

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[a] *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 65, March 17, 1849.—*Ed.*

The insurrection in the comitats of Tolna and Baranya is becoming daily more threatening. All available troops have been sent there. It is worth noting that the Baranya comitat, the core of the insurrection, is for the most part populated by *Slavs,* Serbs and Slavonians.

In Transylvania, a French officer is said to have assumed command during Bem's illness. The operations at Szolnok are also said to have been directed by a Frenchman named Duchatel.

We shall return in more detail[a] to the Slav "troubles", which are taking an ever more edifying turn.

Written by Engels about March 21, 1849

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 252, March 22, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, pp. 133 and 162.—*Ed.*

# THE HOHENZOLLERN PRESS BILL

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 252, March 22, 1849]

*Cologne,* March 21. In accordance with our promise[a] we return to the Hohenzollern plans to reform the freedom of the press and the right of association, plans which owe their inspiration to the state of siege. Today, a comparison with the previous plans for penal legislation, which were already *rejected* by the Rhenish Diet[119] under the aegis of the Camphausen opposition, will suffice to show what glorious "achievements" the *Rhinelanders* owe to the March uprising in Berlin, and what fresh features of the Prussian Law's love of violence have been bestowed on *Rhenish* legislation[120] by the "unweakened" Crown of the Grand Duke in Berlin.[b]

Two years ago at the United Diet, which as one remembers was brought into being by royal patent,[121] the junker Thadden-Triglaff from the Pomeranian Mancha entered the lists on behalf of freedom of the press. This associate of the Westphalian "valiant" young knight Vincke wielded his lance:

> "Yes, public, but really public, proceedings for the gentlemen of the press: "*Freedom of the press, and along with it the gallows!*"[122]

The Bills which the November Government[c] seeks to impose represent the re-emergence of these old pre-March patented efforts. The "strong Crown of Prussia" exclaims in reply to the hated provisions of the *Code pénal,* and to the acquittal verdicts of Rhenish juries against tax refusers and agitators:

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[a] See this volume, p. 69.—*Ed.*
[b] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*
[c] i.e. the Brandenburg-Manteuffel Government which carried out the coup d'état in Prussia.—*Ed.*

"Yes, public, but really public, proceedings:

"*Freedom of the press, and along with it the gallows, the gallows of the Prussian Law!*"

The provisions of the *Code pénal* entirely ignore the easily offended susceptibility of the feelings of His Hohenzollern Majesty. In spite of the property qualification and infiltration by the police, it is not possible to find Rhenish jurymen who would punish the unspeakable crime of *lèse-majesté* with anything more than the 5-franc fine for insult to a "private person". The imperial despotism had too high an opinion of itself to state that its majesty could be "insulted", but the Christian-Germanic Father-of-the-people consciousness which understandably can in no way bear comparison with the lofty eminence of Napoleonic pride, feels a "deep-seated need" to re-establish the protection of its old-Prussian dignity in its Rhenish Grand Duchy. The "strong" Crown does not *dare* to abolish the Rhenish legal system, but it grafts on it the much more promising shoot of the legal concepts of the Prussian Law and exclaims:

"*Public, really public proceedings, and along with them the gallows of the Prussian Law!*"

As regards the "public proceedings" which for the time being are to be imposed on the Rhenish Code para. 22 of the Bill states:

> "The police authorities are entitled to confiscate any publication intended for distribution **wherever found**, *even if it has already begun to be issued*, insofar as ... its content provides the basis for a crime or offence which *can* be *administratively* the subject of prosecution."

The police is entitled to confiscate newspapers displeasing to it in the post and in offices even if they have "*already begun to be issued*", that is to say, when the "preventive measures" of the police "as such" are supposed to cease and the matter "legally" comes within the competence of the courts. The police possesses this right of confiscation in all cases where the "content" of publications, newspapers etc. "provides the basis for a crime or offence" which can be "*the subject of prosecution*" "administratively", i.e. by the police, that is to say, where the police wishes to indulge its Uckermark[123] hankerings to play the role of the Public Prosecutor's office and considers it necessary to justify this inclination by the extremely odd plea of some kind of "crime or offence" or other circumstances which "can be the subject of *prosecution*". Finally, the police can confiscate all such printed matter, *c'est-à-dire* all that it suits the lord and his holy Hermandad[124] to confiscate, *wherever found*, that is to say, it can invade private houses and the secrets of family life, and where there are no grounds for protecting property by means of the

state of siege and the Croats, under the power afforded by constitutional legality the private property of law-abiding citizens can be plundered by the police. The Bill, moreover, speaks of all publications "intended" for distribution, "*even if*" their issue has already begun; this presupposes "as a matter of course" the right of confiscation where the distribution has *not yet* begun, which *cannot yet be the basis* for any "crime or offence", and thus extends police robbery to the private possession of objects which are not legally "liable to prosecution". The French September laws,[125] the sabre-rattling censorship of Cavaignac's military dictatorship, and even the Bills on penal legislation put before the old Provincial Diets and Committees "to the displeasure of His Majesty", at least respected private property that "still gives no grounds for crime or offence". The press Bill based on the March achievements in Berlin, on the other hand, organises a public police vendetta against private property and the possessions of citizens and in the name of Christian-Germanic police morality violently drags into public view personal matters that have nothing whatever to do with penal law.

"*Public, really public proceedings, and along with them the gallows of the Prussian Law!*"

The improvement of these public proceedings goes hand in hand with improving the provisions of the Prussian Law.

The desired enactment concerning *lèse-majesté* is "constituted" in para.12 in the following way:

> "Anyone who by word, writing, printing or signs, by pictorial or other representation, *violates respect for the King* will be punished by imprisonment of from two months to *five years*."

If the Rhenish subjects do not know what degree of "respect" is demanded from them by their Hohenzollern Grand Duke, who was foisted on them by the haggling over nations at Vienna,[126] they can look up the preamble to the Berlin penal law.

Up to now, the highest sentence that could be imposed by the Prussian Law[127] for *lèse-majesté* was *two years*, and for *violation of respect one year*, of imprisonment or detention in a fortress (Prussian Law [*Allgemeines Landrecht*], II. 20. paras. 199, 200).

These provisions, however, do not seem to have been an adequate safeguard for the august feelings of the "strong Crown of Prussia". Already in the "Bill concerning penal law for the Prussian states" submitted to the United Commissions[128] of 1847, "utterances in words or writing, or by pictures etc., which *intentionally* violate the *honour* of the King (para. 101), are punishable by *six months' to five years'* penal labour". On the other hand, however, "utterances and

actions which, although *not* to be regarded in themselves *as insults to the King,* nevertheless violate *due respect to him* (para. 102), are punishable by imprisonment of from six weeks *to one year.*" In the official preamble to this Bill it is stated that while it is true that the Saxon Diet (in connection with a similar Bill of 1843) had proposed that "violation of respect" should be more narrowly defined by the addition of the word "intentional" in order to prevent utterances and actions being brought under the law "in which there was not the remotest *intention* to violate respect for the King", nevertheless such an addition must be rejected by the Government because it "would *blur* the distinction between *lèse-majesté* and violation of respect" and because "*intentional*" violations of "respect" must be regarded as "*lèse-majesté* ".

From these reasons, which are still paramount in regard to the concepts used in the press law which is about to be imposed on us, it follows that "violation of respect", which at the present time like *lèse-majesté* is punished by two months' to *five years'* imprisonment, consists precisely in "*unintentional*" *lèse-majesté.*

At the same time the "preamble" informs us that the maximum length of punishment for "violation of respect" was at that time fixed at one year solely because of a motion by the Rhenish Diet.

The benefit of the "March achievements" for the Rhinelanders is obvious. The first attempts to adapt the *Code pénal* to the Prussian Law foisted on the Rhinelanders the new crimes of *lèse-majesté* punishable by two years' imprisonment and "violation of respect" punishable by one year's imprisonment.[129] In the Bills put forward in 1843 and 1847, the value of *lèse-majesté* was increased to five years, whereas, on the motion of the *Rhenish Diet,* violation of respect had to retain its valuation of one year. By the achievements of the March revolt under the state of siege, punishment for "violation of respect" (even if unintentional) is also increased to five years' imprisonment and by once again introducing new crimes the Rhenish Code of Law is brought closer to the old-Prussian Law.

*"Freedom of the press, public proceedings under the state of siege, and along with them the gallows!"*

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 253, March 23, 1849]

*Cologne,* March 22.

"There was all the more reason why the provisions concerning *lèse-majesté* could not be omitted," states Manteuffel's preamble to para.12 of the Bill, "because in the greater part of the *Rhine Province* the penal laws on *lèse-majesté* had been *made invalid* by the ordinance of April 15, 1848, and since then this *gap* has not been filled."

The Manteuffel preamble states that this part of the Hohenzollern legislation on the press, which surpasses even the old-Prussian Law and His Majesty's revelation in the Bills on penal legislation of 1843 and 1847, appeared essential chiefly with reference to the *Rhine Province.* The ordinances of April 15, 1848,[a] i.e. the promises which the "Crown that had fallen into the dust" (see the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* of the 20th of this month) condescended to make under the pressure of the March uprising, have "rendered invalid" in the Rhine Province the laboriously imposed adjustment made in the spirit of the Prussian Law and restored the *Code pénal* in its original defective purity. But in order fittingly to fill this "*gap*" due to the March achievements and simultaneously to testify to the progressive capacity for expanding the Hohenzollern Majesty's value the "strong" November Government proposes for the Rhinelanders not the old pre-March provisions of the Prussian Law,—no, it proposes a new declaration of respect for the King envisaging a punishment more than double that of all previous penal law projects. *Le roi est mort, vive le roi!*[b] Prior to March 1848, the still "unweakened" dignity of the Father of the people was valued in the Prussian Law at one year's imprisonment; in March 1849 the cost of disrespect to the Crown which had "fallen into the dust" has risen to five years' imprisonment. Prior to March 1848, the Rhenish law was supplemented only by the patriarchal additional provisions of the Prussian Law; in March 1849 the Manteuffel November achievements have been imposed on it:

"*Freedom of the press, sabre-rattling censorship, and along with them the gallows!*"

The "gap" in Rhenish legislation, however, reveals still further depths. Para. 12 of the Berlin press reform continues with the following additions:

"*The same punishment*" (from two months' to *five years'* imprisonment) "is incurred by anyone who in the way indicated above" (by word, writing or *signs*, by pictorial or *other* representation) "*insults the Queen.* Anyone who in the same way insults *the successor to the throne* (?) or *any other member of the royal house* ... will be punished by imprisonment of from one month to *three years.*"

As already mentioned, the old-Prussian Law punished insult even to the "supreme head of the state" with only two years' imprisonment. The advance made by the Bill on the press, which lays down

[a] "Verordnung über die Herstellung des Rheinischen Zivilgesetzbuchs in Betreff der Schliessung der Ehe..."; "Verordnung, betreffend das Verfahren bei politischen und Pressvergehen in der Rheinprovinz und die Wiederherstellung des Rheinischen Strafrechts und Strafverfahrens bei politischen und Amtsverbrechen."—*Ed.*

[b] The King is dead, long live the King!—*Ed.*

the term of imprisonment for insult to persons of lower rank—five years for the Queen, three years for the successor to the throne (?) and "other" members of the "royal house"—is very obvious.

Rhenish legislation no more recognises insult to the Queen etc. than it does insult to the "supreme head of the state". Rhenish newspapers hitherto were able with impunity to print stories about "hopes of the court for an unexpected event", which at times can, however, for medical reasons, amount to impugning the honour of the person involved.

Finally, the ex-patented Bill on penal legislation of the United Commissions ranked insult to the "Queen" as inferior to insult to the "supreme head of the state", by threatening it (para. 103) with three years' imprisonment instead of five years. And as regards equal punishment for insults to the "Queen" and insults to other members of the royal family, the 1847 preamble states that the Rhenish, Silesian, Saxon and Pomeranian Diets had already wanted a distinction to be made between these persons but that the Government could not put this lamentable "casuistry" into effect.

The strong Manteuffel Government did not consider the "casuistry" of the old Rhenish, Silesian and Saxon Diets beneath its dignity. Was not the successful von der Heydt also among the patented casuists of that period? The Manteuffel-von der Heydt press Bill "establishes" the casuistic distinction between the Queen and other members of the royal house; but it does it in accordance with the progressive development of the sovereign's dignity in general in the post-March period. The old Rhenish, Silesian and Pomeranian Diets demanded that a distinction be made between the Queen and other members of the royal family so that the equal punishment of three years' imprisonment for insulting the latter would be reduced. The strong Manteuffel-von der Heydt Government accepts the distinction, not in order to make this reduction but to raise the punishment for insulting the Queen to the newly increased level of punishment for insulting the "supreme head of the state".

That the concepts of majesty show a similar capacity for development is proved by the provision appended to the same paragraph, according to which insults to any "*German head of state*" and likewise insults to the "successor to the throne" are punished by three years' imprisonment.

According to Rhenish law, insults to other "heads of state" are punished like insults to private persons (a fine of 5 francs), and that only on the *demand of the person insulted* and not because his public character is the concern of penal law. Under the Bill on penal legislation which had already been rejected by the Rhenish Diet in

1843 thus incurring "the displeasure of His Majesty", and which was again put forward in 1847, insults to foreign rulers and "their spouses" incurred punishment of from two months' imprisonment to two years' penal labour. The Prussian Diet moved the entire deletion of this provision and the Westphalian opposition of junkers from the backwoods declared the original level of punishment too high. Finally the Manteuffel-von der Heydt Government filled the serious post-March gaps in the Rhenish legislation by increasing to three years the two years' term of punishment which the Westphalians elected on a property qualification were opposing, and by taking up the cudgels on behalf of the Pomeranian Don Quixote of the United Diet:

"*Freedom of the press, really public proceedings, and along with them the gallows!*"

In the plans for press reform inspired by His Majesty, para.19 has furthermore a noteworthy amusing feature:

"Anyone guilty of insulting 1. either of the two Chambers ("as such"), 2. a member of either Chamber during the *course* of its sittings, 3. *any other* political *organisation*, an official authority, or an official ... by word, writing, printing, signs, by pictorial or other representation, will be punished by up to nine months' imprisonment."

While Manteuffel-von der Heydt are using bayonets to disperse "political organisations", Agreement Assemblies and Chambers, the Rhinelanders are having a botchwork of new crimes for "the protection of these Assemblies" inserted in their *Code pénal* to fill up its "gaps". From the divine-royal source of grace, the Manteuffel-von der Heydt Government is foisting on the country a national Constitution in order to introduce into the Rhenish Code of Law a *new, hitherto unknown crime* in the shape of "insult to the Chambers":

"*Freedom of the press, public proceedings, and along with them the gallows!*"

Let the Rhinelanders take care before it is too late. The history of previous attempts to adapt the Rhenish Code of Law to the Prussian Law, and the Hohenzollern *further elaboration* of the March promises, will tell them what they have to expect from the achievements made on the other side of the Rhine.

The aim of the martial-law attacks against the *Code pénal* hitherto has been nothing less than the complete incorporation of the Rhine territories in the old-Prussian provinces, an incorporation which was not complete so long as the Rhine Province was not wholly subjected to the cudgel of the Prussian Law. The new Bill, however, under the pretext of filling the "gaps" in the Rhinelanders' own legislation by means of the benefits of the Prussian Law, perfects also the Prussian Law for the old provinces as regards its "gap" of excessive mildness.

Miserable as the present Chamber is, nevertheless we do not expect it to accept these Bills. But in that case we do expect that there will be *imposed* on us also the Hohenzollern gallows for the press, and that is precisely what we wish.

Written by Marx on March 21-22, 1849

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Nos. 252 and 253, March 22 and 23, 1849

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# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

The news from the theatre of war is not very noteworthy today. Jellachich has *returned to Pest*, after having been defeated, according to the Magyar report, by the Hungarians at Jasz-Bereny. One thousand wounded are said to have already arrived at Ofen. Schlick, too, is still in Ofen. The Magyar report continually declares that Görgey has invaded Slovakia with 30,000 men and occupied the hill towns (though for the time being we are regarding this as a Pest extravagance).

In the Földvar region, there were 2,000 Honveds[130] and 6,000 peasant insurgents. The ships sent there with the troops returned, however, already on the following day, without having accomplished anything. Mounted bands of rebels are swarming right up to the outskirts of Pest (*Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*[a]).

The Austrian Minister Schwarzenberg and the ex-Finance Minister Kübeck are said to be in Pest, to settle the affair of the Hungarian banknotes. (Magyar report.)

The report of a victory of the Serbs at Theresiopel and of the capture of this town has now been transformed into *news of their defeat* and the admission that the Magyars have now *occupied* in addition to Szegedin *Theresiopel* as well. Great agitation reigns in Syrmien, as among all the Southern Slavs.

Written by Engels on March 22, 1849

First published in the supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 253, March 23, 1849

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[a] "Pest, 13. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 65 (supplement), March 17, 1849.—*Ed.*

# [FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

According to letters of the 6th of March from the Moldavian border, the Russians stationed in Transylvania have not merely been reinforced by 8,000 men, but another Russian corps is standing on the border of the Bukovina, awaiting the order to move into the Bukovina. *Bem has assembled considerable reinforcements and is threatening Hermannstadt for the third time.* Malkowsky's corps (commanded by Urban) has had to *retreat*—to the border of the Bukovina, and *once again to surrender the town of Bistritz to the Hungarians.*

Written by Engels about March 23, 1849

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 254, March 24, 1849

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Published in English for the first time

# THE DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS IN BERLIN

*Cologne,* March 25. We must confess to our readers that it is only with reluctance that we can resolve to take a closer look at the debates of the so-called Second Chamber[131] in Berlin. The debates of the dissolved Agreement Assembly,[132] meaningless and dull as they were, nevertheless had the interest of being topical. The debates dealt with things which had no influence on the fate of Europe, and with laws which from the outset had no prospect of endurance, but they did deal with matters of immediate interest to us, and they provided a faithful mirror of the mounting reaction in Prussia. The debates of the present Chamber, on the other hand, serve no other purpose than that of legalising the already completed counter-revolution. They do not deal with the present time—that has been excluded by the ban on interpellations—they deal with the past, with the temporary interregnum lasting from December 5 to February 26,[133] and if the Chamber does not unconditionally recognise this interregnum it will be dispersed and once again its activity will have been in vain.

And people are supposed to take an interest in such deliberations, at a time when the revolution and the counter-revolution are fighting it out arms in hand in Hungary and Italy, when the Russians are stationed on the Eastern frontier and France is preparing for a new world-shaking revolution!

The debate on the Address is altogether one of the dreariest that we remember ever having read. The whole debate turned, of course, merely on recognition or non-recognition of the imposed so-called Constitution.[134] And what does it matter whether this Chamber, which was elected in circumstances of a state of siege and the crushing effect of a successfully carried out counter-revolution, which deliberates in a corner of Berlin under the state of siege, and

which dare not utter a word of dissent if it does not want to be dissolved—what does it matter whether such an Assembly recognised this document or not? As if recognition or non-recognition would make the slightest difference to the course of the European revolution, which will reduce to dust all the imposed and not-imposed constitutions now in force!

The sole feature of interest in the whole debate is the puerile arrogance of the Right and the cowardly collapse of the Left.

The royalist gentlemen are incorrigible. As soon as their affairs are temporarily again in better shape thanks to the aid of the obedient soldiery, they imagine themselves back in the promised land and adopt a tone whose impudence surpasses anything the police state has ever shown.

The gentlemen of the Left, on the other hand, moderate their claims to the same extent as those of the Right increase theirs. In all their speeches, one can discern the broken spirit that is the result of bitter disappointment, that dejection of the ex-member of the Assembly which first let the revolution sink in the mire and afterwards, drowning in the morass of its own creation, perished with the painful cry: The people are not yet mature enough!

Even the resolute members of the Left, instead of putting themselves into direct opposition to the whole Assembly, do not abandon the hope of achieving something in the Chamber and through the Chamber, and of winning a majority for the Left. Instead of adopting an extra-parliamentary position in the parliament, the only honourable one in such a Chamber, they make one concession after another to parliamentary expediency; instead of ignoring the constitutional point of view as far as possible, they actually seek an opportunity of coquetting with it for the sake of peace.

The general debate turned on the recognition or non-recognition of the so-called Constitution. The Left, which regarded itself as the continuation of the majority of the former Agreement Assembly which had voted for refusing payment of taxes,[135] ought to have begun with the most emphatic protest against the coup d'état of December 5. But what did it do? It declared that it was prepared to accept the dissolution of the National Assembly as a fact which could no longer be altered, to give up the dispute in principle over the validity of the imposed bastard, to cover all the kicks and insults with the cloak of charity, and to pass at once to the revision!

The Right, of course, rejected this cowardly offer with the contempt it deserved and forced the Left to take up the dispute over principles.

The Left suffered the fate it deserved. Why did the gentlemen imagine that they had to achieve something where there was nothing to achieve? Why did they persuade themselves that they were destined to achieve by parliamentary means something that can only be achieved in a revolutionary way, by force of arms? But, of course, these gentlemen "*came to the top owing to parliamentary activity*", about which deputy Waldeck has so many beautiful things to say, the top where *esprit de corps* commences and revolutionary energy—*s'il y en avait*[a]—evaporates!

The first speaker of the variegated party that is called the Left was Herr *von Berg*. But one should certainly not expect to encounter again the cheerful little abbé of last year, who was able greatly to annoy the gentlemen of the Right with all kinds of piquant witticisms. Herr Berg no longer spoke as an *abbé*, but as a pastor.

He was of the opinion that it would have been desirable to draw up the draft Address in such a way that "the greatest possible majority could vote for it". The Chamber ought to have shown the country "that its representatives do not intend to sacrifice the good of the country to *mere disputes over principles*". In conclusion Herr Berg said that he missed in the draft "*the spirit of reconciliation with which we (?) are imbued*", the striving for "agreement". He prophesied that by the debate on the Address the Chamber would not "establish in the fatherland *peace and the hope of a better future*".

Indeed! Did the electors of Jülich and Düren send Herr Berg to Berlin for him to declare that the struggle for the people's right to decide its Constitution for itself is a mere "dispute over principles", to preach "reconciliation" and "agreement" in pulpit tones, and to drivel about "peace" when it is a question of *war*?

You, chaplain Berg, were elected, not because you are a preacher, but because you were a *supporter of tax refusal*. Your election did not take place in the interests of *peace*, but was from the outset a *declaration of war* against the coup d'état. You were sent to Berlin not to propose reconciliation and agreement, but to *protest*. And now, when you are a deputy, now you declare that the struggle between the sovereignty of the people and the "omnipotence of the Crown" is a mere barren dispute over principles!

Most of those who supported tax refusal were re-elected not because all their activities between May and November 1848 satisfied the electors, but because by the decision on tax refusal[b] they took up a revolutionary position, and because it could be hoped that the kicks

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[a] If one has any.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 8, p. 36.—*Ed.*

the Government had bestowed on them had opened their eyes and shown them how to behave towards the Crown and the Government in order to achieve some result. It was hoped that consequently they would all move a step to the left.

Instead of this, it has turned out that the chastisement they received in November has borne fruit; instead of moving to the left, these gentlemen have gone farther to the right. With the most well-intentioned zeal typical of the wailers,[136] they preach reconciliation and agreement. They say they want to forget and forgive the maltreatment they received, they propose peace. It serves them right that their proposals have been laughed to scorn.

The next speaker was Count *Renard*, a feudal magnate from Silesia.

Herr Renard imagines that nothing was overturned in March, but only a new factor introduced. The Crown remains the Crown, the only difference being that representation based on the *estates* (!), with the people having a *consultative* voice, is added as a "determining factor". Otherwise everything remains as it used to be. (In point of fact that is precisely what with God for King and fatherland[a] is to be imposed on us and has to be revised.) The deputy has "to represent the Constitution of the people in its entirety, that is the people *with* the sovereign, but not the people *against* the sovereign". (Why then is the sovereign still required if in any case the deputies already "represent" him?) After advancing this new theory of the state, Herr Renard also made the following statement to the Chamber: It does not exist "in order to *bargain* and *haggle* with the Crown"—i. e. to reach agreement with it—"to dispute over words or, *if you like, even about rights*"; the Government and the Chamber are by no means "advocates on behalf of two parties engaged in litigation". Anyone who regards his mandate in any other way "wages civil war in matters of theory".

Herr Renard speaks plainly enough. In the profane constitutional states, the Chamber rules through its committee, the Government, and the King's only right is that of saying yes and amen, and of giving his signature. That was also the case among us in the period of affliction, in the period of Camphausen, Hansemann and Pfuel. But in the royal Prussian constitutional monarchy by the grace of God the exact opposite holds good. The Crown rules through its Ministers, and woe to the Chambers if they venture to do anything but say yes and amen to the effusions of divine grace!

"The clearest proof," Herr Renard continued, "that there is no rift between Crown and people is afforded by the present moment, when the *German question* is

[a] The words are taken from Frederick William III's decree of March 17, 1813 concerning the organisation of an army reserve.—*Ed.*

being spoken of in all the provinces amid universal enthusiasm.... In many of them this enthusiasm ... is largely due to the dignity, the greatness, of our ancient royal house by divine grace, and of the *knightly* and *victorious*" (especially in Champagne, at Jena and on March 18, 1848[137]) "Hohenzollern dynasty. (Animation and cries of 'bravo'.)"

Testimony to this enthusiasm was given by the cries of "Down with the German Emperor" coming from 5,000 throats in Gürzenich[a] on March 19, the very same day when Herr Renard spoke the words quoted above. Similar testimony was the rejection in Frankfurt a few days later of the King of Prussia as hereditary emperor, and the miserable majority in Frankfurt of four whole votes in favour of a hereditary emperor in general.[138]

No, finally exclaimed Renard, who incidentally is not at all a fox[b]:

"No one should or will succeed by corrosive poison in killing the *new life* in the wound that strives to be healed, or in converting the split that has possibly arisen" (so it is there after all!) "into an unbridgeable gulf!"

Most worthy Renard! May the evil-minded never succeed "by corrosive poison in killing the new life in the wound" which last spring was inflicted on your purse crammed with feudal privileges, a wound which now thanks to the return of divine grace "strives to be healed", or in "converting into an unbridgeable gulf the split that has possibly arisen" between your income and expenditure!

Herr Jacoby came to the rostrum. He too, although he spoke more resolutely than Berg and was clearer and more precise in his arguments, could not refrain from practising diplomacy. The recognition of the Constitution in the Address was *inappropriate*, because it ought not to occur *incidentally*, and it was untimely, because the Constitution had not yet been revised, definitely sanctioned and given allegiance to by oath. As if the recognition of such a Constitution could ever be appropriate and timely!

Herr Jacoby, too, "had no wish to renew the old dispute" about the dispersion of the Agreement Assembly; the question whether it was an act of salvation or the aim and goal of a diplomatic scheme he would "leave to impartial history". "Impartial history" will record that the people who spoke so loudly when they had a majority, now, when they are in a minority, behave with the humility of schoolboys who have been punished.

"As far as recognition of the Constitution by the people is concerned, I have to reply that our Assembly is the sole legitimate and the sole authorised organ for such recognition."

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[a] See this volume, pp. 490-91.—*Ed.*

[b] A pun on Renard—the name of the speaker and the French word for fox.—*Ed.*

No, Herr Jacoby, your Assembly is nothing of the sort. Your Assembly is nothing but the organ of the electoral delegates selected by means of the grand criterion of "independence"[139] on the basis of the imposed so-called electoral law, it is an organ which in the main owes its existence to government intrigues. Your Assembly may recognise the Constitution, but that is merely a recognition of the imposed Constitution by the imposed Constitution itself. The people will show little concern about that and "impartial history" will quite soon have to register that this so-called Constitution, despite recognition of it—if that were ever to take place—was trampled underfoot in the course of the European revolution and disappeared no one knows how.

Herr Jacoby probably knows that as well as we do; the Right in the Chamber knows that he knows it; so why all this nonsense about a legal basis, especially when one wants to leave dubious the legal basis of the dispersed Assembly!

Herr *Scherer*, a barrister and deputy from Düsseldorf-Elberfeld, was greatly shocked by d'Ester's draft Address. He considered that the deputation which presented such an Address to the King must "entail an armed uprising". People whose actions entail armed uprising, Herr Scherer, speak to kings in quite a different way!

This draft "casts a flaming torch in the country," but Herr Scherer believes that "it will not cause a conflagration, but only *harm its bearers*"!

It is impossible to speak more clearly. Herr Scherer gives the Left the well-meant advice to withdraw the draft, otherwise they will be apprehended one fine day in spite of the article guaranteeing immunity.[140] Very philanthropic of you, Herr Scherer!

Next Herr *Waldeck* rose to speak. He proved to be unchanged: on the Left, but not farther to the left than is expedient if one wants to be regarded as *possible*. Herr Waldeck began by expressing his annoyance that the Right always wanted to make him responsible for the unfortunate dispute over the November coup d'état. Herr Waldeck and "his party" had "clearly stated that in their opinion this dispute over principles ought not to have arisen at all". In his opinion, "the Assembly is unanimous" (that is bad enough!) "about what it ought to do with the Constitution"—namely, to revise it. Herr Waldeck then once more explained why the dispute over principles was superfluous, and again appealed to the better feelings of the Right:

"Cannot you for the time being *very well leave* this question *open?*... You will lose nothing as far as your views are concerned, *but do spare the views of others!*"

A worthy speech of one of the dispersed "representatives of the people" to the same majority that rubs its hands in glee when it thinks of the successful dispersal of the National Assembly.

"But do spare the views of others!" The great man begs for *mercy.*

When, however, the work on the Constitution has been completed, then the Minister of the future "hopes" that

> "this Assembly, *owing to its parliamentary activity, will really have reached the high level* essential for *fully recognising* the *consequences* of such a declaration" (on the validity of the Constitution)!

Indeed! Do not our new-baked knights of the rostrum, who have hardly seven months of parliamentary activity behind them, already behave as precociously wisely as if they had sat for fifty years on the benches of St. Stephen's Chapel[141] and had been members of all the Paris Chambers from the "introuvable" of 1815 to the "introuvable" of February 24!

But this is true. In their short career our knights of the rostrum have become imbued with as much parliamentary self-satisfaction, and have become as divested of all revolutionary energy—*si jamais il y en avait*[a]—as if they had grown grey in the grandiloquent proceedings of parliament.

After Herr Waldeck came a speech from His one-time Excellency, the formerly omnipotent Herr von *Bodelschwingh.*

Just like Herr Manteuffel, so too his previous chief has become a constitutionalist "by order of His Majesty". It is quite amusing to hear the last Prime Minister of the absolutist regime defend constitutional monarchy.

Prior to February, Herr Bodelschwingh used to be ranked as the best orator of the Government of the time. In the United Diet,[142] he still proved himself the most skilful. But when one reads his present speech, one is alarmed for the sake of the man himself by the silliness and insipidity of this strange disquisition. Herr Bodelschwingh has become a constitutionalist by order; apart from this word, however, he has remained exactly as before, we do not know whether by order or not. He excused himself by saying that he had lived "in rustic seclusion"; but it could really be thought that he has let himself be *buried* for a whole year.

He acknowledges that by the extremely innocent draft Address of the Left he

> "had been enlightened about their views in a manner and to an extent of which he *had not even an inkling* before his appearance in the Chamber".

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[a] If they ever had any.—*Ed.*

*Quel bonhomme!*[a] When Herr Bodelschwingh still ruled over Prussia his numerous spies must have kept him remarkably badly informed for our money if he can now believe that since then such views have suddenly appeared out of nowhere!

The Left had stated that it was here not on the basis of the Charter imposed under martial law, but on the basis of universal suffrage. What did Herr Bodelschwingh reply?

"If our seats are the outcome of universal suffrage, then there is no need for all the formalities" (of the election test). "*We need only appear in the market place and say: Elect me!* I do not know how many particles of universal suffrage you regard as requisite in order to lay claim to entry in this Chamber. Take as many as you like, in this way it would be easy to obtain sufficient votes; by the acknowledgement of this right the Chamber would soon be so filled that we could no longer remain here; for my part at least I would renounce my seat, and the sooner the better."

If a Westphalian peasant, or if Herr von Bodelschwingh at the time when he was still a Minister, had uttered this profound wisdom about universal suffrage, we would not have been surprised. The interesting feature of the above-quoted passage is that it proves that one could be a Prussian Prime Minister and in control of the whole carefully scrutinised bureaucracy without "having even an inkling" of the most immediate questions of European interest. But after universal suffrage has been in operation *twice* in France, after what the *Left* calls universal suffrage has been in operation twice in Prussia, and has even thrust a seat in the Chamber upon Herr Bodelschwingh himself—after this to be able to indulge in such fabulous fantasies about universal suffrage, one must have been an antediluvian Prussian Minister! However, we must not forget that Herr Bodelschwingh was buried and has only been resurrected in order to enter the Chamber "by order of His Majesty"!

Herr Bodelschwingh said further:

"Even if we are not at all of the opinion that this Constitution will become valid only through its revision, nevertheless we are completely **confident** that the Crown will not refuse its sanction ... to the *wishes* (!) ... of the Chambers ... being *conscious* that we do not need to quarrel and find fault with the Government as if we faced an enemy, but being convinced instead that we confront a Crown which like ourselves *is only concerned for the good of the fatherland* ... in good and bad days alike we must be firmly united with our sovereigns ... the foundation for piety, respect for the law, public spirit, etc."

Herr Bodelschwingh imagined he was still speaking in the United Diet. His *basis* now as previously is that of *confidence.* But the man is quite right! What the Left has called universal suffrage has, by means

[a] What a simpleton! — *Ed.*

of provisions about independence, indirect elections and Manteuffel's manoeuvres, brought into existence a Chamber which has no need to be ashamed of being addressed as "Exalted United Diet".

After an unimportant speech by deputy Schulze-Delitzsch, there came to the rostrum His one-time Excellency, Herr Count Arnim. Unlike Herr Bodelschwingh, he has *not* been asleep during the past year. He knows what he wants.

It is clear, he said, why we want to recognise the Constitution immediately and in its entirety.

"For is it so certain *that the business of revising the Constitution will lead to a result?* How is this to be achieved? What fundamental law will then be valid? Precisely, therefore, because in this situation an agreement between the three powers on the points to be revised is doubtful, precisely *for that reason* we are concerned that even in *this case the people should have a Constitution.*"

Is that clear enough? That is already the second delicate hint in this one sitting.

Then deputy d'Ester opposed the Commission's draft. His speech was by far the best coming from the Left in this general debate. The audacity and vigour with which the deputy from Mayen attacked the gentlemen of the Right made a pleasant impression in the midst of this dismal and tedious debate. But d'Ester, too, could not speak without diplomatic concessions and parliamentary contortions. He said, for example, that he fully agreed that the revolution must be ended. While this statement of the deputy might, perhaps, be excused as due to parliamentary considerations, the member of the democratic Central Committee[143] ought never to express himself in this way, and the man who immediately afterwards began a debate with Vincke on the respective "degree of culture" ought not to incur even the suspicion of being capable of such twaddle. Moreover, in any case no one believed him.

Finally, deputy *Riedel* sounded a note of triumph because "*the Crown has reassumed its right to legislate*". An ironic cry of "bravo" made him aware that he had been telling tales out of school. He took fright and added: "Provisionally, of course!"

A third delicate hint for the deputies!

The Chamber proceeded to the special debate. We shall save it for tomorrow.

Written by Engels on March 25, 1849

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# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR.— THE CONFUSED SITUATION IN SERBIA

Today we must begin our reports from Hungary with news of a victory which, if it were true, would spread the greatest joy among the German democrats.

We have received the following from Breslau:

"*Breslau,* March 23. Just now, news has arrived from Ratibor that *Dembiński* ***has taken Pest by storm.*** *Görgey,* who had already occupied the heights of Raab with his army, is marching as a vanguard on Vienna, which Dembiński intends to occupy soon.

"In Bohemia, the outbreak of a terrible revolution is expected at any moment, which will in the main spread among the oppressed rural population and lead to a veritable civil war. The national hatred between Germans and Czechs has almost completely disappeared; the old Czech deputies Palacky and company have been booed, while the German Left and its Bohemian President Borrosch have received one ovation after another. Moreover, *a state of siege has already been proclaimed in Prague.*"

We have received the same news by way of the democratic correspondence in Berlin. According to it, a deputy has received the following communication:

"*Ratibor,* March 23. Just after winning a major battle, and following a number of previous important victories Dembiński ***has taken Pest by storm.*** *Görgey,* who had previously occupied the heights of *Raab* with his army corps—to cut off the line of retreat of the Austrian army, in case it escaped—is marching on *Vienna* as the vanguard of the Hungarian advance. In that city *Dembiński* will probably disturb the Easter ceremony of washing the feet,[144] and take upon Austria the revenge it so richly deserves.

"*Prague* is in a state of siege, with the indispensable 26 guns trained on the city. It is true that a revolution has not broken out there but is expected, and it is to be hoped that in this way it will be provoked. And if that occurs, if Bohemia rises against the Cabinet—post-horses will become expensive in Olmütz."

This news was communicated to Minister *Manteuffel* who, quite alarmed, replied that the Ministry had not yet received any dispatches about it.

Unfortunately, though, this news is obviously false in the version here available and at the very least premature. The positions of the armies ascertained according to the latest reports do not admit the possibility that the Hungarians have captured Pest by now.

Our news from Pest goes up to the 18th. The most recent Vienna papers, which could have extended it to the 19th, have not yet come to hand. The *Breslauer Zeitung* has a Hungarian report of the 18th, which does indeed mention a Magyar victory over Jellachich at Izsak and Alpar. These two places lie to the right and left of the highway which leads from Pest to Szegedin via Kecskemét, about the level of Felegyhaza, where, as we know, Jellachich is supposed to have been defeated once before; though whether this is the same battle or a new action, it is not possible to judge. In any case, as the Magyar report says, the news of this Hungarian victory has been reflected on the Pest money market in a *rise* of 20 per cent in the Hungarian banknotes. Dispersed corps, as well as large numbers of wounded are also said to have arrived in Pest. Incidentally, the same report adds afterwards that the events of the Magyar war do not seem to have been confirmed to the extent the money market assumed. As regards monetary affairs in Pest the Magyar report writes:

"There is no stock exchange in Pest, and current monetary transactions which have become considerable only since the ban on Hungarian banknotes, were temporarily conducted in a coffee-house. But yesterday the local military authorities had one of the main dealers arrested, and by this *argumentum ad hominem* brought about a partial stoppage of the exchange of banknotes. Despite this, Hungarian banknotes maintained yesterday's level, though many dealers view the above-mentioned arrest as foreshadowing the complete invalidation of Hungarian banknotes even for private dealings.

"The contribution which Pest was not scheduled to pay till May must now by order of His Highness Prince Windischgrätz be paid within 24 hours. The imperial salt office now sells only for hard coin."

In addition, the report talks of an alliance between the Magyars and the Turks, in consequence of which the Magyar operations would be directed not against Pest but towards the Banat and the Turkish borders. But this item sounds rather fantastic.—Palóczy, who retired because of old age, is reported to have been replaced by Paul Almasy as President of the Hungarian National Assembly in Debreczin.

According to other, Austrian, reports Jellachich is said rather to have gained a victory over the Magyars at Szegedin (or Felegyhaza).

The action in question is obviously the one already mentioned above. But so long as the Austrian Bulletins do not break their obstinate silence about the operations on the Theiss, and so long as their reports of any victories are not confirmed by other, unbiased news, so long we shall believe the Magyar report that Jellachich has suffered a welcome defeat at Felegyhaza.

What confirms us in this belief is the following item from the *Lithographierte Correspondenz* published in Vienna *under martial-law supervision*:

"The news from Hungary is as yet still far from satisfactory: ***it is known that considerable mishaps have occurred there***, and that even officers of the highest rank have been called to account. Among them even Count Wrbna is mentioned."

Today there is no word from the Banat. Not a word of Jablonowsky, Götz, and the rest of the missing corps of the Austrian army.

On the other hand, from Transylvania we hear today nothing but *compliments for Bem.* Thus the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* writes:

"The reports from the camp agree, however, that Bem has proved his ability once more in the latest encounter at Mediasch, for he took up such advantageous positions that during the entire engagement he may be said to have manoeuvred rather than fought."[a]

And even the *Siebenbürger Bote,* whose war reports, as we well know, express the official view, says:

"***Whoever has not seen for himself the impressive bearing of Bem, his tenacity on the field of battle, can have no true conception of this general's ability.*** While his position seems to be shrouded in a veil, he leaves the ground he occupies only with sudden brisk movements, and if his troops were as reliable as his skill in offering battle from such well-chosen positions—which, as it were, always strikingly display the closest correlation—we would have to fight engagements that are not only interesting but brilliant. Bem fought with his 5,000-6,000 strong force from 9 in the morning till 6 in the afternoon, from three positions, with a tenacity which shows what he can do not only now but in future as well."[b]

The Imperial Government has realised, incidentally, that the Serbs are not to be trifled with. The *Napredak* (Forward) of Karlowitz writes on March 13 that, late at night on the 8th, a letter from Minister Stadion arrived in Becskerek for the Patriarch,[c] in which the Ministry confirms the provisional Serb provincial government and at the same time expresses the wish that the Serb newspapers should

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[a] "Hermannstadt, 9. März", *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 84 (supplement), March 25, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] "Mediasch, 7. März", *Der Siebenbürger Bote* No. 30, March 9, 1849.—*Ed.*

[c] Rajachich.—*Ed.*

say what kind of government the people would want to be installed in the "Voivodina". Moreover, Minister Stadion demands two representatives from the Voivodina; accordingly, Paskowich, Zivanovich and Šuplikac have also been sent off to Vienna, in addition to Bogdanović. The commission in Becskerek has already begun negotiations about the setting up of the Serb Diet. The majority of the deputies favours an early calling of a National Assembly, at which the voivode should also be elected.

Several of the Uhlans who recently dispersed the district council in Hatzfeld went on to Kécsa and seized the arms of the Serbs. Then they rode to Serb Crnja intending to dissolve the district court there, but the Serbs declared they would not obey the military command and would defend their rights to the last drop of blood. Had the Uhlans permitted themselves the slightest transgression, blood would have flowed. In Kómlos and Masdorf, too, the Uhlans wanted to dissolve the councils, but the Romanians and Germans there immediately denounced that intention, so that it came to the knowledge of the Patriarch. In this way Rukavina wanted to dissolve the district courts and national offices in the whole area. It was fortunate that he did not go further; had the Uhlans continued to molest the Serbian villages, not one of them would have kept his head on his shoulders. When the Patriarch was informed of the seizure of the arms, he flew into a rage. Now we hear that Rukavina has yielded and the Uhlans (Schwarzenberg) have been put under the command of Todorovich.

Whether this is the end of the Serbian disorders remains to be seen. In any case, Windischgrätz and Jellachich have been compromised and disowned by the Government, an outcome which we find especially pleasing in the case of the fanatic Jellachich.

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# THE WAR IN ITALY AND HUNGARY

*Cologne*, March 27. The war in Italy has begun.[145] By this war the Habsburg monarchy has assumed a burden beneath which it will probably succumb.

As long as Hungary was not in a state of open war against the monarchy as a whole, but was only in a fluctuating state of war against the Southern Slavs, it was no great feat for Austria to get the better of the Italians, who were only half revolutionised, and were split up and crippled by the triple treachery of the sovereigns. Nevertheless, what an effort it involved! Before Radetzky could win his victories at the Mincio,[146] the Pope[a] and the Grand Duke of Tuscany[b] had first to withdraw their troops—directly or indirectly—from the Venetian region, Charles Albert and his partly incompetent, partly venal generals had first actually to betray the Italian cause and above all at times the Magyars and at times the Southern Slavs had to be induced by a policy of duplicity and seeming concessions to send their troops to take up positions in Italy. It is known that only the mass transfer of the South-Slav border regiments to Italy rendered the disorganised Austrian army capable of fighting again.

Furthermore, as long as the armistice with Piedmont continued, as long as Austria had merely to maintain its army in Italy in its former strength without having to increase it excessively, Austria could throw the main body of its 600,000 soldiers against Hungary, it could push back the Magyars from one position to another and, by means of the daily arriving reinforcements, could in the end even succeed

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[a] Pius IX.—*Ed.*
[b] Leopold II.—*Ed.*

in crushing Hungary's armed power. In the long run, Kossuth, like Napoleon, would have had to suffer defeat owing to the superiority of force.

But the war in Italy considerably changes the situation. From the moment when the termination of the armistice became certain, Austria had to double the number of its troops sent to Italy, it had to divide its newly enrolled recruits between Windischgrätz and Radetzky. Thus it is to be expected that neither of them gets enough.

Whereas for the Magyars and Italians, therefore, it is only a question of gaining time—time for the purchase and manufacture of arms, time for training the *Landsturm* and national guards to be soldiers fit for service in the field, time for revolutionising the country—Austria, compared with its opponents, becomes weaker every day.

While the war itself draws Rome, Tuscany and even Piedmont ever more deeply into the revolution compelling them day by day to display greater revolutionary energy, and while they can wait for the rapidly approaching crisis in France, meanwhile in Austria the third disorganising element, the *Slav opposition* is daily gaining ground and improving its organisation. The imposed Constitution[147] which, in gratitude for the Slavs having saved Austria, is throwing them back to their condition before the March events, the many insults suffered by the Slavs through bureaucratic and military excesses—these are facts that have occurred and cannot be altered in any way.

It is understandable that in these circumstances the *Kölnische Zeitung* is in the greatest possible hurry to make the imperial forces finish off the unpleasant war with Hungary. Accordingly, it announced yesterday that they crossed the Theiss in three columns[a]—a report made all the more credible by not being confirmed up to now by any communiqué. Other sources, however, report that, on the contrary, the Magyar army is advancing on Pest by forced marches and evidently intends to raise the siege of Komorn. In spite of being heavily bombarded, Komorn is holding out courageously. During the bombardment the defenders of Komorn did not fire a shot, but when the Austrians tried to take it by storm they were thrown back with heavy losses by a deadly hail of grape-shot. It is said that the Duke of Coburg's regiment of Polish Uhlans went over to the side of the Magyars at the moment when Dembiński, calmly waiting for the attack, ordered the tune of "Poland is not yet lost"[b] to be played.

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[a] Cf. report in the section "Ungarn" in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 73, March 27, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] From the Polish national anthem.—*Ed.*

This is all the news we can give today about the Hungarian theatre of war. The post from Vienna of March 23 has failed to arrive.

Let us now turn to the Italian theatre of war. Here the Piedmontese army is drawn up in a long arc along the Ticino and the Po. Its front line stretches from Arona via Novara, Vigevano, Voghera to Castel San Giovanni facing Piacenza. Its reserves are situated a few miles farther back, on the rivers Sesia and Bormida at Vercelli, Trino and Alessandria. On the extreme right wing at Sarzana on the Tuscany-Modena frontier a separate corps under the command of La Marmora is stationed, ready to attack Parma and Modena through the Lunigiani passes, to link up on the left with the right wing of the main army, and on the right with the Tuscan and Roman armies, to cross the Po and the Adige if circumstances permit and conduct operations in the Venetian region.

On the opposite side, on the left bank of the Ticino and Po, stands Radetzky. It is known that his army is divided into two corps, of which one has occupied Lombardy and the other the Venetian region. While no news at all about troop dispositions has come from the Venetian region, we hear on all sides that in Lombardy Radetzky is concentrating his whole army on the Ticino. He has withdrawn all his troops from Parma, and in Modena he has left only a few hundred men in the fortress. Varese, Como, Val d'Intelvi and Valtellina have been entirely denuded of troops, even the frontier customs guards have disappeared.

The entire fighting force at Radetzky's disposal, 50,000 strong, occupies positions from Magenta to Pavia along the Ticino and from Pavia to Piacenza along the Po.

Radetzky himself is said to have had the foolhardy plan of immediately crossing the Ticino with this army and, protected by the inevitable confusion of the Italians, of marching directly on Turin. People still remember from last year that Radetzky more than once entertained similar Napoleonic desires[148] and how he fared then. This time, however, the entire War Council opposed him, and it was decided to retreat, without any decisive battle, towards the Adda, Oglio, and, if needs be, even the Chiese, in order to obtain there reinforcements from the Venetian region and Illyria.

It will depend on the manoeuvres of the Piedmontese and the eagerness for war of the Lombards whether this retreat will take place without losses and whether the Austrians will succeed in holding up the Piedmontese for long. For the southern slopes of the Alps, namely the Como, Brienz and Bergamo Alps, Veltlin (Valtellina) and the Brescia region, now already for the most part abandoned by the Austrians, are highly suitable for national partisan

warfare. The Austrians concentrated in the plain have to leave the mountains free. Here by a swift advance with light troops on the Austrian right wing, the Piedmontese can quickly organise guerilla detachments, which will threaten the flank and, in the event of the defeat of a single corps, also the retreat of the imperial troops, cut off their supplies and extend the insurrection as far as the Tritentine Alps. Garibaldi would be in his element here. But presumably he has not the least intention of once more entering the service of the traitor Charles Albert.[149]

The Tuscan-Roman army, supported by La Marmora, will have to occupy the line of the Po from Piacenza to Ferrara, cross the Po as quickly as possible, and after that the Adige, cut off Radetzky from the Austro-Venetian corps and operate on his left flank, or in his rear. However, this army is unlikely to arrive sufficiently quickly to have any influence on the first military operations.

But more decisive than all this is the attitude of the Piedmontese. Their army is good and bellicose; but if it is betrayed again as it was last year it is bound to be beaten. The Lombards are demanding weapons in order to fight against their oppressors; but if again, as last year, a vacillating bourgeois Government paralyses a mass uprising, Radetzky can once again enter Milan.

There is only one means to counter the treachery and cowardice of the Government: revolution. And perhaps it is precisely a new breach of his word by Charles Albert, and a new act of perfidy by the Lombard nobility and bourgeoisie, that are required for the Italian revolution to be carried through and, simultaneously with it, the Italian war for independence. But then woe to the traitors!

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# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

In spite of all the reinforcements asked for, in spite of all their numerical superiority, fortune refuses to favour the imperial forces. The *Ost-Deutsche Post*, in a report (?) from Pest dated March 20, spins the following yarn:

"Baron Hammerstein *is said to* have already crossed the Theiss and advanced to Nyiregyhaza, eight hours from Debreczin. Advancing from the other side, Puchner *must* already be near Grosswardein, and at this moment the *rumour is spreading* that Szegedin has surrendered without striking a blow."[a]

"Is said to"—"must"—"the rumour is spreading"—such is the reliable news from the theatre of war which the *Ost-Deutsche Post* publishes, and which the reliable, "critically sifting", experienced *Kölnische Zeitung* communicated to its readers in its second edition this morning without further comment.

In addition the *Ost-Deutsche Post* and following it the *Kölnische Zeitung* report:

"According to *fairly reliable* reports, the Serbs at Szegedin have received orders to join the imperial army stationed on the Theiss. The Ban[b] then took over general command of these two united corps and *set out* on the march to Debreczin with them."[c] (!!!)

This supposed report from Pest is simply the usual Viennese martial-law gossip, in which there is not a word of truth. The *Kölnische Zeitung* should know that; firstly, there was no official Bulletin, which would have been issued if there had been any successes however small; and secondly, it could have read, copied in

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[a] "Pesth, 20. März", *Ost-Deutsche Post* No. 54, March 23, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] Jellachich.—*Ed.*

[c] "Pesth, 20. März", *Kölnische-Zeitung* No. 74 (second edition), March 28, 1849.—*Ed.*

the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* and in the original in the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen, a genuine report* from Pest of the 20th, in which there is *no mention* of the "reliable news" printed in the *Ost-Deutsche Post.* And the worthy Cologne paper still dares to accuse the *Breslauer Zeitung,* which does not claim to have a critical approach, of lacking a critical approach as far as reports from Hungary are concerned!

Actually, the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* reports quite the opposite from Pest on the 20th[a]:

> "The fall of Szegedin has *not been confirmed*; on the contrary, the imperial forces are said to have relinquished *Kecskemét* owing to *strategic considerations.* The enemy appears to have concentrated all his forces at Szegedin, and to regard it as the key to the current Austrian plan of operation. Yesterday reinforcements went also from our side to the battlefield by rail."

That is all that this report, which was actually written in Pest, says about the theatre of war.

True enough, Baron Hammerstein has moved from Galicia down the Hernad to Tokaj with reinforcements—ten battalions, it is said. But he would never have got across the Theiss there without a hard-fought and victorious action—and would not the imperial authorities have trumpeted abroad so important a victory in a Bulletin? From Tokaj to Nyiregyhaza is a good four miles,[b] i. e. in this marshy region and in this rainy season, fully two to three days' march for a regular army. And Hammerstein is supposed to have got through to Nyiregyhaza without the official report of his successful crossing of the Theiss some days previously having reached Vienna!

If Hammerstein had even got as far as Tokaj we would have received Bulletin after Bulletin full of triumphant chants. We would know where Götz is stationed and where Jablonowsky, Csorich and Schlick are stationed. We know nothing whatsoever of all this. Since February 26, the date of the ambiguous battle at Kapolna, *that is for almost four weeks,* there has been *no official mention* of the Theiss; and the unofficial reports we receive contradict each other daily.

Hence the first of the three columns at whose head the *Kölnische Zeitung* crossed the Theiss existed only in the imagination.

The second would have to be that of Schlick. But Schlick was still in Szegléd on the 17th or 18th, as the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* has also reported. At Szolnok, the nearest crossing-point, there could be no question of crossing the Theiss. Here even the wits of the noble

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[a] This and the following quotation are taken from the report "Pest, 20. März" in the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 71, March 24, 1849; they are reprinted in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 86, March 27, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] See footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*

Ban and robber chief Jellachich were baffled, and any attempt to cross there was given up. If however he had crossed the Theiss at Tisza-Füred, the only crossing-point in the vicinity, he would first have had to march there,to concentrate his forces there and to wage a battle. All this would have had to have happened in the short period from the 18th to the 20th, and that is impossible for obvious chronological reasons. Schlick's presence in Szegléd, far from proving that a hurried crossing of the Theiss was to take place, on the contrary, in conjunction with other reports, leads to the conclusion that Schlick was purely on a visit of inspection at Szegléd, where the right wing of his army must establish contact with the extreme left wing of Jellachich's corps.

The third column would naturally have been that of Jellachich. But according to the only news reaching us directly from Pest, it has been withdrawn "for strategic reasons" (as the imperial authorities say every time they are defeated) even beyond Kecskemét. But Kecskemét lies 12 miles from Szegedin, the only possible crossing-point of the Theiss there, and the notorious hinge of Jellachich's operations. Of what use is it to us now if the Serbs have "received orders" to "effect a junction" with him, when he is 14 miles away from them? And what is the meaning of the ridiculous remark that, as a result of this simple *plan* of joining up with the Serbs, the Ban "is marching directly on Debreczin", which is 25 miles from Szegedin, the as yet unconquered Szegedin!

Moreover, the *Ost-Deutsche Post* writes in a further flight of the imagination, Puchner *must* by now be already near Grosswardein. Indeed, if the wishes of the imperial side had anything to do with it, he would have been there long ago. But all we know so far is that, while the 30,000 Russians now stationed in Transylvania are keeping a tight rein on the Szeklers,[150] he is operating not in the direction of Grosswardein but in the opposite direction, towards Schässburg and Maros-Vásárhely.

By the way, the difficulties involved in driving the Hungarians from their strong positions behind the Theiss and capturing Debreczin, especially now that the *rainy season* is near, are indicated in the following excerpt from the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*:

"It would certainly be better for the military operations on the clayey roads and fields on the Theiss and on this side of it, if the *usual rainy season* were to arrive a few weeks late. During this season, *Debreczin becomes temporarily an island*, to which even in peace-time one can *make one's way only with great difficulty*. This will show you the obstacles of terrain with which our brave troops have to contend even before they reach the seat of rebellion. Moreover, on the way to Debreczin there are pusztas[151] so wide that one must ride for *almost a whole day* to reach the *only well* which supplies water

for the horses. And on these plains the Austrian cavalry must contend with an enemy who is at home there and whose small, tireless horses may be called the camel of the puszta."

Hence, first the swamps of the Theiss and Körös, which form a natural trench round the heath of Debreczin, and then the Sahara of Debreczin itself, where the Austrian cuirassiers and Uhlans are supposed to fight the same battle with the Hungarian light hussars that the clumsy French cavalry had to fight against the Arab horsemen in the first years of the Algerian war.[152]

We have learnt from the Banat that a new complication has been added to the old ones in Serbia. The Romanians have been incited against the Serbs—though whether for or against the imperial authorities we do not know. Imperial intrigue is probably at the bottom of it.

The Temesvar fortress is being heavily armed—not against the Magyars, but against—the Serbs. Obviously ill-feeling among the Serbs must be growing.

As regards the capture of Peterwardein, "hoped for" repeatedly for some time, this is again dissolving in mist. The *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* writes:

"*From the Drava*, March 18. The Vienna papers reported some time ago that imperial troops had succeeded in storming the fortress of Peterwardein. But Peterwardein cannot be stormed unless one is prepared to see 20,000 or 30,000 men slaughtered in the assault. Anyone who is a soldier and is familiar with the fortress will agree. If the fortress does not surrender hunger is the only thing that can conquer it. Unfortunately, our hopes of its speedy surrender, initially raised by bearers of the flag of truce, are growing dimmer and dimmer, and the officers who have just escaped from the fortress do not hold out an encouraging prospect, for particularly the common soldiers and the Honveds are behaving in a terroristic fashion."[a]

A new revolt is "to be hoped for" in the rear of the imperial forces. The regiment of dragoons that was occupying the Bakony Forest has been called to Pest and has arrived there. The Honved guerillas, who are roaming about in large numbers in the Bakony Forest, will immediately organise a fresh uprising and establish contact with the insurgents of the comitat of Tolna.

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[a] "Von der Drave, 18. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 71, March 24, 1849.—*Ed.*

# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR[153]

[ITALY]

The military operations are beginning to appear in clearer outline. While the Piedmontese have crossed the Ticino at Buffalora, Radetzky has crossed it at Pavia and is stationed between the Ticino and the Po on Piedmontese territory.

Whether this attack is merely a diversion, or whether Radetzky actually intends to advance on Turin, is not yet clear. The latter is possible if the report sent from Turin on the 21st to the *Journal des Débats* is accurate[a]: that as a result of the addition of the Parma and Modena garrisons his army has increased to 60,000-70,000 men with 120 guns and that so far the Piedmontese have only 55,000 to 65,000 men with 100 to 110 guns to oppose to Radetzky. But these assertions are absolutely false, at least as concerns the Piedmontese army. Furthermore, La Marmora's corps, which has advanced to Parma, will force Radetzky to make further detachments.

In short Radetzky stands on Piedmontese territory. This is due to the negligence or treachery of the notorious Ramorino, who had already played an ambiguous role in Poland in 1831 and in the Savoy campaign in 1834.[154] He is to be thanked for the fact that the Austrians succeeded in pushing their way along the Po between his division and that of Durando. Ramorino was immediately removed from command and called to account for his action.

Chrzanowski is making the following dispositions of his forces in response to Radetzky's manoeuvre: Durando from Stradella, Fanti, who has replaced Ramorino, and one of the divisions moving out from the headquarters at Vigevano towards the Po will make a

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[a] This refers to a report published in the *Journal des Débats* on March 26, 1849.—*Ed.*

frontal attack on the Austrians, while the division commanded by the Duke of Genoa, a force of 20,000, which has crossed the Ticino at Buffalora, is marching on the Lombardic bank of the river to Pavia, to cut off the Austrians' retreat.

If Radetzky has insufficient forces to resist the Piedmontese, it may well happen that the old fox will fall into a trap and be encircled and destroyed. But in any case, by his advance he has provoked a decisive battle, the outcome of which we should learn today, or, at the latest, tomorrow.

The rest of Chrzanowski's plan of operations is quite in accord with that which we indicated yesterday[a] as the more probable plan. While La Marmora is stirring up the inhabitants of the Dukedoms[b] to rebel and advancing on the extreme left wing of the Piedmontese to the Po, or across it, Favorola's division has advanced via Varese into the Lombard mountains. A Lombard revolutionary committee is accompanying him. The insurrection is spreading at a rapid pace. On the 20th, the insurgents of the Piedmontese border made contact with those from Veltlin and the Upper Comasca in Como. As soon as the Austrians left a locality, the insurrection was organised. All of them are marching upon Milan; individual Austrian detachments are said already to have been attacked and destroyed by the insurgents. On the 21st, a general insurrection was to break out throughout Lombardy. According to the *Patrie* the uprising has already broken out in Milan, but the *Patrie* lies notoriously. In any case, preparations have been made in Milan which testify to the Austrian commandant's fears of the insurrection and of reinforcements from the countryside.

Perhaps the Swiss papers will also bring important news at noon today, and, if so, we will communicate it to our readers under "Latest News".

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[a] See this volume, pp. 150-51.—*Ed.*
[b] Parma and Modena.—*Ed.*

# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

The *Kölnische Zeitung* will surely have to retreat across the Theiss again with its "three columns"[a]; the campaign is taking an increasingly unhappy turn for the imperial forces.

But let us leave the *Kölnische Zeitung* to its justified sorrow, and instead turn immediately to *Transylvania.*

***Hermannstadt has been taken by Bem.*** There is no doubt: the newspaper of the Vienna Stock Exchange barons, the martial-law *Lloyd,* publishes the news[b] from two separate sources. If it were not true, its publication would under martial law result in the editors being sentenced to several months "trench-digging in light chains".

Bem has calmly allowed the worthy Puchner, whom the equally worthy *Ost-Deutsche Post* had yesterday already advancing into the vicinity of Grosswardein,[c] to march against the Szeklers in the Carpathian Mountains, confronting Puchner with only about half his corps to support the Szekler *Landsturm.* Bem himself, as the *Lloyd* reports, marched quickly on Hermannstadt with 12,000 men, attacked the Russians and drove them out. The *Lloyd* asserts that only 3,000 Russians were there, but that is hardly likely, for more than double that number were there; unless the remainder marched with Puchner against the Szeklers, which is indeed possible.

In Hermannstadt, Bem's troops are said to have wrought "great havoc", which would be no more than just retribution for the barbarities of the imperial forces and the calling-in of the Russians. After a few hours Bem left the city again; naturally, after he had

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[a] See this volume, pp. 149 and 153-54.— *Ed.*

[b] "Wien, 24. März", *Der Lloyd* No. 144 (morning edition), March 25, 1849.— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 152 and 154.— *Ed.*

severely chastised the Saxon philistines,[155] his business there was finished.

The strategic aim of the campaign is obviously to isolate Puchner once again, and to drive away the imperial forces marching up along the Maros from the Banat. We shall soon hear how the tireless Pole has sported with them, perhaps how he has pursued them deep into the Banat and there attracted reinforcements himself.

While Puchner with the imperial and Russian forces is fighting the Szekler guerillas deep in the mountains, Malkowsky and the chivalrous hero Urban, the "Jellachich of the Bukovina", have been completely driven out of Transylvania on the northern side. According to the last Bulletin, Urban was still occupying Bistritz; from there he has been beaten back to Watra Dorna, and from Watra Dorna deep into the Bukovina. The headquarters of Malkowsky, the Supreme Commander, has already been shifted back again to Ober Wikow, fully 20 miles from Bistritz, and only 8 miles from Czernowitz on the Russian border. Thus reports the Austrian correspondent. In Czernowitz itself, he goes on, the greatest anxiety rules; the precautionary measures taken by the imperial authorities, abatis, the occupation of the passes, the call-up of the *Landsturm* etc. show that the danger is near. But the Hungarians will take care to penetrate into the Bukovina no further than is necessary to secure the border. They know too well that the Russians are only waiting for the signal to invade. In Novoseliza, right on the border between the Bukovina and Russia, there are 10,000 Russian troops, and the whole frontier with Moldavia is swarming with Russians.

The most important aspect of the matter is simply this:

(1) Bem can operate independently down the Maros with part of his troops, while the rest of his corps, along with the Szeklers, suffices to keep Puchner and the Russians busy;

(2) In the north, where previously Bem himself had to drive out the imperial forces every time, the insurrection has spread to such an extent that it can cope with Malkowsky and Urban even without Bem;

(3) Bem therefore not merely operates in distinguished fashion as a military leader, but at the same time he has also organised the Transylvanian insurrection and made it more formidable than ever;

(4) The Romanians, the majority of the Transylvanian population, who initially behaved with such fanaticism against the Magyars and Szeklers, either have lost all spirit for further fighting because of the successes of the latter, or must even have joined them, impelled by their hatred of the Russian invasion. Without this, Bem's latest successes would have been quite impossible.

At last we have some news about the position of the imperial forces on the *Theiss*. The *Lloyd* reports from Pest on the 20th that *Götz* is in Tokaj, *Jablonowsky* in Miskolcz, *Schlick* in Erlau, and *Jellachich* in Szegléd.[a]

This means that in this sector the imperial forces are in precisely the same positions on *March* 20 as they were on *January* 20. Compare Army Bulletin No. 19 and our comments on it in No. 214 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.[b]

Hence, for two months the imperial forces have been roaming around in the area between the Danube, the Carpathians and the Theiss, with varying fortunes. When the Theiss was frozen, they were stationed in front of it and tried to advance across the ice; the Magyars drove them back with casualties. Then it was said that the drifting ice prevented them from getting across. It did not prevent the Magyars from following the imperial troops to the right bank. After this, Görgey came, drove Schlick back to the main army, joined with Dembiński, and the two advanced to within a few miles of Pest. That was four weeks ago. They retreated again, the imperial troops followed them, and since the glorious "victory" of Kapolna they have not advanced a step further; Schlick's headquarters, Erlau, *is on the battlefield of Kapolna*, so to speak.

Whether Götz is actually in Tokaj or only in its vicinity remains an open question. The positive information we have today from this region comes from the martial-law *Lithographierte Correspondenz* of the 24th from Vienna and is this: General *Hammerstein*, whose move from Galicia into Hungary with 10 battalions was so definitely reported by the Vienna newspapers and correspondents from Pest, *has still not pressed forward towards Hungary at all*!

Schlick and Jablonowsky are harmless in their present positions for the time being. The former is said to have already started to move; but what use is that in view of "the slushy weather that has set in" and the imminent season of spring rains which we mentioned this morning?[c]

And to crown all the Ban, the chivalrous, invincible Ban Jellachich! He marched towards Szegedin, he occupied Kecskemét, and set up his headquarters in Felegyhaza, four miles further on; he was said to have so routed the Magyars at Szegedin that the city surrendered; the procession of the inhabitants to the Ban, with maidens clad in white, garlands, flags, music and all the trappings, was already

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[a] "Pesth, 20. März", *Der Lloyd* No. 140 (morning edition), March 23, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 300-03.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 154-55.—*Ed.*

described, and, lo and behold, the South-Slav Don Quixote is suddenly back at the point whence he had set out, on the selfsame spot where he rejoined his troops after they were defeated at Szolnok—at Szegléd in the Pest comitat!

Moreover, the Olmütz Government appears to be fed up with Windischgrätz's incompetent conduct of the war. It is reported that *Windischgrätz will be dismissed*, and that Master of Ordnance *d'Aspre* will take over from him as commander of the army of the Theiss. Certainly, d'Aspre burnt and plundered enough in Italy last year to appear a capable general to a Schwarzenberg-Stadion Government.

Incidentally, the 50,000 men which Windischgrätz requested as reinforcements to enable him to cope with the Magyars, are supposed to be actually supplied. As the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* reports from Vienna,[a] 50,000 men from Vienna, Moravia, Bohemia and Galicia, are said to be marching to the theatre of war, 10,000 of which alone are to reinforce the army besieging Komorn. In addition, six batteries of heavy artillery are said to have been dispatched there from Olmütz a few days ago. Whence all these troops are supposed to be coming the Gods alone may know. It would be very surprising indeed if the Government were able to draw another 50,000 men from the German and Slav provinces, infuriated by the imposition of the Constitution, in addition to the troops (about 350,000 men) already fighting in Hungary and Italy.

On the 24th, the rumour circulated on the Vienna Stock Exchange that *Komorn had capitulated* after three days' heavy bombardment. If this were the case, we would first have learnt of it through official reports, as we did of the "victory" of Kapolna, and not through Stock Exchange puffs.

The only information we have from the *Banat* comes from statements in the Vienna and Olmütz papers that Baja on the Danube was occupied on the 18th by 4,000 Magyars. Baja is located in the comitat of Bacska, hence in the part of the Voivodina claimed as Serbian, and at the same level as Theresiopel (Subotica), about eight miles away. The garrison crossed over the Danube, i. e. into the insurgent comitat of Tolna; it is attempting to move towards the forces of Colonel Horváth, which are approaching by steamship and tug and are to clear the Danube of guerillas. But probably, nothing more will even be heard of it, as the insurgents are likely to have cut it to pieces already long ago.

One hears from the Slovakian mountains that *Perczel* is now at the head of the guerillas organised there, who have already been

[a] "Wien, 21. März", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 84, March 25, 1849.—*Ed.*

mentioned several times. A correspondent writes to the *Schlesische Zeitung* from Vienna on the 22nd that Perczel was recently in Tyrnau, five miles from Pressburg and eleven from Vienna, and was threatening the former town. He has however returned from there to Neutra and is now moving towards the Moravian border to threaten Olmütz. Everywhere he incites the Slovaks to rebellion, and arms and organises guerilla forces. He has laid under contribution all the villages and localities which have provided recruits for the royal imperial army; he is having hanged all those clergymen who previously were in agreement with Hurban.

It is evident that the so-called Slovak deputation which, with Hurban at its head, was recently in Olmütz,[156] is by no means representative of the Slovaks, and that these on the contrary prefer to side with the Magyars. Soon Perczel is likely to concentrate here the same formidable force with which Görgey conducted his brilliant campaigns.

To sum up: the imperial forces are suffering defeats everywhere, and what they need tc crush the Magyar revolution is nothing more than—50,000-60,000 *Russians*!

But, in addition to the Slav movement and the Italian war, there is something else which may give a different turn to the whole Hungarian revolutionary war and change it into a European conflict, i.e. the Turkish affair. Turkey is Europe's most sensitive spot: movements in Turkey immediately bring England and France into collision with Russia. And it seems that at all events Turkey wants to move against Russian encroachments upon the Romanian provinces, and Russian intrigues in the Slav Danube provinces. A correspondent writes from Czernowitz (Bukovina) on March 16:

"Letters from Jassy bring us the news that the Turks have marched into *Galatz* as well as *Wallachia* in significant strength, 100,000 men, it is said, *to protest arms in hand against the Russian occupation of the Danube principalities.*"

And the Austrian correspondent adds from *Zara* in Dalmatia on March 13 that considerable military preparations have been going on for a fortnight in the neighbouring town of Mostar, and all men of the region capable of bearing arms have been called to the colours. In April, all men from 16 to 40 years of age are to be called up and only one man is to be left behind with each family for its support. In Zara one does not know what to make of it.[a]

If it is confirmed that the Porte wishes seriously to oppose Russia—and the French papers too have been reporting this for

[a] "Zara, 13. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 70, March 23,1849.—*Ed.*

some time—a new and scarcely avoidable impulse will be given to a European war. And this war will be upon us before we realise it and bear the European revolution in its train.

*Postscript.* At Hochwiesen (two miles from Schemnitz) a guerilla force which advanced from Komorn under the leadership of Ernst Simonyi has been driven back, the *Wiener Zeitung* reports.[a] This and a few fires is all that this official paper has today about Hungary!

A correspondent writes from Pest that the general offensive was to have begun on the 20th. Heavy artillery has gone to support Schlick. Theresiopel has not yet been taken, despite the reinforcement of Todorovich there by 5,000 Serbian volunteers. On the other hand, the Honveds are said to have been driven out of Baja again.

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[a] "Pesth", *Wiener Zeitung* No. 71, March 24, 1849.—*Ed.*

# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

[ITALY]

As we were able to inform most of our readers yesterday,[a] two engagements have taken place simultaneously, at Vigevano and Mortara, in one of which the Austrians gained advantages, in the other the victory went to the Piedmontese.

Today we have more definite news. We shall relate it in chronological order.

Ramorino's treachery is, according to a report of the *Constitutionnel*, beyond doubt. His orders were to prevent the Austrians from crossing the Ticino with the Lombard division from Vigevano. He sent a battalion of riflemen which occupied the crossing. An Austrian regiment made its appearance on the morning of the 20th and was held back for five hours, from 5 a.m. to 10 a.m. In the meantime, instead of the regiment, an entire imperial brigade arrived at the Ticino. The Lombard battalion commander, Manara, astonished still to be left without any aid, retreated to Vigevano, the division's headquarters. Vigevano was deserted by Ramorino's troops. The Lombards retreated still further and eventually met a Piedmontese corps, which they were able to join. During this time, Ramorino had led his division off on marches which flagrantly contradicted the orders he had received. He was, however, arrested on the same day and, let us hope, will be shot.

As a result of Ramorino's treachery, the Austrians succeeded in concentrating the main body of their forces in the Lomellina, between the Po and the Ticino, thus driving a wedge into the Piedmontese army. Durando and the entire corps stationed south of the Po are cut off from the main army.

On the 21st, Radetzky with two columns marched north towards Vigevano and Mortara, on the road leading to Vercelli. At Vigevano,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 156-57.— *Ed.*

one of the columns was halted by Piedmontese troops. For four hours they fought against numerically superior imperial forces at Sforzesca and Gambolo, without retreating. At last, the Savona brigade arrived at about four o'clock and *drove back the Austrians with casualties.* 1,500 prisoners are said to have fallen into the hands of the Piedmontese.

Immediately afterwards, at 6 o'clock, Mortara was attacked by the imperial forces; after defending themselves bravely, the Piedmontese eventually withdrew from this position under the protection of the reserve division.

This division continued the battle into the night, and only then did Mortara fall into the hands of the enemy.

So much is certain. But from here on the reports are contradictory. According to one, the Duke of Savoy had resumed the offensive on the 22nd, and put two Hungarian regiments to flight; according to another, Radetzky is advancing along the Vercelli road.

In Paris, a telegraphic dispatch said to have been received on the 26th puts Radetzky only four miles from Turin. Even the *Journal des Débats,* which is favourably disposed towards the Austrians, has to admit that this report is unfounded and could not possibly have been received in Paris on the 26th.[a] It even makes the effort to prove this by comparing the dates and distances involved.

It further admits that Radetzky has got himself into a position in which one defeat will finish him off.

"If the Piedmontese army has time to concentrate in Radetzky's rear, it will be able to put him into a most difficult position."

But this is precisely what the *Journal des Débats* doubts. Firstly, it says, the Piedmontese army has been drawn up along far too long a line, taking up positions from Novara to Castel San Giovanni, and even having other detached corps at Arona and Sarzana, or now at Parma; and secondly, it must be assumed that Radetzky, when he decided to cross the Ticino, had with him the whole of his available forces, 70,000 men with 120 cannon.

*Firstly,* the Piedmontese army has, indeed, been deployed since the 21st in such a way that the corps which directly confronts Radetzky is certainly too weak *by itself* to withstand him. That is the result of Ramorino's treachery. But this is not the issue. The Duke of Genoa is operating on the right flank of the Austrians, the Piedmontese reserves are stationed on their left flank at Casale and Alessandria, and Durando is in their rear at Stradella. Radetzky is literally encircled, and his retreat in case of a defeat is as good as cut off. It is

[a] "Paris, 26 mars", *Journal des Débats,* March 27, 1849.—*Ed.*

a curious assumption that these distinct Piedmontese corps would not operate together (and the Duke of Genoa and the reserve corps of the main army are close enough to do so). By his treachery, Ramorino was able to put the Piedmontese at a momentary disadvantage, but he could not thereby *decide* the outcome of the campaign.

*Secondly*, the Austrian army between the Ticino and the Po is by no means 70,000 strong. The *Journal des Débats* really argues too naively when it asserts: because Radetzky had an alleged 70,000 men under his command between the Adda and the Ticino, he must have led the same number across the Ticino. Clearly, he must have left behind a considerable number on the Lombardic bank of the Po and in Pavia, as well as on the Lambro and the Adda, to cover his base of operations. According to a report in the *Basler Zeitung* (which enthusiastically supports the imperial cause), the Austrians had 8,000 men at Gallarate, 20,000 at Magenta, 25,000 at Pavia and 25,000 at Piacenza. Only the first three corps, together 50,000-53,000 men, could be taken across the Ticino in case of extreme necessity; the corps at Piacenza barely sufficed to cover the Po from Piacenza to Pavia.

Even without the outermost formations dispatched to Como via Arona and to Parma via Sarzana, the Piedmontese army will therefore probably completely suffice to hold out against Radetzky.

Moreover, that Radetzky has left Lombardy largely stripped of troops is clear even from the hasty transfer of the troops from the Venice area, from Verona to Lombardy, from Padua to Verona. In the Tirol a corps of 7,000 riflemen is said to have been mobilised. Venice will thus be fairly denuded of troops, and the encirclement from the landward side will surely soon cease of its own accord.[157]

In Paris, the rumour was circulating on the 27th that the Duke of Genoa had defeated the Austrians. 12,000 Austrians, encircled by three Piedmontese divisions, were said to have laid down their arms. We regard this rumour as scarcely more trustworthy than that spread on the 26th about the defeat of the Piedmontese.

A letter from *Parma* says that 7,000 *Tuscans* and 8,000 *Romans* have joined La Marmora.

The Roman general Zambeccari has routed an Austrian corps on the Modena-Bologna border.

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# [LATEST NEWS FROM HUNGARY]

***Hungary***. A correspondent writes to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* on March 21 from Pest:

"It appears certain that *Kaschau and a few other districts in northern Hungary have been re-occupied by the Hungarians.* At least, yesterday's post bound for Kaschau did not get as far as *Gyöngyös*, and has returned here."[a]

Gyöngyös is in the rear of Schlick's position at Erlau, and about eleven miles from Pest.

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[a] "Pesth, 21. März", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 85, March 26, 1849.—*Ed.*

# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR.— MORE RUSSIAN TROOPS

Following Bem's victories, another ***20,000 Russians*** *have marched into Transylvania.*

The most recent news from Transylvania brings confirmation of the Magyars' victory. In Hermannstadt, Bem had the building of the General Command and the dwelling of the Saxon Count battered down; after this, he attacked and dispersed the national guards with grape-shot, and then gave the town over to plunder for a couple of hours. He then withdrew from the town and went on to Schässburg, where he wrought even worse havoc. Kaschau has again been occupied by a Magyar raiding party, and in Schemnitz, too, Honveds[158] have once again turned up.

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# THE DEFEAT OF THE PIEDMONTESE

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 260, March 31, 1849]

*Cologne*, March 30. Ramorino's treachery has borne fruit. The Piedmontese army has been *totally defeated* at Novara and driven back to Borgomanero at the foot of the Alps.[159] The Austrians have occupied Novara, Vercelli and Trino, and the road to Turin lies open to them.

So far any more detailed information is lacking. But this much is certain: without Ramorino, who allowed the Austrians to drive a wedge between the different Piedmontese divisions and isolate some of them, the Austrian victory would have been impossible.

Nor can there be any doubt that Charles Albert also was guilty of treachery. But whether he committed it merely through the medium of Ramorino or in some other way as well, we shall only learn later on.

Ramorino is the adventurer who after a more than doubtful career during the Polish war of 1830-31 disappeared during the Savoy campaign of 1834[160] with the entire cash resources for the war on the same day that matters took a serious turn, and who later, in London, for £1,200 drew up for the ex-Duke of Brunswick a plan for the conquest of Germany.

The mere fact that such an adventurer could even be given a post proves that Charles Albert, who is more afraid of the republicans of Genoa and Turin than of the Austrians, was from the outset contemplating treachery.

That, after this defeat, a revolution and proclamation of a republic in Turin is expected arises from the fact that the attempt is being made to prevent it by the abdication of Charles Albert in favour of his eldest son.[a]

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[a] Victor Emmanuel II.— *Ed.*

The defeat of the Piedmontese is more important than all the German imperial tricks taken together. It is the defeat of the whole Italian revolution. After the defeat of Piedmont comes the turn of Rome and Florence.[161]

But unless all the signs are deceptive, precisely this defeat of the Italian revolution will be the signal for the outbreak of the European revolution. The French people sees that to the same extent that it becomes more and more enslaved by its own counter-revolution inside the country, the armed counter-revolution abroad approaches closer and closer to its frontiers. The counterpart of the June victory and Cavaignac's dictatorship in Paris was Radetzky's victorious march to the Mincio, the counterpart to the presidency of Bonaparte, Barrot and the law on association[162] is the victory at Novara and the Austrians' march to the Alps. Paris is ripe for a new revolution. Savoy, which for a year has been preparing its secession from Piedmont and union with France, and which did not want to participate in the war, Savoy will want to throw itself into the arms of France; Barrot and Bonaparte will have to reject it. Genoa, and perhaps Turin, if there is still time for it, will proclaim a republic and call on France for help; and Odilon Barrot will solemnly reply to them that he will be able to protect the integrity of Sardinia's territory.

But if the Ministry does not wish to know it, the people of Paris knows very well that France must not tolerate the Austrians in Turin and Genoa. And the people of Paris will not tolerate them there. It will reply to the Italians by a victorious uprising and the French army, the only army in Europe that has not been in the open battlefield since February 24,[a] will join it.

The French army is burning with impatience to cross the Alps and measure its strength against the Austrians. It is not accustomed to opposing a revolution which promises it new renown and new laurels, and which comes forward with the banner of war against coalition. The French army is not "My glorious army".[163]

The defeat of the Italians is bitter. No people, apart from the Poles, has been so shamefully oppressed by the superior power of its neighbours, no people has so often and so courageously tried to throw off the yoke oppressing it. And each time this unfortunate people has had to submit again to its oppressors; the result of all the efforts, of all the struggle, has been nothing but fresh defeats! But if the present defeat has as its consequence a revolution in Paris and

[a] On February 24, 1848 the French monarchy was overthrown.—*Ed.*

leads to the outbreak of a European war, the foretokens of which are everywhere evident; if this defeat gives the impetus for a new movement throughout the Continent—a movement which this time will have a different character from that of last year—then even the Italians will have cause for congratulating themselves on it.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 261 (second edition), April 1, 1849]

*Cologne*, April 1. According to the latest reports from Italy, the defeat of the Piedmontese at Novara is by no means so decisive as was reported in the telegraphic dispatch sent to Paris.

The Piedmontese have suffered defeat; they are cut off from Turin and thrown back to the mountains. That is all.

If Piedmont were a republic, if the Turin Government were revolutionary and if it had the courage to resort to revolutionary measures—nothing would be lost. But Italian independence is being lost not because of the invincibility of Austrian arms, but because of the cowardice of Piedmont royalty.

To what do the Austrians owe their victory? To the fact that owing to Ramorino's treachery, two divisions of the Piedmontese army were cut off from the remaining three, and these three isolated divisions were beaten owing to the numerical superiority of the Austrians. These three divisions have now been pressed back to the foot of the Pennine Alps.

From the outset it was an enormous mistake of the Piedmontese that they opposed to the Austrians merely a regular army, that they wanted to wage an ordinary, bourgeois, genteel war against them. A nation that wants to conquer its independence cannot restrict itself to the *ordinary* methods of warfare. Mass uprising, revolutionary war, guerilla detachments everywhere—that is the only means by which a small nation can overcome a large one, by which a less strong army can be put in a position to resist a stronger and better organised one.

The Spaniards proved it in 1807-12,[164] the Hungarians are proving it now as well.

Chrzanowski was defeated at Novara and cut off from Turin; Radetzky stood 9 miles from Turin. In a *monarchy* such as Piedmont, even in a constitutional one, the outcome of the campaign was thereby decided; Radetzky was petitioned for peace. But in a republic the defeat would have been *by no means decisive.* If it were not for the inevitable cowardice of the monarchy, which never has

the courage to resort to extreme revolutionary means—if this cowardice had not held it back from this course—Chrzanowski's defeat could have become fortunate for Italy.

Had Piedmont been a republic that did not have to pay any regard to monarchical traditions, there would have been a way open to it to end the campaign quite differently.

Chrzanowski was driven back to Biella and Borgomanero. There, where the Swiss Alps prevent any further retreat, and where the two or three narrow river valleys make any dispersal of the army practically impossible, it was easy to concentrate the army and by a bold advance nullify Radetzky's victory.

If the leaders of the Piedmontese army had any revolutionary courage, if they knew that in Turin there was a revolutionary government ready to take the most extreme measures, their course of action would have been very simple.

After the battle at Novara there were 30,000-40,000 Piedmontese troops at Lago Maggiore. This corps could be mobilised in two days and could be thrown into Lombardy, where there are less than 12,000 Austrian troops. This corps could occupy Milan, Brescia and Cremona, organise a general uprising, smash one by one the Austrian corps advancing singly from the Venetian region, and so completely destroy Radetzky's whole basis of operations.

Instead of marching on Turin, Radetzky would have had immediately to turn round and go back to Lombardy, pursued by the levy en masse of the Piedmontese, who of course would have had to support the uprising in Lombardy.

Such a *really* national war, like that which the Lombards waged in March 1848, and by which they drove Radetzky beyond the Oglio and the Mincio—such a war would have drawn the whole of Italy into the struggle and a quite different spirit would have permeated the Romans and Tuscans.

While Radetzky still stood between the Po and the Ticino, pondering whether he should advance or retreat, the Piedmontese and Lombards could have marched right up to Venice, relieve the siege there, draw in La Marmora and the Roman troops, harrass and weaken the Austrian Field Marshal by countless guerilla groups, split up his forces and finally defeat him. Lombardy was only waiting for the Piedmontese to arrive; it rose up even before their arrival. Only the Austrian fortresses held the Lombardy towns in check. Ten thousand Piedmontese were already in Lombardy; if another 20,000-30,000 had marched in, Radetzky's retreat would have been impossible.

But a mass uprising and a general insurrection of the people are means which royalty is terrified of using. These are means to which only a republic resorts—1793 is proof of that. These are means, the application of which presupposes *revolutionary terror*, and where has there been a monarch who could resolve to use that?

What ruined the Italians, therefore, was not the defeat at Novara and Vigevano; it was the cowardice and moderation that monarchy forces on them. The lost battle at Novara resulted merely in a *strategic* disadvantage; the Italians were cut off from Turin, whereas the way to it lay open to the Austrians. This disadvantage would have been entirely without significance if the lost battle had been followed by a *real revolutionary war*, if the remainder of the Italian army had forthwith proclaimed itself the nucleus of a national mass uprising, if the conventional strategic war of *armies* had been turned into a *people's* war, like that waged by the French in 1793.

But, of course, a monarchy will never consent to a revolutionary war, a mass uprising and terror. It would make peace with its bitterest enemy of equal rank rather than ally itself with the people.

Whether or not Charles Albert is a traitor—Charles Albert's *crown*, the *monarchy* alone, would have sufficed to ruin Italy.

But Charles Albert is a traitor. All the French newspapers carry news about the great European counter-revolutionary plot of all the great powers, about the plan of campaign of the counter-revolution for the final suppression of all the European peoples. Russia and England, Prussia and Austria, France and Sardinia, have signed this new Holy Alliance.[165]

Charles Albert received orders to start a war against Austria, to let himself be defeated, thereby giving the Austrians an opportunity to restore "peace" in Piedmont, Florence and Rome, and to arrange for martial-law constitutions to be imposed everywhere. In return for this, Charles Albert was to receive Parma and Piacenza and the Russians were to pacify Hungary; France was to become an empire, and thus peace was established in Europe. That, according to the French newspapers, is the great plan of the counter-revolution, and this plan explains Ramorino's treachery and the defeat of the Italians.

But the monarchy, as a result of Radetzky's victory, has suffered a fresh blow. The battle at Novara and the paralysis of the Piedmontese which followed it prove that in extreme cases, when a people needs to exert all its strength in order to save itself, nothing hinders it so much as the monarchy. If Italy is not to perish because of the monarchy, then above all the monarchy in Italy must perish.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 263, April 4, 1849]

Now at last the events of the Piedmontese campaign right up to the victory of the Austrians at Novara lie before us frankly and clearly revealed.

While Radetzky deliberately caused the false rumour to be spread that he would keep on the defensive and retreat towards the Adda, he secretly concentrated all his troops around Sant Angelo and Pavia. Owing to the treachery of the pro-Austrian reactionary party in Turin, Radetzky was *fully* informed of all Chrzanowski's plans and arrangements and of the entire position of his army. On the other hand, he succeeded in completely deceiving the Piedmontese as to his own plans. This was why the Piedmontese army was drawn up on both sides of the Po, the sole calculation being to advance simultaneously from all sides in a concentric movement against Milan and Lodi.

Nevertheless, if strong resistance had been offered by the Piedmontese army in the centre, it would have been impossible to envisage the swift success that Radetzky has now achieved. If Ramorino's corps at Pavia had barred his way, there would still have been time enough to contest Radetzky's passage across the Ticino until reinforcements had been brought up. In the meanwhile the divisions on the right bank of the Po and at Arona could also have arrived; the Piedmontese army drawn up parallel to the Ticino would have covered Turin and been more than sufficient to put Radetzky's army to flight. One had, of course, to rely on Ramorino doing his duty.

But he did not do it. He allowed Radetzky to cross the Ticino, and this meant that there was a break-through in the centre of the Piedmontese army and the divisions on the other side of the Po were isolated. Thereby, in fact, the outcome of the campaign was already decided.

Radetzky then put his entire force of 60,000-70,000 men with 120 guns between the Ticino and the Agogna and took the five Piedmontese divisions along the Ticino in the flank. Thanks to his enormously superior force, he repelled the four nearest divisions at Mortara, Garlasco and Vigevano on the 21st, captured Mortara thereby compelling the Piedmontese to withdraw to Novara, and threatened the only road to Turin still open to them—that from Novara via Vercelli and Chivasso.

This road, however, was already lost for the Piedmontese. In order to concentrate their troops and, in particular, to be able to bring up Solaroli's division stationed on the extreme left flank round Arona,

they had to make Novara the nodal point of their operations, whereas otherwise they could have taken up a new position behind the Sesia.

Being therefore already as good as cut off from Turin, nothing was left to the Piedmontese but either to accept battle at Novara or to go into Lombardy, organise a people's war and to leave Turin to its fate, the reserves and the national guard. In that case, Radetzky would have taken good care not to advance farther.

But this presupposes that in Piedmont itself preparations were made for a *mass uprising* and precisely this was not the case. The bourgeois national guard was armed; but the mass of the people were unarmed, however loudly they demanded the arms stocked in the arsenals.

The monarchy did not dare to appeal to this irresistible force that had saved France in 1793.

The Piedmontese had, therefore, to accept battle at Novara, however unfavourable their position and however great the enemy's superiority of force.

40,000 Piedmontese (ten brigades) with relatively weak artillery confronted the entire Austrian army numbering at least 60,000 men with 120 guns.

The Piedmontese army was drawn up under the walls of Novara on both sides of the Mortara road.

The left flank, two brigades commanded by Durando, had the support of a fairly strong position, La Bicocca.

The centre, three brigades commanded by Bès, backed on a farmstead, La Cittadella.

The right flank, two brigades commanded by Perrone, backed on the Cortenuova plateau (the Vercelli road).

There were two reserve corps, one consisting of two brigades under the Duke of Genoa stationed on the left flank, the second consisting of a brigade and the guards under the Duke of Savoy, the present King, stationed on the right flank.

The disposition of the Austrians, judging from their communiqué, is less clear.

The second Austrian corps under d'Aspre was the first to attack the left flank of the Piedmontese, while behind it the third corps under Appel, as well as the reserves and the fourth corps, were deployed. The Austrians were completely successful in establishing their line of battle and simultaneously delivering a concentric attack on all points of the Piedmontese battle formation with such a superiority of force that the Piedmontese were crushed by it.

The key to the Piedmontese position was the Bicocca. If the Austrians had captured it, the Piedmontese centre and left flank would have been trapped between the (unfortified) town and the canal, and they could have been either scattered or forced to lay down their arms.

Hence the main attack was directed against the Piedmontese left flank, the chief support of which was the Bicocca. Here the battle raged with great violence, but for a long time without result.

A very lively attack was launched also against the centre. La Cittadella was lost several times but several times it was retaken by Bès.

When the Austrians saw that they were encountering too strong a resistance here, they again turned their main strength against the Piedmontese left flank. The two Piedmontese divisions were thrown back to the Bicocca and finally the Bicocca itself was captured by storm. The Duke of Savoy with his reserves hurled himself on the Austrians, but it was of no avail. The superiority of the imperial forces was too great; the position was lost, and that decided the battle. The only retreat left to the Piedmontese was towards the Alps, to Biella and Borgomanero.

And this battle, prepared for by treachery and won by superior force, the *Kölnische Zeitung*, which has so long been hankering for an Austrian victory, calls:

> "a battle which in the history of war will *shine for all time* (!), since the victory won in it by old Radetzky is the result of *such skilful combined* movements and *such truly magnificent bravery* that *nothing like it has occurred since the days of Napoleon, the great demon of battles* (!!!)."[a]

Radetzky or, rather, Hess, his chief of the general staff, carried out his plot with Ramorino quite well, we admit. It is also true that since Grouchy's treachery at Waterloo,[166] certainly no such magnificent villainy has occurred as that of Ramorino's. Radetzky, however, is not in the same class as Napoleon, the "demon of battles" (!), but in that of *Wellington*; the victories of both of them always cost more *ready money* than bravery and skill.

We shall not discuss at all the rest of the lies which the *Kölnische Zeitung* spread yesterday evening, i.e. that the democratic deputies have fled from Turin, and that the Lombards "behaved like a cowardly rabble" etc. They have already been refuted by the latest

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[a] Published in the section "Italien" in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 79, April 3, 1849.— *Ed.*

events. These lies prove nothing but the joy of the *Kölnische Zeitung* that great Austria has crushed—and that by means of treachery—little Piedmont.

Written by Engels between March 30 and April 3, 1849

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# [FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

Recent news from the theatre of war is entirely lacking. Only individual details about events of which we already know are at hand. In the following we give the most important of these:

Lieutenant-Field Marshal *Schulzig* has been recalled because of his incompetent conduct of operations in Hungary, and transferred to the post of Commandant in Styria. The first of the much vaunted royal imperial Austrian generals of whom an example is made. More are in prospect.

Jellachich is said to be in Felegyhaza and his outposts four hours from Szegedin, which is said to be encircled and cut off from supplies from the Banat. A glance at any large-scale map giving the location of the swamps around Szegedin shows that this report is an empty boast.

About 2,500 Hungarian insurgents sought to effect an entry into Galicia in the district of Stryj, but were repulsed with casualties.

It is learnt that *as a rule the cadres of the Hungarian army reserve battalions consist of Polish veterans.*

The most recent order of Field Marshal Windischgrätz that no one *can be forced* to accept Hungarian banknotes (!!)[a] has had no effect at all in Pest.

In another issue of the *Lithographierte Correspondenz* from Vienna we read:

"The Hungarians are continually advancing on Pest and will make every effort to relieve Arad, Komorn and Peterwardein, efforts that may be successful, since the Hungarian army is daily growing larger and more enthusiastic, while the imperial

[a] This order, of March 21, 1849, was published in the *Wiener Zeitung* No. 74 (evening supplement), March 27, 1849.—*Ed.*

troops are reduced in numbers and disheartened as well by strenuous marches, bad provisioning and continuous skirmishes. Most recently a very violent engagement took place at Török Szent Miklos, in which both parties suffered heavy losses, the Hungarians however were left in possession of the battlefield. At Szegedin, a heavy encounter between the Hungarian army of the South under Vetter and Damjanich and the Serbian army corps is expected any day now. The Serbs have actually gone back to Serbia,[a] lock, stock and barrel, and the unit numbering about 8,000 men will be greatly missed by the imperial generals. Peterwardein is still occupied by Hungarian troops and, as I learnt yesterday, the force there has resolved, after throwing into the casemates all suspect officers, to blow up the ancient rocks of Peterwardein rather than surrender. Hence the navigation on the Danube may well have been opened from Karlowitz, but not further upstream; for any boat that ventured near Peterwardein, which completely commands the whole Danube, would be sent to the bottom of the river. Komorn has been bombarded since March 17 without any success; large siege artillery is being sent by steamship down to Komorn every day. Bem has taken Hermannstadt and driven out the 3,000 Russians and 2,000 Austrians who were garrisoned there."

On Bem's capture of Hermannstadt, a Vienna correspondent of the *Börsen-Halle* writes:

"A look at the map shows the daring with which the insurgent leader has effected this coup, for, as the reports say, he made a 26 hours' forced march with 12,000 men from Vásárhely and attacked Hermannstadt before daybreak, surprised and disarmed the Russian garrison there which in part was still in barracks, and is said to have captured several guns. It is also reported that several Russians have been hanged. The Russian protection, which was promised with the arrival of the Russian relief-force, has consequently been of very little help to the unfortunate inhabitants of Hermannstadt."

A correspondent, who is an enthusiast of the royal imperial cause, has written as follows to the *Breslauer Zeitung* from the Hungarian border:

"The rumour of Prince Windischgrätz's resignation is daily growing stronger. For Windischgrätz is said to be not only disgruntled by the unsatisfactory progress of the war, which he attributes to the oft requested but never granted reinforcements to his troops, but to be particularly offended by the tutelage the Ministry has recently found it expedient to impose upon him in respect of the civil administration of the country. The affair of the banknotes caused the first rift in the *entente cordiale*[b] between Windischgrätz and the Ministry, and the dispatch of Baron Kübek to Ofen to superintend the Hungarian finances was not designed to restore the shattered harmony either. It is asserted that Baron Welden in Vienna, recently promoted to the rank of Master of Ordnance, is destined to replace the austere Marshal in Hungary. Welden's post as Governor of the capital city of the Empire will be taken by Master of Ordnance Count Nugent, since the notorious incidents in Friuli in spring last year[167] have made it impossible for this general to remain in the field.—An air of mystery continues to hang over the terrible fate of *Maklar*. After the battle of Kapolna, this beautiful market town was badly damaged; hence Prince Windischgrätz caused compensation of 1,000 florins to be granted to it. Later it was said to have been razed

[a] The reference is to the troops sent by the principality of Serbia to the Hungarian front.—*Ed.*

[b] Friendly understanding.—*Ed.*

to the ground because of the alleged hold-up there of five royal imperial ammunition waggons. This report, however, is denied in Hungarian newspapers appearing in Pest under the eye of the Field Marshal, although the facts concerning the destruction of Maklar appear to have been incontrovertibly established."

The same correspondent sends the following details about Komorn, from which it follows that the capture of the fortress is out of the question. An "assault" on a fortress, particularly one as impregnable as Komorn, an assault to be made before the walls are breached, would be sheer madness. Nevertheless, the correspondent predicts the assault. One sees how the Austrian officers take the journalists in with the craziest nonsense.

In addition, we learn that the so-called Palatine line, which is supposed to have been taken long ago by the imperial forces, is still in Hungarian hands, and that only now the direct-fire batteries[168] have been brought into action against it. Hence there is still no question of the capture of this outwork.

The correspondent writes:

"The Komorn fortress has been shelled assiduously since the 20th of this month, but so far with little success. Two thousand shells are intended to be fired into the area of the fortress. Should the garrison still not surrender, a general assault will be ventured, which the royal imperial troops are impatiently awaiting, since their bivouac is not very inviting in 12 degrees of frost and, moreover, the townships in the whole of the surrounding area are so impoverished and plundered of everything that their inhabitants come into the Austrian camp to beg and gladly pay 30 Kr. for a loaf of army bread merely to be able to still their hunger. The batteries set up on the Sandberg alongside the Danube are intended to clear the island and dismantle the enemy guns of the outer works of the Palatine line; another battery is shelling the road running from the bridgehead through Neu-Szöny; long-distance mortars and rocket batteries commanded by First Lieutenant Jäger, well-known from Italy, complete the list. The garrison is courageously defying death, for the fortress commandant Mek, a young man who has risen in nine months from an artillery sergeant[169] to the rank of the Colonel, sees the scaffold in front of him and will sell his life dearly.

"In Debreczin the insurgent officers lead an extremely gay life, for money is available there in abundance; a glass of punch costs 1 florin C. M., and quite ordinary cylinder clocks which cost 35 florins in Germany, fetch 200 florins there. Gold and silver are also disappearing from circulation in the seat of the Hungarian junta; payments are now made solely in banknotes, not as though the Hungarian Government were short of talers and ducats, not at all; but solely because it is keeping hard cash under lock and key, both to increase Austria's embarrassments and to preserve hard coin ready for all eventualities. As everybody knows, the cunning of the agitator Kossuth has succeeded in getting his emissaries to spread the myth that the National Bank in Vienna is no longer solvent and has suspended payments. *Even in Pest the manoeuvre succeeded* and Prince Windischgrätz is *not a little angered* by this successful ruse of the enemy."

Written by Engels about March 31, 1849

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# [FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

*Der Lloyd* reports—and it is well known that *Der Lloyd* is an honourable man—***that the Magyars under Görgey have moved across the Theiss and are at Neograd.***[a] Neograd is *seven miles*[b] *to the north of Pest* and about 20 miles this side of the Theiss. Görgey has also occupied Kaschau and Gyöngyös, that is why the mail dispatched to Kaschau was returned to Pest even before it had reached Gyöngyös. The aim of this campaign is to relieve Komorn.

The Austrian papers had triumphantly proclaimed that Dembiński had relinquished his command because of disagreements with Görgey. Now the matter is being resolved. After some dissension between the generals, Kossuth succeeded in reconciling them. They have come to the following arrangement—Görgey retains the supreme command of all insurgent armies, while Dembiński becomes chief of the Hungarian general quartermaster staff, and the campaign *must* be conducted in strict accordance with the plans of operation laid down by him. Vetter, the former Austrian Staff Officer and currently General of the malcontents, assumes supreme command over Dembiński's corps; a Frenchman named Duchatel is in command of the forces at Arad.

Some time ago *Schlick* was in real danger of being taken prisoner; he was attacked by several Hungarian hussars and only the arrival of a Croat detachment saved him.

The *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* relates the following information on the Hungarian war, which shows the enormous

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[a] Engels, probably, refers to the article "Pesth, 24. März" in *Der Lloyd* No. 147 (evening edition), March 27, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] See footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*

heroism with which the Magyars are fighting. The Magyar army is not a regular, organised, well-trained army. It has not even enough rifles to arm the newly arriving recruits of the *Landsturm*. Hence, behind each Magyar front line stands a crowd of unarmed and untrained men, who are only waiting to take up *the muskets of those who have fallen* and to fill the gaps torn in the Magyar ranks by the Austrian guns. And it is these improvised soldiers who hold at bay the royal imperial army and its Russian allies.

The well-known story of the recognition of Francis Joseph as King of Hungary by the Debreczin National Assembly has been put into circulation again by the martial-law *Figyelmező* (Observer) in Pest. Only this time the actual recognition is said to have been given on the basis of the Pragmatic Sanction, and on condition that the Hungarian Constitution be recognised. It is also said that Kossuth along with 15 others voted against it.[170]

About Transylvania, the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* has received a report from Czernowitz (Bukovina), according to which the *whole of Transylvania except Kronstadt was in the hands of the Magyars*, and Bem was about to enter this town as well. It is "believed" that Malkowsky will advance towards Transylvania after he has only just been driven out! 30,000 Russians are expected to move in immediately.[a]

Moreover, that Hungary *can only be subjugated by the Russians* is as good as *admitted* by the Austrian Ministers. We shall have to wait and see whether they will have the courage to let the Russians come.

The situation in the Banat looks bad. We quote the following report on the battle of Szolnok, sent from Kecskemét on March 15, from a Slav paper, the *Morawské Nowiny* (Moravian Newspaper):

"At 8 in the morning on March 5 a great battle was fought at Szolnok. Two battalions of infantry, half a cavalry regiment and three artillery batteries were on our side; but the mass of the enemy troops was enormous. As soon as we confronted them on the battlefield, they assaulted us with guns as well as with their entire infantry. When we realised that it was no longer possible to withstand them, we retreated. Then the enemy began to assail us forcefully from two sides, until we were wedged in between the narrow banks of the rivers Zagyva and Theiss which merge at Szolnok. Now things really began to happen; the hussars rushed upon us and cut into us so terribly that many of our men jumped into the water and were drowned. When we realised the great danger, we put up resistance and fired on the enemy. Luckily, our aim was good, and the hussars literally rained down from their horses and were compelled to retreat. Fortunately we succeeded in fighting our way out of this confined area on the banks of the rivers, where we were as good as captured already. It was terrible to see soldiers and horses drowning, and our men and the Magyars

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[a] "Cernowic, am 21. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 74, March 28, 1849.— *Ed.*

lying in pools of blood. Among our men, barely 34 of a company of 380 were left after this battle, and, although greatly weakened, we are nevertheless advancing. At Szolnok we threw away our knapsacks and reached Kecskemét (by way of Körös), where we are now expecting the enemy at any hour, since Kossuth is only three hours away from us."[a]

*Der Lloyd* carries the following report about the fighting at Theresiopel:

"*Semlin,* March 19. After their capture of Zombor, intoxicated with victory, the Serbs under the command of Dragich and Stein and the Serb auxiliary corps under the leadership of Milija Stanojevich set off towards Maria-Theresiopel via Bajmok and Pacs. But the Serbs from the Serb principality, who together with the Austrian Serbs were just about to storm Theresiopel, suddenly received orders to return to their homeland, orders which they obeyed without question. When the Magyars heard of the recall of the Serbs, they sallied out of Theresiopel, which had not yet been cut off from Szegedin whence they obtained substantial reinforcements, and fell on the small Serb force left with the encouraging battle-cry: 'Forward, have no fear, the Turkish Raizen[171] are no longer here!' The battle lasted fully three hours. Our forces had two guns of their own, an eighteen-pounder from Kničanin and a Racksa twelve-pounder, and held on bravely. The enemy simulated a retreat. Deceived by this into abandoning their advantageous positions, the Serbs impetuously pursued the enemy, who turned round unexpectedly, defeated the Serbs and put them to flight, capturing the guns mentioned above. In this battle the Chaikists[172] suffered the heaviest losses, 200 of them ending their lives on the battlefield."[b]

Incidentally, the spirit that reigns among the Serbs is shown by the following proclamation issued by Lieutenant-Field Marshal Rukavina in Temesvar:

"For some time now, among the population of this area opinions have emerged and remarks are being made openly in nearly all inns and coffee-houses, which show an ill will that can no longer be tolerated. Accordingly, the honourable mayoralty should with all the severity at its command, as the civil police authority, initiate in this respect a supervision which will give full attention to the inns and coffee-houses and will not tolerate in such places anything directed against the person of the Monarch, the Government, or existing conditions in general, and will eradicate any provocations by word or deed; it should make all innkeepers and coffee-house owners responsible for immediately reporting to the local commander and to the civil authorities concerned everyone who allows himself anything of that kind so that such persons can be arrested in good time. Anyone who neglects to make such a report will be punished for the first offence with arrest and a fine of 100 florins C.M., for the second offence with more rigorous detention and a fine of 200 fl., and for any repetition of the offence with trial by martial law and the closing down of his business. Similarly, all citizens who, having knowledge of such traitorous incitements, omit to report them and this comes afterwards to the knowledge of the local authorities, will become subject to martial law. Hereafter, not only will the honourable mayoralty itself take the

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[a] "Kecskemet, 15. März (M. N.)", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 74, March 28, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] "Semlin, 19. März", *Der Lloyd* No. 143 (evening edition), March 24, 1849.—*Ed.*

necessary measures within the fortress, but will also fully inform the lower courts of the contents of this decree and call for its strict application."[a]

Moreover, the *Südslavische Zeitung* has a report on the disagreements between Patriarch Rajachich and Lieutenant-Field Marshal Rukavina:

"*Becskerek*, March 13. The Serb Central Committee[173] and the Constitutional Committee yesterday sent a deputation to the Patriarch with the request that he convene a National Assembly as soon as possible. The Patriarch replied that he could not immediately comply with this request, as many areas in the Banat are still under Rukavina's authority, in particular the comitat of Krasso and the Wallacho-Illyrian regiment. In private conversation the Patriarch expressed the opinion that the National Assembly will probably be convened after Easter.—In some districts petitions to the Patriarch for the early convening of a National Assembly are being signed."[b]

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[a] "Temešvar, 17. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 73, March 27, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] "Bečkerek, 13. März (Südsl. Ztg.)", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 74, March 28, 1849.—*Ed.*

# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

The latest news completely confirms our report printed yesterday[a] that the Magyars have advanced to the vicinity of Neograd. In the Miskolcz area, Görgey has broken through the dispositions of the imperial army and thereby—according to the *Lithographierte Correspondenz* from Vienna based on a message from Pest dated the 26th—forced Lieutenant-Field Marshal Ramberg to *withdraw as far as Waitzen* on the Danube, 20-25 miles beyond Miskolcz.

This report at last tells us something of Götz's and Jablonowsky's corps, which have been missing for so long, for it is precisely these two brigades which are commanded by Ramberg. They have thus moved to the Theiss by way of Kaschau, and here they have been driven back over the Hernad by the Magyars. While in Vienna the story has been put about that they were in Tokaj they have had to withdraw to Miskolcz—four miles further to the west, to avoid losing contact with the main army. And here all at once they are thrown back to 20-25 miles from Miskolcz thanks to a new, bold march by Görgey. Instead of advancing along the Theiss, the only alternative open to them is to try to obstruct the Magyars in their march on Komorn at the bend of the Danube where it leaves its easterly course to turn south.

A peculiar fate of all imperial units marching towards the Theiss from the High Carpathians is to be thrown out of their predetermined line of operations and back on to the main army operating from Pest. Schlick was the first to march down the Hernad to Tokaj. He had scarcely arrived when he was expelled by Görgey, who in the course of his brilliant retreat or rather triumphal march through Upper Hungary managed to get into Schlick's rear. Lieutenant-Field

[a] See this volume, p. 181.—*Ed.*

Marshal Schlick had no alternative but to withdraw down the Theiss, unite with Windischgrätz and abandon eastern Upper Hungary to the Magyars. Ramberg thereupon descended the Hernad, and we have seen that he shared the same fate.

The great strategic advantage which the Magyars have thus gained is the liberation of by far the greatest part of Upper Hungary as far as the mountain towns and the Jablunka, the extension of their right wing to the Carpathians, the connection established with the volunteer corps in North-Eastern Slovakia and the opening of a road for the relief of Komorn. Even if they could not achieve all this without simultaneously bringing about a greater concentration of the imperial army, it is hardly a disadvantage for them in a country like Hungary where, owing to the terrain both in the mountains and on the plain, much more depends upon strategic combinations and success in guerilla warfare than upon large-scale battles. Precisely the deployment of the imperial army into a long battle-line outflanking the Magyars is the danger here, and precisely this deployment of the imperial troops is always disrupted; indeed, the position at present is that the Magyars are threatening to outflank the imperial troops.

Here, nothing can help the imperial forces once and for all, except reinforcements from Galicia strong enough to hold the Upper Theiss. And these can only be provided by the *Russians*, either by occupying Galicia and thus giving the royal imperial forces there a free hand, or by participating themselves in the march into Hungary. We recall that Hammerstein was supposed to have marched over the Carpathians with 12,000 Austrians and advanced to the Upper Theiss,[a] and that this rumour proved to be false. Now it is being repeated, and indeed in an improved version.

The *Russians themselves* are supposed to be on their way to Hungary. The *Österreichischer Correspondent* writes from Pest:

"A traveller who arrived here by train assured us that he had learned from a reliable source *that the Russians had entered Galicia and intended to march immediately from there into Hungary.*"

This may help—nothing else will so easily. Whether these rumours are true or not, in any case they demonstrate the great significance the imperial generals attribute to the possession of Upper Hungary.

In the course of this new expedition of Görgey's the estates of several Hungarian magnates, among others the Pallavicini estates and those of Count Szirmay, have been utterly devastated. These

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[a] See this volume, pp. 152-53.—*Ed.*

gentlemen had betrayed their countrymen and intended to organise volunteer corps against the Magyars.

*60,000 Russian* troops are said to have marched into Transylvania.

On the 25th, there were reports in Pest that the *fortress of Arad* had been *stormed* and *captured* by the Magyars under the Frenchman Duchatel. 3,000 Magyars are said to have been killed.

Moreover, a number of martial-law inspired rumours are circulating in Vienna and Pest. Bem is said to be dead, Dembiński to have lost his right arm etc.

The following additional report is taken from the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*, which once again only reached us this morning:

> In Pest on the 25th, there was not the slightest news either of Schlick or of Jellachich. They were presumed to be remaining inactive and awaiting reinforcements. "Moreover, the current state of the weather is too unfavourable to permit a campaign to be undertaken through the sea of mud of the Hungarian pusztas. The day before yesterday it snowed incessantly, while today and yesterday, a fine rain drizzled from the skies with great persistence. Already yesterday the post was delayed by ten hours."[a]

On the other hand the regular navigation between Pest and Esseg on the Danube is said to have been re-opened—it remains to be seen for how long. In any case, Jellachich's march on Kecskemét has resulted in cutting off the Tolna comitat insurgents from the main force of the Magyars and apparently frustrating the movement the Magyars certainly intended to make from Szegedin towards the Danube. This movement was designed to achieve the same outflanking on the right wing of the imperial forces as the one Görgey has as good as executed on the left.

Komorn is still being unsuccessfully bombarded. A battle was fought in the fortress itself; the party inclined to surrender was defeated, and the revolutionary Magyars have now introduced a reign of terror, shooting every traitor. The Austrian siege troops have to endure the greatest hardship, snow and rain. On March 24 the snow lay 4 feet deep.

The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* has published an article, "Three Months of the Hungarian War",[b] containing admissions all the more important given the dyed-in-the-wool black-and-yellow[c] views of the author. We shall return to it.

Written by Engels on April 2, 1849

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[a] "Pest, 25. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 75, March 29, 1849.— *Ed.*

[b] Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 88 (supplement), March 29, 1849.— *Ed.*

[c] The Austrian imperial colours.— *Ed.*

# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

Today the news that the Hungarians have advanced by way of Gyöngyös into the area of Waitzen, 5 hours from Pest, is reaching us from all directions. Now nobody dares doubt it any more; the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*,[a] all agree on this. The Austrians have had to retreat in all haste to Waitzen from Hatvan and Gödöllö on the worst country roads. Their flank is threatened by the Hungarians, who are simultaneously beginning to present a danger to the siege area around Komorn.

As a result of these successes on the part of the Hungarians the spirits of the inhabitants of Pest have risen again. Proclamations by Madarász, the Debreczin Minister of Police, in which the inhabitants of the two capitals[174] are urged to hold out in view of their impending liberation, have been distributed in great numbers in Pest.

Görgey has the supreme command of the advancing Magyar corps. The rumour about Dembiński's resignation on the grounds of his disagreements with Görgey is being repeated. *Vetter*, who together with Bem drafted the original plans of campaign, is said to have assumed command in his place.

Another piece of news which is similarly beyond doubt now is that of the entry of *30,000 new Russian auxiliaries into Transylvania*. The

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[a] Engels refers to the following reports: "Pesth, 24. März", *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 78 (second edition), April 1, 1849; "Pesth, 27. März", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 92, April 2, 1849; "Pest, 27. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 78, April 1, 1849.—*Ed.*

*Lloyd*[a] and several issues of the *Lithographierte Correspondenz* from Vienna announced this unanimously and simultaneously, and also the news that the *Bukovina too has been occupied by the Russians.*

Incidentally, the *Lloyd* reports in addition that Bem has been *utterly defeated* by the Russians and *compelled to retreat into Wallachia.*[b] We are unable to judge whether the first part of this report is true or not, but it can scarcely be doubted that the second part is completely false. Bem had pursued the Russians as far as the Roterturm Pass, but had been unable to force this pass. If he was defeated, then it was only because of the newly arrived Russians, and these, needed precisely at Hermannstadt, had no means of access other than the Roterturm Pass. Thus Bem could not possibly have been expelled to Wallachian territory through this pass. To the right of the Roterturm Pass lie three other passes leading to Wallachia; but to reach these Bem would first have had to take Kronstadt, which was occupied by imperial troops and Russians and in addition covered by Puchner who had taken up positions on the Küküllo (Kokel). Here too, therefore, it would have been impossible for Bem to get across. Finally, the fifth of the Transylvanian-Wallachian passes, the Sill Pass, lies to the left of Hermannstadt. If he had used this pass then he would have been acting like a lunatic. If he was defeated at Hermannstadt the following courses were open to him: 1) the road along the Maros into Hungary, 2) the road to Klausenburg, and 3) the road to Maros-Vásárhely. In all three cases he would be able to remain at the place of battle and fall back upon Magyar corps to reinforce his troops. Crossing the Sill Pass on the other hand would have meant trampling on the most elementary rules of strategy, cutting himself off voluntarily from the Maros, his basis of operations, and crossing the frontier in a fit of dejection as it were. Thus, until we hear that hitherto unknown and unprecedented imperial advances have cut him off from an otherwise secure retreat we can at most believe in his defeat through Russian superiority, but not in his crossing into Wallachian territory.

No news has been received about the capture of the *Arad citadel* by the Magyars. On the other hand even the most black-and-yellow[c] newspapers admit that a considerable Hungarian army is concentrating in and around Alt-Arad, this "Magyar Saragossa",[175] and that evidently important battles are in preparation there.

Incidentally, Bem has exercised the same salutary terrorism against the Russians in Transylvania as against the Saxons and the

[a] "Wien, 29. März", *Der Lloyd* No. 152 (morning edition), March 30, 1849.—*Ed.*
[b] "Neuestes", *Der Lloyd* No. 151 (evening edition), March 29, 1849.—*Ed.*
[c] The Austrian imperial colours.—*Ed.*

Romanians. Thus among other things he is said to have ordered the hanging of 300 Cossacks captured by his troops in the attacks on Hermannstadt, and to have said of the deed that it had been one of the most satisfying of his life.

As a punishment for this and other atrocities, the *Lloyd* reports, the Russians ordered the hanging of six captured staff officers of Bem's after the battle they are alleged to have won.[a]

Komorn and Peterwardein will soon surrender, hopes the royal imperial press. One knows by now how often and how long these facts, so desirable to the imperial side, have been "hoped for". The rain has not let up, the roads are turning more and more into quagmires, the post arrives later every day, and military operations must also be restricted for the present.

In brief, the state of the royal imperial cause in Hungary is such that the Olmütz Government is seriously considering negotiations. It is said that a peace congress is to be held in Miskolcz. Of this the *Ost-Deutsche Post* writes:

"The Government appears to have made new decisions concerning Hungary. One of these is said to be the repeated demand for a surrender, in conjunction with the promise of full immunity (amnesty) for all those troops and officers who return to subordination."[b]

The Serbs are growing more and more serious. The following dispatch in the *Lloyd* shows that they are demanding more than a merely rhetorical independence:

"*Semlin*, March 21. Besides the deputies sent to Vienna by the Serbian National Congress upon the demand of the Government, about whom I informed you in my dispatch the day before yesterday, a further two elected deputies, Alexander Kostich and Georg Stojakovich, have departed for Ofen to bring back from the Governor's palace all the documents concerning the Serbian nation as well as the Serbian National Funds and other institutions."[c]

In short, if it were not for the Russians we should be shouting "*Finis Austriae*!" much sooner than "*Finis Hungariae*!" Now even the neighbouring journalist[d] realises this at last.

Written by Engels on April 3, 1849

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[a] "Neuestes", *Der Lloyd* No. 151 (evening edition), March 29, 1849. The newspaper mentioned that five officers were to be hanged.—*Ed.*

[b] "Wien, 28. März", *Ost-Deutsche Post* No. 59, March 29, 1849.—*Ed.*

[c] "Semlin, 21. März", *Der Lloyd* No. 147 (evening edition), March 27, 1849.—*Ed.*

[d] An allusion to the journalist Schwanbeck reporting the Hungarian war for the *Kölnische Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

# FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY

*Cologne,* April 3. The sitting of the French National Assembly on March 31 was marked by the speech of the "versatile little man", Monsieur *Thiers,* who with cynical frankness and unambiguous clarity defended the Vienna Treaties of 1815[176] and upheld them as the basis of the present political situation of Europe. Was the little man not perfectly justified in ridiculing the contradiction of allowing these treaties to exist in fact while disavowing them in legal phraseology? And that was the cautious course of action of the Provisional Government[177] as it was that of Cavaignac. Barrot's foreign policy was the necessary consequence of Cavaignac's policy, just as Cavaignac's foreign policy was the necessary consequence of Lamartine's policy. Lamartine, like the Provisional Government as a whole, of whose foreign policy he was the agent, betrayed Italy and Poland on the pretext of not hindering the internal development of the French Republic. The clang of arms would have sounded a dissonant note in Lamartine's oratorical propaganda. Just as the Provisional Government pretended that it could abolish the contradiction between the bourgeois class and the working class with a phrase about "fraternisation" and spirit away the class struggle, so it did also with regard to the contradiction between nations and foreign war. Under the aegis of the Provisional Government the oppressors of the Poles, Italians and Hungarians reconstituted themselves simultaneously with the French bourgeoisie, which at the end of June put into effect Lamartine's policy of fraternisation. Cavaignac maintained peace with foreign countries in order calmly to wage civil war within France and not endanger the destruction of the defeated red republic, the workers' republic, by the respectable moderate republic, by the bourgeois republic. Under Cavaignac the

old Holy Alliance was re-established in Europe, as in France was the new Holy Alliance of the legitimists, Philippists, Bonapartists and "respectable" republicans. The Government of this duplicate Holy Alliance is that of Odilon Barrot.[178] His foreign policy is the policy of this Holy Alliance. He needs the victory of the counter-revolution abroad, in order to complete the counter-revolution in France itself.

At the sitting of the National Assembly on March 31 the Provisional Government repudiated Cavaignac. Cavaignac rightly maintains that he is the legitimate offspring of the Provisional Government and, for his part, repudiated Odilon Barrot, who imperturbably takes delight in believing that the meaning of the February revolution lies in the Vienna Treaties of 1815. Flocon states—without being disavowed by Odilon Barrot—that two days ago the Government formally imposed an interdict on Italy, and all Frenchmen, Poles and Italians who want to go there *are being refused passports.* Does not Barrot deserve to become the Prime Minister of Henry V?

Incidentally, in his rejoinder to Thiers, Ledru-Rollin admitted:

"Yes, I must confess that I acted wrongly; the Provisional Government ought to have sent its soldiers to the frontiers, not in order to conquer, but to defend our oppressed brothers, and from that moment there would have been no more despots in Europe. But if we hesitated at that time to begin a war, the blame lay on the monarchy, which had exhausted our finances and emptied our arsenals."[a]

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[a] See *Le Moniteur universel* No. 91, April 1, 1849.—*Ed.*

# [THE COMEDY WITH THE IMPERIAL CROWN]

*Cologne,* April 3. Herr Brandenburg yesterday told the Second Chamber what the King[a] will do about the "German question". The temptation was too great: "the loyal Eckarts" of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* with all their warnings have been ignored. The *King of Prussia* **will accept** *the proffered crown,* and in the near future therefore we may be able to look forward to solemn entry of His Christian-Germanic royal imperial Majesty into the residence of the "Imperial Government".

But, while accepting the imperial crown from the hands of the plebeian Frankfurt parliament, Frederick William at the same time gives a gentle kick to this parliament and the illusion of its sovereignty.

The Prime Minister

"recognises that the decision of the Frankfurt Assembly is a *big step forward* towards the realisation of German unity. But he has to take into account also the rights of the governments. He considers that *the decision will take effect only with the voluntary consent of the sovereigns and that it will be binding only for those German states the sovereigns of which have given this voluntary consent.* The Prussian Government for its part will make every effort to bring about this voluntary unification".[b]

Very cunning! The imperial crown is always acceptable, particularly when it is an aim in life that has been desired in vain for a long time—compare von Radowitz's well-known pamphlet: How Frederick William IV did *not* become German Emperor.[c] But to the

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[b] From the statement made by Brandenburg, the Prime Minister, at the sitting of the Second Chamber on April 2, 1848.—*Ed.*

[c] [Radowitz, J. M.,] *Deutschland und Friedrich-Wilhelm IV,* Hamburg, 1848.—*Ed.*

crown proffered by the Frankfurt parliament there adheres too much plebeian dirt, too much unpleasant memory of the unhappy days of the rule of the sovereign people, for a king by the grace of God and, moreover, one who has been rehabilitated, to be able to place it on his head without more ado.

Only when the other sovereigns, also crowned by the grace of God, have given their consent to it, only then will the new crown be cleansed by the grace of God from all sinful stains caused by the March events and consecrated; only then will he who has been chosen by 290 professors and Höfräte take it into his hands and say, as he did earlier in Berlin: "By the grace of God do I have this crown, and woe to him who encroaches on it!" [179]

What new stage in the German imperial chaos will result from the imperial comedy, and especially from recognition or non-recognition on the part of the individual governments, is a matter which we leave to the wisdom of the *Kölnische Zeitung* to determine.

Written by Engels on April 3, 1849

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# [THE CALL-UP OF THE ARMY RESERVE IN PRUSSIA][180]

*Cologne,* April 3. In Posen the whole army reserve of the Grand Duchy has been called up and has already been marched off to Schleswig-Holstein.[181]

In the area of Cleves the army reserve has similarly been called up and sent to Schleswig-Holstein.

And now—we hear—the whole *Eighth* (Rhenish) *Army Corps is to be mobilised* and ***all army reserves in the Rhine Province are to be called up.*** It is reported that the Eighth Army Corps is to move to the French border. It is quite impossible to understand what purpose it will serve there.

However, the reason for the army reserve on the Rhine being called up at all can most certainly be understood. In all those provinces whose loyalty to the House of Hohenzollern and to the Royal Prussian Monarchy by God's Grace is suspect they intend to *render harmless all young men capable of bearing arms* by placing them in rank and file under the command of Prussian officers and throwing them amongst troops of the line in an army corps. They then intend to send these suspect army reserves, which are thus being kept in check by martial law and other royal Prussian measures, together with other more reliable troops into foreign provinces in order to use them as need arises for suppressing the spirit of recalcitrance, which has recently been gaining ground.

By law the army reserve is only to be used against *external enemies.* To make this very law provide the excuse for the Government to trample it into the dirt, the Danish war has been expressly invented. Once the army reserve has been transported to Schleswig-Holstein, then the means will very soon be found to transport it even further, to East Prussia or to Silesia. Our Rhenish young men are to perform

the same honourable services there for which the Silesian army reserves were used in Posen last April and May.[182]

The same ethnic baiting, which the royal imperial Austrian Government is pursuing on a grand scale by....

Written by Engels on April 3, 1849

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# WAGE LABOUR AND CAPITAL[183]

## [I]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 264, April 5, 1849]

*Cologne,* April 4.[a] From various quarters we have been reproached with not having presented the *economic relations* which constitute the material foundation of the present class struggles and national struggles. We have designedly touched upon these relations only where they directly forced themselves to the front in political conflicts.

The point was, above all, to trace the class struggle in current history, and to prove empirically by means of the historical material already at hand and which is being newly created daily, that, with the subjugation of the working class, the class which had made February and March, its opponents were simultaneously defeated—the bourgeois republicans in France and the bourgeois and peasant classes which were fighting feudal absolutism throughout the continent of Europe; that the victory of the "respectable republic" in France was at the same time the downfall of the nations that had responded to the February revolution by heroic wars of independence; finally, that Europe, with the defeat of the revolutionary workers, had relapsed into its old double slavery, the *Anglo-Russian* slavery. The June struggle in Paris, the fall of Vienna, the tragicomedy of Berlin's November,[b] the desperate exertions of Poland, Italy and Hungary, the starving of Ireland into submission[184]—these were the concentrated expressions of the European class struggle between bourgeoisie and working class, by means of which we proved that every revolutionary upheaval, however remote from the class struggle its goal may appear to be, must fail

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[a] In separate editions of *Wage Labour and Capital,* including that of 1891, the dates printed at the beginning of each article are omitted.—*Ed.*

[b] In the 1891 edition "1848" is added here.—*Ed.*

until the revolutionary working class is victorious, that every social reform remains a utopia until the proletarian revolution and the feudalistic counter-revolution measure swords in a *world war.* In our presentation, as in reality, *Belgium* and *Switzerland* were tragicomic genre-pictures akin to caricature in the great historical tableau, the one being the model state of the bourgeois monarchy, the other the model state of the bourgeois republic, both of them states which imagine themselves to be as independent of the class struggle as of the European revolution.

Now, after our readers have seen the class struggle develop in colossal political forms in 1848, the time has come to deal more closely with the economic relations themselves on which the existence of the bourgeoisie and its class rule, as well as the slavery of the workers, are founded.

We shall present in three large sections: 1) the relation of *wage labour to capital,* the slavery of the worker, the domination of the capitalist; 2) *the inevitable destruction of the middle bourgeois classes and of the peasant estate*[a] *under the present system;* 3) *the commercial subjugation and exploitation of the bourgeois classes of the various European nations* by the despot of the world market—*England.*

We shall try to make our presentation as simple and popular as possible and shall not presuppose even the most elementary notions of political economy. We wish to be understood by the workers. Moreover, the most remarkable ignorance and confusion of ideas prevails in Germany in regard to the simplest economic relations, from the accredited defenders of the existing state of things down to the **socialist miracle workers** and the **unrecognised political geniuses** in which fragmented Germany is even richer than in sovereign princes.

Now, therefore, for the first question: **What are wages? How are they determined?**

If workers were asked: "How much are your wages?" one would reply: "I get a franc[b] a day from my bourgeois"; another, "I get two francs", and so on. According to the different trades to which they belong, they would mention different sums of money which they receive from their respective bourgeois for a particular labour time or[c] for the performance of a particular piece of work, for example,

[a] The 1891 edition has "*the so-called burgher estate*" instead of "*the peasant estate*".—*Ed.*

[b] 1 franc equals 8 Prussian silver groschen. (In the 1891 edition the word "mark" is used everywhere instead of "franc".)—*Ed.*

[c] The words "for a particular labour time or" are omitted in the 1891 edition.—*Ed.*

* Vierteljähriger Abonnementspreis in Köln 1 Thlr. 7½ Sgr., bei allen preußischen Postanstalten 1 Thlr. 17 Sgr. — Im Auslande werden man hält: in Belgien an die betreffenden Postanstalten; in Holland an die Buchhandl. 21 Gerstenstraat, Amsterdam, in Paris an Mr. Rivoud, 30 Rue Bretonnier, und an J. Johnard, 3 Place Jean Jacquard Rousseau.

# Neue Rheinische Zeitung

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№ 264. Köln, Donnerstag, den 5. April 1849.

Heute Morgen wurde ein Extra-Blatt zu Nro. 263 ausgegeben.

### Uebersicht.

Deutschland. Köln. (Schwarzbier und Kapital. — Das sächsischen Wahlsystem. (Die „Neuzeit".) — Mobilisirung des 3. Landwehrzgs). Barmen. (Die Tage der Volksversammlungen). Berlin. (Gesetzlichkeitsbestimmungen im „Preußischen" — Kommandoverweigerung über die Wehrpflicht Berlins. Magdeburg. (Preußische Wahlverfahren). Erfurt. (Dr. Stechmann. — Oswald Zeller.). Breslau. (Verbrüderung polnischer Emigranten). Schweinitz-Wriezen. (Die Rosen an den Bäumen).

Polen. Von der russischen Grenze. (Die russischen Truppen). Von der galizisch-schlesischen Grenze. (Choleraa-Transporte)

Französische Republik. Paris. (Thiers-Barrot. — Ledru-Rollin — Die Milizen. — Der verpfändete Kapitaen. — Blockadeplatten bei Toulon. — Journalschau. — Neue Attentate in Spanien. — Nationale Subscription. — Vermischtes). Bourges (Prozeß der Mai gefangenen).

Italien. (Insurrection).

Ungarn. (Die Siebenbürgen und die österreichische Armee).

Dänemark. London. (Die Niederlage der Schleswig).

## Deutschland.

* **Köln**, 4. April. Von verschiedenen Seiten wird man uns nur, daß wir nicht das Klassenmäßige Verhältnisse dargestellt haben, welche die materielle Grundlage der jetzigen Klassenkampfe und Nationalkämpfe bilden. Wir haben absichtlich diese Verhältnisse nur da berührt, wo sie sich in politischen Ereignissen unmittelbar aussprangen.

Es galt vor allem den Klassenkampf in der Tagesgeschichte zu verfolgen, um an dem vorhandenen und täglich neu gebildeten geschichtlichen Stoffe unwiderlegbar zu beweisen, daß mit der Unterjochung der Arbeiterklasse, welche Februar und März gemacht hatte, gleichzeitig ihre Gegner besiegt worden die Bourgeoisrepublikaner in Frankreich, die Junker und feudalen Abkömmlinge feudalen Bürger- und Bauernklassen auf dem gesammten europäischen Kontinent, daß der Sieg der konservativen Republik in Frankreich gleichzeitig der Fall der Nationen war, die auf die Februarrevolution mit revolutionären Unabhängigkeitskriegen geantwortet hatten, daß endlich Europa mit der Verfassung der revolutionären Arbeiter in seine alte Doppelsklaverei zurückfiel, in die englisch-russische Sklaverei. Der Januaraufstand zu Paris, der Juni Aufstand, die Trotzdemonstration des Berliner Novembers, die verzweifelten Anstrengungen Polens, Italiens und Ungarns, Irlands Aufmerksamkeit auf sich zu lenken, die Demonstrationen, in denen sich der europäische Klassenkampf zwischen Bourgeoisie und Arbeiterklasse zusammenfaßte, sie haben wir nachweisen, daß jede revolutionäre Erhebung, was sie Lust noch so fernstehend den Klassenkampfe scheinen, schließlich doch nur in Verwirklichung der Arbeiterklasse liegt, daß jede soziale Reform eine Utopie bleibt, bis die proletarische Revolution und die französische Contrerevolution sich in einem Weltkrieg mit den Waffen messen. In unserer Darstellung, wie in der Wirklichkeit, waren Belgien aus die Schweiz vorübergehende korrektionsmäßige Unterbrüche in dem großen historischen Tableau, das eine der Materialkrisen der bürgerlichen Monarchie, das unserer der Materialkrisen der bürgerlichen Republik, beiseit Staaten, die sich zwischen, obwohl unabhängig von dem Klassenkampf zu sein, wie von der europäischen Revolution.

Jetzt, nachdem unsere Feier den Klassenkampf im Jahre 1848 in isolirten politischen Formen sich entwickeln sahen, ist es an der Zeit, näher eingehen auf die ökonomischen Verhältnisse selbst, worauf die Existenz der Bourgeoisie und ihrer Klassenherrschaft sich gründet, wie das Dasein der Arbeiter.

Wir werden in vierzehn Abhandlungen darstellen: 1) das Verhältniß der Lohnarbeit zum Kapital, die Ursachen des Sinkens, die Herrschaft des Kapitalsieg, 2) den unvermeidlichen Untergang der mittleren Bürgerklassen und der Bauernklassen unter dem jetzigen Systemsyp 3) die Immerzigkeit Unterjochung und Ausbeutung der Bourgeoisklassen der verschiedenen europäischen Nationen durch den Despoten der Weltmarkts — England.

Wir werden möglichst einfach und populär darzustellen suchen und selbst die elementarsten Begriffe der politischen Oekonomie nicht voraussetzen. Wir wollen den Arbeitern verständlich sein, hoch genug bereits in Deutschland hat unbeschreibliche Unwissenheit und Begriffsverwirrung über die einfachsten ökonomischen Verhältnisse, von den patriarischen Vorstellungen der besseren Zustände, die heute zu den sozialistischen Wunderschaffern und den verkannten politischen Genies, an denen das zerspitzte Deutschland noch reicher ist, als an Landesbauern.

Zunächst alle zur ersten Frage: Was ist der Arbeitslohn? Wie wird er bestimmt?

Wenn man Arbeiter fragt: Wie hoch ist Ihr Arbeitslohn? so antworten sie einstimmig: „Ich erhalte 1 Francs" für den Arbeitstag von zwölf Stunden." oder: „Ich erhalte 2 Francs" u. s. w. Nach den verschiedenen Arbeitszweigen, denen sie angehören, nachdem sie verschiedene Stundenzahl angeben, die sie für ein Tagewerk arbeiten, nach der Höhe des Lohnes, welchen sie für die Stunde oder für den Tag erhalten oder für den Lohn einer Arbeitsmenge, deren sie sich gewöhnlich Tagesgang erfüllen. Wir wollen jetzt von dem Lohnsatz ausgehen, der für die Arbeitsstunde festgesetzt ist.

Es ist in dem Punkt übereinstimmend, daß Arbeitslohn ist die Summe Geldes, der der Bourgeoisie für eine bestimmte Arbeitszeit oder für eine bestimmte Arbeitsleistung zahlt.

Der Bourgeoisie kauft alle Tage Arbeit mit Geld. Für Geld verkaufen sie ihre Arbeit. Für verschiedene Geldsummen kaufen wir Arbeit, wenn wir Bauer sind oder Arbeit gekauft hat, z. B. mit 2 Francs, heute ist 2 Pfund Zucker oder eigentlich eine andere Ware zu einem bestimmten Geldwert kaufen wir mit 2 Francs 2 Pfund Zucker heute, das heißt für 2 Francs der 2 Pfund Zucker. Die 2 Francs, nennt er 12 Stunden Arbeit kauft, das heißt, wenn die Zucker, die Arbeit, kostenlos die Arbeiter gegen die Ware bei nicht mehr, nicht minder als der Zucker. Die erste mögt man mit der Elle und der andere mit der Waage.

Die Bourgeoisie, der Arbeiter, kaufen die Arbeiter gegen die Ware bei Kapitalisten und gegen das Geld, und zwar gebieten diese Kaufleute in einem bestimmten Verhältnisse. Es wird Mode sein, für 12 Stunden Arbeit 2 Francs, das 1 2 Francs, heißen sie nicht alle andern Waaren wie, die ich für 2 Francs kaufen kann? In der Ware hat der Arbeiter alle Waare, die Arbeit, gegen andere Waaren aber sei ausgetauscht und zwar in einem bestimmten Verhältnis. Jedem der Kapitalist über 2 Francs geben hat, er es sich in mit Arbeit, so viel Arbeitszeit, so viel Zeit, sagt z. B. 1 w. im Verhältnis zeigen Arbeitszeit gegeben. Die 2 Francs werden also zum Verhältnis und, wenn die Arbeit gegen andere Waaren ausgetauscht wird, um 2 Arbeitszeit für seine Arbeit. Der Arbeitslohn ist eine Waare, in Geld abgeschätzt, heißt eben der Preis. Der Arbeitslohn ist alle um das bestimmte Maß das Preis der Arbeit Arbeit, der den Preis unter eigentlichen den Waare, die Arbeit, gleich.

Nehmen wir einen beliebigen Arbeiter, z. B. einen Weber. Der Bourgeois reicht ihm das Werkzeug und den Garn. Der Weber hat sich an's Arbeiten und aus dem Garn webt er Leinwand. Der Bourgeois beobachtet sich der Leinwand und verkauft sie, zu 20 Francs z. B. Ist nun der Arbeitslohn des Webers ein Produkt von der Leinwand, an den 20 Francs, an dem Produkt seiner Arbeit? Keineswegs. Lange bevor die Leinwand verkauft ist, vielleicht lange bevor sie fertig gewebt ist, hat der Weber seinen Arbeitslohn empfangen. Der Kapitalist hat ihn erst dann zahlt mit dem Geld, das er aus der Leinwand schon wird, sondern mit neuerdingen Geld. Die Bourgeois, Garn und Webstuhl hat Produkt des Webers erworben, und Arbeitskraft des Webers ist ein Produkt, ist eine Ware, die der Bourgeois kauft, die er kauft mit Geldes, das er aus dem Garn und Webstuhl gemacht hat. Nachdem er diese Operation vorgenommen hat, kann er mit dem Geld, das er aus dem Produkt des Webers gemacht hat, mit der Arbeitskraft.

Der Arbeitslohn ist also nicht ein Anteil des Arbeiters an der von ihm produzierten Waare. Der Arbeitslohn ist eine Summe von vorhandenen Waaren, welche der Kapitalist eine bestimmte Summe produktiver Arbeit sich kauft.

Die Arbeit ist also eine Waare, wie die Weber, der Leinwandkaufer an der Kapitalist verkauft. Warum verkauft er sie? Um zu leben.

Die Arbeit ist also eine eigene Lebensthätigkeit des Arbeiters, eine eigene Lebensäußerung, eine Lebensthätigkeit verkauft er an einen Dritten, um sich die nötigen Lebensmittel zu holen. Seine Lebensthätigkeit ist nur ein Mittel, um existieren zu können. Er arbeitet, um zu leben. Er rechnet die Arbeit nicht selbst in sein Leben ein, sie ist vielmehr ein Opfer seines Lebens. Er ist eine Waare, die er an den Dritten verkauft hat. Das Produkt seiner Thätigkeit ist keine Waare auch nicht sein Zweck seiner Thätigkeit. Was er für sich herstellt produziert, ist nicht die Seide, die er webt, nicht das Gold, das er aus dem Bergwerke zieht, nicht der Palast, den er baut. Was er für sich herstellt produziert, ist der Arbeitslohn, und Seide, Gold, Palast nehmen sich für ihn auf in ein bestimmtes Lebensquantum, welches in eine Baumwollweberei, in Lederarbeiter und in eine Zeitungsarbeiter, und der Arbeiter, der 12 Stunden webt, spinnt, bohrt, hobelt, baut, schafft, Wirkt Seide, spinnt, webt, bohrt, hobelt, baut, schafft, Wirkt Seide, spinnt, webt — gilt ihm doch 12stündige Weben, Spinnen, Bohren, Hobeln, Bauen, Schaffen, Wirkseiden als Lebensthätigkeit, welche Lebensmittel, als Lebensgewinn, das ihm das Leben, das er zum Weben, Spinnen, und Arbeit, und der Werkzeugmaschinen, bei Wirkt. Die 12stündige Arbeit hat ihm das Leben, das er zum Weben, Spinnen, Bohren u. s. w. gewinnen als Lebensmittel, das ihm das Leben, das er zum Weben, Spinnen, Bohren, Hobeln, Bauen, Schaffen, Wirkseiden

weaving a yard of linen or type-setting a printed sheet. In spite of the variety of their statements, they would all agree on one point: wages are the sum of money paid by the bourgeois[a] for a particular labour time or for a particular output of labour.

The bourgeois,[b] therefore, *buys* their labour with money. They *sell* him their labour for money.[c] For the same sum with which the bourgeois has bought their labour,[d] for example, two francs, he could have bought two pounds of sugar or a definite amount of any other commodity. The two francs, with which he bought two pounds of sugar, are the *price* of the two pounds of sugar. The two francs, with which he bought twelve hours' labour,[e] are the price of twelve hours' labour. Labour,[f] therefore, is a commodity, neither more nor less than sugar. The former is measured by the clock, the latter by the scales.

The workers exchange their commodity, labour,[f] for the commodity of the capitalist, for money, and this exchange takes place in a definite ratio. So much money for so much labour.[g] For twelve hours' weaving, two francs. And do not the two francs represent all the other commodities which I can buy for two francs? In fact, therefore, the worker has exchanged his commodity, labour,[f] for other commodities of all kinds and that in a definite ratio. By giving him two francs, the capitalist has given him so much meat, so much clothing, so much fuel, light, etc., in exchange for his day's labour. Accordingly, the two francs express the ratio in which labour[f] is exchanged for other commodities, the *exchange value* of his labour.[f] The exchange value of a commodity, reckoned in *money* is what is called its *price. Wages* are only a special name for the *price of labour*,[h] for the price of this peculiar commodity which has no other repository than human flesh and blood.

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[a] The 1891 edition has "capitalist" here instead of "bourgeois".— *Ed.*

[b] The 1891 edition has "capitalist" here and the words "it seems" are added.— *Ed.*

[c] In the 1891 edition here follows the passage: "But this is merely the appearance. In reality what they sell to the capitalist for money is their labour *power*. The capitalist buys this labour power for a day, a week, a month, etc. And after he has bought it, he uses it by having the workers work for the stipulated time".— *Ed.*

[d] The 1891 edition has "the capitalist has bought their labour power" instead of "the bourgeois has bought their labour".— *Ed.*

[e] The 1891 edition has "use of labour power" instead of "labour".— *Ed.*

[f] The 1891 edition has "labour power" instead of "labour".— *Ed.*

[g] The 1891 edition has "so long a use of labour power" instead of "so much labour".— *Ed.*

[h] The 1891 edition has "the price of labour power, commonly called the *price of labour*" instead of "the *price of labour*".— *Ed.*

Let us take any worker, say, a weaver. The bourgeois[a] supplies him with the loom and yarn. The weaver sets to work and the yarn is converted into linen. The bourgeois takes possession of the linen and sells it, say, for twenty francs. Now are the wages of the weaver a *share* in the linen, in the twenty francs, in the product of his labour? By no means. Long before the linen is sold, perhaps long before its weaving is finished, the weaver has received his wages. The capitalist, therefore, does not pay these wages with the money which he will obtain from the linen, but with money already in reserve. Just as the loom and the yarn are not the product of the weaver to whom they are supplied by his bourgeois, so likewise with the commodities which the weaver receives in exchange for his commodity, labour.[b] It was possible that the bourgeois found no purchaser at all for his linen. It was possible that he did not get even the amount of the wages by its sale. It is possible that he sells it very profitably in comparison with the weaver's wages. All that has nothing to do with the weaver. The capitalist buys the labour[b] of the weaver with a part of his available wealth, of his capital, just as he has bought the raw material—the yarn—and the instrument of labour—the loom—with another part of his wealth. After he has made these purchases, and these purchases include the labour[b] necessary for the production of linen, he produces only with the *raw materials and instruments of labour belonging to him.* For the latter include now, true enough, our good weaver as well, who has as little share in the product or the price of the product as the loom has.

*Wages are, therefore, not the worker's share in the commodity produced by him. Wages are the part of already existing commodities with which the capitalist buys for himself a definite amount of productive labour.*[b]

Labour[b] is, therefore, a commodity which its possessor, the wage-worker, sells to capital. Why does he sell it? In order to live.

But[c] labour is the worker's own life-activity, the manifestation of his own life. And this *life-activity* he sells to another person in order to secure the necessary *means of subsistence.* Thus his life-activity is for him only a *means* to enable him to exist. He works in order to live. He does not even reckon labour as part of his life, it is rather a sacrifice of his life. It is a commodity which he has made over to another. Hence, also, the product of his activity is not the object of his activity. What he produces for himself is not the silk that he weaves, not the gold that he draws from the mine, not the palace that he builds.

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[a] The 1891 edition has here and below "capitalist" instead of "bourgeois".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1891 edition has "labour power" instead of "labour".—*Ed.*

[c] The 1891 edition has after this: "the exercise of labour power".—*Ed.*

What he produces for himself is *wages*, and silk, gold, palace resolve themselves for him into a definite quantity of the means of subsistence, perhaps into a cotton jacket, some copper coins and a lodging in a cellar. And the worker, who for twelve hours weaves, spins, drills, turns, builds, shovels, breaks stones, carries loads, etc.—does he consider this twelve hours' weaving, spinning, drilling, turning, building, shovelling, stone-breaking as a manifestation of his life, as life? On the contrary, life begins for him where this activity ceases, at table, in the public house, in bed. The twelve hours' labour, on the other hand, has no meaning for him as weaving, spinning, drilling, etc., but as *earnings*, which bring him to the table, to the public house, into bed. If the silkworm were to spin in order to continue its existence as a caterpillar, it would be a complete wage-worker.

Labour[a] was not always a *commodity*. Labour was not always wage labour, that is, *free* labour. The *slave* did not sell his labour[a] to the slave owner, any more than the ox sells its services to the peasant. The slave, together with his labour,[a] is sold once and for all to his owner. He is a commodity which can pass from the hand of one owner to that of another. *He is himself* a commodity, but the labour[a] is not *his* commodity. The *serf* sells only a part of his labour.[a] He does not receive a wage from the owner of the land; rather the owner of the land receives a tribute from him. The serf belongs to the land and turns over to the owner of the land the fruits thereof. The *free labourer*, on the other hand, sells himself and, indeed, sells himself piecemeal. He sells at auction eight, ten, twelve, fifteen hours of his life, day after day, to the highest bidder, to the owner of the raw materials, instruments of labour and means of subsistence, that is, to the capitalist. The worker belongs neither to an owner nor to the land, but eight, ten, twelve, fifteen hours of his daily life belong to him who buys them. The worker leaves the capitalist to whom he hires himself whenever he likes, and the capitalist discharges him whenever he thinks fit, as soon as he no longer gets any profit out of him, or not the anticipated profit. But the worker, whose sole source of livelihood is the sale of his labour,[a] cannot leave the *whole class of purchasers, that is, the capitalist class*, without renouncing his existence. *He belongs not to this or that bourgeois, but to the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois class*,[b] and it is his business to dispose of himself, that is to find a purchaser within this bourgeois class.[c]

[a] The 1891 edition has "labour power" instead of "labour".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1891 edition has "*not to this or that capitalist, but to the capitalist class*" instead of "*not to this or that bourgeois, but to the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois class*".—*Ed.*

[c] The 1891 edition has "capitalist class" instead of "bourgeois class".—*Ed.*

Now, before going more closely into the relation between capital and wage labour, we shall present briefly the most general relations which come into consideration in the determination of wages.

*Wages*, as we have seen, are the *price* of a definite commodity, of labour.[a] Wages are, therefore, determined by the same laws that determine the price of every other commodity.

The question, therefore, is, *how is the price of a commodity determined?*

[a] The 1891 edition has "labour power" instead of "labour".—*Ed.*

[II]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 265, April 6, 1849]

*Cologne*, April 5. By what is the *price* of a commodity determined?

By competition between buyers and sellers, by the relation of inquiry to delivery, of demand to supply. Competition, by which the price of a commodity is determined, is *three-sided.*

The same commodity is offered by various sellers. With goods of the same quality, the one who sells most cheaply is certain of driving the others out of the field and securing the greatest sale for himself. Thus, the sellers mutually contend among themselves for sales, for the market. Each of them desires to sell, to sell as much as possible and, if possible, to sell alone, to the exclusion of the other sellers. Hence, one sells cheaper than another. Consequently, *competition* takes place *among the sellers,* which *depresses* the price of the commodities offered by them.

But *competition* also takes place *among the buyers,* which in its turn *causes* the commodities offered to *rise* in price.

Finally, *competition* occurs *between buyers and sellers;* the former desire to buy as cheaply as possible, the latter to sell as dearly as possible. The result of this competition between buyers and sellers will depend upon how the two above-mentioned sides of the competition are related, that is, whether the competition is stronger in the army of buyers or in the army of sellers. Industry leads two armies into the field against each other, each of which again carries on a battle within its own ranks, among its own troops. The army whose troops beat each other up the least gains the victory over the opposing host.

Let us suppose there are 100 bales of cotton on the market and at the same time buyers for 1,000 bales of cotton. In this case, therefore, the demand is ten times as great as the supply.

Competition will be very strong among the buyers, each of whom desires to get one, and if possible all, of the hundred bales for himself. This example is no arbitrary assumption. We have experienced periods of cotton crop failure in the history of the trade, when a few capitalists in alliance have tried to buy, not one hundred bales, but all the cotton stocks of the world. Hence, in the example mentioned, one buyer will seek to drive the other from the field by offering a relatively higher price per bale of cotton. The cotton sellers, who see that the troops of the enemy army are engaged in the most violent struggle among themselves and that the sale of all their hundred bales is absolutely certain, will take good care not to fall out among themselves and depress the price of cotton at the moment when their adversaries are competing with one another to force it up. Thus, peace suddenly descends on the army of the sellers. They stand facing the buyers as *one* man, fold their arms philosophically, and there would be no bounds to their demands were it not that the offers of even the most persistent and eager buyers have very definite limits.

If, therefore, the supply of a commodity is lower than the demand for it, then only slight competition, or none at all, takes place among the sellers. In the same proportion as this competition decreases, competition increases among the buyers. The result is a more or less considerable rise in commodity prices.

It is well known that the reverse case with a reverse result occurs more frequently. Considerable surplus of supply over demand; desperate competition among the sellers; lack of buyers; disposal of goods at ridiculously low prices.

But what is the meaning of a rise, a fall in prices; what is the meaning of high price, low price? A grain of sand is high when examined through a microscope, and a tower is low when compared with a mountain. And if price is determined by the relation between demand and supply, what determines the relation between demand and supply?

Let us turn to the first bourgeois we meet. He will not reflect for an instant but, like another Alexander the Great, will cut this metaphysical knot with the multiplication table. If the production of the goods which I sell has cost me 100 francs, he will tell us, and if I get 110 francs from the sale of these goods, within the year of course—then that is sound, honest, legitimate profit. But if I get in exchange 120 or 130 francs, that is a high profit; and if I get as much as 200 francs, that would be an extraordinary, an enormous profit. What, therefore, serves the bourgeois as his measure of profit? The *cost of production* of his commodity. If he receives in exchange for this

commodity an amount of other commodities which it has cost less to produce, he has lost. If he receives in exchange for his commodity an amount of other commodities the production of which has cost more, he has gained. And he calculates the fall or rise of the profit according to the degree in which the exchange value of his commodity stands below or above zero—the *cost of production.*

We have thus seen how the changing relation of demand and supply causes now a rise and now a fall of prices, now high, now low prices.

If the price of a commodity rises considerably because of inadequate supply or disproportionate increase of the demand, the price of some other commodity must necessarily have fallen proportionately, for the price of a commodity only expresses in money the ratio in which other commodities are given in exchange for it. If, for example, the price of a yard of silk material rises from five francs to six francs, the price of silver in relation to silk material has fallen and likewise the prices of all other commodities that have remained at their old prices have fallen in relation to the silk. One has to give a larger amount of them in exchange to get the same amount of silks.

What will be the consequence of the rising price of a commodity? A mass of capital will be thrown into that flourishing branch of industry and this influx of capital into the domain of the favoured industry will continue until it yields the ordinary profits or, rather, until the price of its products, through over-production, sinks below the cost of production.

Conversely, if the price of a commodity falls below its cost of production, capital will be withdrawn from the production of this commodity. Except in the case of a branch of industry which has become obsolete and must, therefore, perish, the production of such a commodity, that is, its supply, will go on decreasing owing to this flight of capital until it corresponds to the demand, and consequently its price is again on a level with its cost of production or, rather, until the supply has sunk below the demand, that is, until its price rises again above its cost of production, for the *current price of a commodity is always either above or below its cost of production.*

We see how capital continually migrates in and out, out of the domain of one industry into that of another. High prices bring too great an immigration and low prices too great an emigration.

We could show from another point of view how not only supply but also demand is determined by the cost of production. But this would take us too far away from our subject.

We have just seen how the fluctuations of supply and demand continually bring the price of a commodity back to the cost of production. *The real price of a commodity, it is true, is always above or below its cost of production; but rise and fall reciprocally balance each other,* so that within a certain period of time, taking the ebb and flow of the industry together, commodities are exchanged for one another in accordance with their cost of production, their price, therefore, being determined by their cost of production.

This determination of price by cost of production is not to be understood in the sense of the economists. The economists say that the *average price* of commodities is equal to the cost of production; that this is a *law.* The anarchical movement, in which rise is compensated by fall and fall by rise, is regarded by them as chance. With just as much right one could regard the fluctuations as the law and the determination by the cost of production as chance, as has actually been done by other economists. But it is solely these fluctuations, which, looked at more closely, bring with them the most fearful devastations and, like earthquakes, cause bourgeois society to tremble to its foundations—it is solely in the course of these fluctuations that prices are determined by the cost of production. The total movement of this disorder is its order. In the course of this industrial anarchy, in this movement in a circle, competition compensates, so to speak, for one excess by means of another.

We see, therefore, that the price of a commodity is determined by its cost of production in such manner that the periods in which the price of this commodity rises above its cost of production are compensated by the periods in which it sinks below the cost of production, and vice versa. This does not hold good, of course, for separate, particular industrial products but only for the whole branch of industry. Consequently, it also does not hold good for the individual industrialist but only for the whole class of industrialists.

The determination of price by the cost of production is equivalent to the determination of price by the labour time necessary for the manufacture of a commodity, for the cost of production consists of 1) raw materials and instruments of labour,[a] that is, of industrial products the production of which has cost a certain amount of labour days and which, therefore, represent a certain amount of labour time, and 2) of direct labour, the measure of which is, precisely, time.

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[a] The 1891 edition has "depreciation of instruments" instead of "instruments of labour".—*Ed.*

Now, the same general laws that regulate the price of commodities in general of course also regulate *wages*, the *price of labour.*

Wages will rise and fall according to the relation of demand and supply, according to the turn taken by the competition between the buyers of labour, the capitalists, and the sellers of labour,[a] the workers. The fluctuations in wages correspond in general to the fluctuations in prices of commodities. *Within these fluctuations, however, the price of labour will be determined by the cost of production, by the labour time necessary to produce this commodity—labour.*[b]

*What, then, is the cost of production of labour*[e]*?*

*It is the cost required for maintaining the worker as a worker and for developing him into a worker.*

The less the period of training, therefore, that any work requires the smaller is the cost of production of the worker and the lower is the price of his labour, his wages. In those branches of industry in which hardly any period of apprenticeship is required and where the mere bodily existence of the worker suffices, the cost necessary for his production is almost confined to the commodities necessary for keeping him alive.[c] The *price of his labour* will, therefore, be determined by the *price of the necessary means of subsistence.*

Another consideration, however, also comes in.

The manufacturer in calculating his cost of production and, accordingly, the price of the products takes into account the wear and tear of the instruments of labour. If, for example, a machine costs him 1,000 francs and wears out in ten years, he adds 100 francs annually to the price of the commodities so as to be able to replace the worn-out machine by a new one at the end of ten years. In the same way, in calculating the cost of production of simple labour,[d] there must be included the cost of reproduction, whereby the race of workers is enabled to multiply and to replace worn-out workers by new ones. Thus the depreciation of the worker is taken into account in the same way as the depreciation of the machine.

The cost of production of simple labour, therefore, amounts to the *cost of existence and reproduction of the worker.* The price of this cost of existence and reproduction constitutes wages. Wages so determined are called the *wage minimum.* This wage minimum, like the determination of the price of commodities by the cost of production

[a] The 1891 edition has "the buyers of labour power" and "the sellers of labour power" instead of "the buyers of labour" and "the sellers of labour".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1891 edition has "*labour power*" instead of "*labour*".—*Ed.*

[c] In the 1891 edition the words "and capable of working" are added here.—*Ed.*

[d] The 1891 edition has here and in the next paragraph "simple labour power" instead of "simple labour".—*Ed.*

in general, does not hold good for the *single individual* but for the *species*. Individual workers, millions of workers, do not get enough to be able to exist and reproduce themselves; but the *wages of the whole working class* level down, within their fluctuations, to this minimum.

Now that we have arrived at an understanding of the most general laws which regulate wages like the price of any other commodity, we can go into our subject more specifically.

[III]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 266, April 7, 1849]

*Cologne*, April 6. Capital consists of raw materials, instruments of labour and means of subsistence of all kinds, which are utilised in order to produce new raw materials, new instruments of labour and new means of subsistence. All these component parts of capital are creations of labour, products of labour, *accumulated labour*. Accumulated labour which serves as a means of new production is capital.

So say the economists.

What is a Negro slave? A man of the black race. The one explanation is as good as the other.

A Negro is a Negro. He only becomes a *slave* in certain relations. A cotton-spinning jenny is a machine for spinning cotton. It becomes *capital* only in certain relations. Torn from these relationships it is no more capital than *gold* in itself is *money* or sugar the *price* of sugar.

In production, men enter into relation not only with nature.[a] They produce only by co-operating in a certain way and mutually exchanging their activities. In order to produce, they enter into definite connections and relations with one another and only within these social connections and relations does their relation with nature,[b] does production, take place.

These social relations into which the producers enter with one another, the conditions under which they exchange their activities and participate in the whole act of production, will naturally vary according to the character of the means of production. With the invention of a new instrument of warfare, firearms, the whole

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[a] The 1891 edition has "not only act on nature but also on one another" instead of "enter into relation not only with nature".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1891 edition has "action on nature" instead of "relation with nature".—*Ed.*

internal organisation of the army necessarily changed; the relationships within which individuals can constitute an army and act as an army were transformed and the relations of different armies to one another also changed.

*Thus* the social relations within which individuals produce, *the social relations of production, change, are transformed, with the change and development of the material means of production, the productive forces. The relations of production in their totality constitute what* are called *the social relations, society,* and, specifically, a society at *a definite stage of historical development,* a society with a peculiar, distinctive character. Ancient society, feudal society, bourgeois society are such totalities of production relations, each of which at the same time denotes a special stage of development in the history of mankind.

*Capital,* also, is a social relation of production. It is a *bourgeois production relation,* a production relation of bourgeois society. Are not the means of subsistence, the instruments of labour, the raw materials of which capital consists, produced and accumulated under given social conditions, in definite social relations? Are they not utilised for new production under given social conditions, in definite social relations? And is it not just this definite social character which turns the products serving for new production into *capital*?

Capital consists not only of means of subsistence, instruments of labour and raw materials, not only of material products; it consists just as much of *exchange values.* All the products of which it consists are *commodities.* Capital is, therefore, not only a sum of material products; it is a sum of commodities, of exchange values, of *social magnitudes.*

Capital remains the same, whether we put cotton in place of wool, rice in place of wheat or steamships in place of railways, provided only that the cotton, the rice, the steamships—the body of capital—have the same exchange value, the same price as the wool, the wheat, the railways in which it was previously incorporated. The body of capital can change continually without the capital suffering the slightest alteration.

But while all capital is a sum of commodities, that is, of exchange values, not every sum of commodities, of exchange values, is capital.

Every sum of exchange values is an exchange value. Every separate exchange value is a sum of exchange values. For instance, a house that is worth 1,000 francs is an exchange value of 1,000 francs. A piece of paper worth a centime[a] is a sum of exchange values of

[a] In the 1891 edition the word "pfennig" is used here and below instead of "centime".— *Ed.*

one-hundred hundredths of a centime. Products which are exchangeable for others are *commodities*. The particular ratio in which they are exchangeable constitutes their *exchange value* or, expressed in money, their *price*. The quantity of these products can change nothing in their quality of being *commodities* or representing an *exchange value* or having a definite *price*. Whether a tree is large or small it is a tree. Whether we exchange iron for other products in ounces or in hundredweights, does this make any difference in its character as commodity, as exchange value? It is a commodity of greater or lesser value, of higher or lower price, depending upon the quantity.

How, then, does any amount of commodities, of exchange values, become capital?

By maintaining and multiplying itself as an independent social power, that is, as the power *of a portion of society*, by means of its *exchange for direct, living labour*.[a] The existence of a class which possesses nothing but its capacity to labour is a necessary prerequisite of capital.

It is only the domination of accumulated, past, materialised labour over direct, living labour that turns accumulated labour into capital.

Capital does not consist in accumulated labour serving living labour as a means for new production. It consists in living labour serving accumulated labour as a means for maintaining and multiplying the exchange value of the latter.

What takes place in the exchange between capital and wage labour[b]?

The worker receives means of subsistence in exchange for his labour,[c] but the capitalist receives in exchange for his means of subsistence labour, the productive activity of the worker, the creative power whereby the worker not only replaces what he consumes but gives to the accumulated labour a greater value than it previously possessed. The worker receives a part of the available means of subsistence from the capitalist. For what purpose do these means of subsistence serve him? For immediate consumption. As soon, however, as I consume the means of subsistence, they are irretrievably lost to me unless I use the time during which I am kept alive by them in order to produce new means of subsistence, in order during consumption to create by my labour new values in place of

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[a] The 1891 edition has "*labour power*" instead of "*labour*".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1891 edition has "between capitalist and wage-worker" instead of "between capital and wage labour".—*Ed.*

[c] The 1891 edition has "labour power" instead of "labour".—*Ed.*

the values which perish in being consumed. But it is just this noble reproductive power that the worker surrenders to capital in exchange for means of subsistence received. He has, therefore, lost it for himself.

Let us take an example: a tenant farmer gives his day labourer five silver groschen a day. For these five silver groschen the labourer works all day on the farmer's field and thus secures him a return of ten silver groschen. The farmer not only gets the value replaced that he has to give the day labourer; he doubles it. He has therefore employed, consumed, the five silver groschen that he gave to the labourer in a fruitful, productive manner. He has bought with the five silver groschen just that labour and power of the labourer which produces agricultural products of double value and makes ten silver groschen out of five. The day labourer, on the other hand, receives in place of his productive power, the effect of which he has bargained away to the farmer, five silver groschen, which he exchanges for means of subsistence, and these he consumes with greater or less rapidity. The five silver groschen have, therefore, been consumed in a double way, *reproductively* for capital, for they have been exchanged for labour power which produced ten silver groschen, *unproductively* for the worker, for they have been exchanged for means of subsistence which have disappeared forever and the value of which he can only recover by repeating the same exchange with the farmer. *Thus capital presupposes wage labour; wage labour presupposes capital. They reciprocally condition the existence of each other; they reciprocally bring forth each other.*

Does a worker in a cotton factory produce merely cotton textiles? No, he produces capital. He produces values which serve afresh to command his labour and by means of it to create new values.

Capital can only increase by exchanging itself for labour,[a] by calling wage labour to life. The wage labour[b] can only be exchanged for capital by increasing capital, by strengthening the power whose slave it is. *Hence, increase of capital is increase of the proletariat, that is, of the working class.*

The interests of the capitalist and those of the worker are, therefore, *one and the same,* assert the bourgeois and their economists. Indeed! The worker perishes if capital does not employ him. Capital perishes if it does not exploit labour,[a] and in order to exploit it, it must buy it. The faster capital intended for production, productive

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[a] The 1891 edition has "labour power" instead of "labour".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1891 edition has "The labour power of the wage-worker" instead of "The wage labour".—*Ed.*

capital, increases, the more, therefore, industry prospers, the more the bourgeoisie enriches itself and the better business is, the more workers does the capitalist need, the more dearly does the worker sell himself.

The indispensable condition for a tolerable situation of the worker is, therefore, the *fastest possible growth of productive capital.*

But what is the growth of productive capital? Growth of the power of accumulated labour over living labour. Growth of the domination of the bourgeoisie over the working class. If wage labour produces the wealth of others that rules over it, the power that is hostile to it, capital, then the means of employment [*Beschäftigungsmittel*], that is, the means of subsistence, flow back to it from this hostile power, on condition that it makes itself afresh into a part of capital, into the lever which hurls capital anew into an accelerated movement of growth.

*To say that the interests of capital and those of labour*[a] *are one and the same is only to say that capital and wage labour are two sides of one and the same relation. The one conditions the other, just as usurer and squanderer condition each other.*

As long as the wage-worker is a wage-worker his lot depends upon capital. That is the much-vaunted community of interests between worker and capitalist.

[a] The 1891 edition has "*workers*" instead of "*labour*".— *Ed.*

[IV]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 267, April 8, 1849]

*Cologne,* April 7. If capital grows, the mass of wage labour grows, the number of wage-workers grows; in a word, the domination of capital extends over a greater number of individuals. Let us assume the most favourable case: when productive capital grows, the demand for labour grows; consequently, the price of labour, wages, goes up.

A house may be large or small; as long as the surrounding houses are equally small it satisfies all social demands for a dwelling. But let a palace arise beside the little house, and it shrinks from a little house to a hut. The little house shows now that its owner has only very slight or no demands to make; and however high it may shoot up in the course of civilisation, if the neighbouring palace grows to an equal or even greater extent, the occupant of the relatively small house will feel more and more uncomfortable, dissatisfied and cramped within its four walls.

A noticeable increase in wages presupposes a rapid growth of productive capital. The rapid growth of productive capital brings about an equally rapid growth of wealth, luxury, social wants, social enjoyments. Thus, although the enjoyments of the worker have risen, the social satisfaction that they give has fallen in comparison with the increased enjoyments of the capitalist, which are inaccessible to the worker, in comparison with the state of development of society in general. Our desires and pleasures spring from society; we measure them, therefore, by society and not by the objects which serve for their satisfaction. Because they are of a social nature, they are of a relative nature.

In general, wages are determined not only by the amount of commodities for which I can exchange them. They embody various relations.

What the workers receive for their labour[a] is, in the first place, a definite sum of money. Are wages determined only by this money price?

In the sixteenth century, the gold and silver circulating in Europe increased as a result of the discovery of America.[b] Hence, the value of gold and silver fell in relation to other commodities. The workers received the same amount of coined silver for their labour as before. The money price of their labour remained the same, and yet their wages had fallen, for in exchange for the same quantity of silver they received a smaller amount of other commodities. This was one of the circumstances which furthered the growth of capital and the rise of the bourgeoisie in the sixteenth century.

Let us take another case. In the winter of 1847, as a result of a crop failure, the most indispensable means of subsistence, cereals, meat, butter, cheese, etc., rose considerably in price. Assume that the workers received the same sum of money for their labour as before. Had not their wages fallen? Of course. For the same money they received less bread, meat, etc., in exchange. Their wages had fallen, not because the value of silver had diminished, but because the value of the means of subsistence had increased.

Assume, finally, that the money price of labour remains the same while all agricultural and manufactured goods have fallen in price owing to the employment of new machinery, a favourable season, etc. For the same money the workers can now buy more commodities of all kinds. Their wages, therefore, have risen, just because the money value of their wages has not changed.

Thus, the money price of labour, nominal wages, do not coincide with real wages, that is, with the sum of commodities which is actually given in exchange for the wages. If, therefore, we speak of a rise or fall of wages, we must keep in mind not only the money price of labour, the nominal wages.

But neither nominal wages, that is, the sum of money for which the worker sells himself to the capitalist, nor real wages, that is, the sum of commodities which he can buy for this money, exhaust the relations contained in wages.

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[a] The 1891 edition has here and in the two paragraphs below "labour power" instead of "labour".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1891 edition has "the discovery of richer and more easily worked mines in America" instead of "the discovery of America".—*Ed.*

Wages are, above all, also determined by their relation to the gain, to the profit of the capitalist—comparative, relative wages.

Real wages express the price of labour in relation to the price of other commodities; relative wages, on the other hand, express the price of direct labour in relation to the price of accumulated labour, the relative value of wage labour and capital, the reciprocal value of the capitalist and worker.[a]

Real wages may remain the same, they may even rise, and yet relative wages may fall. Let us suppose, for example, that all means of subsistence have gone down in price by two-thirds while wages per day have only fallen by one-third, that is to say, for example, from three francs to two francs. Although the worker can command a greater amount of commodities with these two francs than he previously could with three francs, yet his wages have gone down in relation to the profit of the capitalist. The profit of the capitalist (for example, the manufacturer) has increased by one franc; that is, for a smaller sum of exchange values which he pays to the worker, the latter must produce a greater amount of exchange values than before. The value of capital relative to the value of labour has risen.[b] The division of social wealth between capital and labour has become still more unequal. With the same capital, the capitalist commands a greater quantity of labour. The power of the capitalist class over the working class has grown, the social position of the worker has

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[a] In the 1891 edition Engels changed the part of the paragraph beginning with the words "relative wages" in the following way: "relative wages, on the other hand, express the share of direct labour in the new value it has created in relation to the share which falls to accumulated labour, to capital.

"We said above, page 14 [see this volume, p. 202]: 'Wages are not the worker's share in the commodity produced by him. Wages are the part of already existing commodities with which the capitalist buys for himself a definite amount of productive labour power.' But the capitalist must replace these wages out of the price at which he sells the product produced by the worker; he must replace it in such a way that there remains to him, as a rule, a surplus over the cost of production expended by him, a profit. For the capitalist, the selling price of the commodity produced by the worker is divided into three parts: *first*, replacement of the price of the raw materials advanced by him together with replacement of the depreciation of the tools, machinery and other means of labour also advanced by him; *secondly*, the replacement of the wages advanced by him, and *thirdly*, the surplus left over, the capitalist's profit. While the first part only replaces *previously existing values*, it is clear that both the replacement of the wages and also the surplus profit of the capitalist are, on the whole, taken from the *new value created by the worker's labour* and added to the raw materials. And *in this sense*, in order to compare them with one another, we can regard both wages and profit as shares in the product of the worker."—*Ed.*

[b] In the 1891 edition this sentence reads: "The share of capital relative to the share of labour has risen."—*Ed.*

deteriorated, has been depressed one step further below that of the capitalist.

What, then, is *the general law which determines the fall and rise of wages and profit in their reciprocal relation?*

*They stand in inverse ratio to each other. The exchange value of capital,*[a] *profit, rises in the same proportion as the exchange value of labour,*[b] *wages, falls, and vice versa. Profit rises to the extent that wages fall; it falls to the extent that wages rise.*

The objection will, perhaps, be made that the capitalist can profit by a favourable exchange of his products with other capitalists, by increase of the demand for his commodity, whether as a result of the opening of new markets, or as a result of a momentarily increased demand in the old markets, etc.; that the capitalist's profit can, therefore, increase by overreaching other capitalists, independently of the rise and fall of wages, of the exchange value of labour[c]; or that the capitalist's profit may also rise owing to the improvement of the instruments of labour, a new application of natural forces, etc.

First of all, it will have to be admitted that the result remains the same, although it is brought about in reverse fashion. True, the profit has not risen because wages have fallen, but wages have fallen because the profit has risen. With the same amount of labour,[d] the capitalist has acquired a greater amount of exchange values, without having paid more for the labour on that account; that is, therefore, labour is paid less in proportion to the net profit which it yields the capitalist.

In addition, we recall that, in spite of the fluctuations in prices of commodities, the average price of every commodity, the ratio in which it is exchanged for other commodities, is determined by its *cost of production.* Hence the overreachings within the capitalist class necessarily balance one another. The improvement of machinery, new application of natural forces in the service of production, enable a larger amount of products to be created in a given period of time with the same amount of labour and capital, but not by any means a larger amount of exchange values. If, by the use of the spinning jenny, I can turn out twice as much yarn in an hour as before its

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[a] The 1891 edition has "*Capital's share*" instead of "*The exchange value of capital*".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1891 edition has "*labour's share*" instead of "*the exchange value of labour*".—*Ed.*

[c] The 1891 edition has "labour power" instead of "labour".—*Ed.*

[d] The 1891 edition has "other people's labour" instead of "labour".—*Ed.*

invention, say, one hundred pounds instead of fifty, then[a] I will receive for these hundred pounds no more commodities in exchange than formerly for the fifty pounds, because the cost of production has fallen by one-half, or because I can deliver double the product at the same cost.

Finally, in whatever proportion the capitalist class, the bourgeoisie, whether of one country or of the whole world market, shares the net profit of production within itself, the total amount of this net profit always consists only of the amount by which, on the whole, accumulated labour has been increased by living labour.[b] This total amount grows, therefore, in the proportion in which labour augments capital, that is, in the proportion in which profit rises in comparison with wages.

We see, therefore, that even if we remain *within the relation of capital and wage labour, the interests of capital and the interests of wage labour are diametrically opposed.*

A rapid increase of capital is equivalent to a rapid increase of profit. Profit can only increase rapidly if the exchange value[c] of labour, if relative wages, decrease just as rapidly. Relative wages can fall although real wages rise simultaneously with nominal wages, with the money value of labour, if they do not rise, however, in the same proportion as profit. If, for instance, in times when business is good, wages rise by five per cent, profit on the other hand by thirty per cent, then the comparative, the relative wages, have *not increased* but *decreased.*

Thus if the income of the worker increases with the rapid growth of capital, the social gulf that separates the worker from the capitalist increases at the same time, and the power of capital over labour, the dependence of labour on capital, likewise increases at the same time.

To say that the worker has an interest in the rapid growth of capital is only to say that the more rapidly the worker increases the wealth of others, the richer will be the crumbs that fall to him, the greater is the number of workers that can be employed and called into existence, the more can the mass of slaves dependent on capital be increased.

We have thus seen that:

Even the *most favourable situation* for the working class, the *most rapid possible growth of capital,* however much it may improve the material existence of the worker, does not remove the antagonism

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[a] In the 1891 edition the words "in the long run" are added here.—*Ed.*

[b] The 1891 edition has "direct labour" instead of "living labour".—*Ed.*

[c] The 1891 edition has "price" instead of "exchange value".—*Ed.*

between his interests and the interests of the bourgeoisie, the interests of the capitalist. *Profit and wages* remain as before in *inverse proportion.*

If capital is growing rapidly, wages may rise; the profit of capital rises incomparably more rapidly. The material position of the worker has improved, but at the cost of his social position. The social gulf that divides him from the capitalist has widened.

Finally:

To say that the most favourable condition for wage labour is the most rapid possible growth of productive capital is only to say that the more rapidly the working class increases and enlarges the power that is hostile to it, the wealth that does not belong to it and that rules over it, the more favourable will be the conditions under which it is allowed to labour anew at increasing bourgeois wealth, at enlarging the power of capital, content with forging for itself the golden chains by which the bourgeoisie drags it in its train.

[V]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 269, April 11, 1849]

*Cologne,* April 10. Are *growth of productive capital and rise of wages* really so inseparably connected as the bourgeois economists maintain? We must not take their word for it. We must not even believe them when they say that the fatter capital is, the better will its slave be fed. The bourgeoisie is too enlightened, it calculates too well, to share the prejudices of the feudal lord who makes a display by the brilliance of his retinue. The conditions of existence of the bourgeoisie compel it to calculate.

We must, therefore, examine more closely:

*How does the growth of productive capital affect wages?*

If, on the whole, the productive capital of bourgeois society grows, a *more manifold* accumulation of labour takes place. The capitals increase in number and extent. The *numerical increase* of the capitals increases the *competition between the capitalists.* The *increasing extent* of the capitals provides the means for *bringing more powerful labour armies with more gigantic instruments of war into the industrial battlefield.*

One capitalist can drive another from the field and capture his capital only by selling more cheaply. In order to be able to sell more cheaply without ruining himself, he must produce more cheaply, that is, raise the productive power of labour as much as possible. But the productive power of labour is raised, above all, by *a greater division of labour,* by a universal introduction and continual improvement of *machinery.* The greater the labour army among whom labour is divided, the more gigantic the scale on which machinery is introduced, the more does the cost of production proportionately decrease, the more fruitful is labour. Hence, a general rivalry arises among the capitalists to increase the division of

labour and machinery and to exploit them on the greatest possible scale.

If, now, by a greater division of labour, by the utilisation of new machines and their improvement, by more profitable and extensive exploitation of natural forces, one capitalist has found the means of producing with the same amount of labour or of accumulated labour a greater amount of products, of commodities, than his competitors, if he can, for example, produce a whole yard of linen in the same labour time in which his competitors weave half a yard, how will this capitalist operate?

He could continue to sell half a yard of linen at the old market price; this would, however, be no means of driving his opponents from the field and of enlarging his own sales. But in the same measure in which his production has expanded, his need to sell has also increased. The more powerful and costly means of production that he has called into life *enable* him, indeed, to sell his commodities more cheaply, they *compel* him, however, at the same time to sell more commodities, to conquer a much *larger* market for his commodities; consequently, our capitalist will sell his half yard of linen more cheaply than his competitors.

The capitalist will not, however, sell a whole yard as cheaply as his competitors sell half a yard, although the production of the whole yard does not cost him more than the half yard costs the others. Otherwise he would not gain anything extra but only get back the cost of production by the exchange. His possibly greater income would be derived from the fact of having set a larger capital into motion, but not from having made more of his capital than the others. Moreover, he attains the object he wishes to attain, if he puts the price of his goods only a small percentage lower than that of his competitors. He drives them from the field, he wrests from them at least a part of their sales, by *underselling them.* And, finally, it will be remembered that the current price always stands *above* or *below the cost of production,* according to whether the sale of the commodity occurs in a favourable or unfavourable industrial season. The percentage at which the capitalist who has employed new and more fruitful means of production sells above his real cost of production will vary, depending upon whether the market price of a yard of linen stands below or above its hitherto customary cost of production.

However, the *privileged position* of our capitalist is not of long duration; other competing capitalists introduce the same machines, the same division of labour, introduce them on the same or on a larger scale, and this introduction will become so general that the

price of linen is reduced not only *below its old*, but *below its new cost of production.*

The capitalists find themselves, therefore, in the same position relative to one another as *before* the introduction of the new means of production, and if they are able to supply by these means double the product at the same price, they are *now* forced to supply the double product *below* the old price. On the basis of this new cost of production, the same game begins again. More division of labour, more machinery, enlarged scale of exploitation of division of labour and machinery. And again competition brings the same counteraction against this result.

We see how in this way the mode of production and the means of production are continually transformed, revolutionised, how *the division of labour is necessarily followed by greater division of labour, the application of machinery by still greater application of machinery, work on a large scale by work on a still larger scale.*

That is the law which again and again throws bourgeois production out of its old course and which compels capital to intensify the productive forces of labour, *because* it has intensified them—the law which gives capital no rest and continually whispers in its ear: "Go on! Go on!"

This law is none other than that which, within the fluctuations of trade periods, necessarily levels out the price of a commodity to its *cost of production.*

However powerful the means of production which a capitalist brings into the field, competition will make these means of production universal and from the moment when it has made them universal, the only result of the greater fruitfulness of his capital is that he must now supply *for the same price* ten, twenty, a hundred times as much as before. But, as he must sell perhaps a thousand times as much as before in order to outweigh the lower selling price by the greater amount of the product sold, because a more extensive sale is now necessary, not only in order to make profit[a] but in order to replace the cost of production—the instrument of production itself, as we have seen, becomes more and more expensive—and because this mass sale becomes a question of life and death not only for him but also for his rivals, the old struggle begins again *all the more violently the more fruitful the already discovered means of production are. The division of labour and the application of machinery, therefore, will go on anew on an incomparably greater scale.*

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[a] The 1891 edition has "more profit" instead of "profit".—*Ed.*

Whatever the power of the means of production employed may be, competition seeks to rob capital of the golden fruits of this power by bringing the price of the commodities back to the cost of production, by thus making cheaper production—the supply of ever greater amounts of products for the same total price—an imperative law to the same extent as production can be cheapened, that is, as more can be produced with the same amount of labour. Thus the capitalist would have won nothing by his own exertions but the obligation to supply more in the same labour time, in a word, *more difficult conditions for the augmentation of the value of his capital.* While, therefore, competition continually pursues him with its law of the cost of production and every weapon that he forges against his rivals recoils against himself, the capitalist continually tries to get the better of competition by incessantly introducing new machines, more expensive, it is true, but producing more cheaply, and new division of labour in place of the old, and by not waiting until competition has rendered the new ones obsolete.

If now we picture to ourselves this feverish *simultaneous* agitation on the *whole world market,* it will be comprehensible how the growth, accumulation and concentration of capital results in an uninterrupted division of labour, and in the application of new and the perfecting of old machinery precipitately and on an ever more gigantic scale.

*But how do these circumstances, which are inseparable from the growth of productive capital, affect the determination of wages?*

The greater *division of labour* enables *one* worker to do the work of five, ten or twenty; it therefore multiplies competition among the workers fivefold, tenfold and twentyfold. The workers do not only compete by one selling himself cheaper than another; they compete by *one* doing the work of five, ten, twenty; and the *division of labour,* introduced by capital and continually increased, compels the workers to compete among themselves in this way.

Further, as the *division of labour* increases, labour *is simplified.* The *special skill* of the worker becomes worthless. He becomes transformed into a simple, monotonous productive force that does not have to use intense bodily or intellectual faculties. His labour becomes a labour that anyone can perform. Hence, competitors crowd upon him on all sides, and besides we remind the reader that the more simple and easily learned the labour is, the lower the cost of production needed to master it, the lower do wages sink, for, like the price of every other commodity, they are determined by the cost of production.

*Therefore, as labour becomes more unsatisfying, more repulsive,*

*competition increases and wages decrease.* The worker tries to keep up the amount of his wages by working more, whether by working longer hours or by producing more in one hour. Driven by want, therefore, he still further increases the evil effects of the division of labour. The result is that *the more he works the less wages he receives,* and for the simple reason that he competes to that extent with his fellow workers, hence makes them into so many competitors who offer themselves on just the same bad terms as he does himself, and that, therefore, in the last resort he *competes with himself, with himself as a member of the working class.*

*Machinery* brings about the same results on a much greater scale, by replacing skilled workers by unskilled, men by women, adults by children. It brings about the same results, where it is newly introduced, by throwing the hand workers onto the streets in masses, and, where it is developed, improved and replaced by more productive machinery, by discharging workers in smaller batches. We have portrayed above, in a hasty sketch, the industrial war of the capitalists among themselves; *this war has the peculiarity that its battles are won less by recruiting than by discharging the army of labour. The generals, the capitalists, compete with one another as to who can discharge most soldiers of industry.*

The economists tell us, it is true, that the workers rendered superfluous by machinery find *new* branches of employment.

They dare not assert directly that the same workers who are discharged find places in the new branches of labour. The facts cry out too loudly against this lie. They really only assert that new means of employment will open up for *other component sections of the working class,* for instance, for the portion of the young generation of workers that was ready to enter the branch of industry which has gone under. That is, of course, a great consolation for the disinherited workers. The capitalist gentlemen will never want for fresh exploitable flesh and blood, and will let the dead bury their dead. This is a consolation which the bourgeois give themselves rather than one which they give the workers. If the whole class of wage-workers were to be abolished owing to machinery, how dreadful that would be for capital which, without wage labour, ceases to be capital!

Let us suppose, however, that those directly driven out of their jobs by machinery, and the entire section of the new generation that was already on the watch for this employment, *find a new occupation.* Does any one imagine that it will be as highly paid as that which has been lost? *That would contradict all the laws of economics.* We have seen how modern industry always brings with it the substitution of a more

simple, subordinate occupation for the more complex and higher one.

How, then, could a mass of workers who have been thrown out of one branch of industry owing to machinery find refuge in another, unless the latter *is lower, worse paid?*

The workers who work in the manufacture of machinery itself have been cited as an exception. As soon as more machinery is demanded and used in industry, it is said, there must necessarily be an increase of machines, consequently of the manufacture of machines, and consequently of the employment of workers in the manufacture of machines; and the workers engaged in this branch of industry are claimed to be skilled, even educated workers.

Since the year 1840 this assertion, which even before was only half true, has lost all semblance of truth because ever more versatile machines have been employed in the manufacture of machinery, no more and no less than in the manufacture of cotton yarn, and the workers employed in the machine factories, confronted by highly elaborate machines, can only play the part of highly unelaborate machines.

But in place of the man who has been discharged owing to the machine, the factory employs maybe *three* children and *one* woman! And did not the man's wages have to suffice for the three children and a woman? Did not the minimum of wages have to suffice to maintain and to propagate the race? What, then, does this favourite bourgeois phrase prove? Nothing more than that now *four times* as many workers' lives are used up in order to gain a livelihood for *one* worker's family.

Let us sum up: *The more productive capital grows, the more the division of labour and the application of machinery expands. The more the division of labour and the application of machinery expands, the more competition among the workers expands and the more their wages contract.*

In addition, the working class gains recruits from the *higher strata of society* also; a mass of small industrialists and small rentiers are hurled down into its ranks and have nothing better to do than urgently stretch out their arms alongside those of the workers. Thus the forest of uplifted arms demanding work becomes ever thicker, while the arms themselves become ever thinner.

That the small industrialist cannot survive in a war,[a] one of the first conditions of which is to produce on an ever greater scale, that is, precisely to be a large and not a small industrialist, is self-evident.

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[a] The 1891 edition has "contest" instead of "war".—*Ed.*

That the interest on capital decreases in the same measure as the mass and number of capitals increase, as capital grows; that, therefore, the small rentier can no longer live on his interest but must throw himself into industry, and consequently, help to swell the ranks of the small industrialists and thereby of candidates for the proletariat—all this surely requires no further explanation.

Finally, as the capitalists are compelled, by the movement described above, to exploit the already existing gigantic means of production on a larger scale and to set in motion all the mainsprings of credit to this end, there is a corresponding increase in earthquakes,[a] in which the trading world can only maintain itself by sacrificing a part of wealth, of products and even of productive forces to the gods of the nether world—in a word, *crises* increase. They become more frequent and more violent, if only because, as the mass of production, and consequently the need for extended markets, grows, the world market becomes more and more contracted, fewer and fewer markets[b] remain available for exploitation, since every preceding crisis has subjected to world trade a market hitherto unconquered or only superficially exploited. But capital does not *live* only on labour. A lord, at once aristocratic and barbarous, it drags with it into the grave the corpses of its slaves, whole hecatombs of workers who perish in the crises. Thus we see: *if capital grows rapidly, competition among the workers grows incomparably more rapidly, that is, the means of employment, the means of subsistence, of the working class decrease proportionately so much the more, and, nevertheless, the rapid growth of capital is the most favourable condition for wage labour.*

(To be continued)[185]

Written by Marx on the basis of lectures delivered by him in the second half of December 1847

Printed according to the newspaper

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[a] The 1891 edition has "industrial earthquakes" instead of "earthquakes".—*Ed.*
[b] The 1891 edition has "new markets" instead of "markets".—*Ed.*

# THE SOUTHERN SLAVS AND THE AUSTRIAN MONARCHY

Not a word from the theatre of war. Not a syllable confirming the fabulous report of Bem's crossing into Wallachia, which may now be regarded as pure martial-law rumour, since after the arrival of the alleged courier no Bulletin has appeared.

There is, on the other hand, interesting news of the Austrian Slavs. Among the *Czech* townspeople and peasants, says the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*,[a] *Kossuth*'s name is regarded with the same respect and wonder as Napoleon's, and people were arrested in Prague for raising a cheer for Kossuth. The *Südslavische Zeitung* writes from *Vinkovci*, March 24:

> "Travellers today brought us the news that extraordinary excitement reigns in *Semlin*. Street processions in Hungarian costume, Hungarian freedom songs, *Eljens* and *Zivios*[b] for Kossuth resounding through the town."

Todorovich has withdrawn from Kanizsa to Kikinda (between the Theiss and the Maros), and has thus by no means united with Jellachich. The blockade of Szegedin and Theresiopel has therefore been *completely raised.* This retreat obviously took place as a result of the discontent among the Serbs.

The cause of this dampening down of the Serbian lust for plunder is Austria's vacillating policy, making promises to the Serbs today, to the Magyars tomorrow, and regarding the rich Hungarian aristocracy (which can easily be restored to power and influence again after an Austrian victory) as a better ally in the long run than the chaos of classes, interests and conditions of the South-Slav and especially the Serbian provinces.

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[a] "Prag, 25. März," Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 91, April 1, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] "Long live!" in Hungarian and Serbo-Croatian.—*Ed.*

For the amusement of our readers we print the latest martial-law rumour:

Kossuth is said to be involved in negotiations with the Government and to be making the following condition for Hungary's complete and immediate submission: the acceptance of the Constitution drafted by the Imperial Diet [186] for the whole monarchy and his appointment as the Governor of Hungary!!!

Baja has *not* yet been retaken, Nugent bombarded it in vain.

Bem has imposed a contribution of 100,000 florins on Hermannstadt. The Romanians are quite discouraged; a *Landsturm* can no longer be raised.

Written by Engels on April 4, 1849

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Published in English for the first time

# THE WAR IN HUNGARY

*Cologne,* April 5. It is a fact that the Austrians, when they win battles in Hungary, only do so because of the longer and more regular arms drill of their soldiers; they win them not *because* of their commanders but *in spite of their commanders.* The thoroughly exercised military drill and the coherent *compact mass* resulting from this is their only strength. This compact military mass has been employed by the generals from the inception of the war until now with a mediocrity, with a lack of talent which is quite unparalleled. There is no grand design, no daring, no dexterity in manoeuvres, no trace of a worked out plan, no attempt to surprise the enemy or to impress him. With a triviality of calculation which does not go beyond the four fundamentals of strategy (*s'il y en a*[a]), the Austrian armies keep marching directly toward the point to be conquered sticking as punctiliously as possible to a straight line, unconcerned about what is happening to the right or to the left of them, and if an unexpected manoeuvre by the Magyars throws them out of this line then they are at a loss and good for nothing until they have once again found some other straight line leading to their appointed goal. Nothing creates a more dreadful impression than to see that even the most unexpected and brilliant manoeuvres of the Hungarian generals are incapable of imparting even the slightest animating thought to the unwieldy body of the Austrian army and of inducing it to produce an adroit idea, however slight. It is nothing but the simple and honest old strategy of the Coburgs, Clerfayts, Wurmsers

[a] If such there be.—*Ed.*

& Co., of yore, which has, thank God, for about a hundred years been harping on the axiom that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points.

Thus while the Austrians slowly but by no means surely plod forward and demonstrate an unparalleled poverty of strategic thought, we find an astounding wealth of strategic genius at the head of the Magyar army. The whole campaign is conducted according to a plan whose mastery becomes daily more evident; and between the individual elements of this great plan a series of episodes occur each of which is more brilliantly contrived and more surprisingly and dextrously executed than the last. The Magyars, though inadequately drilled and armed, oppose everywhere the most subtle calculation, the most masterly use of the terrain, the clearest overall view of the situation and the most daring and swift execution to the indolent and mindless but well-drilled mass of the Austrian armies. Superiority in genius is here doing battle with superiority in numbers, weapons and arms drill. Observing the bold, rapid marches of the Magyar corps, it is hardly possible to grasp how an almost completely untrained, poorly armed and ill-equipped army can undertake such movements and carry them through to completion. We need only recall Görgey's brilliant march from Pest through the Slovakian mountain towns, along the Carpathians, through the Zips to the Theiss and from there back to within six miles[a] of Pest again, and Bem's repeated lightning triumphal expeditions through Transylvania.

Today's reports from the Theiss, admittedly unofficial but nevertheless coming unanimously from the most various sources and therefore less subject to doubt than all the martial-law bulletins, at last permit us to pass sound judgment on the latest movements between the Theiss and the Danube.

Once again these movements form one of the most brilliant and inspired manoeuvres perhaps ever to figure in the history of war. By means of manoeuvres whose design was as bold and superior as their execution was lightning fast, the Magyar commanders Görgey and Dembiński (and this manoeuvre is the best proof that he still holds his command) have completely disconcerted an army which would certainly have proved superior to them in regular, open pitched battle, they have driven it back a whole 20 miles, frustrated all its plans and even threatened its line of retreat.

The most recent dispositions of the two armies are known:

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[a] See footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*

The Magyars on and behind the Theiss: Görgey at Tokaj, Dembiński at Polgar and Tisza-Füred, Vetter at Szolnok, Damjanich at Szegedin.

The imperial forces on the opposite bank: Ramberg along the Hernad up to Miskolcz, Schlick from Miskolcz to Szegléd, Jellachich from Szegléd to Kecskemét and Felegyhaza.

Suddenly Görgey broke away from the Theiss, marched by way of a detour (evidently through the Zemplen comitat) north towards Kaschau and threw Ramberg's division (the Götz and Jablonowsky brigades) out of the Sáros and the Abauj comitat. Götz and Jablonowsky—at least so the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* would have it[a]—held Eperies and Kaschau, but on the other hand the open country was everywhere swept clean of imperial troops. Only stopping briefly Görgey now proceeded along the Hernad once more towards the south, driving the remnants of Ramberg's troops constantly before him, took Miskolcz and then headed west; by way of Rimaszombat he went to Losoncz, and took up a position on the Ipoly (Eipel) between Losoncz and Balassa-Gyarmat. His vanguard is said to have pushed forward as far as Nograd.

The heroic Ramberg beat a hasty retreat by way of Hatvan on the very worst roads to *Waitzen* on the Danube, *four miles above Pest.* There he immediately built a pontoon bridge to withdraw his corps to the right bank of the Danube and thus put the river between Görgey and himself.

While Görgey was advancing by way of Miskolcz, Dembiński crossed the Theiss at Czibakháza and with 30,000 men broke through Schlick's disposition at its weakest point between Jasz-Berény and the battlefield of Kapolna, marched through the middle of the country occupied by the enemy and linked up with Görgey on the other side of the Mátra mountains.

To cover Pest Schlick left part of his forces behind at Hatvan (the same place the Magyars had visited in February). With the other part he "pursued", as they say, Dembiński's army. What is meant by this "pursuit" is absolutely incomprehensible unless he is anxious to be cut off and thrown back against the Hernad into a purely Hungarian area.

At the same time Jellachich's army was being pushed back by Damjanich from Szegedin and Vetter from Szolnok. As is well known, Jellachich had occupied Kecskemét and advanced his headquarters another four miles to Felegyhaza. Damjanich expelled

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[a] Engels refers to the article "Pesth, 27. März" in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 92, April 2, 1849.—*Ed.*

him from there, forced him to leave Kecskemét, defeated him at Nagy-Körös and drove him back to Szegléd. According to the latest reports Jellachich is said to have abandoned this place as well and withdrawn his headquarters to Pilis, *four miles from Pest.*

*Thus the Austrians are being driven back at all points,* and the theatre of war is again situated but a few miles from Pest.

But this time the Magyars are operating with completely different forces, and have taken up a disposition quite different from that of six weeks ago when they stood at Hatvan.

Then they were drawn up in a line from the Mátra mountains on the right to the Theiss on the left. To begin with they only had the aim of threatening Pest.

This time things are different. The main thing now is to relieve Komorn and support the insurrection on the right bank of the Danube in the rear of the imperial forces. Hence the much greater degree of daring and the much greater ingenuity in the co-ordination of the movements.

The Magyars are positioned in two long curved lines, the one drawn up to the north-east of Pest and the other to the south-east of it. The first extends from Erlau and Gyöngyös, occupied by Dembiński, to Balassa-Gyarmat and Neograd, where Görgey is. While Dembiński holds Schlick in check and threatens Pest, Görgey has driven Ramberg over the Danube and presents such a serious threat to the besieged area of Komorn, hardly two days' march distant, that troops from there have already been sent against him and the encirclement of the fortress is at present very slack. At the same time he is in a position to cause the adjoining Magyar comitats on the Danube, particularly Gran, to rise again in revolt, to interrupt river communications between Pest and the besieging army and, in the rear of the Austrians, to call into being an enemy who at the least will force them to weaken their main army. In the event of a defeat he once again has the possibility of a retreat into the Slovakian mountains.

The second Magyar army is positioned to the south-east of Pest, one flank on the Danube, the other on the Theiss, its centre in Kecskemét, Nagy-Körös, or perhaps by now already in Szegléd. This corps threatens Pest from the other side, and is equally capable of throwing auxiliary troops across the Danube into Stuhlweissenburg and the Tolna comitat to support the insurrection here too. Only some thousand Honveds[187] with light artillery and a few hussars would be needed to rouse the whole of the Bakony Forest from the Danube to the Raab into full rebellion in the rear of the main Austrian army, to isolate the besieging troops at Komorn and to

necessitate the detachment of whole army corps against the rebels. Thus weakened, the imperial army would be unable to put up much resistance against the united Hungarian armies.

And the Hungarians undertake these rapid and daring marches at a time when, thanks to the bad weather and the muddy roads, the Austrian army cannot take a single step forward, but only steps backwards!

Incidentally, one can see from the whole design that something more serious is intended this time than last. Previously single corps, but now it is the whole main army of the Austrians that has been pressed back under the walls of Pest. Pest itself is obviously the goal. This is recognised very clearly in the town itself. The Hungarian banknotes[188] have *risen again.* The reserve has been returned to Pest from Gödöllö (three miles away) and its baggage carried over the Danube to Ofen. The garrison of Pest and Ofen was confined all day long to its barracks and to the citadel.

In short, the Austrians have been forced back towards Pest on all sides, the Magyar army is more concentrated than ever, Szegedin has been liberated, the link-up between Jellachich and the Serbs has been foiled, the siege area of Komorn has been breached, the mountain towns threatened, the guerillas in Slovakia and on the right bank of the Danube supported and Pest more seriously threatened than ever—these are the immediate results of this concentric movement of the four Magyar Theiss corps, its conception was as bold and skilful as its execution has been precise and rapid.

In *Transylvania* Bem's situation is also beginning to clarify. First of all Bem defeated Puchner and drove him to Hermannstadt. On March 10 he sent a representative under a flag of truce and demanded surrender. Instead of an answer the Russian general ordered the representative to be whipped with the knout. Thereupon Bem attacked and took the town on March 11. No quarter was given to the Russians, a revolutionary committee was set up and many Cossacks hanged. Puchner escaped to Wallachia, the Russian general is said to have remained. On March 14 Bem marched against Kronstadt. In the meantime 40,000-50,000 Russians marched in by way of the Roterturm and the Törzburg passes (near Kronstadt), attacked Bem and defeated him thanks to their double superiority in numbers. Bem withdrew into Szeklerland.[189] The story of the five hanged Polish officers has been confirmed; their names were Bilski, Prince Woroniecki, Dumanski, Podalecki and Wronski.[a] Moreover,

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[a] "Wien, 31. März", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 93, April 3, 1849. See also this volume, p. 190.— *Ed.*

another 70 or so officers and NCOs are said to have been hanged by the Russians. The rumour about Bem having been forced to enter Wallachia is scarcely mentioned any more; a second rumour sounds almost as wild, claiming that he has fled to the Magyar Theiss army. The terror inspired in the imperial forces by the name Bem is so great that they are already claiming that it was he who planned and commanded the daring move across the Theiss.

Nothing new from the Banat, except that Rukavina has *conceded* the Patriarch[a] *all his demands concerning Serbian nationhood.*

Komorn and Peterwardein are holding out. Welden himself has left for the former. *Nous verrons!*[b]

Written by Engels on April 5, 1849

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 265, April 6, 1849

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[a] Rajachich.— *Ed.*
[b] We shall see!— *Ed.*

# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

No fresh news at all has arrived from the theatre of war. Only from Transylvania do we have two *Magyar* bulletins today, signed by Bem himself, brought by the Debreczin official *Közlöny*.[a]

"1. Hermannstadt Headquarters, March 15. In my dispatch of March 13 I had the fortune to declare that I had sent a corps to the Roterturm Pass (Vöröstorony) in order to sever as far as possible communications with Wallachia. This army corps was unable to advance very far, however, since the whole Austrian army was positioned in Frek, and thus only separated from the defile by a mountain ridge, and so the flank of my advancing troops was threatened. By way of a detour I gained control of this defile, however, and I shall not only hold it, but at the same time press the enemy towards Kronstadt, from where he would only be able to cross the Carpathians with great difficulty, if, that is, he should wish to escape into Wallachia. I shall commence these operations of war this very day.

"Yesterday our troops once again captured a staff officer, Colonel Kopet. The names of the two staff officers previously captured are Baron Berger (Lieutenant-Colonel) and Teichbert (Major).

"The capture of Hermannstadt was of inestimable value to us, a great number of weapons have fallen to us from all sides, while the vital artery of the enemy has been severed."

"2. Roterturm (Vöröstorony) Headquarters, March 16. My operations yesterday designed to dislodge the Russians from the Roterturm Pass were crowned by such good fortune that we had ejected the Russians from this strong position by 11 o'clock the same night. The 'March 15', the anniversary of the Liberty of Nations, could not have been celebrated in more worthy fashion.[190] Today at 5 o'clock in the afternoon the Russians have taken to the wildest headlong flight. Four Austrian generals: Puchner, Pfersmann, Gräser and Jovich have fled to Wallachia with approximately 3 companies. I myself have inspected the Roterturm Pass most carefully, and have made such arrangements that the Russians will find it hard to penetrate here again with hostile intent. I have dispatched another part of my army in pursuit of the Austrians, who according to the statements of prisoners of war are demoralised and making for Kronstadt in disorder. Their main force is at Fogaras, the rearguard, however, has

[a] The following passage is from *Közlöny* No. 59, March 22, 1849.—*Ed.*

just left Frek. The enemy had demolished the bridge over the Olt behind him, which hindered the energetic pursuit of him for a time. Now that the bridge has been rebuilt I shall continue the pursuit with the utmost vigour. I hope to take Kronstadt within 3 or 4 days, thereby the imperial Austrian army will be partly destroyed, and partly dispersed, and in any case rendered harmless as far as the internal tranquillity of this country is concerned. And then the return to obedience of those Wallachian bands which still operate in isolation will be so much the easier.

"*Post scriptum.* After taking Kronstadt I shall immediately leave for Hungary with an army corps."

(As our readers already know, General Bem did not succeed in taking Kronstadt.)[a]

The extent to which the Pest revolutionaries have been encouraged by the recent gains of the Magyar army may be inferred from the following report in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung.*

"*Pest,* March 30. A *secret committee* appears to exist here which *is in contact with the Debreczin revolutionary government.* For a large number of printed posters in the Hungarian language are daily found in every street, containing partly war bulletins from the Debreczin Government, and partly its orders and decrees. By means of such posters Bem's capture of Hermannstadt was already known here on March 22. The police *have not yet succeeded* in tracking down these secret information centres. If one is to believe such a poster, countless copies of which were distributed yesterday, *then the Hungarian Lieutenant-Colonel Gaal stormed and captured the fortress of Arad on March 23.* But the imperial officer commanding the fortress, Lieutenant-Field Marshal Baron Berger, is said to have made good his escape.—The Ban, Master of Ordnance Baron *Jellachich, is*[b] *... here.* The plan of advancing on *Szegedin has been abandoned.* The theatre of war has *shifted back about 40 miles nearer the Austrian border,* and thanks to this an area of about 300 square miles has been abandoned to the Magyars. The imperial army is now altogether *restricted to the defensive.* Among the officers the conviction is also generally expressed that *without substantial reinforcements a decisive victory is scarcely conceivable.*—Yesterday the Jewish community here had to pay a fine of 40,000 guldens because two local Jews were sentenced for deliveries made to Debreczin.—Colonel Horváth is advancing on Baja, which the insurgents have occupied with 4,000 men. His task is to clear the Danube line and to destroy the insurgents' ships."

According to this, Jellachich, after three or four attempts on the Theiss, has returned to Pest for the fifth time; and just as he previously discovered that the Theiss cannot be crossed at Szolnok and marched towards Szegedin, he has now discovered that Szegedin cannot be taken. These repeated retreats are the "laurels" of the "chivalrous Ban Jellachich"! "Poor Jellachich! Poor *Kölnische Zeitung*"!

Herr Welden has issued a bloodcurdling proclamation to the garrison at Komorn, which has the following positive content after many inflated words:

"Wherefore I grant a further grace of 12 hours so that every man may return to the royal imperial flag. Upon the expiry of this grace, however, I shall continue with the

[a] See this volume, p. 235.—*Ed.*

[b] There is a blank in the newspaper due to bad printing.—*Ed.*

destruction of Komorn so long as I have one trusty soldier and my cannon the wherewithal to shoot. God will assist us! Outside Komorn, March 26, 1849."[a]

The rumour that the Russians have entered Galicia is emphatically contradicted.

Martial-law reports announce: "We still lack *consoling* (!!!) news from Hungary."

Letters from Jassy announce that in Moldavia great preparations for some war or other are being made, especially as Russian troops in great numbers are arriving from all directions and General Paskevich is expected any day now.

The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* today prints a document of the erstwhile Palatine of Hungary, Archduke *Stephan*,[191] from which it becomes clear that the betrayal of Hungary which is now practically complete was contemplated and projected as early as March last year. The document reads as follows:

"*Your Majesty*, the condition of Hungary is so critical at the moment that the most violent eruption can be expected any day. Anarchy reigns in Pest. The authorities have been ousted from their spheres of action by committees of public safety, and—while the Governor's Council at least maintains the outward form of its authority under the powerful leadership of Count Zichy—the Exchequer has been reduced to practically nothing. The nobility" (it appears to be implied from the context later on that the rural population is meant, since the nobility has already enjoyed rights) "has rebelled in several places in order to win real rights for itself.

"In this anomalous and dangerous situation every man expects his salvation from the impending formation of a responsible government.[192]

"Even if we regard this plan as a calamity, the question now at issue, however, is which is the least calamity?

"I shall now attempt briefly to adduce the three means by which *alone* I can still hope to achieve anything in Hungary. The first means would be to remove the whole of the armed forces from the country and abandon it to total devastation; passively to observe the destruction and arson, and passively to watch the bitter struggles between the nobility and the peasants.

"The second would be to negotiate with Count Batthyány (who is now the people's only hero;—if we hesitate for long his star too is likely to fade—) concerning the proposed legislation, in order to save as much as can still be saved. One must know in advance, however, what is to be done if in the event of his dissatisfaction he should perhaps resign.

"Finally, the third means would be to furlough the Palatine immediately and to send to Pressburg a Royal Commissioner invested with extraordinary powers and accompanied by a considerable military force, who after dissolving the Diet there would leave for Pest and there continue to run the government with a strong hand as long as conditions demand it.

"I frankly confess that I myself recoil in horror from the first alternative. It is immoral, and it is perhaps also not proper for a government to forsake its subjects completely, some of whom at least are well disposed, and to abandon them as victims

[a] The proclamation is given in the report "Pressburg, 31. März", *Der Lloyd* No. 157 (evening edition), April 2, 1849, and is dated March 30, 1849.—*Ed.*

to all the cruelties of a rebellion (!). Moreover, the example this would set to the undisciplined rude masses would produce the most damaging effect in the other provinces.

"The second alternative on the other hand is a good one, and although at first glance it has the semblance of separation, yet for the present it is the only means of retaining this province, provided that the gentlemen to be newly appointed are capable of exercising complete influence over internal developments—which can admittedly no longer be claimed with complete certainty in advance. With the coming of more propitious times much may be organised differently which might cause a separation at present. I am not certain that one might not achieve something by way of proper negotiations through Batthyány and Deák—but solely through them—for if they deliberate in Pressburg [193] everything is to be feared. At this juncture, however, I must, as a faithful servant of the state, make so free as to draw Your Majesty's attention to a circumstance of the greatest significance: what will happen if in the event of unsuccessful negotiations Batthyány should hazard everything and be ready to resign?

"Here I consider it my duty not to exaggerate but to observe in accordance with the truth that one must be prepared for this eventuality in order to be able to meet with armed force the demonstrations along the Danube and on the road from Pressburg to Vienna which will certainly be instigated by the youth of Pressburg and a section of the nobility. In this case the third alternative would remain, provided that neither the will nor the possibility of its employment were lacking. This third means would have to be used with great dispatch. Four questions arise in this connection, however:

"a) is there sufficient money available? That is, is it not impossible to send a fairly large military force, by which I understand at least 40,000 to 50,000 men, to Hungary? Or

"b) is this force available and able to be concentrated quickly? Is, further,

"c) a Royal Commissioner available who is both willing and fitted to take over this task? Finally, however,

"d) is there also no doubt that this means is sufficient for achieving the end desired? And whether later in the winter an accommodation will not be brought about, and whether the other hereditary provinces will remain tranquil upon perceiving this? Will one not need a substantial military force in Galicia and in Italy?

"If to all these questions, which I am unable to judge from my own position, a favourable answer can be given according to which the execution of the plan is possible without illusions and without, for instance, calculations which perhaps later prove to be incorrect, then I have no further comment to add against its being carried out, provided that the settlement with Count Batthyány is attempted, and in addition that the dignitaries of the country, who have to be summoned in any case, are asked.

"I frankly confess that in the present state of affairs I must pronounce myself to be for the second alternative, and I do not doubt that the dignitaries of the country—although I have not yet spoken with them—are of the same opinion. I have definite knowledge only of the opinion of Supreme Judge of the country Mailáth.

"If, however, Your Majesty in Your wisdom should consider the first or the third means to be more to the purpose, then Your Supreme Highness will without doubt command me in accordance with the prevailing laws and customary practice as to whether for the time being I shall remain in Vienna in this event or whether I ought to travel elsewhere.

Your Majesty's most faithfully obedient subject,
*Stephan* m. p.[a]

Vienna, March 24, 1848."

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[a] Manu propria—with one's own hand.—*Ed.*

We refrain from all further discussion of this document, which is self-revealing indeed. In the margin of the original document there are comments by Archduke Stephan in his own hand and a dispatch note: "Stephanus 23 March 1848" and "Kiads Marcz 24èn 1848" (i.e. dispatched on March 24, 1848).

We have found the following additional information in the papers which have arrived this morning:

The village of Aszod, four miles from Pest on the road to Hatvan, was captured by the Magyars. They had already left it again the following day, however, in order to advance further in the direction of Neograd and the Waag. The Slovakian guerillas have once again been so encouraged by Görgey's sudden appearance on the Eipel that they are ranging as far as the Moravian border.

Götz and Jablonowsky are in Waitzen. The report that they had held Eperies and Kaschau against Görgey was therefore *untrue*. The whole of the Zips, and indeed *the whole* of *Upper Hungary*, are thus once more in the hands of the Magyars, and the imperial forces now occupy only the western and southern borders, also the land between the Danube and the Drava and the immediate environs of Pest.

"Ban Jellachich," states the Pest Observer (*Figyelmező*), "is not only a hero, but also an *astute diplomatist*. He caused a sensation in Kecskemét. He summoned the Gipsy bands of Körös and Kecskemét, marched through the town to the accompaniment of the most genuine Hungarian melodies, and has so enthused the whole population with his Magyar conduct that they declared: 'Even if he were to land us in the middle of the Theiss, we should follow him!!'"[a]

Ban Jellachich is daily revealing himself as more of a buffoon and a Don Quixote.

The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* reports the following fact, which may once again serve as proof of the genuinely revolutionary character of the Hungarian war:

"While the young Count Esterházy holds a command in the fortress of Komorn and will probably be executed for high treason should this be taken, the old Count Esterházy, the young Count's father, has just presented 160 casks of wine to the siege troops as encouragement for them to storm the fortress!"[b]

Written by Engels about April 6, 1849

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Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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[a] A similar account is also published in "Wien, 31. März", *Der Lloyd* No. 155 (evening edition), March 31, 1849.— *Ed.*

[b] "Pesth, 29. März", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 93, April 3, 1849.— *Ed.*

# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

Today we have gladdening news. *Bem's bulletins,* which we printed yesterday,[a] are *confirmed to the very last letter.*

***Bem has driven the Russian garrison of Hermannstadt right out of Transylvania, has destroyed the Austrian army and is advancing on Kronstadt. Puchner and his generals have fled to Wallachia.***

Bem had captured Hermannstadt on March 11 and beaten the Russians so soundly that only 2,000 of them found their way over the Roterturm Pass into Wallachia. The remainder, between 2,000 and 6,000 men (the reports are contradictory) were partly cut down, partly taken prisoner. On March 12 and 13 Bem pursued them to the defile.

In the meantime unlucky old Puchner had set out from Mediasch to pursue Bem. He arrived before Hermannstadt exactly fifteen hours too late and stationed his troops at Frek on the Aluta, to one side of Hermannstadt and the Roterturm. Now, on March 15, Bem drove the Russians right out of the defile and on March 16 he destroyed the Austrian army. The childish old Puchner and his generals Pfersmann, Gedeon and Schurter likewise escaped into Wallachia together with three companies. Command of the defeated corps was assumed by Major-General Kalliani; he fled with his men in great disorder to Fogaras on the Aluta, eight to ten miles from Hermannstadt.

Bem fortified the Roterturm Pass in such a way that, as he affirms, the Russians will no longer get through. Then he immediately headed for Kronstadt, hoping to take it in 3-4 days. The Russians, who immediately sent considerable forces to Transylvania (20,000

[a] See this volume, pp. 237-38.—*Ed.*

men with 50 cannon are mentioned), will probably arrive too late as they are taking a circuitous route through Wallachia, and perhaps Bem will still succeed in occupying and fortifying the Törzburg, Tömös and Boha passes (two to three miles from Kronstadt) before the Russians get there. That the latter are counting on considerable resistance and only very uncertain success is evident from the fact that they are sending a second corps of occupation into Transylvania by way of the Bukovina.

The capture of Hermannstadt was of incalculable significance for Bem. All the depots of arms, munitions and provisions of Puchner's army were here. All these supplies have fallen into his hands and such a skilled and active insurrectionary general as Bem, who can obtain soldiers with ease, will be able to make excellent use of precisely these weapons.

The capture of Kronstadt completes Bem's conquest of Transylvania. He promises, as soon as he succeeds in this enterprise, to head for Hungary with an army. Even if the Russians, who are exerting themselves to the utmost to revenge the humiliating reverse they have suffered, do not permit him to reach the Theiss, it will nevertheless be possible for the fast-moving Bem to create a diversion by marching into the Banat, and just there his presence may prove decisive.[194]

To avoid the suspicion that these facts, which incidentally *reach us from all sides simultaneously*, are fabricated, we print the few melancholy lines in which the *official Wiener Zeitung* itself announces them:

"According to reports from Bucharest Master of Ordnance Puchner was in Rimnik (Wallachia) on March 19. Bem had occupied the Roterturm and the Russians the quarantine.[a] A courier from Kronstadt brought the news to Czernowitz on March 26 that the royal imperial Transylvanian corps, after arriving too late for the relief of Hermannstadt, had retired to Kronstadt in order to cover the town. On account of illness Master of Ordnance Puchner has handed over the command of this corps to Major-General Kalliani, and he himself has withdrawn to Rimnik with the General Command."

The martial-law reports of the arrival of two Russian columns by way of the Roterturm and the Törzburg passes[b] were thus *totally untrue*. Unfortunately for the *Kölnische Zeitung* they were not published by Magyar but by genuine imperial journals. On the contrary, this time the "Magyar boasting" has been corroborated word for word.

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[a] See this volume, p. 279.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 235.—*Ed.*

Let us turn from Transylvania to the *Banat*. Here on March 16 and 18 the Szegedin and Theresiopel Magyars inflicted serious defeats on the Serbs at Kanizsa on the Theiss. After this they are said to have advanced into the Banat as far as Zenta and to have caused great devastation. As a result of these defeats the Patriarch[a] ordered the *Landsturm* to be recalled in the whole of the Voivodina. However, the latest news from this area (Semlin, March 28) mentions a new victory of the Serbs over the Hungarians by which the former are said to have regained their previous advantageous position.[b]

Baja on the Lower Danube is still occupied by a band of insurgents. Colonel Horváth received the order to expel them, to clear the Danube line completely and to this end to destroy the insurgents' ships. These pirate barges appear to be the principal reason for refusing the request of the steamship transport company agency here to be allowed to sail the stretch of the Danube to Esseg.

Horváth, however, returned with his mission unaccomplished. He does not appear to have got further than Kis-Körös (eight to ten miles from Baja).

There is very little to be heard from the *Theiss* today. An Austrian column which had dared advance as far as Losoncz was suddenly attacked by the Honveds and completely wiped out. In an imperial bread store at Gödöllö (three miles from Pest) considerable supplies have been spoilt by the rain. The state of things here may be judged from the following dirge from a Vienna correspondent of the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*:

"I am very much afraid of this Hungarian business, and were I a Minister I should be unable to sleep in peace because of it. Would you find it incredible if I were to report that *Windischgrätz will actually be relieved of his command?* Things have gone so far that *the plans of the battle at Kapolna have been sent* to the Emperor *at Olmütz to demonstrate the Marshal's incompetence.* The officers before Komorn have held their own council of war, and it took Welden's energy and the proven confidence of the troops in him to settle a great many differences. Welden is expected to return tonight and thus we shall already be able to read a report on the operations at Komorn tomorrow evening; my wish is that it may be favourable, but I dare not hope so."[c]

An issue of the *Lithographierte Correspondenz* from Vienna states that Dembiński *has crossed the Danube* below Pest with an army corps and *is threatening Stuhlweissenburg.* This remains to be proved. Several days ago we were already saying that Magyar corps would cross the

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[a] Rajachich.— *Ed.*

[b] "Semlin, 28. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 81, April 5, 1849.— *Ed.*

[c] "LC Wien, 3. April", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 81, April 5, 1849.— *Ed.*

Danube in this area[a]; it is quite possible that they are threatening Weissenburg; but whether merely guerillas are involved or considerable army corps cannot yet be ascertained. In any case it may be assumed that Dembiński is not commanding them; according to the latest reports he and his troops have taken up positions significantly further northwards, on the Zagyva and the Mátra mountains.

From the camp at Komorn Herr Welden has brought back a long account of the operations against the fortress, which in spite of all its rhetoric and deliberate vagueness does not give the least consolation to the imperial side. Not the faintest prospect of capture. It merely contains a dry enumeration of events to date. The following is an extract from it:

"In the summer of 1848 Komorn was re-equipped, provided with nearly 300 cannon and victuals for at least a year; in the month of September the Magyars raised the red-green-and-white flag[b] there and handed over the general command to Baron Jessenak. The garrison of the fortress still comprises the following military units: 6 companies of the Alexander regiment,[195] 2 companies of Prussian infantry, 8 Honved battalions, 700 Honved artillery troops and two squadrons of Austrian hussars who changed sides. All attempts at attacking the fortress with the enormous masses of troops under Windischgrätz came to nothing; the encirclement commenced in January with the advance on Leopoldstadt was abandoned as futile, and only towards March 10 did the Austrians make an attack in earnest. Siege equipment, cannon and technical detachments were sent down from Vienna; in vain, however, for the bad weather conditions and the bottomless roads hindered both the transport and the mounting of the cannon. On March 24, 42 twelve- and 18-pound cannon, mortars and howitzers opened a murderous fire on the fortress from the Sandberg. The besieged troops replied likewise with heavy fire and on March 31 in particular tried to hinder the erection of the batteries; on this day the siege troops threw a bridge across the Danube at Nemes-Oers. On the day mentioned the Austrian Lieutenant-Field Marshal Simunich began the closer encirclement of Komorn; he ordered the troops to march in part along the Waag and after they had taken up their positions pickets of the besieged caused considerable damage with intensive small arms fire, to Sossay's brigade in particular.—The damage inflicted on the enemy section which crossed the Danube by the Hungarians with the fire they maintained from 10 o'clock in the morning to 4 o'clock in the afternoon is naturally given out as very slight by the official press. At the same time Veigl's brigade too advanced on the Waag bridgehead in three sections, while the raiding party under Cremeville formed the reserve. The first section moved on Batföldre which the Hungarians had set fire to, the second against the fortified brick wall, and the third moved by way of Lisza on the left bank of the Danube against the powder tower where the fire was liveliest. The Austrian side suffered very considerable losses during this operation.—Thus the western, northern and eastern sides of Komorn were surrounded by a line of fire; finally, 42 pieces of artillery were bombarding the fortress and the Danube bridgehead from the Sandberg. During the night four 24-pounders forced the bridgehead and bombarded

[a] See this volume, pp. 234-35.—*Ed.*

[b] The national colours of Hungary.—*Ed.*

the fort with red-hot cannon-balls. In the course of April 1 another 12 heavy cannon and two 60-pound mortars arrived and were disembarked opposite Nemes-Oers."[a]

The only positive thing to emerge from this account is that the *Palatine redoubts* so often alleged to have been conquered by the imperial forces are *still in the hands of the Hungarians*, as is also the *Danube bridgehead*, and that there can be no talk yet of direct-fire batteries, let alone breach batteries.[196]

In *Debreczin* spirits are high and the mood is very cheerful. Bem has sent seven captured Russian cannon there, which have been decked with garlands and put on public display. It is said that the Debreczin National Assembly *has been convoked for April 15 in Pest.*[197]

A report has arrived from Croatia which indicates a curiously sudden indulgence of the imperial Government towards the Slavs. As is known the Southern Slavs had protested against the continuation of the military dictatorship in the Military Border area.[198] The imposed Constitution declared that in the border area everything must remain as of old. Hence particularly the discontent of the Croats and the Serbs, who saw their country split by this into two halves set against each other. Now, when the Slavs are needed more than ever, the following poster was suddenly put up on March 30 in Agram:

"We learn from a reliable source that *all the decisions of our world-historic Diet*[199] of the year 1848 and in particular *Article 26* concerning the future state of the *Military Border area* have been *ratified* by His Majesty our youthful Emperor and King Francis Joseph. The man to whom, besides the grace of the Emperor, our thanks are most due for this favourable turn of events, will be divined in the heart of every true patriot. Southern Slavs! Dear brothers! Do not despair! We shall thus have a fatherland and consequently love Austria again; then shall the gaping wounds of our people, inflicted on so many battlefields in the struggle for the power and the glory of Austria, be healed. Then, brothers, will it be our glory so courageously to have contributed to reconstruction in the South of Europe in which we shall take our allotted place as members in the free dwelling house of so many nations, and forgetting the pain and tribulation of the past, we shall be able to exclaim: Long live the constitutional King and Emperor Francis Joseph! Long live the darling of the nation, the brave Ban Jellachich!"[b]

There was no signature at all on this poster, but it was considered to have originated with Minister Kulmer and to be semi-official. The decisions of 1848 referred to demanded: subordination of the civil

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[a] "Bericht über die Verhältnisse vor Comorn", *Wiener Zeitung* No. 79, April 3, 1849; *Die Presse* No. 80, April 4, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] "Freudige Nachricht", *Agramer Zeitung*, March 31, 1849. Printed also in *Der Lloyd* No. 157 (evening edition), April 2, 1849 and in *Österreichischer Correspondent* No. 77, April 4, 1849.—*Ed.*

administration of the Military Border area to the ministries concerned, so that only the military organisation should remain with the Ministry of War, and the restriction of the borderers' obligation to service abroad by fixing a definite contingent in proportion to the rest of the monarchy. For hitherto the civil administration in the border area has also been made over to the military authorities, and all borderers between 16 and 60 years of age could be enlisted for active service abroad. It was precisely the borderers thus conscripted whose massive presence decided the war in Austria's favour in Italy in August and in Hungary on the Drava and in the Banat in October last year. If the poster in Agram is not merely a royal imperial Austrian puff, then the trick of being able to stamp soldiers out of the earth has come to an end with it.

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## [FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

The Hungarian correspondent of the *Breslauer Zeitung* reports today that on March 20 Bem captured *Kronstadt* and moreover without striking a blow. The remainder of the Austrians and Russians are said to have withdrawn to Wallachia. Hermannstadt and Kronstadt had each to pay 1,000 florins in cash per day to the Russians and in addition they were subjected to the most shameless requisitioning and thieving. Bem has proclaimed a general amnesty in these two towns. The Saxons are said to have at once publicly declared that the Austrians had *compelled* them to call in the Russians (this is certainly not true).

On March 29 the imperial forces under Welden are said to have attempted (?) to take Komorn by storm and to have suffered so great a defeat that they have abandoned the siege of Komorn; only an observation corps[200] still remains at Gönyö. Wimpffen's Italian battalion is said to have gone over to the Hungarians. We print these news items with the greatest reservation, although recently the essential facts in the reports of the Hungarian correspondent have as a rule proved correct.

Banknotes continue to be printed by the Hungarians in *Debreczin*, for a considerable amount of currency paper has been smuggled in.

"On March 15, the anniversary of the Hungarian insurrection,[201] a great public celebration was held near Debreczin and a large number of people assembled there. Two whole oxen and many pigs and lambs were roasted, there was plenty of wine and Gipsies played Hungarian airs and marches. A number of speeches were made and toasts proposed with the indispensable *Eljen*.[a] There are no troops stationed in Debreczin and the national guards are on duty. They wear bright red ribbons on their shakos and hats. Incidentally, half the companies of every battalion in the

[a] Long live (in Hungarian).— *Ed.*

country must always be in the field to face the enemy, and after three months they are relieved by the other three companies that stayed at home. This explains the strength of the military forces of the insurgents and also why their battalions are unable to withstand any bayonet charge by the imperial troops" (*Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*).

Schlick and Jellachich are again (for the tenth time) holding a council of war in Pest. According to Austrian reports, General Jablonowsky has advanced towards Losoncz.

"Business letters sent from Lemberg on the 31st of this month have caused a new wave of anxiety. The leading business houses report from there that the entire garrison of Lemberg is expected to leave for Hungary and it is feared that after its departure a revolutionary move or diversion in favour of the Hungarians will take place" (*Lithographierte Correspondenz*).

It seems that the Agram poster announcing the concessions[a] is all humbug. Up to now no one has come forward to defend it, and it is generally believed to be an imposture.

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[a] See this volume, p. 246.—*Ed.*

# AUSTRIAN LAMENTATIONS

Not the smallest news item from anywhere, especially since the Breslau newspapers, generally the best informed, did not arrive today because of the recent holiday.

From Komorn the *Wiener Zeitung* officially reports the following unenlightening fact:

"In connection with the operations and events at Komorn announced on April 3, we learn from the latest reports:

"Closer encirclement began on April 2; the remaining heavy guns were brought into No. 8 battery during the night of April 1, and at daybreak the 24-pounders of this very aptly sited battery began firing hot shots against the old fortress. The enemy returned the fire only moderately from the Palatine line, the old fortress, and the bridgehead."[a]

Now even the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* has to admit that the army on the Theiss has been substantially decimated by fever:

"The incidence of sickness in the flooded areas on the Theiss is said to be enormous."

The same paper reports "From the Drava, March 30" that in the Banat things are also beginning to take a disagreeable turn for Austria. Listen to the lamentations of the royal imperial martial-law correspondent on this most unwelcome "concurrence" of circumstances:

"The terrain of operations has special difficulties; moreover, among the border troops the army has also less experienced ranks and has been weakened by garrisoning. The size of the area of Hungary and Transylvania should likewise be considered and taken into account. The rebels, on the other hand, are more concentrated and are pushing towards the Banat. Hence, the imperial Serbian corps

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[a] *Wiener Zeitung* No. 81, April 5, 1849.—*Ed.*

of Major-General Todorovich, which, as I reported last time, had marched from the area of Theresiopel towards Kikinda, is in *serious trouble*, or even—if the news about Karlowitz is not misleading—dispersed.

"The siege corps at Peterwardein has received 3 battalions as reinforcements, and is working hard on the entrenchments. When (!) Komorn is taken (!) a considerable number of troops will no doubt be moved to this point, for *next to Transylvania no area needs reinforcements more urgently than this one*, not only because of the fortress but because of the probability of enemy pressure. The mood in the Voivodina is very black, not among the lower orders, but in the middle and upper strata of society. The extent to which this makes itself felt in the Mitrowic Odbor[202] and the atmosphere there may be judged by the fact that Lieutenant-Colonel Puffer, who when a captain distinguished himself by his resolution during the well-known outrage in Reichenberg, does not think it advisable for him *as a German* to take up the regimental command of the Peterwardein regiment, although a section of the regiment has petitioned for his appointment as colonel."[a]

In conclusion, here is the deeply affecting distress call of a Vienna correspondent of the same paper who has at last seen a glimmer of light and already has an inkling of what is going on:

"Now blows are coming thick and fast from Hungary! What used to be whispered here in the night can now be read in plain words in the evening edition of the *Wiener Zeitung*: the valiant Puchner has been pushed into Wallachia—he does not even appear to have kept his entire corps together, otherwise he would surely have been able to hold his ground at the Roterturm Pass. *Where are our friends, the Russians?* And why do our troops not push into Transylvania from Hungary? The areas on the Theiss are said to be completely impassable, *but how is it that the Magyars find a way through the areas on the Theiss and across it?* In Szegedin bread is very dear and in Komorn it is said to be very bad—such is the pass we have come to—*but Honveds are still to be had cheaply, in masses, and, it appears, of tolerable quality.* 'Oh, Lord in Heaven, behold!' If this goes on, then—ah well, *we must not prophesy!*"

This is "the Austria of old,
For feats and victories oft extolled!"[b]

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[a] "Von der Drave, 30. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 81, April 5, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] From Ernst Moritz Arndt's poem "Des Teutschen Vaterland" (music by Gustav Reichardt).—*Ed.*

# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

That Bem is master of all Transylvania is no longer open to doubt. The Austrians who have hurriedly withdrawn from Hermannstadt to Kronstadt and the Russian garrison there, offered no resistance. Allegedly "for lack of ammunition" they also left Kronstadt without striking a blow, and withdrew to Wallachian territory. Some 22,000 men, 3,000 horses and 50 guns are supposed to be there, besides 8,000 Russians, and on the Bessarabian-Moldavian border another corps of 15,000 men which has already received orders to cross the Pruth. Thus reports the *Wiener Zeitung*.[a]

Whether the information in the *Wiener Zeitung* is correct remains to be seen. This much is, however, certain: *if* it is correct, Bem's forces must have swollen enormously to be able to drive out 25,000 Austrians with 50 guns and 6,000 to 10,000 Russians from an area so rich in advantageous positions as the environs of Kronstadt. In spite of the Russians we can therefore be easy about the fate of Transylvania. For nobody will be taken in by the fib that the imperial troops had to flee "for lack of ammunition" when Kronstadt is their second main depot after Hermannstadt.

All the reports received so far show that the *Wiener Zeitung* has given only a fifth of the real number of *Russian* soldiers in Wallachia.

Quoting an eye witness, a Saxon from Hermannstadt, the Magyar correspondent of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* confirms a report carried earlier by the *Breslauer Zeitung* about the capture of Hermannstadt. Bem is said to have restrained his troops from any excesses and to have promised a general amnesty except for those who called in the Russians. But these are said to have already fled.

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[a] *Wiener Zeitung* No. 82 (evening supplement), April 5, 1849.—*Ed.*

According to a Cracow report in the same paper the "depressing news" which the Royal Imperial Consul in Belgrade, Herr Mayerhofer, is taking to Vienna is said to convey that the Turkish Government has protested against the Russian intervention in Transylvania which is being conducted from Turkish territory, asserting its exclusive right to intervene from its own territory.

Incidentally, even the royal imperial martial-law reports admit that Bem, far from being threatened in his position, is rather himself *threatening Wallachia and Bucharest.* Should circumstances indicate an incursion there as appropriate, he will appeal to the suppressed Wallachian revolution[203] and to the ambition of the Turks which has been offended by the Russian invasion. The Russian appetite for the Danube provinces and the alliance of the Austrians and Russians have moreover roused much sympathy for the Magyar cause among the Turks.

No changes have occurred in the positions of the two armies on the *Theiss* since yesterday's news. Yet the lamentations of the Austrians are becoming more frequent, and their situation apparently more depressing every day. Some 13,000 soldiers are said to be lying wounded and sick in Pest, and the active army on the Theiss to have dwindled to 45,000 men. Windischgrätz is reported to have handed over the command to Jellachich (?). The courage and power of the Magyars, on the other hand, are growing day by day. They are drawn up in a great semi-circle round Pest from Waitzen to Szegléd; their mobile units patrol as far as Komorn and the Moravian border. Kossuth has had banknotes issued for another 15 million guldens, and thereby covered the costs of his army for a further six months.

The Imperial Command is making every effort to improve the situation of the army on the Theiss. A corps has withdrawn from the close encirclement of Komorn (where 5,000 Austrians are said to have already died of sickness or in battle) and has marched towards Pest; three battalions have marched from Vienna, and two squadrons of cuirassiers and one regiment and one battalion of infantry from Olmütz. In addition considerable preparations are being made in Moravia and Galicia. Ten thousand Russians are to be called to Lemberg, so that Hammerstein can at last move off to Hungary with the entire Austrian garrison (see under "Poland"[a]). The best officers of Radetzky's army, Lieutenant-Field Marshal Baron Hess, generals Benedek and Mayerhofer have been called to Hungary, and in spite of all this the Austrians' hope of success is so

[a] The reference is to a report from Lemberg (Lvov) which was published in the section "Poland" in the same issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.—Ed.*

slight that they do not intend to "begin operations in Hungary in earnest before May".

In the *south*, things are equally disagreeable for the imperial forces. True enough, there is again talk of the victory of the Serbs at Zenta and of the inevitable cruelties which they afterwards committed. On the other hand, the bonds between Serbs and Austrians are now so far dissolved that the latter have to fear the worst.

"Recently, Lieutenant-Field Marshal Rukavina has declared categorically that the three Banat border regiments, and—as regards the internal administration—also the three comitats, Temes, Krasso and Torontal, must obey his orders unconditionally, failing which he would be forced to take the most serious measures against all offenders. This declaration and the half-hearted action of the General Staff excited the greatest hostility among the people, and after fruitless endeavours to win Rukavina back to the national cause, the Patriarch[a] yesterday felt obliged to dispatch the courier Jovan Nedeljkovich to His Highness Prince zu Windischgrätz with the request for 20,000 rifles to arm those Serbs who are fit to bear arms, and to instruct generals Rukavina and Todorovich to work more sincerely in the Serbian national cause, *failing which he would find himself in the most disagreeable position of having to treat with the Magyars.* People are looking anxiously into the future."

This is how they write to the Austrian papers from Semlin.

Moreover, the Magyars have made another incursion into *Galicia*. The *Wiener Zeitung* writes:

"A band of 800 Hungarian insurgents attacked the village of Brzywka in Sambor district, situated hard on the Hungarian border, drove away all the cattle and then withdrew. The verger, who wanted to raise the alarm bv ringing the church bell, was shot by the insurgents."[b]

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[a] Rajachich.—*Ed.*

[b] *Wiener Zeitung* No. 82 (evening supplement), April 5, 1849.—*Ed.*

# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

Nothing has happened in the theatre of war. The imperial forces have held a big council of war in Pest and have decided to confine themselves to the defensive for the next four weeks and in the meantime round up reinforcements (50,000 men are mentioned!). The Magyars, however, are acting so challengingly that Windischgrätz could not help showing his teeth—loose already—once more, despite this decision. On April 4 he advanced to Gödöllö three miles[a] from Pest, and made his headquarters there. The *Ost-Deutsche Post* concludes from this that a battle is near. At Hatvan and also at Szegléd people say they have heard gun-fire, but what happened there is as yet quite unknown.[204]

Because of an announcement recently disseminated by the insurgents that Kossuth's paper money[205] is to be regarded as legal tender and must be accepted on pain of martial-law treatment, the Government again insists that these money tokens are invalid and worthless and gives particular warning against accepting the ten-florin notes recently issued by Kossuth, since they will not only be subject to confiscation, but anyone on whom they are found is liable to penalties.

Baja, which had briefly fallen into the hands of the imperial forces, has been regained by the Magyars, who in general seem to be making considerable progress in the Banat. The Austrians can spread as many martial-law rumours as they like, such as that Szegedin has been conquered and is in flames; their own papers are forced to contradict them and to admit that the Magyars are making

[a] See footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*

considerable progress in the Bacska (between the Danube and Theiss).

Komorn is being heavily bombarded, but what good is that with a fortress in which *every building is bomb-proof.* To show their contempt for the imperial cannon, the garrison the other day made a man in dressing-gown and white nightcap walk about on the wall and dust it very carefully with a white handkerchief. The imperial cannon-balls whistled by on all sides, but the genial Hungarian did not allow himself to be at all disturbed in his absorbing occupation.

There is nothing new from Transylvania. A martial-law report asserts that the Russians have invaded in superior strength and retaken the position recently conquered by the Magyars. Such brazen lies have rarely been told. Another report claims that, on the contrary, Bem has already arrived at the Theiss and declared that Transylvania was secure and that he had left 20,000 men there to garrison the country and the passes. The one assertion is as false as the other. Bem holds the whole of Transylvania and is still there, and in a few days he will perhaps hold all the country to the Danube and the Pruth.

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# [THE EXTRADITION OF POLITICAL REFUGEES]

*Cologne,* April 12. By the issue of warrants for the arrest of Austrian, German and non-German so-called political criminals, especially Kossuth, Bem, Perczel and other Hungarian heroes, the Prussian Government has already proved the close connection between Prussian constitutional freedom and blood-stained royal imperial martial law. That an *entente cordiale* between Potsdam and Olmütz[206] existed, despite the question of the imperial crown, the German question, the Schleswig-Holstein and other questions, was a fact which could be overlooked only by the diplomatising literary moles from the *Kölnische Zeitung* and other shrewd journals. But that this *entente cordiale* was to sink to the lowest depths of vileness, to the infamy of the *extradition of political refugees* to the Austrians—that is what our glorious Government still had in store for us.

*If Robert Blum had escaped from Vienna into Prussia, the Prussian Government would have handed him over to his executioners.*[207]

*On April 4 of this year* the Prussian Government *handed over* the Viennese cadet *Höcke,* a comrade-in-arms of Robert Blum's, *to the bloodhounds of Austrian martial law.* The *Oberschlesische Lokomotive* published the following report from *Ratibor* dated April 4:

"Yesterday at midday the Viennese cadet *Höcke* was brought here in a special conveyance under police guard from Breslau, to which town he had fled not long ago, being charged with high treason for his part in the October revolution in Vienna. In a letter to his family in Vienna, Höcke had given his Breslau address. This letter must have shared the fate of many others, i.e. it was opened at some Austrian post station, for soon afterwards the police authorities in Breslau received the order to arrest the aforesaid Höcke at the place where he lived, and to hand him over to the Austrians.

"Accordingly, the prisoner arrived here at noon yesterday under escort, where a very serious illness, from which he has suffered for a long time, delayed the continuation of his journey to judgment by court martial. He was put in the town gaol

under a strong military guard, but already at 5 a.m. today he was taken across the frontier under the escort of two men of the town guard and a policeman. The much-vaunted Prussian human feeling did not allow him on this last journey of two-and-a-half hours to leave the vehicle even once, although it was a necessity in view of his illness. Nor was he allowed any kind of refreshment, for the purchase of which no money was available although, according to the prisoner's statement, 80 talers were taken from him when arrested in Breslau, and the cost of transport, as we know for certain, amounted to only (!) 30 talers.

"It is the most urgent duty of German newspapers forcefully to draw the attention of the Austrian fugitives to the danger to which they are exposed by staying on Prussian, and especially Silesian, soil. The old extradition treaty continues to operate in all its old glory.[208] The great German fundamental law, called martial law, is recognised in Prussia just as it is in Austria, and it is being put into effect with relish."

Such an example from the heroes of martial law in the various countries where a state of siege has been proclaimed should not be given us in vain. Just as they assist one another now, so the democrats of all nations, too, will assist one another when the day of reckoning comes.

The royal and ministerial scum of half Europe found a safe refuge in England last spring.[209]

We assure Herr Manteuffel, Herr Brandenburg and Co. that in the next revolution which they themselves are so busily expediting, no obstacle will be put in the way of England handing *them* over to the victorious German people thirsting for revenge. Arrangements for that have already been made.

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# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR.— THE GERMAN NAVY

*Schleswig-Holstein.* The Danes have left Hadersleben and the town has been re-occupied by the imperial army.[210] A few particulars have come in on the fighting in the Sundewitt area, according to which losses on both sides were fairly high. The imperial army has taken a number of prisoners.

North-German papers are still largely occupied with that remarkable stroke of luck in the port of Eckernförde.[211] This unique and quite unexpected event will probably figure as the greatest imperial military feat until the next German revolution. It has become clear that the Danes had definite orders to carry out the crazy attempt on Eckernförde. Obviously, in the prevailing circumstances they were bound to suffer such a defeat. Moreover, this whole affair shows what a droll institution the German Navy is. For the German Navy, which still exists only on paper, in spite of all the money, earrings, bracelets and false jewels sent to Frankfurt, is now at last to become a reality. It is to be built from—the wreckage of the Danish battleship *Christian den ottende* which was blown to smithereens! We are not joking. All Eckernförde, along with the victorious imperial troops stationed there, is busy fishing for splinters, gun-carriages, water kegs, yards, etc. as these are driven ashore, and storing them for the building of the German Navy. The Hamburg *Börsen-Halle* reports all this with appropriate seriousness. For our part, we predict that the gloriously captured *Gefion* will be brilliantly recaptured by the Danes as soon as she shows herself on the high sea.

Four Danish blockade ships, three frigates and a corvette, are already again lying off the Elbe. The frigate *Havfruen* is lying off the Oder. This is a good opportunity for the German Navy to show itself, but it will fight shy of that. The whole German Navy served no

other purpose except for too much boasting and excellent profits for the Hamburg, American and English shipping companies which palmed off their discarded ships on the Frankfurt imperial powerlessness for vast sums of money. The whole flotilla, which is lying in the Elbe and can already be seen in lithographs in all the picture shops, is unseaworthy; still less can the lightly-built ex-merchantmen and ex-steamboats from the Weser, promoted to warships, carry the weight of the guns or withstand the recoil of firing them. Not to mention the elegantly equipped erstwhile transatlantic steamships which the other day brilliantly ran aground and are lying in the Weser.

The whole story of the German Navy is sheer plagiarism, it has all *happened before.* Many years ago the Belgian model state (on the water Germany's model state as well) bought from a Liverpool shipping company the steamship *The British Queen* for 1,200,000 francs in order to open up a steamship line between Antwerp and New York. On the masts of this ship was hoisted the black-red-and-gold flag which the German fatherland also has in common with the Belgian model state.[212] But what happened? On the very first voyage it became clear that *The British Queen* was not seaworthy, and this cast-off Liverpool ship was lying in the Antwerp dock ever since until at last, some little time ago, it was resold for 130,000 francs under the description "old wood".

That is the German Navy! When the Danes next take a German ship, they will auction it also in Copenhagen for "old wood".

That the Germans will never become a naval power is the fault of their geographical position. But they could have a navy which would at least protect their coasts and rule in the Baltic, in spite of Danes and Russians. But even that they will never get so long as the black-red-and-gold and black-and-white[213] imperial trash prevails. A German Navy will only be possible when the red flag is hoisted on its masts.

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# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR.— WINDISCHGRÄTZ'S COMMENTS ON THE IMPOSED CONSTITUTION

As the Breslau and Vienna letters and journals did not arrive tonight, little material is available today on the events of the Hungarian war. The imperial side once again speaks of victories which it claims to have won over the Hungarians. Jellachich is said to have captured 17 guns from the Magyars at Szegléd, Jablonowsky is again said to have advanced to Losoncz, Schlick to have thrown back the Magyars all along the line at Hatvan etc. This was reported to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* from Pest on April 4.[a] Other reports of the same date say nothing of this and assert that the Austrian army is still in full retreat and that the Magyars of Pest have never been more cheerful than they are at present. Certainly, the Magyars' resolute advance has remarkably thwarted Windischgrätz's well-intentioned plan to impose a four weeks' truce on the Hungarians until he had received reinforcements of 50,000 men. Windischgrätz realises that he cannot avoid a decisive battle now, decisive for the imperial side if he is beaten, but not at all decisive if the Magyars are beaten. The Hungarians can always retreat into the impassable swamps and the pusztas[214] on the Theiss, behind which they are entrenched as in the most formidable fortress; the imperial troops, who have no basis of operations, having behind them 60 miles of hostile country, must retreat in a rout towards Vienna in case of defeat, just as Napoleon had to retreat towards the Rhine after the battle of Leipzig.[215] Few will escape, and those who do will no longer form an army.

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[a] The news items mentioned by Engels can be found in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* Nos. 99 to 101, April 9 to 11, 1849 under the datelines "Pesth, 4. April", "Pesth, 5. April" and "Pesth, 6. April".— *Ed.*

Moreover, the sole definite advantage which the imperial troops have gained by their concentration at Pest appears to be that Görgey, since he has been joined by Klapka and his corps, which had been roving in Slovakia till then, has given up his plan to advance to Komorn by the side of the mountains. He has marched a little further south, so as to meet Schlick's corps head-on, jointly with the main Magyar force which is at Hatvan and Gyöngyös. The victory of the Magyars in this area is of course much more important than a passing raid, even a highly successful one, against the Komorn siege force.

In the *south*, the Magyars have gained decisive advantages at the points where fighting is still in progress, namely in the Bacska. The alleged victory of the Serbs at Zenta has vanished into—the martial-law—thin air. Moreover, we learn now that the Magyars have moved from Theresiopel and Szegedin to the south with irresistible force, driving the Serbs before them; that they have occupied Zombor and Verbasz, conquered the entire Bacska etc. and are threatening the siege area of Peterwardein. Verbasz lies, in fact, only a few miles from Peterwardein, and we shall receive important news from this area shortly. It was Vetter-Damjanich's corps which carried out this surprisingly rapid march, having left behind an observation brigade against Jellachich, who was retreating to the north. This march is of the greatest importance, not only for the relief of Peterwardein, but particularly because of the Serbs. It is known that they are already on very strained terms with the imperial side and have threatened several times to negotiate with the Magyars. And nothing would be more likely to bring these negotiations to a rapid conclusion than just such a sudden and surprising display of strength by the Magyars in the Voivodina.

In the *north*, General Hammerstein, who is in command in Lemberg, is said to have started for Hungary with 15 battalions. We recall that news of his departure was carried once before in all the papers; he was reported to have crossed the Theiss and to have advanced to Nyiregyhaza, 8 miles from Debreczin, and there was not a word of truth in it. We refer the reader, by the way, to our report from Lemberg [a] of the day before yesterday, which indicated no such rapid departure.

According to the *Lloyd* of April 7,[b] 20,000 Russians have already started for ***Transylvania*** and General Muraviev is approaching in haste from Bessarabia with a corps of 20,000 men. The Turks too

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[a] Published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 269, April 11, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] "Wien, 6. April", *Der Lloyd* No. 166 (morning edition), April 7, 1849.—*Ed.*

have marched to the border to guard Wallachia. The Turkish troops, about 6,000 men who hitherto were garrisoning Galatz and Ibrail, made for Bucharest on March 21 and in a few days a new Turkish garrison is expected in Galatz.

Needless to say, these reports are again purely martial-law rumours.

From the Bukovina we learn that Malkowsky, whom various martial-law papers had already drawn up between Bistritz and Maros-Vásárhely, is not on Transylvanian soil at all. So far from advancing, he has, on the contrary, had to send a considerable part of his troops from the Bukovina to Galicia. These are now at Delatyn, about 15 miles from the border of the Bukovina, where a Magyar invasion is feared.

We conclude with a document which the Pest *Figyelmező*[a] quotes with the following introductory remark:

"The following explanation of the Austrian Constitutional Charter[216] with reference to Hungarian conditions has been issued. Although it has not reached us officially, it has however been communicated to the Royal Commissioners for distribution in the country, therefore we shall not delay its publication."

The document itself reads:

"By order of His Majesty Our Emperor and King Francis Joseph I, I, as Plenipotentiary of His Majesty, make hereby known the following declarations and explanations relating to the constitutional Charter in force throughout the Empire from March 4, as far as the Charter concerns Hungarian conditions. His Majesty Our Most Gracious Emperor and King has deigned to issue and to publish a constitutional Charter for the one and indivisible monarchy which intimately links the whole realm in a mutual connection, bestows unity upon the whole while maintaining the independence and capacity for development of the individual parts and at the same time guarantees equal rights to every nation. His Majesty wishes this Charter, accompanied by the Manifesto to His peoples issued by His Majesty, to be made known without delay also to the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Hungary in their language. His Majesty is fully confident in the belief that the peoples of Hungary will recognise the enlargement and guarantee of their political rights, vouched for by this constitutional Charter under which they are authorised to take their constitutional share in the common affairs of the realm, which in future will embrace with the bond of common rights the peoples united under a single ruler by the Pragmatic Sanction.[217] His Majesty expects that His peoples will see in this Charter a strong guarantee of their permanence, of their well-being and of a constitutional future, and will know how to appreciate those beneficial fruits which are bound to result from the welding together of material interests and the community of truly liberal political institutions. In carrying out this great work, which has become the task of His life, it has been the endeavour of the Emperor duly to consider Hungarian conditions; it is His supreme desire that this great work of unification, which commends itself to all the peoples for their own good, should come into force with just consideration of the existing conditions and careful thought for those institutions which time and

[a] Reprinted in the article "Pesth, 4. April," *Die Presse* No. 83, April 7, 1849.—*Ed.*

experience have proved to be beneficial to the community and vitally necessary; that accordingly the legally guaranteed freedom of religious belief be maintained, while the free sphere of action for Hungarian national law should remain untouched and limited only by the power necessary to maintain the unity of the realm and its strong government, and handled in the constitutional spirit; a sphere of action which makes necessary the passing of an internal national reform taking cognisance of the concessions which Our illustrious predecessor[a] in government made to the agricultural class in the spring of 1848. No sooner will peace and order be restored and the armed uprising, which unfortunately is still in existence in part of the realm, put down, than His Majesty will assign to Hungarian national law its legal sphere of action. It is for the joint co-operation of His order- and peace-loving peoples with His Majesty and His troops to restore the desired state of affairs with all speed. Until then, His Majesty will regard it as His duty and His right to employ every means with the help of which order, peace and a settled internal administration can be achieved, the numerous wounds inflicted on the unfortunate country can be healed, and a renewal of revolutionary ventures can be made impossible. His Majesty will know how to live with their rights and how to respond to their profession, and He confidently expects that all men of goodwill will endeavour to support Him in this, so that they and their compatriots may participate in the benefits which they must extend to everyone by helping in the rebirth of a great realm and the unification of all forces towards a great aim.

Given at my headquarters in Ofen, March 20, 1849.

Prince *Windisch-Grätz*, Field Marshal."

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[a] Ferdinand I.—*Ed.*

# [RUMOURS OF THE EXTERMINATION OF THE REBELS]

At last we perceive again an official royal imperial sign of life in the Vienna papers which came this morning. The following poster was displayed in Pest and Ofen:

"A brigade of the corps of His Excellency the Ban[a] yesterday encountered an enemy detachment on the way from Jasz-Bereny. Although the enemy was numerically superior to our troops, he was at once attacked, dispersed and deprived of 17 guns. This is the *beginning of operations* which will end with the extermination of the rebels (!!).

Ofen, April 5, 1849

Count Lad. Wrbna,
Lieutenant-Field Marshal and Commander of the 2nd Army Corps"

A commentary on this bulletin is provided by the *Ost-Deutsche Post* in a report from Pest, also dated April 5, where we read:

"Yesterday an encounter took place. The air was pregnant with rumours. Commotion grew when about 7 p. m. the pontoons were brought back, followed by ammunition carts, empty gun-carriages and individual small detachments of soldiers. At the same time an order went out to the inhabitants of the houses on the fortified bank of the Danube next to the suspension bridge to keep themselves in readiness for the evacuation of their quarters. Today waggons full of wounded came in and the rumour spread that the Ban had suffered a reverse and the insurgents were closing in on the city from Szegléd. The soldiers coming in were from his corps."[b]

This looks more like a defeat than a victory, and it is well known that the *Ost-Deutsche Post* is by no means on the side of the Magyars.

This then is, in Herr Wrbna's words, "the beginning of operations which will end with the extermination of the rebels". We therefore

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[a] Jellachich.—*Ed.*

[b] "Pest, 5. April," *Ost-Deutsche Post* No. 68, April 8, 1849.—*Ed.*

have every prospect to learn of more serious fighting shortly. By the way, even the *Kölnische Zeitung* no longer believes Herr Wrbna's tale of the "extermination of the rebels".

It appears that the gentlemen of the Pest War Council are offended that their incompetence is to be alleviated by bringing in allegedly more capable officers from Italy. *À tout prix* they want to "exterminate the rebels" before the victors of Novara arrive.[218] *Nous verrons.*

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# [A MAGYAR VICTORY]

*Cologne*, April 12. We are publishing a second edition today, not to inform our readers of yesterday's basically quite unimportant debates at Frankfurt but to report something much more important, namely that the *Magyars have gained a significant victory over the imperial army, and that the imperial army, beaten all along the line, has withdrawn to below the walls of Pest.* (See "Hungary".[a])[219]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 268-70.—*Ed.*

# [A MAGYAR VICTORY]

After a prolonged period of depression the *Kölnische Zeitung* suddenly raises its shrewd head and speaks:

"After a long interval the Austrians have recommenced operations and the blow now about to fall *will, in all probability, be decisive.*"[a]

Thus the *Kölnische Zeitung* gratefully refers to the 40,000 Russians and 50,000 Austrians who were recently marshalled against Hungary and who were especially provided in order to extricate the *Kölnische Zeitung* from the complicated situation in which it had landed itself as a result of its bellicose military operations in Hungary.

The *Kölnische Zeitung* proposes but Dembiński disposes.

A few hours after our worthy paper has ascribed such "decisive", miraculous powers to the Austrian attack, in strange disregard of the failure of its threefold victorious march to Debreczin, the report has been received in Cologne that

***"Dembiński has beaten the Austrians all along the line and driven them back to the walls of Pest".***

"Truly, that's how it is. It really is so. I have had it in writing."

Windischgrätz himself does not deny it. Bulletin No. 34 has arrived.[b] In it Windischgrätz whines about the superiority of the enemy, especially in light cavalry, which is decisive on the Hungarian plains, and also about the "numerous cannon" at the disposal of the

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[a] This and the following quotation are taken from a report published in the section "Ungarn" in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 88, April 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] "34. Armee-Bulletin. Vom 9. April 1849."—*Ed.*

Magyars and declares that *he wants to wait for reinforcements from Pest.* The Bulletin reads:

"*Vienna,* April 9. Communications from His Highness Field Marshal Prince Windischgrätz, from Pest on the evening of the 7th, give the outcome of the reconnaissance-in-force—mentioned previously—undertaken against enemy troops on the 4th and 5th of this month and led by the Field Marshal in person. For these enemy troops commanded by Görgey and Klapka, allegedly 50,000 men with a considerable number of cannon and *extremely strong in cavalry,* had advanced from Miskolcz to Mezö-Kövesd towards Gyöngyös, while their advance guard under Dembiński moved forward almost to Hatvan.

"It was this which was attacked on the 2nd of this month by Lieutenant-Field Marshal Count Schlick and driven back to Hort with considerable losses in cannon and in prisoners. Another body of insurgents on the right bank of the River Theiss between Szolnok and Jasz Apáti was advancing towards Baron Jellachich, the Master of Ordnance.

"The 3rd corps under Lieutenant-Field Marshal Count Schlick was drawn up behind the Zagyva while the first corps was deployed near Tapio-Bícske. This being the situation, the Field Marshal wanted to estimate the disposition and strength of the enemy for himself and therefore came to Gödöllö on the 4th, where a part of the 2nd Army Corps had likewise been sent, leaving its left wing in position in Balassa-Gyarmat and Vadkert.

"The reconnaissance undertaken revealed the whole strength of the enemy who, anticipating an attack, directed his main forces first against the third and then against the first army corps.

"There must have been approximately *four enemy corps* which had now joined forces near Gyöngyös and Szolnok and attempted to attack our centre around Tot-Almas.

"An advance by the third corps, in the enemy's right flank, a splendid encounter near Tapio-Bicske which, as already stated, was fought by Master of Ordnance Baron Jellachich, *brought home* to the Field Marshal the *superiority of the enemy, especially in light cavalry,* in a quite open terrain. In order to make contact with his reserves which were coming up from all sides, he issued orders to the first and third corps as well as to the second corps, hitherto held in reserve between Waitzen and Pest, to join forces thus establishing a long concentrated position in front of Pest so that the city would remain encircled by a great arc extending from Palotta and Keresztúr to Soroksar.

"In the course of this manoeuvre which *the enemy followed with great speed* and launched his attack especially against the first army corps drawn up near Isaczeg while supposing that he was engaging the third army corps deployed near Gödöllö,[a]—battle was joined about midday on the 6th during which the Fiedler Brigade, reinforced by a detachment from the Lobkowitz division, forced the enemy to retreat, which he afterwards sought to cover by a large-scale attack by 12 squadrons of cavalry. But this was thwarted by a flank attack made by two squadrons of Kress' light cavalry and one squadron of Max Auersperg's cuirassiers, as a result six more cannon were captured from the enemy who left many dead on the battlefield, for the well-directed fire of our guns wreaked havoc in his ranks. Master of Ordnance Baron Jellachich, too, made a spirited attack on the enemy and then took up the positions assigned to him.

"His Highness the Field Marshal is *determined* there *to await reinforcements* which at this moment are advancing against Hungary from all sides and since his army is completely concentrated this enables him to operate in all directions with such forces as circumstances may require."

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[a] See this volume, p. 274.—*Ed.*

We must, alas, reserve our comments on this edifying and, as we hope, final Bulletin of the imperial army until tomorrow owing to lack of space.

We can merely add today that according to reports in the *Breslauer Zeitung*, the Magyar army commanded by *Dembiński has* partly *cut off* the corps commanded by Jellachich from the main army and that the same is said to have happened to a part of the corps commanded by Schlick. We shall know by tomorrow night to what extent these reports are correct. But this much is certain: since the beginning of the campaign the imperial forces have not suffered two such reverses as those inflicted by Bem in Transylvania and Dembiński near Gödöllö. May it do them good!

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# AN AUSTRIAN DEFEAT

We are returning to the two Army Bulletins issued by Windischgrätz.

The 33rd Bulletin[a] begins:

"His Highness, Field Marshal Prince zu Windischgrätz *had learned* that important rebel forces are concentrating between Gyöngyös and Hatvan and has therefore ordered Lieutenant-Field Marshal Count Schlick to undertake a reconnaissance in that area."

"Had learned"! Windischgrätz undoubtedly "learned" this in a most poignant fashion in the battles which forced his troops to retreat from Kaschau to Waitzen and from Felegyhaza to Pilis, a distance of from 20 to 30 miles, in face of the victorious Magyars.

But to come to the point.

This "reconnaissance" by Schlick on April 2 initiated a series of engagements which lasted for five days and ended on the 6th with the general retreat of the imperial forces to the walls of Pest. Let us try to describe the course of these engagements on the basis of the totally inadequate information available and especially on the basis of the imperial Bulletins themselves in order not to ascribe too great an advantage to the Hungarians.

According to Bulletin No. 34[b] the position of the imperial forces was as follows:

The Austrian army was extended in a long line from Balassa-Gyarmat via Waitzen and Aszod to Szegléd. The second army corps commanded by Ramberg constituted the left wing, and its most

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[a] Dated April 7, 1849, published in the *Wiener Zeitung* No. 84, April 9, 1849 and in *Der Lloyd* No. 169 (evening edition), April 9, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 268-70.—*Ed.*

advanced brigades (Götz and Jablonowsky) occupied positions not at Losoncz, as was previously boasted, but six miles further back near Balassa-Gyarmat, Vadkert and Waitzen. Schlick with the third corps were in the centre and had taken up positions in the vicinity of Hatvan and Aszod behind the Zagyva. Jellachich with the first corps made up the right wing which was extended from Szegléd to the vicinity of Jasz-Bereny and was likewise behind the Zagyva, but a little further back.

This was the position of the imperial forces according to the Bulletins.

Confronting them were two of the main bodies of Magyars. The northern corps under Dembiński, Görgey and Klapka advanced on Schlick from the direction of Gyöngyös. A second corps, whose commanders are not named, confronted Jellachich and was a few miles from his main forces, from Jasz Apáti to Szolnok. The River Zagyva separated the hostile forces along the whole line.

Schlick moved out of his position on April 2 and crossed the Zagyva near Hatvan. But, as was stated in Bulletin No. 33,

"*the strength of the enemy forces was so much superior to his own* that he found it preferable to establish himself in a strong position near Gödöllö until the arrival of more reinforcements. In the course of this withdrawal Capt. von Kalchberg of the Prohaska Infantry was ordered to destroy the bridge behind Hatvan.

"Captain Kalchberg and his very brave company carried out this order with most exemplary endurance under very fierce cannon and small-arms fire, thus delaying the enemy to such an extent that he was hardly able to molest the retreating corps."

So—a lost engagement for the Austrians and a retreat halfway back to Pest. All they could achieve was reduced to the fact that "the retreating corps *could hardly be molested*".

The Zagyva near Hatvan is only a small, narrow stream, hardly seven miles from its source. The demolition of the bridge could, at best, only delay pursuit by artillery, perhaps also by the infantry, but certainly not by hussars. And it is precisely pursuit by light cavalry which is most unpleasant for a retreating army in this undulating terrain merging into plains.

In Bulletin No. 34 this first Austrian reverse is already transformed into a victory.

"It was this" (the Magyar advance guard commanded by Dembiński) "which was attacked on the 2nd of this month by Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schlick and driven back to Hort with considerable losses (!) in cannon and in prisoners (!!)."

Windischgrätz credits his readers with such short memories that he believes they will already have forgotten by the 9th of April what he had printed on the 7th.

If this passage means anything at all, it is that "considerable losses in cannon and in prisoners" applies not to the Magyars but to the *imperial forces.*

As a result of this reverse, Windischgrätz was compelled to concentrate his forces further. The Csorich division from the left wing (2nd corps) was hurriedly sent for and moved from Waitzen to Gödöllö. Jellachich was ordered to move up and maintain contact with Schlick. Windischgrätz himself went to Gödöllö on the 3rd and to Aszod on the 4th. (This was stated in Bulletin No. 33. According to Bulletin No. 34 Windischgrätz came to Gödöllö only on the 4th. This is how these Bulletins agree!)

Jellachich moved his corps in a north-westerly direction from Szegléd closer to Gödöllö. It was attacked during the course of this operation near Tapio-Bicske, on the 4th. The Bulletin now declares:

"Major-General Rastic quickly went over to the offensive, attacked the superior advancing enemy forces with the bayonet and threw them back, on this occasion 12 cannon were seized, four of which were harnessed and immediately taken to safety, while the remaining 8 were spiked. We took many more prisoners but we also deplore the loss of brave Major Baron Riedesel and Cavalry Captain Gyurkovics of the Banderial hussars.[220]"

At first, it was 17 cannon that had been captured; then it was 14, finally it was 12, but these were harnessed and taken to safety. Now, at last, it is admitted that although 12 cannon *were* captured, eight of them had, unfortunately, to be left behind. They were, however, spiked, so it is said. Not much value can be attached to this either. But it is precisely the fact that eight captured cannon had to be left behind, which shows how victorious the action near Tapio-Bicske was. If one is victorious one remains master of the battlefield, and if one is master of the battlefield one is also master of unharnessed cannon on it.

The "glorious action" near Tapio-Bicske is thus at bottom, once again, a reverse, the second suffered by the imperial forces during their "reconnaissance-in-force".

Now however Windischgrätz himself took charge of the army and achieved the following gains:

"On the 5th of this month the Field Marshal launched an attack on the enemy forces stationed near Hatvan in the course of which a division[221] of Civalart's Uhlans and three squadrons of Kress' light cavalry attacked four divisions of enemy hussars with remarkable bravery and gained a brilliant success with the small loss of two dead and ten wounded.

"Sixty dead hussars, including two officers, were left on the battlefield. In addition the insurgents suffered forty wounded and thirty-two taken prisoner, including one officer."

Windischgrätz relates some incidental deeds of heroism performed by a few squadrons of the imperial cavalry on this occasion; but what we are not told is what was the outcome of the *whole* "attack". Obviously in this case too an isolated, momentarily favourable episode is singled out from an engagement that was, on the whole, unsuccessful, in order to cover up the adverse results of the whole action.

The result of this engagement was—the retreat of the imperial forces to the walls of Pest. These engagements, Windischgrätz tells us, brought home to him "the superiority of the enemy, especially in light cavalry, in the quite open terrain" and he was therefore compelled to concentrate, as quickly as possible, all three army corps in the immediate vicinity of Pest.

Incidentally, this movement of his troops was the result far less of strategical calculations than of dire necessity. Windischgrätz admits that the enemy

"*followed* him *with great speed* and launched his attack especially against the first army corps drawn up near Isaczeg while supposing that he was engaging the 3rd army corps deployed near Gödöllö."

Thus during a hard pressed retreat the only satisfaction Windischgrätz had was that the Magyars routed a different corps from the one they intended.

In the course of this retreat battle was again joined on the 6th

"during which the Fiedler Brigade, reinforced by a detachment from the Lobkowitz division, forced the enemy to retreat, which he afterwards sought to cover by a large-scale attack by 12 squadrons of cavalry. But this was thwarted by a flank attack made by two squadrons of Kress' light cavalry and one squadron of Max Auersperg's cuirassiers, as a result six more cannon were captured from the enemy who left many dead on the battlefield, for the well-directed fire of our guns wreaked havoc in his ranks".

Even the *Kölnische Zeitung* has not written a more colossal piece of nonsense about strategic matters. *A* brigade, reinforced by a divisional detachment, compels the victorious and overwhelmingly superior Magyars to retreat! In order to cover this retreat the Magyars launch a large-scale attack with *twelve* squadrons of hussars—against such a small force of infantry! But even better: these *twelve* Magyar squadrons are put to flight by *three* squadrons of the imperial cavalry, and, finally, six cannon are captured!! One can see that Windischgrätz, accustomed to victory, was forced once again to single out a few favourable incidents from an engagement which, taken as a whole, ended most unfavourably and so to provide an

historical fable much more fantastic than all the Münchausen stories in the world put together.

Things went no better with the brave Ban Jellachich.

"He, too, made a spirited attack on the enemy and then took up the positions assigned to him."

These few words provide sufficient proof that Jellachich had to face an arduous engagement and to fight his way through in order to be able to withdraw to Pest. What the losses were we shall soon know.

Windischgrätz, in this position in front of Pest, is now

"determined to await those reinforcements which at this moment are advancing against the Hungarians from all sides and since his army is fully concentrated, this enables him to operate in all directions with such forces as circumstances may require".

Görgey and Dembiński may already have foiled the noble Field Marshal's well-intentioned plan as also his final ludicrous boasting.

If the two Bulletins are taken together, it emerges that the imperial forces have been driven back all along the line and are confining themselves to the defence of Pest. No doubt we shall soon be hearing about Dembiński's assault of Pest or the measures he is taking in the rear of the imperial forces.

All non-official dispatches report that the defeats suffered by the imperial forces are far more significant than the Bulletins admit. The sound of uninterrupted gun-fire all along the line has been heard in Pest since the 2nd. The withdrawal in the streets of Pest began from the 3rd and 4th onwards. Munition and pack-waggons, reserve gun-carriages, waggons carrying wounded, individual unarmed men who were not wounded, alternated. Defence measures were taken in the whole town, at various points houses were requisitioned for the military; personnel are held ready to destroy the pontoon bridges at a moment's notice.

In Pest, Hungarian banknotes rose in value, in Breslau Austrian securities fell, following private letters from Pressburg which spoke of a *decisive victory by the Magyars near Gödöllö.* We will disregard for the time being the report in the *Breslauer Zeitung* that Jellachich had been cut off and that Schlick was threatened with the same fate, since the gains made by the Hungarians, already *admitted* by the imperial forces, are quite sufficient.

The *Kölnische Zeitung* threatens that within twelve days 30,000 Italian troops will be arriving in Hungary. We shall examine this tomorrow. In addition, it talks menacingly about the advance of 40,000 Russians on Transylvania and finally about 18 battalions commanded by Hammerstein which are to force their way across the

Zips.[a] The Russians are not yet there and Hammerstein has so far only given the *order* for the mustering of an army corps near Dukla on the Galician-Hungarian frontier. By the time he has finished doing this the Magyars may be far off.

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[a] The reference is to the item "Wien, 8. April" and a report published in the section "Ungarn" in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 88, April 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

No further definite news has arrived from Pest today. The Vienna *Lithographierte Correspondenz* reports though that the Austrian army has evacuated Pest completely, has withdrawn to the right bank of the Danube and that the Hungarian generals entered Pest on the evening of the 7th, greeted by a torchlight procession and general jubilation. This report, however, is certainly premature. The battle around Pest which began on the 2nd and which raged right under the walls of Pest on the 5th and 6th, continued on the 7th and, if we may believe one isolated report, still continued on the 8th. It is not hard to grasp that the victory at Pest is not such an unimportant matter as many would like to believe. The imperial forces have two advantages, firstly, their rear is covered by the Danube, the Ofen fortress and by the town itself whose fortified approaches would suffice to hold up the enemy in the event of a retreat while the defeated imperial forces crossed the river. Secondly, their positions are more concentrated than those of the Magyars. They form a semi-circle around Pest and the Magyars, in their turn, form a larger semi-circle around the imperial forces. Added to which is the fact that the clumsy, slow but stubborn and obedient character of the Austrian army makes it pre-eminently suited to a defensive position. It is therefore probable that the imperial forces have continued to fight around Pest for two more days.[222] But that in the end they were cut to pieces and driven across the Danube cannot be doubted in view of the reports coming in from all sides about the unexpected strength and incredible bravery of the Magyar army. The retreat of the imperial baggage trains through Pest and across the Danube was going on continuously for 48 hours. The thunder of gun-fire resounded about the gates of the city.

At any rate these reports seem to indicate that the Magyars do not want to compel the imperial forces to abandon their position around

Pest by means of strategic manoeuvres but are waging the decisive battle under the walls of Pest itself. In our opinion, and according to reports so far received, success cannot be in doubt.

It was reported in Vienna that *Kossuth* is with the Magyar army, that Klapka has been badly wounded; according to other reports he was taken prisoner near Jasz-Bereny etc. If this last report were true we would already have read it in the Bulletins.

We shall take this opportunity to give some information about Klapka. He is not a Pole as has been asserted here and there, but a Hungarian, a Magyar Slav from Temesvar where his father as mayor was head of the municipal council for many years. While he was still a youth his lust for adventure drew him to military life. He distinguished himself greatly in mathematics and military science in the School of the Bombardier Corps in Vienna and in 1841 was posted to the Hungarian Guard of Nobles. The morale and spirit of this corps were not such as to make a peacetime garrison post on the frontiers of the monarchy—to which he was transferred after six years—seem attractive and he resigned his commission as a first lieutenant. Later we find him in Bucharest offering his services to the *Hospodar*[a] as an organiser of artillery. Even the idea of a journey to India seemed to attract him. But then came March 1848 and by April he was already in Pest, in the closest contact with the Radical Party. He now rose, for he was a most ardent Magyar and after Görgey was the most outstanding talent in the National Army of Insurrection.

Incidentally, the Magyars seem to have spread out suddenly from all sides. The masses of reserve troops between the Theiss and Maros, which Kossuth trained to become efficient soldiers, have suddenly appeared on the battlefield. The *Hungarians are victorious* not only in Transylvania, not only around Pest, but also in the *Banat and are surging forward with incredible speed.* As we wrote yesterday, the Banat as well as the whole of Bacska have been occupied by them. We did not want to report that a Magyar corps under Perczel had fought its way through the besieging Austrians to Peterwardein, because it seemed to us to be too incredible to be true. And yet it seems to be beyond doubt, for the *Agramer Zeitung,* the organ of the Croat Government, itself prints it. Perczel and Batthyány (ex-commandant of Peterwardein) have broken through the blockading cordon and entered the fortress with fresh troops. The siege appears to have been completely abandoned. Nugent has again turned westwards towards Zombor where the Magyars have occupied the town and its

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[a] George Bibesco.—*Ed.*

environs. Everything imperial has withdrawn from Peterwardein and its environs to Syrmien and Slavonia.

As a result of these recent advances by the Magyars, the *Serbs in the Banat are completely isolated* just as Puchner had been previously isolated in Transylvania. It is clear that this isolation can only have a favourable influence on the negotiations which still continue between the Serbs and the Magyars.

In *Transylvania*, finally, Bem's conquests seem to be completely secured. The Austrian soldiers who fled into Wallachia and whose numbers have only now been officially made known, are *abandoning any attempt to return to Transylvania*. By way of Wallachia they will go to the Banat. Happy journey!

The following is the official report about this printed in the *Wiener Zeitung* itself:

"Latest reports from Transylvania say that the royal imperial troops arrived in the vicinity of Hermannstadt on March 13, and were drawn up near Geroldsau in order to link up with the Russians holding the Falmatsch position. On the 15th the royal imperial troops marched towards Kronstadt and the Russians in accordance with the royal imperial quarantine regulations entrenched themselves in the most extreme border area. The Transylvanian headquarters, Lieutenant-Field Marshal von Puchner and several royal imperial generals as well as 1,200 men of the royal imperial infantry who had also withdrawn into Wallachia had set off for Rimnik. The Transylvanian royal imperial army corps arrived in Kronstadt on the 18th with the aim of holding this town which was occupied by the Russians under the command of General Engelhardt. The rebels, under the command of Bem, arrived likewise in the vicinity of Kronstadt. Meanwhile, however, General Lüders had given orders to evacuate Kronstadt. This, together with the fact that the royal imperial troops had no munitions, were short of many other necessities and were exhausted, determined the officer commanding these troops, General von Kalliani, to evacuate Kronstadt and on March 20 to move on to Wallachia together with the Russians. The army corps consisted of 8,140 men of the infantry and artillery, 900 cavalrymen and 42 cannon. Major Baron Hayde, who was in command of 1,200 infantrymen and 240 cavalrymen, hurried towards Törzburg and was expected in Campulung, in Wallachian territory, on March 21. Thus there were now 12,000 men of the royal imperial forces in Wallachia. The main force under General Kalliani is stationed in Campina, Ploeşti and Konkurrenz and is to rest for 10 or 12 days. The Government of the country has helped as much as possible with regard to supplies. The former Hungarian Minister of War[a] is said to be now in command in Hermannstadt and Bem—to lead the rebels in Kronstadt, from whence it is believed he will seek to march to Bukovina. The number of refugees who have left Transylvania to seek protection in Wallachia is very large. The royal imperial Major von Reichetzer, the Adjutant of the General Command, arrived in Bucharest from Craiova on March 27, in order to organise the march of the royal imperial troops from Campina to the Banat by way of Craiova and Orsova."[b]

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[a] Lázár Mészáros.—*Ed.*

[b] "Siebenbürgen, 9. Apr.", *Wiener Zeitung* No. 86 (evening edition), April 10, 1849.—*Ed.*

From this it follows: (1) that Bem must have a very considerable army if he was able to defeat over 12,000 Austrians and 10,000-15,000 Russians; (2) that the Russians, too, are at present not keen on returning to the Transylvanian area and thus Transylvania is at last *secured* and with Transylvania the rear of the Hungarian revolutionary army.

The 40,000 Russians thus do not seem to be willing to come to the aid of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.[a] But it still has Hammerstein's 15 battalions and Haynau's 30,000 men.

*Eh bien!* According to the most recent and direct reports Schlick was still in Lemberg trying to induce its citizens to send him a petition inviting the Russians to come in. At the same time he gave orders for an army corps to be *assembled* near Dukla, 25 miles from Lemberg. Three or four weeks at least must elapse before this corps can be concentrated there and equipped with munitions, provisions, transport etc. and who knows where the Magyars will be by then.

As far as Haynau's famous 30,000 men are concerned, who are supposed to arrive on Hungarian soil within 12 days (!), these are even more harmless. Haynau had to abandon the blockade of Venice and advance into Lombardy. We know how the Brescians kept him occupied on March 31 and April 1.[223] We know that he cannot leave his position until he is relieved by Radetzky—and Radetzky is still not able to do this. And when he is finally relieved, he has still to cover between 150 and 170 German miles[b] before arriving at Pest. True, part of the journey can be covered by rail, but when it is a matter of transporting 30,000 men along with their artillery, cavalry, baggage train etc., railways do not speed things up very much. The "twelve days" can therefore easily become six weeks and meanwhile the Magyars will have time enough to teach Windischgrätz's army some very serious lessons. Who knows—perhaps the Magyars will meet Herr Haynau halfway!

Written by Engels on April 14, 1849

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[a] See this volume, p. 275.—*Ed.*

[b] See footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*

# [PARLIAMENTARY DECISIONS ARE DISREGARDED.— MANTEUFFEL'S SPIES]

*Berlin*, April 13. Of course no notice at all is being taken of the motion passed by the Second Chamber that goods up to 5 lbs. should be post-free. The decision has been taken and although it is the custom in constitutional states for the House to decide matters of this kind independently, Herr von der Heydt has different ideas about these things. To date he has not even thought it worth the trouble to express his opinion on the matter in question.

As is well known, Herr *von Meusebach* is the most indispensable of all government counsellors. Nobody understands how to make the best and most valuable use of his eyes and ears, as he does, and always to provide his friend Manteuffel with the best and up-to-the minute reports about the frame of mind and intentions etc. of the Berliners. It is quite natural that the author of the "Revelations" should have great skill in matters which in ordinary language are called spying! He makes use of various literary rogues for these noble aims. His most intimate friends and most skilful tools are *Gödsche*, the well-known columnist of the *Kreuz-Zeitung*, and *Röhrdanz*, the writer.*

A note has also arrived from Mecklenburg which expresses opposition to the definite acceptance of the imperial crown by the King of Prussia.[224]

Written by Marx on April 13, 1849

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* Herr Röhrdanz was suspected of similar activities in Paris as early as 1844 and is hereby challenged to answer these accusations. *The Editors of the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung".*

# STATEMENT

*Cologne,* April 14. Citizens *K. Marx, K. Schapper, Fr. Anneke, H. Becker* and *W. Wolff* (as deputy) met today as the District Committee of Rhenish Democratic Associations.

Citizens Marx, Schapper, Anneke and Wolff issued the following joint statement.

"We consider that the present organisation of the Democratic Associations includes too many heterogeneous elements for any possibility of successful activity in furtherance of the cause.

"We are of the opinion, on the other hand, that a closer union of the Workers' Associations is to be preferred since they consist of homogeneous elements, and therefore we hereby from today withdraw from the Rhenish District Committee of Democratic Associations.[225]

"*Fr. Anneke, K. Schapper, K. Marx, H. Becker, W. Wolff* (deputy)"

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## [FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

***The imperial troops have been driven further and further back; the Magyars have reached the Rakos plain,[226] the field where the Hungarian kings used to be elected, half an hour from Pest, and are offering battle.***

This is the latest news from Pest, of the 8th. The other information received is less certain. For instance, somebody has written to the *Breslauer Zeitung* that Windischgrätz would not accept battle and had already retreated to Pest with his troops. Those with pro-imperial views believe that the Magyars would not dare attack Pest, on the one hand because of the strong entrenchments thrown up there, on the other so as not to expose their capital to destruction. In the meantime things look grim in Pest. Windischgrätz returned first to Pest, then to Ofen, but without giving any indication of how the battle is going. Of course, this has deeply hurt the "loyal subjects" and greatly cheered the Magyars.

At the same time Herr Wrbna has had the following proclamation posted up on the 7th of this month:

"The cities of Ofen and Pest are in a state of siege, hence all meetings in squares and streets are prohibited; but as this order has not been observed for some days, I feel compelled to remind the inhabitants herewith that they must stay at home and also avoid unnecessary travel; patrols are authorised *to intervene in any gathering with full use of arms. A further consequence of any kind of riotous movement would be the immediate bombardment of the city*, for which everything is in readiness."

Many loyal subjects of His Apostolic Majesty, who no longer feel safe in Pest, have already moved across to Ofen, into the fortress; refugees from Pest have already arrived even in Vienna. The Pest Magyars are jubilant; the Austrians, on the other hand, are threatening. Two loaded twelve-pounders from the Ofen side of the

pontoon bridge, and many heavy guns from the Ofen citadel, are aimed at Pest, to give emphasis to Welden's threat.

The intensity of the Magyar attack is said to exceed all expectations of the Austrians. In particular the countless Magyar hussars have been giving no rest by day or by night to the imperial troops for five days, and the audacity of these hussars is beyond all Austrian calculation.

The imperial troops, by the way, have mustered everything so as to stand their ground. The garrisons of Waitzen and Vesprim have gone to Pest; reinforcements are approaching by forced marches from Komorn, Vienna etc., but will in any case be too late for the decisive battle.

On April 11 the news spread at the Vienna Stock Exchange that the Hungarians had been beaten off at Pest. We regard this rumour as a mere speculators' bluff. Not much more trustworthy is another rumour according to which Görgey is said to have relieved Komorn with one Magyar corps, and to have compelled the siege army to march against him and so relinquish the fortress. Nothing is more probable than that Hungarian or Slovak volunteers in the comitats of Neutra, Gran and Nograd are raiding and harassing the Komorn siege corps; but that the main Magyar army should send off Görgey with an important corps while it is waging a decisive battle at Pest, is not credible.

The matter of Jellachich's victory, announced in the 33rd Bulletin (he thereupon "took up the positions assigned to him", as the comical placard-maker Welden expressed it in the 34th Bulletin), is also given away by the *Lloyd*, reporting from Pest that the people there had to believe that the Ban was a prisoner, and were much surprised to get further news from him.[a]

Further details are available about the Magyar army. Klapka is *not* a prisoner, as some papers have maintained, but is in charge of a detachment in the Magyar centre. The left wing of the Hungarian army is led by Damjanich, a Banat Serb, who earlier led an army corps against Nugent and Dahlen in the Baranya comitat and then in the Bacska and at Szegedin. If some martial-law papers say that he has *now* sold (!) himself to the Magyars, this is a lie as silly as it is contemptible. The earlier Austrian Bulletins are there to prove the contrary.

The decisive battle was to be fought on the 8th. We know that it was fought, and fought very violently; but as regards the outcome we only have the rumours quoted above.

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[a] "Pest, 8. April", *Der Lloyd* No. 171 (evening edition), April 10, 1849.—*Ed.*

If Windischgrätz is driven to the right bank of the Danube, he can immediately withdraw his troops beyond the Raab and relinquish Komorn. He has not a single line of defence as far as the Leitha,and whether he can hold even that will depend entirely on the morale of his beaten army. In any event, with Windischgrätz's defeat Hungary will for the time being be cleared of imperial troops, while a rebuff of the Magyar attack would not take the Austrians further than the Theiss. On the Theiss the old game of trick-track would in the meantime begin again, until royal imperial reinforcements of 50,000-60,000 men arrive.

It is confirmed in the Banat that the Magyars have conquered the whole of the *Bacska* and have relieved Peterwardein. The Nugents, *père et fils*, have once again made fools of themselves.

In conclusion we give the following details from a Vienna *Lithographierte Correspondenz* concerning certain Hungarian generals and the Hungarian army:

Among the Hungarian generals *Görgey* deserves special mention. He is still very young, but most talented and extremely active, untiring and personally courageous; it is perhaps not saying too much to describe him as the soul of all the military operations, since, as everyone knows, Kossuth, in his career as a lawyer, had little opportunity to distinguish himself in the military sciences. Among the foreigners the Englishman *Guyon* is outstanding. His daring knows no limit. For instance, recently he stormed a mountain (which can only be reached by a road with seven bends and which was held by an adequate garrison of Austrian troops and guns) at the head of his column, with a loss of 400 men, although it would have been possible to bypass it, but with considerable loss of time.

The courageous Guyon shrinks from no obstacle and is as cool-headed as he is fearless, one of the most daring partisans of this in its way unique campaign. The *Honveds*, who initially were poorly clad and fed, are now in much better shape. In the winter it was not uncommon to find some ill-clad Honveds frozen to death by the road. They have learned to bear the hardships of the campaign and fight with the courage of disciplined troops. The lull Windischgrätz granted the Hungarians at the beginning they used in the best possible way, and in particular they proceeded with the training of the Honveds by employing them in small raids so as to accustom them gradually to warfare.

In the meantime their military training was completed as far as possible. At present the Honveds are significantly advanced in their development and have already distinguished themselves in individual engagements. The main strength of the Hungarian army, of course, is its excellent cavalry which daily arouses more respect in the Austrian cavalry; even the Wallmoden cuirassiers, known for their courage, have often had opportunity to get to know the might of the Hungarian hussars and have succumbed to their impetuous attacks more that once.

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## FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

Still no decisive news from the Rakos plain. On the 8th there appears to have been little fighting; the main battle was expected on the 9th. The most contradictory rumours have been circulating in Vienna. According to one the Hungarians have marched victoriously into Pest; according to another they were beaten and Schlick had encircled 5,000 Honveds[227] and taken them prisoner. What is certain is that neither a Bulletin nor a telegraphic dispatch, nor any other official report has arrived, and that, for the time being, is sufficient proof that as far as the imperial side is concerned matters are not going very well. Moreover, Windischgrätz is said to have sent his son with his *resignation* to Olmütz. The Supreme Command in Hungary has been offered to both Hess and Welden; both have so far rejected the offer as they have not been given a completely free hand.

The black-and-yellow[a] side in Pest relies on the Hungarians not wishing to subject their own capital to bombardment and flames. Dembiński, moreover, is said to have declared against it, saying that Poland had been vanquished in 1831[228] only because much too great strategic importance had been ascribed there to Warsaw, the capital.

In the Bacska the Magyars are pressing irresistibly forward. It is confirmed that Perczel and Batthyány have marched into Neusatz. Neusatz lies directly opposite Peterwardein on the other (left) bank of the Danube, and like Peterwardein itself is occupied by the Magyars. The fortifications of Sz. Thomas, so stubbornly defended by the Serbs last year, have been stormed by the Magyars; Zombor and Becse (Base) are also in their hands. They are threatening the left bank of the Theiss; Patriarch Rajachich has had to leave

[a] The Austrian imperial colours.—*Ed.*

Becskerek and is going via Pancsova to Semlin. Kničanin has suddenly reappeared on the battlefield to help the Austrians in their predicament.

Transylvania is safe. The *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* reports the following from Czernowitz:

"*Czernowitz*, April 5. It has been settled, 60,000 Russians are to occupy Galicia and remain there as a garrison. Lieutenant-Field Marshal Baron von Hammerstein is going to Hungary with 25 battalions and a proportionate number of cannon. Today Lieutenant-Field Marshal von Malkowsky is departing to relieve Lieutenant-Field Marshal Puchner who is ill. All Transylvania is barricaded, Bem is commanding an army of 100,000 men, including 10,000 men of the Polish Legion, a legion of Vienna academics[229] and proletarians. The Bukovina is again afraid of an incursion of Hungarians who, according to recent travellers, have a particular sympathy for the Bukovina. Moreover, the departure of the 4th battalion of Baron Sivkovich's regiment has indeed been stopped for the time being, because there appears, after all, to be some inclination to resistance."[a]

For Bem is recruiting very actively among the Transylvanian Wallachians and Saxons. Anyone able to carry arms is put into the Honveds, trained and used against the Austrians. Clearly, Bem is taking heavy vengeance for the Austrian recruiting system which forced Viennese prisoners to fight against Magyars, and Hungarian prisoners to fight against Italians. In Hermannstadt a great banquet was held to celebrate the fraternisation of Wallachians and Magyars.

As a result of the news from Hungary all the Ministers have been summoned to Olmütz by telegraph.

Yesterday's *Abend-Lloyd*[b] reports as authentic that Lieutenant-Field Marshal Wohlgemuth has taken over the command of the army corps which is concentrated at Komorn.

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[a] "Černowic, 5. April", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 87, April 12, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] A reference to the item "Neustes" published in *Der Lloyd* No. 173 (evening edition), April 11, 1849.—*Ed.*

# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR.— PEASANT WAR IN THE BUKOVINA

The Magyars have suddenly broken off the fighting at Pest and marched off to Waitzen, leaving their outposts behind. Waitzen is situated north of Pest on the Danube just at the corner where it leaves the eastern direction and turns south. *Waitzen, the key to the road to Komorn, has been taken by the Hungarians.* Jellachich is on the *right bank of the Danube* at Szent Endré!

This news was known in Vienna on the 13th at midday and had a "very depressing effect". As early as the 14th Welden was supposed to go to the army fighting in Hungary.

Further details on this new turn in the fighting and this strategically most important success of the Hungarians are still lacking. Hence we cannot know whether the Hungarian army is really marching to Komorn to relieve it or whether it simply wants to entice the imperial troops from their fortified positions at Pest and engage them in battle in the open field without exposing Pest to the danger of bombardment.

The rest of the news is contradictory to the highest degree. Nothing at all is known either about the position of the Magyar army in the recent battles at Pest, or about the details of the battle itself. Windischgrätz is not allowing anybody to leave the Pest lines. We know only that nothing happened on the 8th (Easter Sunday) except some outpost skirmishes. Nor were any guns fired on the 9th. This was the day when the Magyar main force appears to have started for Waitzen. Two Austrian brigades marched off in the same direction.

South of Pest, at Raczkeve, the Magyars under Vetter are said to have attempted to throw a bridge over the Danube, but to have been prevented from doing so.

Otherwise the most fantastic and contradictory rumours are circulating. The fear of the Black-and-Yellows makes Bem arrive from Transylvania with 20,000 men and operate against Kalocsa on the Danube (on the border of the Bacska), so as to go from there to the right bank and to advance in the rear of the Austrians. In this area, by the way, Perczel is taking one important position after another from the Serbs. Peterwardein, recently besieged, is now the main support point of his operations.

Another rumour born of the Austrians' fear makes Görgey stand already at Bruck on the Leitha, a few hours' march from Vienna!

Incidentally, the Serb Voivodina has at last been promised by the Government that it shall join the ranks of the independent crown lands. It may be doubted whether this will tend to make the mood of the Serbs—now moving daily further towards unity with the Magyars—more favourable towards the Government. The Serbs no longer trust a Government which has so often tried to trick them. The correspondent of the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* writes from the Drava:

"Perhaps I shall soon write to you *while in flight*!"[a]

From Transylvania not a word. Just as little news from Galicia concerning the alleged entry of the Russians. On the other hand the long lost nation of the Huzuls[230] has reappeared in the Bukovina, with its peasant king, Kobylica, at its head. Here, in this most remote corner of the united monarchy, the struggle is developing between peasants and nobility which the implementation of the imposed redemption laws[231] is bound to produce everywhere in Austria. Kobylica *is directly allied with the Magyars.* Just listen to the *Bucovina* (which appears in Czernowitz) of April 4 on this subject[b]:

"The notorious *Kobylica* with his dangerous agent Birla Mironiuk has reappeared in the mountains among the (Ruthenian[232]) Huzuls and is deluding the villages with dangerous misrepresentations; he is egging them on to trespass on the baronial woods and pastures and maintain a rebellious attitude: he would soon come *with a Hungarian army* to help them. The excitement this has induced has taken on a dubious character particularly in the neighbourhood of Berhometh, hence the District Office has seen fit to dispatch a complete company to this area and to take other energetic measures. In accordance with the instructions of the local District Office the company has been stationed in and around Berhometh. District Commissioner Wex is in charge of the official action which is to comprise, first, prevention of trespass and damage to baronial woods and fenced pastures in the area, questioning and punishing the guilty

[a] "Von der Drave, 7. April", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 88, April 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] The following report under the date-line "Bukowina. Czernowitz, 4. April" was also published in the *Ost-Deutsche Post* No. 72, April 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

severely, the instruction and surveillance of the villages, the harshest and most relentless treatment of all disturbers of the peace and agitators, keeping an eye and a tight rein on rural people and capturing Kobylica and his agent Birla Mironiuk.—These strong measures should at last bring about the definitive pacification of the Ruthenian mountain villages."

Good luck to the Austrian peasant war!

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# ELKEMANN

*Cologne*, April 18. Yesterday in Berlin the Second Chamber voted on the question whether the entire Bill to suppress the right of association, brought in by Herr Manteuffel, should be rejected lock, stock and barrel or not. Rejection of the Bill failed by 137 votes to 141. Thus the Left was in a minority of only four votes. Among these four votes, all of which were of the Left Centre, was Pastor *Elkemann* from *Worringen*, deputy of the *rural constituency of Cologne and Mülheim*. One may ask his intermediate and primary electors whether the Pastor, who acted the extreme liberal at the time, was elected by them to help get rid of the few still remaining civil liberties?

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# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

The Hungarians' plan of operations after Windischgrätz was pushed back by them to the Danube is now fairly clear. While Dembiński kept the Austrian centre under Schlick "fully occupied" (Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*[a]), Görgey with greatly increased strength turned on the imperial army's left wing at Waitzen, commanded by Windischgrätz himself, beat him back and took Waitzen. Almost every report maintains complete silence about what has become of Jellachich and the Austrian right wing. As we wrote already yesterday, one report makes him stationed at Szent Endré, between Ofen and Waitzen on the right bank of the Danube.[b] This is today confirmed directly from Pest. He can only have marched there to cover the threatened left wing by abandoning his earlier position on the right wing. Besides the great strength of the Hungarians at Waitzen, the fact that the Croats can no longer be brought into the firing line by the "chivalrous" Ban and show a daily growing respect for the Hungarian hussars, may perhaps explain this otherwise quite inexplicable movement. At the same time, they have been plundering and raping in Pest and its neighbourhood with such gusto that the Croat Don Quixote felt compelled to have a number of those keenest on plundering shot summarily. Also we are still hearing of desertions among the Croats. Evidently, this most charming of all the corps gathered at Pest can therefore only be used as a reserve. This is also confirmed in a Vienna report of the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, according to which 5,000 to 6,000 Croats are said to have been sent to Pest to serve as a reserve.

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[a] "Wien, 12. April", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 105, April 15, 1849.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 288.—*Ed.*

On the other hand, the Magyars have by no means kept their left wing, facing the Austrian right wing, inactive. It is beyond doubt that they have already crossed the Danube at least at one point below Pest, and that without meeting with any significant resistance, since all the imperial troops of this area have marched to Pest. Vetter, who is here in command (he was previously a major in the 37th imperial infantry regiment), is operating against Pentele and Földvar, and is according to consistent rumours already on the march to Stuhlweissenburg. In the Bacska Batthyány's and Perczel's main force seems also to be pressing ahead against the Danube and Drava, so as to cut off Nugent and the Serbs from direct contact with the Austrian main army, or to force Nugent to make a hurried retreat to Esseg or Agram.

Thus, Windischgrätz is threatened on all sides and outflanked both on the left and the right. Tonight we may receive definite information that Görgey is at Gran and Vetter at Stuhlweissenburg. God knows what will become of the imperial troops when both their lines of retreat are thus cut off.

Now that the Magyars have had time to train, the imperial side speaks with one voice of how they fight. The *Ost-Deutsche Post* says:

"The fanaticism of our opponents and the money which is apparently at their disposal, attract to them masses where we only have ranks. Like an impetuous mountain torrent they break through the strong wall facing them."[a]

And the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*:

"The hussars fight with a bravery which makes any advance of the imperial army impossible without considerable reinforcements. These Magyars are no Piedmontese (!), even Radetzky's entire army would find it hard going here."[b]

The Black-and-Yellows in Pest, on the other hand, are completely demoralised. They flee from Pest in droves, some to Ofen, others in the direction of Gran or even so far as Raab.

Benedek has arrived in Vienna. He is to command the advance guard of Hammerstein's corps which, according to the Austrian martial-law boasts, is already in Kaschau! Haynau's corps will *not* go to Hungary. We said at once that it could not be spared in Italy.[c]

Herr Welden, remembered for his incendiarism, the man who wanted to take Komorn by storm like an Italian village, is now to help the imperial troops in their predicament. He has departed for the theatre of war.

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[a] "Pest, 11. April", *Ost-Deutsche Post* No. 73, April 14, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] "Wien, 12. April", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 105, April 15, 1849.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 280.—*Ed.*

In the Banat and in the Bacska things are likewise daily getting worse for the imperial side. The *Südslavische Zeitung* bewails the fall of Szent Thomas, christened Srbobran (Serb Bulwark)[a] by the Serbs as the scene of their heroic deeds of last year. The Bacska has been abandoned altogether by the imperial troops; Nugent is on the defensive beyond the Danube and will be glad if he can keep Syrmien. The mood of the Serbs is becoming more and more "sinister"; if they formerly hated the Magyars, now this has given place to *hatred of the Germans*. The bad turn the war has taken is directly ascribed to a deliberate, planned abandonment of the Serbs by the Austrian officers. Kničanin is again expected with Serb auxiliaries; according to others the well-known Vučič is to command them. Moreover, the Austrian Government has at last recalled Rukavina and pensioned him off, and thus initiated a series of concessions to the Serbs.

Not a word from Transylvania. Yesterday the *Kölnische Zeitung* had the Russians and Puchner march in again. The news came from the *Bukurester Zeitung*, it passed from there into the *Wiener Zeitung* and finally into the *Kölnische*. But it merely gave the positions which Puchner and the Russians occupied after the capture of Hermannstadt by Bem, before they fled through the Roterturm Pass. The *Kölnische Zeitung* could have known that as well as we; but in its pleasure at seeing the imperial troops at last advance again at any point, it fell into the trap and promptly reprinted this ancient news, *deliberately* put into the *Wiener Zeitung* to confuse the reader. That is how history is made.

Written by Engels on April 18, 1849

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[a] This report of the *Südslavische Zeitung* was reprinted in the article "Mitrović, 5. April" in the *Ost-Deutsche Post* No. 74, April 15, 1849.—*Ed.*

# SITTING OF THE SECOND CHAMBER IN BERLIN. APRIL 13

*Cologne,* April 19. For a change, let us return once more to our dear Second Chamber in Berlin. It has checked the elections, issued Addresses, produced standing orders, and with quite exceptional interest it has discussed a question which, as is well known, belongs to the feature section of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* i.e. the question of the German Emperor.[233] All this passed quite unnoticed in view of the cannonades at Novara and Pest, and even the "naval battle" at Eckernförde and the storming of the Düppel fortifications[234] made a greater impression than all the speeches from the Right and the Left in the Prussian people's representative body.

Now, however, when the honourable Chamber is busy with the three gagging laws[235]—the law on posters, the law on associations and the law on the press—when it has already finished dealing with one of them, the law on posters, now the matter more closely concerns us, now it will be more interesting to see how our deputies do their utmost to make up deficiencies in the imposed Constitution.

Let us look at the verbatim report of the 26th sitting on April 13.[a]

First of all Deputy Lisiecki put a question to the Ministry about the use of the Polish army reserve in the war against Denmark.

According to § 61 of the law on the army reserve, [236] it can only be mobilised in the event of unexpected hostile attacks on the country. Its entire organisation is so constituted that in general it is only to be employed when the standing army and reserves are insufficient. But now the army reserve is being mobilised in the war against little

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[a] *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen der durch das Allerhöchste Patent vom 5. Dezember 1848 einberufenen Kammern. Zweite Kammer.* Bd. 2, S. 462-65.— *Ed.*

Denmark, which can be dealt with by the troops of the line of a single army corps!

That is not all. Although the allegedly German part of Posen could be tricked into joining the German Confederation only through breach of faith and brutal violence, although, according to all the treaties, the part of Posen lying on the other side of the famous demarcation line has nothing to do with the German Confederation,[237] part of the army reserve sent to Schleswig from Posen has been taken from both sides of the demarcation line.

These army reserve men of purely Polish nationality, half of whom do not even belong to the German Confederation, are being sent to Schleswig to let themselves be killed there for the greater glory of *Germany* as *German* imperial troops with the *German* black-red-and-gold[a] imperial cockade on their helmets!

The Croats decided the outcome of the "*German* war" in Lombardy; the Czechs, Ruthenians[238] and, again, the Croats decided the outcome of the "German" struggle against Vienna; the *Poles* will decide the outcome of the "German" war in Schleswig. It is with such soldiers that nowadays the "victories of German arms" are being won!

And that is how the King keeps the promise he gave the Poles on April 11 through his plenipotentiary commissioner[b]:

"Accordingly, no recruits born in the Grand Duchy of Posen are to be incorporated in a Silesian or other German regiment and, conversely, no German recruits are to be incorporated in a Polish regiment. The training and commanding of troops are to be in their own language ... all arms of the Polish military service are likewise to form a *completely independent entity*" etc.

Lisiecki enumerated these various points in a calm, but resolute, tone. In conclusion he drew attention to the special malice shown by recruiting three battalions of the army reserve precisely in the one province which last year had suffered heavily from the civil war imposed on it by Prussia.

Herr Strotha, Minister of War, rose to speak.

The Minister delivered a lecture to the Assembly at some length to the effect that

"the entire Prussian army organisation is based on a combination of troops of the line and the army reserve, and in war this combination in the composition of corps and divisions reaches as far as the composition of brigades", that the dispatch of "mere troops of the line without the army reserve to a distant theatre of war essentially hinders the organic formation of several troop units and gives rise to many kinds of serious drawbacks when mobilising the remaining units" etc.

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[a] The colours of the movement for the unification of Germany.—*Ed.*

[b] Wilhelm Willisen.—*Ed.*

All this was very suitable for opening the eyes of the philistines and civil officials in the Chamber to the organisation of "My glorious army".[239]

It may be so. It is possible that "the troops of the line of My glorious army" cannot manage without "the army reserve of My glorious army". It may be that the dangerous potato war[240] with Denmark compels the Government to set in motion all the chicanery of the glorious Prussian military organisation. But why is it that precisely the *Poles* have been made the victims of this fate, which derives from the glorious Prussian military organisation?

Because—well, "because *it is justified by the immediate circumstances*!"

That is all we are told. That is how a Prussian Minister of War answers questions.

There still remains the reply to the legal question: should not German troops be used in German imperial wars? On this Herr Strotha stated:

1) "The Grand Duchy of Posen, with the exception of a small part ... belongs to Germany."

That is the Prussian translation of last year's phrases to the effect that Posen should become Polish, "with the exception of a small part" of the frontier, which must become German. Things have now gone far enough for the phrases to be dispensed with and the perpetrated swindles to be admitted in blunt words.

2) "The delimitation of military areas in the entire Grand Duchy of Posen has so far undergone no change. Accordingly (!), therefore (!), the three mobilised battalions consist to the extent of about half of inhabitants from one side of the demarcation line and one half of inhabitants from the other side of the demarcation line."

In plain language that means: the whole farce with the demarcation line merely served to incorporate two-thirds of Posen into Germany directly, and the remaining one-third indirectly. And in order that the Poles finally abandon the illusion that this demarcation line has any practical meaning, we have at this very time recruited our imperial troops from those districts through which the demarcation line passes.

3) "In utilising troops of the line drawn from the Grand Duchy of Posen, no other consideration has ever been taken into account than that demanded by *state reasons*."

And if the solemn pledges of March and April 1848 in regard to the troops of the line have been trampled under foot, then why should not the same happen in regard to the army reserve? Cannot a

Polish army reserve man become as good a "soldier of the imperial troops" as a Polish regular soldier?

We have taken into consideration only "state reasons"!

And what are these "state reasons"?

They are quite obvious. Men capable of bearing arms and trained in the use of arms who live in areas not yet sufficiently merged in the "Prussian fatherland" are to be removed from their homeland. Objectionable primary electors who voted in an un-Prussian way are to be punished. The authorities wish to inculcate in these primary electors a better notion of the duties of a citizen by making them undergo a supplementary course of instruction in the school of "My glorious army". By this Prussian treatment many a hated elector will be provoked to insubordination and then, with the greatest nonchalance, he can under martial law be awarded 15 years' confinement in irons and perhaps even gunpowder and lead.

It is for this that the army reserve has been mobilised in Posen and also in part of the Rhine Province and Westphalia. Herr Strotha does not mention the Rhine Province, nevertheless the Clever battalion has already been sent to Schleswig. Or does Herr Strotha want to introduce a demarcation line in the Rhine Province as well and declare: The Rhine Province, "with the exception of a small part", belongs to Westphalia?

But what has not yet happened can happen. Although up to now the greater part of the Rhine Province has been spared from mobilisation, we are nevertheless aware that, in spite of all official denials, *there exists a firm intention* to mobilise also the army reserve of the *Eighth* Corps, i.e. of the Rhine Province. Preparations for this have already been made, and the order will not be long in coming.

Of course, this also is dictated by "state reasons" and is justified by the "immediate circumstances".

And if the Rhenish deputies put down a parliamentary question, Herr Strotha will reply to them just as he now replies to Herr Lisiecki: the matter "is in fact already settled" since "the Rhenish division is already concentrated at Flensburg"!

After Herr Strotha had concluded his speech, Herr Lisiecki wanted to make a factual correction. But the standing orders forbid factual corrections to replies by Ministers. And the standing orders are quite right. What un-Prussian insolence to imagine that a ministerial reply could be capable of undergoing factual correction!

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# THE SLOVAKS.— THE SO-CALLED DEMBIŃSKI BULLETIN

Owing to the non-arrival of the Berlin train we are without any recent news from the theatre of war. The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which now carries all the news from Vienna and Hungary one day late, has nothing new either, of course. The report of its "reliable" Vienna correspondent on the latest military events contains nothing but nonsense and most glaringly contradicts geography. For example, he says that the insurgents want to erect a bridge "at Szent Endré",[a] though two arms of the Danube and an island four miles[b] long and a half mile wide lie between Szent Endré and the Magyars etc.

The *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* yesterday carried a long article "from Slovakia",[c] which in the last analysis amounts to a doleful lamentation about the Austrian Government doing nothing to foster pan-Slavist separatist aspirations against Hungary among the Slovaks. Every line indicates how much they deplore that it is quite impossible to arouse pan-Slavist Magyar hatred in the Slovaks, that the Slovak peasants give their allegiance above all to the party which definitely assures them of liberation from their feudal burdens, that the Magyar nobility is naturally pro-Magyar and the German middle class of the towns is also favourably inclined towards the Magyars. The notorious boasting at the Olmütz Court about the "Slovak trusted representatives"[241] is disowned even here:

"The common people naturally know little or nothing of the election of 'Slovak trusted representatives'; educated Slovaks shrug their shoulders at a blunder that

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[a] "Wien, 13. April", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 106, April 16, 1849.— *Ed.*

[b] See footnote on p. 20.— *Ed.*

[c] "Aus der Slovakei", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 89, April 14, 1849.— *Ed.*

could hardly have been worse. Kollár, the only poet among them, is a name everywhere popular and respected; the rest are lawyers whom not a soul knows in Slovakia, who have never wielded a pen in favour of the Slovaks, never taken a step, never spoken a word which could have given them a claim to the honourable title of 'trusted representatives' of a nation, even if in other respects their honourable private character is in no way disputed. In Slovakia they are, Kollár excepted, 'mistrusted representatives'. To put a Hungarian lawyer in charge of Slovak affairs is an unfortunate idea. Perhaps this was why the *Slovenski pozornik* (Slovak Observer), mentioning the trusted representatives in its first issue, did not even bother to give their names, Kollár again excepted, to whom due respect is paid."

Since last night, an alleged "27th Battle Report of General Dembiński to Kossuth", dated Gödöllö, April 7,[a] is being circulated here in Cologne. This report is printed in Frankfurt, whence false news on Austria has already come more than once. But even if it is not genuine, it is a good imitation made from the available material. Dates and military positions are everywhere sufficiently in accord with those of the Austrian Bulletins; the Bulletin only contains something new on the fighting which took place before April 2. The main content is as follows:

Dembiński, acting here as commander of the centre and General-in-Chief (Vetter has the right wing, Görgey the left), has first totally defeated an enemy corps at Erlau and then beaten the rearguard again at Gyöngyös. In this second battle the Hungarians are said to have captured 16 cannon and made 1,200 prisoners, which, however, is somewhat exaggerated.

On the 5th the Austrians were driven from Hatvan to Gödöllö, where a major battle took place on the 6th. Here the Hungarians were completely victorious, took 26 cannon, 7 flags, 38 ammunition carts and 3,200 prisoners, and drove the Austrians back to the walls of Pest. The imperial troops are said to have lost 6,000 dead and wounded, the Hungarians 2,000.

As can be seen, the Bulletin contains nothing new except that it gives figures; these, even if it were genuine, are probably not too correct. In the first flush of victory enemy losses always tend to be exaggerated.

So it is really immaterial whether the Bulletin is genuine or simply a fake, since it only gives known *results.*

What makes its authenticity very suspect, however, is the date. A Bulletin from Gödöllö dated the 7th could not have been received again on the 10th printed in Debreczin. Had it been printed by the army and distributed in Pest or Ofen, we would have heard the news

[a] This report was published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 95, April 21, 1849.— *Ed.*

already in other ways. Moreover, the leaflet gives its source only in the words "translated from the Hungarian". It neither says where the original was printed nor whence it comes. Even if the content can be accepted as authentic, its form is certainly very suspect. But, as we have said, it is immaterial whether this leaflet is authentic or fabricated, since it reports nothing new at all.

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## [FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

According to the letters and papers which have arrived from Eastern Germany only this evening (Thursday), the Hungarians are masters of the left bank of the Danube to the point at which the Gran flows into it from the north, five miles below Komorn. On the 12th Pest was still besieged by a Hungarian corps which could be observed quite clearly from the roofs with the naked eye, and which is supposed to have occupied the Pest railway station. To avoid exposing it to bombardment, and because from here it would be impossible to effect a crossing of the Danube under the guns of Ofen, this corps has not attacked the city itself.

The most contradictory rumours are current about the battle at Waitzen, but they all agree that the left wing of the Austrians has suffered a complete defeat there. One report asserts that Götz is not dead but severely wounded and in the hands of the Hungarians. After their defeat, part of the Austrian corps which linked up at Waitzen retreated across the Danube, while another part, two brigades strong, drew back behind the Gran. Here, five brigades of reinforcements, which have arrived from Austria etc., are said to have been stationed for a considerable time (!), the force is estimated at 25,000 men (!!) by the *Wanderer.* These five brigades are probably not more than a few regiments who marched away from the former siege corps of Komorn, for had five brigades been stationed on the Gran, four miles from Waitzen, they would hardly have remained there while the Hungarian guns thundered at Waitzen!

The *Wanderer* is nothing but a martial-law paper printing reassuring news. It had to report that Waitzen had been captured by the Magyars without a battle, and that only one volunteer corps was

stationed there, whereas all the other papers speak of a violent battle and it is certain that Götz, Jablonowsky and Csorich were there, not counting the troops which Windischgrätz took with him when he personally went there. The *Wanderer* further believes that there is no threat at all to Pest (!!), otherwise the imperial forces would surely have removed their wounded and constructed a second pontoon bridge. But the imperial generals have never shown much concern for their wounded, and all they do care for, the baggage, munitions and above all the money, has long been dispatched to Ofen. They have even ***stolen*** *the gold and silver reserve of the Hungarian National Bank*, 1,700,000 guldens C.M.,[242] which were kept as backing for the Hungarian 1- and 2-florin notes, and incorporated them in the state treasury in Ofen. As concerns the second bridge, the Austrians obviously have much greater need of their pontoon trains on the long battle-front from Pest to Waitzen and Gran than in Pest, which no longer forms their centre but their left flank.

This *Wanderer* has now also suddenly to estimate the imperial army at 100,000, namely 50,000 men at Pest, plus the above non-existent 25,000 at Gran, plus the 10,000 reinforcements from Galicia under Vogl, plus Nugent's force, a total of 100,000 men; that is supposed to be reassuring. We are quite willing to believe that Windischgrätz had 50,000 men before the recent battles, and now still has 40,000. But the 25,000 men at Gran amount to 10,000 at most, scattered along both sides of the Danube from Raab and Gran to Neuhäusel, the remainder of the siege corps at Komorn, reinforced by newly arrived troops. Vogl is still in Galicia, and Nugent is hard-pressed in Syrmien. The imperial forces were indeed over 200,000 strong at the beginning of the war, but the Hungarians have made a clean sweep and scattered the imperial troops to all points of the compass. Puchner is in Wallachia, Kničanin back in Serbia, the Banat volunteers have gone home, large numbers of Croats have been disbanded, and of the whole army at most 120,000 effective troops are scattered over the wide Hungarian territory; of these, perhaps 50,000-55,000 face the main Magyar army.

The rumour persists that a Magyar corps has crossed the Danube south of Pest in the Bacska area and is marching on Stuhlweissenburg, but there is as yet no positive information on this corps' position.

Komorn is already virtually relieved. The siege area has been considerably reduced by the advance of the Magyars. As a substantial part of Windischgrätz's troops had earlier been moved to Pest, the remainder obviously had to march to Gran, to face the Magyars approaching from that direction. Even prior to this, the garrison is

said to have made a sortie against the weak besieging troops, scattered them and captured all the siege artillery. Now a report in the *Ost-Deutsche Post* says, moreover, that Komorn has sufficient provisions *for two years*, and that its garrison is united and resolved to defend it to the utmost.

In the small area of Upper Hungary still occupied by the imperial forces, the end of their rule is now approaching. According to the *Österreichischer Correspondent*, a Magyar column reputed to be composed of 800 infantrymen, 200 cavalrymen and five guns, under the command of a Polish officer, Bernicki, marched into Leutschau on April 4, into Neudorf on the 5th, and into Rosenau on the 6th. One of Welden's battalions garrisoning the neighbouring area was called to Eperies, which was threatened by this movement. Nevertheless, the Magyar corps captured Eperies and drove the royal imperial troops, together with the notorious Slovak *Landsturm*, into the Carpathians, to the Galician border.

The name of *Bem*, who at one time was said to be at Debreczin and at another time already at Kalocsa on the Danube, currently looms like a spectre over the *Banat*. It is also reported from Alt-Orsova, on the 2nd of the month, that Bem is preparing an expedition of 10,000 against the Banat. Rukavina is, incidentally, not pensioned off there but merely relieved of the civil administration, which has been transferred to the Patriarch.[a] Rukavina retains command of the Banat Military Border area,[243] and Major-General Mayerhofer, serving under him, will be in command on the Syrmien border.

By the way, the Magyars have not rested content with the seizure of the Bacska. They have crossed the Theiss and occupied the districts of Kikinda and Neu-Becse.

In their hour of greatest need the imperial authorities have no other cure but to take radical measures. The official report of Windischgrätz's dismissal and Welden's appointment to supreme command in Hungary has at last arrived. At the same time, Wohlgemuth has set off with Welden (whom *Böhm* replaces in Vienna) for Hungary, where he is to command a corps of six brigades. Benedek has gone to Galicia to be given a command in Vogl's corps of 10 battalions; the corps is said to be marching via Eperies. Wrbna is to be retired.

But not even that is the end of this revolution in the army.

They have realised that *without the Russians they cannot cope with the Magyars. Russian assistance has* therefore *been directly asked for.* ***30,000 Russians are expected to arrive in Hungary via Cracow.***

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[a] Rajachich.— *Ed.*

In the Banat also the endangered slogan: *svoboda a slavjanstvo* (freedom and Slavdom) will be kept up with *Russian assistance.* Already there is talk of the approach of Russian troops and, to hasten matters, delegates were sent to Duhamel in Bucharest from an assembly held in Semlin on the 5th.

We may hope that the arrival of the Russians will everywhere be too late, and that they will find that the war has already taken so decisive a turn that the most they will be able to do is to look on while the brave Magyars and the Viennese, who may also soon reappear on the field of battle, prepare an ignominious end for

"the Austria of old,
For feats and victories oft extolled".[a]

Today again the latest Vienna and Breslau papers have not arrived.

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[a] From Ernst Moritz Arndt's poem "Des Teutschen Vaterland" (music by Gustav Reichardt).—*Ed.*

# [“MAGYAR RODOMONTADE” OF THE *KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG*]

We have been informed that none of the current issues of the Vienna and Breslau newspapers arrived yesterday evening with the last train from Berlin. Hence the assertion of the *Kölnische Zeitung* that it has nevertheless received these Vienna newspapers is simply “Magyar rodomontade”.

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# THE NEW CROATIAN-SLAVONIAN-DALMATIAN ROBBER STATE

*Agram.* While in Hungary proper the royal imperial united monarchy is being shaken in its very foundations by the victorious Magyar armies, the national separatist movement in the South-Slav countries is continually creating new difficulties for the Austrian Government. The Croats have now conceived the idea of a Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian triune kingdom, to serve as the focal point for pan-Slav aspirations in the south. This trinity of Pandours, Serezhans and Haiduks, this kingdom of red-coats, was at once "taken in hand", to use the Austrian Croat-German phraseology, by the Croatian-Slavonian Committee of the Diet, and the appropriate Bill produced by the Committee is available in print.[244] The document is remarkable.[a] There is not a trace in it of hatred for the Magyars or of any precautions against *Magyar* transgressions. But it plainly bears the marks of *hatred for the Germans,* of safeguards against *German* transgressions and of the pan-Slav alliance *against the Germans.* That is what our constitutional-patriotic wailers of the Holy Roman Empire have got for their enthusiasm for the Croats.[245] We have already earlier informed our readers that the same hatred and the same mistrust of the Germans is prevalent in the Serbian Voivodina.[b]

The trinity of red-coated cut-throats begins its existence at once with conquests. Apart from the fact that it tears from Hungary the whole of Croatia and Slavonia, it demands the Mur Island, i.e. the

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[a] Published in the report "Wien, 16. April", *Ost-Deutsche Post* No. 75, April 17, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 294.—*Ed.*

corner of the comitat of Zala lying between the Drava and the Mur, and the Quarnero islands of the district of Istria and Trieste, i.e. a small fragment of *Germany* as well as one of Hungary.

In addition it demands the following rights: (1) the internal relations of Croatia-Slavonia with Dalmatia are to be decided by their respective Diets; (2) their relations with the Serbian Voivodina are to be decided by mutual agreement; (3) also,

"*closer political union* is to be established with the remaining neighbouring *Slav* provinces of the Austrian Empire on the basis of mutual agreement",

i.e. a *pan-Slav separatist union*[246] to be formed *against the Germans and the Magyars* within the royal imperial united monarchy. And this right of separatism is, according to the Pandour-Serezhan way of thinking, the first right of man:

"This *natural* (!) right of union cannot *under any pretext* be either denied or hindered in either the triune kingdom or in the Austro-Slav areas which wish to unite with the kingdom by reason of" (Croat German!) "the same or related nationality."

That is, our first, "natural" right of man is the revival of the Prague Slav Congress[247] as the *legislative authority.* How naive a demand to put to a Schwarzenberg-Stadion Government!

These conquests and pan-Slav alliances are followed by a solemn declaration:

"The triune kingdom has never been a *German* country" (*Dieu merci!*), "nor does it wish to become such or even a part or *member of the German Empire,* and consequently the triune kingdom cannot in future be drawn, without its express consent, into *any kind of union* with *Germany* which Austria may enter into either now or in the future."

Such solemn declarations vis-à-vis the *Germans* are considered to be urgently necessary, although to our knowledge no one has ever regarded Croatia and other areas inhabited by cut-throats as a "German country", and although Germany at the moment has not the slightest wish to incorporate the Otočac[248] and Serezhan gentlemen into the German Empire.

There is not a single mention of the *Magyars* in the whole document, not a single paragraph designed to safeguard the desired triune robber state against the much-lamented Magyar oppression!

But the object of the whole thing is quite clear: the united, centralised Austria for which the Government is striving and in which the Germans as the most civilised nation will in the long run certainly be morally dominant, frightens the pan-Slav trinity a thousand times more than the Magyars, whom they consider to be

defeated. Moreover, it is clear that among these petty robber nations hatred of the Germans far exceeds their hatred of the Magyars. And yet these petty robber nations are the allies of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, that German patriot!

These general principles are then followed by a long series of stipulations with which the South-Slav robber states seek to safeguard themselves against Austrian centralisation, i.e. against German oppression.

Thus the document proposes that all functions which this law does not expressly assign to the central government shall remain the prerogative of the provincial government. The authority of the central government, however, is only recognised in the following fields: (1) foreign affairs, with the exception of the above proviso regarding relations with Germany, changes in which require a two-thirds majority in the Diet; (2) financial administration, insofar as this is absolutely necessary; (3) military affairs, but only insofar as they concern the standing army; (4) commercial affairs; (5) roads and waterways.

Furthermore, in addition to representation in the Imperial Diet, the trinity of robber states demands

> "consideration for the sons of the triune kingdom in appointments to relevant central government posts on the basis of the population proportions and the necessary qualifications"

(elegant Croat German again!), dealings with the central government to be conducted in the official language, a separate robber-state Minister in the central government, and a separate administrative section for the robber states in every relevant ministry.

Apart from that, the robber states will be governed by a "State Council of the Triune Kingdom", and the armed forces, the army as well as the Banderial units,[249] the levy in mass and the National Guard will be under the command of the Ban. But the Ban may command only the army according to the orders of the Central Authority; for his command of the remaining sections of the armed forces he is responsible to "the nation".

In internal affairs, the following changes are demanded: (1) the triune robber state shall provide contingents of troops no larger than any other Austrian province in relation to the size of its population; and (2) in civil matters the Military Border is to be subject to the ordinary civil administration and jurisdiction; the military administration and military jurisdiction operate only for those borderers who are actually under arms. But with that the whole of the royal imperial Military Border will automatically cease to be. We shall return to this.

This is the draft plan for the new triune Otočac-Pandour-Croat robber state which they want to set up on the south-eastern borders of Germany if the revolution and the Magyars permit it.

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# THE RUSSIANS

*Cologne*, April 21. When the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* began to be published almost eleven months ago, it was the first newspaper to point out the concentration of Russian armies on our Eastern frontier.[a] At that time many virtuous citizens spoke of exaggeration, of unnecessary cries of alarm etc.

It has become clear whether we were exaggerating or not. The Russians, who at first were merely protecting their frontiers, passed more and more to the offensive as the counter-revolution achieved successes. The June victory in Paris brought them to Jassy and Bucharest; the fall of Vienna and Pest brought them to Hermannstadt and Kronstadt.

A year ago Russia was not prepared for war; at that time, in the first panic terror at the omnipotence of the sudden revolution, it was easy to drive the 30,000-40,000 Russians out of Poland and establish a free Poland. That was what was called for, but the desire for it was lacking. The Russians were given time to arm, and now a Russian army of 500,000-600,000 men surrounds us from the Niemen to the Danube and Aluta. Along the Prussian frontier alone, according to the *Ostsee-Zeitung*, some 150,000 men are stationed; the remainder are in the interior, on the Galician frontier, in Moldavia, Wallachia, Lithuania, Podolia and Volhynia, and in the fortresses of Novo-Georgievsk (Modlin), Brest-Litovsk, Demblin and Zamosye, which according to the *Ostsee-Zeitung* have depots with arms and reserves for 250,000 men.

The same newspaper writes:

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[a] See the article "The Russian Note" (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 307-13).—*Ed.*

"Food depots are set up with the aid of requisitioning notes, which oblige every landowner to deliver a certain quantity of produce that is to be used as provisions for the army. Next year these notes will be accepted in payment of taxes. This, therefore, is the source of the recently spread rumour that the Russian Government in Poland has ordered taxes to be collected one year in advance."

What the state of affairs is as regards the acceptance of these notes we learn from another quarter.

At the end of last year and the beginning of this year, Polish landlords had to make enormous deliveries, but these were taken into account in the payment of taxes. It was believed that thereby everything was settled, but it turns out now that the taxes until the end of this year have to be paid in advance.

Even from this compulsory method of ensuring supplies for the army it is evident what enormous masses of Russian troops must be concentrated in Poland.

Another newspaper, the Posen *Zeitung des Osten*, reports from Posen on April 13:

"The number of Russian troops in the West is as follows: Within the Polish Kingdom is the Rüdiger Corps—half of the Fourth Rüdiger Corps together with reserves, altogether approximately 120,000 men. In Lithuania is the so-called Grenadier Corps (formerly the Shakhovskoy Corps), and part of the First Corps. The Guards are expected to arrive later—there has been talk of their arrival for several months already. In Volhynia, where the staff headquarters is in Dubno, is the remaining part of the Fourth Chegodayev Regiment. In Kiev there is a Second Auxiliary Corps, in Krzemieniec a mobile corps (Pavlov's) of about 6,000-8,000 men. Finally in Moldavia and Wallachia is the Lüders Corps with about 65,000 men."

As to why these troops are there, they themselves very naively make the following admission:

"Rank-and-file Russians, as well as the officers, are less reserved in their conversation. It is noteworthy that to the question why they are stationed on the frontier they all give the same reply, viz: Our Emperor[a] is the brother-in-law of the King of Prussia.[b] After the French were defeated by the Russians in the great war, all the land right up to Paris belonged to the Emperor; he entrusted the administration to various small German *knyazes*[c] (princes), and appointed his brother-in-law, the Prussian *knyaz*, as supreme military governor. Now the French and Germans have risen in revolt, and so the German *knyazes* as well as the supreme governor have asked for help from the Emperor, and that is why we are stationed here on the frontier. If calm is not soon established, we shall cross the frontier and restore order."

But that is not all. Emperor Nicholas has ordered another call-up of recruits of eight men per thousand to be carried out in the western part of his Empire. The order lists 21 provinces where recruits are to be called up.

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[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[c] Here and later on Engels uses the Russian word *knyaz*.—*Ed.*

That is how things look on the other side of the frontier. Half a million armed and organised barbarians are only waiting for an opportunity to fall on Germany and turn us into feudal serfs of the orthodox Tsar.

Just as Transylvania was once before occupied by the Russians, just as at the present time the incursion of 30,000 Russians into that same region is being demanded, and another 30,000 to be sent across Galicia, just as the Banat Serbs are also imploring the orthodox Tsar for help, so it will be with us. We shall yet reach the point when the Government and the bourgeoisie *invite the Russians into our country*, as happened recently in Transylvania. And things are bound to go that way. The victory of counter-revolution in Vienna and in Berlin has not sufficed for us. But when Germany has once felt the Russian knout, it will behave somewhat differently.

The Russians are the true liberators of Germany, we said in June last year.[a] We repeat this also today, but today we are no longer the only ones to say it!

Written by Engels on April 21, 1849

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[a] See "The Agreement Assembly of June 15" (present edition, Vol. 7, p. 90).— *Ed.*

# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

The *Wiener Zeitung* which failed to arrive the evening before yesterday, and following it, all the Vienna evening papers report:

"The Hungarian insurgents' plan to relieve Komorn has been completely thwarted. The advantage they gained by their temporary occupation of Waitzen has also been wrested from them, for Lieutenant-Field Marshal Csorich's division has driven them out of this position again. With the imposing reinforcements proceeding to the royal imperial army from all directions, a most successful resumption of the offensive by the royal imperial troops already in the very near future can be predicted."[a]

This royal imperial martial-law report, however, can already now almost certainly be affirmed to be a *pure lie.* If there were anything in it, a Bulletin would have been issued within the next 24 hours at the latest, and that has not happened. Moreover, all the other reports contradict this assertion, made without either a date or any detail.

We have no wish to repeat the many rumours circulating in Vienna and Breslau, to the effect that Komorn has been relieved, Görgey is marching on Vienna, Dembiński and Vetter have outflanked the imperial army and cut off its retreat to Vienna, that the *Landsturm* has been raised in all comitats on both sides of the Danube etc. So long as the postal connection between Pest and Vienna is not cut, little credence can be given to these rumours.

Up to the 18th, there was no mention of the post from Pest having failed to arrive in Vienna. The latest news from there was dated the afternoon of the 14th. This contains not a word about the recapture of Waitzen.

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[a] *Wiener Zeitung* No. 91 (evening supplement), April 16, 1849.—*Ed.*

It will be remembered that some days ago the *Ost-Deutsche Post* already reported that Waitzen had been recaptured. It is quite possible that Waitzen had to be taken twice, and that the imperial forces re-occupied it temporarily before finally being driven out. The fact that at a moment of great peril the official paper designed to dispense reassuring news writes with jesuitical reservations about this temporary re-occupation, is quite consistent with the previous practice of the Bulletins.

On the 14th nothing at all was known in Pest of the alleged capture of Waitzen. On the contrary, the *Lloyd* in a report of this date wrote:

"For the present, the Hungarians are behaving pretty arrogantly in Waitzen. They send off letters and parcels which pass through and arrive here safely, except that they are first opened and searched and officially sealed by the Hungarian Defence Council.[250] Under such a cover a dispatch arrived here yesterday containing the news that Major-General Götz was buried in the Hungarian camp with full military honours. Twelve battalions are said to have been paraded for the solemn occasion."[a]

All the other Pest news of the same date simply provides further evidence of the fear of the Austrians there. The *Spiegel* has this report:

"I am writing to you when I am just on the point of bringing my family to safety. Last night it was rumoured that all Germans were to be murdered (!). This and similar rumours are following each other at a frantic pace; the fanaticism of the Magyars threatens to erupt at any moment."

Visits to the camp are prohibited, the bell-towers are occupied; the Magyars in Pest are said to have intended to ring the alarm at the first attack from outside. Outside Pest itself, little has happened since the 11th. At noon on the 14th a few skirmishes took place when the Hungarian outposts showed themselves in the vicinity. It is also claimed that the thunder of guns has been heard.

The royal imperial finances appear to be in a bad way too. Windischgrätz announced on the 10th that the *imperial authorities* are now issuing *Hungarian paper money*, drafts on the Hungarian revenues, *at a fixed rate of exchange*, in denominations of 5, 10, 100 and 1,000 florins. With these scraps of paper the royal imperial army will pay for the provisions supplied to them, and so, just before quitting, they will steal a few millions from Hungary. Such a dirty system of robbery as carried on by the honourable friends of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, a system composed of elements from all levels of civilisation, from the plundering by Croat-Tartar nomads down to the most modern paper-money swindling and fraudulent bill-jobbing, is wholly unprecedented.

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[a] "Pest, 14. April", *Der Lloyd* No. 181 (evening edition), April 16, 1849.—*Ed.*

And while even the Austrian banknotes are subject to exchange fluctuation, these notes must be accepted at their full face value in private dealing!

All these items of news confirm the expectation of an imminent Austrian retreat from Pest rather than the claim that Waitzen has been taken.

An occupation of Waitzen is moreover almost impossible on strategic grounds. By all reports, the imperial forces have been everywhere thrown back over the Danube and the Gran, Pest being the sole point they hold on the left bank. Pest could not be left without cover; hence the attack could only take place from the right bank, the imperial armies would have had to cross the Danube under fire of the superior Hungarian artillery and then to drive a superior army out of Waitzen. To do all this would be quite impossible; and even if it were possible, it could not be done without a great battle. But no one, not even the *Wiener Zeitung*, knows anything about such a battle. All this is supposed to have been done by Csorich's division. *One* division!

Windischgrätz is happily in Olmütz. Welden is not yet with the army, but he has sent out in advance pompous proclamation to his soldiers, these "heroes (!) on whom the gaze of half the world (!) is fixed", a proclamation which could have been written by the *Kölnische Zeitung* in those glorious days of its Theiss manoeuvres. He describes his opponents as "infamous villains", who have made Hungary into a "tool of venal Poles", threatens them with destruction, and then adds: "But once more we offer our hand in reconciliation to our brother who has been led astray!"[a] Herr Welden *therefore wants to negotiate.* The Magyars will be much obliged.

Little is heard of the reinforcements which the Austrians are supposed to have already received. Eight battalions (?) are said to be stationed at Neuhäusel on the Waag; that is how much the five brigades on the Gran[b] must have shrunk already.

Six battalions are reported to be on the march from Vienna and the Fleischhackerstrasse is said to be choked with the waggons on which the reinforcements are arriving.

A reserve camp of 25,000 men is *supposed* to be formed on the Marchfeld near Vienna, another at Pettau (Styria) of 15,000 men, and a third of 20,000 to 30,000 men at Tábor and Budweis in Bohemia—everything to be quite ready by the 10th of May! Where

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[a] "An die K. K. Armee in Ungarn." Proklamation von F. Welden. Vom 17. April 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 302.—*Ed.*

are these troops to come from!! Haynau's corps is *not* coming, Radetzky cannot spare it. Instead he has sent all his light cavalry. Finally, Vogl is said to be expected in Eperies.

We defer the news from the Banat and Transylvania until the second edition, since it contains nothing of urgency.

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# [FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

The post from Vienna has failed to arrive; we are therefore able to learn details from the field of battle on the Upper Danube only indirectly, in snatches. △, the "best-informed" Vienna correspondent of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, also asserts that Waitzen has been re-occupied by the imperial forces, and that only one Magyar battalion was encountered there, because—the bulk under Görgey *had already marched off to Komorn*! In this way the thing can indeed be explained, and such an occupation of Waitzen is not only possible but even a mistake of the Austrians, who are now threatened in their rear. Welden has not gone to Pest either but to Neuhäusel on the Waag, where indeed some Austro-Moravian rearguard appears to be stationed. He is marching from there against the Magyars who strongly attacked the retreating imperial forces at *Gran*. The outcome of this engagement is not yet known.[a]

The following report in the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* shows what a lion's den this Hungary is, where the footsteps of many warriors go in but few come out.

"If this thing drags out to the summer, Kossuth's supporters will gain an ally in the fever, which may well be very much more dangerous to the Austrian troops, unaccustomed to the climate, than the Russians, whose entry is expected in the enemy's rear, will be to their opponents. All the proved bravery of our troops is useless against the fever, and it is precisely to the regions where the fever rages most fiercely that the war will shift as soon as the insurgents are forced back from Pest to the east."

Very great alarm reigns in the *Banat*. While from Peterwardein Perczel strikes terror into the countryside and already threatens Slavonia, while the Danube navigation from Pest to Mohacs continues to be disrupted, Bem is recently reported to be advancing

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[a] "Wien, 15. April", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 109, April 19, 1849.—*Ed.*

on Temesvar with a strong force. He is said to have called upon Temesvar and Arad to surrender to him within a week. The Serbian Voivodina is in its death throes; Kničanin intends to return there with 8,000-10,000 men, but only after Todorovich, Albert Nugent, Bosnich etc. have been retired. Nugent senior[a] has already been dismissed; Castiglioni, the bombardier of Cracow,[251] has been appointed as his successor, and one deputation after another is going to Bucharest to seek Russian assistance. Puchner too is on the march to the Banat.

*Transylvania* is still wholly in Bem's hands. The Russians have been expelled entirely from their last position at the Roterturm Pass. The Magyar party among the Transylvanian Romanians is conducting a strong agitation in favour of Bem and supports his recruiting drive in the country. The organisation of the army is proceeding at a marvellous pace. Moreover, Bem has captured 21 guns with 6,000 shells and 5,000 rifles with one million rounds of ammunition in Hermannstadt. He has persuaded most of the Transylvanian refugees in Bucharest to return, by declaring a general amnesty and simultaneously threatening to confiscate the property of all who stay behind.

We learn from *Galicia* (April 12) that the Hungarians are advancing nearer and nearer to the Carpathians, while nothing is heard of Vogl's alleged advance into Hungary. Almost the entire Cracow garrison has marched off to Hungary. It is expected to be *replaced by Russians.*

An indication that the imperial forces no longer feel secure in Slovakia is given by the transfer of their treasury from Schemnitz to Troppau.

Finally, we give a (Magyar) report from the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* on the strength of the Magyar army:

> The Hungarian army is daily increasing in numbers, daily becoming better organised and more disciplined. According to authentic reports, when the Banat and Transylvanian armies are included as well as the Peterwardein and Komorn garrisons, the army now has 32 regular battalions of infantry and Szeklers,[252] 23 regiments of cavalry (hussars, Uhlans, cuirassiers), 105 Honved battalions, 15,000 national cavalry, hence a total of 197,000 infantry and 30,000 regular cavalry, excluding national cavalry, national guards and *Landsturm.*

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[a] Laval Nugent.—*Ed.*

# THE DEBATE ON THE LAW ON POSTERS

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 279 (second edition), April 22, 1849]

*Cologne*, April 21. (The debate in the Chamber.) We return to the sitting of April 13.[a] After the reply[b] to Deputy Lisiecki's question, the next item on the agenda was the debate on the *law on posters*.[253]

After Herr Rohrscheidt had read the report of the Central Commission, Herr Wesendonck moved an amendment for the rejection of the government Bill *en bloc*.

Herr Arnim (Count) rose to speak. He said that the amendment was impermissible, being tantamount to a motion to proceed to the Order of the Day. But government Bills cannot be passed over in this way. That is established by the standing orders.[c]

Now at last the gentlemen of the Left realise what the Right intended by para. 53 of the standing orders. In relation to government Bills the Chamber cannot resolve to proceed to the Order of the Day. This seemingly innocent provision, however, meant neither more nor less than the following: you are not entitled to reject any government motion *en bloc*, but must debate every one of its paragraphs, even if there were a thousand of them.

But that was too much even for the Centre deputies. After a rather lengthy debate during which each of the sides displayed the greatest possible acumen in exegesis, the Chairman finally proceeded with the discussion by declaring Wesendonck's amendment permissible.

The floor was taken by Herr Rupp, the great Rupp, who was suspended from his post, persecuted, at one time hounded by all the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 295-98.—*Ed.*

[b] Given by the Minister of War K. A. Strotha.—*Ed.*

[c] "Geschäfts-Ordnung für die Zweite Kammer."—*Ed.*

newspapers, and expelled from the Gustavus-Adolphus Union[254] of blessed memory. Herr Rupp delivered a speech after which, in the opinion of the Berlin *National-Zeitung*, which is no less great and no less enlightened than Herr Rupp, there remained little more for the Left to say, not only in the general debate but also in the special debate. Let us take a look at this exhaustive speech of pure reason delivered by Rupp, the Friend of Light.

This exhaustive speech is, indeed, a true product of the *enlightened* spirit, of the spirit of the "free communities",[255] i.e. it exhausts nothing but the platitudes which can be uttered on the subject of posters.

Herr Rupp began his speech by pointing out the difference between the arguments in support of the law on posters put forward by the Government and the Central Commission. Whereas the Government presented the law as a mere police measure in the interests of road traffic and aesthetics, the Central Commission, which eliminated this clumsy Prussian trick, put the political motives in the foreground. This afforded wide scope for declamations by the enlightened preacher.

"Thus this Bill is indisputably one of the most important subjects for discussion by the present Assembly. Now we shall not want to say" (we shall not want to say!) "that it is so much (!) a matter of indifference to us whether there are a few more or a few less posters in the world, since (!) the *lofty* character of right and freedom consists precisely in the fact that even what seems to be most insignificant, when linked with it, immediately itself acquires a *higher significance*"!![a]

Having established the "lofty character" and "higher significance" of posters by this pastoral introduction, and having put his audience in a pious frame of mind, Herr Rupp could calmly give free rein to "the eternally clear, pure and smooth" stream of his pure reason.

First of all, Herr Rupp made the exceedingly shrewd remark "that very often measures have been taken against imaginary dangers, with the result that real dangers are created".

This platitude evoked delight and cries of "bravo" from the Left.

After this, Herr Rupp with equal profundity of thought pointed out that the Bill contradicts ... the imposed Constitution,[256] which Herr Rupp does not recognise at all!

It is a strange policy of the Left—to appeal to the imposed Constitution and to cite the kicks received in November as arguments against further kicks!

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[a] See *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen der durch das Allerhöchste Patent vom 5. Dezember 1848 einberufenen Kammern. Zweite Kammer.* Bd. 2, Berlin, 1849, S. 467.— *Ed.*

If the Government considers—Herr Rupp continued—that this Bill does not infringe freedom of the press, but only concerns the use of the streets and squares for the distribution of printed matter, then one could equally well say that freedom of the press prevailed also under the censorship, since it was not the use of the press but only the distribution of its products that was put under control.

One must have lived in Berlin under the censorship to appreciate the whole novelty of this proposition, which already years ago used to be current among all the pettifogging liberals, and which nevertheless was once more greeted by the Left with hilarity and cries of "bravo".

Herr Rupp then quoted the article on freedom of the press in the imposed Constitution and proved in detail that Manteuffel's Bill was in crying contradiction to the Manteuffel Constitution.

But, my dear Herr Rupp, *tout bonhomme que vous êtes,*[a] have you not yet realised that Manteuffel imposed the Constitution only in order subsequently to annul the few liberal phrases contained in it either by retaining the old gagging laws[257] or introducing new ones.

Indeed, Herr Rupp even went so far as to explain to the Right with some thoroughness that although later on, during the revision of the Constitution, they could include the law on posters in this Constitution, but at present they must reject it, otherwise they would be anticipating the revision of the Constitution!

As though the gentlemen of the Right were concerned with consistency, and not with putting the speediest end to the bad press, associations, agitation, commercial distrust, and other more or less revolutionary achievements!

To these weighty arguments, Herr Rupp then added the following banalities:

1) Posters are condemned because they spread *agitation.* But the prevention of agitation is not a matter for the state in which the rule of law prevails but for a police state.

2) I want a strong government. But a government that cannot tolerate agitation and posters is not a strong government.

3) Germans like to follow a leader.

4) The absence of posters did not prevent March 18 ("Neither horse, nor rider"[b]—etc.).

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[a] However credulous you are.—*Ed.*

[b] From the Prussian anthem *Heil Dir im Siegerkranz* written by B. G. Schumacher on the basis of the poem "Lied für den dänischen Unterthan" by H. Harries, a Schleswig pastor.—*Ed.*

5) Revolutions are the result of despotism.

From this Herr Rupp drew the conclusion that the law on posters must be rejected in the interests of Manteuffel.

"Gentlemen," he exclaimed imploringly, "protect the Government from the self-deception to which this law, like every law of a police state, exposes it!"

According to Herr Rupp, the rejection of Manteuffel's Bill would not be a vote of *no* confidence in Manteuffel, but, on the contrary, a *vote of confidence* in him. Herr Rupp wants Manteuffel to become the desired "strong government", and for that reason he does not want to weaken Manteuffel by adopting the law on posters. You think Herr Rupp is joking? He has no such intention. Herr Rupp is a Friend of Light, and a Friend of Light never jokes. Friends of Light cannot tolerate laughter any more than their worthy cousin, Atta Troll.

But the last trump card Herr Rupp played set the crown on his whole speech.

"The rejection of this law will contribute not a little to *calm* that section of the population which cannot agree to recognise the Constitution *prior* to its revision."

Herr Rupp's concern is "to *calm* that section of the population" which has not yet reached the level of Manteuffel!

That, however, is the nature of the gentlemen of the Left! They are tired of turbulent movement and since they are now deputies and realise that they can do nothing against the sabre dictatorship, all they want is that the unpleasant questions of principle should at last be settled, the Constitution revised *pro forma* with a view to declaring it valid, and an oath of allegiance sworn to it, and "the revolution brought to an end". Then a comfortable life will begin for them, a life of constitutional routine, declamation based on nothing, dealing with nothing, leading to nothing, intriguing, patronage, ministerial reshuffling etc.; that Olympian life of idleness and luxury which the Frenchmen of the type of Odilon,[a] Thiers and Molé enjoyed for 18 years in Paris, and which Guizot liked to call the "*play* of constitutional institutions". If only the unpleasant revolutionary movement were to recede somewhat, a Waldeck Ministry would indeed no longer be an impossibility! And after all the people are not yet mature enough for a republic!

After Herr Rupp's speech precisely *everything* still remains to be said. It was a question in the first place not of restriction of the freedom of the press *in general*, but above all of restriction of the

[a] Barrot.—*Ed.*

freedom of the press in regard to *posters*. What had to be done was to examine the effect of posters, to defend "street literature", and most particularly to champion the right of the *workers* to the *literature provided free of charge* in the form of posters. It was not a matter of glossing over the right of agitation by means of posters, but *frankly to champion* that right. But Herr Rupp said not a word about this. The old phrases about freedom of the press which we had sufficient opportunity of examining in all its aspects during 33 years of censorship—these old phrases were once more trotted out by Herr Rupp at length in a solemn tone, and because he said everything that the gentlemen from the *National-Zeitung* know about the subject, that newspaper considers he has exhausted the subject.

After the "enlightened" Rupp, the "obscurantist" Riedel was given the floor. But Herr Riedel's speech is too good to write about it in haste. *A demain donc, citoyen Riedel!*[a]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 283, April 27, 1849]

*Cologne*, April 23. Deputy *Riedel* certainly delivered the most classic speech of the whole debate. Whereas some restraint was still being shown by the ministerial bench, whereas even Manteuffel still employed certain pseudo-constitutional phrases, and only the clumsy parvenu, von der Heydt, at times forgot his constitutional role, Herr Riedel from Barnim-Angermünde was not in the least embarrassed to speak as a dyed-in-the-wool representative of Uckermark.[258] Never before has an electoral constituency been so worthily represented as that of Herr Riedel.

Herr Riedel began by asking: what are posters? And he gave the answer:

> "Posters in the proper meaning of the word are public statements intended to have a *reassuring* effect on people's minds."

That, according to Herr Riedel's etymology, is the "definition" of posters.

For the time being we do not want to dispute with Herr Riedel about the derivation of the word "poster" [*Plakat*]. We only draw his attention to the fact that if he had read the Bill attentively, he could have saved himself all his etymological exertions. This Bill is concerned not only with "posters" but also with "*pasted notices*",

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[a] Till tomorrow, therefore, Citizen Riedel.—*Ed.*

which "in the proper meaning of the word" are simply intended to be pasted up.

Instead of this, Herr Riedel expressed his righteous indignation at the most scandalous misuse of the word "poster".

"As a rule, posters serve merely to inflame *passions*, to kindle an *impure fire of hatred* or *revenge* particularly against the authorities.... As a rule, therefore, posters are precisely the opposite of what their name implies. Hence their use is usually a misuse" (i.e. a misuse of their *name*) "and therefore the question arises: Ought the local police authorities to help promote this mischief of posters?" (i.e. this misuse of the name "poster"). "Ought the police to make themselves in some measure the accomplices in the mischief caused by the misuse" (of the name) "of posters" (for notices which are in no way posters, i.e. reassuring notices)?

In short, ought posters in future to be employed "in accordance with their definition" (i. e. in accordance with the definition of the word "poster") or not?

What a great mistake Manteuffel committed in ascribing the law on posters to motives concerned with police duties and beautifying the streets! What a mistake it was for the Central Commission to advocate the law for political reasons! The law is necessary—for etymological reasons and should really be entitled: a law to return the use of the word "poster" to the "proper meaning of the word".

In this connection, however, the thorough Herr Riedel has committed a thorough blunder. If we, at the risk of boring our readers to death, were to enter into a discussion with Herr Riedel on etymology, we would, with Diez's grammar in hand, prove to him that the derivation of the [German] word *Plakat* [poster] is not at all from the Latin *placare*,[a] but is only a distortion of the French *placard*, which is connected with the French word *plaque*, which itself is of German origin. Hence Herr Riedel's whole reassurance theory falls to the ground.

That, of course, is a matter of indifference to Herr Riedel, and rightly so. For this whole reassurance theory is merely a schoolmaster's *captatio benevolentiae*[b] behind which is an outright appeal to the fears of the propertied classes.

Posters "inflame passions", they "kindle an impure fire of hatred or revenge particularly against the authorities", they

"serve as a call to the *unreasoning mass* to demonstrations which menacingly (!) violate order and go beyond the limits of legitimate freedom".

And therefore posters must be prohibited.

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[a] To placate, pacify, soothe.—*Ed.*

[b] Attempt to gain favour.—*Ed.*

In other words: the united feudal lords, bureaucrats and bourgeois successfully accomplished their coup d'état last autumn by force of arms, and now, with the help of the Chambers, want to impose on us the supplementary laws that are still required in order that these gentlemen can enjoy their victory in peace. They are heartily sick of "passions", they will use every means to extinguish "the impure fire of hatred and revenge against the authorities", who for them after all are the most desirable authorities in the world, to establish "order" and to restore "legitimate freedom" to the level that suits them. And what sort of level that is can be judged from the fact that Herr Riedel calls the great majority of the people an "*unreasoning mass*".

Herr Riedel cannot find words bad enough to describe this "unreasoning mass". He continues:

> "These communications" (by means of posters) "are mostly read by just that class of people who are least of all accustomed to written communications, who are not able to test and judge the credibility of written communications with the caution and distrust that is of course displayed by the public accustomed to reading and acquainted with the deceptions of the press...."

Who then form this unreasoning mass, this class least of all accustomed to written communications? Is it the peasants of Uckermark? By no means: since, firstly, they are the "backbone of the nation", secondly, they do not read posters, and, thirdly, they elected Herr Riedel. Herr Riedel has in mind none but the *urban workers*, the proletariat. Posters are a chief means of influencing the proletariat. By its very position the proletariat is revolutionary; being the class which is as much oppressed under a constitutional regime as under absolutism, the proletariat is quite prepared to take up arms again; it is precisely from the proletariat that the chief danger threatens, and therefore away with everything that could keep alive the revolutionary fervour in the proletariat!

And what is more conducive to keeping alive revolutionary fervour among the workers than posters, which convert every street corner into a huge newspaper in which workers who pass by find the events of the day noted and commented on, the various views described and discussed, and where at the same time they meet people of all classes and opinions with whom they can discuss the contents of the posters; in short, where they have simultaneously a newspaper and a club, and all that without costing them a penny!

It is just this, however, that the gentlemen of the Right do not want. And they judge correctly. For it is from the side of the proletariat that the greatest, indeed the sole danger threatens them; why

should they, who hold the reins of power, not strive by every means to remove this danger?

No one could raise any objection to this. With God's help we have been living for about six months under a sabre dictatorship. We do not harbour the slightest illusion about the fact of being in a state of open war against our enemies, or about the means by which alone our party can come to power. We shall not be so ridiculous as to make moral reproaches against the present ruling triple alliance of junkers, bureaucrats and bourgeois because they strive in every way to enslave us. If the highly moral preacher's tone and bombastic moral indignation of the wailers[259] were not in any case obnoxious to us, we would beware of such an empty phrase-mongering polemic if only because we still intend to take revenge on our enemies.

But what we find peculiar is that the gentlemen who are now in power, and who have an official majority, do not speak as frankly as we do. Herr Riedel, for example, is as genuine an Uckermark man as anyone could wish for and yet he could not refrain from asserting at the end of his speech:

> "It has certainly never been my intention to put any kind of barrier in the way of *free expression of opinion.* I regard the spiritual struggle ... for the truth as a sacred right of free peoples, which no one may call in question."

And in another passage Herr Riedel speaks of his wish

> "to allow the distribution of posters on the same basis as that on which literary works in general can be distributed".

What, after all the preceding explanations, are these phrases intended to mean? The existing government and the constitutional monarchy in general cannot nowadays remain in power in civilised countries, if the press is free. Freedom of the press, free competition between opinions means giving freedom to the class struggle in the sphere of the press. And the kind of order that they ardently desire is precisely the stifling of the class struggle, the gagging of the oppressed classes. Hence the party of law and order has to abolish free competition between opinions in the press; by means of press laws, bans etc., it must as far as possible ensure its monopoly of the market; it must, in particular, wherever possible directly suppress the literature provided free of charge in the form of posters and leaflets. The gentlemen are well aware of all this; why do they not say as much frankly?

In fact, Herr Riedel, why do you not propose immediate restoration of the censorship? There is no better means for repressing "passions", extinguishing "the impure fire of hatred and

revenge against the authorities", and safeguarding "the limits of legitimate freedom"! *Voyons, citoyen Riedel, soyons francs!*[a] After all, it will come to that in the end!

Herr Riedel resumed his seat. The floor was given to *Simons*, the Minister of Justice, barrister from Elberfeld, the offspring of a Wuppertal bourgeois family of an equal rank to that of von der Heydt.

Herr Simons set about his task with tremendous thoroughness. It is noticeable that he is still new to the Ministry of Justice.

Posters are pasted up in public streets and squares, said the Minister of Justice. Consequently

"one must look for the *definition of public streets and squares*"!!

True, Herr Riedel had established the "definition" and "proper meaning of the word" poster in a way deserving our thanks. But that is not the point at all. On the contrary, it is a question of the "definition of streets and squares". And here the Minister of Justice wins immortal laurels.

Can one imagine a finer school for teaching the ABC than this Chamber where people argue seriously about the definition of streets and squares, about schoolboyish points of grammar, and so forth?

What then is the "definition of streets and public squares"?

It is as follows: streets etc.

*cannot* "be made available for any random and public use", *because* "such a definition of streets etc. *cannot be proved*"!

Hence the reason why we have a so-called Minister of Justice is precisely to give us such profound explanations. In fact, one understands now why Herr Simons found it embarrassing to be presented to the Chamber.

Of course, after such a brilliant performance, the remainder of the Minister's speech is not worth mentioning. Under the cloak of remarkable erudition in French jurisprudence, Herr Simons brought out some forgotten recollections from his former practice as a Public Prosecutor. Then come statements like the following:

"This question of need must *certainly* (!) be given an affirmative answer, that *at least* (!!) is *my* opinion (!!!), *bearing in mind the doubts* (!!!!) that have been raised (!!!!!)."

Finally, Herr Simons wanted

"to sanction the legal foundation for restricting posters".

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[a] Well, Citizen Riedel, let us be frank.—*Ed.*

*To sanction a foundation!* Where did you learn such language, Herr Simons?

After such oratorical feats as those of Herr Riedel and Herr Simons, we cannot, of course, dwell on Herr Berends' speech which followed them. Herr Berends correctly felt by instinct that the ban on posters was aimed directly against the proletariat, but his development of the theme was rather feeble.

The general debate came to an end. For rejecting the Bill *en bloc* there were 152 votes, and against it 152 votes. Among others of the Left who were absent *without special permission* was Herr *Kyll* from Cologne. If Herr Kyll had been present the Bill on posters would have been rejected out of hand. Hence we owe it to Herr *Kyll* that the Bill was adopted in part.

We shall not dwell on the special debate. Its result is well known: the itinerant traders in books have been placed under police surveillance.

For this they can thank Herr Kyll!

Written by Engels on April 21 and 23, 1849

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# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

In the welter of contradictory rumours, some of which are evidently invented by the imperial side, we can be certain of only two facts: firstly, the Magyars have crossed the Gran, and on the left bank of the Danube at Parkány, opposite Gran, have defeated the corps assembled there under Simunich; secondly, they have disappeared from Pest for the second time, and nobody can say where they have gone.

Hence, little can be said about their present position or intentions. It is most likely that they will station themselves along the left bank of the Danube from Waitzen to Komorn, so as, after successfully relieving Komorn, to cross the Danube under the protection of this fortress's guns and to cut off the retreat of the main imperial army.

The corps defeated at Parkány was made up of the remnants of the Götz brigade, the Simunich division and troops drawn from the corps besieging Komorn that could be spared there.

According to remarks made by Austrian officers in Pest, it is more doubtful than ever that Waitzen has been re-occupied by the imperial forces.

The imperial side is spreading the rumour that Jellachich has defeated the Magyars at Pest and forced them to retreat to Gödöllö. But this rumour is deprived of all significance by the simultaneous and much better established news that the Magyars left Pest during the night, while the peasants in the area kept their watch-fires burning till daybreak to deceive the Austrians.

One part of the Magyar army is said to have moved to the north from Parkány via Ipolyság, so as to be able together with the volunteer forces raised all over Upper Hungary to prevent the entry of Vogl's corps. According to reports received via Pest and

Pressburg, Vogl is at Zboró (six miles[a] from Eperies); direct reports via Cracow and those in the Bohemian and Moravian papers which are best informed on these areas know nothing of this so far. Vogl's entry has moreover been reported so often that by now no one believes in it any longer. In Pest and Ofen, and also among the troops, the rumour is being disseminated by the imperial side that Kossuth has resigned his post as President of the Hungarian Defence Council and taken to flight so as not to stand in the way of the negotiations which are now said to be about to begin (Welden's proclamation may be remembered[b]).

Two days ago it was reported that an imperial sharpshooter on patrol had shot Kossuth in the Hungarian camp. This report appears to have found no credence, hence this new invention.

The Magyars will take care not to waste precious time on negotiations so that the defeated and weakened Austrians can gather their reinforcements at their leisure and then, supported by 50,000-60,000 Russians, throw their adversaries back across the Theiss again!

Böhm in Vienna has published the report that Komorn continues to be encircled, and that even the bridge from the citadel to the bridgehead on the right bank of the Danube has been destroyed by the royal imperial artillery. What truth there is in that remains to be seen.

Transylvania is still in the hands of the Magyars. Under Bem's direction, it has been converted into a gigantic fortress, unassailable from the Moldavian-Wallachian-Bukovina border. The Magyars make sorties from there into the Bukovina. Thus, on April 9, six companies of Szeklers with two guns advanced as far as Pojana-Stampi, beat the Austrians and retreated across the border with 14 oxen and some horses as booty. Clearly, these raids keep the movement among the peasants in the area very much alive. Kobylica has promised to bring in a Hungarian army on the 12th and to make the peasants masters of all the land.

Perczel still continues to advance in the Bacska. He has invaded the territory of the Chaikist battalion,[260] occupied Gospodincze, and is now in Tschurug on the Theiss, the largest base of the battalion. The Chaikist territory occupies the extreme angle between the Danube and the Theiss, east of Peterwardein.

Both Puchner and the Russians are said to have arrived at Orsova on the borders of the Banat; 10,000 Russians are expected there. In

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[a] See footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 316.—*Ed.*

addition, Stratimirovich has emerged again and is rallying volunteer forces against the Hungarians in the Chaikist battalion.

On the other hand, a report from Semlin, dated April 13, says:

"The arrival of the steamboat passengers yesterday presented a sorry sight. The entire personnel of the general command of Transylvania, among them General Pfersmann and General Appel, disembarked. Their shabby garments and their pale countenances betrayed their misfortunes. After an hour's rest, they continued their journey to Vienna by way of Agram. They carried with them the substantial war-chest and the archives."[a]

In the Voivodina, Rajachich is to assume the civil and Mayerhofer the military administration. The Serbs intend to hold a grand National Assembly on May 20 and to elect a new voivode. Kničanin has the best chances. We have the draft Constitution of the Voivodina before us; long faces will be pulled over it at Olmütz. We shall return to it.

We have just received a letter from Lemberg dated April 16; it says nothing at all of Vogl's entry into Upper Hungary.

Written by Engels about April 23, 1849

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[a] "Semlin, 13. April", *Der Lloyd* No. 183 (evening edition), April 17, 1849.— *Ed.*

# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

On the 16th, the Hungarians undertook a reconnaissance along the whole line of the imperial army stationed at Pest. The attack did not begin until four in the afternoon; the bombardment lasted until nearly six. No exchange of infantry fire developed; the losses on both sides were small. The attack began with the Hungarian hussars surprising the imperial forces while cooking, causing great confusion; and when the Austrians had won enough time to bring their artillery into operation against them, the Hungarians disappeared equally suddenly. What purpose the Hungarians sought to achieve by this attack is not yet clear. It is supposed that the battle outside Pest was merely a cover for the Hungarians to cross the Danube, and the Magyar correspondent of the *Breslauer Zeitung* actually claims to know that the attempt was successful. However, perhaps by their sudden reappearance before Pest, the Hungarians merely wished to prevent the imperial forces from drawing off larger sections of troops to Gran and the Komorn road. Nevertheless, Welden, who journeyed on from Pressburg on the 17th, is reported to have ordered 10,000 men from Ofen to Gran on the 18th.

The fortification of Ofen with woolsacks is still going on.

We have no further definite news from the theatre of war at Waitzen and Gran. It is still uncertain who is in possession of Waitzen, but probably it is still occupied by the Hungarians.

Concerning the action at Gran, martial-law reports are again circulating the rumour that the Magyars were defeated there and 2,000 were taken prisoner. Of course, there is not a tittle of truth in this. At most, the imperial forces may have succeeded in holding their ground on the Gran.

Naturally, the story of Kossuth's alleged flight[a] has dissolved again into pure fable. While the Austrian officers talk of negotiations the Magyars attack, and Kossuth has announced that he intends to recruit another 50,000 men (the Magyar correspondent even mentions a figure of 200,000). Everywhere the *Landsturm* is being called up, and many thousands of them armed with pitchforks and scythes are reported to be marching behind the regular army. The latter is said already to number 35 hussar regiments.

News comes from the Banat that on the 13th Perczel in the area of the Chaikist battalion was driven back at Titel and Wilowa by Stratimirovich; Todorovich, too, is reported to have sent two battalions there.

The journal *Bucovina* paints a heart-rending picture of conditions in that province. Destitution and misery are so intense in the Bukovina that in certain localities there are people who for some weeks past have been living on minced straw or crushed acorns mixed with maize meal.

Written by Engels about April 24, 1849

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[a] See this volume, p. 331.— *Ed.*

# THE HUNGARIAN WAR

*Cologne,* April 25. Today we have no new information from the theatre of war. That which we already published yesterday about the *departure* of a corps of substantial size *from Pest to Gran,*[a] has been fully corroborated, and this is a most important fact. It obviously constitutes *the first step towards the abandonment of Pest.*

We do not know the strength of the departed corps, nor how many men still remain in Pest. Some papers report that 10,000 men marched away; if this is so, 5,000-7,000 men at most can have remained in Pest. The *Wanderer,* a martial-law sheet *pur sang,*[b] which has connections with the military camp, speaks of a "departure of the *whole camp*" to Gran having occurred during the night, after Welden had been in Pest for some hours and then returned to Gran. The *Wanderer* relates:

> "The march towards Waitzen and the neighbouring area began at 4 a.m. The whole army stationed on the Ofen bank of the Danube as far as Komorn is crossing the river and today will take the offensive against the insurgents at all points, while Schlick and the Ban,[c] operating beyond Waitzen, are attacking them in the rear and on the flanks. Already yesterday it was said at headquarters that decisive results were expected within three days."

The strategic reason which the *Wanderer* gives for the Austrian withdrawal is more than ludicrous. According to it the plan is for the main imperial army to cross the Danube between Komorn (this is how far the retreat has already gone!) and Gran and attack the

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[a] See this volume, p. 333.—*Ed.*
[b] Thoroughbred.—*Ed.*
[c] Jellachich.—*Ed.*

Magyars in the front,while Jellachich *and* Schlick (! *i.e.*two out of the three army corps!) will cross over to Waitzen and cut off their retreat.

But if the imperial forces have made such progress that they can already think of such decisive manoeuvres, why do they not remain at Pest, where they are in complete command of the Danube crossing, on the left bank of the river, and march up along that bank towards Waitzen and Balassa-Gyarmat? In this way, with "Schlick and Jellachich's" assistance, they could completely cut off the Hungarians from their base of operations, and totally destroy them after winning one battle, while in case of a defeat their own retreat to Pest could not be cut off?

However, the *Wanderer*'s glosses are the more certainly pure phrases as the small number of reinforcements arrived in the last few days do not allow the imperial side to think even remotely of resuming the offensive.

It is as clear as daylight: what is happening is that *the imperial forces are retreating from Pest* and taking up new positions in the area from Komorn to Gran and Szent Endré along the right bank of the Danube and the Gran so as to oppose the Magyar pressure on Komorn. Incidentally, this very "*speedily*" performed withdrawal is the best commentary on the supposed imperial victory at Parkány on the Gran.

What these manoeuvres seem to suggest is that Welden, in the crude fashion in which he conducts warfare, intends to provoke a decisive battle at all costs and as speedily as possible. His rashness will probably end badly for him.

△, the "best-informed" Vienna correspondent of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, a black-and-yellow[a] bureaucrat and an authority for the *Kölnische Zeitung*, but otherwise an impudent braggart and extremely ignorant of geography, is again lying with remarkable impertinence when he speaks of *two* Magyar corps marching with all haste towards Kaschau to meet Lieutenant-Field Marshal Vogl's forces. One of these corps is said to be 30,000 strong, the other to be commanded by Görgey (!)—but Lieutenant-Field Marshal Wohlgemuth is alleged to be following hard on their heels and if he could get to Miskolcz before them (the Austrians are now on the march to Miskolcz!!!), the Magyars would have to retreat over the Theiss!![b] A brilliant strategist, this "best-informed" correspondent of the best-informed Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.

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[a] The Austrian imperial colours.—*Ed.*

[b] "Wien, 19. April", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 112, April 22, 1849.—*Ed.*

These lies show the lengths to which those on the imperial side have to go to sustain the spirit of their troops even to some extent.

In a similar way, they also sought to capture Komorn, the fortress they could not capture by force of arms. They sent spies to spread among the garrison the rumour that Debreczin had long ago been taken by the imperial forces; that Mack was already inclined to capitulate, but Esterházy was not. Fortunately, a Magyar spy got through to Komorn and brought the news of the latest Magyar victories.

In the Banat, the Magyars are already beginning the encirclement of Temesvar.

From Galicia, there is still no news at all of Vogl's alleged entry into Hungary with his fictitious twelve battalions, reports of which were so grandly trumpeted abroad. It appears that the plans for the disposition of the troops concerned have been changed so frequently, because Galicia cannot be trusted to keep calm, that they have not yet even been assembled on the border.

There is nothing new from Transylvania. We shall print only an excerpt from a report about Bem, sent to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* from the Wallachian border. These admissions from the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* are the most striking confirmation of what we have so often said about Bem:

"At this moment, *the whole of Transylvania* is obedient to the irresistible authority of Bem, a leader who is as *bold* as he is fortunate, whose *genius* and *exceptional energy have decimated the best troops of two emperors*[a] *and driven them from the country.* With relatively few and for the most part inexperienced forces, this extraordinary man has been able to set at nought the immense sacrifices demanded by this unprecedentedly bitter struggle, and to frustrate the brilliant feats of arms of the Austrian troops, nay, even the universally feared Russian intervention. Bem's successes are all *the more amazing* as he has succeeded in conquering a country in which the majority of the inhabitants, and especially the Saxons and Romanians, without exception, remained loyal to their Emperor and readily made every sacrifice, however hard. In face of so sad an outcome of this war, as protracted as it is destructive, all previous sacrifices, indeed even the summoning of foreign assistance, appear as sheer waste, while the reconquest of the country demands new sacrifices which are the heavier as the tireless Bem *has increased his power tenfold* by promptly levying soldiers and contributions. The inhabitants of Hermannstadt alone are reported to have been afflicted with a levy of four million florins C. M., payable within three days. What is equally distressing is the fact that this so lamentable misfortune, which could have been averted by prudence and strong measures, has led to an extraordinary cooling off in the sympathies which the populations thus afflicted previously gave so cordially to the Government, while their spirits have been crushed and their energy crippled by the imposed Constitution. All this is very natural, considering the enormous distance between the rights demanded in the well-known petitions of the Romanians and Saxons and those granted in the Constitution of March 4, and the obstinacy with which the Vienna Government

[a] Francis Joseph I and Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

withholds the concessions promised in Olmütz to the Romanian deputation.[261] The common sense of the people sees that fundamentally it is all the same whether its rights are neglected or curtailed by the arrogance of the Hungarians or by an all-powerful Government."[a]

Written by Engels on April 25, 1849

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[a] "Von der walachischen Gränze, 8.April", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 110, April 20, 1849.—Ed.

# LASSALLE[262]

*Cologne*, April 26. We have to report a fact which testifies that *en fait de justice*[a] there is no longer anything impossible. Herr Nicolovius, Public Prosecutor General, clearly intends to surpass even the laurels which Herr Hecker in his time won for himself.

From our previous reports[b] it will be recalled that during the criminal court trial against Lassalle, von Ammon I, deputy Chief Public Prosecutor in Düsseldorf, for three weeks concealed in his office desk and withheld from the examining magistrate a letter of Lassalle's in which the latter requested a farmer[c] from Schönstein to arrange for a reinforcement of some 100 men to march to Düsseldorf in the event of a struggle and that von Ammon only handed the letter to the examining magistrate when the latter informed him that the investigation had been concluded. It will be recalled that because of this letter—which, incidentally, was so far from containing a direct call for an uprising that neither the Court nor the indictment board included it among the grounds for prosecution—the investigation had to be begun afresh, and this was the reason why Lassalle's trial was not already concluded in the previous session of the Assize Court.

Lassalle protested at the time to the Public Prosecutor General against this deliberate dragging out of the case by Herr von Ammon I.

The Public Prosecutor General, instead of making any reply to Lassalle, sent the latter's complaint to the Public Prosecutor's office

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[a] As regards jurisdiction.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 344-46, 463-65 and 474-76.—*Ed.*

[c] Stangier.—*Ed.*

in Düsseldorf with instructions to instigate proceedings against Lassalle for this complaint on the basis of Article 222 because in it Herr von Ammon *had been insulted*!

*Pends-toi, Figaro, tu n'aurais pas inventé cela!*[a]

Thus, a letter to Herr Nicolovius is alleged to constitute an insult to Herr von Ammon within the meaning of Article 222! Already once before, on the occasion of the trial of the press, which we had the pleasure of conducting against Herr Zweiffel and Herr Hecker, we explained that Article 222 does not even apply to public insults by the press but only to insults levelled at officials when they are actually present.[b]

But even if Article 222 were also applicable to insults through *printed* matter, it would still certainly not occur to anyone to maintain that a letter to a third person could be an insult to an official. According to the practice adopted hitherto in the police courts, it was always requisite that the material containing the insult should be addressed to the insulted person himself or that it should be publicly disseminated. Herr Nicolovius now discovers that if one writes in insulting terms to *a third person* about an official, that is an insult to the official! It seems, therefore, that one must beware of speaking about officials in a disrespectful tone in one's private correspondence!

The fact that Lassalle's letter was addressed to the *official authority superior* to Herr von Ammon and was therefore a *complaint*, a *protest*, makes the matter still more impossible.

For the law even makes it obligatory for complaints against wrongful actions of officials to be addressed to the superior authority. If, therefore, the substance of the complaint was true, it was perfectly in order; if it was false then the Public Prosecutor General should have instituted legal proceedings on the basis of Article 373—because of a *calumniatory complaint*. But in that case it would be the easiest thing in the world for Lassalle on the basis of the documents to prove the truth of his complaint, whereas this proof is of no avail to him when brought before a police court on a charge of insulting an official.

The case came before the Court in Düsseldorf. But this Court, too, found that an insult has to be made either publicly, or in the presence of the insulted person, and dismissed the case. The Public

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[a] Hang yourself, Figaro, you would not have thought of that! (Beaumarchais, *La folle journée, ou le mariage de Figaro*, Act V, Scene 8.)—*Ed.*

[b] See "The First Trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*" (present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 304-12).—*Ed.*

Prosecutor's office opposed this, and our local Cologne indictment board, which has often been tested and has always proved reliable, actually decided to institute legal proceedings based on Article 222 against Lassalle, who is now happily burdened with a police court case.

What else will be achieved with the help of Article 222, if things continue in this way?

Incidentally the Lassalle case will come before the Assize Court on May 3.

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# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

We begin our news today with the following report from the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*:

"From private sources we have received the important news that a big battle was fought between Gran and Komorn on the 20th and 21st. Welden led a reserve corps and held the heights near Gran. A large part of the royal imperial forces, including the Jablonowsky and Simunich brigades, was spread out on the plain between Gran and Komorn. The Magyars attacked all the positions of the imperial forces with such fierceness that the latter were thrown into confusion right from the outset. Despite the most courageous defence of the soldiers, Welden had to retreat. *In addition to the great loss in dead and wounded suffered by the royal imperial army, 20 guns and 2,000 prisoners fell into the hands of the insurgents.*

"According to another report, which generally confirms the news of the Hungarian victory mentioned above, ***the immediate consequence of this victory has been the relief of Komorn.***"

Evidently, this Job's news is already known in higher circles, for Government Counsellor von Festenburg, who accompanied Master of Ordnance Welden to Hungary, arrived in Vienna as a courier on the night of the 21st, and between then and the departure of the mail on the evening of the 22nd, not a word transpired either on the reason for his arrival or on the content of the dispatches he brought.

We have to await confirmation of this report, however probable it may seem. The letters from Breslau take us up to the evening of the 23rd; news of the Magyar victory at Komorn on the 21st could hardly have reached Breslau by then. But a letter from another Breslau source also reports that news *of the capture of Gran by the Magyars* came with the train which arrived there on the morning of the 23rd.

We were quite correct in our estimate of the butcher Welden. He was eager to mark his arrival in the field at once by a great battle and to spread his fame far and wide. According to all the reports from Vienna, this battle actually took place on the 20th and 21st.

All the newspapers now unanimously recognise that the departure of the main imperial forces from Pest was *actually the beginning of their retreat* from the city. It even appears that they have become convinced of the impossibility to hold Ofen, and that they intend to give this up as well. All the woolsacks requisitioned for the ramparts have been returned to their owners and the sand-bagging of the ramparts has also ceased. According to the Magyar correspondent of the *Breslauer Zeitung*, the Magyars are said to have already occupied Neu-Pest (the first suburb). There are, by the way, not many of them left; their main corps, as we know, departed long ago, the unmounted *Landsturm* has for the most part been disbanded, and only the mounted *Landsturm*, armed with the *fokos* (a strong staff with a small brass axe at one end) are still at Pest, along with some Honveds and a few guns.

According to △ , the "best-informed" correspondent of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*,[a] who, incidentally, cannot spell any Magyar or Serb name correctly, the Magyars are no longer stationed along the Danube but along the Gran, from the Leva down to the confluence of the Gran and the Danube. Their main force is said to be located in Ipolyság (a few miles[b] to the rear). Wohlgemuth, who has 5,000 men, is said to be facing their right flank.

More recent reports state that this right flank has wheeled round, crossed the Gran and advanced towards Neutra, driving Wohlgemuth back to the town. Even the *Lloyd* admits this.[c] There is no definite news of the positions of the imperial forces. Vienna newspapers and *Lithographierte Correspondenz* still have "Schlick and Jellachich operating beyond Waitzen in the rear of the insurgents", as if it were possible to get "beyond" Waitzen without first getting "*into*" it! And Waitzen is and will remain in the hands of the Magyars, despite all the martial-law lies of the black-and-yellow press.

The butcher Welden is ruining himself by his brutal impatience to attack. If he stayed on the defensive, covered by the Danube and the Gran, and if his main force were united with the corps besieging Komorn, he might succeed in holding his ground until the arrival of reinforcements. But he wants to get all the credit for putting down the Magyar revolution, with the result that by now he together with his entire army may have perished.

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[a] "Wien, 20. April", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 113, April 23, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] See footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*

[c] "Neuestes", *Der Lloyd* No. 191 (evening edition), April 21, 1849; No. 194 (morning edition), April 24, 1849.—*Ed.*

For at last we have more definite news about the Galician reinforcements. Some of them are concentrated on the Jablunka Pass. These are said to be under Benedek's command and to be rapidly advancing on the mountain towns. The others—eight battalions, 1,200 cavalry and 15 guns—are reported to have marched from Lemberg on or about the 16th and a reserve force of six battalions, 800 cavalry and nine guns was supposed to be following. These troops, whose numbers are obviously much exaggerated, were supposed to be marching over the Carpathians in three columns, and to be operating directly against the main Hungarian army and not in the direction of the Theiss. But remarkable obscurity still persists as to when they will arrive.

Hence a report from Breslau that Vogl has been surrounded in the mountains at Munkács and his entire corps destroyed, is false. Munkacs lies far to the east of Vogl's line of operations. It is, however, possible that an Austrian column invaded there from Galicia and was beaten.

Concerning Komorn, the imperial forces also had very philanthropic intentions: The brigadier commanding the corps of sappers and engineers, Major-General von Zitta, who himself had built the Komorn fortress, is said to be leading the last attempt to force the capitulation of the fortress which, according to his own declaration, cannot be taken by assault. It is reported that he is attempting to flood the casemates in order to drive out the garrison from this bomb-proof refuge and confront it with the alternative of either surrendering Komorn or seeking shelter from the devastating rain of fire in the ruins of the town.

But this kind intention will surely have been frustrated by recent events.

It is now officially reported that Nugent in the south has very politely but firmly been recalled. His son, who abandoned Zombor to the Magyar *Landsturm* without a fight, is said to be court-martialled. What a farce! Stratimirovich's victory does not prevent the Magyars from keeping the Bacska occupied; the flight of the Serbs across the Danube and the Theiss is continuing. Mayerhofer is now in command in Nugent's place but is now almost without troops, as they have nearly all been sent to Ofen.

It is confirmed that Bem is in the Banat. He has equipped the Szekler *Landsturm* well with arms from the Hermannstadt and Kronstadt arsenals and, leaving to it the guarding of the country, is advancing with 30,000-40,000 of his best troops reinforced with Wallachian and Saxon recruits. He is reported to have already taken Temesvar.

The new Hungarian banknotes devised by Windischgrätz have now been issued, but no one will accept them. All exchanges and shops are closed. The Magyar report writes about this:

"Despite the martial-law threat, all the banking-houses and merchants have refused to accept the notes. With the Hungarian army in the vicinity, the imperial military authorities have not deemed it advisable to employ force, and further issue of the banknotes has been deferred until better times. But there is already circulating here a decree of the Hungarian Government, branding these banknotes as 'maliciously manufactured, forged bills' and warning everybody against accepting them. Another of Kossuth's proclamations outlaws those commissars installed by Windischgrätz who have dared partially to reintroduce the compulsory labour abolished by the Diet of 1848.[263] The peasants of Duna Vecse, Germans, have already taken advantage of the proclamation and killed one of these commissars."

Fresh support for the Magyars, which just now, on the eve of their probable victory, is of the greatest significance, is *the Polish peasant rising* which is about to break out in Galicia. About this movement, which the Cracow martial-law sheet *Czas* (The Times) seeks as far as possible to conceal, the Vienna *Lithographierte Correspondenz* writes:

"Forced recruiting has caused a serious situation in the vicinity of *Cracow*. ***Three thousand peasants have moved to the large forest near Chrzanov and are camping there.*** Attempts to persuade them amicably to come out have merely elicited the response: 'We would rather die here than in Hungary; what have the Hungarians done to us?' Many of the young people, who do not wish to serve against the Hungarians either, have fled from Cracow to the forest, and there are fears that this example will prove contagious and that a *general rising* might develop. It is well known that Cracow is almost totally denuded of troops."

At this moment talk of Russian assistance is more widespread than ever. The rumours are self-contradictory. But it is a fact that between Kalisch and Bucharest 200,000 Russians are already drawn up and ready to invade Galicia and Hungary so soon as the orthodox Tsar gives the order. 40,000 are stationed at Cracow, 50,000 at Brody (Radziwilow), and the remainder partly further to the rear, partly further to the south in Podolia, Bessarabia and the Danube principalities.

We had almost forgotten to inform our readers that *the first defeat of the Austrians on the Gran has been confirmed.* It was Wohlgemuth who was there in command and did not take 2,000 Hungarian prisoners but rather suffered these losses himself. This accounts for his otherwise inexplicable positions at Leva and later at Neutra.

Written by Engels about April 26, 1849

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## [HUNGARIAN VICTORIES][264]

*Cologne*, April 26. In the confused news reaching us today from the Hungarian theatre of war via Vienna and Breslau, three clear, definite and undeniable facts stand out:

(1) ***The imperial forces have evacuated Pest and Ofen;***

(2) ***The Hungarians have won a victory between the Gran and the Waag;***

(3) ***Komorn has been relieved.***

The battle itself took place between Leva and Neutra, and it was Wohlgemuth who suffered a complete defeat. He was forced to retreat five miles. Görgey thereupon marched on Komorn with his entire force and, according to the latest news, reached Neuhäusel and Sz. Peter on the Waag, an hour from Komorn.

No credence can be given to a martial-law report that the encirclement area of Komorn has been re-established.

The outposts of the Magyar vanguard are reported to be already at *Tyrnau, five miles from Pressburg.* According to other reports they are *two miles* from Pressburg, and people claim to have seen them even on the March a few hours from Vienna!

Ofen and Pest were completely evacuated on the 21st and 22nd. The imperial headquarters was last located in *Gran*, from there it has probably been transferred to Raab.

In the south, the Magyars are overrunning wider and wider areas. They are even *threatening Semlin* on the Turkish frontier, as the *Wiener Zeitung* admits.

The Hungarians are reported to have invaded Wallachia from Transylvania and defeated the Russians.

In short, the Magyar revolutionary army is advancing victoriously on all fronts. The entire might of all the 36 million Austrians has

# Außerordentliche
# Beilage zu Nr. 283 der N. Rh. Ztg.

Freitag, 27. April 1849.

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* **Köln,** 26. April. Aus den verworrenen Nachrichten, die uns heute über Wien und Breslau vom ungarischen Kriegsschauplatz zukommen, treten drei Thatsachen klar, bestimmt und unleugbar hervor:

**1) Die Kaiserlichen haben Pesth und Ofen geräumt.**

**2) Die Ungarn haben zwischen der Gran und der Waag einen Sieg erfochten.**

**3) Komorn ist entsetzt.**

Die Schlacht selbst hat zwischen Lewa und Neitra stattgefunden, und zwar war es Wohlgemuth, der hier eine vollständige Niederlage erlitt. Er mußte sich fünf Meilen weit zurückziehen. Görgei rückte hierauf mit seiner ganzen Heeresmacht gegen Komorn und stand nach den letzten Nachrichten bei Neuhäusel und St. Peter an der Waag, eine Stunde von Komorn.

Ein Standrechtsbericht, der die Wiederherstellung des Komorner Cernirungsrayons meldet, verdient keinen Glauben.

Die Vorposten der maayarischen Avantgarde sollen schon bei Tyrnau, fünf Meilen von Preßburg stehn. Nach andern Berichten stehn sie zwei Meilen vor Preßburg, ja selbst an der March, wenige Stunden von Wien, will man sie gesehen haben!

Die vollständige Räumung von Ofen und Pesth fand am 21. und 22. statt. Das kaiserliche Hauptquartier befand sich zuletzt in Gran. Von dort wird es wohl nach Raab verlegt sein.

Im Süden dehnen sich die Magyaren immer weiter aus. Selbst Semlin, an der türkischen Gränze, ist bedroht, — die Wiener Zeitung gibt es zu.

Von Siebenbürgen aus sollen die Ungarn nach der Walachei eingefallen sein und die Russen geschlagen haben.

Kurz, die magyarische Revolutionsarmee dringt auf allen Punkten siegreich vor. An der Kühnheit und dem Enthusiasmus eines kleinen Volks von kaum fünf Millionen scheitert die ganze Macht der 36 östreichischen Gesammtmillionen, scheitert die siegreiche Armee, die „halb Europa anstaunt", wie Welden sagt. Dieselben Erfahrungen die die Kaiserlichen vor 50 Jahren bei Jemmappes und Fleurus machten, machen sie jetzt wieder in Ungarn: mit der Revolution ist nicht gut Krieg führen!

* **Berlin,** 25. April. In der zweiten Kammer wurde über den Berliner Belagerungszustand debattirt. Manteuffel erklärte, er werde ihn nicht aufheben. Die Debatte wurde vertagt.

**Dresden,** 25. April. Seit heute Morgen ist allgemein das Gerücht verbreitet, daß das Ministerium seine Entlassung gegeben habe. (D. A. Z.)

* **Paris,** 25. April. Der Bericht über die Ausgaben der provisorischen Regierung ist vertheilt. Lamartine und Marrast werden wegen persönlicher Schwindeleien kompromittirt, dagegen wird man Ledru Rollin wegen Ausgaben angreifen, die er im Interesse der Revolution gemacht hat.

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Redakteur en chef Karl Marx.

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Druck von J. W. Dietz, unter Hutmacher Nr. 17.

Engels' article "Hungarian Victories" published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 283 (special supplement), April 27, 1849

been frustrated and the victorious army which in Welden's words "amazed half Europe" has been balked by the daring and enthusiasm of a small nation of barely five million people. The imperial forces are learning once again in Hungary the lesson they were taught at Jemappes and Fleurus 50 years ago[265]: it is unwise to make war on revolution!

Written by Engels on April 26, 1849

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# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

We shall briefly supplement the news we published this morning in a special edition.

When Welden arrived in Gran, where he set up his headquarters, he made, according to the *Wiener Zeitung*,[a] the following dispositions: Wohlgemuth with his alleged "five brigades"—in reality only 16,000 men—in the Neutra area was to prevent the Magyars who were advancing via Leva from reaching Komorn. Further south, between the Danube and the Gran, the Veigl brigade was to protect the Komorn siege corps. The bulk of the imperial forces, concentrated at Gran and Szent Endré, was to attempt to take Waitzen and thereby to reach the Magyars' rear. The official paper admits the superior strength of the Hungarians, especially in light cavalry and artillery.

At the same time it is admitted that 2,000 Hungarians have crossed the Danube at Duna Földvar and are raising the local area in revolt. Between Földvar and the eastern corner of the Plattensee there are about ten miles of mostly swampy country; if the Magyars have occupied this easily defensible region, they are covered on their right flank by the whole length of the Plattensee (10-12 miles long) and can organise the insurrection quite unhindered behind this natural moat. Burits' imperial brigade, and Horváth's mobile column which has been sent towards Stuhlweissenburg against them, will be unable to do much harm.

After Wohlgemuth's defeat on the Gran (in which Welden with the bulk of the imperial forces appears to have remained quite calmly at Gran as a "reserve"), and after the relief of Komorn, which now offers the Hungarians an invaluable point of support, Welden must

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[a] *Wiener Zeitung* No. 97 (evening supplement), April 23, 1849.—*Ed.*

give up his position at Gran and will perhaps have to fight a bloody battle to effect his retreat to Raab, which leads past the guns of the Komorn bridgehead. Raab, the junction of the two roads to Pest, and the line of the River Raab are the only positions south of the Danube which are perhaps still possible for the imperial forces. But here too the closeness of Komorn and the difficult terrain, broken up into a mass of islands by innumerable branches of the Danube, will prevent regular contact between the bulk and Wohlgemuth's corps. There is not a single defensible position other than the line of the March and Leitha, *which means retreating to Austrian territory.*

During the departure from Pest and Ofen the greatest confusion prevailed. The "loyal ones" are wailing; the *moral impression* created by the occupation of the *two cities* by the revolutionary troops is *immense.*

Everywhere the peasants and Jews have been driven into the arms of the Magyars by the Windischgrätz-Stadion tyranny. The Slovak peasants, who are indebted to Kossuth for freeing them from feudal burdens, and upon whom Windischgrätz wanted to reimpose the former compulsory labour, are enthusiastic supporters of the Magyars, and are aiding them everywhere with reports, fire-signals etc.

The Serb National Committee in Semlin has applied for protection to *the consuls of the three great powers* in Belgrade. The English Consul has declined, since the Committee is allegedly not a regular legal authority. Mayerhofer is hurrying to Belgrade. To what depths has "venerable" Austria descended!

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# [HUNGARIAN ADVANCES.—EXCITEMENT IN VIENNA]

*Cologne,* April 27. Today is *Kossuth's birthday*; the leader of the Hungarian revolution is 43 years old today.[266]

Today an *official* royal imperial *Bulletin* (No. 35) already *confirms* the reports of Hungarian advances which we published this morning: that Wohlgemuth has been defeated, Pest and Ofen are taken, and Komorn is relieved.[a] It is now established that the Hungarians have already passed not only the Gran and the Neutra but even the *Waag,* and that Wohlgemuth has been *driven back to Tyrnau,* five miles from Pressburg. Altogether *only four comitats* in Hungary are *still* in imperial hands, and on all sides it is conceded that *on Hungarian soil not a single defensible position is left to the imperial forces.*

*Great excitement* prevails in ***Vienna.*** The people throng the streets as in the revolutionary days of last year. The military, usually so impudent, have again become remarkably restrained. Vienna is waiting for the Hungarians to cross the Leitha to effect its ***fifth revolution,***[267] a revolution which will not be simply an Austrian, but simultaneously a European one.

*Eljen Kossuth! Eljenek a Magyarak!*[b]

Written by Engels on April 27, 1849

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[a] See this volume, pp. 350-51.— *Ed.*

[b] Long live Kossuth! Long live the Magyars! — *Ed.*

# MAGYAR ADVANCES

*Cologne,* April 28. No commentary is necessary on the royal imperial Army Bulletin No. 35,[a] the main points of which we have already this morning communicated to our readers.[b] It reads as follows:

"Concerning events in the army in Hungary. After the movement back towards Pest made by the Austrian army early this month, in order to concentrate in positions protecting the two cities, the enemy almost daily attempted attacks on the same which, though they were without results, nevertheless gave him proof that our main strength was gathered at Pest and Ofen. Soon afterwards he attacked Waitzen, where two brigades were stationed commanded by General Götz—in the fighting the latter died the death of a hero—and advanced up the Danube via Leléd and Kemend. Believing that we were kept sufficiently busy at Pest, the enemy then marched in two strong columns, one on the left bank of the Gran and the other via Ipolyság, towards Leva. Here he assembled about 30,000 of his best troops on the 18th and crossed the Gran in three columns at Kalna, Bars and Sz. Benedek.

"Lieutenant-Field Marshal von Wohlgemuth—in command of five brigades totalling about 15,000 men from Moravia and Austria, which as a reserve were drawn up behind the Gran—made aware of this movement, left Kemend on the night of the 18th to march toward the enemy between Malas and Bese.

"Meanwhile the enemy drew up his entire force—outnumbering ours by two to one—in battle order between Verebely and Nagy Sallo. An attack launched on Nagy Sallo by Prince Jablonowsky's brigade was indeed completely successful, one column already having reached the town, when entry had to be given up because the town was ablaze. The enemy took advantage of this to outflank us on our right between the Gran and Nagy Sallo, at the same time attempting a similar manoeuvre against our left flank from Verebely. A most stubborn battle had already raged from early morning till afternoon; with his proven composure, Lieutenant-Field Marshal von Wohlgemuth made a fighting retreat, leading his very tired troops from one position to

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[a] "35. Armee-Bulletin. Vom 24, April."—*Ed.*

[b] In the special supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* dated April 28 but issued in the morning of April 29, 1849 (see this volume, p. 352).— *Ed.*

another; the enemy, on the other hand, extended his outflanking manoeuvre even towards Neutra.

"Lieutenant-Field Marshal Wohlgemuth had already previously been given orders to continue his retreat behind the Neutra and even back across the Waag, if things took an unfavourable turn, so as to cover both the valley of the Waag and Pressburg, and beyond the Waag to effect a junction, by way of Schütt Island, with the corps besieging Komorn, where in the meantime the bombardment was continued in the most lively manner.

"The commanding general, Master of Ordnance Baron Welden, who had arrived in Gran on the 17th, convinced that the main force of the enemy could have made the outflanking movement through the mountains to relieve Komorn, immediately ordered the Ban[a] to sally forth from Pest with his entire force and to attack the enemy, but not to follow up advantages too quickly. On the 19th, the Ban advanced *in all directions* (!!!!), but the enemy gave way before him so rapidly that he was not even within reach of our artillery (!).

"On the 20th, another enemy column, which up to then had been held in reserve at Paszto on the River Ipoly, moved down the right bank of the Gran with the left wing of the enemy towards Kemend and Gran, and immediately attacked the Csorich division, stationed there as a reserve, which, since on that day Lieutenant-Field Marshal Wohlgemuth had already passed Neuhäusel, retreated fighting towards Gran and dismantled the pontoon bridge there so as to defend this point as strongly as possible. The commanding general arrived at Ofen on the 20th.

"Given this military situation, it appeared to the commanding general that to continue to hold Pest and Ofen would have great disadvantages for further military operations, especially since the Danube from Komorn to Waitzen had been taken by the enemy, and neither city offered a useful pivot for the operations. The Master of Ordnance therefore set about concentrating his troops in a secure position, and is convinced that, with the reinforcements placed at his disposal which are marching to his aid, he will soon be in a position to renew the offensive successfully.

"Messages from Pest of the 21st of this month report that the enemy made an attack at Czinkota on that day, but after not very stubborn fighting he was forced back everywhere by our troops which were advancing towards him.

"According to news of the 17th of this month, just arrived from Semlin from the Master of Ordnance Count Nugent, the state of things on the Lower Danube is taking an increasingly favourable turn: the Chaikist area[268] has again been cleared of the enemy; the position at Peterwardein has been much strengthened by the well-placed entrenchments constructed under the energetic direction of Colonel Mamula, and through the troop reinforcements moving on Peterwardein from all directions the corps being formed there will soon be in a favourable position to resume the offensive and advance on Szegedin."

This Bulletin confirms everything that we have already reported from the theatre of war. Moreover, it is written more clearly than the previous imperial hushing-up proclamations.

At Komorn, to which fresh troops and fresh cattle for slaughter have been brought by the Hungarians, many guns were left behind by the imperial forces, which, though in part spiked, fell into the hands of the Hungarians. Now, 24 hours after we pointed it out in

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[a] Jellachich.— *Ed.*

our newspaper, all the papers bewail the fact that the imperial troops no longer have a single defensible position in Hungary, and will have to withdraw beyond the Leitha and March.

The imperial authorities have glaringly failed in their attempt to issue the new Hungarian banknotes, *alias* "forged bills". The *Ost-Deutsche Post* relates the following story:

"A high-ranking staff officer went into the vault of a money-changer the other day, demanding that he change 2,000 florins of the new paper money into Austrian banknotes, and even offered them at a premium. The money-changer declined to do so, under the pretext that he had only a few Austrian notes. However, he was willing to change a few 100 florins, though without any premium. The officer replied: you are a money-changer, you *must* have notes, and if you do not change them I will have your vault locked up. After some argument between them the notes were exchanged. On the following day, the money-changer's wife received from that same staff officer a little packet of 5-florin notes in new Hungarian bills. She said that she could not change them. Shortly afterwards, the officer himself appeared, accompanied by an adjutant. In the meantime, the money-changer also arrived and declared that he was certainly willing to change silver money and ducats, but not the banknotes, for, he reasoned, not without logic, *if the bills were valid, the General had no need to change them* and could use them as well as the money-changer; *if they were no good, he did not want to change them,* for he could not use them. He had payments to make in Vienna, and he was so far not aware that the new bills would be accepted in payment there. If he were to change them for the General hundreds of people would immediately turn up with similar requests which he would be unable to satisfy. The General replied that it was beneath his dignity (!!!) to answer him, and ordered the mayor to be fetched, instead of whom a town councillor appeared and locked up the vault on the General's order."[a]

The news from Hungary has had a tremendous effect in Vienna:

"*As in the days of the barricades last year,* crowds were moving up and down the streets. A stranger might suppose that the masses of people swarming hither and thither like ants were there in response to the warm spring weather, but to anyone even moderately familiar with the physiognomy of the capital, it was clear that mighty levers of curiosity, hope and feverish tension must have agitated the Viennese, encouraging them despite the ubiquitous glint of bayonets, despite the vigilance of the police, to a form of passive resistance expressed in crowds gathering at street corners, loud and fearless political beer-hall talk, and a thousand other variations. *Former legionnaires*[269] in ranks four and five deep marched past the guards as though on parade, with bold provocative glances; former *national guards* shook hands with one another as though asking 'Well, will it start soon?' while those in favour of 'calm at any price' despondently and fearfully crept along keeping close to the houses as though Kossuth were at the gates of Vienna.

"That the 'loyal ones' have a guilty conscience was clearly and strikingly shown yesterday. In inns and coffee-houses, cries of *Eljen*[b] were raised to Kossuth. 'I am biding my time, and it will come,' says Perceval to the Queen. Today the tumult seems

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[a] "Pesth, 21. April", *Ost-Deutsche Post* No. 81, April 24, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] Long live!—*Ed.*

to have died down somewhat, at least the sound of tramping and the buzzing of voices are not as audible today as yesterday."

Another letter from *Vienna* reports:

"The turn in the Hungarian events has produced a simply indescribable despondency among the majority of the city's inhabitants" (i.e. the bourgeoisie). "The numerous refugees arriving here hourly from Pest increase the anxieties, and only now vent is given to the universal execration of Windischgrätz (!). Already loud shouts of 'treason' can be heard (!!). However, the city is quiet. Both yesterday and today, troop reinforcements have gone from here to the battlefield. On the other hand, the arrival of fresh troops is again expected here; two battalions have already arrived since yesterday.

"The courier coach with the mail from Pest has already failed to turn up today, and we must be prepared for that city being cut off once again by Kossuth."

A third correspondent, who already sees half a step further, makes the following observation:

"A ministerial crisis is inevitable, Schwarzenberg will have to follow Windischgrätz, public opinion must have its victims, otherwise — I doubt if I need say more."

It is obvious that it will now be a matter of crises quite different from ministerial crises!

Important news has come in from the south:

*Vetter* has advanced towards Stuhlweissenburg and the Plattensee with a Magyar column.

Further to the south, *Perczel* too has crossed the Danube and *recaptured Vukovar*, on the road to Fünfkirchen.

*Karlowitz* in Syrmien has been attacked and *bombarded* by the Magyars.

We hear from several quarters that *Bem* has invaded Wallachia and driven the Russians back to Rimnik Vatitza, three and a half miles from the border.

In short: the Magyars are advancing victoriously at all points, and the Austrian "united monarchy", the centre of European counter-revolution, will be destroyed within a fortnight, unless a miracle happens.

But it is on the ruins of the "united monarchy" that the European revolution will arise anew.

Written by Engels on April 28, 1849

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# [DISSOLUTION OF THE SECOND CHAMBER]

*Cologne,* April 28. The rumour already current in the town at midday today was confirmed this evening: the King and his martial-law Government **have dissolved the Second Chamber.**[270]

The details can be found below, *de dato* Berlin.[a]

By this act the King and his martial-law Ministers have once again *broken their word.* According to the imposed martial-law Charter of December 5,[271] the Chambers were expressly convened "to revise the Constitution". Only after the *first* Parliament convened under this Constitution had revised this botchwork was the latter to be regarded as complete and definitively valid. This is how it was imposed in December of last year.

Hence the Chambers had at least a *partially constitutional mandate.* So long as they had not carried out this mandate, so long as they together with the Crown had not revised the Constitution, *they could not be dissolved,* any more than the Assembly of blessed memory convened to agree upon the Prussian Constitution.[272]

Nevertheless it has been dispersed—this miserable Second Chamber, summoned under the sabre dictatorship and the menace of the bayonet, by means of bribery, intimidation and deception!

This is what is called "Prussian honour", "Prussian loyalty"!

If the Ministers had waited a few more weeks, perhaps the Austro-Hungarian revolution would have spared them the trouble and dispersed both Chambers.

As for the significance of this new coup d'état, it is quite obvious. We are going to be made to experience the **rule of the sabre raised**

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[a] The reference is to the report published under the date-line "Berlin, 28. April" in the same issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.—Ed.*

**to the second power**. We shall have most graciously foisted on us laws on the press, on associations, on civil disturbances, on posters etc., to such an extent that the German philistine's eyes will fill with tears. There will be persecution, disciplinary punishment, arrests; the state of siege will be made universal and, to cap it all, finally a new Constitution will be introduced, and an electoral law with property qualifications as well as a House of Lords, a Constitution in which the present first Chamber will figure as the *second*.

In short, things will be pushed as far as Prussian pluck will permit.

We, for our part, wish only that Herr Manteuffel will once more convene the United Diet[273] of blessed memory.

Written by Engels on April 28, 1849

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# [POSEN]

*Cologne,* April 28. Our readers will be thankful to us if from time to time we examine the "splendour and might" of our Hohenzollern royal family and the simultaneous wonderful prosperity of the chief supports of its noble throne, the bug-ridden knights of Brandenburg who have been transplanted into every province.

In this instructive investigation we deal today with the Polish part[a] of our fatherland in the narrower sense. Already last summer, on the occasion of the glorious pacification and reorganisation of Poland carried out by shrapnel and caustic,[274] we tested the German-Jewish lies about the "predominantly German population" in the towns, "the large German landed estates" in the countryside, and the royal-Prussian merit for the growth of general well-being. Readers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* will recall that we learned from official figures and reports of the Archbishop of Gnesen and Posen[b] to the bourgeois transitional Minister Camphausen[c] that in the parts of the territory included within the Prussian demarcation lines, not about one half, but hardly one-sixth, of the population is Germans,[d] whereas the lying statistics of the Prussian Government step by step increased the alleged German population the more the progress of the counter-revolution seemed to make possible a new division and a new diminution of the Polish part of Posen. We discovered that in

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[a] i.e. Grand Duchy of Posen under Prussian rule.— *Ed.*

[b] Przyluski.— *Ed.*

[c] "Korrespondenz des Erzbischofs von Posen Przyluski mit dem Berliner Kabinet." *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Nos. 5, 7, 10, 14, 38, 39 of June 5, 7, 10, 14, and July 8 and 9, 1848.— *Ed.*

[d] "The Frankfurt Assembly Debates the Polish Question" (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 337-81).— *Ed.*

connection with these figures the German national simpletons and money-grubbers of the Frankfurt parliamentary swamp always counted as Germans the Polish Jews as well, although this meanest of all races, neither by its jargon nor by its descent, but at most only through its lust for profit, could have any relation of kinship with Frankfurt. We discovered that in fact relatively very few of small German landowners were ensconced in individual districts of Posen, and then only as a result of treacherous Prussian speculation on Polish poverty, since, by the Cabinet Order of 1833, all *auctioned* estates could be sold exclusively to Prussian junkers from the backwoods, to whom the Government advanced money for that purpose. Finally, we discovered that the benefits and services rendered by the Hohenzollern paternalism consisted in the fact that after the March revolution, out of cowardice, the finest promises were given of a "national reorganisation", and then, with the growth of the counter-revolution, by means of a five times repeated and ever greater partition, the noose was fastened more tightly round the neck of the country, whereupon "reorganisation" was made dependent on "pacification" i.e. the surrender of weapons. Finally, when this condition was fulfilled, "My glorious army"[275] was let loose on the unarmed, trustful country in order in alliance with the Jews to plunder the churches, set fire to the villages, beat the Poles to death in public places with ramrods or brand them with caustic and, after having taken revenge for their belief in the "March promises", pay honour to God and his Christian-Germanic Majesty on this field of corpses.

Such was the charitable work of Prussian "reorganisation" in Posen. Let us now deal also with the origin of large-scale Prussian landownership, the domains and estates. Their history is no less instructive as regards the "splendour and might" of the Hohenzollern family and the value of its beloved rogue knights.

In 1793 the three crowned thieves divided the Polish booty among themselves according to the same right by which three highwaymen divide among themselves the purse of a defenceless traveller.[276] Posen and South Prussia on that occasion received the Hohenzollerns as *hereditary* rulers in exactly the same way as the Rhine Province in 1815 received them as *hereditary* rulers,—in accordance with the right of trafficking in people and of kidnapping. As soon as this right of trafficking in people and of kidnapping is abolished, the Poles, like the Rhinelanders, will cancel with a *red* stroke the title-deed of their *hereditary* Hohenzollern Grand Duke.

The first thing by which in plundered Poland the Hohenzollern Father of the country manifested his Prussian benevolence was the

confiscation of the lands formerly belonging to the Polish Crown and Church. In general we have not the slightest objection to such confiscation; on the contrary, we hope it will soon be the turn of *other* crown lands. We ask however for what purpose were these confiscated estates used? In the interest of "the general well-being" of the country, for which the Brandenburg paternal regime was so benevolently concerned during the work of pacification and reorganisation in 1848? In the interests of the people whose sweat and blood created those estates? We shall see.

At that time Minister Hoym, who for twenty years had administered the province of Silesia quite free from any supervision and used that power for the most junker-like swindling and extortions, was entrusted with the administration of South Prussia as well, in reward for his services to God, King and country. In the interests of the "splendour and might" of the dynasty and in order to create a splendid and mighty class of devoted junkers from the backwoods, Hoym proposed to his lord and master[a] that he should bestow as many as possible of the confiscated Church and Crown lands to so-called "*deserving persons*". And that was done. A host of rascally knights, favourites of royal mistresses, creatures of the Ministers, accomplices whom one wanted to silence, were presented with the largest and richest estates of the plundered country and thereby "German interests" and "predominantly German landownership" were implanted among the Poles.

In order not to arouse royal cupidity, Hoym had as a precaution assessed these estates for the King at a quarter or sixth part of their value, and sometimes even less; he was afraid, and probably not without reason, that if the King were to learn the true value of these estates, he would think of his own "paternal" pocket before anything else. During Hoym's four years of administration after the "pacification",[277] from 1794 to 1798, there were in this manner given away: in the Posen administrative region 22, in the Kalisch, formerly Petrikau, region 19, in the Warsaw region 11, altogether 52 larger and smaller groups of estates, which in total contained not less than *two hundred and forty-one* separate estates. The King was told that the value of these estates was $3\,^1/_2$ million talers, but their true value exceeded **twenty million talers.**

*The Poles will know from whom during the coming revolution they will have to extract these 20 million talers, that Polish milliard, stolen from them by the right of traffic in people.*

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[a] Frederick William II.—*Ed.*

In the Kalisch region alone the area of the estates given away amounted to *more than a third of all the Crown and Church lands*, and the income from these estates, even according to the miserable estimates of the value of the grants in 1799 alone, was 247,000 talers annually.

In the Posen administrative region the Owinsk estate with its extensive forests was presented to Tresckow, a haberdasher. At the same time the adjacent Crown estate of Szrin, which had not a single tree, was declared a state domain and had to buy its timber at government expense from Tresckow's forests.

Finally, in other regions, the deeds of gift expressly freed the estates from ordinary taxes, and moreover freed them "*in perpetuity*", so that no Prussian King should ever have the right to impose new taxes on them.

We shall now see in what manner the stolen estates were given away and to which "*deserving persons*". The extent of the services of these junkers from the backwoods, however, compels us for the sake of coherent exposition to deal with this subject in a special article.[278]

Written by Engels on April 28, 1849

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# [FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

The imperial army is *disintegrating*. The Croats have openly rebelled and forced their Ban, Jellachich, to go with them from Pest down the Danube by steamship to the south, probably so that they may protect their homeland. Jellachich had to give way, and hence the whole of the First Army Corps is on the march southwards.

Welden has indeed withdrawn his headquarters to Raab. Though he insists that Ofen is still garrisoned (by 6,000 men commanded by Schlick, they say), this however is very doubtful.

Another rumour, though immediately disavowed by other sources, has it that Wohlgemuth, who has just been defeated, has now defeated Görgey!!!

The Pest mail of the 22nd arrived in Vienna 24 hours late.

A letter from Pressburg to Breslau of April 24 says

"that the Komorn siege artillery, sailing up the Danube, has just arrived and that the Austrian troops are withdrawing to Pressburg".

Finally the correspondent expresses the fear that all correspondence will probably be interrupted quite soon. The last mail was also missing in Pressburg.

Welden's proclamation, mentioned previously, runs thus:

"To reassure the public we herewith announce that according to news just received from the headquarters of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Baron Welden, Ofen continues to be occupied by an adequate force, and the main army, continuously following the enemy's movements on the right bank of the Danube, is in process of being concentrated. At the same time we announce that Komorn is still under continuous

bombardment and is being kept under observation by our troops. In addition, Csorich's division continues to occupy Gran and covers the Danube crossing.

"The Commanding General and Deputy Governor,
Baron von Böhm, Lieutenant-Field Marshal."[a]

The Austrian retreat towards Vienna is now called "concentration".

The martial-law paper *Die Presse* reports the following on the latest operations:

"The Hungarians were above all concerned to get possession of the left bank of the Danube above Waitzen by a rapid movement under cover of the mountains. Thus they achieved a double purpose: the insurrection gained scope and strength, and they could hope in this way to relieve Komorn, the key to the Danube. The execution of this plan was concealed from the Austrian general by sham attacks on our troops by a few brigades, and since he allowed himself to be deceived it was in the main successful. The insurgents crossed the Eipel and Gran and were thus able to bypass General Wohlgemuth, stationed at Kemend with 15,000 men. This bypassing was executed with far superior numbers of insurgents and could not have been prevented even by Wohlgemuth's most energetic and devoted resistance. The Magyars extended the line of their bypassing to Neutra, and, while their right wing reached the flank of the royal imperial troops between Sallo and the river Gran, their left wing threatened the rear. It seems therefore to have become impossible for General Wohlgemuth to carry out his intention of retreating across the Waag, thus covering Pressburg and occupying the Schütt Island in conjunction with the corps besieging Komorn, for he withdrew to Neuhäusel."[b]

The (Italian) Mazzuchelli regiment is reported to have gone over to the Hungarians.

In Pest, a proclamation[c] issued by Havas, the royal commissioner, warns the inhabitants against attempts on the departing royal imperial troops, as the destruction of the city would ensue; Havas exhorts them not to place any obstacles in the way of the withdrawal of the troops.—The military hospitals have been placed under the protection of the municipality. The guns have disappeared from Ofen's ramparts. The imperial side must be in a bad way if it has to resort to such proclamations.

*The Hungarian banknotes are—al pari*[d]; the Austrian notes have dropped considerably.

The *Pester Zeitung* has engaged a Magyar editor; the *Figyelmező* has ceased to appear.

The retreat from Pest is said to be the result of a 48-hour cease-fire granted by the Magyar forces outside Pest to the imperial forces.

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[a] "Kundmachung, von Böhm. Wien, 24. April 1849."—*Ed.*

[b] "Wien, 24. April", *Die Presse* No. 98, April 25, 1849.—*Ed.*

[c] Of April 22, 1849, *Der Lloyd* No. 197 (evening edition), April 25, 1849.—*Ed.*

[d] At par.—*Ed.*

The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* writes:

"The Magyar army is reported to amount to 200,000 men, including the *Landsturm*. In newly occupied areas, Kossuth likewise calls up the *Landsturm*, so that his combat forces will soon amount to 300,000 men, etc. etc. The fact is that since March 4 the energy of the Croat troops has declined, and Jellachich is having to employ all his prestige to restrain them."

General of the Cavalry Hammerstein has not left Lemberg to this day, and the First Deutschmeister battalion[279] marched off to Stryj only on the 14th of this month, to replace a battalion stationed there and destined for Hungary. The report that Lieutenant-Field Marshal Vogl is with the corps which consists of 20,000 men and is already on Hungarian soil has thus proved incorrect. The entire force now on the way to Hungary probably consists of 53 companies of infantry, six squadrons of cavalry and four artillery batteries, formed up in three columns. The first is commanded by Major-General Barco, the second by Major-General Benedek, and the third by Colonel Ludwig. Lieutenant-Field Marshal Vogl is in charge of the operations.

As a precautionary measure, Lieutenant-Field Marshal Simunich has sent guns to Vienna; but already yesterday they were sent back to Hungary by steamship.

Since the 25th, more fresh troops have arrived in Vienna and others have marched off. Commercial and banking circles have recovered a little from their fears. In the suburbs, especially Josefstadt and Wieden, considerable excitement prevails, and last night, particularly in the former, people drank immoderately in most inns; nay, Hungarian tunes were demanded and chanted.

Two days previously, in the Josefstadt transport depot, a detachment of the Hungarian Alexander infantry regiment,[280] which is in process of reorganisation, was worked on by emissaries. But the battalion was quickly sent away, and some of the "agitators"[281] were arrested. Today was the first day of recruiting by the drawing of lots and up to now it has passed off quietly, although in the suburbs those liable to conscription had been greatly incited. The Government has taken stringent police measures to check the throng of "agitators" and to remove strangers. Kossuth's proclamations to the sister nation in Vienna, in which it is called upon to aid in the restoration to the throne of the legitimate Emperor Ferdinand, have been read here. In addition, the rumour was circulating that a cabinet council decided yesterday to reject Russian intervention in the Austro-Hungarian question.

Although somewhat belatedly, we are reprinting a letter from Pressburg which appeared in the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*, because it contains much that is interesting.

"The stage-coaches to the Upper Comitats were discontinued already last week; soon afterwards, mail also was dispatched only to Neutra, and—yesterday morning it was already reported that the Hungarians had entered Neuhäusel (three to four hours from Komorn). During the day, a traveller arriving here from Tyrnau showed me a proclamation issued by the military commandant there, which refuted the rumour that the Hungarians had entered Neutra as well, but in such a way that from the few lines one might easily infer the opposite. Yesterday afternoon, this doubt was strengthened by the dispatch by train to Tyrnau of a detachment from the garrison here, provided with guns. Late in the evening, I was told by an acquaintance who had arrived the same day from Neuhäusel that this town was already occupied by an insurgent force of nearly 40,000-45,000 men together with a considerable number of guns, and the royal imperial troops, about 12,000-15,000 men, had withdrawn to Sellye (two hours up-river towards Pressburg), because of the great superiority of the enemy. I was still quite unwilling to believe this strange news, when I heard an imperial army sergeant confirm this sad fact. Both agreed that the troops had run out of ammunition and for that reason alone had to retreat. An observation that unfortunately one has had to hear more than once since the beginning of the unhappy civil war in Hungary.

"Our trades people here were however greatly surprised when this morning they wanted to travel by train to the market in Tyrnau, and found that railway journey there had been suspended. In answer to their enquiries they were told that last night almost the whole of our garrison, together with artillery, had been hurriedly sent off to Tyrnau, for which purpose all the carriages had been requisitioned.—It has become known that a fairly heavy encounter between our troops and the enemy army has taken place at Neuhäusel, on which occasion the Nassau infantry regiment is said to have suffered heavily. It is also said that the Tyrnau railway carriages which left last night will bring back here a large number of royal imperial troops today.

"A camp of about 18-20 battalions is soon to be formed outside one of the city lines. It is certain that already last week, the innkeeper in the Schlossberg fort which is now fairly heavily fortified, was given definite instruction by the military commandant here to lay in all necessary provisions for at least three to four weeks, and the garrison here is expecting at any moment the order to move into that fort with bag and baggage.—The announced issue of the new compulsory notes naturally did not produce a good mood. The standing questions regarding these notes are: (1) To what amount are they to be issued? (2) Will the Bohemian, Silesian and Austrian industrialists accept them at their full value?

"*Postscript.* Just now we hear that the Hungarian advance guard is already at Szered."[a]

The same newspaper carries a report from Vienna about Transylvanian affairs:

"A considerable number of refugees from Transylvania arrived here recently. Some of them, who came directly from Hermannstadt—directly now means through Wallachia and via Esseg—relate the events there in almost identical terms. The

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[a] "Pressburg, 22. April", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 98, April 25, 1849.—*Ed.*

murder stories are in large part invented; looters were shot, and the strictest discipline was soon established. Bem put up to public auction all the belongings of the officers which they left behind, with the exception of General Puchner's belongings and correspondence: these he forwarded to him by some Honveds, together with a polite letter. They were, however, intercepted by the Russians, and none of the refugees was able to say anything about what had happened to either the Honveds or the documents. Incidentally, they depict the condition of the country as deplorable, and the conduct of the Russians towards the refugees as really shocking, but all agree that they were moved by the kindness and considerateness of the Turks."

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## FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

No reports of further victories. On the contrary, we hear now that the Austrians are retreating in the greatest confusion on all fronts.

The brutal butcher Welden has landed himself in a fine mess. He is as good as cut off from Vienna, and the only line of retreat still open to him is that to Styria via Vesprim, along the Plattensee and through the pathless mountains.

Wohlgemuth, completely cut off from the main body of the army, is in a totally indefensible position between Sellye on the Waag and Bös on the Danube, on the Schütt Island. The path to Pressburg is open to Klapka's right wing, which faces Wohlgemuth there.

Pest is now actually occupied by the Hungarians (on the evening of the 23rd). The imperial forces were given sufficient time for their retreat, since on that condition they promised not to bombard Pest. The pretence of the imperial forces to wish to defend Ofen is without significance, for Ofen could have been held only by threatening to bombard Pest.

Welden has again been in Ofen. He obviously does not know where to turn.

Jellachich's Croats have had to turn back; the Danube below Pest was occupied by the Hungarians with artillery. But they will nevertheless attempt to break through to Croatia.

Jablonowsky has already passed through *Raab* with his brigade, which is going to Oedenburg.

There is great excitement in Vienna. The workers are rejoicing. The mail to Hungary has not been dispatched from there for the past three days.

Fifty thousand Russians are said to have received orders to march into Transylvania from the north and south.

The Olmütz Ministry has now *certainly requested Russian intervention in Hungary as well.*

The Berlin *National-Zeitung* quotes the following alleged conditions under which the Hungarians would be willing to conclude peace:

(1) Recognition of the Kingdom of Hungary in its old boundaries, hence including Croatia, Slavonia and the Military Border.[282]

(2) Union with Transylvania as resolved and determined last year by the Transylvanian and Hungarian Assemblies.[283]

(3) A general amnesty throughout Austria; the immediate release of all the October prisoners[a] and compensation for the families of those murdered.

(4) Demobilisation to Hungary of the Hungarian regiments still serving in Italy and the other parts of the Empire.

(5) Recognition of the Hungarian Constitution of 1848.[284]

(6) Hungary to remain under the government of a provisional executive power originating from the Assembly, until the succession to the throne is established by law, and the King, who is to be elected, has been crowned in Buda-Pest and has sworn loyalty to the Constitution.

(7) Galicia to enter into the same relationship to the Austrian union of states in which Hungary stands now and will stand in future, and be called the Polish Kingdom of Galicia; hence Galicia will be linked with Austria in a personal union and will have its own army and its own finances.

(8) The share of Hungary in the Austrian National Debt to be determined by the Hungarian Assembly by a simple majority.

Written by Engels on April 30, 1849

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[a] Those arrested when the October 1848 uprising in Vienna was crushed.—*Ed.*

# THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY PLANS IN BERLIN

*Cologne*, April 30. The plans of our counter-revolutionary Government are gradually being revealed.

It was intended that a new stage of the Prussian counter-revolution should date from April 27. It was desired to provoke the Berlin people into street fighting, perhaps to allow the insurrection *à la* Cavaignac to achieve "considerable magnitude", then to crush it by Cavaignac's means and with superior force such as Cavaignac possessed, to proclaim martial law, to favour a few deputies and a good number of agitators[285] with powder and shot, and finally, by new dictated measures to get rid of the troublesome fetters which even the martial-law Charter of December 5 still imposed on our counter-revolution.

The provoked uprising would have provided a sufficient excuse for asserting that the people "were not yet mature enough" for the freedom most graciously bestowed on them, and that it was impossible to govern under such an electoral law and such a Constitution.[286] "To avoid bloodshed", and therefore in the interests of the people, the last remnants of freedom had to be destroyed. "To avoid bloodshed", a state of siege had to be proclaimed throughout the country with the exception of Further Pomerania! All that could be asserted only after a decent-sized revolt in Berlin, with the requisite disturbances in Breslau, Magdeburg, Cologne etc., had taken place and had been successfully suppressed with the aid of grape-shot.

Hence the brutal behaviour of the constables against the Left assembled in the Konversationshalle,[287] and the cordon of troops encircling Dönhoff Square; hence the rapid fire on an unarmed peaceful crowd, which *could not* disperse because all the streets were barred to it.

The calm behaviour of the people despite all provocation upset the calculations of the counter-revolutionaries. They have no pretext for issuing dictates, but dictate they *must.* Perhaps this evening already we shall learn what new turn these gentlemen have decided on.

What extensive plans were envisaged is evident from all the circumstances. Firstly, from the simultaneous dissolution of the Chamber in Hanover, secondly and in particular, from Herr Radowitz's journey to Berlin.

Herr Radowitz is the heart and soul of the Prussian counter-revolution. He drafted the plan for the counter-revolution of November last, but he himself still remained behind the scenes and intrigued in Frankfurt on behalf of the Prussian hereditary imperial crown. *This time* Radowitz himself went to Berlin in order, it is said, to come out in the open at last and to become *Prime Minister.* A **Radowitz Government**—that is the heart of the matter![a]

Furthermore, we definitely know the following facts:

1) In the course of *last week all Chefpräsidenten* received from their *Oberpräsidenten* a document informing them of the *forthcoming dissolution of the Chamber* and directing them to take all necessary precautionary measures.

2) A ministerial rescript was sent to all government authorities stating:

1. That *all burgomasters* are obliged to report *daily* to the appropriate government authorities about the impression produced by the dissolution of the Chamber. The government authorities, for their part, must present *collective reports* on this subject to the Ministry.

2. *For the present new elections would* **not** *be held*; on the other hand, *measures will be taken* against *many members of the "so-called" Left.*

3. *All precautionary measures* should be taken to suppress any attempt at revolt.

The rescript is signed: *Manteuffel.*

Herr Manteuffel, or rather Herr Radowitz, his superior, could not have rendered a better service to the developing *Hungarian-Polish-German* revolution than precisely at the present time to come forward openly with his plans for the restoration of the absolutist regime.

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[a] Goethe, *Faust,* 1. Teil, 1. "Studierzimmerszene".—*Ed.*

# LASSALLE

*Cologne*, May 1. The day after tomorrow the indictment against *Lassalle* on the charge of direct incitement to take up arms against the royal power will come before the Assizes in Düsseldorf.

It will be recalled that Lassalle, Cantador (head of the Düsseldorf civic militia) and the street-vendor Weyers were arrested last November when the state of siege was proclaimed in Düsseldorf, and an investigation was begun against them on account of the above-mentioned "crime under Articles 87 and 102 of the *Code pénal*".[288]

The investigation proceeded as slowly as possible. Whereas the simultaneously instituted tax-refusal trial of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats took place already on February 8 in Cologne,[289] one assize period after another elapsed in Düsseldorf before the Cologne indictment board had even referred the case to the Assizes. But Marx, Schneider and Schapper were at liberty, whereas Lassalle was kept in the Düsseldorf remand prison; yet the *Code d'instruction criminelle*[290] lays down that the case of an arrested person should have *priority* in being dealt with!

In prison Lassalle was given a quite special kind of preference. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has often enough had occasion to report examples of the tenderness with which he was treated by the myrmidons of the royal-Prussian judiciary.[a] Whereas all sorts of favours were conferred on Cantador—for, despite his political activity, Cantador had a great many friends among the Düsseldorf bourgeoisie—Lassalle had once again[291] to experience the arbitrary

[a] See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 344-46, 463-65, 474-76 and this volume, pp. 339-41.—*Ed.*

tyranny to which a royal-Prussian prisoner under examination is subjected. Without speaking of the pettier annoyances, we shall merely recall the brutal way in which Herr Morret, the prison governor, treated Lassalle in the presence of the examining magistrate, Herr Ebermeyer (whom we now have the pleasure of having here, in Cologne). Lassalle sent a complaint to the Public Prosecutor's office. The Public Prosecutor General, Herr Nicolovius, decided: the action in question is *neither a crime nor an offence* and therefore cannot be the subject of legal proceedings!

We recall further that the physician considered that outdoor walks were absolutely necessary for Lassalle's health, to which the Public Prosecutor's office gave its consent, *whereas the government authority prohibited them,* although according to the law a prisoner undergoing examination does not come under the jurisdiction of the government authority but solely under that of the Public Prosecutor.

The difficulties involved in gaining access to Lassalle in the prison, the excuses, evasions etc. are familiar to everyone who has ever tried to penetrate into the interior of the Düsseldorf "institution".

The investigation was at last concluded and the case should have gone to the Court. There was then still enough time to bring the case for trial at the last Assizes, which were held in February and March. But they wanted to prevent this at all costs. When the dossiers were submitted to the deputy Chief Public Prosecutor, the "gracious" Herr von Ammon I, for his final conclusion, Herr Ammon suddenly produced a letter from Lassalle to a certain Stangier, a farmer in the Altenkirchen district, in order to base a fresh charge on it. But this letter had for several weeks already lain quietly in the office desk of Herr Ammon, without the idea occurring to him of adding it to the dossiers as a new point in the indictment. Now, when everything was ready and the time for the Assizes was at hand, now Herr Ammon came forward with the letter. Then, of course, new interrogations of witnesses had to take place and the case was delayed for several weeks. And this period was just sufficient to *make it impossible* for Lassalle's case to be dealt with at the *Assizes then about to be held.*

The letter, which Herr Ammon, *as he himself admitted,* had kept for a fairly long time in his office desk, was moreover so unimportant that neither the Court nor the indictment board paid any attention to it or listed it as an additional reason for indictment!

In short, the Assizes were successfully avoided, and the next session began only in May. One deputation after another went to the Public Prosecutor General Herr Nicolovius, and asked for the case to be expedited or for an extraordinary session of the Assizes to be called. Herr Nicolovius promised to do all he could and stated that in

no case would Lassalle be imprisoned for as much as six months. And now! It is hardly two weeks short of six months.

The Court at last decided: all three accused were referred to the indictment board. But here a difficulty arose: people were quite convinced that in the whole Düsseldorf Circuit no jury could be found that would convict Herr Cantador. Hence in order to free Cantador, Lassalle also would have to be acquitted, even by people who would otherwise have convicted him. And it was precisely the conviction of Lassalle that was desired by the authorities in Düsseldorf, the Government, and even the very high and supreme camarilla. The hostility to Lassalle "does not even stop short of the throne".

This is what has happened:

"The indictment board drops the case against Cantador and sets him free, whereas Lassalle and Weyers remain in prison and have to come before the Assizes."

Yet the charge against Cantador was exactly the same as against Lassalle, except for a single speech which Lassalle made in Neuss.[292]

And it is precisely this speech in Neuss that is seized on and for which Lassalle is committed to the Assizes.

Let us briefly recall the whole course of events.

At a time when at any day an open struggle could break out between the now defunct National Assembly and the Crown, Düsseldorf was, as is well known, one of the greatest centres of agitation of all the towns in the Rhine Province. The civic militia here was completely on the side of the National Assembly and, moreover, was led by a democrat. It was ready to turn passive resistance into active resistance as soon as Berlin gave the signal for it. Arms and munitions were available. Lassalle and Cantador stood at the head of the whole movement. They not merely called on the citizens to arm themselves against the Manteuffel Government, they actually provided them with arms. *Here, in Düsseldorf,* was the centre of their activity. *It was here, therefore,* if any crime had actually been committed, that *this crime must have taken place.* But where is it supposed to have taken place? Not in Düsseldorf, but—in Neuss!!

Lassalle was at a meeting in Neuss and called for armed reinforcements to be sent to Düsseldorf. This call did not even have any result, because matters never reached the point of fighting. And yet Lassalle's crime is supposed to consist in this!

Consequently, Lassalle has not been committed for trial at the Assizes on account of his main activity, on account of the *actual* arming, or the *actual* uprising, that was on the point of breaking out in Düsseldorf. There was no "crime" in that. Even the indictment

board, decrepit though it is, had to admit that. The alleged crime consisted in a quite *fortuitous, incidental* action which was *totally dependent* on the main action in Düsseldorf and *absolutely meaningless* apart from it;—it consisted not in the *organisation* of armed force against the government authorities in Düsseldorf, but in a call to the inhabitants of Neuss to support that organisation!

*But, of course, Cantador was not in Neuss* when Lassalle made this terrible speech; Cantador did not *call on* the inhabitants of Neuss for armed resistance, Cantador merely—*organised* the inhabitants of Düsseldorf for armed resistance and called on the Düsseldorf *civic militia, which is itself part of the Government's armed force,* to resist the Government. That is the difference, and that is why Cantador was set free, and Lassalle kept in prison up to the present session of the Assizes.

But that is not all. Lassalle also directly appealed to the farmer Stangier for armed reinforcements to be sent to Düsseldorf. This letter is in the dossiers and is cited word for word in the indictment (see *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 277, second edition). Did the indictment regard *this letter* as a reason for committing Lassalle to the Assizes? By no means. Even the Court, which had put forward *nine* counts against Lassalle, eight of which were dropped by the indictment board, never thought of including this letter among them. But this letter contains *exactly the same* alleged "crime" as that committed by Lassalle in Neuss.

Rarely has anything more inconsistent, more contradictory and more incomprehensible been fabricated than this decision of the indictment board to send the case for trial.

But what is certainly commendable is the following: even according to the decision of the Cologne indictment board, in all the agitation that was carried out in Düsseldorf last November, in the direct call for resistance to the Government, in the arming, in the procurement of ammunition, in the direct and open opposition of the civic militia to the Government, in the oath sworn by the civic militia that they would fight, arms in hand, against the Government and in support of the National Assembly—*in all this there was no crime.* The Cologne indictment board has said so.

And it is true that on this point it agrees with the Cologne Court, and indeed with the Cologne Public Prosecutor's office. During the investigation of the case against the Rhenish District Committee, they both calmly ignored the call to arm against the "enemy", took no notice of the criminal case involved, and confined themselves merely to the fact of a call to revolt punishable by a police court, and it came before the Assizes only because it was issued through the press.

Lassalle was dealt with much more cunningly. First of all criminal proceedings were instituted, and the police court kept in reserve. For in case he were to be acquitted in connection with the speech made in Neuss, he was committed for trial to the police court on account of his call for resistance to officials (revolt) supposed to be contained in two Düsseldorf speeches.

We need merely to recall here the course of the trial of the Rhenish District Committee. The case is completely analagous. At that trial it was argued that the matter under consideration was either a *crime* (the same as that of which Lassalle is accused) or nothing at all, and that it was not possible to call for armed resistance to the Government without at the same time calling for resistance to all the individual officials who constitute the Government. The jury's verdict was an acquittal.

Lassalle will be in the same position when, after his indubitable acquittal by the jury, he comes before the police court. But meanwhile they have a pretext to apply for the prolongation of the arrest, and in addition it is easier to manipulate the police court than the jurymen!

Tomorrow we shall deal with the indictment itself, and from it, too, prove the absurdity of this whole trial.

Written by Engels on May 1, 1849

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# A PRUSSIAN KICK FOR THE FRANKFURT ASSEMBLY

*Cologne*, May 1. Another new item in the history of the Prussian counter-revolution. The King gives the Frankfurt Assembly a determined kick and contemptuously casts in its face the proffered gold-tinsel crown of an imaginary empire.[293]

If at the right time the Frankfurt Assembly had acted with energy, it could now order *the arrest* of this Hohenzollern, who is filled with insolence, and commit him to the Assize Court for "insult to the National Assembly" (Law of September 1848, published also in Prussia[294]). As yet there exists no "imperial" law that declares the individual sovereigns exempt also from responsibility in regard to the "empire"; and the imperial irresponsibility has been rejected by the Hohenzollern.

The new Prussian "imperial" Note of April 28 softens the "imperial" kick by a few kind observations about the so-called German imperial Constitution. This innocent botchwork is depicted in the Note as a supreme example of all that is bad and as an extreme product of revolution and secret republicanism "exceeding all bounds".

St. Paul's Church as a robbers' cave of carbonari![295] Welcker and Gagern as secret republicans, "Möros with a dagger under his cloak"[a]! Bassermann, the man who sees spectres, himself turned into one of the "Bassermannic characters"[296]! That, of course, is flattering for the worthy Frankfurt deputies after all the scorn with which they have been treated by the people, after all the curses

[a] Schiller, "Die Bürgschaft".—*Ed.*

heaped on them by the defeated barricade fighters of Frankfurt and Vienna, and there are people of all shades of opinion, right down to Herr Vogt, who are capable of really believing such nonsense.

The Prussian Note is the last threat to the Frankfurt Assembly even before it is actually dispersed. Once more the stubborn Hohenzollern proffers his hand for a "reconciliation". And, in point of fact, after the Assembly has gone *so far* it could truly make one little step further and become *completely* a tool of Prussia.

Meanwhile, however, a section of the people, and especially the peasantry and the lower middle class of the small south German states, cling to the Assembly and to the so-called imperial Constitution. The army is favourably disposed towards the imperial Constitution. The people regard every step, however small, towards the unification of Germany as a step towards abolition of the petty sovereigns and liberation from the oppressive burden of taxation. The hatred of Prussia, too, plays a part here. The Swabians even made a revolution in support of the so-called imperial Constitution[297]; it was, of course, a storm in a teacup, but all the same it was something.

Hence, if the worthy Frankfurt deputies possessed the slightest degree of courage, it would not be possible to disperse the Frankfurt Assembly without the use of force. They now have a last opportunity of atoning at least for a small part of the grievous sins they have committed. If simultaneously with the victories of the Hungarians, the break-up of Austria, and the fury of the people in Prussia at the Hohenzollern-Radowitz-Manteuffel betrayals, Frankfurt and South Germany were to rise up openly in defence of the imperial Constitution, they could form a temporary centre for a new revolutionary uprising based on Hungary.

But then the worthy deputies would not have to shrink from *proclaiming civil war* either and, in the extreme case, if it comes to making a decision, they would have *to prefer a united and indivisible German republic to a restoration of the German Federal Diet.*[298]

But anyone who supposes the Frankfurters capable of *that* is greatly mistaken. These gentlemen will make a little noise, offer a little resistance, enough to satisfy at least to some extent the requirements of decency, and then they will agree to everything that the stubborn Hohenzollern dictates to them. Here and there, perhaps, the people will erect barricades and—will be betrayed as on September 18.[299]

That would be the end of the famous imperial bombastic dramatical performance, if it depended on the *Frankfurt gentlemen.*

But perhaps the Hungarian hussars, the Polish Uhlans, and the Viennese proletarians will have a word to say, and then matters can nevertheless take a different turn.

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# [THE DISSOLUTION]

*Cologne*, May 1. Deputies who arrived here yesterday from Berlin report that *the Chambers have been dissolved in Dresden* as well.[300]

Hanover, Berlin, Dresden—in Munich there has so far only been an adjournment—do you, honest German citizen, now realise what tune is to be played?

Last year, when the Frankfurt Assembly was convened, Prussia ordered all the small states to *convene* their Chambers. Now, exactly one year later, Prussia orders them to *dissolve* all the Chambers. Then it was Camphausen, now it is Manteuffel. On each occasion there was the same aim, the same intention. Despite all the phrases, Camphausen and Manteuffel go arm in arm.

And there are still people in Germany who defend the sovereigns!

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# [FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

*Cologne*, evening of May 1. Reports just received from Berlin and Vienna confirm the continued withdrawal of the imperial troops. In Pressburg, where on the 27th nothing was known about attacks by the Hungarians, there are continuous commotion, confusion and retreat.

An encounter took place near Komorn. A force consisting of two divisions of imperial troops under Schlick drove the Hungarians from the Sandberg near Acs and this is now presented as a victory. But, on looking at the map and discovering that Acs is situated on the *right* bank of the Danube, *a mile*[a] *from Komorn*, the fact emerges that, even according to this official account, ***the Hungarians have crossed the Danube near Komorn and are in command of the road from Gran to Pressburg.*** And Schlick still talks about the royal imperial troops surrounding (!) Komorn!!

Welden's headquarters, transferred from Pest to Kapolna, from Kapolna to Raab, is now moving even further back, to ***Oedenburg***, hard by the Styrian border and to the south of Vienna.

Jellachich has actually received orders to cut his way through to Croatia and to drum up as many men to escort him as possible.

North of the Danube, Wohlgemuth has temporarily disappeared from the scene. He was driven off Schütt (the big island in the Danube); and the Csikos (mounted *Landsturm*) patrolled with impunity from Komorn to Szerdahely, halfway to Pressburg. Wohlgemuth must have withdrawn towards Pressburg and the March.

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[a] See footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*

From Pressburg and Vienna swarms of black-and-yellow [a] supporters are already in flight, some up the Danube, some to Prague.

It is reported that intervention by the Russians is imminent. One paper even maintains they have taken up positions near Lundenburg, on the border between Austria, Moravia and Hungary, but this is obviously a complete fabrication. It is expected that, as in Transylvania, they will be used as reserve and garrison troops in the towns, thus leaving all the Austrian troops free to concentrate on the Hungarians. ***It is said that 15,000 Russians are to come to Vienna as a garrison.***

A *Prussian staff officer* has also arrived in Olmütz "for the purpose of reaching an understanding with the Austrian Government". When "My glorious army"[301] marches in, the Bohemians will soon discover the meaning of this "understanding"!

Tomorrow evening we shall probably have news of further decisive Magyar successes.

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[a] The Austrian imperial colours.— *Ed.*

# LASSALLE

*Cologne*, May 2. Yesterday we promised to return to the indictment against Lassalle.[a]

Lassalle is charged with a "crime under Articles 87 and 102 of the Criminal Code".[b]

Article 87 is directed against an "attempt or a plot the aim of which is to incite (*exciter*) the citizens or inhabitants to take up arms against the imperial power".

Article 102 imposes the punishments (mainly the death penalty) laid down in the preceding Articles of the section (which includes Article 87) on all those who by speeches in public places or at public meetings, or by the display of posters, incite (*excitent*) the citizens to commit these crimes. Only in the event of the incitement being unsuccessful is the penalty mitigated to exile.

Of what is Lassalle being accused?

Since under a single charge he is alleged to have sinned against Article 87 and *simultaneously* against Article 102, he can only be accused:

of having called for the commission of crimes listed in Article 87 in the manner of Article 102, i.e.

of having incited the citizens to prepare an attempt or a plot the aim of which is an incitement to take up arms against the royal power, i.e.

of having *incited* the citizens to *incitement* to take up arms!

[a] See this volume, p. 376.—*Ed.*

[b] i.e. Napoleon's *Code pénal* which was in force in the Rhine Province of Prussia.—*Ed.*

To the ordinary human mind, that is fairly obvious nonsense. But that is how the Public Prosecutor's office and the indictment board wanted it!

The point is that Article 102, which makes incitement to commit the crimes envisaged in Articles 86-101 equivalent to the commission of the crime itself, is, if the incitement is successful, quite properly applicable to all of these Articles. It applies even to the remaining items of this same Article 87. For all these Articles are directed against *definite actions,* to the commission of which instigation *is possible.* Article 87, for example, which is directed against commission of an attempt or a plot, speaks also about an attempt or plot against the life and person of the Emperor, and about an attempt or plot aimed at altering or destroying the form of government or the order of succession to the throne. All these are things to which one can "incite" people. Incitement to regicide, or to a revolution, is a possible fact; incitement to a plot the aim of which is regicide or a revolution can also occur. But "*incitement* to prepare an attempt or plot for the purpose of *inciting* people to take up arms against the royal power", in short, *incitement to incitement,* is a crime as impossible and as absurd as "an *attempt* at a remote *attempt* at high treason", which in the good old times of Prussian Law[302] cost many an unfortunate member of a students' association ten years imprisonment in a fortress, or as the notorious *suspect de suspicion d'incivisme* (suspected of suspicion of lack of civic sense), which people wearing legitimist spectacles claim to have found in the prison lists of the time of the Terror in 1793.

Alternatively, if the "incitement to incitement to take up arms" is really a crime that is logically and juridically possible, then for Lassalle to come simultaneously under the passage in question of Article 87 and under Article 102, he should have been indicted not for the speech in Neuss, but for the address to the National Assembly, which states: "We beseech the National Assembly: Issue a call to arms!"[303]

Here is the "incitement to incitement to take up arms". But it has not even occurred to this *ne plus ultra* of an indictment to see a crime in these words.

How did it happen that, out of the long series of Articles in the section in question, the Public Prosecutor's office selected and combined with Article 102 precisely the passage to which Article 102 *does not apply at all?*

Quite simply. The crime envisaged by Article 87 involves the *death penalty.* But *in the whole of the Rhine Province no jury could be found* that would assist in condemning Lassalle to death. The prosecution

therefore preferred to include Article 102 as well, which prescribes mitigation of the punishment to *exile* in cases where the incitement to "crime" is unsuccessful. It was thought that a jury prepared to do this could be found.

Hence, in order to get rid of Lassalle, the prosecution invented an *impossible crime* and combined two passages of the law which in combination are *sheer nonsense.*

Therefore, either Lassalle is *guilty* of having violated Article 87, and then one should have the courage to condemn him *to death* outright, or he is not guilty of having violated Article 87, and then he has not violated Article 102 either, and must certainly be *acquitted.* But to violate Article 87 in the passage quoted *and* Article 102 at the same time is an impossibility.

Note the craftiness of the prosecution. The charge against Lassalle really comes under Article 87 (death penalty). But they do not dare to bring that charge against him; so he is charged under Article 87 in combination with Article 102 (*exile*). And if that does not succeed, if the jury acquits him, he will be brought before the police court and charged under Articles 209 and 217 (*six days' to one year's imprisonment*). And all this for one and the same fact, for his activity as an agitator during the movement to refuse payment of taxes!

Let us now look at the actual *corpus delicti*—the speech in Neuss on November 21.

Lassalle is charged with having directly incited the people to take up arms against the royal power.

According to the statements of the three witnesses referred to in the indictment, Lassalle did directly incite the inhabitants of Neuss *to arm* themselves, to procure ammunition, to safeguard by force of arms the liberties they had won, to support the National Assembly by effective action etc. However *incitement to take up arms in general* is by no means an offence, and still less a crime, most certainly not since the revolution and the law of April 6, 1848[304] which guarantees to every Prussian the right to bear arms. According to the *Code pénal,* incitement to take up arms is punishable only if the arming is directed against individual officials (revolt) or against the royal power, or against another section of the citizens (riot). The present case relates especially to incitement, and indeed to *direct* incitement to take up arms against the royal power.

In all three statements of the witnesses, however, there is *not a single word* about taking up arms against the royal power, they mention only taking up arms *to protect the National Assembly.* But the National Assembly was a legally constituted, legally existing body, an

essential part of the legislative authority, and here indeed an essential part even of the *constituent* authority. Just as the constituent authority stands high above the executive authority, so the National Assembly stood above the "royal Government". To call for the universal arming of the people for the protection of this body, which alongside the King is the supreme legislative authority in the country, is regarded by our Public Prosecutors as a serious crime!

The only passage in which the sensitive nose of a Public Prosecutor could discover a remote reference to the "royal Government" was that concerning the gun-batteries in Neuss. But did Lassalle incite the people of Neuss to arm themselves in order to seize the batteries on the left bank of the Rhine, and in particular did he do so "directly", as is asserted in the résumé of the indictment and as is required for a conviction?

On the contrary! Neither "directly" nor indirectly did he incite them to do so. He merely said that the people of Düsseldorf were *expecting* that the people of Neuss would seize these batteries. And this mere expression of an "expectation" is, in the opinion of the worthy Public Prosecutors, an *excitation directe*, a *direct incitement* to take up arms against the royal power!

Thus, in the quite *real* arming of *Düsseldorf*, openly organised for the protection of the National Assembly and clearly directed against none other than the Prussian troops, i.e. against the royal Government (*le gouvernement de l'empereur*), there is no crime at all, there is merely the offence of resistance to individual officials; but in that mere statement, in those few words, there is a serious crime!

For what Lassalle *did*, they do not dare to accuse him; but what he *said* is supposed to be a serious crime. And what did he say? That it was expected that the people of Neuss would seize the batteries. And who did he say was expecting it? Was it perhaps Lassalle himself? On the contrary, it was the people of Düsseldorf!

Lassalle said that third persons expect you to do such and such, and according to the logic of the public prosecution that is a "direct appeal" to you actually to do what is expected.

In Berlin, the Ministers have now dissolved the Chamber and are preparing for further dictatorial measures. Let us suppose that today universal suffrage were to be arbitrarily abolished, the right of association suppressed, freedom of the press destroyed. If we say: We expect that the people will reply to this disgraceful perfidy by erecting barricades—then, according to the Public Prosecutors, we have "directly incited" the citizens of Berlin to arm themselves

against the royal power. And if things turn out as the Public Prosecutors desire, we would be sentenced either to death or exile, depending on the circumstances!

The secret of the whole court action against Lassalle consists in its being an arbitrary trial of a troublesome agitator. In a concealed form it is a trial on a charge of "stirring up discontent"[305] such as prior to the March days we, too, had the pleasure of enjoying here on the Rhine. In the same way, the trial instituted against Weyers is in a concealed form a trial on a charge of *lèse-majesté.* Weyers said: "death to the King" and "the King ought not to be allowed to have the crown a quarter of an hour longer". And these few words, quite innocent from the point of view of the *Code pénal,* are similarly alleged to contain a "direct incitement to take up arms"!

And even if Lassalle had actually called for arming against the royal power, what would this mean? Let us adopt the constitutional standpoint and speak in accordance with constitutional ideas. At that time, in November, was it not the duty of every citizen not only to "call for arming", but to *take up arms* himself in defence of the constitutional representatives of the people against a perfidious "royal Government" which, with the aid of soldiers, drove the Assembly of people's representatives from one building to another, dispersed their sittings, allowed soldiers to use their official documents as spills and for lighting stoves, and finally sent the representatives packing? According to the decisions of the United Diet, and according to Herr Camphausen's famous "legal basis", not to mention the achievements of March 19,[a] was not the Assembly an "entity on a footing of equality" with the Crown? And should one not be allowed to defend such an Assembly against encroachments by the so-called "royal Government"?

Moreover, we have seen that it has become second nature for the "royal Government" to bestow kicks on the people's representatives. Hardly two months after the convocation of the imposed Chambers this same "royal Government" disperses them at the first objectionable decision—disperses the very Chambers which were supposed to revise the Constitution! The Chambers have now recognised the validity of the imposed Constitution, and now we know still less whether we have a Constitution or not. Who knows what will be imposed on us tomorrow?

And the people who foresaw all that and acted accordingly, who strove energetically to oppose these violent activities of an arrogant camarilla, and who, according to the views of *all constitutional*

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[a] i.e. achievements of the March revolution of 1848 in Prussia.—*Ed.*

*countries* and especially *England*, kept *completely to a legal basis*, these people are arrested on orders from Manteuffel, Simons and Co., held for six months in prison and are finally brought before the Assize Court charged with *incitement to riot!*

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# PROHIBITION OF THE MEETING OF THE RHENISH MUNICIPAL COUNCILS

*Cologne,* May 2. It is with especial satisfaction that we inform our readers that the meeting of the representatives of municipal councils of the Rhine Province convened by the praiseworthy Cologne municipal council has been **prohibited** by a simple government order.[306] The "good citizens", who felt so "comfortable" when meetings of democrats were prohibited in September,[307] can now offer thanks to their lords and masters. In September 1848 the democrats' right of assembly was destroyed at least by the respectable violence of the state of siege; the Cologne municipal council's right of assembly, on the other hand, has met its end *by a kick* at a time when the legal basis is in finest flower.

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## [FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

*Cologne,* evening of May 2. The Hungarians are taking advantage of the Austrians' hasty retreat and confusion to make a rapid advance on Vienna, on the one hand, and, on the other, to occupy the whole of Upper Hungary up to the Jablunka Pass and the Moravian border. The *Slovakian mountain towns* are in their hands, and from there they have advanced to the Jablunka Pass. The Pass itself seems to have been taken by them already, for the thunder of artillery has been heard in Neutitschein (near Teschen), indicating that fighting has already occurred on *this side* of the Carpathians.

As a result of this swift operation Slovakia has been entirely cleared of imperial troops, the Hungarians thereby gaining an area of 300-350 square miles, with more than 2 million inhabitants providing a source of fresh recruits. The Slovaks, who were formerly in part indifferent, in part even anti-Magyar, are now definitely on the side of the Magyars, since the latter have abolished the feudal burdens of the Slovak peasants and made a number of concessions with regard to language and nationality.

It is expected that the Magyars will cross the Little Carpathians (border range between Moravia and Hungary) and direct the spearhead of their attack against *Olmütz.* By dispatching a corps over the Jablunka they could also destroy the railway line to Vienna, thus considerably delaying the Russians' march on that city. Almost all regular troops have been withdrawn from the whole of Moravia; the national guard has replaced them everywhere.

On the other flank, the Magyars are advancing directly on Vienna and have, according to our Breslau correspondent, already ***occupied Raab.*** The Austrian headquarters has been transferred to *Oedenburg,* and the commissariat from Pressburg to *Hainburg* (6 miles from

Vienna). Here the Austrians are expected to make another stand. Indeed, this position, between the Danube and Neusiedler Lake and behind the Leitha, is the only possible one remaining before Vienna.

The line along which the Austrians are attempting to rally their forces for a fresh battle is as follows: the right wing is concentrated around Oedenburg, from the southern tip of Neusiedler Lake nearly up to Güns and the Styrian mountains which it touches on the right; the centre stretches from the northern tip of Neusiedler Lake up to the Danube near Hainburg, blocking the road to Vienna; the left wing, Wohlgemuth's corps, on the other side of the Danube near Pressburg, is in a position it cannot possibly hold and from which it will certainly have to withdraw across the River March. As a result the war will be carried into the territory of Austria itself, and Kossuth will continue to wage it there as well. ***Kossuth has declared his intention of forestalling the Russians and being in Vienna on May 10.*** And Kossuth has shown that he knows how to keep his word. He wanted to be in Pest on April 24 and he entered it on that very day.

There is complete obscurity about what has happened to Jellachich. Some sources state that he is already near Mohacs, not far from the Slavonian border (an impossibility since the distance from Pest to Mohacs is much too great). According to other rumours, from black-and-yellow[a] sources, he has again taken up his position on the Rakos plain[308] near Pest. The latter is, of course, even less true than the former.

From the south no direct confirmation has as yet been received of the capture of Semlin by the Magyars. The rest of the news from this area is contradictory; so is that about the arrival of the Russians. All that is certain is that the Russian troops encamped on the Cracow border have been concentrated and are on the point of marching into Austria.

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[a] The Austrian imperial colours.—*Ed.*

# THE CONGRESS OF RHENISH TOWNS

*Cologne,* May 3. The congress of Rhenish municipal councils will take place after all, although in a less official form, and not until next *Tuesday.*[309]

It goes without saying that we are expecting *nothing at all* from this assembly composed of bourgeois elected on the basis of three classes according to the property qualification with the mass of the people debarred from voting. A deputation is to be sent to Berlin, which *will not even be allowed into the presence* of Herr von Hohenzollern.

But it may be that the congress will not take place at all. On Sunday various party congresses will be held here in Cologne.[310] The Government is trying *at all costs* to provoke a conflict between the people and the army, in order to be able to muzzle us Rhinelanders, just as the Berliners have been muzzled.

It depends on the *workers of Cologne* whether this subtle Prussian plan will be frustrated. By their calm behaviour, by unshakeable equanimity in the face of the provocations of the soldiers, the Cologne workers can deprive the Government of any excuse for acts of violence.

Decisive events are at hand. Vienna, Bohemia, South Germany, Berlin, are in a ferment and await the right moment. Cologne can play its part, it can play a very powerful part, but it cannot *begin* any decisive action.

Let the workers of Cologne bear in mind, especially next Sunday, that all the provocations of the Government aim only at causing an outburst of *such* a kind as will occur *at a moment unfavourable for us but favourable for the Government.*

Only by great events can revolutions be carried through but if one accepts the challenges of the Government, the most that can result is a revolt.

*Workers of Cologne, remember the 25th of September!*[311]

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# [THE THIRD PARTY IN THE ALLIANCE]

*Cologne,* May 3. We have pointed out a hundred times that in the coalition of Russia and Austria Herr von Hohenzollern and his Ministry are the "third party in the alliance".[a] A hundred times the honest German citizen has indignantly rejected such an assertion.

Very well then: it is now firmly established that one of the secret reasons for the dissolution of the Chambers was that, by a secret agreement with the Olmütz *knyaz*[b] and the orthodox supreme Tsar in St. Petersburg,[c] the Russians' subordinate *knyaz*[d] in Sans-Souci[312] **has pledged his word to put 40,000 Prussians into Bohemia** to keep the people there in subjection and as reserves against the Hungarians. This was spoken of openly even in the St. Paul's Church.[e] It was impossible to persuade even the deputies of the Centre and part of those of the Right in Berlin to keep silent about it. They were therefore dispersed.

But that is not all: the Berlin *National-Zeitung* reported from Berlin on May 1:

> We have just learned from a very reliable source: **"Yesterday morning the Management Board of the Upper Silesian Railway received a telegram from the Minister of the Interior that 30,000 Russian soldiers would be transferred from Cracow by means of the Upper Silesian Railway (consequently, from Cracow via Mislowitz, Kosel, Ratibor, Oderberg) to Austria.** The Board of the Upper Silesian

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[a] Schiller, "Die Bürgschaft".—*Ed.*
[b] Francis Joseph I.—The Russian word "knyaz" means "Prince".—*Ed.*
[c] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*
[d] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*
[e] The German National Assembly met in the St. Paul's Church at Frankfurt.—*Ed.*

Railway is informed **that the royal Prussian Government has no objection to this** and it trusts that the Railway Board will not hinder this transport in any way."

The telegram was signed: **von Manteuffel.**[a]

That then is what we have come to: The Government of the imperial Russian subordinate *knyaz* in Potsdam not only issues *warrants for the arrest* of Kossuth, Bem and Görgey,[b] it even allows 30,000 Russian police agents to be sent by rail *through Prussian territory* to Hungary—and what is more, it sends 40,000 Prussian soldiers to Bohemia in order to hold down a people which has been contemptuously trampled under foot and which is thirsting for revenge!

Hear that, Rhinelanders! It is for this, therefore, that we are being subjected to the *Russo-Prussian rule of violence,* so that our sons and brothers, Rhinelanders like ourselves, shall be sent to Bohemia and perhaps to Hungary, in order that **in the service of the Russian Tsar** they will help to suppress the last people that is defending the revolution of 1848 arms in hand!

It is for this we were betrayed to Prussia in 1815, so that the disgrace would fall on us, too, for having allowed the Russians, with bands playing and banners flying, to be marched against the Magyar revolutionary army through *our* territory, through a country joined *with us* into a single state.

It was only by *force* that we became Prussian *subjects* and have remained Prussian *subjects. We were never Prussians.* But now, when we are being led against Hungary, when Russian robber bands are setting foot on Prussian territory, now we feel that we are Prussians, indeed **we feel what a disgrace it is to bear the name of Prussian**!

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[a] *National-Zeitung* No. 116 (supplement), May 2, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 269-70 and this volume, pp. 257-58.—*Ed.*

# [FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

*Cologne,* evening of May 3. As the flight of the imperial troops from Hungary becomes ever wilder, and the pursuit by the Magyars more inexorable, so much the more confused and contradictory become the reports on events in the theatre of war. They agree only in one respect: that the imperial troops are daily suffering fresh defeats.

The following facts, however, emerge as pretty well certain:

*Firstly*: The battle at *Acs,* which the imperial forces depicted as a victory, was a *defeat.* This follows from the fact that Schlick, who claims to have won a victory here, immediately afterwards retreated to Raab. The *Lithographierte Correspondenz,* too, states that the outcome of the encounter at Acs proved to be disadvantageous for the imperial troops, and that the Zanini regiment, apart from a few officers, went over to the Hungarians.

*Secondly*: On April 28, in the region of Hungarian Altenburg (halfway between Raab and Pressburg), *the Austrians were defeated again.* Various reports concur in stating this. Many wounded were brought across the Leitha and the whole surrounding area is crowded with them. On the 29th and 30th, some 2,000 are said to have been brought to Vienna itself. Some say that Welden's headquarters is in Pressburg, others that it is in Bruck on the Leitha (on Austrian soil). At Raab, too, where Schlick is supposed to have been on the 27th, the pursuing Hungarians are said to have engaged him in a murderous battle.

From this news it would appear that the bulk of the Austrian army has already been driven out of Hungary. And it is beyond doubt that it is for the most part already on Austrian soil, and in Hungary it merely occupies Pressburg and Oedenburg. In addition, what we

predicted is now confirmed, namely that the Hungarians have crossed the Danube at Komorn and are advancing on both sides of this river in a concentric movement against Vienna. The clearance of Slovakia by the Hungarians is now confirmed by the *Wiener Zeitung* as well.

*Thirdly*: It is practically certain that Jellachich, too, has been *completely defeated*. He himself, as the *Wiener Zeitung* reports, has already arrived in Esseg, which means that, since he only left Pest on the 23rd or 24th, and was already in Esseg on the 26th, he has made a much quicker journey than his corps. It is said that this corps has been *completely destroyed* and that the greater part of the survivors have gone over to the Magyars. According to one report, the battle took place at Kis-Bér, but this is impossible since this place, situated a few miles south of Komorn, is quite outside Jellachich's route. Apart from that this report contains also various other impossibilities. The news of Jellachich's defeat, however, appears in all newspapers and correspondents' reports.

***A manifesto issued by Kossuth proclaims the independence of Hungary and its neighbouring territories from Austria and declares the separation of these territories from the Habsburg-Lorraine dynasty because the latter unleashed such a calamitous war against Hungary.***[313]

From the *south*, no news has come of further advances of the Magyars. Perczel is said to have moved with his main army towards Pest. Rukavina has asked for help from the Serbs in order to fortify Temesvar, but the Serbs have refused it. On the contrary, they are demanding the immediate convocation of the Serbian National Assembly for election of the voivode and constitutional establishment of the Voivodina.

The Hungarians are said to have obtained 80,000 rifles from England via Turkey. The Grosswardein factory supplies them with 300 daily.

Meanwhile, in Vienna joy and excitement prevail among the people, and consternation in the Government. On April 30, *indescribable despondency* was evident on the *Stock Exchange*. Petty traders came from the suburbs and gave accounts of *mounting unrest*. In the afternoon, well-known barricade personalities were noticed in the streets.

The Government is in the throes of complete break-up. Not only has Stadion resigned, but it is already the turn of *Schwarzenberg*, who is to be replaced by Colloredo-Waldsee.

The Russians are coming. The Russian General von Berg has already travelled via Cracow to Vienna. 12,000-15,000 Russians of all

branches of the service,including four squadrons of cavalry and two artillery batteries, were *expected in Cracow* on May 1 and 2. It is said that the orthodox Tsar[a] *himself will come to the neighbourhood* to supervise the operations.

*The Russians have already marched into the Bukovina*, according to a note from Czernowitz of April 28.

(The Viennese and Prague newspapers have not reached us this evening.)

Written by Engels on May 3, 1849

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[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

# [NEWS FROM SOUTHERN GERMANY]

*Cologne,* May 3. We have today received several letters from various parts of Southern Germany; they are all unanimous in conveying the heartening news that everywhere the people are impatiently awaiting the moment when they can at last confront the barefaced counter-revolution of the rulers "by the grace of God" and their worthy accomplices with a genuine revolution—not like that of March—and avenge the acts of violence and infamy that, day after day, for so long have been perpetrated against the people's rights. Everywhere the people are organising themselves into companies, electing leaders, providing themselves with arms and ammunition etc. It is particularly encouraging, however, to learn that the spirit prevailing amongst the majority of the military there precludes the possibility of once again setting the soldiers like murderous dogs and wild beasts upon their brothers and making them run amuck against their own flesh and blood.

The justified anger of the people has reached a level that makes an imminent outbreak appear inevitable. It is to be hoped that this time the storm will rage so mightily through all Germany that at last the whole pack of divinely appointed martial-law addicts, robber knights and traitors to the people will be uprooted utterly and finally from German soil.

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# NEWS FROM HUNGARY

*Cologne,* May 4. We have received the following reports from Vienna dated May 1:

In the concluding days of last month, and especially yesterday, April 30, an unusual amount of activity could be observed in the streets of the capital. There was general excitement as the news spread about the withdrawals of troops from the Hungarian border. Evidence of the heavy losses and defeats sustained by the Austrian side is provided by the continuous transports of maimed and wounded, who for the past two days have been coming, brought in hundreds of carts, to the military hospitals in Vienna. The latter are already so full that all the corridors and the spaces between the beds are being used to accommodate patients. The men brought back under these conditions are in a wretched state, which cannot but remind one of Napoleon's retreat from Russia—pale, emaciated, tattered apparitions, their wounds are covered with makeshift bandages of rags, they lie on the bare planks of the carts. One cannot look upon this picture of suffering without shedding tears of pity. The majority of the wounded received incurable fatal injuries—many losing their noses and chins—in the course of the Hungarian cavalry attacks. In short, it is impossible to describe how badly these poor devils have been mauled. In addition, ten carts laden with caps of all branches of the service, together with cavalry harness, arrived here yesterday, followed by about 500 unmounted horses which had lost their riders in the battle.

Altogether, things look very bad for the Austrian cause in Hungary; a week ago the royal imperial troops were still in Pest, and now their headquarters has been in Oedenburg for several days already; the Austrian army is no longer withdrawing but is in full flight; the Oedenburg supply column has just arrived with soldiers of all branches of the service and military baggage. I met a sergeant-major I know who belongs to an Upper-Austrian regiment formerly stationed in Vienna. According to his account there can be no doubt about the Hungarians' victory, since the latter are taking advantage of the Austrian troops' utter confusion, allowing them no time to rally, but continually attacking with fresh energy and forcing them to fall back. The Hungarian army is far superior to them and is fanatically devoted to its cause, whereas the Austrians, as a result of fatiguing and pointless marches, discouraging losses and setbacks, and as a result of bad leadership having been left in the lurch at decisive moments by their officers, are naturally not defending the cause of the dynasty with the necessary determination. The ignorance displayed by the royal imperial generals

and officers, on whose training during the pre-March period such a vast amount was spent, is said to be unparalleled; they lead the troops straight to the slaughter-house. Inquiries are already being held on five generals. The *Hrabowski Regiment* (Upper Austrians), which only recently returned from Italy, *has changed sides almost to a man*, and so has the Lower-Austrian *Hess Regiment*; in general it is considered that the *German troops are not such reliable tools for the designs of the dynasty as the Slav troops are.* Altogether *five regiments* have changed sides, apart from the countless number of Croats. *A quite unprecedented and incredible demoralisation has set in in the army.* The war in Hungary is being carried on under the command of the Polish General Dembiński. The Polish contingent consists of ten legions, with a total strength of 36,000 men and about 25 generals; they are said to perform unparalleled feats and the royal imperial troops fear them most of all.

On Sunday, April 29, there was a big battle near Wieselburg, with the Austrian losses amounting to 6,000 dead and wounded—so that there are grounds for believing that a sensational defeat has been suffered, and that this accounts for the transports of the wounded.

The army corps commanded by the Ban[a] is thought to have been completely routed.

The Hungarian insurgents have advanced with a force numbering 15,000 men and 30 pieces of ordnance north-westward into the Turocz comitat and at present hold the county town, St. Martin, as well as Mossocz. It is said they intend to cross the Waag, to occupy the Kisuca valley and block the roads from Silesia and Galicia.

In St. Martin, from which town the Slovakian *Landsturm* received many volunteers, there is said to be great fear that vengeance will be meted out by the insurgents. Slovakia, too, seems to be falling very much under Magyar influence.

In Pressburg on the 29th the post from Pest failed to arrive for the fourth day in succession. In the heath on the outskirts of the town earthwork and redoubts are being built.

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[a] Jellachich.—*Ed.*

# LONGING FOR A STATE OF SIEGE

*Cologne,* May 5. It is still being rumoured that on Sunday, on the occasion of the district congresses of the various parties,[314] a *state of siege* will once again be imposed on the good city of Cologne.

From all kinds of small preparations by the military authorities, it is clear that at any rate they are preparing themselves for all eventualities. That is not all. Measures are being taken which definitely indicate a desire to provoke disturbances.

Why otherwise has "My glorious army"[315] been suddenly permitted, to the great astonishment of the soldiers themselves, to remain out of barracks until *10 p.m.* instead of 9 p.m.?

There is likewise again talk of *arrests.* We are quite ready to believe in it. The desire for such action has been in existence for a long time. Moreover, it is known that already on one occasion by means of such arrests the plan of provoking disorders proved completely successful.

We repeat, it is of the utmost importance that the democrats, and especially the *workers,* of Cologne do everything possible so that tomorrow the powers that are eager for a state of siege will *not* be given *even the slightest excuse* that will serve them as a cover for their acts of violence.

It is primarily the *bourgeoisie* that is endangered by the latest counter-revolutionary actions. The bourgeoisie has convened the congress of the towns. Let the *bourgeoisie have the honour of saying the first word.* Let us wait to see what these gentlemen will decide on Tuesday. We are convinced that many a worthy democrat will be greatly disappointed by the results of this pompous "congress of the towns".[a]

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[a] See this volume, p. 392.—*Ed.*

One thing is certain: if the state of siege is proclaimed before Tuesday then the congress of the towns will not take place and no one will be more pleased at this than precisely the gentlemen *who convened it.*

If tomorrow the workers allow themselves to be provoked into disorders they will only be pulling the *chestnuts out of the fire for the bourgeoisie,* and at the same time for the *Government.* The question is whether they wish to be used for this purpose at a time when all Germany is on the threshold of *civil war,* and when perhaps they will soon have the opportunity to *come forward with their own demands.*

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# [THE SITUATION IN HUNGARY]

Apart from the news received from our Vienna correspondent (see under Cologne[a]) there is a complete lack of definite information about the events in the theatre of war. We are therefore restricting ourselves today to a few items of news from the Hungarian-Moravian border that clearly bear the imprint of fear of the Magyars.

The *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* writes:

"From the Galician-Silesian border, April 28. The outcome of the clash near Neutra is that the Magyars have penetrated into the Zips as well as into the north-western foot-hills of the Carpathians. Neumarkt, Budatin and Sillein are in their hands. For some days they have been threatening the passes near Csacze and Jablunka, whither the imperial observation corps has been withdrawn. To avert a Magyar invasion of Silesia, an infantry division has been sent to Csacze, the infantry division stationed at Bielitz since last January has been moved to Jablunka, and, finally, a battalion has been withdrawn from Troppau and stationed in the neighbourhood of Friedek.—Since the day before yesterday fleeing Slovaks have been passing through Saybusch and Andrichau; the Imperial Commissioner from Sillein has been in Teschen for the last four or five days.

"The day before yesterday (the 26th) brisk artillery fire coming from the direction of Sillein or Teplitz could be heard in Saybusch until 6 o'clock in the evening.—However, only those who regard the recent occurrences in Cracow[316] and Görgey's simultaneous advance as parts of a co-ordinated plan think it likely that the Magyars will pay a visit to Galicia."[b]

In another report from Silesia published by the same paper it is stated:

"From Karwin, a small Prussian town, about two hours' journey from Troppau, reports have been received that from the castletower many beacons could be observed

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[a] See this volume, pp. 400-01.—*Ed.*

[b] This and the following quotations are taken from the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 103, May 1, 1849.—*Ed.*

in the Carpathians on the 24th, and it is believed that they were signals to mobilise the *Landsturm* in Galicia.

"A host of insurgents, about 15,000 in number, most of them horse-, cattle- and swine-herdsmen, conscripted from their pusztas[317] for the war, and accompanied by several cannon, are said to have advanced up to St. Martin and, on the evening of the same day, even as far as Sillein (about $2^1/_2$ post stages from Jablunka). Counts Pongrácz and Révay, the royal commissioners, fled to avoid death at the hands of the Magyars; Major Wenk crossed to this side of the Waag and called on all the imperial garrisons stationed in Slovakia to concentrate at certain frontier points so as to maintain communications with Moravia and Silesia.

"The borders are manned and all men in the towns and villages capable of bearing arms have been mustered for the *Landsturm* that is to go into action under the command of Archducal Justiciary Peter in the event of an invasion by the Magyars.—Kossuth's supporters are doing all they can to make the Slovaks waver. Thus, a song is going the rounds in which every Slovak loyal to the King, a 'German alien', is called a traitor to his country; some people are unfortunately led astray by this and have been ensnared. These are the bitter fruits of a mistaken policy pursued by a military leader[a] who let himself be lulled to sleep by the perfidious *Magyar nobility,* and whose anti-national measures repressed a people prepared to sacrifice everything in order to humble the Magyars (!?!)."

From Ofen we learn that the garrison left behind by the imperial troops is thought to consist of four infantry battalions, two to three cavalry squadrons and 83 well-manned pieces of ordnance. The fortress has provisions for six weeks.

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[a] Windischgrätz.—*Ed.*

# [FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

The Hungarians continue to advance. They are said to have already made incursions into Styria (near Fürstenfeld on the Raab), into Moravia (near Friedland on the Jablunka) and Galicia (near Raycza on the Moravian border). On the 29th Raab was still in the hands of the imperial troops; since then it is thought to have been abandoned. Pressburg was fortified by the imperial troops; according to some reports it has already been evacuated.

In the south, the imperial troops must be in a bad way. They are said to be *evacuating Fünfkirchen,* between the Danube and the Drava. Jellachich's corps, it now appears, was completely scattered, and *two regiments of Croats were taken prisoner* and put into the ranks of the Honveds. A report also mentions the encirclement and capture of Simunich.

Bem's troops are really in the Banat, near Lugos and Karánsebes and are threatening the fortresses of Arad and Temesvar.

The rumours about the expansion of the Magyar army are beginning to assume fantastic proportions. They say that 250,000 Magyars are under arms. While Görgey was fighting Wohlgemuth with a force of 45,000, 18 battalions attacked Jellachich, and in addition to this, Dembiński's corps, the strongest of all, has not been in action since the battle of Kapolna. Guyon and Klapka are now in command at Raab. The Hungarian Assembly *has been convoked* for May 10 *in Pest.* The Russians, 8,000 strong, are said to have entered Cracow.

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# [KOSSUTH'S PROCLAMATION]

We are publishing the following passages from a proclamation by Kossuth, dated Gödöllö, April 7, and taken from the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*:

"The nation's valiant army has driven out that enemy whose traitorous commissioners in Nograd and Somogy had once more started *to subject the people to the yoke of labour services which had been abolished by law and which we shall never permit to be inflicted on you again.* It has driven out the enemy who in the past month issued an imperial decree that where the terrier has been abolished, *the tenant has to pay half the value of the abolished labour services and tithes out of his own pocket, although the Hungarian law exempted you from this payment.* It is our firmest resolve to uphold this law in defence of your freedom.

"Our valiant army is driving from your borders the enemy whose Emperor[a] dared to state: 'Hungary does not exist and will never again exist', and who dared to partition us from our brothers in Transylvania, to tear Croatia from Hungary, to cut up our own fatherland and to turn our most fertile regions into a special Rascian Kingdom,[318] for the benefit of those Rascian robbers with whom he did not scruple to ally himself for the purpose of exterminating the Hungarian nation.

"Our valiant army is driving from your borders the enemy who, wherever he went in his flight, robbed like a common highwayman, who, not content with stealing as much as he could eat and drink, destroyed and laid waste what he was unable to consume, in order to leave famine in his wake; what is more, with inhuman ferocity and out of sheer predatory, malignant instincts he snatched the pillows from under the heads of your children, scattering the feathers to the winds. He did not even spare your churches; he tore the marble slabs from the altars, gutted the roofs of the chapels, while some of the *officers stole the silver spoons* from those who gave them food: thus behaves the enemy that the Austrian Emperor sent to our country, to destroy it, to exterminate our nation, and to make our people slaves and beggars!

"I prophesied to you months ago that Hungary's freedom, autonomy and independence would blossom out of the tyranny of the Austrian Emperor.

"And, thank God, it is so. Praised be the holy name of the Lord for this, and the nation's blessing and eternal thanks also to the valiant Hungarian army, to those who

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[a] Francis Joseph I.—*Ed.*

gladly sacrificed their lives and blood for the fatherland, who with unshaken courage defeated the united force of the enemy and who with their continuing victories are hastening towards the glorious goal, making you, O Hungarian people, by the sacrifice of their heroic blood free and happy! The enemy boasted of fictitious victories in order to deceive the Hungarian people and to plunge them into desperation.

"That is a characteristic piece of cowardice, for only a coward is capable of lying. The enemy deceived you with lying reports that he had driven our troops out of Transylvania, that Jellachich had taken Szegedin by storm, although he never came anywhere near it.

"Yes, and what is more—now that the enemy has been defeated four times within five days, and forced out of his strongest position, Windischgrätz, Schlick and Jellachich with their whole army in flight from Poroszlo, Pest and Waitzen—now, while I am writing this in Gödöllö, in the very same room where 24 hours ago Windischgrätz dared to dream of Hungary's subjugation—now, whilst his whole defeated army is on the run and we have snatched the whole of Transylvania, two-thirds of Hungary, from the tyrant's clutches—even now he is still not ashamed of spreading the lies in the venal Pest journals that he won a victory near Jasz-Bereny. To remove any doubt in the matter, I give you—my brothers, my friends!—the comforting assurance that I and the splendid leaders of our heroes are in Gödöllö with our army, whither our intrepid Honveds fought their way at bayonet's point. We are in Gödöllö from whose outskirts our artillerymen went into action, shelling the arrogant enemy out of his positions; in Gödöllö from whose outskirts our hussars pursued the fleeing enemy up to the Danube at Pest.—And over there in Transylvania the imperial enemy no longer exists. This Emperor sent the wild Muscovites against us, but Bem and our Hungarian army in Transylvania expelled the enemy and his Muscovite protectors, down to the last man, from the sacred soil of Transylvania.

"And down in the Bacska, Perczel took St. Tamas whose capture cost so much blood on other occasions. And he liberated Peterwardein, which was enmeshed by Austrian treachery, and freed the prosperous Alföld from the Rascian robbers. But up here, where the enemy's main force planned to subjugate Hungary, Commander-in-Chief Görgey with his generals Damjanich, Aulich, Klapka and Gaspar defeated Schlick near Hatvan, Jellachich near Tapio-Bicske, Windischgrätz and Schlick rejoined by Jellachich near Isaczeg; and now that they and our victorious troops have taken Gödöllö, they are already standing on the Rakos plain. A few more days, and Hungary will be free and no wicked enemy will violate the soil of our fatherland.

"This is the joyful news I give you, my brothers! Long live the free Hungarian fatherland!"

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# FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

The Austrian army continues to retreat. On April 28 Raab was evacuated; on the 29th, the Hungarian outposts had reached Hochstrasse, two miles[a] from Wieselburg. On the other side of the Danube, the Austrian corps stationed near Dioszeg has also withdrawn to Lanschütz (4 hours from Pressburg). Even on the 30th one could not travel from Pressburg further than Karlsburg (one and a half miles from Pressburg, on the southern bank).

The Austrian High Command is in Laxenburg, $1^1/_2$ hours from Vienna.

Slovakia is now completely in the hands of the Hungarians who were welcomed with open arms by the inhabitants. The Hungarians have found a mass of weapons there since Windischgrätz had disarmed the rural population and the confiscated rifles were collected and piled up in the county towns. There is no sign of the Slovak *Landsturm;* Bloudek has disappeared, the guerilla commander Janiczek has gone over to the Magyars. From Slovakia the Hungarians threaten Moravia, Austrian Silesia and Galicia. There is talk of an invasion corps numbering 40,000-60,000 men to transfer the theatre of war to Russian and Prussian Poland. A surprise attack on Prerau, the junction of the Polish-Silesian-Austrian railway lines, must certainly be expected.

In connection with the sudden stoppage in the advance of the Russians, we refer to our report from Breslau.[b] It is true that there is still talk about a large Russian corps advancing on Transylvania; for the present, however, all these reports are unreliable.

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[a] See footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*

[b] "Breslau, 4. Mai", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 292, May 8, 1849.—*Ed.*

It is now confirmed that in the south Bem has invaded the Banat with a considerable force, occupied the mountain passes between the Maros and the Danube, has taken Lugos and is even supposed to have captured *Temesvar*. As a result of this and the advance of parts of Perczel's corps over the Theiss towards Kikinda District, the Serbian Voivodina has dissolved into thin air.

Jellachich, whose defeat has been repeatedly confirmed, has been appointed commander with full authority over the Southern Army (Croatian-Slavonian-Banat) that is being formed.

This "Southern Army" consists on paper of 30,000 men; in actual fact it numbers at the most 8,000 plus a few thousand men from Serbian robber bands.

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# [THE PRUSSIAN ARMY AND THE REVOLUTIONARY UPRISING OF THE PEOPLE]

*Cologne*, May 7. The elements now in ferment in Germany are daily becoming more distinct; the situation is becoming more firmly defined.

While one of the centres of the German counter-revolution, Austria, has its hands more than full in dealing with Hungary, the other centre, Prussia, is sending its armed hordes in all directions against the revolutionary uprising of the people.

In *Dresden*, that patient town of art and luxury, the people are taking up arms and replying with barricades and musket-fire to the traitorous proclamations of the royal Government.[319] The greater part of the troops are coming over to the side of the people; the struggle is as good as decided; but suddenly *Prussian battalions* appear and side with the royal traitor[a] against the people.

In the Palatinate, too, the people are taking up arms against the daily more insolent Bavarian counter-revolution; here, too, *Prussian battalions* stand ready in order to invade at a suitable moment and put an end both to the Frankfurt Assembly and to the uprising in the Palatinate.

In whatever direction one looks in North and South-West Germany, everywhere there are *Prussian battalions* ready to carry through the counter-revolution by force of arms.

And so that there should be no lack of Prussian battalions, whether in our country or in neighbouring states, *recruiting into the army reserve* is taking place everywhere[b] in accordance with our glorious military organisation.

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[a] Frederick Augustus II.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 195-96.—*Ed.*

Thus the centres of the counter-revolution are in one place the Austrian army, in another the Prussian army. Day by day the new revolution opposes an increasingly vigorous and universal resistance to the counter-revolution.

The Dresden Provisional Government is still in existence and rallies the forces of the people in the whole country.

The Palatinate Defence Council[320] is still in existence and every day more and more people of the Palatinate gather around the banner of the revolution.

Finally, in Rhenish Prussia, the army reserve is *refusing to march.* Even in Elberfeld, in black-and-white[a] Wuppertal, the army reserve is refusing to move beyond its place of assembly.

And lastly, in Austria the most important occurrence is the *Hungarian revolution which is irresistibly advancing.* The post from Vienna has not arrived—perhaps because the Magyars have torn up the Moravian railway line. That they have *broken into Moravia* is definitely established. Reports in writing from Ratibor inform us that already eight days ago bombardments from whole batteries were heard in Golkowitz on the Austrian frontier, and on May 3 in Loslau, and likewise in Prussian Upper Silesia. At all events, the battles must have taken place on this side of the Jablunka.

Incidentally, the *victory of the Hungarians is more certain than ever before.* It is quite definite that *the Russians will not come.* A few more days, therefore, and the Hungarians will be in Vienna, the Hungarian revolution will have been accomplished and the second German revolution will be ushered in in the most magnificent way.

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[a] The colours of the Prussian monarchy.—*Ed.*

# [A QUESTION TO THE WORKERS]

*Cologne,* May 7. The Prussian gentlemen seem to be making every effort to provoke a riot.

The day before yesterday the artillerymen (concerning whom, incidentally, the Government is labouring under a great illusion) were paid 15 silver groschen per man as a "supplement" for the previous month. True, the infantry also received this supplement.

The officers of one regiment stationed here have *directly called on* their soldiers to start a riot tomorrow.

This evening a scuffle between soldiers and civilians has already taken place on Neumarkt Square.

Once more we ask the workers *whether they want to let the Prussian gentlemen dictate the moment for the uprising?*

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# THE TSAR AND HIS SUBORDINATE KNYAZES[a]

*Cologne,* May 8. It is said that the French ambassador[b] in Berlin has *protested against the entry of the Prussians into Saxony.*

At last, therefore, the French Government has noticed that the East-European counter-revolution menaces it as well, and that the new Holy Alliance [321] has as its ultimate, supreme aim nothing other than the conquest, and this time, perhaps, the *partition of France.*

We know positively that in the treaty which has been concluded between the orthodox Tsar and his two subordinate *knyazes* from Olmütz and Potsdam[c] the ultimate aim of the alliance is declared to be the conquest of France, the abolition of the Republic and the elevation of the "legitimate King", the "son of holy Louis", the idiot *Henry of Bordeaux to the throne of France and Navarre.*

That Odilon Barrot is involved in this plot is hardly doubtful.

This is what they expect you to do, Prussian soldiers of the army reserve! You are being called away from your hearths and homes, from your wives and children, in order first of all to fight against your brothers in Germany and Prussia, to help in suppressing the small remnant of the freedom which you won last year—and then to fight against the Hungarians who are coming to the aid of your threatened freedom—and when you have completed this work to the satisfaction of your *knyazes* and your supreme lord and master, Tsar Nicholas, then you will be led across the Rhine against the nation whose heroic uprisings in 1789-94, 1830, and 1848 procured you all the freedoms you enjoy.

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[a] "Knyaz" is the Russian word for "prince".—*Ed.*

[b] F. V. E. Arago.—*Ed.*

[c] The Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph and the Prussian King Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

It is for this that last year as fighters at the barricades, and as the awe-inspiring mass of the people, you won a few liberties for yourselves, so that now, as soldiers of the army reserve, you yourselves will help to suppress these liberties once more and finally, in the service of your supreme master, the Russian Tsar, destroy also the two bulwarks of liberty—Hungary and France!

Written by Engels on May 8, 1849

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## [THE APPROACHING REVOLUTION]

*Cologne*, evening of May 8. The revolution is drawing nearer and nearer. While in Dresden the people are displaying the utmost courage in their struggle against the Saxon and Prussian mercenaries,[322] and armed reinforcements are pouring in from all quarters to repulse the Prussian invasion; while in the Palatinate the people are rallying round the Defence Council,[323] the people's militia is mobilising and arming itself, the military are siding with it and the government officials are acquiescing, the whole of Germany is seething with unrest. Franconia is only waiting for the moment when it, too, can break away from Bavaria; the people there are in a state of great unrest, and the peasantry especially wait with impatience the outbreak of the struggle. We shall be in a position to supply details about this tomorrow. In Baden and Württemberg even the military have declared themselves in favour of the imperial Constitution. Similar reports have been received from Thuringia, Hesse-Cassel and Darmstadt.

Finally in Prussia the movement is gaining momentum with every day that passes and becoming more revolutionary. Breslau is in a state of profound unrest; the minor riots, the mustering of troops, the patrols, the groups of people gathering in the streets, are all harbingers of graver events. The whole of Silesia is in a similar state of tension in anticipation of the news from Hungary and Vienna. Berlin is quiet, held down by the rule of the sabre. On the Rhine and in Westphalia the plans of Hohenzollern despotism are miscarrying because of the resistance of the army reserve which refuses to allow itself to be used as a tool for new coups d'état. The whole of the Berg Country, the District of Hagen, Mülheim an der Ruhr, Krefeld—in

short, precisely the regions with the largest number of black-and-white supporters have suddenly gone over to *open insurrection.*

The Brandenburg-Manteuffel clique is in the meantime doing its best to provoke the people into revolution. The *Staats-Anzeiger*[a] which arrived today contains a circular addressed to all heads of provincial administrations, calling on them to take energetic measures against all "revolutionary" activities in support of the imperial Constitution, and also correspondence between Imperial Commissioner Bassermann and Herr Brandenburg in which the latter states: 1) Prussia refuses once and for all to recognise the imperial Constitution, and 2) the Central Authority[324] is to abstain from interference in Prussia's internal affairs, such as dissolution of the Chamber, proclamation of a state of siege etc., once and for all.

We commend these last samples of Hohenzollern arrogance to the people of the Rhine. It seems that through its contemptuous dismissal of even the most trivial concessions the dynasty intends to drive the people into revolution.

If it comes to another revolution, Herr von Hohenzollern, *who knows whether the people will leave it at* ***"Hats off!"*** *this time!*[325]

Written by Engels on May 8, 1849

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[a] *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger* No. 125, May 8, 1849.— *Ed.*

# THE DEEDS OF THE HOHENZOLLERN DYNASTY[326]

*Cologne,* May 9. It seems that in the last days of its existence and of the existence of the Prussian state, the Government of Herr von Hohenzollern wants once again to justify to the full the ancient reputation of the Prussian and Hohenzollern name.

Who does not know the description in Heine's poem:

> A child with a head as large as a pumpkin,
> With the drooping moustache of a grey-haired bumpkin,
> With spider-like arms, lengthy but strong,
> With the paunch of a giant but guts not so long,
> A changeling....[a]

Who does not know the treacheries, the perfidies, the legacy-hunting, by means of which that family of corporals which bears the name of Hohenzollern rose to greatness?

It is well known that the so-called "Great Elector"[b] (as though any "Elector" could ever be "great"!) perpetrated the first betrayal of Poland when he, Poland's ally against Sweden, suddenly went over to the side of the Swedes in order to be able to plunder Poland more thoroughly by the Peace of Oliva.[327]

People are well acquainted with the absurd figure of Frederick I and the brutal coarseness of Frederick William II.

It is well known that Frederick II, inventor of patriarchal despotism, the friend of Enlightenment with the help of flogging, sold his country by auction to the highest bidders among French entrepreneurs; it is well known that he allied himself with Russia and

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[a] Heinrich Heine, "Der Wechselbalg" in *Zeitgedicht.—Ed.*
[b] Frederick William.—*Ed.*

Austria in order to carry out the rape of Poland,[328] an act which still today, after the revolution of 1848, remains a permanent blot on German history.

It is well known that Frederick William II helped to accomplish the rape of Poland and that he gave away the stolen Polish national and church estates to his courtiers.

It is well known that in 1792 he entered into a coalition with Austria and England to suppress the glorious French Revolution and invaded France; it is likewise well known that his "glorious army" was most ignominiously driven out of France.

It is well known that he then left his allies in the lurch and hastened to conclude a peace with the French Republic.[329]

It is well known that, while pretending to be enthusiastically in favour of the legitimate King of France and Navarre,[a] he bought the crown jewels of this same king for a song from the French Republic and thus profited from the misfortune of his "dear brother".

It is well known that he, whose whole life was a typical Hohenzollern mixture of opulence and mysticism, senile lasciviousness and infantile superstition, trampled on the free expression of opinions by means of the Bischoffswerder edicts.[330]

It is well known that his successor, *Frederick William III,* the "Just", betrayed his old allies to Napoleon in exchange for Hanover, thrown to him as a bait.

It is well known that immediately after this he betrayed Napoleon to these same former allies, when being in the pay of England and Russia he attacked the French Revolution embodied in the person of Napoleon.

It is well known what the result of this attack was: the unprecedented defeat of the "glorious army" at Jena,[331] the sudden outbreak of a moral sickness of the whole Prussian body politic, a series of acts of treachery, baseness and sycophancy on the part of Prussian officials from which Napoleon and his generals turned away in disgust.

It is well known that in 1813 Frederick William III, by fine words and magnificent promises, actually induced the Prussian people to believe that they were fighting a "war of liberation" against the French, although it was solely a matter of suppressing the French Revolution and restoring the old rule by the grace of God.[332]

It is well known that the fine promises were forgotten as soon as the Holy Alliance made its triumphant entry into Paris on March 30, 1814.

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[a] Louis XVI.—*Ed.*

It is well known that at the time of Napoleon's return from Elba, the enthusiasm of the German people had already cooled down again to such an extent that the Hohenzollern had to try to revive their flagging zeal by the promise of a Constitution (the Edict of May 22, 1815—four weeks before the battle of Waterloo).[333]

People recall the promises contained in the Act of Federation and the Vienna concluding document: freedom of the press, a Constitution etc.[334]

It is well known how the "just" Hohenzollern kept his word. The Holy Alliance and congresses for the suppression of nations, Carlsbad decisions, censorship, police despotism, rule of the nobility, arbitrary bureaucratic rule, high-handed administration of justice by ministerial orders, persecution of demagogues, mass sentences, squandering of financial resources, and—no Constitution at all.[335]

It is well known that in 1820 the people were given a guarantee that taxes and state debts would not be increased, and how the Hohenzollern kept his word: by transforming the Overseas Trading Company into a secret loan bank for the state.[336]

It is well known how the Hohenzollern responded to the appeal of the French people during the July revolution: by massing troops on the frontier, by suppressing his own people, by crushing the movement in the smaller German states, and by the final enslavement of these states under the knout of the Holy Alliance.

It is well known that this same Hohenzollern violated neutrality during the Russo-Polish war[337] by allowing the Russians to pass through his territory and thus to attack the Poles from the rear, by putting the Prussian arsenals and depots at the disposal of the Russians, and by affording every defeated Russian corps a safe refuge in Prussia.

It is well known that all the efforts of the Hohenzollern subordinate *knyaz*, in unison with the aims of the Holy Alliance, were directed towards strengthening the rule of the nobility, the bureaucracy and the army, and crushing by brute force all freedom of speech, all influence on the Government exerted by the "limited understanding of the subject"[338] and moreover not only in Prussia but in the rest of Germany as well.

It is well known that there seldom has been a reign in which such praiseworthy intentions were implemented by more brutal and violent means than that of Frederick William III, particularly in 1815-40. Never and nowhere have there been so many arrests and sentences, never were the fortresses so filled with political prisoners, as under this "just" ruler. Moreover, it should be borne in mind what innocent simpletons these demagogues were.

Ought we to speak also of the Hohenzollern[a] who, according to the monk of Lehnin, "will be the last of his tribe"?[339] Ought we to speak about the rebirth of Christian-Germanic grandeur, about the emergence of ghastly financial distress, about the Order of the Swan, and about the supreme court for censorship, about the United Diet and the General Synod, about the "scrap of paper",[340] about the vain attempts to borrow money, and all the other achievements of the glorious epoch of 1840-48? Ought we to prove, by referring to Hegel, why precisely it will have to be a comedian who closes the series of Hohenzollerns?[341]

It will not be necessary. The data given suffice for a full characterisation of the Hohenzollern Prussian name. True, there was a moment when the splendour of this name was dimmed, but since the pleiad of Manteuffel and Co.[b] surrounds the crown, the old grandeur has been revived. Once again, as formerly, Prussia is a vice-regal province under Russian supremacy; once again the Hohenzollern is a subordinate *knyaz* of the autocrat of all the Russias, and superior *knyaz* over all the little boyars of Saxony, Bavaria, Hessen-Homburg, Waldeck etc., once again the limited understanding of the subject is reinstated in its old right, that of obeying orders. "My glorious army", as long as the orthodox Tsar[c] himself is not making use of it, is allowed to establish in Saxony, Baden, Hessen, and the Palatinate the order which has prevailed for eighteen years in Warsaw, and in its own country and in Austria it is permitted to glue together the pieces of the shattered crowns with the blood of the subjects. We care as little about the word given earlier in a moment of fear and distress as did our deceased forefathers, and as soon as we have set our house in order we shall march with bands playing and banners flying against France and we shall conquer the land where the vines of Champagne grow, and we shall destroy the great Babylon, the mother of all sin!

Such are the plans of our august rulers; such is the safe harbour towards which our noble Hohenzollern is steering. Hence the ever more frequent dictates and coups d'état; hence the repeated kicks for the cowardly Frankfurt Assembly; hence the states of siege, arrests and persecutions; hence the intervention of the Prussian soldiery in Dresden and South Germany.

But there exists another power, to which, it is true, the gentlemen from Sans-Souci pay little heed, but which will nevertheless interpose

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[b] i.e. the members of the Brandenburg-Manteuffel Government.—*Ed.*

[c] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

its word like a clap of thunder. That power is the **people,** the people who, in Paris and on the Rhine, in Silesia and in Austria, in furious anger await the moment for the uprising, and who—who knows how soon—will give their due deserts to all the Hohenzollerns, and all the superior and inferior *knyazes.*

Written by Marx on May 9, 1849 Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 294, May 10, 1849

# [THE SITUATION IN ELBERFELD][342]

"*Elberfeld,* May 8. After several posters appealing to the people to support the army reserve in their refusal of military duty, as well as a proclamation by the army reserve against the King[a] and Government, had been torn down by the police, the latter were attacked and *forced to fasten the posters to the offices and doors* while the people watched them. Towards the evening, as the crowds grew larger and larger, the rumour spread that troops were on their way. And so the *army reserve took up arms* and forced the burgomaster to accompany them to the railway station to try and persuade the regular troops to turn back. However, when they were passing the officers' mess von Carnap took refuge in it and the people then demolished the building. Whilst the army reserve marched to the station to prevent the troops from entering the town, the armed forces appeared on the scene, causing confusion among the crowd and lashing out at them to such an extent that a number of casualties had to be carried away.

"But the crowd gathered again and went to the town hall where the civic militia had in the meantime been mounted to defend the building. It contains a great deal of ammunition, and the demand was raised that this should be handed over. After this demand had been refused, an attempt was made to force an entry, but this was unsuccessful. A hail of stones had in the meantime smashed several window-panes. At 8 o'clock this morning, the army reserve, *fully armed,* have taken up positions near Böttcher on Engelnberg *where they await the arrival of the military.*

"*Many proletarians armed with weapons have joined them, as well as army reserve units from other parts. The civic militia* are equally active, but will *not attack the army reserve* and only control the crowd. If the military arrive and attack the army reserve, then alas! They will have to come in large numbers if they are to achieve anything." *D. Z.*[b]

(This morning artillery left Cologne at an early hour bound for Elberfeld, in order to riddle with grape-shot the honest workers of the Berg Country who are not willing to be used unlawfully as tools by a traitorous camarilla. We trust that the artillery will *do its duty.*)

Written by Engels on May 9, 1849

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[b] *Düsseldorfer Zeitung.*—*Ed.*

# [FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

New victories are reported from the Hungarian border! The news about the ***defeat of the Austrians*** near *Hochstrasse* that we published a few days ago[a] has been fully confirmed. The island of Schütt is almost completely in the hands of the Magyars.

A ***second defeat*** has been sustained by the imperial troops near *Szered* on the Waag, about five miles[b] from Pressburg. Here Görgey fought his way across the Waag, driving the imperial troops nearly back to Pressburg.

In both these battles the Austrian cavalry in particular suffered heavy losses. Galician and German cavalrymen arrived in Vienna in carts and on foot, without their horses and sabres, often shouldering their saddles, their ragged, mud-stained and dejected appearance causing dismay amongst the black-and-yellow[c] supporters. The routed and ragged remnants of the Hurban corps also passed through Pressburg.

In this town general confusion prevailed among the imperial forces; they expected that a decisive battle would take place here on the 4th or 5th of May, and had given up hope of holding the town. Many black-and-yellow supporters fled from it.—Tyrnau, to the north-west of Szered, was also evacuated by the imperial troops and the railway line connecting it with Pressburg was torn up.

It is certain that the Magyars intend to make *Moravia and Lower Austria* the theatre of war, i.e. *to take Vienna.* Even the Vienna

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[a] See this volume, p. 409.—*Ed.*
[b] See footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*
[c] The Austrian imperial colours.—*Ed.*

*Lithographierte Correspondenz* admits that the whole of Lower Austria is ardently awaiting the arrival of the Magyars.

In the *Bukovina*, the peasant agitator Kobylica is causing the Government increasing anxiety.

In the *Bacska*, Perczel is exacting heavy war-contributions from the Serbs who also have to raise recruits. But at the same time he has guaranteed their language and nationality and abolished the Military Border.[343]

The Austrian reports now maintain that the alleged deposing of the Habsburg dynasty was a bluff originating from the Austrian Government with the aim of inciting the other provinces against the Magyars. According to other sources the National Assembly revoked its decisions because of their adverse effect on the people. *Se non è vero è ben trovato.*[a]

In the south, according to the *Vjestnik* [Вѣстникъ] and the *Serbske Novine* [Србске Новине], Perczel has crossed the Theiss, captured Kikinda District, forced the Serbs to retreat everywhere and now threatens Werschetz. Everyone there has fled to Pancsova. A corps is supposed to have advanced to the outskirts of Temesvar (whose capture by Bem is thus not confirmed). Bem is reported to have taken up his position near Orsova, ready to receive the Austrians and Russians advancing from Wallachia. The Serbs have completely lost their confidence in General Todorovich's conduct of the war. The South-Slav papers are unanimous in admitting that the Banat cannot be held and it will be completely reconquered by the Magyars in a few weeks' time.

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[a] Even if it's not true it's well invented.—*Ed.*

# [COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY OFFENSIVE AND VICTORY OF THE REVOLUTION][344]

*Cologne,* May 9. The counter-revolution is advancing swiftly, but the revolution advances still faster.

While the counter-revolution has gained advantages in *Dresden,* which make its victory probable, and has managed to introduce a *state of siege, censorship* and *martial law* by successfully provoking a revolt in *Breslau,*[345] the revolution can point to quite different victories.

We do not speak of the rapidly growing *open rebellion of the army reserve* in Rhenish Prussia, involving the most black-and-white[a] districts, nor of the South-German movement, which is being betrayed everywhere by the governments, the bourgeoisie and the Frankfurt National Assembly[346]; we speak only of those great events which, coming from outside, can give strong support and unity to the small, isolated and deceived German movements—we speak of the Magyar and the French revolutions.

While the *Magyar revolution* is gaining one victory after another, and after the next decisive battle (which must have taken place on May 5 or 6 at Pressburg) will march directly on Vienna and liberate the city, *France* suddenly enters a stage when the movement is developing again openly and in broad daylight. The underground development of the past months comes to a close; the defeat of the French army at Rome[347] has exposed and discredited the entire Government. The people reappears upon the scene—the people, the ultimate, supreme judge. Whether it happens at the elections or in the course of an open revolution, the French people will shortly

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[a] The colours of the Prussian monarchy.— *Ed.*

give an impetus to the movement, an impetus which all Europe will feel.

The European dynasties will soon see that the chosen people of the revolution has not changed; the French revolution of 1849 will speak to them, not in Lamartinian phrases, but in the language of guns.

Written by Engels on May 9, 1849 Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the special supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 294, May 10, 1849

# [THE UPRISING IN ELBERFELD AND DÜSSELDORF][348]

*Cologne*, May 11. From Elberfeld we learn that after twice attacking the people, the soldiery drawn up on the market square were repulsed with several dead and wounded. The colonel of the 16th regiment had his horse shot from under him; he himself was severely wounded. Captain Uttenhoven is reported to have fallen, riddled with bullets in front and—behind (!); it is said that his own men fired at him. The soldiers' attack aroused the most tremendous fury. The majority of the civic militia fought on the side of the people.

The dissolved town council is said to have been replaced by a committee of public safety, and four members of the former council have joined it. The house of the chief burgomaster, von Carnap, was totally demolished; the mahogany furniture from the Hotel von der Heydt was used to build one of the most valuable barricades. A total of about 40 barricades is supposed to be in the town.

At the time of dispatch of this news which, however, cannot be vouched for in every point, the town had been evacuated by the troops, and large reinforcements from the surrounding districts were advancing to support the people of Elberfeld.

When the news that fighting had begun in Elberfeld reached Düsseldorf on the evening of the 9th, a truly heroic struggle was waged at Düsseldorf railway station against the troops who were being sent from Cologne to Elberfeld as reinforcements[a]; and there was soon fierce barricade fighting in all streets. The alarm tocsins were rung the whole night through, and the grape-shot fired by the military was answered by the bullets of the people. Towards morning, the soldiery gained the upper hand, however, and it is

[a] See this volume, p. 423.—*Ed.*

reported that during the day posters were put up on the street corners proclaiming a state of siege and martial law.

There are thought to be about 20 dead among the casualties suffered by the people; they include the well-known forwarding agent Hartmann and a Polish painter who, after springing in front of the advancing soldiers and urging them not to fire on their brothers, was cut down by their bullets and fell dead to the ground.

The military are said to have later shot down defenceless men, women and children, thus marking their victory by even more bloodshed.

Written by Engels about May 10, 1849

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# THE NEW PRUSSIAN CONSTITUTION

*Cologne,* May 12. In November of last year, after the dispersal of the people's representatives, the Potsdam member of the Trinity,[349] blessed by divine grace and the state of siege,[a] imposed a Constitution which was to be revised by the Chambers soon to be convened. As we know, the new representatives of the people suffered a fate similar to that of the old ones; the latter were dispersed by Wrangel's bayonets, the former received from Manteuffel a simple little notice of dissolution,[350] ordering them to go home. That put an end, too, to the revision of the Constitution.

Thus the Christian-Germanic sovereign and his accomplices, the whole host of lay-abouts, parasites and vampires sucking the blood of the people, whether of high-born lineage or without ancestry, whether decorated with orders or undecorated, have acquired free scope for planting whatever kind of fruit they like.

In November of last year, the royalty, bureaucracy and junkers were still compelled to use various hypocritical statements and to accept articles of the Constitution which seemed very liberal. The November Constitution had to be framed in a way that would make it possible to ensnare the numerically large, *stupid* part of the so-called "Prussian people".

*Now* all such subtle diplomatic considerations have become superfluous. Is not brother-in-law Nicholas already on German soil with 20,000 men? Has not Dresden been demolished by artillery shelling? Does there not exist the closest alliance of Prussia with the cowardly fugitive in Königstein, with imperial Max in Munich,[351]

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

with the bulldog Ernest Augustus of Hanover, with the whole counter-revolutionary gang inside and outside Germany?

Certainly, this moment has been used by the Hohenzollern to the best advantage. He had a new Constitution drawn up for his "beloved" subjects, and he sanctioned and imposed it in Charlottenburg on May 10.

The latest royal-Prussian Constitution, *the only one sincerely intended,* which also has the advantage over the November Constitution of consisting of only seventeen paragraphs, reads as follows:....[a]

Written by Marx on May 12, 1849

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[a] There followed the "Verordnung über den Belagerungszustand" ("Decree on the State of Siege") of May 10, 1849, which the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* published under the heading "The Latest Prussian Constitution".—*Ed.*

# THE SANGUINARY LAW IN DÜSSELDORF

*Cologne,* May 12. The "new Constitution", the abolition of ordinary laws and law-courts, together with the announcement of murderous privileges conferred by the sovereign[a] on "My glorious army", already came into force in *Düsseldorf* yesterday.

After the defeat and massacre of the people, the commander immediately asked Berlin for instructions. From Herr von Hohenzollern's accomplices, Brandenburg-Manteuffel, an order was received by telegraph to proclaim the **sanguinary law** and to set up murderous military courts.

By Articles 1 and 6 of the army orders the right of association is abolished, and Articles 5, 6, 7, 24, 25, 26, 27, and 28, of the imposed "Schnaps" Charter[352] are made invalid.

Last year, under the rule of "citizen and communist" Drigalski,[353] when a state of siege was proclaimed the Düsseldorf press was put under *censorship,* a measure which gave rise to loud protests and great indignation even among the majority of the feeble Agreers' company. Today, after the new Hohenzollern achievements, when at the side of the subordinate *knyaz* in Potsdam there are no Chambers, but instead snub-nosed Cossack kinsmen, today the powers that be are not content with *censorship,* but proceed simply to *suppression* of the press.

According to Article 7, Düsseldorf newspapers, and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as well, are *prohibited* in the Düsseldorf area. According to Article 8, nothing but official "information" may be published.

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

Under "citizen and communist" Drigalski's rule by the sabre, the victims of arbitrary arrests were at least not removed from the jurisdiction of the ordinary law and its regular judges. Today the law and the courts have been suspended and murderous special military courts have been set up.

Article 9. Anyone who by word of mouth, in writing, in the press, or in representational form, incites resistance to the legal (!) orders of the authorities will come before a court martial.

Article 10. Anyone who is caught in open or armed resistance to the *measures* of the legal authorities, or who by traitorous action exposes the troops to danger or harm, *will be summarily shot in accordance with martial law.*

**The laurels of the murderer Windischgrätz allow no rest to the reinvigorated Hohenzollern!**

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# THE UPRISING IN THE BERG COUNTRY

*Cologne*, May 12. At the present time the attention of the entire Rhine Province is concentrated on Elberfeld, a place which is now raising the "banner of revolt" higher than any other Rhenish town.[a] The dissolution of the Chamber[354] was the signal for the movement in the otherwise so peaceful Wuppertal. The most addle-pated "wailers"[355] and the most miserable "hypocrites" had to admit that the guilt of the reaction exceeded all bounds, and carried away by the enthusiasm of those courageous workers whose energy we have never doubted, they have taken up arms and joined the ranks of those heroes on the barricades who are resolved to wage a struggle to the death against the monarchy.

In view of the confused reports which reach us from the battle arena itself, it is impossible to separate the truth from the lies. This much at least seems certain: that the whole population has taken up arms, that streets and houses are barricaded, that from neighbouring places—Solingen, Remscheid, Gräfrath, from localities of the Ennepe highway, in short, from the entire Berg Country—armed reinforcements are hurriedly arriving. It seems certain, too, that the insurgents are already not restricting themselves to the occupation of Elberfeld and Barmen but are extending their measures of defence to the most important points of the environs.

It is confidently asserted that the insurgents also plan to hasten to the aid of Düsseldorf in order to clear that city of Prussian troops. The army reserve, which now for the first time has definitely sided with the people, is playing the main role in these operations. The fighters do not lack munitions and money since several of the richest

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[a] See this volume, pp. 423 and 428-29.—*Ed.*

merchants have readily opened their coffers. Thus, it is said that one trading house alone has given the Elberfeld Committee of Public Safety 500 friedrichsdors.

Under these circumstances, of course, it is not surprising that the royal mercenaries are getting ready to attack in order wherever possible to crush the people in the Berg Country as well and perpetrate the same atrocities as in Breslau, Dresden, Erfurt etc. It is to be hoped that this time things will turn out differently.

The artillery parked at Wesel will move from there to Elberfeld. It is said that the attack has been fixed for next Monday.

We cannot vouch for these reports. But whatever the plans of the counter-revolution may be, Elberfeld will have to face a struggle in which it can truly perform a great service to our country.

Written by Marx on May 12, 1849

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# [THE VENAL BASENESS OF THE *KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG*]

*Cologne,* May 13. We draw our readers' attention to the recent issues of the *Kölnische Zeitung,* in particular to today's issue, that of Sunday, May 13.

Probably never before has the "*most vulgar artlessness*" gone so closely hand in hand with *venal baseness* as in the latest leading articles and reports of our admirable contemporary.

Only a few days ago, at the congress of the Rhenish municipal councils,[356] we saw the *owner* of the *Kölnische Zeitung, Herr Joseph Dumont,* hastily rising to support the decisions adopted there. Today we see the same man, through his henchman Brüggemann, expressing in every line the most brutal pleasure at the failure of the revolts which were precisely the consequence of those decisions of the Rhenish municipal councils.

In return, however, the *Kölnische Zeitung* has also the good fortune to be *imposed* on the Rhenish towns, together with the state of siege, as their sole newspaper.

Truly, what is being simultaneously imposed on these towns is *blood and*—**dirt!**

Written by Marx on May 13, 1849

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 297 (second edition), May 13, 1849

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# THE *KREUZ-ZEITUNG*

*Cologne,* May 15. The rascally Prussian newspaper does us the special favour of compiling an anthology of unpatriotic expressions published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* about the "imperial-Russian subordinate *knyaz* in Olmütz" and the "Prussian bug-ridden knights".[a] The selection is limited to the dispatches from Breslau and is accompanied at the end by the following outburst of indignation of the covertly frivolous "crusader":

"Compared to this *Chimborazo insolence,* how flat is the announcement of the wedding of the Prussian King published in the French *Moniteur* in 1793: '*Le jeune tyran de Prusse vient d'épouser une demoiselle de Mecklenbourg*!'"[b]

In order to complete as fully as possible the account of the "Chimborazo insolence" of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* we ask the rascally newspaper to be so good as to reprint the Premier-Cologne from No. 294 of our newspaper "The Deeds of the Hohenzollern Dynasty".[c] We hear that Frau von Hohenzollern[d] is a zealous reader of the rascally sheet and we do not adopt so "exclusive" an attitude that we begrudge the respectable lady some historical studies on the family of her spouse for her amusement.

Written by Marx on May 15, 1849

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[a] See this volume, pp. 359 and 414.—*Ed.*

[b] "The young tyrant of Prussia recently married a young lady of Mecklenburg." (From a report in the section "Berliner Zuschauer" published in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* [*Kreuz-Zeitung*] No. 107, May 10, 1849.) A reference to Luise von Mecklenburg-Strelitz.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 418-22. The Premier-Cologne—leading article datelined *Cologne.*—*Ed.*

[d] Queen Elizabeth, the wife of Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

# [A NEW PRUSSIAN KICK FOR THE FRANKFURT ASSEMBLY]

*Cologne*, May 15. No sooner had the Holy Alliance of the knout imposed a brand-new state-of-siege Constitution on Prussia[a] than it favoured us today with a second document of no less interest. Those nationally-assembled milksops of Frankfurt, who by their radical philistinism, cowardice and doltishness so faithfully assisted the paid traitors of the German people for a whole year in working for the counter-revolution, are now reaping what they sowed.[357] If it were possible for some glimmer of light to occur in the minds of our National Assembly deputies, and for their breasts to be filled not merely with indignation inspired by March beer, but at least with a small degree of *revolutionary indignation and energy*, then that ought to be effected by the following "royal order" of the subordinate *knyaz* in Charlottenburg[358]:

"*Royal Order*

"We, Frederick William, by the grace of God King of Prussia etc. etc., hereby, on the proposal of our Ministry, order the following:

§ 1

**"The mandate of the deputies elected in the Prussian state to the German National Assembly on the basis of the Decrees of the German Confederation of March 30 and April 7, 1848, and of Our Order of April 11, 1848, has ceased to be valid.**

§ 2

**"This Our present Order is to be put before the deputies by Our Plenipotentiary in Frankfurt am Main for their guidance and with the**

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[a] See this volume, pp. 430-31.—*Ed.*

**directive to refrain from any participation in the further proceedings of the Assembly.**

"Given in Charlottenburg, May 14, 1849

*Frederick William*
Count von Brandenburg, von Ladenberg, von Manteuffel, von Strotha, von der Heydt, von Rabe, Simons"

Written by Marx on May 15, 1849

First published in the special supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 299, May 16, 1849

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# THE NEW MARTIAL-LAW CHARTER

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 299, May 16, 1849]

*Cologne,* May 15. We still have to report on the latest paternal intentions of the subordinate *knyaz* in Potsdam[a] towards his "hereditary" subjects, acquired by plunder and traffic in people. We are referring to the newly *imposed martial-law Charter,*[b] this sole true promise of all the Hohenzollern promises, in which Prussian glory is at last revealed even to the most stupid and credulous simpletons in its fullest natural nakedness, divested of the last traces of its hypocritical comedian's tinsel.

The dispersal of the inoffensive Berlin Chambers, which were supposed to "*revise*" the imposed Constitution of December 5, was only, as is well known, the necessary preparation for the Russians' entry into German territory. But the agreement arrived at between the Potsdam Bashkirs and the kindred dog-nosed Cossacks of the orthodox Tsar had another purpose besides that of the notorious Trinity's campaign against Hungary,[359] in which Prussia, true to its cowardly, perfidious nature, stood at the gates like a police agent with orders for arrests, while the Austrian and Russian executioners were intended to institute the murder hunt within the country. The true aim of this Hohenzollern alliance was through the entry of the Russians to inspire the Potsdam hero with the necessary *courage to take revenge* on the revolution for the *confession of* **cowardice** *wrung from him in March of last year.*

We have no need to make excursions into history in order to prove the innate and natural *cowardice* of the Hohenzollerns at all times, nor perhaps do we even need to go back to the ancestors of this noble

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 430-31.—*Ed.*

clan who ambushed unarmed travellers from behind bushes and hedges, and thus as highwaymen laid the foundations for the "splendour of the dynasty". Nor do we need to recall the boastful campaign of Frederick William II against the French Republic, in which the great Hohenzollern was the first to turn tail thus betraying the German "imperial troops" in order together with Russia to set about a new rape of Poland[360]; still less is it necessary for us to mention the pitiful role his successor, Frederick William III, played in the imperial wars before driving "His people" into battle with the aid of lying promises.[a] The history of the "March achievements" was only a continuation of the old "hereditary" cowardice and perfidy. The Agreement Assembly was the first concession made by this *cowardice* to the revolution, a concession which superseded the famous boasting about a "scrap of parchment"[361]; the Assembly was dispersed when the fall of Vienna gave the reinvigorated Hohenzollern the necessary courage for that action. The imposed Constitution with the Chambers that were "to revise" the Constitution was the second act of cowardly hypocrisy, since the "unweakened Crown"[362] at that time still considered a few liberal concessions to be necessary. The [Second] Chamber was dismissed when the conspiracy with the Russian Tsar and master[b] had reached the desired conclusion. But only the *actual* entry of Russians into German territory, only the *reliable* proximity of the protecting Cossacks, gave the Hohenzollern the courage to come out with the latest plan: abolition of the last hypocritical "constitutional guarantees" by the introduction of the most unrestricted, most arbitrary sabre dictatorship, by the suspension of the old, even the pre-March, laws and law-courts, by revenge with "gunpowder and lead" on the revolution for the cowardice of the Hohenzollerns proclaimed in the March concessions.

That is the historical origin of the recently imposed martial-law Constitution. Let us now look at its content.

Under Articles 1 and 2, "for the event of a disturbance" not only every commandant of a fortress can declare his fortress to be in a state of siege, but every "commanding general" can declare *the whole area occupied by the army corps* to be in a state of siege.

"For the event of a disturbance", *c'est-à-dire*, if the commandant or general sees fit to foresee the "event of a disturbance". Or is it possible that the Hohenzollern Ministers, in whose stylistic exercises the most remarkably abundant lack of grammatical knowledge usually predominates, intended to say: "in the event of a distur-

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[a] See this volume, p. 419.—*Ed.*
[b] Nicholas. I.—*Ed.*

bance"? The interpretation will be left to the well-tested understanding of the generals and commandants.

"For the event of a disturbance", therefore, a commandant can declare his fortress, and a commanding general a whole province, to be in a state of siege. The limits of this "event" are not defined. Whether the "event of a disturbance" must show itself within the fortress or province or needs only threaten the fortress or province from a greater or lesser distance—that, too, will have to be decided only by the "tact" of the general or the commandant, and "tact", according to the weighty word of Lieutenant-General Tietzen, is the first requirement of a Prussian officer.

But the power of the general "for the event of a disturbance" has, on the other hand, been most remarkably restricted in the interests of all enthusiasts for the legal basis. Only "for the event of a war" are generals and commandants *on their own initiative* able to declare provinces and fortresses in a state of siege. "For the event of a disturbance", however, according to Article 2 of the new Charter, the proclamation of a state of siege emanates from the Ministry; "for this event" the commandant has the right to declare his fortress, and the general his province, in a state of siege only *provisionally,* subject to being confirmed or (!) rescinded by the Ministry. A pleasant safeguard for subjects threatened by a disturbance! Do we not have "responsible" Ministers? Is not the "legal basis" saved by the merely "provisional power" of the commandant's or general's dictatorship, by the existence of a final instance in the person of the "responsible" Minister? True, under Articles 7 and 13 the "provisional power" of the commandant or general gives them the right *provisionally* to suspend the ordinary law-courts, *provisionally* to set up courts martial, which then, likewise *provisionally,* pass *death sentences* (Article 8) and *provisionally* carry out the death sentences within 24 hours (Article 13, § 7). But the "legal basis" is always saved by the final confirmation of the "responsible" Minister—long live the legal basis! Our sole secret wish in this context is that the advocates of the legal basis should be the first to experience *provisional* execution in the name of God and His Majesty the Christian-Germanic subordinate *knyaz.*

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 300, May 17, 1849]

*Cologne,* May 16. Cervantes somewhere talks about a worthy *alguacil*[a] and his clerk, who for the protection of public morality kept

[a] A Spanish police agent.—*Ed.*

two women of no ambiguous reputation.[a] These obliging nymphs appeared at big fairs or other festive occasions in such attire that already from far off the bird could be recognised by its plumage. If they managed to entrap some new arrival they immediately contrived to inform their lovers of the hotel to which they had gone. The *alguacil* and his clerk then broke into the room to the immense fright of the women, created a jealous scene and allowed the stranger to escape only after long pleading and payment of a suitable monetary compensation. In this way they combined advantage for themselves with the interests of public morality, for the victim took care for some time not to give way to his improper inclinations.

Like these guardians of morality, the Prussian heroes of order have a simplified procedure for ensuring normal tranquillity under martial law. The provocative dispatch of some pillars of legality reeking of liquor, a few provocative sabre blows among the people, and the rebellious desires thereby aroused in some remote town or village provide an opportunity for proclaiming a state of siege and thus safeguarding the *whole province* against further improper disturbances and cheating it of its last remnant of constitutional rights.

Under Article 5 of the new martial-law Charter, on the proclamation of a state of siege the "military commander" can *district by district* invalidate Articles 5-7 and 24-28 of the latest "acquisitions" imposed in December.

Let us see what still remains when we subtract from the March promises the Articles abolished by the imposition of the new martial-law Charter. "For the event of a disturbance" by the arbitrary decision of a "military commander" there cease to exist:

Article 5 of the December Constitution: "*Freedom of the person* is guaranteed."
Article 6: "The home is *inviolable.*"
Article 7: "No one may be deprived of his *legally appointed* judge."
Article 24: "Every Prussian has the right etc. freely to express his *thoughts.*"
Article 25: "Offences committed by word of mouth, writing etc. are punishable in accordance with the *general* penal laws."
Article 26: "If the author of a written work is known and within reach of the power of the court, the printer, publisher and distributor are *not liable to punishment.*"
Article 27: "All Prussians have the right to assemble peacefully and without weapons in *closed premises.*"
Article 28: "All Prussians have the right to unite in *societies* for purposes which do not contravene the penal laws."

As soon as a military commander proclaims a state of siege, "for the event of a disturbance", "freedom of the person" is *no longer*

[a] M. Cervantes, "Coloquio de los perros" in *Novelas ejemplares.—Ed.*

guaranteed, homes are *no longer* declared inviolable, the "*legal*" courts, freedom of the press, protection of printers, and the right of association, cease, and even the "*societies*" of the philistines—casinos and balls—whose "purposes do not contravene the penal laws", can only exist *par grâce de M. le commandant,* but not at all by "right".

At the same time Article 4 of the new martial-law Charter lays down that

"with the proclamation of the state of siege" (*pur et simple*) "the executive power is transferred to the *military* commander, and the civil-administrative and municipal authorities must *carry out* the orders and *commissions* of the military commander".

By this paragraph all the usual forms of municipal and administrative government are safely abolished and the oxen of the snub-nosed, arrogant bureaucracy harnessed under the yoke of the sovereign military dictatorship as "lackeys for executing *commissions*".

Articles 8 and 9 contain the punishments by which the energetic Hohenzollern intends to defend his safety and order even when he is protected by bayonets and guns. This new penal law has at any rate the advantage of brevity over all the tediously agreed theories of law.

Article 8: "Anyone who in a place or region declared to be in a state of siege is guilty of deliberate arson, of deliberately causing an *inundation*" (what prudence!), "or who uses open violence and dangerous weapons to attack or *resist the military forces or representatives of the civil and military authorities,* **will be punished by death.**"

"Resistance to the military forces or representatives of the authorities"! The deeds of "My glorious army" are well known; it is known also that the worthy Pomeranians, Prussians and Upper Silesian Poles, who in the interest of unity are being so zealously grafted into the Western provinces, following the example of His Majesty, derive their courage only from the circumstances and after having disarmed the citizens, as in Düsseldorf, Breslau, Posen, Berlin, and Dresden, they crown the state of siege by the murder of unarmed men, women and children.[a] Hence the "hereditary" subjects of the Potsdam Bashkir *knyaz* are given the highly commendable freedom, after a state of siege has been proclaimed, either to allow themselves to be "lawfully" murdered by the courageous executors of the benevolence of the sovereign, or by offering "resistance" to allow themselves to be shot in accordance with martial law.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 429 and 435.—*Ed.*

Ought we also to discuss the provisions of Article 9, by which the dissemination of reports which "mislead" the authorities and the *violation* of any "*prohibition* issued in the interests of public security" etc. are punishable by up to one year's imprisonment, and even the most ordinary police and gendarme functions are henceforth made more perfect in accordance with martial law?

Ought we to deal with the cowardly perfidy with which the Hohenzollern sovereign, and his accomplices Simons-von der Heydt-Manteuffel decree the formation of courts martial consisting of *three* "senior officers" and two civil judges *appointed* by the military commander, in order to preserve the semblance of "legal" procedure in the eyes of the stupid bourgeois and yet at the same time to be sure of a conviction owing to the preponderance in the number of military executioners?

Ought we to take note of the various provisions of Article 13 on "procedure at courts martial", in which there is nowhere any mention of the testimony of witnesses, but under which judgment can obviously be pronounced in the spirit of the murderer Windischgrätz "in accordance with the *coincidence* of circumstances"?

Ought we to take note of the provisions that there is no appeal against sentences of courts martial, that death sentences are merely confirmed by the "military commander" and are carried out within twenty-four hours, and lastly that *even after the lifting of the state of siege*, in cases where sentences of courts martial have not yet been carried out, the "ordinary courts" can only convert the court-martial punishment into a legally imposed punishment, but must "*accept* the fact *as proven*" and cannot decide on the correctness or incorrectness of the charge?

Ought we, finally, to examine the last and best Article of this new Constitution which has been strengthened by the Cossacks, according to which "*even apart from the state of siege*", consequently "**not** for the event of a disturbance", Articles 5, 6, 24-28 of the December acquisition, "personal freedom", "inviolability of the home", "freedom of the press" and the "right of association" can be *abolished district by district*?

After all these splendid things there is no need for us to express our heartfelt good wishes to all well-intentioned Prussians on the new, *solely true* promises, on the finally true outburst of paternal benevolence resulting from the proximity of the Cossacks. We sincerely rejoice at this bloody castigation of the bourgeois who are so frantic for order, and of the miserable dolts who yearn for a basis of legality.

But the people will soon feel that this new "acquisition" has filled its cup to overflowing, it will wreak vengeance on this lying cowardly race that plagues the land, and the Rhine Province above all will not let slip the long-desired hour when we shall cry out: *Ça ira!*[363]

The pitiful ranks of knights
Will soon be riding off.
**They shall be offered a stirrup-cup**
**From bottles of iron to quaff!**[a]

Written by Marx on May 15 and 16, 1849

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[a] Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen,* Caput VIII.—*Ed.*

# [ELBERFELD]

*Cologne*, May 16. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, too, was represented at the Elberfeld barricades.[364]

In order to refute various false rumours, we owe it to our readers to give them a brief report on this matter.

On May 10, *Friedrich Engels*, editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, went from Cologne to Elberfeld and took with him from Solingen two cases of cartridges which had been captured by the Solingen workers at the storming of the arsenal of Gräfrath. On arriving in Elberfeld, Engels made a report to the Committee of Public Safety on the situation in Cologne, and put himself at the disposal of the Committee. The military commission at once entrusted him with the management of fortification works by issuing the following authorisation:

"The military commission of the Committee of Public Safety hereby empowers Herr Friedrich Engels to inspect all the barricades in the town and to complete the fortifications. All posts at the barricades are hereby requested to assist him wherever necessary.

"Elberfeld, May 11, 1849

(signed) *Hühnerbein, Troost*"

On the following day the artillery too was put at his disposal.

"Citizen F. Engels is hereby empowered to instal artillery at his discretion, and also to requisition the artisans necessary for this purpose, the costs involved being borne by the Committee of Public Safety.

"Elberfeld, May 12, 1849

Committee of Public Safety
On behalf of which
(signed) *Pothmann, Hühnerbein, Troost*"

On his very first day in Elberfeld, Engels organised a company of sappers and completed the building of barricades at several exits from the town. He attended all the meetings of the military commission and proposed that it appoint Herr *Mirbach* as Chief Commandant, which was unanimously agreed to. In the following days Engels continued his activity, he made changes to a number of barricades, decided on the positions for new ones, and strengthened the sapper companies. From the moment of Mirbach's arrival, Engels put himself at his disposal and took part also in the war councils held by the Chief Commandant.

During his whole stay in Elberfeld, Engels enjoyed the absolute confidence of the armed workers of the Berg Country and the Mark, as also of the volunteer corps.

On his very first day in Elberfeld, Engels was asked by Herr Riotte, a member of the Committee of Public Safety, about his intentions. Engels stated that he had come, firstly, because he had been sent there from Cologne; secondly, because he believed that he could perhaps be usefully employed in a military respect; and, thirdly, because, having been born in the Berg Country, he considered it a matter of honour to be there when the first armed uprising of the people of the Berg Country took place. He said that he desired to concern himself exclusively with military matters and to have nothing to do with the political character of the movement, since it was obvious that up to now only a movement under the black-red-and-gold flag[a] was possible here, and therefore any action against the imperial Constitution had to be avoided.

Herr Riotte was in full agreement with this statement.

On the morning of the 14th, while Engels was accompanying Chief Commandant Mirbach to a general muster on the Engelnberg, Herr Höchster, also a member of the Committee of Public Safety, approached him and stated that although there was absolutely nothing to be said against his behaviour, nevertheless his presence evoked the utmost alarm of the Elberfeld bourgeoisie; they were afraid that at any moment he would proclaim a red republic and that by and large they wished him to leave.

Engels said that he wanted neither to impose his services, nor cravenly to desert his post, and he requested, without otherwise undertaking any kind of obligation, that the above-mentioned request should be presented to him in black and white, over the signatures of all members of the Committee of Public Safety.

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[a] The colours symbolise Germany's unity, and in this case they denote the unification of the country in accordance with the imperial Constitution.—*Ed.*

Herr Höchster put the matter before the Committee of Public Safety and on the same day the following decision was adopted:

"*While fully appreciating* the activity hitherto shown in this town by Citizen Friedrich Engels of Barmen, recently resident in Cologne, it is requested that he should from today leave the precincts of the local municipality *since his presence could give rise to misunderstandings as to the character of the movement.*"

Already before the decision was adopted Engels stated that he would comply with the request of the Committee of Public Safety only if Mirbach ordered him to do so. Mirbach had arrived in Elberfeld at his suggestion, and therefore he could not leave before Mirbach had released him.

On the morning of the 15th, after considerable pressure from the Committee of Public Safety, Mirbach finally signed the requisite order, which was later also made public in the form of a poster.

The armed workers and volunteer corps were highly indignant at the decision of the Committee of Public Safety. They demanded that Engels should remain and said they would "protect him with their lives". Engels himself went to them and calmed them down, referring them to Mirbach and stating that he did not intend to be the first to refuse obedience to the Commandant who had been invited at his suggestion and in whom, moreover, he had absolute confidence.

Engels then took part in one more reconnaissance of the environs and, after handing over his post to his adjutant, departed from Elberfeld.

Let the workers of the Berg Country and the Mark, who have shown such astonishing affection for and devotion to a member of our editorial board, bear in mind that the present movement is only the prologue to another movement a thousand times more serious, in which the issue will concern their own, the workers', most vital interests. This new revolutionary movement will be the result of the present movement and as soon as it occurs Engels—on this the workers can confidently rely—like all the other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, will be at his post, and no power on earth will induce him to forsake it.

Written by Engels on May 16, 1849

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# [THE WORTHY SCHWANBECK]

One of the editors of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, worthy Schwanbeck, has issued a statement[a] about his misfortunes in Elberfeld, in which he also alleges that an "editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*"[b] acted as an informer against him. All that the editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* referred to knows about the affair is as follows. Whilst holding an official appointment in Elberfeld,[c] he was asked by a member of the Committee of Public Safety to identify two gentlemen who claimed to have come from Cologne and who were being detained in the cells at the town hall; one of these gentlemen was none other than worthy Schwanbeck. He declared in the presence of the latter that he would make it his business to see that that gentleman was to be expelled from the town the next morning, which was indeed done. He also recounted to his friend, the member of the Committee of Public Safety, an episode concerning Herr Schwanbeck's connection with Police Inspector Brendamour, which had already been made public by Herr C. Cramer in the *Wächter am Rhein*.[d] That was the extent of the "informing".

Incidentally whether, as worthy Schwanbeck maintains, "there is nothing to spy on in Elberfeld", no one is in a better position to say than the Prussian officer who is still detained as a spy in Elberfeld and who was promptly arrested whilst roaming around there under a false name.

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[a] *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 117, March 17, 1849.—*Ed.*
[b] Frederick Engels.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, pp. 447-49.—*Ed.*
[d] Cramer, C., "Polizeispione", *Der Wächter am Rhein* No. 51, May 6, 1849.—*Ed.*

# [THE SUMMARY SUPPRESSION OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*][365]

*Cologne*, May 18. Some time ago Berlin demanded that the local authorities re-introduce a state of siege in Cologne. It was intended to use martial law to suppress the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, but this met with unexpected resistance. The municipal authorities of Cologne then turned to the Public Prosecutor's office here in order to achieve the same purpose by arbitrary arrests. But this failed on account of the legal scruples of the judiciary, just as it had failed twice before on account of the common sense of the Rhenish juries.[366] There was nothing for it but to resort to a *police ruse*, and this, for the time being, has achieved its purpose. *The "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" ceases publication for the present.* On May 16, its editor-in-chief *Karl Marx* received the following government note:

"The tendency of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* to provoke in its readers contempt for the present government, and incite them to violent revolutions and the setting up of a social republic has become stronger in its latest pieces" (!). "The right of hospitality" (!) "which he so disgracefully abused is therefore to be withdrawn from its editor-in-chief, Dr. *Karl Marx*, and since he has not obtained permission to prolong his stay in these states, he is ordered to leave them within 24 hours. If he should not comply voluntarily with this demand, he is to be forcibly conveyed across the frontier.

"*Cologne*, May 11, 1849

Royal Government
*Moeller*

To Herr *Geiger*, Royal Police Superintendent, here."

Why these absurd phrases, these official lies?

The trend and tone of the latest pieces of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* do not differ a whit from its first "sample piece". In that "first piece" we wrote among other things:

"The project of Herr Hüser" (in Mainz) "is only part of the grand plan of the Berlin reactionaries who seek to ... deliver us defenceless into the hands of the army."[a]

*Eh bien, Messieurs, qu'en dites-vous maintenant?*[b]

As to our tendency, did not the Government know it? Have we not declared before the jury that it was now "*the duty of the press to undermine the whole basis of the existing order*"[c]? Regarding the Hohenzollern subordinate *knyaz* one can read the following in the issue of October 19, 1848:

"The King is consistent. He would always have been consistent had it not been for the unfortunate fact that the March days interposed that fateful scrap of paper between His Majesty and the people. At this moment His Majesty, just as he did before the March days, seems again to believe in Slavdom's '*legs of iron*'; and perhaps the people in Vienna will turn out to be the magician who will transform the iron into clay."[d]

*Est-ce clair, Messieurs?*[e]

And the "*social republic*"? Have we proclaimed it only in the "latest pieces" of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*?

Did we not speak plainly and clearly enough for those dullards who failed to see the "*red*" thread running through all our comments and reports on the European movement?

The November 7 issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* says, "Assuming that *arms* will enable the counter-revolution to establish itself in the whole of Europe, *money* would then kill it in the whole of Europe. European *bankruptcy, national bankruptcy* would be the fate nullifying the victory. Bayonets crumble like tinder when they come into contact with the salient 'economic' facts. But developments will not wait for the expiry of the bills of exchange drawn by the European states on the new European society.

"The crushing counter-blow of the June revolution will be struck in *Paris*. With the victory of the '*red*' republic in Paris, *armies* will be rushed from the *interior* of their countries to the frontiers and across them, and the *real strength* of the fighting parties will become evident. We shall then remember this June and this October and we too shall exclaim:

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[a] See the article "Hüser" (present edition, Vol. 7, p. 20).— *Ed.*

[b] Well, gentlemen, what do you say now?— *Ed.*

[c] "The First Trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*"; Speech by Karl Marx (present edition, Vol. 8, p. 317).— *Ed.*

[d] Marx, "Reply of the King of Prussia to the Delegation of the National Assembly" (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 474-75).— *Ed.*

[e] Is that clear, gentlemen?— *Ed.*

"**Vae victis!**[a]

"The purposeless massacres perpetrated since the June and October events, the tedious offering of sacrifices since February and March, the very cannibalism of the counter-revolution will convince the nations that there is only one means by which the murderous death agonies of the old society and the bloody birth throes of the new society can be *shortened*, simplified and concentrated, and *that* is by *revolutionary terror.*"[b]

*Est-ce clair, Messieurs?*

From the very beginning we did not consider it necessary to conceal our views. During a polemic with the judiciary here, we told you:

"*The actual opposition of the 'Neue Rheinische Zeitung' only begins with the tricolour republic.*"[c]

And at that time we were speaking with the prosecution. We summed up the old year, 1848, in the following words (cf. the issue of December 31, 1848):

"The history of the Prussian bourgeoisie, like that of the German bourgeoisie in general between March and December, shows that a purely *bourgeois revolution* and the establishment of *bourgeois rule* in the form of a *constitutional monarchy* is impossible in Germany, and that only a feudal absolutist counter-revolution or a *social republican revolution* is possible."[d]

Did we therefore have to advance our social republican tendency only in the "last pieces" of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*? Did you not read our articles about the *June revolution,*[e] and *was not the essence of the June revolution the essence of our paper?*

Why then your hypocritical phrases, your attempt to find an impossible pretext?

*We have no compassion and we ask no compassion from you. When our turn comes, we shall not make excuses for the terror.* But the *royal terrorists,* the terrorists by the grace of God and the law, are in practice brutal, disdainful and mean, in theory cowardly, secretive and deceitful, and in both respects *disreputable.*

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[a] Woe to the conquered!—*Ed.*

[b] Marx, "The Victory of the Counter-Revolution in Vienna" (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 505-06).—*Ed.*

[c] Marx, "Public Prosecutor 'Hecker' and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*" (present edition, Vol. 7, p. 488).—*Ed.*

[d] Marx, "The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-Revolution" (present edition, Vol. 8, p. 178).—*Ed.*

[e] See present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 124-27, 130-49.—*Ed.*

The Prussian Government's piece of paper goes even to the absurd length of speaking about the "*right of hospitality which was disgracefully abused*" by *Karl Marx,* the editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.*

The right of hospitality which the insolent intruders, the anterior Russians (Borussians), forced upon *us, inhabitants of the Rhineland,* on our own land—this hospitality was indeed "disgracefully" abused by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* We believe that we have thereby rendered a service to the Rhine Province. We have saved the revolutionary honour of our country. From now on the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* alone will enjoy the full right of citizenship in the Rhine Province.

In parting we should like to remind our readers of the words printed in the first issue we published in January:

"The table of contents for 1849 reads: **Revolutionary rising of the French working class, world war.**"[a]

And in the East, a revolutionary army made up of fighters of all nationalities already confronts the alliance of the old Europe represented by the Russian army, while from Paris comes the threat of a "red republic".

Written by Marx on May 18, 1849 Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 301, May 19, 1849

[a] Marx, "The Revolutionary Movement" (present edition, Vol. 8, p. 215).—*Ed.*

# [HUNGARY][367]

*Cologne*, May 18. At a moment when the actual entry of Russian troops turns the Magyar war into a *European* war, we are compelled to discontinue our reports on its further course. The only thing we can still do is once more to provide a brief survey of the development of this grand East-European revolutionary war for our readers.

It will be remembered that in the autumn of 1847, even before the February revolution, the Diet at Pressburg,[368] under the leadership of *Kossuth*, adopted a number of revolutionary decisions, such as those providing for the right to sell landed property, the peasant's right to live where he likes, the commutation of feudal obligations, the emancipation of the Jews and equal taxation of all classes. On the very day the February revolution began in Paris (February 22) the Diet permitted Croats and Slavonians when dealing with their internal affairs to use their own language for official purposes and finally, by demanding a separate responsible ministry for Hungary, it made the first step towards a *separate Hungary*.

The February revolution broke out, and with it came the collapse of the resistance of the Viennese Government to the demands of the Hungarians. On March 16, the day after the Viennese revolution, consent was given for the formation of an independent Hungarian Government thereby reducing the association between Hungary and Austria to a mere personal union.

The now independent Magyar revolution made rapid progress. It abolished all political privileges, introduced universal suffrage, did away with all feudal obligations, labour services and tithes without payment—compensations being payable by the state—brought

about the union with Transylvania and compelled the appointment of Kossuth as Minister of Finance and the dismissal of the rebellious Ban Jellachich.

Meanwhile the Austrian Government recovered from the blow. While the supposedly responsible ministry at Vienna remained powerless, the camarilla at the Innsbruck Court grew steadily more powerful. It relied on the imperial army in Italy, on the national desires of the Czechs, Croats and Serbs and on the stubborn narrow-mindedness of the Ruthenian[369] peasants.

The Serbian insurrection, instigated with the help of money and emissaries from the Court, broke out in the Banat and Bacska on June 17. On the 20th Jellachich had an audience with the Emperor at Innsbruck and was reappointed Ban. Jellachich returned to Croatia, renounced allegiance to the Hungarian Government and on August 25 declared war against it.

The treachery of the Habsburg camarilla was plainly evident. The Hungarians tried once more to persuade the Emperor to return to constitutional methods. They sent a deputation of 200 members of the Diet to Vienna; the Emperor replied evasively. Feeling ran high. The people demanded guarantees and forced a change in the Government. Traitors, who sat in the Pest Government too, were removed, and on September 20 Kossuth was appointed Prime Minister.[370] But only four days later the Palatine Archduke Stephan, the representative of the Emperor, escaped to Vienna and on the 26th the Emperor issued the well-known manifesto to the Hungarians[371] in which he declared that the Government was rebellious and dismissed it, appointing the Magyarophobe Jellachich governor of Hungary and encroaching on the most important revolutionary gains of Hungary.

The manifesto, not having been countersigned by an Hungarian Minister, was declared null and void by Kossuth.

Meanwhile Jellachich, taking advantage of the disorganisation and treachery prevailing among the nominally Hungarian, but in reality old imperial, officers and general staff, advanced as far as Stuhlweissenburg. There he was defeated by the Hungarian army, despite its treacherous leaders, and driven back into Austrian territory to the very walls of Vienna. The Emperor and the old traitor Latour then decided to send reinforcements to Jellachich and to reconquer Hungary with the aid of German and Slav troops. But the revolution broke out in Vienna on October 6, and for the time being put an end to the royal imperial schemes.

Kossuth immediately marched with a Magyar corps to the assistance of the Viennese people. At the Leitha he was prevented

from moving immediately on Vienna by the indecision of the Vienna Imperial Diet, the treachery of his own officers and the bad organisation of his army, which consisted for the most part of the *Landsturm*. He was finally obliged to arrest more than a hundred officers, send them to Pest and have some of them shot. Only after this did he dare to attack. But it was too late—Vienna had already fallen, and his undisciplined *Landsturm* men were thrown back at Schwechat by the regular Austrian troops.[372]

The truce between the imperial troops and the Magyars lasted six weeks. While both armies did their utmost to strengthen their forces, the Olmütz camarilla carried out a coup which it had been preparing for a long time. It forced the idiot Ferdinand—who had compromised himself by concessions to the revolution and was now useless—to abdicate and placed on the throne Sophia's son, the boy Francis Joseph, whom it intended to use as its tool. On the basis of the Hungarian Constitution the Pest Diet rejected this change of sovereigns.

Finally in the middle of December the war started. Hungary by then was practically surrounded by the imperial army. The offensive was launched from all sides.

From Austria three army corps, no less than 90,000 strong, under the supreme command of Field Marshal Windischgrätz, advanced southward from the Danube. Nugent with about 20,000 men marched from Styria along the left bank of the Drava. Dahlen with 10,000 men marched from Croatia along the right bank of the Drava to the Banat. Several border regiments, the garrison of Temesvar, the Serbian *Landsturm* and the Serbian auxiliary corps of Kničanin, totalling 30,000 to 40,000 men commanded by Todorovich and Rukavina, fought in the Banat itself. Puchner with 20,000-25,000 men was in Transylvania as was also Malkowsky with 10,000-15,000 men, who had invaded it from the Bukovina. Finally Schlick with a corps of 20,000-25,000 men moved from Galicia towards the Upper Theiss.

The imperial army thus numbered at least 200,000 regular, mostly battle-hardened troops, not counting the Slav, Romance and Saxon *Landsturm* men and national guards who took part in the fighting in the south and in Transylvania.

Against this colossal fighting force Hungary could pit an army of perhaps 80,000-90,000 trained soldiers, including 24,000 men who had formerly served in the imperial army, and in addition 50,000 to 60,000 poorly organised Honveds[373] and *Landsturm* men. This army was commanded for the most part by traitors similar to the officers whom Kossuth had had arrested at the Leitha.

But whereas Austria, a country kept down by force, financially ruined and almost moneyless, could not yield another recruit for the time being, the Magyars still had great resources at their disposal. The Magyars' enthusiasm for liberty, reinforced by their national pride, waxed stronger every day, providing Kossuth with eager fighters in numbers unheard-of for such a small nation of 5 million. The Hungarian printing-press placed inexhaustible financial resources in the form of banknotes at Kossuth's disposal and every Magyar accepted these national assignats as if they were hard silver coin. Rifle and gun production was in full swing. All the army lacked was weapons, experience and good leaders, and all this could be procured in a few months. It was therefore only necessary to gain time, to entice the imperial troops into the heart of the country where they would be worn down by unceasing guerilla warfare and weakened by having to leave behind strong garrisons and other detachments.

Hence the plan of the Hungarians to withdraw slowly into the interior, to train the recruits in continuous skirmishes and as a last resort to place between themselves and their enemies the Theiss line with its impassable swamps, which form a natural moat around the heart of the Magyar lands.

According to all calculations, the Hungarians should have been able to hold the area between Pressburg and Pest for two to three months even against the superior strength of the Austrians. But severe frosts suddenly set in, and for several months all rivers and swamps were covered with a thick layer of ice capable of bearing the weight even of heavy guns. This deprived the terrain of all features favouring defence, and made all fortifications built by the Magyars useless and liable to be outflanked. And so it happened that before twenty days had passed the Hungarian army was thrown back from Oedenburg and Pressburg to Raab, from Raab to Mor, from Mor to Pest, and even had to leave Pest and withdraw beyond the Theiss at the very beginning of the campaign.

The other corps fared no better than the main army. In the south Nugent and Dahlen continued their advance towards Esseg, which was occupied by the Magyars, and the Serbs gradually approached the Maros line; in Transylvania Puchner joined Malkowsky at Maros-Vásárhely; in the north Schlick descended from the Carpathians to the Theiss and made junction with Windischgrätz at Miskolcz.

The Austrians seemed to have practically put an end to the Magyar revolution. They had two-thirds of Hungary and three-fourths of Transylvania in their rear, the Hungarians were attacked

in front, on both flanks and in the rear. A further advance of a few miles[a] would have enabled all the corps of the Emperor to make junction and draw the ring tighter until Hungary was crushed in it as in the coils of a boa constrictor.

It was essential now—while on the front the Theiss still formed an insuperable barrier to the enemy—to gain some breathing space on one flank or another.

This was done at two points: in Transylvania by Bem, and in Slovakia by Görgey. Both carried out operations which show that they are the most gifted commanders of our time.

On December 29, Bem arrived at Klausenburg, the only town in Transylvania still held by the Magyars. Here he quickly concentrated the reinforcements he had brought and the remnants of the defeated Magyar and Szekler[374] troops, and marched to Maros-Vásárhely, defeated the Austrians and drove Malkowsky first across the Carpathians into the Bukovina and from there into Galicia, where he pushed on towards Stanislav. Then, swiftly turning back into Transylvania he pursued Puchner to within a few miles of Hermannstadt. After several skirmishes and a few swift drives in various directions, the whole of Transylvania was in his hands apart from two towns, Hermannstadt and Kronstadt, and these too would have been taken if the Russians had not been called in. The 10,000-strong Russian auxiliary troops tipped the scales and forced Bem to fall back on Szeklerland. There he organised an uprising of the Szeklers, and having succeeded in this, he had the Szekler *Landsturm* engage Puchner, who had reached Schässburg, while he bypassed Puchner's positions, moved straight on Hermannstadt and drove the Russians out, then defeated Puchner who had followed him, marched on Kronstadt and entered it without firing a shot.

Transylvania was thus won and the rear of the Magyar army cleared. The natural defence line formed by the Theiss now found its continuation and complement in the Carpathian mountain range and the Transylvanian Alps, from the Zips down to the borders of the Banat.

Görgey at the same time made a similar triumphal march in North-Western Hungary. He set out with a corps from Pest to Slovakia, for two months kept in check the corps of generals Götz, Csorich and Simunich operating against him from three directions, and finally, when his position became untenable against their superior forces, fought his way through the Carpathians to Eperies and Kaschau. There he appeared in the rear of Schlick and forced

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[a] See footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*

him hurriedly to abandon his position and his whole operational base and retreat to Windischgrätz's main army, while he himself was already marching down the Hernad to the Theiss to join the main body of the Magyar army.

This main army, which was now commanded by Dembiński, had likewise crossed the Theiss and had repulsed the enemy all along the line. It had reached Hatvan, six miles from Pest, when a stronger concentration of enemy forces compelled it to retreat again. After offering vigorous resistance at Kapolna, Maklar and Poroszlo it recrossed the Theiss just at the moment when Görgey reached the Theiss at Tokaj. The union of the two corps was the signal for a new magnificent advance of the Hungarians. Newly trained recruits arriving from the interior strengthened the Hungarian army in the field. Polish and German legions were formed, capable leaders had been trained or enlisted, and in place of the leaderless, unorganised mass of December, the imperial troops were suddenly faced by a concentrated, brave, and numerous army which was well organised and excellently led.

The Magyars crossed the Theiss in three columns. The right wing (Görgey) moved northwards, outflanked the Ramberg division, which had been following it, at Eperies and quickly drove this division back through Rimaszombat towards the main imperial army. The latter was defeated by Dembiński at Erlau, Gyöngyös, Gödöllö and Hatvan, and hastily retreated to Pest. Finally the left wing (Vetter) dislodged Jellachich from Kecskemét, Szolnok and Szegléd, defeated him at Jász-Berény and compelled him, too, to retreat to the walls of Pest. There the imperial forces stood along the Danube from Pest to Waitzen, surrounded in a wide semi-circle by the Magyars.

To avoid exposing Pest to bombardment from Ofen, the Hungarians had recourse to their well-tried tactics of dislodging the Austrians from their positions by manoeuvres rather than by open frontal attacks. Görgey captured Waitzen and forced the Austrians to fall back beyond the Gran and Danube; he defeated Wohlgemuth between the Gran and Neutra, thereby relieving Komorn, which was besieged by imperial troops. Since its line of retreat was threatened, the imperial army had to decide on a hurried withdrawal. Welden, the new Commander-in-Chief, retreated in the direction of Raab and Pressburg, and Jellachich was obliged, in order to pacify his extremely refractory Croats, to hastily retreat with them down the Danube into Slavonia.

During their retreat, which rather resembled a stampede, Welden (and especially his rearguard commanded by Schlick) and Jellachich

suffered further considerable reverses. While the latter's hard-pressed corps was slowly fighting its way through the Tolna and Baranya comitats, Welden was able at Pressburg to concentrate the remnants of his army which were by no means capable of offering any serious resistance.

Simultaneously with these astonishing victories of the Magyars over the main Austrian army, Moritz Perczel pressed forward from Szegedin and Tolna towards Peterwardein, relieved it, occupied Bacska and moved into the Banat, in order to link up there with Bem who was advancing from Transylvania. Bem had already taken Arad and besieged Temesvar; Perczel stood at Werschetz close to the Turkish frontier; the Banat was thus conquered in a few days. The fortified Transylvanian mountain passes were at the same time held by the Szeklers, the passes in Upper Hungary by the *Landsturm*, and Görgey with a considerable army stood at the Jablunka Pass on the Moravian-Galician frontier.

In short, in a few more days the victorious Magyar army, driving the remnants of the mighty Austrian legions before it, would have entered Vienna in triumph and put an end to the Austrian monarchy for all time.

Hungary's separation from Austria had been decided in Debreczin on April 14[375]; the alliance with Poland, openly proclaimed since the middle of January, was turned into reality by the 20,000-30,000 Poles who joined the Hungarian army. The alliance with the German Austrians, which had existed since the Viennese revolution of October 6 and the battle at Schwechat, was similarly preserved and sustained by the German legions within the Hungarian army, as well as by the fact that the Magyars were faced with the strategic and political necessity of occupying Vienna and revolutionising Austria so as to secure recognition of their declaration of independence.

Thus, the Magyar war very soon lost the national character it had had in the beginning, and assumed a clearly European character, precisely as a result of what would seem to be a purely national act, as a result of the declaration of independence. Only when Hungary proclaimed her separation from Austria, and thereby the dissolution of the Austrian monarchy, did the alliance with the Poles for the liberation of both countries, and the alliance with the Germans for the revolutionisation of Eastern Germany acquire a definite character and a solid basis. If Hungary were independent, Poland restored, German Austria turned into the revolutionary focus of Germany, with Lombardy and Italy winning independence—these plans, if carried out, would destroy the entire East-European system

of states: Austria would disappear, Prussia would disintegrate and Russia would be forced back to the borders of Asia.

The Holy Alliance,[376] therefore, had to make every effort to stem the impending revolution in Eastern Europe—the Russian armies rolled towards the Transylvanian and Galician frontiers; Prussia occupied the Bohemian-Silesian frontier and allowed the Russians to pass through her territory towards Prerau, and within a few days the first Russian army corps stood on Moravian soil.

The Magyars, who clearly understood that in a few weeks they would have to deal with numerous fresh troops, did not advance on Vienna as quickly as was expected at the beginning. They could not take Vienna, just as they could not take Pest, by a frontal attack without shelling the city, and this they were not prepared to do. Again, as at Pest, they were compelled to resort to outflanking manoeuvres, and this required time and the assurance that their own flanks and rear were secure. But it was here that the Russians menaced their rear, while if Vienna were in direct danger strong detachments of Radetzky's army could be immediately expected from the other direction.

The Hungarians therefore acted very wisely when, instead of advancing swiftly on Vienna, they confined themselves to steadily forcing the imperial armies out of Hungary, enveloping them in a wide arc from the Little Carpathians to the foot-hills of the Styrian Alps, dispatching a strong corps towards the Jablunka, fortifying and covering the Galician mountain passes, attacking Ofen and rapidly proceeding with the recruitment of 250,000 men, especially from the reconquered western comitats. In this way they secured their flanks and rear and assembled an army which had no more need to fear the Russian contingents than the once colossal imperial army. 200,000 soldiers of this redoubtable black-and-yellow[a] army had invaded Hungary and barely 50,000 of them had returned; the rest were either killed, wounded, sick, taken prisoner or had changed sides.

True, the Russians threaten to send even more gigantic armies. Some speak of 120,000 soldiers, others of 170,000. According to the *Triester Freihafen,* the mobile army in the field is expected considerably to surpass 500,000 men. But Russian exaggerations are well known: of the figures they give only half are on the nominal rolls, and of the numbers on the nominal roll again less than half are really there. If, after deducting the number of troops required for the occupation of Poland, the effective Russian aid amounts to from

[a] The Austrian imperial colours.—*Ed.*

60,000 to 70,000 men, the Austrians can be glad. And the Magyars will be able to deal with that number.

The Magyar war of 1849 has strong points of resemblance with the Polish war of 1830-31.[377] But the great difference is that the factors which were against the Poles at that time now act in favour of the Magyars. Lelewel, as we know, unsuccessfully urged, first, that the mass of the population be bound to the revolution by emancipating the peasants and the Jews, and secondly, that all three partitioning powers be involved in the war and this war turned into a *European* war, by raising an insurrection throughout the old Polish territories. *The Magyars started at the point* which the Poles only achieved when it was *too late.* The Hungarians' first measure was to carry out a social revolution in their country, to abolish feudalism; their second measure was to involve Poland and Germany in the war, thus turning it into a European war. It started with the entry of the first *Russian* corps into German territory, and will take a decisive turn when the first *French* battalion enters German territory.

By becoming a European war, the Hungarian war is brought into reciprocal interaction with all other factors of the European movement. Its course affects not only Germany, but also France and England. The English bourgeoisie cannot be expected to let Austria become a Russian province and it is certain that the French people will not calmly look on while the counter-revolution comes closer and closer to attacking them. Whatever the outcome of the French elections,[378] the army at any rate has declared for the revolution. And the army today is the decisive force. If the army wants war—and it does want it—then war it will be.

War will come. Paris is on the threshold of revolution, whether as a result of the elections or of the army's fraternisation with the revolutionary party at the ballot-box. While in Southern Germany the core of a German revolutionary army is being formed, which prevents Prussia from taking an active part in the Hungarian campaign, France is on the point of playing an active role in the struggle. A few weeks, perhaps even a few days, will decide everything, and soon the French, the Magyar-Polish, and the German revolutionary armies will celebrate their fraternisation on the battlefield before the walls of Berlin.[379]

Written by Engels on May 18, 1849 Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 301, May 19, 1849

## ["TO MY PEOPLE"]

*Cologne*, May 18. "To my people!"[a] Not—"To my glorious army!"[380] Have the Russians perhaps been defeated? Has the wind shifted and once again, as in March of last year, knocked the military cap from the head of the "unweakened" servant of Russia? Are the "loyal subjects", living under a state of siege, once more in full rebellion?

When in 1813 the old "monarch of blessed memory"[b] likewise derived from the *advance of the Cossacks* the necessary courage to shake off his abject cowardly role and the bloody punishments of the revolutionary empire, then—in spite of the Cossacks, Bashkirs and the "glorious army" made famous by battles at Jena and Magdeburg and by the surrender of Küstrin to 150 Frenchmen—it was only the lying promises of an "*Appeal to My People*"[381] which made possible the crusade of the Holy Alliance against the successors to the French revolution. And now! Has not the reinvigorated Hohenzollern, as a result of the incursion of the Cossacks into German territory, obtained sufficient courage to renounce his cowardly role of the post-March period and to cancel the "scrap of paper interposed between him and his people" owing to the revolution?[382] Has not "My glorious army" in Dresden, Breslau, Posen, Berlin, and on the Rhine, worthily wreaked vengeance on the revolution by the valiant slaughter of unarmed men, women and children with shrapnel and caustic?[383]

Have not the last cowardly concessions made in March—abolition of censorship, freedom of association, arming of the people—once

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[a] Appeal issued by Frederick William IV on May 15, 1849.—*Ed.*
[b] Frederick William III.—*Ed.*

more been abolished by the recently imposed martial-law Constitution,[a] "*even apart from the state of siege*"?

No, the son of the hero of Jena and Magdeburg still does not feel safe enough in spite of the alliance with the Cossacks, in spite of the privileges in regard to murder and courts martial afforded to the uncurbed "glorious" military horde. *The unweakened Crown is afraid,* it appeals "To my people", it "feels compelled" to address an appeal for help and support against "internal and external enemies" to the downtrodden besieged "*people*" which has been battered by grapeshot.

"In these difficult times, Prussia is called upon to protect Germany against internal and external enemies. Therefore, I call My people to arms already now. It is a matter of establishing law and order in our state and in the other German states where our help is required; it is a matter of creating Germany's unity, of protecting her freedom from the rule of terror of a party that is ready to sacrifice morality, honour and loyalty to its passions, a party which has succeeded in casting a net of delusion and folly over a section of the people."

"That is the gist of the royal address," exclaims the filthy police agent Dumont,[b] and the venal police *claqueurs* of Dumont have indeed discovered the "gist".

"External enemies"! By that is meant the "party of terror", the party which terrifies the valiant Hohenzollern, the party which demands our interference in the "*other* **German** *states*". The people of the Rhine Province, Silesia and Saxony are called upon "in the name of German *unity*" to put an end to the revolutionary movements in the foreign *German* states of Baden, Bavaria, and Saxony! And to this end the bait with which the Hohenzollern gladdened the hearts of the people in 1813 is repeated, the well-tried "royal word" is pledged once again, promising the "people" a castrated recognition of the Frankfurt Constitution, promising them the "protection of law and liberty" against "godlessness". "I and My house wish to serve the lord."[384] Is the well-tried pledge of a "Hohenzollern's royal word" not worth a crusade against the "party which terrifies the Crown that promises so much"?

The powerful subordinate *knyaz* of imperial Russia recalled the Prussian deputies from Frankfurt only in order now, in accordance with his March promises, to put himself "at the head of Germany". The Agreement Assembly and the imposed Chamber were dismissed, the "scrap of paper" was replaced by a martial-law Constitution and murderous military courts solely in order to guarantee the people the "protection of law and liberty!"

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[a] See this volume, pp. 440-46.—*Ed.*

[b] "Die Ansprache des Königs", *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 118, May 18, 1849.—*Ed.*

And freedom of the press has been suppressed, *censorship* has been imposed on the press in Erfurt, newspapers are directly banned throughout Posen, in Breslau, in the Silesian provincial towns, and even the *National-Zeitung* in Berlin. In Düsseldorf censorship has been re-introduced *de jure,* but the press has been totally abolished *de facto* (the Düsseldorf newspapers, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* etc.), and finally only the police cesspool of the *Kölnische Zeitung* and the rascally newspaper in Berlin[a] were imposed on the "free" subjects. All this has been done so that there should not be the slightest doubt about the value of the "royal word".

And the word of the Hohenzollern does indeed merit that the people don military uniforms to strengthen the royal courage so as to procure—under the army reserve law—a royal bounty of one taler monthly for the wives they leave behind as a "safeguard against begging".

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Published in English for the first time

[a] *Neue Preussische Zeitung (Kreuz-Zeitung).— Ed.*

# TO THE WORKERS OF COLOGNE[385]

Finally we warn you against any revolt in Cologne. In the military situation obtaining in Cologne you would be irretrievably lost. You have seen in Elberfeld that the bourgeoisie sends the workers into the fire and betrays them afterwards in the most infamous way. A state of siege in Cologne would demoralise the entire Rhine Province, and a state of siege would be the inevitable consequence of any rising on your part at this moment. The Prussians will be frustrated by your calmness.

In bidding you farewell the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* thank you for the sympathy you have shown them. Their last word everywhere and always will be: **emancipation of the working class!**

**The Editorial Board of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung***

Written on May 18, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

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# Neue Rheinische Zeitung

## Organ der Demokratie.

№ 301. Köln, Samstag, den 19. Mai. 1849.


## Abschiedswort der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung.

Kein offner Hieb in offner Schlacht —
Es fallen die Schüsse und Tücken
Es fällt mich die schleichende Meerfracht
Der schmutzigen West-Kalmucken!
Aus dem Dunkel flog der tödtende Schaft,
Aus dem Hinterhalt fielen die Stiche —
Und so lieg' ich nun da in meiner Kraft,
Eine stolze Rebellenleiche!

Auf der Lippe den Trotz und den zuckenden Hohn,
In der Hand den blitzenden Degen,
Noch im Sterben rufend: „Die Rebellion!" —
So bin ich mit Ehren erlegen.
D gern wohl bestreuten mein Grab mit Salz,
Der Preuße zusammt dem Czare —
Doch es schicken die Ungarn, es schickt die Pfalz
Drei Salven mir über die Bahre!

Und der arme Mann im zerrissnen Gewand,
Er wirft auf mein Haupt die Schollen;
Er wirft sie hinab mit der fleißigen Hand,
Mit der harten, der schwielenvollen
Einen Kranz auch bringt er aus Blumen und Maien,
Zu rub'n auf meinen Wunden;
Den haben sein Weib und sein Töchterlein
Nach der Arbeit fur mich gewunden

Nun Ade, lun Ade, du kampfende Welt,
Nun Ade, ihr ringenden Heere!
Nun Ade, u pulvergeschwärztes Feld,
Nun Ade, ihr Schwerter und Speere!
Nun Ade — doch nicht fur immer Ade!
Denn fur toten den Geist nicht ihr Bruder!
Bald reicht du mich rasselnd in die Höh',
Bald lebe du reinigter wieder!

Wenn die letzte Krone wie Glas zerbricht,
In des Kampfes Wettern und Flammen
Wenn das Volk sein letztes „Schuldig!" spricht,
Dann stehn wir wieder zusammen!
Mit dem Wort, mit dem Schwert, an der Donau, am Rhein, —
Eine allzeit treue Gesellin
Wird dem Throne zerschmetternden Volke sein
Die Geschiete, die Rebellin!

F. FREILIGRATH.

## An die Arbeiter Kölns.

Wir warnen Euch schließlich vor jem Putsch in Köln. Nach der militärischen Lage Kölns wäret ihr rettungslos verloren. Ihr habt in Elberfeld gesehen, wie die Bourgeoisie Arcetier ins Feuer schicke und sie hinterher aufs Niederträchtigste verrath. Der Belagerungszustand in Köln wurde die ganze Rheinprovinz demoralisiren und der Belagerungszustand wäre die nothwendige Folge jeder Erhebung von Eurer Seite in diesem Augenblicke. Die Preußen werden an Eurer Ruhe verzweifeln.

Die Redakteure der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung danken Euch beim Abschiede fur die ihnen bewiesene Theilnahme. Ihr letztes Wort wird überall und immer sein: Emanzipation der arbeitenden Klasse!

Die Redaktion der Neuen Rhein. Zeitung.

## Deutschland.

* Köln, 18 Mai. Vor einiger Zeit wurde vielleicht aus einer hiesigen Behörde die Anfrage gestellt, ob man den Belagerungszustand über Köln zu verhängen. Ueberzeugte der Redaktionsbeschluß der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung, daß man hier auf ernstlichen Widerstand. Sei mancher Seite wie Rationale Regierung an das hiesige Parlament, denselben Zweck durch milderliche Verhandlungen zu erreichen, es scheinte um seine innlichen Bestandes des Parlaments, wie schon gesagt, an dem gesunden Menschenverstand der rheinischen Bevölkerung, welche nicht nicht anbrechen, als zu einer Volkerfinte seine Zuflucht zu nehmen und man hat für den Augenblick seinen Zweck erreicht. Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung hört einstweilen auf zu erscheinen. Am 19. Mai wurde ihrem Redakteur en chef Karl Marx folgendes Regierungsschreiben ausgestellt:

„In ihren neuesten Blättern (?) tritt die N. Rh. Z. mit der Aufregung zur Verachtung der bestehenden Regierung, zum gewaltsamen Umsturz und zur Einführung der socialen Republik immer entschiedener hervor. Es ist daher ihrem Redakteur en chef, dem Dr. Karl Marx, das Aufenthalt (?) verboten, es sich schmählich verlegt zu entziehen, und da derselbe eine Erlaubniß zum fernern Aufenthalt in dem hiesigen Staate nicht erlangt hat, ihn aufzugeben, dieselben binnen 24 Stunden zu verlassen. Sollte er den an ihn ergehenden Aufforderung nicht freiwillig Genüge leisten, so ist derselbe zwangsweise über die Grenze zu bringen."

Köln, den 11. Mai 1849.

Königl. Regierung.
Merkens.

An den Königl. Polizeidirektor Herrn Geiger hier.

## Proklamation an die Frauen.

Seit dem 1. Juni 1848, wo die „Neue Rheinische Zeitung" zum ersten Male erschien, brachte sie Kämpfen und Wetter heraus, es gab was Kraftleben und demokratischer Bewegung, hinterließ Narben, das Leben Feindschaft, so daß gewiß sich jetzt gestehen, daß meine ferunstische Carrière mit ihrer hinem Geschicke verbunden werden, um für die lebendige Kunst verschwinden, daß auch dieser Kampfwerk in der gegenwärtigen Schwerkraftmerung der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung, nun zuge prolaner Verdrängung notwendig wird, zu zerbrechen und später wieder den Himmel mit seinem sonnigen Kraft zu durchdringen.

Von schwerer Sonne auch zu leichten
Am ewig wahr für unsrigen.

Ich sehe mich von jeder an die Frauen gegeben der Männer [illegible] Ich will etwas.

Ich bin mit den schönen Frauen, ich mich [illegible] Kriegsschauen, in dem ich als Mann und Bürgerinnen [illegible] zusammenfassen. Die Neue Zeitung [illegible] Zeit, die Lieder der Zeit aussprechen Planen.

Vielleicht Männer hegen über [illegible] nur [illegible] Mann [illegible] Ich [illegible] Ich [illegible] mit [illegible] mir nicht [illegible] wie die Frauen [illegible] Ich [illegible] Ich [illegible] Ich

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## ARTICLES AND STATEMENTS

May-July 1849

Neue
Deutsche Zeitung.
Organ der Demokratie.
№ 129. Frankfurt. Samstag, 2. Juni 1849.

# Karl Marx

## LETTER TO THE *FRANKFURTER JOURNAL*

The esteemed Editorial Board of the *Frankfurter Journal* is requested to print the following statement in its newspaper in large type and in a prominent position, and if this is only possible on payment for its insertion, please obtain the amount from Herr *J. Weydemeyer,* editor of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung.*

Bingen, May 31

***Dr. Karl Marx***

## STATEMENT[386]

The *Editorial Board of the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung"* owes its correspondents and the public the statement that it has nothing in common with the news-sheet published in *Cologne* under the title *Westdeutsche Zeitung.* The undersigned editorial board reserves to itself the right to communicate further when and where the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* will again make its appearance.

**The Editorial Board of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung***
***Karl Marx, Ernst Dronke, Friedrich Engels,***
***F. Freiligrath, Georg Weerth, F. Wolff, W. Wolff***

The Statement was published in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* Nos. 129 and 133, June 2 and 7, 1849; and in the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung* No. 126 (second edition), June 3, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper text checked against the manuscript; the covering letter is printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

12ter Jahrgang.
Der Bote erscheint täglich, und zwar das Hauptblatt viermal, das Plauderstübchen dreimal.

Der

Erste Hälfte.
Halbjähriger Abonnementspreis 3 fl. 20 kr. im ganzen Königreiche Bayern.

# Bote für Stadt und Land.

## Pfälzisches Volksblatt.

Nr. 110. Kaiserslautern, Sonntag 3. Juni 1849.

Frederick Engels

## [THE REVOLUTIONARY UPRISING IN THE PALATINATE AND BADEN][387]

*Kaiserslautern*, June 2. The counter-revolutionary German newspapers try in every way to cast suspicion on the revolution in the Palatinate and Baden. They are not ashamed to assert that the trend of the entire uprising is tantamount "to betraying" the Palatinate, Baden and, indirectly, the whole of Germany "to the French". They thereby seek to conjure up afresh the counter-revolutionary hatred of the French stemming from the so-called good old times, believing that in this way they will be able to deprive us of the sympathy of our brothers in North and East Germany. The filthy, lying newspapers which accuse the Palatinate and Baden of having sold themselves to France happen, however, to be precisely those which are in favour of the *Russian invasion* of Hungary, the Russians' march through Prussia, and even the new Holy Alliance[388] between Russia, Austria and Prussia. As proof of this, we name only one of these newspapers: the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

Thus, the fact that the Russians march into German, into Prussian, territory in order to suppress Hungarian freedom is no betrayal of the country! If the King of Prussia[a] concludes an alliance with the Croats and the Russians in order that the last remnants of German freedom shall be trampled under the hooves of Cossack horses, that is no betrayal of the country! If all of us, if the whole of Germany from the Niemen to the Alps is sold by cowardly despots to the Russian Emperor,[b] that is no betrayal of the country! But if the Palatinate enjoys the sympathy of the French and especially of the

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*
[b] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

Alsatian people, if it does not out of foolish self-conceit reject the expression of this sympathy, if it sends persons to Paris to obtain information about the state of feeling in France and about the new turn which will take place in the policy of the French Republic,[389]—that is indeed betrayal of the country, that is high treason, and means selling Germany to France, to the "hereditary enemy", to the "enemy of the Empire". That is how the counter-revolutionary newspapers argue.

It is true, gentlemen "by the grace of God", that the Palatinate and Baden did do all this and neither of them will be ashamed of its actions. Of course, if that is betrayal of the country, then the entire people of the Palatinate and Baden consists of two-and-a-half million traitors to their country. The people of the Palatinate and Baden did certainly not make a revolution in order to support the despots in the imminent great struggle between the free West and the despotic East. The people of the Palatinate, and those of Baden, made their revolution because they do not want to share the guilt of the despicable acts in the destruction of freedom by which Austria, Prussia and Bavaria have so shamefully distinguished themselves in recent months, and because they have not allowed themselves to be misused for the enslavement of their brothers. The army of the Palatinate and Baden joined the movement without reservations; it disclaimed loyalty to the perfidious sovereigns and has to a man sided with the people. Neither the citizens nor the soldiers want to fight in the ranks of the Croats and Cossacks against freedom. If the despots of Olmütz, Berlin and Munich still find soldiers who have sunk so deep as to put themselves on a level with Bashkirs, Pandours,[390] Croats and similar predatory rabble, and to fight under the same flag as such hordes of barbarians, so much the worse. It may occasion us sorrow, but we shall never treat such mercenaries as German brothers; we shall treat them as Cossacks and Bashkirs, and it will not worry us if a treacherous imperial ex-Minister of War stands at their head.[391]

But at the present time when we are on the threshold of a European war, a *people's war,* it is altogether ludicrous to speak of "betrayal of the country" and similar accusations smacking of demagogue[392] hunting. In a few weeks, perhaps even in a few days, the huge armies of the republican West and the enslaved East will advance against each other to fight out a great struggle on German soil. Germany—to such lengths has she been brought by her sovereigns and the bourgeois—Germany will not be asked at all for her permission. Germany does not want the war, the war will be brought into this country without its consent and it will be unable to

prevent it. Such is the glorious position of Germany in relation to the imminent European war, thanks to the March rulers, the March Chambers, and not least to the March National Assembly. There can be no talk of *German* interests, of *German* freedom, of *German* unity, of *German* welfare, when it is a question of the freedom or enslavement, of the weal or woe, of the whole of *Europe*. Here all questions of nationality cease, here there is only one question! Do you want to be *free*, or do you want to be *Russian*? And in this situation the counter-revolutionary newspapers still talk of "betrayal of the country", as if *there was still anything that could be betrayed* in relation to the Germany that will soon enough be abandoned to the two contending armies as an inert arena! It is true that last year things were different. Last year the Germans could have undertaken the struggle against Russian oppression, could have liberated the Poles and so waged the war on *Russian* territory and at *Russia's* expense. Now, on the contrary, thanks to our sovereigns, the war will be waged on *our* soil, and at *our* expense; as matters stand now, the European war of liberation is for Germany at the same time a civil war in which Germans fight against Germans.

We owe that to the treachery of our sovereigns and the supineness of our people's representatives, and if anything is betrayal of the country, it is that! In short, in the great struggle for freedom which is spreading through the whole of Europe, the Palatinate and Baden will stand on the side of freedom against slavery, of revolution against counter-revolution, of the people against the sovereigns, of revolutionary France, Hungary and Germany against absolutist Russia, Austria, Prussia and Bavaria; and if the wailers[393] call that betrayal of the country, in the whole of the Palatinate and the whole of Baden nobody cares two hoots about it.

Written on June 2, 1849

First published in *Der Bote für Stadt und Land* No. 110, June 3, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

Freiheit, Wohlstand, Bildung für Alle.

# Der Volksfreund.

Eine Wochenschrift für Westfalen.

Redacteur: G. A. Wolff in Lemgo.

№ 26. Lemgo, den 29. Juni. 1849.

Der »Volksfreund« erscheint jeden Freitag und kostet in der Expedition (F. L. Wagener) vierteljährlich 6 Sgr. — Alle Postämter und Buchhandlungen des In- und Auslandes nehmen Bestellungen auf das Blatt an. — Insertionen (Anzeigen) werden zu 8 Pf. die gespaltene Zeile oder deren Raum aufgenommen.

## Karl Marx

## THE 13th OF JUNE[394]

*Paris*, June 21

You are sufficiently acquainted with the Paris population to realise *a priori* the absurdity of the accusation of cowardice. Nevertheless, I can understand that in Germany especially the day of June 13 remains completely enigmatic and is bound to give rise to all kinds of malicious misinterpretations.

The chief actor in the drama of June 13 was not the *people*, but the "Mountain". Behind the "Mountain", it is true, there was in turn a secret committee,[395] which pushed matters forward and more or less compelled Ledru-Rollin to play that particular role.

The chief error of the "Mountain" was its *certainty of being victorious*. It was so sure of this that it believed everything could be achieved by a peaceful demonstration. Thus it afforded the Government the opportunity of defeating it without having to strike a blow against it. The procession which made its way from Château d'eau through the boulevards was entirely unarmed. The Government, for its part, being fully informed on all details by its spies, had quietly and unnoticed arranged for all important points to be occupied by the National Guard, sharpshooters from Vincennes and other troops. The procession was completely encircled and even if it had been armed could not have offered any resistance. How much less could it do so, being unarmed! *Changarnier*, who had taken all necessary measures, was clever enough not to allow the alarm to be sounded. As if by magic, it was suddenly seen that all decisive points

were occupied by troops. You can therefore understand that the unarmed masses quickly dispersed in order to get weapons, but even the arms depots which had been prepared in advance for the eventuality of an uprising were found to have been seized by the Government and put under military guard. The uprising was thus outwitted.

That is the whole secret of this unprecedented day in the history of the French revolution. You may perhaps have read in the German newspapers of *barricades* which were said to have been easily captured. These barricades consisted of nothing but a few chairs which were thrown on to the street in order to halt for a moment the cavalry which were attacking unarmed people with their sabres.

In addition, there were some other circumstances which made the shameful outcome of June 13 inevitable.

At the very moment when Ledru-Rollin and his colleagues in the Conservatoire des Arts[396] were occupied with constituting themselves as the Provisional Government, the secret socialist committee was engaged on the same task. It wanted to constitute itself as the Commune. Hence, even before the existing power was overthrown, the uprising had already split into two camps, and the important thing is that the *People's Party* was not the party of the "*Mountain*". This fact alone explains a great deal. The secret committee had wanted to start the outbreak already some days previously and by night. In that way the Government would have been taken by surprise. But the "*Mountain*" and the "Friends of the Constitution" (the party of the *National*)[397] allied with it were opposed to this. They wanted to have the initiative in their hands. Ledru-Rollin's speech in the Chamber[398] was to be the pledge that the "Mountain" had decided on serious action. Thus on the one hand, those advocating immediate vigorous action were frustrated and preparations were made for a peaceful demonstration. On the other hand, the people who saw that Ledru-Rollin had so strikingly committed himself in the National Assembly, believed he possessed immense connections within the army and a profoundly conceived and far-reaching plan etc. How surprised, therefore, they must have been when it became obvious that Ledru-Rollin's power was a mere illusion and that precautionary measures and preparations for an attack had been taken only by the Government. Thus you see how the two revolutionary parties paralysed and deluded each other. The people's recollections of the more than ambiguous behaviour of the "Mountain" and of Ledru-Rollin in particular during May and June,[399] and finally the cholera, which raged especially in the working-class districts, did the rest. Taken as a whole, June 13, 1849

is only the retaliation for June 1848. On that occasion the proletariat was deserted by the "Mountain", this time the "Mountain" was deserted by the proletariat.

However grievous June 13 is bound to be for our party throughout Europe, the good thing about that day is that, with the exception of Lyons,[400] the counter-revolutionary party in the National Assembly arrived at *sole power* without much bloodshed. That party will not only disintegrate, its extreme faction will soon reach a point when it will seek to discard even the irksome semblance of the Republic, and then you will see *how it will be blown away with a single breath and there will be a repetition of the February, but on a higher level.*

***K. M.x.***

Written on June 21, 1849

First published in the newspaper *Der Volksfreund* No. 26, June 29, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEWSPAPER *LA PRESSE*[a]

Your item published in *La Presse* of July 26 concerning my stay in Paris, which has been reprinted word for word by other newspapers, contains such erroneous assertions that I am compelled to write a few lines in reply.

In the first place, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, of which I was the owner[401] and editor-in-chief, was never banned. Its publication was suspended only for five days because of the state of siege. When the state of siege was lifted, the newspaper reappeared, and continued to appear during the following seven months. Since the Prussian Government could not see any possibility of legally prohibiting the newspaper it had recourse to a strange measure: It got rid of the owner, that is to say, it forbade me to reside in Prussia.[b] As regards the legality of this measure, this will be decided by the Prussian Chamber of Deputies which is shortly to meet.

After being forbidden to stay in Prussia, I went first of all to the Grand Duchy of Hesse, in which—as in other parts of Germany—I was not forbidden to reside. I did not go to Paris as a refugee, as your newspaper asserts, but of my own accord with a regular passport and with the sole aim of collecting additional material for my work on the history of political economy, which I had begun already five years earlier.[402]

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[a] Émile de Girardin.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 451.—*Ed.*

Neither was I ordered to leave Paris ***immediately;*** on the contrary, I was given time to address a complaint to the Minister of the Interior.[a] This complaint has been handed in and I now await the result.[403]

Kindly accept etc.,
***Dr. K. Marx***

Written about July 27, 1849

First published in the newspaper *La Presse*, July 30, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] J. A. S. Dufaure.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## REPUDIATION[404]

It has come to the ears of the undersigned, who served in Willich's volunteer corps during the campaign in the Palatinate and Baden, that the following accusations are being made against that corps:

1) Willich's corps is said to have deserted Becker's in the Black Forest[405];

2) it is said not to have acknowledged Becker as commander-in-chief;

3) it is said to have crossed into Switzerland whilst Becker's corps was still eight German miles[a] behind.

As regards the first accusation, let the following facts speak for themselves: Willich was positioned in Furtwangen with orders to hold the Simonswalder Thal and the defiles leading to the Höllenthal. He advanced the larger part of his troops over the mountains towards Simonswald and St. Märgen. Becker was positioned in Triberg and St. Georgen, on Willich's right. To our great astonishment Becker suddenly appeared in Furtwangen with his whole corps. He explained this strange manoeuvre to Willich by saying that the troops stationed in Triberg had left their posts in defiance of their officers and he himself had gone after them, from St. Georgen, to persuade them to re-occupy Triberg. And in fact Becker and his corps did march off again towards evening. Meanwhile Willich went to headquarters in Donaueschingen to see how matters stood. The enemy, who had broken through to Villingen by crossing Württemberg, had already reconnoitred the territory up the road. In Donaueschingen it was first of all intended to take up a position near Hüfingen, an hour's march further back;

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[a] In the manuscript the word "German" is written in pencil. For the "German mile" see footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*

later, however, it was decided to retreat to the Swiss frontier and defend the Wutachthal. As soon as this decision was taken, Willich sent two dispatches to Furtwangen. From there the information was passed *first* to Becker and only then to Willich's companies, which were in advanced positions, although along the difficult mountain tracks it would take longer to reach the latter. By the time Willich's corps had assembled in Furtwangen, Becker could therefore also have arrived there. Willich himself went as far as Neustadt to meet his corps, and there he delayed departure until the arrival of two companies from Becker's corps. From Bondorf he sent another dispatch to Becker notifying him that the enemy was already advancing well towards Lenzkirch and that the route through Bondorf[a] was therefore to be preferred. And Becker did in fact take this route and reached Tiengen with his whole corps without being attacked, whilst Willich with one company and four cannon faced the enemy first forming the rearguard based on Stühlingen and later the right flank at Ofteringen and Wutöschingen. It is clear that there can be no question of any "desertion" here.

The second accusation refers to the fact that the captain of one of Willich's companies stationed in Furtwangen refused to leave the post where Willich had stationed him and to march with Becker. He acted rightly. Willich's corps had formed voluntarily and had put itself voluntarily under Willich's command. It consisted exclusively of men who knew what they were fighting for. It is self-evident that such a corps ceases to exist if it is broken up and dispersed. Furthermore, Willich had been specifically ordered to hold this position with his corps, and the withdrawal of the company in question would have thwarted all his arrangements.

The third accusation has even less foundation. It is public knowledge that at the last council of war held in Jestetten[406] Becker advocated crossing on to Swiss soil, whereas Willich was for continuing the struggle. It is public knowledge that from Tiengen Becker marched with the main part of the army to Baltersweil while Willich covered his retreat with 350 men and four cannon near Erzingen, and from Baltersweil to Jestetten whilst Willich occupied the position the army had vacated at Baltersweil. It is public knowledge that Willich remained for a further 24 hours with his corps in this position—the artillery had already left him—whilst Siegel crossed into Switzerland at Rafz and Becker a few hours later at Rheinau; that we only left the position after facing the enemy outposts for several hours without being attacked; that we spent that

[a] In the manuscript: "Lenzkirch"—evidently a slip of the pen.—*Ed.*

night still bivouacking on German soil and only entered Swiss territory the following morning[a]—the last to do so.

It is by no means our purpose to become involved in the unedifying disputes which have broken out between the various leaders of the Baden army. We merely ask that false reports should not be circulated about our corps and our leaders.

Canton Vaud, July 26, 1849

*Koehler,* Captain[b]

Written by Engels on July 26, 1849

First published in the *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung* No. 2, 1967

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] July 12, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] The words "*Koehler,* Captain" are written in pencil and not in the same handwriting as the manuscript as a whole.—*Ed.*

# APPENDICES

# REPORT ON MARX'S EXPULSION SENT BY THE COLOGNE GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES TO THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR VON MANTEUFFEL

Meanwhile Marx is still staying here, although furnished with neither residence permit nor card, and the newspaper of which he is editor continues with its destructive tendencies, deriding and ridiculing all that men normally respect and hold sacred, and urging the overthrow of the existing constitution and the establishment of a social republic, and its effects are all the more damaging since its impertinence and humour constantly attract new readers.

The earlier investigation into his affairs resulted in his acquittal, as did the one subsequently opened against him for direct incitement to rebellion.[407]

The commandant of the local fortress has now called on the police authorities to expel Marx from here as a dangerous person. We enclose the application in question, along with the report of the Police Superintendent,[a] and we can only concur with the latter's view that his expulsion from this town without his simultaneous removal from the Prussian state would achieve nothing; nor do we see any objection to proceeding forthwith with Marx's expulsion if he gives any specific cause. Whether on the other hand it would be expedient to expel him at the present moment merely on the grounds of the dangerous tendencies of the newspaper which he has been editing in like manner for some considerable period, appears to be more doubtful. It is possible that taking such a step might provoke a demonstration by the democratic party in sympathy with Marx. For this reason and because the Royal Ministry of the Interior had

[a] Geiger. See also this volume, pp. 496-97.— *Ed.*

previously seen fit in its directive of August 12[a] last to take note of the measures we have taken regarding Marx,[408] we consider it necessary to assure ourselves of Your Excellency's agreement as to the expulsion of Marx from the state before proceeding.

Written on March 10, 1849

Printed according to the manuscript

First published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt* No. 176, June 27, 1913

Published in English for the first time

[a] Presumably a slip of the pen; it should read September 12.—*Ed.*

# INVITATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION IN SOLINGEN TO MARX, FREILIGRATH, ENGELS, SCHAPPER AND WOLFF[409]

Solingen, March 11, 1849

To Herr Karl Marx, Editor-in-Chief
of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*,
Cologne

Dear Citizen,

In accordance with the decision of a general meeting of the Democratic Association here, a grand democratic banquet will be held here on the 18th inst. to celebrate the anniversary of the March revolution of last year.

Because of your devotion to this cause, we take the liberty of inviting you to participate in this festival, together with citizens Freiligrath, Engels, Schapper and Wolff, and ask you to be so good as to inform them, in the hope that you will respond to our invitation.

With our democratic fraternal greetings,

On behalf of the Festival Committee,
*H. Schaeffer*

P. S. In addition, we ask you to publish the accompanying announcement in the Wednesday issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and to collect the payment for the insertion through the post-office from the undersigned.

On behalf of the above-named Committee,
*H. Schaeffer*

First published in *Der Bund der Kommunisten*, Bd. I, Berlin, 1970, S. 919

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# BANQUET IN GÜRZENICH

*Cologne,* March 20. Yesterday evening a banquet was held in Gürzenich to mark the anniversary of last year's barricade battles in Berlin. Whereas even at the bourgeois concert of March 18 "to celebrate the promise" of a Constitution etc. etc., the biggest hall of our city was fairly well filled, yesterday there was not room enough to hold half the public streaming towards it. While 5,000-6,000 persons stood crowded in the hall side by side, several thousand more tried in vain to get in. The hall had filled so rapidly that even a number of speakers succeeded only after 9 o'clock in forcing their way through.

*Karl Schapper* was in the chair and opened the meeting with a toast to the sovereign people, the sole source of all legal power. Further toasts were drunk as follows: *H. Becker*: to the memory of those who died on March 18 and 19; Citizen *Wachter*: to the improvement of the German Michel; Citizen *Weyll*: to the *complete* revolution, not an incomplete one; Citizen *Rittinghausen*: to the downfall of the German Emperor; *C. Cramer*: to the democratic women present at our banquet; *W. Wolff*, editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*: to the Italian republics; *E. Dronke*, editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*: to the proletarian revolution; *P. Nothjung*: to the victory of the Magyars and Kossuth; *H. Bürgers*, editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*: to the overthrow of Austria; *F. Wolff*, editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*: to the accused on trial in Bourges[410]; *F. Engels*, editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*: to the June insurgents in Paris; *K. Schapper*: to the English Chartists and their revolutionary leaders, Ernest Jones and G. J. Harney; *Carl Cramer*: to the Poles; *Chr. Esser*, editor of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*[a]: to the Red Republic.

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[a] i.e. the newspaper *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit.*—*Ed.*

The banquet, which went off entirely peacefully and orderly, concluded at about 11 p.m. with unanimous cheers for the Red Republic. In contrast to the concert held by the wailers,[411] in Gürzenich on March 18, we are glad to note that never before has there been a festival in Cologne which has brought together such a numerous and at the same time so judicious a public as that at the banquet held yesterday evening under the auspices of the red flag.

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 251, March 21, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# LETTER FROM THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR VON MANTEUFFEL TO THE OBERPRÄSIDENT OF THE RHINE PROVINCE, HERR EICHMANN, TOGETHER WITH A COPY OF THE INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING THE EXPULSION OF MARX SENT TO THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES IN COLOGNE

To the Royal Oberpräsident,
His Honour Herr *Eichmann*,
at *Coblenz*

In response to the courteous communication of 29th ult. from Your Honour regarding the expulsion of *Dr. Carl Marx*, I have today dispatched the instructions to the Royal Government Authorities in Cologne, a copy of which I enclosed herewith for your information.

At the same time I grant Your Honour full discretion to issue the appropriate instructions to the said Government Authorities concerning those points which you most particularly wish to see observed in case of the expulsion of the aforesaid *Marx*.

Berlin, April 7, 1849

The Minister of the Interior
*v. Manteuffel*

*Copy*

To the Royal Government Authorities at Cologne

Consequent upon the report of 10th ult.,[a] for which the supporting documents are returned enclosed, I would reply to the Royal Government Authorities that I for my part see no objection to the proposed expulsion of *Dr. Carl Marx*, who is no longer a subject of this polity. The Royal Government Authorities however need no

[a] See this volume, pp. 487-88.—*Ed.*

special authorisation to this end; indeed it must be left to the latter to judge whether there is sufficient cause for such a step. It would seem desirable, it is true, to proceed with the expulsion of the aforesaid *Marx* on the direct occasion of a specific, unequivocal offence on his part; however, such an occasion is unlikely to be wanting, since, as I am informed, he has very recently once again evoked grave suspicion of treasonable activities endangering the state.[412]

Accordingly I simply leave the decision as to further action to the discretion of the Royal Government Authorities, and look forward to receiving a fuller account of the issue of the affair in due course.

Berlin, April 7, 1849

The Minister of the Interior
signed *v. Manteuffel*

First published in the *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, Berlin, 1969, No. 5

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# DECISIONS OF THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE COLOGNE WORKERS' ASSOCIATION HELD ON APRIL 16, 1849[413]

The meeting unanimously resolves:

1. To withdraw from the Union of Democratic Associations of Germany and to join instead the Union of German Workers' Associations, the Central Committee of which is in Leipzig.[414]

2. With the aim of a closer union of the purely social party, to authorise the Committee of the Workers' Association to convene in Cologne a provincial congress of all Workers' Associations of the Rhineland and Westphalia, prior to the holding of the general Workers' Congress in Leipzig.[a]

3. To send delegates to the Congress of Workers' Associations of Germany which will take place shortly in Leipzig.

First published in the newspaper *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit* No. 22, April 22, 1849

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[a] See this volume, p. 495.— *Ed.*

# FROM THE MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE COLOGNE WORKERS' ASSOCIATION HELD ON APRIL 17, 1849

...5. In accordance with the decision of yesterday's general meeting: To convene here on the first Sunday in May a congress of representatives of all the Workers' Associations of the Rhineland and Westphalia.

For the implementation of this decision, the Committee appoints a provisional provincial committee of six members, consisting of citizens K. Marx, W. Wolff, K. Schapper, Anneke, Esser and Otto, and calls upon it to send invitations, with a statement of reasons, to the Associations concerned....

First published in the newspaper *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit* No. 22, April 22, 1849

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# LETTER FROM THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES IN COLOGNE TO THE OBERPRÄSIDENT OF THE RHINE PROVINCE, HERR EICHMANN, REGARDING THE EXPULSION OF MARX

*Cologne, April 19, 1849*
re. No. 2474

To the Royal Oberpräsident of the Rhine Province
His Honour Herr *Eichmann*,
at *Coblenz*

We have the honour to communicate to Your Honour a copy, enclosed, of the order issued to the local Police Superintendent relating to the expulsion of the writer *Carl Marx*, in execution of the directive of 13th inst.

Royal Government
Department of the Interior
*Birck Wenzel*

*Copy*

To the Royal Police Superintendent
Herr *Geiger*, in *Cologne*

Following your report of 1st ult., for which the supporting documents are returned enclosed, we decided to ask the Minister of the Interior concerning the expulsion of *Dr. C. Marx*, informing him at the same time that although we were in no doubt that his

expulsion from the state should be carried out forthwith if he gives any specific cause, but that on the other hand it was more doubtful whether his expulsion should take place merely on the grounds of the dangerous tendencies of the newspaper which he has been editing in like manner for some considerable period.[a] We hereby send you for your information a copy of the Minister's instructions of 7th inst.,[b] as communicated to us, and instruct you to arrange and carry out the expulsion of the aforesaid *Marx* from the state when direct cause is next given for such action by an unequivocal offence on the part of the aforesaid *Marx*. We would furthermore observe that we have no knowledge of the allegations which, as we are informed by the Minister, have quite recently brought upon the aforesaid *Marx* the grave suspicion of treasonable activities endangering the state,[415] and request you to apprise us forthwith of whatever knowledge you may have of them, so that we may determine whether to proceed with the expulsion on those grounds.

Cologne, April 19, 1849

Royal Government
Department of the Interior
(signed) *Birck*
Copy signed *Perker*

First published in the *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, Berlin, 1969, No. 5

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, p. 451.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 492-93.—*Ed.*

# RESOLUTION OF BRANCH No. 1 OF THE COLOGNE WORKERS' ASSOCIATION[416]

1. Considering that in the newspaper *Freiheit, Arbeit* Dr. Gottschalk describes Citizen Karl Marx as a friend and co-thinker of Franz Raveaux, deputy of the Assembly in Frankfurt, whereas Citizen Marx stated at the committee meeting of February 8 that, although at present he supported the candidature of Raveaux and Schneider II, he was a long way from agreeing with these persons in principle; that, on the contrary, the first named precisely during the period when he was most prominent was mercilessly attacked in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung;* but that at the present moment there could be no question of red democrats and colourless democrats, since for the time being the main thing was to oppose the absolute monarchy, and to achieve this aim both red and colourless democrats would have to unite against the wailers;

2. furthermore, that Dr. Gottschalk took the opportunity of the Democratic Congress in Frankfurt[417] to state that he was able to utilise the Cologne workers just as much for a red monarchy as for a red republic, thus alleging that the workers themselves were merely a machine blindly obedient to him;

3. that the attacks against Raveaux in the above-mentioned newspaper are of a very base, malicious nature because they make his bodily infirmity a subject of reproach and call it a sham;

4. that the other attacks in the newspaper are for the most part wholly without foundation, and owing to their silliness are not even worth refuting, but nevertheless betray petty hatred and spite and the base, malicious character of their author;

5. that Dr. Gottschalk after his acquittal had a plan, about which he spoke to a number of members of the Workers' Association, to re-organise the Workers' Association and for this purpose to place

himself (as president), together with five others chosen by him as committee members, at the head of the Association, this betrays a despotic frame of mind and conflicts with the most elementary democratic principles;

6. that in attempting to set up such a new organisation he has deserted the party of the real proletarians, and has thrown himself into the arms of the petty bourgeois by desiring to raise the monthly subscriptions of members to five silver groschen;

7. that Dr. Gottschalk made changes in the newspaper of the Association, as a result of which its publication was interrupted for fourteen days,[418] without having been authorised to do so by the Association, in fact without even giving any direct notice of this to the Association or its Executive Committee; this is a violation of the rights of the Association that is totally unjustifiable and because of Dr. Gottschalk's departure shortly afterwards, it even cannot be defended on the grounds of necessity or urgent reasons;

8. that Dr. Gottschalk, after his acquittal, instead of fulfilling the expectations of the Cologne workers and resuming his previous progressive activity among them, to the astonishment of all went away without saying a single word of farewell to them or thanking them for their loyal support;

9. that Dr. Gottschalk, owing to excessive sensitivity, went into exile of his own accord, and from Brussels he issued a declaration which certainly could not serve in the least to explain or justify his behaviour, since in it he, a republican, speaks of his being called back either by "*the hitherto supreme arbiter in the country*" or by "*the voice of the people*",[419] therefore considering the supreme arbiter to be something other than the voice of the people as a whole; that by the supreme arbiter in this passage he could only have meant the King,[a] thereby putting himself directly on the side of the legitimists and monarchists; that, on the other hand, in this declaration he once again mocks the people by expecting that it would call back someone who acknowledges and appeals to a supreme arbiter other than the voice of the people itself; that he plays the part here of the most ignoble type of time-server, seeking to keep a path open for himself to both the King and the people;

10. that Dr. Gottschalk has not deigned to give any reply to the request of the Workers' Association that he should explain his so-called declaration, a declaration which is incomprehensible, and especially that he should state what he understands by "the hitherto supreme arbiter";

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

11. that Dr. Gottschalk, without being called back by anyone, nevertheless returned to Germany, whereby the whole story of his voluntary banishment is dissipated into thin air and is bound to seem a badly calculated electoral manoeuvre, bearing in mind that in the meantime his brothers and friends have been working very actively for his election to the Berlin Assembly;

Considering all this, branch No. 1 of the Cologne Workers' Association declares:

that it in no way approves of Dr. Gottschalk's behaviour after his acquittal by the jury at the trial here, and that it emphatically and indignantly repudiates the imputation that the Workers' Association would allow itself to be misused in the interests of a red monarchy or misled by spiteful personal attacks on individuals, or permit a president with a subservient committee to be foisted on it, or call back a voluntary exile who, in order to be redeemed, appeals for clemency simultaneously to the King and to the people, or in general to allow any individual whoever he may be, to treat the Workers' Association as if it consisted of stupid boys.

First published in the newspaper *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit* No. 24, April 29, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# DECISIONS OF THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE COLOGNE WORKERS' ASSOCIATION HELD ON APRIL 23, 1849

1. The general meeting will be held in future every Wednesday.
2. The provisional committee, consisting of Karl Marx, Karl Schapper, Wilhelm Wolff, Friedrich Anneke, Esser and Otto, elected by the Committee for the purpose of convening here in Cologne a congress of the Workers' Associations of the Rhineland and Westphalia, is confirmed.

First published in the newspaper *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit* No. 24, April 29, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# REPORT ON THE CONVOCATION OF THE CONGRESS OF WORKERS' ASSOCIATIONS

Recently, a number of its members has resigned from the district committee of the Democratic Associations of the Rhine Province, and simultaneously the Workers' Association here has announced its withdrawal from the Union of Rhenish Democratic Associations.[a] This step is due to the conviction that, in view of the heterogeneous elements in the Associations in question, there is little to be expected from them that would be advantageous for the interests of the working class or the great mass of the people.

The more urgent, therefore, is it firmly to unite the homogeneous elements, and to bring about vigorous cooperation of all the Workers' Associations.

As the first measure for this purpose, the Workers' Association here considers it necessary to set up a provisional committee of all the Workers' Associations of the Rhine Province and Westphalia, and it appoints the undersigned as members of this committee with the task of undertaking the necessary steps to achieve the above-mentioned aim.

The provisional committee herewith invites all Workers' Associations and all other associations which, although hitherto not bearing this name, nevertheless *resolutely support the principles of social democracy*, to send delegates to a provincial congress to be held on the first Sunday of next month (**May 6**).[b]

The subjects on the agenda will be:

1. Organisation of the Rhenish-Westphalian Workers' Associations;

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[a] See this volume, pp. 282 and 494.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 495.—*Ed.*

2. Election of delegates to the General Congress of All German Workers' Associations to be held in the month of June in Leipzig;
3. Discussion and formulation of the proposals to be sent with the delegates to the Congress in Leipzig.

Delegates elected to the preliminary Congress to be held here are requested to report their arrival, furnished with their mandates, not later than 10 a.m. on May 6 here at *Simon's* hotel Kranz in the Altenmarkt.

Cologne, April 24, 1849

***K. Marx*** (absent), ***W. Wolff, K. Schapper, F. Anneke, C. J. Esser, Otto***

N. B. It is requested that communications by letter should be addressed to ***Karl Schapper,*** President of the Workers' Association, Unter Hutmacher No. 17.

First published in the supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 282, April 26, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# FROM THE MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE COLOGNE WORKERS' ASSOCIATION HELD ON MAY 1, 1849

The representatives of the various branches of the Association reported on their situation and activities.

The former Democratic Association in Deutz too has joined the Workers' Association in Cologne, as branch club No. 10. At the present time it consists of 230 members. [...]

The president[a] announced the receipt of assenting communications from Bingen, Leipzig and Mannheim. The first two of these concern the separation of the Workers' (Social) Party[420] from the democrats; the last one thanks us for sending the article "Wage Labour and Capital" published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and promises that it will be discussed. [...]

First published in the newspaper *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit* No. 28, May 13, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] Karl Schapper.—*Ed.*

# MARX'S RECEIPT FOR A FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS THE PUBLISHING EXPENSES OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*[421]

I acknowledge that I have received an advance of 50 talers from Herr von Frisch.

*Dr. K. Marx,*
Harburg, May 6

First published in the *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft,* Berlin, 1974, No. 4

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# CONGRESS OF THE DEMOCRATIC AND WORKERS' ASSOCIATIONS[422]

*Cologne*, May 6. The Congress of the Democratic Associations of the Rhine Province began early today under the chairmanship of Dr. *Becker*. Represented were: the Democratic Club in Aachen, the Democratic Association in Bonn, the Democratic Association in Coblenz, the Democratic-Constitutional Association in Neuwied, the Political Association in Opladen, the Democratic Association in Lamersdorf, the Democratic Association in Uckerath, the Democratic Workers' Association in Honnef, the Citizens' Association in Eupen, the Democratic Association in Plittersdorf, the Democratic Association in Lohmar, the Democratic Socialist Association in Hersel, the Democratic Readers' Association in Xanten, the Democratic Association in Kessenich, the Democratic Association in Saarburg, the Democratic Association in Burscheid, the Citizens' Association in Neuss, the Democratic Association in Siegburg, the Democratic Association in Eitorf, the Democratic Association in Winterscheidt, the Workers' Association in Lennep, the People's Association in Eschweiler, the Democratic Association in Mülheim an der Ruhr, the Democratic Association in Sieglar. (46 persons.)

The Workers' Congress, presided over by Schapper, had delegates from the Associations in Solingen, Eschweiler, Aachen (Workers' Association and Army Reserve Association), Heinsberg, Coblenz, Barmen, Ratingen, Stolberg, Eilendorf, Hamm, Münster, Kreuznach, Hersel, Honnef, Overath, Mülheim an der Ruhr, Scheiderhöhe, Königswinter, Merzenich, Bork, Wiesedorf, Bielefeld, Ems, Bonn, Cologne (Workers' Association and Cigarmakers' Association). (120 persons.)

In the afternoon the two meetings united for a joint consultation.

A number of private discussions took place with the Democratic-Constitutional Associations that were in session in Deutz. Many representatives of these Associations declared that in all probability their Associations would be wholly merged in the District Federation of Democrats.

First published in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*, May 8, 1849, reprinted in the journal *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Berlin, 1968, No. 2

Printed according to the newspaper

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# ENGELS' EXPULSION FROM ELBERFELD

*Elberfeld,* May 15. The state of affairs remains the same, calm and order was not disturbed yesterday; the appearance of the city was unaltered. Today a poster was pasted up at street corners announcing that the Committee of Public Safety has appointed a Herr von Mirbach as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces*; another announcement of the Committee declares that Herr Engels, one of the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* has been expelled.[a] In another poster the Committee of Public Safety decrees that everywhere only the black-red-and-gold[b] flag is allowed to be flown, and it calls on towns and villages in the neighbourhood of Elberfeld for assistance. We learn from Essen that the army reserve men there who have returned from leave have gone to Wesel. The private letter which gave us this information adds that a *state of siege has been proclaimed in Essen.* According to the announcement of the colonel responsible for this action, the reason for it was that he believed he could not mobilise the army reserve in any other way.

First published in the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung* No. 113, May 17, 1849

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* In this connection, we are in a position to report that Herr von Mirbach, for reasons which will later become evident, did not accept the position of Commander-in-Chief, and also that for the same reasons Herr Anneke left Elberfeld voluntarily and was not expelled, as has been reported. Dr. Gottschalk, who is supposed to have shared the fate of expulsion with Anneke, has not been in Elberfeld at all, but is living quite peacefully at Bad Ems. [Editorial note in the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung.*]

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[a] See this volume, p. 449.—*Ed.*

[b] Colours symbolising Germany's unity, here symbolising adherence to the imperial Constitution worked out by the Frankfurt National Assembly.—*Ed.*

# THE DEMOCRATIC AND WORKERS' PRESS ON MARX'S EXPULSION AND THE SUPPRESSION OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

### *TRIER'SCHE ZEITUNG*

*Cologne*, May 18.... It is rumoured that all democrats who are not domiciled in Cologne will be deported by police action; this measure is said to be primarily aimed at the editorial personnel of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. It is a fact that Karl Marx was already yesterday served with such an order. At midday yesterday, Fr. Engels left for the Rhine Palatinate.[423]

First published in the supplement to the *Trier'sche Zeitung* No. 120, May 20, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

### *NEUE KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG*

*Cologne*, May 19

From out of the dark did the fatal shaft fly,
From ambush blows fell thick and fast—
So now in the flower of my manhood I lie,
A proud rebel that's breathed his last!

F. Freiligrath

"Abschiedswort der *Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung*"[a]

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has ceased to exist.
Our issue therefore has a black mourning border.
The most interesting news items from south and east pale against

[a] "Farewell Word of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*", first published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 301, May 19, 1849.—*Ed.*

the sudden mournful tidings that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has appeared today for the last time.

And what an appearance it has!!

*Red, red, red* was ever its battle-cry, but today the whole garb is red. The red print of the newspaper has greatly surprised its readers,—the spirit which once more blazes out from these breath-taking lines of print has made us profoundly lament that the newspaper has now ceased to exist!

No other newspaper can henceforth serve us as a substitute for this loss.—We shall seek in vain in the most brilliant periodicals of all countries for articles like those of the blood-stained June of 1848, nowhere shall we find again such conclusive documentation regarding the "good financial administration of Prussia",[a] or the "Silesian milliard",[b] or "Wage Labour and Capital".[c] It must be admitted that by the glorious downfall of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* democracy in the Rhineland has suffered a reverse. We mourn—but Freiligrath's poetry, which has attained its everlasting pinnacle in his "farewell word" today, does not leave us without consolation:

Farewell, brothers, but not forever farewell,
For the spirit they never can slay!
I'll rise up again soon with a rattling of mail,
I'll return better armed for the fray!

First published in the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung* No. 115, May 20, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

### *NEUE DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG*

*Cologne,* May 19. The last number of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* printed in red ink has just been published here. At last it, too, has succumbed to the blows of divinely-graced Prussianism. Since the Government was unable to get at it by judicial proceedings, and in spite of all provocations it could not find a reason for imposing a state of siege, it finally had to have recourse to deporting its editor-in-chief,[d] and it prepared orders for the deportation or arrest

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[a] Marx, "Prussian Financial Administration under Bodelschwingh and Co." and "Further Contribution on the Old-Prussian Financial Administration" (see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 379-89, 418-20).—*Ed.*

[b] W. Wolff, "Die Schlesische Milliarde", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* March-April 1849.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 197-228.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx.—*Ed.*

of the other editors in case even that measure should not have the desired effect.—Day by day the German people will increasingly learn to appreciate the blessing which their representatives in Frankfurt intended to bestow on them by establishing a Prussian hereditary emperor.

First published in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* No. 119, May 22, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

*DEUTSCHE LONDONER ZEITUNG*

*Cologne,* May 19. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has for the time being ceased publication; its last number today is printed entirely in *red.* The following order has been issued against its editor-in-chief:

"The tendency of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* to provoke in its readers contempt for the present government, and incite them to violent revolutions and the setting up of a social republic has become stronger in its latest pieces. The right of hospitality which he so disgracefully abused is therefore to be withdrawn from its editor-in-chief, Dr. *Karl Marx,* and since he has not obtained permission to prolong his stay in these states, he is ordered to leave them within 24 hours. If he should not comply voluntarily with this demand, he is to be forcibly conveyed across the frontier".

"Cologne, May 11, 1849

Royal Government. *Moeller*

To Herr *Geiger,* Royal Police Superintendent, here."[a]

Today a poster has been pasted up in the streets of Cologne, inviting attendance at a meeting to discuss the speedy establishment of a new democratic organ.

Such, you constitutional Germans, are your new achievements!—A German, a Prussian, is expelled from Germany "because he abuses hospitality"—a newspaper is suppressed because it spoke the *truth,* because Prussia's reactionary martial-law newspapers were unable to cope with the wit and stylistic acumen of the noble-minded Marx. Yes, Herr von Hohenzollern, the truth told you by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is painful, very painful—(we shall reproduce in our next issue an article from the newspaper, "The

[a] See this volume, pp. 496-97.—*Ed.*

Deeds of the Hohenzollern Dynasty")[a]—and when press trials, and all other acts of trickery, proved of no avail, for eight to ten times the tortures of the Prussian Inquisition came to naught in the face of the sound common sense of a Rhenish jury, recourse was had to the ultimate means—suppression of the newspaper. In vain did the bankrupt brains of Prussian reaction assail the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, they could not get at it by judicial measures. The martial-law newspapers of drunken Frederick William could not refute the exposition which Marx gave of the edicts of the hypocrite in Potsdam,[424]—and worst of all was the fact that the circulation of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* increased so quickly and was so extensive, and that the paper met with universal approval.

The Hohenzollern on his throne, surrounded by "My glorious army" and with a legion of quill-drivers at his service, trembles before a *single* democratic newspaper; he cannot sleep in peace because it tells the naked truth —so it must be suppressed.

Things have come to such a pass with the monarchy that it has to proceed to use brute force to suppress a newspaper which, by the irrefutable pungency of its truth, threatened to give the miserable, ailing existence of the monarchy a still more wretched ending!

This is the Prussian guaranteed freedom of the press. Such is the interpretation of the Prussian Constitution—of the German Imperial Constitution!

First published in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* No. 217, May 25, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

## *DEMOCRATIC REVIEW*[425]

...The German kings and princes—gore-dyed with the blood of their "subjects",—are labouring hard for the establishment of the Red Republic. The thrice-perjured King of Prussia[b] is determined to earn for himself the title of "Most Infamous". On the 27th of April, the Prussian Chamber of Representatives was dissolved and the same evening, crowds having collected in the streets, the people were fired on and mercilessly butchered. From that time martial law has been the only law throughout Prussia, arrests are continually taking place, and the prisons are crowded. Early in May, insurrections broke out

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[a] The article was reproduced in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* No. 218, June 1, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

in the Rhine provinces. In some of the insurgent towns, the patriots have been put down, in others they have been sold by the bourgeoisie, and in others they yet maintain their stand.

That admirable journal, the *New Rhenish Gazette,* has been forcibly suppressed, and its chief editor, Dr. Marx, expelled from Cologne. The last number of the *Gazette* appeared on the 19th May, printed in *red ink;* it proclaimed in every line "war to the knife" against his Prussian kingship, and all the oppressors and betrayers of the German people....

First published in the journal *Democratic Review,* Vol. 1, June 1849, p. 25

Printed according to the journal

# THE EDITORS OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

*Cologne*, May 19. ... What has happened to the individual editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is as follows: for his actions in Elberfeld Fr. Engels is being prosecuted like a criminal[a]; Marx, Dronke and Weerth, since they are not Prussian subjects, have to leave Prussia; F. Wolff and W. Wolff are being threatened with judicial proceedings, the former because he has not done military service, the latter because of political offences alleged to have been committed by him earlier in the old provinces. The Court has today refused to free Korff on bail.[b]

(***Düsseldorfer Zeitung***)

Reprinted in the *Deutsche Zeitung* No. 140, May 22, 1849 and the *Trier'sche Zeitung* No. 122, May 23, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper text

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, pp. 447-49.— *Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 521-22.— *Ed.*

# DEPARTURE OF EDITOR KARL MARX FROM COLOGNE

*Cologne.* Yesterday morning Herr Karl Marx, the former editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* accompanied by some of the other editors, left Cologne and went to the region of the Upper Rhine; his activity there will be as successful as it has been here.[426]

First published in the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung* No. 116, May 22, 1849

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Published in English for the first time

# THE SECOND TRIAL OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

*Cologne*, May 29. Today the police court passed sentence in a case which has been pending since September of last year concerning a charge of libelling deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly.[427] Summoned before the court were: K. Marx, E. Dronke, G. Weerth, H. Becker, H. Korff, and the printers Dietz and Bechtold. The first three did not attend. With the exception of Korff, all were acquitted. Korff (as former responsible manager of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*) was sentenced to one month's imprisonment and payment of one-seventh of the costs, on the charge of insulting the "comical Stedtmann". The court very incisively rejected the accusation against Weerth in regard to Schnapphahnski-Lichnowski.

First published in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* No. 128, June 1, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# TRIAL FOR LIBELLING DEPUTIES OF THE GERMAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Proceedings of the session of the Police Court of the Royal Provincial Court in Cologne on May 29, 1849.

The persons here listed:

*Georg Weerth*, writer,
*Dr. Carl Marx*, formerly editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*,
*Joh. Wilh. Dietz*, proprietor of a printing-press,
*Hermann Korff*, formerly responsible manager of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*,
*Arnold Bechtold*, foreman at the Langen printing works,
*Dr. Herm. Becker*, lawyer,
*Dr. Ernst Dronke*, writer,

were summoned as of today to answer charges of libelling deputies of the German National Assembly. Of the accused, only Dietz, Korff, Bechtold and Becker appeared; the court will therefore find against those absent *in contumaciam*.[a]

The representative of the Public Prosecutor's office, *State Public Prosecutor Bölling*, set out the substance of the indictment. *G. Weerth*, he said, is accused: of having libelled Prince *Lichnowski* in the short novel entitled *Leben und Taten des berühmten Ritters Schnapphahnski* [*Life and Deeds of the Famous Knight Schnapphahnski*], printed in the literary section of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in the months of August and September last year, by imputing to him actions which, if they were true, would bring him into disrepute or render him liable for prosecution. Dr. *Carl Marx* is similarly accused of libelling Prince

[a] In their absence.—*Ed.*

Lichnowski. In No. 95 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of September 6, 1848, in an article dated Breslau, August 29, Prince Lichnowski was charged with having called upon the electors of his district not to elect any town-dweller as deputy, since such a man would only work for the alleviation of municipal taxes and the increase of rural taxes. The State Public Prosecutor read out some passages from this article and sought to show that it contained insults directed at Prince Lichnowski. Dr. Marx, as editor-in-chief, was necessarily liable for the content of this article, whose author he refused to name. *Korff* is accused of: 1) having libelled the German National Assembly deputy, Stedtmann, in the article dated Frankfurt, September 12 contained in No. 102, p. 4, col. 4 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of September 14, 1848, by imputing to him an action which, if it were true, would bring him into disrepute; and 2) having libelled the deputies in the German National Assembly in Frankfurt who voted approval of the armistice with Denmark,[428] by accusing them of having betrayed the nation, in the proclamation which was printed in No. 110, p. 4, col. 2 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of September 23, 1848. The two articles on which the charge is based were read out. In the first the deputy *Stedtmann* is specifically accused of incorporating false information in a report on a committee meeting, in the hope of being made a Minister. The indictment brought against Marx and Korff was also extended to include *Joh. Wilhelm Dietz* as printer of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The State Public Prosecutor attempted to derive his responsibility for the contentious article from Articles 25 and 26 of the imposed Constitution and from Article 60 of the Rhenish Penal Code. The indictment against *Becker*, *Bechtold* and *Dronke* similarly concerns libel of the deputies who voted for the armistice with Denmark. On September 20, 1848, here in the Eiser Hall a public meeting was held, at which the Malmö armistice was discussed. *Dronke* was a speaker at this meeting and declared that the deputies who had voted approval of that armistice had betrayed the nation. The meeting adopted this declaration and resolved to publicise it by having it printed and posted at street corners. Dr. *Becker* had passed the resolution in question to *Bechtold* for printing, and the latter had printed it.

The accused, questioned more closely by the presiding magistrate, made the following statements:

*Dietz* admitted having printed the contentious articles. He did not know who the authors were. He maintained, however, that he was not responsible for the content of those articles, since the editor and responsible manager of the newspaper were known and living in Prussia. If Dr. Marx had recently been expelled from the country,

that was not his fault; the former had in any case been resident in Cologne throughout the investigation.

*Korff* conceded he was manager of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* The contentious articles were accepted with his approval. His defence counsel, barrister *Rath,* sought to demonstrate that there was no libel in the articles concerned. He named their author and maintained that as a result his client was absolved of all responsibility.

Dr. *Becker* admitted having passed to Bechtold for printing the proclamation from the Eiser Hall, which had been sent to him by a messenger-boy from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* The content of the proclamation in question had however been unknown to him as he had not been present at the proceedings in the Eiser Hall on September 20. As secretary of the Democratic Association[429] he was charged with attending to all material for printing, and that was why the manuscript had been sent to him. Moreover the proclamation had already been published by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* before he had passed the manuscript to Bechtold. The defendant declared that in certain circumstances he would be ready to assume responsibility for the contents of the proclamation. In his statement he also drew attention to the fact that the indictment had been brought at the request of the Imperial Minister of Justice. The indictment, he submitted, was not directed at specific persons but at a specific party. When he attempted to elaborate on this, the speaker was asked by the presiding magistrate, at the twice repeated instance of the State Public Prosecutor, to keep to the point at issue.

*Bechtold* admitted that he had read the manuscript received from Dr. Becker and had forwarded it for printing. His defence counsel, barrister *Pheiffer,* thereupon argued that as the author of the proclamation was known, the printer could not be punished. If the prosecution intended to adduce Article 60 of the Penal Code, it would have to demonstrate that the accused intended to libel the deputies, and the Public Prosecutor's office had not even attempted to prove this. Moreover, the proclamation did not contain a libel in the legal sense, it did not contain any specific assertion which exposed the deputies to prosecution at law, nor to hatred and contempt; it only expressed a criticism of the resolution concerning the armistice.

Hereupon the State Public Prosecutor *Bölling,* in a lengthy speech, sought to justify the indictment and to refute the arguments used by the accused in their defence. In conclusion, he asked that the accused Weerth, Marx, Dronke, and Korff should each be sentenced to a three-month term of imprisonment and to a fine of 1,000 francs, and

the remaining accused to a one-month term of imprisonment, and one-seventh of the costs to be imposed on each one of them.

Hereupon the court adjourned and after deliberations lasting about two hours pronounced judgment to the effect that *Korff* was sentenced to a *one-month imprisonment* for libelling the deputy Stedtmann, the charge against *Weerth* was *dismissed* because the accusations made in it were not specified, and the remaining accused were *acquitted.*

First published in the supplement to the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 129, May 31, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# TRIAL FOR INTERFERENCE IN OFFICIAL FUNCTIONS[430]

On May 30 the former responsible manager of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Hermann Korff,* stood again before the police court, accused of having interfered in official functions and having committed an act encroaching on these functions. In an item in the supplement to No. 297 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of May 13 of this year, Korff had invited people to come to a meeting of the 14th Company of the civic militia and to enter their name on a list. Judicial proceedings were started against Korff for making this call, and he was arrested.

In the public trial the State Public Prosecutor, *Bölling,* sought to justify the indictment and asked for the defendant to be sentenced to a two-year term of imprisonment.

The counsel for the defence, barrister *Rath,* drew attention to the fact that for some time past similar items concerning the civic militia had been appearing in the local newspapers without there having been any prosecution hitherto. The accusation against Korff, he said, is utterly and completely unfounded. The convoking of the 14th Company in a tavern is not an official function, at most it is an attempt to form a company, that is to say, an attempt at exercising an official function. But assuming that the convocation in question were an official function in the legal sense, only two possibilities were then conceivable: 1) the civic militia is still in existence—and this I maintain is the position in principle; in that case Korff was entitled to convene it. The civic militia had merely been suspended in Cologne during the state of siege[431]; with the lifting of the state of siege, all former laws and institutions came back into force; even if not in practice, but legally the civic militia was once more in existence. Or 2) the civic militia was no longer in existence, and this is the view of the

authorities and the Public Prosecutor's office; in that case there was no official function either, and in that case the accusation is complete and utter nonsense.

After the prosecution had replied briefly to the counsel for the defence, barrister *Hagen* opened his address for the defendant, seeking to demonstrate that the most that could be imputed to him was a remote intention to interfere in official functions, but not in any sense an actual act, actual interference, as is required by Art. 258 of the Penal Code. The court thereupon adjourned for about a quarter of an hour to its committee room and then *acquitted* the defendant with neither sentence nor costs.

Despite this acquittal, Korff was taken back into custody by order of the State Public Prosecutor, since he intends to appeal against the verdict of acquittal.

First published in the supplement to the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 129, May 31, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# FROM THE EDITORS OF THE *NEUE KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG*

On his departure from here, the editor-in-chief of the former *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Herr Karl Marx, has arranged that reports for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* which still continually arrive are to be handed over to the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung* for its use. We wish to bring this to the notice of the correspondents and we request them, in order to save time, to send their reports directly to our address.

The Editors of the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung*

First published in the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung* No. 124, June 1, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# A WARRANT OF ARREST

On the basis of the order for their appearance in Court issued by the royal examining magistrate, I request the civil and military authorities concerned to look out for and, if found, to arrest and bring before me, the following persons:

1. *Friedrich Engels*, editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, born in Barmen and last residing in Cologne ...[a] who have taken refuge in flight from the investigation instituted against them on account of crimes envisaged in Article 96 of the Penal Code, and whose description I give below.

Elberfeld, June 6, 1849

For the Chief Public Prosecutor

State Public Prosecutor *Eichhorn*

*Description:* 1. *Engels.* Age 26 to 28; height 5 feet 6 inches; hair blond; forehead smooth; eyebrows blond; eyes blue; nose and mouth well proportioned; beard reddish; chin oval; face oval; complexion healthy; figure slender. Special characteristics: speaks very rapidly and is short-sighted....[b]

First published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 137, June 9, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] There follow the names of two other wanted men, their occupation and last residence.— *Ed.*

[b] There follow the descriptions of the two other wanted men.— *Ed.*

# MARX'S ARRIVAL IN PARIS

*Cologne,* June 9. The editor-in-chief, Karl Marx, has arrived in Paris.[432]

First published in the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung* No. 132, June 10, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# NOTIFICATION OF MARX'S EXPULSION FROM PARIS ISSUED BY THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE[433]

City of Paris
Quartier du Faubourg
St. Germain

Year eighteen hundred and forty nine, nineteenth of July

Office of the
Prefect of Police[a]

## NOTIFICATION TO MR. MARX TO RESIDE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF MORBIHAN

We the undersigned Commissioner of Police of the Faubourg St. Germain,—

notify Mr. *Marx* (Charles), 29 years of age,[b] born at Trèves (Prussia), writer, living at rue de Lille No. 55, of the decision of the Minister of the Interior,[c] by which he is required to go to the department of Morbihan in order to reside there, and is obliged to comply with the measure adopted in respect of him.

*Dourlens*

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 43, Moscow 1976

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] Carlier.—*Ed.*
[b] Marx was 31 at the time.—*Ed.*
[c] Dufaure.—*Ed.*

# NOTIFICATION SENT BY THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE STATING THAT MARX'S PETITION WAS REJECTED

Monsieur Marx, Prussian refugee, rue de Lille

Quartier du Faubourg St. Germain Paris, August 16, 1849

Sir,

In fulfilment of the orders of the Prefect of Police[a] I have the honour to inform you that the Minister of the Interior[b] has not thought it possible to accede to the petition you have addressed to him requesting him to revoke his decision. Consequently, I require you to leave Paris *without delay* in order to proceed to the department of Morbihan, where you must reside.

I have the honour to greet you,

Commissioner of Police
of the Quartier du Faubourg
Saint-Germain
*Dourlens*

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 43, Moscow 1976

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] Carlier.—*Ed.*
[b] Dufaure.—*Ed.*

POLICE GENERALE DE FRANCE

**Passe-Port**

gratuit

valable pour un an

DEPARTEMENT

Préfecture de Police

COMMUNE

Requête de la Seine

SIGNALEMENT

Age 32 ans

Taille d'un mètre

cheveux noirs

front bas

sourcils bruns

yeux bruns

nez droit

bouche moyenne

barbe noire

menton rond

visage ovale

teint ordinaire

SIGNES PARTICULIERS

Signature du Porteur

Dr. Ch. Marx

# REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE.

Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité

Passe-port Gratuit,

valable pour un an

Nous Préfet de Police

Invitons les autorités civiles et militaires à laisser passer et circuler librement le Sr Marx, Charles, docteur en philosophie, né à Trèves, Prusse, département de Rhin, demeurant à Paris, rue de Sèvre, n° 4, et à lui donner aide et protection en cas de besoin.

Délivré au Noll

Fait à Paris le 24 Août 1849

Le Préfet de Police

Le Chef de bureau

Préfecture de Police

Passport issued to Marx by the French police on August 24, 1849 because having been expelled from Paris he intended to go to England. It bears the stamp of Boulogne, the port from which Marx embarked for England, and the date August 26, 1849. Marx's description is given on the left-hand side of the passport.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Age | *32 years* | Nose | *Ordinary* |
| Height | *1m. 71 cm.* | Mouth | *Medium* |
| Hair | *Black* | Beard | *Black* |
| Forehead | *Round* | Chin | *Round* |
| Eyebrows | *Brown* | Face | *Round* |
| Eyes | *Brown* | Complexion | *Ordinary* |

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] In this article, the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* raised the important question of the relation between economic development and the course of the European revolution and of the influence of the economic factor on the revolutionary process. Subsequently, Marx and Engels dealt with this problem on several occasions, particularly in the period when, in the pages of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-Ökonomische Revue*—the journal that continued the traditions of the periodical they had published during the revolution—they summed up the results of the revolutionary battles that had just ended. In the autumn of 1850, they elaborated the ideas expressed in this article when they wrote the following in the "Review [ May to October 1850]": "However, this much at least is certain, that the commercial crisis contributed infinitely more to the revolutions of 1848 than the revolution to commercial crisis" (present edition, Vol. 10).

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was founded by Marx as a militant periodical intended to exert an effective influence upon the masses, to educate and unite them politically and ideologically and pave the way for the creation of the mass party of the German proletariat. The newspaper provided Marx and Engels with an opportunity to guide the activities of the Communist League founded by them in 1847, which they regarded as the nucleus of the future proletarian party. However, since the League was too weak and numerically small, it could not be directly transformed into the rallying centre of the proletarian forces at the time when the 1848 revolution was at its peak. As the underground activities of the League lost all sense under the conditions of revolution, Marx and Engels instructed its members, who were scattered throughout Germany, to avail themselves of every legal opportunity to join the emerging workers' associations and democratic societies. In this context, a revolutionary proletarian newspaper became the main instrument for directing and co-ordinating the activities of the Communist League members, of mobilising the masses to resolve the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

It was decided to publish the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne, the capital of the Rhine Province, which was more advanced economically and politically than the other regions of Germany (here the working class was fairly strong and the *Code Napoléon* was in operation, which provided for somewhat greater freedom of the press than did the Prussian Law). The name, *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, was

chosen in order to stress the intention to continue the revolutionary-democratic traditions of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, which was edited by Marx in 1842 and 1843. In view of the specific conditions and the absence of the mass workers' party in Germany, Marx, Engels and their followers entered the political scene as the Left, in fact the proletarian, wing of the democratic movement. This predetermined the stand adopted by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which was put out under the subtitle *Organ der Demokratie* (Organ of Democracy). Only after mid-April 1849, when the German workers' class consciousness underwent certain changes, did the newspaper's editors take steps to set up an independent mass political party of the German proletariat, organisationally separate from petty-bourgeois democracy.

The first issue came out in the evening of May 31, but was dated June 1, 1848. The editorial board consisted of Karl Marx (editor-in-chief), Heinrich Bürgers, Ernst Dronke, Georg Weerth, Wilhelm Wolff, Ferdinand Wolff and Frederick Engels. In October 1848, the poet Ferdinand Freiligrath became one of its editors. All the editors were members of the Communist League. Common views, a strict division of functions and good co-ordination were characteristic of the work of the editorial board. Besides reading and answering letters and assisting the editor-in-chief, every editor dealt with a specific range of problems. The editorial board had correspondents in various parts of Germany and abroad. It established contacts with a number of democratic periodicals in other countries.

As a rule, Marx and Engels wrote the editorials, formulating the paper's stand on the most important questions of the revolution. These articles were marked "*Köln" and "**Köln". Sometimes editorials marked with one asterisk were printed in other sections of the paper under the heading of News from Italy, France, Hungary, Switzerland and other countries. In addition to editorials, Engels wrote articles on other subjects, such as the progress of the revolutionary and liberation movement in Italy, the revolutionary war in Hungary, the political situation in Switzerland and so on. Wilhelm Wolff contributed articles on the agrarian question, on the condition of the peasants and their movement, particularly in Silesia. He was also responsible for the Current Events section. Georg Weerth wrote feuilletons, and Ernst Dronke contributed various reports (including reports from Paris). Heinrich Bürgers' contribution to the paper was limited to a single article, which was practically rewritten by Marx; he had more success speaking at various meetings as the paper's representative. Freiligrath published his revolutionary verses in the paper.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was a daily (from September 1848 it appeared every day except Monday); it aimed to give its readers prompt information on all the most significant revolutionary developments in Germany and Europe. Often a second edition was put out on the same day; supplements were printed when there was too much material to be squeezed into the four pages of the issue, while special supplements and special editions in the form of leaflets carried the latest and most important news.

The consistent revolutionary tendency of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, its militant internationalism, and articles that appeared in its columns containing political accusations against the Government, aroused the displeasure of its bourgeois shareholders in the first months of the paper's existence and led to the persecution of its editors by the Government and attacks in the feudal monarchist and liberal bourgeois press. It was particularly the paper's articles in defence of the June 1848 uprising of the Paris proletariat that frightened away the shareholders.

To make Marx's stay in the Rhine Province more difficult, the Cologne authorities, on instructions from Berlin, refused to restore his Prussian citizenship (which Marx had renounced in 1845), and on several occasions instituted legal proceedings against him and other editors of the paper. On

September 26, 1848, when a state of siege was declared in Cologne, several democratic newspapers, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* among them, were suspended. To avoid arrest, Engels, Dronke and Ferdinand Wolff had to leave Germany for a time. Wilhelm Wolff stayed in Cologne, but for several months he lived in hiding. When the state of siege was lifted, the paper resumed publication on October 12, thanks to the great efforts of Marx who invested all his ready money in the paper. Until January 1849, the brunt of the work, including writing leading articles, fell to Marx, since Engels had to stay in France and later in Switzerland.

Persecution of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* editors by the judicial authorities and the police became particularly intense after the counter-revolutionary coup in Prussia in November-December 1848. On February 7, 1849, Marx, Engels and Hermann Korff, the responsible manager, had to appear before a jury in Cologne and, the next day, Marx was summoned to court as the leader of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats, together with Schapper and the lawyer Schneider. In both cases, Marx and his associates were acquitted thanks to skilful defence.

The paper's highly unstable financial position led to Marx continually taking steps to raise the necessary funds for its publication. Towards the end of March 1849, he insisted that Korff, who had considerably entangled the paper's financial affairs, be replaced by Stephan Adolf Naut who was closely associated with the Cologne Communists. In mid-April Marx had to undertake a trip to North-West Germany and Westphalia to raise funds among Communist League members and German democrats. In his absence (he returned to Cologne about May 8), the newspaper was managed by Engels. At the time, in the context of a new rise of revolutionary developments caused by the conflict between the Frankfurt National Assembly and the German governments, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* intensified its campaign for the consolidation of the revolutionary forces by publishing reports on the course of the uprising in Rhenish Prussia, Saxony and South-West Germany in defence of the imperial Constitution drafted by the Assembly. The authorities used this as a fresh pretext to persecute the paper. The number of legal proceedings against its editors rose to 23. However, the authorities' failure to win previous cases induced them to resort to another means of suppressing the revolutionary periodical. In May 1849, under the conditions of the general counter-revolutionary offensive, the Prussian Government issued an order to expel Marx from Prussia on the grounds that he had not been granted Prussian citizenship. Marx's expulsion and new repressions against other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* resulted in the paper ceasing publication. The last issue, No. 301, printed in red ink, appeared on May 19, 1849. In their farewell address "To the Workers of Cologne", the editors wrote that "their last word everywhere and always will be: ***emancipation of the working class***" (see this volume, p. 467). p. 3

[2] An allusion to the Nanking Treaty concluded by Britain as a result of the 1840-42 war with China (the so-called First Opium War). It was the first of a series of unequal treaties China was forced to conclude with European powers, reducing it to the state of a semi-colony. Under this treaty, Hong Kong was placed under British rule and five Chinese sea ports, including Canton and Shanghai, were declared open sea ports for British commerce. The Treaty was signed by Sir Henry Pottinger, Commander of the British Expeditionary Corps in China. p. 3

[3] The *Corn Laws*—a series of laws in England (the first dating back to the 15th century) that imposed high duties on imported corn with the aim of maintaining high prices for corn on the home market in the interests of the landowners. The

struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the Corn Laws ended in the adoption of a Bill repealing them in June 1846. p. 3

[4] The struggle between Britain and the USA for the Oregon region on the Pacific coast of North America ended in 1846 with its partition between the two powers.

In 1845-49 Britain waged wars of conquest in Northern India against the State of Sikhs, which resulted in the entire Punjab being annexed by the East India Company. p. 4

[5] In 1847, along with other European countries, Italy went through an economic crisis. In an attempt to overcome it, Pope Pius IX proposed a programme of economic and political reforms including a project to set up a customs union of the Italian states. However, the Pope's proposals and measures, supported by the liberals, failed to prevent a revolutionary upheaval in Italy. The revolution started with a popular uprising in *Palermo* on January 12, 1848 against the absolutist regime of the Neapolitan Bourbons. The movement for a Constitution and liberation from foreign rule spread all over the country. As a result of the popular uprising in *Milan* in March 1848, the Austrian troops were driven out of the capital of Lombardy which, however, was recaptured by Austrians after the defeat of the Piedmontese troops. From November 1848, the centre of the revolutionary movement shifted to Central Italy, particularly to the Papal states where developments forced Pope Pius IX to flee from Rome. The *Roman Republic* was proclaimed on February 9, 1849. p. 7

[6] The present and following articles on the course of the revolutionary war in Hungary against the Austrian monarchy are the continuation of a series of reports by Engels on the subject which he began in February 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 8). He drew his information mainly from Austrian Command communiqués, i.e. army bulletins published in the official *Wiener Zeitung* and other Austrian newspapers. At the time Hungarian sources were almost unavailable in Germany. In spite of the biased and incomplete data contained in the Austrian bulletins, Engels managed to present a fairly exact overall picture of the hostilities. Subsequently, in his work *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, Engels pointed out that, by reporting the true development of the revolutionary war in Hungary, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had contributed more than any other paper to making the Hungarians' cause popular in Germany. The paper had explained the character of the struggle between the Magyars and the Slavs and printed a series of articles on the Hungarian war which had the honour of being plagiarised in nearly every subsequent book on the subject, not excluding those by Hungarians themselves and by "eyewitnesses" (see present edition, Vol. 11).

Engels also mentions his reports about Hungary in his letters to Marx dated April 3, 1851 and July 6, 1852 and also in his letter to H. J. Lincoln, editor of the *Daily News*, dated March 30, 1854. At that time he took up a systematic study of military science and the art of war and began to collect additional material on the Hungarian campaign (*Memoirs* by the Hungarian Commander-in-Chief Görgey, biographies of Hungarian generals, periodicals put out by the Kossuth Government). He also planned to write a book on the history of the revolutionary war in Hungary and Italy—but these plans did not materialise.

Engels started his military reports at a grievous moment for revolutionary Hungary. On December 16, 1848, the Austrian imperial army, under the command of Windischgrätz, started an offensive and at the beginning of January captured Buda and Pest (two neighbouring cities at the time). The Hungarian revolutionary Government (the Defence Council) headed by Kossuth and Parliament (National Assembly) moved to Debreczin. Simultaneously, counter-

revolutionary forces launched an offensive in Galicia (the corps under General Schlick), Silesia, the Banat and other districts. Right-wing circles in Austria and Germany predicted a speedy and final defeat of revolutionary Hungary. However, from the very beginning Engels pointed to her reserves for building up her defences and possibilities for securing a turn in the war. In fact the Defence Council did take a number of energetic steps to strengthen the revolutionary army. Guerilla warfare spread in the enemy's rear. Volunteer detachments arrived from Austria to defend the Hungarian revolution and units consisting of national minorities were formed for the purpose. The Hungarian army was joined by many Polish revolutionary commanders (among them Bem, Dembiński). In February 1849, the Hungarians not only succeeded in stabilising the situation in the central area of hostilities (on the Theiss) and even in forcing the enemy to retreat along some other sectors of the front, but also in starting to concentrate forces for a counter-blow that was delivered early in April 1849. p. 9

[7] On February 26 and 27, 1849, a *battle* between the Hungarian revolutionary army and Austrian troops took place at *Kapolna* (in Central Hungary between Pest and Debreczin) which, despite the retreat of the Hungarian troops beyond the Theiss, was not a victory for either side. Having received Windischgrätz's report on the victory at Kapolna, Francis Joseph abrogated Hungary's autonomy, which had up to that point been recognised by the Austrian ruling circles, and incorporated her into "the lands of the Austrian Empire" by the Olmütz Manifesto of March 4, 1849 (Olmütz was the seat of the Austrian Court since the people's uprising in Vienna in October 1848). p. 9

[8] The 1848-49 struggle between revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces was accompanied by an exacerbation of national contradictions in Transylvania and in other districts belonging administratively to Hungary but inhabited by other nationalities. The predominant part of the motley population of the region (Romanians, Hungarians and Szeklers, who are their off-shoot, and Germans, mainly settlers from Saxony) consisted of Romanian peasants, who were exploited by Hungarian landowners and Austrian officials. Although the advanced sections of the Romanian bourgeoisie and intelligentsia welcomed the Hungarian 1848 revolution, the erroneous policy of the Hungarian Government in the national question allowed the feudal clerical circles to use social and national antagonisms and stir up Romanians to revolt against Hungary in September 1848. The Romanian legions under the command of Colonel Urban, aided by Austrian troops under Baron Puchner, fought against the Hungarians. However, the Polish emigrant Bem, who was appointed Commander of the Hungarian army in Transylvania in December 1848, succeeded in preventing Puchner from invading Hungary from Transylvania and dealt crushing blows to the counter-revolutionary forces in Transylvania proper during January-March 1849.

A small detachment of Russian troops sent to Puchner's aid by Lüders, commander of the Tsarist expeditionary corps in Wallachia, failed to stop Bem's advance and by the end of March the latter had cleared nearly all enemy troops out of Transylvania. Bem owed his success to his policy of reconciliation of national contradictions between the Hungarians and the Romanians, in spite of the resistance of Hungarian government representatives, who were spokesmen of the Hungarian nobility (later Marx and Engels stressed this in the article "Bem" written for the *New American Cyclopaedia*). Calls for joint actions of the Romanians and Hungarians against the Habsburgs were also issued by Balčescu, a Romanian democrat; Janku, the leader of the Romanian poor peasants' guerilla movement, supported this idea.

The Hungarian revolutionaries from among the bourgeoisie and nobility were, however, too late in realising the necessity of co-operation with the oppressed nationalities and this enabled the Austrian ruling circles in general to use the Romanian national movement in Transylvania, led by the clerical-aristocratic upper sections, as a tool in the struggle against revolutionary Hungary. After the defeat of the Hungarian revolution, the Austrians established a rule of brutal national oppression in Transylvania, despite their demagogic promises to the contrary. p. 9

[9] *Szeklers* (from *szek*—settlements)—an ethnic group of Hungarians, mostly free peasants. In the 13th century their forefathers were settled by Hungarian kings in the mountain regions of Transylvania to protect the frontiers. The majority of Szeklers sided with the Hungarian revolution. p. 9

[10] The reference is to the paper money issued in 1848-49 by the Hungarian revolutionary Government. The notes were first issued in May 1848. Despite the Austrian authorities' repeated ban on the "Kossuth notes", the Hungarian paper money was a serious competitor to Austrian money, not only within Hungary but also in Austria proper. The "Kossuth notes" were in circulation until almost the end of 1849. p. 10

[11] The reference is to the *Chief Administrative Committee of the Serbian Voivodeship* or the *Chief Odbor* in Karlowitz—an executive body elected by the Assembly (*Skupština*) of representatives of the Serbian communities in the South-Slav border regions of the Austrian Empire in May 1848. The *Skupština* proclaimed the Voivodina an autonomous region within the Empire. In the autumn of 1848, a number of Serbian cities formed local *Odbors* which were patterned on the Chief Odbor and concentrated all civil and military authority in their hands.

The Chief Odbor became the scene of struggle between the liberals headed by Stratimirovich (who was elected President) and clerical and feudal group, who professed loyalty to the Habsburgs and opposed liberal reforms. At the beginning of 1849, this group led by Patriarch Rajachich took the upper hand. They directed the Serbian national movement in the Voivodina towards still closer collaboration with the Austrian counter-revolutionary Government which, having made use of the Serbs in the struggle against revolutionary Hungary, broke its promise and, in March 1849, refused to grant them autonomy. p. 11

[12] This refers to the southern part of the Austrian-Turkish border (the Military Border area—see notes 22 and 68). p. 12

[13] An allusion to the new *Constitution* of the Austrian united monarchy (*Gesamtmonarchie*) introduced by Francis Joseph on *March 4, 1849*. According to the Constitution, the Emperor and his Ministers were vested with full executive authority and the bureaucratic centralisation principle was strictly implemented in the administration of the Empire. Lombardy, Venice, Hungary and Bohemia were proclaimed Austrian crown lands and the autonomous estate institutions that existed in some national regions even before the 1848 revolution were abolished. Croatia, Serbian Voivodina and Transylvania likewise did not receive autonomy, repeated promises notwithstanding; they separated from Hungary administratively and a system of administration similar to that in other crown lands was established there. The Constitution of March 4, 1849, was a step towards the restoration of absolutism (it was finally restored by the imperial patent of December 31, 1851, which repealed constitutional rule) and was unpopular even

among the Right-wing elements in the Slav national movement in Austria, who cherished the hope that the Habsburgs would satisfy their national demands. p. 12

[14] The reference is to the *Hungarian National Assembly* which moved to Debreczin early in January 1849 because of the advance of the Austrian troops on Pest. Some of the Right-wing deputies refused to leave for Debreczin and went over to the side of Windischgrätz who captured the capital of Hungary. p. 14

[15] The fortified camp and fortress of Komorn in North-Western Hungary remained in the hands of the Hungarians in the rear of the Austrian army during its offensive in late 1848 and early 1849. Later on the fortress, which withstood several sieges by Austrian troops, played an important role in the operations of the Hungarian revolutionary army. p. 15

[16] The reference is to the final stage in the suppression of the 1830-31 Polish national liberation uprising by Tsarist troops supported by Prussia and Austria. After Warsaw was outflanked from the west and on September 6 its western suburb seized, the Tsarist command succeeded in forcing the city to capitulate on the night of September 7, 1831. Early in October, the remnants of the Polish insurgent army crossed the border for Prussia and Austria, where they were interned. p. 18

[17] By the autumn of 1848, a democratic movement had spread among the Polish population of Galicia that aimed at preparing a national uprising and uniting with revolutionary Hungary. However, the Polish revolutionaries failed to rally adequate forces for an uprising.

In connection with the victories of the Hungarian troops under Bem in Transylvania in the first months of 1849, in particular with his march on January 5 to South Bukovina, rumours spread in Galicia of an impending advance over the Carpathians by the revolutionary Hungarian army and the Polish legion, and this intensified the revolutionary ferment among the Poles. Many young Polish democrats went secretly to Hungary to serve in the Polish legion. p. 20

[18] *Petty sessions*—a court of the Justices of the Peace in England, tries minor offences according to a simplified legal procedure.

*Quarter sessions*—a court held quarterly by Justices of the Peace.

The expressions "petty sessions" and "quarter sessions" are given in English in the original. p. 22

[19] An allusion to the New Year's message of greetings from King Frederick William IV "To My Army" ("An mein Heer") which he signed in Potsdam on January 1, 1849; it was published in the *Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger* on January 3, 1849. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* used this to expose the counter-revolutionary actions of the Prussian military (see Marx's article "A New Year Greeting", present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 222-26). p. 23

[20] See Note 9. p. 25

[21] A considerable section of the population of Transylvania (over 200,000) were German colonists who had come from Saxony, Flanders and the Rhine lands (known as Teutons, Flemings, Saxons, later all German colonists came to be known as Saxons); they had been settled there by the Hungarian kings and Austrian emperors.

The majority of the Saxons, who were well-to-do townspeople, came out against the Hungarian revolution and sided with the imperial troops in the armed struggle. p. 25

22 *Peterwardein borderers* as well as *Serezhans* and other South-Slav army formations mentioned below performed compulsory military service on the Austro-Turkish border (in the so-called Military Border area). They were named after their regimental or company districts or communities from which the soldiers came. In 1848-49 the Austrian authorities and the Right-wing bourgeois-landowning nationalist elements drew them into the war against revolutionary Hungary. p. 25

23 This refers to the Transylvanian Saxons (see Note 21). p. 26

24 The war between the Serbs and the Hungarians broke out as far back as May 1848, as a result of the conflict between the Hungarian Government and the Serbian national movement which demanded autonomy for the Voivodina. The movement was socially and politically heterogeneous. Liberal bourgeois elements (Stratimirovich and others) and Right-wing conservative landowning elements prevailed in the movement and thus allowed the Austrian ruling circles to make use of it in the struggle against the Hungarian revolution. On the other hand, the Hungarian revolutionaries, who refused to recognise the national demands of the Serbs and other Slav peoples incorporated in the Hungarian state prompted them to side with the Habsburgs. It was only on July 28, 1849, i. e. on the eve of its downfall, that revolutionary Hungary officially declared equality for all nationalities in the country. Having consolidated their domination largely with the help of the Croats, the Serbs of the Voivodina and so on, the ruling circles of the Austrian Empire went back on their promises and not only refused to grant autonomy to the Slav and other peoples of the multinational state, but abolished even the remnants of self-government in the national regions. p. 26

25 See Note 15. p. 29

26 The *Central Committee of German Democrats* (d'Ester, Reichenbach, Hexamer) was elected at the Second Democratic Congress held in Berlin from October 26 to 30, 1848.

The *Central Committee of Democrats* mentioned below was elected at the First Democratic Congress held in Frankfurt am Main from June 14 to 17, 1848. Fröbel, Rau and Kriege were elected to the first Central Committee and Bairhoffer, Schütte and Anneke were their deputies. The Committee had its headquarters in Berlin. However, despite the decision of the Frankfurt am Main Congress to unite all democratic associations and set up the Central and district committees of German Democrats, the democratic movement in Germany still lacked unity and organisation owing to the weakness and vacillation of its petty-bourgeois leaders. p. 33

27 This refers to the Prussian National Assembly convened in Berlin on May 22, 1848, to work out a Constitution and introduce a constitutional system on the basis of an "agreement with the Crown". It was dissolved on December 5 as a result of the coup d'état in Prussia. The causes behind the coup d'état were the formation of the Brandenburg-Manteuffel counter-revolutionary Government and the publication on November 9 of a decree transferring the Assembly to the provincial town of Brandenburg. Liberal and democratic (Left) deputies failed to offer any real resistance to the instigators of the coup d'état and confined themselves to

passive resistance. The introduction of a Constitution "granted" by the King was announced simultaneously with the dissolution of the Assembly. p. 34

[28] An allusion to the *Wahl-Manifest der radicalen Reformpartei für Deutschland* (Election Manifesto of the Radical Reform Party of Germany) written by Ruge not long before the elections to the Frankfurt National Assembly. It proclaimed "editing of the rationale of events" to be the chief task of the Assembly. The Election Manifesto was published by Ruge in Leipzig in his newspaper *Die Reform* on April 16, 1848. p. 34

[29] The *Central March Association* which had branches in different cities of Germany was set up at the end of November 1848 in Frankfurt am Main by the Left-wing deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly. The leaders of the March associations, which derived their name from the March 1848 revolution in Germany, were petty-bourgeois democrats including Fröbel, Simon and Vogt. These confined themselves to revolutionary phrase-mongering, were both indecisive and inconsistent in the struggle against the counter-revolution and were sharply criticised by Marx and Engels on this account. p. 36

[30] The phrase "*Imperial Assembly*" refers to the *German National Assembly* which opened on May 18, 1848 in St. Paul's Church, in the free town of Frankfurt am Main. It was convened to effect the unification of the country and to draw up its Constitution. Among the deputies elected in various German states late in April and early in May were 122 government officials, 95 judges, 81 lawyers, 103 professors, 17 manufacturers and wholesale dealers, 15 physicians and 40 landowners. The liberal deputies, who were in the majority, turned the Assembly into a mere debating club. At the decisive moments of the revolution, the liberal majority in fact condoned the counter-revolution.

When writing this and other articles on the Frankfurt National Assembly, Marx and Engels made use of the shorthand reports of its sittings which later appeared as a separate publication, *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen constituirenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main*, Frankfurt am Main, 1848-49. p. 36

[31] An allusion to the Left wing of the Frankfurt National Assembly which consisted of two factions: the Left (Fröbel, Vogt, Venedey and others) and the extreme Left known as the Radical-Democratic Party (Ruge, Schlöffel, Zitz, Trüzschler, Simon and others). Though the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* supported the extreme Left rather than the more moderate groups of democrats, it criticised the former for their vacillations and halfway stand on the basic problems of the German revolution—abolition of feudal survivals and unification of the country. p. 36

[32] The *toleration tax* was levied on the Jewish population of the Kingdom of Hungary in 1749. The arrears grew from year to year, and the 1840s witnessed the intensified struggle for the abolition of this humiliating tax. In June 1846 it was repealed on condition that all the arrears, which amounted to 1,200,000 florins, were paid off during the next five years.

This measure was a certain step towards the emancipation of the country's Jews. p. 39

[33] On *September 7, 1848* the Emperor sanctioned the law drawn up by the Austrian Imperial Diet (Reichstag) repealing the personal bondage of the peasants and making labour and other services connected with land tenure subject to redemption. The redemption sum was fixed at twenty times the amount of the peasants' annual duties. Two-thirds of this was to be paid by the peasants and one-third by the state (from taxes). Despite the halfway nature of this agrarian

reform, which did not satisfy the peasants who continued to fight for the abolition of feudal obligations without redemption, it nevertheless opened the way for the development of capitalist relations in agriculture. p. 39

[34] This article is complementary to the series of articles and reports on Switzerland written by Engels during his forced stay there (because of the order for his arrest issued by the Cologne authorities) from November 1848 to January 1849. The series started with the article "The Ex-Principality" and ended with two reports on the foreign policy of the Swiss ruling circles (see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 7-8, 251-53). Engels ceased his writings on Swiss affairs in mid-January 1849, when he returned to Germany. Later on, however, he occasionally wrote on the subject, as this article shows. It is based on data from Swiss and German papers, but the editors of the volume are not in possession of the actual material used by Engels. p. 42

[35] *Sonderbund*—a separatist union formed by the seven economically backward Catholic cantons of Switzerland in 1843 to resist progressive bourgeois reforms and defend the privileges of the church and the Jesuits. The decree of the Swiss Diet of July 1847 on the dissolution of the Sonderbund served as a pretext for the latter to start hostilities against the other cantons early in November. On November 23, 1847, the Sonderbund army was defeated by federal forces. p. 42

[36] The reference is to the Constitution of the Swiss Republic adopted on September 12, 1848. The Constitution legalised the results of the victory won by the progressive forces over the Sonderbund and turned Switzerland from a union of individual cantons into a united federative state. In place of the former Swiss Diet, the members of which functioned as representatives of cantons, an all-Swiss Federal Assembly was set up consisting of two chambers—the National Council and the Council of States. The executive power was vested in the Federal Council (the Government of Switzerland) and the chairman of the Federal Council acted as President of the Republic. The Constitution provided for the organisation of a single post and customs department, the introduction of a unified monetary system, and a system of weights and measures. At the same time, cantons retained broad autonomous rights. p. 43

[37] In the period from the fifteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries agreements were concluded between Swiss cantons and European states for the supply of Swiss mercenaries. In many countries they were used by counter-revolutionary monarchist forces.

In this case, the reference is to the agreements concluded in 1848 by the canton of Berne and some other cantons with the counter-revolutionary Government of Ferdinand II, King of Naples. The use of Swiss troops against the revolutionary movement in Italy aroused profound indignation among the Swiss progressive public, and this eventually led to the annulment of these agreements. p. 44

[38] An allusion to the invitation to Berne extended by the Federal Council to Professor of Military Sciences Rudolf Lohbauer, formerly a radical journalist who contributed to Prussian government periodicals. See Engels' article "Herr Müller.—Radetzky's Chicanery towards Tessin.—The Federal Council—Lohbauer" (present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 239-41). p. 45

[39] The reference is to the dissolution of the Austrian Constituent Imperial Diet (*Reichstag*) by Emperor Francis Joseph on March 7, 1849. He was prompted to do this by his mother Archduchess Sophia and the Court camarilla. The Imperial Diet opened in Vienna on July 22, 1848. Prior to this, on May 15, as a result of the

mass revolutionary actions, the Government was forced to recognise the constituent rights of the Imperial Diet to be convened. The majority of its deputies, however, representing the liberal bourgeoisie and landowners (including deputies from the Slav national districts), opposed any extension of the revolution. During the Vienna popular uprising in October 1848, the Imperial Diet transferred its seat to the Moravian town of Kremsier. There, on March 4, 1849 the consultative commission it had set up completed a Draft of Fundamental Rights providing for people's sovereignty, freedom of assembly and the press, equality of estates and nationalities, while retaining the monarchy. The draft, however, was not approved because the coup d'état took place the same day and the new, anti-democratic Constitution (see Note 13) was introduced by royal decree. Three days later the Diet itself was dissolved. p. 47

40 The reference is to the October-November 1848 counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Prussia which resulted in the dissolution of the Prussian National Assembly and the introduction of the Constitution imposed by King Frederick William IV (see Note 27).

The *Holy Alliance*—an association of European monarchs founded on September 26, 1815, on the initiative of the Russian Tsar Alexander I and the Austrian Chancellor Metternich, to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries. During the 1848-49 revolution and subsequent years, counter-revolutionary circles in Austria, Prussia andTsarist Russia attempted to revive the Holy Alliance's activities in a modified form. p. 47

41 During the popular uprising in Vienna in October 1848, Welcker and Mosle, liberal deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly (see Note 30), were sent to Vienna to negotiate with the insurgents and the Austrian Court and Government, which moved from the capital to Olmütz. Both of them acted as commissioners of the so-called Central Authority (*Zentralgewalt*) set up by the Frankfurt Assembly on June 28, 1848 and consisting of the Imperial Regent (Archduke Johann of Austria) and an Imperial Ministry. This provisional Central Authority had neither a budget nor an army of its own, possessed no real power, and was in fact an instrument of the counter-revolutionary German princes. However, Welcker and Mosle never turned up in revolutionary Vienna and confined themselves to fruitless talks with the Austrian Ministers and audiences granted by Emperor Ferdinand and Commander-in-Chief of the counter-revolutionary army Windischgrätz. The mediatory mission of the imperial commissioners was in fact a cover for the treacherous refusal by the liberal majority of the Frankfurt Assembly to support the Viennese insurgents.

Robert Blum, who represented the Left wing of the Frankfurt Assembly, sided with the insurgents and, despite his parliamentary immunity, was shot on November 9 by an Austrian firing-squad after the uprising was suppressed.

The correspondence between Welcker and Mosle and the Austrian Ministers was published in the Appendices to the Report of the Committee of the Frankfurt Assembly for investigating Austrian affairs (see *Verhandlungen der deutschen verfassunggebenden Reichsversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main*, Bd. 2, Frankfurt am Main, 1849, S. 602-19).

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* responded to the Welcker-Mosle mission with a critical article "Report of the Frankfurt Committee on Austrian Affairs" (see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 88-93). p. 48

42 At the time when the coup d'état was being hatched and implemented in Prussia, the Frankfurt National Assembly undertook to settle the conflict between the

Prussian National Assembly and the Crown. To fulfil this mission, first Bassermann (a liberal leader) and later Simson and Hergenhahn arrived in Berlin as imperial commissioners. Gagern, Chairman of the Frankfurt Assembly, also went to the capital of Prussia to render assistance. The mediation of the imperial commissioners and Gagern proved to be helpful to the counter-revolutionaries, because it diverted the democratic forces in the German state from offering real support to the Prussian National Assembly in its struggle against the Brandenburg-Manteuffel Ministry. p. 48

43 *Serezhans*—see Note 22.
*Huzuls*—Ukrainians living in the Carpathian mountains which formed part of Austrian Hungary. In the first half of the 19th century, up to 1918, they were subjects of the Habsburg Empire. p. 48

44 The reference is to the *Grundrechte des deutschen Volkes*, a document passed by the Frankfurt National Assembly in December 1848 in the course of drawing up an all-German imperial Constitution ("Verfassung des deutschen Reiches vom 28. März 1849"). It was regarded by the Assembly as a component part of the Constitution and was included in it as Chapter VI. p. 48

45 An allusion to the Austrian special border troops who wore red-coats and caps and were recruited mainly from among the inhabitants of the Empire's Slav provinces (Croats, Serbs of the Voivodina etc.). In 1848 and 1849, they were used by the counter-revolution against the revolutionary movement. p. 49

46 An allusion to Frederick William IV's statement in his speech at the opening of the United Diet on April 11, 1847, that he was "heir to the unweakened crown and must hand it over to his successors in an unweakened state" (see *Der Erste Vereinigte Landtag in Berlin 1847*, erster Teil). p. 50

47 In the first half of the 19th century the word *poster* was used to denote any appeal, announcement or notice posted in the streets for the public to see.
The *September Laws* promulgated by the French Government in September 1835 restricted the rights of jury courts and introduced severe measures against the press. They provided for increased money deposits for periodical publications and introduced imprisonment and large fines for publishing attacks on private property and the existing political system. p. 50

48 The Prussian National Assembly dissolved by King Frederick William IV on December 5, 1848 (see Note 27), was ironically referred to by Marx and Engels as the "Agreement Assembly" ("Vereinbarungsversammlung"), because it was guided by the "theory of agreement". According to this, the Assembly was to draw up a Constitution not on the basis of sovereign and constituent rights, but by "agreement with the Crown" (the principle formulated by the Camphausen-Hansemann Government and adopted by the majority of the Assembly). The Crown used this theory of agreement as a screen to cover up preparations for a counter-revolutionary coup d'état. p. 51

49 The so-called law on *crieurs publics* (street newspaper-sellers) adopted by the Louis Philippe Government in 1834 was intended to restrict the distribution of opposition periodicals. p. 51

50 *Code Napoléon (Code civil)*—French code of civil law promulgated in 1804. It was introduced by Napoleon in the conquered regions of West and South-West

Germany and remained in operation in the Rhine Province even after its incorporation into Prussia in 1815.

The expression *Prussian Law* refers to the *Allgemeines Landrecht für die Preussischen Staaten* approved and published in 1794. It included the criminal, state, civil, administrative and ecclesiastical law and was strongly influenced by backward feudal juridical standards. p. 52

[51] After the Rhineland's union with Prussia in 1815, the Prussian Government strove to introduce Prussian Law standards into various spheres of jurisdiction, in place of the existing French civil code. This was being done through a series of laws, edicts and instructions aimed at restoring the feudal privileges of the nobility (the right of primogeniture), introduction of the Prussian penal code, marriage laws etc. These measures, which met with great opposition in the Rhineland, were repealed after the March revolution by the decree of April 15, 1848. p. 52

[52] The *Constitution imposed* ("granted") by King Frederick William IV on December 5, 1848, dissolved the Prussian National Assembly and introduced a two-chamber system; the First Chamber was transformed by age and property qualifications into a privileged chamber of the nobility. According to the electoral law of December 6, 1848, the right to vote in the two-stage elections to the Second Chamber was granted only to so-called independent Prussians. The Constitution provided for the suspension, in case of war or disorder, of freedom of the individual, inviolability of the dwelling, freedom of the press, assembly, association and so forth. The royal authority was vested with very wide powers—the King was authorised to convene or dissolve the Chambers, to appoint Ministers, declare war or conclude a peace treaty. He was vested with full executive power, while he exercised legislative power together with the Chambers. Later on, anti-democratic revisions of the Constitution were repeatedly made on the initiative of Prussian ruling circles. p. 52

[53] See Note 19. p. 56

[54] *Raizen* (*Rascians, Rascier*) is the name for Serbs of the Orthodox denomination, often used to denote Serbs in general; it probably derives from the ancient town of Rassa, the centre of the Raschka district where the first Serbian tribes settled. p. 60

[55] *Honved*—literally: defender of the homeland; the name given to the Hungarian revolutionary army of 1848-49, which was set up by the decision of the Hungarian revolutionary Government on May 16, 1848, to form ten battalions of Honveds. p. 60

[56] See Note 9. p. 61

[57] The *Slovanská Lípa*—a Czech national society founded in Prague at the end of April 1848. The society was under the leadership of moderate liberals (Šafařik, Gauč), who joined the counter-revolution after the Prague uprising was suppressed in June 1848, whereas the provincial branches were mostly led by representatives of the radical Czech bourgeoisie. p. 62

[58] The reference is to the Bills on associations and assemblies, and on posters and the press prepared by the Prussian Government.

The *September Laws*—see Note 47.

The *Prussian Law*—see Note 50. p. 65

[59] See Note 46. p. 65

[60] After Napoleon was proclaimed "Emperor of the French" in 1804, he assumed the title of king of the vassal Italian state formed from the Cisalpine Republic (Northern Italy), a dependency of France. After being crowned in Milan Cathedral on May 26, 1805 with the traditional iron crown of the Lombard kings who conquered Northern Italy in the sixth century, he uttered the following phrase, "God has given it to me, woe to him who will touch it" ("*Dio mi la diede, guai a chi la tocca*"). p. 66

[61] See Note 19. p. 69

[62] An allusion to Camphausen who was formerly an oil and corn dealer. p. 69

[63] In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* this ironical expression was used of the commander of a division billeted in Düsseldorf, the reactionary Prussian general Drigalski (see Marx's article "Drigalski—Legislator, Citizen and Communist", present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 75-80) who in November 1848 proclaimed a state of siege in the town and appealed to the citizens to be "communists in the noble sense of the word" and make donations to the poor. The appeal signed "Citizen Drigalski" was published in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* No. 311, November 24, 1848. p. 70

[64] The reference is to the eastern provinces of the Kingdom of Prussia (with the exception of Posen) which historically formed its basis. They were known as the old provinces as distinct from the western ("new") provinces—Rhineland and Westphalia, which were incorporated into Prussia in 1815 by decision of the Vienna Congress. p. 70

[65] See Note 55. p. 73

[66] See Note 45. p. 73

[67] The reference is to the so-called party of Magyarisers, or the Croatian-Hungarian party, formed as far back as 1841 and consisting mainly of Croatian-Slavonian nobles and big landowners. The party aimed for a complete merger of Croatia and Slavonia (which administratively formed part of the Hungarian Kingdom within the Austrian Empire) with Hungary as a means to counteract bourgeois reforms and to retain political and social privileges. Its members waged a bitter struggle against the representatives of "Illyrism", a national trend dominated mainly by liberal landowners and commercial bourgeoisie. The Illyrians aimed at uniting the South-Slav peoples and at securing broad autonomous rights for them within the framework of the Austrian Empire, on a federative basis.

During the 1848 revolution and the increasingly acute national conflict, many Magyarisers fled to Hungary. On June 5, 1848, the sittings of the *Sabor* of the Southern Slavs opened in Agram (Zagreb). Representatives of the liberal landowners and the top sections of the commercial bourgeoisie in Croatia and Slavonia who predominated at the *Sabor* (the *Sabor* was also attended by delegates from the Serbs of the Voivodina and the Czechs), professed their loyalty to the Habsburgs and restricted the national programme to the demand for autonomy for the united Slav territories within the Austrian Empire. General Jellachich, who was close to the Right-wing Illyrians, was appointed Ban of Croatia in March 1848. After a brief conflict with the Austrian Government, which led to his dismissal, he was reinstated in September 1848. Placing Croatian and Slavonian military units at the service of Austrian reaction, Jellachich took part in the counter-revolutionary campaign against Hungary and in the suppression of the popular uprising in Vienna.

The *Banal Council*—an administrative body, headed by the Ban, exercised the functions of the Government of Croatia. p. 73

[68] The reference is to the inhabitants of the so-called Military Border area, i.e. the southern border region of the Austrian Empire under a military administration. The area included part of Croatia and southern Hungary. Its population was made up of Serbs and Croats who were allotted land in return for military service, the fulfilment of state obligations and payment of duties. Borderers often rose in revolt against this system of military-feudal oppression (see also notes 22 and 45). p. 74

[69] In this item, Engels apparently made use of the material published in the *Breslauer Zeitung* and reprinted in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 63 (second edition), March 15, 1849. p. 76

[70] The reference is to the *Defence Council* set up on September 22, 1848 under the conditions of the intervention launched against revolutionary Hungary by the army of the Croatian Ban Jellachich. The Council, headed by Kossuth, exercised control over the Count Batthyány liberal Government. After the victory over Jellachich and the resignation of the Batthyány Cabinet the Defence Council was entrusted with governmental functions on October 8. Kossuth, its chairman, was vested with full powers in accordance with war-time conditions. In January 1849, when Austrian troops seized Pest, the Defence Council and the National Assembly transferred their seat to Debreczin. p. 77

[71] The reference is to the *French Provisional Government* formed on February 24, 1848, as a result of the overthrow of the July monarchy. The posts in this Government were mainly held by moderate republicans (Lamartine, Dupont de l'Eure, Crémieux, Arago, Marie and two men from the *National*—the opposition republican party—Marrast and Garnier-Pagès). In addition, the Government included three representatives of the petty-bourgeois party of democrat-socialists who grouped round the *Réforme*—Ledru-Rollin, Flocon and Louis Blanc, and a mechanic Albert (real name Martin). The Provisional Government stayed in power till May 10, 1848 when it was superseded by the Executive Commission formed by the National (Constituent) Assembly. p. 79

[72] The reference is to the uprising of the Paris proletariat against the bourgeois regime of the Second Republic (June 23-26, 1848). It was the climax of the 1848 revolution in France and had an impact on revolutionary events in other European countries. Marx and Engels appraised the uprising and its historic significance in a series of articles published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 130-49). p.80

[73] The *additional 45-centime tax* for every franc of all direct taxes that was introduced by the French Provisional Government on March 16, 1848, became a heavy burden, above all for the peasants who made up the majority of France's population. This measure caused the peasant masses to turn away from the revolution and to vote for Louis Napoleon Bonaparte at the presidential elections on December 10, 1848. p. 80

[74] The *legitimists*—advocates of the Bourbon dynasty overthrown in 1830, who upheld the interests of the big hereditary landowners, and the claim to the throne by the grandson of King Charles X, Comte de Chambord, who took the name of Henry V. p. 80

[75] The reference is to the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty in France, first in May 1814 and later in July 1815. After the defeat of Napoleonic France in the war against the sixth coalition, Napoleon had to abdicate in April 1814 and the Bour-

bons were restored to power. Louis XVIII became King of France. In March 1815, Napoleon regained power but his rule did not last long (the Hundred Days). After his defeat at Waterloo by British and Prussian troops he again abdicated on June 22, 1815 and Louis XVIII was again restored to the throne (July 8) with the help of the foreign armies. p. 80

76 *Orleanists*—supporters of the Orléans dynasty which held power in France during the July monarchy (1830-48). The Orleanists upheld the interests of the financial aristocracy and the big industrial bourgeoisie. p. 80

77 On May 15, 1848, there was a revolutionary uprising of Paris workers led by Blanqui, Barbès and others against the anti-labour and anti-democratic policy pursued by the Constituent Assembly which opened on May 4. The participants in the mass demonstration forced their way into the Assembly's premises, demanded the formation of a Ministry of Labour and presented a number of other demands. An attempt was made to form a revolutionary government. However, with the help of national guards from the bourgeois quarters and regular troops, the power of the Constituent Assembly was restored. The leaders of the movement were arrested and put on trial. p. 81

78 The trial of the leaders of the Paris workers' revolutionary uprising of May 15, 1848 was held in Bourges from March 7 to April 3, 1849. They were accused of conspiring against the Government. The court sentenced Barbès and Albert to exile and Blanqui to ten-year solitary confinement. The other defendants (among them Sobrier, Raspail) were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment or exile. p. 81

79 The reference is to the article "*Ein Aktenstück des Märzvereins*" published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 181 of December 29, 1848, which exposed the half-hearted and inconsistent policy of a number of the Frankfurt Left leaders whose actions only helped the counter-revolution. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* called these leaders the "Girondists of our revolution". p. 84

80 This refers to the counter-revolutionary Catholic Union attached to the Frankfurt National Assembly and headed by von Radowitz, an extreme Right-wing leader. p. 84

81 "*Thinking friends of history*" is a phrase which Marx and Engels ironically used of Camphausen and other liberals, alluding to the subtitle of the then well-known book by the liberal historian Karl von Rotteck, *Allgemeine Geschichte vom Anfang der historischen Kenntniss bis auf unsere Zeiten. Für denkende Geschichtsfreunde bearb. von Karl von Rotteck*, Bd. 1-9, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1834. p. 85

82 The *Feuillants*—moderate liberal constitutionalists who, during the French Revolution, withdrew from the Jacobin Club on July 16, 1791, after it had adopted a petition to dethrone the King. They formed their own political club which held meetings in the premises of the monastic order of the same name which was dissolved in 1789. The Feuillants upheld the interests of the big bourgeoisie and liberal nobility and did their utmost to prevent the revolution from developing further. p. 85

83 An allusion to the stand adopted by Karl Vogt and other leaders of the March Association over the future state structure of Germany. At the concluding stage of the debates in the Frankfurt National Assembly on the imperial Constitution, Vogt and other moderate democrats began to be inclined to agree with the pro-Prussian

liberals (Gagern and others) who strove to unite Germany as an empire, with Frederick William IV, King of Prussia, at the head. p. 85

[84] The *Second Chamber of the Prussian Diet* (Landtag) was convened on February 26, 1849, on the basis of the Constitution "granted" by Frederick William IV on December 5, 1848. Despite the fact that elections to it were held under conditions of virtual martial law, introduced in many provinces of Prussia and under the anti-democratic electoral law of December 6, 1848, a strong opposition was formed in the Chamber. It was made up of the majority of Left-Centre and Right-Centre deputies of the dissolved National Assembly. Though the opposition speeches of the Left were rather moderate, the Second Chamber was dissolved by the Government on April 27, 1849.

The text of the draft Address, as well as the minutes of the debates in the Chamber, were published in *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen der durch das Allerhöchste Patent vom 5. Dezember 1848 einberufenen Kammern. Zweite Kammer. Beilage zum "Preußischen Staats-Anzeiger"*, Bd. 1-2, Berlin, 1849.

Marx apparently used newspaper reports. p. 86

[85] See Note 52. p. 86

[86] The reference is to "Verordnung über einige Grundlagen der künftigen Preußischen Verfassung" and to "Wahlgesetz für die zur Vereinbarung der Preußischen Staats-Verfassung zu berufende Versammlung", adopted by the Second United Diet (the first document on April 6, the second on April 8, 1848). The dissolution of the National Assembly by the Prussian Government on December 5, 1848, was in blatant violation of the laws passed by the United Diet. p. 86

[87] *Comité du salut public* (Committee of Public Safety)—revolutionary government of France during the dictatorship of the Jacobins (1793-94). p. 87

[88] The *United Diet*—an assembly of representatives from the eight Provincial Diets of Prussia and similarly based on the estate principle. The United Diet sanctioned new taxes and loans, took part in the discussion of new Bills and had the right to address petitions to the King.

The First United Diet, which opened on April 11, 1847, was dissolved in June, following its refusal to grant a new loan. The Second United Diet was convened on April 2, 1848, after the revolution of March 18-19 in Prussia. It passed a series of laws pertaining to the principles of a future Constitution and on elections to the Prussian National Assembly, and also sanctioned the loan. The United Diet session was closed on April 10, 1848. p. 87

[89] An allusion to the suppression of the Polish national liberation insurrection of 1830-31 by Tsarist troops. p. 87

[90] The *Danish campaign* refers to the war between Prussia and Denmark over Schleswig-Holstein which broke out in April 1848. The national liberation movement against Danish rule arose in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein inhabited mainly by Germans under the influence of the March 1848 revolution in the German states. Fearful of a national uprising and an extension of the revolution, Prussian ruling circles strove to come to terms with the King of Denmark in the course of the war, at the expense of all-German interests, and this also affected the war manoeuvres of the Prussian army. Engels ironically compared them with the proceedings in the *Imperial Court of Law* which were marked by unprecedented red tape and confusion (the Imperial Court of Law was

the supreme judicial institution in Germany in the 15th-18th centuries). The Imperial Court of Law ceased to exist in 1806 when the so-called Holy Roman Empire of the German nation was abolished. p. 88

91 During the suppression of the national liberation uprising in Posen at the end of April and the beginning of May 1848, Prussian troops suffered a defeat at Miloslavl and shot the Polish insurgents at Wreschen (Września) (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 104-05).

When speaking of the "victories" of the Prussian army, Engels is ironically referring to its savage reprisals against the popular movements in Anhalt-Bernburg in March 1848, in Mainz in May 1848 and its participation in suppressing the revolt in Frankfurt am Main in September 1848.

"*My glorious army*"—see Note 19. p. 88

92 The reference is to the armistice concluded on August 26, 1848, in the Swedish town of Malmö between Denmark and Prussia for a term of seven months. The armistice actually preserved the Danish rule in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, provided for the replacement of provisional authorities in Schleswig by a new government (in which the puppets of the Danish monarchy prevailed), the separation of the Schleswig and Holstein troops and other terms unfavourable to the national liberation movement in the duchies. The revolutionary-democratic changes that had been introduced there came virtually to nothing.

Later on, the ruling circles of Prussia, hoping to raise the prestige of the Prussian monarchy by taking part in this popular war and to realise their aggressive plans, resumed hostilities in March 1849 which went on with changing success. However, under pressure from Denmark's allies (England and Russia), Prussia signed a peace treaty with Denmark on July 2, 1850, temporarily abandoned its claims to Schleswig and Holstein and withdrew its military support in the war waged by the duchies. The Schleswig-Holstein troops sustained a defeat and had to give up resistance. As a result, the two duchies remained within the Kingdom of Denmark. p. 88

93 See Note 9. p. 93

94 This apparently refers to the *Chief Odbor* (see Note 11). p. 98

95 See Note 54. p. 98

96 See Note 68. p. 99

97 The reference is to the Hungarian National Assembly (Diet) convened in Pressburg before the 1848 revolution in the Austrian Empire. The Assembly, in which the liberal nobility predominated, put forward a demand for a Constitution. After the revolutionary demonstrations in Pest on March 15, 1848, the Assembly introduced a parliamentary system. Executive power was vested in the Hungarian Government, but the two states—Hungary and Austria—continued as monarchies under one crown.

The imperial government at first had to recognise this status of Hungary, but subsequently, as a result of the deepening conflict, tried to demolish it through armed intervention. At the same time, in the Hungarian National Assembly which held its sessions in Debreczin there was the "Party of Pacification" which consisted mainly of aristocratic elements and was striving to find a compromise with the Habsburgs and to secure recognition of the new Emperor Francis Joseph as the King of Hungary. The "Party of Pacification" was opposed by the radicals headed by Kossuth who came out for more resolute action against the Austrian monarchy.

The *Pragmatic Sanction* was a royal decree having the force of fundamental law

on succession to the throne. Adopted in the Austrian Empire in 1713, it established the principle of the indivisibility of the Habsburg crown lands and the possibility of distaff succession if the Emperor had no sons. p. 100

98 This article was written by Engels for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* but was not published. It is extant in the manuscript form with slight corrections and deletions in the text made by the author. The most important versions that were crossed out are given in footnotes. p. 102

99 The reference is to the suppression of the popular uprising in Vienna by the counter-revolutionary army of Windischgrätz at the end of October and the beginning of November 1848, and also to the capture of Pest on January 5, 1849 by Austrian troops under his command in an attack on revolutionary Hungary. p. 102

100 Apparently Engels is here referring to the Slav group in the Imperial Diet and, in general, to the representatives of the Slav peoples' national movement who were demanding the unification of the Slav lands and autonomy within the framework of the Austrian Empire. After the publication of the imposed ("granted") Constitution on March 4, 1849, which destroyed all hopes that the national demands might be satisfied, opposition sentiments grew stronger among the Slavs. p. 105

101 The reference is to the conflict of the Austrian Government with the Constituent Imperial Diet and to the Constitution imposed by Emperor Francis Joseph on March 4, 1849 (see Note 39). p. 105

102 See Note 35. p. 105

103 The sittings of the Frankfurt National Assembly were held in *St. Paul's Church.* Austrian ruling circles were hostile to the elaboration of an all-German Constitution by the Assembly and strove to restore the old German Confederation of 1815, in which Austria played the leading role. Schwarzenberg, head of the Austrian Government, issued a Note imbued with this idea on March 9, 1849, after the dissolution of the Austrian Diet. On April 15, 1849, the Austrian Government officially rejected the imperial Constitution adopted by the Assembly as incompatible with the unity and nature of the Austrian Empire and recalled the Austrian deputies from Frankfurt. p. 106

104 The revolution in Austria began with the uprising of March 13, 1848 in Vienna. It was followed by the March 18-19 revolutionary events in Berlin which started the revolution in Prussia. p. 108

105 On June 25, 1849, the anniversary of the June 1848 uprising of the Paris workers was to be celebrated. p. 108

106 Camphausen was one of the shareholders of the oppositional *Rheinische Zeitung* which was published in Cologne in 1842 and 1843 and edited by Marx from October 1842 to March 1843. p. 108

107 The reference is to the appeal by Frederick William IV published on March 21, 1848 under the title "To My People and the German Nation" ("An mein Volk und an die deutsche Nation"). Under the impact of the revolutionary events, the King had to give a pledge to be loyal to the tricolour banner of the revolution and to contribute to the unification of Germany. p. 109

[108] *Friedrichshain*—a park in Berlin where those killed in the barricade fighting during the March 18, 1848 uprising were buried. p. 109

[109] The reference is to the cities of Buda (Ofen) and Pest which at the time were virtually twin capital cities of Hungary. After a successful counter-attack by the Hungarian revolutionary army and the liberation of the two capital cities from the Austrian invaders on June 24, 1849 the Hungarian authorities announced the unification of Buda and Pest into one city. However, subsequent events prevented this decree from being implemented.

The official unification of Pest and Buda and the formation of a single city of Budapest took place on January 1, 1873. p. 111

[110] See Note 10. p. 111

[111] See Note 21. p. 112

[112] Cavalry units of the Austrian army included not only squadrons but also larger tactical formations—divisions, which usually consisted of two squadrons. p. 113

[113] The reference is to the *armistice* concluded between *Austria* and the *Kingdom of Sardiniá* (*Piedmont*) on August 9, 1848 after the defeat of the Piedmontese troops at Custozza. The Kingdom of Sardinia was to withdraw its troops from Lombardy, Parma and Venice and cede them to the Austrians.

On March 20, 1849, under pressure from the masses, King Charles Albert had to declare the armistice cancelled and to resume hostilities against Austria. p. 114

[114] *C.M.* (conventional money, or 20-gulden coins) had existed in Austria since the eighteenth century and, under the respective convention, was also introduced in Bavaria. Its standard was silver (20 guldens were to contain 234 grams of silver). In the eighteenth century, paper money was issued which, from the early nineteenth century, was called "Vienna currency". Transactions were quoted in conventional monetary units. p. 114

[115] See Note 39. p. 115

[116] The German term used here and elsewhere is *Feldzeugmeister* which is a higher rank in the Austrian army directly subordinate to Field Marshal. In some other armies it retained its original meaning of artillery commander. p. 115

[117] See Note 67. p. 116

[118] See Note 54. p. 121

[119] The reference is to provincial diets (*Landtags*) introduced in Prussia in 1823. They consisted of representatives of four estates (princes, nobility, representatives of towns and rural communities). Property and other electoral qualifications secured the majority in the provincial diets for the nobility. The provincial diets were convened by the King and they were competent only to deal with questions of local economy and administration. As consultative bodies they could make proposals on Bills submitted by the Government for discussion. In 1843, under the pretext of introducing unified legislation for Prussia, King Frederick William IV submitted for discussion in the Rhenish Diet a new draft of the penal code which was to replace the more liberal French *Code pénal.* The seventh Rhenish Diet (1843) rejected the Bill, stating that the existing laws fully conformed to the moral standards, traditions and legal practices of the Rhine Province. p. 125

[120] See Note 46.
The Rhenish legislation refers to the *Code civil* (see Note 50) and *Code pénal*—the penal code adopted in France in 1810 and introduced in the conquered regions of West and South-West Germany. It remained in operation in the Rhine Province even after its incorporation into Prussia in 1815. p. 125

[121] An allusion to the rescripts (patents) of Frederick William IV of February 3, 1847, on the convocation of the United Diet (on which see Note 88). p. 125

[122] At the June 2, 1847 sitting of the United Diet, Thadden-Triglaff, a Right-wing deputy, stated: "My proposal reads as follows: freedom of the press—*really* public proceedings for the gentlemen of the press and along with them the *gallows*! I would ask Messrs the stenographers to underline thoroughly both the words 'really' and 'gallows'." (*Der Erste Vereinigte Landtag in Berlin 1847*, vierter Theil, S. 2241.) p. 125

[123] *Uckermark*—a northern part of the Brandenburg Province (Prussia), the mainstay of the reactionary Prussian junkers. p. 126

[124] *Holy Hermandad*—a league of Spanish towns set up at the end of the fifteenth century with the approbation of the King, who sought to make use of the wealthy townspeople in their fight against the feudal magnates in an attempt to establish royal absolutism. From the middle of the sixteenth century, the armed detachments of the Holy Hermandad performed police duties. Thus the police in general has often been ironically labelled the "Holy Hermandad". p. 126

[125] See Note 47. p. 127

[126] The reference is to the *Vienna Congress* of European monarchs and their Ministers (September 1814 to June 1815) which set up a system of all-European treaties after the wars of the European powers against Napoleonic France. The decisions of the Congress helped to restore the feudal system and a number of former dynasties in the states that had been conquered by Napoleon, sanctioned the political disunity of Germany and Italy, the incorporation of Belgium into Holland and the partition of Poland and mapped out measures to combat the revolutionary movement. p. 127

[127] See Note 50. p. 127

[128] The reference is to the so-called *United Commissions* of the representatives of the Provincial Diets which met on January 17, 1848 to discuss the Bill concerning penal law ("Entwurf des Strafgesetzbuchs für die preußischen Staaten..."). Convening these commissions, the Prussian Government hoped that the apparent preparations for reform would lessen the growing public unrest. The work of the commissions was interrupted by the revolutionary outbursts that swept through Germany at the beginning of March. p. 127

[129] The reference is to the edict issued by the King of Prussia on March 6, 1821 under the title "Allerhöchste Kabinetsorder vom 6ten März 1821, betreffend die Strafgesetze und das Verfahren in den Rheinprovinzen bei Verbrechen und Vergehungen gegen den Staat und dessen Oberhaupt...". It introduced the Prussian penal code into the Rhine Province with respect to high treason. This was one of the first attempts made by the Prussian Government to limit the jurisdiction of the *Code pénal* operating in the Rhine Province and introduce the old-Prussian feudal-type penal code. p. 128

[130] See Note 55. p. 133

[131] The debates in the Second Chamber of the Prussian Provincial Diet (see Note 84) were published in *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen der durch das Allerhöchste Patent vom 5. Dezember 1848 einberufenen Kammern. Zweite Kammer. Beilage zum "Preußischen Staats-Anzeiger"*, Bd. 1-2, Berlin, 1849. The discussion of the draft Address in reply to the speech from the throne was held on March 13, 1849. p. 135

[132] The minutes of the Prussian National Assembly (ironically referred to here as the "Agreement Assembly"—see Note 48) were published in the *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen der zur Vereinbarung der preußischen Staats-Verfassung berufenen Versammlung. Beilage zum "Preußischen Staats-Anzeiger"*, Bd. 1-3, Berlin, 1848. Later they were published as a separate edition under the title *Verhandlungen der constituirenden Versammlung für Preußen. 1848*, Bd. 1-8, Berlin, 1848; Bd. 9 (Suppl.-Bd.), Leipzig, 1849. p. 135

[133] The reference is to the period between the dissolution of the Prussian National Assembly (December 5, 1848) and the convocation of the Chambers of the Prussian Provincial Diet (February 26, 1849). p. 135

[134] See Note 52. p. 135

[135] During the coup d'état in Prussia, after a series of delays, the National Assembly adopted on November 15, 1848 a decision to refuse to pay taxes from November 17 onwards in protest against government policy. However, the decision taken under the pressure of the Left deputies and democratic circles was interpreted by the majority of deputies in the spirit of passive resistance, which could hardly be effective measure in the struggle against the counter-revolutionary offensive. p. 136

[136] *Wailers* (*Heuler*)—the name the republican democrats in Germany in 1848-49 applied to the moderate constitutionalists who, in turn, called their opponents "agitators" (*Wühler*). See also Note 245). p. 138

[137] In January and February 1814, during the war against Napoleonic France, the Prussian and other coalition armies suffered a number of defeats in Champagne (including the battles at Bar-Sur-Aube, Saint Dizier, and Montmirail).

In the battle at *Jena* on October 14, 1806, the Prussian army was defeated by the French; the defeat was followed by the surrender of feudal Prussia to Napoleonic France.

On March 18 and 19, 1848, the imperial troops had to withdraw from Berlin as a result of the victorious uprising of the masses. p. 139

[138] The question of electing the King of Prussia to the throne of the German Empire was discussed in the Frankfurt National Assembly on its completion of the draft for an imperial Constitution which, though it proclaimed some civil liberties and introduced all-German central institutions, nevertheless attributed to the united German state the form of a monarchy. The liberal deputies of the Assembly who held pro-Prussian views were particularly insistent on handing over the imperial crown to the Hohenzollerns. They were opposed by the democratic wing, but pro-Prussian tendencies took the upper hand as a result of a compromise between the moderate democrats and the liberals. On March 27, 1849, the imperial Constitution was passed on second reading. On March 28, the Frankfurt Assembly elected the Prussian King Frederick William IV "Emperor of the Germans". Frederick William IV, however, rejected the imperial crown. On the causes of his

refusal to accept the crown from the Frankfurt Assembly see Engels' article "The Comedy with the Imperial Crown" (this volume, pp. 193-94). p. 139

139 According to the electoral law of December 6, 1848 (see Note 52) only "independent Prussians" had the right to elect to the Second Chamber. This qualification in fact deprived the poor and the dispossessed sections of the population of all electoral rights. p. 140

140 The imposed Constitution of December 5, 1848, contained reservations which contravened the principle of the immunity of deputies. Article 83 in particular stated that members of both Chambers "may be called to account both for their voting in the Chamber and for the statement of their views there". p. 140

141 *St. Stephen's Chapel*—part of Westminster Palace, where the House of Commons sat since 1547.

*Chambre introuvable*, the name given by King Louis XVIII to the Chamber of Deputies in France which in 1815-16 consisted of extreme conservatives.

*The Chamber of February 24, 1848*—the Chamber of Deputies in France which tried in vain to restrain the growing revolution and preserve the monarchy by replacing Louis Philippe by his grandson—the Count of Paris—in whose favour Louis Philippe abdicated on February 24, 1848. p. 141

142 See Note 88. p. 141

143 See Note 26. p. 143

144 An allusion to the Catholic Easter rites practised at the Viennese, Munich, Madrid and other courts. On the Thursday of Passion Week a religious ceremony of the ablution of the sovereign's feet used to be held in the cathedrals before the liturgy. p. 144

145 On March 12, 1849, the King of Sardinia cancelled the armistice with Austria that had been concluded on August 9, 1848, and hostilities were resumed on March 20. However, the seven-month armistice had not been used by the ruling circles of Piedmont to reorganise and strengthen the army; the key posts were left in the hands of mediocre and counter-revolutionary-minded generals. Despite the national enthusiasm with which the resumption of hostilities was met in Piedmont, in Austrian-ridden Lombardy and all over Italy, the Piedmontese army was defeated by March 23. Charles Albert abdicated. Victor-Emmanuel II, the new king, concluded an armistice with the Austrians on March 26, and on August 6, 1849, a peace treaty was signed on very onerous terms for Piedmont. It sanctioned the restoration of Austrian rule in Northern Italy and the Austrian protectorate over a number of states of Central Italy (Tuscany, Parma). p. 148

146 The reference is to the main battle during the first stage of the Austro-Italian war (which broke out on March 25, 1848, as a result of the national liberation uprising in Lombardy and Venice against Austrian rule)—the *battle at Custozza* (on the River Mincio) on July 25 and 26, 1848, in which the Austrian army under the command of Radetzky defeated the Piedmontese troops. Then, on August 6, the Austrians captured Milan and on August 9, 1848, an armistice was concluded between Austria and the Kingdom of Sardinia, under which the latter undertook to withdraw its troops from the cities and fortresses of Lombardy and Venice and

cede them to the Austrians. At the beginning, some of the states of Southern and Central Italy (including the Kingdom of Naples, Rome and Tuscany) were forced by the patriots to take part in the war against Austria, but right from the start the counter-revolutionary ruling circles of these states sabotaged the dispatch of army detachments to the front and soon managed either to recall their troops or make them surrender to the Austrians. p. 148

147 See Note 13. p. 149

148 Apparently an allusion to the actions of General Bonaparte (the future Emperor Napoleon) during his Italian campaign of 1796-97. At the beginning of the war, as a result of his bold manoeuvring of large military contingents, Bonaparte succeeded in defeating first the Austrian troops and then their allies, the Piedmontese, in the area of the Gulf of Genoa and, by threatening to march against Turin, in forcing the Kingdom of Sardinia to dissociate itself from the anti-French coalition and sign an armistice on April 28 and a peace treaty with France on May 5, 1796. p. 150

149 In the summer of 1848, during the initial period of the Austro-Italian war, Garibaldi offered help to Charles Albert who, however, rejected it. The command of the Piedmontese army and the provisional government of Lombardy controlled by Charles Albert in no way assisted the volunteer corps formed by Garibaldi, who was left to fight the Austrian troops alone. Though Garibaldi and his corps continued to offer heroic resistance to the Austrians, even after the Austrian-Piedmontese armistice was signed on August 9, 1848, they were compelled by superior enemy forces to retreat to Switzerland. p. 151

150 See Note 9. p. 154

151 *Pusztas*—the Hungarian plains between the Danube and Theiss. p. 154

152 Engels refers to the liberation war of the Algerians under the command of Emir Abd-el-Kader against the French colonialists who had occupied Algeria in 1830. The war continued from 1832 to 1847 with short intervals. p. 155

153 Several items written by Engels on the war in Northern Italy were published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* under the title "From the Theatre of War" which headed the majority of his reports on the revolutionary war in Hungary. However, the former were printed in the section entitled "Italy" and the latter in the "Hungary" section. To distinguish the Italian items from his Hungarian reports, the former are published in this edition with the subtitle "Italy" supplied by the editors. p. 156

154 During the national liberation insurrection of 1830-31 in Poland, Ramorino, who had emigrated from Italy, was appointed commander of one of the insurgents' corps. After Warsaw was stormed byTsarist troops early in September 1831, Ramorino withdrew his corps to Austria, where it was interned.

In 1833, Italian revolutionary emigrants, members of the "Young Italy" association headed by Mazzini, proposed to Ramorino that he should lead the military expedition to Savoy intended to instigate a republican uprising in Piedmont. However, Ramorino embezzled part of the money given him by Mazzini to enlist volunteers and in fact helped to frustrate the insurgents' plan. Instead of a simultaneous entry into Savoy from Switzerland and France, only one group of patriots penetrated Savoy from Grenoble in February 1834, and was dispersed by the Piedmontese carabinieri.

At the second stage of the Austro-Italian war, Ramorino commanded one of the Piedmontese divisions made up of Lombards. On March 20, 1849, he ordered his troops to retreat from the Ticino lowlands and thus enabled the Austrians not

only to enter Piedmont, but even to cut off part of the army from the main forces. After the war, Ramorino was court-martialled and executed. p. 156

155 The reference is to the German section of the population of Transylvania (see Note 21). p. 159

156 On March 20, 1849, the Slovak deputation consisting mainly of Right-wing leaders of the Slovak national movement was received by Emperor Francis Joseph. The visit to Olmütz was prompted by the fact that Slovakia was still deprived of language equality and of other national rights, even after the imposed Constitution was proclaimed on March 4, 1849. The Slovak deputation again demanded the separation of Slovakia from Hungary and autonomy within the framework of the Austrian Empire. The Austrian Court deliberately adopted a delaying policy with the aim of using the Slovaks to fight the Hungarian revolution. However, all their national demands were subsequently rejected. p. 162

157 Venice, where the masses had proclaimed independence and restored the "Republic of St. Mark" as early as March 1848, took an active part in the national liberation struggle against Austrian rule. The Venetians continued to offer resistance to the Austrians even after the armistice was concluded on August 9, 1848, between Austria and Piedmont, and withstood for many months a severe blockade by sea and land. After scoring a new victory over the Piedmontese army in March 1849, the Austrians reinforced their troops besieging Venice, which was finally forced to surrender. On August 22, 1849, the Republic of Venice, the last bulwark of the revolution in Italy, collapsed. p. 166

158 See Note 55. p. 168

159 The *battle at Novara* between Piedmontese and Austrian troops lasted the whole day of March 22 and ended at dawn on March 23, 1849, in the defeat and retreat of the Piedmontese army. p. 169

160 On Ramorino's part in the Polish national liberation movement and the Savoy campaign of the Italian republicans in 1834, see Note 154. p. 169

161 As Engels expected, the defeat at Novara and the conclusion of a new armistice between Austria and Piedmont cardinally changed the balance of forces in Italy in favour of the home and foreign counter-revolution. In Florence, the revolutionary events in January and February 1849 led to the overthrow of Grand Duke Leopold II and the proclamation of a republic in Tuscany (the official inauguration of a republic did not take place owing to sabotage by moderate liberals). On April 11, a counter-revolutionary coup d'état took place, the democratic provisional government of Guerazzi was overthrown, and the Grand Duke returned to power. He entered the city on May 25, 1849, together with Austrian troops.

The Roman Republic, proclaimed on February 9, 1849, had to wage a grim struggle against counter-revolutionary insurgents instigated by the Catholic clergy, against Neapolitan troops, Austrians and the French expeditionary corps sent to Italy on April 6, 1849 to restore the power of Pope Pius IX over Rome. On July 3, 1849 the Republic fell under the blows of the foreign interventionists. p. 170

162 On January 26, 1849, Faucher, Minister of Public Works in the Government of the liberal monarchist Odilon Barrot, submitted a Bill on the right of association to the Constituent Assembly. Its first clause ran as follows: "Clubs are prohibited". The

Bill on the right of association (better known as the Bill on clubs) was adopted on March 21, 1849, by the votes of the monarchists and moderate republicans, despite opposition from Left deputies who accused the Government of a breach of the Constitution and demanded its resignation. This decision dealt a heavy blow to freedom of assembly and association, and primarily to the workers' associations. p. 170

163 See Note 19. p. 170

164 The reference is to the liberation war waged by the Spanish people against Napoleonic rule; a prominent part in this war was played by guerilla fighters. p. 171

165 See Note 40. p. 173

166 During the 1815 campaign in Belgium, Napoleon, after defeating the Prussian army under Blücher at Ligny, ordered Marshal Grouchy to pursue the routed Prussians and prevent them from joining the Anglo-Dutch troops under Wellington. Grouchy, however, could not prevent Blücher's army from appearing, on June 18, on the battlefield of Waterloo at the most crucial moment of the battle. Grouchy with his troops failed to provide support for the French Emperor in time, and this lost them the entire campaign. p. 176

167 The reference is to the march of the Austrian auxiliary army under General Nugent from Triest to help the troops under Field Marshal Radetzky who were in a difficult position as a result of a popular uprising in Lombardy and Venice against Austrian rule in March 1848. Nugent's army left Triest in the second half of April 1848. Moving through the Venetian region, particularly the mountainous district of Friuli, and only meeting resistance from weak volunteer detachments, it plundered everything on its way. On April 21 Nugent barbarously shelled Udine, the main city of Friuli. At the end of May his army joined Radetzky's troops in Verona.

*Master of Ordnance*—see Note 116. p. 179

168 *Direct-fire batteries* (*Demontir-Batterien*) were intended for demolishing gun emplacements and guns in besieged fortresses.

*Palatine line* (Palatine—Hungarian title for a representative of the Emperor)—outer earthwork north-west of the Komorn fortress, between the Waag and the Danube; its construction was started in 1809 by order of the Hungarian Palatine, Archduke Joseph, and continued up to 1848. p. 180

169 The German term used here is *Feuerwerker*—a rank in the artillery corresponding to that of non-commissioned officer in other arms. p. 180

170 On the recognition of Francis Joseph as King of Hungary on the basis of the Pragmatic Sanction, see Note 97.

On the *Debreczin National Assembly*, see Note 14. p. 182

171 See Note 54. p. 183

172 *Chaikists*—Austro-Hungarian infantrymen who served on small sailing vessels and rowing boats (chaikas) in the Military Border area. They built pontoon bridges and transported troops along the Danube, Theiss and Sava. Recruited mainly from among the Serbs, inhabiting the Chaikist Area in Slavonia, from 1764 onwards they formed a special battalion. p. 183

173 See Note 11. p. 184

[174] The reference is to Pest and Buda (see Note 109). p. 188

[175] An allusion to the important part Saragossa played in the Spanish national liberation war against Napoleon's rule, when the city was twice besieged by the French (in June-August 1808 and December 1808-February 1809) and won fame for its heroic defence. p. 189

[176] The reference is to the decisions of the Vienna Congress of 1814-15 (see Note 126). p. 191

[177] See Note 71. p. 191

[178] An allusion to the predominance of monarchists in the Government of Odilon Barrot, set up after the election of Louis Bonaparte as President of the Republic on December 10, 1848. Republican officials in the state apparatus were replaced by monarchists. Monarchist factions of legitimists (supporters of the Bourbon dynasty), Orleanists (followers of Louis Philippe) and Bonapartists formed a coalition in the Constituent Assembly, launched a struggle against the moderate republicans for political influence and strove to strengthen counter-revolutionary policy. In the Legislative Assembly convoked on May 28, 1849, this joint "party of order" was in the majority.

The *Holy Alliance*—see Note 40. p. 192

[179] An allusion to the composition of the Frankfurt National Assembly which on March 28, 1849 resolved to elect the King of Prussia, Frederick William IV, "Emperor of the Germans". The overwhelming majority of the Assembly's deputies were government and state officials, professors and lawyers (see Note 30)

At first Frederick William IV agreed to accept the imperial crown proffered by the National Assembly on the condition that the other German states agreed, but on April 25, 1849, he finally rejected the proposal of the Frankfurt National Assembly and the imperial Constitution it had drawn up.

The phrase "*By the grace of God do I have this crown*" was pronounced by Frederick William IV on October 15, 1840 when he was crowned King of Prussia. p. 194

[180] This article written by Engels for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was not published and has survived as an unfinished manuscript.

The article was occasioned by the Prussian Government's measures to call up the army reserve. Among the pretexts for this was the war with Denmark resumed in Schleswig-Holstein. The Prussian ruling circles were obviously preparing the armed suppression of the revolutionary-democratic movement in Prussia and the rest of Germany.

The *army reserve* (*Landwehr*) appeared in Prussia during the struggle against Napoleon. "Landwehr-Ordnung" defining the rules of enrolment, recruitment and service was adopted on November 21, 1815. In the 1840s, those to be enrolled in the army reserve had to be under 40 and go through three-years active service and be not less than two years in reserve. In contrast to the regular army, enlistment to the army reserve took place only in case of extreme necessity (war, or threat of war). p. 195

[181] On the resumption of war between Prussia and Denmark over Schleswig-Holstein, after the expiry of the truce between them at the end of March 1849, see Note 92. p. 195

[182] The reference is to the brutal suppression by Prussian soldiers of the national liberation insurrection in Posen in March-May 1848. p. 196

[183] In the second half of December 1847, Marx delivered several lectures on political economy in the German Workers' Society in Brussels and intended to prepare them for publication. A manuscript of the pamphlet prepared at the time and entitled *Wages* has survived. It is written in Joseph Weydemeyer's hand and its text is almost identical to that published later in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. A draft outline of Marx's concluding lectures, which he had no time to prepare for publication, is extant as a manuscript written in his own hand and also bearing the heading *Wages* (see present edition, Vol. 6). As regards its contents, it supplements the work *Wage Labour and Capital*. Later, in the preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859) (see present edition, Vol. 30), Marx pointed out that he did not manage to publish the work on "Wage Labour" based on his lectures because of the February revolution of 1848 in France and his expulsion from Belgium.

This work first appeared as a series of leading articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of April 5-8 and 11, 1849 under the title of *Wage Labour and Capital*. When undertaking this publication, Marx edited the former text once more and wrote an introduction giving the reasons why it was necessary to discuss economic problems in a newspaper, and primarily to reveal the economic relations on which bourgeois rule and the actual slavery of wage workers were founded.

By publishing this work, Marx wished to prepare the proletarian readers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* for the solution of the tasks that had become urgent by that time—the creation of the mass workers' party, and also to define the social aims set by the revolutionary organ which he edited. Marx's work helped to spread the ideas of scientific communism among the advanced section of the German proletariat. On April 11, 1849 the Committee of the Cologne Workers' Association recommended that all its branches should start discussing social problems on the basis of the articles on wage labour and capital published in the newspaper, and called upon other workers' associations in Germany to discuss these articles.

The work was not published in the newspaper in full. Issue No. 269 announced that there was to be a sequel, but this never appeared because Marx had to leave Cologne for a time on financial and other business connected with the newspaper. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 277 of April 20 carried the following note: "*Cologne*, April 19. Owing to the temporary absence of the author, the exposition of the relationship between wage labour and capital has had to be interrupted. It will, however, be resumed shortly and then continued to the end without interruption." This was never done, however, because the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* ceased publication. Marx's subsequent intention to put out the work as a separate pamphlet did not materialise either.

The first separate edition in the language of the original appeared in Breslau in 1880 without Marx's knowledge. In 1881 the pamphlet was republished there. A Russian translation (the first translation into a foreign language) appeared in Geneva in 1883. It was made from the Breslau edition and repeatedly republished illegally.

After Marx's death, *Wage Labour and Capital* was published in 1884 in Hottingen-Zurich as a pamphlet with a short introductory note by Engels, dated June of that year. From December 1884 to February 1885, the London newspaper *Justice*, the organ of the Social-Democratic Federation, published the first English translation made by J. L. Joynes. In March 1885 it appeared as a separate pamphlet and later was repeatedly republished. J. L. Joynes' translation was used in the workers' press of the USA, in particular by the *Workmen's Advocate*, New Haven (Connecticut), in November 1886-January 1887.

In 1891 a new edition of the pamphlet appeared in Berlin: *Lohnarbeit und*

*Kapital.* Von Karl Marx, Separat-Abdruck aus der *Neuen Rheinische Zeitung* vom Jahre 1849. Berlin, Verlag der Expedition des *Vorwärts* Berliner Volksblatt, 1891. It was edited by Engels who wrote the introduction and made certain changes and amendments in order to bring the presentation and terminology into harmony with the further development of Marx's economic teaching after 1849. Engels wrote about this in his introduction:

"In the forties, Marx had not yet finished his critique of political economy. This took place only towards the end of the fifties. Consequently, his works that appeared before the first part of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859) differ in some points from those written after 1859, and contain expressions and whole sentences which, from the point of view of the later works, appear unfortunate and even incorrect. Now, it is self-evident that in ordinary editions intended for the general public this earlier point of view also has its place, as a part of the intellectual development of the author, and that both author and public have an indisputable right to the unaltered reproduction of these older works. And I should not have dreamed of altering a word of them.

"It is another thing when the new edition is intended practically exclusively for propaganda among workers.

"In such a case Marx would certainly have brought the old presentation dating from 1849 into harmony with his new point of view....

"My alterations all turn on one point. According to the original, the worker sells his *labour* to the capitalist for wages; according to the present text he sells his *labour power.*"

The 1891 edition, intended by Engels for popular propaganda, was used as the basis for many publications of this work in different languages, in particular for the English translation of 1891 printed in Glasgow by the Socialist Labour Party publishers.

In this volume, the work is reproduced in a form which was in keeping with the level of Marx's economic teaching in 1849 and in accordance with the text in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* At the same time, all the major amendments made by Engels in the 1891 edition are given in footnotes. The division of the work into sections follows the sequence in which it was published in separate issues of the newspaper. The sections are numbered by the editors of the present edition. The list of misprints given in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 270, April 12, 1849, is also taken into account. p. 197

184 The reference is to the major events of 1848 and 1849: the insurrection of the Paris proletariat on June 23-26; the suppression of the Vienna October popular revolt by Austrian soldiers and the capture of the capital on November 1 by troops under Windischgrätz; the counter-revolutionary coup in Prussia in November, which brought about the dissolution of the Prussian National Assembly on December 5; and the rise of the revolutionary national liberation movement in Poland, Italy and Hungary.

In 1845-47, Ireland experienced a terrible famine, after continual failure of the potato crop. The real reason for this social calamity was the cruel exploitation of the Irish people under English rule, reduced to destitution by the ruling classes through the enslaving lease system imposed on the Irish peasants by the landlords. About a million died of hunger, and as many were compelled to emigrate. The effects of the famine were felt to the full in subsequent years. p. 197

185 Engels points out in the introduction to the 1891 edition that Marx failed to prepare his lectures on wage labour and capital for the press mainly because of the rapid pace of political events at the time: popular uprisings in response to the

refusal by the ruling circles of Prussia and other states to recognise the imperial Constitution (Dresden, Iserlohn, Elberfeld, the Palatinate, Baden) and a new counter-revolutionary advance which led to the suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. p. 228

186 The reference is to the draft Constitution drawn up in Kremsier by the Austrian Constituent Imperial Diet. In early March 1849 it was dissolved by the Austrian Government which countered this draft with the Constitution imposed by the Emperor (see notes 13 and 39). The Kremsier draft, though it contained some concessions to the great-power and centralising tendencies of the German aristocratic ruling circles, envisaged a certain administrative independence for a number of national regions of the Empire and introduced provincial diets as representative institutions there. p. 230

187 See Note 55. p. 234

188 See Note 10. p. 235

189 See Note 9. p. 235

190 On March 15, 1848, a popular uprising broke out in Pest. In the middle of the day, the insurgents—craftsmen, workers, students, and peasants who had come to the fair—captured the town, crossed the Danube by the bridge and broke into Buda, where they set political prisoners free. The Austrian garrison was paralysed. The insurgents elected a Committee of Public Safety which provisionally concentrated power in its own hands. A popular meeting adopted the "12 points" drawn up by the radical opposition and demanding administration by parliament and civil liberties. The events of March 15 started the revolution in Hungary against the feudal serf-owning system and for national independence. p. 237

191 The Austrian Archduke Stephan was appointed Palatine of Hungary in 1847. From the very first days of the Hungarian revolution he strove to restore the Habsburgs' rule, disguising his counter-revolutionary designs by concessions to the Hungarian national liberation movement, and aiming at collusion with Hungarian magnates. In September 1848, when the Ban Jellachich, inspired by Austrian court circles, entered Hungary causing a government crisis there, Stephan made an unsuccessful attempt to seize power. On the proposal of Hungarian Right-wing leaders, the National Assembly appointed him Commander-in-Chief of the Hungarian troops. However, Archduke Stephan delayed military action and tried to come to an agreement with the Croatian Ban. Shortly afterwards, feeling himself insecure, he fled from Hungary. On September 29, 1848, Hungarian revolutionary troops defeated Jallachich's army. p. 239

192 The reference is to the "independent and responsible government" of Hungary formed as a result of the March uprising of 1848 and headed by Count Batthyány. The Government was dominated by representatives of the landed aristocracy and nobility, who were afraid that the revolution would be carried further and strove to compromise with the Austrian ruling circles. The radicals were represented in the Government by Lajos Kossuth (Finance Minister) and Bertalan Szemere (Minister of the Interior). The Batthyány Government (its compositon was made public on March 25) held power up to October 1, 1848. Early in October, the National Assembly transferred governmental functions to the Defence Council (see Note 70) headed by Kossuth. p. 239

193 An allusion to the debate on a number of Bills in the National Assembly (Diet) then in session in Pressburg: on the abolition of labour services and tithe. On

March 18, 1848, the Assembly promulgated an agrarian law annulling some of the peasants' feudal services, and passed laws on representation of the people, national independence, the press etc. These Bills were proposed under the impact of the growing revolutionary movement in the country. p. 240

194 The march of Bem's army to the Banat (a district in the Serbian Voivodina, then administratively included in Hungary) took place in April 1849 after his troops had routed the Austrian army and Russian auxiliary detachments and occupied almost the whole of Transylvania. In the Banat, the troops under Bem and the Hungarian General Perczel inflicted a number of defeats on the Austrians and the Serbs of the Voivodina, whom the Austrian Government and pro-Austrian circles of the Serbian nobility and clergy had involved in the war with revolutionary Hungary (see Note 24); but they were unable to achieve any decisive successes. At the end of June 1849, large army contingents from Tsarist Russia entered Transylvania to assist the Austrian counter-revolution and this again made the presence of Bem's troops necessary in the Transylvanian theatre of war. This time he was defeated by the superior Russian troops.

Later Marx and Engels drew attention to Bem's expedition in the Banat in the article "Bem" written for the *New American Cyclopaedia* in September 1857. p. 243

195 Up to 1868, regiments and other independent military units in the Austrian imperial army were named after their "patrons" or chiefs (*Inhaber*). This custom dated back to the mercenary armies when commanders maintained regiments at their own expense and therefore had the right to appoint officers. Later the commanders retained the right to give their names to the regiments, but the state assumed the responsibility of maintaining them. p. 245

196 The *Palatine redoubts, direct-fire batteries*—see Note 168.

*Breach batteries* were installed at the concluding stages of a siege to destroy the bastions and other fortifications of a besieged fortress. p. 246

197 The *Debreczin National Assembly*—see Note 14.

This session of the National Assembly was held in Debreczin because only on April 24, 1849 did the Hungarian troops liberate Pest. p. 246

198 See Note 68. p. 246

199 "*World-historic Diet*"—the reference is to the *Sabor* of the Southern Slavs in Agram (Zagreb) on June 5, 1848 (see Note 67). Though the *Sabor* came out in favour of uniting Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia and of certain reforms there, on the whole, it sought compromise with the Austrian monarchy and did little to modify the former military feudal order in these regions and the enslaved position of their population. Only a small group of democratic delegates connected the struggle for the national cause with the revolutionary struggle against feudal monarchist regimes. p. 246

200 *Observation corps* were assigned to watch the enemy on the flanks of the main theatre of military operations. p. 248

201 See Note 190. p. 248

202 The reference is evidently to the Odbor then in session in the town of Karlowitz (see Note 11). p. 251

203 In the summer of 1848, the anti-feudal movement and the struggle for complete liberation from the Turkish Sultan's yoke gained strength in the Danube

principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia), which were formally still autonomous possessions of Turkey. The movement in Wallachia grew into a bourgeois revolution. In June 1848, a Constitution was proclaimed, a liberal Provisional Government was formed and George Bibesco, the ruler of Wallachia, abdicated and fled the country.

On June 28, 1848, a 12,000-strong Russian army corps entered Moldavia and, in July, Turkish troops also invaded the country. In September 1848 the Turkish army, supported by the Tsarist Government, occupied Wallachia and perpetrated a massacre in Bucharest. A proclamation of the Turkish government commissioner Fuad-Effendi declared the need to establish "law and order" and "eliminate all traces of the revolution". Intervention by Russia and Turkey led to the restoration of the feudal system in the Danube principalities and the defeat of the bourgeois revolution in Wallachia. The desire to completely suppress the revolutionary movement made the two governments, despite acute Russo-Turkish contradictions, conclude a convention in Balta-Liman on May 1, 1849. This cancelled the system of the election of rulers and other progressive reforms introduced in the Danube principalities in 1848, and sanctioned the occupation of their territories by Turkish and Russian troops. The military occupation of the principalities lasted until 1851. p. 253

204 The bombardment of Hatvan on April 2, 1849 opened a new stage in the Hungarian offensive against the Austrian troops. It was prepared for by successful movements in the centre of military operations at the Theiss, Bem's victories in Transylvania, guerilla warfare in areas occupied by the Austrians, and vigorous measures taken by the Kossuth Government (the Defence Council) to strengthen the army and mobilise all its resources for the struggle against the enemy. When Engels wrote this report he had not yet received the news of the battle at Hatvan. Meanwhile, the victory scored by the Hungarian army there and the subsequent blows inflicted by it on the Austrians at Tapio-Bicske (April 4), Isaczeg and Gödöllö (April 5-7), Waitzen (April 10), etc. brought about a radical change in the war in favour of revolutionary Hungary. On April 19, 1849 the Hungarians routed the Austrians in a decisive battle at Nagy-Sallo, advanced further, relieved Komorn on April 22, and liberated Pest on April 24. The defeated Austrian army retreated to the western border.

The Hungarian command faced the prospect of spreading the revolutionary war into Austrian and German territory. However, because of anti-revolutionary sentiments among a number of high commanders, Görgey in particular, and the fear of diplomatic complications, it was decided to cease the pursuit of the Austrians and to turn the main forces towards the fortress of Buda, which was still held by an Austrian garrison. The siege of Buda was time-consuming (it was captured only on May 21) and this gave the Austrians the respite they needed to bring up new reserves and complete their talks withTsarist Russia about help in suppressing revolutionary Hungary (the final agreement was reached at the meeting of Francis Joseph and Nicholas I in Warsaw on May 21). All this had fatal consequences for the Hungarian revolution. p. 255

205 See Note 10. p. 255

206 *Potsdam*—a town near Berlin, the residence of the Prussian kings, where military parades and reviews of the Prussian army were held.

*Olmütz* (Olomouc)—a town in Moravia, from October 7, 1848, temporary residence of the Austrian Court which fled from Vienna where the people rose in revolt; centre of counter-revolutionary forces. p. 257

[207] An allusion to the shooting of Robert Blum, a German democrat and deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly, by sentence of an Austrian court martial (see Note 41). This crudely arbitrary act on the part of the Austrian military clique was approved by reactionary circles in Prussia. p. 257

[208] The reference is to the conventions concerning extradition of criminals, deserters, vagabonds etc. concluded by Prussia with a number of German states (Austria, Bavaria, Württemberg, Saxony, Grand Duchy of Baden etc.) and also with Russia in 1816-20. In practice, these conventions applied to persons accused of political crimes in accordance with the policy of the Holy Alliance powers (see Note 40) which strove for an international union of counter-revolutionary forces in the struggle against the revolutionary movement. p. 258

[209] In the initial period of the European revolution of 1848, various reactionary sovereigns and public figures, deprived of throne and power and seeking safety from the people's wrath, found refuge in England. Among them were: ex-King of the French, Louis Philippe (February); ex-Chancellor of the Austrian Empire, Metternich; the Prince of Prussia, Wilhelm (March); and later Lola Montez, an influential favourite of Ludwig I, King of Bavaria who was compelled to abdicate, and others. p. 258

[210] The war with Denmark over the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein renewed by Prussia at the end of March 1849 (see notes 90 and 92) was waged in the name of all the states of the German Confederation. Owing to this, military and naval contingents from Schleswig-Holstein were regarded as the nucleus of an all-German imperial army and navy, their formation being stipulated by the imperial Constitution drawn up by the Frankfurt National Assembly. p. 259

[211] On April 5, 1849 a German coastal battery fired on the Danish squadron at the harbour of Eckernförde (Schleswig); two damaged Danish ships were captured. This event, which made no essential difference to the course of war with Denmark, was claimed by the official Prussian press as a major victory. p. 259

[212] *Black-red-and-gold*—a symbolic combination of colours signifying the unity of Germany. The Belgian state flag, introduced during the revolution of 1830-31, after the separation of Belgium from Holland, included the same colours but arranged differently (vertical black, gold and red stripes). p. 260

[213] An ironical allusion to the strivings of the liberal majority of the Frankfurt National Assembly to place the Prussian King (black-and-white—state colours of the Prussian monarchy) at the head of united Germany (black-red-and-gold—symbol of its unity) as the "Emperor of the Germans" (see Note 138). p. 260

[214] See Note 151. p. 261

[215] In the *battle of Leipzig* on October 16-19, 1813 troops from Russia, Prussia, Austria and Sweden won a victory over the army of Napoleon and the states dependent on him. This victory decided the outcome of the 1813 campaign in favour of the sixth anti-Napoleon coalition (England, Spain and some other states also participated in it). As a result, Napoleon's troops were driven out of Germany and military operations moved over into France. p. 261

[216] The reference is to the Constitution imposed by Francis Joseph on March 4, 1849 (see Note 13). p. 263

[217] See Note 97. p. 263

[218] On the battle at *Novara* between the Austrian and Piedmontese armies, see Note 159. p. 266

[219] Here and in the two reports given below, "A Magyar Victory" and "An Austrian Defeat", Engels writes about the military events in Hungary early in April: the victory won by the Hungarian troops at Hatvan on April 2 and the subsequent blows they inflicted on the Austrian army (see Note 204). p. 267

[220] *Banderial hussars* (from the Latin *banderium*—banner)—the name given in medieval Hungary to cavalry detachments of nobles that under their own banners formed part of the royal army or of the armies of the big feudal lords. In this instance, the reference is to the regiment of Banderial hussars formed in July 1848 in Croatia. It took part in the marches of Jellachich's army against revolutionary Hungary. p. 273

[221] See Note 112. p. 273

[222] The battles for Pest were fought from April 6 to 25, 1849. They also continued after the main Austrian forces, beaten by Hungarian revolutionary troops, had been compelled to retreat north-west to the borders of Austria. After Pest was liberated, the Austrian garrison still held out in the fortress of Buda which was besieged by the Hungarians from May 4 to 21, 1849. p. 277

[223] In March 1849, the war between Piedmont and Austria was renewed and this served as a new impetus to the national liberation movement in Lombardy, in the rear of the Austrian army. A large popular uprising against Austrian rule took place on March 20 in Brescia. The Austrian garrison was trapped in the fortress. The Austrian troops sent against Brescia consisted partly of those which had taken part in the operations against the Republic of Venice. They were under the command of General Nugent, who was later replaced by a Master of Ordnance, Haynau. The insurgent city was severely bombarded, but continued to resist even after the truce was signed between the King of Piedmont and Austria. Brescia was taken only by a fierce assault on March 31 and April 1. Haynau inflicted brutal reprisals on the insurgents.

On the *blockade of Venice*, see Note 157. p. 280

[224] The reference is to the response of the ruling circles in one of the small German states, the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg, to the proposal by the Frankfurt National Assembly that the crown of the "Emperor of the Germans" be given to the Prussian King, Frederick William IV (see Note 138). p. 281

[225] The *Rhenish District Committee of Democrats* was set up at the First Rhenish Congress of Democrats held in Cologne on August 13 and 14, 1848, by a decision of the First All-German Democratic Congress in Frankfurt am Main, on the basis of the Central Commission of representatives from the three democratic organisations in Cologne—the Democratic Society, the Workers' Association and the Association for Workers and Employers—formed late in June 1848. Marx, who was on the Central Commission, also became a member of the Rhenish District Committee, together with Schapper, Moll and other prominent figures of the Communist League.

The President of the Committee was a German democrat, lawyer Schneider II. When he was elected to the Second Chamber of the Prussian Provincial Diet early in 1848, Marx acted as President. Thanks to Marx and his associates, the Committee exerted a considerable influence on the popular movement in the Rhine Province. It successfully organised resistance to the growing counter-revolutionary forces and, in particular, initiated the tax-refusal campaign during

the coup d'état in Prussia (November-December 1848). It did not confine its activities to the Rhine Province, but extended them to Westphalia as well.

Marx and other members of the Communist League decided to withdraw from the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats because of the changes that had taken place in Germany and in the working-class movement there by the spring of 1849. The rising activity of workers' associations and the markedly growing class consciousness of the German proletariat provided the opportunity to create a mass proletarian party. On the other hand, the wavering position of the petty-bourgeois democrats made necessary an ideological and organisational separation from them. Under these conditions, taking the first steps to found a proletarian party, Marx and Engels proposed the task of strengthening the independence of the workers' associations, primarily the Cologne Workers' Association, of freeing them from petty-bourgeois influence, of marshalling their activities in a single direction and achieving a unified revolutionary platform. Their withdrawal from the Committee in no way meant a break with the non-proletarian democratic trends. Marx and Engels continued to call for unity of action with democrats in the struggle against counter-revolution, believing, however, that at that stage it should not be carried out within a single organisation. At the same time, Marx established closer contacts with the representatives of the workers' associations.

These tasks and the financial problems of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* were the main purpose of Marx's trip to North-West Germany and Westphalia in the second half of April 1849, during which he visited Bremen, Hamburg, Bielefeld, Hamm and other towns. p. 282

226 The *Rakos plain*—a district on the left bank of the Danube where, until the sixteenth century, Hungarian assemblies of estates were held and Hungarian kings crowned. It is now within the city bounds of Budapest. p. 283

227 See Note 55. p. 286

228 See Note 16. p. 286

229 The reference is to the men of the Vienna mobile guard and the Academic Legion who survived after the capture of Vienna by counter-revolutionary troops (November 1, 1848) and, as part of Bem's army, participated in the revolutionary war in Hungary.

The *Vienna mobile guard* was formed by Bem during the October uprising in Vienna. It consisted mainly of artisans and workers and proved itself to be the most disciplined, efficient and audacious section of the insurgents' military forces.

The *Academic Legion* was a student militarised organisation set up in March 1848 in Vienna. It also included university lecturers and other intellectuals, mostly radical democrats. The Legion played a significant part in the Austrian revolutionary movement in 1848. When the October uprising in Vienna was suppressed, it was dissolved. p. 287

230 See Note 43. p. 289

231 Under the impact of the March revolution of 1848, the peasants' anti-feudal struggle assumed wide proportions within the Austrian Empire and became combined with the national liberation movement in the national border regions. Disturbances among the Ukrainian peasants of the Bukovina started in the spring of 1848 and became especially intensive when, on April 17, 1848, a law was promulgated in neighbouring Galicia abolishing feudal services. This law did not apply to the Bukovina, though it was administratively part of Galicia. The

Ukrainian peasant, Huzul Lucian Kobylica, was especially prominent among the peasants' leaders. He belonged to the radical democratic wing of the Austrian Constituent Imperial Diet to which he was elected in 1848. He helped the peasants lodge their petitions and complaints and did his best to get the lands seized by the landowners returned to the peasants. For this, Kobylica was deprived of his rights as a deputy.

In the spring of 1849, the peasants' movement in the Bukovina was rekindled. Peasants' detachments were formed, landowners' estates were seized and their woods felled more often. The peasant leaders, Lucian Kobylica (who may have been in direct contact with the Hungarian emissaries) and Birla Mironiuk, called upon the peasants to store up provisions and fodder for the Hungarian troops and to join them, if the latter entered the Bukovina. The peasants' disturbances in the Bukovina were suppressed by imperial forces.

The imposed *redemption law* referred to by Engels was adopted by the Austrian Imperial Diet on *September 7, 1848* (see Note 33). p. 289

232 *Ruthenian*—the name given in nineteenth-century West-European ethnographical and historical works to the Ukrainian population of Galicia and the Bukovina, which was separated at the time from the bulk of the Ukrainian people. p. 289

233 The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Nos. 265, 266, 267, 269 and 271 of April 6, 7, 8, 11 and 13, 1849, carried a series of feature articles by Georg Weerth ridiculing the servility of the liberal majority of the Frankfurt National Assembly who wished to unite Germany under the aegis of Prussia and resolved on March 28, 1849 to elect the Prussian King, Frederick William IV, "Emperor of the Germans" (see Note 138). p. 295

234 The *battle at Novara*—see Note 159.
The *battle for Pest*—see Note 222.
The *battle at Eckernförde*—see Note 211.

On April 13, 1849, the so-called German federal troops stormed the Danish fortifications near Düppel (a village in Schleswig). p. 295

235 *"Gagging laws"*—the name given to the six exceptional laws passed in England in 1819 after "Peterloo"—when participants in a mass meeting for electoral reforms in St. Peter's Field near Manchester were shot by police and troops; the laws limited the freedom of assembly and the press. p. 295

236 See Note 180. p. 295

237 After the March revolution, an insurrection of the Poles broke out in the Duchy of Posen for liberation from the Prussian yoke. Polish peasants and artisans took an active part in this, along with members of the lesser nobility. The Prussian Government was forced to promise that a reorganising committee would be set up in Posen and that the "reorganisation" would include: formation of a Polish army, appointment of Poles to administrative and other posts, recognition of Polish as an official language, etc. Similar promises were given in the convention of April 11, 1848, signed by the Posen Committee and representatives of the Prussian Government in Jaroslawiec. On April 14, 1848, however, the King of Prussia ordered that the Duchy of Posen be divided into an eastern Polish part and a western "German" part, which was not to be "reorganised" and was to remain formally part of the German Confederation. During the months following the suppression of the uprising by Prussian troops, the demarcation line was pushed further east and the promised "reorganisation" was never carried out.

The *German Confederation*—the ephemeral union of German states founded in 1815 by decision of the Vienna Congress. p. 296

238 See Note 232. p. 296

239 See Note 19. p. 297

240 *Potato war*—the name given ironically to the so-called war for the Bavarian succession between Prussia and Saxony, on the one hand, and Austria, on the other, in 1778 and 1779. The military actions consisted mainly of troop movements and of soldiers' quarrels over potatoes. The war ended with the Peace of Teschen, compelling the Austrian Habsburgs to abandon their claims to Bavarian possessions. p. 297

241 The reference is to the deputation of the Right-wing representatives of the Slovak national movement to the negotiations with Austrian ruling circles in Olmütz in March 1849 (see Note 156). p. 299

242 See Note 114. p. 303

243 See Note 68. p. 304

244 The foundation of a Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian triune kingdom was discussed in the Croatian *Sabor* (see Note 67) as early as the summer of 1848. The scheme under consideration reflected the desire of the top bourgeoisie and landowners in the South-Slav lands for autonomy within the Austrian monarchy and a moderate Constitution. The scheme was regarded as part of a broader programme for integrating all the South-Slav lands of the Austrian Empire. The centralising Constitution imposed in March 1849 dealt a heavy blow to the Right wing of the South-Slav national movement, which cherished hopes of obtaining autonomy in collaboration with the Austrian ruling circles. The latter, however, needed the Southern Slavs for the struggle against revolutionary Hungary and Italy, and therefore supported the illusion that this scheme for autonomy could be put into effect. The Croatian *Sabor,* in particular, was allowed to negotiate unity with the representatives of Dalmatia. When the uprisings in Hungary and Italy were suppressed, the Austrian authorities curbed all attempts on the part of the South-Slav adherents of autonomy to implement their plans. Engels calls the newly conceived state *Raubstaat* meaning either a robber state or a dwarfish, dependent state.

*Pandours*—irregular infantry units of the Austrian army recruited mainly in the South-Slav provinces of the Austrian Empire.

*Serezhans*—see Note 22.

*Haiduks*—South-Slav guerillas fighting against Turkish conquerors in the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries. In the Austrian Empire, this name was given to people inhabiting an autonomous district in Hungary who provided special military contingents for the army.

*Red-coats*—see Note 45. p. 307

245 An allusion to German moderate constitutionalists (contemptuously called *wailers* by democratic circles), including members of the Frankfurt parliament, advocates of uniting Germany in the form of the German Empire. Engels ironically compares the state they planned to form with the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation (962-1806) which included, at different times, the German, Italian, Austrian, Hungarian and Bohemian lands, Switzerland and the Netherlands and which was a motley confederation of feudal kingdoms, church lands and free towns with different political structures, legal standards and customs. p. 307

246 An ironical comparison with the Swiss separatist union — *Sonderbund* (see Note 35). p. 308

[247] The reference is to the *Congress of representatives of the Slav regions* forming part of the Austrian Empire. It met in Prague on June 2, 1848. The Right, moderately liberal wing to which Palacký and Šafařik, the leaders of the Congress, belonged, tried to solve the national problem through autonomy of the Slav regions within the framework of the Habsburg monarchy. The Left, radical wing (Sabina, Frič, Libelt, Štúr and others) wanted joint action with the revolutionary and democratic movement in Germany and Hungary. The radical delegates took an active part in the popular uprising in Prague (June 12-17, 1848) against the arbitrary rule of the Austrian authorities, and were subjected to cruel reprisals. On June 16, the moderate liberal delegates declared the Congress adjourned indefinitely. p. 308

[248] *Otočac gentlemen* (Otočaner)—soldiers of the Austrian border regiment formed in 1746 and stationed in Otočac (Western Croatia). They were recruited mainly from the South-Slav subjects of the Austrian Emperor. p. 308

[249] See Note 220. p. 309

[250] See Note 70. p. 315

[251] When the Austrians heavily bombarded Cracow during the national liberation uprising in April 1848, Castiglioni was military commandant of the Cracow fortress. p. 319

[252] See Note 9. p. 319

[253] See Note 47. p. 320

[254] The *Gustavus Adolphus Union*—a religious organisation formed in 1832 to help Protestant communities in Catholic regions of Germany; Rupp, formerly pastor in Königsberg (he was removed from his post for criticism of church dogmas), was expelled from this Union in 1846. p. 321

[255] "*Friends of Light*"—a religious trend which arose in 1841 and was directed against pietism; the latter, being supported by junker circles, was predominant in the official Protestant church and was outstanding for its extreme reactionary nature and hypocrisy. The "Friends of Light" movement was an expression of bourgeois discontent with the reactionary order in Germany in the 1840s; in 1846-47 it led to the formation of the so-called *free communities*, which separated from the official Protestant church. p. 321

[256] See Note 52. p. 321

[257] See Note 235. p. 322

[258] See Note 123. p. 324

[259] See Note 136. p. 327

[260] See Note 172. p. 331

[261] See notes 13 and 39. p. 338

[262] Here the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* continues its exposure of the legal and police persecution of Ferdinand Lassalle. Lassalle was arrested in Düsseldorf on November 22, 1848 on a charge of incitement to arm against the government during the tax-refusal campaign. The proceedings against him were delayed by the legal authorities of the Rhine Province in every possible way. During the

investigation, attempts were also made to bring a case against him for insulting government officials, etc. On Lassalle's request, expressed in his letters to Marx and Engels, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* came out in defence of him and of other Düsseldorf democrats under persecution. The newspaper carried a number of articles exposing the abuses of power and illegal actions by the judicial and prison authorities against Lassalle (see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 463-65, 474-76). Marx and Engels also took part in the efforts of the Cologne democratic organisations to induce the legal authorities to speed up the investigation of the case. Subsequently, the newspaper several times published material exposing this trial (see this volume, pp. 344-46, 372-76 and 383-88) which was held on May 3 and 4. The jury acquitted Lassalle.

Below, the reference is to the Articles of the *Code pénal* (see Note 120).

p. 339

263 The reference is to the resolutions on abolition of serfdom, labour services and tithes and landowners' courts by the Hungarian National Assembly on March 18, 1848 in the atmosphere of general revolutionary upsurge. The agrarian reform carried out by the Assembly (it was elected before the March revolution according to the principle of estate representation and on the whole expressed the interests of the nobility) was half-hearted, however. The peasants had to pay redemption for the abolition of certain feudal obligations, and the terms of redemption were such that whole categories of landless and land-starved peasants were virtually unable to free themselves of labour services. During the revolution, the radical wing made repeated demands for further measures in favour of the peasants, but met with resistance from the moderate elements among the nobility. Incomplete agrarian reforms were one of the inner causes of the defeat of the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49. p. 345

264 This item, occasioned by the news reaching Cologne that the Hungarian revolutionary army had taken Pest and Buda (here as well as in other military reports, Engels uses its German name—Ofen), was printed in the special supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 283 dated April 27; however, the supplement came out on the morning of April 28, 1849, as is pointed out in Engels' next war review (see this volume, pp. 350-51).

Hungarian troops occupied the city of Buda; but its fortress still remained in the hands of the Austrian garrison and was captured only on May 21, 1849, after a prolonged siege. p. 346

265 Mentioned here are two big battles during the war waged by revolutionary France against the first anti-French coalition of European counter-revolutionary states—Austria, Prussia, England, Russia and others.

At *Jemappes* (Belgium) on November 6, 1792 the French army defeated the Austrian troops.

At *Fleurus* (Belgium) on June 26, 1794 the French troops defeated the Austrian army under the Duke of Coburg. This victory enabled the French revolutionary army to enter and occupy Belgium. p. 349

266 Evidently the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* did not have Kossuth's exact biographical data at that time and so availed themselves of the current newspaper information. In fact, Kossuth was born on September 19, 1802. p. 352

267 When Engels expressed his hope for a new revolution in Vienna if the Hungarian army moved further, and called this probable revolt the "fifth revolution", he obviously had in mind the four revolutionary events in the Austrian capital in 1848, namely: the popular uprising of March 13 that started the revolution in

Austria armed risings of workers, artisans and students on May 15 and 26 that compelled the Government to make new concessions to the democratic movement (it extended the suffrage, consented to have a one-chamber Constituent Imperial Diet, annulled orders to dissolve the Central Committee of the National Guard and the Academic Legion, etc.); workers' disturbances on August 23 that led to the collision between workers and bourgeois detachments of the national guards; and the popular revolt on October 6-31, the culminating point of the revolution in Austria and Germany. p. 352

268 See Note 172. p. 354

269 The reference is to the former soldiers of the Academic Legion (see Note 229). p. 355

270 On April 27, 1849 the Prussian Government dissolved the Second Chamber because, at its sitting on April 21, it had approved the imperial Constitution drawn up by the Frankfurt National Assembly. The Chamber took this resolution on the initiative of the opposition deputies, in spite of the head of the Government's statement that the King had definitely decided to reject the imperial Constitution. p. 357

271 See Note 52. p. 357

272 The reference is to the Prussian National Assembly dissolved by the Government on December 5, 1848. For its principle of "agreement with the Crown", see Note 48. p. 357

273 See Note 88. p. 358

274 The reference is to the suppression of the national liberation uprising in the Grand Duchy of Posen in 1848 by Prussian soldiers and to the gross violation of the promise originally given to the insurgents by the Government, namely to introduce national autonomy in the eastern part of the Duchy, i. e. behind the demarcation line (see Note 237). General Pfuel, in command of the Prussian troops in Posen, ordered that all the insurgents who had been taken prisoner be shaved and their hands and ears branded with caustic (in German *Höllenstein*). This was how he got his nickname *Pfuel von Höllenstein* in democratic circles. p. 359

275 See Note 19. p. 360

276 In 1793 the *second partition* of Poland (the first in 1772, the third in 1795) took place. As a result, the Polish feudal state ceased to exist. The Polish lands were incorporated into Prussia, Austria and Russia. The second partition was carried out by the Russian Empress Catherine and the Prussian King Frederick William II. The Austrian Emperor Francis I did not participate in it directly, but his policy facilitated the partition and thus prepared for Austria's participation in the third partition of Poland.

By the second partition, the Prussian kingdom obtained Torun (Thorn) and Gdansk (Danzig) with adjoining lands, the greater part of Great Poland (provinces of Posen, Gnesen, Kalisch, Plotsk, etc.) and other Polish territories. The annexed part of Great Poland was turned into a new province—South Prussia (mentioned by Engels below), to which Warsaw was joined in 1795 after the third partition.

By the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807, however, these lands were taken from Prussia by Napoleon who formed them into a vassal Duchy of Warsaw but, in 1815, by decision of the Vienna Congress, part of them—the Great Duchy of Posen—was returned to the Prussian monarchy. p. 360

[277] The reference here is to Prussian participation in the suppression of the Polish national liberation uprising of 1794 led by Tadeusz Kosciuszko. The insurgents wanted to restore the independence of Poland, to return the lands taken from it in 1772 and 1793, and to continue the progressive reforms interrupted by the second partition. The uprising was suppressed by troops fromTsarist Russia, Prussia and Austria which, in 1795, partitioned Poland for the third time. p. 361

[278] The article mentioned was not published in the next issues of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; evidently, the newspaper was suppressed before Engels managed to write it. p. 362

[279] The *Deutschmeister* regiment of the Austrian imperial army was formed in 1695 and originated with the military religious "Hoch und Deutschmeister" Order. The master of the Order was the regiment's chief. p. 365

[280] See Note 195. p. 365

[281] See Note 136. p. 365

[282] See Note 68. p. 369

[283] The reference is to the decisions taken by the National Assemblies (Diets) of Hungary and Transylvania after the March revolution of 1848 to establish union between the two countries and to introduce a single administrative system. In Transylvania, the decision on the union was adopted on May 30 by the Assembly in Cluj that was elected according to the principle of estate representation which secured the predominance in it of Hungarian landowners. This decision attached a one-sided character to the union, it retained the privilege of the Hungarian minority in local administration and school matters and proclaimed Hungarian as the only official language. The ideas of the Romanian and Hungarian democrats, who regarded this union as the formation of a Hungarian-Transylvanian state based on the equality of nations, were actually rejected. This fact was used by the Right wing of the Romanian national movement in Transylvania who aimed at a union with the Habsburgs and helped the latter make use of the Transylvanian Romanians in the struggle against revolutionary Hungary. p. 369

[284] The *Hungarian Constitution of 1848*—a number of laws promulgated in the second half of March 1848 by the Hungarian National Assembly in the atmosphere of revolutionary upsurge (see Note 193) concerned political organisation in the country. These laws proclaimed Hungary independent of the Austrian Empire in financial and military matters; legislative power was concentrated in the elected National Assembly, and the executive body—the Cabinet Council—was proclaimed responsible to the latter. However, Hungary remained bound to the empire by the common emperor of the Habsburg dynasty and suffrage was limited by a property qualification. Though the new Constitution preserved many of the nobility's privileges, it was an important step towards a bourgeois transformation of the political order in Hungary. p. 369

[285] See Note 136. p. 370

[286] On the *Prussian electoral law* and the *imposed Constitution* (called above the "martial-law Charter of December 5"), see Note 52. p. 370

[287] The *Konversationshalle* at Dönhoff square—a hall in Berlin where, on April 27, 1849, Left-wing deputies assembled after the dissolution of the Second Chamber of the Prussian Provincial Diet. They were turned out by soldiers and constables

and the people who gathered near the Konversationshalle came under fire from the troops.

*Constables in Berlin*—a special detachment of plain-clothes men formed in summer 1848 for use against street gatherings and popular disturbances and for spying purposes. The name was given by analogy with special constables in England, who were used to break up the Chartist demonstration on April 10, 1848. p. 370

288 See Note 120. p. 372

289 The trial of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats (see Note 225) was held on February 8, 1849. Marx, Karl Schapper and the lawyer Schneider II were brought before the jury and accused of instigation to revolt on the basis of that committee's appeal issued on November 18, 1848 concerning the refusal to pay taxes as a measure of struggle against the counter-revolutionary coup in Prussia. The jury returned a verdict of not guilty. For Marx's speech at this trial see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 323-39. p. 372

290 *Code d'instruction criminelle*—French Criminal Code which was in force in the Rhine Province of Prussia. In this particular case, reference is to Article 300. p. 372

291 The first time Lassalle was imprisoned from February to August 1848. Legal proceedings were instituted against him on the charge that he had instigated the theft of a box containing documents to be used in the divorce case of Countess Hatzfeld. As a lawyer, he was employed on this case from 1846 to 1854. About Lassalle's second arrest and trial see Note 262. p. 372

292 On November 22, 1848 Lassalle made a speech at the popular meeting in Neuss (near Düsseldorf) in which he called upon the people to give armed support when needed to the Prussian National Assembly in its conflict with the Prussian Government. On the same day he was arrested. p. 374

293 After the dissolution of the Second Chamber, the Prussian Government published a Note of April 28, 1849 signed by Prime Minister Brandenburg and addressed to the Frankfurt National Assembly and the German governments. The Note contained Frederick William IV's final refusal to accept the imperial crown proffered by the Assembly, motivated by the fact that the revolutionary origin and contents of the imperial Constitution made it inacceptable to the King. At the same time, the Note stressed that the Prussian King certainly did not refuse to fulfil the mission of uniting the German lands, in collaboration with other German monarchs. It was suggested that the Frankfurt Assembly should give up the imperial Constitution and promote these dynastic plans. Simultaneously with this Note, the Prussian Government stepped up military preparations in order to put down the growing popular movement in Germany for the introduction of the imperial Constitution. p. 377

294 In September, the Frankfurt National Assembly discussed the Law on the Protection of the Constituent Imperial Assembly and the Officials of the Central Authority ("Gesetz, bettreffend den Schutz der constituirenden Nationalversammlung und der Beamten der Centralgewalt") and adopted it on October 10, 1848. Article V read: "Public insult to the Imperial Assembly, including that made outside its sittings, is to be punished by imprisonment of up to two years." This law was also published in Prussia in *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen constituirenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main.* p. 377

295 *St. Paul's Church*—see Note 30.

*Carbonari*—members of secret political societies in Italy and France in the first half of the nineteenth century. In Italy they fought for national independence, unification of the country and liberal constitutional reforms. In France their movement was primarily directed against the rule of the restored Bourbon dynasty (1815-30). p. 377

296 In connection with the coup d'état that began in Prussia in November 1848, the Frankfurt National Assembly sent a delegation to Berlin to mediate in the conflict between the Prussian Assembly and the Government (see Note 42). On his return to Frankfurt, Bassermann, a moderate liberal member of the delegation, announced to the Assembly that the Prussian Government had a good reason for taking decisive measures, because savage-looking characters were loafing about in the streets of Berlin as they usually did on the eve of anarchist demonstrations. Hence the ironical expression "Bassermannic characters". p. 377

297 Engels had in mind revolutionary disturbances among the broad masses in the Bavarian Palatinate caused by the declaration made by the Bavarian King Maximilian II and his Cabinet on April 23, 1849. In it they rejected the imperial Constitution and proclaimed loyalty to the former particularism of small states. The movement in the Palatinate soon led to a revolutionary upheaval there, the Palatinate's separation from Bavaria and the formation of a local provisional government. p. 378

298 This refers to the central body of the German Confederation (see Note 237) which consisted of representatives from the German states. Though it had no real power, it was nevertheless a vehicle for feudal and monarchist reaction. After the March 1848 revolution in Germany, Right-wing circles tried in vain to revive the Federal Diet and use it to undermine the principle of popular sovereignty and prevent the democratic unification of Germany. p. 378

299 On September 18, 1848 a popular uprising broke out in Frankfurt am Main against the Frankfurt National Assembly's ratification of the armistice with Denmark concluded in Malmö (see Note 92). The wavering and indecision of the Assembly's Left wing helped defeat the uprising. p. 378

300 The dissolution of the Second Chamber in Prussia on April 27, 1849 was followed by the dissolution of the corresponding chambers in Hanover and Saxony because the ruling circles of these states refused to recognise the imperial Constitution approved by the majority of deputies. In Saxony the Provincial Diet was dissolved by order of King Frederick Augustus II as early as April 28, 1849. This act and the Government's other counter-revolutionary measures sparked off the uprising in Dresden on May 3. It started the armed struggle for the imperial Constitution in a number of regions in Germany. p. 380

301 See Note 19. p. 382

302 See Note 50. p. 384

303 The address quoted here was composed by Lassalle in November 1848 on behalf of the Düsseldorf civic militia and sent to the Prussian National Assembly that same evening. The address was published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 149, November 22, 1848. About Lassalle's speech at Neuss, see Note 292. p. 384

304 See Note 86. p. 385

305 An allusion to the paragraphs in Prussian Law concerning the prosecution and punishment of persons guilty of "stirring up discontent". p. 387

306 On May 1, 1849 the Cologne municipal council, which consisted mainly of liberal bourgeois representatives, addressed all other municipal councils in the Rhine Province with a proposal to convene a meeting on May 5, 1849 in connection with the new situation that had arisen in Prussia after the dissolution of the Second Chamber. The Prussian Government banned this meeting (the ban was published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 104, May 2, 1849). Even so, the Cologne municipal council convoked a congress of delegates from the Rhine cities on May 8, 1849 in Cologne. The Congress came out in favour of the imperial Constitution and demanded the convocation of the dissolved Provincial Diet. It was made clear that, if the Prussian Government ignored the Congress's resolution, the question of the Rhine Province's secession from Prussia would be raised. This threat, however, was not supported by decisive action and remained merely an empty declaration, because the liberal majority of the Congress rejected the proposal to arm the people and to resist the authorities by force. p. 389

307 On September 26, 1848 the authorities, frightened by the upsurge of the revolutionary-democratic movement in Cologne, declared a state of siege there "to safeguard the individual and property". The military commandant's office issued an order prohibiting all associations pursuing "political and social aims", banned all meetings, disbanded and disarmed the civic militia, instituted courts martial and suspended publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and a number of other democratic newspapers. A protest campaign compelled the Cologne military authorities to lift the state of siege on October 2. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* resumed publication on October 12. p. 389

308 See Note 226. p. 391

309 See Note 306. p. 392

310 The organisations of the Rhine Province and Westphalia held three congresses in Cologne on Sunday, May 6, 1849: the congress of workers' associations, the congress of democratic associations and the congress of constitutional-monarchist citizens' associations (in Deutz, near Cologne). p. 392

311 On September 25, 1848 the Cologne authorities arrested several leaders of democratic and workers' associations and provoked premature action on the part of the workers, who began to erect barricades in the city. Marx and his associates did their utmost to prevent the Cologne workers from premature and isolated actions. On the next day, a state of siege was declared in Cologne on the pretext of "safeguarding the individual and property" (see Note 307). p. 393

312 *Sans-Souci*—a residence of the Prussian kings in Potsdam, built at the time of Frederick II. p. 394

313 At the peak of the victorious offensive of the Hungarian revolutionary troops, the National Assembly at its grand meeting in Debreczin on April 14, 1849 adopted, on Kossuth's initiative, a Declaration of Hungary's Independence. The Habsburg dynasty was dethroned and Kossuth elected head of state. In fact, a republican order was established in Hungary though, for foreign policy considerations, the name "Hungarian republic" was not used in official documents.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 291 for May 6, 1849 published the minutes of the session of the Hungarian National Assembly on April 14, 1849 and the text of the Declaration of Independence adopted by it. It also reproduced the respective article from the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, supplying it with the following introductory note by the editors (probably written by Engels): "*Cologne*, May 5. The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* contains minutes of the session of the Hungarian National Assembly

held in Debreczin on April 14, which decreed separation from Austria and the overthrow of the Habsburg dynasty and nominated Kossuth president of the state. Despite the poor German translation, we reproduce below the whole article word for word." p. 397

314 See Note 310. p. 402

315 See Note 19. p. 402

316 The author of the report cited by Engels is obviously referring to the revolutionary unrest among peasants and townspeople in Galicia, subordinate to Austria. It was caused by rumours spreading in the spring of 1849 about the impending intrusion from behind the Carpathians of the Hungarian army and Polish legions fighting in its ranks. In April 1849, a large group of peasant recruits escaped from Chrzanov (near Cracow) and tried to make their way to Hungary. Some were captured by the Austrian authorities; four were shot in Cracow. p. 404

317 See Note 151. p. 405

318 The reference is to the schemes for a Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian state under the auspices of the Habsburgs. These were put forward by the Right-wing leaders of the South-Slav national movement (see Note 244).
*Rascians*—see Note 54. p. 407

319 On May 3-9, 1849 an armed uprising took place in Dresden, the capital of Saxony. It broke out because the King of Saxony refused to recognise the imperial Constitution. With workers forming the most active contingent in the barricade fighting, the insurgents occupied the greater part of the city and formed the provisional government headed by a radical democrat Tzschirner. However, the moderate policy of other members of the provisional government, desertion by the bourgeois civic militia, sabotage on the part of the liberal municipal council, the treachery of the bourgeoisie in Leipzig where they suppressed the workers' solidarity movement, weakened the insurgents' resistance to counter-revolution. The uprising was put down by Saxon troops assisted by troops dispatched from Prussia. Active in the uprising were the Russian revolutionary Mikhail Bakunin, a workers' leader Stephan Born and the composer Richard Wagner. p. 411

320 The *Palatinate Defence Council* was formed at the beginning of May at people's gatherings in Kaiserslautern. Relying on the people's support, it demanded that the Bavarian Government recognise the imperial Constitution. However, the moderate elements on the Council strove to confine the movement to legal resistance. Only the threat of intervention by Prussia made the Palatinate petty-bourgeois democrats take more resolute action. On May 17, a provisional government of the Palatinate was formed and separation from Bavaria proclaimed. p. 412

321 See Note 40. p. 414

322 On the *Dresden uprising*, see Note 319. p. 416

323 See Note 320. p. 416

324 At that moment Bassermann was commissioner of the provisional Central Authority in Frankfurt (see Note 41) empowered to negotiate with the Prussian ruling circles. Despite the National Assembly's decision, the Austrian Archduke

Johann, head of the Central Authority, supported the activities of the Prussian and other governments against the imperial Constitution. p. 417

325 On March 19, 1848, during the revolutionary events in Berlin, the armed people compelled King Frederick William IV to come onto the balcony of his palace and bare his head before the insurgents who had fallen on the barricades. p. 417

326 This article was reprinted in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* No. 218, June 1, 1849 (see this volume, pp. 511-12). Later it was published in a slightly abridged form in the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* (Zurich) No. 2, January 8, 1886 and entitled "Aus dem Ruhmeskranz der Hohenzollern". The name of the author was mentioned in the editorial introduction.

The article was first published in English in the book: Karl Marx. *On Revolution*, ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971 ("The Karl Marx Library" series, Vol. 1). p. 418

327 During the war between Sweden and Poland (1655-60) the Great Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William, sided now with the one, now with the other, of the warring states. Taking advantage of Poland's military difficulties, he broke off relations with Sweden in 1657 on condition that the Polish King renounced his sovereign rights to Eastern Prussia, which was joined to Brandenburg in 1628 but was dependent on the Polish crown. The Peace of Oliva concluded on May 3, 1660 by Sweden with Poland, Austria and Brandenburg confirmed Eastern Prussia's independence from Poland. p. 418

328 This refers to the first partition of Poland between Prussia, Austria and Russia in 1772. It was initiated by the Prussian King Frederick II. p. 419

329 Early in 1792, supported by England and Tsarist Russia, Austria and Prussia concluded a military alliance against revolutionary France. During the war, this first anti-French coalition was joined by the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont), England, Holland, Spain, Naples and other states. However, the defeats inflicted by the French army on the allied troops and the growing Austro-Prussian contradictions compelled Prussia to withdraw from the coalition in 1795 and conclude in Basle a separate peace with the French Republic. p. 419

330 In 1788 royal edicts limiting the rights of the press and freedom of worship were issued in Prussia on the initiative of Bischoffswerder, adviser to Frederick William II. p. 419

331 See Note 137. p. 419

332 The wars waged in 1813-14 and 1815 against Napoleonic France after the defeat of Napoleon's army in Russia in 1812 were contradictory in nature. Their character was affected by the counter-revolutionary and expansionist aims and policy of the ruling circles in the feudal monarchical states, and this is implied in this article. At the same time, especially in 1813, when the struggle was aimed at liberating German territory from French occupation, it assumed the character of a genuinely popular national liberation war against foreign oppression. Later in a series of articles entitled "Notes on the War" (1870), Engels stressed the progressive nature of the people's resistance to the French rule and in his work *The Role of Force in History* (1888) he wrote: "The people's war against Napoleon was the reaction of the national feeling of all the peoples, which Napoleon had trampled on." p. 419

333 On May 22, 1815, Frederick William III of Prussia who, during the war with Napoleonic France, had to respond to the demand for a Constitution, issued a

decree promising to convoke an all-Prussia people's representative body. However, according to the law of June 5, 1823, only provincial assemblies of the estates with limited consultative functions were formed.

The *battle of Waterloo*—see Note 166. p. 420

334 The reference is to the *Federative Act* (*Bundesakte*) which proclaimed an ephemeral German Confederation and virtually sanctioned the political dismemberment of Germany and the maintenance of the monarchist system in the German states. This Act was signed on June 8 at the Vienna Congress and confirmed on June 9 in the Vienna concluding document. It contained vague promises of constitutional reforms and freedom of the press, but these remained a dead letter. p. 420

335 These decisions were drawn up in August 1819 on the initiative of the Austrian Chancellor Metternich at the conference in Carlsbad by delegates of the states forming the German Confederation. They envisaged the introduction of preliminary censorship in all the German states, strict surveillance over universities, prohibition of students' societies and the establishment of a committee of inquiry to suppress so-called *demagogues* (participants in the opposition movement of that time).

The congress of the *Holy Alliance* (see Note 40), which began in *Troppau* in October 1820 and ended in *Laibach* in May 1821, openly proclaimed the principle of interference in the internal affairs of other states. Accordingly, the congress in Laibach resolved to send Austrian troops to Italy, and the congress in Verona (1822) to effect French intervention in Spain, with the aim of crushing the revolutionary and national liberation movements in those countries. p. 420

336 According to the law of January 17, 1820 on state debt, state loans could only be made with the consent of the assemblies of estates, but this law was not observed in practice.

*Seehandlung* or *Preussische Seehandlungsgesellschaft* (Prussian Overseas Trading Company)—a trade and credit society founded in 1772 which enjoyed a number of important state privileges. It granted large credits to the Government and actually played the part of its banker and broker. In 1904 it was transformed into the official Prussian State Bank. p. 420

337 The reference is to the suppression of the Polish national liberation insurrection of 1830-31 by the Tsarist Government. p. 420

338 In a letter of January 15, 1838 addressed to the citizens of Elbing who expressed their dissatisfaction with the persecution of seven opposition professors in Hanover, the Prussian Minister of the Interior, Rochow, wrote: "Loyal subjects are expected to exhibit due obedience to their king and sovereign, but their limited understanding should keep them from interfering in the affairs of heads of state." p. 420

339 Here the reference is to the so-called *Lehnin Prophecy* (*Vaticinium Lehninense*)—a poem in Latin which is ascribed to a certain Hermann, a monk of the Lehnin monastery (near Potsdam) who lived circa 1300. It described the crimes of the Hohenzollern dynasty which ruled in Brandenburg and prophesied their ruin in the eleventh generation. p. 421

340 In 1843 Frederick William IV, who wanted to revive the romantic aspect of feudalism, issued a decree on the rebirth of the *Order of the Swan*, a medieval religious order of knights (founded in 1443 and dissolved during the Reformation). The King's intention did not materialise, however.

The *United Diet*—see Note 88.

The "*scrap of paper*"—an expression taken from the royal speech of Frederick William IV at the opening of the United Diet on April 11, 1847. The King declared that he would never agree to a Constitution which he derisively called "a written piece of paper". p. 421

341 Marx probably had in mind the idea repeatedly expressed by Hegel that, in the process of dialectical development, there is an inevitable transition from the stage of formation and efflorescence to that of disintegration and ruin. In particular, Hegel stated in *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts* that the "history of a world-historic nation contains partly the development of its principle from its latent embryonic stage until it blossoms ... and the period of its decline and fall..." (Part 3, Section 3, § 347). Marx developed this idea in his *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction* (end of 1843-beginning of 1844): "History is thorough and goes through many phases when carrying an old form to the grave. The last phase of a world-historical form is its *comedy*" (see present edition, Vol. 3, p. 179). p. 421

342 The report which Engels cites from the liberal *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* and supplements with a call to the Cologne troops to join the popular movement, describes the initial stage of the Elberfeld uprising.

The *Elberfeld uprising* of workers and petty bourgeois broke out on May 8, 1849 and served as a signal for armed struggle in a number of cities in the Rhine Province (Düsseldorf, Iserlohn, Solingen and others) in defence of the imperial Constitution. The immediate occasion for the uprising was the attempts by the Prussian Government to use troops to suppress the revolutionary movement on the Rhine, to destroy democratic organisations and the press, and to disarm the army reserve troops it had itself called up which disobeyed its orders and supported the demand for the imperial Constitution. Engels played an active part in the uprising, having arrived in Elberfeld on May 11 together with a workers' detachment from Solingen (later legal proceedings were instituted against him for this— see present edition, Vol. 10). Engels' efforts to secure the disbandment of the bourgeois civic militia, the imposition of a war tax on the bourgeoisie, extensive armament of the workers in order to form the core of the Rhenish revolutionary army and to unite local uprisings, met with opposition from the Committee of Public Safety which was dominated by the representatives of the local bourgeoisie. Under pressure from bourgeois circles, Engels was deported from the city on the morning of May 15. As a result of secret negotiations between a deputation from the city bourgeoisie and the Government and of the capitulatory stand taken by the Committee of Public Safety, workers' detachments including those which came to their support from other places (the Berg Country, etc.) were forced out of the city on the night of May 16 (some managed to break through to the south, to the insurgent Palatinate) and the previous order was restored in Elberfeld. The defeat of the Elberfeld uprising led to the triumph of reaction throughout Rhenish Prussia.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and *Neue Kölnische Zeitung* devoted several articles to the events in Elberfeld (see, for instance, this volume, pp. 447-49 and 508). p. 423

343 See Note 68. p. 425

344 In English this article was first published in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 426

345 The suppression of the *uprising in Dresden*—see Note 319.

In response to the dispatch of artillery to suppress the Dresden uprising, workers and democrats in Breslau erected barricades in the city on May 6 and 7, 1849. They were, however, considerably outnumbered by the counter-revolutionary troops and were defeated. Isolated attempts to start a revolt in Saxony (the Prussian province) also failed. In the eastern districts of Prussia, the authorities managed in a very short time to overwhelm the campaign in defence of the imperial Constitution. p. 426

346 Alongside the uprising in Dresden and other towns in the Rhine Province and Westphalia, the most powerful struggle for the imperial Constitution developed in the Bavarian Palatinate and Baden (South-West Germany). Despite the limited nature of this Constitution the popular masses saw it as the only revolutionary achievement still surviving. In the Palatinate and Baden, workers, urban petty bourgeoisie and peasants rose in its defence. Soon they were joined by military units, particularly the lower ranks. In the middle of May provisional governments were set up there, the Grand Duke of Baden, Leopold, fled from the country, and the separation of the Palatinate from Bavaria was proclaimed. However, the leadership of the movement fell into the hands of moderate petty-bourgeois democrats who were hesitant, refusing to proclaim a republic and carry through a radical agrarian reform in the interests of the peasants. They chose passive defensive tactics which confined the movement to local limits and prevented the uprising from spreading outside the Palatinate and Baden. Nevertheless, the combined Palatinate-Baden insurgent army, in which there were many workers' units, put up a strong resistance to the Prussian-Bavarian-Württemberg mercenary troops who greatly exceeded the insurgents in numbers and strength. Engels took part in the campaigns and battles of this army. He was aide to August Willich, commander of one of the units which covered the retreat of its last detachments to Swiss territory on July 11 and 12. The insurgents' last stronghold—Rastatt—fell on July 23.

The uprising in the Palatinate and Baden was the culmination of the German revolution of 1848-49. Its character and course were later described by Engels in the essay "The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution" (see present edition, Vol. 10). p. 426

347 In April 1849, President Louis Napoleon and the French Government decided to send an expeditionary corps under General Udino to Italy with the aim of intervening against the Roman Republic and restoring the secular power of the Pope. On April 30, 1849 the French troops were driven from Rome. The main blow was dealt them by Garibaldi's volunteer legion. However, Udino violated the terms of the armistice signed by the French and, on June 3, started a new offensive against the Roman Republic which had just completed a military campaign in the south against Neapolitan troops and was compelled to deliver a rebuff to the Austrians in the north. On July 3, after a month of heroic defence, Rome was captured by the interventionists and the Roman Republic ceased to exist. p. 426

348 Engels' article on the uprising in Elberfeld and Düsseldorf (see Note 342) was obviously written not later than May 10, before he left for insurgent Elberfeld via Solingen, where an armed struggle in defence of the imperial Constitution had also begun. It is possible that Engels sent the report to Cologne from Solingen, where he formed a detachment of armed workers on May 10. The next day he and this detachment arrived in Elberfeld where he stayed till the morning of May 15. The article was published in the special supplement to the *Neue Rheinische*

*Zeitung* No. 295, May 11, and probably the editors themselves supplied it with the same date. p. 428

349 Marx has in mind the close bond between the three monarchs—the Prussian King, the Russian Tsar and the Austrian Emperor. p. 430

350 The majority of the Prussian National Assembly which continued its sittings in Berlin despite the King's order to transfer the Assembly to Brandenburg was dispersed by General Wrangel's troops on November 15, 1848.

The Second Chamber was dissolved on April 27, 1849 (about this see Note 270) on the basis of the Brandenburg-Manteuffel Government's memorandum, sanctioned by the King. p. 430

351 The Saxon King Friedrich Augustus II found refuge in the fortress of Königstein to which he fled from Dresden during the uprising in May 1849.

*Imperial Max in Munich*—King of Bavaria, Maximilian II, nominated by certain deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly for German emperorship. p. 430

352 The reference is to the Constitution imposed by the Prussian King on December 5, 1848 (see Note 52). p. 432

353 See Note 63. p. 432

354 See Note 270. p. 434

355 See Note 136. p. 434

356 See Note 306. p. 436

357 Marx's prediction of the Frankfurt National Assembly's inglorious end, which was brought about by its own compromise with and connivance in the counter-revolution, came true. In compliance with the orders of the Austrian, Prussian and other governments which recalled their deputies from Frankfurt, the Assembly's liberal majority, scared by the uprisings in defence of the imperial Constitution and the possibility of a civil war, disavowed this Constitution—their own creation—and resigned. The moderate democrats who thus proved to be in the majority lacked the courage to join the insurgents and continued to cherish hopes of introducing a Constitution by peaceful means. Early in June 1849, when the threat of dissolution arose, the "rump" of the Assembly transferred its sittings to Stuttgart (Württemberg). The imperial regent, who took an openly counter-revolutionary stand, was replaced by a five-man imperial administration (Karl Vogt, Ludwig Simons and others) which, because of its refusal to take revolutionary measures and its wavering and equivocal policy, was a complete failure. On June 18, 1849, the "rump" was dispersed by Württemberg troops. p. 438

358 *Charlottenburg*—a royal palace in the town of the same name west of Berlin (it became a suburb in the twentieth century); built in 1695 for Sophia Charlotte, wife of the Great Elector of Brandenburg, it later became one of the residences of the Prussian kings and also a place of their burial. p. 438

359 This refers to the joint action taken against revolutionary Hungary by the three monarchs—the Austrian Emperor, the Russian Tsar and the Prussian King. This counter-revolutionary plot is also exposed in Engels' article "The Third Party in the Alliance" (see this volume, pp. 394-95). p. 440

360 In April 1795 Prussia concluded the separate Basle peace treaty with France and withdrew from the first anti-French coalition, and in October of that same year it

signed the Petersburg convention with Russia and Austria on the *third partition of Poland* (see Note 276). p. 441

361 "*Scrap of parchment*"—paraphrased expression from the royal speech of Frederick William IV at the opening of the United Diet in 1847 (see Note 340). p. 441

362 See Note 46. p. 441

363 *Ça ira!*—a popular song during the French Revolution. p. 446

364 See Note 342. p. 447

365 On May 19, 1849 the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* came out for the last time. The Government and the police had long awaited a suitable moment to suppress the newspaper. In April and early May 1849, the Minister of the Interior, Manteuffel, repeatedly demanded that the Cologne Public Prosecutor's office and legal authorities bring an action against its editors. By that time, the number of charges against them had grown to 23 (some were later used as a pretext for instituting legal proceedings against Marx and Engels by default, see this volume, p. 516). However, Marx's and Engels' acquittal by the jury in February 1849 and fear of the people's unrest compelled the Public Prosecutor's office to refrain from making the legal proceedings against the paper public. Only after the main uprisings in the Rhine Province had, on the whole, been suppressed, was a long-prepared measure applied against Marx—expulsion from Prussia. He was refused Prussian citizenship in due time, despite the Cologne magistrate's favourable reply to his application for this on his arrival in Cologne on April 11, 1848. After four months' delay, the Royal Government refused to confirm the magistrate's decision, and Minister Kühlwetter, to whom Marx sent a complaint, turned it down (see present edition, Vol. 7, p. 581). Marx continued to remain "a foreigner" who could at any moment be accused of abusing hospitality and be subject to expulsion. The Royal Government's note to this effect followed on May 11, 1849 (see below) and was handed to Marx on May 16. Other editors were also persecuted. Weerth and Dronke, who did not enjoy Prussian citizenship either, were likewise ordered to leave Cologne. Legal proceedings were instituted against Engels for his part in the Elberfeld uprising. The democratic press still surviving in Germany protested against the police measures towards the newspaper's editors (see this volume, pp. 509-13). Forced to cease publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx and Engels cherished hopes of resuming it shortly in some other place (see this volume, p. 473), but the situation in the country did not allow them to carry out these intentions. The entire issue No. 301 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* which carried this and other articles by Marx and Engels, together with the editors' address to the Cologne workers, was printed in red ink.

This article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 451

366 This refers to the verdicts of the Cologne jury court pronounced on February 7 and 8, 1849. On February 7, Karl Marx, editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Frederick Engels, co-editor, and Hermann Korff, responsible publisher, were brought before the court on a charge of having insulted the Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel and having libelled the policemen who arrested workers' leaders, in the article "Arrests" published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 35, July 5, 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 7).

On February 8, 1849 the second trial—against the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats—was held. For details see Note 289.

At both trials, the jury returned a verdict of not guilty. For the speeches made by Marx and Engels at the trial, see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 304-22. p. 451

367 In English this article was first published in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 455

368 The delegates of the opposition headed by Kossuth submitted a whole programme of progressive reforms to the National Assembly (Diet) of the Hungarian Kingdom convened in November 1847 in Pressburg. However, the demands of the opposition came up against stubborn resistance on the part of the Right aristocratic wing of the Assembly, especially its Upper Chamber, and were implemented only under pressure of the revolutionary masses after the popular uprising in Pest and Buda on March 15, 1848. Even at this stage, the reforms carried out were of a narrow nature (see notes 193 and 263) because the Assembly was dominated by moderate liberal aristocrats inclined to compromise with the Austrian Court and conservative circles. Equality and autonomy were not granted to the oppressed nationalities and this allowed the Habsburg reaction to use their national movements in the struggle against the Hungarian revolution. p. 455

369 See Note 232. p. 456

370 The reference is to the appointment of Kossuth as head of the Defence Council, the actual government of revolutionary Hungary (see Note 70). p. 456

371 Engels is evidently referring to the rescript issued by the Austrian Emperor Ferdinand on October 3, 1848 when he ordered that the Hungarian Assembly be dissolved and its resolutions not sanctioned by the Crown (including that on the formation of the Defence Council) be regarded as invalid. According to this rescript, the Croatian Ban Jellachich was appointed commander-in-chief of all troops and extraordinary government commissioner in Hungary, and martial law was introduced throughout the country. The rescript was published in the *Wiener Zeitung* No. 275, October 5, 1848. p. 456

372 The *battle of Schwechat* (near Vienna), in which the Hungarian army was defeated by Austrian troops under Windischgrätz, took place on October 30, 1848, on the eve of the fall of revolutionary Vienna. p. 457

373 See Note 55. p. 457

374 See Note 9. p. 459

375 The reference is to the *Declaration of Hungary's Independence* adopted by the National Assembly on April 14, 1849 (see Note 313). p. 461

376 See Note 40. p. 462

377 The reference is to the Polish national liberation insurrection of 1830-31. p. 463

378 The reference is to the elections to the French Legislative Assembly held on May 13, 1849. The monarchist groups—legitimists, Orleanists and Bonapartists who formed a joint "party of order"—got the majority. Though the elections were held in an atmosphere of administrative pressure and accompanied by ballot-rigging on the part of the conservative authorities, a major success was scored by a bloc of democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists called the Mountain

party. About two million electors voted for their candidates, who received 180 seats in the Assembly. p. 463

379 The expectation of a new upsurge of the European revolution, which is expressed in Engels' article closing his series about the revolutionary war in Hungary, as well as in other items by Marx and Engels in the last issues of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, was fostered by the brilliant victories scored by the Hungarian army, the uprisings in South-West Germany and the maturing conflict between the democratic and counter-revolutionary forces in the French Republic. Hopes of a more extensive and wider revolution did not come true, however. The uprisings in Baden and the Palatinate did not extend beyond local limits and the activities of petty-bourgeois democrats in France in June 1849 failed (see this volume, pp. 477-79). In the Hungarian campaign, a change shortly took place unfavourable to the revolutionary movement. Internal differences intensified between radical circles and the supporters of a compromise with the Habsburgs among the liberal landowners who were afraid that the revolution would go further. The views of the latter were also shared by Görgey, Hungarian commander-in-chief (in May also appointed War Minister), who often acted contrary to the instructions of Kossuth and other radicals. Görgey's strategic error was that he actually refused to undertake operations to capture Vienna and use the main forces for the siege of the fortress of Buda (Ofen), and this gave the Austrian command time to bring up reserves. In mid-June 1849 the Tsarist army under Paskevich entered Hungary to offer help to the Austrian counter-revolution. The Tsarist intervention was carried out according to the agreement concluded by Emperor Nicholas I and Francis Joseph in Warsaw on May 21, and was in fact approved by the ruling circles of France and England who were eager to destroy the revolution in Central Europe. The combined forces of the Habsburgs and the Tsar far outnumbered those of the Hungarians and inflicted several defeats on the latter. On August 13, Görgey, who was in command of the Hungarian main army, signed a capitulation at Világos. The Hungarian revolution was suppressed amid great terror of which many Hungarian military and political figures fell victims. Kossuth, Bem, Dembiński and the head of the last Hungarian Government Szemere who had to flee the country, were sentenced to death by default. p. 463

380 See Note 19. p. 464

381 After the defeat of the Prussian troops by Napoleon's army at Jena and Auerstedt (October 14, 1806), a number of Prussian fortresses capitulated to the French without a fight. The fortress of Küstrin, for instance, surrendered to a small French detachment on October 31 and Magdeburg, with its many thousand-strong garrison and artillery, was surrendered by General Kleist on November 8, after the first salvo fired by the French from light field mortars.

In the Appeal *To My People (An Mein Volk)* of March 17, 1813 Frederick William III promised to introduce a Constitution in Prussia, but this remained a dead letter. p. 464

382 See Note 340. p. 464

383 See Note 274. p. 464

384 "*I and My house wish to serve the lord*"—words from the royal speech of Frederick William IV at the opening of the first United Diet on April 11, 1847. The words "*unweakened crown*" (see Note 46) are also from that speech. p. 465

385 This address was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 467

386 This statement was written by Marx in Bingen (Hesse) during his last days in Germany. Immediately after the suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx and Engels went to Frankfurt am Main and then to insurgent Baden and the Palatinate. However, they failed in their attempts to convince the Left deputies of the Frankfurt Assembly and members of the provisional governments of Baden and the Palatinate of the need to give the movement an all-German character, to mount a resolute offensive, to bring the Assembly openly to join the uprising, to compel it to call upon the people everywhere to take up arms, set up an energetic executive power and carry out radical agrarian and other reforms. Their bold revolutionary plan was turned down by the representatives of petty-bourgeois democrats. From Bingen, Marx decided to go to France where new revolutionary events were expected, intending to establish closer ties between the German democrats and the revolutionary circles in Paris. For his part, Engels thought it expedient to return to the Palatinate and join personally the forthcoming struggle against the counter-revolutionary troops that were then concentrating.

This statement in the press was in reply to the claims of the democratic *Westdeutsche Zeitung* (which first came out in Cologne on May 25, 1849) to be the successor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Its editorial board announced that the subscribers to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* would receive the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* instead. The covering letter addressed to the editorial board of the liberal *Frankfurter Journal* has survived in manuscript form. There are no data about the statement being published in this newspaper, but it was printed in the democratic newspapers of Frankfurt and Cologne. p. 473

387 This article was written by Engels in early June 1849, immediately after his return to Kaiserslautern—the capital of the Palatinate which he and Marx visited in the last ten days of May after the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* ceased to appear. In the Palatinate, Engels refused to accept the civil and military posts offered him by the provisional government, because he did not want to take responsibility for the policy of the petty-bourgeois democratic members of the government, a policy which he, a proletarian revolutionary, did not support. He agreed, however, to write a few articles for the government newspaper, *Der Bote für Stadt und Land*, in defence of the democratic movement against attacks from conservative and moderately liberal papers.

Engels' second article was not published because of objections that it was too "inflammatory" (see Engels' article "The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution", present edition, Vol. 10). This induced Engels to cease contributing to the newspaper. On June 13, Engels left Kaiserslautern for Offenbach in order to join the ranks of the Baden-Palatinate army—Willich's volunteer corps. As Willich's aide, he took part in drafting the plan for military operations and supervised the implementation of the most important assignments. He fought in four big battles, in particular at Rastatt. On July 12, 1849, Engels was one of the last fighters to cross the Swiss border. p. 474

388 See Note 40. p. 474

389 An allusion to Marx who, in view of the decisive revolutionary events expected in France, went to Paris about June 2, 1849. He was issued with the mandate of the Central Committee of German Democrats signed by d'Ester, the most active member of the provisional government in the Palatinate, and this empowered him

to represent the German revolutionary party before the French democrats and socialists in Paris. p. 475

390 See Note 244. p. 475

391 The reference is to the Prussian General Peucker who, from July 15, 1848 to May 10, 1849, held the post of Minister of War in the so-called Central Authority (see Note 41) and was then in command of the imperial troops sent to the Palatinate and Baden to suppress the movement for the imperial Constitution there. p. 475

392 See Note 335. p. 475

393 See Note 136. p. 476

394 On June 13, 1849, in Paris the petty-bourgeois *Mountain* party (see Note 378) came out against the Government, on account of the bombardment of Rome by French troops sent to Italy to suppress the Roman Republic. That was done in violation of Article 5 of the French Constitution, which forbade the use of armed forces against the freedom of other nations. The representatives of the Mountain in the Legislative Assembly declared that they would use all possible means to defend the Constitution. At the decisive moment, however, the leaders of the Mountain were frightened of a new armed uprising by the Paris proletariat and called upon Parisians to confine themselves to a peaceful protest demonstration against intervention in Italy. The demonstration took place on June 13 and was dispersed by troops and bourgeois detachments of the National Guard prepared in advance. A state of siege was declared in Paris, massive repressions began against democratic and proletarian organisations, some representatives of the Mountain emigrated, others were arrested and put on trial. The Legislative Assembly was overwhelmed by the conservative "party of order", a union of monarchist factions, which started a campaign against the democratic freedoms and rights that still survived. The events of June 13 testified to the bankruptcy of the tactics used by petty-bourgeois democrats and inflicted a severe blow to the revolutionary movement in Europe. p. 477

395 The reference is to the revolutionary group within the Commission of the Twenty-Five, the agency of the Paris Democratic-Socialist Electoral Committee. The group included members of workers' clubs and secret societies. The Democratic-Socialist Committee headed the campaign carried on in Paris by the Mountain for the elections to the French Legislative Assembly held on May 13, 1849 (see Note 378). p. 477

396 *Conservatoire des Arts*—an educational establishment in Paris. p. 478

397 The reference is to the *Democratic Association of the Friends of the Constitution*, an organisation of moderate bourgeois republicans set up by the members of the *National* party (see Note 71) during the campaign for the elections to the French Legislative Assembly held on May 13, 1849. p. 478

398 Ledru-Rollin stated in the Legislative Assembly on June 11, 1849, that the Mountain intended to defend the Constitution by force of arms if necessary. p. 478

399 During the proletarian uprising in Paris on May 15, 1848 (see Note 77), Ledru-Rollin persuaded demonstrators who had burst into the premises of the Constituent Assembly to cease from decisive action, clear the premises and allow the Assembly to discuss their demands calmly.

During the uprising of the French proletariat on June 23-26, 1848, Ledru-Rollin supported the measures taken by the Government and the Constituent Assembly to suppress the insurgents and was one of the first to send a telegraph request for military reinforcements to be dispatched from the provinces to Paris. p. 478

400 The reference is to the brutal suppression of the workers' uprising in Lyons which broke out on June 15, 1849 under the impact of the June 13 events in Paris. p. 479

401 In view of the great financial and organisational difficulties which arose after the introduction of the state of siege in Cologne on September 26, 1848 and the suspension of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see Note 307), Marx was compelled to take financial responsibility for the newspaper's publication upon himself; he invested in it all the cash he had and thus, in fact, became its owner. p. 480

402 Marx began to study political economy at the end of 1843 and, in the spring of 1844, set himself the task of giving critical examination of bourgeois political economy from the standpoint of materialism and communism. The draft written in this connection—*Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (see present edition, Vol. 3)—has reached us in an incomplete form. In February 1845, just before his first expulsion from France, Marx concluded a contract with the Leske publishers in Darmstadt for the publication of a two-volume *Kritik der Politik und Nationalökonomie,* which he continued to work on in Brussels (see present edition, Vol. 4, p. 675). In September 1846, however, Leske informed Marx that, in view of rigorous censorship and police persecution, he would not be able to publish the work. The contract was soon cancelled. Nevertheless Marx did not cease his economic studies and added new material to his notebooks containing extracts on political economy. He set out the results of his economic research in a book directed against Proudhon, *The Poverty of Philosophy,* in his Speech on the Question of Free Trade, in his *Wage Labour and Capital* and other works (see present edition, Vol. 6 and this volume, pp. 197-228). Marx did not give up his intention of writing a big treatise on political economy, but during the intensive revolutionary activities of 1848-49, he had to postpone it. Marx managed to resume his economic research on a regular basis only after he moved to London in August 1849. p. 480

403 On July 19, 1849 in an atmosphere of repression against democrats and socialists following the events of June 13 in Paris, the French authorities informed Marx that an order had been issued for his expulsion from Paris to Morbihan, a swampy and unhealthy place in Brittany. Marx protested and the expulsion was delayed, but on August 23 he again received a police order to leave Paris within 24 hours. At the end of August, Marx set off for London where he spent the rest of his life. p. 481

404 This is a rough version of the Repudiation drawn up by Engels on behalf of a group of men who had served in the volunteer corps under Willich (Engels was his aide) and had taken part in the military operations of the Baden-Palatinate army. Willich's corps consisted of eight companies numbering 700-800 people, partly students but mostly workers—German emigrants in Besançon (France), members of workers' associations and gymnastics societies, etc. Two companies were formed from the workers of Rhenish Prussia, participants in the May uprising in Elberfeld and other towns. Engels described them as the most steady and reliable in the insurgent army. At the closing stage of the military campaign, when the insurgents were defeated at the battle at Rastatt, Willich's corps covered the retreat of other

insurgent units and on July 12, 1849 was the last to leave German territory. During their stay in Switzerland, the men and officers of the corps were criticised and abused by petty-bourgeois emigrants, leaders of the uprising in the Palatinate and Baden. This compelled Engels, who happened to be in the town of Vevey, in the Swiss Canton of Waad (Vaud), to write this Repudiation.

On Marx's advice (see his letter to Engels dated August 1, 1849), Engels soon began to write "The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution" directed against the petty-bourgeois democrats. He finished it in February 1850 in London, where he had moved from Switzerland (it took him October and November 1849 to travel to England). The facts given in the rough copy of the Repudiation and pertaining to the moment when the Baden-Palatinate army was retreating towards the Swiss border are found in the concluding part of that work (see present edition, Vol. 10). Engels' manuscript was discovered in the Berne Federal Archives by Rolf Dlubek, an historian from the German Democratic Republic, who published it in 1967. There are many deletions. Judging from the first lines, the document was intended to be signed by several participants in the campaign. At the end of the rough copy, there is the pencilled signature of Captain Koehler. p. 482

405 The reference is to one of the units in the insurgent army, the Baden *Landsturm* under Becker. During the revolution of 1848-49, Becker played an important role in the republican uprisings in South Germany. At that time he took a revolutionary-democratic stand, but his views on programme and tactics were confined to petty-bourgeois socialism. p. 482

406 The commanders of the Baden-Palatinate army that was retreating before the enemy's superior forces held a council of war in Jestetten on July 10, 1849, on the eve of the crossing on to Swiss territory. At the council, most of the commanders spoke for ending the struggle. Among them was the commander-in-chief Franz Siegel, who was reinstated in this post when on July 1, 1849, the Polish general, Mieroslawski, who had commanded the insurgent army for some time, resigned. p. 483

407 The reference is to the acquittals of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (the accused were Marx, Engels and Korff) and of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats (the accused were Marx, Schapper and the lawyer Schneider II) at the trials held on February 7 and 8, 1849 (see notes 289 and 366). p. 487

408 What is meant here is evidently the order issued by the Prussian Minister of the Interior Kühlwetter to the effect that the decision of the Cologne royal government authorities not to grant Prussian citizenship to Marx remained in force (see Note 365, and also the article "The Conflict between Marx and Prussian Citizenship" and the letter from the Minister of the Interior Kühlwetter to Marx dated September 12, 1848, present edition, Vol. 7). p. 488

409 In February and March 1849, a number of democratic banquets were organised in the Rhine Province to mark the anniversaries of the revolutions in France and Germany. Marx and Engels regarded these banquets as a form of revolutionary education for the masses, and gave them their general support. They themselves, however, attended only those that were held under genuinely revolutionary slogans and did not approve the attempts of petty-bourgeois democrats to exaggerate the significance of those revolutionary events that were half-hearted and incomplete in character and thereby sowed constitutional illusions among the masses. Among these events, they believed, was the March revolution in Prussia (see this volume, p. 108). Therefore, having published in the *Neue Rheinische*

*Zeitung* (No. 245, May 14, 1849) an announcement of the banquet in Solingen in compliance with its organisers' request, they did not accept an invitation to attend in person. Their refusal to accept this and other invitations was tactfully explained in the editorial note published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 249, second edition, March 18, 1849 which read: "The editorial board of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has received from many neighbouring towns, both on the left and the right bank of the Rhine, invitations to attend banquets to be held on March 18. We are very grateful to our democratic friends for these kind invitations, but unfortunately having plenty of work to do we could not accept a single one of them." Nevertheless, Marx, Engels and other newspaper editors took an active part in the banquet organised in Cologne at the Gürzenich hall, on March 19, not to celebrate the March revolution but in honour of those who fought on the barricades in Berlin on March 18 and 19, 1848 (see next document, pp. 490-91). p. 489

410 On the trial of Barbès, Blanqui, Raspail and other revolutionary leaders held in Bourges between March 7 and April 3, 1849, see Note 78. p. 490

411 The reference is to the banquet organised by liberals and moderate democrats in Cologne to mark the anniversary of the revolution of March 18, 1848.
*Wailers*—see Note 136. p. 491

412 This refers to the attempt by the Minister of the Interior, Manteuffel, to implicate Marx, Engels and their associates in the case against cobbler Hätzel, a member of the Communist League, at whose house in Berlin the Rules of the League, weapons and hand grenades had been found. On March 30, 1848, Manteuffel sent a secret police agent to Cologne to carry out house searches, seize papers and, using the evidence thus obtained, arrest the Cologne leaders of the Communist League. However, this police action misfired owing to lack of evidence. p. 493

413 These decisions by the general meeting of the Cologne Workers' Association were connected with the policy of strengthening the class independence of the workers' organisations and with practical steps to form a mass political party in Germany. Marx, Engels and their associates in the Communist League and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* adopted this policy in view of the changes that had taken place in the country's political situation by the spring of 1849 (see Note 225). Marx and Engels attached great importance to the Cologne Workers' Association in their plans for founding the party. By that time, the Association had become the bulwark of their ideological influence on the workers' movement and one of the initiators of the union of workers' associations in the Rhine Province and throughout Germany.

The *Cologne Workers' Association*—a workers' organisation founded on April 13, 1848 by Andreas Gottschalk. By the beginning of May it had up to 5,000 members, most of whom were workers and artisans. The Association was headed by a President and a committee, which included representatives of various trades, and had several branches.

Most of the leading figures in the Workers' Association (Gottschalk, Anneke, Schapper, Moll, Lessner, Jansen, Röser, Nothjung, Bedorf) were members of the Communist League. After Gottschalk's arrest on July 6, Moll was elected President of the Association, and on October 16, on request of the Association's members, the presidency was temporarily assumed by Marx. From February to May 1849 the post was held by Schapper.

In the initial period of its existence, the Workers' Association was influenced by Gottschalk who ignored the tasks of the proletariat in the democratic revolution,

pursued a policy of boycotting elections to representative institutions and came out against a union with democracy. Gottschalk combined ultra-Left phrases with quite moderate methods of struggle (e.g. petitions) and support for the demands advanced by workers affected by craft prejudices. From the very outset, Gottschalk's sectarian position was opposed by the supporters of Marx and Engels. Under their impact, a change took place at the end of June 1848 in the activities of the Workers' Association, which became a centre of revolutionary agitation among the workers, and from the autumn of 1848 among the peasants as well. Propaganda of scientific communism and study of Marx's works were carried on within the Association. It maintained contacts with other workers' and democratic organisations.

With the aim of strengthening the Association, Marx, Schapper and its other leaders reorganised it in January and February 1849. On February 25, new Rules were adopted declaring a higher class consciousness on the part of the workers to be the main task of the Association.

The mounting counter-revolution and intensified police persecution frustrated the Association's activities aimed at unity and organisation of the working masses. After the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was suppressed and Marx, Schapper and other leaders left Cologne, the Association gradually turned into an ordinary workers' educational society. p. 494

414 The reference is to the *Central Committee of German Workers* that was elected at the Workers' Congress held in Berlin from August 23 to September 3, 1848. At this congress the Workers' Fraternity, a union of many workers' associations, was founded. The programme of the congress was drawn up under the influence of Stephan Born and set the workers the task of implementing narrow craft-union demands, thereby diverting them from the revolutionary struggle. The Central Committee, which included Stephan Born, Schwenniger and Kick, had its headquarters in Leipzig.

At the end of 1848, under the impact of the revolutionary events and experience drawn from them, the leaders of the Workers' Fraternity began to display certain revolutionary tendencies. They recognised the need to arm the workers and for them to take an active part in the political struggle. There was a great desire to set up an all-German workers' organisation. In the spring of 1849, the Workers' Fraternity and a number of regional congresses of workers' associations proposed that a national workers' congress be convened in Leipzig to found a general workers' union. These plans, however, were frustrated by the developing counter-revolution. p. 494

415 See Note 412. p. 497

416 This resolution criticises the sectarian stand taken by Gottschalk. From the very start of the revolution, it was evident that he did not agree with the tactics pursued by Marx and Engels (see Note 413) and, for that reason, he withdrew from the Communist League at the beginning of May 1848.

In July 1848, Gottschalk, together with Anneke and Esser, was arrested and put on trial on a charge of "inciting to an armed uprising against royal power". The trial was held on December 21-23. Under public pressure, the jury returned a verdict of not guilty. After his release, Gottschalk first went to Bonn and later to Paris and Brussels, but through his associates attempted to cause a split in the ranks of the Cologne Workers' Association and impose sectarian organisational principles and tactics upon it. p. 498

417 The reference is to the participation of Gottschalk, prior to his arrest, in the *First Democratic Congress*. It was held in Frankfurt am Main from June 14 to 17, 1848

and attended by delegates of 89 democratic and workers' associations from different towns in Germany. The congress decided to unite all democratic associations and to set up district committees under the Central Committee of German Democrats. However, due to the weakness and vacillations of the petty-bourgeois leaders, even after the congress the democratic movement in Germany still lacked unity and organisation, and remained ideologically heterogeneous. p. 498

418 When the *Zeitung des Arbeiter-Vereines zu Köln* ceased to appear because of police reprisals against the owner of its printing-press, the newspaper *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit,* which began publication on October 26, 1848, became the organ of the Cologne Workers' Association. At the end of December, as a result of Gottschalk's interference in the paper's affairs, its publication was interrupted. From January 14, 1849, the newspaper *Freiheit, Arbeit* began to appear. Its responsible editor was Prinz, who supported Gottschalk and pursued the latter's policy of splitting the Cologne Workers' Association. Prinz refused to submit to the editorial commission which had been appointed at the committee meeting of the Cologne Workers' Association on January 15 and included Schapper, Röser and Reiff; the committee meeting of January 29 resolved, therefore, that the *Freiheit, Arbeit* could not be regarded as the Association's newspaper and that the *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit* should resume publication with Esser as its editor. The *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit* reappeared on February 8 and continued publication up to the middle of 1849. The *Freiheit, Arbeit* continued to appear until June 17, 1849, carrying a variety of insinuations against Marx and Engels. p. 499

419 In a declaration written in Brussels on January 9, 1849 and published in the *Freiheit, Arbeit* on January 18, Gottschalk explained his "voluntary banishment" by the fact that, despite his acquittal, many of his fellow-citizens remained convinced of his guilt. He declared that he would come back only if he was called by "the hitherto supreme arbiter in the country" (an allusion to the King, Frederick William IV), or by "his fellow-citizens", by "the voice of the people". p. 499

420 The reference is to the *Workers' Fraternity* (see Note 414). p. 504

421 This receipt was made at the time of Marx's trip to North-West Germany and Westphalia in mid-April 1849 with the aim of drawing local workers' associations into the preparations for organising a proletarian party, of establishing closer contacts with the members of the Communist League and democrats and of collecting funds to continue the publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* p. 505

422 Simultaneously with the Congress of Workers' Associations of the Rhine Province and Westphalia (about the preparations for which see this volume, p. 392) on May 6, 1849 in Cologne a congress of the democratic organisations of these provinces, and then a joint sitting were held. Both congresses took place at a time when the authorities were preparing reprisals against those who engaged in revolutionary disturbances. It was expected that a state of siege would be declared in Cologne. The sittings of the congresses were therefore short and reports on their resolutions were not published in the newspapers. These resolutions evidently concerned urgent measures to combat the counter-revolution. The joint sitting of the congresses showed that, despite the organisational break with the petty-bourgeois democrats, the workers' organisations led by Marx and Engels did not reject combined actions with them in the struggle against the counter-revolution.

Marx and Engels planned that the congress of the workers' associations of Rhenish Prussia, which, as the newspaper report indicates, was attended by a considerable number of delegates, would be a new step towards the convocation of an all-German workers' congress and a union of workers' associations on a country-wide scale. The mounting reaction, however, upset this plan to create a mass political party of the German proletariat. p. 506

423 As the report of May 18 from Cologne published in the *Trier'sche Zeitung* indicates, the news of reprisals against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was circulating among journalists before May 19, when the last issue of the newspaper appeared. A Cologne correspondent of the constitutional monarchist *Deutsche Zeitung* put out in Frankfurt am Main wrote as follows about this in a report also dated May 18: "The editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Herr Karl Marx, has received orders from our *Regierungspräsident* to leave Cologne within 24 hours, failing which the authorities will be obliged to resort to force. The reason given in the letter from the *Regierungspräsident* is that by the unbridled language predominating in recent numbers of his newspaper, by deriding and insulting the Royal Government and the authorities, as well as by openly working for the Social Republic, Herr Marx has shamelessly abused the hospitality extended to him. Since orders for the arrest of his other colleagues as well are to be implemented and the latter therefore intend to escape, the last number of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* will appear tomorrow morning, and it will be printed in red. Furthermore, this number will contain a remarkable valedictory poem by Freiligrath. The editors and the workers are said to be intending to proceed to the Palatinate without delay" (*Deutsche Zeitung* No. 138, May 20, 1849). p. 509

424 The reference is to a number of Marx's items and his speech for the defence at the trial against the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats on February 8, 1849. These were published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and proved that by effecting the coup d'état and dispersing the Prussian National Assembly on December 5, 1848, the Government of Frederick William IV had grossly violated the edicts sanctioned by the King after the March revolution introducing a constitutional system in the country. In his speech for the defence Marx pointed to the "Decision on Some Principles of the Future Prussian Constitution" adopted on April 6, 1848 and the electoral law for the convocation of the National Assembly adopted on April 8, 1848 (see Note 86). p. 512

425 This is an excerpt from the section "Continental Europe" in "The Political and Historical Survey" published in several issues of the *Democratic Review*: The author of the "Survey" was obviously George Julian Harney, editor of the journal. p. 512

426 On the stay of Marx and Engels in South-West Germany (Baden and the Palatinate) after being compelled to leave Cologne, see Note 386. p. 515

427 In September 1848 Marx, Korff and others were accused by the imperial Ministry of having libelled the deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly in: 1) Georg Weerth's series of feuilletons *Leben und Taten des berühmten Ritters Schnapphahnski* directed against Lichnowski, a Right-wing representative, and published anonymously in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in August, September and December 1848 and January 1849; 2) a report from Breslau in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 95 for September 6, 1848 about Prince Lichnowski's machinations in the electoral campaign; 3) a report from Frankfurt am Main in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 102 for September 14, 1848 exposing false information in the report by Stedtmann, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly, concerning the vote on

the armistice with Denmark; 4) a resolution of the public meeting in Cologne published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 110, September 23, 1848, in which the deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly who had voted for the armistice with Denmark were accused of having betrayed the nation (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 588-89). For more details on the trial, see this volume, pp. 517-20. p. 516

428 See Note 92. p. 518

429 The reference is to the *Democratic Society* in Cologne which was set up in April 1848 and included small businessmen, as well as workers and artisans. Marx, Engels and other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* who formed the leadership of the Society strove to direct its activities towards a resolute struggle against the counter-revolutionary policy of the Prussian ruling circles and exposure of the liberal bourgeoisie's "agreement" policy. In April 1849 Marx and his supporters, who had in fact begun to organise an independent mass proletarian party, found it necessary to separate from the petty-bourgeois democrats and so withdrew from the Democratic Society. At the same time, they continued to support the revolutionary actions of all the democratic forces in Germany. p. 519

430 This was the third time that the authorities instituted legal proceedings against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. At the first trial of Marx, Engels and Korff, held on February 7, 1849, the jury returned a verdict of not guilty (see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 304-22). At the second trial on May 29, 1849 the Public Prosecutor's office and the police authorities failed to sentence Marx and other newspaper editors in their absence and only Korff, the former responsible manager, was sentenced to a one-month term of imprisonment and to pay one-seventh of the costs (see this volume, pp. 519-20), so the third time it was decided to put only Korff on trial. It was thought that, by condemning him, other leading editors of the newspaper would likewise be morally discredited, above all Marx as editor-in-chief. But the reactionaries miscalculated: Korff was acquitted. p. 521

431 See Note 307. p. 521

432 The news of Marx's arrival in Paris was evidently somewhat delayed in reaching Cologne. Judging from Marx's letter to Engels of July 7, 1849 sent from Paris to Kaiserslautern (the Palatinate), he arrived in the French capital in the first days of June. p. 525

433 On Marx's expulsion from Paris, see Note 403. p. 526

# NAME INDEX

## A

*Adélaide, Princess of Orléans* (1777-1847)—sister to Louis Philippe, King of the French.—82

*Alexander I* (1777-1825)—Emperor of Russia (1801-25); the 2nd Infantry Regiment of the Austrian army was named after him.—245, 365

*Alexander of Macedon (Alexander the Great)* (356-323 B.C.)—general and statesman of antiquity.—206

*Ali Mehemet Paşa* (1815-1871)—Turkish statesman, Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1846 to 1852.—41

*Almasy, Paul (Almási, Pál)* (1818-1882)—Hungarian politician, deputy to the National Assembly in Pest (1848), President of the Hungarian National Assembly in Debreczin (1849); after the revolution was defeated, he emigrated to Paris, but later returned to his homeland.—145

*Ammon, von*—Prussian official, Public Prosecutor in Düsseldorf (1848-49), deputy to the First Chamber (1849).—339, 340, 373

*Anneke, Friedrich* (1818-1872)—Prussian artillery officer discharged from the army in 1846 on political grounds; member of the Communist League; one of the founders of the Cologne Workers' Association in 1848; editor of the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung*; member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats; lieutenant-colonel of the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army.—282, 495, 501, 503, 508

*Appel, Christian, Baron von* (1785-1854)—Austrian general, participated in the suppression of the 1848-49 revolution in Italy and Hungary.—175, 332

*Arago, François Victor Emmanuel* (1812-1896)—French politician and diplomat, in 1848 member of the Chamber of Deputies, commissary general of the Republic in Lyons, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies; ambassador to Berlin (1848-52).—414

*Arndt, Ernst Moritz* (1769-1860)—German writer, historian and philologist; took part in the struggle for liberation against Napoleon's rule; supported constitutional monarchy; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848 and 1849.—69, 88, 108, 143, 320

*Arnim-Boytzenburg, Adolf Heinrich, Count von* (1803-1868)—Prussian statesman, junker, Minister of the Interior (1842-45); Prime Minister (March 19-29, 1848); a Right-wing leader in the Second Chamber (1849).—69, 88, 108, 143, 320

*d'Aspre, Konstantin, Baron* (1789-1850)—Austrian Master of Ordnance, second

chief of the 1st Infantry Regiment, took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Italy.—161, 175

*Auersperg, Maximilian, Count* (1771-1850)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, commander of the Austrian troops in the Banat (1836), fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849, chief of the 5th Cuirassier Regiment.—269, 274

*Auerswald, Rudolf von* (1795-1866)—Prussian statesman, liberal aristocrat; Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (June-September 1848), *Oberpräsident* of Western Prussia (from September 1848 to 1850).—69

*Aulich, Lajos* (1792-1849)—Hungarian revolutionary general (from March 1849), executed after the revolution was suppressed.—11, 100, 408

*Aumale, Henri Eugène Philippe Louis d'Orléans, duc de* (1822-1897)—son of Louis Philippe, King of the French, took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1840s, one of the French troops' commanders.—83

B

*Barbès, Armand* (1809-1870)—French revolutionary, a leader of secret societies during the July monarchy; deputy to the Constituent Assembly in 1848; sentenced to life imprisonment for his participation in the popular insurrection of May 15, 1848; after amnesty in 1854 emigrated to Belgium.—81

*Barco, Joseph, Baron von* (1798-1861)—Austrian major-general, later lieutenant-field marshal; took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary (1848-49) and in the siege of Komorn (July 1849).—365

*Barrot, Camille Hyacinthe Odilon* (1791-1873)—French politician, before February 1848 leader of the liberal dynastic opposition; from December 1848 to October 1849 headed the Ministry that relied on a monarchist coalition.—85, 170, 191, 192, 323, 414

*Bassermann, Friedrich Daniel* (1811-1855)—German politician, represented the Baden Government in the Federal Diet during the 1848-49 revolution; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre).—48, 377, 417

*Batthyány*—participant in the revolution of 1848-49 in Hungary, commandant of Peterwardein.—278, 286, 293

*Batthyány, Kazimir (Kázmér), Count von* (1807-1854)—Hungarian statesman, liberal aristocrat, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Hungarian revolutionary Government of Szemere (1849); after the suppression of the revolution emigrated to Turkey and then to France.—97

*Batthyány, Lajos, Count von* (1806-1849)—Hungarian politician, Prime Minister of Hungary (from March 17 to September 15, 1848), a moderate liberal leader; after the victory of the counter-revolution he was shot by decision of the Austrian court martial.—100, 239-40

*Beaumarchais, Pierre Augustin Caron de* (1732-1799)—French dramatist.—340

*Bechtold, Arnold*—typesetter in the Cologne printing works where the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was published.—516-19

*Becker, Hermann Heinrich* (1820-1885)—German lawyer and journalist, a leader of the Cologne Association for Workers and Employers, member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats, editor of the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* (from May 1849 to July 1850); member of the Communist League from 1850.—282, 490, 506, 516-19

*Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886)—German revolutionary, participant in the democratic movement of the 1830s-40s in Germany and Switzerland and in the war against the Sonderbund; took an active part in the revolution of 1848-49; was in command of the Baden people's militia during the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; prominent figure in the First International in the 1860s, and dele-

gate to all its congresses; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—482-83

*Bekk, Johann Baptist* (1797-1855)—Baden statesman, moderate liberal; Minister of the Interior from 1846 but he lost this post as a result of the spring 1849 revolutionary uprising in Baden.—55

*Bem, Józef* (1795-1850)—Polish general and prominent figure in the national liberation movement, participant in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31 and in the revolutionary struggle in Vienna in 1848. One of the commanders of the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49), he emigrated to Turkey after the defeat of the revolution.—9, 13, 17, 25, 26, 39, 59, 61, 94, 112, 113-14, 122, 124, 134, 146, 158-59, 168, 179, 182, 187, 188-90, 230, 232, 235, 236, 237, 238, 242, 243, 248, 252, 253, 256, 257, 270, 279-80, 287-89, 294, 304, 318-19, 331, 337, 344, 356, 367

*Benedek, Ludwig, von* (1804-1881)—Austrian general, took part in the suppression of the peasant uprising in Galicia in 1846 and of the national liberation movements in Italy and Hungary in 1848 and 1849; commander-in-chief of the Austrian army during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—253, 293, 303, 344, 365.

*Berends, Julius* (b. 1817)—owner of a printing works in Berlin, petty-bourgeois democrat, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848, deputy to the Second Chamber (extreme Left wing) in 1849; emigrated to America in 1853.—329

*Berg, Fyodor Fyodorovich, Count* (1790-1874)—Russian general, later field marshal; in 1849 carried out diplomatic missions at the Prussian and Austrian courts in connection with Russian participation in the war against revolutionary Hungary; Governor-General of Finland (1855-63); Deputy Governor of the Kingdom of Poland (1863-73).—398

*Berg, Philipp Karl Peter von* (1815-1866)—Prussian Catholic priest; in 1848 deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre); in 1849 deputy to the Second Chamber.—137-38, 139

*Berger von der Pleisse, Georg, Baron*—Austrian lieutenant-colonel, staff officer of the 34th Infantry Regiment.—237

*Berger von der Pleisse, Johann, Baron* (1768-1864)—Austrian lieutenant field-marshal, later Master of Ordnance, took part in the wars against revolutionary and Napoleonic France (1793-1815); commandant of the Arad fortress (1844-49); after defending it for nine months, he surrendered the fortress to the Hungarian troops.—238

*Bernicki*—Polish army officer, took part in the revolution of 1848-49 in Hungary.—304

*Bès, Michelle Giuseppe* (1794-1855)—Piedmontese general, participated in the war against Austria in 1848 and 1849.—175, 176

*Bias.*—45

*Bibesco, George Demetrius* (1804-1873)—ruler of Wallachia (1843-48), during the revolution of 1848 was obliged to resign and emigrate.—278

*Bilski*—Polish army officer, took part in the revolution of 1848-49 in Hungary. He was executed by the Austrians in 1849.—235

*Birck*—official of the Royal Government in Cologne.—496, 497

*Bischoffswerder, Johann Rudolf von* (1741-1803)—Prussian general and conservative statesman, exerted considerable influence on Prussia's home and foreign policy under Frederick William II.—419

*Bloudek, Bedřich* (d. 1875)—participant in the Slovak national movement of 1848-49 in the region of Dukla.—409

*Blum, Robert* (1807-1848)—German democrat, journalist, leader of the Left in the Frankfurt National Assembly; in October 1848 he participated in the defence of Vienna; was executed by court martial decision.—47, 48, 257

*Bodelschwingh, Ernst von* (1794-1854)—Prussian statesman, junker; Minister of Finance (1842-45), Minister of the Interior (1845-March 1848); deputy to the Second Chamber (Right wing) in 1849.—88, 141, 142

*Bogdanović, Konstantin* (1811-1854)—Serbian statesman, writer and journalist, founder of the magazine *Vjestnik* (Pest, 1848); secretary to Patriarch Rajachich.—147

*Böhm, Baron von*—Austrian general, in April 1849 substituted for Welden as commandant of Vienna.—302, 331, 364

*Bölling*—Prussian officer of justice, Public Prosecutor (1849), prosecutor at the trials of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* editors and contributors held in Cologne on May 29 and 30, 1849.—517, 518, 519, 521, 522

*Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Bonin, Gustav von* (1797-1878)—Prussian statesman, Minister of Finance (September-November 1848), *Oberpräsident* of Posen (1850s-60s).—69

*Borrosch, Alois* (1797-1869)—Austrian politician, bourgeois liberal; bookseller in Prague; participant in the 1848 revolution in Austria, leader of the German-Bohemian group in the Austrian Imperial Diet.—106, 144

*Bosnich*—Austrian army officer, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary (1848 and 1849).—319

*Bowring, Sir John* (1792-1872)—British politician, linguist and man of letters, follower of Bentham, free trader.—4

*Brandenburg, Friedrich Wilhelm, Count von* (1792-1850)—Prussian general and statesman, head of the counter-revolutionary Ministry (from November 1848 to November 1850).—56, 65, 66, 86, 193, 258, 417, 421, 432, 439

*Brauner, František August* (1810-1880)—Right-wing member of the national movement in Bohemia, liberal, doctor of law, deputy to the Austrian Imperial Diet (1848-49).—106

*Brendamour*—police inspector in Cologne.—450

*Brüggemann, Karl Heinrich* (1810-1887)—German journalist, moderate liberal, editor-in-chief of the *Kölnische Zeitung* (1846-55).—436

*Brunswick, Duke of*—see *Karl, Friedrich August Wilhelm*

*Budinski*—participant in the revolution of 1848-49 in Hungary, Polish by birth, was in command of the revolutionary troops in Transylvania.—61

*Bürgers, Heinrich* (1820-1878)—German journalist, contributor to the *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842-43), member of the Cologne community of the Communist League (1848); an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; from 1850 member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; later Progressist.—490

*Burits de Bornay, Johann, Baron* (1792-1858)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—350

*Bussek*—Austrian army officer, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—113

C

*Camphausen, Ludolf* (1803-1890)—German banker, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Prime Minister (March-June 1848); Prussian envoy at the Central Authority (July 1848-April 1849).—69, 88, 108, 125, 138, 359, 380, 387

*Cantador, Lorenz*—German merchant, participant in the 1848-49 revolution; commander of the Düsseldorf civic militia (1848); in December 1848 was arrested for calling for armed resistance to the royal power; released in March 1849, he emigrated to the USA.—372, 374, 375

*Carlier, Pierre Charles Joseph* (1799-1858)—Prefect of Paris Police (1849-51), Bonapartist.—526, 527

*Carnap, Johann Adolph von* (born c. 1793)—Prussian official, Chief Bur-

gomaster of Elberfeld from 1837 to 1851.—423, 427

*Castiglioni, Heinrich, Count* (1790-1853)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, military commandant of Cracow from 1846, took part in suppressing the Polish national liberation movement and in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—319

*Catherine II* (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-96).—360

*Cavaignac, Louis Eugène* (1802-1857)—French general and politician, moderate republican, took part in the conquest of Algeria; after the February 1848 revolution became Governor of Algeria; War Minister of France from May 1848, played a leading part in suppressing the June uprising; head of the executive power (from June to December 1848).—102, 127, 170, 191-92, 370

*Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de* (1547-1616)—Spanish writer.—442

*Chambord, Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonné d'Artois, duc de Bordeaux, comte de* (1820-1883)—the last representative of the elder Bourbon line, pretender to the French throne as Henry V.—81, 192, 414

*Changarnier, Nicolas Anne Théodule* (1793-1877)—French general and politician, monarchist; deputy to the Constituent and the Legislative Assembly; commander of the Paris garrison and national guard after June 1848; took part in dispersing the Paris demonstration of June 13, 1849.—477

*Charles X* (1757-1836)—King of France (1824-30).—80

*Charles Albert (Carlo Alberto)* (1798-1849)—King of Sardinia (1831-49).—148, 151, 169, 173

*Chrzanowski, Wojciech* (1788-1861)—Polish general, in March 1849 was appointed chief of staff and actually commanded the Piedmontese army against the Austrians.—156, 157, 171-72, 174

*Civalart von Happancourt, Karl, Count* (b. 1766)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, chief of the 1st Uhlan Regiment from January 1844, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—273

*Clerfayt, Karl, Count* (1733-1798)—Austrian field marshal, took part in the war between Austria and Turkey (1788-89), in 1794 and 1795 commander-in-chief of the Austrian army in the war with the French Republic.—231

*Clever*—Prussian army officer, battalion commander during the war with Denmark (1848).—298

*Clouth*—leader of a Magyar-Slovak military unit that operated in March 1849 in North-East Hungary.—62

*Coburg-Kohary, Ferdinand Georg August, Duke of Saxony* (1785-1851)—Austrian general, chief of the 2nd Uhlan Regiment (1822-28).—149

*Coburg-Saalfeld, Friedrich Josias, Prince* (1737-1815)—Austrian field marshal, participated in the war against the French Republic (1793-94).—231

*Colloredo-Waldsee, Franz, Count* (1799-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat, ambassador to Russia from 1843 to 1847, envoy in London from the end of 1848 to 1856.—397

*Condé, Louis Henri Joseph, duc de Bourbon, Prince de* (1756-1830)—French aristocrat, emigrated during the French Revolution; in 1825 received compensation for confiscated property, part of which he bequeathed to his favourite Sophie Feuchères.—82

*Cramer, Carl*—German democrat, publisher and editor of the Cologne democratic newspaper *Wächter am Rhein* (1848-49).—450, 490

*Cremeville*—Austrian army officer, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—245

*Csorich (Čorić), Anton, barun od Monte Creto* (1795-1864)—Austrian general, Croat by birth, lieutenant-field marshal (from 1849), second chief of the 15th Infantry Regiment; took part in crushing the October 1848 uprising in Vienna and in the war against revolutionary Hungary.—153, 273, 303, 314, 316, 354, 363, 459

*Czartoryski*—son of Adam Czartoryski.—78

*Czartoryski, Adam Jerzy, Prince* (1770-1861)—Polish magnate; Russian Foreign Minister (1804-06); head of the Provisional Government during the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, later leader of Polish monarchist émigrés in France.—78

D

*Dahlen von Orlaburg, Franz, Baron* (b. 1779)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, second chief of the 59th Infantry Regiment.—284, 457, 458

*Damjanich, János* (1804-1849)—Hungarian general, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, supporter of Kossuth; after the revolution was defeated, he was executed together with twelve other Hungarian generals by the Austrian authorities on October 6, 1849.—26, 123, 179, 233, 262, 282, 408

*Deák, Ferencz* (1803-1876)—Hungarian politician, liberal aristocrat, supporter of compromise with the Austrian monarchy; Minister of Justice in the Batthyány Government (March-September 1848) and an initiator of the Austro-Hungarian agreement of 1867 to transform the Empire into a dual monarchy—Austria-Hungary; leader of the Hungarian ruling party.—240

*Dembiński, Henryk* (1791-1864)—Polish general and prominent figure in the national liberation movement, participant in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, commander-in-chief of the Hungarian revolutionary army (end of January and February 1849) and then of the Northern Theiss army; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated first to Turkey and then to France.—11, 16, 58, 76, 78, 112, 144, 149, 181, 187, 188, 232-34, 245, 268, 269, 270, 272, 275, 286, 292, 300, 314, 401, 460

*Deym, Moritz, Count* (1805-1872)—Austrian major-general, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—28, 110

*Dietz, Johann Wilhelm*—owner of the Cologne printing press where the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was published from August 30, 1848.—516-18

*Diez, Friedrich Christian* (1794-1876)—German philologist, founder of comparative study of the Romance languages, author of *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*.—325

*Dourlens*—police commissioner in the Faubourg St. Germain (Paris) in 1849.—526, 529

*Dragich*—Serbian army officer.—183

*Drigalski, von*—Prussian general, commander of a division in Düsseldorf in 1848.—70, 432, 443

*Dronke, Ernst* (1822-1891)—German journalist, at first "true socialist", later a member of the Communist League and an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.—473, 490, 514, 516-19

*Druey, Henri* (1799-1855)—Swiss radical statesman, took part in drafting the 1848 Constitution; member of the Federal Council, President of the Swiss Confederation in 1850.—45

*Duchâtel*—participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, general in the Hungarian revolutionary army, French by birth.—78, 124, 181, 187

*Dufaure, Jules Armand Stanislas* (1798-1881)—French statesman, Orleanist; Minister of the Interior (October-December 1848, June-October 1849), Minister of Justice (February 1871-May 1873, March 1875-August 1876) and Prime Minister (March-December 1876, September 1877-February 1879).—481, 526, 529

*Duhamel, Alexander Osipovich* (1801-1880)—Russian general and diplomat, took part in suppressing the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, carried out special diplomatic missions in Moldavia and Wallachia in 1842 and 1849.—78, 305

*Dumanski*—Polish army officer, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; executed by the Austrians in 1849.—235

*Dumont (Du Mont) Joseph* (1811-1861)—German journalist, moderate liberal; in 1831 became publisher of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.—436, 465

*Duncker*—Prussian official, Police Superintendent in Berlin in 1848.—71

*Durando, Giovanni* (1804-1869)—general of the Piedmontese army fighting against Austria in 1848 and 1849.—156, 164, 165, 175

*Duroc, Géraud Christophe Michel, duc de Friuli* (1772-1813)—French general and diplomat, participated in the campaigns of 1805-06 and 1807 as Napoleon's aide-de-camp.—114

*Dushan*—see *Stephen Dushan*

*Duvergier, Jean Baptiste Marie* (1792-1877)—French lawyer, published collections of French acts of law.—52

E

*Ebermeyer (Ebermeier)*—Prussian officer of justice in Düsseldorf, in 1849 examining magistrate.—373

*Eichhorn*—Prussian officer of justice, in 1849 State Public Prosecutor.—524

*Eichmann, Franz August* (1793-1879)—representative of old-Prussian aristocratic bureaucracy; *Oberpräsident* of the Rhine Province (1845-50); Minister of the Interior in the Pfuel Government (September and October 1848); deputy to the First Chamber (1849).—492, 496

*Eisenmann, Gottfried* (1795-1867)—German journalist, physician, editor of the newspaper *Teutsches Volksblatt* (1848); deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Centre, later Left wing) in 1848 and 1849; deputy to the Second Chamber (Left wing) in 1849.—36, 37, 85

*Elizabeth* (1801-1873)—Queen of Prussia, wife of Frederick William IV.—437

*Elkemann*—pastor, deputy for the rural districts of Cologne and Mülheim to the Second Chamber (Left Centre) in 1849.—291

*Engelhardt, Anton Yevstafyevich* (1795-1872)—Russian general, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary (1848-49).—279

*Engels, Friedrich (Frederick)* (1820-1895).—447-50, 473, 489, 490, 508, 509, 514, 524

*Erbach*—Austrian army officer, an aide-de-camp of Windischgrätz, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary (1848-49).—39

*Ernest Augustus* (1771-1851)—King of Hanover (1837-51).—431

*Esser, Christian Joseph* (born c. 1809)—German worker, member of the Cologne Workers' Association; editor of its newspaper *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit* (1849).—490, 495, 501, 503

*d'Ester, Karl Ludwig Johann* (1813-1859)—German socialist and democrat, physician; member of the Cologne community of the Communist League, in 1848 deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing); from October 1848 member of the Central Committee of Democrats in Germany; in 1849 deputy to the Second Chamber (extreme Left wing); played a prominent part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, later emigrated to Switzerland.—33, 34, 140, 143

*Esterházys of Galántha*—family of Hungarian nobles.—40

*Esterházy of Galántha, Miklós, Count*—father of Pál Esterházy of Galántha.—241

*Esterházy of Galántha, Pál, Count* (1805-1877)—colonel in the Hungarian revolutionary army in 1848 and 1849, one of those who signed the capitulation of the Komorn fortress (September 27, 1849); emigrated after the defeat of the revolution.—241, 337

*Esterházy of Galántha, Paul Anthony (Pál Antál), Prince* (1786—1866)—Hungarian magnate, diplomat for the Austrians, Foreign Minister in the Hungarian Government of Batthyány (March to August 1848).—26

F

*Fanti, Manfredo* (1808-1865)—Italian general and politician; in the battle at

Novara in 1849 commanded a brigade and later a division.—156

*Favorola*—participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Italy.—157

*Ferdinand I* (1793-1875)—Emperor of Austria (1835-48).—264, 365, 456, 457

*Festenburg, von*—Austrian government counsellor.—342

*Feuchères, Sophie, baronne de* (1795-1841)—favourite of Prince Louis Henri Joseph Condé.—83

*Ficquelmont, Carl Ludwig*.—30

*Fiedler, Joseph,von* (1788-1876)—Austrian colonel, later major-general, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—269, 274

*Fischhof, Adolph* (1816-1893)—Austrian liberal politician; took part in the revolution of 1848-49; head of the Vienna Committee of Public Safety (May 1848), deputy to the Austrian Imperial Diet (1848); physician.—39

*Flocon, Ferdinand* (1800-1866)—French politician, journalist, democrat, an editor of the newspaper *Réforme*; in 1848 member of the Provisional Government.—192

*Fogarassy, Basil*—active Right-wing member of the Serbian national movement, deputy head of the local administration in the Voivodina.—40

*Francis I* (1768-1835)—Emperor of Austria (1804-35), as Francis II, last Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1792-1806).—360

*Francis Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-1916).—49, 73, 100, 106, 118, 182, 239, 240, 246, 263-64, 337, 398, 407-08, 414, 430, 457

*Franscini, Stefano* (1796-1857)—Swiss radical politician and economist of Italian descent; in 1848 deputy to the Federal Council and the National Council.—45

*Franz*—Right-wing member of the Serbian national movement; in January 1849 one of the chiefs of the local administration's Finance Department in the Voivodina.—40

*Frederick I* (1657-1713)—as Frederick III, Elector of Brandenburg (from 1688); King of Prussia (1701-13).—418

*Frederick II (the Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—88, 418

*Frederick Augustus II* (1797-1854)—King of Saxony (1836-54).—411, 430-31

*Frederick William* (1620-1688)—Elector of Brandenburg (1640-88), was called the "Great Elector" by German monarchist historiographers.—418

*Frederick William II* (1744-1797)—King of Prussia (1786-97).—360-61, 418-19, 441

*Frederick William III* (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—138, 419-20, 441, 464

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—47, 52, 54, 66-68, 69, 109, 125, 129, 131, 138, 193-94, 281, 283, 296, 312, 357, 360, 361, 377, 378, 392, 394, 414, 416-18, 421-23, 430-31, 437-38, 440-41, 444, 452, 464-66, 475, 499, 511, 512

*Freiligrath, Ferdinand* (1810-1876)—German romantic and later revolutionary poet, member of the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848 and 1849.—473, 489, 509-10

*Frisch*.—505

*Furrer, Jonas* (1805-1861)—Swiss politician, moderate liberal, lawyer; in 1848 President of the Diet, then President of the Swiss Confederation, Burgomaster of Zurich.—44

## G

*Gaal, Miklós* (1799-1854)—retired Austrian army officer, colonel, then general in the Hungarian revolutionary army; from December 1, 1848, commanded the storming of the Arad fortress, later discharged for retreating without fighting; after the defeat of the revolution, the Austrians sentenced him to capital punishment, commuted to twenty-year imprisonment.—123, 238

*Gagern, Heinrich Wilhelm August, Baron von* (1799-1880)—German politician, deputy to and President of the Frank-

furt National Assembly (Right Centre) from May to December 1848, Imperial Prime Minister (December 1848 to March 1849).—48, 377

*Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; in 1848 headed a volunteer detachment against the Austrians in Lombardy; chief organiser of the defence of the Roman Republic in April-June 1849; in the 1860s led the national liberation struggle in Italy.—151

*Gáspár, András* (c. 1803-1884)—general of the Hungarian revolutionary army in 1848 and 1849; was sentenced to death after the defeat of the revolution, but was pardoned.—408

*Gedeon, Joseph von* (1789-1859)—Austrian general, later lieutenant-field marshal; took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—242

*Geiger, Wilhelm Arnold*—Prussian police official, examining magistrate in 1848, then Police Superintendent in Cologne.—451, 487, 497, 511

*Genova, duca di*—see *Savoia, Ferdinando, duca di Genova*

*Girardin, Émile de* (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician; in the 1830s-60s (with intervals) editor of the newspaper *La Presse*; notorious for his lack of principles in politics.—480

*Gjurkovich, Eugen*—Right-wing member of the Serbian national movement in 1848 and 1849; in January 1849 became a member of the local administration in the Voivodina.—40

*Gläser, Joseph von* (1777-1849)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal; took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—10, 25, 59, 90, 97

*Gödsche, Hermann*—Prussian conservative journalist, wrote feuilletons for the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* (*Kreuz-Zeitung*).—281

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—66

*Goldmark, Joseph* (b. 1818)—Austrian radical politician, participant in the 1848-49 revolution; in May 1848 member of the Vienna Committee of Public Safety, deputy to the Austrian Imperial Diet (1848); physician.—39

*Görgey, Arthur* (1818-1916)—military leader of the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, a commander and then commander-in-chief (April to June 1849) of the Hungarian army; expressed the conservative views of the nobility, favoured agreement with the Habsburgs and later capitulation; War Minister (from May 1849).—10, 11, 17, 20, 59, 61, 77, 93, 112, 122, 133, 144, 181, 185, 186, 188, 232-34, 241, 262, 269, 272, 275, 284, 285, 289, 292, 293, 300, 314, 318, 336, 346, 363, 395, 404-06, 424, 459-61

*Gottschalk, Andreas* (1815-1849)—German physician, member of the Cologne community of the Communist League, President of the Cologne Workers' Association (April-June 1848); exponent of "Left" sectarian tendencies in the German working-class movement.—498-500, 508

*Götz, Christian* (1783-1849)—Austrian general, took part in suppressing the Italian national liberation movement and in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—10, 25, 90, 113, 121, 146, 153, 160, 185, 233, 241, 272, 302, 303, 315, 330, 353

*Grammont von Linthal, Franz, Baron* (1799-1849)—Austrian general, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849, commander of a cavalry brigade (1849).—76

*Gräser*.—237

*Grouchy, Emmanuel, Marquis de* (1766-1847)—French marshal, participated in the Napoleonic wars.—175

*Grün, Karl Theodor Ferdinand* (1817-1887)—German journalist, "true socialist" in mid-1840s, petty-bourgeois democrat during the revolution of 1848-49, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly.—88

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and conservative statesman, actually directed France's home and foreign policy from 1840 until the February revolution of 1848.—323

*Gustavus II Adolphus* (1594-1632)—King of Sweden (1611-32) and general; headed the alliance of Protestant states during the Thirty Years' War; one of the Protestant unions founded in Germany in the 1830s was named after him.—321

*Guyon, Richard Debaufre* (1803-1856)—participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, general in the Hungarian revolutionary army, English by birth; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Turkey; in 1852 became a Turkish general known as Khourschid Pasha; fought in the 1853-56 Crimean war.—78, 285, 406

*Gyurkovics*—Austrian army officer, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—273

H

*Habsburgs*—dynasty of emperors of the Holy Roman Empire from 1273 to 1806 (with intervals), of Austria (from 1804) and of Austria-Hungary (1867-1918).—148, 397, 425

*Hagen*—Prussian lawyer, defended Korff at the trial held in Cologne on May 30, 1849.—522

*Hám, Johann von* (1781-1857)—Hungarian Cardinal, Lord Primate, in 1849 the Hungarian Government deposed him for high treason.—92

*Hammerstein-Ecquord, Wilhelm, Baron von* (1785-1861)—Austrian general, took part in suppressing the national liberation movement in Galicia and the Bukovina in 1848 and 1849.—152-53, 160, 186, 253, 262, 275, 280, 287, 293, 365

*Hansemann, David Justus* (1790-1864)—German capitalist, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Minister of Finance (from March to September 1848).—56, 69, 138

*Harkort, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1793-1880)—Prussian industrialist and liberal politician, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly in 1848 and 1849, then deputy to the Second Chamber (Centre), later Progressist.—88

*Harney, George Julian* (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the English labour movement, a Chartist leader (Left wing); editor of *The Northern Star* and *Democratic Review*, associate of Marx and Engels.—490

*Hartmann*—Düsseldorf forwarding agent.—429

*Haschka, Lorenz Leopold* (1749-1827)—Austrian poet, author of the Austrian state anthem.—107

*Havas, Joseph*—in 1849 imperial commissioner in Pest.—364

*Hayde*—Austrian major, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—279

*Haydn, Franz Joseph* (1732-1809)—Austrian composer.—107

*Haynau, Julius Jakob, Baron von* (1786-1853)—Austrian Master of Ordnance, took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Italy, commander of the Austrian troops in Hungary (1849 and 1850), initiated butchery of Hungarian revolutionaries.—280, 293, 317

*Hecker*—Prussian officer of justice, Public Prosecutor in Cologne (1848).—339, 340

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—421

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—418, 446

*Heinrich von Bordeaux (Henry V)*—see *Chambord, Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonné d'Artois, duc de Bordeaux, comte de*

*Henry V*—see *Chambord, Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonné d'Artois, duc de Bordeaux, comte de*

*Hess, Heinrich, Baron von* (1788-1870)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, later field marshal; took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; in 1854 and 1855 commander-in-chief of troops in Hungary, Galicia and the Danube principalities.—175, 253, 286, 401

*Hexamer, Adolf* (1801-1874)—editor of *Die Reforme* (Berlin), physician; attended the first and the second democratic congresses (Frankfurt am Main and Berlin), member of the Central

Committee of German Democrats; after 1849 emigrated to Switzerland and later to the USA.—33, 34

*Heydt, von der*—Austrian major, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—93

*Heydt, August, Baron von der* (1801-1874)—Prussian statesman, banker in Elberfeld; Minister of Trade, Industry and Public Works from December 1848 to 1862; deputy to the Second Chamber (1848).—93, 130-31, 281, 324, 328, 428, 439, 445

*Höchster, Ernst Hermann* (born c. 1811)—Elberfeld lawyer, petty-bourgeois democrat, Chairman of the Committee of Public Safety in Elberfeld (May 1849); emigrated after the uprising was defeated.—448-49

*Höcke*—Austrian democrat, participant in the October 1848 uprising in Vienna.—257

*Hofstitter.*—43

*Hohenzollern*—see *Frederick William IV*

*Hohenzollern, Frau*—see *Elizabeth*

*Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—51, 65, 66, 69, 88, 125, 126, 129, 131-32, 139, 195, 357-58, 416, 418-22, 440-41, 444

*Holstein, Prince*—Austrian major, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—28, 75

*Horace* (*Quintus Horatius Flaccus*) (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—15

*Horváth, Mihály* (1809-1878)—Hungarian Catholic bishop, participant in the national liberation struggle in Hungary in 1848 and 1849, Minister of Religious Worship and Education in the Szemere Government, first historian to study the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49.—92

*Horváth-Petrichevich von Széplak, Johann Niklas, Baron* (1801-1865)—Austrian colonel, later lieutenant-field marshal; took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—161, 238, 244, 350

*Hoym, Karl Georg Heinrich von* (1739-1807)—Prussian official, from 1770 Minister for Silesia, pursued a policy of Germanising Polish lands.—361

*Hrabovsky* (*Hrabovszky*) *von Hrabova, Johann* (*Janos*), *Baron* (1779-1852)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, Hungarian by birth; in early 1847 commanded troops in Slavonia and Syrmien; in 1848 headed the Hungarian army fighting Southern Slavs; in 1850, he was sentenced by the Austrian court martial to capital punishment for non-fulfilment of military duty; the sentence was later commuted to ten-year imprisonment.—401

*Hühnerbein* (*Hünerbein*), *Friedrich Wilhelm* (born c. 1817)—German tailor; member of the Communist League and of the Committee of Public Safety during the uprising in Elberfeld (May 1849).—447

*Hunyadi*—family of Hungarian nobles.—100

*Hurban, Josef Miloslav* (1817-1888)—Slovak Evangelical pastor, writer and active member of the national movement, associate of L'udovìt Štúr; defended national rights of Slovakia against the Hungarian aristocracy's great-power policy; fought in alliance with the Austrians against the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49.—62, 100, 120, 162, 424

*Hüser, Johann Hans Gustav Heinrich von* (1782-1857)—Prussian general, commandant of Mainz (1844-49).—452

*Huthsteiner, F. W.*—police inspector in Erfurt, former editor of the *Barmer Zeitung*.—71

## I

*Iovanovich, Joseph*—prominent figure in the Serbian national movement; in February 1849 was a member of the local administration in the Voivodina.—40

*Iovanovich, Kosta*—prominent figure in the Serbian national movement; in February 1849 was a member of the local administration in the Voivodina.—40

J

*Jablonowski, Stanislaw, Prince*—Polish landowner, a commander of the Polish national guard in Cracow (April 1848); when the citizens of Cracow rose against the Austrian authorities (April 1848), he concluded an agreement with the latter behind their backs.—93

*Jablonowsky, Felix, Prince* (1808-1857)—Austrian major-general, subsequently lieutenant-field marshal, brigade commander during the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—10, 90, 113, 121, 146, 153, 160, 185, 233, 241, 249, 261, 272, 303, 342, 353, 368

*Jacoby, Johann* (1805-1877)—German radical writer and politician, physician; a leader of the Left wing in the Prussian National Assembly (1848); deputy to the Second Chamber (extreme Left wing) in 1849; in the 1870s was close to the Social-Democratic Party.—140

*Jäger*—first lieutenant in the Austrian army, took part in the suppression of the revolution in Italy, in the war against revolutionary Hungary (1848-49), and in the siege of Komorn (spring of 1849).—180

*Janiczek*—participant in the Slovak national movement of 1848-49; went over to the Hungarian side (spring of 1849).—409

*Jellachich de Buzim (Jellačić), Josef, Count* (1801-1859)—Croatian statesman, Austrian general; from March 1848 Ban and later commander-in-chief of Croatia and the Military Border area; took an active part in suppressing the popular uprising in Vienna (October 1848) and in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—59-60, 73, 77, 91, 95, 97, 99, 107, 110, 115, 121, 123, 133, 145-46, 147, 152, 154, 159, 178, 187, 229, 233, 235, 238, 241, 246, 249, 253, 261, 262, 265, 269-70, 272, 273, 275, 284, 288, 292, 330, 336, 343, 352, 363, 365, 368, 381, 391, 397, 401, 406, 408, 410, 456, 460

*Jellačić, Albert*—borderers' colonel, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—75

*Jessenak, Janos, Baron* (1800-1849)—participant in the revolution of 1848-49 in Hungary, he was shot by the Austrians after its defeat.—245

*Jones, Ernest Charles* (1819-1869)—prominent figure in the English labour movement, proletarian poet and journalist, a Chartist leader (Left wing); friend of Marx and Engels.—490

*Josikas*—family of Hungarian nobles in Transylvania known for their pro-Habsburg sentiments.—40

*Jovich von Siegenberg, Stephan, Baron* (1774-1850)—Austrian general, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—237

K

*Kačanski, Sergyë* (1813-1859)—bishop in Karlowitz; in 1848 and 1849 member of *Skupština* in the Voivodina.—40

*Kalchberg, Wilhelm, Baron von* (1807-1883)—Austrian captain, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—272

*Kalliany de Kallian, Joseph, Baron* (1786-1859)—Austrian general, participant in the war against revolutionary Hungary; commander of Austrian troops in Transylvania (spring of 1849).—113, 242, 243, 279

*Karageorge, George Petrovich* (also *Czerny George*) (1768-1817)—leader of the Serbian uprising against Turkish yoke (1804-13), ruler of Serbia (1811-13); was defeated by the Turks and fled the country (1813); in 1817 was murdered on orders from his rival Miloš Obrenović.—31

*Karger, Leopold, von* (1792-1867)—Austrian major-general, participant in the war against revolutionary Hungary; in 1849 commanded a cavalry brigade.—72, 78, 95, 110

*Karl, Friedrich Alexander, Prince of Prussia* (1801-1883)—Prussian general, son of Frederick William III of Prussia; from

1848 chief of the Austrian 8th Cuirassier Regiment.—28

*Karl, Friedrich August Wilhelm* (1804-1873)—Duke of Brunswick from 1823; early in September 1830 was deposed and forced to emigrate; attempted to regain power and in the 1840s and 1850s maintained contacts with democratic elements; published the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*.—169

*Kellner*—Austrian major, participant in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—30

*Khevenhüller-Metsch, Franz, Count* (1783-c. 1863)—Austrian Master of Ordnance, chief of the 35th Infantry Regiment.—30

*Kiesewetter, Julius, von Wiesenbrunn* (1804-1862)—Austrian major, subsequently major-general of the 30th Infantry Regiment, participant in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—11

*Klapka, Georg (György)* (1820-1892)—general in the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848 and 1849), commandant of the Komorn fortress (June-September 1849); political refugee after the revolution, returned to Hungary in 1867.—100, 262, 269, 272, 278, 284, 368, 406, 408

*Klapka, József* (1786-1863)—participant in the wars against Napoleonic France; Burgomaster of Temesvar (1819-33); father of Georg Klapka.—278

*Kničanin, Stephan Petrović* (1809-1855)—Serbian politician and statesman; from July 1848 to March 1849 commanded a volunteer corps from the principality of Serbia; this corps joined the Voivodina Serbs fighting against Hungarian troops.—31, 59, 98, 117, 287, 294, 303, 319, 332, 457

*Kobylica, Lucian* (1812-1851)—Huzul (Ukrainian) peasant, leader of the anti-feudal movement in the Bukovina (1840s); deputy to the Austrian Imperial Diet (1848), deprived of his deputy's rights for defending the interests of the peasants; headed an armed peasant detachment (1848-49), was arrested (1850) and deported.—289, 290, 431

*Kock, Charles Paul de* (1793-1871)—French novelist and playwright.—40

*Koehler*—participant in the military operations of the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army in the summer of 1849, captain of Willich's volunteer corps.—484

*Kolarovich*—prominent figure in the Serbian national movement; in February 1849 became a member of the local administration in the Voivodina.—40

*Kollár, Jan* (1793-1852)—Slovak poet and philologist, a representative of the Slovak and Czech Renaissance, a leader of the national movement; advocated unity of the Slav peoples within the framework of the Austrian Empire (Austro-Slavism).—300

*Kopet*—Austrian colonel, then general, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—237

*Korff, Hermann*—Prussian officer, dismissed from the army for his political views (1847); democrat; responsible publisher of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); later emigrated to the USA.—514, 516-20, 521-22

*Kossuth, Lajos* (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement, head of the bourgeois democrats during the revolution of 1848-49 and of the Hungarian revolutionary Government; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated first to Turkey and later to England and America.—10, 29, 31, 59, 77, 94, 100, 112, 119, 149, 180-82, 229, 230, 253, 255, 257, 278, 285, 300, 318, 334, 345, 351, 352, 355, 365, 391, 395, 397, 405, 407, 455-57, 490

*Kostich, Alexander*—participant in the national movement of the Voivodina Serbs in 1848 and 1849.—190

*Kress von Kressenstein, Karl, Baron* (1781-1856)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, second chief of the 7th Light Cavalry Regiment; took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—269, 273, 274

*Krestić, Nicolá* (1824-1887)—Serbian politician, editor-in-chief of the news-

paper *Slavenski jug* (1848-49); Ban Jellachich's secretary (1848-49); a member of the local administration in the Voivodina (1849).—40

*Kübeck, Karl Friedrich, Baron von Kübau* (1780-1855)—Austrian statesman, Minister of Finance (1840-48).—133, 179

*Kühlwetter, Friedrich Christian Hubert von* (1809-1882)—Prussian statesman; Minister of the Interior in the Auerswald-Hansemann Government (June-September 1848), later *Regierungspräsident* in Düsseldorf, *Oberpräsident* of Westphalia.—69

*Kulmer, Franz, Baron von* (1806-1853)—Austrian politician, Croatian feudal lord, government representative in the Agram (Zagreb) comitat (in the 1840s); Minister without portfolio (from December 1848), mediated between the Ban and the Croatian authorities.—246

*Kyll, Úlrich Franz*—German lawyer, petty-bourgeois democrat, Cologne deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; deputy to the Second Chamber (extreme Left wing) in 1849, later Progressist.—329

L

*Ladenberg, Adalbert von* (1798-1855)—Prussian official, Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine (November 1848-December 1850).—439

*La Marmora, Alfonso Ferrero* (1804-1878)—Italian general and politician, Minister of War in Piedmont (1848, 1849-55, 1856-59); commander of Sardinian corps in the Crimea (1855); later Prime Minister.—150, 151, 156, 157, 166, 172

*Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louis de* (1790-1869)—French poet, historian and politician; a leader of moderate republicans in the 1840s; in 1848 Foreign Minister and *de facto* head of the Provisional Government.—191, 427

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German writer and lawyer; petty-bourgeois socialist; participated in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863); an initiator of the opportunist trend within the German Social-Democratic movement.—339-40, 372-74, 383-87

*Latinovich, Carl*—prominent figure in the Serbian national movement; head of the local administration's Legal Department in the Voivodina in February 1849.—40

*Latour, Theodor, Count Baillet von* (1780-1848)—Austrian conservative statesman, War Minister in 1848; killed during the October 1848 Vienna uprising.—456

*Lederer, Karl Joseph, Baron von* (1800-1868)—Austrian major-general, later lieutenant-field marshal; during the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849 commanded a cavalry brigade; took part in the siege of Komorn.—30

*Lederer, Moriz, Baron von* (b. 1809)—Austrian colonel, later lieutenant-field marshal; during the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849 commanded a cavalry brigade of the South Army.—117

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician, a leader of petty-bourgeois democrats; editor of *La Réforme*; Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government (February to May 1848); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (head of the Montagnards).—192, 477, 478

*Legeditsch, Ignaz von* (1791-1866)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, second chief of the 2nd Hussar Regiment, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—30, 93

*Leiningen-Westerburg, Christian Franz Seraphin Vincenz, Count* (1812-1856)—Austrian major-general, later lieutenant-field marshal, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—25

*Lelewel, Joachim* (1786-1861)—Polish historian and revolutionary; participant in the 1830-31 Polish insurrection, a leader of the democratic wing of Polish émigrés; committee member of the Brussels Democratic Association (1847-48).—463

*Leopold II* (1797-1870)—Grand Duke of Tuscany (1824-59).—148

*Lichnowski, Felix Maria, Prince von* (1814-1848)—Prussian army officer, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing); killed during the Frankfurt uprising in September 1848; he was the prototype for the main character in Georg Weerth's satirical novel *Leben und Taten des berühmten Ritters Schnapphahnski* (Life and Deeds of the Famous Knight Schnapphahnski).—516-18

*Lisiecki, von*—legal officer in Posen, Polish by birth; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848, deputy to the Second Chamber (extreme Left wing) in 1849.—295, 296, 298, 320

*Lobkowitz, Franz Georg, Prince* (1800-1858)—Austrian army officer and diplomat; with the rank of colonel, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—75, 269, 274

*Lohbauer, Rudolf*—Prussian writer; in the early 1830s radical, was compelled to emigrate to Strassburg; from 1835 professor in Berne; in the 1840s contributed to Prussian government and pietist periodicals.—45

*Louis XVI* (1754-1793)—King of the French (1774-92); guillotined during the French Revolution.—419

*Louis Napoleon*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orléans, King of the French (1830-48).—7, 48, 51, 80, 82

*Lüders, Alexander Nikolayevich, Count* (1790-1874)—Russian general, commander of an occupation corps in Moldavia and Wallachia (1848); took part in military operations against Hungarian troops in Transylvania (1849).—122, 279, 312

*Ludwig, Gottfried von Reschenbach* (1792-1880)—Austrian major-general, then lieutenant-field marshal, commanded a cavalry brigade during the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—365

*Luise, Auguste Wilhelmine Amalie* (1776-1810)—Queen of Prussia, wife of Frederick William III, daughter of Duke Karl von Mecklenburg-Strelitz.—437

M

*Mack, József* (1810-1868)—took part in the revolution of 1848-49 in Hungary; from January 1849 lieutenant-colonel in the Hungarian revolutionary army, artillery commander of the Komorn fortress; after the defeat of the revolution fled the country.—337

*Madarász, László* (1811-1909)—Hungarian radical, lawyer, took part in the revolution of 1848-49, acted as Minister of Police in the Defence Council; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Switzerland and later to the USA.—77, 100, 188

*Mailáth, György* (1786-1861)—Hungarian statesman, Supreme Judge (1839-48); President of the Upper Chamber of the National Assembly (1848), advocated compromise with the Habsburgs.—240

*Malkowsky, von Dammwalden, Ignaz* (1784-1854)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, Polish by birth; took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—31, 32, 113, 114, 134, 159, 182, 263, 287, 457

*Mamula, Lazarus, Baron von* (1795-1878)—Austrian colonel, later lieutenant-field marshal, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—354

*Manara, Luciano* (1825-1849)—Italian major, took part in the revolution of 1848-49 and the war against Austria, leader of the Lombardian volunteer corps, defender of the Roman Republic (1849).—164

*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von* (1805-1882)—Prussian conservative statesman, Minister of the Interior (November 1848-November 1850), deputy to the First and Second Chambers (1849), Prime Minister (1850-58).—54, 56, 67, 129-31, 141, 143, 145, 258, 281, 291, 322, 323, 324, 325, 371, 372, 378, 380, 395, 417, 430, 432, 439, 445, 487, 488, 492, 493

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883)—282, 372, 451, 453, 473, 481, 487-88, 492-93, 495-98, 505, 511-19, 525-27

*Mathich, Joseph*—member of the Serbian national movement; Vice-President of the Supreme Court in the Voivodina (February 1849).—40

*Maximilian II* (1811-1864)—King of Bavaria (1848-64).—37, 430

*Mayerhofer von Grünbühel, Ferdinand, Baron* (1798-1869)—Austrian major-general, later lieutenant-field marshal, consul in Belgrade (1843-48), from May 1849 commander-in-chief in the Voivodina and the Banat.—253, 304, 322, 344, 351

*Mazzuchelli, Alois (Luigi), Count von* (1776-1868)—Austrian Master of Ordnance, Italian by birth, chief of the 10th Infantry Regiment.—364

*Mek*—colonel in the Hungarian revolutionary army, commandant of the Komorn fortress.—180

*Mengen, Karl, Baron von* (1774-1851)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, second chief of the 4th Cuirassier Regiment, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—25

*Mészáros, Lázár* (1796-1858)—Hungarian colonel, took part in the revolution of 1848-49; War Minister in the Batthyány Government, member of the Defence Council; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Turkey and later to England and the USA.—100, 279

*Metternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince von* (1773-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat, Foreign Minister (1809-21), Chancellor (1821-48), one of the founders of the Holy Alliance.—47, 105

*Meusebach, von*—Prussian official, conservative; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—271

*Michailovich, Stretko*—member of the Serbian national movement, a leader of the local administration in the Voivodina (February 1849).—40

*Miguel, Maria Evarist (Don* or *Dom Miguel)* (1802-1866)—King of Portugal (1828-34), chief of the Austrian 39th Infantry Regiment.—123

*Mirbach, Otto von* (born c. 1800)—Prussian retired artillery officer, petty-bourgeois democrat, took part in the revolution of 1848-49; commandant of Elberfeld during the May 1849 uprising; emigrated after the uprising was defeated.—448, 449, 508

*Mironiuk, Birla*—participant in the anti-feudal movement in the Bukovina in the 1840s, associate of Lucian Kobylica.—289

*Moeller*—official of the Royal Government in Cologne.—451, 511

*Molé, Louis Mathieu, comte* (1781-1855)—French statesman, Orleanist, Prime Minister (1836-37, 1837-39), deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848), deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51).—323

*Montenuovo, Wilhelm Albrecht, Prince von* (1821-1895)—Austrian colonel, from August 1849 major-general, later lieutenant-field marshal; took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary, commanded a cavalry brigade (1849).—28

*Morret*—Prussian police officer, prison governor in Düsseldorf (1848-49).—373

*Mosle, Johann Ludwig* (1794-1877)—German army officer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49), imperial commissioner in Vienna (August to October 1848).—47

*Muraviev, Nikolai Nikolayevich (Karsky)* (1794-1866)—Russian general, commander of a grenadier corps (late 1848); took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—262

N

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—45, 52, 66, 114, 149, 150, 176, 229, 261, 400, 419, 420

*Napoleon III (Louis Napoleon), Prince* (1808-1873)—nephew of Napoleon I, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—81, 82, 85, 169

*Nassau, Adolf Wilhelm Karl August Friedrich, Duke of* (1817-1905)—cavalry general, chief of the Austrian 15th Infantry Regiment.—366

*Nedeljkovich, Jovan*—confidant of the Voivodina ruler, Patriarch Rajachich.—254

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—312, 337, 345, 394, 395, 398, 414, 415, 421, 430, 440, 441, 474

*Nicolovius, Georg Heinrich Franz*—Prussian legal officer; Public Prosecutor General for the Rhine Province in 1848.—339, 340, 373

*Nothjung, Peter* (1821-1866)—tailor; a member of the Cologne Workers' Association and the Communist League; one of the accused at the Cologne trial of Communists (1852).—490

*Nugent, Albert Eugen Laval* (b. 1816)—Austrian colonel, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849; son of Laval Nugent.— 285, 319, 344

*Nugent, Laval, Count of Westmeath* (1777-1862)—Austrian Master of Ordnance; took part in the suppression of the national liberation movement in Italy in 1848 and in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—17, 26, 90, 115, 117, 179, 230, 278, 285, 293, 294, 303, 319, 344, 354, 457, 458

*Nüll, Friedrich van der* (died c. 1854)—Austrian colonel, later general; from 1848 commanded the 8th Border Infantry Regiment.—113

*Nyáry, Pál* (1806-1871)—Hungarian politician of the liberal aristocratic opposition; member of the Committee of Public Safety and of the Defence Council (1848); deputy to the National Assembly.—100

O

*Obilich, Milosh*—Serbian national hero, killed the Turkish Sultan Murad I in the battle with the Turks at Kossovo in 1389.—31

*Ochsenbein, Johann Ulrich* (1811-1890)—Swiss statesman and politician; radical, later liberal; President of the Diet during the war against the Sonderbund; head of the Federal Government (1847-48); President of the National Council and member of the Federal Council in 1848.—44, 45

*Orléans, Duke of*—see *Louis Philippe I*

*Ottinger, Franz, Baron von* (1792-1869)—Austrian general, commanded a cavalry brigade during the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—59, 75, 77

*Otto, Karl Wunibald* (born c. 1809)—German chemist; in 1848 and 1849 a member of the Cologne Workers' Association, a member of the Communist League, one of the accused at the Cologne trial of Communists (1852).—495, 501, 503

P

*Palacký, František* (1798-1876)—Czech historian and liberal politician; Chairman of the Slav Congress in Prague in June 1848; deputy to the Austrian Imperial Diet in 1848 and 1849; supported a federation of autonomous Slav areas within the framework of the Habsburg monarchy.—106, 144

*Pallavicini, Alfonztól, Count* (1807-1875)—Hungarian magnate.—186

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51); Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-65); a Tory at the beginning of his career, from 1830 onwards a Whig.—74

*Palóczy, László* (1783-1861)—Hungarian politician, deputy to the National Assembly (1848-49), its Chairman till early July 1848 and a member of the Commission of Appeal.—145

*Paskevich, Ivan Fyodorovich* (1782-1856) —Russian field marshal-general; commander-in-chief of the Tsarist army that suppressed the Polish insurrection (from June 1831); in 1849 commander-in-chief of Tsarist troops participating in crushing the revolution in Hungary.—239

*Paskowich*—representative of the Voivodina local administration in Vienna.—147

*Pavlov, Prokofy Yakovlevich* (1796-1868)—Russian general, took part in the suppression of the Polish insurrection of 1830-31 and in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849; during the Crimean war of 1853-56 commanded troops on the Danube and in the Crimea.—312

*Peel, Sir Robert* (1788-1850)—British statesman, moderate Tory; Prime Minister (1841-46); repealed the Corn Laws in 1846.—4

*Perczel, Alexander* (d. 1861)—father of Mór Perczel.—73

*Perczel, Moritz (Mór)* (1811-1899)—general in the Hungarian revolutionary army in 1848 and 1849; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Turkey, and in 1851 to England.—26, 58, 61, 72, 111, 257, 286, 289, 293, 318, 331, 334, 354, 397, 408, 410, 425, 461

*Perker*—Prussian official.—496

*Perrone di San Martino, Ettore* (1789-1849)—general in the Piedmontese army, fought against Austria in 1848 and 1849.—175

*Peter, Archduke*—Austrian official.—405

*Peter II Petrovic Njegoš* (1813-1851)—Vladika of Montenegro (1830-51).—31

*Peucker, Eduard von* (1791-1876)—Prussian general and statesman; War Minister in the so-called Imperial Government in Frankfurt (July 1848 to May 1849); took part in suppressing the uprising in Baden and the Palatinate in 1849.—475

*Pfersmann von Eichthal, Alois* (1781-1854)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, second chief of the 37th Infantry Regiment; fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—237, 242, 332

*Pfuel, Ernst Heinrich Adolf von* (1779-1866)—Prussian general; Governor of Neuchâtel (1832-48); commandant of Berlin (March 1848); suppressed the uprising in Posen in May 1848; Prime Minister and War Minister (September and October 1848).—69, 138

*Pheiffer, Heinrich*—Prussian barrister-attorney, defence counsel for Arnold Bechtold at the trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* editors and contributors on May 29, 1849 in Cologne.—519

*Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti)* (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—7, 148

*Podalecki*—Polish army officer, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; executed by the Austrians in 1849.—235

*Pongrácz, Baron*—royal commissioner in Galicia in 1849.—405

*Popovich, Marcus*—participant in the Serbian national movement, member of the local administration in the Voivodina (February 1849).—40

*Pothmann, Johann* (born c. 1823)—German democrat, a member of the Committee of Public Safety and head of the army reserve during the May 1849 Elberfeld uprising; emigrated to Holland after the uprising was defeated.—447

*Pottinger, Sir Henry* (1789-1856)—English diplomat and military figure; commanded English troops during the Opium war with China (1842), Governor of Hong Kong (1843), Governor of Madras (1847-54).—3

*Prohaska von Guelphenburg, Franz Adolf, Baron* (1768-1862)—Austrian general; from 1835 chief of the 7th Infantry Regiment fighting against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—272

*Przyluski, Leon* (1789-1865)—Archbishop of Gnesen and Posen (1845-65).—359

*Puchner, Anton, Baron von* (1779-1852)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—9, 17, 25, 39, 94, 100, 112, 113, 114, 152, 154, 158, 159, 189, 235, 237, 242, 243, 251, 279, 287, 294, 303, 319, 331, 366, 457, 458-59

*Puffer, Joseph* (b. 1801)—Austrian colonel, later major-general; during the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849 commanded the 9th Border (Peterwardein) Infantry Regiment.—251

R

*Rabe, Arnold von*—Prussian conservative statesman, Minister of Finance in the Manteuffel-Brandenburg Ministry (1848-49).—439

*Radetzky, Josef, Count of Radetz* (1766-1858)—Austrian field marshal; commanded the Austrian troops in Northern Italy from 1831; suppressed the Italian national liberation movement (1848-49).—107, 148-51, 156, 157, 164-66, 169, 171-76, 253, 280, 293, 317, 462

*Radosavljević, Thodor*—Austrian lieutenant-colonel and politician, Serbian by birth; in 1849 chief of the Peterwardein regimental district in the Military Border area, member of the local administration in the Voivodina; Austrian consul in Belgrade (1851).—12, 40

*Radowitz, Joseph Maria von* (1797-1853)—Prussian general and conservative statesman; a leader of the Right wing in the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49).—84, 193, 371, 378

*Rajachich (Rajačić), Josef* (1785-1861)—Metropolitan of Karlowitz; from 1848 Patriarch; leader of the Right wing in the Serbian national movement (1848-49); ruler of the Voivodina from February to August 1849.—11, 12, 40, 97, 99, 115, 146, 147, 183, 236, 244, 254, 286, 304, 332

*Ramberg, Georg Heinrich, Baron von* (1786-1855)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—10, 29, 90, 94, 185, 233-34, 271, 460

*Ramorino, Gerolamo* (1792-1849)—Italian general; fought on the side of the Polish insurgents in 1830 and 1831; commanded the 5th Lombardian Division of the Piedmontese army in 1848 and 1849; his tactics facilitated the victory of the counter-revolutionary Austrian troops; shot by decision of the Piedmontese War Council in May 1849.—156, 164, 166, 169, 171, 173, 174, 176

*Rastic, Daniel, Baron* (1794-1853)—Austrian major-general, later lieutenant-field marshal, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—273

*Rath*—Prussian barrister, defence counsel for Korff at the trials of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* editors and contributors held in Cologne on May 29 and 30, 1849.—519, 521-22

*Raveaux, Franz* (1810-1851)—German politician, Cologne deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848 and 1849; in June 1849 one of the five imperial regents; member of the Baden Provisional Government.—498

*Reichardt, Gustav* (1797-1884)—German composer, wrote music for the song "Der Teutschen Vaterland" to words by Ernst Moritz Arndt.—106, 251, 305

*Reiche*—Austrian colonel, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—117

*Reichenbach, Eduard, Count von* (1812-1869)—German democrat; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; member of the Central Committee of German Democrats from October 1848.—33

*Reichetzer, Baron*—Austrian major, adjutant of the General Command; fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—279

*Renard, Andreas, Count* (1795-1874)—Silesian landowner; deputy to the Second Chamber (Right wing) in 1849.—88, 138, 139

*Révay, Baron*—royal commissioner in Galicia (1849).—405
*Riedel, Adolf Friedrich Johann* (1809-1872)—deputy to the Prussian National Assembly; deputy to the Second Chamber (Right wing) in 1849.—88, 143, 324-29
*Riedesel zu Eisenbach, Hermann, Baron* (d. 1849)—Austrian major, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—273
*Riotte, Karl Nikolaus* (born c. 1816)—German democrat, lawyer; deputy to the Second Chamber (1849), member of the Committee of Public Safety during the May 1849 Elberfeld uprising; later emigrated to the USA. —448
*Rittinghausen, Moritz* (1814-1890)—German journalist and politician, petty-bourgeois democrat; participant in the 1848-49 revolution, later member of the German Social-Democratic Party. —490
*Röhrdanz*—German man of letters, was in contact with Right-wing government circles in Prussia.—281
*Rohrscheidt, von*—Prussian official, district president; deputy to the Second Chamber (Centre) in 1849.—320
*Rudics von Almás, Joseph, Baron*—member of the Serbian national movement; a leader of the local administration in the Voivodina (February (1849).—40
*Rüdiger, Fyodor Vasilyevich, Count* (1784-1856)—Russian general, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849;Deputy Governor of the Kingdom of Poland.—312
*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical journalist, Young Hegelian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—33-35
*Rukavina, Georg (Džuro), Baron von Vidovgrad* (1777-1849)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, Croat by birth; fought in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—10, 12, 25, 90, 97, 98, 121, 123, 147, 183, 184, 254, 294, 304, 397, 457
*Rupp, Julius* (1809-1884)—German pastor, participant in the "Friends of Light" religious movement; deputy to the Second Chamber (Left wing) in 1849.—320-24

S

*Sack*—Prussian official in Silesia.—70
*Savoia, Ferdinando, duca di Genova* (1822-1855)—son of Charles Albert of Sardinia; fought against Austria in 1848 and 1849.—156, 165, 166, 175
*Savona*—brigade commander in the Piedmontese army (1849), fought against Austria in 1848 and 1849.—165
*Savoy, Duke of*—see *Victor Emmanuel II*
*Schaeffer, H.*—member of the democratic association in Solingen.—489
*Schapper, Karl* (c. 1812-1870)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League, member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats; a leader (1848-49) and president (from February to May 1849) of the Cologne Workers' Association. After the revolution, a leader of the sectarian group in the Communist League, later a member of the General Council of the First International.—282, 372, 489, 490, 495, 501, 503, 504
*Scherer*—German barrister; deputy to the Second Chamber (Right wing) in 1849.—140
*Schlick, zu Bassano und Weisskirchen, Franz Heinrich, Count* (1789-1862)—Austrian general, chief of the 4th Hussar Regiment, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—19-21, 27-29, 39, 62, 63, 96, 110, 121, 122, 123, 133, 153-54, 160, 163, 167, 181, 185-86, 187, 233-34, 249, 261, 262, 269-73, 280, 286, 292, 335-36, 343, 361, 381, 396, 408, 457, 458-60
*Schmutz*—Austrian captain, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—30
*Schneider, Johannes* (1792-1858)—Swiss statesman, member of the Great

Council of the Berne canton and deputy to the National Council (1848-50).—43

*Schneider II, Karl*—German lawyer, democrat, President of the Cologne Democratic Society and member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats in 1848; defence counsel for Marx and Engels at the trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on February 7, 1849; deputy to the Second Chamber (extreme Left wing) in 1849.—372, 498

*Schulze-Delitzsch, Franz Hermann* (1808-1883)—German economist and liberal politician; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; a leader of the Progressist Party in the 1860s, author of co-operative projects that detracted workers from the revolutionary struggle.—143

*Schulzig, Franz Joseph, Baron von* (1787-1864)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—20, 62, 178

*Schurter*—Austrian general, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—242

*Schwanbeck, Eugen Alexis* (1821-1850)—German journalist, an editor of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.—190, 450

*Schwarzenberg, Edmund Leopold Friedrich, Prince zu* (1803-1873)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, second chief of the 2nd Dragoon Regiment; took part in the suppression of the Italian national liberation movement and in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—19

*Schwarzenberg, Felix, Prince zu* (1800-1852)—Austrian conservative statesman and diplomat; Prime Minister and Foreign Minister (from November 1848 to 1852).—133, 147, 161, 308, 356, 397

*Seckendorf, August Heinrich Eduard Friedrich, Baron von* (1807-1885)—Prussian lawyer and legal officer; deputy to the Second Chamber (Centre) in 1849.—88

*Sever, A.*—prominent figure in the national movement of Transylvanian Romanians, Prefect of the Romanian administration set up in Transylvania in October 1848; a commander of the Romanian volunteers in Transylvania, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—122

*Shakhovskoy, Ivan Leontyevich, Prince* (1776-1860)—Russian general.—312

*Siegel (Sigel), Franz* (1824-1902)—petty-bourgeois democrat; supreme commander, then deputy supreme commander of the Baden revolutionary army during the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Switzerland, then to Britain and in 1852 to the USA.—483

*Simon*—hotel owner in Cologne.—503

*Simons, Ludwig* (1803-1870)—German barrister; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848, then Minister of Justice (1849-60).—328, 329, 439, 445

*Simonyi, Ernst (Ernö)* (1821-1882)—participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, after its defeat emigrated.—163

*Simson, Martin Eduard Sigismund von* (1810-1899)—Prussian politician and lawyer; in 1848-49 member and President (from December 1848 to May 1849) of the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre); in November 1848 was sent as an imperial commissioner to Berlin to settle the conflict between the King and the Prussian Assembly; later became a National Liberal.—48

*Simunich, Balthasar, Baron von* (1785-1861)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, Serbian by birth; fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—30, 97, 122, 245, 331, 342, 365, 406, 459

*Sivkovich, Johann, Baron von* (1779-1857)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, chief of the 41st Infantry Regiment.—287

*Solaroli, Paolo* (1796-1877)—general in the Piedmontese army, fought against Austria in 1848 and 1849.—174

*Solon* (c. 638-c. 558 B.C.)—Greek politician, Athenian legislator.—88

*Sophia* (1805-1872)—Archduchess of Austria, mother of Emperor Francis Joseph I.—49, 457

*Sossay, Anton, Baron von* (1790-1874)—Austrian major-general, later lieutenant-field marshal; commanded a brigade during the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—30, 245

*Stadion, Franz, Count von* (1806-1853)—Austrian statesman; an organiser of the struggle against the national liberation movement in Galicia and Bohemia; Minister of the Interior (1848-49).—147, 161, 308, 351, 397

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*Wolf(f), Ferdinand* (1812-1895)—German journalist, a member of the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848 and 1849.—473, 489, 490, 514

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*Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*—a daily newspaper published in German in Prague in 1848 and 1849, opposed the revolution in Hungary.—10, 11-12, 15, 72-74,

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*Constitutionelle Zeitung*—a daily liberal newspaper published in Berlin from February 1849 to July 1852.—56

*Le Constitutionnel*—a daily published in Paris from 1815 to 1817, and from 1819 to 1870; in the 1840s it voiced the views of the moderate wing of the Orleanists, and during the 1848 revolution became the mouthpiece for the monarchist bourgeoisie (the Thiers party).—164

*Czas*—a newspaper of the Austrian administration published in Polish in Cracow from the end of 1848.—345

*The Democratic Review of British and Foreign Politics, History and Literature*—a Chartist monthly published by George Julian Harney in London from June 1849 to September 1850; in 1850 Engels was among its contributors.—512

*Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*—a newspaper published under this title in Leipzig from 1843 to 1879; until the summer of 1848 it was conservative but later adopted liberal views.—33-34, 40, 78, 94, 146, 153, 238, 292

*Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*—a literary and political weekly of German refugees living in London, appeared from April 1845 to February 1851, edited by the petty-bourgeois democrat Ludwig Bamberger and subsidised by the dethroned Duke Charles of Brunswick. Between 1847 and 1851 the editorial board included Ferdinand Freiligrath and the newspaper carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—511-12

*Deutsche Zeitung*—a German daily published in Heidelberg from 1847 to October 1848 under the editorship of Georg Gervinus, then, up to 1850, in Frankfurt am Main; it supported the constitutional monarchy and unification of Germany under Prussian hegemony.—514

*Düsseldorfer Zeitung*—a German daily founded in 1745, published under this title in Düsseldorf from 1826 to 1926; in the 1840s voiced liberal views.—423, 507, 514

*Erfurter Adressblatt*—see *Wochen- und Adress-Blatt*

*Figyelmező*—a political daily published in Hungarian in Pest from August 1848 to January 1850; voiced pro-Austrian views; banned by the revolutionary government, it appeared in Pozsony (Bratislava) from July 2 to August 1, 1849.—182, 241, 263, 364

*Frankfurter Journal*—a German daily published in Frankfurt am Main from the 17th century to 1903; in the 1840s voiced liberal views.—473

*Freiheit, Arbeit*—a German newspaper published in Cologne from January 14 to June 17, 1849, by Andreas Gottschalk's supporters in the Cologne Workers' Association and presented by them as the organ of the Association; pursued a sectarian line and printed insinuations against Marx and Engels.—498

*Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit*—a German newspaper, organ of the Cologne Workers' Association, published twice weekly in Cologne from October 26, 1848. On January 14, 1849, Gottschalk's followers made an attempt to replace it with the *Freiheit, Arbeit*, a newspaper disavowed by the leaders of the Association; the paper resumed publication on February 8, 1849, and appeared up to the middle of 1849.—490, 494-95, 498-500, 504

*Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*—a daily founded in Paris in 1789; during the 1848 revolution voiced the views of the counter-revolutionary monarchist bourgeoisie (the so-called party of order).—81, 156, 165-66

*Kölnische Zeitung*—a German daily published under this title in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; the mouthpiece for the liberal bourgeoisie; in 1848 and 1849 advocated anti-revolutionary tendencies and fought against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.—13-15, 17-18, 21, 25, 30, 32, 38, 40, 77, 78, 84, 94, 101, 108, 110, 112, 117, 120, 149, 152, 158, 176, 188, 190, 194, 238, 243, 266, 268, 274-75, 280, 294, 300, 306, 309, 315-16, 436, 450, 465, 474, 520, 522, 524

*Közlöny, hivatalos lap*—a Hungarian daily of the Kossuth revolutionary Government published in 1848 and 1849 in Pest, Debreczin and Szegedin.—237

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*Der Lloyd*—an Austrian conservative newspaper published twice daily (morning and evening) in Vienna from 1848 to 1854 under the editorship of Löwenthal.—10, 24, 31, 41, 60, 92, 158, 160, 181, 183-84, 189, 190, 239, 241, 246, 262, 271, 284, 287, 315, 332, 343, 364

*Le Moniteur universel*—a French government daily published in Paris from 1789; organ of the revolutionary government during the French Revolution.—35, 65, 192

*Morawské Nowiny*—a Czech daily published in Brno from November 1, 1848.—182

*Napredak* (*Напредак*)—a Serbian newspaper published in Karlowitz in 1848 and 1849.—11, 31, 146

*Le National*—a daily published in Paris from 1830 to 1851; in the 1840s, organ of the moderate republicans.—79, 81

*National-Zeitung*—a liberal newspaper published under this title in Berlin from April 1, 1848, to 1915.—71, 321, 369, 394, 466

*Neue Deutsche Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a democratic daily published from 1848 to 1850, up to April 1, 1849, in Darmstadt, and then in Frankfurt am Main. It was edited by Otto Lüning; from October 1, 1849, Joseph Weydemeyer also became its editor.—473, 510-11, 516

*Neue Kölnische Zeitung für Bürger, Bauern und Soldaten*—a revolutionary-democratic newspaper published in Cologne from September 10, 1848, to June 14, 1849, by Friedrich Anneke and Friedrich Beust.—508, 509-10, 515, 523, 525

*Neue Oder-Zeitung*—a German daily published in Breslau (Wrocław); first, under the title *Allgemeine Oder-Zeitung*, it was the organ of opposition Catholic circles. From March 1849 to the end of 1855 it appeared as *Neue Oder-Zeitung* and was the organ of German democrats; in 1855 Marx was its London correspondent.—90, 239, 252, 342, 365, 407

*Neue Preussische Zeitung*—a conservative daily published in Berlin from June 1848; the mouthpiece for junkers and Court circles; also known as *Kreuz-Zeitung* because the

heading contained a cross bearing the slogan "Forward with God for King and Fatherland!"—22-23, 65-69, 87-88, 109, 129, 193, 281, 437, 454, 466

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a daily published in Cologne under the editorship of Marx from June 1, 1848, to May 19, 1849 (with an interval between September 27 and October 12, 1848); organ of the revolutionary-proletarian wing among the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany. Engels was among its editors.—13, 36-37, 65, 84-85, 108, 160, 262, 281, 295, 311, 340, 353, 357, 359, 372, 375, 410, 431-32, 437, 447, 449-50, 451, 454, 467, 473, 480, 489-90, 498, 503, 505, 509-12, 514-19, 521, 523-24

*Neue Zürcher-Zeitung*—a Swiss liberal newspaper published in German under this title in Zurich from July 1, 1821; from 1780 to 1821 came out under the title *Zürcher-Zeitung*.—44-45

*Oberschlesische Lokomotive*—a German newspaper published in 1849 in Rátibor (Racibórz).—257

*Ost-Deutsche Post*—an Austrian daily of the moderate liberals published in Vienna from 1848 to 1866.—112, 152, 154, 158, 190, 255, 265, 289, 293, 304, 307, 315, 355

*Österreichischer Correspondent*—a daily newspaper of the Austrian Government published in Vienna in 1848 and 1849 (from November 1848 to April 1849 in Olmütz). —9, 186, 246, 304

*Ostsee-Zeitung und Börsennachrichten der Ostsee*—a German daily published in Stettin (Szczecin) from 1835.—311

*La Patrie. Journal du commerce, de l'agriculture, de l'industrie, de la littérature, des sciences et des arts*—a daily published in Paris from 1841 to 1871; during the 1848 revolution voiced the views of the counter-revolutionary monarchist bourgeoisie (the so-called party of order) and later of the Bonapartists.—157

*Pester Zeitung*—a pro-Austrian daily published in German in Pest during the 1840s and the early 1850s.—10, 264

*Die Presse*—a liberal daily published in Vienna from July 1848 to 1896. In 1861 and 1862, when the newspaper held anti-Bonapartist views, it printed a number of articles and items by Marx.—246, 263, 364

*La Presse*—a daily published in Paris from 1836; in the 1840s, mouthpiece for the opposition to the July monarchy; in 1848 and 1849, organ of the moderate republicans, later a Bonapartist paper. From 1836 to 1857 it was edited by Émile Girardin.—480

*Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*—a German newspaper founded in Berlin in 1819; from 1819 to April 1848 it was a semi-official organ of the Prussian Government; its title was changed several times.—69, 417, 464

*Die Reform. Organ der demokratischen Partei*—a newspaper of the German petty-bourgeois democrats published by Arnold Ruge and H. B. Oppenheim under the editorship of Eduard Meyen from April 1848 in Leipzig, from the summer of 1848 to the early 1850s in Berlin.—33-35

*Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*—a German daily founded on January 1, 1842, as an organ of the Rhenish bourgeois opposition and published in Cologne till March 31, 1843. While edited by Marx (from October 15, 1842, to

March 17, 1843), the paper became a mouthpiece for revolutionary-democratic ideas, which led to its suppression. Engels was one of its contributors.—108
*Rosenberg-Kreuzburger Telegraph*—a German newspaper published in Rosenberg-Kreuzburg (Silesia) in 1849.—70

*Schlesische Zeitung*—a German daily published in Breslau (Wrocław) from 1742; the newspaper of the constitutional monarchists on the eve of and during the revolution of 1848-49.—14, 162
*Serbske Novine* (*Србске Новине*)—an official organ of the Serbian Government published in Belgrade from 1835.—41, 425
*Der Siebenbürger Bote*—a newspaper published in German in Hermannstadt (Sibiu), Transylvania, in 1848 and 1849.—62, 146
*Slavenski jug*—a Croatian pro-Austrian newspaper published in Agram (Zagreb) from 1848 to 1850.—116
*Slovenski pozornik*—a Slovak newspaper published in 1849.—300
*Der Spiegel. Zeitschrift für die elegante Welt, Mode, Literatur, Kunst, Theater*—an Austrian newspaper published in Pest from 1828.—315
*Staats-Anzeiger*—see *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*
*Südslavische Zeitung*—a weekly of the Croatian liberal monarchists published in German in Agram (Zagreb) from 1849 to 1852.—116, 184, 229

*Teutsches Volksblatt*—a German newspaper of moderate democrats published in Würzburg in the 1840s.—36, 37
*Trier'sche Zeitung*—a daily founded in Trier in 1757, appeared under this title from 1815; in the early 1840s voiced radical views, and later came under the influence of "true socialists"; during the 1848-49 revolution a democratic newspaper.—509, 514
*Triester Freihafen*—an Austrian newspaper published in Trieste.—462

*Vjestnik* (*Вѣстникъ*)—a Serbian newspaper published in Pest in 1848 and 1849, and later in Neusatz and Karlowitz.—425
*Der Volksfreund*—a German democratic weekly published in 1849 in Lemgo (Principality of Lippe-Detmold).—479

*Der Wächter*—a Swiss radical newspaper published in Murten (canton of Freiburg) from January 1849 and edited by Johann Kaspar Sieber.—43
*Der Wächter am Rhein*—a democratic newspaper published in Cologne in 1848 and 1849, edited by Carl Cramer.—450
*Der Wanderer*—a daily of the Austrian constitutional monarchists, published in Vienna from 1809 to 1866.—302, 335-36
*Westdeutsche Zeitung*—a democratic newspaper published in Cologne from May 25, 1849, to July 21, 1850, by Hermann Becker.—473
*Wiener Zeitung*—a daily organ of the Austrian Government published in Vienna from 1780 to 1931; had the subtitle *Kaiserlich-königlich privilegirte* (1800-06) or *Österreichisch kaiserliche privilegirte* (1807-47 and certain issues of 1848). There were a few supplements, among them *Abend-Beilage zur Wiener Zeitung*.—10, 92,

113, 116-17, 120, 163, 178, 243, 246, 250-51, 252, 254, 271, 279, 294, 314, 316, 346, 348, 397
*Wochen- und Adress-Blatt*—a German newspaper published twice a week in Erfurt in the 1840s.—71

*Zeitung des Osten*—a democratic daily published in Posen in 1849 by W. Stefanski, a prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement.—312
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*Working-class movement in Germany*—326-27, 494, 498-500, 504
See also *Revolution of 1848-49 in Germany; Working class in Germany*

*Working-class movement in Switzerland*—42, 44

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# GLOSSARY OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES[a]

| | |
|---|---|
| Acs | Asc |
| Agram | Zagreb |
| Altenburg (Wieselburg) | Mosonmagyaróvar |
| Alt-Orsova | Orşova |
| Aluta (Alt) | Olt or Oltul |
| Andrichau | Andrychów |
| Arbegin | Egerbegy |
| Bartfeld | Bardejov |
| Becse (Base) | Bečej |
| Becskerek (Nagy-Becskerek) | Zrenjanin |
| Besenyö | Besenyötelek |
| Bielitz | Bielsko-Biala |
| Blasendorf | Blaj |
| Breslau | Wrocław |
| Brody (Radziwilow) | Brody and Chervonoarmeisk (two towns) |
| Budweis | České Budějovice |
| Cerevich | Čerević |
| Crnja | Srpska Crnja |
| Csacze | Čadca |
| Czernowitz | Chernovtsy |
| Dalja | Dalj |
| Debreczin | Debrecen |
| Demblin | Deblin |
| Dioszeg | Diosig |
| Eipel | Ipoly or Ipel |
| Eperies | Prešov |
| Erlau | Eger |
| Esseg | Osijek |
| Felegyhaza | Kiskunfelegyháza |
| Földvar | Dunaföldvár |
| Friedek | Frýdek-Mistek |
| Friedland | Frydlant na Ostravice |
| Fünfkirchen | Pécs |
| Galatz | Galaţi |
| Gnesen | Gniezno |
| Gönyö | Gonyü |
| Gran | Esztergom |
| Gran (river) | Hron |
| Gross-Kikinda | Kikinda |
| Grosswardein | Oradea |
| Güns | Köszeg |
| Hadersleben | Haderslev |
| Hatzfeld | Timbolia |
| Hermannstadt | Sibiu |
| Ibrail | Brăila |
| Ipolyság | Šahy |
| Karánsebes | Caransebeş |
| Karlowitz | Sremski Karlovci |
| Karlsburg | Tepenec |
| Karlstadt | Karlovac |
| Karwin | Karvina |
| Kaschau (Kassa) | Košice |
| Klausenburg | Cluj |
| Kokel (Küküllö) | Tîrnava |
| Kokel (Küküllo) | |
| 1. Grosse Kokel | 1. Târnava Mare |
| 2. Kleine Kokel | 2. Târnava Mică |

[a] This glossary includes geographical names occurring in Marx's and Engels' articles in the form customary in the German press of the time but differing from the national names or from those given on modern maps. The left column gives geographical names as used in the German original (when they differ from the national names of the time, the latter are given in brackets); the right column gives corresponding names as used on modern maps and in modern literature.—*Ed.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Kómlos | Sintana |
| Komorn | Komárom and Komárno (two towns) |
| Kosel | Koźle |
| Kremsier | Kroměřiž |
| Kronstadt | Braşov |
| Laczhaza | Kiskunlacháza |
| Lemberg | Lvov |
| Leopoldstadt | Leopoldov |
| Leutschau | Levoča |
| Leva | Levice |
| Loslau | Wodzisław-Sleynski |
| Losoncz | Lučenec |
| Lugos | Lugoj |
| Lundenburg | Břeclaw |
| Magyaros | Šieu-Magheruş |
| March | March or Morava |
| Margitfalva | Margecany |
| Mark-Schelken | Seica-Mare |
| Maros | Marosz or Mureş |
| Maros-Vásárhely | Tîrgu-Mureş |
| Masdorf | Tószeg |
| Mediasch | Mediaş |
| Mitrowitz | Mitrovica |
| Munkács | Mukačevo |
| Myslowitz | Mysłowice |
| Neograd | Nograd |
| Neudorf (Iglo) | Spišska Nova Ves |
| Neuhäusel | Nove Zámky |
| Neumarkt | Nowy Targ |
| Neusatz (Ujvidek) | Novi Sad |
| Neutitschein | Nový Tičin |
| Neutra | Nitra |
| Oedenburg | Sopron |
| Oderberg | Starý Bohumin |
| Ofen | Buda |
| Olmütz | Olomouc |
| O-Szöny | Szöny |
| Palotta | Varpalota |
| Pancsova | Pančevo |
| Pataj | Dunapataj |
| Peterwardein | Petrovaradin |
| Petrowian | Petrovany |
| Pettau | Ptuj |
| Plattensee | Balaton |
| Posen | Poznań |
| Prerau | Přerov |
| Pressburg (Pozsony) | Bratislava |
| Raab | Györ |
| Raab (river) | Rába |
| Radziwilow—see Brody | |
| Rátibor | Racibórz |
| Raycza | Rajcza |
| Reichenberg | Liberec |
| Rimaszombat | Rimavská Sobota |
| Rosenau | Rožnăva |
| Roterturm | Turnu Roşu |
| Sankt Thomas (Szent Tamas) | Srbobran |
| Schässburg (Segesvar) | Sighişoara |
| Schemnitz | Banska Štiavnica |
| Semlin | Zemun |
| Sillein | Žilina |
| Sissek | Sisak |
| Stettin | Szczecin |
| Stuhlweissenburg | Székesfehérvar |
| Sundewitt | Sundeved |
| Syrmien | Szerem |
| Szegedin | Szeged |
| Szegléd | Cegléd |
| Szent Peter | Dolnýpeter |
| Szerdahely | Mercurea |
| Temesvar | Timişoara |
| Teplitz | Teplice |
| Teschen | Česky Tešin (Czech) and Cieszyn (Polish), two towns |
| Theiss | Tisza |
| Theresiopel (Maria-Theresiopel) | Subotica |
| Tömös (Pass) | Predeal (Pass) |
| Törzburg | Bran |
| Törzburg (Pass) | Pasal Bran |
| Tot-Almas | Töalmás |
| Troppau | Opava |
| Turany | Turany nad Vahom |
| Tyrnau | Trnava |
| Verbasz | Vrbas |
| Verebély | Vráble |
| Vesprim | Veszprém |
| Waag (Vag) | Váh |
| Waitzen (Vacs) | Vác |
| Wallendorf | Spišske Vlachy |
| Werschetz (Versecz) | Vršac |
| Wieselburg—see Altenburg | |
| Zenta | Senta |
| Zombor | Sombor |

# MARX & ENGELS
# COLLECTED WORKS

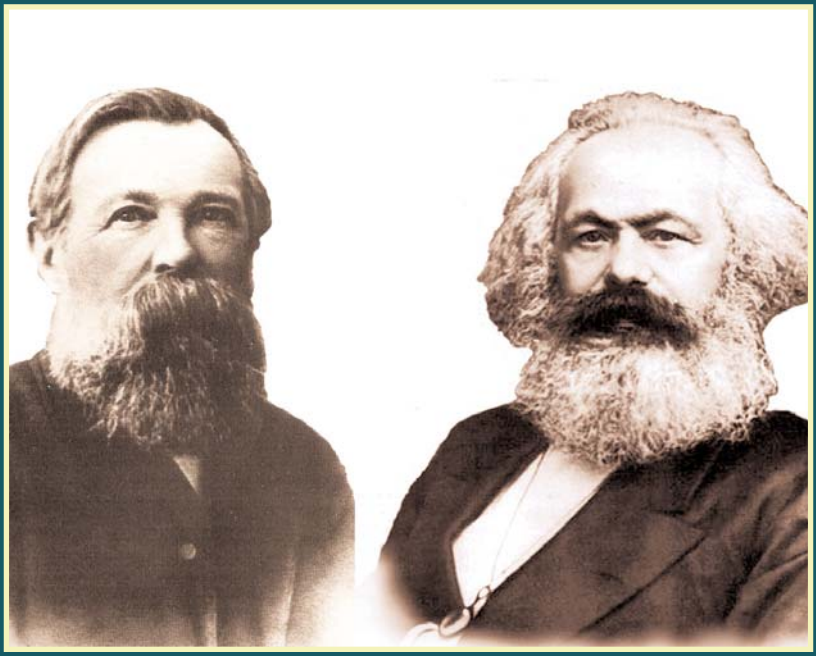

## VOLUME 10

### Marx and Engels 1849-51

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 10

## Marx and Engels 1849-51

2010
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# Preface

Volume 10 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels covers the period from the autumn of 1849 to the summer of 1851.

The bourgeois-democratic revolutions which swept across the European continent in 1848-49 had ended in defeat. The last centres of insurrection in Germany, Hungary and Italy had been suppressed in the summer of 1849. In France, the victory of the counter-revolution was already clearing the way for the coup d'état of Louis Bonaparte on December 2, 1851. Everywhere workers' and democratic organisations were being destroyed and revolutionaries severely persecuted. Yet the events of the preceding years had left their mark. They had struck at the remnants of feudalism in the European countries, given an impulse to the further growth of capitalism and aggravated its contradictions.

Marx and Engels had already embarked upon their scientific analysis of the European revolutions of the mid-nineteenth century, in which the revolutionary energies of the whole of society had become concentrated in the proletariat—the most active and determined force of the revolution. And now they set out to deepen this analysis by defining the general and specific features of the 1848-49 revolutions and drawing the practical lessons for the consolidation of the proletariat as a class. During the immediately ensuing years they concentrated most of their attention on the theoretical summing up and generalisation of the experience of the revolutionary battles, determining the objective laws of class struggle and of revolution, and working out the strategy and tactics of the proletariat in the new conditions. As Lenin was later to point out, "Here as everywhere else, his [Marx's] theory is a *summing up of experience,* illuminated by a profound philosophical conception of the

world and a rich knowledge of history" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 25, p. 412).

In this period Marx and Engels were not, however, solely concerned with theoretical work but with practical tasks of rallying the working-class organisations. They did not at first expect the break in revolutionary battles to last long. And they considered it essential to gather together the dispersed proletarian forces as quickly as possible, and to prepare them for new struggles. By the summer of 1850, however, they had realised that hopes of an early renewal of the revolution were groundless—but they continued to work for the unity of the most conscious elements of the working class and of its supporters, seeing this as a long-term task.

Marx moved to London at the end of August 1849—and there Engels joined him in November. Straight away, they did their utmost to revive and reorganise the Communist League. They tried to stimulate the work of the London German Workers' Educational Society, whose nucleus consisted of the Communist League's local communities, and joined the Society's Committee of Support for German Refugees, seeking to rally the proletarian revolutionary émigrés around the League. At the same time, they established close contacts with revolutionary leaders—with the Blanquist French émigrés in London and the Left-wing Chartists—joining with them in forming the Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists in the spring of 1850 (see this volume, pp. 614-15). Especially important were their contacts with the revolutionary wing of the Chartist movement under G. Julian Harney and Ernest Jones, and their use of the Chartist journal *The Democratic Review* to propagate scientific communism and explain events on the Continent to British workers.

The "Letters from Germany" and "Letters from France"—published in *The Democratic Review,* and which associates of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have recently shown to have been written by Engels—are initial sketches, as it were, for Marx's major political and historical works summing up the results of the 1848-49 revolutions (*The Class Struggles in France* and *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*), and likewise for Engels' "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany". Engels' articles contain the initial formulations of certain important ideas elaborated in these works—the tendency of the bourgeoisie to turn to counter-revolution, the leading revolutionary role of the proletariat, the worker-peasant alliance, and the permanent revolution. In the "Letters from France", for example, Engels expressed the hope that

in the next round of revolutions the working class would have the support of the broad mass of peasants. The peasants, he wrote, were "beginning to see that no government, except one acting in the interest of the working men of the towns, will free them from the misery and starvation into which ... they are falling deeper and deeper every day" (see this volume, p. 21).

Marx and Engels were convinced that to build and strengthen a proletarian party it was essential to have a publication which would continue the traditions of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. And in March 1850 they launched the journal *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*—the theoretical journal of the Communist League, with Marx as editor. Its inaugural announcement defined the purpose of the journal: "A time of apparent calm such as the present must be employed precisely for the purpose of elucidating the period of revolution just experienced, the character of the conflicting parties, and the social conditions which determine the existence and the struggle of these parties" (see this volume, p. 5).

In its six modest-sized issues, the *Revue* published Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* and Engels' *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* and *The Peasant War in Germany*, which contain a wealth of important ideas. Marx and Engels also contributed book reviews, international reviews, and other articles, all of which appear in the present volume.

In *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (the title given by Engels to its 1895 edition) Marx for the first time applied to a whole period of history the method of analysis and explanation of historical materialism. And it was to contemporary history that he applied it. In his Preface to the 1895 edition Engels described this as "a development as critical, for the whole of Europe, as it was typical". Marx, he wrote, had set out "to demonstrate the inner causal connection" and so "to trace the political events back to effects of what were, in the final analysis, economic causes". (This Preface will appear in its chronological place in Volume 28 of the *Collected Works*.)

It was by analysing and drawing conclusions from the practical experience of revolutionary struggle that Marx was able to demonstrate the objective necessity of social revolutions, and to enrich the whole theory of revolution by the idea that revolutions are the "locomotives of history", accelerating historical progress and stimulating the constructive energy of the masses. He showed how in revolutionary periods history is speeded up—as was the

case in France when the different classes of society "had to count their epochs of development in weeks where they had previously counted them in half centuries" (see this volume, p. 97). Examining the course of events in France, where the class struggle had been especially acute, Marx found that the bourgeoisie as a class was losing its revolutionary qualities and that the working class had become the principal driving force of revolution and thereby also of historical progress. In the June uprising in 1848 the proletariat of Paris had acted as an independent force and displayed immense energy and heroism. This, he pointed out in *The Class Struggles in France,* was the first great battle between the two classes whose division split modern society in two, serving notice that, despite the defeat of the proletariat, former bourgeois demands had given place to "the bold slogan of revolutionary struggle: *Overthrow of the bourgeoisie! Dictatorship of the working class!*" (see this volume, p. 69).

This is the first time Marx used the phrase "dictatorship of the working class" (*Diktatur der Arbeiterklasse*) in print. And its appearance meant more than simply the use of a single phrase to express the idea of the proletariat winning political power, which Marx and Engels had already formulated in works written before the 1848 revolution. It marked a step forward in the whole conception of proletarian revolution, the "proletarian" or "working-class" dictatorship being envisaged as a genuinely democratic political organisation of society in which political power would represent and express the interests of the vast majority, the working people, as opposed to the dictatorship of the exploiting classes. Revolutionary socialism, Marx maintained, meant establishing the dictatorship of the working class as the effective power to bring about the socialist reconstruction of society.

"This Socialism," he wrote (see this volume, p. 127), "is the *declaration of the permanence of the revolution,* the *class dictatorship* of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the *abolition of class distinctions generally,* to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionising of all the ideas that result from these social relations."

*The Class Struggles in France* contains Marx's classical definition of the tasks of the working-class dictatorship in the decisive field—the economic reconstruction of society, that is to say: "The appropriation of the means of production, their subjection to the associated working class and, therefore, the abolition of wage labour, of capital and of their mutual relations" (see this volume, p. 78). This

definition separates off scientific communism from the vague demands for "community of property" characteristic of all varieties of utopian socialism and utopian communism.

In *The Class Struggles in France* Marx also went deeper in his criticism of non-proletarian socialist currents, showing their theoretical weaknesses and their untenability in practice. In particular, he exposed the fallacy in Louis Blanc's idea of class collaboration and state assistance to workers' associations as the means to achieving socialism. In his petty-bourgeois version of socialism,which Marx so exhaustively examined, Blanc had also assured the workers that the rulers of the bourgeois Second Republic were willing to resolve social problems by adopting his plan for the "organisation of labour". Blanc's unreal ideas and conciliatory tactics came to nothing, and Marx saw in their collapse the positive gain that the proletariat was liberated from such harmful illusions.

Other works written by Marx and Engels during this period likewise referred to how bitterly the workers were let down by the various systems of utopian socialism and the empty verbosity of petty-bourgeois democratic leaders. In the "Letters from France", for example, Engels described the gradual liberation of the working class from the influence of petty-bourgeois ideas: "The people ... will soon find socialist and revolutionary formulas which shall express their wants and interests far more clearly than anything invented *for them*, by authors of systems and by declaiming leaders" (see this volume, p. 35).

Finally, in *The Class Struggles in France*, Marx put forward, expounded and justified one of the key principles of the strategy and tactics of workers' revolutionary struggle—that the peasantry and urban petty-bourgeois strata were allies of the proletariat against the bourgeois system. Nothing but the victory of the proletariat, he showed, could deliver the non-proletarian sections of the working people from the economic oppression and degradation brought upon them by capitalism. He demonstrated the necessity for close alliance between the proletariat, the peasantry and the urban petty-bourgeoisie, and at the same time the necessity for the leading political role of the proletariat as the most revolutionary class. And he exposed the limited ideas and impotent politics of the petty-bourgeois democratic leaders, using the failure of the petty-bourgeois *Montagne* party on June 13, 1849, to prove how incapable was such a party to conduct any revolutionary struggle on its own.

*The Class Struggles in France* is, indeed, a major work in which, following the experience of the revolutions of 1848-49, Marx

achieved a new stage in developing the theory of scientific communism. A popular summary of the main conclusions was provided in Engels' article "Two Years of a Revolution" (see this volume, pp. 353-69). Published in *The Democratic Review*, this article by Engels is a model of revolutionary propaganda in the British workers' press.

The key problems of the theory of revolution and working-class strategy and tactics posed in *The Class Struggles in France* were also examined in the "Address of the Central Authority to the League" (March 1850), written jointly by Marx and Engels. This document summed up the experience of the revolution in Germany, and marked an important step forward in the elaboration of the programme and tactics of the revolutionary proletariat.

The Address contains a comprehensive and classical definition of the idea of permanent revolution which had been variously formulated in preceding writings by Marx and Engels. Their exhaustive analysis of the 1848-49 revolution showed that the revolutionary reconstruction of society was by nature a long and complex process which would pass through several stages. The objective laws of this process, they found, made feasible an uninterrupted development from the bourgeois-democratic through to the proletarian stage of the revolution. And they concluded that it was in the interests of the working class and its allies that no long period of calm should intervene. The proletarian party should therefore work for the continuous ("permanent") development of the revolution until the working class established its political power—and such a strategy was the most favourable one for the mass of the people and for social-historical progress. "It is our interest and our task," the Address declared, "to make the revolution permanent, until all more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance, [and] the proletariat has conquered state power..." (see this volume, p. 281).

The Address indicates some of the practical measures for effecting the transition from the bourgeois-democratic to the proletarian revolution. The workers had, it says, to create their own centres of working-class power, alongside the official government, in the form of local self-governing bodies, workers' clubs and committees, by means of which the apparatus of government in the bourgeois-democratic revolution could be brought under effective control by the proletarian masses. And to carry the revolution further, Marx and Engels concluded, the workers had to arm themselves and set up an armed proletarian guard.

Later, in the new context of imperialism, Lenin was to draw on the conclusions about permanent revolution, formulated by Marx and Engels in the Address, in his teachings on the passage from bourgeois-democratic to socialist revolution, which carried further the Marxist conception of the strategy and tactics of the proletariat and of the revolutionary Marxist party.

In March 1850, when they wrote the "Address of the Central Authority to the League", Marx and Engels were still expecting an early new revolutionary outburst, with the petty-bourgeois democrats coming to power in Germany. This made them consider it doubly urgent to liberate the working class from the political and ideological influence of the petty-bourgeois democrats. The most effective means of doing so was to form an independent workers' party, with both clandestine and legal organisations, and with the underground communities of the Communist League serving as the nucleus of the non-clandestine workers' associations. While urging that the workers' party must dissociate itself both ideologically and in its organisation from the petty-bourgeois democrats, Marx and Engels did not deny the importance of agreements for joint struggle against the counter-revolution. But they insisted that in all circumstances the working class must conduct and consolidate its own independent policy.

A second "Address of the Central Authority to the League", in June 1850, lays especial emphasis on creating a strong proletarian party in Germany, and in other European countries, adapted to clandestine activity and yet using all legal opportunities for propaganda and for organising the masses.

Two works by Engels, dealing mainly with events in Germany but summarising, directly or indirectly, the experience of the 1848-49 revolutions, were published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.* The series of essays entitled *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* were written by Engels in the wake of the Baden-Palatinate insurrection of the spring and summer of 1849, in which he had taken part. On Marx's advice, he wrote these essays as a pamphlet condemning the leaders of the German petty-bourgeois democrats for their chronic indecision and word-mongering. First-hand reports by a participant were blended with a historical study of the last phase of the revolution in Germany. Engels examined the nature of the revolutionary movement itself, the attitudes of the classes and parties involved in it, and the causes of its failure. And he drew his conclusions on the tactics of a revolutionary party in armed uprising or civil war.

Another of Engels' historical works, and one which has long occupied a prominent place in the legacy of Marxist historiography, was written for the *Revue*—*The Peasant War in Germany*. Though this dealt with events of a long past epoch, Engels wrote it with the contemporary scene in mind. For the defeat of the 1848-49 revolutions was bringing its inevitable aftermath of fatigue and disenchantment, and Engels sought to renew contemporary revolutionary convictions by reviving past revolutionary traditions of the people and by drawing attention, in particular, to the dormant revolutionary energy of the peasants, since their alliance with the working class would be decisive for any future success of the revolution. He sought to inspire his contemporary readers by his vivid portraits of sixteenth-century revolutionary leaders—Thomas Münzer, the plebeian revolutionary who was herald of the plebeian Reformation, the brilliant peasant general Michael Geismaier, and other indomitable fighters against feudal oppression.

*The Peasant War in Germany*, like Marx's *The Class Struggles in France*, is a model of how to apply the method of historical materialism to the elucidation of historical events. Throwing new light on a period of world history which was a crucial turning point in the history of Germany, Engels' study combines profound theoretical generalisations with precise political conclusions. He analyses the central problems of German sixteenth-century history, the part played by the anti-feudal peasant and plebeian movements, the specific features of the era when feudalism had already disintegrated, and the transition to capitalism had begun, and the consequences in Germany of the failure of the Peasant War. In most cases, German bourgeois historians had seen nothing but "violent theological bickering" behind the events of 1525 (see this volume, p. 411). But Engels was the first to make clear the profound social and economic causes of both the Reformation and the Peasant War, and to make clear that the political and ideological struggle of that time was, essentially, a class struggle.

*The Peasant War in Germany* is, indeed, organically related to the problems of the working-class and democratic movement in the middle of the nineteenth century. As Engels wrote in a preface to the second edition, in 1870, "the parallel between the German revolution of 1525 and the 1848-49 revolution was much too striking to be entirely renounced at the time". (The Preface of 1870 will appear in its chronological place in Volume 21 of the *Collected Works*.)

Engels described the Reformation and the Peasant War as the earliest of the bourgeois revolutions, and saw the main reason for the

failure of the Peasant War in the vacillation and treachery of the German burghers, whom he regarded as the historical predecessors of the bourgeoisie. The main force in the Peasant War was the peasants themselves along with the urban plebeians. But provincial limitations and the fact that "neither burghers, peasants nor plebeians could unite for concerted national action" were, Engels held, among the reasons for its defeat (see this volume, p. 481). The dispersed state of the revolutionary forces, and their parochial and particularist tendencies, he stressed, had likewise had a distinctly negative effect in the 1848-49 revolution.

The present volume contains a number of book reviews and critical articles examining the ideological impact of the revolutionary events of 1848-49, and attacking bourgeois and petty-bourgeois interpretations of the revolution. The revolutionary upheavals had meant a turning point in the evolution of the views of bourgeois ideologists. In face of the militant independent activity of the working class even previously progressive bourgeois historians and political theorists had lost their capacity for scientific evaluation of the process of history. This shift to the right is remarked upon, for example, in the review of Guizot's pamphlet *Pourquoi la révolution d'Angleterre a-t-elle réussi?* Guizot had previously acknowledged the necessity for revolutions and, in particular, the role of the class struggle of the third estate against the feudal aristocracy in the making of bourgeois society. But now he belittled the significance of revolutionary action. He set up as a model the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 in England, and made out that the English seventeenth-century revolution (1640-60) had been successful when it had followed the ways of compromise and had, by virtue of its religious character, secured England's further constitutional development without revolutionary explosions and upheavals. Criticising Guizot's reading of history, Marx and Engels produced a classical description of the English seventeenth-century revolution, its peculiarities and significance, and its difference from the French revolution of the eighteenth century.

A similar shift to the right among ideologists of the ruling class is illustrated by the case of Thomas Carlyle—the British Sage of Cheyne Walk, Chelsea. In a review of Carlyle's *Latter-Day Pamphlets* Marx and Engels demolished his subjective idealist concept of history, the "hero cult", and his counterposing of the "hero" to the masses. By exalting these "heroes", said Marx and Engels, Carlyle was only "justifying and exaggerating the infamies of the bourgeoisie" (see this volume, p. 310).

The glorification of personalities was typical of petty-bourgeois democrats as well—of their historians and writers, and also of police-sponsored champions who exaggerated the deeds of the petty-bourgeois opposition movement and thereby inflated their own individual merits as "saviours of society" from dangerous red revolutionaries. Marx and Engels denounced this decking up in false colours of members of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois opposition in a caustic review of two books by the French police agents Chenu and de la Hodde. Having made it clear that the two authors were nothing but *agents provocateurs*, Marx and Engels voiced strong objections to the adventurist and conspiratorial tactics which opened the way for *provocateurs* to penetrate the revolutionary movement. They described the exponents of such tactics as "alchemists of the revolution" who sought only "to bring it artificially to crisis-point, to launch a revolution on the spur of the moment, without the conditions for a revolution" (see this volume, p. 318). This criticism of conspiracy and sectarianism could not have been more timely, since adventurism and adventurist illusions were widespread among the members of the Communist League and the petty-bourgeois emigrants.

In their review of Girardin's *Le socialisme et l'impôt* Marx and Engels continued their criticism of "bourgeois socialism", begun in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, and also made a critical examination of anarchist ideas. The latter were fairly widespread at the time in France—notably in the works and utterances of Proudhon—and in Germany too. This review of Girardin's pamphlet concurs with Engels' unfinished manuscript "On the Slogan of the Abolition of the State and the German 'Friends of Anarchy'", which condemns the anarchist proposals for "abolishing the state", examines their origin in Germany, and presents a relevant account of Stirner's anarcho-individualist ideas.

The international reviews included in this volume are of much interest, too. They contain a scientific analysis of the more important current economic and political events in Europe and North America, and several predictions which were confirmed by subsequent development.

Until the summer of 1850, Marx and Engels were convinced that the economic crisis which began in 1847 would continue to get worse, and would generate a new surge of revolution. This view was reflected in *The Class Struggles in France*, the March "Address of the Central Authority to the League", and in their first and second international reviews. Marx and Engels in fact overestimated the maturity of capitalism—or underestimated its potential of recovery

from economic crisis and of further development—and likewise overestimated the revolutionary potential of the working class at that time. It was this, in part, which had led to their over-optimistic predictions of early revolution. "History," wrote Engels in his introduction to Marx's *Class Struggles in France* in 1895 (to be included in Volume 28 of the *Collected Works*), "has proved us, and all who thought like us, wrong. It has made it clear that the state of economic development of the Continent at that time was not, by a long way, ripe for the elimination of capitalist production." In the summer of 1850, on resuming his economic researches and making a thorough examination of the economic situation, Marx found that the 1847 economic slump had run its course and that a new period of boom had begun. His study of the processes at work in the economy gave him a clearer and more accurate idea of the prospects of revolution. In their third international review Marx and Engels wrote: "With this general prosperity, in which the productive forces of bourgeois society develop as luxuriantly as is at all possible within bourgeois relationships, there can be no talk of a real revolution.... *A new revolution is possible only in consequence of a new crisis. It is, however, just as certain as this crisis*" (see this volume, p. 510).

In his subsequent economic research and analysis of social development Marx found that the influence of economic processes on society was not necessarily direct and that economic crisis would not always, or indeed usually, immediately precipitate an outbreak of revolution. Nonetheless, the thought that economic crises exercise a revolutionising influence on society and that, by aggravating the contradictions of capitalism, crises may stimulate the revolutionary movement, is an abiding part of Marxist theory. Lenin drew special attention to the theoretical importance of these propositions (see V. I. Lenin, *Précis of the Correspondence between Marx and Engels, 1844-1883*, second Russ. ed., 1968, p. 30).

In their third international review, Marx and Engels described yet another essential feature of the revolutionary process. Though Britain was, as they put it, "the demiurge of the bourgeois cosmos", the revolution had occurred on the Continent and a new revolutionary explosion should likewise be expected first of all in the continental countries. "Violent outbreaks must naturally occur rather in the extremities of the bourgeois body than in its heart, since the possibility of adjustment is greater here than there" (see this volume, p. 509). So probabilities favoured the beginning of the revolutionary transformation of society not in the centre but on the outskirts of the bourgeois world, in countries with a less developed capitalist economy than in Britain.

Apart from certain major theoretical works on history, and current book reviews and international reviews, this volume contains articles on current social problems, such as "The Ten Hours' Question" by Engels, "The Constitution of the French Republic" by Marx, and a few others, with their letters and statements to the press exposing the slander and persecution of revolutionary leaders by absolutist and bourgeois governments. "The Constitution of the French Republic", for example, which appeared in the Chartist *Notes to the People*, shows up the limited nature and class essence of bourgeois democracy and the flagrant difference between the proclamations of democratic rights and liberties in bourgeois written constitutions and the anti-democratic practices of bourgeois states, along with constitutional reservations which effectively reduced these rights and liberties to nothing.

Engels' manuscript "Conditions and Prospects of a War of the Holy Alliance against France in 1852" opened a new stage in his elaboration of a Marxist military theory—to which he and Marx attached great importance in the light of the lessons of the 1848-49 revolution. The manuscript examines the material basis of military science, the dependence of the art of war and the military establishment itself on the economy and the social system, the influence of revolutions on the development of warfare, and also the military potentials of the European states in the mid-nineteenth century. Engels wrote, too, about the army of the future socialist state, born in the flames of proletarian revolution—and his ideas about it have proved prophetic. He predicted that it would be unusually strong in combat, highly manoeuvrable, and possess a high degree of striking power since its development would be backed by the rapidly developing productive forces of the new society, its flourishing technology and culture.

Marx's and Engels' entire elaboration of the theory of scientific communism in the light of the experience of the 1848-49 revolution precipitated sharp ideological clashes inside the Communist League between them and their followers, on the one hand, and the sectarian faction of Willich-Schapper, on the other. The controversy focussed on the prospects of revolution and the related questions of proletarian strategy and tactics. The Willich-Schapper faction was for premature actions, including attempts to seize power, which would have been especially dangerous in that period of revolutionary low tide. The minutes of the September 15, 1850, sitting of the Central Authority of the Communist League (published in the Appendices to this volume) mirror clearly enough the issues involved. Speaking at the sitting, Marx insisted on the great harm

which would result for the revolutionary movement from any voluntarist adventurist "playing at revolution" which ignored the real situation and state of the proletarian movement. The tactical errors of the Willich-Schapper faction, he observed, stemmed from the poor theoretical and philosophical equipment of its members. "A German national standpoint," he said, "was substituted for the universal outlook of the *Manifesto*, and the national feelings of the German artisans were pandered to. The materialist standpoint of the *Manifesto* has given way to idealism" (see this volume, p. 626).

Despite Marx's proposals, which would have dissociated proletarian revolutionaries from the Willich-Schapper group and preserved the unity of the proletarian organisation, the sectarians managed to split the Communist League. They joined forces with other adventurist elements inside the League, and with petty-bourgeois émigrés, to attack Marx and Engels and their followers. In the end, Marx, Engels and their friends decided to resign from the London German Workers' Educational Society and from the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee, and to break off relations with the Blanquist French émigrés, who had sided with Willich and Schapper. The documents included in this volume and its Appendices portray the struggle of Marx and Engels and the proletarian revolutionaries who rallied to their side against adventurers and splitters in the working-class movement of that time.

The section in the volume headed "From the Preparatory Materials" contains rough manuscripts concerning, in the main, Marx's study of political economy.

The 1848-49 revolution and their reflections on it had impressed on Marx and Engels the urgency of working out the economic basis of the theory of scientific communism. And from 1850 onwards this became the principal strand in the development of Marxist thought. In 1850-53 Marx filled twenty-four notebooks with transcriptions of passages from various, mainly economic, works. Only one of this large collection of manuscripts illustrating Marx's understanding of economics at that time and his methods of research has been included in this volume.

The section contains Marx's manuscript entitled "Reflections", which sets out some of his own ideas, evidently related to his study of Tooke's *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle*. Taking as point of departure some of Tooke's and Adam Smith's principles on the circulation of commodities and money between different groups of producers and consumers in a bourgeois society (capitalists and ordinary individual consumers), Marx goes on to examine a number

of economic problems: the nature of money and its outwardly levelling role which disguises the class character of production relations in capitalist society; the futility of trying to transform capitalist society by reforming the circulation of money; the real causes of economic crises, which stem from the intrinsically contradictory nature of the capitalist mode of production; the superficial and false interpretation of these causes by bourgeois economists, who reduce them to mere swindling in monetary and commercial transactions, speculative fever, and the like. Many of the ideas contained in this manuscript were later developed in Marx's published economic works.

The Appendices to this volume contain documents illustrating the practical revolutionary activities of Marx and Engels in the period covered. Apart from the already mentioned agreements on the establishment of the Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists, and materials related to the struggle in the Communist League against the Willich-Schapper group, the Appendices also contain appeals and reports by the Social-Democratic Committee of Support for German Refugees, newspaper accounts of Engels' speeches at various meetings, and documents concerning the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.* They also contain the Rules of the Communist League drawn up by its new Central Authority in Cologne (the Central Authority was transferred there after the League split in the autumn of 1850), with Marx's marginal notes, other materials of the League, and some papers of a biographical nature.

Some of the works published in this volume have never before been translated into English. This applies to the second and third international reviews, the article "Gottfried Kinkel", the June Address of the Central Authority to the Communist League, the Statement against Arnold Ruge, a few of the book reviews and some of the statements and letters to editors of various newspapers, all of which were written jointly by Marx and Engels. Works translated into English for the first time also include Marx's article "Louis Napoleon and Fould", and Engels' *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution*, "On the Slogan of the Abolition of the State and the German 'Friends of Anarchy'", "Conditions and Prospects of a War of the Holy Alliance against France in 1852", and others.

The materials in the section "From the Preparatory Materials" are also appearing in English for the first time. So are the materials

in the Appendices (save for the minutes of the sitting of the Central Authority of the Communist League of September 15, 1850, and the 1850 Rules of the Communist League). And in this volume the documents "Permit to Leave Switzerland Issued to Frederick Engels", "From the Indictment of the Participants in the Uprising in Elberfeld", and some of the transcripts of Engels' speeches, are being published for the first time in any edition of the *Works* of Marx and Engels.

Those works that have been previously published in English are given either in new or in carefully revised translations. Particulars about their earlier publications in English are given in the notes. Also described in the notes are peculiarities in the arrangement of the text of certain works, in particular the manuscripts.

Most of the works appearing in this volume have been translated from the German. Translations from other languages are indicated at the end of the texts, as are reproductions of texts written by the authors in English.

The volume was compiled and the preface and notes written by Tatyana Yeremeyeva (CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism). The name index together with the indexes of quoted and mentioned literature and of periodicals were prepared by Valentina Kholopova, and the subject index by Marlen Arzumanov (CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism).

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The translations were made by Gregor Benton, Clemens Dutt, Frida Knight, Rodney Livingstone, Hugh Rodwell, Peter and Betty Ross, Barbara Ruhemann, Christopher Upward, and Joan and Trevor Walmsley (Lawrence & Wishart), Richard Dixon and Salo Ryazanskaya (Progress Publishers), and edited by Richard Abraham, Clemens Dutt, Sheila Lynd, Margaret Mynatt, Barbara Ruhemann and Alick West (Lawrence & Wishart), Richard Dixon, Salo Ryazanskaya, Yelena Chistyakova, Natalia Karmanova and Victor Schnittke (Progress Publishers), and Vladimir Mosolov, scientific editor, for the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow.

The volume was prepared for the press by Anna Vladimirova and Lyudgarda Zubrilova (Progress Publishers).

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## WORKS

September 1849-June 1851

The Northern Star,
AND NATIONAL TRADES' JOURNAL.
VOL. XIII. No. 632. LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1849. PRICE FIVEPENCE or Five Shillings and Sixpence per Quarter

Frederick Engels

# THE GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND *THE TIMES*[1]

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE NORTHERN STAR*[a]

Sir,— *The Times* of Friday last[b] contains a letter signed "*Anti-Socialist*", denouncing to the English public, and to the English Home-Secretary,[c] some of the "hellish doctrines" developed in the London German Newspaper, by a certain Mr. Charles Heinzen, described as a "*shining light of the German Social Democratic party*". These "hellish doctrines" consist chiefly of a benevolent proposal for killing, in the next continental revolution, "a couple of millions of reactionaries".

We may safely leave it with you to qualify the conduct of the editors of *The Times*, in allowing their columns to be made the receptacle of direct police information and denunciation in political matters. We are however rather astonished to see in the "*leading journal of Europe*" Herr Heinzen described as "a shining light of the German Social Democratic party". "The leading journal of Europe" certainly might have known that Herr Heinzen, so far from serving as a shining light to the party in question, has, on the contrary, ever since 1842, strenuously, though unsuccessfully, opposed everything like Socialism and Communism. "The German *Social* Democratic party", therefore, never took, nor is it likely ever to take, the responsibility of anything said or written by Mr. Charles Heinzen.

As to the danger likely to result from the "hellish doctrines" aforesaid, *The Times* might have known that Mr. Heinzen, far from trying to put these doctrines into practice during the last eighteen months of revolutionary convulsions in Germany, hardly ever

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[a] George Julian Harney.— *Ed.*
[b] See *The Times* No. 20341, November 23. 1849.— *Ed.*
[c] George Grey.— *Ed.*

during that time put his foot upon German soil, and played no part whatever in any of those revolutions.

The idea, Sir, of a man who never did any damage even to the most diminutive of German princes, being able to do harm to the gigantic British empire, would be, in our eyes, an insult to the English nation. We therefore beg leave to move that the whole matter be wound up by *The Times* giving a vote of thanks to Mr. Charles Heinzen, for the *courage malheureux*[a] with which he combated Socialism and Communism. I am, Mr. Editor,

Yours very obediently,

*A German Social Democrat*

London, Nov. 28th, 1849

First published in *The Northern Star* No. 632, December 1, 1849

Reprinted from the newspaper

[a] Wretched courage.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG. POLITISCH-ÖKONOMISCHE REVUE*][2]

THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG.*
*Politisch-ökonomische Revue*
edited by
*Karl Marx*
will appear in January 1850.

The periodical bears the title of the newspaper of which it is to be considered the *continuation.* One of its tasks will consist in returning in retrospect to the period which has elapsed since the suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.*[3]

The greatest interest of a newspaper, its daily intervention in the movement and speaking directly from the heart of the movement, its reflecting day-to-day history in all its amplitude, the continuous and impassioned interaction between the people and its daily press, this interest is inevitably lacking in a review. On the other hand, a review provides the advantage of comprehending events in a broader perspective and having to dwell only upon the more important matters. It permits a comprehensive and scientific investigation of the *economic* conditions which form the foundation of the whole political movement.

A time of apparent calm such as the present must be employed precisely for the purpose of elucidating the period of revolution just experienced, the character of the conflicting parties, and the social conditions which determine the existence and the struggle of these parties.

The review will be published in monthly issues of at least *five* printers' sheets at a subscription price of 24 silver groschen per quarter, payable upon delivery of the first issue. Single issues 10 sgr. Messrs. *Schuberth* and Co., in Hamburg, will attend to retail distribution through *bookshops.*

Friends of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* are requested to circulate subscription lists in their respective areas and to send them without delay to the undersigned. Literary contributions and likewise news items for discussion in the review will be accepted only post-paid.

London, Dec. 15, 1849

*K. Schramm*

Manager of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*
4 Anderson Street, King's Road, Chelsea

Published in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* No. 6, January 8, 1850

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# THE DEMOCRATIC REVIEW

JANUARY, 1850.

Frederick Engels

## LETTERS FROM GERMANY[4]

### I

[*The Democratic Review*, January 1850]

Cologne, Dec. 18th; 1849

"Order reigns in Germany." Such is the present great motto of our rulers, be they princes, aristocrats, *bourgeois*, or any other fraction of that recently formed party which you might call in English the party of *Ordermongers*.[5] "Order reigns in Germany"; and yet never was there, not even under the "Holy Roman Empire"[6] of yore, such a confusion in Germany as there is at present under the reign of "Order".

Under the old system, before the revolution of 1848, we knew at least who governed us. The old Federal Diet of Frankfort[7] made itself felt by laws against the liberty of the press, by exceptional courts of law, by checks imposed even upon the mock constitutions with which certain German populations were allowed to delude themselves. But now! We hardly know, ourselves, how many Central Governments we have got in this country. There is, firstly, the Vicar of the Empire, instituted by the dispersed National Assembly,[8] and who, although without any power, sticks to his post with the greatest obstinacy.[a] There is secondly the "*Interim*",[9] a sort of thing—nobody knows exactly what—but something like a revival of the old Diet, got up under the old prevalent influence of Prussia, and which "Interim" is poking at the old Vicar (who more or less represents the Austrian interest), to resign his place into their hands.[10] In the meantime neither has the slightest power. Thirdly, there is the "Regency of the Empire",[11] elected in Stuttgart by the National Assembly during the latter days of its existence, and the remains of that Assembly, the "Decided Left" and the "Extreme Left", which two Lefts, along with the "Regency", represent the "moderate and

[a] Archduke John of Austria.—*Ed.*

philosophical" Democrats and Shopocrats of Germany. This "Imperial" government holds its sittings in a public house in Berne in Switzerland,[a] and has about as much power as the two preceding. Fourthly, there is what is called the Three-Kings'-League,[12] or the "Confined (or Refined, I don't know which) Federal State", got up for the purpose of making the King of Prussia[b] Emperor *over* all the lesser states of Germany. It is called the "Three-Kings'-League", *because* all kings, with the exception of the King of Prussia, are opposed to it! and it calls itself the "Confined Federal State", because, although travailing in birth ever since the 28th of May last,[13] there is no hope of its ever producing anything likely to live!! There are, fifthly, the Four Kings, of Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg,[c] who are determined to do as they like themselves, and not to submit to any of the above "Central Impotencies"; and lastly, there is Austria, trying every means to keep up her supremacy in Germany, and supporting, therefore, the Four Kings in their efforts for independence from Prussian ascendancy. The *real* governments, in the meantime, those who hold the power, are Austria and Prussia. They rule Germany by military despotism, and make and unmake laws at their liking. Between their dominions and dependencies lie, as *quasi* neutral ground, the four kingdoms, and it will be upon this ground, and particularly in Saxony, that the pretensions of the two great powers will meet each other. There is, however, no chance of a serious conflict between them. Austria and Prussia, both, know too well that their forces must remain united if they want to keep down the revolutionary spirit spread all over Germany, Hungary, and those parts of Poland belonging to the powers in question. In case of need, besides, "our beloved brother-in-law",[d] the orthodox Czar of all the Russias, would step in and forbid his lords-lieutenant of Austria and Prussia to quarrel any more amongst themselves.

This never equalled confusion of governments, of pretensions, of claims, of German Federal Law, has, however, one enormous advantage. The German Republicans were, up to this time, divided into Federalists and Unitarians; the first having their principal force in the south. The confusion ensuing upon every attempt to re-organise Germany into a Federative State, must make it evident that any such plan will prove abortive, impracticable, and foolish, and that Germany is too advanced in civilisation to be governable

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[a] See this volume, p. 249.— *Ed.*
[b] Frederick William IV.— *Ed.*
[c] Ernest Augustus, Frederick Augustus II, Maximilian II, William I.— *Ed.*
[d] The reference is to Nicholas I, married to Frederick William IV's sister.— *Ed.*

under any form but *the German Republic, One and Indivisible, Democratic and Social.*

I should have liked to have said a few words on the acquittal of Waldeck and Jacoby,[14] but want of room prevents me doing so. Suffice it to say, that for at least some months to come it will be quite impossible for the government in Prussia to obtain in political trials a verdict of guilty, excepting, perhaps, in some remote corners where the jury-class are as fanaticised as the Orangemen of Ulster.[15]

II

## CURIOUS REVELATIONS CONCERNING THE DESPOTS OF GERMANY.— INTENDED WAR AGAINST FRANCE.— THE COMING REVOLUTION

[*The Democratic Review*, February 1850]

Cologne, Jan. 20th, 1850

The day after I sent you my last, news reached here of the "settlement of the question" who was to rule over all Germany. The "Interim", consisting of two Austrian and two Prussian delegates, have at last prevailed upon old Archduke John to retire from business. They have consequently taken the reins of a power which, however, will not be of long duration. It expires in the month of May next, and there is good reason to expect that even before that term certain "untoward events" will sweep away these four provisional rulers of Germany. The names of these four satellites of military despotism are very significant. Austria has sent M. Kübeck, minister of finance *under Metternich*, and General Schönhals, the right hand of the butcher Radetzki. Prussia is represented by General Radowitz, member of the Jesuit order, favourite of the king, and principal inventor of all those plots by which Prussia has succeeded, for the moment, in putting down the German revolution; and by M. Bötticher, governor, before the revolution, of the province of Eastern Prussia, where he is fondly (?) remembered as a "putter down" of public meetings and organiser of the spy system. What the doings of such a lot of rogues will be you will not need to be told. I will name one instance only. The Wurtemberg government, forced by the revolution, had contracted with the Prince of Thurn and Taxis—who, you know, has the monopoly of forwarding letters by post and conveying of passengers in a large part of Germany, to the exclusion of the governments—the Wurtemberg government, I say, had contracted with this robber on a national scale to part, for a handsome sum, with his monopoly in favour of the said government. Times having got better for those who live upon national plunder, Prince Thurn and Taxis values his monopoly higher than the sum

contracted for, and won't part with it. The Wurtemberg government, freed from the pressure from without, find this change of opinion quite reasonable; and both parties apply—the prince publicly, the government aforesaid secretly—to the "Interim", which, taking for pretext an article of the old act of 1815, declares the contract void and unlawful. This is all right. It is far better that M. Thurn and Taxis keeps his privilege a few months longer; the people, when they finish with the whole lot of privileges, will take it not only from him without giving him anything, but will, on the contrary, make him give up even the money he has robbed them of up to this time.

The military despotism in Austria is getting more intolerable every day. The press almost reduced to annihilation, all public liberties destroyed, the whole country swarming with spies—imprisonments, courts-martial, floggings in every part of the country—this is the practical meaning of those provincial constitutions which the government publish from time to time, and which they do not care a straw about breaking in the very moment of publication. There is, however, an end to everything, even to states of siege and the rule of the sword. Armies cost money, and money is a thing which even the mightiest emperor cannot create at his will. The Austrian government have, up to this time, managed to keep their finances afloat by tremendous issues of paper money. But there is an end to this, too; and, in spite of that Prussian lieutenant who once would challenge me to a duel, because I told him a king or emperor could not make as many paper dollars[a] as he liked—in spite of that profound political economist, the Emperor of Austria[b] sees his paper money, though inconvertible, at the discount of from twenty to thirty per cent against silver, and almost fifty per cent against gold. The foreign loan he intended has dropped to the ground through the exertions of Mr. Cobden. Foreign capitalists have subscribed to the amount of £500,000 only, and he wants fifteen times that sum; while his exhausted country cannot afford to lend him anything. The deficit, fifteen millions and a half at the end of September last, will, by this time, have reached from twenty to twenty-four millions—the greater part of the Hungarian war expenses being payable in the last quarter of 1849. Thus there is only one alternative for Austria: either bankruptcy, or a foreign war to make the army pay itself, and to reconquer commercial credit by battles gained, provinces conquered, and war contributions imposed. Thus Mr. Cobden, in opposing the

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[a] Here and below the reference is to German talers.—*Ed.*

[b] Francis Joseph I.—*Ed.*

Austrian and Russian loans[a] on the plea of the preservation of peace, has more than any one else contributed—for Russia is in the same awkward state as Austria—to hasten that coalesced campaign against the French Republic which cannot, under any circumstances, be long delayed.

In Prussia, we assist at another act of "royal conscientiousness". You know that Frederick William IV, the man who never broke his word, in November, 1848, dispersed by force the national representation, and forced upon his people a constitution[16] after his own heart; that he agreed that this beautiful piece of workmanship was to be revised by the first parliament to be assembled; that in this parliament the Second Chamber (House of Commons) was, even before they got to the revising business, dissolved, another electoral reform forced upon the people, by which universal suffrage was very nicely done away with, and a majority of landed nobility, of government officials, and of *bourgeois*, was secured. This Chamber, to vote for the election of which every democrat refused, so that it has been elected by one-fifth or one-sixth of the whole number of voters—this Chamber, in conjunction with the old First Chamber, set about revising the Constitution, and made it, of course, even more agreeable to the king than he himself had made it originally. They have now almost done with it. Now, you think, his Majesty will please to accept this amended Constitution, and take the oath prescribed in it? Not he, indeed. He sends his faithful parliament a royal message, stating that he is very much pleased with what his two Chambers have made of his Constitution, but that, before his "royal conscientiousness" permits him to take the oath aforesaid, his own Constitution must be altered in about a dozen points.[17] And what are these points? Why, his Majesty is modest enough not to require any more than the following trifles. 1. The First Chamber, now elected by the large landed proprietors and capitalists, to be a complete House of Lords, containing the royal princes, about one hundred hereditary peers chosen by his Majesty, sixty peers elected by the large landed proprietors, thirty by the large monied interest, six by the universities. 2. Ministers to be responsible to the king and country, not to the parliament. 3. All taxes now upon the budget to be levied for ever, without power of parliament to refuse. 4. A "Star Chamber",[18] or High Court of Justice, to try political offences—no mention being made of juries. 5. A special law to define and restrain the powers of the Second Chamber of parliament, &c. Now what do

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[a] Cobden's speech delivered on January 18, 1850. (See *The Times* No. 20390, January 19, 1850.)—*Ed.*

you think of this? His Majesty forces upon the good Prussians a new Constitution, to be amended by parliament. His parliament amends it by striking out everything like a remnant of popular rights. And the king, not content with that, declares that his "royal conscientiousness" forbids him to accept his own Constitution, amended in his own interest, without the above further modifications. Verily this is a truly "royal" sort of conscientiousness! There is little chance of even this present mock parliament bowing to such impudence. The consequence will be dissolution, and the end of all parliaments for the moment in Prussia. The secret of all this is the anticipation of the great coalition war, mentioned above. The "conscientious" gentleman on the throne of Prussia expects to have his rebellious country overrun by the month of March or April, by a million of Asiatic barbarians, to march, along with "his own glorious army",[19] against Paris, to conquer that fair country which produces his heart-cherished champagne. And the Republic once done away with, the scion of Saint Louis[a] restored to the throne of France, what then would be the use of constitutions and parliaments at home?

In the meantime the revolutionary spirit is rapidly reviving all over Germany. The most inveterate ex-Liberal[b] who, after March, 1848, joined the king to combat the people, now sees that—as the saying is in Germany—although he gave to the devil only the end of his little finger, that gentleman has since seized the whole hand. The incessant acquittals by juries in political trials are the best proofs of this. Every day brings a new fact in this way. Thus, a few days ago, the Mulheim workpeople—who, in May, 1849, tore up the railway, in order to stop the sending of troops to insurged Elberfeld—have been acquitted here at Cologne. In the south of Germany, financial difficulties and increased taxation show to every bourgeois that this present state cannot last. In Baden the very same *bourgeois* who betrayed the last insurrection, and hailed the arrival of the Prussians, are punished and driven to madness by these very same Prussians and by the government, which under their protection drives them to ruin and despair. And the working people and peasantry everywhere are on the *qui vive,* waiting for the signal of an insurrection which, this time, will not subside until the political dominion and social progress of the proletarians shall have been secured. *And this revolution is drawing nigh.*

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[a] Count Chambord.—*Ed.*
[b] Ludolf Camphausen.—*Ed.*

## III

## THE PRUSSIAN KING SWEARING TO THE CONSTITUTION AND "SERVING THE LORD!"—GRAND CONSPIRACY OF THE HOLY ALLIANGE.—THE APPROACHING ONSLAUGHT ON SWITZERLAND.—PROJECTED CONQUEST AND PARTITION OF FRANCE!

[*The Democratic Review*, March 1850]

Cologne, Feb. 18th, 1850

At last His Majesty, the King of Prussia, has taken the oath to the so-called "Constitution".[20] Had it not been for the occasion of making a speech, there is no doubt but that royal farce would never have taken place. But his speech-loving majesty, for the sake of the speech, resolved to swallow the oath, quite as humbly as he has been seen to swallow so many unpalatable things before, such as the celebrated "Hat off!"[21] shouted to him by the people of Berlin on the 19th of March, 1848. The oath is of no consequence. What is the oath of a king, and particularly of a Frederick William IV! The speech is the principal feature, and a precious speech it is. Think of the Prussian Majesty declaring most seriously, and neither him nor any one else in the assembly bursting forth in laughter, that he is a *man of honour*, and that he is about to give what is dearest to him—his royal word! But, he continues—after a series of most whimsical oratorical efforts—he gives his word on one condition only: that it be made possible for him to govern with this constitution, and to fulfil the promise he made three years ago, viz., "I and my house will serve the Lord!"[22]

What this new-fashioned "man of honour" means by governing with the constitution and serving the Lord, is already becoming pretty clear. His Majesty's ministers have come out since that swearing farce; firstly, with two laws, doing almost entirely away with the liberty of the press and the right of association and of public meeting; secondly, with a demand for eighteen millions of dollars (two millions and a half sterling) for *increasing the army*. The meaning of this is evident. First destroy in detail the few sham liberties left to the people by the precious mock-constitution, and then raise the army to the war footing, and march with Russia and Austria against

France. There is no doubt of the bourgeois chambers agreeing to all this, and thus making it possible to the king to govern with the constitution, and serve the Lord with his house.

This Prussian credit for the army "to meet eventualities which might present themselves during spring", must be taken, together with the other measures of the Holy Alliance,[23] in order to make us see clearly through their plots. Prussia, besides these eighteen millions, is already treating for a loan of sixteen millions—ostensibly for the purpose of constructing the great Eastern Railway. You know, too well, since the Russian loan affair, what a splendid pretext for raising money railways are made by the governments of the Holy Alliance. Prussia, thus, will soon raise five millions sterling the whole of which will be at the disposal of the war-office. Russia, besides the five millions sterling already raised, is about to contract for another loan of thirty-six millions of roubles silver, or five millions sterling. Austria alone, after the shabby result of her late effort to raise money, must be satisfied with what she can get at home. Her deficit, as I stated in my last, really amounts to two hundred million florins (twenty millions sterling) in one year! Thus, while Russia and Prussia raise money to make war, Austria must make war in order to raise money!

There is no doubt that if there are no untoward events in France, the "holy" campaign will be opened next month against Switzerland,[a] and perhaps Turkey. Russia keeps in Poland, and its vicinity, an army of 350,000 men, ready to march at a moment's notice. She has already contracted for large supplies of victuals, to be delivered next month, not in Poland, but in Prussia, at Dantzic. The Prussian army—about 150,000 now—can in a month be raised to 350,000, by calling in the reserve and the first class of the Landwehr. The Austrian army—about 650,000—has never been diminished, but, on the contrary, increased by the Hungarian prisoners. The whole of the forces, which may be disposable for a foreign war, may be something like a million; but two-thirds of the Prussians and Austrians are infected with the democratic disease, and would most likely pass to the other side, as soon as an opportunity presented itself.

The first pretext for attacking Switzerland is the German refugees living in that country. This pretext will soon cease to exist, as the cowardly persecutions of the federal government directly or indirectly force all refugees to leave Switzerland. There are now perhaps 600 German refugees in that country, and even they will

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[a] See this volume, p. 28.—*Ed.*

soon have to leave it. But then there is another pretext—the demand of Prussia to restore the Prussian king's authority in the ex-principality of Neufchatel, which made itself a republic in 1848.[24] And if even this be complied with, there will be the question of the Sonderbund raised again, in connection with the new federal constitution, which, in 1848, replaced the old reactionary treaty of 1814, guaranteed by the Holy Alliance.[25] Thus, there will be no chance for Switzerland escaping war and foreign occupation.

But the final aim of the Holy Alliance is the conquest and partition of France. The plan designed to finish at once this great revolutionary centre is as follows: France, once conquered, will be divided into three kingdoms—the South-west, or Aquitania (capital, Bordeaux), will be given to Henry, Duke of Bordeaux[a]; the East, or Burgundy (capital, Lyons), will be given to Prince Joinville; and the North, or France proper (capital, Paris), will be awarded to Louis Napoleon, for the signal services he has rendered to the Holy Alliance. Thus France, reduced to the old state of division it was in some centuries ago, would be utterly powerless. What do you say to this pretty scheme, which no doubt originated in the "historical" head of the king of Prussia?

But, be assured, the People—without whom the Holy Alliance have reckoned—will very soon put a stop to all these plots and schemes, and that as soon, too, as the Holy Alliance commence to put their plans into execution. For the people are wide awake, both in France and Germany, and, fortunately, they are strong enough to put down all their opponents, as soon as matters are brought to a general, decisive, and open contest. And then the enemies of democracy will, to their terror, see that the movements of 1848 and '49 were nothing, in comparison to the universal conflagration which will burn up the old institutions of Europe, and light the victorious nations to a future—free, happy, and glorious.

Written between December 18, 1849, and February 18, 1850

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Reprinted from the journal

[a] Count Chambord.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## LETTERS FROM FRANCE[26]

### I

[*The Democratic Review*, January 1850]

Paris, December 20th, 1849

The great question of the day is the excise upon "potable liquors", now under discussion in the National Legislative Assembly. This question is of such importance, and contains, in fact, in itself, so much of the whole present situation, that it will not be amiss to devote to it the whole of this letter.

The tax on potable liquors is of very old date.[a] It formed one of the principal features of the financial system under the monarchy of the eighteenth century, and one of the main grievances of the people at the time of the first revolution. It was done away with by that revolution. But Napoleon restored it in a somewhat modified shape about the year 1808, at a time when, forgetting his revolutionary origin, he made the establishment of his dynasty in the midst of the ancient European royal families, his principal aim. The tax was so exceedingly obnoxious to the people, that at the downfall of Napoleon, the Bourbon family promised its immediate repeal, and Napoleon himself, at St. Helena, declared it had been that tax more than anything else which caused his fall, by setting against him the whole of the South of France. The Bourbons, however, never thought of redeeming their promise, and the tax remained as before up to the revolution of 1830, when, again, its abolition was held out to the country. This promise was no more fulfilled than the preceding one; and thus the excise existed when the revolution of 1848 broke out. The provisional government,[27] instead of immediately repealing it and substituting for it a heavy income-tax upon the large capitalists and landed proprietors, only promised

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[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 117-20 and 328.— *Ed.*

either its repeal, or at least its revision; the Constituent Assembly[a] even went so far as to continue the tax altogether. It was only in the last days of its existence, when royalism was rifer than ever, that the "honest" and "moderate" members of that Assembly voted the repeal of the tax on potable liquors, to take effect from the lst of January, 1850.

It is clear that the tax in question belongs essentially to the monarchical traditions of France. Repealed as soon as the mass of the people got the upper hand, it was restored as soon as either the aristocracy or the *Bourgeoisie*, represented by a Louis XVIII or a Louis Philippe, held the reins of government. Even Napoleon, though in many points opposed to both aristocracy and Bourgeoisie, and overthrown by the conspiracy of both—even the great Emperor thought himself obliged to re-establish this feature of the ancient traditions of Monarchical France.

The tax in itself weighs very unequally upon the different classes of the nation. It is a grievous burden upon the poor, while upon the rich the pressure is exceedingly light. There are about twelve millions of wine-producers in France; these pay nothing upon their consumption of wine, it being of their own growing; there are, further, eighteen millions of people inhabiting villages and towns under 4,000 inhabitants, and paying a tax from 66 centimes to 1 fr. 32 centimes per 100 litres of wine; and there are, finally, some five millions inhabiting towns of more than 4,000 inhabitants, and paying upon their wine the *droit d'octroi*,[28] levied at the gate of the town, and varying in the different localities, but at all events incomparably higher than what is paid by the preceding class. The tax, further, falls quite as heavy upon the most inferior as upon the higher-priced wines; the hectolitre which sells at 2, 3, 4 francs, and the one sold at 12 to 1,500 fr., both pay the same tax; and thus, while the rich consumer of choice champagne, claret, and Burgundy, pays almost nothing, the working man pays to the government upon his inferior wine a tax of 50, 100, and, in some cases, 500 or 1,000 per cent upon the original value. Of the revenue derived by this tax, 51 millions of francs are paid by the poorer classes, and 25 millions only by the wealthier citizens. There cannot, under such circumstances, exist the slightest doubt that this tax is exceedingly injurious to the production of wine in France. The principal markets for this produce, the towns, are to the wine-producer so many foreign countries where he has to pay, before bringing his produce to sale, a regular custom-house duty of from 50 to 1,000 per cent *ad valorem.*

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[a] The Constituent National Assembly (May 4, 1848-May 1849).—*Ed.*

The other part of the market, the open country, is at least subject to a duty of from 20 to 50 per cent of the original value. The inevitable consequence of this is the ruin of the wine-growing parts of the country. It is true the production of wine has been augmenting in spite of the tax, but the population has outgrown this augmentation at a far quicker rate.

Why, then, has it been possible to keep up under the middle-class government such an obnoxious tax as this? In England, you will say, even Cobden and Bright would have swept it away long ago. And so they would. But in France, the manufacturers never found a *Cobden* or a *Bright* who stood up for their interests with invincible tenacity,[a] nor a *Peel* to give way to their claims.[29] The French financial system, although so much vaunted by the majority of the Assembly, is the most confused and artificial, *mixtum compositum*,[b] that ever was imagined. None of the reforms carried in England since 1842 were attempted in France under Louis Philippe. Postage Reform was considered almost as blasphemy in the blessed time of Guizot. The tariff was, and is now, neither a free-trade nor a mere revenue, nor a protectionist, nor a prohibitive tariff, but contains something of all, except free-trade. Old prohibitions and high duties, that for many years have been to no purpose, nay, that are decidedly injurious to trade, are to be found in all parts of the tariff. Yet no one dared touch them. Local taxation, in all towns of more than 1,000 inhabitants, is indirect, and collected upon the produce brought into town. Thus the freedom of trade even in the interior is interrupted every ten or fifteen miles by a sort of inland-custom-house.

This state of things, disgraceful even to a middle-class government, remained untouched from different causes. With all this oppressive taxation, with receipts of 1,400 or 1,500 millions of francs, there was a deficit at the end of every year, and a loan after every fourth or fifth year. The stockjobbers of the Paris Bourse found an inexhaustible source of profit-making, jobbing, and peddling in this low state of the Public Exchequer. They and their associates formed the majority in the two Chambers, and were thus the real dominators of the state, and always demanding fresh supplies of money. Financial Reform, besides, could not have been effected without sweeping measures, which would have brought the budget to its equilibre, changed the allotment of taxes, and, besides taxing these stockjobbers themselves, given a greater political weight to other fractions of the middle classes. And what consequences such

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[a] Cf. this volume, p. 116.—*Ed.*
[b] Mixture.—*Ed.*

a change would have had under the worm-eaten government of Louis Philippe you may judge, from the comparatively trifling pretext which led to the revolution of February.[30]

That revolution brought into office no man able to reform the financial system of France. The gentlemen of the *National*,[31] who took possession of that department, felt themselves borne down by the weight of the deficit. Many attempts were made at bit-by-bit reform; all proved abortive, excepting the abolition of the tax upon salt and the Postage Reform. At last, in a fit of despair, the Constituent Assembly voted the repeal of the wine tax, and now the "honest" and "moderate" men of order[32] in the present precious Assembly restore it! Nay, more: the Minister[a] intends restoring the salt tax, and re-augmenting the Postage; so that the old financial system, with its eternal deficiences and difficulties, and consequent absolute sway of the Paris Bourse, with its jobbing, peddling, and profitmongering, will very shortly be restored in France.

The people, however, do not seem likely to submit quietly to a measure which restores a heavy tax upon an article of prime necessity for the poor, while it almost exempts the rich. Social democracy has spread wonderfully over the agricultural districts of France; and this measure will convert the remainder of the millions who, twelve months ago,[b] voted for that ambitious blockhead, Louis Napoleon. The country once won for social democracy, there will be very few months, nay, weeks, indeed, ere the Red Flag floats from the Tuileries and the Elysée-National.[33] Then only will it be possible to radically upset the old, oppressive financial system, by at one stroke doing away with the National Debt, by introducing a system of direct, progressive taxation; and by other measures of a similarly energetic character.[c]

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[a] Achille Fould, Minister of Finance.—*Ed.*

[b] In December 1848 during the election of the President of the French Republic.—*Ed.*

[c] Cf. this volume, p. 116.—*Ed.*

II

## STRIKING PROOFS OF THE GLORIOUS PROGRESS OF RED REPUBLICANISM!

[*The Democratic Review*, February 1850]

Paris, January 21st, 1850

A great many important events have occurred since my last, but as the generality of readers will have been informed of them from the daily and weekly papers, I shall refrain from going over the same ground from beginning to end, and instead shall limit this letter to some general observations on the state of the country.

During the last twelve or fifteen months, the revolutionary spirit has made immense progress throughout France. A class, which by its social position was kept apart, as much as possible in civilised society, from taking an interest in public business, which by the old monarchical legislation was shut out from all political rights, which never read a newspaper, and which, nevertheless, forms the vast majority of Frenchmen—this class, at last, is rapidly coming to its senses. This class is the small peasantry, numbering about twenty-eight millions of men, women, and children, counting amongst its ranks from eight to nine millions of small landed proprietors, who possess, in the shape of freehold [34] property, at least four-fifths of the soil of France. This class has been oppressed by all governments since 1815, not excepting the provisional government, which imposed on it the tax of 45 additional centimes upon every franc of the land-tax,[35] which in France is very heavy. This class,borne down also by a band of usurers to whom their property almost without exception is mortgaged at extraordinary high interest, is at last beginning to see that no government, except one acting in the interest of the working men of the towns, will free them from the misery and starvation into which, notwithstanding their land-allotments, they are falling deeper and deeper every day.[a] This class,

[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 27-28, 122-23 and 262-63.—*Ed.*

which in a great measure forced the revolution of 1789, and which formed the basement upon which arose the vast empire of Napoleon, has now, in its immense majority, joined the revolutionary party and the working men of Paris, Lyons, Rouen, and the other large towns of France. The tillers of the soil now see clearly enough how they have been cheated by Louis Napoleon, to whose presidential majority they at least furnished six millions of votes, and who has repaid them with the re-imposition of the wine and brandy tax. And thus, the vast majority of the French people are now united to overthrow, as soon as a proper occasion shall present itself, the insolent sway of the capitalist class, which, hurled down by the storm of February, has again seized the helm of government, and exercises its rule far more arrogantly than ever it did under its own well-beloved Louis Philippe.

The history of the last months affords innumerable proofs of this most important fact. Take the circular of Minister d'Hautpoul to the *gendarmerie*, by which espionage is carried into the very heart of the most obscure village; take the law against the schoolmasters,[36] who, in French villages, are generally the best expression of the public opinion of their localities, and who are now to be placed at the mercy of government, because they now almost all profess social-democratic opinions; and many other facts. But one of the most striking proofs is to be found in the election which has just taken place in the department *du Gard*.[37] This department is known as the most ancient stronghold of the "Whites"—the Legitimists.[38] It was the scene of the most horrid outrages against the republicans in 1794 and '95, after the downfall of Robespierre; it was the central seat of the "white terrorism" in 1815, when Protestants and Liberals were publicly murdered, and outrages of the most horrible nature were committed on the wives, daughters, and sisters of those victims by Legitimist mobs, headed by the renowned Trestaillon, and protected by the government of legitimate Louis XVIII. Well, this department had to elect a deputy, in the place of a Legitimist, deceased[a]; and the result was, a great majority for a thoroughly Red candidate,[b] while the two Legitimist candidates were in a signal minority.[c]

Another proof of the rapid progress of this alliance of the working men in the towns and the peasantry of the country, is the new law on public education.[39] The most inveterate Voltairians of the bourgeoisie, even M. Thiers, see there is no way left to oppose that

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[a] Jean Baptiste de Beaune.—*Ed.*
[b] Étienne Favand.—*Ed.*
[c] E. de Grail and H. de Lourdoueix.—*Ed.*

progress but by surrendering their old theories and principles, and by prostrating public education at the feet of the priesthood!

Again. There is, now, a general rush of all public papers and public characters, that are not exactly reactionaries, to claim the once despised title of "Socialist". The oldest enemies of Socialism now proclaim themselves Socialists. The *National*, even the *Siècle*, monarchist under Louis Philippe, declare they are Socialists. Even Marrast, the infamous traitor of 1848, now hopes, though in vain, to get elected by proclaiming himself a Socialist. The people, however, are not thus to be duped, and the rope to hang that vagabond is ready, and only waiting for the occasion.

To-day they discuss in the National Assembly the law for killing the remaining 468 prisoners of the June insurrection,[40] by transporting them to, and setting them to work in the most unhealthy parts of Algeria. No doubt the law will pass by an immense majority. But before the unfortunate heroes of that grand battle of labour can reach the shore destined to bury them, there is little doubt but another popular storm will have swept away the voters of this law of murder, and carry, perhaps, to that land of banishment, those of the present majority who may have escaped a prompter, more radical, and most righteous revenge on the part of the people.

III

## SIGNS OF THE TIMES.— THE ANTICIPATED REVOLUTION

[*The Democratic Review*, March 1850]

Paris, February 19th, 1850

I must limit this letter somewhat in space, but the facts which have occurred in the course of this month are so striking, that they will speak for themselves. The revolution is advancing so rapidly, that every one *must* see its approach. In all spheres of society it is spoken of as imminent; and all foreign papers, even if opposed to democracy, declare it an unavoidable thing. Nay, more, you may with almost certainty foresee, that if no unexpected events give a turn to public affairs, the great contest between the united Ordermongers and the vast majority of the people, can hardly be postponed beyond the latter end of this spring. And what the result of that contest will be, is a matter admitting of no doubt. The people of Paris are so sure of having very shortly the most splendid case for a revolution they ever had, that there is a general order amongst them—"Avoid all petty squabbles, submit to anything which puts not a vital question to you." Thus, with all their efforts, the other day, when the trees of liberty were cut down, the government could not excite the working people to even a petty street-row, and the individuals dancing round the tree at the Porte Saint-Martin, which your *London Illustrated News* depicted in such a terrific manner,[a] consisted of a set of police spies who lost all their day's job through the coolness of the people.[41] Thus, in spite of what the government papers say to the contrary, the 24th of this month will pass off very quietly.[b] The government would give almost anything if they could have a row in Paris, with some fictitious conspiracies and outbreaks

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[a] See *The Illustrated London News* No. 412, February 9, 1850.—*Ed.*

[b] The second anniversary of the February Revolution. Cf. this volume, p. 128.—*Ed.*

in the departments, in order to inflict the state of siege upon the capital and those departments which, on the 10th of March, will have to elect new deputies in lieu of the condemned of Versailles. A word on the new system of military despotism.[42] To keep the provinces in bondage, the government have invented the new system of commanders-in-chief. They have united a number of the seventeen military divisions of France into four grand districts, each of which is to be under the command of one general, who, thus, has almost the arbitrary power of an eastern satrap or a Roman proconsul. These four military districts are so arranged, that they surround Paris and the whole centre of France, as it were, with an iron circle, in order to keep it down. This measure, illegal as it is, has however been adopted not only on account of the people, but on account of the Bourgeois opposition too. The Legitimist and Orleanist[43] parties now see clear enough that Louis Napoleon is serving them very badly. They wanted him as a means to the re-establishment of monarchy, as an instrument to be shuffled aside when worn out, and they now see him aspiring to a throne for himself, and going a good deal faster than they want. They know well enough that at this moment there is no chance for monarchy, and that they must wait; and yet Louis Napoleon does everything in his power to come to a settlement, and to risk a revolution which may cost him his head, rather than wait his time. They know, too, that neither party, Legitimist or Orleanist, has gained so much ground upon the other as to make the victory of one of the two an undeniable necessity; and as before the 10th of December, 1848, they want another neutral man, who, while they await the course of events, may govern according to the common interests of both. Thus, these two parties, the only important fractions of the Ordermongers, are now against the prolongation of Louis Napoleon's presidency, although four months ago they would have done anything to carry it; they are again, for once, for the neutral ground of the republic, *with General Changarnier as president.* Changarnier seems to be in the plot; and Napoleon, who does not trust him but dares not dismiss him from his proconsulate at Paris, has put the four military districts as a fetter around him. This may explain why M. Pascal Duprat's (a traitor of June '48, who now courts popularity again) speech[a] against the new military system and against Louis Napoleon himself, was very tolerantly listened to by the majority. There occurred two curious incidents on this occasion. When M. Duprat said, according to a newspaper, Louis Napoleon

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[a] Duprat's interpellation made in the Legislative Assembly on February 16, 1850. dealt with the new system of military administration.—*Ed.*

had to choose between the position of his uncle,[a] or that of Washington, a voice from the left shouted, "or that of the Emperor Soulouque of Haiti".[b] A general burst of laughter hailed this comparison of the French would-be-emperor to a personage, than whom none offers more matter for ridicule to all the *Charivaris* of Paris; and yet not even the President of the Assembly interposed.[c] You see what even this precious majority thinks of Louis Napoleon! The Minister of War[d] then got up, and, turning to the left, concluded a most violent speech with these words: "And now, gentlemen, if you like to commence we are ready!"[e] This expression of the Minister will show you more than anything, how generally a violent struggle is expected.

In the meantime, the Social-Democratic party are actively preparing for the elections. Although there is a chance for the "honest and moderate", to elect one or two of their candidates in Paris, where some sixty thousand working men have been, under a variety of pretexts, struck off the voting register; yet there is no doubt that the socialists will have a signal triumph in the departments. The government themselves are expecting it. They therefore have prepared a measure for doing away with what is now openly called the conspiracy of "Universal Suffrage". They intend to make the suffrage indirect; the voters to elect a limited number of electors, who again name the representative. In this the government are sure of the support of the majority. But as this amounts to an open overthrow of the constitution, which cannot be revised before 1851, and by an assembly elected for the purpose, they expect violent resistance on the part of the people. These, therefore, are to be intimidated by the foreign armies making their appearance on the Rhine at the time this measure is brought into the House. If this really come to pass—and Louis Napoleon seems foolish enough to risk such a thing—then you may expect to hear something like the thunder of a revolution. And then, the Lord have mercy upon the souls of all Napoleons, Changarniers, and Ordermongers!

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[a] Napoleon I Bonaparte.—*Ed.*
[b] See *Le Moniteur universel* No. 48, February 17, 1850.—*Ed.*
[c] André Dupin.—*Ed.*
[d] Alphonse d'Hautpoul.—*Ed.*
[e] Cf. this volume, pp. 32 and 128.—*Ed.*

## IV

## THE ELECTIONS.—GLORIOUS VICTORY OF THE REDS.—PROLETARIAN ASCENDANCY.—DISMAY OF THE ORDERMONGERS.—NEW SCHEMES OF REPRESSION AND PROVOCATIONS TO REVOLUTION[44]

[*The Democratic Review,* April 1850]

Paris, March 22nd, 1850

*Victory!* Victory! The people have spoken, and they have spoken so loud that the artificial fabric of bourgeois rule and bourgeois plotting has been shaken to its very foundation. *Carnot, Vidal, Deflotte,* representatives of the people for Paris, elected by from 127,000 to 132,000 votes, that is the answer of the people to the odious provocations of the government and parliamentary majority. Carnot, the only man of the "National" fraction who, under the provisional government, instead of flattering the bourgeoisie, brought down on his head a handsome share of its hatred; Vidal, an openly pronounced communist of long standing; Deflotte, vice-president of Blanqui's club, one of the foremost, active invaders of the Assembly on the 15th of May, 1848,[45] in June following, one of the leading combatants on the barricades, sentenced to transportation, and now stepping directly from the hulks into the legislative palace—really, this composition is significant! It shews, that if the triumph of the Red party is owing to the union of the small trading class with the proletarians, this union is based upon totally different terms to that momentary alliance which brought about the overthrow of monarchy. Then, it was the small trading class, the petty bourgeoisie, who, in the provisional government, and still more so in the Constituent Assembly, took the lead, and very soon set aside the influence of the proletarians. Now, on the contrary, the working men are the leaders of the movement, and the petty bourgeoisie, equally pressed down and ruined by capital, and rewarded with bankruptcy for their services rendered in June, 1848, are reduced to follow the revolutionary march of the proletarians. The country farmers are in the same position, and thus

the whole mass of those classes that now are opposed to the government—and they form the vast majority of Frenchmen—are headed and led on by the proletarian class, and find themselves obliged to rely, for their own emancipation from the pressure of capital, upon the total and entire emancipation of the working men.[a]

The elections in the departments, too, have been very favourable to the Red party. They having carried two-thirds, the Ordermongers one-third of their candidates.

This party, or aggregation of parties, has admirably understood the broad hint given by the people. They now see certain ruin before their eyes if they allow the general election of 1852 both for the Assembly and the new President to come off with the present system of suffrage. They know, that the people are so fast rallying round the red flag, that it will be impossible for them to carry on the government even until that term. On one side the President and the Assembly[b]; on the other, the vast mass of the people every day organising themselves stronger and stronger into an invincible phalanx. Thus the conflict is inevitable; and the longer the Ordermongers wait, the greater hope there will be for the victory of the people. They know it, and therefore they must strike the decisive blow as soon as possible. To provoke an insurrection as soon as possible, and to fight it to the utmost, is the only chance left for them. The "Holy Alliance", besides, after the elections of the 10th of March, can have no more doubts as to the course they must pursue. Switzerland, now, is out of the question.[c] Revolutionary France is again standing up before them in all her terrible grandeur. France, then, must be attacked, and as soon as possible. The "Holy Alliance" are getting low in cash, and there is now very little chance of getting fresh supplies of that desirable commodity. The different armies cannot be maintained at home much longer, they must either be disbanded or they must be made to maintain themselves by quartering upon the enemy. Thus, you see that, if in my last I told you that the revolution and war were fast approaching, events are fully bearing out my prediction.

The Ordermongers have for the moment again set aside their party squabbles. They have re-united to attack the people. They change the garrison of Paris, of which three-fourths voted for the red list; and, yesterday, a law re-establishing the newspaper stamp, another law doubling the caution money to be deposited by all

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[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 127 and 128.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Democratic Review* has "president of the Assembly", which is a misprint.—*Ed.*

[c] Cf. this volume, p. 15.—*Ed.*

newspapers, and a third, suspending the liberty of electoral meetings, were laid on the table of the Assembly by the government. Other laws will follow: one to grant powers to the police to expel from Paris any working man not born there; another, to empower the government to *transport, without judgment, to Algiers, any citizen who shall have been convicted of being a member of a secret society,* and many more, the whole to be crowned by a more or less direct attack upon universal suffrage. Thus, you see, they provoke revolt, by battering down all the rights and privileges of the working classes. Revolt will follow, and the people, united with the mass of the national guard, will very soon hurl down that infamous class government which, in its utter impotency to do anything but odiously oppress, has, nevertheless, the impudence to call itself the "Saviour of Society"!!!

[*The Democratic Review*, May 1850]

Paris, April 20th, 1850

The outbreak of the revolution, which has become inevitable since the elections of the 10th of March, has been retarded by the cowardice both of the government and of the men who, for the moment, have taken the lead of the Paris movement. The government and the National Assembly were so terror-struck by the vote of the 10th of March, and by the repeated proofs of mutinous spirit in the army, that they dared not come immediately to any conclusion. They resolved upon passing new repressive laws, a list of which I gave you in my last; but if the ministry and some of the leaders of the majority had confidence in these measures, the mass of the members had not, and even the government very soon lost its confidence again. Thus, the more stringent of these repressive laws were not brought forward, and even those that were—the laws on the press and on electoral meetings—met with a very doubtful reception from the majority.

The Socialist party, on the other hand, did not profit by the victory as it ought to have done. The reason for this is very plain. This party consists not only of the working men, but it includes, now, the great mass of the shopkeeping class too, a class whose socialism is indeed a great deal tamer than that of the proletarians. The shopkeepers and small tradesmen know very well that their own salvation from ruin is entirely dependent upon the emancipation of the proletarians; that their interests are indissolubly tied up with those of the working men. But they know also, that if the proletarians conquered political power by a revolution, they, the shopkeepers, would be entirely set aside, and be reduced to accept from the hands of the working class any thing they might give them. If the present government, on the

contrary, be overthrown by peaceful means, the shopkeepers and small tradesmen, being the least obnoxious of the classes now in opposition, would very quietly step in and take hold of the government, giving, at the same time, the working people as small a share of it as possible. The small trading class, then, were quite as much terrified at their own victory as the government was at its own defeat. They saw a revolution starting up before their eyes, and they strove immediately to prevent it. There was a means for this ready at hand. Citizen Vidal, in addition to being elected for Paris, had been elected for the Lower Rhine too. They managed to make him accept for the Lower Rhine, and thus there is to be a new election in Paris. But it is evident, that as long as there is an opportunity given to the people to obtain peaceful victories, they will never raise their cry "to arms"; or if, nevertheless, provoked into an émeute, they will fight with very little chance of victory.

The new election was fixed for the 28th of this month; and the government immediately profited by the favourable position created by the amiable shopocracy. Ministers disinterred old police regulations, in order to expel from Paris a number of working men, for the moment without work; and showed that they could do even without the proposed law against electoral meetings, by directly putting a stop to all of them. The people knowing that the day before an election, they could not fight to any advantage, submitted. The social and democratic press, entirely in the hands of the shopocracy, of course did every thing to keep them quiet. The behaviour of this press has, ever since the affair of the "trees of liberty", been most infamous. There have been numbers of occasions for the people to rise; but the press has always preached peace and tranquillity while the representatives of the shopocracy in the electoral committee and other organised bodies have always managed to lessen the chances of a street victory, by opening peaceful outlets for the popular exasperation.

The false position in which the Red party has been forced, and the advantage given by the new election to the Ordermongers, is fully shewn by the names of the two opposing candidates. The red candidate, Eugène Sue, is an excellent representative of that well-meaning, "soft sawder", sentimental shopocrat-socialism, which, far from recognising the revolutionary mission of the proletarians, would rather mock-emancipate them by the benevolent patronage of the petty trading class. As a political man, Eugène Sue is a nullity; as a demonstration, his nomination is a step backwards from the position conquered on the 10th of March. But it must be confessed, that if sentimental socialism is to have the honour of the

day, his name is the most popular to be put forward, and he has a great chance to be elected.

The Ordermongers, on the other side, have so far recovered, that they now oppose to Eugène Sue, whose name signifies nothing or very little, a name which signifies everything—M. Leclerc,[a] the bourgeois Lacedemonian of the insurrection of June.[46] Leclerc is a direct reply to Deflotte, and a direct provocation to the working men, more direct than any other name could possibly be. Leclerc, candidate for Paris—that is a repetition of the words of General d'Hautpoul:—"Now, gentlemen, whenever you please to descend into the streets, we are ready!"[b]

The repeated election in Paris, as you see, offers no advantage, but, on the contrary, has already put to a great deal of disadvantage the proletarian party. But there is another fact to be noticed. The election of the 10th of March was carried under the old list; that of the 28th of April is to come off under the new revised list of voters for 1850, which came into force on the 1st of April; and in this revised list there are *from twenty to thirty thousand working men struck off* under various pretexts.

However, even if this time the Ordermongers obtain a small majority, they will not be the gainers. The fact remains, that, with universal suffrage, they can no longer govern France. The fact remains, that the army is largely infected with socialism, and only awaits an occasion for open rebellion. The fact remains, that the working people of Paris are in better spirits than ever for putting an end to the present state of things. Never before did they come out so openly as they have done this time in the electoral meetings, till they were suppressed. And the government, forced to attack universal suffrage, will thereby give the people an occasion for a combat, in which there is for the proletarians the certainty of victory.

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[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 135 and 516.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 26 and 128.—*Ed.*

## VI[47]

[*The Democratic Review*, June 1850]

[End of May 1850]

"If the proletarians suffer the suffrage to be taken from them, they submit *to the undoing of the Revolution of February, as far as they are concerned.* For them the republic will no longer exist. They will be shut out from it. Will they allow this?

"The law certainly will pass. Not a tittle of it will be weakened. The will of the majority, upon this point, has already shown itself clearly.[48] And as matters stand to-day, no one can tell what will follow, whether the people will rise and hurl down the government and Assembly, or whether they will wait until another occasion. Paris seems quiet; there is no direct sign of an approaching revolution; but a spark will suffice to call forth a tremendous explosion.

"That explosion would have taken place before now but for the treacherous conduct of the popular chiefs, who have been doing nothing but preaching 'peace', 'tranquillity', and 'majestic calm'.[a] This, however, cannot last long. The situation of France is eminently revolutionary. The Ordermongers cannot stand where they are. They must advance a step every day in order to maintain themselves. If this law should pass without provoking a revolution, they will come out with fresh, more violent, and more direct attacks on the constitution and the Republic. They want an *émeute,* and they will have a revolution, and have it soon, too. For it must be borne in mind that this is a question of *weeks,* perhaps *days,* not of *years.*"

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[a] An allusion to Victor Hugo's speech made in the Legislative Assembly on May 21, 1850, in which he called for "*calme majestueux*".—*Ed.*

## VII

[*The Democratic Review*, July 1850]

### Paris, June 22nd, 1850

The Electoral "Reform" Law has passed, and the people of Paris have not moved. Universal Suffrage has been destroyed, without the slightest attempt at disturbance or demonstration, and the working people of France are again what they were under Louis Philippe: political Pariahs, without recognised rights, without votes, without muskets.

It really is a curious fact, that Universal Suffrage in France, won easily in 1848, has been annihilated far more easily in 1850. Such ups and downs, however, correspond much with the French character, and occur very often in French history. In England such a thing would be impossible. Universal Suffrage, once established there, would be won for ever. No government would dare to touch it. Only think of the minister who should be foolish enough to consider seriously re-establishing the Corn Laws.[49] The immense laughter of the whole nation would hurl him down.

The people of Paris have, undoubtedly, committed a serious mistake, in not profiting of the occasion for insurrection given by the destruction of Universal Suffrage. The army was well disposed, the small trading class was forced to go with the people, and the Mountain,[50] nay, even the party of Cavaignac knew that in case of a defeated insurrection they would inevitably be made to suffer for it, whether they stood with the people or not. Thus, at least, the moral support of the small trading class and of its parliamentary organs, the Mountain, was sure this time, as soon as the insurrection had broken out; and with that the resistance of a large portion of the army would be broken. But the occasion has been missed, partly from the cowardice of the parliamentary chiefs and the press, partly from the peculiar state of mind the people of Paris are in at present.

The working people of the capital are at present in a state of transition. The different socialist systems which, up to this time, have been discussed amongst them, no longer suffice to them; and it must be confessed, take all French systematic Socialism together, and there is not much in it of a very revolutionary nature. On the other hand the people, so many times deceived by their chiefs, have such a deep distrust towards all men who ever have acted as their leaders—not excepting even Barbès or Blanqui[51]—that they are resolved not to make any movement in order to bring any of these leaders into office. Thus the whole working-class movement is about to take a different, far more revolutionary aspect. The people, once thinking for themselves, freed from the old socialist tradition, will soon find socialist and revolutionary formulas which shall express their wants and interests far more clearly than anything invented *for them*, by authors of systems and by declaiming leaders. And then, arrived thus at maturity, the people will again be enabled to avail themselves of whatever talent and courage may be found among the old leaders, without becoming the tail of any of them. And this state of the popular mind in Paris accounts for the indifference displayed by the people, at the destruction of Universal Suffrage. The great struggle is postponed for the day in which one or both of the two rival powers of the state, the President or the Assembly, will try to overthrow the Republic.

And this day must soon arrive. You recollect what was boasted in all the reactionary papers, about the cordial understanding between the President and the majority. Now, this cordial understanding has just resolved itself into the most deadly struggle between the two rivals. The President has been promised, as the price for his adhesion to the Electoral Law, an annual addition to his salary of 3,000,000 fr. (£120,000), which additional pay was most awfully wanted by the debt-ridden Louis Napoleon, besides being considered as the preliminary step to the prolongation of his presidency for ten years. The Electoral Law was hardly passed, when the ministers stepped in and asked for the three millions a year. But all at once the majority got frightened. They, who no longer consider the imbecile Louis Napoleon as a serious pretender, far from being ready to consent to the prolongation of his presidency, on the contrary want to get rid of him as soon as possible. They name a select committee to report on the Bill, and that committee reports against its adoption. Great consternation at the Elysée-National. Napoleon threatens abdication. A most serious collision between the two powers of the state is imminent. The ministry, a lot of bankers, a number of other "friends of order" interpose, with no result. Several

"transactions" are proposed; in vain. At last an amendment is come to, which seems to satisfy all parties more or less. The majority, not quite sure as to the consequences of a rupture with the President, and having, as yet, not quite concluded the compact which is to unite the Legitimists and Orleanists into one party, seems to recoil a little, and to be ready to grant the money in another shape. The discussion is to come off on Monday; what the result will be no one can say. However, a serious rupture with Napoleon is, I think, not yet in the line of policy of the royalist majority.

The compact which is to unite the Orleanists and Legitimists, the younger and the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, is, at present, more than ever spoken of. It is a fact that most active negotiations are carried on with regard to this subject. The journey of Messrs. Thiers, Guizot, and others to the death-bed of Louis Philippe, at St. Leonards, had no other object than this. I shall not repeat to you the various versions as to the state of this affair, and the results obtained by the journey above mentioned. The daily papers have said more than enough about that. A fact, however, it is, that the Orleanist and Legitimist parties are in France pretty much agreed as to the conditions, and that the only difficulty is to have these conditions adopted by the two rival branches. Henry, Duke of Bordeaux,[a] is to be made king, and as he has no children, the adoption of the Count of Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe, and heir to the throne by regular succession, is a matter almost of course, and offering no difficulties. The tricolour flag, besides, is to be maintained. The expected death of old Louis Philippe would facilitate this solution. He seems to have submitted to it, and the Duke of Bordeaux, too, appears to have accepted the agreement. The Duchess of Orleans, mother of the Count of Paris, and her brother-in-law, Joinville, are said to be the only obstacles in the way of a settlement. Louis Napoleon is to be paid off with ten millions of hard cash.

There is no doubt but this, or a similar settlement, will finally be come to; and as soon as this is done, the direct attack upon the Republic will follow. In the meantime, a preliminary engagement is to be commenced by the councils-general of the departments. They have been just called together before their regular time of meeting, and are expected to call upon the National Assembly to revise the constitution. The same thing was considered last year, but thought premature by the councils themselves. There is no doubt they will show considerably more pluck this time, particularly after the

[a] Count Chambord.—*Ed.*

successful blow at the Suffrage. And then the occasion will come for the people to show that if they abstained from showing their power for a time, they are not willing to be thrust back to the most infamous epoch of the Restoration.

P. S.—I have just read a small pamphlet sold at three sous (halfpence) and given out gratis with the *République.* This pamphlet contains the most astounding disclosures as to the plots and conspiracies of the royalists, as far back as the spring of 1848. It is by one Borme,[52] a witness examined in the trial of Barbès and Blanqui, at Bourges.[53] He confesses himself a paid royalist agent, who at that trial committed gross perjury. He contends that the whole movement of the 15th of May, 1848, originated with the royalists, and many other things of a most curious character. There is something, too, which regards *The Times.* Borme gives name and address. He lives in Paris. The pamphlet is one which must call forth more disclosures still. I call your most earnest attention to it.

## VIII

[*The Democratic Review*, August 1850]

Paris, July 23, 1850

As I anticipated in my last, the dotation to Louis Bonaparte finally passed the Assembly—in substance allowing him the sum he wanted, in form humiliating him deeply before the eyes of all France.[54] The Assembly then resumed its work of repression—taking up the press law. Atrocious as this law was when produced from the hand of its originator, M. Baroche, it was innocent and harmless compared with what the spite of the majority has made it. The majority, in its furious and yet impotent hatred against the press, has dealt out its blows almost blindfolded, not caring whether it hits the "good" or the "bad" press. Thus the "law of hatred" has been enacted. The caution money is raised. The stamp is re-established on newspapers. An extra stamp is put upon the "roman-feuilleton", that part of the newspaper which is dedicated to the publication of novels—a measure which would be quite incomprehensible if it was not a reply to the election of Eugène Sue, the effect of whose socialist novels has not yet been forgotten by the majority. All works published in weekly numbers or monthly parts of less than a certain size, are subjected to the stamp in the same manner as newspapers. And lastly, every paragraph appearing in a newspaper must be provided with the signature of the author.

This law, as the blind fury of the majority has made it, falls heavily, not only upon the socialist and republican press, but on the counter-revolutionary press: and perhaps far more heavily upon this than upon the opposition press. The names of the republican writers are pretty well known, and it matters little whether they sign their paragraphs or not; but let the *Journal des Débats*, the *Assemblée nationale*, the *Pouvoir*, the *Constitutionnel*, &c., be obliged to come out with the names of their contributors, and their leaders will

immediately lose all influence even upon their class of readers. The name of a great daily paper, particularly an old-established one, is, to respectable people, always a respectable firm; but let these firms, Bertin and Co., Véron and Co., Delamarre and Co., once be dissolved into their literary components, let that mysterious "Co." once decompose into venal "penny-a-liners" of old standing, who, for hard cash, have defended all possible causes, such as Granier de Cassagnac, or into foolish old women calling themselves statesmen, such as Capefigue, let all the little men who raise loud voices and spout big articles once creep out into daylight under the new law, and you will see what a sad figure the respectable press will make.[a]

It is true that, under the new law, by the enhanced price of newspapers a very numerous class of readers will be excluded from this mode of getting information. Both newspapers, cheap periodicals, and other popular publications will be above the reach of numerous working-men, and particularly of the majority of the country-people. But the press was always an auxiliary means merely to agitate the peasantry; this class being far more sensible to their own material sufferings and to the increase of taxation than to the declamations of the press; and as long as the present bourgeois government cannot find out the means—which it never can—to alleviate the weight of usury and taxation upon the peasantry, as long will there be discontent and "revolutionary tendencies", manifested amongst this newly-roused class. As to the working-men in the towns, they cannot be entirely excluded from seeing the newspapers, and if cheap periodical publications are stopped, they will make up for that by increasing secret societies, secret debating-clubs, &c. But if the government, with respect to diminishing the number of revolutionary tracts and periodicals, have obtained some result, they have obtained it at the cost of ruining the whole of the publishing and bookselling trades; for it is impossible that these trades can subsist under the restrictions imposed by the new law. And thus this is very likely to contribute much to breaking up the party of order both in and out of the Assembly.

As soon as the law on the press was voted, the Assembly proceeded to give Louis Napoleon another broad hint that he was not to exceed the limits the constitution had placed him in. The Bonapartist paper, *Le Pouvoir*, had an article commenting in not very favourable terms upon the Assembly. An old law of the Restoration was dug up, and the publisher of the *Pouvoir*, arraigned at the bar for breach of

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[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 138 and 520-21.—*Ed.*

privilege, and sentenced to 5,000fr. (£200)[a] fine, which fine was, of course, immediately paid.[55] The penalty was not very severe, but the act of the Assembly was sufficiently significant. "We strike low but we mean to hit higher," said a member, and was loudly applauded.

The Assembly then resolved to suspend its sitting for three months, from the 11th of August next. As provided by the constitution, it had to elect a commission of twenty-five members, which is to remain at Paris during the adjournment, and to watch the executive power.[56] The chiefs of the majority, believing Louis Napoleon to be sufficiently humiliated, drew up a list of these candidates, including none but members of the majority, Orleanists, Moderate Legitimists, some Bonapartists, no Republicans nor ultra-Legitimists. But in the vote all the Bonapartists have been thrown out, and in their stead some Moderate Republicans and several ultra-Legitimists have been elected, thus again showing the disposition of the Assembly to have none of the *coup d'état* which Louis Napoleon is always dreaming of.[b]

I do not expect that there will be anything serious until the experiment is made to upset the Republic; be it by the President, or be it by one of the royalist factions. This would, no doubt, rouse the people from their torpor; and this is an event which must take place between now and May 1852, but at what precise epoch it is impossible to predict.[57]

Written between December 20, 1849, and June 23, 1850

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Reprinted from the journal

[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 140 and 520-21.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 140 and 521.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## ANNOUNCEMENT[58]

Circumstances beyond the control of the editorial board delayed publication of the first issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The second issue will therefore appear a fortnight after the first at the latest, and will contain amongst others the following articles:

1848-49. II. June 13, 1849.—III. Repercussions of June 13 on the Continent.—IV. Current Situation; England.[59]—By *Karl Marx*.

The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution. III. The Palatinate.—IV. To Die for the Fatherland.[60]—By *Frederick Engels*.

The third issue will contain among other items:

What Is Bourgeois Property? II. Landed Property.—Lectures given at the German Workers' Educational Society in London,[61] by *Karl Marx*.

The Last Days of the German Parliament. By *W. Wolff*.

The Financial State of Prussia, etc., etc.[62]

Care will be taken that in future the paper is published between the first and the tenth of each month.

*The Editorial Board*

Written in late February 1850

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Cover of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*

# KARL MARX

# THE CLASS STRUGGLES IN FRANCE

## 1848 to 1850[63]

Written from January to November 1, 1850

First published in the journal *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 5-6, 1850
Signed: *Karl Marx*

Printed according to the journal checked with the text of the 1895 edition

With the exception of only a few chapters, every more important part of the annals of the revolution from 1848 to 1849 carries the heading: *Defeat of the Revolution!*

What succumbed in these defeats was not the revolution. It was the pre-revolutionary traditional appendages, results of social relationships which had not yet come to the point of sharp class antagonisms—persons, illusions, conceptions, projects from which the revolutionary party before the February Revolution was not free, from which it could be freed not by the *victory of February*, but only by a series of *defeats*.

In a word: the revolution made progress, forged ahead, not by its immediate tragi-comic achievements, but on the contrary by the creation of a powerful, united counter-revolution, by the creation of an opponent in combat with whom alone the party of insurrection ripened into a really revolutionary party.

To prove this is the task of the following pages.

## I

## THE DEFEAT OF JUNE 1848

After the July Revolution,[a] when the liberal banker Laffitte led his *compère*, the Duke of Orleans, in triumph to the *Hôtel de Ville*, he let fall the words: "*From now on the bankers will rule.*" Laffitte had betrayed the secret of the revolution.

It was not the French bourgeoisie that ruled under Louis Philippe, but *one faction* of it: bankers, stock-exchange kings, railway kings, owners of coal and iron mines and forests, a part of the landed proprietors associated with them—the so-called *finance aristocracy*. It sat on the throne, it dictated laws in the Chambers, it distributed public offices, from cabinet portfolios to tobacco bureau posts.

The *industrial bourgeoisie* proper formed part of the official opposition, that is, it was represented only as a minority in the Chambers. Its opposition was expressed all the more resolutely, the more unalloyed the autocracy of the finance aristocracy became, and the more it itself imagined that its domination over the working class was ensured after the mutinies of 1832, 1834 and 1839, which had been drowned in blood.[64] *Grandin*, Rouen manufacturer and the most fanatical instrument of bourgeois reaction in the Constituent as well as in the Legislative National Assembly, was the most violent opponent of Guizot in the Chamber of Deputies. *Léon Faucher*, later known for his impotent efforts to climb into prominence as the Guizot of the French counter-revolution, in the last days of Louis Philippe waged a war of the pen for industry against speculation and its train-bearer, the government. *Bastiat* agitated in the name of

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[a] Of 1830.—*Ed.*

Bordeaux and the whole of wine-producing France against the ruling system.

The *petty bourgeoisie* of all gradations, and the *peasantry* also, were completely excluded from political power. Finally, in the official opposition or entirely outside the *pays légal*,[a] there were the *ideological* representatives and spokesmen of the above classes, their savants, lawyers, doctors, etc., in a word: their so-called *men of talent.*

Owing to its financial straits, the July monarchy was dependent from the beginning on the big bourgeoisie, and its dependence on the big bourgeoisie was the inexhaustible source of increasing financial straits. It was impossible to subordinate the administration of the state to the interests of national production without balancing the budget, without establishing a balance between state expenditures and state revenues. And how was this balance to be established without limiting state expenditures, that is, without encroaching on interests which were so many props of the ruling system, and without redistributing taxes, that is, without shifting a considerable share of the burden of taxation onto the shoulders of the big bourgeoisie itself?

On the contrary, the faction of the bourgeoisie that ruled and legislated through the Chambers had a *direct interest* in the *indebtedness of the state.* The *state deficit* was really the main object of its speculation and the chief source of its enrichment. At the end of each year a new deficit. After the lapse of four or five years a new loan. And every new loan offered new opportunities to the finance aristocracy for defrauding the state, which was kept artificially on the verge of bankruptcy—it had to negotiate with the bankers under the most unfavourable conditions. Each new loan gave a further opportunity, that of plundering the public which had invested its capital in state bonds by means of stock-exchange manipulations, into the secrets of which the government and the majority in the Chambers were initiated. In general, the instability of state credit and the possession of state secrets gave the bankers and their associates in the Chambers and on the throne the possibility of evoking sudden, extraordinary fluctuations in the quotations of government securities, the result of which was always bound to be the ruin of a mass of smaller capitalists and the fabulously rapid enrichment of the big gamblers. As the state deficit was in the direct interest of the ruling faction of the bourgeoisie, it is clear why the *extraordinary* state

[a] Those enjoying the franchise.—*Ed.*

expenditure in the last years of Louis Philippe's reign was far more than double the extraordinary state expenditure under Napoleon, indeed reached a yearly sum of nearly 400,000,000 francs, whereas the whole average annual export of France seldom attained a volume amounting to 750,000,000 francs. The enormous sums which, in this way, flowed through the hands of the state facilitated, moreover, swindling contracts for deliveries, bribery, defalcations and all kinds of roguery. The defrauding of the state, practised wholesale in connection with loans, was repeated retail in public works. What occurred in the relations between Chamber and Government became multiplied in the relations between individual departments and individual *entrepreneurs.*

The ruling class exploited the *building of railways* in the same way as it exploited state expenditures in general and state loans. The Chambers piled the main burdens on the state, and secured the golden fruits to the speculating finance aristocracy. One recalls the scandals in the Chamber of Deputies, when by chance it leaked out that all the members of the majority, including a number of ministers, had been interested as shareholders in the very railway constructions which as legislators they caused to be carried out afterwards at the cost of the state.

On the other hand, the smallest financial reform was wrecked due to the influence of the bankers. For example, the *postal reform.* Rothschild protested. Was it permissible for the state to curtail sources of revenue out of which interest was to be paid on its ever-increasing debt?

The July monarchy was nothing but a joint-stock company for the exploitation of France's national wealth, the dividends of which were divided among ministers, Chambers,[a] 240,000 voters and their adherents. Louis Philippe was the director of this company—Robert Macaire[65] on the throne. Trade, industry, agriculture, shipping, the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie, were bound to be continually endangered and prejudiced under this system. Cheap government, *gouvernement à bon marché,* was what it had inscribed in the July days on its banner.

Since the finance aristocracy made the laws, was at the head of the administration of the state, had command of all the organised public authorities, dominated public opinion through the actual state of

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[a] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* had *Bauern* (peasants). In the Errata given by the editors of the journal this word was corrected to *Kammern* (Chambers). In the copy of the *Revue* with Marx's corrections *Bauern* was changed to *Bankiers.*— *Ed.*

affairs and through the press, the same prostitution, the same shameless cheating, the same mania to get rich was repeated in every sphere, from the Court to the Café Borgne,[a] to get rich not by production, but by pocketing the already available wealth of others. Clashing every moment with the bourgeois laws themselves, an unbridled assertion of unhealthy and dissolute appetites manifested itself, particularly at the top of bourgeois society—lusts wherein wealth derived from gambling naturally seeks its satisfaction, where pleasure becomes *crapuleux*,[b] where money, filth and blood commingle. The finance aristocracy, in its mode of acquisition as well as in its pleasures, is nothing but the *rebirth of the lumpenproletariat on the heights of bourgeois society.*

And the non-ruling factions of the French bourgeoisie cried: *Corruption!* The people cried: *À bas les grands voleurs! À bas les assassins!*[c] when in 1847, on the most prominent stages of bourgeois society, the same scenes were publicly enacted that regularly lead the *lumpenproletariat* to brothels, to workhouses and lunatic asylums, to the bar of justice, to the dungeon and to the scaffold. The industrial bourgeoisie saw its interests endangered, the petty bourgeoisie was filled with moral indignation, the imagination of the people was offended, Paris was flooded with pamphlets—*La dynastie Rothschild, Les juifs rois de l'époque,*[d] etc.—in which the rule of the finance aristocracy was denounced and stigmatised with greater or less wit.

*Rien pour la gloire!*[e] Glory brings no profit! *La paix partout et toujours!*[f] War depresses the quotations of the three and four per cents! the France of the Bourse jobbers had inscribed on her banner. Her foreign policy was therefore lost in a series of mortifications to French national sentiment, which reacted all the more vigorously when the rape of Poland was brought to its conclusion with the incorporation of Cracow by Austria, and when Guizot came out actively on the side of the Holy Alliance in the Swiss Sonderbund war.[66] The victory of the Swiss liberals in this bogus war raised the self-respect of the bourgeois opposition in France; the bloody uprising of the people in Palermo worked like an electric shock on

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[a] Cafés of dubious character.—*Ed.*

[b] Debauch.—*Ed.*

[c] Down with the big thieves! Down with the assassins!—*Ed.*

[d] G. Dairnvaell, *Rothschild Ier, ses valets et son peuple,* Paris, 1846; and *Histoire édifiante et curieuse de Rothschild Ier, Roi des juifs,* Paris, 1846; A. Toussenel, *Les juifs, rois de l'époque. Histoire de la féodalité financière,* T. 1-2, Paris, 1847.—*Ed.*

[e] Nothing for glory!—*Ed.*

[f] Peace everywhere and always!—*Ed.*

the paralysed masses of the people and awoke their great revolutionary memories and passions.*

The eruption of the general discontent was finally accelerated and the mood for revolt ripened by *two economic world events.*

The *potato blight* and the *crop failures* of 1845 and 1846 increased the general ferment among the people. The dearth of 1847 called forth bloody conflicts in France as well as on the rest of the Continent. As against the shameless orgies of the finance aristocracy, the struggle of the people for the prime necessities of life! At Buzançais, hunger rioters executed[67]; in Paris, oversatiated *escrocs*[a] snatched from the courts by the royal family!

The second great economic event which hastened the outbreak of the revolution was a *general commercial and industrial crisis* in England. Already heralded in the autumn of 1845 by the wholesale reverses of the speculators in railway shares, staved off during 1846 by a number of incidents such as the impending abolition of the corn duties, the crisis finally burst in the autumn of 1847 with the bankruptcy of the London wholesale grocers, on the heels of which followed the insolvencies of the land banks and the closing of the factories in the English industrial districts. The after-effect of this crisis on the Continent had not yet spent itself when the February Revolution broke out.

The devastation of trade and industry caused by the economic epidemic made the autocracy of the finance aristocracy still more unbearable. Throughout the whole of France the bourgeois opposition *agitated at banquets* for an *electoral reform* which should win for it the majority in the Chambers and overthrow the Ministry of the Bourse. In Paris the industrial crisis had, moreover, the particular result of throwing a multitude of manufacturers and big traders, who under the existing circumstances could no longer do any business in the foreign market, onto the home market. They set up large establishments, the competition of which ruined the small *épiciers* and *boutiquiers*[b] *en masse.* Hence the innumerable bankruptcies among this section of the Paris bourgeoisie, and hence their revolutionary action in February. It is well known how Guizot and the Chambers answered the reform proposals with an unambiguous

* Annexation of Cracow by Austria in agreement with Russia and Prussia on November 11, 1846.—Swiss Sonderbund war: November 4 to 28, 1847.—Rising in Palermo: January 12, 1848; at the end of January, nine days' bombardment of the town by the Neapolitans.—*Note by Engels to the edition of 1895.*

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[a] Swindlers.—*Ed.*

[b] Grocers and shopkeepers.—*Ed.*

challenge, how Louis Philippe too late resolved on a ministry led by Barrot, how things went as far as hand-to-hand fighting between the people and the army, how the army was disarmed as a result of the passive conduct of the National Guard, how the July monarchy had to give way to a Provisional Government.

The *Provisional Government* which emerged from the February barricades necessarily mirrored in its composition the different parties which shared in the victory. It could not be anything but a *compromise between the different classes* which together had overturned the July throne, but whose interests were mutually antagonistic. The *great majority* of its members consisted of representatives of the bourgeoisie. The republican petty bourgeoisie was represented by Ledru-Rollin and Flocon, the republican bourgeoisie by the people from the *National*,[a] the dynastic opposition by Crémieux, Dupont de l'Eure, etc.[68] The working class had only two representatives, Louis Blanc and Albert. Finally, Lamartine in the Provisional Government: this essentially represented no real interest, no definite class; for such was the February Revolution, the general uprising with its illusions, its poetry, its imaginary content and its rhetoric. Moreover, the spokesman of the February Revolution, according to both his position and his views, belonged to the *bourgeoisie*.

If Paris, as a result of political centralisation, rules France, the workers, in moments of revolutionary earthquakes, rule Paris. The first act in the life of the Provisional Government was an attempt to escape from this overpowering influence by an appeal from intoxicated Paris to sober France. Lamartine disputed the right of the barricade fighters to proclaim a republic on the ground that only the majority of Frenchmen had that right; they must await the majority vote, the Paris proletariat must not besmirch its victory by a usurpation.[b] The bourgeoisie allows the proletariat only *one* usurpation — that of fighting.

Up to noon of February 25 the republic had not yet been proclaimed; on the other hand, all the ministries had already been shared out among the bourgeois elements of the Provisional Government and among the generals, bankers and lawyers of the *National*. But the workers were determined this time not to put up with any fraud like that of July 1830. They were ready to take up the fight anew and to get a republic by force of arms. With this

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[a] A. Marrast and L. A. Garnier-Pagès.— *Ed.*

[b] From Lamartine's speech made in the Chamber of Deputies on February 24, 1848. Marx gives a summary of this speech.— *Ed.*

message, *Raspail* betook himself to the *Hôtel de Ville.* In the name of the Paris proletariat he *commanded* the Provisional Government to proclaim a republic; if this order of the people were not fulfilled within two hours, he would return at the head of 200,000 men. The bodies of the fallen were scarcely cold, the barricades were not yet cleared away, the workers not yet disarmed, and the only force which could be opposed to them was the National Guard. Under these circumstances the doubts born of considerations of state policy and the juristic scruples of conscience entertained by the Provisional Government suddenly vanished. The time limit of two hours had not yet expired when all the walls of Paris were resplendent with the historic, momentous words:

*République française! Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité!*

Even the memory of the limited aims and motives which drove the bourgeoisie into the February Revolution was extinguished by the proclamation of the republic on the basis of universal suffrage. Instead of only a few factions of the bourgeoisie, all classes of French society were suddenly hurled into the orbit of political power, forced to leave the boxes, the stalls and the gallery and to act in person upon the revolutionary stage! With the constitutional monarchy vanished also the semblance of a state power independently confronting bourgeois society as well as the whole series of subordinate struggles which this semblance of power called forth!

By dictating the republic to the Provisional Government and through the Provisional Government to the whole of France, the proletariat stepped into the foreground forthwith as an independent party, but at the same time challenged the whole of bourgeois France to enter the lists against it. What it won was the terrain for the fight for its revolutionary emancipation, but by no means this emancipation itself.

The first thing that the February republic had to do was, rather, to *complete the rule of the bourgeoisie* by allowing, beside the finance aristocracy, *all the propertied classes* to enter the orbit of political power. The majority of the great landowners, the Legitimists,[69] were emancipated from the political nullity to which they had been condemned by the July monarchy. Not for nothing had the *Gazette de France* agitated in common with the opposition papers; not for nothing had La Rochejaquelein taken the side of the revolution in the session of the Chamber of Deputies on February 24. The nominal proprietors, who form the great majority of the French people, the *peasants,* were put by universal suffrage in the position of arbiters of the fate of France. The February republic finally brought

the rule of the bourgeoisie clearly into view, since it struck off the crown behind which capital kept itself concealed.

Just as the workers in the July days had fought for and won the *bourgeois monarchy*, so in the February days they fought for and won the *bourgeois republic*. Just as the July monarchy had to proclaim itself a *monarchy surrounded by republican institutions*, so the February republic was forced to proclaim itself a *republic surrounded by social institutions*. The Paris proletariat *compelled* this concession, too.

Marche, a worker, dictated the decree[a] by which the newly formed Provisional Government pledged itself to guarantee the workers a livelihood by means of labour, to provide work for all citizens, etc. And when, a few days later, it forgot its promises and seemed to have lost sight of the proletariat, a mass of 20,000 workers marched on the *Hôtel de Ville* with the cry: *Organisation of labour! Formation of a special Ministry of Labour!* Reluctantly and after long debate, the Provisional Government nominated a permanent special commission[b] to *find* means of improving the lot of the working classes! It consisted of delegates from the corporations of Paris artisans and was presided over by Louis Blanc and Albert. The Luxembourg palace was assigned to it as its meeting place. In this way the representatives of the working class were banished from the seat of the Provisional Government, the bourgeois part of which retained the real state power and the reins of administration exclusively in its hands; and *side by side* with the ministries of Finance, Trade, and Public Works, *side by side* with the Bank and the Bourse, there arose a *socialist synagogue* whose high priests, Louis Blanc and Albert, had the task of discovering the promised land, of preaching the new gospel and of providing work for the Paris proletariat. Unlike any profane state power, they had no budget, no executive authority at their disposal. They were supposed to break the pillars of bourgeois society by dashing their heads against them. While the Luxembourg sought the philosopher's stone, in the *Hôtel de Ville* they minted the current coinage.

And yet the claims of the Paris proletariat, so far as they went beyond the bourgeois republic, could win no other existence than the nebulous one of the Luxembourg.

In common with the bourgeoisie the workers had made the February Revolution, and *alongside* the bourgeoisie they sought to assert their interests, just as they had installed a worker in the Provisional Government itself alongside the bourgeois majority.

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[a] The decree on the right to work adopted on February 25, 1848.—*Ed.*

[b] Commission du gouvernement pour les travailleurs.—*Ed.*

*Organisation of labour!* But wage labour, that is the existing, the bourgeois organisation of labour. Without it there is no capital, no bourgeoisie, no bourgeois society. *A special Ministry of Labour!* But the ministries of Finance, of Trade, of Public Works—are not these the *bourgeois* Ministries of Labour? And *alongside* these a *proletarian* Ministry of Labour had to be a ministry of impotence, a ministry of pious wishes, a Luxembourg Commission. Just as the workers thought they would be able to emancipate themselves side by side with the bourgeoisie, so they thought they would be able to consummate a proletarian revolution within the national walls of France, side by side with the remaining bourgeois nations. But French relations of production are conditioned by the foreign trade of France, by her position on the world market and the laws thereof; how was France to break them without a European revolutionary war, which would strike back at the despot of the world market, England?

As soon as it has risen up, a class in which the revolutionary interests of society are concentrated finds the content and the material for its revolutionary activity directly in its own situation: foes to be laid low, measures dictated by the needs of the struggle to be taken; the consequences of its own deeds drive it on. It makes no theoretical inquiries into its own task. The French working class had not attained this level; it was still incapable of accomplishing its own revolution.

The development of the industrial proletariat is, in general, conditioned by the development of the industrial bourgeoisie. Only under its rule does the proletariat gain that extensive national existence which can raise its revolution to a national one, and does it itself create the modern means of production, which become just so many means of its revolutionary emancipation. Only its rule tears up the material roots of feudal society and levels the ground on which alone a proletarian revolution is possible. French industry is more developed and the French bourgeoisie more revolutionary than that of the rest of the Continent. But was not the February Revolution levelled directly against the finance aristocracy? This fact proved that the industrial bourgeoisie did not rule France. The industrial bourgeoisie can rule only where modern industry shapes all property relations to suit itself, and industry can win this power only where it has conquered the world market, for national bounds are inadequate for its development. But French industry, to a great extent, maintains its command even of the national market only through a more or less modified system of prohibitive tariffs. While, therefore, the French proletariat, at the moment of a revolution, possesses in

Paris real power and influence which spur it on to an effort beyond its means, in the rest of France it is crowded into separate, scattered industrial centres, being almost lost in the superior numbers of peasants and petty bourgeois. The struggle against capital in its developed, modern form, in its decisive aspect, the struggle of the industrial wage-worker against the industrial bourgeois, is in France a partial phenomenon, which after the February days could so much the less supply the national content of the revolution, since the struggle against capital's secondary modes of exploitation, that of the peasant against usury and mortgages or of the petty bourgeois against the wholesale dealer, banker and manufacturer, in a word, against bankruptcy, was still hidden in the general uprising against the finance aristocracy. Nothing is more understandable, then, than that the Paris proletariat sought to assert its own interests *side by side* with the interests of the bourgeoisie, instead of enforcing them as the revolutionary interests of society itself, that it let the *red* flag be dipped before the *tricolour.*[70] The French workers could not take a step forward, could not touch a hair of the bourgeois order, until the course of the revolution had aroused the mass of the nation, the peasants and petty bourgeois, standing between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, against this order, against the rule of capital, and had forced them to attach themselves to the proletarians as their protagonists. The workers could buy this victory only through the tremendous defeat in June.

The Luxembourg Commission, this creation of the Paris workers, must be given the credit of having disclosed, from a Europe-wide tribune, the secret of the revolution of the nineteenth century: *the emancipation of the proletariat.* The *Moniteur* blushed when it had to propagate officially the "wild ravings"[71] which up to that time lay buried in the apocryphal writings of the Socialists and reached the ear of the bourgeoisie only from time to time as remote, half terrifying, half ludicrous legends. Europe awoke astonished from its bourgeois doze. Therefore, in the minds of the proletarians, who confused the finance aristocracy with the bourgeoisie in general; in the imagination of the good old republicans who denied the very existence of classes or, at most, admitted them as a result of the constitutional monarchy; in the hypocritical phrases of the factions of the bourgeoisie which until then had been excluded from power, the *rule of the bourgeoisie* was abolished with the introduction of the republic. At that time all the royalists were transformed into republicans and all the millionaires of Paris into workers. The phrase which corresponded to this imaginary abolition of class relations was *fraternité,* universal fraternisation and brotherhood. This pleasant

dissociation from class antagonisms, this sentimental reconciliation of contradictory class interests, this visionary elevation above the class struggle, this *fraternité* was the real catchword of the February Revolution. The classes were divided by a mere *misunderstanding* and Lamartine baptised the Provisional Government of February 24 "un gouvernement qui suspende *ce malentendu terrible qui existe entre les différentes classes*".[a] The Paris proletariat revelled in this magnanimous intoxication of fraternity.

The Provisional Government, on its part, once it was compelled to proclaim the republic, did everything to make it acceptable to the bourgeoisie and to the provinces. The bloody terror of the first French republic was disavowed by the abolition of the death penalty for political offences; the press was opened to all opinions; the army, the courts, the administration remained with a few exceptions in the hands of their old dignitaries; none of the July monarchy's great offenders was brought to book. The bourgeois republicans of the *National* amused themselves by exchanging monarchist names and costumes for old republican ones. To them the republic was only a new ball dress for the old bourgeois society. The young republic sought its chief merit not in frightening, but rather in constantly taking fright itself,[b] and in winning existence and disarming resistance by easy compliance and non-resistance. At home to the privileged classes, abroad to the despotic powers, it was loudly announced that the republic was of a peaceful nature. Live and let live was its professed motto. What is more, shortly after the February Revolution the Germans, Poles, Austrians, Hungarians and Italians revolted, each people in accordance with its immediate situation. Russia and England—the latter itself agitated, the former cowed—were not prepared. The republic, therefore, had no *national* enemy to face. Consequently, there were no great foreign complications which could fire the energies, hasten the revolutionary process, drive the Provisional Government forward or throw it overboard. The Paris proletariat, which looked upon the republic as its own creation, naturally acclaimed each act of the Provisional Government which facilitated the firm emplacement of the latter in bourgeois society. It willingly allowed itself to be

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[a] "A government that removes *this terrible misunderstanding which exists between the different classes.*" (From Lamartine's speech made in the Chamber of Deputies on February 24, 1848. Italics by Marx.)—*Ed.*

[b] In his copy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue* Engels changed the words *beständig zu erschrecken* (constantly taking fright) to *anständig zu erscheinen* (looking inoffensive).—*Ed.*

employed on police service by Caussidière in order to protect property in Paris, just as it allowed Louis Blanc to arbitrate wage disputes between workers and masters. It made it a *point d'honneur* to preserve the bourgeois honour of the republic unblemished in the eyes of Europe.

The republic encountered no resistance either abroad or at home. This disarmed it. Its task was no longer the revolutionary transformation of the world, but consisted only in adapting itself to the relations of bourgeois society. Concerning the fanaticism with which the Provisional Government undertook this task there is no more eloquent testimony than its *financial measures.*

*Public credit* and *private credit* were naturally shaken. *Public credit* rests on confidence that the state will allow itself to be exploited by the wolves of finance. But the old state had vanished and the revolution was directed above all against the finance aristocracy. The tremors of the last European commercial crisis had not yet ceased. Bankruptcy still followed bankruptcy.

*Private credit* was therefore paralysed, circulation restricted, production at a standstill before the February Revolution broke out. The revolutionary crisis increased the commercial crisis. And if private credit rests on confidence that bourgeois production in the entire scope of its relations, that the bourgeois order, will not be touched, will remain inviolate, what effect must a revolution have had which questioned the basis of bourgeois production, the economic slavery of the proletariat, which set up against the Bourse the sphinx of the Luxembourg? The raising up of the proletariat is the abolition of bourgeois credit; for it is the abolition of bourgeois production and its order. Public credit and private credit are the economic thermometer by which the intensity of a revolution can be measured. *The more they fall, the more the fervour and generative power of the revolution rises.*

The Provisional Government wanted to strip the republic of its anti-bourgeois appearance. And so it had, above all, to try to peg the *exchange value* of this new form of state, its *quotation* on the Bourse. Private credit necessarily rose again, together with the current Bourse quotation of the republic.

In order to allay the very *suspicion* that it would not or could not honour the obligations assumed by the monarchy, in order to build up confidence in the republic's bourgeois morality and capacity to pay, the Provisional Government took refuge in braggadocio as undignified as it was childish. *In advance* of the legal date of payment it paid out the interest on the 5 per cent, $4^1/_2$ per cent and 4 per cent bonds to the state creditors. The bourgeois aplomb, the self-

assurance of the capitalists, suddenly awoke when they saw the anxious haste with which it was sought to buy their confidence.

The financial embarrassment of the Provisional Government was naturally not lessened by a theatrical stroke which robbed it of its stock of ready cash. The financial pinch could no longer be concealed and *petty bourgeois, domestic servants and workers* had to pay for the pleasant surprise which had been prepared for the state creditors.

It was announced that no money could be drawn on *savings bank accounts* for amounts of over one hundred francs. The sums deposited in the savings banks were confiscated and by decree transformed into an irredeemable state debt. This embittered the already hard pressed *petty bourgeois* against the republic. Since he received state debt certificates in place of his savings bank books, he was forced to go to the Bourse in order to sell them and thus deliver himself directly into the hands of the Bourse jobbers, against whom he had made the February Revolution.

The finance aristocracy, which ruled under the July monarchy, had its high church in the *Bank.* Just as the Bourse governs state credit, the Bank governs *commercial credit.*

Directly threatened not only in its rule but in its very existence by the February Revolution, the Bank tried from the outset to discredit the republic by making the lack of credit general. It suddenly stopped the credits of the bankers, the manufacturers and the merchants. As it did not immediately call forth a counter-revolution, this manoeuvre necessarily reacted on the Bank itself. The capitalists drew out the money which they had deposited in the vaults of the Bank. The possessors of bank-notes rushed to the pay office in order to exchange them for gold and silver.

The Provisional Government could have forced the Bank into *bankruptcy* without forcible interference, in a legal manner; it would only have had to remain passive and leave the Bank to its fate. The *bankruptcy of the Bank* would have been the deluge which in a trice would have swept from French soil the finance aristocracy, the most powerful and dangerous enemy of the republic, the golden pedestal of the July monarchy. And once the Bank was bankrupt, the bourgeoisie itself would have had to regard it as a last desperate attempt at rescue, if the government had formed a national bank and subjected national credit to the control of the nation.

The Provisional Government, on the contrary, fixed a *compulsory quotation* for the notes of the Bank. It did more. It transformed all provincial banks into branches of the *Banque de France* and allowed it to cast its net over the whole of France. Later it pledged the *state*

*forests* to the Bank as a guarantee for a loan that it contracted from it. In this way the February Revolution directly strengthened and enlarged the bankocracy which it should have overthrown.

Meanwhile the Provisional Government was writhing under the incubus of a growing deficit. In vain it begged for patriotic sacrifices. Only the workers threw it their alms. Recourse had to be had to a heroic measure, to the imposition of a *new tax*. But who was to be taxed? The Bourse wolves, the bank kings, the state creditors, the *rentiers*, the industrialists? That was not the way to ingratiate the republic with the bourgeoisie. That would have meant, on the one hand, to endanger state credit and commercial credit, while, on the other, attempts were made to purchase them with such great sacrifices and humiliations. But someone had to fork out the cash. Who was sacrificed to bourgeois credit? *Jacques le bonhomme*, the *peasant*.

The Provisional Government imposed an additional tax of 45 centimes in the franc on the four direct taxes. The government press cajoled the Paris proletariat into believing that this tax would fall chiefly on the big landed proprietors, on the possessors of the milliard granted by the Restoration.[72] But in truth it hit the *peasant class* above all, that is, the large majority of the French people. *They had to pay the costs of the February Revolution*; in them the counter-revolution gained its main material. The 45 centimes tax was a question of life and death for the French peasant; he made it a life-and-death question for the republic. From that moment the *republic* meant to the French peasant the *45 centimes tax*, and he saw in the Paris proletariat the spendthrift who did himself well at his expense.

Whereas the Revolution of 1789 began by shaking the feudal burdens off the peasants, the Revolution of 1848 announced itself to the rural population by the imposition of a new tax, in order not to endanger capital and to keep its state machine going.

There was only *one* means by which the Provisional Government could set aside all these inconveniences and jerk the state out of its old rut—*a declaration of state bankruptcy*. Everyone recalls how Ledru-Rollin in the National Assembly subsequently proclaimed with what virtuous indignation he repudiated this presumptuous proposal of the Bourse wolf Fould,[a] now French Finance Minister. Fould had handed him the apple from the tree of knowledge.

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[a] From Ledru-Rollin's speech delivered in the Constituent Assembly on April 21, 1849.—*Ed.*

By honouring the bills drawn on the state by the old bourgeois society, the Provisional Government succumbed to the latter. It had become the hard pressed debtor of bourgeois society instead of confronting it as the pressing creditor that had to collect the revolutionary debts of many years. It had to consolidate the shaky bourgeois relationships in order to fulfil obligations which are only to be fulfilled within these relationships. Credit became a condition of life for it, and the concessions to the proletariat, the promises made to it, became so many *fetters* which *had* to be struck off. The emancipation of the workers—even as a *phrase*—became an unbearable danger to the new republic, for it was a standing protest against the restoration of credit, which rests on undisturbed and untroubled recognition of the existing economic class relations. Therefore, it was necessary *to have done with the workers.*

The February Revolution had cast the army out of Paris. The National Guard, that is, the bourgeoisie in its different gradations, constituted the sole power. Alone, however, it did not feel itself a match for the proletariat. Moreover, it was forced gradually and piecemeal to open its ranks and admit armed proletarians, albeit after the most tenacious resistance and after setting up a hundred different obstacles. There consequently remained but one way out: *to play off one part of the proletariat against the other.*

For this purpose the Provisional Government formed 24 battalions of *Mobile Guards,* each a thousand strong, composed of young men from 15 to 20 years.[73] They belonged for the most part to the *lumpenproletariat,* which in all big towns forms a mass sharply differentiated from the industrial proletariat, a recruiting ground for thieves and criminals of all kinds, living on the crumbs of society, people without a definite trade, vagabonds, *gens sans feu et sans aveu,* varying according to the degree of civilisation of the nation to which they belong, but never renouncing their *lazzaroni*[74] character; at the youthful age at which the Provisional Government recruited them, thoroughly malleable, as capable of the most heroic deeds and the most exalted sacrifices as of the basest banditry and the foulest corruption. The Provisional Government paid them 1 franc 50 centimes a day, that is, it bought them. It gave them their own uniform, that is, it made them outwardly distinct from the blouse-wearing workers. In part it had assigned them officers from the standing army as leaders; in part they themselves elected young sons of the bourgeoisie whose rodomontades about death for the fatherland and devotion to the republic captivated them.

And so the Paris proletariat was confronted with an army, drawn from its own midst, of 24,000 young, strong, foolhardy men. It gave

cheers for the Mobile Guard on its marches through Paris. It acknowledged it to be its foremost fighters on the barricades. It regarded it as the *proletarian* guard in contradistinction to the bourgeois National Guard. Its error was pardonable.

Besides the Mobile Guard, the government decided to rally round itself an army of industrial workers. A hundred thousand workers, thrown on the streets by the crisis and the revolution, were enrolled by the Minister Marie in so-called national *ateliers*. Under this grandiose name was hidden nothing else than the employment of the workers on tedious, monotonous, unproductive *earthworks* at a wage of 23 sous. *English workhouses*[75] *in the open*—that is what these national *ateliers* were. The Provisional Government believed that it had formed, in them, a *second proletarian army against the workers themselves*. This time the bourgeoisie was mistaken in the national *ateliers*, just as the workers were mistaken in the Mobile Guard. It had created an *army for mutiny*.

But *one* purpose was achieved.

*National ateliers* was the name of the people's workshops, which Louis Blanc preached in the Luxembourg palace. Marie's *ateliers*, devised in direct *antagonism* to the Luxembourg, offered occasion, thanks to the common label, for a plot of errors worthy of the Spanish comedy of servants. The Provisional Government itself surreptitiously spread the report that these national *ateliers* were the invention of Louis Blanc, and this seemed the more plausible because Louis Blanc, the prophet of the national *ateliers*, was a member of the Provisional Government. And in the half naive, half intentional confusion of the Paris bourgeoisie, in the artificially moulded opinion of France, of Europe, these workhouses were the first realisation of socialism, which was put in the pillory with them.

In their appellation, though not in their content, the *national ateliers* were the embodied protest of the proletariat against bourgeois industry, bourgeois credit and the bourgeois republic. The whole hate of the bourgeoisie was, therefore, turned upon them. It had found in them, simultaneously, the point against which it could direct the attack, as soon as it was strong enough to break openly with the February illusions. All the discontent, all the ill-humour of the *petty bourgeois* too was directed against these national *ateliers*, the common target. With real fury they reckoned up the sums that the proletarian loafers swallowed up, while their own situation was becoming daily more unbearable. A state pension for sham labour, so that's socialism! they grumbled to themselves. They sought the reason for their misery in the national *ateliers*, the declamations of the Luxembourg, the processions of the workers

through Paris. And no one was more fanatic about the alleged machinations of the Communists than the petty bourgeoisie, who hovered hopelessly on the brink of bankruptcy.

Thus in the imminent skirmish between bourgeoisie and proletariat, all the advantages, all the decisive posts, all the middle strata of society were in the hands of the bourgeoisie, at the same time as the waves of the February Revolution rose high over the whole Continent, and each new post brought a new bulletin of revolution, now from Italy, now from Germany, now from the remotest parts of South-Eastern Europe, and maintained the general ecstasy of the people, giving it constant testimony of a victory that it had already forfeited.

*March 17* and *April 16* were the first skirmishes in the big class struggle, which the bourgeois republic hid under its wings.

*March 17* revealed the ambiguous situation of the proletariat, which permitted of no decisive act. Its demonstration originally pursued the purpose of pushing the Provisional Government back onto the path of revolution, of effecting the exclusion of its bourgeois members, according to circumstances, and of compelling the postponement of the election days for the National Assembly and the National Guard.[76] But on March 16 the bourgeoisie represented in the National Guard staged a hostile demonstration against the Provisional Government. With the cry: *À bas Ledru-Rollin!*[a] it surged to the *Hôtel de Ville.* And the people were forced, on March 17, to shout: Long live Ledru-Rollin! Long live the Provisional Government! They were forced to take sides *against* the bourgeoisie in support of the bourgeois republic, which seemed to them to be in danger. They strengthened the Provisional Government, instead of subordinating it to themselves. March 17 went off in a melodramatic scene, and whereas the Paris proletariat on this day once more displayed its giant body, the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Provisional Government was all the more determined to smash it.

*April 16* was a *misunderstanding* engineered by the Provisional Government in alliance with the bourgeoisie. The workers had gathered in great numbers in the Field of Mars and in the Hippodrome to prepare their elections to the general staff of the National Guard. Suddenly throughout Paris, from one end to the other, a rumour spread as quick as lightning, to the effect, that the workers had met armed in the Field of Mars, under the leadership of Louis Blanc, Blanqui, Cabet and Raspail, in order to march thence on the *Hôtel de Ville,* overthrow the Provisional Government and

[a] Down with Ledru-Rollin!—*Ed.*

proclaim a communist government. The general alarm is sounded—Ledru-Rollin, Marrast and Lamartine later contended for the honour of having initiated this—and in an hour 100,000 men are under arms; the *Hôtel de Ville* is occupied at all points by the National Guard; the cry: Down with the Communists! Down with Louis Blanc, with Blanqui, with Raspail, with Cabet! thunders throughout Paris. Innumerable deputations pay homage to the Provisional Government, all ready to save the fatherland and society. When the workers finally appear before the *Hôtel de Ville*, in order to hand over to the Provisional Government a patriotic collection which they had made in the Field of Mars, they learn to their amazement that bourgeois Paris had defeated their shadow in a very carefully calculated sham battle. The terrible attempt of April 16 furnished the excuse *for recalling the army to Paris*—the real purpose of the clumsily staged comedy—and for the reactionary federalist demonstrations in the provinces.

On May 4 the *National Assembly*,[a] the result of the *direct general elections*, convened. Universal suffrage did not possess the magic power which republicans of the old school had ascribed to it. They saw in the whole of France, at least in the majority of Frenchmen, *citoyens* with the same interests, the same understanding, etc. This was their *cult of the people*. Instead of their *imaginary* people, the elections brought the *real* people to the light of day, that is, representatives of the different classes into which it falls. We have seen why peasants and petty bourgeois had to vote under the leadership of a bourgeoisie spoiling for a fight and of big landowners frantic for restoration. But if universal suffrage was not the miracle-working magic wand for which the republican worthies had taken it, it possessed the incomparably higher merit of unchaining the class struggle, of letting the various middle strata of bourgeois society rapidly get over their illusions and disappointments, of tossing all the sections of the exploiting class at one throw to the apex of the state, and thus tearing from them their deceptive mask, whereas the monarchy with its property qualifications only let certain factions of the bourgeoisie compromise themselves, allowing the others to lie hidden behind the scenes and surrounding them with the halo of a common opposition.

In the Constituent National Assembly, which met on May 4, the *bourgeois republicans*, the republicans of the *National*, had the upper hand. Even Legitimists and Orleanists[77] at first dared to show

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[a] Here and below (up to p. 94) the reference is to the Constituent National Assembly which was in office between May 4, 1848, and May 1849.—*Ed.*

themselves only under the mask of bourgeois republicanism. The fight against the proletariat could be undertaken only in the name of the republic.

*The republic dates from May 4, not from February 25,* that is, the republic recognised by the French people; it is not the republic which the Paris proletariat thrust upon the Provisional Government, not the republic with social institutions, not the vision which hovered before the fighters on the barricades. The republic proclaimed by the National Assembly, the sole legitimate republic, is a republic which is no revolutionary weapon against the bourgeois order, but rather its political reconstitution, the political reconsolidation of bourgeois society, in a word, *a bourgeois republic.* This contention resounded from the tribune of the National Assembly, and in the entire republican and anti-republican bourgeois press it found its echo.

And we have seen how the February republic in reality was not and could not be other than a *bourgeois* republic; how the Provisional Government, nevertheless, was forced by the immediate pressure of the proletariat to announce it as a *republic with social institutions*; how the Paris proletariat was still incapable of going beyond the bourgeois republic otherwise than in its *fancy*, in *imagination*; how everywhere it acted in its service when it really came to action; how the promises made to it became an unbearable danger for the new republic; how the whole life process of the Provisional Government was comprised in a continuous fight against the demands of the proletariat.

In the National Assembly all France sat in judgment upon the Paris proletariat. The Assembly broke immediately with the social illusions of the February Revolution; it roundly proclaimed the *bourgeois republic,* nothing but the bourgeois republic. It at once excluded the representatives of the proletariat, Louis Blanc and Albert, from the Executive Commission[78] appointed by it; it threw out the proposal for a special Labour Ministry, and received with acclamation the statement of the Minister Trélat: "Now it is only a matter of *leading labour back to its old conditions.*"[a]

But all this was not enough. The February republic was won by the workers with the passive support of the bourgeoisie. The proletarians rightly regarded themselves as the victors of February, and they made the arrogant claims of victors. They had to be vanquished

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[a] From Trélat's speech made in the Constituent Assembly on June 20, 1848. Marx is quoting his own article published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 29, June 29, 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 7, p. 148).— *Ed.*

in the streets, they had to be shown that they were worsted as soon as they did not fight *with* the bourgeoisie, but *against* the bourgeoisie. Just as the February republic, with its socialist concessions, required a battle of the proletariat, united with the bourgeoisie, against the monarchy, so a second battle was necessary in order to sever the republic from the socialist concessions, in order to officially work out the *bourgeois republic* as dominant. The bourgeoisie had to refute, arms in hand, the demands of the proletariat. And the real birthplace of the bourgeois republic is not the *February victory*; it is the *June defeat.*

The proletariat hastened the decision when, on the 15th of May, it pushed its way into the National Assembly, sought in vain to recapture its revolutionary influence and only delivered its energetic leaders to the jailers of the bourgeoisie.[79] *Il faut en finir!* This situation must end! With this cry the National Assembly gave vent to its determination to force the proletariat into a decisive struggle. The Executive Commission issued a series of provocative decrees, such as that prohibiting congregations of people,[80] etc. The workers were directly provoked, insulted and derided from the tribune of the Constituent National Assembly. But the real point of the attack was, as we have seen, the *national ateliers.* The Constituent Assembly imperiously pointed these out to the Executive Commission, which only waited to hear its own plan proclaimed the command of the National Assembly.

The Executive Commission began by making admission to the national *ateliers* more difficult, by turning the day wage into a piece wage, by banishing workers not born in Paris to Sologne, ostensibly for the construction of earthworks. These earthworks were only a rhetorical formula with which to embellish their exile, as the workers, returning disillusioned, announced to their comrades. Finally, on June 21, a decree appeared in the *Moniteur* which ordered the forcible expulsion of all unmarried workers from the national *ateliers* or their enrolment in the army.[81]

The workers were left no choice; they had to starve or take action. They answered on June 22 with the tremendous insurrection in which the first great battle was fought between the two classes that split modern society. It was a fight for the preservation or annihilation of the *bourgeois* order. The veil that shrouded the republic was torn asunder.

It is well known how the workers, with unexampled bravery and ingenuity, without leaders, without a common plan, without means and, for the most part, lacking weapons, held in check for five days the army, the Mobile Guard, the Paris National Guard, and the

National Guard that streamed in from the provinces. It is well known how the bourgeoisie compensated itself for the mortal anguish it suffered by unheard-of brutality, massacring over 3,000 prisoners.

The official representatives of French democracy were steeped in republican ideology to such an extent that it was only some weeks later that the significance of the June fight began to dawn on them. They were stupefied by the gunpowder smoke in which their fantastic republic dissolved.

The immediate impression which the news of the June defeat made on us, the reader will allow us to describe in the words of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*[a]:

"The Executive Committee, that last official vestige of the February revolution, vanished like a ghost in the face of these grave events. Lamartine's fireworks have turned into the incendiary rockets of Cavaignac. *Fraternité,* the brotherhood of antagonistic classes, one of which exploits the other, this *fraternité* which in February was proclaimed and inscribed in large letters on the façades of Paris, on every prison and every barracks—this *fraternité* found its true, unadulterated and prosaic expression in *civil war,* civil war in its most terrible aspect, the war of labour against capital. This brotherhood blazed in front of all the windows of Paris on the evening of June 25, when the Paris of the bourgeoisie held illuminations while the Paris of the proletariat was burning, bleeding, groaning in the throes of death. This brotherhood lasted only as long as there was a fraternity of interests between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

"Pedants sticking to the old revolutionary tradition of 1793; socialist doctrinaires who begged alms for the people from the bourgeoisie and who were allowed to deliver lengthy sermons and compromise themselves so long as the proletarian lion had to be lulled to sleep; republicans who wanted to keep the old bourgeois order *in toto,* but without the crowned head; members of the dynastic opposition on whom chance imposed the task of bringing about the downfall of a dynasty instead of a change of government; legitimists, who did not want to cast off their livery but merely to change its style—these were the allies with whom the people had fought their February revolution....

"The February revolution was the *nice* revolution, the revolution of universal sympathies, because the contradictions which erupted in it against the monarchy were still *undeveloped* and peacefully

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[a] Quoted from Marx's article "The June Revolution" (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 144-48).—*Ed.*

dormant, because the social struggle which formed their background had only achieved a nebulous existence, an existence in phrases, in words. The *June revolution* is the *ugly* revolution, the nasty revolution, because the phrases have given place to the real thing, because the republic has bared the head of the monster by knocking off the crown which shielded and concealed it.—*Order!* was Guizot's war-cry. *Order!* shouted Sébastiani, the Guizotist, when Warsaw became Russian. *Order!* shouts Cavaignac, the brutal echo of the French National Assembly and of the republican bourgeoisie. *Order!* thundered his grape-shot as it tore into the body of the proletariat. None of the numerous revolutions of the French bourgeoisie since 1789 assailed the existing *order*, for they retained the class rule, the slavery of the workers, the *bourgeois* order, even though the political form of this rule and this slavery changed frequently. The June uprising did assail this order. Woe to the June uprising!" (*N. Rh. Z.*, June 29, 1848.)

Woe to June! re-echoes Europe.

The Paris proletariat was *forced* into the June insurrection by the bourgeoisie. This sufficed to mark its doom. Its immediate, avowed needs did not drive it to engage in a fight for the forcible overthrow of the bourgeoisie, nor was it equal to this task. The *Moniteur* had to inform it officially that the time was past when the republic saw any occasion to bow and scrape to its illusions, and only its defeat convinced it of the truth that the slightest improvement in its position remains a *utopia within* the bourgeois republic, a utopia that becomes a crime as soon as it wants to become a reality. In place of its demands, exuberant in form, but petty and even bourgeois still in content, the concession of which it wanted to wring from the February republic, there appeared the bold slogan of revolutionary struggle: *Overthrow of the bourgeoisie! Dictatorship of the working class!*

By making its burial place the birthplace of the *bourgeois republic*, the proletariat compelled the latter to come out forthwith in its pure form as the state whose admitted object it is to perpetuate the rule of capital, the slavery of labour. Having constantly before its eyes the scarred, irreconcilable, invincible enemy—invincible because his existence is the condition of its own life—bourgeois rule, freed from all fetters, was bound to turn immediately into *bourgeois terrorism*. With the proletariat removed for the time being from the stage and bourgeois dictatorship recognised officially, the middle strata of bourgeois society, the petty bourgeoisie and the peasant class, had to adhere more and more closely to the proletariat as their position became more unbearable and their antagonism to the bourgeoisie

more acute. Just as earlier they had to find the cause of their distress in its upsurge, so now in its defeat.

If the June insurrection raised the self-assurance of the bourgeoisie all over the Continent, and caused it to league itself openly with the feudal monarchy against the people, who was the first victim of this alliance? The Continental bourgeoisie itself. The June defeat prevented it from consolidating its rule and from bringing the people, half satisfied and half out of humour, to a standstill at the lowest stage of the bourgeois revolution.

Finally, the defeat of June divulged to the despotic powers of Europe the secret that France must maintain peace abroad at any price in order to be able to wage civil war at home. Thus the peoples who had begun the fight for their national independence were abandoned to the superior power of Russia, Austria and Prussia, but, at the same time, the fate of these national revolutions was made subject to the fate of the proletarian revolution, and they were robbed of their apparent autonomy, their independence of the great social revolution. The Hungarian shall not be free, nor the Pole, nor the Italian, as long as the worker remains a slave!

Finally, with the victories of the Holy Alliance, Europe has taken on a form in which every fresh proletarian upheaval in France directly involves a *world war.* The new French revolution is forced to leave its national soil forthwith and *conquer the European terrain,* on which alone the social revolution of the nineteenth century can be accomplished.

Thus only the June defeat has created all the conditions under which France can seize the *initiative* of the European revolution. Only after being dipped in the blood of the *June insurgents* did the tricolour become the flag of the European revolution—the *red flag*!

And we exclaim: *The revolution is dead!—Long live the revolution!*

## II

## JUNE 13, 1849

February 25, 1848, had granted the *republic* to France, June 25 thrust the *revolution* upon her. And revolution, after June, meant: *overthrow of bourgeois society*, whereas before February it had meant: *overthrow of the form of government.*

The June fight had been led by the *republican* faction of the bourgeoisie; with victory political power necessarily fell to its share. The state of siege laid gagged Paris unresisting at its feet, and in the provinces there prevailed a moral state of siege, the threatening, brutal arrogance of victory of the bourgeoisie and the unleashed property fanaticism of the peasants. No danger, therefore, from *below*!

The collapse of the revolutionary might of the workers was also a collapse of the political influence of the *democratic republicans*, that is, of the republicans in the sense of the *petty bourgeoisie*, represented in the Executive Commission by Ledru-Rollin, in the Constituent National Assembly by the party of the *Montagne* and in the press by the *Réforme*.[82] Together with the bourgeois republicans they had conspired on April 16 against the proletariat, together with them they had warred against it in the June days. Thus they themselves blasted the background against which their party stood out as a power, for the petty bourgeoisie can preserve a revolutionary attitude toward the bourgeoisie only as long as it has the backing of the proletariat. They were dismissed. The sham alliance concluded with them reluctantly and secretly during the epoch of the Provisional Government and the Executive Commission was openly broken by the bourgeois republicans. Spurned and repulsed as allies, they sank down to subordinate

henchmen of the tricolour-men, from whom they could not wring any concessions, but whose domination they had to support whenever it, and with it the republic, seemed to be put in jeopardy by the anti-republican bourgeois factions. Lastly, these factions, the Orleanists and the Legitimists, were from the very beginning in a minority in the Constituent National Assembly. Before the June days, they dared to react only under the mask of bourgeois republicanism; the June victory made for a moment the whole of bourgeois France greet its saviour in Cavaignac, and when, shortly after the June days, the anti-republican party regained independence, the military dictatorship and the state of siege in Paris permitted it to put out its antennae only very timidly and cautiously.

Since 1830, the *bourgeois republican* faction, in the person of its writers, its spokesmen, its men of talent and ambition, its deputies, generals, bankers and lawyers, had grouped itself round a Parisian journal, the *National.* In the provinces this journal had its branch newspapers. The coterie of the *National* was the *dynasty of the tricolour republic.* It immediately took possession of all state dignities, of the ministries, the prefecture of police, the post-office directorship, the positions of prefect, the higher army officers' posts now become vacant. At the head of the executive power stood its general, *Cavaignac*; its editor-in-chief, Marrast, became permanent President of the Constituent National Assembly. As master of ceremonies he at the same time did the honours, in his salons, of the respectable republic.

Even revolutionary French writers, awed, as it were, by the republican tradition, have strengthened the mistaken belief that the royalists dominated the Constituent National Assembly. On the contrary, after the June days, the Constituent Assembly remained the *exclusive representative of bourgeois republicanism,* and it emphasised this aspect all the more resolutely, the more the influence of the tricolour republicans collapsed outside the Assembly. If the question was one of maintaining the *form* of the bourgeois republic, then the Assembly had the votes of the democratic republicans at its disposal; if one of maintaining the *content,* then even its mode of speech no longer separated it from the royalist bourgeois factions, for it is the interests of the bourgeoisie, the material conditions of its class rule and class exploitation, that form the content of the bourgeois republic.

Thus it was not royalism but bourgeois republicanism that was realised in the life and work of this Constituent Assembly, which in the end did not die, nor was killed, but decayed.

For the entire duration of its rule, as long as it gave its grand

performance of state on the proscenium,[83] an unbroken sacrificial feast was being staged in the background—the continual sentencing by courts-martial of the captured June insurgents or their deportation without trial. The Constituent Assembly had the tact to admit that in the June insurgents it was not judging criminals but wiping out enemies.

The first act of the Constituent National Assembly was the setting up of a *commission of enquiry* into the events of June and of May 15, and into the part played by the socialist and democratic party leaders during these days. The enquiry was directly aimed at Louis Blanc, Ledru-Rollin and Caussidière. The bourgeois republicans burned with impatience to rid themselves of these rivals. They could have entrusted the venting of their spleen to no more suitable subject than M. *Odilon Barrot*, the former chief of the dynastic opposition, the incarnation of liberalism, the *nullité grave*,[a] the thoroughly shallow person who not only had a dynasty to revenge, but even had to settle accounts with the revolutionists for thwarting his premiership. A sure guarantee of his relentlessness. This Barrot was, therefore, appointed chairman of the commission of enquiry, and he constructed a complete legal process against the February Revolution, which process may be summarised thus: March 17, *demonstration*; April 16, *conspiracy*; May 15, *attempt*; June 23, *civil war*! Why did he not stretch his erudite criminologist's researches as far back as February 24? The *Journal des Débats* answered[b]: February 24—that is the *foundation of Rome*. The origin of states gets lost in a myth, in which one may believe, but which one may not discuss. Louis Blanc and Caussidière were handed over to the courts. The National Assembly completed the work of purging itself which it had begun on May 15.

The plan formed by the Provisional Government, and again taken up by Goudchaux, of taxing capital—in the form of a mortgage tax—was rejected by the Constituent Assembly; the law that limited the working day to ten hours was repealed; imprisonment for debt was once more introduced; the large section of the French population that can neither read nor write was excluded from jury service. Why not from the franchise also? Journals again had to deposit caution money; the right of association was restricted.

But in their haste to give back to the old bourgeois relationships their old guarantees, and to wipe out every trace left behind by the

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[a] Self-important nonentity.—*Ed.*

[b] "France. Paris, 27 août", editorial article in the *Journal des Débats* for August 28, 1848.—*Ed.*

waves of the revolution, the bourgeois republicans encountered a resistance which threatened them with unexpected danger.

No one had fought more fanatically in the June days for the salvation of property and the restoration of credit than the Parisian petty bourgeois—keepers of cafés and restaurants, *marchands de vins,* small traders, shopkeepers, handicraftsmen, etc. The shopkeeper had pulled himself together and marched against the barricades in order to restore the traffic which leads from the road into the shop. But behind the barricade stood the customers and the debtors; before it the shop's creditors. And when the barricades were thrown down and the workers were crushed and the shopkeepers, drunk with victory, rushed back to their shops, they found the entrance barred by a saviour of property, an official agent of credit, who presented them with threatening notices: Overdue promissory note! Overdue house rent! Overdue bond! Doomed shop! Doomed shopkeeper!

*Salvation of property!* But the house in which they lived was not their property; the shop which they kept was not their property; the commodities in which they dealt were not their property. Neither their business, nor the plate from which they ate, nor the bed on which they slept belonged to them any longer. It was precisely from them that *this property had to be saved*—for the houseowner who let the house, for the banker who discounted the promissory note, for the capitalist who made the advances in cash, for the manufacturer who entrusted the sale of his commodities to these retailers, for the wholesale dealer who had credited the raw materials to these handicraftsmen. *Restoration of credit!* But credit, having regained strength, proved itself a vigorous and jealous god, for it turned out the debtor who could not pay out of his four walls, together with wife and child, surrendered his sham property to capital, and threw the man himself into the debtors' prison, which had once more reared its head threateningly over the corpses of the June insurgents.

The petty bourgeois saw with horror that by striking down the workers they had delivered themselves without resistance into the hands of their creditors. Their bankruptcy, which since February had been dragging on in chronic fashion and had been apparently ignored, was openly declared after June.

Their *nominal property* had been left unassailed as long as it was of consequence to drive them to the battlefield in *the name of property.* Now that the great issue with the proletariat had been settled, the small matter of the *épicier* could be settled as well. In Paris the mass of overdue paper amounted to over 21,000,000 francs; in the

provinces to over 11,000,000. The proprietors of more than 7,000 Paris firms had not paid their rent since February.

While the National Assembly had instituted an *enquête* into the *political guilt*, going right up to February, the petty bourgeois, on their part, now demanded an *enquête* into the *civil debts* up to February 24. They assembled *en masse* in the Bourse hall and threateningly demanded, on behalf of every businessman who could prove that his insolvency was due solely to the stagnation caused by the revolution and that his business had been in good condition on February 24, an extension of the term of payment by order of a commerce court and the compulsory liquidation of creditors' claims in consideration of a moderate percentage payment. As a legislative proposal, this question was dealt with in the National Assembly in the form of "*concordats à l'amiable*". The Assembly vacillated; then it suddenly learnt that, at the same time at the Porte St. Denis, thousands of wives and children of the insurgents had prepared an amnesty petition.

In the presence of the resurrected spectre of June, the petty bourgeoisie trembled and the Assembly retrieved its implacability. The *concordats à l'amiable*, the amicable settlement between debtor and creditor, was rejected in its most essential points.

Thus, long after the democratic representatives of the petty bourgeois had been repulsed within the National Assembly by the republican representatives of the bourgeoisie, this parliamentary breach received its bourgeois, its real economic meaning by the petty bourgeois as debtors being handed over to the bourgeois as creditors. A large part of the former were completely ruined and the remainder were allowed to continue their businesses only under conditions which made them absolute serfs of capital. On August 22, 1848, the National Assembly rejected the *concordats à l'amiable*; on September 19, 1848, in the midst of the state of siege, Prince Louis Bonaparte and the prisoner of Vincennes, the Communist Raspail, were elected representatives of Paris.[84] The bourgeoisie, however, elected the Jewish money-changer and Orleanist Fould. From all sides at once, therefore, open declaration of war against the Constituent National Assembly, against bourgeois republicanism, against Cavaignac.

It needs no argument to show how the mass bankruptcy of the Paris petty bourgeois was bound to produce after-effects far transcending the circle of its immediate victims, and to convulse bourgeois commerce once more, while the state deficit was swollen anew by the costs of the June insurrection, and state revenues sank continuously through the hold-up of production, the restricted

consumption and the decreasing imports. Cavaignac and the National Assembly could have recourse to no other expedient than a new loan, which forced them still further under the yoke of the finance aristocracy.

While the petty bourgeois had harvested bankruptcy and liquidation by order of court as the fruit of the June victory, Cavaignac's Janissaries, the *Mobile Guards*, found their reward in the soft arms of the courtesans, and as "the youthful saviours of society" they received all kinds of homage in the salons of Marrast, the *gentilhomme* of the tricolour, who at the same time served as the Amphitryon and the troubadour of the respectable republic. Meanwhile, this social favouritism and the disproportionately higher pay of the Mobile Guard embittered the *Army*, while at the same time all those national illusions vanished with which bourgeois republicanism, through its journal, the *National*, had been able to attach to itself a part of the army and peasant class under Louis Philippe. The role of mediator which Cavaignac and the National Assembly played in *North Italy* in order, together with England, to betray it to Austria—this one day of rule destroyed eighteen years of opposition on the part of the *National*. No government was less national than that of the *National*, none more dependent on England, and, under Louis Philippe, the *National* lived by paraphrasing daily Cato's dictum: *Carthaginem esse delendam*[a]; none was more servile towards the Holy Alliance, and from a Guizot the *National* had demanded the tearing up of the Treaties of Vienna.[85] The irony of history made Bastide, the ex-editor for foreign affairs of the *National*, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, so that he might refute every one of his articles in every one of his dispatches.

For a moment, the army and the peasant class had believed that, simultaneously with the military dictatorship, war abroad and "*gloire*" had been placed on the order of the day in France. But Cavaignac was not the dictatorship of the sabre over bourgeois society; he was the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the sabre. And of the soldier they now required only the gendarme. Under the stern features of antique-republican resignation Cavaignac concealed humdrum submission to the humiliating conditions of his bourgeois office. *L'argent n'a pas de maître!* Money has no master! He, as well as the Constituent Assembly in general, idealised this old election cry of the *tiers état* by translating it into political speech: The bourgeoisie has no king; the true form of its rule is the republic.

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[a] Carthage must be destroyed (an allusion to bellicose remarks made by the leaders of the *National* party in reference to England during the July monarchy).—*Ed.*

And the "great organic work" of the Constituent National Assembly consisted in working out this *form*, in producing a republican *constitution*. The re-christening of the Christian calendar as a republican one, of the saintly Bartholomew as the saintly Robespierre, made no more change in the wind and weather than this constitution made or was supposed to make in bourgeois society. Where it went beyond a *change of costume*, it put on record the *existing* facts. Thus it solemnly registered the fact of the republic, the fact of universal suffrage, the fact of a single sovereign National Assembly in place of two limited constitutional chambers. Thus it registered and settled the fact of the dictatorship of Cavaignac by replacing the stationary, non-responsible, hereditary monarchy with an ambulatory, responsible, elective monarchy, with a quadrennial presidency. Thus it elevated no less to an organic law the fact of the extraordinary powers with which the National Assembly, after the horrors of May 15 and June 25, had providently invested its President in the interest of its own security. The remainder of the constitution was a work of terminology. The royalist labels were torn off the mechanism of the old monarchy and republican labels stuck on. Marrast, former editor-in-chief of the *National*, now editor-in-chief of the constitution, acquitted himself of this academic task not without talent.

The Constituent Assembly resembled that Chilean official who wanted to regulate property relations in land more firmly by a cadastral survey just at the moment when subterranean rumblings already announced the volcanic eruption that was to pull away the ground from under his very feet. While in theory it demarcated the forms in which the rule of the bourgeoisie found republican expression, in reality it held its own only by the abolition of all formulas, by force *sans phrase*, by the *state of siege*. Two days before it began its work on the constitution, it proclaimed a prolongation of the state of siege. Formerly, constitutions had been made and adopted as soon as the process of social revolution had reached a point of rest, the newly formed class relationships had established themselves and the contending factions of the ruling class had had recourse to a compromise which allowed them to continue the struggle among themselves and at the same time to keep the exhausted masses of the people out of it. This constitution, on the contrary, did not sanction any social revolution; it sanctioned the momentary victory of the old society over the revolution.

The first draft of the constitution,[86] made before the June days, still contained the *"droit au travail"*, the right to work, the first clumsy formula wherein the revolutionary demands of the proletariat are

summarised. It was transformed into the *droit à l'assistance*, the right to public relief, and what modern state does not feed its paupers in some way or other? The right to work is, in the bourgeois sense, an absurdity, a miserable, pious wish. But behind the right to work stands the power over capital; behind the power over capital, the appropriation of the means of production, their subjection to the associated working class and, therefore, the abolition of wage labour, of capital and of their mutual relations. Behind the *"right to work"* stood the June insurrection. The Constituent Assembly, which in fact put the revolutionary proletariat *hors la loi*, outside the law, had on principle to throw the *proletariat's* formula out of the constitution, the law of laws, had to pronounce its anathema upon the "right to work". But it did not stop there. As Plato banned the poets from his republic,[a] so it banished for ever from its republic— *the progressive tax.* And the progressive tax is not only a bourgeois measure, which can be carried out within the existing relations of production to a greater or less degree; it was the only means of binding the middle strata of bourgeois society to the "respectable" republic, of reducing the state debt, of holding the anti-republican majority of the bourgeoisie in check.

In the matter of the *concordats à l'amiable*, the tricolour republicans had actually sacrificed the petty bourgeoisie to the big bourgeoisie. They elevated this isolated fact to a principle by the legal prohibition of a progressive tax. They put bourgeois reform on the same level as proletarian revolution. But what class then remained as the mainstay of their republic? The big bourgeoisie. And its mass was anti-republican. While it exploited the republicans of the *National* in order to consolidate once again the old economic conditions, it thought, on the other hand, of exploiting the once more consolidated social relations in order to restore the political forms that corresponded to them. Already at the beginning of October, Cavaignac felt compelled to make Dufaure and Vivien, previously ministers of Louis Philippe, ministers of the republic, however much the brainless puritans of his own party growled and blustered.

While the tricolour constitution rejected every compromise with the petty bourgeoisie and was unable to win the attachment of any new social element to the new form of government, it hastened, on the other hand, to restore its traditional inviolability to a body that constituted the most hard-bitten and fanatical defender of the old state. It raised the *irremovability of judges*, which had been questioned

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[a] Plato, *Politica*, X, Book 8.— *Ed.*

by the Provisional Government, to an organic law. The *one* king whom it had removed rose again, by the score, in these irremovable inquisitors of legality.

The French press has analysed from numerous aspects the contradictions of M. Marrast's constitution; for example, the coexistence of two sovereigns, the National Assembly and the President, etc., etc.

The fundamental contradiction of this constitution, however, consists in the following: The classes whose social slavery the constitution is to perpetuate, proletariat, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, it puts in possession of political power through universal suffrage. And from the class whose old social power it sanctions, the bourgeoisie, it withdraws the political guarantees of this power. It forces the political rule of the bourgeoisie into democratic conditions, which at every moment help the hostile classes to victory and jeopardise the very foundations of bourgeois society. From the ones it demands that they should not go forward from political to social emancipation; from the others that they should not go back from social to political restoration.

These contradictions perturbed the bourgeois republicans little. To the extent that they ceased to be *indispensable*—and they were indispensable only as the protagonists of the old society against the revolutionary proletariat—they fell, a few weeks after their victory, from the position of a *party* to that of a *coterie*. And they treated the constitution as a big *intrigue*. What was to be constituted in it was, above all, the rule of the coterie. The President was to be a protracted Cavaignac; the Legislative Assembly a protracted Constituent Assembly. They hoped to reduce the political power of the masses of the people to a semblance of power, and to be able to make sufficient play with this sham power itself to keep continually hanging over the majority of the bourgeoisie the dilemma of the June days: *realm of the "National"* or *realm of anarchy*.

The work on the constitution, which was begun on September 4, was finished on October 23. On September 2 the Constituent Assembly had decided not to dissolve until the organic laws supplementing the constitution were enacted. Nonetheless, it now decided to bring to life the creation that was most peculiarly its own, the President, already on December 10, long before the circle of its own activity was closed. So sure was it of hailing, in the *homunculus* of the constitution, the son of his mother. As a precaution it was provided that if none of the candidates received two million votes, the election should pass over from the nation to the Constituent Assembly.

Futile provisions! The first day of the realisation of the constitution was the last day of the rule of the Constituent Assembly. In the abyss of the ballot box lay its sentence of death. It sought the "son of his mother" and found the "nephew of his uncle". Saul Cavaignac slew *one* million votes, but David Napoleon slew *six* million. Saul Cavaignac was beaten six times over.

December 10, 1848, was the day of the *peasant insurrection.* Only from this day does the February of the French peasants date. The symbol that expressed their entry into the revolutionary movement, clumsily cunning, knavishly naive, doltishly sublime, a calculated superstition, a pathetic burlesque, a cleverly stupid anachronism, a world-historic piece of buffoonery and an undecipherable hieroglyphic for the understanding of the civilised—this symbol bore the unmistakable physiognomy of the class that represents barbarism within civilisation. The republic had announced itself to this class with the *tax-collector*; it announced itself to the republic with the *Emperor.* Napoleon was the only man who had exhaustively represented the interests and the imagination of the peasant class, newly created in 1789. By writing his name on the frontispiece of the republic, it declared war abroad and the enforcing of its class interests at home. Napoleon was to the peasants not a person but a programme. With banners, with beat of drums and blare of trumpets, they marched to the polling booths shouting: *plus d'impôts, à bas les riches, à bas la république, vive l'Empereur!* No more taxes, down with the rich, down with the republic, long live the Emperor! Behind the Emperor was hidden the peasant war. The republic that they voted down was the *republic of the rich.*

December 10 was the *coup d'état* of the peasants, which overthrew the existing government. And from that day on, when they had taken a government from France and given a government to her, their eyes were fixed steadily on Paris. For a moment active heroes of the revolutionary drama, they could no longer be forced back into the inactive and spineless role of the chorus.

The other classes helped to complete the election victory of the peasants. To the *proletariat,* the election of Napoleon meant the deposition of Cavaignac, the overthrow of the Constituent Assembly, the dismissal of bourgeois republicanism, the cassation of the June victory. To the *petty bourgeoisie,* Napoleon meant the rule of the debtor over the creditor. For the majority of the *big bourgeoisie,* the election of Napoleon meant an open breach with the faction of which it had had to make use, for a moment, against the revolution, but which became intolerable to it as soon as this faction sought to consolidate the position of the moment into a constitutional position.

Napoleon in place of Cavaignac meant to this majority the monarchy in place of the republic, the beginning of the royalist restoration, a shy hint at Orleans, the lily hidden beneath the violets.[87] Lastly, the *army* voted for Napoleon against the Mobile Guard, against the peace idyll, for war.

Thus it happened, as the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* stated, that the most simple-minded man in France acquired the most multiplex significance.[a] Just because he was nothing, he could signify everything save himself. Meanwhile, different as the meaning of the name Napoleon might be in the mouths of the different classes, with this name each class wrote on its ballot: Down with the party of the *National*, down with Cavaignac, down with the Constituent Assembly, down with the bourgeois republic. Minister Dufaure publicly declared in the Constituent Assembly: December 10 is a second February 24.

Petty bourgeoisie and proletariat had voted *en bloc for* Napoleon, in order to vote *against* Cavaignac and, by pooling their votes, to wrest the final decision from the Constituent Assembly. The more advanced sections of the two classes, however, put forward their own candidates. Napoleon was the *collective name* of all parties in coalition against the bourgeois republic; *Ledru-Rollin* and *Raspail* were the *proper names*, the former of the democratic petty bourgeoisie, the latter of the revolutionary proletariat. The votes for Raspail—the proletarians and their socialist spokesmen declared it loudly—were to be merely a demonstration, so many protests against any presidency, that is, against the constitution itself, so many votes against Ledru-Rollin, the first act by which the proletariat, as an independent political party, declared its separation from the democratic party. This party, on the other hand—the democratic petty bourgeoisie and its parliamentary representative, the *Montagne*—treated the candidature of Ledru-Rollin with all the seriousness with which it is in the habit of solemnly duping itself. For the rest, this was its last attempt to set itself up as an independent party, as against the proletariat. Not only the republican bourgeois party, but also the democratic petty bourgeoisie and its *Montagne* were beaten on December 10.

France now possessed a *Napoleon* side by side with a *Montagne*, proof that both were only the lifeless caricatures of the great realities

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[a] In the original a pun: *einfältig* (simple-minded) and *vielfältig* (multiplex). Reference to the report from Paris dated December 18. It was published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 174, December 21, 1848, and marked with Ferdinand Wolff's correspondent's sign; some of the facts quoted below are taken from this report.—*Ed.*

whose names they bore. Louis Napoleon, with the emperor's hat and the eagle, parodied the old Napoleon no more miserably than the *Montagne,* with its phrases borrowed from 1793 and its demagogic poses, parodied the old *Montagne.* Thus the traditional 1793 superstition was stripped off at the same time as the traditional Napoleon superstition. The revolution had come into its own only when it had won its *own,* its *original* name, and it could do that only when the modern revolutionary class, the industrial proletariat, came dominatingly into its foreground. One can say that December 10 dumbfounded the *Montagne* and caused it to grow confused in its own mind, if for no other reason than because that day laughingly cut short with a contemptuous peasant jest the classical analogy to the old revolution.

On December 20, Cavaignac laid down his office and the Constituent Assembly proclaimed Louis Napoleon President of the Republic. On December 19, the last day of its sole rule, it rejected the proposal of amnesty for the June insurgents. Would revoking the decree of June 27, under which it had condemned 15,000 insurgents to deportation without judicial sentence, not have meant revoking the June battle itself?

Odilon Barrot, the last minister of Louis Philippe, became the first minister of Louis Napoleon. Just as Louis Napoleon dated his rule, not from December 10, but from a decree of the Senate of 1804, so he found a prime minister who did not date his ministry from December 20, but from a royal decree of February 24.[88] As the legitimate heir of Louis Philippe, Louis Napoleon moderated the change of government by retaining the old ministry, which, moreover, had not had time to wear itself out, since it had not found time to embark upon life.

The leaders of the royalist bourgeois factions advised him in this choice. The head of the old dynastic opposition, who had unconsciously effected the transition to the republicans of the *National,* was still more fitted to effect with full consciousness the transition from the bourgeois republic to the monarchy.

Odilon Barrot was the leader of the one old opposition party which, always fruitlessly struggling for the ministerial portfolio, was not yet used up. In rapid succession the revolution hurled all the old opposition parties to the top of the state, so that they would have to deny, to repudiate their old phrases not only in deeds but even in words, and might finally be flung all together, combined in a repulsive commixture, on the dung heap of history by the people. And no apostasy was spared this Barrot, this incarnation of bourgeois liberalism, who for eighteen years had hidden the rascally

vacuity of his mind behind the serious demeanour of his body.[a] If, at certain moments, the far too striking contrast between the thistles of the present and the laurels of the past startled the man himself, one glance in the mirror gave him back his ministerial composure and human self-admiration. What beamed at him from the mirror was Guizot, whom he had always envied, who had always mastered him, Guizot himself, but Guizot with the Olympian forehead of Odilon. What he overlooked were the ears of Midas.

The Barrot of February 24 first became manifest in the Barrot of December 20. Associated with him, the Orleanist and Voltairian, was the Legitimist and Jesuit Falloux, as Minister of Religious Affairs.

A few days later, the Ministry of the Interior was given to Léon Faucher, the Malthusian. Law, religion and political economy! The ministry of Barrot contained all this and, in addition, a combination of Legitimists and Orleanists. Only the Bonapartist was lacking. Bonaparte still hid his longing to signify Napoleon, for *Soulouque* did not yet play Toussaint-Louverture.

The party of the *National* was immediately relieved of all the higher posts, where it had entrenched itself. The Prefecture of Police, the office of the Director of the Post, the office of the Procurator-General, the *Mairie* of Paris, were all filled with old creatures of the monarchy. Changarnier, the Legitimist, received the unified supreme command of the National Guard of the Department of the Seine, of the Mobile Guard and the troops of the line of the first military division; Bugeaud, the Orleanist, was appointed commander-in-chief of the Alpine army. This change of officials continued uninterruptedly under the Barrot government. The first act of his ministry was the restoration of the old royalist administration. The official scene was transformed in a trice—scenery, costumes, speech, actors, supers, mutes, prompters, the position of the parties, the theme of the drama, the content of the conflict, the whole situation. Only the premundane Constituent Assembly still remained in its place. But from the hour when the National Assembly had installed Bonaparte, Bonaparte Barrot and Barrot Changarnier, France stepped out of the period of the republican constitution into the period of the constituted republic. And what place was there for a Constituent Assembly in a constituted republic? After the earth had been created, there was nothing else for its creator to do but to flee to heaven. The Constituent Assembly was

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[a] A paraphrase from L. Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, Vol. 1, Ch. 11 ("A mysterious carriage of the body to cover the defects of the mind").—*Ed.*

determined not to follow his example; the National Assembly was the last asylum of the party of the bourgeois republicans. If all levers of executive power had been wrested from it, was there not left to it constituent omnipotence? Its first thought was to hold under all circumstances the position of sovereignty that it occupied, and thence to reconquer the lost ground. Once the Barrot ministry was displaced by a ministry of the *National*, the royalist personnel would have to vacate the palaces of the administration forthwith and the tricolour personnel would move in again triumphantly. The National Assembly resolved on the overthrow of the ministry and the ministry itself offered an opportunity for the attack, than which the Constituent Assembly could not have invented a better.

It will be remembered that for the peasants Louis Bonaparte signified: No more taxes! Six days he sat in the President's chair, and on the seventh, on December 27, his ministry proposed the *retention of the salt tax*, the abolition of which the Provisional Government had decreed. The salt tax shares with the wine tax the privilege of being the scapegoat of the old French financial system, particularly in the eyes of the countryfolk. The Barrot ministry could not have put into the mouth of the choice of the peasants a more mordant epigram on his electors than the words: *Restoration of the salt tax!* With the salt tax, Bonaparte lost his revolutionary salt—the Napoleon of the peasant insurrection dissolved like an apparition, and nothing remained but the great unknown of royalist bourgeois intrigue. And not without intention did the Barrot ministry make this act of tactlessly rude disillusionment the first governmental act of the President.

The Constituent Assembly, on its part, seized eagerly on the double opportunity of overthrowing the ministry, and, as against the elect of the peasantry, of setting itself up as the representative of peasant interests. It rejected the proposal of the Finance Minister, reduced the salt tax to a third of its former amount, thus increasing by sixty millions a state deficit of five hundred and sixty millions, and, after this *vote of no confidence*, calmly awaited the resignation of the ministry. So little did it comprehend the new world that surrounded it and its own changed position. Behind the ministry stood the President and behind the President stood six millions, who had placed in the ballot box as many votes of no confidence in the Constituent Assembly. The Constituent Assembly gave the nation back its no confidence vote. Absurd exchange! It forgot that its votes were no longer legal tender. The rejection of the salt tax only matured the decision of Bonaparte and his ministry *"to end"* the Constituent Assembly. There began that long duel which lasted the

entire latter half of the life of the Constituent Assembly. *January 29*, March 21 and May 8 are the *journées*, the great days of this crisis, just so many forerunners of *June 13*.

Frenchmen, for example Louis Blanc, have construed January 29 as the date of the emergence of a constitutional contradiction, the contradiction between a sovereign, indissoluble National Assembly born of universal suffrage, and a President who, to go by the wording, was responsible to the Assembly, but who, to go by reality, was not only similarly sanctioned by universal suffrage and, in addition, united in his own person all the votes that were split up a hundred times and distributed among the individual members of the National Assembly, but who was also in full possession of the whole executive power, above which the National Assembly hovered as a merely moral force. This interpretation of January 29 confuses the language of the struggle on the platform, through the press and in the clubs with its real content. Louis Bonaparte as against the Constituent National Assembly—that was not one unilateral constitutional power as against another; that was not the executive power as against the legislative; that was the constituted bourgeois republic itself as against the instruments of its constitution, as against the ambitious intrigues and ideological demands of the revolutionary faction of the bourgeoisie that had founded it and was now amazed to find that its constituted republic looked like a restored monarchy, and now desired forcibly to prolong the constituent period with its conditions, its illusions, its language and its personages and to prevent the mature bourgeois republic from emerging in its complete and peculiar form. As the Constituent National Assembly represented Cavaignac, who had fallen back into its midst, so Bonaparte represented the Legislative National Assembly that had not yet been divorced from him, that is, the National Assembly of the constituted bourgeois republic.

The election of Bonaparte could only be understood by putting in the place of the *one* name its manifold meanings, by repeating itself in the election of the new National Assembly. The mandate of the old was annulled by December 10. Thus on January 29, it was not the President and the National Assembly of the *same* republic that were face to face; it was the National Assembly of the republic that was coming into being and the President of the republic that had come into being, two powers that embodied quite different periods in the life process of the republic; the one, the small republican faction of the bourgeoisie that alone could proclaim the republic, wrest it from the revolutionary proletariat by street fighting and a reign of terror, and draft its ideal basic features in the

constitution; and the other, the whole royalist mass of the bourgeoisie that alone could rule in this constituted bourgeois republic, strip the constitution of its ideological trimmings, and realise by its legislation and administration the indispensable conditions for the subjugation of the proletariat.

The storm which broke on January 29 gathered its elements during the whole month of January. The Constituent Assembly wanted to drive the Barrot ministry to resign by its no confidence vote. The Barrot ministry, on the other hand, proposed to the Constituent Assembly that it should give itself a definitive no confidence vote, decide on suicide and decree its *own dissolution.* On January 6 Rateau, one of the most obscure deputies, brought this motion at the order of the ministry before the Constituent Assembly, the same Constituent Assembly that already in August had resolved not to dissolve until a whole series of organic laws supplementing the constitution had been enacted by it. Fould, the ministerialist, bluntly declared to it that its dissolution was necessary *"for the restoration of the deranged credit".*[a] And did it not derange credit when it prolonged the provisional stage and, with Barrot, again called Bonaparte in question, and, with Bonaparte, the constituted republic? Barrot the Olympian became a rampaging Roland on the prospect of seeing the finally pocketed premiership, which the republicans had already withheld from him once for a decennium, that is, for ten months, again torn from him after scarcely two weeks' enjoyment of it—Barrot, confronting this wretched Assembly, out-tyrannised the tyrant. His mildest words were "no future is possible with it". And actually it did only represent the past. "It is incapable," he added ironically, "of providing the republic with the institutions which are necessary for its consolidation."[b] Incapable indeed! Its bourgeois energy was broken simultaneously with its exceptional antagonism to the proletariat, and with its antagonism to the royalists its republican exuberance lived anew. Thus it was doubly incapable of consolidating the bourgeois republic, which it no longer comprehended, by means of the corresponding institutions.

Simultaneously with Rateau's motion the ministry evoked a *storm of petitions* throughout the land, and from all corners of France came flying daily at the head of the Constituent Assembly bundles of *billets*

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[a] Presumably Marx made use of the report from Paris published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 191, January 10, 1849, and marked with Ferdinand Wolff's correspondent's sign.—*Ed.*

[b] A summary of Barrot's speech made in the Constituent Assembly on January 12, 1849.—*Ed.*

*doux*[a] in which it was more or less categorically requested to *dissolve* and make its will. The Constituent Assembly, on its side, called forth counter-petitions, in which it caused itself to be requested to remain alive. The election struggle between Bonaparte and Cavaignac was renewed as a petition struggle for and against the dissolution of the National Assembly. The petitions were to be belated commentaries on December 10. This agitation continued during the whole of January.

In the conflict between the Constituent Assembly and the President, the former could not refer back to the general election as its origin, for the appeal was from the Assembly to universal suffrage. It could base itself on no regularly constituted power, for the issue was the struggle against the legal power. It could not overthrow the ministry by no confidence votes, as it again essayed to do on January 6 and 26, for the ministry did not ask for its confidence. Only *one* possibility was left to it, that of *insurrection.* The fighting forces of the insurrection were the *republican part of the National Guard,* the *Mobile Guard* and the centres of the revolutionary proletariat, the *clubs.* The Mobile Guard, those heroes of the June days, in December formed the organised fighting force of the republican faction of the bourgeoisie, just as before June the *national ateliers* had formed the organised fighting force of the revolutionary proletariat. As the Executive Commission of the Constituent Assembly directed its brutal attack on the national *ateliers,* when it had to put an end to the claims, become unbearable, of the proletariat, so the ministry of Bonaparte directed its attack on the Mobile Guard, when it had to put an end to the claims, become unbearable, of the republican faction of the bourgeoisie. It ordered the *disbandment of the Mobile Guard.* One half of it was dismissed and thrown on the street, the other was organised on monarchist instead of democratic lines, and its pay was reduced to the usual pay of troops of the line. The Mobile Guard found itself in the position of the June insurgents and every day the press carried *public confessions* in which it admitted its blame for June and implored the proletariat to forgive it.

And the *clubs*? From the moment when the Constituent Assembly in the person of Barrot called in question the President, and in the person of the President the constituted bourgeois republic, and in the person of the constituted bourgeois republic the bourgeois republic in general, all the constituent elements of the February

[a] Love-letters.— *Ed.*

republic necessarily ranged themselves around it—all the parties that wished to overthrow the existing republic and by a violent retrograde process to transform it into a republic of their class interests and principles. The scrambled eggs were unscrambled, the crystallisations of the revolutionary movement had again become fluid, the republic that was being fought for was again the indefinite republic of the February days, the defining of which each party reserved to itself. For a moment the parties again took up their old February positions, without sharing the illusions of February. The tricolour republicans of the *National* again leant on the democratic republicans of the *Réforme* and pushed them as protagonists into the foreground of the parliamentary struggle. The democratic republicans again leant on the socialist republicans—on January 27 a public manifesto[a] announced their reconciliation and union—and prepared their insurrectional background in the clubs. The ministerial press rightly treated the tricolour republicans of the *National* as the resurrected insurgents of June. In order to maintain themselves at the head of the bourgeois republic, they called in question the bourgeois republic itself. On January 26 Minister Faucher proposed a law on the right of association,[89] the first paragraph of which read: *"Clubs are forbidden."* He moved that this bill should immediately be discussed as urgent. The Constituent Assembly rejected the motion of urgency, and on January 27 Ledru-Rollin put forward a proposition, with 230 signatures appended to it, to impeach the ministry for violation of the constitution. The impeachment of the ministry at times when such an act was a tactless disclosure of the impotence of the judge, to wit, the majority of the Chamber, or an impotent protest of the accuser against this majority itself—that was the great revolutionary trump that the latter-day *Montagne* played from now on at each high point of the crisis. Poor *Montagne*, crushed by the weight of its own name!

On May 15, Blanqui, Barbès, Raspail, etc., had attempted to break up the Constituent Assembly by forcing an entrance into its hall of session at the head of the Paris proletariat. Barrot prepared a moral May 15 for the same Assembly when he wanted to dictate its self-dissolution and close the hall. The same Assembly had commissioned Barrot to make the *enquête* against the May accused, and now, at the moment when he appeared before it as a royalist Blanqui, when it sought for allies against him in the clubs, among the

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[a] "Aux électeurs républicains démocrates socialistes" (*La Réforme* No. 27, January 28, 1849). The manifesto was reprinted in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 209, January 31, 1849.—*Ed.*

revolutionary proletarians, in the party of Blanqui—at this moment the relentless Barrot tormented it with the proposal to withdraw the May prisoners from the Court of Assizes with its jury and hand them over to the High Court, to the *haute cour* devised by the party of the *National*.[a] Remarkable how panic fear for a ministerial portfolio could pound out of the head of a Barrot points worthy of a Beaumarchais! After much vacillation the National Assembly accepted his proposal. As against the makers of the May attempt, it reverted to its normal character.

If the Constituent Assembly, as against the President and the ministers, was driven to *insurrection*, the President and the ministers, as against the Constituent Assembly, were driven to a *coup d'état* for they had no legal means of dissolving it. But the Constituent Assembly was the mother of the constitution and the constitution was the mother of the President. With the *coup d'état* the President tore up the constitution and extinguished his republican legal title. He was then forced to pull out his imperial legal title, but the imperial legal title woke up the Orleanist legal title and both paled before the Legitimist legal title. The downfall of the legal republic could shoot to the top only its extreme antipode, the Legitimist monarchy, at a moment when the Orleanist party was still only the vanquished of February and Bonaparte was still only the victor of December 10, when both could oppose to republican usurpation only their likewise usurped monarchist titles. The Legitimists were aware of the propitiousness of the moment; they conspired openly. They could hope to find their *Monk*[90] in General Changarnier. The imminence of the *White monarchy* was as openly announced in their clubs as was that of the *Red republic* in the proletarian clubs.

The ministry would have escaped all difficulties by a happily suppressed rising. "Legality is the death of us," cried Odilon Barrot.[b] A rising would have allowed it, under the pretext of the *salut public*,[c] to dissolve the Constituent Assembly, to violate the constitution in the interests of the constitution itself. The brutal behaviour of Odilon Barrot in the National Assembly, the motion for the dissolution of the clubs, the tumultuous removal of 50 tricolour prefects and their replacement by royalists, the dissolution of the Mobile Guard, the ill-treatment of their chiefs by Changarnier, the

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[a] An allusion to Barrot's speech made in the Constituent Assembly on January 17, 1849.— *Ed.*

[b] Here Barrot quoted an expression used by the Right-wing deputy Viennet in his speech in the Chamber of Deputies on March 23, 1833.— *Ed.*

[c] Public welfare.— *Ed.*

reinstatement of Lerminier, the professor who was impossible even under Guizot, the toleration of the Legitimist braggadocio—all these were just so many provocations to mutiny. But the mutiny remained mute. It expected its signal from the Constituent Assembly and not from the ministry.

Finally came January 29, the day on which the decision was to be taken on the motion of Mathieu (de la Drôme) for unconditional rejection of Rateau's motion. Legitimists, Orleanists, Bonapartists, Mobile Guard, *Montagne*, clubs—all conspired on this day, each just as much against the ostensible enemy as against the ostensible ally. Bonaparte, mounted on horseback, mustered a part of the troops on the *Place de la Concorde*; Changarnier play-acted with a display of strategic manoeuvres; the Constituent Assembly found its building occupied by the military. This Assembly, the centre of all the conflicting hopes, fears, expectations, ferments, tensions and conspiracies, this lion-hearted Assembly did not falter for a moment when it came nearer to the world spirit [*Weltgeist*] than ever. It was like that fighter who not only feared to make use of his own weapons, but also felt himself obliged to maintain the weapons of his opponent unimpaired. Scorning death, it signed its own death warrant, and rejected the unconditional rejection of the Rateau motion. Itself in a state of siege, it set limits to a constituent activity whose necessary frame had been the state of siege of Paris. It revenged itself worthily when, on the following day, it instituted an enquiry into the fright that the ministry had given it on January 29. The *Montagne* showed its lack of revolutionary energy and political understanding by allowing itself to be used by the party of the *National* in this great comedy of intrigues as the crier in the contest. The party of the *National* had made its last attempt to continue to maintain, in the constituted republic, the monopoly of rule that it had possessed during the inchoate period of the bourgeois republic. It was shipwrecked.

While in the January crisis it was a question of the existence of the Constituent Assembly, in the crisis of March 21 it was a question of the existence of the constitution—there of the personnel of the *National* party, here of its ideal. There is no need to point out that the respectable republicans surrendered the exaltation of their ideology more cheaply than the worldly enjoyment of governmental power.

On March 21 Faucher's bill against the right of association, *the suppression of the clubs*, was on the order of the day in the National Assembly. Article 8 of the constitution guarantees to all Frenchmen the right to associate. The ban on the clubs was, therefore, an une-

quivocal violation of the constitution, and the Constituent Assembly itself was to canonise the profanation of its holy places. But the clubs—these were the gathering points, the conspiratorial seats of the revolutionary proletariat. The National Assembly had itself forbidden the coalition of the workers against the bourgeois. And the clubs—what were they but a coalition of the whole working class against the whole bourgeois class, the formation of a workers' state against the bourgeois state? Were they not just so many constituent assemblies of the proletariat and just so many military detachments of revolt in fighting trim? What the constitution was to constitute above all else was the rule of the bourgeoisie. By the right of association the constitution, therefore, could manifestly mean only associations that harmonised with the rule of the bourgeoisie, that is, with bourgeois order. If, for reasons of theoretical propriety, it expressed itself in general terms, was not the government and the National Assembly there to interpret and apply it in a special case? And if in the primeval epoch of the republic, the clubs actually were forbidden by the state of siege, had they not to be forbidden in the ordered, constituted republic by the law? The tricolour republicans had nothing to oppose to this prosaic interpretation of the constitution but the high-flown phraseology of the constitution. A section of them, Pagnerre, Duclerc, etc., voted for the ministry and thereby gave it a majority. The others, with the archangel Cavaignac and the father of the church Marrast at their head, retired, after the article on the prohibition of the clubs had gone through, to a special committee room, jointly with Ledru-Rollin and the *Montagne*—"and held a council". The National Assembly was paralysed; it no longer had a quorum. At the right time, M. Crémieux remembered in the committee room that the way from here led directly to the street and that it was no longer February 1848, but March 1849. The party of the *National*, suddenly enlightened, returned to the National Assembly's hall of session, behind it the *Montagne*, duped once more. The latter, constantly tormented by revolutionary longings, just as constantly clutched at constitutional possibilities, and still felt itself more in place behind the bourgeois republicans than in front of the revolutionary proletariat. Thus the comedy was played out. And the Constituent Assembly itself had decreed that the violation of the letter of the constitution was the only appropriate realisation of its spirit.

There was only one point left to settle, the relation of the constituted republic to the European revolution, its *foreign policy*. On May 8, 1849, unwonted excitement prevailed in the Constituent Assembly, whose term of life was due to end in a few days. The attack

of the French army on Rome, its repulse by the Romans,[91] its political infamy and military disgrace, the foul assassination of the Roman republic by the French republic, the first Italian campaign of the second Bonaparte was on the order of the day. The *Montagne* had once more played its great trump; Ledru-Rollin had laid on the President's[a] table the inevitable bill of impeachment against the ministry, and this time also against Bonaparte, for violation of the constitution.

The motif of May 8 was repeated later as the motif of June 13. Let us get clear about the expedition to Rome.

Already in the middle of November 1848, Cavaignac had sent a battle fleet to Civitavecchia in order to protect the Pope,[b] to take him on board and to ship him over to France. The Pope was to consecrate the respectable republic, and to ensure the election of Cavaignac as President. With the Pope, Cavaignac wanted to angle for the priests, with the priests for the peasants, and with the peasants for the presidency. The expedition of Cavaignac, an election advertisement in its immediate purpose, was at the same time a protest and a threat against the Roman revolution. It contained in embryo France's intervention in favour of the Pope.

This intervention on behalf of the Pope in association with Austria and Naples against the Roman republic was decided on at the first meeting of Bonaparte's ministerial council on December 23. Falloux in the ministry, that meant the Pope in Rome and—in the Rome of the Pope. Bonaparte did not need the Pope any longer in order to become the President of the peasants; but he needed the conservation of the Pope in order to conserve the peasants of the President. Their credulity had made him President. With faith they would lose credulity, and with the Pope, faith. And the Orleanists and Legitimists in coalition, who ruled in Bonaparte's name! Before the king was restored, the power that consecrates kings had to be restored. Apart from their royalism: without the old Rome, subject to his temporal rule, no Pope; without the Pope, no Catholicism; without Catholicism, no French religion; and without religion, what would become of the old French society? The mortgage that the peasant has on heavenly possessions guarantees the mortgage that the bourgeois has on peasant possessions. The Roman revolution was, therefore, an attack on property, on the bourgeois order, dreadful as the June Revolution. Re-established bourgeois rule in France required the restoration of papal rule in Rome. Finally, to smite the

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[a] The President of the Assembly.—*Ed.*
[b] Pius IX.—*Ed.*

Roman revolutionists was to smite the allies of the French revolutionists; the alliance of the counter-revolutionary classes in the constituted French republic was necessarily supplemented by the alliance of the French republic with the Holy Alliance, with Naples and Austria. The decision of the ministerial council of December 23 was no secret for the Constituent Assembly. On January 8, Ledru-Rollin had already questioned the ministry concerning it; the ministry had denied it and the National Assembly had proceeded to the order of the day. Did it trust the word of the ministry? We know that it spent the whole month of January in giving the ministry no confidence votes. But if it was part of the ministry's role to lie, it was part of the National Assembly's role to feign belief in its lie and thereby save the republican *dehors.*[a]

Meanwhile Piedmont was beaten, Charles Albert had abdicated and the Austrian army knocked at the gates of France.[92] Ledru-Rollin vehemently intervened. The ministry proved that it had only continued in North Italy the policy of Cavaignac, and Cavaignac only the policy of the Provisional Government, that is, of Ledru-Rollin. This time it even reaped a vote of confidence from the National Assembly and was authorised to occupy temporarily a suitable point in Upper Italy in order to give support to peaceful negotiations with Austria concerning the integrity of Sardinian territory and the question of Rome. It is known that the fate of Italy is decided on the battlefields of North Italy. Hence Rome would fall with Lombardy and Piedmont, or France would have to declare war on Austria and thereby on the European counter-revolution. Did the National Assembly suddenly take the Barrot ministry for the old Committee of Public Safety[93]? Or itself for the Convention? Why, then, the military occupation of a point in Upper Italy? This transparent veil covered the expedition against Rome.

On April 14, 14,000 men sailed under Oudinot for Civitavecchia; on April 16, the National Assembly voted the ministry a credit of 1,200,000 francs for the maintenance of a fleet of intervention in the Mediterranean Sea for three months. Thus it gave the ministry every means of intervening against Rome, while it adopted the pose of letting it intervene against Austria. It did not see what the ministry did; it only heard what it said. Such faith was not found in Israel; the Constituent Assembly had fallen into the position of not daring to know what the constituted republic had to do.

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[a] Appearances.— *Ed.*

Finally, on May 8, the last scene of the comedy was played; the Constituent Assembly urged the ministry to take swift measures to bring the Italian expedition back to the aim set for it. Bonaparte that same evening inserted a letter in the *Moniteur*, in which he lavished the greatest appreciation on Oudinot.[a] On May 11, the National Assembly rejected the bill of impeachment against this same Bonaparte and his ministry. And the *Montagne*, which, instead of tearing this web of deceit to pieces, took the parliamentary comedy tragically in order itself to play in it the role of Fouquier-Tinville, did it not betray its natural petty-bourgeois calf's hide under the borrowed lion's skin of the Convention!

The latter half of the life of the Constituent Assembly is summarised thus: On January 29 it admits that the royalist bourgeois factions are the natural superiors of the republic constituted by it; on March 21, that the violation of the constitution is its realisation; and on May 11, that the bombastically proclaimed passive alliance of the French republic with the struggling peoples means its active alliance with the European counter-revolution.

This miserable Assembly left the stage after it had given itself the satisfaction, two days before the anniversary of its birthday, May 4, of rejecting the motion of amnesty for the June insurgents. Its power shattered, held in deadly hatred by the people, repulsed, maltreated, contemptuously thrown aside by the bourgeoisie, whose tool it was, forced in the second half of its life to disavow the first, robbed of its republican illusions, without having created anything great in the past, without hope in the future and with its living body dying bit by bit, it was able to galvanise its own corpse into life only by continually recalling and living through the June victory over and over again, affirming itself by constantly repeated damnation of the damned. Vampire that lived on the blood of the June insurgents!

It left behind a state deficit increased by the costs of the June insurrection, by the loss of the salt tax, by the compensation it paid the plantation owners for abolishing Negro slavery, by the costs of the Roman expedition, by the loss of the wine tax, the abolition of which it resolved upon when already at its last gasp, a malicious old man, happy to impose on his laughing heir a compromising debt of honour.

With the beginning of March the agitation for the election of the *Legislative National Assembly* had commenced. Two main groups

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[a] It was published in the newspaper *La Patrie* on May 8, 1849, and reprinted in the report on the Constituent Assembly session of May 9, 1849 (*Le Moniteur universel* No. 130, May 10, 1849).—*Ed.*

opposed each other, the *party of Order* and the *democratic-socialist*, or *Red, party*; between the two stood the *Friends of the Constitution*, under which name the tricolour republicans of the *National* sought to put forward a party. The *party of Order* was formed directly after the June days: only after December 10 had allowed it to cast off the coterie of the *National*, of the bourgeois republicans, was the secret of its existence, the *coalition* of *Orleanists* and *Legitimists* into *one party*, disclosed. The bourgeois class fell apart into two big factions, which had alternately maintained a monopoly of power—the *big landed proprietors* under the *restored monarchy*, and the *finance aristocracy* and the *industrial bourgeoisie* under the *July monarchy*. *Bourbon* was the royal name for the predominant influence of the interests of the one faction, *Orleans* the royal name for the predominant influence of the interests of the other faction—the *nameless realm of the republic* was the only one in which both factions could maintain with equal power the common class interest without giving up their mutual rivalry. If the bourgeois republic could not be anything but the perfected and clearly expressed rule of the whole bourgeois class, could it be anything but the rule of the Orleanists supplemented by the Legitimists, and of the Legitimists supplemented by the Orleanists, the *synthesis of the restoration and the July monarchy*? The bourgeois republicans of the *National* did not represent any large faction of their class resting on economic foundations. They possessed only the importance and the historical claim of having asserted, under the monarchy, as against the two bourgeois factions that only understood their *particular* régime, the general régime of the bourgeois class, the *nameless realm of the republic*, which they idealised and embellished with antique arabesques, but in which, above all, they hailed the rule of their coterie. If the party of the *National* grew confused in its own mind when it descried the royalists in coalition at the top of the republic founded by it, these royalists deceived themselves no less concerning the fact of their united rule. They did not comprehend that if each of their factions, regarded separately, by itself, was royalist, the product of their chemical combination had necessarily to be *republican*, that the white and the blue monarchy were bound to neutralise each other in the tricolour republic. Forced, by antagonism to the revolutionary proletariat and the transition classes thronging more and more round it as their centre, to summon their united strength and to conserve the organisation of this united strength, each faction of the party of Order had to assert, as against the desire for restoration and the overweening presumption of the other, their joint rule, that is, the *republican form* of bourgeois rule. Thus we find these royalists in the beginning

believing in an immediate restoration, later preserving the republican form with foaming rage and deadly invective against it on their lips, and finally confessing that they can endure each other only in the republic and postponing the restoration indefinitely. The enjoyment of the united rule itself strengthened each of the two factions, and made each of them still more unable and unwilling to subordinate itself to the other, that is, to restore the monarchy.

The *party of Order* directly proclaimed in its election programme the rule of the bourgeois class, that is, the preservation of the life conditions of its rule: *property, family, religion, order*! Naturally it represented its class rule and the conditions of its class rule as the rule of civilisation and as the necessary conditions of material production as well as of the relations of social intercourse arising from it. The party of Order had enormous money resources at its command; it organised its branches throughout France; it had all the ideologists of the old society in its pay; it had the influence of the existing governmental power at its disposal; it possessed an army of unpaid vassals in the whole mass of petty bourgeois and peasants, who, still remote from the revolutionary movement, found in the high dignitaries of property the natural representatives of their petty property and its petty prejudices. This party, represented throughout the country by countless petty kings, could punish the rejection of their candidates as insurrection, dismiss the rebellious workers, the recalcitrant farm hands, domestic servants, clerks, railway officials, penmen, all the functionaries civilly subordinate to it. Finally, here and there, it could maintain the delusion that the republican Constituent Assembly had prevented the Bonaparte of December 10 from manifesting his wonder-working powers. We have not mentioned the Bonapartists in connection with the party of Order. They were not a serious faction of the bourgeois class, but a collection of old, superstitious wounded veterans and of young, unbelieving soldiers of fortune.—The party of Order was victorious in the elections; it sent a large majority into the Legislative Assembly.

As against the coalitioned counter-revolutionary bourgeois class, the sections of the petty bourgeoisie and peasant class already revolutionised had naturally to ally themselves with the high dignitary of revolutionary interests, the revolutionary proletariat. We have seen how the democratic spokesmen of the petty bourgeoisie in parliament, i.e., the *Montagne*, were driven by parliamentary defeats to the socialist spokesmen of the proletariat, and how the actual petty bourgeoisie, outside parliament, was driven by the *concordats à l'amiable*, by the brutal enforcement of bourgeois

interests and by bankruptcy, to the actual proletarians. On January 27, *Montagne* and Socialists had celebrated their reconciliation[a]; at the great banquet of February 1849, they repeated their act of union. The social and the democratic party, the party of the workers and that of the petty bourgeois, united to form the *social-democratic party*, that is, the *Red* party.

Paralysed for a moment by the agony that followed the June days, the French republic had lived through a continuous series of feverish excitements since the raising of the state of siege, since October 19. First the struggle for the presidency, then the struggle between the President and the Constituent Assembly; the struggle for the clubs; the trial in Bourges,[94] which, in contrast with the petty figures of the President, the coalitioned royalists, the respectable republicans, the democratic *Montagne* and the socialist doctrinaires of the proletariat, caused the proletariat's real revolutionists to appear as primordial monsters, such as only a deluge leaves behind on the surface of society, or such as could only precede a social deluge; the election agitation; the execution of the Bréa murderers[95]; the continual proceedings against the press; the violent interference of the government with the banquets by police action; the insolent royalist provocations; the exhibition of the portraits of Louis Blanc and Caussidière on the pillory; the unbroken struggle between the constituted republic and the Constituent Assembly, which each moment drove the revolution back to its starting point, which each moment made the victors the vanquished and the vanquished the victors and, in a trice, changed around the positions of the parties and the classes, their separations and connections; the rapid march of the European counter-revolution; the glorious Hungarian fight; the armed uprisings in Germany[96]; the Roman expedition; the ignominious defeat of the French army before Rome—in this vortex of movement, in this torment of historical unrest, in this dramatic ebb and flow of revolutionary passion, hopes and disappointments, the different classes of French society had to count their epochs of development in weeks where they had previously counted them in half centuries. A considerable part of the peasants and of the provinces was revolutionised. Not only were they disappointed in Napoleon, but the Red party offered them, instead of the name, the content, instead of illusory freedom from taxation, repayment of the milliard paid to the Legitimists, the adjustment of mortgages and the abolition of usury.

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[a] See this volume, p. 88.—*Ed.*

The army itself was infected with the revolutionary fever. In voting for Bonaparte it had voted for victory, and he gave it defeat. In him it had voted for the Little Corporal,[a] behind whom the great revolutionary general is concealed, and he once more gave it the great generals, behind whom the pipe-clay corporal shelters himself. There was no doubt that the Red party, that is, the coalesced democratic party, was bound to celebrate, if not victory, still, great triumphs; that Paris, the army and a great part of the provinces would vote for it. *Ledru-Rollin*, the leader of the *Montagne*, was elected by five departments; no leader of the party of Order carried off such a victory, no candidate belonging to the proletarian party proper. This election reveals to us the secret of the democratic-socialist party. If, on the one hand, the *Montagne*, the parliamentary champion of the democratic petty bourgeoisie, was forced to unite with the socialist doctrinaires of the proletariat—the proletariat, forced by the terrible material defeat of June to raise itself up again through intellectual victories and not yet enabled through the development of the remaining classes to seize the revolutionary dictatorship, had to throw itself into the arms of the doctrinaires of its emancipation, the founders of socialist sects—the revolutionary peasants, the army and the provinces, on the other hand, ranged themselves behind the *Montagne*, which thus became the lord and master in the revolutionary army camp and through the understanding with the Socialists had eliminated every antagonism in the revolutionary party. In the latter half of the life of the Constituent Assembly it represented the republican fervour of the same and caused to be buried in oblivion its sins during the Provisional Government, during the Executive Commission, during the June days. In the same measure as the party of the *National*, in accordance with its half-and-half nature, had allowed itself to be put down by the royalist ministry, the party of the Mountain, which had been brushed aside during the omnipotence of the *National*, rose and asserted itself as the parliamentary representative of the revolution. In fact, the party of the *National* had nothing to oppose to the other, royalist factions but ambitious men and idealistic humbug. The party of the Mountain, on the contrary, represented a mass hovering between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, a mass whose material interests demanded democratic institutions. In comparison with the Cavaignacs and the Marrasts, Ledru-Rollin and the *Montagne*, therefore, represented the true revolution, and from the conscious-

[a] A nickname for Napoleon.—*Ed.*

ness of this important situation they drew the greater courage the more the expression of revolutionary energy limited itself to parliamentary attacks, bringing in bills of impeachment, threats, raised voices, thundering speeches, and extremes which were only pushed as far as phrases. The peasants were in about the same position as the petty bourgeoisie; they had more or less the same social demands to put forward. All the middle strata of society, so far as they were driven into the revolutionary movement, were therefore bound to find their hero in Ledru-Rollin. Ledru-Rollin was the personage of the democratic petty bourgeoisie. As against the party of Order, the half conservative, half revolutionary and wholly utopian reformers of this order had first to be pushed to the forefront.

The party of the *National*, "the Friends of the Constitution *quand même*", the *républicains purs et simples*, were completely defeated in the elections. A tiny minority of them was sent into the Legislative Chamber, their most noted leaders vanished from the stage, even Marrast, the editor-in-chief and the Orpheus of the respectable republic.

On May 28, the Legislative Assembly convened; on June 11, the collision of May 8 was renewed and, in the name of the *Montagne*, Ledru-Rollin brought in a bill of impeachment against the President and the ministry for violation of the constitution, for the bombardment of Rome. On June 12, the Legislative Assembly rejected the bill of impeachment, just as the Constituent Assembly had rejected it on May 11, but the proletariat this time drove the *Montagne* onto the streets, not to a street battle, however, but only to a street procession. It is enough to say that the *Montagne* was at the head of this movement to know that the movement was defeated, and that June 1849 was a caricature, as ridiculous as it was repulsive, of June 1848. The great retreat of June 13 was only eclipsed by the still greater battle report of Changarnier,[a] the great man that the party of Order improvised. Every social epoch needs its great men, and when it does not find them, it invents them, as Helvétius says.

On December 20 only one half of the constituted bourgeois republic as yet existed, the *President*; on May 28 it was completed by the other half, the *Legislative Assembly*. In June 1848, the self-constituted bourgeois republic, by an atrocious battle against the proletariat, and in June 1849, the constituted bourgeois republic, by an unutterable comedy with the petty bourgeoisie, had engraved their names in the birth register of history. June 1849 was the

[a] *Rapport du général Changarnier au ministre de la guerre, le 16 juin 1849.—Ed.*

Nemesis of June 1848. In June 1849, it was not the workers that were vanquished; it was the petty bourgeois, who stood between them and the revolution, that were felled. June 1849 was not a bloody tragedy between wage labour and capital, but a prison-filling and lamentable play of debtors and creditors. The party of Order had won, it was all-powerful; it had now to show what it was.*

* Due to lack of space the concluding section will be printed in the next issue.— *Note by the editors of the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue".*

## III

## CONSEQUENCES OF JUNE 13, 1849

On December 20, the Janus head of the *constitutional republic* had still shown only *one* face, the executive face with the indistinct, plain features of L. Bonaparte; on May 28, 1849, it showed its second face, the *legislative*, pitted with the scars that the orgies of the Restoration and the July monarchy had left behind. With the Legislative National Assembly the phenomenon of the *constitutional republic* was completed, that is, the republican form of government in which the rule of the bourgeois class is constituted, the common rule, therefore, of the two great royalist factions that form the French bourgeoisie, the coalesced Legitimists and Orleanists, the *party of Order*. While the French republic thus became the property of the coalition of the royalist parties, the European coalition of the counter-revolutionary powers embarked, simultaneously, upon a general crusade against the last places of refuge of the March revolutions. Russia invaded Hungary; Prussia marched against the army defending the Imperial Constitution, and Oudinot bombarded Rome.[97] The European crisis was evidently approaching a decisive turning point; the eyes of all Europe were turned on Paris, and the eyes of all Paris on the *Legislative Assembly*.

On June 11 Ledru-Rollin mounted its tribune. He made no speech; he formulated a requisitory against the ministers, naked, unadorned, factual, concentrated, forceful.

The attack on Rome is an attack on the constitution; the attack on the Roman republic is an attack on the French republic. Article V of the constitution[98] reads: "The French republic never employs its forces against the liberty of any people whatsoever"—and the President employs the French army against Roman liberty. Article

54 of the constitution forbids the executive power to declare any war whatsoever without the consent of the National Assembly.[a] The Constituent Assembly's resolution of May 8 expressly commands the ministers to make the Rome expedition conform with the utmost speed to its original mission; it therefore just as expressly prohibits war on Rome—and Oudinot bombards Rome. Thus Ledru-Rollin called the constitution itself as a witness for the prosecution against Bonaparte and his ministers. At the royalist majority of the National Assembly, he, the tribune of the constitution, hurled the threatening declaration:

"The republicans will know how to command respect for the constitution by every means, be it even by force of arms!"

"*By force of arms!*" repeated the hundredfold echo of the *Montagne.* The majority answered with a terrible tumult; the President of the National Assembly[b] called Ledru-Rollin to order; Ledru-Rollin repeated the challenging declaration, and finally laid on the President's table a motion for the impeachment of Bonaparte and his ministers. By 361 votes to 203, the National Assembly resolved to pass on from the bombardment of Rome to the next item on the agenda.

Did Ledru-Rollin believe that he could beat the National Assembly by means of the constitution, and the President by means of the National Assembly?

To be sure, the constitution forbade any attack on the liberty of foreign peoples, but what the French army attacked in Rome was, according to the ministry, not "liberty" but the "despotism of anarchy". Had the *Montagne* still not comprehended, all experiences in the Constituent Assembly notwithstanding, that the interpretation of the constitution did not belong to those who had made it, but only to those who had accepted it? That its wording must be construed in its viable meaning and that the bourgeois meaning was its only viable meaning? That Bonaparte and the royalist majority of the National Assembly were the authentic interpreters of the constitution, as the priest is the authentic interpreter of the Bible, and the judge the authentic interpreter of the law? Should the National Assembly, freshly emerged from the general elections, feel itself bound by the testamentary provisions of the dead Constituent Assembly, whose will while living an Odilon Barrot had broken? When Ledru-Rollin

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[a] Here and in what follows the reference is to the Legislative National Assembly which was in office from May 28, 1849, to December 1851.—*Ed.*

[b] André Marie Dupin.—*Ed.*

cited the Constituent Assembly's resolution of May 8, had he forgotten that the same Constituent Assembly on May 11 had rejected his first motion for the impeachment of Bonaparte and the ministers; that it had acquitted the President and the ministers; that it had thus sanctioned the attack on Rome as "constitutional"; that he only lodged an appeal against a judgment already delivered; that he, lastly, appealed from the republican Constituent Assembly to the royalist Legislative Assembly? The constitution itself calls insurrection to its aid by summoning, in a special article, every citizen to protect it. Ledru-Rollin based himself on this article. But, at the same time, are not the public authorities organised for the defence of the constitution, and does not the violation of the constitution begin only from the moment when one of the constitutional public authorities rebels against the other? And the President of the republic, the ministers of the republic and the National Assembly of the republic were in the most harmonious agreement.

What the *Montagne* attempted on June 11 was "*an insurrection within the limits of pure reason*", that is, a purely *parliamentary insurrection.* The majority of the Assembly, intimidated by the prospect of an armed rising of the popular masses, was, in Bonaparte and the ministers, to destroy its own power and the significance of its own election. Had not the Constituent Assembly similarly attempted to annul the election of Bonaparte, when it insisted so obstinately on the dismissal of the Barrot-Falloux ministry?

Neither were there lacking from the time of the Convention models for parliamentary insurrections which had suddenly transformed completely the relation between the majority and the minority—and should the young *Montagne* not succeed where the old had succeeded?—nor did the conditions at the moment seem unfavourable for such an undertaking. Popular unrest in Paris had reached a disquietingly high point; the army, according to its vote at the election, did not seem favourably inclined towards the government; the legislative majority itself was still too young to have become consolidated and, in addition, it consisted of old gentlemen. If the *Montagne* were successful in a parliamentary insurrection, the helm of state would fall directly into its hands. The democratic petty bourgeoisie, for its part, wished, as always, for nothing more fervently than to see the battle fought out in the clouds over its head between the departed spirits of parliament. Finally, both of them, the democratic petty bourgeoisie and its representative, the *Montagne,* would, through a parliamentary insurrection, achieve their great purpose, that of breaking the power of the bourgeoisie without unleashing the proletariat or letting it appear otherwise than in

perspective; the proletariat would have been used without becoming dangerous.

After the vote of the National Assembly on June 11, a conference took place between some members of the *Montagne* and delegates of the secret workers' societies. The latter urged that the attack be started the same evening. The *Montagne* decisively rejected this plan. On no account did it want to let the leadership slip out of its hands; its allies were as suspect to it as its antagonists, and rightly so. The memory of June 1848 surged through the ranks of the Paris proletariat more vigorously than ever. Nevertheless it was chained to the alliance with the *Montagne*. The latter represented the largest part of the departments; it exaggerated its influence in the army; it had at its disposal the democratic section of the National Guard; it had the moral power of the shopkeepers behind it. To begin the insurrection at this moment against the will of the *Montagne* would have meant for the proletariat, decimated moreover by cholera and driven out of Paris in considerable numbers by unemployment, to repeat uselessly the June days of 1848, without the situation which had forced this desperate struggle. The proletarian delegates did the only rational thing. They obliged the *Montagne* to *compromise* itself, that is, to come out beyond the confines of the parliamentary struggle in the event of its bill of impeachment being rejected. During the whole of June 13, the proletariat maintained this same sceptically watchful attitude, and awaited a seriously engaged irrevocable *mêlée* between the democratic National Guard and the army, in order then to plunge into the fight and push the revolution forward beyond the petty-bourgeois aim set for it. In the event of victory a proletarian commune was already formed which would take its place beside the official government. The Parisian workers had learned in the bloody school of June 1848.

On June 12 Minister Lacrosse himself brought forward in the Legislative Assembly the motion to proceed at once to the discussion of the bill of impeachment. During the night the government had made every provision for defence and attack; the majority of the National Assembly was determined to drive the rebellious minority out into the streets; the minority itself could no longer retreat; the die was cast; the bill of impeachment was rejected by 377 votes to 8. The Mountain, which had abstained from voting, rushed resentfully into the propaganda halls of the "pacific democracy", into the newspaper offices of the *Démocratie pacifique*.[99]

Its withdrawal from the parliament building broke its strength as withdrawal from the earth broke the strength of Antaeus, her giant son. Samsons in the precincts of the Legislative Assembly, they were

only philistines in the precincts of the "pacific democracy". A long, noisy, rambling debate ensued. The *Montagne* was determined to compel respect for the constitution by every means, "*only not by force of arms*". In this determination it was supported by a manifesto[100] and by a deputation of the "Friends of the Constitution". "Friends of the Constitution" was what the wreckage of the coterie of the *National*, of the bourgeois-republican party, called itself. While six of its remaining parliamentary representatives had voted *against*, the others in a body voting *for*, the rejection of the bill of impeachment, while *Cavaignac* placed his sabre at the disposal of the party of Order, the larger, extra-parliamentary part of the coterie greedily seized the opportunity to emerge from its position of a political pariah, and to press into the ranks of the democratic party. Did they not appear as the natural shield-bearers of this party, which hid itself behind their shield, behind their *principles*, behind the *constitution*?

Till break of day the "Mountain" was in labour.[a] It gave birth to "*a proclamation to the people*", which, on the morning of June 13, occupied a more or less shamefaced place in two socialist journals.[101] It declared the President, the ministers and the majority of the Legislative Assembly "*outside the constitution*" (*hors la Constitution*) and summoned the National Guard, the army and finally also the people "to arise". "*Long live the Constitution!*" was the slogan that it put forward, a slogan that signified nothing other than "*Down with the revolution!*"

In conformity with the constitutional proclamation of the Mountain, there was a so-called *peaceful demonstration* of the petty bourgeois on June 13, that is, a street procession from the *Château d'Eau* through the boulevards, 30,000 strong, mainly National Guards, unarmed, with an admixture of members of the secret workers' sections, moving along with the cry: "*Long live the Constitution!*" which was uttered mechanically, coldly, and with a bad conscience by the members of the procession itself, and thrown back ironically by the echo of the people that surged along the sidewalks, instead of swelling up like thunder. From the many-voiced song the chest notes were missing. And when the procession swung by the meeting hall of the "Friends of the Constitution" and a hired herald of the constitution appeared on the housetop, violently cleaving the air with his *claqueur* hat and from tremendous lungs letting the catchcry "*Long live the Constitution!*" fall like hail on the heads of the pilgrims, they themselves seemed overcome for a moment by the

[a] Evidently an allusion to the expression "The mountain gave birth to a mouse" which is to be found in Horace's *The Art of Poetry*. Earlier it appeared in the *Banquet of the Learned*, a work by the Greek poet Athenaeus.— *Ed.*

comedy of the situation. It is known how the procession, having arrived at the termination of the *rue de la Paix*, was received in the boulevards by the dragoons and chasseurs of Changarnier in an altogether unparliamentary way, how in a trice it scattered in all directions and how it threw behind it a few shouts of "to arms" only in order that the parliamentary call to arms of June 11 might be fulfilled.

The majority of the *Montagne* assembled in the *rue du Hasard* scattered when this violent dispersion of the peaceful procession, the muffled rumours of murder of unarmed citizens on the boulevards and the growing tumult in the streets seemed to herald the approach of a rising. *Ledru-Rollin* at the head of a small band of deputies saved the honour of the Mountain. Under the protection of the Paris Artillery, which had assembled in the *Palais National*, they betook themselves to the *Conservatoire des arts et métiers*,[a] where the fifth and sixth legions of the National Guard were to arrive. But the *Montagnards* waited in vain for the fifth and sixth legions; these discreet National Guards left their representatives in the lurch; the Paris Artillery itself prevented the people from throwing up barricades; chaotic disorder made any decision impossible; the troops of the line advanced with fixed bayonets; some of the representatives were taken prisoner, while others escaped. Thus ended June 13.

If June 23, 1848, was the insurrection of the revolutionary proletariat, June 13, 1849, was the insurrection of the democratic petty bourgeois, each of these two insurrections being the *classically pure* expression of the class which had been its vehicle.

Only in Lyons did it come to an obstinate, bloody conflict.[102] Here, where the industrial bourgeoisie and the industrial proletariat stand directly opposed to one another, where the workers' movement is not, as in Paris, included in and determined by the general movement, June 13, in its repercussions, lost its original character. Wherever else it broke out in the provinces it did not kindle fire—*a cold lightning flash.*

June 13 closes the *first period in the life of the constitutional republic*, which had attained its normal existence on May 28, 1849, with the meeting of the Legislative Assembly. The whole period of this prologue is filled with vociferous struggle between the party of Order and the *Montagne*, between the big bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, which strove in vain against the consolidation of the bourgeois republic, for which it had itself continuously conspired in

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[a] Museum of Arts and Trades, an educational institution in Paris.—*Ed.*

the Provisional Government and in the Executive Commission, and for which, during the June days, it had fought fanatically against the proletariat. The 13th of June breaks its resistance and makes the *legislative dictatorship* of the united royalists a *fait accompli.* From this moment the National Assembly is only a *Committee of Public Safety of the party of Order.*

Paris had put the President, the ministers and the majority of the National Assembly in a "*state of impeachment*"; they put Paris in a "*state of siege*". The Mountain had declared the majority of the Legislative Assembly "*outside the constitution*"; for violation of the constitution the majority handed over the Mountain to the *haute cour*[a] and proscribed everything in it that still had vital force.[103] It was decimated to a rump without head or heart. The minority had gone as far as to attempt a *parliamentary insurrection*; the majority elevated its *parliamentary despotism* to law. It decreed new *standing orders,* which annihilate the freedom of the tribune and authorise the President of the National Assembly to punish representatives for violation of the standing orders with censure, with fines, with stoppage of their salaries, with suspension of membership, with incarceration. Over the rump of the Mountain it hung the rod instead of the sword. The remainder of the deputies of the Mountain owed it to their honour to make a mass exit. By such an act the dissolution of the party of Order would have been hastened. It would have had to break up into its original component parts the moment that not even the semblance of an opposition would hold it together any longer.

Simultaneously with his *parliamentary* power, the democratic petty bourgeois was robbed of his *armed* power through the dissolution of the Paris Artillery and the 8th, 9th and 12th legions of the National Guard. On the other hand, the legion of high finance, which on June 13 had raided the printshops of Boulé and Roux, demolished the presses, played havoc with the offices of the republican journals and arbitrarily arrested editors, compositors, printers, shipping clerks and errand boys, received encouraging approval from the tribune of the National Assembly. All over France the disbandment of National Guards suspected of republicanism was repeated.

A new *press law,* a new *law of association,* a new *law on the state of siege,* the prisons of Paris overflowing, the political refugees driven out, all the journals that go beyond the limits of the *National* suspended, Lyons and the five departments surrounding it abandoned to the brutal persecution of military despotism, the courts

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[a] High Court.— *Ed.*

ubiquitous and the army of officials, so often purged, purged once more—these were the inevitable, the constantly recurring *commonplaces* of victorious reaction, worth mentioning after the massacres and the deportations of June only because this time they were directed not only against Paris, but also against the departments, not only against the proletariat, but, above all, against the middle classes.

The repressive laws, by which the declaration of a state of siege was left to the discretion of the government, the press still more firmly muzzled and the right of association annihilated, absorbed the whole of the legislative activity of the National Assembly during the months of June, July and August.

However, this epoch is characterised not by the exploitation of victory *in fact*, but *in principle*; not by the resolutions of the National Assembly, but by the grounds advanced for these resolutions; not by the thing, but by the phrase; not by the phrase but by the accent and the gesture which enliven the phrase. The brazen, unreserved expression of *royalist sentiments*, the contemptuously aristocratic insults to the republic, the coquettishly frivolous babbling of the restoration aims, in a word, the boastful violation of *republican decorum* give its peculiar tone and colour to this period. Long live the Constitution! was the battle cry of the *vanquished* of June 13. The *victors* were therefore absolved from the hypocrisy of constitutional, that is, republican, speech. The counter-revolution subjugated Hungary, Italy and Germany, and they believed that the restoration was already at the gates of France. Among the masters of ceremony of the factions of Order there ensued a real competition to document their royalism in the *Moniteur*, and to confess, repent and crave pardon before God and man for liberal sins perchance committed by them under the monarchy. No day passed without the February Revolution being declared a national calamity from the tribune of the National Assembly, without some Legitimist provincial cabbage-Junker solemnly stating that he had never recognised the republic, without one of the cowardly deserters of and traitors to the July monarchy relating the belated deeds of heroism in the performance of which only the philanthropy of Louis Philippe or other misunderstandings had hindered him. What was admirable in the February days was not the magnanimity of the victorious people, but the self-sacrifice and moderation of the royalists, who had allowed it to be victorious. One representative of the people proposed to divert part of the money destined for the relief of those wounded in February to the *Municipal Guards*,[104] who alone in those days had deserved well of the fatherland. Another wanted to have an equestrian statue decreed to the Duke of Orleans in the *Place du*

*Carrousel.*[a] Thiers called the constitution a dirty piece of paper. There appeared in succession on the tribune Orleanists, to repent of their conspiracy against the legitimate monarchy; Legitimists, who reproached themselves with having hastened the overthrow of monarchy in general by resisting the illegitimate monarchy; Thiers, who repented of having intrigued against Molé; Molé, who repented of having intrigued against Guizot; Barrot, who repented of having intrigued against all three. The cry "Long live the Social-Democratic Republic!" was declared unconstitutional; the cry "Long live the Republic!" was persecuted as social-democratic. On the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo,[105] a representative declared: "I fear an invasion of the Prussians less than the entry of the revolutionary refugees into France."[b] To the complaints about the terrorism which was organised in Lyons and in the neighbouring departments, Baraguay d'Hilliers answered: "I prefer the White terror to the Red terror." (*J'aime mieux la terreur blanche que la terreur rouge.*)[c] And the Assembly applauded frantically every time that an epigram against the republic, against the revolution, against the constitution, for the monarchy or for the Holy Alliance fell from the lips of its orators. Every infringement of the minutest republican formality, for example, of addressing the representatives as *citoyens*, filled the knights of order with enthusiasm.

The by-elections in Paris on July 8, held under the influence of the state of siege and of the abstention of a great part of the proletariat from the ballot box, the taking of Rome by the French army, the entry into Rome of the scarlet eminences[106] and, in their train, of the Inquisition and monkish terrorism, added fresh victories to the victory of June and increased the intoxication of the party of Order.

Finally, in the middle of August, half with the intention of attending the Department Councils just assembled, half through exhaustion after the tendentious orgy of many months, the royalists decreed the prorogation of the National Assembly for two months. With transparent irony they left behind a commission of twenty-five representatives,[107] the cream of the Legitimists and the Orleanists, a Molé and a Changarnier, as proxies for the National Assembly and as *guardians of the republic.* The irony was more profound than they suspected. They, condemned by history to help to overthrow the

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[a] This refers to the motion made by Baron G. Gourgaud in the Legislative Assembly on October 15, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] From L. Estancelin's speech made in the Legislative Assembly on June 19, 1849. The quoted passage is a summary of his speech.—*Ed.*

[c] From Baraguay d'Hilliers' speeches made in the Legislative Assembly on June 27 and July 7, 1849.—*Ed.*

monarchy they loved, were destined by it to conserve the republic they hated.

The *second period in the life of the constitutional republic,* its *royalist period of sowing wild oats, closes* with the *proroguing* of the Legislative Assembly.

The state of siege in Paris had again been raised, the activities of the press had again begun. During the suspension of the social-democratic papers, during the period of repressive legislation and royalist bluster, the *Siècle,* the old literary representative of the *monarchist-constitutional petty bourgeois, republicanised* itself; the *Presse,* the old literary exponent of the *bourgeois reformers, democratised* itself; while the *National,* the old classic organ of the *republican bourgeois, socialised* itself.

The *secret societies* grew in extent and intensity in the same degree that the *public clubs* became impossible. The *workers' industrial co-operatives,* tolerated as purely commercial societies, while of no account economically, became politically so many means of cementing the proletariat. June 13 had struck off the official heads of the various semi-revolutionary parties; the masses that remained won a head of their own. The knights of order had practised intimidation by prophecies of the terror of the Red republic; the base excesses, the hyperborean atrocities of the victorious counter-revolution in Hungary, in Baden and in Rome washed the "*Red republic*" white. And the malcontent intermediate classes of French society began to prefer the promises of the Red republic with its problematic terrors to the terrors of the Red monarchy with its actual hopelessness. No Socialist in France spread more revolutionary propaganda than *Haynau. A chaque capacité selon ses œuvres!*[a]

In the meantime Louis Bonaparte exploited the recess of the National Assembly to make princely tours of the provinces, the most hot-blooded Legitimists made pilgrimages to Ems, to the grandchild of the saintly Louis,[108] and the mass of the popular representatives on the side of order intrigued in the Department Councils, which had just met. It was necessary to make them pronounce what the majority of the National Assembly did not yet dare to pronounce, an *urgent motion for immediate revision of the constitution.* According to the constitution, it could not be revised before 1852, and then only by a National Assembly called together expressly for this purpose. If, however, the majority of the Department Councils expressed

[a] To each man of talent according to his work! (Marx ironically uses Saint-Simon's well-known formula. See *Doctrine de Saint-Simon.* Exposition. Première année. 1829, Paris, 1830, p. 70.)—*Ed.*

themselves to this effect, was not the National Assembly bound to sacrifice the virginity of the constitution to the voice of France? The National Assembly entertained the same hopes in regard to these provincial assemblies as the nuns in Voltaire's *Henriade* entertained in regard to the pandours. But, some exceptions apart, the Potiphars of the National Assembly had to deal with just so many Josephs of the provinces. The vast majority did not want to understand the importunate insinuation. The revision of the constitution was frustrated by the very instruments by which it was to have been called into being, by the votes of the Department Councils. The voice of France, and indeed of bourgeois France, had spoken and had spoken against revision.

At the beginning of October the Legislative National Assembly met once more—*tantum mutatus ab illo!*[a] Its physiognomy was completely changed. The unexpected rejection of revision on the part of the Department Councils had put it back within the limits of the constitution and indicated the limits of its term of life. The Orleanists had become mistrustful because of the pilgrimages of the Legitimists to Ems; the Legitimists had grown suspicious on account of the negotiations of the Orleanists with London[109]; the journals of the two factions had fanned the fire and weighed the reciprocal claims of their pretenders. Orleanists and Legitimists grumbled in unison at the machinations of the Bonapartists, which showed themselves in the princely tours, in the more or less transparent emancipatory attempts of the President, in the presumptuous language of the Bonapartist newspapers; Louis Bonaparte grumbled at a National Assembly which found only the Legitimist-Orleanist conspiracy legitimate,[b] at a ministry which betrayed him continually to this National Assembly. Finally, the ministry was itself divided on the Roman policy and on the *income tax* proposed by Minister *Passy*, and decried as socialist by the conservatives.

One of the first bills of the Barrot ministry in the reassembled Legislative Assembly was a demand for a credit of 300,000 francs for the payment of a widow's pension to the *Duchess of Orleans*. The National Assembly granted it and added to the list of debts of the French nation a sum of seven million francs. Thus, while Louis Philippe continued to play with success the role of the *pauvre honteux*, of the shamefaced beggar, the ministry neither dared to move an increase of salary for Bonaparte nor did the Assembly appear

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[a] How great was the change since then! (Virgil, *Aeneid.*)—*Ed.*

[b] In his copy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue* Engels changed the words *gerecht erfand* (found legitimate) to *berechtigt fand* (considered justified).—*Ed.*

inclined to grant it. And Louis Bonaparte, as ever, vacillated in the dilemma: *Aut Caesar aut Clichy!*[a]

The minister's second demand for a credit, one of nine million francs for *the costs of the Rome expedition,* increased the tension between Bonaparte, on the one hand, and the ministers and the National Assembly, on the other. Louis Bonaparte had inserted a letter to his military aide, Edgard Ney, in the *Moniteur,* in which he bound the papal government to constitutional guarantees.[b] The Pope, on his part, had issued a statement, "*motu proprio*".[110] in which he rejected any limitation of his restored rule. Bonaparte's letter, with studied indiscretion, raised the curtain of his cabinet, in order to expose himself to the eyes of the gallery as a benevolent genius who was, however, misunderstood and shackled in his own house. It was not the first time that he had coquetted with the "furtive flights of a free soul".[c] *Thiers,* the reporter of the commission, completely ignored Bonaparte's flight and contented himself with translating the papal allocution into French. It was not the ministry, but *Victor Hugo* that sought to save the President through an order of the day in which the National Assembly[d] was to express its agreement with Napoleon's letter. *Allons donc! Allons donc!*[e] With this disrespectful, frivolous interjection the majority buried Hugo's motion. The policy of the President? The letter of the President? The President himself? *Allons donc! Allons donc!* Who the devil takes Monsieur Bonaparte *au sérieux?* Do you believe, Monsieur Victor Hugo, that we believe you that you believe in the President? *Allons donc! Allons donc!*

Finally, the breach between Bonaparte and the National Assembly was hastened by the discussion on the *recall of the Orleans and the Bourbons.* In default of the ministry, the cousin of the President, the son of the ex-king of Westphalia,[f] had put forward this motion, which had no other purpose than to push the Legitimist and the Orleanist pretenders down to the same level, or rather a *lower* level than the Bonapartist pretender, who at least stood in fact at the pinnacle of the state.

Napoleon Bonaparte was disrespectful enough to make the *recall*

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[a] *Either Caesar o Clichy!* Clichy: Paris prison for insolvent debtors. Paraphrase of Cesare Borgia's words "Aut Caesar, aut nihil" (either Caesar or nothing).—*Ed.*

[b] *Lettre adressée par le président de la République au lieutenant-colonel Edgard Ney, son officier d'ordonnance à Rome* (August 18, 1849).—*Ed.*

[c] Modified quotation from Georg Herwegh's poem "Aus den Bergen" (from the cycle *Gedichte eines Lebendigen*).—*Ed.*

[d] At its sitting of October 19, 1849.—*Ed.*

[e] Get along with you!—*Ed.*

[f] Prince Napoleon Bonaparte, son of Jérôme Bonaparte.—*Ed.*

*of the expelled royal families* and the *amnesty of the June insurgents* parts of one and the same motion. The indignation of the majority compelled him immediately to apologise for this sacrilegious concatenation of the sacred and the profane, of the royal races and the proletarian brood, of the fixed stars of society and of its swamp lights, and to assign to each of the two motions its proper place. The majority energetically rejected the recall of the royal families, and *Berryer*, the Demosthenes of the Legitimists, left no doubt about the meaning of the vote. The civic degradation of the pretenders, that is what is intended! It is desired to rob them of their halo, of the last majesty that is left to them, the *majesty of exile*! What, cried Berryer, would be thought of him among the pretenders who, forgetting his august origin, came here to live as a simple private individual?[a] It could not have been more clearly intimated to Louis Bonaparte that he had not gained the day by his presence, that whereas the royalists in coalition needed him here in France as a *neutral man* in the presidential chair, the serious pretenders to the throne had to be kept out of profane sight by the fog of exile.

On November 1, Louis Bonaparte answered the Legislative Assembly with a message which in pretty brusque words announced the dismissal of the Barrot ministry and the formation of a new ministry.[b] The Barrot-Falloux ministry was the ministry of the royalist coalition, the d'Hautpoul ministry was the ministry of Bonaparte, the organ of the President as against the Legislative Assembly, the *ministry of the clerks*.

Bonaparte was no longer the merely *neutral man* of December 10, 1848. Possession of the executive power had grouped a number of interests around him, the struggle with anarchy forced the party of Order itself to increase his influence, and if he was *no longer* popular, the party of Order was *unpopular*. Could he not hope to compel the Orleanists and the Legitimists, through their rivalry as well as through the necessity of some sort of monarchist restoration, to recognise the *neutral pretender*?

From November 1, 1849, dates the third period in the life of the constitutional republic, a period which closes with March 10, 1850. The regular game, so much admired by Guizot, of the constitutional institutions, the wrangling between executive and legislative power, now begins. More, as against the hankering for restoration on the part of the united Orleanists and Legitimists, Bonaparte defends his

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[a] From Berryer's speech made in the Legislative Assembly on October 24, 1849.— *Ed.*

[b] *Message du Président de la République française à l'Assemblée législative* (October 31, 1849).— *Ed.*

title to his actual power, the republic; as against the hankering for restoration on the part of Bonaparte, the party of Order defends its title to its common rule, the republic; as against the Orleanists, the Legitimists, and as against the Legitimists, the Orleanists, defend the *status quo*, the republic. All these factions of the party of Order, each of which has its own king and its own restoration *in petto*,[a] mutually enforce, as against their rivals' hankering for usurpation and revolt, the common rule of the bourgeoisie, the form in which the special claims remain neutralised and reserved—*the republic.*

Just as Kant makes the republic, so these royalists make *the monarchy* the only rational form of state, a postulate of practical reason whose realisation is never attained, but whose attainment must always be striven for and mentally adhered to as the goal.[b]

Thus the constitutional republic had gone forth from the hands of the bourgeois republicans as a hollow ideological formula to become a form full of content and life in the hands of the royalists in coalition. And Thiers spoke more truly than he suspects when he said: "We, the royalists, are the true pillars of the constitutional republic."[c]

The overthrow of the ministry of the coalition and the appearance of the ministry of the clerks has a second significance. Its Finance Minister was *Fould.* Fould as Finance Minister signifies the official surrender of France's national wealth to the Bourse, the management of the state's property by the Bourse and in the interests of the Bourse. With the nomination of Fould, the finance aristocracy announced its restoration in the *Moniteur.* This restoration necessarily supplemented the other restorations, which form just so many links in the chain of the constitutional republic.

Louis Philippe had never dared to make a genuine *loup-cervier* (stock-exchange wolf) finance minister. Just as his monarchy was the ideal name for the rule of the big bourgeoisie, so in his ministries the privileged interests had to bear ideologically disinterested names. The bourgeois republic everywhere pushed into the forefront what the different monarchies, Legitimist as well as Orleanist, kept concealed in the background. It made earthly what they had made heavenly. In place of the names of the saints it put the bourgeois proper names of the dominant class interests.

Our whole exposition has shown how the republic, from the first day of its existence, did not overthrow but consolidated the finance

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[a] In its bosom, secretly.—*Ed.*

[b] Immanuel Kant, *Der Rechtslehre Zweiter Theil. Das öffentliche Recht.* Erster Abschnitt. Das Staatsrecht.—*Ed.*

[c] From Thiers' speech made in the Legislative Assembly on July 24, 1849.—*Ed.*

aristocracy. But the concessions that were made to it were a fate to which submission was made without the desire to bring it about. With Fould, the initiative in the government returned to the finance aristocracy.

The question will be asked, how the coalesced bourgeoisie could bear and suffer the rule of finance, which under Louis Philippe depended on the exclusion or subordination of the remaining bourgeois factions.

The answer is simple.

First of all, the finance aristocracy itself forms a weighty, authoritative part of the royalist coalition, whose common governmental power is denominated republic. Are not the spokesmen and leading lights among the Orleanists the old confederates and accomplices of the finance aristocracy? Is it not itself the golden phalanx of Orleanism? As far as the Legitimists are concerned, they had participated in practice already under Louis Philippe in all the orgies of the Bourse, mine and railway speculations. In general, the combination of large landed property with high finance is a *normal fact.* Proof: *England*; proof: even *Austria.*

In a country like France, where the volume of national production stands at a disproportionately lower level than the amount of the national debt, where government bonds form the most important object of speculation and the Bourse the chief market for the investment of capital that wants to turn itself to account in an unproductive way—in such a country a countless number of people from all bourgeois or semi-bourgeois classes must have an interest in the state debt, in the Bourse gamblings, in finance. Do not all these interested subalterns find their natural mainstays and commanders in the faction which represents this interest in its vastest outlines, which represents it as a whole?

By what is the accrual of state property to high finance conditioned? By the constantly growing indebtedness of the state. And the indebtedness of the state? By the constant excess of its expenditure over its income, a disproportion which is simultaneously the cause and effect of the system of state loans.

In order to escape from this indebtedness, the state must either restrict its expenditure, that is, simplify and curtail the government organism, govern as little as possible, employ as small a personnel as possible, enter as little as possible into relations with civil society. This path was impossible for the party of Order, whose means of repression, whose official interference in the name of the state and whose ubiquity through organs of state were bound to increase in the same measure as the number of quarters increased

from which its rule and the conditions for the existence of its class were threatened. The *gendarmerie* cannot be reduced in the same measure as attacks on persons and property increase.

Or the state must seek to evade the debts and produce an immediate but transitory balance in its budget by putting *extraordinary taxes* on the shoulders of the wealthiest classes. But was the party of Order to sacrifice its own wealth on the altar of the fatherland in order to stop the national wealth from being exploited by the Bourse? *Pas si bête!*[a]

Therefore, without a complete revolution in the French state, no revolution in the French state budget. Along with this state budget necessarily goes state indebtedness, and with state indebtedness necessarily goes the power over the trade in state debts, the state creditors, the bankers, the money dealers and the wolves of the Bourse. Only one faction of the party of Order was directly concerned in the overthrow of the finance aristocracy—the *manufacturers.* We are not speaking of the middle, of the smaller industrialists; we are speaking of the reigning princes of the manufacturing interests, who had formed the broad basis of the dynastic opposition under Louis Philippe. Their interest is indubitably reduction of the costs of production and hence reduction of the taxes, which enter into production, and hence reduction of the state debts, the interest on which enters into the taxes, hence the overthrow of the finance aristocracy.

In England—and the largest French manufacturers are petty bourgeois compared with their English rivals—we really find the manufacturers, a Cobden, a Bright, at the head of the crusade against the bank and the stock-exchange aristocracy. Why not in France? In England industry predominates; in France, agriculture. In England industry requires free trade[b]; in France, protective tariffs, national monopoly alongside of the other monopolies. French industry does not dominate French production, the French industrialists, therefore, do not dominate the French bourgeoisie. In order to secure the advancement of their interests as against the remaining factions of the bourgeoisie, they cannot, like the English, take the lead of the movement and simultaneously push their class interests to the fore; they must follow in the train of the revolution, and serve interests which are opposed to the collective interests of their class. In February they had misunderstood their position; February sharpened their wits. And who is more directly threatened by the workers than the employer, the industrial capitalist? The

[a] It is not so stupid!—*Ed.*

[b] The two words are in English in the German original.—*Ed.*

manufacturer, therefore, of necessity became in France the most fanatical member of the party of Order. The reduction of his *profit* by finance, *what is that compared with the abolition of profit by the proletariat?*

In France, the petty bourgeois does what normally the industrial bourgeois would have to do; the worker does what normally would be the task of the petty bourgeois; and the task of the worker, who accomplishes that? No one. In France it is not accomplished; in France it is proclaimed. It is not accomplished anywhere within the national walls[111]; the class war within French society turns into a world war, in which the nations confront one another. Accomplishment begins only when, through the world war, the proletariat is pushed to the fore in the nation which dominates the world market, to the forefront in England. The revolution, which finds here not its end, but its organisational beginning, is no short-lived revolution. The present generation is like the Jews whom Moses led through the wilderness. It has not only a new world to conquer, it must go under in order to make room for the men who are able to cope with a new world.

Let us return to Fould.

On November 14, 1849, Fould mounted the tribune of the National Assembly and expounded his system of finance: an apology for the old system of taxes! Retention of the wine tax! Abandonment of Passy's income tax!

Passy, too, was no revolutionist; he was an old minister of Louis Philippe's. He belonged to the puritans of the Dufaure brand and to the most intimate confidants of Teste, the scapegoat of the July monarchy.* Passy, too, had praised the old tax system and recommended the retention of the wine tax; but he had, at the same time, torn the veil from the state deficit. He had declared the necessity for a new tax, the income tax, if the bankruptcy of the state was to be avoided. Fould, who had recommended state bankruptcy to Ledru-Rollin, recommended the state deficit to the Legislative Assembly. He promised economies, the secret of which later revealed itself in that, for example, expenditures diminished by sixty millions while the floating debt increased by two hundred millions—conjur-

* On July 8, 1847, before the Chamber of Peers in Paris, began the trial of Parmentier and General Cubières for bribing officials to obtain a salt works concession, and of the then Minister of Public Works, Teste, for accepting such money bribes. The latter attempted to commit suicide during the trial. All were heavily fined; Teste, in addition, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment.— *Note by Engels to the 1895 edition.*

ers' tricks in the grouping of figures, in the drawing up of accounts, which all finally amounted to new loans.

Alongside the other jealous bourgeois factions, the finance aristocracy naturally did not act in so shamelessly corrupt a manner under Fould as under Louis Philippe. But, once it existed, the system remained the same: constant increase in the debts, masking of the deficit. And, in time, the old Bourse swindling came out more openly. Proof: the law concerning the Avignon Railway; the mysterious fluctuations in government securities, for a brief space the topic of the day throughout Paris; finally, the ill-starred speculations of Fould and Bonaparte on the elections of March 10.

With the official restoration of the finance aristocracy, the French people had soon again to stand before a February 24.

The Constituent Assembly, in an attack of misanthropy against its heir, had abolished the wine tax for the year of our Lord 1850. New debts could not be paid with the abolition of old taxes. *Creton*, a cretin of the party of Order, had moved the retention of the wine tax even before the prorogation of the Legislative Assembly. Fould took up this motion in the name of the Bonapartist ministry and on December 20, 1849, the anniversary of the day when Bonaparte was proclaimed President, the National Assembly decreed the *restoration of the wine tax.*

The sponsor of this restoration was not a financier; it was the Jesuit chief *Montalembert.* His argument[a] was strikingly simple: Taxation is the maternal breast on which the government is suckled. The government is the instruments of repression; it is the organs of authority; it is the army; it is the police; it is the officials, the judges, the ministers; it is the *priests.* An attack on taxation is an attack by the anarchists on the sentinels of order, who safeguard the material and spiritual production of bourgeois society from the inroads of the proletarian vandals. Taxation is the fifth god, side by side with property, the family, order and religion. And the wine tax is incontestably taxation and, moreover, not ordinary, but traditional, monarchically disposed, respectable taxation. *Vive l'impôt des boissons!*[b] Three cheers and one cheer more![c]

When the French peasant paints the devil, he paints him in the guise of a tax-collector. From the moment when Montalembert elevated taxation to a god, the peasant became godless, atheist, and threw himself into the arms of the devil, of *Socialism.* The religion of

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[a] In the Legislative Assembly on December 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] Long live the tax on drinks!—*Ed.*

[c] This sentence is in English in the German original.—*Ed.*

order had given him up; the Jesuits had given him up; Bonaparte had given him up. December 20, 1849, had irrevocably compromised December 20, 1848. The "nephew of his uncle" was not the first of his family whom the wine tax defeated, this tax which, in the expression of Montalembert, heralds the revolutionary storm. The real, the great Napoleon declared on St. Helena that the reintroduction of the wine tax had contributed more to his downfall than all else, since it had alienated from him the peasants of Southern France. Already under Louis XIV the favourite object of the hatred of the people (see the writings of Boisguillebert and Vauban), abolished by the first revolution, it was reintroduced by Napoleon in a modified form in 1808. When the restoration entered France, there trotted before it not only the Cossacks, but also promises to abolish the wine tax. The *gentilhommerie*[a] naturally did not need to keep its word to the *gent taillable à merci et miséricorde.*[b] The year 1830 promised the abolition of the wine tax. It was not that year's way to do what it said or say what it did. The year 1848 promised the abolition of the wine tax, just as it promised everything. Finally, the Constituent Assembly, which promised nothing, made, as already mentioned, a testamentary provision whereby the wine tax was to disappear on January 1, 1850. And just ten days before January 1, 1850, the Legislative Assembly introduced it once more, so that the French people perpetually pursued it, and when it had thrown it out the door saw it come in again through the window.

The popular hatred of the wine tax is explained by the fact that it unites in itself all the odiousness of the French system of taxation. The mode of its collection is odious, the mode of its distribution aristocratic, for the rates of taxation are the same for the commonest as for the costliest wines; it increases, therefore, in geometrical progression as the wealth of the consumers decreases, an inverted progressive tax. It accordingly directly provokes the poisoning of the labouring classes by putting a premium on adulterated and imitation wines. It lessens consumption, since it sets up *octrois*[c] before the gates of all towns of over 4,000 inhabitants and transforms each such town into a foreign country with a protective tariff against French wine. The big wine merchants, but still more the small ones, the *marchands de vins*, the keepers of wine bars, whose livelihood directly depends on the consumption of wine, are so many avowed enemies of the wine tax. And, finally, by lessening consumption the wine tax

[a] Nobility.—*Ed.*
[b] People liable to tax.—*Ed.*
[c] Local customs offices.—*Ed.*

curtails the producers' market. While it renders the urban workers incapable of paying for wine, it renders the wine-growers incapable of selling it. And France has a wine-growing population of about twelve million. One can, therefore, understand the hatred of the people in general; one can, in particular, understand the fanaticism of the peasants against the wine tax. And, in addition, they saw in its restoration no isolated, more or less accidental, event. The peasants have a kind of historical tradition of their own, which is handed down from father to son, and in this historical school it is muttered that whenever any government wants to dupe the peasants, it promises the abolition of the wine tax, and as soon as it has duped the peasants, retains or reintroduces the wine tax. In the wine tax the peasant tests the bouquet of the government, its tendency. The restoration of the wine tax on December 20 meant: *Louis Bonaparte is like the rest.* But he was not like the rest; he was a *peasant discovery*, and in the petitions carrying millions of signatures against the wine tax they took back the votes that they had given a year before to the "nephew of his uncle".

The rural population—over two-thirds of the total French population—consist for the most part of so-called free *landowners.* The first generation, gratuitously freed by the Revolution of 1789 from its feudal burdens, had paid no price for the soil. But the following generations paid, in the form of the *price of land*, what their semi-serf forefathers had paid in the form of rent, tithes, *corvée*, etc. The more, on the one hand, the population grew and the more, on the other hand, the partition of holdings increased, the higher became the price of the plot, for the demand for them increased with their smallness. But in proportion as the price which the peasant paid for his plot rose, whether he bought it directly or whether he had it accounted as capital by his coheirs, necessarily also rose the *indebtedness of the peasant*, that is, the *mortgage.* The claim to a debt encumbering the land is termed a *mortgage*, a pawnticket in respect of the land. Just as *privileges* accumulated on the medieval estate, *mortgages* accumulate on the modern small holding.—On the other hand: under the system of parcellation the soil is purely an *instrument of production* for its proprietor. Now the fertility of land diminishes in the same measure as land is divided. The application of machinery to the land, the division of labour, major soil improvement measures, such as digging drainage and irrigation canals and the like, become more and more impossible, while the *unproductive costs* of cultivation increase in the same proportion as the division of the instrument of production itself. All this, regardless of whether the possessor of the small holding possesses capital or not. But the more the division

increases, the more does the plot of land with its utterly wretched inventory form the entire capital of the small-holding peasant, the more does investment of capital in the land diminish, the more does the cottager lack land, money and education for making use of the progress in agronomy, and the more does the cultivation of the soil retrogress. Finally, the *net proceeds* diminish in the same proportion as the *gross consumption* increases, as the whole family of the peasant is kept back from other occupations because of its holding and yet is not enabled to live by it.

In the measure, therefore, that the population and, with it, the division of the land increases, *does the instrument of production*, the soil, *become dearer* and *its fertility* decrease, *does agriculture decline and the peasant become loaded with debt.* And what was the effect becomes, in its turn, the cause. Each generation leaves behind another more deeply in debt; each new generation begins under more unfavourable and more aggravating conditions; mortgaging begets mortgaging, and when it becomes impossible for the peasant to offer his small holding as security for *new debts*, that is, to encumber it with new mortgages, he falls a direct victim to *usury*, and *usurious interest rates* become so much the more exorbitant.

Thus it came about that the French peasant cedes to the capitalist, in the form of *interest* on the *mortgages* encumbering the soil and in the form of interest on the *advances made by the usurer without mortgages*, not only rent, not only the industrial profit, in a word, not only the *whole net profit*, but even *a part of the wages*, and that therefore he has sunk to the level of the *Irish tenant farmer*—all under the pretence of being a *private proprietor.*

This process was accelerated in France by the evergrowing *burden of taxes* and by *court costs* called forth in part directly by the formalities themselves with which French legislation encumbers the ownership of land, in part by the innumerable conflicts over plots everywhere bounding and crossing each other, and in part by the litigiousness of the peasants, whose enjoyment of property is limited to the fanatical assertion of their title to their fancied property, of their *property rights.*

According to a statistical statement of 1840, the gross production of French agriculture amounted to 5,237,178,000 francs. Of this, the costs of cultivation come to 3,552,000,000 francs, including the consumption by the persons working. There remains a net product of 1,685,178,000 francs, from which 550,000,000 have to be deducted for interest on mortgages, 100,000,000 for law officials, 350,000,000 for taxes and 107,000,000 for registration money, stamp duty, mortgage fees, etc. There is left one-third of the net

product, or 538,000,000; when distributed over the population, not 25 francs per head net product.[112] Naturally neither usury outside of mortgage nor lawyers' fees, etc., are included in this calculation.

The condition of the French peasants, when the republic had added new burdens to their old ones, is comprehensible. It can be seen that their exploitation differs only in *form* from the exploitation of the industrial proletariat. The exploiter is the same: *capital.* The individual capitalists exploit the individual peasants through *mortgages* and *usury*; the capitalist class exploits the peasant class through the *state taxes.* The peasant's title to property is the talisman by which capital held him hitherto under its spell, the pretext under which it set him against the industrial proletariat. Only the fall of capital can raise the peasant; only an anti-capitalist, a proletarian government can break his economic misery, his social degradation. The *constitutional republic* is the dictatorship of his united exploiters; *the social-democratic, the Red* republic, is the dictatorship of his allies. And the scale rises or falls, according to the votes that the peasant casts into the ballot box. He himself has to decide his fate.—So spoke the Socialists in pamphlets, almanacs, calendars and leaflets of all kinds. This language became more understandable to him through the counter-writings of the party of Order, which, for its part, turned to him, and which, by gross exaggeration, by its brutal conception and representation of the intentions and ideas of the Socialists, struck the true peasant note and overstimulated his lust after forbidden fruit. Clearest of all, however, was the voice of the peasants' actual experience of using the vote, and the successive disappointments it rained down blow by blow with revolutionary speed upon them. *Revolutions are the locomotives of history.*

The gradual revolutionising of the peasants was manifested by various symptoms. It already revealed itself in the elections to the Legislative Assembly; it was revealed in the state of siege in the five departments bordering Lyons; it was revealed a few months after June 13 in the election of a *Montagnard*[a] in place of the former president of the *Chambre introuvable** by the Department of the Gironde; it was revealed on December 20, 1849, in the election of a Red[b] in place of a deceased Legitimist deputy in the Department *du*

* This is the name given by history to the fanatically ultra-royalist and reactionary Chamber of Deputies elected immediately after the second overthrow of Napoleon, in 1815.— *Note by Engels to the 1895 edition.*

[a] Lagarde, who was elected to replace the deceased Ravez.— *Ed.*
[b] Favand, who was elected to replace the deceased Beaune.— *Ed.*

*Gard*,[113] that promised land of the Legitimists, the scene of the most frightful infamies committed against the republicans in 1794 and 1795 and the centre of the *terreur blanche* in 1815, when liberals and Protestants were publicly murdered. This revolutionising of the most stationary class is most clearly evident since the reintroduction of the wine tax. The governmental measures and the laws of January and February 1850 are directed almost exclusively against the *departments* and the *peasants*. The most striking proof of their progress.

The *Hautpoul circular*, by which the gendarme was appointed inquisitor of the prefect, of the sub-prefect and, above all, of the mayor, and by which espionage was organised even in the hidden corners of the remotest village community; the *law against the schoolteachers*, by which they, the men of talent, the spokesmen, the educators and interpreters of the peasant class, were subjected to the arbitrary power of the prefect, they, the proletarians of the learned class, were chased like hunted beasts from one community to another; the *bill against the mayors*, by which the Damocles sword of dismissal was hung over their heads, and they, the presidents of the peasant communities, were every moment set in opposition to the President of the Republic and the party of Order; the *ordinance* which transformed the seventeen military districts of France into four pashalics[114] and forced the barracks and the bivouac on the French as their national *salon*; the *education law*,[115] by which the party of Order proclaimed the unconsciousness and the forcible stupefaction of France as the condition of its life under the regime of universal suffrage—what were all these laws and measures? Desperate attempts to reconquer the departments and the peasants of the departments for the party of Order.

Regarded as *repression*, they were wretched methods that wrung the neck of their own purpose. The big measures, like the retention of the wine tax, of the 45 centimes tax, the scornful rejection of the peasant petitions for the repayment of the milliard, etc., all these legislative thunderbolts struck the peasant class only once, wholesale, from the centre; the laws and measures instanced made attack and resistance *general*, the topic of the day in every hut; they inoculated every village with revolution; they *localised and peasantised the revolution*.

On the other hand, do not these proposals of Bonaparte and their acceptance by the National Assembly prove the unity of the two powers of the constitutional republic, so far as it is a question of repression of anarchy, that is, of all the classes that rise against the bourgeois dictatorship? Had not *Soulouque*, directly after his brusque

message,[a] assured the Legislative Assembly of his *dévouement*[b] to order, through the immediately following message of *Carlier*,[116] that dirty, mean caricature of Fouché, as Louis Bonaparte himself was the shallow caricature of Napoleon?

The *education law* shows us the alliance of the young Catholics with the old Voltairians. Could the rule of the united bourgeois be anything but the coalitioned despotism of the pro-Jesuit Restoration and the pseudo-free-thinking July monarchy? And was it not inevitable that the weapons distributed to the people by one bourgeois faction against the other in their mutual struggle for supremacy should be torn away from them again, once the people stood in opposition to their united dictatorship? Nothing has aroused the Paris shopkeeper more than this coquettish *étalage* of *Jesuitism*, not even the rejection of the *concordats à l'amiable*.

Meanwhile the collisions between the different factions of the party of Order, as well as between the National Assembly and Bonaparte, continued. The National Assembly was far from pleased that Bonaparte, immediately after his *coup d'état*, after appointing his own, Bonapartist, ministry, summoned the wounded veterans of the monarchy, newly appointed prefects, and made their unconstitutional agitation for his re-election as President the condition of their appointment; that Carlier celebrated his inauguration with the closing of a Legitimist club, or that Bonaparte founded a journal of his own, *Le Napoléon*, which betrayed to the public the secret longings of the President, while his ministers had to deny them from the tribune of the Legislative Assembly. The latter was far from pleased by the defiant retention of the ministry, notwithstanding its various votes of no confidence; far from pleased by the attempt to win the favour of the non-commissioned officers by a pay rise of four sous a day, and the favour of the proletariat by a plagiarisation of Eugène Sue's *Mystères*, by an honour loan bank[c]; far from pleased, finally, by the effrontery with which the ministers were made to move the deportation of the remaining June insurgents to Algiers, in order to heap unpopularity on the Legislative Assembly *en gros*, while the President reserved popularity for himself *en détail*, by individual grants of pardon. *Thiers* let fall threatening words about "*coup d'état*" and "*coups de tête*",[d] and the Legislative Assembly revenged itself on Bonaparte by rejecting every proposed law which he put forward for

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[a] See this volume, pp. 112-13.—*Ed.*

[b] Devotion.—*Ed.*

[c] For a criticism of the idea to set up a "bank for the poor", described in Eugène Sue's novel *Les mystères de Paris*, see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 197-99.—*Ed.*

[d] A play on the words *coup d'état* and *coups de tête* (rash deeds).—*Ed.*

his own benefit, and by enquiring, with noisy mistrust, in every instance of his making a proposal in the common interest, whether he did not aspire, through increase of the executive power, to augment the personal power of Bonaparte. In a word, it *revenged itself by a conspiracy of contempt.*

The Legitimist party, on its part, saw with vexation the more capable Orleanists once more occupying almost all posts and *centralisation* increasing, while on principle it sought its salvation in *decentralisation.* And it was so. The counter-revolution *centralised forcibly,* that is to say, it prepared the mechanism of the revolution. It even *centralised* the gold and silver of France in the Paris bank through the compulsory quotation of bank-notes, and so created the *ready war chest* of the revolution.

Lastly, the Orleanists saw with vexation the emergent principle of legitimacy contrasted with their bastard principle, and themselves every moment snubbed and maltreated as the bourgeois *mésalliance* of a noble spouse.

Little by little we have seen peasants, petty bourgeois, the middle classes in general, stepping alongside the proletariat, driven into open antagonism to the official republic and treated by it as antagonists. *Revolt against bourgeois dictatorship, need of a change of society, adherence to democratic-republican institutions as organs of their movement, grouping round the proletariat as the decisive revolutionary power*—these are the common characteristics of the *so-called party of social-democracy, the party of the Red republic.* This *party of Anarchy,* as its opponents christened it, is no less a coalition of different interests than *the party of Order.* From the smallest reform of the old social disorder to the overthrow of the old social order, from bourgeois liberalism to revolutionary terrorism—as far apart as this lie the extremes that form the starting point and the finishing point of the party of "Anarchy".

Abolition of all protective tariffs—Socialism! For it strikes at the monopoly of the *industrial* faction of the party of Order. Regulation of the state budget—Socialism! For it strikes at the monopoly of the *financial* faction of the party of Order. Free entry for foreign meat and corn—Socialism! For it strikes at the monopoly of the third faction of the party of Order, *large landed property.* The demands of the free-trade party, that is, of the most advanced English bourgeois party, appear in France as so many socialist demands. Voltairianism—Socialism! For it strikes at a fourth faction of the party of Order, the *Catholic.* Freedom of the press, right of association, universal public education—Socialism, Socialism! They strike at the general monopoly of the party of Order.

So swiftly had the march of the revolution ripened conditions that the friends of reform of all shades, the most moderate claims of the middle classes, were compelled to group themselves round the banner of the most extreme party of revolution, round the *red flag.*

Yet, manifold as the *Socialism* of the different large sections of the party of Anarchy was, according to the economic conditions and the total revolutionary requirements of their class or fraction of a class arising out of these, in *one* point it is in harmony: in proclaiming itself the *means of emancipating the proletariat* and the emancipation of the latter as its *object.* Deliberate deception on the part of some; self-deception on the part of the others, who give out the world transformed according to their own needs as the best world for all, as the realisation of all revolutionary claims and the elimination of all revolutionary collisions.

Behind the *general* socialist phrases of the "*party of Anarchy*", which sound rather alike, there is concealed the *Socialism of the "National", of the "Presse" and the "Siècle",* which more or less consistently wants to overthrow the rule of the finance aristocracy and to free industry and trade from their hitherto existing fetters. This is the Socialism of industry, of trade and of agriculture, whose bosses in the party of Order deny these interests, insofar as they no longer coincide with their private monopolies. Socialism proper, *petty-bourgeois Socialism,* Socialism *par excellence,* is distinct from this *bourgeois Socialism,* to which, as to every variety of Socialism, a section of the workers and petty bourgeois naturally rallies. Capital hounds this class chiefly as its *creditor,* so it demands *credit institutions*; capital crushes it by *competition,* so it demands *associations* supported by the state; capital overwhelms it by *concentration,* so it demands *progressive taxes,* limitations on inheritance, taking over of large construction projects by the state, and other measures that *forcibly stem the growth of capital.* Since it dreams of the peaceful achievement of its Socialism—allowing, perhaps, for a second February Revolution lasting a brief day or so—the coming historical process naturally appears to it as an *application of systems,* which the thinkers of society, whether in companies or as individual inventors, devise or have devised. Thus they become the eclectics or adepts of the existing socialist *systems,* of *doctrinaire Socialism,* which was the theoretical expression of the proletariat only as long as it had not yet developed further into a free historical movement of its own.

Thus, while *utopia, doctrinaire Socialism,* which subordinates the whole movement to one of its elements, which puts the cerebrations of the individual pedant in place of common, social production and,

above all, wishes away the necessities of the revolutionary class struggles by petty tricks or great sentimental rhetoric—while this doctrinaire Socialism, which basically only idealises present-day society, makes a shadowless picture of it and seeks to oppose its ideal to its reality, while this Socialism is ceded by the proletariat to the petty bourgeoisie, while the internal struggle between the different socialist leaders reveals each so-called system to be the pretentious adherence to one transitional position on the path to social upheaval as opposed to another—the *proletariat* increasingly organises itself around *revolutionary Socialism*, around *Communism*, for which the bourgeoisie itself has invented the name of *Blanqui*. This Socialism is the *declaration of the permanence of the revolution*, the *class dictatorship* of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the *abolition of class distinctions generally*, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionising of all the ideas that result from these social relations.

The scope of this exposition does not permit of developing the subject further.

We have seen that just as in the party of *Order* the *finance aristocracy* necessarily took the lead, so in the party of "*Anarchy*" the *proletariat*. While the different classes, united in a revolutionary league, grouped themselves round the proletariat, while the departments became ever more unreliable and the Legislative Assembly itself ever more morose towards the pretensions of the French Soulouque, the long deferred and delayed election of substitutes for the *Montagnards*, proscribed after June 13, drew near.

The government, scorned by its foes, maltreated and daily humiliated by its alleged friends, saw only *one* means of emerging from this repugnant and untenable position—a *revolt*. A revolt in Paris would have permitted the proclamation of a state of siege in Paris and the departments and thus the control of the elections. On the other hand, the friends of order, in face of a government that had gained victory over anarchy, were constrained to make concessions, if they did not want to appear as anarchists themselves.

The government set to work. At the beginning of February 1850, provocation of the people by chopping down the trees of liberty.[117] In vain. If the trees of liberty lost their place, it itself lost its head and fell back, frightened by its own provocation. The National Assembly, however, received this clumsy attempt at emancipation on the part of Bonaparte with ice-cold mistrust. The removal of the wreaths of immortelles from the July column was no more successful.[118] It gave

a part of the army an opportunity for revolutionary demonstrations and the National Assembly the occasion for a more or less veiled vote of no confidence in the ministry. In vain the government press threatened the abolition of universal suffrage and an invasion by the Cossacks. In vain was d'Hautpoul's direct challenge, issued to the Left[a] in the Legislative Assembly itself, to betake themselves to the streets, and his declaration that the government was ready to receive them. Hautpoul received nothing but a call to order from the President,[b] and the party of Order, with silent, malicious joy, allowed a deputy of the Left to mock Bonaparte's usurpatory longings. In vain, finally, was the prophecy of a revolution on *February 24.* The government caused February 24 to be ignored by the people.

The proletariat did not allow itself to be provoked to *revolt,* because it was on the point of making a *revolution.*

Unhindered by the provocations of the government, which only heightened the general exasperation at the existing situation, the election committee, wholly under the influence of the workers, put forward three candidates for Paris: *Deflotte, Vidal* and *Carnot. Deflotte* was a June deportee, amnestied through one of Bonaparte's popularity-seeking ideas; he was a friend of Blanqui and had taken part in the attempt of May 15. *Vidal,* known as a Communist writer through his book *Concerning the Distribution of Wealth,*[c] was formerly secretary to Louis Blanc in the Luxembourg Commission. *Carnot,* son of the man of the Convention who had organised the victory,[d] the least compromised member of the *National* party, Minister of Education in the Provisional Government and the Executive Commission, was through his democratic public education bill a living protest against the education law of the Jesuits. These three candidates represented the three allied classes: at the head, the June insurgent, the representative of the revolutionary proletariat; next to him, the doctrinaire Socialist, the representative of the socialist petty bourgeoisie; finally, the third, the representative of the republican bourgeois party, the democratic formulas of which had gained a socialist significance *vis-à-vis* the party of Order and had long lost their own significance. This was a *general coalition against the bourgeoisie and the government, as in February.* But this time the *proletariat was at the head of the revolutionary league.*

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[a] On February 16, 1850.—*Ed.*

[b] Comte Napoléon Daru.—*Ed.*

[c] F. Vidal, *De la répartition des richesses ou de la justice distributive en économie sociale.*—*Ed.*

[d] Lazare Nicolas Carnot.—*Ed.*

In spite of all efforts the socialist candidates won. The army itself voted for the June insurgent against its own War Minister, La Hitte. The party of Order was thunderstruck. The elections in the departments did not solace them; they gave a majority to the *Montagnards.*

*The election of March 10, 1850! It was the revocation of June 1848*: the butchers and deporters of the June insurgents returned to the National Assembly, but returned, bowed down, in the train of the deported, and with their principles on their lips. *It was the revocation of June 13, 1849*: the *Montagne,* proscribed by the National Assembly, returned to the National Assembly, but as advance trumpeters of the revolution, no longer as its commanders. *It was the revocation of December 10*: Napoleon had lost out with his Minister La Hitte. The parliamentary history of France knows only one analogy: the rejection of d'Haussez, minister of Charles X, in 1830. Finally, the election of March 10, 1850, was the cancellation of the election of May 13, which had given the party of Order a majority. The election of March 10 protested against the majority of May 13. March 10 was a revolution. Behind the ballots lie the paving stones.

"The vote of March 10 means war," shouted Ségur d'Aguesseau,[a] one of the most advanced members of the party of Order.

With March 10, 1850, the constitutional republic entered a new phase, *the phase of its dissolution.* The different factions of the majority are again united among themselves and with Bonaparte; they are again the saviours of order; he is again their *neutral man.* If they remember that they are royalists it happens only from despair of the possibility of a bourgeois republic; if he remembers that he is a pretender, it happens only because he despairs of remaining President.

At the command of the party of Order, Bonaparte answers the election of *Deflotte,* the June insurgent, by appointing *Baroche* Minister of the Interior, Baroche, the accuser of Blanqui and Barbès, of Ledru-Rollin and Guinard. The Legislative Assembly answers the election of *Carnot* by adopting the education law, the election of *Vidal* by suppressing the socialist press. The party of Order seeks to blare away its own fears by the trumpet blasts of its press. "The sword is holy," cries one of its organs; "The defenders of order must take the offensive against the Red party," cries another; "Between Socialism and society there is a duel to the death, a war without surcease or mercy; in this duel of desperation one or the other must go under; if society does not annihilate Socialism, Socialism will

[a] In the Legislative Assembly on March 16, 1850.—*Ed.*

annihilate society," crows a third cock of order.[a] Throw up the barricades of order, the barricades of religion, the barricades of the family! An end must be made of the 127,000 voters of Paris! A Bartholomew's night for the Socialists! And the party of Order believes for a moment in its own certainty of victory.

Their organs hold forth most fanatically of all against the "*boutiquiers of Paris*". The June insurgent of Paris elected by the shopkeepers of Paris as their representative! This means that a second June 1848 is impossible; this means that a second June 13, 1849 is impossible; this means that the moral influence of capital is broken; this means that the bourgeois assembly now represents only the bourgeoisie; this means that big property is lost, because its vassal, small property, seeks its salvation in the camp of the propertyless.

The party of Order naturally returns to its inevitable *commonplace*. "*More repression*," it cries, "*tenfold repression!*" But its power of repression has diminished tenfold, while resistance has increased a hundredfold. Must not the chief instrument of repression, the army, itself be repressed? And the party of Order speaks its last word: "The iron ring of suffocating legality must be broken. *The constitutional republic is impossible.* We must fight with our true weapons; since February 1848, we have fought the revolution with *its* weapons and on *its* terrain. We have accepted *its* institutions; the constitution is a fortress which safeguards only the besiegers, not the besieged! By smuggling ourselves into holy Ilion in the belly of the Trojan horse, we have, unlike our forefathers, the *Grecs*,* not conquered the hostile town, but made prisoners of ourselves."

The foundation of the constitution, however, is *universal suffrage. Annihilation of universal suffrage*—such is the last word of the party of Order, of the bourgeois dictatorship.

On May 4, 1848, on December 20, 1848, on May 13, 1849, and on July 8, 1849, universal suffrage admitted that they were right.[119] On March 10, 1850, universal suffrage admitted that it had itself been wrong. Bourgeois rule as the outcome and result of universal suffrage, as the express act of the sovereign will of the people—that is the meaning of the bourgeois constitution. But has the constitution

* *Grecs*—play on words: Greeks, but also professional cheats.—*Note by Engels to the 1895 edition.*

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[a] The organ of the party of Order referred to here is the newspaper *La Patrie*. Evidently, Marx made use of the newspaper *La Voix du peuple* Nos. 166 and 167 of March 17 and 18, 1850, in which these passages from *La Patrie* were quoted.—*Ed.*

any further meaning from the moment that the content of this suffrage, of this sovereign will, is no longer bourgeois rule? Is it not the duty of the bourgeoisie so to regulate the suffrage that it wills the reasonable, its rule? By ever and anon putting an end to the existing state power and creating it anew out of itself, does not universal suffrage put an end to all stability, does it not every moment question all the powers that be, does it not annihilate authority, does it not threaten to elevate anarchy itself to the position of authority? After March 10, 1850, who would still doubt it?

By repudiating universal suffrage, with which it hitherto draped itself and from which it sucked its omnipotence, the bourgeoisie openly confesses, "*Our dictatorship has hitherto existed by the will of the people; it must now be consolidated against the will of the people.*" And, consistently, it seeks its props no longer within *France*, but without, in foreign countries, in *invasion.*

With the invasion, it, a second Coblenz,[120] its seat established in France itself, rouses all the national passions against itself. With the attack on universal suffrage it provides a *general pretext* for the new revolution, and the revolution requires such a pretext. Every *special* pretext would divide the factions of the revolutionary league, and give prominence to their differences. The *general* pretext stuns the semi-revolutionary classes; it permits them to deceive themselves concerning the *definite character* of the coming revolution, concerning the consequences of their own act. Every revolution requires a banquet question. Universal suffrage is the banquet question of the new revolution.

However, the coalitioned factions of the bourgeoisie are already condemned by their retreat from the *constitutional republic*—the only possible form of their *united* power, and the most powerful and most complete form of their *class rule*—to the subordinate, incomplete and weaker form of the *monarchy.* They are like that old man who fetched out his boyhood clothes and painfully tried to force his withered limbs into them in order to regain his youthful strength. Their republic had only *one* merit, *that of being the forcing-house of the revolution.*

March 10, 1850, bears the inscription:

*Après moi le déluge! After me the deluge!*[a]

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[a] Words attributed to Louis XV.—*Ed.*

## IV

## THE ABOLITION OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN 1850

(The continuation of the three foregoing chapters is contained in the *Revue* in the fifth and sixth double issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the last to appear.[a] Here, after the great commercial crisis that broke out in England in 1847 had first been described and the coming to a head of the political complications on the European Continent in the revolutions of February and March 1848 had been explained by its reactions there, it was shown how the prosperity of trade and industry that again set in during the course of 1848 and increased still further in 1849 paralysed the revolutionary upsurge and made possible the simultaneous victories of reaction. It went on to say, with special reference to France:)[b]

The same symptoms have shown themselves in *France* since 1849, and particularly since the beginning of 1850. The Parisian industries are abundantly employed and the cotton factories of Rouen and Mulhouse are also doing pretty well, although here, as in England, the high prices of the raw material have exercised a retarding influence. The development of prosperity in France was, in addition, especially promoted by the comprehensive tariff reform in Spain and by the reduction of the duties on various luxury articles in Mexico; the export of French commodities to both markets has considerably increased. The growth of capital in France led to a series of speculations, for which the large-scale exploitation of the Californian gold-mines served as a pretext.[121] A swarm of companies has sprung up, the low denomination of whose shares and whose socialist-coloured prospectuses appeal directly to the purses of the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 507-10 and 516-25.—*Ed.*

[b] The introductory paragraph was written by Engels for the 1895 edition.—*Ed.*

petty bourgeois and the workers, but which one and all result in that sheer swindling which is characteristic of the French and Chinese alone. One of these companies is even patronised directly by the government. The import duties in France during the first nine months of 1848 amounted to 63,000,000 francs, of 1849 to 95,000,000 francs and of 1850 to 93,000,000 francs. Moreover, in the month of September 1850, they again rose by more than a million compared with the same month of 1849. Exports also rose in 1849, and still more in 1850.

The most striking proof of restored prosperity is the bank's reintroduction of specie payment by the law of August 6, 1850. On March 15, 1848, the bank had been authorised to suspend specie payment. Its note circulation, including the provincial banks, amounted at that time to 373,000,000 francs (£14,920,000). On November 2, 1849, this circulation amounted to 482,000,000 francs, or £19,280,000, an increase of £4,360,000, and on September 2, 1850, to 496,000,000 francs, or £19,840,000, an increase of about £5,000,000. This was not accompanied by any devaluation of the notes; on the contrary, the increased circulation of the notes was accompanied by the steadily increasing accumulation of gold and silver in the vaults of the bank, so that in the summer of 1850 its metallic reserve amounted to about £14,000,000, an unprecedented sum in France. That the bank was thus placed in a position to increase its circulation and therewith its active capital by 123,000,000 francs, or £5,000,000, is striking proof of the correctness of our assertion in an earlier issue[a] that the finance aristocracy has not only not been overthrown by the revolution, but has even been strengthened. This result becomes still more evident from the following survey of French bank legislation during the last few years. On June 10, 1847, the bank was authorised to issue notes of 200 francs; hitherto the smallest denomination had been 500 francs. A decree of March 15, 1848, declared the notes of the Bank of France legal tender and relieved the bank of the obligation of redeeming them in specie. Its note issue was limited to 350,000,000 francs. It was simultaneously authorised to issue notes of 100 francs. A decree of April 27 prescribed the merging of the departmental banks in the Bank of France; another decree, of May 2, 1848, increased the latter's note issue to 452,000,000 francs. A decree of December 22, 1849, raised the maximum of the note issue to 525,000,000 francs. Finally, the law of August 6, 1850, re-established the exchangeability of notes for specie. These facts, the continual increase in the

[a] See this volume, pp. 114-18.—*Ed.*

circulation, the concentration of the whole of French credit in the hands of the bank and the accumulation of all French gold and silver in the bank's vaults, led M. Proudhon to the conclusion that the bank must now shed its old snakeskin and metamorphose itself into a Proudhonist people's bank.[122] He did not even need to know the history of the restriction on the English bank from 1797-1819[123]; he only needed to direct his glance across the Channel to see that this fact, for him unprecedented in the history of bourgeois society, was nothing more than a very normal bourgeois event, which now only occurred in France for the first time. One sees that the allegedly revolutionary theoreticians who, after the Provisional Government, talked big in Paris, were just as ignorant of the nature and the results of the measures taken as the gentlemen of the Provisional Government themselves.

In spite of the industrial and commercial prosperity that France momentarily enjoys, the mass of the people, the twenty-five million peasants, suffer from a great depression. The good harvests of the last few years have forced the prices of corn in France much lower even than in England, and the position of the peasants under such circumstances, in debt, sucked dry by usury and crushed by taxes, must be anything but splendid. The history of the last three years has, however, provided sufficient proof that this class of the population is absolutely incapable of any revolutionary initiative.

Just as the period of crisis occurs later on the Continent than in England, so does that of prosperity. The original process always takes place in England; it is the demiurge of the bourgeois cosmos. On the Continent, the different phases of the cycle through which bourgeois society is ever speeding anew occur in secondary and tertiary form. First, the Continent exported incomparably more to England than to any other country. This export to England, however, in turn depends on the position of England, particularly with regard to the overseas market. Then England exports to the overseas lands incomparably more than the entire Continent, so that the quantity of Continental exports to these lands is always dependent on England's overseas exports at the time. While, therefore, the crises first produce revolutions on the Continent, the foundation for these is, nevertheless, always laid in England. Violent outbreaks must naturally occur rather in the extremities of the bourgeois body than in its heart, since the possibility of adjustment is greater here than there. On the other hand, the degree to which Continental revolutions react on England is at the same time the barometer which indicates how far these revolutions really call in

question the bourgeois conditions of life, or how far they only hit their political formations.

With this general prosperity, in which the productive forces of bourgeois society develop as luxuriantly as is at all possible within bourgeois relationships, there can be no talk of a real revolution. Such a revolution is only possible in the periods when *both these factors*, the *modern* productive *forces* and the *bourgeois forms of production*, come *in collision* with each other. The various quarrels in which the representatives of the individual factions of the Continental party of Order now indulge and mutually compromise themselves, far from providing the occasion for new revolutions are, on the contrary, possible only because the basis of the relationships is momentarily so secure and, what the reaction does not know, so *bourgeois*. All reactionary attempts to hold up bourgeois development will rebound off it just as certainly as all moral indignation and all enthusiastic proclamations of the democrats. *A new revolution is possible only in consequence of a new crisis. It is, however, just as certain as this crisis.*[a]

Let us now turn to *France*.

The victory that the people, in conjunction with the petty bourgeois, had won in the elections of March 10 was annulled by it itself when it provoked the new election of April 28. Vidal was elected not only in Paris, but also in the Lower Rhine. The Paris Committee, in which the *Montagne* and the petty bourgeoisie were strongly represented, induced him to accept for the Lower Rhine. The victory of March 10 ceased to be a decisive one; the date of the decision was once more postponed; the tension of the people was relaxed; it became accustomed to legal triumphs instead of revolutionary ones. The revolutionary meaning of March 10, the rehabilitation of the June insurrection, was finally completely annihilated by the candidature of Eugène Sue, the sentimental petty-bourgeois social-fantasist, which the proletariat could at best accept as a joke to amuse the grisettes. As against this well-meaning candidature, the party of Order, emboldened by the vacillating policy of its opponents, put up a candidate who was to represent the June *victory*. This comic candidate was the Spartan *pater familias* Leclerc,[124] from whose person, however, the heroic armour was torn piece by piece by the press, and who experienced a crushing defeat in the election. The new election victory on April 28 put the *Montagne* and the petty bourgeoisie in high feather. They already

[a] Here Engels omitted several pages from the third international review, pages referring to England (see this volume, pp. 510-16).— *Ed.*

exulted in the thought of being able to arrive at the goal of their wishes in a purely legal way and without again pushing the proletariat into the foreground through a new revolution; they reckoned positively on bringing M. Ledru-Rollin into the presidential chair and a majority of *Montagnards* into the Assembly through universal suffrage in the new elections of 1852. The party of Order, rendered perfectly certain, by the prospective elections, by Sue's candidature and by the mood of the *Montagne* and the petty bourgeoisie, that the latter were resolved to remain quiet no matter what happened, answered the two election victories with an *election law* which abolished universal suffrage.

The government took good care not to make this legislative proposal on its own responsibility. It made an apparent concession to the majority by entrusting the drafting of the bill to the high dignitaries of this majority, to the seventeen burgraves.[125] Thus, it was not the government that proposed the repeal of universal suffrage to the Assembly; the majority of the Assembly proposed it to itself.

On May 8, the project was brought into the Chamber. The entire social-democratic press rose as one man in order to preach to the people dignified composure, *calme majestueux*,[a] passivity and trust in its representatives. Every article of these journals was a confession that a revolution would, above all, annihilate the so-called revolutionary press and that, therefore, it was now a question of its self-preservation. The allegedly revolutionary press betrayed its whole secret. It signed its own death warrant.

On May 21, the *Montagne* put the preliminary question to debate and moved the rejection of the whole project on the ground that it violated the constitution. The party of Order answered that the constitution would be violated if it were necessary; there was, however, no need for this at present, because the constitution was capable of every interpretation, and because the majority alone was competent to decide on the correct interpretation. To the unbridled, savage attacks of Thiers and Montalembert the *Montagne* opposed a decorous and refined humanism. It took its stand on the ground of law; the party of Order referred it to the ground on which the law grows, to bourgeois property. The *Montagne* whimpered: Did they really want, then, to conjure up revolutions by main force? The party of Order replied: One should await them.

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[a] An allusion to Victor Hugo's appeal to keep "majestic calm", made in his speech in the Legislative Assembly on May 21, 1850.—*Ed.*

On May 22, the preliminary question was settled by 462 votes to 227. The same men who had proved with such solemn profundity that the National Assembly and every individual deputy would be renouncing his mandate if he renounced the people, his mandator, stuck to their seats and now suddenly sought to let the country act, through petitions at that, instead of acting themselves; and still sat there unmoved when, on May 31, the law went through in splendid fashion.[126] They sought to revenge themselves by a protest in which they recorded their innocence of the rape of the constitution, a protest which they did not even submit openly, but smuggled into the President's[a] pocket behind his back.

An army of 150,000 men in Paris, the long deferment of the decision, the appeasing attitude of the press, the pusillanimity of the *Montagne* and of the newly elected representatives, the majestic calm of the petty bourgeois, but, above all, the commercial and industrial prosperity, prevented any attempt at revolution on the part of the proletariat.

Universal suffrage had fulfilled its mission. The majority of the people had passed through the school of development, which is all that universal suffrage can serve for in a revolutionary period. It had to be set aside by a revolution or by the reaction.

The *Montagne* developed a still greater display of energy on an occasion that arose soon afterwards. From the tribune War Minister d'Hautpoul had termed the February Revolution a baneful catastrophe.[b] The orators of the *Montagne*, who, as always, distinguished themselves by their morally indignant bluster, were not allowed by the President, Dupin, to speak. Girardin proposed to the *Montagne* that it should walk out at once *en masse*. Result: the *Montagne* remained seated, but Girardin was cast out from its midst as unworthy.

The election law still needed one thing to complete it, a new *press law*. This was not long in coming. A proposal of the government, made many times more drastic by amendments of the party of Order, increased the caution money, put an extra stamp on feuilleton novels (answer to the election of Eugène Sue), taxed all publications appearing weekly or monthly up to a certain number of sheets and finally provided that every article of a journal must bear the signature of the author. The provisions concerning the caution money killed the so-called revolutionary press; the people regarded its extinction as satisfaction for the abolition of universal suffrage.

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[a] The President of the Assembly.—*Ed.*

[b] This statement was made by the Minister of Justice Eugène Rouher.—*Ed.*

However, neither the tendency nor the effect of the new law extended only to this section of the press. As long as the newspaper press was anonymous, it appeared as the organ of a numberless and nameless public opinion; it was the third power in the state. Through the signature of every article, a newspaper became a mere collection of literary contributions from more or less known individuals. Every article sank to the level of an advertisement. Hitherto the newspapers had circulated as the paper money of public opinion; now they were resolved into more or less bad *solo* bills, whose worth and circulation depended on the credit not only of the drawer but also of the endorser. The press of the party of Order had agitated not only for the repeal of universal suffrage but also for the most extreme measures against the bad press. However, in its sinister anonymity even the good press was irksome to the party of Order and still more to its individual provincial representatives. As for itself, it demanded only the paid writer, with name, address and description. In vain the good press bemoaned the ingratitude with which its services were rewarded. The law went through; the specification of the names of authors hit it hardest of all. The names of republican journalists were pretty well known; but the respectable firms of the *Journal des Débats*, the *Assemblée nationale*, the *Constitutionnel*, etc., etc., cut a sorry figure in their high protestations of state wisdom, when the mysterious company all at once disintegrated into purchasable penny-a-liners[a] of long practice, who had defended all possible causes for cash, like Granier de Cassagnac, or into old milksops who called themselves statesmen, like Capefigue, or into coquettish fops, like M. Lemoinne of the *Débats*.

In the debate on the press law the *Montagne* had already sunk to such a level of moral degeneracy that it had to confine itself to applauding the brilliant tirades of an old notability of Louis Philippe's time, M. Victor Hugo.

With the election law and the press law the revolutionary and democratic party exits from the official stage. Before their departure home, shortly after the end of the session, the two factions of the *Montagne*, the socialist democrats and the democratic Socialists, issued two manifestos, two *testimonia paupertatis*, in which they proved that while power and success were never on their side, they nonetheless had ever been on the side of eternal justice and all the other eternal truths.[b]

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[a] This expression is given in English in the original.—*Ed.*

[b] "Compte-rendu de la Montagne au Peuple" and "Au Peuple!", published in the newspaper *Le Peuple de 1850* No. 6, August 11, and No. 7, August 14, 1850.—*Ed.*

Let us now consider the party of Order. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had said (Heft 3, p. 16): "As against the hankering for restoration on the part of the united Orleanists and Legitimists, Bonaparte defends his title to his actual power, the republic; as against the hankering for restoration on the part of Bonaparte, the party of Order defends its title to its common rule, the republic. As against the Orleanists, the Legitimists, and as against the Legitimists, the Orleanists, defend the *status quo*, the republic. All these factions of the party of Order, each of which has its own king and its own restoration *in petto*, mutually enforce, as against their rivals' hankering for usurpation and revolt, the common rule of the bourgeoisie, the form in which the special claims remain neutralised and reserved—the republic.... And Thiers spoke more truly than he suspected when he said: 'We, the royalists, are the true pillars of the constitutional republic.'"[a]

This comedy of the *républicains malgré eux*,[b] the antipathy to the *status quo* and the constant consolidation of it; the incessant friction between Bonaparte and the National Assembly; the ever renewed threat of the party of Order to split into its separate component parts, and the ever repeated conjugation of its factions; the attempt of each faction to transform each victory over the common foe into a defeat for its temporary allies; the mutual petty jealousy, chicanery, harassment, the tireless drawing of swords that ever and again ends with a *baiser-Lamourette*[127]—this whole unedifying comedy of errors never developed more classically than during the last six months.

The party of Order regarded the election law at the same time as a victory over Bonaparte. Had not the government abdicated when it handed over the editing of and responsibility for its own proposal to the Commission of Seventeen? And did not the chief strength of Bonaparte as against the Assembly lie in the fact that he was the chosen of six millions?—Bonaparte, on his part, treated the election law as a concession to the Assembly, with which he claimed to have purchased harmony between the legislative and executive powers. As reward, the vulgar adventurer demanded an increase of three millions in his civil list. Dared the National Assembly enter into a conflict with the executive at a moment when it had excommunicated the great majority of Frenchmen? It was roused to anger; it appeared to want to go to extremes; its Commission rejected the motion; the Bonapartist press threatened, and referred to the

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[a] See this volume, p. 114.—*Ed.*

[b] Republicans in spite of themselves. (Allusion to Molière's comedy *Le Médecin malgré lui*.)—*Ed.*

disinherited people, deprived of its franchise; numerous noisy attempts at an arrangement took place, and the Assembly finally gave way in fact, but at the same time revenged itself in principle. Instead of increasing the civil list in principle by three millions per annum, it granted him an accommodation of 2,160,000 francs. Not satisfied with this, it made even this concession only after it had been supported by Changarnier, the general of the party of Order and the protector thrust upon Bonaparte. Therefore it really granted the two millions not to Bonaparte, but to Changarnier.

This sop, thrown to him *de mauvaise grâce*,[a] was accepted by Bonaparte quite in the spirit of the donor. The Bonapartist press blustered anew against the National Assembly. When, now in the debate on the press law, the amendment was passed on the signing of names, which, in turn, was directed especially against the less important papers, the representatives of the private interests of Bonaparte, the principal Bonapartist paper, the *Pouvoir*, published an open and vehement attack on the National Assembly. The ministers had to disavow the paper before the Assembly; the managing editor of the *Pouvoir* was summoned before the bar of the National Assembly and sentenced to pay the highest fine, 5,000 francs.[b] Next day, the *Pouvoir* published a still more insolent article against the Assembly, and, as the government's revenge, the public prosecutor promptly prosecuted a number of Legitimist journals for violating the constitution.

Finally there came the question of proroguing the Chamber. Bonaparte desired this in order to be able to operate unhindered by the Assembly. The party of Order desired it, partly for the purpose of carrying on its factional intrigues, partly for the pursuit of the private interests of the individual deputies. Both needed it in order to consolidate and push further the victories of reaction in the provinces. The Assembly therefore adjourned from August 11 until November 11. Since, however, Bonaparte in no way concealed that his only concern was to get rid of the irksome surveillance of the National Assembly, the Assembly imprinted on the vote of confidence itself the stamp of want of confidence in the President. All Bonapartists were kept off the permanent commission of twenty-eight members, who stayed on during the recess as guardians of the virtue of the republic.[128] In their stead, even some republicans of the *Siècle* and the *National* were elected to it, in order to prove to

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[a] With a bad grace.— *Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 39-40 and 520-21.— *Ed.*

the President the attachment of the majority to the constitutional republic.

Shortly before and, especially, immediately after the prorogation of the Chamber, the two big factions of the party of Order, the Orleanists and the Legitimists, appeared to want to be reconciled, and this by a fusion of the two royal houses under whose flags they were fighting. The papers were full of reconciliation proposals that were said to have been discussed at the sickbed of Louis Philippe at St. Leonards, when the death of Louis Philippe suddenly simplified the situation. Louis Philippe was the usurper; Henry V, the dispossessed; the Count of Paris,[a] on the other hand, owing to the childlessness of Henry V, his lawful heir to the throne. Every pretext for objecting to a fusion of the two dynastic interests was now removed. But now, precisely, the two factions of the bourgeoisie first discovered that it was not zeal for a definite royal house that divided them, but that it was rather their divided class interests that kept the two dynasties apart. The Legitimists, who had made a pilgrimage to the residence of Henry V at Wiesbaden just as their competitors had to St. Leonards, received there the news of Louis Philippe's death. Forthwith they formed a ministry *in partibus infidelium*,[b] which consisted mostly of members of that commission of guardians of the virtue of the republic[129] and which on the occasion of a squabble in the bosom of the party came out with the most outspoken proclamation of right by the grace of God. The Orleanists rejoiced over the compromising scandal that this manifesto[130] called forth in the press, and did not conceal for a moment their open enmity to the Legitimists.

During the adjournment of the National Assembly, the Councils of the Departments met. The majority of them declared for a more or less qualified revision of the constitution, that is, they declared for a not definitely specified monarchist restoration, for a "*solution*", and confessed at the same time that they were too incompetent and too cowardly to find this solution. The Bonapartist faction at once construed this desire for revision in the sense of a prolongation of Bonaparte's presidency.

The constitutional solution, the retirement of Bonaparte in May 1852, the simultaneous election of a new President by all the electors of the country, the revision of the constitution by a Chamber of

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[a] Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans.— *Ed.*

[b] Ignoring the real situation (literally, in the country of the infidels—an addition to the title of Catholic bishops appointed to purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries).— *Ed.*

Revision in the first months of the new presidency, is utterly inadmissible for the ruling class. The day of the new presidential election would be the day of *rendezvous* for all the hostile parties, the Legitimists, the Orleanists, the bourgeois republicans, the revolutionists. It would have to come to a violent decision between the different factions. Even if the party of Order should succeed in uniting round the candidature of a neutral person outside the dynastic families, he would still be opposed by Bonaparte. In its struggle with the people, the party of Order is compelled constantly to increase the power of the executive. Every increase of the executive's power increases the power of its bearer, Bonaparte. In the same measure, therefore, as the party of Order strengthens its joint might, it strengthens the fighting resources of Bonaparte's dynastic pretensions, it strengthens his chance of frustrating a constitutional solution by force on the day of the decision. He will then have, as against the party of Order, no more scruples about the one pillar of the constitution than that party had, as against the people, about the other pillar in the matter of the election law. He would, seemingly even against the Assembly, appeal to universal suffrage. In a word, the constitutional solution questions the entire political *status quo* and behind the jeopardising of the *status quo* the bourgeois sees chaos, anarchy, civil war. He sees his purchases and sales, his promissory notes, his marriages, his agreements, duly acknowledged before a notary, his mortgages, his ground rents, house rents, profits, all his contracts and sources of income called in question on the first Sunday in May 1852,[131] and he cannot expose himself to this risk. Behind the jeopardising of the political *status quo* lurks the danger of the collapse of the entire bourgeois society. The only possible solution in the sense of the bourgeoisie is the postponement of the solution. It can save the constitutional republic only by a violation of the constitution, by the prolongation of the power of the President. This is also the last word of the press of Order, after the protracted and profound debates on the "solutions" in which it indulged after the session of the general councils. The high and mighty party of Order thus finds itself, to its shame, compelled to take seriously the ridiculous, commonplace and, to it, odious person of the pseudo-Bonaparte.

This dirty figure likewise deceived himself concerning the causes that clothed him more and more with the character of the indispensable man. While his party had sufficient insight to ascribe the growing importance of Bonaparte to circumstances, he believed that he owed it solely to the magic power of his name and his continual caricaturing of Napoleon. He became more enterprising

every day. To offset the pilgrimages to St. Leonards and Wiesbaden, he made his round trips through France. The Bonapartists had so little faith in the magic effect of his personality that they sent with him everywhere as *claqueurs* people from the Society of December 10,[132] that organisation of the Paris *lumpenproletariat*, packed *en masse* into railway trains and post-chaises. They put speeches into the mouth of their marionette which, according to the reception in the different towns, proclaimed republican resignation or perennial tenacity as the keynote of the President's policy. In spite of all manoeuvres these journeys were anything but triumphal processions.

When Bonaparte believed he had thus enthused the people, he set out to win the army. He caused great reviews to be held on the plain of Satory, near Versailles, at which he sought to buy the soldiers with garlic sausages, champagne and cigars. Whereas the genuine Napoleon, amid the hardships of his campaigns of conquest, knew how to cheer up his weary soldiers with outbursts of patriarchal familiarity, the pseudo-Napoleon believed it was in gratitude that the troops shouted: *Vive Napoléon, vive le saucisson!* that is, hurrah for the sausage [*Wurst*], hurrah for the buffoon [*Hanswurst*]!

These reviews led to the outbreak of the long suppressed dissension between Bonaparte and his War Minister d'Hautpoul, on the one hand, and Changarnier, on the other. In Changarnier, the party of Order had found its real neutral man, in whose case there could be no question of his own dynastic claims. It had designated him Bonaparte's successor. In addition, Changarnier had become the great general of the party of Order through his conduct on January 29 and June 13, 1849, the modern Alexander, whose brutal intervention had, in the eyes of the timid bourgeois, cut the Gordian knot of the revolution. At bottom just as ridiculous as Bonaparte, he had thus become a power in the very cheapest manner and was set up by the National Assembly to watch the President. He himself played the coquette, e.g., in the matter of the salary grant, with the protection that he gave Bonaparte, and rose up ever more overpoweringly against him and the ministers. When, on the occasion of the election law, an insurrection was expected, he forbade his officers to take any orders whatever from the War Minister or the President. The press was also instrumental in magnifying the figure of Changarnier. With the complete absence of great personalities, the party of Order naturally found itself compelled to endow a single individual with the strength lacking in its class as a whole and so puff up this individual to a prodigy. Thus arose the myth of Changarnier, the "*bulwark of society*". The arrogant

charlatanry, the secretive air of importance with which Changarnier condescended to carry the world on his shoulders, forms the most ridiculous contrast to the events during and after the Satory review, which irrefutably proved that it needed only a stroke of the pen by Bonaparte, the infinitely little, to bring this fantastic offspring of bourgeois fear, the colossus Changarnier, back to the dimensions of mediocrity, and transform him, society's heroic saviour, into a pensioned-off general.

Bonaparte had for some time been revenging himself on Changarnier by provoking the War Minister to disputes in matters of discipline with the irksome protector. The last review of Satory finally brought the old animosity to a climax. The constitutional indignation of Changarnier knew no bounds when he saw the cavalry regiments file past with the unconstitutional cry: *Vive l'Empereur!* In order to forestall any unpleasant debate on this cry in the coming session of the Chamber, Bonaparte removed the War Minister d'Hautpoul by appointing him Governor of Algiers. In his place he put a reliable old general of the time of the empire,[a] one who was fully a match for Changarnier in brutality. But so that the dismissal of d'Hautpoul might not appear as a concession to Changarnier, he simultaneously transferred General Neumayer, the right hand of the great saviour of society, from Paris to Nantes. It had been Neumayer who at the last review had induced the whole of the infantry to file past the successor of Napoleon in icy silence. Changarnier, himself hit in the person of Neumayer, protested and threatened. To no purpose. After two days' negotiations, the decree transferring Neumayer appeared in the *Moniteur*,[b] and there was nothing left for the hero of order but to submit to discipline or resign.

Bonaparte's struggle with Changarnier is the continuation of his struggle with the party of Order. The re-opening of the National Assembly on November 11 will, therefore, take place under threatening auspices. It will be a storm in a teacup. In essence the old game must go on. Meanwhile the majority of the party of Order will, despite the clamour of the sticklers for principle of its different factions, be compelled to prolong the power of the President. Similarly, Bonaparte, already humbled by lack of money, will, despite all preliminary protestations, accept this prolongation of power from the hands of the National Assembly as simply delegated to him. Thus

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[a] J. P. Schramm.—*Ed.*

[b] *Le Moniteur universel* No. 303, October 30, 1850.—*Ed.*

the solution is postponed; the *status quo* continued; one faction of the party of Order compromised, weakened, made impossible by the other; the repression of the common enemy, the mass of the nation, extended and exhausted, until the economic relations themselves have again reached the point of development where a new explosion blows into the air all these squabbling parties with their constitutional republic.

For the peace of mind of the bourgeois it must be said, however, that the scandal between Bonaparte and the party of Order has the result of ruining a multitude of small capitalists on the Bourse and putting their assets into the pockets of the big wolves of the Bourse.

# FREDERICK ENGELS

## THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE GERMAN IMPERIAL CONSTITUTION [133]

Written between mid-August 1849 and February 1850

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Signed: *Frederick Engels*

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Hecker, Struve, Blenker, Zitz und Blum,
Bringt die deutschen Fürsten[a] um![b]

This refrain which on every highway and in every tavern from the Palatinate to the Swiss frontier rang out on the lips of the South German "people's militia" to the well-known tune of "Surrounded by the Sea",[c] a mixture of chorale and barrel-organ—this refrain sums up the whole character of the "magnificent uprising for the Imperial Constitution".[134] Here you have in two lines their great men, their ultimate aims, their admirable staunchness, their noble hatred for the "tyrants" and at the same time their entire insight into the social and political situation.

Amidst all the movements and convulsions in Germany which followed in the wake of the February Revolution and its subsequent development, the campaign for the Imperial Constitution stands out owing to its classically German character. Its occasion, its appearance, the way it conducted itself, its whole course, were through and through German. In the same way as the June days of 1848 mark the degree of the social and political development of France, so the campaign for the Imperial Constitution marks the degree of the social and political development of Germany, and especially of South Germany.

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[a] In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* the words *deutschen Fürsten* (the German princes) were omitted because of the censorship and replaced by leaders.—*Ed.*

[b] Hecker, Struve, Blenker, Zitz and Blum slay the German princes!—*Ed.*

[c] "Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlungen"—the first words of a patriotic song composed in 1844 and popular during the struggle of the duchies for liberation from Danish rule in 1848-49.—*Ed.*

The soul of the whole movement was the class of the *petty bourgeoisie*, usually known as the *burghers*, and it is precisely in Germany, and especially in South Germany, that this class is in preponderance. It was the petty bourgeoisie which, in the "March Clubs",[135] the democratic constitutional clubs, the patriotic clubs, the multitude of so-called democratic clubs and almost the entire democratic press, swore to the Imperial Constitution its Grütli oaths,[136] as widespread as they were innocuous, and carried on its fight against the "refractory" princes of which the only immediate result was admittedly the elevating consciousness of having fulfilled one's civic duty. It was the petty bourgeoisie, represented by the resolute and so-called extreme Left of the Frankfurt Assembly, i.e. in particular by the Stuttgart Parliament and the "Imperial Regency",[137] which furnished the entire movement with its official leadership; lastly, the petty bourgeoisie was dominant in the local committees of the provincial diets, committees of public safety, provisional governments and constituent assemblies which in Saxony, on the Rhine and in South Germany won greater or lesser credit in the cause of the Imperial Constitution.

It is most unlikely that the petty bourgeoisie, if left to its own devices, would have gone outside the legal framework of lawful, peaceful and virtuous struggle and taken up the musket and the paving-stone in place of the so-called weapons of the spirit. The history of all political movements since 1830 in Germany, as in France and England, shows that this class is invariably full of bluster and loud protestations, at times even extreme as far as talking goes, as long as it perceives no danger; faint-hearted, cautious and calculating as soon as the slightest danger approaches; aghast, alarmed and wavering as soon as the movement it provoked is seized upon and taken up seriously by other classes; treacherous to the whole movement for the sake of its petty-bourgeois existence as soon as there is any question of a struggle with weapons in hand—and in the end, as a result of its indecisiveness, more often than not cheated and ill-treated as soon as the reactionary side has achieved victory.

Standing everywhere behind the petty bourgeoisie, however, are other classes who take up the movement provoked by it and in its interest, give it a more defined and energetic character and wherever possible seek to take it over: the *proletariat* and a large part of the *peasantry*, to whom moreover the more advanced section of the petty bourgeoisie usually attaches itself for a while.

These classes, headed by the proletariat of the larger towns, took the loudly protested assurances in favour of the Imperial Constitution more seriously than was to the liking of the petty-bourgeois

agitators. If the petty bourgeois were prepared, as they swore at every moment, to stake "property and life"[a] for the Imperial Constitution, the workers, and in many districts the peasants too, were ready to do the same, but under the condition, admittedly unspoken but perfectly understood by all parties, that after victory the petty bourgeoisie would have to defend this same Imperial Constitution against these same workers and peasants. These classes drove the petty bourgeoisie to an open break with the existing state power. If they could not prevent their allies, with their shopkeepers' mentality, from betraying them even while the battle was still going on, they at least had the satisfaction of seeing this treachery punished after the victory of the counter-revolution by the counter-revolutionaries themselves.

On the other hand at the beginning of the movement, the more resolute section of the bigger and middle bourgeoisie likewise attached itself to the petty bourgeoisie, just as we find in all earlier petty-bourgeois movements in England and France. The bourgeoisie never rules in its entirety; apart from the feudal castes[b] which have still retained some degree of the political power, even the big bourgeoisie itself splits, as soon as it has vanquished feudalism, into a governing and an opposing party usually represented by the banks on the one hand and the manufacturers on the other. The opposing, progressive section of the big and middle bourgeoisie then has, against the ruling section, common interests with the petty bourgeoisie and unites with it for a joint struggle. In Germany, where the armed counter-revolution has restored the almost exclusive rule of the army, the bureaucracy and the feudal nobility and where the bourgeoisie, in spite of the continued existence of constitutional forms, only plays a very subordinate and modest role, there are many more motives for this alliance. For all that, however, the German bourgeoisie is also infinitely more irresolute than its English and French counterparts and as soon as there is the slightest chance of a return to anarchy, i.e. of the real, decisive struggle, it retreats from the scene in fear and trembling. So also this time.

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[a] In the German original a paraphrase of "mit Gut und Blut für des Reichsgrundgesetz einzustehen" in the proclamation issued by the Bavarian petty-bourgeois deputies in reply to the Bavarian King's refusal to recognise the Imperial Constitution; the proclamation was published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 109, May 8, 1849.— *Ed.*

[b] In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* the words *Kasten des Feudalismus* (feudal castes) were replaced by *Resten des Feudalismus* (remnants of feudalism).— *Ed.*

Incidentally, the moment was not at all unfavourable for battle. In France elections were at hand; whether they gave the majority to the monarchists or the reds, they were bound to oust the centre parties of the Constituent Assembly, strengthen the extreme parties and bring about through a popular movement a speedy resolution of the intensified parliamentary struggle: in a word, they were bound to bring about a "*journée*".[a] In Italy fighting was going on under the walls of Rome, and the Roman Republic was holding out against the French army of invasion. In Hungary the Magyars were pushing on irresistibly; the imperial troops had been chased over the Waag and the Leitha; in Vienna, where every day people imagined they could hear the roar of cannon, the Hungarian revolutionary army was expected at any moment; in Galicia the arrival of Dembiński with a Polish-Magyar army was imminent and the Russian intervention, far from becoming dangerous to the Magyars, seemed much more likely to transform the Hungarian struggle into a European one. Finally, Germany was in a state of extreme ferment; the advances of the counter-revolution, the growing insolence of the soldiery, the bureaucracy and the nobility, the continually renewed betrayals by the old liberals in the ministries and the rapid succession of broken promises on the part of the princes[b] precipitated into the arms of the active party whole sections of former supporters of order.

In these circumstances the struggle broke out which we are about to describe in the following passages.

The incompleteness and confusion that still prevails in the material, the total unreliability of almost all the oral information that can be collected and the purely personal designs that underlie every piece of writing so far published about this struggle make it impossible to give a critical picture of the whole course of events. In these circumstances we have no choice but to restrict ourselves purely to recounting what we ourselves have seen and heard. Fortunately this is quite enough to allow the character of the whole campaign to emerge; and if, besides the movement in Saxony, we also lack personal observation of Mieroslawski's campaign on the Neckar, perhaps the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* will soon find an opportunity of giving us the necessary information at least as regards the latter.[138]

Many of the participants in the campaign for the Imperial Constitution are still in prison. Some have managed to return home,

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[a] An "historic day".—*Ed.*

[b] In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* the word "princes" was omitted because of the censorship.—*Ed.*

others, still abroad, are daily awaiting such an opportunity—and among them are by no means the worst. The reader will understand the consideration we owe our comrades-in-arms and find it natural if we remain silent about certain things; and many a one who is now safely back home will not take it amiss if we also do not wish to compromise him by narrating events in which he displayed truly magnificent courage.

## I. RHENISH PRUSSIA

It will be remembered how the armed uprising for the Imperial Constitution first broke out in *Dresden*[139] at the beginning of May. It is well known how the Dresden barricade-fighters, supported by the rural population and betrayed by the Leipzig philistines, were defeated by superior forces after six days' fighting. They at no time had more than 2,500 combatants with a motley collection of weapons and for their whole artillery two or three small mortars. The royal troops consisted, apart from the Saxon battalions, of two regiments of Prussians. They had cavalry, artillery, riflemen and a battalion equipped with needle-guns. The royal troops appear to have conducted themselves in an even more cowardly[a] way in Dresden than elsewhere; at the same time, however, it is clear that the men of Dresden fought more courageously against these superior forces than was probably the case elsewhere in the campaign for the Imperial Constitution. It must be added, however, that street-fighting is something quite different from an engagement in the field.

Berlin, disarmed and in a state of siege, remained quiet. Not even the railway was torn up to hold up the Prussian reinforcements as early as Berlin. Breslau[b] attempted a feeble barricade-fight[140] for which the government had long been prepared, and as a result the city only ended up the more certainly under the dictatorship of the sabre. The rest of North Germany, having no revolutionary centres, was paralysed. Only Rhenish Prussia and South Germany could still

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[a] In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* the word *feig* (cowardly) was replaced by the word *kläglich* (pitiful) because of censorship.— *Ed.*

[b] The Polish name is Wroclaw.— *Ed.*

be reckoned on, and in South Germany the Palatinate already started to move just at that moment.

Since 1815 Rhenish Prussia has been considered one of the most progressive provinces in Germany, and rightly so. It combines two advantages which are not to be found in combination in any other part of Germany.

Rhenish Prussia shares with Luxembourg, Rhenish Hesse and the Palatinate the advantage of having experienced since 1795 the French Revolution and the social, administrative and legislative consolidation of its results under Napoleon. When the revolutionary party in Paris succumbed, the armies carried the revolution across the frontiers. Before these so recently liberated sons of peasants not only the armies of the Holy Roman Empire[141] but also the feudal rule of the nobility and the priests fell to pieces. For two generations the left bank of the Rhine has no longer known feudalism; the nobleman has been deprived of his privileges and the landed property has passed from his hands and those of the church into the hands of the peasants; the land has been divided up and the peasant is a free landed proprietor as in France. In the towns, the guilds and the patriarchal rule of the patricians disappeared ten years earlier than anywhere else in Germany in the face of free competition, and the Napoleonic Code[142] finally sanctioned the whole changed situation by summing up all the revolutionary institutions.

Secondly, however, Rhenish Prussia possesses—and herein lies its main advantage over the rest of the states on the left bank of the Rhine—the most developed and diversified industry in the whole of Germany. In the three administrative districts of Aachen, Cologne and Düsseldorf, almost all branches of industry are represented: cotton, wool and silk industries of all kinds, together with those branches dependent upon them such as bleaching, textile printing and dyeing, iron-founding and engineering, are to be found concentrated here, alongside mining, armaments manufacture and other metal industries, within an area of a few square miles and employ a population of a density unheard of in Germany. Directly adjoining the Rhine Province is the iron and coal district of the Mark which provides it with a part of its raw materials and from the industrial point of view belongs to it. The best waterway in Germany, the proximity of the sea and the mineral wealth of the region favour industry, which has also built numerous railways and is even now daily further integrating its railway network. There is a mutual interaction between this industry and an import and export trade, for Germany very extensive, with all parts of the world, a

considerable direct traffic with all the great trading centres of the world market and a commensurate degree of speculation in raw materials and railway shares. To sum up, the level of industrial and commercial development in the Rhine Province is for Germany unique, even if in world terms it is fairly insignificant.

The consequence of this industry—which also burgeoned under the revolutionary rule of the French—and the trade connected with it is the creation in Rhenish Prussia of a mighty industrial and commercial big *bourgeoisie* and, in opposition to it, of a large industrial *proletariat*, two classes which in the rest of Germany only exist in isolated areas and in embryonic form but which almost exclusively dominate the distinct political development of the Rhine Province.

Over the rest of the German states revolutionised by the French Rhenish Prussia has the advantage of *industry* and over the rest of the German industrial areas (Saxony and Silesia) the advantage of the *French Revolution*. It is the only part of Germany whose social development has almost reached the level of modern bourgeois society: developed industry, extensive trade, accumulation of capital and free ownership of land; the predominance in the towns of a strong bourgeoisie and a numerous proletariat and in the countryside of a multitude of debt-ridden allotment peasants; rule of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat by means of the wages system, over the peasantry by means of the mortgage and over the petty bourgeoisie by means of competition, and finally the sanctioning of bourgeois rule through the courts of trade, the factory courts, the bourgeois jury and the entire body of material legislation.

Is it easier now to understand the Rhinelander's hatred for everything that is Prussian? Along with the Rhine Province Prussia incorporated the French Revolution into its states and treated the Rhinelanders not only as a subjugated and alien people but even as vanquished rebels. Far from developing the Rhenish legislation in the spirit of the ever growing modern bourgeois society, Prussia intended saddling the Rhinelanders with the pedantic, feudal, philistine hotchpotch of Prussian Law,[143] which was barely suitable any longer even for Further Pomerania.

The revolutionary change after February 1848 clearly showed the exceptional position of the Rhine Province. It provided not only the Prussian but the whole of the German bourgeoisie with its classical representatives, *Camphausen* and *Hansemann*, and provided the German proletariat with the sole organ in which it was championed not only in terms of fine words or good will, but according to its true interests: the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

How is it, then, that Rhenish Prussia for all that took so little part in Germany's revolutionary movements?

It must not be forgotten that the 1830 movement in favour of a hollow pettifogger's constitutionalism could not hope to interest Germany's Rhenish bourgeoisie, who were busily engaged in much more real, industrial enterprises; that, whereas people in the petty German states were still dreaming of a German Empire, in Rhenish Prussia the proletariat was already beginning to come out openly against the bourgeoisie; that from 1840 to 1847, at the time of the bourgeois, truly constitutional movement, the Rhenish bourgeoisie stood in the forefront and decisively tipped the balance in Berlin in March 1848. The reason, however, why Rhenish Prussia could never achieve anything in an open insurrection or even bring about a general insurrection of the whole province is best explained by a straightforward account of the campaign for the Imperial Constitution in the Rhineland.

The struggle had just broken out in Dresden; it might break out at any moment in the Palatinate. In Baden, in Württemberg and in Franconia mass rallies were launched and people barely concealed their determination to settle the question by force of arms. In the whole of South Germany the troops were wavering. Prussia was no less roused. The proletariat was only waiting for an opportunity of revenging itself for having been tricked of the gains it believed it had won for itself in March 1848. Everywhere the petty bourgeois were busy welding together all the discontented elements into a great Imperial Constitution party whose leadership they hoped to secure for themselves. Their sworn promises to stand or fall with the Frankfurt Assembly and stake property and life for the Imperial Constitution filled all the newspapers and rang out in every club-room and every beer-house.

It was at this point that the Prussian Government opened hostilities by calling up a large part of the army reserve,[144] particularly in Westphalia and on the Rhine. To order a call-up during a period of peace was illegal and not only the petty bourgeoisie but also the bigger bourgeoisie rose up against it.

The Cologne municipal council proclaimed a congress of deputies of the Rhenish municipal councils. The government banned it; conventions were disregarded and the congress held in spite of the ban. The municipal councils, representing the big and middle bourgeoisie, declared their recognition of the Imperial Constitution, demanded its acceptance by the Prussian Government and the dismissal of the ministry as well as the repeal of the order calling up the army reserve, and threatened unambiguously enough that the

Rhine Provinces would secede from Prussia if these demands were not met.[145]

"Since the Prussian Government has dissolved the Second Chamber following on the latter's pronouncement in favour of unconditional acceptance of the German Constitution of March 28 of this year and has thereby deprived the people of its representation and voice in the present critical moment, the undersigned delegates of the towns and municipalities of the Rhine Province have assembled to discuss the need of the fatherland.

"The meeting, chaired by Councillors Zell of Trier and Werner of Coblenz and assisted by the clerks of the minutes, Councillors Boecker of Cologne and Bloem II of Düsseldorf,

*has resolved as follows*:

"1. This meeting declares that it recognises the Constitution of the German Empire, as promulgated by the Reich Assembly on March 28 of this year, as a definitive law and that in the conflict brought about by the Prussian Government it stands on the side of the German Reich Assembly.

"2. The meeting calls upon the entire people of the Rhinelands, and in particular all men capable of bearing arms, to make collective declarations in smaller or larger gatherings of its commitment and steadfast intent to uphold the German Imperial Constitution and comply with the ordinances of the Imperial Constitution.

"3. The meeting calls on the German Reich Assembly henceforth and with the utmost dispatch to make greater efforts to give to the resistance of the people in the separate German states and in particular in the Rhine Province that unity and strength which alone is capable of thwarting the well-organised counter-revolution.

"4. It calls on the imperial authorities to take steps as soon as possible to tender to the imperial troops an oath of loyalty to the Constitution and to decree a concentration of these troops.

"5. The undersigned pledge themselves to secure recognition of the Imperial Constitution by all means at their disposal in the area of their municipalities.

"6. The meeting considers the dismissal of the Brandenburg-Manteuffel Ministry and the summoning of the Chambers, without change in the existing system of voting, to be absolutely necessary.

"7. In particular it considers the recent partial call-up of the army reserve to be an unnecessary measure which highly endangers the internal peace, and expects its immediate repeal.

"8. Lastly the undersigned express their conviction that if the content of this declaration is disregarded the fatherland is threatened by the greatest dangers which could even jeopardise the continued existence of Prussia as at present constituted.

"Resolved on May 8, 1849, at Cologne."

(Signatures follow.)[a]

We would only add that the same Herr Zell who presided over this meeting went a few weeks later as imperial commissioner of the Frankfurt imperial ministry[146] to Baden, not only for the purpose of appeasement, but also to plot with the local reactionaries those counter-revolutionary coups which later broke out in Mannheim and Karlsruhe. It is at least probable that at the same time he served imperial General Peucker as a military spy.

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[a] Published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 110, May 9, 1849, second edition.—*Ed.*

We insist on firmly establishing this fact. The big bourgeoisie, the flower of the pre-March liberalism of the Rhineland, sought from the very beginning to place themselves at the head of the movement for the Imperial Constitution in Rhenish Prussia. Their speeches, their resolutions, their whole demeanour demonstrated their solidarity for the subsequent events. There were plenty of people who took the words of the municipal councillors seriously, especially the threat that the Rhine Province would secede. If the big bourgeoisie went along with the movement, then the cause was as good as won from the beginning; it would mean that every class of the population was taking part, and that one could afford to take a risk. The petty bourgeois calculated along these lines and hastened to strike a heroic pose. It goes without saying that his supposed *associé*, the big bourgeois, did not let this in any way deter him from betraying the petty bourgeois at the first opportunity and afterwards, when the whole affair had come to a truly miserable end, from ridiculing him for his stupidity to boot.

In the meantime the excitement continually mounted; the news from all areas of Germany sounded extremely warlike. At last steps were to be taken to fit out the army reserve. The battalions met and declared categorically that they would not let themselves be fitted out. The majors, in the absence of sufficient military support, could do nothing and were happy if they escaped without threats or actual attacks. They dismissed their men and set a new date for fitting-out.

The government, which could easily have given the officers of the army reserve the necessary backing, was purposely allowing things to go so far. It now immediately used force.

The refractory army reserve units came in particular from the industrial region of Berg and the Mark. Elberfeld and Iserlohn, Solingen and the Ennepe valley were the centres of resistance. Troops were ordered at once to the first two towns.[147]

A battalion of the 16th Regiment, a squadron of lancers and two pieces of artillery moved to Elberfeld. The town was in a state of great confusion. The army reserve had found on mature reflection that they were after all playing a risky game. Many peasants and workers were politically apathetic and had merely been unwilling to absent themselves from their homes for an indefinite period to comply with some chance whim of the government. The consequences of insubordination weighed heavily upon them: *species facti*,[a] martial law, confinement in irons and perhaps even the firing-squad! Suffice it to say, the number of army reserve men up in arms (they

[a] The facts of the case.—*Ed.*

had their weapons) dwindled and dwindled, and in the end there were only about forty left. They had set up their headquarters in an inn outside the town and were awaiting the Prussians there. Around the town hall stood the civic militia and two citizens' rifle corps, vacillating and negotiating with the army reserve but at all events determined to protect their property. The people were thronging the streets: petty bourgeois who had sworn loyalty to the Imperial Constitution in the political club and proletarians of all levels, from the resolute, revolutionary worker to the gin-swilling drayman. Nobody knew what to do or what would happen.

The town council wanted to negotiate with the troops. The commander rejected all overtures and marched into the town. The troops paraded through the streets and drew up in front of the town hall, opposite the civic militia. There were negotiations. Stones were thrown at the troops from the crowd. The army reserve, about forty strong as earlier indicated, after lengthy discussions also marched over from the other side of the town towards the troops.

Suddenly a cry was raised among the people for the freeing of the prisoners. In the prison close to the town hall, sixty-nine Solingen workers had been in custody for a year for demolishing the cast-steel works near the castle. They were to be tried in a few days' time. Intent on freeing these men, the people made a rush for the prison. The doors gave way, the people broke in and the prisoners were free. At the same time, however, the troops advanced, a volley rang out and the last prisoner, hurrying through the door, dropped to the ground with a shattered skull.

The people fell back, but with the cry: "To the barricades!" In a trice the approaches to the inner city were secured. Unarmed workers were there in plenty, but there were at most only fifty men with arms behind the barricades.

The artillery advanced. Like the infantry before it, it fired too high, probably on purpose. Both bodies of troops were made up of Rhinelanders or Westphalians, and were good. Eventually Captain von Uttenhoven advanced at the head of the 8th Company of the 16th Regiment.

Three armed men were behind the first barricade. "Don't shoot at us," they cried, "we only shoot at officers!" The captain ordered halt. "Just order ready and there you'll lie," one of the riflemen behind the barricade shouted at him. "Ready! Present! Fire!" A salvo rang out, but at the very same moment the captain slumped to the ground. The bullet had hit him through the heart.

The platoon retreated in all haste, not even taking back the captain's body. A few more shots rang out, a few soldiers were

wounded and the commanding officer, who did not relish staying overnight in the rebellious town, pulled out again and bivouacked with his troops an hour's march outside the town. As the soldiers withdrew, barricades were at once raised on all sides.

The same evening the news of the retreat of the Prussians reached Düsseldorf. Numerous groups formed in the streets; the petty bourgeois and the workers were in a state of extreme excitement. Then the rumour that fresh troops were to be sent to Elberfeld gave the signal for action. Without giving a thought to the lack of weapons (the civic militia had been disarmed since November 1848), the relatively strong garrison and the disadvantage posed by the broad, straight streets of the little ex-capital, some workers raised a call to the barricades. In Neustrasse and Bolkerstrasse a few fortifications were thrown up; the other parts of the town were kept free partly by the troops who had already been consigned there beforehand and partly by the fear of the big and petty bourgeoisie.

Towards evening the fighting began. Here, as elsewhere, there were only a few fighters on the barricades. And where were they to get weapons and ammunition? Suffice it to say that they fought back bravely for a long time against superior odds and only after extensive use of artillery, towards morning, were the half-dozen barricades that could be defended in the hands of the Prussians. As we know, on the following day these cautious heroes took their bloody revenge on servant girls, old folk and other peaceful people.

On the same day that the Prussians were beaten back from Elberfeld, another battalion, from the 13th Regiment if I am not mistaken, was to enter Iserlohn and bring the army reserve there to reason. But here too the plan was frustrated; as soon as the news of the advance of the troops became known, the army reserve and the people fortified all the approaches to the town and awaited the enemy with rifles at the ready. The battalion did not dare to make an attack and withdrew again.

The fighting in Elberfeld and Düsseldorf and the barricading of Iserlohn gave the signal for the uprising of the greater part of the industrial region of Berg and the Mark. The people of Solingen stormed the Gräfrath arsenal and armed themselves with the rifles and cartridges they took from it; the people of Hagen joined the movement *en masse*, armed themselves, occupied the approaches to the Ruhr and sent out reconnaissance patrols; Solingen, Ronsdorf, Remscheid, Barmen, etc., sent their contingents to Elberfeld. In the other localities of the region the army reserve declared itself for the movement and placed itself at the disposal of the Frankfurt Assembly. Elberfeld, Solingen, Hagen and Iserlohn replaced the

district and the local authorities, who had been driven out, with committees of public safety.

Needless to say the news of these events was monstrously exaggerated. The whole of the Wupper and Ruhr area was pictured as one huge, organised camp of insurrection. There were said to be 15,000 armed men in Elberfeld and as many in Iserlohn and Hagen. The panic which suddenly seized the government and at one blow paralysed all its measures to deal with this uprising in the most loyal districts played no small part in making these exaggerations credible.

After making all reasonable allowances for probable exaggerations, the undeniable fact remained that the main centres of the industrial region of Berg and the Mark were engaged in an open and so far victorious uprising. That was a fact. There was further the news that Dresden was still holding out, that Silesia was in a state of ferment, that the movement in the Palatinate was consolidating, that in Baden a victorious military revolt had broken out and the Grand Duke[a] had fled and that the Magyars stood on the banks of the Jablunka and the Leitha. To sum up, of all the revolutionary opportunities that had presented themselves to the democratic and workers' party since March 1848 this was by far the most favourable, and of course it had to be seized. The left bank of the Rhine could not leave the right bank in the lurch.

What should be done now?

All the larger towns of the Rhine Province are either fortress towns like Cologne and Coblenz, dominated by strong citadels and forts, or they have numerous garrisons like Aachen, Düsseldorf and Trier. In addition to this the province is further kept in check by the Wesel, Jülich, Luxembourg, Saarlouis and even the Mainz and Minden fortresses. In these fortresses and garrisons there were altogether at least 30,000 men. Finally, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Aachen and Trier had been disarmed for some time. So the revolutionary centres of the province were paralysed. Here every attempt at an uprising, as had already been demonstrated in Düsseldorf, would inevitably end in a victory for the military; another such victory, e. g. in Cologne, would mean the moral crushing of the uprising in Berg and the Mark, in spite of the otherwise favourable news. On the left bank of the Rhine a movement was possible on the Moselle, in the Eifel and the Krefeld industrial district; but this region was encircled by six fortresses and three garrison towns. On the other hand, those districts on the right bank of the Rhine which were already in

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[a] Leopold.—*Ed.*

insurrection offered a densely populated, extensive terrain which with its woods and mountains seemed to be made for an insurrectionary war.

If the intention was to support the insurgent districts, then there was only one course open:

above all things avoid unnecessary disorders in the fortresses and garrison towns;

make a diversion on the left bank of the Rhine in the smaller towns, in the factory areas and in the countryside in order to hold the Rhine garrisons in check;

finally, throw all available forces into the insurgent district on the right bank of the Rhine, spread the insurrection further and attempt to organise here the nucleus of a revolutionary army around the army reserve.

Prussia's new heroes, who specialise in revelations, should not rejoice too soon over the treasonable conspiracy here revealed. Unfortunately no conspiracy existed. The above three measures are no conspiratorial plan but a simple suggestion put forward by the writer of these lines when he himself left for Elberfeld to see to the execution of the third point.[148] Thanks to the dilapidated organisation of the democratic and workers' party, thanks to the indecision and shrewd cautiousness of most of the local leaders who had come from the petty bourgeoisie, and finally thanks to the lack of time, it never came to a conspiracy. Therefore if the beginnings of a diversion did indeed materialise on the left bank of the Rhine and if in Kempen, Neuss and the surrounding country disorders did break out and the arsenal in Prüm was stormed,[149] these incidents were by no means the outcome of a common plan but were merely a manifestation of the revolutionary instinct of the people.

In the insurgent districts in the meantime things looked completely different from what the rest of the province would lead one to suppose. It must be admitted that Elberfeld with its barricades (which were, however, extremely unplanned and thrown together in a hurry), with its many sentinels, patrols and other armed men, with its whole population in the streets, only the big bourgeoisie apparently missing, and with its red flags and tricolours[150] did not look at all bad, but otherwise the greatest confusion reigned in the town. Through the Committee of Public Safety formed in the first moments, the petty bourgeoisie had taken the direction of affairs into its hands. It had scarcely got thus far when it took fright at its power, limited as it was. The first thing it did was to get legitimation from the town council, i.e. from the big bourgeoisie, and out of gratitude for the town council's kindness to take five of its members

into the Committee of Public Safety. Reinforced in this way, the Committee forthwith washed its hands of all dangerous activity by transferring the responsibility for external security to a military commission, over which, however, it reserved for itself a moderating and restraining control. Secured in this fashion from all contact with the uprising and transplanted by the fathers of the town onto the ground of legality, the trembling petty bourgeois on the Committee of Public Safety were able to confine themselves to calming tempers, looking after day-to-day business, clearing up "misunderstandings", quietening people down, procrastinating and paralysing every form of energetic activity under the pretext that it was first necessary to await the answers given to the deputations sent to Berlin and Frankfurt. The rest of the petty bourgeoisie naturally went hand in hand with the Committee of Public Safety, quietened things down everywhere, did all they could to hinder the continuation of defence measures and distribution of arms and constantly wavered as to how far they would go with the uprising. Only a small part of this class was determined to defend itself weapons in hand in the event of an attack on the town. The great majority sought to persuade themselves that their threats alone and aversion to the almost inevitable bombardment of Elberfeld would move the government to make concessions; nevertheless they covered themselves against all eventualities.

The big bourgeoisie, in the first moments after the battle, was as if thunderstruck. In its terror it saw fantastic visions of arson, murder, looting and God knows what abominations rising up out of the ground. Therefore the setting up of the Committee of Public Safety whose majority (town councillors, lawyers, public prosecutors, sober people) suddenly offered it a guarantee for life and property, filled it with more than fanatical delight. The selfsame big merchants, dyers and manufacturers who up to now had decried Messrs.Karl Hecker, Riotte, Höchster, etc.,as bloodthirsty terrorists, now hurried *en masse* to the town hall, embraced the same alleged butchers with the most feverish passion and deposited thousands of talers on the table of the Committee of Public Safety. It goes without saying that when the movement was ended these same enthusiastic admirers and supporters of the Committee of Public Safety spread abroad the most extravagant and basest lies not only about the movement itself but also about the Committee of Public Safety and its members, and thanked the Prussians with a similar intensity of feeling for liberation from a terror which had never existed. Innocent constitutional bourgeois, like Messrs. Hecker, Höchster and Public Prosecutor Heintzmann, were once more depicted as bugbears and man-eaters

whose affinity to Robespierre and Danton stood written all over their faces. For our part we consider it our duty completely to exonerate these honourable gentlemen from any such accusation. For the rest, the greater portion of the big bourgeoisie placed themselves, their wives and their children with the utmost dispatch under the protection of the Düsseldorf state of siege and only the smaller, more courageous portion stayed behind to protect their property against any eventuality. The Chief Burgomaster[a] stayed hidden in an overturned, manure-covered cab for the duration of the uprising. The proletariat, united in the heat of the struggle, split as soon as the Committee of Public Safety and the petty bourgeoisie began to waver. The artisans, the actual factory workers and a section of the silk-weavers backed the movement up to the hilt; but they, who formed the core of the proletariat, were almost entirely without weapons. The dye-workers, a robust, well-paid working class, coarse and consequently reactionary like all sections of workers whose occupation demands more physical strength than skill, had lost all interest even during the first days. They alone of all the industrial workers stayed at work while the barricades were up and did not allow themselves to be disturbed. Finally the lumpenproletariat was here as elsewhere corruptible from the second day of the movement onwards, demanding weapons and pay from the Committee of Public Safety in the morning and selling itself to the big bourgeois in the afternoon to protect their buildings or rip down the barricades when evening fell. On the whole it stood on the side of the bourgeoisie, which paid it most and with whose money it led a gay life as long as the movement lasted.

The negligence and cowardice of the Committee of Public Safety and the discord in the military commission, in which the party of inaction initially had the majority, prevented any decisive action from the very beginning. From the second day onwards reaction set in. From the outset it became evident that in Elberfeld the only chance of success was under the banner of the Imperial Constitution and in agreement with the petty bourgeoisie. On the one hand, the proletariat had, here in particular, only too recently freed itself from the slough of gin and pietism for even the slightest notion of the conditions of its liberation to penetrate the masses, and on the other hand it had a too instinctive hatred for the bourgeoisie and was much too indifferent towards the bourgeois question of the Imperial Constitution to work up any enthusiasm for such tricolour interests. This put the resolute party, the only one to consider the question of

[a] Johann Adolph Carnap.—*Ed.*

defence seriously, in a false position. It declared itself for the Imperial Constitution. The petty bourgeoisie, however, did not trust it, maligned it in every way to the people and impeded all the measures it took to distribute arms and erect fortifications. Every order that could really serve to put the town in a state of defence was immediately countermanded by the first member of the Committee of Public Safety to come along. Every philistine in front of whose house a barricade was set up at once hurried to the town hall and procured a reversal of the order. The funds for the payment of the barricade-workers (and they asked for the very minimum to avoid starvation) could only be squeezed out of the Committee of Public Safety with great effort and in paltry amounts. Wages and rations for those bearing arms were provided irregularly and were often insufficient. For five to six days there was neither roll-call nor muster of armed men, with the result that nobody knew how many fighters could be reckoned on if an emergency arose. Not until the fifth day was an attempt made to detail the armed men, but the attempt was never carried into effect and was based on a total ignorance of the number of the fighting forces. Every member of the Committee of Public Safety acted on his own. There was a clash of the most contradictory orders and the only thing most of them had in common was to add to the easy-going confusion and prevent any energetic steps being taken. As a result of this the proletariat became heartily sick of the whole movement and after a few days the big bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie succeeded in their aim of making the workers as apathetic as possible.

When I reached Elberfeld on May 11, the armed men numbered at least 2,500 to 3,000. Of these, however, only the reinforcements from outside and the handful of armed Elberfeld workers were reliable. The army reserve was vacillating; most of them had a mighty dread of imprisonment in chains. At first there were not many of them, but they were reinforced by the admission of all the shilly-shallying and faint-hearted elements from the other detachments. Finally the civic militia, reactionary here from the very first and set up specifically to suppress the workers, declared itself neutral and wanted nothing but merely to protect its property. All this only came to light in the course of the next few days; in the meantime, however, a section of the reinforcements from outside and the workers dispersed and the number of actual fighting forces dwindled as a result of the stagnation of the movement, while the civic militia held together more and more and with every day more openly expressed its reactionary desires. During the last few nights it was already tearing down a number of the barricades. The armed

reinforcements, who certainly numbered at first more than a thousand men, were already reduced to half on the 12th or 13th, and when at length there was a general roll-call it became evident that the entire armed force upon which one could reckon by now numbered at the most 700 to 800 men. The army reserve and the civic militia refused to appear at this roll-call.

That is not all. Insurgent Elberfeld was surrounded by places all of which were alleged to be "neutral". Barmen, Kronenberg, Lennep, Lüttringhausen, etc., had not joined the movement. The revolutionary workers of these places, insofar as they had weapons, had marched to Elberfeld. The civic militia, which in all these places was purely an instrument in the hands of the manufacturers for holding down the workers, and was composed of the manufacturers, their factory overseers and the shopkeepers wholly dependent on the manufacturers, ruled here in the interests of "order" and the manufacturers. The workers themselves, who because of their dispersion in the more rural areas were rather out of touch with the political movement, had been partially brought over to the side of the manufacturers by the familiar means of coercion and by slanders about the character of the Elberfeld movement; among the peasants these slanders always worked unfailingly. In addition, the movement had come at a time when the manufacturers, after a business crisis of fifteen months, at last had full order books again; and it is common knowledge that no revolution can be made with regularly employed workers—a circumstance which also had a very significant effect in Elberfeld. It is obvious that under all these conditions the "neutral" neighbours were only so many covert enemies.

And there was still more to it than that. No links were established with the other insurgent districts. From time to time odd individuals came over from Hagen; as good as nothing was known of Iserlohn. Some individuals offered their services as commissaries,[a] but none of them was to be trusted. Several couriers between Elberfeld and Hagen were said to have been arrested by the civic militia in Barmen and the surrounding area. The only place with which there was regular communication was Solingen, and the situation there looked no different from that in Elberfeld. That it looked no worse there was due only to the good organisation and determination of the Solingen workers, who had sent 400 to 500 armed men to Elberfeld and yet were still strong enough to keep their own bourgeoisie and civic militia in check. If the Elberfeld workers had been as developed

[a] The copy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* corrected by Engels has *Emissären* instead of *Kommissären.—Ed.*

and as organised as the Solingen workers, the chances would have been completely different.

Under these circumstances there was only one possibility left: to take swift, energetic measures to inject new life into the movement, provide it with new fighting forces, cripple its internal enemies and organise it as strongly as possible throughout the whole industrial area of Berg and the Mark. The first step was to disarm the Elberfeld civic militia, distribute its weapons among the workers and impose a compulsory tax for the maintenance of the workers thus armed. This step would have broken decisively with all the slackness which had hitherto characterised the Committee of Public Safety, given the proletariat new life and crippled the "neutral" districts' capacity for resistance. How then to go about getting weapons from these districts too, spreading the insurrection and regularly organising the defence of the whole region depended on the success of this first step. With an order from the Committee of Public Safety and with no more than the 400 Solingen workers the Elberfeld civic militia would have been disarmed in no time. Courage was not their strong point.

For the safety of those Elberfelders charged in May and still in prison, I owe the declaration that I alone was responsible for all these proposals. I began to call for the disarming of the civic militia immediately when the Committee of Public Safety's funds began to run out.

But the commendable Committee of Public Safety did not at all consider that it was necessary to take such "terroristic measures". The only thing I managed to get carried out, or rather, directed on my own initiative together with a few corps leaders—who all got away safely and some of whom are already in America, was to fetch some eighty rifles belonging to the Kronenberg civic militia which were kept in the town hall there. And these rifles, distributed with extreme carelessness, ended up for the most part in the hands of gin-happy lumpenproletarians, who sold them that very evening to the bourgeoisie. These same bourgeois gentlemen were sending agents among the people to buy up as many rifles as possible and they paid quite a high price for them. In this way the Elberfeld lumpenproletarians delivered up to the bourgeoisie several hundred rifles, which had got into their hands through the negligence and lack of order of the improvised authorities. With these rifles the factory overseers, the most reliable dye-workers, etc., etc., were armed and the ranks of the "well-disposed" civic militia strengthened from day to day.

The gentlemen of the Committee of Public Safety answered every

proposal for improving the town's defences by saying that there was no point, the Prussians would take care not to come there, they would never venture into the mountains, and so on. They themselves were fully aware that in saying this they were spreading the most barefaced lies, that the town could be bombarded from all the heights even with field-guns, that no arrangements at all had been made for any at all serious defence and that, the insurrection having come to a halt and the Prussians possessing a colossal superiority, only really extraordinary events could now save the Elberfeld uprising.

The Prussian generals, however, did not seem to be particularly anxious to venture into a terrain which was as good as totally unknown to them, at least not until they had assembled a truly overwhelming force. The four unfortified towns of Elberfeld, Hagen, Iserlohn and Solingen made such an impression on these cautious military heroes that they had an entire army of twenty thousand men and large numbers of cavalry and artillery brought up, partly by rail, from Wesel, Westphalia and the eastern provinces. Not daring to attack, they had a regular strategic formation drawn up the other side of the Ruhr. High command and general staff, right flank, centre, everything was in the most beautiful order, just as if they were facing a colossal enemy army, as if it were a question of giving battle to a Bem or a Dembiński and not of an unequal fight against a few hundred unorganised workers, badly armed, virtually leaderless and betrayed behind their backs by those who had put the weapons into their hands.

We know how the insurrection ended.[151] We know how the workers, disgusted with the petty bourgeoisie's constant procrastination, its faint-hearted shilly-shallying and its treacherous lulling into a false sense of security, finally moved out of Elberfeld to fight their way through to the first state they came to where the Imperial Constitution offered them the slightest refuge. We know how they were hunted by Prussian lancers and by incited peasants. We know how immediately after their departure the big bourgeoisie crawled out into the open again, had the barricades carried off and built triumphal arches for the approaching Prussian heroes. We know how Hagen and Solingen were played into the hands of the Prussians through direct betrayal by the bourgeoisie and how only Iserlohn put up a fight, unequal and lasting two hours, against the 24th Regiment, the conquerors of Dresden, who were already laden with booty.

Some of the Elberfeld, Solingen and Mülheim workers got safely through to the Palatinate. Here they met with their fellow-

countrymen, the fugitives from the storming of the Prüm arsenal. Together with these they formed a company consisting almost exclusively of Rhinelanders in Willich's volunteer corps. All their comrades will surely testify that whenever they came under fire, and especially in the last decisive battle on the Murg, they fought very bravely.

The Elberfeld insurrection deserved this more detailed description because it was here that the position of the different classes in the Imperial Constitution movement was most sharply pronounced and furthest developed. In the other towns in Berg and the Mark the movement resembled that in Elberfeld in every way, except that there the participation or non-participation in the movement by the various classes was less clearly defined, the classes themselves not being so sharply differentiated as in the industrial centre of the area. In the Palatinate and in Baden, where concentrated large-scale industry and along with it a developed big bourgeoisie are almost non-existent, where the class relationships merge into each other in a much more easy-going and patriarchal way, the mixture of the classes that were the mainstay of the movement was even more confused. We shall see this later, but we shall also see at the same time how all these admixtures to the uprising likewise end up by grouping themselves around the petty bourgeoisie as the core for the crystallisation of the whole splendour of the Imperial Constitution.

It is abundantly clear from the attempted uprisings in Rhenish Prussia in May of last year what position this part of Germany is capable of occupying in a revolutionary movement. Surrounded by seven fortresses, three of them first-class for Germany, constantly manned by almost a third of the entire Prussian army, intersected in all directions by railways and with an entire fleet of transport steamers at the disposal of the military authorities, a Rhineland uprising has no prospect of succeeding except under quite exceptional circumstances. Only when the citadels are in the hands of the people can the Rhinelanders hope to achieve anything by force of arms. And such an eventuality can only arise either if the military authorities are terrorised by tremendous external events and lose their heads, or if the military declare themselves wholly or partly for the movement. In every other case an uprising in the Rhine Province is doomed in advance. A swift march on Frankfurt by the Badeners and on Trier by the Palatines would probably have led to the uprising immediately breaking out on the Moselle and in the Eifel, in Nassau and in both parts of Hesse, and the troops of the central Rhenish states, who at that time were still favourably disposed, joining the movement. There is no doubt that all the

Rhenish troops, and especially the entire 7th and 8th artillery brigades, would have followed their example, that they would at least have given loud enough vent to their feelings to cause the Prussian generals to lose their heads. Probably several fortresses would have fallen into the hands of the people, and even if not Elberfeld, at least most of the left bank of the Rhine would have been saved. All that, and perhaps much more, was forfeited as a result of the shabby, cowardly and philistine policies of the wiseacres on the Baden Provincial Committee.

With the defeat of the Rhenish workers died the only newspaper in which they saw their interests openly and resolutely championed: the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The editor-in-chief,[a] though a native of Rhenish Prussia, was expelled from Prussia and the other editors had either direct arrest or immediate expulsion hanging over their heads.[152] The Cologne police explained this with extreme naïveté and went to great lengths to prove that they had enough against each one of them to take proceedings along one or the other of these lines. In this way the newspaper was forced to cease publication at the very moment when the unprecedentedly rapid increase in its circulation more than secured its existence. The editors scattered across the various German provinces where uprisings had taken place or were still to take place; several went to Paris, where yet again a critical moment was impending.[153] There is not one of them who during or as a result of the movements of this summer was not arrested or expelled, so experiencing the fate which the Cologne police were kind enough to prepare for him. A number of the compositors went to the Palatinate and joined the army.

The Rhenish uprising too had to end tragically. After three-quarters of the Rhine Province had been placed in a state of siege, after hundreds had been thrown into prison, it closed with the *shooting on the eve of Frederick William IV of Hohenzollern's birthday of three of the men who had stormed the Prüm arsenal.*[b] *Vae victis!*[c]

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[a] Karl Marx.—*Ed.*
[b] Johann Manstein, Anton Seiler and Nikolaus Alken.—*Ed.*
[c] Woe to the vanquished!—*Ed.*

## II. KARLSRUHE

The uprising in Baden took place under the most favourable circumstances that an insurrection could possibly hope for. The entire people were united in their hatred for a government that broke its word, engaged in duplicity and cruelly persecuted its political adversaries. The reactionary classes, the nobility, the bureaucracy and the big bourgeoisie, were few in numbers. Anyhow a big bourgeoisie exists only embryonically in Baden. With the exception of this handful of nobles, civil servants and bourgeois, with the exception of the Karlsruhe and Baden-Baden shopkeepers who made their living from the Court and from rich foreigners, with the exception of a few Heidelberg professors and a half-dozen peasant villages around Karlsruhe, the whole state was unanimously for the movement. In other uprisings the army had first to be defeated. Here, however, it had been harassed more than anywhere else by its aristocratic officers, worked on for a year by the democratic party and recently permeated even more with rebellious elements by the introduction of a kind of compulsory military service, with the result that it placed itself at the head of the movement and even drove the movement further than the bourgeois leaders of the Offenburg Assembly[154] cared for. It was precisely the army which in Rastatt and Karlsruhe transformed the "movement" into an insurrection.

The insurrectionary government therefore found on acceding to office a ready army, abundantly supplied arsenals, a fully organised state machine, a full exchequer and a virtually unanimous population. What is more, on the left bank of the Rhine, in the Palatinate, it found an insurrection already effectuated covering its left flank; in Rhenish Prussia an insurrection which was admittedly seriously threatened but not yet defeated; and in Württemberg, in

Franconia, in both parts of Hesse and in Nassau a general mood of unrest, even among the army, which only needed a spark to repeat the Baden uprising in the whole of South and Central Germany and put at least 50,000 to 60,000 regular troops at the disposal of the revolt.

It is so simple and so obvious what should have been done under these circumstances that everybody knows it now, after the suppression of the uprising, and everybody claims to have been saying it from the very start. It was a question of immediately and without a moment's hesitation spreading the uprising to Hesse, Darmstadt, Frankfurt, Nassau and Württemberg, immediately mustering 8,000 to 10,000 of the available regular troops—by rail that could have been done in two days—and sending them to Frankfurt "for the defence of the National Assembly". The alarmed Hessian government was as if rooted to the spot by the rapid succession of advances made by the uprising; its troops were notoriously well disposed to the people of Baden; it was no more capable than the Frankfurt Senate[155] of offering the slightest resistance. The troops of the electorate of Hesse, Württemberg and Darmstadt stationed in Frankfurt were for the movement; the Prussians there (mostly Rhinelanders) were wavering; the Austrians were numerically few. The arrival of the Badeners, whether or not any attempt was made to stop them, would inevitably have carried the insurrection into the heart of both parts of Hesse and Nassau, compelled the Prussians and Austrians to retreat to Mainz, and placed the trembling German so-called National Assembly under the terrorising influence of an insurgent people and an insurgent army. If the insurrection had not then immediately broken out on the Moselle, in the Eifel, in Württemberg and in Franconia then there would have been means enough at hand to carry it into these provinces too.

Further, the power of the insurrection should have been centralised, the necessary funds placed at its disposal and through the immediate abolition of all feudal burdens that great majority of the population which tills the soil should have been given a stake in the insurrection. The establishment of a common central authority for war and finance with full powers to issue paper money,* to begin with for Baden and the Palatinate, and the abolition of all feudal burdens in Baden and every area occupied by the insurgent army would for the moment have sufficed to give the uprising quite a different energetic character.

* The Baden Chambers had earlier already approved the issue of two million in bank-notes, of which not a penny had been issued.—*Note by Engels.*

All that had, however, to happen in the first moment if it were to be carried out with the swiftness which alone could guarantee success. A week after the appointment of the provincial committee it was already too late. The Rhenish insurrection was suppressed, Württemberg and Hesse did not stir, and those military units which at the beginning had been favourably disposed became unreliable and ended up by once more completely obeying their reactionary officers. The uprising had lost its all-German character and had become a purely local uprising restricted to Baden or to Baden and the Palatinate.

As I learnt after the fighting, the former Baden Second Lieutenant F. Sigel, who during the uprising won more or less equivocal dwarf-laurels as "colonel" and later as "general-in-chief", had at the very outset laid before the provincial committee a plan according to which the offensive was to be assumed. This plan has the merit of containing the correct notion that under all circumstances it is necessary to go over to the attack; in other respects, it is the most adventurist plan that could possibly have been proposed. Sigel wanted first to advance on Hohenzollern with a Baden corps and proclaim the Hohenzollern Republic, then take Stuttgart and from there, after having incited Württemberg to revolt, march on Nuremberg and set up a large camp in the heart of a likewise insurgent Franconia. It is easy to see that this plan completely left out of account the moral importance of Frankfurt, without which the insurrection could have no all-German character, and the strategic importance of the Main line. It is also easy to see that it presupposed completely different military forces than were actually available and that in the end, after a completely Quixotic or Schill-like raid,[156] it fizzled out and immediately set the strongest of all the South German armies and the only definitely hostile one, the *Bavarian* army, in hot pursuit of the insurgents, even before they could procure reinforcements through the defection of the troops of Hesse and Nassau.

The new government undertook no offensive under the pretext that the soldiers had almost all dispersed and gone home. Apart from the fact that this was true only in respect of a few isolated units, in particular the Prince's own regiment, even the soldiers who had dispersed were almost all back with their colours within three days.

Furthermore, the government had quite different reasons for opposing any offensive.

At the head of the agitation for the Imperial Constitution throughout Baden stood Herr *Brentano*, a lawyer, who with the invariably rather *mesquin* ambition of a man of the people from some petty German state and the seeming political staunchness

which in South Germany is the very first condition of all popularity, combined a dash of diplomatic cunning which sufficed to give him full mastery of all around him, with the possible exception of a single person. Herr Brentano (this sounds trivial now, but it is true), Herr Brentano and his party, the strongest in the province, demanded nothing more at the Offenburg Assembly than changes in the policies of the Grand Duke,[a] which were only possible with a *Brentano Ministry*. The Grand Duke's reply and the general agitation gave rise to the Rastatt military revolt—against the will and the intentions of Brentano. At the very moment that Herr Brentano was placed at the head of the provincial committee he had already been overtaken by the movement and was forced to try and hold it back. Then came the riot in Karlsruhe; the Grand Duke fled, and the same circumstance that had summoned Herr Brentano to the head of the administration, that had furnished him with dictatorial powers as it were, now thwarted all his designs and induced him to use this power against the very movement that had procured it for him. While the people were celebrating the departure of the Grand Duke, Herr Brentano and his faithful provincial committee were sitting upon thorns.

The said committee, consisting almost exclusively of Baden worthies with the staunchest of convictions and the most muddled of heads, of "pure republicans" who trembled with fear at the idea of proclaiming the republic or crossed themselves at the slightest energetic measure, this unadulterated philistine committee was needless to say wholly dependent on Brentano. The role which the lawyer Höchster assumed in Elberfeld was here assumed on a somewhat larger terrain by the lawyer Brentano. Of the three[b] outside elements, Blind, Fickler and Struve, who joined the provincial committee straight from prison, Blind was so ensnared by Brentano's intrigues that he had no other choice, isolated as he was, but to go into exile in Paris as a representative of Baden; Fickler had to undertake a dangerous mission to Stuttgart[157]; and Struve seemed to Herr Brentano to be so harmless that he tolerated him in the provincial committee, kept an eye on him and did his best to make him unpopular, in which he was completely successful. It is well known how Struve with several others founded a "Club of Resolute (or rather, cautious) Progress", which was disbanded after an unsuccessful demonstration.[158] A few days later Struve was in the

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[a] Leopold.— *Ed.*

[b] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* gives *beiden* (two).— *Ed.*

Palatinate, more or less a "fugitive", and there attempted yet again to publish his *Deutscher Zuschauer.* The specimen number was scarcely off the press when the Prussians marched in.

The provincial committee, from the very first nothing more than a tool of Brentano, elected an executive committee once again headed by Brentano. This executive committee very soon almost completely replaced the provincial committee, using it at the most to confirm credits and measures taken and getting rid of any of the larger committee's members who looked at all unreliable by sending them on all kinds of minor missions to the districts or the army. Finally it abolished the provincial committee altogether, replacing it with a "constituent assembly", elected completely under Brentano's influence, and transformed itself into a "provisional government", whose leader was needless to say once again Herr Brentano. It was he who appointed the ministers. And what ministers—Florian Mördes and Mayerhofer!

Herr Brentano was the most consummate representative of the Baden petty bourgeoisie. He distinguished himself from the mass of the petty bourgeois and their other representatives only by being too discerning to share all their illusions. Herr Brentano betrayed the insurrection in Baden from the very first. He did so precisely *because* from the very first he grasped the state of affairs more correctly than any other official person in Baden and because he took the only measures which would uphold the hegemony of the petty bourgeoisie and yet for that very reason meant the inevitable destruction of the insurrection. This is the key to Brentano's unbounded popularity at that time but also the key to the curses which have been heaped on him since July by his former admirers. The petty bourgeoisie of Baden were as a body just as much traitors as Brentano; but at the same time they were duped, which he was not. They betrayed out of cowardice and they allowed themselves to be duped out of stupidity.

In Baden, as in the whole of South Germany, there is hardly any big bourgeoisie at all. The province's industry and trade are of no significance. It follows that the proletariat is not at all numerous, very fragmented and scarcely developed. The mass of the population is divided into peasants (the majority), petty bourgeois and journeymen. These last, the urban workers, scattered in little towns without any big centre where an independent workers' party could develop, are or at least were until now under the dominant social and political influence of the petty bourgeoisie. The peasants, even more scattered over the province and lacking the means of instruction, have interests which partly coincide with and partly run parallel, so

to speak, to those of the petty bourgeoisie and for that reason were likewise under the petty bourgeoisie's political tutelage. The petty bourgeoisie, represented by lawyers, doctors, schoolmasters, individual merchants and book-sellers, thus held sway over the entire political movement in Baden, since March 1848, partly directly, partly through its representatives.

It is owing to the absence of an antithesis of bourgeoisie and proletariat and the consequent political domination of the petty bourgeoisie that there has never really been in Baden a movement agitating for socialism. The elements of socialism which came in from outside, either through workers who had been to more developed countries or through the influence of French or German socialist and communist literature, never managed to make any headway in Baden. The red riband and the red flag meant nothing more in Baden than the bourgeois republic, compounded at the most with a little terrorism, and the "six scourges of humanity"[159] discovered by Herr Struve were, for all their bourgeois inoffensiveness, the limit to which one could go without losing the sympathy of the masses. The highest ideal of the Baden petty bourgeois and peasant always remained the little republic of burghers and peasants as it has existed in Switzerland since 1830. A small field of activity for small, modest people, where the state is a somewhat enlarged parish, a "canton"; a small, stable industry, based on handicrafts, which gives rise to an equally stable and sleepy social condition; no great wealth, no great poverty, nothing but middle class and mediocrity; no prince, no civil list, no standing army, next to no taxes; no active participation in history, no foreign policy, nothing but petty domestic gossip and petty squabbling *en famille*; no big industry, no railways, no world trade, no social collisions between millionaires and proletarians, but a quiet, cosy life in all godliness and respectability, in the humble unobtrusiveness without a history, of satisfied souls —this is the gentle Arcadia which exists in the greater part of Switzerland and which the Baden petty bourgeois and peasants have been longing for years to see established. And if in moments of more ardent enthusiasm the thoughts of the Baden and, let us say it, of the South German petty bourgeois in general are stretched as far as the notion of the whole of Germany, then the ideal of Germany's future which flickers before their eyes takes the shape of an enlarged Switzerland, a federal republic. Thus Herr Struve has already published a pamphlet[a] which divides Germany up into twenty-four cantons, each with its own *landamman*[b] and its big and little councils.

[a] G. Struve, *Die Grundrechte des deutschen Volkes*, Birsfelden bei Basel, 1848.—*Ed.*

[b] The highest official in some Swiss cantons.—*Ed.*

He even goes so far as to append a map which shows the ready-made boundary lines. If Germany were ever in a position to transform itself into such an Arcadia, then it would thereby have descended to a depth of degradation of which it hitherto had no inkling, even in the times of its greatest humiliations.

The South German petty bourgeoisie had in the meantime more than once experienced that a revolution, even one under their own bourgeois republican banner, can quite easily carry away their beloved and peaceful Arcadia in the vortex of far more colossal conflicts, of real class struggles. Hence the petty-bourgeois fear not only of any sort of revolutionary convulsion but also of their own ideal of a federal tobacco-and-beer republic. Hence their enthusiasm for the Imperial Constitution, which at least satisfied their immediate interests and held out to them the hope, considering the purely suspensive nature of the Kaiser's veto, of ushering in the republic at some opportune moment by means within the bounds of the law. Hence their surprise when the Baden military without being asked handed over to them on a salver a ready-made insurrection, and hence their fear of spreading the insurrection over the frontiers of the future canton of Baden. The conflagration might well have taken hold of regions in which there was a big bourgeoisie and a numerous proletariat, regions in which it would have given power to the proletariat, and then woe to their property!

What did Herr Brentano do in these circumstances?

What the petty bourgeoisie in Rhenish Prussia had done consciously, he did *for* the petty bourgeoisie in Baden: he betrayed the insurrection, but he saved the petty bourgeoisie.

Brentano did not betray the insurrection by his last actions, by his flight after the defeat on the Murg,[160] as the finally disillusioned petty bourgeoisie of Baden imagined; he had betrayed it from the very first. It was precisely those measures that the Baden philistines, and with them sections of the peasants and even the artisans, cheered most loudly, which betrayed the movement to Prussia. It was precisely by his betrayal that Brentano became so popular and shackled the fanatical enthusiasm of the philistines to his heels. The petty burgher was too taken up with the swift restoration of order and public safety and the immediate suppression of the movement itself to notice the betrayal of the movement; and when it was too late, when, compromised in the movement, he saw that the movement was lost, and himself with it, he cried treason and with all the indignation of cheated respectability fell upon his most faithful servant.

Herr Brentano was cheated, too, of course. He hoped to emerge from the movement as the great man of the "moderate" party, i.e. of

none other than the petty bourgeoisie, and instead was ignominiously forced to bolt under cover of darkness from his own party and from his best friends, on whom the terrible truth had suddenly dawned. He even hoped to keep open for himself the possibility of a grand-ducal ministry and instead received by way of thanks for his wisdom a good kicking from all parties and the impossibility of ever again playing even the smallest of roles. But in truth one can be shrewder than the entire petty bourgeoisie of any German robber-state [*Raubstaat*] and still see one's finest hopes dashed and one's most noble intentions pelted with mud!

From the first day of his government Herr Brentano did everything to keep the movement on the narrow, philistine course which it had scarcely attempted to overstep. Under the protection of the Karlsruhe civic militia, which was devoted to the Grand Duke and had fought against the movement only the day before, he moved into the *Ständehaus*[161] to curb the movement from there. The recall of the deserted soldiers could not have been carried out more sluggishly; the reorganisation of the battalions was pursued with just as little urgency. On the other hand, the Mannheim unarmed philistines, who everyone knew would not fight, and who after the battle of Waghäusel[162] even collaborated for the most part with a regiment of dragoons in the betrayal of Mannheim, were immediately armed. There was no question of a march on Frankfurt or Stuttgart or of spreading the insurrection to Nassau or Hesse. If a proposal were made to this effect, it was immediately brushed aside, like Sigel's. To speak of issuing bank-notes would have been considered a crime against the state, tantamount to communism. The Palatinate sent envoy after envoy to say that they were unarmed, that they had no rifles let alone artillery, that they had no ammunition and were without everything needed to carry out an insurrection and in particular to seize the Landau and Germersheim fortresses; but nothing was to be got out of Herr Brentano. The Palatinate proposed the immediate setting up of a joint military command, and even the unification of both provinces under a single joint government. Everything was delayed and deferred. I believe that a small financial contribution is all the Palatinate managed to get; later, when it was too late, eight cannon arrived with a little ammunition but no crew or draught-team, and finally, on a direct order from Mieroslawski, came a Baden battalion and two mortars, only one of which, if I remember rightly, fired a shot.

Because of this policy of delaying and brushing aside those measures most necessary to spread the insurrection, the whole movement was already betrayed. The same nonchalance was

displayed in internal matters. There was not a word about abolishing feudal burdens; Herr Brentano knew full well that among the peasantry, especially in Upper Baden, there were elements more revolutionary than he cared for and that he must therefore hold them back rather than hurl them even more deeply into the movement. The new officials were mostly either creatures of Brentano or completely incompetent; the old officials, with the exception of those who had compromised themselves too directly in the reaction of the last twelve months and had hence deserted of themselves, all kept their positions, to the great delight of all the peaceful burghers. Even Herr Struve thought in the last days of May that the "revolution" should be commended for the fact that everything had passed off so very calmly and almost all the officials had been able to remain at their posts.—As to the rest, Herr Brentano and his agents worked for the restoration, wherever possible, of the old routine, for a minimum of unrest and agitation and for a speedy removal of the trappings of revolution from the province.

In the military organisation the same routine prevailed. Only that was done which could not possibly remain undone. The troops were left without leaders, without anything to occupy them and without order; the incompetent "Minister of War" Eichfeld and his successor, the traitor Mayerhofer, did not even know how to deploy them properly. The convoys of troops crossed one another aimlessly and futilely on the railway. The battalions were led to one place one day and back the next, nobody could say why. In the garrisons the men went from one tavern to the next because they had nothing else to do. It seemed as if they were being demoralised on purpose, as if the government really wanted to drive out the last remnants of discipline. The organisation of the first call-up of the so-called people's militia, i.e. all men up to thirty years old capable of bearing arms, was assigned to the well-known Joh. Ph. Becker, a naturalised Swiss and an officer of the confederate army. I do not know to what extent Becker was obstructed in the execution of his mission by Brentano. I do know, however, that after the retreat of the Palatinate army onto Baden territory, when the peremptory demands of the badly clothed and badly armed Palatinate forces could no longer be rejected, Brentano washed his hands in innocence and said: "As far as I'm concerned, give them whatever you want; but when the Grand Duke comes back he should at least know who squandered his stores in this manner!" So if the Baden people's militia was organised in part badly and in part not at all, there is no doubt that the main responsibility for this too lies with Brentano

and the ill will or ineptitude of his commissaries in the various districts.

When Marx and I first set foot on Baden territory after the suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (it must have been May 20 or 21, that is, more than a week after the flight of the Grand Duke) we were astonished to see how carelessly the border was guarded, or rather not guarded. From Frankfurt to Heppenheim the entire railway was in the hands of Württemberg and Hessian imperial troops; Frankfurt and Darmstadt themselves were full of soldiers; all the stations and all the villages were occupied by strong detachments; regular outposts were advanced right up to the border. From the border to Weinheim, by contrast, there was not a single man to be seen; the same was true of Weinheim. The one and only precaution was the demolition of a short stretch of railway between Heppenheim and Weinheim. Only while we were there did a weak detachment of the Prince's own regiment, at the most twenty-five men, arrive at Weinheim. From Weinheim to Mannheim the deepest peace prevailed; at the most there was here and there an odd, more than merry people's militiaman, who looked more like a straggler or a deserter than a soldier on duty. Needless to say, there was no question at all of border control. One went in or out, at will.

Mannheim, however, gave more the impression of being on a war footing. Crowds of soldiers stood around in the streets or sat in the taverns. The people's militia and the civic militia were drilling in the park, although for the most part in a very clumsy fashion and with bad instructors. At the town hall were sitting any number of committees, old and new officers, uniforms and tunics. The people mingled with the soldiers and volunteers and there was a great deal of drinking, laughing and embracing. But it was at once apparent that the initial impetus was spent and that many were unpleasantly disillusioned. The soldiers were discontented; we carried through the insurrection, they said, and now that it is the turn of the civilians to take over the leadership they let everything come to a standstill and go to pieces! The soldiers were also far from satisfied with their new officers; the new officers were on bad terms with those who had previously served the Grand Duke—at that time there were still many of them, although every day some deserted; the old officers found themselves against their will in an awkward situation, from which they did not know how to extricate themselves. Finally, everyone was bemoaning the lack of energetic and competent leadership.

On the other side of the Rhine, in Ludwigshafen, the movement seemed to us to be a much more cheerful affair. Whereas in

Mannheim a great many young men who should clearly have been in the first call-up were quietly going about their business as if nothing had happened, here everyone was armed. Admittedly it was not so everywhere in the Palatinate, as later became evident. In Ludwigshafen the greatest unanimity prevailed between volunteers and military. In the taverns, which here too were, of course, overcrowded, the *Marseillaise* and other such songs rang out. There was no complaining and no grumbling, people were laughing and were body and soul with the movement, and at that time, especially amongst the fusiliers and volunteers, very understandable and innocent illusions prevailed about their own invincibility.

In Karlsruhe things took on a more solemn tone. In the *Pariser Hof table d'hôte* had been announced for one o'clock. But it did not start until "the gentlemen of the provincial committee" had arrived. Little marks of respect of this sort were already giving the movement a reassuring bureaucratic veneer.

In opposition to various gentlemen from the provincial committee we expressed the views developed above, namely, that at the outset a march should have been made on Frankfurt and the insurrection thus extended, that it was most probably by now too late and that unless there were decisive blows in Hungary or a new revolution in Paris the whole movement was already irretrievably lost. It is impossible to imagine the outburst of indignation amongst these burghers of the provincial committee at such heresies. Only Blind and Goegg were on our side. Now that we have been proved right by events these same gentlemen naturally claim that they had all along been pressing for the offensive.

In Karlsruhe at that time there were already the first beginnings of that pretentious place-hunting which, under the equally pretentious title of "concentration of all the democratic forces of Germany", masqueraded as coming to the aid of the fatherland. Anyone who had ever held forth, however confusedly, in some club or other or had once called for hatred of tyrants in some democratic local paper hurried to Karlsruhe or Kaiserslautern, there to become at once a great man. As there is hardly need to emphasise, the performances were fully in keeping with the forces here concentrated.—Thus there was in Karlsruhe a certain well-known, allegedly philosophical Atta Troll,[a] ex-member of the Frankfurt Assembly and ex-editor of an allegedly democratic paper,[b] suppressed by Manteuffel despite

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[a] An ironical allusion to Arnold Ruge.— *Ed.*
[b] *Die Reform.— Ed.*

the tenders of our Atta Troll. Atta Troll was angling most assiduously for the little post of Baden envoy to Paris, for which he felt he had a special vocation because he had spent two years there at one time and learnt no French. Having been lucky enough actually to wheedle the credentials out of Herr Brentano, he was just packing his bags when Brentano unexpectedly summoned him and removed the accreditation papers from his pocket. It goes without saying that Atta Troll now made a point of going to Paris in order to spite Herr Brentano.—Another staunch burgher who had been threatening Germany for years with revolution and the republic, Herr Heinzen,[a] was also in Karlsruhe. This honourable gentleman was notorious before the February Revolution for calling on people everywhere and at all times to "go at them tooth and nail", and yet, after this revolution, he considered it more discreet to watch the various German insurrections from the neutral mountains of Switzerland. Now, at long last, he appeared to have got the urge to go tooth and nail himself at the "oppressors". After his earlier declared opinion that "Kossuth is a great man, but Kossuth has forgotten about *fulminating silver*",[b] it was to be expected that he would *immediately* organise the most colossal and hitherto unsuspected forces of destruction against the Prussians. He did no such thing. Since more ambitious plans did not appear to be appropriate, our hater of tyrants, as the saying goes, contented himself with setting up a republican élite corps, in the meantime writing articles in favour of Brentano in the *Karlsruher Zeitung* and frequenting the Club of Resolute Progress. The club was wound up, the republican élite did not put in an appearance and Herr Heinzen finally realised that not even he could defend Brentano's policies any longer. Misunderstood, exhausted and peeved, he first went to Upper Baden and from there to Switzerland, without having struck dead a single "oppressor". He is now taking his revenge on them from London, guillotining them in effigy in their millions.

We left Karlsruhe the next morning to visit the Palatinate.

As far as the conduct of general political matters and civil administration is concerned, there is little that remains to be said about the further course of the Baden insurrection. When Brentano felt strong enough he wiped out in one fell blow the tame opposition presented by the Club of Resolute Progress. The "Constituent

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[a] An apparent allusion to a pamphlet by G. Struve and K. Heinzen, *Plan zur Revolutionirung und Republikanisirung Deutschlands.—Ed.*

[b] K. Heinzen, *Der Mord*, in *Die Evolution*, Biel (Switzerland), No. 4, January 26, 1849.—*Ed.*

Assembly", elected under the influence of the immense popularity of Brentano and the all-ruling petty bourgeoisie, gave its assent and blessing to every measure he took. The "Provisional Government with dictatorial power"[a] (a dictatorship under an alleged convention!) was wholly under his control. Thus he continued to rule, obstructed the revolutionary and military development of the insurrection, had the day-to-day affairs discharged *tant bien que mal*[b] and jealously looked after the stores and private property of the Grand Duke, whom he continued to treat as his legitimate sovereign by the grace of God. In the *Karlsruher Zeitung* he declared that the Grand Duke could return at any time, and indeed the castle remained closed during this whole period, as if its occupant were merely away on a journey. He put off the emissaries from the Palatinate from day to day with vague answers; the most that could be achieved was the joint military command under Mieroslawski and—a treaty abolishing the Mannheim-Ludwigshafen bridge-toll, which still did not prevent Herr Brentano from continuing to levy this toll on the Mannheim side.

When Mieroslawski was finally forced after the battle of Waghäusel and Ubstadt to withdraw the remnants of his army through the mountains to the other side of the Murg, when Karlsruhe had to be abandoned with a mass of provisions, and when the defeat on the Murg settled the fate of the movement, the illusions of the Baden burghers, peasants and soldiers were dispelled and a universal cry went up accusing Brentano of treason. With one fell blow the whole edifice of Brentano's popularity, based on the cowardice of the petty bourgeois, the helplessness of the peasants and the lack of a concentrated working class, was demolished. Brentano fled to Switzerland under cover of darkness, pursued by the accusation of national betrayal with which his own "Constituent Assembly" stigmatised him, and went to ground in Feuerthalen in the canton of Zurich.

One could draw comfort from the thought that Herr Brentano has been punished enough by the total ruin of his political position and the universal contempt of all parties for his betrayal. The collapse of the Baden movement is of little consequence. The 13th June in Paris[c] and Görgey's refusal to march on Vienna[163] put an end to any hopes that Baden and the Palatinate still had, even if the movement

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[a] A name the Baden Provisional Government took in the decree on its formation published in the *Karlsruher Zeitung* No. 34, June 21, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] After a fashion.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 105-07.—*Ed.*

had been successfully transplanted to Hesse, Württemberg and Franconia. One would have fallen more honourably, but one would still have fallen. But what the revolutionary party will never forgive Herr Brentano, what it will always remember against the cowardly Baden petty bourgeoisie which supported him, is their direct responsibility for the death of those shot in Karlsruhe, in Freiburg and in Rastatt and of the countless and nameless victims silently executed by the Prussians with the help of typhus in the Rastatt casemates.

In the second issue of this *Revue* I will describe the conditions in the Palatinate and, to conclude, the Baden-Palatinate campaign.

## III. THE PALATINATE

From Karlsruhe we went to the Palatinate,[a] first stopping at Speyer where d'Ester and the Provisional Government were said to be. They had, however, already left for Kaiserslautern, where the government finally took up its seat at what it considered to be the "strategically best located point in the Palatinate". In its stead we found Willich and his volunteers in Speyer. With a corps of a few hundred men he was holding in check the garrisons of Landau and Germersheim, altogether over 4,000 men, cutting their lines of supply and harassing them in every possible way. That very day he had attacked two companies of the Germersheim garrison with about eighty riflemen and driven them back into the fortress without firing a single shot. The next day we accompanied Willich to Kaiserslautern where we met d'Ester, the Provisional Government, and the very flower of German democracy. Here also there could, of course, be no question of official participation in the movement, which was quite alien to our party. So after a few days we went back to Bingen, were arrested on the way, in the company of several friends, by Hessian troops, on suspicion of being implicated in the uprising, transported to Darmstadt and from there to Frankfurt, where we were finally set free.

Shortly after this we left Bingen and Marx went with a mandate from the Democratic Central Committee to Paris, where a crucial event was about to take place, as representative of the German revolutionary party to the French social-democrats.[164] I returned to Kaiserslautern to live there for the time being as a simple political refugee and perhaps later, should a suitable opportunity offer itself,

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[a] Marx and Engels left Karlsruhe for the Palatinate on May 24, 1849.—*Ed.*

take up at the outbreak of fighting the only position that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* could take up in this movement: that of soldier.

Anyone who has seen the Palatinate even once will understand that in this wine-producing and wine-loving province any movement inevitably assumes a most cheerful character. The ponderous, pedantic, Old-Bavarian beer-souls had at long last been shaken off and merry Palatinate wine-bibbers appointed in their place. One had finally seen the last of that pompous pettifoggery practised by the Bavarian police which was so delightfully parodied in the otherwise dull pages of the *Fliegende Blätter* and which lay more heavily than anything else on the hearts of the gay people of the Palatinate. The first revolutionary act of the people of the Palatinate was to restore the freedom of the taverns; the entire Palatinate was transformed into one enormous pot-house and the quantities of strong drink which were consumed "in the name of the people of the Palatinate" during those six weeks were beyond all calculation. Even though active participation in the movement in the Palatinate was nowhere near as widespread as in Baden, and even though there were many reactionary districts here, the entire population was as one in this general wine-bibbing and even the most reactionary philistine and peasant was carried along on the general wave of merriment.

One did not need an especially penetrating glance to recognise how bitterly the Prussian army was to disillusion these cheerful Palatinate souls in a few weeks' time. And yet the number of people in the Palatinate who did not revel in the most carefree manner could be counted on one's fingers. Scarcely anyone believed that the Prussians would come, but everyone was quite sure that if they did come they would be thrown out again with the greatest of ease. There was no trace here of that staunch gloominess whose motto "*Ernst ist der Mann*"[a] is engraved on the brow of every Baden people's militia officer and which still did not prevent all those wonderful things happening which I shall have to relate presently—that respectable solemnity which the philistine character of the movement in Baden had impressed on the majority of its participants. In the Palatinate people were only "serious" by the way. Here "enthusiasm" and "seriousness" only served to gloss over the universal jollity. But people were always "serious" and "enthusiastic" enough to believe themselves invincible before any power in the world, and especially the Prussian army; and if in the quiet hours of reflection a faint doubt raised its head, it was brushed aside with the

[a] Seriousness above all things.—*Ed.*

irrefutable argument that even if it were true, one still should not say it. The longer the movement dragged on and the more undeniable and massive the concentration of Prussian battalions between Saarbrücken and Kreuznach, the more frequent became these doubts, and the more vehement the bluster, precisely among the doubters and the timid, about the invincibility of a "people enraptured with its freedom", as the people of the Palatinate were called. This bluster soon grew into a regular soporific system which, encouraged only too readily by the government, had the effect of relaxing all work on defence measures and exposing everyone who opposed it to the danger of arrest as a reactionary.

This carefree attitude, this bluster about "enthusiasm" carrying all before it, in view of its minute material resources and the tiny corner of land where it asserted itself, provided the comic side of the Palatinate "uprising", and gave the handful of people whose advanced views and independent position permitted a detached judgment more than enough cause for hilarity.

The whole outward appearance of the movement in the Palatinate was cheerful, carefree and spontaneous. Whereas in Baden every newly appointed second lieutenant, in the regular army or the people's militia, laced himself into a heavy uniform and paraded with silver epaulettes which later, on the day of the battle, immediately found their way into his pockets, people in the Palatinate were much more sensible. As soon as the great heat of the first days of June made itself felt all the worsted coats, waistcoats and cravats disappeared to make way for a light tunic. It seemed as if all the old unsociable constraints had been thrown off along with the old bureaucracy. People dressed in a completely free-and-easy fashion, dictated solely by comfort and the season of the year; and together with differentiation in clothing disappeared in a moment every other differentiation in social intercourse. All social classes came together in the same public places and in this unrestrained intercourse a socialist dreamer would have glimpsed the dawn of universal brotherhood.

As the Palatinate, so its Provisional Government. It consisted almost exclusively of genial wine-bibbers, who were never so astonished as when they suddenly found themselves having to be the Provisional Government of their Bacchus-beloved fatherland. And yet there is no denying that these laughing regents conducted themselves better and accomplished relatively more than their Baden neighbours under the leadership of the "staunch-minded" Brentano. They were at least well-intentioned and in spite of their carousing had a more sober understanding than the philistine-

serious gentlemen in Karlsruhe; and hardly any of them became angry if one laughed at their easy-going fashion of making revolution and their impotent little decrees.

The Provisional Government of the Palatinate could not get anything done as long as it was left in the lurch by the Baden government. And it completely fulfilled its obligations towards Baden. It sent envoy after envoy and made one concession after another solely in order to come to an understanding, but all in vain. Herr Brentano was obdurate.

While the Baden government found everything ready at hand, the Palatinate government found nothing. It had no money, no weapons, a number of reactionary districts and two enemy fortresses on its territory. France at once banned the export of arms to Baden and the Palatinate, and all arms dispatched thither were impounded by Prussia and Hesse. The government of the Palatinate sent agents forthwith to France and Belgium to buy up arms and send them back; the arms were purchased but they never arrived. The government can be reproached with not proceeding with sufficient energy in the matter and in particular with failing to organise the smuggling in of rifles through the large number of contrabandists along the frontier; the greater blame, however, lies with its agents, who acted very negligently and in part allowed themselves to be fobbed off with empty promises instead of getting the French arms at least as far as Saargemünd and Lauterburg.

As far as funds were concerned, not much could be done with bank-notes in the little Palatinate. When the government found itself in pecuniary embarrassment it at least had the courage to take refuge in a forced loan on a progressive, albeit gently graduated, scale.

The only reproaches which can be made against the Palatinate government are that in its feeling of impotence it allowed itself to be too much infected by the universal light-heartedness and the related illusions about its own security; and that therefore, instead of energetically setting in motion the admittedly limited means of defending the state, it preferred to rely on the victory of the Montagne in Paris, the taking of Vienna by the Hungarians or even on actual miracles which were to happen somewhere or other to save the Palatinate—uprisings in the Prussian army, etc. Hence the remissness in procuring arms in a country where even a thousand serviceable muskets more or less would have made an infinite amount of difference and where finally, on the day the Prussians marched in, the first and last consignment of *forty* rifles arrived from abroad, namely from Switzerland. Hence the frivolous selection of civil and military commissaries, who consisted mainly of

the most incompetent and confused dreamers, and the retention of so many old officials and of all the judges. Hence finally the neglect of all the means, even those immediately at hand, of harassing and perhaps taking Landau. To this question I shall return later.

Behind the Provisional Government stood d'Ester, like a sort of secret General Secretary or, as Herr Brentano put it, like a "red camarilla which surrounded the moderate government of Kaiserslautern".[a] Moreover, this "red camarilla" included other German democrats too, in particular Dresden refugees. In d'Ester the Palatinate regents found that broad administrative vision which they lacked, together with a revolutionary understanding which impressed them because it always confined itself to what was immediately at hand, to that which was unquestionably practicable, and was therefore never at a loss for detailed measures. Because of this d'Ester acquired a significant influence and the unconditional confidence of the government. If even he at times took the movement too seriously and thought for example that he could achieve something worthwhile through the introduction of his for the moment totally unsuitable municipal regulations, it is none the less certain that d'Ester impelled the Provisional Government to each comparatively vigorous step and in particular always had appropriate solutions at hand when it came to conflicts over details.

If in Rhenish Prussia reactionary and revolutionary classes stood facing each other from the very outset and if in Baden a class which was initially in raptures about the movement, the petty bourgeoisie, gradually allowed itself at the approach of danger to be won over first into indifference and later into hostility towards the movement it itself had provoked, in the Palatinate it was not so much particular classes of the population as particular districts which, governed by local interests, declared themselves against the movement, some from the first and others little by little. Certainly the townspeople of Speyer were reactionary from the start; in Kaiserslautern, Neustadt, Zweibrücken, etc., they became so with the passage of time; but the main strength of the reactionary party was to be found in agricultural districts spread over the whole of the Palatinate. This confused configuration of the parties could only have been eliminated by one measure: a direct attack on the private property invested in mortgages and mortgage-usury, in favour of the debt-ridden peasants who had been sucked dry by the usurers. But this single measure, which would immediately have given the whole

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[a] From Brentano's justificatory memorandum: *Die Lage und das Verhalten der Mitglieder der Ministerien während der Revolution vom 13.5 bis 25.6, 1849.—Ed.*

of the rural population a stake in the uprising, presupposes a much larger territory and much more developed social conditions in the towns than is the case in the Palatinate. It was only feasible at the beginning of the insurrection, simultaneously with an extension of the uprising to the Moselle and the Eifel, where the same conditions obtain on the land and find their complement in the industrial development of the Rhenish towns. And the movement was directed outwards just as little in the Palatinate as it was in Baden.

Under these conditions the government had only limited means of combating the reactionary districts: isolated military expeditions into the refractory villages, arrests, especially of the Catholic priests, who placed themselves at the head of the resistance, and so on; appointment of energetic civil and military commissaries, and last of all propaganda. The expeditions, mostly of a very comical nature, only had a momentary effect, the propaganda none at all, and the commissaries mostly committed blunder upon blunder in their pompous ineptitude or confined themselves to the consumption of vast quantities of Palatinate wine and the inevitable bluster in the taverns.

Amongst the propagandists, the commissaries and the officials of the central administration, the democrats, of whom even more had gathered in the Palatinate than in Baden, played a very considerable role. Here, in addition to the refugees from Dresden and from Rhenish Prussia, a number of more or less enthusiastic "men of the people" had turned up to consecrate themselves to the service of the fatherland. The government of the Palatinate, which unlike its Karlsruhe counterpart understood instinctively that the resources of the Palatinate alone were not equal to the demands even of this movement, received them gladly. It was impossible to spend more than two hours in the Palatinate without being offered a dozen of the most varied and on the whole very honourable posts. The democrats, who saw in the Palatinate-Baden movement not a local uprising which was becoming daily more local and more insignificant, but the glorious dawn of the glorious uprising of all Germany's democrats, and who everywhere in the movement saw *their* more or less petty-bourgeois tendency prevailing, fell over themselves to accept these offers. At the same time, however, each felt he owed it to himself only to accept a post which satisfied his naturally very lofty pretensions of the part he should play in an all-German movement. At first this was possible. Whoever came along was at once put in charge of an office or made a government commissary, a major or a lieutenant-colonel. Little by little, however, the number of rivals increased, the positions became fewer and there started a petty,

philistine place-hunting which presented the disinterested spectator with a highly diverting spectacle. I imagine I do not have to underline the fact that in this strange hotchpotch of industry and confusion, importunacy and incompetence which the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has so often had occasion to wonder at among the German democrats, the officials and propagandists of the Palatinate faithfully mirrored the whole unpleasant medley.

As a matter of course I also was offered any number of civil and military positions, positions which in a proletarian movement I would not have hesitated for a moment to accept. As things were, I turned them all down. The only thing I agreed to was to write some agitational articles for a small paper[a] of which the Provisional Government had large quantities distributed in the Palatinate. I knew that this too would come to nothing, but I finally accepted the offer upon the urgent request of d'Ester and several members of the government in order at least to demonstrate my good will. Since I naturally felt few constraints, exception was taken to the very second article I wrote because it was too "inflammatory"; I wasted no words, took the article back, tore it up in d'Ester's presence and that was the end of the matter.

The best of the foreign democrats in the Palatinate were, incidentally, those who had come fresh from the struggle in their home provinces: the Saxons and the Rhenish Prussians. The handful of Saxons were mostly employed in the central offices, where they worked hard and distinguished themselves by their administrative knowledge, their calm, clear understanding and their lack of any pretensions or illusions. The Rhinelanders, mostly workers, joined the army *en masse*; the few who initially worked in the offices later also took up the musket.

In the offices of the central administration in the Fruchthalle[165] at Kaiserslautern there was a very easy-going atmosphere. What with the general *laisser aller*, the complete lack of any form of active intervention in the movement and the uncommonly large number of officials, there was on the whole little to do. It was a matter of hardly more than the day-to-day business of administration, and this was disposed of *tant bien que mal*. Unless a courier arrived, some patriotic citizen came with a profound proposal concerning the salvation of the fatherland, some peasant brought a complaint or some village sent a deputation, most of the offices had nothing to do. People yawned and chatted, told anecdotes and made bad jokes

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[a] *Der Bote für Stadt und Land* which carried Engels' article "The Revolutionary Uprising in the Palatinate and Baden". See present edition, Vol. 9.—*Ed.*

and strategic plans and went from one office to another trying as well as they could to kill time. The main topics of conversation were naturally the political events of the day, about which the most contradictory rumours were circulating. The intelligence service was greatly neglected. The old post-office officials had almost without exception stayed at their posts and were needless to say very unreliable. Alongside them a "field-post" was set up, superintended by the Palatinate Chevaulegers[166] who had come over to our side. The commandants and the commissaries of the border areas paid not the slightest heed to what was happening on the other side of the border. The government took only the *Frankfurter Journal* and the *Karlsruher Zeitung* and I still remember with delight the astonishment it gave rise to when I discovered in the officers' club, in an issue of the *Kölnische Zeitung* which had arrived several days before, the news of the concentration of 27 Prussian battalions, 9 batteries and 9 regiments of cavalry, together with their exact location between Saarbrücken and Kreuznach.[a]

At last I come to the main point, the military organisation. About three thousand Palatinate soldiers from the Bavarian army had defected with bag and baggage. At the same time a number of volunteers, from the Palatinate and elsewhere, had placed themselves under arms. In addition to that the Provisional Government issued a decree calling up the first age group, in the first instance all unmarried men between the ages of eighteen and thirty. This call-up, however, only took place on paper, owing partly to the incompetence and negligence of the military commissaries, partly to the lack of arms and partly to the indolence of the government itself. Wherever the lack of arms was the main obstacle to the whole defence, as it was in the Palatinate, every means had to be used to muster arms. If none were forthcoming from abroad, then it was necessary to fetch out every musket, every rifle and every sporting-gun which could be unearthed in the Palatinate and place them in the hands of the active fighters. However, there were not only large numbers of private weapons at hand, but on top of that at least another 1,500 to 2,000 rifles, not counting carbines, in the hands of the various civic militia units. One could at least have demanded the handing over of private arms and rifles in the hands of those civic militiamen who were not obliged to join the first call-up and did not intend to volunteer. But nothing of the sort happened. After much insistence a resolution along these lines was finally adopted regarding the arms held by the civic militia, but never

[a] "Köln, 30. Mai", *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 129, May 31, 1849.—*Ed.*

put into effect; the Kaiserslautern civic militia, over three hundred philistines strong, paraded at the Fruchthalle every day in uniform, shouldering their arms, and the Prussians, when they marched in, had the pleasure of disarming these gentlemen. And thus it was everywhere.

In the official newspaper an appeal was issued to the forestry officials and the keepers of the woods, asking them to report to Kaiserslautern in order to form a rifle corps[a]; of these it was the forestry officials who did not turn up.

Throughout the whole land scythes were forged, or at least a call went out to that effect; a few scythes were actually produced. In the Rhenish Hessian corps at Kirchheimbolanden I saw several casks of scythe-blades being loaded and sent to Kaiserslautern. The journey takes roughly seven to eight hours; four days later the government was forced to abandon Kaiserslautern to the Prussians and the scythes had still not arrived. If the scythes had been given to those civic militiamen not yet mobilised, the so-called second age group, as compensation for giving up their guns, then the affair would have made sense; instead of this the lazy philistines kept their percussion-guns and the young recruits were expected to march against the Prussian cannon and needle-muskets with scythes.

While there was a general lack of fire-arms, there was by contrast a just as remarkable profusion of cavalry sabres; those who could not lay hands on a gun strapped on all the more eagerly a clattering broadsword, believing that by merely so doing they stamped themselves as officers. Precisely in Kaiserslautern these self-stamped officers were too numerous to count and the streets rang day and night to the clatter of their fearful weapons. It was the students in particular who by this new manner of intimidating the enemy and by their pretension of forming an academic legion entirely of cavalry on foot rendered great service for the saving of the fatherland.

In addition there was half a squadron of defected Chevaulegers at hand; however, they were so scattered due to their work for the field-post, etc., that they never came to form a special combat corps. The artillery, under the command of "Lieutenant-Colonel" Anneke, consisted of a few three-pounders whose horses I do not recall having ever seen, and a number of mortars. Lying in front of the Fruchthalle at Kaiserslautern was the most beautiful collection of old iron cannon-barrels one could ever wish to see. Needless to say, most of them remained lying there unused. The two biggest were laid on colossal home-made gun-carriages and carried off. The Baden

[a] *Der Bote für Stadt und Land* No. 118, June 14, 1849.—*Ed.*

government finally sold the Palatinate a shot-out six-pound battery together with some ammunition; but without a team of horses, a crew or sufficient ammunition. The ammunition was as far as possible manufactured; the team of horses and riders was made up *tant bien que mal* with requisitioned peasants and horses; for the crew a few old Bavarian artillerymen were gathered together to train men in the ponderous and complicated Bavarian drill.

The top leadership of military affairs was in the worst hands. Herr Reichardt, who had taken over the military department in the Provisional Government, was active, but lacked vigour and professional knowledge. The first commander-in-chief of the military forces of the Palatinate, the enterprising Fenner von Fenneberg, was soon dismissed on account of his ambiguous conduct; he was temporarily replaced by Raquilliet, a Polish officer. At last it was learnt that Mieroslawski was to take over the supreme command of Baden and the Palatinate and that the command of the troops of the Palatinate was to be entrusted to "General" Sznayde, also a Pole.

General Sznayde arrived. He was a small, fat man, who looked more like an elderly *bon vivant* than a "Menelaus, caller to battle".[a] General Sznayde took over the command with a great deal of gravity. He had a report made on the state of affairs and at once issued a whole series of orders of the day. Most of these orders related to uniform (tunics and marks of rank for officers—tricolour armbands or sashes), or appeals to veteran cavalrymen and riflemen to come forward as volunteers (appeals which had already been made ten times without success) and things of a similar nature. He himself set a good example by immediately procuring a hussar tunic with tricolour braid, in order to inspire the army with respect. The really practical and important things in his orders of the day were merely repetitions of orders long since issued and proposals already made earlier by the handful of good officers present, but never carried out, and which only now, through the authority of a commanding general, could[b] be put into effect. As for the rest, "General" Sznayde placed his trust in God and Mieroslawski and dedicated himself to the pleasures of the table, the only reasonable thing that a so totally incompetent individual could do.

Amongst the other officers in Kaiserslautern was the uniquely capable Techow, the same Techow who as a Prussian first lieutenant

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[a] Homer, *Iliad*, Song II. (In the original Engels used the translation by Johann Heinrich Voss.)—*Ed.*

[b] The copy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* corrected by Engels has *sollten* (should) instead of *konnten* (could).—*Ed.*

with Natzmer gave the Berlin arsenal over to the people after having taken it by storm[167] and, sentenced to fifteen years detention in a fortress, escaped from Magdeburg. Techow, chief of the Palatinate general staff, proved in all things to be knowledgeable, circumspect and calm, perhaps a little too calm to be trusted to make the rapid decisions on which everything often depends on the battlefield. "Lieutenant-Colonel" Anneke proved to be incompetent and indolent in organising the artillery, though he rendered good services in the ordnance shops. At Ubstadt he won no laurels as commander-in-chief and from Rastatt, where Mieroslawski had put him in charge of the materials for the siege, he escaped across the Rhine under strange circumstances already before the investment, leaving his horses behind.

There was not much to be said for the officers in the various districts either. A number of Poles had appeared, some in advance of Sznayde and some with him. As the best of the Polish émigrés were already in Hungary, one may suspect that these Polish officers were a pretty mixed bunch. Most of them made haste to obtain an appropriate number of saddle-horses and give out a few orders, paying only scanty attention to their execution. They tended to lord it over people and wanted to treat the peasants of the Palatinate like cringing Polish serfs. They were not familiar with the country, the language or the command, and hence accomplished little or nothing at all as military commissaries, i.e. organisers of battalions. In the course of the campaign they soon strayed into Sznayde's headquarters and shortly afterwards, when Sznayde was assailed and roughly handled by his soldiers, disappeared altogether. The better ones among them arrived too late to be able to organise anything.

There was not much talent of any use among the German officers either. The Rhenish Hessian corps, though it included elements who could have developed militarily, was under the leadership of a certain Häusner, a completely useless man, and under the even more lamentable moral and political influence of the two heroes Zitz and Bamberger, who later in Karlsruhe extricated themselves so successfully from the situation. In the Palatinate hinterland a former Prussian officer, Schimmelpfennig, organised a corps.

The only two officers who had already distinguished themselves in active service before the Prussian invasion were Willich and Blenker.

With a small corps of volunteers Willich took over the observation and later the siege of Landau and Germersheim. A company of students, a company of workers who had lived with him in Besançon,

three weak companies of gymnasts (from Landau, Neustadt and Kaiserslautern), two companies formed from volunteers from the surrounding villages and lastly a company of Rhenish Prussians armed with scythes, most of them fugitives from the Prüm and Elberfeld uprisings, gradually mustered under his command. In the end they amounted to between 700 and 800 men, certainly the most reliable soldiers in the whole Palatinate; most of the N.C.O.s had seen service and some of them had been familiarised in Algeria with guerrilla warfare.[168] With this scanty force Willich took up a position halfway between Landau and Germersheim, organised the civic militia in the villages, using them to guard the roads and do outpost duty, beat back all the sorties from the two fortresses in spite of the superior forces, in particular of the Germersheim garrison, blockaded Landau so effectively that almost all its supplies were intercepted, cut off its water-supplies, dammed up the Queich so that all the fortress cellars were flooded, and yet there was a lack of drinking-water, and harassed the garrison every night with patrols which not only cleared out the abandoned outworks and auctioned the guardroom stoves they found there for five guilders each, but also pushed forward even into the fortress trenches and frequently caused the garrison to open fire on a corporal and two men with a cannonade of twenty-four-pounders which was as intense as it was harmless. This was by far the most brilliant period during the existence of Willich's volunteer corps. If only a few howitzers had been at his disposal at that time, or even only field-guns, according to the reports of the spies who daily went in and out of Landau, the fortress, with its demoralised, weak garrison and its rebellious inhabitants, would have been taken in a few days. Even without artillery a continuation of the siege would have compelled capitulation in a week. In Kaiserslautern were two seven-pound howitzers, good enough to set fire to a few houses in Landau during the night. Had they been on the spot, then the unheard of, the taking of a fortress like Landau with a few field-guns, would have become a probability. Every day I preached to the general staff in Kaiserslautern the necessity of at least making the attempt. To no avail. One of the howitzers stayed in Kaiserslautern and the other found its way to Homburg, where it almost fell into the hands of the Prussians. Both came over the Rhine without having fired a shot.

"Colonel" Blenker, however, distinguished himself even more than Willich. "Colonel" Blenker, a former travelling salesman for a wine-firm, who had been in Greece as a philhellenist and later set himself up as a wine-merchant in Worms, can in any case be numbered among the most outstanding military personalities of the

whole glorious campaign. Always on horseback, surrounded by a numerous staff, big, strong, with a defiant face, an impressive Hecker-type beard, a stentorian voice and all the other characteristics that go to make up a South German "man of the people", and among which, as everybody knows, intelligence does not exactly feature, "Colonel" Blenker gave the impression of a man at the mere sight of whom Napoleon would have to sneak away, a man worthy to figure in that refrain with which we opened these accounts.[a] "Colonel" Blenker felt he had it in himself to overthrow the German princes even without "Hecker, Struve, Zitz and Blum" and immediately set about the task. It was his intention to fight the war not as a soldier but as a travelling wine-salesman, and to this end he resolved to conquer Landau. Willich was not yet there at that time. Blenker got together everything at hand in the Palatinate, both regular troops and people's militia, organised foot-soldiers, cavalry and artillery that had all been jumbled up together, and moved off in the direction of Landau. A council of war was held in front of the fortress, the assault columns formed up and the position of the artillery fixed. The artillery, however, consisted of a few mortars whose calibre varied from $^1/_2$lb. to $1^3/_8$lb., and was brought up on a hay-cart which at the same time served to carry the ammunition. The ammunition for these various mortars consisted of *one,* I repeat *one,* 24 lb. cannon-ball; there was no question of any gunpowder. After everything had been organised, everyone moved forward full of contempt for death. The glacis was reached without meeting any resistance; the march continued, right up to the gate. At the head were the soldiers who had defected from Landau. A few soldiers appeared on the ramparts to parley. They were called upon to open the gate. There began already a quite good-natured exchange and everything appeared to be going according to wish. All at once a cannon-shot rang out from the ramparts, case-shot whistled over the heads of the assailants and in no time the whole heroic army broke into wild flight together with their Palatinate Prince Eugene.[b] Everyone was running, running, running, with such irresistible momentum that the couple of cannon-balls loosed off soon afterwards from the ramparts were already no longer whistling over the heads of the fleeing men, but only over their discarded guns, cartridge-pouches and knapsacks. A few hours away from Landau a halt was finally made and the army was gathered together again and led home by Herr "Colonel" Blenker, without the keys of Landau

[a] See this volume, p. 149.—*Ed.*
[b] An ironical comparison of Blenker with Prince Eugene of Savoy.—*Ed.*

but none the less proud for that. Such is the story of the conquest of Landau with three mortars and a 24lb. cannon-ball that never happened.

The case-shot was fired off in all haste by some Bavarian officers, when they saw that their soldiers wanted to open the gate. The gun was brought off the target by soldiers themselves, and it was because of this that nobody was hit. But when the Landau garrison saw what an effect this random shot had, there was naturally no more talk of surrender.

Hero Blenker, however, was not the sort of man to take such a piece of bad luck lying down. He now resolved to conquer Worms. He moved up from Frankenthal, where he commanded a battalion. The handful of Hessian soldiers stationed in Worms made themselves scarce and hero Blenker marched into his home town with drums beating and trumpets sounding. After the liberation of Worms had been celebrated with a solemn luncheon, the main ceremony began, that is, the tendering of an oath of allegiance to the Imperial Constitution to twenty Hessian soldiers who had stayed behind sick. During the night after this prodigious success, however, the imperial troops under Peucker brought up artillery on the right bank of the Rhine and gave the victorious conquerors a most violent awakening with the early thunder of cannon. There was no mistake about it: the imperial troops were sending over round shot and shells. Without uttering a word hero Blenker gathered together his brave men, and stole away from Worms back to Frankenthal. The muse will report further particulars of his later heroic deeds in the appropriate place.

While in the districts the motliest collection of characters were each in their own way giving themselves vent and the soldiers and people's militiamen, instead of drilling, sat in the taverns and sang, the gallant officers were in Kaiserslautern busy thinking up the most profound strategic plans. It was a question of nothing less than the possibility of holding a small province like the Palatinate, accessible from several sides, with almost wholly imaginary forces against an extremely real army of over 30,000 men and 60 cannon. Precisely because in such a situation every project was equally useless and equally absurd, and precisely because all the conditions for any strategic plan were absent, precisely for those reasons these profound military men, these thinking heads of the Palatinate army, were all the more resolved to concoct some strategic miracle which would bar to the Prussians the way into the Palatinate. Every freshly baked lieutenant, every sabre-trailer from the academic legion finally established under the auspices of Herr Sznayde, with the rank of

lieutenant for every member, every administrative pen-pusher, stared pensively at the map of the Palatinate in the hope of finding the strategic philosophers' stone. It is easy to imagine the amusing results this had. The Hungarian method of warfare was especially popular. From "General" Sznayde down to the as yet least recognised Napoleon in the army one could constantly hear the phrase: "We must do as Kossuth did, we must give up a piece of our territory and retreat, here or there, into the mountains or onto the plain according to the situation." "We must do as Kossuth did," the cry went up in every tavern. "We must do as Kossuth did," echoed every corporal, every soldier and every street-urchin. "We must do as Kossuth did," echoed the Provisional Government good-naturedly, for they knew better than anyone else that it was best not to meddle in these things, and in the long run it was all the same to them how it was done. "We must do as Kossuth did, or we are lost."—The Palatinate and Kossuth!

Before I go on to describe the campaign itself, I must briefly mention a matter which has been touched on in various newspapers: my momentary arrest in Kirchheim. A few days before the Prussians marched in I accompanied my friend Moll on a mission he had undertaken to Kirchheimbolanden, on the border. Here was stationed a part of the Rhenish Hessian corps, in which we had acquaintances. We were sitting in the evening with these and several other volunteers from the corps in an inn. Among the volunteers were a number of those serious, enthusiastic "men of action" of whom mention has been made on more than one occasion and who foresaw no difficulties in beating any army in the world, with few arms and much enthusiasm. These are men whose experience of the military does not extend beyond the changing of the guards, who never pay the slightest heed to the material means of attaining a given purpose and who for this reason mostly experience such a shattering disillusion in their first battle, as I was later to observe on more than one occasion, that they make off as fast as their legs can carry them. I asked one such hero if he really intended to defeat the Prussians with the thirty thousand cavalry sabres and three and a half thousand fire-arms, including several rusty carbines, available in the Palatinate, and I was in proper train to enjoy the holy indignation of a man of action wounded in his noblest enthusiasm when in stepped the guard and declared me under arrest. At the same time I saw two men rush upon me from behind foaming with rage. One of them announced that he was Civil Commissary Müller and the other was Herr Greiner, the only member of the government with whom I had never entered into more intimate

contact, on account of his frequent absence from Kaiserslautern (he had been turning his wealth into movable property on the quiet) and his suspicious-looking, snivellingly sullen appearance.[169] At the same time an old acquaintance of mine,[a] a captain in the Rhenish Hessian corps, stood up and declared that if I were to be arrested, he, together with a considerable number of the best men in the corps, would leave it at once. Moll and others were for defending me there and then with force. Those present split into two parties, the scene promised to become interesting and I declared I would naturally allow myself to be arrested with pleasure: it would finally be clear for all to see what the colour of the Palatinate movement was. I went with the guard.

The next morning, after a comical interrogation which Herr Zitz put me through, I was handed over to the civil commissary and by him to a gendarme. The gendarme, on whom it had been impressed to treat me as a *spy*, handcuffed me and led me on foot to Kaiserslautern, accused of disparaging the uprising of the Palatinate people and inciting against the government, which, by the way, I had not mentioned. On the way I succeeded in getting a carriage. In Kaiserslautern, where Moll had hurried on ahead of me, I found the government highly bewildered at the valiant Greiner's *bévue* and even more bewildered at the treatment meted out to me. Needless to say I carried on quite a bit at the gentlemen in the presence of the gendarme. Since no report from Herr Greiner had yet arrived, I was offered freedom on parole. I refused to give my parole and went into the cantonal gaol—without an escort, which condition was agreed to at d'Ester's request. D'Ester declared that he could stay no longer after such treatment had been meted out to a party comrade. Tzschirner, who arrived just at that time, also took a very resolute stand. The same evening the news spread throughout the town and everyone who belonged to the resolute trend immediately sided with me. On top of that, news arrived that disturbances had broken out in the Rhenish Hessian corps on account of this affair and that a large part of the corps intended to disband. It would have taken less than that to demonstrate to the provisional regents, in whose company I had been daily, the necessity of giving me satisfaction. After I had spent 24 quite amusing hours in gaol, d'Ester and Schmitt came to see me; Schmitt explained to me that I was unconditionally free and that the government hoped that I would not be deterred from continuing to take part in the movement. Besides this, I was told, the order had been given that in future no political prisoner was to be

[a] Victor Schily.—Ed.

brought in handcuffed, and the investigation against the instigator of this infamous treatment as well as of the arrest and its cause was proceeding. After the government had taken these steps to give me all the satisfaction that it could for the moment, since Herr Greiner had still not sent in a report, the solemn faces on both sides were discarded and the company had a few drinks together in the Donnersberg. The next day Tzschirner departed for the Rhenish Hessian corps in order to appease it and I gave him a short note to take with him. When Herr Greiner returned he made such a snivelling exhibition of himself that his colleagues gave him a doubly severe dressing-down.

At the same time the Prussians marched in from Homburg. Since things thus took an interesting turn, since I had no intention of letting slip the opportunity of gaining some military education, and lastly since the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* also had to be represented *honoris causa* in the army of Baden and the Palatinate, I too buckled on a broadsword and went off to join Willich.

## IV. TO DIE FOR THE REPUBLIC!

Nur im Sturz von sechsunddreissig Thronen
Kann die deutsche Republik gedeihn;
Darum, Brüder, stürzt sie ohne Schonen,
Setzet Gut und Blut und Leben ein.
Für Republik zu sterben,
Ist ein Los, hehr und gross, ist das Ziel unsres Muts![a]

Thus sang the volunteers on the train when I was on my way to Neustadt to seek out Willich's temporary headquarters.

So from now on to die for the republic was the aim of my courage or at least was supposed to be. It seemed strange to me to have this new aim. I looked at the volunteers, young, handsome, lively lads. They did not at all look as if death for the republic was just now the aim of their courage.

From Neustadt I travelled on a requisitioned peasant's cart to Offenbach, between Landau and Germersheim, where Willich was still to be found. Just the other side of Edenkoben I came across the first sentries, posted by the peasants on his orders, who were from now on to be found at the entrance and exit of every village and at every cross-road and who allowed nobody through without a written authorisation of the insurgent authorities. It was clear

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[a] Only through the overthrow of thirty-six thrones
Can the German republic prosper;
Therefore, brothers, overthrow them without mercy,
And stake property, life and limb.
To die for the Republic
Is a lofty and great destiny, the aim of our courage.

A stanza from a song popular during the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany which began with the words: "Wenn die Fürsten ihre Söldnerscharen...."—*Ed.*

that one was getting a little nearer to war conditions. Late in the night I arrived at Offenbach and at once took up duties as Willich's adjutant.

In the course of that day (it was June 13) a small part of Willich's corps had fought a brilliant engagement. A few days previously Willich had got reinforcements for his volunteer corps in the shape of a Baden people's militia battalion, the Dreher-Obermüller Battalion, and had moved up some fifty men of this battalion to Bellheim against Germersheim. To their rear, in Knittelsheim, there was still a company of volunteers together with a few scythe-men. A battalion of Bavarians with two cannon and a squadron of Chevaulegers made a sortie. The Badeners fled without putting up any resistance; only one of them, overtaken by three mounted gendarmes, defended himself furiously until finally, hacked to pieces by sabre blows, he fell and was finished off by his assailants. When the fugitives arrived at Knittelsheim the captain[a] stationed there set out against the Bavarians with a little less than fifty men, some of whom were still armed with scythes. He expertly divided up his men into several detachments and advanced in extended order with such determination that after two hours' fighting the Bavarians, who were over ten times more numerous, were driven back into the village abandoned by the Badeners and finally, when some reinforcements arrived from Willich's corps, thrown out of the village again. They retreated with a loss of some twenty dead and wounded to Germersheim. I am sorry to say that I cannot give the name of this bold and talented young officer, since he is probably not yet in safety. His men had only five wounded, none seriously. One of these five, a French volunteer, had been shot in the upper arm before he himself had fired a shot. Nevertheless he fired all his sixteen cartridges and when his wound prevented him from loading his gun he got one of the scythe-men to load it for him so that he could just fire. The next day we went to Bellheim to look at the battlefield and make new arrangements. The Bavarians had fired at our skirmishers with round shot and case-shot but hit nothing except the twigs on the trees, with which the whole road was strewn, and the tree behind which the captain was standing.

The Dreher-Obermüller Battalion was now present in full strength with the intention of establishing itself firmly in Bellheim and the surrounding area. It was a splendid, well-armed battalion and the officers especially, with their turned-up moustaches and their tanned faces full of seriousness and enthusiasm, really did look

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[a] Loreck.—*Ed.*

like man-eaters endowed with reason. Fortunately, they were not so dangerous, as we were to become more and more aware.

To my amazement I discovered that there was almost no ammunition whatever available, that most men only had five or six cartridges, and in a few cases twenty, and that the stock in hand would not be enough even to replenish the now completely empty cartridge-pouches of the men who had been under fire the day before. I at once volunteered to go to Kaiserslautern and fetch ammunition, and set out the same evening.

The peasants' carts were slow; the necessity of requisitioning new carts at regular stages, unfamiliarity with the roads, etc., also helped to slow things down. It was daybreak when I arrived at Maikammer, about halfway to Neustadt. Here I came across a detachment of Pirmasens people's militia with the four cannon sent to Homburg, which in Kaiserslautern were already believed lost. By way of Zweibrücken and Pirmasens, and then by the most wretched mountain tracks, they had succeeded in getting as far as here, where they at last came out into the plain. The gentlemen from Prussia were in no great hurry to pursue them, even though our men from Pirmasens, excited by exertions, night marches and wine, believed they were right on their heels.

A few hours later (it was on June 15) I arrived at Neustadt. The whole population was on the streets, among them soldiers and volunteers, as all people's militiamen in tunics were indiscriminately called in the Palatinate. Carts, cannon and horses blocked every approach. In short, I had landed up in the middle of the retreat of the entire Palatinate army. The Provisional Government, General Sznayde, the general staff, the office staff, everyone was there. Kaiserslautern had been abandoned, the Fruchthalle, the "Donnersberg", the beerhouses, the "strategically best located point in the Palatinate", and for the moment Neustadt had become the centre of the Palatinate's confusion, which reached its climax only now that it came to fighting. Suffice it to say, I made myself acquainted with the facts, took as many kegs of gunpowder, lead-shot and ready-made cartridges as I could (what further use was this ammunition to an army which had gone to pieces without even a battle?), after countless vain attempts finally got hold of a wain in a neighbouring village and left in the evening with my booty and a small escort.

But before doing so I went to Herr Sznayde and asked if he did not have any message for Willich. The old gourmand gave me a few meaningless instructions and added with an air of importance: "You see, we are now doing just as Kossuth did."

How the Palatinate came to do just as Kossuth did, however, was to be explained as follows. In the heyday of the "rebellion", that is to say, on the day before the Prussians marched in, the Palatinate had roughly 5,000 to 6,000 men armed with weapons of all sorts and about 1,000 to 1,500 scythe-men. These 5,000 to 6,000 possible combatants consisted firstly of Willich's and the Rhenish Hessian volunteer corps and secondly of the so-called people's militia. In the area covered by each provincial commissariat was a military commissary whose task was to organise a battalion. The defected soldiers belonging to each district were to serve as nucleus and as instructors. This system of mixing regular troops with raw recruits, though it could have had excellent results during an active campaign with strict discipline and continual military exercise, ruined everything under the circumstances. The battalions did not materialise owing to lack of arms; the soldiers, having nothing to do, neglected all discipline and military bearing and for the most part melted away. Eventually a battalion of sorts came together in some districts but in the others only armed crowds existed. There was absolutely nothing to be done with the scythe-men; everywhere in the way and never really of any use, they were partly left with their respective battalions as a provisional appendage until such a time as guns could be acquired for them, and partly concentrated in a special corps under the half-crazy Captain Zinn. Citizen Zinn, the most perfect Shakespearean Pistol one could ever meet, who on bolting from Landau under hero Blenker stumbled over his scabbard and broke it and afterwards swore blind that a "fiery 24 lb. cannon-ball" had rent it asunder, this same invincible Pistol had hitherto been employed to requisition supplies from reactionary villages. He had applied himself with great zeal to this office, so that the peasants held him and his corps in very great respect, but they gave him a sound thrashing every time they caught him by himself. On their way back from such trips the men had to beat their scythes to smithereens and when he arrived in Kaiserslautern he would relate murderous Falstaffiads about his fights with the peasants.

Since it was obvious that little could be accomplished with such forces, Mieroslawski, who only arrived at the Baden headquarters on the 10th, ordered the Palatinate troops to make a fighting withdrawal to the Rhine and if possible win the Rhine crossing at Mannheim; otherwise they were to go over to the right bank of the Rhine at Speyer or Knielingen and then defend the Rhine crossings from Baden. At the same time as this order, the news came in that the Prussians had penetrated the Palatinate from Saarbrücken and after a few musket-shots driven back towards Kaiserslautern the

meagre forces we had drawn up at the border. At the same time all the more or less organised units were concentrating in the direction of Kaiserslautern and Neustadt; an unbounded confusion ensued and a large number of the recruits melted away. A young officer, Rakow, from the 1848 Schleswig-Holstein volunteer corps, went out with thirty men to round up the deserters and in the space of two days had rallied 1,400 of them. He formed them into a "Kaiserslautern Battalion" and led them until the end of the campaign.

The Palatinate, strategically speaking, is such a straightforward terrain that not even the Prussians could make any blunders here. Along the Rhine lies a valley four to five hours' journey across and completely free from any natural obstacles. In a comfortable three days' march the Prussians came from Kreuznach and Worms as far as Landau and Germersheim. The "Kaiserstrasse" leads over the mountainous hinterland of the Palatinate from Saargemünd to Mainz, mostly on the mountain ridge or through a broad gully. Here too there are as good as no natural obstacles behind which a numerically weak and tactically unschooled army could hold out to any extent. Close by the Prussian border, near Homburg, there is at last an excellent road which leads from the "Kaiserstrasse" to Landau via Zweibrücken and Pirmasens, running partly through river valleys and partly over the ridge of the Vosges. It is true that this route presents greater difficulties, but it cannot be blocked with few troops and no artillery, especially when an enemy corps manoeuvres on the plain and can cut off the retreat via Landau and Bergzabern.

In the light of this, the Prussians' offensive was a very straightforward matter. The first thrust was from Saarbrücken against Homburg; from here one column marched directly on Kaiserslautern and the other on Landau via Pirmasens. Thereupon a second corps immediately attacked in the Rhine valley. In Kirchheimbolanden this corps met its first violent resistance from the Rhenish Hessians stationed there. The Mainz riflemen defended the castle garden with great doggedness and in spite of considerable losses. They were eventually outflanked and retreated. Seventeen of them fell into the hands of the Prussians. They were forthwith put up against trees and shot without further ado by these heroes of the "glorious army",[170] who were drunk on schnaps. With this piece of villainy the Prussians began their "short but glorious campaign"[a] in the Palatinate.

[a] From the order issued by Frederick William IV on July 28, 1849, on the occasion of the end of the Baden-Palatinate campaign (*Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*, Berlin, No. 215, August 8, 1849).—*Ed.*

This meant that the whole northern half of the Palatinate was won and the link-up effected between the two main columns. Now they only needed to advance in the plain and relieve Landau and Germersheim to secure the rest of the Palatinate and capture all those corps that might still be holding out in the mountains.

There were some 30,000 Prussians in the Palatinate, equipped with numerous cavalry and artillery. On the plain, where the Prince of Prussia and Hirschfeld were pressing forward with the strongest corps, nothing stood between them and Neustadt except a few people's militia detachments, incapable of resistance and already half disbanded, and a section of the Rhenish Hessians. A swift march on Speyer and Germersheim, and all the 4,000 to 5,000 troops of the Palatinate concentrated or rather chaotically entangled at Neustadt and Landau would have been doomed, routed, scattered and captured. But the Prussian gentlemen, who were so active when it came to shooting unarmed prisoners, were extremely cautious about fighting and extremely somnolent in pursuit.

If throughout the campaign I am frequently forced to return to this decidedly strange lukewarmness which the Prussians and the other imperial troops displayed in attack as well as in pursuit, against an army mostly six times and never less than three times smaller, badly organised and in parts pitifully commanded, it should be understood that I am not blaming it on some singular cowardice on the part of the Prussian soldiers, all the less so since I had absolutely no illusions, as will already have become clear, that our troops were especially brave. Neither do I ascribe it, as reactionaries would do, to some sort of magnanimity or the desire to avoid the inconvenience of too many prisoners. The Prussian civil and military bureaucracy has from time immemorial gloried in gaining striking victories over weak enemies and taking its revenge on defenceless men in a frenzy of blood-lust. It did this also in Baden and the Palatinate. Proof: the executions by firing squad in Kirchheim, the night-time shootings in the Karlsruhe pheasantry, the countless instances on all the battlefields of the wounded and those who had surrendered being butchered, the ill-treatment of the few who were taken prisoner, the murders by summary justice in Freiburg and Rastatt and lastly the slow, secret and therefore all the more inhuman killing of the Rastatt prisoners through ill-treatment, hunger, overcrowding in damp, suffocating dungeons and the typhus that resulted. The Prussians' lukewarm prosecution of the war was certainly rooted in cowardice, and indeed in that of the commanders. Quite apart from the slow, faint-hearted precision of our Prussian martinets and manoeuvre heroes, which is enough in itself to inhibit any bold move or quick

decision, quite apart from the complicated service regulations intended to prevent in a roundabout way a recurrence of so many ignominious defeats—would the Prussians ever have conducted a war in a manner so insufferably boring for us and so downright disgraceful for them if they had been sure of their own men? Therein lay the key. Messrs the Generals knew that a third of their army consisted of recalcitrant army reserve regiments who after the first victory of the insurgent army would go over to it and very soon bring after them half the regular troops and in particular all the artillery. And it is not very difficult to see what the prospects would then have been for the House of Hohenzollern and the unimpaired crown.[171]

In Maikammer, where I was forced to wait until the morning of the 16th for a new cart and escort, the army, which had set out from Neustadt very early in the morning, caught up with me again. The previous day there had still been talk of a march on Speyer, but this plan had evidently been abandoned and they were making directly for the Knielingen bridge. With fifteen Pirmasensers, half-wild peasant lads from the virgin forests of the Palatinate hinterland, I marched off. It was not until I reached the vicinity of Offenbach that I learned that Willich had marched off with all his troops to Frankweiler, a place situated to the north-west of Landau. I therefore turned round and arrived towards noon at Frankweiler. Here I found not only Willich, but once again the entire advanced guard of the Palatinate, which had taken the route to the west of Landau in order not to have to march between Landau and Germersheim. In the tavern sat the Provisional Government with its officials, the general staff and the large numbers of democratic hangers-on who had attached themselves to both of these. General Sznayde was having breakfast. Everyone was rushing around in great confusion—in the inn the regents, the commandants and the hangers-on and in the street the soldiers. Gradually the main body of the army moved in: Herr Blenker, Herr Trocinski, Herr Strasser and whatever their names were, all mounted on horseback at the head of their valiant troops. The confusion grew and grew. Little by little it became possible to send individual corps further on in the direction of Impflingen and Kandel.

One would not guess from looking at it that this army was on the retreat. Disorder was from the very beginning as if at home in it, and even if the young warriors were already starting to grumble about the unaccustomed marching, that still did not stop them from carousing in the taverns to their hearts' content, talking big and threatening the Prussians with imminent extinction. Despite their

certainty of victory, one regiment of cavalry with some horse-artillery would have sufficed to blow the whole merry company to the four winds and totally disperse the "liberation army of the Rhenish Palatinate". It needed only a quick decision and a dash of boldness; but in the Prussian camp there was no question of either.

The next morning we set out. While the main body of the fleeing troops moved off towards the Knielingen bridge, Willich marched with his corps and the Dreher Battalion into the mountains against the Prussians. One of our companies, some fifty Landau gymnasts, had advanced right up into the highest mountains, to Johanniskreuz. Schimmelpfennig and his corps were likewise still on the road from Pirmasens to Landau. The idea was to hold the Prussians up and bar the roads to them in Hinterweidenthal to Bergzabern and the Lauter valley.

Schimmelpfennig, however, had already abandoned Hinterweidenthal and was in Rinnthal and Annweiler. The road makes a curve here, and it is precisely here that the mountains enclosing the Queich valley form a sort of defile beyond which lies the village of Rinnthal. This defile was manned by a sort of picket. In the night his patrols had reported that they had been shot at; early in the morning ex-Civil Commissary Weiss from Zweibrücken and a young Rhinelander, M. J. Becker, brought the news that the Prussians were advancing and demanded that reconnaissance patrols be sent out. However, no reconnaissance was undertaken nor were the heights on either side of the defile manned, so that Weiss and Becker decided to go reconnoitring on their own initiative. As further reports came of the approach of the enemy, Schimmelpfennig's men began to barricade the defile; Willich arrived, reconnoitred the position, issued some orders to man the heights and had the completely useless barricade removed. He then rode quickly back to Annweiler and fetched his troops.

As we were marching through Rinnthal we heard the first shots. We hurried through the village and saw Schimmelpfennig's troops drawn up on the highway, many scythe-men and few flintlocks, some already advancing into action. The Prussians were pushing forward on the heights, shooting as they went; Schimmelpfennig had calmly allowed them to get into the position that he was supposed to occupy himself. No bullets fell into our columns yet; they all went flying high over our heads. Whenever a bullet went whistling over the heads of the scythe-men the whole line swayed and everyone started shouting at the same time.

Only with difficulty did we get past these troops, who blocked almost the whole of the road, brought everything into disorder and

anyway were quite useless with their scythes. The company commanders and lieutenants were just as helpless and confused as the soldiers themselves. Our riflemen were ordered to the front, where they were to advance on the heights, some to the right, some to the left; on the left were two additional companies to reinforce the riflemen and outflank the Prussians. The main column stayed where it was in the valley. Some riflemen posted themselves behind the remains of the barricade in the curve of the road and shot at the Prussian column, which was positioned a few hundred paces back. I went with a few men up the mountain to the left.

We had scarcely climbed the bushy slope when we came to an open field from the opposite wooded edge of which Prussian riflemen were loosing off their elongated bullets at us. I fetched up a few more of the volunteers, who were scrambling around the slope helpless and rather nervous, posted them with as much cover as possible and took a closer look at the terrain. I could not advance with these few men over a completely exposed field 200 to 250 paces across, as long as the outflanking detachment sent ahead further to the left had not reached the Prussians' flank; at the very most we could hold out, since we were badly covered in any case. In spite of their elongated-bullet guns, incidentally, the Prussians shot extremely badly; we stood for over half an hour with next to no cover in the fiercest possible skirmish fire, and the enemy sharpshooters hit only one shotgun barrel and the lappet of one tunic.

At last I had to go and see where Willich was. My men promised to hold their ground and I climbed back down the slope. Down below everything was fine. The Prussian main column, shot at by our riflemen on the road and to the right of it, was forced to retreat a little further. All of a sudden our volunteers came leaping down the slope to the left, where I had been positioned, and abandoned their ground. The companies which had advanced on the extreme left flank, weakened by having left behind numerous skirmishers, considered that the route through a coppice lying further on would take too long; with the captain[a] who had won the battle of Bellheim at their head, they advanced across the fields. They were met with a hail of fire; the captain and several others fell; the rest, leaderless, yielded to the superior forces. The Prussians now advanced, attacked our skirmishers in the flank, shot down on them from above and thus forced them to retreat. The whole mountain was soon in the hands of the Prussians. They shot into our columns from above; there was nothing more to be done, and we started to retreat. The

[a] Loreck.—*Ed.*

road was blocked by Schimmelpfennig's troops and the Dreher-Obermüller Battalion, which in accordance with the laudable Baden custom marched not in sections of four to six but in half-platoons of twelve to fifteen abreast and took up the whole breadth of the highway. Our men had to march through swampy meadows to get to the village. I stayed with the riflemen to cover the retreat.

The battle was lost partly because Schimmelpfennig had disobeyed Willich's order and not manned the heights, which we could not retake from the Prussians with the few troops at our disposal; partly because of the utter uselessness of Schimmelpfennig's troops and the Dreher Battalion; and last of all partly because of the impatience of the captain who had been ordered to outflank the enemy, and that impatience almost cost him his life and exposed our left flank. It was, incidentally, lucky for us that we were beaten; a Prussian column was already on the way to Bergzabern, Landau was relieved, and thus we would have been surrounded on all sides in Hinterweidenthal.

We lost more men during the retreat than in the battle. From time to time Prussian musket bullets hit the dense column, which was progressing, for the most part a model of disorder, shrieking and bawling. We had about fifteen wounded, among them Schimmelpfennig, who had received a shot in the knee soon after the beginning of the battle. Once again the Prussians showed no great eagerness to pursue us and soon stopped shooting. Only a few skirmishers on the mountain slopes came after us. In Annweiler, half an hour away from the battlefield, we were able to take some food quite undisturbed and then marched to Albersweiler. We had the most important thing: 3,000 guilders payment towards the forced loan which had been waiting for us in Annweiler. Afterwards the Prussians called it robbery. They also maintained in the elation of victory that at Rinnthal they had killed Captain Manteuffel, a member of our corps, cousin of Ehren-Manteuffel[a] in Berlin and a Prussian N.C.O. who had come over to us. Herr Manteuffel is so far from being dead that he has since even won a prize for gymnastics in Zurich.

In Albersweiler two Baden guns joined up with us, part of the reinforcements sent by Mieroslawski. We wanted to use them to make one more stand in the vicinity; but then we were brought the news that the Prussians were already in Landau, so we were left with no choice but to march straight to Langenkandel.

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[a] A pun on *Ehrenmann* (man of honour) and *Teufel* (devil).— *Ed.*

In Albersweiler we were safely rid of the ineffectual troops that had been marching with us. The Schimmelpfennig corps had already partially disbanded following the loss of its leader and on its own initiative was branching off to Kandel. At every step it left behind in the taverns exhausted soldiers and other stragglers. In Albersweiler the Dreher Battalion started to become rebellious. Willich and I went there to ask what they wanted. They all remained silent. At last a volunteer, already pretty advanced in years, cried out: "They want to lead us to the slaughter!" This exclamation was highly comical coming from a corps that had not even once seen battle and had sustained two or at the most three light casualties during the retreat. Willich bade the man step forward and surrender his rifle. The greybeard, rather the worse for drink, did so, staged a tragi-comic scene and snivelled his way through a long speech, the gist of which was that no such thing had ever happened to him before. This gave rise to general indignation among these very good-natured but badly disciplined warriors, so that Willich ordered the whole company to march off at once, saying he was sick of chatter and grumbling and did not intend to lead such soldiers one moment longer. The company, which needed no second bidding, wheeled to the right and started marching. The rest of the battalion, to which Willich had further allocated two cannon, followed suit five minutes later. It was more than they could bear that they should be "led to the slaughter" and expected to keep discipline! We let them go with pleasure.

We turned right into the mountains in the direction of Impflingen. Soon we arrived in the proximity of the Prussians; our riflemen exchanged a few shots with them. Throughout the evening shots were fired from time to time. I stayed behind in the first village we came to in order to send news by messenger to our company of gymnasts from Landau; whether or not they received it, I do not know, but they got safely to France and from there went over to Baden. Because of this I lost the corps and had to make my own way to Kandel. The roads were crowded with army stragglers; all the taverns were full; the whole splendour seemed to have faded into complacency. Officers without soldiers here, soldiers without officers there, and volunteers from all corps hurrying in colourful confusion on foot and by wagon in the direction of Kandel. And yet the Prussians never gave a thought to serious pursuit! Impflingen is only an hour away from Landau, and Wörth (which is just before the Knielingen bridge) only four to five hours from Germersheim; yet the Prussians made no hurry to dispatch troops to either of the two positions, here to cut off the stragglers, there to cut off the

entire army. The Prince of Prussia certainly won his laurels in an odd way!

In Kandel I found Willich but not the corps, which was billeted further back. Instead, I once more found the Provisional Government, the general staff and the large retinue of hangers-on. The same cram of troops, only a much greater disorder and confusion than yesterday in Frankweiler. There was a continuous stream of officers making enquiries about their corps and soldiers making enquiries about their leaders. Nobody could tell them anything. The disintegration was complete.

The next morning, June 18, the entire gathering defiled through Wörth and over the Knielingen bridge. In spite of the large number of troops who had been cut off from the main body or gone home, the army, with the reinforcements arrived from Baden, still numbered some 5,000 to 6,000 men. They marched as proudly through Wörth as if they had just conquered the village and were pushing on to fresh triumphs. They were still doing as Kossuth did. A Baden battalion of regulars was the only one to display any military bearing and march past a tavern without some of its number diving in. At last our corps came. We stayed behind as cover until the bridge could be carted off; when everything was in order we marched over to Baden and helped carry out the piles.

The government of Baden, in order to spare the valiant Karlsruhe philistines who had made such a courageous stand against the republicans on June 6,[172] billeted everyone from the Palatinate in the surrounding districts. We had explicitly insisted on coming to Karlsruhe with our corps; we needed a lot of repairs and articles of clothing, and we also considered the presence of a reliable, revolutionary corps in Karlsruhe very desirable. But Herr Brentano had taken care of us. He directed us to Daxlanden, a village an hour and a half away from Karlsruhe, which was pictured to us as a veritable Eldorado. We marched there and discovered the most reactionary den in the whole area. Nothing to eat, nothing to drink, scarcely any straw; half the corps had to sleep on the bare floor. Added to that, scowling faces at all the doors and windows. We acted quickly. Herr Brentano was warned: unless he had by then assigned us other and better quarters, we would be in Karlsruhe the next morning, June 19. We kept our word. We marched off at nine o'clock in the morning. Not a rifle-shot away from the village Herr Brentano came up to us with a staff officer and summoned up all his powers of flattery and eloquence to keep us away from Karlsruhe. The town was already putting up 5,000 men, he said, the wealthier class had departed and the middle-class was overburdened with

billeted soldiers; he would not tolerate bad accommodation for the valiant Willich corps, he continued, whose praises were on everybody's lips, etc. But nothing helped. Willich demanded a few empty palaces belonging to the departed aristocrats, and when Brentano refused we went to Karlsruhe for our billets.

In Karlsruhe we acquired rifles for our company of scythe-men and some cloth for topcoats. We had our shoes and clothes mended as quickly as possible. Fresh forces came to us too, several workers whom I knew from the Elberfeld uprising, then Kinkel, who joined the Besançon workers' company as a musketeer, and Zychlinski, adjutant to the supreme command in the Dresden uprising and leader of the rearguard during the retreat of the insurgents. He joined the students' company as a rifleman.

While we were replenishing our equipment, we did not neglect tactical instruction. Drill was assiduously carried out and on our second day there we undertook a mock storm of Karlsruhe from the castle yard. The philistines demonstrated by their universal and deeply-felt indignation at the manoeuvre that they had fully understood the threat.

Eventually the bold decision was taken to requisition the Grand Duke's[a] arms collection, which had up to now remained inviolable like something holy. We were just on the point of having twenty of the guns thus obtained fitted with pistons when the news arrived that the Prussians had crossed the Rhine near Germersheim and were in Graben and Bruchsal.

We marched off at once (on the evening of June 20) with two Palatinate cannon. When we arrived at Blankenloch, an hour and a half from Karlsruhe in the direction of Bruchsal, we found Herr Clement and his battalion there and learned that the Prussian advanced posts had pushed forward to about an hour's march from Blankenloch. While our men were taking their evening meal under arms, we held a council of war. Willich was for attacking the Prussians at once. Herr Clement declared that with his untrained troops he could not make a night-attack. It was therefore decided that we should immediately go ahead to Karlsdorf, attack shortly before daybreak and try to break through the Prussian line. If we were successful, then we intended to march on Bruchsal and throw in our forces wherever we could. Herr Clement was to attack at daybreak by way of Friedrichsthal and support our left flank.

It was about midnight when we set out. Our venture was fairly risky. We had not quite 700 men with two cannon; our troops were

[a] Leopold.—*Ed.*

better drilled and more reliable than the rest of the Palatinate troops, and also pretty accustomed to fire. With them we intended to attack an enemy corps which was at all events much better experienced and staffed with more experienced subalterns than ours, among whom were some captains who had scarcely even been in the civic militia; a corps whose exact strength we did not know, but which numbered not less than 4,000 men. Our corps had already fought more unequal battles, however, and there was certainly no hope of less unfavourable odds in this campaign.

We sent ten students a hundred paces ahead as an advance guard; then followed the first column, at the head of which were half a dozen Baden dragoons allocated to us for courier service, and behind them three companies. The artillery, along with the three other companies, were a little further back and the riflemen brought up the rear. The order was given not to shoot under any circumstances, to march as quietly as possible and, as soon as the enemy showed himself, to attack him with the bayonet.

Soon we saw in the distance the glow of the Prussian watch-fires. We got as far as Spöck without being challenged. The main body halted; only the advance guard pushed forward. All at once there were shots; on the road at the entrance to the village a blazing straw-fire flared up and the tocsin rang. To the right and to the left our skirmishers circumvented the village and the column marched in. Large fires were also burning inside; at every corner we expected a volley. But everything was quiet and only a sort of guard of peasants was encamped in front of the town hall. The Prussian guard had already made off.

In spite of their colossal numerical superiority, the Prussian gentlemen did not consider themselves safe, as we saw on this occasion, unless they had carried out the pedantic service regulations covering outpost duties to the last boring detail. This outermost post was a whole hour away from their camp. If we had wanted to tire our own men, unaccustomed to the exertions of war, with outpost duties, just as the Prussians did, numbers of them would have been unfit to march. We relied on the Prussian nervousness and were of the opinion that they would hold us in more respect than we did them. And rightly so. Our outposts were never attacked the whole way to the Swiss frontier and our quarters never raided.

At all events the Prussians had now been warned. Ought we to turn back? We decided not, and marched on.

At Neuthard once more the tocsin; this time, however, neither beacons nor shots. Here too we marched in fairly closed order through the village and the heights up to Karlsdorf. Our advance

guard, now only thirty paces ahead, had scarcely reached the high ground when it saw the Prussian outpost close in front of it and was challenged by it. I heard the "Who goes there?" and leapt forward. One of my comrades said: "He's a goner, we won't see him again." But it was precisely my going forward that saved me.

For at the same moment the enemy outpost loosed off a volley and our advance guard, instead of despatching them with the bayonet, fired back. The dragoons, alongside whom I had been marching, did an immediate about-turn in keeping with their customary cowardice, charged at a gallop into the column, rode down a number of men, totally dispersed the first four to six sections and galloped off. At the same time the enemy's mounted guards posted in the fields to right and left fired at us and to put the finishing touch to the confusion some blockheads in the middle of our column started firing on our own men at the head, whereupon other blockheads followed suit. In next to no time the first half of the column was routed, some scattered across the fields, some put to flight, and some caught up in a confused tangle on the road. Wounded men, knapsacks, hats and flintlocks lay in motley confusion amidst the young corn. All this was interspersed with wild, distraught cries, shots and the whistle of bullets in all possible directions. And as the noise subsided a little, far to the rear I heard our cannon trundling off in headlong flight. They had performed the same service for the second half of the column as the dragoons for the first.

Though at that moment I was seized with rage at the childish terror that had gripped our soldiers, I felt equal contempt for the behaviour of the Prussians who, notified as they had been of our arrival, stopped firing after a few shots and likewise bolted off at top speed. Our advance guard was still in its old position and had not been attacked once. A cavalry squadron or a tolerably sustained skirmish fire would have put us to headlong flight.

Willich came rushing up to us from the advance guard. The Besançon company was the first to be formed up again. The others, more or less ashamed, closed ranks. Day was just breaking. Our losses amounted to six wounded, among whom was one of our staff officers: he had been trampled underfoot on the same spot that I had left the moment before to hurry to the advance guard. Several others had clearly been hit by the bullets of our own men. We carefully collected up all the discarded accoutrements so that not even the slightest trophy would fall into the hands of the Prussians, and then retreated slowly to Neuthard. The riflemen took up a position behind the first houses as cover. But there was no sign of the Prussians; and when Zychlinski went reconnoitring again he found

them still on the other side of the heights, whence they fired a few shots without hitting anything.

The Palatinate peasants who had been conveying our artillery had taken the one cannon right through to the other side of the village; the other had overturned and the men in charge had ridden off with five horses, whose traces they had removed. We had to get the cannon upright and shift it with just the one wheel-horse.

When we arrived at Spöck we heard rifle fire to our right, in the direction of Friedrichsthal. It was gradually getting more intense. Herr Clement had at last attacked, an hour later than arranged. I proposed supporting him with an attack on the flank, in order to make up for his mistake. Willich was of the same opinion and gave the order to take the first path to the right. A part of our corps had already taken the turning when one of Clement's orderly officers reported that Clement was retreating. We therefore went to Blankenloch. Soon Herr Beust of the general staff met us and was most surprised to see us alive and the corps in such fine trim. The blackguardly dragoons had spread the word everywhere on their flight, which took them as far as Karlsruhe, that Willich was dead, the officers all dead, and the corps scattered to the four winds and annihilated. We were said to have been shot at with case-shot and "fiery cannon-balls".

Outside Blankenloch we were met by troops of the Palatinate and Baden and finally Herr Sznayde and his staff. The old codger, who had probably spent a very comfortable night in bed, had the impudence to call over to us: "Gentlemen, where are you going? The enemy is that way!" Needless to say we gave him a fitting reply, marched on past him and saw about getting some rest and refreshment in Blankenloch. After two hours Herr Sznayde returned with his troops, naturally without having seen the enemy, and had breakfast.

Counting the reinforcements received from Karlsruhe and the surrounding area, Herr Sznayde now had approximately 8,000 to 9,000 troops under his command, including three Baden regular battalions and two Baden batteries. All in all there were probably some twently-five pieces of ordnance. As a consequence of Mieroslawski's rather vague orders and even more of the total incompetence of Herr Sznayde, the entire army of the Palatinate stayed put in the region of Karlsruhe until the Prussians had made their way across the Rhine under the cover of the Germersheim bridge-head. Mieroslawski (vid. his reports on the campaign in Baden[a]) had issued

[a] *Rapports du Général Mieroslawski sur la campagne de Bade*, Berne, 1849.—*Ed.*

the general order to defend the Rhine crossings from Speyer to Knielingen after the withdrawal from the Palatinate and the special order to cover Karlsruhe and to make the Knielingen bridge the assembly point of the entire army corps. Herr Sznayde interpreted this as meaning that he should stay at Karlsruhe and Knielingen until further notice. If, as Mieroslawski's general orders implied, he had sent a strong corps with artillery against the Germersheim bridge-head, then the absurdity would never have occurred of sending Major Mniewski, with 450 recruits and no artillery, to capture the bridge-head, 30,000 Prussians would never have got over the Rhine unchallenged, communications with Mieroslawski would never have been broken and the Palatinate army could have appeared in good time on the battlefield of Waghäusel. Instead of this, on the day of the battle of Waghäusel, June 21, it wandered around aimlessly between Friedrichsthal, Weingarten and Bruchsal, lost sight of the enemy and wasted its time marching in all directions.

We received the order to set out for the right flank and skirt the mountains via Weingarten. We started out at noon on the same day, June 21, from Blankenloch and about five in the afternoon from Weingarten. The Palatinate troops at last began to get uneasy; they noticed that the odds were heavy against them and they lost that boastful certainty which up to now they had at least had *before* battle. From now on the people's militia of the Palatinate and Baden, and gradually the regular infantry and artillery too, began to smell Prussians everywhere, and false alarms, which now became a regular daily occurrence, threw everything into disorder and gave rise to the most amusing scenes. At the very first piece of high ground beyond Weingarten patrols and peasants came rushing up to us with the cry: "The Prussians are here!" Our corps formed up in battle order and advanced. I went back to the little town to have the alarm sounded and in doing so lost the corps. The whole fuss was without foundation, needless to say. The Prussians had withdrawn towards Waghäusel and the same evening Willich marched into Bruchsal.

I spent the night in Obergrombach with Herr Oswald and his Palatinate battalion and marched with him the next morning to Bruchsal. Outside the town we met wagons full of stragglers coming in our direction: "The Prussians are here!" At once the whole battalion started to waver and could only with difficulty be made to advance. Of course it was another false alarm; Willich and the rest of the Palatinate advance guard were in Bruchsal; the others came marching in one after the other and there was no trace of the

Prussians. Besides the army and its leaders, d'Ester, the ex-government of the Palatinate and Goegg were there. Since Brentano's dictatorship had become indisputable, Goegg had stayed almost exclusively with the army and helped to look after the day-to-day civil affairs. The victualling was bad and the confusion was great. As usual, only the headquarters lived well.

Once again we obtained a considerable number of cartridges from the Karlsruhe supplies and marched off in the evening, the entire advance guard with us. The latter took up quarters in Ubstadt, while we marched off to the right to Unteröwisheim to cover the flank in the mountains.

To all appearances we were now quite a respectable force. Our corps had been reinforced with two new units. The first of these was the Langenkandel Battalion, which had dispersed on the way from its home town to the Knielingen bridge and whose *beaux restes*[a] had joined up with us; they consisted of a captain, a lieutenant, a standard-bearer, a sergeant, an N.C.O. and two men. The other was the "Robert Blum Column" with a red flag, a body of approximately sixty men who looked like cannibals and had performed heroic deeds in requisitioning. Besides that we were allocated four Baden cannon and a Baden people's militia battalion, the Kniery, Knüry or Knierim Battalion (it was impossible to discover the correct reading of the name). The Knierim Battalion was worthy of its leader and Herr Knierim worthy of his battalion. Both were staunch-minded, both were braggarts and roisterers and both constantly drunk. The famous "enthusiasm" kindled their hearts to deeds of the most prodigious heroism, as we shall have occasion to see.

On the morning of the 23rd Willich received a note from Anneke, who commanded the advance guard of the Palatinate in Ubstadt. It announced that the enemy was advancing, a council of war had been held and the decision made to withdraw. Willich, flabbergasted at this strange piece of news, rode over at once and managed to persuade Anneke and his officers to give battle at Ubstadt. He reconnoitred the position himself and specified the deployment of the artillery. He then returned and had his troops stand to their arms. While our troops were forming up we received the following order from the Bruchsal headquarters, signed by Techow: the main body of the army was to proceed along the road to Heidelberg and should expect to get as far as Mingolsheim the same day; at the same time we were to march via Odenheim to Waldangelloch and spend the night there. Further news as to the successes of the main corps

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[a] Beautiful remains.—*Ed.*

and instructions as to our subsequent course of action were to be sent there.

In his fanciful *Geschichte der drei Volkserhebungen in Baden*, pp. 311-17, Herr Struve published a report on the operations of the Palatinate army from June 20 to 26 which is nothing more than an apologia for the incompetent Sznayde and teems with inaccuracies and misrepresentations. The following points emerge from what was said above: firstly, it is not true that Sznayde "received reliable news of the battle of Waghäusel and its outcome a few hours after marching into Bruchsal (on the 22nd)"; secondly, it is therefore not true that "because of this he changed his plan and, instead of marching to Mingolsheim, as at first had been the plan, decided" (as early as the 22nd) "to stay with the main body of his division in Bruchsal" (the note from Techow which is referred to was written during the night of the 22nd to the 23rd); thirdly, it is not true that "on the morning of the 23rd a large-scale reconnaissance was to be carried out"—on the contrary, it was the march on Mingolsheim which was to take place; and to say that fourthly "all detachments received the order to march in the direction of the firing as soon as they heard that firing"; and fifthly that "the detachment on the right flank (Willich) excused its failure to turn up at the battle of Ubstadt by saying that it had heard nothing of the firing", is a gross lie, as will be seen.

We marched off at once. We were to have breakfast in Odenheim. Some Bavarian Chevaulegers, who had been attached to us for dispatch duties, rode around the village to the left to reconnoitre possible enemy corps. Prussian hussars had been in the village requisitioning fodder, which they intended to collect later. While we were confiscating this fodder, and wine and food was being distributed to our men under arms, one of the Chevaulegers came dashing in and shouted: "The Prussians are here!" In next to no time the Knierim Battalion, which was nearest, broke ranks and stampeded in all directions in a wild tangle, screaming, cursing and lumbering, while the major was forced to leave his men in the lurch because his horse shied. Willich came riding up, restored order and we marched off. Needless to say there were no Prussians there.

On the heights beyond Odenheim we heard the roar of cannon coming from the direction of Ubstadt. The gunfire soon became more intense. More experienced ears were already able to distinguish between the sound of bullets and the sound of case-shot. We deliberated whether to continue our march or to go in the direction of the firing. Since our order was positive and since the firing seemed to be moving in the direction of Mingolsheim, which

indicated an advance by our side, we resolved on the more dangerous march, the march on Waldangelloch. If the forces of the Palatinate were defeated at Ubstadt, we would be as good as cut off up there in the mountains and in a fairly critical position.

Herr Struve maintains that the battle of Ubstadt "could have led to brilliant results if the flank detachments had attacked at the right moment" (p. 314). The gunfire did not last an hour and we would have needed two to two and a half hours to reach the battlefield between Stettfeld and Ubstadt, that is an hour and a half after it had been abandoned. That is the way Herr Struve writes "history".

A halt was called near Tiefenbach. While our troops were refreshing themselves, Willich sent out some dispatches. The Knierim Battalion discovered a kind of municipal cellar in Tiefenbach, slapped a confiscation order on it, fetched out the barrels of wine and within an hour everyone was drunk. Annoyance at the Prussian scare of that morning, the cannon-roar from Ubstadt, the lack of confidence that these heroes had in one another and their officers—all this, aggravated by the wine, suddenly broke out in open rebellion. They demanded an immediate retreat; they said they did not care for eternally marching through the mountains in the face of the enemy. As this was of course out of the question, they faced about and marched off on their own. The man-eating "Robert Blum Column" joined them. We let them go and marched to Waldangelloch.

Here, in a deep basin-shaped valley, it was impossible to pass the night in any safety. Therefore a halt was called and intelligence collected about the conditions of the terrain in the area and the position of the enemy. In the meantime a few vague rumours of the retreat of the army on the Neckar had been spread by peasants. It was claimed that considerable Baden corps had marched on Bretten via Sinsheim and Eppingen, that Mieroslawski himself had passed through in strictest incognito and that people in Sinsheim had wanted to arrest him. The artillerymen became uneasy and even our students started to murmur. So the artillery was sent back and we marched on Hilsbach. Here we learned further particulars about the retreat of the Neckar army 48 hours earlier and about the Bavarians stationed in Sinsheim, an hour and a half away from where we were. Their number was given as 7,000, but in fact, as we later discovered, it was about 10,000. We were at the most only 700 strong. Our men could not march any further. We therefore quartered them in barns, as we always did when we had to keep them together as much as possible, detailed strong outposts and lay down to sleep. As we marched out the next morning, the 24th, we could hear quite

distinctly the sound of the Bavarians' marching step. A good quarter of an hour after we had marched off the Bavarians were in Hilsbach.

Two days before, on the 22nd, Mieroslawski had spent the night in Sinsheim and was already in Bretten with his troops when we marched into Hilsbach. Becker, who was commanding the rearguard, was likewise already through. It follows that he cannot, as Herr Struve maintains on page 308, have passed the night of the 23rd to the 24th in Sinsheim, for the Bavarians, who the evening before had fought a small engagement with Mieroslawski, were there at eight o'clock in the evening and probably even earlier. Mieroslawski's retreat from Waghäusel via Heidelberg to Bretten is depicted by the men who took part in it as a highly dangerous manoeuvre. Mieroslawski's operations from June 20 to 24, the rapid concentration of a corps at Heidelberg, with which he hurled himself against the Prussians, and his speedy retreat after losing the battle of Waghäusel certainly constituted the most brilliant episode of his entire activity in Baden; but the fact that this manoeuvre in the face of such a lethargic enemy was by no means so dangerous is proved by the fact that 24 hours later our little corps effected its retreat from Hilsbach without once being molested. We even passed through the Flehingen defile, where Mieroslawski had already expected an attack on the 23rd, without being attacked and marched on Büchig. Here we intended staying in order to cover against a first attack the camp Mieroslawski had set up at Bretten.

Everywhere on our march, which led through Eppingen, Zaisenhausen and Flehingen, we were the object of amazement, since all the corps of the Neckar army, including the rearguard, had already marched through. When we marched into Büchig and our bugler started to play, we panicked people into thinking that the Prussians had arrived. A commando of the Bretten civic militia, requisitioning victuals for Mieroslawski's camp, took us for Prussians and were the very picture of confusion until we turned the corner and the sight of our tunics reassured them. We at once confiscated the victuals and had barely consumed them when the news that Mieroslawski had set out from Bretten with all the troops caused us to withdraw to Bretten.

We stayed overnight in Bretten, the civic militia providing outposts. Wagons were requisitioned for the next morning to carry the whole corps to Ettlingen. Since Bruchsal had already been taken by the Prussians on the 24th and we could not afford to engage in a battle in case the road via Diedelsheim to Durlach was occupied by the enemy (it actually was, as we later discovered), this was the only route to the main army open to us.

In Bretten a deputation of students came to us with a declaration that they did not like constantly marching in the face of the enemy and they asked to be discharged. Needless to say they were told by way of reply that no one is discharged in the face of the enemy; but if they wished to desert, then they were free to do so. Thereupon about half the company marched off; the number of those remaining soon dwindled so much due to individual desertions that only the riflemen were left. During the course of the entire campaign the students generally showed themselves to be malcontent and timid young gentlemen; they always wanted to be let into all the plans of operation, complained about sore feet and grumbled when the campaign did not afford all the comforts of a holiday trip. Among these "representatives of intelligence" there were only a handful who through their truly revolutionary character and shining courage proved themselves exceptions.

We were later informed that the enemy had marched into Bretten half an hour after we left. We arrived at Ettlingen, and there Herr Corvin-Wiersbitzki directed us to march to Durlach, where Becker was to hold up the enemy until Karlsruhe had been evacuated. Willich sent a Chevauleger with a note to Becker in order to find out whether he intended to stay for a while; the man returned in a quarter of an hour with the news that he had met Becker's troops already in full retreat. We therefore marched off to Rastatt, where everyone was concentrating.

The road to Rastatt presented a picture of the most splendid disorder. Any number of the most varied corps were marching or camping in motley confusion, and we had difficulty in holding our troops together under the blazing sun and amidst the universal disarray. The Palatinate troops and a few Baden battalions were encamped on the Rastatt glacis. The Palatinate forces were severely depleted. The best corps, the Rhenish Hessian, had been assembled in Karlsruhe by Zitz and Bamberger before the battle of Ubstadt. These bold freedom-fighters had declared to the corps that all was lost, the odds were too great but there was still time to get home in safety; that they, the parliamentary windbag Zitz and the valiant Bamberger, did not want innocent blood or any other calamity on their hands and thereupon declared the corps disbanded. The Rhenish Hessians were naturally so indignant at this infamous presumption that they wanted to arrest the two traitors and shoot them; d'Ester and the government of the Palatinate were also after them to arrest them. But the honourable citizens had already fled and the valiant Zitz watched the further course of the campaign for an Imperial Constitution from the safety of Basle. As in September

1848, in his *Frakturschrift*,[173] so also in May 1849, Herr Zitz was among those parliamentary braggarts who did most to incite the people to rise up, but on both occasions he occupied a prominent place among those who during the uprising were the first to leave the people in the lurch. At Kirchheimbolanden too Herr Zitz was among the first to bolt, while his riflemen were fighting and being shot.

The Rhenish Hessian corps, in any case seriously weakened by desertion, as all corps were, and disheartened by the retreat to Baden, at once lost its balance completely. Part of it disbanded and went home; the remainder constituted itself anew and fought on until the end of the campaign. The rest of the Palatinate troops were demoralised at Rastatt by the news that all those who returned home before July 5 were to be amnestied. More than half of them dispersed, battalions dwindled to company size, the subaltern officers were for the most part gone and the 1,200 or so troops still remaining were now hardly of any more value. Our corps, although not in the least disheartened, had also dwindled to little more than 500 men through losses, illness and the desertion of the students.

We went to Kuppenheim, where other troops were already present, for our billets. The next morning I accompanied Willich to Rastatt and there met *Moll* once again.

There have been memorials from all sides in the press, in the democratic clubs, in verse and in prose to the more or less educated victims of the Baden uprising. But no voice is raised on behalf of the hundreds and thousands of workers who fought out the battles, who fell on the field, who rotted alive in the Rastatt casemates or who now, alone of all the refugees, must drain to the dregs the cup of exile. The exploitation of the workers is a traditional affair, too familiar for our official "democrats" to consider the workers as anything else than raw material for agitation, for exploiting, for causing trouble, as anything but cannon-fodder. Our "democrats" are far too ignorant and bourgeois to comprehend the revolutionary position of the proletariat, the future of the working class. That is why they hate those genuinely proletarian characters who, too proud to flatter them and too discerning to allow themselves to be used by them, are none the less always there, arms in hand, whenever it is a question of overthrowing an existing authority, and who in every revolutionary movement directly represent the party of the proletariat. But if it is not in the interests of the so-called democrats to recognise such workers, it is the duty of the party of the proletariat to honour them as they deserve. And among the best of these workers was *Joseph Moll of Cologne.*

Moll was a watchmaker. He had left Germany years ago and in France, Belgium and England played his part in all the public and secret revolutionary societies. He helped found the German Workers' Society in London in 1840.[174] After the February Revolution he returned to Germany and with his friend Schapper soon took over the leadership of the Cologne Workers' Association.[175] A fugitive in London since the Cologne riots of September 1848,[176] he soon returned to Germany under an assumed name, agitated in all sorts of districts and undertook missions so dangerous that everyone else shrank back from them. I met him again in Kaiserslautern. Here too he undertook missions to Prussia which, if he had been found out, would have incurred the summary grace of a firing squad. Returning from his second mission, he got safely through all the enemy armies to Rastatt, where he immediately joined the Besançon workers' company in our corps. Three days later he had fallen. I lost in him an old friend and the party one of its most unflagging, intrepid and reliable champions.

The party of the proletariat was quite strongly represented in the army of Baden and the Palatinate, especially in the volunteer corps, as for example in our own, in the refugee legion, etc., and it can safely challenge all the other parties to find even the slightest fault with any one of its members. The most resolute Communists made the most courageous soldiers.

On the next day, the 27th, we were moved somewhat further into the mountains, to Rothenfels. The detailing of the army and the distribution of the various corps was gradually established. We belonged to the right-flank division, which was commanded by Colonel Thome, the same as had wanted to arrest Mieroslawski in Meckesheim[177] and who had childishly been allowed to retain his command, and then from the 27th onwards by Mersy. Willich, who had refused the command of the Palatinate forces which Sigel had offered him, was acting as chief of divisional staff. The division was located in the area stretching from Gernsbach and the Württemberg frontier to the other side of Rothenfels and leaned on its left side against the Oborski division, which was concentrated around Kuppenheim. The advance guard was pushed forward to the frontier as well as to Sulzbach, Michelbach and Winkel. The victualling, at first irregular and bad, improved from the 27th on. Our division consisted of several Baden regular battalions, the remainder of the Palatinate forces under hero Blenker, our corps and one or one and a half batteries of artillery. The Palatinate forces were stationed in Gernsbach and the surrounding area and the

regulars and ourselves in and around Rothenfels. The headquarters were in the hotel in Elisabethenquelle opposite Rothenfels.

On the 28th we—the divisional staff and that of our own corps together with Moll, Kinkel and other volunteers—were just taking coffee after our meal in this hotel when the news arrived that our advance guard near Michelbach had been attacked by the Prussians. We at once set out, although we had every reason to suppose that the enemy had nothing more than a reconnaissance in mind. It indeed proved to be nothing more. The village of Michelbach situated down in the valley which had momentarily been captured by the Prussians had already been re-taken by the time we arrived. There was shooting across the valley from both mountain-sides and much ammunition was expended to no purpose. I saw only one dead and one wounded. While the regulars were pointlessly shooting off their cartridges at distances of 600 to 800 paces, Willich bade our troops quietly pile their rifles and take a rest close by the alleged fighters and in the thick of the alleged firing. Only the riflemen went down the wooded slope and, supported by a handful of regulars, drove the Prussians from the heights opposite. One of our riflemen shot a Prussian officer off his horse at about 900 paces with his colossal heavy rifle, a veritable portable cannon; the officer's entire company at once did a right-about turn and marched back into the wood. A number of Prussian dead and wounded as well as two prisoners fell into our hands.

The next day the general attack on the whole line took place. This time the Prussian gentlemen disturbed us at our midday meal. The first attack of which we were notified was against Bischweier, that is, against the point at which the Oborski division linked up with ours. Willich urged that our troops should be held in the greatest possible readiness at Rothenfels, since the main attack was expected in any case in the opposite direction, at Gernsbach. But Mersy replied that we knew how things were, that if one of our battalions were attacked and the others did not come to its aid at once and in force, then the cry of treason would go up and everyone would take to their heels. We therefore marched towards Bischweier.

Willich and I advanced with the rifle company along the road to Bischweier on the right bank of the Murg. Half an hour away from Rothenfels we came across the enemy. The riflemen spread out in extended order and Willich rode back to fetch the corps, which stood a little way in the rear, up into the fighting line. For a while our riflemen, taking cover behind fruit-trees and vineyards, stood up to some quite heavy fire, which they returned in good measure. But when a strong enemy column advanced along the road in support of

its skirmishers, the left flank of our riflemen gave way and no amount of talking to could persuade them to stand their ground. The right flank had advanced further towards the heights and was later taken into our corps.

When I saw that nothing was to be done with the riflemen I abandoned them to their fate and went towards the heights, where I could see the flags of our corps. One company had stayed behind; its captain, a tailor, usually a brave fellow, was all of a dither. I took the company along to join the others and met Willich, just as he was pushing the Besançon company forward in extended order and drawing up the rest behind them in two battle lines, together with a company pushed forward on the right towards the mountains to cover the flank.

Our skirmishers were met with a hail of fire. Facing them were Prussian riflemen, and against their elongated-bullet rifles our workers only had muskets. However, they advanced so resolutely, reinforced by the right flank of our riflemen who joined up with them, that the inferior quality of their arms was soon made up for by the closeness of the range, especially on the right flank, and the Prussians were dislodged. The two battle lines kept quite close on the heels of the skirmishers. In the meantime two Baden artillery pieces had also been brought up on our left, in the Murg valley, and they opened fire on the Prussian infantry and artillery occupying the road.

The battle here had probably been going on for an hour or so with intense rifle and musket fire, the Prussians continually retreating (some of our riflemen had already penetrated as far as Bischweier), when the Prussians received reinforcements and pushed their battalions forward. Our skirmishers retreated; the first line gave platoon fire and the second moved to the left into a defile and also started firing. But the Prussians pressed forward in serried masses along the entire line; both the Baden artillery pieces covering our left flank had already retreated. On the right flank the Prussians came down from the mountains and we were forced to fall back.

As soon as we were out of the enemy cross-fire we took up a fresh position on the mountain range. If up to now we had been facing the Rhine plain, and Bischweier and Niederweier, we were now facing the mountains which the Prussians had occupied from Oberweier. Now the regular battalions at last joined the fighting line and gave battle, together with two companies of our corps which were once more pushed forward in extended order.

We had suffered heavy losses. About thirty men were missing, including Kinkel and Moll and not counting the dispersed riflemen.

The two above-named had advanced too far with the right flank of their company and some riflemen. The riflemen's captain, head forester Emmermann from Thronecken in Rhenish Prussia, who marched against the Prussians as if he were hunting hares, had led them into a position from which they fired into a Prussian artillery section and forced it to beat a speedy retreat. However, a company of Prussians at once emerged from a defile and fired upon them. Kinkel fell to the ground, hit in the head, and he was dragged along until he could once more walk unaided; soon, however, they came under cross-fire and had to hurry to get out of it. Kinkel was unable to keep up and went into a farm-house, where he was taken prisoner by the Prussians and ill-treated; Moll received a shot in the abdomen, was also taken prisoner and died later of his wound. Zychlinski too had been hit in the neck by a ricochet, but this did not stop him staying with his corps.

While the main body remained where it was and Willich rode to another part of the battlefield, I hastened to the Murg bridge lower down than Rothenfels, which formed a sort of assembly point. I wanted news of Gernsbach. But even before I reached there I saw the smoke rising from Gernsbach which was in flames, and on the bridge itself I learned that they had heard the cannon-roar from there. Later I returned to this bridge a few more times; each time the news about Gernsbach was worse and each time there were more Baden regular troops assembled behind the bridge, demoralised already even though they had scarcely been under fire. Eventually I learned that the enemy was already in Gaggenau. It was now high time to face up to him. Willich marched over the Murg with the corps in order to take up position opposite Rothenfels and took with him another four artillery pieces which had just happened to come his way. I went to fetch our two companies of skirmishers, who in the meantime had pushed far ahead. Everywhere I met regular troops, mostly without officers. One detachment was led by a doctor, who made use of the occasion to introduce himself to me with the following words: "You must know me, I am Neuhaus, chief of the Thuringian movement!" These good fellows had beaten the Prussians on all fronts and were now on their way back because they could no longer see any of the enemy. Our companies were nowhere to be found—they had made their way back through Rothenfels for the same reason—and I returned to the bridge. Here I met Mersy with his staff and troops. I begged him to give me at least a few companies with which to support Willich. "Take the whole division if you can still do something with them," was the reply. The same soldiers who had driven back the enemy at all points and who had

only been on their feet for five hours now lay around in the meadows, dispersed, demoralised and fit for nothing. The news that they had been outflanked in Gernsbach had done for them. I went my way. A company I came across on its way back from Michelbach was not to be moved either. When I found the corps again at our old headquarters, the fugitive forces of the Palatinate—Pistol Zinn and his gang, now with muskets, by the way—came pressing on from Gaggenau. While Willich had been looking for and had found a position for the artillery, a position that dominated the Murg valley and offered considerable advantages for simultaneous skirmishing, the artillerists had run away with the cannon and the captain had been unable to do anything to stop them. They were already back with Mersy at the bridge. At the same time Willich showed me a note from Mersy in which the latter informed him that everything was lost and that he was going to pull back to Oos. We had no other choice but to do the same and we marched into the mountains at once. It was about seven o'clock.

At Gernsbach things had taken the following course. Peucker's imperial troops, whom our patrols had already sighted the day before at Herrenalb on Württemberg territory, had taken the Württemberg troops drawn up at the frontier with them and attacked Gernsbach on the afternoon of the 29th, after using treachery to make our advanced troops withdraw; they approached them with the call not to shoot, saying they were brothers, and then fired off a volley at eighty paces. They then shelled Gernsbach, setting it on fire, and when the flames got out of hand Herr Sigel, who had been sent by Mieroslawski to *hold* the position at any price, Herr Sigel *himself* gave the order that Herr Blenker should make a fighting retreat with his troops. Herr Sigel will no more deny this now than he did in Berne, when one of Herr Blenker's adjutants related the curious fact in his, Herr Sigel's, and Willich's presence. With this order to make a "fighting"(!) surrender of the key to the whole Murg position, the battle along the whole line, and with it the Baden army's last position, was needless to say lost.

The Prussians incidentally did not particularly enhance their reputation by winning the battle of Rastatt. We had 13,000 troops, for the most part demoralised and with few exceptions abominably led; their army, together with the imperial troops that marched on Gernsbach, numbered at least 60,000 men. In spite of this colossal superiority they did not venture a serious frontal attack, but defeated us through cowardice and treachery by encroaching upon the neutral territory of Württemberg, which was closed to us. But even this piece of treachery would not have done them much good, at least

to begin with, and in the long run would not have saved them the necessity of a decisive frontal attack, had not Gernsbach been so incredibly badly manned and had not Herr Sigel given the priceless order spoken of above. There cannot be any doubt that the by no means formidable position would have been snatched from us the next day; but victory would have cost the Prussians many more casualties and would have done endless harm to their military reputation. For this reason they preferred to violate Württemberg's neutrality, and Württemberg calmly let it happen.

By now barely 450 men strong, we marched back through the mountains to Oos. The road was covered with troops in the wildest disarray, with wagons, artillery, etc., all in the greatest confusion. We marched through and rested in Sinzheim. The next morning we assembled a number of fugitives the other side of Bühl and spent the night in Oberachern. That day the last battle took place; the German-Polish Legion, alongside some other troops from Becker's division, beat back the imperial troops at Oos and captured from them a (Mecklenburg) howitzer which they got safely into Switzerland.

The army was completely disbanded; Mieroslawski and the other Poles laid down their commands; Colonel Oborski already on the evening of the 29th left his post on the battlefield. However, this momentary disbandment did not really mean much. The Palatinate forces had already been disbanded three or four times and each time had formed up anew *tant bien que mal.* A retreat spun out as long as possible, accompanied by the call-up of all the age groups in the territories to be ceded and a rapid concentration of the conscripts from Upper Baden at Freiburg and Donaueschingen, were two measures still to be tried. This would soon have restored order and discipline to a tolerable level and made possible a last hopeless but honourable battle on the Kaiserstuhl near Freiburg or at Donaueschingen. But the chiefs of the civil as well as the military administration were more demoralised than the soldiers. They abandoned the army and the entire movement to their fate and fell further and further back, dejected, distraught and shattered.

Since the attack on Gernsbach, the fear of being outflanked through Württemberg territory had spread everywhere and contributed greatly to the general demoralisation. Willich's corps now went to cover the Württemberg frontier, taking two mountain howitzers through the Kappel valley into the mountains—several other artillery pieces assigned to us did not want to go any further than Kappel. Our march through the Black Forest, in which we did not sight the enemy, was a veritable pleasure tour. On July 1 we arrived

at Oppenau via Allerheiligen and on the 2nd at Wolfach via the Hundskopf. Here we learned on July 3 that the government was in Freiburg and that the abandonment of that town also was being considered. We therefore set out for there at once. We intended to force Messrs. the Regents and the high command, which hero Sigel now led, not to relinquish Freiburg without a fight. It was already late when we marched off from Wolfach, and so it was not until late that evening that we arrived at Waldkirch. Here we learned that Freiburg had already been relinquished and that government and headquarters had been removed to Donaueschingen. At the same time we received the positive order to occupy and entrench ourselves in the Simonswald valley and set up our headquarters in Furtwangen. We therefore had to go back to Bleibach.

Herr Sigel had now drawn up his troops behind the Black Forest mountain ridge. The defence line was supposed to stretch from Lörrach via Todtnau and Furtwangen to the Württemberg frontier, in the direction of Schramberg. The left flank was formed by Mersy and Blenker, who marched through the Rhine valley towards Lörrach; then followed Herr Doll, a former *commis voyageur*, who in his capacity as one of Hecker's generals had been appointed divisional commander and was posted in the region of the Höllental; then our corps in Furtwangen and the Simonswald valley and, lastly on the right flank, Becker at St. Georgen and Triberg. On the other side of the mountains at Donaueschingen was Herr Sigel with the reserve. The forces, considerably weakened by desertion and not reinforced by any contingents of conscripts, still amounted to 9,000 men and 40 cannon.

The orders which reached us one after the other from headquarters in Freiburg, Neustadt on the Gutach and Donaueschingen breathed the most resolute defiance of death. Though the enemy was expected to come through Württemberg again and attack us in the rear via Rottweil and Villingen, there was a determination to defeat him and to hold the Black Forest ridge come what may, in fact to do so, as it said in one of these orders, "almost without any regard for the movements of the enemy", in other words, Herr Sigel had ensured for himself a glorious retreat in four hours from Donaueschingen onto Swiss territory; he could then sit back in Schaffhausen and wait in perfect calm for news of what had become of us, encircled in the mountains. We shall soon see what a merry end this defiance of death came to.

On the 4th we arrived at Furtwangen with two companies (160 men). The rest was employed to occupy the Simonswald valley and the passes of Gütenbach and St. Märgen. Via the last-mentioned

place we were in contact with Doll's corps, via Schönwald with Becker. All the passes were blocked.—We stayed in Furtwangen on the 5th. On the 6th news came from Becker that the Prussians were advancing on Villingen,[a] together with the request to attack them via Vöhrenbach and thus support Sigel's operation. At the same time he informed us that his main corps was duly entrenched in Triberg, whither he himself would go as soon as Villingen was occupied by Sigel.

There could be no question of an attack from our side. With fewer than 450 men we had three square miles to occupy and therefore could not spare a single man. We had to stay where we were and informed Becker to this effect. Soon afterwards a dispatch arrived from headquarters: Willich was to go to Donaueschingen at once and assume command of the entire artillery. We were just getting ready to hurry over there when a column of the people's militia, followed by artillery and several other battalions of the people's militia, came marching into Furtwangen. It was Becker with his corps. His men had grown rebellious, it was said. I made enquiries of a staff officer who was a friend of mine, "Major" Nerlinger, and learned the following: He, Nerlinger, had the position at Triberg under his command and was having the trenches dug when the officer staff delivered him a written declaration, signed by them all. It said that the troops were rebellious and that unless the order to march off were given at once, they would leave with all the troops. I took a look at the signatures. It was the valiant Dreher-Obermüller Battalion again! Nerlinger had no choice but to inform Becker and march to Furtwangen. Becker set out at once to catch them up and so arrived with all his troops at Furtwangen, where the faint-hearted officers and soldiers were received with immense laughter by our volunteers. They were ashamed of themselves and in the evening Becker was able to lead them back to their positions again.

In the meantime we went to Donaueschingen, followed by the Besançon company. There were already swarms of Prussians right up to the highway; Villingen was occupied by them. We nevertheless got through unchallenged and towards ten o'clock in the evening the Besançons arrived as well. In Donaueschingen I found d'Ester and learned from him that in the Constituent Assembly in Freiburg[178] Herr Struve had demanded an immediate move to Switzerland, saying everything was lost, and that hero Blenker had followed this advice and had already crossed over onto Swiss territory that

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[a] This and the following facts are mentioned by Joh. Ph. Becker and Chr. Essellen in their *Geschichte der süddeutschen Mai-Revolution des Jahres 1849*, Genf, 1849.—*Ed.*

morning at Basle. Both of these reports were quite correct. Hero Blenker had gone to Basle on July 6, though it was he that was farthest from the enemy. He had paused only to make a final number of requisitions so odd that they put him in bad odour with Herr Sigel and later with the Swiss authorities. And hero Struve, the same hero Struve who even on June 29 had declared that Herr Brentano and all those wanting to negotiate with the enemy were traitors to the fatherland,[a] was so shattered three days later, on July 2, that he was not ashamed to put the following motion to a session *in camera* of the Baden Constituent Assembly:

"In order that Upper Baden will not suffer the same horrors of war as Lower Baden and to prevent a great deal more precious blood being spilt, and since it is necessary to save what can be saved(!), therefore everyone participating in the revolution, together with the Provincial Assembly, should have his salary or wage paid up to July 10 with appropriate travelling expenses and all should withdraw to Swiss territory together with cash, provisions, arms, etc.!"

The valiant Struve proposed this fine motion on July 2, when we were in Wolfach up in the Black Forest, 10 hours away from Freiburg and 20 hours away from the Swiss frontier! Herr Struve is naive enough to relate this incident himself and even to boast of it in his *Geschichte*[b] (p. 237 ff). The only consequence that the acceptance of such a motion could have was that the Prussians would press us as hard as possible in order to "save what could be saved", that is, to do us out of our cash, artillery and provisions, since this resolution assured them that there was no danger in vigorous pursuit, and that our troops would then immediately disband *en masse*, and whole corps make off on their own to Switzerland, as actually happened. Our corps would have come off worst; it was on Baden territory up to the 12th and was paid up to the 17th.

Herr Sigel, instead of re-taking Villingen, at first resolved to take up position at Hüfingen the other side of Donaueschingen and await the enemy. The same evening, however, it was decided to march to Stühlingen, close by the Swiss frontier. We hastily sent dispatch-riders to Furtwangen, to inform our own corps and that of Becker. Both were likewise to make their way to Stühlingen via Neustadt and Bonndorf. Willich went to Neustadt to meet his corps and I stayed with the Besançon company. We spent the night in Riedböhringen and arrived at Stühlingen on the afternoon of the next day, July 7. On the 8th Herr Sigel held a review of his half-disbanded army, recommended it not to ride in future but to march (at the frontier!)

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[a] The reference is to a statement (in the form of a motion) made by Struve in the Constituent Assembly on June 28, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] G. Struve, *Geschichte der drei Volkserhebungen in Baden*, Bern, 1849.—*Ed.*

and departed. He left behind for us half a battery and an order for Willich.

In the meantime news of the general retreat had been sent from Furtwangen first to Becker and then to our own companies stationed to the fore. Our corps gathered first in Furtwangen and met Willich in Neustadt. Becker, who was closer to Furtwangen than were our outlying troops, still did not arrive till later and took the same road. He ran into entrenchments which held up his march and which were later said in the Swiss press to have been dug by our corps. That is incorrect; our corps only blocked the roads on the other side of the Black Forest ridge, and not on the way from Triberg to Furtwangen, which it never occupied. Besides, our volunteers did not march off from Furtwangen until Becker's advance guard had arrived there.

In Donaueschingen it was agreed that the remains of the entire army should gather on the other side of the Wutach, from Eggingen to Thiengen, and there await the approach of the enemy. Here, with our flanks abutting upon Swiss territory, we could attempt a last battle with our considerable artillery. We could even wait and see whether the Prussians would violate Swiss territory and thus bring the Swiss into the war. But how amazed we were when Willich arrived and we read in the valiant Sigel's order:

"The main body of the army is to proceed to Thiengen and Waldshut and take up a firm position there(!!). Endeavour to maintain the position (at Stühlingen and Eggingen) as long as possible."

A "firm position" at Thiengen and Waldshut, the Rhine to the rear and heights accessible to the enemy in front! The only possible interpretation of this was: We intend to cross the Säckingen bridge into Switzerland. And this was the same hero Sigel who had said on the occasion of Struve's motion that if it were passed then he, Sigel, would be the first to rebel.

We now occupied the position behind the Wutach itself and distributed our troops from Eggingen to Wutöschingen, where our headquarters were. Here we received the following even more priceless document from Herr Sigel:

"Order. Thiengen headquarters, July 8, 1849.—To Colonel Willich in Eggingen. Since the canton of Schaffhausen is already taking up a hostile stance towards me, it is impossible for me to take up the position we discussed. You will order your movements accordingly and move in the direction of Griessen, Lauchringen and Thiengen. I am marching off from here tomorrow, either to Waldshut or beyond the Alb" (i.e. to Säckingen). "General-in-Chief *Sigel*."

That capped it all. That evening Willich and I went to Thiengen, where the "General Quartermaster" Schlinke admitted that they really were going to Säckingen and thence over the Rhine. At first

Sigel tried to come the "general-in-chief", but Willich did not fall for that and eventually prevailed upon him to give the order to turn round and march on Griessen. The pretext for the march to Säckingen was a junction with Doll, who had marched thither, and an allegedly strong position. The position, evidently the same one from which Moreau gave battle in 1800,[179] had only one drawback: it faced in quite another direction from that where *our* enemy was coming from; and as for the noble Doll, he did not hesitate to prove that he could go to Switzerland even without Herr Sigel.

Between the cantons of Zurich and Schaffhausen lies a small strip of Baden territory, with the villages of Jestetten and Lottstetten, completely closed in by Switzerland apart from a narrow access at Baltersweil. Here the last stand was to be made. The heights on both sides of the road behind Baltersweil presented excellent positions for our artillery, and our infantry was still numerous enough to cover them if necessary until they had reached Swiss territory. It was agreed that we should wait here and see whether the Prussians would attack us or starve us out. The main body of the army, to which Becker had attached himself, went into camp here. Willich had selected the position for the artillery (we later found their park where their battle-position was to be). We ourselves formed the rearguard and slowly followed after the main body of the army. On the evening of the 9th we went to Erzingen, on the 10th to Riedern. On that day a general council of war was held in the camp. Willich alone spoke for continued defence, Sigel, Becker and others for a withdrawal onto Swiss territory. A Swiss commissioner, Colonel Kurz, I believe, was present and declared that Switzerland would not grant asylum if another battle were fought. When it came to the vote Willich was alone with two or three officers. Apart from him, no one from our corps was present.

While Willich was still in the camp the half-battery posted with us received orders to move off; it departed without so much as a mention being made to us. All the other troops apart from us also received orders to go into the camp. During the night I went once more with Willich to the headquarters in Lottstetten; when we were on our way back, at daybreak, we met on the road all those who had struck camp and were trundling towards the frontier in the most frantic confusion. The same day, early on the morning of the 11th, Herr Sigel crossed onto Swiss territory with his troops near Rafz and Herr Becker with his near Rheinau. We concentrated our corps, followed into the camp and from there to Jestetten. While we were there, at about midday, an orderly officer brought us a letter Sigel had written from Eglisau. In it he said that he was already safely in

Switzerland, that the officers had retained their sabres and that we should join them as soon as we could. They did not give us a thought until they were on neutral ground!

We marched through Lottstetten to the frontier, bivouacked that night still on German soil, discharged our rifles on the morning of the 12th and then set foot on Swiss territory, the last of the army of Baden and the Palatinate to do so. On the same day and at the same time, Constance was abandoned by the corps stationed there. A week later Rastatt fell through treachery and the counter-revolution had for the moment reconquered Germany down to the last corner.

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The campaign for the Imperial Constitution foundered because of its own half-heartedness and its wretched internal state. Ever since the defeat of June 1848 the question for the civilised part of the European continent has stood thus: either the rule of the revolutionary proletariat or the rule of the classes who ruled before February. A middle road is no longer possible. In Germany in particular the bourgeoisie has shown itself incapable of ruling; it could only maintain its rule over the people by surrendering it once more to the aristocracy and the bureaucracy. In the Imperial Constitution the petty bourgeoisie, in alliance with the German ideology, attempted an impossible arrangement aimed at postponing the decisive struggle. The attempt was bound to fail: those who were serious about the movement were not serious about the Imperial Constitution, and those who were serious about the Imperial Constitution were not serious about the movement.

This does not mean to say, however, that the consequences of the campaign for the Imperial Constitution were any the less significant. Above all the campaign simplified the situation. It cut short an endless series of attempts at reconciliation; now that it has been lost, only the somewhat constitutionalised feudal-bureaucratic monarchy or the true revolution can be victorious. And the revolution can no longer be brought to a conclusion in Germany except with the complete rule of the proletariat.

The Imperial Constitution campaign in addition contributed considerably to the development of class antagonisms in those German provinces where they were not yet sharply developed. Especially in Baden. In Baden, as we have seen, there existed hardly any class antagonisms at all before the insurrection. Hence the acknowledged supremacy of the petty bourgeois over all other classes in the opposition, hence the apparent unanimity of the popula-

tion, hence the speed with which the Badeners, like the Viennese, pass from opposition to insurrection, attempt an uprising at every opportunity and do not even shy away from a battle in the field with a regular army. But as soon as the insurrection had broken out, the classes emerged in definite outline and the petty bourgeois separated themselves from the workers and peasants. Through their representative Brentano they disgraced themselves for all time. They themselves have been driven to such despair by the Prussian dictatorship of the sabre that they now prefer any regime, even that of the workers, to the present oppression; they will take a much more active part in the next movement than in any previous one; but fortunately they never again will be able to play the independent, dominant role they played under Brentano's dictatorship. The workers and peasants, who suffer just as much as the petty bourgeois under the present dictatorship of the sabre, did not go through the experience of the last uprising for nothing; they who besides having their fallen and murdered brothers to avenge will take care that when the next insurrection comes it is *they* and not the petty bourgeois who get the reins in their hands. And even though no experience of insurrection can substitute for the development of classes, which is only achieved by the operation of large-scale industry over a period of years, Baden has none the less through its latest uprising and its consequences joined the ranks of *those* German provinces which in the coming revolution will play one of the most important roles.

Looked at from the political point of view, the campaign for the Imperial Constitution was a failure from the very start. The same is true from the military point of view. Its only prospect of succeeding lay outside of Germany, in the victory of the republicans in Paris on June 13, and June 13 came to nothing. After this event the campaign could be nothing but a more or less bloody farce. And that is all it was. Stupidity and treachery ruined it completely. With the exception of a small handful, the military chiefs were either traitors or intrusive, ignorant and cowardly place-hunters, and the few exceptions were everywhere left in the lurch both by the others and by the Brentano government. In the coming convulsion anyone who can produce no other title than that of one of Hecker's generals or an officer of the Imperial Constitution deserves to be shown the door at once. As the chiefs, so the soldiers. The people of Baden possess the very finest fighting elements; during the insurrection these elements were from the start so demoralised and neglected that there arose the wretched situation which we have broadly described. The whole "revolution" was reduced to a veritable comedy and the sole

consolation was that the opponent, although six times as strong, had six times as little courage.

But this comedy came to a tragic end, thanks to the blood-thirstiness of the counter-revolution. The same warriors who on the march or on the battlefield were more than once seized by panic, died in the ditches of Rastatt like heroes. Not a single one of them pleaded, not a single one of them trembled. The German people will not forget the executions and the casemates of Rastatt, they will not forget the great gentlemen who ordered these infamies, but neither will they forget the traitors who through their cowardice were responsible for them: the Brentanos of Karlsruhe and of *Frankfurt.*

# Frederick Engels

## TO THE HUNGARIAN REFUGEE COMMITTEE IN LONDON

[*Draft*]

[London, late February 1850]

*To the Hungarian Refugee Committee in London*

Citizens Kilinski and Ryschka have applied for assistance to the German Refugee Committee.[180] Asked for their papers, they produced two certificates from Mr. Fr. Pulszky, copies of which are enclosed herewith.[181] According to these certificates they are not German, but Hungarian refugees since they were recruited by the competent authority here for Hungarian service and therefore come within the province not of the German, but of the Hungarian Committee. However, they maintain that they received 10 shillings from that Committee together with notification that it could give them no further assistance. Since, however, it will hardly do to leave these people destitute on the street, we hereby take the liberty of inquiring whether this is right, and whether the Hungarian Committee may, perhaps, have had some special reason for refusing assistance to the two citizens named above.

(Copy of the certificates.)

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [REVIEWS FROM THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG. POLITISCH-ÖKONOMISCHE REVUE* No. 2][182]

### I

### G. FR. DAUMER, *DIE RELIGION DES NEUEN WELTALTERS. VERSUCH EINER COMBINATORISCH-APHORISTISCHEN GRUNDLEGUNG*, 2 BDE, HAMBURG, 1850

"An otherwise free-thinking man in *Nuremberg* who was not at all insensitive to the new had a monstrous hatred of democratic intrigues. He was a devotee of Ronge, whose portrait he had in his room. But when he heard that Ronge had sided with the democrats he removed the portrait to the lavatory. He once said: 'Oh, if only we lived under the Russian knout, how happy I would feel!' He died during the disturbances and I presume that although he was already old, it was despondency and grief at the course of events that led him to the grave." (Vol. II, pp. 321-22.)

If, instead of dying, this pitiable Nuremberg philistine had gleaned his scraps of thought from *Correspondent von und für Deutschland*, from Schiller and Goethe, from old schoolbooks, and modern lending-library books he would have spared himself the trouble of dying and Herr Daumer the hard work of writing his two volumes of "combinatory and aphoristic foundation". We, of course, should not then have had the edifying opportunity to become acquainted with the "religion of the new age" and at the same time with its first martyr.

Herr Daumer's work is divided into two parts, a "preliminary" and a "main" one. In the preliminary part the faithful Eckart of German philosophy expresses his profound concern that even thinking and educated Germans have let themselves be led astray for the past two years and have given up the inestimable achievements of thought for mere "external" revolutionary activity. He considers the present moment appropriate to appeal once more to the better feelings of the nation and points out what it means so light-mindedly to abandon all German culture, through which alone the German burgher was still anything at all. He summarises the whole content of

German culture in the pithiest sayings that the casket of his erudition contains and thus discredits German culture no less than German philosophy. His anthology of the loftiest products of the German mind surpasses in platitude and triviality even the most ordinary reading book for young ladies in the educated walks of life. From Goethe's and Schiller's philistine sallies against the first French Revolution, from the classic "Dangerous it is to rouse the lion"[a] down to the most modern literature, the high priest of the new religion zealously digs up every passage in which German pedantry stiffens with sleepy ill-humour against the historical movement it loathes. Authorities of the weight of a Friedrich Raumer, Berthold Auerbach, Lochner, Moriz Carrière, Alfred Meissner, Krug, Dingelstedt, Ronge, *Nürnberger Bote*,[b] Max Waldau, Sternberg, German Mäurer, Luise Aston, Eckermann, Noack, *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, A. Kunze, Ghillany, Th. Mundt, Saphir, Gutzkow, a certain "*née* Gatterer" and the like are the pillars on which the temple of the new religion rests. The revolutionary movement, which is here declared anathema in so many voices, is confined for Herr Daumer on the one hand to the tritest prattle about politics as carried on in Nuremberg under the auspices of *Correspondent von und für Deutschland*, and on the other hand to mob outrages of which he has the most fantastic idea. The sources on which he draws are worthy of being placed on a par with those already mentioned: side by side with the oft-named Nuremberg *Correspondent* figure the *Bamberger Zeitung*, the Munich *Landbötin*,[c] the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* and others. The same philistine meanness that sees nothing in the proletarian but a disgusting, corrupt ragamuffin and which rubs its hands with satisfaction at the Paris massacres in June 1848, when more than 3,000 of those "ragamuffins" were butchered—that same meanness is indignant at the raillery of which sentimental societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals are the object.

"The frightful tortures," Herr Daumer exclaims on page 293 of Volume I, "that unfortunate beasts suffer at the cruel, tyrannous hand of man are for these barbarians 'trifles' that nobody should bother about!"

The entire class struggle of our times seems to Herr Daumer only a struggle of "coarseness" against "culture". Instead of explaining it by the historical conditions of these classes, he finds its origin in the

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[a] Schiller, *Das Lied von der Glocke*, 26th stanza.—*Ed.*
[b] *Nürnberger Courier.—Ed.*
[c] *Bayerische Landbötin.—Ed.*

seditious doings of a few malevolent individuals who incite the base appetites of the populace against the educated estates.

"This democratic reformism ... excites the envy, the rage, the rapacity of the lower classes of society against the upper classes—a fine way of making man better and nobler and founding a higher stage of culture!" (Vol. I, p[p]. [288-] 289.)

Herr Daumer does not even know what struggles "of the lower classes of society against the upper classes" it took to bring forth even a Nuremberg "stage of culture" and to make possible a Moloch-fighter à la Daumer.[a]

The second, "main", part contains the positive aspect of the new religion. It voices all the annoyance of the German philosopher over the oblivion into which his struggles against Christianity have fallen, over the people's indifference towards religion, the only object worthy to be considered by the philosopher. To restore credit to his trade, which has been ousted by competition, all our world-wise man can do is to invent a new religion, after long barking against the old. But this new religion is confined, in accordance with the first part, to a continuation of the anthology of maxims, album verses and *versus memoriales*[b] of German philistine culture. The suras of the new Koran[183] are nothing but a series of phrases morally palliating and poetically embellishing the existing German conditions—phrases which, though divested of the immediately religious form, are none the less interwoven with the old religion.

"Completely new world conditions and world relations can arise only through new religions. Examples and proofs of what religions are capable of are Christianity and Islam; most clear and palpable evidence of the powerlessness and futility of abstract, exclusive politics are the movements started in the year 1848." (Vol. I, p.313.)

This weighty proposition immediately brings out the shallowness and ignorance of the German "thinker" who takes the small German and specifically Bavarian "March achievements" for the European movement of 1848 and 1849 and who demands that the first, in themselves very superficial, eruptions of a gradually developing and concentrating major revolution should bring forth "completely new world conditions and world relations". The "world-wise" Daumer reduces the whole complicated social struggle, the first skirmishes of which were fought between Paris and Debrecen, Berlin and Palermo

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[a] An allusion to Daumer's books *Der Feuer- und Molochdienst der alten Hebräer...* Braunschweig, 1842, and *Die Geheimnisse des christlichen Alterthums*, Bd. 1-2, Hamburg, 1847.—*Ed.*

[b] Memorial verses.—*Ed.*

in the last two years, to the fact that "in January 1849 the hopes of the constitutional societies of Erlangen were postponed indefinitely" (Vol. I, p. 312) and to fear of a new struggle that could once more be unpleasantly shocking for Herr Daumer in his occupations with Hafiz, Mohammed[a] and Berthold Auerbach.

The same shameless superficiality allows Herr Daumer to ignore completely that Christianity was preceded by the total collapse of the ancient "world conditions" of which Christianity was the mere expression; that "completely new world conditions" arose not internally through Christianity but only when the Huns and the Germans fell "externally" on the corpse of the Roman Empire; that after the Germanic invasion the "new world conditions" did not adapt themselves to Christianity but that Christianity itself changed with every new phase of these world conditions. We should like Herr Daumer to give us an example of the old world conditions changing with a new religion without the mightiest "external" and abstract political convulsions setting in at the same time.

It is clear that with every great historical upheaval of social conditions the outlooks and ideas of men, and consequently their religious ideas, are revolutionised. The difference between the present upheaval and all earlier ones lies in the very fact that man has at last found out the secret of this process of historical upheaval and hence, instead of once again exalting this practical, "external", process in the rapturous form of a new religion, divests himself of all religion.

After the gentle moral doctrines of the new world wisdom, which are even superior to Knigge[b] inasmuch as they contain all that is necessary not only on intercourse with men, but also on intercourse with animals—after the Proverbs of Solomon comes the Song of the new Solomon.

"*Nature* and *woman* are the really divine, as distinct from the *human* and *man*.... The sacrifice of the human to the natural, of the male to the female, is the genuine, the only true meekness and self-externalisation, the highest, nay, the only virtue and piety." (Vol. II, p. 257.)

We see here that the superficiality and ignorance of the speculating founder of a religion is transformed into a very pronounced cowardice. Herr Daumer flees before the historical tragedy that is threatening him too closely to alleged nature, i.e. to a stupid rustic idyll, and preaches the cult of the female to cloak his own womanish resignation.

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[a] G. Fr. Daumer, *Hafis*, Hamburg, 1846; *Mahomed und sein Werk*, Hamburg, 1848.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Knigge, *Ueber den Umgang mit Menschen*, Hannover, 1804.—*Ed.*

Herr Daumer's cult of nature, by the way, is a peculiar one. He manages to be reactionary even in comparison with Christianity. He tries to restore the old pre-Christian natural religion in a modernised form. Thus he of course achieves nothing but Christian-Germanic-patriarchal drivel on nature expressed, for example, as follows:

> "Nature holy, Mother sweet,
> In Thy footsteps place my feet.
> My baby hand to Thy hand clings,
> Hold me as in leading strings!"[a]

"Such things have gone out of fashion, but not to the benefit of culture, progress or human felicity." (Vol. II, p. 157.)

We see that this cult of nature is limited to the Sunday walks of an inhabitant of a small provincial town who childishly wonders at the cuckoo laying its eggs in another bird's nest (Vol. II, p. 40), at tears being designed to keep the surface of the eyes moist (Vol. II, p. 73), and so on, and finally trembles with reverence as he recites Klopstock's Ode to Spring[b] to his children. (Vol. II, p. 23 et seqq.) There is no mention, of course, of modern natural science, which, with modern industry, has revolutionised the whole of nature and put an end to man's childish attitude towards nature as well as to other forms of childishness. But instead we get mysterious hints and astonished philistine notions about Nostradamus' prophecies, second sight in Scotsmen and animal magnetism.[184] For the rest, it would be desirable that Bavaria's sluggish peasant economy, the ground on which grow priests and Daumers alike, should at last be ploughed up by modern cultivation and modern machines.

It is the same with the cult of the female as with the cult of nature. Herr Daumer naturally does not say a word about the present social position of women; on the contrary it is a question only of the female as such. He tries to console women for their civic destitution by making them the object of a rhetorical cult which is as empty as it would fain be mysterious. Thus he seeks to comfort them by telling them that marriage puts an end to their talents through their having to take care of the children (Vol. II, p. 237), that they retain the ability to suckle babes even until the age of sixty (Vol. II, p. 251), and so on. Herr Daumer calls this the "devotion of the male to the female". In order to find the necessary ideal women characters for his male devotion in his native country, he is forced to resort to various aristocratic ladies of the last century. Thus his cult of the

[a] From F. Stolberg's poem "An die Natur", which Daumer quotes in his book.—*Ed.*

[b] Daumer quotes Klopstock's ode "Dem Allgegenwärtigen".—*Ed.*

woman is reduced to the depressed attitude of a man of letters to respected patronesses—Wilhelm Meister.[a]

The "culture" whose decay Herr Daumer laments is that of the time in which Nuremberg flourished as a free *Reichsstadt*, in which Nuremberg's industry—that cross between art and craftsmanship—played a role of importance, the German petty-bourgeois [*Kleinbürgertum*] culture which is perishing with the petty bourgeoisie. If the decline of former classes such as the knighthood could offer material for great tragic works of art, philistinism can achieve nothing but impotent expressions of fanatic malignity and a collection of Sancho Panza maxims and rules of wisdom. Herr Daumer is the dry, absolutely humourless continuation of Hans Sachs. German philosophy, wringing its hands and lamenting at the deathbed of its foster father, German philistinism—such is the touching picture opened up to us by the religion of the new age.

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[a] Cf. Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre.—Ed.*

## II

## LUDWIG SIMON OF TRIER, *EIN WORT DES RECHTS FÜR ALLE REICHSVERFASSUNGSKÄMPFER AN DIE DEUTSCHEN GESCHWORNEN*, FRANKFURT AM MAIN, 1849

"We had voted against the inheritability of the office of Supreme Head of the Empire; on the next day we abstained from voting. When the whole result lay before us, however, as it had emerged from the will of the majority of an assembly elected on the basis of universal franchise, we declared that we should submit. Had we not done so we should have proved that we *did not fit into civil society in general.*"[a] (p. 43.)

According to Herr L. Simon "of Trier", therefore, the most extreme members of the Frankfurt Assembly no longer "fitted into civil society in general". Herr L. Simon "of Trier" thus appears to conceive the bounds of civil society in general as being even narrower than the bounds of St. Paul's Church.[185]

Incidentally, in his confession of April 11, 1849, Herr Simon had the tact to reveal the secret of both his former opposition and his later conversion.

"Cold mists have arisen from the gloomy waters of pre-March diplomacy. These mists will gather into clouds and we shall have a thunderstorm pregnant with ruin, threatening to strike first of all the tower of the church in which we are sitting. Take heed and arrange for a lightning-conductor to *conduct* the lightning *away from yourselves!*"[b]

That is, gentlemen, it is now our skins that are at stake!

The beggarly proposals, the wretched compromises offered to the majority by the Frankfurt Left on the question of the Emperor and after the humiliated return of the deputation to the Emperor,[186] merely in order to retain them in the Assembly, the dirty attempts at

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[a] Here and below the italics in quotations are mostly by the reviewers.— *Ed.*

[b] From Ludwig Simon's speech in the Frankfurt National Assembly on April 11, 1849. Quoted from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 271 (second edition), April 13, 1849.— *Ed.*

agreement which they were at that time making in all directions, all receive their higher consecration in the following words of Herr Simon:

> "The events of the past year have made the word agreement the butt of a very disquieting scorn. It is hardly possible to speak of it any longer without being derided. Yet of two possibilities only one can be realised: either people agree with one another, or they fall upon one another like wild animals." (p. 43.)

That is, either the parties concerned fight their battle to the finish, or they postpone it by means of any compromise they choose. The latter is at all events "more educated" and "more humane". With his theory set forth above, incidentally, Herr Simon opens up an endless series of agreements by means of which he will remain acceptable in any and every "civil society".

The late Imperial Constitution is justified in the following philosophical deduction:

> "The Imperial Constitution was thus in fact properly the expression of what was possible without new exertions of violence.... It was the living (!) expression of democratic monarchy, and hence of a contradiction in principle. But much has already existed in actual fact which was self-contradictory in principle, and it is precisely from the actual existence of contradictions in principle that further life develops." (p. 44.)

It can be seen that to apply Hegelian dialectics is still rather more difficult than to quote snippets of verse by Schiller. The Imperial Constitution, if it was "actually" to endure in spite of its "contradiction in principle", ought at least to have expressed in a "principled" fashion that contradiction which "actually" existed. "Actually", there stood on the one hand Prussia and Austria, military absolutism, and on the other the German people, cheated of the fruits of their March rising, cheated to a great extent by their foolish belief in the wretched Frankfurt Assembly, and on the point of daring at last to embark on a new fight against military absolutism. This actual contradiction could only be resolved by an actual conflict. Did the Imperial Constitution express this contradiction? Not in the least. It expressed the contradiction as it existed in March 1848, before Prussia and Austria had recovered their strength, before the opposition had been split, weakened and disarmed by partial defeats. It expressed nothing more than the childish self-deception of the gentlemen of St. Paul's Church, who, in March 1849, still imagined themselves able to prescribe laws to the Prussian and Austrian governments, and to ensure for themselves for all posterity the position of imperial German Barrots, a position as profitable as it would be secure.

Then Herr Simon congratulates himself and his colleagues for being totally unshakable in their self-interested infatuation with the Imperial Constitution:

"Admit in shame, ye renegades of Gotha,[187] that in the midst of pressing passions we have resisted every temptation, have faithfully kept our word and have not altered our common achievement by even one iota!" (p. 67.)

He then refers to their heroic deeds in connection with Württemberg and the Palatinate, and to their Stuttgart decision of June 8, in which they placed Baden under the protection of the Empire, although by that time the Empire was already essentially under the protection of Baden,[188] and their decisions only proved that they were determined not to shift "by even one iota" from their cowardice, and to maintain by force an illusion in which they themselves no longer believed.

The accusation that "the Imperial Constitution was only a mask for the republic" is ingeniously rejected by Herr Simon as follows:

"Only if the struggle against *all* governments *without exception* had to be pursued *to the end*, ... and who tells you then that the struggle against all governments without exception ought to have been pursued to the end? Who can calculate them all, the possible permutations of battle and of the fortunes of war, and if the hostile brothers" (governments and people) "had stood face to face after a bloody struggle, *exhausted* and *undecided as to the outcome*, and if the spirit of peace and reconciliation had come upon them, would we then have harmed even in the slightest the banner of the Imperial Constitution, under which the brothers could have stretched out their hands to each other in conciliation? Look about you! Place your hands on your hearts! Delve sincerely into your innermost conscience, and you will, you must answer: no, no, and again no!" (p. 70.)

This is the true quiver of oratory from which Herr Simon drew those arrows which he fired to such astonishing effect in St. Paul's Church!—In spite of its flatness, however, this touching pathos has its interest. It shows how the gentlemen of Frankfurt sat calmly in Stuttgart and waited for the hostile parties to fight to a standstill so that they could step between the exhausted combatants at the right moment and offer them the panacea of conciliation, the Imperial Constitution. And the extent to which Herr Simon is expressing the innermost thoughts of his colleagues can be seen from the way in which these gentlemen are even now in session in Berne at innkeeper Benz's in Kesslergasse,[a] waiting only for a new conflict to break out so that they may step in when the sides "are standing face to face, exhausted and undecided as to the outcome", and offer them as a basis for agreement the Imperial Constitution, this perfect expression of exhaustion and indecision.

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[a] See this volume, p. 8.—*Ed.*

"But I say to you in spite of all that and however painful it may be to roam far from one's fatherland, far from one's home and far from aged parents, on the lonely path of exile, I will not exchange my pure conscience for the remorse of the renegades and the sleepless nights of the rulers, not even if I should be offered a surfeit of all worldly goods!" (p. 71.)

If it were only possible to send these gentlemen into exile! But do they not drag the fatherland along behind them in their suitcases in the form of the stenographic reports from Frankfurt?[a] And do these not waft towards them currents of the purest air of the homeland and the fullness of the fairest self-complacency?

Incidentally, when Herr Simon maintains that he is putting in a good word for those who *fought* for the Imperial Constitution he is indulging in a pious deceit. Those who *fought* for the Imperial Constitution had no need of his "Word of Justice". They defended themselves better and more energetically. But Herr Simon has to push them forward in order to conceal the fact that, in the interest of the Frankfurters who have compromised themselves in every respect, in the interest of those who *framed* the Imperial Constitution, in his own interest, he considers it indispensable to deliver an *oratio pro domo*.[b]

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[a] *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen konstituirenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main,* Frankfurt am Main, 1848-49.— *Ed.*

[b] Speech on one's own behalf.— *Ed.*

## III

## GUIZOT, *POURQUOI LA RÉVOLUTION D'ANGLETERRE A-T-ELLE RÉUSSI? DISCOURS SUR L'HISTOIRE DE LA RÉVOLUTION D'ANGLETERRE,* PARIS, 1850

The purpose of M. Guizot's pamphlet is to show why Louis Philippe and Guizot's policy should really not have been overthrown on February 24, 1848, and how the abominable character of the French was to blame for the ignominious downfall of the July monarchy of 1830 after an arduous existence of eighteen years and for its failure to attain the permanency enjoyed by the English monarchy ever since 1688.

From this pamphlet one may see how even the most capable people of the *ancien régime,* people whose own kind of talent in the realm of history can by no means be disputed, have been brought to such a state of perplexity by the fatal events of February that they have lost all understanding of history, that they now even fail to comprehend their own former actions. Instead of being impelled by the February Revolution to realise the totally different historical conditions, the totally different class alignment of society, in the French monarchy of 1830 and the English of 1688, M. Guizot dissolves the whole difference in a few moralising phrases, averring in conclusion that the policy that was overthrown on February 24 "preserves the states and alone quells revolutions".

Exactly formulated, the question M. Guizot wants to answer is as follows: Why has bourgeois society developed longer in England in the form of a constitutional monarchy than in France?

The following passage will serve to characterise M. Guizot's acquaintance with the course of bourgeois development in England:

"In the reigns of George I and George II public opinion veered. Foreign policy ceased to be their main concern; home administration, maintenance of peace, problems of finance, colonies and trade, the development and the struggles of the parliamentary regime now mainly engaged the attention of both the government and the public." (P [p]. 168[-169].)

M. Guizot finds only two things worthy of mention in the reign of William III: maintenance of the balance between Parliament and Crown, and maintenance of the balance in Europe by fighting Louis XIV. Then, under the Hanoverian dynasty, "public opinion" suddenly "veered", no one knows how or why. We see here that M. Guizot applies the expressions most commonly used in French parliamentary debate to English history and believes he has thereby explained it. Similarly, M. Guizot imagined, when he was minister, that he held the balance between Parliament and Crown as well as the balance in Europe, whereas in reality all he did was to barter away piecemeal the whole French state and the whole of French society to the financial Shylocks of the Paris Bourse.

M. Guizot does not consider it worth while mentioning that the wars against Louis XIV were exclusively trade wars waged to destroy French commerce and French sea power, that under William III the domination of the financial bourgeoisie received its first sanction by the establishment of the Bank and the institution of the national debt,[189] and that the manufacturing bourgeoisie was given a new impetus by the consistent application of the system of protective tariffs. Only political phrases mean anything to him. He does not even mention that in Queen Anne's reign the ruling parties could maintain themselves and the constitutional monarchy only by an arbitrary measure, the lengthening of the term of Parliament to seven years, thus almost completely destroying the influence of the people upon the government.

Under the Hanoverian dynasty England was already so far advanced that it could wage trade war against France in its modern form. England itself fought France only in America and East India; on the Continent it confined itself to hiring foreign princes like Frederick II to fight France. And when foreign war assumes a different form, M. Guizot says: "foreign policy ceases to be the main concern" and is replaced by the "maintenance of peace". The extent to which "the development and the struggles of the parliamentary regime now mainly engaged the attention of both the government and the public" may be gauged from the accounts of the bribery practised under Walpole's ministry, which, of course, do not differ a hair's breadth from the scandals that became the order of the day under M. Guizot.

M. Guizot sees two particular reasons why the English Revolution took a more favourable course than the French: first, because the English Revolution was thoroughly religious in character and therefore by no means broke with all the traditions of the past; secondly, because from its very inception it did not act destructively

but conservatively, and Parliament defended the old laws in force against the usurpations of the Crown.

Concerning the first point, M. Guizot forgets that free-thinking, which so horrifies him in the French Revolution, was brought to France from no other country than England. Locke was its father, and with Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke it assumed that keen-spirited form which was subsequently developed so brilliantly in France. We thus arrive at the odd conclusion that free-thinking on which, according to M. Guizot, the French Revolution foundered, was one of the most essential products of the religious English Revolution.

As far as the second point is concerned, M. Guizot forgets entirely that the French Revolution began just as conservatively as the English, indeed much more so. Absolutism, particularly as it manifested itself finally in France, was here, too, an innovation, and it was against this innovation that the parliaments[190] rose and defended the old laws, the *us et coutumes*[a] of the old monarchy based on estates. Whereas the first step of the French Revolution was the resurrection of the States General,[191] which had been dormant since Henry IV and Louis XIII, no fact of equal classical conservatism can be found in the English Revolution.

According to M. Guizot the main result of the English Revolution was that the King was put in a position where he could not possibly rule against the will of Parliament, particularly the House of Commons. The whole revolution consisted in both sides, Crown and Parliament, overstepping the mark in the beginning and going too far until at last, under William III, they found the correct balance and neutralised each other. M. Guizot deems it superfluous to mention that the subordination of the monarchy to Parliament was its subordination to the rule of a class. He need not therefore go into the details of how this class acquired the power necessary to make the Crown finally its servant. In his opinion the only issues involved in the whole struggle between Charles I and Parliament were purely political prerogatives. Not a word about the reason why Parliament and the class represented in it needed these prerogatives. He has just as little to say about Charles I's direct interference in free competition, which jeopardised England's trade and industry more and more; or about his dependence upon Parliament, which because of his constant financial straits became all the greater the more he sought to defy Parliament. Hence the only explanation he can find for the whole revolution is the malevolence and religious fanaticism of individual troublemakers who would not be satisfied with a

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[a] Usages and customs.—*Ed.*

moderate freedom. Nor can M. Guizot enlighten us on the connection between the religious movement and the development of bourgeois society. The republic, too, is naturally only the handiwork of a few ambitious, fanatic and evil-minded people. That about the same time attempts to set up a republic were likewise made in Lisbon, Naples and Messina,[192] patterned likewise, as in England, after Holland, is a fact that he entirely fails to mention. Although M. Guizot never loses sight of the French Revolution, he does not even draw the simple conclusion that everywhere the transition from absolute to constitutional monarchy is effected only after fierce struggles and after passage through a republican form of government and that even then the old dynasty, having become useless, has to make room for a usurpatory collateral line. The only information he can give us about the overthrow of the restored English monarchy consists of the most trivial commonplaces. He does not even mention its immediate causes: the fear of the new big landed proprietors created by the Reformation that Catholicism might be re-established, in which event they would naturally have had to give back all the lands of which they had robbed the Church—a proceeding in which seven-tenths of the entire area of England would have changed hands; the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie's dread of Catholicism, which in no way suited their book; the nonchalance with which the Stuarts, to their own advantage and that of the court aristocracy, sold all English industry, as well as trade, to the government of France, that is, to the only country which at that time dangerously, and in many respects successfully, competed with the English, etc. As M. Guizot omits everywhere the most important points, all he has left is a most inadequate and banal narration of mere political events.

The big riddle for M. Guizot, the one for which he sees an explanation only in the superior intelligence of the English, the riddle of the conservatism of the English Revolution, is the persisting alliance of the bourgeoisie with the majority of the big landowners, an alliance that distinguishes the English Revolution essentially from the French, which eliminated big landed property by parcellation. This class of big landowners allied with the bourgeoisie—which, incidentally, arose as early as under Henry VIII—found itself not in contradiction with the conditions of existence of the bourgeoisie as did French landed property in 1789, but, on the contrary, in perfect harmony with them. In actual fact their landed estates were not feudal but bourgeois property. On the one hand, the landed proprietors provided the industrial bourgeoisie with the labour force necessary to operate its manufactories and, on the other, were in a

position to develop agriculture in accordance with the level of industry and trade. Hence their common interests with the bourgeoisie; hence their alliance with it.

For M. Guizot, English history ends with the consolidation of the constitutional monarchy in England. For him everything that followed was merely a pleasant game of seesaw between Tories and Whigs, something in the nature of the great debate between M. Guizot and M. Thiers. In reality, however, it was only with the consolidation of the constitutional monarchy that the large-scale development and transformation of bourgeois society in England began. Where M. Guizot sees only placid tranquillity and idyllic peace, the most violent conflicts, the most thoroughgoing revolutions, were actually developing. It was under the constitutional monarchy that manufacture first developed to a hitherto unknown extent, to make room, subsequently, for big industry, the steam-engine and the gigantic factories. Entire classes of the population disappear, and new ones with new conditions of existence and new requirements take their place. A new, more colossal bourgeoisie arises. While the old bourgeoisie fights the French Revolution, the new one conquers the world market. It becomes so omnipotent that even before the Reform Bill[193] puts direct political power into its hands it forces its opponents to pass laws almost exclusively in *its* interests and according to *its* needs. It wins for itself direct representation in Parliament and uses it to destroy the last remnants of real power that landed property retains. Lastly, it is engaged at present in utterly demolishing the handsome edifice of the English constitution which M. Guizot so admires.

While M. Guizot compliments the English on the fact that in their country the detestable excrescences of French social life—republicanism and socialism—have not shaken the foundations of the monarchy, the only source of salvation, the class antagonisms in English society have become more acute than in any other country. Here a bourgeoisie possessed of unequalled wealth and productive forces is opposed by a proletariat whose strength and concentration are likewise unequalled. Thus what M. Guizot acknowledges in England finally comes to this, that here, under the protection of constitutional monarchy, far more numerous and far more radical elements of social revolution have developed than in all other countries of the world taken together.

When the threads of development in England become entangled in a knot which he can no longer cut, even in appearance, with mere political phrases, M. Guizot has recourse to religious phrases, to the armed intervention of God. Thus, for instance, the spirit of the Lord

suddenly descends upon the army and prevents Cromwell from proclaiming himself king, etc., etc. From his conscience Guizot seeks safety in God; from the profane public, in his style.

Indeed, not only *les rois s'en vont*, but also *les capacités de la bourgeoisie s'en vont*.[a]

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[a] Not only "kings pass away", but also "the talent of the bourgeoisie".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## REVIEW

[January-February 1850][194]

*A tout seigneur, tout honneur.*[a] Let us start with *Prussia.*

The King of Prussia is doing his best to push the present situation of tepid agreement, of inadequate compromise, towards a crisis.[195] He bestows a constitution and, after various unpleasantnesses, creates two Chambers which revise this constitution. Just so that the constitution may appear as acceptable as possible to the Crown, the Chambers delete every article which might in any way be objectionable to it, and believe that now the King will confirm the constitution with his oath straight away. But on the contrary. In order to give the Chambers a proof of his "royal conscientiousness" Frederick William issues an announcement[b] in which he makes new proposals for the improvement of the constitution, proposals whose acceptance would deprive the said document of even the least trace of the most insignificant so-called constitutional civil guarantees. The King hopes that the Chambers will reject these proposals—on the contrary. If the Chambers had been disappointed with the Crown, then they now made sure that the Crown would be disappointed with them. They accept everything: peerage and extraordinary courts, *Landsturm* and entailment,[196] merely in order not to be sent home, merely to force the King at last to swear a solemn "corporeal" oath. Thus does a Prussian constitutional bourgeois take his revenge.

The King will find it difficult to invent a humiliation which might appear too harsh for these Chambers. He will finally feel himself

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[a] To every lord his honour.—*Ed.*

[b] "Allerhöchste Botschaft", January 7, 1850. Published in the *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger* No. 10, January 10, 1850. A somewhat paraphrased passage from that announcement is quoted further in the text.—*Ed.*

obliged to declare that "the more sacred he holds the sworn vow he is to give, the more do the duties laid upon him by God for the beloved fatherland appear before his soul", and the less does his "royal conscientiousness" permit him to confirm by oath a constitution which offers him everything, but the country nothing.

The gentlemen of the defunct "United Diet",[197] who are now together again in the Chambers, are so afraid of being driven back to their old situation, as it was prior to March 18, because they would then again have before them the revolution, which will bring them no roses this time. What is more, in 1847 they were still able to refuse the loan for the alleged Eastern railway, whereas in 1849 they first actually granted the government the loan in question, and afterwards most humbly raised with the government the matter of the theoretical right of granting the money.

In the meantime the bourgeoisie outside the Chambers is taking its pleasure in jury decisions acquitting those accused of political offences, thus demonstrating its opposition to the government. In these trials, on the one hand the government and on the other the democracy represented by the accused and the public, discredit themselves at regular intervals. We remind our readers of the trial of the "ever constitutional" Waldeck, the trial in Trier,[198] etc.

When old Arndt asks: "What is the fatherland of a German?"[a] Frederick William IV replies: *Erfurt.*[199] It was not very difficult to travesty the *Iliad* in the *Battle of the Frogs and the Mice,* but nobody has hitherto dared contemplate a travesty of the *Battle of the Frogs and the Mice.* The Erfurt Plan succeeds in travestying even the battle of the frogs and the mice of St. Paul's Church itself.[200] It is of course completely irrelevant whether the unbelievable assembly in Erfurt in fact assembles or whether the Orthodox Tsar[b] forbids it, just as irrelevant as the protest against its competency, in issuing which Herr Vogt will undoubtedly enter into an agreement with Herr Venedey. The whole invention is of interest only to those profound politicians for whose leading articles the question of a "Great Germany" or a "Little Germany" was a mine as rich as it was indispensable, and to those Prussian bourgeois who live in the comforting belief that the King of Prussia will grant everything in Erfurt precisely because he has refused everything in Berlin.

If the Frankfurt "National Assembly" is to be more or less faithfully reflected in Erfurt, then the old Federal Diet will be reborn

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[a] From Ernst Moritz Arndt's poem "Des Teutschen Vaterland".—*Ed.*
[b] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

in the "Interim"[201] and simultaneously reduced to its simplest expression, to an Austro-Prussian federal commission. The Interim has already materialised in Württemberg and will shortly materialise in Mecklenburg and Schleswig-Holstein.

While Prussia has been able for a long time to scrape its budget together by means of emissions of paper money, stealthy loans from the *Seehandlung*,[202] and the remains of the state treasury, and has only now rushed forward down the road of public loans, in *Austria* state bankruptcy is in full bloom. A deficit of 155 million guilders in the first nine months of the year 1849, which is bound to have increased to 210-220 million by the end of December; the complete ruin of state credit at home and abroad after the resounding failure of the attempt at raising a new loan; total exhaustion of the internal financial resources: ordinary taxes, contributions, emissions of paper money; the necessity of imposing new and desperate taxes on the country which had already been sucked dry, taxes which, one can see in advance, will not be paid in—these are the main features in which naked financial need reveals itself in Austria. Simultaneously the decay of the Austrian state organism is proceeding ever more rapidly. In vain does the government counter it by means of convulsive centralisation; the disorganisation has already reached the furthest extremities of the state organism, and Austria is becoming intolerable even to the most barbaric nationalities, to the principal pillars of the old Austria, to the Southern Slavs in Dalmatia, Croatia, and the Banat, the "trusty" borderers.[203] Only an act of desperation remains, offering a slight chance of rescue—an external war; this external war to which Austria is irresistibly being driven must rapidly complete its total dissolution.

Nor has *Russia* proved rich enough to pay for its fame, which it had to purchase for cash into the bargain. In spite of the widely vaunted gold-mines of the Urals and the Altai, in spite of the inexhaustible treasures in the vaults of the Peter and Paul fortress, in spite of the annuity purchases in London and Paris, allegedly made out of a surplus of money, the Orthodox Tsar feels himself constrained not only to remove 5,000,000 silver rubles, using all kinds of false pretexts, from the bullion stores lying in the Peter and Paul fortress as security for his paper currency, and to order the sale of his annuities on the Paris Bourse, but also to beg the unbelieving City of London for an advance of 30 million silver rubles.

Russia has become so deeply involved in European politics on account of the movements of the years 1848 and 1849 that it will have to execute its old plans against Turkey, against Constantinople,

"the key to its house",[a] as speedily as it can if they are not to become for ever impossible to execute. The progress of the counter-revolution and the daily growing power of the revolutionary party in Western Europe, the internal situation in Russia itself and the bad state of its finances are forcing it towards rapid action. We recently saw the diplomatic prelude to this new oriental drama of state [204]; in a few months we shall witness the drama itself.

War against Turkey is necessarily a European war. So much the better for Holy Russia, which is thus given an opportunity of obtaining a firm foothold in Germany, leading the counter-revolution there energetically to its conclusion, helping Prussia to conquer Neuchâtel, and, in the last instance, marching on the centre of the revolution, on Paris.

In such a European war England cannot remain neutral. It must take a stand against Russia. And for Russia England is by far the most dangerous antagonist. If the land armies of the Continent cannot help weakening themselves more and more as a result of their having to spread out more the further they press forward into Russia, if their advance, upon the penalty of a repetition of 1812, must come to an almost complete halt on the eastern frontier of the former Poland, England has the means of tackling Russia on its most vulnerable flanks. Apart from the fact that it can force Sweden to reconquer Finland, St. Petersburg and Odessa stand open to its navy. The Russian navy is known to be the worst in the world, and Kronstadt and Schlüsselburg are as vulnerable to capture as Saint-Jean d'Acre and San Juan de Ulua.[205] And Russia without St. Petersburg and Odessa is a giant with its hands chopped off. Moreover Russia cannot dispense with England either for the sale of its raw materials or the purchase of industrial products for even as little as six months, which emerged clearly at the time of Napoleon's continental blockade,[206] but is now the case to a far greater degree. Cutting off from the English market would in a few months induce the most violent convulsions in Russia. England, on the other hand, can not only do without the Russian market for a time, but it can also procure all Russian raw materials from other markets. One can see that the dreaded Russia is by no means so very dangerous. It must assume such a terror-inspiring shape for the German burgher, however, since it directly controls his princes and since he quite rightly suspects that Russia's barbarian hordes will before long inundate Germany and to some extent play a messianic role there.

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[a] The phrase was used by Alexander I in a conversation with the French Ambassador Caulaincourt in 1808.—*Ed.*

*Switzerland*'s attitude to the Holy Alliance in general resembles that of the Prussian Chambers to their King in particular. Except that Switzerland has behind it an additional scapegoat to which it can pass on all the blows it receives from the Holy Alliance two- or threefold, a scapegoat which is defenceless into the bargain and quite abandoned to its favour or disfavour—the German refugees. It is true that a section of the "radical" Swiss in Geneva, in Vaud and in Berne has protested against the cowardly policy of the Federal Council[207]—cowardly both in respect of the Holy Alliance and of the refugees; it is, however, just as true that the Federal Council was correct when it maintained that its policy was "that of the huge majority of the Swiss people". In the midst of all this the Central Authority quite tranquilly continues to carry out small bourgeois reforms internally: centralisation of customs, of coinage, of the post, of weights and measures—reforms which assure it the applause of the petty bourgeoisie. To be sure it dares not carry out its decision concerning the repeal of the military enlistment agreements, and the men of the *Ur*-cantons still go in droves daily to Como to get themselves enlisted in the service of Naples.[208] But in spite of all its humility and complaisance towards the Holy Alliance, a fatal storm threatens Switzerland. In the first flush of high spirits after the war against the Sonderbund and in complete euphoria after the February Revolution, the otherwise so timid Swiss allowed themselves to be tempted to imprudent actions. They ventured the enormity of wanting at last to be independent; they gave themselves a new constitution instead of the one guaranteed by the powers in 1814, they recognised the independence of Neuchâtel[209] contrary to the treaties. For this they will be punished, in spite of all their bowing and scraping, their readiness to oblige and their police services. And once it is involved in the European war Switzerland will not find itself in the most pleasant of situations; if Switzerland has insulted the holy allies, it has on the other hand betrayed the revolution.

In *France*, where the bourgeoisie itself is leading the reaction in its own interests, and where the republican form of government permits reaction its freest and most consistent development, the suppression of the revolution is being executed in the most shameless and violent fashion. In the short space of one month the following measures were taken one after another: the restoration of the drink tax, which directly completes the ruin of half the rural population, the d'Hautpoul circular, which appoints the gendarmes as spies even upon the civil servants, the law on schoolteachers, which declares that all elementary schoolteachers are to be subject to arbitrary dismissal by the prefects, the education law, which hands

the schools over to the priests, the deportation law, in which the bourgeoisie unleashes the whole of its pent-up lust for vengeance on the June insurgents and, in the absence of any other executioner, delivers them up to the most deadly climate in the whole of Algeria. We will not even mention the innumerable deportations of even the most innocent foreigners, which have never ceased since June 13.[a]

The purpose of this violent bourgeois reaction is, of course, to restore the monarchy. However, the monarchist restoration is considerably hindered by the various pretenders themselves, and by the parties they have in the country. The Legitimists and the Orleanists, the two strongest monarchist parties, more or less counterbalance each other; the third party, the Bonapartists, is by far the weakest. Louis Napoleon does not, in spite of his seven million votes, even possess a real party, he merely has a coterie. Although he is given constant support by the majority of the Chamber in the general handling of the reaction, he finds himself abandoned as soon as his particular interests as pretender emerge, abandoned not only by the majority but also by his ministers, who each time give him the lie and force him to declare in writing the next day in spite of everything that they have his confidence. The quarrels in which he thus gets embroiled with the majority, however serious the consequences to which they might lead, have for this reason so far only been comical episodes in which the President of the Republic has each time played the part of the dupe. It goes without saying that in these conditions each monarchist faction is conspiring with the Holy Alliance on its own initiative. The *Assemblée nationale* is brazen enough to threaten the people publicly with the Russians[b]; there is already ample evidence that Louis Napoleon is plotting with Nicholas.

At the same rate as the reaction advances, the forces of the revolutionary party naturally grow too. The great mass of the rural population, ruined by the consequences of land parcelling, by the tax burden and the purely fiscal nature of most of the taxes, damaging even from the point of view of the bourgeoisie, disappointed with the promises of Louis Napoleon and the reactionary deputies, the mass of the rural population has thrown itself into the arms of the revolutionary party and professes a socialism which is, admittedly, still very crude and bourgeois for the most part. The revolutionary mood of even the most legitimist *départements* is proved by the latest

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[a] See this volume, pp. 105-07.—*Ed.*

[b] Presumably a reference to the leading article in *L'Assemblée nationale* No. 23, January 25, 1850.—*Ed.*

election in the Gard *département*,[210] the centre of royalism and of the "white terror" of 1815, where a red was elected.[a] The petty bourgeoisie, oppressed by big capital, which has once more adopted exactly the same position in commerce and politics as under Louis Philippe, has followed the rural population. The turnabout is so marked that even the traitor Marrast and the grocers' journal, the *Siècle*, have had to declare themselves socialists. The position of the various classes in relation to one another, for which the mutual relationships of the political parties are only another expression, is again almost exactly the same as on February 22, 1848. Except that other matters are now at stake, that the workers are much more conscious, and that in particular a class hitherto dead politically, the peasantry, has been dragged into the movement and won for the revolution.

In this lies the necessity for the ruling bourgeoisie of trying to abolish universal franchise as rapidly as possible; and in this necessity lies in turn the certainty of impending victory for the revolution even disregarding external circumstances.

The tension of the situation in general is revealed by the comical bill proposed by people's representative Pradié,[b] who attempts in approximately 200 clauses to prevent coups d'état and revolutions by a decree of the National Assembly. And the vast lack of confidence felt by high finance for the "order" now apparently restored here and in other capitals can be seen in the fact that a few months ago the various branches of the house of Rothschild only prolonged their deeds of partnership for *one year*—a period of unprecedented brevity in the annals of large-scale commerce.

While the Continent has been occupying itself for the past two years with revolutions, counter-revolutions and the floods of rhetoric inseparable from these, industrial *England* has been dealing in a quite different article: prosperity. Here the commercial crisis which broke out in due course[c] in the autumn of 1845 was interrupted twice—at the beginning of 1846 by the Free Trade decisions of Parliament,[211] and at the beginning of 1848 by the February Revolution. A quantity of commodities depressing overseas markets had in the meantime gradually found outlets. The February Revolution eliminated competition from continental industry precisely in these markets, while English industry did not lose much more because of the disturbed continental market than it would have done

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[a] Favand.—*Ed.*

[b] The bill was submitted to the Legislative Assembly on January 12 and 19, 1850.—*Ed.*

[c] The words "in due course" are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

anyway in the further development of the crisis. In this way the February Revolution, momentarily bringing continental industry to an almost complete standstill, helped the English to weather a year of crisis in a quite tolerable fashion, contributed substantially to clearing away the piled-up stocks of goods in the overseas markets, and made a new industrial upswing possible in the spring of 1849. This upswing, which incidentally extended to a great part of continental industry, has reached such a level in the last three months that the manufacturers are claiming that they have never experienced such good times before—a claim always made on the eve of a crisis. The factories are overloaded with orders and are working at an accelerated rate; every means is being sought to dodge the Ten Hours' Bill[a] and gain new hours of labour; new factories are being built in great numbers in all parts of the industrial regions, and the old ones are being extended. Cash is pouring into the market, idle capital wants to take advantage of the occasion of universal profit; speculation is brimming over with discount-dealing, which is throwing itself into production[b] or into the raw materials trade, and almost all articles show an absolute and all a relative rise in price. In short, England is blessed with "prosperity" in its most splendid bloom, and the only question is how long this intoxication will last. Not very long, at all events. Several of the largest markets, East India in particular, are already almost glutted; export is already less favourable to the really great markets than to the emporia of world trade, from which the commodities may be directed to the most favourable markets. Soon the markets still left, particularly those of North and South America and Australia, will be similarly glutted, given the colossal forces of production which English industry added to those it already had between 1843 and 1845, in 1846 and 1847, and especially in 1849, and which are still being daily added to. And with the first reports of this glut, panic[c] will break out simultaneously in speculation and production—perhaps as soon as towards the end of spring, in July or August at the latest. This crisis, however, since it is bound to coincide with great collisions on the Continent, will bring forth results quite different from those of all previous crises. Whereas every crisis hitherto has been the signal for a new advance,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 273-74 and 296-98.—*Ed.*

[b] In the copy of the journal with Engels' corrections the passage "speculation is brimming over with discount-dealing, which is throwing itself into production" is changed and reads thus: "discount is falling, speculation is throwing itself into production".—*Ed.*

[c] This word is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

a new victory of the industrial bourgeoisie over landed property and the finance bourgeoisie, this crisis will mark the beginning of the modern English revolution, a revolution in which Cobden will assume the role of a Necker.

And now we come to *America.* The most important thing to have occurred here, more important even than the February Revolution, is the discovery of the Californian gold-mines. Already now, after barely eighteen months, one may predict that this discovery will have much more impressive consequences than the discovery of America itself. For three hundred and thirty years the whole of Europe's trade with the Pacific Ocean has been carried with the most moving patience around the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn. All proposals for cutting through the Isthmus of Panama have come to grief because of the petty jealousies of the trading nations. It is a mere eighteen months since the Californian gold-mines were discovered, and the Yankees have already started work on a railway, a large highway and a canal from the Gulf of Mexico, steamships are already making regular trips from New York to Chagres and from Panama to San Francisco, the Pacific trade is already becoming concentrated on Panama and the route around Cape Horn is obsolete. A coast thirty degrees of latitude in length, one of the most beautiful and fertile in the world, hitherto as good as uninhabited, is visibly being transformed into a rich and civilised country, densely populated by people of all races, from Yankee to Chinaman, from Negro to Indian and Malay, from Creole and Mestizo to European. Rivers of Californian gold are pouring over America and the Asiatic coast of the Pacific Ocean, and dragging the most reluctant barbarian nations into world trade, into civilisation. For the second time world trade is taking a new direction. The role played by Tyre, Carthage and Alexandria in antiquity, and Genoa and Venice in the Middle Ages, the role of London and Liverpool until now—that of the emporia of world trade—is now being assumed by New York and San Francisco, San Juan de Nicaragua[a] and Leon, Chagres and Panama. The centre of gravity of world commerce, Italy in the Middle Ages, England in modern times, is now the southern half of the North American peninsula. The industry and trade of old Europe will have to make huge exertions if they are not to fall into the same decay as the industry and trade of Italy since the sixteenth century, if England and France are not to become what Venice, Genoa and Holland are today. In a few years we shall have a regular steam-packet service from England to Chagres and from Chagres and San Francisco to

[a] San Juan del Norte (Greytown).—*Ed.*

Sydney, Canton and Singapore. Thanks to Californian gold and the tireless energy of the Yankees, both coasts of the Pacific Ocean will soon be as populous, as open to trade and as industrialised as the coast from Boston to New Orleans is now. And then the Pacific Ocean will have the same role as the Atlantic has now and the Mediterranean had in antiquity and in the Middle Ages—that of the great water highway of world commerce; and the Atlantic will decline to the status of an inland sea, like the Mediterranean nowadays. The only chance the civilised nations of Europe have, not to fall into the same industrial, commercial and political dependence to which Italy, Spain and Portugal are now reduced, lies in a social revolution which, so long as there is still time, will revolutionise the mode of production and commerce in accordance with the needs of production themselves as they emerge from the modern forces of production, thus making possible the creation of new forces of production, which can ensure the superiority of European industry and so compensate for the disadvantages of its geographical position.

And finally, another characteristic curiosity from China, which the well-known German missionary Gützlaff has brought back with him.[212] The slowly but steadily growing over-population in this country had long made social conditions there particularly oppressive for the great majority of the nation. Then came the English and extorted free trade for themselves in five ports.[213] Thousands of English and American ships sailed to China and before long the country was glutted with inexpensive British and American industrial manufactures. Chinese industry, dependent on manual labour, succumbed to competition from the machine. The imperturbable Middle Kingdom was aroused by a social crisis. The taxes no longer came in, the state reached the brink of bankruptcy, the population sank *en masse* into pauperism, erupted in revolts, refused to acknowledge the mandarins of the Emperor or the priests of Fó, mishandled and killed them. The country reached the brink of ruin and is already threatened with a mighty revolution. But worse was to come. Among the rebellious plebs individuals appeared who pointed to the poverty of some and to the wealth of others, and who demanded, and are still demanding a different distribution of property, and even the complete abolition of private property.[214] When Herr Gützlaff came among civilised people and Europeans again after an absence of twenty years, he heard talk of socialism and asked what this might be. When it had been explained to him he cried out in horror:

"Shall I then nowhere escape this pernicious doctrine? For some time now many of the mob have been preaching exactly the same thing in China!"

Now Chinese socialism may admittedly be the same in relation to European socialism as Chinese philosophy in relation to Hegelian philosophy. Nevertheless, it is a gratifying fact that in eight years the calico bales of the English bourgeoisie have brought the oldest and least perturbable kingdom on earth to the eve of a social upheaval, which, in any event, is bound to have the most significant results for civilisation. When our European reactionaries, on their presently impending flight through Asia, finally come to the Great Wall of China, to the gates leading to the stronghold of arch-reaction and arch-conservatism, who knows if they may not read the following inscription upon them:

RÉPUBLIQUE CHINOISE
LIBERTÉ, EGALITÉ, FRATERNITÉ

London, January 31, 1850

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The wishes of the Prussian bourgeoisie have been fulfilled: the "man of honour" has confirmed the constitution with his oath on condition that "it be made possible" for him "to govern with this constitution".[a] And in the few days which have passed since February 6 the bourgeois gentlemen in the Chambers have already granted this wish in full. Before February 6 they said: "We must make concessions, only to get the constitution sworn to; once the oath is taken we can behave quite differently." After February 6 they say: "The constitution has been confirmed by oath, we have every conceivable guarantee; we can therefore make concessions in all tranquillity." They grant eighteen million for armaments, for the mobilisation of 500,000 men against an as yet unknown enemy, without any discussion, without any opposition, almost unanimously; the budget is voted through in four days, all the government's proposals pass through the Chambers in the twinkling of an eye. It is evident that the German bourgeoisie still lacks neither cowardice nor excuses for this cowardice.

Thanks to this benevolent Chamber the King of Prussia has had enough opportunities to realise the advantages the constitutional system offers over the absolutist one and indeed for the rulers as well as for those they rule. If we think back to the financial straits of 1842-48, to the vain attempts at getting credit from the *See-*

[a] Frederick William IV swore to the constitution on February 6, 1850.—*Ed.*

*handlung* and the Bank, to Rothschild's refusals, to the loan refused by the United Diet, to the depletion of the state treasury and the public coffers, and if we compare with all this the financial abundance of 1850—three budgets with a deficit of seventy million covered by a grant of the Chambers, loan certificates, treasury bonds placed in mass circulation, the state on better terms with the Bank than it ever was with the *Seehandlung*, and on top of all this another thirty-four million of granted loans in reserve—what a contrast!

According to the statements of the Minister of War the Prussian Government thus considers eventualities likely which could force it to mobilise its whole army, in the interests of European "order and tranquillity".[a] With this declaration Prussia has proclaimed its renewed entry into the Holy Alliance loudly and clearly enough. The identity of the enemy who is to be the target of the new crusade is clear. The centre of anarchy and insurrection, the Gallic Babylon, is to be wiped out. Whether France will be attacked directly, or whether this will be preceded by diversions against Switzerland and Turkey, will often depend solely[b] on developments in Paris. In any case the Prussian Government now has the means to raise its 180,000 soldiers to 500,000 within two months; 400,000 Russians are deployed in Poland, Volhynia and Bessarabia; Austria has at least 650,000 men standing in readiness. Merely to feed these colossal armed forces Russia and Austria will have to begin a war of invasion before this year is out. And as regards the initial direction of this invasion a remarkable document has just been made public.

In one of its most recent issues the *Schweizerische National-Zeitung* communicates to its readers a memorandum alleged to have been written by the Austrian General Schönhals, which contains a complete plan for the invasion of Switzerland.[c] The main points of this plan are as follows:

Prussia brings around 60,000 men together on the Main, near the railways; a corps of men from Hesse, Bavaria and Württemberg is concentrated partly at Rottweil and Tuttlingen, partly at Kempten and Memmingen. Austria draws up 50,000 troops in Vorarlberg and in the direction of Innsbruck and forms a second corps in Italy between Sesto-Calende and Lecco. In the meantime Switzerland will be held off with diplomatic negotiations. Once the moment for attack arrives, the Prussians will rush to

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[a] From the Minister of War K. Adolf Strotha's speech in the Prussian National Assembly on February 12, 1850.— *Ed.*

[b] In the copy of the journal with Engels' corrections the words *oft nur* (often solely) have been replaced with *fast nur* (almost solely).— *Ed.*

[c] "Ein Invasionsprojekt", *Schweizerische National-Zeitung* No. 44, February 21, 1850.— *Ed.*

Lörrach by rail, and the small contingents to Donaueschingen. The Austrians will concentrate more closely at Bregenz and Feldkirch, and the Italian army at Como and Lecco. One brigade remains at Varese threatening Bellinzona. The envoys deliver the ultimatum and leave. Operations commence. The principal pretext is that of restoring the Federal Constitution of 1814 and the freedom of the Sonderbund cantons. The attack itself is a concentric one against Lucerne. The Prussians press towards the Aare by way of Basle, and the Austrians towards the Limmat by way of St. Gallen and Zurich. The former deploy from Solothurn to Zurzach, and the latter from Zurzach through Zurich to Uznach. At the same time a detachment of 15,000 Austrians advances against the Splügen Pass by way of Chur and links up with the Italian corps, whereupon both press forward through the Vorderrhein valley to the St. Gotthard Pass where they will once again link up with the corps from Varese and Bellinzona, and raise an insurrection in the *Ur*-cantons. Meanwhile these will have been cut off from Western Switzerland and the sheep separated from the goats by the advance of the main armies, which will be joined by the smaller contingents via Schaffhausen, and by the conquest of Lucerne. At the same time France, which by the "secret treaty of January 30" is obliged to provide 60,000 men in Lyons and Colmar, occupies Geneva and the Jura under the same pretext as it occupied Rome. Berne will thus have become impossible to defend and the "revolutionary" government will be forced either to capitulate immediately or to starve to death with its troops in the Bernese High Alps.

One can see that the project is not at all bad. It takes the nature of the terrain into account, as it should; it suggests capturing first of all the flatter and more fertile Northern Switzerland, and forcing the only serious position in Northern Switzerland, that behind the Aare and the Limmat, with united main forces. It has the advantage of cutting off the Swiss army from its granary and leaving it, to begin with, only the more difficult mountain terrain. Thus the project can be put into action as early as the beginning of spring, and the earlier it is executed the more difficult will be the situation of the Swiss pressed back into the mountains.

On the basis of purely internal evidence it is difficult to decide whether the document has been published against the will of its authors or whether it has been deliberately composed to be manoeuvred into the hands of a Swiss paper for publication. In the latter case, it could only have the purpose of making the Swiss exhaust their finances with a rapid and large-scale call-up of their troops, and making them show themselves more and more submissive towards the Holy Alliance, as well as of misleading public opinion in general about the intentions of the Allies. The sabre-rattling now taking place, with the war preparations of Russia and Prussia and the war plans against Switzerland, seems to support this interpretation. As does also a sentence in the memorandum itself, in which the greatest speed is recommended in all operations so that the largest possible area may be conquered before the contingents have been withdrawn from it into concentrations and marched

off. On the other hand, just as much internal evidence speaks for the genuineness of the memorandum as being an invasion plan against Switzerland which has really been put forward.

This much is certain: the Holy Alliance will march before the year is out, be it against Switzerland or Turkey to begin with, or directly against France, and in both cases the Federal Council should put its house in order. Whether the Holy Alliance or the revolution arrives first in Berne, the Council will itself have brought about its fall because of its cowardly neutrality. The counter-revolution cannot be satisfied with its concessions, since its origin is more or less revolutionary; the revolution cannot for an instant tolerate such a treacherous and cowardly government in the heart of Europe in the midst of the three nations most intimately involved in the movement. The behaviour of the Swiss Federal Council provides the most striking and it is to be hoped the last example of what the alleged "independence" and "autonomy" of small nations sandwiched between the great nations of today really mean.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE TEN HOURS' QUESTION[215]

It has generally been the habit of the champions of the working classes to meet the argument of the free-trading middle classes, of what is called the "Manchester School",[216] by mere indignant comments upon the immoral and impudently-selfish character of their doctrines. The working man, ground down to the dust, trodden upon, physically ruined and mentally exhausted by a haughty class of money-loving mill-lords, the working man, certainly, would deserve his fate if he did not feel his blood mount into his cheeks upon being very coolly told that he is doomed for ever to serve as a piece of machinery, to be used and misused as it suits his lord, for the greater glory and the more rapid accumulation of capital; and that it is under this condition only that the "ascendancy of his country" and the existence of the working class itself can be made to continue. Were it not for this feeling of passionate, revolutionary indignation, there would be no hope for proletarian emancipation. But it is one thing to keep up the manly spirit of opposition among the working people, and another to meet their enemies in public debate. And here mere indignation, the mere outburst of a violent feeling, though ever so justified, will not do. It is argument which is required. And there is no doubt but that even in cool argumentative discussion, that even on their own favourite field of political economy, the free-trading school will easily be beaten by the supporters of the working men's interest.

As to the barefaced impudence with which the free-trading manufacturers declare the existence of modern society dependent upon their continuing to heap up wealth from the blood and sinews of the working people, we will say only one word. At all periods of history the vast majority of the people have been, in some shape or

another, mere instruments for enriching the privileged few. In all past times, however, this bloodsucking system was carried on under the cover of various moral, religious, and political pretexts; priests, philosophers, lawyers, and statesmen told the people that they were handed over to misery and starvation for their own good, and because it was God's ordinance. Now, on the contrary, the free-traders boldly declare—"You, working men, are slaves, and shall remain slaves, because only by your slavery can we increase our wealth and comforts; because we, the ruling class of this country, cannot continue to rule without you being slaves." Now, then, the mystery of oppression has, at last, come out; now, at last, thanks to the free-traders, the people can clearly perceive their position; now, at last, the question is fairly, unmistakeably put—*Either we, or you!* And therefore, just as before the false friend we prefer the open foe, so to the canting philanthropic aristocrat we prefer the brazenfaced free-trader, before Lord Ashley we prefer Quaker Bright.

The Ten Hours' Bill was carried after a long and violent struggle, which had gone on for forty years in parliament, on the platform, in the press, and in every factory and workshop in the manufacturing districts. On the one side the most heart-rending pictures were produced, of children stunted in their growth and murdered; of women torn from their homes and little ones; of entire generations infected with lingering disease; of human life sacrificed by wholesale, and human happiness destroyed upon a national scale; and all this to enrich a few already over-rich individuals. And there was no fiction about it; all of it was fact, stubborn fact. Yet no one dared to ask that this infamous system should be done away with; it was only asked to limit it in some degree. On the other side came forward the cool, heartless, political economist, the paid servant of those who fattened upon this system, and proved by a series of conclusions, as undeniable and as stringent as the rule of three, that, under penalty of "ruining the country", there was no means of interfering in any way with this system.

It must be confessed, the advocates of the factory-workers never could confound, and even very seldom dared to grapple with the argument of the political economists. The reason is that under the present social system, as long as capital is in the hands of the few, to whom the many are obliged to sell their labour, these arguments are as many facts—facts as undeniable as those brought forth by their opponents. Yes, under the present social system, England, with all classes of her population, is entirely dependent upon the prosperity of her manufactures; and that prosperity, under the present system, is entirely dependent upon the most unlimited freedom of buying

and selling, and of turning to the greatest possible profit all the resources of the country.

Yes, the only means to keep up anything like this manufacturing prosperity, upon which now the very existence of the empire depends, is, under the present system, to produce more every year at less expense. And how produce more at less expense? First, by making the instrument of production—the machine and the working man—work more this year than last; secondly, by superseding the hitherto usual method of production by a new and more perfect one, that is to say, superseding men by improved machinery; thirdly, by reducing the cost of the working man, in reducing the cost of his sustenance (free trade in corn, etc.), or in merely reducing his wages to the lowest possible level. Thus, in all cases, the working man is the loser—thus, England can only be saved by the ruin of her working people! Such is the position—these are the necessities, to which the progress of machinery, the accumulation of capital, and consequent home and foreign competition, have reduced England.

Thus the Ten Hours' Bill, considered in itself, and as a final measure, was decidedly a false step, an impolitic, and even reactionary measure, and which bore within itself the germ of its own destruction. On the one hand it did not destroy the present social system, and on the other it did not favour its development. Instead of forcing the system onwards to its utmost limits, to a point where the ruling class would find all their resources exhausted, to that point where the dominion of another class—where a social revolution would become necessary—instead of that, the Ten Hours' Bill was intended to screw back society to a state superseded, long ago, by the present system. This becomes quite evident, if we only look at the parties who forced the bill through parliament against the opposing free-traders. Was it the working classes, whose agitated state, whose threatening demeanour, carried it? Certainly not. Had it been so, the working people might have carried the Charter[217] many a year ago. Besides, the men who, among the working classes, took the lead in the short-time movement, were anything but threatening and revolutionary characters. They were mostly moderate, respectable, church-and-king men. They kept aloof from Chartism, and inclined mostly towards some sort of sentimental Toryism. They never inspired dread to any government. The Ten Hours' Bill was carried by the *reactionary* opponents of free trade, by the allied landed, funded, colonial and shipping interest; by the combined aristocracy and those portions of the bourgeoisie who themselves dreaded the ascendancy of the free-trading manufacturers. Did they carry it from

any sympathy with the people? Not they. They lived, and live, upon the spoils of the people. They are quite as bad, though less barefaced and more sentimental, than the manufacturers. But they would not be superseded by them, and thus, from hatred towards them, they passed this law which should secure to themselves popular sympathy, and, at the same time, arrest the rapid growth of the manufacturers' social and political power. The passing of the Ten Hours' Bill proved not that the working classes were strong, it proved only that the manufacturers were not yet strong enough to do as they liked.

Since then, the manufacturers have virtually secured their ascendancy, by forcing free trade in corn, and in navigation, through parliament. The landed and the shipping interests have been sacrificed to their rising star. The stronger they grew, the more they felt the fetters imposed upon them by the Ten Hours' Bill. They openly set it at defiance; they re-introduced the relay system [218]; they forced the Home Secretary to issue circulars,[a] by which the factory inspectors were ordered not to notice this breach of the law; and when, at last, the growing demand for their produce made the remonstrances of some troublesome inspectors insupportable, they brought the question before the Court of Exchequer, which, by one single judgment, destroyed, to the last vestige, the Ten Hours' Bill.[219]

Thus the fruit of forty years' agitation has in one day been annihilated by the rising strength of the manufacturers, aided by one single flush of "prosperity" and "growing demand"; and the judges of England have proved that they, not less than parsons, attorneys, statesmen, and political economists, are but the paid servants of the ruling class, be it the class of landlords, of fund-lords, or of mill-lords.

Are we, then, opposed to the Ten Hours' Bill? Do we want that horrible system of making money out of the marrow and blood of women and children to continue? Certainly not. We are so little opposed to it, that we are of opinion that the working classes, the very first day they get political power, will have to pass far more stringent measures against over-working women and children than a Ten Hours', or even an Eight Hours' Bill. But we contend that the bill, as passed in 1847, was passed not by the working classes, but by their momentary allies, the reactionary classes of society, and followed, as it was, by not a single other measure to fundamentally alter the relations between Capital and Labour, was an ill-timed, untenable and even reactionary measure.

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[a] An allusion to the circular issued by the Home Secretary George Grey on August 5, 1848.— *Ed.*

But if the Ten Hours' Bill be lost, yet the working classes will be the gainers in this case. Let them allow the factory-lords a few moments of exultation, in the end it will be they who will exult, and the factory-lords who will lament. For—

Firstly. The time and exertions spent in agitating so many years for the Ten Hours' Bill is not lost, although its immediate end be defeated. The working classes, in this agitation, found a mighty means to get acquainted with each other, to come to a knowledge of their social position and interests, to organise themselves and to know their strength. The working man, who has passed through such an agitation, is no longer the same he was before; and the whole working class, after passing through it, is a hundred times stronger, more enlightened, and better organised than it was at the outset. It *was* an agglomeration of mere units, without any knowledge of each other, without any common tie; and now it is a powerful body, conscious of its strength, recognised as the "Fourth Estate", and which will soon be the *first.*

Secondly. The working classes will have learned by experience that *no lasting benefit whatever can be obtained for them by others, but that they must obtain it themselves by conquering, first of all, political power.* They must see now that *under no circumstances have they any guarantee for bettering their social position unless by Universal Suffrage,* which would enable them to seat a *Majority of Working Men* in the House of Commons. And thus the destruction of the Ten Hours' Bill will be an enormous benefit for the Democratic movement.

Thirdly. The virtual repeal of the act of 1847 will force the manufacturers into such a rush at overtrading that revulsions upon revulsions will follow, so that very soon all the expedients and resources of the present system will be exhausted, and a *revolution* made inevitable, which, uprooting society far deeper than 1793 and 1848 ever did, will speedily lead to the political and social ascendancy of the proletarians. We have already seen how the present social system is dependent upon the ascendancy of the manufacturing capitalists, and how this ascendancy is dependent upon the possibility of always extending production and, at the same time, reducing its cost. But this extended production has a certain limit: it cannot outdo the existing markets. If it does, a revulsion follows, with its consequent ruin, bankruptcy, and misery. We have had many of these revulsions, happily overcome hitherto by the opening of new markets (China in 1842), or the better exploring of old ones, by reducing the cost of production (as by free trade in corn). But there is a limit to this, too. There are no new markets to be opened now; and there is only one means left to reduce wages,

namely, radical financial reform and reduction of the taxes by *repudiation of the national debt.* And if the free-trading mill-lords have not the courage to go the length of that, or if this temporary expedient be once exploded, too, why, they will die of repletion. It is evident that, with no chance of further extending markets, under a system which is obliged to extend production every day, there is *an end to mill-lord ascendancy.* And *what next?* "Universal ruin and chaos," say the free-traders. *Social revolution and proletarian ascendancy, say we.*

Working men of England! If you, your wives, and children are again to be locked up in the "rattle-boxes" for thirteen hours a-day, do not despair. This is a cup which, though bitter, must be drunk. The sooner you get over it the better. Your proud masters, be assured, have dug their own graves in obtaining what they call a victory over you. The virtual repeal of the Ten Hours' Bill is an event which will materially hasten the approaching hour of your delivery. Your brethren, the French and German working men, never were satisfied with Ten Hours' Bills. They wanted to be *entirely freed from the tyranny of Capital.* And you—who have, in machinery, in skill, and in comparative numbers, far more materials at hand to work out your own salvation, and to produce enough for all of you—*surely you will not be satisfied to be paid off with a small instalment.* Ask, then, no longer for "Protection for Labour", but boldly and at once struggle for *that political and social ascendancy of the proletarian class which will enable you to protect your labour yourselves.*

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Signed: *F. E.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## ADDRESS OF THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY TO THE LEAGUE[220]
March 1850

### THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY TO THE LEAGUE

Brothers!

In the two revolutionary years 1848-49 the League proved itself in double fashion: first, in that its members energetically took part in the movement in all places, that in the press, on the barricades and on the battlefields, they stood in the front ranks of the only resolutely revolutionary class, the proletariat. The League further proved itself in that its conception of the movement as laid down in the circulars of the congresses and of the Central Authority of 1847 as well as in the *Communist Manifesto*[a] turned out to be the only correct one, that the expectations expressed in those documents were completely fulfilled and the conception of present-day social conditions, previously propagated only in secret by the League, is now on everyone's lips and is openly preached in the market places. At the same time the former firm organisation of the League was considerably slackened. A large part of the members who directly participated in the revolutionary movement believed the time for secret societies to have gone by and open activities alone to be sufficient. The individual districts and communities allowed their connections with the Central Authority to become loose and gradually dormant. Consequently, while the democratic party, the party of the petty bourgeoisie, organised itself more and more in Germany, the workers' party lost its only firm foothold, remained organised at the most in separate localities for local purposes and in the general movement thus came completely under the domination and leadership of the petty-bourgeois democrats. An end must be put to this state of affairs, the independence of the workers must be

[a] See present edition, Vol. 6.—*Ed.*

restored. The Central Authority realised this necessity and therefore as early as the winter of 1848-49 it sent an emissary, Joseph Moll, to Germany to reorganise the League. Moll's mission, however, was without lasting effect, partly because the German workers at that time had not yet acquired sufficient experience and partly because it was interrupted by the insurrection in May last year. Moll himself took up the musket, joined the Baden-Palatinate army and fell on June 29[a] in the encounter on the Murg. The League lost in him one of its oldest, most active and most trustworthy members, one who had been active in all the congresses and Central Authorities and even prior to this had carried out a series of missions with great success. After the defeat of the revolutionary parties of Germany and France in July 1849, almost all the members of the Central Authority came together again in London, replenished their numbers with new revolutionary forces and set about the reorganisation of the League with renewed zeal.

The reorganisation can only be carried out by an emissary, and the Central Authority considers it extremely important that the emissary[b] should leave precisely at this moment when a new revolution is impending, when the workers' party, therefore, must act in the most organised, most unanimous and most independent fashion possible if it is not again to be exploited and taken in tow by the bourgeoisie as in 1848.

Brothers! We told you as early as 1848 that the German liberal bourgeois would soon come to power and would immediately turn their newly acquired power against the workers. You have seen how this has been fulfilled. In fact, it was the bourgeois who, immediately after the March movement of 1848, took possession of the state power and used this power in order at once to force the workers, their allies in the struggle, back into their former oppressed position. Though the bourgeoisie was not able to accomplish this without uniting with the feudal party, which had been ousted in March, without finally even relinquishing power once again to this feudal absolutist party, still it has secured conditions for itself which, in the long run, owing to the financial embarrassment of the government, would place power in its hands and would safeguard all its interests, if it were possible that the revolutionary movement would already now assume a so-called peaceful development. To safeguard its rule the bourgeoisie would not even need to make itself obnoxious by

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[a] The 1885 edition inaccurately gives July 19 as the date of Moll's death (see more about it on pp. 228-29 of this volume).— *Ed.*

[b] Heinrich Bauer.— *Ed.*

violent measures against the people, since all these violent steps have already been taken by the feudal counter-revolution. Developments, however, will not take this peaceful course. On the contrary, the revolution, which will accelerate these developments, is near at hand, whether it will be called forth by an independent uprising of the French proletariat or by an invasion of the Holy Alliance against the revolutionary Babylon.

And the role which the German liberal bourgeois played in 1848 against the people, this so treacherous role will be taken over in the impending revolution by the democratic petty bourgeois, who at present take the same attitude in the opposition as the liberal bourgeois before 1848. This party, the democratic party, which is far more dangerous to the workers than the previous liberal party, consists of three elements:

I. The most advanced sections of the big bourgeoisie, which pursue the aim of the immediate and complete overthrow of feudalism and absolutism. This faction is represented by the one-time Berlin agreers, the tax resisters.[221]

II. The democratic-constitutional petty bourgeois, whose main aim during the previous movement was the establishment of a more or less democratic federal state as striven for by their representatives, the Lefts in the Frankfurt Assembly, and later by the Stuttgart parliament,[222] and by themselves in the campaign for the Imperial Constitution.

III. The republican petty bourgeois, whose ideal is a German federative republic after the manner of Switzerland, and who now call themselves red and social-democratic because they cherish the pious wish of abolishing the pressure of big capital on small capital, of the big bourgeois on the petty bourgeois. The representatives of this faction were the members of the democratic congresses and committees, the leaders of the democratic associations, the editors of the democratic newspapers.

Now, after their defeat, all these factions call themselves republicans or reds, just as the republican petty bourgeois in France now call themselves socialists. Where, as in Württemberg, Bavaria, etc., they still find opportunity to pursue their aims constitutionally, they seize the occasion to retain their old phrases and to prove by deeds that they have not changed in the least. It is evident, incidentally, that the altered name of this party does not make the slightest difference to its attitude to the workers, but merely proves that it is now obliged to turn against the bourgeoisie, which is united with absolutism, and to seek the support of the proletariat.

The petty-bourgeois democratic party in Germany is very

powerful; it comprises not only the great majority of the burgher inhabitants of the towns, the small people in industry and trade and the master craftsmen; it numbers among its followers also the peasants and the rural proletariat, insofar as the latter has not yet found a support in the independent urban proletariat.

The relation of the revolutionary workers' party to the petty-bourgeois democrats is this: it marches together with them against the faction which it aims at overthrowing, it opposes them in everything by which they seek to consolidate their position in their own interests.

Far from desiring to transform the whole of society for the revolutionary proletarians, the democratic petty bourgeois strive for a change in social conditions by means of which the existing society will be made as tolerable and comfortable as possible for them. Hence they demand above all a diminution of state expenditure by curtailing the bureaucracy and shifting the bulk of the taxes on to the big landowners and bourgeois. Further, they demand the abolition of the pressure of big capital on small, through public credit institutions and laws against usury, by which means it will be possible for them and the peasants to obtain advances on favourable conditions from the state instead of from the capitalists; they also demand the establishment of bourgeois property relations in the countryside by the complete abolition of feudalism. To accomplish all this they need a democratic state structure, either constitutional or republican, that will give them and their allies, the peasants, a majority; also a democratic communal structure that will give them direct control over communal property, and a number of functions now performed by the bureaucrats.

The domination and speedy increase of capital is further to be counteracted partly by restricting the right of inheritance and partly by transferring as many jobs of work as possible to the state. As far as the workers are concerned, it is certain above all that they are to remain wage-workers as before; the democratic petty bourgeois only desire better wages and a more secure existence for the workers and hope to achieve this through partial employment by the state and through charity measures; in short, they hope to bribe the workers by more or less concealed alms and to sap their revolutionary vigour by making their position tolerable for the moment. The demands of the petty-bourgeois democrats here summarised are not put forward by all of their factions and only very few of their members consider these demands in their aggregate as a definite aim. The further individual people or factions among them go, the more of these demands will they make their own, and those few who see their own

programme in what has been outlined above would believe that thereby they have put forward the utmost that can be demanded from the revolution. But these demands can in no wise suffice for the party of the proletariat. While the democratic petty bourgeois wish to bring the revolution to a conclusion as quickly as possible, and with the achievement, at most, of the above demands, it is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent, until all more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance, the proletariat has conquered state power, and the association of proletarians, not only in one country but in all the dominant countries of the world, has advanced so far that competition among the proletarians in these countries has ceased and that at least the decisive productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians. For us the issue cannot be the alteration of private property but only its annihilation, not the smoothing over of class antagonisms but the abolition of classes, not the improvement of the existing society but the foundation of a new one. That, during the further development of the revolution, petty-bourgeois democracy will for a moment obtain predominating influence in Germany is not open to doubt. The question, therefore, is what the attitude of the proletariat and in particular of the League will be in relation to it:

1. during the continuance of the present relations, under which the petty-bourgeois democrats are likewise oppressed;
2. in the next revolutionary struggle, which will give them the upper hand;
3. after this struggle, during the period of preponderance over the overthrown classes and the proletariat.

1. At the present moment, when the democratic petty bourgeois are everywhere oppressed, they preach in general unity and reconciliation to the proletariat, they offer it their hand and strive for the establishment of a large opposition party which will embrace all shades of opinion in the democratic party, that is, they strive to entangle the workers in a party organisation in which general social-democratic phrases predominate, and serve to conceal their special interests, and in which the definite demands of the proletariat must not be brought forward for the sake of beloved peace. Such a union would turn out solely to their advantage and altogether to the disadvantage of the proletariat. The proletariat would lose its whole independent, laboriously achieved position and once more be reduced to an appendage of official bourgeois democracy. This union must, therefore, be most decisively rejected. Instead of once again stooping to serve as the applauding chorus of the bourgeois

democrats, the workers, and above all the League, must exert themselves to establish an independent secret and public organisation of the workers' party alongside the official democrats and make each community the central point and nucleus of workers' associations in which the attitude and interests of the proletariat will be discussed independently of bourgeois influences. How far the bourgeois democrats are from seriously considering an alliance in which the proletarians would stand side by side with them with equal power and equal rights is shown, for example, by the Breslau democrats who, in their organ, the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, most furiously attack the independently organised workers, whom they style socialists. In the case of a struggle against a common adversary no special union is required. As soon as such an adversary has to be fought directly, the interests of both parties, for the moment, coincide, and, as previously so also in the future, this alliance, calculated to last only for the moment, will come about of itself. It is self-evident that in the impending bloody conflicts, as in all earlier ones, it is the workers who, in the main, will have to win the victory by their courage, determination and self-sacrifice. As previously so also in this struggle, the mass of the petty bourgeois will as long as possible remain hesitant, undecided and inactive, and then, as soon as the issue has been decided, will seize the victory for themselves, will call upon the workers to maintain tranquillity and return to their work, will guard against so-called excesses and bar the proletariat from the fruits of victory. It is not in the power of the workers to prevent the petty-bourgeois democrats from doing this, but it is in their power to make it difficult for them to gain the upper hand as against the armed proletariat, and to dictate such conditions to them that the rule of the bourgeois democrats will from the outset bear within it the seeds of its downfall, and that its subsequent extrusion by the rule of the proletariat will be considerably facilitated. Above all things, the workers must counteract, as much as is at all possible, during the conflict and immediately after the struggle, the bourgeois endeavours to allay the storm, and must compel the democrats to carry out their present terrorist phrases. They must work to prevent the direct revolutionary excitement from being suppressed again immediately after the victory. On the contrary, they must keep it alive as long as possible. Far from opposing so-called excesses, instances of popular revenge against hated individuals or public buildings that are associated only with hateful recollections, such instances must not only be tolerated but the lead in them must be taken. During the struggle and after the struggle, the workers must, at every opportunity, put forward their own demands alongside the

demands of the bourgeois democrats. They must demand guarantees for the workers as soon as the democratic bourgeois set about taking the government into their hands. If necessary they must wring these guarantees by force and in general they must see to it that the new rulers pledge themselves to all possible concessions and promises—the surest way to compromise them. In general, they must in every way restrain as far as possible the intoxication of victory and the enthusiasm for the new state of things which follows every victorious street battle by a calm and dispassionate assessment of the situation and by unconcealed mistrust in the new government. Alongside the new official governments they must immediately establish their own revolutionary workers' governments, whether in the form of municipal committees and municipal councils or in the form of workers' clubs or workers' committees, so that the bourgeois-democratic governments not only immediately lose the support of the workers but from the outset see themselves supervised and threatened by authorities backed by the whole mass of the workers. In a word, from the first moment of victory, mistrust must be directed no longer against the defeated reactionary party, but against the workers' previous allies, against the party that wishes to exploit the common victory for itself alone.

2. But in order to be able energetically and threateningly to oppose this party, whose treachery to the workers will begin from the first hour of victory, the workers must be armed and organised. The arming of the whole proletariat with rifles, muskets, cannon and ammunition must be carried out at once, the revival of the old civic militia directed against the workers must be resisted. However, where the latter is not feasible the workers must try to organise themselves independently as a proletarian guard with commanders elected by themselves and with a general staff of their own choosing, and to put themselves under the command not of the state authority but of the revolutionary municipal councils set up by the workers. Where workers are employed at the expense of the state they must see that they are armed and organised in a separate corps with commanders of their own choosing or as part of the proletarian guard. Arms and ammunition must not be surrendered on any pretext; any attempt at disarming must be frustrated, if necessary, by force. Destruction of the influence of the bourgeois democrats upon the workers, immediate independent and armed organisation of the workers and the enforcement of conditions as difficult and compromising as possible for the inevitable momentary rule of bourgeois democracy—these are the main points which the prole-

tariat and hence the League must keep in view during and after the impending insurrection.

3. As soon as the new governments have consolidated their positions to some extent, their struggle against the workers will begin. Here in order to be able to offer energetic opposition to the democratic petty bourgeois, it is above all necessary for the workers to be independently organised and centralised in clubs. After the overthrow of the existing governments, the Central Authority will, as soon as at all possible, betake itself to Germany, immediately convene a congress and put before it the necessary proposals for the centralisation of the workers' clubs under a leadership established in the chief seat of the movement. The speedy organisation of at least a provincial association of the workers' clubs is one of the most important points for strengthening and developing the workers' party; the immediate consequence of the overthrow of the existing governments will be the election of a national representative assembly. Here the proletariat must see to it:

I. that no groups of workers are barred on any pretext by any kind of trickery on the part of local authorities or government commissaries;

II. that everywhere workers' candidates are put up alongside the bourgeois-democratic candidates, that they are as far as possible members of the League, and that their election is promoted by all possible means. Even where there is no prospect whatever of their being elected, the workers must put up their own candidates in order to preserve their independence, to count their forces and to lay before the public their revolutionary attitude and party standpoint. In this connection they must not allow themselves to be bribed by such arguments of the democrats as, for example, that by so doing they are splitting the democratic party and giving the reactionaries the possibility of victory. The ultimate purpose of all such phrases is to dupe the proletariat. The advance which the proletarian party is bound to make by such independent action is infinitely more important than the disadvantage that might be incurred by the presence of a few reactionaries in the representative body. If from the outset the democrats come out resolutely and terroristically against the reactionaries, the influence of the latter in the elections will be destroyed in advance.

The first point on which the bourgeois democrats will come into conflict with the workers will be the abolition of feudalism. As in the first French Revolution, the petty bourgeois will give the feudal lands to the peasants as free property, that is to say, try to leave the rural proletariat in existence and form a petty-bourgeois peasant class,

which will go through the same cycle of impoverishment and indebtedness which the French peasant is now still caught in.

The workers must oppose this plan in the interest of the rural proletariat and in their own interest. They must demand that the confiscated feudal property remain state property and be converted into workers' colonies cultivated by the associated rural proletariat with all the advantages of large-scale agriculture, through which the principle of common property immediately obtains a firm basis in the midst of the tottering bourgeois property relations. Just as the democrats combine with the peasants so must the workers combine with the rural proletariat.[223] Further, the democrats will work either directly for a federative republic or, if they cannot avoid a single and indivisible republic, they will at least attempt to cripple the central government by the utmost possible autonomy and independence for the communities and provinces. The workers, in opposition to this plan, must not only strive for a single and indivisible German republic, but also within this republic for the most determined centralisation of power in the hands of the state authority. They must not allow themselves to be misguided by the democratic talk of freedom for the communities, of self-government, etc. In a country like Germany, where there are still so many remnants of the Middle Ages to be abolished, where there is so much local and provincial obstinacy to be broken, it must under no circumstances be permitted that every village, every town and every province should put a new obstacle in the path of revolutionary activity, which can proceed with full force only from the centre.—It is not to be tolerated that the present state of affairs should be renewed, that Germans must fight separately in every town and in every province for one and the same advance. Least of all is it to be tolerated that a form of property which still lags behind modern private property and everywhere is necessarily disintegrating into it—that communal property with the quarrels between poor and rich communities resulting from it, as well as communal civil law, with its trickery against the workers, which exists alongside state civil law, should be perpetuated by a so-called free communal constitution. As in France in 1793 so today in Germany, it is the task of the really revolutionary party to carry through the strictest centralisation.*

* It must be recalled today that this passage is based on a misunderstanding. At that time—thanks to the Bonapartist and liberal falsifiers of history—it was considered as established that the French centralised machine of administration had been introduced by the Great Revolution and in particular that it had been used by the Convention as an indispensable and decisive weapon for defeating the royalist and

We have seen how the democrats will come to power with the next movement, how they will be compelled to propose more or less socialist measures. It will be asked what measures the workers ought to propose in reply. At the beginning of the movement, of course, the workers cannot yet propose any directly communist measures. But they can:

1. Compel the democrats to interfere in as many spheres as possible of the hitherto existing social order, to disturb its regular course and to compromise themselves as well as to concentrate the utmost possible productive forces, means of transport, factories, railways, etc., in the hands of the state.

2. They must carry to the extreme the proposals of the democrats, who in any case will not act in a revolutionary but in a merely reformist manner, and transform them into direct attacks upon private property; thus, for example, if the petty bourgeois propose purchase of the railways and factories, the workers must demand that these railways and factories should be simply confiscated by the state without compensation as being the property of reactionaries. If the democrats propose proportional taxation, the workers must demand progressive taxation; if the democrats themselves put forward a moderately progressive taxation, the workers must insist on a taxation with rates that rise so steeply that big capital will be ruined by it; if the democrats demand the regulation of state debts, the workers must demand state bankruptcy. Thus, the demands of the workers must everywhere be governed by the concessions and measures of the democrats.

If the German workers are not able to attain power and achieve their own class interests without completely going through a lengthy revolutionary development, they at least know for a certainty this time that the first act of this approaching revolutionary drama will

federalist reaction and the external enemy. It is now, however, a well-known fact that throughout the revolution up to the eighteenth Brumaire the whole administration of the *départements, arrondissements* and *communes* consisted of authorities elected by the respective constituents themselves, and that these authorities acted with complete freedom within the general state laws; that precisely this provincial and local self-government, similar to the American, became the most powerful lever of the revolution and indeed to such an extent that Napoleon, immediately after his coup d'état of the eighteenth Brumaire, hastened to replace it by the still existing administration by prefects, which, therefore, was a pure instrument of reaction from the beginning. But no more than local and provincial self-government is in contradiction to political, national centralisation, is it necessarily bound up with that narrow-minded cantonal or communal self-seeking which strikes us as so repulsive in Switzerland, and which all the South German federal republicans wanted to make the rule in Germany in 1849.—*Note by Engels to the 1885 edition.*

coincide with the direct victory of their own class in France and will be very much accelerated by it.

But they themselves must do the utmost for their final victory by making it clear to themselves what their class interests are, by taking up their position as an independent party as soon as possible and by not allowing themselves to be misled for a single moment by the hypocritical phrases of the democratic petty bourgeois into refraining from the independent organisation of the party of the proletariat. Their battle cry must be: The Revolution in Permanence.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE ENGLISH TEN HOURS' BILL[224]

The workers of England have suffered a significant defeat, and from a direction from which they had least expected it. A few weeks ago the Court of Exchequer, one of the four highest courts of law in England, pronounced a judgment by which the main provisions of the Ten Hours' Bill enacted in 1847 are as good as abolished.[225]

The history of the Ten Hours' Bill provides a striking example of the peculiar mode of development of class antagonisms in England and therefore deserves closer investigation.

We know how, with the rise of large-scale industry, there arose a quite new and infinitely callous exploitation of the working class by the factory owners. The new machines rendered the labour of grown men superfluous; their supervision demanded women and children, who were much more suited to this occupation than the men and simultaneously cheaper to employ. Thus industrial exploitation at once took possession of the whole of the worker's family and locked it up in the factory; women and children had to work day and night without a break until they were overcome by utter physical exhaustion. The pauper children of the workhouses[a] became a regular article of trade with the growing demand for children; four-year-olds and even three-year-olds were auctioned off by the score in the form of apprenticeship contracts to the highest bidding manufacturers. The callously brutal exploitation of children and women at that time—an exploitation which did not let up so long as there was a muscle, a sinew or a drop of blood left to extract profit from—still remains a vivid memory for the older generation of English workers, and not a few of them bear this memory in the form

[a] Engels uses the English word.—*Ed.*

Unser Freund Louis Ménard, Verfasser des Buches „Prologue d'une révolution" hat uns das folgende, gleich nach den Juni-Metzeleien von 1848 geschriebene Gedicht zur Aufnahme mitgetheilt:

## *Jambes.*

Quand le jour esperé, le jour inévitable
des justes expiations
Viendra pour balayer une race coupable
au vent des révolutions;

Alors, tous les pleureurs qui parlent de clémence,
Ceux à qui le bourreau fait peur,
Ceux pour qui la justice est colère et vengeance,
le crime faiblesse et malheur,

Reviendront nous crier que la peine est impie,
qu'il faut pardonner, non punir,
Et, quand le sang versé veut du sang qui l'expie,
on parlera de repentir.

Déesse qu'invoquaient les siècles forts et rudes,
par qui tout meurtre était vengé,
O Samte Némésis, vois nos décrépitudes,
ton glaive en férule est changé



A page from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* with verses by Louis Ménard. The introduction by Marx and Engels says: "Our friend Louis Ménard, author of the book *Prologue d'une révolution*, has sent us the following verses, which he wrote in the wake of the June 1848 events."

of a crooked spine or a mutilated limb, and they all bear their thoroughly ruined health with them wherever they go. The fate of the slaves in the worst of the American plantations was golden in comparison with that of the English workers in that period.

Very soon measures had to be taken by the state to curb the manufacturers' utterly ruthless frenzy for exploitation, which was trampling all the requirements of civilised society underfoot. These first legal restrictions were, however, extremely inadequate and were soon circumvented. Only half a century after the introduction of large-scale industry, when the stream of industrial development had found a regular course for itself, only in 1833 was it possible to bring in an effective law that to some extent curbed at least the most blatant excesses.

As early as the beginning of this century a party had been formed under the leadership of a number of philanthropists which demanded the legal limitation of labour time in the factories to ten hours. This party, which, under Sadler in the twenties and after his death under the leadership of Lord Ashley and R. Oastler, continued its agitation up to the actual passing of the Ten Hours' Bill, gradually united under its banner, besides the workers themselves, the aristocracy and all the factions of the bourgeoisie hostile to the manufacturers. This association of the workers with the most heterogeneous and reactionary elements of English society made it necessary for the Ten Hours agitation to be pursued quite separately from the revolutionary agitation of the workers. It is true that the Chartists were for the Ten Hours' Bill to the last man; they were the mass, the chorus, in all the Ten Hours meetings; they made their press available to the Ten Hours Committee. But not a single Chartist agitated officially in conjunction with the aristocratic or bourgeois Ten Hours men, or sat on the Short Time Committee[a] in Manchester. This Committee was exclusively composed of workers and factory overseers. But these workers were completely broken, exhausted by work, placid, god-fearing, respectable folk who felt a pious abhorrence towards Chartism and socialism, who held throne and altar in due respect and who, too crushed to hate the industrial bourgeoisie, only retained the capacity for humble veneration of the aristocracy, which at least deigned to interest itself in their misery. The working-class Toryism of these Ten Hours people was the echo of that first opposition of the workers to industrial progress which attempted to restore the old patriarchal situation and whose most

[a] In the original the name of the Committee is given in German (*Zehnstundenkomitee*), and the English term is given in parenthesis.—*Ed.*

energetic manifestations of life did not go beyond the smashing of machines. Just as reactionary as these workers were the bourgeois and aristocratic chiefs of the Ten Hours party. They were without exception sentimental Tories, for the most part romantic ideologues revelling in the memory of vanished, patriarchal forms of hole-and-corner exploitation with their train of religiosity, domesticity, virtue and narrow-mindedness, and with their stable, traditionally inherited ways. One look at the revolutionary maelstrom of industry and their narrow skulls were seized with dizziness. Their petty-bourgeois frame of mind was horrified in the presence of these new forces of production shooting up with magical suddenness, flushing away in a few years the hitherto most venerable, most inviolable, most essential classes of society and replacing them with new, hitherto unknown classes whose interests, whose sympathies and whose whole way of living and thinking stood in contradiction to the institutions of the old English society. These soft-hearted ideologues did not fail to take the field from the standpoint of morality, humanity and compassion against the pitiless harshness and ruthlessness with which this process of upheaval asserted itself, and to oppose to it as their social ideal the stability, the stagnant comfort and moral complacency of dying patriarchalism.

Whenever the Ten Hours question attracted public attention these elements were joined by all sections of society whose interests were suffering and whose existence was being threatened by the industrial upheaval. The bankers, stockjobbers,[a] shipowners and merchants, the landed aristocracy, the big West Indian landowners and the petty bourgeoisie joined forces more and more at such times under the leadership of the Ten Hours agitators.

The Ten Hours' Bill provided splendid terrain for these reactionary classes and factions to combine with the proletariat against the industrial bourgeoisie. While significantly restricting the rapid development of the wealth, the influence, and the social and political power of the manufacturers, it gave the workers merely material, indeed exclusively physical advantages. It protected their health from being too rapidly ruined. But it gave them nothing which could make them dangerous to their reactionary allies; it neither gave them political power nor altered their social position as wage-labourers. On the contrary, the Ten Hours agitation kept the workers still under the influence and partly under the leadership of these propertied allies of theirs, which they had been more and more striving to draw away from since the Reform Bill[226] and the rise of

[a] Engels uses the English word.—*Ed.*

the Chartist agitation. It was quite natural, especially at the start of the industrial upheaval, that the workers, who were in direct conflict only with the industrial bourgeoisie, should ally themselves with the aristocracy and the other factions of the bourgeoisie by whom they were not directly exploited and who were also struggling against the industrial bourgeoisie. But this alliance adulterated the labour movement with a strong reactionary admixture which is only gradually disappearing; it reinforced significantly the reactionary element within the labour movement—those workers whose trade still belongs to manufacture and is thus itself threatened by industrial progress, like for instance the handweavers.

It was thus a piece of good fortune for the workers that in the confused period of 1847, when all the old parliamentary parties were dissolved and the new ones had not yet taken shape, the Ten Hours' Bill was finally passed. It was passed in a series of most confused votes, directed apparently only by chance, in which no party voted compactly and consistently except the decidedly Free Trade manufacturers on the one hand and the fanatically protectionist landowners on the other. It got through as a piece of chicanery that the aristocrats and a faction of the Peelites and the Whigs put over on the manufacturers to avenge themselves for the great victory which these had wrested from them in the repeal of the Corn Laws.[227]

The Ten Hours' Bill not only gave the workers the satisfaction of an indispensable physical need, by protecting their health to some extent from the manufacturers' frenzy for exploitation, it also liberated the workers from their alliance with the sentimental dreamers, from their solidarity with all the reactionary classes of England. The patriarchal drivel of an Oastler, or the moving assurances of sympathy from a Lord Ashley could find no more listeners once the Ten Hours' Bill ceased to provide point to these tirades. Only now did the labour movement concentrate wholly on achieving the political rule of the proletariat as the prime means of transforming the whole of existing society. And here it was faced by the aristocracy and the reactionary factions of the bourgeoisie, only shortly before still the allies of the workers, as so many raging enemies, as so many allies of the industrial bourgeoisie.

Thanks to the industrial revolution, industry, by which England conquered the world market and held it in subjugation, had become the decisive branch of production for England. England stood and fell with industry, rose and declined with its fluctuations. With the decisive influence of industry, the industrial bourgeoisie, the manufacturers, became the decisive class in English society, and the

political rule of the industrialists, the removal of all social and political institutions standing in the way of the development of large-scale industry became a necessity. The industrial bourgeoisie got down to the task. The history of England from 1830 until now is the history of the victories which it has one after the other achieved over its united reactionary opponents.

Whereas the July Revolution in France brought the finance aristocracy to power, the Reform Bill in England, which was carried immediately afterwards in 1832, marked the fall of the finance aristocracy. The Bank, the creditors of the national debt and the stock-exchange speculators, in a word the money-dealers to whom the aristocracy was deeply in debt, had hitherto held almost exclusive sway in England under the brightly chequered mantle of the electoral monopoly. The further large-scale industry and world trade developed, the more intolerable their rule became, despite individual concessions. The alliance of all other factions of the bourgeoisie with the English proletariat and the Irish peasantry toppled them. The people threatened a revolution, the bourgeoisie gave the Bank its notes back *en masse* and brought it to the brink of bankruptcy. The finance aristocracy yielded at the right moment; its flexibility saved England from a February Revolution.

The Reform Bill gave all the propertied classes of the country, right down to the smallest shopkeeper, a share in political power. All the factions of the bourgeoisie were thus given a legal ground on which they could establish their claims and assert their power. The same struggles of the individual factions of the bourgeoisie among themselves which have been fought out under the Republic in France since the June victory of 1848,[a] have in England been fought out in Parliament since the Reform Bill. It goes without saying that the conditions being quite different the consequences in the two countries are also different.

The industrial bourgeoisie, once it had conquered the terrain for parliamentary struggle with the Reform Bill, could not help gaining victory upon victory. The aristocratic appendages of the financiers were sacrificed to it in the limitation of sinecures, the paupers in the Poor Law of 1833,[228] and the tax exemption of the financiers and landowners in the tariff reductions and the introduction of income tax. With the victories of the industrialists the number of their vassals increased. Wholesale and retail trade became their tributaries. London and Liverpool fell to their knees before Free Trade, the

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[a] The reference is to the suppression of the June insurrection of the Paris proletariat.— *Ed.*

Messiah of the industrialists. But with their victories their requirements and their demands also grew.

Modern large-scale industry can only exist provided it expands incessantly, continually conquers new markets. The boundless facility of production on the most massive scale, the unceasing development and improvement of machinery, and the consequent uninterrupted displacement of capital and labour power, force it to do so. Any stoppage here can only mean the beginning of ruin. But the expansion of industry is conditioned by the expansion of markets. And since industry at its present level of development increases its forces of production at a rate disproportionately faster than that at which it can increase its markets, there arise periodical crises in which, due to the excess of means of production and products, circulation in the commercial body suddenly comes to a standstill and industry and trade are almost totally immobilised until the glut of products has found an outlet in new channels. England is the focus of these crises, whose crippling effects unfailingly reach into the most distant, most obscure corners of the world market, and everywhere drag a significant part of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie down into ruin. From such crises, which moreover bring home most tangibly to every section of English society its dependence on the manufacturers, there is only one means of escape: expanding markets, either by conquering new ones or by exploiting the old ones more thoroughly. Apart from the few exceptional cases, like China in 1842, in which a hitherto stubbornly closed market is burst open by force of arms,[229] there is only one means of opening up new markets and exploiting old ones more thoroughly by industrial methods—by cheaper prices, that is, by reducing production costs. Production costs are reduced by new and more highly perfected modes of production, by cutting profit or by cutting wages. But the introduction of more highly perfected modes of production cannot provide a way out of the crisis since it increases production and thus itself makes new markets necessary. There can be no question of reducing profit in a crisis when everyone is glad to sell even at a loss. The same goes for wages, which are furthermore, like profit, determined by laws that are independent of the will or the intentions of the manufacturers. And yet wages form the principal component of the production costs, and their permanent reduction is the only means of expanding markets and escaping from the crisis. Wages will fall, however, if the workers' necessities of life are produced more cheaply. But in England the cost of the workers' necessities of life was raised by the protective tariffs on corn, English colonial products, etc., and by indirect taxes.

Hence the stubborn, vigorous and universal agitation by the industrialists for Free Trade and particularly for the abolition of the corn tariffs. Hence the characteristic fact that since 1842 every crisis in trade and industry has brought them a fresh victory. With the abolition of the corn tariffs the English landowners were sacrificed to the industrialists, with the abolition of the differential tariffs on sugar, etc., the landowners in the colonies, with the abolition of the Navigation Acts[230] the shipowners. At the present moment they are agitating for limitation of state expenditure and a reduction of taxes, as well as for the admission to the franchise of that section of the workers which offers the surest guarantees. They wish to draw new allies into Parliament in order to conquer so much the more quickly direct political power for themselves, by means of which alone they can get rid of the traditional appendages of the English state machine, now emptied of meaning but very expensive, the aristocracy, the Church, the sinecures and the semi-feudal system of jurisprudence. Undoubtedly the new trade crisis, which is now imminent, and which to all appearances will coincide with new and great collisions on the Continent, will bring with it at least this step forward in England's development.

In the midst of these uninterrupted victories of the industrial bourgeoisie, the reactionary factions succeeded in forging the chains of the Ten Hours' Bill for it. The Ten Hours' Bill was passed at a moment of neither prosperity nor crisis, in one of those in-between periods in which industry is still labouring sufficiently under the consequences of over-production to be able to set only a part of its resources in motion, in which the manufacturers themselves therefore do not allow full-time working. At such a juncture, when the Ten Hours' Bill limited competition among the manufacturers themselves, and only at such a juncture could it be tolerated. But this juncture soon gave way to renewed prosperity. The empty markets demanded new supplies; speculation rose again and doubled demand; the manufacturers were unable to work their factories hard enough. The Ten Hours' Bill now became an intolerable fetter upon industry, which now more than ever needed the most complete independence and the most unrestricted disposal of all its resources. What would become of the industrialists during the next crisis if they were not permitted to exploit the brief period of prosperity with all their might? The Ten Hours' Bill had to succumb. If the strength to revoke it in Parliament was lacking, then ways had to be found for getting round it.

The Ten Hours' Bill limited the labour time of young people under the age of eighteen and of all female workers to ten hours

daily. Since these and children are the decisive categories of workers in the factories, the necessary consequence was that the factories were able to work only ten hours daily. The manufacturers, however, when the boom made an increase in the labour time a necessity for them, found a way out. As hitherto with children under fourteen, whose labour time is even more restricted, they engaged a few more women and young people than before for assistance and replacement. In this way they could make their factories and their adult workers work thirteen, fourteen or fifteen hours at a stretch, without a single individual covered by the Ten Hours' Bill working more than ten hours daily. This conflicted partially with the letter of the law, but it conflicted still more with the spirit of the law and the intention of the legislators; the factory inspectors complained, the justices of the peace were divided and gave contradictory judgments. The higher the level of prosperity the more loudly the industrialists protested against the Ten Hours' Bill and against the interventions of the factory inspectors. The Home Secretary, Sir George Grey, ordered the inspectors to tolerate the relay or shift system.[a] But many of them, with the support of the law, did not allow themselves to be deterred by this. Finally a sensational case was taken right up to the Court of Exchequer, and this court pronounced for the manufacturers. With this decision the Ten Hours' Bill has been abolished in practice, and the manufacturers have once again become the complete masters of their factories; in time of crisis they are able to work two, three or six hours, and in time of prosperity thirteen to fifteen hours, and the factory inspector no longer has any right to interfere.

If the Ten Hours' Bill was advocated mainly by reactionaries and carried exclusively by reactionary classes, we can see here that in the mode in which it was carried it was a thoroughly reactionary measure. England's whole social development is bound up with the development, the progress of industry. All institutions which inhibit this progress, which limit it or wish to regulate and rule it according to extraneous standards, are reactionary, untenable, and must succumb to it. The revolutionary force which has made child's play of dealing with the whole patriarchal society of old England, with the aristocracy and the finance bourgeoisie, will indeed not permit itself to be dammed up within the moderate course of the Ten Hours' Bill. All the attempts of Lord Ashley and his comrades to restore the fallen Bill by means of an authentic interpretation will be

[a] Here Engels uses the German word *Ablösungssystem* and, in parenthesis, the corresponding English words: "relay" and "shift system".—*Ed.*

unproductive or, in the most favourable case, will only achieve an ephemeral and delusive result.

And nevertheless the Ten Hours' Bill is indispensable for the workers. It is a physical necessity for them. Without the Ten Hours' Bill this whole generation of English workers will be physically ruined. But there is a vast difference between the Ten Hours' Bill demanded by the workers today and the Ten Hours' Bill which was propagated by Sadler, Oastler and Ashley and passed by the reactionary coalition in 1847. The workers have learnt the value of an alliance with reaction from the brief existence of the Bill, from its easy annihilation—a simple court decision, not even an Act of Parliament, was all that was needed to annul it—and from the subsequent behaviour of their reactionary former allies. They have learnt the use of passing separate partial measures against the industrial bourgeoisie. They have learnt that the bourgeois industrialists are still in the first instance the class which alone is capable of marching at the head of the movement at the present moment, and that it would be a vain task to work against them in this progressive mission. For this reason, in spite of their direct and not in the least dormant hostility towards the industrialists, the workers are now much more inclined to support them in their agitation for the complete implementation of Free Trade, financial reform and extension of the franchise, than to allow themselves to be decoyed once again by philanthropic allurements to the banner of the united reactionaries. They feel that their day can only come when the industrialists have worn themselves out, and hence their instinct is correct in hastening the process of development which will give the industrialists power and thus prepare their fall. But because of this they do not forget that in the industrialists they are bringing to power their own direct enemies, and that they can achieve their own liberation only through toppling the industrialists and conquering political power for themselves. The annulment of the Ten Hours' Bill has once more proved this to them in the most striking fashion. The restoration of this Bill can only have any significance now under the rule of universal franchise, and universal franchise in an England two-thirds of whose inhabitants are industrial proletarians means the exclusive political rule of the working class with all the revolutionary changes in social conditions which are inseparable from it. The Ten Hours' Bill demanded by the workers today is thus quite different from the one which has just been overruled by the Court of Exchequer. It is no longer an isolated attempt to cripple industrial development, it is a link in a long chain of measures which will revolutionise the whole of the present form of society and

gradually destroy the class antagonisms which have hitherto existed; it is not a reactionary measure, but a revolutionary one.

The *de facto* suspension of the Ten Hours' Bill, in the first instance by the manufacturers on their own initiative and then by the Court of Exchequer, has above all contributed to shortening the period of prosperity and hastening the crisis. Whatever hastens crises, however, simultaneously hastens the pace of development in England and its next goal, the overthrow of the industrial bourgeoisie by the industrial proletariat. The means available to the industrialists for expanding their markets and averting crises are very limited. Cobden's reduction of state expenditure is either mere Whiggish jargon[a] or equals, even if it should only help for a moment, a complete revolution. And if it is executed in the most extensive and most revolutionary fashion—as far as the English industrialists can be revolutionary—then how will the next crisis be met? It is evident that the English industrialists, whose means of production have a power of expansion incomparably superior to that of their outlets, are rapidly approaching the point where their expedients will be exhausted and where the period of prosperity which now still divides every crisis from its successor will disappear completely under the weight of the excessively increased forces of production; where the only thing still separating the crises will be brief periods of a dull, half-comatose industrial activity and where industry, trade and the whole of modern society must necessarily perish from a superfluity of unusable life force on the one hand and total emaciation on the other, if this abnormal situation did not bear within itself its own remedy and the development of industry had not simultaneously engendered the class which alone can assume the leadership of society—the proletariat. The proletarian revolution will then be inevitable, and its victory certain.

This is the regular, normal course of events, produced, with a necessity which cannot be averted, by the totality of the present conditions of society in England. It will soon be seen to what extent this normal process may be shortened by collisions on the Continent and revolutionary upsurges in England.

And the Ten Hours' Bill?

From the moment the limits of the world market itself become too narrow for the full unfolding of all the resources of modern industry, when the latter requires a social revolution to regain free scope for its energies—from this moment on the limitation of labour

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[a] In the copy of the journal with Engels' corrections the word *Whigsphrase* (Whig phrase) is substituted for the word *Whigsprache* (Whiggish jargon).—*Ed.*

time is no longer reactionary, it is no longer a brake on industry. On the contrary, it will be introduced quite of its own accord. The first consequence of the proletarian revolution in England will be the centralisation of large-scale industry in the hands of the state, that is, the ruling proletariat, and with the centralisation of industry all the conditions of competition, which nowadays bring the regulation of labour time into conflict with the progress of industry, fall away. And thus the only solution to the Ten Hours question, as to every question depending on the antagonism between capital and wage labour, lies in the *proletarian revolution.*

Written in March 1850

Printed according to the journal

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Signed: *Frederick Engels*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [REVIEWS FROM THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG. POLITISCH-ÖKONOMISCHE REVUE* No. 4, April 1850][231]

### I

### *LATTER-DAY PAMPHLETS*, EDITED BY THOMAS CARLYLE— No. I, *THE PRESENT TIME*, No. II, *MODEL PRISONS*— LONDON, 1850[232]

Thomas Carlyle is the only English writer on whom German literature has exercised a direct and particularly significant influence. Courtesy at the very least demands that a German should not let his writings pass without notice.

The latest publication by Guizot (No. 2 of the *N. Rh. Z.*[a]) has shown us that the intellectual powers of the bourgeoisie are in a process of decline. In the present two pamphlets by Carlyle we witness the decline of literary genius in historical struggles which have reached a point of crisis and against which it attempts to assert its unrecognised, direct, prophetic inspirations.

To Thomas Carlyle belongs the credit of having taken the literary field against the bourgeoisie at a time when its views, tastes and ideas held the whole of official English literature totally in thrall, and in a manner which is at times even revolutionary. For example, in his history of the French Revolution, in his apology for Cromwell, in the pamphlet on Chartism and in *Past and Present*.[b] But in all these writings the critique of the present is closely bound up with a strangely unhistorical apotheosis of the Middle Ages, which is a frequent characteristic of other English revolutionaries too, for instance Cobbett and a section of the Chartists. Whilst he at least admires in the past the classical periods of a specific stage of society, the present drives him to despair and he shudders at the thought of

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[a] See this volume, pp. 251-56.— *Ed.*

[b] Th. Carlyle, *The French Revolution: A History*, Vols. 1-3, London, 1837; *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, Vols. 1-2, London, 1845; *Chartism*, London, 1840; *Past and Present*, London, 1843.— *Ed.*

the future. Where he recognises the revolution, or indeed apotheosises it, in his eyes it becomes concentrated in a single individual, a Cromwell or a Danton. He pays them the same hero-worship that he preached in his *Lectures on Heroes and Hero-Worship*[a] as the only refuge from a present pregnant with despair, as a new religion.

Carlyle's style is at one with his ideas. It is a direct violent reaction against the modern bourgeois English Pecksniffery, whose enervated affectedness, circumspect verbosity and vague, sentimentally moral tediousness has spread from the original inventors, the educated Cockneys, to the whole of English literature. In comparison, Carlyle treated the English language as though it were completely raw material which he had to cast utterly afresh. Obsolete expressions and words were sought out again and new ones invented, in the German manner and especially in the manner of Jean Paul. The new style was often in bad taste and hugely pretentious, but frequently brilliant and always original. In this respect too the *Latter-Day Pamphlets* represent a remarkable step backwards.

It is, incidentally, characteristic that out of the whole of German literature the mind that had the greatest influence on Carlyle was not Hegel but the literary apothecary Jean Paul.

In the cult of genius, which Carlyle shares with Strauss, the genius has got lost in the present pamphlets. The cult remains.

*The Present Time* begins with the statement that the present is the child of the past and the parent of the future, but quite apart from that is a *new era.*

The first manifestation of this new era is a *reforming* Pope. Gospel in hand, Pius IX set out to promulgate from the Vatican *"the Law of Veracity"* to Christendom.

"More than three hundred years ago, the throne of St. Peter received peremptory judicial notice [...] authentic order, registered in Heaven's chancery and since legible in the hearts of all brave men, to take itself away,—to begone, and let us have no more to do with it and its delusions and impious deliriums;—and it has been sitting every day since [...] at its own peril [...], and will have to pay exact damages yet for every day it has so sat. Law of veracity? What this Popedom had to do by the law of veracity, was to give up its own foul galvanic life, an offence to gods and men; honestly to die; and get itself buried! Far from this was the thing the poor Pope undertook [...];—and yet on the whole it was essentially this too. Reforming Pope? [...] Turgot and Necker were nothing to this. God is great; and when a scandal is to end, brings some devoted man to take charge of it in hope, not in despair!" (P. 3.)

With his manifestos of reform the Pope had aroused questions,

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[a] Th. Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, London, 1841.—*Ed.*

"mothers of the whirlwinds, conflagrations, earthquakes.... Questions which all official men wished, and mostly hoped, to postpone till Doomsday. Doomsday itself had come; that was the terrible truth". (P. 4.)

The law of veracity was proclaimed. The Sicilians

"were the first people that set about applying this new [...] rule sanctioned by the holy Father; [...] We do not by the law of veracity belong to Naples and these Neapolitan Officials; we will, by favour of Heaven and the Pope, be free of these".

Hence the Sicilian Revolution.

The French people, which considers itself as a kind of "Messiah people", as "the chosen soldiers of liberty", feared that the poor, despised Sicilians might take this trade[a] out of their hands—February Revolution. [Pp. 4-5.]

"As if by sympathetic subterranean electricities, all Europe exploded, boundless, uncontrollable; and we had the year 1848, one of the most singular, disastrous, amazing, and on the whole humiliating years the European world ever saw.... Kings everywhere, and reigning persons, stared in sudden horror, the voice of the whole world bellowing in their ear, 'Begone, ye imbecile hypocrites, histrios not heroes! Off with you, off!'—and, what was peculiar and heard of in this year for the first time, the Kings all made haste to go, as if exclaiming, 'We *are* poor histrios, we sure enough;—do you need heroes? Don't kill us; we couldn't help it!'—Not one of them turned round, and stood upon his Kingship, as upon a right he could afford to die for, or to risk his skin upon.... That, I repeat, is the alarming peculiarity at present. Democracy, on this new occasion, finds all Kings *conscious* that they are but Playactors. [...] They fled precipitately, some of them with what we may call an exquisite ignominy,—in terror of the treadmill or worse. And everywhere the people, or the populace, take their own government upon themselves; and open 'kinglessness',[b] what we call *anarchy*,—how happy if it be anarchy plus a street-constable!—is everywhere the order of the day. Such was the history, from Baltic to Mediterranean, in Italy, France, Prussia, Austria, from end to end of Europe, in those March days of 1848. [...] And so, then, there remained no King in Europe; no King except the Public Haranguer, haranguing on barrelhead, in leading article; or assembling with his like in the National Parliament. And for about four months all France, and to a great degree all Europe, rough-ridden by every species of delirium [...] was a weltering mob, presided over by M. de Lamartine at the Hôtel-de-Ville [....] A sorrowful spectacle to men of reflection, during the time he lasted, that poor M. de Lamartine; with nothing in him but melodious wind and soft sowder [....] Sad enough: the most eloquent latest impersonation of Chaos-come-again; able to talk for itself, and declare persuasively that it is Cosmos! However, you have but to wait a little, in such cases; all balloons [...] must give up their gas in the pressure of things, and are collapsed in a repulsively flabby manner before long." (Pp. 6-8.)

Who was it that kindled this universal revolution, the fuel for which was of course at hand?

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[a] The German word *Industriezweig* is used in the original and the corresponding English word "trade" is given in parenthesis.—*Ed.*

[b] The authors of the review use the word *Königslosigkeit* and give the English equivalent in parenthesis.—*Ed.*

"Students, young men of letters, advocates, newspaper writers, hot inexperienced enthusiasts, or fierce and justly bankrupt desperadoes [...]. Never till now did young men, and almost children, take such a command in human affairs. A changed time since the word Senior (Seigneur, or Elder) was first devised to signify lord or superior;—as in all languages of men we find it.... Looking more closely [...] you will find that the old has ceased to be venerable, and has begun to be contemptible; a foolish boy still, a boy without the graces, generosities and opulent strength of young boys [...]. This mad state of matters will of course before long allay itself, as it has everywhere begun to do; the ordinary necessities of men's daily existence cannot comport with it, and these, whatever else is cast aside, will go their way. Some remounting [...] of the old machine, under new colours and altered forms, will probably ensue soon in most countries: the old histrionic Kings will be admitted back under conditions, under Constitutions, with national Parliaments, or the like fashionable adjuncts; and everywhere the old daily life will try to begin again. But there is now no hope that such arrangements can be permanent [...]. In such baleful oscillation, afloat as amid raging bottomless eddies and conflicting sea-currents, not steadfast as on fixed foundations, must European Society continue swaying; now disastrously tumbling, then painfully readjusting itself, at ever shorter intervals,—till once the new *rock-basis* does come to light, and the weltering deluges of mutiny, and of need to mutiny, abate again!" (Pp. 8-10.)

So much for history, which even in this form offers the old world little comfort. Now for the moral.

"For *universal Democracy*, whatever we may think of it, is the inevitable fact of the days in which we live." (P. 10.)

What is democracy? It must have a meaning, or it would not exist. It is all a matter, then, of finding the true meaning of democracy. If we succeed in this, we can deal with it; if not, we are lost. The February Revolution was "a universal Bankruptcy of Imposture; that may be the brief definition of it". (P. 14.) *Counterfeit* and falsities, "shams", "delusions", "phantasms",[a] instead of real relationships and things, names that have lost all meaning, in a word, lying instead of truth has held sway in modern times. Individual and social divorce from these falsities and phantoms, that is the task of reform, and the necessity of putting an end to all sham and deceit is not to be gainsaid.

"Yet strange to many a man it may seem; and to many a solid Englishman, wholesomely digesting his pudding among what are called the cultivated classes, it seems strange exceedingly; a mad ignorant notion, quite heterodox, and big with mere ruin. He has been used to decent forms long since fallen empty of meaning, to plausible modes, solemnities grown ceremonial,—what you in your iconoclast humour call shams,—all his life long; never heard that there was any harm in them, that there was any getting-on without them. Did not cotton spin itself, beef grow, and groceries

[a] Here and below the words "shams", "delusions", and "phantasms" are given in English in the original.—*Ed.*

and spiceries come in from the East and the West, quite comfortably by the side of shams?" (P. 15.)

Now will democracy accomplish this necessary reform, this liberation from shams?

"Democracy, when it is organised by means of universal suffrage will itself accomplish the salutary universal change from Delusive to Real, from false to true, and make a new blessed world by and by?" (P. 17.)

Carlyle denies this. Indeed, he sees in general in democracy and in universal suffrage only a contagion of all nations by the superstitious English belief in the infallibility of parliamentary government. The crew of the ship that had lost its course round Cape Horn and, instead of keeping watch on wind and weather and using the sextant, voted on the course to be set, declaring the decision of the majority to be infallible—that is the universal suffrage that lays claim to steering the state. As for every individual, so for society it is just a matter of discovering the true regulations of the Universe, the everlasting laws of nature relative to the task in hand at each moment, and acting accordingly. Whoever reveals these eternal laws to us, him shall we follow, "were it the Russian Autocrat or Chartist Parliament, the Archbishop of Canterbury or Grand Lama". But how do we discover these eternal, divine precepts? At all events universal suffrage, which gives each man a ballot paper and counts heads, is the worst method of doing so. The Universe is of a very exclusive nature and has ever disclosed its secrets but to a few elect, a small minority of wise and noble-minded alone. That is why no nation was ever able to exist on the basis of democracy. The Greeks and Romans? We all know today that theirs were no democracies, that slavery was the basis of their states. It is quite superfluous to speak of the various French Republics. And the Model Republic of North America? It cannot yet even be said of the Americans that they form a nation or a state. The American population lives *without* a government; what is there constituted is anarchy plus a street-constable. What makes this condition possible is the great area of yet unbroken land and the respect brought over from England for the constable's baton. As the population grows, that too comes to an end.

"What great human soul, what great thought, what great noble thing that one could worship, or loyally admire, has America yet produced?" (P. 25.)

It has doubled its population every twenty years—*voilà tout.*

On this side of the Atlantic and on that, democracy is thus for ever impossible. The Universe itself is a monarchy and hierarchy. No nation in which the divine everlasting duty of directing and

controlling the ignorant is not entrusted to the *Noblest*, with his select series of *Nobler Ones*, has the Kingdom of God, or corresponds to the eternal laws of nature.

Now we are also apprised of the secret, the origin and the necessity of modern democracy. It consists simply in the fact that the sham-noble[a] has been raised up and consecrated by tradition or newly invented delusions.

And who is to discover the true precious stone with all its setting of smaller human jewels and pearls? Certainly not universal suffrage, for only the noble can discern the noble. And so Carlyle affirms that England still possesses many such nobles and "kings", and on p. 38 he summons them to him.

We see the "noble" Carlyle proceed from a thoroughly pantheistic mode of thinking. The whole process of history is determined not by the development of the living masses themselves, naturally dependent on specific but in turn historically created changing conditions, it is determined by an eternal law of nature, unalterable for all time, from which it departs today and to which it returns tomorrow, and on the correct apprehension of which everything depends. This correct apprehension of the eternal law of nature is the eternal truth, everything else is false. With this mode of thinking, the real class conflicts, for all their variety at various periods, are completely resolved into the one great and eternal conflict, between those who have fathomed the eternal law of nature and act in keeping with it, the wise and the noble, and those who misunderstand it, distort it and work against it, the fools and the rogues. The historically produced distinction between classes thus becomes a natural distinction which itself must be acknowledged and revered as a part of the eternal law of nature, by bowing to nature's noble and wise: the cult of genius. The whole conception of the process of historical development is reduced to the shallow triviality of the lore of the Illuminati and the Freemasons of the previous century, to the simple morality we find in the *Magic Flute*[233] and to an infinitely depraved and trivialised form of Saint-Simonism. And there of course we have the old question of who then should in fact rule, which is discussed at great length and with self-important shallowness and is finally answered to the effect that the noble, wise and knowledgeable should rule, which leads quite naturally to the conclusion that there would have to be a large amount, a very large amount of governing, and

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[a] The authors use the expression *falsche Edle* and give the English equivalent in parenthesis.— *Ed.*

there could never be too much governing, for after all governing is the constant revelation and assertion of the law of nature vis-à-vis the masses. But how are the noble and the wise to be discovered? They are not revealed by any celestial miracle; they have to be looked for. And here the historical class distinctions which have been made into purely natural distinctions once more rear their heads. The noble man is noble because he is wise and knowledgeable. He will therefore have to be sought among the classes which have the monopoly of education—among the privileged classes, and it will be the same classes who will have to seek him out in their midst and to judge his claims to the rank of a noble and wise man. In so doing the privileged classes automatically become, if not precisely the noble and wise class, at least the "articulate" class; the oppressed classes are of course the "silent, inarticulate" and class rule is thereby sanctioned anew. All this highly indignant bluster turns out to be a thinly disguised acceptance of existing class rule whose sole grumble and complaint is that the bourgeoisie does not assign a position at the top of society to its unrecognised geniuses, and for highly practical reasons does not accede to the starry-eyed drivellings of these gentlemen. Carlyle incidentally provides us with striking examples of the way in which here too pompous cant becomes its opposite and the noble, knowledgeable and wise man is transformed in practice into a base, ignorant and foolish man.

Since for him everything depends on strong government, he turns upon the cry for liberation and emancipation with extreme indignation:

"Let us all be free of one another [...]. Free without bond or connexion except that of cash payment; fair day's wages for the fair day's work; determined by voluntary contract, and law of supply and demand: this is thought to be the true solution of all difficulties and injustices that have occurred between man and man. To rectify the relation that exists between two men, is there no method, then, but that of ending it?" (P. 29.)

This complete dissolution of all bonds, all relationships between men naturally reaches its climax in *anarchy*, the law of lawlessness, the condition in which the bond of bonds, the government, is completely cut to pieces. And this is what people in England and on the Continent alike are striving towards, yes, even in "staid Germany".

Carlyle blusters on like this for several pages, lumping together Red Republic, *fraternité*, Louis Blanc, etc., in a most disconcerting way with free trade,[a] the abolition of the duty on corn, etc. (Cf. pp. 29-42.) The destruction of the remnants of feudalism which are still preserved by tradition, the reduction of the state to what is

[a] The words "free trade" are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

unavoidably necessary and absolutely cheapest, the complete realisation of free competition by the bourgeoisie, are thus mixed up together and identified by Carlyle with the elimination of these same bourgeois relations, with the abolition of the conflict between capital and wage labour, with the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat. Brilliant return to the "Night of the Absolute" in which all cats are grey! Deep knowledge of the "knowledgeable man" who does not know the first thing about what is happening around him! Strange perspicacity which believes that with the abolition of feudalism or free competition, all relations between men are abolished! Unfathomable fathoming of the "eternal law of nature", seriously believing that no more children will be born from the moment that the parents cease to go to the *Mairie*[a] first to "bind" themselves in matrimony!

After this edifying example of a wisdom amounting to unmitigated ignorance, Carlyle goes on to demonstrate to us how high-principled nobility of character at once turns into undisguised baseness as soon as it descends from its heaven of sententious verbiage to the world of real relations.

"In all European countries, especially in England, one class of Captains and commanders of men, recognisable as the beginning of a new, real and not imaginary Aristocracy, has already in some measure developed itself: the Captains of Industry;—happily the class who above all [...] are wanted in this time. [...] And surely, on the other hand, there is no lack of men needing to be commanded: the sad class of brother-men whom we have described as 'Hodge's emancipated horses', reduced to roving famine, this too has in all countries developed itself and, in fatal geometrical progression, is ever more developing itself, with a rapidity which alarms everyone. On this ground [...] it may be truly said, the Organisation of Labour [...] is the universal vital Problem of the world." (Pp. 42, 43.)

Carlyle having thus vented all his virtuous fury time and time again in the first forty pages against selfishness, free competition, the abolition of the feudal bonds between man and man, supply and demand, laissez-faire,[234] cotton-spinning, cash payment, etc., etc., we now suddenly find that the main exponents of all these shams, the industrial bourgeoisie, are not merely counted among the celebrated heroes and geniuses but even comprise the most indispensable part of these heroes, that the trump card in all his attacks on bourgeois relations and ideas is the apotheosis of bourgeois individuals. It appears yet odder that Carlyle, having discovered the commanders and the commanded of labour, in other words, a certain organisation of labour, nevertheless declares this organisation to be a great problem requiring solution. But one should not be deceived. It is not

[a] Town hall.—*Ed.*

a question of the organisation of those workers who have been regimented, but of the organisation of those who are unregimented and captainless, and this Carlyle has reserved for himself. At the end of his pamphlet we suddenly see him in the role of the British Prime Minister *in partibus*,[a] summoning together the three million Irish and other beggars, the able-bodied lackalls, nomadic or stationary, and the general assembly of British paupers, outside the workhouse[b] and inside the workhouse,[b] and "haranguing" them in a speech in which he first repeats to the lackalls everything that he has previously confided to the reader and then addresses the select company as follows:

"Vagrant Lackalls and Good-for-nothings, foolish most of you, criminal many of you, miserable all; the sight of you fills me with astonishment and despair. [...] Here are some three millions of you [...]: so many of you fallen sheer over into the abysses of open Beggary; and, fearful to think, every new unit that falls is loading so much more the chain that drags the others over. On the edge of the precipice hang uncounted millions; increasing, I am told, at the rate of 1,200 a-day [...] falling, falling one after the other; and the chain is getting ever heavier [...] and who at last will stand? What to do with you?... The others that still stand have their own difficulties, I can tell you!—But you, by imperfect energy and redundant appetite, by doing too little work and drinking too much beer, you [...] have proved that you cannot do it! [...] Know that, whoever may be 'sons of freedom', you for your part are not and cannot be such. Not 'free' you, ... you palpably are fallen captive ... you are of the nature of slaves, or if you prefer the word, of nomadic [...] and vagabond servants that can find no master.... Not as glorious unfortunate sons of freedom, but as recognised captives, as unfortunate fallen brothers requiring that I should command them, and if need were, control and compel them, can there henceforth be a relation between us.... Before Heaven and Earth, and God the Maker of us all, I declare it is a scandal to see *such* a life kept in you, by the sweat and heart's blood of your brothers; and that, if we cannot mend it, death were preferable!... Enlist in my Irish, my Scotch and English 'Regiments of the *New Era*'... ye poor wandering banditti; obey, work, suffer, abstain, as all of us have had to do.... Industrial Colonels, Workmasters, Taskmasters, Life-commanders, equitable as Rhadamanthus and inflexible as he: such [...] you do need; and such, you being once put under law as soldiers are, will be discoverable for you.... To each of you I will then say: Here is work for you; strike into it with manlike, soldierlike obedience and heartiness, according to the methods I here dictate,—wages follow for you without difficulty.... Refuse, shirk the heavy labour, disobey the rules,—I will admonish and endeavour to incite you; if in vain, I will flog you; if still in vain, I will at last shoot you." (Pp. 46-55.)

The "*New Era*", in which genius rules, is thus distinguished from the old era principally by the fact that the whip imagines it possesses genius. The genius Carlyle is distinguished from just any prison.

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[a] Outside the sphere of reality. The words are part of the expression *in partibus infidelium*, meaning literally "in the realm of infidels". It was added to the titles of Catholic bishops appointed to purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries.—*Ed.*

[b] The original has the English word.—*Ed.*

Cerberus or poor-law beadle by his virtuous indignation and the moral consciousness of flaying the paupers[a] only in order to raise them to *his* level. We here observe the high-principled genius in his world-redeeming anger fantastically justifying and exaggerating the infamies of the bourgeoisie. If the English bourgeoisie equated paupers[a] with criminals in order to create a deterrent to pauperism and brought into being the Poor Law of 1834,[235] Carlyle accuses the paupers[a] of *high treason* because pauperism generates pauperism. Just as previously the ruling class that had arisen in the course of history, the industrial bourgeoisie, was privy to genius simply by virtue of ruling, so now any oppressed class, the more deeply it is oppressed, the more is it excluded from genius and the more is it exposed to the raging fury of our unrecognised reformer. So it is here with the paupers.[a] But his morally noble wrath reaches its highest peak with regard to those who are absolutely vile and ignoble, the "scoundrels", i. e. *criminals.* He treats of these in the pamphlet on Model Prisons.

This pamphlet is distinguished from the first only by a fury much greater, yet all the cheaper for being directed against those officially expelled from established society, against people behind bars; a fury which sheds even that little shame which the ordinary bourgeois still for decency's sake display. Just as in the first pamphlet Carlyle erects a complete hierarchy of Nobles and seeks out the Noblest of the Noble, so here he arranges an equally complete hierarchy of scoundrels and villains and exerts himself in hunting down the *worst of the bad,* the *supreme scoundrel* in England, for the exquisite pleasure of hanging him. Assuming he were to catch him and hang him; then another will be our Worst and must be hanged in turn, and then another again, until the turn of the Noble and then the More Noble is reached and finally no one is left but Carlyle, the Noblest, who as persecutor of scoundrels is at once the murderer of the Noble and has murdered what is noble even in the scoundrels; the Noblest of the Noble, who is suddenly transformed into the Vilest of Scoundrels and as such must *hang himself.* With that, all questions concerning government, state, the organisation of labour, and the hierarchy of the Noble would be resolved and the eternal law of nature realised at last.

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[a] The original has the English word.—*Ed.*

## II

*LES CONSPIRATEURS*, PAR A. CHENU,
EX-CAPITAINE DES GARDES DU CITOYEN CAUSSIDIÈRE.
LES SOCIÉTÉS SECRÈTES;
LA PRÉFECTURE DE POLICE SOUS CAUSSIDIÈRE;
LES CORPS-FRANCS,
PARIS, 1850
*LA NAISSANCE DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE EN FÉVRIER 1848*,
PAR LUCIEN DE LA HODDE,
PARIS, 1850[236]

Nothing is more to be desired than that the people who were at the head of the active party, whether before the revolution in the secret societies or the press, or afterwards in official positions, should at long last be portrayed in the stark colours of a Rembrandt, in the full flush of life. Hitherto these personalities have never been depicted as they really were, but only in their official guise, with buskins on their feet and halos around their heads. All verisimilitude is lost in these idealised, Raphaelesque pictures.

It is true that the two present publications dispense with the buskins and halos in which the "great men" of the February Revolution hitherto appeared. They penetrate the private lives of these people, they show them to us in informal attire, surrounded by all their multifarious subordinates. But they are for all that no less far removed from being a real, faithful representation of persons and events. Of their authors, the one is a self-confessed long-time *mouchard*[a] of Louis Philippe, and the other a veteran conspirator by profession whose relations with the police are similarly very ambiguous and of whose powers of comprehension we have an early indication in the fact that he claims to have seen "that splendid chain of the Alps whose silver peaks dazzle the eye" between Rheinfelden and Basle, and "the Rhenish Alps whose distant peaks are lost on the horizon" between Kehl and Karlsruhe. From such people, especially when in addition they are writing to justify themselves, we can of course only expect a more or less exaggerated *chronique scandaleuse* of the February Revolution.

[a] Police spy.— *Ed.*

M. de la Hodde, in his pamphlet, attempts to portray himself after the manner of the spy in Cooper's novel.[a] He has, he claims, earned society's gratitude by paralysing the secret societies for eight years. But Cooper's spy is a very far cry from M. de la Hodde. M. de la Hodde, who worked on *Le Charivari*, was a member of the Central Committee of the *Société des nouvelles saisons* from 1839,[237] was co-editor of *La Réforme* from its foundation and at the same time a paid spy of the Prefect of Police, Delessert, is compromised by no one more than by Chenu. His publication is a direct response to Chenu's revelations, but it takes very good care not to say even a syllable in reply to Chenu's allegations concerning de la Hodde himself. That part of Chenu's memoirs at least is therefore authentic.

"On one of my nocturnal excursions," recounts Chenu, "I noticed de la Hodde walking up and down the quai Voltaire.... It was raining in torrents, a circumstance which set me thinking. Was this dear fellow de la Hodde also helping himself from the cash-box of the secret funds, by any chance? But I remembered his songs, his magnificent stanzas about Ireland and Poland, and particularly the violent articles he wrote for the journal *La Réforme*" (whereas M. de la Hodde tries to make out he tamed *La Réforme*). "'Good evening, de la Hodde, what on earth are you up to here at this hour and in this fearful weather?'—'I am waiting for a rascal who owes me some money, and as he passes this way every evening at this time, he is going to pay me, or else'—and he struck the parapet of the embankment violently with his stick."

De la Hodde attempts to get rid of him and walks towards the Pont du Carrousel. Chenu departs in the opposite direction, but only to conceal himself under the arcades of the *Institut*. De la Hodde soon comes back, looks round carefully in all directions and once more walks back and forth.

"A quarter of an hour later I noticed the carriage with two little green lamps which my ex-agent had described to me" (a former spy who had revealed a large number of police secrets and identification signs to Chenu in prison). "It stopped at the corner of the rue des Vieux Augustins. A man got out; de la Hodde went straight up to him; they talked for a moment, and I saw de la Hodde make a movement as though putting money into his pocket.—After this incident I made every effort to have de la Hodde excluded from our meetings and above all to prevent Albert falling into some trap, for he was the cornerstone of our edifice [...]. Some days later *La Réforme* rejected an article by de la Hodde. This wounded his vanity as a writer. I advised him to avenge himself by founding another journal. He followed this advice and with Pilhes and Dupoty he even published the prospectus of a paper, *Le Peuple*, and during that time we were almost completely rid of him." (Chenu, pp. 46-48 [p. 55].)

As we see, this spy à la Cooper turns out to be a political prostitute of the vilest kind who hangs about in the street in the rain for the

[a] Harvey Birch, the hero of Fenimore Cooper's novel *The Spy*.—*Ed.*

payment of his *cadeau*[a] by the first *officier de paix*[b] who happens to come along. We see furthermore that it was not de la Hodde, as he would have us believe, but Albert who was at the head of the secret societies. This follows from Chenu's whole account. The *mouchard* "in the interests of order" is here suddenly transformed into the offended writer who is angry that the articles of the *Charivari* correspondent are not accepted without question by *La Réforme,* and who therefore breaks with *La Réforme,* a real party organ in which he was able to be of some use to the police, to found a new paper in which at best he was able to satisfy his vanity as a writer. Just as prostitutes make use of sentiment of a kind, so this *mouchard* sought to make use of his literary pretensions in order to escape from his dirty role. Hatred for *La Réforme,* which pervades his whole pamphlet, is resolved into the most trivial writer's vindictiveness. In the end we see that during the most important period of the secret societies, shortly before the February Revolution, de la Hodde was being increasingly forced out of them; and this explains why they, according to his account, quite contrary to Chenu, declined more and more in this period.

We now come to the scene in which Chenu describes the exposure of de la Hodde's treacheries after the February Revolution. The *Réforme* party had assembled with Albert in the Luxembourg at Caussidière's invitation. Monnier, Sobrier, Grandménil, de la Hodde, Chenu, etc., were present. Caussidière opened the meeting and then said:

"'There is a traitor among us. We shall form a secret tribunal to try him.'—Grandménil, as the oldest of those present, was appointed chairman, and Tiphaine secretary. 'Citizens,' continued Caussidière as public prosecutor, 'for a long time we have been accusing honest patriots. We were far from suspecting what a serpent had slipped in among us. Today I have discovered the real traitor: it is Lucien de la Hodde!'—The latter, who hitherto had sat quite unperturbed, leapt up at so direct an accusation. He made a move towards the door. Caussidière closed it quickly, drew a pistol and shouted: 'One move and I'll blow your brains out!'—De la Hodde passionately protested his innocence. 'Very well,' said Caussidière. 'Here is a file containing eighteen hundred reports to the Prefect of Police'... and he gave each of us the reports specially concerning him. De la Hodde obstinately denied that these reports, signed Pierre, originated with him until Caussidière read out the letter published in his memoirs, in which de la Hodde offered his services to the Prefect of Police and which he had signed with his real name. From then on the wretched man stopped denying and tried to excuse himself on the grounds of poverty which had given him the fatal idea of throwing himself into the arms of the police. Caussidière held out to him the pistol, the last means of escape left to him. De la Hodde then pleaded with his judges and whimperingly begged for mercy, but they remained

[a] Gift.—*Ed.*
[b] Officer of the peace.—*Ed.*

inflexible. Bocquet, one of those present, whose patience was exhausted, seized the pistol and offered it to him three times with the words: '*Allons,*[a] blow your brains out, you coward, or I'll kill you myself!'—Albert snatched it out of his hand, saying, 'But just think, a pistol-shot here in the Luxembourg would bring everybody running here!'—'That's true,' cried Bocquet, 'we need poison.' 'Poison?' said Caussidière. 'I brought poison with me—of every kind.' He took a glass, filled it with water, which he sugared, then poured in a white powder and offered it to de la Hodde, who recoiled in horror: 'You want to kill me then?'—'Yes we do,' said Bocquet, 'drink.'—De la Hodde was fearful to look at. His features were ashen, and his very curly, well-kempt hair stood on end on his head. His face was bathed in sweat. He implored, he wept: 'I don't want to die!' But Bocquet, inflexible, still held out the glass to him. '*Allons,* drink,' said Caussidière, 'it will be all over before you know what has happened.'—'No, no, I will not drink.' And in his deranged state of mind he added with a terrible gesture: 'Oh, I shall have my revenge for all these torments!'

"When it was seen that no appeal to his *point d'honneur*[b] had any effect, de la Hodde was finally pardoned on Albert's intercession, and was taken to the Conciergerie prison." (Chenu, pp. 134-36 [pp. 147-50].)

The self-styled spy à la Cooper becomes increasingly pathetic. We see him here in all his ignominy, only able to stand up to his opponents by cowardice. What we reproach him for is not that he did not shoot himself but that he did not shoot the first comer amongst his opponents. He seeks to justify himself after the event by means of a pamphlet in which he attempts to represent the whole revolution as a mere *escroquerie.*[c] The title of this pamphlet ought to be: *The Disillusioned Policeman.* It demonstrates that a true revolution is the exact opposite of the ideas of a *mouchard,* who like the "men of action" sees in every revolution the work of a small coterie. Whilst all movements which were to a greater or lesser extent arbitrarily provoked by coteries did not go beyond mere insurgency, it is clear from de la Hodde's account itself that on the one hand the *official republicans* at the beginning of the February days still despaired of achieving the republic, and that on the other hand the *bourgeoisie* was obliged to help achieve the republic without wanting it, and thus that the February Republic was brought about by the force of circumstances driving the proletarian masses, who were outside any coterie, out into the streets and keeping the majority of the bourgeoisie at home or forcing them into common action with the proletarians.—What de la Hodde reveals apart from that is scanty indeed and amounts to no more than the most banal gossip. Only one scene is of interest: the meeting of the official democrats on the evening of February 21 on the premises of *La Réforme,* at which the leaders declared themselves firmly opposed to an attack by force.

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[a] Go on.—*Ed.*
[b] Sense of honour.—*Ed.*
[c] Act of fraud.—*Ed.*

The content of their speeches testifies by and large to what was for that date still a correct understanding of the situation. They are ridiculous only because of their pompous style and the later claims of the same people to have consciously and deliberately worked towards the revolution from the start. And the worst thing, incidentally, that de la Hodde can say of them is that they tolerated him for so long in their midst.

Let us turn to Chenu. Who is M. Chenu? He is a veteran conspirator, took part in every insurgency since 1832 and is well known to the police. Conscripted for military service, he soon deserted and remained undiscovered in Paris, despite his repeated participation in conspiracies and the 1839 revolt.[238] In 1844 he reported to his regiment, and strangely enough, despite his well-known record, he was spared a court-martial by the divisional general. And that was not all: he did not serve his full time with the regiment but was allowed to return to Paris. In 1847 he was implicated in the incendiary bomb conspiracy[239]; he escaped an attempted arrest, but for all that remained in Paris, although he had been sentenced to four years *in contumaciam.*[a] Only when his fellow-conspirators accused him of being in league with the police did he go to Holland, whence he returned on February 21, 1848. After the February Revolution he became a captain in Caussidière's guards. Caussidière soon suspected him (a suspicion having a high degree of probability) of being in league with Marrast's special police and dispatched him without much resistance to Belgium and later to Germany. M. Chenu submitted willingly enough to successive enrolments in the Belgian, German and Polish volunteer corps. And all this at a time when Caussidière's power was already beginning to totter and although Chenu claims to have had complete control over him; thus he maintains he forced Caussidière by means of a threatening letter to free him immediately when he had once been arrested. So much for our author's character and credibility.

The quantities of make-up and patchouli beneath which prostitutes attempt to smother the less attractive aspects of their physical being have their literary counterpart in the *bel esprit* with which de la Hodde perfumes his pamphlet. The literary qualities of Chenu's book on the other hand frequently remind one of Gil Blas[b] by their naivety and the vivacity of their presentation. Just as in the most varied adventures Gil Blas always remains a servant and judges everything by a servant's standards, so Chenu always remains, from

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[a] For contempt of the court (in refusing to appear).—*Ed.*

[b] *Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane*, a novel by Alain René Le Sage.—*Ed.*

the 1832 revolt up to his dismissal from the prefecture, the same low-ranking conspirator, whose own particular form of narrow-mindedness can incidentally be very clearly distinguished from the dull ruminations of the literary *"faiseur"* apportioned to him by the Elysée. It is clear that there can be no question of any understanding of the revolutionary movement in Chenu's case either. For this reason the only chapters in his book which are of any interest are those in which he describes things more or less uninhibitedly from his own observation: *the Conspirators* and *Caussidière the Hero.*

The propensity of the Latin peoples to conspiracy and the part which conspiracies have played in modern Spanish, Italian and French history are well known. After the defeat of the Spanish and Italian conspirators at the beginning of the twenties, Lyons and especially Paris became the centres of revolutionary clubs. It is a well-known fact that the liberal bourgeoisie headed the conspiracies against the Restoration up to 1830. After the July Revolution the republican bourgeoisie took their place; the proletariat, trained in conspiracy even under the Restoration, began to dominate to the extent that the republican bourgeoisie were deterred from conspiring by the unsuccessful street battles. The *Société des saisons,* through which Barbès and Blanqui organised the 1839 revolt, was already exclusively proletarian, and so were the *Nouvelles saisons,* formed after the defeat, whose leader was Albert and in which Chenu, de la Hodde, Caussidière, etc., participated. Through its leaders the conspiracy was constantly in contact with the petty-bourgeois elements represented by *La Réforme,* but always kept itself strictly independent. These conspiracies never of course embraced the broad mass of the Paris proletariat. They were restricted to a comparatively small, continually fluctuating number of members which consisted partly of unchanging, veteran conspirators, regularly bequeathed by each secret society to its successor, and partly of newly recruited workers.

Of these veteran conspirators, Chenu describes virtually none but the class to which he himself belongs: the *professional conspirators.* With the development of proletarian conspiracies the need arose for a division of labour; the members were divided into occasional conspirators, *conspirateurs d'occasion,* i.e. workers who engaged in conspiracy alongside their other employment, merely attending meetings and holding themselves in readiness to appear at the place of assembly at the leaders' command, and professional conspirators who devoted their whole energy to the conspiracy and had their living from it. They formed the intermediate stratum between the workers and the leaders, and frequently even infiltrated the latter.

The social situation of this class determines its whole character from the very outset. Proletarian conspiracy naturally affords them only very limited and uncertain means of subsistence. They are therefore constantly obliged to dip into the cash-boxes of the conspiracy. A number of them also come into direct conflict with civil society as such and appear before the police courts with a greater or lesser degree of dignity. Their precarious livelihood, dependent in individual cases more on chance than on their activity, their irregular lives whose only fixed ports-of-call are the taverns of the *marchands de vin*[a]—the places of rendezvous of the conspirators—their inevitable acquaintance with all kinds of dubious people, place them in that social category which in Paris is known as *la bohême.* These democratic bohemians of proletarian origin—there are also democratic bohemians of bourgeois origin, democratic loafers and *piliers d'estaminet*[b]—are therefore either workers who have given up their work and have as a consequence become dissolute, or characters who have emerged from the lumpenproletariat and bring all the dissolute habits of that class with them into their new way of life. One can understand how in these circumstances a few *repris de justice*[c] are to be found implicated in practically every conspiracy trial.

The whole way of life of these professional conspirators has a most decidedly bohemian character. Recruiting sergeants for the conspiracy, they go from *marchand de vin* to *marchand de vin,* feeling the pulse of the workers, seeking out their men, cajoling them into the conspiracy and getting either the society's treasury or their new friends to foot the bill for the litres inevitably consumed in the process. Indeed it is really the *marchand de vin* who provides a roof over their heads. It is with him that the conspirator spends most of his time; it is here he has his rendezvous with his colleagues, with the members of his section and with prospective recruits; it is here, finally, that the secret meetings of sections (groups) and section leaders take place. The conspirator, highly sanguine in character anyway like all Parisian proletarians, soon develops into an absolute *bambocheur*[d] in this continual tavern atmosphere. The sinister conspirator, who in secret session exhibits a Spartan self-discipline, suddenly thaws and is transformed into a tavern regular whom everybody knows and who really understands how to enjoy his wine

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[a] Publicans.—*Ed.*
[b] Public house regulars.—*Ed.*
[c] Persons with a criminal record.—*Ed.*
[d] Boozer.—*Ed.*

and women. This conviviality is further intensified by the constant dangers the conspirator is exposed to; at any moment he may be called to the barricades, where he may be killed; at every turn the police set snares for him which may deliver him to prison or even to the galleys. Such dangers constitute the real spice of the trade; the greater the insecurity, the more the conspirator hastens to seize the pleasures of the moment. At the same time familiarity with danger makes him utterly indifferent to life and liberty. He is as at home in prison as in the wine-shop. He is ready for the call to action any day. The desperate recklessness which is exhibited in every insurrection in Paris is introduced precisely by these veteran professional conspirators, the *hommes de coups de main*.[a] They are the ones who throw up and command the first barricades, who organise resistance, lead the looting of arms-shops and the seizure of arms and ammunition from houses, and in the midst of the uprising carry out those daring raids which so often throw the government party into confusion. In a word, they are the officers of the insurrection.

It need scarcely be added that these conspirators do not confine themselves to the general organising of the revolutionary proletariat. It is precisely their business to anticipate the process of revolutionary development, to bring it artificially to crisis-point, to launch a revolution on the spur of the moment, without the conditions for a revolution. For them the only condition for revolution is the adequate preparation of their conspiracy. They are the alchemists of the revolution and are characterised by exactly the same chaotic thinking and blinkered obsessions as the alchemists of old. They leap at inventions which are supposed to work revolutionary miracles: incendiary bombs, destructive devices of magic effect, revolts which are expected to be all the more miraculous and astonishing in effect as their basis is less rational. Occupied with such scheming, they have no other purpose than the most immediate one of overthrowing the existing government and have the profoundest contempt for the more theoretical enlightenment of the proletariat about their class interests. Hence their plebeian rather than proletarian irritation at the *habits noirs*,[b] people of a greater or lesser degree of education who represent that aspect of the movement, from whom, however, they can never make themselves quite independent, since they are the official representatives of the party. The *habits noirs* also serve at times as their source of money. It goes without saying that the

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[a] Men of daring raids.— *Ed.*
[b] Frock-coats.— *Ed.*

conspirators are obliged to follow willy-nilly the development of the revolutionary party.

The chief characteristic of the conspirators' way of life is their battle with the police, to whom they have precisely the same relationship as thieves and prostitutes. The police tolerate the conspiracies, and not just as a necessary evil: they tolerate them as centres which they can keep under easy observation and where the most violent revolutionary elements in society meet, as the forges of revolt, which in France has become a tool of government quite as necessary as the police themselves, and finally as a recruiting place for their own political *mouchards.* Just as the most serviceable rogue-catchers, the Vidocqs and their cronies, are taken from the class of greater and lesser rascals, thieves, *escrocs*[a] and fraudulent bankrupts, and often revert to their old trade, in precisely the same way the humbler political policemen are recruited from among the professional conspirators. The conspirators are constantly in touch with the police, they come into conflict with them all the time; they hunt the *mouchards,* just as the *mouchards* hunt them. Spying is one of their main occupations. It is no wonder therefore that the short step from being a conspirator by trade to being a paid police spy is so frequently made, facilitated as it is by poverty and prison, by threats and promises. Hence the web of limitless suspicion within the conspiracies, which completely blinds their members and makes them see *mouchards* in their best people and their most trustworthy people in the real *mouchards.* That these spies recruited from among the conspirators mostly allow themselves to become involved with the police in the honest belief that they will be able to outwit them, that they succeed in playing a double role for a while, until they succumb more and more to the consequences of their first step, and that the police are often really outwitted by them, is self-evident. Whether, incidentally, such a conspirator succumbs to the snares of the police depends entirely on the coincidence of circumstances and rather on a quantitative than a qualitative difference in strength of character.

These are the conspirators whom Chenu parades before us, often in a most lively manner, and whose characters he sometimes eagerly and sometimes reluctantly describes. He himself, incidentally, is the epitome of the conspirator by trade, right down to his somewhat ambiguous connections with Delessert's and Marrast's police.

To the extent that the Paris proletariat came to the fore itself as a party, these conspirators lost some of their dominant influence, they

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[a] Swindlers.—*Ed.*

were dispersed and they encountered dangerous competition in proletarian secret societies, whose purpose was not immediate insurrection but the organisation and development of the proletariat. Even the 1839 revolt was decidedly proletarian and communist. But afterwards the divisions occurred which the veteran conspirators bemoan so much; divisions which had their origin in the workers' need to clarify their class interests and which found expression partly in the earlier conspiracies themselves and partly in new propagandist associations. The communist agitation which Cabet began so forcefully soon after 1839 and the controversies which arose within the Communist Party soon had the conspirators out of their depth. Both Chenu and de la Hodde admit that at the time of the February Revolution the Communists were by far the strongest party group among the revolutionary proletariat. The conspirators, if they were not to lose their influence on the workers and thus their importance as a counterbalance to the *habits noirs*, were obliged to go along with this trend and adopt socialist or communist ideas. Thus there arose even before the February Revolution that conflict between the workers' conspiracies, represented by Albert, and the *Réforme* people, the same conflict which was reproduced shortly afterwards in the Provisional Government. We would of course never dream of confusing Albert with these conspirators. It is clear from both works that Albert knew how to assert his own independent position above them, his tools, and he certainly does not belong to that category of people who practised conspiracy to earn their daily bread.

The 1847 bomb affair, a matter in which direct police action was greater than in any previous case, finally scattered the most obstinate and contrary-minded of the veteran conspirators and drove their former sections into the proletarian movement proper.

These professional conspirators, the most violent people in their sections and the *détenus politiques*[a] of proletarian origin, mostly veteran conspirators themselves, we find again as Montagnards in the Prefecture of Police after the February Revolution. The conspirators however form the core of the whole company. It is understandable that these people, suddenly armed and herded together here, mostly on quite familiar terms with their prefects and their officers, could not fail to form a somewhat turbulent corps. Just as the Montagne in the National Assembly was a parody of the original Montagne and by its impotence proved in the most striking manner that the old revolutionary traditions of 1793 no longer

[a] Political detainees.— *Ed.*

suffice today, so the Montagnards in the Prefecture of Police, the new version of the original sansculottes, proved that in the modern revolution this section of the proletariat is also insufficient and that only the proletariat as a whole can carry the revolution through.

Chenu describes the sansculotte life-style of this honourable company in the Prefecture in a most lively manner. These comic scenes, in which M. Chenu was obviously an active participant, are sometimes rather wild, but very understandable in view of the character of the old conspiratorial *bambocheurs,* and form a necessary and even a healthy contrast to the orgies of the bourgeoisie in the last years of Louis Philippe.

We will quote just one example from the account of how they established themselves in the Prefecture.

"When the day broke, I saw the group leaders arrive one after the other with their men, but for the most part unarmed [...]. I drew Caussidière's attention to this. 'I'll get arms for them,' he said. 'Look for a suitable place to quarter them in the Prefecture.' I carried out this order at once and sent them to occupy that former police guardroom where I had once been so vilely treated myself. A moment later I saw them come running back. 'Where are you going?' I asked them. 'The guardroom is occupied by a crowd of policemen,' Devaisse replied to me; 'they are fast asleep and we're looking for something to waken them with and throw them out.'—They now armed themselves with whatever came to hand, ramrods, sabre-sheaths, straps folded double and broom-sticks. Then my lads, who had all had greater or lesser reason to complain of the insolence and brutality of the sleepers, fell on them with fists flying and for over half an hour taught them such a harsh lesson that some of them took a considerable time to recover. At their cries of terror I dashed up, and I only managed with difficulty to open the door which the Montagnards wisely kept locked on the inside. It was a sight for sore eyes to see the policemen dashing half-undressed into the courtyard. They jumped down the stairs in one bound, and it was lucky for them they knew every nook and cranny in the Prefecture and were able to escape from the sight of their enemies hard on their heels. Once masters of the place whose garrison they had just relieved with such courtesy, our Montagnards decked themselves out triumphantly in what the vanquished had left behind, and for a long time they were to be seen walking up and down the courtyard of the Prefecture, swords by their sides, coats over their shoulders and their heads resplendent in the three-cornered hats once so feared by the majority of them." (Pp. 83-85 [pp. 95-96].)

Now we have made the acquaintance of the Montagnards, let us turn to their leader, the hero of the Chenu saga, *Caussidière.* Chenu parades him all the more frequently before us as the whole book is actually directed against him.

The main accusations levelled against Caussidière relate to his moral life-style, his cavalier dealings in bills of exchange and other modest attempts to rustle up money such as any spirited Parisian *commis voyageur* in debt may and does resort to. Indeed, it is only the amount of capital which determines whether the cases of fraud, profiteering, swindling and stock-exchange speculation on which the

whole of commerce is based, impinge to any degree on the *Code pénal.* With regard to stock-exchange coups and the Chinese fraud which are especially typical of French commerce, it is worth referring for instance to Fourier's spicy descriptions in the *Quatre mouvements,* the *Fausse industrie,* the *Traité de l'unité universelle* and his posthumous works.[240] M. Chenu does not even try to prove that Caussidière exploited his position as Prefect of Police for his own ends. Indeed a party can congratulate itself if its victorious opponents can do nothing more than expose such pathetic instances of commercial immorality. What a contrast between the petty dabblings of the *commis voyageur* Caussidière and the grandiose scandals of the bourgeoisie in 1847! The only reason for the whole attack is that Caussidière belonged to the *Réforme* party, which sought to conceal its lack of revolutionary energy and understanding behind protestations of republican virtue and an attitude of sombre gravity.

Caussidière is the only entertaining figure amongst the leaders of the February Revolution. In his capacity as *loustic*[a] to the revolution, he was a most appropriate leader for the veteran professional conspirators. Sensual and endowed with a sense of humour, a regular of long standing in cafés and taverns of the most varied kind, happy to live and let live, but at the same time a brave soldier, concealing beneath broad-shouldered bonhomie and lack of inhibition great cunning, astute thought and acute observation, he possessed a certain revolutionary tact and revolutionary energy. At that time, Caussidière was a genuine plebeian who hated the bourgeoisie instinctively and shared all the plebeian passions to a high degree. Scarcely was he established in the Prefecture when he was already conspiring against the *National,* but without in so doing neglecting his predecessor's cuisine or cellar. He immediately organised a military force for himself, secured himself a newspaper, launched clubs, gave people parts to play and generally acted from the first moment with great self-confidence. In twenty-four hours the Prefecture was transformed into a fortress from which he could defy his enemies. But all his schemes either remained mere plans or amounted in practice to no more than plebeian pranks leading to nothing. When the conflicts became more acute, he shared the fate of his party, which remained indecisively in the middle between the *National* people and the proletarian revolutionaries such as Blanqui. His Montagnards split; the old *bambocheurs* grew too big for him and were no longer to be restrained, whilst the revolutionary section went over to Blanqui. Caussidière himself became increasingly

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[a] Wag, joker.—*Ed.*

bourgeois in his official position as Prefect and representative; on May 15[241] he kept prudently in the background and excused himself in the Chamber in an irresponsible manner; on June 23 he deserted the insurrection at the crucial moment. As a reward he was naturally removed from the Prefecture and shortly afterwards sent into exile.

We now go on to some of the most significant passages from Chenu and de la Hodde concerning Caussidière.

Scarcely was de la Hodde established on the evening of February 24 as General Secretary to the Prefecture under Caussidière when the latter said to him:

"'I need reliable people here. The administrative side of things will always take care of itself more or less; for the time being I have kept on the old officials; as soon as the patriots have been trained, we shall *send them packing*. That is a secondary matter. What we must do is to make the Prefecture the stronghold of the revolution; give our men instructions to that effect; bring them all here. Once we have a thousand trusty comrades here, we shall have the whip hand. Ledru-Rollin, Flocon, Albert and I understand each other, and I hope everything will turn out all right. The *National* is for the high jump. And after that we shall republicanise the country all right, whether it likes it or not.'

"Thereupon Garnier-Pagès, the Mayor of Paris, under whose command the *National* had placed the police, arrived on a visit and suggested to Caussidière he might prefer to take over command of the castle at Compiègne instead of the unpleasant post at the Prefecture. Caussidière replied in that thin high-pitched voice of his which contrasted so strangely with his broad shoulders: 'Go to Compiègne? Out of the question. I am needed here. I have got several hundred merry lads down there doing a splendid job; I am expecting twice as many again. If you at the Hôtel de Ville haven't enough good will or courage, I'll be able to help you.... Ha, ha, *la révolution fera son petit bonhomme de chemin, il le faudra bien*![a]—'The revolution? But it's over!'—'Pshaw, it's not even started yet!'—The poor Mayor stood there looking like an utter ninny." (De la Hodde, p 72 [pp. 103-05].)

Amongst the most amusing scenes described by Chenu is the reception of the police officers and *officiers de paix* by the new Prefect, who was in the middle of a meal when they were announced.

"'Let them wait,' said Caussidière, 'the Prefect is *working*.' He went on working for a good half-hour more and then set the scene for the reception of the police officers who were meanwhile lined up on the great staircase. Caussidière sat down majestically in his armchair, his great sabre at his side; two wild, bloodthirsty-looking Montagnards were guarding the door, arms ordered and pipes in their mouths. Two captains with drawn sabres stood at each side of his desk. Then there were all the section leaders and the republicans who formed his general staff, grouped around the room, all of them armed with great sabres and cavalry pistols, muskets and shot-guns. Everyone was smoking and the cloud of smoke filling the room made their faces seem even more sombre and gave the scene a really frightening aspect. In the centre a space had remained clear for the police officers. Each man put on his hat and Caussidière gave the order for them to be brought in. The poor police officers wanted nothing

[a] The revolution will go its little way, it will have to!—*Ed.*

better, for they were exposed to the vulgarity and threats of the Montagnards, who would have liked to fricassee them in every sauce known to man. 'You gang of blackguards,' they bellowed, 'now it's our turn to have got you! You won't get out of here, you'll be flayed alive!...' As they entered the Prefect's office they felt they were exchanging Scylla for Charybdis. The first to set foot on the threshold seemed to hesitate a moment. He was uncertain whether to advance or retreat, so menacing were all the eyes fixed upon him. At last he ventured a step forward and bowed, another step and bowed more deeply, another step again and bowed even more deeply still. Each made his entry with deep bows in the direction of the awful Prefect, who received all these marks of respect coldly and in silence, his hand resting on the hilt of his sabre. The police officers took in this extraordinary scene with eyes like saucers. Some of them, beside themselves with fear and no doubt wanting to curry favour with us, found the tableau imposing and majestic.—'Silence!' commanded a Montagnard in sepulchral tones.—When they had all come in, Caussidière, who had neither spoken nor moved until that moment, broke the silence and said in his most fearful voice:

"'A week ago you scarcely expected to find me here in this position, surrounded by trusty friends. So they are your masters today, these cardboard republicans, as you once called them! You tremble before those whom you subjected to the most ignoble treatment. You, Vassal, were the vilest *séïde*[a] of the fallen government, the most violent persecutor of the republicans, and now you have fallen into the hands of your most implacable enemies, for there is not one present here who escaped your persecutions. If I listened to the just demands that are put to me, I would take reprisals. I prefer to forget. Return to your posts again, all of you; but if I ever hear that you have lent a hand to any reactionary trickery, I shall crush you like vermin. Go!'

"The police officers had been through every gradation of terror, and happy to escape with a dressing-down from the Prefect, they went off in good spirits. The Montagnards who were waiting for them at the bottom of the stairs escorted them to the end of the rue de Jérusalem with a hubbub of catcalls and jeers. Scarcely had the last of them disappeared when we burst out into a tremendous fit of laughter. Caussidière was beaming and laughed more than anyone at the magnificent prank he had just played on his police officers." (Chenu, pp. 87-90 [pp. 99-102].)

After March 17, in which Caussidière played a big part, he said to Chenu:

"'I can raise up the masses and set them against the bourgeoisie whenever I like.'" (Chenu, p. 140 [p. 154].)

Caussidière never actually went further with his opponents than playing at giving them a fright.

Finally, concerning Caussidière's relations with the Montagnards, Chenu says:

"When I mentioned to Caussidière the excesses his men were indulging in, he sighed, but his hands were tied. The majority of them had lived his life with him, he had shared their joys and sorrows; several had done him good turns. If he was unable to restrain them, it was a consequence of his own past." (P. 97 [pp. 109-10].)

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[a] Fanatic.—*Ed.*

We would remind our readers that both these books were written at the time of the campaign for elections of March 10.[242] Their effect is clear from the election result—the brilliant victory of the reds.

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## III

### *LE SOCIALISME ET L'IMPÔT*, PAR ÉMILE DE GIRARDIN, PARIS, 1850[243]

There are two distinct kinds of socialism, "good" socialism and "bad" socialism.

*Bad* socialism is *"the war of labour against capital"*. At its door are laid all the horrors: equal distribution of the land, abolition of the family ties, organised plunder, etc.

*Good* socialism is *"harmony between labour and capital"*. In its train are found the abolition of ignorance, the elimination of the causes of pauperism, the establishment of credit, the multiplication of property, the reform of taxation, in a word,

"the system which most closely approximates to mankind's conception of the kingdom of God on earth" [p. 9].

This good socialism must be used to stifle the bad variety.

"Socialism is possessed of a lever; that lever was the *budget*. But it needed a fulcrum if it was to turn the world upside down. That fulcrum was supplied by the Revolution of February 24: *universal suffrage*" [p. 12].

The source of the budget is *taxation*. So the effect of universal suffrage on the budget must be its effect on taxation. And it is by its effect on taxation that "good" socialism is realised.

"France cannot pay more than 1,200 million francs in taxes annually. How would vou set about reducing expenditure to this sum?"

"You have written into two charters and one constitution in the last thirty-five years that every Frenchman shall contribute to the upkeep of the state in proportion to his wealth. In the last thirty-five years, this equality of taxation has been a myth.... Let us examine the French system of taxation" [pp. 14-15, 17].

*I. Land-tax.* The land-tax does *not* fall *equally* on all landowners:

"If two adjacent plots are given the same assessment in the land-register, the two landowners pay the same tax, without any distinction between the apparent and the actual owners" [p. 22],

i.e. between the owner who is encumbered with mortgages and the one who is not.

Furthermore, the tax on land *bears no relation* to the taxes which are levied on other kinds of property. When the National Assembly introduced it in 1790, it was influenced by the physiocratic school, which regarded the soil as the only source of net income and therefore placed the full burden of taxation on the landowners. The tax on land is therefore based on an error in economics. If taxation were distributed equally, the owner of land would be liable for 20 per cent of his income, whereas he now pays 53 per cent.

Finally, according to its original purpose, the tax on land ought only to fall on the owner and never on the tenant of the farm-land. Instead, according to M. Girardin, it always falls on the tenant of the farm-land.

In this M. Girardin commits an error in economics. Either the tenant farmer really is a tenant farmer, in which case it is not he but the owner or the consumer on whom the tax falls; or else he is, despite the appearance of tenancy, basically merely in the owner's employ, as in Ireland and frequently in France, in which case the taxes imposed on the owner will always fall on him, whatever name they are given.

*II. Tax on persons and movable property.* This tax, which was also decreed by the National Assembly in 1790, was intended to fall directly on liquid assets. The amount of house-rent paid was taken to indicate the value of the assets. This tax falls in reality on the landowner, the peasant and the manufacturer, whilst it represents an insignificant burden or none at all for the rentier. It is therefore the complete opposite of what its authors intended. Besides, a millionaire may live in a garret with two rickety chairs—unjust, etc.

*III. Door and window tax.* An attack on the health of the people. A fiscal device directed against clean air and daylight.

"Almost one half of the dwellings in France have either only one door and no windows, or at most one door and one window" [p. 38].

This tax was adopted on 24th Vendémiaire of the year VII (October 14, 1799) because of an urgent need for money, as a temporary and extraordinary measure; but in principle it was rejected.

*IV. Licence-tax* (trades-tax). A tax not on profit but on the exercise of industry. A penalty for work. Designed to fall on the manufacturer, it falls largely on the consumer. In any case, when this tax was

imposed in 1791, it was also only a question of satisfying a momentary need for money.

*V. Registration and stamp duty.* The *droit d'enregistrement*[244] originated with Francis I and had initially no fiscal purpose (?). In 1790 the obligatory registration of contracts concerning property was extended and the fee raised. The tax operates in such a way that buying and selling cost more than donations and legacies. Stamp duty is a purely fiscal device which applies equally to unequal profits.

*VI. Beverage-tax.* The quintessence of injustice, an impediment to production, an irritant, the most costly to collect. (See moreover Issue III: 1848-1849, Consequences of June 13.[a])

*VII. Customs-duties.* A chaotic historical accumulation of pointless, mutually contradictory rates of duty injurious to industry. E. g. raw cotton is taxed at 22 frs. 50 cts. per 100 kilos in France. *Passons outre.*[b]

*VIII. Octroi.*[245] Lacks even the excuse of protecting a national industry. Internal customs. Originally a local poor-tax, but now chiefly a burden upon the poorer classes, resulting in the adulteration of their food. Puts as many obstacles in the way of national industry as there are towns.

So much for what Girardin has to say concerning the individual taxes. The reader will have noticed that his criticism is as shallow as it is correct. It is reducible to three arguments:

1. that no tax ever falls on the class intended by those who imposed the tax, but is shifted on to another class;
2. that every temporary tax takes root and becomes permanent;
3. that no tax is proportional to wealth, just, equal, or equitable.

These general economic objections to present taxation are repeated in every country. However, the French tax system has one characteristic peculiarity. Just as the British are the historic nation *par excellence* with regard to public and private law, so the French are with regard to the system of taxation, although in all other respects they have codified, simplified and broken with tradition in accordance with universal principles. Girardin says on this point[c]:

"In France we live under the rule of almost all the fiscal procedures of the *ancien régime.* Taille,[d] poll-tax, aide,[e] customs, salt-tax, registration fees, tax on legal

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[a] See this volume, pp. 117-21.—*Ed.*

[b] Let us proceed.—*Ed.*

[c] To support his arguments Girardin cites in the following passage the opinion of Eugène Daire, the publisher and commentator of the works of physiocrats and other economists.—*Ed.*

[d] A direct tax which mainly affected the peasants.—*Ed.*

[e] Indirect taxes.—*Ed.*

submissions, greffe, tobacco monopoly, excessive profits from the postal services and the sale of gunpowder, the lottery, parish or state corvée, billetting, octrois, river and road tolls, extraordinary levies—all these things may have changed their names, but they all persist in essence and have become no less a burden on the people nor any more productive for the treasury. The basis of our financial system is totally unscientific. It reflects nothing more than the traditions of the Middle Ages, which are in turn themselves the legacy of the ignorant and predatory fiscal practice of the Romans" [p. 102].

Nevertheless, as long ago as the National Assembly of the first revolution, our fathers cried out:

"We have made the revolution only in order to take taxation into our own hands."

But although this state of affairs was able to persist under the Empire, the Restoration and the July monarchy, its hour has now struck:

"The abolition of electoral privilege necessarily entails the abolition of all fiscal inequality. [...] There is therefore no time to be lost in coming to grips with the finance reform, if science is not to be ousted by violence.... *Taxation* is virtually *the sole foundation on which our society rests*.... Social and political reforms are sought in the remotest and most elevated places; the most important are to be found in taxation. Seek here, and ye shall find" [pp. 103, 105, 108].

And what do we find?

"As *we* conceive taxation, taxation should be an *insurance premium* paid by those who have property, *to insure themselves against all risks which might disturb them in the possession and enjoyment of it*.... This premium must be proportional and strict in its exactitude. Every tax which is not a guarantee against a risk, the price for a commodity or the equivalent for a service, must be abandoned—we allow but two exceptions: tax on foreign countries (*douane*) and tax on death (*enregistrement*).... The taxpayer is thus replaced by the insured person.... Everyone who has an interest in payment pays, and pays only to the extent of his interest.... We go further and say: every tax stands condemned by the mere fact that it bears the name of tax or imposition. *Every tax must be abolished* [...] for the peculiar characteristic of a tax is that it is obligatory, whereas it is in the nature of insurance to be voluntary" [pp. 120, 122, 127-28].

This insurance premium must not be confused with a tax on income; it is rather a tax on capital, in the same way that an insurance premium does not guarantee income but capital assets as a whole. The state acts in exactly the same way as the insurance companies, who do not want to know what revenue the thing insured yields but what it is worth.

"The national wealth of France is estimated at 134 thousand million, from which liabilities of 28 thousand million must be subtracted. If the budget expenditure is reduced to 1,200 million, only 1 per cent of the capital would need to be levied to raise the state to the level of a colossal mutual insurance company" [p. 130].

And from that moment onward—"*no more revolutions!*" [P. 131.]

"The word *solidarity* will replace the word *authority*; *communal interest* will become the bond linking the members of society" [p. 133].

M. Girardin does not rest content with this general suggestion but at the same time gives us a form for an insurance policy or registration such as will be issued to every citizen by the state.

Each year the former tax-collector gives the insured a policy consisting of "four pages of the size of a passport". On the first page is the name of the insured with his registration number, as well as the form for the receipts of the premium payments. On the second page are all the personal particulars of the insured and his family, along with a detailed estimate of the value he puts on his total assets, certified as correct; on the third page, the budget of the state along with a general balance for France, and on the fourth, all sorts of more or less useful statistical information. The policy serves as a passport, election card and travel record for workers, etc. The registers of these policies allow the state in turn to prepare the four Great Books: the Great Book of Population, the Great Book of Property, the Great Book of the Public Debt, and the Great Book of Mortgage Debts, which together contain full statistics of all the assets of France.

Taxation is merely the premium paid by the insured to permit him to enjoy the following benefits: 1. the right to public protection, a free legal service, free religious practice, free education, credit against security and a savings-bank pension; 2. exemption from military service in peace time; 3. protection from destitution; 4. compensation for loss through fire, floods, hail, cattle-disease and shipwreck.

We further observe that M. Girardin intends to raise the compensation sum which the state has to pay, in case of loss by insured persons, by means of various fines, etc., from the product of the nationally-owned estates and the fees from *enregistrement* and customs, which will have been maintained, as well as from the state monopolies.

Tax reform is the hobby-horse of every radical bourgeois, the specific element in all bourgeois economic reforms. From the earliest medieval philistines to the modern English free-traders, the main struggle has revolved around taxation.

Tax reform has as its aim either the abolition of traditional taxes which impede the progress of industry, or less extravagant state budgets, or more equal distribution. The further it slips from his grasp in practice, the more keenly does the bourgeois pursue the chimerical ideal of equal distribution of taxation.

The distribution relations, which rest directly upon bourgeois production, the relations between wages and profit, profit and interest, rent and profit, may at most be modified in inessentials by taxation, but the latter can never threaten their foundations. All investigations and discussions about taxation presuppose the everlasting continuance of these bourgeois relations. Even the abolition of taxes could only hasten the development of bourgeois property and its contradictions.

Taxation may benefit some classes and oppress others harshly, as we observe, for example, under the rule of the financial aristocracy. It is ruinous only for those intermediate sections of society between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, whose position does not allow them to shift the burden of taxation to another class.

Every new tax depresses the proletariat one step further; the abolition of an old tax increases not wages but profits. In a revolution, taxation, swollen to colossal proportions, can be used as a form of attack against private property; but even then it must be an incentive for new, revolutionary measures or eventually bring about a reversion to the old bourgeois relations.

The reduction of taxes, their more equitable distribution, etc., etc., is a banal *bourgeois reform.* The *abolition* of taxes is *bourgeois socialism.* This bourgeois socialism appeals especially to the industrial and commercial middle sections and to the peasants. The big bourgeoisie, who are already living in what is for them the best of possible worlds,[a] naturally despise the utopia of a best of worlds.

M. Girardin abolishes taxes by transforming them into an insurance premium. By paying a certain percentage, the members of society insure each other's assets against fire and flood, against hail and bankruptcy and against every possible risk which today disturbs the peace of bourgeois enjoyment. The annual contribution is not merely fixed by the insured persons collectively, but is determined by each individual himself. He estimates his assets himself. The crises of trade and agriculture, the torrent of losses and bankruptcies, all the fluctuations and vicissitudes of the bourgeois mode of life, which have been epidemic since the introduction of modern industry, all the poetry of bourgeois society will disappear. Universal security and insurance[b] will become a reality. The burgher has it in writing from the state that he cannot under any circumstances

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[a] An ironical paraphrase of Pangloss' famous dictum from Voltaire's *Candide*: "All is for the best in the best of possible worlds."—*Ed.*

[b] In the original a pun on the words *Sicherheit* (security) and *Versicherung* (insurance).—*Ed.*

be ruined. All the shady sides have gone from the present world, its bright sides live on, their brilliancy enhanced, in short, that system of government has become reality "which most closely approximates to the bourgeois conception of the kingdom of God on earth". In place of authority, solidarity; in place of compulsion, freedom; in place of the state, a committee of administrators—and the puzzle of Columbus and the egg is solved, the mathematically precise contribution of each "insured person", according to his assets. Each "insured person" carries a complete constitutional state, a fully formed bicameral system, within his breast. The fear of paying the state too much, the bourgeois opposition in the Chamber of Deputies, impels him to underestimate his assets. His interest in preserving his property, the conservative element of the Chamber of Peers, inclines him to overestimate them. The constitutional interaction of these opposing tendencies of necessity engenders the true balance of powers, the precisely correct valuation of assets, the exact proportion of the contribution.

A certain Roman wished his house might be made of glass so that his every action would be visible to all. The bourgeois wishes that not his own house but that of his neighbour should be of glass. This wish too is fulfilled. For example: a citizen asks me for an advance, or wishes to form an association with me. I ask him for his policy, and in it I have a confession, entire and in detail, of all his civil circumstances, guaranteed by his interest correctly understood and countersigned by the insurance board. A beggar knocks at my door and begs for alms. Let me see his policy. The burgher must be sure that his alms are going to the right man. I engage a servant, I take him into my house, I entrust myself to him for good or ill: let me see his policy!

"How many marriages are concluded without the two parties knowing exactly what to rely on concerning the reality of the dowry or their mutually exaggerated expectations" [p. 178].

Let us see their policies!

In future the exchange of loving hearts will be reduced to the exchange of policies by the two parties. Thus fraud will disappear, which today provides the sweetness and the bitterness of life, and the Kingdom of Truth in the strict sense of the word will become a reality. Nor is that all:

"Under the present system, the courts cost the state some $7^1/_2$ million, under our system offences will bring revenue instead of expense, for they will be transmuted into fines and compensation—what an idea!" [Pp. 190-91.]

Everything in this best of possible worlds brings in profit: crimes disappear and offences yield revenue.[a] Finally, as under this system property is protected against all risks and the state is no more than the universal insurance for all interests, the workers are always employed: "No more revolutions!"

> If that is not what the bourgeois wants,
> Then I don't know what else he wants!

The bourgeois state is nothing more than the mutual insurance of the bourgeois class against its individual members, as well as against the exploited class, insurance which will necessarily become increasingly expensive and to all appearances increasingly independent of bourgeois society, because the oppression of the exploited class is becoming ever more difficult. The change of name changes nothing in the nature of this insurance. M. Girardin himself is at once obliged to abandon the apparent independence from insurance which he for a moment allows individuals to enjoy. Anyone who estimates his assets too low is liable to punishment: the insurance fund buys his property from him at the price he has set and even encourages informers with rewards. Nor is that the worst: anyone who prefers not to insure his assets at all is declared outside society and simply outlawed. Society of course cannot tolerate the formation of a class in its midst which rebels against its very conditions of existence. Compulsion, authority, bureaucratic interference which are precisely what Girardin wants to eliminate, reappear in society. If for a moment he made abstraction of the conditions of bourgeois society, he did so only in order to return to them by another route.

Behind the abolition of taxation lurks the abolition of the state. The abolition of the state has meaning with the Communists, only as the necessary consequence of the abolition of classes, with which the need for the organised might of one class to keep the others down automatically disappears. In bourgeois countries the abolition of the state means that the power of the state is reduced to the level found in North America. There, the class contradictions are but incompletely developed; every clash between the classes is concealed by the outflow of the surplus proletarian population to the west; intervention by the power of the state, reduced to a minimum in the east, does not exist at all in the west. In feudal countries the abolition of the state means the abolition of feudalism and the creation of an

[a] In the original a pun on the words *vergehen* (disappear) and *Vergehen* (offences).—*Ed.*

ordinary bourgeois state. In Germany it conceals either a cowardly flight from the struggles that lie immediately ahead, a spurious inflating of *bourgeois* freedom into absolute independence and autonomy of the *individual*, or, finally, the indifference of the bourgeois towards all forms of state, provided the development of bourgeois interests is not obstructed. It is of course not the fault of the Berliners Stirner and Faucher that this abolition of the state "in the higher sense" is being preached in so fatuous a way. *La plus belle fille de la France ne peut donner que ce qu'elle a.*[a]

What remains of M. Girardin's insurance company is the *tax on capital*, as opposed to the tax on income, and in place of all other taxes. Capital for M. Girardin is not confined to capital employed in production, it embraces all movable and immovable assets. In respect of this tax on capital, he boasts:

> "It is like the egg of Columbus, it is a pyramid which must stand on its base and not on its apex, [...] it is the stream cutting a course for itself, the revolution without revolutionaries, progress with never a backward step, movement with neither jar nor jolt, finally it is the Idea in all its simplicity and the true Law" [pp. 135-36].

There is no denying that of all the costermongering advertisements that M. Girardin has ever produced—and they, as we know, are legion—this prospectus for capital-tax represents the masterpiece.

Incidentally the tax on capital, as the sole form of taxation, has its merits. All the economists and Ricardo in particular have demonstrated the advantages of a single form of taxation. The tax on capital, as the sole form of taxation, eliminates at a stroke the expense of the numerous staff previously needed to administer taxation, interferes least with the regular process of production, circulation and consumption and is the only tax to fall on luxury capital.

But M. Girardin's tax on capital is not limited to this. Its effects include yet other and very special blessings.

Capital assets of equal size will be obliged to pay the same rates of tax to the state, regardless of whether they bring in 6 per cent, 3 per cent or no income at all. The consequence of this is that idle capital will be put to work and will increase the volume of productive capital, and that capital which is already productive will be put to yet further exertions, i. e. it will produce more in less time. The consequence of these two things will be a fall in profit and in the rate of interest.

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[a] The most beautiful girl in France can only give what she has.—*Ed.*

M. Girardin however asserts that profit and the rate of interest will then *rise*—a true economic miracle. The transformation of unproductive into productive capital and the increasing productivity of capital in general have intensified and aggravated the development of crises in industry and depressed profits and the rate of interest. The tax on capital can only hasten this process, exacerbate crises and thereby increase the growth of revolutionary elements.—"No more revolutions!"

A second miraculous effect of the tax on capital, according to M. Girardin, is that it would attract capital from the land, where its yield is low, to industry, where its yield is higher, bring down land prices and transplant to France the concentration of land, Britain's large-scale agriculture and therewith all of Britain's advanced industry. Quite apart from the fact that this would require a similar migration to France of the other conditions of British industry too, M. Girardin is here guilty of quite peculiar errors. Farming in France is suffering not from a surplus but from a lack of capital. Not by withdrawing capital from farming but on the contrary by pouring industrial capital into agriculture have British concentration and British farming come about. The price of land in Britain is far higher than in France; the total value of the land in Britain is almost as much as the whole national wealth of France, in Girardin's estimation. Concentration in France would therefore not merely not cause the price of land to fall, on the contrary it would cause it to rise. The concentration of landed property in Britain has furthermore totally swept away whole generations of the population. The same concentration, to which the tax on capital will of course necessarily contribute by hastening the ruin of the peasants, would in France drive the great mass of the peasants into the towns and make revolution all the more inevitable. And finally, if in France the tide has already begun to turn from fragmentation to concentration, in Britain the large landed estates are making giant strides towards renewed disintegration, conclusively proving that agriculture necessarily proceeds in an incessant cycle of concentration and fragmentation of the land, as long as bourgeois conditions as a whole continue to exist.

Enough of these miracles. Let us turn to the provision of credit for mortgage deposits.

Credit for mortgage deposits will initially only be available to landowners. The state will issue mortgage notes, resembling banknotes in all respects except that land is the guarantee instead of cash or bullion. These mortgage notes will be advanced by the state at 4 per cent to peasants in debt, and will be used to satisfy their

mortgage creditors; in place of the private creditor, the state now has the mortgage on the land and consolidates the debt so that repayment can never be demanded. The total of mortgage debts in France amounts to 14 thousand million. It is true that Girardin only envisages the issue of 5 thousand million mortgage notes, but the augmentation of paper money by such a sum would have the effect, not of making capital cheaper, but of devaluing paper money entirely. Moreover, Girardin lacks the courage to impose a fixed rate on this new paper. To obviate devaluation he proposes that the holders of these notes should exchange them *al pari*[a] for 3 per cent national debt certificates. The outcome of the transaction is thus as follows: the peasant who formerly paid 5 per cent interest and 1 per cent conveyancing, and renewal and other fees, now only pays 4 per cent and thus gains 2 per cent; the state borrows at 3 per cent and lends at 4 per cent, and thus gains 1 per cent; the former mortgage creditor, who previously received 5 per cent, is obliged by the threatening devaluation of mortgage notes gratefully to accept the 3 per cent he is offered by the state; he therefore loses 2 per cent. Furthermore the peasant does not need to pay his debt and the creditor can never realise what the state owes him. What these dealings therefore amount to is that behind the thin camouflage of the mortgage notes the mortgage creditors are directly robbed of 2 out of their 5 per cent. On the only occasion, apart from taxation, therefore that M. Girardin plans to change social relations themselves, he is forced to make a direct attack on private property, he has to become a revolutionary and to give up his whole utopia. And this attack is not even of his own invention. He borrowed it from the German Communists, who after the February Revolution were the first to demand that mortgage debts should be transformed into debts to the state,[b] admittedly in an entirely different fashion from M. Girardin, who even publicly opposed it. It is characteristic that on the sole occasion when M. Girardin proposes a somewhat revolutionary measure he has not the courage to suggest anything but a palliative which can only make the development of fragmentation in landownership in France the more chronic, and turn the clock back in that regard by a few decades, until the present state of affairs is finally reached again.

The only thing the reader will have missed throughout Girardin's exposé is the *workers*. But of course bourgeois socialism always

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[a] At their nominal value.— *Ed.*

[b] See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Demands of the Communist Party in Germany* (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 3-7).— *Ed.*

presupposes that *society is exclusively composed of capitalists,* so as to be able then to resolve the issue between capital and wage labour according to this point of view.

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## REVIEW

[March-April 1850][246]

(Our monthly review had to be held over from the last issue due to lack of space. We print here only that part of the review which concerns England.)

Shortly before the anniversary of the February Revolution, when Carlier had the trees of liberty[a] cut down, *Punch* printed a drawing of a tree of liberty whose leaves are bayonets and whose fruits are bombs, and opposite this French tree of liberty, bristling with its bayonets, in a song of its own it sings the praises of the tree of English liberty, bearing the only sound fruit: pounds, shillings and pence.[b] But this feeble counting-house joke vanishes beside the immense outbursts of rage with which *The Times* has been foaming since March 10 at the triumphs of "anarchy".[c] The reactionary party in England, as in all countries, feels the blow struck in Paris as if it itself had been directly hit.

What threatens "order" in England most at present, however, is not the dangers emanating from Paris but a new and quite direct consequence of this order, a fruit of that English tree of liberty: a *trade crisis*.

In our January review (No. 2)[d] we already referred to the approach of the crisis. Several circumstances have hastened it. Before the last crisis in 1845, surplus capital found an outlet in railway speculation. The over-production and over-speculation in

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[a] See this volume, p. 24.—*Ed.*

[b] *Punch*, London, March 1850, Vol. 18, p. 92.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Times* No. 20436, March 14, 1850. On March 10, 1850, the Left-wing forces in France scored a success in a by-election to the Legislative Assembly.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 263-65.—*Ed.*

railways attained such a level however that the railway business did not recover, not even during the boom of 1848-49, and even the shares of the soundest enterprises of this kind are still exceptionally depressed in price. The low corn prices and the prospects for the harvest of 1850 equally provided no opportunity for the investment of capital, and the various state bonds were subject to too much of a risk to become the object of any large-scale speculation. Thus the surplus capital of the period of prosperity found its usual escape channels blocked. The only thing left for it to do was to throw itself completely into industrial production and into speculation in colonial products and in the decisive raw materials of industry, cotton and wool. With such a large part of the capital usually employed elsewhere flowing directly into industry, industrial production was naturally bound to increase with unusual rapidity and with it the glutting of the markets, and hence the outbreak of the crisis was significantly hastened. Already the first symptoms of the crisis are appearing in the most important branches of industry and financial speculation. For four weeks now that all-important branch of industry, cotton, has been completely depressed, and of its components the most important ones are those that are suffering most—the spinning and weaving of ordinary cloths. The fall in the prices of twist and of ordinary calicoes has already left the fall in the prices of raw cotton far behind. Production is being cut back; almost without exception the factories are now only working short time. A momentary reinvigoration of industrial activity was expected with the spring orders from the Continent; but while the orders given earlier for the internal market, for East India and China, and for the Levant are for the most part being cancelled, the continental orders, which always provided two months' work, have hardly come in at all as a result of the uncertain political conditions.—Here and there in the woollen industry symptoms can be seen which indicate the imminent end of the present, still fairly "healthy" state of business. The production of iron is similarly suffering. The producers consider it inevitable that prices will soon fall, and are trying to stop them from falling too rapidly by means of a coalition among themselves. So much for the state of industry. Now for financial speculation. The fall in cotton prices is due partly to new and increased supplies and partly to the depression in the industry. The same thing goes for colonial products. Supplies are increasing, consumption in the internal market is decreasing. In the last two months alone twenty-five shiploads of tea have arrived in Liverpool. The consumption of colonial products, held down even during the boom by the distress in the agricultural districts, is feeling all the

more heavily the pressure, which is now spreading to the industrial districts too. Already one of the most important colonial import houses in Liverpool has succumbed to this recession.

The effects of the trade crisis now breaking will be more significant than those of any crisis hitherto. It coincides with the agricultural crisis which already began with the repeal of the Corn Laws in England[247] and was intensified with the recent good harvests. For the first time England is *simultaneously* experiencing an *industrial crisis* and an *agricultural crisis.* This double crisis in England is being hastened and extended, and made more inflammable by the simultaneously impending convulsions on the Continent, and the continental revolutions will assume an incomparably more pronounced socialist character through the recoil of the English crisis on the world market. It is common knowledge that no European country reacts so directly, so extensively and so intensively to the effects of the English crisis as Germany. The reason is simple: Germany forms the largest continental market for England's exports, and the major German export articles, wool and corn, have by far their most significant outlet in England. History seems to have a weakness for that epigram to the Friends of Order, according to which the working classes revolt from insufficient consumption and the upper classes go bankrupt from superfluous production.

The Whigs will naturally be the first victims of the crisis. As of old they will abandon the helm of state as soon as the threatening storm breaks out. And this time they will say farewell to the Downing Street offices for good. A short-lived Tory ministry may follow them in the first instance, but the ground will be quaking under it, all the opposition parties will unite against it, with the industrialists in the van. These have no such popular panacea to oppose to the crisis as they had in the repeal of the Corn Laws. They will be forced to advance at least to a reform of Parliament. That is, they will assume the political power which cannot be denied them, in conditions which open the doors of Parliament to the proletariat, place the demands of the latter on the agenda of the House of Commons and hurl England into the European revolution.

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We have but little to add to these notes, written a month ago, concerning the impending trade crisis. The momentary improvement in business which regularly comes in spring has at last occurred this time also, although admittedly to a lesser degree than usual. French industry, which for the most part supplies light summer

fabrics, has especially profited from it; but increased orders have also come in to Manchester, Glasgow and the West Riding. This momentary revival of industry in spring occurs every year, incidentally, and only delays a little the development of the crisis.

Commerce in East India has experienced a momentary improvement as well. The more favourable rate of exchange in relation to England allowed the sellers to get rid of part of their stock below former prices, and the Bombay market was thus eased a little. This local and momentary improvement of business is also one of those border-line cases which occur from time to time, particularly at the start of every crisis, and which only have an insignificant influence on its general course of development.

On the other hand, reports have just come in from America which depict the market there as completely depressed. The American market, however, is the most decisive. With the glutting of the American market, with the standstill in business and the fall of prices in America the crisis proper will begin—the direct, rapid and irresistible reaction upon England will commence. We need only refer to the crisis of 1837. Only one article continues to rise in America: the United States national debt bonds, the only state bond which offers secure asylum to the capital of our European Friends of Order.

Following the entry of America into the recession brought about by over-production we may expect the crisis to develop rather more rapidly in the coming month than hitherto. Political developments on the Continent are likewise pressing daily more urgently towards a showdown, and the coincidence of trade crisis and revolution, which has already been mentioned several times in this *Revue*,[a] is becoming more and more certain. *Que les destins s'accomplissent!*[b]

London, April 18, 1850

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[a] See this volume, pp. 52-53.—*Ed.*
[b] Let fate take its course!—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## LOUIS NAPOLEON AND FOULD[248]

Our readers will recall that in our previous issue we showed how the finance aristocracy in France regained power. We took the opportunity to refer to the association of Louis Napoleon and Fould in the execution of profitable coups on the Stock Exchange.[a] It has already been noted that since Fould joined the Cabinet Louis Napoleon's unceasing demands on the Legislative Assembly for money have suddenly stopped. Since the recent elections, however, facts have been divulged which shed a glaring light on President Bonaparte's sources of income. Just one instance.

In our account we shall be drawing mainly on *La Patrie*, the respectable newspaper of the *Union électorale*,[249] whose owner, the banker Delamarre, is himself one of the most important stock-exchange gamblers in Paris.

A large-scale speculative operation *à la hausse*[b] was organised with an eye to the elections of March 10. M. Fould was the ringleader of the plot, the most prominent of the Friends of Order participated in it, and M. Bonaparte's camarilla had large cash interests in it, as did he himself.

On March 7 the 3 per cent bonds rose 5 centimes and the 5 per cent, 15 centimes; you see, *La Patrie* had made known the result of the preliminary election of the Friends of Order. This rise was too small for our speculators, however; a "boost" was needed. So *La Patrie* of March 8, which came out the previous evening, indicates in its stock-exchange bulletin that there is not the remotest doubt

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[a] See this volume, pp. 114-18.—*Ed.*

[b] On a rising market.—*Ed.*

about the victory of the party of Order. It states among other things:

"We will certainly not blame the capitalists for their restraint; if, however, there ever existed situations in which scepticism was inadmissible, this is one of them, after the results obtained in the primary election."

In order to evaluate the influence of the stock-exchange bulletin and the information in *La Patrie* in general on the Stock Exchange, one must know that it is the *de facto* 'official' gazette of the present government and receives official news *before* the *Moniteur* itself. Nevertheless, the coup failed this time.

On the 8th several army votes favourable to the red party became known and share prices immediately fell. A panic terror appeared to seize the speculators; it was now necessary to mobilise every means available. *La Patrie*'s stock-exchange bulletin stuck to its guns; every one of the *Union électorale*'s newspapers was ordered to the firing line; a few irregularities in connection with insignificant votes were discussed with great emphasis; one paper headlined the votes of a regiment which had voted monarchist; the republican papers were finally forced to publish some official denials, which a few days later proved to be just so many lies.

On the 9th these united endeavours succeeded in producing a small rise in state bonds at the opening of the Exchange, which did not last long, however. Until a quarter past two prices were rather low, but from that moment on they rose steadily until the close of business.[250] The causes of this sudden reversal were blurted out by *La Patrie* itself as follows:

"We are assured that some speculators with a large stake in an upswing made considerable purchases towards the close of business in order to create a positive mood in the provinces at the time of the election, and by the confidence roused in the provinces to bring about new purchases which would lead to a still higher rise."[a]

This operation amounted to several millions, its success lay in the rise of the 3 per cent bonds by 40 centimes and of the 5 per cent by 60 centimes.

This much is clear: there were speculators with a stake in the upswing who therefore made new purchases of a significant size at the critical moment in order to bring about a new rise. Who were these speculators? Let the facts provide the answer.

On the 11th there was a fall in prices on the Exchange. All the endeavours of the speculators were powerless against the uncertainty of the election results.

On the 12th a new, significant fall, since the result of the election

[a] *La Patrie* No. 69, March 10, 1850.—*Ed.*

was practically known, and it was as good as certain that the three socialist candidates[a] had an imposing majority. The speculating bulls now made a desperate effort. *La Patrie* and the *Moniteur du Soir* published, under the heading of official telegraphic despatches, election results from the provinces which were pure inventions. The manoeuvre succeeded. In the evening, at Tortoni's,[251] there was a slight rise. So it was only a matter of still further "boosting". The following news item was printed in *La Patrie*:

"According to the votes known so far, Citizen de Flotte only has a lead of 341 votes on Citizen F. Foy. This election result can still be decided in favour of our candidate by the votes of the mobile *gendarmerie*.—We are assured that the government will *tomorrow* lay before the Assembly two laws, on the press and on electoral assemblies, and demand that they be treated as a matter of urgency."[b]

The second item was false; only after long hesitation, after lengthy discussions with the leaders of the party of Order and a change in the Cabinet did the government decide to propose these laws. The first item was an even more brazen lie; at the very moment it was being published in *La Patrie*, the government sent a telegram to the *départements* stating that de Flotte had been elected.

Nonetheless, the stratagem succeeded; the bonds rose by 1 fr. 35 cts., and our gentlemen speculators realised between 3 and 4 millions. Surely, one cannot take it amiss of the "Friends of Property" if they seek to gain possession of as much of their fetish as possible in the interests of order and society.

As a result of this successful dodge[c] the speculators became so bold that they immediately made new purchases on the grandest scale, thus inducing a number of other capitalists to buy also. The rise was so pronounced that even the conjectural profits on this transaction were already being traded yet again. Then, on the morning of the 15th, came the crushing blow of the proclamation of Carnot, de Flotte and Vidal as representatives of the people; stock prices fell suddenly and irresistibly, and the defeat of our speculators could not be avoided by any further lying news reports or telegraphic fictions.

Written between late March and mid-April 1850

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[a] Lazare Hippolyte Carnot, Paul de Flotte and François Vidal.—*Ed.*
[b] *La Patrie* No. 74, March 15, 1850. The italics are Marx's.—*Ed.*
[c] The English word is used in the original.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## GOTTFRIED KINKEL[252]

The slackness in the German allegedly revolutionary party is so great that things which would arouse a universal storm in France or England blow over in Germany without anybody even being amazed that such things actually find general favour here. Herr Waldeck gives the jurymen a detailed witness's testimony that he was always a good constitutionalist, and is driven home in triumph by the Berlin democrats. In Trier, Herr Grün denies the revolution in a public court in the silliest fashion, and the people turn their backs on the condemned proletarians in the court-room to acclaim the acquitted industrialist.[253]

A fresh example of what is possible in Germany is provided by the defence speech made by Herr Gottfried Kinkel before the military court in Rastatt on August 4, 1849, and published in the Berlin *Abend-Post* of April 6 and 7 this year.

We know in advance that we shall provoke the general wrath of the sentimental swindlers and democratic spouters by denouncing this speech of the "captured" Kinkel to our party. To this we are completely indifferent. Our task is that of ruthless criticism, and much more against ostensible friends than against open enemies; and in maintaining this our position we gladly forego cheap democratic popularity. Our attack will by no means worsen Herr Kinkel's position; we *denounce his amnesty* by confirming his confession that he is not the man people allege to hold him for, and by declaring that he is worthy, not only of being amnestied, but even of entering the service of the Prussian state. Moreover, the speech has been published. We denounce the whole document to our party, and only reproduce the most striking passages here.

"Also, I was never in *command*, so that I am not responsible for the actions of others either. For I wish to guard against any identification of my actions with the dirt and filth which recently, I know, unfortunately tagged on to this revolution."

Since Herr Kinkel "joined the Besançon company as a private", and since he here casts suspicion on all commanders, was it not his duty at this juncture to exempt at least his immediate superior, Willich?

"I have never served in the army, and have therefore also *never broken any oath to the flag, nor used against my fatherland any military knowledge which I might have obtained in the service of my fatherland.*"

Was this not a direct denunciation of the captured former Prussian soldiers, of Jansen and Bernigau, who were shot soon afterwards; was it not a complete endorsement of the death sentence against Dortu, who had already been shot?

Herr Kinkel further denounces his own party to the military court in speaking of plans for ceding the left bank of the Rhine to France, and declaring himself to be innocent in relation to this criminal project. Herr Kinkel knows very well that there was only talk of a union of the Rhine Province with France in the sense that in the decisive battle between revolution and counter-revolution the Rhine Province would unfailingly fight on the revolutionary side, whether it was represented by Frenchmen or Chinamen. Just as little does he omit a reference to the mildness of his character, in contrast to the wild revolutionaries, which made it possible for him to have a good relationship with an Arndt and other conservatives as a *human being*, if not as a party man.

"My guilt is that in the summer I still wanted the same thing that you all wanted in March, that the whole German people wanted in March!"

Here he declares himself to be nothing but a fighter for the Imperial Constitution, who never wanted anything beyond the Imperial Constitution. We take note of this declaration.

Herr Kinkel comes to speak of an article which he wrote about a riot of the Prussian soldiers in Mainz,[254] and says:

"And what happened to me because of this? During this my absence from home I received a second summons to appear in court, and since I was unable to appear to defend myself I was deprived, as I have recently been informed, of the franchise for five years. *Five years deprivation of the franchise* was pronounced over me: for a man who has already once had the honour of being a *deputy, this is an exceedingly harsh punishment*" (!).

"How often have I heard it said that I am a '*bad Prussian*'; these words have wounded me.... Well then! *My* party has for the present lost the game in our fatherland. If the Prussian Crown now at last pursues a bold and strong policy, if *His*

*Royal Highness our Crown Prince, the Prince of Prussia*, succeeds in forging Germany into one by the sword, for no other way is possible, and giving it a great and respected place in relation to our neighbours, and ensuring real and lasting internal freedom, raising trade and intercourse again, sharing the military burden, now weighing too heavily on Prussia, equally over the whole of Germany, and above all providing bread for the poor of my nation, whose representative I feel myself to be—if your party succeeds in this, well, upon my oath! The honour and greatness of my fatherland are dearer to me than my ideals of state, and I know how to appreciate the French republicans of 1793" (Fouché and Talleyrand?) "who afterwards voluntarily bowed to the greatness of Napoleon for the sake of France; now should this happen, and then my people once again do me the honour of choosing me as their representative, *I should be the first deputy to cry with a glad heart: Long live the German Empire! Long live the Hohenzollern Empire!*[a] If one is a bad Prussian with such opinions, well! Then I really have no desire to be a good Prussian."

"Gentlemen, *think a little also of wife and child at home* when you pronounce sentence upon a man who stands before you today *in such deep misfortune* as a result of the changing tides of human destiny!"

Herr Kinkel made this speech at a time when twenty-six of his comrades were being sentenced to death and shot by the same military courts, men who faced the bullet in a quite different fashion from that in which Herr Kinkel faced his judges. When, incidentally, he presents himself as a quite harmless person, he is completely right. He only happened to join his party through a misunderstanding, and it would be a quite senseless piece of cruelty if the Prussian Government wished to keep him in the penitentiary any longer.

Written in mid-April 1850

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[a] Kinkel's italics.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [EDITORIAL NOTE]

We have received the following report from Washington: "Herr Didier, editor of the *New-Yorker Schnellpost*, claims that he was formerly on the editorial staff of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*." We hereby declare that this is untrue.

Written in the second half of April 1850

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## STATEMENT[255]

The Berlin *Abend-Post* of April 14 contains the following report, date-lined Stettin,[a] April 11.

"With reference to the London refugees it has been arranged that contributions should be sent to *Bucher*, who will contact *Schramm* (of Striegau[b]), since the other two committees live in dissension and share out contributions in a partial way."

In actual fact there is only *one* refugee committee[256] here in London, the undersigned, which was established in September last year with the commencement of emigration to London. Subsequently attempts have been made to set up other refugee committees; they have remained unsuccessful. The undersigned committee has hitherto been able—at least to prevent them dying from hunger—to aid the refugees arriving here in need of help—who all, except four or five, applied to us. The masses of refugees pouring in here now as a result of the Swiss expulsions have at last, it is true, almost exhausted the funds of this committee too. These funds have been shared out *absolutely equally* to all those who have been able to show that they participated in the revolutionary movements in Germany and were in need of help, regardless of whichever party faction they belonged to. If the undersigned committee has adopted the title "social-democratic", it is not because it has only supported refugees of this party, but because it has principally had recourse to the money available from this party—as was also made clear already in its Appeal of November last year.[257]

The rumour that heaps of money lay waiting for the refugees here in London—a rumour evidently provoked by the refugee lottery

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[a] The Polish name is Szczecin.—*Ed.*
[b] The Polish name is Strzegom.—*Ed.*

suggested in Switzerland—led to demands being made on our committee which could not be fulfilled. On the other hand the simultaneous deliberate spreading of rumours in the newspapers about dissensions between competing committees has hindered the sending of sufficient contributions to London. The undersigned committee, in order to obtain information about the existence of other means and other committees for the support of the refugees, invited the refugees to send deputations to Citizens Struve, Rudolf Schramm, and Louis Bauer (from Stolpe). This was done. The refugees brought back the following answers:

Citizen Schramm (Striegau) declared that he belonged to no refugee committee, but had received a number of lottery tickets from Galeer in Geneva with instructions to send the money to Geneva. The other committee only *figures* as such.

Citizen Struve declared that he had no money, but only a number of lottery tickets, which he had not yet sold.

Citizen Bauer made the following written statement:

"Upon the request of refugee Kleiner it is hereby attested that the Refugee Committee of the Democratic Association[258] in this country is not in a position to support even a single political refugee, and that the funds of the society, after having donated £2.15.0 for this purpose, are similarly incapable of providing such assistance in future.

London, April 8, 1850

Dr. Bauer, President of the Support Committee
of the Democratic Association"

Messrs. Struve and Schramm had advised the refugees to form a refugee committee from among themselves or from politically neutral persons. The undersigned committee left it to the discretion of the refugees to take a decision on this themselves. The answer was the following statement by the refugees:

"To the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee.

"London, April 7, 1850.—The undersigned refugees find cause, after the negotiations which have taken place on delegating the task of providing for us to a committee which might perhaps be formed from among ourselves, to express on the basis of the firm conviction of both the earlier and the more recently arrived refugees our deepest gratitude to the members of the presently existing committee for their activities and their painstaking assiduity in connection with this responsibility, since these have constantly shared out to our satisfaction the moneys to be administered. It only remains for us to wish that only these members may take care of us until the imminent revolution we all desire relieves them of this responsibility.

"Greetings and fraternity!" (The signatures follow.)

This document, drawn up by the refugees themselves, is the best answer to the above article and to other similar insinuations in the

press. Incidentally, we should not have replied were it not necessary in the interests of the refugees themselves, in need of support as they are, to enlighten the public concerning such statements.

London, April 20, 1850

The Social-Democratic Refugee Committee:

*K. Marx*, Chairman

*Fr. Engels, August Willich, K. Pfänder, H. Bauer*[a]

Published in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* No. 102, April 28, 1850

Printed according to the newspaper and checked with the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] The editors attached the following note: "All democratic newspapers are requested to reproduce this Statement."—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE TIMES*

Sir,—In your number of Friday last[a] we perceive, among the police reports, an account of an interview of Messrs. Fothergill, Struve, and others, at the Mansion-house, with Mr. Alderman Gibbs, on behalf of the German refugees.[259] We beg to declare that neither any of the members of the undersigned committee, nor any of the German refugees supported by that committee, have had any connexion with this affair.

We request you, Sir, to publish this declaration in your next, as, in the interest of our nationality, we must protest against the numerous German refugees residing in London being made responsible for a step taken by some of them upon their own authority.

We are, Sir, your most obedient servants

The Democratic Socialist Committee for German Political Refugees—

*Ch. Marx*
*Ch. Pfaender*
*F. Engels*
*H. Bauer*
*A. Willich*

20 Great Windmill Street, Haymarket,
May 27, 1850[b]

Published in *The Times* No. 20500, May 28, 1850

Reprinted from the newspaper and checked with the rough draft by Engels

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[a] *The Times* No. 20497, May 24, 1850.—*Ed.*
[b] The rough draft has "May 24, 1850" written in an unknown hand.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## TWO YEARS OF A REVOLUTION; 1848 AND 1849[260]

[*The Democratic Review*, April 1850]

In the years 1848 and '49, there was published, in Cologne, a German daily paper, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (*New Rhenish Gazette*). This paper, edited by Charles Marx, chief editor, Frederick Engels, George Weerth, Freiligrath the celebrated poet, F. and W. Wolff, and others, very soon acquired an extraordinary degree of popularity, from the spirited and fearless manner in which it advocated the most advanced revolutionary principles, and the interests of the proletarians, of which it was the only organ in Germany. The Prussian government took advantage of the unsuccessful insurrections in the Rhenish provinces in May last, to stop the paper by various persecutions directed against the editors. They, in consequence, left the country, in order to seek new fields of activity in the various movements which at the time were either in preparation or taking place. Several of them went to Paris,[261] where a decisive turn of affairs (the 13th of June) was near at hand, and where they represented the German revolutionary party at the centre of French democracy; another[a] took his seat in the German National Assembly, which, at that moment, was being driven into insurrection; another,[b] again, went to Baden, and fought in the revolutionary army against the Prussians. After the defeats of these insurrections, they found themselves exiles in this country, in Switzerland, and France. Having no chance, for the moment, to re-establish a daily paper, they have got up a monthly magazine, to serve as their organ until circumstances shall allow them to re-assume their old position in the daily press of their country.

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[a] Wilhelm Wolff.—*Ed.*
[b] Frederick Engels.—*Ed.*

The first number of this publication has just come to hand. It bears the same title as the daily paper did—*New Rhenish Gazette, a Political and Economical Review, edited by Charles Marx.*[a]

This first number contains three articles only. It opens with the first of a series of papers upon the two past years of revolutions, by the chief editor, Charles Marx. Then follows a relation of the insurrectionary campaign in Western and Southern Germany, during May, June, and July last, by Frederick Engels[b]; and, lastly, an article from the pen of Charles Blind (ex-ambassador at Paris of the Baden Provisional Government) upon the state of parties in Baden. These latter articles, although containing many important disclosures, are of interest chiefly to the German reader. The first article is devoted to a subject of primary interest to the readers of all countries, particularly the working classes. The subject, too, has found in Citizen Marx a writer every way able to do it justice. For these reasons, we deem it a duty to give as much in the shape of extract as our limited space will allow.

The article under notice treats of the Revolution of February; its causes and effects, and the succeeding events up to the great insurrection of June, 1848.[c]

"With the exception of very few chapters indeed, every important section of the revolutionary annals of 1848 and '49 bears upon its title page—*Defeat of Revolution!* But, what was really defeated in all these defeats was not revolution itself. It was, on the contrary, nothing but the unrevolutionary elements of the revolutionary party that were defeated[d]; individuals, delusions, ideas, plans, and projects of a more or less unrevolutionary character; elements[e] from which the subversive party[f] was not free before February, and of which it could not be freed by the victory of February, but by a series of defeats only. In other words: It was not by the immediate tragical or comical results of the first victory that the revolutionising progress made its way; this progress, on the contrary, was occasioned chiefly by the formation of a mighty and united counter-revolutionary interest, in the procreation of a foe, in grappling with whom the subversive party could alone develop itself to a really revolutionary party."

This is the general theme which Citizen Marx develops in the course of his article. He begins with exposing the causes of the

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[a] Engels gives the title of the journal in English.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 147-239.—*Ed.*

[c] Here and below Engels supplied his own translations of passages quoted from Marx's *The Class Struggles in France.* These differ in wording from the translation of the complete work in this volume of the *Collected Works.*—*Ed.*

[d] Marx has: "It was the pre-revolutionary traditional appendages, results of social relationships which had not yet come to the point of sharp class antagonisms" that were defeated (see p. 47 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[e] The words "of a more or less unrevolutionary character; elements" are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[f] Marx wrote "the revolutionary party".—*Ed.*

# TWO YEARS OF A REVOLUTION; 1848 AND 1849.

In the years 1848 and '49, there was published, in Cologne, a German daily paper, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, (*New Rhenish Gazette*). This paper, edited by Charles Marx, chief editor, Frederick Engels, George Weerth, Freiligrath the celebrated poet, F. and W. Wolff, and others, very soon acquired an extraordinary degree of popularity, from the spirited and fearless manner in which it advocated the most advanced revolutionary principles, and the interests of the proletarians, of which it was the only organ in Germany. The Prussian government took advantage of the unsuccessful insurrections in the Rhenish provinces in May last, to stop the paper by various persecutions directed against the editors. They, in consequence, left the country, in order to seek new fields of activity in the various movements which at the time were either in preparation or taking place. Several of them went to Paris, where a decisive turn of affairs, (the 13th of June,) was near at hand, and where they represented the German revolutionary party at the centre of French democracy; another took his seat in the German National Assembly, which, at that moment, was being driven into insurrection; another, again, went to Baden, and fought in the revolutionary army against the Prussians. After the defeats of these insurrections, they found themselves exiles in this country, in Switzerland, and France. Having no chance, for the moment, to re-establish a daily paper, they have got up a monthly magazine, to serve as their organ until circumstances shall allow them to re-assume their old position in the daily press of their country.

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The first page of Frederick Engels' article "Two Years of a Revolution; 1848 and 1849", published by *The Democratic Review*

revolution of February, and shews those causes to be far deeper rooted than any of the previous writers upon the subject ever have been able to do. With all historians of the last twenty years' events in France, it has been a thing generally agreed upon, that under Louis Philippe, the bourgeoisie, as a whole, was the ruling power, in France; that the scandalous disclosures of 1847 were the chief cause of the revolution, and that this revolution was a direct struggle of the proletarians against the bourgeoisie. Under Citizen Marx's pen, these assertions, although not directly and absolutely denied, yet undergo important modifications.

The German historian proves, that, under Louis Philippe, political power was concentrated in the hands, not of the entire bourgeois class, but of one fraction only of that class, that which is called in France the financial aristocracy, and, in England, the banking, funded, railway, etc., interests, or the moneyed interest, as opposed to the manufacturing interest.

"Not the entire bourgeois class of France lorded it over the country under Louis Philippe, but only one fraction of that class: bankers, stock-jobbers, railway kings, mining kings, and a part of the 'rallied' landlords—the so-called *financial aristocracy*. It was they who sat on the throne, who dictated laws in the Chambers, who disposed of government patronage, from the minister down to the licensed dealer in tobacco. The *manufacturing* portion of the bourgeoisie formed a part of the official opposition; they were represented by a minority only of the Chambers. Their opposition became more obstinate in the same measure as the exclusive sway of the financial aristocracy turned more and more exclusive; and as they themselves, after the fruitless insurrections[a] of the working people in 1832, 1834, and 1839,[262] deemed their dominion over the proletarians more firmly established.... The petty capitalists, the shopocracy[b] in all its various gradations, and the farming class, were entirely excluded from political power."

The necessary consequences of this exclusive dominion of the financial aristocracy were, that all public interest was made subservient to theirs; that the State was considered by them as a mere means to increase their fortunes at its expense. Citizen Marx depicts in a very forcible manner how this scandalous system was carried on in France for eighteen years; how the running up of the public debt, the increase in the public expenses, the never-ending financial difficulties and defects of the public purse, were so many sources from which new wealth flowed into the pockets of the money-lords, sources which every year were made to flow more freely, and to exhaust so much the quicker the resources of the country; how the expense of the government, the army and navy, the railways, and

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[a] Marx wrote "mutinies ... which had been drowned in blood".—*Ed.*

[b] This word is added by Engels.—*Ed.*

other public works, offered hundreds of opportunities, eagerly seized upon by the financiers, to cheat the public by fraudulent contracts, &c. In short—

"The monarchy of July was nothing else than a joint-stock company for working up the national wealth of France; the dividends of which society were shared amongst ministers, Chambers, 240,000 Parliamentary voters, and their more or less numerous[a] tail. Louis Philippe was the George Hudson[b] of this company—*Robert Macaire* on the throne. Trade, manufactures, agriculture, shipping, the interests of the manufacturing middle-classes, were necessarily and constantly damaged and endangered under this system [....]

"And while the jobbing interest made laws, directed the public administration, disposed of every organised public power, dominated public opinion by the press and by the power of facts, there was imitated in all spheres of society, from the court down to the *café-borgne*, that very same prostitution, that same shameless imposition, that same avidity of accumulating wealth, not by production, but by cheating others out of produce already existing. There was let loose—particularly in the most elevated regions of society, and coming, at every moment, into collision with bourgeois law itself—an universal outburst of those disorderly, unsound lusts and appetites, in which wealth acquired by gambling very naturally looks for satisfaction, where enjoyment becomes *crapuleux*, where gold, mud, and blood flow mixing together. The financial aristocracy, in its mode both of appropriating and of enjoying, is nothing but *the reproduction of 'Mob'*[c] *in the elevated spheres of bourgeois society.*"

The scandalous disclosures of 1847, the Teste,[d] Praslin, Gudin, Dujarrier affairs, brought this state of things to the broad light of day. The infamous behaviour of the government in the Cracow, and Swiss Sonderbund affairs, violated the national pride to the utmost; while the victory of the Swiss liberals, and the revolution at Palermo, in January, '48 exalted the spirits of the opposition.[263]

"At last, the outbreak of the universal unsettled feeling was ripened into revolt by two great and general economical events. The first of these events was the potatoe disease, and the bad harvests of 1845 and '46.[e] The all but famine of 1847 provoked in France and other continental countries numerous bloody conflicts. *Here* the orgies of the financial aristocracy, *there* the people struggling for the first necessaries of life! At Buzançais the mutineers of hunger beheaded,[264] at Paris aristocratic thimble-riggers saved from the law by the royal family! The second great economical event[f] was an

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[a] The words "more or less numerous" are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx wrote "the director" (see p. 50 of this volume). Engels gives the name of a big English businessman.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx wrote "lumpenproletariat" (see p. 51 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[d] See Engels' note to the 1895 edition of Marx's *The Class Struggles in France* (p. 117 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[e] In Marx's work this sentence reads: "The *potatoe blight* and the *crop failures* of 1845 and 1846 increased the general ferment among the people" (see p. 52 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[f] In Marx's work there follows: "which hastened the outbreak of the revolution".—*Ed.*

universal commercial and industrial revulsion. Announced in England already in autumn 1845 by the wholesale breakdown of railway speculation, interrupted during 1846 by a series of incidents, and particularly the repeal of the Corn-laws—at last, in autumn 1847, it broke out in the failures of the large London colonial firms, followed up by the failures of country bankers, and the shutting up of the factories in the English manufacturing districts. The reaction of this crisis upon continental trade was not exhausted at the time the revolution broke out. This devastation of trade[a] made still more insupportable, in France, the exclusive rule of the monied interest. The opposing fractions of the bourgeoisie united in the banquet agitation[b] for a reform in Parliament, which should secure the majority to them. The commercial revulsion in Paris threw a number of manufacturers and wholesale dealers upon the home trade, as the foreign market offered for the moment no chance of profit. These capitalists set up large retail concerns, the competition of which ruined hundreds of smaller shopkeepers. Thence the numerous failures in this section of the Paris bourgeoisie, thence its revolutionary spirit in February."

The united action of these causes made the revolution of February break out. The provisional government was established. All opposing parties were represented in this government: the monarchical opposition[265] (Crémieux and even Dupont de l'Eure), the republican bourgeoisie (Marrast, Marie, Garnier-Pagès), the republican small trading class (Ledru-Rollin and Flocon), and the proletarians (Louis Blanc and Albert). Lamartine, lastly, represented the revolution of February itself, the common insurrection of bourgeois and proletarians, with its imaginary results, its delusions, its poetry, and its big words. By his position and his views he belonged to the bourgeoisie, the representatives of whom, therefore, formed the large majority of the new government.

"If in consequence of political centralisation Paris governs France, the working class in moments of revolutionary earthquakes govern Paris. The first act of the provisional government was directed against this overwhelming influence; it was an appeal from 'revolution-intoxicated Paris' to 'sober France'. Lamartine contested the right of the combatants[c] to proclaim the republic; 'the majority of the French people alone were competent to do so[d]; the working men had better not stain their victory by an usurpation',[e] etc. The bourgeoisie permitted to the working men one usurpation only: that of the combat."

The proletarians forced the government to proclaim the republic. Raspail acted as their speaker. He declared that, if in two hours this

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[a] In Marx's work this phrase reads: "The devastation of trade and industry caused by the economic epidemic", etc.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx wrote "Throughout the whole of France the bourgeois opposition *agitated at banquets*", etc.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx wrote "barricade fighters" (see p. 53 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[d] In Marx's work there follows: "they must await the majority vote".—*Ed.*

[e] From Lamartine's speech made in the Chamber of Deputies on February 24, 1848. Marx gives a summary of this speech.—*Ed.*

was not done, he should call again at the head of 200,000 armed working men. Before the term had elapsed the republic was proclaimed.

"The working class, in dictating the republic to the government and to France, all at once stepped forward into the foreground as an independent party, but at the same time provoked against itself all the bourgeois interest of France. What the proletarians had conquered, was not their emancipation, but the battle-field, upon which they could fight for their emancipation. The republic of February, in the beginning, could do nothing but *complete* the government of the middle-classes, in opening the circle of political action to all the propertied classes of France. The majority of the large landlords, the Legitimists, were emancipated from the political nullity to which they had been doomed by the revolution of 1830.[a] [...] By universal suffrage, that vast class of mere nominal landed proprietors (the real proprietors are the capitalists, to whom the property is mortgaged),[b] that class which forms the large majority of Frenchmen—the peasantry—was called upon to arbitrate the destinies of France. And lastly, the republic of February made openly manifest the rule of the bourgeoisie by setting aside the crown behind which capital had hitherto hid itself. The working men had established, in July 1830, the bourgeois monarchy—in February 1848,[c] they established the bourgeois republic. But as the monarchy of 1830[d] was forced to announce itself a 'monarchy surrounded with republican institutions', the republic of 1848[e] announced itself '*a republic surrounded with social institutions*'. This concession, too, was forced from the republic by the Parisian working men."

The "right to work" and the commission of the Luxembourg (by which Louis Blanc and Albert were virtually excluded from the government, the bourgeois majority of which retained the actual power) were the most conspicuous of these social institutions. The working men saw themselves reduced to work out their salvation, not *against* the bourgeoisie, but independent of, and side-to-side with the bourgeoisie. The Bourse and the Bank continued to exist; only the Socialist church of the Luxembourg was set up by the side of these two great bourgeois churches; and as the working men believed they could emancipate themselves without interfering with the interests of the bourgeoisie, they also believed they could do so without interfering with the remaining bourgeois nations of Europe.

"The development of the industrial working class is entirely dependent upon the development of the industrial capitalist class.[f] It is only under the government of this latter class, that the industrial proletarians attain that importance which alone can

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[a] Marx wrote "by the July monarchy" (see p. 54 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[b] The phrase in parenthesis is added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[c] References to 1830 and 1848 are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx wrote "the July monarchy".—*Ed.*

[e] Marx wrote "the February republic".—*Ed.*

[f] In Marx's work this sentence reads: "The development of the industrial proletariat is, in general, conditioned by the development of the industrial bourgeoisie" (see p. 56 of this volume).—*Ed.*

make their revolution a national one; that they create those immense productive powers of modern industry, which will become the means of their revolutionary emancipation; that the last roots[a] of feudalism are torn up, and thus the field prepared upon which alone a proletarian revolution is possible. Now, manufacturing industry, in France, is more advanced[b] than in any other country of the continent. But the fact, that the revolution of February was directed, before all, against the financial aristocracy—this fact proves clearly that the *industrial* bourgeoisie, before February, did not govern France. Indeed, the industrial bourgeoisie can govern in a country only, whose manufacturing industry commands, for its produce, the universal market; the limits of the home market are too narrow for its development.[c] The manufacturing industry of France, however, in a great measure commands even the home markets, by the protective duties only.[d] Therefore, if in Paris the proletarians, at the moment of a revolution, possess a real power, and an influence which lead them to outrun their ultimate[e] means of action—in the remainder of France they are concentrated in a few industrial centres, such as Lyons, Lille, Mulhouse, Rouen,[f] and almost disappear under the vast majority of surrounding peasants and small tradesmen. Therefore, the struggle against capital in its most developed and decisive form, the struggle of the industrial salaried working man against the industrial working capitalist, in France, is a mere local fact, which, after February, could not form the prominent national feature of the revolution. And it could do so the less, as the struggle against the more subordinate modes of action of capital, the struggle of the peasant against usury and the mortgaging system, of the small tradesman against the wholesale dealer, the banker, and manufacturer, in one word, against bankruptcy, were as yet enveloped in the general rising against the financial aristocracy. [...] The French proletarians could not take a single step in advance, could destroy not a single atom of the existing bourgeois institutions,[g] until the march of the revolution had aroused against the rule of capital, had forced to join the proletarians, all those intermediate classes, the peasants and the small tradesmen, who are neither bourgeois nor proletarians, and who, in France, form the large mass of the nation. Then, and then only, the proletarians, instead of pursuing their interests without interfering with those of the bourgeoisie, could proclaim the proletarian interests to be the revolutionary interests of the nation, and assert them in direct opposition to those of the bourgeoisie.[266] And it was only by their immense defeat in June, '48, that the proletarians could approach that victory....

"Thus the government of the bourgeoisie was abolished by the establishment of the republic; it was abolished, not in reality, but[h] in the imagination of the working men, who took the financial aristocracy for the entire bourgeoisie; in the imagination

Marx wrote "the material roots" (see p. 56 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[b] In Marx's work there follows: "and the French bourgeoisie more revolutionary".—*Ed.*

[c] In Marx's work the end of the sentence reads as follows: "where modern industry shapes all property relations to suit itself, and industry can win this power only where it has conquered the world market, for national bounds are inadequate for its development".—*Ed.*

[d] Marx wrote "through a more or less modified system of prohibitive tariffs".—*Ed.*

[e] The word "ultimate" is added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[f] The names of the industrial centres are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[g] Marx wrote "a hair of the bourgeois order".—*Ed.*

[h] The words "not in reality, but" are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

of republican worthies who denied the existence of hostile[a] classes, or who, at the very utmost, admitted it as a consequence of monarchy.[b] Thus every royalist all at once called himself a republican, and every millionaire a working man. The word which corresponded to this imaginary abolition of classes and class interests[c] was the word *Fraternity*, the universal brotherhood. This very pleasant abstraction from all existing antagonism of classes, this sentimental adjustment of opposed class interests, this enthusiastic elevation into those sublime regions where no earthly class struggles exist, this fraternity was the great word of the revolution of February. The struggling classes were divided by a mere *mistake*, and Lamartine, on the 24th of February, called for a government which should put an end to that 'dreadful *misunderstanding*', which had sprung up between the several classes of society."

We shall continue these extracts in our next. The acts of the provisional government, the convocation of the National Assembly, and the insurrection of June will then be passed in review.

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[*The Democratic Review*, May 1850]

In our number for April we followed up Citizen Marx's remarks upon the revolution of February, up to the establishment and first acts of the provisional government. We had, already, more than one occasion to see that the middle-class elements of that government were powerful enough to subserve the interests of their order, and to profit by the ignorance of the proletarians of Paris as to their real interests, and to the means for advancing them. We continue our extracts:—

"The republic found no resistance, neither at home nor abroad. By this single fact it was disarmed. Its aim was no longer to revolutionise the world, its aim was to adapt itself to the exigences of existing bourgeois society. And the fanaticism with which the provisional government followed up this aim, is proved especially in its financial measures.

"Public and private credit, of course, were shaken. Public credit is based on the certainty that the State allows the Jews of finance to fatten upon it. But the *old* State was gone, and the revolution had been directed, before all, against these financial Jews. Besides, that oscillations of the last European commercial crisis had not yet subsided. There were, as yet, failures following upon failures. Private credit had been paralysed, circulation stopped, and production obstructed, before even the revolution of February broke out. The revolutionary crisis, of course, augmented the commercial one. And if private credit is based upon the certitude, that the bourgeois mode of

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[a] The word "hostile" is added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx has here "as a result of the constitutional monarchy", and after a semicolon one more phrase which reads: "in the hypocritical phrases of the factions of the bourgeoisie which until then had been excluded from power" (see p. 57 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[c] Marx has "class relations" instead of "classes and class interests".—*Ed.*

producing wealth,[a] that the whole bourgeois order of things, is intact and inviolable, what must have been the effect of a revolution which called into question the very foundation of the bourgeois mode of producing the economical slavery of the proletarian class; and which, in opposition to the Bourse, set up the Sphinx of the Luxembourg? The emancipation of the proletarian class, means the repeal of bourgeois credit, for it is the abolition of bourgeois production and of the social state consistent with it. Public and private credit are the thermometers[b] by which you may measure the intensity of a revolution. *In the same degree in which credit falls rises the ardour and the potency of revolution.*

"The provisional government was anxious to free the republic from its anti-bourgeois appearance. It had, therefore, in the first instance to ensure its exchangeable value, *its current price on 'Change.* And with the current price of the republic on 'Change, private credit, of course, was sure to rise again.

"In order to destroy even the slightest suspicion, that the republic would or could not fulfil the engagements inherited from monarchy—in order to restore faith in its bourgeois morality and solvency, the provisional government had recourse to a puff quite as childish as it was devoid of dignity. It paid to the public creditors the interest of the debt even *before* it was legally due. The bourgeois *a-plomb,* the self-reliance of the capitalists awoke suddenly again when they saw the anxiety with which the government sought to buy up their confidence. [...]

"The financial aristocracy who ruled under Louis Philippe,[c] had their cathedral church in the Bank. As the Exchange governs public credit, the Bank governs private credit.[d]

"Directly menaced by the revolution,[e] not only in its dominion but in its very existence, the Bank tried at once to discredit the republic by destroying credit everywhere. The Bank at once refused credit to the private bankers, to the manufacturers and merchants. This manoeuvre, as it did not succeed in producing a counter-revolution, recoiled, in its consequences, upon the Bank itself. Capitalists withdrew the coin they had deposited in its vaults. Holders of notes ran upon the Bank to have them changed for coin.

"Without any forcible interference, in a strictly legal manner, the provisional government could have forced the Bank into bankruptcy, they had only to remain passive and to abandon it to its fate. The *failure of the Bank*—that was the deluge which would have swept away from the soil of France in an instant the financial aristocracy, that most powerful and most dangerous enemy of the republic—that golden pedestal of the monarchy of July. And the Bank once bankrupt, must not even the bourgeoisie have regarded it as a last effort on the part of the government if it had created a national bank and subjected national credit to the control of the nation?

"But on the contrary: the provisional government acted as Pitt in 1797 had done, suspended cash payments and[f] made the notes of the bank a legal tender. Still more, it made all provincial banks branch banks of the Bank of France, and allowed it, thus, to spread its net all over the country. Later on, the government mortgaged to the Bank, for a loan, the national woods and forests. Thus the revolution of February

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[a] Marx wrote "that bourgeois production in the entire scope of its relations", etc. (see p. 59 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[b] Marx wrote "the economic thermometer".—*Ed.*

[c] Marx wrote "under the July monarchy" (see p. 60 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[d] Marx wrote "commercial credit".—*Ed.*

[e] Marx wrote "the February Revolution".—*Ed.*

[f] The phrase "acted as Pitt in 1797 had done, suspended cash payments and" is added by Engels.—*Ed.*

fortified and enlarged the power of the financial aristocracy[a] which it had been its aim to destroy!"

It is generally known what the government, so merciful to the money-lords of the Exchange and the Bank, gave to the classes forming the opposite extremity of society: to the working men and small tradespeople it gave the confiscation of the money in the savings' banks, to the peasantry the tax of the 45 centimes upon every franc of the four direct taxes.

"The sums deposited in the savings' bank were seized and declared a consolidated public debt.[b] By this the small trader was exasperated against the republic.[c] By receiving, instead of his money,[d] mere government securities, which he was obliged to sell on 'Change, he fell utterly a prey to the Jews of the Bourse, against whom he had made the revolution of February!! [...]

"The tax of the 45 centimes fell most heavily upon the peasantry, who formed the large majority of the French people. They had to pay the expenses of the revolution of February, and naturally they henceforth formed the chief material for the counter-revolution. The tax of the 45 centimes was a vital question for the peasant, and he made it a vital question for the republic. The republic, for him, was henceforth identical with that obnoxious tax,[e] and the proletarian of Paris appeared to him in the light of the lazy prodigal who feasted at his expense. If the revolution of 1789 had set in with the freeing of the peasantry from all feudal charges, the revolution of 1848[f] announced itself to that class[g] by a new tax!!

"There was only one means for the government to weather all these inconveniences and to throw the State out of the old track: and that was a *declaration of national bankruptcy*. The Jew banker Fould, the present minister of finance, proposed this remedy to Ledru-Rollin,[h] and the virtuous indignation is not yet forgotten with which this citizen, as he himself stated in the National Assembly, protested against such a proposal. M. Fould had offered to him the apple from the tree of knowledge!!!

"The provisional government, in accepting the bills of exchange drawn by old bourgeois society upon the State, had surrendered into its hands. It had become the persecuted debtor of bourgeois society, instead of standing up against it as its threatening creditor, who had to enforce payment of revolutionary debts of many years' standing. It had to refortify bourgeois society,[i] in order to be enabled to fulfil

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[a] Marx wrote "enlarged the bankocracy".—*Ed.*

[b] Marx wrote "and by decree transformed into an irredeemable state debt" (see p. 60 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[c] In Marx's work this sentence reads as follows: "This embittered the already hard pressed *petty bourgeois* against the republic" (see p. 60 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[d] Marx wrote "in place of his savings bank books" (see p. 60 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[e] Marx wrote "the *45 centimes tax*" (see p. 61 of this volume).—*Ed.*

f In Marx's work there follows: "in order not to endanger capital and to keep its state machine going".—*Ed.*

[g] Marx wrote "to the rural population".—*Ed.*

[h] This refers to the speech which Ledru-Rollin made in the Constituent Assembly on April 21, 1849. The words "this remedy" are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[i] Marx wrote "to consolidate the shaky bourgeois relationships" (see p. 62 of this volume).—*Ed.*

engagements which can be fulfilled within the pale of bourgeois society only. Credit was its very first condition of existence, and the concessions and promises made to the proletarians were turned into as many fetters, which it had to throw off. The emancipation of the proletarians, even as a mere word, became an insupportable danger for the republic, for it was a never-ending protest against the restoration of credit, which is based upon the undisturbed and inviolate acknowledgement of the existing antagonism of classes.[a] There was a necessity, then, to *put down, once for all,*[b] *the proletarians.*"

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[*The Democratic Review*, June 1850]

The army had been exiled from Paris since February; the national guard, *i.e.*, the armed bourgeoisie, the only armed force in Paris, had never been strong enough to fight, by itself, the proletarians. It had, in spite of all resistance, been adulterated by the admixture of working men. There was no chance left but that of opposing working men to working men.

"For this purpose the provisional government formed twenty-four battalions of *gardes mobile,* each numbering 1,000 men, mostly from 15 to 20 years of age. They were recruits, almost exclusively from the mob,[c] which in all large towns, forms a mass entirely distinct from the industrial working class,[d] recruiting class for thieves and criminals of all sorts, living upon the offal of society, people without any fixed trade, vagrants, *gens sans feu et sans aveu,* differing according to the character of the nation to which they belong[e]; and in the early age at which the government recruited them, capable as well of the greatest heroism and the most exalted self-sacrifice, as of the lowest degree of villainy and the dirtiest corruptibility. The provisional government bought them up for one and a half francs daily. They gave them a regimental dress to distinguish them in every respect from the working men in the *blouse.* Their officers were either taken from the army or from the sons of the bourgeoisie,[f] whose splendid speeches about dying for the republic deceived them. And the people took these 24,000 vigorous and daring young soldiers, who had just left the barricades, for their own army, for the real proletarian guards, in opposition to the old bourgeois national guard.[g] Their error was excusable.

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[a] Marx wrote "existing economic class relations" (ibid.).—*Ed.*

[b] The words "once for all" are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx wrote "*lumpenproletariat*" (ibid.).—*Ed.*

[d] Marx wrote "the industrial proletariat".—*Ed.*

[e] Marx wrote "according to the degree of civilisation of the nation to which they belong, but never renouncing their *lazzaroni* character".—*Ed.*

[f] In Marx's work the corresponding passage reads: "And so the Paris proletariat officers from the standing army as leaders; in part they themselves elected young sons of the bourgeoisie", etc.—*Ed.*

[g] In Marx's work the corresponding passage reads: "And so the Paris proletariat was confronted with an army, drawn from its own midst, of 24,000 young, strong, foolhardy men. It gave cheers for the Mobile Guard on its marches through Paris. It acknowledged it to be its foremost fighters on the barricades. It regarded it as the *proletarian* guard in contradistinction to the bourgeois National Guard."—*Ed.*

"The government, besides, resolved to surround themselves with an industrial army. Minister Marie enlisted a hundred thousand working men (thrown into the street by the crisis and the revolution), into *ateliers nationaux.* Under this high-sounding name there was hidden nothing but the application of these working men to tedious, monotonous, unproductive labour on embankments, &c., &c., for wages of 23 sous ($11^1/_2$d)[a] daily. *English workhouses in the open air*—the *ateliers nationaux* were nothing but that. The provisional government hoped they had thus formed by them a second proletarian army to be used against the working class at large.[b] But the bourgeoisie were deceived in the *ateliers nationaux,* as the people were deceived in the *garde mobile.* They had created an army for insurrection.

"But one end was obtained: *ateliers nationaux* was the name for the public workshops which Louis Blanc had asked for in the Luxembourg. The *ateliers* of Marie had been created in direct opposition to the Luxembourg. [...] The rumour was spread that Louis Blanc had invented the *ateliers nationaux*; and this appeared the more credible as Louis Blanc, the prophet of national workshops, was himself a member of the provisional government. And thus in the opinion, artificially kept up, of the Paris bourgeoisie, of France and Europe,[c] those workhouses were the first realisation of Socialism which, in them, was nailed to the pillory.

"Not by their reality, but by their name, the *ateliers nationaux* were the incorporated protest of the proletarian order against bourgeois industry, bourgeois credit, and the bourgeois republic. Upon them, then, fell the whole hatred of the bourgeoisie. This class, at the same time, had found in them the object against which to direct the first attack, as soon as it had recovered the necessary strength for declaring against the illusions of February. All the hatred and grumbling of the small trading class was at once directed against these *ateliers nationaux.* They, with unfeigned anger, calculated the sums devoured by these proletarian unproductives, while their own position got worse every day. [...] The national workshops, the declarations of the Luxembourg, the proletarian processions through Paris, these were, in their estimation, the causes of their own critical situation. And no one fanaticised himself more against the pretended plottings of the Communists, than the petty tradesman, the shopkeeper of Paris, who himself was on the verge of the abyss of bankruptcy.[d]

"Thus, while every day brought the stirring news of a new revolution to the victory-intoxicated people, the bourgeoisie concentrated more and more in their hands all the advantages, all the decisive positions for the ensuing struggle between them and the proletarians—all the control over the intermediate classes of society."[e]

The necessary consequence was a series of moral victories of the bourgeoisie. If the proletarians, on the 17th of March, had apparently the upper hand, yet the real end of the manifestation, the

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[a] This is added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx wrote "*against the workers themselves*" (see p. 63 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[c] In Marx's work the beginning of this sentence reads: "And in the half naive, half intentional confusion of the Paris bourgeoisie, in the artificially moulded opinion of France, of Europe", etc. (ibid.).—*Ed.*

[d] In Marx's work the end of the sentence reads as follows: "than the petty bourgeoisie, who hovered hopelessly on the brink of bankruptcy" (see p. 64 of this volume). The words "the shopkeeper of Paris" are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[e] In Marx's work this passage reads: "Thus in the approaching skirmish between bourgeoisie and proletariat, all the advantages, all the decisive posts, all the middle

subjection of the provisional government to the will of the proletarians, was defeated. The 16th of April, however, was a decided defeat of the proletarians, and was followed by the return of the army into Paris.[267] The election for the National Assembly, shortly after, gave a decided majority to the bourgeoisie.

"Universal suffrage did not possess that magic power which the old republican party had attributed to it. They saw in all France, at least in the majority of Frenchmen, only *citizens* with identical interests, identical ideas and intelligences.[a] They worshipped what they called the people. But, instead of this *imaginary* French people, universal suffrage brought to light the real people, that is to say, representatives of the different classes of which it is composed. And we have seen why the peasantry and the small trading class were obliged to vote under the direction of the now again warlike bourgeoisie, and of the large landlords, who ardently strove for a restoration. But if universal suffrage was not the magic wand, which credulous, self-deceiving republicans believed it to be, it had the far higher merit of causing the struggle of the classes to make the different intermediate sections of bourgeois society pass rapidly through the different stages of[b] illusions and disillusionings, to force all the factions of the capitalist class at once into political power, and thus to tear off from a portion of them the delusive mask of opposition which they had worn under the monarchy.[c]

"In the Constituent National Assembly, which met on the 4th of May, the bourgeois republicans, the men of the *National*, had the majority. Legitimists and Orleanists, in the beginning, dared to show themselves only under the mask of bourgeois republicanism. It was in the name of the republic only that the struggle against the proletarians could be commenced.... The republic, as proclaimed by the National Assembly,[d] was not a revolutionary weapon against bourgeois society, but, on the contrary, [...] was the bourgeois republic. In the National Assembly all France sat in judgment on the Parisian working men. That assembly at once did away with the social delusions of February, it proclaimed plainly and unmistakably the bourgeois republic,[e] it excluded from the Executive Commission the representatives of the proletarians, Louis Blanc and Albert; it rejected the motion for a separate Ministry of

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strata of society were in the hands of the bourgeoisie, at the same time as the waves of the February Revolution rose high over the whole Continent, and each new post brought a new bulletin of revolution, now from Italy, now from Germany, now from the remotest parts of South-Eastern Europe, and maintained the general ecstasy of the people, giving it constant testimony of a victory that it had already forfeited."—*Ed.*

[a] The word "intelligences" is added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] The words "the different stages of" are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[c] In Marx's work the end of the sentence reads as follows: "of tossing all the sections of the exploiting class at one throw to the apex of the state, and thus tearing from them their deceptive mask, whereas the monarchy with its property qualifications only let certain factions of the bourgeoisie compromise themselves, allowing the others to lie hidden behind the scenes and surrounding them with the halo of a common opposition" (see p. 65 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[d] Marx wrote "The republic proclaimed by the National Assembly, the sole legitimate republic", etc.—*Ed.*

[e] In Marx's work there follows: "nothing but the bourgeois republic".—*Ed.*

Labour; it received with storms of applause the announcement of its minister, Trélat, that the only thing to be done was, *to reduce labour to its former conditions.*[a]

"But all this was insufficient. The republic of February had been founded[b] by the working men with the passive assistance of the bourgeoisie. The proletarians considered themselves, rightly, as the conquerors, and made the haughty pretensions of conquerors. It was necessary, therefore, to combat and vanquish them in the streets.[c] And as the republic of February, with its socialist concessions, had been brought about by a battle of the proletarian class, then united with the bourgeoisie against royalty, another battle was necessary to separate the republic from the socialist concessions, to set up the bourgeois republic officially. [...] The real birth of the bourgeois republic is not the victory of February, it is the defeat of June."

The collision of the 15th of May, and the battle of the 23rd, 24th, 25th, and 26th of June,[268] are known enough in their immediate causes, and in the events connected with them. The defeat of June decided, *for a time,* the conflict between the two contending classes.

"The Paris proletarians had been *forced* into the insurrection of June by the bourgeoisie. This circumstance already contains in it its condemnatory judgment. Neither were the proletarians pushed by immediate and recognised necessity to overthrow the bourgeoisie; nor were they strong enough for the task. The *Moniteur* informed them officially that the time was past when the republic could feel inclined to bow before their 'illusions'; and their defeat could alone convince them that even the very least amelioration of their condition was hopeless if looked for within the limits of the bourgeois republic.[d] And now, in the place of the seemingly extravagant, but in reality very petty and even middle-class measures which the workman would force upon the republic of February, now was proclaimed the daring, revolutionary battle-cry: *Down with the bourgeoisie! Dictatorship of the Working Class!*

"The bourgeois republic, created from the blood of the working people, was compelled to come out[e] at once in its true character as the state, the openly proclaimed end of which is to eternalise the ascendancy of capital and the slavery of labour. Bourgeois ascendancy, freed from all fetters, but never losing sight of its implacable and invincible enemy,[f] could not but immediately turn into *bourgeois terrorism.* The proletarians for the moment removed from the stage; the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie once acknowledged; the intermediate strata of bourgeois society, shopocracy, and peasantry, the more their own condition got insupportable, and the more their antagonism against the bourgeoisie became pronounced, were obliged to associate with the proletarians."

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[a] From Trélat's speech made in the Constituent Assembly on June 20, 1848.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx wrote "was won" (see p. 66 of this volume).— *Ed.*

[c] Marx goes on to say: "they had to be shown that they were worsted as soon as they did not fight *with* the bourgeoisie, but *against* the bourgeoisie.— *Ed.*

[d] Marx has one more phrase which reads: "a utopia that becomes a crime as soon as it wants to become a reality" (see p. 69 of this volume).— *Ed.*

[e] In Marx's work the beginning of the sentence reads as follows: "By making its burial place the birthplace of the *bourgeois republic,* the proletariat compelled the latter to come out", etc. (ibid.).— *Ed.*

[f] Marx has one more phrase which reads: "invincible because his existence is the condition of its own life".— *Ed.*

If the defeat of June, in France, fortified the political power of the bourgeoisie, it destroyed it in the other continental countries. The open alliance of the bourgeoisie with feudal royalty, which everywhere, after June, was entered into, was profited of by royalty to break the power of the bourgeoisie.

"The defeat of June revealed to the despotic powers of Europe the secret that France could not do without external peace in order to carry on the internal war. Thus the nations that had risen for national independence were sacrificed to Russia, Austria, and Prussia. These national revolutions were subjected to the fate of the proletarian revolution.[a] The Hungarian shall not be free, nor the Pole, nor the Italian, as long as the working man remains a slave!

"Lastly, by the victories of the Holy Alliance, Europe took a direction which necessarily will cause any new proletarian revolution in France to give birth to universal war. The next French revolution will be forced to extend itself beyond the limits of the national territory, and to conquer that *European* surface which alone will allow free development to the social revolution of the nineteenth century.[b]

"Thus it was by the defeat of June only that all the conditions were created under which France is enabled to take the initiative of the European revolution. Thus, only after its having been dyed in the blood of the insurgents of June, the Tricolour became the banner of European revolution—the *Red Flag!!*"[c]

Written in the spring of 1850

Reprinted from the journal

First published in *The Democratic Review*, April-June 1850

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[a] Marx goes on to say: "and they were robbed of their apparent autonomy, their independence of the great social revolution" (see p. 70 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[b] In Marx's work the end of the sentence reads as follows: "and *conquer the European terrain*, on which alone the social revolution of the nineteenth century can be accomplished" (ibid.).—*Ed.*

[c] Marx ends the first article of his series with the following words: "And we exclaim: *The revolution is dead!—Long live the revolution!*"—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [A LETTER TO THE PRUSSIAN AMBASSADOR IN LONDON, BARON BUNSEN][269]

64 Dean Street, Soho Square,
May 30th, 1850

Sir,

We learn from the public papers, that the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* has, of late, published a series of revelations concerning that part of the German and particularly the Prussian emigration which, at the present moment, resides in London; that the above-named paper has spoken of certain relations existing between London and Berlin, and that it has brought the name of one of the undersigned in connexion with this subject.

The Society of which we are members[a] does not take in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*. We therefore take the liberty of addressing ourselves to you, and we expect from your loyalty, that you, Sir, the official representative in this country, of our nationality, will have the *courtoisie* to furnish us with the numbers in question of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*.

We have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servants

*Charles Marx*
*August Willich*
*Frederick Engels*

First published in German translation in: Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, Berlin, 1968

Printed according to the original in Engels' hand

Published in English for the first time

[a] German Workers' Educational Society in London.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## ADDRESS OF THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY TO THE LEAGUE[270]

June 1850

### CENTRAL AUTHORITY TO THE LEAGUE

Brothers!

In our last circular letter,[a] brought to you by the emissary of the League,[b] we gave you an account of the position of the workers' party and, in particular, the League, both at the present time and in the event of a revolution.

The chief purpose of this letter is to report on the present state of the League.

The defeats of the revolutionary party last summer brought for a moment the League to the point of almost total disorganisation. The most active League members who had taken part in the various movements were scattered; contact was lost, addresses were unreliable, and this together with the danger of letters being opened made correspondence impossible for a time. So until towards the end of last year the Central Authority was condemned to complete inactivity.

As the first effects of the defeat suffered wore off, the need for a strong secret organisation of the revolutionary party throughout Germany made itself felt. In the Central Authority this need gave rise to the decision to send an emissary to Germany and Switzerland. On the other hand it led to an attempt to organise a new clandestine group in Switzerland and to an attempt by the Cologne community to reorganise the League in Germany on their own initiative.

In Switzerland, early in the year, a number of refugees who had made a more or less distinguished name for themselves in the various movements formed themselves into a group whose aim was

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[a] See this volume, pp. 277-87.—*Ed.*

[b] Heinrich Bauer.—*Ed.*

when the opportunity arose to participate in the overthrow of the governments and to keep men in readiness to lead the movement and even take over the government.[271] The group did not belong to any particular party—the motley character of its adherents did not permit this. For they represented every political shade of the movement and ranged from resolute Communists and even former League members to the most timorous petty-bourgeois democrats and ex-members of the Palatinate Government.

At the time a large number of people from Baden and the Palatinate seeking positions or with lesser ambitions were in Switzerland. For them this group offered desirable opportunities for self-advancement.

Nor were the instructions which the group sent to its agents and which are in the possession of the Central Authority of a kind to inspire confidence. The absence of a definite party point of view as well as the attempt to bring all the available oppositional elements into a specious unity were poorly concealed under a mass of detail about industrial, agricultural, political and military conditions in the different localities. The strength of this group was likewise very insignificant. According to the complete list of members in our possession the whole society at its zenith consisted of barely 30 members in Switzerland. It is noteworthy that among these there were hardly any workers. From the start it was an army consisting exclusively of N.C.O.s and officers without soldiers. It included people like P. Fries and Greiner from the Palatinate, Körner from Elberfeld, Sigel, etc.

They sent two agents to Germany. The first, Bruhn, was a League member from Holstein. He contrived by false pretences to induce a number of League members and communities to join the new group for a time, in the belief that it was the resurrected League. At the same time he sent a report on the League to the Swiss Central Authority in Zurich and another on the Swiss group to us. Not content with this ambiguous position, while he was still in correspondence with us, he wrote direct libels to the above-named people in Frankfurt, who had been won for the Swiss affairs, and instructed them to have nothing to do with London. Because of this he was at once expelled from the League. The matter in Frankfurt was settled by the League emissary. For the rest Bruhn's labour on behalf of the Swiss Central Authority remained without effect. The second agent was a student named Schurz from Bonn. He too achieved nothing because, as he wrote to Zurich, "he found that the League already controlled all useful forces". He then left Germany suddenly and is now drifting around Brussels and Paris, where the

League keeps an eye on him. That the Central Authority did not regard the new group as a danger to the League was due to the fact that a quite trustworthy League member[a] belonged to its central committee and had been instructed to watch and keep us informed about the plans and measures resolved upon by these people insofar as they were directed against the League. The Central Authority has also sent an emissary to Switzerland[b] to assist the above-mentioned League member to attract useful people to the League and in general to organise the League in Switzerland. All this information is based on quite reliable documentary evidence.

Another attempt of the same sort was made earlier by Struve, Sigel and others, who were united in Geneva at the time. These people were impertinent enough to pretend that the organisation they had tried to form actually was the League and to misuse the names of the League members for this purpose. Of course, their lies deceived no one. Their attempt was so futile in all respects that the few remaining members of this abortive organisation in Switzerland were finally forced to join the group already mentioned. But the more impotent this coterie became the more imposing were the titles they gave to themselves—like "Central Committee of European Democracy", etc. Here in London, too, Struve continued his efforts in this direction together with other disillusioned great men. Manifestos and invitations to join the "Central Bureau of the United German Emigration" and the "Central Committee of European Democracy"[272] were sent all over Germany, but once more without the slightest response.

The alleged connections between this coterie and French and other non-German revolutionaries simply do not exist. All its activities are confined to a number of petty intrigues among the local German refugees. They have no direct effect on the League and represent no threat. It is easy to keep an eye on them.

All attempts of this sort either have the same goal as the League, i.e. the revolutionary organisation of the workers' party. In this case they destroy the centralisation and strength of the party by fragmenting it and so they are definitely to be regarded as harmful separatism. Or they can only aim at misusing the workers' party for purposes alien or directly opposed to it. The workers' party can use other parties and party factions for its own purposes on occasion but must never subordinate itself to any other party. But those people who were in the government during the last movement[c] and who

[a] Wilhelm Wolff.—*Ed.*

[b] Ernst Dronke.—*Ed.*

[c] The reference is to the insurgent movement for the Imperial Constitution in Germany in the spring and summer of 1849.—*Ed.*

used their position to betray the movement and to suppress the workers' party wherever it wanted to act independently must be kept at a distance under all circumstances.

We have the following to report about the state of the League.

### *I. Belgium*

The organisation of the League as it existed among the Belgian workers in 1846 and 1847 has, of course, disappeared since 1848, when the chief members were arrested, condemned to death and had their sentences commuted to imprisonment for life.[273] In general the League in Belgium has lost much of its strength since the February Revolution and the expulsion of most of the members of the German Workers' Society[274] from Brussels. The present policy of the police has not permitted it to reorganise. Despite this a community has managed to survive in Brussels to this day and it functions to the best of its ability.

### *II. Germany*

It had been the intention of the Central Authority to give in this circular a special report on the situation of the League in Germany. But this is not possible at the present time as the Prussian police is investigating a widespread organisation among the revolutionary party.[a] This circular will be sent to Germany by a safe route but copies may possibly fall into the hands of the police here and there in the course of distribution within Germany. It must therefore be so formulated that its content will not give the police any evidence that could be used against the League. For the moment then the Central Authority confines itself to the following remarks.

The chief centres of the League in Germany are Cologne, Frankfurt am Main, Hanau, Mainz, Wiesbaden, Hamburg, Schwerin, Berlin, Breslau, Liegnitz, Glogau,[b] Leipzig, Nuremberg, Munich, Bamberg, Würzburg, Stuttgart and Baden.

The following are appointed leading districts: Hamburg for Schleswig-Holstein; Schwerin for Mecklenburg; Breslau for Silesia; Leipzig for Saxony and Berlin; Nuremberg for Bavaria; Cologne for Rhineland and Westphalia.

For the time being the communities in Göttingen, Stuttgart and Brussels shall remain in direct communication with the Central

[a] See this volume, pp. 378 and 382-83.—*Ed.*
[b] The Polish names are Wroclaw, Legnica, Glogow.—*Ed.*

Authority until they have extended their influence to the point where new leading districts can be formed.

The position of the League in Baden will not be determined until receipt of the report from the emissary sent there and to Switzerland.[a]

Where, as in Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg, there are peasants' and labourers' associations, League members have been able directly to influence them and in part to gain complete control. The workers' and labourers' associations in Saxony, Franconia, Hesse and Nassau are also for the most part under the leadership of the League. The most influential members of the Workers' Fraternity[275] also belong to the League. The Central Authority would point out to all communities and League members that such influence on the workers', sport, peasants' and labourers' associations, etc., is of the very greatest importance and should be achieved wherever possible. The Central Authority requests the leading districts and the communities which correspond directly with it to make special mention of what has happened in this respect in their next reports.

The emissary to Germany,[b] who has received a commendation from the Central Authority for his efforts, has everywhere admitted only the most reliable people as members to the League and has left the further expansion of the League in their hands, relying on their greater knowledge of local conditions. Whether it will be possible to recruit resolute revolutionaries to the League will depend on the situation in the various localities. Where this is not possible a second class of League members should be formed from among people who do not yet understand the communist consequences of the present movement but who are useful and reliable. This second class must be told that their organisation is purely local or provincial and it must constantly be under the supervision of the actual League members and authorities. For with the aid of these additional contacts it will be possible to gain a firm grip on the peasants' and sport associations. The detailed organisation can be left to the leading districts and the Central Authority looks forward to their reports on these matters as soon as possible.

One community has proposed to the Central Authority that a League congress be convened immediately on German soil. The communities and districts will realise themselves that in the present circumstances it is not advisable to convene even provincial

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[a] Ernst Dronke.—*Ed.*
[b] Heinrich Bauer.—*Ed.*

congresses of the leading districts everywhere. A general League congress is quite out of the question at the present time. But as soon as circumstances permit the Central Authority will convene a congress of the League in a suitable place.—Prussian Rhineland and Westphalia have recently been visited by an emissary[a] of the Cologne leading district. The report on this tour has not yet been received in Cologne. We request all leading districts likewise to send out emissaries to tour their regions as soon as possible and to report back on the results. Lastly, we report that in Schleswig-Holstein contacts have been established with the army; we are awaiting an account of what influence the League may hope to gain there.

### *III. Switzerland*

We are still awaiting the report of our emissary[b] and so we shall return to this in greater detail in our next circular.

### *IV. France*

Contacts with the German workers in Besançon and other places in the Jura will be re-established from Switzerland. In Paris, Ewerbeck, the League member who has been the leader of the communities there, has announced his resignation from the League as he thinks that his literary activities are more important. In consequence, contact has been disrupted for the time being and must be re-established with all the more caution as the Parisians have admitted a number of people who are quite useless and who in the past have even been directly hostile to the League.

### *V. England*

The London district is the strongest in the whole League. It has distinguished itself above all by the fact that for some years now it has financed the League and in particular the emissaries' journeys almost unaided. It recently strengthened itself still further by admitting new elements and it continually provides leadership for the local German Workers' Society[276] as well as the most energetic section of German refugees here.

The Central Authority maintains contact with the resolutely revolutionary parties among the French, English and Hungarians through a few members delegated for the purpose.

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[a] Peter Nothjung.—*Ed.*

[b] Ernst Dronke's first report to the Central Authority was sent on July 3, 1850. Dronke wrote to Engels about the League's affairs on July 10, 1850.—*Ed.*

Of the French revolutionaries the really proletarian party, led by Blanqui, has joined forces with us. The delegates of the Blanquist secret societies are in regular and official contact with the League delegates whom they have entrusted with important tasks in preparation for the next French revolution.

The leaders of the revolutionary Chartist party are also in regular close contact with the delegates of the Central Authority.[277] Their journals are at our disposal. The breach between this revolutionary independent workers' party and the more conciliatory faction led by O'Connor was substantially hastened thanks to League delegates.

Similarly the Central Authority is in contact with the most progressive party of the Hungarian refugees. This party is important as it boasts a number of excellent military leaders whose services would be available to the League in a revolution.

The Central Authority requests the leading districts to distribute this circular among their members as quickly as possible and to report soon. All members are urged to make the greatest possible efforts, especially at this moment when the situation is so critical that the outbreak of a new revolution can no longer be very far away.

Written in June 1850

Distributed in manuscript copies

Published by Engels in the Appendices to the book: K. Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-prozess zu Köln*, Hottingen-Zürich, 1885

Printed according to the book

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## THE PRUSSIAN REFUGEES

### TO THE EDITOR OF *THE SUN*[278]

Sir,

For some time past we, the undersigned German political refugees residing in London, have had occasion to admire the attention paid to us not only by the Prussian Embassy but also by the British Government. We should not have taken much notice of this, as we should be at a loss to conceive in what respect we might possibly come into collision with what the Alien Bill[279] calls "the preservation of the peace and tranquillity of these realms", but we have of late read so much in the public papers about orders given to the Prussian Ambassador[a] to insist upon the removal from England of the most dangerous refugees, and we have been for about a week past so closely watched by English police agents, that we really think we must lay the case before the public.

No doubt the Prussian Government exert themselves to have the Alien Bill enforced against us. But why? Because we interfere in English politics? It would be impossible to prove that we had done so. Why, then? Because the Prussian Government must pretend that the shot fired at the King[b] in Berlin was the result of the wide-spread conspiracy, the centre of which is to be sought in London.

Now, let us look to the facts of the case. Can the Prussian Government deny that Sefeloge, the author of the attempt, besides being a notorious madman, is a member of the ultra-Royalist Society the *Treubund*?[280] Can they deny that he is registered in the books of that society as member No. 133, section No. 2, in Berlin? Can they deny that he has received, not long ago, pecuniary aid from that society? Can they deny that his papers were deposited at the house of

[a] Bunsen.—*Ed.*
[b] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

a Major Kunowski, an ultra-Royalist, employed at the Royal War Office?

It is really ridiculous to pretend, in the face of such facts, that the revolutionary party had anything to do with that attempt. The revolutionary party have no interest in seeing the Prince of Prussia arrive speedily at the throne, but the ultra-Royalists have. And yet the Prussian Government is making the Radical Opposition pay for the attempt, as is shown by the new law against the liberty of the press,[a] and by the activity of the Prussian Embassy in London.

We may state, at the same time, that about a fortnight before the attempt, persons whom we have the conviction to be Prussian agents, presented themselves to us, trying to entrap us into regicidal conspiracies. We were, of course, not to be made the dupes of such attempts.

If the British Government desires any information respecting us, we shall always be ready to give it. What it can hope to learn by sending spies after us we are at a loss to conceive.

The Holy Alliance, now re-constructing under the egis of Russia, would be too glad if they could succeed in making England, the only stumbling-block in their way, adopt a reactionary policy at home. What would become of the anti-Russian feeling of England, of the diplomatic notes and Parliamentary assertions of her Government, if commented upon by an enforcement of the Alien Bill, called forth by nothing but the revenge of the Holy Alliance, of which Prussia forms part and parcel?

The Governments of the Holy Alliance, we hope, will not succeed in deceiving the British Government to such an extent as would call forth from the Home Office measures which would seriously affect the long-established reputation of England as safest asylum for refugees of all parties and of all countries.

We remain, Sir, your most obedient servants,

*Charles Marx,*
*Fred. Engels,* } Editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of Cologne

*Aug. Willich,* Colonel in the Insurrectionary Army in Baden

64 Dean Street, Soho Square,
June 14, 1850

Published in *The Sun*, June 15, 1850 and in *The Northern Star* No. 660, June 15, 1850

Reprinted from *The Sun* and checked with *The Northern Star*

[a] Of June 8, 1850.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE SPECTATOR*[281]

(Private)

Sir,

We take the liberty of requesting you to insert the enclosed letter in your next.[a] We have every reason to believe, that there exists, on the part of the government, an inclination to enforce the Alien Bill and to have it then renewed by Parliament. We are, it seems, to be the first victims. We think that the honour of the English nation is somewhat interested in preventing the execution of such a plan; we think, too, we cannot do better but appeal frankly from the British Government to public opinion. And, therefore, hope you will not refuse to our letter the publicity which your widely-circulated paper is sure to give it.

In case you should wish any further information, we shall be glad to give it, if you will only be kind enough to let us know when and where we can meet you.

We are, Sir, yours most respectfully.

Written on June 14, 1850

Printed according to the original in Engels' hand

First published in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, first Russ. ed., Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

Published in English for the first time

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[a] The following sentence is crossed out in the manuscript: "The spy system exercised upon us, by the British Government, to an almost incredible extent, is a sufficient proof, that the reiterated requests of the Prussian Ambassador...."—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## PRUSSIAN SPIES IN LONDON[282]

64 Dean Street, Soho Square,
14th June, 1850

Sir,

For some time past, we, the undersigned German refugees residing in this country, have had occasion to admire the attention paid to us by the British Government. We were accustomed to meet, from time to time, some obscure servant of the Prussian Ambassador, not being "registered as such according to law"; we were accustomed to the ferocious spouting and to the rabid proposals of such *agents provocateurs*, and we knew how to treat them. What we admire is, not the attention the Prussian Embassy pay us—we are proud to have merited it; it is the *entente cordiale* which seems to be established, as far as we are concerned, between Prussian spies and English informers.

Really, Sir, we should have never thought that there existed in this country so many police-spies as we have had the good fortune of making the acquaintance of in the short space of a week. Not only that the doors of the houses where we live are closely watched by individuals of a more than doubtful look, who take down their notes very coolly every time any one enters the house or leaves it; we cannot make a single step without being followed by them wherever we go. We cannot get into an omnibus or enter a coffee-house without being favoured with the company of at least one of these unknown friends. We do not know whether the gentlemen engaged in this grateful occupation are so "on her Majesty's service"; but we know this, that the majority of them look anything but clean and respectable.

Now, of what use can be, to any one, the scanty information thus scratched together at our doors by a lot of miserable spies, male

prostitutes of the lowest order, who mostly seem to be drawn from the class of common informers, and paid by the job? Will this, no doubt exceedingly trustworthy information, be of such value as to entitle any one to sacrifice, for its sake, the old-established boast of Englishmen, that in their country there is no chance of introducing that spy system from which not one country of the Continent is free?

Besides, we always have been, and are now, ready to give any information respecting ourselves the Government may desire, as far as this will be in our power.

We know, however, very well what is at the bottom of all this. The Prussian Government have taken occasion of the late attempt on the life of Frederick William IV [a] to open another campaign against their political enemies in Prussia and out of Prussia. And because a notorious madman has fired a shot at the King of Prussia, the English Government are to be entrapped into enforcing the Alien Bill against us; although we are at a loss to conceive in what respect our presence in London can possibly come into collision with "the preservation of the peace and tranquillity of these realms".

Some eight years ago, when we, in Prussia, attacked the existing system of government, the official functionaries and press replied, why, if these gentlemen do not like the Prussian system, they are perfectly at liberty to leave the country. We left the country, and we knew the reason why. But after leaving it, we found Prussia everywhere; in France, in Belgium, in Switzerland, we felt the influence of the Prussian Ambassador. If, through his influence, we are to be made to leave this last refuge left to us in Europe, why, then Prussia will think herself the ruling power of the world.

England has hitherto been the only obstacle in the way of the Holy Alliance, now reconstructing under the protection of Russia; and the Holy Alliance, of which Prussia forms part and parcel, aim at nothing more than at entrapping anti-Russian England into a home policy of a more or less Russian cast. What, indeed, would Europe think of the late diplomatic notes and Parliamentary assertions of the British Government, if commented by an enforcement of the Alien Bill called forth by nothing but the revengeful instances of foreign reactionary governments?

The Prussian Government declare the shot fired at their King to be the result of widespread revolutionary conspiracies, the centre of which is to be sought in London. In accordance with this, they firstly destroy the liberty of the press at home, and secondly demand the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 378-79.—*Ed.*

English Government to remove from this country the pretended chiefs of the pretended conspiracy.

Considering the personal character and qualities of the present King of Prussia, and those of his brother, the heir to the throne,[a] which party has a greater interest in the speedy succession of the latter—the Revolutionary party or the ultra-Royalists?

Allow us to state, that a fortnight before the attempt was made at Berlin, persons whom we have every reason to consider as agents either of the Prussian Government or the ultra-Royalists, presented themselves to us, and almost directly engaged us to enter into conspiracies for organising regicide in Berlin and elsewhere. We need not add, that these persons found no chance of making their dupes of us.

Allow us to state, that, after the attempt, other persons of a similar character have tried to force themselves upon us, and spoken in a similar manner.

Allow us to state, that Sefeloge, the sergeant who shot at the King, was not a Revolutionist, but an ultra-Royalist. He belonged to section No. 2 of the ultra-Royalist society, the *Treubund.* He is registered under number 133 on the list of members. He has been for a time supported with money by this society: his papers were deposited at the house of an ultra-Royalist Major[b] employed at the War Office.

If ever this affair should come to be tried in open court, which we doubt, the public will see clear enough whether there have been any instigators to the attempt, and who they have been.

The ultra-Royalist *Neue Preussische Zeitung* was the first to denounce the refugees in London as the real authors of the attempt.[c] It even named one of the undersigned,[d] whom already before it had stated to have been in Berlin during a fortnight, while, as scores of witnesses can prove, he never for a moment left London. We wrote to M. Bunsen, the Prussian Ambassador, requesting him to furnish us with the numbers in question of that paper.[e] The attention paid to us by that gentleman did not go so far as to cause him to comply with what we had expected from the *courtoisie* of the Chevalier.[f]

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[a] William, Prince of Prussia.—*Ed.*

[b] Kunowski.—*Ed.*

[c] The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* No. 117, May 25, 1850.—*Ed.*

[d] Karl Marx.—*Ed.*

[e] See this volume, p. 370.—*Ed.*

[f] An ironical allusion to Bunsen's title of a baron. Further the following paragraph is crossed out in the rough copy: "We now write to the Home Secretary, stating the willingness of furnishing him, as far as we shall be able to do so, with any information he may desire, respecting our persons, but at the same time we deem it our duty as

We believe, Sir, that under these circumstances, we cannot do better than bring the whole case before the public. We believe that Englishmen are interested in anything by which the old-established reputation of England, as the safest asylum for refugees of all parties and of all countries, may be more or less affected.

We are, Sir, your most obedient servants,

*Charles Marx,*
*Fred. Engels,* } Editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of Cologne

*Aug. Willich,* Colonel in the Insurrectionary Army of Baden

Written on June 14, 1850

Published in *The Spectator* No. 1146, June 15, 1850

Reprinted from the newspaper and checked with Engels' manuscript

public characters, to bring the case at once before the public, so that it might not afterwards be said, that we had, secretly, committed our honour and that of our party by a compromise with any government, in order to be permitted to continue our stay in this country."—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE GLOBE*[283]

Sir,

Allow me to call, through the medium of your paper, the attention of the public to a fact in which the honour of the British nation is, perhaps, more or less interested.

You are aware that the different continental governments, after the defeats of the movement party in 1849, succeeded in driving the numerous political refugees, more particularly the Germans, the Hungarians, the Italians and the Poles, from one place of asylum to another, until they found protection and tranquillity in this country.

There are certain governments on the Continent, whose animosity against their political opponents seems not to be satisfied with this result. The Prussian government is of this number. After having succeeded in concentrating most of the Prussian refugees in this country the Berlin Cabinet is evidently trying to make them, somehow or other, depart for America. The same parties who at home, in their own newspapers (witness the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*[a] and the *Assemblée nationale*), represent the English government as a committee of *Jacobins* and of conspirators against the conservatives of all Europe—these same parties affect a most suspicious anxiety for the tranquillity of this country, by denouncing to the British government the foreign refugees as interfering with English politics and as being connected with the attempt at assassinating the King of Prussia.[b]

I have the honour of belonging to those, whom the persecution of the Prussian government has followed everywhere they went. Editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* (of Cologne) in 1842, and of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848 and 1849, both of which papers were directly or indirectly stopped by the forcible interference of the Prussian government, I have been expelled from France in 1845 and

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[a] The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* Nos. 116, 117, May 24 and 25, 1850.—*Ed.*
[b] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

1849, from Belgium in 1848, upon the direct request and by the influence of the Prussian embassy; and during my stay in Prussia, in 1848 and 1849, I had about a dozen political actions brought against me, the whole of which were, however, abandoned after my having been twice acquitted by the jury.[284]

That even in this country, I am not lost sight of by the Prussian government, is proved to me by numerous warnings which I received of late, stating that the English government, upon the ground of similar denunciations, intended to take steps against me; and by the fact that for several days past some individuals place themselves at my very door, taking down notes every time any one comes or leaves the house. It is further proved by the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*,[a] which stated, some time ago, that I was travelling through Germany and had stayed a fortnight in Berlin, whilst I can prove by my landlords and other Englishmen that I never for a moment left London since I arrived here last year. This same ultra-royalist paper, after the attempt of the madman Sefeloge, brought my pretended journey to Berlin into connexion with that attempt; and yet this paper ought to know best who, if anyone, is connected with this affair, inasmuch as Sefeloge is a member of Section No. 2 of the ultra-royalist society the *Treubund*, and never was connected with any but staff-officers employed in the Berlin War Office. It is moreover proved by the presence, here in London, of Prussian *agents provocateurs* who, a fortnight before Sefeloge's attempt, presented themselves to me and some of my friends, preaching the necessity of such an attempt and hinting even at the existence of a conspiracy got up, in Berlin, for this purpose; and who, after having found it impossible to make their dupes of us, now frequent Chartist meetings, in order to induce the public to believe that the foreign refugees take an active part in the English Chartist movement.

In conclusion allow me to ask you, Sir, and through you the public, whether it would be desirable that, upon such authority, the British government should be induced to take steps which might more or less interfere with the conviction, universally spread, that the British laws afford equal protection to whosoever puts his foot upon British soil?

I am, etc.

Written in mid-June 1850

First published in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, first Russ. ed., Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

Printed according to the original in Engels' hand

Published in English for the first time

[a] The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* No. 117, May 25, 1850.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## STATEMENT

### TO THE EDITOR OF THE *NEUE DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG*[285]

Sir,

In your newspaper's article of June 22 this year you reproached me for advocating the *rule and the dictatorship of the working class*, while you propose, in opposition to myself, the *abolition of class distinctions in general.* I do not understand this correction.

You know very well that on p. 16 of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (published before the February Revolution of 1848) it is stated that:

"If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organise itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class."[a]

You know that I defended the same point of view in my *Misère de la philosophie*[b] against Proudhon, before February 1848.

Finally, in the very article you criticise, p. 32, No. 3, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* [*.Politisch-ökonomische Revue*],[c] it is stated:

"This Socialism" (i. e. communism) "is the declaration of the permanence of the revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all the relations of

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 505-06.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 212.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, p. 127.—*Ed.*

production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionising of all the ideas that result from these social relations."

June 1850

*K. Marx*

In your newspaper's article of June 22 you very kindly acknowledge that a "noticeable gap" arose in the German daily press as a result of the suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, but you protest against "Herr Engels' claim" that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was the only organ of the press to represent the proletariat not merely in words or out of benevolence.

It is true that in my article on the campaign for the German Imperial Constitution, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 1, I declared that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was the only paper in which the German proletariat was supported not merely out of benevolence or in words.[a] Should you be of the opinion that this statement is in any way detrimental to the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*, the former official organ of the extreme Left in Frankfurt, then you will doubtless earn the gratitude of the workers by showing when, where and how the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* has represented the German proletariat or its class interests.

London, June 25, 1850

*F. Engels*

Published in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* No. 158, July 4, 1850

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, p. 156.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## TO THE CHAIRMAN OF A REFUGEE MEETING IN LONDON

[Rough copy]

[London,] June 30 [,1850]

Citizen Chairman,

While the June Revolution was attacked by all the watchdogs of the bourgeois class, I publicly defended those terrible days, which for me are the greatest manifestation of the struggle which the working class is pursuing against the capitalist class.

If I am absent from this refugee celebration today, it is because I am completely prevented by illness from being in your midst; my heart is with you.

Greetings and fraternity,

*Karl Marx*

First published in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, second Russ. ed., Vol. 27, Moscow, 1962

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## TO THE EDITORS OF THE *WESER-ZEITUNG*[286]

In your issue of June 22 this year there is a dispatch from London in which the following passage occurs:

"Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and August Willich ... have written to *The Spectator* that spies from the Prussian embassy are following every step they take, etc. *The Spectator* comments briefly upon their long letter of complaint, as follows: 'This class of people (namely political refugees) errs very frequently in such matters, and in fact their error springs from two sources: vanity, which deludes them into thinking that they are much more important than is really the case, and secondly the consciousness of their own guilt. The suspicions expressed by the refugees against the liberal-minded and hospitable English Government are nothing more and nothing less than an *impertinence*.'"[a]

One does not have to be intimately acquainted with the general attitude and the firmly established conventional forms of the English daily press to discover immediately that no English paper, and least of all the accomplished and witty *Spectator*, could make a comment so clumsily Prussian in both content and form. The whole of the above "comment" from *The Spectator* is a *shameless forgery by the correspondent*. Not only does *not a word* of it appear in *The Spectator*, but on the contrary, the editors of this newspaper make the following remark in the same issue that contains our statement.

"A letter in another page makes an extraordinary charge against our own Government. We know nothing more than is to be obtained from a perusal of the letter itself; but a charge publicly made, in so circumstantial a manner with so much verisimilitude of particulars, ought not to be unregarded. The charge is that of

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[a] Italicised by the authors of the statement.—*Ed.*

favouring the operations of Prussian bloodmen[a] in London, in order to [obtain] an application of the Alien Act against German patriots." (*The Spectator*, June 15, p. 554.)

The praises accorded to Herr Bunsen in the same article give sufficient indication of the interests in which your correspondent perpetrated this forgery. Incidentally, Prussian cunning deserves the highest marks for this manoeuvre.

We expect that by publishing this statement in your next issue you will leave to your correspondent alone the honour of the authorship of this ingenious stratagem.

London, July 2, 1850

*Karl Marx, Frederick Engels*

Published in the *Tages-Chronik* No. 314, July 10, 1850

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] The authors translate this word as *Blutmenschen* and give the English equivalent in brackets.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## LETTER FROM GERMANY.[287] THE WAR IN SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

Cologne, July 21, 1850

The all-engrossing topic now in Germany is, of course, the Schleswig-Holstein affair. As this affair is in your country, as well as in France, very little understood, you will allow me to give a rapid view of it.

It has been shown clearly enough that the small independent states by which Germany is surrounded are, under a more or less liberal form, the chief seats of reaction. Thus Belgium, the model state of Constitutionalism, was the first to resist the shock of February,[a] the first to proclaim martial law and to pass sentences of death upon patriots.[288] Thus Switzerland shifted herself in a far from honourable way through the revolutionary storm, hiding behind the Chinese wall of neutrality as long as revolution was in the ascendant, and playing the subservient tool of the Holy Alliance against disarmed refugees, when reaction was again rife throughout Europe. It is evident that the petty national egotism of those impotent states must induce them to rely upon the support principally of old-established, *i.e.* reactionary governments, the more so as they cannot but be aware that every European revolution puts their own national independence in question, an independence which to uphold none are interested but the supporters of the old political system.

Denmark is another of these petty states sharing this pride of a national independence and this exorbitant desire to aggrandise

[a] The Revolution of February 1848 in France.—*Ed.*

themselves.* The independence and power of Denmark, a state living only upon the plunder of universal commerce by the Sound Dues,[289] is of interest to none but Russia and a certain fraction of English politicians. Denmark is literally the slave of Russia, by a series of treaties agreed to in the last century[290]; and through Denmark Russia lays hold upon the Dardanelles of the Baltic. The old school of English politicians, too, take an interest in the aggrandisement of Denmark, according to their old policy of cutting up central Europe into a set of small states quarrelling with each other, and thus leaving England to apply to them the principle "Divide and conquer".

The policy of the revolutionary party in all countries has, on the contrary, always been to strongly unite the great nationalities hitherto cut up in small states, and to ensure independence and power, not to those small wrecks of nationalities—such as Danes, Croats, Czechs, Slovaks, &c.,&c., counting from one to three millions each at the very outset, or to those mongrel would-be nations, such as the Swiss and Belgians—but to the large and healthy nationalities now oppressed by the ruling European system. An European confederacy of republics can only be formed by great and equally powerful nations; such as the French, English, German, Italian, Hungarian, and Polish nations, but never by such miserably powerless so-called nations as the Danes, the Dutch, the Belgians, Swiss, &c.

Besides, will the revolutionary party allow the most important maritime position of the north, the inlet of the Baltic, to remain for ever at the mercy of Danish egotism? Will they allow the Danes to make up the interest of their national debt by imposing heavy tolls upon every vessel trading across the Sound and Belt? Certainly not.

Denmark, by that precious hereditary right which treats a people as so many chattels, became united with two German countries, Schleswig and Holstein. They had separate constitutions, common to both of them, and old-established rights granted by their princes, "that these countries should for ever remain together and undivided". The law of succession, besides, is different in Denmark to what it is in the two duchies. In 1815, at the infamous congress of Vienna, where nations were cut up and sold by auction, Holstein was incorporated with the German confederacy, but Schleswig was not. From that day the Danish national party tried, but in vain, to incorporate Schleswig into Denmark. At last 1848 arrived. In March

* It is a fact not generally known that the annexation of Savoy to Switzerland was in 1848-49 much discussed in the latter country, and that the Swiss hoped to see this realised by the defeat of the Italian revolution.—*Note by Engels.*

a popular movement took place in Copenhagen, and the national and liberal party got into office. They instantly decreed a constitution, and the incorporation of Schleswig into Denmark. The consequence was the insurrection of the duchies, and the war between Germany and Denmark.[291]

While German soldiers in Posen, in Italy, and in Hungary, fought against the revolution, this war in Schleswig was the only revolutionary war Germany ever carried on. The question was whether the Schleswigers were to be forced to follow the fate of small, impotent, half-civilised Denmark, and to be the slaves of Russia for ever, or whether they should be allowed to re-unite themselves to a nation of forty millions, which was then just engaged in the struggle for its freedom, unity, and consequent recovery of its strength. And the German princes, particularly the royal drunkard of Prussia,[a] knew the revolutionary signification of this war too well. The note[b] is well known by which the Prussian embassy, Major Wildenbruch, proposed to the king of Denmark[c] to carry on the war for *show*, just as much as was necessary to *allow the Danish and German revolutionary enthusiasts who engaged on both sides as volunteers, to devour each other.*[292] Consequently the war was, on the German side, one continued series of treasons, down to the battle of Fredericia, where the republican Schleswig-Holstein corps, 10,000 men, were surprised and cut up by three times their number of Danes, while 40,000 Prussians and others were only a few miles off and left them in the scrape; and down to the treacherous peace concocted at Berlin,[293] a peace which allows Russia to land troops in Schleswig, and Prussia to march into Holstein to put down the rebellion, she herself has aided and abetted at least officially.

If there was any doubt as to which side was the revolutionary, or which the reactionary interest, there can be none now. Russia sends her fleet to fraternise with the Danes and to blockade, in common with them, the shores of Schleswig-Holstein. All the "powers that be" are arrayed against this small German tribe of not more than 850,000 souls; and nothing but the sympathies of the revolutionists of all countries is there to assist this small but brave people. They will fall no doubt; they may resist a time, and even overthrow the treacherous bourgeois government which Prussia has forced upon them, they may beat Danes and Russians, but at last they will be crushed, unless the Prussian army, which is sure to march into

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*
[b] Handed by Ludwig Wildenbruch on April 8, 1848.—*Ed.*
[c] Frederick VII.—*Ed.*

Holstein, refuses to act. And if this, which is not at all impossible, should come to pass, you would see things in Germany take another turn. Then there would be a general outbreak, and such a one that 1848 would be nothing compared to it; for the acts of the Holy Alliance have told well upon the German people; and if in '48 even the federative republic was impossible, now nothing would be accepted short of the *German republic, one and indivisible, democratic* and—within six months—*Social.*

Written on July 21, 1850

Reprinted from the journal

First published in *The Democratic Review*, August 1850

# FREDERICK ENGELS

## THE PEASANT WAR IN GERMANY[294]

Written in the summer and autumn of 1850

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* No. 5-6, 1850

Signed: *Frederick Engels*

Printed according to the 1875 edition and checked with the journal and the 1870 edition

The German people, too, have their revolutionary tradition. There was a time when Germany produced characters that could match the best men in the revolutions of other countries, when the German people displayed an endurance and vigour which would in a more centralised nation have yielded the most magnificent results, and when the German peasants and plebeians were full of ideas and plans that often make their descendants shudder.

In face of the slackening that has now ensued almost everywhere after two years of struggle, it is high time to remind the German people of the clumsy yet powerful and tenacious figures of the Great Peasant War. Three centuries have passed and many a thing has changed; still the Peasant War is not so impossibly far removed from our present struggle, and the opponents who have to be fought are still essentially the same. We shall see the classes and fractions of classes which everywhere betrayed 1848 and 1849 in the role of traitors, though on a lower level of development, already in 1525. In any case, it is no credit to the modern insurrection that the robust vandalism of the Peasant War was seen only here and there in the movement of the past few years—at Odenwald, in the Black Forest, and in Silesia.

I

To begin with, let us briefly review the situation in Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

German industry had made considerable progress in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The local village industry of the feudal type was superseded by the guild system of industry in the towns, which produced for wider circles, and even for remoter markets. The weaving of coarse woollen fabrics and linens had become a permanent and widespread branch of industry, and even finer woollen and linen fabrics and silks were manufactured in Augsburg. Along with the art of weaving especial growth was witnessed in industries which were nurtured by the ecclesiastic and secular luxury of the late medieval epoch and verged on the fine arts: those of the gold- and silver-smith, the sculptor and engraver, etcher and wood-carver, armourer,[a] engraver of medals, wood-turner, etc. A succession of more or less important discoveries, the most prominent of which were the invention of gunpowder* and printing, had contributed substantially to the development of the crafts. Commerce kept pace with industry. By its century-long monopoly of sea navigation the Hanseatic League[295] ensured the elevation of all Northern Germany from medieval barbarism. Even though since the end of the fifteenth century the League had quickly begun to succumb to the competition of the English and Dutch, the great trade route from India to the north still lay through Germany,

* As has now been shown beyond doubt, gunpowder came to the Arabs through India from China, and they brought it through Spain to Europe along with fire-arms.—*Note by Engels to the 1875 edition.*

[a] This word is missing in the 1850 edition.—*Ed.*

Vasco da Gama's discoveries notwithstanding, and Augsburg still remained the great market of Italian silks, Indian spices, and all Levantine products. The towns of Upper Germany, particularly Augsburg and Nuremberg, were centres of an opulence and luxury quite remarkable for that time. The production of raw materials had also considerably increased. The German miners of the fifteenth century were the most skilful in the world and the flowering of the towns had also elevated agriculture from its early medieval crudity. Not only had large stretches of land been put to the plough, but dye crops and other imported plants were introduced, whose careful cultivation had favourable influence on farming in general.

Still, the progress of Germany's national production had not kept pace with the progress in other countries. Agriculture lagged far behind that of England and the Netherlands, and industry far behind that of Italy, Flanders and England, while the English, and especially the Dutch, had already begun ousting the Germans from the sea trade. The population was still very sparse. Civilisation existed only here and there, concentrated round the several centres of industry and commerce; but the interests of even these centres were highly divergent, with hardly any point of contact. The trade relations and export markets of the South differed totally from those of the North; the East and the West stood outside almost all traffic. Not a single city was in a position to be the industrial and commercial centre of the whole country, such, for instance, as London had already become for England. All internal communications were almost exclusively confined to coastal and river navigation and to the few large trade routes from Augsburg and Nuremberg via Cologne to the Netherlands, and via Erfurt to the North. Away from the rivers and trade routes there was a number of smaller towns which lay outside the major traffic and continued to vegetate undisturbed in the conditions of the late Middle Ages, needing only few foreign goods and providing few products for export. Of the rural population only the nobility came in contact with wider circles and with new needs; in their relations, the peasant masses never went beyond their immediate locality and its horizons.

While in England and France the rise of commerce and industry had the effect of intertwining the interests of the entire country and thereby brought about political centralisation, Germany had not got any further than grouping interests by provinces, around merely local centres, which led to political division, a division that was soon made all the more final by Germany's exclusion from world commerce. In step with the disintegration of the *purely feudal*

Empire, the bonds of imperial unity became completely dissolved, the major vassals of the Empire became almost independent sovereigns, and the cities of the Empire, on the one hand, and the knights of the Empire, on the other, began entering into alliances either against each other or against the princes or the Emperor. Uncertain of its own position, the imperial government vacillated between the various elements comprising the Empire, and thereby lost more and more authority; in spite of all its intrigues and violence, the attempt at centralisation in the manner of Louis XI was only just able to hold together the Austrian hereditary lands. Who finally won and were bound to win in this confusion, in these countless and interrelated conflicts, were the bearers of centralisation amidst the disunity, the bearers of local and provincial centralisation—the *princes*, at whose side the Emperor himself became more and more of a prince like the others.

In these circumstances, the position of the classes inherited from the Middle Ages had changed considerably, and new classes had emerged beside the old.

The *princes* came from the high nobility. They were already almost independent of the Emperor and possessed most of the sovereign rights. They made war and peace on their own, maintained standing armies, convened Diets, and levied taxes. They had brought a large part of the lesser nobility and most of the towns under their sway, and resorted continuously to all possible means of incorporating in their dominion all the remaining imperial towns and baronial estates. They were centralisers in respect to these towns and estates, while acting as a decentralising force in respect to the imperial power. Internally, their government was already highly autocratic. They convened the estates only when they could not do without them. They imposed taxes and borrowed money whenever it suited them; the right of the estates to ratify taxes was seldom recognised and still more seldom practised. And even when practised, the prince usually had the majority by virtue of the knights and prelates, the two tax-exempted estates that participated in the benefits enjoyed from taxes. The princes' need for money grew with their taste for luxury, the expansion of their courts, the standing armies, and the mounting costs of government. The taxes became ever more oppressive. The towns were mostly protected from them by their privileges, and the full impact of the tax burden fell upon the peasants, the subjects of the princes, as well as upon the serfs, bondsmen and tithe-paying peasants [*Zinsbauern*][a] of their vassal knights. Where direct taxation

[a] This word is missing in the 1850 and 1870 editions.—*Ed.*

proved insufficient, indirect taxes were introduced. The most refined devices of the art of finance were called into play to fill the anaemic treasury. When nothing availed, when there was nothing to pawn and no free imperial city was willing to grant any more credit, the princes resorted to currency operations of the basest kind, coined depreciated money, and set high or low compulsory exchange rates at the convenience of their treasuries. Furthermore, trade in urban and other privileges, later forcibly withdrawn only to be resold at a high price, and the use of every attempt at opposition as an excuse for all kinds of extortion and robbery, etc., etc., were common and lucrative sources of income for the princes of the day. Justice, too, was a perpetual and not unimportant merchandise. In brief, the subjects of that time, who, in addition, had to satisfy the private avarice of the princely bailiffs and officials, had a full taste of all the blessings of the "paternal" system of government.

The middle nobility of the medieval feudal hierarchy had almost entirely disappeared; it had either risen to acquire the independence of petty princes, or sunk into the ranks of the lesser nobility. The *lesser nobility*, or *knighthood*, was fast moving towards extinction. Much of it was already totally impoverished and lived in the service of the princes, holding military or civil offices; another part of it was in the vassalage and under the sway of the princes; and a small part was directly subject to the Emperor.The development of military science, the growing importance of the infantry, and the improvement of fire-arms dwarfed the knighthood's military merits as heavy cavalry, and also put an end to the invincibility of its castles. Like the Nuremberg artisans, the knights were made redundant by the progress of industry. The knights' need for money considerably hastened their ruin. The luxury of their palaces, rivalry in the magnificence of tournaments and feasts, the price of armaments and horses—all increased with the development of society,[a] while the sources of income of the knights and barons increased but little, if at all. As time went on, feuds with their attendant plunder and extortion, highway robbery and similar noble occupations became too dangerous. The payments and services of their subjects yielded the knights hardly more than before. To satisfy their growing requirements, the gracious knights had to resort to the same means as the princes. The peasantry was plundered by the nobility with a dexterity that increased every year. The serfs were sucked dry, and the bondsmen were burdened with ever new payments and services on a great variety of pretexts and on all possible occasions. Statute

[a] The 1850 and 1870 editions have "civilisation" instead of "society".—*Ed.*

labour, tributes, rents, land-sale taxes, death taxes, protection moneys,[296] etc., were raised at will, in spite of all the old agreements. Justice was denied or sold for money, and when the knight could not get at the peasant's money in any other way, he threw him into the tower without further ado and forced him to pay a ransom.

The relations between the lesser nobility and the other estates were also anything but friendly. The knights bound by vassalage to the princes strove to become vassals of the Empire, the imperial knights strove to retain their independence; this led to incessant conflicts with the princes. The knight regarded the arrogant clergy of those days as an entirely superfluous estate, and envied them their large possessions and the wealth held secure by their celibacy and the church statutes. He was continually at loggerheads with the towns, he was always in debt to them, he made his living by plundering their territory, robbing their merchants, and by holding for ransom prisoners captured in the feuds. And the knights' struggle with all these estates became the more violent the more the money question became to them as well a question of life.

The *clergy*, that bearer of the medieval feudal ideology, felt the influence of historic change just as acutely. Book-printing and the claims of growing commerce robbed it of its monopoly not only in reading and writing, but also in higher education. The division of labour also made inroads into the intellectual realm. The newly rising juridical estate drove the clergy from a number of the most influential offices. The clergy was also on its way to becoming largely superfluous, and demonstrated this by its ever greater laziness and ignorance. But the more superfluous it became, the more it grew in numbers, due to the enormous riches that it still continuously augmented by all possible means.

There were two entirely distinct classes among the clergy. The clerical feudal hierarchy formed the *aristocratic* class: the bishops and archbishops, abbots, priors, and other prelates. These high church dignitaries were either imperial princes or reigned as feudal lords under the sovereignty of other princes over extensive lands with numerous serfs and bondsmen. They exploited their dependants as ruthlessly as the knights and princes, and went at it even more wantonly. In addition to brute force they applied all the subterfuges of religion; in addition to the fear of the rack they applied the fear of ex-communication and denial of absolution; they made use of all the intrigues of the confessional to wring the last penny from their subjects or to augment the portion of the church. Forgery of documents was for these worthies a common and favourite means of swindling. But although they received tithes from their subjects in

addition to the usual feudal services and quitrents, these incomes were not enough for them. They fabricated miracle-working sacred images and relics, set up sanctifying prayer-houses, and traded in indulgences in order to squeeze more money out of the people, and for quite some time with eminent success.

It was these prelates and their numerous *gendarmerie* of monks, which grew constantly with the spread of political and religious witch-hunts, on whom the priest-hatred not only of the people, but also of the nobility, was concentrated. Being directly subject to the Emperor,[a] they were a nuisance for the princes. The life of luxurious pleasure led by the corpulent bishops and abbots, and their army of monks excited the envy of the nobility, and the more flagrantly it contradicted their preaching, the more it inflamed the people, who had to bear its cost.

The *plebeian* part of the clergy consisted of rural and urban preachers. These stood outside the feudal church hierarchy and had no part in its riches. Their work was less controlled, and, important though it was for the church, it was for the moment far less indispensable than the police services of the barracked monks. They were, therefore, the worse paid by far, and their prebends were mostly very meagre. Of burgher or plebeian origin, they were close enough to the life of the masses to retain their burgher and plebeian sympathies in spite of their clerical status. For them participation in the movements of the time was the rule, whereas for monks it was an exception. They provided the movement with theorists and ideologists, and many of them, representatives of the plebeians and peasants, died on the scaffold as a result. The people's hatred of the clergy turned against them only in isolated cases.

What the Emperor was to the princes and nobility, the *Pope* was to the higher and lower clergy. Where the Emperor received the "general pfennig"[297] or the imperial taxes, the Pope received the universal church taxes, out of which he paid for the luxury of the Roman court. And in no country were these church taxes collected more conscientiously and exactingly than in Germany—thanks to the power and number of the clergy. Particularly the annates,[298] collected on the bestowal of bishoprics. The growing needs led to the invention of new means of raising revenues, such as trade in relics and indulgences, jubilee collections, etc. Large sums of money flowed yearly from Germany to Rome in this way, and the consequent increased oppression not only heightened the hatred for

[a] Instead of *reichsunmittelbar* (directly subject to the Emperor) the 1850 edition has *souverän* (sovereign).—*Ed.*

the clergy, but also roused the national sentiments, particularly of the nobility, the then most nationalistic estate.

In the medieval *towns* three distinct groups developed from the original citizenry with the growth of commerce and the handicrafts.

The urban society was headed by the *patriciate*, the so-called *honourables*. They were the richest families. They alone sat in the town council, and held all town offices. Hence, they not only administered but also consumed all the town revenues. Strong by virtue of their wealth and time-honoured aristocratic status recognised by Emperor and Empire, they exploited the town community and the peasants belonging to the town in every possible way. They practised usury in grain and money, seized monopolies of all kinds, gradually deprived the community of all rights to communal use of town forests and meadows and used them exclusively for their own private benefit, exacted arbitrary road-, bridge- and gate-tolls and other imposts, and trafficked in trade, guild, and burgher privileges, and in justice. They treated the peasants of the town precincts with no more consideration than did the nobility and clergy. On the contrary, town bailiffs and village officials, patricians all, added a certain bureaucratic punctiliousness to aristocratic rigidity and avarice in collecting imposts. The town revenues thus collected were administered in a most arbitrary fashion; the accounts in the town books, a mere formality, were neglected and confused in the extreme; embezzlement and deficit were the order of the day. How easy it was at that time for a comparatively small, privileged caste bound by family ties and common interests, to enrich itself enormously out of the town revenues, is easily seen from the many embezzlements and swindles[a] which 1848 brought to light in so many town administrations.

The patricians took pains everywhere to let the rights of the town community fall into disuse, particularly in matters of finance. Only later, when their machinations transcended all bounds, the communities came into motion again to at least gain control over the town administration. In most towns they actually regained their rights, but due to the eternal squabbles between the guilds, the tenacity of the patricians, and the protection the latter enjoyed from the Empire and the governments of the allied towns, the patrician council members soon in effect regained their former undivided dominance, be it by cunning or force. At the beginning of the

[a] The 1850 and 1870 editions have *Tripotagen* (knavery) instead of *Schwindeleien* (swindles).—*Ed.*

sixteenth century the communities in all the towns were again in the opposition.

The town opposition to the patricians broke up into two factions which took quite distinct stands in the Peasant War.

The *burgher opposition*, forerunners of our present-day liberals, included the richer and middle burghers, and, depending on local conditions, a more or less appreciable section of the petty burghers. Their demands did not overstep purely constitutional limits. They wanted control over the town administration and a share in legislative power, to be exercised either by an assembly of the community itself or by its representatives (big council, community committee); further restriction of the patrician nepotism and the oligarchy of a few families which was coming to the fore ever more distinctly within the patriciate itself. At best, they also demanded several council seats for burghers from their own midst. This party, joined here and there by the dissatisfied and impoverished part of the patriciate, had a large majority in all the ordinary community assemblies and in the guilds. The adherents of the council and the more radical part of the opposition together formed only a small minority among the real *burghers.*

We shall see how this "moderate", "law-abiding", "well-to-do" and "intelligent" opposition played exactly the same role, with exactly the same effect, in the movement of the sixteenth century, as its successor, the constitutional party, played in the movement of 1848 and 1849.[299]

Beyond that, the burgher opposition declaimed zealously against the clergy, whose idle luxury and loose morals roused its bitter scorn. It urged measures against the scandalous life of those worthy men. It demanded the abolition of the clergy's special jurisdiction and tax exemption, and particularly a reduction in the number of monks.

The *plebeian opposition* consisted of ruined burghers and the mass of townsmen without civic rights—journeymen, day labourers, and the numerous precursors of the lumpenproletariat, who existed even in the lowest stages of urban development. The lumpenproletariat is, generally speaking, a phenomenon that occurs in a more or less developed form in all the so far known phases of society. The number of people without a definite occupation and permanent domicile increased greatly at that time due to the decay of feudalism in a society in which every occupation, every sphere of life, was still fenced in by countless privileges. In all the developed countries vagabonds had never been so numerous as in the first half of the sixteenth century. In war time some of these tramps joined the armies, others begged their way across the countryside, and still

others eked out a meagre living in the towns as day labourers or from whatever other occupation that was not under guild jurisdiction. All three groups played a part in the Peasant War—the first in the armies of princes which overpowered the peasants, the second in the peasant conspiracies and in peasant gangs where its demoralising influence was felt at all times, and the third in the clashes of the urban parties. It will be recalled, however, that a great many, namely those living in the towns, still had a substantial share of sound peasant nature and had not as yet been possessed by the venality and depravity of the present "civilised" lumpenproletariat.

As we see, the plebeian opposition in the towns of that day was a very mixed lot. It brought together the depraved parts of the old feudal and guild society with the undeveloped, budding proletarian elements of the germinating modern bourgeois society. There were impoverished guild burghers, on the one hand, who still clung to the existing burgher system by virtue of their privileges, and the dispossessed peasants and discharged vassals as yet unable to become proletarians, on the other. Between these two groups were the journeymen, who still stood outside official society and whose condition was as close to that of the proletariat as this could be with the contemporary state of industry and the guild privileges; but due to these privileges they were, at the same time, almost all prospective burgher artisans. The party affiliation of this conglomeration was therefore highly uncertain, and varied from locality to locality. Before the Peasant War the plebeian opposition took part in the political struggles not as a party, but as a noisy marauding tagtail of the burgher opposition, a mob that could be bought and sold for a few barrels of wine. The peasant revolts turned it into a party, and even then it remained almost everywhere dependent on the peasants in its demands and actions—a striking proof of how much the town of that time still depended on the countryside. In their independent actions, the plebeians demanded extension of the monopoly in urban handicrafts to the countryside, and had no wish to see a curtailment of town revenues come about through the abolition of feudal burdens within the town precincts, etc.; in brief, they were reactionary in their independent actions, and delivered themselves up to their own petty-bourgeois elements—a typical prelude to the tragicomedy staged in the past three years by the modern petty bourgeoisie under the trade mark of democracy.

Only in Thuringia under the direct influence of Münzer, and in a few other localities under that of his pupils, was the plebeian faction of the towns carried away by the general storm to such an extent that the embryonic proletarian element in it gained the upper hand for a

time over all the other factions[a] of the movement. This episode grouped round the magnificent figure of *Thomas Münzer*, was the culmination point and also the briefest episode, of the Peasant War. It stands to reason that the plebeian factions were the quickest to collapse, that they had a predominantly fantastic outlook, and that the expression of their demands was necessarily extremely uncertain; in the existing conditions they found the least firm ground to stand on.

Beneath all these classes, save the last one, was the exploited bulk of the nation, the *peasants*. It was on the peasant that the whole arrangement of social strata reposed: princes, officials, nobles, clergymen, patricians and burghers. No matter whose subject the peasant was—a prince's, an imperial baron's, a bishop's, a monastery's or a town's—he was treated by all as a thing, a beast of burden, and worse. If a serf, he was entirely at the mercy of his master. If a bondsman, the legal levies stipulated in the agreement were enough to crush him; yet they were daily increased. He had to work on his lord's estate most of his time; out of what he earned in his few free hours he had to pay tithes, tributes, the quitrent, princely levies [*Bede*], road (war) tolls, and local and imperial taxes. He could neither marry nor die without paying something to the lord. Besides his statute labour he had to gather litter, pick strawberries and bilberries, collect snail-shells, drive the game in the hunt, and chop wood, etc., for his gracious lord. The right to fish and hunt belonged to the master; the peasant had to look on quietly as his crop was destroyed by wild game. The common pastures and woods of the peasants were almost everywhere forcibly appropriated by the lords. The lord did as he pleased with the peasant's own person, his wife and daughters, just as he did with the peasant's property. He had the right of the first night. He threw the peasant into the tower when he wished, and the rack awaited the peasant there just as surely as the investigating attorney awaits the arrested in our day. He killed the peasant or had him beheaded when he pleased. There was none out of the edifying chapters of the *Carolina*[300] dealing with "ear clipping", "nose cutting", "eye gouging", "chopping of fingers and hands", "beheading", "breaking on the wheel", "burning", "hot irons", "quartering", etc., that the gracious lord and patron would not apply at will. Who would defend the peasant? It was the barons, clergymen, patricians or jurists who sat in the courts, and they knew

[a] The 1850 edition has *Faktoren* (agents) instead of *Fraktionen* (factions).—*Ed.*

perfectly well what they were being paid for. After all, every official estate of the Empire lived by sucking the peasants dry.

Though gnashing their teeth under the terrible burden, the peasants were still difficult to rouse to revolt. They were scattered over large areas, and this made collusion between them extremely difficult. The old habit of submission inherited by generation from generation, lack of practice in the use of arms in many regions, and the varying degree of exploitation depending on the personality of the lord, all combined to keep the peasant quiet. For this reason we find so many local peasant insurrections in the Middle Ages but, prior to the Peasant War, not a single general national peasant revolt, at least in Germany. Moreover, the peasants were unable to make revolution on their own as long as they were confronted by the united and organised power of the princes, the nobility and the towns. Their only chance of winning lay in an alliance with other estates. But how could they join with other estates if they were exploited to the same degree by all of them?

As we see, in the early sixteenth century the various estates of the Empire—princes, nobles, prelates, patricians, burghers, plebeians and peasants—formed an extremely confusing mass with their varied and highly conflicting needs. The estates stood in each other's way, and each was continually in overt or covert conflict with all the others. The division of the nation into two large camps, as seen in France at the outbreak of the first Revolution and as witnessed today on a higher level of development in the most advanced countries, was thus a rank impossibility. Anything like it could only come about if the lowest stratum of the nation, the one exploited by all the other estates, the peasants and plebeians, would rise up. The entanglement of interests, views and aspirations of that time will be easily understood from the confusion brought about in the last two years by the present far less complicated structure of the German nation, consisting of the feudal nobility, the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants and the proletariat.

II

The grouping of the then numerous and different estates into bigger entities was made virtually impossible by decentralisation, local and provincial independence, the industrial and commercial isolation of the provinces from each other, and poor communications. It came about only with the general spread of revolutionary political and religious ideas during the Reformation. The various estates that either embraced or opposed those ideas, concentrated the nation—only very laboriously, to be sure, and only approximately—into three large camps: the Catholic or reactionary, the Lutheran bourgeois reformist, and the revolutionary. If we discover little logic in this great division of the nation, and if we find partly the same elements in the first two camps, this is explained by the dissolution of most of the official estates handed down from the Middle Ages, and by the decentralisation which, for the moment, imparted to these estates in different localities opposing tendencies. In recent years we have so often encountered similar facts in Germany that this apparent jumble of estates and classes in the much more complicated environment of the sixteenth century cannot surprise us.

In spite of the latest experiences, German ideology still sees nothing except violent theological bickering in the struggles that brought the Middle Ages to an end. Should the people of that time, say our home-bred historians and political sages, have only come to an understanding concerning divine matters, there would have been no reason whatever for quarrelling over the earthly affairs. These ideologists are so gullible that they accept unquestioningly all the illusions that an epoch makes about itself or that ideologists of an epoch make about that epoch. People of that kind see in, say, the

Revolution of 1789 nothing but a somewhat heated debate over the advantages a constitutional monarchy has over absolutism, in the July Revolution[a] a practical controversy over the untenability of justice "by the grace of God", and in the February Revolution[b] an attempt at solving the problem: "republic or monarchy?", etc. To this day our ideologists have hardly any idea of the *class struggles* fought out in these upheavals, of which the political slogan on the banner is every time a bare expression, although the tidings about them are carried discernibly enough not only from abroad, but also by the rumble and grumble of many thousands of native proletarians.

Even the so-called religious wars of the sixteenth century mainly concerned very positive material class interests; those wars were class wars, too, just as the later internal collisions in England and France. Although the class struggles of those days were clothed in religious shibboleths, and though the interests, requirements, and demands of the various classes were concealed behind a religious screen, this changed nothing at all and is easily explained by the conditions of the times.

The Middle Ages had developed altogether from the raw. They wiped the old civilisation, the old philosophy, politics and jurisprudence off the slate, to begin anew in everything. The only thing they kept from the shattered old world was Christianity and a number of half-ruined towns divested of all civilisation. As a consequence, just as in every primitive stage of development, the clergy obtained a monopoly in intellectual education and education itself became essentially theological. In the hands of the clergy politics and jurisprudence, much like all other sciences, remained mere branches of theology, and were treated in accordance with the principles prevailing in the latter. Church dogmas were also political axioms, and Bible quotations had the validity of law in any court. Even when a special estate of jurists had begun to take shape, jurisprudence long remained under the patronage of theology. This supremacy of theology in the entire realm of intellectual activity was at the same time an inevitable consequence of the fact that the church was the all-embracing synthesis and the most general sanction of the existing feudal order.

It is clear that under the circumstances all the generally voiced attacks against feudalism, above all the attacks against the church, and all revolutionary social and political doctrines were necessarily

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[a] Of 1830.—*Ed.*
[b] Of 1848.—*Ed.*

also mostly theological heresies. The existing social relations had to be stripped of their halo of sanctity before they could be attacked.

The revolutionary opposition to feudalism was alive throughout the Middle Ages. It took the shape of mysticism,[301] open heresy, or armed insurrection, depending on the conditions of the time. It is well known how much sixteenth-century reformers depended on mysticism. Münzer himself was indebted to it. The heresies gave expression partly to the patriarchal Alpine shepherds' reaction to the feudalism advancing upon them (Waldenses[302]), partly to the opposition of the towns that had outgrown feudalism (the Albigenses,[303] Arnold of Brescia, etc.), and partly to direct peasant insurrections (John Ball and, among others, the Hungarian teacher in Picardy[304]). We can here leave aside the patriarchal heresy of the Waldenses and the Swiss insurrection, which was in form and content a reactionary, purely local attempt at stemming the tide of history. In the two remaining forms of medieval heresy we find already in the twelfth century the precursors of the great antithesis between the burgher and peasant-plebeian oppositions, which caused the defeat of the Peasant War. This antithesis is seen throughout the later Middle Ages.

The town heresies—and those are the actual official heresies of the Middle Ages—were directed primarily against the clergy, whose wealth and political station they attacked. Just as the present-day bourgeoisie demands a *gouvernement à bon marché* (cheap government), the medieval burghers chiefly demanded an *église à bon marché* (cheap church). Reactionary in form like any heresy that sees only degeneration in the further development of church and dogma, the burgher heresy demanded the revival of the simple early Christian Church constitution and abolition of exclusive priesthood. This cheap arrangement would eliminate monks, prelates, and the court in Rome; in short, all the expensive element of the church. The towns, which were republics themselves, albeit under the protection of monarchs, were the first to enunciate in general terms through their attacks upon the Papacy that a republic was the normal form of bourgeois rule. Their hostility to some of the dogmas and church laws is explained partly by the foregoing, and partly by their living conditions. Their bitter opposition to celibacy, for instance, has never been better explained than by Boccaccio. Arnold of Brescia in Italy and Germany, the Albigenses in Southern France, John Wycliffe in England, Hus and the Calixtines[305] in Bohemia, were the principal exponents of this trend. The towns were then already a recognised estate sufficiently capable of fighting secular feudalism with its privileges by force of arms or in the assemblies of the estates.

This explains quite simply why here the opposition to feudalism amounted only to opposition to *ecclesiastical* feudalism.

We also find in Southern France and in England and Bohemia that most of the lesser nobility joined the towns in their struggle against the clergy and in their heresies—which is explained by the dependence of the lesser nobility on the towns, and by their common interests as opposed to the princes and prelates. We shall encounter the same thing in the Peasant War.

The heresy that lent direct expression to peasant and plebeian needs and was almost invariably associated with an insurrection was of a totally different nature. Though it shared all the demands of the burgher heresy in relation to the clergy, the Papacy and the revival of the early Christian Church constitution, it went infinitely further. It demanded the restoration of early Christian equality among members of the community and recognition of this equality also as a prescript for the burgher world. It invoked the "equality of the children of God" to infer civil equality, and partly even equality of property. Equality of nobleman to peasant, of patrician and privileged burgher to the plebeian, abolition of statute labour, quitrents, taxes, privileges, and at least the most crying differences in property—those were the demands advanced with more or less determination as naturally consistent with the early Christian doctrine. At the time when feudalism was at its zenith there was little to choose between this peasant-plebeian heresy of the Albigenses, for example, and the burgher heresy, but in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it developed into a clearly distinctive party opinion and usually occupied an independent place alongside the heresy of the burghers. This was so in the case of John Ball, preacher of Wat Tyler's rebellion in England, and the Wycliffe movement, and of the Taborites[306] and the Calixtines in Bohemia. In the case of the Taborites there was even already a republican tendency under the theocratic cloak, a view further developed by the plebeians in Germany in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The fanaticism of mystically-minded sects, the Flagellants and Lollards,[307] etc., which continued the revolutionary tradition in times of suppression, was contiguous with this form of heresy.

At that time the plebeians were the only class that stood outside the existing official society. They had no access to either the feudal or the burgher association. They had neither privileges nor property; they did not even have the kind of heavily-taxed property possessed by the peasant or petty burgher. They were propertyless and rightless in every respect; their living conditions never even brought

them into direct contact with the existing institutions, which ignored them completely. They were a living symptom of the decay of the feudal and guild-burgher society, and at the same time the first precursors of the modern bourgeois society.

This explains why even then the plebeian faction could not confine itself to fighting only feudalism and the privileged burghers; why, in fantasy at least, it reached beyond the then scarcely dawning modern bourgeois society; why, an absolutely propertyless faction, it questioned the institutions, views and conceptions common to all societies based on class antagonisms. In this respect, the chiliastic dream-visions[308] of early Christianity offered a very convenient starting point. On the other hand, this sally beyond the present and even the future could be nothing but violent and fantastic, and was bound to slide back at its first practical application to within the narrow limits set by the contemporary situation. The attack on private property and the demand for community of property was bound to dissolve into a primitive organisation of charity; vague Christian equality could at best dissolve into civic "equality before the law"; elimination of all authority would finally end in the establishment of republican governments elected by the people. The anticipation of communism in fantasy became in reality an anticipation of modern bourgeois conditions.

This violent anticipation of coming historical developments, easily explained by the living conditions of the plebeians, is first seen in *Germany*, with *Thomas Münzer* and his party. True, the Taborites had a kind of chiliastic community of property, but that was a purely military measure. Only in the teachings of Münzer did these communist notions express the aspirations of a real section of society. He was the first to formulate them with a certain definiteness, and only after him do we find them in every great popular upheaval, until they gradually merge with the modern proletarian movement; just as the struggles of free peasants in the Middle Ages against the increasing feudal domination merged with the struggles of serfs and bondsmen for the complete abolition of the feudal system.

The first of the three large camps, the *conservative Catholic*, embraced all the elements interested in maintaining the existing conditions, i.e. the imperial authorities, the ecclesiastical and a section of the lay princes, the richer nobility, the prelates and the city patricians,while the camp of *Lutheran* reform, *moderate in the burgher manner*, attracted all the propertied elements of the opposition, the mass of the lesser nobility, the burghers, and even some of the lay princes who hoped to enrich themselves through confiscation of church estates and wanted to seize the opportunity of gaining

greater independence from the Empire. As for the peasants and plebeians, they formed a *revolutionary* party whose demands and doctrines were most forcefully set out by Münzer.

Luther and Münzer each fully represented his party by his doctrine, as well as by his character and behaviour.

Between 1517 and 1525 *Luther* changed just as much as the present-day German constitutionalists did between 1846 and 1849, and as every bourgeois party does when, placed for a time at the head of the movement, it is overwhelmed by the plebeian or proletarian party standing behind it.

When in 1517 Luther first opposed the dogmas and statutes of the Catholic Church his opposition was by no means of a definite character. Though it did not overstep the demands of the earlier burgher heresy, it did not and could not rule out any trend which went further. At that early stage it was necessary that all the opposition elements should be united, the most resolute revolutionary energy should be displayed, and the sum of the existing heresies against the Catholic orthodoxy should be represented. In exactly the same way our liberal bourgeoisie of 1847 was still revolutionary, called itself socialist and communist, and clamoured for the emancipation of the working class. Luther's sturdy peasant nature asserted itself in the stormiest fashion in that first period of his activity.

> "If the raging madness" (of the Roman churchmen) "were to continue, it seems to me no better counsel and remedy could be found against it than that kings and princes apply force, arm themselves, attack those evil people who have poisoned the entire world, and put an end to this game once and for all, *with arms, not with words.*[a] Since we punish thieves with the sword, murderers with the halter,[b] and heretics with fire, why do we not turn on all those evil teachers of perdition, those popes, cardinals and bishops, and the entire swarm of the Roman Sodom *with arms in hand, and wash our hands in their blood?*"[c]

But this initial revolutionary zeal was short-lived. Luther's lightning struck home. The entire German people was set in motion. On the one hand, peasants and plebeians saw the signal to revolt in his appeals against the clergy, and in his sermon of Christian freedom; on the other, he was joined by the moderate burghers and a large section of the lesser nobility. Even princes were drawn into the maelstrom. The former believed the day had come to settle

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[a] The last three words are italicised by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] Luther wrote: "punish thieves with the halter, murderers with the sword".—*Ed.*

[c] *Epitoma responsionis ad Martinum Luther* [1520]. Engels quotes according to W. Zimmermann, *Allgemeine Geschichte des grossen Bauernkrieges*, Th. 1, S. 364-65.—*Ed.*

scores with all their oppressors, the latter only wished to break the power of the clergy, the dependence upon Rome, to abolish the Catholic hierarchy and to enrich themselves on the confiscation of church property. The parties stood aloof from each other, and each had its spokesmen. Luther had to choose between them. He, the protégé of the Elector of Saxony,[a] the revered professor of Wittenberg who had become powerful and famous overnight, the great man with his coterie of servile creatures and flatterers, did not hesitate for a single moment. He dropped the popular elements of the movement and took the side of the burghers, the nobility, and the princes. His appeals for a war of extermination[b] against Rome resounded no more. Luther now preached *peaceful progress* and *passive resistance* (cf., for example, *An den Adel teutscher Nation*, 1520, etc.). Invited by Hutten to visit him and Sickingen in the castle of Ebern, where the nobility conspired against the clergy and the princes, Luther replied:

> "I do not wish the Gospel *defended by force and bloodshed.* The World was conquered by the Word, the Church is maintained by the Word, the Word will also put the Church back into its own, and Antichrist, who gained his own without violence, will fall without violence."[c]

From this reversal or, to be more exact, from this more definite explication of Luther's policy sprang that bartering and haggling over institutions and dogmas to be retained or reformed, that disgusting diplomatising, conciliating, intriguing and compromising, which resulted in the Confession of Augsburg, the finally importuned articles of a reformed burgher church.[309] It was quite the same kind of petty bargaining as was recently repeated in political form *ad nauseam* at the German national assemblies, agreement assemblies, chambers of revision, and Erfurt parliament.[310] The philistine nature of the official Reformation was most distinctly on display at these negotiations.

There were good reasons for Luther, henceforth the recognised representative of the burgher reform, to preach lawful progress. The bulk of the towns espoused the cause of moderate reform, the lesser nobility became more and more devoted to it, and a section of the princes joined in, while another section vacillated. Success was as

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[a] Frederick III.— *Ed.*

[b] The 1850 edition has *Vertilgungsrufe* (appeals for extermination) instead of *Aufrufe zum Vertilgungskampfe* (appeals for a war of extermination).— *Ed.*

[c] A passage from Luther's letter to Hutten quoted in his letter to Spalatin dated January 16, 1521. Intalicised by Engels. (See W. Zimmermann, op. cit., Th. 1, S. 366.)— *Ed.*

good as won, at least in a large part of Germany. The remaining regions could not in the long run withstand the pressure of moderate opposition in the event of continued peaceful development. On the other hand, any violent upheaval was bound to bring the moderate party into conflict with the extremist plebeian and peasant party, to alienate the princes, the nobility, and many towns from the movement, leaving the alternative of either the burgher party being overshadowed by the peasants and plebeians or all the parties to the movement being crushed by a Catholic restoration. We have seen examples enough of late of how, after gaining the slightest victory, bourgeois parties sought to steer a lawful course between the Scylla of revolution and the Charybdis of restoration.

Since in the social and political conditions of that time the results of every change were bound to benefit the princes and inevitably increased their power, it came about that the burgher reform fell the more completely under the control of the reformed princes, the more sharply it broke away from the plebeian and peasant elements. Luther himself became more and more their vassal, and the people knew perfectly well what they were doing when they accused him of having become just another flunkey of the princes, and when they stoned him in Orlamünde.

When the Peasant War broke out, and this in regions where the nobility and the princes were mostly Catholic, Luther tried to strike a mediatory pose. He resolutely attacked the authorities. He said it was their oppression that was to blame for the rebellion, that it was not the peasants but God himself who had risen against them. Yet, on the other hand, he said, the revolt was ungodly and contrary to the Gospel. In the end he advised both parties to yield and reach an amicable understanding.[a]

But in spite of these well-meaning mediatory offers, the revolt spread swiftly and even involved Protestant regions dominated by Lutheran princes, lords and towns, rapidly outgrowing the "circumspect" burgher reform. The most determined faction of the insurgents under Münzer made its headquarters in Luther's immediate proximity in Thuringia. A few more successes and the whole of Germany would be in flames, Luther surrounded and perhaps piked as a traitor, and the burgher reform swept away by the tide of a peasant-plebeian revolution. This was no time for circumspection. All the old animosities were forgotten in the face of the revolution. Compared with the hordes of peasants, the servants

[a] M. Luther, *Ermanunge zum fride auff die zwelff artikel der Bawrschafft ynn Schwaben*, Wittemberg, 1525.— *Ed.*

of the Roman Sodom were innocent lambs, sweet-tempered children of God. Burgher and prince, noble and clergyman, Luther and the Pope, all joined hands "against the murderous and plundering peasant hordes".[a]

"They must be *knocked to pieces, strangled* and *stabbed, covertly* and *overtly*, by everyone who can, just as one must kill a *mad dog*!" Luther cried. "Therefore, dear sirs, help here, save there, stab, knock, strangle them everyone who can, and should you lose your life, bless you, no better death can you ever attain." There should be no false mercy for the peasant. Whoever hath pity on those whom God pities not, whom He wishes punished and destroyed, belongs among the rebels himself. Later the peasants themselves would learn to thank God when they had to give up one cow in order to enjoy the other in peace, and the princes would learn through the upheaval the spirit of the mob that must be ruled by force only.[b] "The wise man says: *cibus, onus et virga asino.*[c] The peasants must have nothing but chaff. They do not hearken to the Word, and are foolish, so they must hearken to the rod and the gun, and that serves them right. We must pray for them that they obey. Where they do not there should be little mercy. *Let the guns roar among them*, or else they will do it a thousand times worse."[d]

Our late socialist and philanthropic bourgeoisie said the same things when the proletariat claimed its share of the fruits of victory after the March events.

Luther had put a powerful tool into the hands of the plebeian movement by translating the Bible. Through the Bible he contrasted the feudalised Christianity of his day with the moderate Christianity of the first centuries, and the decaying feudal society with a picture of a society that knew nothing of the ramified and artificial feudal hierarchy. The peasants had made extensive use of this instrument against the princes, the nobility, and the clergy. Now Luther turned it against the peasants, extracting from the Bible such a veritable hymn to the God-ordained authorities as no bootlicker of absolute monarchy had ever been able to match. Princedom by the grace of God, resigned obedience, even serfdom, were sanctioned with the aid of the Bible. Not the peasant revolt alone, but Luther's own mutiny against religious and lay authority were thereby disavowed; not only the popular movement, but the burgher movement as well, were betrayed to the princes.

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[a] Part of the title of the pamphlet: M. Luther, *Wyder die mördische unnd reubischenn Rottenn der Paurenn* [Wittemberg, 1525]. The passage that follows is quoted according to the text given by W. Zimmermann (op. cit., Th. 3, S. 370). Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] An indirect quotation from M. Luther, *Ein Sendbrief von dem harten Büchlein wider die Bauern* [1525].—*Ed.*

[c] Latin for "food, pack, and lash to the ass".—*Ed.*

[d] *M. Luthers Schreiben an Johann Rühel*, May 30, 1525. Italics by Engels. Quoted according to W. Zimmermann, op. cit., Th. 3, S. 714.—*Ed.*

Need we name the bourgeois who recently provided examples of the same disavowal of their own past?

Let us now compare the plebeian revolutionary, *Münzer*, with Luther, the burgher reformer.

*Thomas Münzer* was born in *Stolberg*, in the Harz, somewhere around 1498.[311] His father is said to have died on the scaffold, a victim of the obduracy of the Count of Stolberg. In his fifteenth year Münzer organised a secret union at the Halle school against the Archbishop of Magdeburg[a] and the Roman Church in general. His learning in the theology of his time brought him an early doctor's degree and the position of chaplain in a Halle nunnery. Here he treated the church dogmas and rites with the greatest contempt. At mass he omitted the words of the transubstantiation and, as Luther said, devoured the almighty gods unconsecrated.[b] The medieval mystics, and particularly the chiliastic works of Joachim the Calabrese, were the main subject of his studies. The millennium and the Day of Judgment of the degenerated church and corrupted world propounded and described by that mystic seemed to Münzer imminently close, what with the Reformation and the general unrest of his time. He preached in his neighbourhood with great success. In 1520 he went to Zwickau as the first evangelist preacher. There he found one of those fanatical chiliastic sects that continued their existence on the quiet in many localities, whose momentary humility and detachment concealed the increasingly rampant opposition to the prevailing conditions of the lowest strata of society, and who were now, with the unrest growing, coming into the light of day ever more boldly and persistently. It was the sect of the Anabaptists[312] headed by Niklas *Storch*. They preached the approach of the Day of Judgment and of the millennium; they had "visions, transports, and the spirit of prophecy" and soon came into conflict with the Council of Zwickau. Münzer defended them, though he never joined them unconditionally and would much rather have brought them under his own influence. The Council took drastic measures against them; they had to leave the town, and Münzer with them. This was at the close of 1521.

He went to Prague and sought to gain a foothold there by joining the remnants of the Hussite movement. But all that he accomplished with his proclamation[c] was that he had to flee from Bohemia as well.

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[a] Ernst.— *Ed.*

[b] *M. Luther's Schrift von der Winkelmesse.* (See W. Zimmermann, op. cit., Th. 2, S. 55.)— *Ed.*

[c] Th. Müntzer, *Ankündigung mit eigner Hand geschrieben, und in Prag 1521 angeschlagen wider die Papisten.* (See W. Zimmermann, op. cit., Th. 2, S. 64-67.)— *Ed.*

In 1522 he became preacher at Allstedt in Thuringia. The first thing he did here was to reform the cult. Even before Luther dared to go so far, he entirely abolished the Latin language and ordered the entire Bible, and not only the prescribed Sunday Gospels and epistles, to be read to the people. At the same time, he organised propaganda in his locality. People flocked to him from all directions, and Allstedt soon became the centre of the popular anti-priest movement of all Thuringia.

Münzer was as yet more theologian than anything else. He still directed his attacks almost exclusively against the priests. He did not, however, preach quiet debate and peaceful progress as Luther did at that time, but continued Luther's earlier violent sermons, calling upon the princes of Saxony and the people to rise in arms against the Roman priests.

"Does not Christ say, 'I came not to send peace, but a sword'? What must you" (the princes of Saxony) "do with that sword? Only one thing if you wish to be the servants of God, and that is to drive out and destroy the evil ones who stand in the way of the Gospel. Christ ordered very earnestly (Luke 19:27): 'bring hither mine enemies and slay them before me'.... Do not shallowly pretend that the power of God will do it without the aid of your sword, for then it would rust in its sheath. Those who stand in the way of God's revelation must be destroyed mercilessly, as Ezekiel, Cyrus, Josiah, Daniel and Elijah destroyed the priests of Baal, else the Christian Church will never come back to its source. We must uproot the weeds in God's vineyard at harvest time. God said in the Fifth Book of Moses, 7, 'thou shalt not show mercy unto the idolaters, but ye shall destroy their altars, and break down their images and burn them with fire that I shall not be wroth at you'."[a]

But these appeals to the princes were of no avail, while revolutionary sentiments among the people grew day by day. Münzer, whose ideas became ever sharper and ever more bold, now resolutely broke away from the burgher Reformation, and henceforth also became an out-and-out political agitator.

His philosophico-theological doctrine attacked all the main points not only of Catholicism, but of Christianity generally. In the form of Christianity he preached a kind of pantheism, which curiously resembled modern speculative contemplation[313] and at times even approached atheism. He repudiated the Bible both as the only and as the infallible revelation. The real and living revelation, he said, was reason, a revelation that has existed at all times and still exists among all peoples. To hold up the Bible against reason, he maintained, was to kill the spirit with the letter, for the Holy Spirit of which the Bible speaks is not something that exists outside us—the Holy Spirit is our

[a] Th. Müntzer, *Die Fürstenpredigt. Ausslegung des andern vnterschyds Danielis dess propheten gepredigt auffm schlos zu Alstet vor den tetigen thewren Herzcogen vnd vorstehern zu Sachssen durch Thomä Müntzer diener des wordt gottes*, Alstedt, MDXXIIII.—*Ed.*

reason. Faith is nothing but reason come alive in man, and pagans could therefore also have faith. Through this faith, through reason come to life, man became godlike and blessed. Heaven is, therefore, nothing of another world and is to be sought in this life. It is the mission of believers to establish this Heaven, the kingdom of God, here on earth. Just as there is no Heaven in the beyond, there is also no Hell and no damnation. Similarly, there is no devil but man's evil lusts and greed. Christ was a man as we are, a prophet and a teacher, and his supper is a plain meal of commemoration wherein bread and wine are consumed without any mystic garnish.

Münzer preached these doctrines mostly concealed in the same Christian phraseology behind which the present-day philosophy has had to hide for some time. But the arch-heretical fundamental idea is easily discerned in all his writings, and he obviously took the biblical cloak much less in earnest than many a disciple of Hegel does in modern times. Yet three hundred years separate Münzer from modern philosophy.

Münzer's political doctrine was very closely aligned to these revolutionary religious conceptions, and overstepped the directly prevailing social and political conditions in much the same way as his theology overstepped the conceptions current in his time. As Münzer's religious philosophy approached atheism, so his political programme approached communism, and even on the eve of the February Revolution more than one present-day communist sect lacked as comprehensive a theoretical arsenal as was "Münzer's" in the sixteenth century. This programme, which was less a compilation of the demands of the plebeians of that day than a brilliant anticipation of the conditions for the emancipation of the proletarian element that had scarcely begun to develop among the plebeians—this programme demanded the immediate establishment of the kingdom of God on Earth, of the prophesied millennium, by restoring the church to its original status and abolishing all the institutions that conflicted with the purportedly early Christian but in fact very novel church. By the kingdom of God Münzer meant a society with no class differences, no private property and no state authority independent of, and foreign to, the members of society. All the existing authorities, insofar as they refused to submit and join the revolution, were to be overthrown, all work and all property shared in common, and complete equality introduced. A union was to be established to realise all this, and not only throughout Germany, but throughout Christendom. Princes and lords would be invited to join, but should they refuse the union was to take up arms and overthrow or kill them at the first opportunity.

Münzer set to work at once to organise the union. His sermons became still more militant and revolutionary. He thundered forth against the princes, the nobility and the patricians with a passion that equalled the fervour of his attacks upon the clergy. He depicted the prevailing oppression in burning colours and countered it with his dream-vision of the millennium of social republican equality. Also, he published one revolutionary pamphlet after another, and sent emissaries in all directions, while personally organising the union in Allstedt and its vicinity.

The first fruit of this propaganda was the destruction of St. Mary's Chapel in Mellerbach near Allstedt, according to the command of the Bible (Deut. 7 [5], 6): "Ye shall destroy their altars, and break down their images ... and burn their graven images with fire for thou art an holy people." The princes of Saxony came in person to Allstedt to quell the unrest and bid Münzer come to the castle. There he delivered a sermon the like of which they had not heard from Luther, whom Münzer described as "that easy-living flesh of Wittenberg".[a] Münzer maintained that ungodly rulers, especially priests and monks who treated the Gospel as heresy, should be killed, and referred to the New Testament for confirmation. The ungodly had no right to live save by the mercy of the elect. Should the princes not exterminate the ungodly, God would take their sword from them, *because the entire community had the power of the sword.* The princes and lords are the prime movers of usury, thievery and robbery; they take all creatures into their private possession—the fish in the water, the birds in the air, and the plants in the soil. And then they preach to the poor the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," while they themselves take everything they find, and rob and oppress the peasant and the artisan. If, however, one of the latter commits the slightest transgression, he has to hang, and Dr. Lügner says to all this: Amen.

"The masters themselves are to blame that the poor man becomes their enemy. If they do not remove the causes of the upheaval, how can things go well in the long run? Oh, dear sirs, how the Lord will smite these old pots with an iron rod! But for saying so, I am regarded a rebel. So be it!" (Cf. Zimmermann's *Bauernkrieg*, Th. 2, S. 75.)[b]

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[a] This phrase is part of the title of Th. Münzer's pamphlet directed against Luther, *Hochverursachte Schutzrede vnd antwwort / wider das Gaistlosse Sanfft lebende fleysch zu Wittenberg....* Thomas Müntzer Alstedter... Anno MDXXIIII. (In this pamphlet Münzer refers to Luther as Dr. Lügner, the German for Dr. Liar.)—*Ed.*

[b] This quotation from Münzer's speeches (see the above-quoted *Hochverursachte Schutzrede...* and *Die Fürstenpredigt...*) is given according to Zimmermann's book.—*Ed.*

Münzer had the sermon printed. Duke Johann of Saxony punished his Allstedt printer with banishment, and ordered all Münzer's writings to be censored from then on by the ducal government in Weimar. But Münzer paid no heed to this order. He hastened to publish a highly inciting paper[a] in the imperial city of Mühlhausen, wherein he called on the people

"to widen the hole so that all the world may see and understand who our great personages are that have blasphemously turned our Lord into a painted manikin".

It ended with the following words:

"All the world must suffer a big jolt. There will be such a game that the ungodly will be thrown off their seats, and the downtrodden will rise."

Thomas Münzer, "the man with the hammer", wrote the following motto on the title page:

"Beware, I have put my words into thy mouth[b] that thou mayest uproot, destroy, scatter and overthrow, and that thou mayest build and plant. A wall of iron against the kings, princes, priests, and against the people hath been erected. Let them fight, for victory will wondrously lead to the perdition of the strong and godless tyrants."

Münzer's breach with Luther and his party had taken place long before. Luther had had to accept some of the church reforms which Münzer had introduced without consulting him. He watched Münzer's activities with a moderate reformer's nettled mistrust of a more energetic, ambitious party. Already in the spring of 1524, in a letter to Melanchthon, that model of a zealous stick-in-the-mud philistine, Münzer wrote that he and Luther did not understand the movement at all. He said they sought to choke it by the letter of the Bible, and that their doctrine was worm-eaten.

"Dear brethren," he wrote, "cease your waiting and hesitation. It is time, for summer is at the door. Keep not friendship with the ungodly who hinder the Word from working its full force. Flatter not your princes, or you will perish with them. Ye tender scholars, be not wroth, for I can do nothing else."[c]

Luther had more than once challenged Münzer to an open debate. The latter, however, always ready to take up the battle before the people, had not the least desire to let himself in for a theological

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[a] *Aussgetrückte emplössung des falschen Glaubens der ungetrewen welt...* Jere. am. 23. Cap. Thomas Müntzer mit dem Hammer. Mülhausen, MDXXIIII. (W. Zimmermann, op. cit., Th. 2, S. 77-78.)—*Ed.*

[b] In the 1850 edition there follows a phrase missing in the 1870 and 1875 editions: "I have put you over the people and over the empires."—*Ed.*

[c] From Münzer's letter to Melanchthon of March 27, 1522. (Zimmermann erroneously dated it March 29, 1524.)—*Ed.*

squabble before the partisan public of Wittenberg University. He did not wish "to bring the testimony of the Spirit exclusively before the high school of learning".[a] If Luther were sincere, he should use his influence to stop the chicaneries against his, Münzer's, printer, and lift the censorship so that their controversy might be freely fought in the press.

But now, when Münzer's above-mentioned revolutionary brochure appeared, Luther denounced him publicly. In his published *Brieff an die Fürsten zu Sachsen von dem auffrurischen geyst* he declared Münzer to be an instrument of Satan and called upon the princes to intervene and drive the instigators of the turmoil out of the country, since they did not confine themselves to preaching their evil doctrine but also incited to insurrection, to violent action against the authorities.

On August 1, Münzer was compelled to appear before the princes in the castle of Weimar on the charge of incitement to mutiny. Highly compromising facts had been obtained against him; they were on the scent of his secret union; his hand was detected in the societies of the miners and the peasants. He was threatened with banishment. No sooner had he returned to Allstedt than he learned that Duke George of Saxony demanded his extradition.Union letters in his handwriting had been-intercepted, wherein he called George's subjects to armed resistance against the enemies of the Gospel. Had he not left the town, the Council would have extradited him.

In the meantime, the growing unrest among the peasants and plebeians had made it incomparably easier for Münzer to carry on his propaganda. In the Anabaptists he found invaluable agents for this purpose. This sect, which had no definite and positive dogmas, held together only by its common opposition to all ruling classes and by the common symbol of the second baptism, ascetic in its mode of living, untiring, fanatical and intrepid in carrying on propaganda, had grouped itself more and more closely around Münzer. Made homeless by persecutions, its members wandered all over Germany and carried word everywhere of the new teaching, in which Münzer had made their own demands and wishes clear to them. Countless Anabaptists were put on the rack, burned at the stake or otherwise executed, but the courage and endurance of these emissaries was unshakable, and the success of their activities amid the people's rapidly growing unrest was enormous. Thus, after his flight from Thuringia, Münzer found the ground prepared wherever he went.

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[a] Th. Müntzer, *Aussgetrückte emplössung des falschen Glaubens der ungetrewen welt...*, quoted according to W. Zimmermann, op. cit., Th. 2, S. 77.—*Ed.*

Near Nuremberg, where Münzer went first,[314] a peasant revolt had been nipped in the bud hardly a month before. Münzer conducted his propaganda surreptitiously; soon people appeared who defended his most audacious theological ideas on the non-obligatory nature of the Bible and the meaninglessness of sacraments, who declared Christ a mere human and the power of the lay authorities ungodly. "There is Satan stalking, the Spirit of Allstedt!" Luther exclaimed.[a] In Nuremberg Münzer printed his reply to Luther.[b] He accused him of flattering the princes and supporting the reactionary party by his insipid moderation. But the people would free themselves all the same, he wrote, and it would go with Dr. Luther as with a captive fox.—The Council ordered the paper confiscated, and Münzer had to leave Nuremberg.

Now he went across Swabia to Alsace, then to Switzerland, and then back to the Upper Black Forest, where an insurrection had broken out several months before, largely precipitated by his Anabaptist emissaries. This propaganda tour of Münzer's had doubtless substantially contributed to the establishment of the people's party, to the clear definition of its demands and to the final general outbreak of the insurrection in April 1525. It was through this tour that the dual effect of Münzer's activities became particularly apparent—on the one hand, on the people, whom he addressed in the only language they could then comprehend, that of religious prophecy; and, on the other hand, on the initiated to whom he could disclose his ultimate aims. Even before his journey he had assembled in Thuringia a circle of resolute men from among the people and the lesser clergy, whom he had put at the head of the secret society. Now he became the soul of the entire revolutionary movement in Southwestern Germany, organised ties from Saxony and Thuringia through Franconia and Swabia up to Alsace and the Swiss border, and counted such South German agitators as Hubmaier of Waldshut, Konrad Grebel of Zurich, Franz Rabmann of Griessen, Schappeler of Memmingen, Jakob Wehe of Leipheim, and Dr. Mantel in Stuttgart, who were mostly revolutionary priests, among his disciples and the heads of the union. He himself stayed mostly in Griessen on the Schaffhausen border, journeying from there across the Hegau, Klettgau, etc. The bloody reprisals by the alarmed princes and lords everywhere against this new plebeian

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[a] From Luther's letter to Johannes Briessmann, dated February 4, 1525. Quoted according to Zimmermann, op. cit., Th. 2, S. 81.—*Ed.*

[b] Th. Müntzer, *Hochverursachte Schutzrede vnd antwwort/wider das Gaistlosse Sanfft lebende fleysch zu Wittenberg...*—*Ed.*

heresy contributed not a little to fanning the spirit of rebellion and consolidating the ranks of the union. In this way Münzer conducted his agitation for about five months in Upper Germany and returned to Thuringia when the culmination of the conspiracy was near at hand, because he wished to lead the movement himself. There we shall find him later.

We shall see how truly the character and behaviour of the two party leaders reflected the attitude of their respective parties, how Luther's indecision and fear of the movement, which was assuming serious proportions, and his cowardly servility to the princes fully corresponded to the hesitant and ambiguous policy of the burghers, and how Münzer's revolutionary energy and resolution was reproduced among the most advanced section of the plebeians and peasants. The only difference was that while Luther confined himself to expressing the ideas and wishes of the majority of his class and thereby won very cheap popularity among it, Münzer, on the contrary, went far beyond the immediate ideas and demands of the plebeians and peasants, and organised a party of the élite of the then existing revolutionary elements, which, inasmuch as it shared his ideas and energy, always remained only a small minority of the insurgent masses.

## III

The first signs of a budding revolutionary spirit appeared among the German peasants about fifty years after the suppression of the Hussite movement.*

In 1476 the first peasant conspiracy occurred in the bishopric of Würzburg, a land impoverished by the Hussite wars, "by bad government, manifold taxes, payments, feuds, enmity, war, fire, murder, prison and the like",[a] and continually and shamelessly plundered by bishops, priests and the nobility. A young shepherd and musician, *Hans Böheim of Niklashausen,* also called the Drum-Beater and *Hans the Piper,* suddenly appeared as a prophet in the Tauber valley. He declared that he had had a vision of the Virgin Mary, that she had commanded him to burn his drum, to stop serving the dance and sinful sensuality, and to exhort the people to penance. Everyone should purge himself of sin and the vain lusts of the world, forsake all ornaments and finery, and make a pilgrimage to the Madonna of Niklashausen to obtain forgiveness.

Already here, with the first precursor of the movement, we find the asceticism typical of all medieval uprisings tinged with religion and, in modern times, of the early stages of every proletarian movement. This ascetic austerity of morals, this demand to forsake all joys of life and all entertainments, opposes the ruling classes with

* In our chronology we are following the data given by Zimmermann, upon which we are obliged to rely in the absence of adequate sources abroad and which are quite satisfactory for the purposes of the present work.— *Note by Engels to the 1850 edition.* (In the 1870 and 1875 editions this note was omitted since Engels pointed out in the Preface that he was using Zimmermann's data.— *Ed.*)

[a] Engels quotes an extract from a 15th-century manuscript preserved in the Würzburg archive. See W. Zimmermann, *Allgemeine Geschichte des grossen Bauernkrieges,* Th. 1, S. 118.— *Ed.*

the principle of Spartan equality, on the one hand, and is, on the other, a necessary stage of transition without which the lowest stratum of society can never set itself in motion. In order to develop its revolutionary energy, to become conscious of its own hostile attitude towards all other elements of society, to concentrate itself as a class, it must begin by stripping itself of everything that could reconcile it with the existing social system; it must renounce the few pleasures that make its wretched existence in the least tolerable for the moment, and of which even the severest oppression could not deprive it. This *plebeian and proletarian asceticism* differs both in its wild fanatical form and in its essence from the bourgeois asceticism of the Lutheran burgher morality and of the English Puritans (as distinct from the Independents[315] and the more radical sects), whose entire secret amounts to *bourgeois thrift.* It stands to reason, however, that this plebeian-proletarian asceticism gradually sheds its revolutionary nature when the development of modern productive forces infinitely multiplies the luxuries, thus rendering Spartan equality superfluous, and when the position of the proletariat in society, and thereby the proletariat itself, become more revolutionary. This asceticism disappears gradually from among the masses, and in the sects, which relied upon it, it degenerates either directly into bourgeois parsimony or into a high-sounding virtuousness which, in practice, degenerates to a philistine or guild-artisan meanness. Besides, renunciation of pleasures need hardly be preached to the proletariat for the simple reason that it has almost nothing more to renounce.

Hans the Piper's call to penitence found a ready response; all the prophets of rebellion began with this call, and, indeed, only a violent exertion, a sudden renunciation of all this habitual mode of existence could set this disunited and widely scattered peasant species, raised in blind submission, into motion. The pilgrimages to Niklashausen began and rapidly increased, and the more massive the stream of pilgrims, the more openly the young rebel spoke out his plans. The Madonna of Niklashausen had told him, he preached, that henceforth there should be neither king nor prince, neither papal nor any other ecclesiastic or lay authority. Each should be a brother to the other and win his bread by the toil of his own hands, and none should have more than his neighbour. All tributes, rents, services, tolls, taxes and other payments and duties should be for ever abolished, and forest, water and pasture should everywhere be free.

The people received this new gospel with joy. The fame of the prophet, "the message of our Lady", spread far and wide; pilgrim throngs flocked to him from Odenwald, from the Main, Kocher and

Jagst, even from Bavaria and Swabia, and from the Rhine. Miracles said to have been performed by the Piper were recounted; people fell to their knees before him, praying to him as to a saint, and then fought for tufts from his cap for relics or amulets. In vain did the priests speak against him, denouncing his visions as the devil's delusions and his miracles as diabolic swindles. The mass of the believers increased precipitously, a revolutionary sect began to take shape, the Sunday sermons of the rebel shepherd drew gatherings of 40,000 and more to Niklashausen.

Hans the Piper preached to the masses for a number of months, but he did not intend to confine himself to preaching. He had secret connections with the pastor of Niklashausen and with two knights, Kunz von Thunfeld and his son, who held to the new teaching and were to become the military leaders of the planned insurrection. Finally, on the Sunday before the day of St. Kilian, when his power appeared to be great enough, the shepherd gave the signal.

"And now go home," he closed his sermon, "and weigh in your mind what our holiest Lady has announced to you, and on the coming Saturday leave your wives and children and old men at home, and you, men, come back to Niklashausen on the day of St. Margaret, which is next Saturday, and bring your brothers and friends, as many as they may be. Do not come with pilgrim's staves, however, but with armour and arms, a candle in one hand, and a sword, pike or halberd in the other, and the Holy Virgin will then tell you what she wishes you to do."[a]

But before the peasants arrived in their numbers, the bishop's[b] horsemen seized the rebel prophet at night and brought him to the castle of Würzburg. On the appointed day almost 34,000 armed peasants appeared, but the news of the Piper's detention crushed them. Most of them went home, while the initiated kept about 16,000 together, with whom they marched to the castle under the leadership of Kunz von Thunfeld and his son Michael. The bishop persuaded them with promises to turn back, but no sooner had they begun to disperse than they were attacked by the bishop's horsemen and many of them taken captive. Two were decapitated, and Hans the Piper was burned at the stake. Kunz von Thunfeld escaped and was allowed to return only after ceding all his estates to the bishopric. The pilgrimages to Niklashausen continued for some time, but were finally also suppressed.

After this initial attempt, Germany remained quiet for some time. Only towards the close of the century were there any new peasant revolts and conspiracies.

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[a] From a free rendering of the sermon as given by W. Zimmermann (op. cit., Th. 1, S. 121-22).—*Ed.*

[b] Rudolf II von Scherenberg.—*Ed.*

We shall pass over the Dutch peasant revolt of 1491 and 1492, which was suppressed by Duke Albrecht of Saxony in the battle of Heemskerk, the simultaneous peasant revolt in the Abbey of Kempten in Upper Swabia, and the Frisian revolt under Sjoerd Aylva, about 1497,[a] which was also suppressed by Albrecht of Saxony. These revolts were partly too far from the scene of the Peasant War proper, and partly uprisings of hitherto free peasants against the attempt to force feudalism upon them. We pass on to the two great conspiracies which laid the ground for the Peasant War: the *Bundschuh* and the *Poor Konrad.*

The same famine that had precipitated the peasant revolt in the Netherlands, brought about a secret alliance of peasants and plebeians in Alsace in 1493; people of the purely burgher opposition took part in it, and it even enjoyed some sympathy among the lesser nobility. The seat of the alliance was in the region of Schlettstadt, Sulz, Dambach, Rosheim, Scherweiler, etc., etc. The conspirators demanded plunder and extermination of Jews, whose usury then, as now, fleeced the peasants of Alsace, proclamation of a jubilee year, whereby all debts would expire, repeal of duties, tolls and other imposts, abolition of the ecclesiastical and Rottweil (imperial) court, the right of the estates to ratify taxes, reduction of the priests' prebend to fifty or sixty guilders, abolition of the auricular confession, and self-elected courts for every community. When they were strong enough the conspirators planned to overpower the stronghold of Schlettstadt, to confiscate the treasuries of the monasteries and of the town, and from there to arouse the whole of Alsace. The banner of the Union, which was to be unfurled at the start of the uprising, depicted a peasant's clog with a long leather thong, the so-called *Bundschuh,* which served peasant conspiracies as an emblem and name in the following twenty years.

The conspirators were wont to hold their meetings at night on the lonesome Hunger Hill. Initiation into the Bundschuh involved the most mysterious of ceremonies and the severest threats of punishment for betrayal. But the affair got abroad about Easter Week of 1493, the time appointed for the attack on Schlettstadt. The authorities stepped in immediately. Many of the conspirators were arrested and tortured, some were quartered or decapitated, and others had their hands or fingers cut off and were driven out of the country. A great many fled to Switzerland.

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[a] The Frisian peasant revolt occurred in 1500. Engels gives the date 1497 as in Zimmermann.— *Ed.*

The Bundschuh, however, was far from crushed by this first blow. On the contrary, it continued in secret and the numerous fugitives scattered all over Switzerland and South Germany became as many emissaries. Finding the same oppression and, consequently, the same inclination to revolt everywhere they went, they propagated the Bundschuh in the whole of the present-day Baden. The tenacity and stamina with which the peasants of Upper Germany conspired for about thirty years after 1493, with which they surmounted all the obstacles arising from their scattered way of life on the road to a larger, more centralised organisation, and with which they renewed their conspiracies over and over after countless dispersions, defeats, and executions of their leaders, until an opportunity came at last for a mass uprising—this tenacity is truly admirable.

In 1502 there were signs of a secret movement among the peasants of the bishopric of Speyer, which at that time also included the locality of Bruchsal. The Bundschuh had reorganised itself there with really considerable success. About 7,000 men belonged to the society, whose centre was in Untergrombach, between Bruchsal and Weingarten, and whose ramifications reached down the Rhine to the Main, and up to the Margraviate of Baden. Its articles said: neither rent nor tithe, neither tax nor toll are to be paid any longer to the princes, the nobility, or the clergy; serfdom is to be abolished; the monasteries and other *church estates are to be confiscated and divided among the people, and no other ruler is to be recognised save the Emperor.*

Here we find for the first time expressed by peasants the two demands—secularising church estates in favour of the people, and a united and indivisible German monarchy—which will henceforth be advocated regularly by the more advanced peasants and plebeians, until Thomas Münzer changes *distribution* of church estates to *confiscation* and conversion into *community of property*, and a united German *Empire* to a united and indivisible *republic.*

The revived Bundschuh, like the old, had its own secret meeting place, its oath of silence, its initiation ceremonies, and its union banner with the legend, "Nothing but God's Justice!" Its plan of action was similar to that of the Alsatian union. Bruchsal, most of whose inhabitants belonged to the Bundschuh, was to be captured and a Bundschuh army organised there and sent into the surrounding principalities as an itinerant meeting point.

The plan was betrayed by a clergyman who had learned of it from one of the conspirators in the confessional. The authorities instantly took countermeasures. How widespread the Bundschuh had become is evident from the terror that seized the various imperial estates in Alsace and the Swabian League.[316] Troops were concen-

trated, and mass arrests were made. Emperor Maximilian, "last of the knights", issued bloodthirsty punitive decrees against the unheard-of peasant undertaking. Throngs of peasants assembled here and there and offered armed resistance, but the isolated peasant troops could not hold out for long. Some of the conspirators were executed, others escaped, but secrecy was so well preserved that, in their own localities and in the possessions of the neighbouring lords, the majority, even the leaders, remained unharmed.

After this new defeat there followed a long period of apparent calm in the class struggle. But work went on underground. In the first years of the sixteenth century *Poor Konrad* appeared in Swabia, evidently with the support of the scattered members of the Bundschuh. In the Black Forest the Bundschuh continued in small isolated groups until, ten years later, an energetic peasant leader succeeded in gathering the various threads into a major conspiracy. Both conspiracies became public one after the other in the restless years of 1513-15, in which the Swiss, Hungarian and Slovenian peasants rose simultaneously in a series of major insurrections.

The man who revived the Upper Rhine Bundschuh was *Joss Fritz* of Untergrombach, a fugitive of the conspiracy of 1502, a former soldier, and in all respects an outstanding figure. After his flight he stayed in various localities between Lake Constance and the Black Forest, and finally settled in Lehen near Freiburg in Breisgau, where he even became a forester. Most interesting facts are contained in the court records about the manner in which he reorganised the Bundschuh from that vantage point and how ingeniously he recruited people of different kinds. The diplomatic talent and tireless perseverance of this model conspirator helped him enrol a great number of people of various classes into the Bundschuh —knights, priests, burghers, plebeians and peasants, and it appears almost certain that he even organised several more or less sharply divided grades of the conspiracy. All serviceable elements were utilised with the greatest circumspection and skill. Apart from the more initiated emissaries who traversed the country in various disguises, vagrants and beggars were employed for subordinate missions. Joss stood in direct contact with the beggar kings, and through them held the numerous vagabond population in the palm of his hand. The beggar kings played a considerable role in his conspiracy. They were very bizarre figures: one roamed the country with a girl whose seemingly wounded feet were his pretext for begging; he had more than eight insignia on his hat—the Fourteen Deliverers, St. Ottilie, Our Mother in Heaven, etc.—and, besides, wore a long red beard and carried a big knotty stick with a dagger

and pike. Another, who begged in the name of St. Velten, had spices and wormseeds for sale, and wore a long iron-coloured coat, a red barret with the insignia of the Infant of Trient attached to it, a sword at his side, and many knives and a dagger in his girdle. Others had bleeding wounds, which they deliberately did not allow to heal, and their attire was also picturesque. There were at least ten of them, and for the price of two thousand guilders they were simultaneously to set aflame Alsace, the Margraviate of Baden, and Breisgau, and to put themselves, with at least 2,000 of their kind, under the command of Georg Schneider, a former captain of the mercenaries, on the day of the Zabern parish fair in Rosen, in order to take possession of that town. A courier service from station to station was established by members of the Bundschuh, and Joss Fritz and his chief emissary, Stoffel of Freiburg, rode continually from place to place to hold nocturnal military reviews of the neophytes. The court records offer ample evidence of the spread of the Bundschuh in the Upper Rhine and Black Forest regions. They contain countless names and descriptions of members from the various localities of that region—most of them journeymen, then peasants and innkeepers, a few nobles, priests (like the one from Lehen), and breadless mercenaries. This composition of the Bundschuh is evidence of the more developed character of the society under Joss Fritz. The urban plebeian element was asserting itself more and more. The ramifications of the conspiracy spread throughout Alsace, the present-day Baden, up to Württemberg and the Main. From time to time large gatherings were held on secluded mountains such as the Kniebis, etc., to discuss the affairs of the Union. The meetings of the chiefs, in which local members and delegates of remoter localities often participated, took place on the Hartmatte near Lehen, and it was there that the fourteen articles of the Bundschuh were adopted. The articles agreed upon were: no master besides the Emperor and (according to some) the Pope; abolition of the Rottweil imperial court and restriction of the church court to religious affairs; abolition of interest after it had been paid for so long that it equalled the capital; top interest rate of five per cent; freedom of hunting, fishing, pasture, and woodcutting; restriction of priests each to one prebend; confiscation of church estates and monastery treasures for the Bundschuh war chest; abolition of all inequitable taxes and tolls; eternal peace in all Christendom; determined action against all opponents of the Bundschuh; Bundschuh taxes; seizure of a strong town, such as Freiburg, to serve as Bundschuh headquarters; negotiations with the Emperor as soon as the Bundschuh troops are gathered, and with Switzerland in case the Emperor declines. It was

evident that, on the one hand, the demands of the peasants and plebeians were becoming more definite and firm, and that, on the other, concessions had had equally to be made to the moderate and timid.

The blow was to be struck about autumn 1513. Only a Bundschuh banner was lacking, and Joss Fritz went to Heilbronn to have it painted. Besides all sorts of emblems and pictures, it bore the peasant's clog emblem and the legend, "God Help Thy Divine Justice". While he was away a premature attempt was made to overwhelm Freiburg, which was discovered. Some indiscretions in the conduct of propaganda put the Council of Freiburg and the Margrave of Baden[a] on the right scent, and the betrayal by two conspirators completed the series of disclosures. The Margrave, the Council of Freiburg, and the imperial government at Ensisheim[317] instantly sent spies and soldiers; some Bundschuh members were arrested, tortured and executed. But again the majority escaped, Joss Fritz among them. This time the Swiss Government sternly persecuted the fugitives, and even executed many of them. However, it had just as little success as its neighbours in preventing the greater part of the fugitives from remaining continually in the vicinity of their former homes and even returning to them after some time. The Alsace Government in Ensisheim behaved more brutally than the others. It ordered very many to be decapitated, broken on the wheel, and quartered. Joss Fritz himself kept mainly to the Swiss bank of the Rhine, but often crossed to the Black Forest, without ever being apprehended.

Why this time the Swiss made common cause with the neighbouring governments against the Bundschuh is made apparent by the peasant revolt that broke out the following year, 1514, in Berne, Solothurn and Lucerne,[b] resulting in a purge of the aristocratic governments and the patriciate generally. The peasants also won certain privileges for themselves. The success of the local Swiss revolts was due to the simple fact that there was even less centralisation in Switzerland than in Germany. In 1525 the peasants managed to dispose of their local lords everywhere, but succumbed to the organised armies of the princes, and it was these latter that Switzerland did not have.

Simultaneously with the Bundschuh in Baden, and apparently in direct association with it, a second conspiracy was formed in Württemberg. Documents indicate that it had existed since 1503, but

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[a] Christoph I.—*Ed.*

[b] Its first outbreaks began in 1513.—*Ed.*

since the name Bundschuh became too dangerous after the setback of the Untergrombach conspirators, it adopted the name Poor Konrad. Its main seat was the valley of the Rems at the foot of the mountain of Hohenstaufen. Its existence had been no secret for a long time, at least to the people. The merciless oppression of Duke Ulrich's government coupled with several famine years, which contributed greatly to the outbreak of the movements of 1513 and 1514, had increased the number of conspirators. The newly imposed taxes on wine, meat and bread, and a capital tax of one pfennig yearly on every guilder, provoked the uprising. The town of Schorndorf, where the heads of the complot met in the house of a cutler named Kaspar Pregizer, was to be seized first. In the spring of 1514, the rebellion broke out. Three thousand—and according to some, five thousand—peasants gathered before the town, but were persuaded by the amicable promises of the Duke's officers to withdraw. Duke Ulrich, who had agreed to abolish the new taxes, arrived posthaste with eighty horsemen to find everything quiet in consequence of the promise. He promised to convene a Diet to examine all complaints. But the chiefs of the society knew very well that Ulrich sought only to keep the people quiet until he recruited and concentrated enough troops to be able to break his word and collect the taxes by force. From Kaspar Pregizer's house, "Poor Konrad's chancery", they issued a call for a society congress, and sent emissaries in all directions. The success of the first uprising in the Rems valley had everywhere stimulated the movement among the people. The appeals and the emissaries found a favourable response everywhere, and the congress held in Untertürkheim on May 28 was attended by a large number of representatives from all parts of Württemberg. It was decided to proceed at once with propaganda and to strike in the Rems valley at the first opportunity, in order to spread the uprising from that point in every direction. While Bantelhans of Dettingen, a former soldier, and Singerhans of Würtingen, an esteemed peasant, were bringing the Swabian Jura into the society, the uprising broke out on every side. Though Singerhans was attacked and seized, the towns of Backnang, Winnenden, and Markgröningen fell into the hands of the peasants who had joined forces with the plebeians, and the entire area from Weinsberg to Blaubeuren, and from there to the border of Baden, was in open revolt. Ulrich was compelled to yield. However, while calling the Diet for June 25, he wrote to the surrounding princes and free towns asking for aid against the uprising, which, he said, threatened all princes, authorities and nobles in the Empire, and which "bore an uncommon resemblance to the Bundschuh".

In the meantime, the Diet, i.e. the deputies of the towns, and many delegates of the peasants who also demanded seats in the Diet, came together as early as June 18 in Stuttgart. The prelates had not yet arrived. The knights had not even been invited. The city opposition of Stuttgart, as well as two threatening peasant throngs at Leonberg and in the Rems valley, supported the demands of the peasants. Their delegates were admitted, and it was decided to depose and punish the three hated councillors of the Duke—Lamparter, Thumb and Lorcher—and appoint for the Duke a council of four knights, four burghers and four peasants, to grant him a fixed civil allowance, and to confiscate the monasteries and endowments in favour of the state treasury.

Duke Ulrich countered these revolutionary decisions with a coup d'état. On June 21 he rode with his knights and councillors to Tübingen, where he was followed by the prelates, ordered the burghers to come there as well, which they did, and there continued the Diet without the peasants. The burghers, confronted with military terror, betrayed their peasant allies. On July 8 the Tübingen agreement came about, saddling the country with almost a million of the Duke's debts, laying some restrictions on the Duke which he never observed, and disposing of the peasants with a few meagre general phrases and a very definite penal law against insurrection and association. Naturally, nothing was said any more about peasant representation in the Diet. The peasantry cried treason, but the Duke, who had acquired new credit after his debts were taken over by the estates, soon gathered troops, and his neighbours, particularly the Elector Palatine,[a] also sent him military aid. The Tübingen agreement was thus accepted all over the country towards the end of July, and a new oath was taken. Only in the Rems valley Poor Konrad offered resistance. The Duke, who again rode there in person, barely escaped with his life. A peasant camp was set up on the mountain of Kappel. But as the affair dragged on, most of the insurgents dispersed for lack of food, and the rest also went home after an ambiguous agreement with some of the Diet deputies. In the meantime, Ulrich, his army strengthened with companies willingly placed at his service by the towns, which, having attained their demands, turned fanatically against the peasants, attacked the Rems valley in spite of the agreement and plundered its towns and villages. Sixteen hundred peasants were taken prisoner, sixteen of them instantly decapitated, and most of the others made to pay heavy fines into Ulrich's treasury. Many remained in prison for a long

[a] Ludwig V.—*Ed.*

time. Strict penal laws were enacted against a revival of the society, against all gatherings of peasants, and the nobility of Swabia formed a special league for the suppression of all attempts at insurrection.—The top leaders of Poor Konrad had meanwhile succeeded in escaping to Switzerland, whence after a few years they returned home, most of them singly.

At the time of the Württemberg movement, signs of new Bundschuh activity were observed in Breisgau and in the Margraviate of Baden. In June, an insurrection was attempted near Bühl, but it was quickly throttled by Margrave Philip, and its leader, Gugel-Bastian, was seized in Freiburg and beheaded.

In the spring of the same year, 1514, a general peasant war broke out in *Hungary*. A crusade against the Turks was preached, and freedom was promised as usual to the serfs and bondsmen who would join it. About 60,000 gathered under the command of Georg Dózsa, a Szekler,[318] who had distinguished himself in previous Turkish wars and attained nobility. The Hungarian knights and magnates, however, looked with disfavour upon the crusade, which threatened to deprive them of their property and bondsmen. They overtook isolated peasant groups, took back their serfs by force and maltreated them. When this reached the ears of the army of crusaders the fury of the oppressed peasants broke loose. Two of the most enthusiastic advocates of the crusade, Laurentius and Barnabás, fanned the hatred against the nobility in the army by their revolutionary speeches. Dózsa himself was as angered with the treacherous nobility as his troops. The army of crusaders became an army of revolution and Dózsa put himself at the head of the new movement.

He camped with his peasants in the Rákos field near Pest. Clashes with men of the noblemen's party in the surrounding villages and the suburbs of Pest opened the hostilities. It soon came to skirmishes, and then to Sicilian Vespers[319] for all the noblemen who fell into the hands of the peasants, and to destruction by fire of all the castles in the vicinity. The court made its threats in vain. After the first acts of popular justice against the nobility had been accomplished under the walls of the capital, Dózsa proceeded with further operations. He divided his army into five columns. Two were sent to the mountains of Upper Hungary to rouse the populace and exterminate the nobility. The third, under Ambros Száleresi, a citizen of Pest, remained on the Rákos to watch the capital, while the fourth and fifth were led by Dózsa and his brother Gregor against Szegedin.[a]

[a] The Hungarian name is Szeged.—*Ed.*

In the meantime, the nobility gathered in Pest, and summoned to its aid Johann Zápolya, the voivode of Transylvania. Joined by the burghers of Budapest, the nobility attacked and annihilated the army on the Rákos, after Száleresi and the burgher elements in the peasant force had gone over to the enemy. A host of prisoners was executed in the most cruel fashion, and the rest sent home minus their noses and ears.

Dózsa failed at Szegedin and marched on Csanád, which he captured on defeating an army of noblemen under István Batory and Bishop Csáky. He took bloody revenge on the prisoners, among them the bishop and the royal Chancellor Teleki, for the Rákos atrocities. In Csanád he proclaimed a republic, abolished the nobility, declared general equality and sovereignty of the people, and then marched against Temesvár,[a] to which Bátory had fled. But while he besieged this fortress for two months and was reinforced by a new army under Anton Hosszú, his two army columns in Upper Hungary were defeated by the nobility in several battles. Johann Zápolya with his Transylvanian army advanced against him, attacked and dispersed the peasants. Dózsa was taken prisoner and roasted alive on a red-hot throne. His flesh was eaten by his own people, this being the condition on which their lives were spared. The dispersed peasants, reassembled by Laurentius and Hosszú, were again defeated, and those who fell into enemy hands were either impaled or hanged. The peasants' corpses hung in thousands along the roads or on the edges of gutted villages. About 60,000, it is said, either fell in battle or were massacred. The nobility saw to it that at the next Diet serfdom was again recognised as the law of the land.

The peasant revolt in the "Wendish mark", that is, Carinthia, Carniola and Styria, which broke out at about the same time, reposed on a Bundschuh-like conspiracy that had taken shape and precipitated a rising in this region—wrung dry by the nobility and imperial officials, ravaged by Turkish invasions, and plagued by famines—as far back as 1503. Already in 1513, the Slovenian and German peasants of this region once more raised the battle standard of the *Stara Prawa* (The Old Rights). If they allowed themselves to be placated that year, and if in 1514, when they gathered anew in larger masses, they were again persuaded to go home by Emperor Maximilian's explicit promise to restore the Old Rights, the war of revenge of the perpetually deceived people broke out with redoubled vigour in the spring of 1515. Just as in Hungary, castles

[a] The Romanian name is Timişoara.—*Ed.*

and monasteries were destroyed everywhere, and the captured nobles were tried by peasant juries and decapitated. In Styria and Carinthia the Emperor's captain, Dietrichstein, soon succeeded in crushing the revolt. In Carniola it was only suppressed by a sudden onslaught on Rain (autumn of 1516) and the subsequent countless Austrian atrocities, which duplicated the infamies of the Hungarian nobility.

It is clear why, after this series of decisive defeats and the mass atrocities of the nobility, the German peasants long remained quiet. Yet conspiracies and local uprisings did not cease altogether. Already in 1516 most of the fugitives of the Bundschuh and the Poor Konrad returned to Swabia and the Upper Rhine, and in 1517 the Bundschuh was again in full action in the Black Forest. Joss Fritz himself, still hiding the old Bundschuh banner of 1513 on his chest, again travelled the length and breadth of the Black Forest and developed energetic activity. The conspiracy was revived. Just as four years before, gatherings were held on the Kniebis. However, the secret was discovered, the authorities learned of the matter, and took action. Many conspirators were captured and executed. The most active and intelligent were compelled to flee, among them Joss Fritz, who, though he again evaded capture, seems to have died soon thereafter in Switzerland, for he is not heard of again.

IV

At the time when the fourth Bundschuh conspiracy was suppressed in the Black Forest, Luther in Wittenberg gave the signal for the movement that was to draw all the estates into the vortex and shake the whole Empire. The theses of the Augustinian from Thuringia[320] had the effect of a match held to a powder keg. The multifold and conflicting aspirations of the knights and burghers, peasants and plebeians, princes craving for sovereignty, and the lesser clergy, the clandestine mystic sects and the scholarly, satirical and burlesque[321] literary opposition, found in Luther's theses a momentarily general and common expression, and fell in with them with astounding rapidity. Formed overnight, this alliance of all the dissident elements, however brief its duration, suddenly revealed the enormous power of the movement, and drove it forward very rapidly.

However, precisely this rapid growth of the movement was also very quickly bound to develop the seeds of discord that lay concealed in it. At least, it was bound to tear asunder the constituent parts of that agitated mass which, by their very place in life, were directly opposed to each other, and to return them to their normal, hostile state. This polarisation of the motley opposition at two centres of attraction was observed in the very first years of the Reformation. The nobility and the burghers grouped themselves unconditionally around Luther. Peasants and plebeians, as yet failing to see in Luther a direct enemy, formed as before a separate revolutionary party of the opposition. Yet the movement became much more general, more far-reaching, than it had been before Luther, which made sharp contradictions and an open conflict between the two parties inevitable. This direct antithesis soon became apparent. While

Luther and Münzer attacked each other in the press and from the pulpit, the armies of princes, knights and towns that for the most part consisted of Lutherans or elements at least gravitating towards Lutherism, attacked the throngs of peasants and plebeians.

How strongly the interests and requirements of the various elements behind the Reformation diverged is seen from the attempt of the nobility to compel the princes and the clergy to meet their demands even before the Peasant War.

We have already examined the situation of the German nobility early in the sixteenth century. It was on the point of losing its independence to the ever more powerful lay and clerical princes. It saw at the same time that the decline of imperial power, the Empire breaking up into a number of sovereign principalities, was keeping pace with its own decline. It thought that its own collapse meant the collapse of the Germans as a nation. Furthermore, the nobility, and particularly that section of it which owed allegiance to the Empire, was the estate that by virtue of its military profession and its attitude towards the princes, directly represented the Empire and imperial rule. It was the most national of the estates, and the mightier the imperial power, the weaker and less numerous the princes and the stronger the unity of Germany, the more powerful became the nobility. This was the reason for the general discontent of the knighthood with Germany's pitiful political situation, with the weakness of the Empire in foreign affairs which increased as the imperial family added to the Empire one inherited province after another, with the intrigues of foreign powers inside Germany, and with the plots of German princes and foreign countries against imperial rule. The demands of the nobility, therefore, had to be above all concentrated on the demand for an imperial reform whose victims were to be the princes and the higher clergy. *Ulrich von Hutten*, the theorist of the German nobility, took it upon himself to formulate the demand for reforms together with *Franz von Sickingen*, the nobility's military and diplomatic representative.

The imperial reform demanded on behalf of the nobility was conceived by Hutten in very clear and radical terms. Hutten demanded nothing short of eliminating all princes, secularising all church principalities and estates, and establishing a *noblemen's democracy* headed by a monarch, much like the late Polish republic in its best days. Hutten and Sickingen hoped to make the Empire united, free and powerful again through the rule of the nobility, a predominantly military class, elimination of princes, those bearers of disunity, annihilation of the power of the priests, and Germany's liberation from the dominance of Rome.

Founded on serfdom, this noblemen's democracy as fashioned in Poland and, in somewhat modified form, in the early centuries of the states conquered by the Germanic tribes, is one of the most primitive forms of society and quite normally matures into a highly developed feudal hierarchy, a considerably higher stage. Such a pure type of noblemen's democracy was therefore impossible in the sixteenth century.[a] It was impossible if only because of the important and powerful German towns. On the other hand, an alliance of the lesser nobility and the towns that in England brought about the transformation of the monarchy of feudal estates into a bourgeois-constitutional monarchy, was also out of the question. In Germany the old nobility still survived, while in England it had been exterminated in the Wars of the Roses[322] down to twenty-eight families, and replaced by a new nobility of bourgeois extraction and with bourgeois tendencies; in Germany serfdom was still rampant and the nobility drew its income from *feudal* sources, while in England serfdom had been virtually abolished and the nobles had become ordinary bourgeois landowners with a *bourgeois* source of income—the rent. Finally, the centralisation of absolute monarchy which we saw in France and which continuously developed since Louis XI in the conflict between the nobility and the burghers was impossible in Germany if only because the conditions for national centralisation were totally absent or existed in a very rudimentary form.

Under the circumstances, the further Hutten went in putting his ideal into practice, the more concessions he was compelled to make, and the more indefinite became the outlines of his imperial reform. The nobility was not strong enough to carry out the reform on its own. This was evident from its increasing weakness as compared with the princes. Allies were needed, and these could only be found in the towns, among the peasants and the influential theorists of the Reformation movement. But the towns knew the nobility too well to trust it, and rejected every offer of alliance. The peasants rightly considered the nobility, which exploited and maltreated them, as their bitterest enemy, while the theorists of the Reformation held either with the burghers, the princes, or the peasants. What advantages, indeed, could the nobility promise the burghers and the peasants from an imperial reform that was mainly intended to aggrandise the nobility? Under the circumstances Hutten had no other choice but to say little or nothing in his propaganda about the future relations between the nobility, the towns and the peasants. He

[a] The 1850 edition has "in sixteenth-century Germany".—*Ed.*

put all blame on the princes, the priests, and the dependence upon Rome, and showed the burghers that it was in their interests to remain at least neutral in the coming struggle between the nobility and the princes. He said nothing of abolishing serfdom or the services imposed upon the peasants by the nobility.

The attitude of the German nobility towards the peasants was at that time exactly the same as that of the Polish nobility towards its peasants in the insurrections of 1830-46.[a] As in the modern Polish uprisings,[323] the movement in Germany could be sustained only through an alliance of all the opposition parties, particularly the nobility and the peasants. Yet it was just this alliance that was *impossible* in both cases. The nobility deemed it unnecessary to give up its political privileges and its feudal rights vis-à-vis the peasants, while the revolutionary peasants would not be drawn by vague and general prospects into an alliance with the nobility, the estate which oppressed them the most. The nobility could no more win over the peasants in Germany in 1522 than it could in Poland in 1830. Only total abolition of serfdom, bondage and all the privileges of the nobility could have induced the rural population to side with the nobility. But like every privileged estate the nobility had not the slightest desire voluntarily to give up its privileges, its highly exclusive position, and most of its sources of income.

Thus, when the struggle finally broke out the nobles had to face the princes alone. And it came as no surprise that the princes, who had for two centuries been cutting the ground from under the nobility, gained another easy victory.

The course[b] of the struggle is well known. In 1522 Hutten and Sickingen, who was already recognised as the political and military chief of the Middle-German nobility, organised in Landau a union of the Rhenish, Swabian and Franconian nobility for a term of six years, ostensibly for self-defence. Sickingen assembled an army, partly on his own, and partly with the neighbouring knights, organised recruitment and reinforcements in Franconia, along the Lower Rhine, in the Netherlands and Westphalia, and in September 1522 opened hostilities by declaring a feud against the Elector-Archbishop of Trier.[c] However, while he was stationed near Trier, his reinforcements were cut off by a swift intervention of the princes. The Landgrave of Hesse and the Elector Palatine[d] came to Trier's

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[a] The 1850 and 1870 editions have *Insurrektionen seit 1830* (insurrections since 1830) instead of *Insurrektionen 1830-46* (insurrections of 1830-46).—*Ed.*

[b] The 1850 edition has *Versuch* (attempt) instead of *Verlauf* (course).—*Ed.*

[c] Richard.—*Ed.*

[d] Philip I and Ludwig V.—*Ed.*

aid and Sickingen was compelled to retreat to his castle of Landstuhl. In spite of all Hutten's efforts and those of his other friends, the united nobility, intimidated by the concerted and swift moves of the princes, left Sickingen in the lurch. Sickingen was mortally wounded, surrendered Landstuhl, and died soon after. Hutten had to flee to Switzerland, where he died a few months later on the Isle of Ufnau in the Lake of Zurich.

This defeat and the death of the two leaders broke the power of the nobility as a body independent of the princes. From then on the nobility acted only in the service and under the leadership of the princes. The Peasant War, which broke out soon after, compelled the nobles to seek the direct or indirect protection of the princes. Also, it proved that the German nobility would rather continue exploiting the peasants under the dominance of the princes than overthrow the princes and priests in an open alliance with *emancipated* peasants.

V

Not a year passed since Luther's declaration of war against the Catholic hierarchy set in motion all the opposition elements in Germany without the peasants again and again bringing forward their demands. Between 1518 and 1523 one local peasant revolt followed another in the Black Forest and in Upper Swabia, and after the spring of 1524 revolts became systematic. In April 1524 the peasants of the Abbey of Marchthal refused to do statute labour and to pay tributes; in May the peasants of St. Blasien refused to make serf payments; in June the peasants of Steinheim, near Memmingen, announced that they would pay neither tithes nor other duties; in July and August the peasants of Thurgau revolted and were quelled partly by the mediation of Zurich and partly by the brutality of the Confederacy, which executed many of them. Finally, a more determined uprising, which may be regarded as the direct *beginning of the Peasant War*, took place in the Landgraviate of Stühlingen.

The peasants of Stühlingen suddenly refused to deliver anything to the Landgrave, assembled in strong numbers, and on August 24, 1524, moved towards Waldshut under the command of *Hans Müller of Bulgenbach.* Here they founded an evangelist fraternity jointly with the burghers. The latter joined the organisation the more willingly because they were at odds with the government of the Austrian Forelands[324] over the religious persecution of their preacher, Balthasar *Hubmaier*, Thomas Münzer's friend and disciple. A weekly tax of three kreutzers was imposed by the Union—an enormous figure, considering the value of money at that time. Emissaries were sent to Alsace, the Moselle, the entire Upper Rhine and Franconia to bring peasants everywhere into the Union. The Union announced that its purpose was to abolish feudal rule, destroy all castles and monasteries and to eliminate all lords except the Emperor. The *German tricolour*[325] was the banner of the Union.

The uprising gained momentum rapidly in all of what is now Upper Baden. Panic seized the nobility of Upper Swabia, whose armed forces were almost all in Italy, making war against Francis I of France. They had no choice but to drag out the affair by means of negotiations and, in the meanwhile, to collect money and recruit troops until strong enough to punish the peasants for their audacity with "fire and destruction, plunder and carnage".[a] There began that systematic betrayal, that continuous deceit and malice, which were typical of the nobility and the princes throughout the Peasant War and which were their strongest weapon against the decentralised peasants whom it was hard to organise. The Swabian League, consisting of the princes, the nobility and the imperial cities of South-West Germany, put itself between the warring forces, but did not guarantee the peasants any real concessions. The latter remained in motion. From September 30 to the middle of October Hans Müller of Bulgenbach marched through the Black Forest to Urach and Furtwangen, increased his troops to 3,500 men and took up positions near Ewattingen (in the vicinity of Stühlingen). The nobility had no more than 1,700 men at their disposal, and even those were divided. They had to seek an armistice, which was, indeed, concluded in the camp at Ewattingen. The peasants were promised an amicable settlement either directly between the parties concerned or through arbitrators, and an investigation of their grievances by the provincial court at Stockach. The troops of the nobility and of the peasants dispersed.

The peasants worked out sixteen articles which they would press for in the court at Stockach. The articles were very moderate, and went no further than abolition of hunting rights, statute labour, oppressive taxes and the privileges of lords in general, and protection against arbitrary imprisonment and biassed, arbitrary courts.

But no sooner had the peasants gone home than the nobility demanded the restoration of all controversial tributes pending the court decision. Naturally, the peasants refused and referred the lords to the court. The conflict flared up anew, the peasants reassembled and the princes and lords concentrated their troops. This time the movement spread farther beyond Breisgau and deep into Württemberg. The troops under *Georg Truchsess* of Waldburg, the Alba of the Peasant War, watched the manoeuvres of the

[a] Cited from the ultimatum tendered by Georg Truchsess, commander of the punitive army of the Swabian League, to the peasants of Hegau on February 15, 1525. (See W. Zimmermann, *Allgemeine Geschichte des grossen Bauernkrieges*, Th. 2, S. 33-34.)—*Ed.*

peasants, attacked their contingents one by one, but did not dare to attack the main force. In the meantime, Georg Truchsess negotiated with the peasant chiefs and reached agreements here and there.

By the end of December proceedings began at the Stockach provincial court. The peasants objected to the court being composed entirely of noblemen. An imperial edict[326] was read to them in reply. The proceedings were drawn out, and in the meantime the nobility, the princes and the Swabian League armed themselves. Archduke Ferdinand who ruled Württemberg,[a] the Black Forest of Baden and Southern Alsace in addition to the hereditary lands which still belong to Austria, called for the utmost severity against the rebel peasants. They were to be captured, tortured and mercilessly slain in whatever manner was the most convenient, their possessions were to be burned and devastated, and their wives and children driven off the land. This shows how the princes and lords observed the armistice and what they meant by amicable arbitration and investigation of grievances. Archduke Ferdinand, to whom the house of Welser, of Augsburg, advanced money,[327] armed himself in all haste. The Swabian League ordered money and a contingent of troops to be raised in three phases.

These above rebellions coincided with the five months of Thomas Münzer's presence in Upper Baden.[328] Although there are no direct proofs of the influence he had on the outbreak and course of the movement, it is completely established indirectly. The more resolute peasant revolutionaries were mostly his disciples, and put forward his ideas. The twelve articles and the *Letter of Articles* of Upper Baden peasants are ascribed to him by all his contemporaries, although beyond any doubt he had no part in composing at least the former. When still on his way back to Thuringia he addressed a decidedly revolutionary manifesto to the insurgent peasants.[329]

Duke Ulrich, exiled from Württemberg in 1519, conspired meanwhile to regain his land with the aid of the peasants. In fact, he had been trying to utilise the revolutionary party ever since he was exiled, and had supported it continuously. His name was associated with most of the local disturbances between 1520 and 1524 in the Black Forest and in Württemberg. Now he was arming for an attack on Württemberg from his castle, Hohentwiel. However, he too was only being used by the peasants, had no influence over them and, even less, their trust.

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[a] After Duke Ulrich was banished in 1519.—*Ed.*

The winter passed but nothing decisive was undertaken by either side. The princely masters went into hiding. The peasant revolt was gathering momentum. In January 1525 the entire country between the Danube, the Rhine and the Lech was in great ferment, and in February the storm broke.

While the *Black Forest and Hegau Troop* under Hans Müller of Bulgenbach was conspiring with Ulrich of Württemberg and shared in a part of his unsuccessful march on Stuttgart (February and March 1525), the peasants in Ried, above the Ulm, rose on February 9, assembled in a camp near Baltringen protected on all sides by marshes, hoisted the *red flag*, and formed the *Baltringen Troop* under the leadership of Ulrich Schmid. This troop was 10,000 to 12,000 strong.

On February 25, the 7,000-strong *Upper Allgäu Troop* assembled at Schussen, stimulated by the rumour that an armed force was marching against the discontented elements who had appeared in this locality as everywhere else. The people of Kempten, who had been at odds with their archbishop[a] all winter, assembled the next day and joined the peasants. The towns of Memmingen and Kaufbeuren joined the movement after laying down their conditions; yet the ambiguous attitude of the towns to this struggle was already apparent. On March 7 twelve articles were adopted in Memmingen for all the peasants of Upper Allgäu.

Tidings from the Allgäu peasants prompted the formation of a *Lake Troop* under Eitel Hans on Lake Constance. It also grew very quickly and established its headquarters in Bermatingen.

Similarly, early in March the peasants rose in Lower Allgäu, in the region of Ochsenhausen and Schellenberg, in Zeil and Waldburg, the estates of Truchsess. This *Lower Allgäu Troop*, which consisted of 7,000 men, had its camp near Wurzach.

These four troops accepted all the Memmingen articles, incidentally more moderate even than the Hegau articles because they showed a remarkable lack of determination in points relating to the attitude of the armed troops towards the nobility and the governments. Such determination as was shown appeared only in the course of the war, after the peasants had experienced the behaviour of their enemies.

At the same time, a sixth troop formed on the Danube. Peasants from the entire region, from Ulm to Donauwörth, from the valleys of the Iller, Roth and Biber, came to Leipheim and set up camp there. Every able-bodied man from fifteen localities had come, while

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[a] Sebastian von Breitenstein.—*Ed.*

reinforcements were drawn from 117. The leader of the *Leipheim Troop* was Ulrich Schön, and its preacher was Jakob Wehe, the pastor of Leipheim.

Thus, in the beginning of March there were 30,000 to 40,000 insurgent Upper Swabian peasants under arms in six camps. The peasant troops were a mixed lot. Münzer's revolutionary party was in the minority everywhere. Yet it formed the backbone of all the peasant camps. The bulk of the peasants were always ready to come to terms with the lords wherever they were promised the concessions they had hoped to gain by their menacing attitude. As the uprising dragged on and the princes' armies drew nearer, they became war-weary and most of those who still had something to lose went home. Moreover, a vagabond mass of the lumpenproletariat had joined the troops and this undermined their discipline and demoralised the peasants, because the vagabonds came and went as they pleased. This alone explains why the peasants at first remained everywhere on the defensive, why their morale deteriorated in the camps and why, aside from their tactical shortcomings and the shortage of good leaders, they were no match for the armies of the princes.

While the troops were still assembling, Duke Ulrich invaded Württemberg from Hohentwiel with recruited detachments and a few Hegau peasants. The Swabian League would have been lost if the peasants had used the opportunity to attack the troops of Truchsess von Waldburg from the other flank. But because of the defensive attitude of the peasantry, Truchsess soon succeeded in concluding an armistice with the Baltringen, Allgäu and Lake peasants, starting negotiations and fixing Judica Sunday (April 2)[330] as the day on which the whole affair was to be settled. This gave him a chance to march against Duke Ulrich, to occupy Stuttgart and compel him to abandon Württemberg again on March 17. Then he turned against the peasants, but the mercenaries in his own army revolted and refused to march against them. Truchsess succeeded in placating the mutineers and moved towards Ulm, where new reinforcements were being formed. He left an observation post at Kirchheim near Teck.

The Swabian League, its hands at last free and its first contingents gathered, now threw off its mask, declaring itself

> "determined to end with arms in hand and with the aid of God that which the peasants have wilfully undertaken".[a]

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[a] From the decision made at a conference of League authorities at Ulm in March 1525. (It is recorded in a document from the Ulm archive and quoted by Zimmermann, op. cit., Th. 2, S. 167.)—*Ed.*

The peasants had meanwhile faithfully observed the armistice. They had drawn up their demands, the famous *Twelve Articles*, for the negotiations on Judica Sunday. They demanded the right to elect and depose clergymen through the communities; abolition of the small tithe and utilisation of the great tithe,[331] after subtraction of the pastors' salaries, for public purposes; abolition of serfdom, death tolls, fishing and hunting rights; restriction of excessive statute labour, taxes and rents; restitution of forests, pastures and privileges forcibly withdrawn from communities and individuals, and an end to arbitrary justice and administration. Clearly, the moderate conciliatory party still had the upper hand among the peasant troops. The revolutionary party had formulated its programme earlier in the *Letter of Articles*. It was an open letter to all peasant communities, calling on them to join the "Christian Alliance and Brotherhood" for the purpose of removing all burdens either through goodwill, "which was unlikely", or by force, and threatening all shirkers with "lay excommunication", i. e. with expulsion from society and ostracism by members of the league. All castles, monasteries and priests' endowments were also to be placed under lay anathema, the letter said, unless the nobility, the priests and monks relinquished them of their own accord, moved into ordinary houses like other people, and joined the Christian Alliance.—This radical manifesto, obviously composed *before* the spring insurrection of 1525, thus speaks above all of revolution, of complete victory over the still reigning classes, while the "lay excommunication" is designed for the oppressors and traitors who were to be killed, for the castles that were to be burned, and the monasteries and endowments that were to be confiscated and whose treasures were to be turned into cash.

But before the peasants came to present their Twelve Articles to the appointed courts of arbitration, they learned that the Swabian League had violated the armistice and that its troops were approaching. Instantly, they took countermeasures. A general meeting of all Allgäu, Baltringen and Lake peasants was held at Gaisbeuren. The four troops were combined and reorganised into four new columns. A decision was taken to confiscate the church estates, to sell their treasures in favour of the war chest, and to burn the castles. Thus alongside the official Twelve Articles, the *Letter of Articles* became the statute of warfare, and Judica Sunday, the day designated for the conclusion of peace, became the date of a *general uprising*.

The mounting unrest everywhere, continuous local conflicts between peasants and nobility, tidings of the uprising in the Black Forest, which had been brewing in the preceding six months, and of

its spread to the Danube and the Lech, are enough to explain the rapid succession of peasant revolts in two-thirds of Germany. But that the individual[a] revolts broke out simultaneously proves that there were men at the head of the movement who organised them through Anabaptist and other emissaries. Already in the second half of March disorders broke out in Württemberg, in the lower reaches of the Neckar, in Odenwald, and in Lower and Middle Franconia. However, April 2, Judica Sunday, was named everywhere beforehand as the day of the general uprising, and everywhere the decisive blow, the revolt *en masse*, was delivered in the first week of April. The Allgäu, Hegau and Lake peasants also sounded the bells on April 1 and called mass meetings to summon all able-bodied men to their camp; they opened hostilities against the castles and monasteries simultaneously with the Baltringen peasants.

In *Franconia*, where the movement had six centres, the insurrection broke out everywhere in the first days of April. At about the same time two peasant camps were formed near *Nördlingen*, with whose aid the revolutionary party of the town under *Anton Forner* gained the upper hand, appointed Forner town mayor, and consummated a union between the town and the peasants. In the region of *Ansbach* the peasants revolted everywhere between April 1 and 7, and from here the uprising spread as far as Bavaria. In the region of *Rothenburg* the peasants had been under arms since March 22. In the town of Rothenburg the rule of the honourables was overthrown by the petty burghers and the plebeians under *Stephan von Menzingen* on March 27, but since peasant dues were the chief source of revenue for the town, the new government also vacillated and acted ambiguously towards the peasants. A general uprising of the peasants and the townships broke out early in April in the Grand Chapter of *Würzburg*,[332] and in the bishopric of *Bamberg* a general insurrection compelled the bishop[b] to yield in five days. And a strong *Bildhausen peasant camp* formed in the North, on the border of Thuringia.

In *Odenwald*, where *Wendel Hipler*, nobleman and former chancellor of the Counts von Hohenlohe, and *Georg Metzler*, an innkeeper from Ballenberg near Krautheim, headed the revolutionary party, the storm broke out already on March 26. The peasants marched from all directions towards the Tauber. The two thousand men of the Rothenburg camp joined them as well. Georg Metzler took

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[a] The 1850 and 1870 editions have *partiellen* (partial) instead of *einzelnen* (individual).— *Ed.*

[b] Weigand von Redwitz.— *Ed.*

command and after the arrival of all reinforcements marched on April 4 to the monastery of Schönthal on the Jagst, where he was joined by the *peasants of the Neckar valley*. The latter, led by *Jäcklein Rohrbach*, an innkeeper from Böckingen near Heilbronn, had begun their insurrection in Flein, Sontheim, etc., on Judica Sunday, while Wendel Hipler took Öhringen by surprise with a number of conspirators and drew the peasants in the vicinity into the movement. In Schönthal the two peasant columns combined into the *Gay Troop*, accepted the Twelve Articles and made a few raids on castles and monasteries. The Gay Troop was about 8,000 strong and had cannon and 3,000 muskets. *Florian Geyer*, a Franconian knight, joined the force and formed the Black Troop, a select corps recruited mainly from the Rothenburg and Öhringen army reserve.

The Württemberg magistrate in Neckarsulm, Count Ludwig von Helfenstein, opened the hostilities. He ordered all captured peasants to be executed on the spot. The Gay Troop marched to meet him. The peasants were embittered by the massacres and by news of the defeat of the Leipheim Troop, of Jakob Wehe's execution, and the Truchsess atrocities. Von Helfenstein, who had moved into Weinsberg, was attacked there. The castle was stormed by Florian Geyer, the town seized in a prolonged battle and Count Ludwig taken prisoner along with several knights. On the following day, April 17, Jäcklein Rohrbach and the most resolute members of the troop held court over the prisoners and made fourteen of them, with von Helfenstein at their head, run the gauntlet, this being the most humiliating death they could think of. The capture of Weinsberg and Jäcklein's terroristic revenge on von Helfenstein did not fail to have their effect on the nobility. The Counts von Löwenstein joined the peasant alliance. The Counts von Hohenlohe, who had joined previously but had given no aid, immediately sent the desired cannon and powder.

The chiefs debated among themselves whether they should make Götz von Berlichingen their commander, "since he could bring to them the nobility". The proposal found sympathy, but Florian Geyer, who saw the seeds of reaction in this mood of the peasants and their chiefs, separated from the Gay Troop and marched on his own with his Black Troop, first through the Neckar and then the Würzburg region, everywhere destroying castles and the lairs of the priesthood.

The rest of the troops marched first of all against Heilbronn. In this powerful free imperial town the patriciate was, as almost everywhere, confronted by a burgher and revolutionary opposition. In secret agreement with the peasants, the latter opened the gates to

Georg Metzler and Jäcklein Rohrbach on April 17 during a disturbance. The peasant chiefs and their people took possession of the town, which was then admitted to their brotherhood and delivered 1,200 guilders in cash and a squad of volunteers. Only the possessions of the clergy and the Teutonic Order[333] were pillaged. On April 22, the peasants moved out, leaving a small garrison. Heilbronn was to become the centre of the various troops, the latter actually sending delegates and conferring over joint actions and the common demands of the peasantry. But the burgher opposition and the patricians, who had joined forces after the peasant invasion, regained the upper hand in the town, preventing decisive steps and waiting only for the approach of the princes' troops to openly betray the peasants.

The peasants marched toward Odenwald. Götz von Berlichingen, who had a few days before offered himself to the Elector Palatine,[a] then to the peasantry, and then again to the Elector, was to join the Evangelist Fraternity on April 24 and assume supreme command of the Gay *Bright* Troop (as distinct from the *Black* Troop of Florian Geyer). At the same time, however, he was the prisoner of the peasants, who mistrusted him and bound him to a council of chiefs, without whose approval he could undertake nothing. Götz and Metzler marched with the bulk of the peasants across Buchen to Amorbach, where, during their stay from April 30 to May 5, they roused the entire Mainz region. The nobility was everywhere compelled to join in, and its castles were thus spared. Only the monasteries were burned and pillaged. The troop had become visibly demoralised. The most energetic men had gone away with Florian Geyer or with Jäcklein Rohrbach who, after the capture of Heilbronn, also separated from the troop, apparently because he, the judge of Count von Helfenstein, could no longer remain with a body that was inclined towards reconciliation with the nobility. This gravitation towards reaching an understanding with the nobility was in itself a sign of demoralisation. Soon Wendel Hipler proposed a very sound reorganisation of the troop. He suggested that the mercenaries, who had been offering their services daily, should be taken on. He also suggested that the troop should no longer be renewed monthly through the arrival of fresh contingents and the dismissal of old ones, and that the men under arms, who had received a certain amount of military training, should be retained. But a community meeting rejected both proposals. The peasants had already become volatile and viewed the war as little more than

[a] Ludwig V.—*Ed.*

pillage, where the competition of the mercenaries held no advantage for them and where they wanted to be free to go home as soon as their pockets were filled. In Amorbach matters came to a point where Hans Berlin, a Heilbronn councillor, induced the chiefs and troop councillors to accept a Declaration of the Twelve Articles,[334] a document wherein the remaining arrowheads of the Twelve Articles were blunted and words of humble supplication were put into the mouths of the peasants. But this was too much for the peasants; they rejected the Declaration with a display of vehemence and insisted upon the original Articles.

In the meantime, a decisive change had taken place in the Würzburg area. The bishop,[a] who had withdrawn to fortified Frauenberg near Würzburg after the first peasant uprising early in April and had vainly sent messages in all directions asking for aid, was finally compelled to make temporary concessions. On May 2 a Diet opened in which the peasants were represented, but letters proving the bishop's treacherous moves were intercepted before any results could be achieved. The Diet broke up at once, and hostilities began between the insurgent townsmen and peasants, on the one hand, and the bishop's forces, on the other. The bishop escaped to Heidelberg on May 5, and on the following day Florian Geyer with his Black Troop entered Würzburg, and with him came *the Franconian Tauber Troop,* which consisted of the peasants of Mergentheim, Rothenburg and Ansbach. On May 7 Götz von Berlichingen arrived with his Gay Bright Troop, and the siege of Frauenberg began.

In Limburg and the Ellwangen and Hall regions another contingent was formed by the end of March, and in early April that of Gaildorf, or the *Common Gay Troop.* It showed considerable violence, roused the entire region, burned down many monasteries and castles, including the castle of Hohenstaufen, compelled all the peasants to join it, and forced the nobles, and even the cup-bearers of Limburg, to enter the Christian Brotherhood. Early in May it invaded Württemberg, but was compelled to withdraw. As in 1848 the separatism of the German system of small states obstructed joint action by the revolutionaries of the various states. The Gaildorf Troop, restricted to a small area, was naturally bound to disperse when all resistance within that area was broken. It concluded an agreement with the town of Gmünd and went home, leaving only 500 under arms.

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[a] Konrad III.—*Ed.*

In the *Palatinate* peasant troops were formed on either bank of the Rhine by the end of April. They destroyed many castles and monasteries, and on May 1 took Neustadt on the Haardt after the Bruchrain peasants had crossed the river on the previous day and forced Speyer to conclude an agreement. Marshal von Habern at the head of the Elector's small force was powerless against them, and on May 10 the Elector was compelled to come to an agreement with the insurgent peasants, guaranteeing them redress of grievances through a Diet.

Finally, in *Württemberg* the revolt had already broken out early in some localities. The peasants of the Urach Jura formed a union against priests and lords already in February and the peasants of Blaubeuren, Urach, Münsingen, Balingen and Rosenfeld revolted at the end of March. The Württemberg region was invaded by the Gaildorf Troop at Göppingen, by Jäcklein Rohrbach at Brackenheim and by the remnants of the beaten Leipheim Troop at Pfullingen, inciting the rural population to revolt. There were also serious disturbances in other localities. Already on April 6 Pfullingen surrendered to the peasants. The Austrian Archduke's[a] government was driven to the wall. It had no money and only few troops. The cities and castles were in a bad state and had neither garrisons nor munition. Even Asperg was practically defenseless.

The government's attempt to call out the town reserves against the peasants caused its instant defeat. On April 16 the Bottwar[b] reserves refused to obey orders. Instead of marching to Stuttgart, they turned to Wunnenstein near Bottwar, where they formed the nucleus of a camp of burghers and peasants whose number increased rapidly. The rebellion in Zabergäu broke out on the same day. The Maulbronn monastery was pillaged and a few more monasteries and castles were laid waste. Reinforcements marched from neighbouring Bruchrain to join the local peasants.

The Wunnenstein troop was under the command of *Matern Feuerbacher*, a Bottwar town councillor. He was a leader of the burgher opposition, but was so strongly compromised that he was compelled to go with the peasants. However, he remained at all times very moderate, prevented the implementation of the *Letter of Articles* against the castles, and sought everywhere to reconcile the peasants with the moderate burgherdom. He prevented the amalgamation of the Württemberg peasants with the Gay Bright Troop, and later likewise prevailed on the Gaildorf Troop to withdraw from

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[a] Ferdinand I.—*Ed.*

[b] Or Grossbottwar.—*Ed.*

Württemberg. On April 19 he was deposed for his burgher tendencies but again made commander the next day. He was indispensable, and even when Jäcklein Rohrbach arrived with 200 determined men to join the Württemberg peasants on April 22, he had no choice but to leave Feuerbacher in command and confined himself to rigid supervision of his actions.

On April 18 the government attempted to negotiate with the peasants stationed at Wunnenstein. The peasants insisted on the Twelve Articles, but naturally the government's representatives could not accept them. The troop set itself in motion. On April 20 it reached Lauffen, where, for the last time, it turned down the proposals of the government delegates. On April 22 the troop, numbering 6,000, appeared in Bietigheim and threatened Stuttgart. Most members of the Stuttgart Council had fled and a citizens' committee took over the administration. Among the citizenry there was the same division as everywhere else into parties of the honourables, the burgher opposition, and the revolutionary plebeians. On April 25 the latter opened the gates to the peasants and Stuttgart was instantly taken. Here the organisation of the *Gay Christian Troop,* as the Württemberg insurgents now called themselves, was completed and the rules of pay, division of booty, maintenance, etc., were rigidly defined. A detachment of Stuttgarters under Theus Gerber joined the troop.

On April 29 Feuerbacher marched with all his men against the Gaildorfers who had entered Württemberg region at Schorndorf. He drew the entire area into his alliance and thereby prevailed on the Gaildorfers to withdraw. In this way he prevented Rohrbach's revolutionary element in his troop from joining hands with the reckless Gaildorfers and thus being dangerously strengthened. Upon receiving news of Truchsess' approach, he left Schorndorf to meet him, and on May 1 made camp near Kirchheim unter Teck.

We have herewith traced the origin and development of the uprising in the part of Germany that should be regarded as the territory of the first group of peasant armies. Before we proceed to the other groups (Thuringia and Hesse, Alsace, Austria and the Alps) we must give an account of the military operations of Truchsess, in which he, alone in the beginning and later supported by various princes and townships, annihilated this first group of insurgents.

We left Truchsess near Ulm, where he had come late in March after leaving an observation corps in Kirchheim unter Teck under the command of Dietrich Spät. Truchsess' corps, which, including the League reinforcements concentrated in Ulm, had not quite

10,000 men, of whom 7,200 were infantry, was the only army available for an offensive war against the peasants. Reinforcements came to Ulm very slowly, due partly to the difficulties of recruiting in insurgent localities, partly to the governments' lack of money, and partly to the fact that the few available troops were everywhere more than indispensable for manning the fortresses and castles. We have already taken note of the small number of troops at the disposal of the princes and towns outside the Swabian League. Everything therefore depended upon Georg Truchsess and his League army.

Truchsess turned first against the *Baltringen Troop*, which had in the meantime begun to destroy castles and monasteries in the vicinity of Ried. The peasants, who withdrew at the approach of the League troops, were outflanked and driven out of the marshes, crossed the Danube and plunged into the ravines and forests of the Swabian Jura. In this region the cannon and cavalry which formed the backbone of the League army were of little avail against them, and Truchsess did not pursue them farther. He marched against the Leipheim Troop which had 5,000 men stationed at Leipheim, 4,000 in the Mindel valley, and 6,000 at Illertissen. The Leipheim Troop was fomenting rebellion in the entire region, destroying monasteries and castles, and preparing to march against Ulm with all its three columns. It seems that a certain degree of demoralisation had set in among the peasants here as well, undermining their military morale, for Jakob Wehe tried at the very outset to negotiate with Truchsess. The latter, however, backed by a sufficient military force, declined to negotiate and on April 4 attacked and routed the main troop at Leipheim. Jakob Wehe, Ulrich Schön and two other peasant leaders were captured and beheaded; Leipheim capitulated, and several expeditions to the adjacent countryside subdued the entire region.

A new mutiny of mercenaries, who demanded plunder and additional pay, delayed Truchsess again until April 10, when he marched south-west against the *Baltringen Troop* which had, in the meantime, invaded his estates, Waldburg, Zeil and Wolfegg, and besieged his castles. Here, too, he found the peasants disunited, and defeated them on April 11 and 12 successively in several battles, which completely disrupted the Baltringen Troop. Its remnants withdrew under the command of priest Florian and joined the *Lake Troop*. Truchsess now turned against the latter. The Lake Troop, which had not merely roved through the countryside all this time, but had also drawn the towns of Buchhorn (Friedrichshafen) and Wollmatingen into the brotherhood, held a big military council in the monastery of Salem on April 13 and decided to move against Truchsess. Alarm bells were sounded at once, and 10,000 men

joined by the defeated Baltringen Troop assembled in the Bermatingen camp. On April 15 they stood their ground in a battle with Truchsess, who did not want to risk his army in a decisive battle and preferred to negotiate, strengthened in this purpose by news of the approach of the Allgäu and Hegau troops. On April 17 he therefore concluded an agreement with the Lake and Baltringen peasants in Weingarten. On the face of it, the agreement was quite favourable for the peasants, and they accepted it without hesitation. Ultimately, he also prevailed on the delegates of the Upper and Lower Allgäu peasants to accept this agreement, and marched towards Württemberg.

Here Truchsess' cunning saved him from certain defeat. Had he not succeeded in fooling the weak, dull-witted, and for the most part already demoralised peasants and their mostly incapable, timid and venal leaders, he and his small army would have been enveloped by four columns of at least 25,000 to 30,000 men, and would have faced inevitable disaster. It was his enemies' narrow-mindedness, always unavoidable when peasants gather in a mass, that enabled him to dispose of them at the very moment when they could have ended the war with one blow, at least in Swabia and Franconia. The Lake peasants observed the agreement, which naturally was turned against them in due course, so rigidly that they later took up arms against their allies, the Hegau peasants. Although the Allgäu peasants, drawn into the betrayal by their leaders, soon renounced the agreement, Truchsess was by then out of danger.

Though not bound by the Weingarten agreement, the Hegau peasants soon gave a new display of the infinite parochial bigotry and stubborn provincialism that proved the undoing of the entire Peasant War. When, after futile negotiations with them, Truchsess marched off to Württemberg, they followed him and were continually on his flank, but it did not occur to them to unite with the Württemberg Gay Christian Troop, and this because previously the peasants of Württemberg and the Neckar valley had refused them assistance. When Truchsess had marched far enough from their home country, they simply turned back and marched on Freiburg.

We left the Württemberg peasants under the command of Matern Feuerbacher at Kirchheim unter Teck, from where the observation corps left by Truchsess under the command of Dietrich Spät had withdrawn towards Urach. After an unsuccessful attempt to take Urach, Feuerbacher turned towards Nürtingen and sent messages to all insurgent troops in the vicinity to assist him in the decisive battle. And considerable reinforcements did come from both the Württem-

berg lowlands and from Gäu. The Gäu peasants, who had joined the remnants of the Leipheim Troop that had withdrawn to West Württemberg and roused the valleys of the Upper Neckar and Nagold up to Böblingen and Leonberg, came in two strong columns to join Feuerbacher at Nürtingen on May 5. Truchsess stumbled upon the united troop at Böblingen. Its number, its artillery and position perplexed him. As was his custom, he at once began to negotiate and concluded an armistice with the peasants. But no sooner had he thus secured his position than he attacked them on May 12 *during the armistice* and forced a decisive battle on them. The peasants offered long and courageous resistance until Böblingen finally surrendered to Truchsess owing to betrayal by the burghers. The peasants' left wing, deprived of its base of support, was forced back and outflanked. This decided the issue. The poorly disciplined peasants were thrown into confusion and fled in disorder; those who were not killed or captured by League horsemen threw away their weapons and hurried home. The Gay Christian Troop, and with it the whole Württemberg insurrection, were crushed. Theus Gerber fled to Esslingen and Feuerbacher to Switzerland, while Jäcklein Rohrbach was taken prisoner and dragged in chains to Neckargartach, where he was bound to a stake, surrounded with firewood and roasted to death on a slow fire, while Truchsess, carousing with his knights, gloated over this knightly spectacle.

From Neckargartach Truchsess supported the operations of the Elector Palatine by invading Kraichgau. On receiving word of Truchsess' success, the Elector, who meanwhile had gathered an army, immediately broke his agreement with the peasants, attacked Bruchrain on May 23, captured and burned Malsch in spite of its vigorous resistance, pillaged a number of villages, and garrisoned Bruchsal. At the same time Truchsess attacked Eppingen and captured the chief of the local movement, Anton Eisenhut, whom the Elector immediately executed along with a dozen other peasant leaders. Bruchrain and Kraichgau were thus subdued and compelled to pay an indemnity of about 40,000 guilders. Both armies, that of Truchsess—reduced to 6,000 men in the preceding battles—and that of the Elector (6,500 men), united and moved against the Odenwalders.

Word of the Böblingen defeat spread terror everywhere among the insurgents. The free imperial cities which had come under the heavy hand of the peasants, heaved a sigh of relief. The city of Heilbronn was the first to seek reconciliation with the Swabian League. In Heilbronn the peasants' chancellory and delegates of the various troops deliberated over the proposals they would make to the

Emperor[a] and the Empire in the name of all the insurgent peasants. These negotiations, whose outcome was to apply to all Germany, revealed again that none of the estates, including the peasants, was sufficiently developed to alter the situation in Germany according to its own lights. It was obvious at once that the support of the nobility and particularly of the burghers had to be gained for this purpose. *Wendel Hipler* took charge of the negotiations. Of all the leaders of the movement he had the best grasp on the existing situation. He was not a far-seeing revolutionary like Münzer, nor a peasant representative like Metzler or Rohrbach; his extensive experience and his practical knowledge of the attitude of the various estates towards each other prevented him from representing any one of the estates involved in the movement in opposition to the others. Just as Münzer, a representative of the budding proletariat, a class which then stood totally outside the official organisation of society, was driven to anticipate communism, Wendel Hipler, the representative of what may be described as the cross-section of the nation's progressive elements, anticipated *modern bourgeois society.* The principles he represented and the demands he made were not really immediately practicable. They were the somewhat idealised and inevitable result of the dissolution of feudal society. And the peasants, having set themselves to drafting legislation for the whole Empire, were compelled to accept them. In Heilbronn, therefore, the centralisation demanded by the peasants assumed a more definite form which was, however, worlds removed from the peasants' own idea. For instance, it was much more clearly expressed in the demands for a standard currency, standard weights and measures, abolition of internal customs, etc., that is, in demands that were far more in the interest of townsmen than in that of the peasants. Concessions were made to the nobility that substantially approached the modern system of redemption and that would in the long run transform feudal into bourgeois landownership. In short, since the peasants' demands were composed as an "imperial reform", they necessarily complied with the definitive interests rather than the immediate demands of the burghers.

While this imperial reform was still being debated in Heilbronn, the author of the Declaration of the Twelve Articles, Hans Berlin, was already on his way to meet Truchsess and negotiate the surrender of the township on behalf of the honourables and burghers. Reactionary movements within the town supported this betrayal, and Wendel Hipler was obliged to flee with the peasants.

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[a] Charles V.—*Ed.*

He went to Weinsberg, where he attempted to assemble the remnants of the Württemberg Troop and the small mobile unit of Gaildorfers. But the approach of the Elector Palatine and Truchsess drove him from there as well, and he was compelled to go to Würzburg to rouse the Gay Bright Troop into action. In the meantime, the armies of the League and the Elector subdued the entire Neckar region, compelled the peasants to renew their oath of allegiance, burned many villages, and slayed or hanged all runaway peasants who fell into their hands. Weinsberg was burned to avenge the execution of von Helfenstein.

The peasant troops assembled near Würzburg had in the meantime laid siege to Frauenberg, and on May 15, before even a breach was made in the wall of the fortress, they bravely but unsuccessfully attempted to storm it. Four hundred of the best men, mostly of Florian Geyer's Troop, were left behind in the ditches, dead or wounded. Two days later, on May 17, Wendel Hipler arrived and ordered a military council. He proposed to leave only 4,000 men at Frauenberg, and to encamp with the main force of about 20,000 men at Krautheim on the Jagst under the very nose of Truchsess, so that all reinforcements might be concentrated there. It was an excellent plan. Only by keeping the masses together and securing numerical superiority could the peasants hope to defeat the princely army, which now numbered about 13,000 men. The demoralisation and discouragement of the peasants, however, was too far gone to contemplate any energetic action. Besides, Götz von Berlichingen, who soon turned traitor, may have helped to hold the troop in check, and Hipler's plan was thus never executed. Instead, the forces were split up as usual. Not until May 23 did the Gay Bright Troop go into action after the Franconians promised to follow without delay. On May 26 the Ansbach detachments encamped in Würzburg were induced to return home on receiving word that their Margrave[a] had opened hostilities against the peasants. The rest of the besieging army, along with Florian Geyer's Black Troop, occupied positions at Heidingsfeld in the vicinity of Würzburg.

On May 24 the Gay Bright Troop, not really ready for battle, arrived in Krautheim. Many learned here that in their absence their villages had sworn allegiance to Truchsess, and used this as a pretext to go home. The troop moved on to Neckarsulm, and on May 28 started negotiations with Truchsess. At the same time messengers

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[a] Casimir, Margrave of Brandenburg, who was in possession of Ansbach and Bayreuth.—*Ed.*

were sent to the peasants of Franconia, Alsace and Black Forest-Hegau to ask for reinforcements as quickly as possible. From Neckarsulm Götz [von Berlichingen] marched back to Öhringen. The troop steadily melted away. Götz von Berlichingen also disappeared during the march. He had gone home, having previously negotiated with Truchsess through his old brother-in-arms, Dietrich Spät, on going over to the other side. At Öhringen a false rumour of the enemy's approach threw the perplexed and discouraged peasantry into panic. The troop dispersed in utter confusion, and it was with difficulty that Metzler and Wendel Hipler succeeded in keeping together about 2,000 men, whom they again led toward Krautheim. In the meantime, the Franconian army of 5,000 men had come, but due to a side march through Löwenstein towards Öhringen, ordered by Götz with obviously treacherous intents, it missed the Gay Troop and moved towards Neckarsulm. This town, occupied by several detachments of the Gay Bright Troop, was besieged by Truchsess. The Franconians arrived at night and saw the fires of the League camp, but their leaders had not the courage to venture an attack and retreated to Krautheim where they at last found the remainder of the Gay Bright Troop. In the absence of aid, Neckarsulm surrendered to the League force on May 29. At once Truchsess had thirteen peasants executed and set out against the other peasant troops, burning and ravaging, pillaging and murdering along the way. His route through the valleys of the Neckar, Kocher and Jagst was marked with ruins and the corpses of peasants hanging on trees.

At Krautheim the League army encountered the peasants who had been forced by a flanking movement by Truchsess to withdraw towards Königshofen on the Tauber. Here they took up their position, 8,000 strong and with 32 cannon. Truchsess approached them behind the cover of hills and forests. He sent out columns to envelop them, and on June 2 attacked in such greatly superior force and with so much energy that they were defeated and dispersed in spite of the stubborn resistance of several of their troops that lasted into the night. As everywhere, it was the League horsemen, the "Peasants' Death", who were mainly instrumental in annihilating the insurgent army, charging down upon the peasants who were shaken by artillery and musket fire and lance attacks, breaking their ranks completely and slaying them one by one. The fate of 300 Königshofen burghers who had joined the peasant army serves as an illustration of the warfare led by Truchsess and his horsemen. All but fifteen of them were killed in the battle and four of the survivors were subsequently beheaded.

Having thus settled with the peasants of Odenwald, the Neckar valley and Lower Franconia, Truchsess subdued the whole region in a series of punitive expeditions, burning down whole villages and executing countless people. Then he marched against Würzburg. On the way he learned that the second Franconian Troop under Florian Geyer and Gregor von Burgbernheim was stationed at Sulzdorf, and instantly turned against it.

After his unsuccessful storming of Frauenberg, Florian Geyer had mainly devoted himself to negotiating with the princes and towns, especially with Rothenburg and Margrave Casimir of Ansbach, urging them to join the peasant brotherhood. But the negotiations were brought to an abrupt end by the news of the Königshofen defeat. His troop was joined by that of Ansbach under Gregor von Burgbernheim. The Ansbach troop had only recently been formed. Margrave Casimir had managed to keep in check the peasant revolt in his possessions in true Hohenzollern style, partly with promises and partly by means of a threatening mass of troops. He maintained complete neutrality towards all outside troops as long as they did not recruit Ansbach subjects, and tried to direct the hatred of the peasants mainly against the church endowments, through whose ultimate confiscation he hoped to enrich himself. In the meantime he kept arming and biding his time. As soon as he learned of the Böblingen battle he opened hostilities against his rebellious peasants, pillaging and burning their villages and hanging or otherwise killing many of them. But the peasants rallied quickly and defeated him at Windsheim under the command of Gregor von Burgbernheim on May 29. The call of the hard-pressed Odenwald peasants reached them as they were still pursuing him, and they headed at once for Heidingsfeld and from there, with Florian Geyer, again towards Würzburg (June 2). With no word arriving from the Odenwald troop, they left behind 5,000 peasants in Würzburg and with 4,000—the rest having deserted—they followed the others. Made complacent by false news of the outcome of the Königshofen battle, they were attacked by Truchsess at *Sulzdorf* and completely defeated. Truchsess' horsemen and mercenaries staged a terrible bloodbath. Florian Geyer rallied the remainder of his Black Troop, 600 in number, and fought his way to the village of Ingolstadt. Two hundred occupied the church and churchyard, and 400 took the castle. The Elector Palatine's forces pursued Geyer, and a column of 1,200 men captured the village and set fire to the church. Those who did not perish in the flames were slaughtered. The Elector's troops then breached the dilapidated castle wall and attempted to storm the fortress. Turned back twice by the peasants, who had taken cover

behind an inner wall, they shot up the inner wall as well, and tried a third assault, which was successful. Half of Geyer's men were massacred, but Geyer managed to escape with the other 200. Their hiding place, however, was discovered on the following day (Whit-Monday). The Elector Palatine's soldiers surrounded the woods in which they lay hidden, and slaughtered all of them. Only seventeen prisoners were taken during those two days. Again Florian Geyer fought his way out of the encirclement with a few of his most intrepid fighters and set out to join the Gaildorf peasants, who had again assembled a body of about 7,000 men. But upon his arrival he found them mostly dispersed by the crushing news from every side. He made a last attempt to assemble the peasants dispersed in the woods, but was surprised by enemy forces at Hall on June 9 and laid down his life fighting.

Truchsess, who had sent word to besieged Frauenberg on the heels of the Königshofen victory, now marched towards Würzburg. The Council came to a secret understanding with him, so that on the night of June 7 the League army was allowed to surround the city where 5,000 peasants were stationed, and the following morning marched with sheathed swords through the gates opened by the Council. This betrayal of the Würzburg "honourables" caused the last troop of the Franconian peasants to be disarmed and all its leaders to be arrested. Truchsess immediately ordered 81 of them decapitated. The various Franconian princes arrived in Würzburg one after the other, and among them the Bishop of Würzburg himself,[a] the Bishop of Bamberg[b] and the Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach. The gracious lords distributed the roles among themselves. Truchsess marched with the Bishop of Bamberg, who presently broke the agreement concluded with his peasants and opened his land to the fierce and murderous hordes of the League army. Margrave Casimir devastated his own land. Deiningen was burned and numerous villages were pillaged or gutted. In every town the Margrave held a bloodthirsty court. He ordered eighteen rebels beheaded in Neustadt on the Aisch and in Bergel forty-three suffered the same fate. From there he went to Rothenburg where the honourables had already made a counter-revolution and arrested Stephan von Menzingen. The Rothenburg petty burghers and plebeians now had to pay heavily for behaving so ambiguously towards the peasants, refusing them all help until the very last, insisting in their local narrow-minded egotism on the suppression of

[a] Konrad III.—*Ed.*
[b] Weigand von Redwitz.—*Ed.*

countryside crafts in favour of the city guilds, and only unwillingly giving up the city revenues flowing in from the feudal services of the peasants. The Margrave ordered sixteen of them executed, Menzingen naturally first of all.—The Bishop of Würzburg marched through his region in a similar manner, pillaging, ravaging and burning everything on his way. He had 256 rebels decapitated on this triumphal march, and upon returning to Würzburg crowned his handiwork by beheading another thirteen Würzburg rebels.

In the Mainz region the viceregent, Bishop Wilhelm von Strassburg, restored order without resistance. He executed only four men. Rheingau, which had also been in revolt but where everybody had long since come home, was eventually invaded by Frowin von Hutten, a cousin of Ulrich, and fully "pacified" by the execution of twelve ringleaders. Frankfurt, which also experienced considerable revolutionary unrest, was held in check first by the conciliatory attitude of the Council and later by recruited troops. In the Rhenish Palatinate about 8,000 peasants had assembled anew after the Elector's breach of faith, and had again burned monasteries and castles, but the Archbishop of Trier[a] came to the aid of Marshal von Habern and made short work of them on June 23 at Pfeddersheim. A series of atrocities (eighty-two were executed in Pfeddersheim alone) and the capture of Weissenburg on July 7 put an end to the insurrection.

Of all the peasant troops only two were still unvanquished: the Hegau-Black Forest Troop and that of Allgäu. Archduke Ferdinand had tried intriguing against both. Just as Margrave Casimir and other princes sought to utilise the insurrection to annex church lands and principalities, Ferdinand wished to use it for the aggrandisement of the House of Austria. He had negotiated with the Allgäu commander, Walter Bach, and with the Hegau commander, Hans Müller of Bulgenbach, in the hope of prevailing on the peasants to declare allegiance to Austria, but though both chiefs were venal they could not talk their troops into anything more than an armistice between the Allgäu Troop and the Archduke, and neutrality towards Austria.

Retreating from the Württemberg region, the *peasants of Hegau* destroyed a number of castles and gathered reinforcements in the provinces of the Margraviate of Baden. On May 13 they marched on Freiburg, bombarded it from May 18, and entered it triumphantly when the town surrendered on May 23. From there they moved

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[a] Richard von Greifenklau.—*Ed.*

towards Stockach and Radolfzell, and waged a long but unsuccessful small war against the garrisons of those towns. Together with the nobility and other surrounding towns, the latter appealed to the Lake peasants for help in accordance with the Weingarten agreement. The former rebels of the Lake Troop rose, 5,000 strong, against their confederates. These peasants were so narrow-minded and short-sighted that only 600 refused to fight, expressing their wish to join the Hegau peasants, for which they were massacred. Meanwhile, persuaded by Hans Müller of Bulgenbach, who had sold himself to the enemy, the Hegau peasants lifted their siege, and when thereupon Hans Müller ran away, most of them dispersed. The remainder entrenched themselves on the Hilzingen Steep, where they were beaten and annihilated on July 16 by troops that had in the meantime become available. The Swiss cities negotiated an agreement on behalf of the Hegau peasants, which, however, did not prevent the other side from capturing and beheading Hans Müller in Laufenburg, his betrayal notwithstanding. In Breisgau the town of Freiburg also deserted the peasant union (July 17) and sent troops against the peasants, but due to the weakness of the princely force an agreement was reached here as elsewhere, known as the agreement of Offenburg[335] (September 18), which also applied to Sundgau. The eight Black Forest groups and the Klettgau peasants, who were not as yet disarmed, were again compelled to rebel by the tyranny of Count von Sulz, and were defeated in October. On November 13 the Black Forest peasants were forced to conclude an agreement,[336] and Waldshut, the last bulwark of the insurrection in the Upper Rhine, fell on December 6.

After Truchsess' departure the *Allgäu peasants* renewed their campaign against the monasteries and castles and wreaked vengeance for the ravages caused by the League army. They were confronted by few troops, who risked only insignificant isolated skirmishes and never followed them into the woods. In June, a movement against the honourables broke out in Memmingen, which had hitherto been more or less neutral. This movement was defeated only due to the accidental presence in the vicinity of some League troops, who came in time to aid the honourables. Schappeler, preacher and leader of the plebeian movement, took refuge in St. Gallen. The peasants appeared before the town and were about to begin shooting breaches in its wall when they learned that Truchsess was approaching from Würzburg. On June 27 they set out against him in two columns across Babenhausen and Obergünzburg. Archduke Ferdinand again attempted to win the peasants for the House of Austria. On the strength of the armistice concluded with

them, he demanded of Truchsess to march no farther against them. The Swabian League, however, ordered Truchsess to attack, but to refrain from pillaging and burning. But Truchsess was too clever to relinquish his prime and most effective weapon even if he were able to hold in check the mercenaries whom he had led from Lake Constance to the Main, from one atrocity to another. The peasants, numbering about 23,000, took up battle positions across the Iller and Leubas. Truchsess opposed them with 11,000 men. The positions of both armies were very strong. The cavalry was ineffective due to the terrain, and if the Truchsess mercenaries were superior to the peasants in organisation, ammunition and discipline, the Allgäu peasants had in their ranks a host of former soldiers and experienced commanders, and many well-manned cannon. On July 19 the League army opened fire, which was continued on both sides through July 20, but with no result. On July 21 Georg von Frundsberg joined Truchsess with 3,000 mercenaries. He knew many of the peasant commanders, for they had served under him in the Italian military expeditions, and entered into negotiations with them. Treason succeeded where military resources proved insufficient. Walter Bach and several other commanders and artillerymen sold out. They set fire to the powder stores of the peasants and induced the troop to attempt an enveloping movement, but as soon as the peasants left their strong positions they ran into an ambush engineered by Truchsess in collusion with Bach and the other traitors. The peasants' ability to defend themselves was impaired since their traitorous commanders had left them under the pretext of reconnoitring and were already on their way to Switzerland. Thus, two of the peasant columns were routed, while a third, under Knopf of Leubas, was able to withdraw in good order. It resumed its position on the mountain of Kollen near Kempten, where it was surrounded by Truchsess. But the latter did not dare attack the peasants; he cut off their supply routes and tried to demoralise them by burning about 200 villages in the vicinity. Hunger and the sight of their burning homes finally brought the peasants to their knees (July 25). More than twenty were immediately executed. Knopf of Leubas, the only leader of this troop who did not betray his banner, fled to Bregenz. There he was captured and hanged after a long imprisonment.

This brought the Peasant War in Swabia and Franconia to an end.

## VI

Directly after the outbreak of the first movement in Swabia, *Thomas Münzer* again hurried to *Thuringia*, and in late February or early March stayed in the free imperial town of *Mühlhausen*, where his party was stronger than elsewhere. He held the threads of the whole movement and knew that a storm was brewing in South Germany. So he set out to turn Thuringia into the centre of the movement in North Germany. He found the soil extremely fertile. Thuringia itself, the main scene of the Reformation movement, was in great ferment. The misery of the downtrodden peasants and the prevailing revolutionary, religious and political doctrines had also made a general uprising imminent in the neighbouring provinces of Hesse and Saxony, and in the Harz region. In Mühlhausen itself the bulk of the petty burgherdom was won over to Münzer's extreme standpoint and could hardly wait to assert its superiority over the arrogant honourables. To prevent premature action, Münzer was compelled to act as a moderator, but his disciple, Pfeifer, who held the reins of the movement there, had committed himself so greatly that he could not hold back the outbreak, and as early as March 17, 1525, before the general uprising in South Germany, Mühlhausen made its revolution. The old patrician Council was overthrown and the government handed over to the newly elected "eternal council", with Münzer as president.[337]

The worst thing that can befall the leader of an extreme party is to be compelled to assume power at a time when the movement is not yet ripe for the domination of the class he represents and for the measures this domination implies. What he *can* do depends not on his will but on the degree of antagonism between the various classes,

and on the level of development of the material means of existence, of the conditions of production and commerce upon which the degree of intensity of the class contradictions always reposes. What he *ought* to do, what his party demands of him, again depends not on him, but also not on the degree of development of the class struggle and its conditions. He is bound to the doctrines and demands hitherto propounded which, again, do not follow from the class relations of the moment, or from the more or less accidental level of production and commerce, but from his more or less penetrating insight into the general result of the social[a] and political movement. Thus, he necessarily finds himself in an unsolvable dilemma. What he *can* do contradicts all his previous actions and principles and the immediate interests of his party, and what he *ought* to do cannot be done. In a word, he is compelled to represent not his party or his class, but the class for whose domination the movement is then ripe. In the interests of the movement he is compelled to advance the interests of an alien class, and to feed his own class with talk and promises, and with the asseveration that the interests of that alien class are their own interests. He who is put into this awkward position is irrevocably lost. We have seen examples of this in recent times, and need only recall the position in the last French Provisional Government of the representatives of the proletariat,[338] though they themselves represented only a very low stage of development of the proletariat. He who can still speculate with official posts after the experiences of the February government—to say nothing of our own noble German provisional governments and imperial regencies[339]—is either foolish beyond measure or belongs to the extreme revolutionary party at best in word only.

Münzer's position at the head of the "eternal council" of Mühlhausen was indeed much more precarious than that of any modern revolutionary regent. Not only the movement of his time, but also the age, were not ripe for the ideas of which he himself had only a faint notion. The class which he represented was still in its birth throes. It was far from developed enough to assume leadership over, and to transform,[b] society. The social changes of his fancy had little root in the then existing economic conditions. What is more, these conditions were paving the way for a social system that was diametrically opposite to what he envisioned. Nevertheless, he was still committed to his early sermons of Christian equality and evangelical community of property, and was compelled at least to

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[a] The 1850 edition has "industrial" instead of "social".—*Ed.*

[b] The words "and to transform" are missing in the 1850 edition.—*Ed.*

attempt their realisation. Community of property, the equal obligation of all to work, and abolition of all authority were proclaimed. But in reality Mühlhausen remained a republican imperial city with a somewhat democratised constitution, a senate elected by universal suffrage and controlled by a forum, and with a hastily improvised system of care for the poor. The social upheaval that so horrified its Protestant burgher contemporaries actually never went beyond a feeble, unconscious and premature attempt to establish the bourgeois [*bürgerliche*] society of a later period.

Münzer himself seems to have sensed the chasm between his theories and the surrounding realities, a chasm that he must have felt the more keenly, the more his visionary aspirations were distorted in the crude minds of his mass of followers. He devoted himself to extending and organising the movement with a zeal rare even for him. He wrote letters and sent messengers and emissaries in all directions. His writings and sermons breathed a revolutionary fanaticism astonishing even when compared with his former works. The naive youthful humour of Münzer's revolutionary[a] pamphlets was totally gone. The placid explicative language of the thinker typical of his earlier years was gone too. Münzer became a positive prophet of the revolution. He untiringly fanned hatred against the ruling classes, he stimulated the wildest passions, and used only the forceful language that the religious and nationalist delirium had put into the mouths of the Old Testament prophets. The style he now had to adopt reflected the educational level of the public he sought to influence.

The example of Mühlhausen and Münzer's propaganda had a rapid and far-reaching effect. In *Thuringia, Eichsfeld*, the *Harz*, the *duchies of Saxony*, in *Hesse* and *Fulda*, in *Upper Franconia* and in *Vogtland*, the peasants arose, assembled in troops, and set fire to castles and monasteries. Münzer was recognised as the leader of more or less the entire movement, and Mühlhausen remained its centre, while a purely burgher movement won in Erfurt and the ruling party there kept acting ambiguously towards the peasants.

The princes in Thuringia were at first just as perplexed and helpless against the peasants as they had been in Franconia and Swabia. Only in the last days of April did the Landgrave of Hesse succeed in assembling a corps. It was the same Landgrave Philip whose piety is praised so much by the Protestant and bourgeois histories of the Reformation, and of whose infamies against the

[a] The 1850 edition has "prerevolutionary" instead of "revolutionary".—*Ed.*

peasants we shall presently have a word to say. By a series of swift movements and decisive actions, Landgrave Philip quickly subdued the major part of his land, called up new contingents, and then marched into the region belonging to the Abbot of Fulda,[a] who had hitherto been his feudal lord. On May 3 he defeated the Fulda peasant troop at Frauenberg, subdued the whole land, and seized the opportunity not only for freeing himself from the sovereignty of the Abbot, but also for making the Abbey of Fulda a vassalage of Hesse, naturally pending its subsequent secularisation. He then took Eisenach and Langensalza, and advanced against Mühlhausen, the headquarters of the rebellion, jointly with the ducal Saxon troops. Münzer assembled his forces, comprising some 8,000 men and several cannon, at Frankenhausen. The Thuringian troop had little of the fighting power which a part of the Upper Swabian and Franconian troops had developed in their struggle with Truchsess. It was poorly armed and badly disciplined; it had few ex-soldiers in its ranks and lacked sorely in leadership. It appears Münzer himself had not the slightest military knowledge. All the same, the princes thought it best to use the same tactics against him that so often helped Truchsess to victory: breach of faith. They launched negotiations on May 16, concluded an armistice, and then suddenly attacked the peasants before the armistice had elapsed.

Münzer had stationed his people on a mountain still called Schlachtberg,[b] behind a barricade of wagons. Discouragement was spreading rapidly among his men. The princes promised them indulgence if they delivered Münzer alive. Münzer called a general assembly to debate the princes' proposals. A knight and a priest spoke in favour of surrender. Münzer had them both brought inside the circle and decapitated. This act of terrorist energy, jubilantly received by resolute revolutionaries, instilled a certain order among the troop, but most of the men would still have gone away without resistance had it not been noticed that the princes' mercenaries, who had encircled the mountain, were approaching in closed columns in spite of the armistice. A front was hurriedly formed behind the wagons, but already shells and bullets were showering upon the half-defenseless peasants unaccustomed to battle, and the mercenaries had reached the barricade. After a brief resistance the line of wagons was breached, the peasant cannon captured, and the peasants dispersed. They fled in wild disorder to fall into the hands

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[a] Johann Henneberg.—*Ed.*
[b] Mount Battle.—*Ed.*

of the enveloping columns and the cavalry, who loosened an appalling massacre. Out of 8,000 peasants over 5,000 were slaughtered. The survivors went to Frankenhausen, and the princes' cavalry came hot on their heels. The city was captured. Münzer, wounded in the head, was discovered in a house and taken prisoner. On May 25 Mühlhausen also surrendered. Pfeifer, who had remained there, escaped, but was captured in the region of Eisenach.

Münzer was put on the rack in the presence of the princes, and then decapitated. He went to his death with the courage he had shown throughout his life. He was twenty-eight at the most when executed. Pfeifer was also beheaded, and many others besides. In Fulda Philip of Hesse, that holy man, opened his bloody court. He and the Saxon princes had many killed by the sword, among them in Eisenach, 24; in Langensalza, 41; after the battle of Frankenhausen, 300; in Mühlhausen, more than 100; at Görmar, 26; at Tüngeda, 50; at Sangerhausen, 12; in Leipzig, 8, not to speak of mutilations and more moderate measures, pillaging and burning of villages and towns.

Mühlhausen was compelled to give up its imperial liberty, and was incorporated in the Saxon lands just as the Abbey of Fulda was incorporated in the Landgraviate of Hesse.

The princes now marched through the forest of Thuringia, where Franconian peasants of the Bildhausen camp had joined the Thuringians and had burned many castles. A battle took place outside Meiningen. The peasants were beaten and withdrew towards the town, which suddenly closed its gates to them and threatened to attack them from the rear. Thrown into confusion by its allies' betrayal, the troop surrendered to the princes and ran off in all directions while the negotiations were still under way. The Bildhausen camp had long since dispersed, and after the troop's defeat the remaining insurgents in Saxony, Hesse, Thuringia and Upper Franconia were annihilated.

In *Alsace* the rebellion broke out later than on the right bank of the Rhine. The peasants of the Bishopric of Strassburg rose up as late as the middle of April. Soon after, there was an uprising of peasants in Upper Alsace and Sundgau. On April 18 a contingent of Lower Alsace peasants pillaged the monastery of Altdorf. Other troops formed near Ebersheim and Barr, as well as in the Willer and Urbis valleys. These soon amalgamated into a large Lower Alsace troop and seized towns and hamlets and destroyed monasteries. Everywhere, one out of every three men was called to serve in the troop. The troop's Twelve Articles were much more radical than those of the Swabians and Franconians.[340]

While early in May one column of Lower Alsatians concentrated near St. Hippolite and after a futile attempt to take that town occupied Bercken on May 10, Rappoltsweiler on May 13, and Reichenweier on May 14 by an understanding with their citizens, a second column under Erasmus Gerber moved in for a surprise attack on Strassburg. The attempt failed, and the column now turned towards the Vosges, destroyed the monastery of Mauersmünster and besieged Zabern, which surrendered on May 13. From here it moved towards the Lorraine frontier and roused the adjacent section of the duchy, and at the same time fortified the mountain passes. Big camps were formed at Herbitzheim on the Saar and at Neuburg. Nearly 4,000 German-Lorraine peasants entrenched themselves at Saargemünd. Finally, two advanced troops, the Kolben troop in the Vosges at Stürzelbronn and the Kleeburg troop at Weissenburg, covered the front and the right flank, while the left flank hugged the Upper Alsatians.

The latter, on the march since April 20, had forced Sulz into the peasant brotherhood on May 10, Gebweiler on May 12, and Sennheim and its vicinity on May 15. Though the Austrian Government and the surrounding imperial towns lost no time to join forces against them, they were too weak to offer serious resistance, not to speak of attacking. Thus, the whole of Alsace, with the exception of a few towns, fell into the hands of the insurgents by the middle of May.

But the army that was to break the mischievous spirit of the Alsatians was already approaching. It was the *French* who here restored the power of the nobility. On May 6 Duke Anton of Lorraine marched with an army of 30,000, among them the flower of the French nobility and Spanish, Piedmontese, Lombardic, Greek and Albanian auxiliaries. On May 16 at Lützelstein he engaged 4,000 peasants, whom he defeated without effort, and on May 17 he forced Zabern, which was occupied by the peasants, to surrender. But even while the Lorrainers were entering the city and the peasants were being disarmed, the terms of the surrender were violated. The defenseless peasants were attacked by the mercenaries and most of them slain. The remaining Lower Alsace columns disbanded, and Duke Anton marched on to engage the Upper Alsatians. The latter, who had refused to reinforce the Lower Alsatians at Zabern, were now attacked at Scherweiler by the entire force of Lorrainers. They put up a plucky fight, but the enormous numerical superiority of 30,000 against 7,000, and betrayal by a number of knights, especially that of the magistrate of Reichenweier, reduced their daring to nought. They were beaten and dispersed to the last man. The Duke

now proceeded to subdue the whole of Alsace with the usual cruelty. Only Sundgau was spared his presence. By threatening to call him into the land, the Austrian Government persuaded the peasants to conclude the Ensisheim agreement early in June. But it broke the agreement very soon and hanged the preachers and leaders of the movement *en masse*. The peasants rebelled anew, and Sundgau was finally drawn into the Offenburg agreement (September 18).

Now it only remains to describe the Peasant War in the *Alpine regions of Austria*. These regions and the adjoining *Archbishopric of Salzburg* had been in continuous opposition to the government and the nobility since the *Stara Prawa*.[a] As a result, the Reformation doctrines found a fertile soil there. Religious persecution and arbitrary oppressive taxation precipitated a rebellion.

The city of *Salzburg*, supported by peasants and pitmen, had been in conflict with the Archbishop[b] since 1522 over its city privileges and religious practices. Late in 1524 the Archbishop attacked the city with recruited mercenaries, terrorised it with the cannon of the castle, and persecuted the heretical preachers. At the same time he imposed new crushing taxes and thereby irritated the population to the extreme. In the spring of 1525, simultaneously with the Swabian-Franconian and Thuringian uprisings, the peasants and pitmen of the whole country suddenly rose up in arms, organised under the commanders *Prassler* and *Weitmoser*, liberated the city and besieged the castle of Salzburg. Like the West-German peasants, they organised a Christian Alliance and formulated their demands in articles, of which they had fourteen.[341]

In *Styria, Upper Austria, Carinthia* and *Carniola*, where new extortionate taxes, duties and edicts had severely injured the basic interests of the people, the peasants rose up in the spring of 1525. They took a number of castles and at Goyss defeated Dietrichstein, the old field commander and conqueror of the *Stara Prawa*. Although the government succeeded in placating some of the insurgents with false promises, the bulk of them stayed together and united with the Salzburg peasants, so that the entire region of Salzburg and the bigger portion of Upper Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola were in the hands of the peasants and pitmen.

In Tirol the Reformation doctrines had also found numerous adherents. Münzer's emissaries had been successfully active here, even more so than in the other Alpine regions of Austria. As elsewhere, Archduke Ferdinand persecuted the preachers of the

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[a] See this volume, p. 439.— *Ed.*
[b] Matthäus Lang.— *Ed.*

new doctrine and impinged on the rights of the population by means of new arbitrary financial regulations. The result, as everywhere, was an uprising that broke out in the spring of 1525. The insurgents commanded by Geismaier, a Münzer man who was the only one of the peasant chiefs to possess any military talent, took a great number of castles, and carried on energetically against the priests, particularly in the South, in the Etsch[a] region. The Vorarlberg peasants also rose up and joined the Allgäu peasants.

The Archduke, hard pressed from all sides, now began to make concession after concession to the rebels whom a short time before he had wished to annihilate by fire and destruction, plunder and carnage. He summoned the Diets of the hereditary lands and pending their opening concluded an armistice with the peasants. In the meantime he was arming for all he was worth, in order to be able to speak to the blasphemers in a different tongue in the nearest possible future.

Naturally, the armistice was not observed for long. Having run short of cash, Dietrichstein began to levy contributions in the duchies; besides, his Slavic and Magyar troops indulged in the most disgraceful brutalities against the population. This incited the Styrians to a new revolt. The peasants attacked Dietrichstein at Schladming in the night of July 3, and slaughtered everybody who did not speak German. Dietrichstein himself was captured. In the morning of July 3 the peasants called a jury and sentenced to death forty Czech and Croatian nobles among their prisoners. They were beheaded on the spot. That had its effect; the Archduke immediately consented to all the demands of the estates of the five duchies (Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola).

The demands of the Diet were also granted in Tirol, and thus the North was pacified. The South, however, stood firm on its original demands, scorning the much more moderate decisions of the Diet, and remained under arms. Only in December was the Archduke able to restore order by force. He did not fail to execute a great number of the instigators and leaders of the upheaval who fell into his hands.

Ten thousand Bavarians moved in August against Salzburg under Georg von Frundsberg. This impressive show of strength and the quarrels that broke out in their ranks persuaded the Salzburg peasants to conclude an agreement with the archbishop on September 1, which was also accepted by the Archduke. However, the two princes, who had meanwhile considerably strengthened their troops, soon violated the agreement and thereby compelled the

[a] The Italian name is Adige.—*Ed.*

Salzburg peasants to start a new uprising. The insurgents held their own throughout the winter. In the spring Geismaier came to them and launched a splendid campaign against the forces approaching from every side. In a series of brilliant battles in May and June 1526, he successively defeated the Bavarian, Austrian and Swabian League troops and the mercenaries of the Archbishop of Salzburg, and for a long time prevented the various corps from uniting. He also found time to besiege Radstadt. Surrounded finally by superior forces, he was compelled to withdraw and fought his way out of the encirclement, leading the remnants of his troop across the Austrian Alps into Venetian territory. The Republic of Venice and Switzerland served the indefatigable peasant chief as starting points for new intrigues. For a whole year he endeavoured to involve them in a war with Austria, which would have given him an opportunity to begin a new peasant uprising. The hand of an assassin struck him down, however, in the course of these negotiations. Archduke Ferdinand and the Archbishop of Salzburg could not rest as long as Geismaier was alive. They hired an assassin who succeeded in ending the life of the dangerous rebel in 1527.[a]

[a] According to more precise data Geismaier was assassinated on April 15, 1532.— *Ed.*

## VII

The epilogue of the Peasant War closed with Geismaier's withdrawal into Venetian territory. The peasants were everywhere brought back under the sway of their ecclesiastical, noble or patrician overlords. The agreements concluded with them here and there were violated and the heavy services augmented by the enormous indemnities imposed by the victors on the vanquished. The most magnificent revolutionary effort of the German people ended in ignominious defeat and, for the time being, in redoubled oppression. In the long run, however, the situation of the peasants was not made any worse by the suppression of the uprising. Whatever the nobility, princes and priests could wring out of the peasants year after year, had been wrung out even before the war. The German peasant of that time has this in common with the present-day proletarian, that his share in the products of his labour was limited to a subsistence minimum necessary for his maintenance and the propagation of the peasant race. On the whole, nothing more could be wrung out of the peasants. True, some of the better-off middle peasants were ruined, hosts of bondsmen were forced into serfdom, whole stretches of community land were confiscated, and a great many peasants were forced into vagabondage or became city plebeians due to the destruction of their homes, the devastation of their fields and the general dislocation. But war and devastation were everyday phenomena at that time and, in general, the peasant class was at too low a level for increased taxation to cause any lasting deterioration of its condition. The subsequent religious wars and, finally, the Thirty Years' War[342] with its recurrent general devastation and depopulation affected the peasants much more painfully than the Peasant War. Notably, it was the Thirty Years' War which

destroyed the most important part of the productive forces in agriculture, through which, as well as through the simultaneous destruction of many towns, the peasants, plebeians and ruined burghers were for a long time reduced to a state of Irish misery at its worst.

Those who suffered most from the Peasant War were the *clergy*. Their monasteries and endowments were burned, their treasures plundered, sold abroad or melted down, and their stores consumed. They were everywhere the least capable of resistance, and yet they were the main target of the people's wrath. The other estates—princes, nobles and burghers—even experienced a secret joy at the distress of the hated prelates. The Peasant War had made popular the idea of secularising the church estates in favour of the peasants. The lay princes, and partly the towns, determined to secularise the estates for their *own* benefit, and soon the possessions of the prelates in Protestant regions were in the hands of the princes or the honourables. But the power of the ecclesiastical princes, too, was impaired, and the lay princes knew how to exploit the people's hatred in this respect. We have seen, for instance, how the Abbot of Fulda[a] was relegated from feudal lord to vassal of Philip of Hesse. The town of Kempten forced its prince-abbot[b] to sell it a number of the precious privileges he had enjoyed in the town for a ridiculous trifle.

The *nobility* had also suffered considerably. Most of the noblemen's castles were destroyed and some of the most respected families were ruined and found a living only in the employ of the princes. Their weakness in face of the peasantry had been proved. They had been beaten everywhere and had been forced to surrender. Only the armies of the princes had saved them. The nobility was bound to lose more and more of its significance as an estate of the Empire, and to fall under the dominion of the princes.

The *towns*, too, generally gained nothing from the Peasant War. The rule of the honourables was almost everywhere re-established; the burgher opposition was broken for a long time. The old patrician routine dragged on in this way, tying up commerce and industry hand and foot up to the time of the French Revolution. Moreover, the towns were made responsible by the princes for the momentary successes the burgher or plebeian parties had gained within their borders during the struggle. The towns that had even previously belonged to princely estates had to pay heavy indemnities, to give up their privileges, and became defenceless prey to the avarice and

[a] Johann Henneberg.—*Ed.*
[b] Sebastian von Breitenstein.—*Ed.*

whims of the princes (Frankenhausen, Arnstadt, Schmalkalden, Würzburg, etc.). Towns of the Empire were incorporated into the territories of the princes (Mühlhausen, for example) or at least made morally dependent on the neighbouring princes, as was the case with many imperial towns in Franconia.

Under the circumstances, the *princes* alone had benefited from the Peasant War. We have seen at the very beginning of our account that the deficient development of industry, commerce and agriculture in Germany ruled out any centralisation of Germans into a *nation*, that it allowed only local and provincial centralisation, and that the princes, representatives of centralisation within disruption, were the only estate to profit from all the changes in the existing social and political conditions. The development of Germany in those days was at so low a level and at the same time so dissimilar in the various provinces that alongside the lay principalities there could still exist ecclesiastical sovereignties, city republics, and sovereign counts and barons. Simultaneously, however, this development was continually, though slowly and feebly, pressing for *provincial* centralisation, i.e. for the subordination of all the other imperial estates to the princes. That is why only the princes could have gained from the outcome of the Peasant War. And that is exactly what had happened. They gained not only relatively, from a weakening of their opponents—the clergy, nobility and the towns—but also absolutely, since they carried off the *spolia opima* (the main spoils) of all the other estates. The church estates were secularised in their favour; part of the nobility, fully or partly ruined, was obliged gradually to accept vassalage; the indemnities they received from the towns and peasant communities swelled their treasuries and, furthermore, the abolition of so many town privileges now afforded much greater scope to their favourite financial operations.

The chief result of the Peasant War, the deepening and consolidation of German disunity, was also the reason for its failure.

We have seen that Germany was split not only into countless independent, almost totally alien provinces, but that in every one of these provinces the nation was broken up into a multifold structure of estates and fractions of estates. Besides princes and priests we find nobles and peasants in the countryside, and in the towns we find patricians, burghers and plebeians, whose interests as estates differed radically even where they did not cross each other or come into conflict. Besides all these complicated interests there were still the interests of the Emperor and the Pope. We have seen how ponderously, imperfectly, and how differently in the various localities, all these interests finally gave shape to three major groups.

We have seen that in spite of this painful grouping each estate opposed the line indicated by circumstances for the national development, that each estate acted on its own, coming into conflict not only with all the conservative, but also with the other opposition estates, and that it was bound to fail in the end. That was the fate of the nobility in Sickingen's uprising, of the peasants in the Peasant War, and of the burghers in all of their insipid Reformation. Thus, even the peasants and plebeians in most parts of Germany failed to unite for joint action and stood in each other's way. We have also seen the causes of this fragmentation of the class struggle and the resulting total defeat of the revolutionary and partial defeat of the burgher movements.

How local and provincial disunity and the consequently inevitable local and provincial narrow-mindedness ruined the whole movement; how neither burghers, peasants nor plebeians could unite for concerted national action; how the peasants of every province acted only for themselves, as a rule refusing aid to the insurgent peasants of the neighbouring regions, and were consequently annihilated in separate battles one after another by armies which in most cases were hardly one-tenth the total number of the insurgent masses—all this should be sufficiently clear from this account. The various armistices and agreements concluded by individual troops with their adversaries represent just as many acts of betrayal of the common cause, and the fact that the only co-operation possible between the different troops was not according to the greater or lesser unity of their action, but to that of the particular enemy to whom they succumbed, is the most striking proof of the degree of the peasants' mutual alienation in the various provinces.

Here also the analogy with the movement of 1848-50 leaps to the eye. In 1848 as well, the interests of the opposition classes conflicted and each class acted on its own. The bourgeoisie, too developed to suffer any longer the feudal and bureaucratic absolutism, was, however, not as yet powerful enough at once to subordinate the claims of other classes to its own interests. The proletariat, much too weak to count on a rapid passage through the bourgeois period and on an early conquest of power, had already learned too well under absolutism the honeyed sweetness of the bourgeois regime and was generally much too developed to identify for even a moment its own emancipation with that of the bourgeoisie. The mass of the nation—petty burghers, their associates (artisans), and peasants—was left in the lurch by its as yet natural ally, the bourgeoisie, because it was too revolutionary, and partly by the proletariat, because it was not sufficiently advanced.

Divided against itself the mass achieved nothing and opposed fellow opponents on the Right and Left. As to provincial narrow-mindedness, it could hardly have been greater among the peasants in 1525 than it was among the classes participating in the movement of 1848. The hundred local revolutions as well as the consequent and unhindered hundred local reactions, survival of the separation of numerous small states, etc., etc.—all this is eloquent testimony indeed. *He who still dreams of a federated republic after the two German revolutions of 1525 and 1848 and their results, belongs nowhere else but in a lunatic asylum.*

Still the two revolutions, that of the sixteenth century and that of 1848-50, are, in spite of all analogies, essentially different. The Revolution of 1848 speaks for the progress of Europe, if not of Germany.

Who profited from the Revolution of 1525? The *princes.* Who profited from the Revolution of 1848? The *big* princes, Austria and Prussia. Behind the minor princes of 1525 stood the petty burghers, who chained the princes to themselves by taxes. Behind the big princes of 1850, behind Austria and Prussia, there stand the modern big bourgeois, rapidly getting them under their yoke by means of the national debt. And behind the big bourgeois stand the proletarians.

The Revolution of 1525 was a domestic German affair. The English, French, Bohemians and Hungarians had already had their peasant wars when the Germans began theirs. If Germany was disunited, Europe was much more so. The Revolution of 1848, on the other hand, was not a domestic German affair, and was an episode in a great European event. Its motive forces throughout its duration transcended the narrow limits of one country and even those of one part of the world. In fact, the countries which were the arena of revolution were the least active in producing it. They were more or less unconscious and hesitant raw material, moulded in the course of the movement in which the entire world participates today, a movement which under the existing social conditions may appear to us only as an alien power but which, in the end, is nothing but our own. This is why the Revolution of 1848-50 cannot end like the Revolution of 1525.

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [STATEMENT ON RESIGNATION FROM THE GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY IN LONDON][343]

To the Tuesday President of the Society in Great Windmill Street.
Sir,

The undersigned herewith give notice of their resignation from the Society.

London, September 17, 1850

*H. Bauer, K. Pfänder,*
*J. G. Eccarius, S. Seiler,*
*K. Marx, K. Schramm, F. Engels,*
*F. Wolff, W. Liebknecht,*
*Hain, Haupt, G. Klose*

First published in the *Anklageschrift gegen P. G. Roeser, J. H. G. Bürgers, P. Nothjung,...* [Köln, 1852]

Printed according to the manuscript in Engels' hand

Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [A LETTER TO ADAM, BARTHÉLEMY AND VIDIL][344]

TO MESSRS. ADAM, BARTHÉLEMY AND VIDIL

Gentlemen,

We have the honour of informing you that we have, long since, considered the association you speak of as dissolved by fact. The only thing remaining to be done would be the destruction of the fundamental contract.[a] Perhaps Mr. Adam or Mr. Vidil will have the kindness to call on Sunday next October 13th at noon, on Mr. Engels at Nr. 6, Macclesfield Street Soho, in order to witness the burning of the same.

We have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

your most obedient servants,

*Engels, Marx, Harney*

London, October 9th, 1850

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Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, pp. 614-15.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [EDITORIAL COMMENT ON THE ARTICLE "TAILORING IN LONDON OR THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN BIG AND SMALL CAPITAL" BY J. G. ECCARIUS][345]

The author of this article is himself a *worker* in one of London's tailoring shops.[a] We ask the German bourgeoisie how many authors it numbers capable of grasping the real movement in a similar manner?

Before the proletariat fights out its victories on the barricades and in the battle lines it gives notice of its impending rule with a series of intellectual victories.

The reader will note how here, instead of the sentimental, moral and psychological criticism employed against existing conditions by Weitling and other workers who engage in authorship, a purely materialist understanding and a freer one, unspoilt by sentimental whims, confronts bourgeois society and its movement. Whereas craftsmen resist the collapse of their semi-medieval position and would like to unite *as craftsmen*, particularly in Germany and to a great extent also in France, the subjection of craft labour to large-scale industry is comprehended here as a step forward and celebrated, while at the same time, in the results and productions of large-scale industry, the real preconditions of the proletarian revolution, generated by history itself and daily generating themselves anew, are recognised and revealed.

Written in October 1850

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* No. 5-6, 1850, marked by the editors "Editorial Comment"

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Published in English for the first time

[a] The word *Schneidershop* used in the original is a mixture of the German *Schneider* and the English "shop".—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [ON THE SLOGAN OF THE ABOLITION OF THE STATE AND THE GERMAN "FRIENDS OF ANARCHY"][346]

"The abolition of the state has meaning with the Communists, only as the necessary consequence of the abolition of classes, with which the need for the organised might of one class to keep the others down automatically disappears. In *bourgeois* countries the abolition of the state means that the power of the state is reduced to the level found in North America. There, the class contradictions are but incompletely developed; every clash between the classes is concealed by the outflow of the surplus proletarian population to the west; intervention by the power of the state, reduced to a minimum in the east, does not exist at all in the west. In *feudal* countries the abolition of the state means the abolition of feudalism and the creation of an ordinary bourgeois state. In *Germany* it conceals either a cowardly flight from the struggles that lie immediately ahead, a spurious inflating of *bourgeois* freedom into absolute independence and autonomy of the *individual*, or, finally, the indifference of the bourgeois towards all forms of state, provided the development of bourgeois interests is not obstructed. It is of course not the fault of the Berliners Stirner and Faucher that this abolition of the state 'in the higher sense' is being preached in so fatuous a way. *La plus belle fille de la France ne peut donner que ce qu'elle a.*"[a] (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* No. 4, p. 58.[b])

The abolition of the state, *anarchy*, has meanwhile become a universal catchword in Germany. The scattered German disciples of Proudhon, the "higher" democracy of Berlin and even the "noblest minds of the nation" of the Stuttgart parliament and the Imperial

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[a] The most beautiful girl in France can only give what she has.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 333-34.—*Ed.*

Regency,[347] now altogether vanished, have appropriated to themselves, each in his own fashion, this savage-looking slogan.

All of these factions agree in the maintenance of existing *bourgeois society*. Along with bourgeois society they therefore necessarily advocate the rule of the bourgeoisie and in Germany even the conquest of[a] power by the bourgeoisie; they are distinguished from the true representatives of the bourgeoisie only by the strange form which gives them the appearance of "going further", of "going further than anybody". In all practical collisions this appearance vanished; confronted by the *real* anarchy of revolutionary crises,[b] where the masses[c] [and the state power] fought each other with 'brute force', these representatives of anarchy on each occasion did their best to control the anarchy. In the end the content of this much-vaunted "anarchy" amounted to the same thing as is expressed by the word "order" in more developed countries. The "Friends of Anarchy" in Germany are in complete *entente cordiale* with the "Friends of Order" in France.

Insofar as the friends of anarchy are independent of the Frenchmen Proudhon and Girardin, insofar as their way of viewing things is of German origin, they all have a common source: *Stirner*. The period of dissolution of German philosophy has in general supplied the democratic party in Germany with most of its rhetorical commonplaces. The notions and phrases of the last of the German scripturists, namely Feuerbach and Stirner, had already before February,[d] in a somewhat dissolute form, passed into the general literary awareness and journalistic writing, and these again formed the principal source for the post-March democratic spokesmen. Stirner's sermon on statelessness in particular is excellently suited to give the 'superior consecration' of German philosophy to Proudhon's anarchy and Girardin's abolition of the state. Stirner's book *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum* is forgotten, it is true, but its manner of thinking, especially its criticism of the state, appears again in the friends of anarchy. Although we have already investigated the

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[a] Here the word "political" is crossed out in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[b] The words "where the state power disappeared before the might of the people" (wo die Staatsmacht vor der Macht der Massen verschwand) are crossed out in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[c] In the manuscript the following words are crossed out here; "have taken power into their own hands" (sich der Gewalt bemächtigen); judging from the context it should be replaced by: "und die Staatsmacht" (and the state power) as is reproduced by the editors in square brackets.—*Ed.*

[d] i.e. before the February 1848 Revolution in France.—*Ed.*

sources of these gentlemen insofar as they are of French origin,[a] we are once more constrained to descend into the depths of antediluvian German philosophy to examine their German sources. If one must, for one reason or another, concern oneself with day-to-day German polemics, it is always more pleasant to deal with the original inventor of a conception than with its second-hand pedlars.

> Saddle me my Hippogryph once more, O Muse,
> For a ride into th' old, romantic land![b]

Before we take up Stirner's above-mentioned book we carry ourselves back into the "old, romantic land" and into the forgotten time in which this book appeared. The Prussian bourgeoisie, fastening upon the financial embarrassments of the government, began to conquer political power while simultaneously, alongside the bourgeois-constitutional movement, the communist movement of the proletariat was daily gaining ground. The bourgeois elements of society, still needing proletarian support to attain their own goals, had everywhere to affect a kind of socialism; the conservative and feudal party was similarly forced to make promises to the proletariat. Alongside the struggle of the bourgeois and the peasants against feudal aristocracy and bureaucracy, we had the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and in between these a series of intermediate stages of socialism, embracing all kinds of socialism, reactionary, petty-bourgeois and bourgeois socialism; all these struggles and endeavours held down, damped down in their expression by the pressure of the ruling power, by the censorship, by the prohibition of associations and assemblies—such was the situation of the parties in the period in which German philosophy celebrated its last meagre triumphs.

Right from the start the censorship forced the most abstract mode of expression upon all more or less unpopular elements; the German philosophical tradition, which had just reached the complete dissolution of the Hegelian school, provided this expression. The struggle against religion was still being pursued. The more difficult the political struggle against established power became in the press, the more eagerly it was carried on in the form of the religious and philosophical struggle. German philosophy in its most dissolute form became the common property of the "educated", and the more it became common property, the more dissolute, confused and stale the philosophers became, and this dissoluteness and staleness

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[a] See this volume, pp. 326-37.—*Ed.*
[b] From Wieland's poem "Oberon".—*Ed.*

again gave it a so much higher reputation in the eyes of the "educated" public.

The confusion in the heads of the "educated" was terrifying, and it increased with every moment. It was a real mongrelising of ideas of German, French, English, antique, medieval and modern origin. The confusion was so much the greater because all the ideas were only possessed at second, third and fourth hand, and thus circulated in a form distorted beyond recognition. This fate was not only shared by the thoughts of the French and English liberals and socialists, but also by the ideas of Germans, for instance of Hegel. The whole literature of this period, and especially, as we shall see, Stirner's book, provides countless proofs of this, and present-day German literature is still labouring under the consequences.

In this confusion, the philosophical shadow-boxing served as an image of the real struggles. Every "new turn" in philosophy excited the general attention of the "educated", who in Germany comprised a vast number of idle heads, articled clerks, aspirants to school posts, failed theologians, out-of-work medicos, literati, etc., etc. For these people a historical stage of development was superseded and done for for ever with every such "new turn". Bourgeois liberalism, for instance, as soon as any philosopher had criticised it in any way, was dead, erased from historical development and also annihilated as far as practice was concerned. Likewise republicanism, socialism and so on. How far these stages of development were "annihilated", "dissolved" and "done for" was subsequently shown in the revolution, when they played the most important part and when there was suddenly no more talk of their philosophical annihilators.

The slovenliness in form and content, the arrogant platitudes and inflated insipidity, the unfathomable triviality and dialectical poverty of these latest German philosophers exceed anything that has previously existed in this discipline. It is only equalled by the unbelievable gullibility of the public, which took all these things at face value, for brand new, for "never seen before". The German nation, the "thorough"...[a]

Written not later than October 1850

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[a] The manuscript breaks off here.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## REVIEW

May to October [1850][348]

The political turmoil of the last six months is fundamentally different from that which immediately preceded it. Everywhere the revolutionary party has been forced off the stage and the victors are quarrelling over the fruits of victory. Thus it is in France with the various factions of the bourgeoisie and in Germany with the various princes. The quarrel is being conducted with a great deal of noise, and it appears inevitable that there will be an open break and that the issue will be decided by force of arms; however what is inevitable is that the arms will remain unused and that peace treaties will time and again be used to conceal the indecision, so as to prepare for another sham war.

Let us first examine the underlying *reality* beneath this superficial turbulence.

The years 1843-45 were years of industrial and commercial prosperity, necessary consequences of the almost uninterrupted depression of industry in the period 1837-42. As always, prosperity very rapidly gave rise to speculation. Speculation regularly occurs at times when over-production is already in full swing. It provides channels by which this over-production may temporarily be diverted, whilst by this very process hastening the onset of the crisis and magnifying its impact. The crisis itself first breaks out in the field of speculation and only seizes hold of production later. Not over-production, but over-speculation, itself only a symptom of over-production, therefore appears to the superficial view as the cause of the crisis. The subsequent disruption of production appears not as a necessary consequence of its own previous exuberance, but merely as a repercussion of the collapse of speculation. However, as we cannot at the present moment give a complete history of the

crisis[a] [after] 1843-45, we shall simply list the most significant of these same *symptoms* of over-production.

In the years of prosperity from 1843 to 1845 the principal targets for speculation were railways, where it was based on a real need; corn, following the price rises of 1845 and the potato blight; cotton, after the bad harvest of 1846; and trade with East India and China, where it followed hard upon the opening up of the Chinese market by Great Britain.

The expansion of the British railway system had already begun in 1844 but did not develop fully until 1845. In that year alone the number of registered bills[b] for the setting up of railway companies amounted to 1,035. In February 1846, after a vast number of these registered projects had already been abandoned, the moneys which were required to be deposited with the government for the remaining projects still totalled the enormous sum of £14,000,000 and even in 1847 the sum total of moneys called for exceeded £42,000,000, of which over 36 million were for railways in Britain and later[c] $5^1/_2$ million for those abroad. This speculation had its heyday in the summer and autumn of 1845. Share prices rose continuously, and the speculators' profits soon drew every class of society into the whirlpool. Dukes and earls vied with merchants and manufacturers for the lucrative honour of sitting on the boards of the various lines; the members of the Lower House, the Bar and the Church were represented in strength on these bodies. Anybody who had a penny in savings, or who had the merest glimmer of credit to dispose of, speculated in railway shares. The number of railway newspapers rose from 3 to more than 20. Some large daily newspapers would often earn £14,000 in a week from railway advertisements and prospectuses. Engineers were simply not to be had in sufficient numbers and received enormous salaries. Printers, lithographers, bookbinders, stationers, etc., etc., who were set to preparing prospectuses, plans, maps, etc., etc., and furniture manufacturers who furnished the spate of offices of the countless new boards of management, provisional committees and the like, were paid munificently. Based on the real expansion of the British and continental railway systems and the speculation which was bound up with it, there gradually arose during this period a superstructure of fraud reminiscent of the time of Law and of the

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[a] In a copy of the "Review" containing Engels' corrections the word "crisis" is replaced by the word "period".—*Ed.*

[b] The authors use the English word.—*Ed.*

[c] In a copy of the "Review" containing Engels' corrections the word *später* (later) is replaced by *über* (over).—*Ed.*

South Sea Company.[349] There were projects for hundreds of lines which had not the slightest chance of success, which their very authors never had any intention of really carrying out, and whose sole purpose indeed was to enable the directors to squander the deposits, and to make fraudulent profits from the sale of the shares.

In October 1845 the reaction set in and grew in intensity until it soon became complete panic. Even before February 1846, when the deposits had to be paid to the government, the least viable projects had gone bankrupt. In April 1846 the repercussion had already reached the continental share markets. In Paris, Hamburg, Frankfurt and Amsterdam there was forced selling at very reduced prices, which brought bankruptcies of bankers and brokers in its train. The railway crisis dragged on into the autumn of 1848, prolonged by successive bankruptcies even of less unsound projects, as these were gradually affected by the general pressure and as invested money was called in, and accentuated by the spreading of the crisis to the other areas of speculation, trade and industry, as well, which progressively depressed the price of the older and sounder shares until these reached their lowest level in October 1848.

It was in August 1845 that the public first became aware of the potato blight which was appearing not only in Great Britain and Ireland but on the Continent as well—the first symptom that the roots of existing society were rotten. At the same time reports were coming in which no longer left any room for doubt about the expected grave deficiency in the corn harvest too. The price of corn rose significantly on all European markets as a result of these two circumstances; in Ireland there was universal famine which forced the British Government to make a loan of £8 million to that province—exactly one pound sterling for each Irishman. In France, where the calamity was further aggravated by the floods which caused damage to the value of some £4 million, the harvest failure was unusually severe. No less so in Holland and Belgium. The poor harvest of 1845 was followed by a worse one in 1846, and the potato blight also reappeared, although on a smaller scale. Thus speculation in grain was given an entirely real basis and it developed all the more powerfully since the abundant harvests of 1842-44 had long held it down almost completely. In the years 1845-47 more grain was imported into Britain than ever before. The price of corn rose continuously until the spring of 1847, when varying reports from the different countries about the new harvest and the measures taken by various governments (opening of the ports to the free import of corn, etc., etc.) ushered in a period of fluctuation, and prices finally

reached their peak in May 1847. In that month the average price of a quarter of wheat in Great Britain rose to $102^1/_2$ shillings and on some days to 115 and 124 shillings. But soon decidedly favourable reports came in about the weather and the ripening harvest; prices fell, and by mid-July the average price stood at only 74 shillings. Less favourable weather in some parts caused prices to rise again somewhat, until it was finally clear towards the middle of August that the 1847 harvest would be above average. The downward trend was now no longer to be contained; supplies to Great Britain increased beyond all expectation, and by September 18 the average price had been reduced to $49^1/_2$ shillings. Within the space of 16 weeks the average price had thus fluctuated by no less than 53 shillings.

Throughout this period there had not only been a continuation of the railway crisis, but at the very moment when corn prices were at their highest, in April and May 1847, the credit system was also completely dislocated and the money market completely disrupted. The speculators in corn nevertheless withstood the fall in prices until August 2. On that day the Bank raised its lowest rate of discount to 5 per cent and for all bills of exchange at over two months to 6 per cent. There immediately followed a series of the most sensational bankruptcies on the Corn Exchange, headed by that of Mr. Robinson, Governor of the Bank of England. In London alone eight large corn companies failed, their liabilities together amounting to more than £$1^1/_2$ million. The provincial corn markets were completely paralysed; bankruptcies followed hard upon each other here, especially in Liverpool, with equal speed. The corresponding business failures on the Continent in this field occurred with greater or lesser rapidity, depending on the distance from London. By September 18, the date of the lowest corn prices, the corn crisis in England can however be regarded as over.

We now come to the commercial crisis proper, the money crisis. In the first four months of 1847 the general condition of trade and industry still appeared satisfactory, with the exception however of iron production and the cotton industry. Iron production, inflated to an enormous degree by the railway bubble of 1845, naturally suffered in proportion as the outlets diminished for the excess quantity of iron produced. In the cotton industry, the main branch of industry for the East Indian and Chinese markets, there had been over-production for these markets as early as 1845, and a relative recession had occurred very soon. The poor cotton harvest of 1846, the rise in the price both of the raw material and of the finished product, and the reduced consumption this entailed, increased the pressure on this industry. In the early months of 1847 production

was cut back considerably throughout Lancashire, and the cotton workers were already affected by the crisis.

On April 15, 1847, the Bank of England raised its lowest rate of discount on very short bills to 5 per cent; it restricted the total value of the bills to be discounted, and this without regard to the nature of the businesses on which the bills were drawn; finally it abruptly announced to the merchants to whom it had made advances that it would no longer renew these advances when they fell due, as it had usually done before, but [would] demand repayment. Two days later the publication of its weekly balance showed that the reserve fund of the Banking Department[a] had fallen to £2½ million. The Bank had thus taken the above measures to stem the outflow of gold from its vaults and increase its liquidity once more.

Various causes underlay the outflow of gold and silver from the Bank. Firstly, consumption and the significantly higher prices of almost all goods required an increase in circulation, especially of gold and silver, for retail trade. Then the continuing investment in railway construction, which in April alone had totalled £4,314,000, had made necessary the withdrawal of a mass of deposits from the Bank. A portion of the money called in, being destined for railways abroad, flowed directly overseas. The significant excess of imported sugar, coffee and other colonial products, whose consumption and whose prices had been pushed up even more by speculation,[b] of cotton following speculative buying now that a poor harvest had become a certainty, and especially of corn following the repeated crop failures, had to be paid for largely in cash or bullion, which also resulted in a significant outflow of gold and silver overseas. This outflow of precious metals from Great Britain incidentally continued until the end of August despite the above measures taken by the Bank.

The Bank's decisions and the news of the low level of its reserves immediately created pressure on the money market and panic throughout commerce in Great Britain of an intensity only seen in 1845. In the last weeks of April and the first four days of May almost all credit transactions were paralysed. There were, however, no abnormal bankruptcies; businesses survived by enormous interest payments and forced sales of stocks, government securities, etc., at ruinous prices. Even some of the sounder businesses merely prepared the ground for their later collapse by their escape from this first act of the crisis. The overcoming of the first, most menacing

[a] The authors use the English words "Banking Department".—*Ed.*

[b] In Engels' copy: "whose consumption and especially whose prices had been pushed up by speculation".—*Ed.*

danger contributed considerably to an increase of confidence; from May 5 the pressure on the money market slackened visibly, and towards the end of May the alarm was more or less over.

A few months later, however, at the beginning of August, there occurred the above-mentioned bankruptcies in the corn trade, which continued into September, and hardly had they run their course when the crisis broke out with redoubled fury throughout commerce, especially in the East Indian, West Indian and Mauritius trade, and indeed simultaneously in London, Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow. During September twenty businesses failed in London alone, their total liabilities amounting to between £9 and £10 million.

"There were uprootings of commercial dynasties in England not less striking than the fall of those political houses" on the Continent "of which we have lately heard so much," said Disraeli on August 30, 1848, in the Lower House.

The failures in the East Indian business continued without respite until the end of the year and began again in the early months of 1848 when the news came in of the bankruptcy of corresponding companies in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Mauritius.

This series of bankruptcies, unprecedented in the history of commerce, was caused by the general over-speculation and by the excessive importing of colonial products that this involved. The prices of these goods, which had long been kept artificially high, fell in some cases even before the panic of April 1847, but fell generally and significantly only *after* this panic, when the whole credit system collapsed and one business after another was driven to make massive forced sales. This downward trend was so steep, especially from June and July until November, that even the oldest and soundest businesses could not escape being ruined by it.

The bankruptcies in September were still confined exclusively to *actual commercial enterprises.* On October 1 the Bank raised its lowest discount for short bills to 5½ per cent and declared at the same time that henceforth it would make no more advances on any government securities of whatever kind. Now the *joint-stock banks* and *private bankers* could no longer withstand the pressure either. The Royal Bank of Liverpool, the Liverpool Banking Company, the North and South Wales Bank, the Newcastle Union Joint-Stock Bank, etc., etc., succumbed one after the other within a few days. At the same time declarations of insolvency were made by a number of minor private bankers in every corner of Great Britain.

Consequent upon this general closure of the banks which characterised October in particular, there followed in Liverpool, Manchester, Oldham, Halifax, Glasgow, etc., a significant number of

bankruptcies of stock-, bill-, share-, ship-, tea- and cotton-brokers, iron producers and iron-merchants, cotton and wool spinners, calico-printers, etc. According to Mr. Tooke these bankruptcies were unprecedented in the history of British commerce, both in terms of their number and the amount of capital involved, and far exceeded those of the 1825 crisis.[a] The crisis had reached its peak on October 23-25, and all commercial transactions had come to a complete standstill. At this point a deputation from the City obtained a suspension of the Bank Act of 1844, that brainchild of the late Sir Robert Peel.[350] This suspension temporarily put an end to the division of the Bank into two completely independent departments with two separate cash accounts; if the old system had continued for a few days longer, one of these departments, the Banking Department,[b] would inevitably have failed, whilst the Issue Department[b] had gold reserves of six million.

The first repercussions of the crisis appeared on the *Continent* as early as October. Major bankruptcies occurred simultaneously in Brussels, Hamburg, Bremen, Elberfeld, Genoa, Leghorn, Courtrai, St. Petersburg, Lisbon and Venice. As the crisis abated in intensity in Great Britain, so it increased on the Continent and affected places that it had not hitherto reached. In the worst period the exchange rate favoured Great Britain, which consequently attracted a constantly increasing flow of gold and silver from November onwards, not only from Russia and the Continent, but also from America. The immediate result of this was that as the money market eased in Great Britain, it contracted elsewhere in the commercial world and the crisis spread there to an equal extent. The number of bankruptcies outside Great Britain thus rose in November; major insolvencies now also occurred in New York, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Le Havre, Bayonne, Antwerp, Mons, Trieste, Madrid and Stockholm. In December the crisis also broke out in Marseilles and Algiers, and acquired renewed vigour in Germany.

We have now reached the point at which the February Revolution broke out in France. If one looks at the list of bankruptcies which Mr. D. M. Evans gives as an appendix to his *Commercial Crisis 1847-1848* (London, 1848),[c] one finds that in Britain *not a single business of any note collapsed* as a result of this revolution. The only insolvencies connected with it occurred on the stock market, as a result of the

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[a] Th. Tooke, *A History of Prices, and of the State of the Circulation, from 1839 to 1847 inclusive*, London, 1848, p. 316.— *Ed.*

[b] The names of the Bank departments are given in English in the original.— *Ed.*

[c] D. M. Evans, *The Commercial Crisis 1847-1848*, Appendix, pp. LXX-LXXX.— *Ed.*

sudden devaluation of all continental government stock. Similar bankruptcies of stock-brokers in Amsterdam, Hamburg, etc., as well, of course. British consols fell by 6 per cent, whereas they had fallen by 3 per cent after the July Revolution.[a] For stockjobbers therefore the Republic of February was only twice as dangerous as the July monarchy.

The panic which broke out in Paris after February and spread throughout the Continent at the same time as the revolutions, had a great deal of similarity to the London panic of April 1847. Credit suddenly vanished, and business transactions almost all came to a halt; in Paris, Brussels and Amsterdam everybody rushed to the Bank to exchange notes for gold; by and large, however, very few bankruptcies occurred outside the stock market, and even these few cannot easily be shown to be necessary consequences of the February Revolution. The Paris bank closures, which were mostly only of brief duration, were in part connected with the stock market, in part merely precautionary measures and certainly not the result of real insolvency, and finally in part the product of deliberate machinations to harass the Provisional Government and compel it to make concessions. In the case of failures of bankers and traders in other places on the Continent, it is impossible to decide to what extent they arose from the continuation and gradual spread of the commercial crisis, to what extent the conditions of the day were at the same time used by businesses which had long been on the road to ruin in order to effect a judicious exit, or to what extent they were really consequences of losses resulting from the revolution panic. However, this much at least is certain, that the commercial crisis contributed infinitely more to the revolutions of 1848 than the revolution to the commercial crisis. Already between March and May Britain derived direct advantage from the revolution, which brought her large amounts of continental capital. From this moment on the crisis there must be regarded as over; in every branch of business an improvement came about, and the new industrial cycle began with a marked tendency towards prosperity. Just how little the revolution on the Continent hindered this upsurge of industry and trade in Great Britain is demonstrated by the fact that the quantity of cotton manufactured there rose from £475 million (1847) to £713 million (1848).

This renewed prosperity made visible progress in *Great Britain* during the three years 1848, 1849 and 1850. For the eight months from January to August, Great Britain's total exports amounted to

[a] Of 1830.—*Ed.*

£31,633,214 in 1848; to £39,263,322 in 1849; to £43,851,568 in 1850. Besides this significant rise, which was manifest in all branches of business with the exception of iron production, there were also the universally good harvests of these three years. The average price of wheat for 1848-50 fell to 36 shillings per quarter in Great Britain and to 32 shillings in France. What distinguishes this period of prosperity is that three main outlets for speculation were blocked. Railway construction had reverted to the slow development of an ordinary industry; with a series of abundant harvests, grain offered no scope; the revolutions had deprived government stock of its characteristic reliability, which is a prerequisite for the large-scale speculative turnover of stock. In every period of prosperity, capital is increased. On the one hand, increased production creates new capital; on the other hand, existing capital which was lying dormant during the crisis, is brought out of its inactivity and cast on to the market. In the absence of outlets for speculation between 1848 and 1850, this *additional* capital was of necessity injected into industry itself, and thus increased production even more rapidly. How striking this is in Great Britain, although no one can explain it, is demonstrated by the naive observations of *The Economist* on October 19, 1850.

"It is remarked that the present prosperity differs substantially from that of all former periods, in all of which there was some baseless speculation exciting hopes that were destined not to be realised. At one time it was foreign mines, at another more railways than could be conveniently made in half a century. Even when such speculations were well founded, they contemplated a realisation of income, from raising metals or creating new conveniences and markets,[a] at the end of a considerable period, and afforded no immediate reward. But at present our prosperity is founded on the production of things immediately useful, and that go into consumption nearly as fast as they are brought to market, returning to the producers a fair remuneration and stimulating more production."

The most striking demonstration of the great increase in industrial production in 1848 and 1849 is provided by the most important sector of industry, cotton manufacturing. The cotton harvest of 1849 in the United States was more abundant than any previous one. It amounted to 2¾ million bales or approximately 1,200 million pounds. The expansion of the cotton industry kept pace with this increased supply to such an extent that at the end of 1849 stocks were lower than they had been even after years of bad harvest. In 1849 over 775 million pounds of cotton were spun, whereas in 1845,

[a] The words "and markets" were added by the authors.—*Ed.*

the year of the greatest prosperity hitherto, only 721 million had been manufactured. The expansion of the cotton industry is further demonstrated by the great rise in the price of cotton (55 per cent) as a result of a comparatively insignificant decline in the yield in 1850. At least equal progress is manifested in all the other branches, such as spinning and weaving of silk, wool, mixtures and linen. The export of the products of these industries rose so considerably, especially in 1850, that it brought about the great rise in overall exports of that year (12 million compared with 1848, 4 million compared with the first eight months of 1849), although the export of cotton goods decreased noticeably in 1850 as a result of the poor cotton harvest. Despite the significant rise in the price of wool, which speculation appeared to be causing as early as 1849 and which has nevertheless continued until the present, the woollen industry has been continuously expanding and new looms are brought into commission daily. In 1844, the year of the highest linen exports hitherto, exports of linen fabrics totalled 91 million yards, having a value of £2,800,000, and in 1849 they reached the level of 107 million yards, having a value of over £3,000,000.

Another demonstration of the growth of British industry is provided by the constantly increasing consumption of the main colonial products, especially of coffee, sugar and tea, at a time of continuously rising prices, at least of the first two items. This increase in consumption is all the more directly a consequence of the expansion of industry as the exceptional market since 1845, which was produced by the extraordinary investment in railways, has long been reduced to its normal dimensions, and the low corn prices of the last few years have not permitted any increased consumption in agricultural areas.

The great expansion in the cotton industry in 1849 led in the last few months of that year to a renewed attempt to make use of the East Indian and Chinese markets. But the quantity of old stocks that had not yet been disposed of in those areas soon imposed restraints on this attempt once more. At the same time, with the rising consumption of raw materials and colonial products, an attempt was made to speculate also in these articles, but that too was soon terminated by a temporary increase in supplies and by the memory of the still too recent wounds of 1847.

The prosperity of industry will be further increased by the recent opening up of the Dutch colonies, by the imminent establishment of new lines of communication in the Pacific Ocean, of which we shall have more to say, and by the great industrial exhibition of 1851. This exhibition had already been announced by the British bourgeoisie in

1849, with the most astounding sang-froid, when the dreams of the whole Continent were still haunted by revolution. Under its auspices the British bourgeoisie is summoning every one of its vassals from France to China to gather for a great examination at which they will have to show how they have used their time; and even the omnipotent Tsar of Russia[a] cannot but command his subjects to appear in large numbers at this great test. This great world congress of products and producers has an altogether different significance from the absolutist congresses of Bregenz and Warsaw,[351] which are putting our democratic philistines on the Continent into such a sweat, or the European democratic congresses which the various provisional governments *in partibus*[b] are constantly planning anew for the salvation of the world. This exhibition is a striking demonstration of the concentrated power with which modern large-scale industry is breaking down national barriers everywhere and increasingly blurring local peculiarities of production, social relations and the character of each individual nation. By displaying, narrowly confined within a small space, the whole mass of the productive forces of modern industry, precisely at a time when modern bourgeois relations have already been undermined from every side, it is at the same time exposing to view the material which has been produced amidst these conditions of decay and is still being produced each day for the building of a new society. By means of this exhibition the bourgeoisie of the world is erecting in the modern Rome its Pantheon in which to exhibit with proud self-satisfaction the gods it has made to itself. In so doing it is proving in practice that the "impotence and annoyance of the citizen", about which German ideologists have been preaching year in, year out, is only the impotence of these gentlemen themselves to comprehend the modern movement, and their own annoyance at this impotence. The bourgeoisie is celebrating this, its greatest festival, at a moment when the collapse of all its glory is at hand, a collapse which will demonstrate more conclusively than ever to it that the powers it has brought into being have grown beyond its control. At a future exhibition the bourgeois will perhaps no longer figure as owners of these productive forces but only as their ciceroni.

Just as the potato blight in 1845 and 1846, since the beginning of this year the deficiency of the cotton harvest is spreading universal terror amongst the bourgeoisie. This terror has been further

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[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

[b] Here governments *in partibus* means governments with nobody to govern, by analogy with Roman Catholic bishops *in partibus infidelium*, i. e. bishops appointed to dioceses in non-Christian countries.—*Ed.*

considerably intensified since it has become clear that the cotton harvest of 1851 will certainly not prove to be much more abundant than that of 1850 either. The deficiency, which would have been insignificant in former times, is of major proportions in view of the present size of the cotton industry and has already had a most restrictive effect on its activity. The bourgeoisie, which had scarcely recovered from the depressing discovery that one of the basic pillars of its whole social order, the potato, was in danger, now sees its second pillar, cotton, threatened as well. If but a single moderately poor cotton harvest and the prospect of a second one could provoke grave alarm amid the jubilation of prosperity, a few years in succession of outright failure in cotton will inevitably hurl the whole of civilised society temporarily back into barbarism. The golden age and the iron age are long past; it remained for the nineteenth century with its intelligence, its world market and its colossal productive forces to create the *cotton age.* The British bourgeoisie at the same time felt more than ever before what an oppressive domination the United States has over them through its as yet unbroken monopoly of cotton production. They at once set about the business of breaking this monopoly. Not only in East India but also in Natal and the northern parts of Australia and indeed in every part of the world where climate and conditions permit the cultivation of cotton, they have decided to promote it by every means. At the same time the British bourgeoisie who sympathise with the Negroes are discovering that "the prosperity of Manchester dependent on the treatment of slaves in Texas, Alabama and Louisiana, is as curious as it is alarming". (*The Economist,* September 21, 1850.[a]) The fact that the crucial sector of British industry is based on the existence of slavery in the southern states of the American Union and that a Negro revolt in those areas can ruin the whole present system of production is of course very depressing for the people who a few years ago spent £20 million on the emancipation of the Negroes in their own colonies.[352] This fact, however, at the same time leads to the only feasible solution to the slave question, which has now once more led to such long and heated debates in the American Congress. American cotton production is based on slavery. As soon as industry has developed to the point when the cotton monopoly of the United States has become intolerable to it, cotton will be successfully produced in vast quantities in other countries, which almost everywhere can now only be done through *free workers.*

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[a] "Slavery in the United States. To the Editor of *The Economist*", *The Economist* No. 369, September 21, 1850.—*Ed.*

But as soon as the free labour of other countries provides industry with its cotton supplies in sufficient quantity and more cheaply than the slave labour of the United States, American slavery will have been broken at the same time as the American cotton monopoly, and the slaves will be emancipated because as slaves they will have become unusable. In exactly the same way wage labour will be abolished in Europe as soon as it not only ceases to be a necessary form of production, but has even become a hindrance to it.

If the new cycle of industrial development which began in 1848 follows the same course as that of 1843-47, the crisis would break out in 1852. As a symptom of the fact that the over-speculation which is produced by over-production, and which precedes every crisis, can no longer be far away, we would mention here that for two years the Bank of England's rate of discount has stood no higher than 3 per cent.[a] If however the Bank of England keeps its interest rate low in times of prosperity, the other money merchants must set theirs even lower, just as in times of crisis, when the Bank raises the interest rate significantly, they keep it above that of the Bank. The additional capital which, as we saw above, is regularly cast on to the loan market in times of prosperity, by itself depresses the rate of interest significantly, according to the laws of competition; this rate is however reduced to a much greater degree by the credit, which has been enormously swollen by the general prosperity, as this diminishes the demand for capital. In these periods the government is enabled to bring down the interest rate on its consolidated debts and the landowner to renew his mortgages on more favourable conditions. Thus, at a time when the income of all the other classes is rising, the capitalists of the loan market see their own diminished by a third or more. The longer this state of affairs lasts, the more they are compelled to look around for a more profitable investment for their capital. Over-production gives rise to numerous new projects, and the success of a few of them suffices to propel a whole series of capital investments in the same direction, until the bubble gradually becomes universal. At this moment there are, however, as we have seen, only two possible major outlets for speculation: cotton growing and the new world market links which have been created by the development of California and Australia. One can see that it will have vastly greater scope for its activity this time than it had in any previous period of prosperity.

Let us also take a look at the situation in the agricultural areas of Great Britain. Here the abolition of the duty on corn and the

[a] The text of the "Review" mistakenly has 2 per cent.—*Ed.*

simultaneous abundant harvests have made the general pressure chronic, though to some extent reduced by the significantly increased consumption resulting from prosperity. Furthermore, farm workers at least always find themselves in a relatively improved position when corn prices are low, although this improvement is less marked in Great Britain than in countries where fragmentation of landed property predominates. In these conditions the protectionists continue to agitate in the farming districts for restoration of the duty on corn, although less explicitly, more covertly than before. It is obvious that their agitation will have no significance at all as long as industrial prosperity and the relatively more tolerable situation of the farm workers last. However as soon as the crisis breaks out and has repercussions on the farming districts, the depression in agriculture will rouse feelings in the countryside to an unusually high degree. On this occasion for the first time the industrial and commercial crisis will coincide with a crisis in agriculture, and in all questions in which town and country, manufacturers and landowners are opposed to one another, both parties will be supported by two great armies; the manufacturers by the mass of industrial workers, the landowners by the mass of agricultural workers.

We now come to the *United States of North America.* The crisis of 1836, which had its first and most violent manifestations there, lasted almost without interruption until 1842 and resulted in a complete revolution in the American credit system. On this sounder basis, trade in the United States recovered, admittedly very slowly at first, until from 1844 and 1845 onwards prosperity grew there significantly too. Both the rise in prices and the revolutions in Europe were for America simply sources of profit. From 1845 to 1847 it profited from the enormous export of corn and from the increased price of cotton after 1846. It was only little affected by the crisis of 1847. The 1849 cotton harvest was its largest yet, and in 1850 it profited by about $20 million from the poor cotton harvest, which coincided with the new upsurge in the European cotton industry. The revolutions of 1848 resulted in a great outflow of European capital to the United States, which in part arrived with the immigrants themselves and in part was invested from Europe in American government stock. This increased demand for American consolidated stocks raised the price of the latter to such an extent that speculators in New York have recently been falling over themselves in pursuit of them. Despite all assurances to the contrary from the reactionary bourgeois press, we therefore persist in our opinion that the only form of state in which our European capitalists have confidence is the *bourgeois republic.* Indeed, bourgeois confidence in any form of state only

expresses itself in one way: by *its quotation on the Stock Exchange.*

The prosperity of the United States was increased even more however by other factors. The inhabited area, the *market* of the North American Union, was expanding in two directions with surprising rapidity. The growth of the population, both by natural increase and by the constant rise in immigration, led to the effective control[a] of whole states and territories. Wisconsin and Iowa became comparatively densely populated within a few years, and all the upper Mississippi states received immigrants in significantly larger numbers. The working of the mines on Lake Superior and the rising corn production in the whole area of the Lakes gave trade and shipping on this major inland waterway system a new impulse which will be further increased as a result of an act passed by the last session of Congress greatly facilitating trade with Canada and Nova Scotia. Whilst the north-western states have thus acquired importance of a quite new order, Oregon has been colonised within a few years, Texas and New Mexico annexed and California conquered. The discovery of the Californian gold-mines set the seal on the prosperity of America. In the second issue of this *Revue*[b] we have already pointed out, before any other European periodical, the importance of the discovery and the consequences it is bound to have for the whole of world trade. This importance lies not in the increase in the amount of gold through the discovery of new mines, although this increase in the means of exchange could certainly not fail to have a positive effect on trade in general either. It lies in the incentive which the mineral wealth of California gave to capital on the world market, in the activity which was generated throughout the west coast of America and the east coast of Asia, in the new market for goods which was created in California and in all the countries within California's influence. The Californian market is considerable enough by itself; a year ago there were 100,000 and now at least 300,000 people there producing scarcely anything but gold, and exchanging this gold for all their requirements from markets else where. But the Californian market is insignificant compared with the continuing expansion of all the markets of the Pacific Ocean, compared with the striking growth in trade in Chile and Peru, in Western Mexico and on the Sandwich Islands,[c] and compared with the sudden development of Asian and Australian traffic with

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[a] In Engels' copy of the "Review" the word *Überwachung* (control) is replaced by *Urbarmachung* (reclamation).— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 265-66.— *Ed.*

[c] Now the Hawaiian Islands.— *Ed.*

California. California has created a need for totally new lines of world communication, lines which are bound shortly to exceed all others in importance. The main trade route to the Pacific Ocean, which has only now really been opened up and which is becoming the most important ocean in the world, will henceforth cross the Isthmus of Panama. The establishment of communications on this isthmus by means of roads, railways and canals has now become the most urgent requirement of world trade and is already being tackled in some places. The railway from Chagres to Panama is already being built. An American company is having the area of the San Juan de Nicaragua River surveyed in order to connect the two oceans initially by an overland route and subsequently by a canal at this point. Other routes, such as that across the Isthmus of Darien, the Atrato route in New Granada[a] and that across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, are being discussed in British and American papers. In view of the whole civilised world's newly and suddenly revealed ignorance of the nature of the terrain in Central America, it is impossible to decide which route is the most advantageous for a large canal; to judge by the few facts that are known, the Atrato route and the route across Panama are the most promising. In connection with the communications across the isthmus, the rapid expansion of ocean steam navigation has become equally pressing. Steamships already ply between Southampton and Chagres, New York and Chagres, Valparaiso, Lima, Panama, Acapulco and San Francisco; but these few lines with their small number of steamers are far from adequate. It is becoming daily more necessary to supplement the steamship services between Europe and Chagres, and the growing traffic between Asia, Australia and America is demanding new, large-scale steamship services from Panama and San Francisco to Canton, Singapore, Sydney, New Zealand and the most important port-of-call in the Pacific Ocean, the Sandwich Islands. Of all areas of the Pacific Ocean, Australia and New Zealand in particular have made the greatest advance, both on account of the rapid progress of colonisation and on account of the influence of California, and will not stand a moment longer being isolated from the civilised world by a four- to six-month voyage by sail. The total population of the Australian colonies (not including New Zealand) rose from 170, 676 (1839) to 333,764 in 1848, thus increasing by $95^1/_2$ per cent in 9 years. Great Britain herself cannot leave these colonies without a steamer connection; the government is negotiating at this moment for a line to join up with the East Indian overland post, and whether

[a] Name changed to Colombia in 1863.—*Ed.*

this comes about or not, the need for a steamer connection with America and especially California, which was the destination of 3,500 emigrants from Australia last year, will soon take care of itself. One can really say that the earth has only begun to become round since this world-wide ocean steam navigation has become necessary.

This imminent expansion of steamship services will be further intensified by the above-mentioned opening up of the Dutch colonies and by the increased number of propeller-driven steamships which, it is becoming more and more evident, can transport emigrants faster, relatively more cheaply and more conveniently than sailing ships. In addition to the propeller-driven steamers which already go from Glasgow and Liverpool to New York, new ones are to be brought into service on this line, and a line is to be established between Rotterdam and New York. The extent indeed to which ocean steam navigation at present tends to be a target for capital is demonstrated by the continuing increase in the number of steamers competing on the run between Liverpool and New York, the establishment of quite new lines from Great Britain to the Cape and from New York to Le Havre, and a whole series of similar projects which are now being peddled about in New York.

With this flow of capital into overseas steamship services and the canalisation of the American isthmus, the foundation has already been laid for over-speculation in this field. The centre for this speculation is inevitably New York, which receives the bulk of the gold from California and which has already attracted most of the trade with California to itself and indeed plays the same role relative to the whole of America as London does relative to Europe. New York is already the centre for all the transatlantic steamship services; all the steamships in the Pacific Ocean belong to New York companies, and almost all new projects in this field emanate from New York. Speculation in overseas steamer services has already begun in New York. The Nicaragua Company, which originated in New York, likewise represents the beginning of speculation in the isthmus canals. Over-speculation will develop very soon, and even if British capital becomes involved on a large scale in all such undertakings, even if the London Stock Exchange is overwhelmed with similar projects of every kind, nevertheless this time New York will remain the centre of the whole swindle[a] and, as in 1836, will be the first to suffer when it collapses. Countless projects will be ruined, but like the British railway system in 1845, this time the *outline* at least of world-wide steam navigation will emerge from this

[a] Here Engels' copy has "1857" in the margin.—*Ed.*

over-speculation. However many companies go bankrupt, the steamships which are doubling traffic across the Atlantic, which are opening up the Pacific Ocean and are linking Australia, New Zealand, Singapore and China with America and reducing the length of a voyage round the world to four months—these will remain.

The prosperity of Great Britain and America soon had repercussions on the European continent. As early as the summer of 1849 factories in *Germany*, especially in the Rhine Province, were once more fairly busy, and from the end of 1849 the revival of business was general. This renewed prosperity, which our German burghers naively attribute to the establishment of peace and order, is in reality based solely on the renewed prosperity of Great Britain and the increased demand for industrial goods on the American and tropical markets. In 1850 industry and trade made yet further advances; exactly as in Great Britain there occurred a momentary surplus of capital and an extraordinary easing of the money market, and reports on the autumn fairs in Frankfurt and Leipzig sound extremely satisfactory to those members of the bourgeoisie who have a stake in them. Not for an instant were the disturbances in Schleswig-Holstein and Hesse-Cassel, the disputes concerning the union and the threatening notes sent by Austria and Prussia[353] able to hold up the development of all these symptoms of prosperity, as *The Economist* indeed observed[a] in its supercilious cockney[b] way.

The same symptoms have shown themselves in *France* since 1849, and particularly since the beginning of 1850.[c] The Parisian industries are abundantly employed and the cotton factories of Rouen and Mulhouse are also doing pretty well, although here, as in England, the high prices of the raw material have exercised a retarding influence. The development of prosperity in France was, in addition, especially promoted by the comprehensive tariff reform in Spain and by the reduction of the duties on various luxury articles in Mexico; the export of French commodities to both markets has considerably increased. The growth of capital in France led to a series of speculations, for which the large-scale exploitation of the Californian gold-mines served as a pretext. A swarm of companies has sprung up, the low denomination of whose shares

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[a] "Spirit of the Trade Circulars", *The Economist* No. 366, August 31, 1850.

[b] The authors use the English word.—*Ed.*

[c] In 1895 Engels included the section on the economic position of France up to the words "We now come to the political events..." in Chapter IV of Marx's *The Class Struggles in France* (see this volume, pp. 132-35).—*Ed.*

and whose socialist-coloured prospectuses appeal directly to the purses of the petty bourgeois and the workers, but which one and all result in that sheer swindling which is characteristic of the French and Chinese alone. One of these companies is even patronised directly by the government. The import duties in France during the first nine months of 1848 amounted to 63,000,000 francs, of 1849 to 95,000,000 francs and of 1850 to 93,000,000 francs. Moreover, in the month of September 1850, they again rose by more than a million compared with the same month of 1849. Exports also rose in 1849, and still more in 1850.

The most striking proof of restored prosperity is the bank's reintroduction of specie payment by the law of August 6, 1850. On March 15, 1848, the bank had been authorised to suspend specie payment. Its note circulation, including the provincial banks, amounted at that time to 373,000,000 francs (£14,920,000). On November 2, 1849, this circulation amounted to 482,000,000 francs, or £19,280,000, an increase of £4,360,000, and on September 2, 1850, to 496,000,000 francs, or £19,840,000, an increase of about £5,000,000. This was not accompanied by any devaluation of the notes; on the contrary, the increased circulation of the notes was accompanied by the steadily increasing accumulation of gold and silver in the vaults of the bank, so that in the summer of 1850 its metallic reserve amounted to about £14,000,000, an unprecedented sum in France. That the bank was thus placed in a position to increase its circulation and therewith its active capital by 123,000,000 francs, or £5,000,000, is striking proof of the correctness of our assertion in an earlier issue[a] that the finance aristocracy has not only not been overthrown by the revolution, but has even been strengthened. This result becomes still more evident from the following survey of French bank legislation during the last few years. On June 10, 1847, the bank was authorised to issue notes of 200 francs; hitherto the smallest denomination had been 500 francs. A decree of March 15, 1848, declared the notes of the Bank of France legal tender and relieved the bank of the obligation of redeeming them in specie. Its note issue was limited to 350,000,000 francs. It was simultaneously authorised to issue notes of 100 francs. A decree of April 27 prescribed the merging of the departmental banks in the Bank of France; another decree, of May 2, 1848, increased the latter's note issue to 452,000,000 francs. A decree of December 22, 1849, raised the maximum of the note issue to 525,000,000 francs.

[a] See pp. 114-18 (the reference is to the third issue of the *Revue*).—*Ed.*

Finally, the law of August 6, 1850, re-established the exchangeability of notes for specie. These facts, the continual increase in the circulation, the concentration of the whole of French credit in the hands of the bank and the accumulation of all French gold and silver in the bank's vaults, led M. Proudhon to the conclusion that the bank must now shed its old snakeskin and metamorphose itself into a Proudhonist people's bank.[354] He did not even need to know the history of the restriction on the English bank from 1797-1819[355]; he only needed to direct his glance across the Channel to see that this fact, for him unprecedented in the history of bourgeois society, was nothing more than a very normal bourgeois event, which now only occurred in France for the first time. One sees that the allegedly revolutionary theoreticians who, after the Provisional Government, talked big in Paris, were just as ignorant of the nature and the results of the measures taken as the gentlemen of the Provisional Government themselves.

In spite of the industrial and commercial prosperity that France momentarily enjoys, the mass of the people, the twenty-five million peasants, suffer from a great depression. The good harvests of the last few years have forced the prices of corn in France much lower even than in England, and the position of the peasants under such circumstances, in debt, sucked dry by usury and crushed by taxes, must be anything but splendid. The history of the last three years has, however, provided sufficient proof that this class of the population is absolutely incapable of any revolutionary initiative.

Just as the period of crisis occurs later on the Continent than in England, so does that of prosperity. The original process always takes place in England; it is the demiurge of the bourgeois cosmos. On the Continent, the different phases of the cycle through which bourgeois society is ever speeding anew occur in secondary and tertiary form. First, the Continent exported incomparably more to England than to any other country. This export to England, however, in turn depends on the position of England, particularly with regard to the overseas market. Then England exports to the overseas lands incomparably more than the entire Continent, so that the quantity of Continental exports to these lands is always dependent on England's overseas exports at the time. While, therefore, the crises first produce revolutions on the Continent, the foundation for these is, nevertheless, always laid in England. Violent outbreaks must naturally occur rather in the extremities of the bourgeois body than in its heart, since the possibility of adjustment is greater here than there. On the other hand, the degree to which Continental revolutions react on England is at the same time the

barometer which indicates how far these revolutions really call in question the bourgeois conditions of life, or how far they only hit their political formations.

With this general prosperity, in which the productive forces of bourgeois society develop as luxuriantly as is at all possible within bourgeois relationships, there can be no talk of a real revolution. Such a revolution is only possible in the periods when *both these factors,* the *modern* productive *forces* and the *bourgeois forms of production,* come *in collision* with each other. The various quarrels in which the representatives of the individual factions of the Continental party of Order now indulge and mutually compromise themselves, far from providing the occasion for new revolutions are, on the contrary, possible only because the basis of the relationships is momentarily so secure and, what the reaction does not know, so *bourgeois.* All reactionary attempts to hold up bourgeois development will rebound off it just as certainly as all moral indignation and all enthusiastic proclamations of the democrats. *A new revolution is possible only in consequence of a new crisis. It is, however, just as certain as this crisis.*

We now come to the political events of the last six months.

As far as Great Britain is concerned, each spell of prosperity is a time when Whiggery comes into its own, having its proper incarnation in Lord John Russell, the smallest man in the kingdom. The ministry brings before Parliament little hole-and-corner reform bills which it knows will be rejected by the Upper House or which it withdraws itself at the end of the session on the pretext of insufficient time. The lack of time however always arises because of the preceding superabundance of tedium and empty talk, which the Speaker terminates as late as possible with the observation that that is not the matter before the House. The struggle between Free-traders and Protectionists degenerates into pure humbug at such times. The majority of Free-traders are too busy with the material exploitation of free trade to have the time or inclination to fight more astutely[a] for its political implications; the Protectionists, faced with the upsurge of urban industry, are reduced to the most absurd cries of woe and threats. The parties continue their war simply for the sake of appearances, so that neither side shall ever forget the existence of the other. Before the last session the industrial bourgeoisie made a great noise in favour of financial reform; in Parliament itself they confined themselves to theoretical expostulations. Before the session Mr. Cobden repeated his declaration of war on the Tsar apropos of

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[a] Engels in his copy replaced the word *weiser* (more astutely) by *weiter* (further).—*Ed.*

the Russian loan and could not find sarcasms enough to heap on the great pauper[a] of Petersburg; six months later he descended to the scandalous farce of the Peace Congress,[356] whose only outcome was that an Ojibway Indian[b] handed a pipe of peace to Mr. Jaup, to the great horror of Herr Haynau, who was present on the platform, and that the Yankee moderation-monger Elihu Burritt went to Schleswig-Holstein and Copenhagen to assure the governments concerned of his good intentions. As though the whole Schleswig-Holstein war could ever take a serious turn as long as Herr von Gagern is involved in it and Venedey is not!

In fact the great political issue of the past session was the *Greek debate.*[357] All the absolutist reactionaries on the Continent had formed a coalition with the British Tories to overthrow Palmerston. Louis Napoleon had even recalled the French Ambassador[c] from London, as much to flatter Tsar Nicholas as French national vanity. The whole National Assembly fanatically applauded this bold break with the traditional British alliance. The affair gave Mr. Palmerston the opportunity to present himself in the Lower House as the champion of civil liberty throughout Europe; he obtained a majority of 46 votes, and the result of the coalition, which was as powerless as it was silly, was the non-renewal of the Alien Bill.[358]

If in his display against Greece and in his speech in Parliament Palmerston adopted a bourgeois-liberal stand vis-à-vis the reactionaries of Europe, the British people used the presence of Herr *Haynau* in London for a striking display of *their* foreign policy.[359]

If the people harried Austria's military representative through the streets of London, Prussia experienced in the person of its diplomatic representative a misfortune equally appropriate to its position. One remembers how Britain's most comic figure, the loquacious littérateur Brougham, drove the littérateur *Bunsen* from the galleries of the Upper House for his tactlessly importunate behaviour, amid general laughter from all the ladies. Herr Bunsen, very much in the spirit of the Great Power he was representing, took this humiliation calmly. He refuses to leave Britain, come what may. All his private interests bind him to Great Britain; he will continue to exploit his diplomatic post for the purpose of speculation in English religion and to find a niche for his sons in the English Church and for his daughters in one of the echelons of the English gentry.

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[a] "Mr. Cobden and the Russian Loan", *The Times* No. 20390, January 19, 1850.—*Ed.*

[b] Kah-Ge-Ga-Gah-Bowh.—*Ed.*

[c] Drouyn de Lhuys.—*Ed.*

The death of Sir Robert *Peel* significantly helped to hasten the dissolution of the old parties. The party which formed his main support since 1845, the so-called Peelites, has subsequently fallen apart completely. Since his death Peel himself has been most fulsomely apotheosised by almost all the parties as Britain's greatest statesman. It is true he has the advantage over the "statesmen" of the Continent of not being merely a job-hunter. Apart from that, the statesmanship of this son of the bourgeoisie who rose to be leader of the landed aristocracy consisted in the realisation that nowadays there remains only one real aristocracy, and that is the bourgeoisie. Having this in mind, he continually used his leadership of the landed aristocracy to force it to make concessions to the bourgeoisie. Thus it was with the Catholic emancipation and the police reform, by which he increased the political power of the bourgeoisie; with the bank laws of 1818 and 1844, which strengthened the finance aristocracy; with the tariff reform of 1842 and the free-trade laws of 1846, by which the landed aristocracy was positively sacrificed to the industrial bourgeoisie.[360] The second main pillar of the aristocracy, the "Iron Duke", the hero of Waterloo, stood like a disappointed Don Quixote loyally by the side of the cotton-knight Peel. From 1845 Peel was treated as a traitor by the Tory party. Peel's power over the Lower House was based on the unusual *plausibility of his eloquence.* If one reads his most famous speeches, one finds that they consist of a massive accumulation of commonplaces, skilfully interspersed with a number of statistical data. There is scarcely a town in England which does not want to set up a monument to the man who abolished customs duty on corn. A Chartist paper, alluding to the police force developed by Peel in 1829, observed: What need have we of all these monuments to Peel? Every policeman in Britain and Ireland is a living monument to him.[a]

The most recent event to have excited public interest in Great Britain is the appointment of Mr. *Wiseman* as *Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster* and the division of Britain into thirteen Catholic bishoprics by the Pope.[b] This act of Christ's vicar on earth, which caused the Church of England great astonishment, is a further demonstration of the illusion to which all the reactionaries on the Continent are prey, as though the victories which they have recently won in the service of the bourgeoisie would automatically entail the establishment of a whole feudal-absolutist social order with all its religious trappings. Catholicism's sole support in Britain is to be

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[a] "The Peel Monument", *The Red Republican* No. 9, August 17, 1850.—*Ed.*
[b] Pius IX.—*Ed.*

found at the two extremes of society, the aristocracy and the lumpenproletariat. The lumpenproletariat, the riff-raff of Irish origin or descended from Irishmen, is Catholic by descent. The aristocracy has for so long, indulged in the fashionable flirtation with Puseyism[361] that ultimately actual conversion to the Catholic Church began to become the fashion. At a time when the struggle against the advancing bourgeoisie was increasingly driving the British aristocracy to display its feudal character, the struggle against the theologians of the bourgeois dissenting religion[362] was of course increasingly forcing the aristocracy's religious ideologists, the orthodox theologians of the High Church, inevitably to acknowledge the implications of their semi-Catholic dogma and rites, and actual conversions of individual reactionary Anglicans to that first Church which alone assures salvation inevitably became more and more common. These insignificant events generated the most sanguine hopes in the minds of Catholic priests in Britain that the whole of Great Britain would soon be converted. The recent Papal Bull[a] which already treats Great Britain once more as a province of Rome and which was intended to lend new impetus to this wave of conversions, is however producing precisely the contrary effect. The Puseyites, suddenly confronted with the grave consequences of their medieval dallyings, are starting back in horror, and the Puseyite bishop of London[b] has at once issued a declaration in which he recants all his errors and declares a war to the death on the papacy.[c]—As far as the bourgeoisie is concerned the whole farce is of interest only insofar as it provides an opportunity for new attacks on the High Church and its universities. The Commission of Enquiry which is to report on the state of the universities will provoke violent debates in the next session. The mass of the people has of course no feelings either for or against Cardinal Wiseman. The newspapers, on the other hand, find the material he is providing for long articles and violent diatribes against Pio Nono[d] most welcome, in view of the present dearth of news. *The Times* even demanded that by way of punishment for his presumption the government should incite an insurrection in the Papal States and let loose Mr. Mazzini and the Italian émigrés on him.[e] *The Globe*, Palmerston's paper, drew an extremely witty parallel between the Papal Bull and Mazzini's latest

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[a] Of September 29, 1850.—*Ed.*
[b] Charles James Blomfield.—*Ed.*
[c] *Reply of the Bishop of London to the Memorial from the Westminster Clergy.*—*Ed.*
[d] Pius IX.—*Ed.*
[e] *The Times* No. 20634, October 31, 1850.—*Ed.*

manifesto.[a] The Pope, it said, lays claim to spiritual supremacy over Great Britain and is appointing bishops *in partibus infidelium.* Here in London there is an Italian Government *in partibus infidelium,* with the Antipope, Mr. Mazzini, at its head. The supremacy which Mr. Mazzini not merely lays claim to but actually exercises in the Papal States, is at present likewise purely spiritual. The Papal Bulls are purely religious in content; Mazzini's manifestos likewise. They preach a religion, they appeal to faith, their motto is: *Dio ed il popolo,* God and the people. We would ask, is there any other difference between the claims of the two parties than this, that Mr. Mazzini at least represents the religion of the majority of the people he is addressing—for there is scarcely any other religion left in Italy now than that of *Dio ed il popolo*—whereas the Pope does not? Mazzini incidentally has used this opportunity to progress a step further. In conjunction with the other members of the Italian National Committee, he has in fact now announced from London the 10 million fr. loan, approved by the Constituent Assembly in Rome,[363] in the form of 100 fr. shares, for the express purpose of obtaining arms and military equipment. It cannot be denied that this loan has a greater chance of success than the Austrian Government's unsuccessful voluntary loan in Lombardy.[364]

A really serious blow which Great Britain has recently dealt Rome and Austria is its trade agreement with Sardinia. This agreement shatters Austria's project for an Italian customs union and ensures an important field of activity for British trade and Britain's bourgeois policies in Upper Italy.

The present organisation of the Chartist Party is similarly in a state of dissolution. The members of the petty bourgeoisie who still adhere to the party, together with the labour aristocracy, form a purely democratic faction whose programme is limited to the People's Charter and a number of other petty-bourgeois reforms. The mass of the workers who live in truly proletarian conditions belong to the revolutionary Chartist faction. The leader of the former faction is Feargus *O'Connor,* and the leaders of the latter are Julian *Harney* and Ernest *Jones.* The elderly O'Connor, an Irish squire and self-styled descendant of the old kings of Munster, is a true representative of Old England, despite his origin and his political tendencies. His whole nature is conservative and he most emphatically hates both industrial progress and revolution. All his ideals are patriarchal and petty-bourgeois to the core. He unites in

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*The Globe and Traveller* No. 15318, October 26, 1850.—*Ed.*

himself countless contradictions which are resolved and harmonised in the form of a certain banal common sense[a] and which enable him year in, year out to write his endless weekly letters in *The Northern Star*, each of which is in open conflict with its predecessor. And that is precisely why O'Connor claims to be the most consistent man in the three kingdoms and to have predicted every event for the past twenty years. His shoulders, his bellowing voice, his enormous skill as a boxer, with which he is reputed to have once held his own against over twenty thousand people at Nottingham market, all make him a typical representative of Old England. It is obvious that a man like O'Connor is bound to be a great obstacle in a revolutionary movement; but such people are useful precisely because with them and against them a number of ingrained prejudices are frittered away, and because the movement, if it eventually prevails against these people, is once and for all rid also of the prejudices they represent. O'Connor's fate is sealed in the movement, but for that reason he will be able to lay claim to the title of a "martyr to the good cause" with as much right as Messrs. Lamartine and Marrast.

The main bone of contention between the two Chartist factions is the land question. O'Connor and his party want to use the Charter to accommodate some of the workers on small plots of land and eventually to parcel out all the land in Great Britain. We know how his attempt to organise this parcelling out on a small scale by means of a joint-stock company failed.[365] That propensity which every bourgeois revolution has to break up large landed estates gave the British workers the impression for a while that this parcelling out was something revolutionary, although its regular corollary is the unfailing tendency of small properties to become concentrated and succumb in the face of large-scale farming. The revolutionary faction of the Chartists opposes this demand for parcelling out with the demand for the confiscation of all landed property, and insists that it should not be distributed but remain national property.

Despite this split and their more extreme demands, the memory of the circumstances in which the abolition of the Corn Laws went through is responsible for the Chartists' persisting notion that in the next crisis they will once again have to ally themselves with the industrial bourgeoisie, the financial reformers, and help them to crush their enemies, in return for which they will have to extract concessions from them for themselves. This will in any case be the Chartists' position in the approaching crisis. The revolutionary movement proper cannot begin in Britain until the Charter has been

[a] The authors give the words "common sense" in English.—*Ed.*

carried through, just as in France the battle of June only became possible when the republic had been won.

Let us now turn to *France*.[a]

The victory that the people, in conjunction with the petty bourgeois, had won in the elections of March 10 was annulled by it itself when it provoked the new election of April 28. Vidal was elected not only in Paris, but also in the Lower Rhine. The Paris Committee, in which the *Montagne* and the petty bourgeoisie were strongly represented, induced him to accept for the Lower Rhine. The victory of March 10 ceased to be a decisive one; the date of the decision was once more postponed; the tension of the people was relaxed; it became accustomed to legal triumphs instead of revolutionary ones. The revolutionary meaning of March 10, the rehabilitation of the June insurrection, was finally completely annihilated by the candidature of Eugène Sue, the sentimental petty-bourgeois social-fantasist, which the proletariat could at best accept as a joke to amuse the grisettes. As against this well-meaning candidature, the party of Order, emboldened by the vacillating policy of its opponents, put up a candidate who was to represent the June *victory*. This comic candidate was the Spartan *pater familias* Leclerc,[366] from whose person, however, the heroic armour was torn piece by piece by the press, and who experienced a crushing defeat in the election. The new election victory on April 28 put the *Montagne* and the petty bourgeoisie in high feather. They already exulted in the thought of being able to arrive at the goal of their wishes in a purely legal way and without again pushing the proletariat into the foreground through a new revolution; they reckoned positively on bringing M. Ledru-Rollin into the presidential chair and a majority of *Montagnards* into the Assembly through universal suffrage in the new elections of 1852. The party of Order, rendered perfectly certain, by the prospective elections, by Sue's candidature and by the mood of the *Montagne* and the petty bourgeoisie, that the latter were resolved to remain quiet no matter what happened, answered the two election victories with an *election law* which abolished universal suffrage.

The government took good care not to make this legislative proposal on its own responsibility. It made an apparent concession to the majority by entrusting the drafting of the bill to the high dignitaries of this majority, to the seventeen burgraves.[367] Thus, it was not the government that proposed the repeal of universal suffrage to the Assembly; the majority of the Assembly proposed it to itself.

[a] In 1895 Engels included the passage relating to the events in France in Chapter IV of Marx's *The Class Struggles in France* (see pp. 135-45 of this volume).— *Ed.*

On May 8, the project was brought into the Chamber. The entire social-democratic press rose as one man in order to preach to the people dignified composure, *calme majestueux*,[a] passivity and trust in its representatives. Every article of these journals was a confession that a revolution would, above all, annihilate the so-called revolutionary press and that, therefore, it was now a question of its self-preservation. The allegedly revolutionary press betrayed its whole secret. It signed its own death warrant.

On May 21, the *Montagne* put the preliminary question to debate and moved the rejection of the whole project on the ground that it violated the constitution. The party of Order answered that the constitution would be violated if it were necessary; there was, however, no need for this at present, because the constitution was capable of every interpretation, and because the majority alone was competent to decide on the correct interpretation. To the unbridled, savage attacks of Thiers and Montalembert the *Montagne* opposed a decorous and refined humanism. It took its stand on the ground of law; the party of Order referred it to the ground on which the law grows, to bourgeois property. The *Montagne* whimpered: Did they really want, then, to conjure up revolutions by main force? The party of Order replied: One should await them.

On May 22, the preliminary question was settled by 462 votes to 227. The same men who had proved with such solemn profundity that the National Assembly and every individual deputy would be renouncing his mandate if he renounced the people, his mandator, stuck to their seats and now suddenly sought to let the country act, through petitions at that, instead of acting themselves; and still sat there unmoved when, on May 31, the law went through in splendid fashion.[368] They sought to revenge themselves by a protest in which they recorded their innocence of the rape of the constitution, a protest which they did not even submit openly, but smuggled into the President's[b] pocket behind his back.

An army of 150,000 men in Paris, the long deferment of the decision, the appeasing attitude of the press, the pusillanimity of the *Montagne* and of the newly elected representatives, the majestic calm of the petty bourgeois, but, above all, the commercial and industrial prosperity, prevented any attempt at revolution on the part of the proletariat.

Universal suffrage had fulfilled its mission. The majority of the people had passed through the school of development, which is all

[a] An allusion to Victor Hugo's appeal to keep "majestic calm", made in his speech in the Legislative Assembly on May 21, 1850.—*Ed.*

[b] The President of the Assembly.—*Ed.*

that universal suffrage can serve for in a revolutionary period. It had to be set aside by a revolution or by the reaction.

The *Montagne* developed a still greater display of energy on an occasion that arose soon afterwards. From the tribune War Minister d'Hautpoul had termed the February Revolution a baneful catastrophe.[a] The orators of the *Montagne,* who, as always, distinguished themselves by their morally indignant bluster, were not allowed by the President, Dupin, to speak. Girardin proposed to the *Montagne* that it should walk out at once *en masse.* Result: the *Montagne* remained seated, but Girardin was cast out from its midst as unworthy.

The election law still needed one thing to complete it, a new *press law.* This was not long in coming. A proposal of the government, made many times more drastic by amendments of the party of Order, increased the caution money, put an extra stamp on feuilleton novels (answer to the election of Eugène Sue), taxed all publications appearing weekly or monthly up to a certain number of sheets and finally provided that every article of a journal must bear the signature of the author. The provisions concerning the caution money killed the so-called revolutionary press; the people regarded its extinction as satisfaction for the abolition of universal suffrage. However, neither the tendency nor the effect of the new law extended only to this section of the press. As long as the newspaper press was anonymous, it appeared as the organ of a numberless and nameless public opinion; it was the third power in the state. Through the signature of every article, a newspaper became a mere collection of literary contributions from more or less known individuals. Every article sank to the level of an advertisement. Hitherto the newspapers had circulated as the paper money of public opinion; now they were resolved into more or less bad *solo* bills, whose worth and circulation depended on the credit not only of the drawer but also of the endorser. The press of the party of Order had agitated not only for the repeal of universal suffrage but also for the most extreme measures against the bad press. However, in its sinister anonymity even the good press was irksome to the party of Order and still more to its individual provincial representatives. As for itself, it demanded only the paid writer, with name, address and description. In vain the good press bemoaned the ingratitude with which its services were rewarded. The law went through; the specification of the names of authors hit it hardest of all. The names of republican journalists were pretty well known; but the

[a] This statement was made by the Minister of Justice Eugène Rouher.—*Ed.*

respectable firms of the *Journal des Débats*, the *Assemblée nationale*, the *Constitutionnel*, etc., etc., cut a sorry figure in their high protestations of state wisdom, when the mysterious company all at once disintegrated into purchasable penny-a-liners[a] of long practice, who had defended all possible causes for cash, like Granier de Cassagnac, or into old milksops who called themselves statesmen, like Capefigue, or into coquettish fops, like M. Lemoinne of the *Débats*.

In the debate on the press law the *Montagne* had already sunk to such a level of moral degeneracy that it had to confine itself to applauding the brilliant tirades of an old notability of Louis Philippe's time, M. Victor Hugo.

With the election law and the press law the revolutionary and democratic party exits from the official stage. Before their departure home, shortly after the end of the session, the two factions of the *Montagne*, the socialist democrats and the democratic Socialists, issued two manifestos, two *testimonia paupertatis*, in which they proved that while power and success were never on their side, they nonetheless had ever been on the side of eternal justice and all the other eternal truths.[b]

Let us now consider the party of Order. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had said (Heft 3, p. 16): "As against the hankering for restoration on the part of the united Orleanists and Legitimists, Bonaparte defends his title to his actual power, the republic; as against the hankering for restoration on the part of Bonaparte, the party of Order defends its title to its common rule, the republic. As against the Orleanists, the Legitimists, and as against the Legitimists, the Orleanists, defend the *status quo*, the republic. All these factions of the party of Order, each of which has its own king and its own restoration *in petto*, mutually enforce, as against their rivals' hankering for usurpation and revolt, the common rule of the bourgeoisie, the form in which the special claims remain neutralised and reserved—the republic.... And Thiers spoke more truly than he suspected when he said: 'We, the royalists, are the true pillars of the constitutional republic.'"[c]

This comedy of the *républicains malgré eux*,[d] the antipathy to the *status quo* and the constant consolidation of it; the incessant friction

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[a] This expression is given in English in the original.—*Ed.*

[b] "Compte-rendu de la Montagne au Peuple" and "Au Peuple!", published in the newspaper *Le Peuple de 1850* No. 6, August 11, and No. 7, August 14, 1850.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 113-14.—*Ed.*

[d] Republicans in spite of themselves. (Allusion to Molière's comedy *Le Médecin malgré lui.*)—*Ed.*

between Bonaparte and the National Assembly; the ever renewed threat of the party of Order to split into its separate component parts, and the ever repeated conjugation of its factions; the attempt of each faction to transform each victory over the common foe into a defeat for its temporary allies; the mutual petty jealousy, chicanery, harassment, the tireless drawing of swords that ever and again ends with a *baiser-Lamourette*[369]—this whole unedifying comedy of errors never developed more classically than during the last six months.

The party of Order regarded the election law at the same time as a victory over Bonaparte. Had not the government abdicated when it handed over the editing of and responsibility for its own proposal to the Commission of Seventeen? And did not the chief strength of Bonaparte as against the Assembly lie in the fact that he was the chosen of six millions?—Bonaparte, on his part, treated the election law as a concession to the Assembly, with which he claimed to have purchased harmony between the legislative and executive powers. As reward, the vulgar adventurer demanded an increase of three millions in his civil list. Dared the National Assembly enter into a conflict with the executive at a moment when it had excommunicated the great majority of Frenchmen? It was roused to anger: it appeared to want to go to extremes; its Commission rejected the motion; the Bonapartist press threatened, and referred to the disinherited people, deprived of its franchise; numerous noisy attempts at an arrangement took place, and the Assembly finally gave way in fact, but at the same time revenged itself in principle. Instead of increasing the civil list in principle by three millions per annum, it granted him an accommodation of 2,160,000 francs. Not satisfied with this, it made even this concession only after it had been supported by Changarnier, the general of the party of Order and the protector thrust upon Bonaparte. Therefore it really granted the two millions not to Bonaparte, but to Changarnier.

This sop, thrown to him *de mauvaise grâce*,[a] was accepted by Bonaparte quite in the spirit of the donor. The Bonapartist press blustered anew against the National Assembly. When, now in the debate on the press law, the amendment was passed on the signing of names, which, in turn, was directed especially against the less important papers, the representatives of the private interests of Bonaparte, the principal Bonapartist paper, the *Pouvoir*, published an open and vehement attack on the National Assembly. The ministers had to disavow the paper before the Assembly; the managing editor of the *Pouvoir* was summoned before the bar of the

[a] With a bad grace.—*Ed.*

National Assembly and sentenced to pay the highest fine, 5,000 francs.[a] Next day, the *Pouvoir* published a still more insolent article against the Assembly, and, as the government's revenge, the public prosecutor promptly prosecuted a number of Legitimist journals for violating the constitution.

Finally there came the question of proroguing the Chamber. Bonaparte desired this in order to be able to operate unhindered by the Assembly. The party of Order desired it, partly for the purpose of carrying on its factional intrigues, partly for the pursuit of the private interests of the individual deputies. Both needed it in order to consolidate and push further the victories of reaction in the provinces. The Assembly therefore adjourned from August 11 until November 11. Since, however, Bonaparte in no way concealed that his only concern was to get rid of the irksome surveillance of the National Assembly, the Assembly imprinted on the vote of confidence itself the stamp of want of confidence in the President. All Bonapartists were kept off the permanent commission of twenty-eight members, who stayed on during the recess as guardians of the virtue of the republic.[370] In their stead, even some republicans of the *Siècle* and the *National* were elected to it, in order to prove to the President the attachment of the majority to the constitutional republic.

Shortly before and, especially, immediately after the prorogation of the Chamber, the two big factions of the party of Order, the Orleanists and the Legitimists, appeared to want to be reconciled, and this by a fusion of the two royal houses under whose flags they were fighting. The papers were full of reconciliation proposals that were said to have been discussed at the sickbed of Louis Philippe at St. Leonards, when the death of Louis Philippe suddenly simplified the situation. Louis Philippe was the usurper; Henry V, the dispossessed; the Count of Paris,[b] on the other hand, owing to the childlessness of Henry V, his lawful heir to the throne. Every pretext for objecting to a fusion of the two dynastic interests was now removed. But now, precisely, the two factions of the bourgeoisie first discovered that it was not zeal for a definite royal house that divided them, but that it was rather their divided class interests that kept the two dynasties apart. The Legitimists, who had made a pilgrimage to the residence of Henry V at Wiesbaden just as their competitors had to St. Leonards, received there the news of Louis Philippe's death. Forthwith they formed a ministry *in partibus infidelium*, which con-

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[a] See this volume, pp. 39-40 and 140.—*Ed.*
[b] Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans.—*Ed.*

sisted mostly of members of that commission of guardians of the virtue of the republic[371] and which on the occasion of a squabble in the bosom of the party came out with the most outspoken proclamation of right by the grace of God. The Orleanists rejoiced over the compromising scandal that this manifesto[372] called forth in the press, and did not conceal for a moment their open enmity to the Legitimists.

During the adjournment of the National Assembly, the Councils of the Departments met. The majority of them declared for a more or less qualified revision of the constitution, that is, they declared for a not definitely specified monarchist restoration, for a "*solution*", and confessed at the same time that they were too incompetent and too cowardly to find this solution. The Bonapartist faction at once construed this desire for revision in the sense of a prolongation of Bonaparte's presidency.

The constitutional solution, the retirement of Bonaparte in May 1852, the simultaneous election of a new President by all the electors of the country, the revision of the constitution by a Chamber of Revision in the first months of the new presidency, is utterly inadmissible for the ruling class. The day of the new presidential election would be the day of *rendezvous* for all the hostile parties, the Legitimists, the Orleanists, the bourgeois republicans, the revolutionists. It would have to come to a violent decision between the different factions. Even if the party of Order should succeed in uniting round the candidature of a neutral person outside the dynastic families, he would still be opposed by Bonaparte. In its struggle with the people, the party of Order is compelled constantly to increase the power of the executive. Every increase of the executive's power increases the power of its bearer, Bonaparte. In the same measure, therefore, as the party of Order strengthens its joint might, it strengthens the fighting resources of Bonaparte's dynastic pretensions, it strengthens his chance of frustrating a constitutional solution by force on the day of the decision. He will then have, as against the party of Order, no more scruples about the one pillar of the constitution than that party had, as against the people, about the other pillar in the matter of the election law. He would, seemingly even against the Assembly, appeal to universal suffrage. In a word, the constitutional solution questions the entire political *status quo* and behind the jeopardising of the *status quo* the bourgeois sees chaos, anarchy, civil war. He sees his purchases and sales, his promissory notes, his marriages, his agreements, duly acknowledged before a notary, his mortgages, his ground rents, house rents, profits, all his contracts and sources of income called in

question on the first Sunday in May 1852,[373] and he cannot expose himself to this risk. Behind the jeopardising of the political *status quo* lurks the danger of the collapse of the entire bourgeois society. The only possible solution in the sense of the bourgeoisie is the postponement of the solution. It can save the constitutional republic only by a violation of the constitution, by the prolongation of the power of the President. This is also the last word of the press of Order, after the protracted and profound debates on the "solutions" in which it indulged after the session of the general councils. The high and mighty party of Order thus finds itself, to its shame, compelled to take seriously the ridiculous, commonplace and, to it, odious person of the pseudo-Bonaparte.

This dirty figure likewise deceived himself concerning the causes that clothed him more and more with the character of the indispensable man. While his party had sufficient insight to ascribe the growing importance of Bonaparte to circumstances, he believed that he owed it solely to the magic power of his name and his continual caricaturing of Napoleon. He became more enterprising every day. To offset the pilgrimages to St. Leonards and Wiesbaden, he made his round trips through France. The Bonapartists had so little faith in the magic effect of his personality that they sent with him everywhere as *claqueurs* people from the Society of December 10,[374] that organisation of the Paris *lumpenproletariat*, packed *en masse* into railway trains and post-chaises. They put speeches into the mouth of their marionette which, according to the reception in the different towns, proclaimed republican resignation or perennial tenacity as the keynote of the President's policy. In spite of all manoeuvres these journeys were anything but triumphal processions.

When Bonaparte believed he had thus enthused the people, he set out to win the army. He caused great reviews to be held on the plain of Satory, near Versailles, at which he sought to buy the soldiers with garlic sausages, champagne and cigars. Whereas the genuine Napoleon, amid the hardships of his campaigns of conquest, knew how to cheer up his weary soldiers with outbursts of patriarchal familiarity, the pseudo-Napoleon believed it was in gratitude that the troops shouted: *Vive Napoléon, vive le saucisson!* that is, hurrah for the sausage [*Wurst*], hurrah for the buffoon [*Hanswurst*]!

These reviews led to the outbreak of the long suppressed dissension between Bonaparte and his War Minister d'Hautpoul, on the one hand, and Changarnier, on the other. In Changarnier, the party of Order had found its real neutral man, in whose case there could be no question of his own dynastic claims. It had designated

him Bonaparte's successor. In addition, Changarnier had become the great general of the party of Order through his conduct on January 29 and June 13, 1849, the modern Alexander, whose brutal intervention had, in the eyes of the timid bourgeois, cut the Gordian knot of the revolution. At bottom just as ridiculous as Bonaparte, he had thus become a power in the very cheapest manner and was set up by the National Assembly to watch the President. He himself played the coquette, e.g., in the matter of the salary grant, with the protection that he gave Bonaparte, and rose up ever more overpoweringly against him and the ministers. When, on the occasion of the election law, an insurrection was expected, he forbade his officers to take any orders whatever from the War Minister or the President. The press was also instrumental in magnifying the figure of Changarnier. With the complete absence of great personalities, the party of Order naturally found itself compelled to endow a single individual with the strength lacking in its class as a whole and so puff up this individual to a prodigy. Thus arose the myth of Changarnier, the "*bulwark of society*". The arrogant charlatanry, the secretive air of importance with which Changarnier condescended to carry the world on his shoulders, forms the most ridiculous contrast to the events during and after the Satory review, which irrefutably proved that it needed only a stroke of the pen by Bonaparte, the infinitely little, to bring this fantastic offspring of bourgeois fear, the colossus Changarnier, back to the dimensions of mediocrity, and transform him, society's heroic saviour, into a pensioned-off general.

Bonaparte had for some time been revenging himself on Changarnier by provoking the War Minister to disputes in matters of discipline with the irksome protector. The last review of Satory finally brought the old animosity to a climax. The constitutional indignation of Changarnier knew no bounds when he saw the cavalry regiments file past with the unconstitutional cry: *Vive l'Empereur!* In order to forestall any unpleasant debate on this cry in the coming session of the Chamber, Bonaparte removed the War Minister d'Hautpoul by appointing him Governor of Algiers. In his place he put a reliable old general of the time of the empire,[a] one who was fully a match for Changarnier in brutality. But so that the dismissal of d'Hautpoul might not appear as a concession to Changarnier, he simultaneously transferred General Neumayer, the right hand of the great saviour of society, from Paris to Nantes. It

[a] J. P. Schramm.—*Ed.*

had been Neumayer who at the last review had induced the whole of the infantry to file past the successor of Napoleon in icy silence. Changarnier, himself hit in the person of Neumayer, protested and threatened. To no purpose. After two days' negotiations, the decree transferring Neumayer appeared in the *Moniteur*,[a] and there was nothing left for the hero of order but to submit to discipline or resign.

Bonaparte's struggle with Changarnier is the continuation of his struggle with the party of Order. The re-opening of the National Assembly on November 11 will, therefore, take place under threatening auspices. It will be a storm in a teacup. In essence the old game must go on. Meanwhile the majority of the party of Order will, despite the clamour of the sticklers for principle of its different factions, be compelled to prolong the power of the President. Similarly, Bonaparte, already humbled by lack of money, will, despite all preliminary protestations, accept this prolongation of power from the hands of the National Assembly as simply delegated to him. Thus the solution is postponed; the *status quo* continued; one faction of the party of Order compromised, weakened, made impossible by the other; the repression of the common enemy, the mass of the nation, extended and exhausted, until the economic relations themselves have again reached the point of development where a new explosion blows into the air all these squabbling parties with their constitutional republic.

For the peace of mind of the bourgeois it must be said, however, that the scandal between Bonaparte and the party of Order has the result of ruining a multitude of small capitalists on the Bourse and putting their assets into the pockets of the big wolves of the Bourse.

In *Germany* the political events of the last six months are epitomised by the spectacle of Prussia duping the liberals and Austria duping Prussia.

In 1849 it appeared to be Prussia's hegemony in Germany that was at issue; in 1850 it was a question of the division of power between Austria and Prussia; in 1851 it will only be a question of the form in which Prussia submits to Austria and returns as a penitent sinner to the fold of the totally restored *Federal Diet*. The Little Germany which the King of Prussia had hoped to negotiate as compensation for his disastrous imperial procession through Berlin on March 21, 1848,[375] has turned into Little Prussia; Prussia has had to take every humiliation meekly and has vanished from the ranks of the Great

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[a] *Le Moniteur universel* No. 303, October 30, 1850.—*Ed.*

Powers. Even the modest dream of the Union has been once more dispelled by the usual perfidious narrow-mindedness of her policies. She falsely claimed a liberal character for the Union and thus duped the wise men of the Gotha party[376] with constitutional phantasmagories that were never seriously meant; and yet she herself had become so bourgeois even by virtue of her whole industrial development, her permanent deficit and her national debt that for all her squirming and struggling her surrender to constitutionalism was becoming increasingly irrevocable. If the wise men of Gotha at length discovered how disgracefully Prussia had trampled on their honour and their ideas, if even men like Gagern and Brüggemann finally turned their backs in noble indignation on a government which played so contemptuously with the unity and freedom of the fatherland, Prussia herself found no greater joy in those little chicks she had gathered beneath her protecting wing, the small princes. The petty princes had only entrusted themselves at a moment of extreme distress and vulnerability to the avidly mediatising[377] talons of the Prussian eagle; Prussian interventions, threats and demonstrations to restore their subjects to their former obedience, had cost them dear in the form of oppressive military agreements, expensive quartering of troops and the prospect of imminent mediatisation by the constitution of the Union. But Prussia herself had taken care that they would once more escape this new danger. Everywhere Prussia had brought the forces of reaction back to power, and the greater the progress of the forces of reaction, the more the petty princes deserted Prussia and threw themselves into the arms of *Austria*. Once they were able to rule again as they had before March, they found absolutist Austria more congenial than a power which was as incapable of being absolutist as it was reluctant to be liberal. Furthermore, Austrian policy did not lead to the mediatisation of the small states but on the contrary to their maintenance as integral parts of a Federal Diet which was to be restored. Prussia thus watched herself being deserted by Saxony, whom Prussian troops had saved not many months before, by Hanover, by Hesse-Cassel, and now Baden too, despite her Prussian garrisons, was following the others. That Prussia's support for the forces of reaction in Hamburg, Mecklenburg, Dessau, etc., etc., was not to her advantage but to Austria's, she can now clearly see from the events in the two Hesses.[378] Thus the German Emperor *manqué* at least learnt that his is an age of disloyalty, and if he now has to tolerate the amputation of "his right arm, the Union", this arm had already been withered for some considerable time. Thus Austria has now already brought the whole of South Germany under her hegemony, and in North

Germany too the most important states are Prussia's opponents.

Austria had now advanced sufficiently to be able with Russia's support to challenge Prussia openly. She did so over two issues: Schleswig-Holstein and Hesse-Cassel.

In *Schleswig-Holstein* the "sword of Germany" had concluded a genuinely Prussian separate peace and delivered its allies into the hands of a more powerful enemy. Great Britain, Russia and France determined to put an end to the independence of the duchies and expressed this intention in a protocol, to which Austria also subscribed.[379] Whilst Austria and the German governments allied to her advocated Federal intervention in Holstein in Denmark's favour at the restored Federal Diet, in accordance with the London protocol,[380] Prussia sought to continue her double-dealing policy and to persuade the parties to submit to a Federal Arbitration Court which was as yet completely non-existent, indefinable and rejected by most of the governments, including the most important, and with all her manoeuvres managed only to incur the suspicion of the Great Powers that she was indulging in revolutionary intrigues and to be sent a series of threatening notes which will soon spoil her taste for an "independent" foreign policy. The people of Schleswig-Holstein will shortly get their lord and master back, and a people that allows itself to be governed by Messrs. Beseler and Reventlow, despite the fact that it has the whole army on its side, shows that it still needs the strictness of Danish tutelage for its education.

The movement in *Hesse-Cassel* provides us with a unique example of what a "rising" in a small German state can achieve. The virtuous burgher opposition to the fraud Hassenpflug had accomplished all that could be expected of such a display: the Chamber was unanimous, the country was unanimous, the civil service and the army were on the side of the citizenry, all recalcitrant elements had been removed, "Out with the Princes" had been realised of its own accord, the fraud Hassenpflug had disappeared with his whole ministry; everything went without a hitch, all the parties kept strictly within the bounds of the law, all excesses were avoided, and without lifting a finger the opposition had carried off the most splendid victory recorded in the annals of constitutional opposition. And now, when the burghers had all power in their hands, when their burghers' committee was encountering not the slightest resistance anywhere, only now were they really needed. Now they saw that instead of the Electoral troops, foreign troops were at the frontier, ready to move in and put an end within twenty-four hours to all this burgher glory. Only now did indecision and humiliation commence;

if they had previously been unable to retreat, now they were unable to advance. The tax refusal in Hesse-Cassel demonstrates more forcibly than any previous event that all conflicts within the small states terminate as pure farce, their only outcome in the end being foreign intervention and the elimination of the conflict by the elimination of both the ruling prince and the constitution. It demonstrates how absurd all those highly important battles are in which the petty bourgeoisie of the small states seek with patriotic loyalty to their ideals to save every little achievement of March from its inevitable ruin.

In Hesse-Cassel, a state which belonged to the Union and which was to be snatched from the Prussian embrace, Austria challenged her rival directly. It was Austria which positively incited the Elector[a] to attack the constitution and then immediately placed him under the protection of her Federal Diet. With the intention of giving this protection greater force, using the Hesse-Cassel affair to break Prussia's opposition to Austrian hegemony and blackmailing Prussia back into the Federal Diet, Austrian and South German troops were now mobilised in Franconia and Bohemia. Prussia is likewise arming. The newspapers are overflowing with reports of marches and countermarches of the army corps. None of this noise will lead to anything, any more than does the bickering of the French party of Order with Bonaparte. Neither the King of Prussia nor the Emperor of Austria is sovereign, but the Russian Tsar[b] alone. At his command rebellious Prussia will eventually submit without a drop of blood being shed and the parties will come together peaceably on the benches of the Federal Diet, without there being the slightest diminution in their petty mutual jealousies, nor in their dissensions with their subjects, nor in their irritation at Russian supremacy.

We now come to the land as such, to the people of Europe, to the *émigré* people. We shall say nothing of the individual groups of émigrés, the German, French, Hungarian, etc.; their *haute politique* amounts to no more than pure *chronique scandaleuse.* But the European people as a whole *in partibus infidelium* have recently acquired a provisional government in the shape of the *European Central Committee,* consisting of Giuseppe *Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin,* Albert *Darasz* (a Pole) and—Arnold *Ruge,* who, to justify his existence, modestly puts after his name: Member of the Frankfurt

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[a] Frederick William I.—*Ed.*
[b] Frederick William IV, Francis Joseph I, Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

National Assembly.[381] Though there is no saying what democratic council summoned these four evangelists to their office, it still cannot be denied that their manifesto represents the credo of the great mass of émigrés and provides a fitting summary of the intellectual achievements which this mass owes to the recent revolutions.[a]

The manifesto begins with a resounding enumeration of the strengths of democracy.

"What does democracy lack for victory? ... organisation.... We have sects but no Church, incomplete and contradictory philosophies, but no religion, no collective faith which rallies the faithful beneath a single banner and harmonises their labour.... The day on which we find ourselves all united, marching together beneath the gaze of the best of us ... will be the eve of the struggle. On that day we shall have counted our number, we shall know who we are, we shall have the consciousness of our strength."

Why has the revolution failed so far? Because the organisation of revolutionary power was weaker. That is the first decree of the provisional émigré government.

This deficiency is now to be remedied by the organisation of an army of faith and the foundation of a religion.

"But, for this, two great obstacles must be overcome, two great errors eradicated: exaggeration of the rights of individuality, and petty exclusivity in matters of theory.... We must not say: I; we must learn to say: we; ... Those who, following their individual susceptibilities, refuse the small sacrifice which organisation and discipline require, are denying, on account of the habits of the past, the all-embracing faith they preach... exclusivity in point of theory is the negation of our basic dogma. Whoever says: I have found the political truth, and whoever makes acceptance of his system a condition of acceptance of fraternal association, is denying the people, the only progressive interpreter of the world-law, solely in order to assert his own self. Whoever claims in these days to have discovered by the isolated application of his intellect, however powerful it may be, the ultimate solution to the problems which agitate the masses, is condemning himself to error by incompleteness, because he is leaving untapped one of the eternal springs of truth, the collective intuition of the people immersed in action. The ultimate solution is the secret of victory.... Our systems can for the most part be no more than the dissection of corpses, a discovery of evil, an analysis of death, powerless to apprehend or comprehend life. Life is the people in motion, it is the instinct of the masses, raised to an uncommon power by mutual contact, by the prophetic feeling of great things which are to be accomplished, by involuntary, sudden, electric association in the streets; it is action, exciting to the highest point all capacities for hope, self-sacrifice, love and enthusiasm which are now dormant and which reveal man in the unity of his nature, in the full power of his procreative potential. The hand-clasp of a worker in one of these historic moments which inaugurate an epoch will teach us more about the organisation of the future than could be taught today by the cold and unfeeling travail of the intellect or knowledge of the dead magnificence of the last two millennia—the old society."

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[a] "Aux Peuples! Organisation de la démocratie", July 22, 1850, *Le Proscrit* No. 2, August 6, 1850.—*Ed.*

All this pompous nonsense thus amounts in the end to the most ordinary philistine view that the revolution failed because of the ambition and jealousy of the individual leaders and the mutually hostile views of the various popular educators.

The struggles of the various classes and factions of the classes against each other, whose progress through their individual stages of development actually constitutes the revolution, are in the view of our evangelists only the unfortunate consequences of the existence of divergent systems, whilst in reality the reverse is true, the existence of various systems is the consequence of the existence of the class struggles. This itself shows that the authors of the manifesto deny the existence of the class struggles. Under the pretext of combating dogmatists, they do away with all specific content, every specific party point of view, and forbid the individual classes to formulate their interests and demands vis-à-vis the other classes. They expect them to forget their conflicting interests and to become reconciled under the flag of a vagueness as shallow as it is unblushing which only conceals beneath the apparent reconciliation of all party interests the domination of the interest of one party—the bourgeois party. After the experiences which these gentlemen must have acquired in France, Germany and Italy in the last two years, one cannot even say that the hypocrisy with which the bourgeois interest is here wrapped up in Lamartinesque clichés of fraternity is unconscious. The extent of these gentlemen's acquaintance with the "systems" incidentally emerges even from the fact that they imagine each of these systems is merely a fragment of the wisdom put together in the manifesto and has one-sidedly taken as its basis just a single one of the clichés liberty, equality, etc., which are here collected. Their ideas of social organisations are most strikingly expressed: a mass gathering in the streets, a riot, a hand-clasp, and it's all over. In their view indeed revolution consists merely in the overthrow of the existing government; once this aim has been achieved "*the* victory" has been won. Movement, development and struggle then cease, and under the aegis of the European Central Committee that would then be in control, there begins the golden age of the European republic and somnolence proclaimed for evermore. These gentlemen also abhor thinking, unfeeling thinking, just as they do development and struggle—as though any thinker, Hegel and Ricardo not excepted, had ever attained the degree of unfeelingness with which this sentimental drivel is poured over the heads of the public! The people shall have no thought for the morrow and must strike all ideas from its mind; come the great day of decision, and it will be electrified by mere contact, and the

riddle of the future will be solved by a miracle. This appeal to mindlessness is a direct attempt at duping precisely the most oppressed classes of the people.

"Are we thereby saying" (asks one member of the European Central Committee of another) "that we should march onward without a flag, are we saying that we intend to inscribe a mere negation on our banner? No such suspicion can fall on us. Being men of the people, long involved in its struggles, we have no intention of leading it into *vacancy*."

In order to demonstrate on the contrary their *plenitude*, these gentlemen parade before us a positively Leporellian register of eternal truth and the achievements of the whole of past history as the present common ground of "democracy". This register is summarised in the following edifying paternoster:

"We believe in the progressive development of human ability and powers towards the moral law which has been imposed on us. We believe in association as the only regular means which can attain this end. We believe that the interpretation of the moral law and of the rule of progress can be entrusted neither to a caste nor to an individual, but to the people, enlightened by national education and led by those from its midst whom virtue and genius show to it to be the best. We believe in the sanctity of both individuality and society, which may neither exclude nor conflict with each other, but harmonise for the betterment of all by all. We believe in liberty, without which there can be no human responsibility, in equality, without which liberty is only a sham, in fraternity, without which liberty and equality would be means without an end, in association, without which fraternity would only be an unrealisable programme, in *family, community* and *state* and *fatherland* as being a progression of as many spheres in which man must successively grow up in the recognition and practice of liberty, equality, fraternity and association. We believe in the sanctity of labour, in *property* which arises from it as its mark and fruit, in the duty of society to provide the element of material labour through credit and of intellectual and moral labour through education.... *To sum up, we believe in a social condition which has God and His law as its highest point and the people as its base....*"[a]

Thus: progress—association—moral law—liberty—equality—fraternity—association—family, community, state—sanctity of property—credit—education—God and the people—*Dio e Popolo.* These clichés figure in all the manifestos of the 1848 revolutions, from the French to the Wallachian, and for that very reason they figure here too [as] the common foundations of the *new revolution.* Nor did any of these revolutions dispense with the sanctity of property, which is here sanctified as the result of labour. To just what an extent all bourgeois property is "the fruit and mark of labour" Adam Smith already knew far better than our revolutionary initiators eighty years after him. Concerning the socialist concession

[a] The italics in this excerpt are by the authors of the "Review".—*Ed.*

that society shall through credit provide everyone with the material for his work, every manufacturer is accustomed to giving his worker credit for as much material as he can make up in one week, the credit system is as widespread nowadays as is compatible with the inviolability of property, and finally credit itself is only a form of bourgeois property.

The gist of this gospel is a social condition in which God represents the highest point and the people, or, as it is put later, *humanity*, the base. In other words, they believe in present society, in which as we all know God represents the highest point and the mob the base. If Mazzini's motto, God and the people, *Dio e Popolo*, may have meaning in Italy, where God is set against the Pope and the people against the princes, it is going rather far to present this plagiarism by Johannes Ronge, the shallowest scum of the German so-called enlightenment, as the dictum which is to solve the riddle of the century. Just how easily one becomes accustomed in this school of thinking, incidentally, to the little sacrifices which organisation and discipline require, just how obligingly one gives up petty exclusivity in matters of theory, is demonstrated by our Arnold Winkelried Ruge, who on this occasion, to Leo's great delight, is prepared to pay proper tribute to the distinction between divinity and humanity.[382]

The manifesto ends with the words:

> "It is a question of the constitution of European democracy, the establishment of a budget, a treasury of the people. It is a question of the organisation of the army of initiators."

Ruge, setting out to be the first initiator of this people's budget, has turned to "de demokratische Jantjes[a] van Amsterdam" and explained to them their special vocation for paying out money. Holland beware!

London, November 1, 1850

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* No. 5-6, 1850

Printed according to the journal

Published in English in full for the first time

[a] Nickname for the Dutch (from: Jan).—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## DRAFT STATEMENT BY HEINRICH BAUER AND KARL PFÄNDER ON THE FUNDS OF THE GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY IN LONDON[383]

1) The Society[a] has been totally changed in character by the emigration, caused by the political situation, of members who were for financial reasons readily accepted by Messrs. Schapper and Willich, and by honorary members accepted with the right to vote, who pay no contributions at all. The payment of moneys to the Society would only lead to their being used for purposes entirely contrary to the original intention.

2) We have taken over the moneys as Trustees of the Society. The position of trustees is laid down in English law. A trustee can use the money at his discretion provided he is able to pay it after the customary notice.

3) Concerning the present use of the moneys, Citizens Schapper and Willich, who now for private considerations insist on the repayment of the moneys, know very well that at all times the Society has been backed, without the prior knowledge of most members, by a secret committee with unlimited powers to dispose of the Society's funds. Herr Schapper knows this the better as he has more than once received money from the Society for personal purposes through the medium of the committee.

4) The money was nevertheless offered to the Society by us and as the Society, after seemingly accepting our proposals, suddenly took us to court—without success—we have deposited the money with a London citizen[b] in whose hands it will remain until the Society offers adequate guarantees for its use in accordance with the original intention.

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[a] The German Workers' Educational Society in London.—*Ed.*

[b] Probably with W. P. Roberts.—*Ed.*

5) Concerning the refusal to put things in writing, such writing would have no validity in law. Even a written declaration would not bind the signatories legally vis-à-vis a moral person. Such a written declaration would have no other purpose than to be put to a use contrary to contract.

The undersigned are workers and not used to live by exploiting the Society, like Herr Schapper, or by using the refugee fund like Herr von Willich.

Written at the end of 1850

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Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## STATEMENT[384]

In an article from London dated January 13 the *Bremer Tages-Chronik* of January 17 this year has imported a whole cargo of badly-written stupidities, of fabricated and misunderstood gossip, of clumsy insinuations and moral posturing against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and against the undersigned.

"Prominent and decided men"[a] of the calibre of this London correspondent have from time immemorial responded to superior criticism in the manner of apes. They bombard their enemy with their own excrement. *Chacun selon ses facultés.*[b]

We let this "decided and prominent" man off with his nicely fabricated little stories about the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* In answer to his well-meaning insinuations on our resignation from the Great Windmill Society[c] we declare:

Neither before nor after their resignation from this Society have Engels and Marx ever had the slightest connection with the management of its funds. They took part in the management of the refugee fund, and resigned only after their administration up to that point had been audited and found correct.[d] That the resignation occurred to avoid the payment of a monthly contribution of ninepence—this is the notion of a Reichs-Stüber[e] which has been thrown out of circulation! And for this purpose one of them is said to have moved to Manchester and the other to have wished to travel

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[a] Quoted from Ruge's article.—*Ed.*

[b] Each according to his capabilities.—*Ed.*

[c] German Workers' Educational Society in London.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, p. 632.—*Ed.*

[e] Small coin of the Lower Rhine, in circulation until 1824.—*Ed.*

overseas. What pure pearls rest in the depths of morally incensed souls!

The *real motives* for our resignation from the Society and for our parting with its leaders are known to our party comrades in Germany. They are approved and shared by them, they do not concern the general public. Under existing German conditions a more skilful *agent provocateur* would not have given us cause for further explanations, much less the bearishly[a] clumsy one of the *Bremer Tages-Chronik.*

It suffices in conclusion to indicate that the man besmirching the *Bremer Tages-Chronik* from London with his own guano is none other than that Pomeranian thinker to whom the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has constantly returned with a kind of artistic preference, whom we have characterised elsewhere on the basis of his writings as "the gutter into which all the rhetorical refuse and all the contradictions of German democracy flow together", in a word, that the fellow in Bremen is no less a person than "*Arnold Winkelried Ruge*", the fifth wheel on the carriage of state of European central democracy.[385] Now one can understand the depravity of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.*

London, January 27, 1851

*Karl Marx, Frederick Engels*

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[a] Allusion to Arnold Ruge, who was represented as a trained bear in Heinrich Heine's "Atta Troll".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## INTRODUCTION TO THE LEAFLET OF L. A. BLANQUI'S TOAST SENT TO THE REFUGEE COMMITTEE[386]

Some wretched deceivers of the people, the so-called Central Committee of European Social-Democrats, in truth a committee of the European central mob, presided over by Messrs. Willich, Schapper, etc., celebrated in London the anniversary of the February Revolution. *Louis Blanc*, representative of sentimental phrase-socialism, joined this clique of second-rate pretenders in an *intrigue* against another traitor to the people, *Ledru-Rollin*. At their banquet they read out various addresses supposedly received by them. All their efforts notwithstanding, they had not succeeded in wheedling a single address from Germany. A propitious sign of the development of the German proletariat!

They wrote also to *Blanqui*, the noble martyr of revolutionary communism, requesting an address. He replied with the following toast:

### WARNING TO THE PEOPLE

What is the pitfall that menaces tomorrow's revolution? The same which caused the downfall of yesterday's, the deplorable popularity of bourgeois disguised as champions of the people.

Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, Crémieux, Marie, Lamartine, Garnier-Pagès, Dupont (de l'Eure), Flocon, Albert, Arago, Marrast!

An ominous list! Sinister names written in letters of blood on all the streets of democratic Europe.

The Provisional Government has killed the Revolution! On its head rests the responsibility for all the disasters, for the blood of so many thousands of victims!

Reaction only did its job when it strangled democracy. The crime lies with the traitors whom the trusting people accepted as leaders and who delivered the people up to reaction.

Miserable government! In spite of all the entreaties and cries of anguish it hurls at the peasants the 45-centime tax and drives them to desperation and insurrection.

It kept in being the royalist general staffs, the royalist magistrates, and the royalist law. Treason!

It fell on the workers of Paris on April 16, it imprisoned those of Limoges, fired on those of Rouen on the 27th; it let loose all its hounds, it tracked down all true republicans. Treason! Treason!

It, and it alone, bears the terrible responsibility for all the calamities which have almost annihilated the 1848 Revolution!

Ah, they are very guilty men, but the guiltiest of all are those in whom the people, deceived by their fine phrases, saw its sword and shield; those whom it enthusiastically proclaimed the arbiters of its future.

Woe betide if on the day of the approaching triumph of the people the forgetful indulgence of the masses were to allow to regain power a single one of the men who have forfeited their mandate! That would be the end of the revolution for the second time!

May the workers always keep in mind this list of cursed names, and if a single one, yes, a single one were ever to appear again in a revolutionary government, let them all cry with one voice: Treason!

Speeches, sermons, programmes would again be nothing but lies and deceit; the same conjurers would only come back to produce the same tricks from the same bag; they would form the first link in a new chain of more ferocious reaction. Curse and vengeance upon them, should they ever dare to appear again! Shame and pity on the simple masses who would be caught in their nets again!

But it is not enough that the conjurers of February are for ever banned from the Hôtel de Ville; one must insure against new traitors.

Rulers would be traitors if, raised to power on the workers' shoulders,they did not at once put in practice:

1) the general disarming of the bourgeois guards;

2) the arming and military organisation of all the workers.

No doubt there are many other indispensable measures, but they naturally flow from this first act which is the preliminary guarantee, the sole pledge of security for the people.

Not a single weapon must remain in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Without that there is no salvation!

The various doctrines which today vie for the sympathy of the masses may well one day be able to keep their promises of improvements and well-being, but only on condition that they do not abandon the prize for the shadow.

They would lead to nothing but a miserable miscarriage if the people, exclusively preoccupied with theories, were to neglect the only practical element of security: force.

Arms and organisation are the decisive ingredients of progress, and the only serious means of putting an end to misery!

He who has arms has bread. One falls on one's knees before bayonets; unarmed crowds are swept away like chaff. France bristling with workers in arms, that is the coming of socialism.

In the face of armed proletarians all obstacles, all resistance, all impossibilities will disappear.

But proletarians who let themselves be amused by ridiculous promenades on the

streets, by the planting of "trees of liberty", by the ringing phrases of lawyers, must expect holy water to begin with, injuries to follow, eventually bullets, and always misery.

Let the people choose!

Prison of Belle-Île-en-Mer
February 10, 1851

First published as a leaflet:
*Trinkspruch gesandt durch den Bürger L. A. Blanqui an die Kommission der Flüchtlinge zu London für die Jahresfeier des 24. Februar 1851. Veröffentlicht durch die Freunde der Gleichheit*, Bern, 1851
(real place of publication: Cologne)

Printed according to the leaflet

The introduction is published in English for the first time

# Frederick Engels

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE TIMES*[387]

Sir,

In your paper of to-day, I find a letter from M. Louis Blanc,[a] referring to the Banquet des Egaux, held in London on the 24th of February, and to a certain toast sent thither by M. Blanqui, the prisoner in Belle-Île-en-mer. Allow me to make a few observations upon this letter.

At the banquet the name of Blanqui was inscribed in large characters on the wall, amongst the names of other heroes and martyrs of democracy. At that same meeting, a toast was brought forward to "the martyrs to calumny": to Marat, Robespierre... and—Blanqui! All the toasts and speeches brought forward on this occasion, had to be submitted to the committee of the organisers of that beautiful and imposing manifestation as early as the 15th of February. M. Blanc was a member of that committee, he must, therefore, have approved beforehand of this toast to M. Blanqui. How can M. Blanc now make M. Blanqui again "a martyr to calumny" by calling him

> "one of those unhappy beings, who in their rage attempt violence against renown, and who would lose the best of causes if it were possible to lose them"?

M. Blanc states the toast not to be sent by the prisoners of Belle Île, but to be the exclusive work of M. Blanqui. Of course, M. Blanqui is to be presumed the author of toasts and documents put forward under his name. But the toast in question, as is well known in France, was adopted and published by the Société des amis de

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[a] *The Times* No. 20741, March 5, 1851.—*Ed.*

l'Egalité which society comprises those prisoners of Belle Île, who hold with M. Blanqui; for this gentleman has his friends amongst the prisoners quite as well as M. Barbès, the protector of M. Louis Blanc.

As to the "imposing and beautiful manifestation" and the "union of more than a thousand individuals belonging to different nations", it should not be forgotten that this touching scene was, as far as M. Blanc was concerned, nothing but a "*fraternal*" demonstration against M. Ledru-Rollin, in order to take vengeance—as he, M. Blanc, has publicly stated—for having been excluded from the Central European Democratic Committee of Messrs. Ledru-Rollin, Mazzini and others.

As respects the "renown" of M. Louis Blanc, it would be more prudent for him not to touch upon that delicate subject, until this "renown" had recovered from the terrible blows which M. Proudhon, some time ago, inflicted upon it.[388]

M. Blanc, it seems, would shelter himself from the attacks of M. Blanqui by blazoning forth his capacity of exile and proscribed. And are not the sons of Louis Philippe exiles too? And has M. Blanc restrained the violence of his attack against that same M. Proudhon, who was, not an exile living comfortably at 87 Piccadilly—an abode certainly far from being fit for Ovidian *Tristia* to be written in, but who was a prisoner in the hands of the law?[389]

M. Blanc seems to reproach M. Blanqui with having given publicity to his toast in "counter-revolutionary journals". M. Blanc knows well enough that since May 1850 a "revolutionary" press exists no longer in France. And pray, M. Louis Blanc, you who address yourself with all your "civilities" to the Editor of *The Times*, since when is *The Times*, in your eyes, a democratic, socialist and revolutionary paper?

In order, however, to enable the public to judge of that extraordinary document which so excites the indignation of M. Blanc, and which even now forms the general theme of the French press, I submit to you a translation in full and hope that it will be not without interest to the English public.

I am, Sir, your most ob-t servant

*Veritas*

Written on March 5, 1851

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Reprinted from Engels' rough draft

Published in English for the first time

# Frederick Engels

## [CONDITIONS AND PROSPECTS OF A WAR OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE AGAINST FRANCE IN 1852][390]

I take it for granted that any victorious Parisian revolution in 1852 will immediately result in a war of the Holy Alliance against France.

This war will be quite different from that of 1792-94, and the events which occurred at that time can in no way serve as a parallel.

### I

The miracles of the Convention in the military defeat of the Coalition are much diminished on closer examination, and Napoleon's contempt for the fourteen armies of the Convention is comprehensible and in many respects even justified; Napoleon used to say that the chief part was played by the blunders of the Coalition, which is quite correct, and even when on St. Helena he still regarded Carnot as a mediocrity.

In August 1792, 90,000 Prussians and Austrians swooped down on France. The King of Prussia[a] wanted to march directly on Paris, but Brunswick and the Austrian generals did not want to. There was no unity of command; sometimes hesitation, sometimes rapid advance, plans always being changed. After the Allies had passed through the Argonne defiles, they were opposed by Dumouriez at Valmy and St. Menehould. They could have bypassed him and left him where he was; he would have had to follow them to Paris, and with any moderately sensible procedure he would not have been a danger to them even in the rear. But they could also have acted more safely and defeated him in battle, which was not difficult since they had more and better troops, as the French themselves admit. Instead

[a] Frederick William II.—*Ed.*

they unleashed the ridiculous cannonade of Valmy, where during the battle, indeed even during the attack by the columns, more than once the generals jumped from a more audacious to a more hesitant attitude. The two attacks themselves were pitiful as regards mass, vigour and spirit.[a] It was not the soldiers who were to blame, but the vacillations in the command; the attacks were hardly worthy of the name, they were at most demonstrations. A resolute advance along the whole line would certainly have overthrown the French volunteers and the demoralised regiments. After the battle, the Allies again remained where they were without knowing what to do, until the soldiers became ill.

In the Jemappes campaign, Dumouriez triumphed because he at first half instinctively counterposed a mass concentration of forces to the Austrian system of cordons and endlessly long fronts (from Ostende to the Maas).[391] In the following spring, however, he committed the same mistake—owing to his whim of wanting to conquer Holland; the Austrians, on the other hand, advanced in concentrated formation; the result was the battle of Neerwinden and the loss of Belgium.[392] At Neerwinden, and particularly also in the smaller engagements of this campaign, it was seen that when the French volunteers, these much vaunted heroes, were not constantly under the eye of Dumouriez they did not fight better than the South German "people's militia" of 1849.

Then, in addition, Dumouriez defected, Vendée revolted, the army was split and discouraged, and if the 130,000 Austrians and British had marched determinedly on Paris, the revolution would have been bankrupt and Paris conquered—exactly as in the previous year, if such stupidities had not taken place. Instead, these gentlemen laid siege to the fortresses and set about achieving the most minute advantages *en détail*, one after the other, with the greatest expenditure of strategic pedantry, and frittered away six whole months.

The French army, which still held together after Lafayette's defection, can be estimated at 120,000 men, and the volunteers of 1792 at 60,000. In March 1793, 300,000 men were conscripted. In August therefore, when the *levée en masse* was decreed, the French army must have been at least 300,000-350,000 strong. The *levée en masse* raised it by about 700,000. Taking into account all deductions, in the beginning of 1794 the French put about 750,000 men in the field against the Coalition, considerably more than the Coalition put against France.

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[a] This word is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

From April 1793 until October, the French were beaten everywhere, only the blows had no decisive effect thanks to the Coalition's systematic delays. From October onwards there were alternating successes. In winter the campaign was suspended, in the spring of 1794 the *levées en masse* came into the line of battle with full effect; the result was victories in all areas in May, until finally in June the victory of Fleurus decided the fate of the revolution.[393]

Therefore the Convention, and the Ministry of August 10[394] before it, had time enough for arming. From August 10, 1792, to March 1793 nothing happened—the volunteers hardly count. In March 1793, the 300,000 men were conscripted—from then until the following March the Convention had plenty of time and freedom for arming, a whole year, during ten months of which the revolutionary party was freed from all obstacles by the overthrow of the Girondists. And in a country of 25 million, which had the normal proportion of the population capable of bearing arms, when a whole year was available, it did not require a miracle to mobilise a million soldiers, 750,000 being active combatants (3 per cent of the population), against a foreign foe, however much of a novelty it was at that time.

With the exception of the Vendée, I consider the internal revolts of no account from the military point of view. Except Lyons and Toulon, they were quelled within six weeks without a blow being struck. Lyons was captured by the *levées en masse*, Toulon owing to Napoleon's striking incursion by means of a resolute storm and because of the mistakes of the defenders.

The 750,000 men who were led against the Coalition in 1794 included at least 100,000 old soldiers from the time of the monarchy and 150,000 other soldiers, derived partly from the volunteers and partly from the *levée* of 300,000, who had become accustomed to war in the continual fighting for eighteen or twelve months respectively. In addition, at least half of the 500,000 new recruits had already taken part in the fighting during September, October and November of 1793, and the youngest of them must have been at least three months in the battalions when they were led against the enemy. In his Spanish campaign, Napoleon estimated at 3-4 weeks the time required for training: the *école de bataillon*.[a] Not counting the subalterns and staff officers, who at that time were on the average certainly better among the Coalition forces, the French army of

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[a] Engels apparently refers to Napoleon's "Note sur la position actuelle de l'armée en Espagne", Bayonne, 1808, in the book: W. F. P. Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula...*, Vol. I.—*Ed.*

1794, thanks to the time allowed it for organisation, and thanks to the Allies' eternally inconclusive system of combat—a system which demoralises a well-tried, particularly aggressive army, and which disciplines that of the enemy, if it is a young army and on the defensive, and makes it accustomed to war—the French army of 1794 was therefore no raw, noisy, enthusiastic band of volunteers ready "to die for the Republic", but a very fair army,[a] certainly a match for the enemy. In 1794, the French generals were in any case much superior, although they made blunders enough; but the guillotine ensured unity of command and harmonious operations where the representatives [of the Convention] did not commit stupidities on their own account, which only exceptionally occurred. *Le noble Saint-Just en fit plusieurs.*[b]

Marginal notes on mass tactics:

1. The first crude notion of them arose from the successful manoeuvre at Jemappes, which was the result of instinct rather than military calculation. It arose from the chaotic state of the French army, which needed numerical superiority in order to have any degree of military self-confidence; mass had to take the place of discipline. Carnot's share in this discovery is not at all clear.

2. These mass tactics remained in the crudest of states and in 1794 at Tourcoing[395] and Fleurus, for example, were not applied at all (the French, and Carnot himself, committed the most flagrant blunders), until finally Napoleon in 1796 by the six days' Piedmont campaign and the actual annihilation *en détail* of a superior force[396] showed people the goal towards which they were moving without having previously had any clear idea of it.

3. As regards Carnot himself, he is a fellow about whom I am increasingly suspicious. Of course, I cannot make a definitive judgment, I do not have his dispatches to the generals. But from what is available his chief merit seems to have consisted in the boundless ignorance and incapacity of his predecessors Pache and Bouchotte, and in the total unfamiliarity with military matters of all the rest of the *Comité de salut public.*[397] *Dans le royaume des aveugles, le borgne est roi.*[c] Carnot, an old officer of the Engineers, who himself had been a representative [of the Convention] with the Northern Army, knew what a fortress or an army required in the way of material etc., and particularly what the French lacked. He had necessarily, too, a certain understanding of the way to mobilise the

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[a] Engels gives this phrase in English.—*Ed.*
[b] The noble Saint-Just committed several.—*Ed.*
[c] In the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed man is king.—*Ed.*

military resources of a country like France, and since, in connection with a revolutionary *levée en masse,* where in any case there is considerable waste,[a] a certain amount of squandering of resources does not matter as long as the main aim, the speedy mobilisation of these resources, is achieved, it follows that there is no need to ascribe to Carnot any great degree of genius to explain his results. What makes me doubtful *pour sa part*[b] in the invention of mass warfare that is ascribed to him is, in particular, that his most far-reaching plans of 1793-94 were based on precisely the opposite mode of warfare; he *divided* the French armies instead of concentrating them, and he operated against the flanks of the enemy in such a way that the latter *himself* became *concentrated.* And then there is his later career, his display of knightly virtue under the Consulate, etc., his vaunted defence of Antwerp—the defence of a fortress is on the average the best post in which an officer who is mediocre, methodical but endowed with a certain tenacity can achieve distinction, and after all the siege of Antwerp in 1814 did not last three months, and finally his attempt to force the methods of 1793 on Napoleon in 1815 when confronted by the centralised 1,200,000 soldiers of the Coalition, and that under a totally altered system of warfare, and his philistinism in general; all that does not testify to Carnot's genius. And then, when has a decent fellow been known to have bluffed his way, as he did, through Thermidor, Fructidor, Brumaire,[398] etc.

*Summa summarum.* The Convention was saved solely and exclusively because the Coalition was *not centralised* and therefore the Convention was given a full year in which to arm. It was saved, as old Fritz[c] was saved in the Seven Years' War,[399] and as Wellington was saved in Spain in 1809, although the French were quantitatively and qualitatively at least three times as strong as all their opponents together, and their colossal power was paralysed only because in Napoleon's absence the marshals played all kinds of dirty tricks on one another.

## II

By now the Coalition has long ago got over the stupidities of 1793. It is splendidly centralised. It was centralised already in 1813. The Russian campaign of 1812 made Russia the centre of gravity of the entire Holy Alliance for a war on the Continent.

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[a] Engels uses the English "waste".—*Ed.*
[b] For his part.—*Ed.*
[c] Frederick II.—*Ed.*

Russian troops formed the main mass around which only later the Prussians, Austrians, etc., were grouped, and they continued to be the main mass all the way to Paris. Alexander was in fact the commander-in-chief of all the armies (that is to say, the Russian general staff behind Alexander). But since 1848 the Holy Alliance has been built on an even much more solid basis. The development of the counter-revolution in 1849-51 had reduced the Continent, apart from France, to the same position in relation to Russia as that of the Rhenish Federation [400] and Italy in relation to Napoleon, one of pure vassalage. Nicholas, i.e. Paskevich, is the inevitable dictator of the Holy Alliance *en cas de guerre*[a] just as Nesselrode is *en temps de paix*.[b]

Furthermore, as far as the modern art of war is concerned, it has been completely developed by Napoleon. Until certain conditions come into effect, which we shall deal with below, there remains no other course than to imitate Napoleon as far as conditions allow. This modern art of war, however, is universally known. In Prussia it has been drilled into every second lieutenant already before his ensign's examination, insofar as it can be drilled in. As for the Austrians, they came to know their bad, specifically Austrian, generals in the Hungarian campaign and got rid of them—such as Windischgrätz, Welden, Götz and other old women. On the other hand—since we no longer have any *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in which to write, we need no longer harbour any illusions—there are Radetzky's two campaigns in Italy, the first excellent, the second a masterly one.[401] Who helped him in this connection is of no consequence, in any case the old fellow has *bon sens*[c] enough to grasp the excellent ideas of other people. His defensive position in 1848 between the four fortresses of Peschiera, Mantua, Legnago and Verona, all four sides of the rectangle well protected, and his defence of this position until help arrived, in the midst of an insurgent country, would be a masterpiece if his ability to hold out had not been tremendously facilitated by the pitiful leadership, disunity and endless vacillation of the Italian generals, the intrigues of Charles Albert and the support of the reactionary aristocrats and clergy in the enemy camp. Nor should it be forgotten that he was sitting in the most fertile country in the world and had no worries over provisions for his army.

*For the Austrians*, however, the campaign of 1849 was *unprecedented*. The Piedmontese, instead of barring the road to Turin at Novara

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[a] In case of war.—*Ed.*
[b] In time of peace.—*Ed.*
[c] Common sense.—*Ed.*

and Mortara (a line three miles long) with a concentrated mass of troops, which would have been the best course, or of advancing from there on Milan in two or three columns, took up positions from Sesto to Piacenza—a line of twenty miles—with 70,000 men, only 3,500 men per German mile,[a] and involving 3 to 4 days' hard march from one wing to the other. A miserable concentric operation against Milan, for which they were everywhere too weak. Radetzky, seeing that the Italians were using the old Austrian system of 1792, operated against them exactly as Napoleon would have done. The Piedmontese line was cut into two pieces by the Po, a glaring blunder. Radetzky broke through the line close to the Po, separated the two southern from the three northern divisions by driving in between them a wedge of 60,000 men, swiftly attacked the three northern divisions (a concentration of scarcely 35,000 men) with his whole force, threw them back into the Alps, and separated the two corps of the Piedmontese army from each other and from Turin. This manoeuvre, which ended the campaign in three days, and was almost literally copied from that conducted by Napoleon in 1809 at Abensberg and Eggmühl,[402] the most brilliant of all Napoleon's manoeuvres, proves at any rate that the Austrians are far from continuing to act in accordance with the old motto "always slowly forward"[b]. It was precisely speed that decided everything here. The treacherous acts of the aristocrats and Ramorino made things easier, especially owing to accurate information about the position and plans of the Italians, and also because of the meanness of the Savoy brigade at Novara, which did not fight but plundered. But from the military aspect, the pitiful disposition of the Piedmontese forces and Radetzky's manoeuvre fully suffice to explain the latter's success. Under all circumstances, these two facts were bound to have this result.

Finally, by the very nature of their army, the Russians are compelled to adopt a system of warfare which comes very close to the modern one. The main strength of their army consists of massed, semi-barbaric, and therefore clumsy, infantry, and a numerous force of semi-barbaric, light, irregular cavalry (Cossacks). In decisive encounters, in large-scale battles, the Russians have never operated with other than massed forces; Suvorov understood that already when storming Ismail and Ochakov.[403] The mobility they lack is partly made up for by the irregular cavalry, which swarms around

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[a] 7,420 metres; 1 German mile equals 4.87 English miles.—*Ed.*

[b] From the refrain to a German song popular during the liberation war of 1813.—*Ed.*

them on all sides and masks any movement of the army. But it is precisely this ponderous massive character of the Russian army that makes it pre-eminently suited to form the core and backbone, the pivot, of a coalition army, the operations of which are always bound to be slower than those of a national army. This role the Russians played with distinction in 1813 and 1814 and in those years hardly any battle plan occurs in which the massive Russian columns do not at once stand out from all others by their depth and density.

Since 1812 the French can hardly be regarded as the pre-eminent bearers of the Napoleonic tradition. This tradition has more or less passed to all the big European armies; in each of them, for the most part already in the last years of the Empire, it has resulted in a revolution; each of these armies in its strategy and tactics has adopted the Napoleonic system, insofar as this is in harmony with the character of the army. The levelling influence of the bourgeois epoch is also apparent here; the old national peculiarities are disappearing in the armies as well, and the French, Austrian and Prussian armies, and even to a great extent the British army, are more or less equally well-organised machines for carrying out Napoleonic manoeuvres. This does not prevent them from having very diverse qualities in regard to fighting, and so on. Of all the (big) European armies, however, only the Russian, semi-barbaric, army is capable of having its own tactics and strategy, for it alone is not yet ripe for the completely developed modern system of warfare.

As for the French, owing to the little war in Algeria[404] they have interrupted even the continuity of the Napoleonic tradition of large-scale war. It remains to be seen whether in this predatory war the disadvantageous consequences for discipline are outweighed by the advantages of inuredness to war, whether the war accustoms men to hardship or breaks them by over-exertion; and finally, whether it does not also ruin the generals' *coup d'œil*[a] in a large-scale war. In any case, the French cavalry is being ruined in Algeria, it is forgetting what constitutes its force, the compact *choc*,[b] and it is becoming accustomed to a system of harassment in which the Cossacks, Hungarians, and Poles will always remain superior to it. Among the generals, Oudinot made a fool of himself before Rome, and only Cavaignac distinguished himself in June—but all that still does not amount to any *grandes épreuves*.[c]

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[a] Sure-sightedness.—*Ed.*
[b] Onslaught.—*Ed.*
[c] Great tests.—*Ed.*

On the whole, therefore, the chances of superiority in strategy and tactics are at least as much in favour of the Coalition as in favour of the revolution.

## III

But will not a new revolution which brings to power an entirely new class give rise, like the first one, to new means and ways of waging war, compared with which the present Napoleonic ones will appear just as obsolete and ineffective as those of the Seven Years' War compared with those of the first Revolution?

The modern warfare is the necessary product of the French Revolution. Its precondition is the social and political emancipation of *the bourgeoisie and small peasants.* The bourgeoisie provides the money, the small peasants supply the soldiers. The emancipation of both classes from feudal and guild fetters is required in order to provide the colossal armies of the present day; and the degree of wealth and education connected with this stage of social development is equally required in order to provide the material in the way of weapons, munitions, provisions, and so on, necessary for modern armies, and in order to provide the required number of trained officers and to give the soldier himself the required degree of intelligence.

I deal with the modern system of war as fully developed by Napoleon. Its two pivots are: the mass character of means of attack in men, horses and guns, and the mobility of these means of attack. Mobility is the essential consequence of massiveness. Modern armies cannot, like the small armies of the Seven Years' War, march to and fro for months on an area of twenty miles. They cannot bring in their train stores containing their total food requirements. They must swoop down on a region like a swarm of locusts, ravage all its food supplies within reach of the cavalry, and must depart when everything has been devoured. The stores are adequate if they suffice only for unforeseen contingencies; they are continually depleted and replenished; they have to follow the rapid march of the army and therefore seldom suffice to cover the needs of the army even for a single month. The modern system of war is, therefore, impossible for a long period in a poor, semi-barbaric, thinly populated country. Owing to this impossibility, the French perished slowly in Spain and rapidly in Russia. On the other hand, however, the Spaniards were also ruined owing to the French, their country was very largely sucked dry. Even in Poland the Russians cannot make use of their own clumsy system of mass warfare for a long

period, and in Russia itself they cannot make use of it at all as long as they have no railways. The defensive at the Dnieper and the Dvina would spell ruin for Russia.

But this degree of mobility requires also a certain degree of education of the soldier, who in many cases must know how to look after himself. The considerable extension of patrol and foraging expeditions, outpost duties, etc., the greater activity demanded of every soldier, the more frequent recurrence of cases in which the soldier has to act on his own and has to rely on his own intellectual resources, and, finally, the great importance of skirmish engagements in the fighting, the success of which depends on the intelligence, the *coup d'œil* and the energy of each individual soldier—all this presupposes a greater degree of education of the non-commissioned officer and rank-and-file soldier than was the case under old Fritz. A barbaric or semi-barbaric nation, however, is unable to offer a degree of education of the masses such that 500,000-600,000 men recruited at random could, on the one hand, become disciplined and trained to act like machines, and at the same time acquire or retain this *coup d'œil* for small-scale warfare. The barbarians, e.g. the Cossacks, are by nature gifted with this *coup d'œil* of the robber; but on the other hand, they are as much incapable of regular military duties as the Russian serf infantrymen, on the contrary, are proper skirmishing.

This universal average degree of education which the modern system of war requires in every soldier is to be found only in the most developed countries: in Britain, where the soldier, however raw a yokel he was, goes through the civilising school of the towns; in France, where the emancipated small peasants and the astute mob of the towns (*remplaçants*[a]) constitute the army; in North Germany, where feudalism likewise has either been destroyed or has assumed *plus ou moins*[b] bourgeois forms, and where the towns provide a considerable contingent for the army; finally, after the last wars, it seems to exist also in at least that part of the Austrian army which is recruited from the least feudal areas. Apart from Britain, small peasant farming is everywhere the basis of the army, and the army is the more fitted for the modern system of war the closer the position of the small peasant comes to that of the free owner.

But the mobility of the masses, as well as that of the individual soldier, presupposes the degree of civilisation of the bourgeois epoch. The sluggishness of the pre-revolutionary armies is closely

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[a] Substitutes for those who have bought exemption from military service.—*Ed.*
[b] More or less.—*Ed.*

bound up with feudalism. The mass of officers' conveyances was by itself a hindrance to all movement. The armies crawled along just as slowly as all movement. The rising bureaucracy of the absolute monarchies introduced rather more order into the management of army materials, but at the same time its alliance with *haute finance* led to organised fraud *en gros*, and where the bureaucracy was of some benefit to the armies it did them twice as much harm by infecting them with a spirit of schematism and pedantry. Witness[a] the All-Highest old Fritz himself. Even now Russia is suffering from all these evils; the Russian army, which is everywhere cheated and fleeced, is starving, and on the march the men die like flies. Only a bourgeois state feeds its troops tolerably and therefore can count on the mobility of its army.

As regards mobility, therefore, this is in every respect a characteristic of the bourgeois armies. But mobility is not only the necessary complement to the mass character of the army, it often replaces it (Napoleon in Piedmont, 1796).

Mass character, however, is just as much a special characteristic of modern civilised armies as is mobility.

However diverse the methods of recruitment may be—conscription, the Prussian army reserve, the Swiss militia, the *levée en masse*—the experience of the last sixty years proves that under the regime of the bourgeoisie and free small peasants not more than 7 per cent of the population can be put under arms in any people's war; hence about 5 per cent can be actively utilised. Accordingly France in the autumn of 1793, with an estimated population of 25 million, could have mustered 1,750,000 soldiers and 1,250,000 active combatants. At that time, these 1,250,000 were more or less present at the frontiers, before Toulon, and in the Vendée, taking both sides into account here. In Prussia—with at present 16 million inhabitants—7 per cent and 5 per cent would amount to 1,120,000 and 800,000 men respectively. But the entire Prussian forces, regular army and army reserve, hardly amount to 600,000 men. This example shows how much even 5 per cent involves for a nation.

*Eh bien*—whereas France and Prussia can easily call under arms 5 per cent of their population, and in case of need even 7 per cent, Austria in the most extreme case can call up at most 5 per cent, and Russia hardly 3 per cent. For Austria, 5 per cent would be 1,750,000, out of an estimated 35 million. In 1849, Austria strained itself to the utmost. It had about 550,000 men. The Hungarians, whose forces had been doubled as the result of the Kossuth notes, had perhaps

[a] This word is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

350,000. I calculate in addition 50,000 Lombards who had escaped conscription or were serving in the Piedmontese army—making a total of 950,000 men, consequently not even $2^2/_3$ per cent of the population; at the same time the Croat borderers,[405] who lived under exceptional conditions, furnished at least 15 per cent of *their* population. Russia, at a low estimate, has 72 million inhabitants; therefore at 5 per cent it should be able to raise 3,600,000 men. Instead of this, it has never been able to muster more than 1,500,000, including both regular and irregular troops, and in its own country it has been able to lead at most 1,000,000 of these against the enemy, i.e. its total force was never above $2^1/_{12}$ per cent, and its active force never above $1^7/_{18}$ or 1.39 per cent. The sparse population over an enormous area, the lack of communications and the small national production explain this easily enough.

Like mobility, the mass character of means of attack is necessarily the result of a higher stage of civilisation, and, in particular, the modern proportion of the armed mass to the total population is incompatible with any state of society inferior to that of the emancipated bourgeoisie.

Hence modern warfare presupposes the emancipation of the bourgeois and peasants; it is the *military expression* of this emancipation.

The emancipation of the proletariat, too, will have its particular military expression, it will give rise to a specific, new method of warfare. *Cela est clair.* It is even possible already to determine the kind of material basis this new warfare will have.

But just as the mere conquest of political power by the present ill-defined French and German proletariat, which partly forms the tail-end of other classes, is a long way from the real emancipation of the proletariat, which consists in the abolition of all class contradictions, so the initial warfare in the coming revolution is equally far removed from the warfare of the truly emancipated proletariat.

The real emancipation of the proletariat, the complete abolition of all class distinctions and the complete concentration of all the means of production, in Germany and France presupposes the co-operation of Britain and at least a doubling of the means of production now existing in Germany and France. But precisely that is the precondition also for a new form of warfare.

Napoleon's magnificent discoveries in the science of war cannot be wiped out by a miracle. The new science of war must be just as much a necessary product of the new social relations as the science of war created by the revolution and Napoleon was the necessary result of

the new relations brought about by the revolution. But just as in the proletarian revolution the question for industry is not one of abolishing steam machines but of multiplying them, so for warfare it is a question not of diminishing but of intensifying the mass character and mobility of armies.

Increased productive forces were the precondition for the Napoleonic warfare; new productive forces must likewise be the precondition for every new perfection in warfare. The railways and the electric telegraph will already today provide a talented general or Minister of War with an occasion for quite new combinations in a European war. The gradual increase of the productive forces, and of the population along with them, has likewise provided the opportunity for greater accumulation of masses. In France, with 36 instead of 25 million inhabitants, 5 per cent yields now not 1,250,000 but 1,800,000 men. In both cases the power of the civilised countries has increased compared with that of the barbaric countries. The former alone have large railway networks and their population has grown twice as fast as that of Russia, for example.

All these calculations prove, incidentally, that a *lasting* subjection of Western Europe to Russia is quite impossible and becomes more impossible every day.

The power of the new kind of warfare that will result from the abolition of classes cannot, however, lie in the fact that with the growth of the population the available 5 per cent constitute ever more considerable masses. It must lie in the fact that it will become possible to call under arms not 5 per cent or 7 per cent of the population, but 12-16 per cent, i.e. half or two-thirds of the male adults—healthy persons of from 18 to 30, or eventually 40 years of age. But just as Russia cannot increase its available force from 2-3 per cent to 5 per cent without a complete revolution of its entire internal social and political organisation, and, above all, of its production, so Germany and France cannot raise their available force from 5 per cent to 12 per cent without revolutionising their production and more than doubling it. Only if, by means of machinery, etc., the labour of each individual on the average becomes worth twice as much as at present, can the number of those who can be spared from production be doubled—even for a short time, for no country has ever kept the 5 per cent afoot for a long time.

If the necessary conditions for it are fulfilled, if national production has been sufficiently increased and centralised, if classes have been abolished, which is absolutely essential—owing to his social, aristocratic position, the Prussian one-year volunteer,[406] as long as he is not an N.C.O. or officer of the army reserve, will never

be a useful soldier alongside the peasants and workers—then the only restriction to the actual levy is the number of the population capable of bearing arms, that is to say, in an extreme emergency for a short time 15-20 per cent of the population can be armed and 12-15 per cent actually led against the enemy. These enormous masses, however, presuppose a degree of mobility quite different even from that of the present-day armies. Without a complete railway network, they can be neither concentrated nor fed, nor can they be kept supplied with munitions, or able to move. And without the electric telegraph it is quite impossible to direct them; and since in the case of such masses it is impossible for the strategist and the tactician (who is in command on the battlefield) to be one and the same person, division of labour comes into effect here. Strategic operations, the co-operation of the various corps, have to be directed from the central point of the telegraph lines; tactical operations have to be directed by the individual generals. It is clear that under these conditions, wars can and must be decided in a much shorter time than they were even by Napoleon. The expense factor requires it, the necessary decisive effect of each blow with such masses makes it inevitable.

In mass and strategic mobility, therefore, these armies must be quite unprecedentedly formidable. With such soldiers, tactical mobility (in patrolling, skirmishing, and on the battlefield) must likewise be considerably greater, they are more robust, agile and intelligent than anything that present-day society can offer.

Unfortunately, however, all this can be put into effect only after a long period of years and at a time when, owing to lack of an adequate enemy, such wars on a mass scale can no longer occur. The primary conditions for all this do not exist in the first period of the proletarian revolution, least of all in the year 1852.

The proletariat in France at present is certainly barely double the percentage of the population that it was in 1789. At that time—at least between 1792 and 1794—the proletariat was in such a state of ferment and tension as will only recur in the near future. At that time it already became evident that in revolutionary wars with violent internal convulsions *the mass of the proletariat is needed for use within the country*. The same thing will now be the case once again and probably more so than ever, since the chances of the immediate outbreak of civil wars increase as the Allies advance. Hence the proletariat will be able to send only a small contingent to the active army; the main source of the levy remains the mob and the peasants. That is to say, the revolution will have to wage war with the means and by the methods of the general modern warfare.

Only an ideological theorist could ask whether it would not be possible with these means, i.e. with an active army of 4-5 per cent of the population, to devise new combinations and discover new surprising methods of application. Just as it is impossible to increase the output of the loom fourfold without replacing the motive power, hand labour, by steam, without discovering a new means of production that has little in common with the old hand loom, so it is impossible in the art of war to produce new results by the old means. Only the production of new, more powerful means makes it possible to achieve new, more magnificent results. Every great general who marks an epoch in the history of war owing to new combinations, either himself invents new material means or first discovers the correct use of new material means invented before him. Between Turenne and the old Fritz lies the revolution in the use of infantry, the supersession of the pike and matchlock by the bayonet and flintlock—and old Fritz's epoch-making achievement in the science of war lies in the fact that in general, within the limits of the warfare of that time, he transformed and developed the old tactics in conformity with the new instruments. Just as Napoleon's epoch-making achievement lies in the fact that he found the sole correct tactical and strategic application for the more colossal army masses made possible by the revolution, and moreover developed this application so completely that on the whole modern generals, far from being able to go further than he did, in their most brilliant and cleverest operations only try to copy him.

*Summa summarum*, the revolution will have to fight with modern means of war and the modern art of war against modern means of war and the modern art of war. The chances of military talent are at least as great for the Coalition as they are for France: *Ce seront alors les gros bataillons qui l'emporteront.*[a]

## IV

Let us now see what battalions can be brought into the battle line, and how they can be used.

1. *Russia.* The Russian army on a peace footing consists nominally of 1,100,000 men; in reality about 750,000. Since 1848 the government has continually worked to attain a force of 1,500,000 men on a war footing, and Nicholas and Paskevich have themselves carried out a revision as far as possible throughout. At a low estimate, therefore, Russia has now actually attained its full peace time

[a] Then the big battalions will win.—*Ed.*

effective of 1,100,000 men. From this must be deducted, on a high estimate:

| | |
|---|---|
| For the Caucasus | 100,000 men |
| „ Russia proper | 150,000 „ |
| „ the Polish provinces | 150,000 „ |
| „ the sick, detached, etc. | 150,000 „ |
| | 550,000 men. |

There remain *550,000* men available for active service against external enemies. That is an estimate hardly greater than the number Russia actually sent across the frontiers in 1813.

2. *Prussia.* The splendid army, if the entire army reserve of the first and the second call-up, the supernumeraries, and everything are called up, amounts to a least 650,000 men. At the present moment, however, the government can mobilise at most 550,000 men. I put the figure at only 500,000. These need to detach only a little in excess of the second call-up (150,000 men) for garrisons, etc., since everywhere the gradual calling up of supernumeraries and of the new conscripts for next year—which Nicholas will already be taking steps to ensure—as well as the Russian troops continually on the march through the country, would form a sufficient reserve against any internal attempt at an uprising. Moreover, the Prussians have fewer sick, since they are concentrated in their own country and have a lesser distance to march to the Rhine than the Russians. Nevertheless, as in the case of the Russians, I deduct half, leaving available the other half, amounting to *250,000 men.*

3. *Austria.* At a low estimate, Austria has under arms and on leave, the latter being as quickly available for the army as the Prussian army reserve, 600,000 men. Here, too, I deduct half, since for at least two-thirds of the monarchy, until the formation of new reserves, the advancing Russians serve as a reserve within the country and keep the hotbeds of insurrection in check. There remain *300,000 men* available for use against the enemy.

4. *The German Confederation.* Since the gentlemen live close to the Rhine and the whole Coalition marches through their territory, they hardly require any garrison against the interior, all the less because with the first successes of the Coalition against France the reserve armies would take their stand right across Germany, from north to south. The German Confederation provides at least *120,000 men.*

5. The forces of the Italian governments, the Danes, Belgians, Dutch, Swedes, etc., I put for the time being at *80,000 men.*

Accordingly the total mass of the Coalition troops amounts to 1,300,000 men, who are either already under arms or can be immediately called up. All the estimates are intentionally put too low. The deductions for the sick alone are so considerable that merely from the convalescent, etc., two months after the beginning of operations a second army of 350,000 men can be formed at the French frontier. But as nowadays, no government is so imprudent as to begin a war without at the same time as it deploys the active army raising new levies, as strong as possible, and sending them in the wake of the first army, this second army should prove to be considerably stronger than the above figure.

The concentration of the first army (the 1,300,000 men) can be completed in about two months, as follows. That the Prussians and Austrians can have their above-mentioned contingents available within two months is no longer open to doubt after the arming carried out last November. As regards the Russians, their three definitive concentration points are, in the first place, Berlin, Breslau[a] and Cracow or Vienna (see below). From St. Petersburg to Berlin is approximately 45 days' march, and from Berlin to the Rhine 16 days, making a total of 61 days' march, at 5 German miles per day. From Moscow to Breslau is 48 days' march, from Breslau to Mainz 20, together 68 days. Kiev to Vienna requires 40 days, Vienna to Basle 22, together 62 days. Add to this the rest-days, which in the case of the Russian troops and the above strenuous marches must on no account be omitted, it is clear that even the troops stationed in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Kiev can comfortably reach the Rhine in *three* months, even supposing that the troops move exclusively on foot and that no use is made of railways or vehicles. But such means can be used in Germany almost everywhere, and in Russia and Poland at least partially, which would in total certainly shorten the transport of the troops by 15-20 days. The main mass of the Russian troops, however, are at present already concentrated in the Polish provinces, and as soon as the political conditions make a crisis probable, more troops will be sent there, so that the starting points of the line of march will not be St. Petersburg, Moscow and Kiev, but Riga, Vilna, Minsk, Dubno and Kamieniec, which means that the line of march will be shortened by about 60 miles—12 days' march plus 4 rest-days. Moreover, a large part of the infantry—especially that coming from the more remote stations—can be conveyed a distance of five miles on every third or rest-day at least, so that for this part of the infantry the rest-days will count as march-days. The railways

[a] The Polish name is Wrocław.—*Ed.*

would then be kept free for artillery material, munitions and stores, while the artillery gun-crews and servicing personnel would either march or be conveyed, and thus in any case would arrive earlier than in the way hitherto adopted.

In view of all the above, it seems to me that there is nothing to prevent the concentration of the Coalition army on the Rhine taking place two months after the outbreak of the revolution, as follows:

First army

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. First line on the Rhine and before Piedmont: | | |
| Prussians, Austrians, etc. | 750,000 men | 1,050,000 men |
| Russians | 300,000 men | |
| 2. Second line, reserve, 10 days' march behind, Russians | | 250,000 men |
| Total | | 1,300,000 men (as above) |

Second army

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Reserve of the smaller Coalition members, Prussians, Austrians, etc., included in the concentration | 200,000 men | 350,000 men |
| 2. Russian reserve on the march, 20 days' march behind | 150,000 men | |
| Total of both armies | | 1,650,000 men |

Basically, under present conditions hardly 5-6 weeks are needed to bring 300,000 Russians to the Rhine, and in the same period Prussia, Austria and the smaller Allies can bring their contingents as above mentioned to the Rhine; but in order to take due account of the unforeseen obstacles which occur in every coalition, I assume a full two months. At the moment when Napoleon came from Elba, the disposition of the Allied troops in relation to a march towards France was hardly as favourable as the present one, yet the Russians were at the Rhine when Napoleon was fighting the British and Prussians at Waterloo.[407]

What resources has *France* to oppose to those of the Allies?

1. The troops of the line amount to about 450,000 men, 50,000 of whom cannot be spared from Algeria. From the remaining 400,000 must be deducted the sick, the minimum necessary to garrison fortresses, and smaller detachments for doubtful areas of the interior, leaving available at most 250,000 men.

2. The favourite means adopted by the present reds, viz. to recall to the colours soldiers who have served their time, can successfully be

applied by force to at most six age classes, i.e. from 27 to 32 years of age. Each age group on conscription amounts to 80,000 men. The ravages of the Algerian war and climate, the normal death-rate during twelve years, the deduction of those who have become unfit or have emigrated, and those who in one way or another have succeeded in evading re-enlistment at a time when in any case the administration gets into a state of disorder, will reduce the 480,000 former recruits of these six age classes to at most 300,000 re-enlisting. From these must be deducted 150,000 to garrison fortresses, who will be drawn mainly from this class of older, mostly married men, leaving 150,000 men. Given any degree of skilled direction, these could be mobilised without difficulty in two months.

3. The people's militia, volunteers, *levée en masse,* or whatever other term is used to denote this subordinate cannon-fodder. With the exception of about 10,000 of the *Garde Mobile* who can be assembled, none of the above are more acquainted with weapons than any member of the German civic militia. The French are quicker at learning to handle weapons, but two months is a very short time, and if Napoleon could ensure that his recruits passed through the battalion school in four weeks, he achieved that only with outstanding cadres, whereas the first result of the coming revolution will be the disorganisation of the cadres in the line. Moreover, our French revolutionaries are known to follow tradition and their first cry will be: *Levée en masse! Deux millions d'hommes aux frontières!*[a] The two million men would be all very well if one could again expect from the Coalition such stupidities as those of 1792 and 1793 and if one had time for gradually training these two million men. But there is no question of that. One must be prepared to encounter a million active enemy soldiers on the frontier within two months, and it is a matter of opposing this million with a chance of success.

If the French comport themselves again as traditional imitators of 1793, they will be undertaking to repeat the experience with the two million, which means that they will undertake so much that the actual result in the short time available will come to nil. The training and organisation of 2,500,000 men in eight weeks without skilled cadres amounts in practice to a senseless squandering of all resources without strengthening the army by even a single usable battalion.

If, on the other hand, the French have a good Minister of War who has some knowledge of revolutionary warfare and the methods of

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[a] Mass levy! Two million men to the frontiers!—*Ed.*

creating an army rapidly, and if no stupid obstacles due to ignorance and a craze for popularity are put in the way, then he will keep within the limits of the possible and can do a great deal. The outcome will have to be something more or less in accordance with the following plan:

The armed forces consist, to begin with, of two components: 1. The proletarian guard in the towns, the peasant guard in the countryside, insofar as the latter can be relied upon for service in the interior; 2. the regular army against invasion.

Fortress duty is performed by the proletarian and peasant guard; the army provides only the most essential detachments. Paris, Strasbourg, Lyons, Metz, Lille, Valenciennes, the most important fortresses, which are at the same time large towns, will require for their defence, besides their own guard and a few peasant detachments from the environs, only a few troops of the line. The proletarian guard available in the interior, insofar as they consist of unemployed workers, will be assembled in a training camp and trained by old officers and N. C. O.s who are unfit for service in the field, to fill gaps in the ranks of the active army. The camp could be situated near Orleans, where at the same time it would be a threat to the Legitimist areas.

The troops of the line, insofar as they are in France, must be tripled, being brought from 400,000 to 1,100,000 men. This is done as follows: each battalion is converted into a regiment—the unavoidable general promotion will be not less effective than the guillotine and courts martial in inspiring respect for the revolution among the officers and N. C. O.s. The unavoidable extension of cadres is at the same time carried out as gradually as possible and what can be gained as regards officers is gained. This is very important in view of the fact that it is impossible to produce officers by magic in two months. Moreover, so much national sentiment still prevails among the middle and lower grades of the French army that with a certain amount of promotion, energetic management of the war departments and some chance of success, these men at the start will turn out quite well, especially if a few examples are made of mutineers and deserters. The pupils of the military schools and the officials of the *ponts-et-chaussées*[a] make excellent artillery and engineer officers, and after a few actions those talented men among the lower ranks, so frequent among the French, who are capable of leading a company once they have been under fire, will begin to develop.

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[a] Administration of roads and bridges.—*Ed.*

As regards the soldiers themselves, there will be:

| | |
|---|---|
| the line | 400,000 men |
| those recalled to the army | 300,000 men |
| those still to be called up and trained | 500,000 men |
| Total | 1,200,000 men |
| deduct for the sick | 100,000 men |
| there remain | 1,100,000 men |

Of these are available for active service:

| | |
|---|---|
| the line | 250,000 men |
| those recalled to the army | 150,000 men |
| recruits | 400,000 men |
| | 800,000 men |

What can be achieved with these will be seen. But the training within two months of 400,000-500,000 men as recruits for the army of the line, men who will be fused with the already existing and recalled soldiers in the regiments and battalions, is not so excessively difficult if the work is taken in hand speedily, *le lendemain de la révolution.*[a] All these reinforcements would accrue to the infantry and artillery; in two months it is certainly possible to train an infantryman, or an artilleryman capable at least of simple gun duties, but not a cavalryman. Hence the increase of the cavalry would be very weak.

The whole plan for developing the army presupposes that there will be a good Minister of War, who is able to assess the political conditions, possesses strategic, tactical and detailed knowledge of all weapons, has the appropriate degree of energy, speed and decisiveness,[b] and is given a free hand by the asses who will rule along with him. But where has the "Red" party in France such a man? The odds are in favour of the opposite, that as usual an ignorant fellow, who is thought and thinks himself, of course, to be a *bon démocrate* competent to fill any part, will try to play the Carnot, decree mass levies, completely disorganise everything, and very soon be at his wit's end, whereupon he will leave everything to the routine of the old subordinate officials and allow the enemy armies to come

[a] On the morrow of the revolution.—*Ed.*
[b] Engels uses the English word.—*Ed.*

right up to Paris. Nowadays, however, to be able to withstand a European coalition, one would have to be, not Pache or Bouchotte, or even Carnot, but Napoleon, or to have terribly stupid enemies and a terribly large measure of luck.

It should not be overlooked that all these calculations of the armed forces of the Coalition assume a minimum figure for the total force and a maximum figure for the deductions, so that with merely tolerably good leadership, the available mass of troops will be greater, and the time required for their concentration less than the estimates given here. In the case of France, on the other hand, the opposite assumptions have been made; the time available has been assumed as long as possible, the total force that can possibly be organised has been put very high, and the deductions low, and therefore the available mass of troops is estimated at the highest possible figure. In short, leaving out of account unforeseen events and great blunders on the part of the Allies, all these calculations present the *most favourable case possible* for the revolution.

In addition, it is assumed that the revolution and invasion will not immediately give rise to a civil war in the interior of the country. At present, sixty years after the last civil war in France, it is impossible to determine to what extent the fanaticism of the Legitimists is capable of a more than ephemeral insurrection; it is clear, however, that in proportion as the Allies advance, the chances of an uprising like that of 1793 in Lyons, Toulon, etc., of a temporary alliance of all politically overthrown classes and factions, will also increase. Here, too, however, let us assume the most favourable case for the revolution, namely, that the revolutionary proletarian and peasant guard is capable of successfully disarming the rebellious *départements* and classes.

We shall deal presently with the prospects which the revolution could be given by uprisings in Germany, Italy, etc.

## V

We come now to the actual conduct of the war.

If one places one leg of a pair of compasses on the map on Paris and describes a circle round the city with the distance from Paris to Strasbourg as the radius, then in the south the circumference of this circle touches the French frontier between Grenoble and Chambéry at Pont de Beauvoisin, follows it in a northerly direction through Geneva, the Jura, Basle, Strasbourg and Hagenau, and then follows the course of the Rhine down to its estuary. If it is at a distance from

the Rhine at some points, this distance never exceeds the length of two days' march. If the Rhine were France's frontier, then from the point where the Alps cease to protect this frontier right up to the North Sea Paris would be at an equal distance from this frontier. The military system of France, with Paris at the centre, would have satisfied all the geographical conditions for it. This simple arc from Chambéry to Rotterdam, which reduces all points of France's only open frontier, and moreover of the frontier nearest to the capital, to an equal distance of about 70 German miles—14 days' march—from Paris, and at the same time protects the frontier by a broad river, this is the real military basis of the assertion that the Rhine is France's natural frontier.

The same peculiar configuration of its course, however, makes the Rhine also the starting point of all concentric operations against Paris, for in order that the various armies may arrive simultaneously in front of Paris and simultaneously threaten it from various sides, they must set out simultaneously from points equally distant from it. The operations of any counter-revolutionary coalition army against France must be concentric, however dangerous all concentric operations are in which the concentration point lies within the territory of the enemy or even forms the latter's basis of operations: 1. because with Paris the whole of France is conquered; 2. because no part of the frontier lying within the sphere of operations of French armies can be allowed to be exposed, as otherwise the French, by sending armed forces, could provoke insurrections in the territory of the Coalition, in the rear of the latter's armies; 3. because the mass forces which any coalition is bound to hurl against France require multiple lines of operation for their food supply.

For both armies, the frontier which has to be covered runs from Chambéry to Rotterdam. For the time being, the Spanish frontier can be disregarded. The Italian frontier from Var to the Isère is protected by the Alps and goes farther and farther away from Paris since it forms the tangent to the above-mentioned circle. It can only come into consideration: 1. if the fortified defiles of the Savoy Alps, particularly of Mont Cenis, are in the hands of the French; 2. if it is desired to make a diversion on the coast, for which there would have to be special reasons; 3. if the French armies, after the frontier has been safeguarded at all other points, want to launch an offensive as Napoleon did in 1796. In all other cases it is too far away.

Active operations, therefore, both for the Coalition and for France, are restricted to the line from Chambéry or the Isère up to the North Sea, and to the region lying between this line and Paris. And precisely this part of France offers a terrain which is, as it were,

created for defence, and possesses a mountain and river system which from a military point of view could hardly be improved upon.

From the Rhône to the Moselle, the frontier is protected by a long mountain range which is crossed with difficulty and only at certain points—the Jura, adjoining which are the Vosges, which in turn have their prolongation in the Hochwald and Idarwald. Both mountain ranges run parallel to the frontier and, in addition, the Vosges are protected by the Rhine. Between the Moselle and the Maas, the route to Paris is covered by the Ardennes, and on the other side of the Maas by the Argonnes. Only the region from the Sambre to the sea lies open, but here the position of any advancing army becomes more dangerous with every step forward—in the event of at all skilful operations by a strong French army, the enemy army risks being cut off from Belgium and driven into the sea. Furthermore, the whole line from the Rhône to the North Sea is dotted with fortresses, some of which, e.g. Strasbourg, command whole provinces.

From the junction of the Jura and the Vosges, in a south-westerly direction towards Auvergne, runs a mountain range forming the watershed between the North Sea and the ocean, on the one hand, and the Mediterranean, on the other. From it flows to the south the Saône, and to the north, parallel to one another, the Moselle, the Maas, the Marne, the Seine, and the Yonne. Between each two of these rivers, as between the Yonne and the Loire, long mountain chains branch off, separating the individual river valleys from one another and traversed by only a few roads. It is true that this whole mountainous territory for the most part is practicable for all arms, but it is very infertile and no great army can maintain itself long on it.

If these mountains, too, have been surmounted, as well as the equally infertile mountainous zones of Champagne which separate the region of the Maas from that of the Seine, the enemy army enters the Seine region. And it is only here that the striking military advantages of the position of Paris become fully evident.

The Seine basin downstream to the mouth of the Oise is formed by a number of rivers running in almost parallel arcs in a north-westerly direction—the Yonne, the Seine, the Marne, the Oise and the Aisne—each of which also has tributaries running in a similar direction. All these arc-shaped valleys join fairly closely with one another, and at the centre of these junctions is Paris. The main roads to Paris from all land frontiers between the Mediterranean Sea and the Scheldt run through these river valleys and join up with them concentrically in Paris. Hence the army which defends Paris can always be concentrated and moved from one threatened point to

another in a shorter time than the attacking army, because of two concentric circles the inner one has the smaller circumference. Admirable utilisation of these advantages, tireless movement along the circumference of the inner circle, enabled Napoleon in his brilliant campaign of 1814 to hold the entire Coalition in check in the Seine region with a handful of soldiers for two whole months.[a]

Written in April 1851

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[a] The manuscript breaks off here.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC ADOPTED NOVEMBER 4, 1848[408]

A rhetorical preamble introduces the Constitution, in which the following passages deserve notice:

1. France declares itself a republic. 2. The French republic is *democratic*, one and indivisible. 3. Its principles are Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and its foundations are Family, Labour, Property, and Public Order. 5. It respects the independence of other nations, and will make its own respected also. It will undertake no aggressive war, and will never employ its force against the liberty of any people. [*Rome*![409]]

Before the Insurrection of June, the National Assembly had drawn up a constitution, which contained among many other recognitions of the rights and duties of man, the following articles.

*Art.* 6. The right to education is the right possessed by all citizens to the means for the full development of their physical, moral, and intellectual faculties, by a *gratuitous* education at the hands of the state.

*Art.* 7. The right of labour is the right of every member of society to live by labour. Therefore it is the duty of society to supply with work all able-bodied persons who cannot otherwise obtain it.

*Art.* 9. *The Right to support* is the right of the orphan, the infirm and the aged to be maintained by the state.[a]

After the victories of June 1848 had given courage to the middle-class, they erased these three articles from

[a] See "Projet de constitution présenté à l'Assemblée nationale", *Le Moniteur universel* No. 172, June 20, 1848. The italics are by Marx.—*Ed.*

THE CONSTITUTION,

which now stands as follows:—

"*Cap.* I. [§ 1.] Sovereign power rests in the entirety of French citizens. It is inalienable and eternal. No individual, no fraction of the people has the right to its exercise."

"*Cap.* II. [§2.] *Rights guaranteed by the constitution:*—No one can be arrested or imprisoned, except as prescribed by the laws.

"§ 3. The residence of every one on French territory is inviolable—and it is not allowed to enter it otherwise than in the forms prescribed by law."

Observe here and throughout that the French constitution guarantees liberty, but always with the proviso *of exceptions made by law,* or which may *still be made*! and all the exceptions made by the Emperor Napoleon, by the restoration, and by Louis Philippe, have not only been retained, but, after the June Revolution, immeasurably multiplied. Thus, for instance, the law of the 9th August 1849, relative to the State of Siege, which the Assembly, and during its prorogation, the President can enact, and which gives to the military authorities the right of bringing all political offenders before a court-martial. It further grants them the power to enter and search any house by day or night, to seize all arms, and to remove all persons not having a domicile in the place declared under a state of siege.

As to *strangers,* the only "right" they enjoy on French soil, is to be arrested and driven out of it, as often as the police authorities think proper.

As to *Frenchmen,* any French citizen can be arrested, if a *single functionary* issues his mandate to that effect!

"§ 4. No one can be judged by others than his natural judges. Exceptional tribunals can be formed under no denomination or pretext."

We have already seen that, under "the state of siege", a military tribunal supersedes all others. Besides this, the Assembly established an "exceptional tribunal", called the "High Court", in 1848 for a portion of the political offenders; and, after the insurrection in June, transported 15,000 insurgents without any trial at all!

"§ 5. Capital punishment for political offences is annulled."

But they transport to fever-stricken settlements, where they are executed, only a little more slowly, and far more painfully.

"§ 8. Citizens have a right to associate, to meet peacefully and unarmed, to petition, and express their opinions through the press and elsewhere. The enjoyment of these rights has no other limit, than the equal rights of others, and the public safety."

That the limitation made by the "public safety", takes away the enjoyment of the right altogether, is clearly shewn by the following facts:—

1. *The liberty of the Press.*—By the laws of August 11, 1848, and of July 27, 1849, not only securities for newspapers were redemanded, but all the restrictions made by the Emperor Napoleon, and since, were renewed and made more stringent.

The law of July 23, 1850, *raises* the security-money! and extends the enactment of all weekly journals, magazines, periodicals, &c.[410] Besides which it demands that every article be signed by the name of the writer, and reintroduces the *stamp* for newspapers. Not contented with this, it imposes a stamp on the feuilleton roman, the mere literary pamphlet, as well; and enforces all this under the penalty of enormous fines! After the enactment of the last-named law, the revolutionary press disappeared altogether. It had long fought up against persecution: week by week, paper after paper and pamphlet after pamphlet, were accused, fined, suppressed. The middle-class sat in the jury-box, and they crushed the working-man's press.

The climax was put on the system by the law of July 30, 1850, which restored the censorship of the drama. Thus freedom of opinion was banished from its last literary refuge.

2. *The right of association and public meeting.*—By the decrees of July 28, to August 2, 1848, the clubs are subjected to a mass of police regulations, denying them almost every liberty. For instance, they are not allowed to pass resolutions in a legislative form, &c. By the same law, all *non*-political circles and *private* reunions are thrown entirely under the supervision and caprice of the police.

By the law of June 19-22, 1849, government is authorised, for the period of one year, to suppress all clubs and meetings of which it may not approve. By the law of June 6-12, 1850, this power is granted to government for another year, and actually extended to those reunions and meetings relative to the election of Deputies, that may displease the government! The result is that, virtually, since July, 1848, all clubs and public meetings have ceased, with the exception of the Royalist and Bonapartist *cercles.*

By the law of November 29, 1849, imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months, and a fine to an amount not exceeding 3,000 francs, is decreed against all working-men who may unite for a rise in wages. And, by the same law, these working-men are subjected to five years' *surveillance* of the police (which means beggary, ruin, and persecution) after the completion of their sentence.

So much for the right of association and of public meeting.

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"§ 9. The right of tuition is free. The freedom of tuition shall be enjoyed on the conditions fixed by law, and under the supervision of the state."

Here the old joke is repeated. "Tuition is free", but "under the conditions fixed by law"; and these are precisely the conditions that take away the freedom altogether.

By the law of March 15, 1850, the whole system of tuition is placed under the supervision of the clergy.

At the head of this branch of government stands a *conseil superieur de l'instruction publique,* presided over by four French archbishops. It subjects all the provincial schoolmasters, although elected by the common councils or parochial councils, to the will of the *recteurs,* or rectors. The teachers are placed in a state similar to military subordination and discipline, under the rectors, mayors, and parsons, and the freedom of education consists according to the law already quoted, in this: that no one has the right to teach without the permission of the civil and clerical authorities.

"§ 11. The rights of property are inviolable."

"§ 14. The national debt is guaranteed."

"§ 15. Taxes are levied only for the public service. Every citizen contributes according to his property and ability."

### CAP. III.—ON THE AUTHORISATION OF OFFICE

This Chapter affirms—

"1.[a] That all public authority is derived from the people, and cannot be made hereditary."

"2. That the division of powers is the primary condition of a free government."

Here we have the old constitutional folly. The condition of a "free government" is not the *division,* but the *unity* of power. The machinery of government cannot be too simple. It is always the craft of knaves to make it complicated and mysterious.

### CAP. IV.—ON THE LEGISLATIVE POWER

The legislative power is vested in a single assembly of 750 representatives, including those of Algeria and the colonies. Any assemblies that may be called to revise the constitution must consist of 900 persons. The electoral system is based on the population. Four paragraphs now follow, which it will be requisite to give in full:

"§ 24. The electoral franchise is direct and universal, the form of voting, secret."

"§ 25. All Frenchmen, 21 years of age, in possession of their political and civil rights, are electors without reference to any electoral census."

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[a] This and the next paragraph are numbered 18 and 19 in the Constitution.— *Ed.*

"§ 26. All electors, 25 years of age, are eligible to be elected as representatives, without domiciliary limitation."

"§ 27. The Electoral Law will ascertain the causes which can deprive a French citizen of the right to elect and to be elected."

The above articles are conceived in exactly the same spirit, as all the rest of the constitution. "All Frenchmen are electors, who enjoy their political rights"—but "the electoral law" is to decide what Frenchmen shall *not* enjoy their political rights!

The electoral law of March 15, 1849, reckoned under this category all criminals, but not political offenders. The electoral law of May 31, 1850, added not only the political offenders, all those who had been convicted of "offending against old-established opinions", and against the laws regulating the press, but it actually established domiciliary restrictions, by which two-thirds of the French people are incapable of voting!

That is what "the electoral franchise, direct and universal", means in France.

"§ 28. No paid public functionary can at the same time be a representative of the people. No representative can become the holder of a paid function dependent on the constitution during the continuance of the legislative assembly."

These two provisions have been limited by later decisions, and are, virtually, almost nullified.

"§ 30. The elections take place by departments, at the principal place of the district, and by means of voting tickets."

"§ 31. The National Assembly is elected for three years, when a new election must take place."

"§ 32. Its session is permanent, but it is empowered to adjourn, and must then name a commission as its representatives consisting of 25 Deputies, and the members of the *bureau* of the assembly. This commission is empowered to summon the assembly in cases of emergency."

§§ 33-38. The representatives are re-eligible. They are not to be bound by any fixed instructions, they are inviolable, and cannot be prosecuted or convicted for the opinions they may express in the assembly, and they receive a salary which they are not *permitted* to refuse.

As to the "inviolability of the representative", and his "freedom of expressing his opinions", the majority passed a new *règlement* after the 13th of June,[a] empowering the president of the National Assembly to decree the *censure* against a representative, to fine him, to deprive him of his salary, and temporarily *to expel him*—thus utterly annihilating the "freedom of opinion". In 1850 the assembly

[a] June 13, 1849 (see pp. 105-06 of this volume).—*Ed.*

passed a law by which representatives can be arrested for debt even during the session of the house, and if they do not pay within a given time, forfeit their functions as representatives.

Thus neither the freedom of debate nor the inviolability of the representative exists in France—but only the inviolability of the creditor.

§§ 39-42. The sittings of the assembly shall be public. Nevertheless, the assembly can resolve itself into a private committee, at the request of the requisite number of representatives. To make a law valid, it must be voted by one more than the half of the representatives. Except in pressing cases no bill can be passed that has not been read three times, with an interval of five days between each reading.

This form, borrowed from the English "constitution", is not observed in France on any important occasions—indeed, on those on which it might be supposed most requisite. For instance, the electoral law of May 31[a] was passed after one reading.

### CAP. V.—ON THE EXECUTIVE POWER

§§ 43-44. The executive power is entrusted to a president. The president must be a born Frenchman, at least 30 years of age, and must never have lost his qualification as a French citizen.

The first president of the French republic, L. N. Bonaparte, had not only lost his qualification as a French citizen, had not only been an English special constable,[411] but was a naturalised Swiss.

§§ 45-70. The president of the republic is elected for four years, and not re-eligible till after four years from the expiration of his term of office. The same restriction applies to his relatives to the 6th degree inclusive. The election is to take place on the second Sunday in May. Should the president have been elected at any other time, his powers cease on the second Sunday in May, in the fourth year after his election. He is elected by secret vote, and by an *absolute* majority. If no candidate has more than half the number of recorded votes, but at least two million, the national assembly may elect the president out of those five candidates who have polled the largest number.

The president must swear fealty to the constitution, may submit propositions to the assembly, through his ministers, can dispose of the army, without commanding it in person, is not allowed to cede

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[a] May 31, 1850 (see p. 136-44 of this volume).—*Ed.*

# THE CONSTITUTIONS OF EUROPE,

COMPILED FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES; WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF LEADING CONTINENTAL DEMOCRATS.

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The law of July 23, 1850, *raises* the security-

The first page of Karl Marx's article "The Constitution of the French Republic", which appeared in *Notes to the People*

any portion of the French territory, nor to dissolve or prorogue the assembly, neither may he suspend the authority of the constitution. He negotiates and ratifies all treaties, which, however, do not become definitively binding till sanctioned by the assembly. He is not allowed to undertake any war without the consent of the assembly—may exercise the prerogative of pardoning, but is not allowed to grant an amnesty. Those condemned by the *Haute Cour* can be pardoned only by the national assembly. The president may postpone the promulgation of a law, and demand that the assembly deliberate thereon again. But such deliberation then becomes definitive. He appoints ambassadors and ministers, and may suspend, during three months, the mayors, departmental councils, national guards, etc., elected by the citizens. All his decrees must be countersigned by the ministers, with exception of the dismissal of the ministers themselves. The president, ministers, and public officers are severally answerable in their own departments for every act of the government. Every act whereby the president may influence, delay, or prevent the due exercise of the functions of the assembly, is an act of high treason. By such an act the president is at once deprived of his authority—it becomes the duty of every citizen to refuse obedience to his mandates, and the power of his office devolves forthwith on the assembly, the judges of the *Haute Cour de Justice* are to meet without loss of time, and to summon the juries to a given place, to judge the president and his accomplices.

The president has the use of an official residence, and an annual salary of 600,000 francs, or £24,000. [He now receives 2,160,000 francs, or £86,400.] The ministers have a seat ex officio in the national assembly, and may speak as often as they choose. The national assembly elects a vice-president of the republic, out of three candidates which the president may name within one month after his own election. The vice-president takes the same oath as the president, must not be a relation of the president, takes the president's place where the latter is prevented from acting, and officiates as president of the Council of State. If the presidential chair becomes vacated through death, or any other cause, a new election is to take place within one month.

## CAP. VI.—THE COUNCIL OF STATE

§§ 71-75. The Council of State is merely a deliberative body, for considering the propositions to be submitted by the cabinet—and those that may be forwarded from the assembly.

### CAP. VII.—THE INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

This chapter deals with the clergy,[a] the principal magistrates, the common and provincial councils. The only article of consequence, and one that is made use of to the fullest possible extent, is the following:

§ 80. The general councils, the cantonal councils, and the common councils, may be dissolved by the President with sanction of the Council of State.

### CAP. VIII.—ON THE JUDICIAL POWER

Generally speaking, this chapter merely reproduces the enactments of the Emperor Napoleon. The following additions are, however, deserving notice:

"§ 81. Justice is exercised gratuitously, in the name of the French people."

This is so little the case, that one is not even beheaded for nothing!

§§ 91-100, treat of the *Haute Cour de Justice,* which is alone empowered to judge the President, before which the ministers can be arraigned, and all political offenders the National Assembly may think proper to send before that tribunal.

This "High Court" consists of five judges that the court of Cassation (the highest tribunal of France) elects out of its own members, and of thirty-six jury-men taken from the general councils of the departments, by an entirely aristocratic body. The only individuals hitherto tried by this tribunal, are the accused of May 15, 1848—(here the names of *Barbès, Blanqui,* and others rise up in judgment![412]) and the deputies compromised on June 13, 1849.

By the law of August 7, 1848, all those who cannot read and write are erased from the jury list, thus disqualifying two-thirds of the adult population!

### CAP. IX.—OF THE ARMED POWER

The entire of the old military law is left in existence. The crimes of the soldier are not cognisable before the civil tribunals. The following paragraph illustrates the spirit of this constitution.

"§ 102. Every Frenchman is liable to military service, and to serve in the national guard, with exception of those cases provided by the law."

Every man having money, can absolve himself from the obligation of service.

The working classes are entirely excluded from the ranks of the national guard, by the law now under consideration, the second

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[a] Presumably a slip of the pen: "officials" rather than "clergy" would seem to be the right word here.—*Ed.*

reading of which has been already carried! Moreover the President has the right to suspend for one year the national guards of every parish—and, actually, throughout half France, the national guard has been dissolved!

CAP. X.—SPECIAL ENACTMENTS

"§ 110. The National Assembly confides the Constitution to the vigilance and patriotism of the entire people"

—and confides the "vigilant" and "patriotic" to the tender mercies of the *Haute Cour*!—June 13!

CAP. XI.—ON THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

"§ 111. Should the Assembly, at the close of its session, express a desire for a total or partial change in the Constitution, the revision shall be proceeded with in the following manner:—The wish expressed by the Assembly cannot become law till after three successive debates, which must take place after the interval of one month between each, and can be carried only by three-fourths of the votes, those voting being not less than 500 in number. The assembly called for the purpose of the revision is elected for only three months, and must not, except in very pressing cases, entertain any other question."

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Such is the "Constitution of the French Republic", and such is the manner in which it has been used. The reader will at once see that from beginning to end it is a mass of fine words, hiding a most treacherous design. From its very wording, it is rendered *impossible* to violate it, for every one of its provisions contains its own antithesis—utterly nullifies itself. For instance:—"the vote is direct and universal",—"*excepting* those cases which the *law* shall determine".

Therefore it cannot be said that the law of May 31, 1850 (disfranchising two-thirds of the people) at all violates the Constitution.

The Constitution constantly repeats the formula, that the regulation and limitation of the rights and liberties of the people (e. g., the right of association, of the Franchise, the Freedom of the Press, of Tuition, etc.) shall be determined by a subsequent *organic law*,—and these "organic laws" "determine" the promised freedom by destroying it. This trick of granting full liberty, of laying down the finest principles, and leaving their application, the *details*, to be decided by subsequent laws, the Austrian and Prussian middle-classes, have borrowed from their French prototypes, the same thing had been done in the French Constitution of 1830—and in those previously enacted.

People! Make up your minds as to *details*,[413] as well as to principles, before you come to power. Therefore the struggle was fought in the English convention on this very point!

The only clauses in the whole constitution that are positive and definite, are those on the election of the President (§ 45) and the Revision of the Constitution (§ 111). These are the only provisions that *can* be violated, for they are the only ones that do not carry their own contradiction with them.

They were aimed by the Constituent Assembly of 1848, directly against Bonaparte—whose intrigues for the presidential office alarmed the deputies.

The eternal contradictions of this Constitution of Humbug, show plainly enough, that the middle-class can be democratic in *words*, but will not be so in deeds—they will recognise the truth of a principle, but never carry it into practice—and the real "Constitution" of France is to be found, not in the Charter we have recorded, but in the *organic laws* enacted on its basis, an outline of which we have given to the reader. The *principles* were there—the *details* were left to the future, and in those details a shameless tyranny was re-enacted!

The excess of despotism reached in France will be apparent by the following regulations as to working men.

Every working man is supplied with a book by the police—the first page of which contains his name, age, birthplace, trade or calling, and a description of his person. He is therein obliged to enter the name of the master for whom he works, and the reasons why he leaves him. But this is not all: the book is placed in the master's hands, and deposited by him in the *bureau* of the police with the character of the man by the master. When a workman leaves his employment, he must go and fetch this book from the police office; and is not allowed to obtain another situation without producing it. Thus the workman's bread is utterly dependent on the police. But this again, is not all: this book serves the purpose of a passport. If he is obnoxious, the police write "*bon pour retourner chez lui*"[a] in it, and the workman is obliged to return to his parish! No comment is needed on this terrific revelation! Let the reader picture to himself its full working, and trace it to its actual consequences. No serfdom of the feudal ages—no pariahdom of India has its parallel. What wonder if the French people pant for the hour of insurrection. What wonder if their indignation take the aspect of a storm. They were merciful in 1830, they were merciful in 1848; but since then their

[a] "To be sent home".—*Ed.*

liberty has been trafficked away, their blood has been shed in torrents, every prison in France is crowded with life-long captives,—15,000 were transported in one mass and the dreadful despotism we have described rests on them now. What wonder that the middle-class should fear the people, and that they should strain their last nerve to keep the hour of retribution in abeyance. But they are divided among themselves. They have too many conflicting ambitions, and foremost on the cards stands

## THE GAME OF NAPOLEON.

The question now is, shall the presidential powers be prolonged, and shall the constitution be revised. Napoleon cannot be re-elected, without an open breach of the constitution for 1stly, he cannot be re-elected until after a period of four years from the expiration of his term of office; and, 2ndly, the constitution cannot be revised except by a majority of two-thirds. Such a majority in favour of that question does not exist, therefore, a constitutional re-election is not possible.

The only alternative for Bonaparte is, therefore, to defy the constitution, take up arms, and fight it out, or a legitimate surrender of his functions at the time prescribed. In the latter case Cavaignac will become President, and the *republic of the middle-class* will be perfected. In the former the issues are more complicated.

The game of Napoleon, therefore, now is, to work on the discontent of the people. The middle-class are the enemies of Napoleon,—the people know it, and there is one bond of sympathy between them. He, however, shares the odium of oppression jointly with the middle-class; if he can cast it off his shoulders entirely on theirs, one great obstacle will have been removed.

This he is endeavouring to do—as proved by his recent speech at Dijon, where he says:

> "Every bad law has been enacted by the assembly, every good law that I proposed has been rejected or mutilated by that body. They have thwarted me in every attempt to better your condition, and raised obstacles against improvement where none existed."[414]

Thus he is endeavouring to guide the lightning, from his own head on to that of the assembly. Meanwhile, the army are more with him than with the latter body,—and such is the misery of the people that almost any change would be for the better in the estimation of the many, while the enlightened are but the minority.

Therefore, supposing the middle-class to risk the struggle under Cavaignac, on finding Bonaparte determined, the people would certainly fight against them—and Bonaparte would be fighting with the people. Combined, they would prove too strong for the assembly. But then would come the critical time; the assembly finding that the people were about to conquer, would prefer the lesser of two evils. They would prefer an Empire or a Dictatorship of Napoleon, to a Democratic and Social Republic, and would, therefore, come to terms with the President. The latter dreading, as much as they, the democratic power, would accept their aid. The army, or a portion of it at least, would have become still more attached to Napoleon by the excitement, peril, and "glory" of strife; and the struggle would then assume a new aspect, that of the army and the *bourgeoisie* against the People. The issue depends on the courage, sense, and union of the latter. The game of Napoleon, is, first to play off the People against the middle-class. Then to play off the middle-class against the people and to use the army against them both.

The future is pregnant with great events, and the present of France is one of the most interesting studies history affords.

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# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

# Karl Marx

## [ON GERMANY]

### NOTE FOR THE "REVIEW" (MAY-OCTOBER 1850)[415]

1) Supremacy of Russia emerging openly. Hegemony divided between Prussia and Austria. The minor states formally secured once more thanks to their rivalry, true. But the princes of the minor states (e. g. Hesse,[416] Baden) disgraced in the eyes of most Germans, and thus the differences between the various houses and small townships, which were still being so keenly asserted as recently as 1848, smashed. Equally, in consequence of the results of the 1848 movement, the authority of all existing official powers diminished.

2) *Prussia.* Although excluded from the *government,* humiliated, sham Constitution, the bourgeoisie achieved everything and more than it dared demand in 1847.

3) *Austria*—hitherto the peasantry given preference, reaped the results of the revolution.

Protectionism.[417]

4) *Trade policy differences between Austria and Prussia.* Free trade; in Prussia nobility, as in England industrial bourgeoisie.

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# Karl Marx

## REFLECTIONS[418]

There is a division of trade into trade between dealers and dealers on the one hand, and between dealers and consumers on the other. Transfer of capital takes place in the former case, exchange of income for capital in the latter; the former has its own money, the latter its own coin. This distinction, which was made by Adam Smith, is very important and has been emphasised by Tooke, and even earlier by the Report of the Bullion Committee.[a][419] What is missing however is an examination of the relationship between these two kinds of trade and of money.

(1) All crises show in fact that the trade between dealers and dealers constantly exceeds the bounds set by the trade between dealers and consumers. All propositions advanced by economists to prove the impossibility of over-production, or at any rate universal over-production, deal only with trade between dealers and dealers, as already Sismondi rightly pointed out in his polemic against McCulloch.[b] This becomes even more evident when one considers that at least three-quarters of the exchange between dealers and consumers consists of exchange between workers on the one hand and retail traders and artisans on the other; this exchange however depends in turn on the exchange between workers and industrial capitalists, which in its turn is determined by the exchange between dealer and dealer—*cercle vicieux.*

(2) It is true that, as Adam Smith says, the exchange between dealers and dealers is bound to be circumscribed by the exchange

[a] *Report, together with Minutes of Evidence, and Accounts, from the Select Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Cause of the High Price of Gold Bullion. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 8 June 1810.—Ed.*

[b] Simonde de Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes d'économie politique ou de la richesse dans ses rapports avec la population,* T. IV, Paris, 1827.—*Ed.*

between dealers and consumers, since the prices at which the commodities are sold to the latter are the final prices, which must retrospectively balance the costs of production expended in the preceding transactions as well as the profits. However on the basis of Adam Smith's proposition, the whole economy has been inanely over-simplified by Proudhon[a] and others. The matter is not so simple. First, the trade between dealers and dealers in England, for example, is by no means circumscribed by the trade between dealers and consumers in England, but more or less by that between dealers and consumers on the world market as a whole. For instance, the India Company[420] or East India merchants send indigo to the London market. There it is auctioned. This is a transaction between dealers and dealers. The purchaser of the indigo sells part of it in France, Germany, etc., where it is bought by various dealers and manufacturers. Whether they will in the end recover the price of the indigo, will depend on how the final product is sold to the consumer, who lives perhaps on the Ionian Islands or in Afghanistan or in Adelaide. It would therefore be wrong to say that the trade between dealers and dealers in one country is limited by the trade between dealers and consumers in that country. If this trade is universal, it is limited by the trade between dealers and consumers on the world market, and this is all the more the case when the trade between dealers and dealers is conducted on a large scale and the country occupies a prominent position on the world market.

*Secondly.* Because the working class forms the largest section of consumers, one could say the fact that the income of the working class decreases—not in one country, as Proudhon thinks, but on the world market—leads to an imbalance between production and consumption, and hence over-production. This is largely correct. But it is modified by the growing extravagance of the propertied classes. It would be wrong to put forward this proposition unconditionally—as though the trade of the planter were determined by the consumption of his Negroes.

*Thirdly.* The trade between dealers and dealers largely creates the trade between dealers and consumers. For example, when manufacturers receive very large orders from speculators, workers are fully employed, their wages rise and so does their consumption. Speculative railway construction enterprises actually create large-scale consumption, which in the end proves to be entirely "unproductive". We also find that in fact the trade between dealers

[a] Probably a reference to Proudhon's book *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère,* T. 1-2, Paris, 1846. For a critical examination of this book see Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* in Vol. 6 (pp. 105-212) of the present edition.—*Ed.*

and consumers is in most cases ultimately thwarted by that between dealers and dealers. The crisis always begins in the former, often of course after the demand of the limited forces of consumption has been met, but often simply because supply exceeds ostensible estimates (e. g. in the case of speculations in corn).

*Fourthly.* Over-production must not be attributed solely to disproportionate production, but to the relationship between the class of capitalists and that of workers.

(3) As to the *currency* which is found in the two distinct forms of trade—the currency used in trade properly speaking and the currency used in the exchange of income for commodities, i. e. for particles of capital—it is insufficient to state that a division exists between the two currencies, it is also a question of their connection and interaction. The money of private individuals, of the consumers, that is in the first place of all political and ideological strata, secondly of those who live on the rent of land, thirdly of so-called (non-industrial) capitalists, of the public creditors, etc., even of the workers (in the savings-banks), in short the *surplus* of the receipts of the non-trading classes of the population over their everyday expenditure and over that part of their money which they themselves think they must always have at their disposal, that is which they keep (hoard) at home as a reserve—this surplus is the chief source of *deposits*, which in their turn form the main basis of *commercial money.* Transfers, credit operations, in short the entire monetary movement within this commercial world, depend on the deposits of that part of the population that consists mainly not of tradespeople. In [...][a] of credit failure the deposits are withdrawn from commerce. Capital becomes unproductive, because the means enabling the classes that direct production to use this capital are destroyed in their hands. On the other hand, since these classes need money for their transactions with one another and the banker no longer lends money to the grocer and the manufacturer, the income of the consumers diminishes and consequently also the amount of money in their hands, thus the complaints about lack of money move from the commercial world into the world of the consumers.

(4) It would be wrong to say that lack of credit is of paramount importance in times of crisis, and currency is of no importance. It is evident from the reasons mentioned earlier that the amount of currency is then at its lowest ebb precisely because on the one hand its velocity has decreased and secondly because cash is required in numerous transactions where it was not required previously. But it is

[a] Illegible in the manuscript, presumably "times".—*Ed.*

precisely this which accentuates the great difference between the amount of money and the value of the operations transacted with a relatively small quantity of currency. There is therefore in fact a lack of currency and not a lack of capital. Capital loses its value and cannot be turned to account. But what does cannot be turned to account mean in this context? It cannot be transformed into currency, and it is precisely its convertibility which constitutes its value. But in spite of all that, capital exists.

The thing shows itself primarily in the refusal to discount bills of exchange, even those based on *bona fide* transactions. And the bill of exchange is commercial money, its value represents commercial capital. The convertibility of *bank-notes into gold* is a minor matter, the failure of bank-notes merely aggravates the commercial crises. The real difficulty is the *inconvertibility of commodities*, i.e. of the *actual capital*, into gold and bank-notes. It is for this reason that when these phenomena appeared in 1793, 1825 and 1847,[421] it was possible to remedy them where capital actually existed, by issuing exchequer bills and bank-notes. Moreover, it cannot be asserted that these bills and bank-notes were capital. They were merely currency. The crisis did not end, but the currency crisis did. The convertibility of bank-notes, therefore, is based on the convertibility of securities, and not only in banking but also in commerce. But even securities which by their very nature are considered to be convertible, such as government securities and short bills, cease to be convertible. It seems that this is by no means a question of commodities, but of the convertibility of the tokens of value which represent them. Commodities cease to be money, they are not convertible into money. The blame for this is of course put on the monetary system, on a *particular* form of this system. It is due to the existence of the monetary system, just as the latter is based on the present mode of production. But the convertibility of bank-notes into gold is in the end necessary, because the convertibility of commodities into money is necessary, in other words because commodities have exchange value, and this requires a *special* equivalent distinct from the commodities, i.e. because in fact the system of private exchange prevails.

Actually the depreciation of money is even in inverse proportion to the depreciation of commodities. But bank-notes can depreciate in terms of gold only because commodities can depreciate in terms of bank-notes. In any case, what does depreciation of bank-notes mean? That at any particular moment, commodities, i. e. their value, cannot be transformed into gold or silver, and that each intermediate link between the commodities and gold, or each substitute remains only a

substitute and hence without value. The principal question therefore always remains the *inconvertibility of commodities,* of *capital* itself. It is rubbish if some say, there is no lack of currency but lack of capital. Currency is of no consequence. For what matters here is precisely the difference between capital, i. e. commodities, and currency. What matters is the fact that the former does not necessarily entail the latter as its representative, that is as its *price* in the commercial world; that capital ceases to be currency, that it can no longer circulate and has no longer value. When capital appears to be a *secondary matter,* it is ridiculous to present currency as a secondary matter. However there is even more nonsense on the other side. They acknowledge the inconvertibility of capital and make fun of the convertibility of bank-notes. But they want to offset this by some artifice or other and by modifying the *monetary system.* As if the inconvertibility of capital were not already contained in the existence of any monetary system, indeed as if it were not contained even in the existence of products in the form of capital. Trying to alter this on the existing basis means depriving money of its monetary qualities, without conferring on capital the quality of always being exchangeable, and moreover at its fair price.

The *existence of a monetary system* entails not only the possibility but even the reality of this separation, and the fact that this system exists proves that the inconvertibility of capital, because it is appropriate to money, is already entailed by the existence of capital, and therefore by the entire organisation of production. It would be just as wrong however to say that the pressure on the money market was simply caused by fraudulent credit operations. Money as such implies the credit system. Or both are produced by the same cause. The Birmingham men,[422] who want to do away with the inconveniences of money by putting large quantities of money into circulation, or by lowering the standard of money, are of course fools. Proudhon, Gray and others who want to retain money but in such a way that it should no longer have the properties of money, are also fools. Since it is in the money market that the entire crisis erupts and all the features of bourgeois production recur as symptoms, which, it is true, become incidental causes, nothing is simpler to understand than the fact that it is money that narrow-minded reformers who stick to the bourgeois standpoint want to reform. Because they want to retain value and private exchange, they retain the division between the product and its exchangeability. *But they want to modify the token of this division in such a way that it expresses identity.*[a]

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[a] Marx marked the last two sentences with a vertical line in the margin.—*Ed.*

(5) The complete simpletons, i. e. the staunch ignorant democrats, are familiar only with *money* as used in the trade between dealers and consumers. They therefore do not know the sphere in which the collisions take place, the tempests of monetary crises and big financial transactions. Thus the problem, just as everything else, appears to these simpletons to be as simple and silly as they themselves are. They regard the trade between dealers and consumers as a straightforward exchange of values, in which the freedom of each individual receives its supreme practical confirmation. Class antagonism is in no way involved in this exchange. One trader confronts another, one moneyed individual confronts another. The precondition that every individual must be moneyed to be able to participate in the consumer goods trade, i. e. to be able to live, this precondition is of course automatically given by the fact that every individual must work and let his talent[a] act, as Stirner says.[b]

First of all it is a historical fact, which no one can deny, that in all hitherto existing social formations which were based on separation and contradiction between castes, tribes, social estates, classes, etc., money was an essential component of this organisation, and the monetary system was always symptomatic of the heyday or decline of this organisation. It is therefore not our task to prove that the monetary system is based on class contradictions, it is up to the simpletons to prove that, in spite of all previous historical experience, the monetary system can make sense even where there are no class contradictions, and that this particular element present in all social formations up to now will be able to survive in a situation that negates all hitherto existing social formations. To confront complete simpletons with such a task would be too simple. They deal with everything in monosyllables and this constitutes their specific talent. The monetary system and the entire present system are in their opinion as straightforward and as stupid as they themselves are.

But let us again visualise their beloved trade between consumers and dealers. They do not look beyond it, neither sideways nor forward and backward.

What does the free individual use to pay for his purchases at the grocer? He uses an equivalent—or token of value—of his income. The worker exchanges his wages, the manufacturer his profit, the

[a] To be understood both in the old sense of "money", "wealth", and in the modern sense of "ability, aptitude", etc., for the German word *Vermögen* used here means "ability", "capability" as well as "wealth", "fortune", "riches", "property".—*Ed.*

[b] Max Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum*, Leipzig, 1845, p. 353. A critical analysis of Stirner's views is given in *The German Ideology* by Marx and Engels published in Vol. 5 of the present edition.—*Ed.*

capitalist his interest, the landowner his rent—transformed into gold and silver and bank-notes—at the grocer, the cobbler, the butcher, the baker, etc. And what does the cobbler, the grocer, and so on, exchange for the money which represents wages, rent, profit and interest? He exchanges his capital for it. He replaces his capital, reproduces it and expands it in this transaction.

Thus *to begin with* in this seemingly so simple transaction all class relations manifest themselves and are presupposed, [i. e.] the classes of workers, of landowners, and of industrial and non-industrial capitalists. On the other hand, it first and foremost presupposes the existence of these specific social relations, which give wealth the form of capital, and separate capital from revenue. The simplicity disappears with the transformation into money.

The fact that the worker receives his wages in money—and likewise the landowner his rent and the manufacturer his profit—and not as provisions in kind, payment in kind or by means of barter, merely shows that the monetary system presupposes a high level of development and greater differentiation and separation of classes than does the absence of a monetary system in the pre-monetary stages of society. There is no wage labour without money, and therefore also no profit and interest in the latter form, and accordingly no rent of land either as this is simply a part of profit.

It is true that income in the form of money, i. e. in the form of gold, silver or bank-notes, no longer shows that it appertains to an individual exclusively as a member of a definite class, as a class individual, unless someone has obtained it by begging or stealing, that is to say by misappropriating an income of this type, and thus represents a class individual as a result of rather drastic measures. The transformation into gold or silver blurs the class character and veils it. Hence the apparent equality—apart from money—in bourgeois society. Hence in a society with a completely developed monetary system, there is, on the other hand, actually real civil equality of individuals insofar as they have money, irrespective of their source of income. In such a society, as distinct from ancient society where only the privileged strata could exchange certain things, everything is available to any person, any kind of material exchange can be carried out by everybody, in accordance with the amount of money into which his income can be converted. Whores, science, patronage, decorations, rent of land, lickspittles, all these are objects of exchange, just as coffee, sugar and herrings are. In the case of the estate system, the consumption of the individual, his material exchange, depends on the particular division of labour to

which he is subordinated. In the class system it depends only on the universal medium of exchange which he is able to acquire. In the first case, he as a socially circumscribed person takes part in exchange operations which are circumscribed by his social position. In the second case he as an owner of the universal medium of exchange is able to obtain everything that society can offer in exchange for this token of everything. In the exchange of money for commodities, in this trade between dealers and consumers, the manufacturer, when he buys at the grocer, is just as much a consumer as his worker, and the servant obtains the same commodities for the same amount of money as his master. Thus the specific nature of the income which has been transformed into money disappears in this exchange and the class characteristics of all individuals are blurred and merge in the category of buyer, who in this transaction faces the seller. Hence the illusion of seeing not an individual member of a class in this act of buying and selling, but the purchasing individual as such without class characteristics.

Now let us disregard for the moment the specific nature of the income, which is not evident in gold and silver any more than is the smell of urine in the tax on brothels, of which the Roman Emperor Hadrian said: *non olet!*[a] This nature emerges however in the amount of money which is at the person's disposal. The range of the purchases is in the main determined by the nature of the income. The quantity and the kind of articles bought by the largest class of consumers, the workers, is indicated by the nature of their income. It is however true that the worker can squander his wages on liquor for himself instead of buying meat and bread for his children, a thing he cannot do when he is paid in kind. His personal freedom has thereby been extended, i. e. more latitude has been allowed to the rule of liquor. On the other hand, the money the workers are able to spare after paying for the most essential means of subsistence, can be used by them to buy books, lecturers and meetings, instead of meat and bread. They are in a better position to acquire the universal powers of society, such as the intellectual ones. Where the nature of the income is still determined by the type of occupation, not only as at present by the quantity of the universal medium of exchange, but also by the nature of his occupation, the ways in which the individual can enter into relations with society and appropriate it are extremely limited, and the social organisation for the interchange of the material and intellectual products of society is from the outset

[a] It doesn't smell! (These words are usually attributed to Emperor Vespasianus, who introduced a tax on public lavatories.)—*Ed.*

restricted to a definite method and a particular content. Money, which is the supreme expression of class contradiction, therefore also obscures religious, social, intellectual and individual differences. When confronting the bourgeoisie, the feudal barons for example made futile attempts, by means of luxury laws, politically to check or break this universal levelling power of money. Thus in the commercial transactions between consumers and dealers, the qualitative class differences are transformed into the *quantitative* difference of a larger or smaller amount of money at the disposal of the buyer; and within a single class it is the quantitative difference which constitutes the *qualitative* difference. Hence big bourgeoisie, middle bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie.

Written in March 1851

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First published in German in: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe,* Abt. 1, Bd. 10, Berlin, 1977

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# APPENDICES

# PERMIT TO LEAVE SWITZERLAND ISSUED TO FREDERICK ENGELS[423]

*No. 1279*

| | |
|---|---|
| Surname | Engels, Writer |
| Christian names | Friedrich |
| Place of birth | Barmen (Prussia) |
| Age | 28 years |
| Height | 5 foot 9$^{3}/_{4}$ inches, or 1 metre 79 centimetres |
| Hair | Light brown |
| Forehead | Broad |
| Eyebrows | Light brown |
| Eyes | Brown |
| Nose | Small |
| Mouth | Medium |
| Beard | Light brown |
| Chin | Round |
| Face | Oval |
| Complexion | Ruddy |
| Distinguishing marks | |

Issued for the period of one year on September 11, 1849. Going to England via Piedmont and Spain, to reside there.

(Authorised by Department of Justice and Supervision on September 11, 1849.)

Signature of bearer
*Fred. Engels*[a]

First published in Russian (*Voprosy istorii* No. 11, 1970)

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] Signature in Engels' hand.— *Ed.*

# APPEAL FOR SUPPORT FOR GERMAN POLITICAL REFUGEES[424]

Ever since, accompanied by the savage din of war, "peace and order" have been re-established in Germany; ever since, atop the ruins of smouldering cities and amidst the murderous thunder of cannon, the "security of property and person" has been restored; ever since the court-martial has scarcely sufficed to consign one "rebel" after the other with smashed head to the grave; ever since the prisons have no longer proved large enough to accommodate all the "traitors"; ever since the only remaining form of justice has been martial law—since that time thousands upon thousands of people have been wandering without shelter in foreign lands.

From day to day their number grows and with it the misfortune of those without a homeland; turned away from one place to the next, they do not know in the morning where they will lay their heads that evening, nor in the evening where tomorrow's food is coming from.

There is an emigration of countless numbers filling Switzerland, France and England. Those wretched people have come from all the provinces of Germany.

Anyone who mounted the barricades in Vienna against the black and yellow[a] "league" and grappled with Jellachich's Serezhans[425]; anyone who fled from the soldiery of Wrangel and Brandenburg in Prussia; anyone who in Dresden took up the musket to defend the Imperial Constitution, and anyone who in Baden saw action as a republican soldier against the united crusading army of the princes—whether liberal, democrat, republican or socialist: supporters of the most varied political doctrines and interests, they are all united in the same exile and the same misery.

Dressed in rags, half a nation is begging at the doors of foreigners.

Our fugitive compatriots are also wandering on the cold pavement of the resplendent metropolis, London. Every ship that crosses the

[a] Black and yellow were the official colours of the Austrian Empire.—*Ed.*

Channel brings from across the sea a new multitude of people without a homeland; in every street of the city one can hear the grief of an exile lamenting in our tongue.

This distress has deeply stirred many German friends of liberty in London. Therefore on September 18 of this year a general meeting was held of the German Workers' Educational Society and the refugees from our nation who had arrived here, in order to set up a Committee of Support for Democrats in Need. Those elected were:

Karl Marx, former editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*;

Karl Blind, former envoy in Paris of the Baden-Palatinate Government;

Anton Füster, former member of the Austrian Imperial Diet in Vienna;

Heinrich Bauer, master shoemaker in London; and

Karl Pfänder, a painter here.

This Committee will render a public account every month, both at the general meeting and in the form of extracts in German newspapers. In order to avoid any misinterpretation it has been decided that *no member of the Committee may draw any assistance whatsoever from the fund.* Should a member of the Committee ever be in need of assistance in the future, then he will cease to be a member of the Committee.

We ask you now, friends and brothers, to do whatever lies in your power. If you are concerned that liberty, crushed and enchained, should rise again, and if you have a feeling in your hearts for the sufferings of your best champions, then there will be no great need of exhortations from us.

All donations should be addressed to: "Heinrich Bauer, master shoemaker, 64 Dean Street, Soho Square, London." Whatever is enclosed should be marked "for the Refugee Committee".

London, September 20, 1849

The Committee of Support for German Political Refugees:

*Anton Füster, Karl Marx, Karl Blind,*
*Heinrich Bauer, Karl Pfänder*

Published in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* No. 106, September 25, 1849; the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* No. 228, September 26, 1849; the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* No. 238, September 28, 1849; the *Demokratische Zeitung* No. 220, September 30, 1849, and in other newspapers

Printed according to the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*

Published in English for the first time

# RECEIPT OF THE COMMITTEE OF SUPPORT FOR GERMAN POLITICAL REFUGEES IN LONDON

November 13, 1849

We acknowledge receipt through Herr G. Tichen in Stettin[a] of £11.14s. for which we express our gratitude on behalf of the needy German political refugees.

London, November 13, 1849

The Committee of Support for German Political Refugees

Signed: Dr. *Karl Marx, Henry Bauer, Karl Pfänder*

First published in the *Norddeutsche Freie Presse* No. 208, November 23, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] The Polish name is Szczecin.—*Ed.*

# ACCOUNTS OF THE COMMITTEE OF SUPPORT FOR GERMAN REFUGEES IN LONDON

On November 18 of this year the German Workers' Society in London held a general meeting, attended by the majority of the political refugees there, to adopt the accounts of the Committee of Support [for refugees] formed at an earlier meeting.[a]

Total receipts since September 22 of this year were:

| | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. From the Workers' Society in London | 2 | 8 | $4^1/_2$ |
| 2. From the German Readers' Society in London | 2 | 15 | — |
| 3. From the editorial board of *The Northern Star* in London | — | 5 | — |
| 4. From Citizen Eddäus in London | — | 1 | — |
| 5. Collected by Citizen Siefert in London | — | 9 | 6 |
| 6. From Citizen Görringer in London | 1 | 5 | 9 |
| 7. Collected by Citizen H. Bauer in London | 7 | 1 | 9 |
| 8. From German workers in Paris, through Citizen Heidecker | — | 12 | 1 |
| 9. From Huddersfield through Citizen Krepp | 3 | — | — |
| 10. From Stettin in Prussia | 18 | 14 | — |
| Total | 36 | 12 | $5^1/_2$ |

[a] See this volume, p. 597.—*Ed.*

Expenditures on refugees from September 22 to November 18 of this year were:

| | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Kleiner | 3 | 17 | 2 |
| 2. Zschinski | 3 | 17 | 4 |
| 3. Fröhlich | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| 4. Henser | 3 | 7 | 6 |
| 5. Egener | 1 | 19 | — |
| 6. W. Töpffer | 1 | 11 | 7 |
| 7. J. Töpffer | 1 | 4 | 4 |
| 8. To the refugees Blei, Bergmann, Osoba, Wessely, Braulichy and Klein, together | 2 | 8 | 10 |
| 9. To the refugee merchant Schopp and family, against an I. O. U. | 4 | — | — |
| 10. Costs of printing and subscription lists | 1 | 15 | $2^1/_2$ |
| Total | 26 | 3 | $^1/_2$ |
| Total receipts | 36 | 12 | $5^1/_2$ |
| Total expenditure | 26 | 3 | $^1/_2$ |
| Cash in hand | 10 | 9 | 5 |

Clothing has also been received which has been distributed to the refugees.

The above accounts were adopted unanimously by the meeting. Receipts are to hand for all expenditures and the donors from Huddersfield and Stettin who were not represented have been requested to nominate representatives in London to inspect the receipts.

As the Committee had been depleted by the departure of two members, A. Füster and K. Blind, and as, moreover, an attempt is being made here to set up a counter-committee, independent of the Workers' Society and of the refugees of the social-democratic trend, the Committee returned its mandate to the Society.

The Society thereupon resolved:

1. That the German Workers' Society, acknowledging the work of the hitherto existing Committee, appoints a new committee of five of its members under the title "Social-Democratic Committee of Support for German Refugees".[426] This Committee takes over the balance of the former Committee.

2. The Committee will give priority to members of the social-democratic party but, as far as its funds allow, will not exclude refugees of other trends from its support.

3. The Committee will present monthly accounts to the Workers' Society and will thereupon be reappointed. The accounts will be published in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*, in *The Northern Star*, in the Frankfurt *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*, in Cologne in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung*, in the *Norddeutsche Freie Presse* in Hamburg, in the Berlin *Demokratische Zeitung*, in the *Schweizerische National-Zeitung*, in the *Schnellpost* and in the *Staatszeitung* in New York.[a]

4. Contributors will be entitled to be personally present at the monthly presentation of accounts, or, if they are not in London, to send a representative to check the books, receipts, and cash in hand.

5. The Workers' Society appoints as committee members Karl Marx, August Willich, Frederick Engels, Heinrich Bauer, Karl Pfänder.

In publishing the above accounts and the decisions of the Workers' Society, the undersigned Committee requests that contributions be sent to Heinrich Bauer, 64 Dean Street, Soho, London.

London, December 3, 1849

The Committee:
*Karl Marx, August Willich, Frederick Engels, Heinrich Bauer, Karl Pfänder*

Published in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* No. 245, December 7, 1849; the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* No. 173, December 12, 1849, and the *Demokratische Zeitung* No. 258, December 15, 1849

Printed according to the *Westdeutsche Zeitung*

Published in English for the first time

[a] *Deutsche Schnellpost* and *New-Yorker Staatszeitung*.—*Ed.*

# FROM THE INDICTMENT OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE UPRISING IN ELBERFELD IN MAY 1849[427]

Besides the above-named accused, the tailor Peter Nothjung is also accused of the main crime of the attempt,[a] although he was neither on the Army Reserve Committee nor on the Public Safety Committee. He was von *Mirbach*'s adjutant, and as such was close to the whole movement and, according to his own statement, knew its purpose. At the time of the uprising he went from Cologne, his place of residence, to Elberfeld, where he was asked by the newspaper[b] editor *Engels* and *Hühnerbein*, with whom he was already acquainted, to help the Military Committee[428] with the reception of the men and the writing out of billeting orders. On the same day von *Mirbach* appointed him his adjutant and provided him with a black, red and gold[c] sash as a mark of distinction. According to his own statement the aim of the whole movement was declared by the members of the Public Safety and Military Committees to be the recognition of the German Constitution, and for that reason the citizens should be armed. He fulfilled the functions of adjutant until von *Mirbach*'s departure; he was arrested in the neighbourhood of Ronsdorf....

Frederick *Engels*, a newspaper editor, is also said to have taken part in putting up barricades. Witness Heinrich *Meininghaus* states in particular that a young man with spectacles and a small moustache who was pointed out to him by an armed volunteer as the editor *Engels*, and who conducted himself as one of the leaders, gave the order to strengthen the barricade at the Wunderbau. The

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[a] The charge brought by the judicial authorities was worded: "attempt to overthrow the government".—*Ed.*

[b] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

[c] Colours symbolising the unity of Germany.—*Ed.*

above-mentioned witnesses *Simon* and *Sauer* also speak of a young man with a small moustache and a check coat who took part in erecting the barricade in front of von der *Heydt*'s house....

The royal arsenal at Gräfrath was repeatedly attacked and looted by armed bands during the disorders in Elberfeld. The first marches of this kind took place on May 10 and 11 but were carried out not by the Elberfeld bands, but by inhabitants of Solingen and the neighbourhood for the purpose of arming those localities and then partly supporting the uprising in Elberfeld and partly spreading it further in the province. These marches on Gräfrath are the objects of a special charge in another investigation into the disorders which took place at the same time in Solingen and the neighbourhood,[429] whereas here it is mainly a matter of the looting of the arsenal which was carried out on May 15 and from Elberfeld. According to statements by several persons who took part in this march, on that day the accused *Karl Jansen* ordered part of his detachment, some 30-40 men, to make a sortie, as he said, against Wald to get weapons there. This detachment was headed by *Jansen* as a captain and *Wohlmeiner* as a lieutenant, and the editor *Engels* joined the two of them. *Engels* and *Jansen* procured themselves two cart-horses on the way at the copper works and rode on them at the head of the detachment as far as the estate of the merchant *Jung* at Hammerstein, where *Engels* exchanged his horse for *Jung*'s saddle-horse, and both he and *Jansen* had riding saddles given to them. After Hammerstein, according to the statement of another of the accused, Wilhelm *Rausch*, *Jansen* gave the order to proceed to Gräfrath to see whether weapons and uniforms which they could use were to be found in the arsenal there. According to the testimony of sergeant *Starke* to the local army reserve administration, and of non-commissioned officer *Steiniger*, 6-8 riflemen in the vanguard of the detachment arrived first at the arsenal and then the armed band of 30-40 men headed by *Engels* and *Jansen*, both on horseback and armed with sabres and pistols. The detachment immediately formed up in front of the arsenal and placed sentries at the doors. Then *Engels* went up to sergeant *Starke* with his pistol drawn, asked him whether any weapons were still available and, on receiving the answer that the weapons had already been taken by force by the Solingen and Wald detachments, ordered him to go into the arsenal with him. Personal resistance by the two army men to the armed band of 30-40 would have been useless, the more so as the doors of the arsenal could not be locked as a result of the earlier attacks by the Solingen detachment. The two army men therefore had to yield to force and allow the arsenal to be entered. There *Engels* chose several

items of armament and uniform and had them brought out into the yard. For these two receipts, not quite identical in wording, were written out over the signature of Captain Karl *Jansen*....

According to these, the items taken out of the arsenal consisted of haversacks, helmets, trousers, cartridge-pouches, pistols, sabres, drums, footwear, and one rifle. On *Jansen*'s order each man of the band took from these the items of clothing which fitted him and the necessary weapons. *Jansen* himself does not deny that he led part of his armed detachment, 36-37[a] strong, to Gräfrath for the above-mentioned purpose; he only asserts that he did so on the basis of a written order which he received from von *Mirbach* on the morning of May 15 for the requisition of equipment on the way to Wald via Gräfrath. He also confirms that *Engels* placed himself with him at the head of the detachment and, on arriving at Gräfrath, posted sentries at the arsenal doors and entered with the sergeant. He maintains that while *Engels* was busy in the arsenal, he himself, leaving Lieutenant *Wohlmeiner* with the detachment, made a reconnaissance of the terrain in the neighbourhood of the arsenal and on his return saw some of the various items of equipment already lying in the square.

... accordingly accused, namely:

... 7. Frederick Engels, Johann Gottfried Wohlmeiner and Karl Jansen

a) of having in May 1849 in Elberfeld placed themselves at the head of an armed band, or having made the relevant arrangements, plundering the state-owned arsenal in Gräfrath; or

b) of having in May 1849 with a band and with open use of force plundered various articles of equipment from the royal arsenal in Gräfrath....

First published in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* Nos. 93 and 95 (supplements), April 19 and 21, 1850

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] The *Westdeutsche Zeitung* says "39-40".—*Ed.*

# PRELIMINARIES TO ISSUE OF SHARES IN THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG. POLITISCH-ÖKONOMISCHE REVUE*, EDITED BY KARL MARX

As is generally known, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* appeared from June 1, 1848, to May 19, 1849, under the editorship of *Karl Marx* as a daily newspaper in *Cologne on the Rhine.* It represented the most resolute democratic trend in Germany with such success that in spite of all suspensions and states of siege, in spite of all press trials and persecutions, hostility and obstacles of all kinds it numbered 5,600 subscribers after appearing for only eleven months. After the editorial board was twice acquitted by a jury, the Prussian Government had no other means of suppressing this dreaded paper than the use of force: When the partial uprisings in Rhenish Prussia were suppressed in May last year, the temporary rule of the sabre was used to remove the editorial board from Prussia by force and thus to make the continued appearance of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* impossible.

After taking part in the revolutionary movements of last summer, either in South Germany or in Paris, the majority of the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* assembled again in London and decided to continue the paper from there.[a] At first the paper can only appear as a review in monthly issues of approximately five sheets. But it will only fully serve its purpose of exercising an uninterrupted and lasting influence on public opinion, and create new opportunities also from the financial point of view, when the editorial board is in a position to produce issues in more rapid succession. It is therefore intended that, as soon as funds allow, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* should appear as a fortnightly of five sheets or, if possible, as a big weekly journal like the American and English weeklies and, as soon

[a] See this volume, pp. 5-6.—*Ed.*

as conditions permit its return to Germany, at once to transform it again from a weekly journal into a daily newspaper.

A provisional estimate shows that with only fortnightly issues and a sale of 3,000 copies the Revue will yield an annual net profit of 1,900 talers.

To put the enterprise on a secure basis and to enable the Revue to appear fortnightly or weekly, a capital of £500 is needed, and an issue of shares for this amount is hereby opened on the following conditions:

1. Every share is worth 50 francs and will be paid up at once against a provisional receipt later exchangeable for the original share.

2. Every shareholder is liable only for the amount of his share.

3. Shareholders have the right to nominate representatives in London to inspect the conduct of the business.

4. A quarterly general meeting will be called to receive a report on the progress of the enterprise and the accounts and to take decisions on the future control of the conduct of the business. A lithographed business report will be sent to individual shareholders.

5. Profits accruing from the business will be added to the capital until the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* can appear weekly. When the enterprise has prospered thus far, the profit will be divided into three equal parts, one remaining in a reserve fund, one distributed to shareholders as dividend, and the last going to the editorial board.

London, January 1, 1850

*K. Schramm,*
Manager of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

Written with the participation of Marx and Engels

First published in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, first Russ. ed., Vol. VIII, Moscow-Leningrad, 1930

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# ABOUT ENGELS' SPEECH AT A BANQUET HELD ON FEBRUARY 25, 1850, IN HONOUR OF THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION IN FRANCE

(From a Newspaper Report)[430]

Citizen Engels, editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, made a speech in French which he ended, amidst thunderous applause, with a toast to the June insurgents.

First published in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* No. 51, March 1, 1850

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# ACCOUNTS OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC REFUGEE COMMITTEE IN LONDON

1. *Expenditure*

| | | | | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| November 1849 | 16 | grants | @ 7s | 5 | 12 | — |
| December " | 29 | " | " 7s | 10 | 3 | — |
| | 3 | " | " 4s | — | 12 | — |
| | 1 | " | " 6s | — | 6 | — |
| | 1 | " | " 3s | — | 3 | — |
| | 2 | " | " 5s | — | 10 | — |
| | 1 | " | " 5s 6d | — | 5 | 6 |
| | 1 | " | " 8s | — | 8 | — |
| | 1 | " | " 12s | — | 12 | — |
| | 4 | " | " 10s | 2 | — | — |
| January 1850 | 20 | " | " 7s | 7 | — | — |
| | 1 | " | " 2s 6d | — | 2 | 6 |
| | 3 | " | " 4s | — | 12 | — |
| February 1 to 23 | 18 | " | " 7s | 6 | 6 | — |
| | 2 | " | " 5s | — | 10 | — |
| | 1 | " | " 2s | — | 2 | — |
| | 5 | " | " 10s | 2 | 10 | — |
| | 1 | " | " 3s | — | 3 | — |
| | 1 | " | " 13s | — | 13 | — |
| | 2 | " | " 1s 3d | — | 2 | 6 |
| | 1 | " | " 1s | — | 1 | — |
| | 114 | grants | totalling | 38 | 13 | 6 |
| Postage, stamp duty, bank charges and writing materials | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| | | | Total | 39 | 18 | 7 |

The expenses include £26 advances to various refugees, who in the meantime have found work, for the purchase of tools, chothing, etc., which they have promised to repay later.

2. *Receipts*

| | | | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| November | 19 | Balance | 10 | 9 | 5 |
| December | 1 | From the Workers' Society | — | 3 | 6 |
| " | 10 | Through the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* in Cologne 30 talers minus costs | 4 | 1 | — |
| " | 15 | From German workers in Paris | 2 | 5 | 10 |
| " | 17 | Through Professor Türk in Rostock | 16 | 12 | 6 |
| February | 11 | From the Cincinnati Aid Committee | 20 | 18 | — |
| " | 20 | From workers in Schwerin | 3 | — | — |
| | | Total | 57 | 10 | 3 |
| | | Minus the above expenditures | 39 | 18 | 7 |
| | | Cash in hand | 17 | 11 | 8 |

The above accounts were presented to the meeting of the local German Workers' Society of March 4 and were found correct. The receipts and the books of the Committee are ready at the Treasurer's for inspection by the donors or their representatives.

Since these accounts were balanced two more items have been received from Cologne and New York, which will be entered in the next account. On the other hand, the number of refugees here needing support has been greatly increased by the constant expulsions from Switzerland and France. New refugees are arriving here almost daily, most of them in a state in which they need not only the usual scanty aid but also urgent outlays for clothes. In these circumstances the funds of the undersigned Committee are used all the more the less successful the attempts to procure means to support the refugees here from other sources appear to have been, and the more often, therefore, all the refugees arriving here are at once directed to the Committee. The efforts of the German workers here and of the refugees themselves have succeeded in finding work for many of these. But a large number of jobs which are available to refugees elsewhere are for various reasons closed to them here, in particular because of the fierce competition in overcrowded London.

Moreover, the rush of new arrivals is so great that in spite of these efforts the list of persons needing support is swelling every week.

Although the greatest economy has been observed in spending the money contributed to the Committee, and regular aid can only cover the most urgent needs, because of the high prices of the necessaries of life prevailing here, the funds of the Committee were bound to shrink very rapidly in these circumstances. We must even fear that we may soon be unable to protect the local unemployed refugees from homelessness and the most extreme misery.

We are therefore appealing once more to the party in Germany itself for funds. We cry out to it that as the number and hence the need of the refugees in Switzerland and France declines, it increases in the same degree in London, and we hope that it will not come to such a pass that people who fought arms in hand for the freedom and honour of the German nation will have to beg for their bread on the street corners of London.

All contributions are requested at the address of

Mr. Henry Bauer
64 Dean Street, Soho
London

London, beginning of March 1850

The Social-Democratic Refugee Committee:

*Karl Marx, Fr. Engels, H. Bauer,*
*A. Willich, Karl Pfänder*

Published in *Die Hornisse* No. 67, March 20, 1850 (abridged) and in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* No. 68, March 21, 1850

Printed according to the *Westdeutsche Zeitung*

Published in English in full for the first time

# ABOUT ENGELS' SPEECH AT A MEETING OF FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS ON APRIL 5, 1850, COMMEMORATING ROBESPIERRE'S BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY

(From a Newspaper Report)[431]

Frederick Engels did justice to the revolutionary spirit of the English. He pointed out that a party of Levellers[432] had already existed at the time of the English Revolution, and ended with the health of the English workers.

First published in *Die Hornisse* No. 89, April 17, 1850

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# MEETING OF REFUGEE COMMITTEE ON APRIL 8, 1850[433]

Citizen Kleiner declares that Citizen R. Schramm has assured him that he does not belong to a refugee committee, but has merely received a number of lottery tickets from Galeer in Geneva with instructions to send the money to Geneva. The other committee meets at Hillmann's, is merely posing as a committee and, he believes, has no money.

Read, approved and signed

*W. Kleiner*
*Beyerle*

Citizen Gnam: Citizen Struve declares that he has no money for refugees. He has received a hundred lottery tickets from Galeer but has not yet disposed of them. Should he receive the money for them, he will either pay the money in to some committee that might be set up, or use his own judgment in giving the money to the refugees in return for a receipt. He regrets the splits that exist amongst the German émigrés; if these splits did not exist thousands of guilders would find their way here. For this reason he would advise the refugees to form a committee among themselves.

Read, approved and signed

*Gnam*
*Josef Leoni*
*Jakob Klein*

Citizen Struve then donated £1, which Gnam suggested should be given to the committee—at which Citizen Struve said: No, not to a

committee, I am giving that to those who are here just now, and they are to divide it amongst themselves.

*Gnam*
*Josef Leoni*
*Lucas*

The minutes were written by Engels on April 8, 1850

First published in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 44, second Russ. ed., 1977

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# UNIVERSAL SOCIETY OF REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISTS[434]

ARTICLE 1

The aim of the association is the downfall of all privileged classes, the submission of those classes to the dictatorship of the proletarians by keeping the revolution in continual progress until the achievement of communism, which shall be the final form of the constitution of the human family.

ARTICLE 2

To contribute to the realisation of this aim, the association will form ties of solidarity between all sections of the revolutionary communist party, causing national divisions to disappear according to the principle of republican fraternity.

ARTICLE 3

The founding committee of the association is constituted its Central Committee, and, wherever necessary for the accomplishment of the work, it will establish committees which will be in correspondence with the Central Committee.

ARTICLE 4

The number of association members is not limited, but no member may be admitted unless he has been voted in unanimously. In no case can the election be held by secret ballot.

ARTICLE 5

All the association members pledge themselves by solemn oath to preserve absolutely in these terms Article 1 of the present rules. Any modification which might lead to the weakening of the intentions

expressed in Article 1 releases members of the association from their obligation.

ARTICLE 6

All the society's decisions are taken by a majority of two-thirds of the voters.

(Signed:) *J. Vidil, Auguste Willich, G. Julian Harney, Adam, Ch. Marx, F. Engels*

Drawn up in mid-April 1850

First published in Russian (*Papers of the Marx-Engels Institute* No. 1, Moscow-Leningrad, 1926)

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

# ACCOUNTS OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC REFUGEE COMMITTEE IN LONDON

*Receipts*

| | | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| February 25 | Balance in hand | 17 | 11 | 8 |
| | From the Social Reform Association in London | 30 | 18 | 5 |
| March 13 | From the Cologne Refugee Committee | 36 | — | — |
| | From A. F., member of the Workers' Society | — | 5 | — |
| March 18 | Through Herr Wichmann in Hamburg | 6 | — | — |
| April 16 | Through " Rempel in Bielefeld | 3 | — | — |
| | " " Engels of E.B.[a] | 1 | — | — |
| April 20 | From several English workers | — | 7 | — |
| | | 95 | 2 | 1 |

*Expenditure*

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| March | 53 | grants | @ | 7s | 18 | 11 | — |
| " | 7 | " | " | 10s | 3 | 10 | — |
| " | 1 | " | " | 9s 6d | — | 9 | 6 |
| " | 1 | " | " | 2s $8^1/_2$d | — | 2 | $8^1/_2$ |
| " | 6 | " | " | 5s | 1 | 10 | — |
| " | 2 | " | " | 1s | — | 2 | — |
| " | 2 | " | " | 4s | — | 8 | — |
| " | 1 | " | " | 2s | — | 2 | — |
| | Advances | | | | 2 | 3 | — |
| | Postage and petty expenses | | | | — | 8 | 8 |
| | | | | | 27 | 6 | $10^1/_2$ |

[a] Presumably Elberfeld-Barmen.—*Ed.*

| | | | | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| April | 56 | grants @ | 6s | 16 | 16 | — |
| " | 18 | " " | 5s | 4 | 10 | — |
| " | 2 | " " | 2s 6d | — | 5 | — |
| " | 14 | " " | 1s 6d | 1 | 1 | — |
| " | 52 | " " | 7s | 18 | 4 | — |
| " | 1 | " " | 8s | — | 8 | — |
| " | 54 | " " | 3s | 8 | 2 | — |
| " | 49 | " " | 3s 6d | 8 | 11 | 6 |
| " | 1 | " " | 6s 4d | — | 6 | 4 |
| | Petty expenses ..... | | | — | 6 | 5 |
| | | | | 58 | 10 | 3 |
| | | | | 85 | 17 | $1^1/_2$ |
| | Balance in hand ..... | | | 9 | 4 | $11^1/_2$ |

The Committee, set up on September 18, 1849, has since its foundation supported about a hundred refugees for shorter or longer periods, and the total sum of moneys passed through its hands amounts to £161 3s $8^1/_2$d. In addition, the Workers' Society here has catered for the exceptional needs of individual refugees by collections, found work for others and put its premises with newspapers at the disposal of all refugees.

The books and receipts concerning the above accounts, which were submitted to and adopted by the German Workers' Society, are available with the Treasurer of the Committee for inspection by the donors or their representatives.

Messrs. Struve, Bobzin, Bauer (Stolpe) and others have lately seen fit to use their names to attract from Germany adequate funds for the refugees. Accordingly they have grouped around themselves a number of refugees and formed their own committee at a meeting yesterday. It goes without saying that this renewed project to form a parallel committee can no more divert us from our work for the refugees than the earlier projects which failed.

As the accounts show, the Committee's funds are so depleted that they barely suffice for the needs of one more week. But more refugees apply for support every day. We therefore call on the German social-democratic party once again not to let down their

refugees and as soon as possible to send their contributions to the Treasurer, K. Pfänder,[435] 21 King Street, Soho, London.

London, April 23, 1850

The Social-Democratic Refugee Committee:

*K. Marx*, President,
*August Willich, K. Pfänder,*
*Frederick Engels, Heinrich Bauer*

Published in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* No. 265, April 26, 1850 (abridged); the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* No. 104 (supplement), May 2, 1850; the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* No. 106, May 3, 1850, and the *Norddeutsche Freie Presse* No. 349, May 10, 1850

Printed according to the *Norddeutsche Freie Presse* and checked with the *Westdeutsche Zeitung*

Published in English for the first time

# THE GERMAN REFUGEES IN LONDON

For some time funds have been coming in so scantily for the German refugees here that these latter have suffered the greatest misery. A number of *them*, who so far have been unable to find any work in their trade here, *have been sleeping in the streets and parks for almost a week and are suffering hunger.* In various quarters the differences between the committees and allegations of biassed distribution of funds have been made a pretext for not sending any money for the refugees. Messrs. *Struve, Bobzin* and others have contributed to this situation by declaring that the undersigned Committee supports only "Communists".

We declare once again that we have supported *everybody* without distinction who proved his status as a German refugee in need of support. Our books and receipts are there to prove it, and are available at any time for inspection by donors or their representatives. At a full meeting of the committee of Messrs. Struve, Bobzin and others, co-signatory Willich asked the refugees who had received support which of them had been asked whether he was a "Communist". *Not one raised his hand!*

We declare the above claims of Messrs. Struve, Bobzin and others to be *lies and slander.*

This declaration removes the pretext under which the London refugees have hitherto been deprived of support from various quarters.

London, June 14, 1850

The Social-Democratic Refugee Committee:
*K. Marx, F. Engels, K. Pfänder,*
*A. Willich, H. Bauer*

Letters and contributions are requested at the address of K. Pfänder, 21 King Street, Soho, London.

Published in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* No. 149, June 25, 1850; *Die Hornisse* No. 146, June 25, 1850; the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* No. 152, June 27, 1850

Printed according to the *Westdeutsche Zeitung*

Published in English for the first time

# ACCOUNTS OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC REFUGEE COMMITTEE IN LONDON FOR MAY, JUNE AND JULY 1850

*Receipts*

| | | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| April 24 | Cash in hand according to previous account | 9 | 4 | 11½ |
| May | From Hanau through Citizen Schärttner, £ 13 less 7s 9d income tax | 12 | 12 | 3 |
| | From an Englishman | — | 2 | — |
| | Frankfurt am Main £5 and £20 | 25 | — | — |
| | | 46 | 19 | 2½ |
| June | From Trier | 2 | 2 | 6 |
| | " Paris (German workers) | 1 | 18 | 6 |
| | Through Citizen Betzler | — | 5 | — |
| | | 4 | 6 | — |
| July | From Frankfurt am Main | 30 | — | — |
| | " Cologne | — | 11 | 4 |
| | " Wiesbaden (Workers' Association) | 4 | 10 | — |
| | " Hamburg (*Norddeutsche Freie Presse*) | 11 | 11 | 10 |
| | " London Workers' Society | 7 | 9 | 6 |
| | " Frankfurt am Main | 20 | — | — |
| | " Neustadt a.d. Haardt | 4 | — | — |
| | " Hamburg (Despatch Dept. of the *Freischütz*)[436] | 20 | 10 | 10 |
| | " La Chaux-de-Fonds | 5 | — | — |
| | " Hamburg (Workers' Association of St. Georg) | — | 17 | 6 |
| | | 104 | 11 | — |

*Expenditure*

| | | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| April 24 to May 30 | 128 grants @ 3s 6d | 22 | 8 | — |
| | 27 " " 3s | 4 | 1 | — |
| | 26 " " 2s | 2 | 12 | — |
| | 31 " " 1s | 1 | 11 | — |
| | 25 " " 5s | 6 | 5 | — |
| | Occasional grants | 1 | 5 | — |
| | Shoemakers' work for refugees | — | 14 | — |
| | Petty expenses | — | 6 | 11 |
| | | 39 | 2 | 11 |
| June | 58 grants @ 2s | 5 | 16 | — |
| | 59 " " 1s | 2 | 19 | — |
| | 25 " " 1s 6d | 1 | 17 | 6 |
| | Occasional grants | — | 10 | — |
| | Petty expenses | — | 11 | 6 |
| | | 11 | 14 | — |
| July | 28 grants @ 2s | 2 | 16 | — |
| | 24 " " 1s | 1 | 4 | — |
| | 93 " " 6d | 2 | 6 | 6 |
| | Occasional grants | 1 | 6 | — |
| | For the refugees' board and lodging | | | |
| | £7 9s 6d | | | |
| | £5 — — | | | |
| | £5 10s — | 35 | 9 | 6 |
| | £5 10s — | | | |
| | £6 — — | | | |
| | £6 — — | | | |
| | For working equipment | 6 | — | — |
| | Advances to refugees | 7 | 12 | 6 |
| | Advances to a refugee with family | 1 | — | — |
| | Petty expenses | — | 19 | 3½ |
| | | 58 | 13 | 9½ |
| | Total expenditure | 109 | 10 | 8½ |
| | Total receipts | 155 | 16 | 2½ |
| | Less expenditure | 109 | 10 | 8½ |
| | Cash in hand | 46 | 5 | 6 |

The above accounts were submitted to the meeting of the Workers' Society on July 30 of this year and were approved. Books and

receipts are ready and available for inspection by the donors or their representatives.

Since in the month of June contributions received were very scanty and the need of the refugees was often unbearable, it was decided to set up a communal lodging and eating-house for them. The local Workers' Society and a section of the refugees who had already found work made it possible by their contributions to begin the execution of this plan. From funds received later the house could be provided with the necessary utensils and furniture. Up to now 18 refugees have found lodgings there and about 40 have received meals. At first the unemployed shoemakers among the refugees were used to provide their comrades with the necessary footwear. Later the Committee allocated funds and took the steps necessary to equip a common workshop for the refugees on the same premises and so to enable them to earn part of their living expenses themselves.

If the first attempt proves a success, the thing will be done on a larger scale and the public will be further informed about it at the appropriate time. The Committee expects that this double enterprise of providing aid and employment for the refugees will be supported by a great many contributions from Germany until the refugees are able to support themselves.

London, July 30, 1850

The Social-Democratic Refugee Committee:
*Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, August Willich,*
*Karl Pfänder, Heinrich Bauer*

Published in the *Norddeutsche Freie Presse* No. 425, August 7, 1850; the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* No. 280, August 9, 1850; *Der Freischütz* No. 98, August 15, 1850

Printed according to the *Norddeutsche Freie Presse*

Published in English for the first time

# ABOUT ENGELS' SPEECH AT A MEETING ORGANISED BY FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS ON SEPTEMBER 10, 1850

(From a Newspaper Report)[437]

Mr. *Engels*, formerly editor of a German newspaper, and who was introduced by the Chairman (John Pettie) as one who had fought and bled for freedom, addressed the meeting. He said that about thirty months ago there had been a fine lot of gentlemen sent over to England, Louis Philippe, Prince Metternich, Prince William of Prussia, and others—and foreign patriots had thought it a disgrace to England that she should so readily shelter them. But, he said, wait—the people of England, at their own time would act justly, and had done so now. (Hear, hear!) The treatment of Haynau would produce a greater effect upon the Continent than anything which had been done in England for the last ten years.

His treatment was worse than if they had torn his epaulettes from his shoulder, or broken his sword and thenceforth he would be driven from the society of his equals with contempt (Hear, hear). There would shortly be another revolution on the Continent, and the enemies of the people who would otherwise have fled to this country, would now be afraid to do so, and would go somewhere else, probably to their friend Nicholas of Russia who would perhaps give them a small kingdom in Siberia. (Loud laughter!)

In the name of his country he thanked the people of London for their treatment of Haynau which he hoped, would be imitated in any future place the monster might visit. (Applause.)

Published in *The Times* No. 20591, September 11, 1850; *The Morning Chronicle* No. 26139, September 12, 1850; the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* No. 285, September 13, 1850; *The Northern Star* No. 673, September 14, 1850; the *Reynold's Weekly Newspaper* No. 5, September 15, 1850, and *Die Hornisse* No. 218, September 18, 1850

Printed according to the *Reynold's Weekly Newspaper*

# MEETING OF THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY SEPTEMBER 15, 1850[438]

Present: Marx, Engels, Schramm, Pfänder, Bauer, Eccarius, Schapper, Willich, Lehmann.

Fränkel is excused.

As this is an extraordinary meeting the minutes of the last meeting are not here and are therefore not read.

*Marx*: The Friday meeting could not take place because of a clash with a meeting of the commission of the Society.[a] As Willich has called[b] a meeting of the district, a meeting whose legality I will not go into, this meeting must be held today. I wish to make the following proposal which is in three parts:

1. The Central Authority shall be transferred from London to Cologne and its powers will be transferred to the district authority there as soon as this meeting is over. This decision shall be reported to League members in Paris, Belgium and Switzerland. The new Central Authority will itself notify members in Germany.

Explanation: I was opposed to Schapper's motion to set up a district authority in Cologne for the whole of Germany because this might disrupt the unity of the Central Authority. Our motion does away with this objection. There are a number of new reasons which support the motion. The minority in the Central Authority is in open rebellion against the majority both in the motion of censure during the last meeting, in the general meeting now called by the district as well as in the Society and among the refugees. Therefore the Central Authority cannot possibly remain here. Its unity cannot be maintained any longer, there would be a split and there would then be two leagues. As the interests of the party must come first I propose this way out.

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[a] German Workers' Educational Society in London, called below the Great Windmill Street Society.—*Ed.*

[b] The second copy of the minutes has: "called for Monday".—*Ed.*

2. The existing League Rules shall be declared null and void. The new Central Authority shall be responsible for drawing up new rules.

Explanation: The Rules of the 1847 Congress were amended by the London Central Authority in 1848. Circumstances have now changed yet again. The latest London Rules weakened the principal articles of the original Rules. Both Rules are in force in different places, in some places there are no Rules at all or there are unauthorised ones, so that there is complete anarchy in the League. Moreover the latest Rules have become public and so can no longer be used. My proposal, therefore, essentially is that effective rules be introduced in place of the present lack of rules.[439]

3. Two districts shall be formed in London to be entirely independent of each other and the only bond between them will be that they belong to the League and correspond with the same Central Authority.

Explanation: It is necessary to form two districts here for the very reason that the unity of the League must be preserved. Quite apart from personal disagreements we have witnessed also differences of principle even in the Society. In the last debate on "the position of the German proletariat in the next revolution" views were expressed by members of the minority on the Central Authority which directly clash with those in the last circular but one[a] and even the *Manifesto.*[b] A German national standpoint was substituted for the universal outlook of the *Manifesto,* and the national feelings of the German artisans were pandered to. The materialist standpoint of the *Manifesto* has given way to idealism. The revolution is seen not as the product of realities of the situation but as the result of an effort of *will.* Whereas we say to the workers: You have 15, 20, 50 years of civil war to go through in order to alter the situation and to train yourselves for the exercise of power, it is said: We must take power *at once,* or else we may as well take to our beds. Just as the democrats abused the word "people" so now the word "proletariat" has been used as a mere phrase. To make this phrase[c] effective it would be necessary to describe all the petty bourgeois as proletarians and consequently in practice represent the petty bourgeois and not the proletarians. The actual revolutionary process would have to be replaced by revolutionary catchwords. This debate has finally laid

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[a] The second copy has: "of the Central Authority".—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to the *Address of the Central Authority to the League,* March 1850, and *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (see this volume, pp. 277-87, and present edition, Vol. 6).—*Ed.*

[c] The second copy reads: "this view".—*Ed.*

bare the differences in principle which lay behind the clash of personalities, and the time for action has now arrived. It is precisely these differences that have furnished both parties with their battlecries and some members of the League have called the defenders of the *Manifesto* reactionaries, seeking thereby to make them unpopular, which however does not worry them in the least, as they do not seek popularity. The majority would therefore be justified in dissolving the London district and expelling the members of the minority[a] as being in conflict with the principles of the League. I do not put a motion to that effect as it would cause a pointless scandal and because these people are still Communists in their convictions even though the opinions they are now expressing are anti-communist and could at best be described as social-democratic. It is obvious, however, that it would be a mere waste of time, and a harmful one at that, for us to remain together. Schapper has often spoken of separation—very well then, I am seriously in favour of it. I think that I have found the way for us to separate without splitting the party.

I wish to state that, for my own part, I should like to have at most twelve people[440] in our district, as few as possible, and gladly leave the minority in possession of the great throng. If this proposal is accepted we shall obviously be unable to remain in the Society[b]; I shall resign from the Great Windmill Street Society[c] together with the majority. After all it is not a matter of the hostile relationship between the two groups, but, on the contrary, of eliminating the tension and so all relationships. We remain together in the League and in the party but we are not going to maintain a relationship that is plainly harmful.

*Schapper*: Just as in France the proletariat parts company with the Montagne[441] and *La Presse* so it is here also: the people who represent the party in principle part company with those who organise the proletariat. I am in favour of moving the Central Authority[d] and also of making alterations in the Rules. The Cologne members are familiar with the situation in Germany. I also think that the new revolution will produce people who will lead themselves[e] better than all those who made a name for themselves in 1848. As far as disagreements of principle are concerned, it was Eccarius who raised the question that provided the occasion for this debate. I have voiced

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[a] The second copy reads: "the minority of the Central Authority".—*Ed.*
[b] The second copy reads: "in the same Society".—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, p. 483.—*Ed.*
[d] The second copy has: "to Cologne".—*Ed.*
[e] The second copy has: "take the lead".—*Ed.*

the opinion attacked here because I am in general an enthusiast in this matter. The question at issue is whether we ourselves chop off a few heads right at the start or whether it is our own heads that will fall. In France the workers will come to power and thereby *we* in Germany too. Were this not the case I would indeed take to my bed; in that event I would be able to enjoy a different material position. If we come to power we can take such measures as are necessary to ensure the rule of the proletariat. I am a fanatical supporter of this view but the Central Authority favours the very opposite. You want to have nothing more to do with us—very well, let us part company now. I shall certainly be guillotined in the next revolution, nevertheless I shall go to Germany. You want two districts—very well, but that will be the end of the League. We shall meet again in Germany and then perhaps be able join forces again. Marx is a personal friend of mine but you are in favour of separation—very well, we shall each go our separate ways. But in that case there should be two leagues, one for those who work with the pen and one for those who work in other ways. I do not share the view that the bourgeoisie in Germany will come to power and on this point I am a fanatical enthusiast—if I weren't I wouldn't give a brass farthing for the whole affair. But if there are two districts here in London, two societies and two refugee committees then we should prefer also to have two leagues and complete separation.

*Marx*: Schapper has misunderstood my motion. If the motion is adopted we shall separate, the two districts shall separate and the people concerned will have no relations with each other. However, they will belong to the same League and be under the same Authority.[a] You can even retain the greater part of the League membership. As for personal sacrifice, I have given up as much as anyone; but for the class and not for individuals. And as for enthusiasm, not much enthusiasm is needed to belong to a party when you believe that it is on the point of seizing power. I have always defied the momentary opinions of the proletariat. We are devoted to a party which, most fortunately for it, cannot yet come to power. If the proletariat were to come to power the measures it would introduce would be petty-bourgeois and not directly proletarian. Our party can come to power only when the conditions allow it to put *its own* views into practice. Louis Blanc is the best instance of what happens when you come to power prematurely.[442] In France, moreover, it isn't the proletariat alone that gains power but the peasants and the petty bourgeois as well, and it will have to

[a] The second copy reads: "Central Authority".—*Ed.*

carry out not its, but *their* measures. The Paris Commune[443] shows that one need not be in the government to accomplish something. And incidentally why do we hear nothing from the other members of the minority, especially Citizen Willich, who approved the circular unanimously at the time? We cannot and will not split the League: we wish merely to divide the London district into two districts.

*Eccarius*: It was I who raised the question and it certainly was my intention to have the whole matter discussed. I have explained it in the Society why I think that Schapper's view is based on an illusion and why I do not think that our party can come to power immediately in the next revolution. Our party will then be more important in the clubs than in the government.

Citizen Lehmann walks out without comment. Citizen Willich likewise.

First part of the motion: all in favour, Schapper abstains.

Second part: all in favour, Schapper abstains.

Third part: all in favour, Schapper abstains.

Schapper makes a protest against us all: We are now completely separated. I have my own acquaintances and friends in Cologne who follow me rather than you.

*Marx*: We have acted in accordance with the Rules. The resolutions of the Central Authority are valid.

After the minutes are read out both Marx and Schapper declare that they have not written to Cologne on this matter.[a]

Schapper is asked whether he has any objection to the minutes. He says he has no objection as he thinks all objections are superfluous.

Eccarius proposes that everyone should sign the minutes. Accepted. Schapper declares that he will not sign.

Dated, London, September 15, 1850
Read, approved and signed.[b]

Signed: *K. Marx*, Chairman of the Central Authority
*F. Engels*, Secretary
*Henry Bauer, K. Schramm, J. G. Eccarius, K. Pfänder*

First published in the *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 1, Part 2, 1956

Printed according to the manuscripts

[a] This sentence is missing in the second copy.—*Ed.*
[b] These words are missing in the second copy.—*Ed.*

# THE RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

September 15, 1850[444]

1. The Central Authority will be transferred from London to Cologne and a new Central Authority will be formed by the Cologne district.

2. The existing League Rules are declared null and void and the new Central Authority is instructed to draft new ones.

3. Two districts will be formed from the existing London district. They will be independent of each other and will deal only with the common Central Authority.

Drawn up on September 15, 1850, with the participation of Marx and Engels

First published in the *Dresdner Journal und Anzeiger* No. 180, June 22, 1851

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# ACCOUNTS OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC REFUGEE COMMITTEE IN LONDON FROM AUGUST 1 TO SEPTEMBER 10 [1850][445]

*Receipts*

| | | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| August | Balance | 46 | 5 | 6 |
| | Collected by Miss Berg | 12 | — | — |
| | From the Workers' Association in St. Georg, Hamburg | 2 | 10 | — |
| | From the same | 1 | 10 | — |
| | From Neustadt an der Haardt | 8 | — | — |
| | From Mr. C. Flory through the editorial board of the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* | — | 8 | — |
| September | From the German Workers' Association in Paris | 2 | — | — |
| | Collected by Herr John Berg | 17 | 10 | — |
| | Total | 90 | 3 | 6 |

*Expenditure*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| August | For the refugees' board and lodging | 28 | 9 | 3 |
| | To the brushmakers' workshop | 7 | 10 | — |
| | For leather, etc. | — | 13 | 6 |
| | 56 grants @ 6d | 1 | 8 | — |
| | 23 " " 1s | 1 | 3 | — |
| | 6 " " 2s 6d | — | 15 | — |
| | Various grants | — | 5 | 6 |
| | 4 grants @ 10s | 2 | — | — |
| | Advances to refugees | 8 | 4 | — |
| | To four refugees for the voyage to America | 5 | — | — |

| | | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Travelling expenses to Schleswig-Holstein | 7 | 3 | — |
| | Petty expenses, postage, bank charges, etc. | — | 11 | 3 |
| September | For board and lodging | 14 | 4 | 8 |
| | 39 grants of 6d | — | 19 | 6 |
| | 2 " of 1s | — | 2 | — |
| | 1 " of 10s and 1 of 5s | — | 15 | — |
| | Distributed according to the donor's (Herr Berg's) instructions | 8 | 15 | — |
| | Advances to refugees | 1 | 18 | — |
| | Petty expenses | — | 6 | 10 |
| | Total | 90 | 3 | 6 |

Since the four undersigned members of the hitherto existing Social-Democratic Committee, on submitting these accounts, declared their resignation from the Committee, the Society in Great Windmill Street[a] appointed a commission to check the books and receipts, which reported on the 15th that it had found everything in order.

The undersigned saw fit to leave all books and receipts concerning their administration with the hitherto treasurer, K. Pfänder, 21 King Street, Soho Square, since they had resigned not only from the Committee but from the Society and the documents cannot be dispensed with in case enquiries are made by members of the public.

Donors are therefore requested to appoint representatives in London to inspect the books and receipts at the above-mentioned hitherto treasurer's.

London, September 18, 1850

*Karl Marx, H. Bauer, K. Pfänder, Fr. Engels*

Published in the *Deutsche-Londoner Zeitung* No. 287, September 27, 1850

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] The German Workers' Educational Society in London.—*Ed.*

# PROPOSAL FROM THE LONDON DISTRICT OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE TO THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY IN COLOGNE [446]

To expel all members of the Sonderbund and in particular Schapper, Willich, Schärttner, Lehmann, Dietz (Oswald), Gebert, Fränkel (the last seven by name) and to inform all League districts and communities of this decision as well as the Sonderbund in London and its leaders.[...]

1. They have communicated reports, and false reports at that, concerning the split in London to leaders of secret societies outside the League and to refugees of various nationalities.

2. They are in a state of open rebellion against the legally constituted Central Authority in Cologne; they act in defiance of the latter's decisions and have an emissary[a] travelling around Germany to found a Sonderbund.

3. They have violated, and still violate, in their relations with the members of the London district, all obligations binding on the members of secret societies.

4. They have, since the separation, broken all the laws of secret societies and to permit them to remain in the League any longer would only serve them to hasten its disintegration.

Drawn up on November 11, 1850, with the participation of Marx and Engels

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Dresdner Journal und Anzeiger* No. 180, June 22, 1851

[a] Gaude.— *Ed.*

# RULES OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE[447]

1. The *aim* of the Communist League is to bring about the destruction of the old society—and ***the overthrow of the bourgeoisie***—the spiritual, political and economic emancipation of the proletariat, the communist revolution, using all the resources of propaganda and political struggle towards this goal. In the various stages of development through which the struggle of the proletariat has to pass, the League shall represent at all times the interest of the movement as a whole, just as it shall seek at all times to unite and organise all the revolutionary forces of the proletariat within itself; as long as the proletarian revolution has not attained its ultimate goal the League shall remain secret and indissoluble.

2. *Membership* shall be open only to those who comply with the following conditions:

a. be emancipated from all religion, sever connections with any church organisation and not participate in any ceremony not required by civil law;

b. understand the conditions, the course of development and the ultimate goal of the proletarian movement;

c. stand aloof from all organisations and particular strivings that oppose or obstruct the progress of the League towards its goal;

d. show ability and zeal in propaganda, unswerving devotion to convictions and revolutionary energy;

e. maintain the strictest secrecy in all matters concerning the League.

3. *Admission* shall be granted by the unanimous vote of the community. A new member shall normally be admitted by the chairman in the presence of the whole community. Members will swear to abide unconditionally by the decisions of the League.

4. Whoever violates the conditions of membership shall be expelled. A majority vote of the community is required for the

expulsion of individuals. The Central Authority can expel whole communities where expulsion has been proposed by a district community. The whole League shall be notified of expulsions and shall keep those expelled under surveillance just like any suspect individual.

5. The League is organised in communities, districts, a Central Authority and a congress.

6. A community consists of at least three members of the same locality. It shall elect a chairman, who will conduct the meetings, and a deputy, who will act as treasurer.

7. Above the communities of a country or a province there shall be a chief community, the *district*, to be nominated by the Central Authority. The communities shall deal directly only with their districts, the districts in turn deal with the Central Authority.

8. The communities shall meet regularly, not less than once a fortnight, they shall correspond at least once a month with their districts; the latter shall communicate with the Central Authority at least once every two months; every three months the Central Authority shall report on the state of the League.

9. The chairman and deputy of the communities and districts shall be elected for one year and can be deposed at any time by their electorate; the members of the Central Authority can only be deposed by the congress.

10. Every League member shall pay a monthly contribution whose minimum shall be determined by the congress. Half of the sums so raised will go to the districts and half to the Central Authority; they will be used to cover administration costs, the distribution of propaganda material and the dispatching of emissaries. The districts shall bear the cost of the correspondence with their communities. Contributions shall be sent every three months to the districts, which will forward half of the total income to the Central Authority and, at the same time, give an account of their income and expenditure to their communities. The Central Authority shall account to the congress for monies it has received. Extraordinary expenses shall be met by extraordinary contributions.

11. The *Central Authority* is the executive organ of the whole League. It shall consist of at least three members and shall be elected and augmented by the district which the congress has assigned as its seat. It shall be responsible only to the congress.

12. The *congress* is the legislative organ of the whole League. It shall consist of the delegates of the district assemblies, which will elect *one* deputy for every five communities.

13. The *district assembly* is the representative body of the district. It shall be convened in the district centre regularly every quarter by the committee of the chief community to debate the affairs of the district. To this assembly each community shall send one delegate. The district assembly shall invariably be convened in the middle of July each year for the election of the League delegates.

***Article 5 Community***
***Article 6 District***
***Article 7 Central Authority***
***Article 8 The Congress***
***Article 9 Admission to the League***
***Article 10 Expulsion from the League (money....)***[a]

14. A fortnight after the close of the district election assemblies the congress shall meet as a rule at the seat of the Central Authority unless the latter decides upon another venue.

15. The congress shall receive from the Central Authority, which has a seat in it but no vote, a report on all its activities and on the state of the League; it shall lay down the principles governing the policy to be followed by the League, decide upon amendments to the Rules and determine the seat of the Central Authority for the coming year.

16. In cases of emergency the Central Authority can summon an extraordinary congress which will consist in that event of the delegates last elected by the districts.

17. Disputes between individual members of the same community shall be settled conclusively by that community; disputes between members of the same district by the district community; those between members of different districts by the Central Authority; personal complaints about members of the Central Authority shall be brought before the congress. Disputes among communities belonging to the same district shall be resolved by the district community, those between communities and their district or between different districts, by the Central Authority; but in the first case an appeal may be made to the district assemblies and in the second, to the congress. The congress shall also resolve all conflicts between the Central Authority and the lower committees of the League.

First published in Russian in the journal *Voprosy Istorii* No. 11, 1948

Printed according to a copy of the manuscript with remarks by Marx

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[a] Articles 5-10 were written by Marx at the bottom of the third page of the manuscript.— *Ed.*

# ABOUT ENGELS' SPEECH AT A NEW YEAR'S PARTY OF THE FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS SOCIETY DECEMBER 30, 1850

(From a Newspaper Report)[448]

M. Engels (who, with Carl Schapper, attended as a deputation from the German Society) also responded to this sentiment, thanked them in the name of his brethren for their sympathy, and expressed his best wishes for the prosperity of the English people. He then entered into a long and elaborate statement of the causes of the failures abroad, and the consequent reaction, showing that it equally arose from the ignorance of the people and the treachery of their leaders.

First published in *The Northern Star* No. 689, January 4, 1851

Reprinted from the newspaper

# NOTES
# AND
# INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] This statement was written by Engels soon after his arrival in London from Switzerland on approximately November 10, 1849. In July 1849, Engels crossed into Switzerland, together with the retreating Baden-Palatinate insurgent army, and then left for London via Genoa by sea around the Iberian Peninsula. Marx, who had emigrated to London in August 1849, carried on extensive work there to restore the Communist League and to assist revolutionary refugees coming to England. Engels, too, immediately joined in and was brought into the League's Central Authority which Marx had restored.

Engels' statement to the Chartist newspaper *The Northern Star* was prompted by articles of the petty-bourgeois journalist Karl Heinzen, with whom Marx and Engels had had a controversy as far back as 1847 (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 291-306), and the fact that Heinzen's articles were used by English Conservative circles for the persecution and expulsion of political refugees from Britain. Thus, Heinzen's pamphlet *Lehren der Revolution* (Lessons of the Revolution) reprinted in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* Nos. 241 and 242 of November 9 and 16, 1849, contained gross demagogic statements compromising the German revolutionary refugees. Referring to those statements, the author of a letter published in *The Times* of November 23, 1849, and signed *Anti-Socialist* suggested to the Home Secretary that "the writer of such hellish doctrines" should be ordered "to quit the English dominions within 24 hours".

Marx wrote to Joseph Weydemeyer on December 19, 1849: "You will have seen what-you-may-call-him Heinzen's inane bragging in the newspapers. This fellow, who was done for by the revolution in Germany—*before* that his things enjoyed a certain vogue because the petty bourgeois and the commercial traveller liked to see printed in black and white the idiocies and rodomontades they themselves might utter in tones of mystery between biscuits and cheese at the wine-shop—is endeavouring to rehabilitate himself by compromising the other refugees in Switzerland and England—those who have really worked—in the eyes of those countries' governments, by kicking up a row, and by threatening shortly to gobble up a hundred thousand of millions of men at *déjeuner à la fourchette*, thus earning himself a lucrative martyrdom." p. 3

[2] After the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which had been published by Marx and Engels in Cologne from June 1, 1848, till May 19, 1849, was banned Marx did not give up

the idea of resuming, in one way or another, the publication of a paper that would continue the revolutionary traditions of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. He wrote about this to Engels in Switzerland on August 1, 1849, inviting him to London to help start one up. Marx succeeded in raising funds and finding a publisher, and in mid-December 1849 a contract to publish the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* was signed between the responsible publisher Konrad Schramm and Schuberth and Co., a Hamburg bookselling firm. The periodical's aims were to assess the results of the 1848-49 revolution, to reveal the nature of the new historical situation, and to develop further the proletarian party's tactics. Most of the articles and literary and international reviews were written by Marx and Engels, who also drew contributions to the *Revue* from their followers Wilhelm Wolff, Joseph Weydemeyer, and Johann Georg Eccarius. Issue No. 1 also carried an item by Karl Blind, "Oesterreichische und preussische Parteien in Baden", and issue No. 4—verses by the French democrat Louis Ménard.

The cover named the places of publication as London, where Marx and Engels lived at the time, Hamburg, where the journal was printed, and New York since a great number of those who had participated in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany emigrated to America, and Marx and Engels hoped to find suitable ground there for distributing the journal. Presuming the possibility of a new revolutionary upsurge, they intended shortly to make their publication a weekly, and later a daily newspaper (see this volume, pp. 605-06). This plan was not, however, carried out. Altogether six issues were published; the last issue, a double one (5-6), came out at the end of November 1850. All further attempts to continue publication were blocked by police persecution in Germany and lack of funds.

Marx sent the text of the *Announcement* to Joseph Weydemeyer in Frankfurt am Main on December 19, 1849, with a request to publish it in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*. It was printed in Nos. 14, 23 and 31 of January 16 and 26, and February 5, 1850.

It was also printed in the *Berner Zeitung* No. 361 of December 27, 1849; in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* (published by Hermann Becker in Cologne) on January 8, 9, 11 (supplement), 12 and 13 (supplement), 1850; in the *Schweizerische National-Zeitung*, Basle, No. 8, January 10, 1850; in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* No. 9, January 10, 1850; in the *Norddeutsche Freie Presse*, Hamburg-Altona, No. 254, January 18, 1850; in *Der Volksfreund*, Lemgo, No. 3, January 18, 1850. p. 5

[3] In May 1849, when the counter-revolution was on the upsurge, the Prussian Government issued an order expelling Marx and the other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* from Prussia. This measure, prepared well in advance, was applied when the main uprisings in the Rhine Province had been virtually suppressed. On his return to Cologne in April 1848, Marx applied for Prussian citizenship which he had been forced to renounce in 1845 when he was living in Belgium as an emigrant. Despite the Cologne Magistrate's favourable reply to his application, however, the Cologne royal district authorities and the Minister of the Interior refused to grant it, and Marx remained a "foreigner", who could at any moment be accused of abusing hospitality and expelled. The royal district authorities' note to this effect followed on May 11, 1849, and on May 16 Marx was given 24 hours to leave Prussia. Weerth and Dronke, who did not enjoy Prussian citizenship either, received similar orders. Legal proceedings were instituted against Engels for his part in the Elberfeld uprising. The last issue, No. 301, of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* appeared on May 19, 1849. p. 5

[4] *Letters from Germany* by Engels, as well as his series of articles *Letters from France*, were written for the Chartist journal *The Democratic Review of British and Foreign*

*Politics, History and Literature* published by George Julian Harney in 1849 and 1850. Harney had invited Engels to make regular contributions to the new journal as early as March 1849 (see *The Harney Papers*, Assen, 1969, pp. 249-50). But Engels was only able to start contributing in November 1849, when he came to London. In London Marx and Engels established close contacts with the revolutionary wing of the Chartist party and used *The Democratic Review* to disseminate the ideas of scientific communism and explain the character of events on the Continent to the English working people.

The content of the *Letters from Germany* and the *Letters from France*, the way events are analysed, and the fact that appraisal of these events coincides, sometimes even textually, with that given in later works by Marx and Engels (e.g., the first and second letters from Germany and the first international review; *Letters from France* and *The Class Struggles in France*) show that their author was not only well informed of Marx's work at the time, but also took part in it. Marx did not yet know English well enough to write articles for *The Democratic Review*, so the author could only be Engels.

Engels wrote the *Letters from Germany* from personal observations while actively participating in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany. He used material in the German and English press and information provided by Communist League members, some of whom emigrated to London at that time. In conformity with current journalistic practice, the letters were marked Cologne.

The letters from Germany and France met with a broad response in the Chartist press. *The Northern Star* in its reviews of the new issues of *The Democratic Review* always stressed the particular significance of these letters. Thus, in its review of the issue which opened the series, *The Northern Star* (No. 637 of January 5, 1850) wrote that letters from France and Germany "will do much towards promoting the good work of international fraternity". As regards the next of *The Democratic Review* issue *The Northern Star* (No. 641, February 2, 1850) stated: "*Letters from France and Germany* are decidedly the most important of the contents of this number of the *Democratic Review*. The disclosures concerning the designs of the European despots, and the proofs given to the progress of the revolutionary spirit in France and Germany, stamp these letters as inexpressibly valuable. The letter from France has but one fault—its comparative brevity." Noting that the *Letters* expose the policy of the counter-revolutionary powers and their instrument—President Bonaparte, the Chartist newspaper concluded its review of the March issue as follows: "The *Letters* in the present number show that great events are at hand" (*The Northern Star*, March 2, 1850). Further comments on the *Letters* appeared in *The Northern Star* of April 6 and May 4, 1850. Another paper, *People*, commented on the current issue of *The Democratic Review*, that original and very important letters from France and Germany had appeared (*People*, II, 1850, p. 304).

*The Democratic Review* published four letters from Germany. The first three, containing cross references, were published in the January, February and March issues. In this volume they are published under the general title *Letters from Germany*. The fourth letter, written later and containing no direct references to the first three, appeared in the August issue of the journal. In this volume it is published in chronological order (see pp. 392-95).

Footnotes give references to passages in later works by Marx and Engels with similar assessments of events and facts. The numbers of the letters have been supplied by the editors of this edition. p. 7

5 The term *Ordermongers* is formed on the pattern of the words "profitmongers" and "moneymongers" often met in the Chartist press. Engels uses it here for the

first time. In the *Letters from France* (see this volume, pp. 24, 25, 26, 28 et seq.) Engels used this term to denote the members of the party of Order (see Note 32). p. 7

6 The *Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation* (962-1806) included, at different times, German, Italian, Austrian, Hungarian and Bohemian lands, Switzerland and the Netherlands, forming a motley conglomeration of feudal kingdoms and principalities, church lands and free towns with different political structures, legal standards and customs. p. 7

7 The *Federal Diet*—a representative body of the German Confederation, an ephemeral union of German states, founded in 1815 by decision of the Congress of Vienna. Though it had no real power, it was nevertheless a vehicle for feudal and monarchical reaction. During the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, reactionary circles made vain attempts to revive the Federal Diet, intending to use it to prevent the democratic unification of Germany. After the defeat of the revolution, the Federal Diet received its former rights in 1850 and survived till 1866. p. 7

8 The *German National Assembly*, which opened on May 18, 1848, in St. Paul's Church in the free city of Frankfurt am Main, was to unify the country and to draw up a Constitution. The liberal deputies, who were in the majority, turned the Assembly into a mere debating club. At the decisive moments of the revolution, the liberal majority condoned the counter-revolutionary forces. In spring 1849, the liberals left the Assembly after the Prussian and other governments rejected the Imperial Constitution it had drawn up. What remained of the Assembly moved to Stuttgart and was dispersed by the Württemberg forces on June 18.

The *Imperial Vicar* or *Regent* (Archduke John of Austria) and the *Imperial Ministry* constituted a provisional Central Authority set up by the Frankfurt National Assembly on June 28-29, 1848. The provisional Central Authority had neither a budget nor an army of its own, possessed no real power, and was an instrument of the counter-revolutionary German princes. p. 7

9 The *Interim* (a temporary agreement) was concluded in September 1849 between Prussia and Austria on joint administration in Germany until the question of the German Constitution was settled. Under this agreement, the Austro-Prussian commission was established, which actually meant the revival of a kind of Federal Diet. While reflecting the counter-revolutionary aspirations of both governments, the agreement conflicted with Prussia's claims for supremacy in Germany. p. 7

10 The following editorial note is supplied to this passage: "Since the above letter came to hand, intelligence has reached this country of the abdication of the 'Vicar', and the resignation of his authority (?) into the hands of Austrian and Prussian commissioners. Thus has ended the Frankfort farce.—Ed. D.R." This note was presumably written by Engels. p. 7

11 The Left wing of the Frankfurt National Assembly consisted of two factions: the *Left* (Robert Blum, Karl Vogt and others) and the *extreme Left*, known as the radical-democratic party (Arnold Ruge, Friedrich Wilhelm Schlöffel, Franz Zitz, Samuel Trüzschler and others), which, in the main, represented the petty bourgeoisie, but was nevertheless supported by a section of the German workers. The extreme Left vacillated and took a halfway position on the basic problems of the German revolution—abolition of the remnants of feudalism and unification of the country. In April and May 1849, after the conservative and most of the liberal deputies had left the Assembly, the Left and the extreme Left gained the majority. But they, too, continued the policy of curbing the revolutionary actions of the masses.

The *Regency of the Empire* was formed in Stuttgart on June 7 by what remained of the Frankfurt National Assembly, instead of the Central Authority headed by the Imperial Regent, Archduke John, who was openly counter-revolutionary. The Regency consisted of five deputies representing the Left faction (moderate democrats): Franz Raveaux, Karl Vogt, Ludwig Simon, Friedrich Schuler, August Becher. They failed in their attempts to carry by parliamentary means the Imperial Constitution that had been worked out by the Frankfurt Assembly and rejected by the German princes. The Regency virtually ceased its activities after the Frankfurt Assembly was finally dispersed on June 18, 1849. Some of its former deputies emigrated to Switzerland. p. 7

12 The *Three-Kings'-League*—an agreement concluded in Berlin on May 26, 1849, between Prussia, Saxony and Hanover. Based on the Prussian project of reorganising the German Confederation, it was an attempt by Prussia to gain hegemony in Germany. By trying to make other German princes join this League (known as the Prussian Union), Prussia's ruling circles hoped to unify the German states, without Austria, under Prussian rule. However, under pressure from Austria, supported by Russia, the Prussian Government was forced to give up its plans in 1850. p. 8

13 On May 28, 1849, the Prussian Government appealed to the German governments to join the Three-Kings'-League. The appeal, together with a new draft of the Imperial Constitution, revised in a counter-revolutionary spirit, was published in the German press at the end of May and the beginning of June 1849. p. 8

14 Engels is referring to the acquittal for high treason by jury in Berlin and Königsberg in December 1849 of Benedikt Waldeck and Johann Jacoby, the leaders of the Left wing of the Prussian National Assembly, which was dissolved by the government on December 5, 1848. p. 9

15 The *Orangemen*—members of the Orange Society (Order), a Protestant terrorist organisation founded in Ireland in 1795 and employed by the authorities, Protestant landlords and the clergy against the Irish national liberation movement. The name was derived from William III, Prince of Orange, who suppressed the Irish uprising of 1689-91 for restoration of the Stuart monarchy. The Order had an especially strong influence in Ulster, Northern Ireland, with a mainly Protestant population. p. 9

16 On December 5, 1848, the Prussian National Assembly was dissolved and the Constitution imposed by the King made public. The dispersal of the Assembly was the culmination of the counter-revolutionary coup d'état that began in November with the order to transfer the Assembly from Berlin to the remote town of Brandenburg. The Constitution introduced a two-chamber system; the age and property qualifications made the First Chamber a privileged Chamber of Gentry ("House of Lords"); by the electoral law of December 6, 1848, the right to vote in the two-stage elections to the Second Chamber was granted only to the so-called independent Prussians. The royal authority was vested with very wide powers—the King was authorised to convene and dissolve the Chambers, appoint ministers, declare war and conclude peace. He was vested with full executive power, while sharing legislative power with the Chambers.

Later, anti-democratic revisions of the Constitution were made repeatedly on the initiative of Prussian ruling circles. Thus, after dispersing on April 27, 1849, the Second Chamber of the Prussian Diet, which included a large number of opposition deputies—liberals and moderate democrats, on May 30 Frederick William IV promulgated a new electoral law introducing elections based on high

property qualifications and unequal representation of different sections of the population. The electorate was divided into three classes according to property status. Thus the King succeeded in having an obedient majority elected to the Second Chamber. p. 12

[17] The reference is to a message by Frederick William IV of January 7, 1850, with new amendments to the imposed Constitution revised by the government and adopted by the Chambers (Friedrich Wilhelm IV. *Allerhöchste Botschaft* in the *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger* No. 10 of January 10, 1850, and the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* No. 9 of January 11, 1850). p. 12

[18] Engels draws an analogy with English absolutist legal institutions. The *Star Chamber* (the name of a meeting-place of the king's councillors in the royal palace of Westminster derived from stars fashioned on the ceiling of the hall) was established by Henry VII in 1487 as a special court to try rebellious feudal lords. Under Elizabeth I, it became a political court; it was abolished during the English revolution of the seventeenth century. p. 12

[19] This refers to Frederick William IV's New-Year message "To My Army" ("An mein Heer") signed in Potsdam on January 1, 1849, and published in the *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger* of January 3, 1849. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* used this document to expose the counter-revolutionary actions of the Prussian military (see Marx's article "A New-Year Greeting", present edition, Vol. 8). p. 13

[20] This refers to the second revised version of the imposed Constitution adopted by the Chambers on January 31, 1850, including the King's amendments to the previous version. In the new version, the reactionary monarchist traits of the Constitution became more prominent and new concessions were made to the aristocracy and the junker landowners. On February 6, 1850, Frederick William IV took the oath to the Constitution. p. 14

[21] On March 19, 1848, during the revolutionary events in Berlin, the armed people compelled King Frederick William IV to come out onto the balcony of his palace and bare his head before the bodies of the insurgents who had fallen at the barricades.

Further, Engels refers to Frederick William IV's speech on February 6, 1850, concerning the oath to the Prussian Constitution. p. 14

[22] This expression is from the speech from the throne made by Frederick William IV at the opening of the First United Diet in Berlin on April 11, 1847 (*Allgemeine Preussische Zeitung* No. 101, April 12, 1847). p. 14

[23] The *Holy Alliance*—an association of European monarchs founded in 1815 to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries. During the 1848-49 revolution, and in subsequent years, counter-revolutionary circles in Austria, Prussia and Tsarist Russia attempted to revive the Holy Alliance's activities in a modified form. p. 15

[24] From 1707 to 1806 the principality of Neuchâtel and Valangin (in German: Neuenburg and Vallendis) was a dwarf state under Prussian rule. In 1806, during the Napoleonic wars, Neuchâtel was ceded to France. In 1815, by decision of the Vienna Congress, it was incorporated into the Swiss Confederation as its 21st canton, at the same time retaining its vassalage to Prussia. On February 29, 1848, a bourgeois revolution in Neuchâtel put an end to Prussian rule and a republic was proclaimed. Up to 1857, however, Prussia laid constant claims to Neuchâtel and only pressure from France forced her to renounce it officially. p. 16

25 The *Sonderbund*—a separatist union of the seven economically backward Catholic cantons of Switzerland formed in 1843 to resist progressive bourgeois reforms and to defend the privileges of the church and the Jesuits. The decree of the Swiss Diet of July 1847 dissolving the Sonderbund served as a pretext for the latter to start hostilities against the other cantons early in November. On November 23, 1847, the Sonderbund army was defeated by the federal forces. Attempts by Austria and Prussia to interfere in Swiss affairs in support of the Sonderbund failed.

The *Federal Constitution* of the Swiss Confederation was adopted on September 12, 1848. The new Constitution ensured a certain centralisation of the country, which had been turned from a confederation of cantons (the confederation treaty of 1814 sanctioned by the Congress of Vienna restricted the power of central government to the utmost) into a federative state. p. 16

26 When publishing the series of articles *Letters from France* the editor of *The Democratic Review*, Harney, tried to present them as reports received directly from Paris. At the same time, the articles were based not only on French material, but on British press reports and other information (private letters to Engels from Paris, and reports by a member of the Communist League, Ferdinand Wolff, who had been expelled from Paris and came to London in December 1849).

The fourth letter of the series was written by Engels while Marx was working on the third chapter of *The Class Struggles in France* (March 1850), which appeared in instalments in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.* The facts and appraisal of the events given in *Letters from France* often coincide with what Marx wrote about France in *The Class Struggles* (the footnotes give references to relevant places), in the third international review (see this volume, pp. 507-09 and 516-25) and later in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (present edition, Vol. 11). Coincidence of thought and of approach testifies to the fact that *Letters from France* reflected Marx's and Engels' common point of view. The numbers of the letters have been supplied by the editors of this edition. p. 17

27 The reference is to the French Provisional Government formed on February 24, 1848, as a result of the overthrow of the July monarchy. Most ministerial posts were held by moderate republicans (Lamartine, Dupont de l'Eure, Crémieux, Arago, Marie, and two members of the oppositional Republican Party, which was associated with *Le National*—Marrast and Garnier-Pagès). There were, besides, three leaders of the petty-bourgeois party of democrats and socialists grouped round *La Réforme*—Ledru-Rollin, Flocon and Louis Blanc—and also a mechanic, Albert (real name Martin). The Provisional Government existed till May 10, 1848, when it was replaced by the Executive Commission set up by the Constituent National Assembly. p. 17

28 *Droit d'octroi*—a right, originating from feudal times, of cities to levy tolls on imported consumer goods. It was repealed in 1791 during the French Revolution, but later reintroduced on some foodstuffs (salt, wine, fish, etc.). p. 18

29 The reference is to the repeal in June 1846 of the Corn Laws by the Peel Government in the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie.

The *Corn Laws* (first introduced in the fifteenth century) imposed in the interests of landowners high import duties on agricultural produce in order to maintain high prices for these products on the home market. The struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the Corn Laws ended in their repeal. p. 19

30 The revolution of February 1848 in France was sparked off by the authorities' prohibition of a banquet organised by the opposition and fixed for February 22 and of a peaceful demonstration in support of the freedom of assembly. p. 20

31 The party of the *National* included moderate republicans, under Armand Marrast, who were supported by the industrial bourgeoisie and a section of liberal intellectuals associated with it; in the 1840s the adherents of this party grouped around the newspaper *Le National.*

The most prominent representatives of this trend in the Provisional Government were Marrast, editor of *Le National,* and Garnier-Pagès, Minister of Finance. p. 20

32 At the elections to the French Legislative Assembly held on May 13, 1849, the monarchist groups—the Legitimists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists who had formed the party of Order, gained the majority. p. 20

33 *Tuileries*—the royal palace in Paris; prior to the February revolution, the residence of Louis Philippe.

The *Elysée-National*—the residence (from December 1848) of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, President of the French Republic. p. 20

34 *Freeholders*—a category of English small landowners originating from feudal times. Engels often used this term, familiar to English workers, when writing of conditions in France. p. 21

35 A tax of 45 additional centimes upon every franc of direct taxes was adopted by the French Provisional Government on March 16, 1848. p. 21

36 In December 1849, the Minister of Education Parier proposed a Bill making schoolmasters in primary schools subordinate to the prefects, who could dismiss or appoint them at will. The law was adopted on January 11, 1850. p. 22

37 Following the death of the Right-wing monarchist deputy de Beaune, by-elections were held in the department of the Gard on December 20, 1849. Favand, the candidate of the petty-bourgeois socialist democratic party (Montagne), was elected by a majority vote of 20 thousand out of 36 thousand. p. 22

38 The *Legitimists*—supporters of the Bourbon dynasty overthrown in 1830, who upheld the interests of the big hereditary landowners and the claim to the French throne of Count Chambord, King Charles X's grandson, who took the name of Henry V. p. 22

39 The reference is to the draft law on education, submitted on June 18, 1849, by the Minister of Education, Falloux (hence its name). This law confirming the dominant position of the Catholic Church and religious organisations in public education was adopted by the Legislative Assembly on March 15, 1850. p. 22

40 The *June insurrection* of the Paris proletariat against the bourgeois régime of the Second Republic (June 23-26, 1848) was the culmination of the 1848 revolution in France and exerted a strong influence on revolutionary events in other European countries. p. 23

41 The *trees of liberty* were planted in the streets of Paris following the victory of the February revolution of 1848. The planting of trees of liberty—mainly oaks and poplars—has been a tradition in France ever since the French Revolution.

In January 1850, the trees of liberty on the boulevards were felled by the order of Paris Prefect Carlier because they allegedly hindered street traffic. The authorities thus tried to provoke mass disturbances and to stage a new massacre of revolutionary elements. p. 24

42 By-elections to the Legislative Assembly were to be held on March 10, 1850, in connection with the annulment of the powers and the conviction by the Supreme

Court of the Left deputies who participated in the anti-government demonstration on June 13, 1849. To influence the voters, the government divided the territory of France into five big military areas; as a result, Paris and its neighbouring departments were surrounded by the other four areas, which were under the command of counter-revolutionary generals. Comparing the powers of these generals with those of Turkish pashas, the republican press called these areas pashalics.

This measure was illegitimate because, under Article 76 of the Constitution, changes in the administration of the departments of France could be effected only by special legislation of the National Assembly. p. 25

43 The *Orleanists*—supporters of the House of Orleans, overthrown by the February revolution of 1848; they represented the interests of the financial aristocracy and the big industrial bourgeoisie. p. 25

44 The issue of *The Democratic Review* containing Engels' fourth letter also carried the beginning of his *Two Years of a Revolution*. This was a synopsis of the first chapter of Marx's *The Class Struggles in France* (see this volume, pp. 48-70).

Part of the first paragraph of the letter beginning with the words: "really, this composition is significant", up to the words: "the total and entire emancipation of the working men", was printed under the title "Election of Carnot, Vidal and de Flotte" in *The Northern Star* No. 650, April 6, 1850, in the review of *The Democratic Review*'s April issue. p. 27

45 On May 15, 1848, Paris workers led by Blanqui, Barbès and others took revolutionary action against the anti-labour and anti-democratic policy pursued by the bourgeois Constituent Assembly which opened on May 4. The participants in the mass demonstration forced their way into the Assembly premises, demanded the formation of a Ministry of Labour and presented a number of other demands. An attempt was made to form a revolutionary government. National Guards from the bourgeois quarters and regular troops succeeded, however, in restoring the power of the Constituent Assembly. The leaders of the movement were arrested and put on trial. p. 27

46 *Bourgeois Lacedemonian* is an ironical nickname for the Paris businessman and member of the National Guard Alexandre Leclerc who was awarded the Legion of Honour for his part, together with his sons, in suppressing the June 1848 insurrection of Paris workers. p. 32

47 Letter Six was apparently not completed in time or left unfinished by Engels. An excerpt from it was published by the editor of *The Democratic Review* in the June number in his own article "Tactics and Programme of the Counter Revolutionists" with the comment (to make the readers think the *Letters* came directly from Paris): "We had begun to fear the arrest of our Paris correspondent, his Letter not having reached us until several days after the usual time. It was received only as we were going to press. It is impossible for us to give more than the following brief extracts." Then came the three paragraphs by Engels reproduced in this volume under the heading VI. p. 33

48 Engels has in mind the results of the preliminary debates held from May 21 to 23, 1850, on the law abolishing universal suffrage (462 votes for and 227 against). For details see this volume, pp. 136-37. The law was finally adopted on May 31; it introduced a property qualification camouflaged by stipulating three years' permanent residence in a given locality and the payment of personal tax. p. 33

[49] See Note 29. p. 34

[50] The *Mountain* (*Montagne*)—representatives in the Constituent and subsequently Legislative Assembly of a bloc of democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists grouped round the newspaper *La Réforme*. They called themselves Montagne by analogy with the Montagne in the Convention of 1792-94. p. 34

[51] Dronke wrote to Engels from Paris (February 21 and the beginning of May, 1850) that the prestige enjoyed among the French workers by prominent representatives of petty-bourgeois socialism and revolutionary democratism (Louis Blanc, Proudhon, Albert and Barbès) was declining. He held a different view of Blanqui, however, saying that he had the same great influence over the French workers as previously. p. 35

[52] This refers to the prospectus for the pamphlet by a certain Daniel Borme, a French chemist of royalist convictions: Borme fils. *Le Rideau est levé!!! Grande lanterne magique des pâtissiers politiques des 24 février, 15 mai et 24 juin 1848, dédiée aux paysans, aux ouvriers laborieux et aux honnêtes gens* par M. Borme fils, ex-accusé du 15 mai [Paris], impr. de M$^{me}$ Lacombe [1850] im 4°, 2 p. The prospectus told of Borme's part in organising royalist actions in March-May 1848 and also about the Bourges trial. p. 37

[53] From March 7 to April 3, 1849, the leaders of the Paris workers' uprising of May 15, 1848, were tried at Bourges, accused of conspiracy against the government. Barbès and Albert were sentenced to exile, Blanqui to ten years solitary confinement and the rest of the accused to various terms of imprisonment or exile. p. 37

[54] Instead of increasing the civil list by 3 million per annum, the Assembly granted Louis Bonaparte a lump sum of 2,160,000 francs (see this volume, p. 140). p. 38

[55] The reference is to the article "A Gradual Decline of the National Assembly" printed in the newspaper *Le Pouvoir* No. 195, July 15, 1850, for which Felix de Lamartinière, the publisher, was fined (see *Le Moniteur universel* Nos. 197 and 200 of July 16 and 19, 1850). The further reference is to the leading article in *Le Pouvoir* No. 199, July 19, 1850. p. 40

[56] As stipulated by Article 32 of the Constitution of the French Republic, during the recess a permanent commission had to be set up of 25 elected deputies and members of the Bureau of the Legislative Assembly. In 1850 this commission consisted of 39 members: eleven Bureau members, three questors and 25 elected deputies. p. 40

[57] It is not by chance that Engels gives May 1852 as the deadline for any possible attempt to upset the Republic. According to the French Constitution (Article 45) Louis Napoleon's term of presidency expired on the second Sunday in May 1852 and he was not re-eligible for another four years (see this volume, p. 572).

The Bonapartist coup d'état took place on December 2, 1851. p. 40

[58] The *Announcement*, written by Marx and Engels concerning the delay in printing the first issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (see Note 2), the material for which was sent from London to Hamburg early in February 1850, was forwarded to Hamburg not later than February 20. It was published at the beginning of the first number with the following note: "The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is a monthly of no less than five signatures. Subscription for three months is 25 silver groschen. Separate numbers ten silver groschen. Responsible publisher *K. Schramm*." p. 41

59 The second chapter "June 13, 1849" of Marx's work *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850,* mentioned here (initially published as "1848-1849"), came out in the second issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*; the third chapter mentioned in the Announcement—"Repercussions of June 13 on the Continent"—was published in No. 3 of the *Revue,* entitled "Consequences of June 13, 1849". Marx realised his plans for the fourth and partly for the third chapter by writing some other material for the *Revue,* in particular in the international reviews written jointly with Engels. p. 41

60 Chapter IV of Engels' *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution,* "To Die for the Republic", was published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* No. 3, which came out about April 17, 1850. p. 41

61 Marx did not prepare his lectures on political economy for publication as he had intended.

The *German Workers' Educational Society in London* was founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other members of the League of the Just (an organisation of German craftsmen and workers, and also of emigrant workers of other nationalities). After the reorganisation of the League of the Just in the summer of 1847 and the founding of the Communist League, the latter's local communities played the leading role in the Society. During various periods of its activity, the Society had branches in working-class districts in London. In 1847 and 1849-50, Marx and Engels took an active part in the Society's work, but on September 17, 1850, Marx, Engels and a number of their followers withdrew because the Willich-Schapper sectarian and adventurist faction had temporarily increased its influence in the Society causing a split in the Communist League. In the late 1850s, Marx and Engels resumed their work in the Educational Society, which existed up to 1918, when it was closed down by the British Government. p. 41

62 The article by Wilhelm Wolff was published in No. 4 of the *Revue* under the title "Nachträgliches aus dem Reich" (Additional News from the Empire).

The article on the financial state of Prussia was to be written by G. A. Bergenroth, a German democrat who took part in the 1848-49 revolution. This article was however never received by the journal. p. 41

63 Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* consists of a series of articles written between January and October 1850 specially for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* and published in it under the general title "1848-1849". This is a most important work summing up the results of the 1848-49 revolution. In preparation for this work, Marx used French newspaper reports, reports published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* and accounts given by witnesses—French and German revolutionary refugees, among them Ferdinand Wolff, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Paris correspondent, and another Communist League member, Sebastian Seiler, who was a stenographer to the French National Assembly in 1848 and 1849 and wrote a pamphlet on the events of June 13, 1849, which he presented to Marx. Marx was also probably familiar with Ledru-Rollin's pamphlet on the same subject.

According to the original plan (see this volume, p. 41) the work was to consist of four articles: "The Defeat of June 1848", "June 13, 1849", "Repercussions of June 13 on the Continent" and "Current Situation; England". However, in Nos. 1, 2 and 3 of the journal only three articles were published: "The Defeat of June 1848", "June 13, 1849" and "Consequences of June 13, 1849". The influence of the June 1849 events on the Continent and the situation in England were treated

in other items of the journal, particularly in the international reviews written jointly by Marx and Engels.

The work was not reprinted in full during Marx's lifetime. In 1895 it came out in book form in Berlin, with an Introduction by Engels. The title *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* was given by Engels and the work has since appeared under this title in various languages. In the 1895 edition, Engels added the fourth chapter, which included the sections of the third international review dealing with events in France (see this volume, pp. 507-09 and 516-25). Engels entitled this chapter "The Abolition of Universal Suffrage in 1850". Engels wrote to Richard Fischer on February 13, 1895, that the fourth chapter "will serve as a factual conclusion to the work as a whole, without which it would have remained a fragment". At the same time, the headings of the first three chapters were changed: I. "From February to June 1848", II. "From June 1848 to June 13, 1849", III. "From June 13, 1849, to March 10, 1850". In the present edition, the headings of the first three chapters are given according to the journal, while the heading of the fourth chapter is given as in the 1895 edition.

The publication of the series of Marx's articles drew the attention of the press. A short announcement of No. 1 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* and quotations from Marx's work were published in the *Freischütz*, Hamburg, No. 40, April 2, 1850; a review in the *Wochenblatt der Hornisse*, Cassel, No. 3, April 15, 1850. The preface and the first article were reprinted in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* Nos. 262, 263 and 264, April 5, 12 and 19, 1850. On January 1, 1852, the *Turn-Zeitung*, published by German socialist emigrants in the USA, carried an article by Joseph Weydemeyer "On the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", written under the direct influence of Marx's work, the first work by Marx and Engels in which the term "the dictatorship of the proletariat" was used. On the other hand, the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat brought criticism of the author from the petty-bourgeois democrats. The *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*, whose editor was a former "true socialist", Otto Lüning, published a review (Nos. 148-51, June 22-23, 25 and 26, 1850) of the four numbers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* with unfavourable comments on this proposition and an incorrect interpretation of it. Marx was obliged to write Lüning a special letter rebuffing attempts to distort and dispute the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat (see this volume, pp. 387-88).

Marx and Engels attached great importance to the popularisation of the ideas contained in *The Class Struggles in France* among the English workers. Engels used this work in his *Letters from France* published in *The Democratic Review* (see this volume, pp. 17-40) and, on the basis of the first article in the series, wrote *Two Years of a Revolution*, which was published in the same journal (see this volume, pp. 353-69). Excerpts from Marx's work were cited by his contemporaries (Hermann Becker, Proudhon).

Excerpts from *The Class Struggles in France* were first published in English in the journal *The Marxian*, New York, 1921, Vol. 1, No. 2, and it appeared in full as a separate edition by Labour News Company, New York, 1924.

In this volume, the work is published after the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* text, checked with that of the 1895 edition prepared by Engels. The *Revue* published it from the manuscript and since Marx's handwriting was difficult to decipher, mistakes cropped up. In the present edition, all changes in style, spelling, punctuation and other corrections made by Engels have been taken into account, as well as errata printed in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (to the first number in the second, and to the second and third in the fourth).

Account has also been taken of the analysis, carried out by the editorial commission working on the Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe* (MEGA), erste Abteilung, 10. Bd. and kindly made available to us, of the marks and corrections made by Marx and Engels in their copies of the journal. Engels' corrections apparently date from 1895 when he republished *The Class Struggles* (in the 1895 edition, however, they were only partly taken into account). It is also probable that Engels intended to republish the *Revue* in full. Some corrections by Marx and Engels coinciding with the errata printed in the *Revue* have been silently inserted in the text of the present edition. Changes in meaning are indicated in footnotes.

Besides this, obviously inaccurate dates and factual data, including those in the 1850 and 1895 editions, have also been silently corrected. Comments are not usually made on Marx's free translation of quotations, except when the words Marx puts in quotation marks are not true quotations but convey the general meaning of the cited passages. p. 45

64 The *Paris uprising of June 5 and 6, 1832*, was prepared by the Left republicans and by secret revolutionary societies including the Society of the Friends of the People. The uprising flared up during the funeral of General Lamarque, an opponent of Louis Philippe's Government. The insurgent workers threw up barricades and defended them with great courage; the red flag was hoisted over them for the first time.

The *uprising of Lyons workers in April 1834*, directed by the secret republican Society of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, was one of the first mass actions by the French proletariat. The uprising, supported by republicans in several other towns including Paris, was brutally suppressed.

The *Paris uprising of May 12, 1839*, in which the revolutionary workers played a leading part, was prepared by the secret republican socialist Society of the Seasons led by Auguste Blanqui and Armand Barbès; it was suppressed by troops and the National Guard. p. 48

65 *Robert Macaire*—a character portraying a clever swindler, created by the famous French actor Frédérick Lemaître and immortalised in the caricatures of Honoré Daumier. The figure of Robert Macaire was a biting satire on the domination of the financial aristocracy under the July monarchy. p. 50

66 The reference is to the repercussions of the suppression of the uprising in the free city of Cracow (the Cracow Republic) which, by decision of the Congress of Vienna, came under the joint control of Austria, Prussia and Russia, who had partitioned Poland at the end of the eighteenth century. The insurgents succeeded in seizing power in Cracow on February 22, 1846, established a National Government of the Polish Republic and issued a manifesto abolishing feudal services. The Cracow uprising was suppressed at the beginning of March; in November 1846, Austria, Prussia and Russia signed a treaty incorporating Cracow into the Austrian Empire.

On the Swiss *Sonderbund* see Note 25.

On the *Holy Alliance* see Note 23. p. 51

67 In the spring of 1847 at Buzançais (department of the Indre) the starving workers and the inhabitants of neighbouring villages looted storehouses belonging to profiteers, which led to a clash between the population and troops. Four of those who took part were executed and many others sentenced to hard labour. p. 52

68 The *dynastic opposition*—an opposition group in the French Chamber of Deputies during the July monarchy (1830-48). The group, headed by Odilon Barrot, expressed the sentiments of the liberal industrial and commercial bourgeoisie and

favoured a moderate electoral reform, which they regarded as a means to prevent revolution and preserve the Orleans dynasty.

On the *National* party see Note 31. p. 53

69 See Note 38. p. 54

70 During the first days of the revolution, the workers of Paris demanded that the French Republic's flag should be red, the colour of that hoisted in the workers' suburbs of Paris during the June uprising of 1832. Bourgeois representatives insisted on the tricolour (blue-white-and-red) which had been the national standard during the French Revolution and under Napoleon I. It had been the emblem of the bourgeois republicans grouped around the newspaper *National* even before 1848. In the end, the tricolour was accepted as the national standard with a red rosette fixed to the flagstaff; later, the rosette was removed. p. 57

71 In 1848 *Le Moniteur universel* printed reports on the sittings of the Luxembourg Commission alongside official documents. p. 57

72 The reference is to the sum assigned by the King in 1825 as compensation for aristocrats whose property had been confiscated during the French Revolution, p. 61

73 The *Mobile Guards*, set up by a decree of the Provisional Government on February 25, 1848, with the secret aim of fighting the revolutionary masses, were used to crush the June uprising of the Paris workers. Later they were disbanded on the insistence of Bonapartist circles, who feared that if a conflict arose between Louis Bonaparte and the republicans, the Mobile Guards would side with the latter. p. 62

74 *Lazzaroni*—a contemptuous nickname for declassed proletarians, primarily in the Kingdom of Naples, who were repeatedly used in the struggle against the liberal and democratic movement. p. 62

75 The Poor Law adopted in England in 1834 provided for only one form of relief for the able-bodied poor: workhouses with a prison-like regime in which the workers were engaged in unproductive, monotonous and exhausting labour. The people called these workhouses "Bastilles for the poor". Here and later Marx uses the English word "workhouses". p. 63

76 The reference is to the elections to the National Guard and the Constituent Assembly which were to be held on March 18 and April 9, 1848, respectively. Paris workers, grouped around Blanqui, Dézamy and others, insisted on a postponement of the elections arguing that they should be prepared by thorough explanatory work among the population. As a result of the popular demonstration on March 17 in Paris, regular troops were withdrawn from the capital (after the events of April 16 they were brought back), and elections to the National Guard were postponed till April 5 and to the Constituent Assembly till April 23. p. 64

77 See Note 43. p. 65

78 *Commission du pouvoir exécutif* (the Executive Commission)—the Government of the French Republic set up by the Constituent Assembly on May 10, 1848, to replace the Provisional Government which had resigned. It existed until June 24, 1848, when Cavaignac's dictatorship was established during the June proletarian uprising. Moderate republicans predominated on the Commission; Ledru-Rollin was the sole representative of the Left. p. 66

79 See Note 45. p. 67

80 Under the decree prohibiting congregations of people adopted by the Constituent Assembly on June 7, 1848, the organisation of gatherings and meetings in the open was punishable by imprisonment of up to ten years. p. 67

81 On June 22, 1848, *Le Moniteur universel* No. 174 in the section "Partie non officielle" reported an order of the Executive Commission of June 21 on the expulsion of workers between the ages of 17 and 25 from the national workshops and their compulsory enrolment in the army. On July 3, 1848, after the suppression of the June insurrection of the Paris workers, the government passed a decree dissolving the national workshops. p. 67

82 See Note 50. p. 71

83 In the German original, the term *Haupt- und Staatsaktion* ("principal and spectacular action", "main and state action") is used, which has a double meaning. First, in the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, it denoted plays performed by German touring companies. The plays were rather formless historical tragedies, bombastic and at the same time coarse and farcical.

Second, this term can denote major political events. It was used in this sense by a trend in German historical science known as "objective historiography". Leopold Ranke was one of its chief representatives. He regarded *Haupt- und Staatsaktion* as the main subject-matter. p. 73

84 The reference is to the by-elections to the Constituent Assembly in Paris on September 17, 1848 (to replace former deputies, including those who were deprived of their powers after the June insurrection was suppressed). Among the newly elected was the revolutionary socialist François Raspail, imprisoned after the events of May 15, 1848. p. 75

85 This refers to a system of general treaties set up by the Congress of Vienna (September 1814-June 1815), embracing the whole of Europe, apart from Turkey. The Congress decisions helped to restore feudal order, perpetuated the political fragmentation of Germany and Italy, sanctioned the incorporation of Belgium into Holland and the partition of Poland, and outlined measures to combat the revolutionary movement. p. 76

86 The *Projet de constitution présenté à l'Assemblée nationale* drafted by the commission was submitted to the National Assembly by Marrast on June 19, 1848. The draft was published in *Le Moniteur universel* No. 172, June 20, 1848. A German translation of the draft was published in the supplement to No. 24 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on June 24, 1848. After the June insurrection, this draft was thoroughly revised by its authors in a conservative spirit. The Constitution of the French Republic was finally adopted on November 4, 1848. p. 77

87 The *lily*—a heraldic emblem of the Bourbon dynasty; the *violet*—a Bonapartist emblem. p. 81

88 By a decree of the Senate (*Senatus consult*) of May 18, 1804, Napoleon I, the founder of the Bonaparte dynasty, was proclaimed Emperor of the French.

During the February uprising of 1848, King Louis Philippe and the monarchist circles were compelled to make Guizot and other unpopular ministers tender their resignations, and tried to form a government of moderate liberals to save the monarchy. On the morning of February 24 Odilon Barrot was authorised to head

the Cabinet, but Louis Philippe was compelled to abdicate and flee by the victory of the popular revolution. The Barrot Ministry survived till that afternoon. p. 82

89 On January 26, 1849, the Minister of Public Works Léon Faucher submitted and demanded urgent discussion of a Bill on the right of association, prohibiting clubs. The Constituent Assembly, however, refused to discuss the Bill as an urgent matter. In spite of opposition from the Left deputies, who demanded the Ministry's resignation, accusing it of a breach of the Constitution, the first clause of the Bill (better known as the Bill on Clubs) was adopted by the National Assembly by a monarchist and moderate republican vote on March 21, 1849 (see this volume, p. 569). This decision dealt a serious blow at the freedom of assembly and association, primarily at the workers' associations. p. 88

90 An allusion to the similarity between the schemes for restoring the monarchy in December 1848, when Changarnier assumed command of the National Guard and the Paris garrison, and the part General Monk played in restoring the Stuarts in 1660. p. 89

91 In April 1849, President Louis Bonaparte and the French Government sent an expeditionary corps to Italy under General Oudinot to intervene against the Roman Republic proclaimed on February 9, 1849, and to restore the secular power of the Pope. On April 30, 1849, the French troops were driven back from Rome. The main blow was dealt by Garibaldi's volunteer corps. Oudinot violated the terms of the armistice signed by the French, however, and on June 3 started a new offensive against the Roman Republic, which had just completed a military campaign against Neapolitan troops in the south and was engaged in rebuffing the Austrians in the north. After a month of heroic defence, Rome was captured by the interventionists and the Roman Republic ceased to exist. p. 92

92 The reference is to the defeat of the Piedmontese army during the second stage of the Austro-Italian war which broke out on March 25, 1848, as a result of the national liberation uprising in Lombardy and Venice against Austrian rule. However, the Piedmontese were compelled by military setbacks, particularly the defeat at Custozza on July 25 and 26, 1848, and the capture of Milan by the Austrians, to conclude an onerous armistice with Austria on August 9, 1848. On March 12, 1849, under public pressure, Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, cancelled the armistice and on March 20 hostilities were resumed. Despite national enthusiasm in Austrian-occupied Lombardy and throughout Italy, the Piedmontese army was defeated at Novara on March 23. Charles Albert abdicated. Victor Emmanuel II, the new King, concluded an armistice with the Austrians on March 26, and on August 6 a peace treaty was signed restoring Austrian rule in Northern Italy and the Austrian protectorate over a number of states of Central Italy (Parma, Tuscany, etc.).

Engels gives a detailed account of the Austro-Italian war of 1848-49 in his articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see present edition, Vols. 7-9). p. 93

93 *Le Comité de salut public* (the Committee of Public Safety) established by the Convention on April 6, 1793; during the Jacobin dictatorship (June 2, 1793-July 27, 1794) it was the leading body of the revolutionary government in France. It lasted until October 26, 1795. p. 93

94 See Note 53. p. 97

95 General Bréa, who commanded some of the troops that suppressed the June insurrection of the Paris proletariat, was killed by the insurgents at the gates

of Fontainebleau on June 25, 1848, for which two of the insurgents were executed. p. 97

96 The reference is to the revolutionary events in Hungary and Germany in the spring and summer of 1849. A counter-offensive by the Hungarian revolutionary army, which routed the Austrian troops and almost cleared the Austrian invaders from the whole country, began in April. Hungary declared its independence on April 14, the Habsburg dynasty was officially dethroned and Kossuth elected head of state. However, a change unfavourable to the revolutionary movement shortly took place in the Hungarian campaign. In mid-June 1849 the Tsarist army entered Hungary to assist the Austrian counter-revolution. The Tsarist intervention was in effect approved by the ruling circles of France and England. The combined forces of the Habsburgs and the Tsar suppressed the Hungarian revolution.

Almost simultaneously with the counter-offensive by the Hungarians, popular uprisings broke out in Saxony, Rhenish Prussia, the Palatinate and Baden in defence of the Imperial Constitution drafted by the Frankfurt National Assembly but rejected by the King of Prussia and other German princes. On the development of these uprisings see Engels' essays *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (this volume, pp. 147-239). p. 97

97 The reference is to the bombardment of Rome by Oudinot's expeditionary corps on June 3, 1849. Rome was repeatedly subjected to fierce bombardments during the French siege, which lasted until July 3, 1849. p. 101

98 Article V belongs to the introductory part of the Constitution. The articles of the principal part of the Constitution are numbered in Arabic figures. p. 101

99 The meeting of the Montagne leaders was held on the premises of the Fourierists' daily *La Démocratie pacifique* on the evening of June 12, 1849. (Using the expression *friedfertige* [pacific] *Demokratie*, Marx plays on the title of the newspaper and its trend.) The participants refused to resort to arms and decided to confine themselves to a peaceful demonstration. p. 104

100 In the manifesto published in *Le Peuple* No. 206, June 13, 1849, the Democratic Association of the Friends of the Constitution—an organisation of moderate bourgeois republicans formed by the *National* party members during the Legislative Assembly election campaign—called upon the citizens of Paris to participate in a peaceful demonstration to protest against the "presumptuous pretensions" of the executive authorities. p. 105

101 The *Declaration of the Montagne* was published in *La Réforme* and in *La Démocratie pacifique* and also in Proudhon's newspaper *Le Peuple* No. 206, June 13, 1849. p. 105

102 The events in Paris sparked off an armed uprising of Lyons workers and craftsmen on June 15, 1849. The insurgents occupied the Croix-Rousse quarter and erected barricades, but were suppressed by troops after several hours of staunch struggle. p. 106

103 On August 10, 1849, the Legislative Assembly adopted a law under which "instigators and supporters of the conspiracy and the attempt of June 13" were liable to trial by the Supreme Court. Thirty-four deputies of the Mountain (Ledru-Rollin, Félix Pyat and Victor Considérant among them) were deprived of their mandates and put on trial (some of them, those who emigrated, were tried by default). On June 13, the editorial offices of democratic and socialist news-

papers were raided and the main of these papers were banned. Repressions were extended to emigrants residing in France, including Marx, who was ordered to leave Paris for the department of Morbihan, a remote swampy area in Brittany (on this see present edition, Vol. 9, p. 527). At the end of August 1849 Marx left France for England, not wishing to submit to the arbitrary police decision. p. 107

104 The reference is to the *Municipal Guard of Paris* formed after the July 1830 revolution and subordinated to the Prefect of Police. It was used to suppress popular uprisings and was disbanded after the February 1848 revolution. p. 108

105 In the battle of *Waterloo* (June 18, 1815) Napoleon's army was defeated by British and Prussian troops commanded by Wellington and Blücher. p. 109

106 The reference is to the commission of three cardinals (who traditionally wore scarlet mantles) which, after the suppression of the Roman Republic by the French army and relying on support from the interventionists, restored the reactionary clerical regime in the papal states. p. 109

107 See Note 56. p. 109

108 Alongside Wiesbaden, Ems was a permanent residence of Count Chambord, the Legitimist pretender to the French throne (who called himself Henry V). p. 110

109 Louis Philippe, who had fled from France after the February revolution of 1848, lived in Claremont. p. 111

110 "*Motu proprio*" (of his own motion)—initial words of a special kind of papal encyclical adopted without the preliminary approval of the cardinals and usually concerning the internal political and administrative affairs of the papal states. Here this refers to the statement of Pope Pius IX "To My Beloved Subjects" of September 12, 1849 (the French text was published in *Le Moniteur universel* No. 271, September 28, 1849). p. 112

111 The proposition that the proletarian revolution could only be victorious in several advanced capitalist countries simultaneously and not in a single country alone was most clearly formulated by Engels in his work *Principles of Communism* (1847) (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 351-52). By developing further the Marxist theory and drawing on the law of uneven economic and political development of capitalism in the era of imperialism, in 1915 Lenin came to the conclusion that under the new historical conditions, the victory of the socialist revolution would be possible initially in a few or even in a single country. p. 117

112 The figures do not tally: the text reads 538,000,000 instead of 578,178,000, apparently a misprint. This does not, however, affect the general conclusion, for the net per capita income is less than 25 francs in both cases. p. 122

113 Lagarde, a supporter of the Mountain party, was elected to the Legislative Assembly in the by-elections held in the department of the Gironde on October 14, 1849, to replace the deceased Right-wing deputy Ravez.

On the elections in the department of the Gard see Note 37. p. 123

114 See Note 42. p. 123

115 See Note 39. p. 123

116 In his message of November 10, 1849, Carlier, the newly appointed Paris Police Prefect, called for a "social anti-socialist league" to be set up for the protection of "religion, labour, family, property and loyalty". The message was published in *Le Moniteur universel* No. 315, November 11, 1849. p. 124

117 See Note 41. p. 127

118 The *July column* erected in Paris on Bastille Square in 1840 in memory of those who fell in the July revolution of 1830 has been decorated with wreaths of immortelles ever since the February revolution of 1848. p. 128

119 May 4, 1848—the Constituent Assembly was convened; December 20, 1848—Louis Bonaparte became President; May 13, 1849—elections were held to the Legislative Assembly; July 8, 1849—by-elections took place in Paris as a result of which the party of Order strengthened its position in the Legislative Assembly. p. 130

120 *Coblenz*—a city in Western Germany; it was the centre of counter-revolutionary emigration during the French Revolution. p. 131

121 The reference is to the discovery of gold in California in 1848. Along with the discovery of rich deposits of gold in Australia in 1851, the Californian discovery added to the industrial and stock-exchange agitation in capitalist countries. p. 132

122 Proudhon expressed this point of view in his polemics against the bourgeois economist Frédéric Bastiat, published in *La Voix du peuple* from November 1849 to February 1850 and reproduced in a separate edition which appeared in Paris in 1850 under the title *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon.* p. 134

123 In 1797 the British Government issued a special Bank Restriction Act making bank-notes legal tender and suspending the payment of gold for them. Convertibility was reintroduced only in 1821 in conformity with a law passed in 1819. p. 134

124 See Note 46. p. 135

125 The reference is to the commission of 17 Orleanists and Legitimists—deputies to the Legislative Assembly—appointed by the Minister of the Interior on May 1, 1850, to draft a new electoral law. Its members were nicknamed burgraves, a name borrowed from the title of Victor Hugo's historical drama as an allusion to their unwarranted claims to power and their reactionary aspirations. The drama is set in medieval Germany where the *Burggraf* was governor of a *Burg* (city) or a district, appointed by the Emperor. p. 136

126 See Note 48. p. 137

127 *Baiser-Lamourette* (Lamourette's kiss)—an allusion to an incident during the French Revolution. On July 7, 1792, Lamourette, deputy to the Legislative Assembly, proposed to end all party dissension with a fraternal kiss, and the representatives of the hostile parties, in accordance with this proposal, embraced one another. The following day, however, the struggle among the parties flared up with fresh vigour. p. 139

128 See Note 56. p. 140

129 The reference is to a new ministry to be appointed if the Bourbon dynasty was restored in the person of the Legitimist pretender to the throne, Count

Chambord. It was to consist of de Lévis, de Saint-Priest, Berryer, de Pastoret and d'Escars. p. 141

130 The reference is to the so-called Wiesbaden Manifesto—a circular drawn up in Wiesbaden on August 30, 1850, by de Barthélemy, secretary of the Legitimist faction in the Legislative Assembly, on the instruction of Count Chambord (de Barthélemy, *La conspiration légitimiste avouée*, in *Le Peuple de 1850* No. 24, September 22, 1850). The circular was the Legitimists' policy statement in case they came to power. Count Chambord declared that he "officially and categorically rejects any appeal to the people, because it will signify a negation of the great national principle of hereditary monarchy". This statement evoked protests among the Legitimists themselves, notably from a group headed by La Rochejaquelein, and polemics in the press. p. 141

131 An allusion to the expiration of Louis Bonaparte's presidential powers. In the text the date is not exact. According to the Constitution of the French Republic, presidential elections were to be held every four years on the second Sunday in May, on which day the powers of the incumbent President expired (see this volume, p. 572). p. 142

132 The *Society of December 10* (*Dix Décembre*)—a Bonapartist organisation founded in 1849 and consisting mainly of declassed elements, political adventurists, the reactionary military. Many of its members helped to elect Louis Bonaparte as President of the Republic on December 10, 1848, hence its name. This organisation played an active part in the Bonapartist coup d'état on December 2, 1851. Marx describes the society in his *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11). p. 143

133 *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* is a series of essays on the history of an uprising in support of the Imperial Constitution which took place in Rhenish Prussia, the Bavarian Palatinate and Baden in the spring and summer of 1849. Engels started working on his essays in July 1849, soon after arriving in Switzerland together with the last units of the defeated Baden-Palatinate army. In June 1849, while in the Palatinate, Engels wrote an article, "The Revolutionary Uprising in the Palatinate and Baden", rebuffing criticism of the insurgents by the German conservative and liberal press (see present edition, Vol. 9). Later, in Switzerland, he wrote a rough version of the "Repudiation" (ibid.) in answer to attempts by some petty-bourgeois emigrants to cast suspicion on the officers and men of the volunteer corps commanded by Willich, which consisted mainly of workers and was the staunchest unit in the insurgent army. Engels was Willich's adjutant. Willich's corps covered the retreat of other units of the Baden-Palatinate army after its defeat at Rastatt and was the last to cross the Swiss border on July 12, 1849.

Soon after this Engels decided to write his essays. He intended to describe the revolutionary struggle during the final stage of the German bourgeois-democratic revolution and to criticise the movement's petty-bourgeois leaders, whose vacillations and helplessness were one of the main reasons for its failure. In a letter from Paris in early August (before his move to London) Marx suggested that he stress these aspects and produce the work in pamphlet form.

His personal experience of the campaign and knowledge of relevant documents provided Engels with ample material for analysing the character of the movement, the position of various classes and parties in it, and the reasons for its failure. He used insurgents' accounts and literature on the Baden-Palatinate uprising that had appeared by the end of 1849, including works by the petty-bourgeois leaders of the uprising, whom he subjected to criticism. To

characterise their policy he made use of appeals, proclamations and articles published in the *Karlsruher Zeitung*, the organ of the Baden Provisional Government.

Engels foresaw that his essays would be met with hostility by petty-bourgeois emigrants, as they contrasted sharply with the publications and reminiscences they were preparing for the press. "My work..." wrote Engels to Jakob Schabelitz in August 1849, "will present a different understanding of this history from that expressed in other publications that are due to appear."

At first Engels intended to publish his work in pamphlet form and was helped by the Communist League members Jakob Schabelitz and Joseph Weydemeyer to find a publisher. But as Marx was making preparations to publish his own journal at the time, he changed his mind. In Switzerland Engels apparently devoted most of his efforts to collecting the material; in October his departure for England interrupted his work. In London he resumed work on the essays and the first two chapters—"Rhenish Prussia" and "Karlsruhe"—were published in the first number of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.* The work was completed in February. Chapters Three and Four under the title "The Baden-Palatinate Uprising" were published in abridged form in the *Trier'sche Volksstimme* Nos. 23-27, 30-37 of May 29 to June 7 and June 14 to 30, 1850.

Marx's and Engels' supporters expressed a high opinion of the literary and polemical value of Engels' work. Weerth wrote jokingly to Marx on May 2, 1850: "...The articles on Baden could not have been better even if I myself had written them. This is, of course, the highest praise I can afford Engels" (G. Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Bd. 5, S. 356).

The petty-bourgeois leaders, on the contrary, received Engels' essays with indignation. Otto Lüning's review of four numbers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* published in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* of June 22 to 26, 1850, criticised Engels' work in crude terms. Ludwig Simon came out with a review in the same vein (*Deutsche Monatsschrift für Politik, Wissenschaft, Kunst und Leben*, Bremen, 1851, 2. Bd., April-Juni, S. 170-74).

The essays were not reprinted during Engels' lifetime. They were reprinted in full by Mehring in 1902 in the collection *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle.* On the basis of documents in his possession, Mehring pointed out several alterations made by the Hamburg publishers (Schuberth and Co.) for censorship reasons. In this volume these alterations are indicated in footnotes.

Misprints in numbers 1-3 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* corrected in the errata given in numbers 2 and 4 of the *Revue* have been taken into account in this volume. At the end of the last errata it was stated, in particular, "Besides, in numbers 2 and 3, in the articles 'The Palatinate' and 'To Die for the Republic', the general title 'The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution' was missing, and the name of the author—*Frederick Engels*—was not given at the end of the article." In the first number, with the general introduction and Chapters One and Two—"Rhenish Prussia" and "Karlsruhe"—the general title and the author's name were given. The name was also given at the end of Chapter Three: "The Palatinate" (second number). Due account has also been taken of notes and marks made by Engels in his copy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (see Note 63), which are indicated in footnotes.

p. 147

134 The *Imperial Constitution* was adopted by the Frankfurt National Assembly on March 28, 1849. While proclaiming a number of civil liberties and introducing national central institutions, the Constitution nevertheless shaped the united

German state as a monarchy. On March 28 the Prussian King Frederick William IV was elected "Emperor of the Germans" by the Frankfurt National Assembly. Prussian-oriented liberal deputies of the Assembly in particular insisted on handing the imperial crown to the Hohenzollerns. However, Frederick William IV refused to accept the offer. Apart from the Prussian Government, those of almost all the larger German states (including Saxony, Bavaria and Hanover) refused to recognise the Constitution. Afraid of revolutionary action, liberals and democrats in the Frankfurt National Assembly proved incapable of upholding the Constitution. The people themselves were its sole defender, and in the spring and summer of 1849, they started an armed struggle led by petty-bourgeois democrats. Despite its limitations, the Constitution was seen by the people as the only remaining achievement of the revolution. On May 3, an armed uprising broke out in Dresden and later in a number of towns in Rhenish Prussia; however, these uprisings were rapidly suppressed by troops. The most powerful struggle in support of the Imperial Constitution developed in the Bavarian Palatinate and Baden, where workers, urban petty bourgeoisie and peasants rose in its defence. They were soon joined by military units, especially mounted units. In the middle of May provisional governments were set up, Leopold, the Grand Duke of Baden, fled, and the separation of the Palatinate from Bavaria was proclaimed. The leadership of the movement, however, fell mainly into the hands of moderate petty-bourgeois democrats, who were hesitant and refused to proclaim a republic. They chose passive defensive tactics confining the movement to local limits and preventing the uprising from spreading outside the Palatinate and Baden. Nevertheless, the combined Palatinate-Baden insurgent army, in which there were many workers' units, put up a strong resistance to the Prussian-Bavarian-Württemberg troops who greatly exceeded the insurgents in numbers and strength. The insurgents' last stronghold—Rastatt—fell on July 23. The uprisings in the Palatinate and Baden in the spring and summer of 1849 were the closing events of the German revolution. p. 149

135 The *March Association*, thus named after the March 1848 revolution in Germany, was founded in Frankfurt am Main at the end of November 1848 by Left-wing deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly and had branches in various towns in Germany. Fröbel, Simon, Wesendock, Eisenmann, Vogt and other petty-bourgeois democratic leaders of the March associations confined themselves to revolutionary phrase-mongering and showed indecision and inconsistency in the struggle against counter-revolutionaries, for which Marx and Engels criticised them sharply (see present edition, Vol. 8, p. 185). p. 150

136 The reference is to a legend of the Swiss Confederation the origin of which dates back to the agreement between the three mountain cantons of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden in 1291. The legend runs that representatives of the three cantons met in the Grütli (or Rütli) meadow in 1307 and took an oath of loyalty in the joint struggle against Austrian rule. p. 150

137 See Note 11. p. 150

138 Presumably Engels himself intended to write this work to complement his essays on the campaign for the German Imperial Constitution, but no article on this was ever published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.* p. 152

139 From May 3 to 9, 1849, Dresden, the capital of Saxony, was the scene of an armed uprising caused by the refusal of the Saxon King to recognise the Imperial

Constitution. The insurgents captured a considerable part of the city. with the workers playing the most active part in the barricade fighting, and formed a Provisional Government headed by the radical democrat Samuel Tzschirner. The moderate line pursued by the other members of the Provisional Government, the desertion of the bourgeois civic militia and the treacherous actions of the bourgeoisie in Leipzig where they suppressed the workers' solidarity movement, weakened the insurgents' resistance to the counter-revolutionary forces. The uprising was crushed by Saxon and Prussian troops. The Russian revolutionary Mikhail Bakunin, the German working-class leader Stephan Born and the composer Richard Wagner took an active part in the uprising. p. 154

140 On May 6 and 7, 1849, workers and other democratic elements in Breslau (Wrocław) erected barricades in protest to the dispatch of artillery to suppress the Dresden uprising, but they were defeated by vastly superior counter-revolutionary forces. p. 154

141 See Note 6. p. 155

142 The *Napoleonic Code* (*Code Napoléon*)—Napoleon's 1804 civil code which he introduced into the conquered regions of Western and South-Western Germany. It remained in force in the Rhine Province after its incorporation into Prussia in 1815. p. 155

143 *Prussian Law* (*Allgemeines Landrecht für die Preussischen Staaten*) was promulgated in 1794. It included criminal, state, civil, administrative and ecclesiastical law and bore the distinct imprint of obsolete feudal legal standards.

After the annexation of the Rhine Province to Prussia in 1815, the Prussian Government tried to introduce Prussian Law into various legal spheres there to replace the French bourgeois codes in force in the province. This was done by introducing a series of laws, edicts and instructions aimed at restoring the feudal privileges of the nobility (primogeniture), Prussian criminal and marriage law, etc. These measures were resolutely opposed in the province and were repealed after the March revolution by special decrees issued on April 15, 1848. p. 156

144 The army reserve (*Landwehr*) was formed in Prussia at the time of the struggle against Napoleonic rule. In the 1840s it was made up of persons up to 40 years of age who had served three years in the army and been on the reserve list for at least two years. As distinct from the regular troops, the army reserve was mobilised only in special emergencies (war or threat of war). p. 157

145 On May 1, 1849, the Cologne Municipal Council, composed mainly of representatives of the liberal bourgeoisie, issued an appeal for the convocation, on May 5, 1849, of a meeting of all the municipal councils of the Rhine Province to discuss the new situation in Prussia resulting from the dissolution by the Prussian Government on April 27 of the Second Chamber of the Prussian Provincial Diet, which had approved the Imperial Constitution despite the King's intention to reject it. The Prussian Government banned the meeting. Even so, the Cologne Municipal Council convoked a congress in Cologne of delegates from the Rhine cities on May 8, 1849. The congress came out in support of the Imperial Constitution and demanded that the dissolved Diet be convoked. It was made clear that, if the Prussian Government ignored the resolution of the congress (Engels quotes it below), the Rhine Province would consider secession from Prussia. This threat, however, proved empty as it was not backed up by resolute

action on the part of the liberal majority of the congress, which rejected a proposal for arming the people and offering resistance to the authorities. p. 158

146 See Note 8. p. 158

147 The description of revolutionary events given below deals mainly with Elberfeld, which was one of the main centres of the uprising in Rhenish Prussia in defence of the Imperial Constitution.

The *Elberfeld uprising* involved mainly workers and petty-bourgeois strata. It flared up on May 9, 1849, and served as a signal for armed struggle in a number of towns in the Rhine Province (Düsseldorf, Iserlohn, Solingen and others). The immediate cause of the uprising was the Prussian Government's attempt to suppress the revolutionary uprising on the Rhine with arms, crush democratic organisations and the press and disarm those army reserve units which had refused to take orders and backed the demand for the Imperial Constitution (the army reserve had been mobilised by the Prussian Government itself). After the expulsion of the Prussian troops who tried to capture the city, power in Elberfeld passed into the hands of the Committee of Public Safety, composed mainly of moderate democrats and liberals. In contrast to Elberfeld, the uprising that broke out in Düsseldorf on May 9 was suppressed by troops on the following day. In Elberfeld and other towns the insurgents were able to hold out longer. p. 159

148 Engels arrived in Elberfeld on May 11, 1849, from insurgent Solingen, where, the day before, he had formed a detachment of workers to help the Elberfeld insurgents. In Elberfeld he worked for a reform of the bourgeois civic militia, the imposition of a war tax on the bourgeoisie and the extensive arming of workers with a view to creating the nucleus of a Rhenish revolutionary army and uniting localised uprisings. These efforts were counteracted by the Committee of Public Safety, in which considerable influence was wielded by representatives of the bourgeoisie.

Under pressure from bourgeois circles, Engels was deported from the city on the morning of May 15. On May 17, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* carried an article, entitled "Elberfeld", describing the situation in the insurgent city and Engels' activities there (see present edition, Vol. 9). Later an action was brought against Engels for his part in the Elberfeld uprising (see this volume, pp. 602-04). Engels also touches on his stay in Elberfeld during the uprising in this series of articles. p. 163

149 The *arsenal in Prüm* was stormed by democrats and workers from Trier and neighbouring townships on May 17 and 18, 1849. Their aim was to seize the arms and extend the uprising in defence of the Imperial Constitution to the areas on the left bank of the Rhine. The insurgents succeeded in capturing the arsenal, but government troops soon arrived on the scene and the movement was suppressed. p. 163

150 The *tricolour*—the black-red-and-gold flag, symbolising Germany's national unity, was the banner of the movement in support of the Imperial Constitution. p. 163

151 As a result of behind-the-scenes negotiations between a delegation of the Elberfeld bourgeoisie and the government, and the defeatist attitude of the Committee of Public Safety, the Committee was dissolved by the city authorities on May 16, 1849. On the night of May 17, the workers' detachments, including reinforcements from other towns, were led out of Elberfeld under false pretences and the previous order was restored in the city. The failure of the Elberfeld uprising brought the triumph of reaction throughout Rhenish Prussia. p. 169

152 See Note 3. p. 171

153 Immediately after the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* ceased publication, Marx and Engels went to Frankfurt am Main and then to insurgent Baden and the Palatinate. Their attempts to convince the Left deputies to the Frankfurt Assembly and members of the Baden and Palatinate provisional governments of the need to extend the movement throughout Germany, to mount a resolute offensive, and to persuade the Assembly openly to join in the uprising proved, however, unavailing. In late May 1849, Marx and Engels arrived in Bingen (Hesse) where they parted. Marx went on to France to establish contacts with French democrats and socialists, while Engels returned to the Palatinate to take a direct part in the impending armed struggle against the concentrating counter-revolutionary troops. Besides Marx, two other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Ferdinand Wolff and Ernst Dronke, went to Paris, where the Montagne party and the revolutionary clubs were preparing for mass actions against the ruling party of Order (see this volume, pp. 104-09). p. 171

154 On May 12, 1849, in conditions of general popular ferment and mounting unrest in the army, the leaders of democratic organisations assembled in Offenburg (Baden) and took preparatory measures for calling a popular meeting. The decisions of the assembly, reflecting the attitude of the moderate democrats, were confined to a demand for the resignation of the reactionary Beck Ministry and the convocation of a Constituent Assembly. By the time the popular meeting opened on the following day, however, news had arrived that the army had sided with the people everywhere, that insurgent garrisons had captured the Rastatt fortress on May 11 and later Karlsruhe and other cities, and that Grand Duke Leopold had fled. As a result, more radical decisions were adopted at the meeting, which voted for the dissolution of the Baden Diet, universal arming of the people, liberation of political prisoners, the return of refugees, and other far-reaching measures. At the same time, the republican wing failed to secure approval for a resolution on the introduction of a republican government. A Baden provincial committee was set up, composed mainly of moderate democrats. The committee soon formed a provisional government, the Executive Committee, headed by Lorenz Peter Brentano. Its policy, however, was very moderate and irresolute, and gave rise to differences between the moderate democrats and more radical elements. On June 10, the Constituent Assembly was called in Karlsruhe, which consolidated the dominant position of the moderate democrats. Brentano was again appointed head of the provisional government and vested with extensive powers. p. 172

155 The *Senate* was one of the governing bodies of the free city of Frankfurt; it had both legislative and administrative functions. p. 173

156 The Prussian Major Schill first distinguished himself during brave guerrilla actions in the war against Napoleon's army in 1806-07. In April 1809, during Napoleon's war against Austria, Schill, leading a regiment of hussars and a company of riflemen, set out from Berlin on his own account with the aim of drawing "neutral" Prussia into a war against Napoleonic rule. After an abortive attempt to capture Magdeburg, he tried to fight his way to the Baltic, hoping for British support from the sea. At the end of May, his forces were routed at Stralsund, Schill himself falling in action. p. 174

157 Fickler was sent to Württemberg for talks to ensure the neutrality of the Württemberg royal government. On June 3, 1849, he was arrested in Stuttgart by the Württemberg authorities. p. 175

158 The *Club of Resolute Progress*, founded in Karlsruhe on June 5, 1849, was the more radical wing of the petty-bourgeois democratic republicans (Struve, Tzschirner, Heinzen and others) discontented with the conciliatory policy of the Brentano Government and the increasing strength of the Rightist elements within it. The Club suggested that Brentano should extend the revolution beyond Baden and the Palatinate and introduce radicals into his government. Brentano refused, so the Club tried, on June 6, to force the government to comply by threatening an armed demonstration. The government, however, supported by the civic militia and other armed units, proved the stronger party in the conflict. The Club of Resolute Progress was disbanded. p. 175

159 The *six scourges of humanity* was the phrase used by Gustav Struve in a letter published in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* No. 238 (supplement), October 26, 1849, referring to the monarchy, the hereditary nobility, officialdom, the standing army, the clergy, and finance magnates. p. 177

160 The Rastatt fortress on the Murg was the scene of the last major battle of the insurgent army against Prussian and imperial forces (June 29 and 30, 1849). The 13,000 Baden soldiers held out for 24 hours against the 60,000-strong enemy, but were ultimately forced to retreat to the Swiss border to avoid encirclement. Engels describes the battle in Chapter Four of his essays (see this volume, pp. 227-31). p. 178

161 In the *Ständehaus* (House of the Social Estates) in Karlsruhe sittings of the Brentano Government were held. p. 179

162 At Waghäusel, a major battle took place on June 21, 1849, between the insurgent army and Prussian troops who had captured the Palatinate and invaded Baden. By a vigorous counterattack the insurgents held up the Prussians, thus avoiding encirclement, but they were unable to prevent the Prussian army from advancing. Engels describes the battle in Chapter Four of his essays (see this volume, p. 219). p. 179

163 This refers to the strategic miscalculation by Görgey, the commander-in-chief of the Hungarian revolutionary army, in refusing to take advantage of the victories scored by the Hungarians during their spring offensive in 1849 to extend the fighting to Austria and launch operations to capture Vienna (see Note 96). p. 184

164 The *Central Committee of German Democrats* was elected at the Second Democratic Congress, held in Berlin from October 26 to 30, 1848. It included d'Ester, Reichenbach and Hexamer. Marx was handed a mandate of the Central Committee by d'Ester at the end of May 1849.

The *French social-democrats*—the party of petty-bourgeois democrats and socialists grouped round the newspaper *La Réforme* (see Note 50).

At the time of Marx's trip to France a clash was brewing between the Montagne, which represented the *Réforme* party in the Legislative Assembly, and conservative circles. The Montagne took action on June 13, 1849. p. 186

165 The *Fruchthalle*—a covered fruit and vegetable market in Kaiserslautern where the central administration of the Palatinate revolutionary Provisional Government had its offices in 1849. p. 192

166 *Chevaux-légers* (literally: light horses)—light cavalry armed with sabres, pistols and carbines in some West-European countries. p. 193

[167] On June 14, 1848, Berlin workers and craftsmen, outraged by the National Assembly's renunciation of the March revolution, took the arsenal by storm in an attempt to uphold the revolutionary gains. This action, however, was spontaneous and unorganised, and army reinforcements and units of the bourgeois civic militia were soon able to push back and disarm the people. p. 196

[168] An allusion to the participation of some N.C.O.s of Willich's German refugee volunteer corps in France's colonial war in Algeria, which ended on the eve of the February 1848 revolution. The war, waged with intermissions from 1830 to 1847, aimed at the conquest and subjugation of Algeria. p. 197

[169] An allusion to "wailers" (*Heuler*)—the name the republican democrats in Germany applied to the moderate constitutionalists who, in turn, called their opponents "agitators" (*Wühler*). p. 201

[170] See Note 19. p. 207

[171] An allusion to the statement made by Frederick William IV in his speech at the opening of the First United Diet on April 11, 1847, that he was "heir to an *unimpaired crown*" and must pass it on unimpaired to his successors (see *Der Erste Vereinigte Landtag in Berlin 1847*, erster Teil). p. 209

[172] See Note 158. p. 214

[173] This refers to a speech Franz Heinrich Zitz, an extreme Left-wing deputy to the Frankfurt parliament, made at a meeting in Frankfurt am Main on September 17, 1848, on the eve of the popular uprising sparked off by the parliament's ratification of the Malmö armistice, which jeopardised the liberation movement in Schleswig-Holstein and Germany's national interests. Zitz condemned the parliament's stand and objected to sending petitions to it, declaring that the time had come for resolute action. p. 225

[174] See Note 61. p. 226

[175] The *Cologne Workers' Association*—a workers' organisation founded by Andreas Gottschalk on April 13, 1848. By early May its members numbered about 5,000, mostly workers and artisans. The Association was led by the President and the committee, which consisted of representatives of various trades, and had several branches.

Most of the Association's leaders (Gottschalk, Anneke, Schapper, Moll, Lessner, Jansen, Röser, Nothjung, Bedorf) were members of the Communist League. After Gottschalk's arrest, Moll was elected President (on July 6). On October 16, Marx agreed to assume this post temporarily at the request of Association members. From February to May 1849 the post was held by Schapper.

In the beginning, the Workers' Association was influenced by Gottschalk, who, ignoring the proletariat's tasks in the democratic revolution, pursued a policy of boycotting elections to representative bodies and came out against an alliance with democratic forces. He combined ultra-Left talk with very moderate actions (petitions, etc.) and support for the demands of the workers affected by craft prejudices. From the outset, Gottschalk's sectarian attitude was challenged by the supporters of Marx and Engels. At the end of June 1848 they brought about a radical change in the Association's activities, making it a centre of revolutionary agitation among the workers, and from the autumn of that year, also among the peasants. By studying Marx's works, members of the Association familiarised

themselves with scientific communism. The Association maintained contacts with other workers' and democratic organisations.

In January and February 1849, Marx, Schapper and other leaders reorganised the Association with a view to strengthening it. On February 25, new Rules were adopted, proclaiming the Association's main task as raising the class consciousness of the workers.

The mounting counter-revolution and intensified police reprisals prevented the Cologne Workers' Association from continuing its work of rallying and organising the working masses. After the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* ceased publication and Marx, Schapper and other leaders of the Association left Cologne, it gradually turned into an ordinary workers' educational society. p. 226

176 On September 26, 1848, the authorities, frightened by the upsurge of the revolutionary and democratic movement in Cologne, declared a state of siege in the city to ensure "security of property and person". An order of the military command prohibited all associations pursuing "political and social aims", banned meetings, disbanded and disarmed the civic militia, introduced courts-martial and suspended publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and several other democratic newspapers. A protest campaign forced the Cologne military authorities to lift the state of siege on October 2. On October 12, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* resumed publication. p. 226

177 On June 23, 1849, during the retreat of the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army, one of its units mutinied. The soldiers, led by their commander Thome, made an attempt to arrest Mieroslawski and Sigel and turn them over to the Prussian army. p. 226

178 The Baden Constituent Assembly held its sittings in Freiburg (the last on July 2, 1849) after moving there from Karlsruhe at the end of June. p. 233

179 This refers to the battle of Hohenlinden (December 3, 1800), in which General Jean Victor Moreau of the French Republic defeated the Austrian army. p. 236

180 On September 18, 1849, a *German Refugee Committee* was set up on Marx's initiative under the auspices of the German Workers' Educational Society in London. Besides Marx and other members of the Communist League, it included a number of petty-bourgeois democrats. At a meeting of the Society on November 18, the Committee was transformed into the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee, the aim being to dissociate the proletarian section of the London refugees from the petty-bourgeois elements. The new Committee included only members of the Communist League: Karl Marx (who was elected chairman), Heinrich Bauer, August Willich, Karl Pfänder and Frederick Engels (see document on pp. 599-601 of this volume). Besides providing material assistance for the refugees, predominantly those belonging to the proletarian wing, the Committee played an important part in restoring ties between members of the Communist League, in uniting the supporters of Marx and Engels in London and in reorganising the Communist League. In mid-September 1850, following the split in the Communist League, when most members of the Educational Society, to which the Committee was accountable, came under the influence of the Willich-Schapper sectarian group, Marx and Engels, together with their followers, withdrew from the Committee (see this volume, pp. 483 and 631-32). p. 240

181 Appended to the letter were certificates—signed by Ferenc Pulszky, the Committee's agent in London in the spring of 1849—testifying that the persons

named belonged to the unit of Hungarian hussars that had been sent, via Sardinia, to reinforce the Hungarian revolutionary army, but arrived too late to join it and, after the suppression of the Hungarian revolution, was forced to return to London. p. 240

182 The reviews of Marx and Engels published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* contain a critical analysis of a number of historical, sociological and economic works that appeared after the revolution of 1848-49 and influenced the views of bourgeois ideologists. Their criticism is also directed against the petty-bourgeois participants in and interpreters of these events.

The reviews were published unsigned in the literary section of the second and fourth issues of the journal. In 1892 Engels wrote in his biographical essay on Marx: "...Besides he wrote (together with Engels) a number of literary and political reviews." In 1886, the journal *Die Neue Zeit*, which for a long time had the benefit of Engels' counsel and direction, reprinted the review of the pamphlets by Chenu and de la Hodde, giving Marx and Engels as the authors. It may be assumed that some of the reviews, such as those dealing with the books of Girardin and Guizot, were written by Marx, while the review of Carlyle's book was probably by Engels, who had discussed this author's writings previously (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 444-68). Since this cannot be established with absolute certainty, however, all the reviews in this volume are published as the joint works of Marx and Engels.

Appended to the first group of reviews, published in the second issue, was an editorial note saying: "All the works indicated here may be obtained in London at Mr. D. Nutt's, 270, the Strand, two doors from St. Clement's Church."

From the reviews belonging to this group, that of Daumer's book was published in English in the collection: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Religion*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, and the review of Guizot's book in the collection: K. Marx, *Selected Essays*, Parsons, London, 1926. p. 241

183 Presumably a case of double irony: by calling Daumer's statements in the book suras (the Arab name for chapters in the *Koran*), the authors stress their assertive didacticism reminiscent of religious preaching, and at the same time hint at Daumer's book *Mahomed und sein Werk*, Hamburg, 1848 (to which there is a direct reference later in the review). p. 243

184 The *prophecies of Nostradamus*, the famous sixteenth-century French astrologer and physician-in-ordinary to Charles IX, were couched in verse and were extremely vague and cryptic.

*Second sight in Scotsmen*—the ability, attributed by superstition to Scottish highlanders, to divine the future and events concealed from ordinary people.

*Animal magnetism*—the theory of the Austrian physician Friedrich Anton Mesmer (1734-1815) that a man's behaviour can be influenced by hypnotism ("animal magnetism"). p. 245

185 In *St. Paul's Church*, Frankfurt am Main, the Frankfurt National Assembly (see Note 8) met in 1848 and 1849. p. 247

186 On March 28, 1849, the Frankfurt National Assembly, having drawn up an all-German Imperial Constitution and elected—by the votes of the liberals and moderate democrats—the Prussian King Frederick William IV "Emperor of the Germans", sent a deputation to Berlin to offer him the Crown. Frederick William rejected it, however (announcing his final decision on April 28, 1849), pleading that the Imperial Constitution was unacceptable because of its revolutionary origin and contents. p. 247

187 On June 26, 1849, the liberal deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly, who had walked out after the Prussian King's refusal to accept the Imperial Crown, met in Gotha for a three-day conference which resulted in the formation of the Gotha party. It expressed the interests of the pro-Prussian German bourgeoisie and supported the policy of Prussian ruling circles aimed at uniting Germany under the hegemony of Hohenzollern Prussia. p. 249

188 In his pamphlet Simon wrote that the deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly who had not renounced their powers (most of them belonged to the Left wing) had condemned the Württemberg King's denunciation of the Imperial Constitution and pronounced their solidarity with the armed struggle waged in the Palatinate and Baden in defence of the Constitution. In particular, Simon mentioned the resolution adopted by the remnants of the Assembly on June 8, 1849, after it had moved from Frankfurt to Stuttgart. It placed Baden under the protection of the Empire, i.e. the Assembly. The resolution was, however, no more than a declaration. Fearing a broad popular movement, the remaining members of the Assembly gave no specific support to the insurgents and refused to call the insurrectionary troops of Baden and the Palatinate to their defence. p. 249

189 This refers to the establishment of the Bank of England (1694). The founders loaned its fixed capital to the government. This was the beginning of the national debt. p. 252

190 The *parliaments in France*—judicial institutions that came into being in the Middle Ages. The Paris parliament was the highest court of appeal and also performed important administrative and political functions, such as registering of royal decrees, without which they had no legal force. The parliaments enjoyed the right to remonstrate against government decrees. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries their members were officials of high birth called the "nobility of the mantle". They ultimately became a bulwark of Right-wing opposition to absolutism and of resistance to moderate reforms, and were abolished during the French Revolution, in 1790. p. 253

191 The *States General*—a body representing the social estates in medieval France. It consisted of clergymen, nobles and burghers. Convened in May 1789, after a 175-year interval, at a time when the bourgeois revolution was maturing in France, the States General were on June 17 transformed by decision of the deputies of the third estate into the National Assembly, which on July 9 proclaimed itself the Constituent Assembly and became the supreme organ of revolutionary France. p. 253

192 This refers to popular uprisings against Spanish rule that took place in Lisbon in 1640, in Naples in 1647 and 1648 and in Messina between 1674 and 1676. p. 254

193 The reference is to the Reform Bill of 1832, which was directed against the political monopoly of the landed and financial aristocracy and gave representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie access to Parliament. The proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, the main forces in the struggle for the reform, received no electoral rights. p. 255

194 The international reviews in the second, the fourth and the double fifth-sixth issues of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* were simply entitled "Revue" ("Review") and were not signed. The authors provided the third

of these reviews with the subheading "May to October". In the present edition the editors have therefore added corresponding subheadings to the first and second reviews. Numerous passages in the works and letters of Marx and Engels show that they wrote the reviews together.

The first review was intended for the first issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (see Engels' letter to Jakob Schabelitz of December 22, 1849) and the greater part of it dated January 31, 1850, but for lack of space the review was transferred to the second issue, the reader being notified of this by an editorial note. The closing part of the review was written in February.

Excerpts from the first review were first published in English in the collection: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Colonialism*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960. In the present edition, account has been taken of the corrections in the list of misprints appended to the fourth issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, as well as those made later by Engels in his copy of the journal (see Note 63). p. 257

195 See Note 16 p. 257

196 See Note 20. p. 257

197 The *United Diet*—an assembly of representatives from the eight Provincial Diets of Prussia, similarly based on the estate principle. It sanctioned new taxes and loans, discussed Bills, and had the right to petition the King.

The First United Diet, which opened on April 11, 1847, was dissolved in June, following its refusal to vote a new loan. The Second United Diet, convened on April 2, 1848, passed a law on elections to the Prussian National Assembly and sanctioned the loan. The United Diet session closed on April 10, 1848. p. 258

198 This refers to the trials of Benedikt Waldeck in Berlin (see Note 14) and Karl Grün in Trier. The two were Left-wing deputies to the Prussian National Assembly who were put on trial in 1849 for their political activities. The trials showed that the Prussian authorities were using forgeries to fight their opponents. On the other hand, Waldeck and Grün were doing everything to prove their loyalty to the Prussian Government. p. 258

199 This refers to Frederick William IV's attempts, supported by the sovereigns of the Prussian Union (see Note 12), to unite Germany under Prussian hegemony, to the exclusion of Austria (the plan for a "Little Germany", as against the plan for a "Great Germany" advocated by pro-Austrian circles). These attempts were backed by the liberals who had walked out of the Frankfurt National Assembly and formed, in June 1849, the so-called Gotha party (see Note 187). The latter took part in the elections to the German parliament which was to revise the draft German Constitution drawn up by the Frankfurt National Assembly in a way convenient for Prussian ruling quarters. The parliament met in Erfurt on March 20, 1850, but counteraction by the Austrian Court and the Russian Emperor forced the Prussian Government temporarily to abandon its unification plans and dissolve the Erfurt parliament (April 29, 1850). p. 258

200 See Note 185. p. 258

201 See Note 9. p. 259

202 The reference is to the *Preussische Seehandlungsgesellschaft* (Prussian Maritime Trading Company), a trade and credit society founded in 1772 and enjoying a number of important state privileges. It granted large credits to the government

and from 1820 actually acted as its banker and broker. In 1904 it was made the official Prussian State Bank. p. 259

203 The *borderers* were inhabitants of what was known as the Military Border Area, i.e. the southern border region of the Austrian Empire under a military administration. The area included part of Croatia and Southern Hungary. Its population was made up of Serbs, Croats and other nationalities who were allotted land in return for military service, the fulfilment of other obligations and payment of duties. The borderers often rose in revolt against this system of military and feudal oppression. p. 259

204 This refers to the rupture of diplomatic relations between Russia and Turkey in the autumn of 1849 caused by the Turkish Government's refusal to extradite the Polish and Hungarian political refugees as demanded by the Russian and Austrian emperors. Unwilling to incur the hostility of Britain and France, Nicholas I thought it wiser to settle his conflict with Turkey. Towards the end of the year diplomatic relations were resumed. p. 260

205 *Saint-Jean d'Acre*—a fortress in Syria—was taken by the Egyptians in 1832, during the Turco-Egyptian war of 1831-33.

*San Juan de Ulua*—a fortress in Veracruz, Mexico, the Spaniards' last stronghold during Mexico's war of independence—was taken in 1825. p. 260

206 The *continental blockade* of the British Isles was proclaimed by Napoleon in November 1806. All the European states dependent on Napoleonic France were forced to join. Russia and Prussia acceeded in 1807 (under the Peace of Tilsit) and Austria in 1809. The forced rupture of trade with Britain greatly harmed Russia's economic interests, which was one of the causes of the Franco-Russian war of 1812. p. 260

207 The *Federal Council*—the central executive of the Swiss Republic, a body established under the Constitution of September 12, 1848. Its chairman acted as President of the Republic. p. 261

208 Here reference is made to the agreements under which the Swiss cantons supplied mercenaries to European states. They were concluded in the period from the fifteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. In many West-European countries Swiss mercenaries were used by counter-revolutionary monarchist forces.

In 1848 Berne and other cantons concluded a series of such agreements with the counter-revolutionary government of Ferdinand II, King of Naples. The employment of Swiss troops against the revolutionary movement in Italy aroused great indignation among the Swiss progressive circles, and this eventually led to the annulment of these agreements. p. 261

209 The *Sonderbund*—see Note 25.

*Neuchâtel's independence*—see Note 24. p. 261

210 See Note 37. p. 263

211 This refers to the June 1846 Act of the British Parliament repealing the Corn Laws (see Note 29). p. 263

212 At the end of 1849 and the beginning of 1850 Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff delivered a series of lectures on China at London University and a number of learned societies. One of these lectures was related in a report published by the conservative *Neue Preussische Zeitung* (known also as the *Kreuz-Zeitung*) in its issue

No. 7, January 9, 1850. Marx and Engels may have drawn on this report in writing this section of their review. p. 266

213 This refers to one of the main provisions of the Nanking Treaty Britain concluded with China as a result of the Anglo-Chinese war of 1840-42 (known as the first Opium War). It was the first of a series of unequal treaties imposed on China by the Western powers, treaties that reduced it to the status of a semi-colony. Under the Nanking Treaty five Chinese cities—Canton, Shanghai, Amoy, Ninbo and Fuchou—were opened to English trade. In 1844 unequal treaties were imposed on China by the USA and France. p. 266

214 The reference is to the popular unrest then rife in several provinces of China. In mid-1850 it erupted into a peasant war that resulted in the insurgents establishing a state of their own over a considerable part of China's territory. The state was called Taiping Tango (hence the name of the movement—the Taiping uprising). The leaders of the movement put forward a utopian programme calling for China's feudal social order to be transformed into a paramilitary patriarchal system based on egalitarianism in production and consumption. The Taiping uprising lasted until 1864. p. 266

215 The Ten Hours' Bill, the struggle for which had been waged for many years, was passed by Parliament in 1847, against a background of the sharply intensified contradictions between the landed aristocracy and the industrial bourgeoisie generated by the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. In revenge against the industrial bourgeoisie, a section of the Tory M.P.s supported the Bill. Its provisions applied only to children and women. Nevertheless, many manufacturers evaded it in practice. Engels also discussed the ten-hour working day in earlier writings, in particular in his book *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 460, 461, 465-66). In the present article he took it up in connection with a fresh campaign against the Ten Hours' Bill launched by manufacturers, who worked in different ways to secure its *de facto* annulment.

The article, written for the Chartist journal *The Democratic Review*, evoked a lively response in the British working-class press. In its survey of the journal, *The Northern Star* wrote (No. 645, March 2, 1850): "The *Ten Hours' Question* is the title of an article which is sure to excite great interest, and, possibly, some discussion. We venture to predict that, while it will not greatly please those who are purely and simply Ten Hours Bill-men, it will meet with more than the approval of those who are 'Ten Hours Bill-men, *and Something more*'. It is an article which all classes may read with advantage, although, most likely, it will call down on its author's head the hot indignation of those who live by speculating in the labour and making profit of the blood and sinews of the wealth-producers."

Both this article and the article "The English Ten Hours' Bill" published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (see this volume, pp. 288-300) show that Marxist political economy had not yet been fully developed. This was reflected in a certain underestimation of the struggle for shorter working hours and of the positive effects of legal limitation of the working day. Marx and Engels gave an exhaustive description of the Ten Hours' Bill in their later works. See, e.g., Marx's *Inaugural Address of the International Working-Men's Association* and *Capital* (Vol. I, Chapter X, Sections 5, 6, 7). p. 271

216 The *Manchester School*—a trend in economic thought reflecting the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. It advocated Free Trade and non-interference by the state in economic affairs. In the 1840s and 1850s, the Free Traders constituted the Left wing of the Liberal Party in England. p. 271

217 This refers to the *People's Charter*, which formulated the demands of the Chartists. It was published on May 8, 1838, as a Bill for submission to Parliament. The Charter contained six demands: universal suffrage (for men on reaching the age of 21), annual elections to Parliament, a secret ballot, equal constituencies, abolition of the property qualification for candidates to Parliament, salaries for M.P.s. Petitions for the Charter were rejected by Parliament in 1839 and 1842.
p. 273

218 The *relay system*—a system for using the labour of women and juveniles applied by English manufacturers, especially from 1847 onwards, in an attempt to circumvent the Ten Hours' Bill. Under the relay system; women and juveniles stayed at work for the full length of the working day for adult men (up to 15 hours), but worked at intervals. The length of their actual work did not apparently exceed the legal limit. p. 274

219 On February 8, 1850 the Court of Exchequer acquitted a group of manufacturers accused of violating the Ten Hours' Bill. This ruling created a precedent unfavourable to the workers and was tantamount to a repeal of the Bill. It was resisted by the workers, and on August 5, 1850, Parliament passed a new Bill, fixing a 10 $^1/_2$ hour working day for women and juveniles and setting the time when work was to begin and end.

The *Court of Exchequer*, one of England's oldest courts, initially dealt mainly with financial matters. In the nineteenth century it became one of the country's highest judicial bodies. p. 274

220 The *Address of the Central Authority to the League* contained fundamental propositions of the Marxist programme and tactics. It played an important part in restoring and reorganising the Communist League after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution, as a result of which the activities of the League had fallen off, the ties between its members had weakened and many of its communities and district branches had fallen apart. The *Address* contained detailed instructions for the emissaries of the Central Authority, which had been reconstituted by Marx, and for local League leaders in their work in restoring the League. The *Address* was written by Marx and Engels at the end of March (not later than the 24th) and unanimously approved by Central Authority members in London.

According to recent findings, the *Address* reached a fairly wide circle of League members. At the end of March, Heinrich Bauer, Central Authority emissary, brought a manuscript copy to Cologne; later the document was secretly circulated in handwritten form in Germany, Switzerland and other countries. The Prussian police seized a number of copies from League members and in 1851 the *Address* was printed in a number of German newspapers, in particular in the *Dresdner Journal und Anzeiger* No. 177, June 28, the *Allgemeiner Polizei-Anzeiger* (special supplement) No. 52, Dresden, June 30, the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 156, July 1 and the *Schwäbischer Merkur* No. 158, July 4, and also in the Hungarian-language *Magyar Hirlup*, published in Pest (Nos. 503 and 504, July 8 and 9).

During the trial of Communists in Cologne, the *Address*, together with other Communist League documents, was reprinted in the Bill of Indictment (put out as a separate edition under the title *Anklageschrift gegen 1) P. G. Roeser, 2) J. H. G. Bürgers*... [Köln, 1852]) and published in several newspapers. Later it appeared in the book by the two police officials Wermuth and Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Th. 1, Berlin, 1853, which had been compiled for the purpose of compromising the Communist League.

The first authoritative edition of the *Address* came out in 1885, when Engels appended it to the German edition of Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln*, Hottingen-Zürich, 1885). Engels reviewed the text published in the book by Wermuth and Stieber, and supplied it with a footnote. The present publication is based on the 1885 edition.

The *Address* was first published in English in *The Marxian*, New York, 1921, Vol. 1, No. 2, and was later printed in *Labour Monthly*, London, 1922, Vol. 3, No. 3. p. 277

221 The *agreers* was the name given by Marx and Engels to the liberal majority of the Prussian National Assembly convened in Berlin on May 22, 1848, to draw up a Constitution and introduce a constitutional system by "agreement with the Crown". In November 1848, with counter-revolutionary forces on the offensive in Prussia, the liberals and democrats secured a resolution calling for the non-payment of taxes. Confining themselves to passive resistance, however, they failed to rebuff a monarchist coup d'état. On December 5, 1848, the National Assembly was disbanded. p. 279

222 The *Stuttgart parliament*—those deputies to the all-German Frankfurt Assembly (mostly Leftists) who did not relinquish their powers during the conflict with the Prussian and other German governments in May and June 1849, but moved to Stuttgart (see Note 8). p. 279

223 The proposition advanced here on turning the confiscated landed estates into state property and handing them over to associations of agricultural workers is an elaboration of the respective provisions of the agrarian programme set forth by Marx and Engels in the *Demands of the Communist Party in Germany*, which also called for the break-up of feudal relations in the interests of the peasants: the abolition of corvée and other feudal duties without compensation, etc. (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 3-4). Stressing this proposition in the new document, Marx and Engels proceeded from the idea that the proletarian revolution was at hand, a notion partly due to their overestimation of the factors conducive to revolution at the time. They considered that the measure in question would facilitate the future socialist transformation of agriculture, relieving the peasant masses from the threat of ruin. Far from regarding this measure as an absolute necessity, however, Marx and Engels, and all their followers, made it dependent on actual historical conditions. Later events showed that, in countries with deep-rooted survivals of feudalism, the need for a stronger alliance with the peasantry sometimes makes it necessary for the working class to support the demand for confiscated landed estates to be handed over to the peasants, without, however, abandoning the idea of a subsequent socialist transformation of agriculture on the basis of collective property. p. 285

224 Engels wrote this article soon after the article "The Ten Hours' Question", which was published in the Chartist *Democratic Review* (see this volume, pp. 271-76). The present article was intended for the German reader, who was less familiar with life in Britain. Engels therefore goes into greater detail on the history of the struggle for the Ten Hours' Bill and the campaign waged against it by the manufacturers. The present publication takes account of corrections made by Engels in his copy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.*

The article was first published in English in the collection: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Articles on Britain*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. p. 288

225 See Note 219. p. 288

226 See Note 193. p. 292

227 See Note 29. p. 293

228 In the 1830s and 1840s a series of laws against trading in jobs and granting sinecures to aristocrats were passed in Britain, under pressure from the industrial bourgeoisie.

For the *Poor Law of 1834* see Note 75. p. 294

229 This refers to the Nanking Treaty of 1842. See Note 213. p. 295

230 The *Navigation Acts* passed in 1651 and subsequent years set up a system for Asian, African or American produce to be imported for consumption into the United Kingdom or its colonial possessions only in ships under the British national flag, and for European produce to be carried either in English ships or in those belonging to the exporting country. These laws were repealed in 1854. p. 296

231 On the reviews written by Marx and Engels for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* see Note 182.

These reviews have never been published in English except for excerpts from the review of the pamphlets written by Chenu and de la Hodde, which appeared in: Karl Marx, *On Revolution*, edited and translated by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971. Excerpts from the review of Émile Girardin's book were quoted in an article by M. Beer, "Further Selections from the Literary Remains of Karl Marx", in *Labour Monthly*, London, 1923, Vol. 5, No. 2. p. 301

232 In their review of Thomas Carlyle's pamphlets, *The Present Time* and *Model Prisons*, the authors continue their critical analysis of Carlyle's sociological and historical conception which Marx and, particularly, Engels (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 444-68) began in their earlier works. In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, they criticised "feudal socialism" (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 507-08), of which Carlyle was an exponent. Their criticism became more intense as Carlyle moved to the right after the revolution of 1848-49.

During the lifetime of Marx and Engels the review was reprinted unsigned in *Der Volksstaat*, Leipzig, 1871, Nos. 93 and 94, November 18 and 22.

In quotations from Carlyle's pamphlets, the authors of the review do not always follow Carlyle's italics; they silently omit some paragraphs, change punctuation and introduce their own italics. In the given publication, in places where part of the text was left out, the editors have introduced marks of omission. p. 301

233 The *Freemasons* (called more fully Free and Accepted Masons)—members of a religious and ethical movement that arose in England at the beginning of the eighteenth century and spread to other European countries and America. Freemasons condemned the feudal system and the Established Church and sought to set up a world-wide new religion. The Order of Freemasons had secret lodges in various countries, and a mystical ritual copied from the ritual of medieval masons' guilds (hence the name). Members of the Order set themselves the task of ethically purifying and improving people in order to renovate the world. Freemasons believed in eternal and immutable laws of nature known only to the wisest leaders of the Order who enjoyed unquestionable authority and brought up rank-and-file members in obedience to these laws and in the spirit of fraternity, justice and enlightenment.

The *Illuminati* (from the Latin *illuminatus*)—members of a secret society founded in Bavaria in 1776, a variety of Freemasonry. The society consisted of opposition elements from the bourgeoisie and nobility, who were dissatisfied with princely despotism. In 1785 the society was banned by the Bavarian authorities. Similar societies also existed in Spain and France.

Mozart was a Freemason and his opera, *The Magic Flute* (*Die Zauberflöte*) (text by Emmanuel Schikaneder, first staged in 1791), embodies Masonic ideals in the form of a naive fairy-tale. p. 306

234 *Laissez-faire, laissez-aller*—the formula of economists who advocated Free Trade and non-intervention by the state in economic relations. p. 308

235 See Note 75. p. 310

236 This review, slightly abridged, was reprinted during Engels' lifetime in the theoretical organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, *Die Neue Zeit*, Stuttgart, 1886, 4. Jg., H. 12.

While preparing the given publication, the editors checked quotations from Chenu and de la Hodde according to the 1850 edition of the pamphlets. The authors of the review may have used a different edition published in the same year, hence the different page numbers. In the text, the pages given by the review's authors are followed by those of the edition used by the editors of the present publication, which are given in square brackets. p. 311

237 The secret *Société des nouvelles saisons* came into being soon after the rout (in 1839) of the *Société des saisons* led by Auguste Blanqui and Armand Barbès, and was virtually its successor. Workers formed the main body of the society, which also included students. Its members adhered to revolutionary Babouvism and were strongly influenced by the utopian communist ideas of Théodore Dézamy. p. 312

238 See Note 64. p. 315

239 An allusion to attempts by a small group of conspirators, members of secret revolutionary societies, to commit terrorist acts using home-made incendiary bombs. Police agents were also involved in the venture, giving regularly information about the conspirators' movements. This enabled the police to arrest all those involved. Their trial in 1847 revealed that police agents had succeeded in infiltrating deeply into secret societies. p. 315

240 Among Fourier's posthumous works there is the unfinished manuscript *Des trois unités externes* which deals partially with the problems of trade. It was published in 1845 in the journal *La Phalange*. Lengthy passages from this work were translated by Engels into German and published in 1846 in the *Deutsches Bürgerbuch* (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 613-44). p. 322

241 See Note 45. p. 323

242 On the by-elections to the Legislative Assembly (March 10, 1850) see this volume, pp. 129-31. p. 325

243 This review of the book by Émile Girardin, an exponent of bourgeois socialism, is in effect a critique of bourgeois socialism. Here the authors go on to analyse in greater detail the trend in bourgeois social thinking which they described in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* as an expression of the bourgeoisie's desire to redress "social grievances, in order to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society".

When quoting passages from Girardin's work, the authors in a number of cases combined texts from different pages, omitted paragraphs and changed the punctuation. They also introduced their own italics. This form of quotation has been preserved. The pages of the quoted book are given in square brackets. In a number of instances, when part of the text is omitted, the editors of this volume have introduced omission marks not in the review itself. p. 326

244 *Droit d'enregistrement*—a tax imposed on the registration and drawing up of various documents: sale and purchase contracts, deeds, court decisions, etc. Apart from confirming the authenticity of documents, such registration was also a source of revenue for the Exchequer. p. 328

245 See Note 28. p. 328

246 The bulk of this review was written by Marx and Engels for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* No. 3 in the middle of March 1850, and forwarded to Hamburg not later than April 5. Lack of space prevented the material from being published in No. 3. Only part of the review dealing with England, as well as a small addendum written later and dated April 18, were included in No. 4 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.* p. 338

247 See Note 29. p. 340

248 This article, together with other material for the fourth issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue,* was sent to Hamburg before April 18, 1850. Marx wrote it as an addendum to his series of articles "1848-1849" (later known as *The Class Struggles in France*). Marx's main source of information was an article published in the newspaper of the French socialists and democrats, *La Voix du peuple* (No. 166, March 17, 1850), which quoted several passages from the monarchist newspaper *La Patrie. Journal du commerce* (from March 7 to 15). Even though the editors of *La Voix du peuple* avoided giving names of the stock-exchange speculators in their commentaries to the quoted passages, Marx found corroboration in them for the conclusions he drew in the third article from the "1848-1849" series concerning the connection existing between President Louis Bonaparte and stock-exchange circles. p. 342

249 *Union électorale*—the name used by the bloc of all monarchist groupings in the by-elections to the French Legislative Assembly held in March 1850. It united Orleanists, Legitimists, Bonapartists, Catholics, etc. The leading role in the bloc was played by the so-called party of Order, embracing the main monarchist factions. p. 342

250 Dealing on the Paris Stock Exchange went on between one and three p.m. p. 343

251 The reference is to the *Café Tortoni* on the Boulevard des Italiens; when the Stock Exchange was closed, business transactions were carried on in and around this café. As distinct from the official Stock Exchange, the Café Tortoni and the adjacent district became known as the "small Stock Exchange". p. 344

252 This article was written in response to Gottfried Kinkel's speech in his own defence at the court-martial in Rastatt (August 1849). He was a representative of the Left in the Frankfurt National Assembly, a participant in the campaign for the Imperial Constitution and taken prisoner by the Prussians. (Kinkel's speech was

published in the newspaper *Abend-Post* Nos. 78 and 79, April 5 and 6, 1850, and later in A. Strodtmann's *Gottfried Kinkel. Wahrheit ohne Dichtung*, Bd. 2, Hamburg, 1851.) The article, in which the authors criticised petty-bourgeois democrats for their subservience, cowardice and lack of principles, was censured by Otto Lüning in his comments on the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, published in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* (No. 151, June 26, 1850). These comments, as well as other accusations, induced Marx and Engels to make a refutation (see this volume, pp. 387-88). The members of the Communist League welcomed the article in which Marx and Engels exposed Kinkel's behaviour in court.

Later Marx and Engels gave a satiric description of Kinkel in their pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11).

Most of the italics in the passages from Kinkel's speech quoted according to the *Abend-Post* are by the authors. p. 345

253 See Note 198. p. 345

254 In the spring of 1848, Mainz was the scene of bloody clashes between the civic militia and Prussian soldiers. These had repercussions throughout Germany and became a subject for discussion at the Frankfurt National Assembly; the latter merely appointed a committee which only submitted its report once the Mainz civic militia had already been disarmed by Prussian soldiers. p. 346

255 This statement, as well as the letter to the editor of *The Times* that follows, was occasioned by the attempts of the petty-bourgeois democrats Gustav Struve, Rudolf Schramm and others to strengthen their position among German political refugees in London against the influence of the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee (see Engels' letter to Weydemeyer of April 22, 1850). The manuscript of the statement in Engels' hand is extant. The statement was circulated in London and was also published by a number of democratic newspapers in Germany. The *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* of April 28, 1850, carried an abridged version dated April 20, 1850; the signature was followed by a request to democratic papers to reprint it. The Cologne *Westdeutsche Zeitung* and the Berlin *Abend-Post* published it under the date of April 18, 1850. In this volume the document is dated as in Engels' manuscript. p. 349

256 See Note 180. p. 349

257 This refers to a decision adopted on November 18, 1849, at the general meeting of the German Workers' Educational Society in London and German political refugees in London. It is to be found in the report of the Committee of Support for German Refugees in London of December 3, 1849 (see this volume, pp. 599-601). p. 349

258 This refers to attempts by Gustav Struve, Karl Heinzen, Rudolf Schramm, Arnold Ruge, and other German democrats who moved from Switzerland to England in October 1849, to rally all German political refugees around the Democratic Association, which they founded in London in the spring of 1850, and to enlist their support in setting up a general European democratic organisation of refugees. These attempts were accompanied by intrigues against proletarian refugees and against the Communist League led by Marx and Engels. p. 350

259 Gustav Struve and Thomas Fothergill, claiming to represent German political refugees in London, approached the acting Lord Mayor of London, Alderman

Gibbs, with a request for employment to be provided for one hundred German refugees who were unable to find work to earn a living. Gibbs refused on the grounds that many English workers were in the same plight. An item to this effect appeared in *The Times* of May 24, 1850. p. 352

260 Engels wrote this work with a view to popularising in England a series of Marx's articles published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* under the title of "1848-1849", which later became widely known as *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850.* It was a sort of conspectus or synopsis of Marx's work, from which Engels quoted long passages; in some cases he summarised the text that followed, gave relevant explanations (some of them in the form of remarks to the quoted text given in parenthesis), adding his own words and phrases. In the three numbers of *The Democratic Review* (for April, May and June), Engels gave an exposition of the first article from Marx's series (Chapter One of *The Class Struggles in France,* see this volume, pp. 48-70). He apparently planned to continue popularising Marx's work, for the remark "to be continued" appeared at the end of the article in the June number of *The Democratic Review* just as it did in the preceding numbers. However, various circumstances, probably his involvement in writing other works, prevented Engels from continuing his synopsis.

The fact that Engels wrote this conspectus is corroborated by the author's excellent knowledge of Marx's work and by the conspectus being written—at least the first part—and numerous quotations from Marx's work being translated into English within only a fortnight of the publication of the first issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (March 6, 1850), which carried the beginning of Marx's work. In addition, all inaccuracies in the *Revue* were corrected in the translation.

In quoting Marx, Engels sometimes omitted the author's italics and paragraphs, but introduced his own; he also added his own explanatory words, in some cases omitting the author's words and phrases. By these changes Engels sought to make the text more comprehensible to the English reader.

In the present publication passages from Marx's work are given in small type and in inverted commas. They are quoted according to Engels, the most significant divergencies of Engels' translation from Marx's original German text being indicated in footnotes; whenever Engels made considerable omissions in quotations the editors of this volume have inserted omission marks in square brackets. p. 353

261 On the suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* see Note 3.

Early in June 1849 Marx came to Paris with a mandate from the Central Committee of Democrats. He took up his contacts with representatives of the French democratic and socialist movement and with leaders of clubs and secret workers' organisations. Apart from Marx, three other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (Georg Weerth, Ferdinand Wolff and Ernst Dronke) were in Paris at the time and took part in the events of June 13, 1849 (on these see this volume, pp. 105-09). p. 353

262 See Note 64. p. 357

263 An allusion to the Guizot Government's refusal to make diplomatic moves against the suppression of the Cracow uprising of 1846 and against Austria's annexation of the free city of Cracow (see Note 66), and to its political interference in Switzerland's internal affairs in favour of the reactionary Sonderbund (see Note 25) in 1844. p. 358

264 See Note 67. p. 358

265 See Note 68. p. 359

266 This phrase is missing in the text published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.* Engels may have written his synopsis from the original version of Marx's manuscript in which it appeared. p. 362

267 On the demonstration in Paris on March 17, 1848, see Note 76.

On April 16, 1848, a peaceful procession of Paris workers marched towards the Town Hall to submit a petition to the Provisional Government on "organising labour" and "eliminating the exploitation of man by man". The workers encountered battalions of the bourgeois national guard and were forced to retreat. p. 367

268 On the events of May 15, 1848, see Note 45.

The *June uprising* of the Paris proletariat is dealt with in Note 40. p. 368

269 This letter was written in connection with the campaign against German political refugees started by the Prussian conservative papers and taken up by the English press. The campaign was intensified particularly after the attempt on the life of the Prussian King Frederick William IV in Berlin on May 22, 1850, by Max Sefeloge, a retired soldier. He later died in a lunatic asylum. An item in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* on May 25, 1850, alleged that while this attempt was being prepared Marx made a trip to Germany, including Berlin. The letter is written in English in Engels' handwriting. He addressed the envelope to his Excellency Chevalier Bunsen, Prussian Ambassador in London. Bunsen disregarded the request contained in the letter, so Marx and Engels made a statement to the press (see this volume, p. 384). p. 370

270 The June *Address of the Central Authority to the League* was written while the League was in the final stages of being reorganised. It was based on information contained in reports submitted by the emissaries of the Central Authority (among others, by Heinrich Bauer who had distributed the March Address of the Central Authority in Germany, returning to London in mid-May 1850) and in letters sent by League members from various European countries.

Handwritten copies of the *Address* were carried to Germany by Karl Wilhelm Klein, emissary of the League's Central Authority, and other confidential agents and to Switzerland by Ernst Dronke to be distributed secretly.

Somewhat later, extracts from the *Address* or summaries of it were published by a number of newspapers, such as the *Leipziger Zeitung* No. 192 (special supplement), July 11, 1850; the *Karlsruher Zeitung* No. 172, July 24, 1850; the *Norddeutsche Correspondent*, Rostock, No. 177, July 31, 1850. In their letters written in 1850 and 1851, the members of the Communist League, Stumpf, Dronke and Weydemeyer, informed Marx and Engels that the *Address* was published in other newspapers as well.

It was also published in the Bill of Indictment against the League members at the Cologne trial of Communists—*Anklageschrift gegen 1) P. G. Roeser, 2) J. H. G. Bürgers...* [Köln, 1852] and in *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Th. 1, Berlin, 1853, by Wermuth and Stieber. In the USA part of the *Address* was published by Karl Heinzen in *Der Pionier*, Boston, Jg. 17, No. 17, April 24, 1870.

In 1885 Engels published the June *Address* as a supplement to a new edition of the pamphlet: Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln,*

Hottingen-Zürich, 1885. This publication is the most reliable of all those extant and has usually been taken as the basis for subsequent publications. p. 371

271 The reference is to the *Revolutionary Centralisation*, a secret organisation founded at the beginning of 1850 by German refugees in Switzerland, most of whom were petty-bourgeois democrats.

Its Central Committee, based in Zurich, was headed by Tzschirner, a leader of the Dresden uprising in May 1849; prominent members were Fries, Greiner, Sigel, Techow, Schurz and J. Ph. Becker, all participants in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising. Members of the Communist League, d'Ester, Bruhn and others, as well as Wilhelm Wolff also belonged to this organisation. In July and August 1850 the leaders of the Revolutionary Centralisation approached the representatives of the Communist League Central Authority with a proposal to amalgamate. On behalf of the League's Central Authority, Marx and Engels rejected their proposal as detrimental to the class independence of the proletarian party. By the end of 1850, the Revolutionary Centralisation had disintegrated due to the mass expulsion of German refugees from Switzerland. Marx and Engels drew information concerning the activities of the Revolutionary Centralisation and the intrigues of its agents against Communist League leaders (referred to in the *Address*) from Wilhelm Wolff's letter of May 9, 1850. They later received similar information from Dronke, the emissary of the League's Central Authority in Switzerland. p. 372

272 This refers to an attempt by German democrats, Gustav Struve among others, to set up a *Democratic Association*. In April 1850, Struve and others distributed in England and Germany a Circular Letter Addressed to All Friends of German Refugees, which reported that a single German organisation of all democratic refugees was to be set up under the guidance of the Central Bureau of the United German Emigration. In the summer of the same year, they called upon German refugees to unite with the Central Committee of European Democracy. However, none of these plans for unification materialised.

The *Central Committee of European Democracy* was set up in London in June 1850 on the initiative of Giuseppe Mazzini, who took steps to organise it at the end of 1849 while still in Switzerland. His endeavours were supported by Gustav Struve and Arnold Ruge, the latter joining the Committee as a representative of the German democratic party. The Central Committee members held sharply different ideological views and the strained relations between Italian and French democratic refugees led to its dissolution in March 1852. The Inaugural Manifesto of the Central Committee of European Democracy issued on July 3, 1850, under the title "Aux peuples!" was criticised by Marx and Engels in their international review (see pp. 529-32 of this volume). p. 373

273 Early in 1846 Marx and Engels, who were living in Brussels at the time, organised a Communist Correspondence Committee there to rally the more progressive German and Belgian socialists. In August 1847 this Committee served as the basis on which the communities of the Communist League were organised. Following the February 1848 revolution in France, the Belgian Government started repressions against Karl Marx, Wilhelm Wolff and other German revolutionary refugees and expelled them from Belgium. Tedesco and other Belgian members of the Communist League were prosecuted in connection with the so-called Risquons-Tout trial, which was a fabrication by the Government of Leopold, the King of the Belgians, against the participants in the revolutionary movement. The pretext was a clash, which took place on March 29, 1848, between the Belgian

Republican Legion bound for its home country from France and a detachment of soldiers near the village of Risquons-Tout, not far from the French border. The trial was held in Antwerp from August 9 to 30, 1848. Mellinet, Ballin, Tedesco and other principal accused were sentenced to death, but this was later commuted to 30 years imprisonment, and still later they were pardoned. p. 374

274 The *German Workers' Society* in Brussels was founded by Marx and Engels at the end of August 1847, its aim being to provide a political education for German workers living in Belgium, and to spread the ideas of scientific communism among them. With Marx, Engels and their followers at its head, the Society became the legal centre rallying German revolutionary proletarian forces in Belgium, and maintained direct contact with Flemish and Walloon workers' clubs. Its most active members belonged to the Brussels community of the Communist League. The Society played an important part in founding the Brussels Democratic Association. Its activities ceased soon after the February 1848 revolution in France, when its members were arrested and deported by the Belgian police. p. 374

275 The *Workers' Fraternity*, founded at the Workers' Congress which met in Berlin between August 23 and September 3, 1848, united many workers' associations. Under the influence of Stephan Born, the Fraternity at first limited its activities to implementing narrow craft-union demands. Towards the end of 1848, however, its leaders were drawn into the revolutionary events and admitted the necessity for the workers to take an active part in the political struggle. Voices were raised for setting up an all-German workers' organisation. In the spring of 1849 the Workers' Fraternity and several regional congresses of workers' associations put forward a proposal to convene a national workers' congress in Leipzig to found a General Workers' Union. However, these plans were frustrated by a counter-revolutionary offensive. The Fraternity was suppressed in 1850-51, though some of its branches survived for a number of years. p. 375

276 See Note 61. p. 376

277 In mid-April 1850, with a view to consolidating the international unity of the revolutionary representatives of the working class in the context of the expected new revolutionary tide, Marx and Engels concluded an agreement with the French Blanquist refugees then residing in London and with the leaders of the revolutionary wing of the Chartist movement to set up a Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists. The parties to this agreement signed a special treaty of 6 articles, written in Willich's hand and signed by Marx, Engels and Willich on behalf of the Communist League, by Adam and Vidil for the Blanquists, and by Harney for the Chartists (see this volume, pp. 614-15). p. 377

278 Apart from *The Sun*, this letter was published in *The Northern Star* No. 660, June 15, 1850, and also in some German democratic papers—the *Westdeutsche Zeitung*, Cologne, No. 145, June 20, 1850 (reprinted from *The Northern Star*); the *Tages-Chronik*, Bremen, No. 298, June 21, 1850; *Die Hornisse*, Cassel, No. 144, June 22, 1850. p. 378

279 The *Alien Bill*, enacted by the British Parliament in 1793, was renewed in 1802, 1803, 1816, 1818 and, finally, in 1848 (An Act to Authorise for One Year, and to the End of the Then Next Session of Parliament, the Removal of Aliens from the Realm) in connection with revolutionary developments on the Continent and the Chartist manifestation of April 10, 1848. In 1850 public opinion obstructed the renewal of this Bill despite Conservative efforts. p. 378

280 On Sefeloge's attempt on the life of the Prussian King see Note 269.

*Treubund* (the Union of the Loyal)—Prussian monarchical society founded in Berlin at the close of 1848. Late in 1849 a split occurred between ultra-royalists and supporters of the constitutional monarchy. p. 378

281 This is a rough copy of the letter sent to Robert Stephen Rintoul, editor of *The Spectator*, together with the article "Prussian Spies in London" written in the form of a statement and signed by Marx, Engels and Willich (see this volume, pp. 381-84). The rough copy is in Engels' handwriting. p. 380

282 *The Spectator* editors published this statement and commented on it in a note carried in the same issue in the "News of the Week" section. Some time later Marx and Engels quoted this note in their letter of July 2, 1850, to the editors of the *Weser-Zeitung* (see this volume, pp. 390-91).

A somewhat abridged version of the statement was reprinted from *The Spectator* in *Galignani's Messenger*, Paris, No. 11030, June 18, 1850, where it was supplied with editorial comments hostile to revolutionary refugees. These comments were also printed by the *Weser-Zeitung*, Bremen, No. 2037, June 22, 1850, the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Augsburg, No. 173, June 22, 1850, and the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, Berlin, No. 144, June 26, 1850, which attributed them to *The Spectator*. This was why Marx and Engels wrote the letter to the editors of the *Weser-Zeitung*. Part of the rough copy of the statement in Engels' handwriting is extant. p. 381

283 Marx's statement to the editor of *The Globe* was, apparently, translated into English by Engels, since Marx had a poor knowledge of the language at the time. The statement was not published in the newspaper, and only a rough copy of it in Engels' handwriting is extant. p. 385

284 This refers to the court decisions during the two trials that took place in Cologne on February 7 and 8, 1849. In the first, legal proceedings were brought against Marx, editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Engels, its co-editor, and Korff, the newspaper's responsible publisher, all of them being accused of having insulted the Chief Public Prosecutor and having libelled the police. In the second trial, charges were brought against members of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats, Marx, Schapper and the lawyer Schneider, who were accused of inciting a riot. In both cases the jury acquitted the accused. For Marx's and Engels' speeches made at the trials see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 304-22. p. 386

285 This statement, in fact two statements, one by Marx and the other by Engels, are published as one document in this edition. They were occasioned by a review of the four numbers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, that appeared in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* (Nos. 148-51, June 22, 23, 25 and 26, 1850). It was written by the paper's editor, the petty-bourgeois democrat Otto Lüning, whose criticisms were directed mainly against Marx's "1848-1849" (*The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*) and Engels' *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution*. Initially Marx and Engels intended to reply to Lüning in the *Revue* itself (see Marx's letter to Weydemeyer of June 27, 1850), but due to the unfavourable prospects for continuing publication of the journal, they wrote directly to the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*. p. 387

286 This statement was written as a result of the following: the Bremen *Weser-Zeitung* (No. 2037, June 22, 1850) reprinted comments from *Galignani's Messenger* on the letter written by Marx and Engels about Prussian spies in London. Moreover,

these comments, hostile to revolutionary German refugees, were attributed to *The Spectator* (see Note 282). Marx and Engels, who were not aware of the publication in *Galignani's Messenger*, addressed their protest directly to the *Weser-Zeitung*. Their statement was not printed. However, in No. 2052, July 10, 1850, the editors of the *Weser-Zeitung* were forced to admit that the comments came from *Galignani's Messenger* and not from *The Spectator*.

The same day, July 10, the full text of the statement made by Marx and Engels was published in the *Tages-Chronik*, Bremen, No. 314. p. 390

287 This article belongs to the *Letters from Germany* series (see this volume, pp. 7-16) but was written later than the other articles of the series and deals with a separate subject. It was the last of Engels' contributions to *The Democratic Review*. From July 1, 1850, its editor George Julian Harney began to publish *The Red Republican*, a weekly journal that merged with *The Democratic Review*, which appeared until September 1850. The weekly carried the first English translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Its publication ceased in November 1850. Between December 1850 and the summer of 1851, Harney published another weekly, *Friend of the People*, for which Engels promised to write a series of articles criticising petty-bourgeois democracy. Before long, however, Marx and Engels decided to break off their friendly relations with Harney, who took a dubious position with respect to the split in the Communist League and maintained close contacts with petty-bourgeois émigrés. At the same time Marx and Engels were in close touch with Ernest Jones and enlisted Johann Georg Eccarius, Konrad Schramm, and Wilhelm Pieper as contributors to the *Notes to the People*, a weekly founded by Jones in May 1851. By assisting the Chartist press, Marx and Engels wanted to strengthen revolutionary Chartist traditions in the English labour movement. p. 392

288 An allusion to the so-called *Risquons-Tout trial* (see Note 273). p. 392

289 This refers to money exacted by the Danish monarchy from foreign vessels passing through the Sound (from the early half of the fifteenth century to 1857). p. 393

290 This evidently refers to a secret Russo-Danish treaty concluded in 1767 and endorsed in 1773. Under this treaty, Pavel, the heir to the throne (who later became Emperor Paul I), relinquished his hereditary rights to the Duchy of Hottorp (part of Schleswig-Holstein) in favour of the Danish royal family in exchange for Oldenburg and Delmenhorst in Northern Germany. As a result, the whole of Schleswig-Holstein came into the possession of the Danish Crown. p. 393

291 By decision of the Congress of Vienna (1815), the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were incorporated into the Kingdom of Denmark (the personal union of Schleswig, Holstein and Denmark had existed since 1499), even though the majority of the population in Holstein and in Southern Schleswig were Germans. Under the impact of the March 1848 revolution in Prussia, the national liberation movement among the German population of the duchies grew in strength, becoming radical and democratic and forming part of the struggle for the unification of Germany. Volunteers from all over the country rushed to the aid of the local population when it took up arms against Danish rule.

Prussia and other states of the German Confederation also sent federal troops to the duchies. However, the Prussian Government, which feared a popular outbreak and an intensification of the revolution, sought an agreement with the Danish monarchy to the detriment of overall German interests. An armistice

between Prussia and Denmark was concluded on August 26, 1848, at Malmö. At the end of March 1849, Prussia resumed hostilities, but under pressure from England and Russia who interfered in favour of Denmark, was forced to conclude a peace treaty (July 2, 1850), temporarily relinquishing its claims to Schleswig and Holstein and abandoning them to continue fighting alone. The Schleswig-Holstein troops were defeated and gave up all resistance. As a result, the two duchies remained part of the Kingdom of Denmark. p. 394

292 On April 8, 1848, during his secret mission on behalf of the King of Prussia, Major Wildenbruch handed a Note to the Danish Government stating that Prussia was not fighting in Schleswig-Holstein to rob Denmark of the duchies, but merely to combat radical and republican elements in Germany. The Prussian Government tried every possible means to avoid official recognition of this compromising document. p. 394

293 The Danish army routed the Schleswig-Holstein troops in the battle at Fredericia on July 6, 1849.

The peace treaty between Prussia and Denmark concluded in Berlin on July 2, 1850, restored the pre-war *status quo*. Prussia withdrew its troops from Schleswig-Holstein, abandoning the Schleswig-Holstein army to face the superior forces of the Danes. p. 394

294 Engels wrote *The Peasant War in Germany* in London in the summer and autumn of 1850. It was published in the double issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (No. 5-6). In this momentous work the author generalises the experience of the 1848-49 revolution in Germany by comparing it with the revolutionary events of the period of the Reformation and the Great Peasant War of 1525. It is also one of the principal Marxist works on the liberation struggle led by the peasant and plebeian masses.

Engels' main source of facts was the book *Allgemeine Geschichte des grossen Bauernkrieges*, Th. 1-3, Stuttgart, 1841-43, by Wilhelm Zimmermann, a German democratic historian. In 1870 Engels wrote that for a long time this book had been "the best compilation of factual data". He found it an extremely useful large collection of documents, either quoted in full or in long excerpts. Engels thus quoted most original sources (Luther's writings, Münzer's pamphlets, leaflets listing the demands of the insurgent peasants) from Zimmermann's book. (In the footnotes and the Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature, the editors of this volume supply bibliographical data on the first editions of the quoted material in the transcription of the time and indicate the pages of Zimmermann's book from which the quotations are taken.)

*The Peasant War in Germany* appeared repeatedly during Engels' lifetime. It was reprinted in the *Turn-Zeitung*, New York, Nos. 3-20 (January 1852-February 1853). In 1870, Engels and Wilhelm Liebknecht prepared the second edition of *The Peasant War*, originally as a reprint in the 29 numbers of *Der Volksstaat*, Leipzig (April 2-October 15, Nos. 27-83, at irregular intervals). Numbers 27 and 28 of the newspaper carried Engels' February 1870 Preface to this edition. Engels was not satisfied with the explanatory footnotes by Liebknecht (see Engels' letter to Marx of May 8, 1870).

In October 1870 this work was published in book form—*Der deutsche Bauernkrieg* von Friedrich Engels. Zweiter, mit einer Einleitung versehener Abdruck, Leipzig, Verlag der Expedition des *Volksstaat*, 1870.

A new, third, authorised edition came out in 1875: *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg* von Friedrich Engels. Dritter Abdruck, Leipzig, 1875. For this edition Engels wrote a special addendum to the 1870 Preface, dated July 1, 1874.

Excerpts from Chapter VI of Engels' *Peasant War* were also printed in the *Sozialdemokratische Monatsschrift*, Wien, 1890, No. 10-11, November 30, and in the *Népszava*, Budapest, 1891, February 6 (translated from the *Sozialdemokratische Monatsschrift*).

In the 1880s Engels intended to revise his *Peasant War in Germany* and incorporate extensive supplementary material on the history of Germany. In his letter to Sorge dated December 31, 1884, Engels wrote: "I am radically revising my *Peasant War*. The war of the peasants will be presented as the cornerstone of German history in its entirety." Work on the second and third volumes of *Capital* and other urgent matters prevented Engels from carrying out his intentions. In the 1890s he made another attempt at the supplement, but failed to complete it. Only an unfinished manuscript and several rough notes are extant. (The former was published under the editorial heading "Decay of Feudalism and Rise of National States".)

In this edition sources are quoted in the form given by Engels; whenever he introduces his own italics, this is mentioned in a footnote. Where the meaning differs significantly from that of the last authorised edition of 1875 and the previous author's publications of 1850 and 1870, this is also indicated in footnotes. Account is also taken in this edition of corrections made by Engels in his copy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (see Note 63). Obvious misprints and inaccuracies in dates, geographical and personal names are silently corrected. p. 397

295 The *Hanseatic League*—a commercial and political alliance of medieval German towns along the southern coasts of the North and Baltic Seas, and their feed rivers; its aim was to establish a trade monopoly in Northern Europe. The Hanseatic League was in its prime in the latter half of the fourteenth century and the early half of the fifteenth century, and began to decay at the end of the fifteenth century. p. 400

296 *Tributes*—one of the feudal obligations imposed on the holders of small plots of land.

*Death taxes* (*Sterbefall, Todfall*) were levied on the land and property inherited from the deceased peasant on the basis of the feudal lord's right (in France, "the right of the dead hand"). In Germany the feudal lords usually took the best cattle.

*Protection moneys* (*Schutzgelder*)—a tax levied by the feudal lord in payment for the "judicial protection" and "patronage" which he claimed to extend to his subjects. p. 404

297 The "*general pfennig*" (*der gemeine Pfennig*)—a tax collected in German lands in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and appropriated by the Emperor; it was a combination of a poll-tax and a property tax, the main burden of which fell on the peasantry. p. 405

298 *Annates* were lump sums paid to the Pope by persons appointed to church offices. In the fourteenth century they equalled half the first year's income or more. Holders of church benefices made up this loss by levying additional taxes and by extortions from the population. p. 405

299 Engels is alluding to the German liberals who were in the majority in the Frankfurt National Assembly and in the assemblies of some German states during the revolution of 1848-49. In the first months of the revolution, liberals headed "constitutional governments" in a number of states (Prussia, for example), but were later replaced by members of the bureaucracy and nobility. The conciliatory

tactics of the liberals were one of the chief reasons for the defeat of the German revolution. p. 407

300 The reference is to Charles V's criminal statutes (*Constitutio criminalis carolina*), adopted by the Imperial Diet in Regensburg in 1532; the statutes prescribed extremely harsh punishments. p. 409

301 The reference is to a religious philosophical doctrine opposed to the medieval Catholic Church and its orthodox teaching; mysticism was widespread in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Mystics, who believed it possible to know God through direct intercourse with the divine spirit, undermined the faith in the need for a church hierarchy. Particularly radical ideas were preached by the Italian twelfth-century monk Joachim of Calabria and other plebeian and peasant ideologists, with whom they assumed the form of a chiliastic dream of a millennium of equality (see Note 308). p. 413

302 The *Waldenses*—a religious sect that originated among the urban lower classes of Southern France at the end of the twelfth century and later spread to Northern Italy, Germany, Bohemia, Spain and Switzerland. Its founder is said to have been Petrus Waldus (or Peter Waldo), a Lyons merchant who gave his wealth to the poor. The Waldenses repudiated property and advocated insubordination to the ecclesiastical and secular authorities; they condemned the accumulation of wealth by the Catholic Church and called for a return to the customs of early Christianity. Among the backward rural population of the mountainous regions of South-Western Switzerland and Savoy, the heresy of the Waldenses amounted to a defence of the survivals of the primitive communal system and patriarchal relations. p. 413

303 The *Albigenses*—a religious sect that existed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the towns of Southern France (particularly in Provence and Toulouse) and in Northern Italy. This movement took the form of a "heresy", being directed against the power and doctrine of the Catholic Church, as well as against the secular power of the feudal state. Its adherents—the townspeople and the lesser nobility, supported by the peasants—were called Albigenses from the city of Albi, one of the sect's main centres. Between 1209 and 1229 the feudal magnates of Northern France, together with the Pope, waged wars against the Albigenses that wiped out the movement and resulted in a considerable part of Southern France being annexed to the lands of the French kings. p. 413

304 The *Hungarian teacher in Picardy*—a preacher by the name of Jakob said to be born in Hungary. He was one of the leaders of the anti-feudal peasant revolt in France in 1251, known as the shepherds' revolt, whose participants called themselves "God's shepherds". p. 413

305 The *Calixtines* (from *Calix*, the Latin for cup)—a moderate trend in the Hussite national liberation and reformation movement in Bohemia (first half of the fifteenth century) against the German nobility, the German Empire and the Catholic Church. The Calixtines (who maintained that the laity should receive the cup as well as the bread in the Eucharist, i.e. "*sub utraque specie*"—for which they were also known as Utraquists), supported by the burghers and part of the Czech nobility, sought no more than a national Czech church and the secularisation of church estates. p. 413

306 The *Taborites* (so called from their camp in the town of Tabor, in Bohemia)—a radical trend in the Hussite movement. In contrast to the Calixtines, they formed a revolutionary, democratic wing of the Hussites and their demands reflected the

desire of the peasantry and the urban lower classes for an end to all feudal oppression, all manifestations of social and political arbitrariness. The Taborites were the core of the Hussite army. The betrayal of the Taborites by the Calixtines led to the suppression of the Hussite movement. p. 414

307 The *Flagellants* (from *flagellantis* in Latin, one who whips himself)—an ascetic religious sect widespread in Europe in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. They propounded self-castigation as a means of expiating sins.

The *Lollards* (from the middle Dutch *lollaert*, literally, one who is murmuring prayers)—a religious sect (that originated in the fourteenth century) widespread in England and other European countries, which bitterly opposed the Catholic Church. The Lollards were followers of Wycliffe, the English reformer, but they drew more radical conclusions from his teaching and their opposition to feudal privileges took a religiously mystical form. Many Lollards, who came from the people and the lower clergy, were active participants in Wat Tyler's rebellion of 1381 and were cruelly persecuted in the late fourteenth century. p. 414

308 *Chiliasm* (from the Greek *chilias*, a thousand)—a mystical religious doctrine that Christ would come to earth a second time and usher in a millennium of justice, equality and well-being. Chiliastic dream-visions sprang up during the decay of slave-owning society; they were widespread among the oppressed during early Christianity and were continuously revived in the doctrines of the various medieval sects, which voiced the opinions of the peasants and plebeians. p. 415

309 The *Confession of Augsburg* (*Augsburgische Konfession, Confessio Augustana*)—a statement of the Lutheran doctrine read to Emperor Charles V at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg in 1530; it adapted the burgher ideas of a "cheap church" (abolition of lavish rites, modification of the clerical hierarchy, etc.) to the interests of the princes. A sovereign prince was to replace the Pope at the head of the church. The Confession of Augsburg was rejected by the Emperor. The war waged against him by princes who adopted the Lutheran Reformation ended in 1555 in the religious peace of Augsburg, which empowered the princes to determine the faith of their subjects at their own discretion. p. 417

310 See Notes 16 and 199. p. 417

311 This date was cited by Zimmermann in the first edition of his book. According to later data Thomas Münzer was born about 1490 (the first date known from his biography, October 1506, is mentioned in his matriculation as a student of Leipzig University, when he was apparently sixteen years of age). In various sources, both in his own works and in historical writings, his name is transcribed differently (Munczer, Muntzer, Müntzer). Engels writes Münzer, the way Zimmermann wrote it in Part Three of his book. p. 420

312 The *Anabaptists* (those who baptise over again) belonged to one of the most radical and democratic religious-philosophical trends spread in Switzerland, Germany and the Netherlands during the Reformation. Members of this sect were so called because they repudiated infant baptism and demanded a second, adult baptism. p. 420

313 Engels refers to the views of David Strauss and other Young Hegelians who treated questions of religion from a pantheist standpoint in their early writings. p. 421

314 According to later verified data Münzer went first to the imperial city of Mühlhausen, from where he was banished by municipal authorities in September 1524 for his part in disturbances among the city poor. From Mühlhausen Münzer came to Nuremberg. p. 426

315 The *Puritans* (from the Latin *puritas*—purity)—participants in a religious political movement in England and Scotland at the close of the sixteenth and in the early half of the seventeenth centuries. Their object was a Protestant Calvinist Reformation and purification of the Church of England of every trace of Catholicism (elimination of bishops, simpler church rites, etc.). They advocated modesty, abstinence, thrift, encouraged prudence and enterprise. The Puritans expressed the religious opposition of the bourgeoisie to absolutism and played an important part in the ideological preparations for the English bourgeois revolution.

The *Independents*—representatives of one of the Protestant trends in England. In the 1580s and 1590s they formed the Left wing of Puritanism and represented radical opposition to absolutism and the Church of England by the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie and the "new" bourgeois nobility. During the English revolution of the seventeenth century, the Independents formed a separate political party which came to power under Oliver Cromwell at the end of 1648. p. 429

316 The *Swabian League* of princes, noblemen and patricians of the imperial cities of South-Western Germany was founded in 1488. Its chief purpose was to combat the peasant and plebeian movement. The South- and West-German princes who headed this League also viewed it as a means to consolidate their oligarchic rule. The League had its own administrative and judicial bodies, and an army. It fell apart in 1534 due to internal squabbles. p. 432

317 This refers to the government of the viceregent of the Austrian Habsburgs in Ensisheim, the centre of the Austrian Forelands, the name used to denote the possessions of the Habsburgs and their immediate vassals in Upper Alsace, Upper Swabia and the Black Forest. p. 435

318 *Szeklers*—an ethnic group of Hungarians, mostly free peasants. In the thirteenth century their forefathers were settled by Hungarian kings in the mountain regions of Transylvania to protect the frontiers. The region inhabited by them was usually called Szekler land. p. 438

319 The reference is to a popular rising in Sicily against the French Anjou dynasty, which conquered Southern Italy and Sicily in 1267. On the evening of March 31, 1282, the population of Palermo took the vespers bell-toll as a signal to massacre several thousand French knights and soldiers. As a result, the whole of Sicily was freed from French domination and came under the Aragon King. p. 438

320 Engels refers to the 95 theses that Luther (who began his clerical career as a simple monk in the Augustinian monastery in Thuringia) nailed to a church door in Wittenberg on October 31, 1517. The theses contained a vigorous protest against the sale of indulgences and the abuses by the Catholic clergy. They also presented the initial outline of Luther's religious teaching in the vein of burgher ideals. p. 441

321 *Burlesque*—satirical literature and parodies by writers of the Renaissance and humanitarian ideologists who ridiculed the high-flown style of court poetry and the strict behaviour of upper feudal society. p. 441

322 The *Wars of the Roses* (1455-85)—wars between the feudal Houses of York and Lancaster fighting for the throne, the white rose being the badge of the House of York, and the red rose of the House of Lancaster. The Yorkists were supported by some of the big feudal landowners from the south-eastern, more economically developed part of the country and also by the knights and the townspeople, while the Lancastrians were backed by the feudal aristocracy of the backward north and of Wales. The wars almost completely wiped out the ancient feudal nobility and brought Henry VII to power to form a new dynasty, that of the Tudors, who set up an absolute monarchy in England. p. 443

323 The reference is to the Polish national liberation uprising in November 1830-October 1831, and also to that in Cracow in 1846 (see Note 66). p. 444

324 See Note 317. p. 446

325 This refers to the black-red-and-gold banner symbolising German unity. The information on such a banner provided by Zimmermann is not, however, corroborated by contemporary sources, i.e. chronicles, etc. The usual peasant colours were red-white, red-black, etc. p. 446

326 Emperor Maximilian's edict ruled that only representatives of "noble" estates could be members of provincial courts. p. 448

327 Another big credit was advanced to Archduke Ferdinand by the Augsburg banking house of Fuggers, who owned vast tracts of land north of Lake Constance and had a vital interest in suppressing the peasant insurrection. p. 448

328 The reference is to the southern mountainous part of Baden adjacent to Switzerland. In the sixteenth century, part of this region was owned by the Margrave of Baden and the rest of it either belonged to the Austrian land of Breisgau or to petty ecclesiastical and secular feudal lords. p. 448

329 Engels refers to the anonymous pamphlet printed in Nuremberg in early 1525, entitled *An die Versammlung gemeiner Pawerschaft, so in Hochteutscher Nation und viel anderer Ort, mit empörung und uffruhr entstanden, ob ihr Empörung billicher oder unbillicher gestalt geschehn, und was sie der Oberkeit schuldig oder nicht schuldig seind, gegründet aus der heil. göttlichen Geschrift, von Oberlendischen Mitbrüdern guter maynung ausgangen und beschriben* (To the Assembly of All the Indignant and Insurgent Peasantry of the Upper German Nation and Many Other Places on Whether or Not Its Indignation Is Just and What It Should or Should Not Do to the Authorities. Based on the Holy Scripture, Composed and Rendered with the Full Approval of the Highland Brotherhood). Wilhelm Zimmermann believed this pamphlet to have been written by Thomas Münzer (*Allgemeine Geschichte des grossen Bauernkrieges*, Th. 2, S. 113). p. 448

330 *Judica Sunday* (from *judex*—judge, literally "judgment Sunday")—the fifth Sunday in Lent. p. 450

331 The *small* and the *great tithe*—two varieties of tax paid to the Catholic Church. The size and nature of this tax varied in different parts of Germany, and in most cases greatly exceeded a tenth of the peasants' produce. As a rule the great tithe (*decima major*) was imposed on the corn and vine harvest whereas the small tithe (*decima minor*) was imposed on other crops. p. 451

332 The *Grand Chapter of Würzburg*—an ecclesiastical collegium governing the Würzburg bishopric, whose head, the Bishop of Würzburg, also had the title of Duke of Franconia. p. 452

333 The *Teutonic Order*—a German religious Order of knights founded in 1190 during the crusades. The Order seized vast possessions in Germany and other countries. These were administered by dignitaries known as commandores (or comthurs). In the thirteenth century, East Prussia fell under the rule of the Order after it was overrun and the local population exterminated. In 1237 the Order amalgamated with the Livonian Order, which also had its seat in the Baltic area. The Eastern possessions of the Order became a seat of aggression against Poland, Lithuania and the adjoining Russian principalities. After the defeat at Chudskoye Lake in 1242 and in the battle at Grunwald in 1410, the Order rapidly declined and was only able to maintain a small part of its former possessions. p. 454

334 Later research into the Peasant War in Germany proves that the Heilbronn Councillor Hans Berlin who, as Engels describes, became a traitor and negotiated with Truchsess, military chief of the Swabian League, on behalf of patricians and wealthy burghers (see p. 461 of this volume), and the author of the Declaration of the Twelve Articles who induced the peasant leaders to accept it, were two different people, the latter being the Heilbronn notary and procurator Hans (Johannes) Berlin. p. 455

335 The *agreement of Offenburg*, concluded by the Breisgau insurgents and the Austrian Government on September 18, 1525, stipulated the restoration of former peasant services and the institution of harsh measures against peasant societies and "heretics". For its part, the government undertook to pardon rank-and-file members of the movement and confine itself to relatively modest fines. The amnesty, however, did not extend to the leaders of the uprising. Even this agreement, unfavourable as it was to the peasants, was soon violated by the Austrian authorities and local feudal lords, who subjected the insurgents to bloody reprisals as soon as they had laid down their arms. p. 467

336 The agreement, concluded with the Austrian Government on November 13, 1525, forced the Black Forest peasants to repeat their oath of allegiance to the Habsburgs, to resume their former feudal services and not to interfere with the bloody reprisals of the victors against the town of Waldshut, headquarters of the movement. The defenders of Waldshut, however, stood their ground for several weeks, and the town fell only due to the treachery of the rich burghers. p. 467

337 Later research has proved that Münzer held no official post in the Mühlhausen "eternal council", but his presence at its sittings and his advice to the council made him the virtual head of the new revolutionary government. p. 469

338 Engels refers to Louis Blanc and Albert (Alexandre Martin), who represented the proletariat in the bourgeois Provisional Government of the French Republic instituted in February 1848 (see this volume, p. 53). p. 470

339 See Note 11. p. 470

340 The Articles of the Alsatian peasants not only defined more sharply the anti-feudal demands of the Twelve Articles (see this volume, p. 451) of the Swabian and Franconian peasantry (abolition of serfdom, return of common lands usurped by the nobility, etc.), but in many respects went even further. They were also directed against usurers (the clause on the abolition of usurers' interest, and

others); they demanded the abolition not only of the small, but of the great tithe as well, and proclaimed the right of the local population to depose and replace officials with whom they were dissatisfied. p. 473

341 The Fourteen Articles of the insurgent peasants and pitmen of the Salzburg archbishopric in the main reproduced the demands of the Twelve Articles of the Swabian and Franconian peasants. In addition, they contained certain local demands. Among other things, the insurgents demanded that the independence of the courts from the influence of feudal lords and their puppets be secured, that the responsibility of the whole community for crimes committed on its territory be abolished and measures be taken to maintain roads in good repair and to protect trade. p. 475

342 The *Thirty Years' War* (1618-48)—a European war, in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the Catholic German princes rallied under the banner of Catholicism and fought the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands and a number of Protestant German states. The rulers of Catholic France—rivals of the Habsburgs—supported the Protestant camp. Germany was the main battle arena or the object of plunder and territorial claims. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) sealed the political dismemberment of Germany. p. 478

343 This document reflects an acute struggle waged by Marx, Engels and their followers against sectarian elements in the Communist League. By August 1850, Marx and Engels realised that, in the context of the general economic prosperity, there was no prospect for a new revolution in the near future (see this volume, pp. 509-10). They believed that most efforts should be concentrated on strengthening the proletarian party's independence from petty-bourgeois democracy, both ideologically and organisationally. This sober analysis and logical approach were opposed by Willich and Schapper, members of the Communist League Central Authority. Willich also disagreed with Marx's understanding of the theory of the proletarian revolution; he thought that communism could be enforced by the minority once and for all. Marx wrote to the Cologne Communists on their disagreements as far back as June 1850. The contents of his letter were recorded in the evidence of Peter Röser, one of the accused at the Cologne trial (1852), which he gave late in 1853 and early in 1854 while in prison. Willich, Schapper and their followers, instead of analysing objective reality as Marx and Engels did, proposed pseudo-revolutionary phrases and employed adventurist tactics in an attempt to provoke new insurrections in Germany. This led to disagreements in the Central Authority which became clear during its meetings in August and the early half of September, and intensified on September 15, 1850, when the Communist League split (see this volume, pp. 625-29).

This meeting decided to transfer the seat of the League's Central Authority to Cologne and instruct the local authority there to form a new Central Authority of the League (see this volume, p. 630). The factionalists, being in the minority, walked out, appealed to League members of the London district, and, with their support, formed their own central authority. The majority of the members of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 61) also sided with the separatist faction of Willich and Schapper, causing Marx, Engels and their followers to resign from this Society.

The statement was printed in Cologne in 1852 in the Bill of Indictment of the Cologne communist trial under the title: Marx, K., Engels, F., *An den Dienstagspräsidenten der Gesellschaft in Great Windmill Street, London, 17. September,*

*1850*, and in the book: Wermuth-Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Th. 1, Berlin, 1853. p. 483

344 Following the split in the Communist League, the Blanquist refugees in London supported the sectarian adventurist faction headed by Willich and Schapper. In view of this Marx and Engels, backed by the spokesmen of revolutionary Chartists, decided to cancel the agreement to found the Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists concluded with the Blanquists and signed in mid-April 1850 (see Note 277). The letter published in this volume was written on this occasion. A rough copy of it in Engels' handwriting is extant. p. 484

345 Eccarius wrote his article "Die Schneiderei in London oder der Kampf des grossen und des kleinen Capitals" (which was published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* No. 5-6) with Marx's direct assistance, Marx being the editor.

The editorial comment written by Marx and Engels follows directly after the article. It was later reproduced in Eccarius' Preface to his other work, also written with Marx's assistance: Eccarius, *Eines Arbeiters Wiederlegung der national-ökonomischen Lehren John Stuart Mill's*, Berlin, 1869, and also in the second German edition of this book published in Hottingen-Zürich, 1888. p. 485

346 This is an unfinished rough draft of an article intended for No. 5 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*. Engels wrote it in connection with the stand taken by some of the Young Hegelians (Eduard Meyen, Julius Faucher, Ludwig Buhl and Max Stirner), who in 1842 were members of the Berlin circle "The Free" and from the early 1850s rallied around the Berlin periodical *Abend-Post* and the Stuttgart *Deutsche Monatsschrift für Politik, Wissenschaft, Kunst und Lebens*. They preached extreme individualism and anarchy, claiming them to be products of "higher democracy" and the "free association of people". Actually, however, this group championed Free Trade and rejected such democratic institutions as universal suffrage. The fact that, from April 1850 onwards, the subtitle "Democratic Paper" was omitted from the name of its organ was further proof that this group was becoming anti-democratic and anti-revolutionary. The *Abend-Post* frequently printed articles directed against "the law-abiding people among the democrats", against socialism and communism, as well as against "the revolutionary terror", the servile dependence of the individual on the masses, etc. These ideas were also current among some of the German petty-bourgeois refugees.

At the beginning of his article, Engels quotes passages from the review of Émile Girardin's *Le Socialisme et l'impôt*, which he wrote together with Marx and published in the *Revue* No. 4. The italics at the beginning of the quotation are introduced by Engels. Engels again refers to this review below. p. 486

347 Speaking about the "German disciples of Proudhon" Engels is apparently alluding to Karl Grün and Arnold Ruge, who translated some of Proudhon's works into German and popularised his ideas in the press.

The "'noblest minds of the nation' of the Stuttgart parliament and the Imperial Regency" refers to Ludwig Simon and Karl Vogt—deputies to the Stuttgart parliament (the remnants of the Frankfurt parliament that moved to Stuttgart in the summer of 1849—see Note 222). They were also among the five imperial regents appointed by the parliament (see Note 11). In 1850 Vogt and Simon used the Stuttgart journal *Deutsche Monatsschrift* to propagate anarchist ideas of abolishing every kind of state. p. 487

348 This, third, international review, just like the first and the second published in the previous issues of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, is a joint work by Marx and Engels (see Note 194), a fact corroborated by Marx's letter to Engels, dated October 20, 1857. Yet, when passages from this review were published during their lifetime, the only author mentioned was Marx. Marx, apparently, wrote the bulk of the text, particularly sections dealing with the economic situation in European countries, and also an analysis of the events in France which Engels later incorporated in the work *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*. In September and October 1850 Marx took extracts from David Morier Evans' *The Commercial Crisis 1847-1848*, London, 1848, and Thomas Tooke's *A History of Prices, and of the State of the Circulation, from 1839 to 1847 Inclusive*, London, 1848 (Vol. 4 of the five-volume history of prices), which were used for the review.

The full text of the review was never published during the authors' lifetime. Part of it dealing with England, France and Germany was published in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* (Nos. 305-07, January 31, February 7 and 14, 1851) under the title "Revue der politischen Ereignisse der letzten sechs Monate" von Carl Marx. Another passage, entitled "Geschichte der Handelskrisis von 1845-47" nach Karl Marx, was reproduced in Weydemeyer's New York weekly *Die Revolution* Nos. 1 and 2 of January 6 and 13, 1852.

In 1895, when Engels was preparing a separate edition of Marx's *Class Struggles in France* for publication, he added a fourth chapter which included sections of the review dealing with the economic situation and events in France (see this volume, pp. 507-10 and 516-25). Only these sections, as part of *The Class Struggles*, have ever been published in English.

The editors of this volume have taken account of corrections made by Marx and Engels in the margin of their copies of the *Revue*. p. 490

349 The reference is to the speculative machinations of the Scottish economist and financier John Law in France between 1716 and 1720; he dealt with the issue of securities and the foundation of joint-stock trading companies. The bank which he founded in 1716, and later transferred to the French Government, as well as a number of companies for trade with foreign countries, went bankrupt in 1720.

The *South Sea Company* was founded in England about 1711, officially for trade with South America and the Pacific islands, but its real purpose was speculation in state bonds. The government granted several privileges to the Company, including the right to issue paper money. The Company's large-scale speculation brought it to bankruptcy in 1720. p. 492

350 An Act to Regulate the Issue of Bank Notes, and for Giving to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England Certain Privileges for a Limited Period was introduced by Robert Peel on July 19, 1844. It envisaged the division of the Bank of England into two completely independent departments, each with its own cash account—the Banking Department which performed purely credit operations and the Issue Department which issued bank-notes. The Act established the maximum quantity of bank-notes in circulation guaranteed by definite reserve funds of gold and silver not to be used for the credit operations of the Banking Department. Additional issue of bank-notes was allowed only if the precious metal reserves were increased proportionally. During the 1847 monetary crisis the Act was suspended. p. 496

351 In mid-October 1850 the Emperor of Austria and the Kings of Bavaria and Württemberg met in Bregenz (on the shores of Lake Constance) to conclude a convention against Prussian claims to the hegemony in Germany.

On October 28, 1850, Warsaw was the scene of a meeting between the Russian Emperor Nicholas I, the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph and the head of the Prussian Government, Count Brandenburg, during which Nicholas I resolutely took the side of Austria in the Austro-Prussian conflict. p. 500

352 In 1833 the English Parliament adopted an Act for the Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Colonies. A sum of £20 million was allocated to compensate slave-owners. p. 501

353 On the events in Schleswig-Holstein see Note 291.

In September 1850, a constitutional conflict flared up in the electorate of Hesse-Cassel between the Elector Frederick William I and the Chamber of Representatives. The head of the government, Hans Hassenpflug, who advocated absolutism, dissolved the Chamber and introduced a state of siege in the country, thus evoking vehement protests from the entire population. The Elector and Hassenpflug sought assistance from Austria, disregarding the fact that Hesse-Cassel belonged to the confederation of German states headed by Prussia. Austria and Prussia contended for the right to mount a punitive expedition against the Hesse constitutional movement and their rivalry in Germany became even more acute. Austria countered Prussia's plans by proposing a revival of the German Confederation of 1815, and early in September 1850, at a conference of minor German states in Frankfurt am Main, she secured the restoration of the Confederation and its Diet, where she exercised the predominant influence. Early in November 1850 there were even clashes between Prussian and Austrian detachments on Hesse-Cassel territory. Before long, however, Nicholas I forced Prussia to make concessions, temporarily abandon her plans for hegemony in Germany and let Austria fulfil the punitive mission in Hesse-Cassel. p. 507

354 See Note 122. p. 509

355 See Note 123. p. 509

356 This refers to the international congress of pacifists held in Frankfurt am Main in August 1850 and attended by such prominent figures as the American philanthropist Elihu Burritt, the leader of the English Free Traders Richard Cobden, and the former head of the liberal government in Hesse, Heinrich Jaup; representatives of the Quaker religious sect were also among the delegates. p. 511

357 The reference is to the debate on the Anglo-Greek conflict at the June 1850 session of the English Parliament. In 1850 the British Government presented Greece with an ultimatum and sent ships to blockade Piraeus using as a pretext the burning (in Athens in 1847) of the house of the Portuguese merchant Pacifico, who was a British subject. The real object of this move, however, was to make Greece surrender several strategically important islands in the Aegean Sea.

Russia and France protested and the French Government even recalled its Ambassador from London. During the debate, Lord Palmerston made a speech in the House of Commons demagogically exposing the policy of European states and presenting the Whig Government as the champion of civil rights and liberties. p. 511

358 See Note 279. p. 511

359 During his stay in London in 1850, Julius Haynau, the Austrian field marshal notorious for his cruel repressive measures against the participants in the revolutionary movement in Hungary and Italy, visited the Barclay, Perkins &

Co. brewery, and was physically attacked and forced to flee by its indignant workers. The people of London warmly approved this news. p. 511

360 The enumerated reforms were enacted on Peel's initiative (these included the Bank Act of 1844 and the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846—see Notes 350, 29).

The Bill submitted in 1818 and enacted in 1819 stipulated that the Bank of England was to resume the exchange of bank-notes for gold.

In 1829 the English Parliament passed an Act for Relief of His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects. The Catholics, the majority of whom were Irishmen, were given the right to be elected to Parliament and to occupy certain official posts, while the property qualifications for the electorate were raised fivefold. By this would-be emancipation of the Catholics, the English ruling classes sought to enlist the support of Catholic landowners and the upper Irish bourgeoisie.

In 1829, Peel, the Home Secretary, secured the adoption of a law to form a special police corps in London, who were to be directly subordinate to the Home Office. The latter was granted the right to effect control over the police force throughout the country, a role previously fulfilled by the local authorities.

The tariff reform of 1842 lowered customs duties on corn and other imported goods, but introduced income tax as a compensation for the treasury. p. 512

361 *Puseyism*—a trend in the Anglican Church from the 1830s to the 1860s, named after one of its founders, Pusey, an Oxford University theologian. He advocated the restoration of Catholic rites and dogma in the Anglican Church. Many of the Puseyites were converted to Catholicism. p. 513

362 The *High Church*—a group in the Anglican Church, most of whom belonged to the aristocracy; they emphasised the doctrine of apostolic succession and attached great importance to ceremony and symbols. The *Low Church* included members of the middle classes and the lower ranks of the clergy and laid special stress on Christian morality.

*Dissenters* were members of Protestant religious sects and trends in England who to some extent rejected the dogmas and rituals of the official Anglican Church. p. 513

363 The constituent assembly that proclaimed the Roman Republic was elected on January 21, 1849; the majority of its deputies were democrats—supporters of Mazzini. The assembly deprived the Pope of his secular power and introduced a number of progressive social measures. After the downfall of the Republic in July 1849, some of the deputies emigrated to England where they formed a provisional Italian National Committee under Mazzini. p. 514

364 In the spring of 1850, the Austrian Government floated a so-called voluntary loan of 120 million lire in Lombardy and Venice. Since the population refused to subscribe voluntarily, however, it was enforced compulsorily. p. 514

365 The reference is to the Chartist Land Cooperative Society founded on the initiative of O'Connor in 1845 (later the National Land Company, that lasted till 1848). The aim of the Society was to buy plots of land with the money collected, and to lease them to worker shareholders on easy terms. Among the positive aspects of the Society were its petitions to Parliament and printed propaganda against the aristocracy's monopoly of land. (These aspects were emphasised by Engels in 1847 in his article "The Agrarian Programme of the Chartists", see present edition, Vol. 6.) However, the idea of liberating the workers from exploitation, of reducing unemployment, etc., by returning them to the land proved utopian. The Society's activities were not successful in practice. p. 515

366 See Note 46. p. 516

367 See Note 125. p. 516

368 See Note 48. p. 517

369 See Note 127. p. 520

370 See Note 56. p. 521

371 See Note 129. p. 522

372 The reference is to the so-called Wiesbaden Manifesto (see Note 130). p. 522

373 See Note 131. p. 523

374 See Note 132. p. 523

375 Following the victory of the popular uprising in Berlin on March 18, 1848, the Prussian King Frederick William IV rode on horseback through the streets of the capital (on March 21), wearing a black-red-and-gold armband symbolising German unity. The same day in an appeal "To My People and the German Nation" he swore to take the cause of unifying Germany into his own hands.
* The *Federal Diet*—see Note 7.
The *Little Germany*—see Note 199. p. 525

376 See Note 187. p. 526

377 *Mediatisation*—transformation of princes, formerly independent members of the Imperial German Confederation, into subjects of a bigger German sovereign. In the present case, the reference is to Prussia's attempts to subordinate smaller German princes to her hegemony. p. 526

378 In 1849 the Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt and the Hesse-Cassel electorate agreed to join the confederation of German states under the hegemony of Prussia (Prussian Union), but under pressure from Austria and Russia they withdrew in 1850 and sided with Austria. p. 526

379 An ironical allusion to what Frederick William IV said to the delegates of the Frankfurt National Assembly when he received them on April 3, 1849. He agreed to accept the Imperial Crown offered him by the delegation provided the other sovereigns were in agreement. It was virtually a refusal to accept the Crown, which the Prussian King accompanied with the pompous statement: "If the Prussian shield or sword is needed to Germany against external or internal enemies, I shall not be found wanting, even if I am not called upon." p. 527

380 The reference is to the Protocol signed on July 4, 1850, by the representatives of Austria, England, France, Denmark, Prussia, Russia and Sweden who met in London to discuss Schleswig-Holstein. The document supported the indivisibility of lands belonging to the Danish Crown, including the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein. Only Prussia refused to sign the Protocol, since two days previously she had concluded a separate peace treaty with Denmark in violation of her allied commitments to the Provisional Government of Schleswig-Holstein. In 1852, however, Prussia too had to give official recognition to this document. p. 527

381 The reference is to the Central Committee of European Democracy (see Note 272). p. 529

382 An allusion to the polemic that developed in the late 1830s between the clerical historian and journalist Heinrich Leo and the Young Hegelian Arnold Ruge, who

is ironically referred to as Arnold Winkelried, the name of a semi-legendary hero of the Swiss liberation wars. In his pamphlet *Die Hegelingen* (Halle, 1838) Leo, who was a bitter opponent of the Hegelian philosophy, accused Ruge and other Young Hegelians of being atheists and, in particular, of not seeing the difference between divinity and humanity. p. 532

383 When the Communist League split and Marx, Engels and their followers withdrew from the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see this volume, p. 483), the spokesmen of the Willich-Schapper faction brought a suit on behalf of the Society against Heinrich Bauer and Karl Pfänder, supporters of the majority of the League's Central Authority, who, as trustees, held part of the Society's money to be used under the Central Authority's control for the needs of the League and to help political refugees. Bauer and Pfänder were willing to return the money in instalments, provided it was not spent by the factionalists to the detriment of the Communist League. The latter insisted on a prompt return of the entire sum. On November 20, 1850, the English court rejected the Society's suit, but the followers of Willich and Schapper did not halt their insinuations against Bauer and Pfänder and started a libel campaign in the press. (One of their statements was published in the *Schweizerische National-Zeitung*, January 7, 1851.)

This draft statement, intended to refute the insinuations spread by the Willich-Schapper faction, must have been written between December 24 and 31, 1850. In mid-November Engels moved to Manchester and started working for the Ermen and Engels firm (prompted by the necessity of providing material assistance to Marx's family), but towards the end of December he returned to London for a couple of days. The draft, in Engels' handwriting with Marx's corrections, is written in Marx's notebook.

In January 1852, Pfänder, probably with Marx's assistance, drew up a further statement for the press concerning this affair (it was published in the *Schweizerische National-Zeitung* and the manuscript is extant). p. 533

384 This statement was written by Marx after discussion with Engels (see Marx's letter to Engels of January 22 and Engels' letter to Marx of January 25, 1851). It was aimed against Arnold Ruge, who attacked Marx and Engels in the press accusing them, among other things, of being party to the appropriation of the funds belonging to the German Workers' Educational Society in London. (Ruge's insinuations were partly provoked by the Willich-Schapper faction.) On January 27, Marx sent the text of the statement to Manchester for Engels to sign and forward to the press. Marx intended to publish it in the Bremen newspaper *Weser-Zeitung* and then in the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung* but it was not printed in either. The extant original is in Jenny Marx's handwriting. p. 535

385 At the time Engels was working on a series of articles intended for the *Friend of the People*, the weekly edited by George Julian Harney, about leaders of European petty-bourgeois democrats. His intention did not materialise, however, owing to disagreements with Harney. At a later date Marx and Engels used this material for their pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile* where, giving a satirical characteristic of Ruge, they employed such expressions as the "gutter", "Arnold Winkelried Ruge" and the like, which originally must have occurred in the articles intended for the *Friend of the People* (see present edition, Vol. 11). In the pamphlet, just as in the given statement, Ruge is described as "the fifth wheel on the carriage of state of European central democracy" (this refers to his being a member of the Central Committee of European Democracy—see Note 272). p. 536

386 On February 24, 1851, London was the scene of an international rally known as the "banquet of the equal". It was organised by some of the French refugees headed by Louis Blanc and by the society of Blanquist emigrants (Barthélemy, Adam and others), together with the Willich-Schapper faction, to celebrate the anniversary of the February revolution. Marx and Engels asked their followers Konrad Schramm and W. Pieper to attend the banquet, but the latter were driven from the hall. The organisers of the banquet deliberately concealed the toast sent by Auguste Blanqui, who was in prison at the time, exposing Louis Blanc and other members of the Provisional Government of the French Republic (see Engels' letter to the editor of *The Times*). However, it was published on February 27 in *La Patrie* No. 58 and in a number of other French papers. Early in March, Marx and Engels translated the toast into German and English. The German version was sent to Cologne and printed in leaflet form (30,000 copies), with Berne given as the place of publication. The leaflet was circulated in Germany, where Blanqui's toast was also printed in several German papers. What became of the English translation is not known.

In their letters and works Marx and Engels discuss the circumstances connected with Blanqui's toast (*The Great Men of the Exile, The Knight of Noble-Minded Consciousness*, see present edition, Vols. 11 and 12).

For this volume the text of the toast itself was translated from the French original published in *La Patrie* (No. 58, February 27, 1851) and is given according to the German edition prepared by Marx and Engels. p. 537

387 This letter and the English translation of Blanqui's toast attached to it (see this volume, pp. 537-39) were not published. Engels intended to send this letter to Blanqui (see Engels' letter to Marx of March 10, 1851) but it is not known whether he did so. The extant manuscript is a rough copy of the letter. p. 540

388 Engels is apparently referring to the disputes over the question of the state which Proudhon and Louis Blanc carried on in *La Voix du peuple* from November 25, 1849, to January 18, 1850. Proudhon asserted that Blanc, in his capacity as the French Provisional Government Minister, was, more than any other person, responsible for the defeat of the revolution, and that he was a pseudo-socialist and a pseudo-democrat. p. 541

389 In March 1849 Proudhon was sentenced to three years imprisonment and a fine. p. 541

390 Engels worked on this manuscript in April 1851, without intending to publish it. As he promised Marx in his letter of April 3, 1851, he here gave a detailed analysis, from the military point of view, of the prospects of a war waged by the coalition of counter-revolutionary powers (the resurrected Holy Alliance according to Engels' terminology) against a revolutionary France. Such an analysis of the military potential of the European powers and the correlation of forces between counter-revolutionary and revolutionary camps in the event of a new revolutionary outbreak was necessary as a basis for criticising the adventurist plans of the democratic refugees, including the sectarian group of Willich and Schapper, who gave a voluntarist and superficial appraisal of the prospects of military clashes in Europe and believed that the victory of the revolutionary army was inevitable (by analogy with the events of the French Revolution).

This work opened up a new stage in Engels' regular studies of military theory and history in which he had engaged since his arrival in Manchester in November 1850. He studied thoroughly such works as W. P. Napier's *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France, from the Year 1807 to the Year 1814*, 6 vols., London, 1828-40, an atlas to Alsison's *Geschichte von Europa*, A. Thiers' *Histoire du*

*Consulat et de l'Empire,* and others. Engels elaborated many of the theoretical propositions in this manuscript in his later works.

The manuscript was published for the first time in 1914 in *Die Neue Zeit,* the theoretical organ of the German Social-Democratic Party. The editors gave a wrong date of writing and supplied the title—"Die Möglichkeiten und Voraussetzungen eines Krieges der Heiligen Allianz gegen Frankreich im Jahre 1852"—which did not quite correspond to the contents of the manuscript. A more exact title was given in Vol. 7 of the second Russian edition of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels published in 1956. In this volume the abbreviated words and dates are written out in full and subdivision into paragraphs is somewhat changed. p. 542

391 At Jemappes (Belgium) on November 6, 1792, the French army under General Dumouriez won a major victory over the Austrian troops. p. 543

392 At Neerwinden (Belgium) on March 18, 1793, the French army under General Dumouriez suffered a defeat from troops commanded by the Austrian field marshal, Duke of Coburg. p. 543

393 At Fleurus (Belgium) on June 26, 1794, the French troops defeated the Austrian army under the Duke of Coburg. This victory enabled the French revolutionary army to enter and occupy Belgium. p. 544

394 The reference is to the Girondist Ministry formed after the popular insurrection of August 10, 1792, triumphed and the monarchy was overthrown; it remained in power until June 2, 1793, when the Jacobin dictatorship was established. p. 544

395 At Tourcoing (France) on May 18, 1794, French troops under General Moreau defeated those of the Duke of Coburg. p. 545

396 An allusion to the initial stage of the Italian campaign undertaken by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1796-97. In April 1796 Bonaparte's army began its offensive from Nice and moved through mountain passes into Northern Italy. Between April 12 and 15, by bold manoeuvring of large military contingents, Bonaparte succeeded first in defeating the isolated groups of Austrians and then (on April 22) in routing their allies, the Piedmontese. By threatening to march on Turin, Bonaparte forced the Kingdom of Sardinia to dissociate itself from the anti-French coalition (April 28). p. 545

397 See Note 93. p. 545

398 *Ninth Thermidor* (July 27-28, 1794)—counter-revolutionary coup d'état that overthrew the Jacobin government and established the rule of the big bourgeoisie. Carnot took an active part in preparing this coup.

*Eighteenth Fructidor* (September 4, 1797)—coup d'état effected by the Directory, with the support of Napoleon Bonaparte, to thwart the restoration of the monarchy. Carnot, discredited by his association with royalist conspirators, fled from France.

*Eighteenth Brumaire* (November 9, 1799)—Napoleon Bonaparte's coup d'état that led to his dictatorship (first he was proclaimed First Consul and then, in 1804—Emperor). Carnot approved of the coup d'état, though on several occasions he made timid attempts to oppose Napoleon. p. 546

399 The *Seven Years' War* (1756-63)—a European war, in which England and Prussia fought against the coalition of Austria, France. Russia, Saxony and Sweden. In

1756-57, the Prussian troops of Frederick II won a number of victories over the Austrian and French armies; however, the success of the Russian forces in Prussia (1757-60) put Frederick II in a critical position, bringing the results of his victories to nought. The war ended with France having to cede some of her colonies (including Canada and almost all of her possessions in East India) to Britain, while Prussia, Austria and Saxony had to recognise the pre-war frontiers. p. 546

400 The *Rhenish Federation*—a confederation of the states of Western and Southern Germany founded in 1806 under the protectorate of Napoleon. These states officially broke with the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, which shortly ceased to exist. When Napoleon lost the military campaign of 1813 the confederation fell apart. p. 547

401 See Note 92. p. 547

402 In April 1809 the battle between Napoleon's army and Austrian troops raged for five days in the district of Regensburg in Bavaria. The engagements at Abensberg and Eggmühl were stages in this major battle, in which the Austrian army was defeated and had to retreat. p. 548

403 During the Russo-Turkish war (1787-91) Russian troops, under Alexander Suvorov, captured the fortress of Ochakov on December 17, 1788. The success of this operation was prepared by the utter defeat of the Turkish landing force at Kinburn on October 12, 1787. Suvorov himself took part in storming the fortress of Ismail, which was taken on December 22, 1790. p. 548

404 See Note 168. p. 549

405 See Note 203. p. 553

406 In Prussia, young educated people who could afford to buy uniform and weapons could be enlisted as volunteers and, after one year's service, could claim promotion to the rank of an officer in the army reserve. p. 554

407 See Note 105. p. 559

408 The article "The Constitution of the French Republic", printed in the organ of the revolutionary wing of the Chartist party, *Notes to the People* No. 7 for June 14, 1851, was to be the first of a series of articles dealing with the constitutions of European states, as shown by the general heading—"The Constitutions of Europe, Compiled from Original Sources; with the Assistance of Leading Continental Democrats", written above the title of the article. That it was Marx who wrote this article is proved by letters written to Marx by Ernest Jones, the editor of the journal, on May 23, 25 and 30, 1851, as well as by its ideological kinship with Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11). The article may have been translated into English by Engels, since Marx did not know English well enough at the time. One more article from this series appeared in the *Notes to the People* under the title "The Prussian Constitution", but it was not written by Marx.

The text of the Constitution, which Marx analyses in the given article, was originally published in *Le Moniteur universel* No. 312, November 7, 1848. The same year it appeared in Paris as a pamphlet. We may assume that Marx used this separate edition. When quoting or rendering some article from the Constitution, Marx introduced his own italics. The articles of the Constitution quoted in the *Notes to the People* are designated as paragraphs (§§). p. 567

409 Marx is referring to the intervention against the Roman Republic undertaken by the French Government in 1849 (see Note 91). p. 567

410 The reference is to the French press law adopted on June 9, 1819. Under this law, the amount of security-money to be invested by various periodicals depended on the frequency and place of their publication.

Under the law of July 23, 1850, the previous high rates were extended to publications printed in Lyons and the Rhone department. (This law was originally adopted on July 16, 1850, but it appeared in the press with Article 22 missing, which led the National Assembly to adopt on July 23 a decision to publish it once more. This was done in *Le Moniteur universel* No. 205, July 24, 1850.) p. 569

411 In 1832, Louis Bonaparte took Swiss citizenship in the canton of Turgau; during his stay in England in 1848 he volunteered as a special constable (the constabulary was a civilian police reserve); together with the police, special constables dispersed the workers' demonstration organised by the Chartists on April 10, 1848. p. 572

412 See Note 53. p. 576

413 By *details* the English revolutionary Chartists meant, in their agitation, points 2-6 of the People's Charter: annual elections to Parliament, salaries for M.P.s, a secret ballot, equal constituencies and abolition of the property qualification for candidates. They believed these demands would guarantee the implementation of universal suffrage, which was the first point of the Charter. p. 578

414 This passage was omitted from the official publication of the speech made by Louis Bonaparte in Dijon on June 1, 1851 (*Le Moniteur universel* No. 154, June 3, 1851) as was pointed out in the newspaper *Le National* of June 3. It was included, however, in an interpellation addressed to the Minister of the Interior in the National Assembly (*Le Moniteur universel* No. 155, June 4, 1851). The full text of the speech appeared in *Le National* on June 4. English and German papers quoted this passage directly or indirectly. It is not yet known which source was used by Marx. p. 579

415 Marx wrote this note when he and Engels were preparing the third international review (see this volume, pp. 490-532). It is a sort of conspectus or plan of the section of the review in which the authors analyse developments in Germany. Some of the ideas were later developed thoroughly in the review itself, while others were left out of the final version, for instance the economic rivalry between Austria and Prussia. p. 583

416 See Note 353. p. 583

417 This refers to measures taken by the government to place the National Bank of Austria under state protection; these included the ministerial decree of May 22, 1848, which allowed the Bank to limit the exchange of bank-notes for hard cash and introduced a compulsory exchange rate; the issue of state paper money with the Bank's assistance early in 1849, and the agreement of December 6, 1849, to regulate reciprocal claims between the Bank and the Exchequer. p. 583

418 Marx's work "Reflections" is to be found in Notebook VII (pp. 48-52), one of the twenty-four notebooks in which Marx wrote extracts between September 1850

and August 1853. These notebooks contain Marx's excerpts from and synopses of various publications, with his own comments. But in "Reflections" (the text of which is separated from the preceding material and from what follows by horizontal lines), Marx gives a coherent exposition of his own thoughts in order to clear up a number of economic problems for himself. Such a digression from his rule may have been due to the passages from Thomas Tooke's *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle*, quoted in the same notebook, in which the difference between two kinds of trade — trade between various dealers and trade between dealers and consumers — is given according to Adam Smith. In his exposition, however, Marx went beyond this problem and gave a preliminary formulation of his views on certain other economic problems which he examined in detail in his later economic works.

In this work Marx occasionally uses English economic terms such as "dealers", "consumers", "money", "transfer", "trade", "retail dealers", "currency", "savings-banks", "convertibility", "securities" and "short bills". These have not been indicated in footnotes.

The editors have broken the text into smaller paragraphs to facilitate the reading. p. 584

419 When speaking about trade between "dealers and dealers" and between "dealers and consumers" Marx is referring to Adam Smith's division of trade in its entirety into two different spheres: trade between businessmen alone and trade between businessmen and individual consumers. In Adam Smith's work, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, published in London in 1835-39, this problem is dealt with in Chapter II of Volume III, and in an earlier two-volume edition — in Chapter II, Book II, Volume II. A similar distinction is made by Thomas Tooke in his work *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle, the Connection of Currency with Prices, and the Expediency of a Separation of Issue from Banking*, 2nd ed., London, 1844, pp. 34-36. p. 584

420 This refers to the English East-India Company, founded in 1600, which for a long time enjoyed monopoly trading rights with India, China and other Asian countries. In India the Company maintained an army and exercised administrative functions. It was one of the principal initiators of territorial annexations and colonial subjugation of the population. During the popular insurrection in India in 1857-59 the British Government was forced to change the form of colonial administration, and in 1858 the East-India Company was liquidated. p. 585

421 The reference is to the economic crises that developed in England in 1793, 1825 and 1847. The 1847 crisis also enveloped other European countries and the USA. p. 587

422 The reference is to the standpoint of what was known as the "little shilling men" school, founded by the Birmingham banker Thomas Artwood. Their views were expressed in the book *The Currency Question. The Gemini Letters*, published in 1844. Its authors, Thomas Wright and John Harlow, wrote under the pseudonym of Gemini. p. 588

423 This document dates from the time of Engels' stay in Switzerland after the defeat of the Baden-Palatinate uprising (see Note 133). At first Engels lived in Vevey, then in the latter half of August 1849 moved to Lausanne. In his letters of August 1, 17 and 23, 1849, Marx invited Engels to London to take part in publishing the journal *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, as well as in

reorganising the Communist League. When he received his permit to leave Switzerland, Engels decided to travel to England via Italy, since the French authorities refused him the right of transit through France. On October 6, 1849, he sailed from Genoa, and after a five-week voyage around the Iberian Peninsula, reached London some time around November 10. p. 595

424 This and other documents published in this volume reflect Marx's efforts to gather together revolutionary forces scattered after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution and to render support to the revolutionary refugees suffering poverty and privation in England. (On the Committee of Support for German Democrats in Need which later became the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee see Note 180.)

The Appeal of the Committee of Support for German Refugees (which appeared in some of the German newspapers) evoked a response from broad democratic circles. The Workers' Committee of Support for Political Refugees set up in Cologne published a pamphlet entitled *Die Westdeutsche Zeitung und die Westkalmücken*. On September 28, the Workers' Association in Frankfurt, led by Weydemeyer, decided to render support to refugees and announced a collection of funds.

The Hamburg newspaper *Der Freischütz* (No. 86, October 26, 1849) carried the following item describing the activities of the London Committee: "*Appeal for Support for German Refugees* signed by *Karl Marx* ("former editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*"), *Karl Blind* ("former envoy in Paris of the Baden-Palatinate Government"), *Anton Füster* ("former member of the Austrian Imperial Diet in Vienna" who lived for some time in Hamburg), *Heinrich Bauer* (master shoemaker in London) and *Karl Pfänder* (painter in London).—Friendly donations should be addressed to: *Heinrich Bauer*, 64 Dean Street, Soho Square, and marked 'for the Refugee Committee'. That the appeal yielded results is proved, *inter alia*, by the following receipt sent to us.

"Receipt:

"We acknowledge the receipt of a seven-pound bill on the London and Westminster Bank issued in the name of *Herr E. Thiessen* in Stettin and, on behalf of the German refugees, extend our gratitude to those who contributed.

"London, October 16, 1849. The Committee of Support for German Political Refugees."

"Karl Marx, Karl Blind, Heinrich Bauer, Karl Pfänder." p. 596

425 *Serezhans* and other South-Slav army formations performed compulsory military service on the Austro-Turkish border. In 1848 and 1849 the Austrian authorities and Right-wing bourgeois-landowning nationalist elements drew them into the war against revolutionary Hungary. p. 596

426 See Note 180. p. 600

427 This document consists of excerpts from the Indictment of the participants in the Elberfeld uprising in May 1849 (see pp. 159-69 of this volume; Notes 147, 148). The trial took place between April 23 and May 7, 1850, in Elberfeld; altogether 122 people were accused. The Indictment was published in the Cologne newspaper, *Westdeutsche Zeitung*, during April and May. The majority of the defendants were found guilty and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The document presented here reflects the official point of view of the Prussian judicial authorities, yet at the same time proves that Engels played an important part in the uprising, for which he was regarded by Prussian justice as a dangerous state criminal. It is not by chance that Marx wrote to him on August 23, 1849,

urging him to leave Switzerland for London. "In any case your safety demands it. The Prussians would shoot you twice over: 1) because of Baden, 2) because of Elberfeld." p. 602

428 This refers to the Military Commission of the Elberfeld Committee of Public Safety. The Commission was responsible for forming and equipping the insurgents' armed forces, as well as for preparing the city's defences against imminent invasion by Prussian forces. The Committee of Public Safety did all it could to obstruct and impede the work of the Military Commission. p. 602

429 The reference is to the uprising in Solingen and the surrounding area that broke out early in May 1849 in support of the Imperial Constitution. On May 10 the insurgents stormed the arsenal at the neighbouring Gräfrath to obtain the necessary weapons. The municipal authorities were replaced by the Committee of Public Safety. A considerable number of workers took part in the Solingen uprising, but it was defeated owing to the treachery of the bourgeoisie. p. 603

430 The banquet arranged by Blanquist refugees took place in London on February 25, 1850. It was attended by revolutionary refugees of various nationalities, including Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and Ferdinand Wolff.

A report on the banquet was published in *The Northern Star* No. 645, March 2, 1850. Engels' toast was mentioned along with the others, but its author was not named.

A more detailed report on the banquet appeared in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* No. 51 (the newspaper bears the number 50, which is mistaken) on March 1, 1850, and was marked "London, February 26". This report was also reprinted in the *Dresdener Zeitung* No. 55, March 5, 1850. Other versions describing the banquet appeared in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* No. 55, March 5, 1850, and in *Die Hornisse* No. 54, March 5, 1850. The latter mentioned that the guests included the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx, Engels and Wolff, that Engels raised a toast in honour of the June insurgents, and Wolff of the revolution without phraseology. p. 607

431 The report on the meeting, published in *Die Hornisse*, stated that "Karl Marx, editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, was also present among the guests". *The Democratic Review* for May 1850 carried the report but only the following was said concerning Engels' speech: "A German exile responded and concluded an excellent speech with giving 'The Proletarians of England'".

The *Fraternal Democrats*—an international democratic society founded in London on September 22, 1845. The society embraced representatives of the Left Chartists, German workers and craftsmen—members of the League of the Just—and revolutionary emigrants of other nationalities. Marx and Engels helped in founding this society, and later kept in constant touch with the Fraternal Democrats trying to influence the proletarian core of the society, which joined the Communist League in 1847, and through it the Chartist movement, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. The society ceased its activities in 1853. p. 611

432 *Levellers*—representatives of a radical-democratic trend during the English revolution of the mid-seventeenth century. In 1647 they became an independent group on the national scale. The Levellers wanted to transform England into a republic with a one-House Parliament elected by universal suffrage, to remove all inequalities and implement other democratic reforms. p. 611

433 The minutes in Engels' handwriting mirror the struggle waged by the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee, led by Marx and Engels, against attempts

by Rudolf Schramm, Gustav Struve and other petty-bourgeois refugees to form their own committee and to utilise the assistance to the refugees in need for political intrigues against proletarian revolutionaries (see this volume, p. 617).
p. 612

434 On the Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists see Note 277.
The agreement referred to was annulled on October 9, 1850, as a result of the split in the Communist League and disagreements that arose between Marx and Engels on the one hand, and the French Blanquist refugees, who supported the sectarian faction of Willich and Schapper, on the other (see this volume, p. 484). The document was apparently written down or copied by Willich. p. 614

435 Heinrich Bauer, previously the treasurer of the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee, stayed in Germany until the end of May 1850. He had been sent there as an emissary of the Central Authority of the Communist League. p. 618

436 In the same issue of *Der Freischütz* (No. 98, August 15, 1850) that carried the present accounts, the editors published Karl Pfänder's letter and his receipt issued in the name of the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee. At the same time, the editors voiced their perplexity at not receiving a similar receipt from the other committee (the one consisting of petty-bourgeois refugee leaders). p. 621

437 The meeting was organised by the Fraternal Democrats society to express their solidarity with the workers who had assailed the Austrian Field Marshal Julius Haynau (see Note 359). Reports on the meeting and Engels' speech were published in several English newspapers. The most detailed account appeared in the *Reynold's Weekly Newspaper* No. 5, September 15, 1850. In Germany reports on this meeting were published by the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* No. 285, September 13, 1850, which wrote the following: "Engels (former editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*) expressed his heartfelt thanks to the English workers for giving such a worthy welcome to their distinguished countryman (Haynau was born in Churhessen)", and by *Die Hornisse* No. 218, September 18, 1850. p. 624

438 The minutes and some of the documents that follow deal with the struggle waged by Marx and Engels and their supporters against sectarian elements in the Communist League (see Note 343).
In 1852 Marx quoted an excerpt from the minutes in his pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11). The complete text of the minutes, however, remained unknown for a long time and only in 1956 appeared in the magazine of the Amsterdam International Institute of Social History, where it was published according to the two extant copies made from the original, which has not yet been discovered. One of the copies is written by Hermann Wilhelm Haupt who, following the split in the Communist League, was sent to Cologne to report on the London decisions; the other copy is in an unknown hand (probably Wilhelm Liebknecht's). In this volume the translation has been made from the copy written by Haupt and checked against the second copy. Essential differences in wording are mentioned in footnotes. p. 625

439 The *Rules of the Communist League* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 633-38) were adopted at its Second Congress in December 1847. In the latter half of 1848, the London Central Authority of the League made changes in the Rules and gave this document the vague title of "The Rules of a Revolutionary Party". The clear formulation of the ultimate aims of the proletarian movement given in Article 1 (the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the rule of the proletariat and the foundation

of communist society without classes) was replaced by a demand for a social republic. The demand to acknowledge communism was omitted from Article 2, which formulated the conditions of membership. Marx and Engels resolutely opposed these changes. On Marx's initiative, the Central Authority formed in Cologne from the local authority worked out new Rules (see this volume, pp. 634-36). p. 626

440 The reference is to the following Communist League members who belonged to the London district: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, the district's President Johann Georg Eccarius, Heinrich Bauer, Hermann Wilhelm Haupt, August Hain, G. Klose, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Karl Pfänder, Konrad Schramm, Sebastian Seiler and Ferdinand Wolff. p. 627

441 See Note 50. p. 627

442 An allusion to Louis Blanc's participation in the bourgeois Provisional Government of France from February to May 1848 (see this volume, pp. 53, 55-56). p. 628

443 The reference is to the Paris Commune of 1789-94, which administered the French capital during the revolution. It played an important part in organising the revolutionary struggle of the masses and in implementing revolutionary measures introduced after the victory of the Jacobins on the eve of the popular uprising of August 10, 1792, up to the counter-revolutionary coup of 9 Thermidor (July 27), 1794. p. 629

444 The text of the resolution of the London Central Authority of the Communist League, similar in content to the proposals submitted by Marx to the Central Authority meeting of September 15, 1850 (see this volume, pp. 625-27), has come down to us as part of another document—the Address of the Cologne Central Authority issued on December 1, 1850. (The Cologne Central Authority was formed early in October 1850, its members being Röser, Bürgers and Otto; some time later they were joined by Daniels and Heinrich Becker.) The Address of the Cologne Central Authority did not fully expose the reasons for the split in the Communist League and even accused both conflicting parties of violating the Rules. Even so, it unequivocally condemned the splitting activities of the sectarian and adventurist faction led by Willich and Schapper and approved the policy of Marx and his followers. In May 1851 Peter Nothjung, emissary of the Cologne Central Authority, was arrested in Leipzig. The minutes found on him were confiscated by the Saxon police and sent to the official organ *Dresdner Journal und Anzeiger* (No. 171, June 22, 1851) to be published as evidence that democrats and Communists were involved in secret conspiratorial intrigues. In addition, both the Address and the resolution of the London Central Authority were published in the bourgeois *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 150, June 24, 1851, and at a later date in the Bill of Indictment against the Cologne Communists—*Anklageschrift gegen 1) P. G. Roeser...* [Köln, 1852] and in Wermuth-Stieber's *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Th. 1, Berlin, 1853. p. 630

445 This document is the last account presented by the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee, which ceased its activities owing to the split in the Communist League and the resignation of Marx, Engels and their followers from the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see this volume, p. 483). p. 631

446 The proposal to expel the representatives of the sectarian faction from the Communist League was made after the factionalists had refused to abide by the

decision of the Cologne Central Authority to set up in London two independent districts of the League, directly subordinate to the Central Authority. Willich, Schapper and their followers formed their own central authority in an attempt to influence all the League organisations and isolate the supporters of Marx and Engels, whose expulsion they announced. In opposition to the Communist League, Willich and Schapper set up their own organisation, which in this and other documents is referred to as the Sonderbund, by analogy with the separatist union of seven Swiss cantons (see Note 25). On November 11, 1850, the London district formed from the supporters of Marx and Engels submitted the proposal in question to the Cologne Central Authority to expel members of the Sonderbund, and particularly its leaders, from the Communist League. The Central Authority endorsed the proposal and incorporated it in its Address of December 1. The text of the proposal has come down to us as part of this Address, which fell into the hands of the police in 1851 and later appeared in bourgeois semi-official periodicals and police-sponsored publications (see Note 444). p. 633

447 The Rules of the Communist League were drawn up by the Cologne Central Authority in November 1850 in conformity with the decision of the London Central Authority adopted on September 15, 1850 (see this volume, p. 630). A copy of the Rules in Heinrich Bürgers' handwriting as well as the Address of the Cologne Central Authority of December 1, 1850, and other documents, were received in London on December 18 (see Jenny Marx's letter to Engels of December 19, 1850). On January 5, 1851, the Rules were approved at a meeting of the London district of the Communist League, at which Marx was also present. He made several remarks in the copy of the Rules which in this volume are in bold type. These remarks may have been made at a later date (early in March 1852) when Marx forwarded the Rules to Weydemeyer in New York (see Marx's letter to Weydemeyer of March 5, 1852).

The police confiscated a copy of the Rules from Peter Nothjung, one of the League members, when he was arrested in May 1851. Among other documents the Rules were printed in the police-sponsored edition: Wermuth-Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.* p. 634

448 The annual meeting and the New Year's party arranged by the Fraternal Democrats society were attended by delegations from the German Workers' Educational Society in London (Marx and Engels were no longer among its members), the Hungarian, Polish and other refugee organisations. Marx was present at the meeting together with his wife. Engels, who had come from Manchester for a few days, addressed the meeting in English. p. 637

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*Beaune, Jean Baptiste Augustin de* (1796-1849)—French politician, monarchist, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies.—22, 122

*Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886)—German revolutionary, took part in the democratic movement of the 1830s and 1840s in Germany and Switzerland and in the 1848-49 revolution; commanded the Baden people's militia during the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; prominent figure in the First International in the 1860s and delegate to all its congresses; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—180, 223, 224, 231-36

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*Bem, Józef* (1795-1850)—Polish general, prominent figure in the national liberation movement, took part in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31 and the revolutionary struggle in Vienna in 1848; a leader of the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49); after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Turkey.—169

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*Berlin, Hans*—town councillor of Heilbronn; tried to foist a moderate programme on the insurgent peasants after their capture of the town in 1525; deserted to the feudal camp.—461

*Berlin, Hans (Johannes)* (died c. 1560)—in 1525 notary and procurator in Heilbronn, author of the Declaration of the Twelve Articles, interpreted the insurgent peasants' demands in a moderate vein.—455

*Bernigau* (d. 1849)—German democrat, member of the Cologne Committee of Public Safety in 1848; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; sentenced by a Prussian court martial and executed.—346

*Berryer, Pierre Antoine* (1790-1868)—French lawyer and politician, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, Legitimist.—113

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*Blanqui, Louis Auguste* (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, utopian communist, organised several secret socie-

ties and plots; adhered to the extreme Left of the democratic and proletarian movement during the 1848 revolution.—27, 35, 37, 64, 65, 88-89, 127, 128-29, 316, 322, 377, 537-40, 576

*Blenker, Ludwig* (1812-1863)—German democrat, former officer, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; subsequently emigrated to the USA and fought in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—149, 196-99, 206, 209, 226, 230, 232, 233, 234

*Blind, Karl* (1826-1907)—German journalist, democrat, took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden in 1848-49; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois emigrants in London in the 1850s; became a national-liberal in the 1860s.—175, 182, 354, 597, 600

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*Blomfield, Charles James* (1786-1857)—English theologian, bishop of London (1828-56).—513

*Blum, Robert* (1807-1848)—German democrat, journalist, leader of the Left in the Frankfurt National Assembly; took part in the defence of Vienna in October 1848; court-martialled and executed.—149, 198, 220, 222

*Bobzin, Friedrich Heinrich Karl* (b. 1826)—German artisan; member of the German Workers' Society in Brussels in 1847; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; together with Struve headed the German petty-bourgeois emigrants in London.—617, 619

*Boccaccio, Giovanni* (1313-1375)—Italian author of the Renaissance.—413

*Bocquet, Jean Baptiste*—French democrat, supporter of the newspaper *La Réforme*; took part in the 1848 revolution in France and emigrated to London after its defeat; friend of Alexander Herzen; member of the General Council of the First International (1864-65).—314

*Boecker* (*Böker*)—member of the Cologne Town Council.—158

*Böheim, Hans (Pfeiferhänslein, Pauker)* (d. 1476)—shepherd, popular preacher in Niklashausen, inspirer of the peasant movement in the bishopric of Würzburg and surrounding districts; burned at the stake.—428-32

*Boisguillebert, Pierre Le Pesant, sieur de* (1646-1714)—French economist, predecessor of the physiocrats, founder of classical political economy in France.—119

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*Bonaparte, Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul, Prince* (1822-1891)—son of Jérôme Bonaparte, cousin of Louis Bonaparte; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic.—112, 113

*Borgia* (*Borja*), *Cesare, Duke of Valentinois and Romagna* (c. 1475-1507)—member of an influential Italian feudal family, son of Pope Alexander VI, tried to establish a powerful absolutist state, famous for his unscrupulousness.—112

*Borme, Daniel* (called *Borme fils*) (1821-c. 1872)—French chemist, participant in political conspiracies, police agent.—37

*Born, Stephan* (real name *Buttermilch, Simon*) (1824-1898)—German typesetter, member of the Communist League; leaned towards reformism during the 1848-49 revolution; supreme commander of the Dresden uprising of 1849; turned his back on the workers' movement after the revolution.—215

*Bötticher, Karl Wilhelm*, from 1864 *von* (1791-1868)—Prussian statesman, *Oberpräsident* of Eastern Prussia (1842-48).—10

*Bouchotte, Jean Baptiste Noël* (1754-1840)—French officer, prominent figure in the French Revolution, Jacobin, War Minister (1793-94).—545, 563

*Bourbons*—royal dynasty in France (1589-1792, 1814-15, 1815-30).—13, 16, 17, 36, 95, 112

*Brandenburg, Friedrich Wilhelm, Count von* (1792-1850)—Prussian general and statesman, head of the counter-revolutionary Ministry (November 1848-November 1850).—158, 596

*Bréa Jean Baptiste Fidèle* (1790-1848)—French general, took part in suppressing the June uprising of 1848, shot by the insurgents.—97

*Breitenstein, Sebastian von* (1464-1535)—Prince-abbot of Kempten (1523-35)—449, 479

*Brentano, Lorenz Peter* (1813-1891)—Baden democrat, lawyer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; headed the Baden Provisional Government in 1849; after the defeat of the uprising emigrated to Switzerland and then to the USA.—174-76, 178-80, 183-85, 188-90, 214, 215, 220, 234, 238, 239

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*Bright, John* (1811-1889)—English manufacturer, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League.—19, 116, 272

*Brougham and Vaux, Henry Peter, 1st Baron* (1778-1868)—British statesman, lawyer and writer, Whig.—511

*Brüggemann, Karl Heinrich* (1810-1887)—German journalist, moderate liberal; editor-in-chief of the *Kölnische Zeitung* (1845-55).—526

*Bruhn, Karl von* (b. 1803)—German journalist, member of the League of Outlaws, the League of the Just, and subsequently of the Communist League from which he was expelled in 1850; later editor of the Lassallean paper *Nordstern* in Hamburg (1861-66).—372

*Brunswick, Duke of*—see *Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand*

*Bucher, Lothar* (1817-1892)—Prussian official, journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; emigrated to London; subsequently a national-liberal, adherent of Bismarck.—349

*Bugeaud de la Piconnerie, Thomas Robert* (1784-1849)—Marshal of France, member of the Chamber of Deputies during the July monarchy, Orleanist; commander-in-chief of the army of the Alps, deputy to the Legislative Assembly in 1848-49.—83

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*Burg-Bernheim, Gregor*—a leader of the peasant uprising in the Margraviate of Ansbach in 1525.—464

*Burritt, Elihu* (1810-1879)—American linguist, philanthropist and pacifist, organiser of several international pacifist congresses.—511

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*Cabet, Étienne* (1788-1856)—French writer, utopian communist, author of *Voyage en Icarie*.—64-65, 320

*Camphausen, Ludolf* (1803-1890)—German banker, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prime Minister of Prussia from March to June 1848; Prussian envoy to the Central Authority (July 1848-April 1849).—13, 156

*Capefigue, Jean Baptiste Honoré Raymond* (1801-1872)—French journalist and historian, monarchist.—39, 138, 519

*Carlier, Pierre Charles Joseph* (1799-1858)—Prefect of the Paris police (1849-51), Bonapartist.—124, 338

*Carlyle, Thomas* (1795-1881)—British writer, historian, philosopher, Tory; preached views bordering on feudal socialism up to 1848; later a relentless opponent of the working-class movement.—301-10

*Carnap, Johann Adolph von* (born c. 1793)—Prussian official, Chief Burgomaster of Elberfeld from 1837 to 1851.—165

*Carnot, Lazare Hippolyte* (1801-1888)—French journalist and politician,

moderate republican; Minister of Education in the Provisional Government, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848); after 1851 a leader of the republican opposition to the Bonapartist regime.—27, 128-29, 344

*Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite* (1753-1823)—French mathematician, political and military figure in the French Revolution, Jacobin; took part in the Thermidor coup in 1794.—128, 545, 546, 562, 563

*Carrière, Moriz* (1817-1895)—German philosopher, professor of aesthetics.—242

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*Cato, Marcus Porcius* (*Cato the Elder*) (234-149 B.C.)—Roman statesman and writer, upheld aristocratic privileges.—76

*Caulaincourt, Armand Augustin Louis, Marquis de*, from 1808 *Duke of Vicenza* (1772-1827)—French general and statesman, Ambassador to Russia (1807-11); Minister of Foreign Affairs (1813-14, 1815).—260

*Caussidière, Marc* (1808-1861)—French democrat, took part in the Lyons uprising of 1834; Prefect of the Paris police after the February revolution of 1848, deputy to the Constituent Assembly; emigrated to England in June 1848.—59, 73, 97, 311-16, 321-24

*Cavaignac, Louis Eugène* (1802-1857)—French general and politician, moderate republican; took part in the conquest of Algeria; after the February 1848 revolution, Governor of Algeria; from May 1848 War Minister of France, directed the suppression of the June uprising; head of the executive (June-December 1848).—34, 68, 69, 72, 75-82, 85, 87, 91, 92, 93, 98, 105, 549, 579-80

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*Changarnier, Nicolas Anne Théodule* (1793-1877)—French general and politician, monarchist; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies; after June 1848 commanded the Paris garrison and national guard; took part in dispersing the demonstration of June 13, 1849, in Paris; banished from France in 1851.—25, 26, 83, 89, 90, 99, 106, 109, 140, 143-44, 520, 523-25

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*Charles X* (1757-1836)—King of France (1824-30).—129

*Charles Albert* (*Carlo Alberto*) (1798-1849)—King of Sardinia and Piedmont (1831-49).—93, 547

*Chenu, Adolphe* (b. 1816)—took part in secret revolutionary societies in France during the July monarchy; *agent provocateur* of the secret police.—311-16, 319-24

*Christoph I* (1453-1527)—Margrave of Baden (1473-1527).—435, 466

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*Clement VII* (*Giulio de'Medici*) (1478-1534)—Pope (1523-34).—405, 419, 480

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*Columbus, Christopher* (*Cristobal Colón*) (1451-1506)—Genoa-born navigator, discoverer of America.—332, 334

*Cooper, James Fenimore* (1789-1851)—American writer.—312-14
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*Corvin-Wiersbitzki, Otto Julius Bernhard von* (1812-1886)—German democrat, former Prussian lieutenant; took part in the republican uprisings in Baden in 1848; chief of the general staff in Rastatt during the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849.—224
*Crémieux, Isaac Moïse* (called *Adolphe*) (1796-1880)—French lawyer and politician, a liberal in the 1840s; member of the Provisional Government (February-May 1848); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies.—53, 91, 359, 537
*Creton, Nicolas Joseph* (1798-1864)—French lawyer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, Orleanist.—118
*Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—leader of the English revolution, became Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland in 1653.—256, 301, 302
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*Daru, Napoléon, comte* (1807-1890)—French statesman, member of the Chamber of Peers (1832-48); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (Right wing) during the Second Republic and Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly (1850-51).—128
*Daumer, Georg Friedrich* (1800-1875)—German writer on the history of religion.—241-46
*Delamarre, Théodore Casimir* (1797-1870)—French banker; journalist; from 1844 onwards owner of the newspaper *La Patrie*; Bonapartist.—39, 342
*Delane, John Thaddeus* (1817-1879)—editor-in-chief of *The Times* (1841-77).—352, 540, 541
*Delessert, Gabriel Abraham Marguerite* (1786-1858)—Prefect of the Paris police (1836-48).—312, 319
*Dembiński, Henryk* (1791-1864)—Polish general and prominent figure in the national liberation movement, took part in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31; commander-in-chief of the Hungarian revolutionary army (February-April 1848) and the Northern Theiss army; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Turkey and later to France.—152, 169
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*Dietrichstein, Sigmund,* from 1515 *Baron von* (1484-1540)—Viceroy of Styria; suppressed the peasant uprising in the Alpine regions of Austria in 1515-16; taken prisoner by the insurgents during the 1525 uprising and later set free.—440, 475, 476

*Dietz, Oswald* (c. 1824-1864)—German architect, participated in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated to London; Communist League member, belonged to the Willich-Schapper sectarian group; subsequently took part in the American Civil War.—633

*Dingelstedt, Franz,* from 1876 *Baron von* (1814-1881)—German poet and novelist, court dramatist from the mid-1840s.—242

*Disraeli, Benjamin, 1st Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British politician and writer; adhered to the Young England group in the 1840s, subsequently became a Tory leader; Prime Minister (1868 and 1874-80).—495

*Doll, Friedrich*—German democrat, commercial traveller; took part in the republican uprisings in Baden in 1848; commanded a division during the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849.—232, 233, 236

*Dortu, Max* (1826-1849)—German revolutionary democrat; took part in the Berlin uprising of March 18, 1848, and in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; sentenced by a Prussian court martial and executed.—346

*Dózsa, Georg* (c. 1474-1514)—small landowner of the Szekler region of Transylvania, a leader of the peasant uprising in Hungary in 1514.—438-39

*Dózsa Gregor* (d. 1514)—brother of Georg Dózsa; took part in the peasant uprising of 1514 in Hungary.—438

*Dreher, Ferdinand*—participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; commanded a battalion of the people's militia in Karlsruhe.—204, 210, 212, 213, 233

*Dronke, Ernst* (1822-1891)—German journalist, at first "true socialist", later member of the Communist League and an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; subsequently withdrew from politics.—353, 371, 373, 375, 376

*Drouyn de Lhuys, Édouard* (1805-1881)—French diplomat and politician; in the 1840s Orleanist; after 1851 Bonapartist; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1848-49, 1851, 1852-55, 1862-66), Ambassador to Britain (1849-50).—511

*Duclerc, Charles Théodore Eugène* (1812-1888)—French journalist and politician, moderate republican; member of the *National* editorial board (1840-46); Minister of Finance (May-June 1848).—91

*Dufaure, Jules Armand Stanislas* (1798-1881)—French lawyer and politician, Orleanist; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848), Minister of the Interior (October-December 1848) in the Cavaignac Government; one of the organisers of the suppression of the Paris Commune.—78, 81, 117

*Dujarrier*—French financier.—358

*Dumouriez, Charles François du Périer* (1739-1823)—French general, commanded the northern revolutionary army in 1792-93; betrayed the revolution in March 1793.—542-43

*Dupin, André Marie Jean Jacques* (1783-1865)—French lawyer and politician, Orleanist; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49), President of the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); subsequently Bonapartist.—26, 102, 137, 518

*Dupont de l'Eure, Jacques Charles* (1767-1855)—French liberal politician, participated in the French revolutions of 1789-94 and 1830; close to the moderate republicans in the 1840s; President of the Council of Ministers in the Provisional Government in 1848.—53, 359, 537

*Dupoty, Michel Auguste* (1797-1864)—French journalist, took part in publishing several republican-democratic newspapers.—312

*Duprat, Pascal Pierre* (1815-1885)—French journalist, politician, republican; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the

Second Republic, opponent of Louis Bonaparte.—25

E

*Eccarius, Johann Georg* (1818-1889)—German tailor, prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, member of the League of the Just and later of the Communist League; a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the First International; later took part in the English trade union movement.—483, 485, 625, 627, 629

*Eckermann, Johann Peter* (1792-1854)—German writer, author of the *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens.*—242

*Eichfeld, Karl*—War Minister of the Baden Provisional Government in 1849.—180

*Eisenhut, Anton* (d. 1525)—clergyman at Eppingen (Palatinate); leader of the local peasant and urban uprising in 1525.—460

*Eitel, Hans*—leader of the Lake Troop of the insurgent peasants (Swabia) in 1525; signed the Weingarten Treaty with Truchsess after which disbanded his troop.—449

*Elector Palatine*—see *Ludwig V*

*Emmermann, Karl*—commander of riflemen in the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army (1849).—229

*Engelhard, Magdalene Philippine (née Gatterer)* (1756-1831)—German poetess.—242

*Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895).—3, 5, 7, 10, 14, 15, 21, 22, 25, 41, 58, 186, 190, 192-95, 197, 200-05, 208-37, 240, 241, 257, 271, 274, 288, 318, 336, 338, 345, 348-51, 353, 354, 370, 371, 378, 379, 380, 381, 384, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 398, 430, 483, 487, 490, 533-37, 540, 542, 564, 588-89, 595, 601, 606, 607, 610, 611, 615, 616, 618, 619, 623, 637

*Ernest Augustus* (1771-1851)—King of Hanover (1837-51).—8

*Ernst* (1464-1513)—archbishop of Magdeburg (1476-1513).—420

*Estancelin, Louis Charles Alexandre* (1823-1906)—French politician; deputy to the Legislative Assembly during the Second Republic, Orleanist.—109

*D'Ester, Karl Ludwig Johann* (1813-1859)—German socialist and democrat, physician, member of the Cologne community of the Communist League; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; became member of the Central Committee of German Democrats in October 1848; played a prominent part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; subsequently emigrated to Switzerland.—186, 190, 192, 201, 220, 224, 233

*Eugène of Savoy (François Eugène), Prince* (1663-1736)—Austrian general and statesman.—198

*Evans, David Morier* (1819-1874)—British economist.—496

*Ewerbeck, August Hermann* (1816-1860)—German physician and man of letters, leader of the Paris communities of the League of the Just; later member of the Communist League, which he left in 1850.—376

F

*Falloux, Frédéric Alfred Pierre, comte de* (1811-1886)—French politician, Legitimist and clerical; Minister of Education and Religious Affairs (1848-49); initiated the closure of national workshops and inspired the suppression of the June 1848 uprising of the Paris workers.—83, 92, 103, 113

*Faucher, Julius (Jules)* (1820-1878)—German writer, Young Hegelian; advocate of free trade, professed individualistic, anarchist views in the early 1850s.—334, 486

*Faucher, Léon* (1803-1854)—French writer and politician, Malthusian economist, Orleanist; Minister of the Interior (December 1848-May 1849); later Bonapartist.—48, 83, 88, 90

*Favand, Étienne Edouard Charles Eugène*

(1793-1854)—French politician, republican; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; supporter of the Mountain party; opposed the December 2, 1851, coup d'état.—22, 123, 263

*Fenner von Fenneberg, Daniel* (1820-1863)—Austrian officer, commanded the Vienna national guard in 1848; later commander-in-chief and chief of staff of the Palatinate insurgent army.—195

*Ferdinand I* (1503-1564)—Austrian Archduke; Holy Roman Emperor (1556-64).—448, 456, 466, 467, 475-77

*Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas* (1804-1872)—German philosopher.—487

*Feuerbacher, Matern* (c. 1484-c. 1567)—town councillor and a leader of the burgher opposition in Gross-Bottwar (Württemberg); in 1525 leader of the Gay Christian Troop of the insurgent Württemberg peasants and townsmen.—456, 457, 459, 460

*Fickler, Joseph* (1808-1865)—German journalist, a leader of the Baden democratic movement in 1848-49; member of the Baden Provisional Government (1849).—175

*Flocon, Ferdinand* (1800-1866)—French democratic politician and journalist, an editor of the newspaper *La Réforme*; member of the Provisional Government (1848).—53, 323, 359, 537

*Florian*—see *Greisel, Florian*

*Flotte, Paul Louis François René de (Deflotte)* (1817-1860)—French naval officer, democrat and socialist, Blanquist; took part in the 1848 revolution in France; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1850-51).—27, 32, 128-29, 344

*Forner, Anton*—Burgomaster of the imperial city of Nördlingen (Franconia); joined the insurgent peasants in 1525 and headed the plebeian party in the town.—452

*Fothergill, Thomas*—British officer, honorary secretary of the London union of the German refugees (1850).—352

*Fouché, Joseph, duc d'Otrante* (1759-1820)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, Jacobin; took part in the Thermidor coup; Minister of Police under Napoleon I, notorious for his lack of principle.—124, 347

*Fould, Achille* (1800-1867)—French banker and politician, Orleanist, subsequently Bonapartist; Minister of Finance several times from 1849 to 1867.—20, 61, 75, 86, 114, 115, 117, 118, 342, 364-65

*Fouquier-Tinville, Antoine Quentin* (1746-1795)—figure in the French Revolution; Public Prosecutor of the Revolutionary Tribunal in 1793.—94

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—322

*Foy, Maximilien Sébastien Auguste Arthur Louis Fernand* (1815-1871)—French politician; candidate of the party of Order for the Seine department during the by-elections to the Legislative Assembly on March 10, 1850.—344

*Francis I* (1494-1547)—King of France (1515-47)—328, 447

*Francis Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-1916).—11, 528

*Fränkel*—German worker residing in London, member of the Communist League and of the London German Workers' Educational Society (1847); member of the Central Authority of the Communist League (1849-50); supporter of the Willich-Schapper sectarian group.—625, 633

*Frederick II (the Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86)—252, 546, 551, 552, 556

*Frederick III (the Wise)* (1463-1525)—Elector of Saxony (1486-1525); patron of Luther; one of Münzer's persecutors.—417

*Frederick VII* (1808-1863)—King of Denmark (1848-63).—394

*Frederick Augustus II* (1797-1854)—King of Saxony (1836-54).—8

*Frederick William I* (1802-1875)—Elector of Hesse-Cassel (1847-66); Regent (1831-47).—528

*Frederick William II* (1744-1797)—King of Prussia (1786-97).—542

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—8, 10, 12-16, 171, 207, 247, 257, 258, 261, 267, 378, 382, 383, 385, 394, 525-28

*Freiligrath, Ferdinand* (1810-1876)—German romantic and later revolutionary poet; member of the Communist League; one of the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49).—353

*Fries, Peter* (born c. 1822)—German lawyer, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; member of the Palatinate revolutionary Provisional Government; emigrated to Switzerland.—372

*Frundsberg, Georg von* (1473-1528)—commander of German mercenaries; took part in suppressing the peasant uprising in Swabia and the archbishopric of Salzburg in 1525-26.—468, 476

*Füster, Anton* (1808-1881)—Austrian theologian, professor of Vienna University; deputy to the Imperial Diet (1848), democrat; emigrated to London and later to the USA.—597, 600

G

*Gagern, Heinrich Wilhelm August, Baron von* (1799-1880)—German moderate liberal politician; deputy to and President of the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre), Imperial Prime Minister (December 1848-March 1849); a leader of the Gotha party after May 1849.—511, 526

*Galeer, Albert Frédéric Jean* (1816-1851)—Swiss teacher and man of letters; democrat, took part in the war against the Sonderbund (1847) and in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849.—350, 612

*Garnier-Pagès, Louis Antoine* (1803-1878)—French politician, moderate republican, member of the Provisional Government and Mayor of Paris in 1848.—53, 323, 359, 537

*Gatterer*—see *Engelhard, Magdalene Philippine*

*Gaude*—member of the Communist League, close to the Willich-Schapper sectarian group during the split in the League (1850).—633

*Gebert, August*—Mecklenburg joiner, member of the Communist League in Switzerland, later in London, belonged to the Willich-Schapper sectarian group.—633

*Geier* (*Geyer*), *Florian* (c. 1490-1525)—German knight, went over to the insurgent peasants (1525), commanded the Black Troop.—453-55, 462-65

*Geismaier* (*Gaismair*), *Michael* (c. 1490-1532)—son of a miner, leader of the peasant uprising in Tirol and the archbishopric of Salzburg; secretary of the bishop of Salzburg; later customs official.—476-78

*George* (called *George the Bearded*) (1471-1539)—Duke of Saxony (1500-39), one of the organisers of the suppression of the peasant uprising in Thuringia in 1525.—425

*George I* (1660-1727)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1714-27).—251

*George II* (1683-1760)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1727-60).—251

*Gerber, Erasmus* (d. 1525)—a leader of the insurgent Alsatian peasants (1525).—474

*Gerber, Theus* (died c. 1541)—leader of a troop of Stuttgarters, which joined the Württemberg insurgent Gay Christian Troop in 1525.—457, 460

*Ghillany, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1807-1876)—German historian and theologian.—242

*Gibbs*—a London alderman, acting Lord Mayor of London in May 1850.—352

*Girardin, Émile de* (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician, editor of *La Presse*; often changed his political views; opposed the Guizot Government in 1847; a republican during the 1848-49 revolution; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1850-51); later Bonapartist.—137, 326-31, 333-37, 487, 518

*Gnam*—German democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to England, and in 1852 to the USA.—612, 613.

*Goegg, Amand* (1820-1897)—German journalist, democrat; member of the

Baden Provisional Government (1849) and of the First International, joined the German Social-Democrats in the 1870s.—182, 220

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—241, 242, 246

*Görgey, Arthur* (1818-1916)—military leader of the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, a commander and, from April to June 1849, commander-in-chief of the Hungarian army; voiced the conservative sentiments of the nobility; advocated agreement with the Habsburgs and later capitulation; War Minister (from May 1849).—184

*Götz*—see *Berlichingen, Götz von*

*Götz, Christian* (1783-1849)—Austrian general, took part in suppressing the Italian national liberation movement and in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—547

*Goudchaux, Michel* (1797-1862)—French banker, republican, Minister of Finance in the Provisional Government in 1848.—73

*Gourgaud, Gaspar, baron* (1783-1852)—French general and monarchist politician, deputy to the Legislative Assembly during the Second Republic.—109

*Grail, E. de*—French Legitimist politician; lost the by-election to the Legislative Assembly in the department of Gard on January 13, 1850.—22

*Grandin, Victor* (1797-1849)—French manufacturer and conservative politician, member of the Chamber of Deputies (1839-48); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic.—48

*Grandménil*—French journalist, democrat; member of secret revolutionary societies during the July monarchy; one of the founders and publishers of the newspaper *La Réforme*.—313

*Granier de Cassagnac, Bernard Adolphe* (1806-1880) — French journalist, lacked principles in politics; prior to the 1848 revolution, Orleanist, later Bonapartist.—39, 138, 519

*Gray, Simon* (18th-19th cent.)—English economist.—588

*Grebel, Konrad* (1489-1526)—head of an Anabaptist sect in Zurich, follower of Münzer; agitated for a revolution in South Germany.—426

*Greiner, Theodor Ludwig*—German lawyer, democrat; member of the Palatinate Provisional Government in 1849; emigrated to Switzerland and subsequently to the USA.—200-02, 372

*Greisel, Florian*—German priest, took part in the 1525 Peasant War in Swabia.—458

*Grey, Sir George* (1799-1882)—British Whig statesman, Home Secretary (1846-52, 1855-58 and 1861-66) and State Secretary for the Colonies (1854-55).—3, 274, 297, 383-84

*Grün, Karl Theodor Ferdinand* (pen-name *Ernst von der Haide*) (1817-1887)—German writer, "true socialist" in the mid-1840s; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing).—345

*Gudin, Charles Gabriel César* (1798-1874)—adjutant of Louis Philippe; from 1846 Marshal of France; was dismissed from his post in 1847 for swindling.—358

*Gugel-Bastian* (d. 1514)—leader of the peasant conspiracy in the Margraviate of Baden in 1514.—438

*Guinard, Auguste Joseph* (1799-1874)—French democrat, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49); took part in the Mountain party actions on June 13, 1849.—129

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and conservative statesman; from 1840 up to the February revolution of 1848 virtually directed France's foreign and domestic policy.—19, 36, 48, 51, 52, 69, 76, 83, 90, 109, 113, 251-56, 301

*Gutzkow, Karl Ferdinand* (1811-1878)—German writer, member of the Young Germany group; editor of the journal *Telegraph für Deutschland* (1838-43).—242

*Gützlaff, Karl Friedrich August* (1803-1851)—German missionary in China.—266

## H

*Habern, Wilhelm von*—Palatinate marshal, commander-in-chief under Ludwig, Elector of the Palatinate; took part in suppressing the 1525 peasant uprising in the Palatinate.—456, 466

*Hadrian (Publius Aelius Hadrianus)* (76-138)—Roman Emperor (117-38).—591

*Hafiz, Shams ud-din Mohammed* (c. 1300-c. 1389)—Persian poet, Tajik by birth.—244

*Hain, August*—German emigrant residing in London; member of the Communist League, supported Marx during its split.—483

*Hanover, House of*—British royal house (1714-1901).—252

*Hansemann, David Justus* (1790-1864)—German capitalist, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Finance Minister (March-September 1848).—156

*Harlow, John* (mid-19th cent.)—British economist of the Birmingham school known as the "little shilling men"; wrote with Wright under the pseudonym of Gemini.—588

*Harney, George Julian* (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the English labour movement; a leader of the Chartist Left wing; editor of the newspaper *Northern Star* and the journal *Democratic Review*; friend of Marx and Engels.—3, 484, 514, 615

*Hassenpflug, Hans Daniel Ludwig Friedrich* (1794-1862)—German statesman, advocate of absolutism, Minister of Justice and the Interior of Hesse-Cassel (1832-37), head of the Hesse-Cassel Ministry (1850-55).—527

*Haupt, Hermann Wilhelm* (born c. 1831)—German business clerk; member of the Communist League; turned traitor during the Cologne communist trial and was released by the police during investigation.—483

*Häusner, Karl*—German engineer, commanded the Rhenish Hessian corps of the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army in 1849.—196

*Haussez, Charles Lemercier de Longpré, baron d'* (1778-1854)—French conservative politician; Minister for the Navy (1829-30).—129

*Hautpoul, Alphonse Henri, marquis d'* (1789-1865)—French general, Legitimist, later Bonapartist; War Minister (1849-50).—22, 26, 32, 113, 123, 128, 137, 143, 144, 261, 518, 523, 524

*Haynau, Julius Jakob, Baron von* (1786-1853)—Austrian Master of Ordnance; took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; commanded the Austrian troops in Hungary (1849-50); initiated violent repressions against the Hungarian revolutionaries.—110, 511, 624

*Hecker, Friedrich Karl Franz* (1811-1881)—German democrat, a leader of the Baden republican uprising in April 1848; emigrated to the USA.—149, 198, 232, 238

*Hecker, Karl*—one of the leaders of the Elberfeld uprising in 1849.—164

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—248, 267, 302, 422, 488-89, 530

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—182-83, 536

*Heintzmann, Alexis* (born c. 1812)—Prussian lawyer, liberal; member of the Committee of Public Safety during the Elberfeld uprising in May 1849; emigrated to London.—164

*Heinzen, Karl* (1809-1880)—German journalist, radical; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland, later to England and in the autumn of 1850 to the USA.—3, 4, 183

*Helfenstein, Ludwig, Count von* (c. 1480-1525)—Austrian Viceregent in Weinsberg (Württemberg); was treacherous and cruel towards the peasants; executed by the insurgents.—453-54, 462

*Helvétius, Claude Adrien* (1715-1771)—French philosopher, atheist, Enlightener.—99

*Henneberg, Johann, Count von*—Abbot of Fulda (1521-41).—472, 479

*Henry IV* (1553-1610)—King of France (1589-1610).—253

*Henry V*—see *Chambord, Henri Charles*

*Ferdinand Marie Dieudonné d'Artois, duc de Bordeaux, comte de*

*Henry VIII* (1491-1547)—King of England (1509-47).—254

*Herwegh, Georg Friedrich* (1817-1875)—German democratic poet, a leader of the German Democratic Society in Paris.—112

*Heydt, August, Baron von der* (1801-1874)—Prussian conservative statesman, Elberfeld banker; from December 1848 to 1862, Minister of Trade, Industry and Public Works; deputy to the Second Chamber (1848).—603

*Hillmann, Hugo* (1823-1898)—German democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated to London; later became member of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; joined the Social-Democratic Workers' Party in 1869.—612

*Hipler, Wendel* (c. 1465-1526)—German nobleman who sided with the insurgents during the peasant uprising in Franconia in 1525; principal author of the "Heilbronn programme".—452-54, 461-63

*Hirschfeld, Karl Ulrich Friedrich Wilhelm Moritz von* (1791-1859)—Prussian general, commanded a corps which took part in suppressing the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849).—208

*Höchster, Ernst Hermann* (born c. 1811)—Elberfeld lawyer, democrat, Chairman of the Elberfeld Committee of Public Safety in May 1849.—164, 175

*Hodde, Lucien de la (Delahodde)* (1808-1865)—French writer, member of secret revolutionary societies during the Restoration and the July monarchy, police agent.—311-16, 320, 323

*Hohenlohe, Albrecht* and *Leopold, Counts von*—petty Franconian rulers.—452, 453

*Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—171, 209, 347, 464

*Homer*—semi-legendary Greek epic poet, author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.—195, 258

*Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus)* (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—105

*Hosszú, Anton*—a leader of the peasant uprising in Hungary in 1514.—439

*Hubmaier, Balthasar* (c. 1480-1528)—Waldshut priest, follower of Münzer, one of the inspirers of the peasant and urban uprising in the Black Forest.—426, 446

*Hudson, George* (1800-1871)—British capitalist, known as the "railway king".—358

*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885)—French writer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic.—33, 112, 136, 138, 517

*Hühnerbein (Hünerbein), Friedrich Wilhelm* (born c. 1817)—German tailor, member of the Communist League and of the Committee of Public Safety during the Elberfeld uprising in May 1849.—602

*Huss* or *Hus, John* or *Jan* (c. 1369-1415)—Bohemian religious reformer and ideologist of the national movement; professor of Prague University from 1398, and rector of the same from October 1402 to April 1403; burnt at the stake as a heretic.—413

*Hutten, Frowin von*—cousin of Ulrich von Hutten, courtier of the Elector of Mainz; took part in suppressing the peasant uprising (1525).—466

*Hutten, Ulrich von* (1488-1523)—German poet, advocate of Reformation, ideologist of and participant in the knights' uprising in 1522-23.—417, 442-45, 466

## J

*Jacoby, Johann* (1805-1877)—German physician, petty-bourgeois journalist, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly; joined Social-Democrats in 1872.—9

*Jakob*—a leader of the peasant uprising of "shepherds" (1251) in France; born in Hungary.—413

*Jansen, Johann Joseph* (1825-1849)—German democrat, member of the Communist League; a leader of the

Cologne Workers' Association (1848), supporter of Gottschalk; shot for his participation in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849.—346

*Jansen, Karl* (born c. 1830)—German democrat, schoolteacher; took part in the Elberfeld uprising in May 1849; brother of Johann Joseph Jansen.—603

*Jaup, Heinrich Karl* (1781-1860)—German lawyer, liberal; head of the Hesse-Darmstadt Government (1848-50); President of the Pacifist Congress in Frankfurt am Main in August 1850.—511

*Jean Paul* (pseudonym of *Johann Paul Friedrich Richter*) (1763-1825)—German satirical writer.—302

*Jellachich (Jellačić), Josef, Count* (1801-1859)—Austrian general, Ban of Croatia; took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary and Austria.—596

*Joachim of Floris* (c. 1132-1202)—Italian abbot, mystic, preached a "second coming of Christ"; his teaching was condemned by the Catholic Church as heretical.—420

*John (Johann) (the Steadfast)* (1468-1532)—Duke of Saxony; from 1525 Elector of Saxony; one of the persecutors of Münzer; organised the suppression of the peasant uprising in Thuringia (1525).—424

*John (Johann)* (1782-1859)—Archduke of Austria; Imperial Regent of Germany (June 1848 to December 1849).—7,10

*Joinville, François Ferdinand Philippe Louis Marie, Prince de* (1818-1900)—duke of Orleans, son of Louis Philippe; emigrated to England after the February revolution of 1848.—16, 36

*Jones, Ernest Charles* (1819-1869)—leading figure in the English labour movement, proletarian poet and journalist, a leader of the Left Chartists, friend of Marx and Engels.—514

*Joss, Fritz from Untergrombach* (died c. 1525)—organiser of secret peasant alliances and conspiracies in South Germany (1513).—433-35, 440

*Jung, Rudolph*—merchant, witness at the trial of the participants in the Elberfeld uprising of May 1849.—603

K

*Kah-Ge-Ga-Gah-Bowh*—see *Copway, George*

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—114

*Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand* (1735-1806)—Duke of Brunswick (1780-1806); commander-in-chief of the Austro-Prussian army which fought against revolutionary France.—542

*Kilinski, Karl*—Hungarian refugee residing in London (early 1850s).—240

*Kinkel, Johann Gottfried* (1815-1882)—German poet and journalist, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to London, where he became a petty-bourgeois refugee leader and came out against Marx and Engels.—215, 227-28, 229, 345-47

*Klein, Jakob*—German plasterer; took part in the Palatinate uprising of 1849; refugee residing in London.—600, 612

*Kleiner, W.*—German refugee residing in London.—350, 600, 612

*Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb* (1724-1803)—German poet, representative of German Enlightenment.—245

*Klose, G.*—German refugee residing in London, member of the Communist League, sided with Marx during the split in the League.—483

*Knierim*—battalion commander in the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army (1849).—220-22

*Knigge, Adolph Franz Friedrich Ludwig, Baron von* (1752-1796)—German writer.—244

*Knopf von Leubas*—see *Schmidt, Jörg*

*Konrad III von Thüngen* (1466-1540)—Bishop of Würzburg (1519-40); organised the suppression of the uprising of peasants and urban plebeians in Franconia in 1525.—455, 465-66

*Körner, Hermann Joseph Alois* (1805-1882)—German democrat, teacher of

drawing; a leader of the May 1849 uprising in Elberfeld; emigrated to Switzerland, then to the USA.—372

*Kossuth, Lajos* (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement; headed bourgeois-democratic elements during the 1848-49 revolution; head of the Hungarian revolutionary Government; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated first to Turkey and then to England and America.—183, 200, 205, 206, 214, 552

*Krug, Wilhelm Traugott* (1770-1842)—German philosopher.—242

*Kübeck, Karl Friedrich, Baron von Kübau* (1780-1855)—Austrian statesman, Finance Minister after the March 1848 revolution.—10

*Kunowski*—Prussian major, War Ministry official; extreme monarchist.—379, 383

*Kunze, August*—German journalist.—242

*Kurz*—Swiss officer.—236

L

*Lacrosse, Bertrand Théobald Joseph, baron de* (1796-1865)—French politician, Orleanist; Minister of Public Works during the Second Republic; from 1850 Bonapartist.—104

*La Fayette, (Lafayette), Marie Joseph Paul Ives Roch Gilbert Motier, marquis de* (1757-1834)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, one of the leaders of the moderate constitutionalists (Feuillants); participated in the July revolution of 1830.—543

*Laffitte, Jacques* (1767-1844)—French banker and liberal politician, headed the government in the early period of the July monarchy (1830-31).—48

*Lagarde, Barthélemy* (1795-1887)—French politician, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; adherent of the Mountain party.—122

*La Hitte, Jean Ernest Ducos, vicomte de* (1789-1878)—French general, Bonapartist, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1849-51).—129

*Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louis de* (1790-1869)—French poet, historian and politician; one of the leaders of the moderate republicans in the 1840s; Minister of Foreign Affairs and virtual head of the Provisional Government in 1848.—53, 58, 65, 68, 303, 359, 362, 515, 530, 537

*Lamartinière, Felix de* (born c. 1808)—publisher of the Bonapartist newspaper *Le Pouvoir*.—39, 140, 520-21

*Lamourette, Antoine Adrien* (1742-1794)—French bishop, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1792); executed as a counter-revolutionary in 1794.—139, 519

*Lamparter, Gregor* (1463-1523)—adviser to Duke Ulrich of Württemberg.—437

*La Rocheja(c)quelein, Henri Auguste Georges Du Vergier, Marquis de* (1805-1867)—French politician, one of the leaders of the Legitimist party; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848), senator during the Second Empire.—54

*Laurentius*—see *Mészáros, Laurentius*

*Law, John* (1671-1729)—Scottish economist and financier, Director-General of Finance in France (1719-20).—491

*Leclerc, Alexandre*—Paris businessman, supported the party of Order and took part in suppressing the workers' uprising in June 1848.—32, 135, 516

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French writer and politician, a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats, editor of *La Réforme*; Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government in 1848, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (leader of the Mountain party); fled to England following the events of June 13, 1849.—53, 61, 64, 65, 71, 73, 81, 88, 91-93, 98, 99, 101-03, 106, 117, 129, 136, 323, 359, 364, 516, 528, 537, 541

*Lehmann, Albert*—German worker resident in London, leading figure in the League of the Just and in the London German Workers' Educational Society; member of the sectarian group of

Willich and Schapper in the Communist League.—625, 629, 633
*Lemoinne, John Marguerite Émile* (1815-1892)—French journalist, correspondent of the *Journal des Débats* and later its editor-in-chief.—138, 519
*Leo, Heinrich* (1799-1878)—German historian and writer, extreme monarchist, ideologist of Prussian junkerdom.—523
*Leoni, Josef*—German refugee in London.—612-13
*Leopold Karl Friedrich* (1790-1852)—Grand Duke of Baden (1830-52).—162, 175, 179, 180, 181, 184, 215
*Lerminier, Jean Louis Eugène* (1803-1857)—French conservative lawyer and writer, professor of comparative law at the Collège de France (1831-39); resigned as a result of a campaign of protest by the students.—90
*Le Sage, Alain René* (1668-1747)—French writer.—315
*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—leading figure in the German and international working-class movement, took part in the 1848-49 revolution, member of the Communist League, one of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party, friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—483
*Limpurg*—a family of Franconian counts.—455
*Lochner, Georg Wolfgang Karl* (1798-1882)—German philologist.—242
*Locke, John* (1632-1704)—English dualist philosopher and economist.—253
*Lorcher*—adviser to Duke Ulrich of Württemberg.—437
*Loreck*—participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, captain.—204, 211
*Louis IX (Saint)* (1214-1270)—King of France (1226-70).—13, 110
*Louis XI* (1423-1483)—King of France (1461-83).—402, 443
*Louis XIII* (1601-1643)—King of France (1610-43).—253
*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—119, 252
*Louis XV* (1710-1774)—King of France (1715-74).—131
*Louis XVIII (Louis le Désiré)* (1755-1824)—King of France (1814-15 and 1815-24).—18, 22
*Louis Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*
*Louis Napoleon*—see *Napoleon III*
*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orléans, King of the French (1830-48).—18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 34, 35-36, 48-50, 53, 76, 78, 80, 82, 108, 111, 114-18, 138, 141, 251, 263, 311, 321, 357, 363, 519, 521, 541, 568, 624
*Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, comte de* (1838-1894)—Louis Philippe's grandson, pretender to the French throne.—36, 141, 521
*Lourdoueix, H. de*—French politician, Legitimist, defeated in the by-election to the Legislative Assembly in the department of Gard on January 13, 1850.—22
*Löwenstein, Ludwig* and *Friedrich, Counts von*—petty Franconian rulers.—453
*Lucas*—member of the Workers' Association in Mülheim (Rhineland) in 1849; refugee in London.—613
*Ludwig V* (1478-1544)—Elector of the Palatinate (1508-44); took part in suppressing the knights' uprising of 1522-23; one of the organisers of reprisals against insurgent peasants in Franconia in 1525.—437, 444, 454, 455, 460, 462, 464, 465, 466
*Lüning, Otto* (1818-1868)—German physician and writer, a "true socialist" in the mid-forties, editor of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*, later became a national-liberal.—387-88
*Luther, Martin* (1483-1546)—prominent figure of the Reformation, founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany, ideologist of the German burghers.—411, 416-21, 423-27, 429, 441-42, 446

M

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, advocated a misanthropic theory of population.—83
*Manstein, Johann*—German soldier who took part in storming the arsenal in

Prüm; executed in October 1849.—171

*Mantel, Johann* (c. 1468-1530)—German theologian, preacher at Stuttgart, follower of Münzer.—426

*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von* (1805-1882)—Prussian conservative statesman, Minister of the Interior (November 1848-November 1850), Prime Minister (1850-58).—158, 182, 212

*Manteuffel, Rudolph von*—captain in the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army (1849); relative of Otto Theodor Manteuffel.—212

*Marat, Jean Paul* (1743-1793)—a Jacobin leader during the French Revolution.—540

*Marche*—French worker who in 1848 demanded from the Provisional Government the introduction of the right to work.—55

*Marie de Saint-Georges, Alexandre Pierre Thomas Amable* (1795-1870)—French lawyer and politician, moderate republican; Minister of Public Works in the Provisional Government in 1848; later Minister of Justice in the Cavaignac Government.—63, 359, 366, 537

*Marrast, Armand* (1801-1852)—French writer and politician, a leader of moderate republicans, editor of *Le National;* member of the Provisional Government and Mayor of Paris (1848), President of the Constituent Assembly (1848-49).—23, 53, 65, 72, 77, 78, 91, 98, 99, 263, 315, 319, 359, 515, 537

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883).—6, 41, 50, 66, 86, 110, 130, 171, 181-84, 186, 241, 257, 277, 286, 301, 336, 338, 342, 345, 348, 349, 351-54, 357, 362, 370, 371, 377-81, 383, 385, 386, 387, 389, 390-91, 483, 484, 485, 490, 533, 535, 536, 537, 567, 584, 585, 589, 606, 610, 615, 618, 620, 623, 625, 628, 629, 636

*Mathieu de la Drôme, Philippe Antoine* (1808-1865)—French democrat; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, sympathised with the Mountain party.—90

*Matthäus Lang* (c. 1468-1540)—Archbishop of Salzburg (from 1519); inspired the persecution of adherents of the Reformation, and reprisals against the insurgent peasants and townsmen in 1525.—475-77

*Mäurer, Friedrich Wilhelm German* (1811-1885)—German writer, democrat, member of the League of Outlaws, later of the League of the Just.—242

*Maximilian I* (1459-1519)—Holy Roman Emperor (1493-1519).—433, 437, 439, 448

*Maximilian II* (1811-1864)—King of Bavaria (1848-64).—8, 151

*Mayerhofer, Rudolph*—Deputy Minister of War in the Baden Provisional Government (1849), obstructed radical military action.—176, 180

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—a leader of the national liberation and democratic movement in Italy; head of the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850).—513-14, 528, 532, 541

*McCulloch, John Ramsay* (1789-1864)—Scottish economist who vulgarised David Ricardo's theories.—584

*Meininghaus, Heinrich*—innkeeper, witness at the trial of the participants in the May 1849 Elberfeld uprising.—602

*Meissner, Alfred* (1822-1885)—German democratic writer; in the mid-forties a "true socialist", subsequently a liberal.—242

*Melanchthon, Philipp* (1497-1560)—German theologian, closest associate of Luther, whom he assisted in adapting Lutheranism to the interests of princes; took a hostile attitude towards Münzer's revolutionary ideas.—424

*Menzingen, Stephan von* (d. 1525)—German knight; headed the insurrection of Rothenburg petty burghers and plebeians in March 1525.—452, 465

*Mersy*—commander of the 3rd Division in the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army; emigrated to the USA, fought on the side of the Northerners in the American Civil War.—226, 227, 229, 230, 232

*Mészáros, Laurentius* (d. 1514)—priest of Szeged, a leader of the peasant insurrection in Hungary in 1514.—438, 439

*Metternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince von* (1773-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1809-21), Chancellor (1821-48); an organiser of the Holy Alliance.—10, 624

*Metzler, Georg*—a leader of the peasant uprising in Odenwald (1525), and commander of the Gay Bright Troop; belonged to the moderate party. —452-54, 461, 463

*Mieroslawski, Ludwik* (1814-1878)—prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement; took part in the insurrection of 1830-31, in the preparations for the uprising of 1846 and in the 1848-49 revolution; later, a leader of the moderate wing of Polish democratic emigrants; sympathised with Bonapartism.—152, 179, 184, 195, 196, 206, 212, 218, 219, 222-23, 226, 230, 231

*Mirbach, Otto von* (born c. 1800)—retired Prussian artillery officer, democrat, commandant of Elberfeld during the May 1849 uprising.—602, 604

*Mniewski, Theophil* (1809-1849)—Polish revolutionary, commanded a regiment in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; executed in Rastatt in 1849.—219

*Mohammed* (*Muhammad, Mahomet*) (c. 570-632)—founder of Islam.—244

*Molé, Louis Mathieu, comte* (1781-1855)—French statesman, Orleanist, Prime Minister (1836-37, 1837-39); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic.—109

*Molière* (real name *Jean Baptiste Poquelin*) (1622-1673)—French dramatist.—139, 519

*Moll, Joseph* (1813-1849)—German watchmaker prominent in the German and international working-class movement; a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; President of the Cologne Workers' Association (from July to September 1848), member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats; killed in battle during the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849.—200, 201, 225-29, 278

*Monk* (*Monck*), *George, 1st Duke of Albemarle* (1608-1670)—English general and statesman; originally a royalist, he later served in Cromwell's army, helped restore the Stuart dynasty in 1660.—89

*Monnier*—member of secret revolutionary societies during the July monarchy in France; became secretary-general of the police prefecture after the February 1848 revolution.—313

*Montalembert, Charles Forbes René de Tryon, comte de* (1810-1870)—French politician and writer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, Orleanist, leader of the Catholic party, supported Louis Bonaparte during the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, but shortly afterwards sided with the opposition.—118, 119, 136, 517

*Mördes, Florian*—Minister of the Interior in the Baden Provisional Government (1849).—176

*Moreau, Jean Victor Marie* (1763-1813)—French general, fought in the wars of the French Republic against the coalition of European states; defeated the Austrians at Hohenlinden (1800).—236

*Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus* (1756-1791) —Austrian composer.—306, 531

*Müller, Hans von Bulgenbach* (d. 1525) —led and then betrayed the Black Forest peasants in 1525.—446, 447, 449, 466, 467

*Müller, Jakob* (born 1823) — German lawyer, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, civil commissary in Kirchheimbolanden; emigrated to the USA.—200

*Mundt, Theodor* (1808-1861)—German writer, member of the Young Germany literary group; professor of literature and history at Breslau and Berlin.—242

*Münzer, Thomas* (c. 1490-1525)—leader of the urban plebeians and poor

peasants during the Reformation and the Peasant War in Germany, advocated egalitarian utopian communism.—404-05, 413, 415, 418-27, 432, 442, 446, 448, 450, 461, 469-73, 475-76

N

*Napier, Sir William Francis Patrick* (1785-1860)—British general and military historian.—544

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—17, 18, 22, 25, 80-84, 98, 119, 122, 124, 142-44, 155, 198, 200, 260, 286, 347, 523, 524, 542, 544-50, 552, 553-54, 555-56, 559-60, 563, 564, 568-69, 576

*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—Prince, nephew of Napoleon I, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—16, 20, 22, 25-26, 28, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 75, 82-87, 89, 90, 92, 94, 96-99, 101-03, 110-14, 118-20, 123-25, 127-29, 139-45, 262, 342, 511, 519-25, 528, 572, 576-80

*Natzmer, Hermann von* (1806-1858)—Prussian officer, sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment in a fortress for refusal to shoot at the people during the storming of the arsenal in Berlin on June 14, 1848; escaped in 1849, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to Switzerland, later to England; settled in Australia in 1852.—196

*Necker, Jacques* (1732-1804)—French banker and politician, several times Director-General of Finance in the 1770s and 1780s, attempted to carry out reforms.—265, 302

*Nerlinger*—participant in the Offenburg democratic movement (1848) and the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849).—233

*Nesselrode, Karl Vasilyevich, Count* (1780-1862)—Russian statesman and diplomat; Foreign Minister (1816-56), Chancellor of State from 1845 onwards.—547

*Neuhaus*—physician from Thuringia; commanded a detachment of the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army in 1849.—229

*Neumayer, Maximilian Georg Joseph* (1789-1866)—French general, supported the party of Order.—144, 524-25

*Ney, Napoléon Henri Edgard* (1812-1882)—French general, Bonapartist, adjutant of President Louis Bonaparte, deputy to the Legislative Assembly of 1850-51.—112

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—8, 258, 259, 262, 511, 528, 547, 556-57, 624

*Noack, Ludwig* (1819-1885)—German theologian and philosopher.—242

*Nostradamus (Michel de Notre-Dame)* (1503-1566)—French physician and astrologer, mystic.—245

*Nothjung, Peter* (1821-1866)—German tailor, member of the Cologne Workers' Association and of the Communist League, one of the accused at the Cologne communist trial (1852).—376, 602

O

*Oastler, Richard* (1789-1861)—English politician, Tory philanthropist.—291, 293, 298

*Obermüller*—German journalist, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849.—204, 212, 233

*Oborski, Ludwik* (1787-1873)—Polish colonel, participant in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31; emigrant resident in London, member of the Fraternal Democrats society; commanded a division in the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army (1849).—226, 227, 231

*O'Connor, Feargus Edward* (1794-1855)—a leader of the Left wing in the Chartist movement, editor of the newspaper *The Northern Star*; reformist after 1848.—377, 514-15

*Orleans, House of*—French royal dynasty (1830-48).—81, 95, 111-12

*Orleans, Duchess of*—see *Orléans, Hélène Louise Elisabeth*

*Orleans, Duke of*—see *Louis Philippe I*
*Orléans, Hélène Louise Elisabeth, Duchesse d'* (1814-1858)—Princess of Mecklenburg, widow of Ferdinand, Louis Philippe's elder son.—36, 111
*Oswald, Eugen* (1826-1912)—German journalist, democrat, took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden (1848-49); emigrated to England after the defeat of the revolution.—219
*Oudinot, Nicolas Charles Victor* (1791-1863)—French general, Orleanist, in 1849 commanded troops dispatched against the Roman Republic.—93, 94, 101, 102, 549
*Ovid* (*Publius Ovidius Naso*) (43 B.C.-c. 17 A.D.)—Roman poet.—541

P

*Pache, Jean Nicolas* (1746-1823)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, Jacobin, War Minister (October 1792-January 1793), Mayor of Paris (February 1793-May 1794).—545, 563
*Pagnerre, Laurent Antoine* (1805-1854)—French publisher, republican; deputy to the Constituent Assembly in 1848.—91
*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman, Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58 and 1859-65); Tory at the beginning of his career, from 1830 onwards, Whig.—511, 513
*Paris, Count of*—see *Louis Philippe Albert*
*Parmentier*—French manufacturer and financier.—117
*Paskevich, Ivan Fyodorovich* (1782-1856)—Russian general-field marshal; commander-in-chief of the army sent to suppress the Polish insurrection in the summer of 1831, and of the army that took part in suppressing the Hungarian revolution in 1849.—547, 556
*Passy, Hippolyte Philibert* (1793-1880)—French economist and politician, Orleanist, several times member of the government during the July monarchy; Minister of Finance during the Second Republic.—111, 117
*Peel, Sir Robert* (1788-1850)—British statesman, moderate Tory, Prime Minister (1841-46); repealed the Corn Laws (1846).—19, 293, 496, 511
*Peucker, Eduard von* (1791-1876)—Prussian general and statesman, Minister of War in the so-called Imperial Government in Frankfurt (July 1848-May 1849); took part in quelling the uprising in the Palatinate and Baden in 1849.—158, 199, 230
*Pfänder, Karl* (c. 1818-1876)—German artist, prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; emigrated to London in 1845; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, of the Central Authority of the Communist League, and of the General Council of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—351, 483, 533, 597, 598, 601, 610, 618-20, 629, 632
*Pfeifer* (*Pfeiffer*), *Heinrich* (d. 1525)—popular preacher, followed Münzer; a leader of the uprising in Mühlhausen (1525).—469, 473
*Philip I* (1479-1533)—Margrave of Baden, in 1525 took part in suppressing the peasant uprising in South Germany.—438
*Philip I* (*the Magnanimous*) (1504-1567)—Landgrave of Hesse; took part in suppressing the insurrection of knights in 1522-23; organised the suppression of the peasant uprising in Thuringia in 1525.—444, 467-69, 475
*Pilhes, Victor Apollinaire Ferdinand* (1817-1879)—French journalist, democrat, member of secret revolutionary societies during the July monarchy, supported the newspaper *La Réforme*; deputy to the Legislative Assembly during the Second Republic.—312
*Pitt, William* (1759-1806)—British statesman, Tory; Prime Minister (1783-1801 and 1804-06).—364
*Pius IX* (*Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti*) (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—92, 112, 302, 303, 512, 513

*Plato* (c. 427-c. 347 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—78

*Pradié, Pierre* (1816-1892)—French lawyer, republican; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; wrote pamphlets defending the Republic against Louis Napoleon.—263

*Praslin, Charles Laure Hugues Théobald, duc de Choiseul* (1805-1847)—French aristocrat; his trial in 1847 for murdering his wife had political repercussions.—358

*Prassler, Kaspar*—leader of insurgent detachments of peasants and miners in the bishopric of Salzburg (1525).—475

*Pregizer, Kaspar*—cutler in Schorndorf (Württemberg), one of the organisers of the Poor Konrad society; took part in the uprising of peasants and townsmen in Württemberg in 1514.—436

*Prince of Prussia*—see *William I*

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist, a founder of anarchism; deputy to the Constituent Assembly in 1848.—134, 387, 486-87, 508, 541, 585, 588

*Pulszky, Ferenc* (1814-1897)—Hungarian politician, writer and archaeologist, a Pole by birth; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; emigrated, contributed to the *New-York Daily Tribune* in the 1850s; in 1867 returned to Hungary after amnesty and became deputy to the Diet (1867-76 and 1884-97).—240

R

*Rabmann, Franz* (d. 1525)—popular preacher, follower of Münzer, took part in the uprisings of the Black Forest and Klettgau peasants and plebeians (1525).—426

*Radetzky (Radetzki), Josef, Count of Radetz* (1766-1858)—Austrian field marshal, commanded the Austrian forces in Northern Italy from 1831; suppressed the Italian national liberation movement in 1848 and 1849.—10, 547, 548

*Radowitz, Joseph Maria von* (1797-1853)—Prussian general, conservative statesman; a Right-wing leader in the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848 and 1849.—10

*Rakow, Heinrich*—German officer, took part in the struggle for the liberation of Schleswig-Holstein (1848) and in the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849); commanded the Kaiserslautern Battalion of the Baden insurgent army.—207

*Ramorino, Gerolamo* (1792-1849)—Italian general, took part in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31; commanded the Piedmontese army in 1849; his tactics led to the victory of the Austrian counter-revolutionary forces.—548

*Raphael Sanzio* (1483-1520)—Italian painter of the Renaissance.—311

*Raquilliet, Felix* (1778-1863)—staff general in the Polish insurgent army (1830-31); emigrated to France; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; for a time was acting commander-in-chief of the Palatinate armed forces.—195

*Raspail, François Vincent* (1794-1878)—French naturalist, journalist and socialist close to the revolutionary proletariat; took part in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; deputy to the Constituent Assembly.—53, 54, 64, 65, 75, 81, 88, 359

*Rateau, Jean Pierre Lamotte* (1800-1887)—French lawyer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, Bonapartist.—86, 90

*Raumer, Friedrich Ludwig Georg von* (1781-1873)—German historian; Imperial Ambassador to Paris (1848); deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre).—242

*Rausch, Friedrich Wilhelm* (born c. 1820)—Barmen printer, participant in the Elberfeld uprising (May 1849).—603

*Ravez, Auguste Marie Simon* (1770-1849)—French statesman, royalist, deputy to the *Chambre introuvable* (1815-September 1816); President of the Chamber of Deputies (1819-28);

deputy to the Legislative Assembly during the Second Republic.—122

*Reichardt, Joseph Martin* (1803-1872)—German lawyer, democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly, member of the Palatinate revolutionary Provisional Government (1849).—195

*Rembrandt van Rijn* (1606-1669)—Dutch painter.—311

*Reventlow, Friedrich, Count von* (1797-1874)—German conservative politician, member of the Schleswig-Holstein Provisional Government (1848).—527

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—English economist.—334, 530

*Richard von Greifenklau* (1467-1531)—Elector and archbishop of Trier (1511-31), bitter opponent of the Reformation; took part in suppressing the knights' uprising in 1522-23 and the peasant uprising in 1525.—444, 466

*Rintoul, Robert Stephen* (1787-1858)—English journalist, editor-in-chief of *The Spectator* (1828-58).—380, 381, 384

*Riotte, Karl Nikolaus* (born c. 1816)—German lawyer, democrat, member of the Committee of Public Safety during the Elberfeld uprising (May 1849).—164

*Roberts, William Prowting* (1806-1871)—English lawyer connected with the Chartist and trade union movements.—534

*Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de* (1758-1794)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, leader of the Jacobins, head of the revolutionary government (1793-94).—22, 77, 165, 540, 611

*Robinson, W. R.*—Governor of the Bank of England (1847).—493

*Rohrbach, Jäcklein* (c. 1498-1525)—one of the chiefs of the peasant uprising in Franconia (1525); known for his irreconcilability towards the nobility.—453-57, 460, 461

*Ronge, Johannes* (1813-1887)—German clergyman, an initiator of the "German Catholics" movement; participant in the revolution of 1848-49.—241, 242, 532

*Rothschilds*—dynasty of bankers with banks in many European countries.—51, 263

*Rothschild, Jacob (James), baron de* (1792-1868)—head of the Rothschild banking house in Paris.—50, 51, 268

*Rouher, Eugène* (1814-1884)—French politician, Bonapartist, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; Minister of Justice (1849-51).—137, 518

*Rudolf II von Scherenberg* (c. 1405-1495)—Bishop of Würzburg (1466-95); suppressed the peasant uprising led by Hans Böheim in 1476.—430

*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; a leader of German petty-bourgeois refugees in England in the 1850s; became a national-liberal after 1866.—182, 183, 486-87, 528, 532, 535-36

*Rühel (Rühl), Johannes*—German lawyer, counsellor in Saxony, relative and follower of Martin Luther.—419

*Russell, Lord John Russell, 1st Earl* (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader, Prime Minister (1846-52 and 1865-66), Foreign Secretary (1852-53 and 1859-65).—510

*Ryschka, Martin*—Hungarian refugee in London.—240

S

*Sachs, Hans* (1494-1576)—German artisan, poet and composer of the Reformation, founder of the Meistersinger school in Nuremberg.—246

*Sadler, Michael Thomas* (1780-1835)—English economist and politician, philanthropist, sympathised with the Tory party.—291, 298

*Saint-Just, Antoine Louis Léon de Richebourg de* (1767-1794)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, a Jacobin leader.—545

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—110, 306

*Saphir, Moritz Gottlieb* (1795-1858)—Austrian humoristic poet.—242

*Sauer, Heinrich*—a witness at the trial of the participants in the Elberfeld uprising of May 1849.—603

*Schappeler, Christoph* (1472-1551)—German doctor of theology, advocate of the Reformation; in 1524-25 joined the plebeian opposition in Memmingen (Upper Swabia).—426, 467

*Schapper, Karl* (c. 1812-1870)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; a leader (1848-49) and President (February-May 1849) of the Cologne Workers' Association; after the revolution, a leader of a sectarian group in the Communist League, later member of the General Council of the First International.—226, 533-34, 537, 625, 627, 628, 629, 633

*Schärttner* (*Scherttner*), *August* (1817-1859)—cooper in Hanau, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; refugee in London, member of the Communist League; sympathised with the sectarian group of Willich and Schapper.—621, 633

*Schill, Ferdinand von* (1776-1809)—Prussian officer, commanded a guerrilla detachment fighting against Napoleon's forces; killed in 1809 during an attempt to raise a national liberation uprising.—174

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—241, 242, 248

*Schily, Victor* (1810-1875)—German lawyer, democrat, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849); emigrated to France; member of the First International.—201

*Schimmelpfennig, Alexander* (1824-1865)—Prussian officer, democrat, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrant; sympathised with the sectarian group of Willich and Schapper; fought for the Northerners in the American Civil War.—196, 210-13

*Schlinke, Ludwig*—retired Prussian officer, business clerk, participant in the revolutionary events in Breslau (1848), general quartermaster in the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army (1849).—235

*Schmidt, Jörg* (known as *Knopf von Leubas*) (born c. 1480-1525)—Upper Swabian peasant; participant in the Peasant War of 1525, a leader of the Allgäu Troop.—468

*Schmid, Ulrich*—ironsmith, leader of the Baltringen Troop of insurgent Swabian peasants in 1525.—449

*Schmitt, Nikolaus* (c. 1806-1860)—German journalist and lawyer, democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly, Minister of the Interior in the Palatinate Provisional Government (1849).—201

*Schneider, Georg*—former captain of mercenaries in the service of the French; took part in the *Bundschuh* peasant conspiracy and in preparations for an abortive peasant insurrection in Upper Rhineland (1513).—434

*Schön, Ulrich* (d. 1525)—participant in the Peasant War of 1525; a leader of the Leipheim Troop.—450, 458

*Schönhals, Karl von* (1788-1857)—Austrian general and military writer, took an active part in suppressing the revolution in Italy (1848-49).—10, 268

*Schramm, Jean Paul Adam, comte de* (1789-1884)—French general and politician; Minister of War (1850).—144, 524

*Schramm, Konrad* (c. 1822-1858)—German proletarian revolutionary, member of the Communist League, refugee in London from 1849; manager of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—6, 483, 606, 625, 629

*Schramm, Rudolf* (1813-1882)—German democratic journalist; deputy to the

Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; emigrant in England; follower of Bismarck in the 1860s. —349, 350, 612

*Schuberth* & Co.—Hamburg bookselling firm from 1826.—5

*Schurz, Karl* (1829-1906)—German democrat, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849); emigrated to Switzerland; subsequently US statesman.—372

*Sébastiani, Horace François Bastien, comte* (1772-1851)—French marshal, diplomat, Orleanist; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1830-32), Ambassador to London (1835-40).—69

*Sefeloge, Maximilian (Max)* (1820-1859) —former Prussian soldier, took part in an attempt to assassinate Frederick William IV; died in a lunatic asylum.—378, 382, 383, 386

*Ségur d'Aguesseau, Raymond Joseph Paul, comte de* (1803-1889)—French lawyer and politician; sympathised with all the ruling parties one after the other; represented the party of Order in the Legislative Assembly.—129

*Seiler, Anton*—German soldier, took part in storming the arsenal in Prüm; executed in October 1849.—171

*Seiler, Sebastian* (c. 1810-c. 1890)—German journalist, member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee in 1846, member of the Communist League, participant in the revolution of 1848-49 in Germany. —483

*Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of* (1671-1713)—English moral philosopher, politician, Whig.—253

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English dramatist and poet.—206, 230

*Sickingen, Franz von* (1481-1523) —German knight who joined the Reformation, leader of the knights' uprising in 1522-23.—417, 442, 444-45, 481

*Sigel, Franz* (1824-1902)—Baden officer, democrat, one of the military leaders of the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849; emigrated to Switzerland and later to England; lived in the United States from 1852, in the American Civil War fought for the Northerners.—174, 179, 226, 230-37, 372

*Simon, Levi*—small tradesman, witness at the trial of participants in the Elberfeld uprising of May 1849.—603

*Simon, Ludwig* (1810-1872)—German lawyer, democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; emigrated to Switzerland in 1849.—247, 248, 249, 250, 486-87

*Singerhans (Singer, Hans)*—a leader of the Poor Konrad society and of the peasant uprising in Württemberg and in the mountain regions of Swabia (1514).—436

*Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de* (1773-1842)—Swiss economist, representative of economic romanticism. —584

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—531, 584-85

*Sobrier, Marie Joseph* (c. 1825-1854) —French democrat, member of secret revolutionary societies during the July monarchy; founded in March 1848 the newspaper *La Commune de Paris*, organ of the Paris prefecture. —313

*Solomon*—King of Israel and Judah (c. 974-c. 937 B.C.).—244

*Soulouque, Faustin* (c. 1782-1867)—President of the Republic of Haiti; proclaimed himself emperor under the name of Faustin I in 1849.—26, 83, 123, 127

*Spalatin, George* (original name *Georg Burckhardt*) (1484-1545)—German clergyman, humanist, friend and associate of Martin Luther.—417

*Spät, Dietrich* (d. 1536)—German nobleman, leader of a detachment in the punitive expedition of Truchsess. —457, 459, 463

*Starke, Carl*—German sergeant, witness at the trial of the participants in the Elberfeld uprising of May 1849.—603

*Steiniger, August*—non-commissioned officer, witness at the trial of participants in the Elberfeld uprising of May 1849.—603

*Sternberg*—see *Ungern-Sternberg, Alexander, Baron von*
*Sterne, Laurence* (1713-1768)—English novelist.—83
*Stirner, Max* (real name *Johann Caspar Schmidt*) (1806-1856)—German philosopher, Young Hegelian, an ideologist of individualism and anarchism.—334, 487, 589
*Stoffel von Freiburg*—an organiser of the *Bundschuh* peasant conspiracy in Upper Rhineland and the Black Forest in 1513.—437
*Stolberg, Bodo, Count von* (1467-1538)—German state counsellor, abbot of the Magdeburg and Halberstadt monasteries, adviser to Cardinal Albrecht.—420
*Stolberg, Friedrich Leopold, Count zu* (1750-1819)—German poet.—245
*Storch, Niklas* (c. 1500-c. 1536)—Zwickau weaver, head of local Anabaptist sect; under Münzer's influence preached popular insurrection against clerical and lay feudal lords.—420
*Strasser, Friedrich*—Austrian painter, participant in the 1848 revolution in Austria, lieutenant-colonel of the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army in 1849.—209
*Strauss, David Friedrich* (1808-1874)—German philosopher and writer, Young Hegelian.—302
*Strotha, Karl Adolf von* (1786-1870)—Prussian general, conservative, Minister of War (November 1848-February 1850).—268
*Struve, Gustav von* (1805-1870)—German journalist, democrat; a leader of the Baden republican uprisings of 1848 and the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois emigrants in England; fought in the American Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—149, 175, 177, 180, 183, 198, 221, 222, 223, 233, 234, 235, 350, 352, 373, 612, 617, 619
*Stuarts*—royal dynasty in Scotland (1371-1714) and England (1603-49 and 1660-1714).—254
*Sue, Eugène Marie Joseph* (1804-1857)—French writer, author of sentimental social novels.—31, 32, 38, 124, 135-37, 516, 517, 518
*Sulz, Rudolf, Count von*—judge of the Imperial Court in Rottweil; an organiser of reprisals against insurgent peasants in South Germany during the Peasant War of 1525.—467
*Suvorov, Alexander Vasilyevich, Count Suvorov-Rymniksky, Prince Italiisky* (1729-1800)—Russian general.—548
*Száleresi, Ambros*—Pest citizen, joined the peasant uprising in Hungary in 1514, betrayed the insurgents and went over to the nobility.—438
*Sznayde, Franz* (1790-1850)—participant in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, general of the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army in 1849.—195, 196, 199, 200, 205, 209, 218, 219, 221

T

*Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de* (1754-1838)—French diplomat, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1797-99, 1799-1807, 1814-15), France's representative at the Congress of Vienna (1814-15).—347
*Tao Kuang* (1782-1850)—Emperor of China (1820-50).—266
*Techow, Gustav Adolf* (1813-1893)—Prussian officer, democrat, chief of the general staff of the Palatinate insurgent army; emigrated to Switzerland and in 1852 to Australia.—195-96, 220, 221
*Teleki, István* (d. 1514)—royal chancellor, later Hungarian treasurer, killed by insurgents during the peasant uprising of 1514.—439
*Teste, Jean Baptiste* (1780-1852)—French lawyer and statesman, Orleanist, Minister of Trade, Justice and Public Works during the July monarchy, tried for bribery and malpractices.—117, 358
*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836, 1840); deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848) and to the Legislative Assembly (1848-51); head of the Orleanist

monarchist party after 1848, hangman of the Paris Commune; President of the Republic (1871-73).—22, 36, 109, 114, 124, 136, 139, 255, 517, 519

*Thome*—colonel in the Baden army; commanded a division in the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army (1849); advocated capitulation towards the end of the campaign.—226

*Thumb von Neuburg, Konrad* (1465-1525)—councillor of Duke Ulrich of Württemberg.—437

*Thunfeld, Kunz von*—German knight, participant in the peasant conspiracy of Hans Böheim in Niklashausen (bishopric of Würzburg) in 1476. —430

*Thunfeld, Michael von*—son of Kunz von Thunfeld, with whom he took part in the peasant conspiracy of Hans Böheim in Niklashausen in 1476. —430

*Thurn und Taxis, Maximilian Karl von* (1802-1871)—German prince, enjoyed the hereditary privilege of organising postal service in several German states; owner of the *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung*.—10, 11

*Tichen, G.*—see *Tiehsen, Eduard*

*Tiehsen* (*Thiessen, Tichen*), *Eduard*—citizen of Stettin who sent money to the Committee of Support for German refugees in 1849.—598

*Tiphaine, Jean Laurent* (born c. 1805) —French democrat, member of secret revolutionary societies during the July monarchy, supported the newspaper *La Réforme*.—313

*Tooke, Thomas* (1774-1858)—English economist, adherent of the classical school in political economy.—496, 584

*Toussaint-Louverture* (*L'Ouverture, dit Toussaint*), *François Dominique* (1743-1803)—leader of the revolutionary movement of Haiti Negroes against Spanish and English domination during the French Revolution.—83

*Toussenel, Alphonse* (1803-1885)—French politician and journalist, disciple of Fourier in 1833, editor-in-chief of *La Paix*, a founder of *La Démocratie pacifique*, member of the Luxembourg Commission in 1848.—51

*Trélat, Ulysse* (1795-1879)—French politician, moderate republican; deputy to the Constituent Assembly in 1848, Minister of Public Works in May-June 1848.—66, 368

*Trestaillons* (*Trestaillon*), *Jacques Dupont, dit*—French Legitimist.—22

*Trociński, Feliks*—participant in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, subsequently emigrated; commanded the Polish detachment in the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army (1849). —209

*Truchsess von Waldburg, Georg* (1488-1531)—commander of the armed forces of the Swabian League, chief organiser of the suppression of the peasant and urban plebeian uprising in 1525.—447-50, 457-60, 462-65, 467-68, 472

*Turenne, Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de* (1611-1675)—French general.—556

*Turgot, Anne Robert Jacques, baron de l'Aulne* (1727-1781)—French statesman and economist, physiocrat; Director-General of Finance (1774-76).—302

*Tyler, Wat* (or *Walter*) (d. 1381)—leader of the peasant revolt of 1381 in England.—414

*Tzschirner, Samuel Erdmann* (c. 1812-1870)—German lawyer, democrat, extreme Left leader in the Saxonian Diet, an organiser of the May 1849 uprising in Dresden, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849. —201-02

U

*Ulrich* (1487-1550)—Duke of Württemberg (from 1498), banished in 1519; sought to utilise the peasant movement of 1525 to restore his power; regained the Württemberg throne in 1534.—436-37, 448-50

*Ungern-Sternberg, Alexander, Baron von* (1806-1868)—German writer who idealised medieval aristocracy.—242

*Uttenhoven, von* (d. 1849)—Prussian officer, killed during the Elberfeld uprising in May 1849.—160

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*Vasco da Gama* (1469-1524)—Portuguese navigator, discovered the sea route to India round the Cape of Good Hope (1497-98).—401
*Vassal*—police officer in Paris (second half of the 1840s).—324
*Vauban, Sébastien Le Prestre de* (1633-1707)—French marshal and military engineer, criticised France's taxation system.—119
*Venedey, Jakob* (1805-1871)—German radical journalist and politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; a liberal after the 1848-49 revolution.—258, 511
*Véron, Louis Désiré* (1798-1867)—French journalist and politician, Orleanist until 1848, when he became a Bonapartist; owner and publisher of *Le Constitutionnel* (1844-52).—39
*Vespasian* (*Titus Flavius Vespasianus*) (9-79)—Roman Emperor (69-79).—591
*Vidal, François* (1814-1872)—French economist, petty-bourgeois socialist, secretary of the Luxembourg Commission (1848), deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1850-51).—27, 31, 128, 129, 135, 344, 516
*Vidil, Jules*—French officer, member of the committee of the French society of Blanquist emigrants in London; associated with the sectarian group of Willich and Schapper.—484, 615
*Vidocq, François Eugène* (1775-1857)—French secret police agent, presumed author of *Memoirs*; his name was used to denote a cunning sleuth and rogue.—319
*Virgil* (*Publius Vergilius Maro*) (70-19 B.C.)—Roman poet.—111
*Vivien, Alexandre François Auguste* (1799-1854)—French lawyer and politician, Orleanist, Minister of Justice (1840); Minister of Public Works in the Cavaignac Government (1848).—78
*Vogt, Karl* (1817-1895)—German naturalist, vulgar materialist, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five imperial regents (June 1849); emigrated in 1849; later received subsidies from Napoleon III; slandered Marx and Engels.—258, 486-87
*Voltaire, François Marie Arouet* (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—22, 83, 111, 312, 331
*Voss, Johann Heinrich* (1751-1826)—German poet and translator.—195

W

*Waldau, Max* (real name *Richard Georg Spiller von Hauenschild*) (1825-1855)—German writer.—242
*Waldeck, Benedikt Franz Leo* (1802-1870)—German lawyer and radical politician; Vice-President of the Prussian National Assembly and a leader of its Left wing in 1848; later a leader of the Progressist Party.—9, 258, 345
*Walpole, Sir Robert, 1st Earl of Orford* (1676-1745)—British Prime Minister (1721-42), Whig, the first to form cabinets independent of the king and relying on the majority in Parliament; widely resorted to bribery.—252
*Washington, George* (1732-1799)—American statesman, commander-in-chief during the war of the North American colonies for their independence (1775-83); first President of the United States (1789-97).—26
*Weerth, Georg* (1822-1856)—German poet and writer, member of the Communist League; a founder of proletarian poetry in Germany; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—353
*Wehe, Hans Jakob* (d. 1525)—Leipheim clergyman, follower of Münzer; a leader of the Leipheim peasant troop in 1525.—426, 450, 453, 458
*Weigand von Redwitz*—Bishop of Bamberg (1522-56), an organiser of the suppression of the peasant insurrection in Franconia (1525).—452, 465
*Weiss, Guido*—German physician, participant in the Baden-Palatinate up-

rising (1849), ex-civil commissary in Zweibrücken.—210

*Weitling, Wilhelm Christian* (1808-1871)—German tailor, one of the early leaders of the working-class movement in Germany, a theoretician of utopian egalitarian communism.—485

*Weitmoser, Erasmus*—German artisan, leader of a troop of Salzburg miners and peasants during the Peasant War of 1525.—475

*Welden, Franz Ludwig, Baron von* (1782-1853)—Austrian Master of Ordnance; took part in the campaign against the national liberation movement in Italy in 1848; commandant of Vienna after the suppression of the October 1848 uprising (until April 1849); commander-in-chief of the Austrian troops fighting against the Hungarian revolution (April and May 1849).—547

*Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of* (1769-1852)—British general and statesman, Tory, Prime Minister (1828-30), Foreign Secretary (December 1834-April 1835).—512, 546

*Welsers*—big German merchants and usurers in the 15th and 16th centuries, creditors of many European monarchs.—448

*Werner, Johann Peter*—German lawyer, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848.—158

*Wieland, Christoph Martin* (1733-1813)—German writer of the Enlightenment period.—488

*Wildenbruch, Ludwig von* (1803-1874)—Prussian diplomat, envoy to Copenhagen in 1848.—394

*Wilhelm von Honstein* (c. 1470-1541)—Bishop of Strassburg (1506-41); in 1525 took part in quelling the peasant insurrection in the archbishopric of Mainz.—466

*William I* (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, King of Prussia (1861-88), German Emperor (1871-88).—181, 208, 214, 346-47, 379, 383, 624

*William I, Friedrich Karl* (1781-1864)—King of Württemberg (1816-64).—8

*William III* (1650-1702)—Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the Netherlands (1672-1702), King of England (1689-1702).—252, 253

*Willich, August* (1810-1878)—Prussian officer; resigned from the army on account of his political convictions, member of the Communist League, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, a leader of the sectarian group which split away from the Communist League in 1850.—170, 186, 196-98, 202-06, 209-15, 218-22, 224-31, 233, 234-36, 346, 350-51, 378, 379, 381, 384, 390, 533, 534, 537, 601, 610, 615, 618-19, 620, 625, 629

*Windischgrätz, Alfred Candidus Ferdinand, Prince* (1787-1862)—Austrian field marshal; commanded the troops which crushed the uprisings in Prague and Vienna in 1848; led the Austrian army against the Hungarian revolution in 1848-49.—547

*Winkelried, Arnold von* (d. 1386)—semi-legendary hero of the Swiss war of liberation against the Habsburgs; legend has it that he secured the victory over the Austrian Duke Leopold in the battle at Sempach at the price of his life.—532

*Wiseman, Nicholas Patrick Stephen* (1802-1865)—English Catholic clergyman, appointed Archbishop of Westminster and Cardinal in 1850.—512-13

*Wohlmeiner, Johann Gottfried* (born c. 1826)—architect, born in Cologne, participant in the Elberfeld uprising (May 1849).—603-04

*Wolf(f), Ferdinand* (1812-1895)—German journalist, member of the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; emigrated from Germany after the defeat of the revolution; took the side of Marx when the Communist League split in 1850.—81, 86, 353, 483

*Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus)* (1809-1864)—German teacher, proletarian revolutionary, leading figure in the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848 and

1849; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—41, 353, 373

*Wrangel, Friedrich Heinrich Ernst, Count von* (1784-1877)—Prussian general; took part in the counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Berlin and in dispersing the Prussian National Assembly in November 1848.—596

*Wright, Thomas Barber* (mid-19th cent.)—English economist of the Birmingham school known as the "little shilling men". He and his fellow-thinker Harlow wrote under the pseudonym of Gemini.—588

*Wycliffe (Wyclif), John* (c. 1324-1384)—English religious reformer, champion of the interests of the townspeople and the knights; fought for an English Church independent of Rome.—413-14

Z

*Zápolya, Janos (Johann)* (1487-1540)—Transylvanian voivode, suppressed the 1514 peasant uprising in Hungary; King of Hungary (1526-40).—439, 440

*Zell, Friedrich Josef* (1814-1881)—Trier lawyer, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre).—158

*Zimmermann, Wilhelm* (1807-1878)—German historian, democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing).—417-19, 423, 424, 425, 426, 447, 450

*Zinn, Christian*—German democrat, Kaiserslautern journalist, captain in the Palatinate insurgent army (1849).—206, 230

*Zitz, Franz Heinrich* (1803-1877)—German lawyer, democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849; emigrated to the USA.—149, 196, 198, 201, 224-25

*Zychlinski*—participant in the May uprising in Dresden and the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849.—215, 217, 229

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*Amphitryon* (Gr. Myth.)—King of Tiryns. His name is used to mean a generous host.—76

*Antaeus* (Gr. Myth.)—a giant of Libya, invincible in wrestling so long as he touched his mother the earth; Hercules held him off the ground and throttled him.—104

*Atta Troll*—a bear, title figure in a satirical poem by Heine; image of the philistine dabbler in politics, primitive in his arguments, intolerant of jokes and wit.—182-83, 536

*Bacchus*—see *Dionysus*

*Bartholomew, Saint*—one of Christ's twelve apostles.—77, 130

*Birch, Harvey*—main character in James Fenimore Cooper's novel *The Spy*, a patriot whose sense of civic duty makes him become a spy.—312-14

*Christ, Jesus* (Bib.)—421, 422, 426

*Damocles*—according to a Greek legend, a courtier of the Syracusian tyrant Dionysius (4th cent. B.C.).—123

*Daniel*—prophet of the Old Testament.—421

*David*—according to biblical legend, slew the Philistine giant Goliath; later King of Judah.—80

*Dionysus (Bacchus)* (Gr. and Rom. Myth.)—god of wine and fertility.—188

*Don Quixote*—title character in Miguel Cervantes' novel.—174, 512

*Eckart*—according to medieval German legends, a devoted servant and trustworthy guardian.—241
*Elijah*—prophet of the Old Testament.—421
*Ezekiel*—prophet of the Old Testament.—421

*Falstaff, Sir John*—a character in Shakespeare's tragedy *King Henry IV* and his comedy *The Merry Wives of Windsor*; a sly fat braggart and jester.—206

*Gil Blas*—title character in Alain René Le Sage's novel *Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane*.—315
*Gordius*—according to legend a tiller of the land who became king of Phrygia and tied an intricate knot. An oracle declared that he who should untie it should be master of Asia; Alexander the Great, unable to untie the knot, cut it with his sword.—143, 523

*Jacques le bonhomme* (*Jack the Simpleton*)—ironical name given to the French peasant.—61
*Janus*—an ancient Roman deity represented with a double-faced head.—101
*Joseph* (Bib.)—son of Jacob, sold by his brothers as a slave in Egypt where he became the Pharaoh's favourite because of his wisdom and beauty.—111
*Josiah*—a king of Judah in the Old Testament.—421

*Leporello*—a character from Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni*. Don Giovanni's servant.—531
*Luke, Saint*—alleged author of one of the Gospels.—421

*Macaire, Robert*—typical villain a character created by the French actor Lemaître and immortalised in Honoré Daumier's caricatures.—50, 358
*Mary*—figure in the New Testament, the mother of Christ.—428, 429, 433
*Meister, Wilhelm*—main character in Goethe's novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*.—246
*Menelaus* (Gr. Myth.)—King of Sparta; took part in the Trojan War.—195
*Midas* (Gr. Myth.)—a King of Phrygia who turned to gold everything he touched; insulted by him, Apollo changed his ears into ass's ears.—83
*Moloch*—the Sun-God in Carthage and Phoenicia, whose worship was accompanied by human sacrifices.—243
*Moses*—Hebrew legislator in the Old Testament.—117, 421

*Nemesis* (Gr. Myth.)—goddess of retributive justice.—100

*Orlando* (or *Roland*) *Furioso*—title character in Lodovico Ariosto's epic poem.—62, 86
*Orpheus* (Gr. Myth.)—Thracian poet and musician able to charm stones and tame wild beasts with his lyre.—99

*Pangloss, Doctor*—a character from *Candide*, a philosophical story by Voltaire.—331
*Pecksniff*—a character from Charles Dickens' novel *Martin Chuzzlewit*, a bigot and hypocrite.—302
*Pentephri* (*Potiphar*) (Bib.)—an official of the Egyptian Pharaoh. He bought Joseph, whom his wife tried to seduce, from Ismail merchants.—111
*Peter*—one of Christ's twelve apostles.—302
*Pistol*—a character in Shakespeare's tragedies *King Henry IV* and *King Henry V* and in his comedy *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, a vain boaster and liar.—206, 230

*Rhadamanthus* (Gr. Myth.)—son of Zeus and Europa, brother of Minos, King of

Crete. For his exemplary wisdom and justice he was made, after death, one of the three judges in the lower world.—309

*Rodomonte*—a character from Lodovico Ariosto's epic poem *L'Orlando furioso,* a braggart.—62

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*Saul* (Bib.)—first king of Israel.—80

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*L'Assemblée nationale*—a monarchist (Legitimist) daily published in Paris from 1848 to 1857.—38, 138, 262, 385, 519

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*Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*—a literary and political journal founded in Weimar in 1818; appeared under this title in Leipzig from 1826 to 1898.—242

*Der Bote für Stadt und Land. Pfälzisches Volksblatt*—a democratic newspaper, the official gazette of the Palatinate revolutionary Provisional Government during the uprising of May-June 1849; was published in Kaiserslautern.—192, 194

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*Le Charivari*—a republican satirical newspaper published in Paris from 1832 to 1934.—26, 312-13

*Le Constitutionnel*—a daily published in Paris from 1815 to 1817 and from 1819 to 1870; in the 1840s it spoke for the moderate Orleanists, during the 1848 revolution for the monarchist bourgeoisie (the Thiers party), and after the 1851 coup d'état for the Bonapartists.—38, 138, 519

*Correspondent von und für Deutschland*—a German liberal daily published in Nuremberg from 1806 to 1890.—241, 242

*Débats*—see *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*

*The Democratic Review of British and Foreign Politics, History and Literature*—a Chartist monthly published by George Julian Harney in London from June 1849 to

September 1850; Engels contributed to it in 1850.—7, 10, 14, 16, 17, 21, 24, 27, 28, 30, 33-34, 38, 276, 362, 365, 369, 394

*La Démocratie pacifique*—a Fourierist daily edited by Victor Considérant; appeared in Paris from 1843 to 1851.—104

*Demokratische Zeitung. Abendblatt der Wächter an der Ostsee*—a Berlin democratic newspaper founded in 1849; from January 1850 it was published under the title *Abend-Post. Demokratische Zeitung.*—597, 601

*Deutsche Londoner Zeitung. Blätter für Politik, Literatur und Kunst*—a literary and political weekly published by German refugees in London from April 1845 to February 1851. It was edited by the petty-bourgeois democrat Ludwig Bamberger and supported financially by the deposed Duke of Brunswick. Ferdinand Freiligrath was a member of the editorial board from 1847 to 1851. It carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—3, 597, 601, 618, 623, 631-32

*Deutsche Schnellpost für europäische Zustände, öffentliches und sociales Leben Deutschlands*—organ of the German moderate democratic émigrés in the USA published in New York twice a week from 1843 to 1851. Karl Heinzen was its editor in 1848 and 1851.—348, 601

*Deutscher Zuschauer*—a German radical weekly published by the petty-bourgeois democrat Gustav Struve from December 1846 to April 1848 in Mannheim and from July to September 1848 in Basle.—176

*Dresdner Journal und Anzeiger*—a daily newspaper published in Dresden from 1848 to 1904, initially of a liberal trend; from October 1, 1848, the official organ of the Saxon Government; was taken over by the state on April 1, 1849.—630, 633

*The Economist. Weekly Commercial Times, Bankers' Gazette, and Railway Monitor: a Political, Literary, and General Newspaper*—a weekly published in London since 1843.—498, 501, 507

*Die Evolution. Ein politisches Wochenblatt*—a democratic weekly of German refugees in Switzerland edited by Johann Philipp Becker; was published in Biel (Berne canton) in 1848 and 1849.—183

*Fliegende Blätter*—a satirical weekly published in Munich from 1845.—187

*Frankfurter Journal*—a daily newspaper published in Frankfurt am Main approximately from 1655 up to 1903; followed a liberal line in the 1840s.—193

*Der Freischütz*—a literary and artistic newspaper published in Hamburg from 1825 to 1878.—623

*La Gazette de France*—a Paris royalist daily published under this title from 1762 to 1792 and from 1797 to 1848.—54

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*The Globe and Traveller*—a London daily published from 1803 to 1921; until 1866, organ of the Whigs, later of the Conservatives.—385, 513

*Die Hornisse*—a German democratic satirical newspaper published by H. Heise and G. Kellner in Cassel from 1848 to 1850.—610-11, 620

*The Illustrated London News*—a weekly published from 1842.—24

*Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*—a Paris daily published from 1789, organ of the government during the July monarchy; took a monarchist stand during the 1848 revolution.—38, 73, 138, 519

*Karlsruher Zeitung*—a daily newspaper published from 1757, official gazette of the Grand Duchy of Baden, organ of the Brentano Government in 1849.—183-84, 193

*Kölnische Zeitung*—a Cologne daily published from 1802 to 1945, organ of the liberal bourgeoisie; took an anti-revolutionary stand and attacked the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49.—151, 158, 193

*Landbötin*—see *Bayerische Landbötin*

*Le Moniteur du Soir*—a Paris daily published from 1837; supported the July monarchy; from 1848 organ of the Bonapartists.—344

*Le Moniteur universel*—a daily newspaper published in Paris from 1789 to 1901; official organ of the government (1799-1814, 1816-68).—26, 57, 67, 69, 94, 108, 112, 114, 144, 343, 368, 525, 567

*Le Napoléon*—a weekly published in Paris from January 6 to May 19, 1850, the mouthpiece of Louis Bonaparte.—124

*Le National*—a Paris daily published from 1830 to 1851, organ of the moderate republicans in the 1840s.—20, 23, 27, 53, 58, 65, 72, 76-79, 81-84, 88-91, 95, 98-99, 105, 107, 110, 126, 128, 140, 322-23, 367, 521

*Neue Deutsche Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a democratic daily published from 1848 to 1850, initially in Darmstadt (until April 1, 1849) and then in Frankfurt am Main; edited by Otto Lüning and, from October 1, 1849, also by Joseph Weydemeyer.—351, 387-88, 597, 601, 618, 620

*Neue Oder-Zeitung*—a Breslau (Wrocław) democratic daily published from 1849 to 1855; Marx was its London correspondent in 1855.—282

*Neue Preussische Zeitung*—a conservative daily published in Berlin from June 1848, organ of the Prussian junkers and court circles; also known as the *Kreuz-Zeitung* because its title included a cross with the device "Forward with God for King and Fatherland".—370, 383, 385-86

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a daily newspaper edited by Marx, organ of the revolutionary proletarian democrats during the German revolution of 1848-49; was published in Cologne from June 1, 1848, to May 19, 1849 (with an interval from September 27 to October 12, 1848).—5-6, 41, 66, 68-69, 81, 86, 88, 132, 156, 171, 181, 187, 192, 202, 247, 348, 353, 379, 384, 386, 388, 535-36, 547, 597, 602-03, 605

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*—a journal published by Marx and Engels from December 1849 to November 1850, theoretical organ of the Communist League.—5-6, 41, 50, 58, 100, 111, 138, 148-49, 151-52, 154, 167, 175, 185, 195, 241, 246, 250, 256, 270, 300-01, 310, 325, 337-38, 341-42, 344, 347-48, 354, 387, 398, 485-86, 504, 519, 531-32, 605-06

*New-Yorker Schnellpost*—see *Deutsche Schnellpost*

*New-Yorker Staatszeitung*—a German democratic daily published in New York from 1834; later an organ of the US Democratic Party.—601

*Norddeutsche Freie Presse*—a German newspaper published in Altona from 1849 to 1851; prior to 1849 it appeared under the title *Schleswig-Holsteinische Zeitung*.—598, 601, 618, 621, 623

*The Northern Star*—central organ of the Chartists, a weekly published from 1837 to 1852, first in Leeds and later in London; was founded and edited by Feargus O'Connor; George Julian Harney was a member of the editorial board. Engels contributed to *The Northern Star* from 1843 to 1850.—3-4, 379, 514, 599, 601, 624, 637

*Notes to the People*—a Chartist weekly edited by Ernest Jones and published in London in 1851 and 1852; Marx and Engels supported it and contributed a number of articles.—573, 580

*Nürnberger Bote*—see *Nürnberger Courier*

*Nürnberger Courier*—a daily newspaper published in Nuremberg from 1842 to 1862 as a continuation of the *Friedens- und Kriegs-Courier*, founded in 1673.—242

*La Patrie. Journal du commerce, de l'agriculture, de l'industrie, de la littérature, des sciences et des arts*—a daily published in Paris from 1841; in 1850 it spoke for the party of Order (the counter-revolutionary monarchist bourgeoisie) and later took a Bonapartist stand.—94, 130, 342-44, 541

*Le Peuple. Journal de la République démocratique et sociale*—a social-reformist newspaper published in Paris from 1848 to 1850; from April 1848 it appeared under the title *Le Représentant du Peuple*; from September 1848 to June 13, 1849, under the title *Le Peuple*; from October 1, 1849, to May 14, 1850, under the title *La Voix du peuple*, and from June 15 to October 13, 1850, under the title *Le Peuple de 1850*. Its editor was Proudhon.—105, 130, 138

*Le Pouvoir*—a Bonapartist daily founded in Paris in 1849; published under this title in 1850 and 1851.—38-39, 140, 520

*La Presse*—a daily newspaper published in Paris from 1836; opposed the July monarchy in the 1840s; in 1848 and 1849 it was moderate republican, later Bonapartist.—110, 126, 627

*Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*—a newspaper published in Berlin from 1819, semi-official organ of the Prussian Government until April 1848; changed its title several times.—207, 257

*Le Proscrit. Journal de la République universelle*—a monthly published in Paris in 1850, organ of the Central Committee of European Democracy. Only two issues appeared. In late October 1850 it was turned into a weekly which was published under the title *La Voix du Proscrit* in Saint-Amand (France) till September 1851.—528

*Punch, or the London Charivari*—a comic weekly paper of a liberal trend, founded in 1841.—338

*The Red Republican*—a Chartist weekly published by George Julian Harney in London from June to November 1850.—512

*Die Reform. Organ der demokratischen Partei*—a newspaper published by Arnold Ruge and H. B. Oppenheim and edited by Eduard Meyen, organ of the petty-bourgeois democrats; appeared in Leipzig and Berlin from April 1848, and in Berlin from the summer of 1848 to the early 1850s.—182

*La Réforme*—a daily newspaper published in Paris from 1843 to 1850, organ of the republican democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists.—71, 88, 105, 312-14, 316, 320, 322

*La République*—a daily newspaper published in Paris from February 1848 to December 1851, organ of the radical republicans.—37

*Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*—a daily newspaper founded on January 1, 1842, as the organ of the Rhenish bourgeois opposition. It was published in Cologne till March 31, 1843. From October 15, 1842, to March 17, 1843, it was edited by Marx and assumed a strongly pronounced revolutionary-democratic complexion, which led to its suppression. Engels was one of its contributors.—386

*Schnellpost*—see *Deutsche Schnellpost*

*Schweizerische National-Zeitung*—a liberal daily published in Basle from 1842 to 1858.—268, 601

*Le Siècle*—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939. In the 1840s it was an organ of the opposition, demanding electoral and other reforms.—23, 110, 126, 140, 263, 521

*The Spectator*—a weekly published in London since 1828, originally liberal, later conservative.—380, 384, 390-91

*Staatszeitung*—see *New-Yorker Staatszeitung*

*The Sun*—a liberal daily published in London from 1798 to 1876.—378-79

*Tages-Chronik*—a democratic paper published in Bremen from 1849 to 1851. It was edited by R. Dulon. From January 1851 it appeared under the title *Bremer Tages-Chronik. Organ der Demokratie.* Arnold Ruge contributed to it in 1851.—391, 535-36

*The Times*—a daily newspaper published in London since 1785.—3-4, 12, 37, 338, 352, 510, 513, 540-41

*La Voix du peuple*—see *Le Peuple*

*Weser-Zeitung*—a liberal daily published in Bremen from 1844 to 1930.—390-91

*Westdeutsche Zeitung*—a democratic paper published by Hermann Becker in Cologne from May 25, 1849, to July 21, 1850.—6, 597, 601, 604, 609-10, 618, 620

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# COLLECTED WORKS

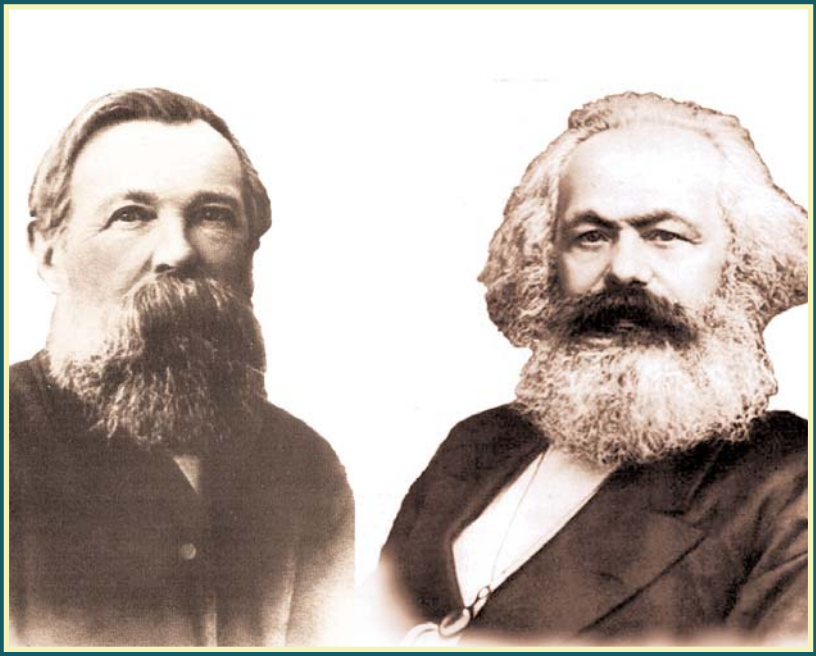

## VOLUME 11

Marx and Engels 1851-53

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 11

## Marx and Engels 1851-53

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# Preface

Volume 11 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels covers the period from August 1851 to March 1853, when the forces of reaction were consolidating their hold throughout Europe. The revolution in Germany and Italy had already been defeated in 1849. Louis Napoleon's coup d'état of December 2, 1851 came as a climax to the development of the counter-revolution in France, putting an end to the Second Republic, which had still retained at least some democratic institutions, and creating the Bonapartist monarchy, another bulwark of reaction in Europe and a hotbed of international conflict and military escapades. There was little prospect of a fresh revolutionary outbreak, such as had been possible during the first few months after the defeat of the German, Hungarian and Italian revolutionary movements. The counter-revolutionary order had now, at least for a time, become established.

Under these conditions, Marx and Engels found it essential to continue the theoretical generalisation of the experience of the 1848 revolution, which they had begun immediately after its rearguard battles. In particular, they set out to examine the reasons for the temporary triumph of the counter-revolutionary forces and to analyse the historical developments over the last few years.

Marxist thinking rose to new heights in this analytical and generalising work, exemplified by many of the writings included in this volume, above all by such masterpieces as *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* by Marx and *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* by Engels.

Marx also intensified his economic researches, interrupted by the revolution of 1848-49. The present volume includes conclusions he

drew in the course of these researches in his journalistic writings for the working-class and progressive bourgeois press. Engels, for his part, realising the importance of armed struggle in the forthcoming revolutionary battles, immersed himself in studying the art of war. Several pieces indicative of his military studies are included in this volume.

Particularly important among the practical activities of Marx and Engels were their efforts to preserve, and to educate and rally the proletarian revolutionary cadres, and to protect those among them who had become victims of police persecution. The Cologne trial of Communist League members in Germany was a very severe test for the Communists.

The volume opens with Engels' *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, which deals with the causes, nature and motive forces of the 1848-49 revolution in Germany and reaches a whole series of important political conclusions. Drawing on the assessments already arrived at by Marx and himself in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Engels developed them into a self-consistent account of the successive features characteristic of the key stages of the revolutionary process in the German states. He threw fresh light on the international significance of the revolution in Germany by disclosing its ties with events in other European countries, especially France, at the same time explaining the influence of the June 1848 uprising of the Paris proletariat on the situation in Germany. This laid the foundation for every subsequent Marxist analysis of the history of the German bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Engels examines the economic basis for the political events. He gives a vivid and accurate analysis of the level of Germany's economic and social development at that time, the class relations and the deployment of political forces. He stresses the role of the class struggle in historical development, demonstrates the inevitability of revolutions and describes them as "a powerful agent of social and political progress" (see this volume, p. 32).

Engels shows that the German revolution was defeated because the liberal bourgeoisie, alarmed by the scale of the revolutionary movement, betrayed the people and the cause of democracy and rushed into a compromise with the forces of feudal-Junker reaction. The petty bourgeoisie, who then found themselves at the head of the revolutionary masses, fell prey to vacillation and indecision at crucial moments. Blindly trusting the power of parliamentary institutions, they were afraid to rely, instead, on the people and unleash its revolutionary energies. At this stage, the proletariat was not yet

sufficiently developed and organised to take its place at the head of the movement. Nevertheless, in the course of the revolution, it "represented the real and well-understood interest of the nation at large" (p. 88).

Engels concludes that bold and resolute action is essential for the victory of revolution. "In revolution, as in war," he wrote, "it is always necessary to show a strong front, and he who attacks is in the advantage; and in revolution, as in war, it is of the highest necessity to stake everything on the decisive moment, whatever the odds may be. There is not a single successful revolution in history that does not prove the truth of these axioms" (p. 68).

This work lays down basic principles of Marxist teaching on armed insurrection. Engels formulates for the first time the idea that "insurrection is an art quite as much as war" (p. 85). He gives a list of the basic rules by which insurgents should be guided. As Lenin was to stress, this text "summed up the lessons of all revolutions with respect to armed uprising" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 180).

A substantial part of the work is devoted to the national question, which Engels examines from a revolutionary and internationalist standpoint. He denounces the policy of national oppression pursued by the Hohenzollerns and the Habsburgs, and declares that to grant independence to the oppressed peoples—the Poles, the Hungarians, the Italians, and others—is one of the most important tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

In this work, as in a series of articles published during the revolutionary period in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see present edition, Vols. 7-9), Engels examines the question of the national movement of the Slavs in the Austrian Empire. In the first stage of the 1848-49 revolution, when revolutionary-democratic trends were active in the national movement of the Czechs and other Slav peoples under the Habsburgs (the Prague uprising in June 1848, mass anti-feudal demonstrations in the countryside), Marx and Engels expressed great sympathy for the struggle of these peoples, since it coincided with the interests of the entire European revolutionary movement. In the movement of the Czechs and a number of South-Slav peoples, however, the upper hand was later gained by Right-wing bourgeois and feudal-clerical elements who entered into a compact with the ruling circles of the Habsburg monarchy, and this enabled the latter to use the military formations of the South Slavs against the Hungarian revolution and the revolutionary movement in Austria and Italy. The Czech and South-Slav deputies of the Austrian Imperial Diet came out in support of the Habsburg monarchy against revolutionary Hungary and the Vienna October

uprising, and also against the abolition of feudal exactions without compensation. As a result of this, Marx and Engels, who had always seen the national question from the viewpoint of the interests of the revolution as a whole, changed their attitude to these national movements. "It was for this reason, and exclusively for this reason," as Lenin later explained, "that Marx and Engels were opposed to the national movement of the Czechs and South Slavs" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 340).

But if this general assessment of the Slav national movements in the specific conditions of 1848-49 was justified, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* also contains certain inaccurate forecasts. Engels thought that some of the Slav peoples had lost their capacity for independent national existence and would inevitably be absorbed by their more powerful neighbours. And this idea was tied up with his general views on the role of small nations in history. Engels considered that the creation of large states, the main tendency under capitalism, leads to the absorption of small nations by big nations. He did not, however, make due allowance—and, indeed, the historical experience was still inadequate—for another fact: the irrepressible struggle of small nations against national oppression and for independence, their strivings to create their own states. It is this which led to the final result that, in the course of their independent development, the Slav peoples of the former Austrian Empire created their own independent states and then entered the front ranks in the fight for socialism.

This volume includes one of Marx's most outstanding works, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.* A profound analysis of the historical events and far-reaching theoretical conclusions are cast in unsurpassed literary form which, in the words of Wilhelm Liebknecht, "combines the indignant severity of a Tacitus with the deadly satire of a Juvenal and the holy wrath of a Dante" (*Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, Moscow, 1957, p. 103).

In subject-matter and in conclusions alike, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* is a direct sequel to *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850.* It would however be wrong to assume that *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* is merely a continuation of the narrative part of that work which takes up the analysis of events from November 1850 to December 1851. Those events, as Marx shows, were the climax to a whole period of French history, and they enabled him to characterise it in full and draw important conclusions about the results and prospects of the French revolutionary movement.

Although Marx's contemporaries, and later historians too, wrote many articles and volumes about the coup d'état of Louis Bonaparte, its true causes remained a closed book for all of them. They were content, for the most part, to attribute it simply and solely to the mistakes or evil intentions of various historical personages. Only Marx was able to understand what had happened in France, to uncover the real social relations in the historical facts, and to disclose the actual trends of social development manifest in them. He succeeded in doing so because, as Engels wrote in the Preface to the third German edition (1885): "It was precisely Marx who had first discovered the great law of motion of history, the law according to which all historical struggles, whether they proceed in the political, religious, philosophical or some other ideological domain, are in fact only the more or less clear expression of struggles of social classes, and that the existence and thereby the collisions, too, between these classes are in turn conditioned by the degree of development of their economic position, by the mode of their production and of their exchange determined by it" (see present edition, Vol. 27).

In its brilliant analysis of what was then contemporary history, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* provides one of the classic expositions of the mature theory of historical materialism and of the dialectic of history. Marx made clear the whole complex interaction between the social-economic basis and the political superstructure, further developed the theory of the state in relation to its forms and executive organs, and demonstrated the role of political parties, the relationship between parties and classes, and the real link between classes and their ideological and political representatives.

Marx maintained that "in historical struggles one must ... distinguish the language and the imaginary aspirations of parties from their real organism and their real interests, their conception of themselves from their reality" (p. 128), and he showed that every party struggle is an expression of concealed class interests. He stressed the difference between objective social and political processes and relations and the subjective motives and impulses of the actual participants in events, and showed how the real relationships are reflected, though often in a distorted fashion, in their minds.

Marx attacks the simplistic view that ideologists, as the political and literary representatives of this or that class, must always occupy the same social position and lead the same manner of life as the rest of the class. Marx points out that a politician or writer becomes the ideologist of a certain class when he arrives, in a theoretical way, at the formulation of tasks and goals which the rank-and-file represen-

tatives of the class reach, in a practical way, under the influence of direct material needs and interests.

Marx explains the specific features of the 1848 revolution in France and thus rounds off the analysis he began in *The Class Struggles in France.* He stresses that, as distinct from its historical antecedent at the close of the eighteenth century, the 1848 revolution moved "in a descending line". The cause of this was the counter-revolutionary resurgence of the French bourgeoisie as a result of the growing class antagonisms in capitalist society. Alarmed by the upsurge of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie was ready in part or wholly to renounce the democratic institutions and representative bodies for which, in its time, it had led the struggle against the reactionary forces of feudal society. To secure and consolidate the inviolability of its material and economic position and obstruct the deepening of the revolution, the French bourgeoisie sacrificed even the bourgeois republic itself, and helped to establish the reactionary Bonapartist regime in which power was transferred to a clique of political adventurers.

Marx saw the Bonapartist coup as the predictable result of the retrograde development of the revolutionary process in France, of the transfer of power at each new stage to increasingly Right-wing elements who were trying on an ever growing scale to eliminate the gains of the revolution, and of the relapse of wider and wider strata of the French bourgeoisie into overtly counter-revolutionary positions. Marx demonstrated that autocratic dictatorships like that of Louis Bonaparte emerge primarily as a result of the counter-revolutionary nature of the exploiting classes, that they are established when the balance of class forces is such that the bourgeoisie is no longer able, and is afraid, to rule by parliamentary methods, while the working class is not yet strong enough to put up a successful resistance.

Marx described Bonapartism as the dictatorship of the most counter-revolutionary elements of the bourgeoisie. Its distinguishing features were: a policy of manoeuvring between classes to create a state power seen to be ruling over all alike; crude demagogy camouflaging the defence of the interests of the exploiters, combined with political terrorism; the omnipotence of the military machine; venality and corruption; the employment of criminals, and the widespread use of blackmail and bribery. Marx showed up the profound inner contradictions of Bonapartism at the very outset of its existence and prophetically foretold its inevitable downfall.

Marx devotes much attention to the French peasantry and its attitude to the Bonapartist coup. He notes that to establish their

dictatorship Louis Bonaparte and his clique made adroit use of the political backwardness of the downtrodden French peasantry, and of its remoteness from the social and political life of the cities. The bourgeois governments of the Second Republic, which treated the peasants merely as an object of taxation, had discredited the revolution in their eyes, and this stimulated their support for Bonaparte. Added to this motive was the attachment of the property-owning peasants to their smallholdings and the fact that they had always looked up to the representative of the Napoleonic dynasty as their own traditional patron. In this way, Bonaparte exploited the conservatism of the property-owning peasants. Marx, however, did not regard conservatism as the only and overriding feature of the peasantry. He stressed that there were peasant traditions of liberation struggle too, that the oppression and exploitation of the peasantry could not but foster a contrary tendency among them—a revolutionary one which, as the result of the further ruin of the small-holding economy, would drive them into irreconcilable contradiction with the bourgeoisie and a close alliance with the working class. "Hence the peasants find their natural ally and leader in the *urban proletariat,* whose task is the overthrow of the bourgeois order" (p. 191).

The proletarian revolution itself, he concluded, could only triumph provided that the working class was supported by the broad non-proletarian masses of working people, above all by the peasantry. It would obtain in the peasants "*that chorus without which its solo becomes a swan song in all peasant countries*" (p. 193).

In *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* Marx made clear the fundamental difference between bourgeois and proletarian revolutions. Proletarian revolutions differ from bourgeois not only in their class aims, but, as Marx pointed out, in the permanence of their achievements, the considerably greater scope and volume of the transformations they bring about, and their greater force of impact on social development. As distinct from bourgeois revolutions, they effect a thoroughgoing break-up of the existing order, with revolutionary changes in all social relations. If bourgeois revolutions are short-lived and comparatively superficial, proletarian revolutions are characterised by depth, thoroughness, a critical approach to their own actions and the results achieved, and an urgent desire to surpass them by moving further ahead.

Of particular theoretical and practical importance is Marx's development in this work of his teaching on the state and, in particular, on the attitude of the proletarian revolution to the bourgeois state. Investigating the history of the development of

executive power in France and its essential element, the state machine, Marx comes to the conclusion that all previous revolutions had only perfected that machine with the aim of exploiting and suppressing the masses. But the proletarian revolution must "concentrate all its forces of destruction against it" (p. 185). Marx draws a brief but extremely important conclusion: "All revolutions perfected this machine instead of breaking it" (p. 186).

"In this remarkable argument," Lenin wrote, "Marxism takes a tremendous step forward compared with the *Communist Manifesto.* In the latter, the question of the state is still treated in an extremely abstract manner, in the most general terms and expressions. In the above-quoted passage, the question is treated in a concrete manner, and the conclusion is extremely precise, definite, practical and palpable: all previous revolutions perfected the state machine, whereas it must be broken, smashed.

"This conclusion is the chief and fundamental point in the Marxist theory of the state" (*Collected Works,* Vol. 25, p. 406).

A short series of articles by Engels, "Real Causes Why the French Proletarians Remained Comparatively Inactive in December Last", is close in content to Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.* Engels shows how unfounded and dishonest were the attempts of the bourgeois writers and the press to lay the responsibility for the Bonapartist coup d'état on the French proletariat. Engels draws on irrefutable facts to show that it was, in fact, the French bourgeoisie, hypocritically reproaching the workers for not defending the bourgeois parliamentary republic from Louis Bonaparte's attempts to destroy it, who with its counter-revolutionary policy prepared the ground for the establishment of the Bonapartist dictatorship. Published between February and April 1852 in the newspaper *Notes to the People,* this series for the first time acquainted the English reader with the Marxist evaluation of the events in France.

This volume includes a joint work by Marx and Engels, the pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile,* aimed against the leaders of petty-bourgeois democracy. It was written to defend and promote the political, organisational and ideological independence of the working-class movement.

Marx and Engels considered it essential to criticise the adventurist activities of many of the émigré groupings. For these people ignored the real situation and conditions of revolutionary struggle, behaved as though they could at will create a revolution, and all the time did no more than engage in catch-phrases, careerism, ambition, internal

feuds and unprincipled squabbles. In satirical sketches of a whole gallery of the leaders of the petty-bourgeois emigration—the heads of various ephemeral émigré organisations, members of fictitious provisional governments and committees, would-be revolutionary dictators and so on—Marx and Engels showed up the primitiveness of their philosophical views and political standpoints. They once again demonstrated how pernicious were the effects of playing at revolution, and how ludicrous the claims of mere petty-bourgeois windbags to the leadership of the working class and the revolutionary struggle.

The clumsy activities of the émigrés were used by the police as a pretext to clamp down upon the real revolutionaries. In May and June 1851, the Prussian Government arrested a number of prominent members of the Communist League in Germany. Forgeries and falsifications readily provided "material for the prosecution" and, on the basis of this, the trial of eleven Communists was staged in Cologne, starting on October 4, 1852.

As soon as the arrests began, Marx and Engels did everything in their power to help the accused, denouncing the unprincipled methods resorted to by the Prussian Government and the police. Describing the atmosphere in which Marx, Engels and their associates were struggling against police arbitrariness, Jenny Marx wrote on October 28, 1852 to Adolf Cluss, a member of the Communist League who had emigrated to the USA: "As you can imagine, the 'Marx party' is busy day and night and is having to throw itself into the work body and soul.... A complete office has now been set up in our house. Two or three people writing, others running errands, others scraping pennies together so that writers may continue to exist and provide proof of the most outrageous scandals ever perpetrated by the old world of officialdom" (see present edition, Vol. 39).

How much Marx and Engels helped the accused Communists is shown by the number of statements they sent to the editors of English newspapers and appeals to the American workers. The trial was covered in Engels' article "The Late Trial at Cologne", published in the *New-York Daily Tribune.*

The whole machinery of Prussian police-Junker justice was exposed by Marx in his pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.* He not only proved that the charges preferred at the trial were groundless, but denounced the Prussian police-bureaucratic order and the class bias of the bourgeois jury, and exposed the whole string of provocations, espionage and perjury on which the organisers of the Cologne trial relied. This

work is a passionate defence of the Communists not only from police persecution, but from attempts to slander them in the eyes of the public by portraying them as organisers of sinister putsches and conspiracies. Marx exposed the fabricated police charge of conspiracy, which was the trump card of the prosecution at the Cologne trial.

At the same time, Marx publicly dissociated himself from the sectarian and adventurist elements in the communist movement of that time. He proved that the split in the Communist League was provoked by the attempts of the Willich-Schapper group to push the League into adventurist acts on the pretext that these would unleash revolution in Germany. Such tactics, he said, do nothing but harm to the working-class movement, lead to isolation from the masses and play into the hands of the police.

Although the pamphlet was mainly devoted to the issues at stake in the trial, Marx, in this work too, dwelt upon some of the vital questions of the theory of scientific communism. He emphasised the Communist League's disagreements with the Willich-Schapper group and attacked its simplistic voluntarist ideas about revolution and the possibility of leaping straight into communism even in countries where the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution were not yet solved. The real revolutionary process, Marx declared, must go through a complex and comparatively lengthy span of revolutionary development. There must inevitably be a series of stages, and the transformation of the people themselves as well as of circumstances (p. 403). He thus made clear the essential point of the theory of permanent or uninterrupted revolution which he and Engels had put forward earlier (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 281-86).

The result of the arrest and imprisonment of the Communist League members was the virtual disintegration of the organisation in Germany. The position was much the same in other European countries. In conditions of steadily growing reaction, Marx and Engels concluded that the Communist League—a secret and relatively narrow organisation—had exhausted its possibilities and that it would be useless for its activities to continue any further.

The Communist League in fact proved to have been the historical prototype of an international proletarian party, a precursor of the First International. After its dissolution the struggle by Marx and Engels for a proletarian party did not cease, but continued in other forms corresponding to the new situation. They worked might and main to preserve the cadres of revolutionary fighters. They never ceased to propagate scientific communism and, in particular, used the progressive bourgeois press for these purposes.

In this volume there also begins the publication of articles written by Marx for the *New-York Daily Tribune* and partly reprinted in the Chartist *People's Paper.*

The *New-York Daily Tribune* had, on the whole, a progressive political orientation in those years. This offered Marx and Engels opportunities, however limited, for legal expression of a revolutionary political line. Their reports and articles are, indeed, models of how to utilise such opportunities. They were able to develop an extensive critique of the capitalist social system, which made clear to their readers its main contradictions. They were able to denounce in very forthright terms the anti-popular regimes in Europe, and both the home and foreign policies of the European ruling classes. And they set forth the positions of the working class and revolutionary democracy on the major issues of the day.

Marx, in particular, supplied an all-round critical analysis of economic, political and social life in England. Thus in his articles "The Elections in England.—Tories and Whigs", "Political Parties and Prospects" and others, he examined the bourgeois-aristocratic political system of England, under which the two most powerful parties of the ruling classes, the Tories and the Whigs, enjoyed power alternately, creating the semblance of a great battle between opposed political forces. He showed up the anti-democratic nature of the English electoral system which denied to the majority the right to vote, and drew a vivid picture of the bribery and intimidation which flourished at the elections (this is the subject of the articles "Corruption at Elections", "Result of the Elections" and others).

Marx devoted considerable attention to the English workers' struggle. Particularly interesting is his article "The Chartists", in which he made clear the real opportunities in England, unlike other European countries at that time, for a peaceful transfer of power into the hands of the working class. In England, he explained, there was no highly developed military-bureaucratic machine, and the proletariat formed the large majority of the population. What was above all essential was to introduce universal suffrage and to meet the other demands of the Chartist programme—the People's Charter. In English conditions, this could open up the way to the radical transformation of the existing parliamentary system and the democratisation of the entire political structure. Consequently, wrote Marx, universal suffrage in England "would be a far more socialistic measure" than on the Continent. For there it did not go beyond the framework of a bourgeois-democratic programme, and was sometimes even used demagogically by reaction, as, for example, in Bonapartist France. The English working class could achieve its

demands, Marx considered, by uniting its forces, strengthening its organisations and intensifying its political campaigning. This is why he attached such importance to the Chartists' activities and in every way assisted and supported their efforts to revive the greatness of the Chartist movement after its setback in 1848.

In a series of articles, Marx was able to dispel the myth of "permanent prosperity" under capitalism. He demonstrated how false were the claims of bourgeois apologists that any swing from slump to boom brings prosperity to all the working people. On the contrary, no boom in industry and commerce in the capitalist countries had ever yet halted the impoverishment of the toiling masses or the growth of unemployment.

At that time, the "population problem" was becoming particularly acute. In his article "Forced Emigration", Marx indicated that under capitalism "it is the increase of productive power which demands a diminution of population, and drives away the surplus by famine or emigration" (p. 531). To put an end to this situation, the workers must take over the productive forces and place them at the service of society.

During this period Marx was already directing his attention towards primitive accumulation as the most important feature of the genesis of capitalist society. His article "Elections.—Financial Clouds.—The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery" contains the first outline of his analysis. The material it contains on the merciless expropriation of the crofters, their eviction from their ancestral lands and the history of the enrichment of the Sutherland family, was to be used later in *Capital*.

Castigating the evils of capitalist society, Marx also examined the problem of crime. He showed (in his article "Capital Punishment") that the growth of criminality was conditioned by social causes and that crime could only be eradicated after liquidating bourgeois society, itself the nutrient of crime.

The section "From the Preparatory Materials" contains Engels' "Critical Review of Proudhon's Book *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX-e siècle*". It was Marx who suggested a critique of Proudhon's book, having conceived but not written this work under the title "The Latest Discoveries of Socialism, or 'The General Idea of Revolution in the 19th Century' by P.-J. Proudhon".

Proudhon claimed to have created his own political economy and science of social revolution. Using Marx's preliminary comments in his letters of August 8 and 14, 1851, Engels subjects Proudhon's anarchistic views to a searching political analysis—his idea of "social

liquidation", and his plans for the peaceful institution of an "economic system" in which the political or, to use his term, governmental system was supposed to disappear. Engels disclosed the utopian character of Proudhon's idea of "social liquidation", calling his projects to pay off the national debt, abolish interest, buy up privately-owned land, etc., "colossal nonsense" (p. 563). He showed that Proudhon's social ideal meant nothing—above all because he did not propose to touch private ownership of the means of production. Proudhon's social utopia, as Engels emphasised, amounted to preserving capitalism, but without, as Proudhon fondly hoped, its "bad sides" and its grievous consequences for the petty-bourgeois producer.

Engels showed that Proudhon's so-called anti-government ideas were not aimed at abolishing the bourgeois state, and amounted to no more than utopian and essentially reactionary projects for the decentralisation of political power. Engels made clear the kinship between Proudhon's milk and water anarchism and Stirner's extreme individualism. He made clear, too, the thoroughly retrograde character of Proudhon's attacks on the representatives of utopian socialism and communism, and of his polemics against the progressive democratic ideas of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution.

The task of fighting Proudhonism—a petty-bourgeois reformist trend which was becoming an obstacle to the formation of class consciousness among the proletariat, especially in France, Italy and Spain—became even more urgent in the next few years, and this prompted Marx and Engels to turn many times to critical analysis of the works of Proudhon and like-minded theoreticians.

In the "Appendices" are included, for the first time in any collection of the works of Marx and Engels, articles by Ernest Jones and Johann Georg Eccarius written with Marx's collaboration. Marx's role as the virtual co-author or editor of these articles was established in research carried out at the Moscow Institute of Marxism-Leninism in preparing this volume. The articles on the co-operative movement by Ernest Jones, Chartist and editor of the weekly *Notes to the People,* contain ideas which Marx was to elaborate further in the "Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association" and other documents. In these articles, criticism is levelled against the theory and practice of the bourgeois co-operators, "Christian socialists" and others who were attempting to distract the workers from class struggle and convince them that it was possible to abolish social evils and exploitation by creating workers' co-operative societies. Jones contended that co-operation

could never serve as a lever for social transformation so long as it was practised only in the form of scattered, local and isolated societies acting in the conditions, and on the basis, of the capitalist system. On the other hand, co-operative production and trade would be one of the main economic measures of the working class after it had won state power on a nation-wide scale. Co-operation must needs be nation-wide, and its success must depend on who commands political power. Political power was needed "to reconstruct the bases of society". "Under the present system," Jones wrote, addressing the co-op members, "... all your efforts must prove vain—have proved vain—towards the production of a *national* result" (p. 577).

Marx's direct participation in these articles by Jones bears witness to the close association of the founders of Marxism and the representatives of the revolutionary wing of the Chartist movement, and also to the extent of the influence of Marxist ideas on the Left-wing Chartists.

Written by Marx's colleague Georg Eccarius and published in the Chartist *People's Paper,* "A Review of the Literature on the *Coup d'Etat*" is also an item of propaganda for the ideas of scientific communism in the English working-class press. Following Marx's advice, Eccarius reviewed the books of Xavier Durrieu, Victor Hugo and Pierre Joseph Proudhon on the coup d'état. "All these publications," he wrote, "pretend, more or less, to be the expressions and sentiments of the parties or classes to which their authors respectively belong" (p. 592). Not one of them could properly explain the causes and nature of the Bonapartist coup. The only account of it that met the requirements of science, Eccarius declared, was that written by Marx, who had approached these events from the standpoint of the most revolutionary and progressive class and was guided by the revolutionary theory which he had created, the effectiveness and force of which he clearly demonstrated. Eccarius' review contains copious excerpts from the first chapter of Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.*

Other documents published in the Appendices illustrate the practical revolutionary activities of Marx and Engels in the period covered.

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In this volume, eight works by Marx and Engels are published in English for the first time. They include Engels' article "England", his "Critical Review of Proudhon's Book *Idée générale de la Révolution au*

*XIX-e siècle*", letters to newspaper editors and appeals for aid for the accused in the Cologne trial (in the Appendices). This volume also includes 15 articles by Marx and Engels published in American and English newspapers, but never subsequently reprinted in English. Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* is published for the first time in English with the variants in the different editions that appeared in his lifetime. Articles printed in both the *New-York Daily Tribune* and *The People's Paper* are reproduced in the different readings in the texts of these two periodicals.

Works of Marx and Engels written in German and previously published in English are given in verified and improved translations. Details of the first English publication of these works are supplied in the notes. A description is also supplied of the layout of the text of individual works, especially the manuscripts.

Texts originally written in English are reproduced from the sources indicated at the end. Obvious misprints, misspellings of proper and geographical names, inaccurate statistics, etc., particularly frequent in articles by Marx and Engels in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, have been corrected without comment. Errors in quotations have been corrected from the originals, but the authors' form of quoting has been preserved.

The volume was compiled, the text prepared, and the Preface and Notes written by Lev Churbanov and edited by Lev Golman (CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism). The Name Index, the Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature and the Index of Periodicals were prepared by Nina Loiko and the Subject Index by Marlen Arzumanov (both of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism).

The English translations were made by Clemens Dutt, Rodney Livingstone and Christopher Upward and edited by Maurice Cornforth, E. J. Hobsbawm, Nicholas Jacobs and Margaret Mynatt (Lawrence & Wishart), Salo Ryazanskaya, Lydia Belyakova and Victor Schnittke (Progress Publishers), and Norire Ter-Akopyan, scientific editor (Institute of Marxism-Leninism).

The volume was prepared for the press by Yelena Kalinina, Nadezhda Rudenko and Alla Varavitskaya (Progress Publishers).

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## WORKS

August 1851-March 1853

Frederick Engels

# REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN GERMANY[1]

Written in August 1851-September 1852

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on October 25 and 28, November 6, 7, 12 and 28, 1851; February 27, March 5, 15, 18 and 19, April 9, 17 and 24, July 27, August 19, September 18, and October 2 and 23, 1852

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the newspaper

# I

## GERMANY AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE REVOLUTION

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, №3282, October 25, 1851]

The first act of the revolutionary drama on the Continent of Europe has closed. The "powers that were" before the hurricane of 1848, are again "the powers that be," and the more or less popular rulers of a day, provisional governors, triumvirs, dictators, with their tail of representatives, civil commissioners, military commissioners, prefects, judges, generals, officers and soldiers, are thrown upon foreign shores, and "transported beyond the seas" to England or America, there to form new governments "*in partibus infidelium*,"[a] European committees, central committees, national committees, and to announce their advent with proclamations quite as solemn as those of any less imaginary potentates.

A more signal defeat than that undergone by the continental revolutionary party—or rather parties—upon all points of the line of battle, cannot be imagined. But what of that? Has not the struggle of the British middle classes for their social and political supremacy embraced forty-eight, that of the French middle classes forty years of unexampled struggles? And was their triumph ever nearer than at the very moment when restored monarchy thought itself more firmly settled than ever? The times of that superstition which attributed revolutions to the ill-will of a few agitators, have long passed away. Everyone knows nowadays, that wherever there is a revolutionary convulsion, there must be some social want in the background, which is prevented by outworn institutions from satisfying itself. The want may not yet be felt as strongly, as

[a] *In partibus infidelium*—literally: in parts inhabited by infidels. The words are added to the title of Roman Catholic bishops appointed to purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries. In the figurative sense, they mean "not really existing".—*Ed.*

generally, as might insure immediate success, but every attempt at forcible repression will only bring it forth stronger and stronger, until it bursts its fetters. If, then, we have been beaten, we have nothing else to do but to begin again from the beginning. And, fortunately, the probably very short interval of rest which is allowed us between the close of the first and the beginning of the second act of the movement, gives us time for a very necessary piece of work: the study of the causes that necessitated both the late outbreak, and its defeat; causes that are not to be sought for in the accidental efforts, talents, faults, errors or treacheries of some of the leaders, but in the general social state and conditions of existence of each of the convulsed nations. That the sudden movements of February and March, 1848, were not the work of single individuals, but spontaneous, irresistible manifestations of national wants and necessities, more or less clearly understood, but very distinctly felt by numerous classes in every country, is a fact recognised everywhere; but when you inquire into the causes of the counter-revolutionary successes, there you are met on every hand with the ready reply that it was Mr. This or Citizen That, who "betrayed" the people. Which reply may be very true, or not, according to circumstances, but under no circumstances does it explain anything—not even show how it came to pass that the "people" allowed themselves to be thus betrayed. And what a poor chance stands a political party whose entire stock-in-trade consists in a knowledge of the solitary fact, that Citizen So-and-so is not to be trusted.

The inquiry into, and the exposition of, the causes both of the revolutionary convulsion and its suppression, are, besides, of paramount importance in a historical point of view. All these petty personal quarrels and recriminations—all these contradictory assertions, that it was Marrast, or Ledru-Rollin, or Louis Blanc, or any other member of the Provisional Government, or the whole of them, that steered the revolution amidst the rocks upon which it foundered—of what interest can they be, what light can they afford to the American or Englishman, who observed all these various movements from a distance too great to allow of his distinguishing any of the details of operations? No man in his senses will ever believe that eleven men,[a] mostly of very indifferent capacity, either for good or evil, were able in three months to ruin a nation of thirty-six millions, unless those thirty-six millions saw as little of their way before them as the eleven did. But how it came to pass, that these thirty-six millions were at once called upon to decide for themselves

[a] Members of the French Provisional Government.—*Ed.*

which way to go, although partly groping in dim twilight, and how then they got lost and their old leaders were for a moment allowed to return to their leadership, that is just the question.

If then, we try to lay before the readers of *The Tribune*[2] the causes which, while they necessitated the German Revolution of 1848, led quite as inevitably to its momentary repression in 1849 and '50, we shall not be expected to give a complete history of the events as they passed in that country. Later events, and the judgment of coming generations, will decide what portion of that confused mass of seemingly accidental, incoherent and incongruous facts is to form a part of the world's history. The time for such a task has not yet arrived; we must confine ourselves to the limits of the possible, and be satisfied, if we can find rational causes, based upon undeniable facts, to explain the chief events, the principal vicissitudes of that movement, and to give us a clue as to the direction which the next and perhaps not very distant outbreak will impart to the German people.

And firstly, what was the state of Germany at the outbreak of the revolution?

The composition of the different classes of the people which form the groundwork of every political organization was, in Germany, more complicated than in any other country. While in England and France feudalism was entirely destroyed, or at least reduced, as in the former country, to a few insignificant forms, by a powerful and wealthy middle class, concentrated in large towns, and particularly in the Capital, the feudal nobility in Germany had retained a great portion of their ancient privileges. The feudal system of tenure was prevalent almost everywhere. The Lords of the Land had even retained the jurisdiction over their tenants. Deprived of their political privileges, of the right to control the Princes, they had preserved almost all their medieval supremacy over the peasantry of their demesnes, as well as their exemption from taxes. Feudalism was more flourishing in some localities than in others, but nowhere except on the left bank of the Rhine was it entirely destroyed.[3] This feudal nobility, then extremely numerous and partly very wealthy, was considered, officially, the first "Order" in the country. It furnished the higher Government officials, it almost exclusively officered the army.

The bourgeoisie of Germany was by far not as wealthy and concentrated as that of France or England. The ancient manufactures of Germany had been destroyed by the introduction of steam, and by the rapidly extending supremacy of English manufactures; the more modern manufactures, started under the Napoleonic

continental system,[4] established in other parts of the country, did not compensate for the loss of the old ones, nor suffice to create a manufacturing interest strong enough to force its wants upon the notice of Governments jealous of every extension of non-noble wealth and power. If France carried her silk manufactures victorious through fifty years of revolutions and wars, Germany, during the same time, all but lost her ancient linen trade. The manufacturing districts, besides, were few and far between; situated far inland, and using, mostly, foreign, Dutch or Belgian, ports for their imports and exports, they had little or no interest in common with the large seaport towns on the North Sea and the Baltic; they were, above all, unable to create large manufacturing and trading centers, such as Paris and Lyons, London and Manchester. The causes of this backwardness of German manufactures were manifold, but, two will suffice to account for it: the unfavorable geographical situation of the country, at a distance from the Atlantic, which had become the great highway for the world's trade, and the continuous wars in which Germany was involved, and which were fought on her soil, from the sixteenth century to the present day. It was this want of numbers, and particularly of anything like concentrated numbers, which prevented the German Middle Classes from attaining that political supremacy which the English bourgeois has enjoyed ever since 1688, and which the French conquered in 1789. And yet, ever since 1815, the wealth, and with the wealth, the political importance of the middle class in Germany, was continually growing. Governments were, although reluctantly, compelled to bow at least to its more immediate material interests. It may even be truly said, that from 1815 to 1830, and from 1832 to 1840, every particle of political influence, which, having been allowed to the middle class in the Constitutions of the smaller States, was again wrested from them during the above two periods of political reaction—that every such particle was compensated for by some more practical advantage allowed to them. Every political defeat of the middle class drew after it a victory on the field of commercial legislation. And, certainly, the Prussian Protective Tariff of 1818, and the formation of the *Zollverein*,[5] were worth a good deal more to the traders and manufacturers of Germany than the equivocal right of expressing, in the chambers of some diminutive dukedom, their want of confidence in ministers who laughed at their votes. Thus, with growing wealth and extending trade, the bourgeoisie soon arrived at a stage where it found the development of its most important interests checked by the political constitution of the country—by its random division among thirty-six princes with conflicting tendencies and caprices; by

the feudal fetters upon agriculture and the trade connected with it; by the prying superintendence to which an ignorant and presumptuous bureaucracy subjected all its transactions. At the same time, the extension and consolidation of the *Zollverein*, the general introduction of steam communication, the growing competition in the home trade, brought the commercial classes of the different States and Provinces closer together, equalized their interests, centralized their strength. The natural consequence was the passing of the whole mass of them into the camp of the Liberal Opposition, and the gaining of the first serious struggle of the German middle class for political power. This change may be dated from 1840, from the moment when the bourgeoisie of Prussia assumed the lead of the middle-class movement of Germany. We shall hereafter revert to this Liberal Opposition movement of 1840-47.

The great mass of the nation, which neither belonged to the nobility nor to the bourgeoisie, consisted, in the towns, of the small trading and shopkeeping class and the working people, and in the country, of the peasantry.

The small trading and shopkeeping class is exceedingly numerous in Germany, in consequence of the stunted development which the large capitalists and manufacturers, as a class, have had in that country. In the larger towns it forms almost the majority of the inhabitants; in the smaller ones it entirely predominates, from the absence of wealthier competitors for influence. This class, a most important one in every modern body politic, and in all modern revolutions, is still more important in Germany, where during the recent struggles it generally played the decisive part. Its intermediate position between the class of larger capitalists, traders and manufacturers, the bourgeoisie, properly so called, and the proletarian or industrial class, determines its character. Aspiring to the position of the first, the least adverse turn of fortune hurls the individuals of this class down into the ranks of the second. In monarchical and feudal countries the custom of the court and aristocracy becomes necessary to its existence; the loss of this custom might ruin a great part of it. In the smaller towns, a military garrison, a county government, a court of law with its followers, form very often the base of its prosperity; withdraw these and down go the shopkeepers, the tailors, the shoemakers, the joiners. Thus, eternally tossed about between the hope of entering the ranks of the wealthier class, and the fear of being reduced to the state of proletarians or even paupers; between the hope of promoting their interests by conquering a share in the direction of public affairs, and the dread of rousing, by ill-timed opposition, the ire of a Government which disposes of their very

existence, because it has the power of removing their best customers; possessed of small means, the insecurity of the possession of which is in the inverse ratio of the amount; this class is extremely vacillating in its views. Humble and crouchingly submissive under a powerful feudal or monarchical government, it turns to the side of Liberalism when the middle class is in the ascendent; it becomes seized with violent Democratic fits as soon as the middle class has secured its own supremacy, but falls back into the abject despondency of fear as soon as the class below itself, the proletarians, attempt an independent movement. We shall, by and by, see this class, in Germany, pass alternately from one of these stages to the other.

The working class in Germany is, in its social and political development, as far behind that of England and France as the German bourgeoisie is behind the bourgeoisie of those countries. Like master, like man. The evolution of the conditions of existence for a numerous, strong, concentrated and intelligent proletarian class, goes hand in hand with the development of the conditions of existence for a numerous, wealthy, concentrated and powerful middle class. The working-class movement itself never is independent, never is of an exclusively proletarian character, until all the different factions of the middle class, and particularly its most progressive faction, the large manufacturers, have conquered political power and remodelled the State according to their wants. It is then that the inevitable conflict between the employer and the employed becomes imminent and cannot be adjourned any longer; that the working class can no longer be put off with delusive hopes and promises never to be realized; that the great problem of the nineteenth century, the abolition of the proletariat, is at last brought forward fairly and in its proper light. Now, in Germany, the mass of the working class were employed, not by those modern manufacturing lords of which Great Britain furnishes such splendid specimens, but by small tradesmen whose entire manufacturing system is a mere relic of the Middle Ages. And as there is an enormous difference between the great cotton lord and the petty cobbler or master tailor, so there is a corresponding distance from the wide-awake factory operative of modern manufacturing Babylons to the bashful journeyman tailor or cabinet-maker of a small country town, who lives in circumstances and works after a plan very little different from those of the like sort of men some five hundred years ago. This general absence of modern conditions of life, of modern modes of industrial production, of course was accompanied by a pretty equally general absence of modern ideas, and it is therefore not to be wondered at if, at the outbreak of the revolution, a large part of the

working classes should cry out for the immediate re-establishment of guilds and medieval privileged trades' corporations. Yet, from the manufacturing districts, where the modern system of production predominated, and in consequence of the facilities of intercommunication and mental development afforded by the migratory life of a large number of the working men, a strong nucleus formed itself whose ideas about the emancipation of their class were far clearer and more in accordance with existing facts and historical necessities; but they were a mere minority. If the active movement of the middle classes may be dated from 1840, that of the working class commences its advent by the insurrections of the Silesian and Bohemian[a] factory operatives in 1844,[6] and we shall soon have occasion to pass in review the different stages through which this movement passed.

Lastly, there was the great class of the small farmers, the peasantry, which, with its appendix of farm-laborers, constitutes a considerable majority of the entire nation. But this class again subdivided itself into different fractions. There were, firstly, the more wealthy farmers, what is called in Germany *Gross-* and *Mittel-Bauern,* proprietors of more or less extensive farms, and each of them commanding the services of several agricultural laborers. This class, placed between the large untaxed feudal landowners and the smaller peasantry and farm-laborers, for obvious reasons found in an alliance with the anti-feudal middle class of the towns its most natural political course. Then there were, secondly, the small freeholders, predominating in the Rhine country, where feudalism had succumbed before the mighty strokes of the great French Revolution. Similar independent small freeholders also existed here and there in other provinces, where they had succeeded in buying off the feudal charges formerly due upon their lands. This class, however, was a class of freeholders by name only, their property being generally mortgaged to such an extent, and under such onerous conditions, that not the peasant, but the usurer who had advanced the money, was the real landowner. Thirdly, the feudal tenants, who could not be easily turned out of their holdings, but who had to pay a perpetual rent, or to perform in perpetuity a certain amount of labor in favor of the lord of the manor. Lastly, the agricultural laborers, whose condition, in many large farming concerns, was exactly that of the same class in England, and who, in all cases, lived and died poor, ill-fed, and the slaves of their employers. These three latter classes of the agricultural population,

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[a] Czech.—*Ed.*

the small freeholders, the feudal tenants, and the agricultural laborers, never troubled their heads much about politics before the revolution, but it is evident that this event must have opened to them a new career, full of brilliant prospects. To every one of them the revolution offered advantages, and the movement once fairly engaged in, it was to be expected that, each in their turn, they would join it. But at the same time it is quite as evident, and equally borne out by the history of all modern countries, that the agricultural population, in consequence of its dispersion over a great space, and of the difficulty of bringing about an agreement among any considerable portion of it, never can attempt a successful independent movement; they require the initiatory impulse of the more concentrated, more enlightened, more easily moved people of the towns.

The preceding short sketch of the most important of the classes, which in their aggregate formed the German nation at the outbreak of the recent movements, will already be sufficient to explain a great part of the incoherence, incongruence and apparent contradiction which prevailed in that movement. When interests so varied, so conflicting, so strangely crossing each other, are brought into violent collision; when these contending interests in every district, every province are mixed in different proportions; when, above all, there is no great center in the country, no London, no Paris, the decisions of which, by their weight, may supersede the necessity of fighting out the same quarrel over and over again in every single locality; what else is to be expected but that the contest will dissolve itself into a mass of unconnected struggles, in which an enormous quantity of blood, energy and capital is spent, but which for all that remain without any decisive results?

The political dismemberment of Germany into three dozen of more or less important principalities is equally explained by this confusion and multiplicity of the elements which compose the nation, and which again vary in every locality. Where there are no common interests there can be no unity of purpose, much less of action. The German Confederation, it is true, was declared everlastingly indissoluble; yet the Confederation and its organ, the Diet, never represented German unity.[7] The very highest pitch to which centralization was ever carried in Germany was the establishment of the *Zollverein*; by this the States on the North Sea were also forced into a Customs Union of their own,[8] Austria remaining wrapped up in her separate prohibitive tariff. Germany had the satisfaction to be, for all practical purposes, divided between three independent powers only, instead of between thirty-six. Of course,

the paramount supremacy of the Russian Czar, as established in 1814, underwent no change on this account.

Having drawn these preliminary conclusions from our premises, we shall see, in our next, how the aforesaid various classes of the German people were set into movement one after the other, and what character this movement assumed on the outbreak of the French Revolution of 1848.

London, September, 1851

## II
## THE PRUSSIAN STATE

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3284, October 28, 1851]

The political movement of the middle class, or bourgeoisie, in Germany, may be dated from 1840. It had been preceded by symptoms showing that the moneyed and industrial class of that country was ripening into a state which would no longer allow it to continue apathetic and passive under the pressure of a half-feudal, half-bureaucratic monarchism. The smaller Princes of Germany, partly to insure to themselves a greater independence against the supremacy of Austria and Prussia, or against the influence of the nobility in their own States, partly in order to consolidate into a whole the disconnected provinces united under their rule by the Congress of Vienna,[9] one after the other granted constitutions of a more or less liberal character. They could do so without any danger to themselves; for if the Diet of the Confederation, this mere puppet of Austria and Prussia, was to encroach upon their independence as sovereigns, they knew that in resisting its dictates they would be backed by public opinion and the Chambers; and if, on the contrary, these Chambers grew too strong, they could readily command the power of the Diet to break down all opposition. The Bavarian, Württemberg, Baden, or Hanoverian constitutional institutions could not, under such circumstances, give rise to any serious struggle for political power, and therefore the great bulk of the German middle class kept very generally aloof from the petty squabbles raised in the legislatures of the small States, well knowing that without a fundamental change in the policy and constitution of the two great powers of Germany, no secondary efforts and victories would be of any avail. But, at the same time, a race of liberal lawyers, professional oppositionists, sprung up in these small assemblies: the Rottecks, the Welckers, the Roemers, the Jordans, the Stüves, the

Eisenmanns, those great "popular men" (*Volksmänner*), who after a more or less noisy, but always unsuccessful, opposition of twenty years, were carried to the summit of power by the revolutionary spring tide of 1848, and who, after having there shown their utter impotency and insignificance, were hurled down again in a moment. These first specimens, upon German soil, of the trader in politics and opposition, by their speeches and writings made familiar to the German ear the language of constitutionalism, and by their very existence, foreboded the approach of a time when the middle class would seize upon and restore to their proper meaning the political phrases which these talkative attorneys and professors were in the habit of using without knowing much about the sense originally attached to them.

German literature, too, labored under the influence of the political excitement into which all Europe had been thrown by the events of 1830.[10] A crude constitutionalism, or a still cruder republicanism, were preached by almost all writers of the time. It became more and more the habit, particularly of the inferior sorts of *literati*, to make up for the want of cleverness in their productions by political allusions which were sure to attract attention. Poetry, novels, reviews, the drama, every literary production teemed with what was called "tendency," that is, with more or less timid exhibitions of an anti-governmental spirit. In order to complete the confusion of ideas reigning after 1830 in Germany, with these elements of political opposition there were mixed up ill-digested university-recollections of German philosophy, and misunderstood gleanings from French socialism, particularly Saint-Simonism; and the clique of writers who expatiated upon this heterogeneous conglomerate of ideas, presumptuously called themselves "Young Germany," or "the Modern School."[11] They have since repented their youthful sins, but not improved their style of writing.

Lastly, German philosophy, that most complicated, but at the same time most sure thermometer of the development of the German mind, had declared for the middle class, when Hegel pronounced, in his *Philosophy of Law*,[a] Constitutional Monarchy to be the final and most perfect form of Government. In other words, he proclaimed the approaching advent of the middle classes of the country to political power. His school, after his death, did not stop here. While the more advanced section of his followers, on one hand, subjected every religious belief to the ordeal of a rigorous criticism, and shook to its foundation the ancient fabric of Christianity, they at the same

[a] G.W.F. Hegel. *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, § 273.—*Ed.*

time brought forward bolder political principles than hitherto it had been the fate of German ears to hear expounded, and attempted to restore to glory the memory of the heroes of the first French Revolution. The abstruse philosophical language in which these ideas were clothed, if it obscured the mind of both the writer and the reader, equally blinded the eyes of the censor, and thus it was that the "Young Hegelian" writers enjoyed a liberty of the press unknown in every other branch of literature.

Thus it was evident that public opinion was undergoing a great change in Germany. By degrees, the vast majority of those classes whose education or position in life enabled them, under an absolute monarchy, to gain some political information, and to form anything like an independent political opinion, united into one mighty phalanx of opposition against the existing system. And in passing judgment upon the slowness of political development in Germany, no one ought to omit taking into account the difficulty of obtaining correct information upon any subject in a country, where all sources of information were under control of the Government; where from the Ragged School and Sunday School, to the Newspaper and the University, nothing was said, taught, printed or published, but what had previously obtained its approbation. Look at Vienna, for instance. The people of Vienna, in industry and manufactures, second perhaps to none in Germany, in spirit, courage, and revolutionary energy, proving themselves far superior to all, were yet more ignorant as to their real interests, and committed more blunders during the revolution than any others, and this was due, in a very great measure, to the almost absolute ignorance with regard to the very commonest political subjects in which Metternich's Government had succeeded in keeping them.

It needs no further explanation why, under such a system, political information was an almost exclusive monopoly of such classes of society as could afford to pay for its being smuggled into the country, and more particularly of those whose interests were most seriously attacked by the existing state of things—namely, the manufacturing and commercial classes. They, therefore, were the first to unite in a mass against the continuance of a more or less disguised absolutism, and from their passing into the ranks of the opposition must be dated the beginning of the real revolutionary movement in Germany.

The oppositional pronunciamento of the German bourgeoisie may be dated from 1840, from the death of the late King of Prussia,[a] the

[a] Frederick William III.—*Ed.*

last surviving founder of the Holy Alliance of 1815.[12] The new King was known to be no supporter of the predominantly bureaucratic and military monarchy of his father. What the French middle classes had expected from the advent of Louis XVI, the German bourgeoisie hoped, in some measure, from Frederick William IV of Prussia. It was agreed upon all hands that the old system was exploded, worn out, and must be given up; and what had been borne in silence under the old King, now was loudly proclaimed to be intolerable.

But if Louis XVI, "Louis-le-Désiré," had been a plain, unpretending simpleton, half-conscious of his own nullity, without any fixed opinions, ruled principally by the habits contracted during his education, "Frederick William-le-Désiré" was something quite different. While he certainly surpassed his French original in weakness of character, he was neither without pretensions nor without opinions. He had made himself acquainted, in an amateur sort of way, with the rudiments of most sciences, and thought himself, therefore, learned enough to consider final his judgment upon every subject. He made sure he was a first-rate orator, and there was certainly no commercial traveller in Berlin who could beat him either in prolixity of pretended wit or in fluency of elocution. And above all, he had his opinions. He hated and despised the bureaucratic element of the Prussian Monarchy, but only because all his sympathies were with the feudal element. Himself one of the founders of and chief contributors to the "Berlin political weekly paper,"[a] the so-called Historical School (a school living upon the ideas of Bonald, De Maistre, and other writers of the first generation of French Legitimists),[13] he aimed at a restoration, as complete as possible, of the predominant social position of the nobility. The King, first nobleman of his realm, surrounded in the first instance by a splendid court of mighty vassals, princes, dukes and counts; in the second instance, by a numerous and wealthy lower nobility; ruling according to his discretion over his loyal burgesses and peasants, and thus being himself the chief of a complete hierarchy of social ranks or castes, each of which was to enjoy its particular privileges, and to be separated from the others by the almost insurmountable barrier of birth or of a fixed, inalterable social position; the whole of these castes or "estates of the realm" balancing each other, at the same time, so nicely in power and influence, that a complete independence of action should remain to the King—such was the *beau idéal* which

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[a] *Berliner politisches Wochenblatt.— Ed.*

Frederick William IV undertook to realize, and which he is again trying to realize at the present moment.

It took some time before the Prussian bourgeoisie, not very well versed in theoretical questions, found out the real purport of their King's tendency. But what they very soon found out, was the fact that he was bent upon things quite the reverse of what they wanted. Hardly did the new King find his "gift of the gab" unfettered by his father's death when he set about proclaiming his intentions in speeches without number; and every speech, every act of his went far to estrange from him the sympathies of the middle class. He would not have cared much for that, if it had not been for some stern and startling realities which interrupted his poetic dreams. Alas, that romanticism is not very quick at accounts, and that feudalism, ever since Don Quixote, reckons without its host! Frederick William IV partook too much of that contempt for ready cash whichever has been the noblest inheritance of the sons of the Crusaders. He found, at his accession, a costly, although parsimoniously arranged system of Government, and a moderately filled State Treasury. In two years every trace of a surplus was spent in court festivals, royal progresses, largesses, subventions to needy, seedy and greedy noblemen, &c., and the regular taxes were no longer sufficient for the exigencies of either court or government. And thus, his Majesty found himself very soon placed between a glaring deficit on one side, and a law of 1820 on the other, by which any new loan, or any increase of the then existing taxation, was made illegal without the assent of "the future Representation of the People."[a] This representation did not exist; the new King was less inclined than even his father to create it; and if he had been, he knew that public opinion had wonderfully changed since his accession.

Indeed the middle classes, who had partly expected that the new King would at once grant a Constitution, proclaim the Liberty of the Press, Trial by Jury, &c., &c.—in short, himself take the lead of that peaceful revolution which they wanted in order to obtain political supremacy—the middle classes had found out their error and had turned ferociously against the King. In the Rhine Province, and more or less generally, all over Prussia, they were so exasperated that they, being short themselves of men able to represent them in the Press, went to the length of an alliance with the extreme philosophical party, of which we have spoken above. The fruit of this

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[a] A reference to the law of January 17, 1820: "Verordnung wegen der künftigen Behandlung des gesammten Staatsschulden-Wesens".—*Ed.*

alliance was the *Rhenish Gazette*,[a] of Cologne, a paper which was suppressed after fifteen months' existence, but from which may be dated the existence of the Newspaper Press in Germany. This was in 1842.

The poor King, whose commercial difficulties were the keenest satire upon his medieval propensities, very soon found out that he could not continue to reign without making some slight concession to the popular outcry for that "Representation of the People," which, as the last remnant of the long-forgotten promises of 1813 and 1815, had been embodied in the law of 1820.[14] He found the least objectionable mode of satisfying this untoward law in calling together the Standing Committees of the Provincial Diets.[15] The Provincial Diets had been instituted in 1823. They consisted, for every one of the eight provinces of the kingdom, of: 1. The higher nobility, the formerly sovereign families of the German Empire, the heads of which were members of the Diet by birthright. 2. Of the representatives of the knights or lower nobility. 3. Of representatives of towns; and 4. Of deputies of the peasantry or small farming class. The whole was arranged in such a manner that in every province the two sections of the nobility always had a majority of the Diet. Every one of these eight Provincial Diets elected a Committee, and these eight Committees were now called to Berlin, in order to form a Representative Assembly for the purpose of voting the much-desired loan. It was stated that the Treasury was full, and that the loan was required, not for current wants, but for the construction of a State Railway. But the united Committees gave the King a flat refusal, declaring themselves incompetent to act as the Representatives of the People, and called upon his majesty to fulfill the promise of a Representative Constitution which his father had given when he wanted the aid of the people against Napoleon.

The sitting of the united Committees proved that the spirit of opposition was no longer confined to the bourgeoisie. A part of the peasantry had joined them, and many nobles, being themselves large farmers on their own property, and dealers in corn, wool, spirits and flax, requiring the same guaranties against absolutism, bureaucracy and feudal restoration, had equally pronounced against the Government and for a Representative Constitution. The King's plan had signally failed; he had got no money, and had increased the power of the opposition. The subsequent sitting of the Provincial Diets themselves was still more unfortunate for the King. All of them asked for reforms, for the fulfillment of the promises of 1813 and

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[a] *Rheinische Zeitung.—Ed.*

'15, for a Constitution and a Free Press; the resolutions, to this effect, of some of them, were rather disrespectfully worded, and the ill-humored replies of the exasperated King made the evil still greater.

In the meantime the financial difficulties of the Government went on increasing. For a time abatements made upon the moneys appropriated for the different public services, fraudulent transactions with the "Seehandlung,"[16] a commercial establishment speculating and trading for account and risk of the State, and long since acting as its money-broker, had sufficed to keep up appearances; increased issues of State paper money had furnished some resources; and the secret, upon the whole, had been pretty well kept. But all these contrivances were soon exhausted. There was another plan tried: the establishment of a Bank, the capital of which was to be furnished partly by the State and partly by private shareholders; the chief direction to belong to the State, in such a manner as to enable the Government to draw upon the funds of this Bank to a large amount, and thus to repeat the same fraudulent transactions that would no longer do with the "Seehandlung." But, as a matter of course, there were no capitalists to be found who would hand over their money upon such conditions; the statutes of the Bank had to be altered, and the property of the shareholders guarantied from the encroachments of the Treasury, before any shares were subscribed for. Thus, this plan having failed, there remained nothing but to try a loan—if capitalists could be found who would lend their cash without requiring the permission and guarantee of that mysterious "future Representation of the People." Rothschild was applied to, and he declared that if the loan was to be guarantied by this "Representation of the People," he would undertake the thing at a moment's notice—if not, he could not have anything to do with the transaction.

Thus every hope of obtaining money had vanished, and there was no possibility of escaping the fatal "Representation of the People." Rothschild's refusal was known in Autumn, 1846, and in February of the next year the King called together all the eight Provincial Diets to Berlin, forming them into one "United Diet."[17] This Diet was to do the work required, in case of need, by the law of 1820; it was to vote loans and increased taxes, but beyond that it was to have no rights. Its voice upon general legislation was to be merely consultative; it was to assemble, not at fixed periods, but whenever it pleased the King; it was to discuss nothing but what the Government pleased to lay before it. Of course, the members were very little satisfied with the part they were expected to perform. They repeated the wishes they

had enounced when they met in the provincial assemblies; the relations between them and the Government soon became acrimonious, and when the loan, which was again stated to be required for railway constructions, was demanded from them, they again refused to grant it.

This vote very soon brought their sitting to a close. The King, more and more exasperated, dismissed them with a reprimand, but still remained without money. And, indeed, he had every reason to be alarmed at his position, seeing that the Liberal league, headed by the middle classes, comprising a large part of the lower nobility and all the manifold discontents that had been accumulated in the different sections of the lower orders—that this Liberal league was determined to have what it wanted. In vain the King had declared, in the opening speech, that he would never, never grant a Constitution in the modern sense of the word [18]; the Liberal league insisted upon such a modern, anti-feudal, Representative Constitution, with all its sequels, liberty of the press, trial by jury, &c.; and before they got it, not a farthing of money would they grant. There was one thing evident: that things could not go on long in this manner, and that either one of the parties must give way, or that a rupture, a bloody struggle, must ensue. And the middle classes knew that they were on the eve of a revolution, and they prepared themselves for it. They sought to obtain, by every possible means, the support of the working class of the towns, and of the peasantry in the agricultural districts, and it is well known that there was, in the latter end of 1847, hardly a single prominent political character among the bourgeoisie who did not proclaim himself a "Socialist," in order to insure to himself the sympathy of the proletarian class. We shall see these "Socialists" at work by and by.

This eagerness of the leading bourgeoisie to adopt at least the outward show of Socialism, was caused by a great change that had come over the working classes of Germany. There had been, ever since 1840, a fraction of German workmen who, travelling in France and Switzerland, had more or less imbibed the crude Socialist and Communist notions then current among the French workmen. The increasing attention paid to similar ideas in France, ever since 1840, made Socialism and Communism fashionable in Germany also, and as far back as 1843, all newspapers teemed with discussions of social questions. A school of Socialists very soon formed itself in Germany, distinguished more for the obscurity than for the novelty of its ideas; its principal efforts consisted in the translation of French Fourierist, Saint-Simonian and other doctrines into the abstruse language of German philosophy.[19] The German Communist

School, entirely different from this sect, was formed about the same time.

In 1844 there occurred the Silesian weavers' riots, followed by the insurrection of the calico printers in Prague. These riots, cruelly suppressed, riots of working men, not against the Government, but against their employers, created a deep sensation, and gave a new stimulus to Socialist and Communist propaganda amongst the working people. So did the bread riots during the year of famine, 1847.[20] In short, in the same manner as Constitutional opposition rallied around its banner the great bulk of the propertied classes (with the exception of the large feudal land-holders), so the working classes of the larger towns looked for their emancipation to the Socialist and Communist doctrines, although, under the then existing press laws, they could be made to know only very little about them. They could not be expected to have any very definite ideas as to what they wanted—they only knew that the programme of the Constitutional bourgeoisie did not contain all they wanted, and that their wants were in no wise contained in the Constitutional circle of ideas.

There was then no separate republican party in Germany. People were either Constitutional monarchists, or more or less clearly defined Socialists or Communists.

With such elements, the slightest collision must have brought about a great revolution. While the higher nobility, and the older civil and military officers, were the only safe supports of the existing system; while the lower nobility, the trading middle classes, the universities, the school-masters of every degree, and even part of the lower ranks of the bureaucracy and military officers, were all leagued against the Government; while, behind these, there stood the dissatisfied masses of the peasantry, and of the proletarians of the large towns, supporting, for the time being, the liberal opposition, but already muttering strange words about taking things into their own hands; while the Bourgeoisie was ready to hurl down the Government, and the Proletarians were preparing to hurl down the Bourgeoisie in its turn;—this Government went on obstinately in a course which must bring about a collision. Germany was, in the beginning of 1848, on the eve of a revolution, and this revolution was sure to come, even had the French revolution of February not hastened it.

What the effects of this Parisian Revolution were upon Germany, we shall see in our next.

London, September, 1851

## III

## THE OTHER GERMAN STATES

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3292, November 6, 1851]

In our last we confined ourselves almost exclusively to that State which, during the years 1840 to 1848, was by far the most important in the German movement; namely, to Prussia. It is, however, time to pass a rapid glance over the other States of Germany during the same period.

As to the petty States, they had, ever since the revolutionary movements of 1830, completely passed under the dictatorship of the Diet, that is, of Austria and Prussia. The several constitutions, established as much as a means of defense against the dictates of the larger States, as to insure popularity to their princely authors and unity to heterogeneous assemblies of provinces, formed by the Congress of Vienna, without any leading principle whatever—these constitutions, illusory as they were, had yet proved dangerous to the authority of the petty princes themselves during the excited times of 1830 and 1831. They were all but destroyed; whatever of them was allowed to remain, was less than a shadow, and it required the loquacious self-complacency of a Welcker, a Rotteck, a Dahlmann, to imagine that any results could possibly flow from the humble opposition, mingled with degrading flattery, which they were allowed to show off in the impotent chambers of these petty States.

The more energetic portion of the middle class in these smaller States, very soon after 1840, abandoned all the hopes they had formerly based upon the development of Parliamentary government in these dependencies of Austria and Prussia. No sooner had the Prussian bourgeoisie, and the classes allied to it, shown a serious resolution to struggle for Parliamentary government in Prussia, than they were allowed to take the lead of the Constitutional movement over all non-Austrian Germany. It is a fact which now will not be any longer contested, that the nucleus of those Constitutionalists of Central Germany, who afterwards seceded from the Frankfort National Assembly, and who, from the place of their separate meetings, were called the Gotha party,[21] long before 1848 contemplated a plan which, with little modification, they in 1849 proposed to the representatives of all Germany. They intended a complete exclusion of Austria from the German Confederation, the establishment of a new Confederation with a new fundamental law and with a federal Parliament, under the protection of Prussia, and the incorporation of the more insignificant States into the larger ones. All this was to be carried out the moment Prussia entered into the

ranks of constitutional monarchy, established the liberty of the press, assumed a policy independent from that of Russia and Austria, and thus enabled the Constitutionalists of the lesser States to obtain a real control over their respective Governments. The inventor of this scheme was Professor Gervinus, of Heidelberg (Baden). Thus the emancipation of the Prussian bourgeoisie was to be the signal for that of the middle classes of Germany generally, and for an alliance, offensive and defensive, of both against Russia and Austria; for Austria was, as we shall see presently, considered as an entirely barbarian country, of which very little was known, and that little not to the credit of its population; Austria, therefore, was not considered as an essential part of Germany.

As to the other classes of society, in the smaller States, they followed, more or less rapidly, in the wake of their equals in Prussia. The shopkeeping class got more and more dissatisfied with their respective Governments, with the increase of taxation, with the curtailments of those political sham-privileges of which they used to boast when comparing themselves to the "slaves of despotism" in Austria and Prussia; but as yet they had nothing definite in their opposition which might stamp them as an independent party, distinct from the Constitutionalism of the higher bourgeoisie. The dissatisfaction among the peasantry was equally growing, but it is well known that this section of the people, in quiet and peaceful times, will never assert its interests and assume its position as an independent class, except in countries where universal suffrage is established. The working classes in the trades and manufactures of the towns commenced to be infected with the "poison" of Socialism and Communism, but there being few towns of any importance out of Prussia, and still fewer manufacturing districts, the movement of this class, owing to the want of centers of action and propaganda, was extremely slow in the smaller States.

Both in Prussia and in the smaller States, the difficulty of giving vent to political opposition created a sort of religious opposition in the parallel movements of German Catholicism and Free Congregationalism.[22] History affords us numerous examples where, in countries which enjoy the blessings of a State Church, and where political discussion is fettered, the profane and dangerous opposition against the worldly power is hid under the more sanctified and apparently more disinterested struggle against spiritual despotism. Many a government that will not allow of any of its acts being discussed, will hesitate before it creates martyrs and excites the religious fanaticism of the masses. Thus in Germany, in 1845, in every State, either the Roman Catholic or the Protestant religion, or

both, were considered part and parcel of the law of the land. In every State, too, the clergy of either of those denominations, or of both, formed an essential part of the bureaucratic establishment of the Government. To attack Protestant or Catholic orthodoxy, to attack priestcraft, was, then, to make an underhand attack upon the Government itself. As to the German Catholics, their very existence was an attack upon the Catholic Governments of Germany, particularly Austria and Bavaria; and as such it was taken by those Governments. The Free Congregationalists, Protestant Dissenters, somewhat resembling the English and American Unitarians,[23] openly professed their opposition to the clerical and rigidly orthodox tendency of the King of Prussia and his favorite Minister for the Educational and Clerical Department, Mr. Eichhorn. The two new sects, rapidly extending for a moment, the first in Catholic, the second in Protestant countries, had no other distinction but their different origin; as to their tenets, they perfectly agreed upon this most important point—that all definite dogmas were nugatory. This want of any definition was their very essence; they pretended to build that great temple under the roof of which all Germans might unite; they thus represented, in a religious form, another political idea of the day—that of German Unity; and yet, they could never agree among themselves.

The idea of German Unity, which the above-mentioned sects sought to realize at least upon religious ground, by inventing a common religion for all Germans, manufactured expressly for their use, habits, and taste—this idea was indeed very widely spread, particularly in the smaller States. Ever since the dissolution of the German Empire, by Napoleon,[24] the cry for a union of all the *disjecta membra*[a] of the German body had been the most general expression of discontent with the established order of things, and most so in the smaller States, where the costliness of a court, an administration, an army, in short, the dead weight of taxation, increased in a direct ratio with the smallness and impotency of the State. But what this German Unity was to be when carried out, was a question upon which parties disagreed. The bourgeoisie, which wanted no serious revolutionary convulsions, were satisfied with what we have seen they considered "practicable," namely, a union of all Germany, exclusive of Austria, under the supremacy of a constitutional government of Prussia; and surely, without conjuring dangerous storms, nothing more could, at that time, be done. The shopkeeping class and the peasantry, as far as these latter troubled themselves about such things, never arrived

[a] Scattered members.—*Ed.*

at any definition of that German Unity they so loudly clamored after; a few dreamers, mostly feudalist reactionists, hoped for the re-establishment of the German Empire; some few ignorant, *soi-disant* radicals, admiring Swiss institutions, of which they had not yet made that practical experience which afterward most ludicrously undeceived them, pronounced for a federated republic; and it was only the most extreme party which, at that time, dared pronounce for a German Republic,[25] one and indivisible. Thus, German Unity was in itself a question big with disunion, discord, and, in the case of certain eventualities, even civil war.

To resume, then; this was the state of Prussia and the smaller States of Germany, at the end of 1847. The middle class, feeling its power, and resolved not to endure much longer the fetters with which a feudal and bureaucratic despotism enchained their commercial transactions, their industrial productivity, their common action as a class; a portion of the landed nobility so far changed into producers of mere marketable commodities as to have the same interests and to make common cause with the middle class; the smaller trading class, dissatisfied, grumbling at the taxes, at the impediments thrown in the way of their business, but without any definite plan for such reforms as should secure their position in the social and political body; the peasantry, oppressed here by feudal exactions, there by money-lenders, usurers, and lawyers; the working people of the towns, infected with the general discontent, equally hating the Government and the large industrial capitalists, and catching the contagion of Socialist and Communist ideas; in short, a heterogeneous mass of opposition, springing from various interests, but more or less led on by the bourgeoisie, in the first ranks of which again marched the bourgeoisie of Prussia and particularly of the Rhine Province. On the other hand, governments disagreeing upon many points, distrustful of each other, and particularly of that of Prussia, upon which yet they had to rely for protection; in Prussia, a government forsaken by public opinion, forsaken by even a portion of the nobility, leaning upon an army and a bureaucracy which every day got more infected by the ideas and subjected to the influence of the oppositional bourgeoisie—a government, besides all this, penniless in the most literal meaning of the word, and which could not procure a single cent to cover its increasing deficit, but by surrendering at discretion to the opposition of the bourgeoisie. Was there ever a more splendid position for the middle class of any country, while it struggled for power against the established government?

London, September, 1851

## IV
## AUSTRIA

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3293, November 7, 1851]

We have now to consider Austria, that country which up to March, 1848, was sealed up to the eyes of foreign nations almost as much as China before the late war with England.[26]

As a matter of course, we can here take into consideration nothing but German Austria. The affairs of the Polish, Hungarian or Italian Austrians do not belong to our subject, and as far as they, since 1848, have influenced the fate of the German Austrians, they will have to be taken into account hereafter.

The Government of Prince Metternich turned upon two hinges: firstly, to keep every one of the different nations, subjected to the Austrian rule, in check by all other nations similarly conditioned; secondly, and this always has been the fundamental principle of absolute monarchies, to rely for support upon two classes, the feudal landlords and the large stockjobbing capitalists; and to balance, at the same time, the influence and power of either of these classes by that of the other, so as to leave full independence of action to the Government. The landed nobility, whose entire income consisted in feudal revenues of all sorts, could not but support a government which proved their only protection against that downtrodden class of serfs upon whose spoils they lived; and whenever the less wealthy portion of them, as in Galicia, in 1846, rose in opposition against the Government, Metternich, in an instant, let loose upon them these very serfs, who at any rate profited by the occasion to wreak a terrible vengeance upon their more immediate oppressors.[27] On the other hand, the large capitalists of the Exchange were chained to Metternich's Government by the vast share they had in the public funds of the country. Austria, restored to her full power in 1815, restoring and maintaining in Italy absolute monarchy ever since 1820, freed of part of her liabilities by the bankruptcy of 1810,[a] had after the peace very soon re-established her credit in the great European money markets, and in proportion as her credit grew, she had drawn against it. Thus all the large European money-dealers had engaged considerable portions of their capital in the Austrian funds; they all of them were interested in upholding the credit of that country, and as Austrian public credit, in order to be upheld, ever required new loans, they were obliged from time to time to

[a] More accurately: 1811.—*Ed.*

advance new capital in order to keep up the credit of the securities for that which they already had advanced. The long peace after 1815, and the apparent impossibility of a thousand years old empire, like Austria, being upset, increased the credit of Metternich's Government in a wonderful ratio, and made it even independent of the good will of the Vienna bankers and stockjobbers; for as long as Metternich could obtain plenty of money at Frankfort and Amsterdam, he had, of course, the satisfaction of seeing the Austrian capitalists at his feet. They were, besides, in every other respect at his mercy; the large profits which bankers, stockjobbers and government contractors always contrive to draw out of an absolute monarchy, were compensated for by the almost unlimited power which the Government possessed over their persons and fortunes; and not the smallest shadow of an opposition was, therefore, to be expected from this quarter. Thus, Metternich was sure of the support of the two most powerful and influential classes of the empire, and he possessed, besides, an army and a bureaucracy which, for all purposes of absolutism, could not be better constituted. The civil and military officers in the Austrian service form a race of their own; their fathers have been in the service of the *Kaiser*, and so will their sons be; they belong to none of the multifarious nationalities congregated under the wing of the double-headed eagle; they are, and ever have been, removed from one end of the empire to the other, from Poland to Italy, from Germany to Transylvania; Hungarian, Pole, German, Rumanian, Italian, Croat, every individual not stamped with "imperial and royal" authority, &c., bearing a separate national character, is equally despised by them; they have no nationality, or rather they alone make up the really Austrian nation. It is evident what a pliable and at the same time powerful instrument, in the hands of an intelligent and energetic chief, such a civil and military hierarchy must be.

As to the other classes of the population, Metternich, in the true spirit of a statesman of the *ancien régime*, cared little for their support. He had, with regard to them, but one policy: to draw as much as possible out of them in the shape of taxation, and at the same time, to keep them quiet. The trading and manufacturing middle class was but of slow growth in Austria. The trade of the Danube was comparatively unimportant; the country possessed but one port, Trieste, and the trade of this port was very limited. As to the manufacturers, they enjoyed considerable protection, amounting even in most cases to the complete exclusion of all foreign competition; but this advantage had been granted to them principally with a view to increase their tax-paying capabilities, and was in a

high degree counterpoised by internal restrictions on manufactures, privileges of guilds and other feudal corporations, which were scrupulously upheld as long as they did not impede the purposes and views of the Government. The petty tradesmen were encased in the narrow bounds of these medieval guilds, which kept the different trades in a perpetual war of privilege against each other, and at the same time, by all but excluding individuals of the working class from the possibility of raising themselves in the social scale, gave a sort of hereditary stability to the members of those involuntary associations. Lastly, the peasant and the working man were treated as mere taxable matter, and the only care that was taken of them, was to keep them as much as possible in the same conditions of life in which they then existed, and in which their fathers had existed before them. For this purpose, every old established hereditary authority was upheld in the same manner as that of the State; the authority of the landlord over the petty tenant-farmer, that of the manufacturer over the operative, of the small master over the journeyman and apprentice, of the father over the son, was everywhere rigidly maintained by the Government, and every branch of disobedience punished, the same as a transgression of the law, by that universal instrument of Austrian justice—the stick.

Finally, to wind up into one comprehensive system all these attempts at creating an artificial stability, the intellectual food allowed to the nation was selected with the minutest caution, and dealt out as sparingly as possible. Education was everywhere in the hands of the Catholic priesthood, whose chiefs, in the same manner as the large feudal landowners, were deeply interested in the conservation of the existing system. The universities were organized in a manner which allowed them to produce nothing but special men, that might or might not obtain great proficiency in sundry particular branches of knowledge, but which, at all events, excluded that universal liberal education which other universities are expected to impart. There was absolutely no newspaper press, except in Hungary, and the Hungarian papers were prohibited in all other parts of the monarchy. As to general literature, its range had not widened for a century; it had been narrowed again after the death of Joseph II. And all around the frontier, wherever the Austrian States touched upon a civilized country, a *cordon* of literary censors was established in connection with the *cordon* of custom-house officials, preventing any foreign book or newspaper from passing into Austria before its contents had been twice or three times thoroughly sifted, and found pure of even the slightest contamination of the malignant spirit of the age.

For about thirty years after 1815, this system worked with wonderful success. Austria remained almost unknown to Europe, and Europe was quite as little known in Austria. The social state of every class of the population, and of the population as a whole, appeared not to have undergone the slightest change. Whatever rancor there might exist from class to class—and the existence of this rancor was, for Metternich, a principal condition of government, which he even fostered by making the higher classes the instruments of all government exactions, and thus throwing the odium upon them—whatever hatred the people might bear to the inferior officials of the State, there existed, upon the whole, little or no dissatisfaction with the Central Government. The Emperor was adored, and old Francis the First seemed to be borne out by facts, when, doubting of the durability of this system, he complacently added: "and yet it will hold while I live, and Metternich."

But there was a slow underground movement going on which baffled all Metternich's efforts. The wealth and influence of the manufacturing and trading middle class increased. The introduction of machinery and steam power in manufactures upset in Austria, as it had done everywhere else, the old relations and vital conditions of whole classes of society; it changed serfs into free men, small farmers into manufacturing operatives; it undermined the old feudal trades-corporations and destroyed the means of existence of many of them. The new commercial and manufacturing population came everywhere into collision with the old feudal institutions. The middle classes, more and more induced by their business to travel abroad, introduced some mythical knowledge of the civilized countries situated beyond the imperial line of customs; the introduction of railways, finally, accelerated both the industrial and intellectual movement. There was, too, a dangerous part in the Austrian State establishment, viz.: the Hungarian feudal Constitution, with its parliamentary proceedings and its struggles of the impoverished and oppositional mass of the nobility against the Government and its allies, the magnates. Pressburg,[a] the seat of the Diet, was at the very gates of Vienna. All the elements contributed to create among the middle classes, of the towns, a spirit, not exactly of opposition, for opposition was as yet impossible, but of discontent; a general wish for reforms, more of an administrative than of a constitutional nature. And in the same manner as in Prussia, a portion of the bureaucracy joined the bourgeoisie. Among this hereditary caste of officials the traditions of Joseph II were not forgotten; the more educated

[a] The Slovak name: Bratislava.—*Ed.*

functionaries of the Government, who themselves sometimes meddled with imaginary possible reforms, by far preferred the progressive and intellectual despotism of that Emperor to the "paternal" despotism of Metternich. A portion of the poorer nobility equally sided with the middle class, and as to the lower classes of the population, who always had found plenty of grounds to complain of their superiors, if not of the Government, they in most cases could not but adhere to the reformatory wishes of the bourgeoisie.

It was about this time, say 1843 or 1844, that a particular branch of literature, agreeably to this change, was established in Germany. A few Austrian writers, novelists, literary critics, bad poets, the whole of them of very indifferent ability, but gifted with that peculiar industrialism proper to the Jewish race, established themselves in Leipsic and other German towns out of Austria, and there, out of the reach of Metternich, published a number of books and pamphlets on Austrian affairs. They and their publishers made "a roaring trade" of it. All Germany was eager to become initiated into the secrets of the policy of European China; and the Austrians themselves, who obtained these publications by the wholesale smuggling carried on upon the Bohemian [a] frontier, were still more curious. Of course, the secrets let out in these publications were of no great importance, and the reform plans schemed out by their well-wishing authors bore the stamp of an innocuousness almost amounting to political virginity. A constitution and a free press for Austria were things considered unattainable; administrative reforms, extension of the rights of the provincial diets, admission of foreign books and newspapers, and a less severe censorship—the loyal and humble desires of these good Austrians did hardly go any further.

At all events, the growing impossibility of preventing the literary intercourse of Austria with the rest of Germany, and through Germany with the world, contributed much toward the formation of an anti-governmental public opinion, and brought at least some little political information within the reach of part of the Austrian population. Thus, by the end of 1847, Austria was seized, although in an inferior degree, by that political and politico-religious agitation which then prevailed in all Germany; and if its progress in Austria was more silent, it did nevertheless find revolutionary elements enough to work upon. There was the peasant, serf or feudal tenant, ground down into the dust by lordly or government exactions; then the factory operative, forced,

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[a] Czech.—*Ed.*

by the stick of the policeman, to work upon any terms the manufacturer chose to grant; then the journeyman, debarred by the corporative laws from any chance of gaining an independence in his trade; then the merchant, stumbling, at every step in business, over absurd regulations; then the manufacturer, in uninterrupted conflict with trades-guilds jealous of their privileges, or with greedy and meddling officials; then the schoolmaster, the *savant*, the better educated functionary, vainly struggling against an ignorant and presumptuous clergy, or a stupid and dictating superior. In short, there was not a single class satisfied, for the small concessions Government was obliged now and then to make were made not at its own expense, for the Treasury could not afford that, but at the expense of the high aristocracy and clergy; and, as to the great bankers and fund-holders, the late events in Italy, the increasing opposition of the Hungarian Diet, and the unwonted spirit of discontent and cry for reform manifesting themselves all over the Empire, were not of a nature to strengthen their faith in the solidity and solvency of the Austrian Empire.

Thus Austria, too, was marching, slowly but surely, toward a mighty change, when of a sudden an event broke out in France which at once brought down the impending storm, and gave the lie to old Francis's assertion, that the building would hold out both during his and Metternich's lifetime.

London, September, 1851

## V
## THE VIENNA INSURRECTION

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3297, November 12, 1851]

On the 24th of February, 1848, Louis Philippe was driven out of Paris and the French Republic was proclaimed. On the 13th of March following, the people of Vienna broke the power of Prince Metternich and made him flee shamefully out of the country. On the 18th of March the people of Berlin rose in arms, and, after an obstinate struggle of eighteen hours, had the satisfaction of seeing the King[a] surrender himself over to their hands. Simultaneous outbreaks of a more or less violent nature, but all with the same

[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

success, occurred in the capitals of the smaller States of Germany. The German people, if they had not accomplished their first revolution, were at least fairly launched into the revolutionary career.

As to the incidents of these various insurrections, we cannot enter here into the details of them: what we have to explain is their character, and the position which the different classes of the population took up with regard to them.

The revolution of Vienna may be said to have been made by an almost unanimous population. The bourgeoisie, with the exception of the bankers and stockjobbers, the petty trading class, the working people, one and all, arose at once against a government detested by all, a government so universally hated, that the small minority of nobles and money-lords which had supported it, made itself invisible on the very first attack. The middle classes had been kept in such a degree of political ignorance by Metternich, that to them the news from Paris about the reign of Anarchy, Socialism and Terror, and about impending struggles between the class of capitalists and the class of laborers, proved quite unintelligible. They, in their political innocence, either could attach no meaning to these news, or they believed them to be fiendish inventions of Metternich, to frighten them into obedience. They, besides, had never seen working men act as a class, or stand up for their own distinct class interests. They had, from their past experience, no idea of the possibility of any differences springing up between classes that now were so heartily united in upsetting a government hated by all. They saw the working people agree with themselves upon all points: a constitution, trial by jury, liberty of the press, &c. Thus, they were, in March, 1848, at least, heart and soul with the movement, and the movement, on the other hand, at once constituted them the (at least in theory) predominant class of the State.

But it is the fate of all revolutions that this union of different classes, which in some degree is always the necessary condition of any revolution, cannot subsist long. No sooner is the victory gained against the common enemy, than the victors become divided among themselves into different camps and turn their weapons against each other. It is this rapid and passionate development of class antagonism which, in old and complicated social organisms, makes a revolution such a powerful agent of social and political progress; it is this incessantly quick upshooting of new parties succeeding each other in power which, during those violent commotions, makes a nation pass in five years over more

ground than it would have done in a century under ordinary circumstances.

The revolution, in Vienna, made the middle class the theoretically predominant class; that is to say, the concessions wrung from the Government were such as, once carried out practically and adhered to for a time, would inevitably have secured the supremacy of the middle class. But, practically, the supremacy of that class was far from being established. It is true that by the establishment of a National Guard, which gave arms to the bourgeoisie, and petty tradesmen, that class obtained both force and importance; it is true, that by the installation of a "Committee of Safety," a sort of revolutionary, irresponsible government, in which the bourgeoisie predominated, it was placed at the head of power. But at the same time, the working classes were partially armed too; they and the students had borne the brunt of the fight, as far as fight there had been; and the students, about 4,000 strong, well armed and far better disciplined than the National Guard, formed the nucleus, the real strength of the revolutionary force, and were noways willing to act as a mere instrument in the hands of the Committee of Safety. Though they recognized it and even were its most enthusiastic supporters, they yet formed a sort of independent and rather turbulent body,[28] deliberating for themselves in the "Aula," keeping an intermediate position between the bourgeoisie and the working classes, preventing, by constant agitation, things to settle down to the old everyday tranquillity, and very often forcing their resolutions upon the Committee of Safety. The working men, on the other hand, almost entirely thrown out of employment, had to be employed in public works at the expense of the State, and the money for this purpose had of course to be taken out of the purse of the tax-payers or out of the chest of the city of Vienna. All this could not but become very unpleasant to the tradesmen of Vienna. The manufactures of the city, calculated for the consumption of the rich and aristocratic courts of a large country, were as a matter of course entirely stopped by the revolution, by the flight of the aristocracy and court; trade was at a standstill, and the continuous agitation and excitement kept up by the students and working people was certainly not the means to "restore confidence," as the phrase went. Thus, a certain coolness very soon sprung up between the middle classes on the one side, and the turbulent students and working people on the other; and if, for a long time, this coolness was not ripened into open hostility, it was because the Ministry, and particularly the Court, in their impatience to restore

the old order of things, constantly justified the suspicions and the turbulent activity of the more revolutionary parties, and constantly made arise, even before the eyes of the middle classes, the spectre of old Metternichian despotism. Thus on the 15th of May, and again on the 26th, there were fresh risings of all classes in Vienna,[a] on account of the Government having tried to attack or to undermine some of the newly conquered liberties, and on each occasion, the alliance between the National Guard or armed middle class, the students, and the working men, was again cemented for a time.

As to the other classes of the population, the aristocracy and the money-lords had disappeared, and the peasantry were busily engaged everywhere in the removing, down to the very last vestiges, of feudalism. Thanks to the war in Italy,[29] and the occupation which Vienna and Hungary gave to the Court, they were left at full liberty, and succeeded in their work of liberation, in Austria, better than in any other part of Germany. The Austrian Diet very shortly after had only to confirm the steps[30] already practically taken by the peasantry, and whatever else the Government of Prince Schwarzenberg may be enabled to restore, it will never have the power of re-establishing the feudal servitude of the peasantry. And if Austria at the present moment is again comparatively tranquil, and even strong, it is principally because the great majority of the people, the peasants, have been real gainers by the revolution, and because whatever else has been attacked by the restored Government, these palpable, substantial advantages, conquered by the peasantry, are as yet untouched.

London, October, 1851

## VI
## THE BERLIN INSURRECTION

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3311, November 28, 1851]

The second center of revolutionary action was Berlin. And from what has been stated in the foregoing papers, it may be guessed that there this action was far from having that unanimous support of almost all classes by which it was accompanied in Vienna. In Prussia the bourgeoisie had been already involved in actual

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[a] See this volume, pp. 54-55.—*Ed.*

struggles with the Government; a rupture had been the result of the "United Diet"; a bourgeois revolution was impending, and that revolution might have been, in its first outbreak, quite as unanimous as that of Vienna, had it not been for the Paris revolution of February. That event precipitated everything, while, at the same time, it was carried out under a banner totally different from that under which the Prussian bourgeoisie was preparing to defy its Government. The revolution of February upset, in France, the very same sort of government which the Prussian bourgeoisie were going to set up in their own country. The revolution of February announced itself as a revolution of the working classes against the middle classes; it proclaimed the downfall of middle-class government and the emancipation of the working man. Now the Prussian bourgeoisie had of late had quite enough of working-class agitation in their own country. After the first terror of the Silesian riots had passed away, they had even tried to give this agitation a turn in their own favor; but they always had retained a salutary horror of revolutionary Socialism and Communism; and, therefore, when they saw men at the head of the Government in Paris whom they considered as the most dangerous enemies of property, order, religion, family, and of the other *penates*[31] of the modern bourgeois, they at once experienced a considerable cooling down of their own revolutionary ardor. They knew that the moment must be seized, and that without the aid of the working masses they would be defeated; and yet their courage failed them. Thus they sided with the Government in the first partial and provincial outbreaks, tried to keep the people quiet in Berlin, who during five days met in crowds before the royal palace to discuss the news and ask for changes in the Government; and when at last, after the news of the downfall of Metternich, the King made some slight concessions, the bourgeoisie considered the revolution as completed, and went to thank his Majesty for having fulfilled all the wishes of his people. But then followed the attack of the military on the crowd, the barricades, the struggle, and the defeat of Royalty. Then everything was changed; the very working classes, which it had been the tendency of the bourgeoisie to keep in the background, had been pushed forward, had fought and conquered, and all at once were conscious of their strength. Restrictions of suffrage, of the liberty of the press, of the right to sit on juries, of the right of meeting—restrictions that would have been very agreeable to the bourgeoisie, because they would have touched upon such classes only as were beneath it—now were no longer possible. The

danger of a repetition of the Parisian scenes of "anarchy" was imminent. Before this danger all former differences disappeared. Against the victorious working man, although he had not yet uttered any specific demands for himself, the friends and the foes of many years united, and the alliance between the bourgeoisie and the supporters of the overturned system was concluded upon the very barricades of Berlin. The necessary concessions, but no more than was unavoidable, were to be made; a ministry of the opposition leaders of the United Diet was to be formed, and in return for its services in saving the Crown, it was to have the support of all the props of the old Government, the feudal aristocracy, the bureaucracy, the army. These were the conditions upon which Messrs. Camphausen and Hansemann undertook the formation of a Cabinet.

Such was the dread evinced, by the new ministers, of the aroused masses, that in their eyes every means was good if it only tended to strengthen the shaken foundations of authority. They, poor deluded wretches, thought every danger of a restoration of the old system had passed away; and thus they made use of the whole of the old state machinery for the purpose of restoring "order." Not a single bureaucrat or military officer was dismissed; not the slightest change was made in the old bureaucratic system of administration. These precious constitutional and responsible ministers even restored to their posts those functionaries whom the people, in the first heat of revolutionary ardor, had driven away on account of their former acts of bureaucratic overbearing. There was nothing altered, in Prussia, but the persons of the ministers; even the ministerial staffs in the different departments were not touched upon, and all the constitutional place-hunters, who had formed the chorus of the newly-elevated rulers, and who had expected their share of power and office, were told to wait until restored stability allowed changes to be operated in the bureaucratic personnel which now were not without danger.

The King, chap-fallen in the highest degree after the insurrection of the 18th of March, very soon found out that he was quite as necessary to these "liberal" ministers as they were to him. The throne had been spared by the insurrection; the throne was the last existing obstacle to "anarchy," the liberal middle class and its leaders, now in the ministry, had therefore every interest to keep on excellent terms with the Crown. The King, and the reactionary camarilla that surrounded him, were not slow in discovering this, and profited by the circumstance in order to fetter the march of

the ministry even in those petty reforms that were from time to time intended.

The first care of the ministry was to give a sort of legal appearance to the recent violent changes. The United Diet was convoked, in spite of all popular opposition, in order to vote, as the legal and constitutional organ of the people, a new electoral law for the election of an assembly, which was to agree with the Crown upon a new Constitution.[32] The elections were to be indirect, the mass of voters electing a number of electors, who then were to choose the representative. In spite of all opposition, this system of double elections passed. The United Diet was then asked for a loan of twenty-five millions of dollars, opposed by the popular party, but equally agreed to.

These acts of the ministry gave a most rapid development to the popular, or as it now called itself, the democratic party. This party, headed by the petty trading and shopkeeping class, and uniting under its banner, in the beginning of the revolution, the large majority of the working people, demanded direct and universal suffrage, the same as established in France, a single Legislative Assembly, and full and open recognition of the revolution of the 18th of March, as the base of the new governmental system. The more moderate faction would be satisfied with a thus "democratized" monarchy, the more advanced demanded the ultimate establishment of the Republic. Both factions agreed in recognizing the German National Assembly at Frankfort as the supreme authority of the country, while the Constitutionalists and Reactionists affected a great horror of the sovereignty of this body, which they professed to consider as utterly revolutionary.

The independent movement of the working classes had, by the revolution, been broken up for a time. The immediate wants and circumstances of the movement were such as not to allow of any of the specific demands of the Proletarian party to be put in the foreground. In fact, as long as the ground was not cleared for the independent action of the working men, as long as direct and universal suffrage was not yet established, as long as the 36 larger and smaller States continued to cut up Germany into numberless morsels, what else could the Proletarian party do but watch the—for them all-important—movement of Paris, and struggle in common with the petty shopkeepers for the attainment of those rights which would allow them to fight, afterward, their own battle?

There were only three points, then, by which the Proletarian

party in its political action essentially distinguished itself from the petty trading class, or properly so-called democratic party: firstly, in judging differently the French movement, with regard to which the democrats attacked, and the Proletarian Revolutionists defended the extreme party in Paris; secondly, in proclaiming the necessity of establishing a German Republic, one and indivisible, while the very extremest ultras among the democrats only dared to sigh for a Federative Republic; and thirdly, in showing upon every occasion, that revolutionary boldness and readiness for action, in which any party, headed by and composed principally, of petty tradesmen, will always be deficient.

The Proletarian, or really revolutionary party, succeeded only very gradually in withdrawing the mass of the working people from the influence of the democrats, whose tail they formed in the beginning of the revolution. But in due time the indecision, weakness and cowardice of the democratic leaders did the rest, and it may now be said to be one of the principal results of the last years' convulsions, that wherever the working class is concentrated in anything like considerable masses, they are entirely freed from that democratic influence which led them into an endless series of blunders and misfortunes during 1848 and 1849. But we had better not anticipate; the events of these two years will give us plenty of opportunities to show the democratic gentlemen at work.

The peasantry in Prussia, the same as in Austria, but with less energy, feudalism pressing, upon the whole, not quite so hard upon them here, had profited by the revolution to free themselves at once from all feudal shackles. But here, from the reasons stated before, the middle classes at once turned against them, their oldest, their most indispensable allies; the democrats, equally frightened with the bourgeois by what was called attacks upon private property, failed equally to support them; and thus, after three months' emancipation, after bloody struggles and military executions, particularly in Silesia, feudalism was restored by the hands of the, until yesterday, anti-feudal bourgeoisie. There is not a more damning fact to be brought against them than this. Similar treason against its best allies, against itself, never was committed by any party in history, and, whatever humiliation and chastisement may be in store for this middle-class party, it has deserved by this one act every morsel of it.

London, October, 1851

## VII
## THE FRANKFORT NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3389, February 27, 1852]

It will perhaps be in the recollection of our readers that in the six preceding papers we followed up the revolutionary movement of Germany to the two great popular victories of March 13, in Vienna, and March 18, in Berlin. We saw, both in Austria and Prussia, the establishment of Constitutional Governments and the proclamation, as leading rules for all future policy, of liberal or middle-class principles; and the only difference observable between the two great centers of action was this, that in Prussia the liberal bourgeoisie in the persons of two wealthy merchants, Messrs. Camphausen and Hansemann, directly seized upon the reins of power; while in Austria, where the bourgeoisie was, politically, far less educated, the liberal *Bureaucratie* walked into office and professed to hold power in trust for them. We have further seen, how the parties and classes of society, that were heretofore all united in their opposition to the old Government, got divided among themselves after the victory or even during the struggle; and how that same liberal bourgeoisie that alone profited from the victory turned round immediately upon its allies of yesterday, assumed a hostile attitude against every class or party of a more advanced character, and concluded an alliance with the conquered feudal and bureaucratic interests. It was in fact evident, even from the beginning of the revolutionary drama, that the liberal bourgeoisie could not hold its ground against the vanquished, but not destroyed, feudal and bureaucratic parties except by relying upon the assistance of the popular and more advanced parties; and that it equally required, against the torrent of these more advanced masses, the assistance of the feudal nobility and of the bureaucracy. Thus, it was clear enough, that the bourgeoisie, in Austria and Prussia, did not possess sufficient strength to maintain their power and to adapt the institutions of the country to their own wants and ideas. The liberal Bourgeois Ministry was only a halting place from which, according to the turn circumstances might take, the country would either have to go on to the more advanced stage of Unitarian Republicanism, or to relapse into the old clerico-feudal and bureaucratic *régime*. At all events, the real, decisive struggle was yet to come; the events of March had only engaged the combat.

Austria and Prussia being the two ruling States of Germany, every decisive revolutionary victory in Vienna or Berlin would have been decisive for all Germany. And as far as they went, the events of March, 1848, in these two cities, decided the turn of German affairs.

It would, then, be superfluous to recur to the movements that occurred in the minor States; and we might, indeed, confine ourselves to the consideration of Austrian and Prussian affairs exclusively, if the existence of these minor States had not given rise to a body which was, by its very existence, a most striking proof of the abnormal situation of Germany and of the incompleteness of the late revolution; a body so abnormal, so ludicrous by its very position, and yet so full of its own importance, that history will, most likely, never afford a pendant to it. This body was the so-called *German National Assembly* at Frankfort-on-the-Main.

After the popular victories of Vienna and Berlin, it was a matter of course that there should be a Representative Assembly for all Germany. This body was consequently elected, and met at Frankfort, by the side of the old Federative Diet. The German National Assembly was expected, by the people, to settle every matter in dispute, and to act as the highest legislative authority for the whole of the German Confederation. But at the same time the Diet which had convoked it had in no way fixed its attributions. No one knew whether its decrees were to have force of law, or whether they were to be subject to the sanction of the Diet or of the individual Governments. In this perplexity, if the Assembly had been possessed of the least energy, it would have immediately dissolved and sent home the Diet—than which no corporate body was more unpopular in Germany—and replaced it by a Federal Government chosen from among its own members. It would have declared itself the only legal expression of the sovereign will of the German people, and thus attached legal validity to every one of its decrees. It would, above all, have secured to itself an organized and armed force in the country sufficient to put down any opposition on the part of the Governments. And all this was easy, very easy at that early period of the revolution. But that would have been expecting a great deal too much from an Assembly composed in its majority of liberal attorneys and *doctrinaire* professors, an Assembly which, while it pretended to embody the very essence of German intellect and science, was in reality nothing but a stage where old and worn-out political characters exhibited their involuntary ludicrousness and their impotence of thought, as well as action, before the eyes of all Germany. This Assembly of old women was, from the first day of its existence, more frightened of the least popular movement than of all the reactionary plots of all the German Governments put together. It deliberated under the eyes of the Diet, nay, it almost craved the Diet's sanction to its decrees, for its first resolutions had to be promulgated by that odious body. Instead of asserting its own

sovereignty, it studiously avoided the discussion of any such dangerous questions. Instead of surrounding itself by a popular force, it passed to the order of the day over all the violent encroachments of the Governments; Mayence, under its very eyes, was placed in a state of siege and the people there disarmed, and the National Assembly did not stir.[33] Later on it elected Archduke John of Austria Regent of Germany, and declared that all its resolutions were to have the force of law[34]; but then, Archduke John was only instituted in his new dignity after the consent of all the Governments had been obtained, and he was instituted not by the Assembly, but by the Diet; and as to the legal force of the decrees of the Assembly, that point was never recognized by the larger Governments, nor enforced by the Assembly itself; it therefore remained in suspense. Thus we had the strange spectacle of an Assembly pretending to be the only legal representative of a great and sovereign nation, and yet never possessing either the will or the force to make its claims recognized. The debates of this body, without any practical result, were not even of any theoretical value, reproducing, as they did, nothing but the most hackneyed commonplace themes of superannuated philosophical and juridical schools; every sentence that was said or rather stammered forth in that Assembly having been printed a thousand times over and a thousand times better long before.

Thus, the pretended new central authority of Germany left every thing as it had found it. So, far from realizing the long-demanded unity of Germany, it did not dispossess the most insignificant of the princes who ruled her; it did not draw closer the bonds of union between her separated provinces; it never moved a single step to break down the custom-house barriers that separated Hanover from Prussia and Prussia from Austria; it did not even make the slightest attempt to remove the obnoxious dues that everywhere obstruct river navigation in Prussia. But the less this Assembly did, the more it blustered. It created a German Fleet—upon paper; it annexed Poland and Schleswig; it allowed German Austria to carry on war against Italy, and yet prohibited the Italians from following up the Austrians into their safe retreat in Germany; it gave three cheers and one cheer more for the French Republic and it received Hungarian Embassies, which certainly went home with far more confused ideas about Germany than what they had come with.

This Assembly had been, in the beginning of the Revolution, the bugbear of all German Governments. They had counted upon a very dictatorial and revolutionary action on its part—an account of the very want of definiteness in which it had been found necessary to leave its competency. These Governments, therefore, got up a most

comprehensive system of intrigues in order to weaken the influence of this dreaded body; but they proved to have more luck than wits, for this Assembly did the work of the Governments better than they themselves could have done. The chief feature among these intrigues was the convocation of local Legislative Assemblies, and in consequence, not only the lesser States convoked their Legislatures, but Prussia and Austria also called Constituent Assemblies. In these, as in the Frankfort House of Representatives, the liberal middle class, or its allies, liberal lawyers and bureaucrats, had the majority, and the turn affairs took in each of them was nearly the same. The only difference is this, that the German National Assembly was the parliament of an imaginary country, as it had declined the task of forming what nevertheless was its own first condition of existence, viz.: a United Germany; that it discussed the imaginary and never-to-be-carried-out measures of an imaginary Government of its own creation, and that it passed imaginary resolutions for which nobody cared; while in Austria and Prussia the constituent bodies were at least real parliaments, upsetting and creating real ministries, and forcing, for a time at least, their resolutions upon the Princes with whom they had to contend. They, too, were cowardly, and lacked enlarged views of revolutionary resolution; they, too, betrayed the people, and restored power to the hands of feudal, bureaucratic and military despotism. But then, they were at least obliged to discuss practical questions of immediate interest, and to live upon earth with other people, while the Frankfort humbugs were never happier than when they could roam in "the airy realms of dream," *im Luftreich des Traums.*[a] Thus the proceedings of the Berlin and Vienna Constituents form an important part of German revolutionary history, while the lucubrations of the Frankfort collective tomfoolery merely interest the collector of literary and antiquarian curiosities.

The people of Germany, deeply feeling the necessity of doing away with the obnoxious territorial division that scattered and annihilated the collective force of the nation, for some time expected to find in the Frankfort National Assembly at least the beginning of a new era. But the childish conduct of that set of wiseacres soon disenchanted the national enthusiasm. The disgraceful proceedings occasioned by the armistice of Malmoe (September, 1848),[35] made the popular indignation burst out against a body, which, it had been hoped, would give the nation a fair field for action, and which

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[a] Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen,* Chapter VII.—*Ed.*

instead, carried away by unequalled cowardice, only restored to their former solidity the foundations upon which the present counter-revolutionary system is built.

London, January, 1852

## VIII

## POLES, TSCHECHS AND GERMANS[36]

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3395, March 5, 1852]

From what has been stated in the foregoing articles, it is already evident that unless a fresh revolution was to follow that of March, 1848, things would inevitably return, in Germany, to what they were before this event. But such is the complicated nature of the historical theme upon which we are trying to throw some light, that subsequent events cannot be clearly understood without taking into account what may be called the foreign relations of the German Revolution. And these foreign relations were of the same intricate nature as the home affairs.

The whole of the eastern half of Germany, as far as the Elbe, Saale and Bohemian Forest,[a] has, it is well known, been reconquered during the last thousand years, from invaders of Slavonic origin. The greater part of these territories have been Germanized, to the perfect extinction of all Slavonic nationality and language, for several centuries past; and if we except a few totally isolated remnants, amounting in the aggregate to less than a hundred thousand souls (Kassubians in Pomerania, Wends or Sorbians in Lusatia), their inhabitants are, to all intents and purposes, Germans. But the case is different along the whole of the frontier of ancient Poland, and in the countries of the Tschechian tongue, in Bohemia and Moravia. Here the two nationalities are mixed up in every district, the towns being generally more or less German, while the Slavonic element prevails in the rural villages, where, however, it is also gradually disintegrated and forced back by the steady advance of German influence.

The reason of this state of things is this. Ever since the time of Charlemagne the Germans have directed their most constant and persevering efforts to the conquest, colonization, or, at least, civilization of the East of Europe. The conquests of the feudal

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[a] Czech Forest.— *Ed.*

nobility, between the Elbe and the Oder, and the feudal colonies of the military orders of knights in Prussia and Livonia only laid the ground for a far more extensive and effective system of Germanization by the trading and manufacturing middle classes, which in Germany, as in the rest of Western Europe, rose into social and political importance since the fifteenth century. The Slavonians, and particularly the Western Slavonians (Poles and Tschechs), are essentially an agricultural race; trade and manufactures never were in great favor with them. The consequence was, that with the increase of population and the origin of cities, in these regions, the production of all articles of manufacture fell into the hands of German immigrants, and the exchange of these commodities against agricultural produce became the exclusive monopoly of the Jews, who, if they belong to any nationality, are in these countries certainly rather Germans than Slavonians. This has been, though in a less degree, the case in all the East of Europe. The handicraftsman, the small shopkeeper, the petty manufacturer is a German up to this day in Petersburg, Pesht, Jassy and even Constantinople; while the money-lender, the publican, the hawker—a very important man in these thinly populated countries—is very generally a Jew, whose native tongue is a horribly corrupted German. The importance of the German element in the Slavonic frontier localities, thus rising with the growth of towns, trade and manufactures, was still increased when it was found necessary to import almost every element of mental culture from Germany; after the German merchant, and handicraftsman, the German clergyman, the German schoolmaster, the German *savant* came to establish himself upon Slavonic soil. And lastly, the iron tread of conquering armies, or the cautious, well-premeditated grasp of diplomacy not only followed, but many times went ahead of the slow but sure advance of denationalization by social developments. Thus, great parts of Western Prussia and Posen have been Germanized since the first partition of Poland,[37] by sales and grants of public domains to German colonists, by encouragements given to German capitalists for the establishment of manufactories, &c., in those neighborhoods, and very often, too, by excessively despotic measures against the Polish inhabitants of the country.

In this manner, the last seventy years had entirely changed the line of demarcation between the German and Polish nationalities. The revolution of 1848 calling forth, at once, the claim of all oppressed nations to an independent existence, and to the right of settling their own affairs for themselves, it was quite natural that the Poles should at once demand the restoration of their country within the frontiers

of the old Polish Republic before 1772. It is true, this frontier, even at that time, had become obsolete, if taken as the delimitation of German and Polish nationality; it had become more so every year since by the progress of Germanization; but then, the Germans had proclaimed such an enthusiasm for the restoration of Poland, that they must expect to be asked, as a first proof of the reality of their sympathies, to give up *their* share of the plunder. On the other hand, should whole tracts of land, inhabited chiefly by Germans, should large towns, entirely German, be given up to a people that as yet had never given any proofs of its capability of progressing beyond a state of feudalism based upon agricultural serfdom? The question was intricate enough. The only possible solution was in a war with Russia; the question of delimitation between the different revolutionized nations would have been made a secondary one to that of first establishing a safe frontier against the common enemy; the Poles, by receiving extended territories in the east, would have become more tractable and reasonable in the west; and Riga and Mitau[a] would have been deemed, after all, quite as important to them as Danzig and Elbing.[b] Thus the advanced party in Germany, deeming a war with Russia necessary to keep up the Continental movement, and considering that the national re-establishment even of a part of Poland would inevitably lead to such a war, supported the Poles; while the reigning liberal middle-class party clearly foresaw its downfall from any national war against Russia, which would have called more active and energetic men to the helm, and therefore, with a feigned enthusiasm for the extension of German nationality, they declared Prussian Poland, the chief seat of Polish revolutionary agitation, to be part and parcel of the German Empire that was to be. The promises given to the Poles in the first days of excitement were shamefully broken; Polish armaments, got up with the sanction of the Government, were dispersed and massacred by Prussian artillery; and as soon as the month of April, 1848, within six weeks of the Berlin Revolution, the Polish movement was crushed, and the old national hostility revived between Poles and Germans.[38] This immense and incalculable service to the Russian Autocrat was performed by the liberal merchant-ministers, Camphausen and Hansemann. It must be added, that this Polish campaign was the first means of reorganising and reassuring that same Prussian army, which afterward turned out the Liberal party and crushed the movement which Messrs. Camphausen and Hansemann had taken

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[a] Lettish name: Jelgava.— *Ed.*
[b] Polish names: Gdansk and Elblong.— *Ed.*

such pains to bring about. "Whereby they sinned, thereby are they punished."[a] Such has been the fate of all the upstarts of 1848 and '49, from Ledru-Rollin to Changarnier, and from Camphausen down to Haynau.

The question of nationality gave rise to another struggle in Bohemia. This country, inhabited by two millions of Germans, and three millions of Slavonians of the Tschechian tongue, had great historical recollections, almost all connected with the former supremacy of the Tschechs. But then the force of this branch of the Slavonic family had been broken ever since the wars of the Hussites in the fifteenth century[39]; the provinces speaking the Tschechian language were divided, one part forming the kingdom of Bohemia, another the principality of Moravia, a third, the Carpathian hill-country of the Slovaks, being part of Hungary. The Moravians and Slovaks had long since lost every vestige of national feeling and vitality, although mostly preserving their language. Bohemia was surrounded by thoroughly German countries on three sides out of four. The German element had made great progress on her own territory; even in the capital, in Prague, the two nationalities were pretty equally matched; and everywhere capital, trade, industry, and mental culture were in the hands of the Germans. The chief champion of the Tschechian nationality, Professor Palacký, is himself nothing but a learned German run mad, who even now cannot speak the Tschechian language correctly and without foreign accent. But as it often happens, dying Tschechian nationality—dying according to every fact known in history for the last four hundred years—made in 1848 a last effort to regain its former vitality—an effort whose failure, independently of all revolutionary considerations, was to prove that Bohemia could only exist, henceforth, as a portion of Germany, although part of her inhabitants might yet, for some centuries, continue to speak a non-German language.

London, February, 1852

## IX

## PANSLAVISM. THE SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN WAR

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3403, March 15, 1852]

Bohemia and Croatia (another disjected member of the Slavonic family, acted upon by the Hungarian as Bohemia by the German)

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[a] The Wisdom of Solomon 11 : 16.—*Ed.*

were the homes of what is called on the European Continent "*Panslavism.*" Neither Bohemia nor Croatia was strong enough to exist as a nation by herself. Their respective nationalities, gradually undermined by the action of historical causes that inevitably absorbs them into a more energetic stock, could only hope to be restored to something like independence by an alliance with other Slavonic nations. There were twenty-two millions of Poles, forty-five millions of Russians, eight millions of Serbians and Bulgarians—why not form a mighty Confederation of the whole eighty millions of Slavonians, and drive back or exterminate the intruder upon the holy Slavonic soil, the Turk, the Hungarian, and, above all, the hated, but indispensable *Niemetz*, the German? Thus, in the studies of a few Slavonian *dilettanti* of historical science was this ludicrous, this anti-historical movement got up, a movement which intended nothing less than to subjugate the civilized West under the barbarian East, the town under the country, trade, manufactures, intelligence, under the primitive agriculture of Slavonian serfs. But behind this ludicrous theory stood the terrible reality of the *Russian Empire*, that empire which by every movement proclaims the pretension of considering all Europe as the domain of the Slavonic race and especially of the only energetic part of this race, of the Russians; that empire which, with two capitals such as St. Petersburg and Moscow, has not yet found its center of gravity, as long as the "*City of the Czar*" (Constantinople, called in Russian Tzarigrad, the Czar's city), considered by every Russian peasant as the true metropolis of his religion and his nation, is not actually the residence of its Emperor; that empire which, for the last 150 years, has never lost, but always gained territory by every war it has commenced. And well known in Central Europe are the intrigues by which Russian policy supported the new-fangled system of Panslavism, a system than which none better could be invented to suit its purposes. Thus, the Bohemian and Croatian Panslavists, some intentionally, some without knowing it, worked in the direct interest of Russia; they betrayed the revolutionary cause for the shadow of a nationality which, in the best of cases, would have shared the fate of the Polish nationality under Russian sway. It must, however, be said for the honor of the Poles, that they never got to be seriously entangled in these Panslavistic traps; and if a few of the aristocracy turned furious Panslavists, they knew that by Russian subjugation they had less to lose than by a revolt of their own peasant serfs.

The Bohemians and Croatians called, then, a general Slavonic Congress at Prague, for the preparation of the universal Slavonian alliance.[40] This Congress would have proved a decided failure even

without the interference of the Austrian military. The several Slavonic languages differ quite as much as the English, the German and the Swedish, and when the proceedings opened, there was no common Slavonic tongue by which the speakers could make themselves understood. French was tried, but was equally unintelligible to the majority, and the poor Slavonic enthusiasts, whose only common feeling was a common hatred against the Germans, were at last obliged to express themselves in the hated German language, as the only one that was generally understood! But just then, another Slavonic Congress was assembling in Prague, in the shape of Galician lancers, Croatian and Slovak grenadiers, and Bohemian gunners and cuirassiers; and this real, armed Slavonic Congress, under the command of Windischgrätz, in less than twenty-four hours drove the founders of an imaginary Slavonian supremacy out of the town and dispersed them to the winds.

The Bohemian, Moravian, Dalmatian, and part of the Polish Deputies (the aristocracy) to the Austrian Constituent Diet, made in that Assembly a systematic war upon the German element. The Germans and part of the Poles (the impoverished nobility) were in this Assembly the chief supporters of revolutionary progress; the mass of the Slavonic Deputies, in opposing them, were not satisfied with thus showing clearly the reactionary tendencies of their entire movement, but they were degraded enough to tamper and conspire with the very same Austrian Government which had dispersed their meeting at Prague. They, too, were paid for this infamous conduct; after supporting the Government during the insurrection of October, 1848, an event which finally secured to them the majority in the Diet, this now almost exclusively Slavonic Diet was dispersed by Austrian soldiers,[a] the same as the Prague Congress, and the Panslavists threatened with imprisonment if they should stir again. And they have only obtained this, that Slavonic nationality is now being everywhere undermined by Austrian centralization, a result for which they may thank their own fanaticism and blindness.

If the frontiers of Hungary and Germany had admitted of any doubt, there would certainly have been another quarrel there. But, fortunately, there was no pretext, and the interests of both nations being intimately related, they struggled against the same enemies, viz., the Austrian Government and the Panslavistic fanaticism. The

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[a] See below, p. 70.—*Ed.*

good understanding was not for a moment disturbed. But the Italian revolution entangled a part at least of Germany in an internecine war; and it must be stated here, as a proof how far the Metternichian system had succeeded in keeping back the development of the public mind, that during the first six months of 1848 the same men that had in Vienna mounted the barricades, went, full of enthusiasm, to join the army that fought against the Italian patriots. This deplorable confusion of ideas did not, however, last long.

Lastly, there was the war with Denmark about Schleswig and Holstein. These countries, unquestionably German by nationality, language, and predilection, are also, from military, naval and commercial grounds, necessary to Germany. Their inhabitants have, for the last three years, struggled hard against Danish intrusion. The right of treaties, besides, was for them. The revolution of March brought them into open collision with the Danes, and Germany supported them. But while in Poland, in Italy, in Bohemia, and later on, in Hungary, military operations were pushed with the utmost vigor, in this, the only popular, the only, at least partially, revolutionary war, a system of resultless marches and counter-marches was adopted, and an interference of foreign diplomacy was submitted to, which led, after many an heroic engagement, to a most miserable end. The German Governments betrayed, during this war, the Schleswig-Holstein revolutionary army on every occasion, and allowed it purposely to be cut up, when dispersed or divided, by the Danes. The German corps of volunteers were treated the same.

But while thus the German name earned nothing but hatred on every side, the German constitutional and liberal Governments rubbed their hands for joy. They had succeeded in crushing the Polish and Bohemian[a] movements. They had everywhere revived the old national animosities, which heretofore had prevented any common understanding and action between the German, the Pole, the Italian. They had accustomed the people to scenes of civil war and repression by the military. The Prussian army had regained its confidence in Poland, the Austrian army in Prague; and while the superabundant patriotism ("*die patriotische Überkraft*", as Heine has it[b]) of revolutionary, but short-sighted youth was led, in Schleswig and Lombardy, to be crushed by the grape-shot of the enemy, the

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[a] Czech.— *Ed.*

[b] Heinrich Heine, "Bei des Nachtwächters Ankunft zu Paris" (from the cycle *Zeitgedichte*).— *Ed.*

regular army, the real instrument of action, both of Prussia and Austria, was placed in a position to regain public favor by victories over the foreigner. But we repeat: these armies, strengthened by the Liberals as a means of action against the more advanced party, no sooner had recovered their self-confidence and their discipline in some degree, than they turned themselves against the Liberals, and restored to power the men of the old system. When Radetzky, in his camp behind the Adige, received the first orders from the "responsible Ministers" at Vienna, he exclaimed: "Who are these Ministers? They are not the Government of Austria! Austria is, now, nowhere, but in my camp; I and my Army, we are Austria; and when we shall have beaten the Italians we shall reconquer the Empire for the Emperor[a]!" And old Radetzky was right—but the imbecile, "responsible" Ministers at Vienna heeded him not.

London, February, 1852

## X

## THE PARIS RISING. THE FRANKFORT ASSEMBLY

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3406, March 18, 1852]

As early as the beginning of April, 1848, the revolutionary torrent had found itself stemmed all over the Continent of Europe by the league which those classes of Society that had profited by the first victory immediately formed with the vanquished. In France, the petty trading class and the republican fraction of the bourgeoisie had combined with the monarchist bourgeoisie against the proletarians; in Germany and Italy, the victorious bourgeoisie had eagerly courted the support of the feudal nobility, the official bureaucracy and the army, against the mass of the people and the petty traders. Very soon the united Conservative and Counter-Revolutionary parties again regained the ascendant. In England, an untimely and ill-prepared popular demonstration (April 10) turned out in a complete and decisive defeat of the movement party.[41] In France, two similar movements (16th April and 15th May) were equally defeated.[42] In Italy, King Bomba[b] regained his authority by a single stroke on the 15th of May.[43] In Germany, the different new bourgeoisie governments and their respective constituent assemblies consolidated

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[a] Ferdinand I.—*Ed.*
[b] Ferdinand II.—*Ed.*

themselves, and if the eventful 15th of May gave rise, in Vienna, to a popular victory, this was an event of merely secondary importance, and may be considered the last successful flash of popular energy. In Hungary, the movement appeared to turn into the quiet channel of perfect legality, and the Polish movement, as we have seen in our last, was stifled in the bud by Prussian bayonets. But as yet nothing was decided as to the eventual turn which things would take, and every inch of ground lost by the revolutionary parties in the different countries only tended to close their ranks more and more for the decisive action.

The decisive action drew near. It could be fought in France only; for France, as long as England took no part in the revolutionary strife, or as Germany remained divided, was, by its national independence, civilization and centralization, the only country to impart the impulse of a mighty convulsion to the surrounding countries. Accordingly, when, on the 23d of June, 1848, the bloody struggle began in Paris, when every succeeding telegraph or mail more clearly exposed the fact to the eyes of Europe, that this struggle was carried on between the mass of the working people on the one hand, and all the other classes of the Parisian population, supported by the army, on the other; when the fighting went on for several days with an exasperation unequalled in the history of modern civil warfare, but without any apparent advantage for either side—then it became evident to every one that this was the great decisive battle which would, if the insurrection were victorious, deluge the whole continent with renewed revolutions, or, if it was suppressed, bring about an, at least momentary, restoration of counter-revolutionary rule.

The proletarians of Paris were defeated, decimated, crushed with such an effect that even now they have not yet recovered from the blow. And immediately, all over Europe, the new and old conservatives and counter-revolutionists raised their heads with an effrontery that showed how well they understood the importance of the event. The press was everywhere attacked, the rights of meeting and association were interfered with, every little event in every small provincial town was taken profit of to disarm the people, to declare a state of siege, to drill the troops in the new maneuvers and artifices that Cavaignac had taught them. Besides, for the first time since February, the invincibility of a popular insurrection in a large town had been proved to be a delusion; the honor of the armies had been restored; the troops, hitherto always defeated in street battles of importance, regained confidence in their efficiency even in this kind of struggle.

From this defeat of the *ouvriers* of Paris may be dated the first positive steps and definite plans of the old feudal-bureaucratic party in Germany, to get rid even of their momentary allies, the middle classes, and to restore Germany to the state she was in before the events of March. The army again was the decisive power in the State, and the army belonged not to the middle classes, but to themselves. Even in Prussia, where before 1848 a considerable leaning of part of the lower grades of officers towards a constitutional government had been observed, the disorder introduced into the army by the revolution had brought back those reasoning young men to their allegiance; as soon as the private soldier took a few liberties with regard to the officers, the necessity of discipline and passive obedience became at once strikingly evident to them. The vanquished nobles and bureaucrats now began to see their way before them; the army, more united than ever, flushed with victory in minor insurrections and in foreign warfare, jealous of the great success the French soldiers had just attained—this army had only to be kept in constant petty conflicts with the people, and, the decisive moment once at hand, it could with one great blow crush the revolutionists and set aside the presumptions of the middle-class parliamentarians. And the proper moment for such a decisive blow arrived soon enough.

We pass over the sometimes curious, but mostly tedious, parliamentary proceedings and local struggles that occupied, in Germany, the different parties during the summer. Suffice it to say that the supporters of the middle-class interest, in spite of numerous parliamentary triumphs, not one of which led to any practical result, very generally felt that their position between the extreme parties became daily more untenable, and that, therefore, they were obliged now to seek the alliance of the reactionists, and the next day, to court the favor of the more popular fractions. This constant vacillation gave the finishing stroke to their character in public opinion, and according to the turn events were taking, the contempt, into which they had sunk, profited for the moment principally the bureaucrats and feudalists.

By the beginning of autumn the relative position of the different parties had become exasperated and critical enough to make a decisive battle inevitable. The first engagements in this war between the democratic and revolutionary masses and the army took place at Frankfort. Though a mere secondary engagement, it was the first advantage of any note the troops acquired over insurrection, and had a great moral effect. The fancy government

established by the Frankfort National Assembly had been allowed by Prussia, for very obvious reasons, to conclude an armistice with Denmark which not only surrendered to Danish vengeance the Germans of Schleswig, but which also entirely disclaimed the more or less revolutionary principles which were generally supposed in the Danish war.[44] This armistice was, by a majority of two or three, rejected in the Frankfort Assembly. A sham Ministerial crisis followed this vote, but three days later the Assembly reconsidered their vote, and were actually induced to cancel it and acknowledge the armistice. This disgraceful proceeding roused the indignation of the people. Barricades were erected, but already sufficient troops had been drawn to Frankfort, and, after six hours fighting, the insurrection was suppressed. Similar but less important movements connected with this event took place in other parts of Germany (Baden, Cologne), but were equally defeated.

This preliminary engagement gave to the counter-revolutionary party the one great advantage, that now the only Government which had entirely—at least in semblance—originated with popular election, the Imperial Government of Frankfort, as well as the National Assembly, was ruined in the eyes of the people. This Government and this Assembly had been obliged to appeal to the bayonets of the troops against the manifestation of the popular will. They were compromised, and what little regard they might have been hitherto enabled to claim, this repudiation of their origin, the dependency upon the anti-popular Governments and their troops, made both the Lieutenant of the Empire, his Ministers and his Deputies, to be henceforth complete nullities. We shall soon see how first Austria, then Prussia, and later on the smaller States too, treated with contempt every order, every request, every deputation they received from this body of impotent dreamers.

We now come to the great counter-stroke, in Germany, of the French battle of June, to that event which was as decisive for Germany as the proletarian struggle of Paris had been for France; we mean the revolution and subsequent storming of Vienna, in October, 1848. But the importance of this battle is such, and the explanation of the different circumstances that more immediately contributed to its issue will take up such a portion of *The Tribune*'s columns, as to necessitate its being treated in a separate letter.

London, February, 1852

## XI
## THE VIENNA INSURRECTION

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3407, March 19, 1852]

We now come to the decisive event which formed the revolutionary counterpart in Germany to the Parisian insurrection of June, and which, by a single blow, turned the scale in favor of the counter-revolutionary party—the insurrection of October, 1848, in Vienna.

We have seen what the position of the different classes was, in Vienna, after the victory of the 13th of March. We have also seen how the movement of German Austria was entangled with and impeded by the events in the non-German provinces of Austria. It only remains for us, then, briefly to survey the causes which led to this last and most formidable rising of German Austria.

The high aristocracy and the stockjobbing bourgeoisie, which had formed the principal non-official supports of the Metternichian Government, were enabled, even after the events of March, to maintain a predominating influence with the Government, not only by the court, the army and the bureaucracy, but still more by the horror of "anarchy," which rapidly spread among the middle classes. They very soon ventured a few feelers in the shape of a Press Law, a nondescript Aristocratic Constitution and an Electoral Law based upon the old division of "Estates."[45] The so-called constitutional ministry, consisting of half Liberal, timid, incapable bureaucrats, on the 14th of May, even ventured a direct attack upon the revolutionary organisations of the masses by dissolving the Central Committee of Delegates of the National Guard and Academic Legion, a body formed for the express purpose of controlling the Government and calling out against it, in case of need, the popular forces. But this act only provoked the insurrection of the 15th of May, by which the Government was forced to acknowledge the Committee, to repeal the Constitution and the Electoral Law, and to grant the power of framing a new fundamental law to a Constitutional Diet, elected by universal suffrage. All this was confirmed on the following day by an Imperial proclamation. But the reactionary party, which also had its representatives in the ministry, soon got their "Liberal" colleagues to undertake a new attack upon the popular conquests. The Academic Legion, the stronghold of the movement party, the center of continuous agitation, had, on this very account, become obnoxious to the more moderate burghers of Vienna; on the 26th a ministerial decree dissolved it. Perhaps this blow might have

succeeded, if it had been carried out by a part of the National Guard only; but the Government, not trusting them either, brought the military forward, and at once the National Guard turned round, united with the Academic Legion, and thus frustrated the ministerial project.

In the meantime, however, the Emperor and his court had, on the 16th of May, left Vienna and fled to Innspruck.[a] Here, surrounded by the bigoted Tyroleans, whose loyalty was roused again by the danger of an invasion of their country by the Sardo-Lombardian army, supported by the vicinity of Radetzky's troops, within shell-range of whom Innspruck lay, here the counter-revolutionary party found an asylum, from whence, uncontrolled, unobserved and safe, it might rally its scattered forces, repair and spread again all over the country the network of its plots. Communications were re-opened with Radetzky, with Jellachich, and with Windischgrätz, as well as with the reliable men in the administrative hierarchy of the different provinces; intrigues were set on foot with the Slavonic chiefs; and thus a real force at the disposal of the counter-revolutionary camarilla was formed, while the impotent Ministers in Vienna were allowed to wear their short and feeble popularity out in continual bickerings with the revolutionary masses, and in the debates of the forthcoming Constituent Assembly. Thus, the policy of leaving the movement of the capital to itself for a time, a policy which must have led to the omnipotence of the movement party in a centralized and homogeneous country like France, here, in Austria, in a heterogeneous political conglomerate, was one of the safest means of reorganizing the strength of the reactionists.

In Vienna, the middle class, persuaded that after three successive defeats, and in the face of a Constituent Assembly based upon universal suffrage, the Court party was no longer an opponent to be dreaded, fell more and more into that weariness and apathy, and that eternal outcry for order and tranquillity, which has everywhere seized this class after violent commotions and consequent derangement of trade. The manufacturers of the Austrian Capital are almost exclusively limited to articles of luxury, for which, since the revolution and the flight of the Court, there had necessarily been very little demand. The shout for a return to a regular system of Government, and for a return of the Court, both of which were expected to bring about a revival of

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[a] Innsbruck.— *Ed.*

commercial prosperity—this shout became now general among the middle classes. The meeting of the Constituent Assembly, in July, was hailed with delight as the end of the revolutionary era; so was the return of the Court, which, after the victories of Radetzky in Italy, and after the advent of the reactionary Ministry of Doblhoff, considered itself strong enough to brave the popular torrent, and which, at the same time, was wanted in Vienna in order to complete its intrigues with the Slavonic majority of the Diet. While the Constituent Diet discussed the laws on the emancipation of the peasantry from feudal bondage and forced labor for the nobility, the Court completed a master-stroke. On the 19th of August, the Emperor was made to review the National Guard; the imperial family, the courtiers, the general officers, outbid each other in flatteries to the armed burghers, who were already intoxicated with pride at thus seeing themselves publicly acknowledged as one of the important bodies of the State; and immediately afterward a decree, signed by M. Schwarzer, the only popular Minister in the Cabinet, was published, withdrawing the Government aid given hitherto to the workmen out of employ. The trick succeeded; the working classes got up a demonstration; the middle-class National Guards declared for the decree of their Minister; they were launched upon the "Anarchists," fell like tigers on the unarmed and unresisting workpeople, and massacred a great number of them on the 23d of August. Thus the unity and strength of the revolutionary force was broken; the class struggle between Bourgeois and Proletarian had come, in Vienna too, to a bloody outbreak, and the counter-revolutionary camarilla saw the day approaching on which it might strike its grand blow.

The Hungarian affairs very soon offered an opportunity to proclaim openly the principles upon which it intended to act. On the 5th of October an imperial decree in the Vienna official *Gazette*[a]—a decree countersigned by none of the responsible ministers for Hungary—declared the Hungarian Diet dissolved, and named the Ban Jellachich, of Croatia, civil and military governor of that country—Jellachich, the leader of South-Slavonian reaction, a man who was actually at war with the lawful authorities of Hungary. At the same time orders were given to the troops in Vienna to march out and form part of the army which was to enforce Jellachich's authority. This, however, was showing the cloven foot too openly; every man in Vienna felt that war

[a] A reference to the "Königliches Rescript" of October 3, published in the *Wiener Zeitung* on October 5, 1848.—*Ed.*

upon Hungary was war upon the principle of constitutional government, which principle was in the very decree trampled upon by the attempt of the Emperor to make decrees with legal force, without the countersign of a responsible minister. The people, the Academic Legion, the National Guard of Vienna, on the 6th of October, rose in mass and resisted the departure of the troops; some grenadiers passed over to the people; a short struggle took place between the popular forces and the troops; the Minister of War, Latour, was massacred by the people, and in the evening the latter were victors. In the meantime, Ban Jellachich, beaten at Stuhlweissenburg[a] by Perczel, had taken refuge near Vienna on German-Austrian territory[46]; the Viennese troops that were to march to his support now took up an ostensibly hostile and defensive position against him; and the Emperor and Court had again fled to Olmütz,[b] on semi-Slavonic territory.

But at Olmütz, the Court found itself in very different circumstances to what it had been at Innspruck. It was now in a position to open immediately the campaign against the revolution. It was surrounded by the Slavonian deputies of the Constituent, who flocked in masses to Olmütz, and by the Slavonian enthusiasts from all parts of the monarchy. The campaign, in their eyes, was to be a war of Slavonian restoration and of extermination against the two intruders upon what was considered Slavonian soil, against the German and the Magyar. Windischgrätz, the conqueror of Prague, now commander of the army that was concentrated around Vienna, became at once the hero of Slavonian nationality. And his army concentrated rapidly from all sides. From Bohemia, Moravia, Styria, Upper Austria and Italy, marched regiment after regiment on routes that converged at Vienna, to join the troops of Jellachich and the ex-garrison of the capital. Above sixty thousand men were thus united toward the end of October, and soon they commenced hemming in the imperial city on all sides, until, on the 30th of October, they were far enough advanced to venture upon the decisive attack.

In Vienna, in the meantime, confusion and helplessness was prevalent. The middle class, as soon as the victory was gained, became again possessed of their old distrust against the "anarchic" working classes; the working men, mindful of the treatment they had received, six weeks before, at the hands of the armed tradesmen, and of the unsteady, wavering policy of the middle

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[a] Hungarian name: Székesfehérvár.— *Ed.*

[b] Czech name: Olomouc.— *Ed.*

class at large, would not trust to them the defense of the city, and demanded arms and military organization for themselves. The Academic Legion, full of zeal for the struggle against imperial despotism, were entirely incapable of understanding the nature of the estrangement of the two classes, or of otherwise comprehending the necessities of the situation. There was confusion in the public mind, confusion in the ruling councils. The remnant of the Diet, German deputies, and a few Slavonians, acting the part of spies for their friends at Olmütz, besides a few of the more revolutionary Polish deputies, sat in permanency, but instead of taking part resolutely, they lost all their time in idle debates upon the possibility of resisting the imperial army without overstepping the bounds of Constitutional conventionalities. The Committee of Safety composed of deputies of almost all the popular bodies of Vienna, although resolved to resist, was yet dominated by a majority of burghers and petty tradesmen, who never allowed it to follow up any determined, energetic line of action. The council of the Academic Legion passed heroic resolutions, but was noways able to take the lead. The working classes, distrusted, disarmed, disorganized, hardly emerging from the intellectual bondage of the old *régime*, hardly awaking not to a knowledge, but to a mere instinct of their social position and proper political line of action, could only make themselves heard by loud demonstrations, and could not be expected to be up to the difficulties of the moment. But they were ready—as ever they were in Germany during the Revolution—to fight to the last, as soon as they obtained arms.

That was the state of things in Vienna. Outside, the reorganized Austrian army, flushed with the victories of Radetzky in Italy; sixty or seventy thousand men, well armed, well organized, and if not well commanded, at least possessing commanders. Inside, confusion, class division, disorganization; a national guard of which part was resolved not to fight at all; part irresolute, and only the smallest part ready to act; a proletarian mass, powerful by numbers, but without leaders, without any political education, subject to panic as well as to fits of fury almost without cause, a prey to every false rumor spread about, quite ready to fight, but unarmed, at least in the beginning, and incompletely armed and barely organized when at last they were led to the battle; a helpless Diet, discussing theoretical quibbles while the roof over their heads was almost burning; a leading committee without impulse or energy. Everything was changed from the days of March and May, when, in the counter-revolutionary camp, all was confusion, and when the only organized force was that created by the revolution.

There could hardly be a doubt about the issue of such a struggle, and whatever doubt there might be, was settled by the events of the 30th and 31st October and 1st November.

London, March, 1852

## XII

## THE STORMING OF VIENNA. THE BETRAYAL OF VIENNA

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3425, April 9, 1852]

When at last the concentrated army of Windischgrätz commenced the attack upon Vienna, the forces that could be brought forward in defense were exceedingly insufficient for the purpose. Of the National Guard, only a portion was to be brought to the entrenchments. A Proletarian Guard, it is true, had at last been hastily formed, but owing to the lateness of the attempt to thus make available the most numerous, most daring and most energetic part of the population it was too little inured to the use of arms and to the very first rudiments of discipline, to offer a successful resistance. Thus the Academic Legion, three to four thousand strong, well exercised and disciplined to a certain degree, brave and enthusiastic, was, militarily speaking, the only force which was in a state to do its work successfully. But what were they, together with the few reliable National Guards, and with the confused mass of the armed proletarians, in opposition to the far more numerous regulars of Windischgrätz, not counting even the brigand hordes of Jellachich, hordes that were, by the very nature of their habits, very useful in a war from house to house, from lane to lane? And what, but a few old, outworn, ill-mounted and ill-served pieces of ordnance had the insurgents to oppose to that numerous and perfectly appointed artillery, of which Windischgrätz made such an unscrupulous use?

The nearer the danger drew, the more grew the confusion in Vienna. The Diet, up to the last moment, could not collect sufficient energy to call in for aid the Hungarian army of Perczel, encamped a few leagues below the capital. The Committee[a] passed contradictory resolutions, they themselves being, like the popular armed masses, floated up and down with the rising and alternately receding tide of rumors and counter-rumors. There was only one

[a] The Committee of Safety.— *Ed.*

thing upon which all agreed—to respect property; and this was done in a degree almost ludicrous for such times. As to the final arrangement of a plan of defense, very little was done. Bem, the only man present who could have saved Vienna, if any could, then in Vienna an almost unknown foreigner, a Slavonian by birth, gave up the task, overwhelmed as he was by universal distrust. Had he persevered, he might have been lynched as a traitor. Messenhauser, the commander of the insurgent forces, more of a novel writer than even of a subaltern officer, was totally inadequate to the task; and yet, after eight months of revolutionary struggles, the popular party had not produced or acquired a military man of more ability than he. Thus the contest began. The Viennese, considering their utterly inadequate means of defense, considering their utter absence of military skill and organization in the ranks, offered a most heroic resistance. In many places the order given by Bem, when he was in command, "to defend that post to the last man," was carried out to the letter. But force prevailed. Barricade after barricade was swept away by the imperial artillery in the long and wide avenues which form the main streets of the suburbs; and on the evening of the second day's fighting the Croats occupied the range of houses facing the glacis of the Old Town. A feeble and disorderly attack of the Hungarian army had been utterly defeated; and during an armistice, while some parties in the Old Town capitulated, while others hesitated and spread confusion, while the remnants of the Academic Legion prepared fresh entrenchments, an entrance was made by the Imperialists, and in the midst of this general disorder the Old Town was carried.

The immediate consequences of this victory, the brutalities and executions by martial law, the unheard-of cruelties and infamies committed by the Slavonian hordes let loose upon Vienna, are too well known to be detailed here. The ulterior consequences, the entire new turn given to German affairs by the defeat of the revolution in Vienna, we shall have reason to notice hereafter. There remain two points to be considered in connection with the storming of Vienna. The people of that capital had two allies: the Hungarians and the German people. Where were they in the hour of trial?

We have seen that the Viennese, with all the generosity of a newly-freed people, had risen for a cause which, though ultimately their own, was, in the first instance and above all, that of the Hungarians. Rather than suffer the Austrian troops to march upon Hungary, they would draw their first and most terrific onslaught

upon themselves. And while they thus nobly came forward for the support of their allies, the Hungarians, successful against Jellachich, drove him upon Vienna, and by their victory strengthened the force that was to attack that town. Under these circumstances, it was the clear duty of Hungary to support, without delay and with all disposable forces, not the Diet at Vienna, not the Committee of Safety or any other official body at Vienna, but the *Viennese Revolution.* And if Hungary should even have forgotten that Vienna had fought the first battle of Hungary, she owed it to her own safety not to forget that Vienna was the only outpost of Hungarian independence, and that after the fall of Vienna nothing could meet the advance of the Imperial troops against herself. Now, we know very well all the Hungarians can say and have said in defense of their inactivity during the blockade and storming of Vienna: the insufficient state of their own force, the refusal of the Diet or any other official body in Vienna to call them in, the necessity to keep on constitutional ground, and to avoid complications with the German Central Power. But the fact is, as to the insufficient state of the Hungarian army, that in the first days after the Viennese Revolution and the arrival of Jellachich, nothing was wanted in the shape of regular troops, as the Austrian regulars were very far from being concentrated; and that a courageous, unrelenting following up of the first advantage over Jellachich, even with nothing but the *Landsturm*[a] that had fought at Stuhlweissenburg, would have sufficed to effect a junction with the Viennese, and to adjourn to that day six months every concentration of an Austrian army. In war, and particularly in revolutionary warfare, rapidity of action until some decided advantage is gained is the first rule, and we have no hesitation in saying that upon *merely military grounds* Perczel ought not to have stopped until his junction with the Viennese was effected. There was certainly some risk, but who ever won a battle without risking something? And did the people of Vienna risk nothing when they drew upon themselves—they, a population of four hundred thousand—the forces that were to march to the conquest of twelve millions of Hungarians? The military fault committed by waiting until the Austrians had united, and by making the feeble demonstration at Schwechat which ended, as it deserved to do, in an inglorious defeat—this military fault certainly incurred more risks than a resolute march upon Vienna against the disbanded brigands of Jellachich would have done.[47]

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[a] People's militia.—*Ed.*

But, it is said, such an advance of the Hungarians, unless authorized by some official body, would have been a violation of the German territory, would have brought on complications with the Central Power at Frankfort, and would have been, above all, an abandonment of the legal and constitutional policy which formed the strength of the Hungarian cause. Why, the official bodies in Vienna were nonentities! Was it the Diet, was it the popular Committees, who had risen for Hungary, or was it the people of Vienna, and they alone, who had taken to the musket to stand the brunt of the first battle for Hungary's independence? It was not this nor that official body in Vienna which it was important to uphold—all these bodies might, and would have been, upset very soon in the progress of the revolutionary development—but it was the ascendency of the revolutionary movement, the unbroken progress of popular action itself, which alone was in question, and which alone could save Hungary from invasion. What forms this revolutionary movement afterward might take, was the business of the Viennese, not of the Hungarians, so long as Vienna and German Austria at large continued their allies against the common enemy. But the question is, whether in this stickling of the Hungarian Government for some quasi-legal authorization, we are not to see the first clear symptom of that pretense to a rather doubtful legality of proceeding, which, if it did not save Hungary, at least told very well, at a later period, before the English middle-class audiences.

As to the pretext of possible conflicts with the Central Power of Germany at Frankfort, it is quite futile. The Frankfort authorities were *de facto* upset by the victory of the counter-revolution at Vienna; they would have been equally upset had the revolution, there, found the support necessary to defeat its enemies. And lastly, the great argument that Hungary could not leave legal and constitutional ground, may do very well for British free traders, but it will never be deemed sufficient in the eyes of history. Suppose the people of Vienna had stuck to "legal and constitutional" means on the 13th of March and on the 6th of October, what then of the "legal and constitutional" movement, and of all the glorious battles which, for the first time, brought Hungary to the notice of the civilized world? The very legal and constitutional ground, upon which it is asserted the Hungarians moved in 1848 and '49, was conquered for them by the exceedingly illegal and unconstitutional rising of the people of Vienna on the 13th of March. It is not to our purpose here to discuss the revolutionary history of Hungary, but it may be deemed proper if we observe that it is utterly useless to professedly use merely legal means of resistance against an enemy who scorns such scruples; and

if we add, that had it not been for this eternal pretense of legality, which Görgey seized upon and turned against the Government, the devotion of Görgey's army to its General, and the disgraceful catastrophe of Világos, would have been impossible.[48] And when, at last, to save their honor, the Hungarians came across the Leitha, in the latter end of October 1848, was that not quite as illegal as any immediate and resolute attack would have been?

We are known to harbor no unfriendly feelings toward Hungary. We stood by her during the struggle; we may be allowed to say, that our paper, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, has done more than any other to render the Hungarian cause popular in Germany, by explaining the nature of the struggle between the Magyar and Slavonian races, and by following up the Hungarian war in a series of articles which have had paid them the compliment of being plagiarized in almost every subsequent book upon the subject, the works of native Hungarians and "eye-witnesses" not excepted. We even now, in any future continental convulsion, consider Hungary as the necessary and natural ally of Germany. But we have been severe enough upon our own countrymen to have a right to speak out upon our neighbors; and then,we have here to record facts with historical impartiality, and we must say, that in this particular instance, the generous bravery of the people of Vienna was not only far more noble, but also more far-sighted than the cautious circumspection of the Hungarian Government. And, as Germans, we may further be allowed to say, that not for all the showy victories and glorious battles of the Hungarian campaign would we exchange that spontaneous, single-handed rising and heroic resistance of the people of Vienna, our countrymen, which gave Hungary the time to organize the army that could do such great things.

The second ally of Vienna was the German people. But they were everywhere engaged in the same struggle as the Viennese. Frankfort, Baden, Cologne, had just been defeated and disarmed. In Berlin and Breslau[a] the people were at daggers drawn with the army, and daily expected to come to blows. Thus it was in every local center of action. Everywhere questions were pending that could only be settled by the force of arms; and now it was that for the first time were severely felt the disastrous consequences of the continuation of the old dismemberment and decentralization of Germany. The different questions in every State, every province, every town were fundamentally the same; but they were brought forward everywhere under different shapes and pretexts, and had everywhere attained

[a] Polish name: Wrocław.—*Ed.*

different degrees of maturity. Thus it happened, that while in every locality the decisive gravity of the events at Vienna was felt, yet nowhere could an important blow be struck with any hope of bringing the Viennese succor or making a diversion in their favor; and there remained nothing to aid them but the Parliament and Central Power of Frankfort; they were appealed to on all hands, but what did they do?

The Frankfort Parliament and the bastard child it had brought to light by incestuous intercourse with the old German Diet, the so-called Central Power, profited by the Viennese movement to show forth their utter nullity. This contemptible Assembly, as we have seen, had long since sacrificed its virginity, and young as it was, it was already turning gray-headed and experienced in all the artifices of prating and pseudo-diplomatic prostitution. Of the dreams and illusions of power, of German regeneration and unity, that in the beginning had pervaded it, nothing remained but a set of Teutonic clap-trap phraseology that was repeated on every occasion, and a firm belief of each individual member in his own importance, as well as in the credulity of the public. The original naïveté was discarded; the representatives of the German people had turned practical men, that is to say, they had made it out that the less they did, and the more they prated, the safer would be their position as the umpires of the fate of Germany. Not that they considered their proceedings superfluous; quite the contrary, but they had found out that all really great questions, being to them forbidden ground, had better be let alone; and there, like a set of Byzantine doctors of the Lower Empire,[a] they discussed, with an importance and assiduity worthy of the fate that at last overtook them, theoretical dogmas long ago settled in every part of the civilized world, or microscopical practical questions which never led to any practical result. Thus, the Assembly being a sort of Lancastrian School[49] for the mutual instruction of members, and being, therefore, very important to themselves, they were persuaded it was doing even more than the German people had a right to expect, and looked upon every one as a traitor to the country who had the impudence to ask them to come to any result.

When the Viennese insurrection broke out, there was a host of interpellations, debates, motions, and amendments upon it, which of course led to nothing. The Central Power was to interfere. It sent two Commissioners, Messrs. Welcker, the ex-Liberal, and Mosle, to Vienna. The travels of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza form matter for an Odyssey in comparison to the heroic feats and wonderful

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[a] Eastern Roman Empire.—*Ed.*

adventures of these two knights-errant of German Unity. Not daring to go to Vienna, they were bullied by Windischgrätz, wondered at by the idiot Emperor,[a] and impudently hoaxed by the Minister Stadion. Their despatches and reports are perhaps the only portion of the Frankfort transactions[b] that will retain a place in German literature; they are a perfect satirical romance, ready cut and dried, and an eternal monument of disgrace for the Frankfort Assembly and its government.

The left side of the Assembly had also sent two Commissioners to Vienna, in order to uphold its authority there—Messrs. Fröbel and Robert Blum. Blum, when danger drew near, judged rightly that here the great battle of the German Revolution was to be fought, and unhesitatingly resolved to stake his head on the issue. Fröbel, on the contrary, was of opinion that it was his duty to preserve himself for the important duties of his post at Frankfort. Blum was considered one of the most eloquent men of the Frankfort Assembly; he certainly was the most popular. His eloquence would not have stood the test of any experienced Parliamentary Assembly; he was too fond of the shallow declamations of a German dissenting preacher, and his arguments wanted both philosophical acumen and acquaintance with practical matter of fact. In politics, he belonged to "Moderate Democracy," a rather indefinite sort of thing, cherished on account of this very want of definiteness in its principles. But with all this, Robert Blum was by nature a thorough, though somewhat polished, plebeian, and in decisive moments his plebeian instinct and plebeian energy got the better of his indefinite and therefore indecisive political persuasion and knowledge. In such moments he raised himself far above the usual standard of his capacities.

Thus, in Vienna, he saw at a glance that here, and not in the midst of the would-be elegant debates of Frankfort, the fate of his country would have to be decided; he at once made up his mind, gave up all idea of retreat, took a command in the revolutionary force, and behaved with extraordinary coolness and decision. It was he who retarded for a considerable time the taking of the town and covered one of its sides from attack by burning the Tabor Bridge over the Danube. Everybody knows how after the storming he was arrested, tried by a court martial, and shot. He died like a hero. And the Frankfort Assembly, horror-struck as it was, yet took the bloody insult with a seeming good grace. A resolution was carried, which, by

[a] Ferdinand I.—*Ed.*

[b] A reference to the "Verhandlungen der deutschen verfassunggebenden Versammlung zu Frankfurt am Main" (see also present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 88-93).—*Ed.*

the softness and diplomatic decency of its language, was more an insult to the grave of the murdered martyr than a damning stain upon Austria. But it was not to be expected that this contemptible Assembly should resent the assassination of one of its members, particularly of the leader of the Left.

London, March, 1852

## XIII

## THE PRUSSIAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3432, April 17, 1852]

On the 1st of November Vienna fell, and on the 9th of the same month the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly in Berlin showed how much this event had at once raised the spirit and the strength of the counter-revolutionary party all over Germany.

The events of the summer of 1848 in Prussia are soon told. The Constituent Assembly, or rather "the Assembly elected for the purpose of agreeing upon a Constitution with the Crown," and its majority of representatives of the middle-class interest, had long since forfeited all public esteem by lending itself to all the intrigues of the Court, from fear of the more energetic elements of the population. They had confirmed, or rather restored, the obnoxious privileges of feudalism, and thus betrayed the liberty and the interest of the peasantry. They had neither been able to draw up a constitution, nor to amend in any way the general legislation. They had occupied themselves almost exclusively with nice theoretical distinctions, mere formalities, and questions of constitutional etiquette. The Assembly, in fact, was more a school of parliamentary *savoir vivre*[a] for its members, than a body in which the people could take any interest. The majorities were, besides, very nicely balanced, and almost always decided by the wavering "*Centers*," whose oscillations from Right to Left, and *vice versa*, upset first the Ministry of Camphausen, then that of Auerswald and Hansemann. But while thus the Liberals, here as everywhere else, let the occasion slip out of their hands, the Court reorganized its elements of strength among the nobility, and the most uncultivated portion of the rural population, as well as in the army and bureaucracy. After

[a] Good breeding.—*Ed.*

Hansemann's downfall, a ministry of bureaucrats and military officers, all staunch reactionists, was formed, which, however, seemingly gave way to the demands of the Parliament; and the Assembly, acting upon the commodious principle of "measures, not men," were actually duped into applauding this ministry, while they, of course, had no eyes for the concentration and organization of counter-revolutionary forces which that same ministry carried on pretty openly. At last, the signal being given by the fall of Vienna, the King[a] dismissed his ministers and replaced them by "men of action," under the leadership of the present Premier, M. Manteuffel. Then the dreaming Assembly at once awoke to the danger; it passed a vote of no confidence in the Cabinet, which was at once replied to by a decree removing the Assembly from Berlin, where it might, in case of a conflict, count upon the support of the masses, to Brandenburg, a petty provincial town dependent entirely upon the Government.[50] The Assembly, however, declared that it could not be adjourned, removed, or dissolved, except with its own consent. In the meantime, General Wrangel entered Berlin at the head of some forty thousand troops. In a meeting of the municipal magistrates and the officers of the National Guard, it was resolved not to offer any resistance. And now, after the Assembly and its constituents, the Liberal bourgeoisie, had allowed the combined reactionary party to occupy every important position and to wrest from their hands almost every means of defense, began that grand comedy of "passive and legal resistance" which they intended to be a glorious imitation of the example of Hampden and of the first efforts of the Americans in the War of Independence.[51] Berlin was declared in a state of siege, and Berlin remained tranquil; the National Guard was dissolved by the Government, and its arms were delivered up with the greatest punctuality. The Assembly was hunted down during a fortnight, from one place of meeting to another, and everywhere dispersed by the military, and the members of the Assembly begged of the citizens to remain tranquil. At last, the Government having declared the Assembly dissolved, it passed a resolution to declare the levying of taxes illegal,[52] and then its members dispersed themselves over the country to organize the refusal of taxes. But they found that they had been woefully mistaken in the choice of their means. After a few agitated weeks, followed by severe measures of the Government against the Opposition, every one gave up the idea of refusing the taxes in order to please a defunct Assembly that had not even had the courage to defend itself.

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

Whether it was, in the beginning of November, 1848, already too late to try armed resistance, or whether a part of the army, on finding serious opposition, would have turned over to the side of the Assembly, and thus decided the matter in its favor, is a question which may never be solved. But in revolution, as in war, it is always necessary to show a strong front, and he who attacks is in the advantage; and in revolution, as in war, it is of the highest necessity to stake everything on the decisive moment, whatever the odds may be. There is not a single successful revolution in history that does not prove the truth of these axioms. Now, for the Prussian Revolution, the decisive moment had come in November, 1848; the Assembly, at the head, officially, of the whole revolutionary interest, did neither show a strong front, for it receded at every advance of the enemy; much less did it attack, for it chose even not to defend itself; and when the decisive moment came, when Wrangel, at the head of forty thousand men, knocked at the gates of Berlin, instead of finding, as he and all his officers fully expected, every street studded with barricades, every window turned into a loophole, he found the gates open and the streets obstructed only by peaceful Berliner burghers, enjoying the joke they had played upon him, by delivering themselves up, hands and feet tied, unto the astonished soldiers. It is true, the Assembly and the people, if they had resisted, might have been beaten; Berlin might have been bombarded, and many hundreds might have been killed, without preventing the ultimate victory of the royalist party. But that was no reason why they should surrender their arms at once. A well-contested defeat is a fact of as much revolutionary importance as an easily-won victory. The defeats of Paris, in June, 1848, and of Vienna, in October, certainly did far more in revolutionizing the minds of the people of these two cities than the victories of February and March. The Assembly and the people of Berlin would, probably, have shared the fate of the two towns above-named; but they would have fallen gloriously, and would have left behind themselves, in the minds of the survivors, a wish of revenge, which in revolutionary times is one of the highest incentives to energetic and passionate action. It is a matter of course that, in every struggle, he who takes up the gauntlet risks being beaten; but is that a reason why he should confess himself beaten, and submit to the yoke without drawing the sword?

In a revolution, he who commands a decisive position and surrenders it, instead of forcing the enemy to try his hands at an assault, invariably deserves to be treated as a traitor.

The same decree of the King of Prussia which dissolved the

Constituent Assembly also proclaimed a new Constitution,[a] founded upon the draft which had been made by a Committee of that Assembly, but enlarging, in some points, the powers of the Crown, and rendering doubtful, in others, those of the Parliament. This Constitution established two Chambers, which were to meet soon for the purpose of confirming and revising it.

We need hardly ask where the German National Assembly was during the "legal and peaceful" struggle of the Prussian Constitutionalists. It was, as usual, at Frankfort, occupied with passing very tame resolutions against the proceedings of the Prussian Government, and admiring the "imposing spectacle of the passive, legal, and unanimous resistance of a whole people against brutal force." The Central Government sent Commissioners to Berlin, to intercede between the Ministry and the Assembly; but they met the same fate as their predecessors at Olmütz, and were politely shown out. The Left of the National Assembly, i.e., the so-called Radical party, sent also their Commissioners; but after having duly convinced themselves of the utter helplessness of the Berlin Assembly, and confessed their own equal helplessness, they returned to Frankfort, to report progress, and to testify to the admirably peaceful conduct of the population of Berlin. Nay, more: when Mr. Bassermann, one of the Central Government's Commissioners, reported that the late stringent measures of the Prussian Ministers were not without foundation, inasmuch as there had of late been seen loitering about the streets of Berlin sundry savage-looking characters, such as always appear previous to anarchical movements (and which ever since have been named "Bassermannic characters"), these worthy deputies of the Left, and energetic representatives of the revolutionary interest, actually arose to make oath and testify that such was not the case! Thus, within two months, the total impotency of the Frankfort Assembly was signally proved. There could be no more glaring proofs that this body was totally inadequate to its task; nay, that it had not even the remotest idea of what its task really was. The fact, that both in Vienna and in Berlin the fate of the revolution was settled, that in both these capitals the most important and vital questions were disposed of, without the existence of the Frankfort Assembly ever being taken the slightest notice of—this fact alone is sufficient to establish that the body in question was a

[a] A reference to the following two documents published on one and the same day, December 5, 1848: "Verordnung, betreffend die Auflösung der zur Vereinbarung der Verfassung berufenen Versammlung" and "Verfassungsurkunde für den Preußischen Staat".—*Ed.*

mere debating-club, composed of a set of dupes, who allowed the governments to use them as a parliamentary puppet, shown to amuse the shopkeepers and petty tradesmen of petty States and petty towns, as long as it was considered convenient to divert the attention of these parties. How long this was considered convenient we shall soon see. But it is a fact worthly of attention, that among all the "eminent" men of this Assembly, there was not one who had the slightest apprehension of the part they were made to perform, and that even up to the present day, ex-members of the Frankfort Club have invariably organs of historical perception quite peculiar to themselves.

London, March, 1852

## XIV

## THE RESTORATION OF ORDER. DIET AND CHAMBERS

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3438, April 24, 1852]

The first months of the year 1849 were employed by the Austrian and Prussian Governments in following up the advantages obtained in October and November last. The Austrian Diet, ever since the taking of Vienna, had carried on a merely nominal existence in a small Moravian country-town, named Kremsier.[a] Here the Slavonian Deputies, who, with their constituents, had been mainly instrumental in raising the Austrian Government from its prostration, were singularly punished for their treachery against the European Revolution; as soon as the Government had recovered its strength, it treated the Diet and its Slavonian majority with the utmost contempt, and when the first successes of the imperial arms foreboded a speedy termination of the Hungarian war, the Diet, on the 4th of March, was dissolved and the deputies dispersed by military force.[53] Then at last the Slavonians saw that they were duped, and then they shouted: Let us go to Frankfort and carry on there the opposition which we cannot pursue here! But it was then too late, and the very fact that they had no other alternative than either to remain quiet or to join the impotent Frankfort Assembly—this fact alone was sufficient to show their utter helplessness.

Thus ended, for the present and most likely for ever, the attempts of the Slavonians of Germany to recover an independent national

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[a] Czech name: Kroměříž.—*Ed.*

existence. Scattered remnants of numerous nations, whose nationality and political vitality had long been extinguished, and who in consequence had been obliged, for almost a thousand years, to follow in the wake of a mightier nation, their conqueror, the same as the Welsh in England, the Basques in Spain, the Bas-Bretons in France, and at a more recent period the Spanish and French Creoles in those portions of North America occupied of late by the Anglo-American race—these dying nationalities, the Bohemians, Carinthians, Dalmatians, &c., had tried to profit by the universal confusion of 1848, in order to restore their political *status quo* of A.D. 800. The history of a thousand years ought to have shown them that such a retrogression was impossible; that if all the territory east of the Elbe and Saale had at one time been occupied by kindred Slavonians, this fact merely proved the historical tendency, and at the same time the physical and intellectual power of the German nation to subdue, absorb, and assimilate its ancient eastern neighbors; that this tendency of absorption on the part of the Germans had always been and still was one of the mightiest means by which the civilization of western Europe had been spread in the east of that Continent; that it could only cease whenever the process of Germanization had reached the frontier of large, compact, unbroken nations, capable of an independent national life, such as the Hungarians and in some degree the Poles; and that, therefore, the natural and inevitable fate of these dying nations was to allow this progress of dissolution and absorption by their stronger neighbors to complete itself. Certainly this is no very flattering prospect for the national ambition of the Panslavistic dreamers who succeeded in agitating a portion of the Bohemian and South-Slavonian people; but can they expect that history would retrograde a thousand years in order to please a few phthisical bodies of men, who in every part of the territory they occupy are interspersed and surrounded by Germans, who from times almost immemorial have had for all purposes of civilization no other language but the German, and who lack the very first conditions of national existence, numbers and compactness of territory? Thus, the Panslavistic rising, which everywhere in the German and Hungarian Slavonic territories was the cloak for the restoration to independence of all these numberless petty nations, everywhere clashed with the European revolutionary movements, and the Slavonians, although pretending to fight for liberty, were invariably (the democratic portion of the Poles excepted) found on the side of despotism and reaction. Thus it was in Germany, thus in Hungary, thus even here and there in Turkey. Traitors to the popular cause, supporters and chief props to the Austrian Govern-

ment's cabal, they placed themselves in the position of outlaws in the eyes of all revolutionary nations. And although nowhere the mass of the people had a part in the petty squabbles about nationality raised by the Panslavistic leaders, for the very reason that they were too ignorant, yet it will never be forgotten that in Prague, in a half-German town, crowds of Slavonian fanatics cheered and repeated the cry: "Rather the Russian knout than German Liberty!" After their first evaporated effort in 1848, and after the lesson the Austrian Government gave them, it is not likely that another attempt at a later opportunity will be made. But if they should try again under similar pretexts to ally themselves to the counter-revolutionary force, the duty of Germany is clear. No country in a state of revolution and involved in external war can tolerate a *Vendée*[54] in its very heart.

As to the Constitution proclaimed by the Emperor[a] at the same time with the dissolution of the Diet, there is no need to revert to it, as it never had a practical existence and is now done away with altogether. Absolutism has been restored in Austria to all intents and purposes ever since the 4th of March, 1849.

In Prussia, the Chambers met in February for the ratification and revision of the new Charter proclaimed by the King. They sat for about six weeks, humble and meek enough in their behavior toward the Government, yet not quite prepared to go the lengths the King and his ministers wished them to go. Therefore, as soon as a suitable occasion presented itself, they were dissolved.[55]

Thus both Austria and Prussia had for the moment got rid of the shackles of parliamentary control. The Governments now concentrated all power in themselves and could bring that power to bear wherever it was wanted: Austria upon Hungary and Italy, Prussia upon Germany. For Prussia, too, was preparing for a campaign by which "order" was to be restored in the smaller States.

Counter-revolution being now paramount in the two great centers of action of Germany, in Vienna and Berlin, there remained only the lesser States in which the struggle was still undecided, although the balance there, too, was leaning more and more against the revolutionary interest. These smaller States, we have said, found a common center in the National Assembly at Frankfort. Now, this so-called National Assembly, although its reactionist spirit had long been evident, so much so that the very people of Frankfort had risen in arms against it, yet its origin was of a more or less revolutionary nature; it occupied an abnormal, revolutionary position in January;

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[a] Francis Joseph I.—*Ed.*

its competence had never been defined, and it had at last come to the decision—which, however, was never recognized by the larger States—that its resolutions had the force of law. Under these circumstances, and when the constitutionalist-monarchical party saw their positions turned by the recovering absolutists, it is not to be wondered that the liberal, monarchical bourgeoisie of almost the whole of Germany should place their last hopes upon the majority of this Assembly, just as the petty shopkeeping interest, the nucleus of the Democratic party, gathered in their growing distress around the minority of that same body which indeed formed the last compact parliamentary phalanx of Democracy. On the other hand, the larger Governments, and particularly the Prussian Ministry, saw more and more the incompatibility of such an irregular elective body with the restored monarchical system of Germany, and if they did not at once force its dissolution, it was only because the time had not yet come and because Prussia hoped first to use it for the furthering of its own ambitious purposes.

In the meantime, that poor Assembly itself fell into a greater and greater confusion. Its deputations and commissaries had been treated with the utmost contempt, both in Vienna and Berlin; one of its members,[a] in spite of his parliamentary inviolability, had been executed in Vienna as a common rebel. Its decrees were nowhere heeded; if they were noticed at all by the larger powers, it was merely by protesting notes which disputed the authority of the Assembly to pass laws and resolutions binding upon their governments. The Representative of the Assembly, the Central Executive Power, was involved in diplomatic squabbles with almost all the cabinets of Germany, and in spite of all their efforts neither Assembly nor Central Government could bring Austria or Prussia to state their ultimate views, plans, and demands. The Assembly, at last, commenced to see clearly, at least so far, that it had allowed all power to slip out of its hands, that it was at the mercy of Austria and Prussia, and that if it intended making a federal Constitution for Germany at all, it must set about the thing at once and in good earnest. And many of the vacillating members also saw clearly that they had been egregiously duped by the governments. But what were they, in their impotent position, able to do now? The only thing that could have saved them would have been promptly and decidedly to pass over into the popular camp; but the success, even of that step, was more than doubtful; and then, where in this helpless crowd of undecided, short-sighted, self-conceited beings who, when the eternal noise of

[a] Robert Blum.—*Ed.*

contradictory rumors and diplomatic notes completely stunned them, sought their only consolation and support in the everlastingly repeated assurance that they were the best, the greatest, the wisest men of the country, and that they alone could save Germany—where, we say, among these poor creatures, whom a single year of parliamentary life had turned into complete idiots, where were the men for a prompt and decisive resolution, much less for energetic and consistent action?

At last the Austrian Government threw off the mask. In its Constitution of the 4th of March it proclaimed Austria an indivisible monarchy, with common finances, system of customs-duties, of military establishments, thereby effacing every barrier and distinction between the German and non-German provinces. This declaration was made in the face of resolutions and articles of the intended federal Constitution, which had been already passed by the Frankfort Assembly. It was the gauntlet of war thrown down to it by Austria, and the poor Assembly had no other choice but to take it up. This it did with a deal of blustering, but which Austria, in the consciousness of her power, and of the utter nothingness of the Assembly, could well afford to allow to pass. And this precious representation, as it styled itself, of the German people, in order to revenge itself for this insult on the part of Austria, saw nothing better before it than to throw itself, hands and feet tied, at the feet of the Prussian Government. Incredible as it would seem, it bent its knees before the very ministers whom it had condemned as unconstitutional and anti-popular, and whose dismissal it had in vain insisted upon. The details of this disgraceful transaction, and the tragicomical events that followed, will form the subject of our next.

London, April, 1852

## XV

## THE TRIUMPH OF PRUSSIA

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3517, July 27, 1852]

We now come to the last chapter in the history of the German Revolution: the conflict of the National Assembly with the Governments of the different States, especially of Prussia; the insurrection of Southern and Western Germany, and its final overthrow by Prussia.

We have already seen the Frankfort National Assembly at work. We have seen it kicked at by Austria, insulted by Prussia, disobeyed

by the lesser States, duped by its own impotent Central "Government," which again was the dupe of all and every prince in the country. But at last things began to look threatening for this weak, vacillating, insipid legislative body. It was forced to come to the conclusion that "the sublime idea of German Unity was threatened in its realization, "which meant neither more nor less than that the Frankfort Assembly, and all it had done and was about to do, were very likely to end in smoke. Thus it set to work in good earnest in order to bring forth as soon as possible its grand production, the "Imperial Constitution."

There was, however, one difficulty. What Executive Government was there to be? An Executive Council? No; that would have been, they thought in their wisdom, making Germany a Republic. A "President"? That would come to the same. Thus they must revive the old imperial dignity. But—as of course a prince was to be Emperor—who should it be? Certainly none of the *Dii minorum gentium*,[a] from Reuss-Schleiz-Greiz-Lobenstein-Ebersdorf[b] up to Bavaria[c]; neither Austria nor Prussia would have borne that. It could only be Austria or Prussia. But which of the two? There is no doubt that, under otherwise favorable circumstances, this august Assembly would be sitting up to the present day discussing this important dilemma without being able to come to a conclusion, if the Austrian Government had not cut the Gordian knot and saved them the trouble.

Austria knew very well that from the moment in which she could again appear before Europe with all her provinces subdued, as a strong and great European power, the very law of political gravitation would draw the remainder of Germany into her orbit, without the help of any authority which an imperial crown conferred by the Frankfort Assembly could give her. Austria had been far stronger, far freer in her movements, since she shook off the powerless crown of the German Empire—a crown which clogged her own independent policy, while it added not one iota to her strength, either within or without of Germany. And supposing the case that Austria could not maintain her footing in Italy and Hungary—why, then she was dissolved, annihilated in Germany too, and could never pretend to re-seize a crown which had slipped from her hands while she was in the full possession of her strength. Thus Austria at once declared against all imperialist resurrections, and

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[a] Literally: junior gods; figuratively: second-rate personages.—*Ed.*
[b] Heinrich LXXII.—*Ed.*
[c] The reference is to the King of Bavaria, Maximilian II.—*Ed.*

plainly demanded the restoration of the German Diet, the only Central Government of Germany known and recognized by the treaties of 1815; and on the 4th of March, 1849, issued that Constitution which had no other meaning than to declare Austria an indivisible, centralized, and independent monarchy, distinct even from that Germany which the Frankfort Assembly was to reorganize.

This open declaration of war left, indeed, the Frankfort wiseacres no other choice but to exclude Austria from Germany, and to create out of the remainder of that country a sort of Lower Empire,[a] a "Little Germany," the rather shabby imperial mantle of which was to fall on the shoulders of his Majesty of Prussia. This, it will be recollected, was the renewal of an old project fostered already some six or eight years ago by a party of South and Middle German liberal *doctrinaires*,[b] who considered as a godsend the degrading circumstances by which their old crotchet was now again brought forward as the latest "new move" for the salvation of the country.

They accordingly finished, in February and March, 1849, the debate on the Imperial Constitution, together with the Declaration of Rights and the Imperial Electoral Law[56]; not, however, without being obliged to make, in a great many points, the most contradictory concessions—now to the Conservative or rather Reactionary party—now to the more advanced fractions of the Assembly. In fact, it was evident that the leadership of the Assembly, which had formerly belonged to the Right and Right Center (the Conservatives and Reactionists), was gradually, although slowly, passing toward the Left or Democratic side of that body. The rather dubious position of the Austrian Deputies in an Assembly which had excluded their country from Germany, and in which yet they were called upon to sit and vote, favored the derangement of its equipoise; and thus, as early as the end of February, the Left Center and the Left found themselves, by the help of the Austrian votes, very generally in a majority, while on other days the Conservative fraction of the Austrians, all of a sudden and for the fun of the thing, voting with the Right, threw the balance again on the other side. They intended by these sudden *soubresauts*[c] to bring the Assembly into contempt, which, however, was quite unnecessary, the mass of the people being long since convinced of the utter hollowness and futility of anything coming from Frankfort. What a specimen of a Constitution, in the

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[a] Eastern Roman Empire.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 22.—*Ed.*
[c] Jumps, leaps.—*Ed.*

*Christian* streets, they were fined if not more severely punished. It was under such foul oppressions, however, that the fortunes of his house took their rise and began to flourish. At the entrance of this street is still the bureau, the council-rooms of their imperial firm, where they receive tributes from the principalities and powers of the world. A poor devil of a Christian clerk sits there alone on Saturdays, to deal out small sums to travelers and others on letters of credit, etc.

Jews settled in Frankfort under some imperfect, dearly-paid protection of the German Emperors as early as the twelfth century. In 1339 their wretched habitations were set fire to by religious fanatics, called Flagellants. In 1462 they built in the present *Judengasse*, or New-Egypt, as it is sometimes named. Fire came upon them yet again in 1711. I roughly translate a brief account of the last conflagration, as illustrative of the spirit of that time: "Meanwhile, all the houses were burned up stock and branch, and indeed in such wise that not a single one of so many houses, nay, not so much as a stick of wood of an arm's length remained, which is surely marvelous. It was remarkable, also, that when one side of the street was burned down, the wind turned about as though it had finished there the business on which it was sent, and would now carry it on further; so that by this the other and greater part of the street was seized on by the fire and laid in ashes. The fire broke out almost in the middle of the street, in the house of the Rabbi Naphthali, their most famous Doctor. It is related for a certain truth, that when their Rabbi, who was besides a good Cabalist, was minded to teach his scholars the Cabala, and had kindled for experiment a great heap of wood in his house, he became confused in his incantation, and in place of conjuring the water-spirit to extinguish the fire kindled by him, called up the fire-spirits. Wherefore it was altogether in vain to try to save the smallest Jewish building. This is also to be considered in this conflagration, that of the many Christian houses near by, not a single one was consumed." Seeing on one side this account, written about one hundred years, and the persecutions and oppressions under which the Jews existed until the close of the last century; and seeing on the other side the friendly terms on which Jews and Catholics and Protestants now live and work together here, one would say the world *had* made progress. More, however, is to be made. Some additional measure of justice was dealt out to the Jews in the Revolution of 1848; but they are not yet admitted to a full political equality with the Christian citizens of Frankfort. Just at this time the question of revising the constitution of the city is much discussed, and some propose, as one of the alterations, the admissibility of Jews to the Senate. With the present reactionary spirit of the German powers, it would seem, however, a dangerous time to attempt it.

Local events of the day, or some gone-to-seed item of foreign news, are the favorite topics of a low-toned conversation, freely punctuated with long whiffs of tobacco-smoke from the mouths of the interlocutors. As for helping out their rhetoric by any gesticulation or rising from their seats to command more attention, such French vivacity is never indulged in. The services of one hand are engaged to hold the pipe, while the other attends to the glass, and the rest of the body, once seated, never leaves its moorings till bedtime. These gentlemen must have had periods in their lives of greater mental activity than they indicate at these meetings, which are very possibly, to their habit, only an anodyne taken after the agitation of the day's business, as a preparation to full repose. They answer a questioning stranger intelligently and politely. May they sleep well! with quiet consciences and good digestions. They retire mostly before 10½ o'clock. The Frankforters generally are early to bed. Think of my coming home from Don Pasquale at the theater last night, at a little after 9 o'clock!

C. R. S.

## GERMANY.

### XV.

### REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

We now come to the last chapter in the history of the German Revolution: the conflict of the National Assembly with the Governments of the different States, especially of Prussia; the insurrection of Southern and Western Germany, and its final overthrow by Prussia.

We have already seen the Frankfort National Assembly at work. We have seen it kicked at by Austria, insulted by Prussia, disobeyed by the lesser States, duped by its own impotent Central "Government," which again was the dupe of all and every prince in the country. But at last things began to look threatening for this weak, vacillating, insipid legislative body. It was forced to come to the conclusion that "the sublime idea of German Unity was threatened in its realization,"—which meant neither more nor less than that the Frankfort Assembly, and all it had done and was about to do, were very likely to end in smoke. Thus it set to work in good earnest in order to bring forth as soon as possible its grand production, the "Imperial Constitution."

There was, however, one difficulty. What Executive Government was there to be? An Executive Council? No; that would have been, they thought in their wisdom, making Germany a Republic. A "President"? That would come to the same. Thus they must revive the old imperial dignity. But—as of course a prince was to be Emperor—who should it be? Certainly none of the *Dii minorum gentium*, from Reuss-Schleitz-Greitz-Lobenstein-Ebersdorf up to Bavaria; neither Austria nor Prussia would have borne that a disorder which penetrates its unfortunate victims with the solemn conviction that the whole world, its history and future, are governed and determined by a majority of votes in that particular representative body which has the honor to count them among its members, and that all and everything going on outside the walls of their house—wars, revolutions, railway-constructing, colonizing of whole new continents, California gold discoveries, Central American canals, Russian armies, and whatever else may have some little claim to influence upon the destinies of mankind—is nothing compared to the incommensurable events hinging upon the important question, whatever it may be, just at that moment occupying the attention of their honorable House. Thus it was the Democratic party of the Assembly, by effectually smuggling a few of their nostrums into the "Imperial Constitution," first became bound to support it, although in every essential point it flatly contradicted their own oft-proclaimed principles; and at last, when this mongrel work was abandoned and bequeathed to them by its main authors, accepted the inheritance, and held out for this *monarchical* Constitution even in opposition to everybody who *then* proclaimed their own *republican* principles.

But it must be confessed that in this the contradiction was merely apparent. The indeterminate, self-contradictory, immature character of the Imperial Constitution was the very image of the immature, confused, conflicting political ideas of these democratic gentlemen. And if their own sayings and writings—as far as they could write—were not sufficient proof of this, their actions would furnish such proof, for among sensible people it is a matter of course to judge of a man not by his professions but by his actions; not by what he pretends to be, but by what he does and what he really is; and the deeds of these heroes of German Democracy speak loud enough for themselves, as we shall learn by and by. However, the Imperial Constitution with all its appendages and paraphernalia was definitively passed, and on the 28th of March the King of Prussia was, by 290 votes against 248 who abstained and some 200 who were absent, elected Emperor of Germany, *minus* Austria. The historical irony was complete; the imperial farce executed in the streets of astonished Berlin, three days after the Revolution of March 18, 1848, by Frederick William IV. while in a state which elsewhere would come under the Maine Liquor Law—this disgusting farce, just one year afterward, had been sanctioned by the pretended Representative Assembly of all Germany. That, then, was the result of the German Revolution!

KARL MARX.

*London, July, 1852.*

Part of a page from the *New-York Daily Tribune* containing Engels' article from the series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*

meantime, was framed under such jumping and counter-jumping, may easily be imagined.

The Left of the Assembly—this *élite* and pride of revolutionary Germany, as it believed itself to be—was entirely intoxicated with the few paltry successes it obtained by the good-will, or rather the ill-will, of a set of Austrian politicians acting under the instigation and for the interest of Austrian despotism. Whenever the slightest approximation to their own not-very-well-defined principles had, in a homoeopathically diluted shape, obtained a sort of sanction by the Frankfort Assembly, these Democrats proclaimed that they had saved the country and the people. These poor, weak-minded men, during the course of their generally very obscure lives, had been so little accustomed to anything like success, that they actually believed their paltry amendments, passed with two or three votes' majority, would change the face of Europe. They had from the beginning of their legislative career been more imbued than any other fraction of the Assembly with that incurable malady, *parliamentary cretinism,* a disorder which penetrates its unfortunate victims with the solemn conviction that the whole world, its history and future, are governed and determined by a majority of votes in that particular representative body which has the honor to count them among its members, and that all and everything going on outside the walls of their house—wars, revolutions, railway-constructing, colonizing of whole new continents, California gold discoveries, Central American canals, Russian armies, and whatever else may have some little claim to influence upon the destinies of mankind—is nothing compared to the incommensurable events hinging upon the important question, whatever it may be, just at that moment occupying the attention of their honorable House. Thus it was the Democratic party of the Assembly, by effectually smuggling a few of their nostrums into the "Imperial Constitution," that first became bound to support it, although in every essential point it flatly contradicted their own oft-proclaimed principles; and at last, when this mongrel work was abandoned and bequeathed to them by its main authors, accepted the inheritance, and held out for this *monarchical* Constitution even in opposition to everybody who *then* proclaimed their own *republican* principles.

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London, July, 1852

## XVI

## THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND THE GOVERNMENTS

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3537, August 19, 1852]

The National Assembly of Frankfort, after having elected the King of Prussia Emperor of Germany (*minus* Austria), sent a deputation to Berlin to offer him the crown, and then adjourned. On the 3d of April Frederick William received the Deputies. He told them that, although he accepted the right of precedence over all the other Princes of Germany, which this vote of the people's representatives had given him, yet he could not accept the Imperial crown as long as he was not sure that the remaining Princes acknowledged his supremacy and the Imperial Constitution conferring those rights upon him. It would be, he added, for the Governments of Germany to see whether this Constitution was such as could be ratified by them. At all events, Emperor or not, he always would be found ready, he concluded, to draw the sword against either the external or the internal foe. We shall soon see how he kept his promise in a manner rather startling for the National Assembly.

The Frankfort wiseacres, after profound diplomatic inquiry, at last came to the conclusion that this answer amounted to a refusal of the crown. They then (April 12) resolved: That the Imperial Constitution was the law of the land, and must be maintained; and not seeing

their way at all before themselves, elected a Committee of Thirty, to make proposals as to the means how this Constitution could be carried out.

This resolution was the signal for the conflict between the Frankfort Assembly and the German Governments, which now broke out.

The middle classes, and especially the smaller trading class, had all at once declared for the new Frankfort Constitution. They could not await any longer the moment which was "to close the revolution." In Austria and Prussia the revolution had, for the moment, been closed by the interference of the armed power; the classes in question would have preferred a less forcible mode of performing that operation, but they had not had a chance; the thing was done, and they had to make the best of it, a resolution which they at once took and carried out most heroically. In the smaller States, where things had been going on comparatively smoothly, the middle classes had long since been thrown back into that showy, but resultless, because powerless, parliamentary agitation which was most congenial to themselves. The different States of Germany, as regarded each of them separately, appeared thus to have attained that new and definitive form which was supposed to enable them to enter, henceforth, the path of peaceful and constitutional development. There only remained one open question, that of the new political organization of the German Confederacy. And this question, the only one which still appeared fraught with danger, it was considered a necessity to resolve at once. Hence the pressure exerted upon the Frankfort Assembly by the middle classes, in order to induce it to get the Constitution ready as soon as possible; hence the resolution among the higher and lower bourgeoisie to accept and to support this Constitution, whatever it might be, in order to create a settled state of things without delay. Thus, from the very beginning, the agitation for the Imperial Constitution arose out of a reactionary feeling, and sprung up among those classes which were long since tired of the revolution.

But there was another feature in it. The first and fundamental principles of the future German Constitution had been voted during the first months of spring and summer, 1848—a time when popular agitation was still rife. The resolutions then passed—though completely reactionary *then*—now, after the arbitrary acts of the Austrian and Prussian Governments, appeared exceedingly liberal, and even democratic. The standard of comparison had changed. The Frankfort Assembly could not, without moral suicide, strike out these once-voted provisions, and model the Imperial Constitution

upon those which the Austrian and Prussian Governments had dictated sword in hand. Besides, as we have seen, the majority in that Assembly had changed sides, and the Liberal and Democratic party were rising in influence. Thus the Imperial Constitution not only was distinguished by its apparently exclusive popular origin, but at the same time, full of contradiction as it was, it yet was the most liberal Constitution of all Germany. Its greatest fault was, that it was a mere sheet of paper, with no power to back its provisions.

Under these circumstances it was natural that the so-called Democratic party, that is, the mass of the petty trading class, should cling to the Imperial Constitution. This class had always been more forward in its demands than the Liberal Monarchico-Constitutional bourgeoisie; it had shown a bolder front, it had very often threatened armed resistance, it was lavish in its promises to sacrifice its blood and its existence in the struggle for freedom; but it had already given plenty of proofs that on the day of danger it was nowhere, and that it never felt more comfortable than the day after a decisive defeat, when everything being lost, it had at least the consolation to know that somehow or other the matter *was* settled. While, therefore, the adhesion of the large bankers, manufacturers and merchants was of a more reserved character, more like a simple demonstration in favor of the Frankfort Constitution, the class just beneath them, our valiant democratic shopkeepers, came forward in grand style and, as usual, proclaimed they would rather spill their last drop of blood than let the Imperial Constitution fall to the ground.

Supported by these two parties, the bourgeois adherents of Constitutional Royalty and the more or less democratic shopkeepers, the agitation for the immediate establishment of the Imperial Constitution gained ground rapidly, and found its most powerful expression in the Parliaments of the several States. The Chambers of Prussia, of Hanover, of Saxony, of Baden, of Württemberg, declared in its favor. The struggle between the Governments and the Frankfort Assembly assumed a threatening aspect.

The Governments, however, acted rapidly. The Prussian Chambers were dissolved, anti-constitutionally, as they had to revise and confirm the Constitution; riots broke out at Berlin, provoked intentionally by the Government; and the next day, the 28th of April, the Prussian Ministry issued a circular note, in which the Imperial Constitution was held up as a most anarchical and revolutionary document, which it was for the Governments of Germany to remodel and purify. Thus Prussia denied, point-blank, that sovereign constituent power which the wise men at Frankfort

had always boasted of, but never established. Thus a Congress of Princes,[58] a renewal of the old Federal Diet, was called upon to sit in judgment on that Constitution which had already been promulgated as a law. And at the same time Prussia concentrated troops at Kreuznach, three days' march from Frankfort, and called upon the smaller States to follow its example by also dissolving their Chambers as soon as they should give their adhesion to the Frankfort Assembly. This example was speedily followed by Hanover and Saxony.

It was evident that a decision of the struggle by force of arms could not be avoided. The hostility of the Governments, the agitation among the people were daily showing themselves in stronger colors. The military were everywhere worked upon by the democratic citizens, and in the South of Germany with great success. Large mass meetings were everywhere held, passing resolutions to support the Imperial Constitution and the National Assembly, if need should be, with force of arms. At Cologne, a meeting of deputies of all the municipal councils of Rhenish Prussia took place for the same purpose. In the Palatinate, at Bergen, Fulda, Nuremberg, in the Odenwald, the peasantry met by myriads and worked themselves up into enthusiasm. At the same time, the Constituent Assembly of France dissolved, and the new elections were prepared amid violent agitation, while on the eastern frontier of Germany the Hungarians had within a month, by a succession of brilliant victories, rolled back the tide of Austrian invasion from the Theiss to the Leitha, and were every day expected to take Vienna by storm. Thus, popular imagination being on all hands worked up to the highest pitch, and the aggressive policy of the Governments defining itself more clearly every day, a violent collision could not be avoided, and cowardly imbecility only could persuade itself that the struggle was to come off peaceably. But this cowardly imbecility was most extensively represented in the Frankfort Assembly.

London, July, 1852

## XVII
## INSURRECTION

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3564, September 18, 1852]

The inevitable conflict between the National Assembly of Frankfort and the States' Government of Germany, at last broke out in open hostilities during the first days of May, 1849. The Austrian deputies, recalled by their Government, had already left the

Assembly and returned home, with the exception of a few members of the Left or Democratic party. The great body of the Conservative members, aware of the turn things were about to take, withdrew even before they were called upon to do so by their respective Governments. Thus, even independently of the causes which in the foregoing papers have been shown to strengthen the influence of the Left, the mere desertion of their posts by the members of the Right sufficed to turn the old minority into a majority of the Assembly. The new majority which, at no former time, had dreamt of ever obtaining that good fortune, had profited by their places on the opposition benches to spout against the weakness, the indecision, the indolence of the old majority and of its Imperial Lieutenancy. Now all at once, *they* were called on to replace that old majority. *They* were now to show what they could perform. Of course, *their* career was to be one of energy, determination, activity. *They*, the *élite* of Germany, would soon be able to drive onwards the senile Lieutenant of the Empire[a] and his vacillating ministers, and in case that was impossible, they would—there could be no doubt about it—by force of the sovereign right of the people, depose that impotent Government, and replace it by an energetic, indefatigable Executive, who would assure the salvation of Germany. Poor fellows! *their* rule—if rule it can be named where no one obeyed—was a still more ridiculous affair than even the rule of their predecessors.

The new majority declared that, in spite of all obstacles, the Imperial Constitution must be carried out, and *at once*; that on the 15th of July ensuing the people were to elect the deputies for the new House of Representatives, and that this House was to meet at Frankfort on the 22d of August following. Now, this was an open declaration of war against those Governments that had not recognized the Imperial Constitution, the foremost among which were Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, comprising more than three-fourths of the German population; a declaration of war which was speedily accepted by them. Prussia and Bavaria, too, recalled the deputies sent from their territories to Frankfort, and hastened their military preparations against the National Assembly; while, on the other hand, the demonstrations of the Democratic party (out of Parliament) in favor of the Imperial Constitution and of the National Assembly, acquired a more turbulent and violent character, and the mass of the working people, led by the men of the most extreme party, were ready to take up arms in a cause which, if it was not their own, at least gave them a chance of somewhat approaching their

[a] Archduke John of Austria.—*Ed.*

aims by clearing Germany of its old monarchical encumbrances. Thus everywhere the people and the Governments were at daggers drawn upon this subject; the outbreak was inevitable; the mine was charged, and it only wanted a spark to make it explode. The dissolution of the Chambers in Saxony, the calling in of the Landwehr (military reserve) in Prussia, the open resistance of the Governments to the Imperial Constitution, were such sparks; they fell, and all at once the country was in a blaze. In Dresden, on the 4th of May, the people victoriously took possession of the town and drove out the King[a] while all the surrounding districts sent reinforcements to the insurgents. In Rhenish Prussia and Westphalia the Landwehr refused to march, took possession of the arsenals and armed itself in defense of the Imperial Constitution. In the Palatinate the people seized the Bavarian Government officials and the public moneys, and instituted a Committee of Defense, which placed the province under the protection of the National Assembly. In Württemberg the people forced the King[b] to acknowledge the Imperial Constitution, and in Baden the army, united with the people, forced the Grand Duke[c] to flight and erected a Provisional Government. In other parts of Germany the people only awaited a decisive signal from the National Assembly to rise in arms and place themselves at its disposal.

The position of the National Assembly was far more favorable than could have been expected after its ignoble career. The Western half of Germany had taken up arms in its behalf; the military everywhere were vacillating; in the lesser States they were undoubtedly favorable to the movement. Austria was prostrated by the victorious advance of the Hungarians, and Russia, that reserve force of the German Governments, was straining all its powers in order to support Austria against the Magyar armies. There was only Prussia to subdue; and with the revolutionary sympathies existing in that country, a chance certainly existed of attaining that end. Everything, then, depended upon the conduct of the Assembly.

Now, insurrection is an art quite as much as war or any other, and subject to certain rules of proceeding, which, when neglected, will produce the ruin of the party neglecting them. Those rules, logical deductions from the nature of the parties and the circumstances one has to deal with in such a case, are so plain and simple that the short experience of 1848 had made the Germans pretty well acquainted with them. Firstly, never play with insurrection unless you are fully

[a] Frederick Augustus II.—*Ed.*
[b] William I.—*Ed.*
[c] Leopold.—*Ed.*

prepared to face the consequences of your play. Insurrection is a calculus with very indefinite magnitudes, the value of which may change every day; the forces opposed to you have all the advantage of organization, discipline and habitual authority; unless you bring strong odds against them, you are defeated and ruined. Secondly, the insurrectionary career once entered upon, act with the greatest determination, and on the offensive. The defensive is the death of every armed rising; it is lost before it measures itself with its enemies. Surprise your antagonists while their forces are scattering, prepare new successes, however small but daily; keep up the moral ascendant which the first successful rising has given to you; rally thus those vacillating elements to your side which always follow the strongest impulse, and which always look out for the safer side; force your enemies to a retreat before they can collect their strength against you; in the words of Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary policy yet known: *de l'audace, de l'audace, encore de l'audace!*[a]

What, then, was the National Assembly of Frankfort to do if it would escape the certain ruin which it was threatened with? First of all, to see clearly through the situation, and to convince itself that there was now no other choice than either to submit to the Governments unconditionally or take up the cause of the armed insurrection without reserve or hesitation. Secondly, to publicly recognize all the insurrections that had already broken out, and to call the people to take up arms everywhere in defense of the national representation, outlawing all princes, ministers, and others who should dare to oppose the sovereign people represented by its mandataries. Thirdly, to at once depose the German Imperial Lieutenant, to create a strong, active, *unscrupulous* Executive, to call insurgent troops to Frankfort for its immediate protection, thus offering at the same time a legal pretext for the spread of the insurrection, to organize into a compact body all the forces at its disposal, and, in short, to profit quickly and unhesitatingly by every available means for strengthening its position and impairing that of its opponents.

Of all this, the virtuous Democrats in the Frankfort Assembly did just the contrary. Not content with letting things take the course they liked, these worthies went so far as to suppress by their opposition all insurrectionary movements which were preparing. Thus, for instance, did Mr. Karl Vogt at Nuremberg. They allowed the insurrections of Saxony, of Rhenish Prussia, of Westphalia to be

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[a] From Danton's speech made in the Legislative Assembly on September 2, 1792.— *Ed.*

suppressed without any other help than a posthumous, sentimental protest against the unfeeling violence of the Prussian Government. They kept up an underhand diplomatic intercourse with the South German insurrections, but never gave them the support of their open acknowledgment. They knew that the Lieutenant of the Empire sided with the Governments, and yet they called upon *him*, who never stirred, to oppose the intrigues of these Governments. The Ministers of the Empire, old Conservatives, ridiculed this impotent Assembly in every sitting, and they suffered it. And when William Wolff, a Silesian Deputy, and one of the editors of the *New Rhenish Gazette*,[a] called upon them to outlaw the Lieutenant of the Empire—who was, he justly said, nothing but the first and greatest traitor to the Empire[59]—he was hooted down by the unanimous and virtuous indignation of those democratic revolutionists! In short, they went on talking, protesting, proclaiming, pronouncing, but never had the courage nor the sense to act; while the hostile troops of the Governments drew nearer and nearer, and their own Executive, the Lieutenant of the Empire, was busily plotting with the German Princes their speedy destruction. Thus, even the last vestige of consideration was lost to this contemptible Assembly; the insurgents, who had risen to defend it, ceased to care any more for it, and when at last it came to a shameful end, as we shall see, it died without anybody taking any notice of its unhonored exit.

London, August, 1852

## XVIII
## PETTY TRADERS

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3576, October 2, 1852]

In our last we showed that the struggle between the German Governments on the one side, and the Frankfort Parliament on the other, had ultimately acquired such a degree of violence that in the first days of May a great portion of Germany broke out in open insurrection: first Dresden, then the Bavarian Palatinate, parts of Rhenish Prussia, and at last Baden.

In all cases, the *real fighting* body of the insurgents, that body which first took up arms and gave battle to the troops, consisted of the *working classes of the towns*. A portion of the poorer country population, laborers and petty farmers, generally joined them after

[a] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

the actual outbreak of the conflict. The greater number of the young men of all classes, below the capitalist class, was to be found, for a time at least, in the ranks of the insurgent armies, but this rather indiscriminate aggregate of young men very soon thinned as soon as the aspect of affairs took a somewhat serious turn. The students particularly, those "representatives of intellect," as they liked to call themselves, were the first to quit their standards, unless they were retained by the bestowal of officer's rank, for which they, of course, had very seldom any qualification.

The working class entered upon this insurrection as they would have done upon any other which promised either to remove some obstacles in their progress toward political dominion and social revolution, or at least to tie the more influential but less courageous classes of society to a more decided and revolutionary course than they had followed hitherto. The working class took up arms with a full knowledge that this was, in the direct bearings of the case, no quarrel of its own; but it followed up its only true policy: to allow no class that has risen on its shoulders (as the bourgeoisie had done in 1848) to fortify its class-government, without opening, at least, a fair field to the working class for the struggle for its own interests; and, in any case, to bring matters to a crisis, by which either the nation was fairly and irresistibly launched in the revolutionary career, or else the *status quo* before the revolution restored as near as possible, and thereby a new revolution rendered unavoidable. In both cases the working classes represented the real and well-understood interest of the nation at large, in hastening as much as possible that revolutionary course which, for the old societies of civilized Europe, has now become a historical necessity, before any of them can again aspire to a more quiet and regular development of its resources.

As to country people that joined the insurrection, they were principally thrown into the arms of the revolutionary party partly by the relatively enormous load of taxation, and partly of feudal burdens, pressing upon them. Without any initiative of their own, they formed the tail of the other classes engaged in the insurrection, wavering between the working men on one side, and the petty trading class on the other. Their own private social position, in almost every case, decided which way they turned; the agricultural laborer generally supported the city artisan, the small farmer was apt to go hand in hand with the small shopkeeper.

This class of petty tradesmen, the great importance and influence of which we have already several times adverted to, may be considered as the leading class of the insurrection of May, 1849. There being, this time, none of the large towns of Germany among

the centers of the movement, the petty trading class, which in middling and lesser towns always predominates, found the means of getting the direction of the movement into its hands. We have, moreover, seen that, in this struggle for the Imperial Constitution and for the rights of the German Parliament, there were the interests of this peculiar class at stake. The Provisional Governments formed in all the insurgent districts represented in the majority of each of them this section of the people, and the length they went to may therefore be fairly taken as the measure of what the German petty bourgeoisie is capable of—capable, as we shall see, of nothing but ruining any movement that entrusts itself to its hands.

The petty bourgeoisie, great in boasting, is very impotent for action and very shy in risking anything. The *mesquin*[a] character of its commercial transactions and its credit operations is eminently apt to stamp its character with a want of energy and enterprise; it is, then, to be expected that similar qualities will mark its political career. Accordingly, the petty bourgeoisie encouraged insurrection by big words and great boasting as to what it was going to do; it was eager to seize upon power as soon as the insurrection, much against its will, had broken out; it used this power to no other purpose but to destroy the effects of the insurrection. Wherever an armed conflict had brought matters to a serious crisis, there the shopkeepers stood aghast at the dangerous situation created for them; aghast at the people who had taken their boasting appeals to arms in earnest; aghast at the power thus thrust into their own hands; aghast, above all, at the consequences for themselves, for their social positions, for their fortunes, of the policy in which they were forced to engage themselves. Were they not expected to risk "life and property," as they used to say, for the cause of the insurrection? Were they not forced to take official positions in the insurrection, whereby, in case of defeat, they risked the loss of their capital? And in case of victory, were they not sure to be immediately turned out of office and see their entire policy subverted by the victorious proletarians who formed the main body of their fighting army? Thus placed between opposing dangers which surrounded them on every side, the petty bourgeoisie knew not to turn its power to any other account than to let everything take its chance, whereby, of course, there was lost what little chance of success there might have been, and thus to ruin the insurrection altogether. Its policy or rather want of policy everywhere was the same, and, therefore, the insurrections of May, 1849, in all parts of Germany, are all cut out to the same pattern.

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[a] Niggardly, cheeseparing.— *Ed.*

In Dresden, the struggle was kept on for four days in the streets of the town. The shopkeepers of Dresden, the "communal guard," not only did not fight, but in many instances favored the proceedings of the troops against the insurgents. These again consisted almost exclusively of working men from the surrounding manufacturing districts. They found *an able and cool-headed commander in the Russian refugee, Michael Bakunin,* who afterward was taken prisoner, and now is confined in the dungeons of Munkacs,[a] Hungary. The intervention of numerous Prussian troops crushed this insurrection.

In Rhenish Prussia, the actual fighting was of little importance. All the large towns being fortresses commanded by citadels, there could be only skirmishing on the part of the insurgents. As soon as a sufficient number of troops had been drawn together, there was an end to armed opposition.

In the Palatinate and Baden, on the contrary, a rich, fruitful province, and an entire State, fell into the hands of the insurrection. Money, arms, soldiers, warlike stores, everything was ready for use. The soldiers of the regular army themselves joined the insurgents; nay, in Baden, they were among the foremost of them. The insurrections in Saxony and Rhenish Prussia sacrificed themselves in order to gain time for the organization of this South-German movement. Never was there such a favorable position for a provincial and partial insurrection as this. A revolution was expected in Paris, the Hungarians were at the gates of Vienna, in all the central States of Germany not only the people, but even the troops, were strongly in favor of the insurrection, and only wanted an opportunity to join it openly. And yet the movement, having got once into the hands of the petty bourgeoisie, was ruined from its very beginning. The petty bourgeois rulers, particularly of Baden—M. Brentano at the head of them—never forgot that by usurping the place and prerogatives of the "lawful" sovereign, the Grand Duke,[b] they were committing high treason. They sat down in their ministerial armchairs with the consciousness of criminality in their hearts. What can you expect of such cowards? They not only abandoned the insurrection to its own uncentralized and therefore ineffective spontaneity, they actually did everything in their power to take the sting out of the movement, to unman, to destroy it. And they succeeded, thanks to the zealous support of that deep class of

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[a] Ukrainian name: Mukachevo. (By that time Bakunin had been extradited by the Austrian authorities to tsarist Russia and imprisoned in the Peter and Paul Fortress in St. Petersburg.)—*Ed.*

[b] Leopold.—*Ed.*

politicians, the "Democratic" heroes of the petty bourgeoisie, who actually thought they were "saving the country," while they allowed themselves to be led by their noses by a few men of a sharper cast, such as Brentano.

As to the fighting part of the business, never were military operations carried on in a more slovenly, more stolid way than under the Badish General-in-Chief Sigel, an ex-Lieutenant of the regular army. Everything was got into confusion, every good opportunity was lost, every precious moment was loitered away with planning colossal but impracticable projects, until, when at last the talented Pole, Mierosławski, took up the command, the army was disorganized, beaten, dispirited, badly provided for, opposed to an enemy four times more numerous, and withal he could do nothing more than fight, at Waghäusel, a glorious, though unsuccessful, battle, carry out a clever retreat, offer a last hopeless fight under the walls of Rastatt, and resign.[60] As in every insurrectionary war, where armies are mixed of well-drilled soldiers and raw levies, there was plenty of heroism and plenty of unsoldierlike, often inconceivable panic in the revolutionary army; but, imperfect as it could not but be, it had at least the satisfaction that four times its number were not considered sufficient to put it to the rout, and that a hundred thousand regular troops, in a campaign against twenty thousand insurgents, treated them, militarily, with as much respect as if they had had to fight the Old Guard of Napoleon.

In May the insurrection had broken out; by the middle of July, 1849, it was entirely subdued, and the first German Revolution was closed.

## XIX

## THE CLOSE OF THE INSURRECTION

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3594, October 23, 1852]

While the South and West of Germany was in open insurrection, and while it took the Governments from the first opening of hostilities at Dresden to the capitulation of Rastatt, rather more than ten weeks, to stifle this final blazing up of the first German Revolution, the National Assembly disappeared from the political theatre without any notice being taken of its exit.

We left this august body at Frankfort, perplexed by the insolent attacks of the Governments upon its dignity, by the impotency and treacherous listlessness of the Central Power it had itself created, by

the risings of the petty trading class for its defense, and of the working class for a more revolutionary ultimate end. Desolation and despair reigned supreme among its members; events had at once assumed such a definite and decisive shape, that in a few days the illusions of these learned legislators, as to their real power and influence, were entirely broken down. The Conservatives, at the signal given by the Governments, had already retired from a body which henceforth could not exist any longer, except in defiance of the constituted authorities. The Liberals gave the matter up in utter discomfiture; they, too, threw up their commissions as representatives. Honorable gentlemen decamped by hundreds. From eight or nine hundred members the number had dwindled down so rapidly, that now 150, and a few days after 100, were declared a quorum. And even these were difficult to muster, although the whole of the Democratic party remained.

The course to be followed by the remnants of a Parliament was plain enough. They had only to take their stand openly and decidedly with the insurrection, to give it, thereby, whatever strength legality could confer upon it, while they themselves at once acquired an army for their own defense. They had to summon the Central Power to stop all hostilities at once; and if, as could be foreseen, this power neither could nor would do so, to depose it at once and put another more energetic Government in its place. If insurgent troops could not be brought to Frankfort (which, in the beginning, when the State Governments were little prepared and still hesitating, might have been easily done), then the Assembly could have adjourned at once to the very center of the insurgent district. All this, done at once, and resolutely, not later than the middle or end of May, might have opened chances both for the insurrection and for the National Assembly.

But such a determined course was not to be expected from the representatives of German shopocracy. These aspiring statesmen were not at all freed from their illusions. Those members who had lost their fatal belief in the strength and inviolability of the Parliament, had already taken to their heels; the Democrats, who remained, were not so easily induced to give up dreams of power and greatness which they had cherished for a twelvemonth. True to the course they had hitherto pursued, they shrunk back from decisive action until every chance of success, nay, every chance to succumb with, at least, the honors of war, had passed away. In order, then, to develop a factitious, busy-body sort of activity, the sheer impotence of which,coupled with its high pretensions, could not but excite pity and ridicule, they continued insinuating resolutions, addresses, and

requests to an Imperial Lieutenant, who not even noticed them, to Ministers, who were in open league with the enemy. And when at last *William Wolff*, member for Striegau,[a] one of the editors of the *New Rhenish Gazette*,[b] the only really revolutionary man in the whole Assembly, told them that if they meant what they said, they had better give over talking and declare the Imperial Lieutenant, the chief traitor to the country, an outlaw at once; then the entire compressed virtuous indignation of these parliamentary gentlemen burst out with an energy which they never found when the Government heaped insult after insult upon them. Of course, for *Wolff*'s proposition was the first sensible word spoken within the walls of St. Paul's Church[c]; of course, for it was the very thing that was to be done—and such plain language, going so direct to the purpose, could not but insult a set of sentimentalists, who were resolute in nothing but irresolution, and who, too cowardly to act, had once for all made up their minds that in doing nothing, they were doing exactly what was to be done. Every word which cleared up, like lightning, the infatuated but intentional nebulosity of their minds, every hint that was adapted to lead them out of the labyrinth where they obstinated themselves to take up as lasting an abode as possible, every clear conception of matters as they actually stood, was, of course, a crime against the majesty of this Sovereign Assembly.

Shortly after the position of the honorable gentlemen in Frankfort became untenable, in spite of resolutions, appeals, interpellations, and proclamations, they retreated, but not into the insurged districts; that would have been too resolute a step. They went to Stuttgart, where the Württemberg Government kept up a sort of expectative neutrality. There, at last, they declared the Lieutenant of the Empire to have forfeited his power, and elected from their own body a Regency of five.[61] This Regency at once proceeded to pass a Militia Law, which was actually in all due force sent to all the Governments of Germany. They, the very enemies of the Assembly, were ordered to levy forces in its defense! Then there was created—on paper, of course—an army for the defense of the National Assembly. Divisions, brigades, regiments, batteries, everything was regulated and ordained. Nothing was wanting but reality, for that army, of course, never was called into existence.

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[a] Polish name: Strzegom.—*Ed.*

[b] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.*—*Ed.*

[c] In St. Paul's Church, Frankfurt am Main, the National Assembly held its sessions from May 18, 1848 to May 30, 1849.—*Ed.*

One last scheme offered itself to the National Assembly. The Democratic population from all parts of the country sent deputations to place itself at the disposal of the Parliament, and to urge it on to a decisive action. The people, knowing what the intentions of the Württemberg Government were, implored the National Assembly to force that Government into an open and active participation with their insurgent neighbors. But No. The National Assembly, in going to Stuttgart, had delivered itself up to the tender mercies of the Württemberg Government. The members knew it, and repressed the agitation among the people. They thus lost the last remnant of influence which they might yet have retained. They earned the contempt they deserved, and the Württemberg Government, pressed by Prussia and the Imperial Lieutenant, put a stop to the Democratic farce by shutting up, on the 18th of June, 1849, the room where the Parliament met, and by ordering the members of the Regency to leave the country.

Next they went to Baden, into the camp of the insurrection, but there they were now useless. Nobody noticed them. The Regency, however, in the name of the Sovereign German People, continued to save the country by its exertions. It made an attempt to get recognized by foreign powers, by delivering *passports* to anybody who would accept of them. It issued proclamations and sent Commissioners to insurge those very districts of Württemberg whose active assistance it had refused when it was yet time; of course without effect. We have now under our eye an original report sent to the Regency by one of these Commissioners, Mr. Roesler (member for Oels[a]), the contents of which are rather characteristic. It is dated Stuttgart, 30th June, 1849. After describing the adventures of half-a-dozen of these Commissioners in a resultless search for cash, he gives a series of excuses for not having yet gone to his post, and then delivers himself of a most weighty argument respecting possible differences between Prussia, Austria, Bavaria and Württemberg, with their possible consequences. After having fully considered this, he comes, however, to the conclusion that there is no more chance. Next he proposes to establish relays of trustworthy men for the conveyance of intelligence, and a system of espionage as to the intentions of the Württemberg Ministry, and movements of the troops. This letter never reached its address, for when it was written the "Regency" had already passed entirely into the "foreign department," viz., Switzerland; and while poor Mr. Roesler troubled his head about the intentions of the formidable ministry of a

[a] Polish name: Oleśnica.—*Ed.*

sixth-rate kingdom, a hundred thousand Prussian, Bavarian, and Hessian soldiers had already settled the whole affair in the last battle under the walls of Rastatt.

Thus vanished the German Parliament, and with it the first and the last creation of the revolution. Its convocation had been the first evidence that there actually *had been* a revolution in Germany; and it existed as long as this, the first modern German Revolution, was not yet brought to a close. Chosen under the influence of the capitalist class by a dismembered, scattered, rural population, for the most part only awaking from the dumbness of feudalism, this Parliament served to bring in one body upon the political arena all the great popular names of 1820-1848, and then to utterly ruin them. All the celebrities of the middle-class Liberalism were here collected; the bourgeoisie expected wonders; it earned shame for itself and for its representatives. The industrial and commercial capitalist class were more severely defeated in Germany than in any other country; they were first worsted, broken, expelled from office in every individual State of Germany, and then put to rout, disgraced, and hooted in the Central German Parliament. Political Liberalism, the rule of the bourgeoisie, be it under a monarchical or republican form of government, is forever impossible in Germany.

In the latter period of its existence, the German Parliament served to disgrace forever that section which had ever since March, 1848, headed the official opposition, the Democrats representing the interests of the small trading, and partially of the farming class. That class was, in May and June, 1849, given a chance to show its means of forming a stable government in Germany. We have seen how it failed; not so much by adverse circumstances as by the actual and continual cowardice in all trying movements that had occurred since the outbreak of the revolution; by showing in politics the same short-sighted, pusillanimous, wavering spirit, which is characteristic of its commercial operations. In May, 1849, it had, by this course, lost the confidence of the real fighting mass of all European insurrections, the working class. But yet, it had a fair chance. The German Parliament belonged to it, exclusively, after the Reactionists and Liberals had withdrawn. The rural population was in its favor. Two-thirds of the armies of the smaller States, one-third of the Prussian army, the majority of the Prussian Landwehr (reserve or militia), were ready to join it, if it only acted resolutely, and with that courage which is the result of a clear insight in the state of things. But the politicians, who led on this class, were not more clear-sighted than the host of petty tradesmen which followed them. They proved even to be more infatuated, more ardently attached to delusions

voluntarily kept up, more credulous, more incapable of resolutely dealing with facts than the Liberals. Their political importance, too, is reduced below the freezing point. But they not having actually carried their commonplace principles into execution, they were, under *very* favorable circumstances, capable of a momentary resurrection, when this last hope was taken from them, just as it was taken from their colleagues of the "pure Democracy" in France, by the *coup d'état* of *Louis Bonaparte.*

The defeat of the South-West German insurrection, and the dispersion of the German Parliament, bring the history of the first German Revolution to a close. We have now to throw a parting glance upon the victorious members of the counter-revolutionary alliance; we shall do this in our next letter.[62]

London, September 24, 1852

# Karl Marx

## [STATEMENT AND ACCOMPANYING LETTER TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE AUGSBURG *ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG*][63]

28 Dean Street,
Soho, London

October 4, 1851

TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD
OF THE AUGSBURG *ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG*

Since the Editorial Board of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* in a report from a Cologne correspondent dated September 26 has published a direct denunciation of me, I count upon your sense of justice to print the following reply in one of your forthcoming issues.

Yours truly,
Dr. *Karl Marx*

STATEMENT

A recondite report in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, dated Cologne, September 26,[a] makes out an absurd connection between me, Baroness von Beck and the Cologne arrests. I am alleged to have confided political secrets to Baroness von Beck which later in one way or another came into the hands of the authorities. I have seen Baroness von Beck only twice and that was in the presence of witnesses. On both occasions the matter concerned *exclusively* literary suggestions which I was compelled to reject since they proceeded from the completely false premise that I had some kind of connection with German newspapers. Having disposed of this matter, I never heard anything again of the Baroness until I learned of her sudden death. But I have never regarded the German refugees who were in daily contact with Frau von Beck as my friends any more than the Cologne correspondent of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* or the "great" German men in London who turn emigration into a business and an official position. I have never considered it worth the trouble to reply to the mass of perfidiously

[a] See *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 273, September 30, 1851. Supplement.—*Ed.*

silly, crude and dishonest gossip in the German newspapers, which either comes direct from London or is inspired from there. If I make an exception this time it is only because the Cologne correspondent of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* tries to present the arrests in Cologne, Dresden, etc., as *based* on my alleged indiscretions to Baroness von Beck.

London, October 4, 1851

*Karl Marx*

The statement was first published in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 242, October 9, 1851

The statement is printed according to the newspaper; the accompanying letter is printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

Karl Marx

# THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS BONAPARTE[64]

Written in December 1851-March 1852

First published as the first issue of the "non-periodic journal" *Die Revolution*, New York, 1852

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Printed according to the 1869 edition, checked with the 1852 and 1885 editions

# Die Revolution,

## Eine Zeitschrift in zwanglosen Heften.

Herausgegeben von

J. Weydemeyer.

Erstes Heft.

# Der 18te Brumaire des Louis Napoleon

von

Karl Marx.

New-York.
Expedition: Deutsche Vereins-Buchhandlung von Schmidt und Helmich.
William-Street Nr. 191.
1852.

Title-page of the journal *Die Revolution*, in which
*The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*
was published for the first time

I

Hegel remarks somewhere that all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur, as it were, twice. He forgot to add: the first time as tragedy, the second as farce.[65] Caussidière for Danton, Louis Blanc for Robespierre, the Montagne of 1848 to 1851[66] for the Montagne of 1793 to 1795, the Nephew for the Uncle. And the same caricature occurs in the circumstances attending the second edition of the eighteenth Brumaire![a]

Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living. And just when they seem engaged in revolutionising themselves and things, in creating something that has never yet existed, precisely in

[a] This passage reads as follows in the 1852 edition: "Hegel remarks somewhere that all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur, as it were, twice. He forgot to add: the first time as a great tragedy, the second as a miserable farce. Caussidière for Danton, Louis Blanc for Robespierre, the Montagne of 1848-51 for the Montagne of 1793-95, and the London constable with the first dozen indebted lieutenants that came along for the little corporal with his band of marshals![67] The eighteenth Brumaire of the idiot for the eighteenth Brumaire of the genius! And the same caricature in the circumstances attending the second edition of the *Eighteenth Brumaire*! The first time France on the verge of bankruptcy, this time Bonaparte himself on the threshold of the debtors' prison; then the coalition of the Great Powers on France's borders, this time the Ruge-Darasz coalition in England and the Kinkel-Brentano coalition in America; then a St. Bernard to cross, this time a company of gendarmes to be sent across the Jura; then more than a Marengo to be won, this time the Great Cross of the St. Andrew Order[68] to be earned and the respect of the Berlin *National-Zeitung* to be lost."—*Ed.*

such periods of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle-cries and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in this time-honoured disguise and this borrowed language. Thus Luther donned the mask of the Apostle Paul, the revolution of 1789 to 1814 draped itself alternately as the Roman Republic and the Roman Empire, and the revolution of 1848 knew nothing better to do than to parody, now 1789, now the revolutionary tradition of 1793 to 1795. In like manner a beginner who has learnt a new language always translates it back into his mother tongue, but he has assimilated the spirit of the new language and can freely express himself in it only when he finds his way in it without recalling the old and forgets his native tongue in the use of the new.

Consideration of this world-historical necromancy reveals at once a salient difference. Camille Desmoulins, Danton, Robespierre, Saint-Just, Napoleon, the heroes as well as the parties and the masses of the old French Revolution, performed the task of their time in Roman costume and with Roman phrases, the task of unchaining and setting up modern *bourgeois* society. The first ones knocked the feudal basis to pieces and mowed off the feudal heads which had grown on it. The other created inside France the conditions under which free competition could first be developed, parcelled landed property exploited and the unchained industrial productive forces of the nation employed; and beyond the French borders he everywhere swept the feudal institutions away, so far as was necessary to furnish bourgeois society in France with a suitable up-to-date environment on the European Continent. The new social formation once established, the antediluvian Colossi disappeared and with them resurrected Romanity—the Brutuses, Gracchi, Publicolas, the tribunes, the senators, and Caesar himself. Bourgeois society in its sober reality had begotten its true interpreters and mouthpieces in the Says, Cousins, Royer-Collards, Benjamin Constants and Guizots; its real commanders sat behind the counter, and the hogheaded Louis XVIII was its political chief. Wholly absorbed in the production of wealth and in peaceful competitive struggle, it no longer comprehended that ghosts from the days of Rome had watched over its cradle. But unheroic as bourgeois society is, it nevertheless took heroism, sacrifice, terror, civil war and battles of peoples to bring it into being. And in the classically austere traditions of the Roman Republic its gladiators found the ideals and the art forms, the self-deceptions that they needed in order to conceal from themselves the bourgeois limitations of the content of their struggles and to maintain their passion on the high plane of great historical

tragedy. Similarly, at another stage of development, a century earlier, Cromwell and the English people had borrowed speech, passions and illusions from the Old Testament for their bourgeois revolution. When the real aim had been achieved, when the bourgeois transformation of English society had been accomplished, Locke supplanted Habakkuk.

Thus the resurrection of the dead in those revolutions served the purpose of glorifying the new struggles, not of parodying the old; of magnifying the given task in imagination, not of fleeing from its solution in reality; of finding once more the spirit of revolution, not of making its ghost walk about again.

From 1848 to 1851 only the ghost of the old revolution walked about, from Marrast, the *républicain en gants jaunes*,[a] who disguised himself as the old Bailly, down to the adventurer who hides his commonplace repulsive features under the iron death mask of Napoleon. An entire people, which had imagined that by means of a revolution it had imparted to itself an accelerated power of motion, suddenly finds itself set back into a defunct epoch and, in order that no doubt as to the relapse may be possible, the old dates arise again, the old chronology, the old names, the old edicts, which had long become a subject of antiquarian erudition, and the old myrmidons of the law, who had seemed long decayed. The nation feels like that mad Englishman in Bedlam who fancies that he lives in the times of the ancient Pharaohs and daily bemoans the hard labour that he must perform in the Ethiopian mines as a gold digger, immured in this subterranean prison, a dimly burning lamp fastened to his head, the overseer of the slaves behind him with a long whip, and at the exits a confused welter of barbarian mercenaries, who understand neither the forced labourers in the mines nor one another, since they speak no common language. "And all this is expected of me," sighs the mad Englishman, "of me, a freeborn Briton, in order to make gold for the old Pharaohs." "In order to pay the debts of the Bonaparte family," sighs the French nation. The Englishman, so long as he was in his right mind, could not get rid of the fixed idea of making gold. The French, so long as they were engaged in revolution, could not get rid of the memory of Napoleon, as the election of December 10[69] proved. They hankered to return from the perils of revolution to the fleshpots of Egypt,[70] and December 2, 1851 was the answer. They have not only a caricature of the old Napoleon, they have the old Napoleon himself, caricatured as he must appear in the middle of the nineteenth century.

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[a] Republican in yellow gloves.— *Ed.*

The social revolution of the nineteenth century cannot draw its poetry from the past, but only from the future. It cannot begin with itself before it has stripped off all superstition about the past. Earlier revolutions required recollections of past world history in order to dull themselves to their own content. In order to arrive at its own content, the revolution of the nineteenth century must let the dead bury their dead.[a] There the words went beyond the content; here the content goes beyond the words.

The February revolution was a surprise attack, a *taking* of the old society *unawares*, and the people proclaimed this unexpected *coup de main* as a deed of historic importance, ushering in the new epoch. On December 2 the February revolution is conjured away by a cardsharper's trick, and what seems overthrown is no longer the monarchy but the liberal concessions that were wrung from it by centuries of struggle. Instead of *society* having conquered a new content for itself, it seems that the *state* only returned to its oldest form, to the shamelessly simple domination of the sabre and the cowl. This is the answer to the *coup de main* of February 1848, given by the *coup de tête*[b] of December 1851. Easy come, easy go. Meanwhile the intervening time has not passed by unused. During the years 1848 to 1851 French society made up, and that by an abbreviated because revolutionary method, for the studies and experiences which, in a regular, so to speak, textbook course of development, would have had to precede the February revolution, if it was to be more than a ruffling of the surface. Society now seems to have fallen back behind its point of departure; it has in truth first to create for itself the revolutionary point of departure, the situation, the relations, the conditions under which alone modern revolution becomes serious.

Bourgeois revolutions, like those of the eighteenth century, storm swiftly from success to success, their dramatic effects outdo each other, men and things seem set in sparkling brilliants, ecstasy is the everyday spirit, but they are short-lived, soon they have attained their zenith, and a long crapulent depression seizes society before it learns soberly to assimilate the results of its storm-and-stress period. On the other hand, proletarian revolutions, like those of the nineteenth century, criticise themselves constantly, interrupt themselves continually in their own course, come back to the apparently accomplished in order to begin it afresh, deride with unmerciful thoroughness the inadequacies, weaknesses and paltrinesses of their

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[a] Cf. Matthew 8 : 22.— *Ed.*

[b] Rash act.— *Ed.*

first attempts, seem to throw down their adversary only in order that he may draw new strength from the earth and rise again, more gigantic, before them, and recoil again and again from the indefinite prodigiousness of their own aims, until a situation has been created which makes all turning back impossible, and the conditions themselves cry out:

> Hic Rhodus, hic salta!
> Here is the rose, here dance![71]

For the rest, every fairly competent observer, even if he had not followed the course of French development step by step, must have had a presentiment that an unheard-of fiasco was in store for the revolution. It was enough to hear the self-complacent howl of victory with which Messieurs the Democrats congratulated each other on the beneficial consequences of the second Sunday in May 1852.[72] In their minds the second Sunday in May 1852 had become a fixed idea, a dogma, like the day on which Christ should reappear and the millennium begin, in the minds of the Chiliasts.[73] As ever, weakness had taken refuge in a belief in miracles, fancied the enemy overcome when it had only conjured him away in imagination, and lost all understanding of the present in a passive glorification of the future in store for it and of the deeds it had *in petto*[a] but which it merely did not want as yet to make public. Those heroes who seek to disprove their proven incapacity by offering each other their sympathy and getting together in a crowd had tied up their bundles, collected their laurel wreaths in advance and were just then engaged in discounting on the exchange market the republics *in partibus*[b] for which they had already providently organised the government personnel with all the calm of their unassuming disposition. December 2 struck them like a thunderbolt from a clear sky, and the peoples that in periods of pusillanimous depression gladly let their inward apprehension be drowned out by the loudest bawlers will have perhaps convinced themselves that the times are past when the cackle of geese could save the Capitol.

The Constitution, the National Assembly, the dynastic parties, the blue and the red republicans, the heroes of Africa,[74] the

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[a] In reserve.— *Ed.*

[b] *In partibus infidelium*—literally: in parts inhabited by infidels. The words are added to the title of Roman Catholic bishops holding purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries. In the figurative sense they mean: "not really existing".— *Ed.*

thunder from the platform, the sheet lightning of the daily press, the entire literature, the political names and the intellectual reputations, the civil law and the penal code, the *liberté, égalité, fraternité* and the second Sunday in May 1852—all has vanished like a phantasmagoria before the spell of a man whom even his enemies do not make out to be a magician. Universal suffrage seems to have survived only for a moment, in order that with its own hand it may make its last will and testament before the eyes of all the world and declare in the name of the people itself: "All that comes to birth is fit for overthrow, as nothing worth."[a]

It is not enough to say, as the French do, that their nation was taken unawares. A nation and a woman are not forgiven the unguarded hour in which the first adventurer that came along could violate them.[b] The riddle is not solved by such turns of speech, but merely formulated differently. It remains to be explained how a nation of thirty-six million can be surprised and delivered unresisting into captivity by three swindlers.

Let us recapitulate in general outline the phases that the French Revolution went through from February 24, 1848 to December 1851.

Three main periods are unmistakable: *the February period*; May 4, 1848 to May 28, 1849: *the period of the constitution of the republic* or *of the Constituent National Assembly*; May 28, 1849 to December 2, 1851: *the period of the constitutional republic* or *of the Legislative National Assembly*.[c]

The *first period*, from February 24, or the overthrow of Louis Philippe, to May 4, 1848, the meeting of the Constituent Assembly, the *February period* proper, may be described as the *prologue* to the revolution. Its character was officially expressed in the fact that the government improvised by it declared itself that it was *provisional* and, like the government, everything that was mooted, attempted or enunciated during this period proclaimed itself to be only *provisional*. Nothing and nobody ventured to lay claim to the right of existence and of real action. All the elements that had prepared or determined the revolution, the dynastic opposition,[75] the republican bourgeoisie, the democratic-republican petty bourgeoisie and the Social-Democratic workers, provisionally found their place in the February *government*.

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[a] Goethe, *Faust*, Erster Teil, "Studierzimmer".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1852 edition has here: "could violate and appropriate them".—*Ed.*

[c] Here and below in the German editions of 1852, 1869 and 1885 the date of the opening of the Legislative Assembly is given inaccurately as May 29, 1849.—*Ed.*

It could not be otherwise. The February days originally aimed at an electoral reform, by which the circle of the politically privileged among the possessing class itself was to be widened and the exclusive domination of the finance aristocracy overthrown. When it came to the actual conflict, however, when the people mounted the barricades, the National Guard maintained a passive attitude, the army offered no serious resistance and the monarchy ran away, the republic appeared to be a matter of course. Every party construed it in its own way. Having secured it arms in hand, the proletariat impressed its stamp upon it and proclaimed it to be a *social republic.* There was thus indicated the general content of the modern revolution, a content which[a] was in most singular contradiction to everything that, with the material available, with the degree of education attained by the masses, under the given circumstances and relations, could be immediately realised in practice. On the other hand, the claims of all the remaining elements that had collaborated in the February revolution were recognised by the lion's share that they obtained in the government. In no period do we, therefore, find a more confused mixture of high-flown phrases and actual uncertainty and clumsiness, of more enthusiastic striving for innovation and more thorough domination of the old routine, of more apparent harmony of the whole of society and more profound estrangement of its elements. While the Paris proletariat still revelled in the vision of the wide prospects that had opened before it and indulged in earnest discussions on social problems, the old forces of society had grouped themselves, rallied, reflected and found unexpected support in the mass of the nation, the peasants and petty bourgeois, who all at once stormed on to the political stage, after the barriers of the July monarchy had fallen.

The *second period,* from May 4, 1848 to the end of May 1849, is the period of the *constitution,* the *foundation, of the bourgeois republic.* Directly after the February days not only had the dynastic opposition been surprised by the republicans and the republicans by the Socialists, but all France by Paris. The National Assembly, which met on May 4, 1848, had emerged from the national elections and represented the nation. It was a living protest against the aspirations of the February days and was to reduce the results of the revolution to the bourgeois scale. In vain the Paris proletariat, which immediately grasped the character of this

[a] The 1852 edition has here: "as cannot be otherwise in the prologue to a drama".—*Ed.*

National Assembly, attempted on May 15, a few days after it met, forcibly to negate its existence, to dissolve it, to disintegrate again into its constituent parts the organic form in which the proletariat was threatened by the reacting spirit of the nation.[76] As is known, May 15 had no other result save that of removing Blanqui and his comrades, that is, the real leaders of the proletarian party,[a] from the public stage for the entire duration of the cycle we are considering.

The *bourgeois monarchy* of Louis Philippe can be followed only by a *bourgeois republic*, that is to say, whereas a limited section of the bourgeoisie ruled in the name of the king, the whole of the bourgeoisie will now rule on behalf of the people. The demands of the Paris proletariat are utopian nonsense, to which an end must be put. To this declaration of the Constituent National Assembly the Paris proletariat replied with the *June insurrection*, the most colossal event in the history of European civil wars. The bourgeois republic triumphed. On its side stood the finance aristocracy, the industrial bourgeoisie, the middle class, the petty bourgeois, the army, the lumpenproletariat organised as the Mobile Guard,[77] the intellectuals, the clergy and the rural population. On the side of the Paris proletariat stood none but itself. More than 3,000 insurgents were butchered after the victory, and 15,000 were deported without trial. With this defeat the proletariat recedes into the *background* of the revolutionary stage. It attempts to press forward again on every occasion, as soon as the movement appears to make a fresh start, but with ever decreased expenditure of strength and always slighter results. As soon as one of the social strata situated above it gets into revolutionary ferment, the proletariat enters into an alliance with it and so shares all the defeats that the different parties suffer, one after another. But these subsequent blows become the weaker, the greater the surface of society over which they are distributed. The more important leaders of the proletariat in the Assembly and in the press successively fall victim to the courts, and ever more equivocal figures come to head it. In part it throws itself into *doctrinaire experiments, exchange banks and workers' associations, hence into a movement in which it renounces the revolutionising of the old world by means of the latter's own great, combined resources, and seeks, rather, to achieve its salvation behind society's back, in private fashion, within its limited conditions of existence, and hence necessarily suffers*

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[a] The 1852 edition has: "the real leaders of the proletarian party, the revolutionary Communists".—*Ed.*

*shipwreck.* It seems to be unable either to rediscover revolutionary greatness in itself or to win new energy from the connections newly entered into, until *all classes* with which it contended in June themselves lie prostrate beside it. But at least it succumbs with the honours of the great, world-historic struggle; not only France, but all Europe trembles at the June earthquake, while the ensuing defeats of the upper classes are so cheaply bought that they require barefaced exaggeration by the victorious party to be able to pass for events at all, and become the more ignominious the further the defeated party is from the proletarian party.

The defeat of the June insurgents, to be sure, had indeed prepared and levelled the ground on which the bourgeois republic could be founded and built up, but it had shown at the same time that in Europe the questions at issue are other than that of "republic or monarchy". It had revealed that here *bourgeois republic* signifies the unlimited despotism of one class over other classes. It had proved that in countries with an old civilisation, with a developed formation of classes, with modern conditions of production and with an intellectual consciousness in which all traditional ideas have been dissolved by the work of centuries, *the republic* signifies *in general only the political form of the revolutionising of bourgeois society* and not its *conservative form of life,* as, for example, in the United States of North America, where, though classes already exist, they have not yet become fixed, but continually change and interchange their component elements in constant flux, where the modern means of production, instead of coinciding with a stagnant surplus population, rather compensate for the relative deficiency of heads and hands, and where, finally, the feverish, youthful movement of material production, which has to make a new world its own, has left neither time nor opportunity for abolishing the old spirit world.

During the June days all classes and parties had united in the *Party of Order* against the proletarian class as the *Party of Anarchy,* of socialism, of communism. They had "saved" society from "*the enemies of society*". They had given out the watch-words of the old society, "*property, family, religion, order*", to their army as passwords and had proclaimed to the counter-revolutionary crusaders: "By this sign thou shalt conquer!"[78] From this moment, as soon as one of the numerous parties which had gathered under this sign against the June insurgents seeks to hold the revolutionary battlefield in its own class interest, it goes down before the cry: "Property, family, religion, order." Society is saved just as often as the circle of its rulers contracts, as a more exclusive interest is

maintained against a wider one. Every demand of the simplest bourgeois financial reform, of the most ordinary liberalism, of the most formal republicanism, of the most shallow democracy, is simultaneously castigated as an "attempt on society" and stigmatised as "socialism". And, finally, the high priests of "religion and order"[a] themselves are driven with kicks from their Pythian tripods, hauled out of their beds in the darkness of night, put in prison-vans, thrown into dungeons or sent into exile; their temple is razed to the ground, their mouths are sealed, their pens broken, their law torn to pieces in the name of religion, of property, of the family, of order. Bourgeois fanatics for order are shot down on their balconies by mobs of drunken soldiers, their domestic sanctuaries profaned, their houses bombarded for amusement—in the name of property, of the family, of religion and of order. Finally, the scum of bourgeois society forms the *holy phalanx of order* and the hero Krapülinski[b] installs himself in the Tuileries as the "*saviour of society*".

## II

Let us pick up the threads of the development once more.

The history of the *Constituent National Assembly* since the June days is the *history of the domination and the disintegration of the republican faction of the bourgeoisie,* of that faction which is known by the names of tricolour republicans, pure republicans, political republicans, formalist republicans, etc.

Under the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe it had formed the *official* republican *opposition* and consequently a recognised component part of the political world of the day. It had its representatives in the Chambers and a considerable sphere of influence in the press. Its Paris organ, the *National,* was considered just as respectable in its way as the *Journal des Débats.* Its character corresponded to this position under the constitutional monarchy. It was not a faction of the bourgeoisie held together by great common interests and marked off by specific conditions of production. It was a clique of republican-minded bourgeois,

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[a] In the German original: "Religion und Ordnung". According to the list of misprints in the 1852 edition, this should read: "Religion der Ordnung" ("religion of order") but the correction was not introduced into the 1869 and 1885 editions.—*Ed.*

[b] *Krapülinski*—one of the main characters in Heine's poem "Zwei Ritter" (*Romanzero*). Here Marx alludes to Louis Bonaparte.—*Ed.*

writers, lawyers, officers and officials that owed its influence to the personal antipathies of the country against Louis Philippe, to memories of the old republic, to the republican faith of a number of enthusiasts, above all, however, to *French nationalism*, whose hatred of the Vienna treaties[79] and of the alliance with England it always kept awake. A large part of the following that the *National* had under Louis Philippe was due to this concealed imperialism, which could consequently confront it later, under the republic, as a deadly rival in the person of Louis Bonaparte. It fought the finance aristocracy, as did all the rest of the bourgeois opposition. Polemics against the budget, which were closely connected in France with fighting the finance aristocracy, procured popularity too cheaply and material for puritanical leading articles[a] too plentifully, not to be exploited. The industrial bourgeoisie was grateful to it for its slavish defence of the French protectionist system, which it accepted, however, more on national grounds than on grounds of national economy; the bourgeoisie as a whole, for its vicious denunciation of communism and socialism. For the rest, the party of the *National* was *purely republican*, that is, it demanded a republican instead of a monarchist form of bourgeois rule and, above all, the lion's share of this rule. On the conditions of this transformation it was by no means clear. On the other hand, what was clear as daylight to it and was publicly acknowledged at the reform banquets in the last days of Louis Philippe, was its unpopularity with the democratic petty bourgeois and, in particular, with the revolutionary proletariat. These pure republicans, as is, indeed, the way with pure republicans, were already on the point of contenting themselves in the first instance with a regency of the Duchess of Orleans,[80] when the February revolution broke out and assigned their best-known representatives a place in the Provisional Government. From the start, they naturally had the confidence of the bourgeoisie and a majority in the Constituent National Assembly. The *socialist* elements of the Provisional Government were excluded forthwith from the Executive Commission which the National Assembly formed when it met, and the party of the *National* took advantage of the outbreak of the June insurrection to discharge the *Executive Commission*[81] also, and therewith to get rid of its closest rivals, the *petty-bourgeois*, or *democratic, republicans* (Ledru-Rollin, etc.). Cavaignac, the general of the bourgeois republican party who commanded the June massacre, took the place of the Executive Commission with

[a] Marx uses the English words "leading articles".—*Ed.*

a sort of dictatorial authority. Marrast, former editor-in-chief of the *National*, became the perpetual president of the Constituent National Assembly, and the ministries, as well as all other important posts, fell to the portion of the pure republicans.

The republican bourgeois faction, which had long regarded itself as the legitimate heir of the July monarchy, thus found its fondest hopes exceeded; it attained power, however, not as it had dreamed under Louis Philippe, through a liberal revolt of the bourgeoisie against the throne, but through a rising of the proletariat against capital, a rising laid low with grape-shot. What it had pictured to itself as the *most revolutionary* event occurred in reality as the *most counter-revolutionary*. The fruit fell into its lap, but it fell from the tree of knowledge, not from the tree of life.

The exclusive *rule of the bourgeois republicans* lasted only from June 24 to December 10, 1848. It is summed up in the *drafting of a republican constitution* and in the *state of siege of Paris*.

The new *Constitution* was at bottom only the republicanised edition of the constitutional Charter of 1830.[82] The narrow electoral qualification of the July monarchy, which excluded even a large part of the bourgeoisie from political rule, was incompatible with the existence of the bourgeois republic. In lieu of this qualification, the February revolution had at once proclaimed direct universal suffrage. The bourgeois republicans could not undo this event. They had to content themselves with adding the limiting proviso of a six months' residence in the constituency. The old organisation of the administration, of the municipal system, of the judicial system, of the army, etc., continued to exist inviolate, or, where the Constitution changed it, the change concerned the table of contents, not the contents; the name, not the subject matter.

The inevitable general staff of the freedoms of 1848, personal freedom, freedom of the press, of speech, of association, of assembly, of education and of religion, etc., received a constitutional uniform, which made them invulnerable. For each of these freedoms is proclaimed as the *absolute* right of the French *citoyen*, but always with the marginal note that it is unlimited so far as it is not limited by the "*equal rights of others* and the *public safety*" or by "laws" which are intended to mediate just this harmony of individual freedoms with one another and with the public safety. For example: "Citizens have a right to associate, to meet peacefully and unarmed, to petition, and express their opinions through the press and elsewhere. *The enjoyment of these rights has*

*no other limit, than the equal rights of others, and the public safety.*" (Chapter II of the French Constitution, § 8.)—"The right of tuition is free. The freedom of tuition shall be *enjoyed* on the conditions fixed by law, and under the supervision of the state." (*Ibidem*, § 9.)—"The home of every citizen is inviolable *except* in the forms prescribed by law." (Chapter II, § 3.) Etc., etc.—The Constitution, therefore, constantly refers to future *organic* laws which are to implement those marginal notes and regulate the enjoyment of these unrestricted freedoms in such manner that they will conflict neither with one another nor with the public safety. And later, these organic laws were brought into being by the friends of order and all those freedoms regulated in such manner that the bourgeoisie in its enjoyment of them finds itself unhindered by the equal rights of the other classes. Where it forbids these freedoms entirely to "the others" or permits enjoyment of them under conditions that are just so many police traps, this always happens solely in the interest of "*public safety*", that is, the safety of the bourgeoisie, as the Constitution prescribes. In the following period, both sides accordingly appeal with complete justice to the Constitution: the friends of order, who abrogated all these freedoms, as well as the democrats, who demanded all of them. For each paragraph of the Constitution contains its own antithesis, its own Upper and Lower House, namely, freedom in the general phrase, abrogation of freedom in the marginal note. Thus, so long as the *name* of freedom was respected and only its actual realisation prevented, of course in a legal way, the constitutional existence of freedom remained intact, inviolate, however mortal the blows dealt to its existence *in actual life.*

This Constitution, made inviolable in so ingenious a manner, was nevertheless, like Achilles, vulnerable in one point, not in the heel, but in the head, or rather in the two heads in which it wound up—the *Legislative Assembly*, on the one hand, the *President*, on the other. Glance through the Constitution and you will find that only the paragraphs in which the relationship of the President to the Legislative Assembly is defined are absolute, positive, non-contradictory, incapable of distortion. For here it was a question of the bourgeois republicans safeguarding themselves. §§ 45-70 of the Constitution are so worded that the National Assembly can remove the President constitutionally, whereas the President can remove the National Assembly only unconstitutionally, only by setting aside the Constitution itself. Here, therefore, it challenges its forcible destruction. It not only sanctifies the division of powers,

like the Charter of 1830, it widens it into an intolerable contradiction. The *play of the constitutional powers*, as Guizot termed the parliamentary squabble between the legislative and executive power, is in the Constitution of 1848 continually played *va-banque*.[a] On one side are 750 representatives of the people, elected by universal suffrage and eligible for re-election; they form an uncontrollable, indissoluble, indivisible National Assembly, a National Assembly that enjoys legislative omnipotence, decides in the last instance on war, peace and commercial treaties, alone possesses the right of amnesty and, by its permanence, perpetually holds the front of the stage. On the other side is the President, with all the attributes of royal power, with authority to appoint and dismiss his ministers independently of the National Assembly, with all the resources of the executive power in his hands, bestowing all posts and disposing thereby in France of the livelihoods of at least a million and a half people, for so many depend on the five hundred thousand officials and officers of every rank. He has the whole of the armed forces behind him. He enjoys the privilege of pardoning individual criminals, of suspending National Guards, of discharging, with the concurrence of the Council of State, general, cantonal and municipal councils elected by the citizens themselves. Initiative and direction are reserved to him in all treaties with foreign countries. While the Assembly constantly performs on the boards and is exposed to daily public criticism, he leads a secluded life in the Elysian Fields,[b] and that with Article 45 of the Constitution before his eyes and in his heart, crying to him daily: "*Frère, il faut mourir!*"[83] Your power ceases on the second Sunday of the lovely month of May in the fourth year after your election! Then your glory is at an end, the piece is not played twice and if you have debts, see to it betimes that you pay them off with the 600,000 francs squandered on you by the Constitution, unless, perchance, you should prefer to go to Clichy[84] on the second Monday of the lovely month of May!—Thus, whereas the Constitution assigns actual power to the President, it seeks to secure moral power for the National Assembly. Apart from the fact that it is impossible to create a moral power by paragraphs of law, the Constitution here abrogates itself once more by having the President elected by all

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[a] Staking one's all.—*Ed.*

[b] A pun: Elysian Fields was a synonym of paradise in antiquity; in Paris the *Champs Elysées* (Elysian Fields) is the name of the avenue where Louis Bonaparte's official residence was.—*Ed.*

Frenchmen through direct suffrage. While the votes of France are split up among the 750 members of the National Assembly, they are here, on the contrary, concentrated on a *single* individual. While each separate representative of the people represents only this or that party, this or that town, this or that bridgehead, or even only the mere necessity of electing some one of the 750, where neither the cause nor the man is closely examined, *he* is the elect of the nation and the act of his election is the trump that the sovereign people plays once every four years. The elected National Assembly stands in a metaphysical relation, but the elected President in a personal relation, to the nation. The National Assembly, indeed, exhibits in its individual representatives the manifold aspects of the national spirit, but in the President this national spirit finds its incarnation. As against the Assembly, he possesses a sort of divine right; he is President by the grace of the people.

Thetis, the sea goddess, had prophesied to Achilles that he would die in the bloom of youth. The Constitution, which, like Achilles, had its weak spot, had also, like Achilles, its presentiment that it must go to an early death. It was sufficient for the constitution-making pure republicans to cast a glance from the lofty heaven of their ideal republic at the profane world to perceive how the arrogance of the royalists, the Bonapartists, the Democrats, the Communists as well as their own discredit grew daily in the same measure as they approached the completion of their great legislative work of art, without Thetis on this account having to leave the sea and communicate the secret to them. They sought to cheat destiny by a catch in the Constitution, through § 111 of it, according to which every motion for a *revision of the Constitution* must be supported by at least three-quarters of the votes, cast in three successive debates between which an entire month must always lie, with the added proviso that no fewer than 500 members of the National Assembly vote. Thereby they merely made the impotent attempt still to exercise, when only a parliamentary minority, as which they already saw themselves prophetically in their mind's eye, a power which at the present moment, when they commanded a parliamentary majority and all the resources of governmental authority, was slipping daily more and more from their feeble hands.

Finally the Constitution, in a melodramatic paragraph, entrusts itself "to the vigilance and the patriotism of the whole French people and every single Frenchman", after it had previously entrusted in another paragraph the "vigilant" and "patriotic"

Frenchmen to the tender penal attentions of the High Court of Justice, the "*haute cour*", invented by it for the purpose.

Such was the Constitution of 1848 which, on December 2, 1851, was not overthrown by a head, but fell down at the touch of a mere hat; this hat, to be sure, was a three-cornered Napoleonic one.

While the bourgeois republicans in the Assembly were busy devising, discussing and voting this Constitution, Cavaignac outside the Assembly maintained the *state of siege of Paris.* The state of siege of Paris was the midwife of the Constituent Assembly in its travail of republican creation. If the Constitution is subsequently put out of existence by bayonets, it must not be forgotten that it was likewise by bayonets, and these turned against the people, that it had to be protected in its mother's womb, and by bayonets that it had to be brought into existence. The forefathers of the "respectable republicans" had sent their symbol, the tricolour, on a tour round Europe. They themselves in turn produced an invention that of itself made its way over the whole Continent, but returned to France with ever renewed love until it has now become naturalised in half her departments—the *state of siege.* A splendid invention, periodically employed in every ensuing crisis in the course of the French Revolution. But barrack and bivouac, which were thus periodically laid on French society's head to compress its brain and render it quiet; sabre and musket, which were periodically allowed to act as judges and administrators, as guardians and censors, to play policemen and do night watchman's duty; moustache and uniform, which were periodically trumpeted forth as the highest wisdom of society and as its rector—were not barrack and bivouac, sabre and musket, moustache and uniform finally bound to hit upon the idea of rather saving society once and for all by proclaiming their own regime as the highest and freeing civil society completely from the trouble of governing itself? Barrack and bivouac, sabre and musket, moustache and uniform were bound to hit upon this idea all the more as they might then also expect better cash payment for their higher services, whereas from the merely periodical state of siege, and the transient rescues of society at the bidding of this or that bourgeois faction, little of substance was gleaned save some killed and wounded and some friendly bourgeois grimaces. Should not the military at last one day play state of siege in their own interest and for their own benefit, and at the same time besiege the bourgeois purses? Moreover, be it noted in passing, one must not forget that *Colonel Bernard,* the same military commission president who

under Cavaignac had 15,000 insurgents deported without trial, is at this moment again at the head of the military commissions active in Paris.

Whereas, with the state of siege in Paris, the respectable, the pure republicans planted the nursery in which the praetorians of December 2, 1851 were to grow up, they on the other hand deserve praise for the reason that, instead of exaggerating the national sentiment as under Louis Philippe, they now, when they had command of the national power, crawled before foreign countries, and, instead of setting Italy free, let her be reconquered by Austrians and Neapolitans.[85] Louis Bonaparte's election as President on December 10, 1848 put an end to the dictatorship of Cavaignac and to the Constituent Assembly.

In § 44 of the Constitution it is stated: "The President of the French Republic must never have lost his status of a French citizen." The first President of the French republic, L. N. Bonaparte, had not merely lost his status of a French citizen, had not only been an English special constable, he was even a naturalised Swiss.[86]

I have discussed elsewhere the significance of the election of December 10.[a] I will not revert to it here. It is sufficient to remark here that it was a *reaction of the peasants*, who had had to pay the costs of the February revolution, against the remaining classes of the nation, a *reaction of the country against the town*. It met with great approval in the army, for which the republicans of the *National* had provided neither glory nor additional pay, among the big bourgeoisie, who hailed Bonaparte as a bridge to the monarchy, and among the proletarians and petty bourgeois, who hailed him as a scourge for Cavaignac. I shall have an opportunity later of going more closely into the relationship of the peasants to the French Revolution.

The period from December 20, 1848[b] until the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, in May 1849, comprises the history of the downfall of the bourgeois republicans. After having founded a republic for the bourgeoisie, driven the revolutionary proletariat out of the field and reduced the democratic petty bourgeoisie to silence for the time being, they are themselves thrust aside by the mass of the bourgeoisie, which justly impounds this republic as *its property*. This bourgeois mass was, however, *royalist*. One section of it, the big

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 80-82.— *Ed.*

[b] The day of the expiry of Cavaignac's powers and of Louis Bonaparte's accession to the presidency.— *Ed.*

landowners, had ruled during the *Restoration* and was accordingly *Legitimist*. The other, the finance aristocracy and big industrialists, had ruled during the July monarchy and was consequently *Orleanist*. The high dignitaries of the army, the university, the church, the bar, the Academy and of the press were to be found on either side, though in various proportions. Here, in the bourgeois republic, which bore neither the name *Bourbon* nor the name *Orleans*, but the name *Capital*, they had found the form of state in which they could rule *conjointly*. The June insurrection had already united them in the "Party of Order". Now it was necessary, in the first place, to remove the coterie of bourgeois republicans who still occupied the seats of the National Assembly. Just as brutal as these pure republicans had been in their misuse of physical force against the people, just as cowardly, mealy-mouthed, spiritless, broken and incapable of fighting were they now in their retreat, when it was a question of maintaining their republicanism and their legislative rights against the executive power and the royalists. I need not relate here the ignominious story of their dissolution. It was a fading-away, not a going-under. Their history has come to an end forever, and, both inside and outside the Assembly, they figure in the following period only as memories, memories that seem to regain life whenever the mere name of Republic is once more the issue and as often as the revolutionary conflict threatens to sink down to the lowest level. I may remark in passing that the journal which gave its name to this party, the *National*, was converted to socialism in the following period.[a]

Before we finish with this period we must still cast a retrospective glance at the two powers, one of which annihilated the other on December 2, 1851, whereas from December 20, 1848 until the exit of the Constituent Assembly, they had lived in conjugal relations. We mean Louis Bonaparte, on the one hand, and the party of the coalitioned royalists, the Party of Order, of the big bourgeoisie, on the other. On acceding to the presidency, Bonaparte at once formed a ministry of the Party of Order, at the head of which he placed

[a] Here, to avoid repetition (see below, pp. 180-81), Marx leaves out the following paragraph printed in the 1852 edition: "Hence the history of the constitution or foundation of the French Republic falls into three periods: May 4 to June 24, 1848—struggle of all classes and class adjuncts united in February under the leadership of the bourgeois republicans against the proletariat, frightful defeat of the proletariat; June 25, 1848 to December 10, 1848—rule of the bourgeois republicans, drafting of the Constitution, state of siege in Paris, Cavaignac's dictatorship; December 20, 1848 to the end of May 1849—struggle of Bonaparte and the Party of Order against the republican Constituent Assembly, defeat of the latter, end of the bourgeois republicans."—*Ed.*

Odilon Barrot, the old leader, *nota bene,* of the most liberal faction of the parliamentary bourgeoisie. M. Barrot had at last secured the ministerial portfolio, the spectre of which had haunted him since 1830, and what is more, the premiership in the ministry; but not, as he had imagined under Louis Philippe, as the most advanced leader of the parliamentary opposition, but with the task of putting a parliament to death, and as the confederate of all his arch-enemies, Jesuits and Legitimists. He brought the bride home at last, but only after she had been prostituted. Bonaparte seemed to efface himself completely. This party acted for him.

The very first meeting of the council of ministers resolved on the expedition to Rome, which, it was agreed, should be undertaken behind the back of the National Assembly and the means for which were to be wrested from it by false pretences. Thus they began by swindling the National Assembly and secretly conspiring with the absolutist powers abroad against the revolutionary Roman Republic. In the same manner and with the same manoeuvres Bonaparte prepared his coup of December 2 against the royalist Legislative Assembly and its constitutional republic. Let us not forget that the same party which formed Bonaparte's ministry on December 20, 1848, formed the majority of the Legislative National Assembly on December 2, 1851.

In August the Constituent Assembly had decided to dissolve only after it had worked out and promulgated a whole series of organic laws that were to supplement the Constitution. On January 6, 1849, the Party of Order had a deputy named Rateau move that the Assembly should let the organic laws go and rather decide on its *own dissolution.* Not only the ministry, with Odilon Barrot at its head, but all the royalist members of the National Assembly bullied it, suggesting that its dissolution was necessary for the restoration of credit, for the consolidation of order, for putting an end to the indefinite provisional arrangements and for establishing a definitive state of affairs; that it hampered the efficiency of the new government and sought to prolong its existence merely out of malice; that the country was tired of it. Bonaparte took note of all this invective against the legislative power, learnt it by heart and proved to the parliamentary royalists, on December 2, 1851, that he had learnt from them. He reiterated their own catchwords against them.

The Barrot ministry and the Party of Order went further. They caused *petitions to the National Assembly* to be made throughout France, in which this body was kindly requested to disappear. They thus led the unorganised popular masses into the attack against the

National Assembly, the constitutionally organised expression of the people. They taught Bonaparte to appeal from parliamentary assemblies to the people. At length, on January 29, 1849, the day had come on which the Constituent Assembly was to decide concerning its own dissolution. The National Assembly found the building where its sessions were held occupied by the military; Changarnier, the general of the Party of Order, in whose hands the supreme command of the National Guard and troops of the line had been united, held a great military review in Paris, as if a battle were impending, and the coalitioned royalists threateningly declared to the Constituent Assembly that force would be employed if it should prove unwilling.[a] It was willing, and bargained itself only a very short deadline. What was January 29 but the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, only carried out by the royalists with Bonaparte against the republican National Assembly? The gentlemen did not notice, or did not wish to notice, that Bonaparte availed himself of January 29, 1849 to have a portion of the troops march past him in front of the Tuileries, and seized with avidity on just this first public summoning of the military power against the parliamentary power to suggest Caligula. They, to be sure, saw only their Changarnier.

A factor that particularly motivated the Party of Order in forcibly cutting short the duration of the Constituent Assembly's life were the *organic* laws supplementing the Constitution, such as the education law, the law on religious worship, etc. To the coalitioned royalists it was most important that they themselves should make these laws and not let them be made by the republicans, who had grown mistrustful. Among these organic laws, however, was also a law on the responsibility of the President of the republic. In 1851 the Legislative Assembly was occupied with the drafting of just such a law, when Bonaparte anticipated this coup with the coup of December 2. What would the coalitioned royalists not have given in their parliamentary winter campaign of 1851 to have found the Responsibility Law ready to hand, and drawn up, at that, by a mistrustful, hostile, republican Assembly!

After the Constituent Assembly had itself shattered its last weapon on January 29, 1849, the Barrot ministry and the friends of order hounded it to death, left nothing undone that could humiliate it and wrested from the impotent, self-despairing Assembly laws that cost it the last remnant of respect in the eyes of the public. Bonaparte,

[a] The original says: "dass man Gewalt anwenden werde, wenn sie nicht willig sei"—an ironic paraphrase of a passage from Goethe's poem "Der Erlkönig": "Und bist du nicht willig, so brauch ich Gewalt" ("And if you're unwilling, I'll get you by force").—*Ed.*

occupied with his fixed Napoleonic idea,[87] was brazen enough publicly to exploit this degradation of the parliamentary power. For when, on May 8, 1849, the National Assembly passed a vote of censure of the ministry[a] because of the occupation of Civitavecchia by Oudinot, and ordered it to bring back the Roman expedition to its ostensible purpose,[88] Bonaparte published the same evening in the *Moniteur* a letter to Oudinot, in which he congratulated him on his heroic exploits and, in contrast to the pen-pushing parliamentarians, already posed as the generous protector of the army. The royalists smiled at this. They regarded him simply as their dupe. Finally, when Marrast, the President of the Constituent Assembly, believed for a moment that the safety of the National Assembly was endangered and, relying on the Constitution, requisitioned a colonel and his regiment, the colonel declined, cited discipline in his support and referred Marrast to Changarnier, who scornfully refused him with the remark that he did not like *baïonnettes intelligentes.*[b] In November 1851, when the coalitioned royalists wanted to begin the decisive struggle with Bonaparte, they sought to put through in their notorious *Questors' Bill* the principle of the direct requisition of troops by the President of the National Assembly.[89] One of their generals, Le Flô, had signed the Bill. In vain did Changarnier vote for it and Thiers pay homage to the far-sighted wisdom of the former Constituent Assembly. The *War Minister, Saint-Arnaud,* answered him as Changarnier has answered Marrast—and to the acclamation of the Montagne!

Thus the *Party of Order,* when it was not yet the National Assembly, when it was still only the ministry had itself stigmatised the *parliamentary regime.* And it makes an outcry when December 2, 1851 banished this regime from France!

We wish it a happy journey.

## III

On May 28, 1849 the Legislative National Assembly met. On December 2, 1851 it was dispersed. This period covers the span of life of the *constitutional or parliamentary republic.*[c]

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[a] The resolution of the Constituent Assembly on the Roman expedition, passed on May 7, 1849, was published in *Le Moniteur universel* the following day.—*Ed.*

[b] Bayonets which thought.—*Ed.*

[c] Here, to avoid repetition (see below, p. 181), Marx leaves out the following paragraph printed in the 1852 edition: "It falls into three main periods: *May 28, 1849 to June 13, 1849,* struggle between democracy and the bourgeoisie, *defeat of the*

In the first French Revolution the rule of the *Constitutionalists* is followed by the rule of the *Girondins* and the rule of the *Girondins* by the rule of the *Jacobins*. Each of these parties relies on the more progressive party for support. As soon as it has brought the revolution far enough to be unable to follow it further, still less to go ahead of it, it is thrust aside by the bolder ally that stands behind it and sent to the guillotine. The revolution thus moves along an ascending line.

It is the reverse with the revolution of 1848. The proletarian party appears as an appendage of the petty-bourgeois-democratic party. It is betrayed and dropped by the latter on April 16, May 15,[90] and in the June days. The democratic party, in its turn, leans on the shoulders of the bourgeois-republican party. The bourgeois republicans no sooner believe themselves well established than they shake off the troublesome comrade and support themselves on the shoulders of the Party of Order. The Party of Order hunches its shoulders, lets the bourgeois republicans tumble and throws itself on the shoulders of armed force. It fancies it is still sitting on its shoulders when, one fine morning, it perceives that the shoulders have turned into bayonets. Each party kicks back at the one behind, which presses upon it, and leans against the one in front, which pushes backwards. No wonder that in this ridiculous posture it loses its balance and, having made the inevitable grimaces, collapses with curious capers. The revolution thus moves in a descending line. It finds itself in this state of retrogressive motion before the last February barricade has been cleared away and the first revolutionary authority constituted.

The period that we have before us comprises the most motley mixture of crying contradictions: constitutionalists who conspire openly against the Constitution; revolutionists who are confessedly constitutional; a National Assembly that wants to be omnipotent and always remains parliamentary; a Montagne that finds its vocation in patience and counters its present defeats by prophesying future victories; royalists who form the *patres conscripti*[a] of the republic and are forced by the situation to keep the hostile royal houses, to which they adhere, abroad, and the republic, which they hate, in France; an

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*petty-bourgeois or democratic party; June 13, 1849 to May 31, 1850,* parliamentary dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, i.e., of the coalitioned Orleanists and Legitimists or of the Party of Order, a dictatorship which makes itself complete by *abolishing universal suffrage; May 31, 1850 to December 2, 1851,* struggle between the bourgeoisie and Bonaparte, *overthrow of bourgeois rule, end of the constitutional or parliamentary republic."—Ed.*

[a] Conscript fathers—collective designation of senators in Ancient Rome.—*Ed.*

executive power that finds its strength in its very weakness and its respectability in the contempt that it calls forth; a republic that is nothing but the combined infamy of two monarchies, the Restoration and the July monarchy, with an imperial label—alliances whose first proviso is separation; struggles whose first law is indecision; wild, inane agitation in the name of tranquillity; most solemn preaching of tranquillity in the name of revolution; passions without truth, truths without passion; heroes without heroic deeds, history without events; development, whose sole driving force seems to be the calendar, made wearisome through constant repetition of the same tensions and relaxations; antagonisms that periodically seem to work themselves up to a climax only to lose their sharpness and fall away without being able to resolve themselves; pretentiously paraded exertions and philistine terror at the danger of the world coming to an end, and at the same time the pettiest intrigues and court comedies played by the world redeemers, who in their *laissez-aller*[a] remind us less of the Day of Judgment than of the times of the Fronde[91]—the official collective genius of France brought to naught by the artful stupidity of a single individual; the collective will of the nation, as often as it speaks through universal suffrage, seeking its appropriate expression through the inveterate enemies of the interests of the masses, until at length it finds it in the self-will of a freebooter. If any section of history has been painted grey on grey,[b] it is this. Men and events appear as inverted Schlemihls, as shadows that have lost their bodies. The revolution itself paralyses its own bearers and endows only its adversaries with passionate forcefulness. When the "red spectre", continually conjured up and exorcised by the counter-revolutionaries,[92] finally appears, it appears not with the Phrygian cap of anarchy on its head, but in the uniform of order, in *red breeches.*

We have seen that the ministry which Bonaparte installed on December 20, 1848, on his Ascension Day,[c] was a ministry of the Party of Order, of the Legitimist and Orleanist coalition. This Barrot-Falloux ministry had outlived the republican Constituent Assembly, whose term of life it had more or less violently cut short, and found itself still at the helm. Changarnier, the general of the allied royalists, continued to unite in his person the general command of the First Army Division and of the National Guard of

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[a] Letting things take their course.—*Ed.*

[b] G. W. F. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts. Vorrede.*—*Ed.*

[c] On that day Louis Bonaparte took up his residence at the Presidential palace in the Champs Elysées (see also footnote "b" on p. 116 of this volume).—*Ed.*

Paris. Finally, the general elections had secured the Party of Order a large majority in the National Assembly. Here the deputies and peers of Louis Philippe encountered a hallowed host of Legitimists, for whom many of the nation's ballots had become transformed into admission cards to the political stage. The Bonapartist representatives of the people were too sparse to be able to form an independent parliamentary party.[a] They appeared merely as the *mauvaise queue*[b] of the Party of Order. Thus the Party of Order was in possession of governmental power, the army and the legislative body, in short, of the whole of state power; it had been morally strengthened by the general elections, which made its rule appear as the will of the people, and by the simultaneous triumph of the counter-revolution on the whole continent of Europe.

Never did a party open its campaign with greater resources or under more favourable auspices.

The shipwrecked *pure republicans* found that they had melted down to a clique of about fifty men in the Legislative National Assembly, the African generals Cavaignac, Lamoricière and Bedeau at their head. The great opposition party, however, was formed by the *Montagne*. The *Social-Democratic* party had given itself this parliamentary baptismal name. It commanded more than 200 of the 750 votes of the National Assembly and was consequently at least as powerful as any one of the three factions of the Party of Order taken by itself. Its numerical inferiority compared with the entire royalist coalition seemed compensated by special circumstances. Not only did the elections in the departments show that it had gained a considerable following among the rural population. It counted in its ranks almost all the deputies from Paris; the army had made a confession of democratic faith by the election of three non-commissioned officers,[c] and the leader of the Montagne, Ledru-Rollin, in contradistinction to all the representatives of the Party of Order, had been raised to the parliamentary peerage by five departments, which had pooled their votes for him. In view of the inevitable clashes of the royalists among themselves and of the whole Party of Order with Bonaparte, the Montagne thus seemed to have all the elements of success before it on May 28, 1849. A fortnight later it had lost everything, honour included.[d]

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[a] The 1852 edition further has: "They were sufficiently represented to count as figures in a general call-up against the republican armed forces."—*Ed.*

[b] Pitiful appendage.—*Ed.*

[c] Boichot and Rattier, elected in Paris, and Commissaire, elected in Alsace.—*Ed.*

[d] Paraphrase of the famous dictum, "All is lost save honour", which is ascribed to King Francis I of France.—*Ed.*

Before we pursue parliamentary history further, some remarks are necessary to avoid common misconceptions regarding the whole character of the epoch that lies before us. Looked at with the eyes of democrats, the period of the Legislative National Assembly is concerned with what the period of the Constituent Assembly was concerned with: the simple struggle between republicans and royalists. The movement itself, however, they sum up in the *one* shibboleth: "*reaction*"—night, in which all cats are grey and which permits them to reel off their night watchman's commonplaces. And, to be sure, at first sight the Party of Order reveals a tangled knot of different royalist factions, which not only intrigue against each other—each seeking to elevate its own pretender to the throne and exclude the pretender of the opposing faction—but also all unite in common hatred of, and common attacks on, the "republic". In opposition to this royalist conspiracy the Montagne, for its part, appears as the representative of the "republic". The Party of Order appears to be perpetually engaged in a "reaction", directed against press, association and the like, neither more nor less than in Prussia, and which, as in Prussia, is carried out in the form of brutal police intervention by the bureaucracy, the gendarmerie and the law courts. The "Montagne", for its part, is just as continually occupied in warding off these attacks and thus defending the "eternal rights of man" as every so-called people's party has done, more or less, for a century and a half. If one looks at the situation and the parties more closely, however, this superficial appearance, which veils the *class struggle* and the peculiar physiognomy of this period,[a] disappears.

Legitimists and Orleanists, as we have said, formed the two great factions of the Party of Order. Was what held these factions fast to their pretenders and kept them apart from one another nothing but lily and tricolour, House of Bourbon and House of Orleans, different shades of royalism, was it their royalist faith at all? Under the Bourbons, *big landed property* had governed, with its priests and lackeys; under the Orleans, high finance, large-scale industry, large-scale trade, that is, *capital*, with its retinue of lawyers, professors and smooth-tongued orators. The Legitimate monarchy was merely the political expression of the hereditary rule of the lords of the soil, as the July monarchy was only the political expression of the usurped rule of the bourgeois parvenus. What kept the two factions apart, therefore, was not any so-called principles, it was their

[a] The 1852 edition has here: "and thus turns it into a gold-mine for pub politicians and republican stalwarts".—*Ed.*

material conditions of existence, two different kinds of property, it was the old contrast between town and country, the rivalry between capital and landed property. That at the same time old memories, personal enmities, fears and hopes, prejudices and illusions, sympathies and antipathies, convictions, articles of faith and principles bound them to one or the other royal house, who is there that denies this? Upon the different forms of property, upon the social conditions of existence, rises an entire superstructure of different and distinctly formed sentiments, illusions, modes of thought and views of life. The entire class creates and forms them out of its material foundations and out of the corresponding social relations. The single individual, to whom they are transmitted through tradition and upbringing, may imagine that they form the real motives and the starting-point of his activity. While Orleanists and Legitimists, while each faction sought to make itself and the other believe that it was loyalty to their two royal houses which separated them, facts later proved that it was rather their divided interests which forbade the unification of the two royal houses. And as in private life one differentiates between what a man thinks and says of himself and what he really is and does, so in historical struggles one must still more distinguish the language and the imaginary aspirations of parties from their real organism and their real interests, their conception of themselves from their reality. Orleanists and Legitimists found themselves side by side in the republic, with the same claims. If each side wished to effect the *restoration* of its *own* royal house against the other, that merely signified that each of the *two great interests* into which the *bourgeoisie* is split—landed property and capital—sought to restore its own supremacy and the subordination of the other. We speak of two interests of the bourgeoisie, for large landed property, despite its feudal coquetry and pride of race, has been rendered thoroughly bourgeois by the development of modern society. Thus the Tories in England long imagined that they were enthusiastic about monarchy, the church and the beauties of the old English Constitution, until the day of danger wrung from them the confession that they are enthusiastic only about *rent*.[a]

The coalitioned royalists carried on their intrigues against one another in the press, in Ems, in Claremont,[93] outside parliament. Behind the scenes they donned their old Orleanist and Legitimist liveries again and once more engaged in their old tourneys. But on the public stage, in their grand performances of state,[94] as a great

[a] Cf. this volume, p. 328.—*Ed.*

parliamentary party, they put off their respective royal houses with mere obeisances and adjourned the restoration of the monarchy *ad infinitum*. They did their real business as the *Party of Order*, that is, under a *social*, not under a *political* title; its representatives of the bourgeois world-order, not as knights of errant princesses; as the bourgeois class against other classes, not as royalists against the republicans. And as the Party of Order they exercised more unrestricted and sterner domination over the other classes of society than ever previously under the Restoration or under the July monarchy, a domination which, in general, was only possible under the form of the parliamentary republic, for only under this form could the two great divisions of the French bourgeoisie unite, and thus put the rule of their class instead of the regime of a privileged faction of it on the order of the day. If, nevertheless, they, as the Party of Order, also insulted the republic and expressed their repugnance of it, this happened not merely as a result of royalist memories. Instinct taught them that the republic, true enough, makes their political rule complete, but at the same time undermines its social foundation, since they must now confront the subjugated classes and contend against them without mediation, without the concealment afforded by the crown, without being able to divert the national interest by their subordinate struggles among themselves and with the monarchy. It was a feeling of weakness that caused them to recoil from the pure conditions of their own class rule and to yearn for the former more incomplete, more undeveloped and precisely on that account less dangerous forms of this rule. On the other hand, every time the coalitioned royalists come into conflict with the pretender that confronts them, with Bonaparte, every time they believe their parliamentary omnipotence endangered by the executive power, every time, therefore, that they must produce their political title to their rule, they come forward as *republicans* and not as *royalists*, from the Orleanist Thiers, who warns the National Assembly that the republic divides them least,[a] to the Legitimist Berryer, who, on December 2, 1851, as a tribune swathed in a tricoloured sash, harangues the people assembled before the town hall of the tenth *arrondissement* in the name of the republic. To be sure, a mocking echo calls back to him: Henry V! Henry V!

As against the coalitioned bourgeoisie, a coalition between petty bourgeois and workers had been formed, the so-called *Social-Democratic* party. The petty bourgeois saw themselves badly re-

[a] Marx has in mind the speech delivered by Thiers in the Legislative Assembly on January 17, 1851.—*Ed.*

warded after the June days of 1848, their material interests imperilled and the democratic guarantees which were to ensure the implementation of these interests called in question by the counter-revolution. Accordingly, they came closer to the workers. On the other hand, their parliamentary representation, the *Montagne*, thrust aside during the dictatorship of the bourgeois republicans, had in the last half of the life of the Constituent Assembly reconquered its lost popularity through the struggle with Bonaparte and the royalist ministers. It had concluded an alliance with the socialist leaders. In February 1849, banquets celebrated the reconciliation. A joint programme was drafted, joint election committees were set up and joint candidates put forward. The revolutionary point was broken off from the social demands of the proletariat and a democratic turn given to them; the purely political form was stripped from the democratic claims of the petty bourgeoisie and their socialist point turned outward. Thus arose *Social-Democracy*. The new *Montagne*, the result of this combination, contained, apart from some working-class supernumeraries and some members of the socialist sects, the same elements as the old Montagne, only numerically stronger. However, in the course of development, it had changed with the class that it represented. The peculiar character of Social-Democracy is epitomised in the fact that democratic-republican institutions are demanded as a means, not of superseding two extremes, capital and wage labour, but of weakening their antagonism and transforming it into harmony. However different the means proposed for the attainment of this end may be, however much it may be embellished with more or less revolutionary notions, the content remains the same. This content is the reformation of society in a democratic way, but a reformation within the bounds of the petty bourgeoisie. Only one must not form the narrow-minded notion that the petty bourgeoisie, on principle, wishes to enforce an egoistic class interest. Rather, it believes that the *special* conditions of its emancipation are the *general* conditions within which alone modern society can be saved and the class struggle avoided. Just as little must one imagine that the democratic representatives are indeed all shopkeepers[a] or enthusiastic supporters of shopkeepers. In their education and individual position they may be as far apart from them as heaven from earth. What makes them representatives of the petty bourgeoisie is the fact that in their minds they do not get beyond the limits which the latter do not get beyond in life, that they are consequently driven, theoretically, to the same problems and

[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

solutions to which material interest and social position drive the latter in practice. This is, in general, the relationship between the *political* and *literary representatives* of a class and the class they represent.

After the analysis we have given, it is obvious that if the Montagne continually contends with the Party of Order for the republic and the so-called rights of man, neither the republic nor the rights of man are its final end, any more than an army which one wants to deprive of its weapons and which resists has taken the field in order to remain in possession of its own weapons.

Immediately, as soon as the National Assembly met, the Party of Order provoked the Montagne. The bourgeoisie now felt the necessity of making an end of the democratic petty bourgeoisie, just as a year before it had realised the necessity of getting rid of the revolutionary proletariat. Only the situation of the adversary was different. The strength of the proletarian party lay in the streets, that of the petty bourgeoisie in the National Assembly itself. It was therefore a question of decoying them out of the National Assembly into the streets and causing them to smash their parliamentary power themselves, before time and circumstances could consolidate it. The Montagne galloped headlong into the trap.

The bombardment of Rome by the French troops was the bait that was thrown to it. It violated Article V of the Constitution which forbids the French Republic to employ its military forces against the freedom of another people.[95] In addition to this, Article 54 prohibited any declaration of war on the part of the executive power without the assent of the National Assembly, and by its resolution of May 8, the Constituent Assembly had disapproved of the Roman expedition. On these grounds Ledru-Rollin brought in a bill of impeachment against Bonaparte and his ministers on June 11, 1849. Exasperated by the wasp stings of Thiers, he actually let himself be carried away to the point of threatening that he would defend the Constitution by every means, even with arms in hand. The Montagne rose to a man and repeated this call to arms. On June 12, the National Assembly rejected the bill of impeachment, and the Montagne left the parliament. The events of June 13 are known: the proclamation issued by a section of the Montagne, declaring Bonaparte and his ministers "outside the Constitution"[a]; the street procession of the democratic National Guards, who, unarmed as they were, dispersed on encountering the troops of Changarnier, etc., etc. A part of the Montagne fled abroad; another part was

[a] "Déclaration de la Montagne au peuple français. Paris, 12 juin [1849]" — *Ed.*

arraigned before the High Court at Bourges,[96] and a parliamentary regulation subjected the remainder to the schoolmasterly surveillance of the President of the National Assembly.[a] Paris was again declared in a state of siege and the democratic part of its National Guard dissolved. Thus the influence of the Montagne in parliament and the power of the petty bourgeois in Paris were broken.

Lyons, where June 13 had given the signal for a bloody insurrection of the workers,[97] was, along with the five surrounding departments, likewise declared in a state of siege, a condition that has continued up to the present moment.

The bulk of the Montagne had left its vanguard in the lurch, having refused to sign its proclamation. The press had deserted, only two journals[b] having dared to publish the *pronunciamento.* The petty bourgeois betrayed their representatives, in that the National Guards either stayed away or, where they appeared, hindered the erection of barricades. The representatives had duped the petty bourgeois, in that the alleged allies from the army were nowhere to be seen. Finally, instead of gaining an accession of strength from it, the democratic party had infected the proletariat with its own weakness and, as is usual with the great deeds of democrats, the leaders had the satisfaction of being able to charge their "people" with desertion, and the people the satisfaction of being able to charge its leaders with fraud.

Seldom had an action been announced with more noise than the impending campaign of the Montagne, seldom had an event been trumpeted with greater certainty or longer in advance than the inevitable victory of democracy. Most assuredly, the democrats believe in the trumpets before whose blasts the walls of Jericho fell down.[c] And as often as they stand before the ramparts of despotism, they seek to imitate the miracle. If the Montagne wished to triumph in parliament, it should not have called to arms. If it called to arms in parliament, it should not have acted in parliamentary fashion in the streets. If the peaceful demonstration was meant seriously, then it was folly not to foresee that it would be given a war-like reception. If a real struggle was intended, then it was odd to lay down the weapons with which it would have to be waged. But the revolutionary threats of the petty bourgeois and their democratic representatives are mere attempts to intimidate the antagonist. And when they have run into a blind alley, when they have sufficiently compromised themselves to

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[a] André Dupin.—*Ed.*
[b] *La Réforme* and *La Démocratie pacifique.*—*Ed.*
[c] Cf. Joshua 6 : 5 and 6 : 20.—*Ed.*

make it necessary to give effect to their threats, then this is done in an ambiguous fashion that avoids nothing so much as the means to the end and tries to find excuses for succumbing. The blaring overture that announced the contest dies away in a faint grumble as soon as the struggle has to begin, the actors cease to take themselves *au sérieux*, and the action collapses completely, like a pricked balloon.

No party exaggerates its means more than the democratic, none deludes itself more light-mindedly over the situation. Since a section of the army had voted for it, the Montagne was now convinced that the army would revolt for it. And on what occasion? On an occasion which, from the standpoint of the troops, had no other meaning than that the revolutionists took the side of the Roman soldiers against the French soldiers. On the other hand, the recollections of June 1848 were still too fresh to allow of anything but a profound aversion on the part of the proletariat towards the National Guard and a thoroughgoing mistrust of the democratic chiefs on the part of the chiefs of the secret societies. To iron out these differences, it was necessary for great common interests to be at stake. The violation of an abstract paragraph of the Constitution could not provide these interests. Had not the Constitution been repeatedly violated, according to the assurance of the democrats themselves? Had not the most popular journals branded it as counter-revolutionary botch-work? But the democrat, because he represents the petty bourgeoisie, that is, a *transition class*, in which the interests of two classes are simultaneously mutually blunted, imagines himself elevated above class antagonism generally. The democrats concede that a privileged class confronts them, but they, along with all the rest of the nation, form the *people*. What they represent is the *people's rights*; what interests them is the *people's interests*. Accordingly, when a struggle is impending, they do not need to examine the interests and positions of the different classes. They do not need to weigh their own resources too critically. They have merely to give the signal and the *people*, with all its inexhaustible resources, will fall upon the *oppressors*. Now, if in practice their interests prove to be uninteresting and their potency impotence, then either the fault lies with pernicious sophists, who split the *indivisible people* into different hostile camps, or the army was too brutalised and blinded to comprehend that the pure aims of democracy are also the best thing for it, or the whole thing has been wrecked by a detail in its execution, or else an unforeseen accident has this time spoilt the game. In any case, the democrat comes out of the most disgraceful defeat just as immaculate as he was innocent when he went into it, with the newly-won conviction that he is bound to win, not that he

himself and his party have to give up the old standpoint, but, on the contrary, that conditions have to ripen to suit him.

Accordingly, one must not imagine the Montagne, decimated and broken though it was, and humiliated by the new parliamentary regulation, as being particularly miserable. If June 13 had removed its chiefs, it made room, on the other hand, for men of lesser calibre, whom this new position flattered. If their impotence in parliament could no longer be doubted, they were entitled now to confine their actions to outbursts of moral indignation and blustering declamation. If the Party of Order affected to see embodied in them, as the last official representatives of the revolution, all the terrors of anarchy, they could in reality be all the more insipid and modest. They consoled themselves, however, for June 13 with the profound utterance: But if they dare to attack universal suffrage, well then—then we'll show them what we are made of! *Nous verrons!*[a]

So far as the Montagnards who fled abroad are concerned, it is sufficient to remark here that Ledru-Rollin, because in barely a fortnight he had succeeded in ruining irretrievably the powerful party at whose head he stood, now found himself called upon to form a French government *in partibus*[b]; that to the extent that the level of the revolution sank and the official bigwigs of official France became more dwarf-like, his figure in the distance, removed from the scene of action, seemed to grow in stature; that he could figure as the republican pretender for 1852, and that he issued periodical circulars to the Wallachians and other peoples, in which the despots of the Continent are threatened with the deeds of himself and his confederates. Was Proudhon altogether wrong when he cried to these gentlemen: "*Vous n'êtes que des blagueurs*"?[c]

On June 13 the Party of Order had not only broken the Montagne, it had effected the *subordination of the Constitution to the majority decisions of the National Assembly.* And it understood the republic thus: that the bourgeoisie rules here in parliamentary forms, without, as in a monarchy, encountering any barrier such as the veto power of the executive or the right to dissolve parliament. This was a *parliamentary republic,* as Thiers termed it.[d] But when on June 13 the bourgeoisie secured its omnipotence within the house of parliament, did it not afflict parliament itself, vis-à-vis the executive

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[a] We shall see.—*Ed.*

[b] Here in the sense of "abroad". See also footnote on pp. 5, 107, 282.—*Ed.*

[c] "You are nothing but braggarts." From Proudhon's letter "Aux citoyens Ledru-Rollin, Charles Delescluze, Martin Bernard, et consorts, Rédacteurs du *Proscrit,* à Londres" published in the newspaper *Le Peuple* in July 1850.—*Ed.*

[d] In his speech in the Legislative Assembly on January 17, 1851.—*Ed.*

authority and the people, with incurable weakness by expelling its most popular part? By surrendering numerous deputies without further ado on the demand of the courts, it abolished its own parliamentary immunity. The humiliating regulations to which it subjected the Montagne exalted the President of the republic in the same measure as they degraded the individual representatives of the people. By branding an insurrection for the protection of the constitutional charter an anarchic act aiming at the subversion of society, it precluded the possibility of its appealing to insurrection should the executive authority violate the Constitution in relation to it. And by the irony of history, the general who on Bonaparte's instructions bombarded Rome and thus provided the immediate occasion for the constitutional revolt of June 13, that very *Oudinot* had to be the man offered by the Party of Order imploringly and unavailingly to the people as general on behalf of the Constitution against Bonaparte on December 2, 1851. Another hero of June 13, *Vieyra*, who was lauded from the tribune of the National Assembly for the brutalities that he had committed in the democratic newspaper offices at the head of a gang of National Guards belonging to high finance circles—this same Vieyra had been initiated into Bonaparte's conspiracy and played an essential part in depriving the National Assembly in the hour of its death of any protection by the National Guard.

June 13 had still another meaning. The Montagne had wanted to force the impeachment of Bonaparte. Its defeat was therefore a direct victory for Bonaparte, his personal triumph over his democratic enemies. The Party of Order gained the victory; Bonaparte had only to cash in on it. He did so. On June 14 a proclamation could be read on the walls of Paris in which the President, reluctantly, against his will, as it were, compelled by the sheer force of events, comes forth from his cloistered seclusion and, posing as misunderstood virtue, complains of the calumnies of his opponents and, while he seems to identify his person with the cause of order, rather identifies the cause of order with his person. Moreover, the National Assembly had, it is true, subsequently approved the expedition against Rome, but Bonaparte had taken the initiative in the matter. After having re-installed the High Priest Samuel in the Vatican, he could hope to enter the Tuileries as King David.[98] He had won the priests over to his side.

The revolt of June 13 was confined, as we have seen, to a peaceful street procession. No martial laurels were, therefore, to be won against it. Nevertheless, at a time as poor as this in heroes and events, the Party of Order transformed this bloodless battle into a second

Austerlitz.[99] Platform and press praised the army as the power of order, in contrast to the popular masses, representing the impotence of anarchy, and extolled Changarnier as the "bulwark of society", a deception in which he himself finally came to believe. Surreptitiously, however, the corps that seemed doubtful were transferred from Paris, the regiments which had shown at the elections the most democratical sentiments were banished from France to Algiers, the turbulent spirits among the troops were relegated to penal detachments, and finally the isolation of the press from the barracks and of the barracks from civil society was systematically carried out.

Here we have reached the decisive turning-point in the history of the French National Guard. In 1830 it was decisive in the overthrow of the Restoration. Under Louis Philippe every rebellion in which the National Guard stood on the side of the troops miscarried. When in the February days of 1848 it evinced a passive attitude towards the insurrection and an equivocal one towards Louis Philippe, he gave himself up for lost and actually was lost. Thus the conviction took root that the revolution could not be victorious *without* the National Guard, nor the army *against* it. This was the superstition of the army in regard to civilian omnipotence. The June days of 1848, when the entire National Guard, with the troops of the line, put down the insurrection, had strengthened the superstition. After Bonaparte's assumption of office, the position of the National Guard was to some extent weakened by the unconstitutional union, in the person of Changarnier, of the command of its forces with the command of the First Army Division.

Just as the command of the National Guard appeared here as an attribute of the military commander-in-chief, so the National Guard itself now appeared as only an appendage of the troops of the line. Finally, on June 13 its power was broken, and not only by its partial disbandment, which from this time on was periodically repeated all over France, until mere fragments of it were left behind. The demonstration of June 13 was, above all, a demonstration of the democratic National Guards. They had not, to be sure, borne their arms, but worn their uniforms against the army; precisely in this uniform, however, lay the talisman. The army convinced itself that this uniform was a piece of woollen cloth like any other. The spell was broken. In the June days of 1848 bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie stood united as the National Guard with the army against the proletariat; on June 13, 1849 the bourgeoisie let the petty-bourgeois National Guard be dispersed by the army; on December 2, 1851 the National Guard of the bourgeoisie itself had

vanished, and Bonaparte merely registered this fact when he subsequently signed the decree for its disbandment. Thus the bourgeoisie had itself smashed its last weapon against the army, but it had to smash it the moment the petty bourgeoisie no longer stood behind it as a vassal, but before it as a rebel, as in general it was bound to destroy all its means of defence against absolutism with its own hand as soon as it had itself become absolute.

Meanwhile, the Party of Order celebrated the reconquest of a power that seemed lost in 1848 only to be found again, freed from its restraints, in 1849, celebrated by means of invectives against the republic and the Constitution, of curses on all future, present and past revolutions, including that which its own leaders had made, and in laws by which the press was muzzled, association destroyed and the state of siege regulated as an organic institution. The National Assembly then adjourned from the middle of August to the middle of October, after having appointed a permanent commission for the period of its absence. During this recess the Legitimists intrigued with Ems, the Orleanists—with Claremont, Bonaparte—by means of princely tours, and the Departmental Councils—in deliberations on a revision of the Constitution: incidents which regularly recur in the periodic recesses of the National Assembly and which I propose to discuss only when they become events. Here it may merely be remarked, in addition, that it was impolitic for the National Assembly to disappear for considerable intervals from the stage and leave only a *single*, albeit sorry, figure to be seen at the head of the republic, that of Louis Bonaparte, while to the scandal of the public the Party of Order fell asunder into its royalist component parts and followed its conflicting desires for Restoration. As often as the confused noise of *parliament* grew silent during these recesses and its body dissolved in the nation, it became unmistakably clear that only *one* thing was still wanting to complete the true form of this republic: to make the *former's* recess permanent and replace the *latter's* inscription: *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité* by the unambiguous words: Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery!

## IV

In the middle of October 1849 the National Assembly met once more. On November 1 Bonaparte surprised it with a message in which he announced the dismissal of the Barrot-Falloux ministry and the formation of a new ministry. No one has ever sacked lackeys with less ceremony than Bonaparte his ministers. The kicks that were

intended for the National Assembly were given in the meantime to Barrot and Co.

The Barrot ministry, as we have seen, had been composed of Legitimists and Orleanists, a ministry of the Party of Order. Bonaparte had needed it to dissolve the republican Constituent Assembly, to bring about the expedition against Rome and to break the democratic party. Behind this ministry he had seemingly effaced himself, surrendered governmental power into the hands of the Party of Order and donned the modest character mask that the responsible editor of a newspaper wore under Louis Philippe, the mask of the *homme de paille*.[a] He now threw off a mask which was no longer the light veil behind which he could hide his physiognomy, but an iron mask which prevented him from displaying a physiognomy of his own. He had appointed the Barrot ministry in order to blast the republican National Assembly in the name of the Party of Order; he dismissed it in order to declare his own name independent of the National Assembly of the Party of Order.

Plausible pretexts for this dismissal were not lacking. The Barrot ministry neglected even the decencies that would have let the President of the republic appear as a power side by side with the National Assembly. During the recess of the National Assembly Bonaparte published a letter to Edgar Ney in which he seemed to disapprove of the liberal attitude of the Pope,[b] just as in opposition to the Constituent Assembly he had published a letter in which he commended Oudinot for the attack on the Roman Republic. When the National Assembly now voted the budget for the Roman expedition, Victor Hugo, out of alleged liberalism, brought up this letter for discussion.[c] The Party of Order with scornfully incredulous outcries stifled the idea that Bonaparte's ideas could have any political importance. Not one of the ministers took up the gauntlet for him. On another occasion Barrot, with his well-known hollow rhetoric, let fall from the platform words of indignation concerning the "abominable intrigues" that, according to his assertion, went on in the immediate entourage of the President. Finally, while the ministry obtained from the National Assembly a widow's pension for the Duchess of Orleans it rejected any proposal to increase the Civil List of the President. And in Bonaparte the imperial pretender was so intimately bound up with the adventurer down on his luck that the

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[a] Man of straw.—*Ed.*

[b] Pius IX. The 1852 and 1869 editions have "illiberal attitude of the Pope"; the correction was made in the 1885 edition.—*Ed.*

[c] In his speech in the Legislative Assembly on October 19, 1849.—*Ed.*

one great idea, that he was called to restore the empire, was always supplemented by the other, that it was the mission of the French people to pay his debts.

The Barrot-Falloux ministry was the first and last *parliamentary ministry* that Bonaparte brought into being. Its dismissal forms, accordingly, a decisive turning-point. With it the Party of Order lost, never to reconquer it, an indispensable post for the maintenance of the parliamentary regime, the lever of executive power. It is immediately obvious that in a country like France, where the executive power commands an army of officials numbering more than half a million individuals and therefore constantly maintains an immense mass of interests and livelihoods in the most absolute dependence; where the state enmeshes, controls, regulates, superintends and tutors civil society from its most comprehensive manifestations of life down to its most insignificant stirrings, from its most general modes of being to the private existence of individuals; where through the most extraordinary centralisation this parasitic body acquires an ubiquity, an omniscience, a capacity for accelerated mobility and an elasticity which finds a counterpart only in the helpless dependence, in the loose shapelessness of the actual body politic—it is obvious that in such a country the National Assembly forfeits all real influence when it loses command of the ministerial posts, if it does not at the same time simplify the administration of the state, reduce the army of officials as far as possible and, finally, let civil society and public opinion create organs of their own, independent of the governmental power. But it is precisely with the maintenance of that extensive state machine in its numerous ramifications that the *material interests* of the French bourgeoisie are interwoven in the closest fashion. Here it finds posts for its surplus population and makes up in the form of state salaries for what it cannot pocket in the form of profit, interest, rents and honorariums. On the other hand, its *political interests* compelled it to increase daily the repressive measures and therefore the resources and the personnel of the state power, while at the same time it had to wage an uninterrupted war against public opinion and mistrustfully mutilate, cripple, the independent organs of the social movement, where it did not succeed in amputating them entirely. Thus the French bourgeoisie was compelled by its class position to annihilate, on the one hand, the vital conditions of all parliamentary power, and therefore, likewise, of its own, and to render irresistible, on the other hand, the executive power hostile to it.

The new ministry was called the d'Hautpoul ministry. Not that General d'Hautpoul had received the rank of Prime Minister.

Rather, simultaneously with Barrot's dismissal, Bonaparte abolished this dignity, which, true enough, condemned the President of the republic to the status of the legal nonentity of a constitutional monarch, but of a constitutional monarch without throne or crown, without sceptre or sword, without irresponsibility, without imprescriptible possession of the highest state dignity, and, worst of all, without a Civil List. The d'Hautpoul ministry contained only one man of parliamentary standing, the money-lender *Fould*, one of the most notorious of the high financiers. To his lot fell the ministry of finance. Look up the quotations on the Paris *bourse* and you will find that from November 1, 1849 onwards the French *fonds*[a] rise and fall with the rise and fall of Bonapartist stocks. While Bonaparte had thus found his ally in the *bourse*, he at the same time took possession of the police by appointing Carlier Police Prefect of Paris.

Only in the course of development, however, could the consequences of the change of ministers come to light. To begin with, Bonaparte had taken a step forward only to be driven backward all the more conspicuously. His brusque message was followed by the most servile declaration of allegiance to the National Assembly. As often as the ministers dared to make a diffident attempt to introduce his personal fads as legislative proposals, they themselves seemed to carry out, against their will only and compelled by their position, comical commissions of whose fruitlessness they were convinced in advance. As often as Bonaparte blurted out his intentions behind the ministers' backs and played with his "*idées napoléoniennes*",[100] his own ministers disavowed him from the tribune of the National Assembly. His usurpatory longings seemed to make themselves heard only in order that the malicious laughter of his opponents might not be muted. He behaved like an unrecognised genius, whom all the world takes for a simpleton. Never did he enjoy the contempt of all classes in fuller measure than during this period. Never did the bourgeoisie rule more absolutely, never did it display more ostentatiously the insignia of domination.

I have not here to write the history of its legislative activity, which is summarised during this period in two laws: in the law re-establishing the *wine tax* and the *education law* abolishing unbelief.[101] If wine drinking was made harder for the French, they were presented all the more plentifully with the water of true life. If in the law on the wine tax the bourgeoisie declared the old, hateful French tax system to be inviolable, it sought through the education law to

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[a] Government securities.—*Ed.*

ensure among the masses the old state of mind that put up with the tax system. One is astonished to see the Orleanists, the liberal bourgeois, these old apostles of Voltairianism and eclectic philosophy, entrust to their hereditary enemies, the Jesuits, the superintendence of the French mind. But although in regard to the pretenders to the throne, Orleanists and Legitimists could part company, they understood that to secure their united rule necessitated the uniting of the means of repression of two epochs, that the means of subjugation of the July monarchy had to be supplemented and strengthened by the means of subjugation of the Restoration.

The peasants, disappointed in all their hopes, crushed more than ever by the low level of grain prices on the one hand, and by the growing burden of taxes and mortgage debts on the other, began to bestir themselves in the departments. They were answered by a drive against the schoolmasters, who were made subject to the clergy, by a drive against the *maires*,[a] who were made subject to the prefects, and by a system of espionage, to which all were made subject. In Paris and the large towns reaction itself has the physiognomy of its epoch and challenges more than it strikes down. In the countryside it becomes dull, mean, petty, tiresome and vexatious, in a word, the gendarme. One understands how three years of the regime of the gendarme, consecrated by the regime of the priest, were bound to demoralise the immature masses.

Whatever amount of passion and declamation might be employed by the Party of Order against the minority from the tribune of the National Assembly, its speech remained as monosyllabic as that of the Christians, whose words were to be: Yea, yea; nay, nay![b] As monosyllabic on the platform as in the press. Flat as a riddle whose answer is known in advance. Whether it was a question of the right of petition or the tax on wine, freedom of the press or free trade, the clubs or the municipal charter, protection of personal freedom or regulation of the state budget, the watchword constantly recurs, the theme remains always the same, the verdict is ever ready and invariably reads: "*Socialism!*" Even bourgeois liberalism is declared *socialistic*, bourgeois enlightenment socialistic, bourgeois financial reform socialistic. It was socialistic to build a railway, where a canal already existed, and it was socialistic to defend oneself with a cane when one was attacked with a rapier.

This was not merely a figure of speech, fashion or party tactics. The bourgeoisie had a true insight into the fact that all the weapons

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[a] Mayors.—*Ed.*
[b] Matthew 5 : 37.—*Ed.*

which it had forged against feudalism turned their points against itself, that all the means of education which it had produced rebelled against its own civilisation, that all the gods which it had created had fallen away from it. It understood that all the so-called civil freedoms and organs of progress attacked and menaced its *class rule* at its social foundation and its political summit simultaneously, and had therefore become "*socialistic*". In this menace and this attack it rightly discerned the secret of socialism, whose import and tendency it judges more correctly than so-called socialism is able to judge itself; the latter can, accordingly, not comprehend why the bourgeoisie callously hardens its heart against it, whether it sentimentally bewails the sufferings of mankind, or in Christian spirit prophesies the millennium and universal brotherly love, or in humanistic style drivels on about mind, education and freedom, or in doctrinaire fashion excogitates a system for the conciliation and welfare of all classes. What the bourgeoisie did not grasp, however, was the logical conclusion that its *own parliamentary regime*, that its *political rule* in general, was now also bound to meet with the general verdict of condemnation as being *socialistic*. As long as the rule of the bourgeois class had not been organised completely, as long as it had not acquired its pure political expression, the antagonism of the other classes, likewise, could not appear in its pure form, and where it did appear could not take the dangerous turn that transforms every struggle against the state power into a struggle against capital. If in every stirring of life in society it saw "tranquillity" imperilled, how could it want to maintain at the head of society a *regime of unrest*, its own regime, the *parliamentary regime*, this regime that, according to the expression of one of its spokesmen, lives in struggle and by struggle? The parliamentary regime lives by discussion; how shall it forbid discussion? Every interest, every social institution, is here transformed into general ideas, debated as ideas; how shall any interest, any institution, sustain itself above thought and impose itself as an article of faith? The struggle of the orators on the platform evokes the struggle of the scribblers of the press; the debating club in parliament is necessarily supplemented by debating clubs in the salons and ale houses; the representatives, who constantly appeal to public opinion, give public opinion the right to speak its real mind in petitions. The parliamentary regime leaves everything to the decision of majorities; how shall the great majorities outside parliament not want to decide? When you play the fiddle at the top of the state, what else is to be expected but that those down below dance?

Thus, by now stigmatising as "*socialistic*" what it had previously

extolled as "*liberal*", the bourgeoisie confesses that its own interests dictate that it should be delivered from the danger of its *own rule*; that, in order to restore tranquillity in the country, its bourgeois parliament must, first of all, be laid to rest; that, in order to preserve its social power intact, its political power must be broken; that the individual bourgeois can continue to exploit the other classes and to enjoy undisturbed property, family, religion and order only on condition that their class be condemned along with the other classes to similar political nullity; that, in order to save its purse, it must forfeit the crown, and the sword that is to safeguard it must at the same time be hung over its own head as a sword of Damocles.

In the domain of the interests of the general citizenry, the National Assembly showed itself so unproductive that, for example, the discussions on the Paris-Avignon railway, which began in the winter of 1850, were still not ripe for conclusion on December 2, 1851. Wherever it did not repress, or react, it was stricken with incurable barrenness.

While Bonaparte's ministry partly took the initiative in framing laws in the spirit of the Party of Order, and partly even outdid that party's harshness in its execution and administration, he, on the other hand, by childishly silly proposals sought to win popularity, to bring out his opposition to the National Assembly, and to hint at a secret reserve that was only temporarily prevented by conditions from making its hidden treasures available to the French people. Such was the proposal to decree an increase in pay of four sous a day to the non-commissioned officers. Such was the proposal of an honour system lending-bank for the workers. Money as a gift and money on tick, it was with prospects such as these that he hoped to allure the masses. Donations and loans—the financial science of the lumpenproletariat, whether of high degree or low, is restricted to this. Such were the only springs which Bonaparte knew how to set in motion. Never has a pretender speculated more stupidly on the stupidity of the masses.

The National Assembly flared up repeatedly over these unmistakable attempts to gain popularity at its expense, over the growing danger that this adventurer, whom his debts spurred on and no established reputation held back, would venture a desperate coup. The discord between the Party of Order and the President had taken on a threatening character when an unexpected event threw him back repentant into its arms. We mean the *by-elections of March 10, 1850.* These elections were held for the purpose of filling the representatives' seats that after June 13 had been rendered vacant by imprisonment or exile. Paris elected only Social-Democratic candi-

dates.[a] It even concentrated most of the votes on an insurgent of June 1848, on Deflotte. Thus did the Parisian petty bourgeoisie, in alliance with the proletariat, revenge itself for its defeat on June 13, 1849. It seemed to have disappeared from the battlefield at the moment of danger only to reappear there on a more propitious occasion with more numerous fighting forces and with a bolder battle cry. One circumstance seemed to heighten the peril of this election victory. The army voted in Paris for the June insurgent against La Hitte, a minister of Bonaparte's, and in the departments largely for the Montagnards, who here, too, though indeed not so decisively as in Paris, maintained the ascendancy over their adversaries.

Bonaparte saw himself suddenly confronted with the revolution once more. As on January 29, 1849, as on June 13, 1849, so on March 10, 1850, he disappeared behind the Party of Order. He made obeisance, he pusillanimously begged pardon, he offered to appoint any ministry it pleased at the behest of the parliamentary majority, he even implored the Orleanist and Legitimist party leaders, the Thiers, the Berryers, the Broglies, the Molés, in brief, the so-called burgraves,[102] to take the helm of state themselves. The Party of Order proved unable to take advantage of this opportunity that would never return. Instead of boldly possessing itself of the power offered, it did not even compel Bonaparte to reinstate the ministry dismissed on November 1; it contented itself with humiliating him by its forgiveness and adjoining M. *Baroche* to the d'Hautpoul ministry. As public prosecutor this Baroche had stormed and raged before the High Court at Bourges, the first time against the revolutionists of May 15,[103] the second time against the democrats of June 13, both times because of an attack on the National Assembly. None of Bonaparte's ministers subsequently contributed more to the degradation of the National Assembly, and after December 2, 1851, we meet him once more as the comfortably-installed and highly-paid Vice-President of the Senate. He had spat in the revolutionists' soup in order that Bonaparte might finish them off.

The Social-Democratic party, for its part, seemed only to try to find pretexts for putting its own victory once again in doubt and for blunting its point. Vidal, one of the newly elected representatives of Paris, had been elected simultaneously in Strasbourg. He was induced to decline the election for Paris and accept it for Strasbourg. And so, instead of making its victory at the polls definitive and

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[a] François Vidal, Hippolyte Carnot and Paul Deflotte.— *Ed.*

thereby compelling the Party of Order at once to contest it in parliament, instead of thus forcing the adversary to fight at the moment of popular enthusiasm and a favourable mood in the army, the democratic party wearied Paris during the months of March and April with a new election campaign, let the aroused popular passions wear themselves out in this repeated provisional election game, let the revolutionary energy satiate itself with constitutional successes, dissipate itself in petty intrigues, hollow declamations and sham movements, let the bourgeoisie rally and make its preparations, and, lastly, weakened the significance of the March elections by a sentimental commentary in the April by-election, that of the election of Eugène Sue. In a word, it made an April Fool of March 10.

The parliamentary majority understood the weakness of its antagonists. Its seventeen burgraves—for Bonaparte had left to it the direction of and responsibility for the attack—drew up a new electoral law, the introduction of which was entrusted to M. Faucher, who solicited this honour for himself. On May 8 he introduced the law by which universal suffrage was to be abolished, a residence of three years in the locality of the election to be imposed as a condition on the voters and, finally, the proof of this residence made dependent in the case of workers on a certificate from their employers.

Just as the democrats had, in revolutionary fashion, agitated and raged during the constitutional election contest, so now, when it was necessary to prove the serious nature of those electoral victories arms in hand, did they in constitutional fashion preach order, majestic calm (*calme majestueux*), lawful action, that is to say, blind subjection to the will of the counter-revolution, which imposed itself as the law. During the debate the Mountain put the Party of Order to shame by asserting, against the latter's revolutionary passion, the dispassionate attitude of the philistine who keeps within the law, and by striking it down with the fearful reproach that it proceeded in a revolutionary manner. Even the newly elected deputies were at pains to prove by their decorous and discreet action what a misconception it was to decry them as anarchists and construe their election as a victory for revolution. On May 31 the new electoral law went through. The Montagne contented itself with smuggling a protest into the pocket of the President. The electoral law was followed by a new press law, by which the revolutionary newspapers were entirely suppressed.[104] They had deserved their fate. The *National* and *La Presse*, two bourgeois organs, were left behind after this deluge as the most advanced outposts of the revolution.

We have seen how during March and April the democratic leaders

had done everything to embroil the people of Paris in a sham fight, how after May 8 they did everything to restrain them from a real fight. In addition to this, we must not forget that the year 1850 was one of the most splendid years of industrial and commercial prosperity, and the Paris proletariat was therefore fully employed. But the election law of May 31, 1850 excluded it from any participation in political power. It cut it off from the very arena of the struggle. It threw the workers back into the position of pariahs which they had occupied before the February revolution. By letting themselves be led by the democrats in face of such an event and forgetting the revolutionary interests of their class for momentary ease and comfort, they renounced the honour of being a conquering power, surrendered to their fate, proved that the defeat of June 1848 had put them out of the fight for years and that the historical process would for the present again have to go on *over* their heads. As far as petty-bourgeois democracy is concerned, which on June 13 had cried: "But if once universal suffrage is attacked, then we'll show them", it now consoled itself with the contention that the counter-revolutionary blow which had struck it was no blow and the law of May 31 no law. On the second Sunday in May 1852, every Frenchman would appear at the polling place with ballot in one hand and sword in the other. With this prophecy it rested content. Lastly, the army was disciplined by its superior officers for the elections of March and April 1850, just as it had been disciplined for those of May 28, 1849. This time, however, it said decidedly: "The revolution shall not dupe us a third time."

The law of May 31, 1850 was the coup d'état of the bourgeoisie. All its conquests over the revolution hitherto had only a provisional character. They were endangered as soon as the existing National Assembly retired from the stage. They depended on the hazards of a new general election, and the history of elections since 1848 irrefutably proved that the bourgeoisie's moral sway over the mass of the people was lost in the same measure as its actual domination developed. On March 10 universal suffrage declared itself directly against the domination of the bourgeoisie; the bourgeoisie answered by outlawing universal suffrage. The law of May 31 was, therefore, one of the necessities of the class struggle. On the other hand, the Constitution required a minimum of two million votes to make an election of the President of the republic valid. If none of the candidates for the presidency obtained this minimum, the National Assembly was to choose the President from among the five[a]

[a] The original mistakenly says here: "among the three".—*Ed.*

candidates to whom the largest number of votes would fall. At the time when the Constituent Assembly made this law, ten million voters were registered on the rolls. In its view, therefore, a fifth of the people entitled to vote was sufficient to make the presidential election valid. The law of May 31 struck at least three million votes off the electoral rolls, reduced the number of people entitled to vote to seven million and, nevertheless, retained the legal minimum of two million for the presidential election. It therefore raised the legal minimum from a fifth to nearly a third of the effective votes, that is, it did everything to smuggle the election of the President out of the hands of the people and into the hands of the National Assembly. Thus through the electoral law of May 31 the Party of Order seemed to have made its rule doubly secure, by surrendering the election of the National Assembly and that of the President of the republic to this stationary section of society.

## V

As soon as the revolutionary crisis had been weathered and universal suffrage abolished, the struggle between the National Assembly and Bonaparte broke out again.

The Constitution had fixed Bonaparte's salary at 600,000 francs. Barely six months after his installation he succeeded in increasing this sum to twice as much, for Odilon Barrot wrung from the Constituent National Assembly an extra allowance of 600,000 francs a year for so-called representation moneys. After June 13 Bonaparte had caused similar requests to be voiced, this time without eliciting response from Barrot. Now, after May 31, he at once availed himself of the favourable moment and caused his ministers to propose a Civil List of three million in the National Assembly. A long life of adventurous vagabondage had endowed him with the most developed antennae for feeling out the weak moments when he might squeeze money from his bourgeois. He practised regular *chantage.*[a] The National Assembly had violated the sovereignty of the people with his assistance and his cognizance. He threatened to denounce its crime to the tribunal of the people unless it loosened its purse-strings and purchased his silence with three million a year. It had robbed three million Frenchmen of their franchise. He demanded, for every Frenchman out of circulation, a franc in circulation, precisely three million francs. He, the elect of six million, claimed damages

[a] Blackmail.— *Ed.*

for the votes out of which he said he had retrospectively been cheated. The Commission of the National Assembly refused this importunate person. The Bonapartist press threatened. Could the National Assembly break with the President of the republic at a moment when it had fundamentally and definitely broken with the mass of the nation? It rejected the annual Civil List, it is true, but it granted a single extra allowance of 2,160,000 francs. It thus rendered itself guilty of the double weakness of granting the money and of showing at the same time by its vexation that it granted it unwillingly. We shall see later for what purpose Bonaparte needed the money. After this vexatious aftermath, which followed on the heels of the abolition of universal suffrage and in which Bonaparte exchanged his humble attitude during the crisis of March and April for challenging impudence to the usurpatory parliament, the National Assembly adjourned for three months, from August 11 to November 11. In its place it left behind a Permanent Commission of twenty-eight members, which contained no Bonapartists, but did contain some moderate republicans. The Permanent Commission of 1849 had included only Order men and Bonapartists. But at that time the Party of Order declared itself in permanence against the revolution. This time the parliamentary republic declared itself in permanence against the President. After the law of May 31, this was the only rival that still confronted the Party of Order.

When the National Assembly met once more in November 1850, it seemed that, instead of the petty skirmishes it had hitherto had with the President, a great and ruthless struggle, a life-and-death struggle between the two powers, had become inevitable.

As in 1849 so during this year's parliamentary recess, the Party of Order had broken up into its individual factions, each occupied with its own restoration intrigues, reinforced by the death of Louis Philippe. The Legitimist king, Henry V, had even nominated a formal ministry which resided in Paris and in which members of the Permanent Commission held seats. Bonaparte, in his turn, was therefore entitled to make tours of the French departments and, according to the disposition of the town that he favoured with his presence, to divulge, now covertly, now more overtly, his own restoration plans and canvass votes for himself. On these processions, which the great official *Moniteur* and the little private *Moniteurs* of Bonaparte naturally had to celebrate as triumphal processions, he was constantly accompanied by persons affiliated with the *Society of December 10.* This society dates from the year 1849. On the pretext of founding a benevolent society, the lumpenproletariat

of Paris had been organised into secret sections, each section being led by Bonapartist agents, with a Bonapartist general[a] at the head of the whole. Alongside decayed *roués* with dubious means of subsistence and of dubious origin, alongside ruined and adventurous offshoots of the bourgeoisie, were vagabonds, discharged soldiers, discharged jailbirds, escaped galley slaves, rogues, mountebanks, *lazzaroni*,[105] pickpockets, tricksters, gamblers, *maquereaus*,[b] brothel keepers, porters, *literati*, organ-grinders, rag-pickers, knife grinders, tinkers, beggars—in short, the whole indefinite, disintegrated mass, thrown hither and thither, which the French term *la bohème*; from this kindred element Bonaparte formed the core of the Society of December 10. A "benevolent society"—in so far as, like Bonaparte, all its members felt the need of benefiting themselves at the expense of the labouring nation. This Bonaparte, who constitutes himself *chief of the lumpenproletariat*, who here alone rediscovers in mass form the interests which he personally pursues, who recognises in this scum, offal, refuse of all classes the only class upon which he can base himself unconditionally, is the real Bonaparte, the Bonaparte *sans phrase*.[c] An old crafty *roué*, he conceives the historical life of the nations and their performances of state as comedy in the most vulgar sense, as a masquerade where the grand costumes, words and postures merely serve to mask the pettiest knavery. Thus on his expedition to Strasbourg, where a trained Swiss vulture had played the part of the Napoleonic eagle. For his irruption into Boulogne he puts some London lackeys into French uniforms. They represent the army.[107] In his Society of December 10, he assembles 10,000 rogues who are to play the part of the people, as Nick Bottom that of the lion.[d] At a moment when the bourgeoisie itself played the most complete comedy, but in the most serious manner in the world, without infringing any of the pedantic conditions of French dramatic etiquette, and was itself half deceived, half convinced of the solemnity of its own performance of state, the adventurer, who took the comedy as plain comedy, was bound to win. Only when he has eliminated his solemn opponent, when he himself now takes his imperial role seriously and under the Napoleonic mask imagines he is the real Napoleon, does he become the victim of his own

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[a] Jean Pierre Piat.—*Ed.*

[b] Procurers.—*Ed.*

[c] The 1852 edition adds: "unmistakable even when he later, in the fullness of power, paid off the debt to some of his erstwhile fellow conspirators, alongside the revolutionaries, by having them transported to Cayenne".[106]—*Ed.*

[d] The reference is to Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act I, Scene 2.—*Ed.*

conception of the world, the serious buffoon who no longer takes world history for a comedy but his comedy for world history. What the national *ateliers*[108] were for the socialist workers, what the *Gardes mobiles* were for the bourgeois republicans, the Society of December 10, the party fighting force characteristic of Bonaparte, was for him. On his journeys the detachments of this society packing the railways had to improvise a public for him, stage public enthusiasm, roar *vive l'Empereur*, insult and beat up republicans, of course under the protection of the police. On his return journeys to Paris they had to form the advance guard, forestall counter-demonstrations or disperse them. The Society of December 10 belonged to him, it was *his* work, his very own idea. Whatever else he appropriates is put into his hands by the force of circumstances; whatever else he does, the circumstances do for him or he is content to copy from the deeds of others. But Bonaparte with official phrases about order, religion, family and property in public, before the citizens, and with the secret society of the Schufterles and Spiegelbergs, the society of disorder, prostitution and theft, behind him—that is Bonaparte himself as original author, and the history of the Society of December 10 is his own history. Now it had happened by way of exception that people's representatives belonging to the Party of Order came under the cudgels of the Decembrists. Still more. Yon, the Police Commissioner assigned to the National Assembly and charged with watching over its safety, acting on the deposition of a certain Allais, advised the Permanent Commission that a section of the Decembrists had decided to assassinate General Changarnier and Dupin, the President of the National Assembly, and had already designated the individuals who were to perpetrate the deed. One can understand the terror of M. Dupin. A parliamentary enquiry into the Society of December 10, that is, the profanation of the Bonapartist secret world, seemed inevitable. Just before the meeting of the National Assembly Bonaparte providently disbanded his society, naturally only on paper, for in a detailed memoir at the end of 1851 Police Prefect Carlier still sought in vain to move him to really break up the Decembrists.

The Society of December 10 was to remain the private army of Bonaparte until he succeeded in transforming the public army into a Society of December 10. Bonaparte made the first attempt at this shortly after the adjournment of the National Assembly, and precisely with the money just wrested from it. As a fatalist, he lives in the conviction that there are certain higher powers which man, and the soldier in particular, cannot withstand. Among these powers he counts, first and foremost, cigars and champagne, cold poultry and

garlic sausage. Accordingly, to begin with, he treats officers and non-commissioned officers in his Elysée apartments to cigars and champagne, to cold poultry and garlic sausage. On October 3 he repeats this manoeuvre with the mass of the troops at the St. Maur review, and on October 10 the same manoeuvre on a still larger scale at the Satory army parade. The Uncle remembered the campaigns of Alexander in Asia, the Nephew the triumphal marches of Bacchus in the same land. Alexander was a demigod, to be sure, but Bacchus was a god and moreover the tutelary deity of the Society of December 10.

After the review of October 3, the Permanent Commission summoned the War Minister d'Hautpoul. He promised that these breaches of discipline should not recur. We know how on October 10 Bonaparte kept d'Hautpoul's word. As Commander-in-Chief of the Paris army, Changarnier had commanded at both reviews. He, simultaneously a member of the Permanent Commission, chief of the National Guard, the "saviour" of January 29 and June 13, the "bulwark of society", the candidate of the Party of Order for presidential honours, the suspected Monk of two monarchies, had hitherto never acknowledged himself as the subordinate of the War Minister, had always openly derided the republican Constitution and had pursued Bonaparte with an ambiguous lordly protection. Now he was consumed with zeal for discipline against the War Minister and for the Constitution against Bonaparte. While on October 10 a section of the cavalry raised the shout: "*Vive Napoléon! Vivent les saucissons!*", Changarnier arranged that at least the infantry marching past under the command of his friend Neumayer should preserve an icy silence. As a punishment, the War Minister relieved General Neumayer of his post in Paris at Bonaparte's instigation, on the pretext of appointing him commanding general of the fourteenth and fifteenth army divisions. Neumayer refused this exchange of posts and so had to resign. Changarnier, for his part, published an order of the day on November 2, in which he forbade the troops to indulge in political outcries or demonstrations of any kind while under arms. The Elysée newspapers attacked Changarnier; the papers of the Party of Order attacked Bonaparte; the Permanent Commission held repeated secret sessions in which it was repeatedly proposed to declare the country in danger; the army seemed divided into two hostile camps, with two hostile general staffs, one in the Elysée where Bonaparte, the other in the Tuileries where Changarnier, lived. It seemed that only the meeting of the National Assembly was needed to give the signal for battle. The French public judged this friction between Bonaparte and Changar-

nier like that English journalist who characterised it in the following words:

"The political housemaids of France are sweeping away the glowing lava of the revolution with old brooms and wrangle with one another while they do their work."

Meanwhile, Bonaparte hastened to remove the War Minister, d'Hautpoul, to pack him off in all haste to Algiers and to appoint General Schramm War Minister in his place. On November 12 he sent to the National Assembly a message of American prolixity, overloaded with detail, redolent of order, desirous of reconciliation, constitutionally acquiescent, treating of all and sundry, but not of the *questions brûlantes*[a] of the moment. As if in passing, he made the remarks that according to the express provisions of the Constitution the President alone could dispose of the army. The message closed with the following words of great solemnity:

"*Above all things, France demands tranquillity.... But bound by an oath, I shall keep within the narrow limits that it has set for me....* As far as I am concerned, elected by the people and owing my power to it alone, I shall always bow to its lawfully expressed will. Should you resolve at this session on a revision of the Constitution, a Constituent Assembly will regulate the position of the executive power. If not, then the people will solemnly pronounce its decision in 1852. But whatever the solutions of the future may be, let us come to an understanding, so that passion, surprise or violence may never decide the destiny of a great nation.... What occupies my attention, above all, is not who will rule France in 1852, but how to employ the time I have at my disposal so that the intervening period may pass by without agitation or disturbance. I have opened my heart to you with sincerity; you will answer my frankness with your trust, my good endeavours with your co-operation, and God will do the rest."[b]

The respectable, hypocritically moderate, virtuously commonplace language of the bourgeoisie reveals its deepest meaning in the mouth of the autocrat of the Society of December 10 and the picnic hero of St. Maur and Satory.

The burgraves of the Party of Order did not delude themselves for a moment concerning the trust that this opening of the heart deserved. About oaths they had long been *blasé*; they numbered in their midst veterans and virtuosos of political perjury. Nor had they failed to hear the passage about the army. They observed with annoyance that in its discursive enumeration of recently enacted laws the message passed over the most important law, the electoral law, in studied silence, and moreover, in the event of there being no revision of the Constitution, left the election of the President in 1852 to the people. The electoral law was the leaden ball chained to the feet of

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[a] Burning questions.— *Ed.*
[b] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 317, November 13, 1850.— *Ed.*

the Party of Order, which prevented it from walking and so much the more from storming forward! Moreover, by the official disbandment of the Society of December 10 and the dismissal of the War Minister d'Hautpoul, Bonaparte had with his own hand sacrificed the scapegoats on the altar of the country. He had blunted the edge of the expected collision. Finally, the Party of Order itself anxiously sought to avoid, to mitigate, to gloss over any decisive conflict with the executive power. For fear of losing its conquests over the revolution, it allowed its rival to carry off the fruits thereof. "Above all things, France demands tranquillity." This was what the Party of Order had cried to the revolution since February,[a] this was what Bonaparte's message cried to the Party of Order. "Above all, France demands tranquillity." Bonaparte committed acts that aimed at usurpation, but the Party of Order committed "unrest" if it raised a row about these acts and construed them hypochondriacally. The sausages of Satory were quiet as mice when no one spoke of them. "Above all, France demands tranquillity." Bonaparte demanded, therefore, that he be left in peace to do as he liked and the parliamentary party was paralysed by a double fear, by the fear of again evoking revolutionary unrest and by the fear of itself appearing as the instigator of unrest in the eyes of its own class, in the eyes of the bourgeoisie. Consequently, since France demanded tranquillity above all things, the Party of Order dared not answer "war" after Bonaparte had talked "peace" in his message. The public, which had anticipated scenes of great scandal at the opening of the National Assembly, was cheated of its expectations. The opposition deputies, who demanded the submission of the Permanent Commission's minutes on the October events, were outvoted by the majority. On principle, all debates that might cause excitement were eschewed. The proceedings of the National Assembly during November and December 1850 were without interest.

At last, towards the end of December, guerrilla warfare began over a number of prerogatives of parliament. The movement got bogged down in petty squabbles regarding the prerogatives of the two powers, since the bourgeoisie had done away with the class struggle for the moment by abolishing universal suffrage.

A judgment for debt had been obtained from the court against Mauguin, one of the people's representatives. In answer to the enquiry of the President of the Court, the Minister of Justice, Rouher, declared that a warrant for the debtor's arrest should be

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[a] 1848.—*Ed.*

issued without further ado. Mauguin was thus thrown into the debtors' jail. The National Assembly flared up when it learned of the assault. Not only did it order his immediate release, but it even had him fetched forcibly from Clichy the same evening, by its *greffier*.[a] In order, however, to confirm its faith in the sanctity of private property and with the idea at the back of its mind of opening, in case of need, an asylum for Montagnards who had become troublesome, it declared imprisonment of people's representatives for debt permissible after previously obtaining its consent. It forgot to decree that the President might also be locked up for debt. It destroyed the last semblance of the immunity that enveloped the members of its own body.

It will be remembered that, acting on the information given by a certain Allais, Police Commissioner Yon had denounced a section of the Decembrists for planning the murder of Dupin and Changarnier. In reference to this, at the very first sitting the questors made the proposal that parliament should form a police force of its own, paid out of the private budget of the National Assembly and absolutely independent of the Prefect of Police. The Minister of the Interior, Baroche, protested against this invasion of his domain. A miserable compromise on this matter was concluded, according to which, although the police commissioner of the Assembly was to be paid out of its private budget and to be appointed and dismissed by its questors, this would only happen after previous agreement with the Minister of the Interior. Meanwhile criminal proceedings had been taken by the government against Allais, and here it was easy to represent his information as a hoax and through the mouth of the public prosecutor to cast ridicule upon Dupin, Changarnier, Yon and the whole National Assembly. Thereupon, on December 29, the Minister Baroche writes a letter to Dupin in which he demands Yon's dismissal. The Bureau of the National Assembly decides to retain Yon in his position, but the National Assembly, alarmed by its violence in the Mauguin affair and accustomed when it has ventured a blow at the executive power to receive two blows from it in return, does not sanction this decision. It dismisses Yon as a reward for his professional zeal and robs itself of a parliamentary prerogative indispensable against a man who does not decide by night in order to execute by day, but who decides by day and executes by night.[b]

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[a] Clerk.—*Ed.*

[b] An allusion to the fact that Bonaparte staged his coup d'état on the night of December 1, 1851.—*Ed.*

We have seen how on great and striking occasions during the months of November and December the National Assembly avoided or quashed the struggle with the executive power. Now we see it compelled to take it up on the pettiest occasions. In the Mauguin affair it confirms the principle of imprisoning people's representatives for debt, but reserves the right to have it applied only to representatives it dislikes, and wrangles over this infamous privilege with the Minister of Justice. Instead of availing itself of the alleged murder plot to decree an enquiry into the Society of December 10 and irredeemably unmask Bonaparte before France and Europe in his true character of chief of the Paris lumpenproletariat, it lets the conflict be degraded to a point where the only issue between it and the Minister of the Interior is which of them has the authority to appoint and dismiss a police commissioner. Thus, during the whole of this period, we see the Party of Order compelled by its equivocal position to dissipate and fragment its struggle with the executive power in petty jurisdictional squabbles, chicanery, legalistic hairsplitting, and delimitational disputes, and to make the most ridiculous matters of form the substance of its activity. It does not dare to take up the conflict at the moment when this has significance from the standpoint of principle, when the executive power has really exposed itself and the cause of the National Assembly would be the cause of the nation. By so doing it would give the nation its marching orders, and it fears nothing more than that the nation should move. On such occasions it accordingly rejects the motions of the Montagne and proceeds to the order of the day. The question at issue in its larger aspects having thus been dropped, the executive power calmly bides the time when it can again take up the same question on petty and insignificant occasions, when this is, so to speak, of only local parliamentary interests. Then the repressed rage of the Party of Order breaks out, then it tears away the curtain from the stage-set, then it denounces the President, then it declares the republic in danger, but then, also, its fervour appears absurd and the occasion for the struggle seems a hypocritical pretext or altogether not worth fighting about. The parliamentary storm becomes a storm in a teacup, the fight becomes an intrigue, the conflict a scandal. While the revolutionary classes gloat with malicious joy over the humiliation of the National Assembly, for they are just as enthusiastic about the parliamentary prerogatives of this Assembly as the latter is about the public liberties, the bourgeoisie outside parliament does not understand how the bourgeoisie inside parliament can waste time over such petty squabbles and imperil tranquillity by such pitiful rivalries with the President. It becomes confused by a strategy that

makes peace at the moment when all the world is expecting battles, and attacks at the moment when all the world believes peace has been made.

On December 20, Pascal Duprat interpellated the Minister of the Interior concerning the Gold Bars Lottery. This lottery was a "daughter of Elysium".[a] Bonaparte with his faithful followers had brought her into the world and Police Prefect Carlier had placed her under his official protection, although French law forbids all lotteries with the exception of raffles for charitable purposes. Seven million lottery tickets at a franc apiece, the profits ostensibly to be devoted to shipping Parisian vagabonds to California. On the one hand, golden dreams were to supplant the socialist dreams of the Paris proletariat, and the seductive prospect of the first prize to replace the doctrinaire right to work. Naturally, the Paris workers did not recognise in the glitter of the California gold bars the inconspicuous francs that were enticed out of their pockets. In the main, however, the matter was nothing short of a downright swindle. The vagabonds who wanted to open California gold mines without troubling to leave Paris were Bonaparte himself and his debt-ridden cronies. The three million voted by the National Assembly had been squandered in riotous living; in one way or another the coffers had to be replenished. In vain had Bonaparte opened a national subscription for the building of so-called *cités ouvrières*, and figured at the head of the list himself with a considerable sum. The hard-hearted bourgeois waited mistrustfully for him to pay up his share and since this, naturally, did not ensue, the speculation in socialist castles in the air fell straightway to the ground. The gold bars proved a better draw. Bonaparte & Co. were not content to pocket part of the excess of the seven million over the bars to be allotted in prizes; they manufactured false lottery tickets; they issued ten, fifteen and even twenty tickets with the same number—a financial operation in the spirit of the Society of December 10! Here the National Assembly was confronted not with the fictitious President of the republic, but with Bonaparte in the flesh. Here it could catch him in the act, in conflict not with the Constitution but with the *Code pénal*. If on Duprat's interpellation it proceeded to the day's agenda, this did not happen merely because Girardin's motion that it should declare itself "*satisfait*" reminded the Party of Order of its own systematic corruption. The bourgeois and, above all, the bourgeois inflated into

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[a] The phrase "Tochter aus Elysium" occurs in Schiller's poem "An die Freude" as an epithet of joy. Marx uses it as a pun to allude to Louis Bonaparte's official residence in the Champs Elysées.— *Ed.*

a statesman, supplements his practical meanness by theoretical extravagance. As a statesman he becomes, like the state power that confronts him, a higher being that can only be fought in a higher, consecrated fashion.

Bonaparte, who precisely because he was a Bohemian, a princely lumpenproletarian, had the advantage over a rascally bourgeois in that he could conduct a dirty struggle, now saw, after the Assembly had itself guided him with its own hand across the slippery ground of the military banquets, the reviews, the Society of December 10, and, finally, the *Code pénal*, that the moment had come when he could pass from an apparent defensive to the offensive. The minor defeats meanwhile sustained by the Minister of Justice, the Minister of War, the Minister of the Navy and the Minister of Finance,[a] through which the National Assembly signified its snarling displeasure, troubled him little. He not only prevented the ministers from resigning and thus recognising the sovereignty of parliament over the executive power, but could now consummate what he had begun during the recess of the National Assembly: the severance of the military power from parliament, the *removal of Changarnier.*

An Elysée paper[b] published an order of the day alleged to have been addressed during the month of May to the First Army Division, and therefore proceeding from Changarnier, in which the officers were recommended, in the event of an insurrection, to give no quarter to the traitors in their own ranks, but to shoot them immediately and refuse the National Assembly the troops, should it requisition them. On January 3, 1851 the Cabinet was interpellated concerning this order of the day. For the investigation of this matter it requests a breathing space, first of three months, then of a week, finally of only twenty-four hours. The Assembly insists on an immediate explanation. Changarnier rises and declares that there never was such an order of the day. He adds that he will always hasten to comply with the demands of the National Assembly and that in case of a clash it can count on him. It receives his declaration with indescribable applause and passes a vote of confidence in him. It abdicates, it decrees its own impotence and the omnipotence of the army by placing itself under the private protection of a general; but the general deceives himself when he puts at its command against Bonaparte a power that he only holds as a fief from the same Bonaparte and when, in his turn, he expects to be protected by this parliament, by his own protégé in need of protection. Changarnier,

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[a] Rouher, Schramm, Romain-Desfossés and Fould.—*Ed.*
[b] *La Patrie*, January 2, 1851.—*Ed.*

however, believes in the mysterious power with which the bourgeoisie has endowed him since January 29, 1849. He considers himself the third power, existing side by side with both the other state powers. He shares the fate of the rest of this epoch's heroes, or rather saints, whose greatness consists precisely in the biassed great opinion of them that their party creates in its own interests and who shrink to everyday figures as soon as circumstances call on them to perform miracles. Unbelief is, in general, the mortal enemy of these reputed heroes and real saints. Hence their dignified moral indignation at the dearth of enthusiasm displayed by wits and scoffers.

The same evening, the ministers were summoned to the Elysée; Bonaparte insists on the dismissal of Changarnier; five ministers refuse to sign it; the *Moniteur* announces a ministerial crisis, and the press of the Party of Order threatens to form a parliamentary army under Changarnier's command. The Party of Order had constitutional authority to take this step. It merely had to appoint Changarnier President of the National Assembly and requisition any number of troops it pleased for its protection. It could do so all the more safely as Changarnier still actually stood at the head of the army and the Paris National Guard and was only waiting to be requisitioned together with the army. The Bonapartist press did not as yet even dare to question the right of the National Assembly directly to requisition troops, a legal scruple that in the given circumstances did not promise any success. That the army would have obeyed the orders of the National Assembly is probable when one bears in mind that Bonaparte had to search all Paris for eight days in order, finally, to find two generals—Baraguay d'Hilliers and Saint-Jean d'Angély—who declared themselves ready to countersign Changarnier's dismissal. That the Party of Order, however, would have found in its own ranks and in parliament the necessary number of votes for such a resolution is more than doubtful, when one considers that eight days later 286 votes detached themselves from the party and that in December 1851, at the last hour for decision, the Montagne still rejected a similar proposal. Nevertheless, the burgraves might, perhaps, still have succeeded in spurring the mass of their party to a heroism that consisted in feeling themselves secure behind a forest of bayonets and accepting the services of an army that had deserted to their camp. Instead of this, on the evening of January 6, Messrs. the Burgraves betook themselves to the Elysée in order to make Bonaparte desist from dismissing Changarnier by using statesmanlike phrases and urging considerations of state. Whomever one seeks to persuade, one acknowledges as master of the

situation. On January 12 Bonaparte, assured by this step, appoints a new ministry in which the leaders of the old ministry, Fould and Baroche, remain. Saint-Jean d'Angély becomes War Minister, the *Moniteur* publishes the decree dismissing Changarnier, and his command is divided between Baraguay d'Hilliers, who receives the First Army Division, and Perrot, who receives the National Guard. The bulwark of society has been dismissed, and while this does not cause any tiles to fall from the roofs, quotations on the *bourse* are, on the other hand, going up.

By repulsing the army, which places itself in the person of Changarnier at its disposal, and so surrendering the army irrevocably to the President, the Party of Order declares that the bourgeoisie has forfeited its vocation to rule. A parliamentary ministry no longer existed. Having now indeed lost its grip on the army and National Guard, what effective means remained to it with which simultaneously to maintain the usurped power of parliament over the people and its constitutional power against the President? None. Only the appeal to powerless principles, to principles that it had itself always interpreted merely as general rules, which one prescribes for others in order to be able to move all the more freely oneself. The dismissal of Changarnier and the falling of the military power into Bonaparte's hands closes the first part of the period we are considering, the period of struggle between the Party of Order and the executive power. War between the two powers has now been openly declared, is openly waged, but only after the Party of Order has lost both arms and soldiers. Without the ministry, without the army, without the people, without public opinion, after its Electoral Law of May 31 no longer the representative of the sovereign nation, *sans* eyes, *sans* ears, *sans* teeth, *sans* everything,[a] the National Assembly had undergone a gradual transformation into an *ancient French Parliament*[109] that has to leave action to the government and content itself with growling remonstrances *post festum*.[b]

The Party of Order receives the new ministry with a storm of indignation. General Bedeau recalls to mind the mildness of the Permanent Commission during the recess, and the excessive consideration it had shown by waiving the publication of its minutes. The Minister of the Interior[c] now himself insists on the publication of these minutes, which by this time have naturally become as dull as

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[a] Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, Act II, Scene 7.—*Ed.*
[b] After the feast, that is, belatedly.—*Ed.*
[c] Baroche.—*Ed.*

ditch-water, disclose no fresh facts and have not the slightest effect on the *blasé* public. Upon Rémusat's proposal the National Assembly retires into its offices and appoints a "Committee for Extraordinary Measures". Paris departs the less from the rut of its everyday routine, since at this moment trade is prosperous, manufactories are busy, corn prices low, foodstuffs overflowing and the savings banks receive fresh deposits daily. The "extraordinary measures" that parliament has announced with so much noise fizzle out on January 18 in a no-confidence vote against the ministers without General Changarnier even being mentioned. The Party of Order had been forced to frame its motion in this way in order to secure the votes of the republicans, as of all the measures of the ministry, Changarnier's dismissal is precisely the only one which the republicans approve of, while the Party of Order is in fact not in a position to censure the other ministerial acts, which it had itself dictated.

The no-confidence vote of January 18 was passed by 415 votes to 286. Thus, it was carried only by a *coalition* of the extreme Legitimists and Orleanists with the pure republicans and the Montagne. Thus it proved that the Party of Order had lost in conflicts with Bonaparte not only the ministry, not only the army, but also its independent parliamentary majority, that a squad of representatives had deserted from its camp, out of fanaticism for conciliation, out of fear of the struggle, out of lassitude, out of family regard for the state salaries of their kinsmen, out of speculation on ministerial posts becoming vacant (Odilon Barrot), out of sheer egoism, which makes the ordinary bourgeois always inclined to sacrifice the general interest of his class for this or that private motive. From the first, the Bonapartist representatives adhered to the Party of Order only in the struggle against the revolution. The leader of the Catholic party, Montalembert, had already at that time thrown his influence into the Bonapartist scale, since he despaired of the parliamentary party's prospects of life. Lastly, the leaders of this party, Thiers and Berryer, the Orleanist and the Legitimist, were compelled openly to proclaim themselves republicans, to confess that their hearts were royalist but their heads republican, that the parliamentary republic was the sole possible form for the rule of the bourgeoisie as a whole. Thus they were compelled, before the eyes of the bourgeois class itself, to stigmatise the restoration plans, which they continued indefatigably to pursue behind parliament's back, as an intrigue as dangerous as it was foolish.

The no-confidence vote of January 18 hit the ministers and not the President. But it was not the ministry, it was the President who had

dismissed Changarnier. Should the Party of Order impeach Bonaparte himself? On account of his restoration desires? The latter merely supplemented their own. On account of his conspiracy in connection with the military reviews and the Society of December 10? They had buried these themes long since under simple orders of the day. On account of the dismissal of the hero of January 29 and June 13, the man who in May 1850 threatened to set fire to all four corners of Paris in the event of a rising? Their allies of the Montagne and Cavaignac did not even allow them to raise the fallen bulwark of society by means of an official declaration of sympathy. They themselves could not deny the President the constitutional authority to dismiss a general. They only raged because he made an unparliamentary use of his constitutional right. Had they not continually made an unconstitutional use of their parliamentary prerogative, particularly in regard to the abolition of universal suffrage? They were therefore reduced to moving within strictly parliamentary limits. And it took that peculiar malady which since 1848 has raged all over the Continent, *parliamentary cretinism*, which holds those infected by it fast in an imaginary world and robs them of all sense, all memory, all understanding of the rude external world—it took this parliamentary cretinism for those who had destroyed all the conditions of parliamentary power with their own hands, and were bound to destroy them in their struggle with the other classes, still to regard their parliamentary victories as victories and to believe they hit the President by striking at his ministers. They merely gave him the opportunity to humiliate the National Assembly afresh in the eyes of the nation. On January 20 the *Moniteur* announced that the resignation of the entire ministry had been accepted. On the pretext that no parliamentary party any longer had a majority, as the vote of January 18, this fruit of the coalition between Montagne and royalists, proved, and pending the formation of a new majority, Bonaparte appointed a so-called transition ministry, not one member of which was a member of parliament, all being absolutely unknown and insignificant individuals, a ministry of mere clerks and copyists. The Party of Order could now work to exhaustion playing with these marionettes; the executive power no longer thought it worth while to be seriously represented in the National Assembly. The more his ministers were pure dummies, the more manifestly Bonaparte concentrated the whole executive power in his own person and the more scope he had to exploit it for his own ends.

In coalition with the Montagne, the Party of Order revenged itself by rejecting the grant to the President of 1,800,000 francs, which the

chief of the Society of December 10 had compelled his ministerial clerks to propose. This time a majority of only 102 votes decided the matter; thus 27 fresh votes had fallen away since January 18; the dissolution of the Party of Order was making progress. At the same time, in order that there might not for a moment be any mistake about the meaning of its coalition with the Montagne, it scorned even to consider a proposal signed by 189 members of the Montagne calling for a general amnesty of political offenders. It sufficed for the Minister of the Interior, a certain Vaïsse, to declare that the tranquillity was only apparent, that in secret great agitation prevailed, that in secret ubiquitous societies were being organised, the democratic papers were preparing to come out again, the reports from the departments were unfavourable, the Geneva refugees were directing a conspiracy spreading by way of Lyons over all Southern France, France was on the verge of an industrial and commercial crisis, the manufacturers of Roubaix had reduced working hours, that the prisoners of Belle Isle[110] were in revolt—it sufficed for even a mere Vaïsse to conjure up the red spectre, and the Party of Order rejected without discussion a motion that would certainly have won the National Assembly immense popularity and thrown Bonaparte back into its arms. Instead of letting itself be intimidated by the executive power with the prospect of fresh disturbances, it ought rather to have allowed the class struggle a little elbow-room, so as to keep the executive power dependent on itself. But it did not feel equal to the task of playing with fire.

Meanwhile, the so-called transition ministry continued to vegetate until the middle of April. Bonaparte wearied and befuddled the National Assembly with continual new ministerial combinations. Now he seemed to want to form a republican ministry with Lamartine and Billault, now a parliamentary one with the inevitable Odilon Barrot, whose name may never be missing when a dupe is necessary, then a Legitimist ministry with Vatimesnil and Benoist d'Azy, and then again an Orleanist one with Maleville. While he thus kept the different factions of the Party of Order in tension against one another and alarmed them as a whole by the prospect of a republican ministry and the consequent inevitable restoration of universal suffrage, he at the same time engendered in the bourgeoisie the conviction that his honest efforts to form a parliamentary ministry were being frustrated by the irreconcilability of the royalist factions. The bourgeoisie, however, cried out all the louder for a "strong government"; it found it all the more unpardonable to leave France "without administration" the more a

general commercial crisis seemed now to be approaching and won recruits for socialism in the towns, just as the ruinously low price of corn did in the countryside. Trade became daily slacker, the unemployed hands increased perceptibly, ten thousand workers, at least, were breadless in Paris, innumerable factories stood idle in Rouen, Mulhouse, Lyons, Roubaix, Tourcoing, St. Etienne, Elbeuf, etc. Under these circumstances Bonaparte could venture, on April 11, to restore the ministry of January 18: Messrs. Rouher, Fould, Baroche, etc., reinforced by M. Léon Faucher, whom the Constituent Assembly during its last days had, with the exception of five votes cast by ministers, unanimously stigmatised by a vote of no-confidence for sending out false telegrams. The National Assembly had therefore gained a victory over the ministry on January 18, had struggled with Bonaparte for three months, only to have Fould and Baroche on April 11 admit the puritan Faucher as a third member into their ministerial alliance.[a]

In November 1849 Bonaparte had contented himself with an *unparliamentary* ministry, in January 1851 with an *extra-parliamentary* one, and on April 11 he felt strong enough to form an *anti-parliamentary* ministry, which harmoniously combined in itself the no-confidence votes of both Assemblies, the Constituent and the Legislative, the republican and the royalist. This gradation of ministries was the thermometer with which parliament could measure the decrease of its own vital heat. By the end of April the latter had fallen so low that Persigny, in a personal interview, could urge Changarnier to go over to the camp of the President. Bonaparte, he assured him, regarded the influence of the National Assembly as completely destroyed, and the proclamation was already prepared that was to be published after the coup d'état, which was kept steadily in view but was by chance again postponed. Changarnier informed the leaders of the Party of Order of the obituary notice, but who believes that bedbug bites are fatal? And parliament, stricken, disintegrated and putrescent as it was, could not prevail upon itself to see in its duel with the grotesque chief of the Society of December 10 anything but a duel with a bedbug. But Bonaparte answered the Party of Order as Agesilaus did King Agis: "*I seem to you an ant, but one day I shall be a lion.*"[111]

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[a] An ironic paraphrase of the expression "in eurem Bunde der dritte" ("the third member in your alliance") from Schiller's poem "Die Bürgschaft".—*Ed.*

## VI

The coalition with the Montagne and the pure republicans, to which the Party of Order saw itself condemned in its unavailing efforts to maintain possession of the military power and to reconquer supreme control of the executive power, proved incontrovertibly that it had forfeited its independent *parliamentary majority.* On May 28 the mere power of the calendar, of the hour hand of the clock, gave the signal for its complete disintegration. With May 28 the last year of the life of the National Assembly began. It had now to decide for continuing the Constitution unaltered or for revising it. But revision of the Constitution, that implied not only rule of the bourgeoisie or of petty-bourgeois democracy,[a] democracy or proletarian anarchy, parliamentary republic or Bonaparte, it implied at the same time Orleans or Bourbon! Thus fell in the midst of parliament the apple of discord that was bound to inflame openly the conflict of interests which split the Party of Order into hostile factions. The Party of Order was a combination of heterogeneous social substances. The question of revision generated a political temperature at which the product again decomposed into its original constituents.

The interest of the Bonapartists in a revision was simple. For them it was above all a question of abolishing Article 45, which forbade Bonaparte's re-election and the prorogation of his authority. No less simple appeared the position of the republicans. They unconditionally rejected any revision; they saw in it a universal conspiracy against the republic. Since they commanded *more than a quarter of the votes* in the National Assembly and, according to the Constitution, three-quarters of the votes were required for a resolution for revision to be legally valid and for the convocation of a revising Assembly, they only needed to count their votes to be sure of victory. And they were sure of victory.

As against these clear positions, the Party of Order found itself caught in inextricable contradictions. If it should reject revision, it would imperil the *status quo,* since it would leave Bonaparte only one way out, that of force, and since on the second Sunday in May 1852, at the decisive moment, it would be surrendering France to revolutionary anarchy, with a President who had lost his authority, with a parliament which for a long time had not possessed it and with a people that meant to reconquer it. If it voted for constitutional

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[a] According to the list of misprints in the 1852 edition, this passage should read: "rule of the bourgeoisie or petty-bourgeois democracy"; however, Marx did not reproduce this alteration in the 1869 edition.—*Ed.*

revision, it knew that it voted in vain and would be bound to fail constitutionally because of the veto of the republicans. If it unconstitutionally declared a simple majority vote to be binding, then it could hope to dominate the revolution only if it subordinated itself unconditionally to the sovereignty of the executive power, then it would make Bonaparte master of the Constitution, of its revision and of itself. A merely partial revision which would prolong the authority of the President would pave the way for imperial usurpation. A general revision which would shorten the existence of the republic would bring the dynastic claims into unavoidable conflict, for the conditions of a Bourbon and the conditions of an Orleanist restoration were not only different, they were mutually exclusive.

*The parliamentary republic* was more than the neutral territory on which the two factions of the French bourgeoisie, Legitimists and Orleanists, large landed property and industry, could dwell side by side with equality of rights. It was the unavoidable condition of their *common* rule, the sole form of state in which their general class interest subjected to itself at the same time both the claims of their particular factions and all the remaining classes of society. As royalists they fell back into their old antagonism, into the struggle for the supremacy of landed property or of money, and the highest expression of this antagonism, its personification, was their kings themselves, their dynasties. Hence the resistance of the Party of Order to the *recall of the Bourbons.*

The Orleanist and people's representative Creton had in 1849, 1850 and 1851 periodically introduced a motion for the revocation of the decree exiling the royal families. Parliament, also periodically, presented the spectacle of an Assembly of royalists that obdurately barred the gates through which their exiled kings might return home. Richard III had murdered Henry VI, remarking that he was too good for this world and belonged in heaven.[a] The royalists declared France too bad to possess her kings again. Constrained by force of circumstances, they had become republicans and repeatedly sanctioned the popular decision that banished their kings from France.

A revision of the Constitution—and circumstances compelled taking it into consideration—called in question, along with the republic, the common rule of the two bourgeois factions, and revived, with the possibility of a monarchy, the rivalry of the interests which it had predominantly represented by turns, the struggle for

[a] Shakespeare, *Richard III,* Act I, Scene 2.—*Ed.*

the supremacy of one faction over the other. The diplomats of the Party of Order believed they could settle the struggle by an amalgamation of the two dynasties, by a so-called *fusion* of the royalist parties and their royal houses. The real fusion of the Restoration and the July monarchy was the parliamentary republic, in which Orleanist and Legitimist colours were obliterated and the various species of bourgeois disappeared in the bourgeois as such, in the bourgeois genus. Now, however, Orleanist was to become Legitimist and Legitimist Orleanist. Royalty, in which their antagonism was personified, was to embody their unity; the expression of their exclusive factional interests was to become the expression of their common class interest; the monarchy was to do what only the abolition of two monarchies, the republic, could do and had done. This was the philosopher's stone, to produce which the doctors of the Party of Order racked their brains. As if the Legitimist monarchy could ever become the monarchy of the industrial bourgeois or the bourgeois monarchy ever become the monarchy of the hereditary landed aristocracy. As if landed property and industry could fraternise under *one* crown, when the crown could only descend to one head, the head of the elder brother or of the younger. As if industry could come to terms with landed property at all, so long as landed property does not decide itself to become industrial. If Henry V should die tomorrow, the Count of Paris would not on that account become the king of the Legitimists unless he ceased to be the king of the Orleanists. The philosophers of fusion, however, who became more vociferous in proportion as the question of revision came to the fore, who had provided themselves with an official daily organ in the *Assemblée nationale* and who are again at work even at this very moment (February 1852), considered the whole difficulty to be due to the opposition and rivalry of the two dynasties. The attempts to reconcile the Orleans family with Henry V, begun since the death of Louis Philippe, but, like the dynastic intrigues generally, played at only while the National Assembly was in recess, during the *entr'actes*, behind the scenes, more sentimental coquetry with the old superstition than seriously meant business, now became grand performances of state, enacted by the Party of Order on the public stage, instead of in amateur theatricals, as hitherto. The couriers sped from Paris to Venice, from Venice to Claremont,[112] from Claremont to Paris. The Count of Chambord issues a manifesto in which "with the help of all the members of his family" he announces not his, but the "national" restoration. The Orleanist Salvandy throws himself at the feet of Henry V. The Legitimist chiefs, Berryer, Benoist d'Azy, Saint-Priest, travel to Claremont in order to

persuade the Orleans set, but in vain. The fusionists perceive too late that the interests of the two bourgeois factions neither lose exclusiveness nor gain pliancy when they culminate in the form of family interests, the interests of two royal houses. If Henry V were to recognise the Count of Paris as his successor—the sole success that the fusion could achieve at best—the House of Orleans would not win any claim that the childlessness of Henry V had not already secured to it, but it would lose all claims that it had gained through the July revolution. It would waive its original claims, all the titles that it had wrested from the older branch of the Bourbons in almost a hundred years of struggle; it would barter away its historical prerogative, the prerogative of the modern kingdom, for the prerogative of its genealogical tree. The fusion, therefore, would be nothing but a voluntary abdication of the House of Orleans, its resignation to Legitimacy, a repentant withdrawal from the Protestant state church into the Catholic. A withdrawal, moreover, that would not even bring it to the throne which it had lost, but to the throne's steps, on which it had been born. The old Orleanist ministers, Guizot, Duchâtel, etc., who likewise hastened to Claremont to announce the fusion, in fact represented merely the hangover from the July revolution, the despair felt in regard to the bourgeois monarchy and the monarchism of the bourgeois, the superstitious belief in Legitimacy as the last charm against anarchy. Imagining themselves mediators between Orleans and Bourbon, they were in reality merely Orleanist renegades, and the Prince of Joinville received them as such. On the other hand, the viable, bellicose section of the Orleanists, Thiers, Baze, etc., convinced Louis Philippe's family all the more easily that if any directly monarchist restoration presupposed the fusion of the two dynasties and if any such fusion presupposed abdication of the House of Orleans, it was, on the contrary, wholly in accord with the tradition of their forefathers to recognise the republic for the moment and wait until events permitted the conversion of the presidential chair into a throne. Rumours of Joinville's candidature were circulated, public curiosity was kept in suspense and, a few months later, in September, after the rejection of revision, his candidature was publicly proclaimed.

The attempt at a royalist fusion of Orleanists with Legitimists had thus not only failed; it had destroyed their *parliamentary fusion*, their common republican form, and had broken up the Party of Order into its original component parts; but the more the estrangement between Claremont and Venice grew, the more their settlement broke down and the Joinville agitation gained ground, so much the

more eager and earnest became the negotiations between Bonaparte's minister Faucher and the Legitimists.

The disintegration of the Party of Order did not stop at its original elements. Each of the two great factions, in its turn, underwent decomposition anew. It was as if all the old nuances that had formerly fought and jostled one another within each of the two circles, whether Legitimist or Orleanist, had thawed out again like dry infusoria on contact with water, as if they had acquired anew sufficient vital energy to form groups of their own and independent antagonisms. The Legitimists dreamed that they were back among the controversies between the Tuileries and the Pavillon Marsan, between Villèle and Polignac.[113] The Orleanists relived the golden days of the tourneys between Guizot, Molé, Broglie, Thiers and Odilon Barrot.

That part of the Party of Order which was eager for revision, but was divided again on the limits to revision, a section composed of the Legitimists led by Berryer and Falloux, on the one hand, and by La Rochejaquelein, on the other, and of the conflict-weary Orleanists led by Molé, Broglie, Montalembert and Odilon Barrot, agreed with the Bonapartist representatives on the following indefinite and broadly framed motion:

> "With the object of restoring to the nation the full exercise of its sovereignty, the undersigned representatives move that the Constitution be revised."[a]

At the same time, however, they unanimously declared through their reporter Tocqueville that the National Assembly had not the right to move the *abolition of the republic*, that this right was vested solely in the Revising Chamber. For the rest, the Constitution might be revised only in a "*legal*" *manner*, hence only if the constitutionally prescribed three-quarters of the number of votes were cast in favour of revision. On July 19, after six days of stormy debate, revision was rejected, as was to be anticipated. Four hundred and forty-six votes were cast for it, but two hundred and seventy-eight against. The extreme Orleanists, Thiers, Changarnier, etc., voted with the republicans and the Montagne.

Thus the majority of parliament declared against the Constitution, but this Constitution itself declared for the minority and that its vote was binding. But had not the Party of Order subordinated the Constitution to the parliamentary majority on May 31, 1850, and on June 13, 1849? Up to now, was not its whole policy based on the

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[a] The motion was tabled at the sitting of the Legislative Assembly on June 2, 1851. See *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 154, June 3, 1851.—*Ed.*

subordination of the paragraphs of the Constitution to the decisions of the parliamentary majority? Had it not left to the democrats the Old Testament-style superstitious belief in the letter of the law, and castigated the democrats for it? At the present moment, however, revision of the Constitution meant nothing but continuation of the presidential authority, just as continuation of the Constitution meant nothing but Bonaparte's deposition. Parliament had declared for him, but the Constitution declared against parliament. He therefore acted in the sense of parliament when he tore up the Constitution, and he acted in the sense of the Constitution when he dispersed parliament.

Parliament had declared the Constitution and, with the latter, its own rule to be "beyond the majority"; by its vote it had abolished the Constitution and prorogued the presidential power, while declaring at the same time that neither can the one die nor the other live so long as it itself continues to exist. Those who were to bury it were standing at the door. While it debated on revision, Bonaparte removed General Baraguay d'Hilliers, who had proved irresolute, from the command of the First Army Division and appointed in his place General Magnan, the victor of Lyons,[114] the hero of the December days, one of his creatures, who under Louis Philippe had already compromised himself more or less in Bonaparte's favour on the occasion of the Boulogne expedition.

The Party of Order proved by its decision on revision that it knew neither how to rule nor how to serve; neither how to live nor how to die; neither how to endure the republic nor how to overthrow it; neither how to uphold the Constitution nor how to throw it overboard; neither how to co-operate with the President nor how to break with him. To whom, then, did it look for the solution of all the contradictions? To the calendar, to the course of events. It ceased to presume to sway the events. It therefore challenged the events to assume sway over it, and thereby challenged the power to which in the struggle against the people it had surrendered one attribute after another until it itself stood impotent before this power. In order that the head of the executive power might be able the more undisturbedly to draw up his plan of campaign against it, strengthen his means of attack, select his tools and fortify his positions, it resolved precisely at this critical moment to retire from the stage and adjourn for three months, from August 10 to November 4.

The parliamentary party was not only dissolved into its two great factions, each of these factions was not only split within itself, but the Party of Order in parliament had fallen out with the Party of Order

*outside* parliament. The spokesmen and scribes of the bourgeoisie, its platform and its press, in short, the ideologists of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie itself, the representatives and the represented, were alienated from one another and no longer understood each other.

The Legitimists in the provinces, with their limited horizon and their unlimited enthusiasm, accused their parliamentary leaders, Berryer and Falloux, of deserting to the Bonapartist camp and of defection from Henry V. Their minds, pure as the fleur-de-lis,[a] believed in the fall of man, but not in diplomacy.

Far more fateful and decisive was the breach of the commercial bourgeoisie with its politicians. It reproached them, not as the Legitimists reproached theirs, with having abandoned their principles, but, on the contrary, with clinging to principles that had become useless.

I have already indicated above that since Fould's entry into the ministry the section of the commercial bourgeoisie which had held the lion's share of power under Louis Philippe, namely, the *finance aristocracy*, had become Bonapartist. Fould represented not only Bonaparte's interests in the *bourse*, he represented at the same time the interests of the *bourse* before Bonaparte. The position of the finance aristocracy is most strikingly depicted in a passage from its European organ, the London *Economist*. In its issue of February 1, 1851, its Paris correspondent writes:

> "Now we have it stated from numerous quarters that above all things France demands tranquillity. The President declares it in his message to the Legislative Assembly[b]; it is echoed from the tribune; it is asserted in the journals; it is announced from the pulpit; *it is demonstrated by the sensitiveness of the public funds at the least prospect of disturbance, and their firmness the instant it is made manifest that the executive is victorious.*"

In its issue of November 29, 1851, *The Economist* declares in its own name:

> "*The President is the guardian of order, and is now recognised as such on every Stock Exchange of Europe.*"

The finance aristocracy, therefore, condemned the parliamentary struggle of the Party of Order with the executive power as a *disturbance of order*, and celebrated every victory of the President over its ostensible representatives as a *victory of order*. By finance aristocracy must here be understood not merely the great loan

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[a] The emblem of the Bourbon dynasty.—*Ed.*

[b] The message of November 12, 1850 (see this volume, p. 152).—*Ed.*

promoters and speculators in public funds, in regard to whom it is immediately obvious that their interests coincide with the interests of the state power. All modern finance, the whole of the banking business, is interwoven in the closest fashion with public credit. A part of their business capital is necessarily invested and put out at interest in quickly convertible public funds. Their deposits, the capital placed at their disposal and distributed by them among merchants and industrialists, are partly derived from the dividends of holders of government securities. If in every epoch the stability of the state power was like Moses and the prophets to the entire money market and to the priests of this money market, why not all the more so today, when every deluge threatens to sweep away the old states, and the old state debts with them?

The *industrial bourgeoisie*, too, in its fanaticism for order, was angered by the squabbles of the parliamentary Party of Order with the executive power. After their vote of January 18 on the occasion of Changarnier's dismissal, Thiers, Anglas, Sainte-Beuve, etc., received from their constituents, precisely in the industrial districts, public reproofs in which their coalition with the Montagne was specifically scourged as high treason to order. If, as we have seen, the boastful taunts, the petty intrigues which marked the struggle of the Party of Order with the President merited no better reception, then, on the other hand, this bourgeois party, which required its representatives to allow the military power to pass from its own parliament to an adventurous pretender without offering resistance, was not even worth the intrigues that were squandered in its interests. It proved that the struggle to maintain its *public* interests, its own *class interests*, its *political power*, only troubled and upset it, as it was a disturbance of private business.

With barely an exception, the bourgeois dignitaries of the departmental towns, the municipal authorities, the judges of the Commercial Courts, etc., everywhere received Bonaparte on his tours in the most servile manner, even when, as in Dijon, he made an unrestrained attack on the National Assembly, and especially on the Party of Order.[a]

When trade was good, as it still was at the beginning of 1851, the commercial bourgeoisie raged against any parliamentary struggle, lest trade be put out of humour. When trade was bad, as it continually was from the end of February 1851, the commercial

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[a] L.-N. Bonaparte, "Réponse [au discours du maire de Dijon au banquet offert par la ville à M. le Président de la République, le 1 juin 1851]", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 154, June 3, 1851.—*Ed.*

bourgeoisie accused the parliamentary struggles of being the cause of stagnation and cried out for them to stop in order that trade might start again. The revision debates came precisely in this bad period. Since the question here was whether the existing form of state was to be or not to be, the bourgeoisie felt itself all the more justified in demanding from its representatives the ending of this torturous provisional arrangement and at the same time the maintenance of the *status quo.* There was no contradiction in this. By the end of the provisional arrangement it understood precisely its continuation, the postponement to a distant future of the moment when a decision had to be reached. The *status quo* could be maintained in only two ways: prolongation of Bonaparte's authority or his constitutional retirement and the election of Cavaignac. A section of the bourgeoisie desired the latter solution and knew no better advice to give its representatives than to keep silent and leave the burning question untouched. They were of the opinion that if their representatives did not speak, Bonaparte would not act. They wanted an ostrich parliament that would hide its head in order to remain unseen. Another section of the bourgeoisie desired, because Bonaparte was already in the presidential chair, to leave him sitting in it, so that everything might remain in the same old rut. They were indignant because their parliament did not openly infringe the Constitution and abdicate without ceremony.

The General Councils of the departments, those provincial representative bodies of the big bourgeoisie, which met from August 25 on during the recess of the National Assembly, declared almost unanimously for revision, and thus against parliament and in favour of Bonaparte.

Still more unequivocally than in falling out with its *parliamentary representatives* did the bourgeoisie display its wrath against its literary representatives, its own press. The sentences of ruinous fines and shameless terms of imprisonment, on the verdicts of bourgeois juries, for every attack by bourgeois journalists on Bonaparte's usurpationist desires, for every attempt by the press to defend the political rights of the bourgeoisie against the executive power, astonished not merely France, but all Europe.

While the *parliamentary Party of Order,* by its clamour for tranquillity, as I have shown, committed itself to quiescence, while it declared the political rule of the bourgeoisie to be incompatible with the safety and existence of the bourgeoisie, by destroying with its own hands in the struggle against the other classes of society all the conditions for its own regime, the parliamentary regime, the *extra-parliamentary mass of the bourgeoisie,* on the other hand, by its

servility towards the President, by its vilification of parliament, by its brutal maltreatment of its own press, invited Bonaparte to suppress and annihilate its speaking and writing section, its politicians and its *literati*, its platform and its press, in order that it might then be able to pursue its private affairs with full confidence in the protection of a strong and unrestricted government. It declared unequivocally that it longed to get rid of its own political rule in order to get rid of the troubles and dangers of ruling.

And this extra-parliamentary bourgeoisie,[a] which had already rebelled against the purely parliamentary and literary struggle for the rule of its own class and betrayed the leaders of this struggle, now dares after the event to indict the proletariat for not having risen in a bloody struggle, a life-and-death struggle on its behalf! This bourgeoisie, which every moment sacrificed its general class interests, that is, its political interests, to the narrowest and most sordid private interests, and demanded a similar sacrifice from its representatives, now moans that the proletariat has sacrificed its [the bourgeoisie's] ideal political interests to its [the proletariat's] material interests. It poses as a lovely being that has been misunderstood and deserted in the decisive hour by the proletariat misled by socialists. And it finds a general echo in the bourgeois world. Naturally, I do not speak here of hole-and-corner German politicians and opinionated boobies. I refer, for example, to the already quoted *Economist*, which as late as November 29, 1851, that is, four days prior to the coup d'état, had declared Bonaparte to be the "guardian of order", but the Thiers and Berryers to be "anarchists", and on December 27, 1851, after Bonaparte had quieted these anarchists, is already vociferous concerning the treason to "the skill, knowledge, discipline, mental influence, intellectual resources and moral weight of the middle and upper ranks" committed by the masses of "ignorant, untrained, and stupid *proletaires*". The stupid, ignorant and vulgar mass was none other than the bourgeois mass itself.

In the year 1851, France had admittedly passed through a kind of minor trade crisis. The end of February showed a decline in exports compared with 1850; in March trade suffered and factories closed down; in April the position of the industrial departments appeared as desperate as after the February days; in May business had still not revived; as late as June 28 the holdings of the Bank of France showed, by the enormous growth of deposits and the equally great

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[a] The 1852 edition has: "And this miserable, cowardly extra-parliamentary bourgeoisie,..." — *Ed.*

decrease in advances on bills of exchange, that production was at a standstill, and it was not until the middle of October that a progressive improvement of business again set in. The French bourgeoisie attributed this trade stagnation to purely political causes, to the struggle between parliament and the executive power, to the precariousness of a merely provisional form of state, to the terrifying prospect of the second Sunday in May 1852. I will not deny that all these circumstances had a depressing effect on some branches of industry in Paris and the departments. But in every case this influence of the political conditions was only local and inconsiderable. Does this require further proof than the fact that the improvement of trade set in towards the middle of October, at the very moment when the political situation grew worse, the political horizon darkened and a thunderbolt from Elysium[a] was expected at any moment? For the rest, the French bourgeois, whose "skill, knowledge, spiritual insight and intellectual resources" reach no further than his nose, could throughout the period of the Great Exhibition in London[115] have found the cause of his commercial misery right under his nose. While in France factories were closed down, in England commercial bankruptcies broke out. While in April and May the industrial panic reached a climax in France, in April and May the commercial panic reached a climax in England. The French woollen industry suffered alongside the English, and the French silk manufacture with the English too. True, the English cotton mills continued working, but no longer at the same profits as in 1849 and 1850. The only difference was that the crisis in France was industrial, in England commercial; that while in France the factories stood idle, in England they extended operations, but under less favourable conditions than in preceding years; that in France it was exports, in England imports which were hardest hit. The common cause, which is naturally not to be sought within the bounds of the French political horizon, was obvious. The years 1849 and 1850 were years of the greatest material prosperity and of an over-production that appeared as such only in 1851. At the beginning of this year it was given a further special impetus by the prospect of the Great Exhibition. In addition there were the following special circumstances: first, the partial failure of the cotton crop in 1850 and 1851, then the certainty of a bigger cotton crop than had been expected; first the rise, then the sudden fall, in short, the fluctuations in the price of cotton. The crop of raw silk, in France

[a] A pun: Elysium here means both the skies and the Presidential palace in the Champs Elysées.— *Ed.*

at least, had turned out to be even below the average yield. Woollen manufacture, finally, had expanded so much since 1848 that the production of wool could not keep pace with it and the price of raw wool rose out of all proportion to the price of woollen manufactures. Here, then, in the raw material of three industries producing for the world market, we have already threefold material for a stagnation in trade. Apart from these special circumstances, the apparent crisis of 1851 was nothing else but the halt which over-production and over-speculation invariably make in describing the industrial cycle, before they summon all their strength in order to rush feverishly through the final phase of this cycle and arrive once more at their starting-point, the *general trade crisis.* During such intervals in the history of trade commercial bankruptcies break out in England, while in France industry itself is reduced to idleness, being partly forced into retreat by the competition, just then becoming intolerable, of the English in all markets, and being partly singled out for attack as a luxury industry by every business stagnation. Thus, besides the general crises, France goes through national trade crises of her own, which are nevertheless determined and conditioned far more by the general state of the world market than by French local influences. It will not be without interest to contrast the judgment of the English bourgeois with the prejudice of the French bourgeois. In its annual trade report for 1851, one of the largest Liverpool houses writes:

"Few years have more thoroughly belied the anticipations formed at their commencement than the one just closed; instead of the great prosperity which was almost unanimously looked for it has proved one of the most discouraging that has been seen for the last quarter of a century—this, of course, refers to the mercantile, not to the manufacturing classes. And yet there certainly were grounds for anticipating the reverse at the beginning of the year—stocks of produce were moderate, money was abundant, and food was cheap, a plentiful harvest well secured, unbroken peace on the Continent, and no political or fiscal disturbances at home; indeed, the wings of commerce were never more unfettered.... To what source, then, is this disastrous result to be attributed? We believe to *over-trading* both in imports and exports. Unless our merchants will put more stringent limits to their freedom of action, nothing but a *triennial* panic can keep us in check."[a]

Now picture to yourself the French bourgeois, how in the throes of this business panic his trade-crazy brain is tortured, set in a whirl and stunned by rumours of coups d'état and the restoration of universal suffrage, by the struggle between parliament and the executive power, by the Fronde between Orleanists and Legitimists,

[a] "The Spirit of the Annual Trade Circulars. The Year That Is Past", *The Economist,* No. 437, January 10, 1852.—*Ed.*

by the communist conspiracies in the south of France, by alleged *Jacqueries* in the departments of Nièvre and Cher, by the advertisements of the different candidates for the presidency, by the cheapjack slogans of the journals, by the threats of the republicans to uphold the Constitution and universal suffrage by force of arms, by the gospels of the émigré heroes *in partibus*,[a] who announced that the world would come to an end on the second Sunday in May 1852—think of all this and you will understand why in this unspeakable, deafening chaos of fusion, revision, prorogation, constitution, conspiration, coalition, emigration, usurpation and revolution, the bourgeois madly snorts at his parliamentary republic: "*Rather an end with terror than terror without end!*"

Bonaparte understood this cry. His power of comprehension was sharpened by the growing turbulence of creditors who, with each sunset which brought settling day, the second Sunday in May 1852, nearer, saw a movement of the stars protesting their earthly bills of exchange. They had become veritable astrologers. The National Assembly had blighted Bonaparte's hopes of a constitutional prorogation of his authority; the candidature of the Prince of Joinville forbade further vacillation.

If ever an event has, well in advance of its coming, cast its shadow before it, it was Bonaparte's coup d'état. As early as January 29, 1849, barely a month after his election, he had made a proposal about it to Changarnier. In the summer of 1849 his own Prime Minister, Odilon Barrot, had covertly denounced the policy of coups d'état; in the winter of 1850 Thiers had openly done so. In May 1851 Persigny had sought once more to win Changarnier for the coup; the *Messager de l'Assemblée* had published an account of these negotiations. During every parliamentary storm, the Bonapartist journals threatened a coup d'état, and the nearer the crisis drew, the louder grew their tone. In the orgies that Bonaparte kept up every night with men and women of the swell mob,[b] as soon as the hour of midnight approached and rich libations had loosened tongues and fired imaginations, the coup d'état was fixed for the following morning. Swords were drawn, glasses clinked, representatives were thrown out of the window, and the imperial mantle fell upon Bonaparte's shoulders, until the following morning banished the spook once more and astonished Paris learned, from vestals of little reticence and from indiscreet paladins, of the danger it had once again escaped. During the months of September and October

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[a] Abroad.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English expression "swell mob".—*Ed.*

rumours of a coup d'état followed thick and fast. Simultaneously, the shadow took on colour, like a variegated daguerreotype. Look up the September and October copies of the organs of the European daily press and you will find, word for word, intimations like the following: "Paris is full of rumours of a coup d'état. The capital is to be filled with troops during the night, and the next morning is to bring decrees which will dissolve the National Assembly, declare the department of the Seine in a state of siege, restore universal suffrage and appeal to the people. Bonaparte is said to be seeking ministers for the execution of these illegal decrees." The reports that bring these tidings always end with the fateful word "*postponed*". The coup d'état was ever the fixed idea of Bonaparte. With this idea he had again set foot on French soil. He was so obsessed by it that he continually betrayed it and blurted it out. He was so weak that, just as continually, he gave it up again. The shadow of the coup d'état had become so familiar to the Parisians as a spectre that they were not willing to believe in it when it finally appeared in the flesh. What allowed the coup d'état to succeed was, therefore, neither the reticent reserve of the chief of the Society of December 10 nor the fact that the National Assembly was caught unawares. If it succeeded, it succeeded despite *his* indiscretion and with *its* foreknowledge, a necessary, inevitable result of antecedent development.

On October 10 Bonaparte announced to his ministers his decision to restore universal suffrage; on the 16th they handed in their resignations; on the 26th Paris learned of the formation of the Thorigny ministry. Police Prefect Carlier was simultaneously replaced by Maupas; the head of the First Army Division, Magnan, concentrated the most reliable regiments in the capital. On November 4 the National Assembly resumed its sittings. It had nothing better to do than to recapitulate in a short, succinct form the course it had gone through and to prove that it was buried only after it had died.

The first post that it forfeited in the struggle with the executive power was the ministry. It had solemnly to admit this loss by accepting at full value the Thorigny ministry, a mere sham. The Permanent Commission had received M. Giraud with laughter when he presented himself in the name of the new ministers. Such a weak ministry for such strong measures as the restoration of universal suffrage! Yet the precise object was to get nothing through *in* parliament, but everything *against* parliament.

On the very first day of its re-opening, the National Assembly received the message from Bonaparte in which he demanded the

restoration of universal suffrage and the abolition of the law of May 31, 1850. The same day his ministers introduced a decree to this effect. The National Assembly at once rejected the ministry's motion of urgency and rejected the law itself on November 13 by 355 votes to 348. Thus, it tore up its mandate once more; it once more confirmed the fact that it had transformed itself from the freely elected representatives of the people into the usurpatory parliament of a class; it acknowledged once more that it had itself cut in two the muscles which connected the parliamentary head with the body of the nation.

If by its motion to restore universal suffrage the executive power appealed from the National Assembly to the people, the legislative power appealed by its Questors' Bill from the people to the army. This Questors' Bill was to establish its right of directly requisitioning troops, of forming a parliamentary army. While it thus designated the army as the arbitrator between itself and the people, between itself and Bonaparte, while it recognised the army as the decisive state power, it had to confirm, on the other hand, the fact that it had long given up its claim to dominate this power. By debating its right to requisition troops, instead of requisitioning them at once, it betrayed its doubts about its own powers. By rejecting the Questors' Bill, it made public confession of its impotence. This bill was defeated, its proponents lacking 108 votes of a majority. The Montagne thus decided the issue. It found itself in the position of Buridan's ass, not, indeed, between two bundles of hay with the problem of deciding which was the more attractive, but between two showers of blows with the problem of deciding which was the harder. On the one hand, there was the fear of Changarnier; on the other, the fear of Bonaparte. It must be confessed that the position was no heroic one.

On November 18 an amendment was moved to the law on municipal elections introduced by the Party of Order, to the effect that instead of three years', one year's domicile should suffice for municipal electors. The amendment was lost by a single vote, but this one vote immediately proved to be a mistake. By splitting up into its hostile factions, the Party of Order had long ago forfeited its independent parliamentary majority. It showed now that there was no longer any majority at all in parliament. The National Assembly had become *incapable of transacting business.* Its atomised constituents were no longer held together by any force of cohesion; it had drawn its last breath; it was dead.

Finally, a few days before the catastrophe, the extra-parliamentary mass of the bourgeoisie was solemnly to confirm once more its

breach with the bourgeoisie in parliament. Thiers, as a parliamentary hero infected more than the rest with the incurable disease of parliamentary cretinism, had, after the death of parliament, hatched out, together with the Council of State, a new parliamentary intrigue, a Responsibility Law by which the President was to be firmly held within the limits of the Constitution. Just as, on laying the foundation stone of the new market halls in Paris on September 15, Bonaparte, like a second Masaniello, had enchanted the *dames des halles*, the fishwives—to be sure, one fishwife outweighed seventeen burgraves in real power; just as after the introduction of the Questors' Bill he enraptured the lieutenants he regaled in the Elysée, so now, on November 25, he swept off their feet the industrial bourgeoisie, which had gathered at the circus to receive at his hands prize medals for the London Industrial Exhibition. I shall give the significant portion of his speech as reported in the *Journal des Débats*[a]:

"With such unhoped-for successes, I am justified in reiterating how great the French Republic would be if it were permitted to pursue its real interests and reform its institutions, instead of being constantly disturbed by demagogues, on the one hand, and by monarchist hallucinations, on the other. (Loud, stormy and repeated applause from every part of the amphitheatre.) The monarchist hallucinations hinder all progress and all important branches of industry. In place of progress nothing but struggle. One sees men who were formerly the most zealous supporters of the royal authority and prerogative become partisans of a Convention merely in order to weaken the authority that has sprung from universal suffrage. (Loud and repeated applause.) We see men who have suffered most from the Revolution, and have deplored it most, provoke a new one, and merely in order to fetter the nation's will.... I promise you tranquillity for the future, etc., etc. (Bravo, bravo, a storm of bravos.)"

Thus the industrial bourgeoisie applauds with servile bravos the coup d'état of December 2, the annihilation of parliament, the downfall of its own rule, the dictatorship of Bonaparte. The thunder of applause on November 25 had its answer in the thunder of cannon on December 4,[116] and it was on the house of Monsieur Sallandrouze, who had clapped most, that they clapped most of the bombs.

Cromwell, when he dissolved the Long Parliament, went alone into its midst, drew out his watch in order that it should not continue to exist a minute after the time limit fixed by him, and drove out each one of the members of parliament with jovial humorous taunts. Napoleon, smaller than his prototype, at least betook himself on the eighteenth Brumaire to the legislative body and read out to it,

[a] For November 26, 1851.—*Ed.*

though in a faltering voice, its sentence of death. The second Bonaparte, who, moreover, found himself in possession of an executive power very different from that of Cromwell or Napoleon, sought his model not in the annals of world history, but in the annals of the Society of December 10, in the annals of the criminal courts. He robs the Bank of France of twenty-five million francs, buys General Magnan with a million, the soldiers with fifteen francs apiece and liquor, comes together with his accomplices secretly like a thief in the night, has the houses of the most dangerous parliamentary leaders broken into and Cavaignac, Lamoricière, Le Flô, Changarnier, Charras, Thiers, Baze, etc., dragged from their beds, the key points of Paris and the parliamentary building occupied by troops, and cheapjack placards posted early in the morning on all the walls, proclaiming the dissolution of the National Assembly and the Council of State, the restoration of universal suffrage and the placing of the Seine department in a state of siege. In like manner, he inserted a little later in the *Moniteur*[a] a false document which asserted that influential parliamentarians had grouped themselves round him and formed a state *consulta*.

The rump parliament, assembled in the *mairie* building of the tenth *arrondissement* and consisting mainly of Legitimists and Orleanists, votes the deposition of Bonaparte amid repeated cries of "Long live the Republic", unavailingly harangues the gaping crowds before the building and is finally led off in the custody of African sharpshooters, first to the d'Orsay barracks, and later packed into prison vans and transported to the prisons of Mazas, Ham and Vincennes. Thus ended the Party of Order, the Legislative Assembly and the February revolution.

Before hastening to close, let us briefly summarise the latter's history:

I. *First period.* From February 24 to May 4, 1848. February period. Prologue. Universal brotherhood swindle.

II. *Second period.* Period of constituting the republic and of the Constituent National Assembly.

1. May 4 to June 25, 1848. Struggle of all classes against the proletariat. Defeat of the proletariat in the June days.

2. June 25 to December 10, 1848. Dictatorship of the pure bourgeois republicans. Drafting of the Constitution. Proclamation of a state of siege in Paris. The bourgeois dictatorship set aside on December 10 by the election of Bonaparte as President.

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[a] For December 3, 1851.—*Ed.*

3. December 20, 1848 to May 28, 1849. Struggle of the Constituent Assembly with Bonaparte and with the Party of Order in alliance with him. End of the Constituent Assembly. Fall of the republican bourgeoisie.

III. *Third period.* Period of the *constitutional republic* and of the *Legislative National Assembly.*

1. May 28, 1849 to June 13, 1849. Struggle of the petty bourgeoisie with the bourgeoisie and with Bonaparte. Defeat of the petty-bourgeois democracy.

2. June 13, 1849 to May 31, 1850. Parliamentary dictatorship of the Party of Order. It completes its rule by abolishing universal suffrage, but loses the parliamentary ministry.

3. May 31, 1850 to December 2, 1851. Struggle between the parliamentary bourgeoisie and Bonaparte.

a) May 31, 1850 to January 12, 1851. Parliament loses the supreme command of the army.

b) January 12 to April 11, 1851. It is worsted in its attempts to regain the administrative power. The Party of Order loses its independent parliamentary majority. Its coalition with the republicans and the Montagne.

c) April 11, 1851 to October 9, 1851. Attempts at revision, fusion, prorogation. The Party of Order dissolves into its separate constituents. The breach of the bourgeois parliament and bourgeois press with the mass of the bourgeoisie hardens.

d) October 9 to December 2, 1851. Open breach between parliament and the executive power. Parliament performs its dying act and succumbs, left in the lurch by its own class, by the army and by all the remaining classes. End of the parliamentary regime and of bourgeois rule. Victory of Bonaparte. Empire restored as parody.

## VII

On the threshold of the February revolution, the *social republic* appeared as a phrase, as a prophecy. In the June days of 1848, it was drowned in the blood of the *Paris proletariat,* but it haunts the subsequent acts of the drama like a ghost. The *democratic republic* announces its arrival. On June 13, 1849 it is dissipated together with its *petty bourgeois,* who have taken to their heels, but in its flight it

blows its own trumpet with redoubled boastfulness. The *parliamentary republic,* together with the bourgeoisie, takes possession of the entire stage; it enjoys its existence to the full, but December 2, 1851 buries it to the accompaniment of the anguished cry of the coalitioned royalists: "Long live the Republic!"[a]

The French bourgeoisie balked at the power of the working proletariat; it has brought the lumpenproletariat to power, with the chief of the Society of December 10 at the head. The bourgeoisie kept France in breathless fear of the future terrors of red anarchy; Bonaparte discounted this future for it when, on December 4, he had the eminent bourgeois of the Boulevard Montmartre and the Boulevard des Italiens shot down at their windows by the liquor-inspired army of order. The bourgeoisie apotheosised the sword; the sword rules it. It destroyed the revolutionary press; its own press has been destroyed. It placed popular meetings under police supervision; its salons are under the supervision of the police. It disbanded the democratic National Guards; its own National Guard is disbanded. It imposed a state of siege; a state of siege is imposed upon it. It supplanted the juries by military commissions; its juries are supplanted by military commissions. It subjected public education to the sway of the priests; the priests subject it to their own education.[b] It transported people without trial; it is being transported without trial. It repressed every stirring in society by means of the state power; every stirring in its society is suppressed by the state power. Out of enthusiasm for its purse, it rebelled against its own politicians and men of letters; its politicians and men of letters are swept aside, but its purse is being plundered now that its mouth has been gagged and its pen broken. The bourgeoisie never wearied of crying out to the revolution what Saint Arsenius cried out to the Christians: "*Fuge, tace, quiesce!* Flee, be silent, keep still!" Bonaparte cries to the bourgeoisie: "*Fuge, tace, quiesce!* Flee, be silent, keep still!"

The French bourgeoisie had long ago found the solution to Napoleon's dilemma: "*Dans cinquante ans, l'Europe sera républicaine ou cosaque.*"[c] It had found the solution to it in the "*république cosaque*".

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[a] The 1852 edition has the following paragraph here: "The social and the democratic republic suffered defeats, but the parliamentary republic, the republic of the royalist bourgeoisie foundered, as did the pure republic, the republic of the bourgeois republicans."—*Ed.*

[b] According to the list of misprints in the 1852 edition, the second part of this sentence should read as follows: "the priests subjected themselves to their own education". However, this alteration was not reproduced in the 1869 edition.—*Ed.*

[c] "In fifty years Europe will be republican or Cossack." (The words are taken from the book by Las Cases, *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène.*)—*Ed.*

No Circe, by means of black magic, has distorted that work of art, the bourgeois republic, into a monstrous shape. That republic has lost nothing but the semblance of respectability.[a] Present-day France[b] was contained in a finished state within the parliamentary republic. It only required a bayonet thrust for the abcess to burst and the monster to spring forth before our eyes.[c]

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[a] In the 1852 edition this sentence reads as follows: "That republic has lost nothing but its rhetoric arabesques, its manners, in a word, the semblance of respectability."—*Ed.*

[b] France after the coup d'état of 1851.—*Ed.*

[c] In the 1852 edition two paragraphs follow here:

"The immediate aim of the February revolution was to overthrow the Orleans dynasty and that part of the bourgeoisie which ruled under it. It was not until December 2, 1851 that this aim was achieved. Then the immense possessions of the house of Orleans, the real basis of its influence, were confiscated, and what had been expected after the February revolution came to pass after December: the imprisonment, flight, deposition, banishment, disarming and humiliation of the men who from 1830 on had wearied France with their appeals. But only part of the commercial bourgeoisie ruled under Louis Philippe. Its other factions formed a dynastic and a republican opposition or stood entirely outside the so-called legal country [Marx has *legalen Landes*, which is a translation of the French expression *pays légal*]. Only the parliamentary republic included all factions of the commercial bourgeoisie in its political sphere. Moreover, under Louis Philippe the commercial bourgeoisie excluded the landowning bourgeoisie. Only the parliamentary republic placed them side by side as possessing equal rights, wedded the July monarchy to the Legitimist monarchy and amalgamated two epochs of the rule of property into one. Under Louis Philippe the privileged part of the bourgeoisie concealed its rule beneath the crown; in the parliamentary republic the rule of the bourgeoisie—after it had united all its elements and made its empire the empire of its class—revealed itself. So the revolution had first created the form in which the rule of the bourgeois class received its broadest, most general and ultimate expression and could therefore also be overthrown, without being able to rise again.

"Only now was the sentence executed which was passed in February upon the Orleanist bourgeoisie, i.e. the most viable faction of the French bourgeoisie. Now a crushing blow was struck at its parliament, its legal courts, its commercial courts, its provincial representations, its notary's office, its university, its tribune and its tribunals, its press and its literature, its administrative income and its court fees, its army salaries and its state pensions, in its spirit and in its body. *Blanqui* had made the disbanding of the bourgeois guards the first demand on the revolution, and the bourgeois guards, who in February extended their hand to the revolution in order to hinder its progress, disappeared from the scene in December. The Pantheon itself is again turned into an ordinary church. With the last form of the bourgeois regime, the spell too has been broken which transfigured its eighteenth-century founders into saints. Therefore when on December 2 Guizot learned about the success of the coup d'état, he exclaimed: *C'est le triomphe complet et définitif du socialisme! This is the complete and final triumph of socialism!* That means: this is the final and complete collapse of the rule of the bourgeoisie."—*Ed.*

Why did the Paris proletariat not rise in revolt after December 2?[a]

The overthrow of the bourgeoisie had as yet been only decreed: the decree had not been carried out. Any serious insurrection of the proletariat would at once have put fresh life into the bourgeoisie, would have reconciled it with the army and ensured a second June defeat for the workers.

On December 4 the proletariat was incited by bourgeois and *épicier*[b] to fight. On the evening of that day several legions of the National Guard promised to appear, armed and uniformed, on the scene of battle. For the bourgeois and the *épicier* had got wind of the fact that in one of his decrees of December 2 Bonaparte abolished the secret ballot and enjoined them to record their "yes" or "no" in the official registers after their names. The resistance[c] of December 4 intimidated Bonaparte. During the night he caused placards to be posted on all the street corners of Paris, announcing the restoration of the secret ballot. The bourgeois and the *épicier* believed that they had gained their end. Those who failed to appear next morning were the bourgeois and the *épicier.*

By a *coup de main* during the night of December 1 to 2, Bonaparte had robbed the Paris proletariat of its leaders, the barricade commanders. An army without officers, averse to fighting under the banner of the Montagnards because of the memories of June 1848 and 1849 and May 1850,[d] it left to its vanguard, the secret societies, the task of saving the insurrectionary honour of Paris, which the bourgeoisie had so unresistingly surrendered to the soldiery that, later on, Bonaparte could sneeringly give as his motive for disarming the National Guard—his fear that its arms would be turned against itself by the anarchists![e]

"*C'est le triomphe complet et définitif du socialisme!*" Thus Guizot characterised December 2. But if the overthrow of the parliamentary republic contains within itself the germ of the triumph of the proletarian revolution, its immediate and palpable result was *the victory of Bonaparte over parliament, of the executive power over the*

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[a] In the 1852 edition this paragraph reads as follows: "Why did the proletariat not rescue the bourgeoisie? Implied in this is the question: Why did the Paris proletariat not rise in revolt after December 2?"—*Ed.*

[b] Pejorative term for shopkeeper.—*Ed.*

[c] In the 1852 edition: "The bloody resistance".—*Ed.*

[d] In the 1852 edition the beginning of this sentence reads as follows: "An army without officers, too enlightened by its memories of June 1848 and 1849 and May 1850 to fight under the banner of the Montagnards, it was therefore correctly assessing its own strength and the general situation when...."—*Ed.*

In the 1852 edition: "his fear, not that it would turn its arms against him, but that the anarchists would turn them against itself".—*Ed.*

*legislative power, of force without words over the force of words.*[a] In parliament the nation made its general will the law, that is, it made the law of the ruling class its general will. Before the executive power it renounces all will of its own and submits to the superior command of an alien will, to authority. The executive power, in contrast to the legislative power, expresses the heteronomy of a nation, in contrast to its autonomy. France, therefore, seems to have escaped the despotism of a class only to fall back beneath the despotism of an individual, and, what is more, beneath the authority of an individual without authority. The struggle seems to be settled in such a way that all classes, equally impotent and equally mute, fall on their knees before the rifle butt.

But the revolution is thorough. It is still journeying through purgatory. It does its work methodically. By December 2, 1851 it had completed one half of its preparatory work; it is now completing the other half. First it perfected the parliamentary power, in order to be able to overthrow it. Now that it has attained this, it perfects the *executive power,* reduces it to its purest expression, isolates it, sets it up against itself as the sole target, in order to concentrate all its forces of destruction against it. And when it has done this second half of its preliminary work, Europe will leap from its seat and exultantly exclaim: Well burrowed, old mole![b]

This executive power with its enormous bureaucratic and military organisation, with its extensive and artificial state machinery, with a host of officials numbering half a million, besides an army of another half million, this appalling parasitic body, which enmeshes the body of French society like a net and chokes all its pores, sprang up in the days of the absolute monarchy, with the decay of the feudal system, which it helped to hasten. The seignorial privileges of the landowners and towns became transformed into so many attributes of the state power, the feudal dignitaries into paid officials and the motley pattern of conflicting medieval plenary powers into the regulated plan of a state authority whose work is divided and centralised as in a factory. The first French Revolution, with its task of breaking all separate local, territorial, urban and provincial powers in order to create the civil unity of the nation, was bound to develop what the absolute monarchy had begun: the centralisation, but at the same time the extent, the attributes and the agents of governmental power. Napoleon perfected this state machinery. The

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[a] The 1852 edition adds: "Thus the one power of the old state is at first only freed from its limitation, becoming an unlimited, absolute power."—*Ed.*

[d] A reference to Shakespeare, *Hamlet,* Act I, Scene 5.—*Ed.*

Legitimist monarchy and the July monarchy added nothing but a greater division of labour, growing in the same measure as the division of labour within bourgeois society created new groups of interests, and, therefore, new material for state administration. Every *common* interest was straightway severed from society, counterposed to it as a higher, *general* interest, snatched from the activity of society's members themselves and made an object of government activity, whether it was a bridge, a schoolhouse and the communal property of a village community, or the railways, the national wealth and the national university of France. Finally, in its struggle against the revolution, the parliamentary republic found itself compelled to strengthen, along with the repressive measures, the resources and centralisation of governmental power. All revolutions perfected this machine instead of breaking it. The parties that contended in turn for domination regarded the possession of this huge state edifice as the principal spoils of the victor.

But under the absolute monarchy, during the first revolution, under Napoleon, bureaucracy was only the means of preparing the class rule of the bourgeoisie. Under the Restoration, under Louis Philippe, under the parliamentary republic, it was the instrument of the ruling class, however much it strove for power of its own.

Only under the second Bonaparte does the state seem to have made itself completely independent.[a] As against civil society, the state machine has consolidated its position so thoroughly that the chief of the Society of December 10 suffices for its head, a casual adventurer from abroad, raised up as leader by a drunken soldiery, which he has bought with liquor and sausages, and which he must continually ply with more sausage. Hence the downcast despair, the feeling of most dreadful humiliation and degradation that oppresses the breast of France and makes her catch her breath. She feels dishonoured.[b]

And yet the state power is not suspended in mid air. Bonaparte

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[a] In the 1852 edition this sentence reads thus: "Only under the second Bonaparte does the state seem to have made itself independent of society and subjected it." The text went on as follows: "The independence of the executive power emerges into the open when its chief no longer requires genius, its army no longer requires glory, and its bureaucracy no longer requires moral authority in order to justify itself."—*Ed.*

[b] The 1852 edition further has: "Just as Napoleon hardly left her any excuse for freedom, so the second Bonaparte no longer left her any excuse for servitude."—*Ed.*

represents a class, and the most numerous class of French society at that, the *small-holding peasantry.*

Just as the Bourbons were the dynasty of big landed property and just as the Orleans were the dynasty of money, so the Bonapartes are the dynasty of the peasants, that is, the mass of the French people. Not the Bonaparte who submitted to the bourgeois parliament, but the Bonaparte who dispersed the bourgeois parliament is the chosen man of the peasantry. For three years the towns had succeeded in falsifying the meaning of the election of December 10 and in cheating the peasants out of the restoration of the empire. The election of December 10, 1848 has been consummated only by the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.

The small-holding peasants form a vast mass, the members of which live in similar conditions but without entering into manifold relations with one another. Their mode of production isolates them from one another instead of bringing them into mutual intercourse. The isolation is increased by France's bad means of communication and by the poverty of the peasants. Their field of production, the smallholding, admits of no division of labour in its cultivation, no application of science and, therefore, no diversity of development, no variety of talent, no wealth of social relationships. Each individual peasant family is almost self-sufficient; it itself directly produces the major part of its consumption and thus acquires its means of life more through exchange with nature than in intercourse with society. A smallholding, a peasant and his family; alongside them another smallholding, another peasant and another family. A few score of these make up a village, and a few score of villages make up a department. In this way, the great mass of the French nation is formed by simple addition of homologous magnitudes, much as potatoes in a sack form a sack of potatoes. Insofar as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence that separate their mode of life, their interests and their culture from those of the other classes, and put them in hostile opposition to the latter, they form a class. Insofar as there is merely a local interconnection among these small-holding peasants, and the identity of their interests begets no community, no national bond and no political organisation among them, they do not form a class. They are consequently incapable of enforcing their class interests in their own name, whether through a parliament or through a convention. They cannot represent themselves, they must be represented. Their representative must at the same time appear as their master, as an authority over them, as an unlimited governmental power that protects them against the other classes and sends them rain and

sunshine from above. The political influence of the small-holding peasants, therefore, finds its final expression in the executive power subordinating society to itself.[a]

Historical tradition gave rise to the belief of the French peasants in the miracle that a man named Napoleon would bring all the glory back to them. And an individual turned up who gives himself out as the man because he bears the name of Napoleon, as a result of the *Code Napoléon,* which lays down that *la recherche de la paternité est interdite.*[b] After a vagabondage of twenty years and after a series of grotesque adventures, the legend finds fulfilment and the man becomes Emperor of the French. The fixed idea of the Nephew was realised, because it coincided with the fixed idea of the most numerous class of the French people.

But, it may be objected, what about the peasant risings in half of France,[117] the raids on the peasants by the army, the mass incarceration and transportation of peasants?

Since Louis XIV, France has experienced no similar persecution of the peasants "for demagogic practices".[118]

But let there be no misunderstanding. The Bonaparte dynasty represents not the revolutionary, but the conservative peasant; not the peasant that strikes out beyond the condition of his social existence, the smallholding, but rather the peasant who wants to consolidate this holding; not the country folk who, linked up with the towns, want to overthrow the old order through their own energies, but on the contrary those who, in stupefied seclusion within this old order, want to see themselves and their smallholdings saved and favoured by the ghost of the empire. It represents not the enlightenment, but the superstition of the peasant; not his judgment, but his prejudice; not his future, but his past; not his modern Cévennes, but his modern Vendée.[119]

The three years' rigorous rule of the parliamentary republic had freed a part of the French peasants from the Napoleonic illusion and had revolutionised them, even if only superficially; but the bourgeoisie violently repressed them whenever they set themselves in motion. Under the parliamentary republic the modern and the traditional consciousness of the French peasant contended for mastery. This progress took the form of an incessant struggle between the schoolmasters and the priests. The bourgeoisie struck down the schoolmasters. For the first time the peasants made efforts

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[a] In the 1852 edition the end of the sentence reads as follows: "...the executive power subordinating parliament and the state subordinating society to itself".—*Ed.*

[b] Inquiry into paternity is forbidden.—*Ed.*

to behave independently in the face of the activity of the government. This was shown in the continual conflict between the *maires* and the prefects. The bourgeoisie deposed the *maires.* Finally, during the period of the parliamentary republic, the peasants of different localities rose against their own offspring, the army. The bourgeoisie punished them with states of siege and punitive expeditions. And this same bourgeoisie now cries out about the stupidity of the masses, the *vile multitude,*[a] that has betrayed it to Bonaparte. It has itself forcibly strengthened the imperial sentiments of the peasant class, it conserved the conditions that form the birthplace of this peasant religion. The bourgeoisie, to be sure, is bound to fear the stupidity of the masses as long as they remain conservative, and the insight of the masses as soon as they become revolutionary.

In the risings after the coup d'état, a part of the French peasants protested, arms in hand, against their own vote of December 10, 1848. The school they had gone through since 1848 had sharpened their wits. But they had made themselves over to the underworld of history; history held them to their word, and the majority was still so prejudiced that in precisely the reddest departments the peasant population voted openly for Bonaparte. In its view, the National Assembly had hindered his progress. He had now merely broken the fetters that the towns had imposed on the will of the countryside. In some parts the peasants even entertained the grotesque notion of a convention side by side with Napoleon.

After the first revolution had transformed the peasants from semi-villeins into freeholders, Napoleon confirmed and regulated the conditions on which they could exploit undisturbed the soil of France which had only just fallen to their lot and slake their youthful passion for property. But what is now causing the ruin of the French peasant is his smallholding itself, the division of the land, the form of property which Napoleon consolidated in France. It is precisely the material conditions which made the French feudal peasant a small-holding peasant and Napoleon an emperor. Two generations have sufficed to produce the inevitable result: progressive deterioration of agriculture, progressive indebtedness of the agriculturist. The "Napoleonic" form of property, which at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the condition for the liberation and enrichment of the French country folk, has developed in the course of this century into the law of their enslavement and pauperisation.

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[a] An expression used by Thiers in his speech in the Legislative Assembly on May 24, 1850.—*Ed.*

And precisely this law is the first of the "*idées napoléoniennes*" which the second Bonaparte has to uphold. If he still shares with the peasants the illusion that the cause of their ruin is to be sought, not in this small-holding property itself, but outside it, in the influence of secondary circumstances, his experiments will burst like soap bubbles when they come in contact with the relations of production.[a]

The economic development of small-holding property has radically changed the relation of the peasants to the other classes of society. Under Napoleon, the fragmentation of the land in the countryside supplemented free competition and the beginning of big industry in the towns.[b] The peasant class was the ubiquitous protest against the landed aristocracy which had just been overthrown.[c] The roots that small-holding property struck in French soil deprived feudalism of all nutriment. Its landmarks formed the natural fortifications of the bourgeoisie against any *coup de main* on the part of its old overlords. But in the course of the nineteenth century the feudal lords were replaced by urban usurers; the feudal obligation that went with the land was replaced by the mortgage; aristocratic landed property was replaced by bourgeois capital. The smallholding of the peasant is now only the pretext that allows the capitalist to draw profits, interest and rent from the soil, while leaving it to the tiller of the soil himself to see how he can extract his wages. The mortgage debt burdening the soil of France imposes on the French peasantry payment of an amount of interest equal to the annual interest on the entire British national debt. Small-holding property, in this enslavement by capital to which its development inevitably pushes forward, has transformed the mass of the French nation into troglodytes.[d] Sixteen million peasants (including women and children) dwell in hovels, a large number of which have but one opening, others only two and the most favoured only three. And windows are to a house what the five senses are to the head. The bourgeois order, which at the beginning of the century set the state to stand guard over the newly arisen smallholding and manured it with laurels, has become a vampire that sucks out its blood and brains and throws them into the

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[a] The 1852 edition adds: "depriving that illusion of its last hiding place and at best making the disease more acute".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1852 edition further has: "Even the advantages given to the peasant class were in the interest of the new bourgeois order. This newly created class was the all-round extension of the bourgeois regime beyond the gates of the towns, its realisation on a national scale."—*Ed.*

[c] The 1852 edition further has: "If it was favoured most of all, it was also suited most of all as a point of attack for the restoration of feudalism."—*Ed.*

[d] In the 1852 edition: "into a nation of troglodytes".—*Ed.*

alchemist's cauldron of capital. The *Code Napoléon* is now nothing but a *codex* of distraints, forced sales and compulsory auctions. To the four million (including children, etc.) officially recognised paupers, vagabonds, criminals and prostitutes in France must be added five million who hover on the margin of existence and either have their haunts in the countryside itself or, with their rags and their children, continually desert the countryside for the towns and the towns for the countryside. The interests of the peasants, therefore, are no longer, as under Napoleon, in accord with, but in opposition[a] to the interests of the bourgeoisie, to capital. Hence the peasants find their natural ally and leader in the *urban proletariat*, whose task is the overthrow of the bourgeois order. But *strong and unlimited government*—and this is the second "*idée napoléonienne*", which the second Napoleon has to carry out—is called upon to defend this "material" order by force. This "*ordre matériel*" also serves as the catchword in all of Bonaparte's proclamations against the rebellious peasants.

Besides the mortgage which capital imposes on it, the small-holding is burdened by *taxes*. Taxes are the source of life for the bureaucracy, the army, the priests and the court, in short, for the whole apparatus of the executive power. Strong government and heavy taxes are identical. By its very nature, small-holding property forms a suitable basis for an all-powerful and innumerable bureaucracy. It creates a uniform level of relationships and persons over the whole surface of the land. Hence it also permits of uniform action from a supreme centre on all points of this uniform mass. It annihilates the aristocratic intermediate grades between the mass of the people and the state power. On all sides, therefore, it calls forth the direct interference of this state power and the interposition of its immediate organs. Finally, it produces an unemployed surplus population for which there is no place either on the land or in the towns, and which accordingly reaches out for state offices as a sort of respectable alms, and provokes the creation of state posts.[b] By the new markets which he opened at the point of the bayonet, by the plundering of the Continent, Napoleon repaid the compulsory taxes

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[a] In the 1852 edition: "in the deadliest opposition".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1852 edition further has: "Under Napoleon this numerous government personnel was not only directly productive in that it provided for the new peasantry, by state coercion, in the form of public works, etc., what the bourgeoisie was still unable to provide with the resources of private industry. The state taxes were an essential means of coercion for maintaining exchange between town and country. Otherwise the smallholder would, in peasant self-complacency, have broken off the connection with the towns as was the case in Norway and in part of Switzerland."—*Ed.*

with interest. These taxes were a spur to the industry of the peasant, whereas now they rob his industry of its last resources and complete his inability to resist pauperism. And an enormous bureaucracy, well-braided and well-fed, is the "*idée napoléonienne*" which is most congenial of all to the second Bonaparte. How could it be otherwise, seeing that alongside the actual classes of society he is forced to create an artificial caste, for which the maintenance of his regime becomes a bread-and-butter question? Accordingly, one of his first financial operations was the raising of officials' salaries to their old level and the creation of new sinecures.

Another "*idée napoléonienne*" is the domination of the *priests* as an instrument of government. But while in its accord with society, in its dependence on natural forces and its submission to the authority which protected it from above, the smallholding that had newly come into being was naturally religious, the smallholding that is ruined by debts, at odds with society and authority, and driven beyond its own limitations naturally becomes irreligious. Heaven was quite a pleasing accession to the narrow strip of land just won, especially as it makes the weather; it becomes an insult as soon as it is thrust forward as substitute for the smallholding. The priest then appears as only the anointed bloodhound of the earthly police—another "*idée napoléonienne*".[a] On the next occasion, the expedition against Rome will take place in France itself, but in a sense opposite to that of M. de Montalembert.[120]

Lastly, the culminating point of the "*idées napoléoniennes*" is the preponderance of the *army*. The army was the *point d'honneur* of the small-holding peasants, it was they themselves transformed into heroes, defending their new possessions against the outer world, glorifying their recently won nationhood, plundering and revolutionising the world. The uniform[b] was their own state dress; war was their poetry; the smallholding, extended and rounded off in imagination, was their fatherland, and patriotism the ideal form of their sense of property. But the enemies against whom the French peasant has now to defend his property are not the Cossacks; they are the *huissiers*[c] and the tax collectors. The smallholding lies no longer in the so-called fatherland, but in the register of mortgages.

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[a] In the 1852 edition this sentence reads as follows: "The priest then appears as only the anointed bloodhound of the earthly police—another '*idée napoléonienne*'—whose duty under the second Bonaparte is not, as under Napoleon, to watch the enemies of the peasant regime in the towns, but Bonaparte's enemies in the country."—*Ed.*

[b] In the 1852 edition: "The dazzling uniform".—*Ed.*

[c] Bailiffs.—*Ed.*

The army itself is no longer the flower of the peasant youth; it is the swamp-flower of the peasant lumpenproletariat. It consists in large measure of *remplaçants*, of substitutes, just as the second Bonaparte is himself only a *remplaçant*, the substitute for Napoleon. It now performs its deeds of valour by hunting down the peasants like chamois, and in organised drives, by doing *gendarme* duty, and if the internal contradictions of his system chase the chief of the Society of December 10 over the French border, his army, after some acts of brigandage, will reap, not laurels, but thrashings.

One sees: *all "idées napoléoniennes" are ideas of the undeveloped small-holding in the freshness of its youth*; for the smallholding that has outlived its day they are an absurdity. They are only the hallucinations of its death struggle, words that are transformed into phrases, spirits transformed into ghosts.[a] But the parody of the empire was necessary to free the mass of the French nation from the weight of tradition and to work out in pure form the opposition between the state power and society. With the progressive undermining of small-holding property, the state structure erected upon it collapses. The centralisation of the state that modern society requires arises only on the ruins of the military-bureaucratic government machinery which was forged in opposition to feudalism.[b]

The condition of the French peasants provides us with the answer to the riddle of the *general elections of December 20 and 21*, which bore the second Bonaparte up Mount Sinai, not to receive laws, but to give them.[c]

Manifestly, the bourgeoisie had now no choice but to elect

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[a] The 1852 edition adds: "appropriate costumes transformed into absurd fancy dress".—*Ed.*

[b] Instead of the last two sentences, the 1852 edition has: "The demolition of the state machine will not endanger centralisation. Bureaucracy is only the low and brutal form of a centralisation that is still afflicted with its opposite, with feudalism. When he is disappointed in the Napoleonic Restoration, the French peasant will part with his belief in his smallholding, the entire state edifice erected on this smallholding will fall to the ground and *the proletarian revolution will obtain that chorus without which its solo becomes a swan song in all peasant countries.*"—*Ed.*

[c] In the 1852 edition: "but to give and execute them". Then follows this passage: "Of course in those fateful days the French nation committed a mortal sin against democracy, which daily prays on its knees: Holy Universal Suffrage, plead for us! The believers in Universal Suffrage are naturally unwilling to dispense with the miraculous power which has worked such great things with them, which has transformed Bonaparte II into a Napoleon, a Saul into a Paul and a Simon into a Peter. The popular spirit speaks to them through the ballot box as the God of the Prophet Ezekiel spoke to the dry bones: '*Haec dicit dominus deus ossibus suis: Ecce, ego intromittam in vos spiritum et vivetis.*' 'Thus saith the Lord God unto these bones: Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live'" [Ezekiel 37 : 5].—*Ed.*

Bonaparte.[a] When the puritans at the Council of Constance[121] complained of the dissolute lives of the popes and wailed about the necessity of moral reform, Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly thundered at them: "Only the devil in person can still save the Catholic Church, and you ask for angels." In like manner, after the coup d'état, the French bourgeoisie cried: Only the chief of the Society of December 10 can still save bourgeois society! Only theft can still save property; only perjury, religion; bastardy, the family; disorder, order!

As the executive authority which has made itself an independent power, Bonaparte feels it to be his mission to safeguard "bourgeois order". But the strength of this bourgeois order lies in the middle class. He looks on himself, therefore, as the representative of the middle class and issues decrees in this sense. Nevertheless, he is somebody solely due to the fact that he has broken the political power of this middle class and daily breaks it anew. Consequently, he looks on himself as the adversary of the political and literary power of the middle class. But by protecting its material power, he generates its political power[b] anew. The cause must accordingly be kept alive; but the effect, where it manifests itself, must be done away with. But this cannot pass off without slight confusions of cause and effect, since in their interaction both lose their distinguishing features. New decrees that obliterate the border line. As against the bourgeoisie, Bonaparte looks on himself, at the same time, as the representative of the peasants and of the people in general, who wants to make the lower classes of the people happy within the framework of bourgeois society. New decrees that cheat the "true Socialists"[122] of their statecraft in advance. But, above all, Bonaparte looks on himself as the chief of the Society of December 10, as the representative of the lumpenproletariat, to which he himself, his entourage, his government and his army belong, and whose prime consideration is to benefit itself and draw California lottery prizes from the state treasury. And he vindicates his position as chief of the Society of December 10 with decrees, without decrees and despite decrees.

This contradictory task of the man explains the contradictions of his government, the confused, blind to-ing and fro-ing which seeks now to win, now to humiliate first one class and then another and arrays all of them uniformly against him, whose practical uncertainty forms a highly comical contrast to the imperious, categorical style of

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[a] The 1852 edition further has: "Despotism or anarchy? Naturally it voted for despotism."—*Ed.*

[b] In the 1852 edition: "its public, its political power".—*Ed.*

the government decrees, a style which is faithfully copied from the uncle.[a]

Industry and trade, hence the business affairs of the middle class, are to prosper in hothouse fashion under the strong government. The grant of innumerable railway concessions. But the Bonapartist lumpenproletariat is to enrich itself. The initiated play *tripotage*[b] on the *bourse* with the railway concessions. But no capital is forthcoming for the railways. Obligation of the Bank to make advances on railway shares. But, at the same time, the Bank is to be exploited for personal ends and therefore must be cajoled. Release of the Bank from the obligation to publish its report weekly. Leonine agreement of the Bank with the government. The people are to be given employment. Initiation of public works. But the public works increase the obligations of the people in respect of taxes. Hence reduction of the taxes by an onslaught on the *rentiers*, by conversion of the five per cent bonds to four-and-a-half per cent. But, once more, the middle class must receive a *douceur*.[c] Therefore doubling of the wine tax for the people, who buy it *en détail*,[d] and halving of the wine tax for the middle class, who drink it *en gros*.[e] Dissolution of the actual workers' associations, but promises of miracles of association in the future. The peasants are to be helped. Mortgage banks that expedite their getting into debt and accelerate the concentration of property. But these banks are to be used to make money[f] out of the confiscated estates of the House of Orleans. No capitalist wants to agree to this condition, which is not in the decree, and the mortgage bank remains a mere decree, etc., etc.

Bonaparte would like to appear as the patriarchal benefactor of all classes. But he cannot give to one class without taking from another. Just as at the time of the Fronde it was said of the Duke of Guise that he was the most *obligeant* man in France because he had turned all his estates into his partisans' obligations to him, so Bonaparte would fain be the most *obligeant* man in France and turn all the property, all the labour of France into a personal obligation to himself. He would like to steal the whole of France in order to be able to make a present of her to France or, rather, in order to be able to buy France anew with

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[a] The 1852 edition further has: "So the haste and precipitateness of these contradictions is to ape the many-sided activities and promptness of the Emperor."— *Ed.*

[b] Hanky-panky.— *Ed.*

[c] Sop.— *Ed.*

[d] Retail.— *Ed.*

[e] Wholesale.— *Ed.*

[f] In the 1852 edition: "to make money for oneself".— *Ed.*

French money, for as the chief of the Society of December 10 he must needs buy what ought to belong to him. And all the state institutions, the Senate, the Council of State, the legislative body, the Legion of Honour, the soldiers' medals, the wash-houses, the public works, the railways, the *état-major*[a] of the National Guard excluding privates, and the confiscated estates of the House of Orleans—all become parts of the institution of purchase. Every place in the army and in the government machine becomes a means of purchase. But the most important feature of this process, whereby France is taken in order to be given back, is the percentages that find their way into the pockets of the head and the members of the Society of December 10 during the transaction. The witticism with which Countess L.,[b] the mistress of M. de Morny, characterised the confiscation of the Orleans estates: "*C'est le premier vol* de l'aigle*"[c] is applicable to every flight of this *eagle*, which is more like a *raven*.[123] He himself and his adherents call out to one another daily like that Italian Carthusian admonishing the miser who, with boastful display, counted up the goods on which he could yet live for years to come: "*Tu fai conto sopra i beni, bisogna prima far il conto sopra gli anni.*"** Lest they make a mistake in the years, they count the minutes. A gang of shady characters push their way forward to the court, into the ministries, to the head of the administration and the army, a crowd of the best of whom it must be said that no one knows whence he comes, a noisy, disreputable, rapacious bohème that crawls into braided coats with the same grotesque dignity as the high dignitaries of Soulouque. One can visualise clearly this upper stratum of the Society of December 10, if one reflects that *Véron-Crevel**** is its preacher of morals and *Granier de Cassagnac* its thinker. When Guizot, at the time of his ministry, utilised this Granier on a hole-and-corner newspaper against the dynastic opposition, he used to boast of him with the quip: "*C'est le roi des drôles,*" "he is the king of buffoons."[d] One would do wrong to recall the Regency[124] or Louis XV in connection with Louis Bonaparte's court and clique. For "often already, France has

* *Vol* means flight and theft.

** "Thou countest thy goods, thou shouldst first count thy years."

*** In his novel *Cousine Bette*, Balzac delineates the thoroughly dissolute Parisian philistine in Crevel, a character based on Dr. Véron, owner of the *Constitutionnel*.

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[a] General Staff.—*Ed.*

[b] Lehon.—*Ed.*

[c] "It is the first flight (theft) of the eagle."—*Ed.*

[d] Quoted in the article by Dupont "Chronique de l'Interieur", *Voix du Proscrit*, No. 8, December 15, 1850.—*Ed.*

experienced a government of mistresses; but never before a government of *hommes entretenus*." * [a]

Driven by the contradictory demands of his situation and being at the same time, like a conjurer, under the necessity of keeping the public gaze fixed on himself, as Napoleon's substitute, by springing constant surprises, that is to say, under the necessity of executing a coup d'état *en miniature* every day, Bonaparte throws the entire bourgeois economy into confusion, violates everything that seemed inviolable to the revolution of 1848, makes some tolerant of revolution, others desirous of revolution, and produces actual anarchy in the name of order, while at the same time stripping its halo from the entire state machine, profanes it and makes it at once loathsome and ridiculous. The cult of the Holy Coat of Trier[125] he duplicates in Paris with the cult of the Napoleonic imperial mantle. But when the imperial mantle finally falls on the shoulders of Louis Bonaparte, the bronze statue of Napoleon will crash from the top of the Vendôme Column.[126]

* The words quoted are those of Madame Girardin.

[a] *Hommes entretenus*: kept men. The 1852 edition further has: "And Cato, who took his life to be able to associate with heroes in the Elysian Fields! Poor Cato!" — *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## ENGLAND[127]

### I

The English Whigs are decidedly unlucky. Hardly has Palmerston fallen from office for having "left England without an ally, indeed without a friend on the Continent of Europe", hardly has the first commotion surrounding his fall[128] subsided, when the whole press is resounding with cries of war and in this connection is bringing to light a morass of maladministration in the departments of war and the navy sufficient to break the neck of more than one ministry.

Ever since 1846 various military figures had been drawing the country's attention to the possibility of an invasion of England if there was a war with France. At that time the danger of such a war was too remote however, and the Quixotic manner adopted by these first alarmists merely excited laughter. General Head in particular acquired a not exactly enviable celebrity from that time on by his continual appeals to the nation to strengthen the national defences. In this context it should not be forgotten moreover that the aged Wellington was likewise declaring the existing coastal fortifications to be extremely inadequate.

Louis Napoleon's coup d'état however suddenly imparted a completely new significance to this debate. John Bull at once realised that the French military dictatorship, that parody of the Consulate, would in all probability embroil France in war, and that in these circumstances an attempt might very well be made to avenge Waterloo.[129] The most recent exploits of the English military forces were not exactly brilliant; at the Cape the Kaffirs were consistently victorious, and even on the Slave Coast an attempted English landing had been decisively beaten off by naked Negroes, despite European tactics and cannon.[130] What would be

the fate of the English soldiers once they came up against the far more dangerous "Africans" from the proving-ground of Algeria?[131] And who could guarantee that such an unscrupulous adventurer as Louis Bonaparte would not one morning, without the tedious formality of a declaration of war, appear on the English coast with ten or twelve steamships packed full of troops and a dozen ships of the line to back them up, and attempt a march on London?

It was undeniably a serious matter; the Government at once gave orders for new batteries to be installed at the entrances to the major harbours on the south and south-east coasts. But the public also took the matter seriously, and in a way which threatened to become very disagreeable for the Government. In particular there were some enquiries into the availability of forces, and it was found that at that moment, even if Ireland were reduced to the bare minimum, not more than 25,000 men and 36 cannon with draught-animals could be turned out for the defence of Great Britain, and that, as to the fleet, at present *not one ship* of significance in the ports was ready to sail to prevent a landing. It was found, as the Kaffir war had already shown, that the equipment of the British soldier impedes his mobility and is thoroughly unpractical; it was found that his weapons are by no means on a par with those of other European armies, and that there is not a soldier in England with a gun remotely comparable to the Prussian needle-gun or the rifle used by the French sharpshooters and riflemen. In the Commissariat of the Navy cases of quite outrageous corruption and negligence were discovered, all of which was exaggerated to mammoth proportions by alarmists and place-hunters.

The affair would seem at first sight only to concern the English aristocrats, rentiers and bourgeois who would be the first to suffer from a French invasion and possible conquest. But it must not be forgotten that the independent development of England, the slow but sure fighting-out of the conflict between bourgeoisie and proletariat, a conflict which is furthest advanced here, is of the utmost importance for the development of Europe as a whole. Although this peculiarly methodical development in England may, as in 1848 and previously in the years following 1793, sometimes be a temporary obstacle in the path of the momentarily victorious revolutionaries of the Continent, fundamentally it is nevertheless of a far more revolutionary nature than all these transient continental struggles put together. Whilst the great French Revolution foundered on the conquest of Europe, England

revolutionised society with the steam engine, conquered the world market, increasingly wrested power from all those classes left behind by history and prepared the ground for the great, decisive struggle between the industrial capitalist and the industrial worker. It was of the greatest significance for the development of the whole of Europe that Napoleon never managed to fling 150,000 men across from Boulogne to Folkestone and to conquer England with the veterans of the Republican armies. During the Restoration, when the Continent was left to the tender mercies of those myrmidons of legitimacy[132] so aptly portrayed by Béranger, in England the party of the die-hards, the Tories, was suffering its first major rupture caused by Canning's Ministry, which already had very bourgeois features, and Canning and later Peel were beginning that gradual undermining of the English Constitution which has since continued without pause and which must very shortly reach the point where the whole rotten edifice comes crashing to the ground. This undermining of the old institutions of England and the basis of this undermining process, the incessant revolutionising of English society by large-scale industry are quietly going on, heedless of whether revolution or counter-revolution is for the moment carrying the day on the Continent; and if this movement is slow, it is however sure and never takes a backward step. The defeat of the Chartists on April 10, 1848,[133] was exclusively a defeat and decisive rejection of foreign political influence; it is not continental political upheavals but world-wide trade crises, direct material blows calling into question the livelihood of each individual, which are the mainsprings of development in England. And now, when there are unmistakable signs that the final removal from political power of all the traditional classes by the industrial bourgeoisie and thus the dawn of the decisive day of battle between it and the industrial proletariat are imminent, a disturbance of this development now, even a temporary conquest of England by the rapacious praetorians of December 2, would have the gravest consequences for the European movement as a whole. Only in England has industry attained such dimensions that it is the focal point of the whole national interest, of all the conditions of existence for every class. But industry consists on the one hand of the industrial bourgeoisie and on the other of the industrial proletariat, and all the other elements comprising the nation are increasingly grouped around these opposed classes. Here therefore, where the only point that matters is who shall rule, the industrial *capitalists* or the industrial *workers*, here, if anywhere, is the ground where the class

struggle in its modern form can be decided and where the industrial proletariat on the one hand has the strength to win political power and on the other finds the material means, the productive forces which enable it to make a total social revolution and ultimately to eliminate class contradictions. And it is certainly the supreme interest of the whole proletarian party in Europe to ensure that this development in England, which is leading to the greatest intensification of the contradiction between the two industrial classes and ultimately to the defeat of the ruling class by the oppressed, is not as a result of foreign conquest deflected, its momentum diminished and the decisive struggle postponed for an indefinite period.

What, then, are the prospects?

First and foremost, a country such as Great Britain, which without Ireland numbers 22 million and with Ireland 29 million inhabitants, cannot be simply taken by surprise attack. The alarmists cite the example of Carthage, which, dispersing its fleets and armies to its remotest possessions, twice succumbed to a surprise attack by the Romans.[134] But, apart from the totally altered conditions of warfare, the Roman landing in Africa in the Second Punic War only became possible after the flower of the Carthaginian armies had been destroyed in Spain and Italy and the Punic fleets driven from the Mediterranean; the surprise attack was no such thing but a very substantial military operation and the quite natural culmination of a long war which in its final stages ran consistently in Rome's favour. And the Third Punic War was scarcely a war at all but simply the crushing of the weaker party by a party ten times stronger; it was somewhat like Napoleon's confiscation of the Venetian Republic.[135] At present, however, France does not stand where she did in 1797, nor does England resemble Venice at the end of its days.

Napoleon considered at least 150,000 men necessary to conquer England. At that time England admittedly had many more soldiers at her disposal but also a much smaller population and industrial resources. And nowadays, however insignificant the available power of the English at this moment may be, at least as many would be required to conquer England. A glance at the map shows that any invasion army which landed in England would have to advance at least as far as the Tees, the Tyne or even the Tweed; if it halted at any point short of that, all the resources of the industrial districts would remain in the hands of the defenders, and in the face of the ever growing power of the latter it would have to man lines extremely deficient in marked military features

and far too extended for its forces. The area south of the above-mentioned rivers, i.e. England proper, numbers 16 million inhabitants and would demand the detaching of such forces to secure communications, lay siege to or occupy the coastal fortifications and suppress the inevitable national uprising, that only very few would remain available for effective operations on the Scottish border. And however well they were commanded, it is unlikely that fewer than 150,000 men could conquer England and prevail in the face of rebellion within the country and regular warfare from the direction of Scotland and Ireland.

Now, by fresh levies and skilled concentration 150,000 men can of course be assembled at some point on the north coast of France, but this would take at least a month or two. And in this time England could concentrate quite a respectable naval force in the Channel, partly by calling on the Tagus fleet[136] and steamships from other nearby stations, and partly by mobilising the ships laid up in the ports, whilst within a further month all the steamships and some of the sailing ships from the Atlantic stations and from Malta and Gibraltar could be to hand. The landing army would therefore have to be ferried across, if not all at once, then at least in a few large detachments, since sooner or later communications with France would in any case be interrupted. At least 50,000 men would have to be landed at a time and the whole army therefore in three crossings. And furthermore, men-of-war could not be used at all or only to a limited extent for the transporting of troops in this operation, since they would have to ward off the English fleet. And France could not assemble transport for 50,000 men along with the necessary artillery and munitions in her Channel ports within six weeks, even if she were to requisition neutral shipping. However each day by which the expedition is postponed represents a further advantage for England, for time is all she needs in order to concentrate her fleet and train her recruits.

If however consideration of the English fleet precludes ferrying the landing army of 150,000 men across in more than three detachments, consideration of England's land-power must also forbid any soldier worth his salt to risk the crossing to England with fewer than 50,000 men at a time. We have seen that in the circumstances most favourable to an invasion, the English would still have a period of one or two months to prepare for such a contingency; only someone who did not know them could assume them to be incapable of organising a land-army in this time which would have no difficulty in driving an advance guard of 50,000

men into the sea before support arrived. It should be remembered that embarkation can only take place between Cherbourg and Boulogne and the landing only between the Isle of Wight and Dover, i.e. within a stretch of coast that is at no point more than four days' good marching distance from London. It should be remembered that embarkation and landing depend on wind and tide, that the English fleet in the Channel would offer resistance, and that between the first and second landings perhaps eight to ten days and at the very least four would therefore elapse, since the main body of the troops would have to be transported in sailing ships and picked up along the entire length of the coast from Cherbourg to Boulogne; a "camp at Boulogne"[137] cannot be set up on the spur of the moment. In these circumstances it is unlikely that anything will be attempted until at least 70,000-80,000 men can be flung across at one time, and for this purpose transport would first have to be found, which in turn requires time. However, since with each week by which the expedition is delayed, England's defensive strength will grow more rapidly than the enemy's transport and naval power, the attackers' position will become increasingly unfavourable; they will soon reach the point where they cannot risk anything unless they are able to ferry 150,000 men across at one time, and even they would encounter such resistance that they would be certain of eventual annihilation unless a reserve of some 100,000 men were subsequently despatched.

In a word, the conquest of England cannot be accomplished by means of a surprise attack. If the whole Continent were to unite to that end, it would need a year merely to find and assemble transport alone—more than England needs to put her coasts into a state of defence, concentrate a navy which would be a match for all the continental fleets combined and could prevent them joining forces, and assemble an army which would make it impossible for any enemy to remain on English soil.

National feeling amongst the English is at this particular moment more intense than at any time since 1815, and the grave danger of an invasion would lend it an altogether new impetus. Furthermore, the population of Great Britain is by no means as unmilitary as it is made out to be; the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat of the big cities are admittedly much less familiar with fire-arms and therefore less fitted for the conduct of civil war than the corresponding classes on the Continent. But the population as a whole has a great deal of warlike spirit and contains very useful military elements. Nowhere

are there more hunters and poachers, i.e. semi-trained light infantry and sharpshooters; and the 40,000-50,000 mechanics and engineers are better prepared for the arms workshops, the artillery and service in the engineering corps than any comparable number of chosen men in whatever continental country one cares to name. The ground itself, almost entirely devoid of major military features virtually up to the Scottish border, is hilly broken country, tailor-made for small-scale warfare. And if hitherto guerrilla warfare has only been successful in comparatively sparsely populated countries, in the case of a serious attack England in particular might well be able to demonstrate that in very densely populated countries, e.g. in the almost continuous labyrinth of buildings in Lancashire and West Yorkshire, guerrilla warfare can be rather effective.

With regard to raids aimed at plundering the wealthy ports, destroying depots and so on, England is at present admittedly in an exposed position. The fortifications are scarcely worth mentioning. Provided there are no ships lying at Spithead it is possible to sail calmly right up to the entrance of Southampton Water and land sufficient troops to exact a levy of whatever size desired from Southampton. Woolwich could perhaps be occupied and destroyed at present although this would be a somewhat greater undertaking. Liverpool's only defence is a pitiful battery of 18 iron ship's cannon lacking any form of aiming device and manned by eight to ten artillerymen and half a company of infantry. But with the exception of Brighton, all the important English coastal towns are situated within deep bays or far up rivers and have natural defences in the form of sand-banks and rocks with which only the native pilots are familiar. Any attacker attempting to find his way without a pilot through these narrow channels, which are mostly only navigable by large ships at high tide, runs the risk of losing more than he could hope to make away with, and if such an expedition met with any resistance or the slightest unexpected obstacle it would have as disastrous an outcome as the Danish expedition against Eckernförde in 1849.[138] On the other hand a rapid landing of 10,000-20,000 men from steamships in some rural area and a short plundering raid against small country towns, the positive results of which would necessarily be meagre, would admittedly be very easy to accomplish and could not be prevented at all at present.

All these fears would however melt away of their own accord as soon as the Tagus fleet, the North American squadron and some of the steamboats pursuing the slave-ships between Brazil and

Africa were recalled to England and at the same time the ships laid up in the naval ports were mobilised. That would suffice to prevent any surprise attack and delay any serious attempt at invasion long enough to allow England to take the necessary further action.

Meanwhile the alarm will have the positive effect of terminating the absurd policy of maintaining 800 floating cannon in the Mediterranean, 1,000 in the Atlantic and 300 each in the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, whilst there is not a single ship to protect the coasts at home; and of engaging in interminable and inglorious wars with Negroes and Kaffirs, while troops are urgently needed in the home country. The cumbersome, heavy and in every respect antiquated equipment of the army, the boundless carelessness and nonchalance of the military and naval administration, and the gross nepotism, the bribery and the fraud in these departments will by and large be eliminated. The industrial bourgeoisie will finally rid itself of the Peace Congress and Peace Society humbug, which exposed it to so much well-deserved mockery and did such harm to its political progress and thus to the whole development of England. And if war were to break out, it may very easily happen, owing to the well-known irony of world history which is enjoying an unprecedented vogue at present, that Messrs. Cobden and Bright, in their dual capacity as members of the Peace Society[139] and as men who may become ministers in the near future, would have to wage a stubborn war, perhaps against the whole continent.

Manchester, January 23, 1852

## II

Parliament is due to meet next Tuesday, on February 3. Of the three principal issues which will take up the early debates, we have briefly discussed two already: Palmerston's dismissal[140] and the state of the defences in the event of a war with France. There remains the third, which for the development of England is by far the most important: *electoral reform.*

The new Reform Bill which Russell is due to present at the very outset will provide sufficient opportunity to examine the general significance of electoral reform in England more closely. For today, since we are only concerned with communicating and elucidating a number of rumours about this bill, the observation

will suffice that in this whole matter the immediate issue is solely how much of their political power will be retained by the reactionary or conservative classes, i.e. the landed aristocracy, the rentiers, the stock-exchange speculators, the colonial landowners, the shipping magnates and a section of the merchants and bankers, and how much they will surrender to the industrial bourgeoisie, which heads all the progressive and revolutionary classes. For the present we are not concerned here with the proletariat at all.

*The Daily News*, the voice of the industrial bourgeoisie in London and a good source in such matters, gives some information about the Whig Ministry's new Reform Bill. According to this information, the intended reforms would touch upon three aspects of the British electoral system.

Hitherto every Member of Parliament had to show that he owned landed property worth at least £300 before he could be admitted. However this condition, in many cases embarrassing, was almost always evaded by bogus purchases and bogus contracts. It had long ago become ineffective as far as the industrial bourgeoisie was concerned; it is now to be dropped completely. Its abolition is one of the "six points" of the proletarian People's Charter,[141] and it is interesting to observe how one of these six points (they are all six very middle-class and have already been implemented in the United States) is already being officially acknowledged.

Hitherto the electoral system was organised in the following way: according to ancient English custom some Members were sent by the counties[a] and some by the towns. Any person wanting to vote in a county had either to own land with an annual value of £2 entirely in his own right (freehold property)[b] or hold rented land with an annual value of £50. In the towns on the other hand any man could vote who occupied a house whose rent was £10 and who paid the poor-rate corresponding to that amount. Whilst in those towns which sent Members, the mass of small tradesmen and craftsmen, i.e. all the petty bourgeoisie, were admitted to the suffrage by this arrangement, in the county elections the aristocracy's tenants-at-will,[c] i.e. tenants who could be given notice to quit from one year to the next and who were therefore

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[a] Engels uses the English term.—*Ed.*

[b] In the original version the German expression is followed by the English term "freehold property" in brackets.—*Ed.*

[c] Engels uses the English term.—*Ed.*

completely dependent on their landlords, represented the overwhelming majority. Last year Mr. Locke King proposed extending the norm of £10 rents, which applied in the towns, to the counties as well, and obtained a large majority for this proposal against the ministers in a sparsely attended House. It is said that Russell now intends to reduce the amount for the counties to £10 and for the towns to £5. The effect of such a measure would be very significant. In the towns it would immediately give the franchise to the better paid among the proletariat, which would make the election of Chartist representatives in some large towns very probable, whilst in the medium-sized and smaller towns the industrial bourgeoisie would receive an enormous increase in votes and in parliamentary seats. And in the counties all citizens of small and moderate means in small towns without their own parliamentary representatives would at once be admitted to the suffrage; they would constitute the overwhelming majority in most cases and by their numbers and relative independence of the few great noble families who control the counties at present they would put an end to the electoral terrorism hitherto practised by these magnates. Furthermore this rural petty bourgeoisie is even now increasingly succumbing to the influence of the industrial bourgeoisie and would thus open up a significant number of the counties to them.

The electoral constituencies have hitherto varied enormously in size and importance; the number of representatives bore no relationship whatsoever to the size of the population or number of electors. One or two hundred electors in one place sent as many representatives as six to eleven thousand electors in another place. This inequality was particularly marked in the towns; and particularly the small towns with few electors were the scene of the most scandalous bribery (e.g. St. Albans) or absolute electoral dictatorship by this or that great landowner. According to the report in *The Daily News* eight of the smallest towns with the right to elect a Member of Parliament are now to be deprived of their representatives and the remaining small towns which elect Members of Parliament are to be lumped together with other neighbouring country towns, up to now represented only in the counties, in such a way that the size of the electorate is significantly increased. This would resemble the system of urban grouping which has existed in Scotland ever since the Union with England (1707).[142] That the industrial bourgeoisie may likewise expect an increase of political power from such a measure, timid though it is, is proved by the outstanding importance which they

have for a long time attached to the equalisation of the electoral constituencies, over and above any other issue of parliamentary reform. In addition it is reported that London and Lancashire, in other words two of the principal centres of the industrial bourgeoisie, are to receive increased representation in Parliament.

If Russell really intends to present this Bill, then according to past experience, this is indeed a great deal for the little man. It appears that Peel's laurels will not let him rest and that he too has resolved to be "bold" for once. This boldness is admittedly accompanied by all the timorousness and cautious circumspection of the English Whig, and in the present state of public opinion in England will appear bold to no one but himself and his Whig colleagues. But after the hesitation, vacillation and second thoughts, after the repeated and always unsuccessful putting-out of feelers with which this diminutive peer has occupied his time since the end of the previous session, one might nevertheless have expected less than the above proposals—always providing of course that he does not change his mind before Tuesday.[143]

The industrial bourgeoisie, it does not need to be spelled out, are demanding a great deal more than that. They are demanding household suffrage,[a] i.e. the vote for every man occupying a house or part of a house on which he is required to pay rates, voting by ballot and a total revision of constituency boundaries to ensure equal representation for equal numbers of electors and equal wealth. They will haggle hard and long with the ministry and extract every possible concession from it before agreeing a price for their support. The English industrialist is a good businessman and will certainly dispose of his vote for the highest price obtainable.

Incidentally it is already now becoming evident that even the above ministerial minimum of electoral reform cannot but have the effect of strengthening the power of that class which already controls England in practice and is making giant strides towards the political recognition of its hegemony: the industrial bourgeoisie. The proletariat, whose independent struggle for its own interests against the industrial bourgeoisie will not begin until such time as the political supremacy of that class is established, the proletariat will in any circumstances also derive some advantage from this electoral reform. How great this advantage will be however depends simply on whether the debate and eventual

[a] Engels uses the English term.—*Ed.*

establishment of electoral reform occurs *before* the trade crisis breaks or rather coincides with it; for the proletariat, for the time being, only plays an active part, at the front of the stage, at great moments of decision, like Fate in classical tragedy.

Manchester, January 30, 1852

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE TIMES*[144]

Sir,

The destruction of the last remnants of an independent press on the Continent has made it the honourable duty of the English press to record every act of illegality and oppression in that quarter of Europe. Allow me, therefore, through your columns, to lay before the public a fact, which shows that the judges in Prussia are quite on a level with the political menials of Louis Napoleon.

You know what a valuable *moyen de gouvernement*[a] a well got-up conspiracy may turn out, if brought forward at the proper moment. The Prussian government, in order to render their parliament pliable, wanted such a plot in the beginning of last year. Accordingly, numbers of persons were arrested, and the police was set to work all over Germany. But nothing was made out, and after all, but a few individuals were ultimately retained in prison at Cologne, under the pretext of being the chiefs of a widespread revolutionary organisation. The principal of them are Dr. Becker and Dr. Bürgers, two gentlemen connected with the press, Dr. Daniels, Dr. Jacobi and Dr. Klein, medical practitioners two of whom had honourably filled the arduous duties of a physician to the administration of the poor, and M. Otto, director of extensive chemical works, and well known in his country by his attainments in chemical science. There being, however, no evidence against them, their release was expected every day. But while they were in prison, the "Disciplinary Law" was promulgated, enabling the government, by a very short and easy proceeding, to rid themselves of any obnoxious judicial functionary. The effect of this enactment upon the hitherto slow and languishing proceedings against the above-named gentlemen was

[a] Means of government.—*Ed.*

almost instantaneous. Not only were they placed *au secret*, denied every communication with each other or their friends, even by letter, and deprived of books and writing materials (allowed, in Prussia, to the meanest felon before conviction); but the judicial proceedings took a quite different turn. The *Chambre du Conseil* (you know we are judged, in Cologne, by the *Code Napoléon*) was at once found ready to make out a case against them, and the matter went before the Senate of Accusation, a body of judges fulfilling the functions of an English Grand Jury.[145] It is to the unparalleled judgment of this body that I beg particularly to draw your attention. In this judgment there occurs, literally translated, the following extraordinary passage:

"Considering, that no reliable evidence has been brought forward, that, therefore, no case having been made out, *there exists no reason for maintaining the indictment*"—(the prisoners are ordered to be set at liberty, you suppose, is the necessary conclusion? Not it indeed)—"the whole of the minutes and documents is to be returned to the *juge d'instruction*[a] for a fresh investigation."

This means, then, that after a detention of ten months, during which time neither the activity of the police nor the acumen of the counsel for the Crown have been able to make out the shadow of a case—the whole proceeding is to begin again from the beginning, in order, perhaps, after another year's investigation, to be handed over a third time to the *juge d'instruction*!

The explanation of such a glaring breach of the law is this: the government are just now preparing the organisation of a High Court of Justice to be made up of the most subservient materials. As a defeat before a jury would be certain, the government must delay the final trial of this affair until it may go before this new Court, which of course, will give every guarantee to the Crown and none to the prisoners.

Would it not be far more honourable for the Prussian government to pass sentence at once, by Royal Decree, upon the prisoners, in the way M. Louis Bonaparte has done?

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant.

London, 29 January 1852

*A Prussian*[b]

First published in German in the book: *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx*, Erster Band, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to Engels' rough copy in English

[a] Examining magistrate.—*Ed.*
[b] The signature is in Marx's hand.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## REAL CAUSES WHY THE FRENCH PROLETARIANS REMAINED COMPARATIVELY INACTIVE IN DECEMBER LAST[146]

### I

[*Notes to the People*, No. 43, February 21, 1852]

Ever since the 2nd of December last, the whole interest that foreign, or at least continental politics may excite, is taken up by that lucky and reckless gambler, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. "What is he doing? Will he go to war, and with whom? Will he invade England?" These questions are sure to be put wherever continental affairs are spoken of.

And certainly there is something startling in the fact of a comparatively unknown adventurer, placed by chance at the head of the executive power of a great republic, seizing, between sunset and sunrise, upon all the important posts of the capital, driving the parliament like chaff to the winds, suppressing metropolitan insurrection in two days, provincial tumults in two weeks, forcing himself, in a sham election, down the throat of the whole people, and establishing, in the same breath, a constitution which confers upon him all the powers of the state.[147] Such a thing has not occurred, such a shame has not been borne by any nation since the praetorian legions of declining Rome put up the empire to auction and sold it to the highest bidder. And the middle-class press of this country, from *The Times* down to *The Weekly Dispatch*, has never, since the days of December, allowed any occasion to pass without venting its virtuous indignation upon the military despot, the treacherous destroyer of his country's liberties, the extinguisher of the press, and so forth.

Now, with every due contempt for Louis Napoleon, we do not think it would become an organ of the working-class[a] to join in this chorus of high-sounding vituperation in which the respective

[a] *Notes to the People.—Ed.*

papers of the stockjobbers, the cotton-lords, and the landed aristocracy strive to out-blackguard each other. These gentlemen might as well be remembered of the real state of the question. *They* have every reason to cry out, for whatever Louis Napoleon took from others, he took it not from the working-classes, but from those very classes whose interests in England the aforesaid portion of the press represents. Not that Louis Napoleon would not, quite as gladly, have robbed the working-classes of anything that might appear desirable to him, but it is a fact that in December last the French working-classes could not be robbed of anything, because everything worth taking had already been taken from them during the three years and a half of middle-class parliamentary government that had followed the great defeats of June 1848. In fact, what, on the eve of the 2nd of December, remained to be taken from them? The suffrage? They had been stripped of that by the Electoral Law of May 1850. The right of meeting? That had long been confined to the "safe" and "well-disposed" classes of society. The freedom of the press? Why, the real proletarian press had been drowned in the blood of the insurgents of the great battle of June, and that shadow of it which survived for a time, had long since disappeared under the pressure of gagging laws, revised and improved upon every succeeding session of the National Assembly.[148] Their arms? Every pretext had been taken profit of, in order to ensure the exclusion from the National Guard of all working-men, and to confine the possession of arms to the wealthier classes of society.

Thus the working-classes had, at the moment of the late *coup d'état*, very little, if anything, to lose in the chapter of political privileges. But, on the other hand, the middle and capitalist classes were at that time in possession of political omnipotence. Theirs was the press, the right of meeting, the right to bear arms, the suffrage, the parliament. Legitimists and Orleanists, landholders and fundholders, after thirty years' struggle, had at last found a neutral ground in the republican form of government. And for them it was indeed a hard case to be robbed of all this, in the short space of a few hours, and to be reduced at once to the state of political nullity to which they themselves had reduced the working people. That is the reason why the English "respectable" press is so furious at Louis Napoleon's lawless indignities. As long as these indignities, either of the executive government or the parliament, were directed against the working-classes, why that, of course, was right enough, but as soon as a similar policy was extended to "the better sort of people," the "wealthy intellects of the nation," ah, that was quite different, and it

behoved every lover of liberty to raise his voice in defence of "principle."

The struggle, then, on the 2nd of December lay principally between the middle-classes and Louis Napoleon, the representative of the army. That Louis Napoleon knew this, he showed by the orders given to the army during the struggle of the 4th, to fire principally upon "the gentlemen in broad-cloth." The glorious battle of the boulevards is known well enough; and a series of volleys upon closed windows and unarmed *bourgeois* was quite sufficient to stifle, in the middle-class of Paris, every movement of resistance.

On the other hand, the working-classes, although they could no longer be deprived of any direct political privilege, were not at all disinterested in the question. They had to lose, above all, the great chance of May 1852, when all powers of the state were to expire simultaneously, and when, for the first time since June 1848, they expected to have a fair field for a struggle; and aspiring as they were to political supremacy, they could not allow any violent change of government to occur, without being called upon to interpose between the contending parties as supreme umpires, and to impose to them their will as the law of the land. Thus, they could not let the occasion pass without showing the two opposing forces that there was a third power in the field, which, if momentarily removed from the theatre of official and parliamentary contentions, was yet ever ready to step in as soon as the scene was changed to its own sphere of action,—to the *street.* But then, it must not be forgotten that even in this case the proletarian party laboured under great disadvantages. If they rose against the usurper, did they not virtually defend and prepare the restoration and dictatorship of that very parliament which had proved their most relentless enemy? And if they at once declared for a revolutionary government, would they not, as was actually the case in the provinces, frighten the middle-class so much as to drive them to a union with Louis Napoleon and the army? Besides, it must be remembered that the very strength and flower of the revolutionary working-class have been either killed during the insurrection of June, or transported and imprisoned under innumerable *different* pretences ever since that event. And finally, there was this one fact which was alone sufficient to ensure to Napoleon the neutrality of the great majority of the working-classes: *Trade was excellent,* and Englishmen know it well enough, that with a fully employed and well-paid working-class, no agitation, much less a revolution, can be got up.

It is now very commonly said in this country that the French must be a set of old women or else they would not submit to such treatment. I very willingly grant that, as a nation, the French deserve, at the present moment, such adorning epithets. But we all know that the French are, in their opinions and actions, more dependent upon success than any other civilised nation. As soon as a certain turn is given to events in this country, they almost without resistance follow up that turn, until the last extreme in that direction has been reached. The defeat of June 1848 gave such a counter-revolutionary turn to France and, through her, to the whole continent. The present ascension of the Napoleonic empire is but the crowning fact of a long series of counter-revolutionary victories, that filled up the three last years; and once engaged upon the declivity, it was to be expected that France would go on falling until she reached the bottom. How near she may be to that bottom it is not easy to say; but that she is getting nearer to it very rapidly every one must see. And if the past history of France is not to be belied by future deeds of the French people, we may safely expect that the deeper the degradation, the more sudden and the more dazzling will be the result. Events, in these times of ours, are succeeding each other at a tremendously rapid rate, and what it took formerly a nation a whole century to go through, is now-a-days very easily overcome in a couple of years. The old empire lasted fourteen years; it will be exceedingly lucky for the imperial eagle if the revival, upon the most shabby scale, of this piece of performance will last out so many months. And then?

## II

[*Notes to the People,* No. 48, March 27, 1852]

Although at a first glance it might appear that in the present moment Louis Napoleon, in France, sways with undisturbed omnipotence, and that, perhaps, the only power, besides his own, is that of courtly intrigues that beset him on all sides, and plot against each other for the purpose of obtaining sole favour with, and influence over, the French autocrat; yet, in reality, things are quite different. The whole secret of Louis Napoleon's success is this, that by the traditions of his name he has been placed in a position to hold, for a moment, *the balance of the contending classes of French society.* For it is a fact that under the cloak of the state of siege by military despotism which now veils France, the struggle of

the different classes of society is going on as fiercely as ever. That struggle, having been carried on for the last four years with powder and shot has only now taken a different form. In the same way as any protracted war will exhaust and fatigue the most powerful nation, so has the open, bloody war of the last year fatigued and momentarily exhausted the *military* strength of the different classes. But class-war is independent of actual warfare, and not always needs barricades and bayonets to be carried on with; class-war is inextinguishable as long as the various classes with their opposed and conflicting interests and social positions are in existence; and we have not yet heard that since the blessed advent of the mock-Napoleon, France had ceased to count among her inhabitants large landed proprietors, and agricultural labourers, or *métayers*, large money-lenders, and small mortgaged freeholders, capitalists, and working-men.

The position of the different classes in France is just this: the revolution of February had for ever upset the power of the large bankers and stockjobbers; after their downfall every other class of the populations of the towns had had their day. First, the working-men, during the days of the first revolutionary excitement,—then the petty republican shopkeepers under Ledru-Rollin,—then the republican fraction of the bourgeoisie under Cavaignac,—lastly, the united royalist middle-classes, under the late National Assembly. None of these classes had been able to hold fast the power they for a moment possessed; and latterly, among the ever reappearing divisions of the legitimist royalists, or the landed interest, and the Orleans royalists, or the moneyed interest, it appeared inevitable that power would again slip from their hands, and return to those of the working-class, who themselves might be expected to have become fitter to turn it to account. But then there was another mighty class in France, mighty, not by the large individual properties of its members, but by its numbers and its very wants. That class—the small, mortgaged freeholders, making up at least three-fifths of the French nation—was slow to act, and slow to be acted upon, as all rural populations; it stuck to its old traditions, distrusted the wisdom of the apostles of all parties from the towns, and remembering that it had been happy, free from debt, and comparatively rich in the time of the Emperor,[a] laid, by the means of universal suffrage, the executive power in the hands of his nephew. The active agitation of the democratic socialist party, and

[a] Napoleon I.—*Ed.*

more still the disappointment which Louis Napoleon's measures soon prepared for them, led part of this peasant-class into the ranks of the Red party; but the mass of them stuck to their traditions, and said that if Louis Napoleon had not yet proved the Messiah he was expected to be, it was the fault of the National Assembly that gagged him. Besides the mass of the peasantry, Louis Napoleon, himself a species of lofty swell-mob's man, and surrounded by the élite of the fashionable swell mob, found support in the most degraded and dissolute portion of the population of the towns. This element of strength he united into a paid body called the "Society of the 10th of December." Thus, relying upon the peasantry for the vote; upon the mob for noisy demonstrations, upon the army, ever ready to upset a government of parliamentary talkers, pretending to speak the voice of the working-classes, he could quietly wait for the moment when the squabbles of the middle-class parliament would allow him to step in and assume a more or less absolute sway over those classes, none of which, after a four years' bloody struggle, had proved strong enough to seize upon a lasting supremacy. And this he did on the 2nd of December last.

Thus the reign of Louis Napoleon is not superseding the class-war. It merely suspends for a while the bloody outbreaks which mark from time to time the efforts of this or that class to gain or maintain political power. None of these classes were strong enough to venture at a new battle, with any chance of success. The very division of classes favoured, for the time being, Napoleon's projects. He upset the middle-class parliament, and destroyed the political power of the middle-class; might not the proletarians rejoice at this? And certainly, the proletarians could not be expected to fight for an assembly that had been their most deadly enemy! But at the same time Louis Napoleon's usurpation menaced the common fighting-ground of all classes, and the last vantage-grounds of the working-class—the Republic; why, as soon as the working-men stood up for the defence of the Republic, the middle-class joined the very man that had just ousted them in order to defeat, in the working-class, the common enemy of society. Thus it was in Paris—thus in the provinces,—and the army won an easy victory over the contending and opposing classes; and after the victory, the millions of the imperialist peasantry stepped in with their vote, and with the help of official falsifications, established the government of Louis Napoleon as that of the representative of almost unanimous France.

But even now, class struggles and class interests are at the bottom of every important act of Louis Napoleon's, as we shall see in our next.

## III

[*Notes to the People*, No. 50, April 10, 1852]

We repeat: Louis Napoleon came to power because the open war carried on during the last four years between the different classes of French society had worn them out, had shattered their respective fighting armies, and because under such circumstances, for a time at least, the struggle of these classes can only be carried on in a peaceful and legal way, by competition, by trades' organisations, and by all the different means of pacific struggle by which the opposition of class against class has now been carried on in England for above a century. Under these circumstances it is in a manner of speaking in the interest of all contending classes that a so-called *strong government* should exist which might repress and keep down all those minor, local and scattered outbreaks of open hostility, which, without leading to any result, trouble the development of the struggle in its new shape by retarding the recovery of strength for a new pitched battle. This circumstance may in some way explain the undeniable general acquiescence of the French in the present government. How long it may be ere both the working and capitalist classes may have regained strength and self-reliance enough to come out and openly claim, each for themselves, the dictatorship of France, of course nobody can tell; but at the rate events are going now-a-days, either of these classes will most likely be brought into the field unexpectedly, and thus the fight of class against class in the streets may be renewed long before, from the relative or absolute strength of the parties, such an occurrence might seem probable. For, if the French revolutionary, that is the working-class party, has to wait till it is again in the same conditions of strength as in February 1848, it might resign itself to submissive passiveness of some ten years, which it certainly will not do; and at the same time, a government like that of Louis Napoleon is placed in the necessity, as we shall see by and by, to entangle itself and France into such difficulties as ultimately must be solved by a great revolutionary blow. We will not speak of the chances of war, nor of other occurrences which may, or may not come to pass; we will only mention one event which is as sure to come as the sun is sure to rise tomorrow morning, and that is a

*Vol. II.*] *Saturday, March 27, 1852.* [*No. 48.*

# NOTES

TO

# THE PEOPLE.

BY

## ERNEST JONES,

OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, BARRISTER AT LAW,

*Author of the Wood Spirit, Lord Lindsay, My Life, History of the Working Classes, Confessions of a King, Recollections of a Student, The New World, Beldagon Church, Painter of Florence, Canterbury* versus *Rome. &c., &c.*

**PRICE TWOPENCE.**

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J. PAVEY, 47, HOLYWELL STREET.

1852.

Green & Co., Printers, 32, Castle Street, Holborn.

**Read in this Number "Continental Notes."**

**Read in this Number "Current Notes, No. 1"**

**Read in this Number "Chartist Reports, 1."**

Title-page of the journal *Notes to the People,* in which Engels' article "Real Causes Why the French Proletarians Remained Comparatively Inactive in December Last" was published

general commercial and industrial revulsion. The bad trade and bad harvests of 1846 and 1847, made the revolution of 1848; and there are ten chances to one, that in 1853 trade, all over the world, will be far deeper uprooted and far more lastingly upset than ever it was before.[149] And who is there who thinks the ship, Louis Napoleon sails in, [is] sea-worthy enough to stand the gales that then must of necessity spring up?

But let us look at the position in which the bastard-eagle found himself on the evening of his victory. He had for supporters the army, the clergy, and the peasantry. He had been opposed in his attempt by the middle-class (comprising the large landed proprietors), and the Socialists or revolutionary working-men. Once at the head of the government, he had not only to retain those parties that brought him there, but also to gain over, or at least to conciliate to the new state of things, as many as possible of those that had opposed him hitherto. As to the army, the clergy, the government officials and the members of that conspiracy of place-hunters by which he had long since surrounded himself, direct bribes, ready money, open plunder of the public resources, was the only thing required; and we have seen how quick Louis Napoleon has been at coming down with the cash, or at finding out berths for his friends which gave them glorious opportunities for enriching themselves at once. Look at DeMorny, who went into office a beggar, crushed by a load of debts, and who, four weeks afterwards, walked out again with debts paid and what even in the neighbourhood of Belgrave Square[150] would be called a handsome independence besides! But to deal with the peasantry, with the large landed proprietors, with the funds, monied, manufacturing, shipping, trading and shop-keeping interests, and lastly with that most formidable question of the century, the labour-question—that was quite another thing. For all the silencing measures of the government notwithstanding, the interests of these different classes remained as opposed as ever, although there was no longer a press, a parliament, a meeting-platform to proclaim this unpleasant fact; and thus, whatever the government might try to do for one class, was sure to hurt the interest of another. Whatever Louis Napoleon might attempt, he was to be met everywhere by the question, "who pays the piper?"—a question which has upset more governments than all other questions, Militia questions, Reform questions, &c., together. And although Louis Napoleon has already made his predecessor Louis Philippe contribute a good share to pay the piper,[151] yet the piper requires a good deal more.

We shall begin, in our next, to trace the position of the different classes of society in France, and to inquire how far there were any means at the disposal of the present government to improve that position. We shall at the same time review what that government has attempted and will most likely attempt later on for this purpose, and thus we shall collect materials from which to draw a correct conclusion as to the position and future chances of the man who is now doing his best to bring into disrepute the name of Napoleon.

Written in February-early April 1852

First published in the weekly *Notes to the People*, Nos. 43, 48 and 50; February 21, March 27 and April 10, 1852

Reproduced from *Notes to the People*

# Karl Marx

## STATEMENT [SENT TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE *KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG*]

A report dated Paris, February 25 in No. 51 of the *Kölnische Zeitung* includes the following item à propos of the so-called Franco-German conspiracy[152]:

"Several of the accused, who have fled, among them a certain A. Majer, who is described as an *agent of Marx and his confederates*..."

The falsehood of this assertion, which generously accords me not only "confederates" but an "agent" as well, is proved by the following facts: A. Majer, one of the most intimate friends of Herr K. Schapper and the former Prussian lieutenant Willich, acted as book-keeper to the Refugee Committee headed by them.[153] I learned of the departure from London of this personage, who is a complete stranger to me, from a letter written by a friend[a] in Geneva in which he reported that a certain A. Majer was purveying the most absurd gossip about me. Finally I read in French newspapers that this A. Majer is a "politician".

London, March 3, 1852

*Karl Marx*

First published in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 57, March 6, 1852

Printed according to the newspaper

[a] Probably Ernst Dronke.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## GENERAL KLAPKA[154]

The following programme of General Klapka, which we have received from a reliable source, is to be handed to Kossuth on his arrival in London. It shows how greatly Kossuth's authority has been shaken among his more important supporters. It reads as follows:

### POLITICAL PROGRAMME

As I am retiring from the arena of all political activity for a while, and perhaps for a long time, and do not wish that my principles and views should be incorrectly interpreted, I herewith declare to my friends:

1) No dictatorship, neither in the Fatherland nor outside it, so long as the decision of the nation has not been given on this matter.

2) In deference to the majority of my compatriots and in accordance with my own conviction, I recognise our honoured fellow-citizen Ludwig Kossuth as the head of the Hungarian Refugee Association, but at the same time I declare that I regard the clinging to the position and title of Governor as wholly incompatible with the basic principle of our revolutionary activity and very harmful to our cause.

3) With regard to our activity abroad.

a) For the conduct of affairs, besides the appointed head, several members elected by all the émigrés should together with him constitute the Central Committee.

b) The distribution of financial support obtained by exploiting Hungarian popularity must be guided not by personal conditions, but solely by the circumstances of the case, whether one is a loyal son of the Fatherland, what service one has rendered to the Fatherland, and whether in general one has any claim to support. Accordingly, the money intended by the Central Committee for private support must be administered in a non-partisan and public manner by committees which are elected by the respective refugee organisations themselves.

With regard to our activity at home.

As soon as Hungary is in a position to embark on a life and death struggle against its tyrants, those who will then stand at the head of the public cause should have the duty to convene in the shortest possible term a Constituent National

Assembly on the basis of universal suffrage as the sole revolutionary power, and the Government must be merely a creation of this Assembly.

4) Since it cannot be our task to interfere in the activity of the future representatives of the nation and already now draft a Constitution for our Fatherland, we can merely indicate those principles through which we expect the future prosperity of the Fatherland, its revival, power and welfare, and the guarantee of an indissoluble union of all the nationalities; these principles, however, if we wish to take into account the spirit and past of our nation, are liberty, equality and fraternity applied equally to both individuals and nationalities.

Those are my personal principles. But since providence, without taking into account our petty reasoning, often exerts its decisive influence on the fate of nations precisely where it is least expected, and since in my view the question of the future constitution of Hungary is at present only of secondary importance, whereas the throwing off of the Austrian yoke, which threatens our national existence with complete destruction, is a primary and vital question, I therefore declare that both my sword and my influence shall serve any foreign power whose aim is the overthrow of the Austrian dynasty as well as the restoration of the independence and political existence of Hungary.

April 1852

*Georg Klapka*
General

From the above programme one can very accurately judge Klapka's character. He firmly adheres to a position between two stools; he would like to appear independent and energetic, but is not strong enough for that. Natural instinct is stronger than his will. He wants Kossuth and also does not want him. With one hand he caresses him, with the other hand he slaps him in the face, but in order to soften the blows he puts on silk gloves. Klapka forgets that a box on the ears whether delivered with or without gloves always remains a box on the ears and that a vain, irritable, ambitious man like Kossuth is as little likely to forget a small insult as a big one. Vacillating, irresolute people like Klapka always have the misfortune of doing everything by halves. By this programme Klapka demonstrates his political immaturity, and the concluding sentence bears the stamp of clumsiness and of imprudence. Klapka forgets that an untimely word often suffices to betray entire plans. We hope that General Klapka will never be in a situation in which he has to regret the clumsiness of Klapka the diplomat.

Written in the first half of May 1852

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 44, Moscow 1977

Printed according to the manuscript, which is in Jenny Marx's handwriting

Published in English for the first time

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

# THE GREAT MEN OF THE EXILE[155]

Written in May-June 1852
First published in Russian in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Book 5, Moscow-Leningrad, 1930

Printed according to the manuscript

I

"Sing, immortal soul,
the redemption of fallen mankind"[a]—
through Gottfried Kinkel.

Gottfried Kinkel was born some 40 years ago. The story of his life has been made available to us in an autobiography, *Gottfried Kinkel. Wahrheit ohne Dichtung. Biographisches Skizzenbuch.*[b] Edited by Adolph Strodtmann (Hamburg, Hoffmann & Campe, 1850, octavo).[c]

Gottfried is the hero of that democratic Siegwart epoch[156] that flooded Germany with endless torrents of patriotic melancholy and tearful lament. He made his debut as a commonplace lyrical Siegwart.

We are indebted to Strodtmann the Apostle, whose "narrative compilation" we follow here, both for the diary-like fragments in which Gottfried's pilgrimage on this earth is presented to the reader, and for the glaring lack of discretion of the revelations they contain.

*Bonn,* February-September 1834

"Like his friend, Paul Zeller, young Gottfried studied Protestant theology and his industry and piety earned him the respect of his celebrated teachers (Sack, Nitzsch and Bleek)" (p. 5).

From the very beginning he is "obviously immersed in weighty speculations" (p. 4), he is "cross and gloomy" (p. 5) as befits a *grand homme en herbe.*[d] "Gottfried's gloomily flashing brown eyes"

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[a] F. G. Klopstock, *Der Messias,* Erster Gesang.—*Ed.*

[b] *Truth without Poetry. A Biographical Sketch-Book.* Apparently an allusion to Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (*Poetry and Truth*).—*Ed.*

[c] The second volume of Strodtmann's book on Kinkel was published in 1851.—*Ed.*

[d] A budding genius.—*Ed.*

"observed" some youths "in brown jackets and pale-blue overcoats"; he at once sensed that these youths "wished to make up for their inner emptiness by outer show" (p. 6). His moral indignation is explained by the fact that Gottfried had "defended Hegel and Marheineke" when these lads had called Marheineke a "blockhead"; later, when he goes to study in Berlin and is himself in the position of having to learn from Marheineke, he characterises him in his diary with the following belletristic dictum (p. 61):

> I tell you what: your groping theorist
> Is like a beast led round and round and round
> By evil spirits on a barren ground
> Near to the verdant pastures he has missed.[a]

Gottfried has clearly forgotten that other verse in which Mephistopheles makes fun of the student thirsting for knowledge:

> So, knowledge and fair reason you'll despise.[b]

However, the whole moralising student scene serves merely as an introduction enabling the future liberator of the world to make the following revelation (p. 6).

Gottfried:

> "This race will not perish, unless a war comes.... Only strong remedies can raise this age up from the mire!"
> "A new Flood with you as a second and improved edition of Noah!" his friend replied.

The pale-blue overcoats have helped Gottfried to the point where he can proclaim himself the "*Noah* in a new Flood". His friend adds the following comment that might well have served as the motto to the whole biography.

> "My father and I have often had occasion to smile at your *passion for unclear ideas*!"

Throughout these confessions of a beautiful soul[c] we find repeated only one "clear idea", namely that Kinkel was a great man from the moment of his conception. The most trivial things that occur to all trivial people become momentous events; the petty joys and sorrows that every student of theology experiences in a more interesting form, the conflicts with bourgeois conditions to be found by the dozen in every seminary and consistory in

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[a] Goethe, *Faust*, Erster Teil, "Studierzimmer" (translation by Philip Mayne, Penguine Books, 1949).—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid.—*Ed.*

[c] "Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele" (Confessions of a Beautiful Soul) is the title of Book 6 of Goethe's novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*.—*Ed.*

Germany become world-shaking events from which Gottfried, overwhelmed by *Weltschmerz*, fashions a perpetual comedy.[a]

The family of his "friend Paul" leaves Bonn and returns to Württemberg. Gottfried stages this event in the following manner.

Gottfried loves Paul's sister and uses the occasion to say that he has "already been in love twice before"! His present love, however, is no ordinary love but a "fervent and authentic act of divine worship" (p. 13). Gottfried climbs the Drachenfels together with friend Paul and against this romantic backcloth he breaks into dithyrambs:

> "Farewell to friendship!—I shall find a brother in our Saviour;—Farewell to love—Faith shall be my bride;—Farewell to sisterly loyalty—I am come to the commune of many thousands of just souls! Away then, O my youthful heart, learn to be alone with your God; struggle with him until you conquer him and force him to give you a new name, that of holy Israel, which no one knows but he who receives it!—I give you greetings, you glorious rising sun, image of my awakening soul!" (p. 17).

Thus the departure of his friend gives Gottfried the opportunity to sing an ecstatic hymn to his own soul. As if that were not enough, his friend must also sing a hymn. For while Gottfried exults ecstatically he speaks "with solemn voice and glowing countenance", he "forgets the presence of his friend", "his gaze is transfigured", "his voice inspired", etc. (p. 17)—in short, we have the vision of the Prophet Elijah as it appears in the Bible complete in every detail.

> "Smiling sorrowfully Paul looked at him with his loyal gaze and said: 'You have a mightier heart in your bosom than I and *will surely outdistance me*—but let me be your friend—even when I am far away.' Joyfully Gottfried clasped the proferred hand and renewed the ancient covenant" (p. 18).

Gottfried has got what he wants from this Transfiguration on the Mount. Friend Paul, who has just been laughing at "Gottfried's passion for unclear ideas", humbles himself before the name of "holy Israel" and acknowledges Gottfried's superiority and future greatness. Gottfried is as pleased as Punch and graciously condescends to renew the ancient covenant.

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[a] The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: "Thus we find that these confessions consistently present a double aspect—there is firstly the *comedy*, the amusing way in which Gottfried interprets the smallest trivia as signs of his future greatness and in anticipation of this casts himself in relief, and then there is the *rodomontade*, his mendacious manner of complacently embellishing in retrospect every little occurrence in his theologico-lyrical past. Having established these two basic features we can follow the further developments of Gottfried's story."—*Ed.*

* * *

The scene changes. It is the birthday of Kinkel's mother, the wife of Pastor Kinkel of Upper Cassel. The family festival is used to proclaim that "the lady, like the mother of our Lord, was called Mary" (p. 20)—certain proof that Gottfried, too, was destined to be a saviour and redeemer. Thus in the first twenty pages the most insignificant events have been used to present our student of theology in the role of *Noah*, the *holy Israel, Elijah*, and, lastly, *Christ*.

* * *

Inevitably, Gottfried, who on the whole has experienced nothing, constantly dwells on his inner feelings. The pietism that has stuck to this parson's son and budding scholar of divinity is well adapted both to his innate emotional instability and his coquettish preoccupation with his own person. We learn that his mother and sister were both strict pietists and that Gottfried was very conscious of his own sinfulness. The conflict of this pious sense of sin with the "carefree and sociable *joie de vivre*" of the ordinary student appears in Gottfried, as befits his world-historical mission, in terms of a struggle between religion and poetry. The pint of beer that the parson's son from Upper Cassel downs with the other students becomes the fateful chalice in which Faust's twin spirits are locked in battle. In the description of his pietistic family life we see his "Mother Mary" combat as sinful "Gottfried's penchant for the theatre" (p. 28), a momentous conflict designed to prefigure the poet of the future but which in fact merely highlights Gottfried's love of the theatrical. The harpy-like pietism of his sister Johanna is said to be shown by an incident in which she is supposed to have boxed the ears of a five-year-old girl for inattention in church—sordid family gossip whose inclusion would be incomprehensible were it not for the revelation at the end of the book that this same sister Johanna put up the strongest opposition to Gottfried's marriage to Frau Mockel.

The fact that in Seelscheid Gottfried preached "a wonderful sermon about the wilting wheat" is recounted as an event.

* * *

The Zeller family and "beloved Elise" at last take their departure. We learn that Gottfried "squeezed the girl's hand

passionately" and murmured the greeting, "Elise, farewell! I must say no more". This interesting story is followed by the first of Siegwart's laments.

"Destroyed!" "Silent." "Most agonising torment!" "Burning brow." "Deepest sighs." "His mind was lacerated by the wildest pains," etc. (p. 37).

It turns the whole Elijah scene into the purest comedy, performed for the benefit of his "friend Paul" and himself. Paul again makes his appearance in order to whisper into the ear of Siegwart, who is sitting there alone and wretched: "This kiss is for my Gottfried" (p. 38).

And Gottfried cheers up.

"My plan to see my sweet love again, honourably and *not without a name,* is firmer than ever" (p. 38).

Neither considerations about the name he expects to make nor bragging of the laurels he claims in advance are wanting even amid the pangs of love. Gottfried uses the intermezzo to commit his love to paper in extravagant and vainglorious terms, to make sure that the world is not deprived of even his diary-feelings. But the scene has not yet reached its climax. The faithful Paul has to point out to the world-storming maestro that if Elise were to remain stationary while he continued to develop, she might not satisfy him later on.

"O no!" said Gottfried. "This heavenly budding flower whose first leaves have scarcely opened already smells so sweetly. How much greater will be her beauty when ... the burning summer *ray* of manly *vigour* unfolds her *innermost calix*!" (p. 40).

Paul finds himself reduced to answering this sordid image by remarking that rational arguments mean nothing to poets.

"'And all your wisdom will not protect you from the whims of life better than our *lovable* folly,' Gottfried replied *with a smile*" (p. 40).

What a moving picture: Narcissus smiling to himself! The gauche student suddenly enters as the lovable fool, Paul becomes Wagner and admires the great man, and the great man "smiles", "indeed, he smiles a kind, gentle smile". The climax is saved.

* * *

Gottfried finally manages to leave Bonn. He gives this summary of his educational attainments there:

"Unfortunately I am gradually moving further away from Hegelianism; although my greatest wish is to be a rationalist,[157] I am at the same time a supernaturalist and a mystic, *if necessary* I am even a pietist" (p. 45).

This self-analysis requires no commentary.

* * *

*Berlin*, October 1834-August 1835

Leaving his narrow family and student environment Gottfried arrives in Berlin. In comparison with Bonn, Berlin is relatively metropolitan but of this we find no trace in Gottfried any more than we find evidence of his involvement in the scientific activity of the day. Gottfried's diary entries confine themselves to the emotions he experiences together with his new *compagnon d'aventure*, Hugo Dünweg from Barmen, and also to the minor hardships of an indigent theologian: his money difficulties, shabby coats, employment as a reviewer, etc. His life stands in no relation to the public life of the city, but only to the Schlössing family, in which Dünweg passes for *Master Wolfram*[a] and Gottfried for *Master Gottfried von Strasbourg* (p. 67). Elise fades gradually from his heart and he conceives a new itch for Fräulein Maria Schlössing. Unfortunately he learns of Elise's engagement to someone else and he sums up his Berlin feelings and aspirations as a "*dark* longing for a woman he could [call] *wholly* his own".

However, Berlin must not be abandoned without making the inevitable point:

"Before he left Berlin old Weiss" (the producer) "took him *once again* into the theatre. A strange feeling came over the youth as the friendly old man led him into the great auditorium where the busts of German dramatists have been placed and with a gesture towards a few empty niches said meaningfully:
"'*There are still some vacant places.*'"

Yes, indeed, there is still a place vacant awaiting our Platenite Gottfried who solemnly allows an old *farceur*[b] to present him with the exquisite pleasure of "future immortality".

*Bonn*, Autumn 1835-Autumn 1837

"Constantly vacillating between art, life and science, unable to reach a decision, active in all three without firm commitment, he intended to learn, to gain and to be creative in all three as much as his indecision would permit" (p. 89).

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[a] Wolfram von Eschenbach.—*Ed.*
[b] Comedian.—*Ed.*

Having thus discovered himself to be an irresolute dilettante, Gottfried returns to Bonn. Of course, the feeling that he is a dilettante does not deter him from taking his licentiate examination and from becoming a *Privatdozent* at the University of Bonn.

"Neither Chamisso nor Knapp had published the poems he had sent them in their pocket almanacs[a] and this hurt him greatly" (p. 99).

This is the public debut of the great man who in private circles lives on intellectual tick on the promise of his future eminence. From this time on he definitely becomes a dubious local celebrity in belletristic student circles until the moment when a grazing shot in Baden suddenly turns him into the hero of German philistinism.

"But more and more there arose in Kinkel's breast the yearning for a firm, true love, a yearning that no devotion to work could dispel" (p. 103).

The first victim of this yearning is a certain Minna. Gottfried dallies with Minna and sometimes for the sake of variety he acts the compassionate Mahadeva who allows the maiden to worship him[b] while he meditates on the state of her health.

"Kinkel could have loved her had he been able to deceive himself about her condition; but his *love* would have *killed* the wilting rose even more quickly. Minna was the first girl that could understand him; but she was a second Hecuba and would have borne him torches and not children, and through them the passion of the parents would have burned down their own house as Priam's passion burned Troy. Yet he could not abandon her, his heart bled for her, *he was indeed wretched not through love, but through pity.*"

The godlike hero whose love is supposed to kill, like the sight of Jupiter, is nothing but an ordinary self-regarding young coxcomb who in the course of his marriage-studies tries out the role of the cad for the first time. Moreover, his revolting meditations on her health and its possible effects on any future children are turned into base speculations by the fact that he prolongs the relationship for his own pleasure and breaks it off only when it provides him with the excuse for yet another melodramatic scene.

Gottfried goes on a journey to visit an uncle whose son has just died; at the midnight hour in the room where the corpse is laid out he stages a scene from a Bellini opera with his cousin, Mlle Elise II. He becomes engaged to her, "in the presence of the

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[a] An allusion to the *Deutscher Musenalmanach* (ed. Adelbert von Chamisso and Gustav Schwab) and to *Christoterpe. Ein Taschenbuch für christliche Leser* (ed. Albert Knapp).— *Ed.*

[b] Cf. Goethe's poem "Der Gott und die Bajadere".— *Ed.*

dead", and on the following morning he is fortunately accepted by his uncle as his future son-in-law.

"Now that he was lost to her forever, he often thought of Minna and of the moment when he would see her again. But he did not fear this moment as she could have no claims on a heart that was already pledged" (p. 117).

The new engagement means nothing but the opportunity to bring about a dramatic collision in his relationship with Minna, in which "duty and passion" confront each other. This collision is produced in the most philistine and rascally way because in his own mind our bonhomme denies Minna's legal claims upon his heart which is already "pledged". The virtuous man is of course not at all disturbed by the need to compound this cowardly lie to himself by reversing the order of events in the matter of his "pledged heart".

Gottfried has plunged into the interesting necessity of being forced to break "a poor, great heart".

"After a pause Gottfried went on: 'At the same time, dear Minna, I feel I owe you an apology—I have perhaps sinned against you—the hand which I let you have yesterday with such feelings of friendship, that hand is no longer free—I am engaged!'" (p. 123).

Our melodramatic student takes good care not to mention that this engagement took place a few hours after he had given her his hand "with such feelings of friendship".

"Oh God!—Minna—can you forgive me?" (*loc. cit.*)

"I am a man and must be faithful to my *duty*—I *must* not love you! But I have not deceived you" (p. 124).

After this moral duty which has been contrived after the event, it only remains to produce the unbelievable, a theatrical reversal of the whole relationship so that instead of Minna forgiving him, our moral priest forgives the deceived woman. With this in mind he conceives the possibility that Minna "might hate him from afar" and he follows this supposition up with this final moral:

"'I would gladly forgive you for that and if that should happen you can be assured of my forgiveness in advance. And now farewell, my duty calls me, I must leave you!' He slowly left the arbour.... From that hour on Gottfried was unhappy" (p. 124).

The actor and conceited lover is transformed into the hypocritical priest who extricates himself from the affair with an unctuous blessing; Siegwart's sham conflicts of love have led to the happy result that he is able in his imagination to think himself unhappy.

It finally becomes apparent that all of these arranged love stories were nothing but Gottfried's coquettish flirtation with himself. The whole affair amounts to no more than that our priest, who dreams of his future immortality, has enacted Old Testament stories and modern lending-library phantasies after the manner of Spiess, Clauren and Cramer so that he may indulge his vanity by posing as a romantic hero.

"Rummaging among his books he came across Novalis' *Ofterdingen*, the book that had so often inspired him to write poetry a year before. While still at school he and some friends had founded a society by the name of *Teutonia* with the aim of increasing their understanding of German history and literature. In this society he had assumed the name of *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*.... Now the meaning of this name became clear to him. He *saw himself as that same Heinrich* in the charming little town at the foot of the Wartburg and a longing for the '*blue flower*' took hold of him with overwhelming force. Minna could not be the glorious fairy-tale blossom, nor could his bride, however anxiously he probed his heart. Dreaming, he read on and on, the phantastic world of magic enveloped him and he ended by hurling himself weeping into a chair, thinking of the '*blue flower*'."

Gottfried here unveils the whole romantic lie which he had woven around himself; the carnival pursuit of disguising oneself as other people is his authentic "inner being". Earlier on he had called himself Gottfried von Strasbourg; now he appears as *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* and he is searching not for the "blue flower" but for a woman who will acknowledge his claims to be Heinrich von Ofterdingen. And in the end he really did find the "blue flower", a little faded and yellow, in a woman who played the much longed-for comedy in his interest and in her own.

The sham Romanticism, the travesty and the caricature of ancient stories and romances which Gottfried *re-lives* to make up for the lack of any inner substance of his own, the whole emotional swindle of his vacuous encounters with Mary, Minna and Elise I and II have brought him to the point where he thinks that his experiences are on a par with those of Goethe. Just as Goethe after experiencing the storms of love suddenly set out for Italy and there wrote his [Roman] *Elegies*, so too Gottfried thinks that his day-dreams of love qualify him for an expedition to Rome. Goethe must have had a premonition of Gottfried:

> And as the whale has his lice
> I can have them too.[a]

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[a] Goethe, *Zahme Xenien*.—*Ed.*

## *Italy*, October 1837-March 1838

The expedition to Rome opens in Gottfried's diary with a lengthy account of the journey from Bonn to Coblenz.

This new epoch begins as the previous one had concluded, namely with a narrative richly embellished by allusions to the experiences of others. While on the steamer Gottfried recalls the "splendid passage in Hoffmann" where he "made Master Johannes Wacht produce a highly artistic work immediately after enduring the most overwhelming grief".[158] As a confirmation of the "splendid passage" Gottfried follows up his "overwhelming grief" about Minna by "*meditating*" about a "tragedy he had *long since intended to write*" (p. 140).

During Kinkel's journey from Coblenz to Rome the following events take place:

"The friendly letters he frequently received from his fiancée and which he answered for the most part on the spot, dispelled his gloomy thoughts" (p. 144).

"His love for the beautiful Elise II struck root deeply in the youth's yearning bosom" (p. 146).

* * *

In Rome we find:

"On his arrival in Rome Kinkel had found a letter from his fiancée awaiting him which further intensified his love for her and caused the image of Minna to fade even more into the background. His heart assured him that Elise could make him happy and he gave himself up to this feeling with the purest passion.... Only now did he realise what love is" (p. 151).

We see that Minna, whom formerly he only loved "out of pity", has re-entered the emotional scene. In his relationship with Elise his dream is that she can make him happy, not he her. And yet in his "blue flower" fantasy he had already said that the fairy-tale blossom which had given him such a poetic itch could be neither Elise nor Minna. But his newly aroused feelings for these two girls now serve as part of the mise en scène for a new conflict.

"Kinkel's poetry seemed to be slumbering in Italy" (p. 151).

Why?

"Because he still lacked *form*" (p. 152).

We learn later that a six-month stay in Italy enabled him to bring the "*form*" back to Germany well wrapped up. As Goethe had written his *Elegies* in Rome so Kinkel too thinks up an elegy called *The Awakening of Rome* (p. 153).

* * *

Kinkel's maid brings him a letter from his fiancée. He opens it joyfully—

"and sank back on his bed with a cry. Elise announced that a wealthy man, a Dr. D. with an extensive practice and even a riding horse (!), had asked for her hand in marriage. As it would probably be a long time before he, Kinkel, an indigent theologian, would have a permanent position she asked him to release her from the bonds that tied her to him".

A complete reminiscence of *Menschenhass und Reue.*[a]

Gottfried "annihilated", "terrible petrification", "dry eyed", "thirst for revenge", "dagger", "the bosom of his rival", "heart-blood of his enemy", "cold as ice", "maddening pain", etc. (pp. 156 and 157).

In these "sorrows and joys of a poor theologian" it is the thought that she had "spurned" him for the sake of the "uncertain possession of earthly goods" (p. 157) that gives most pain to our unhappy student. Having been moved by the obligatory theatrical feelings he finally rises to the following consolation:

"She was unworthy of you—and you still possess the pinions of genius that will bear you aloft high above this dark misery! *And when one day your fame encircles the globe* the false woman will find a judge in her own heart!—Who knows, perhaps one day in the years to come *her children* will seek me out to implore my aid and *I would not wish to evade that rashly*" (p. 157).

Having, inevitably, enjoyed in advance the exquisite pleasure of "his future fame encircling the globe", he thus reveals himself to be a common clerical philistine. He speculates that later on Elise's children might perhaps come to beg alms from the great poet—and he would "not wish to evade that rashly". And why? Because Elise "prefers a riding horse" to the "future fame" of which he constantly dreams, because she prefers "earthly goods" to the farce he intends to perform with himself in the role of Heinrich von Ofterdingen. Old Hegel was quite right when he pointed out that a noble consciousness always turns into a base one.[b]

### *Bonn,* Summer 1838-Summer 1843 (*Intrigue and Love*)[c]

Having furnished a caricature of Goethe in Italy, Gottfried now resolves on his return to enact Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe.*

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[a] A drama by August Kotzebue.—*Ed.*

[b] G. W. F. Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes,* VI. Der Geist.—*Ed.*

[c] *Intrigue and Love*—a tragedy by Schiller.—*Ed.*

Though his heart is rent with *Weltschmerz* Gottfried feels "better than ever" physically (p. 167). His intention is "to establish literary fame for himself through his works" (p. 169), which does not however prevent him from acquiring a cheaper fame without work later on when his "works" failed to do what was expected of them.

The "dark longing" which Gottfried always experiences when he pursues a "female of the species" finds expression in a remarkably rapid succession of promises of marriage and engagements. The promise of marriage is the classical method by which the strong man and the superior mind "of the future" seeks to conquer his beloved ones and bind them to him in reality. As soon as he thinks he has found a little blue flower that might help him to play the part of Heinrich von Ofterdingen, the poet's gentle and hazy sentimentality assumes the firm shape of the student's dream of adding to the ideal affinity the bond of "duty". No sooner are the first greetings over than offers of marriage fly in all directions *à tort et à travers*[a] towards every daisy and water lily in sight. This bourgeois hunt puts in an even more revolting light the feeble wheedling coquetry with which Gottfried constantly opens his heart to reveal "the great torments of the poet".

Thus after his return from Italy Gottfried naturally has to "promise" marriage yet again. The object of his passion on this occasion was directly chosen by his sister, the lady Johanna, whose fanatical pietism has already been immortalised by the exclamations in Gottfried's diary.

"Bögehold had just recently announced his engagement to Fräulein Kinkel, and Johanna, who interfered more obtrusively than ever in her brother's affairs of the heart, now conceived the wish, for a number of reasons and family considerations which are better passed over in silence, that Gottfried should *reciprocate* and marry Fräulein Sophie Bögehold, her fiancé's sister" (p. 172). It goes without saying that "Kinkel *could not but* feel drawn to a gentle girl.... And she was indeed a dear, innocent maiden" (p. 173). "In the most tender fashion"—it goes without saying—"Kinkel asked for her hand which was joyfully promised him by her happy parents as soon as"—it goes without saying—"he had obtained a secure post and was in a position to lead his bride home as"—it goes without saying—"a professor or owner of a quiet parsonage."

On this occasion our passionate student set down in elegant verses an account of that tendency towards marriage that forms such a constant ingredient of his adventures.

Nothing else can stir my passion
So much as a small white hand.

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[a] Indiscriminately.—*Ed.*

Everything else, eyes, lips, locks, is dismissed as a mere "trifle".

> All these fail to stir his passion
> But her shapely, small white hand (p. 174).

He describes the flirtation that he begins with Fräulein Sophie Bögehold at the command of "his more than ever obtrusive sister Johanna" and because of the constant stimulus of his longing for a "hand", as "deep, firm and tranquil" (p. 175). Above all "it is the *religious* element that predominates in this new love" (p. 176).

In Gottfried's romances the religious element takes the place either of the novelistic or of the theatrical element. Where he cannot devise dramatic effects to achieve new Siegwart situations he applies religious feelings to adorn these banal episodes with the patina of higher meaning. Siegwart becomes a pious Jung-Stilling, who had likewise received such miraculous strength from God that even though three women perished beneath his manly chest he was still able repeatedly to "lead home" a new love.

* * *

We come finally to the fateful catastrophe of this eventful story of his life, to Stilling's meeting with *Johanna Mockel*, who had formerly borne the married name of Mathieux. Here Gottfried discovered a female Kinkel, his romantic *alter ego*. Only she was harder, smarter, less confused and thanks to her mature age she had left her youthful illusions behind her.

What Mockel had in common with Kinkel was the fact that her talents too had gone unrecognised by the world. She was repulsive and vulgar; her first marriage had been "unhappy". She possessed musical talents but not enough to make a great stir with her compositions or technical mastery. In Berlin her attempt to imitate the stale childhood antics of Bettina[a] had led to a fiasco. Her character had been soured by her experiences. Even though she shared with Kinkel the foppish affectation of inflating the ordinary events of her life so as to invest them with "greater solemnity", owing to her more advanced age she nevertheless felt a *need* for love (according to Strodtmann) that was more pressing than her need for the poetic drivel that accompanies it. Whereas Kinkel was feminine in this respect, Mockel was masculine. Hence nothing could be more natural than for such a person to enter with joy into Kinkel's comedy of the misunderstood beautiful souls

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[a] Bettina von Arnim.—*Ed.*

and to play it to a mutually satisfying conclusion, i.e. to acknowledge Siegwart's fitness for the role of Heinrich von Ofterdingen and to allow him to discover that she was the "blue flower".

Kinkel, having been led to his third or fourth fiancée by his sister, is now introduced into a new labyrinth of love by Mockel.

Gottfried now finds himself in the "social swim" (p. 190), i.e. in one of those little "circles" consisting of the professors or other "worthies" of German university towns. Only in the lives of Teutonic Christian students can such societies mark a new epoch. Mockel sings and is applauded. At table it is arranged that Gottfried should sit next to her and here the following scene takes place:

> "'It must be a glorious feeling,' Gottfried opined, 'to fly through the joyous world on the pinions of genius, admired by all.'—'That's what you *imagine*,' Mockel exclaimed. 'I hear that you have a great gift for poetry. Perhaps people will scatter incense for you *also* ... and I shall ask you then whether you are happy, if you are not...'—'If I am not?' Gottfried asked, as she paused" (p. 188).

The bait had been put out for our clumsy lyrical student. Mockel then informs him that she had recently heard

> "him preaching about the yearning of Christians to return to their faith and she had thought about how resolutely the handsome youth must have renounced the world who had aroused a timid longing even in her for the harmless childhood slumber with which the echo of faith now lost had once surrounded her" (p. 189).

Gottfried was "enchanted" (p. 189) by such politeness. He was tremendously pleased to discover that "Mockel was unhappy" (loc. cit.). He immediately resolved "to devote his passionate enthusiasm for the faith of salvation at the hands of Jesus Christ to bringing back this sorrowing soul *too* into the fold" (loc. cit.). As Mockel was a Catholic the friendship was formed on the imaginary basis of the task of recovering a soul "in the service of the Almighty", a comedy in which Mockel too was willing to participate.

* * *

> "In 1840 Kinkel was appointed as an assistant in the Protestant community in Cologne, where he went every Sunday morning to preach" (p. 193).

This comment of the biographer may serve as an excuse for a brief discussion of Kinkel's position as a theologian. "In 1840" the critical movement had already mercilessly dissected the content of the Christian faith; with Bruno Bauer scientific [criticism] had

reached the point of open conflict with the state. It is at this juncture that Kinkel makes his debut as a preacher. But as he lacks both the energy of the orthodox and the understanding that would enable him to see theology objectively, he comes to terms with Christianity on the level of lyrical and declamatory sentimentality à la Krummacher. He presents Christ as a "friend and leader", he seeks to do away with "ugliness" in the formal aspects of Christianity, and for the content he substitutes a hollow phraseology. The device by means of which content is replaced by form and ideas by phrases has produced a host of declamatory priests in Germany whose last offshoots had of course to lead to *democracy*. But whereas in theology at least a superficial knowledge is still essential here and there, in the democratic movement, where an orotund but vacuous rhetoric, *nullité sonore*,[a] makes intellect and an insight into realities completely superfluous, an empty phraseology came into its own. Kinkel, whose theological studies had led to nothing beyond the making of sentimental extracts of Christianity in the manner of Clauren, was in speech and in his writings the epitome of this fraudulent pulpit oratory that is also described as "poetic prose" and which he oddly enough now made the basis of his "poetic mission". His poetastering, moreover, is [not][b] aimed at planting true laurels but only red rowan berries with which he beautifies the highway of trivia. This same feebleness of character which attempts to overcome conflicts not by resolving their content but by clothing them in a facile form is visible too in the way he lectures at the university. The struggle to abolish the old scholastic pedantry is sidestepped by means of a "free and easy" attitude which turns the lecturer into a student and exalts the student placing him on an equal footing with the lecturer. This school then produced a whole generation of Strodtmanns, Schurzes and suchlike who eventually were able to make use of their phraseology, their knowledge and their unexacting "lofty mission" only in the democratic movement.

* * *

The new love-affair develops into the story of *Gockel, Hinkel und Gackeleia*.[c]

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[a] A noisy nothingness.—*Ed.*

[b] The manuscript is damaged here.—*Ed.*

[c] An allusion to Clemens Brentano's fairy-tale about Gockel, Hinkel and Gackeleia (Cock, Hen and Chick). A comic effect is achieved here because of the similarity between *Gockel* (Cock) and Mockel, and *Hinkel* (Hen) and Kinkel.—*Ed.*

The year 1840 was a turning point in the history of Germany. On the one hand, the critical application of Hegel's philosophy to theology and politics had brought about a scientific revolution. On the other hand, from Frederick William IV's accession to the throne dates the emergence of a bourgeois movement whose constitutional aspirations still had a wholly radical appearance—from the vague "political poetry" of the period to the new phenomenon of a daily press which constituted a revolutionary power.

What was Gottfried doing during this period? Together with Mockel he founded the *Maikäfer, eine Zeitschrift für Nicht-Philister*[a] (p. 209) and the May-Bug Club. The aim of this paper was nothing more than

> "to provide a cheerful and enjoyable evening for a group of friends once a week and to give the participants the opportunity to present their works for criticism by a benevolent, artistically-minded audience" (pp. 209-10).

The real purpose of the May-Bug Club was to solve the riddle of the blue flower. The meetings took place in Mockel's house, and their object was the acclamation of Mockel as "Queen" (p. 210) and of Kinkel as "Minister" (p. 255) by a group of insignificant literary students. Here the two misunderstood beautiful souls found it possible to make up for the "injustice the harsh world had done them" (p. 296); they could recognise each other in the roles of Heinrich von Ofterdingen and the blue flower. Gottfried, to whom the copying of other people's roles had become second nature, must have felt happy to have at last created a real "*amateur theatre*" (p. 254). The farce was itself the prelude to practical developments:

> "These evenings provided the opportunity to see Mockel also in the house of her parents" (p. 212).

Moreover, the May-Bug Club copied also the Hainbund[159] in Göttingen, only with the difference that the latter represented a stage in the development of German literature while the former remained on the level of an insignificant local caricature. The "merry May-Bugs" (p. 254), for instance, Sebastian Longard, Leo Hasse, C. A. Schlönbach, were, as the apologetic biographer admits, pale, insipid, indolent, unimportant youths (pp. 211 and 298).

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[a] *May-Bug, a Journal for Non-Philistines.—Ed.*

* * *

Naturally, Gottfried soon began to make "comparisons" (p. 221) between Mockel and his fiancée, but he had "had no time hitherto"—much against his habit—"for the customary reflections on weddings and matrimony" (p. 219). In a word, he stood like Buridan's ass between the two bundles of hay, unable to decide between them. But with her greater maturity and very practical bent Mockel "clearly discerned the invisible bond" (p. 225); she resolved to give "chance or the will of God" (p. 229) a helping hand.

"At a time of day when Gottfried was usually prevented by his scholarly work as a teacher from seeing Mockel, he one day went to visit her and as he quietly approached her room he heard the sound of a mournful song. Pausing to listen he heard this song:

> You draw nigh! And like the dawn
> There trembles on my cheeks, etc., etc.,
> Many a nameless pain.
> Alas, you feel them not!

"A long drawn-out, melancholy chord concluded her song and faded gradually in the breeze" (pp. 230 and 231).

Gottfried crept away unobserved, as he imagined, and having arrived home again he found the situation very interesting. He wrote a number of despairing sonnets in which he compared Mockel to the Lorelei (p. 233). In order to escape from the Lorelei and to remain true to Fräulein Sophie Bögehold he tried to obtain a post as a teacher in Wiesbaden, but was rejected. This accident was compounded by a further intervention by fate which proved to be decisive. Not only was "the sun striving to leave the sign of Virgo" (p. 236), but also Gottfried and Mockel took a trip down the Rhine in a skiff; their skiff was overturned by an approaching steam-boat and Gottfried swam ashore bearing Mockel.

"As he drew towards the shore he felt her heart close to his and was suddenly overwhelmed by the feeling that only *this* woman would be able to make him happy" (p. 238).

This time Gottfried at last experienced not an imaginary but a real scene from a novel, from the *Wahlverwandtschaften.*[a] This decided the matter; he broke off his engagement to Sophie Bögehold.

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[a] *Elective Affinities,* a novel by J. W. Goethe.—*Ed.*

* * *

First love, then the intrigue. In the name of the Presbytery Pastor Engels protested to Gottfried that the marriage of a divorced woman and a Catholic to a Protestant preacher was offensive. Gottfried replied by appealing to the eternal rights of man and made the following points with a good deal of unction.

1. "It was no crime for him to have drunk coffee with the lady in Hirzekümpchen" (p. 249).
2. "The matter was ambiguous as he had not announced in public either that he intended to marry the lady, or that he did not intend to do so" (p. 251).
3. "As far as faith was concerned, no one can know what the future holds in store" (p. 250).

"And now, may I ask you to step inside and have a cup of coffee" (p. 251).

With this cliché Gottfried and Pastor Engels, who could not resist such an invitation, left the stage. In this way, quietly and yet forcefully, Gottfried was able to resolve the conflict with the existing conditions.

* * *

The following extract serves to illustrate the effect of the May-Bug Club on Gottfried:

"It was June 29, 1841. On this day the first anniversary of the May-Bug Club was to be celebrated on a grand scale" (p. 253). "A shout as of one voice arose to decide who should carry off the prize. Modestly Gottfried bent his knee before the Queen, who placed the inevitable laurel wreath on his glowing brow, while the setting sun cast its brightest rays over the transfigured countenance of the poet" (p. 285).

The solemn dedication of the imagined poetic fame of Heinrich von Ofterdingen is followed by the feelings and the wishes of the blue flower. That evening Mockel sang a May-Bug anthem she had composed which ends with the following stanza summarising the whole trend:

And what's the moral of the tale?
    Fly, May-Bug, fly!
A man who's old will ne'er find a wife,
So make haste, do not waste your life,
    Fly, May-Bug, fly!

The ingenuous biographer remarks that "the invitation to marriage contained in the stanza was wholly free of any ulterior motives" (p. 255). Gottfried perceived the ulterior motives but "did not wish to evade rashly" the opportunity of being crowned

for two further years before the whole May-Bug Club and of being an object of passion. So he married Mockel on May 22, 1843, after she had become a member of the Protestant Church despite her lack of faith. This was done on the absurd pretext that "definite articles of faith are less important in the Protestant Church than the *ethical* idea" (p. 315).

So that's the moral of the tale:
Trust not blue flowers, bright or pale.

* * *

Gottfried had entered into the relationship with Mockel on the pretext of leading her out of her unbelief into the Protestant Church. Mockel now demanded *Das Leben Jesu*[a] by Strauss and lapsed again into her unbelief,

"and with a heavy heart he followed her on the path of doubt into the abysses of negation. Together with her he toiled through the labyrinthine jungle of modern philosophy" (p. 308).

He is driven into negation not by the development of philosophy which was already having an effect on the masses but by the intervention of a chance emotional relationship.

What he brings with him out of the labyrinth of philosophy is revealed in his diaries:

"I should like to see whether the mighty current flowing from Kant to Feuerbach will drive me out into—*pantheism!!*" (p. 308).

As though this current did not go beyond pantheism, and as though Feuerbach were the last word in German philosophy!

"The key-stone of my life," the diary goes on to say, "is not historical knowledge, but a coherent system, and the core of theology is not ecclesiastical history, but dogma" (*ibid.*).

As if German philosophy had not dissolved the coherent systems into historical knowledge and the core of dogma into ecclesiastical history! These confessions clearly reveal the counter-revolutionary democrat for whom the movement is nothing more than a means by which to arrive at a few incontrovertible eternal truths as worthless points of rest.

However, Gottfried's apologetic book-keeping of his whole development will enable the reader to judge which revolutionary factor lay concealed in this melodramatic, play-acting theologian.

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[a] D. F. Strauss, *The Life of Jesus.*— *Ed.*

II

This brings to a close the first act of the drama of Kinkel's life and nothing worthy of mention then occurs before the outbreak of the February revolution. The publishing house of Cotta accepted his poems but without offering him a royalty and most of the copies remained unsold until that stray bullet in Baden gave a poetic nimbus to the author and created a market for his products.

Incidentally, our biographer omits mention of one significant fact. The self-confessed goal of Kinkel's desires was that he should die as an old theatre director: his ideal was a certain Eisenhut who together with his troupe used to roam up and down the Rhine as a travelling pickle-herring and who afterwards went mad.

Alongside his Bonn lectures with their rhetoric of the pulpit, Gottfried also gave a number of theological and aesthetic performances in Cologne from time to time. When the February revolution broke out, he concluded them with this prophetic utterance:

> "The thunder of battle reverberates over to us from Paris and opens a new and glorious era for Germany and the whole continent of Europe. The raging storm will be followed by Zephyr's blissful breeze of freedom. On this day is born the great, fruitful epoch of—*constitutional monarchy*!"

The constitutional monarchy expressed its thanks to Kinkel for this compliment by appointing him associate professor. Such recognition could however not suffice for our *grand homme en herbe.* The constitutional monarchy showed no eagerness to cause his "fame to encircle the globe". Moreover, the laurels Freiligrath had collected for his recent political poems prevented the crowned May-Bug poet from sleeping. Heinrich von Ofterdingen, therefore, wheeled to the left and became first a constitutional democrat and then a republican democrat (*honnête et modéré*). He set out to become a deputy but the May elections took him neither to Berlin nor to Frankfurt. Despite this initial setback he pursued his objective undismayed and it can truthfully be said that he did not spare himself. He wisely limited himself at first to his immediate environment. He founded the *Bonner Zeitung*, a modest local product distinguished only by the peculiar feebleness of its democratic rhetoric and its naive patriotic ignorance. He elevated the May-Bug Club to the rank of a democratic students' club and from this there duly flowed a host of disciples that bore the Master's renown into every village of the district of Bonn and

forced Professor Kinkel upon every assembly. He himself politicked with the grocers in their club, he extended a brotherly hand to the worthy manufacturers and even hawked the warm breath of freedom among the peasantry of Kindenich and Seelscheid. Above all he reserved his sympathy for the honourable trade of master craftsmen. He wept together with them over the decay of handicrafts, the terrible effects of free competition, the modern dominance of capital and of machines. Together with them he devised plans to restore the guild system and to prevent the competition of non-guild masters. So as to do everything of which he was capable he set down the results of his club deliberations with the petty master craftsmen in the pamphlet entitled *Handwerk, errette Dich!*[a]

Lest there be any doubt as to Herr Kinkel's position and to the significance of his little tract for Frankfurt and the nation, he dedicated it to the "thirty members of the economic committee of the Frankfurt National Assembly".

Heinrich von Ofterdingen's researches into the "beauty" of the handicrafts led him immediately to the discovery that "the handicrafts are at present divided by a yawning chasm" (p. 5). This chasm consists in the fact that some artisans "frequent the clubs of the grocers and officials" (what progress!) and that others do not do this, and also in the fact that some artisans are educated and others are not. Despite this chasm the author regards the artisans' associations and assemblies springing up everywhere in the beloved fatherland and the agitation for enhancing the position of the handicrafts (we recall the programmes à la Winkelblech[160] of 1848) as a gratifying symptom. In order to contribute his mite of good advice to this beneficent movement he devises his own programme of salvation.

He begins by examining how the evil effects of *free competition* can be remedied by restricting it but without eliminating it altogether. The solutions he proposes are these:

"A youth who lacks the requisite ability and maturity should be debarred by law from becoming a master" (p. 20).

"No master shall be permitted to have more than one apprentice at any given time" (p. 29).

"An examination must also be introduced for teaching a craft" (p. 30).

"The master of an apprentice must unfailingly attend the examination" (p. 31).

"On the question of maturity it should become mandatory that henceforth no one may become a master before completion of his twenty-fifth year" (p. 42).

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[a] "Handicraft, save yourself!"—*Ed.*

"As evidence of ability every candidate for the title of master should henceforth be required to pass an examination and moreover in public" (p. 43).

"In this context it is of vital importance that the examination should be free" (p. 44).

"All provincial masters of the same guild must likewise submit themselves" to these examinations (p. 55).

Friend Gottfried, who is himself engaged in political peddling, desires to abolish "itinerant trading or peddling" in other, profane wares on the grounds of its dishonesty (p. 60).

"A manufacturer of craft goods desires to withdraw his assets from the business to his own advantage and, dishonestly, to the disadvantage of his creditors. Like all ambivalent things, this phenomenon too is described by a foreign word: it is called bankruptcy. He therefore quickly takes his finished products to some neighbouring towns and sells them there to the highest bidder" (p. 64). These auctions—"in actual fact a sort of garbage that our dear neighbour, commerce, disposes of in the garden of handicraft"—must be abolished.

(Would it not be much simpler, Friend Gottfried, to go to the root of the matter and abolish bankruptcy itself?)

"It is true that fairs are in a special position" (p. 65). "In these circumstances the law will have to let the various towns and villages call an assembly of all the citizens to decide by majority vote (!) whether existing fairs should be retained or abolished" (p. 68).

Gottfried now comes to the "vexed question" of the relationship between handicraft and machine industry and brings to light the following:

"Let everyone *sell only those goods that he himself can produce with his own hands*" (p. 80). "Because machines and handicraft have gone their own ways they have strayed from their true paths and now both are in a sorry plight" (p. 84).

He wishes to unite them by getting the artisans, such as the bookbinders of a town, to combine and maintain a machine.

"As they use the machine only for themselves and only when they have an order they will be able to produce more cheaply than the merchant who owns a factory" (p. 85). "Capital will be broken by combination" (p. 84). (And combination will be broken by capital.)

He then generalises his ideas about "the purchase of a machine to rule lines, and to cut paper and cardboard" (p. 85) by the united certificated bookbinders of Bonn and conceives the notion of a "machine chamber".

"Confederations of the various guild masters must set up businesses everywhere, similar to the factories of individual businessmen though on a smaller scale. These will work to order, exclusively for the benefit of local masters. They will not accept commissions from other employers" (p. 86). A specific feature of these machine chambers is the fact that "a commercial management" will only "be

needed initially" (ibid). "Every idea as novel as this one," Gottfried exclaims "ecstatically", "can only be put into practice when all the details have been thought out in a very calm matter of fact way." He urges "each handicraft to perform this analysis for itself"! (pp. 87, 88).

There follows a polemic against competition from the state in the shape of the labour performed by the inmates of prisons, reminiscences about a colony of criminals ("the creation of a human Siberia", p. 102), and finally an attack on the "so-called handicraft companies and handicraft commissions" in the armed forces. The aim here is to relieve the army burden for the artisan by inducing the state to commission goods from the guild masters that it could itself produce more cheaply.

"The problems of competition are thus disposed of" (p. 109).

Gottfried's second important point touches on the material aid which the craftsmen are to receive from the state. Gottfried regards the state solely from the point of view of an official and hence arrives at the opinion that the easiest and surest way to help the artisan is by the Treasury advancing money to erect trade halls, set up loan offices, etc. How the Treasury is to get the funds is the "*ugly*" side of the problem and, naturally enough, cannot be investigated here.

Lastly, our theologian inevitably lapses into the role of moral preacher. He reads the artisans a moral lecture on self-help. He firstly mentions the "complaints about long-term borrowing and about discounts" (p. 136), and invites the artisan to consider the following moral question: "Do you always fix the same, unchanging price, my friend, for every job of work that you undertake?" (p. 132). On this occasion he also warns the artisan against making extortionate demands on "wealthy Englishmen". "The root of the whole evil," Gottfried imagines, "is the system of annual accounts" (p. 139). This is followed by Jeremiads about the way in which the artisans carry on in the taverns and their wives indulge their love of finery (pp. 140 ff.).

The means by which the handicrafts can improve their position are "the corporation, the sickness fund and the artisans' court of arbitration" (p. 146); and lastly, the workers' educational associations (p. 153). The following is his final statement about these educational associations:

"And finally song combined with oratory will create a bridge to *dramatic performances* and *the artisan theatre* which must constantly be kept in view as the ultimate objective of these aesthetic strivings. Only when the labouring classes learn once more how to move on the *stage* will their artistic education be complete" (pp. 174-75).

Gottfried has thus succeeded in changing the artisan into a comedian and has arrived back at his own situation.

But this whole flirtation with the guild aspirations of the master craftsmen in Bonn achieved also a practical result. In return for the solemn promise to table a motion to set up guilds, Gottfried's election as Member for Bonn in the imposed Lower Chamber[161] was contrived. "From this moment on Gottfried felt" happy.

He set off at once for Berlin and as he believed that it was the intention of the government to establish a permanent "corporation" of licensed master legislators in the Lower Chamber, he acted as if he were to stay there for ever and decided to send for his wife and child. But then the Chamber was dissolved and friend Gottfried, bitterly disappointed, had to leave his parliamentary bliss and go back to Mockel.

Soon afterwards the conflict between the Frankfurt Assembly and the [German] governments broke out and this led to the movements in South Germany and on the Rhine. The Fatherland called and Gottfried obeyed. Siegburg was the site of an arsenal for the army reserve, and next to Bonn Siegburg was the place where Gottfried had sown the seed of freedom most frequently. He joined forces with his friend Anneke, a former lieutenant, and summoned all his loyal followers to a march on Siegburg. They were to assemble at the rope ferry. More than a hundred were supposed to come, but when after waiting a long time Gottfried counted the heads of the faithful[a] there were barely thirty—and of these only three were students, to the undying shame of the May-Bug Club! Undaunted, Gottfried and his band crossed the Rhine and marched towards Siegburg. The night was dark and it was drizzling. Suddenly the sound of horses' hooves could be heard behind our valiant heroes. They took cover at the side of the road, a patrol of lancers galloped by: miserable knaves had talked too freely and the authorities had got wind of it. The march was now futile and had to be abandoned. The pain that Gottfried felt in his breast that night can only be compared with the torments he experienced when both Knapp and Chamisso declined to print his first poetic efforts in their magazines.

After this he could remain no longer in Bonn, but did not the Palatinate provide great scope for his activities? He went to Kaiserslautern and as he had to have a job he obtained a sinecure in the War Office (it is said that he was put in charge of naval

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[a] A line from Schiller's "Lied von der Glocke".—*Ed.*

affairs[a]). But he continued to earn his living by hawking around his ideas about freedom and the people's paradise among the peasants of the region and it is said that his reception in a number of reactionary districts was anything but cordial. Despite these minor misfortunes Kinkel could be seen on every highroad, striding along purposefully, his travelling bag slung over his shoulder, and from this point on he appears in all the newspapers invariably accompanied by his travelling bag.

But the uprising in the Palatinate was quickly terminated and we discover Kinkel again in Karlsruhe, where instead of the travelling bag he carries a musket, which now becomes his permanent emblem. This musket is said to have had a very *beautiful* aspect, i.e. a butt and stock made of mahogany and it was certainly an artistic, aesthetic musket; there was also an *ugly* aspect to it and this was the fact that friend Gottfried could neither load, nor see, nor shoot, nor march. So much so that a friend asked him why *he* was going into battle at all. Whereupon Gottfried replied: Well, the fact is that I can't return to Bonn, I have to live!

Thus Gottfried joined the ranks of the warriors in the corps of the chivalrous Willich. As a number of his comrades-in-arms have reliably reported, Gottfried served as a common partisan, sharing all the vicissitudes of this company with humility. He was as merry and friendly in bad times as in good, but he was mostly on the cart for the exhausted and the sick. At Rastatt,[162] however, this unsullied witness to truth and justice was to undergo the test from which he would emerge unblemished and as a martyr to the plaudits of the whole German nation. The exact details of this exploit have not yet been established with any accuracy. All that is known is that a troop of partisans got lost in a skirmish and a few shots were fired on their flank; that a bullet grazed our Gottfried's head and he fell to the ground with the cry "I am dead"; that although he was not dead he could not accompany the others on the retreat and was taken to a farm house where he turned to the worthy Black Forest peasants with the words "Save me—I am Kinkel!"; finally, that he was discovered there by the Prussians, who dragged him off into Babylonian captivity.

## III

With his capture a new stage began in Kinkel's life, a stage that at the same time opened a new era in the history of German

[a] The Palatinate had no coast-line.—*Ed.*

philistinism. No sooner had the May-Bug Club heard the news of his capture than they wrote to all the German papers that Kinkel, the great poet, was in danger of being summarily shot and that it was the duty of the German people, especially the educated among them, and above all the women and girls, to do everything to save the life of the imprisoned poet. Kinkel himself composed a poem[a] at about this time, as we are told, in which he compared himself to "Christ, his friend and teacher", adding: "My blood is shed for you." From this point on his emblem is the *lyre.* In this way Germany suddenly learned that Kinkel was a poet, and a great poet, and from this moment on the mass of German philistines and aestheticising drivellers joined in the farce of the blue flower put on by our Heinrich von Ofterdingen.

In the meantime the Prussians brought him before a military tribunal. For the first time after a long interval he had an opportunity to try out one of those moving appeals to the tear ducts of his audience which—according to Mockel—had brought him such applause earlier on as an assistant preacher in Cologne. Cologne was destined soon to witness his most glorious performance in this sphere. He made a speech in his own defence before the tribunal which unfortunately, owing to the indiscretion of a friend, was later made available to the public through the medium of the Berlin *Abend-Post.*[b] In this speech Kinkel "guards" himself

"against any identification of his actions with the dirt and filth which recently, I know, unfortunately tagged on to this revolution".[163]

After this rabid revolutionary speech Kinkel was sentenced to twenty years detention in a fortress, but as an act of grace this was reduced to prison with hard labour. He was then removed to Naugard,[c] where he was reported to have been employed in spinning wool, and so just as formerly he had appeared with the emblem first of the travelling bag, then the musket and then the lyre, he now appears in association with the *spinning wheel.* We shall see him later wandering over the ocean accompanied by the emblem of the purse.

In the meantime a curious event took place in Germany. It is well known that the German philistine is endowed by nature with a beautiful soul. Now he found his most cherished illusions cruelly shattered by the hard blows of the year 1849. Not a single hope

[a] G. Kinkel, "Mein Vermächtnis".—*Ed.*

[b] G. Kinkel, "Vertheidigungsrede vor dem preussischen Kriegsgericht zu Rastatt am 4. August 1849" (*Abend-Post,* Nos. 78 and 79, April 5 and 6, 1850).—*Ed.*

[c] The Polish name is Novogard.—*Ed.*

had become reality and even the fast-beating hearts of young men began to despair about the fate of the fatherland. Every heart yielded to a melancholy languor and the need began to be universally felt for a democratic Christ, for a real or imagined sufferer who in his torments would bear the sins of the philistine world with the fortitude of a lamb and whose suffering would epitomise in extreme form the inert, chronic nostalgia of the whole of philistinism. The May-Bug Club, with Mockel at its head, set out to satisfy this universal need. And indeed, who better fitted for the task of enacting this great passion farce than our captive passion flower, Kinkel at the spinning wheel, able to emit endless floods of pathetic sentimental tears, who was in addition preacher, professor of fine arts, deputy, political colporteur, musketeer, newly discovered poet and old impresario all rolled into one? Kinkel was the man of the moment and as such he was immediately accepted by the German philistines. Every paper abounded in anecdotes, vignettes, poems, reminiscences of the captive poet, his sufferings in prison were magnified a thousand-fold and took on mythical stature; at least once a month his hair was reported to have gone grey; in every bourgeois meeting-place and at every tea-party he was remembered with solicitude; the daughters of the educated classes sighed over his poems, and old maids, who knew what yearning is, wept freely in various cities of the fatherland at the thought of his shattered manhood. All other profane victims of the movement, all who had been shot, who had fallen in battle or who had been imprisoned, disappeared into naught beside this one sacrificial lamb, beside this man after the hearts of the philistines male and female. For him alone did the rivers of tears flow, and indeed, he alone was able to respond to them in kind. In short, we have the perfect image of the *democratic Siegwart epoch*, which yielded in nothing to the literary Siegwart epoch of the preceding century, and Siegwart-Kinkel never felt more at home in any role than in this one where he appeared to be great not because of what he did but because of what he did not do. He seemed great not by dint of his strength and his powers of resistance but through his weakness and by feebly breaking down in a situation where his only task was to survive with decorum and sentiment. Mockel, however, was able and experienced enough to take practical advantage of the public's soft heart and she immediately organised a highly efficient industry. She caused all of Gottfried's published and unpublished works, which now suddenly became valuable and *en vogue*, to be printed and propagated among the public; she also took the occasion to

dispose of her own life experiences from the insect world, e.g. her *Story of a Firefly*[a]; she employed the May-Bug Strodtmann to assemble Gottfried's most secret diary-feelings and prostitute them to the public for a considerable sum of money; she organised collections of every kind and in general she displayed undeniable commercial talent and great perseverance in converting the feelings of the educated public into hard cash. In addition she had the great satisfaction

"of seeing the greatest men of Germany, such as Adolf Stahr, meeting daily in her little room".

The climax of this whole Siegwart mania was to be reached at the Assizes in Cologne where Gottfried gave a guest performance in the spring of 1850. This was the trial resulting from the attempted uprising in Siegburg and Kinkel was brought to Cologne for the occasion. As Gottfried's diaries play such a prominent part in this sketch it will be appropriate if we too insert an excerpt from the diary of an eyewitness.

"Kinkel's wife visited him in gaol. She welcomed him from behind the grill with verses; he replied, I understand, in hexameters; whereupon they both sank to their knees before each other, and the prison inspector, an old sergeant-major, who was standing by wondered whether he was dealing with madmen or clowns. When asked later by the chief public prosecutor about the content of their conversation he declared that the couple had indeed spoken German but that he could not make head or tail of it. Whereupon Frau Kinkel is supposed to have retorted that a man who was so wholly innocent of art and literature should not be made an inspector."

When he faced the jury Kinkel wriggled his way out by acting the pure tear-jerker, the poetaster of the Siegwart period of the vintage of *Werther's Sufferings.*[b]

"'Members of the Court, Gentlemen of the Jury—the blue eyes of my children—the green waters of the Rhine—it is no dishonour to shake the hand of the proletarian—the pallid lips of the prisoner—the gentle air of one's home'"[c]—and similar muck: that was what the whole famous speech amounted to and the public, the jury, the prosecution and even the police shed their bitterest tears and the trial closed with a unanimous acquittal and a no less unanimous weeping and sobbing. Kinkel is doubtless a dear, good man but he is also a repulsive mixture of religious, political and literary reminiscences."

It was very upsetting indeed.

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[a] An allusion to G. Kinkel's *Lebenslauf eines Johannisfünkchens.—Ed.*

[b] Goethe, *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers.—Ed.*

[c] G. Kinkel, "Vertheidigungsrede vor dem Geschworenengerichte zu Köln am 2. Mai 1850".—*Ed.*

Fortunately this period of misery was soon terminated by the romantic liberation of Kinkel from Spandau gaol. His escape was a re-enactment of the story of Richard Lionheart and Blondel,[164] with the difference that this time it was Blondel who was in prison while Lionheart played on the barrel-organ outside and that Blondel was an ordinary itinerant minstrel and Lionheart was basically hardly more than a chicken heart. Lionheart was in fact the student Schurz from the May-Bug Club, a little intriguer with great ambitions and limited achievements who was however intelligent enough to have seen through the "German Lamartine"! Not long after the escape student Schurz declared in Paris that he, who was using Kinkel, knew very well that Kinkel was no *lumen mundi*,[a] whereas he, Schurz, and none other was destined to be the future president of the German Republic. This manikin, one of those students "in brown jackets and pale-blue overcoats" whom Gottfried had once followed with his "gloomily flashing eyes", succeeded in freeing Kinkel at the cost of sacrificing some poor devil of a warder who is now doing time elevated by the feeling of being a martyr for freedom—the freedom of Gottfried Kinkel.

## IV

We next meet Kinkel again in *London*, and this time, thanks to his prison fame and the sentimentality of the German philistines, he has become the greatest man in Germany. Mindful of his sublime mission friend Gottfried was able to exploit all the advantages of the moment. His romantic escape gave new impetus to the Kinkel cult in Germany and he adroitly directed this onto a path that was not without beneficial material consequences. At the same time this metropolis provided the much venerated man with a new, complex arena in which to receive even greater acclaim. He did not hesitate: he had to become the lion of the season.[b] With this in mind he refrained for the time being from all political activity and withdrew into the seclusion of his home in order to grow a beard, without which no prophet can succeed. After that he visited Dickens, the English liberal newspapers, the German businessmen in the City and especially the aesthetic Jews in that place. He was all things to all men: to one a poet, to another a patriot in general, professor of fine arts to a third, Christ to the

[a] Luminary.—*Ed.*
[b] Marx and Engels use the English word.—*Ed.*

fourth, the great long-suffering Odysseus to the fifth. To everyone, however, he appeared as the gentle, artistic, benevolent and humanitarian Gottfried. He did not rest until Dickens had eulogised him in the *Household Words*,[a] until the *Illustrated News*[b] had published his portrait. He mobilised the few Germans in London who had been involved in the Kinkel mania even at a distance to invite him ostensibly to lecture on modern drama; tickets to these lectures flooded into the homes of the local German businessmen. No running around, no advertisement, no charlatanism, no importunity, no humiliation in front of this audience was beneath him; in return, however, he did not go unrewarded. Gottfried sunned himself complacently in the mirror of his own fame and in the gigantic mirror of the Crystal Palace[165] of the world. And we may say that he now felt tremendously content.

There was no lack of praise for his lectures (see *Kosmos*).

*Kosmos*: "Kinkel's Lectures"

"While looking once at Döbler's misty images I was surprised by the whimsical question of whether it was possible to produce such chaotic creations in 'words', whether it was possible to utter misty images. It is no doubt unpleasant for the critic to have to confess, at the very outset, that in this case his critical autonomy will vibrate against the galvanised nerves of a stimulating reminiscence, as the fading sound of a dying note echoes in the strings. Nevertheless I would prefer to renounce any attempt at a bewigged and boring analysis of pedantic insensitivity than to deny that tone which the charming muse of the German refugee caused to resonate in my receptive *imagination*. This keynote of Kinkel's paintings, this sounding board of his chords is the sonorous, creative, formative and gradually shaping 'word'—'*modern thought*'. The human '*judgment*' of this thought leads truth out of the chaos of mendacious traditions, and places it, as the inviolable property of mankind, under the protection of spiritually active, logical minorities who will lead mankind from a credulous ignorance to a state of more sceptical science. It is the task of the science of doubt to profane the mysticism of pious deceit, to undermine the absolutism of a stupefied tradition; through scepticism, that ceaselessly labouring guillotine of philosophy, to decapitate accepted authority and to lead the nations out of the misty regions of theocracy by means of revolution into the luscious meadows of democracy" (of nonsense). "The sustained, unflagging search in the annals of mankind, and the understanding of man himself, is the great task of all revolutionaries and this had been understood by that proscribed poet-rebel who on three recent Monday evenings uttered his 'dissolving views'[c] before a bourgeois audience in the course of his lectures on the history of the modern theatre."

"A Worker"[166]

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[a] Charles Dickens, "Gottfried Kinkel; A Life in Three Pictures", *Household Words*, No. 32, November 2, 1850.—*Ed.*

[b] *Illustrated London News*.—*Ed.*

[c] The English expression is used in the original.—*Ed.*

It is generally claimed that *this worker* is a very close relation of Kinkel's—namely Mockel—as indeed seems likely from the use of such expressions as "sounding board", "fading sound", "chords" and "galvanised nerves".

However, even this period of hard-earned self-satisfaction was not to last forever. The Last Judgment on the existing world order, the democratic day of judgment, namely the much celebrated May 1852,[167] was drawing ever closer. In order to confront this day all booted and spurred Gottfried Kinkel had to don his political lion's skin once more: he had to make contact with the "emigration".

So we come to the London "emigration", this hotchpotch of former members of the Frankfurt Parliament, the Berlin National Assembly, and Chamber of Deputies, of gentlemen from the Baden campaign, giants from the comedy of the Imperial Constitution,[168] writers without a public, loudmouths from the democratic clubs and congresses, twelfth-rate journalists and so forth.

The great men of the Germany of 1848 had been on the point of coming to a sticky end when the victory of the "tyrants" rescued them, swept them out of the country and made saints and martyrs of them. They were saved by the counter-revolution. The course of continental politics brought most of them to London, which thus became their European centre. It is evident that in this situation something had to happen, something had to be arranged to remind the public daily of the existence of these world liberators. It was necessary at all costs to preclude the impression that universal history might be able to proceed without the intervention of these mighty men. The more this refuse of mankind found itself hindered by its own impotence as much as by the prevailing situation from undertaking any real action, the more zealously did it indulge in spurious activity whose imagined deeds, imagined parties, imagined struggles and imagined interests had been so noisily trumpeted abroad by those involved. The less able these people were to bring about a new revolution in fact, the more they had to anticipate this eventuality in their minds, to share out the plum jobs in advance and enjoy the prospect of future power. The form taken by this self-important activity was that of a mutual insurance club of would-be great men and the reciprocal guarantee of government posts.

V

The first attempt to create such an "organisation" took place as early as the spring of 1850. A magniloquent "Draft Circular to German Democrats, printed in manuscript form" was hawked around London together with a "Covering Letter to the Leaders".[a] The Circular and Covering Letter invited the readers to found a united democratic church. The immediate aim was to form a Central Bureau to deal with the affairs of German *émigrés*,[169] to set up a joint administration for refugee problems, to start a printing press in London, and to unite all patriots against the common enemy, etc. The emigration should then become the centre of the internal movement, the organisation of the emigration was to be the beginning of a comprehensive democratic organisation, those outstanding personalities who were without means should as members of the Central Bureau be paid salaries raised by taxes levied on the German people. This tax proposal seemed all the more appropriate as "the German emigration had gone abroad not merely without a respectable hero but, what is even worse, without common *assets*". The document does not conceal that the Hungarian, Polish and French committees already in existence provided the model for this "organisation" and the whole of it is redolent of a certain envy of the privileged position of these prominent allies.

The Circular was the joint production of Herr Rudolph *Schramm* and Herr Gustav *Struve*, behind whom lay concealed the merry figure of Herr Arnold *Ruge*, a corresponding member living in Ostend at the time.

Herr *Rudolph Schramm*—a rowdy, loudmouthed and extremely muddleheaded little man whose life-motto came from *Rameau's Nephew*:

"I would rather be an impudent windbag than not exist at all."[b]

When at the height of his power, Herr Camphausen would gladly have given the forward young Crefelder an important post, had it been seemly thus to elevate a mere junior official. Thanks to bureaucratic etiquette Herr Schramm found only the career of a democrat still open to him. And in this profession he really did

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[a] R. Schramm, G. Struve, "Entwurf eines Rundschreibens an deutsche Demokraten; als Manuscript gedruckt. Begleitschreiben an die Führer".—*Ed.*

[b] Denis Diderot, *Rameau's Neffe*. Aus dem Manuscript übersetzt von J. W. Goethe.—*Ed.*

advance at one point to the post of President of the Democratic Club in Berlin and with the support of some Left-wing Members of Parliament he later became the Deputy for Striegau[a] in the Berlin National Assembly. Here the normally so loquacious Schramm distinguished himself by his obstinate silence, which was accompanied, however, by an uninterrupted series of grunts. After the Constituent Assembly had been dissolved our democratic man of the people wrote a pamphlet in support of a constitutional monarchy[b] but he was not re-elected. Later, at the time of the Brentano government, he appeared momentarily in Baden and there in the "Club of Resolute Progress"[170] he became acquainted with Struve. On his arrival in London he declared his intention of withdrawing from all political activity, for which reason he forthwith published the circular referred to above. Essentially an unsuccessful bureaucrat, Herr Schramm imagined that his family relations qualified him to represent the radical bourgeoisie in exile and he did indeed present a fair caricature of the radical bourgeois.

*Gustav Struve* is one of the more important figures of the emigration. At the very first glimpse of his leathery appearance, his protuberant eyes with their sly, stupid expression, the mat gleam on his bald pate and his half Slav, half Kalmuck features, one cannot doubt that one is in the presence of an unusual man. And this impression is confirmed by his low, guttural voice, his sentimental and unctuous manner of speaking and the solemn gravity of his deportment. To be just it must be said that faced with the greatly increased difficulties of distinguishing oneself these days, our Gustav tried at least to be different from his fellow citizens; part prophet, part speculator, part bunion healer—he centred his activities on all kinds of odd peripheral matters and made propaganda for the strangest assortment of causes. For example, being a Russian he suddenly took it into his head to enthuse about the cause of German freedom after he had been employed in a supernumerary capacity in the Russian embassy to the Federal Diet[171] and had written a little pamphlet in defence of the Diet.[c] Regarding his own skull as the normal human cranium, he vigorously applied himself to phrenology and from then on he refused to trust anyone whose skull he had not yet felt and

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[a] The Polish name is Strzegom.—*Ed.*

[b] R. Schramm, *Der Standpunkt der Demokratie in und zur octroyirten zweiten Kammer.*—*Ed.*

[c] G. Struve, *Erster Versuch auf dem Felde des deutschen Bundesrechts.*—*Ed.*

examined. He also gave up eating meat and preached the gospel of strict vegetarianism; he was, moreover, a weather-prophet, he inveighed against tobacco and was prominent in the interest of the ethics of German Catholicism[172] and water-cures. Given his thoroughgoing hatred of concrete knowledge it was natural that he should be in favour of free universities in which the four faculties[173] would be replaced by the study of phrenology, physiognomy, chiromancy and necromancy. It was also quite in character for him persistently to maintain that he was a great writer precisely because his mode of writing was the antithesis of everything that could be held to be stylistically acceptable.

In the early forties Gustav had already invented the *Deutscher Zuschauer*, a little paper that he published in Mannheim, that he patented and that pursued him everywhere as a fixed idea. He also made the discovery at around this time that Rotteck's *Weltgeschichte* and the Rotteck-Welcker *Staats-Lexikon*, the two works that had been his Old and New Testaments, were out of date and in need of a new *democratic* edition. This revision Gustav undertook without delay and published an extract from it in advance under the title *Grundzüge der Staatswissenschaft*. Since 1848, moreover, the revision had become "an undeniable necessity, for the late Rotteck had not experienced the events of recent years".

In the meantime there broke out in Baden in quick succession the three "popular uprisings"[174] that have been depicted by Gustav as the very centre of the whole modern course of world history.[a] Driven into exile by the very first of these revolts (Hecker's) and engaged in publishing his *Deutscher Zuschauer* once again, this time in Basle, he was dealt a hard blow by fate when the publisher in Mannheim continued to print the *Deutscher Zuschauer* there under a different editor. The battle between the true and the false *Deutscher Zuschauer* was so bitterly fought that neither paper survived. To compensate for this Gustav devised a constitution for the German Federal Republic[b] in which Germany was to be divided into 24 republics, each with a president and two chambers; he appended a neat map on which the whole plan could be clearly seen.

In September 1848 the second insurrection began, in which our Gustav acted as both Caesar and Socrates. He used the time granted him on German soil to issue serious warnings to the Black Forest peasantry about the deleterious effects of smoking tobacco.

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[a] G. Struve, *Geschichte der drei Volkserhebungen in Baden.—Ed.*
[b] G. Struve, *Die Grundrechte des deutschen Volkes.—Ed.*

In Lörrach he published his *Moniteur* with the title of *Government Organ—German Free State—Freedom, Prosperity, Education.*[a] This publication contained *inter alia* the following decree:

"Article 1 . The extra tax of 10 per cent imposed by the aforesaid on goods imported from Switzerland is hereby abolished; Article 2. *Christian Müller, the Customs Officer, is given the task of implementing the measure.*"

He was accompanied in all his trials by his faithful Amalia, who subsequently published a romantic account of them.[b] She was also active in administering the oath to captured gendarmes; it was her custom to fasten a red band around the arm of every one who swore allegiance to the German free state and to give him a kiss. Unfortunately Gustav and Amalia were taken prisoner and languished in gaol where the imperturbable Gustav at once resumed his republican translation of Rotteck's *Weltgeschichte* until he was at last liberated by the outbreak of the third insurrection. Gustav now became a member of a real provisional government and the mania for provisional governments was now added to his other fixed ideas. As President of the War Council he hastened to introduce as much muddle as possible into his department and to recommend the "traitor" Mayerhofer for the post of Minister for War (vide Goegg, *Rückblick*,[c] Paris, 1851). Later he vainly aspired to the post of Foreign Minister and to have 60,000 florins placed at his disposal. Herr Brentano soon relieved our Gustav of the burdens of government and Gustav now headed the opposition in the "Club of Resolute Progress". He delighted above all in opposing the very measures of Brentano which he himself had supported. Even though the Club was disbanded and Gustav had to flee to the Palatinate, this disaster had its positive side for it enabled him to issue one further number of the inevitable *Deutscher Zuschauer* in Neustadt an der Haardt—this compensated Gustav for much undeserved suffering. A further satisfaction was that he was successful in a by-election in some remote corner of the uplands and was nominated member of the Baden Constituent Assembly, which meant that he could now return in an official capacity. In this Assembly Gustav only distinguished himself by the following three proposals that he put forward in Freiburg: 1) On June 28: everyone who wants to negotiate with the enemy to be

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[a] *Republikanisches Regierungs-Blatt.* It appeared with the subtitle: *Deutsche Republik! Wohlstand, Bildung, Freiheit für Alle!—Ed.*

[b] Amalie Struve, *Erinnerungen aus den badischen Freiheitskämpfen.—Ed.*

[c] A. Goegg, *Rückblick auf die Badische Revolution unter Hinweisung auf die gegenwärtige Lage Teutschlands* (published anonymously).—*Ed.*

declared a traitor. 2) On June 30: a new provisional government to be formed in which Struve would have a seat and a vote. 3) On the same day that the previous motion was defeated he proposed that as the defeat at Rastatt had rendered all resistance futile the uplands should be spared the terrors of war and that therefore all officials and soldiers should receive ten days' wages and members of the Assembly should receive ten days' expenses together with travelling costs and then they should all repair to Switzerland to the accompaniment of trumpets and drums. When this proposal too was rejected Gustav at once set out for Switzerland on his own and having been driven from thence by James Fazy's stick he retreated to London, where he came to the fore with yet another discovery, namely the *six scourges of mankind.* These six scourges were: the princes, the nobles, the priests, the bureaucracy, the standing army, mammon and bedbugs. The spirit in which Gustav interpreted the late Rotteck can be gauged from the further discovery that mammon was the invention of Louis Philippe. Gustav preached the gospel of the six scourges in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung,*[a] which belonged to the ex-Duke of Brunswick. He was tolerably rewarded for this activity and in return he gratefully bowed to the ducal censorship. So much for Gustav's relations with the first scourge, the princes. As for his relationship with the nobles, the second scourge, our moral and religious republican had visiting cards printed on which he figured as "Baron von Struve". If his relations with the remaining scourges were less amicable this cannot be his fault. Gustav then made use of his leisure time in London to devise a republican calendar in which the saints were replaced by right-minded men and the names "Gustav" and "Amalia" were particularly prominent. The months were given German designations in imitation of those in the calendar of the French Republic and there were a number of similar beneficial and commonplace innovations. Moreover his favourite fixed ideas made their appearance again in London: to revive the *Deutscher Zuschauer* and the Club of Resolute Progress and to form a provisional government. On all these matters he found himself of one mind with Schramm and in this way the Circular came into being.

The third member of the alliance,[b] the great *Arnold Ruge* with his air of a sergeant-major still waiting for civilian employment,

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[a] G. Struve, "Abschiedsbrief Struve's Havre, 7. Oktober 1849", *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung,* No. 238, October 26, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] Paraphrase of the last line of Schiller's "Die Bürgschaft".—*Ed.*

outshines the whole of the emigration. It cannot be said that this noble man commends himself by his notably handsome exterior; Paris acquaintances were wont to sum up his Pomeranian-Slav features with the word "ferret-face" (*figure de fouine*). Arnold Ruge, the son of peasants of the isle of Rügen, had endured seven years in Prussian prisons for demagogic agitation.[175] He threw himself wildly into Hegelian philosophy as soon as he had realised that once he had leafed through Hegel's *Encyclopädie* he could dispense with the study of all other science. He also developed the principle (which he advanced in a short story and which he attempted to practise on his friends—poor Herwegh can vouch for the truth of this) of *profiting* from marriage and accordingly he early acquired a "material basis" in this manner.

With the help of his Hegelian phrases and his material basis he merely contrived to become door-keeper to German philosophy. In the *Hallische Jahrbücher* and the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* it was his task to announce and to trumpet the names of rising luminaries and he showed that he was not without talent in exploiting them for his own literary purposes. Unfortunately, the period of philosophical anarchy very soon supervened, that period when science no longer had a universally acknowledged king, when Strauss, B. Bauer and Feuerbach fought among themselves and when the most diverse alien elements began to disrupt the simplicity of the classical doctrine. Our Ruge looked on helplessly; he no longer knew which path to take; his Hegelian categories had always operated in a vacuum, now they ran completely amok and he suddenly felt a strong desire for a mighty movement where people were not very particular about thought and writing.

Ruge played the same role in the *Hallische Jahrbücher* as the late bookseller Nicolai had done in the old *Berlinische Monatsschrift.* Like the latter his ambition was to print the works of others and, in so doing, to derive material advantage and also to quarry literary sustenance for the effusions of his own brain. The only difference was that in *rewriting* his collaborators' articles, in this literary digestive process with its inevitable end product, our Ruge went much further than did his model. Moreover, Ruge was not the door-keeper of German Enlightenment, he was the Nicolai of modern German philosophy and was able to conceal the natural banality of his genius behind a thick hedge of speculative jargon. Like Nicolai he fought valiantly against *Romanticism* because it had long since been demolished philosophically by Hegel in his *Aesthetik* and by Heine from the point of view of literature in *Die romantische Schule.* But unlike Hegel, Ruge agreed with Nicolai in

arrogating to himself the right as an anti-Romantic to set up a vulgar philistinism and above all his own philistinic self as an ideal of perfection. With this in mind and so as to defeat the enemy on his own ground, Ruge went in for making verses. No Dutchman could have achieved the dull flatness of these poems which Ruge hurled so challengingly into the face of Romanticism.

And in general our Pomeranian thinker did not really feel at ease in Hegelian philosophy. Able as he was in detecting contradictions he was all the more feeble in resolving them and he had a very understandable horror of dialectics. The upshot was that the crudest possible contradictions dwelt peaceably together in his dogmatic brain and that his powers of understanding, never very agile, were nowhere more at home than in such mixed company. It sometimes happened that in his own way he imbibed simultaneously two articles by two different writers and conflated them into a single new product, without noticing that they had been written from two opposing viewpoints. Always getting stuck in his contradictions he sought to extricate himself by asserting in his arguments with theorists that his deficient reasoning was due to his practical sense, and on the other hand telling the practical people that his practical clumsiness and inconsistency was the height of theoretical achievement. He would end by maintaining that it was precisely his own entanglement in insoluble contradictions, his chaotically uncritical faith in the purport of all popular slogans that showed him to be a man of "*principle*".

Before we go on to concern ourselves with the further career of our Maurice of Saxony, as he liked to style himself in his intimate circle of friends, we would point to two qualities which made their appearance already in the *Jahrbücher*. The first is his *mania for manifestos*. No sooner had anyone hatched any kind of novel opinion that Ruge believed to have a future than he would issue a manifesto. As no one reproaches him with ever having given birth to an original thought, such manifestos were always a suitable opportunity to claim this novel idea as his property in a more or less declamatory fashion. This would be followed by the attempt to form a party, a group, a "*mass*" which would stand behind him and to whom he could act as sergeant-major. We shall see later to what unbelievable heights of perfection Ruge had developed the art of fabricating manifestos, proclamations and pronunciamentos.

The second quality is the particular *diligence* in which Arnold excels. As he does not care to study overmuch, or as he puts it "to

transfer ideas from one library into another",[a] he prefers "to gain his knowledge fresh from life", in other words, to note down conscientiously every evening all the novel or bright ideas or "anecdotes" that he has heard, read, or just picked up during the day. As opportunity arises these materials are then made to contribute to Ruge's daily stint which he performs just as conscientiously as his other bodily needs. It is this that his admirers refer to when they say that he cannot hold his ink. The subject of his daily literary production is a matter of complete indifference; what is vital is that Ruge should be able to immerse every possible topic in that wonderful stylistic sauce that goes with everything, just like the English who enjoy their Soyer's relish[b] or Worcester sauce[c] equally with fish, fowl, cutlets or anything else. This daily stylistic *diarrhoea* he likes to designate the "*strikingly* beautiful form" and he regards it as adequate grounds for passing himself off as an "artist".

Contented as Ruge was to be the Swiss guard of German philosophy he still had a secret sorrow gnawing at his innermost vitals. He had not written a single large book and had daily to envy the happy Bruno Bauer who had published eighteen fat volumes while still a young man. To remedy this incongruity Ruge had one and the same essay printed three times in one and the same volume under different titles and then brought out the same volume in a number of different formats. In this way Arnold Ruge's *Collected Works*[d] came into being and even today he derives much pleasure from counting them every morning volume by volume as they stand there neatly bound in his library, whereupon he exclaims joyfully: "And anyway, Bruno Bauer is a man without principles!"

Even though Arnold did not manage to comprehend the Hegelian philosophy, he did succeed in representing one Hegelian category in his own person. He was the very incarnation of "*the honest consciousness*" and was strengthened in this when he made the pleasant discovery in the *Phänomenologie*—which otherwise remained a sealed book to him—that the honest consciousness "always has pleasure in itself".[e] Though it wears its integrity on its sleeve the honest consciousness uses it to conceal the petty malice

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[a] A. Ruge, *Unsre letzten zehn Jahre.—Ed.*
[b] Marx and Engels use the English words "Soyer's relish".—*Ed.*
[c] Marx and Engels say "Warwickshire sauce".—*Ed.*
[d] A. Ruge, *Gesammelte Schriften.—Ed.*
[e] G. W. F. Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes.* VI. Der Geist.—*Ed.*

and crotchetiness of the philistine; it has the right to allow itself every kind of base action because it knows that its baseness springs from honest motives. Its very stupidity becomes a virtue because it is an irrefutable proof that it stands up for its principles. Despite every *arrière pensée* it is firmly convinced of its own integrity and the more it intends to perpetrate a deception or a *mesquine*[a] base act, the more open and trustworthy does it appear. Beneath the halo of good intentions all the petty meannesses of the philistine become transformed into as many virtues; sordid self-interest appears purified when presented as a piece of self-sacrifice; cowardice appears disguised as a higher form of courage; baseness becomes magnanimity; and the coarse manners and obtrusiveness of the peasant become ennobled, and indeed transfigured into the signs of uprightness and good humour. This is the gutter in which the contradictions of philosophy, democracy and phrase-mongering in general all strangely merge; such a man is moreover richly endowed with all the vices, the mean and petty qualities, with the slyness and the stupidity, the avarice and the clumsiness, the servility and the arrogance, the untrustworthiness and the bonhomie of the emancipated serf, the peasant: philistine and ideologist, atheist and slogan worshipper, absolute ignoramus and absolute philosopher all in one—that is Arnold Ruge as Hegel foretold him in 1806.

After the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* were suppressed Ruge transported his family to Paris in a carriage specially built for the purpose. Here, his unlucky star brought him into contact with *Heine*, who honoured him as the man who "had translated Hegel into Pomeranian". Heine asked him whether Prutz was not a pseudonym of his, which Ruge could deny in good conscience. However, it was not possible to make Heine believe that our Arnold was not the author of Prutz's poems. Incidentally, Heine discovered very soon that even though Ruge had no talent he knew very well how to give the appearance of being a man of character. Thus it came about that friend Arnold gave Heine the idea for his *Atta Troll*. If Ruge did not immortalise his sojourn in Paris by writing a great work he nevertheless deserves our thanks for the one Heine produced for him. In gratitude the poet wrote for him this well-known epitaph:

> Atta Troll, reforming bear,
> Pure and pious; a passionate husband,

[a] Petty.—*Ed.*

By the Zeitgeist led astray
A backwoods sansculotte,
Dances badly but ideals
Dwell within his shaggy breast
Often stinking very strongly—
Talent none, but Character![a]

In Paris our Arnold experienced the misfortune of becoming involved with the Communists. He published articles by *Marx* and *Engels* in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*[b] that contained views running directly counter to those he had himself announced in the Preface, an accident to which the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*[c] drew his attention but which he bore with philosophical resignation.

To overcome an innate social awkwardness our Ruge has collected a small number of curious anecdotes that could be used on any occasion. He calls these anecdotes *yarns*. His preoccupation with these yarns, sustained over many years, finally led to the transformation of all events, situations and circumstances into a series of pleasant or unpleasant, good or bad, important or trivial, interesting or boring yarns. The Paris bustle, the many new impressions, socialism, politics, the Palais-Royal,[176] the cheapness of the oysters—all these things wrought so powerfully on the mind of this unfortunate man that his head began to spin permanently and irremediably and Paris for him became an unlimited storehouse of yarns. He himself hit upon the idea of using wood shavings to make coats for the proletariat and in general he had a foible for industrial yarns for which he could never find any shareholders.

When the politically better known Germans were expelled from France,[177] Ruge contrived to avoid this fate by presenting himself to Minister Duchâtel as a *savant sérieux*.[d] He evidently had in mind the "scholar" in Paul de Kock's *Amant de la lune*, who established himself as a *savant* by means of an original way of making corks pop into the air.[e]

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[a] Heinrich Heine, *Atta Troll*, Caput XXIV.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to Marx's articles "On the Jewish Question" and "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction", and to Engels' articles "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy" and "The Condition of England. *Past and Present* by Thomas Carlyle"(see present edition, Vol. 3).—*Ed.*

[c] "Frankreich. Die ersten Proben der deutsch-französischen Jahrbücher" (anon.), *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Augsburg), No. 70, March 10, 1844.—*Ed.*

[d] A true scholar.—*Ed.*

[e] This refers to Saucissard, a character in Paul de Kock's novel.—*Ed.*

Shortly afterwards Arnold went to Switzerland where he met *K. Heinzen*, a former Dutch non-commissioned officer, Cologne writer and Prussian tax sub-inspector. These two were soon bound together by bonds of the most intimate friendship. Heinzen learnt philosophy from Ruge, Ruge learnt politics from Heinzen. From this time on we detect in Ruge a growing necessity to appear as a philosopher *par excellence* only among the coarser elements of the German movement, a fate that led him down and down until at last he was accepted as a philosopher only by "Friends of Light" ministers (Dulon), German-Catholic parsons (Ronge) and Fanny Lewald. At the same time, however, anarchy was growing apace in German philosophy. Stirner's *Unique*, [Stein's] *Socialism and Communism*,[a] etc., all these recent intruders, caused Ruge's head to spin quite intolerably; a great leap had to be ventured. So Ruge escaped into *humanism*, the catch-phrase with which all confusionists in Germany, from Reuchlin to Herder, have covered up their embarrassment. This catch-phrase seemed all the more appropriate as Feuerbach had only recently "rediscovered man" and Arnold fastened on to it with such desperation that he has not let go of it to this day. But while still in Switzerland Arnold made yet another, incomparably greater discovery. This was that "the ego by *appearing frequently* before the public asserts itself as a *character*".[b] From this point on a new field of activity opened for Arnold. He now elevated the most shameless meddling and importunity into a principle. Ruge had to take part in everything and to poke his nose into everything. No hen could lay an egg without Ruge "editing the *rationale*" of this "event".[178] Contact had to be maintained at all costs with some obscure local paper where there was a chance of making frequent appearances. He no longer wrote a single newspaper article without signing his name and, where possible, mentioning himself. The principle of the frequent appearance had to be extended to every article; an article had first to appear in letter form in the European papers and (after Heinzen's emigration to New York) in the American papers also; then it was printed as a pamphlet and finally reprinted in the collected works.

Thus equipped, our Ruge could return to Leipzig to obtain definitive recognition of his *character*. But once arrived all was not a bed of roses. His old friend Wigand, the bookseller, had very

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[a] M. Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum*. L. Stein, *Der Socialismus und Communismus des heutigen Frankreichs*.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Ruge, *Unsre letzten zehn Jahre*.—*Ed.*

successfully replaced him in the role of Nicolai and as no other post was vacant Ruge fell into gloomy reflections on the transitoriness of all yarns. This was his situation when the German revolution broke out.

It brought sudden relief to our Arnold too. The mighty movement in which even the clumsiest could easily swim with the current had finally got underway and Ruge went at once to Berlin where he intended to fish in troubled waters. As a *revolution* had just broken out he felt that it would be appropriate for him to come forward with proposals for *reform*. So he founded a paper with that name. The pre-revolutionary *Réforme* of Paris had been the most untalented, ignorant and boring paper in France. The Berlin *Reform* demonstrated that it was possible to surpass its French model and that one could unhesitatingly offer the German public such an incredible journal even in the "metropolis of intelligence". On the assumption that Ruge's clumsy language was the best guarantee for the profound content lying behind it Arnold was elected to the Frankfurt Parliament as Member for Breslau.[a] Here he saw his chance as editor of the democratic Left wing to come forward with an absurd *manifesto*.[b] Apart from that he distinguished himself only by his passion for issuing *manifestos* for European *peoples' congresses*, and hastened to add his voice to the general wish that Prussia should be integrated into Germany. Later, on his return to Berlin, he demanded that Germany should be integrated into Prussia and Frankfurt into Berlin, and when he finally decided to become a peer of Saxony he demanded that Germany and Prussia should both be integrated into Dresden.

His parliamentary activity brought him no laurels other than the fact that his own party despaired at his clumsy ineptitude. At the same time his *Reform* was going downhill, a situation that could only be remedied, as he thought, by his personal presence in Berlin. As an "honest consciousness" he naturally discovered a strictly political pretext for his resignation and in fact he demanded that the whole of the Left should leave with him. Naturally, they refused and Ruge went to Berlin alone. Once there, he discovered that modern conflicts can best be resolved by the "*Dessau method*", as he termed the small state, a model of constitutional democracy. Then during the siege of Vienna he again drew up a *manifesto* in which General

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[a] The Polish name is Wrocław.— *Ed.*

[b] A. Ruge, "Motivirtes Manifest der radical-demokratischen Partei in der constituirenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main", *Die Reform*, No. 66, June 7, 1848.— *Ed.*

*Wrangel* was exhorted to march against Windischgrätz and to free Vienna.[a] He even obtained the approval of the Democratic Congress for this curious document under the pretext that it had already been set up with the signature and printed.[179] Finally, when Berlin itself was in a state of siege, Herr Ruge went to Manteuffel and made proposals concerning the *Reform*, which were however rejected. Manteuffel told him that he wished all opposition papers were like the *Reform*; the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* was much more dangerous—an utterance which the naïve Ruge, with triumphant pride, hastened to report through the length and breadth of Germany. Arnold became an enthusiastic advocate of *passive resistance*,[180] which he himself put into practice by leaving his paper, editors and everything in the lurch and running away. Active flight is evidently the most resolute form of passive resistance. The counter-revolution had supervened and Ruge fled before it all the way from Berlin to London without stopping.

At the time of the May uprising in Dresden Arnold placed himself at the head of the movement in Leipzig together with his friend Otto Wigand and the city council. He and his companions issued a vigorous *manifesto* to the citizens of Dresden urging them to fight bravely—in Leipzig, it went on, Ruge, Wigand and the city fathers were watching, and whoever did not desert himself would not be deserted by Heaven. Scarcely had the manifesto been published when our brave Arnold took to his heels and fled to Karlsruhe.

In Karlsruhe he felt unsafe even though the Baden troops were standing on the Neckar and hostilities were a long way from breaking out. He asked Brentano to send him to Paris as ambassador. Brentano permitted himself the joke of giving him the post for 12 hours revoking it next morning, just when Ruge was about to depart. Undaunted, Ruge went to Paris together with Schütz and Blind, the official representatives of the Brentano government, and once there made such a spectacle of himself that Oppenheim, his former editor, announced in the official *Karlsruher Zeitung*[b] that Herr Ruge was not in Paris in any official capacity but merely "*on his own initiative*". Having once been taken along by Schütz and Blind to see Ledru-Rollin, Ruge suddenly interrupted the diplomatic negotiations with a terrible diatribe against the Germans in the presence of the Frenchman so that his colleagues finally had to withdraw discomfited and compromised. June 13[c]

[a] A. Ruge, "An das deutsche Volk!"—*Ed.*

[b] On May 31, 1849.—*Ed.*

[c] On that day a peaceful demonstration was dispersed in Paris, and this signified the defeat of the Montagne Party.—*Ed.*

came and dealt our Arnold such a severe blow that for no reason at all he took to his heels and did not pause to take breath again until he found himself in London, on free British soil. Referring to this flight later he compared himself to Demosthenes.[a]

In London Ruge first attempted to be introduced as the Baden provisional ambassador. He then tried to gain acceptance in the English press as a great German thinker and writer but was always turned away on the grounds that the English were too materialistic to understand German philosophy. He was also asked about his works—a request which Ruge could answer only with a sigh while the image of Bruno Bauer once again rose up before his eyes. For even his *Collected Works*, what were they but pamphlets reprinted again and again? And they were not even pamphlets but merely newspaper articles in pamphlet form, and basically they were not even newspaper articles but only the muddled fruits of his reading. Something had to be done and so Ruge wrote two articles for the *Leader*[b] in which under the pretext of an analysis of German democracy he declared that in Germany "*humanism*" was now the order of the day as represented by Ludwig Feuerbach and Arnold Ruge, the author of the following works: 1) *Die Religion unsrer Zeit*, 2) *Die Demokratie und der Sozialismus*, 3) *Die Philosophie und die Revolution*. These three epoch-making works which have not appeared in the bookshops to this day are, it goes without saying, nothing more than new titles arbitrarily applied to old essays of Ruge's. Simultaneously he resumed his daily stints when for his own edification, for the benefit of the German public and to the horror of Herr Brüggemann he began to retranslate articles into German that had somehow got out of the *Kölnische Zeitung* and into the *Morning Advertiser*. Not exactly burdened with laurels he withdrew to Ostend

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[a] The following paragraph is crossed out in the manuscript: "The question arises here: why in particular is Herr A. Ruge in England? In the year 1849 Herr Ruge began to realise at least one thing: that his position in Germany was very untenable, very compromised, and that he needed to be transferred to distant soil to maintain a sort of pretext for his frequent appearances. There are no external reasons whatever to keep him away from the Continent. When he turned his back on the Berlin state of siege, his editors stayed behind; when he withdrew from Leipzig, Wigand and his other associates stayed there without a hair falling from their heads; he did not take part in any compromising activities in Baden any more than he did in Paris. But precisely because Ruge is *no refugee* in the usual sense of the word, he considers it so important to hold an official position in the emigration."—*Ed.*

[b] A. Ruge, "The German Democratic Party. 1. The Origin and Elements of the Party. 2. The Revolution and the Present Condition of Parties and of the Nation". *The Leader*, Nos. 39 and 40, December 21 and 28, 1850.—*Ed.*

where he found the leisure necessary to his preparations for the role of the worldly-wise *Confusius*[a] *of the German emigration.*

Just as Gustav represents the vegetable nature and Gottfried the sensibility of German *petty-bourgeois* philistinism, Arnold represents its *reason* or rather its *unreason.* Unlike Arnold Winkelried [181] he does not open up a *path* to freedom; he is in his own person the *gutter* of freedom[b]; Ruge stands in the German revolution like the notices seen at the corners of certain streets: it is permitted to pass water here.

We return at last to our circular with its covering latter. It fell flat and the first attempt to create a united democratic church came to nought. Schramm and Gustav later declared that failure was due solely to the circumstance that Ruge could neither speak French nor write German. But then the great men again set to work.

> Chè ciascun oltra moda era possente,
> Come udirete nel canto seguente.[c]

## VI

Rodomonte[d] K. *Heinzen* had arrived in London from Switzerland at the same time as Gustav. Karl Heinzen had for many years made a living from his threat to destroy "tyranny" in Germany. After the outbreak of the February revolution he went so far as to attempt, with unheard-of courage, to inspect German soil from the vantage point of Schuster Island.[e] He then betook himself to Switzerland where from the safety of Geneva he again thundered against the "tyrants and oppressors of the people" and took the opportunity to declare that "Kossuth is a great man, but Kossuth has forgotten about fulminating silver".[f] Heinzen's horror of bloodshed had turned him into the alchemist of the revolution. He dreamt of an explosive substance that would blast the whole of European reaction into the air in a trice, without its user even getting his fingers burnt. He had a particular aversion to walking amid a shower of bullets and

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[a] A pun on Confucius.—*Ed.*

[b] In German a play on words: *der Freiheit eine Gasse*—a path to freedom, and *der Freiheit eine Gosse*—a gutter of freedom.—*Ed.*

[c] For puissant were they all beyond compare,
As in our next canto you shall hear (Boiardo, *L'Orlando innamorato,* Canto 17).—*Ed.*

[d] A character from Ariosto's *Orlando furioso.*—*Ed.*

[e] Near Basle.—*Ed.*

[f] K. Heinzen, "Der Mord", *Die Evolution,* No. 4, January 26, 1849.—*Ed.*

to ordinary warfare in which high principle is no defence against them. Under the government of Herr Brentano he even risked a revolutionary visit to Karlsruhe. As he did not receive the reward he thought due to him for his heroic deeds he at first resolved to edit the *Moniteur*[a] of that "traitor" Brentano. But when the Prussians advanced he declared that Heinzen would not "let himself be shot" for that traitor Brentano.[b] Under the pretext of forming an *élite* corps where political principles and military organisation would complement each other, i.e. where military cowardice would pass for political courage, his constant search for the ideal volunteer corps made him retrace his steps until he had regained the familiar territory of Switzerland. *Sophiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen*[182] was more bloody than Rodomonte's revolutionary journey. On his arrival in Switzerland he declared that there were no longer any real men in Germany, that the authentic fulminating silver had not yet been discovered, that the war was not being conducted on revolutionary principles but in the ordinary way, with powder and lead, and that he intended to revolutionise Switzerland as Germany was a lost cause. In the secluded idyll of Switzerland and with the bizarre dialect they speak there it was easy for Rodomonte to pass for a German writer and even for a dangerous man. He achieved his aim. He was expelled and despatched to London at federal expense. Rodomonte Heinzen had not directly participated in the European revolution; but, undeniably, he had moved about extensively on its behalf. When the February revolution broke out he collected "revolutionary contributions" in New York, so as to hasten to the aid of his country, and advanced as far as the Swiss border. When the March Association's[183] revolution collapsed he retired from Switzerland to beyond the Channel at the expense of the Swiss Federal Council. He had the satisfaction of making the revolution pay for his advance and the counter-revolution for his retreat.

In the Italian epics of chivalry we constantly encounter mighty, broad-shouldered giants armed with enormous cudgels who, despite the fact that they lash about them wildly and make a frightening din in battle, never manage to hit their foes but only the trees in the vicinity. Herr Heinzen is such an Ariostian giant in political literature. Endowed by nature with a churlish figure and huge masses of flesh, he interpreted these gifts to mean that he was destined to be a great man. His weighty physical appearance determines his whole literary posture which is physical through and

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[a] *Karlsruher Zeitung.—Ed.*
[b] K. Heinzen, *Einige Blicke auf die badisch-pfälzische Revolution.—Ed.*

through. His opponents are always small, mere dwarfs, who can barely reach his ankles and whom he can survey with his knee-cap. When, however, he should indeed make a physical appearance, our *uomo membruto*[a] takes refuge in literature or in the courts. Thus scarcely had he reached the safety of English soil when he wrote a tract on moral courage.[b] Or again, our giant allowed a certain Herr Richter to thrash him so frequently and so thoroughly in New York that the magistrate, who at first only imposed insignificant fines, finally, in recognition of his doggedness, sentenced the dwarf Richter to pay 200 dollars damages.

The natural complement to this great physique, so healthy in every fibre, is the *healthy commonsense*,which Herr Heinzen ascribes to himself in the highest possible degree. It is inevitable that a man with such commonsense will turn out to be a "natural" genius who has learnt nothing, a barbarian innocent of literature and science. By virtue of his commonsense (which he also calls "his perspicacity" and which allows him to tell Kossuth that he has "advanced to the extreme frontiers of thought"), he learns only from hearsay or the newspapers. He is therefore always behind the times and always wears the coat that literature cast off some years previously, while rejecting as immoral and reprehensible the new modern dress he has as yet been unable to become familiar with. But when he has once assimilated a thing his faith in it is quite unshakable; it transforms itself into something that has grown naturally, that is self-evident, that everyone must appreciate and that only the malicious, the stupid or the sophist will pretend not to grasp. Such a robust body and healthy commonsense must of course have also some honest, solid *principles*, and he even shows to advantage when he takes the craze for principles to extremes. In this field Heinzen is second to none. He draws attention to his principles at every opportunity, every argument is met by an appeal to principle, everyone who fails to understand him or whom he does not understand is demolished by the argument that he has no principles and that his insincerity and pure ill-will are such that he would deny that day was day and night night. To deal with these base disciples of Ahriman he summons up his muse, indignation; he curses, rages, boasts, preaches, and foaming at the mouth he roars out the most tragicomical tirades. He demonstrates what can be achieved in the

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[a] Strong-arm man.— *Ed.*

[b] K. Heinzen, "Lehren der Revolution", *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*, Nos. 241 and 242, November 9 and 16, 1849.— *Ed.*

field of literary invective by a man to whom Börne's wit and literary accomplishment are equally alien. As the muse is, so is the style. An eternal cudgel,[a] but a commonplace cudgel with knots that are not even original or sharp. Only when he encounters scientific terms does he feel momentarily at a loss. He is then like that Billingsgate fishwife with whom O'Connell became involved in a shouting match and whom he silenced by replying to a long string of insults: You are all that and worse: you are a *triangulus isosceles*, you are a *parallelepipedon*!

From the earlier history of Herr Heinzen mention should be made of the fact that he was in the Dutch colonies, where he advanced not indeed to the rank of general but to that of non-commissioned officer, a slight for which he later on always treated the Dutch as a nation without principles. Later we find him back in Cologne as a sub-inspector of taxes and in this capacity he wrote a comedy in which his healthy commonsense vainly strove to satirise the philosophy of Hegel.[b] He was more at home in the gossip columns of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, in the feuilleton, where he let fall some weighty words about the quarrels in the Cologne Carnival Club, the institute from which all the great men of Cologne have graduated. His own sufferings and those of his father, a forester, in their struggle with superiors assumed the proportions of events of universal significance, as easily happens when the men of healthy commonsense contemplate their small personal problems. He gives an account of them in his *Preussische Büreaukratie*, a book much inferior to Venedey's[c] and containing nothing more than the complaints of a petty official against the higher authorities. The book involved him in a trial and although the worst he had to fear was six months in gaol he thought his head was in danger and fled to Brussels. From here he demanded that the Prussian government should not only grant him a safe conduct but also that they should suspend the whole French legal procedure and give him a jury trial for an ordinary offence.[184] The Prussian government issued a warrant for his arrest; he replied with a *Steckbrief*[d] against the Prussian government in which he preached *inter alia* moral resistance and

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[a] Cf. Grimm's fairy-tale "Tischlein deck dich, Esel streck dich, Knüppel aus dem Sack" ("The Wishing-Table, the Gold Ass, and the Cudgel in the Sack").—*Ed.*

[b] K. Heinzen, *Doktor Nebel, oder: Gelehrsamkeit und Leben.*—*Ed.*

[c] J. Venedey, *Preussen und Preussenthum.*—*Ed.*

[d] *Steckbrief*, the title of Heinzen's book, means both a description of a person wanted by the police and a warrant of arrest.—*Ed.*

constitutional monarchy and condemned revolution as immoral and jesuitical. From Brussels he went to Switzerland. Here, as we saw above, he met friend Arnold and from him he learned not only his philosophy but also a very useful method of self-enrichment. Just as Arnold sought to assimilate the ideas of his opponents in the course of polemising against them, so Heinzen learned to acquire ideas new to him by attacking and *reviling* them. Hardly had be become an atheist when with all the zeal of the proselyte he immediately plunged into a furious polemic against poor old Follen because the latter saw no reason to become an atheist in his old age. Having had his nose rubbed in the Swiss Federal Republic his healthy commonsense developed to the point where he desired to introduce the Federal Republic into Germany too. The same commonsense came to the conclusion that this could not be done without a revolution and so Heinzen became a revolutionary. He then began a trade in pamphlets[a] which in the coarsest tones of the Swiss peasant preached immediate "assault" and death to the princes, from whom all the evils of the world stem. He looked for committees in Germany who would drum up the cost of printing and would distribute these pamphlets, and this led naturally to the growth of a large-scale begging industry which first exploited the party members and then reviled them. Old Itzstein could give further particulars about that. These pamphlets gave Heinzen a great reputation among itinerant German wine salesmen who praised him everywhere as a brave "reckless fighter".

From Switzerland he went to America. Here, although his Swiss rustic style enabled him to pass as a genuine poet, he nevertheless very quickly managed to ride the New York *Schnellpost*[b] to death.

Having returned to Europe in the wake of the February revolution, he sent despatches to the *Mannheimer Abendzeitung* announcing the arrival of the great Heinzen[c] and he also published a pamphlet to revenge himself on Lamartine,[d] who with his whole government had ignored him despite his mandate as official representative of the American Germans. He did not wish to go back to Prussia as he still feared for his head despite the March revolution and the amnesty. He would wait until the nation summoned him. As this did not happen he resolved to

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[a] K. Heinzen, *Teutsche Revolution. Gesammelte Flugschriften.—Ed.*

[b] *Deutsche Schnellpost für Europäische Zustände.—Ed.*

[c] K. Heinzen, "Vom Rhein, 12. April" and "Meine Erklärung", *Mannheimer Abendzeitung,* Nos. 105 and 107, April 15 and 17, 1848.—*Ed.*

[d] K. Heinzen, *Frankreichs "Brüderlicher Bund mit Deutschland".—Ed.*

stand *in absentia* for the Hamburg constituency to the Frankfurt Parliament: his hope was that he would compensate for being a bad speaker by the loudness of his voice—but he was defeated.

Having arrived in London after the termination of the Baden uprising, he became indignant with the young people who had forgotten this great man of *before* the revolution and of *after* the revolution, and who caused him to sink into oblivion. He had always been nothing more than *l'homme de la veille* or *l'homme du lendemain*, he was never *l'homme du jour* or even *de la journée*.[a] As the authentic fulminating silver had still not been discovered, new weapons had to be found to combat the reaction. He called for two million heads so that he could be a dictator and wade up to the ankles in blood—shed by others. His real aim was, of course, merely to create a scandal; the reaction had transported him to London at its own expense; by means of an expulsion order from England it would now, so Heinzen hoped, send him gratis to New York. The coup failed and its only consequence was that the radical French papers called him a fool who shouted for two million heads only because he had never risked his own. But to cap it all, he had published his bloodthirsty sanguinary article in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*[b] owned by the ex-Duke of Brunswick—in return for a cash payment, of course.

Gustav and Heinzen had a high opinion of each other for a considerable time. Heinzen praised Gustav as a sage and Gustav praised Heinzen as a fighter. Heinzen had scarcely been able to wait for the end of the European revolution so that he could put an end to the "ruinous disunity in the democratic German *emigration*" and to re-open his pre-March business. He put forward "a programme of the Germanic revolutionary party in the shape of a draft proposal for discussion".[c] This programme was distinguished by the invention of a special ministry to cater for "the all-important need for public playgrounds, battlegrounds" (minus hail of bullets) "and gardens" and was notable also for the decree "abolishing the privileges of the male sex especially in marriage" (especially also in thrusting manoeuvres[d] in war, see Clausewitz). This programme was actually no more than a

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[a] He had always been nothing more than yesterday's man or tomorrow's man, he was never the man of today or even the man of the day.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Heinzen, "Lehren der Revolution" (see this volume, p. 276).—*Ed.*

[c] [K. Heinzen,] "Programm der deutschen Revolutionspartei. Als Entwurf und Vorschlag der Diskussion preisgegeben". *Westdeutsche Zeitung*, No. 64, March 16, 1850.—*Ed.*

[d] *Stosstaktik.*—*Ed.*

diplomatic note from Heinzen to Gustav as no one else cared a straw about it. And instead of the hoped-for unification it brought about the immediate separation of the two capons; Heinzen demanded that during the "revolutionary transition period" there should be a single dictator who should moreover be a Prussian and, to preclude all misunderstandings, he added: "No soldier can be appointed dictator." Gustav, on the other hand, demanded a triumvirate comprising two Badeners and himself. Moreover, Gustav thought that Heinzen had included in his prematurely published programme an "idea" stolen from him. This put an end to the second attempt at unification and Heinzen, denied recognition by the whole world, receded into obscurity until, in the autumn of 1850, he found English soil too hot for him and sailed off to New York.

## VII

## GUSTAV AND THE COLONY OF RENUNCIATION

After the indefatigable Gustav had made an unsuccessful attempt to establish a *Central Refugee Committee* together with Friedrich Bobzin, Habbegg, Oswald, Rosenblum, Cohnheim, Grunich and other "outstanding" men, he made his way towards Yorkshire. For here, so he believed, a magic garden would flower and in it, unlike the garden of Alcine, virtue would rule instead of vice. An old Englishman with a sense of humour, whom our Gustav had bored with his theories, took him at his word and gave him a few acres of moor in Yorkshire on the express condition that he would there found a "Colony of Renunciation", a colony in which the consumption of meat, tobacco and spirits would be strictly prohibited, only a vegetarian diet would be permitted and where every colonist would be obliged to read a chapter from Struve's book on constitutional law[a] at his morning prayers. Moreover, the colony was to be self-supporting. Accompanied by his Amalia, by his Swabian wall-flower Schnauffer and by a few other of his faithfuls, Gustav placed his trust in God and went to found the "Colony of Renunciation". Of the colony it must be reported that it contained little "prosperity", much culture and unlimited "freedom" to be bored and to grow thin. One fine morning our Gustav uncovered a dreadful plot. His companions who did not share Gustav's ruminant constitution, and with whom

[a] G. Struve, *Grundzüge der Staatswissenschaft.—Ed.*

the vegetarian fare did not agree, had resolved behind his back to slaughter the old cow, the only one and whose milk provided the chief source of income of the "Colony of Renunciation". Gustav wrung his hands and shed bitter tears at this malevolence against a fellow creature. He indignantly dissolved the colony and decided to become a wet Quaker[185] unless he succeeded in reviving the *Deutscher Zuschauer* or establishing a "provisional government" in London.

VIII

Arnold, who was anything but content with the seclusion of his life in Ostend and who longed for a "frequent appearance" before the public, heard of Gustav's misfortune. He resolved to return to England at once and, by climbing on Gustav's shoulders, to hoist himself into the pentarchy of European democracy. For in the meantime the European Central Committee[186] had been formed consisting of Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin and Darasz. Mazzini was its soul. Ruge thought he could smell a vacant position. In his *Proscrit* Mazzini had indeed introduced General Ernst *Haug*, his own invention, as the German Associate but for decency's sake it was not possible to nominate such a completely unknown person onto the Central Committee. Our Ruge was not unaware of the fact that Gustav had had dealings with Mazzini in Switzerland. He himself was acquainted with Ledru-Rollin but unfortunately Ledru-Rollin was not acquainted with him. So Arnold took up residence in Brighton and flattered and cajoled the unsuspecting Gustav, promised to help him found a *Deutscher Zuschauer* in London and even to undertake as a joint venture the democratic publication of the Rotteck-Welcker *Staats-Lexikon* with Ruge paying the costs. At the same time he introduced our Gustav as a great man and collaborator into the local German paper which in accordance with his principles he always had on tap (this time it happened to be the *Bremer Tages-Chronik* of the "Friend of Light" minister Dulon). One good deed deserves another: Gustav presented Arnold to Mazzini. As Arnold's French was wholly incomprehensible there was nothing to prevent him from introducing himself to Mazzini as the greatest man in Germany and in particular as her greatest "thinker". The canny Italian idealist at once realised that Arnold was the man he was looking for, the *homme sans conséquence*[a] who would provide the German counter-signature of his anti-papal Bulls. Thus Arnold Ruge became the fifth wheel on

[a] Nonentity.—*Ed.*

the state coach of the European centre of democracy. When an Alsatian asked Ledru what on earth possessed him to make an ally of such a "*bête*", Ledru replied brusquely: "*C'est l'homme de Mazzini.*"[a] When Mazzini was asked why he became involved with Ruge,[b] a man bereft of all ideas, he answered slyly: "*C'est précisément pourquoi je l'ai pris.*"[c] Mazzini himself had every reason to avoid people with ideas. Arnold Ruge, however, saw his wildest dreams come true and for the moment he even forgot Bruno Bauer.

When the time came for him to sign Mazzini's first manifesto he sadly recalled the days when he had presented himself to Professor Leo in Halle and old Follen in Switzerland as a Trinitarian on one occasion and as a humanist atheist on another. This time he was obliged with Mazzini to declare himself for *God* and against princes. However, Arnold's philosophic conscience had already been largely enfeebled by his association with Dulon and other clerics among whom he passed for a philosopher. Even in his best days our Arnold could not entirely suppress a certain foible for religion in general and moreover his "honest consciousness" kept on whispering to him: Sign, Arnold! *Paris vaut bien une messe.*[d] One does not become fifth wheel on the coach of the provisional government of Europe *in partibus*[e] for nothing. Reflect, Arnold! All you have to do is sign a manifesto every two weeks, and even as a "*membre du parlement allemand*",[f] in the company of the greatest men in all Europe. And bathed in perspiration, Arnold signs. A curious joke, he murmurs. *Ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte.*[g] He had copied this last sentence into his notebook the previous night. However, Arnold had not yet come to the end of his trials. The European Central Committee had issued a series of manifestos to Europe, to the French, the Italians, the Wasserpolacken[187] and the Wallachians and now, following the great battle at Bronzell,[188] it was *Germany*'s turn. In his draft Mazzini attacked the Germans for their lack of cosmopolitan spirit, and in particular, for their arrogant treatment

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[a] "He is Mazzini's man."—*Ed.*

[b] The original has Ledru, probably a slip of the pen.—*Ed.*

[c] "I took him for that very reason."—*Ed.*

[d] Paris is well worth a mass—the words attributed to Henry IV, King of France.—*Ed.*

[e] *In partibus infidelium*—literally in parts inhabited by infidels. The words are added to the title of Roman Catholic bishops appointed to purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries.—*Ed.*

[f] "Member of the German Parliament".—*Ed.*

[g] It is only the first step that is difficult.—*Ed.*

of Italian salami vendors, organ-grinders, confectioners, dormouse tamers and mouse-trap sellers. Taken aback, Arnold confessed that it was true. He went further. He declared his readiness to cede the Italian Tyrol and Istria to Mazzini. But this was not enough. He had not only to appeal to the conscience of the German people, but also to attack them where they were most vulnerable. Arnold received instructions that this time he was to have an opinion, as he represented the German element. He felt like the student Jobs.[a] He scratched himself thoughtfully behind his ear and after long reflection he stuttered: "Since the age of Tacitus the German bards sing baritone.[b] In winter they kindle fires on all the mountains so as to warm their feet."

The bards, the baritone and fires on all the mountains! That will certainly give German freedom a lift! thought Mazzini with a grin. The bards, the baritone, fires on all the mountains and German freedom went into the manifesto[c] as *douceur*[d] for the German nation. To his astonishment Arnold Ruge had passed the examination and understood for the first time with what little wisdom the world is governed. From that moment on he despised Bruno Bauer more than ever for all his eighteen hefty tomes written while he was still young.

While Arnold in the wake of the European Central Committee was signing *warlike* manifestos with God, for Mazzini and against the princes, the *peace movement* was spreading not only in England, under the aegis of Cobden, but even beyond the North Sea. So that in Frankfurt am Main the Yankee swindler, Elihu Burritt, together with Cobden, Jaup, Girardin and the Red Indian Ka-gi-ga-gi-wa-wa-be-ta could hold a Peace Congress.[189] Our Arnold was just itching to avail himself of the opportunity to make one of his "frequent appearances" and to produce a manifesto. So he proclaimed himself a corresponding member of the Frankfurt Assembly and sent it an extremely confused Peace Manifesto[e] translated out of Cobden's speeches into his own speculative Pomeranian. Various Germans drew Arnold's attention to the contradiction between his warlike attitude in the Central Commit-

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[a] The hero of K. A. Kortum's satirical poem *Die Jobsiade.—Ed.*

[b] Probably ironical for *Baritus*, the battle song of the Teutons.—*Ed.*

[c] Manifesto of the Central Committee of European Democracy of November 13, 1850, published in *La voix du proscrit*, No. 4, November 17, 1850.—*Ed.*

[d] Sop.—*Ed.*

[e] "A letter from Dr. Arnold Ruge, member for Breslau in the German Parliament, at Frankfort. Presented by the Delegates from Brighton to the Peace Congress assembled at Frankfort, August, 1850.—*Ed.*

tee and his peace manifesto Quakerism. He would reply: "Well, there you have the contradictions. That's the dialectic for you. In my youth I studied Hegel." His "honest consciousness" was eased by the thought that Mazzini knew no German and it was therefore not hard to pull the wool over his eyes.

Moreover, Arnold's relationship with Mazzini promised to become even more secure thanks to the protection of *Harro Harring* who had just landed in Hull. For with Harring a new and highly symptomatic character steps onto the stage.

## IX

The great drama of the democratic emigration of 1849 to 1852 had been preceded by a prelude eighteen years previously: the emigration of demagogues in 1830 and 1831.[190] Even though with the passage of time most of the emigrants of this first wave had been ousted from the stage, there still remained a few worthy remnants who, stoically indifferent to the course of history and the effect of their action, continued to work as agitators, devised global plans, formed provisional governments and hurled proclamations into the world in every direction. It is obvious that the business experience of these seasoned swindlers greatly surpassed that of the younger generation. It was this very acumen acquired through eighteen years practice in conspiring, scheming, intriguing, proclaiming, duping, showing off and pushing oneself to the fore that gave Mr. Mazzini—supported by three straw men of much smaller experience in such matters—the audacity and the assurance to install himself as the Central Committee of European Democracy.

No one was more favoured by circumstances to become the very type of the *émigré* agitator than our friend *Harro Harring*. And indeed he did become the prototype whom all our great men of the exile, all the Arnolds, Gustavs and Gottfrieds, have striven more or less consciously and with varying success to emulate. They may even equal him if circumstances are not unfavourable, but they will hardly surpass him.

Harro, who like Caesar has himself described his great deeds (London, 1852),[a] was born on the "Cimbrian Peninsula"[b] and

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[a] H. Harring, *Historisches Fragment über die Entstehung der Arbeiter-Vereine und ihren Verfall in Communistische Speculationen* (the passages quoted in this chapter are mostly taken from this book).—*Ed.*

[b] Old name for Jutland.—*Ed.*

belongs to that visionary North-Frisian race which has already been shown by Dr. Clement to have produced all the great nations of the world.

"Already in early youth" he attempted to "set the seal of action upon his enthusiasm for the cause of the peoples" by going to *Greece* in 1821.[191] We see how friend Harro had an early premonition of his mission to be everywhere where confusion reigned. Later on

"a strange fate led him to the source of absolutism, to the vicinity of the Tsar and he had seen through the Jesuitism of constitutional monarchy in *Poland*[192]".

Thus in Poland as well Harro fought for freedom. But "the crisis in the history of Europe following the fall of Warsaw led him to deep reflection", and his reflection led him to the idea of "national democracy", which he at once "documented in the work: *Die Völker*, Strasbourg, March 1832". It is worth remarking that this work was almost quoted at the Hambach Festival.[193] At the same time he published his "republican poems: 'Blutstropfen'; 'Die Monarchie, oder die Geschichte vom König *Saul*'; 'Männer-Stimmen, zu Deutschlands Einheit'" and edited the journal *Deutschland* in Strasbourg. All these and even his future writings had the unexpected good fortune to be banned by the Federal Diet on November 4, 1831. This was the only thing the worthy fighter still lacked; only now did he achieve the reputation he deserved and also the martyr's crown. So that he could exclaim:

"My writings were widely known and evoked a warm response in the hearts of the people. They were mostly distributed *gratis*. In the case of some of them I did not even recover the costs of printing."

But new honours still awaited him. Already in November 1831 Herr Welcker had vainly attempted in a long letter "to convert him to the *vertical horizon* of constitutionalism". And now, in January 1832, there came a visit from Herr Malten, a well-known Prussian agent abroad, who proposed that he should enter Prussian service. What double recognition this was—and from the enemy too! Enough, Malten's offer triggered off

"the idea that in the face of this dynastic treachery he should advance the concept of Scandinavian nationality", and "from that time on at least the *word* Scandinavia was reborn after having been forgotten for centuries".

In this manner our North Frisian from Söderjylland[a] who did not know himself whether he was a German or a Dane acquired at

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[a] The Frisian name for South Jutland.—*Ed.*

least an imaginary nationality whose first consequence was that the men of Hambach would have nothing to do with him.

With all these events behind him Harro's fortune was made. Veteran of freedom in Greece and Poland, the inventor of the "democracy of nationality", re-discoverer of the word "Scandinavia", acknowledged by the ban of the Federal Diet to be a poet, thinker and journalist, a martyr, a great man esteemed even by his enemies, a man whose allegiance constitutionalists, absolutists and republicans vied with each other to possess and, with all that, empty-headed and confused enough to believe in his own greatness—what then was needed to make his happiness complete? But Harro was a conscientious man and as his fame grew so did the demands which he made upon himself. What was missing was a great work that would present in an artistic, entertaining and popular form the great doctrines of freedom, the idea of the democracy of nationality and all the sublime struggles for freedom on the part of the youthful Europe arising before his very eyes. None but a poet and thinker of the first rank could produce such a work and none but Harro could be this man. Thus arose the first three plays of the "dramatic cycle *Das Volk*, comprising twelve plays in all, one of them in Danish", a labour to which the author devoted ten years of his life. Unfortunately eleven of these twelve plays have "hitherto remained in manuscript".

However, this dallying with the muse was not to last forever.

"In the winter of 1832-1833 a movement was prepared in Germany—which was brought to a tragic end in the riot in Frankfurt.[194] I was entrusted with the task of taking the fortress (?) of Kehl on the night of April 6. Men and weapons were at the ready."

Unfortunately it all came to nothing and Harro had to retire to the depths of France, where he wrote his "*Worte eines Menschen*". From there he was summoned to Switzerland by the Poles arming themselves for their march on Savoy. Here he became "associated with their General Staff", wrote a further two plays of his dramatic cycle *Das Volk*, and made the acquaintance of Mazzini in Geneva. The whole brimstone gang consisting of Polish, French, German, Italian and Swiss adventurers under the command of the noble Ramorino then made their famous raid into Savoy.[195] In this campaign our Harro felt "the value of his life and strength". But as the other freedom fighters felt "the value of their lives" no less than Harro and no doubt had just as few illusions about their "strength", the exploit ended badly and they returned to Switzerland beaten, dishevelled and in disarray.

This campaign was all that was needed to make the band of emigrant knights fully conscious of the terror they inspired in the tyrants. As long as the after-effects of the July revolution still caused isolated insurrections in France, Germany or Italy, as long as someone or other was still standing behind them, our émigré heroes felt themselves to be but atoms in the seething masses —more or less privileged, prominent atoms, to be sure, but in the last analysis they were still atoms. But as these insurrections gradually grew feebler, as the great mass of "cowards", of the "half-hearted" and the "men of little faith" retired from the putschist swindles and as our knights felt increasingly lonely, so their self-esteem grew in proportion. If the whole of Europe became craven, stupid and selfish, how could the loyal men fail to grow in their own estimation, for they were the priests who kept the sacred fires of hatred for all tyrants burning in their breasts and who maintained the traditions of the great era of virtue and love of freedom for a more vigorous generation! If they too deserted the flag the tyrants would be safe for ever. So like the democrats of 1848 they saw in every defeat a guarantee of future victory and they gradually transformed themselves more and more into itinerant Don Quixotes with dubious sources of income. Once arrived at this point, they could venture upon their greatest act of heroism, the foundation of "*Young Europe*"[196] whose Charter of Brotherhood was edited by Mazzini and signed in Berne on April 15, 1834. Harro joined it as an

"initiator of the Central Committee, adoptive member of Young Germany and Young Italy and also as representative of the Scandinavian branch" which he "still represents today".

The date of the Charter of Brotherhood marks for our Harro the great epoch from which calculations are made forwards and backwards, as up to now from the birth of Christ. It is the high point of his life. He was co-dictator of Europe *in partibus* and although the world knew nothing of him he was one of the most dangerous men alive. No one stood behind him but his many unpublished works, a few German artisans in Switzerland and a dozen political speculators who had seen better days—but for that very reason he could claim that all nations were on his side. For it is the fate of all great men not to be recognised by their own age whereas the future belongs to them for that very reason. And this future—our Harro had it in black and white in his bag in the form of the Charter of Brotherhood.

But now began Harro's decline. His first sorrow was that "Young Germany[197] split off from Young Europe in 1836". But Germany was duly punished for that. For owing to this split "*nothing had been prepared* for a national movement in Germany in the spring of 1848" and this is why everything ended so miserably.

But a much greater sorrow for our Harro was the emergence of communism. We learn from him that the founder of communism was none other than

"the cynic Johannes Müller from Berlin, the author of a very interesting pamphlet on Prussian policy, Altenburg 1831", who went to England where "he had no option but to tend swine in Smithfield Market at the crack of dawn".

Communism soon began to spread among the German artisans in France and Switzerland and it became a very dangerous enemy for our Harro as it cut off the only market for his writings. This was due to the "indirect communist censorship" from which poor Harro has suffered to this very day and indeed is now suffering more than ever, as he sadly confesses and "as the fate of his drama *Die Dynastie* proves".

This indirect communist censorship even succeeded in driving our Harro from Europe and so he went to Rio de Janeiro (in 1840) where he lived for a time as a painter. "Using his time conscientiously here as everywhere", he published a new work:

"*Poesie eines Scandinaven* (2,000 copies) which has been distributed so widely among sea-faring people that it has, as it were, become the favourite oceanic reading matter".

However, his "scrupulous sense of obligation towards Young Europe" unfortunately caused him soon to return to Europe. He

"hastened to Mazzini in London and soon perceived the danger that threatened the cause of the European peoples from communism".

New deeds awaited him. The Bandiera brothers were preparing for their expedition to Italy.[198] To support them and to embroil the forces of despotism in a diversion, Harro

"returned to South America to do everything possible with Garibaldi to further the idea of the future of the nations by establishing a United States of South America".

But the despots had got wind of his mission and Harro took to his heels. He sailed to New York.

"Out on the ocean I was very active intellectually and wrote among other things a drama, *Die Macht der Idee*, which belonged to the dramatic cycle *Das Volk*—this too has remained in manuscript up to now!"

From South America he brought with him to New York a mandate alleging a connection with *Humanidad*.

The news of the February revolution inspired him to produce a pamphlet in French, *La France réveillée*, and while embarking for Europe,

"I documented my love for my country once again in some poems, *Scandinavia*".

He arrived in Schleswig-Holstein. Here,

"after an absence of twenty-seven years", he discovered "an unheard-of confusion in the concepts of international law, democracy, republic, socialism and communism, which lay like rotting hay and straw in the Augean stables of party strife and national hatred".

No wonder, for his

"political writings and" his "whole striving and activities since 1831 had remained alien and unknown in those frontier provinces of my home country".

The Augustenburg party[199] had suppressed him for eighteen years by means of a conspiracy of silence. To deal with this he girt on a sabre, a rifle, four pistols and six daggers and called for the formation of a volunteer corps, but in vain. After various adventures he finally landed in Hull. Here he hastened to issue two circulars—to the people of Schleswig-Holstein, and to the Scandinavians and Germans[a] and even sent a note, as has been reported, to two Communists in London with this message:

"Fifteen thousand workers in Norway asked me to tell you that they extend the hand of brotherhood to you."

Despite this curious appeal he soon became a sleeping partner of the European Central Committee again, thanks to the Charter of Brotherhood, and he also became

"night watchman and employee of a young firm of brokers in Gravesend on the Thames where my task was to drum up trade among ships' captains in nine different languages until I was required to practise deceit, a thing which the philosopher Johannes Müller was at least spared in his capacity as swineherd".

Harro summarised his action-packed life as follows:

"It can easily be calculated that apart from my poems I have given away more than 18,000 copies of my writings in German (their price in Hamburg varies from 10 shillings to 3 marks, and accordingly their value amounts to around 25,000 marks in toto) to the democratic movement. I have never been reimbursed for the printing costs, let alone received any profit for myself."

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[a] "Sendschreiben an die 'Schleswig-Holsteiner'", November 29, 1850, and "Sendschreiben an die Skandinaven und an die Deutschen", February 3, 1851.—*Ed.*

With this we bring the adventures of our demagogic Hidalgo from the South Jutland Mancha to a close. In Greece and in Brazil, on the Weichsel[a] and on La Plata, in Schleswig-Holstein and in New York, in London and in Switzerland: at different times the representative of Young Europe and of the South-American *Humanidad*, painter, night watchman and employee, peddler of his own writings; among Wasserpolacken one day and gauchos the next, and ships' captains the day after that; unacknowledged, abandoned, ignored but everywhere an itinerant knight of freedom thoroughly despising ordinary bourgeois work—our hero at all times in all countries and in all circumstances remains himself: with the same confusion, the same pretentious obtrusiveness, the same faith in himself, and in spite of all the world he will never cease to say, write and print that since 1831 he has been the mainspring of world history.

## X

Despite his unexpected successes hitherto Arnold had not yet arrived at the goal of his labours. As Germany's representative by the grace of Mazzini, he was under the obligation on the one hand to obtain confirmation of his appointment at least by the German emigration and, on the other hand, to present the Central Committee with people who accepted his leadership. He did indeed claim that in Germany "there was a clearly defined part of the people behind him" but this hind portion could scarcely inspire much confidence in Mazzini and Ledru as long as they could see nothing but the Ruge front portion. In short, Arnold had to look around among the émigrés for a "clearly defined" tail.

At about this time Gottfried Kinkel came to London and together with him or soon afterwards a number of other exiles partly from France, partly from Switzerland and Belgium: Schurz, Strodtmann, Oppenheim, Schimmelpfennig, Techow, etc. These new arrivals, some of whom had already tried their hand at forming provisional governments in Switzerland, infused new life into the London emigration and for our Arnold the moment seemed more favourable than ever. At the same time Heinzen again took over the *Schnellpost* in New York and so Arnold could now make his "frequent appearances" on the other side of the ocean as well as in the little paper in Bremen.[b] Should Arnold ever find his Strodtmann the

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[a] Vistula.—*Ed.*
[b] *Bremer Tages-Chronik.—Ed.*

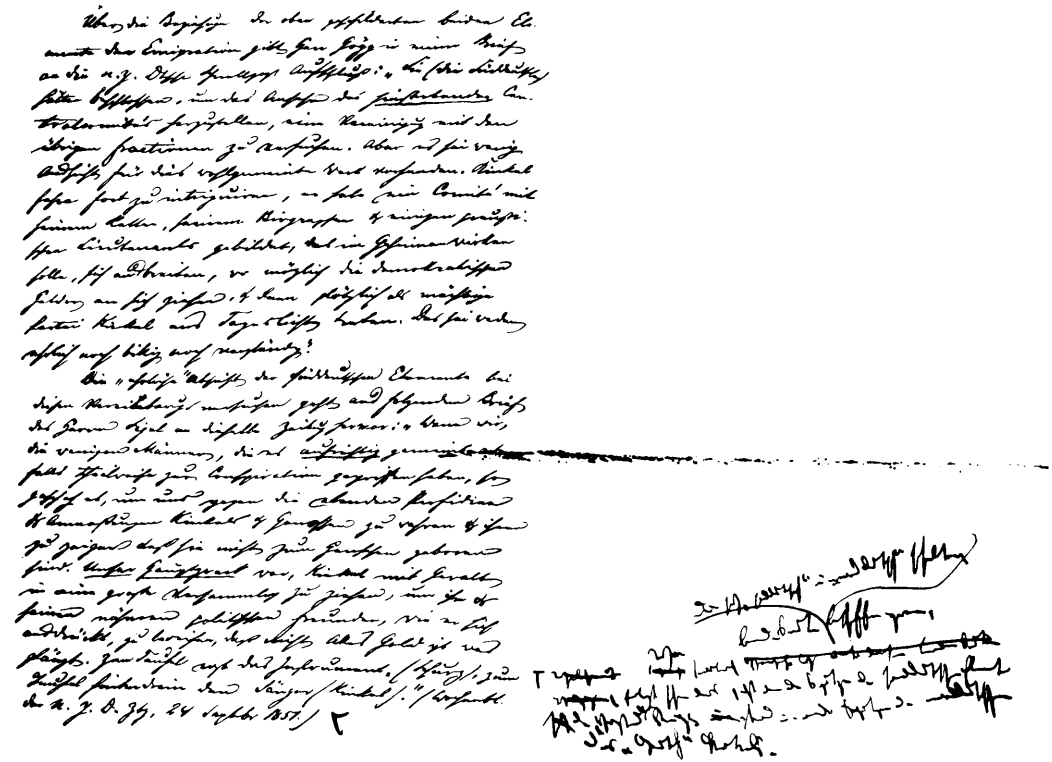

A page of the manuscript of *The Great Men of the Exile* (the main text is in Engels' hand, the addition in Marx's)

latter would surely declare the monthly files of the *Schnellpost* from the beginning of 1851 on to be a priceless source of information. This infinitely feeble mixture of gossip, silliness and nastiness, this ant-like self-importance with which Arnold deposits his droppings, has to be seen to be believed. While Heinzen portrays Arnold as a European Great Power, Arnold treats Heinzen as an American newspaper oracle. He tells him the secrets of European diplomacy and in particular the latest daily events in the world history of this emigration. Arnold sometimes figures as the anonymous correspondent in London and Paris in order to keep the American public informed of some of the great Arnold's fashionable movements.[a]

"Once again Arnold Ruge has the Communists by the throat"—"Arnold Ruge *yesterday*" (dated from Paris so that the dating gives the old joker away) "made an excursion from Brighton to London." And again: "Arnold Ruge to Karl Heinzen: Dear Friend and Editor.... Mazzini sends you his greetings.... Ledru-Rollin *gives you his permission* to translate his pamphlet on the June 13th" and so on.

A letter from America has this comment to make:

"As I see from Ruge's letters" (in the *Schnellpost*) "Heinzen must be writing Ruge" (privately) "all sorts of funny stories about the importance of his paper in America, while Ruge seems to act as if he were a major European government. Whenever Ruge imparts a momentous piece of information to Heinzen, he never omits to add: You can ask other newspapers in the States to reprint this. As if they would wait for Ruge's authorisation if they found the news worth reprinting. Incidentally, I have never seen these momentous reports actually appear anywhere else despite Herr Ruge's advice and permission."

Father Ruge employed both this little paper and the *Bremer Tages-Chronik* to win over newly arrived emigrants by flattery: Kinkel is here now, the poet of genius and patriot; Strodtmann, a great writer; Schurz, a young man as amiable as he is bold, and a whole array of distinguished revolutionary warriors.

Meanwhile in contrast to the Mazzini Committee a *plebeian* European Committee was formed with the support of the "inferior refugees" and the émigré riff-raff of the various European nations. At the time of the battle of Bronzell this committee had issued a manifesto[b] that included the following outstanding German signatories: Gebert, Majer, Dietz, Schärttner, Schapper, Willich.[200] This document was couched in peculiar French and contained as the latest piece of information the news that at that moment (November 10, 1850) the Holy Alliance of Tyrants had assembled 1,330,000 soldiers backed by another 700,000 armed henchmen in reserve, that "the

[a] Marx and Engels use the English words "fashionable movements".—*Ed.*

[b] This manifesto of November 10, 1850 was published in *Le Constitutionnel* on November 18, 1850.—*Ed.*

German papers and the committee's own contacts" had revealed to it the secret intentions of the Warsaw conferences,[201] and that these were to massacre all the republicans of Europe. This was followed by the inevitable call to arms. This *manifeste-Fanon-Caperon-Gouté*, as it was described by the *Patrie* (to which they sent it), was overwhelmed with ridicule by the counter-revolutionary press. The *Patrie* called it

"the manifesto of the *dii minorum gentium*, written without chic, without style and equipped with only the most banal clichés, *serpents, sicaires* and *égorgements*[a]".

The *Indépendance belge* states that it was written by the *soldats les plus obscurs de la démagogie*,[b] poor devils who had sent it to its correspondent in London even though this paper was conservative. So great was their longing to get into print; as penalty, the paper would not publish the names of the signatories. Despite their attempts to beg from the reaction these noble people did not manage to obtain recognition as conspirators and as dangerous men.

The establishment of this rival firm spurred Arnold on to even greater efforts. Together with Struve, Kinkel, R. Schramm, Bucher, etc., he tried to found a *Volksfreund*, or, if Gustav were to insist, a *Deutscher Zuschauer*. But the plan fell through. Partly because the others resisted Arnold's protectorate, partly because our "good-humoured" Gottfried demanded payment in cash whereas Arnold shared Hansemann's view that in money matters there is no room for good humour.[c] Arnold's particular aim was to impose a levy on the Reading Circle, a club of German watchmakers, well-paid workers and petty bourgeois, but in this too he was frustrated.

But soon there arose another opportunity for Arnold to make one of his "frequent appearances". Ledru and his supporters among the French émigrés could not let February 24 (1851) pass without a "fraternal celebration" of the nations of Europe. In fact only the French and the Germans attended. Mazzini did not come and excused himself by letter; Gottfried, who was present, went home fuming because his mute presence failed to produce the magical effect he expected; Arnold lived to see the day when his friend Ledru pretended not to know him, and became so confused when he rose to speak that he did not produce the French speech he had

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[a] G. de Molinari, "Un nouveau manifeste rouge", *La Patrie*, No. 332, November 28, 1850; *dies minorum gentium* means "minor gods"; *serpents, sicaires* and *égorgements* means "snakes", "assassins" and "massacres".—*Ed.*

[b] Most obscure soldiers of demagogy (*L'Indépendance belge*, No. 323, November 19, 1850).—*Ed.*

[c] From Hansemann's speech at a sitting of the United Diet in Berlin on June 8, 1847.—*Ed.*

prepared and which had been approved in high places; he just stammered a few words in German and,exclaiming: *A la restauration de la révolution!*[a], retreated precipitately causing a general shaking of heads.

On the same day a rival banquet took place under the auspices of the competing committee referred to above. Annoyed that the Mazzini-Ledru committee had not invited him to join them from the beginning, Louis Blanc took himself off to the refugee mob, declaring that "the aristocracy of talent must also be abolished". The whole lower emigration was assembled. The chivalrous Willich presided. The hall was festooned with flags and the walls were emblazoned with the names of the greatest men of the people: Waldeck between Garibaldi and Kossuth, Jacoby between Blanqui and Cabet, Robert Blum between Barbès and Robespierre. That coquettish fop Louis Blanc read out in a whining voice an address from his old yes-men, the future peers of the social republic, the delegates of the Luxemburg of 1848.[202] Willich read out an address from Switzerland, the signatures to which had partly been collected under false pretences, and their ostentatious and indiscreet publication led afterwards to the mass expulsion of the signatories. From Germany no message had arrived. Then speeches. Despite the boundless fraternal love boredom could be seen on every face.

The banquet gave rise to a highly edifying scandal which, like all the heroic deeds of the European central mob-committee, unfolded within the pages of the counter-revolutionary press. It had struck observers as very strange that during the banquet a certain Barthélemy should have given an extremely grandiose eulogy of *Blanqui* in the presence of Louis Blanc. The puzzle was now elucidated. The *Patrie* printed a toast that Blanqui, in response to a request, had sent from Belle-Île to the orator at the banquet.[203] In the toast he made a blunt and powerful attack on the whole provisional government of 1848 and on M. Louis Blanc in particular. The *Patrie* expressed astonishment that this toast had been suppressed during the banquet. Louis Blanc at once wrote to *The Times*[b] declaring that Blanqui was an abominable intriguer and had never sent such a toast to the banquet committee. The committee, consisting of Messrs. Blanc, Willich, Landolphe, Schapper, Barthélemy and Vidil, announced simultaneously in the *Patrie* that they had never received the toast. The *Patrie*, however, did not publish the declaration until it had made inquiries of M. Antoine, Blanqui's

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[a] To the restoration of the revolution!—*Ed.*
[b] L. Blanc, "To the Editor of *The Times*", March 3 [,1851].—*Ed.*

brother-in-law, who had given it the text of the toast. Beneath the declaration of the banquet committee it printed M. Antoine's reply[a]: he had sent the toast to Barthélemy, one of the signatories of the declaration, and had received an acknowledgement from him. Whereupon M. Barthélemy was forced to admit that it was true that he had lied. He had indeed received the toast but had thought it unsuitable and had therefore not informed the committee of it. But before this, behind Barthélemy's back his co-signatory, the French ex-captain Vidil, had also written to the *Patrie*,[b] saying that his honour as a soldier and his sense of truth compelled him to confess that he himself, Louis Blanc, Willich and all the other signatories of the first declaration of the committee had lied. The committee had consisted of 13 members and not 6. They had all seen Blanqui's toast, they had discussed it and after a long debate agreed to suppress it by a majority of 7 votes to 6. He had been one of the six who had voted *in favour* of reading it in public.

It is easy to imagine the joy of the *Patrie* when it received Barthélemy's declaration after Vidil's letter. It printed the letter with this preface[c]:

"We have often asked ourselves, and it is a difficult question to answer, whether the demagogues are notable more for their boastfulness or their stupidity. A fourth letter from London has increased our perplexity. There they are, we do not know how many poor wretches, who are so tormented by the longing to write and to see their names published in the *reactionary* press that they are undeterred even by the prospect of infinite humiliation and mortification. What do they care for the laughter and the indignation of the public—the *Journal des Débats*, the *Assemblée nationale* and the *Patrie* will publish their stylistic exercises; to achieve this no cost to the cause of cosmopolitan democracy can be too high.... In the name of literary commiseration we therefore include the following letter from 'citizen' Barthélemy—it is a novel, and, we hope, the last proof of the authenticity of Blanqui's famous toast whose existence they first all denied and now fight among themselves for the right to acknowledge."

## XI

"The force of actual events", to use one of Arnold's pungently beautiful forms, now took the following course. On February 24, Ruge had compromised himself and the German émigrés in the

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[a] ["La déclaration de la commission du Banquet des Egaux du 1 mars 1851"]; G. Antoine, "À M. le rédacteur du journal *La Patrie*" [le 6 mars 1851,] *La Patrie*, No. 66, March 7, 1851.—*Ed.*

[b] [J. Vidil, "Au rédacteur du journal *La Patrie*, le 8 mars 1851,] *La Patrie*, No. 69, March 10, 1851.—*Ed.*

[c] *La Patrie*, No. 71, March 12, 1851.—*Ed.*

presence of foreigners. Hence the few émigrés who still felt inclined to go along with him felt insecure and without backing. Arnold put the blame on the division in the emigration and pressed harder than ever for unity. Compromised as he was, he still reached eagerly for the chance to compromise himself further.

Hence the *anniversary of the March revolution in Vienna* was used to give a German banquet. The chivalrous Willich declined the invitation; as he belonged to "citizen" Louis Blanc he could not collaborate with "citizen" Ruge who belonged to "citizen" Ledru. Likewise the ex-deputies Reichenbach, Schramm, Bucher, etc., shunned Ruge. Not counting the silent guests there appeared Mazzini, Ruge, Struve, Tausenau, Haug, Ronge and Kinkel—all of whom spoke.

Ruge filled the role of the "complete fool", as even his friends say. The Germans present were however to experience even greater things. Tausenau's clowning, Struve's croaking, Haug's chattering, Ronge's litanies turned the whole audience to stone and the majority drifted away even before that flower of rhetoric, Jeremiah-Kinkel, who had been saved for the dessert, could begin his speech. "In the name of the martyrs" for the martyrs, Gottfried spoke as a martyr and uttered lachrymose words of reconciliation to all, "from the simple defender of the constitution down to the red republican".[a] At the same time as all these republicans, and even red republicans, like Kinkel, groaned away in this fashion, they also grovelled before the English constitution in humble adoration, a contradiction to which the *Morning Chronicle* deigned to draw their attention the following morning.

However, the same evening Ruge saw the fulfilment of his desires, as can be seen from a proclamation whose most brilliant sections we offer here:

*"TO THE GERMANS!*

"Brothers and friends in the fatherland! We, the undersigned, constitute at present, and until such time as you decide differently, the committee for German affairs" (irrespective which affairs).

"The Central Committee of European Democracy has sent us Arnold *Ruge*, the Baden revolution has sent us Gustav *Struve*, the Viennese revolution has sent us Ernst *Haug*, the religious movement has sent us Johannes *Ronge*, and prison has sent us Gottfried *Kinkel*; we have invited the Social-Democratic workers to send a representative to our midst.

"German brothers! Events have deprived you of your freedom ... we know that you are incapable of abandoning your freedom for ever, and we have" (according

[a] "Eine Rede Kinkel's" (March 13). *Bremer Tages-Chronik*, No. 531, March 25, 1851.—*Ed.*

to Arnold) "omitted nothing" (in the way of committees and manifestos) "that might accelerate your recovery of it.

"When we ... when we gave our support and our guarantee to the Mazzini loan, when we ... when we ... initiated the holy alliance of peoples against the unholy alliance of their oppressors, we only did, we are sure of it, what you wished with all your hearts to see done.... The tyrants have been arraigned before the universal court of mankind in the great trial of freedom" (and while Arnold is the public prosecutor, the "tyrants" can sleep in peace). "... Arson, murder, devastation, hunger and bankruptcy will soon be widespread throughout Germany.

"You have the example of France before your eyes—smouldering with fury it is more united than ever in its determination to liberate itself" (who the devil could have predicted December 2![a])—"Look at Hungary, even the Croats have been converted" (thanks to the *Deutscher Zuschauer* and Ruge's coats made from sawdust)—"and believe us, for we know, when we say that Poland is immortal" (Mr. Darasz confided this piece of information to them under solemn oath of secrecy).

"Force against force—that is the justice that is being prepared. And we shall leave nothing undone to bring into being a *more effective provisional government*" (aha!) "than the Pre-parliament and a more potent arm of the people than the National Assembly"[204] (see below what these gentlemen brought into being when they attempted to lead each other by the nose).

"Our draft proposals concerning the finances and the press" (Order No. 1 and 2 of the strong provisional government—the Customs Officer, Christian Müller, is given the task of implementing this measure) "shall be presented to you separately. They deal mainly with business affairs. We wish only to say that every purchase of the Italian loan will be of immediate benefit to our committee and to our cause and that for the moment you can help in a practical way above all by ensuring a *liberal supply of money*. We shall then *know how to translate this money into public opinion and public power*" (with Arnold as translator) "... We say to you: *Subscribe 10 million francs and we shall liberate the Continent!*

"Germans, remember..." (that you sing baritone and kindle fires on the mountains[b]) "... lend us your thoughts" (at present they are almost as much in demand as money), "your purse" (yes, don't forget that) "and your arm! We expect your zeal to increase with the intensity of your oppression and that the committee shall be adequately strengthened for the hour of decision by your present assistance." (If not, they would have to resort to liquor, which would be against Gustav's principles.)

"All democrats are *instructed* to publicise our proclamation" (the Customs Officer, Christian Müller, will take care of the rest).

"London, March 13, 1851

The Committee for German Affairs
*Arnold Ruge, Gustav Struve, Ernst Haug,*
*Johannes Ronge, Gottfried Kinkel*[c]"

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[a] The reference is to Louis Bonaparte's coup d'état in France on December 2, 1851.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 283.—*Ed.*

[c] The proclamation was published (without the salutation and signatures) in the *Bremer Tages-Chronik*, No. 534, March 28, 1851.—*Ed.*

Our readers are acquainted with Gottfried, they are also acquainted with Gustav; Arnold's "frequent appearances" have likewise been repeated often enough. So there remain but two members of the "effective provisional government" whom we have still to introduce.

Johannes *Ronge* or Johannes Kurzweg,[a] as he likes to be known in his intimate circle, has certainly not written the *Apocalypse.* There is nothing mysterious about him; he is banal, hackneyed, as insipid as water, especially lukewarm dish-water. As is well known Johannes became famous when he refused to permit the Holy Coat of Trier[205] to intercede for him—though it is wholly unimportant who intercedes for Johannes. When Johannes first made his appearance the elderly Paulus expressed his regrets that Hegel was dead as *now* he would no longer be able to regard him as shallow, and the late Krug was lucky to be dead as he thereby escaped the danger of acquiring a reputation for profundity. Johannes is one of those phenomena often met with in history who several centuries after the rise and fall of a movement expound the content of this movement in a most feeble and colourless manner to philistines of a certain kind and to eight-year-old children as if it were the latest discovery. Such a profession does not last very long, and soon our Johannes found himself in a situation in Germany which became daily more difficult. His watered-down version of the German Enlightenment went out of fashion and Johannes made a pilgrimage to England where we see him re-appear, without any notable success, as the rival of Padre Gavazzi. The ungainly, sallow, tedious village parson naturally paled by the side of the fiery, histrionic Italian monk, and the English bet heavily that this boring Johannes could not be the man who had set the deep-thinking German nation in motion. But he was consoled by Arnold Ruge, who found that the German Catholicism of our Johannes was remarkably similar to his own brand of atheism.

Ludwig von Hauck had been a captain of engineers in the Imperial Austrian army, then in 1848 co-editor of the constitution in Vienna, later still as leader of a battalion in the Viennese National Guard he defended the gate of the Imperial Palace against the Imperial army on October 30 with great courage, abandoning his post only after all was lost. He escaped to Hungary, joined up with Bem's army in Transylvania where in

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[a] *Kurzweg* here means blunt, frank, outspoken.—*Ed.*

consequence of his valour he advanced to the rank of colonel in the general staff. After Görgey surrendered at Világos[206] Ludwig Hauck was taken prisoner and died like a hero on one of the gallows that the Austrians erected in Hungary to avenge their repeated defeats and to express their fury at the Russian protection, which had become intolerable to them. In London Haug was long thought to be the Hauck who had been taken prisoner, an officer who had greatly distinguished himself in the Hungarian campaign. However, it now seems to be established that he is not the late Hauck. Just as he was unable to prevent Mazzini from improvising him into a general after the fall of Rome,[207] so too he could do nothing to stop Arnold Ruge from transforming him into the representative of the Viennese revolution and a member of the strong provisional government. Later he gave aesthetic lectures about the economic foundations of the cosmogony of universal history from a geological standpoint and with musical accompaniment. Among the *émigrés* this melancholic man is known as the poor wretch, or as the French say, *la bonne bête.*

Arnold could not believe his good fortune. He had a manifesto, a strong provisional government, a loan of ten million francs and even a tiny weekly magazine with the modest title *Kosmos*, edited by General Haug.

The manifesto disappeared unread and without leaving a trace. The *Kosmos* died of exhaustion in the third number, the money failed to roll in, the provisional government dissolved into its components once more.

At first, the *Kosmos* contained advertisements for Kinkel's lectures,[a] for the worthy Willich's appeals for money for the Schleswig-Holstein refugees and for Göhringer's saloon. It contained further among other things a lampoon by Arnold. The old joker invented a certain hospitable friend called Müller in Germany whose friend, Schulze,[b] he pretended to be. Müller expresses astonishment at what he reads in the papers about English hospitality; he fears that all this "sybaritism" may distract Schulze from his "affairs of state"—but he does not grudge him this as when Schulze returns to Germany he will be so overwhelmed by state affairs that he will have to deny himself the pleasures of Müller's hospitality. Finally, Müller exclaims:

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[a] See this volume, p. 258.—*Ed.*

[b] Müller and Schulze are the characters of many German popular jokes.—*Ed.*

"Surely it was not the traitor Radowitz, but Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, Citizen Willich, Kinkel and *yourself*" (Arnold Ruge) "who were invited to Windsor Castle?"

If after all this the *Kosmos* collapsed after the third issue the failure could certainly not be put down to lack of publicity, for at every possible English meeting the speakers would find it pressed into their hands with the request to recommend it as they would find their own principles specially represented in it.

Scarcely had the subscriptions for the ten-million-franc loan been opened when suddenly the rumour arose that a list of contributors to a fund to dispatch Struve (and Amalia) to America was circulating in the City.

"When the committee resolved to publish a German weekly with Haug as editor, Struve protested as he wanted the post of editor for himself and wished to call the journal *Deutscher Zuschauer*. Thereupon he resolved to go to America."

Thus far the report in the *Deutsche Schnellpost* of New York. It remains silent about the fact (and Heinzen had his reasons for this) that as Gustav was a collaborator on the Duke of Brunswick's *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* Mazzini had struck his name off the list of the German committee. Gustav soon acclimatised his *Deutscher Zuschauer* in New York. But soon after came the news from over the ocean: "Gustav's *Zuschauer* is dead." As he says, this was not for the lack of people who put their name down as subscribers, nor because he had no leisure for writing but simply because of a dearth of *paying* subscribers. However, the democratic revision of Rotteck's *Weltgeschichte* could not be postponed any longer, so great was the need for it, and as he had already begun it 15 years previously he would send the subscribers a corresponding number of pages of the *Weltgeschichte* instead of the *Deutscher Zuschauer*. But he would have to request payment in advance for this, to which in the circumstances no one could object. As long as Gustav had remained on this side of the Atlantic Heinzen depicted him along with Ruge as the greatest man in Europe. No sooner had he reached the other side than a terrific row began between them.

Gustav writes:

"When on June 6 in Karlsruhe Heinzen saw that guns were being brought up[208] he left for Strasbourg in female company."

Whereupon Heinzen called Gustav a "soothsayer".

When the *Kosmos* was about to founder, Arnold was busy broadcasting its virtues in the journal of the stalwart Heinzen, and at about the time when the strong provisional government was

disintegrating, Rodomonte-Heinzen was proclaiming "*military obedience*" towards it in his journal. Heinzen's love of the military in peacetime is well known.

"Shortly after Struve's departure *Kinkel* too resigned from the committee, which was thereby reduced to impotence" (New York *Deutsche Schnellpost*, No. 23).

Thus the "strong provisional government" dwindled still further and only Messrs. Ruge, Ronge and Haug remained in it. Even Arnold realised that with this Trinity nothing at all could be brought into existence, let alone a cosmos. Nevertheless through all the permutations, variations and combinations it remained the nucleus of all the committees he subsequently formed. An indefatigable man, he saw no reason to throw in his hand; after all his aim was merely to do something that would have the appearance of action, the semblance of profound political schemes, something that, above all, would provide matter for self-important talk, frequent appearances and complacent gossip.

As for Gottfried, his dramatic lectures for respectable city-merchants[a] did not allow him to compromise himself. But on the other hand it was altogether too evident that the purpose of the manifesto of March 13 was none other than to provide support for the place Herr Arnold had usurped in the European Central Committee. Even Gottfried had afterwards to realise this, but it was not in his interest to grant Ruge such recognition. So it came to pass that shortly after the manifesto had been published, the *Kölnische Zeitung* printed a declaration by that *dama acerba*,[b] Mockel. Her husband, she wrote, had not signed the appeal, he was not interested in public loans and had resigned from the newly-formed committee. Whereupon Arnold gossiped in the New York *Schnellpost* to the effect that admittedly Kinkel had been prevented by illness from signing the manifesto, but he gave his approval, the plan to issue it had been conceived in his room, he himself had undertaken to dispatch a number of copies to Germany and he only left the committee because it elected General Haug president in preference to himself. Arnold accompanied this declaration with annoying attacks on Kinkel's vanity, calling him "absolute martyr" and the "democratic Beckerath", and with insinuations against Frau Johanna Kinkel, who had access to such taboo journals as the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

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[a] Marx and Engels use the English words "city-merchants".—*Ed.*

[b] *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 114, May 13, 1851; *dama acerba*—strict woman.—*Ed.*

However, Arnold's seed had not fallen on stony soil. Kinkel's "beautiful soul" resolved to turn the tables on his rivals and to raise the treasure of revolution alone. Johanna's statement repudiating this ridiculous scheme had scarcely appeared in the *Kölnische Zeitung* when on his own initiative our Gottfried launched an appeal for a loan in the transatlantic papers with the comment that the money should be sent to the man "who inspires the most confidence". And who could this man be but Gottfried Kinkel? For the time being he demanded an advance payment of £500 sterling with which to manufacture revolutionary paper money. Ruge, not to be outdone, had the *Schnellpost* declare that he was the treasurer of the Democratic Central Committee and that Mazzini notes were already available and could be purchased from him. Whoever wished to lose £500 sterling would certainly do better to take the available notes than to speculate in something that did not yet exist. And Rodomonte-Heinzen roared that unless Herr Kinkel abandoned his manoeuvres he would be branded publicly as an "enemy of the revolution". Gottfried had counter-articles published in the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung*, the direct rival of the *Schnellpost*. In this way full-scale hostilities were in progress on the other side of the Atlantic while kisses of Judas were still being exchanged on this side.

But by issuing an appeal for a national loan in his own name Gottfried had somewhat shocked the democratic rank and file, as he soon realised. To make good his blunder he now declared that

"this appeal for money, for a German national loan did not proceed from him. In all likelihood what had happened was that some all too zealous friends in America had made free with his name".

This declaration provoked the following answer from Dr. Wiss in the New York *Schnellpost*:

"It is generally known that the appeal to agitate for a German loan *was sent to me by Gottfried Kinkel with the urgent request* to publicise it in all the German newspapers, and I am ready and willing to show this letter to anyone who is in doubt on this point. If Kinkel has really made that statement the only honourable course for him to pursue is to retract it publicly and to publish my correspondence with him to show the party that I was quite independent and that as far as he is concerned I did certainly not exhibit 'an excess of zeal'. If he has not issued the statement it is Kinkel's duty to declare publicly that the journalist responsible for printing it is an evil slanderer, or if there had been a misunderstanding, an irresponsible and unscrupulous gossip. For my part I am unable to believe Kinkel capable of such unmitigated perfidy. Dr. C. Wiss" (*Wochenblatt der Deutschen Schnellpost*, New York).

What was Kinkel to do? Once again he thrust his *aspra donzella*[a] into the breach, he stated that Mockel was the "irresponsible and unscrupulous gossip", he claimed that his wife had promoted the loan behind his back. It cannot be denied that this tactic was highly "aesthetic".

Thus did our Gottfried sway like a reed, now advancing, now retreating, now launching a project, now dissociating himself from it, always tacking to adjust to the wind of popularity. While he officially allowed the aesthetic bourgeoisie to fête and feast him in London as the martyr of the revolution, behind the backs of the same people he indulged in forbidden commerce with the mob[b] of the emigration as represented by Willich. While living in circumstances that could be described as luxurious in comparison with his modest situation in Bonn, he wrote to St. Louis that he was living as befitted the "representative of poverty".[c] In this way he behaved towards the bourgeoisie as etiquette required, and at the same time he showed due respect to the proletariat. But as a man whose imagination far outweighed his understanding he could not help falling into the bad manners and the arrogant postures of the parvenu and this alienated many a pompous philistine émigré from him. Wholly characteristic of him was the article on the Great Exhibition that he wrote for the *Kosmos*. He admired nothing so much as the giant mirror that was exhibited in the Crystal Palace. For him, the objective world reduces itself to a mirror, the subjective world to a cliché. Under the pretext of seeing the beautiful side of everything he dallies with everything and this dallying he calls poetry, self-sacrifice or religion, as the occasion demands. Fundamentally, everything is used to gratify himself. It is inevitable that in practice he should bring into prominence the ugly side, since imagination turns into lies and enthusiasm into baseness. It was moreover to be expected that Gottfried would soon cast off his lion's skin when he fell into the hands of old, experienced clowns like Gustav and Arnold.

## XII

The Great Exhibition inaugurated a new epoch in the emigration. The great throng of German philistines that flooded into

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[a] Raw virgin.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx and Engels use the English word.—*Ed.*

[c] G. Kinkel, "Der Brief an die Bürger von St. Louis", *Bremer Tages-Chronik*, No. 507, February 25, 1851.—*Ed.*

London during the summer, felt ill at ease in the bustle of the great Crystal Palace and in the even larger town of London with its noise, its din and its clamour. And when the burden and labour of the day,[a] the dutiful inspection of the Exhibition and the other sights had been completed in the sweat of his brow, the German philistine could recover at his ease at the Hanau landlord of Schärttner or the Star landlord of Göhringer, with their beery cosiness, their smoke-filled fug and their public-house politics. Here "one could meet the whole of the fatherland" and in addition all the greatest men of Germany could be seen gratis. There they all sat, the members of parliament, the deputies of Chambers, the generals, the club orators of the wonderful period of 1848 and 1849, they smoked their pipes just like ordinary people and debated the loftiest interests of the fatherland day after day *coram publico*[b] and with unshakable dignity. This was the place where for the price of a few bottles of extremely cheap wine the German citizen could discover exactly what went on at the most secret meetings of the European cabinets. This was the place where he could learn to within a minute when "it would all start". In the meantime one bottle after another was started and all the parties went home unsteadily but strengthened in the knowledge that they had made their contribution to the salvation of the fatherland. Never has the emigration drunk more and cheaper than during the period when the solvent masses of German philistines were in London.

The true organisation of the emigration was in fact this *tavern organisation* presided over by Silenus-Schärttner in Long Acre which experienced its heyday thanks to the Exhibition. Here the true Central Committee sat in perpetual session. All other committees, organisations, party formations were just trimmings, the patriotic arabesques of this primeval German tavern society of idlers.

In addition the emigration was strengthened at the time by the arrival of Messrs. Meyen, Faucher, Sigel, Goegg, Fickler, etc.

*Meyen*, a little hedgehog who through an oversight had come into the world without spines, was, under the name *Poinsinet*, once described by Goethe in this way:

"In literature, as in society, one encounters such curious, stout little manikins. Endowed with some small talent they endeavour always to claim the attention of the public and as they can easily be overlooked, they are the source of much

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[a] Cf. Matthew 20 : 12.—*Ed.*
[b] In public.—*Ed.*

amusement. However, they always manage to profit sufficiently. They live, act, are mentioned and are accorded a favourable reception. Their failures do not disconcert them; they regard them as exceptional and hope that the future will bring them great successes. Poinsinet is a figure of this sort in the French literary world. It goes almost beyond belief to see what has been done with him, how he has been misled and mystified and even his sad death by drowning in Spain does not diminish the ridiculous impression made by his life, just as a frog made of fireworks does not attain to dignity by concluding a lengthy series of sputters with a loud bang."[a]

On the other hand, writers contemporary with him pass on the following information: *Eduard Meyen* belonged to the "Resolute" group which represented the Berlin intelligentsia as against the mass stupidity of the rest of Germany. He too had a Meyen-Bug Club in Berlin with his friends Mügge, Klein, Zabel, Buhl, etc. Each of these Meyen bugs sat on his own small leaf.[b] Eduard Meyen's paper was called the *Mannheimer Abendblättchen*[c] and here, every week, after enormous efforts, he deposited a small green turd of correspondence. Our Meyen-bug really did progress to the point in 1845 when he was *about* to publish a monthly periodical; contributions from various people landed on his desk, the publisher waited but the whole project collapsed because Eduard after eight months in cold sweat declared that he could not finish the prospectus. As Eduard took all his childish activities seriously he was regarded in Berlin after the March revolution as a man who took the movement seriously. In London he worked together with Faucher on a German edition of the *Illustrated London News* under the editorship and censorship of an old woman who had known some German twenty years before, but he was discarded as useless after he had attempted with great tenacity to insert his profound articles about sculpture that he had published ten years previously in Berlin. But when, later on, the Kinkel emigration made him their secretary he realised that he was a practical *homme d'état*[d] and he announced in a lithographed leaflet that he had arrived at the "tranquillity of a point of view". After his death a whole heap of titles for future projects will be found among his papers.

Conjointly with Meyen we must necessarily consider *Oppenheim*, his co-editor and co-secretary. It has been claimed that Oppenheim is not so much a man as an allegorical figure: the

[a] Goethe, "Anmerkungen über Personen und Gegenstände, deren in dem Dialog Rameau's Neffe erwähnt wird".—*Ed.*

[b] *Blättchen*—"small leaf" and "small newspaper".—*Ed.*

[c] *Mannheimer Abendzeitung.*—*Ed.*

[d] Statesman.—*Ed.*

goddess of boredom, it is reported, came down to Frankfurt am Main and assumed the shape of this son of a Jewish jeweller. When Voltaire wrote: "*Tous les genres sont bons, excepté le genre ennuyeux*",[a] he must have had a premonition of our Heinrich Bernhard Oppenheim. We prefer Oppenheim the writer to Oppenheim the orator. His writings may be avoided, but his spoken delivery—*c'est impossible.* The pythagorean metempsychosis may have some foundation in reality but the name borne by Heinrich Bernhard Oppenheim in former ages can no longer be discovered as no man ever made a name for himself through being an unbearable chatterbox. His life may be epitomised by its three climactic moments: Arnold Ruge's editor—Brentano's editor—Kinkel's editor.

The third member of the alliance[b] is Herr Julius *Faucher.* He is one of those Berlin Huguenots who know how to exploit their minor talent with great commercial adroitness. He made his public debut as the Ensign Pistol of the Free Trade Party in which capacity he was employed by Hamburg commercial interests to make propaganda. During the revolutionary disturbances they allowed him to preach free trade in the apparently chaotic form of anarchism. When this ceased to be relevant to the times he was dismissed and, with Meyen, became joint editor of the Berlin *Abend-Post.* Under the pretence of wishing to abolish the state and introduce anarchy he refrained from dangerous opposition towards the existing government and when, later on, the paper failed because it could not afford the deposit, the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* commiserated with Faucher, the only respectable writer among the democrats.[c] This cosy relationship with the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* soon became so intimate that our Faucher began to act as its correspondent in London. Faucher's activity in émigré politics did not last long; his free trade inclined him towards commerce where he found his true calling, to which he returned with great energy and in which he achieved results never seen before: namely a *price list* that assesses his goods according to a completely sliding scale. As is well known, the *Breslauer Zeitung* was indiscreet enough to inform the general public of this document.

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[a] All styles are good except the tiresome kind (Voltaire, *L'enfant prodigue,* Preface).—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. Schiller, "Die Bürgschaft" (see this volume, pp. 163 and 264).—*Ed.*

[c] This refers to two items published in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* on July 20 and 21, 1850, in the section "Berliner Zuschauer".—*Ed.*

This three-star constellation of the Berlin intelligentsia is confronted with the three-star constellation of strong South-German principles: Sigel, Fickler, Goegg.

Franz *Sigel*, whom his friend Goegg describes as

"a short, beardless man, bearing a strong resemblance to Napoleon", is, again according to Goegg, "a hero", "a man of the future", "above all a genius, intellectually creative and constantly hatching new plans".

Between ourselves, General Sigel is a young Baden lieutenant of principle and ambition. He read in an account of the campaigns of the French Revolution that the step from second lieutenant to supreme commander is mere child's play, and from that moment on this little beardless man firmly believed that Franz Sigel must become supreme commander in a revolutionary army. His wish was granted thanks to the Baden insurrection of 1849 and a popularity with the army arising from a confusion of names.[a] The battles he fought on the Neckar and did not fight in the Black Forest are well known; his retreat to Switzerland has been praised even by his enemies as a timely and correct manoeuvre. His military plans here bear witness to his study of the revolutionary wars. In order to remain faithful to the revolutionary tradition hero Sigel, ignoring the enemy and operational and withdrawal lines and similar bagatelles, went conscientiously from one Moreau position to the next. And if he did not manage to parody Moreau's campaigns in every detail, if he crossed the Rhine at Eglisau and not at Paradies, this was the fault of the enemy, who was too ignorant to appreciate such a learned manoeuvre. In his orders of the day and in his instructions Sigel emerges as a preacher and if he has an inferior style to Napoleon, he has more principle. Later, he concerned himself with devising a handbook for revolutionary officers in all branches of the service, from which we are in a position to offer the following important extract:

"An officer of the revolution must carry the following articles according to regulations: 1 head-covering and cap, 1 sabre with belt, 1 black, red and yellow[b] camel-hair sash, 2 pairs of black leather gloves, 2 battle coats, 1 cloak, 1 pair of cloth trousers, 1 tie, 2 pairs of boots or shoes, 1 black leather travelling case—12" wide, 10" high, 4" deep, 6 shirts, 3 pairs of underpants, 8 pairs of socks, 6 handkerchiefs, 2 towels, 1 washing and shaving kit, 1 writing case, 1 writing tablet with letters patent, 1 clothes brush, 1 copy of service regulations."

*Joseph Fickler*—

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[a] See this volume, p. 324.—*Ed.*

[b] The colours representing German unity.—*Ed.*

"the model of a decent, resolute, imperturbably tenacious man of the people whom the people of the whole Upper Baden and lake district supported as one man and whose struggles and sufferings over many years had earned him a popularity approaching that of Brentano" (according to the testimony of his friend Goegg).

As befits a decent, resolute, imperturbably tenacious man of the people, Joseph Fickler has a fleshy full-moon face, a fat neck and a paunch to match. The only fact known about his early life is that he earned a livelihood[a] with the aid of a carving from the fifteenth century and with relics relating to the Council of Constance.[209] He allowed travellers and foreign art-lovers to inspect these curiosities in exchange for money and incidentally sold them "antique" souvenirs of which Fickler, as he loved to relate with great self-satisfaction, would constantly order a new "antique" supply.

His only deeds during the revolution were firstly his arrest by Mathy after the Pre-parliament and, second, his arrest by Römer in Stuttgart in June 1849. Thanks to these arrests he managed to avoid compromising himself. The Württemberg democrats later deposited 1,000 guilders as bail for him, whereupon Fickler went to Thurgau incognito, and to the great distress of his guarantors no more was heard of him. It is undeniable that he successfully translated the feelings and opinions of the lakeside peasants into printers' ink in the *Seeblätter*; incidentally in view of his friend Ruge he is of the opinion that much study makes people stupid and for this reason he warned his friend Goegg not to visit the library of the British Museum.

*Amandus Goegg*, amiable, as his name indicates,

"is no great orator, but an unassuming citizen whose noble and modest bearing earns him the friendship of people everywhere" (*Westamerikanische Blätter*).

From sheer nobility Goegg became a member of the provisional government in Baden, where, as he admits, he could do nothing against Brentano and in all modesty he assumed the title of Dictator. No one denies that his achievements as Finance Minister were modest. In all modesty he proclaimed the "Social-Democratic Republic" in Donaueschingen the day before the final retreat to Switzerland, a retreat for which the orders had already been given. In all modesty he later declared (see Heinzen's *Janus*, 1852) that the Paris proletariat had lost on December 2 because it did not possess his own French-Badenese democratic experience nor

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[a] Marx and Engels use the English word.—*Ed.*

the insights available elsewhere in the French parts of South Germany. Anyone who desires further proofs of Goegg's modesty and of the existence of a "Goegg party", will find them in the book *Rückblick auf die badische Revolution*, etc., Paris 1851, written by himself. A fitting climax to his modesty came in a public meeting in Cincinnati when he declared that

"reputable men had visited him in Zurich after the bankruptcy of the Baden revolution and had announced that in the Baden revolution men of all the German tribes had taken part. It was therefore to be regarded as a German matter just as the Roman revolution was an Italian matter. As he was the man who had held out, they said that he must *become the German Mazzini*. His modesty compelled him to refuse."

Why? A man who was once "Dictator" and who is moreover the bosom friend of "Napoleon" Sigel, could surely also "*become the German Mazzini*".

Once the emigration was augmented *au grand complet*[a] by these and similar less noteworthy arrivals, it could proceed to those mighty battles that the reader shall learn of in the next canto.

## XIII

Chi mi darà la voce e le parole,
E un proferir magnanimo e profondo!
Che mai cosa piu fiera sotto il sole
Non fu veduta in tutto quanto il mondo;
L'altre battaglie fur rose e viole,
Al raccontar di questa mi confondo;
Perchè il valor, e'l pregio della terra
A fronte son condotti in questa guerra.
(Boiardo, *Orlando innamorato*, Canto 27)

Now who will give me words and who the tongue,
To sing of such brave deeds in sonorous sounds!
For ne'er was strife upon this earth begun
More proudly fought on bloodier battle grounds;
Compared to this all other wars are roses
To tell of it my lyric art confounds
For on this earth there ne'er was seen such glory
Or noble valour bright as in this story.

The latest fashionable arrivals[b] had replenished the emigration and the time had now come when the *émigrés* had to attempt to "*organise*" themselves on a larger scale so as to make up a full

[a] To its full extent.—*Ed.*
[b] Marx and Engels use the English words "fashionable arrivals".—*Ed.*

dozen. As might have been expected, these attempts degenerated into bitter feuds. The paper war conducted in the transatlantic journals now reached its climax. The privations of individuals, intrigues, plots, self-praise—the great men spent their energies in such paltry activities. But the emigration had gained something, a history of its own, lying outside world history, its own political pettifoggery alongside public affairs. And the very fact that they fought each other led each to believe in the importance of the other. Beneath the façade of all these strivings and conflicts lay the speculation in democratic party funds, the Holy Grail,[210] and this transformed these transcendental rivalries, these disputes about Emperor Barbarossa's beard, into ordinary competition between fools. Anyone who wishes to study the source material relating to this great war between the frogs and the mice[a] will find all pertinent documents in the New York *Schnellpost*, the *New-Yorker Deutsche Zeitung*, the *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung* and the *Staatszeitung*, in the Baltimore *Correspondent*, in the *Wecker* and in other German-American papers. However, this display of alleged connections and imagined conspiracies, this whole hue and cry raised by the émigrés was not without serious consequences. It provided the governments with the pretext they needed to arrest many people in Germany, to obstruct the movement throughout the country and to use these wretched strawmen in London as scarecrows with which to frighten the German middle classes. Far from constituting any danger to existing circumstances these heroes of the exile wish only that Germany should be as silent as the grave so that their voice might be heard the better and that the general level of thought should decline so far that even men of their stature might appear outstanding.

The newly-arrived South German worthies, since they were not committed to any side, found themselves in an excellent position in London to mediate between the various cliques and, at the same time, to gather the mass of émigrés around the leaders as a kind of chorus. Their sturdy sense of duty impelled them not to forgo this opportunity.

At the same time, however, they could already see Ledru-Rollin where he saw himself, namely in the chair of the president of the French Republic. As the closest neighbours of France it was vital for them to obtain recognition from the provisional government of France as the provisional chiefs of Germany. Sigel especially

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[a] A reference to *Batrachomyomachia—The Battle of the Frogs and the Mice*—a mock-heroic Greek poem, which parodies Homer's *Iliad*.—*Ed.*

wished to see his supreme command guaranteed by Ledru. But the only way to Ledru led over Arnold's corpse. Besides, they were still impressed by Arnold's *persona* and he still passed as the philosophical northern light who would illumine their South-German twilight. So they turned first of all to *Ruge.*

On the opposing side stood in the first instance *Kinkel* with his immediate entourage—Schurz, Strodtmann, Schimmelpfennig, Techow, etc.; then came the former members of parliament[a] and deputies of Chambers, led by *Reichenbach* with Meyen and Oppenheim as the representatives of literature; and, lastly, Willich with his flock which, however, remained in the background. The roles were distributed as follows: Kinkel as a passion-flower represents the German philistines in general; Reichenbach as a count represents the bourgeoisie; Willich as Willich represents the proletariat.

The first thing to say about August *Willich* is that Gustav always felt secretly mistrustful of him because of his pointed skull signifying that the enormous overgrowth of self-esteem had stunted all other qualities. A German philistine who once caught sight of ex-Lieutenant Willich in a London pub snatched up his hat and fled exclaiming: My God, he looks just like Jesus Christ, our Lord! In order to increase the similarity Willich became a carpenter for a while before the revolution. Later on he emerged as a partisan leader in the campaign in Baden and the Palatinate.

The partisan leader, a descendant of the old Italian condottiere, is a peculiar phenomenon of more recent wars, especially in Germany. The partisan leader, accustomed to act on his own initiative, is reluctant to subordinate himself to a general supreme command. His men owe their allegiance only to him, but he is likewise wholly dependent on them. For this reason the discipline in a volunteer corps is something rather special; according to circumstances it may be savagely strict, but mostly it is extremely lax. The partisan leader cannot always act the martinet, he must often flatter his men and win them over individually with the aid of physical caresses; the normal military qualities are of little use here and boldness must be supplemented by other characteristics if the leader is to retain the respect of his subordinates. If he is not noble he must at least have a magnanimous consciousness, to be complemented as always by cunning, crafty intrigue and covert practical baseness. In this way he not only wins over his soldiers but also captivates the inhabitants, surprises the enemy, and the

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[a] The Frankfurt National Assembly.—*Ed.*

originality of his character is acknowledged especially by his opponents. But all this does not suffice to hold together a volunteer corps, most of whose members either come from the lumpenproletariat or are rapidly assimilated into it. What is needed in addition is a lofty idea. The partisan leader must therefore have a nucleus of fixed ideas, he must be a man of principle who always keeps in mind his mission to redeem the world. By means of sermons delivered to his men and sustained didactic propaganda he must impart a consciousness of this lofty idea to every man individually and in this way transform the whole troop into sons within the faith. If this lofty idea is tinged with philosophy or mysticism or anything that surpasses normal understanding, if it is something Hegelian by nature (as was the case with the idea that General Willisen tried to infuse into the Prussian army[211]), then so much the better. For this ensures that the noble consciousness will enter into each and every partisan and the deeds of the whole corps thereby attain to a speculative consecration which exalts them far above the level of ordinary unreflecting courage, and the fame of such a troop depends less on its achievements than on its messianic calling. The strength of a troop can only be enhanced if all the warriors are made to swear an oath that they will not survive the destruction of the cause for which they are fighting and would prefer to be massacred to the last man beneath the last apple tree on the frontier while singing a hymn. Of course, such a troop and such a leader inevitably feel degraded by contact with ordinary profane soldiers and they will make every effort either to keep at a distance from the army or else to shake off the society of the uncircumcised as quickly as possible. They hate nothing more than a large army and a large war where their cunning buttressed by a lofty incentive can achieve little if it disregards the normal rules of war. Thus the partisan leader must be a crusader in the full sense of the word, he must be Peter the Hermit and Walther the Pauper rolled into one. Faced with the heterogeneous elements and the informal mode of life of his corps he must always uphold virtue. He must not allow his men to drink him under the table and so he should rather drink in solitude, for instance at night in bed. If it should happen to him, as it might to any fallible human being, that he find himself returning to barracks late at night after inordinate indulgence in the pleasures of this life, he will take care [not] to enter through the main gate, but will return by a roundabout route and climb unnoticed over the wall to avoid giving offence. Feminine charms should leave him cold, but it will make a good

impression if he, as Cromwell did with his non-commissioned officers, takes a tailor's apprentice into his bed from time to time. In general he cannot lead too strict and ascetic a life. Behind the *cavaliere della ventura*[a] stand the *cavalieri del dente*[b] of his corps who live mainly from requisitions and free quarters, to which Walther the Pauper has to turn a blind eye and even for that reason Peter the Hermit has always to be at hand with the consolation that such unpleasant measures are only taken to save the country and are therefore in the interest of the victims themselves.

All the qualities that the partisan leader displays in wartime re-appear in peacetime in a modified form, but one that can scarcely be regarded as an improvement. Above all else he must preserve the core of the regiment for a new corps and must keep his recruiting officers in a state of constant activity. The core, consisting of the remnants of the volunteer corps and the general mob of émigrés, is put into barracks either at government expense (as in Besançon[212]) or by some other means. Life in the barracks must not lack spiritual consecration and it is provided by a barracks communism that invests the disdain of ordinary civilian occupations with a higher significance. As this communist barracks is no longer subject to the articles of war, but only to the moral authority and the dictates of self-sacrifice, it is inevitable that brawls should break out over the communal funds. From these disputes moral authority does not always emerge unscathed. If there is an artisans' club anywhere in the vicinity it can be employed as a recruiting base and the artisans are given the prospect of a jolly life full of adventures in exchange for the oppressive work of the present. By pointing to the higher ethical significance of the barracks for the future of the proletariat, it is even possible to induce the club to make financial contributions. In both the barracks and the club the sermonising and the patriarchal and gossipy style of personal relations will not fail to impress. Even in peacetime the partisan does not lose his indispensable assurance and just as formerly every setback spurred him on to proclaim victory on the morrow, so now he is for ever expounding on the moral certainty and the physical inevitability that *it* will "start" within the next fortnight. As he must needs have an enemy and as the noble man is necessarily opposed by the ignoble ones he discovers in them a raging hostility towards

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[a] Knight of fortune.— *Ed.*
[b] Knights of the knapsack.— *Ed.*

himself, he imagines that they hate him merely because of his well-deserved popularity and would gladly poison him or stab him. With this in mind he always conceals a long dagger beneath his pillow.

Just as the partisan leader in war will never succeed unless he assumes that the population reveres him, likewise in peace he will not indeed manage to form any lasting political associations but he will constantly suppose them to exist and from this all sorts of strange mystifications can arise. The talent for requisitioning and obtaining free quarters appears again in the form of a cosy parasitism. By contrast, the strict asceticism of our Orlando, like everything that is noble and great, is subject to terrible temptations in times of peace. Boiardo says in Canto 24:

> Turpin claims that the Count of Brava
> Was virginal and chaste his whole life long.
> Of that you may believe, Sirs, what you will—

But it is also well known that later the beautiful Angelica's eyes caused Count of Brava to lose his reason and Astolf had to go to the moon to recover it for him, as Master Lodovico Ariosto so charmingly narrates.[a] Our modern Orlando, however, mistook himself for the poet who tells how he, too, loved so greatly that he lost his reason and tried to find it with his lips and hands on the bosom of his Angelica and was thrown out of the house for his pains.

In politics the partisan leader will display his superiority in all the methods of small-scale warfare. In conformity with the notion of a partisan he will go from one party to the next.[b] *Mesquines*[c] intrigues, sordid prevarication, the occasional lie, morally outraged perfidy will be the natural symptoms of the noble consciousness. His faith in his mission and in the higher meaning of his words and deeds will induce him to declare emphatically: "I never lie!" The fixed ideas become a splendid cloak for his secret treachery and cause the simpletons of the emigration, who have *no* ideas *at all,* to conclude that he, the man of fixed ideas, is simply a fool. And our worthy slyboots could desire nothing better.

Don Quixote and Sancho Panza rolled into one, as much in love with his knapsack as with his fixed ideas, with the free provisions of the itinerant knight as much as with renown, Willich is the man

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[a] In *L'Orlando furioso,* Canto 34.—*Ed.*

[b] A pun on the word *Parteigänger* (partisan) the second component of which is derived from an old German word meaning "to go", "to walk".—*Ed.*

[c] Petty.—*Ed.*

of the duodecimo[a] war and the microscopic intrigue. He conceals his cunning beneath the mask of character. His real future lies in the prairies of the Rio Grande del Norte.

Concerning the relations between the two wings of the emigration we have described, a letter from Herr Goegg in the *Deutsche Schnellpost* in New York is very revealing:

"They" (the South Germans) "resolved to bolster up the reputation of the *moribund* Central Committee by attempting to unite with the other factions. But there is little prospect of success for this well-intentioned idea. Kinkel continues to intrigue, has formed a committee consisting of his rescuer,[b] his biographer[c] and several Prussian lieutenants.[d] The committee is to work in secret, to expand, if possible to gain possession of the democratic funds, and then suddenly appear publicly as the powerful Kinkel party. This is neither honest nor just nor sensible!"

How "honest" the intentions to unite of the South Germans were can be seen from the following letter from Herr Sigel to the same newspaper:

"If we, the few men with *honourable* intentions, have in part also resorted to conspiracies, this is due to the need to protect ourselves against the vile perfidy and the presumptuousness of Kinkel and his colleagues and to show them that they are not born to rule. *Our chief aim* was to force Kinkel to come to a large meeting in order to prove to him and to what he calls his close political friends that not all that glitters is gold. The devil take the instrument" (Schurz), "the devil take the singer too"[e] (Kinkel) (*Wochenblatt der New-Yorker Deutschen Zeitung*, September 24, 1851).

The strange constitution of the two factions that rebuke each other for being "North German" and "South German" can be seen from the fact that at the head of the South-German elements stood the "mind" of Ruge, while at the head of the North-German side were the "feelings" of Kinkel.

In order to understand the great struggle that was now waged we must waste a few words on the diplomacy of these two world-shaking parties.

Arnold (and his henchmen likewise) was concerned above all to form a "private society" with the official *appearance* of "revolutionary activity". This society would then give rise to his beloved "Committee *for* German Affairs" and this committee would then propel Ruge into the European Central Committee. Arnold had

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[a] Diminutive.—*Ed.*
[b] Carl Schurz.—*Ed.*
[c] Adolf Strodtmann.—*Ed.*
[d] Gustav Techow and Alexander Schimmelpfennig.—*Ed.*
[e] Goethe, *Faust*, Erster Teil, "Nacht", "Strasse vor Gretchens Türe".—*Ed.*

been indefatigable in his efforts to realise this aim since the summer of 1850. He had hoped that the South Germans would provide "that happy medium where he could dominate in comfort". The official establishment of the emigration and the formation of committees was therefore the necessary policy of Arnold and his allies.

Kinkel and his associates, on the other hand, had to try and undermine everything that could legitimise the position Ruge had arrogated to himself in the European Central Committee. In reply to his appeal for a preliminary subscription of £500 sterling Kinkel had received the promise of some money from New Orleans, whereupon he had formed a *secret finance committee* together with Willich, Schimmelpfennig, Reichenbach, Techow, Schurz, etc. They reasoned: once we have the money we shall have the emigration; once we have the emigration we shall also have the government in Germany. Their aim, therefore, was to occupy the whole emigration mainly with formal meetings but to foil any attempt at setting up an official organisation that went beyond a "loosely organised society" and above all to frustrate all proposals to form committees. This would delay the enemy faction, block its activities and enable them to manoeuvre behind its backs.

Both factions, i.e. "the distinguished men", had one thing in common: they both led the mass of émigrés by the nose, did not inform them of their real objectives, wanted to use them merely as a foil and to drop them as soon as they had served their purpose.

Let us take a look at these democratic Machiavellis, Talleyrands and Metternichs and see how they treat each other.

*Scene 1.* July 14, 1851.—After "a private understanding with Kinkel to make common cause had fallen through", Ruge, Goegg, Sigel, Fickler and Ronge invited the distinguished men of all factions to a meeting in Fickler's home on July 14. Twenty-six people appeared. Fickler proposed that a "private circle" of German refugees should be formed and this should create a "business committee for the advancement of revolutionary objectives". This was opposed mainly by Kinkel and six of his supporters. After a violent debate lasting several hours Fickler's motion was passed (16 votes to 10). Kinkel and the minority declared themselves unable to participate any further and took their departure.

*Scene 2.* July 20.—The above majority constituted itself as an association. Joined, among others, by *Tausenau*, who had been introduced by Fickler.

If Ronge is the Luther and Kinkel the Melanchthon then Herr Tausenau is the *Abraham a Sancta Clara* of the German democrats.

If the two haruspices in Cicero could not look each other in the face without laughing[a] then Herr Tausenau cannot catch sight of his own earnest features in the mirror without bursting into laughter. If Ruge had discovered in the Badeners people whom *he* impressed, Fate now had its revenge when it introduced to him the Austrian Tausenau, a man who impressed *him.*

At the suggestion of Goegg and Tausenau the negotiations were postponed in order to try once again to bring about a union with Kinkel's faction.

*Scene 3.* July 27.—Meeting in the Cranbourne Hotel. The "distinguished" emigration *au grand complet.*[b] Kinkel's group appeared but not with the intention of joining the association already in existence; on the contrary, they pressed for the formation of an "open discussion club *without* a business committee and without *definite objectives*". Schurz, who acted as young Kinkel's mentor throughout all these parliamentary negotiations, proposed:

"The present society should form itself into a private political association with the name *German Émigré Club* and should accept as new members other citizens from among the German refugees on the nomination of a member and after a majority vote in favour."

Passed unanimously. The club resolved to meet every Friday.

"The passing of this motion was welcomed with general applause and with the cry: 'Long Live the German Republic!!!' Everyone felt that they had done their duty by being prepared to make concessions and that they had achieved something positive serving the cause of revolution" (Goegg, *Wochenblatt der [Deutschen] Schnellpost,* August 20, 1851).

Eduard Meyen was so delighted with this success that he exclaimed in his lithographed report:

"The whole emigration now form a coherent phalanx up to and including Bucher and with the sole exception of the incorrigible Marx clique."

This same notice of Meyen's can be found also in the Berlin lithographed ministerial reports.[c]

In this way, thanks to a general willingness to make concessions and to the accompaniment of three cheers for the German Republic, the great *Émigré Club,* which was to hold such inspiring meetings and which was to dissolve in satisfaction a few weeks

[a] Cicero, in his book *De divinatione,* quotes this remark by Cato the Elder. The haruspices were diviners in ancient Rome basing their predictions on the inspection of the entrails of sacrificial animals.—*Ed.*

[b] There to a man.—*Ed.*

[c] *Preussische Lithographische Correspondenz.—Ed.*

after Kinkel's departure for America, came into being. Its dissolution did not of course prevent it from playing an important part as a living entity in America.

*Scene 4.* August 1.—Second meeting in the Cranbourne Hotel.

"Unfortunately we must already report today that the expectations raised by the formation of this club have been disappointed" (Goegg, *loc. cit.,* August 27).

Without first obtaining a majority decision, Kinkel introduced six Prussian refugees and six Prussian visitors to the Great Exhibition into the club. *Damm** (President, former President of the Baden Constituent Assembly) expressed his astonishment at this treacherous infringement of the statutes.

*Kinkel* explained:

"The club is only a *loosely* organised society with no other purpose than for people to get to know each other and to have discussions that are open to everyone. It is therefore desirable for visitors to attend the meetings of the society in large numbers."

Student *Schurz* attempted to cover up quickly for his Professor's lack of tact by moving an amendment to permit the admission of visitors. Motion passed. Abraham a Sancta Clara *Tausenau* rose and put the following two important motions with a perfectly straight face:

"1. A commision" ("*the*" committee) "should be set up to give a detailed report every week on current affairs, particularly in Germany. These reports are to be preserved in the archive of the society and published at an appropriate time. 2. There should be a commission" ("*the*" committee) "to deposit in the archive all possible details concerning violations of the law and acts of cruelty towards the supporters of democracy committed by the servants of the reaction during the last three years and at the present time."

*Reichenbach* opposed this vigorously: "He saw suspicious motives lurking behind these innocuous proposals and also the wish to use the election of these commissions as a device to give the meeting an *offical* character not desired by himself or his friends."

*Schimmelpfennig* and *Schurz*: "These commissions could arrogate powers unto themselves that might be of a conspiratorial nature and gradually lead to an *official committee.*"

*Meyen*: "*I want words, not deeds.*"

* "Damm is here!"
"Who is here?"
"Damm is here!"
"Who?"
"Damm, Damm, surely you know Damm?"[a]

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[a] Paraphrase of a German song.—*Ed.*

According to Goegg's account, the majority seemed inclined to accept the motions; Machiavelli *Schurz* proposed an adjournment. Abraham a Sancta Clara *Tausenau* being good-natured agreed to the proposal. *Kinkel* expressed the opinion that

"the vote should be postponed until the next meeting chiefly because his group appeared to be in the minority that evening and he and his friends would be unable in the circumstances to regard the vote as binding *on their conscience*".

Adjournment agreed.

*Scene 5.* August 8.—Third meeting in the Cranbourne Hotel. Discussion of the Tausenau motions.—Ignoring the agreement, Kinkel-Willich had brought along the "rank and file refugees", *le menu peuple*,[a] so as to "bind their conscience" this time.—*Schurz* moved an amendment proposing voluntary lectures on current affairs, and in accordance with a pre-arranged plan Meyen immediately volunteered to speak on Prussia, Schurz on France, Oppenheim on England and Kinkel on America and the future (since his immediate future lay in America).— *Tausenau*'s proposals were rejected. He declared emotionally that his only wish was to sacrifice his just anger on the altar of the fatherland and to remain within the bosom of his allies. But the Ruge-Fickler faction at once assumed the outraged indignation of beautiful souls who have been swindled.

*Intermezzo.*—Kinkel had at last received £160 sterling from New Orleans and together with other renowned celebrities he was supposed to invest it for the revolution. The Ruge-Fickler faction, already embittered by the recent vote, now learned of this. They had no time to lose, action was essential. A new emigration swamp came into being and its idle stagnant existence was decked out with the name of the "*Agitation Union*". Its members were Tausenau, Frank, Goegg, Sigel, Hertle, Ronge, Haug, Fickler and Ruge. The Union immediately announced in the English press:

"Its aims are not to discuss but to work, it would produce not words but works[b] and above all it appeals to like-minded comrades to send money contributions. The Agitation Union appoints *Tausenau* to be its executive leader and its agent in its external business. It also recognises *Ruge*'s position in the European Central Committee" (as Imperial Administrator) "as well as his previous activity on behalf of and in the name of the German people."[c]

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[a] The common folk.—*Ed.*

[b] "Words" and "works" are in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[c] K. Tausenau, "The German Agitation Union of London", *The Leader*, No. 73, August 16, 1851.—*Ed.*

It is easy to recognise the prototype, comprising Ruge, Ronge and Haug, in the new combination. Thus after the struggles and the efforts of so many years Ruge had finally reached his goal: he was acknowledged to be the fifth wheel on the central coach of democracy and had a clearly—all too clearly—defined part of the people behind him, consisting of eight men in all. But even this pleasure was poisoned for him as his recognition was purchased at the cost of an indirect slight and was agreed to only on the condition imposed by the peasant Fickler that Ruge should henceforth cease to "broadcast his rubbish to the whole world". The coarse Fickler regarded as "distinguished" only those writings by Ruge which he had not read and did not need to read.

*Scene 6.* August 22.—The Cranbourne Hotel. Firstly, there was a "diplomatic master-stroke" (vide Goegg) on the part of *Schurz*: he proposed the formation of a general refugee committee to comprise six members taken from the different factions together with five co-opted members of the already existing Refugee Committee of the Willich Artisan Association. (This would have given the Kinkel-Willich faction a permanent majority.) Agreed. The elections were carried out but rejected by the members of the Rugean part of the state, which meant the complete collapse of the diplomatic master-stroke. How seriously this refugee committee was meant to be taken can be seen from the fact that four days later Willich resigned from the Committee of Artisans and Refugees, which had only had a nominal existence for a long time, following upon repeated, wholly disrespectful revolts on the part of the "rank and file refugees" which had made the dissolution of the committee an inevitability for a considerable time.

*Question* concerning the emergence in public of the Agitation Union. Motion: that the Émigré Club should have nothing to do with the Agitation Union and should publicly dissociate itself from all its actions. Furious attacks on the "agitators" Goegg and Sigel junior (i.e. senior, see below[a]) in their presence. Rudolf *Schramm* declared that his old friend Ruge was a minion of Mazzini and a "gossipy old woman". *Et tu, Brute!* Goegg retorted, not as a great orator but as an ordinary citizen, and he launched a bitter attack on the ambiguous, slack, perfidious, unctuous Kinkel.

"It is irresponsible to prevent those who wish to work from doing so, but these people want a fictitious, inactive association so that this clique can use it as a cover for certain purposes."

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[a] See this volume, p. 324.—*Ed.*

When Goegg referred to the public announcement of the Agitation Union in the English papers, *Kinkel* rose majestically and said that

"he already controlled the whole American press and had taken steps to ensure his control of the French press too".

The motion of the German faction was passed and provoked a declaration from the "agitators" that the members of their Union could no longer remain within the Émigré Club.

Thus arose the terrible gulf between the Émigré Club and the Agitation Union which gapes through the whole history of the modern world. The most curious fact about it is that both creatures only survived until their separation and now they vegetate in the Kaulbachian battle of the ghosts[213] that is still waged in German-American meetings and papers and will apparently continue to the end of time.

The whole meeting was all the more stormy as the undisciplined Schramm went so far as to attack Willich as well, claiming that the Emigré Club brought itself into disrepute by its connections with that knight. The chairman, who happened to be the timorous Meyen, had already lost control several times in despair. But the debate about the Agitation Union and the resignation of its members brought the tumult to a climax. To the accompaniment of shouts, drumming, blustering, threats and raging the edifying meeting went on until 2 a.m. when the landlord turned off the gas and so plunged the heated antagonists into darkness. This brought all plans to save the nation to a sad end.

At the end of August the chivalrous Willich and the cosy Kinkel made an attempt to smash the Agitation Union by putting the following proposal to the worthy Fickler:

"He should join with them and their closer political friends in forming a *finance committee* to manage the money that had come in from New Orleans. This committee should continue to function until it was possible to set up a public finance committee of the Revolution. However, the acceptance of this offer would imply the dissolution of all German revolutionary and agitation societies that had existed hitherto."

The worthy Fickler rejected the idea of this "imposed, secret and irresponsible committee" with indignation.

"How," he exclaimed, "can a mere finance committee hope to unite all the revolutionary parties around it? The money that has arrived and that is still to come can never suffice to persuade the widely divergent strands of the democrats to sacrifice their autonomy."

Thus instead of achieving the hoped-for destruction of the Agitation Union this attempted seduction enabled Tausenau to declare that the breach between the two mighty parties of Emigration and Agitation had now become irreparable.

## XIV

To show how pleasantly the war was waged between Agitation and Emigration we append here a few excerpts from the German-American papers.

### AGITATION

Ruge declares that Kinkel is an "agent of the Prince of Prussia".

Another agitator discovers that the outstanding men of the Émigré Club consist of

"Pastor Kinkel together with three Prussian lieutenants, two insipid Berlin *literati* and one student".

Sigel writes:

"It cannot be denied that Willich has gained some support. But when a man has been a preacher for three years and only tells people what they wish to hear, he would have to be very stupid not to be able to win some of them over. The Kinkelites are attempting to take these supporters over. The Willich supporters are whoring with the Kinkel supporters."

A fourth agitator declares that Kinkel's supporters are "idolators".

Tausenau gives this description of the Émigré Club:

"Divergent interests beneath the mask of conciliatoriness, the systematic deception to obtain majorities, the emergence of unknown quantities as organising party leaders, attempts to impose a secret finance committee and all the other manoeuvres and subterfuges with which *immature politicians* have always tried to control the fates of their country in exile, while the first glow of the revolution disperses all such vanities like a morning mist."

Lastly, Rodomonte-Heinzen announces that the only reputable refugees in England personally known to him were Ruge, Goegg, Fickler and Sigel. The members of the Émigré Club were "egoists, royalists and communists". Kinkel was "an incurably vain fool and a theorising aristocrat", Meyen, Oppenheim, Willich, etc., were people "who do not even come up to his, Heinzen's, knee and as for Ruge, they do not even reach to his ankle" (New York *Schnellpost, New-Yorker Deutsche Zeitung, Wecker,* etc., 1851).

## EMIGRATION

"What is the purpose of an imposed committee that stands in mid-air, that confers authority on itself although it has not done any work, has not been elected and has not asked the people whom it claims to represent whether they wish to be represented by such men?"

"Everyone who knows Ruge, knows that the mania for proclamations is his incurable disease."—"In parliament[a] Ruge did not even acquire the influence of a Raveaux or a Simon of Trier".—"Where revolutionary energy in action, organisational work, discretion or reticence are necessary, Ruge is dangerous because he cannot hold his tongue, he cannot hold his ink and always claims that he represents everybody. When Ruge meets Mazzini and Ledru-Rollin this is translated into Rugean and published in all the papers as: Germany, France and Italy have banded together fraternally to serve the revolution."—"This pretentious imposition of a committee, this boastful inactivity determined Ruge's most intimate and intelligent friends, such as Oppenheim, Meyen and Schramm, to join forces with other men."—"Behind Ruge there is no clearly defined section of the people, but only a clearly outlined pigtail of peace."

"How many hundreds of people ask themselves daily who is this Tausenau and there is no one, no one who can give an answer. Here and there you can find a Viennese who will assure you that he is one of those democrats from Vienna with whom the reaction used to reproach the Viennese democrats so as to put them in a bad light. But that is the concern of the Viennese. At any rate Tausenau is an unknown factor, and it is even less known whether he is a factor at all."

"Let us take another look at these worthy men who regard everyone else as an immature politician. Sigel, the supreme commander. If anyone ever asks the muse of history how such an insipid nonentity was given the supreme command she will be completely at a loss for a reply. Sigel is only his brother's[b] brother. His brother became a popular officer as a result of his critical remarks about the government, remarks which had been provoked by his frequent arrests for disorderly behaviour. The young Sigel thought this reason enough in the early confusion prevailing at the outbreak of revolution to proclaim himself supreme commander and minister of war. The Baden artillery, which had often proved its worth, had plenty of older and more experienced officers who should have taken precedence over this young Lieutenant Sigel, and they were more than a little indignant when they had to obey an unknown young man whose inexperience was only matched by his incompetence. But there was Brentano, who was so mindless and treacherous as to permit anything that might ruin the revolution.... The total incompetence that Sigel displayed during the whole Baden campaign.... It is certainly noteworthy that Sigel left the bravest soldiers of the republican army in the lurch at Rastatt and in the Black Forest without the reinforcements he had *promised* while he himself drove around Zurich with the epaulettes and the carriage of Prince von Fürstenberg and paraded as an interesting unfortunate supreme commander. This is the well-known magnitude of this mature politician who, understandably proud of his earlier heroic deeds, imposed himself as supreme commander for a second time, on this occasion in the Agitation Union. This is the great well-known man, the brother of his brother."

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[a] The Frankfurt National Assembly.—*Ed.*

[b] Albert Sigel's.—*Ed.*

"It is really laughable when such people" (as the agitators) "reproach others with half-heartedness, for they are *political nonentities* who neither half nor whole are anything at all."—"Personal ambition is the whole secret of their fundamental position."—"As a society the Agitation Union has meaning only for a very limited group, like a literary circle or a billiard club, and therefore it has no claim to be taken into consideration or given a voice."—"You yourselves have cast the dice! Let the uninitiated be initiated so that they may judge for themselves what kind of people you are!"—(Baltimore *Correspondent.*)

One must say that in their understanding of each other these gentlemen have almost achieved an understanding of themselves.

## XV

In the meantime the secret finance committee of the "émigrés" had elected a managing committee consisting of Kinkel, Willich and Reichenbach and it now resolved to take serious measures in connection with the German loan. As reported in the New York *Schnellpost*, the *New-Yorker Deutsche Zeitung* and the Baltimore *Correspondent* at the end of 1851, student Schurz was sent on a mission to France, Belgium and Switzerland where he sought out all old, forgotten, and vanished parliamentarians, imperial regents,[214] deputies of Chambers and other noteworthy men, right down to the late Raveaux, to get them to guarantee the loan. The forgotten unfortunates hastened to give their guarantee. For what else was the guarantee of the loan if not a mutual guarantee of government posts *in partibus*[a]; and Messrs. Kinkel, Willich and Reichenbach likewise obtained by this means guarantees of *their* future prospects. And these worried worthies in Switzerland were so obsessed with "organisation" and the guarantee of future posts that they had long before worked out a plan by which government posts would be awarded according to seniority—which produced a terrible scandal about who were to have Nos. 1, 2 and 3. In short, student Schurz brought back the guarantee in his pocket and so they all went to work. Some days earlier Kinkel had, it is true, promised in another meeting with the "agitators" that he would not go ahead with an "Emigration" loan without them. For that very reason he departed taking the signatures of the guarantors and *carte blanche* from Reichenbach and Willich—ostensibly to find customers for his aesthetic lectures in the north of England, but in reality to go to Liverpool and embark for New York where he

[a] See this volume, p. 282.—*Ed.*

hoped like *Perceval* to find the *Holy Grail*, the gold of the democratic parties.

And now begins that sweet-sounding, strange, magniloquent, fabulous, true and adventurous story of the great battles fought on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean between the Émigrés and the Agitators. It was a war waged with renewed bitterness and with indefatigable persistence. In it we witness Gottfried's crusade in the course of which he contends with Kossuth and after great labours and indescribable temptations he finally returns home with the Grail in the bag.

Or, bei signori, io vi lascio al presente,
E se voi tornerete in questo loco,
Diró questa battaglia dov'io lasso
Ch'un altra non fu mai di tal fracasso.
(Boiardo, Canto 26)

And there, kind Sirs, I leave you for the present,
If one day you return unto this place
I'll give you further news of this great war
So full of mighty deeds ne'er done before.

NEW-YORK DAILY TRIBUNE.

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Karl Marx

# THE ELECTIONS IN ENGLAND.— TORIES AND WHIGS[215]

London, Friday, August 6, 1852

The results of the General Election for the British Parliament are now known. This result I shall analyze more fully in my next letter.[a]

What were the parties which during this electioneering agitation opposed or supported each other?

Tories, Whigs, Liberal Conservatives (Peelites), Free Traders, *par excellence* (the men of the Manchester School,[216] Parliamentary and Financial Reformers), and lastly, the Chartists.

Whigs, Free Traders and Peelites coalesced to oppose the Tories. It was between this coalition on one side, and the Tories on the other, that the real electoral battle was fought. Opposed to Whigs, Peelites, Free Traders and Tories, and thus opposed to entire official England, were the Chartists.

The political parties of Great Britain are sufficiently known in the United States. It will be sufficient to bring to mind, in a few strokes of the pen, the distinctive characteristics of each of them.

Up to 1846 the Tories passed as the guardians of the traditions of Old England. They were suspected of admiring in the British Constitution the eighth wonder of the world; to be *laudatores temporis acti*,[b] enthusiasts for the throne, the High Church,[217] the privileges and liberties of the British subject. The fatal year, 1846, with its repeal of the Corn Laws,[218] and the shout of distress which

[a] See this volume, pp. 348-53.— *Ed.*

[b] People who laud the past (Horace, *De Arte Poetica*, 173).— *Ed.*

this repeal forced from the Tories, proved that they were enthusiasts for nothing but the rent of land, and at the same time disclosed the secret of their attachment to the political and religious institutions of Old England. These institutions are the very best institutions, with the help of which the *large landed property*—the landed interest—has hitherto ruled England, and even now seeks to maintain its rule. The year 1846 brought to light in its nakedness the *substantial class interest* which forms the *real base* of the Tory party. The year 1846 tore down the traditionally venerable lion's hide, under which Tory class interest had hitherto hidden itself. The year 1846 transformed the Tories into *Protectionists.* Tory was the sacred name, Protectionist is the profane one; Tory was the political battle-cry, Protectionist is the economical shout of distress; Tory seemed an idea, a principle; Protectionist is an interest. Protectionists of what? Of their own revenues, of the rent of their own land. Then the Tories, in the end, are Bourgeois as much as the remainder, for where is the Bourgeois who is not a protectionist of his own purse? They are distinguished from the other Bourgeois, in the same way as the rent of land is distinguished from commercial and industrial profit. Rent of land is conservative, profit is progressive; rent of land is national, profit is cosmopolitical; rent of land believes in the State Church, profit is a dissenter by birth.[219] The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 merely recognized an already accomplished fact, a change long since enacted in the elements of British civil society, viz., the subordination of the landed interest under the moneyed interest, of property under commerce, of agriculture under manufacturing industry, of the country under the city. Could this fact be doubted since the country population stands, in England, to the towns' population in the proportion of one to three? The substantial foundation of the power of the Tories was the rent of land. The rent of land is regulated by the price of food. The price of food, then, was artificially maintained at a high rate by the Corn Laws. The repeal of the Corn Laws brought down the price of food, which in its turn brought down the rent of land, and with sinking rent broke down the real strength upon which the political power of the Tories reposed.

What, then, are they trying to do now? To maintain a political power, the social foundation of which has ceased to exist. And how can this be attained? By nothing short of a *Counter-Revolution,* that is to say, by a reaction of the State against Society. They strive to retain forcibly institutions and a political power which are condemned from the very moment at which the rural population

found itself outnumbered three times by the population of the towns. And such an attempt must necessarily end with their destruction; it must accelerate and make more acute the social development of England; it must bring on a crisis.

The Tories recruit their army from the farmers, who either have not yet lost the habit of following their landlords as their natural superiors, or who are economically dependent upon them, or who do not yet see that the interest of the farmer and the interest of the landlord are no more identical than the respective interests of the borrower and of the usurer. They are followed and supported by the Colonial Interest, the Shipping Interest, the State Church Party, in short, by all those elements which consider it necessary to safeguard their interests against the necessary results of modern manufacturing industry, and against the social revolution prepared by it.

Opposed to the Tories, as their hereditary enemies, stand the *Whigs*, a party with whom the American Whigs[220] have nothing in common but the name.

The British Whig, in the natural history of politics, forms a species which, like all those of the amphibious class, exists very easily, but is difficult to describe. Shall we call them, with their opponents, Tories out of office? or, as continental writers love it, take them for the representatives of certain *popular* principles? In the latter case we should get embarrassed in the same difficulty as the historian of the Whigs, Mr. Cooke, who, with great *naïveté*, confesses in his "History of Parties" that it is indeed a certain number of "liberal, moral and enlightened principles" which constitutes the Whig party, but that it was greatly to be regretted that during the more than a century and a half that the Whigs have existed, they have been, when in office, always prevented from carrying out these principles. So that in reality, according to the confession of their own historian, the Whigs represent something quite different from their professed "liberal and enlightened principles." Thus they are in the same position as the drunkard brought up before the Lord Mayor, who declared that he represented the Temperance principle but from some accident or other always got drunk on Sundays.

But never mind their principles; we can better make out what they are in historical fact; what they carry out, not what they once believed, and what they now want other people to believe with respect to their character.

The Whigs, as well as the Tories, form a fraction of the large landed property of Great Britain. Nay, the oldest, richest and

most arrogant portion of English landed property is the very nucleus of the Whig party.

What, then, distinguishes them from the Tories? The Whigs are the *aristocratic representatives* of the Bourgeoisie, of the industrial and commercial middle class. Under the condition that the Bourgeoisie should abandon to them, to an oligarchy of aristocratic families, the monopoly of government and the exclusive possession of office, they make to the middle class, and assist it in conquering, all those concessions, which in the course of social and political development have shown themselves to have become *unavoidable* and *undelayable.* Neither more nor less. And as often as such an unavoidable measure has been passed, they declare loudly that herewith the end of historical progress has been obtained; that the whole social movement has carried its ultimate purpose, and then they "cling to finality."[221] They can support, more easily than the Tories, a decrease of their rental revenues, because they consider themselves as the heaven-born farmers of the revenues of the British Empire. They can renounce the monopoly of the Corn Laws, as long as they maintain the monopoly of government as their family property. Ever since the "glorious revolution" of 1688[222] the Whigs, with short intervals, caused principally by the first French Revolution and the consequent reaction, have found themselves in the enjoyment of the public offices. Whoever recalls to his mind this period of British history, will find no other distinctive mark of Whigdom but the maintenance of their family oligarchy. The interests and principles which they represent besides, from time to time, do not belong to the Whigs; they are forced upon them by the development of the industrial and commercial class, the Bourgeoisie. After 1688 we find them united with the Bankocracy, just then rising into importance, as we find them in 1846, united with the Millocracy. The Whigs as little carried the Reform Bill of 1831,[223] as they carried the Free Trade Bill of 1846. Both Reform movements, the political as well as the commercial, were movements of the Bourgeoisie. As soon as either of these movements had ripened into irresistibility; as soon as, at the same time, it had become the safest means of turning the Tories out of office, the Whigs stepped forward, took up the direction of the Government, and secured to themselves the governmental part of the victory. In 1831 they extended the political portion of reform as far as was necessary in order not to leave the middle class entirely dissatisfied; after 1846 they confined their Free Trade measures so far as was necessary, in order to save to the landed aristocracy the greatest possible

amount of privileges. Each time they had taken the movement in hand in order to prevent its forward march, and to recover their own posts at the same time.

It is clear that from the moment when the landed aristocracy is no longer able to maintain its position as an independent power, to fight, as an independent party, for the government position, in short, that from the moment when the Tories are definitively overthrown, British history has no longer any room for the Whigs. The aristocracy once destroyed, what is the use of an aristocratic representation of the Bourgeoisie against this aristocracy?

It is well known that in the Middle Ages the German Emperors put the just then arising towns under Imperial Governors, "*advocati*," to protect these towns against the surrounding nobility. As soon as growing population and wealth gave them sufficient strength and independence to resist, and even to attack the nobility, the towns also drove out the noble Governors, the *advocati*.

The Whigs have been these *advocati* of the British middle class, and their governmental monopoly must break down as soon as the landed monopoly of the Tories is broken down. In the same measure as the middle class has developed its independent strength, they have shrunk down from a party to a coterie.

It is evident what a distastefully heterogeneous mixture the character of the British Whigs must turn out to be: Feudalists, who are at the same time Malthusians, money-mongers with feudal prejudices, aristocrats without point of honour, Bourgeois without industrial activity, finality-men with progressive phrases, progressists with fanatical Conservatism, traffickers in homeopathical fractions of reforms, fosterers of family-nepotism, Grand Masters of corruption, hypocrites of religion, Tartuffes of politics. The mass of the English people has a sound aesthetical common sense. It has an instinctive hatred against everything motley and ambiguous, against bats and Russellites. And then, with the Tories, the mass of the English people, the urban and rural proletariat, has in common the hatred against the "money-monger." With the Bourgeoisie it has in common the hatred against aristocrats. In the Whigs it hates the one and the other, aristocrats and Bourgeois, the landlord who oppresses, and the money lord who exploits it. In the Whigs it hates the oligarchy which has ruled over England for more than a century, and by which the people is excluded from the direction of its own affairs.

The Peelites (Liberals and Conservatives[a]) are no party; they are merely the *souvenir* of a party man, of the late Sir Robert Peel. But Englishmen are too prosaical, for a *souvenir* to form, with them, the foundation for anything but elegies. And now, that the people have erected brass and marble monuments to the late Sir Robert Peel in all parts of the country, they believe they are able so much the more to do without those perambulant Peel monuments, the Grahams, the Gladstones, the Cardwells, etc. The so-called Peelites are nothing but this staff of bureaucrats which Robert Peel had schooled for himself. And because they form a pretty complete staff, they forget for a moment that there is no army behind them. The Peelites, then, are old supporters of Sir Robert Peel, who have not yet come to a conclusion as to what party to attach themselves to. It is evident that a similar scruple is not a sufficient means for them to constitute an independent power.

Remain the Free Traders and the Chartists, the brief delineation of whose character will form the subject of my next.

Written on August 2, 1852

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune* and checked with *The People's Paper*

[a] *The People's Paper* has here "Liberal Conservatives"; "Liberals and Conservatives" in the *New-York Daily Tribune* is apparently a mistake.— *Ed.*

The People's Paper,

THE CHAMPION OF
POLITICAL JUSTICE AND UNIVERSAL RIGHT.

No. 23.] LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1852. [Price Fourpence

# Karl Marx

## THE CHARTISTS[224]

London, Tuesday, August 10, 1852

While the Tories, the Whigs, the Peelites—in fact, all the parties we have hitherto commented upon—belong more or less to the past, the Free Traders (the men of the Manchester School, the Parliamentary and Financial Reformers) are the *official representatives of modern English society*, the representatives of that England which rules the market of the world. They represent the party of the self-conscious Bourgeoisie, of industrial capital striving to make available its social power as a political power as well, and to eradicate the last arrogant remnants of feudal society. This party is led on by the most active and most energetic portion of the English Bourgeoisie—the *manufacturers*. What they demand is the complete and undisguised ascendancy of the Bourgeoisie, the open, official subjection of society at large under the laws of modern, Bourgeois production, and under the rule of those men who are the directors of that production.[a] By Free Trade they mean the unfettered movement of capital, freed from all political, national and religious shackles. The soil is to be a marketable commodity, and the exploitation of the soil is to be carried on according to the common commercial laws. There are to be manufacturers of food as well as manufacturers of twist and cottons, but no longer any lords of the land. There are, in short, not to be tolerated any political or social restrictions, regulations or monopolies, unless they proceed from "the eternal laws of political economy," that is, from the conditions under which Capital produces and distributes. The struggle of this party against the old

[a] In *The People's Paper* the words "and under the rule of those men who are the directors of that production" are omitted.—*Ed.*

English institutions, products of a superannuated, an evanescent stage of social development, is resumed in the watchword: *Produce as cheap as you can, and do away with all the faux frais of production* (with all superfluous, unnecessary expenses in production). And this watchword is addressed not only to the private individual, but to the *nation at large* principally.

Royalty, with its "barbarous splendors," its court, its civil list and its flunkeys—what else does it belong to but to the *faux frais* of production? The nation can produce and exchange without royalty; away with the crown. The sinecures of the nobility, the House of Lords? *faux frais* of production. The large standing army? *faux frais* of production. The Colonies? *faux frais* of production. The State Church, with its riches, the spoils of plunder or of mendicity? *faux frais* of production. Let parsons compete freely with each other, and everyone pay them according to his own wants. The whole circumstantial routine of English Law, with its Court of Chancery?[225] *faux frais* of production. National wars? *faux frais* of production. England can exploit foreign nations more cheaply while at peace with them.

You see, to these champions of the British Bourgeoisie, to the men of the Manchester School, every institution of Old England appears in the light of a piece of machinery as costly as it is useless, and which fulfils no other purpose than to prevent the nation from producing the greatest possible quantity at the least possible expense, and to exchange its products in freedom. Necessarily, their last word is the *Bourgeois Republic*, in which free competition rules supreme in all spheres of life; in which there remains altogether that *minimum* only of government which is indispensable for the administration, internally and externally, of the common class interest and business of the Bourgeoisie; and where this minimum of government is as soberly, as economically organized as possible. Such a party, in other countries, would be called *democratic*. But it is necessarily revolutionary, and the complete annihilation of Old England as an aristocratic country is the end which it follows up with more or less consciousness. Its nearest object, however, is the attainment of a Parliamentary reform which should transfer to its hands the legislative power necessary for such a revolution.

But the British Bourgeois are not excitable Frenchmen. When they intend to carry a Parliamentary reform they will not make a Revolution of February. On the contrary. Having obtained, in 1846, a grand victory over the landed aristocracy by the repeal of

the Corn Laws, they were satisfied with following up the material advantages of this victory, while they neglected to draw the necessary political and economical conclusions from it, and thus enabled the Whigs to reinstate themselves into their hereditary monopoly of government. During all the time, from 1846 to 1852, they exposed themselves to ridicule by their battle-cry: Broad principles and practical (read *small*) measures. And why all this? Because in every violent movement they are obliged to appeal to the *working class.* And if the aristocracy is their vanishing opponent the working class is their arising enemy. They prefer to compromise with the vanishing opponent rather than to strengthen the arising enemy, to whom the future belongs, by concessions of a more than apparent importance. Therefore, they strive to avoid every forcible collision with the aristocracy; but historical necessity and the Tories press them onwards. They cannot avoid fulfilling their mission, battering to pieces Old England, the England of the Past; and the very moment when they will have conquered exclusive political dominion, when political dominion and economical supremacy will be united in the same hands, when, therefore, the struggle against capital will no longer be distinct from the struggle against the existing Government—from that very moment will date the *social revolution of England.*

We now come to the *Chartists*, the politically active portion of the British *working class.* The six points of the Charter which they contend for contain nothing but the demand of *Universal Suffrage,* and of the conditions without which Universal Suffrage would be illusory for the working class; such as the ballot, payment of members, annual general elections. But Universal Suffrage[a] is the equivalent for political power for the working class of England, where the proletariat forms the large majority of the population, where, in a long, though underground[b] civil war, it has gained a clear consciousness of its position as a class, and where even the rural districts know no longer any peasants, but only landlords, industrial capitalists (farmers) and hired laborers. The carrying of Universal Suffrage in England would, therefore, be a far more socialistic

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[a] The editors of *The People's Paper* after the words "annual general elections" added the word "etc." (they referred to the two remaining points of the Charter: equal constituencies and abolition of property qualification for candidate members). After the words "But Universal Suffrage" they added "with its adjuncts".—*Ed.*

[b] *The People's Paper* has here "disguised".—*Ed.*

measure than anything which has been honored with that name on the Continent.

Its inevitable result, here, is *the political supremacy of the working class.*

I shall report, on another occasion, on the revival and the reorganization of the Chartist Party. For the present I have only to treat of the recent election.[a]

To be a voter for the British Parliament, a man must occupy, in the Boroughs, a house rated at £10 to the poor's-rate, and, in the counties, he must be a freeholder[226] to the annual amount of 40 shillings, or a leaseholder to the amount of £50. From this statement alone it follows, that the Chartists could take, officially, but little part in the electoral battle just concluded. In order to explain the actual part they took in it, I must recall to mind a peculiarity of the British electoral system:

Nomination day and Declaration day! Show of hands and Poll!

When the candidates have made their appearance on the day of election, and have publicly harangued the people, they are elected, in the first instance, by the show of hands, and every hand has the right to be raised, the hand of the non-elector as well as that of the elector. For whomsoever the majority of the hands are raised, that person is declared, by the returning officer, to be (provisionally) elected by show of hands. But now the medal shows its reverse. The election by show of hands was a mere ceremony, an act of formal politeness toward the "sovereign people," and the politeness ceases as soon as privilege is menaced. For if the show of hands does not return the candidates of the privileged electors, these candidates demand a poll; only the privileged electors can take part in the poll, and whosoever has there the majority of votes is declared duly elected. The first election, by show of hands, is a show satisfaction allowed, for a moment, to public opinion, in order to convince it, the next moment, the more strikingly of its impotency.

It might appear that this election by show of hands, this dangerous formality, had been invented in order to ridicule universal suffrage, and to enjoy some little aristocratic fun at the

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[a] In *The People's Paper* the text of the four paragraphs that follow (ending with the words: "...that the working masses stood up, on the nomination days, in their own name.") is omitted. Instead of it, the following text is added by the editors, in square brackets: "The author here analyses the British electoral system, and then proceeds."—*Ed.*

expense of the "rabble" (expression of Major Beresford, Secretary of War). But this would be a delusion, and the old usage, common originally to all Teutonic nations, could drag itself traditionally down to the nineteenth century, because it gave to the British class-Parliament, cheaply and without danger, an appearance of popularity. The ruling classes drew from this usage the satisfaction that the mass of the people took part, with more or less passion, in their sectional interests as its national interests. And it was only since the Bourgeoisie took an independent station at the side of the two official parties, the Whigs and Tories, that the working masses stood up, on the nomination days, in their own name. But in no former year has the contrast of show of hands and poll, of Nomination day and Declaration day, been so serious, so well defined by opposed principles, so threatening, so general, upon the whole surface of the country, as in this last election of 1852.

And what a contrast! It was sufficient to be named by show of hands in order to be beaten at the poll.[a] It was sufficient to have had the majority at a poll, in order to be saluted, by the people, with rotten apples and brickbats. The duly elected members of Parliament, before all, had a great deal to do, in order to keep their own parliamentary bodily selves in safety. On one side the majority of the people, on the other the twelfth part of the whole population, and the fifth part of the sum total of the male adult inhabitants of the country. On one side enthusiasm, on the other bribery. On one side parties disowning their own distinctive signs, Liberals pleading the conservatism, Conservatives proclaiming the liberalism of the views; on the other, the people, proclaiming their presence and pleading their own cause. On one side a worn-out engine which, turning incessantly in its vicious circle, is never able to move a single step forward, and the impotent process of friction by which all the official parties gradually grind each other into dust; on the other, the advancing mass of the nation, threatening to blow up the vicious circle and to destroy the official engine.

I shall not follow up, over all the surface of the country, this contrast between nomination and poll, of the threatening electoral demonstration of the working class, and the timid electioneering manoeuvres of the ruling classes. I take one borough from the mass, where the contrast is concentrated in a focus: the Halifax election. Here the opposing candidates were: Edwards (Tory); Sir

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[a] In *The People's Paper* this sentence is omitted.—*Ed.*

Charles Wood (late Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer, brother-in-law to Earl Grey); Frank Crossley (Manchester man); and finally Ernest Jones, the most talented, consistent and energic representative of Chartism. Halifax being a manufacturing town, the Tory had little chance. The Manchester man Crossley was leagued with the Whigs. The serious struggle, then, lay only between Wood and Jones, between the Whig and the Chartist.[a]

"Sir Charles Wood made a speech of about half an hour, perfectly inaudible at the commencement, and, during its latter half, for the disapprobation of the immense multitude. His speech, as reported by the reporter, who sat close to him, was merely a recapitulation of the Free Trade measures passed, and an attack on Lord Derby's Government, and a laudation of '*the unexampled prosperity of the country and the people!*'—[Hear, hear.] He did not propound one single new measure of reform; and but faintly, in very few words, hinted at Lord John Russell's bill for the franchise."[227]

I give a more extensive abstract of E. Jones's speech, as you will not find it in any of the great London ruling-class papers.[b]

"Ernest Jones, who was received with immense enthusiasm, then spoke as follows: Electors and Non-electors, you have met upon a great and solemn festival. To-day, the Constitution recognizes Universal Suffrage in theory that it may, perhaps, deny it in practice on the morrow. To-day the representatives of two systems stand before you, and you have to decide beneath which you shall be ruled for seven years. Seven years—a little life! I summon you to pause upon the threshold of those seven years: to-day they shall pass slowly and calmly in review before you: to-day decide, you 20,000 men, that perhaps five hundred may undo your will to-morrow. [Hear, hear.] I say the representatives of two systems stand before you. Whig, Tory, and money-mongers are on my left, it is true, but they are all as one. The money-monger says, buy cheap and sell dear. The Tory says, buy dear, sell dearer. Both are the same for labor. But the former system is in the ascendant, and pauperism rankles at its root. That system is based on foreign competition. Now, I assert, that under the buy cheap and sell dear principle, brought to bear on foreign competition, the ruin of the working and small trading classes must go on. Why? Labor is the creator of all wealth. A man must work before a grain is grown, or a yarn is woven. But there is no self-employment for the working-man in this country. Labor is a hired commodity—labor is a thing in the market that is bought and sold; consequently, as labor creates all wealth, labor is the first thing bought—'Buy cheap! buy cheap!' Labor is bought in the cheapest market. But now comes the next: 'Sell dear! sell dear!' Sell what? *Labor's produce.*

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[a] The quotation that follows is omitted in *The People's Paper.* Instead of it, the following text is added by the editors, in square brackets: "Here follows an extract from the speech of Sir Charles Wood, which, as familiar to our readers, we do not give." The report of Wood's speech at the election meeting on July 6, 1852, and Ernest Jones's speech given below are quoted from the article "The Halifax Election" published in *The People's Paper,* No. 12, July 24, 1852.—*Ed.*

[b] In *The People's Paper* all of the text that follows, except for the concluding paragraph, is omitted and the following note is added by the editors in square brackets: "Here the speech of Ernest Jones is quoted, which we likewise omit."—*Ed.*

To whom? To the foreigner—aye! and to *the laborer himself*—for labor, not being self-employed, the laborer is *not* the partaker of the first fruits of his toil. 'Buy cheap, sell dear.' How do you like it? 'Buy cheap, sell dear.' Buy the working-man's labor cheaply, and sell back to that very working-man the produce of his own labor dear! The principle of inherent loss is in the bargain. The employer buys the labor cheap—he sells, and on the sale he must make a profit; he sells to the working-man himself—and thus every bargain between employer and employed is a deliberate cheat on the part of the employer. Thus labor has to sink through eternal loss, that capital may rise through lasting fraud. But the system stops not here. *This is brought to bear on foreign competition—which means, we must ruin the trade of other countries, as we have ruined the labor of our own.* How does it work? The high-taxed country has to undersell the low-taxed. Competition abroad is constantly increasing—consequently cheapness must increase constantly also. Therefore, wages in England must keep constantly falling. And how do they effect the fall? By *surplus labor.* How do they obtain the surplus labor? By monopoly of the land, which drives more hands than are wanted into the factory. By monopoly of machinery, which drives those hands into the street—by woman labor which drives the man from the shuttle—by child labor which drives the woman from the loom. Then planting their foot upon that living base of surplus, they press its aching heart beneath their heel, and cry 'Starvation! Who'll work? A half loaf is better than no bread at all'—and the writhing mass grasps greedily at their terms. [Loud cries of "Hear, hear."] Such is the system for the working-man. But Electors! How does it operate on you? How does it affect home trade, the shopkeeper, poor's-rate and taxation? For every increase of competition abroad, there must be an increase of cheapness at home. Every increase of cheapness in labor is based on increase of labor surplus, and this surplus is obtained by an increase of machinery. I repeat, how does this operate on you! The Manchester Liberal on my left establishes a new patent, and throws three hundred men as a surplus in the streets. Shopkeepers! Three hundred customers less. Rate payers! Three hundred paupers more. [Loud cheers.] But, mark me! The evil stops not there. These three hundred men operate first to bring down the wages of those who remain at work in their own trade. The employer says, 'Now I reduce your wages.' The men demur. Then he adds: 'Do you see those three hundred men who have *just* walked out—*you may change places if you like,* they're sighing to come in on any terms, for they're starving.' The men feel it, and are crushed. Ah! you Manchester Liberal! Pharisee of politics! those men are listening—have I got you now? But the evil stops not yet. Those men, driven from their own trade, seek employment in others, when they swell the surplus, and bring wages down. The low paid trades of to-day were the high paid once—the high paid of to-day will be the low paid soon. Thus the purchasing power of the working classes is diminished every day, and with it dies home trade. Mark it, shopkeepers! your customers grow poorer, and your profits less, while your paupers grow more numerous and your poor's-rates and your taxes rise. Your receipts are smaller, your expenditure is more large. You get less and pay more. How do you like the system? On you the rich manufacturer and landlord throw the weight of poor's-rate and taxation. Men of the middle class! You are the tax-paying machine of the rich. They create the poverty that creates their riches, and they make you pay for the poverty they have created. The landlord escapes it by privilege, the manufacturer by repaying himself out of the wages of his men, and that reacts on you. How do you like the system? Well, that is the system upheld by the gentlemen on my left. What then do I propose? I have shown the wrong. That is something. But I do more; I stand here to show the right, and prove it so." (Loud cheers.)

Ernest Jones then went on to expose his own views on political and economical reform, and continued as follows:

"'Electors and Non-electors, I have now brought before you some of the social and political measures, the immediate adoption of which I advocate now, as I did in 1847. But, because I tried to extend *your* liberties, *mine* were curtailed. [Hear, hear.] Because I tried to rear the temple of freedom for you all, I was thrown into the cell of a felon's jail; and there, on my left, sits one of my chief jailers. [Loud and continued groans, directed towards the left.] Because I tried to give voice to truth, I was condemned to silence. For two years and one week he cast me into a prison in solitary confinement on the silent system, without pen, ink, or paper, but oakum picking as a substitute.— Ah! [turning to Sir Charles Wood] it was your turn for two years and one week; it is mine this day. I summon the angel of retribution from the heart of every Englishman here present. [An immense burst of applause.] Hark! you feel the fanning of his wings in the breath of this vast multitude! [Renewed cheering, long continued.] You may say this is not a public question. But it is! [Hear, hear.] It is a public question, for the man who cannot feel for the wife of the prisoner, will not feel for the wife of the working-man. He who will not feel for the children of the captive will not feel for the children of the labor-slave. ["Hear, hear", and cheers.] His past life proves it, his promise of to-day does not contradict it. Who voted for Irish coercion, the gagging bill, and tampering with the Irish press? The Whig! There he sits! Turn him out! Who voted fifteen times against Hume's motion for the franchise; Locke King's on the counties; Ewart's for short Parliaments; and Berkeley's for the ballot? The Whig—there he sits; turn him out! Who voted against the release of Frost, Williams, and Jones? The Whig—there he sits; turn him out! Who voted against inquiry into colonial abuses and in favor of Ward and Torrington, the tyrants of Ionia and Ceylon?—The Whig—there he sits; turn him out! Who voted against reducing the Duke of Cambridge's salary of £12,000, against all reductions in the army and navy; against the repeal of the window-tax, and 48 times against every other reduction of taxation, his own salary included? The Whig—there he sits; turn him out! Who voted against a repeal of the paper duty, the advertisement duty, and the taxes on knowledge? The Whig—there he sits; turn him out! Who voted for the batches of new bishops, vicar rates, the Maynooth grant, against its reduction, and against absolving dissenters[228] from paying Church rates? The Whig—there he sits; turn him out! Who voted against all inquiry into the adulteration of food? The Whig—there he sits; turn him out! Who voted against lowering the duty on sugar, and repealing the tax on malt? The Whig—there he sits; turn him out! Who voted against shortening the nightwork of bakers, against inquiry into the condition of frame-work knitters, against medical inspectors of workhouses, against preventing little children from working before six in the morning, against parish relief for pregnant women of the poor, and against the Ten Hours Bill? The Whig—there he sits; turn him out! Turn him out, in the name of humanity and of God! Men of Halifax! Men of England! the two systems are before you. Now judge and choose!' [It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm kindled by this speech, and especially at the close; the voice of the vast multitude, held in breathless suspense during each paragraph, came at each pause like the thunder of a returning wave, in execration of the representative of Whiggery and class rule. Altogether, it was a scene that will long be unforgotten. On the show of hands being taken, very few, and those chiefly of the hired or intimidated, were held up for Sir C. Wood; but almost everyone present raised both hands for Ernest Jones, amidst cheering and enthusiasm it would be impossible to describe.]

"The Mayor declared Mr. Ernest Jones and Mr. Henry Edwards to be elected by show of hands. Sir C. Wood and Mr. Crossley then demanded a poll."

What Jones had predicted took place; he was nominated by 20,000 votes, but the Whig Sir Charles Wood and the Manchester man Crossley were elected by 500 votes.

Written on August 2, 1852

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune* and checked with *The People's Paper*

# Karl Marx

## CORRUPTION AT ELECTIONS[229]

London, Friday, August 20, 1852

Just before the late House of Commons separated, it resolved to heap up as many difficulties as possible for its successors in their way to Parliament. It voted a Draconian law against bribery, corruption, intimidation, and electioneering sharp practices in general.

A long list of questions is drawn up, which, by this enactment, may be put to petitioners or sitting members, the most searching and stringent that can be conceived.[a] They may be required on oath to state who were their agents, and what communications they held with them. They may be asked and compelled to state, not only what they know, but what they "believe, conjecture, and suspect," as to money expended either by themselves or any one else acting—authorized or not authorized—on their behalf. In a word, no member can go through the strange ordeal without risk of perjury, if he have the slightest idea that it is possible or likely that any one has been led to overstep on his behalf the limits of the law.

Now, even supposing this law to take it for granted that the new legislators will use the same liberty as the clergy, who only believe *some* of the Thirty-Nine Articles,[230] yet contrive to sign them *all*, yet there remain, nevertheless, clauses sufficient to make the new Parliament the most virginal assembly that ever made speeches and passed laws for the three kingdoms. And in juxtaposition with the general election immediately following, this law secures to the Tories the glory, that under their administration the greatest purity of election has been theoretically proclaimed and the greatest

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[a] "Election Bribery and Corruption", *The Times*, No. 21160, July 6, 1852.—*Ed.*

amount of electoral corruption has been practically carried out.

"A fresh election is proceeded with, and here a scene of *bribery, corruption, violence, drunkenness and murder* ensues, *unparalleled* since the times the old Tory monopoly reigned supreme before. We actually hear of soldiers with loaded guns, and bayonets fixed, taking Liberal electors by force, dragging them under the landlord's eyes to vote against their own consciences, and these soldiers, shooting with deliberate aim the people who dared to sympathize with the captive electors, and committing wholesale murder on the unresisting people! [Allusion to the event at Six Mile Bridge, Limerick, County Clare.] It may be said: That was in Ireland! Ay, and in England they have employed their police to break the stalls of those opposed to them; they have sent their organized gangs of midnight ruffians prowling through the streets to intercept and intimidate the Liberal electors; they have opened the cesspools of drunkenness; they have showered the gold of corruption, as at Derby, and in almost every contested place they have exercised systematic intimidation."[a]

Thus far Ernest Jones's *People's Paper.* Now, after this Chartist weekly paper, hear the weekly paper of the opposite party, the most sober, the most rational, the most moderate organ of the industrial Bourgeoisie, *The London Economist*:

"We believe we may affirm, at this general election, there has been more *truckling,* more *corruption,* more *intimidation,* more *fanaticism* and more *debauchery* than on any previous occasion.... It is reported that bribery has been more extensively resorted to at this election than for many previous years.... Of the amount of intimidation and undue influence of every sort which has been practised at the late election, it is probably impossible to form an exaggerated estimate.... And when we sum up all these things—the brutal drunkenness, the low intrigues, the wholesale corruption, the barbarous intimidation, the integrity of candidates warped and stained, the honest electors who are ruined, the feeble ones who are suborned and dishonored; the lies, the stratagems, the slanders, which stalk abroad in the daylight, naked and not ashamed—the desecration of holy words, the soiling of noble names—we stand aghast at the holocaust of victims, of destroyed bodies and lost souls, on whose funeral pile a new Parliament is reared."[b]

The means of corruption and intimidation were the usual ones: direct Government influence. Thus on an electioneering agent at Derby, arrested in the flagrant act of bribing, a letter was found from Major Beresford, the Secretary at War, wherein that same Beresford opens a credit upon a commercial firm for electioneering monies. *The Poole Herald* publishes a circular from the Admiralty-House to the half-pay officers, signed by the commander-in-chief of a naval station, requesting their votes for the ministerial candidates.—Direct force of arms has also been employed, as at Cork, Belfast, Limerick (at which latter place eight

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[a] Ernest Jones, "The Reign of the Tories", *The People's Paper,* No. 15, August 14, 1852.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Cost of a New Parliament", *The Economist,* No. 467, August 7, 1852.—*Ed.*

persons were killed).—Threats of ejectment by landlords against their farmers, unless they voted with them. The Land Agents of Lord Derby herein gave the example to their colleagues.—Threats of exclusive dealing against shopkeepers, of dismissal against workmen, intoxication, etc., etc.—To these *profane* means of corruption *spiritual* ones were added by the Tories; the royal proclamation against Roman Catholic Processions[a] was issued in order to inflame bigotry and religious hatred; the No-Popery cry was raised everywhere. One of the results of this proclamation were the Stockport Riots.[231] The Irish priests, of course, retorted with similar weapons.

The election is hardly over, and already a single Queen's Counsel has received from twenty-five places instructions to invalidate the returns to Parliament on account of bribery and intimidation. Such petitions against elected members have been signed, and the expenses of the proceedings raised at Derby, Cockermouth, Barnstaple, Harwich, Canterbury, Yarmouth, Wakefield, Boston, Huddersfield, Windsor, and a great number of other places. Of eight to ten Derbyite members it is proved that, even under the most favorable circumstances, they will be rejected on petition.

The principal scenes of this bribery, corruption and intimidation were, of course, the agricultural counties and the Peers' Boroughs, for the conservation of the greatest possible number of which latter, the Whigs had expended all their acumen in the Reform Bill of 1831. The constituencies of large towns and of densely populated manufacturing counties were, by their peculiar circumstances, very unfavorable ground for such manoeuvres.

Days of general election are in Britain traditionally the bacchanalia of drunken debauchery, conventional stock-jobbing terms for the discounting of political consciences, the richest harvest times of the publicans. As an English paper says, "these recurring *saturnalia* never fail to leave enduring traces of their pestilential presence."[b] Quite naturally so. They are saturnalia in the ancient Roman sense of the word. The master then turned servant, the servant turned master. If the servant be master for one day, on that day brutality will reign supreme. The masters were the grand dignitaries of the ruling classes, or sections of classes, the servants formed the mass of these same classes, the

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[a] Victoria R., "A Proclamation", June 15, 1852. *The Times*, No. 21143, June 16, 1852.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Cost of a New Parliament", *The Economist*, No. 467, August 7, 1852.—*Ed.*

privileged electors encircled by the mass of the non-electors, of those thousands that had no other calling than to be mere hangers-on, and whose support, vocal or manual, always appeared desirable, were it only on account of the theatrical effect.

If you follow up the history of British elections for a century past or longer, you are tempted to ask, not why British Parliaments were so bad, but on the contrary, how they managed to be even as good as they were, and to represent as much as they did, though in a dim refraction, the actual movement of British society. Just as opponents of the representative system must feel surprised on finding that legislative bodies in which the abstract majority, the accident of the mere number is decisive, yet decide and resolve according to the necessities of the situation—at least during the period of their full vitality. It will always be impossible, even by the utmost straining of logical deductions, to derive from the relations of mere numbers the necessity of a vote in accordance with the actual state of things; but from a given state of things the necessity of certain relations of members will always follow as of itself. The traditional bribery of British elections, what else was it, but another form, as brutal as it was popular, in which the relative strength of the contending parties showed itself? Their respective means of influence and of dominion, which on other occasions they used in a *normal* way, were here enacted for a few days in an abnormal and more or less burlesque manner. But the premise remained, that the candidates of the rivaling parties represented the interests of the mass of the electors, and that the privileged electors again represented the interests of the non-voting mass, or rather, that this voteless mass had, as yet, no specific interest of its own. The Delphic priestesses had to become intoxicated by vapors to enable them to find oracles; the British people must intoxicate itself with gin and porter to enable it to find its oracle-finders, the legislators. And where these oracle-finders were to be looked for, that was a matter of course.

This relative position of classes and parties underwent a radical change from the moment the industrial and commercial middle classes, the Bourgeoisie, took up its stand as an official party at the side of the Whigs and Tories, and especially from the passing of the Reform Bill in 1831. These Bourgeois were in no wise fond of costly electioneering manoeuvres, of *faux frais* of general elections. They considered it cheaper to compete with the landed aristocracy by general moral, than by personal pecuniary means. On the other hand they were conscious of representing a universally predominant interest of modern society. They were, therefore, in a position

to demand that electors should be ruled by their common national interests, not by personal and local motives, and the more they recurred to this postulate, the more the latter species of electoral influence was, by the very composition of constituencies, centered in the landed aristocracy, but withheld from the middle classes. Thus the Bourgeoisie contended for the principle of moral elections and forced the enactment of laws in that sense, intended, each of them, as safeguards against the local influence of the landed aristocracy; and indeed, from 1831 down, bribery adopted a more civilized, more hidden form, and general elections went off in a more sober way than before. When at last the mass of the people ceased to be a mere chorus, taking a more or less impassioned part in the struggle of the official heroes, drawing the lots among them, rioting, in bacchantic carouse, at the creation of parliamentary divinities, like the Cretan Curetes[a] at the birth of Jupiter,[232] and taking pay and treat for such participation in their glory—when the Chartists surrounded in threatening masses the whole circle within which the official election struggle must come off, and watched with scrutinizing mistrust every movement taking place within it—then an election like that of 1852 could not but call for universal indignation, and elicit even from the conservative *Times*, for the first time, some words in favor of general suffrage, and make the whole mass of the British Proletariat shout as with one voice. The foes of Reform, they have given Reformers the best arguments; such is an election under the class system; such is a House of Commons with such a system of election!

In order to comprehend the character of bribery, corruption and intimidation, such as they have been practised in the late election, it is necessary to call attention to a fact which operated in a parallel direction.

If you refer to the general elections since 1831, you will find that, in the same measure as the pressure of the voteless majority of the country upon the privileged body of electors was increasing, as the demand was heard louder, from the middle classes, for an extension of the circle of constituencies, from the working class, to extinguish every trace of a similar privileged circle—that in the same measure the number of electors who actually voted grew less and less, and the constituencies thus more and more contracted themselves. Never was this fact more striking than in the late election.

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[a] Instead of "Curetes" the *New-York Daily Tribune* has here "Centaurs" by mistake.—*Ed.*

Let us take, for instance, London. In the City the constituency numbers 26,728; only 10,000 voted. The Tower Hamlets number 23,534 registered electors; only 12,000 voted. In Finsbury, of 20,025 electors, not one-half voted. In Liverpool, the scene of one of the most animated contests, of 17,433 registered electors, only 13,000 came to the polls.

These examples will suffice. What do they prove? The apathy of the privileged constituencies. And this apathy, what proves it? That they have outlived themselves—that they have lost every interest in their own political existence. This is in no wise apathy against politics in general, but against a species of politics, the result of which, for the most part, can only consist in helping the Tories to oust the Whigs, or the Whigs to conquer the Tories. The constituencies feel instinctively that the decision lies no longer either with Parliament, or with the making of Parliament. Who repealed the Corn Laws? Assuredly not the voters who had elected a Protectionist Parliament, still less the Protectionist Parliament itself, but only and exclusively the pressure from without. In this pressure from without, in other means of influencing Parliament than by voting, a great portion even of electors now believe. They consider the hitherto lawful mode of voting as an antiquated formality, but from the moment Parliament should make front against the pressure from without, and dictate laws to the nation in the sense of its narrow constituencies, they would join the general assault against the whole antiquated system of machinery.

The bribery and intimidation practised by the Tories were, then, merely violent experiments for bringing back to life dying electoral bodies which have become incapable of production, and which can no longer create decisive electoral results and really national Parliaments. And the result? The old Parliament was dissolved, because at the end of its career it had dissolved into sections which brought each other to a complete standstill. The new Parliament begins where the old one ended; it is paralytic from the hour of its birth.

Written about August 16, 1852

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune* and checked with *The People's Paper*

# Karl Marx

## RESULT OF THE ELECTIONS[233]

London, Friday, August 27, 1852

I propose now to consider the results of the late general election.

If we resume Whigs, Free Traders and Peelites, under the generic name of the Opposition, thus in common oppose them to the Tories, we find the statistics of the new Parliament to express evidently the great antagonism alluded to in a preceding letter[a]—the antagonism of *city* and *country*.

There were elected in *England*, in the Boroughs 104 Ministerialists, 215 Oppositionists; but in the Counties 109 Ministerialists and only 32 Oppositionists. From the Counties, the strongholds of the Tories, must be deducted the richest and most influential ones: the West Riding of Yorkshire, South Lancashire, Middlesex, East Surrey and others, possessing a population of four millions, out of the ten millions who compose the population of the Counties, independent of the towns sending members to Parliament.

In *Wales*, the results of the elections in town and country are exactly opposed to each other: the Boroughs here elected 10 Oppositionists and 3 Ministerialists, the Counties 11 Ministerialists, and 3 Oppositionists.

*Scotland* shows us the contrast in its clearest form. The Boroughs, to 25 Oppositionists, elected not a single Ministerialist. The Counties sent 14 Ministerialists and 13 Oppositionists.

In *Ireland* the proportion is different from what it shows itself in Great Britain. In Ireland the national party is the strongest in the country where the population is more directly under the influence of the Catholic clergy, while in the towns of the North English and

[a] See this volume, p. 344.—*Ed.*

Protestant elements predominate. Here, then, the proper seat of Opposition is the country, though with the present mode of election this cannot show itself so very strikingly. In Ireland the Boroughs sent 14 Ministerial and 25 Opposition, the Counties 24 Ministerial and 35 Opposition.

If you ask me now which party has conquered at the elections, the reply is, they have each and all defeated the Tories, for they evidently are in a minority, in spite of bribery, intimidation, and Government influence. The most correct statements give: Ministerial, 290; Liberals or collective Opposition, 337; doubtful, 27. Now, even if you add these 27 doubtfuls to the Ministerial strength, there remains a majority of twenty for the Liberals. The Tories, however, had calculated upon a majority of 336 at least. But leaving out of the question this numerical minority, the Tories succumbed in the elective struggle, for their leading men were forced to deny their own protectionist principles. Of 290 Derbyites 20 pronounced against all and every sort of protection, and of the remainder many, even Disraeli[a] himself, against the Corn Laws.

Lord Derby had assured in his parliamentary declarations[b] that he would change the commercial policy of the country only if supported by a large majority—so little did he anticipate that he would find himself in a minority. Though, therefore, the result of the election is far from corresponding to the sanguine expectations of the Tories, it is yet far more favorable to them than the Opposition ever expected.

No party has been defeated more severely than the Whigs—and in that very point where the inherent strength of this party lies: in its old ministers. The mass of the Whigs confounds itself on one hand with the Free Traders, on the other with the Peelites. The real vital principle of British Whiggery concentrates itself in its official head. The chief of the late Whig Ministry, Lord John Russell, has been re-elected, it is true, by the City of London; but in the city election of 1847 Mr. Masterman (Tory) stood 415 votes below Lord J. Russell. In the election of 1852 he stood 819 votes above him, and headed the poll. Eleven members of the late Whig Government have been right down turned out of their Parliamentary seats, viz.: Sir W. G. Craig, Lord of the Treasury; R. M. Bellew, Lord of the Treasury; Sir

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[a] See Disraeli's address to the electors of the County of Buckingham on June 2, 1852, and his speech at a dinner of the electors of this county on July 14, 1852, *The Times*, Nos. 21135 and 21168, June 7 and July 15, 1852.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to his speech in the House of Lords made on May 24, 1852, *The Times*, No. 21124, May 25, 1852.—*Ed.*

D. Dundas, Judge-Advocate-General[a]; Sir G. Grey, Home Secretary; J. Hatchell, Attorney-General for Ireland; G. Cornewall Lewis, Secretary to the Treasury; Lord C. E. Paget, Secretary to the Master-General of the Ordnances; J. Parker, Secretary to Admiralty; Sir W. Somerville, Secretary for Ireland; Admiral Stewart, Lord of the Admiralty; and to these you may add Mr. Bernal, the Chairman of Committees.[234] In short, since the Reform Bill, the Whigs have not experienced a similar rout.

The Peelites, whose numbers were already feeble in the late Parliament, have shrunk to an even less considerable group, and many of their most important men have lost their seats, for instance Cardwell, Ewart (both for Liverpool); Greene (Lancaster[b]); Lord Mahon (Hertford); Roundell Palmer (Plymouth), &c. The greatest sensation was created by the defeat of Cardwell, not only on account of the importance of the town represented by him, but also on account of his personal relations to the late Sir R. Peel. He is, with Lord Mahon, his literary executor. Cardwell was defeated because he supported the repeal of the Navigation Laws,[235] and because he would not join the No Popery cry; and the Church and State party influenced the elections considerably in Liverpool.

"That very busy and very money-making community," observes an English Free Trade paper on this occasion,[c] "has little time to cultivate religious feelings, it must rely, therefore, on the priesthood, and become an instrument in their hands."

Besides this, the electors of Liverpool are not, like those of Manchester, "men," but "gentlemen," and striving for the old orthodoxy faith is a main requisite of a gentleman.

The Free Traders, lastly, have lost some of their best known names at the electoral contest; thus, at Bradford Col. Thompson (alias Old Mother Goose), one of the oldest preachers and literary representatives of Free Trade; at Oldham, W. J. Fox, one of their most renowned agitators and most witty speakers; Bright and Gibson themselves beat at Manchester, the stronghold of the party, their Whig opponents by a comparatively weak majority only. It is, however, a matter of course that, under the existing electoral system, the Manchester School counts not, and cannot count, upon a Parliamentary majority. But it had, nevertheless, boasted for many

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[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has here "Judge-Advocate of Scotland".—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has here "Lanark".—*Ed.*

[c] *The Economist.* (The quotation is from the article "The Elections" published in its issue No. 463, July 10, 1852.)—*Ed.*

years, that if only the Whigs were turned out and the Tories returned to office, it would excite a tremendous agitation and perform heroic deeds. And now, instead, we see it again, in the late electoral battle, modestly go hand in hand with the Whigs, and this alone is equal to a moral defeat.

If thus none of the official parties has obtained a victory, if, on the contrary, all of them have been beaten in their turn, the British nation retains the consolation that, though no party, yet a profession, is more imposingly represented in Parliament than ever—the profession of *lawyers*. The House of Commons will count above a hundred lawyers in its ranks, and this number of jurisconsults is perhaps no favorable augury, neither for a party that it will gain its action before Parliament, nor for Parliament that it will carry a verdict with the nation.

According to the numerical proportions stated, there is no doubt of it—the total opposition disposes of a negative majority against the Tories. By united operations, it can upset the Ministry in the very first days after the meeting of Parliament. It is, itself, incapable of forming a durable Administration from its own body. A fresh dissolution and a fresh General Election would be necessary; a fresh General Election, in its turn, would only necessitate a fresh dissolution. In order to break through this vicious circle, a Parliamentary reform is needed. And antiquated parties and a new Parliament will even prefer Tory rule to such a heroic operation.

The Tories, though in a minority compared to the combined opposition, are yet the strongest faction of Parliament, if every party is considered separately. They are, besides, entrenched in the strongholds of office, they have a well disciplined, compact, pretty homogenous army to back them, and they are, finally, certain that their game is played out for ever if they lose this time. Opposed to them is a coalition of four armies, each under a different chief, composed of badly amalgamated fractions, divided by interest, principle, *souvenirs* and passions, mutinous against paramount parliamentary discipline, watching jealously their respective pretensions.

The *parliamentary* proportions of the different Oppositionist sections, as a matter of course, in no ways correspond to their *national* proportions. Thus it is that the Whigs in Parliament still form the most numerous mass of the Opposition, the nucleus around which the other sections group themselves; and this is the more dangerous as this party, in its imagination always at the head of the Administration, is far more eager to back out of the pretensions

of its allies than to beat the common enemy. The Peelite, the second Oppositional section, counts 38 members, directed by Sir J. Graham, S. Herbert and Gladstone. Sir J. Graham speculates upon an alliance with the men of the Manchester School. He aspires too much to the premiership, to feel any inclination of helping the Whigs to recover their old Government monopoly. On the other hand, many of the Peelites share the conservative views of the Tories, and the Liberals can count upon their regular support in questions of commercial policy only.

"In many other topics," says a liberal paper, "it will be easy for Ministers so to frame their measures as to secure a great majority of them."[a]

The Free Traders, *par excellence*, stronger than in the last Parliament, are said to number 113 members. The struggle with the Tories will force them more onwards than will be considered advisable by the cautious policy of the Whigs.

The Irish Brigade,[236] finally, about 63 strong, since the death of King Dan,[b] not exactly smothered by laurels, but in a position to hold, numerically, the balance of power, shares nothing with the British Opposition party but the hatred against Derby. In the British Parliament it represents Ireland against England. For a somewhat lengthy campaign no Parliamentary party can with certainty count upon its support.

If, in a few words, we resume the results of the preceding disquisition, viz.: that the Tories are opposed by a negative majority, but not by a party which in their stead could seize the helm of Government—that their downfall necessarily would bring on a Parliamentary reform—that their army is compact, homogenous, disciplined and in possession of the Government fortresses—that the Opposition is a conglomerate of four different sections—that coalition armies always fight badly and maneuver clumsily—that even the negative majority only amounts to 20 or 30 votes—that one-fourth of Parliament, 173 members, are new men, who will anxiously avoid anything that could endanger their dearly-bought seats—we come necessarily to the result that the Tories will possess the strength, not to vanquish, but to force on things to a crisis. And to this they appear resolved. The fear of such a crisis, which would revolutionize the whole of the official superficies of England, speaks through every organ of the London daily and weekly press. *The*

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[a] "The Results of the Elections", *The Economist*, No. 465, July 24, 1852.—*Ed.*
[b] Daniel O'Connell.—*Ed.*

*Times, The Morning Chronicle, The Daily News, The Spectator, The Examiner*—they all shout out, because they all of them have their fears. They would prefer reasoning the Tories out of office by hard words, and thus prevent the crisis. The collision will come over them in spite of all hard words and of all virtuous indignation.

Written about August 16, 1852

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune* and checked with *The People's Paper*

# Karl Marx

## MOVEMENTS OF MAZZINI AND KOSSUTH.—LEAGUE WITH LOUIS NAPOLEON.—PALMERSTON [237]

London, Tuesday, September 28, 1852

The following are authentic facts with regard to the movements among the Italian and Hungarian emigration:

Some time since the Hungarian Gen. Vetter traveled through all Italy on a commission from Kossuth and Mazzini with the passport of a painter who is a citizen of the United States. He was accompanied by the Hungarian cantatrice, Madame Ferenczi, who gave concerts. By this means he penetrated into the higher official circles, while the communications from Mazzini of which he was the bearer opened to him the doors of the secret societies. He traversed the entire country, from Turin and Genoa, by way of Milan, to Rome and Naples. He has lately returned to England and made his report, to the great astonishment of Mr. Mazzini, the archangel of the Democracy. The gist of Vetter's statements is briefly that Italy has become perfectly *materialistic*; that the traffic in silk, oil, and other products of the country forms to such an extent the all-absorbing theme of the day, and that the middle class (Mazzini's great reliance) reckon with such fearful exactness the expenses and losses which the revolution has occasioned, and accordingly seek so earnestly to repair the same by the most zealous devotion to industry, that it is absolutely *impossible to think of a revolutionary movement being commenced by Italy.* In that country, says Vetter in this document, no rising can take place until the French crater shall again vomit fire, especially as the revolutionary part of the population *par excellence* are discouraged by long persecution and by the continual failure of their plans, and, above all, have not the masses to support them.

Upon this report of Vetter's, Mazzini, after having raved so loudly and so foolishly against France, found himself compelled, *volens nolens,* once more to resign the *initiative* to the old Babylon.

But, having determined on again making a league with France, with what party do you suppose these gentlemen have begun to treat? *With Mr. Louis Bonaparte.*

Kossuth, in accord with Mazzini, sent one Kiss to Paris, to enter into relations with the Bonapartists. Kiss had formerly been acquainted with the sons of Jérôme Bonaparte. He amuses himself in Paris, in coffee houses and other houses, hangs around Pierre Bonaparte, scatters incense before him, and writes splendid reports to Kossuth. Now, the liberation of Hungary by the firm of L. Napoleon and Kossuth, is no longer a matter of doubt. The chief of revolutionists has made an alliance of life and death with the "tyrant."

Previous to all this, the old Lelewel, the Pole, and Tadeusz Gorzowski, a Russian priest, had come to London in the name of the so-called Polish Centralization,[238] and had laid before Kossuth and Mazzini the plan for an insurrection, whose turning point should be the co-operation of Bonaparte. Their special friend in London was a Count Lanckoroński, who is also an imperial Russian agent, and their plan had the signal honor of being revised and corrected in St. Petersburg beforehand. This Count Lanckoroński is now at Paris, to look after Kiss, whence he goes to Ostend to receive new instructions from St. Petersburg.

Kiss has sent to Kossuth from Paris all sorts of assurances, which would be at home in a book of fables, but which in the fabulous condition of French affairs are perhaps true. It is said that Kossuth has received an autograph letter from Louis Napoleon, inviting him *to come to Paris.* Kossuth is having copies of this letter circulated in all the counties of Hungary. In that country he has prepared everything for a general outbreak. Even royal-imperial officials are in the complot. Kossuth hopes to commence the affair in October.

So far I have given you nothing more than an almost verbal repetition of what has been communicated to me. If now you ask what is my opinion of the matter, it is that Louis Bonaparte desires to kill two flies with a single blow. He intends to ingratiate himself with Kossuth and Mazzini, and then to betray them to the Austrians, in return for which the latter will give their consent to his assumption of the imperial crown of France. Besides, he thinks that Kossuth and Mazzini will lose all their influence in the revolutionary party as soon as it is known that they have been negotiating, or have formed a connection with him. Moreover, he finds among the Absolute Powers a strong opposition to his mounting the throne, and, adventurer as he is, it is very possible, though not very probable, that he is disposed to try his hand with the conspirators.

As for what concerns Italy in particular, Louis Bonaparte looks forward to adding Lombardy and Venice to his own dominions, while Naples will fall to his cousin Murat. A fine prospect for Signor Mazzini!

Having again touched upon Italy, let me communicate another piece of intelligence. The Countess Visconti, one of the heroines of the last Italian struggle for freedom, was here not long since and had a long conversation with Lord Palmerston. His Lordship told her that he hoped before the end of the present year to stand at the head of the British Government, and that Europe should then march toward a speedy transformation. Italy, especially, could no longer be left in the claws of Austria, because no country could, in the long run, be governed by powder and lead. In all this Palmerston gave out that he expected to find an ally in France. His desire was, however, that Lombardy, in case of a general movement, should at once be annexed to Piedmont, and the question of making it a republic be left entirely to the future.

For my part, I am convinced that the veteran Palmerston is under the greatest illusions, and in particular does not understand that, even if he still possesses some influence in parliamentary coteries, he has none in the country itself.

Written on September 28, 1852

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# Karl Marx

## PAUPERISM AND FREE TRADE.— THE APPROACHING COMMERCIAL CRISIS[239]

London, Friday, October 15, 1852

In a malt-house in Banbury, Mr. Henley, President of the Board of Trade, lately explained to his assembled farming friends that Pauperism had decreased but by circumstances which had nothing to do with free trade; and above all, by the *famine of Ireland*, the discovery of gold abroad, the exodus of Ireland, the great demand consequent thereon for British shipping, &c., &c.[a] We must confess that "the famine" is quite as radical a remedy against Pauperism as arsenic is against rats.

"At least," observes *The London Economist*, "the Tories must admit the existing prosperity and its natural result, the emptied workhouses."[b]

*The Economist* then attempts to prove to this incredulous President of the Board of Trade, that workhouses have emptied themselves in consequence of free trade, and that if free trade is allowed to take its full development, they are likely to disappear altogether from the British soil. It is a pity that *The Economist*'s statistics do not prove what they are intended to prove.

Modern industry and commerce, it is well known, pass through periodical cycles of from 5 to 7 years, in which they, in regular succession, go through the different states of quiescence—next improvement—growing confidence—activity—prosperity—excitement—over-trading—convulsion—pressure—stagnation—distress—ending again in quiescence.

Recollecting this fact, we will revert to the statistics of *The Economist*.

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[a] See Henley's speech at a Tory banquet in Banbury on September 28, 1852, *The Times*, No. 21234, September 30, 1852.—*Ed.*

[b] "Mr. Henley and Pauperism", *The Economist*, No. 475, October 2, 1852.—*Ed.*

From 1834, when the sum expended for the relief of the poor amounted to £6,317,255, it fell to a minimum of £4,044,741 in 1837. From that date it rose again every year until 1843, when it reached £5,208,027. In 1844, '45 and '46, it again fell to £4,954,204, and rose again in 1847 and '48, in which latter year it amounted to £6,180,764,—almost as high as in 1834, before the introduction of the new Poor Law.[240] In 1849, '50, '51 and '52 it fell again to £4,724,619. But the period of 1834-37 was a period of prosperity; that of 1838-42, a period of crisis and stagnation; 1843-46, a period of prosperity; 1847 and '48, a period of crisis and stagnation, and 1849-1852 again a period of prosperity.

What, then, prove these statistics? In the best of cases, the common-place tautology that British pauperism rises and falls with the alternate periods of stagnation and prosperity, independently of either free trade or protection. Nay, in the free trade year of 1852 we find the Poor Law expenditures higher by £679,878 than in the year of protection, 1837, in spite of the Irish Famine,[241] the "nuggets" of Australia, and the steady stream of emigration.

Another British Free Trade paper attempts to prove that exports rise with free trade, and prosperity with exports, and that with prosperity pauperism must decrease and finally disappear; and the following figures are to prove this. The number of able-bodied human beings doomed to subsist by parish support was:

Jan. 1, 1849, in 590 Unions, 201,644
Jan. 1, 1850, in 606 Unions, 181,159
Jan. 1, 1851, in 606 Unions, 154,525

Comparing herewith the export lists, we find, for exports of British and Irish manufacture:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1848 | £48,946,395 |
| 1849 | 58,910,833 |
| 1850 | 65,756,035 |

And what proves this table? An increase of exports of £9,964,438 redeemed above 20,000 persons from pauperism in 1849; a further increase of £6,845,202 redeemed 26,634 more in 1850. Now, even supposing free trade to do entirely away with the industrial cycles and their vicissitudes, then the redemption of the total number of able-bodied paupers would, under the present system, require an additional increase of the foreign trade of £50,000,000 annually, that is to say, an increase of very near 100 per cent. And these sober-minded Bourgeois statisticians have the

courage to speak of "Utopists."—Verily, there are no greater Utopists in existence than these Bourgeois optimists.

I have just got hold of the documents published by the Poor Law Board. They prove indeed that we are experiencing a numerical decrease of paupers against 1848 and 51. But from these papers there follows at the same time: From 1841-'44 the average of paupers was 1,431,571—1845-'48 it was 1,600,257. In 1850 there were 1,809,308 paupers receiving in-door and out-door relief, and in 1851 they numbered 1,600,329, or rather more than the average of 1845-'48. Now, if we compare these numbers with the population as verified by the census, we find that there were in 1841-'48, 89 paupers to every 1,000 of the population, and 90 in 1851. Thus in reality pauperism has increased above the average of 1841-'48, and that in spite of free trade, famine, prosperity, in spite of the nuggets of Australia and the stream of emigration.

I may notice on this occasion, that the number of criminals has increased also, and a glance at *The Lancet*, a medical journal, shows that the adulteration and poisoning of articles of food has hitherto kept up apace with free trade. Every week *The Lancet* causes a new panic in London by unraveling fresh mysteries. This paper has established a complete commission of inquiry of physicians, chemists, &c., for the examination of the articles of food sold in London. Poisoned coffee, poisoned tea, poisoned vinegar, poisoned cayenne, poisoned pickles—everything mixed up with poison—that is the regular winding up of the reports of this commission.

Either side of the Bourgeois commercial policy, Free Trade or Protection, is, of course, equally incapable of doing away with facts that are the mere necessary and natural results of the economical base of Bourgeois society. And a matter of a million of paupers in the British workhouses is as inseparable from British prosperity, as the existence of eighteen to twenty millions in gold in the Bank of England.

This once settled in reply to the Bourgeois phantasts, who on one hand hold up as a result of Free Trade what is a mere necessary concomitant of every period of prosperity in the commercial cycles, or who, on the other hand, expect things from Bourgeois prosperity which it cannot possibly bring about. This once settled, there can be no doubt that the year 1852 is one of the most signal years of prosperity England ever enjoyed. The public revenue, in spite of the repeal of the window tax, the shipping returns, the export lists, the quotations of the money

market, above all, the unprecedented activity in the manufacturing districts, bears an irrefutable testimony to this fact.

But the most superficial knowledge of commercial history from the beginning of the nineteenth century, suffices to convince anybody that the moment is approaching when the commercial cycle will enter the phase of *excitement*, in order thence to pass over to those of over-speculation and convulsion. "Not at all!" shout the Bourgeois optimists. "In no previous period of prosperity was there less speculation than in the present one. Our present prosperity is founded upon the production of articles of immediate usefulness, which enter into consumption almost as rapidly as they can be brought to market, which leave to the producer an adequate profit, and stimulate renewed and enlarged production."

In other words, what distinguishes this present prosperity is the fact that the existing surplus capital has thrown, and is throwing itself, directly into industrial production. According to the late report of Mr. Leonard Horner, Inspector General of Factories, there took place in 1851 an increase in cotton factories alone equal to 3,717 horse power.[a] His enumeration of factories in course of construction is almost endless. Here a spinning mill with 150 horse power, there a weaving shed for 600 looms for colored goods, another spinning factory for 60,000 spindles and 620 horse power, another for spinning and weaving with 200, another with 300 horse power, etc. The largest, however, is building near Bradford (Yorkshire) for the manufacture of Alpaca and mixed goods.

"The magnitude of this concern, which is being erected for Mr. Titus Salt, may be inferred from the fact that it is calculated to cover six statute acres of ground. The principal building will be a massive stone edifice of considerable architectural pretensions, having a single room in it 540 feet long, and the machinery will include the latest inventions of acknowledged merit. The engines to move this immense mass of machinery are being made by Messrs. Fairbairn, of Manchester, and they are calculated to work 1,200 horse power. The gas works alone will be equal to those of a small town, and will be erected upon White's hydrocarbon system, at a cost of £4,000. It is calculated that 5,000 lights will be required, consuming 100,000 cubic feet of gas *per diem*. In addition to this extensive factory, Mr. Salt is building 700 cottages for the workpeople in its immediate neighborhood."

What, then, follows this enormous investment of capital for immediate industrial production? That the crisis will not come?

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[a] Cited from the article "Cotton Manufactures" published in *The Times*, No. 21227, September 22, 1852. The quotation that follows is also taken from this article.— *Ed.*

By no means; but on the contrary, that it will take a far more dangerous character than in 1847, when it was more commercial and monetary than industrial. This time it will fall with its heaviest weight upon the *manufacturing* districts. Let the unequaled stagnation of 1838-'42 be recalled to mind, which, too, was a direct result of industrial over-production. The more surplus capital concentrates itself in industrial production, instead of dividing its stream amongst the manifold channels of speculation, the more extensive, the more lasting, the more direct will the crisis fall upon the working masses and upon the very *élite* of the middle class. And if, in the moment of revulsion, the whole overwhelming mass of goods on the market already takes at once the form of lumbering ballast, how much more must this be the case with these numerous enlarged or newly-erected factories, just far enough advanced to begin to work, and for which it is of vital importance to set to work at once? If every time when capital deserts its habitual commercial channels of circulation, this desertion creates a panic which reaches even into the parlor of the Bank of England, how much more so a similar *sauve qui peut* in a moment when an immense amount has thus been turned into fixed capital in the shape of mills, machinery, etc., which begin to work only at the outbreak of the crisis, or which partially require further sums of circulating capital before they can be got into workable condition.

I take from *The Friend of India* another fact significative of the character of the approaching crisis. From a statement of the commerce of Calcutta in 1852 therein contained, it results that the value of cotton goods, twist and yarn imported into Calcutta in 1851, amounted to £4,074,000, or nearly two-thirds of the whole trade. In this year the whole amount of these imports will be larger still. The imports into Bombay, Madras, Singapore, are not even comprised herein. But the crisis of 1847 has given such revelations of Indian trade, that nobody can retain the slightest doubt of the final results of an industrial prosperity, in which the imports of "our Indian Empire" count for two-thirds of the whole.

So much as to the character of the state of convulsion which is to follow in the wake of the present state of prosperity. That this convulsion will come down in 1853, is prognosticated by many symptoms, especially the plethora of gold at the Bank of England, and the particular circumstances under which this large influx of bullion takes place.

At this moment there are £21,353,000 in bullion in the vaults of the Bank of England. It has been attempted to explain this influx

by the surplus production of gold in Australia and California. A simple glance at facts proves the incorrectness of this view.

The increased quantity of bullion in the Bank of England represents, in reality, nothing but the diminished import of other commodities; in other words a large surplus of exports over imports. The last trade lists show, in fact, a considerable decrease of imports in hemp, sugar, tea, tobacco, wines, wool, grains, oils, cocoa, flour, indigo, hides, potatoes, bacon, pork, butter, cheese, hams, lard, rice, and almost all the manufactures of the European continent and of British India.[a] There was an evident over-importation in 1850 and 1851, and this, as well as the increased price of bread-stuffs on the Continent in consequence of a bad harvest, tends to keep down imports. The imports of cotton and flax alone show an increase.

This surplus of exports over imports explains why the rate of exchange is favorable for England. On the other hand, the balancing by gold of this excess of exports, causes a large portion of British capital to lie idle and to go to increase the reserves of the banks. The banks as well as private individuals hunt up every means to invest this idle capital. Hence the present abundance of loanable capital and the low rate of interest. First-class paper is at $1^3/_4$ and 2 per cent. Now, if you compare any history of trade, say Tooke's *History of Prices*, you find that the coincidence of these symptoms: unusual accumulation of bullion in the cellars of the Bank of England, excess of exports over imports, favorable rate of exchange, abundance of loanable capital, and low rate of interest, regularly opens, in the commercial cycle, that phase where prosperity passes into excitement, where on one hand over-trading in imports, on the other, wild speculations in all sorts of attractive bubbles, is sure to begin. But this state of excitement itself, is only the precursor of the state of convulsion. Excitement is the highest apex of prosperity; it does not produce the crisis, but it provokes its outbreak.

I know very well that the official economical *fortune-tellers* of England will consider this view exceedingly heterodox. But when since "Prosperity Robinson,"[b] the famous Chancellor of the Exchequer, who in 1825, just before the appearance of the crisis, opened Parliament with the prophecy of immense and unshakeable prosperity—when have these Bourgeois optimists ever

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[a] See "Accounts Relating to Trade and Navigation. For the Eight Months Ended September 5, 1852", *The Economist*, No. 476, October 9, 1852.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick John Robinson, Viscount Goderich.—*Ed.*

foreseen or predicted a crisis? There never was a single period of prosperity, but they profited by the occasion to prove that *this time* the medal was without a reverse, that the inexorable *fate* was *this time* subdued. And on the day, when the crisis broke out, they held themselves harmless by chastising trade and industry with moral, common-place preaching against want of foresight and caution.

The peculiar state of politics created by this momentary commercial and industrial prosperity, will form the subject of my next letter.

Written on October 12, 1852

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3601, November 1, 1852; reprinted in the *Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 776, November 2, and in the *New-York Weekly Tribune*, No. 582, November 6, 1852

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE COMMERCIAL EXCITEMENT[242]

London, Tuesday, October 19, 1852

My last letter described the present industrial and commercial situation of this country; let us now draw the political consequences therefrom.

If the outbreak of the anticipated industrial and commercial revulsion will give a more dangerous and revolutionary character to the impending struggle with the Tories, the present prosperity is, for the moment, the most valuable ally to the Tory party; an ally, which, indeed, will not enable them to re-enact the Corn Laws, abandoned already by themselves, but which effectually consolidates their political power and assists them in carrying on a social reaction that, if let alone, would necessarily end in the conquest of substantial class-advantages, as it has been from its beginning started in the name of a substantial class-interest. No Corn Laws, says Disraeli,[a] but a fresh settlement of taxes in the interest of the oppressed farmers. But why are farmers oppressed? Because they, for the most part, continue to pay the old protectionist rates of rent, while the old protectionist price of corn is gone the way of all flesh. The aristocracy will not abate the rent of their land, but they will introduce a new mode of taxation which shall make up, to the farmers, for the surplus farmers have to pay into the pockets of the aristocracy.

I repeat that the present commercial prosperity is favorable to Tory reaction. Why?

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[a] In his address to the electors of the County of Buckingham on June 2, 1852 and in his speech at a dinner of the electors of this county on July 14, 1852, *The Times*, Nos. 21135 and 21168, June 7 and July 15, 1852.—*Ed.*

"Patriotism," complains *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, "patriotism is apt to go to sleep in the cupboard if meat and drink be there. Hence, free trade is the present security of the Earl of Derby; he lies on a bed of roses plucked by Cobden and Peel."[a]

The mass of the people is fully employed and more or less well off—always deducting the paupers inseparable from British prosperity; it is therefore not at present a very malleable material for political agitation. But what, above all things, enables Derby to carry out his machinations, is the fanaticism with which the *middle class* has thrown itself into the mighty process of industrial production, erecting of mills, constructing of machinery, building of ships, spinning and weaving of cotton and wool, storing of warehouses, manufacturing, exchanging, exporting, importing, and other more or less useful proceedings, the purpose of which, to them, is always the making of money. The Bourgeoisie, in this moment of brisk trade—and it very well knows that these happy moments are getting more and more few and far between—will and must make money, much money; nothing but money. It leaves to its politicians *ex professo* the task of watching the Tories. But the politicians *ex professo* (compare, for instance, Joseph Hume's letter to *The Hull Advertiser*[b]) complain justly that, deprived of pressure from without, they can agitate as little as the human frame could react without the pressure of the atmosphere.

The Bourgeoisie have, indeed, a sort of uneasy divination that in the high regions of government something suspicious is brewing, and that the Ministry *exploits* not overscrupulously the political apathy in which prosperity has thrown them. They, therefore, sometimes give the Ministry a warning through their organs in the press. For instance:

"To what extent the democracy [read the Bourgeoisie] may carry their present *wise* forbearance, their respect for their own power and for the rights of others, making no attempt to strengthen themselves by doing as the aristocracy have done, we cannot foresee; but the aristocracy must not infer, from the general conduct of the democracy, that they will never depart from moderation." [London *Economist*.[c]]

But Derby replies: Do you think I am fool enough to be frightened by you now, when the sun shines, and to be idle until

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[a] "Mr. Hume's 'Rope of Sand'", *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, No. 516, October 10, 1852.—*Ed.*

[b] Dated September 15, 1852, *The Hull Advertiser*, September 24, 1852.—*Ed.*

[c] "Lord John Russell and the Democracy", *The Economist*, No. 475, October 2, 1852.—*Ed.*

commercial storms and stagnation of trade give you the time to mind politics more clearly?

The plan of the Tory campaign shows itself every day.

The Tories began by chicaning open-air meetings; they prosecute, in Ireland, newspapers which contain articles unpleasant to them; they indict, in this moment, for seditious libel, the agents of the Peace Society,[243] who have distributed pamphlets against the use of the lash in the militia. In this quiet manner, they push back, wherever they can, the isolated opposition of the street and of the press.

In the meantime, they avoid every great and public rupture with their opponents, by delaying the meeting of Parliament, and by preparing everything in order to occupy it, when met, with the funeral "of a dead Duke,[a] instead of the interests of a living people". [Radical Paper.[b]] In the first week of November, Parliament will meet. But before January there can be no question of a serious beginning of the session.

And how do the Tories fill up the meantime? With the Registration campaign and the formation of the militia.

In the Registration campaign the object is to throw out or to prevent their opponents from entering the new lists of parliamentary electors for the ensuing year, by making out this or that objection which legally prevents a man from being registered a voter. Each political party is represented by its lawyers, and carries on the action at its own expense, and the revising barristers, named by the Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench,[244] decide on the admissibility of claims or objections. This campaign has hitherto had its principal theater in Lancashire and Middlesex. In order to get up the money for the campaign in North Lancashire, the Tories circulated lists of subscription on which Lord Derby himself had put down his name for the liberal sum of £500. The extraordinary number of 6,749 objections to voters have been taken in Lancashire, viz, 4,650 for South, and 2,099 for North Lancashire. For the former, the Tories objected to 3,557 qualifications; the Liberals to 1,093; for the latter, the Tories, to 1,334 qualifications; the Liberals to 765. (This, of course, merely amongst County voters, independently of the voters for the Boroughs, situated in that County.) The Tories were victorious in Lancashire. In the County of Middlesex there were expunged

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[a] Duke of Wellington.— *Ed.*

[b] *The People's Paper* (in the article "Lord Derby and the People"), No. 23, October 9, 1852.— *Ed.*

from the registers 353 Radicals and 140 Conservatives—the Conservatives thus gaining 200 votes.

In this battle, the Tories stand on one side—the Whigs, with the men of the Manchester School, on the other. The latter, it is pretty well known, have formed freehold land societies—machines for manufacturing new voters. The Tories leave the machines alone, but destroy their products. Mr. Shadwell, revising barrister for Middlesex, gave decisions by which great numbers of the freehold land society voters have been disfranchised, declaring that a plot of land did not confer the franchise unless it had cost £50. As this was a question of fact and not of law, there is no appeal from this decision to the Court of Common Pleas.[245] Everybody conceives that this distinction of fact and law gives to the revising barristers, always open to the influence of the existing Ministry, the greatest power in composing the new voters' lists.

And what do these great efforts of the Tories, and the direct interference of their leader in the Registration campaign, prognosticate?

That the Earl of Derby has no very sanguine hopes for the continuance of his new Parliament, that he is inclined to dissolve it in case of resistance on its part, and that in the meantime he seeks to prepare, by the revising barristers, a conservative majority for another general election.

And while thus the Tories, on one hand, hold in reserve the Parliament-making machine placed at their disposal by the Registration campaign, they carry out, on the other hand, the Militia Bill, which places at their disposal the necessary bayonets for carrying out even the most reactionary acts of Parliament, and for supporting in tranquillity the frowns of the Peace Society.

"With Parliament to give it a legal semblance, with an armed militia to give it an active power, what may not the reaction do in England?"—exclaims the organ of the Chartists.[a]

And the death of the "Iron Duke," of the common-sense-hero of Waterloo, has in this particular critical moment freed the aristocracy of an importune guardian angel, who had experience enough in warfare to sacrifice, often enough, apparent victories to a well-covered retreat, and the brilliant offensive to a timely compromise. Wellington was the moderator of the House of Lords; he held in decisive moments often 60 and more proxies; he

[a] *The People's Paper* (in the article "Lord Derby and the People"), No. 23, October 9, 1852.—*Ed.*

prevented the Tories from declaring open war against the Bourgeoisie and against public opinion. But now, with a conflict-seeking Tory Ministry under the direction of a sporting character,[a] the House of Lords,

"instead of being, as under the guidance of the Duke, the steady ballast of the State, may become the top-hamper that may endanger its safety."

This latter notion, that the lordly ballast is necessary to the safety of the State, does of course not belong to us, but to the liberal *London Daily News*. The present Duke of Wellington, hitherto Marquis of Douro, has at once passed from the Peelite into the Tory camp. And thus there is every sign that the aristocracy are about to make the most reckless efforts to reconquer the lost ground, and to bring back the golden times of 1815 to 1830. And the Bourgeoisie, in this moment, has no time to agitate, to revolt, not even to get up a proper show of indignation.

Written on October 12, 1852

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Earl of Derby.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## POLITICAL PARTIES AND PROSPECTS[246]

London, Tuesday, November 2, 1852

We continue the deduction of political consequences which follow unavoidably in the wake of the present commercial and industrious prosperity.

In the midst of this atmosphere of universal industrial activity, of accelerated commercial interchange, of political indifference, deprived of any pressure from without, parliamentary parties complete in perfect tranquillity the process of their own dissolution.

"The Peelites and the Russellites gravitate at this moment toward each other in the strongest manner. The Peelites, those indispensable 'statesmen', not being able to do anything by themselves, now want to be received into the kinship of the governing family. Only look how much their organ, *The Morning Chronicle,* praises the very indifferent speech of Lord John Russell, at Perth."

Thus speaks *The Morning Herald,* the semi-official organ of the Government.

Quite the contrary, says *The Guardian.* Only listen to Mr. Henley, the President of the Board of Trade, speaking in the malt-house of Banbury to the circle of his farmer-friends:

"This party," declares Mr. Henley, "had principles of its own, and had stuck to them. Free Trade or Protection was an open question, and had only been made a party question by the late Sir Robert Peel." He speaks respectfully of the Peelites: "There was now no substantial obstacle to the reunion of the *great Conservative Party.*"[a]

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[a] J. W. Henley's speech at a Tory banquet in Banbury on September 28 and the comments on it that follow are quoted from the article "The Week" in *The Guardian,* No. 357, October 6, 1852.—*Ed.*

That's just it, exclaims *The Guardian*; sink Protection, and revive Conservatism. In other words, *The Guardian* supposes that the Peelites are ready—the Corn Laws left out of the question—to enter into a reactionary alliance with the Tories. And *The Daily News* reports as a fact, that a portion of Peelites has already passed into the Derbyite camp.[a] But a portion of the Whigs, too, is suspected of the same offense—and it would be nothing miraculous, considering that their aristocratic nucleus is formed by a clique of place-hunters. There is, for instance, Lord Dalhousie. My Lord was a Minister under Peel, in the liberal period of government. After the downfall of Peel, Russell offered him a seat in his new Cabinet. In common with the Duke of Newcastle, Lord St. Germans, and other members of the former Government, he supported in the Upper House the maneuvers of the Whigs, and was rewarded, on a vacancy, with the Governor-Generalship of India, that most splendid prize of all in the oligarchic lottery. He turned it to the greatest economical account. The Whigs boasted of the "unprecedented" sacrifice they had made in alienating so highly coveted an office from their own immediate connection. And now, at this present moment, the lure held out to Lord Dalhousie is the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports, a sinecure of thousands a year.[247] Our man is said not to be overburdened with patrimonial wealth and to consider it his patriotic duty to secure the Cinque Ports against a surprise, even under a Derby Ministry.

Similar bits of *chronique scandaleuse*, anecdotes of negotiations of this or that Whig as to the lowest price at which he is to make himself over to the Tories, are found by dozens in the Liberal weekly press. They prove the profound corruption of the Whig party; but their importance disappears before the schism between its two principal leaders, Russell and Palmerston. We had already known, some time ago, incidents connected with recent election contests in which the part taken by Lord Palmerston in support of the ministerial candidates seemed unaccountable, as the Liberal papers expressed themselves. Now, one fine morning, Palmerston's own organ, *The Morning Post*, brings out a leader,[b] referring to the rumors that Palmerston either was to enter the Cabinet as Secretary of State and leader of the Commons, or in case of a speedy dissolution of the Derby Ministry, to form a new cabinet with those fragments of it which might not have become quite

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[a] The reference is to the leading article in *The Daily News* of October 12, 1852.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Morning Post*, October 7, 1852.—*Ed.*

"impossible." *The Morning Post*, finding upon the whole these rumors very attractive, declares that it does not speak in Lord Palmerston's name, but in its own private name. But Palmerston, in despite of all the pressing and even importunate calls of the Whig and Liberal press, does not think it proper to refute the calumniating report. The Peelite *Morning Chronicle* mentions these rumors[a] in a tone which plainly shows that Gladstone & Co. would not feel any *horror vacui*[b] at the idea of similar amalgamations. *The Daily News*, a paper of the Manchester School, discovers this circumstance, and indignantly calls upon the traitors among Whigs and Peelites to join themselves openly to Derby.[c] Thus you see how every one of the Parliamentary *coteries* which have hitherto one after the other taken hold of the political helm, is distrusting all others and its own members, how they accuse each other of desertion, corruption, compromise and yet each and all admit, that, leaving the Corn Laws out of the question, there is nothing in the way of their joining the Derbyites but personal rancor and personal ambition. They occupy toward Derby about the same position as, before the 2d December last, the different fractions of the Party of Order toward Bonaparte.

That the opposition is awaiting the coming Parliamentary campaign in a rather pusillanimous mood, is easily explained.

Little John Russell received the freedom of the burgh of Perth in a little bag, and replied, after a giant dinner, in a little speech, the most important part of which was the following declaration:

"We are bound in justice, as well as, I think, directed by *policy, to wait until those measures are produced which are to give to the agricultural interest,* to the colonial interest, to the shipping interest, all the compensation of which they have hitherto been unjustly deprived [laughter]—those admirable measures which are to put an end to a long contest."[d]

The only daily paper of which Russell yet disposes, *The Globe* (evening paper), gives on the above the following commentary: "Any such opposition, as was urged against Sir R. Peel in 1835, would involve a certainty of failure," on account of the rivalries of the various Liberal leaders.[e] Thus the experiment to upset the Derby Cabinet at the very outset of the session, by a compact vote

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[a] In its leading article of October 5, 1852.—*Ed.*

[b] *Horror vacui*—fear of death (literally: fear of vacuum).—*Ed.*

[c] The reference is to the leading article in *The Daily News* of October 12, 1852.—*Ed.*

[d] John Russell, Speech at a dinner in Perth on September 24, 1852, *The Times*, No. 21231, September 27, 1852.—*Ed.*

[e] Quoted from the leading article in *The Globe*, September 28, 1852.—*Ed.*

of the coalesced opposition, has been entirely abandoned, and Lord John Russell remains faithful to his part, being the first to sound the retreat. And as to the prospects of Parliamentary opposition at large, its chief, Mr. J. Hume, makes the following confession in his letter to *The Hull Advertiser*:

"If my experience, as regards the Irish members hitherto in the House of Commons, is to be taken, the material is not likely to be of that substance to be moulded and kept in proper position, or under the influence of any leader. The Irish members are too extravagant, too ardent, too strongly imbued with Ireland's wrongs and her sufferings. At present nothing, as far as I know, has been done toward a union of Liberals who may be doubtful of the acts of the Derby Administration; and when I look to the hollow professions of those who preceded Lord Derby (the Whigs), and on their throwing up the cards rather than play out the game for the popular cause, by calling on the Reformers to join them, I cannot have much confidence in anything they may do to promote the union of parties. Indeed, they must be left, I fear, to chew the cud, whilst the Derbyites are committing all kinds of misgovernment to forward their own cause, and to benefit their supporters; and it will only be *after considerable time* of such conduct that there can be any chance of a People's party being formed."[a]

John Bright, the actual chief of the Manchester School, has indeed attempted, in his after-dinner speech to the manufacturers of Belfast, to make good by cajoleries to the Irish members the attacks of Joseph Hume,[b] but in all matters of Parliamentary discipline "Old Joe's" opinion is an authority.

Thus the Parliamentary opposition is completely despairing of itself.

Nay, the old Parliamentary opposition has so far outlived itself that its Nestor, Hume, at the end of his long career now publicly declares that there is in the House of Commons no "People's party." Whatever was there called so, was a mere "rope of sand."

Thus, general dissolution, universal weakness and impotency in the camp of the Opposition.

Written on October 16, 1852

Reproduced from the newspaper

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

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[a] Joseph Hume, Letter to *The Hull Advertiser* written on September 15, 1852, *The Hull Advertiser*, September 24, 1852.—*Ed.*

[b] John Bright, Speech at a dinner in Belfast on October 4, 1852, *The Times*, No. 21240, October 7, 1852.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [ATTEMPTS TO FORM A NEW OPPOSITION PARTY][248]

London, Tuesday, November 9, 1852

In the same measure as the hitherto predominating parties dissolve themselves, and as their distinctive marks are effaced, the want of a new opposition party is felt, as a matter of course. This want finds an expression in different ways.

Lord John Russell, in his already quoted speech,[a] takes the lead. Part of the alarm raised by Lord Derby, he says, had sprung from the rumors that he, Lord J. Russell, had adopted "highly democratical opinions." "Well, I need not say on that subject that this rumor was totally unfounded; that it has no circumstances on which it rested." Nevertheless, he pronounces himself a Democrat, and then explains the harmless meaning of the word:

"The people of this country are, in other words, the Democracy of the country. Democracy has as fair a right to the enjoyment of its rights as monarchy or nobility. Democracy does not mean to diminish any of the prerogatives of the Crown. Democracy does not attempt to take away any of the lawful privileges of the House of Lords. What, then, is this Democracy? The growth of wealth, the growth of intellect, the forming of opinions more enlightened and more calculated to carry on in an enlightened manner the Government of the world. But I will say more. I will say that the manner of dealing with that increase of the position of the Democracy could not be *according to the old system of restraint with which I was but too familiar.* On the contrary, Democracy ought to be maintained and encouraged, there ought to be given a legitimate and legal organ to that power and influence."

"Lord John Russell," exclaims *The Morning Herald* in reply, "has one set of principles for office and another set of principles for opposition. When in office, his principle is to do nothing, and when out of office, to pledge himself to everything."

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[a] See this volume, p. 371.—*Ed.*

What in all the world may *The Morning Herald* mean by "nothing," if it calls the above trash, pronounced by Lord John Russell, "everything!" and if it menaces little John Russell, for his king-loving, lords-respecting, bishop-conserving "Democracy," with the fate of Frost, Williams & Co.! But the humor of the thing is that Lord Derby, in the House of Lords, announces himself as the prominent opponent of "Democracy," and speaks of Democracy as of the only party against which it is worthwhile to struggle.[a] And in steps the inevitable John Russell with an examination of what this Democracy is, viz., the growth of wealth, of the intellect of this wealth, and of its claims to influence Government through public opinion and through legal organs. Thus, then, Democracy is nothing but the claims of the Bourgeoisie, the industrious and commercial middle class. Lord Derby stands up as the opponent, Lord John Russell volunteers as the standard-bearer of this Democracy. Both of them agree in the implicit confession, that the ancient feuds within their own class, the aristocracy, are no longer of any interest to the country. And Russell is quite prepared to drop the name of Whig for that of Democrat, if this be the *conditio sine qua non* for turning his opponents out. The Whigs, in this case, would in fact continue to play the same part, and appear officially as the servants of the middle class. Thus, Russell's plan of a party reorganisation is confined to the adoption of a new party name.

Joseph Hume, too, considers the formation of a new "people's party" a necessity. But he says that on tenant-right and similar propositions it cannot be formed. "On these matters you could not muster a hundred out of the 654 members to unite." What, then, is his nostrum?

"The people's league or party, or union, must agree on one point—say the ballot; and after carrying that one point, proceed from step to step to other points. And while the movement must begin with a few individual[b] members of the House of Commons, it cannot succeed until the people out of doors and the electors shall see the necessity of doing their part, and of giving support to the small party of the people in Parliament."[c]

This same Hume was one of the drawers-up of the People's Charter.[249] From the People's Charter and its six points, he

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[a] See Derby's speech in the House of Lords on March 15, 1852, *The Times*, No. 21064, March 16, 1852.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Hull Advertiser* has here "Radical".—*Ed.*

[c] Joseph Hume, Letter to *The Hull Advertiser*, September 15, 1852, *The Hull Advertiser*, September 24, 1852. Below the same letter is quoted.—*Ed.*

retreated to the "little Charter" of the financial and parliamentary reformers with only three points,[250] and now we see him reduced to one point, the ballot. What success he promises to himself from his new nostrum, he will tell us himself in the concluding words of his letter to *The Hull Advertiser*:

> "Tell me how many editors will risk to give their support to a party that, as Parliament is now composed, *can never succeed to power*?"

Now, as this new party does not mean to change for the present anything in the composition of Parliament, but confines itself to the ballot, it will, by its own confession, never succeed to power. What is the good of forming a party of *impotence*, and of openly confessed impotence?

Next to Joseph Hume, there is another attempt made for the creation of a new party. This is the so-called *National Party*. Instead of the People's Charter, this party would make universal suffrage its *exclusive* shibboleth, and thus leave out those very conditions which can alone make the movement for universal suffrage a national movement and secure to it popular support. I shall hereafter have occasion to recur to this National Party. It consists of ex-Chartists who wish to conquer *respectability* for themselves, and of Radicals, middle-class ideologists, who wish to get hold of the Chartist movement. Behind them—whether "Nationals" are aware of it or not—you find the parliamentary and financial reformers, the men of the Manchester School, urging them on and using them as their vanguard.

Now, what cannot but be evident to everyone in all these miserable compromises and backslidings, these huntings after weakly expediency, these vacillations and quack *nostra*, is this:—Catiline is at the gates of the city,[a] a decisive struggle is drawing near, the opposition knows its unpopularity, its incapacity for resistance, and all the attempts at the formation of new centers of defense agree in one point only, in a "going backwards policy." The "National Party" retreats from the Charter to General Suffrage, Joe Hume from General Suffrage to the ballot, a third from the ballot to the equalization of electoral districts, and so forth, until at last we arrive at Johnny Russell, who has nothing to give out for a battle-cry but the mere name of democracy. Lord J. Russell's Democracy would be, practically speaking, the ul-

[a] The expression "Catiline is at the gates of the city" ("Catilina est aux portes") belongs to Goupil de Préfelne, a deputy of the French Constituent Assembly of 1789, and is a paraphrased ancient Roman expression of the period of the Second Punic War: "Hannibal ad partes."—*Ed.*

timatum of the National Party, of Hume's "people's party," and of all the other party shams, if any one of them had anything like vitality about it.

But on the one hand, the political flaccidity and indifference consequent upon a period of material prosperity, on the other hand the conviction that nevertheless the Tories are menacing mischief—on the one hand, the certainty on the part of the *Bourgeois* leaders that they will very soon require the people to back them, on the other hand the knowledge acquired by some popular leaders that the people are too indolent to create, for the moment, a movement of their own—all these circumstances produce the phenomenon that parties attempt to make themselves acceptable to each other, and that the different factions of the opposition out of Parliament attempt a union by making to each other concessions, from the most advanced faction downwards until at last they again arrive at what Lord J. Russell is pleased to call democracy.

Of the attempts at creating a self-styled "National Party," Ernest Jones justly remarks:

> "The People's Charter is the most comprehensive measure of political reform in existence, and the Chartists are the only truly national party of political and social reformers in Great Britain."[a]

And R. G. Gammage, one of the members of the Chartist Executive,[251] thus addresses the people:

> "Would you then refuse the co-operation of the middle classes? Certainly not, if that co-operation is offered on fair and honorable terms. And what are these terms? They are easy and simple; adopt the Charter, and having adopted that Charter, unite with its friends who are already organized for its achievement. If you refuse to do this, you must either be opposed to the Charter itself, or, piqueing yourselves upon your class superiority, you must imagine that superiority to entitle you to leadership. In the first case, no honest Chartist can unite with you, in the second, no working man ought so far to lose his self-respect as to succumb to your class prejudices. Let the working men trust their own power alone, receiving honest aid from whatever sources, but acting as though their salvation depended upon their own exertions."[b]

The mass of the Chartists, too, are at the present moment absorbed by material production; but on all points the nucleus of

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[a] Ernest Jones, "The Race of Shams", *The People's Paper*, No. 23, October 9, 1852.—*Ed.*

[b] Robert George Gammage, "Respectable Democracy", *The People's Paper*, No. 23, October 9, 1852.—*Ed.*

the party is reorganized, and the communications re-established, in England as well as in Scotland, and in the event of a commercial and political crisis, the importance of the present noiseless activity at the headquarters of Chartism will be felt all over Great Britain.

Written on October 16, 1852

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3622, November 25, and the *Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 783, November 26, 1852

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [PUBLIC STATEMENT TO THE EDITORS OF THE ENGLISH PRESS][252]

Sir,—The undersigned call your attention to the attitude of the Prussian Press, including even the most reactionary papers, such as the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, during the pending trial of the Communists at Cologne, and to the honourable discretion they observe, at a moment where scarcely a third part of the witnesses have been examined, when none of the produced documents have been verified, and not a word has fallen yet from the defence. While those papers, at the worst, represent the Cologne prisoners and the undersigned, their London friends, in accordance with the public accuser, as "dangerous conspirators who alone are responsible for the whole history of Europe of the latter four years, and for all the revolutionary commotions of 1848 and 1849"—there are in London two public organs, *The Times* and *The Daily News* which really have not hesitated to represent the Cologne prisoners and the undersigned as a "gang of sturdy beggars," swindlers, etc.[a] The undersigned address to the English public the same demand which the defensors of the accused have addressed to the public in Germany—to suspend their judgment, and to wait for the end of the trials. Were they to give further explanations at the present time, the Prussian government might obtain the means of baffling a revelation of police-tricks, perjury, forgery of documents, falsification of dates, thefts, etc., unprecedented even in the records of Prussian political justice. When that revelation shall have been made in the course of the present proceedings, public opinion in England will know how to qualify the anonymous

[a] The reference is to an item by the Berlin correspondent of *The Times* written on October 9, 1852 and published in *The Times*, No. 21245, October 13, 1852.—*Ed.*

scribes of *The Times* and *Daily News*, who constitute themselves the advocates and mouthpieces of the most infamous and subaltern government spies.

We are, Sir, yours fraternally,

*F. Engels*
*F. Freiligrath*
*K. Marx*
*W. Wolff*

London, October 28th

Published in *The People's Paper*, No. 26, *The Spectator*, No. 1270, *The Examiner*, No. 2335, *The Morning Advertiser*, *The Leader*, No. 136, October 30, 1852

Reproduced from *The People's Paper* and checked with the other newspapers

# Karl Marx

## THE TRIALS AT COLOGNE

### TO THE EDITOR OF *THE MORNING ADVERTISER*

Sir,—I beg to offer you my best thanks for the generous protection you have afforded to the cause of my friends, the prisoners at Cologne.[a] While the defence will bring to light the series of unscrupulous acts committed by the agents of the Prussian police, even during the progress of this trial, I wish to inform you of the last trick that has been had recourse to, in order to prove a criminal correspondence between myself and the Cologne prisoners. According to the report of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, of October 29, Mr. Stieber, the councillor of police, has produced another of his documents—a ridiculous letter, purporting to be in my handwriting, in which I am made to recommend one of my pretended agents "to push under the doors of acknowledged democrats, at Crefeld, 50 copies of the *Red Catechism*,[b] and to choose for the execution of commission the midnight-hour of June 5, 1852."[c]

For the sake of my accused friends, I hereby declare,—

1. That the letter in question is not written by myself.
2. That I learned its existence only from the *Kölnische Zeitung* of 29th inst.
3. That I never saw the so-called *Red Catechism*.
4. That I never caused any copies of the "Red" to be circulated, in whatever manner.

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[a] The reference is to the statement in defence of the Cologne prisoners published by *The Morning Advertiser* (see this volume, pp. 378-79).—*Ed.*

[b] Moses Hess, *Rother Kathechismus für das deutsche Volk.*—*Ed.*

[c] Quoted from the minutes of the Cologne trial published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* from October 5 to November 13, 1852, under the title *Assisen-Procedur gegen D. Herm. Becker und Genossen. Anklage wegen hochverrätherischen Complottes.*—*Ed.*

This declaration, made also before the magistrate in Marlborough Street, and consequently as valid as an oath, I have sent by post to Cologne. By your inserting it in the columns of your paper, you will the more oblige me, as that would be the most effective means of preventing the Prussian police from intercepting the document.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
Dr. *Charles Marx*

London, October 30, 1852—
28, Dean Street, Soho

Published in *The Morning Advertiser*, November 2, and *The People's Paper*, No. 27, November 6, 1852

Reproduced from *The Morning Advertiser* and checked with *The People's Paper*

# Karl Marx

## KOSSUTH, MAZZINI, AND LOUIS NAPOLEON[253]

TO THE EDITOR OF *THE N. Y. TRIBUNE*

Sir: My letter of 28th of September last, containing revelations as to the movements of Kossuth and Mazzini,[a] has, I perceive, elicited considerable animadversion, and given the Democratic press occasion for a vast amount of superfluous declamation, abuse and bluster.

I have ascertained that Kossuth has no part in this clamor. If he had himself ventured a denial of my assertions, I should have returned to the subject, and given incontestable evidence for the facts adduced.

However, my letter was not intended as an attack on Kossuth, but rather as a *warning*. In politics a man may ally himself, for a given object, with the devil himself—only he must be sure that he is cheating the devil, instead of the devil cheating him.

As to the gentleman who has taken upon himself *authoritatively* to refute me, I beg to remind him of an old proverb: *Amicus incommodus ab inimico non differt.*[b]

To the gentlemen of the Democratic press, and especially of the German Democratic press, who, as usual, have yelled the loudest, I say they are all bigoted Crypto-Royalists. These gentlemen cannot do without kings, gods and popes. Scarcely got out of the leading strings of their old rulers, they manufacture new ones for themselves, and grow indignant at those "infidels and rebels" who

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[a] See this volume, pp. 354-56.—*Ed.*

[b] An awkward friend does not differ from an enemy.—*Ed.*

render themselves obnoxious by publishing unpleasant truths, revealing compromising facts and thus committing *lese*-majesty and sacrilege against the newly-elevated Democratic gods and kings.

*London*, November 16, 1852

*Your private correspondent*

Published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3627, December 1, 1852

Reproduced from the newspaper

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## A FINAL DECLARATION ON THE LATE COLOGNE TRIALS[254]

TO THE EDITOR OF *THE MORNING ADVERTISER*

Sir,—The undersigned discharge a duty to themselves and towards their now condemned friends at Cologne, by laying before the English public a statement of facts connected with the recent monster trial in that city, which have not been made sufficiently known by the London press.

Eighteen months have been wasted on the mere getting up of the evidence for this trial. During the whole of that time our friends have been kept in solitary confinement, deprived of all means of occupation and even of books; those who became ill were refused proper medical treatment, or if they obtained it, the condition in which they were placed prevented them from benefiting thereby. Even after the "act of accusation" had been communicated to them, they were prohibited, in direct violation of the law, from conferring with their lawyers. And what were the pretexts for this protracted cruel imprisonment? After the lapse of the first nine months the "Chamber of Accusation" declared that there were no grounds on which a charge could be maintained, and that, therefore, the instruction had to be recommended. It was recommended. Three months later, at the opening of the assizes, the public accuser[a] pleaded that the mass of the evidence

[a] Otto Saedt.—*Ed.*

had grown into a larger bulk than he had as yet been able to digest. And after three further months the trial was again adjourned, on the ground of the illness of one of the chief Government witnesses.

The real cause of all this delay was the fear of the Prussian Government to confront the meagre substance of the facts with the pompously announced "unheard-of revelations." At last, the Government succeeded in selecting a jury, such as the Rhenish provinces had never yet beheld, composed of six reactionary nobles, four members of the *haute finance*, and two members of the bureaucracy.

Now, what was the evidence laid before this jury? Merely the absurd proclamations and correspondence of a set of ignorant phantasts, importance-seeking conspirators, the tools and associates at once of one Cherval, an avowed agent of the police. The greater part of those papers were formerly in the possession of a certain Oswald Dietz in London. During the Great Exhibition[255] the Prussian police, while Dietz was absent from his home, had his drawers broken open, and thus obtained the desired documents by a common theft. These papers, in the first instance, furnished the means of discovering the so-called Franco-German plot at Paris.[256] Now, the proceedings at Cologne proved, that those conspirators, and Cherval, their Paris agent, were the very political opponents of the defendants and their undersigned London friends. But the public accuser pleaded, that a mere personal quarrel had prevented the latter from taking part in the plot of Cherval and his associates. By such an argumentation it was intended to prove the moral complicity of the Cologne defendants in the Paris plot; and while the accused of Cologne were thus made responsible for the acts of their very enemies, the professed friends of Cherval and his associates were produced by the Government in court, not at the bar like the defendants—nay, in the witness-box, to depose against them. This, however, appeared too bad. Public opinion forced the Government to look out for less equivocal evidence. The whole of the police machinery was set to work under the direction of one Stieber, the principal Government witness at Cologne, royal councillor of police, and chief of the Berlin criminal police. In the sitting of October 23rd, Stieber announced, that an extraordinary courier from London had delivered to him most important documents, proving, undeniably, the complicity of the accused in an alleged conspiracy with the undersigned.

"Amongst other documents, the courier had brought him the original

minute-book of the sittings of the secret society, presided over by Dr. Marx, and with whom the defendants had been in correspondence."[a]

Stieber, however, entangled himself in discordant statements as to the date on which his courier was to have reached him. Dr. Schneider, the leading counsel for the defence, charged him directly with perjury, upon which Stieber ventured no other reply than to fall back upon his dignity of the representative of the Crown, entrusted with a most important mission from the very highest authority of the State. As to the minute-book, Stieber declared twice on oath, that it was the "genuine minute-book of the London Communist Society," but later on, closely pressed by the defence, he admitted that it might be a mere book of notes, taken by one of his spies. At length, from his own evidence, the book was proved to be a deliberate forgery, and its origin traced back to three of Stieber's London agents, Greif, Fleury, and Hirsch. The latter has since admitted that he composed the book under the guidance of Fleury and Greif. So decisive was the evidence at Cologne on this point, that even the public accuser declared Stieber's important documents a "most unfortunate book," a mere forgery. The same personage refused to take notice of a letter forming part of the Government evidence, in which the handwriting of Dr. Marx had been imitated; that document, too, having turned out a gross and palpable forgery. In the same manner every other document brought forward in order to prove, not the revolutionary tendencies, but the actual participation of the accused in some distant plot, turned out a forgery of the police. So great were the Government's fears of an exposure, that it not only caused the post to retain all documents addressed to the counsel for the defence, but the latter to be intimidated by Stieber, with a threatened prosecution for his "criminal correspondence" with the undersigned.

If now, in spite of the absence of all convincing proof, a verdict has, nevertheless, been obtained,[257] that result has only become possible, at the hands even of such a jury, by the retroactive application of the new criminal code, under which *The Times* and the Peace Society[258] themselves might at any time be tried on the formidable charge of high treason. Moreover, the trial at Cologne had assumed, by its duration, and by the extraordinary means

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[a] Here and elsewhere the quotations are taken from the minutes of the Cologne trial published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* from October 5 to November 13, 1852, under the title *Assisen-Procedur gegen D. Herm. Becker und Genossen. Anklage wegen hochverrätherischen Complottes.—Ed.*

employed on the part of the prosecution, such vast dimensions, that an acquittal would have equalled a condemnation of the Government; and a conviction prevailed generally in the Rhenish provinces, that the immediate consequence of an acquittal would be the suppression of the entire institution of the jury.

We are, Sir, your most obedient servants,

*F. Engels*
*F. Freiligrath*
*K. Marx*
*W. Wolff*

London, November 20, 1852

Published in *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19168, November 29, 1852

Reproduced from the newspaper

# Frederick Engels

## THE LATE TRIAL AT COLOGNE[259]

London, Wednesday, December 1, 1852

You will have ere this received by the European papers numerous reports of the Communist Monster Trial at Cologne, Prussia, and of its result. But as none of the reports is anything like a faithful statement of the facts, and as these facts throw a glaring light upon the political means by which the Continent of Europe is kept in bondage, I consider it necessary to revert to this trial.

The Communist or Proletarian party, as well as other parties, had lost, by suppression of the rights of association and meeting, the means of giving to itself a *legal* organization on the Continent. Its leaders, besides, had been exiled from their countries. But no political party can exist without an organization; and that organization which both the Liberal bourgeois and the Democratic shopkeeping class were enabled more or less to supply by the social station, advantages, and long-established, everyday intercourse of their members, the proletarian class, without such social station and pecuniary means, was necessarily compelled to seek in secret association. Hence, both in France and Germany, sprang up those numerous secret societies which have, ever since 1849, one after another been discovered by the police and prosecuted as conspiracies; but if many of them were really conspiracies, formed with the actual intention of upsetting the Government for the time being—and he is a coward that under certain circumstances would not conspire, just as he is a fool who, under other circumstances, would do so—there were some other societies which were formed with a wider and more elevated purpose, which knew, that the upsetting of an existing Government was but a passing stage in the great impending struggle, and which intended to keep together and to prepare the party, whose nucleus they formed, for the last,

decisive combat which must one day or another crush forever in Europe the domination, not of mere "tyrants," "despots" and "usurpers," but of a power far superior, and far more formidable than theirs; that of capital over labor.

The organization of the advanced Communist party in Germany[260] was of this kind. In accordance with the principles of its "Manifesto" (published in 1848) and with those explained in the series of articles on *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*,[a] published in *The New-York Daily Tribune*, this party never imagined itself capable of producing, at any time and at its pleasure, that revolution which was to carry its ideas into practice. It studied the causes that had produced the revolutionary movements of 1848, and the causes that made them fail. Recognizing the social antagonism of classes at the bottom of all political struggles, it applied itself to the study of the conditions under which one class of society can and must be called on to represent the whole of the interests of a nation, and thus politically to rule over it. History showed to the Communist party, how, after the landed aristocracy of the Middle Ages, the monied power of the first capitalists arose and seized the reins of Government; how the social influence and political rule of this *financial* section of capitalists was superseded by the rising strength, since the introduction of steam, of the *manufacturing* capitalists, and how at the present moment two more classes claim their turn of domination, the petty trading class, and the industrial working class. The practical revolutionary experience of 1848-49 confirmed the reasonings of theory, which led to the conclusion that the democracy of the petty traders must first have its turn, before the Communist working class could hope to permanently establish itself in power and destroy that system of wages-slavery which keeps it under the yoke of the bourgeoisie. Thus the secret organization of the Communists could not have the direct purpose of upsetting the *present* governments of Germany. Being formed to upset not these, but the insurrectionary government, which is sooner or later to follow them, its members might, and certainly would, individually lend an active hand to a revolutionary movement against the present *status quo* in its time; but the *preparation* of such a movement, otherwise than by secret spreading of Communist opinions by the masses, could not be an object of the Association.[b] So well was this foundation of the society understood by the majority of its members, that when the place-hunting ambition of some tried to turn it into a

[a] See this volume, pp. 3-96.—*Ed.*
[b] The Communist League.—*Ed.*

conspiracy for making an *ex tempore* revolution, they were speedily turned out.

Now, according to no law upon the face of the earth, could such an association be called a plot, a conspiracy for purposes of high treason. If it was a conspiracy, it was one against, not the existing Government, but its probable successors. And the Prussian Government was aware of it. That was the cause why the eleven defendants were kept in solitary confinement during eighteen months, spent, on the part of the authorities, in the strangest judicial feats. Imagine, that after eight months' detention, the prisoners were remanded for some months more, "there being no evidence of any crime against them!" And when at last they were brought before a jury, there was not a single overt act of a treasonable nature proved against them. And yet they were convicted, and you will speedily see how.

One of the emissaries of the society[a] was arrested in May, 1851, and from documents found upon him, other arrests followed. A Prussian police officer, a certain *Stieber*, was immediately ordered to trace the ramifications, in London, of the pretended plot. He succeeded in obtaining some papers connected with the above-mentioned seceders from the society, who had, after being turned out, formed an actual conspiracy in Paris and London. These papers were obtained by a double crime. A man named Reuter was bribed to break open the writing desk of the secretary of the society,[b] and steal the papers therefrom. But that was nothing yet. This theft led to the discovery and conviction of the so-called Franco-German plot, in Paris,[261] but it gave no clue as to the great Communist Association. The Paris plot, we may as well here observe, was under the direction of a few ambitious imbeciles and political *chevaliers d'industrie*[c] in London, and of a formerly convicted forger, then acting as a police spy in Paris[d]; their dupes made up, by rapid declamations and blood-thirsty rantings, for the utter insignificance of their political existence.

The Prussian police, then, had to look out for fresh discoveries. They established a regular office of secret police at the Prussian Embassy in London. A police agent, Greif by name, held his odious vocation under the title of an *attaché* to the Embassy—a step which would suffice to put all Prussian Embassies out of the pale of international law, and which even the Austrians have not yet dared

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[a] Peter Nothjung.—*Ed.*
[b] Oswald Dietz.—*Ed.*
[c] Adventurers, swindlers.—*Ed.*
[d] Julien Cherval.—*Ed.*

to take. Under him worked a certain Fleury, a merchant in the City of London, a man of some fortune and rather respectably connected, one of those low creatures who do the basest actions from an innate inclination to infamy. Another agent was a commercial clerk named Hirsch, who, however, had already been denounced as a spy on his arrival. He introduced himself into the society of some German Communist refugees in London, and they, in order to obtain proofs of his real character, admitted him for a short time. The proofs of his connection with the police were very soon obtained, and Mr. Hirsch, from that time, absented himself. Although, however, he thus resigned all opportunities of gaining the information he was paid to procure, he was not inactive. From his retreat in Kensington, where he never met one of the Communists in question, he manufactured every week pretended reports of pretended sittings of a pretended Central Committee of that very conspiracy which the Prussian police could not get hold of. The contents of these reports were of the most absurd nature; not a Christian name was correct, not a name correctly spelt, not a single individual made to speak as he would be likely to speak. His master, Fleury, assisted him in this forgery, and it is not yet proved that "*Attaché*" Greif can wash his hands of these infamous proceedings. The Prussian Government, incredible to say, took these silly fabrications for gospel truth, and you may imagine what a confusion such depositions created in the evidence to be brought before the jury. When the trial came on, Mr. Stieber, the already mentioned police officer, got into the witness-box, swore to all these absurdities, and, with no little self-complacency, maintained that he had a secret agent in the very closest intimacy with those parties in London who were considered the prime movers in this awful conspiracy. This secret agent was very secret indeed, for he had hid his face for eight months in Kensington, for fear he might actually see one of the parties whose most secret thoughts, words and doings he pretended to report week after week.

Messrs. Hirsch and Fleury, however, had another invention in store. They worked up the whole of the reports they had made into an "original Minute Book" of the sittings of the secret supreme committee, whose existence was maintained by the Prussian police; and Mr. Stieber, finding that this book wondrously agreed with the reports already received from the same parties, at once laid it before the jury, declaring upon his oath that after serious examination and according to his fullest conviction that book was genuine. It was then that most of the absurdities reported by Hirsch were made public. You may imagine the surprise of the pretended members of that secret committee when they found things stated of them which they

never knew before. Some who were baptized William, were here christened Louis or Charles; others, at the time they were at the other end of England, were made to have pronounced speeches in London; others were reported to have read letters they never had received; they were made to have met regularly on a Thursday, when they used to have a convivial reunion, once a week, on Wednesdays; a working man, who could hardly write, figured as one of the takers of minutes and signed as such; and they all of them were made to speak in a language which, if it may be that of Prussian police stations, was certainly not that of a reunion in which literary men, favorably known in their country, formed the majority. And, to crown the whole, a receipt was forged for a sum of money, pretended to have been paid by the fabricators to the pretended secretary of the fictitious Central Committee for this book; but the existence of this pretended secretary rested merely upon a hoax that some malicious Communist had played upon the unfortunate Hirsch.

This clumsy fabrication was too scandalous an affair not to produce the contrary of its intended effect. Although the London friends of the defendants were deprived of all means to bring the facts of the case before the jury—although the letters they sent to the counsel for the defense were suppressed by the post—although the documents and affidavits they succeeded in getting into the hands of these legal gentlemen were not admitted in evidence, yet the general indignation was such that even the public accusers,[a] nay, even Mr. Stieber—whose oath had been given as a guarantee for the authenticity of that book—were compelled to recognize it as a forgery.

This forgery, however, was not the only thing of the kind of which the police was guilty. Two or three more cases of the sort came out during the trial. The documents stolen by Reuter were interpolated by the police so as to disfigure their meaning. A paper, containing some rabid nonsense, was written in a handwriting imitating that of Dr. Marx, and for a time it was pretended that it had been written by him, until at last the prosecution was obliged to acknowledge the forgery. But for every police infamy that was proved as such, there were five or six fresh ones brought forward, which could not, at the moment, be unveiled, the defense being taken by surprise, the proofs having to be got from London, and every correspondence of the counsel for the defense with the London Communist refugees being in open court treated as complicity in the alleged plot!

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[a] Otto Saedt and August Seckendorf.—*Ed.*

That Greif and Fleury are what they are here represented to be has been stated by Mr. Stieber himself, in his evidence; as to Hirsch, he has before a London magistrate confessed that he forged the "Minute Book" by order and with the assistance of Fleury, and then made his escape from this country in order to evade a criminal prosecution.

The Government could stand few such branding disclosures as came to light during the trial. It had a jury such as the Rhenish Province had not yet seen. Six nobles, of the purest reactionist water, four Lords of Finance, two Government officials. These were not the men to look closely into the confused mass of evidence heaped before them during six weeks, when they heard it continually dinned into their ears that the defendants were the chiefs of a dreadful Communist conspiracy, got up in order to subvert everything sacred—property, family, religion, order, government and law! And yet, had not the Government, at the same time, brought it to the knowledge of the privileged classes, that an acquittal in this trial would be the signal for the suppression of the jury; and that it would be taken as a direct political demonstration—as a proof of the middle-class liberal opposition being ready to unite even with the most extreme revolutionists—the verdict would have been an acquittal. As it was, the retroactive application of the new Prussian code enabled the Government to have seven prisoners convicted, while four merely were acquitted, and those convicted were sentenced to imprisonment varying from three to six years,[262] as you have, doubtless, already stated at the time the news reached you.

Written about November 29, 1852

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3645, December 22 and the *Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 791, December 24, 1852

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

Karl Marx

# REVELATIONS CONCERNING THE COMMUNIST TRIAL IN COLOGNE[263]

Written from the end of October to the beginning of December 1852

First published anonymously as a separate pamphlet: *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln*, Basel, 1853

Printed according to the text of the 1875 edition checked with the 1853 and 1885 editions

# Enthüllungen

über den

# Kommunisten-Prozeß

zu Köln.

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Basel,

Buchdruckerei von Chr. Krüsi.

1853.

Title-page of the first edition of Marx's work
*Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*

## I
## PRELIMINARIES

On May 10, 1851 Nothjung was arrested in Leipzig and Bürgers, Röser, Daniels, Becker and the others were arrested shortly after. The arrested men appeared before the Court of Assizes in Cologne on October 4, 1852 on a charge of "treasonable conspiracy" against the Prussian state. Thus the preliminary detention (in solitary confinement) had lasted a year and a half.

When Nothjung and Bürgers were arrested the police discovered copies of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*,[a] the "Rules of the Communist League" (a communist propaganda society), two Addresses of the Central Authority of this League[b] as well as a number of addresses and other publications. A week after Nothjung's arrest had become public knowledge there were house-searches and arrests in Cologne. So if there had still been something to discover it would certainly have disappeared by then. And in fact the haul yielded only a few irrelevant letters. A year and a half later when the accused finally appeared before the jury, the *bona fide* material in the possession of the prosecution had not been augmented by a single document. Nevertheless as we are assured by the Public Prosecutor's office (represented by von Seckendorf and Saedt) all government departments of the Prussian state had undertaken the most strenuous and many-sided activity. What then had they been doing? *Nous verrons!*

The unusually long period of pre-trial detention was explained in the most ingenious way. At first it was claimed that the Saxon government refused to extradite Bürgers and Nothjung to Prussia.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 477-519.—*Ed.*
[b] See present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 277-87, 371-77.—*Ed.*

The court in Cologne appealed in vain to the ministry in Berlin, which appealed in vain to the authorities in Saxony. The Saxon authorities however relented. Bürgers and Nothjung were handed over. By October 1851 enough progress had been made at last for the files to be presented to the indictment board of the Cologne Court of Appeal. The board ruled that "there was no factual evidence of an indictable offence and ... the investigation must therefore start again from the beginning". Meanwhile the zeal of the courts had been kindled by a recently approved disciplinary law which enabled the Prussian government to dismiss any official of the judiciary who incurred its displeasure. Accordingly the case was dismissed on this occasion because there was no evidence of an indictable offence. At the following quarterly session of the assizes it had to be postponed because there was too much evidence. The mass of documents was said to be so huge that the prosecutor was unable to digest it. Gradually he did digest it, the bill of indictment was presented to the prisoners and the action was due to be heard on July 28. But in the meantime the great driving wheel of the government's case, Chief of Police Schulz, fell ill. The accused had to sit in gaol for another three months awaiting an improvement in Schulz's health. Fortunately Schulz died, the public became impatient and the government had to ring up the curtain.

Throughout this whole period the police authorities in Cologne, the police headquarters in Berlin and the Ministries of Justice and of the Interior had continually intervened in the investigations, just as Stieber, their worthy representative, was to intervene later on as witness in the public court proceedings in Cologne. The government succeeded in assembling a jury that is quite unprecedented in the annals of the Rhine Province. In addition to members of the upper bourgeoisie (Herstadt, Leiden, Joest), there were city patricians (von Bianca, vom Rath), country squires (Häbling von Lanzenauer, Freiherr von Fürstenberg, etc.), two Prussian government officials, one of them a royal chamberlain (von Münch-Bellinghausen) and finally a Prussian professor (Kräusler). Thus in this jury every one of the ruling classes in Germany was represented and only these classes were represented.

With this jury the Prussian government, it seems, could stop beating about the bush and make the case into a political trial pure and simple. The documents seized from Nothjung, Bürgers and the others and admitted by them to be genuine did not indeed prove the existence of a plot; in fact they did not prove the existence of any action provided for in the *Code pénal*.[264] But they showed conclusively the hostility of the accused to the existing government and the

existing social order. However what the intelligence of the legislators had failed to achieve might well be made good by the conscience of the jury. Was it not a stratagem of the accused that they should have conducted their hostile activities directed against the existing social order in such a way that they did not violate any article of the Code? Does a disease cease to be infectious because it is not listed in the Police Medical Register? If the Prussian government had restricted itself to using the material actually available to prove the harmfulness of the accused and if the jury had confined itself to rendering them harmless by its verdict of guilty, who could censure either government or jury? Who indeed but the foolish dreamer who imagines that a Prussian government and the ruling classes in Prussia are strong enough to give even their opponents a free rein as long as they confine themselves to discussion and propaganda.

However the Prussian government had deprived itself of the opportunity of using this broad highway of political trials. Owing to the unusual delay in bringing the case before the court, the Ministry's direct intervention in the proceedings, the mysterious hints about unheard-of horrors, the rodomontade about a conspiracy ensnaring the whole of Europe and, finally, the signally brutal treatment of the prisoners, the trial was swollen into a *procès monstre*, the eyes of the European press were upon it and the curiosity and suspicions of the public were fully aroused. The Prussian government had put itself in a position in which for decency's sake the prosecution was simply obliged to produce evidence and the jury to demand it. The jury itself had to face another jury, the jury of public opinion.

To rectify its first blunder, the government was forced into a second one. The police, who had acted as examining magistrates during the preliminary investigation, had to appear as witnesses during the trial. By the side of the ordinary Public Prosecutor the government had to put an extraordinary one, beside the Public Prosecutor's office the police, beside a Saedt and Seckendorf a Stieber together with his Wermuth, his griffin Greif and his little Goldheim.[a] It was inevitable that yet another government department should intervene in court and, by virtue of the miraculous powers of the police, should continuously supply the facts whose shadows the legal prosecution had pursued in vain. The court was so thoroughly aware of the position that with the most laudable

[a] A play on the names of the three police agents: the word *Wermuth* means vermouth, wormwood and also bitterness; *Greif*—griffin, and *Goldheimchen* (diminutive of Goldheim)—golden cricket.—*Ed.*

resignation the President, the judge and the prosecutor abandoned their functions to Stieber the Police Superintendent and the witness and continually disappeared behind him. Before we proceed to elucidate these revelations made by the police, revelations which form the basis of the "indictable offence" that the indictment board was unable to discover, one more preliminary observation remains to be made.

It became evident from the papers seized from the accused, as well as from their own statements, that a German communist society had existed with a central authority originally based in London. On September 15, 1850, the Central Authority split. The majority—referred to in the indictment[a] as the "*Marx party*"—moved the seat of the Central Authority to Cologne. The minority, which was later expelled from the League by the group in Cologne, established itself as an independent central authority in London and founded a separate league[265] in London and on the continent. The indictment refers to this minority and its supporters as the "*Willich-Schapper party*".

Saedt-Seckendorf claim that the split in the London Central Authority had its origin solely in personal disagreements. Long before Saedt-Seckendorf the "chivalrous Willich" had spread the most vicious rumours among the London émigrés about the causes of the split and had found in Herr Arnold Ruge, that fifth wheel on the state coach of European Central Democracy,[266] and in others of the same sort, people who were willing to act as channels leading to the German and American press. The democrats realised that they could gain an easy victory over the Communists by making the "chivalrous Willich" the impromptu representative of the Communists. The "chivalrous Willich" for his part realised that the "Marx party" could not reveal the causes of the split without betraying the existence of a secret society in Germany and in particular exposing the Central Authority in Cologne to the paternal attention of the Prussian police. This situation no longer obtains and so we may cite a few passages from the minutes of the last session of the London Central Authority, dated September 15, 1850.[b]

In support of his motion calling for separation, Marx said inter alia the following which is given here verbatim:

"The point of view of the minority is dogmatic instead of critical, idealistic instead of materialistic. They regard not the real conditions

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[a] "Königlicher Rheinischer Appellationsgerichtshof zu Köln. Anklageschrift gegen 1) Peter Gerhard Roeser, 2) Johann Heinrich Georg Bürgers, 3) Peter Nothjung u.a."—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 625-29.—*Ed.*

but a *mere effort of will* as the driving force of the revolution. Whereas we say to the workers: 'You will have to go through 15, 20, 50 years of civil wars and national struggles not only to bring about a change in society but also to change yourselves, and prepare yourselves for the exercise of political power', you say on the contrary: 'Either we seize power at once, or else we might as well just take to our beds.' Whereas we are at pains to show the German workers in particular how rudimentary the development of the German proletariat is, you appeal to the patriotic feelings and the class prejudice of the German artisans, flattering them in the grossest way possible, and this is a more popular method, of course. Just as the word '*people*' has been given an aura of sanctity by the democrats, so you have done the same for the word '*proletariat*'. Like the democrats you substitute the catchword of revolution for revolutionary development," etc., etc.

Herr Schapper's verbatim reply was as follows:

"I have voiced the opinion attacked here because I am in general an enthusiast in this matter. The question at issue is whether we ourselves chop off a few heads right at the start or whether it is our own heads that will fall." (Schapper even promised to lose his own head in a year, i.e. on September 15, 1851.) "In France the workers will come to power and thereby we in Germany too. Were this not the case I would indeed take to my bed; in that event I would be able to enjoy a different material position. If we come to power we can take such measures as are necessary to ensure the rule of the proletariat. I am a fanatical supporter of this view but the Central Authority favours the very opposite," etc., etc.

It is obvious that it was not for personal reasons that the Central Authority was divided. But it would be just as wrong to speak of a difference of principle. The Schapper-Willich party have never laid claim to the dignity of having their own ideas. Their own contribution is the peculiar misunderstanding of other people's ideas which they set up as dogmas and, reducing these to a phrase, they imagine to have made them their own. It would be no less incorrect to agree with the prosecution in describing the Willich-Schapper party as the "party of action", unless by action one understands indolence concealed behind beerhouse bluster, simulated conspiracies and meaningless pseudo-alliances.

## II

## THE DIETZ ARCHIVE

The document found in the possession of the accused, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, which had been printed before the February revolution and had been available from booksellers for

some years, could neither in its form nor in its aims be the programme of a "plot". The confiscated *Addresses* of the Central Authority were concerned exclusively with the relations of the Communists to the future democratic government and therefore not to the government of Frederick William IV. Lastly, the "Rules" were indeed the rules of a secret propaganda society, but the *Code pénal* prescribes no penalties for secret societies. The ultimate aim of this propaganda is said to be the destruction of existing society; but the Prussian state has already perished once and could perish ten times more and indeed for good and all without the existing social order being even the slightest bit harmed. The Communists can help accelerate the dissolution of bourgeois society and yet leave the dissolution of the Prussian state in the hands of bourgeois society. If a man whose immediate aim was the overthrow of the Prussian state were to preach the destruction of the social order as a means to this end he would be like that deranged engineer who wished to blow up the whole planet in order to remove a rubbish-heap.

But if the final goal of the League is the *overthrowing of the social order*, the method by which this is to be achieved is necessarily that of *political revolution* and this entails the overthrow of the Prussian state, just as an earthquake entails the overthrow of a chicken-house. The accused, however, proceed in fact from the outrageous assumption that the present Prussian government would collapse without their having to lift a finger. They accordingly did not found a league to overturn the present government of Prussia, and were not guilty of any "treasonable conspiracy".

Has anyone ever accused the early Christians of aiming at the overthrow of some obscure Roman prefect? The Prussian political philosophers from Leibniz to Hegel have laboured to dethrone God, and if I dethrone God I also dethrone the king who reigns by the grace of God. But has anyone ever prosecuted them for *lèse-majesté* against the house of Hohenzollern?

From whatever angle one looked at it, when the *corpus delicti* was subjected to public scrutiny it vanished like a ghost. The complaint of the indictment board[a] that there was "*no indictable offence*" remained valid and the "*Marx* party" was spiteful enough to refrain from providing *one single iota for the indictment* during the whole year and a half of the preliminary investigation.

Such an embarrassing situation had to be remedied. The Willich-Schapper party, in conjunction with the police, remedied it.

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[a] A pun in the original: *Klage des Anklagesenats* (*Klage* means complaint, accusation, indictment; *Anklagesenat*, indictment board).— *Ed.*

Let us see how Herr Stieber, the midwife of this party, introduces it into the trial in Cologne. (See Stieber's testimony in the sitting of October 18, 1852.[a])

While Stieber was in London in the spring of 1851, allegedly to protect the visitors to the Great Exhibition[267] from pilferers and thieves,[b] the Berlin police headquarters sent him a copy of the papers found in *Nothjung*'s home.

"*In particular,*" Stieber swore, "my attention was directed to the conspirators' archive which according to *papers found in Nothjung's home were in the possession of a certain Oswald Dietz in London and which would undoubtedly contain the whole correspondence of the League's members.*"

The conspirators' archive? The whole correspondence of the League's members? But Dietz was the secretary of the Willich-Schapper Central Authority. If the archive of a conspiracy was in his possession it was the archive of the Willich-Schapper conspiracy. If Dietz had correspondence belonging to the League it could only be the correspondence of the separate league that was hostile to the accused in Cologne. But even more became clear from the scrutiny of the documents found in Nothjung's home, namely that nothing in them points to the fact of Oswald Dietz being the keeper of an archive. Moreover, how should Nothjung,who was in Leipzig,know what was not even known to the "*Marx* party" in London?

Stieber could not say outright: Now note this, Gentlemen of the Jury! I have made amazing discoveries in London. Unfortunately they refer to a conspiracy with which the accused in Cologne have nothing to do and which it is not the task of the Cologne jury to judge, but which provided a pretext for keeping the accused in solitary confinement for one and a half years. Stieber could not say this. The intervention of Nothjung was indispensable to create even the semblance of a connection between the revelations and documents from London and the trial in Cologne.

Stieber then swore on oath that a man offered to buy the archive for cash from Oswald Dietz. The plain fact is that a certain Reuter, a Prussian police spy who has never belonged to a communist society, lived in the same house as Dietz and, during the latter's absence,

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[a] The testimony of witnesses such as Stieber and other evidence produced during the Cologne trial is quoted by Marx from the minutes of the trial published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* between October 5 and November 13, 1852, under the heading "Assisen-Procedur gegen D. Herm. Becker und Genossen. Anklage wegen hochverrätherischen Complottes".—*Ed.*

[b] Poking fun at Stieber, Marx forms the words "Stiebern" and "Diebern" evidently derived from *Stieber*—which literally means retriever—and *Dieb*—thief.—*Ed.*

broke into his desk and stole his papers. That Herr Stieber paid him for the theft is quite credible, but this would hardly have protected Stieber from a journey to Van Diemen's Land[268] if the manoeuvre had become public knowledge while he was in London.

On August 5, 1851, Stieber, who was in Berlin, received from London the Dietz archive, "in a bulky parcel wrapped in stout oil-cloth", which turned out to be a heap of documents consisting of "60 separate items". To this Stieber could swear, and at the same time he swore that the parcel he received on August *5,* 1851 contained also letters from the leading district in Berlin dated August *20,* 1851. If someone were to assert that Stieber was perjuring himself when he claimed that he received on August 5, 1851 letters dated August 20, 1851, Stieber would justly retort that a royal Prussian counsellor, like the Evangelist Matthew, has the right to perform chronological miracles.

*En passant.* From the list of documents stolen from the Willich-Schapper party and from the dates of these documents it follows that although the party had been warned by Reuter's burglary, it still constantly found ways and means of having its documents stolen and allowing them to fall into the hands of the Prussian police.

When Stieber found himself in possession of the treasure wrapped in stout oil-cloth he was beside himself with joy. "The whole network," he swore, "lay revealed before my eyes." And what did the treasure-trove contain about the "Marx party" and the accused in Cologne? According to Stieber's own testimony, nothing at all except for

"the original of a declaration by several members of the Central Authority, who obviously formed the nucleus of the 'Marx party'; it was dated London, September 17, 1850, and concerned their resignation from the communist society consequent on the well-known breach of September 15, 1850".

Stieber says so himself but even in this simple statement he is unable simply to confine himself to the facts. He is compelled to raise them to a higher plane in order to make them truly worthy of the police. For the original declaration[a] contained nothing more than a statement of three lines to the effect that the majority-members of the former Central Authority and their friends were resigning from the *public Workers' Society* of Great Windmill Street[269]; but they did not resign from a "*communist society*".

Stieber could have spared his correspondents the oil-cloth and his authorities the postal dues. He had only to rummage[b] through

[a] See present edition, Vol. 10, p. 483.—*Ed.*

[b] Here Marx plays on the name *Stieber* and the verb *durchstiebern,* which means rummage, scan, search.—*Ed.*

the various German papers of September 1850 and he would have found in black and white the declaration of the "nucleus of the Marx party" announcing their resignation from the Refugee Committee[270] and also from the Workers' Society of Great Windmill Street.

The immediate product of Stieber's researches was then the amazing discovery that the "nucleus of the Marx party" had resigned from the public Society of Great Windmill Street on September 17, 1850. "The whole network of the Cologne plot lay revealed before his eyes." But the public couldn't believe their eyes.[a]

## III
## THE CHERVAL PLOT

Stieber, however, was able to make the most of his stolen treasure-trove. The papers that had come into his possession on August 5, 1851, led to the discovery of the so-called "Franco-German plot in Paris".[271] They contained six reports sent from Paris by *Adolph Majer*, an emissary of Willich-Schapper, as well as five reports from the leading district in Paris to the Willich-Schapper Central Authority. (Stieber's testimony in the sitting of October 18.) Stieber then went on a diplomatic pleasure trip to Paris and there he made the personal acquaintance of the great Carlier who in the recent notorious affair of the Gold Bullion Lottery[b] had just delivered proof that though a great enemy of the Communists, he was an even greater friend of other people's private property.

"Accordingly I went to Paris in September 1851. Carlier, the Prefect of Police there at the time, was most eager and ready to lend me his support.... With the aid of French police agents the threads laid bare in the London letters were speedily and surely traced; we were able to track down the addresses of the various leaders of the conspiracy and to keep all their movements, and especially all their meetings and correspondence, under observation. Some very sinister things came to light.... I was compelled to yield to Prefect Carlier's demands and measures were taken during the night of September 4, 1851." (Stieber's testimony of October 18.)

Stieber left Berlin in September. Let us assume it was September 1. At best he could have arrived in Paris on the evening of the

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[a] In the German the last sentence has a dual meaning, either "The public, however, couldn't believe his [i.e. Stieber's] eyes" or "The public, however, couldn't believe their eyes".— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 156-57.— *Ed.*

2nd. On the night of the 4th measures were taken. Thirty-six hours remain then for the conference with Carlier and for the necessary steps to be taken. In these thirty-six hours not only were the addresses of the various leaders "tracked down"; but *all* their movements, *all* their meetings and *all* their correspondence were "kept under observation", that is of course after their "addresses had been tracked down". Stieber's arrival not only inspires the "French police agents" with a miraculous "speed and sureness", it also makes the conspiratorial leaders "eager and ready" to perpetrate so many movements, meetings and so much correspondence within twenty-four hours that already the following evening measures can be taken against them.

But it is not enough that on September 3 the addresses of the individual leaders should have been traced and all their movements, meetings and correspondence put under observation:

"French police agents," Stieber swears, "found an opportunity to be present at the meetings of the conspirators and to hear their decisions about the plan of campaign for the next revolution."

No sooner have the police agents observed the meetings than the observation gives them an opportunity to be present, and no sooner have they been present at one meeting than it becomes several meetings, and no sooner has it become several meetings than decisions are adopted about the plan of campaign during the next revolution—and all this on the same day. On that very same day when Stieber first meets Carlier, Carlier's police discover the addresses of the various leaders, the various leaders meet Carlier's police, invite them to their meetings that very day, hold a whole series of meetings on the same day for their benefit and cannot part from them without hastily adopting decisions on the plan of campaign for the next revolution.

However eager and ready Carlier might be—and no one will doubt his readiness to uncover a communist plot three months before the coup d'état—Stieber ascribes more to him than he could achieve. Stieber asks miracles of the police; he does not merely ask for them, he believes them; he does not merely believe them, he swears to them on oath.[a]

"At the beginning of this venture, i.e. the taking of measures, first of all a French police inspector and I personally arrested the dangerous Cherval, the ringleader of the French Communists. He resisted vigorously and a stubborn struggle ensued."

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[a] A pun: Marx has *er beschwört sie*, which can mean "he swears to them on oath" or "he invokes, or entreats, them".—*Ed.*

Thus Stieber's testimony of October 18.

"Cherval made an attempt on my life in Paris, in my own home where he had broken in during the night. In the course of the ensuing struggle my wife, who came to my aid, was wounded."

Thus Stieber's further testimony of October 27.

On the night of the 4th, Stieber intervenes at Cherval's dwelling and it comes to fisticuffs in which Cherval resists. On the night of the 3rd, Cherval intervenes at Stieber's dwelling and it comes to fisticuffs in which Stieber resists. But it was precisely on the 3rd that a veritable *entente cordiale* obtained between conspirators and police agents as a result of which so many great deeds were performed in one day. It is now alleged that not only the conspirators were found out by Stieber on the 3rd, but Stieber too was found out on the 3rd by the conspirators. While Carlier's agents discovered the addresses of the conspirators, the conspirators discovered Stieber's address. While he played the role of an "observer" towards them, they pursued an active role towards him. While he was dreaming about their plot against the government, they were engaged in an assault on his person.

Stieber's testimony of October 18 continues:

"In the course of the struggle" (this is Stieber on the attack) "I observed that Cherval was endeavouring to put a piece of paper into his mouth and swallow it. Only with great difficulty was it possible to retrieve one half of the paper, the other half being already devoured."

So the paper was situated in Cherval's mouth, between his teeth in fact, for only one half was retrieved, the other half having already been devoured. Stieber and his henchman, a police inspector or whoever, could only retrieve the other half by placing their hands in the jaws of the "dangerous Cherval". Against such an onslaught *biting* was the most obvious method of defence that Cherval could adopt, and the Paris papers actually reported that Cherval had bitten Frau Stieber; in that scene however Stieber was assisted not by his wife but by the police inspector. On the other hand, Stieber declares that when Cherval assaulted him in his own home, it was Frau Stieber who had been wounded while coming to his aid. If one compares Stieber's statements with the reports of the Paris papers it would appear that on the night of the 3rd Cherval bit Frau Stieber in an attempt to save the papers that Herr Stieber tore from between his teeth on the night of the 4th. Stieber will retort that Paris is a city of miracles and that long before him La Rochefoucauld had said that in France everything is possible.[272]

Putting the belief in miracles to one side for a moment it seems that the first miracles arose because Stieber compressed into *one* day, September 3, a whole series of events that were in reality spread over a long period of time, while the latter miracles arose when he claimed of different events that happened in one place and on one evening that they occurred in two places on two eyenings. Let us confront his tale from *A Thousand and One Nights* with the actual facts. But first one very strange fact, though by no means a miracle.[a] Stieber tore from Cherval one half of the paper that had been swallowed. What was in the retrieved half? The whole that Stieber wanted.

"This paper," he swears, "contained a vital instruction for Gipperich, the emissary in Strasbourg, together with his *complete address.*"

Now for the facts of the matter.

We know from Stieber that he received the Dietz archive in a stout oil-cloth wrapping on August 5, 1851. On August 8 or 9, 1851, a certain Schmidt arrived in Paris. Schmidt, it seems, is the name inevitably assumed by Prussian police agents travelling incognito. In 1845-46 Stieber travelled through the Silesian Mountains under the name of Schmidt. *Fleury*, his London agent, went as Schmidt to Paris in 1851. Here he searched for the various leaders of the Willich-Schapper conspiracy and lit upon Cherval. He pretended that he had fled from Cologne rescuing the League's cash-box with 500 talers. He produced credentials from Dresden and various other places and spoke about reorganising the League, uniting the different parties, as the schisms were caused solely by personal disagreements (the police preached unity and union even then), and promised to use the 500 talers to inject fresh life into the League. Schmidt gradually made the acquaintance of various leaders of the Willich-Schapper communities in Paris. He not only learned their addresses, but visited them, watched their post, observed their movements, found his way into their meetings and, as an *agent provocateur*, egged them on. Cherval in particular became more boastful than ever as Schmidt lavished more and more admiration on him, hailing him as the League's great unknown, as the "Great Chief" who was only unaware of his own importance, a fate that had befallen many a great man. One evening when Schmidt went with Cherval to a meeting of the League, the latter read out his famous letter to

[a] Here Marx plays on the words *verwunderlich*—strange, surprising, amazing, and *Wunder*—wonder, miracle.—*Ed.*

Gipperich before sending it off. In this way Schmidt learned of Gipperich's existence. "As soon as Gipperich returns to Strasbourg," Schmidt observed, "we can give him an order for the 500 talers lying in Strasbourg. Here is the address of the man who is holding the money. Give me in exchange Gipperich's address to send it as a credential to the man to whom Gipperich will present himself." In this way Schmidt obtained Gipperich's address. On the same evening a quarter of an hour after Cherval posted the letter to Gipperich, a message was sent by electric telegraph and Gipperich was arrested, his house was searched and the famous letter was intercepted. Gipperich was *arrested before Cherval.*

Some little while after this Schmidt informed Cherval that a man called Stieber who was a member of the Prussian police had arrived in Paris. He had not only learned his address but had also heard from a waiter in a café opposite that Stieber had conferred about having him (Schmidt) arrested. Cherval was the man who could give this wretched Prussian policeman a lesson he would not easily forget. "We'll throw him in the Seine" was Cherval's answer. They agreed to gain entry into Stieber's house the next day under some pretext or other in order to confirm that he was there and to make a mental note of his personal appearance. The next evening our heroes really set out on their expedition. As they approached their goal Schmidt expressed the opinion that it would be better if Cherval were to enter the house while he patrolled in front of it. "Just ask the porter for Stieber," he went on, "and when Stieber lets you in tell him that you want to speak to Herr Sperling and ask him whether he has brought the expected bill of exchange from Cologne. Oh, and one thing more. Your white hat is too conspicuous, it is too democratic. There, take my black one." They exchanged hats, Schmidt prepared to stand guard, Cherval pulled the bell-rope and found himself in Stieber's house. The porter doubted whether Stieber was at home and Cherval was about to withdraw when a woman's voice called from upstairs: "Yes, Stieber is at home." Cherval followed the voice and the trail led to an individual wearing green spectacles who identified himself as Stieber. Cherval then produced the formula agreed on about Sperling and the bill of exchange. "That won't do," Stieber interrupted him quickly. "You come into my house, ask for me, are shown up, then you try to withdraw, etc. I find that is extremely suspicious." Cherval answered brusquely. Stieber pulled the bell, several men appeared immediately, they surrounded Cherval, Stieber reached for his coat pocket from where a letter was visible. It did not in fact contain Cherval's instructions to

Gipperich, but it was a letter from Gipperich to Cherval. Cherval tried to eat the letter, Stieber attempted to take it from his mouth, Cherval hit out and bit and lashed out. Husband Stieber tried to save one half, wife Stieber the other half and an injury was all the reward she had for her zeal. The noise of the scene brought all the other tenants from their apartments. Meanwhile one of Stieber's types had thrown a gold watch downstairs and while Cherval was shouting: "Spy!" Stieber and Co. screamed: "Stop thief!" The porter recovered the gold watch and the cry of "Stop thief!" became general. Cherval was arrested and on his way out he was met at the door not by his friend Schmidt but by four or five soldiers.

When confronted with the facts, all the miracles invoked[a] by Stieber disappear. His agent Fleury had been at work for over three weeks, he not only laid bare the threads of the plot, he also helped to weave them. Stieber had only to arrive from Berlin and he could exclaim: Veni, vidi, vici![b] He could present Carlier with a ready-made plot and Carlier needed only to be "willing" to intervene. There was no need for Frau Stieber to be bitten by Cherval on the 3rd because Herr Stieber put his hand into Cherval's mouth on the 4th. There was no need for Gipperich's address and the appropriate instructions to be salvaged whole from the jaws of the "dangerous Cherval", like Jonah from the whale's belly,[c] after they have been half eaten. The only miracle that remains is the miraculous faith of the jurymen to whom Stieber dares to serve up seriously such fairy tales. Genuine representatives of the obtuse thinking of loyal subjects![273]

"In prison, after I had shown Cherval to his great astonishment," Stieber swears (in the sitting of October 18), "all his original reports which he had sent to London, he realised that I knew all and made a frank confession to me."

The papers that Stieber showed Cherval at first were by no means his original reports to London. Only afterwards were these together with other documents from the Dietz archive sent to Stieber from Berlin. He first showed Cherval a circular signed by Oswald Dietz that Cherval had just received and a few of the most recent letters from Willich. How did Stieber get possession of these? While Cherval was occupied biting and fighting Herr and Frau Stieber the valiant Schmidt-Fleury hurried to Mme Cherval,

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[a] A pun: *beschworenen* can mean both "invoked" and "sworn to".—*Ed.*

[b] "I came, I saw, I conquered" thus, according to Plutarch, Caesar announced his victory at Zela, on August 2, 47 B.C. over Pharnaces II, King of Bosporus.—*Ed.*

[c] Jonah 2:10.—*Ed.*

an Englishwoman (Fleury being a German businessman in London naturally speaks English) and told her that her husband had been arrested, that the danger was great, that she should hand over his papers so that he might be compromised no further, and that Cherval had instructed him to give them to a third person. As proof that he came as a genuine emissary he showed her the white hat he had taken from Cherval because it looked too democratic. Thus Fleury obtained the letters from Mme Cherval and Stieber obtained them from Fleury.

At any rate he now had a more favourable base from which to operate than previously in London. He could simply steal the Dietz archive, but he could concoct Cherval's evidence. Accordingly (in the sitting on October 18) he makes his Cherval expatiate about "contacts in Germany" as follows:

> "He had lived in the Rhineland for a considerable time and more particularly he had been in Cologne in 1848. There he made the acquaintance of Marx and the latter admitted him to the League, which he then zealously propagated in Paris on the basis of elements already existing there."

In 1846 Cherval was nominated and admitted to the League in London by Schapper at a time when Marx was in Brussels and was himself not yet a member of the League.[274] So Cherval could not be admitted to the same League by Marx in Cologne in 1848.

On the outbreak of the March revolution Cherval went to Rhenish Prussia for a few weeks but from there returned to London where he remained without interruption from the end of spring 1848 until the summer of 1850. He cannot therefore at the same time "have zealously propagated the League in Paris" unless Stieber, who performs chronological miracles, also finds *spatial* miracles within his powers and can even confer the quality of ubiquity on third persons.

Only after his expulsion from Paris did Marx come to know Cherval superficially along with a hundred other workers when he joined the Workers' Society in Great Windmill Street in London in September 1849. So he cannot have met him in Cologne in 1848.

At first Cherval told Stieber the truth on all these points. Stieber tried to compel him to make false statements. Did he succeed? We have only Stieber's testimony that he did, and that is a shortcoming. Stieber's prime concern was, of course, to establish a fictitious connection between Cherval and Marx so as to establish an artificial connection between the accused in Cologne and the Paris plot.

Whenever Stieber is required to go into details about the connections and correspondence of Cherval and his colleagues with Germany, he takes good care not even to mention Cologne and instead speaks complacently and at length of Heck in Brunswick, Laube in Berlin, Reininger in Mainz, Tietz in Hamburg, etc., etc., in short of the Willich-Schapper party. This party, says Stieber, had "the League's archive in its hands".—Through a misunderstanding it changed from their hands to his. In the archive he found *not one single* line written by Cherval to anyone in London, let alone to Marx in person, before September 15, 1850, *before the split* of the London Central Authority.

With the help of Schmidt-Fleury he swindled Frau Cherval out of her husband's papers. But again, he could not find a single line written by Marx to Cherval. To remedy this awkward state of affairs he makes Cherval write in his statement that

"he had fallen out with Marx because the latter had demanded that correspondence should *still* be sent to him even though the Central Authority was now situated in Cologne."

If Stieber found no Marx-Cherval correspondence *before* September 15, 1850, this must be due to the fact that Cherval ceased all correspondence with Marx *after* September 15, 1850. *Pends-toi, Figaro, tu n'aurais pas inventé cela!*[a]

The documents against the accused that had been laboriously brought together by the Prussian government and, in part, by Stieber himself during the year and a half that the investigation lasted refuted every suggestion of a connection between the accused and the Paris community or the Franco-German plot.

The Address from the London Central Authority of June 1850 proved that the Paris community was dissolved even before the split in the Central Authority. Six letters from the Dietz archive showed that after the Central Authority was transferred to Cologne the Paris communities were set up afresh by A. Majer, an emissary of the Willich-Schapper party. The letters of the leading district in Paris that were found in the archive proved that it was decidedly hostile towards the Cologne Central Authority. Finally, the French bill of indictment[b] proved that all the acts Cherval and his associates were accused of did not occur until the year 1851. In

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[a] Hang yourself, Figaro, that's a thing you wouldn't have invented (Beaumarchais, *La folle journée, ou le mariage de Figaro*, Act V, Scene 8—paraphrased).—*Ed.*

[b] A resumé of it was published in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 58, February 27, 1852.—*Ed.*

the sitting of November 8 Saedt, despite the Stieberian revelations, found himself therefore reduced to the bare supposition that it was surely not impossible that the Marx party had at some time somehow been involved in some plot or other in Paris but that nothing was known of this plot or the time when it took place other than the fact that Saedt, acting on official instructions, deemed it possible. How dull-witted the German press must be to go on inventing stories of Saedt's incisive intelligence!

*De longue main*[a] the Prussian police had sought to persuade the public that Marx and, through Marx, the accused in Cologne were involved in the Franco-German plot. During the Cherval trial Beckmann, the police spy, sent the following notice from Paris to the *Kölnische Zeitung* on February 25, 1852:

"Several of the accused have fled, among them a certain A. Majer, who is described as an agent of *Marx and Co.*"

Whereupon the *Kölnische Zeitung* printed a statement by Marx that "A. Majer is one of the most intimate friends of Herr Schapper and the former Prussian lieutenant Willich, and that he is a complete stranger to Marx".[b] Then, in his testimony of October 18, 1852, Stieber himself admitted:

"The members of the Central Authority expelled by the Marx party in London on September 15, 1850, sent A. Majer to France, etc."

and he even divulged the contents of the correspondence between A. Majer and Willich-Schapper.

In September 1851 during the police campaign against aliens in Paris a member of the "Marx party", *Konrad Schramm*, was arrested, together with 50 or 60 other people sitting in a café, and was detained for almost two months on the charge of being implicated in the plot instigated by the Irishman Cherval. On October 16 while still in the depot of the Prefecture of Police he received a visit from a German who addressed him as follows:

"I am a Prussian official. You are aware that all over Germany and especially in Cologne there have been many arrests following the discovery of a communist society. The mere mention of a person's name in a letter is enough to bring about his arrest. The government is somewhat embarrassed by the large number of prisoners of whom it is uncertain whether or not they are really implicated. *We know that you had no part in the* complot franco-allemand *but on the other hand you are very closely acquainted with Marx and Engels and are doubtless very well informed about all the details of the German communist connections.* We would be greatly indebted to you if you could help us in this respect and give us more detailed information as to

[a] For a long time.— *Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 223.— *Ed.*

who is guilty and who innocent. In this way you could bring about the release of a large number of people. If you wish we can draw up an official document about your statement. You will have nothing to fear from such a statement," etc., etc.

Schramm naturally showed this gentle Prussian official the door, protested to the French Ministry about such visits and was expelled from France at the end of October.

That Schramm was a member of the "Marx party" was known to the Prussian police from the official resignation found in the Dietz archive. That the "Marx party" had no connection with the Cherval plot, they themselves admitted to Schramm. If it was possible to establish a connection between the "Marx party" and the Cherval plot this could not be done in Cologne but only in Paris where a member of that party sat in gaol at the same time as Cherval. But the Prussian government feared nothing more than a confrontation of Cherval and Schramm, which was bound to nullify in advance the successful outcome they expected from the Paris trial with regard to the accused in Cologne. By his acquittal of Schramm the French examining magistrate ruled that the trial in Cologne was in no way connected with the Paris plot.

Stieber then made a last attempt:

"With reference to the above-mentioned leader of the French Communists, Cherval, we endeavoured, for a long time in vain, to discover Cherval's true identity. It finally became clear from a remark made in confidence to a police agent by Marx that he had escaped from gaol in Aachen in 1845, where he was serving a sentence for forgery of bills, that he was then granted admittance to the League by Marx during the troubles of 1848 and that he went as an emissary from there to Paris."

Just as Marx was unable to inform Stieber's *spiritus familiaris*,[a] the police agent, that he had admitted Cherval into the League in Cologne in 1848, for Schapper had admitted him into the League in London as early as 1846, or that he had induced him to live in London and at the same time to hawk propaganda around in Paris, so too, he was unable to inform Stieber's *alter ego*, the police agent as such, that Cherval served a sentence in Aachen in 1845 and that he had forged bills, facts that he learnt only from Stieber's testimony. Only a Stieber can allow himself such a *hysteron proteron*.[b] Antiquity has bequeathed to us its *dying warrior*[275]; the Prussian state will leave us its *swearing Stieber*.

Thus for a long, long time they had vainly endeavoured to

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[a] Familiar spirit—a supernatural being which serves an individual.—*Ed.*

[b] Inversion of the natural order, figure of speech in which what should come last (*hysteron*) is put first (*proteron*).—*Ed.*

discover Cherval's true identity. On the evening of September 2 Stieber arrived in Paris. On the evening of the 4th Cherval was arrested, on the evening of the 5th he was taken from his cell to a dimly lit room. Stieber was there but in addition there was also a French police official present, an Alsatian who spoke broken German but understood it perfectly, had a policeman's memory and was not favourably impressed by the arrogantly servile Police Superintendent from Berlin. In the presence of this French official the following conversation took place:

*Stieber* in German: "Now look here, Herr Cherval, we know what's at the bottom of this business with the French name and the Irish passport. We know who you are, you are a Rhenish Prussian. Your name is K. and it is entirely in your own hands to escape the consequences by making a full confession," etc., etc.

Cherval denied this.

*Stieber*: "Certain people who forged bills and escaped from Prussian gaols were extradited to Prussia by the French authorities. So I would again urge you to think carefully; the penalty is twelve years solitary confinement."

*The French police official*: "We must give the man time to think it over in his cell."

Cherval was led back to his cell.

Naturally enough Stieber could not afford to blurt out the truth, he could not admit publicly that he was trying to force false admissions from Cherval by conjuring up the spectre of extradition and twelve years solitary imprisonment.

And even now Stieber had still not been able to discover Cherval's true identity. He still referred to him in front of the jury as Cherval and not as K. And that was not all. He did not know where Cherval really was. In the sitting of October 23 he had him still locked up in Paris. When in the sitting on October 27 Schneider II, counsel for the defence, pressed him to say "whether the afore-mentioned Cherval was at present in London?" Stieber answered that "he could not give any precise information on this point; and could only inform them of the rumour that Cherval had escaped in Paris".

The Prussian government suffered its customary fate of being duped. The French government had allowed it to pull the chestnuts of the Franco-German plot out of the fire but not to eat them. Cherval had managed to gain the sympathy of the French government and a few days after the Paris Assizes it let him and Gipperich flee to London. The Prussian government had hoped that in Cherval it would have a tool for the trial in Cologne, whereas in fact it only provided the French government with yet another agent.[276]

One day before Cherval's pretended flight he received a visit

from a Prussian *faquin*[a] dressed in a black tail-coat and cuffs, with a bristling black moustache, and sparse grey hair cut short, in a word, a very pretty fellow who, he was told later, was Police Lieutenant Greif and who indeed afterwards introduced himself as Greif. Greif had obtained access to him by means of an entrance ticket he had obtained (having by-passed the prefect of police) directly from the Minister of Police. The Minister of Police thought it great fun to deceive the dear Prussians.

*Greif*: "I am a Prussian official. I have been sent here to negotiate with you. You will never get out of here without our aid. I have a proposal to make to you. We need you as a witness in Cologne. If you submit a request to the French government to hand you over to Prussia they have agreed to grant permission. After you have fulfilled your obligations and the case is over we shall release you on your word of honour."

*Cherval*: "I'll get out without your help."

*Greif* (emphatically): "That is impossible!"

Greif also had Gipperich brought to him and proposed that he should spend five days in Hanover as a communist emissary. Likewise without success. The next day Cherval and Gipperich escaped. The French authorities smirked, the telegraph brought the bad news to Berlin and as late as October 23 Stieber swore in court that Cherval was locked up in Paris, and as late as October 27 he could not give any information and had merely heard the rumour that Cherval had escaped "in Paris". Meanwhile, Police Lieutenant Greif had visited Cherval in London three times during the Cologne proceedings in order to discover, among other things, Nette's address in Paris in the belief that he could be bribed to testify against the defendants in Cologne. This plan misfired.

Stieber had his reasons for casting a veil of obscurity over his relations with Cherval. K. therefore remained Cherval, the Prussian remained Irish and Stieber does not know to this day where Cherval is and what is "his true identity".*

* Even in the *Black Book*[277] Stieber still does not know who Cherval really is. It is written there, Part II, p. 38, under No. 111, Cherval: see Crämer; and under No. 116 Crämer: "as stated in No. 111, he has been very active in the Communist League under the name of Cherval. In the League he is also known as Frank. Under the name of Cherval he was sentenced to 8 years imprisonment by the Paris Assizes in February 1853" (this should read 1852) "but he soon escaped and fled to London." So ignorant is Stieber in Part II where he provides an alphabetical, numbered list of suspects with their particulars. He has already forgotten that in Part I, p. 81 he has let slip the admission: "Cherval is the son of a Rhenish official called Joseph Krämer who" (who? the father or the son?) "abused his craft of lithography to forge bills, and was arrested for this but escaped from prison in Cologne" (false, it was Aachen!) "in 1844 and fled

[a] Scoundrel.— *Ed.*

In Cherval's correspondence with Gipperich the trifolium Seckendorf-Saedt-Stieber had at last found what it was looking for:

Schinderhannes[a], Karlo Moor
Whom I took as model sure.[b]

In order that Cherval's letter to Gipperich might be deeply engraved upon the lethargic cerebral matter of the 300 top tax-payers whom the jury represented, it received the honour of being read aloud three times. Behind this harmless gipsy pathos no experienced person could fail to see the figure of the buffoon who tries to appear terrifying both to himself and others.

Cherval & Co., moreover, shared the general expectation of the democrats that the second [Sunday] of May 1852[278] would work miracles and so they decided to join the revolution on that day. Schmidt-Fleury had helped to bestow upon this fixed idea the form of a plan and so the activities of Cherval and Co. now came within the legal definition of a plot. Thus through them proof was provided that the plot that had not been perpetrated by the accused in Cologne against the Prussian government had at any rate been perpetrated by the Cherval party against France.

With the help of Schmidt-Fleury the Prussian government had sought to fabricate the semblance of a connection between the plot in Paris and the accused in Cologne, a connection to the reality of which Stieber then swore on oath. This trinity of Stieber, Greif, Fleury played the chief role in the Cherval plot. We shall see them at work again.

Let us then sum up:

A is a republican, B also calls himself a republican. A and B are enemies. B is commissioned by the police to construct an infernal machine. Whereupon A is dragged before the courts. If B rather than A has built the machine this is due to the enmity between A and B. In order to find proof of A's guilt B is called as a witness against him. This was the comedy of the Cherval plot.

It will be readily understood that as far as the general public was concerned the logic of this was a flop. Stieber's "factual" revelations dissolved amidst malodorous vapours; the complaint of the indictment board that "there was no factual evidence of an indictable offence" was as valid as ever. New police miracles had become necessary.

to England and later to Paris."—Compare this with Stieber's evidence before the jury quoted above. The plain fact is that the police are absolutely incapable of telling the truth. [*Note by Engels to the edition of 1885.*]

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[a] Jack the Skinner, a name given to Johann Bückler, a German robber.—*Ed.*

[b] Heinrich Heine, "Ich kam von meiner Herrin Haus" (*Buch der Lieder*).—*Ed.*

## IV
## THE ORIGINAL MINUTE-BOOK

During the sitting on October 23, the Presiding Judge[a] announced: "Police Superintendent Stieber has indicated to me that he has to make important new depositions" and for that purpose he called this witness back into the box. Up jumped Stieber and the performance began.

Hitherto Stieber had described the activities of the Willich-Schapper party, or more briefly, the Cherval party, activities that took place both *before* and *after* the arrest of the accused in Cologne. He said nothing about the accused themselves either *before* or *after* their arrest. The Cherval plot took place *after* their arrest and Stieber now declared:

> "In my earlier testimony I described the development of the Communist League and the activities of its members only *up to the time* when the men now accused *were arrested.*"

Thus he admitted that the Cherval plot had nothing to do with "the development of the Communist League and the activities of its members". He confessed to the *nullity* of his previous testimony. Indeed, he was so complacent about his statements on October 18 that he regarded it as quite superfluous to continue to identify Cherval with the "Marx party".

> "Firstly," he said, "the Willich group still exists and of its members hitherto only Cherval in Paris has been seized, etc."

Aha! So the ringleader Cherval is a leader of the Willich group.

But now Stieber wished to make some *most important* announcements, not merely the *very latest* announcements that is, but the *most important* ones. The very latest and most important ones! These most important announcements would lose some of their significance if the insignificance of his earlier announcements were not emphasised. Up to now, Stieber declared, I have not really said anything, but now the time has come. Pay attention! Hitherto I have talked about the Cherval party, which is hostile to the accused, and strictly speaking, none of that has been in place here. But now I shall discuss the "Marx party", and this trial is concerned exclusively with the Marx party. But Stieber could not put the matter as plainly as this. So he says:

> "Up to now I have described the Communist League *before* the arrest of the accused; I shall now describe the League *after* their arrest."

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[a] Göbel.— *Ed.*

With characteristic virtuosity he manages to convert even mere rhetorical phrases into perjury.

After the arrest of the accused in Cologne Marx formed a new central authority.

"This emerges from the statement of a police agent whom the late Chief of Police Schulz had managed to smuggle unrecognised into the London League and into the immediate proximity of Marx."

The new central authority kept a minute-book and this, the "*original minute-book*", was now in Stieber's possession. Horrifying machinations in the Rhine provinces, in Cologne and even in the courtroom itself, all this is proved by the original minute-book. It contains proof that the accused had maintained an uninterrupted correspondence with Marx through the very walls of the prison. In a word, if the Dietz archive was the Old Testament, the original minute-book is the New Testament. The Old Testament was wrapped in stout oil-cloth, but the New Testament is bound in a sinister red morocco leather. Now the red morocco is indeed a *demonstratio ad oculos*,[a] but people today are even more sceptical than in Thomas' time; they do not even believe what they see with their own eyes. Who still believes in Testaments, let them be Old or New, now that the religion of the Mormons[279] has been invented? But Stieber, who is not wholly unsympathetic to Mormonism, has foreseen even this.[b]

"It might be objected," Stieber the Mormon observed, "that these are nothing but the tales of contemptible police agents but," Stieber swore, "I have complete proofs of the veracity and reliability of their reports."

Just listen to that! Proofs of their veracity and proofs of their reliability! and complete proofs at that. *Complete* proofs! And what are these proofs?

Stieber had long known

"that a secret correspondence existed between Marx and the accused men in the gaol, but had been unable to track it down. Then on *the previous Sunday a special courier from London* arrived bringing me the news that we had finally managed to discover the secret address from which the correspondence had been conducted. It was the address of D. Kothes, a businessman in the Old Market here. The same courier brought me the original minute-book used by the London Central Authority which had been procured from a member of the League for money."

Stieber then communicated with Chief of Police Geiger and the postal authorities.

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[a] Visual proof.—*Ed.*

[b] This sentence is omitted in the 1853 Basle edition; it occurs in the 1853 Boston edition and in the 1875 and 1885 editions.—*Ed.*

"The necessary precautionary measures were taken and *after no more than two days* the evening post from London brought with it a letter addressed to Kothes. *On the instructions of the Chief Public Prosecutor* the letter was detained and opened and in it was found a seven-page-long briefing for Schneider II, the Counsel for the Defence, in Marx's own handwriting. It indicated the method of defence that Counsel should adopt.... On the reverse side of the letter there was a large Latin B. The letter was copied and an easily detachable piece of the original was retained together with the *original envelope.* The letter was then put into a new envelope, sealed and given to a police officer from another town with the order that he should go to Kothes, and introduce himself as an emissary from Marx," etc.

Stieber then narrated the rest of the disgusting farce enacted by the police, about how the police officer from another town had pretended to be an emissary from Marx, etc. Kothes was arrested on October 18 and after 24 hours he declared that the B on the inside of the letter stood for Bermbach. On October 19 Bermbach was arrested and his house searched. On October 21 Kothes and Bermbach were released.

Stieber gave this evidence on Saturday, October 23. "*The previous Sunday*", that is Sunday, October 17, was allegedly the day the special courier arrived with Kothes' address and the original minute-book and two days after the courier, the letter arrived for Kothes, that is on October 19. But Kothes had already been arrested on October 18 because of the letter the police officer from another town had brought him on October 17. The letter to Kothes, therefore, arrived two days before the courier with Kothes' address, that is Kothes was arrested on October 18 for a letter that he did not receive until October 19. A chronological miracle?

Later, having been worried by Counsel, Stieber declared that the courier with Kothes' address and the original minute-book arrived on October 10. Why on October 10? Because October 10 happened to be likewise a Sunday and on October 23 it too would be a "previous" Sunday and in this way the original statement about the previous Sunday could be sustained and to this extent the perjury could be concealed. In that event, however, the letter did not arrive two days but a whole week after the courier. The perjury now fell on the letter rather than on the courier. Stieber's oath is like Luther's peasant. If you help him to mount the horse from one side he falls down on the other.[a]

And finally during the sitting of November 3 Police Lieutenant Goldheim of Berlin declared that Police Lieutenant Greif of London had delivered the minute-book to Stieber on October 11,

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[a] M. Luther, *Der Welt Bild (Tischreden).— Ed.*

that is to say on a Monday, in his presence and that of Chief of Police Wermuth. Goldheim's statement therefore makes Stieber guilty of perjury twice over.

As the original envelope with the London postmark shows, Marx posted the letter to Kothes on Thursday, October 14. So the letter should have arrived on Friday evening, October 15. For a courier to deliver Kothes' address and the original minute-book two days before the letter arrived, he must have come on Wednesday, October 13. He could not arrive on October 17th, nor on the 10th nor on the 11th.

Greif, in his role of courier, did indeed bring Stieber his original minute-book from London. Stieber was as well aware as his crony Greif of the real significance of this book. He hesitated therefore to produce it in court for this time it was not a matter of statements taken behind prison bars in Mazas.[280] Then came the letter from Marx. It was a godsend for Stieber. Kothes is a mere address, for the contents of the letter were not intended for Kothes but for the Latin B on the back of the enclosed sealed letter. Kothes is therefore nothing but an address. Let us suppose he is a *secret* address. Let us suppose further he is the secret address through which Marx communicates with the accused in Cologne. Let us suppose lastly that our London agents had sent by the same courier at the same time both the original minute-book and this secret address but that the letter arrived two days after the courier, the address and the minute-book. In this way we kill two birds with one stone. Firstly we have proof of the secret correspondence with Marx and secondly we prove that the original minute-book is authentic. The authenticity of the minute-book is shown by the correctness of the address, the correctness of the address is shown by the letter. The veracity and reliability of our agents is shown by the address and the letter, the authenticity of the minute-book is shown by the veracity and reliability of our agents. *Quod erat demonstrandum.* Then comes the merry comedy with the police official from another town and then come the mysterious arrests. Public, jurymen and even the accused, all stand thunderstruck.

But why did not Stieber let his *special courier* arrive on October 13, which would have been quite easy for him? Because in that case he would not have been special, because, as we have seen, chronology was not his strong point and the common calendar is beneath the dignity of a Prussian police superintendent. Moreover, he kept the original envelope; so who would be able to unravel the affair?

But giving his evidence, Stieber compromised himself from the outset by the omission of one fact. If his agents knew of Kothes' address they would also know to whom the mysterious B referred on the reverse of the inside letter. Stieber was so little initiated into the mysteries of the Latin B that on October 17 he had Becker searched in gaol in the hope of finding the letter from Marx on him. He only learnt from Kothes' statement that the B stood for Bermbach.

But how did Marx's letter fall into the hands of the Prussian government? Very simply. The Prussian government regularly opens the letters entrusted to its postal service and during the trial in Cologne it did this with particular assiduity. In Aachen and Frankfurt am Main they could tell some pretty stories about it. It was a pure chance whether a letter would slip through or not.

When the story about the original courier collapsed, the one about the original minute-book had to share its fate. Naturally, Stieber did not yet suspect this in the sitting on October 23 when he triumphantly revealed the contents of the New Testament, that is the red book. The immediate effect of his statement was the re-arrest of Bermbach, who was present at the trial as a witness.

Why was Bermbach re-arrested?

Because of the papers found on him? No, for after his house had been searched he was released again. He was arrested 24 hours after Kothes. Therefore if he had had incriminating documents they would certainly have disappeared by then. Why then was witness Bermbach arrested, when the witnesses Hentze, Hätzel, Steingens, who had been shown to be accomplices or members of the league, still sat unmolested on the witness bench?

Bermbach had received a letter from Marx which contained a mere criticism of the indictment and nothing else besides. This Stieber admitted since the letter was there for the jury to see. But he couched the admission in his hyperbolic policeman's manner thus: "Marx himself exercises an uninterrupted influence on the present case from London." And the jury might well ask themselves, as Guizot asked his voters: *Est-ce que vous vous sentez corrompus?*[a] What then was the reason for Bermbach's arrest? From the beginning of the inquiry the Prussian Government *as a matter of principle* strove *consistently* to deprive the accused of all means of defence. In direct contradiction to the law, defence counsel, as they announced in open court, were refused access to the accused even after presentation of the bill of indictment. On

[a] Do you feel you are corrupted?—*Ed.*

his own testimony Stieber had been in possession of the Dietz archive ever since August 5, 1851. But the Dietz archive was not appended to the indictment. Not until October 18, 1852, was it produced in the middle of a public hearing—and only so much of it was produced as Stieber thought politic. The jury, the accused and the public were all to be caught off their guard and taken by surprise; defence counsel were to stand by helplessly in the face of the surprise prepared by the police.

And even more so after the presentation of the original minute-book! The Prussian Government trembled at the thought of revelations. Bermbach however had received material for the defence from Marx and it could be foreseen that he would receive information about the minute-book. His arrest denoted the proclamation of a new crime, that of corresponding with Marx, and the punishment for this crime was imprisonment. That was intended to deter every Prussian citizen from permitting his address to be used. *À bon entendeur demi mot.*[a] Bermbach was *locked up* so that evidence for the defence might be *locked out.* And Bermbach remained in gaol for five weeks. For if they had released him immediately after the case was concluded the Prussian courts would have publicly proclaimed their docile subservience to the Prussian police. So Bermbach remained in gaol, *ad majorem gloriam*[b] of the Prussian judiciary.

Stieber swore on oath that

"after the arrest of the accused in Cologne, Marx joined together the ruins of his party in London and formed a new central authority with about eighteen people," etc.

The ruins had never come apart for they were so joined together that they had formed a private society[c] ever since September 1850. But at a word from Stieber they promptly vanished only to be revived by another command from Stieber after the arrest of the accused in Cologne and this time they appear in the form of a new central authority.

On Monday, October 25, the *Kölnische Zeitung* arrived in London with an account of Stieber's testimony of October 23.

The "Marx party" had neither formed a new central authority nor kept minutes of its meetings. They guessed at once who had

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[a] A word is enough to the wise.—*Ed.*

[b] Paraphrase of a saying by Gregory I: *Ad majorem Dei gloriam*: for the greater glory of God, which later became the motto of the Society of Jesus.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

been the chief manufacturer of the New Testament—*Wilhelm Hirsch from Hamburg.*

Early in December 1851 Hirsch appeared at the "Marx society" saying he was a communist refugee. Simultaneously, letters arrived from Hamburg denouncing him as a spy. But it was decided to allow him to remain in the society for the time being and watch him with a view to procuring proof of his innocence or guilt. At the meeting on January 15, 1852, a letter from Cologne was read aloud in which a friend of Marx[a] referred to another postponement of the trial and to the difficulty experienced even by relatives in gaining access to the accused. On this occasion mention was made of Frau Dr. Daniels. People were struck by the fact that Hirsch was not seen again after this meeting either in anyone's "immediate proximity" or at a distance. On February 2, 1852, Marx was notified from Cologne that Frau Dr. Daniels' house had been searched as the result of a police denunciation which claimed that a letter from Frau Daniels to Marx had been read out in the communist society in London and that Marx had been instructed to write back to her telling her that he was busy reorganising the League in Germany, etc. This denunciation literally fills the first page of the original minute-book.

Marx replied by return of post that as Frau Daniels had never written to him he could not possibly have read out a letter from her; the whole denunciation had been invented by a certain Hirsch, a dissolute young man who had no objection to supplying the Prussian police with as many lies as they had a mind to pay for in cash.

Since January 15 Hirsch had disappeared from the meetings; he was now formally expelled from the society. At the same time it was resolved to change the time and place of the meetings. Hitherto, meetings had taken place on *Thursdays* on premises belonging to J. W. Masters, Markethouse, in Farringdon Street, City. From now on it was agreed that the society would meet on *Wednesdays* in the Rose and Crown Tavern, Crown Street, Soho. Hirsch, whom "Chief of Police Schulz had managed to smuggle unrecognised into the immediate proximity of Marx", despite his "proximity" was unaware even eight months later of the place and day of the meetings. Both before and after February he persisted in manufacturing his "*original minute-book*" on a Thursday and dating the meetings on Thursdays. If the *Kölnische Zeitung* is consulted the following can be found: Minutes of January 15

[a] Bermbach — *Ed.*

(Thursday), likewise January 29 (Thursday), and March 4 (Thursday), and May 13 (Thursday), and May 20 (Thursday), and July 22 (Thursday), and July 29 (Thursday), and September 23 (Thursday), and September 30 (Thursday).

The landlord of the Rose and Crown Tavern made a declaration before the magistrate in Marlborough Street to the effect that "Dr. Marx's circle" had met in his tavern every Wednesday since February 1852. Liebknecht and Rings, whom Hirsch had named as the secretaries for his original minute-book, had their signatures witnessed by the same magistrate. And finally, the minutes Hirsch had kept in Stechan's Workers' Society[281] were obtained so that his handwriting might be compared with that in the original minute-book.

In this way the spurious nature of the original minute-book was demonstrated without it being necessary to embark upon a criticism of the contents which their own contradictions caused to disintegrate.

The real difficulty was how to send these documents to Counsel. The Prussian Post was merely an outpost, situated between the Prussian frontier and Cologne, and designed to frustrate the passage of munitions to the defence.

It was necessary to use roundabout ways and so the first documents, despatched on October 25, arrived in Cologne only on October 30.

Counsel were at first forced to make do with the very meagre resources that lay at hand in Cologne. The first blow against Stieber came from a direction he had not foreseen. Frau Dr. Daniels' father Müller, a King's Counsel and a man in high repute as a legal expert and well known for his conservative views, declared in the *Kölnische Zeitung* on October 26 that his daughter had never corresponded with Marx and that Stieber's original book was a piece of "mystification". The letter Marx had sent to Cologne on February 3, 1852, in which Hirsch was alluded to as a spy and a manufacturer of false police notices, was found by chance and put at the disposal of the defence. In the "Marx party's" notice of resignation from the Great Windmill Street Society[a] which was included in the Dietz archive, a genuine specimen of W. Liebknecht's handwriting was discovered. Lastly, Schneider II, Counsel for the Defence, obtained some genuine letters by Liebknecht from Birnbaum, the secretary of the Council for Poor-Relief in Cologne, and genuine letters by Rings from a private secretary called Schmitz. At the offices of the court

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 10, p. 483.—*Ed.*

Counsel compared the minute-book with Liebknecht's handwriting in the notice of resignation and also with letters by Rings and Liebknecht.

Stieber, who was already alarmed by the declaration of Müller, King's Counsel, now heard of these ominous handwriting investigations. To forestall the imminent blow he again leaped up in court during the sitting on October 27, and declared that

"the fact that Liebknecht's signature in the minute-book differed greatly from a signature that already was in the dossier had seemed very suspicious to him.[a] He had therefore made further inquiries and had learnt that the signatory in the minute-book in question was **H.** Liebknecht whereas the name in the dossier was preceded by the initial **W.**"

When Counsel, Schneider II, asked him: "Who informed you that an H. Liebknecht also exists?", Stieber refused to answer. Schneider II then asked for further information about Rings and Ulmer who appear together with Liebknecht as secretaries in the minute-book. Stieber smelt a new trap. He ignored the question three times, and tried to conceal his embarrassment and to regain his composure by recounting three times and for no reason how the minute-book had come into his possession. At last he stammered: The names Rings and Ulmer are probably not real names at all but only "*League names*". Stieber explained the frequent mention in the minute-book of Frau Dr. Daniels as a correspondent of Marx by surmising that perhaps the young notary Bermbach was really *meant*, when the book *said* Frau Dr. Daniels. Counsel, von Hontheim, questioned him about Hirsch.

"*He did not know* this man Hirsch either," Stieber swore. "Contrary to rumour however it is obvious that he is not a Prussian agent if only because the Prussian police are on the lookout for him."

At a signal from Stieber Goldheim buzzed into view and said that

"in October 1851 he was sent to Hamburg in order to apprehend Hirsch".

We shall see how the very same Goldheim was sent to London on the following day to apprehend the very same Hirsch. So the very same Stieber who claimed that he had bought the Dietz archive and the original minute-book from refugees for cash, that same Stieber now asserts that Hirsch cannot be a Prussian agent because he is a refugee! You have only to be a refugee and Stieber will guarantee your absolute venality or absolute incorruptibility, just as it suits his book. And is not Fleury likewise a political refugee, the same Fleury

[a] The Basle edition of 1853 had (sic) after these words.— *Ed.*

whom Stieber denounced as a police agent in the sitting on November 3?

When the defences of his original minute-book had been breached on every side, Stieber summed up the situation on October 27 with a classical display of impudence, stating that

"*his belief in the authenticity of the minute-book is firmer than ever*".

At the sitting of October 29 an expert compared the letters of Liebknecht and Rings, which had been submitted by Birnbaum and Schmitz, with the minute-book and declared the signatures in the latter to be *false.*

The Chief Public Prosecutor, Seckendorf, said in his speech:

"The information contained in the minute-book coincides with facts derived from other sources. But the prosecution is quite unable to prove the book's authenticity."

The book is authentic, but its authenticity cannot be proved. The New Testament! Seckendorf continued:

"But the defence has itself shown that at least the book contains much that is true, for example it gives us information about the activities of Rings, who is mentioned there, activities about which no one knew anything before."

If no one knew anything about Rings' activities before, the minute-book does not provide any information about it either. Therefore the statements about Rings' activities could not confirm the truth of the minute-book's *contents* and as regards its form they demonstrated that the signature of a member of the "Marx party" was *in truth* false, and had been forged. They proved then, according to Seckendorf, that "at least the book contains much that is true"—i.e. *a true forgery.* The Chief Public Prosecutors (Saedt-Seckendorf) and the postal authorities had together with Stieber opened the letter to Kothes. Therefore they knew the date of its arrival. Therefore they knew that Stieber committed perjury when he caused the courier to arrive at first on October 17 and, later, on the 10th, and the letter first on October 19 and then on the 12th. They were his accomplices.

At the sitting on October 27 Stieber tried in vain to preserve a calm appearance. He feared that any day the incriminating documents might arrive from London. Stieber felt ill at ease and the Prussian state, incarnate in him, felt ill at ease too. The public exposure had reached a dangerous stage. So Police Lieutenant Goldheim was sent to London on October 28 to save the fatherland. What did Goldheim do in London? Aided by Greif and Fleury, he attempted to persuade Hirsch to go to Cologne and, under the name of *H. Liebknecht,* to swear to the authenticity of the minute-book. Hirsch was offered a

real state pension, but Hirsch's policeman's instincts were as good as Goldheim's. Hirsch knew that he was neither Public Prosecutor nor Police Lieutenant, nor Police Superintendent, and therefore had not the privilege of committing perjury with impunity. His instincts told him that he would be dropped as soon as things began to go wrong. Hirsch did not want to become a goat,[a] and least of all a scapegoat. Hirsch flatly refused. But the Christian-Germanic government of Prussia won lasting fame for having attempted to bribe a man to bear false witness in the course of criminal proceedings in which the heads of its own citizens were at stake.

Goldheim thus returned to Cologne without having achieved his object.

In the sitting on November 3, when the prosecutor had concluded his address and before Counsel for the defence could commence his, Stieber, caught between the two, leaped once again into the breach swearing that

"he had now ordered further research into the minute-book. He had sent Police Lieutenant Goldheim from Cologne to London to pursue the inquiry there. Goldheim left on October 28 and returned on November 2. Here is Goldheim."

At a signal from his master Goldheim buzzed into view and swore that

"on arriving in London he went first to Police Lieutenant Greif who took him to police agent Fleury in the borough of Kensington for it was Fleury from whom Greif had obtained the book. Fleury admitted as much to him, the witness Goldheim, and asserted that he had really received the book from a member of the Marx party called H. Liebknecht. Fleury definitely recognised the receipt H. Liebknecht had given him for the money he had received for the book. Goldheim was not able to catch hold of Liebknecht himself in London because he was, according to Fleury, afraid to appear in public. During his stay in London witness became convinced that, a few errors apart, the content of the book was *entirely genuine.* Reliable agents who had been present at Marx's meetings had confirmed this to him. The book itself however was not the original minute-book but only a *notebook* on the proceedings at Marx's meetings. There are only two possible explanations for the admittedly still rather obscure origin of the book. Either, as the agent insists, it really emanates from Liebknecht, who has refused to give a specimen of his handwriting in order that there should be no proof of his treachery; or the agent Fleury obtained the notes for the book from Dronke and Imandt, two other émigré friends of Marx, and put them in the form of an original minute-book in order to increase the value of his commodity. Police Lieutenant Greif has officially stated that Dronke and Imandt frequently consorted with Fleury.... The witness Goldheim asserts his stay in London has convinced him that everything that had been said previously about secret meetings in Marx's home, about the contacts between London and Cologne and about the secret correspondence, etc., was true in every particular. As evidence of how well informed the Prussian agents in London were even today, he would inform the Court that a completely secret meeting took

[a] Marx plays on the name *Hirsch*, which means "stag".— *Ed.*

place in Marx's house on October 27 to discuss what steps should be taken to counteract the minute-book and above all the activities of Police Superintendent Stieber, who was a thorn in the side of the London Party. The relevant decisions and documents were sent in complete secrecy to the lawyer, Schneider II. In particular, among the papers sent to Schneider II was a private letter that Stieber himself wrote to Marx in Cologne in 1848 and that Marx had hitherto kept very secret in the hope that it might be used to compromise the witness Stieber."

*Witness Stieber* leaped up and declared that he had written to Marx about an infamous slander, and had threatened to sue him, etc.

"No one but Marx and he could know this and this was indeed the strongest proof of the accuracy of the information from London."

So according to Goldheim the original minute-book is "*entirely genuine*", apart from the false parts. What convinced him of its authenticity is in particular the circumstance that the original minute-book is no original minute-book but only a "*notebook*". And Stieber? Stieber was by no means thunderstruck; on the contrary a great weight had been lifted from his mind.[a] At the very last moment, when the sound of the prosecutor's last words had hardly faded away and before the first word of the defence had been uttered, Stieber managed with the aid of his Goldheim quickly to transform the original minute-book into a notebook. When two policemen accuse each other of lying, does that not prove that they are both addicted to telling the truth? Through Goldheim Stieber was able to cover his retreat.

Goldheim testified that "on arriving in London he went first to Police Lieutenant Greif, who took him to police agent Fleury in the borough of Kensington". Now who would not swear on oath that poor Goldheim and Police Lieutenant Greif must have worn themselves out walking or driving to Fleury's house in the remote borough of Kensington? But Police Lieutenant Greif lives in the same house as police agent Fleury, in fact he lives on the top floor of Fleury's house, so that in reality it was not Greif who took Goldheim to Fleury, but Fleury who took Goldheim to Greif.

"Police agent Fleury in the borough of Kensington!" What precision! Can you still doubt the truthfulness of a Prussian government that denounces its own spies, gives their name and address and every detail, body and soul? If the minute-book is false you can still rely on "police agent Fleury in Kensington". Yes, indeed. On private secretary Pierre in the 13th *arrondissement*. If you wish to specify a person you must give his Christian name

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[a] A pun in the original: "*fällt* nicht aus den Wolken"—is not thunderstruck, and "ein Stein *fällt* ihm vom Herzen"—a weight is taken off his mind.—*Ed.*

as well as his surname. Not *Fleury* but *Charles* Fleury. And you must also name the profession that he practises in public, and not his clandestine activities. So it is *Charles Fleury, a businessman,* not Fleury, the police agent. And when you state his address you do not merely name a London borough, a town in itself, but you give the borough, the street and the number of the house. So it is not police agent Fleury in Kensington but *Charles Fleury, a businessman, 17 Victoria Road, Kensington.*

But "*Police Lieutenant Greif*", that at any rate is frankly spoken! But when Police Lieutenant Greif attaches himself to the embassy in London and the Lieutenant turns into an attaché that of course is an attachment of no concern to the courts. The heart's desire is the voice of fate.[a]

So Police Lieutenant Goldheim asserts that police agent Fleury asserted that he had the book from a man who really asserted that he was **H.** Liebknecht and who had even given a receipt to Fleury. The only drawback is that Goldheim was unable "to catch hold of" the said H. Liebknecht in London. So Goldheim could have stayed quietly in Cologne for Police Superintendent Stieber's assertion does not look any healthier for the fact that it appears as an assertion of Police Lieutenant Goldheim's, which had been asserted by Police Lieutenant Greif, for whom in his turn police agent Fleury had done the favour of agreeing to assert his assertion.

Goldheim's London experiences were hardly encouraging but, undeterred and with the aid of his considerable faculty for convincing himself (which in his case must do duty for the faculty of reasoning), he convinced himself "*completely*" that "*everything*" that Stieber had affirmed on oath concerning the "Marx party", about its contacts in Cologne, etc., was "*all* true *in every particular*". And now that Goldheim, his junior official, has issued him with a *testimonium paupertatis,*[b] surely Police Superintendent Stieber is fully covered now? Stieber's method of swearing has at least one achievement to its credit: he has turned the whole Prussian hierarchy upside down. You don't believe the Police Superintendent? Very well. He has compromised himself. But surely you will believe the Police Lieutenant? You don't believe him either? Better still. Then you have no other choice than to believe at least the police agent *alias mouchardus vulgaris.*[c] Such is the heretical conceptual confusion that our *swearing Stieber* has created.

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[a] Schiller, *Die Piccolomini,* Act III, Scene 8.—*Ed.*
[b] Certificate of poverty.—*Ed.*
[c] An ordinary spy.—*Ed.*

Goldheim proved that in London he had established the non-existence of the original minute-book, and as for the existence of H. Liebknecht that he was unable "to catch hold" of it in London, and it was precisely this that convinced him that "*all*" Stieber's statements about the "Marx party" "were *true in every particular*". In addition to these negative proofs, which in Seckendorf's view contained "much that was true", he had in the end to produce the positive proof of "how well informed the Prussian agents in London were even today". As evidence of this he mentions that on October 27 there had been a "completely secret meeting in Marx's house". In this completely secret meeting steps were discussed to counteract the minute-book and Police Superintendent Stieber, that "thorn in their side". The relevant orders and decisions were "sent in complete secrecy to the lawyer, Schneider II".

Although the Prussian agents were present at these meetings the route taken by these letters remained so "completely secret" that all the efforts of the postal authorities to intercept them were in vain. Listen to the cricket chirping sadly from among the ageing and venerable ruins[a]: "The relevant letters and documents were sent in complete secrecy to the lawyer, Schneider II." Completely secret for Goldheim's secret agents.

The imaginary decisions about the minute-book cannot have been made at the completely secret meeting in Marx's house on October 27 for already on October 25 Marx had sent the chief reports about the spurious nature of the minute-book not indeed to Schneider II, but to Herr von Hontheim.

It was not merely the bad conscience of the police that gave them the idea that documents had been sent to Cologne. On October 29 Goldheim arrived in London. On October 30 Goldheim found a statement signed by Engels, Freiligrath, Marx and Wolff[b] in *The Morning Advertiser, The Spectator, The Examiner, The Leader* and *The People's Paper* in which the attention of the English public was drawn to the revelations that the defence would make of forgery, perjury, the falsification of documents,[c] in short of all the infamies perpetrated by the Prussian police. The sending of the documents was veiled in such "complete secrecy" that the "Marx party" openly informed the English public about this,

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[a] A pun on the name *Goldheim* and the word *Heimchen* (cricket).— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 378-79.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx and Engels use the English words "forgery, perjury, falsification of documents".— *Ed.*

though not until October 30 by which time Goldheim had arrived in London and the documents in Cologne.

However, on October 27 documents were also sent to Cologne. How did the omniscient Prussian police learn of this?

The Prussian police did not pursue their activities with quite such "complete secrecy" as the "Marx party". On the contrary, for weeks they had openly posted two of their spies in front of Marx's house and from the street they watched him *du soir jusqu'au matin* and *du matin jusqu'au soir*[a] and dogged his every step. Now the absolutely secret documents, containing the genuine specimens of Liebknecht's and Rings' handwriting together with the statement of the landlord of the Crown Tavern concerning the days of the society's meetings, these absolutely secret documents Marx had officially witnessed in the absolutely public police court in Marlborough Street in the presence of reporters from the English daily press on October 27. His Prussian guardian angels followed him from his house to Marlborough Street and from Marlborough Street back to his house and from his house to the post office. They did not in fact disappear until Marx had gone in absolute secrecy to the local magistrate in order to obtain a warrant for the arrest of his two "followers".

Moreover, yet another way lay open to the Prussian government. For Marx sent the documents that were dated October 27 and had been witnessed on October 27 directly to Cologne through the post in order to ensure that the talons of the Prussian eagle would not seize the *duplicates* that had been sent in *absolute secrecy*. Both postal authorities and the police in Cologne knew then that documents dated October 27 had been forwarded by Marx and there was no need for Goldheim to make the journey to London in order to unravel the mystery.

Goldheim felt that after all he ought "*in particular*" to reveal something "particular" that the "absolutely secret meeting on October 27" had resolved to send to Schneider II, he therefore *mentioned* the letter written by Stieber to Marx. Unfortunately Marx had sent this letter not on October 27 but on October 25 and it was sent not to Schneider II but to Herr von Hontheim. But how did the police know that Marx still had Stieber's letter in his possession and that he intended to send it to the defence? Let us however permit Stieber to leap up once more.

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[a] From evening till morning and from morning till evening (Beaumarchais, *La folle journée, ou le mariage de Figaro*, Act I, Scene 1).—*Ed.*

Stieber hoped to forestall Schneider II and thus prevent him from reading aloud in court what was for him a very "unpleasant letter". Stieber calculated: If Goldheim says that Schneider II has my letter and that he has it thanks to his "criminal contact with Marx", then Schneider II will suppress the letter so as to prove that Goldheim's agents were misinformed and that he himself does not maintain any criminal contact with Marx. So Stieber leaped up, gave a false account of the content of the letter and concluded with the astonishing declaration that "no one but himself and Marx could know this and this was indeed the *strongest proof of the reliability* of the information from London".

Stieber has a strange method of keeping secret facts that he finds unpalatable. If he remains silent, the whole world must keep silence. Hence "no one can know" apart from him and a certain elderly lady that he once lived near Weimar as an *homme entretenu.*[a] But if Stieber had every reason to make sure that no one but Marx should know of the letter, Marx had every reason to let everyone apart from Stieber know about it. We now know the *strongest proof* of the information from London. What does Stieber's weakest proof look like?

But once again Stieber knowingly commits perjury when he says "no one but myself and Marx could know this". He knew that it was not Marx but another editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* who had answered his letter.[282] So there had been at least "one man other than Marx and himself". In order that even more people may learn of it we print the letter here[b]:

"No. 177 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* contains a news item from your correspondent in Frankfurt am Main dated December 21 in which a base lie is reported to the effect that being a police spy I went to Frankfurt to try, while pretending to hold democratic views, to discover the murderers of Prince Lichnowski and General Auerswald. I was in fact in Frankfurt on the 21st but stayed only one day and as you can see from the accompanying certificate I was engaged in purely private business on behalf of a lady from here, Frau von Schwezler. I have long since returned to Berlin and resumed my work as defence counsel. I would refer you moreover to the official correction in this matter that has already appeared in No. 338 of the *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung* of December 21 and in No. 248 of the Berlin *National-Zeitung.* I believe that I may expect from your respect for the truth that you will print the enclosed correction in your paper without delay and that you will also give me the name of your slanderous informant in accordance with your legal obligations, for I cannot possibly permit such a libel to go unpunished, otherwise I shall regretfully be compelled to proceed against your editorial board.

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[a] Kept man.— *Ed.*

[b] Stieber's letter was given in a footnote in the Basle and Boston editions of 1853 but in the 1875 and 1885 editions it was included in the main text.— *Ed.*

"I believe that in recent times democracy is indebted to no one more than *myself.* It was I who rescued hundreds of democrats who had been charged from the nets of the criminal courts. It was I who even while a state of siege was proclaimed here persistently and fearlessly challenged the authorities (and do so to this very day), while all the cowardly and contemptible fellows (the so-called democrats) had long since fled the field. When democratic organs treat me in this fashion it is scarcely an encouragement to me to make further efforts.

"The real joke, however, in the present case lies in the clumsiness of the organs of democracy. The rumour that I went to Frankfurt as a police agent was spread first by that notorious organ of reaction, the *Neue Preussische Zeitung,* in order to undermine my activities as defence counsel that gave that paper such offence. The other Berlin papers have long since corrected this report. But the democratic papers are so inept that they parrot this stupid lie. If I had wished to go to Frankfurt as a spy it would certainly not be announced beforehand in every newspaper. And how could Prussia send a police official to Frankfurt which has enough competent officials of its own? Stupidity has always been the failing of the democrats and their opponents' cunning has always brought them to victory.

"It is likewise a contemptible lie to say that years ago I was a police spy in Silesia. At that time I was openly employed as a police officer and as such I did my duty. Contemptible lies have been circulated about me. If anyone can prove that I insinuated my way into his favour let him come forth and do so. Anyone can make assertions and tell lies. I think of you as an honest, decent man and so I expect from you a satisfactory answer by return of post. The democratic papers are generally in disrepute here because of the many lies they publish. I hope that you are a man of a different stamp.

"Berlin, December 26, 1848

Respectfully yours,

*Stieber,* Doctor at Law, etc.,
Berlin, Ritterstrasse 65."

How then did Stieber know that on October 27 Marx had sent this letter to Schneider II? But it was not sent on October 27 but on October 25, and it was not sent to Schneider II but to von Hontheim. Stieber therefore knew only that the letter still existed and he suspected that Marx would put it in the hands of some defence counsel or other. Whence this suspicion? When the *Kölnische Zeitung* brought Stieber's testimony on October 18 about Cherval, etc., to London, Marx sent a statement dated October 21 to the *Kölnische Zeitung,* the Berlin *National-Zeitung* and the *Frankfurter Journal* and at the end of this statement Stieber was threatened with his still existing letter. In order to keep this letter "completely secret" Marx himself announced it in the newspapers. He failed, because of the cowardice of the daily press in Germany, but the Prussian post was now informed and with the Prussian post, its—Stieber.

What then was the message Goldheim chirruped back from London?

That Hirsch has not committed perjury, that **H.** Liebknecht has no "tangible" existence, that the original minute-book is no original minute-book and that the all-knowing London agents know all that the "Marx party" has published in the London press. To save the honour of the Prussian agents Goldheim placed in their mouths the few titbits of information that Stieber discovered[a] in letters he had opened or purloined.

In the sitting on November 4 after Schneider II had annihilated Stieber and his minute-book and shown him to be guilty of forgery and perjury, Stieber leaped into the breach for the last time and gave vent to his moral indignation. They even dare, he cried out, his soul mortally wounded, they even dare to accuse Herr Wermuth, Chief of Police Wermuth, of perjury! Stieber thereby returned to the orthodox hierarchy, to the rising scale. Earlier he had moved on the heterodox, descending scale. If he, a police superintendent, could not be trusted, well then surely his police lieutenant could be; and if not the police lieutenant, then surely his police agent; and if not agent Fleury, then surely subagent Hirsch. But now it is in reverse. He, the *police superintendent*, can perhaps commit perjury, but Wermuth, a *Chief of Police*? Unbelievable! In his rage he praised Wermuth with mounting bitterness,[b] he served Wermuth up to the public neat, Wermuth as a human being, Wermuth as a lawyer, Wermuth as paterfamilias, Wermuth as a Chief of Police, Wermuth for ever.[c]

Even now, during the public hearing, Stieber did not stop trying to isolate the accused and to erect a barrier between the defence and the defence materials. He accused Schneider II of "criminal contact" with Marx. In attacking him Schneider was impugning the highest authorities of Prussia. Even Göbel, the Presiding Judge of the court, even a Göbel felt overwhelmed by Stieber's onslaught. He could not overlook it and even though in a timorous and servile way he did lash Stieber with a few rebukes. But Stieber was in the right for all that. It was not merely he as a person that stood exposed to public view: it was the prosecution, the courts, the postal authorities, the government, the police headquarters in Berlin, it was the ministries and the Prussian embassy in London, in short it was the whole Prussian state that stood in the pillory with him, original minute-book in hand.

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[a] In the original a pun on Stieber: *aufstiebern* (*aufstöbern*)—to ferret out, to trace, to discover.—*Ed.*

[b] A pun on *Wermuth* (wormwood, vermouth, bitterness) and *Bitterkeit* (bitterness).—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English phrase "for ever".—*Ed.*

Herr Stieber is herewith granted permission to print the answer the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* returned to his letter.

Let us now return once more to London with Goldheim.

Just as Stieber is still ignorant of Cherval's whereabouts and true identity so too, according to Goldheim's testimony (in the sitting on November 3), the *origin* of the minute-book is an enigma that is still not fully resolved. To resolve it Goldheim put forward two hypotheses.

"There are only two possible explanations," he said, "for the still rather obscure origin of the book. Either, as the agent insists, it really emanates from Liebknecht, who has refused to give a specimen of his handwriting in order that there should be no proof of his treachery."

**W.** Liebknecht is well known as a member of the "Marx party". But it is no less well known that the signature in the minute-book does not belong to **W.** Liebknecht. In the sitting on October 27 Stieber therefore swore that the signature was not that of **W.** Liebknecht but of another Liebknecht, an **H.** Liebknecht. He had learnt of the existence of this double without being able however to disclose the source of his discovery. Goldheim swore: "Fleury asserted that he had really received the book from a member of the 'Marx party' called **H.** Liebknecht." Goldheim swore further: "I was not able to catch hold of the said **H.** Liebknecht in London." Up to now, therefore, what *signs of life* has the **H.** Liebknecht that Stieber has discovered given to the world in general and to Police Lieutenant Goldheim in particular? No sign of life other than his *handwriting* in the original minute-book; but now Goldheim declares: "Liebknecht has refused to give a specimen of his handwriting."

Up to the present **H.** Liebknecht existed only as a signature. Now nothing remains of **H.** Liebknecht at all, not even a signature, not even the dot on the i. How Goldheim could possibly know that **H.** Liebknecht's handwriting differs from the handwriting in the minute-book, when the handwriting in the minute-book is his only proof of **H.** Liebknecht's existence, that is Goldheim's secret. If Stieber has his miracles, why should not Goldheim have his miracles too?

Goldheim forgot that his superior, Stieber, had sworn to **H.** Liebknecht's existence before him, and that he too had just sworn to it. In the same breath in which he swears to **H.** Liebknecht he recollects that **H.** Liebknecht is nothing but a makeshift, invented by Stieber, a necessary fib and necessity knows no law. He remembers that there is but one genuine Liebknecht, **W.** Liebknecht, but that if

**W.** Liebknecht is genuine then the signature in the minute-book is a forgery. He cannot confess that Fleury's subagent Hirsch had manufactured the false signature along with the false minute-book. Accordingly he invents the hypothesis: "Liebknecht has refused to give a specimen signature." Let us likewise construct a hypothesis. Goldheim once forged banknotes. He is brought before the courts; it is proved that the signature on the banknote is not that of the bank director. Don't take offence, gentlemen, Goldheim will say, don't take offence. The banknote is genuine. It comes from the bank director himself. If his name appears signed by someone other than him what does that matter? "He merely refused to give a specimen of his handwriting."

*Or,* Goldheim continues, if the hypothesis with Liebknecht turns out to be false: "Or the agent Fleury obtained the notes for the book from Dronke and Imandt, two other émigré friends of Marx, and then put them in the form of an original minute-book in order to increase the value of his commodity. Police Lieutenant Greif has officially stated that Dronke and Imandt frequently consorted with Fleury."

Or? How so, or? If a book like the original minute-book is signed by three people, Liebknecht, Rings and Ulmer, no one will deduce that "it emanates either from Liebknecht"—or from Dronke and Imandt, but: It emanates either from Liebknecht or from Rings and from Ulmer. Should our unfortunate Goldheim, now that he has climbed to the dizzy heights of a disjunction—either—or—should he now repeat: "Rings and Ulmer have refused to give specimens of their handwriting"? Even Goldheim realises the need for new tactics.

If the original minute-book does not emanate from Liebknecht, as the agent Fleury claimed, then it must have been manufactured by Fleury himself, but the notes for it were provided by Dronke and Imandt of whom Police Lieutenant Greif has officially stated that they frequently consorted with Fleury.

"To increase the value of his commodity," says Goldheim, Fleury put the notes in the form of an original minute-book. He not only commits a fraud, he also forges signatures and all this to "increase the value of his commodity". So scrupulous a man as this Prussian agent, who for profit manufactures forged minutes and forged signatures, is obviously incapable of manufacturing *forged notes.* Such is Goldheim's inference.

Dronke and Imandt did not come to London until April 1852, after they had been expelled by the Swiss authorities. However, one-third of the original minute-book consists of entries for the

months of January, February and March 1852. Fleury therefore manufactured one-third of the original minute-book *without* Dronke and Imandt although Goldheim had sworn that the minute-book was written either by Liebknecht—or else by Fleury, following, however, the notes of Dronke and Imandt. Goldheim swore to it, and Goldheim it is true is no Brutus[a] but he is Goldheim.

But the possibility still remains that Dronke and Imandt furnished Fleury with notes from April onwards for, Goldheim swore: "Police Lieutenant Greif has officially stated that Dronke and Imandt frequently consorted with Fleury."

Let us examine this association.

As we have noted above Fleury was known in London not as a Prussian police agent but as a businessman in the City, and indeed as a democratic businessman. Born in Altenburg he had come to London as a political refugee, had later married an English woman from a wealthy and respected family and apparently enjoyed a quiet life with his wife and his father-in-law, an old *Quaker* industrialist. On October 8 or 9 Imandt began to "consort frequently" with Fleury, in the capacity, that is, of tutor. But according to the improved version of Stieber's evidence the original minute-book arrived in Cologne on October 10—according to Goldheim's final statement on the 11th. By the time that Imandt, whom he had never set eyes on till then, had given him his first French lesson, Fleury had not only had the original minute-book bound in red morocco leather, he had already entrusted it to the special courier who brought it to Cologne. So heavily did Fleury rely on Imandt's notes when writing the original minute-book. As for Dronke, Fleury only saw him *once* and by chance with Imandt, and this was on October 30 by which time the original minute-book had long since dissolved into its original nothingness.

Thus the Christian-Germanic government is not content with breaking into desks, stealing papers, obtaining false testimony by underhand means, creating false plots, forging false documents, swearing false oaths, and attempting to suborn witnesses—all this to bring about the condemnation of the Cologne defendants. The government attempts also to cast suspicion on the London friends of the accused so as to conceal the activities of their Hirsch now

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[a] Cf. Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, Act III, Scene 2, "Brutus is an honourable man".—*Ed.*

that Stieber has sworn that he does not know him and Goldheim has sworn that he is no spy.

On Friday, November 5, the *Kölnische Zeitung* arrived in London with the report of the court sitting on November 3 and Goldheim's evidence. Inquiries about Greif were made at once and the very same day it was learnt that he lived in Fleury's house. At the same time Dronke and Imandt paid Fleury a visit taking with them a copy of the *Kölnische Zeitung*. They gave him Goldheim's testimony to read. He went pale, tried to regain his composure, pretended to be utterly astonished and declared himself perfectly willing to make a statement against Goldheim before an English magistrate. But he said he must consult his solicitor first. They agreed to meet the following afternoon, Saturday, November 6. Fleury promised to have his statement officially witnessed and said he would bring it to the meeting. Of course, he did not appear. Imandt and Dronke then went to his house on Saturday evening and found there the following note addressed to Imandt:

"With the solicitor's help everything has been arranged; further steps can be taken as soon as the person in question has been found. The solicitor sent the relevant documents off today. Business commitments have made it imperative for me to go to the City. If you would like to visit me tomorrow I shall be at home the whole afternoon until 5 o'clock. *Fl.*"

On the other side of the note there was the following postscript:

"I have just arrived home but had to go out again with Herr Werner and my wife—*I can prove this to you* tomorrow. Leave me a note saying when you would like to come."

Imandt left the following reply:

"I am extremely surprised not to find you at home now, especially as you did not come to meet us this afternoon as arranged. I must confess that in the circumstances my opinion of you is already fixed. If you wish me to revise it you will visit me by tomorrow morning at the latest for I cannot guarantee that your activities as a Prussian police spy might not find their way into the English newspapers. *Imandt.*"

Fleury did not appear on Sunday morning either, so in the evening Dronke and Imandt went to his house once again in order to obtain his statement by making it appear as if their confidence in him had only at first been shaken. Finally, after all sorts of procrastinations and doubts the statement was formulated. Fleury hesitated most when it was pointed out to him that he must sign with his Christian name as well as his surname. The statement went literally as follows:

"To the editors of the *Kölnische Zeitung*

"The undersigned declares that he has known Herr Imandt for about a month during which time the latter gave him tuition in the French language and that he met Herr Dronke for the first time on Saturday, October 30 of this year.

"He declares further that neither of them gave him any information in connection with the minute-book mentioned in the Cologne trial.

"That he does not know of any person by the name of Liebknecht nor has he ever been in contact with anyone of that name.

"Kensington, London, November 8, 1852. *Charles Fleury*"

Dronke and Imandt were, of course, quite sure that Fleury would instruct the *Kölnische Zeitung* not to print any statement signed by him. Accordingly they sent his statement not to the *Kölnische Zeitung* but to Schneider II, the lawyer, who however received it when the case was too far advanced for him to make use of it.

Fleury is not indeed the Fleur de Marie of the police prostitutes, but he is a flower[a] and he will bear blossom, albeit only *fleurs-de-lys*.*

But the story of the minute-book is not yet finished.

On Saturday, November 6, W. Hirsch of Hamburg made an affidavit before the magistrate at Bow Street, London, to the effect that under the direction of Greif and Fleury he himself had fabricated the original minute-book that figured in the Cologne communist trial.

Thus, it had at first been the original minute-book of the "Marx party"—after that it was the notebook of the police spy Fleury—and lastly it became the manufacture of the Prussian police, a simple police manufacture, a police manufacture *sans phrase*.

On the same day that Hirsch revealed the secret of the original minute-book to the English magistrate at Bow Street another representative of the Prussian state was busy packing at Fleury's house in Kensington, and this time the things he was packing in stout oil-cloth were neither stolen nor forged nor even documents at all, but his own personal belongings. And this bird was none other than Greif[b] whom we remember from Paris, the special courier to Cologne, the chief of the Prussian police agents in London, the official director of mystifications, the Police Lieutenant attached to the Prussian Embassy. Greif had received instructions from the

* *Fleurs-de-lys* [lilies] is the French colloquial name of the letters T. F. (*travaux forcés*, forced labour), the brand-mark of criminals. The accuracy of Marx's judgment is demonstrated in the Postscript (VIII, 1).[283] [*Note by Engels to the edition of 1885.*]

[a] A pun: Fleur de Marie—the heroine in Eugène Sue's novel *Les mystères de Paris*, *fleur*—a flower.—*Ed.*

[b] The word "Greif" means griffin.—*Ed.*

Prussian government to leave London at once. There was no time to be wasted.

Just as at the end of spectacular operas the rising amphitheatrical set in the background that had previously been obscured by curtains now suddenly flares up in a blaze of Bengal light dazzling all eyes, so too at the end of this Prussian police tragicomedy the hidden amphitheatrical workshop was revealed in which the original minute-book was forged. On the lowest level could be seen the wretched spy Hirsch working at piece rates; a little higher up was the respectably situated spy and agent provocateur, the City businessman Fleury; higher still the diplomatic Police Lieutenant Greif and highest of all the Prussian Embassy itself to which he was attached. For 6-8 months Hirsch had laboured week by week to forge the original minute-book in Fleury's study and under his watchful eyes. But one floor *above* Fleury dwelt the Prussian Police Lieutenant Greif, who supervised and inspired him. However, Greif himself regularly spent a part of his day in the Prussian Embassy, where he in his turn was supervised and inspired. Thus the Prussian Embassy was the real hothouse where the original minute-book grew and flowered.[a] Hence Greif had to disappear. He disappeared on November 6, 1852.

The authenticity of the original minute-book could not be sustained any longer, not even as a notebook. The Public Prosecutor, Saedt, buried it in the address he gave in reply to the concluding speeches by Counsel for the Defence.

The trial had now reached the point at which the Indictment Board of the Court of Appeal had begun when it ordered a new investigation because "*there was no factual evidence of an indictable offence*".

## V

## THE LETTER ACCOMPANYING THE *RED CATECHISM*

In his evidence during the sitting on October 27 Police Inspector *Junkermann* of Crefeld said that

"he confiscated a parcel containing copies of the *Red Catechism*[b]; it was addressed to the waiter in an inn in Crefeld and bore a Düsseldorf post mark. It contained also an accompanying letter which was unsigned. It has not been possible to identify the sender." "As the prosecution has pointed out, the accompanying letter appeared to *be written in Marx's hand.*"

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[a] The Basle edition of 1853 included this sentence: "The scandal that awaited him in London rebounded upon the Prussian Embassy."—*Ed.*

[b] [M. Hess,] *Rother Kathechismus für das deutsche Volk.*—*Ed.*

In the sitting on October 28 the expert (???) Renard discovered that the letter was in fact in Marx's handwriting. This accompanying letter said:

"Citizen! As we have complete confidence in you, we herewith present you with 50 copies of the *Red*. Your task is to push them under the doors of citizens—preferably workers—who are known to sympathise with the Revolution, on Saturday, June 5, at eleven o'clock at night. We are definitely counting on your civic virtues and accordingly expect you to carry out this instruction. The Revolution is closer than many people think. Long live the Revolution!

"Berlin, May 1852

With Fraternal Greetings.

*The Revolutionary Committee*"

Witness Junkermann declared further that "the parcels in question had been sent to the witness *Chianella*".

Chief Commissioner of Police *Hinckeldey* of Berlin was the Supreme Commander in charge of operations against the accused in Cologne during the preliminary investigations. The laurels won by Maupas prevented him from sleeping.

The actors in the proceedings include two Chiefs of Police, one alive and one dead, one superintendent (only one, but that one a Stieber), two police lieutenants one of whom was constantly en route from London to Cologne, the other constantly journeying from Cologne to London, myriads of police agents and subagents, named, anonymous, heteronymous, pseudonymous, with tails and without. Lastly an Inspector of Police.

No sooner had the *Kölnische Zeitung* arrived in London with the evidence heard on October 27 and 28 than Marx went to the magistrate in Marlborough Street, where he copied out from the newspaper the text of the accompanying letter and had the copy witnessed, and at the same time the following affidavit:

1. That he had not written the letter in question;
2. that he had only learnt of its existence from the *Kölnische Zeitung*;
3. that he had *never seen* the so-called *Red Catechism*;
4. that he had never helped in any way at all to distribute it.

It may be pointed out in passing that if such a declaration made before a magistrate is found to be false, then it counts as perjury in England with all the consequences attendant thereupon.

The above document was sent to Schneider II but it appeared simultaneously in the London *Morning Advertiser*[a] as the conviction had gained ground during the trial that as regards the observance of

[a] See this volume, pp. 380-81.—*Ed.*

the secrecy of correspondence the Prussian post seems to have the strange notion that letters entrusted to its care must be kept secret from the addressee. The prosecution objected to the submission of the document, even for purposes of *comparison.* For the prosecution was aware that a single glance from the original accompanying letter to the officially attested copy by Marx would reveal the deception, the deliberate imitation of his handwriting could not remain hidden even from such a sharpsighted jury as this. Therefore, in order to defend the morality of the Prussian state, the prosecution denounced any attempt at comparison.

Schneider II observed

"that Chianella, the addressee who had freely given information to the police about the supposed identity of the sender and who had even *offered to act as a spy,* had not in the remotest degree thought of Marx in this connection."

No one who has ever read a single line by Marx could possibly attribute to him the authorship of this melodramatic accompanying letter. The midnight dream hour in summer on June 5,[a] and the officiously graphic procedure of pushing the *Red* under the doors of the revolutionary philistines—that could perhaps point to Kinkel's turn of mind, just as the references to "civic virtues" and the way in which they are "definitely counting on" this military "instruction being carried out" seem to reflect the imagination of a Willich. But why should Kinkel-Willich write their prescriptions for revolution in Marx's hand?

If it is permissible to form a hypothesis about the "as yet somewhat obscure origins" of this accompanying letter written in an imitated hand: the police found the 50 *Reds* in Crefeld as well as the convenient, high sounding accompanying letter. In Cologne or in Berlin *qu'importe*? they had the text copied in Marx's handwriting. For what purpose? "So as to increase the value of their commodity."

However, even the Chief Public Prosecutor did not dare to revert to the accompanying letter in his catilinarian speech.[b] He let it drop. Hence it did not assist in ascertaining the still missing "*indictable offence*".

## VI

## THE WILLICH-SCHAPPER GROUP

With the defeat of the revolution of 1848-49 the party of the proletariat on the Continent lost use of the press, freedom of speech and the right to associate, i.e. the legal instruments of party

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[a] Cf. Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream.—Ed.*

[b] Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Orationes in Lucium Catilinam.—Ed.*

organisation, which it had enjoyed for once during that short interval. The social status of the classes they represented enabled both the bourgeois-liberal and the petty-bourgeois democratic parties to remain united in one form or another and to assert their common interests more or less effectively despite the reaction. After 1849 just as before 1848, only *one path* was open to the proletarian party—that of *secret association.* Consequently after 1849 a whole series of clandestine proletarian societies sprang up on the Continent, were discovered by the police, condemned by the courts, broken up by the gaols and continually resuscitated by the force of circumstances.

Some of these secret societies aimed directly at the overthrow of the existing state. This was fully justified in France where the proletariat had been defeated by the bourgeoisie and hence attacking the existing government and attacking the bourgeoisie were one and the same thing. Other secret societies aimed at organising the proletariat into a party, without concerning themselves with the existing governments. This was necessary in countries like Germany where both bourgeoisie and proletariat had succumbed to their semi-feudal governments and where in consequence a victorious assault on the existing governments, instead of breaking the power of the bourgeoisie or in any case of the so-called middle classes, would at first help them to gain power. There is no doubt that here too the members of the proletarian party would take part once again in a revolution against the *status quo,* but it was no part of their task to prepare this revolution, to agitate, conspire or to plot for it. They could leave this preparation to circumstances in general and to the classes directly involved. They had to leave it to them if they were not to abandon the position of their own party and the historic tasks that follow of themselves from the conditions governing the existence of the proletariat. For them the contemporary governments were but ephemeral phenomena, the *status quo* a brief stopping place and the task of toiling away at it could be left to the petty narrow-minded democrats.

The "*Communist League*", therefore, was no conspiratorial society, but a society which secretly strove to create an organised proletarian party because the German proletariat is publicly debarred, *igni et aqua,*[a] from writing, speaking and meeting. Such a society can only be said to conspire against the *status quo* in the sense that steam and electricity conspire against it.

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[a] *Igni et aqua interdictus* (deprived of fire and water)—the formula of banishment in ancient Rome.—*Ed.*

# Enthüllungen

über den

# Kommunisten-Prozeß

zu

# Köln.

1853.

Title-page of the 1853 Boston edition
of Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*

It is self-evident that a secret society of this kind which aims at forming not the *government party of the future* but the *opposition party of the future* could have but few attractions for individuals who on the one hand concealed their personal insignificance by strutting around in the theatrical cloak of the conspirator, and on the other wished to satisfy their narrow-minded ambition on the day of the next revolution, and who wished above all to seem important at the moment, to snatch their share of the proceeds of demagogy and to find a welcome among the quacks and charlatans of democracy.

Thus a group broke off from the Communist League, or if you like it was broken off, a group that demanded, if not real conspiracies, at any rate the *appearance* of conspiracies, and accordingly called for a direct alliance with the democratic heroes of the hour: this was the Willich-Schapper group. It was typical of them that Willich was, together with *Kinkel*, one of the entrepreneurs in the business of the German-American revolutionary loan.[a]

Such in short is the relation of this party to the majority of the Communist League, to which the Cologne defendants belonged. Bürgers and Röser defined it succinctly and exhaustively in the proceedings of the Cologne Assizes.

Let us pause before finally bringing our narrative to a close in order to take a glance at the behaviour of the Willich-Schapper group during the Cologne trial.

As was pointed out above, the data contained in the documents purloined from the group by Stieber make it plain that their documents contrived to find their way to the police even *after* Reuter's theft. To this day the group has failed to give an explanation of this phenomenon.

Schapper knew the facts about Cherval's past better than anyone. He knew that Cherval had entered the League on his nomination in 1846 and not on that of Marx in 1848, etc. By his silence he gives confirmation to Stieber's lies.

The group knew that Haacke, who was their member, had written the threatening letter to the witness, Haupt; but it allows the suspicion to remain on the heads of the party of the accused.

*Moses Hess*, a member of the group and the author of the *Red Catechism*[284]—that unfortunate parody of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*—Moses Hess, who not only writes but also distributes his own works, knew exactly to whom he had delivered parcels of his *Red*. He knew that Marx had not deprived him of his profusion of *Reds* to the extent of even a single copy. But Moses

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[a] See this volume, p. 325.—*Ed.*

calmly let suspicion fall on the accused, as if it were their party that had hawked his *Red*, together with its melodramatic accompanying letter, in the Rhine Province.

That the group made common cause with the Prussian police is apparent not only in their silence but also in their utterances: whenever they entered the trial it was not in the dock with the accused, but as "*witnesses for the Crown*".

*Hentze*, Willich's friend and benefactor, who admitted that he knew about the activities of the League, spent a few weeks in London with Willich and then journeyed to Cologne where he falsely testified that Becker (against whom there was far less evidence than against himself) had been a member of the League in 1848.

*Hätzel*, as the Dietz archive reveals, was a member of the group and received financial support from it. He had already been put on trial in Berlin for his association with the League and now he appeared as a witness for the prosecution. His testimony was false for he invented a wholly fictitious connection between the Rules of the League and the exceptional arming of the Berlin proletariat during the revolution.

*Steingens*, whose own letters proved (in the sitting on October 18) that he was the group's chief agent in Brussels, appeared in Cologne not as a defendant, but as a witness.

Not long before the court action in Cologne Willich and Kinkel sent a journeyman tailor[a] as emissary to Germany. Kinkel is not indeed a member of the group but Willich was co-director of the German-American revolutionary loan.

Kinkel was at that time already threatened by the danger, which was later to become a reality, of seeing himself and Willich removed by the London guarantors from control of the loan moneys and seeing the money itself drift back to America despite the indignant protests of Willich and himself. Kinkel was just then in need of the pseudo-mission *to* Germany and a pseudo-correspondence *with* Germany, partly in order to demonstrate that an area still existed there for his revolutionary activities and the American dollars, and partly to provide a pretext for the enormous costs of the correspondence, postal expenses, etc., that he and Willich managed to charge to the account (see Count O. Reichenbach's lithographed circular). Kinkel knew he had no contacts either with the bourgeois liberals or with the petty-bourgeois democrats in Germany. As he could not afford to be particular he used an emissary of the group as the emissary of the German-American Revolutionary League.[285]

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[a] August Gebert.— *Ed.*

This emissary's sole function was to promote antagonism among the workers towards the party of the accused in Cologne. It must be admitted that the moment was well chosen and it offered a new pretext in the nick of time to reopen the investigation. The Prussian police had been fully apprised of the emissary's identity, of the day of his departure and of his route. Who thus apprised them? We shall see. Their spies were present at the secret meetings he held in Magdeburg and they reported on the debates. The friends of the Cologne accused in Germany and in London trembled.

We have already narrated how on November 6 Hirsch went before the magistrate at Bow Street and admitted to having forged the original minute-book under the guidance of Greif and Fleury. It was Willich who induced him to take this step, and it was Willich and Schärttner the innkeeper who accompanied him to the magistrate. Three copies were made of Hirsch's confession and these were sent through the post to various addresses in Cologne.

It was of supreme importance to arrest Hirsch as soon as he left the court. With the aid of the officially witnessed statement in his possession it would have been possible for the case lost in Cologne to be won in London. If not for the accused, at any rate against the government. However, Willich did everything in his power to make such a step impossible. He observed the strictest silence not only towards the "Marx party", which was directly involved, but also towards his own people and even towards Schapper. Schärttner alone was taken into his confidence. Schärttner declared that he and Willich had accompanied Hirsch to the ship, for according to Willich's scheme Hirsch was to give evidence against himself in Cologne.

Willich informed Hirsch of the route by which the documents had been sent, Hirsch informed the Prussian Embassy, and the Prussian Embassy informed the post. The documents did not arrive at their destination; they disappeared. Some time after this, Hirsch, who had also vanished, re-appeared in London and declared at a public meeting of democrats that Willich was his accomplice.

Although it had been on a motion from Willich that Hirsch had been expelled as a spy from the Great Windmill Street Society in 1851, Willich admitted, when questioned, that he had resumed relations with Hirsch at the beginning of August 1852. For Hirsch had revealed to him that Fleury was a Prussian spy and had apprised him of all of Fleury's incoming and outgoing correspondence. He, Willich, made use of this to keep himself informed of the activities of the Prussian police.

It was notorious that Willich had been on terms of intimate

friendship with Fleury for about a year, and he had received assistance from him. But if Willich knew since August 1852 that he was a Prussian spy and if he was likewise familiar with his activities how was it possible that he should have remained ignorant of the original minute-book?

That he did not intervene until the Prussian government itself *disclosed* that Fleury was a spy?

That he intervened in a way which at best caused the removal of his ally Hirsch from England and of the officially witnessed proofs of Fleury's guilt from the hands of the "Marx party"?

That he continued to receive assistance from Fleury, who boasts that he has in his possession Willich's receipt for £15 sterling?

That Fleury continued to be actively engaged in the German-American revolutionary loan?

That he informed Fleury of the meeting place of his own secret society so that Prussian agents in the next room could make records of the debates?

That he revealed to Fleury the route of the above-mentioned emissary, the journeyman tailor, and that he even received money from Fleury towards the costs of this mission?

That, lastly, he told Fleury that he had instructed Hentze, who lived with him, how he should testify *against* Becker at the trial in Cologne?* It must be admitted—*que tout cela n'est pas bien clair.*[a]

## VII
## JUDGMENT[288]

As the police mysteries were gradually explained, public opinion declared itself increasingly in favour of the defendants. When it became apparent that the original minute-book was a fraud an acquittal was generally expected. The *Kölnische Zeitung* felt induced to defer to public opinion and to dissociate itself from the

* As to relations between Willich and Becker:

"Willich writes me the funniest letters; I do not reply, but this does not prevent him from describing his latest plans for a revolution. He has appointed me to revolutionise the Cologne garrison!!! The other day we laughed till the tears came. His idiocy will spell disaster for countless people yet; for a single letter would suffice to guarantee the salaries of a hundred Demagogue[286] judges for three years. As soon as I have completed the revolution in Cologne he would *have no objection* to assuming the leadership for all subsequent operations. Very kind of him!" (From a letter by Becker to Marx, January 27, 1851.) [*Note by Marx.*[287]]

[a] All that is not exactly clear (Beaumarchais, *La folle journée, ou le mariage de Figaro,* Act V, Scene 16).—*Ed.*

government. Little items favourable to the defendants and casting suspicion on Stieber suddenly found their way into columns that had earlier contained nothing but police insinuations. Even the Prussian government threw in the sponge. Its correspondents in *The Times* and *The Morning Chronicle* suddenly began to prepare public opinion abroad for an unfavourable outcome. Monstrous and destructive as the teachings of the defendants were, horrifying as were the documents found in their possession, conclusive evidence of a conspiracy was nevertheless wanting and a conviction was therefore unlikely. So low-spirited and discouraged did the Berlin correspondent of *The Times*[a] write, who obsequiously echoed the fears that were circulating in the upper circles of the city on the Spree. All the more extravagant then was the rejoicing of the Byzantine court and its eunuchs when the electric telegraph flashed its message of the jury's verdict of "Guilty" from Cologne to Berlin.

With the unmasking of the minute-book the case had advanced to a new stage. The jury was no longer free merely to find the defendants guilty or not guilty; they must either find the defendants guilty—or the government. To acquit the accused would mean condemning the government.

Replying to the summing-up for the defence, Public Prosecutor Saedt abandoned the original minute-book. He was unwilling to make use of a document on which such a slur had been cast, he himself thought that it was "unauthentic", it was an "unfortunate" book, it had resulted in much time being wasted, it added nothing factual to the case, Stieber's praiseworthy zeal had led in this instance to his being deceived, etc.

But the prosecution itself had maintained in its indictment that there was "much that was true" in the book. Far from declaring it spurious the prosecution had regretted only that it could not prove it to be authentic. But if the original minute-book was not authentic though Stieber had sworn to its authenticity, Cherval's statement in Paris was invalidated despite Stieber's sworn testimony, and to this statement Saedt had returned in his summing-up; indeed all the material evidence accumulated[b] by the most strenuous efforts of all the authorities of the Prussian state for $1^1/_2$ years was invalidated at one stroke. The court sitting set down for July 28 was postponed for three months. Why? Because Chief of Police Schulz had been taken ill. And who was Schulz? The original discoverer of the original

[a] The reference is to the item: "Prussia (From Our Own Correspondent)", Berlin, November 7, which was published in *The Times*, No. 21270, November 11, 1852.—*Ed.*

[b] A pun: instead of *aufgestöbert* (accumulated), Marx uses *aufgestiebert*—an allusion to *Stieber*.—*Ed.*

minute-book. Let us go back even further. In January and February 1852, Frau Dr. Daniels' house had been searched. On what grounds? On the grounds discovered in the *first few pages* of the original minute-book that Fleury had sent to Schulz, that Schulz had sent to the police authorities in Cologne, that the police authorities in Cologne had sent to the examining magistrate, that led the examining magistrate to the house of Frau Dr. Daniels.

In October 1851, despite the Cherval conspiracy, the Indictment Board was still unable to discover the missing indictable offence and on instructions from the Ministry it therefore ordered a new investigation. Who was in charge of this investigation? Chief of Police Schulz. It was therefore Schulz's task to discover the offence. What did Schulz discover? The original minute-book. The only new material he provided was limited to the loose leaves of the minute-book which on Stieber's orders were later completed and bound. Twelve months' solitary confinement for the accused simply to give the original minute-book the time necessary to be born and to grow. "Bagatelles!" Saedt exclaims and finds evidence of the guilt of the accused in the mere fact that it took them and their counsel eight days to clean out an Augean stable that all the authorities of the Prussian state had needed $1^1/_2$ years to fill while the accused had to remain $1^1/_2$ years in gaol. The original minute-book was no mere single item of evidence; it was the focal point where all the threads spun by the various Prussian governmental authorities met—embassy and police, ministry and magistracy, prosecution and postal authorities, London, Berlin and Cologne. The original minute-book meant so much to the case that it was invented in order that a case might be made out. Couriers, telegrams, the intercepting of letters, arrests, perjuries to support the original minute-book, forgeries to bring it into existence, attempted bribery to authenticate it. When the mystery of the original minute-book was revealed the mystery of the whole monster trial was revealed with it.

The miracles performed by the police were originally necessary to conceal the completely political nature of the trial. "The revelations you are about to witness, Gentlemen of the Jury," said Saedt when opening for the prosecution, "will prove to you that this trial is not a political trial." But now he emphasises its political character so that the police revelations should be forgotten. After the $1^1/_2$-year preliminary investigation the jury needed objective evidence in order to justify itself before public opinion. After the five-week-long police comedy they needed "politics *pure and simple*" to extricate themselves from the sheer mess. Saedt therefore did not only confine himself to the material that had led the Indictment Board to

the conclusion that "there was no factual evidence of an indictable offence". He went even further. He attempted to prove that the law against conspiracy does not require any indictable action, but is simply a law with a political purpose, and the category of conspiracy is therefore merely a pretext for burning political heretics in a legal way. The success of his attempt promised to be all the greater because of the decision to apply the new Prussian Penal Code that had been promulgated after the accused had been arrested. On the pretext that this code contained extenuating provisions the servile court was able to permit its retroactive application.

But if it was simply a political trial why a preliminary investigation lasting $1^1/_2$ years? For political reasons.

As it is therefore a question of politics are we to engage in a fundamental discussion of politics with a Saedt-Stieber-Seckendorf, with a Göbel, with a Prussian government, with the 300 most highly taxed people in the district of Cologne, with the Royal Chamberlain von Münch-Bellinghausen and with the Freiherr von Fürstenberg? *Pas si bête.*[a]

Saedt admits (in the sitting on November 8) that

"when some few months ago, the Chief Public Prosecutor commissioned him to join him in representing the prosecution in this affair, and when, as a result, he began to read through the files he first hit upon the idea of making a somewhat more thorough study of communism and socialism. He felt impelled to impart the results of his studies to the jury, especially since he thought he might proceed on the assumption that many of them like himself may have not greatly concerned themselves with the subject hitherto."

So Saedt bought the well-known compendium by Stein.[b]

And what he has learnt today,
he'll teach to others tomorrow.[c]

But the prosecution was afflicted by a singular misfortune. It sought objective evidence for a case against Marx and found objective evidence for the case Cherval. It went in search of the communism propagated by the defendants and found the communism they combated. Various sorts of communism can indeed be found in Stein's compendium, but not the sort Saedt was seeking. Stein had not yet recorded German, critical communism. It is true that Saedt has in his possession a copy of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* that the defendants recognise as the manifesto of their party. This *Manifesto* contains a chapter devoted to a criticism of the whole previous literature of socialism and communism, i.e. of

[a] We are not that stupid.—*Ed.*
[b] L. Stein, *Der Socialismus und Communismus des heutigen Frankreichs.*—*Ed.*
[c] Schiller, "Die Sonntagskinder" (paraphrased).—*Ed.*

the whole of the wisdom recorded in Stein. From this chapter the distinction between the kind of communism propounded by the defendants and all previous kinds must become apparent; that is to say the specific content and the *specific political tendency* of the theory against which Saedt seeks to act. But no Stein will help him over this stumbling-block.[a] Here understanding was essential, if only in order to prosecute. How did Saedt manage when Stein left him in the lurch? He claimed:

"The *Manifesto* consists of *three sections.* The first section contains a historical account of the social status of the various citizens (!) from the communist point of view" (very fine[b]). "...The second section expounds the communist point of view *vis-à-vis* the proletariat.... Lastly, the final section treats of the position of the Communists in different countries...." (!) (Sitting of November 6.)

Now in fact the *Manifesto* consists of four sections, not of three, but what the eye does not see the heart does not grieve over. Saedt claims therefore that there are three sections and not four. The section which for him does not exist is that same accursed section with the critique of communism as recorded by Stein, that is to say the section that contains the *specific brand* of communism advocated by the defendants. Poor Saedt! First he cannot find an *indictable offence,* and now he cannot find indictable *political views.*

But "grey, dear friend, is every theory".[c]

"In recent times," as Saedt observed, "competent and incompetent people have been concerned with the so-called social question and its solution."

Saedt at any rate belongs to the competent,[d] for three months ago the Chief Public Prosecutor, Seckendorf, officially authorised him to study socialism and communism. The Saedts of all times and all places have from time immemorial unanimously declared that Galileo was "incompetent" to explore the movements of the heavenly bodies, but that the inquisitor who accused him of heresy was "competent" to do so. *E pur si muove.**[e]

* Saedt was not only "competent". He was moreover—as a reward for his performance in this trial—appointed Chief Public Prosecutor for the Rhine Province and remained in this post until he was pensioned, and afterwards, provided with the holy sacraments, he passed on. [Note by Engels to the edition of 1885.]

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[a] A pun on the name *Stein* and the phrase *Stein des Anstosses* (stumbling-block).—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English words "very fine".—*Ed.*

[c] Goethe, *Faust,* Erster Teil, "Studierzimmer".—*Ed.*

[d] A pun on *berufen*—competent, authorised, appointed, called upon, and *unberufen*—incompetent, unauthorised, etc.—*Ed.*

[e] But it does move.—*Ed.*

The defendants, who represented the revolutionary proletariat, stood defenceless before the ruling classes who were represented by the jury; the defendants therefore were condemned because they stood before this jury. What could, for a moment, move the bourgeois conscience of the jury, just as it had deeply disturbed public opinion, was the unmasking of the intrigues of the government, the corruption of the Prussian government that had been laid bare before their eyes. But, the members of the jury reasoned, if the Prussian government could risk using such infamous and at the same time such foolhardy methods against the accused, if it could, as it were, stake its European reputation, then the accused must be damnably dangerous, however small their party, and their theories in any case must be a real power. The government has violated every law in the penal code in order to protect us from these monstrous criminals. Let us for our part sacrifice our little *point d'honneur* to save the government's honour. Let us be thankful and let us condemn.

With their verdict of *Guilty* the Rhenish nobility and the Rhenish bourgeoisie joined in the cry uttered by the French bourgeoisie after December 2: "Property can be saved only by theft, religion only by perjury, the family only by bastardy, order only by disorder!"

In France the whole political edifice has prostituted itself. And yet no institution prostituted itself so deeply as French courts of law and French juries. Let us surpass the French judges and jurymen, the judge and jury exclaimed in Cologne. In the Cherval case immediately after the coup d'état the Paris jury acquitted Nette though there was more evidence against him than against *any one* of the accused [in Cologne]. Let us surpass the jury of the coup d'état of December 2. Let us, in condemning Röser, Bürgers, etc., also condemn Nette retrospectively.

Thus the superstitious faith in the jury, still rampant in Rhenish Prussia, was broken. People realised that the jury was a court-martial of the privileged classes; it was created to bridge the gaps in the law with the broad bourgeois conscience.

*Jena!*[289] ...That is the final outcome of a government that requires such methods in order to survive and of a society that needs such a government for its protection. The word that should stand at the end of the communist trial in Cologne is ... **Jena!**

# Karl Marx

## PARLIAMENT.—VOTE OF NOVEMBER 26.—DISRAELI'S BUDGET

London, Friday, December 10, 1852

My predictions on the eventful results of the renewed party struggle in Parliament have been realized.[a] At the opening of the session[b] the opposition commanded a negative majority against ministers; but the several conflicting fractions which composed that majority have, since then, mutually paralyzed each other. The House of Commons, on the 26th of November, when it adopted, instead of the "radical" free trade resolution of Mr. Villiers, the equivocal amendment of Lord Palmerston, offered the spectacle of universal and mutual cheating, of the general dissolution and dislocation of all the old parliamentary parties.

The resolution of Mr. Villiers, which designed the act of 1846[290] as "wise and just," was drawn up without the knowledge of Cobden and Bright, the free traders *par excellence.* The Whigs had resolved to act for the interests of the free traders, without conceding to them either the initiative or any share in the Government, after the presumed victory. Russell, the original author of the words "wise and just," so offensive to the ministry, gave his consent to the Graham amendment; the Peelites, joined by the Ministerialists, tendered a proposition which recognizes the expediency of free trade for the future, and denies it in the past, leaving the Tories at liberty to compensate for the losses sustained by the act of Sir Robert Peel; the same Peelites rejected the amendment of Disraeli, and reassuming their own proposition, prepared to support the original free trade resolution; the Whigs, on the very eve of triumph, routed by the appearance of

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[a] See this volume, pp. 369-77.—*Ed.*
[b] On November 4, 1852.—*Ed.*

Palmerston, who took up the amendment of Graham, and thus, with the assistance of the Peelites, secured the victory to the Ministerialists; finally, the victory itself, won by a protectionist ministry, consisted in the recognition of free trade, and was opposed by none but the fifty-three most decided adherents of their own party. Such an imbroglio of false positions, party intrigues, Parliamentary maneuvers, mutual treasons, &c., is the *résumé* of the debate on the 26th, in which the policy of free trade was officially acknowledged, but interpreted by Protectionists, represented by Protectionists, and to be carried out by Protectionists.

In a former letter, written before the commencement of the session, I indicated already that Disraeli, after dropping himself, in his electioneering speeches, the restoration of the Corn Laws, intended to compensate the landlords in the shape of a tax reform, which would enable the farmers to continue to pay their old Protectionist rents.[a] By taking off the farmer's shoulders part of the present weight of taxation, and imposing it on the backs of the mass of the people, Disraeli flatters himself to have discovered a panacea for the suffering landlords far more available than the old precarious system of protection which speculated directly on the *stomachs* of the multitude. To speculate on their *pockets*—such is the ingenious plan of Mr. Disraeli, now revealed in his budget, which, on the 3d inst., he laid before the House of Commons, and the fate of which will probably be decided in this night's debate.

It is customary with German Governments and German philanthropists to talk of "measures for the elevation of the laboring classes." (Massregeln zur Hebung der arbeitenden Klassen.)[291] Now, Mr. Disraeli's budget might not improperly be called a series of "measures for the elevation of the idle classes." However, as in the case of our German Governments and philanthropists, such measures have regularly turned out mere shams, so also the plan at present contemplated by the English Chancellor of the Exchequer for the benefit of the idle classes is a plain humbug, intended to induce the farmers the more readily to pay their actual high rents, by holding out to them an apparent reduction of their burdens, a delusion which he can only practise upon them by some evident real defraudation of the town population.

Disraeli had, for a long time, mysteriously announced his

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[a] See this volume, p. 364.—*Ed.*

budget; he had promised the world with no less than an eighth miracle. His budget was to

"put a term to the strife of interests; to end the internecine war between classes;" to "give satisfaction to all, without damaging any of them;" to "melt the different interests in one flourishing community;" to "create for the first time a harmony between our commercial and financial systems, by the establishment of new principles," *looming in the future.*[a]

Let us now examine his revelations which no longer loom in the future, but have already since a week been communicated to the English Parliament and the world at large. As it behoves such revelations of mysteries, Disraeli introduced them with the fitting ceremonial and important-looking behavior. Peel, in his financial statement of 1842, had spoken for two hours; Disraeli takes no less than full five hours.[b] One hour he dilated in showing that the "suffering" interests do not suffer; another one in what he did *not mean* to do for them, on which occasion he contradicted Walpole's, Packington's, Malmesbury's and his own former declarations; and the remainder of the five hours in the *exposé* of the budget, and sundry episodes on the condition of Ireland, the defense of the country, prospective reforms in the Administration, and other entertaining topics.

The principal features of the budget are as follows:

1. *The Shipping Interest.* A portion of the light dues is relaxed, amounting to about £100,000 per annum. This is a relief of less than sixpence per tun per annum, and cannot reach the shipping interest before the middle of the ensuing year. The charge for passing tolls is entirely to cease. Some of the powers of the Admiralty, which have given offense to the merchant navy, shall be done away with, viz.: the officers of the navy, if they enlist seamen of foreign stations, are not to require immediate payment of their wages—they are to furnish gratuitous assistance to vessels in distress—and in harbor they are not to drive peaceable craft out of the most eligible anchorage. Finally, a Committee of the

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[a] Quoted from the following documents: Disraeli's address to the electors of the County of Buckingham, March 1, 1852, published in *The Times*, No. 21052, March 2, 1852, under the title "The New Chancellor of the Exchequer and His Constituences"; Disraeli's speech at a dinner arranged by the electors of the County of Buckingham, March 12, 1852 (*The Times*, No. 21062, March 13, 1852); Disraeli's speech in the House of Commons, November 11, 1852 (*The Times*, No. 21271, November 12, 1852).—*Ed.*

[b] Disraeli's speech in the House of Commons on December 3, 1852, published in *The Times*, No. 21290, December 4, 1852, under the title "The Financial Statement".—*Ed.*

House of Commons is to be appointed on the subject of pilotage and ballasting. So much for the shipping interest. Lest the free traders should boast of any positive concession made to them by these provisions, the remnant of the timber duties remains as it was.

2. *Colonial Interest.* Leave is granted to refine sugar in bond, so that henceforth duty will be payable upon the quantity of saleable refined sugar produced, instead of upon the raw produce itself. Besides this, the Chinese immigration to the West Indies is to be encouraged to supply the planters with a sufficient number of cheap labor. The differential duties on sugar shall not be abolished.

3. *Malt-Tax and Hop-Duties.* The malt-tax is to be reduced by one-half, which, according to Mr. Disraeli's statement, would engender a loss of revenue amounting to £2,500,000. The hop-duties are likewise to be reduced to one-half, which would create another loss of about £300,000. These reductions are to take place on and from the 10th of October, 1853. Instead of the existing prohibition of foreign malt, and the actual duty on foreign hop, foreign hop and malt will be admitted at a duty corresponding to the excise-duty charged there.

4. *Tea.* The present duty shall be reduced from 2s.2$^1/_2$ d. to ls. per lb. upon all qualities, but this reduction shall be effected gradually within six years, so that in 1853 there will be a reduction of 4$^1/_2$ d. and every following year of 2d. till the expiration of 1858. The reduction for the year 1853 would thereby amount to £400,000.

5. *Property-and Income-Tax.* This tax, which has only been voted until August 5, 1853, is to be renewed for three years, the amount remaining the same, but the distribution to be altered. There shall be a distinction between the charges on realized property and those on industrial income. Real properties and the funds continue to be charged at 7 pence the pound; while on industrial incomes (farmers, trades, professions, and salaries) an abatement on the charge from 3 per cent. upon 2 per cent. is projected. The latter are henceforth only to pay 5$^1/_4$d. in the pound. On the other hand the standard of exemption shall be lowered from £150 to £100 per annum, and upon property and funds to £50 a year. To prevent all losses to farmers by this projected change, they are to be charged at the rate of one-third of the rent, in place of one-half at present, so that the alteration will exempt all farmers renting less than £300 a year. As a boon to the Church, all parsons with an income of £100 a year shall

remain exempt from the tax. Finally, the income-tax is for the first time to be extended to Ireland, not by any means, to the landlords, but only as far as regards funds and salaries.

6. *House-Tax.*—This is to be extended to all occupiers of houses rented at £10 per annum, instead, as formerly, only to those occupiers of houses valued at £20 per annum. Besides, the rate of the house-tax shall be doubled, i.e., from sixpence in the pound on shops, and ninepence in the pound on dwelling-houses, to one shilling and one shilling sixpence respectively.

The *résumé* of this budget would be—

*On one side:* Extension of the income-tax in England to such classes of the town population as have hitherto been exempted from it, and introduction of the same into Ireland for fund-holders and public functionaries; extension of the house-tax to such classes of the town population as were hitherto exempted from it, and doubling of the rate of the tax. *On the other side:* Diminution of the agricultural malt-tax and hop-duty by £2,800,000; relief of the shipping interest by £100,000; reduction of the tea-duties by £400,000.

The town population is to receive an increase of taxation in the shape of a new income-tax, an extension of the house-tax, and a double rate of the same, in order to relieve the rural population of a tax-amount of £2,800,000. The small shopkeeper, the better-paid mechanic and the commercial clerk would thus find themselves contributors to the house-tax, and become for the first time subject to the income-tax. The land accordingly would have to pay sevenpence in the pound, while dwelling-houses would pay two shillings one penny. The reduction in the tea-duties does not affect this proportion, its amount being comparatively very small with regard to the increased direct taxation, and its advantages being alike accessible to the country and to the towns.

The exemption of Irish landlords from all income-tax, of English farmers and clergymen from the extended income-tax, is manifestly a favor bestowed on the country at the cost of the towns. But who is the gainer by the reduction of the malt-tax—the landlord, the farmer, or the consumer? A reduction of taxes is a reduction of the risks of production. According to the laws of political economy, a reduction in the costs of production would involve a reduction of prices, and consequently benefit neither the landlord nor the farmer, but only the consumer.

There are, however, two circumstances to be considered in this case. In the first place, the soil on which first-rate barley can be grown is monopoly land in England, and restricted to Notting-

hamshire, Norfolk, etc., while the foreign supply of malt is limited by the nature of the commodity itself, neither barley nor malt being able to support long sea-voyages. Secondly, the large English brewers virtually possess a monopoly, chiefly supported by the present license system, so that even the abolition of the Corn Laws has effected no fall in the prices of porter and ale.

Thus, then, the gain on the reduction of the malt-tax would neither be in favor of the farmer nor the consumer, but only become divided between the landlords and the great brewers.—And as the odious interference of the excise with agriculture is to be maintained, the collecting of half the sum of the former taxes would continue to absorb the same amount of administrative costs as that of the whole did before. At present, the costs of collecting £14,400,000 of excise duties amount to £5 6s per cent. After the reduction of the tax by three millions, the rate would amount from £6 to £6 4s. Briefly, there would be so much less profit, and so much mischievous expense more.

The budget of Disraeli thus resumes itself into a compensation to landlords; "a compensation with a revenge."

But this budget has yet another no less interesting feature.

If you want to carry your commercial system of free trade, you have first of all to change your financial system. "You have to return from indirect taxation to direct taxation," says Disraeli, and Disraeli is right.

Direct taxation, as the most simple, is also the most ancient and first mode of taxation, contemporaneously with a state of society based on landed property. The towns afterward introduced the system of indirect taxation, but in the course of time, with the modern division of labor, the system of Great Industry, and the direct dependence of the home trade upon the foreign trade and the market of the world, the system of indirect taxation comes into a twofold conflict with the social wants. On the frontiers it becomes identical with protective duties, and disturbs or prevents the free intercourse with other countries. In the interior it is identical with fiscal interference in production—unsettles the relative value of commodities, and disturbs free competition and exchange. From both these reasons its abolition becomes a necessity. The system of direct taxation must be returned to. But direct taxation admits of no delusions, and every class perceives exactly what share it has in the contribution towards the public expenses. Nothing is therefore less popular in England than direct taxation, income-tax, property-tax, house-tax, etc. Now the question is, how the industrial classes of England, forced by free trade to adopt the system of direct taxation

will be able to introduce it without either incurring popular indignation or increasing their own burdens.

Only by three ways.

*By attacking the public debt*; but that would be a violation of public credit, confiscation, a revolutionary measure.

*By chiefly taxing the rent of land*; but that also would be an attack upon property, confiscation, a revolutionary measure.

*By re-vindicating the Church estates*; but that again is a further attack upon property, confiscation, revolutionary measure.

"By no means," says Cobden; "let us reduce the public expenses and we shall be able to reduce also our present taxation!"

This is Utopian. Firstly the international relations of England with the Continent require a perpetual increase of the national expenses; secondly, a victory of the industrial class, represented by Cobden, would have the same consequences, for the war between capital and labor would become only the more intense and the means of repression require to be increased—in other words, the budget admits of no reduction. Let me resume.

Free Trade drives towards the system of direct taxation; the system of direct taxation involves revolutionary measures against the Church, Landlords and Fund-holders; these revolutionary measures necessitate an alliance with the working classes; and this alliance deprives the English *bourgeoisie* of the principal results it expected from Free Trade, viz.: the illimited domination of capital over labor.

Written about December 10, 1852

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## A REPLY TO KOSSUTH'S "SECRETARY"

TO THE EDITOR OF *THE N.-Y. TRIBUNE*

London, Tuesday, December 14, 1852

Sir: It is some time since I sent you an explanation[a] on my late correspondence respecting the movements of Kossuth and Mazzini,[b] which caused such a noisy outburst from the American press. This explanation—in which I stated, among other things, that Kossuth himself was a perfect stranger to the different articles called forth by my correspondence, and that my intention had been rather to give a warning, &c., than to make an attack on the parties alluded to—was all I considered necessary to say on the subject, until I received the latest American newspapers containing a sort of official refutation of my remarks from the pen of a pretended Secretary of Mr. Kossuth. With regard to this "document," I have to inform you that Kossuth, on being referred to, has assured me:

1. That, at the present time, he keeps no Secretary at all.
2. That the said "refutation" had not been written by his authorization.
3. That he had not even known of it before he received my communication.

After this "authorized" declaration I shall recur no more to the subject, leaving to the uncalled-for advocates to console themselves for their ill-applied zeal.

*Your Private Correspondent*

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3656, January 4, 1853

Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] See this volume, pp. 382-83.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 354-56.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE DEFEAT OF THE MINISTRY

London, Friday, December 17, 1852

I hasten to inform you of the result of last night's debate,[a] which is the defeat of the Ministry.

This general defeat of the Ministers was preceded by the disgraceful result of the single combat of their most audacious champion, Achilles-Beresford, the Secretary of War. The Committee on the Derby Elections have made their report. That report confirms all the different facts already denounced in the petition of the Liberals, and concludes that the evidence proves that a wholesale system of bribery was carried on during the elections at Derby. The Committee, however, have forborne to follow up the evidence, and instead of directly involving Mr. Beresford in a charge of attempted bribery, they contented themselves with a severe stricture on his "reckless indifference and disregard of consequences." It remains to be seen if Parliament will accede to the views of this honest Committee and allow Mr. Beresford to retain his seat. Should that be the case, it would itself grant its ratification to the memorable words of Mr. Secretary Beresford, that "the people of England are the vilest rabble he ever saw in the world." Be this as it may be, his seat as a Minister Mr. Beresford cannot retain.

After this short digression I return to my original subject.

The members of the House of Commons having debated during four consecutive nights and the greater part of the fifth, the question whether the question should be taken upon the whole budget, or on the whole resolution, on principles or on facts, upon

[a] The debate in the House of Commons on December 16, 1852.—*Ed.*

this or that point, the conclusion at which they arrived at last, was that the House had, at present, only to meddle with the increase of the house-tax, the extension of the area of *direct taxation.*

The House rejected this first proposition of Mr. Disraeli's budget, as follows:

Ayes ..... 286 Noes ..... 305

Majority against Ministers, 19. The House then adjourned till Monday next. The pressure of time forbids me to speak on the debate as extensively as I could wish. I shall, therefore, confine myself to discussing merely the most memorable passages of Mr. Disraeli's last speech, by far the most important of all.

Sir Charles Wood, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir James Graham, had directed their chief attacks against his proposed appropriation of the Public Works Loan Fund (£400,000 per annum) to balance the effects of the reduction in the shipping dues. Sir James Graham, especially, had contended most strenuously for the beneficial working of that Fund. What does Mr. Disraeli answer?[a]

"I will show the Committee what flagrant misappropriation there has been of the funds of this country, and how immense an amount of money has been squandered away, virtually without the cognizance and control of Parliament, and entirely by the machinery of this Public Works Loan Fund."

And then follows a detailed description of the scandalous financial management of the Whig administration with regard to these funds. Disraeli then proceeds to explain the principles of his budget:

"There was a very important question to settle, before we could decide even as to the first step we should take, and that was the question how far we should prevail upon the country to fix upon that sum of direct taxation which was necessary for any Ministry that attempted to enter into a career of financial Reform. [Hear!] I have been accused by the member for Halifax (Sir Charles Wood) of making a proposition which recklessly increases the direct taxation of the country. [Hear! hear!] I have been accused by the member for Carlisle (Sir J. Graham) of pushing direct taxation to rash extremes. In the first place, the proposition I made on the part of the Government, instead of recklessly increasing the amount of direct taxation, would not, if it passed, occasion so great an amount of direct taxation as prevailed under the superintendence of the finances by the right honorable gentleman, the member for Halifax, when he enjoyed not only the income- and property-tax, but the window-tax, which, in the last year of its existence, brought him nearly two millions of pounds sterling. [Cheers.] The right honorable gentleman who says, you must not recklessly increase the amount of direct taxation, reduced the amount which he received in his last year from the

[a] Disraeli's speech in the House of Commons on December 16, 1852 is quoted from *The Times*, No. 21301, December 17, 1852.—*Ed.*

window-tax, and was content with the modest sum of seven hundred thousand pounds sterling by way of commutation for the window-tax. I cannot forget that the right honorable gentleman who recklessly charges me with increasing the amount of direct taxation proposed first a complete commutation which would have made his house-tax larger than the one I had proposed. [Loud cheers.] But is this all? Is this all that has been done by the right honorable gentleman who charges me with increasing recklessly the direct taxation of the country? Why, there is the Minister who with a property-tax you have now producing its full amount, with the window-tax that brought nearly two millions, came down to the House of Commons one day and proposed to a startled assembly to double nearly the property- and income-tax. [Great cheering.] I look on this conduct as indicating recklessness of consequences.... We hear of the duplication of the house-tax—an innocent amount; but if the right honorable gentleman had carried the duplication of the property- and income-tax, I think he might fairly have been charged with recklessly increasing the direct taxation of the country. [Loud cheers.] Talk of recklessness! Why, what in the history of finances is equal to the recklessness with which the right honorable gentleman acted? [Loud cheers.] And what was the ground on which he made this monstrous and enormous proposition; a proposition which only the safety of the State would have justified him in making? When he was beaten, baffled, humiliated, he came forward to say that he had sufficient revenue without resorting to that proposition. [Great and continued cheering.] The future historian will not be believed to be telling the truth when he says that the Minister came down to nearly double the income-tax, and the next day came down to say that the ways and means were ample." [Renewed cheering.]

Having thus retaliated upon Sir Charles Wood, he continues:

"We had to assert that there is a difference between property and income, a difference between precarious and certain income. We had next to vindicate a principle which we believed, and do believe, is a just one, and which, if not now, must ultimately be recognized and adopted—namely, that the *basis of direct taxation should be enlarged.* [Ministerial cheers.]... If it be sought to establish as a permanent feature of our social system that there shall be created classes who are to exercise political power by means of throwing an undue weight of direct taxation upon the wealthier portion of the community, and an undue weight of indirect taxation on the working classes, I cannot imagine a circumstance more fatal to this country, or one more pregnant with disastrous consequences. [Cheers.] But of this I feel convinced, that those who will first experience the disastrous consequences will be the privileged class."

Turning round upon the free traders Disraeli says:

"The great opponents of colonial imposts here we find them all arrayed in favor of high taxation for the producer, and here we find them, with taunts to us, using all the fallacies which we at least have had the courage honorably to give up. [Tremendous cheering.] Tell me protection is dead! Tell me, there is no Protectionist party! Why, 'tis rampant and 'tis there. [Pointing to the Opposition benches.] They have taken up our principles with our benches, and I believe they will be quite as unsuccessful." [Cheers.]

In conclusion, Disraeli replies to the benevolent suggestion of Sir Charles Wood to withdraw his budget, in the following words:

"I have been told to withdraw my budget. I was told that Mr. Pitt withdrew his budget, and that more recently other persons" (the Whigs and especially Sir Ch.

Wood) "had done so too. [Laughter.] Now, I do not aspire to the fame of Mr. Pitt, but I will not submit to the degradation of others. [Loud cheers.] No, Sir; I have seen the consequence of a government not being able to pass their measures—consequences not honorable to the government, not advantageous to the country, and not, in my opinion, conducive to the reputation of this House, which is most dear to me. [Loud cheers.] I remember a budget which was withdrawn, and re-withdrawn, and withdrawn again [laughter] in 1848. What was the consequence of the government existing upon sufferance? What was the consequence to the finances of this country? Why, that ignoble transaction respecting the commutation of the window and house duty, which now I am obliged to attempt to readjust. [Cheers.] The grievance is deeper than mere questions of party consideration.... Yes, I know what I have to face. I have to face a coalition. [Cheers.] This combination may be successful. A coalition has before this been successful. But coalitions, although successful, have always found this, that their triumph has been very brief. This I know, that England has not loved coalitions. [Cheers.] I appeal from the coalition to that public opinion which governs this country; to that public opinion whose wise and irresistible influence can control even the decrees of parliament, and without whose support the most august and ancient institutions are but the baseless fabric of a vision. [The Right Honorable gentleman resumed his seat amid deafening and prolonged cheering.]"

What now is the opinion of the daily press respecting the results of this ministerial defeat!

*The Morning Chronicle* (Peelite) and *The Morning Advertiser* (Radical) regard the retreat of the Ministry as a certainty. *The Times* is likewise of opinion that Ministers will retreat, doubting, however, the possibility of the Opposition of making as easily a new Administration as they have unmade the old one. *The Daily News* (Manchester School) assumes the possibility of a reconstitution of the fallen Ministry in combination with Lord Palmerston. *The Morning Post* (Palmerston) considers this recomposition as a matter of course. Lastly, *The Morning Herald* (Derby-Disraeli) declares that if Ministers tender their resignation to-day, the Queen[a] will be obliged to send for them again on the next day.

One thing is certain: Ministers have been defeated on the ground of a Free Trade resolution, the extension of direct taxation. At all events, they have this satisfaction, that, if they resisted successfully the first Parliamentary attack by denying their own principles, the Opposition have beaten them in the second battle only by the negation of theirs.

Thus, what I formerly said with regard to the position of the Parliamentary parties,[b] has been confirmed entirely in this debate. The coalesced Opposition possesses, compared with the compact-

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[a] Victoria.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 369-72.—*Ed.*

ness of 286 Tories, only a majority of 19 votes. Let them form a new Government, and it will fall on the first opportunity. Should the Opposition Government dissolve the House of Commons, the new elections will return, under the old conditions, the same result, viz., another House of Commons, in which the different parties will again paralyse themselves, when the old game has to be recommenced, and England's politics are plunged once more in a *cercle vicieux.*

I, therefore, insist on the old dilemma: either *Continuation of the Tory Government,* or *Parliamentary Reform.*

Written on December 17, 1852

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 3659, January 6 (evening edition) and January 7 (morning edition), 1853

Signed: *Karl Marx*

# Karl Marx

## A SUPERANNUATED ADMINISTRATION.— PROSPECTS OF THE COALITION MINISTRY, &c.

London, Tuesday, January 11, 1853

"We have now arrived at the commencement of the *political millennium* in which party spirit is to fly from the earth, and genius, experience, industry and patriotism are to be the sole qualifications for office. We have got a Ministry which seems to command the approval and support of men of every class of opinion. Its principles command universal assent and support."

Such are the words with which *The Times*, in their first excitement and enthusiasm, have ushered in the Aberdeen Administration.[a] From their tenor one would imagine that England is henceforth to be blessed with the spectacle of a Ministry composed entirely of new, young, and promising characters, and the world will certainly be not a little puzzled when it shall have learned that the new era in the history of Great Britain is to be inaugurated by all but used-up decrepit octogenarians. Aberdeen, an octogenarian; Lansdowne, with a foot already in the grave; Palmerston, Russell, fast approaching a similar state; Graham, the bureaucrat, who served under almost every Administration since the close of the last century; other members of the Cabinet—twice dead of age and exhaustion and only resuscitated into an artificial existence; on the whole a half score of centenarians, such is the stock of which, by a simple sum of addition, the new millennium appears to have been made up by the writer in *The Times*.

In this millennium then we are promised the total disappearance of party warfare, nay even of parties themselves. What is the meaning of *The Times*? Because certain portions of the Aristocracy

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[a] The reference is to the leading article in *The Times*, No. 21316, January 4, 1853.—*Ed.*

have hitherto enjoyed the privilege of assuming the appearance of national or parliamentary parties, and have now come to the conclusion that the farce cannot be continued for the future, because, on the ground of that conviction and in virtue of the hard experiences lately undergone, these aristocratic côteries mean now to give up their little quibbles and to combine into one compact mass for the preservation of their common privileges—is the existence of all parties to cease from this hour? Or is not the very fact of such a "coalition" the most explicit indication that the time has arrived when the actually grown-up and yet partially unrepresented fundamental classes of modern society, the industrial bourgeoisie and the working class, are about to vindicate to themselves the position of the only political parties in the nation?

The Tories, under the Administration of Lord Derby, have once for ever denegated their old Protectionist doctrine and professed themselves Free Traders. The Earl of Derby, on announcing the resignation of his Cabinet, said:

> "I, My Lords, remember, and probably your Lordships will remember, that the noble Earl (Aberdeen) has, upon more than one occasion, declared in this house that, the question of Free Trade excepted, he knew of *none* upon which there was *any* difference between himself and the present Government."[a]

Lord Aberdeen, in confirming this statement, goes still further in his remarks: "He was ready to unite with the noble Earl (Derby) in resisting the encroachments of Democracy, but he was at a loss to see where this Democracy existed." On both sides it is granted that there is no longer any difference between Peelites and Tories. But this is not all. With regard to the foreign policy, the Earl of Aberdeen observes:

> "For thirty years, though there have been differences in execution, the principle of the foreign policy of the country has never varied."[b]

Accordingly, the whole struggle between Aberdeen and Palmerston, from 1830 till 1850, when the former insisted on the alliance with the Northern Powers, and the latter on the "entente cordiale" with France, when the one was against and the other for Louis Philippe, the one against and the other in favor of

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[a] Speech in the House of Lords on December 20, 1852, *The Times*, No. 21304, December 21, 1852.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and in what follows the quotations are from Aberdeen's speech in the House of Lords on December 27, 1852, as published in *The Times*, No. 21310, December 28, 1852.—*Ed.*

intervention;[292] all their quarrels and disputes, even their late common indignation at Lord Malmesbury's "disgraceful" conduct of the foreign affairs—all this is confessed to have been mere humbug. And yet, is there anything in the political relations of England that has undergone a more radical change than her foreign policy? Up to 1830—alliance with the Northern Powers; since 1830—union with France (quadruple alliance);[293] since 1848—complete isolation of England from the whole Continent.

Lord Derby having first assured us that there exists no difference between Tories and Peelites, the Earl of Aberdeen further assures us that there is also no difference between Peelites and Whigs, Conservatives and Liberals. In his opinion:

"The country is tired of distinctions without meaning, and which have no real effect on the conduct or principles of public men. No Government is possible except a Conservative Government, and it is equally true that none is possible except a Liberal Government."

"These terms have no very definite meaning. The country is sick of these distinctions without meaning."

The three factions of the Aristocracy, Tories, Peelites and Whigs, consequently agree, that they possess no real marks of distinction. But there is still another subject on which they agree. Disraeli had declared that it was his intention to carry out the principle of Free Trade. Lord Aberdeen says:

"The great object of the Queen's present ministers, and the great characteristic of their Government would be the maintenance and prudent extension of Free Trade. That was the mission with which they were peculiarly entrusted."

In a word, the entire Aristocracy agree, that the Government has to be conducted for the benefit, and according to the interests of the middle-class, but they are determined that the bourgeoisie are not to be themselves the governors of this affair; and for this object all that the old Oligarchy possess of talent, influence and authority are combined, in a last effort, into one Administration, which has for its task [to keep] the bourgeoisie, as long as possible, from the direct enjoyment of governing the nation. The coälized Aristocracy of England intend, with regard to the bourgeoisie, to act on the same principle upon which Napoleon I professed to act in reference to the people: "*Tout pour le peuple, rien par le peuple.*"[a]

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[a] "Everything for the people, nothing through the people."—*Ed.*

"There must, however," as Ernest Jones observes in *The People's Paper*, "be some disguise to the evident object of excluding the middle-class, and this, they (the Ministers) hope, is afforded by an admixture in subordinate and uninfluential places of aristocratic Liberals, like Sir William Molesworth, Bernal Osborne, &c. But let them not imagine that this dandified Mayfair liberalism will satisfy the stern men of the Manchester School. They mean business, and nothing less. They mean pounds, shillings, pence—place, office, and the gigantic revenues of the largest empire of the world, placed with all its resources subservient to the disposal of their one class-interest."[a]

Indeed, a glance at *The Daily News*, *The Advertiser*, and more particularly *The Manchester Times*,[b] that direct organ of Mr. Bright, is sufficient to convince any one, that the men of the Manchester School, in provisionally promising their support to the Coalition Government, intend only to observe the same policy on which the Peelites and Whigs had acted in reference to the late Derby Cabinet; *i.e.* to give ministers a fair trial. What the meaning of a "fair trial" may be, Mr. Disraeli has recently had occasion to learn.

The defeat of the Tory Cabinet having been decided by the Irish Brigade,[294] the new Coalition Government, of course, considered it necessary to take steps for securing the Parliamentary support of that party. Mr. Sadleir, the broker of the brigade, was soon seduced by a Lordship of Treasury. Mr. Keogh had the offer of the Irish Solicitor-Generalship, while Mr. Monsell was made Clerk of Ordnance.

"And by these three purchases," says *The Morning Herald*, "the brigade is supposed to be gained."

However, there is ample reason for doubting the effectuality of these three purchases in securing the adhesion of the entire brigade, and in *The Irish Freeman's Journal*[c] we actually read:

"This is the critical moment for Tenant Right and Religious Liberty. The success or failure of these questions depend not now on Ministers, but on the Irish members. Nineteen votes have overthrown the Derby Administration. Ten men, by walking from one side to the other, would have altered the event. In this state of parties the Irish members are omnipotent."

At the conclusion of my last letter I had stated it as my opinion, that there was no other alternative but that of a Tory Government

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[a] Ernest Jones, "The New Mixture", *The People's Paper*, No. 35, January 1, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the *Examiner and Times*.—*Ed.*

[c] Of December 18, 1852.—*Ed.*

or a Parliamentary Reform.[a] It will interest your readers to become acquainted with Lord Aberdeen's views on the same subject. He says:

"The improvement of the condition of the people could not exclude (sic!) the amendment of the representative system; for unquestionably, the events of the last election had not been such as to render any man enamoured of it."

And at the elections consequent on their acceptance of office, Lord Aberdeen's colleagues declared unanimously, that reforms in the representative system were called for; but in every instance they gave their audiences to understand, that such reforms must be "moderate or rational reforms, and made not rashly, but deliberately and with caution." Consequently the more rotten the present representative system turns out and is acknowledged to be, the more desirable is it that it should be altered neither rashly nor radically.

On the occasion of the late re-elections of Ministers there has been made a first trial of a new invention for public men to preserve their character under all circumstances, whether *out* or *in*. The invention consists in a hitherto unpracticed application of the "*open question*." Osborne and Villiers had pledged themselves on former occasions upon the ballot. They now declare the ballot an open question. Molesworth had pledged himself to Colonial Reform—open question. Keogh, Sadleir, etc., were pledged on Tenant Right—open question. In a word, all the points which they had always treated as settled, in their quality of members, have become questionable to them as Ministers.

In conclusion I have to mention another curiosity, resulting from the coalition of Peelites, Whigs, Radicals and Irishmen. Each of their respective notabilities has been turned out of that department for which alone they were supposed to possess some talent or qualification, and they have been appointed to places wondrously ill-suiting them. Palmerston, the renowned Minister of Foreign Affairs, is appointed to the Home Department, from which Russell has been removed, although grown old in that office, to take the direction of Foreign Affairs. Gladstone, the Escobar of Puseyiteism,[295] is nominated Chancellor of the Exchequer. Molesworth, who possessed a certain reputation for his having copied or adopted Mr. Wakefield's[296] absurd colonization system, is appointed Commissioner of Public Works. Sir Charles Wood, who as a Minister of Finance, enjoyed the privilege of being upset either with a deficit or a surplus in the treasury, is

[a] See this volume, p. 500.—*Ed.*

entrusted with the Presidentship of the Board of Control of Indian Affairs. Monsell, who hardly knows how to distinguish a rifle from a musket, is made Clerk of Ordnance. The only personage who has found his proper place, is Sir James Graham, the same who, in the capacity of First Lord of the Admiralty, has already on a former occasion, gained much credit for having first introduced the rotten worm into the British Navy.

Written on January 11, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## POLITICAL PROSPECTS.—COMMERCIAL PROSPERITY.—CASE OF STARVATION

London, Friday, January 14, 1853

Lord John Russell, in receiving the diplomatic badge, at the Foreign Office, told them that he held the seals of that Department *ad interim* only, and that in no great length of time the Foreign Office would be transferred to the Earl of Clarendon. The fact is, that Russell has always been a perfect foreigner in the Foreign Department, in which he never made himself conspicuous, except by an insipid compilation on the history, I believe, of the treaties concluded since the time of the peace of Nymwegen,[a] a book which, to confess the truth, is at least as entertaining as the "tragedy" with which the same Russell once surprised the world.[b] Lord John will, in all probability, be entrusted with the leadership of the House of Commons, with a seat in the Cabinet, where his entire activity is likely to be absorbed in framing the new Reform Bill. Parliamentary Reform is Russell's traditionary field of action, since, by his measures in 1831, he proved such a masterly hand in dividing the rotten boroughs[297] between Tories and Whigs.

My predictions on the probable inefficiency of the three Irish purchases[c] made by the Ministry for securing the enlistment of the whole "Brigade" in the cause of the Coalition Government, have already been fulfilled to the very letter. The attitude of *The Freeman's Journal* and *The Tablet*—the tenor of the letters and declarations of Messrs. Lucas, Moore, and Duffy—lastly, the resolution adopted against Messrs. Sadleir and Keogh, at the last

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[a] John Russell, *Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe from the "Peace of Utrecht".—Ed.*
[b] John Russell, *Don Carlos; or, Persecution.—Ed.*
[c] See this volume, p. 474.—*Ed.*

meeting of the Tenant-Right Association,[298] sufficiently indicate that the Aberdeen Administration will only dispose of a very small fraction of the Irish troops.

It is known that Lord Aberdeen, the Chief of the Cabinet, will take his seat in the House of Lords. Now, Mr. Bright, in a speech recently delivered at a banquet at Manchester to your new Ambassador, Mr. Ingersoll, has seized an opportunity to explain how the total suppression of the House of Lords is the *conditio sine qua non* for the "advancement" of the industrial middle-class.[a] This first official declaration of the Manchester school since the formation of the Coalition Ministry will do something toward enabling Lord Aberdeen in discovering where that Democracy, so much redoubted by Lord Derby, exists.

Thus the party warfare declared to have been abolished for ever, by a sanguine writer in *The Times*, has already burst forth, notwithstanding that the era of the "Millennium" had opened with the adjournment of Parliament until the 10th of February.

The continuation and increase of the commercial and industrial prosperity has been loudly and unanimously proclaimed at the beginning of the New-Year, and confirmed by the publication of the revenue accounts down to the 5th inst., by the returns of the Board of Trade for the month, and the 11 months ending Dec. 5, 1852,[b] by the reports of the Inspectors of Factories, and lastly by the annual trade circulars issued at the commencement of every New-Year, and giving a general survey of all the commercial transactions of the past year.

The Revenue Returns show a total increase on the year of £978,926, and on the quarter of £702,776. There is an increase in every item on the year with the exception of *Customs*. The total sum placed into the Exchequer amounted to £50,468,193.

The *Excise*, which is supposed to indicate the well-being of the people, amounted to £13,093,170 in the year ending Jan. 5, 1852. In the year ending Jan. 5, 1853, it amounted to 13,356,981.

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[a] The speech was delivered on January 7, 1853. See *The Times*, No. 21321, January 10, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to *The Revenue. An Abstract of the Net Produce of the Revenue of Great Britain in the Years and Quarters ended 5th Jan., 1852, and 5th of Jan., 1853*, as well as to *Exports of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures from the United Kingdom. An Account of the Exports of the Principal Articles of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures in the eleven months ended December 5, 1852*; the data cited below from these documents and from the factory inspectors' reports and trade bulletins are taken from *The Economist*, Nos. 489 and 490, January 8 and 15, 1853.—*Ed.*

The *Stamps*, which indicate the increase of commercial activity,

as in 1851-'52, yielded ..... 5,933,549
Amounted in the years 1852-'53, to ..... 6,287,261.

The *Property-Tax*, which indicates the increase of wealth of the upper classes,

amounting in 1851-'52, to ..... 5,304,923
Yielded in the year 1852-'53. ..... 5,509,637.

The Board of Trade Returns for the month and eleven months ending Dec. 5, 1852, show:

| | 1852 | 1851 | 1850 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Value of exports for the month ending Dec. 5 ..... | £6,102,694 | £5,138,216 | £5,362,319 |
| For the eleven months ending Dec. 5 ..... | 65,349,798 | 63,314,272 | 60,400,525. |

Consequently, there is an increase of nearly £1,000,000 on the month, and upward of £2,000,000 on the eleven months. Yet, in the absence of all value to the imports, we know not how far it is met or surpassed by the increased value of the latter.

Passing to the reports of the Inspectors of Factories, Mr. Horner, Inspector for the Lancashire District, in his report on the half year ending Oct. 31, 1852, which has just been published, writes as follows:

"In my district, very little change has taken place in the last year as regards woollen, worsted and silk factories, and flax mills remain as they were on the 1st of November, 1851. But the increase in cotton mills has been very large. After deducting those which are at present unoccupied (and many of them will, in all probability, be soon again at work, especially those from which the machinery has not been removed), there have been set to work in the last two years 129 new mills, with an aggregate of 4,023 horse power; and there have been 53 instances of additions to existing mills, with an aggregate of 2,090 horse power, so that there has been an increase of 6,113 horse power, which must have given employment to probably not fewer than 24,000 additional hands in the cotton trade. Nor is this all; for many new mills are at present being built. In the limited area which includes the towns of Ashton, Staleybridge, Oldham and Lees, there are eleven, which it is estimated will have an aggregate power of 620 horses. The machine-makers are said to be overwhelmed with orders; and a very intelligent and observing mill-owner told me lately that many of the buildings now going up would in all probability not be at work before 1854, from the impossibility to get machinery to them. But the above returns and those that will be given by my colleagues on the present occasion, however they may indicate a great increase, still they by no means give the whole; for there is a large and very fertile source of increase of productions of which it would be very difficult to obtain any account. I allude to

the modern improvements in steam-engines, by which old engines and even new engines are made to do an amount of work far beyond their nominal horse power, and to an extent formerly believed to be impossible."

Mr. Horner then quotes a letter from the eminent civil-engineer, Mr. Nasmyth, of Birmingham, describing the gain of power by working the engines at greater speed, and by adapting to them the high pressure double cylinders of Woolf, the result of which is, that at least fifty per cent. more work is done by the identical engines still in use than was done before the improvement.

It appears from a summary of the reports of all the Inspectors, that in the year ending Oct. 31, 1852, the total number of new factories occupied was 229, with a steam power of 4,771 horses and a water-power of 586 horses, and the addition to existing factories amounted to 69, with a steam power of 1,532 horses, and a water-power of 28 horses, making a grand total of 6,917 horse power.

Passing next to the annual trade circulars, we find them all breathing the same enthusiastic style in which *The Times* predicted the political millennium, and having, at any rate, this advantage, that they are based on facts and not on mere expectations, as far as they refer to the past year.

The agricultural interest has no cause for complaint. On the opening of the year the weekly average price of wheat was 37/2; at the close of the year it has reached 45/11. The rise in the prices of grain has been accompanied by a rise in the price of cattle, meat, butter and cheese.

In August, 1851, an unprecedented fall in the prices of produce was known to have taken place, chiefly in the prices of sugar and coffee, and it did not cease with that year, for the panic in Mincing Lane[a] did not reach its height till the first month of the past year. The annual circulars indicate now a considerable advance in the prices of most articles of foreign production, especially of colonial produce, sugar, coffee, etc.

As to the movement in raw materials it will be seen from the following:

"The state of the wool trade" is described in Messrs. Hughes & Ronald's circular,

"as having been throughout the past year in the highest degree satisfactory.... The home demand for wool has been unusually large.... The export of woollen and worsted goods has been on a very extensive scale, even exceeding the year 1851,

[a] The centre of wholesale trade in colonial goods in London.— *Ed.*

the highest rate ever before attained.... Prices have been steadily looking up, but it is only during the last month, that any decided advance has taken place, and at present they may be quoted, on the average, about 15 to 20 per cent. above the corresponding period last year."

"The wood trade," say Messrs. Churchill & Sim, "has largely partaken in the commercial prosperity of the country during 1852.... The importation into London exceeded 1,200 cargoes during 1852—closely parallel to 1851. Both years were 50 per cent. in advance of those preceding, which average about 800 cargoes. While the quantity of hewn timber stands at the average of several years; the use of deals, battens, etc.; or the sawn wood, has taken an immense start during 1852, when 6,800,000 pieces replaced the previous average of 4,900,000 pieces."

With regard to leather, Messrs. Powell & Co. say:

"The year just concluded has doubtless been a favorable one for leather manufacturers in almost every department. Raw goods, at the commencement of the year, were at low rates, and circumstances have taken place which have given leather an increased value in a greater degree than for several past years."

The iron trade is particularly flourishing, the price of iron having risen from £5 per tun to £10 10/ per tun; and more recently to £12 per tun, with the probability of a rise to £15, and more furnaces continually coming into operation.

Of the shipping, Messrs. Offor & Gamman say:

"The year just closed has been of remarkable activity to British shipping, chiefly caused by the stimulus given to business by the gold discovery in Australia.... There has taken place a general rise in freights."

The same movement has taken place in the shipbuilding department. In reference to this branch, the circular of Messrs. Tonge, Currie & Co., of Liverpool, contains the following:

"On no occasion have we been able to report so favorably for the year past of the sale of ships at this port—both of the amount of tunnage sold, and the prices that have been obtained; prices of colonial ships having advanced fully 17 per cent., with a continuing tendency upward, while stocks have been reduced to 48 sail against 76 in 1852, and 82 in 1851, without any immediate supplies being expected.... The number of vessels that have come into Liverpool within the year and sold, is 120; equal to 50,000 tuns. The number of ships launched, and in course of construction, in our port this year, is 39, computed at 15,000 tuns, against 23, computed at 9,200 in 1851. The number of steamers built, and in the course of construction here, amounts to 13, equal to 4,050 tuns.... As regards iron-built sailing vessels, the most remarkable feature of our trade is the very increasing favor they are growing into, and which are now occupying the builders both here, in the Clyde, New-Castle and elsewhere, to an unprecedented extent."

As regards *railways*, Messrs. Woods & Stubbs write:

"The returns caused the most sanguine expectations, and far outstrip all previous calculations. The returns for last week show an increased mileage over 1851 of 348 miles, $5^1/_2$ per cent., and an increased traffic of £41,426, or 14 per cent."

Lastly, Messrs. Du Fay & Co.'s Circular (Manchester) records the transactions with India and China for the month of December, 1852, as extensive, and the abundance of money alluded to as having favored undertakings to distant markets, and as having enabled those interested in them to make up for losses sustained in the early part of the year on goods and produce.

"Various new land, and mining, and other schemes attract speculators and capitalists just now."

The prosperity of the manufacturing districts in general, and particularly of the cotton districts, has been shown from the reports of the Inspectors of Factories. In reference to the cotton manufacture, Messrs. John Wrigley & Son, of Liverpool, have the following:

"Viewed as a test of the general prosperity of the country, the progress of the cotton-trade, during the year now closed, affords results the most gratifying.... It has presented many striking features, but none more prominent and noteworthy than the extreme facility with which so unprecedentedly large a crop as upward of 3,000,000 of bales, the produce of the United States of America, has been disposed of.... Preparations are [in the] making in many districts for an extension of manufacturing powers, and we may expect a larger aggregate quantity of cotton to be worked up during the approaching year than any previous one."

Most other branches of industry are in the same position.

"We refer," say Messrs. McNair, Greenhow & Irving (of Manchester), "to Glasgow as connected with its cotton and iron manufacture: to Huddersfield, Leeds, Halifax, Bradford, Nottingham, Leicester, Sheffield, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, etc., as connected with their various productions—all seem in a high state of prosperity."

The only exceptions to the general prosperity are the silk-trade and the wool-combers in Yorkshire; and the general aspect of trade may be resumed in the words of a Manchester circular:

"*Our apprehensions are those of over-speculation*, rather than of inactivity and want of means."

In the midst of this universal prosperity, a step recently taken by the Bank of England has raised a general consternation among the commercial world. On the 22d of April, 1852, the Bank of England had lowered the rate of discount to 2 per cent. On the morning of January 6, 1853, notice was given that the discount would be raised from 2 to $2^1/_2$ per cent., an increase in the charges of 25 per cent. Attempts have been made to explain this increase by the large liabilities contracted lately by some extensive railway contractors, whose bills are known to be afloat in heavy amounts.

In other quarters it was believed, as for instance by *The London Sun*,[a] that the Bank of England intended, in their turn, to take advantage of the existing prosperity by increasing discounts. On the whole, the act has been reprobated as "uncalled for." In order to appreciate it in its true light, I subjoin the following statements from *The Economist*:[b]

BANK OF ENGLAND

| 1852 | *Bullion* | *Securities* | *Minimum rate of Discount* |
|---|---|---|---|
| April 22 | £19,587,670 | £23,782,000 | Reduced to 2 per ct. |
| July 24 | 22,065,349 | 24,013,728 | 2 per ct. |
| Dec. 18 | 21,165,224 | 26,765,724 | 2 per ct. |
| Dec. 24 | 20,794,190 | 27,545,640 | 2 per ct. |
| 1853 | | | |
| Jan'y 1 | 20,527,662 | 29,284,447 | 2 per ct., but raised to 2½ per cent. Jan'y 6 |

There is, accordingly, a million of gold more in the Bank than in April, 1852, when the rate of interest was reduced to 2 per cent., but the difference is very marked between the two periods; for it has changed in regard to the movements of gold from a flowing to an ebbing tide. The afflux is peculiarly powerful, from its overbearing all the imports from America and Australia of the last month. Besides, securities were five and a half millions less in April than at present. Consequently, in April, 1852, the supply of loanable capital was larger than the demand, while now the reverse is the case.

The emigration of bullion was accompanied by a marked decline in the foreign exchanges, a circumstance which must be accounted for, partly by the considerable advance in the prices of most articles of import, partly by the large speculations in imports. To this must be added the influence of the unfavorable autumn and winter on farmers, the consequent doubts and fears respecting the next harvest, and, as a result of the latter, immense operations in foreign grains and farinas. Lastly, English capitalists have very largely engaged in the formation of railway and other companies in France, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Germany and

[a] The reference is to the item "Money and Commercial News" in *The Sun* for January 6, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Bank Rate of Interest", *The Economist*, No. 489, January 8, 1853.—*Ed.*

Belgium, and partake very much in the general swindle now going on at the Paris Bourse. Paper on London is therefore more abundant in all markets of Europe than at any former period, in consequence of which there has been a continued fall in the rate of Exchanges. On July 24th the Exchange on Paris was 25f. 30c. for the pound sterling; on the 1st of January it had fallen to 25 francs. Some transactions have even been made below 25 francs.

In so far as the demand for capital has increased in proportion to the supply, the late measure adopted by the Bank of England, appears to be perfectly justified. In so far as it was intended to put a check upon speculation and upon the emigration of capital, I venture to predict, that it will be thoroughly ineffectual.

Your readers having accompanied us to such a length, through all the testimonials of the growing prosperity of England, I request them to stop a moment and to follow a poor needle-maker, Henry Morgan, who started out from London, on his journey to Birmingham, in search of work. Lest I should be charged with exaggerating the case, I give the literal account of *The Northampton Journal.*[a]

"*Death from Destitution.—Cosgrove.*—About nine o'clock on the morning of Monday, two laboring men, while seeking shelter from the rain in a lone barn, occupied by Mr. T. Slade, in the parish of Cosgrove, were attracted by groans, which were found to come from a poor man, lying in a heap-hole, in a state of extreme exhaustion. They spoke to him, kindly offering him some of their breakfast, but without receiving any answer; and upon touching him, found his body almost cold. Having fetched Mr. Slade, who was near by, this gentleman, after some time had elapsed, sent him, by a boy, in a cart, with a bed and covering of straw, to the Yardley-Gobion union-house about a mile distant, where he arrived just before one o'clock, but expired a quarter of an hour afterward. The famished, filthy, and ill-clad condition of the poor creature presented a most frightful spectacle. It appears that this unhappy being, on the evening of Thursday, the 2d, obtained a vagrant's order for a night's lodging at the Yardley-house, from the relieving officer at Stoney-Stratford, and, having then walked to Yardley, a distance of three miles and upward, was accordingly admitted; he had food given him, which he eat heartily, and begged to be allowed to remain the next day and night, which was granted, and upon leaving on Saturday morning early, after his breakfast (most likely his last meal in this world), took the road back to Stratford. It is probable that, being weak and footsore, for he had a bad place on one heel, he was soon glad to seek the first friendly shelter he could find, which was an open shed, forming part of some outfarming-buildings, a quarter of a mile from the turnpike-road. Here he was found lying in the straw on Monday, the 6th, at noon, and, it not being wished that a stranger should remain on the premises, he was desired to go away. He asked leave to stay a little longer, and went off about four o'clock, once more to seek at nightfall the nearest place of rest and shelter, which was this lone barn, with its thatch partly off, with its door left open, and in the

[a] *Northampton Mercury*, December 18, 1852.—*Ed.*

coldest possible situation, into the heap-hole of which he crept, there to lie without food for *seven days* more, till discovered, as has been described above, on the morning of the 13th. This ill-fated man had given his name as Henry Morgan, a needle-maker, and appeared between thirty and forty years of age, and in person, a good-framed man."

It is hardly possible to conceive a more horrible case. A stalwart, strong-framed man, in the prime of life—his long pilgrimage of martyrdom from London to Stoney-Stratford—his wretched appeals for help to the "civilization" around him—his seven days fast—his brutal abandonment by his fellow men—his seeking shelter and being driven from resting-place to resting-place—the crowning inhumanity of the person named Slade and the patient, miserable death of the worn-out man—are a picture perfectly astonishing to contemplate.

No doubt he invaded the rights of property, when he sought shelter in the shed and in the lone barn!!!

Relate this starvation case in midst of prosperity, to a fat London City man, and he will answer you with the words of *The London Economist* of Jan. 8th:

"Delightful is it thus to see, under Free Trade, all classes flourishing; their energies are called forth by hope of reward; all improve their productions, and all and *each* are benefited."

Written on January 14, 1853

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# Karl Marx

## ELECTIONS.—FINANCIAL CLOUDS.— THE DUCHESS OF SUTHERLAND AND SLAVERY[299]

London, Friday, January 21, 1853

The re-elections consequent upon the new ministerial arrangements are finished. Ministers have suffered a defeat, Mr. Sadleir, one of the Lords of the Treasury, and hitherto considered the chief of the "Irish Brigade," having been beaten by Mr. Alexander, who was elected by a majority of six votes. Mr. Alexander owes his election to a coalition of the Orangemen[300] and the Catholics. On the other hand, Ministers were victorious at Oxford University, where the poll lasted fifteen days and the struggle was extremely animated. Gladstone carried the day by a majority of 124 against Dudley Perceval, the candidate of the High Church[301] Party. To amateurs of Hudibrasian[a] logic[302] we can recommend the leaders of the two contending journals in this struggle, *The Morning Chronicle* and *The Morning Herald*.

Yesterday, after a long debate, the Directors of the Bank of England again raised the minimum rate of discount from $2^1/_2$ to 3 per cent. This circumstance had an immediate effect upon the Paris Bourse, where all sorts of securities had to submit to another decline.—But if the Bank of England should succeed in checking speculation at Paris, there will remain open another outlet for the drain of bullion: the imports of corn. The last harvest both in England and on the Continent is estimated at one-third below the average. Besides, there exists some doubt as to the quantity of food available for consumption until next harvest, in consequence of the delay in sowing the seed caused by the wet state of the soil. Therefore, large imports of grain are arranged for, and will continue to keep the course of exchange unfavorable for England. The gold ships from Australia cannot keep pace with the sudden augmentation of grain imports.

In one of my late letters I mentioned the speculation going on in

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[a] See Samuel Butler, *Hudibras, a Poem written in the Time of the Civil Wars.—Ed.*

iron.[a] The first raising of the rate of discount, by the Bank, from 2 to $2^1/_2$ per cent., had already had its effect upon this branch of trade. Scotch pigs, for the last fortnight selling at 78 shillings, on the nineteenth of this month dropped down to 61 shillings. The Railway Share market, too, will probably be depressed since the raising of the rate of interest, by forced sales of shares hitherto deposited as securities for loans, and the commencement of these operations has already taken place. My opinion, however, is that the drain of bullion is not caused by exportation of gold alone, but that the brisk home trade, especially in the manufacturing districts, has a full share in it.

During the present momentary slackness in political affairs, the address of the Stafford House Assembly of Ladies to their sisters in America upon the subject of Negro slavery,[b] and the "Affectionate and Christian address of many thousands of the women of the United States of America to their sisters, the women of England," upon white slavery, have proved a godsend to the press. Not one of the British papers was ever struck by the circumstance that the Stafford House Assembly took place at the palace and under the presidency of the Duchess of Sutherland, and yet the names of Stafford and Sutherland should have been sufficient to class the philanthropy of the British aristocracy—a philanthropy which chooses its objects as far distant from home as possible, and rather on that than on this side of the ocean.

The history of the wealth of the Sutherland family is the history of the ruin and of the expropriation of the Scotch-Gaelic population from its native soil. As far back as the tenth century, the Danes had landed in Scotland, conquered the plains of Caithness, and driven back the aborigines into the mountains. Mor-Fear Chattaibh,[c] as he was called in Gaelic, or the "Great Man of Sutherland," had always found his companions in arms ready to defend him at the risk of their lives against all his enemies, Danes or Scots, foreigners or natives. After the revolution which drove the Stuarts from Britain,[303] private feuds among the petty chieftains of Scotland became less and less frequent, and the British Kings, in order to keep up at least a semblance of dominion in those remote districts, encouraged the levying of family regiments among the chieftains, a system by which

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[a] See this volume, p. 479.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Affectionate and Christian Address of Many Thousands of the Women of England to Their Sisters, the Women of the United States of America", *The Times*, No. 21268, November 9, 1852.—*Ed.*

[c] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* here and in what follows is "Mheor-Thair-Chattaibh".—*Ed.*

these *lairds* were enabled to combine modern military establishments with the ancient *clan* system in such a manner as to support one by the other.

Now, in order to distinctly appreciate the usurpation subsequently carried out, we must first properly understand what the *clan* meant. The *clan* belonged to a form of social existence which, in the scale of historical development, stands a full degree below the feudal state; viz., the *patriarchal* state of society. "*Klaen*" in Gaelic, means children. Every one of the usages and traditions of the Scottish Gaels reposes upon the supposition that the members of the *clan* belong to one and the same family. The "great man," the chieftain of the clan, is on the one hand quite as arbitrary, on the other quite as confined in his power, by consanguinity, etc., as every father of a family. To the clan, to the family, belonged the district where it had established itself, exactly as, in Russia, the land occupied by a community of peasants belongs, not to the individual peasants, but to the community. Thus the district was the common property of the family. There could be no more question, under this system, of private property, in the modern sense of the word, than there could be of comparing the social existence of the members of the clan to that of individuals living in the midst of our modern society. The division and subdivision of the land corresponded to the military functions of the single members of the clan. According to their military abilities, the chieftain entrusted to them the several allotments, cancelled or enlarged according to his pleasure the tenures of the individual officers, and these officers again distributed to their vassals and under-vassals every separate plot of land. But the district at large always remained the property of the clan, and, however the claims of individuals might vary, the tenure remained the same; nor were the contributions for the common defense, or the tribute for the laird, who at once was leader in battle and chief magistrate in peace, ever increased. Upon the whole, every plot of land was cultivated by the same family, from generation to generation, under fixed imposts. These imposts were insignificant, more a tribute by which the supremacy of the "*great man*" and of his officers was acknowledged than a rent of land in the modern sense, or a source of revenue. The officers directly subordinate to the "*great man*" were called "*Taksmen,*" and the district entrusted to their care, "*Tak.*" Under them were placed inferior officers, at the head of every hamlet, and under these stood the peasantry.

Thus you see, the *clan* is nothing but a family organized in a military manner, quite as little defined by laws, just as closely hemmed in by traditions, as any family. But the land is the *property of*

# SUTHERLAND AND SLAVERY; OR, THE DUCHESS AT HOME.

By Dr. Charles Marx.

"How canst thou say to thy *sister*: *Sister*, let me take the mote out of thine eye, and perceivest not the beam in thine own eye."

[Under the sanctified hypocrisy of "Church and State" a system of oppression is carried on in this gloriously free country, that equals in kindred atrocity the slavery of the American South. We give as a fitting illustration, the following historical statement, showing how the Sutherland family got their wealth. The Duchess of Sutherland here alluded to, is the celebrated "Countess-Duchess" mother-in law of the present Duchess. How the present Duke improved on the lessons of the Countess-Duchess, the reader may have occasion to see when we have done with the latter.]

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Now, in order to distinctly appreciate the usurpation subsequently carried out, we must first properly understand what the *Clan* meant. The *Clan* belonged to a form of social existence which, in the scale of historical development, stands a full degree below the feudal state; viz., the *patriarchal* state of society. "*Klann*," in Gaelic, means children. Every one of the usages and traditions of the Scottish Gaels reposes upon the supposition that the members of the *clan* belong to one and the same family. The "great man," the chieftian of the Clan, is on one hand quite as arbitrary, on the other quite as confined in his power, by consanguinity, &c., as every father of a family. To the Clan, to the family, belonged the district where it had established itself, exactly as in Russia, the land occupied by a community of peasants belongs, not to the individual peasants, but to the community. Thus the district was the common property of the family. There could be no more question, under this system, of private property, in the modern sense of the word, than there could be of comparing the social existence of the members of the Clan to that of individuals living in the times of our modern society. The division and subdivision of the land corresponded to the military functions of the single members of the Clan. According to their military abilities, the chieftain entrusted to them the several allotments, cancelled or enlarged according to his pleasure the tenures of the individual officer, and these officers again distributed to their vassals and under-vassals every separate plot of land. But the district at large always remained the property of the clan, and, however the claims of individuals might vary, the tenure remained the same; nor were the contributions for the common defence, or the tribute for the Laird, who at once was leader in battle and chief magistrate in peace, ever increased. Upon the whole, every plot of land was cultivated by the same family, from generation to generation, under fixed imposts. These imposts were insignificant, more a tribute by which the supremacy of the "*great man*" and of his officers was acknowledged, than a rent of land in a modern sense, or a source of revenue. The officers directly subordinate to the "*great man*" were called "*Tahsmen*," and the district entrusted to their care, "*Tah*." Under them were placed inferior officers, at the head of every hamlet, and under these stood the peasantry.

Thus you see, the Clan is nothing but a family organized in a military manner, quite as little defined by laws, just as closely hemmed in by traditions, as any family. But the land is the *property of the family*, in the midst of which differences of rank, in spite of consanguinity, do prevail as well as in all the ancient Asiatic family communities.

The first usurpation took place after the expulsion of the Stuarts, by the establishment of the family Regiments. From that moment, *pay* became the principal source of revenue of the *Great Man*, the Mhoir-Phear-Chattaibh. Entangled in the dissipation of the Court of London, he tried to squeeze as much money as possible out of his officers, and they applied the same system to their inferiors. The ancient tribute was transformed into fixed money contracts. In one respect these of her generosity she alotted to the expelled natives about 6,000 acres, two acres per family. These 6,000 acres had been lying waste until then, and brought no revenue to the proprietors. The Countess was *generous enough to sell the acre at 2s. 6d. on an average*, to the clan-men who for centuries past had shed their blood for her family. The whole of the unrightfully appropriated clan-land she divided into twenty-nine large sheep farms, each of them inhabited by one single family, mostly English farm-labourers; and in 1821, the 15,000 Gaels had already been superseded by 131,000 sheep.

A portion of the aborigines had been thrown upon the sea-shore, and attempted to live by fishing. They became amphibious, and, as an English author says, lived half on land and half on water, and after all did not half live upon both.

Sismondi, in his "*Etudes Sociales*," observes with regard to this expropriation of the Gaels from Sutherlandshire—an example, which, by-the-by, was imitated by the other "great men" of Scotland:

"The large extent of seignorial domains is not a circumstance peculiar to Britain. In the whole empire of Charlemagne, in the whole accident, entire provinces were usurped by the warlike chiefs, who had them cultivated for their own account by the vanquished, and sometimes by their own companions in arms. During the ninth and tenth centaries the Counties of Maine, Anjou, Poitou, were for the Counts of these provinces rather three large estates than principalities. Switzerland which in so many respects resembles Scotland, was at that time divided among a small number of *Seignours*. If the Counts of Kyburg, of Lantsburg, of Hatsburg, of Gruyeres had been protected by British laws, they would have been in the same position as the Earls of Sutherland; some of them would perhaps have had the same taste for improvement as the Marchioness of Stafford, and more than one republic might have disappeared from the Alps in order to make room for flocks of sheep. Not the most despotic monarch in Germany would be allowed to attempt anything of the sort."

Mr. Lock, in his defence of the Countess of Sutherland, (1820,) replies to the above as follows:—

"Why should there be made an exception to the rule adopted in every other case, just for this particular case? Why should the absolute authority of the landlord over his land be sacrificed to the public interest and to motives which concern the public only?"

And why then should the slaveholders in the Southern States of North America sacrifice their private interest to the philanthropic grimaces of her Grace, the Duchess of Sutherland?

The British aristocracy, who have everywhere superseded man by bullocks and sheep, will, in a future not very distant, be superseded in turn by those useful animals.

The process of *clearing estates*, which, in Scotland, we have just now described, was carried out in England in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Thomas Morus already complains of it in the sixteenth century. It was performed in Scotland in the beginning of the nineteenth, and in Ireland it is now in full progress. The noble Viscount Palmerston, too, some years ago cleared of men his property in Ireland, exactly in the manner described above.

If of any property it ever was true that it was *robbery*, it is literally true of the property of the British aristocracy. Robbery of the Church-property, robbery of commons, fraudulent transformation, accompanied by murder, of feudal and patriarchal property into private property—these are the titles of British aristocrats to their possessions. And what services in this latter process were performed by a servile class of lawers you may see from an English lawyer of the last century, Dalrymple, who, in his "History of Feudal Property," very naively proves that every law or deed concerning property was interpreted by the lawyers, in England, when the middle class rose in wealth, in favour of the *middle class*—in Scotland, where the nobility enriched themselves, in favour of the *nobility*—in either case it was interpreted in a sense hostile to the *people*.

The above Turkish reform by the Countess of Sutherland was justifiable, at least, from a Malthusian point of view. Other Scottish noblemen went further. Having superseded human beings by sheep, they superseded sheep by game, and the pasture grounds by forests. At the head of these was the Duke of Athol. "After the conquest, the Norman Kings afforested large portions of the soil of England, in much the same way as the landlords here are now doing with the Highlands." (R. Somer's Letters on the Highlands, 1848.)

As for the large number of the human beings expelled to make room for the game of the Duke of Athol, and the sheep of the Countess of Sutherland, where did they fly to, where did they find a home?

*In the United States of North America.*

The enemy of British Wages Slavery has a right to condemn Negro-Slavery; a Duchess of Sutherland, a Duke of Athol, a Manchester Cotton-lord—never!

Karl Marx.

Part of a page from *The People's Paper* containing an abridged version of Marx's article "Elections.—Financial Clouds.—The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery"

*the family*, in the midst of which differences of rank, in spite of consanguinity, do prevail as well as in all the ancient Asiatic family communities.

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"The rent of these lands is very trifling compared to their extent, but compared to the number of mouths which a farm maintains, it will perhaps be found that a plot of land in the highlands of Scotland feeds ten times more people than a farm of the same extent in the richest provinces.[a]

That even in the beginning of the 19th century the rental imposts were very small is shown by the work of Mr. Loch (1820), the steward of the Countess of Sutherland, who directed the improvements on her estates. He gives for instance the rental of the Kintradawell estate for 1811, from which it appears that up to then, every family was obliged to pay a yearly impost of a few shillings in money, a few fowls, and some days' work, at the highest.[b]

It was only after 1811 that the ultimate and real usurpation was enacted, the forcible transformation of *clan property* into the *private property*, in the modern sense, *of the chief*. The person who stood at the head of this economical revolution was a female Mehemet Ali,

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[a] James Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Œconomy.—Ed.*

[b] James Loch, *An Account of the Improvements on the Estates of the Marquess of Stafford, in the Counties of Stafford and Salop, and on the Estate of Sutherland.—Ed.*

who had well digested her Malthus—the *Countess of Sutherland*, alias *Marchioness of Stafford.*

Let us first state that the ancestors of the Marchioness of Stafford were the "great men" of the most northern part of Scotland, of very near three-quarters of Sutherlandshire. This county is more extensive than many French *Départements* or small German Principalities. When the Countess of Sutherland inherited these estates, which she afterward brought to her husband, the Marquis of Stafford, afterward Duke of Sutherland, the population of them was already reduced to 15,000. My lady Countess resolved upon a radical economical reform, and determined upon transforming the whole tract of country into sheep-walks. From 1814 to 1820, these 15,000 inhabitants, about 3,000 families, were systematically expelled and exterminated. All their villages were demolished and burned down, and all their fields converted into pasturage. British soldiers were commanded for this execution, and came to blows with the natives. An old woman refusing to quit her hut was burned in the flames of it. Thus my lady Countess appropriated to herself *seven hundred and ninety-four thousand acres of land*, which from time immemorial had belonged to the clan. In the exuberance of her generosity she allotted to the expelled natives about 6,000 acres—2 acres per family. These 6,000 acres had been lying waste until then, and brought no revenue to the proprietors. The Countess was generous enough to sell the acre at 2s. 6d., on an average, to the clan-men who for centuries past had shed their blood for her family. The whole of the unrightfully appropriated clan-land she divided into 29 large sheep farms, each of them inhabited by one single family, mostly English farm-laborers; and in 1821 the 15,000 Gaels had already been superseded by 131,000 sheep.

A portion of the aborigines had been thrown upon the seashore, and attempted to live by fishing. They became amphibious, and, as an English author says, lived half on land and half on water, and after all did not half live upon both.

Sismondi, in his *Études Sociales*, observes with regard to this expropriation of the Gaels from Sutherlandshire—an example, which, by the by, was imitated by the other "great men" of Scotland:

"The large extent of seignorial domains is not a circumstance peculiar to Britain. In the whole Empire of Charlemagne, in the whole Occident, entire provinces were usurped by the warlike chiefs, who had them cultivated for their own account by the vanquished, and sometimes by their own companions in arms. During the 9th and 10th centuries the Counties of Maine, Anjou, Poitou were for the Counts of these provinces rather three large estates than principalities. Switzerland, which in so many respects resembles Scotland, was at that time divided among a small number of

*Seigneurs.* If the Counts of Kyburg, of Lenzburg, of Habsburg, of Gruyères had been protected by British laws, they would have been in the same position as the Earls of Sutherland; some of them would perhaps have had the same taste for improvement as the Marchioness of Stafford, and more than one republic might have disappeared from the Alps in order to make room for flocks of sheep. Not the most despotic monarch in Germany would be allowed to attempt anything of the sort."[a]

Mr. Loch, in his defense of the Countess of Sutherland (1820), replies to the above as follows:

"Why should there be made an exception to the rule adopted in every other case, just for this particular case? Why should the absolute authority of the landlord over his land be sacrificed to the public interest and to motives which concern the public only?"

And why, then, should the slave-holders in the Southern States of North America sacrifice their private interest to the philanthropic grimaces of her Grace, the Duchess of Sutherland?

The British aristocracy, who have everywhere superseded man by bullocks and sheep, will, in a future not very distant, be superseded, in turn, by these useful animals.

The process of *clearing estates* which, in Scotland, we have just now described, was carried out in England in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. Thomas Morus already complains of it in the beginning of the 16th century.[b] It was performed in Scotland in the beginning of the 19th, and in Ireland it is now in full progress. The noble Viscount Palmerston, too, some years ago cleared of men his property in Ireland, exactly in the manner described above.

If of any property it ever was true that it was *robbery*,[c] it is literally true of the property of the British aristocracy. Robbery of Church property, robbery of commons, fraudulous transformation accompanied by murder, of feudal and patriarchal property into private property—these are the titles of British aristocrats to their possessions. And what services in this latter process were performed by a servile class of lawyers, you may see from an English lawyer of the last century, Dalrymple, who, in his "History of Feudal Property", very naively proves that every law or deed concerning property was interpreted by the lawyers, in England, when the middle class rose in wealth, in favor of the *middle class*—in Scotland, where the nobility enriched themselves, in favor of the *nobility*—in either case it was interpreted in a sense hostile to the *people.*

The above Turkish reform by the Countess of Sutherland was

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[a] J.-C.-L. Simonde de Sismondi, *Études sur l'économie politique.—Ed.*

[b] Th. Morus, *Utopia*, Book 1.—*Ed.*

[c] An allusion to the description of property as robbery in Proudhon's book *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?—Ed.*

justifiable, at least, from a Malthusian point of view. Other Scottish noblemen went further. Having superseded human beings by sheep, they superseded sheep by game, and the pasture grounds by forests. At the head of these was the Duke of Atholl.

"After the conquest, the Norman Kings afforested large portions of the soil of England, in much the same way as the landlords here are now doing with the Highlands." (R. Somers, *Letters from the Highlands*, 1848.)

As for a large number of the human beings expelled to make room for the game of the Duke of Atholl, and the sheep of the Countess of Sutherland, where did they fly to, where did they find a home?

*In the United States of North America.*

The enemy of British Wages-Slavery has a right to condemn Negro-Slavery; a Duchess of Sutherland, a Duke of Atholl, a Manchester Cotton Lord—never!

Written on January 21, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune* and checked with *The People's Paper*

# Karl Marx

## CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.—MR. COBDEN'S PAMPHLET.—REGULATIONS OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND[304]

London, Friday, January 28, 1853

*The Times* of Jan. 25 contains the following observations under the head of "Amateur Hanging":

"It has often been remarked that in this country a public execution is generally followed closely by instances of death by hanging, either suicidal or accidental, in consequence of the powerful effect which the execution of a noted criminal produces upon a morbid and unmatured mind."

Of the several cases which are alleged by *The Times* in illustration of this remark, one is that of a lunatic at Sheffield, who, after talking with other lunatics respecting the execution of Barbour, put an end to his existence by hanging himself. Another case is that of a boy of 14 years, who also hung himself.

The doctrine to which the enumeration of these facts was intended to give its support, is one which no reasonable man would be likely to guess, it being no less than a direct apotheosis of the hangman, while capital punishment is extolled as the *ultima ratio* of society. This is done in a leading article of the "leading journal."

The *Morning Advertiser*, in some very bitter but just strictures on the hanging predilections and bloody logic of *The Times*, has the following interesting data on 43 days of the year 1849[a]:

| *Executions of:* | | *Murders and Suicides:* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Millan | March 20 | Hannah Sandles | March 22 |
| | | M. G. Newton | March 22 |
| Pulley | March 26 | J. G. Gleeson—4 murders at Liverpool | March 27 |

[a] The data are taken from the leading article in *The Morning Advertiser*, January 26, 1853.—*Ed.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Smith | March 27 | Murder and suicide at Leicester | April 2 |
| Howe | March 31 | Poisoning at Bath | April 7 |
| | | W. Bailey | April 8 |
| Landick | April 9 | J. Ward murders his mother | April 13 |
| Sarah Thomas | April 13 | Yardley | April 14 |
| | | Doxey, parricide | April 14 |
| | | J. Bailey kills his two children and himself | April 17 |
| J. Griffiths | April 18 | Charles Overton | April 18 |
| J. Rush | April 21 | Daniel Holmsden | May 2 |

This table, as *The Times* concedes, shows not only suicides, but also murders of the most atrocious kind, following closely upon the execution of criminals. It is astonishing that the article in question does not even produce a single argument or pretext for indulging in the savage theory therein propounded; and it would be very difficult, if not altogether impossible, to establish any principle upon which the justice or expediency of capital punishment could be founded, in a society glorying in its civilization. Punishment in general has been defended as a means either of ameliorating or of intimidating. Now what right have you to punish me for the amelioration or intimidation of others? And besides, there is history—there is such a thing as statistics—which prove with the most complete evidence that since Cain the world has neither been intimidated nor ameliorated by punishment. Quite the contrary. From the point of view of abstract right, there is only one theory of punishment which recognizes human dignity in the abstract, and that is the theory of Kant, especially in the more rigid formula given to it by Hegel. Hegel says:

"Punishment is the *right* of the criminal. It is an act of his own will. The violation of right has been proclaimed by the criminal as his own right. His crime is the negation of right. Punishment is the negation of this negation, and consequently an affirmation of right, solicited and forced upon the criminal by himself."[a]

There is no doubt something specious in this formula, inasmuch as Hegel, instead of looking upon the criminal as the mere object, the slave of justice, elevates him to the position of a free and self-determined being. Looking, however, more closely into the matter, we discover that German idealism here, as in most other instances, has but given a transcendental sanction to the rules of existing society. Is it not a delusion to substitute for the individual with his real motives, with multifarious social circumstances pressing

[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, I. Theil, §§ 97-101.—*Ed.*

upon him, the abstraction of "free-will"—one among the many qualities of man for man himself! This theory, considering punishment as the result of the criminal's own will, is only a metaphysical expression for the old "jus talionis":[a] eye against eye, tooth against tooth, blood against blood. Plainly speaking, and dispensing with all paraphrases, punishment is nothing but a means of society to defend itself against the infraction of its vital conditions, whatever may be their character. Now, what a state of society is that, which knows of no better instrument for its own defense than the hangman, and which proclaims through the "leading journal of the world" its own brutality as eternal law?

Mr. A. Quételet, in his excellent and learned work, *l'Homme et ses Facultés*, says:

> "There is a *budget* which we pay with frightful regularity—it is that of prisons, dungeons and scaffolds.... We might even predict how many individuals will stain their hands with the blood of their fellow men, how many will be forgers, how many will deal in poison, pretty nearly the same way as we may foretell the annual births and deaths."

And Mr. Quételet, in a calculation of the probabilities of crime published in 1829, actually predicted with astonishing certainty, not only the amount but all the different kinds of crimes committed in France in 1830. That it is not so much the particular political institutions of a country as the fundamental conditions of modern *bourgeois* society in general, which produce an average amount of crime in a given national fraction of society, may be seen from the following table, communicated by Quételet, for the years 1822-24. We find in a number of one hundred condemned criminals in America and France:

| Age | Philadelphia | France |
|---|---|---|
| Under twenty-one years | 19 | 19 |
| Twenty-one to thirty | 44 | 35 |
| Thirty to forty | 23 | 23 |
| Above forty | 14 | 23 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

Now, if crimes observed on a great scale thus show, in their amount and their classification, the regularity of physical phenomena—if as Mr. Quételet remarks, "it would be difficult to decide in respect to which of the two" (the physical world and the social system) "the acting causes produce their effect with the utmost regularity"—is there not a necessity for deeply reflecting upon an alteration of the system that breeds these crimes, instead of

[a] "The right of retaliation by inflicting punishment of the same kind".—*Ed.*

glorifying the hangman who executes a lot of criminals to make room only for the supply of new ones?

One of the topics of the day is the publication of a pamphlet by Mr. Richard Cobden—"1793 and 1853, in Three Letters" (140 pages). The first part of this pamphlet, treating of the time of, and previous to, the revolution of 1793, has the merit of attacking openly and vigorously the old English prejudices respecting that epoch. Mr. Cobden shows that England was the aggressive party in the revolutionary war. But here he has no claim to originality, as he does but repeat, and in a much less brilliant manner, the statements once given by the greatest pamphleteer England has ever possessed, viz.: the late William Cobbett The other part of the pamphlet, although written from an economical point of view, is of a rather romantic character. Mr. Cobden labors to prove that the idea of Louis Napoleon's having any intention of invading England is a mere absurdity; that the noise about the defenseless state of the country has no material foundation, and is propagated only by persons interested in augmenting the public expenditure. By what arguments does he prove that Louis Napoleon has no hostile intentions toward England? Louis Napoleon, he contends, has no *rational* ground for quarreling with England. And how does he prove that a foreign invasion of this country is impossible? For 800 years, says Mr. Cobden, England has not been invaded. And what are his arguments to show that the cry about the defenseless state is a mere interested humbug? The highest military authorities have declared that they feel quite safe!

Louis Napoleon has never met, even in the Legislative Assembly, with a more credulous believer in his faith and peaceable intentions, than he finds now, rather unexpectedly, in Mr. Richard Cobden. *The Morning Herald* (in yesterday's number),[a] the habitual defender of Louis Napoleon, publishes a letter addressed to Mr. Cobden, and alleged to have been written under the immediate inspiration of Bonaparte himself, in which the prince-hero of Satory[b] assures us that he will only come over to England, if the Queen,[c] threatened by rising Democracy, should want some 200,000 of his *décembraillards* or bullies.[d] But this Democracy, according to *The Herald*, is nobody else than Messrs. Cobden & Co.

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[a] Of January 27, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] i.e. Louis Bonaparte. For the review of the troops in Satory see this volume, p. 151.—*Ed.*

[c] Victoria.—*Ed.*

[d] *Décembraillards* (*décembre*+*braillards*)—literally "December bullies". An allusion to the members of the Bonapartist Society of December 10.—*Ed.*

We must confess that, having perused the pamphlet in question, we begin to feel an apprehension of something like an invasion of Great Britain. Mr. Cobden is no very happy prophet. After the repeal of the Corn Laws he made a trip to the Continent, visiting even Russia, and after his return stated that all things were right, that the times of violence had passed, that the nations deeply and eagerly involved in commercial and industrial pursuits, would now develop themselves in a quiet business-like manner, without political storms, without outbreaks and disturbances. His prophecy had scarcely reached the Continent, when the Revolution of 1848 burst forth over all Europe, and gave a somewhat ironical echo to Mr. Cobden's meek predictions. He talked peace, where there was no peace.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that the peace doctrine of the Manchester School has a deep philosophical bearing. It only means, that the feudal method of warfare shall be supplanted by the commercial one—cannons by capital. The Peace Society yesterday held a meeting at Manchester, where it was almost unanimously declared, that Louis Napoleon could not be supposed as intending anything against the safety of England, *if the press would but discontinue its odious censures on his Government, and become mute!* Now, with this statement, it appears very singular, that increased army and navy estimates have been voted in the House of Commons without opposition, none of the M. P.'s present at the Peace Conference[305] having had anything to say against the proposed addition to the military force.

During the political calm, produced by the adjournment of Parliament, there are two principal topics which occupy the press, viz.: The coming *Reform Bill*, and the last *Discount Regulations* of the Bank of England.

*The Times* of the 24th inst. informs the public that a new Reform Bill is on the stocks. What kind of a Reform Bill it will be, you may infer from Sir Charles Wood's election-speech at Halifax,[a] in which he declared against the principle of *equal electoral districts*; from Sir James Graham's at Carlisle,[b] where he rejected the *ballot*; and from the confidentially circulated statement, that even the small Reform pills prescribed in Feb. 1852 by Johnny Russell,[306] are considered as far too strong and dangerous. But there is something which looks yet more suspicious. The mouthpiece of the Coalition Ministry, *The Economist*, in the number of Jan. 22, states, not only:

"That the reform of our representative system stands not very early on the list of topics of pressing or immediate importance," but also, that "*we want the raw materials*

[a] On January 3, 1853, *The Times*, No. 21316, January 4, 1853.—*Ed.*
[b] On January 2, 1853, *The Times*, No. 21315, January 3, 1853.—*Ed.*

*for legislative action.* The extension, adjustment, purification, protection and re-distribution of the Franchise, are branches of the question, each of which demands profound reflection, and much inquiry.... It is not that several of our statesmen may not have a good deal of useful information on all or some of these points, but it is *picked up,* not *worked out*; it is miscellaneous, partial, and incomplete.... The obvious mode of remedying this, is by issuing a *Commission of Inquiry,* charged to investigate all points of fact directly or remotely connected with the subject."[a]

Thus the Methusalem Ministry will again begin their political studies, *coram publico.* The colleagues of Peel, the colleagues of Melbourne, the subaltern of Canning, the lieutenant of the elder Grey, men who served under Lord Liverpool, others who sat in the cabinet of Lord Grenville, all neophytes of half-a-century back, are unable, from want of experience, to propose to Parliament any decisive measure on Electoral Reform. Thus, the old proverb, that experience comes with age, appears to be refuted. "This coyness in a coalition of veteran partisans is something too comical to be easily described," exclaims *The Daily News,* asking: "Where is your Reform Bill?"[b] *The Morning Advertiser* replies:

"We should be inclined to the opinion that there will be no Reform Bill at all during the present session. There may be some attempt at legislating for the prevention and punishment of bribery at elections, and with regard to some other matters of minor importance; an effort may be made to remedy evils connected with the parliamentary representations of the country, but such legislation will not be deserving the name of a new Reform Bill."[c]

With regard to the late Discount Regulations of the Bank of England, the panic at first called forth by them, has now subsided, and businessmen alike with theorists, have assured themselves that the present prosperity will not be seriously interrupted or checked. But read the following extract from *The Economist*:

"This year, upon an immense extent of our wheat-land, there is no plant at all. On a very large proportion of our heavy soils, much of the land which should have been in wheat, remains unsown, and some of that which has been sown, is in no better plight, for the seed has either perished, or the plant has come up so thinly, or has been so destroyed by slugs, that the prospects of the occupiers are not better than those of the unsown lands. It has now become nearly impossible to plant all the wheat-land."[d]

Now the crisis, temporarily protracted by the opening of the Californian and Australian markets and mines, will unquestionably become due, in the event of a bad harvest. The Discount Regulations

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[a] "The New Ministry and Parliamentary Reform", *The Economist,* No. 491, January 22, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted from the leading article in *The Daily News,* January 27, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] Quoted from the leading article in *The Morning Advertiser,* January 26, 1853.—*Ed.*

[d] "Agriculture. The Season", *The Economist,* No. 491, January 22, 1853.—*Ed.*

of the Bank are only the first forebodings. In 1847 the Bank of England altered its rate of discount 13 times. In 1853 there will be a full score of such measures. In conclusion, I wish to ask the English Economists, how it happens that modern Political Economy commenced its warfare against the mercantile system by demonstrating that the influx and efflux of gold in a country are indifferent, that products are only exchanged against products, and that gold is a product like all others, while the very same Economy, now at the end of its career, is most anxiously watching the efflux and influx of gold? "The real object to be accomplished by the operations of the Bank," says *The Economist*, "is *to prevent an exportation of capital*."[a] Now, would *The Economist* prevent an exportation of capital in the shape of cotton, iron, woollen yarns and stuffs? And is gold not a *product like all other products*? Or has *The Economist* turned, in his old days, a Mercantilist? And after having set free the importation of foreign capital, does he aim at checking the exportation of British capital? After having freed himself from the civilized system of protection, will he recur to the Turkish one?

I am just concluding my letter, as I am informed, that a report is prevalent in political circles, that Mr. Gladstone is at variance with several of the leading members of the Aberdeen Ministry, on the subject of the *Income Tax*, and that the result of the misunderstanding will probably be the resignation of the Right Hon. gentleman. In that case, Sir Francis Baring, formerly Chancellor of the Exchequer under Lord Melbourne, will probably become his successor.

Written on January 28, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] "The Bank of England and the Rate of Discount", *The Economist*, No. 491, January 22, 1853.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## DEFENSE.—FINANCES.—
## DECREASE OF THE ARISTOCRACY.—POLITICS

London, Tuesday, February 8, 1853

*The Daily News* states that the establishment of a defensive coast-militia is under the serious consideration of the Government.

The Bank accounts show a further decrease of bullion to the amount of £362,084. There have been shipped, during the last fortnight, about £1,000,000 partly for the continent and partly in coin, for Australia. As the bullion in the Bank of France continues to also decrease, in spite of the large importation of gold from England, there has apparently sprung up a system of private hoarding, which strongly indicates the general distrust in the stability of Napoleonic government.

At present there is manifested a general demand for higher wages, on the part of working-men, especially shipwrights, colliers, factory-operatives and mechanics. This demand is owing to the prevailing prosperity and cannot be considered as a very particular event. A fact which deserves more notice, is a regular strike amongst agricultural laborers, a thing which has never taken place before. The laborers of South Wilts have struck for an advance of 2 shillings, their weekly wages amounting now only to 7s.

According to the quarterly returns of the registrar-general, emigration from Great Britain was going on through the past year, at the rate of 1,000 a-day, the increase of population being somewhat slower. Simultaneously there was a large increase of marriages.

The deaths of Viscount Melbourne and the Earl of Tyrconnel, with that of the Earl of Oxford, make no less than three peerages, that have become extinct within the last fortnight. If there be any class exempt from the Malthusian law of procreation in a geometrical progression, it is that of the hereditary aristocracy. Take, for instance, the peers and baronets of Great Britain. Few, if any, of the Norman nobility exist at this time and not much more of the original baronet families of King James I. The great majority of the House of Lords were created in 1760. The order of baronets commenced in 1611,

under James I. There are at present only thirteen surviving out of the number of baronet families then created, and of those created in 1625 there remain but 39. The extraordinary decrease of the Venitian nobility affords another instance of the prevalence of the same law, notwithstanding that *all* the sons were ennobled by birth. *Amelot* counted in his time 2,500 nobles at Venice, possessing the right of voting in the council.[a] At the commencement of the 18th century there remained only 1,500, in spite of a later addition of several families. From 1583-1654, the sovereign council of Berne admitted into the hereditary patricia 487 families, of which 399 became extinct within the space of two centuries while in 1783 there survived only 108. To recur to remoter periods of history, Tacitus informs us that the Emperor Claudius created a new stock of patricians, "*exhaustis etiam quas dictator Caesar lege Cassia et princeps Augustus lege Saenia sublegere.*"[b] It is evident from these facts, that nature does not like hereditary aristocracy, and it may safely be asserted but that for a continual infusion of new blood, and an artificial system of propping up, the English House of Lords would ere this have died its natural death. Modern physiology has ascertained the fact, that fertility decreases among the higher animals, inversely with the development of the nervous system, especially with the growing bulk of the brain. But no one will venture to affirm that the extinction of the English aristocracy has anything to do with an exuberance of brain.

It appears that the "millennium" is already considered as broken down by the same parties who predicted and originated it, even before the House of Commons has taken place. *The Times*, in its number of Feb. 4, says:

> "While Manchester has been fulminating her indignation against the Government of Lord Aberdeen, ... Irish Popery and *Socialism* (?) are bestowing their questionable praises on Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli."

As to the *Irish Socialism* alluded to in *The Times*, this term applies, of course, to the Tenant-Right agitation. On a future occasion I intend to show that the theories of all modern English bourgeois economists are in perfect accordance with the principle of Tenant-Right.[307] How little the tenor of *The Times* article just quoted is shared in by other newspapers, may be seen from the following contained in *The Morning Advertiser*:

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[a] Amelot de la Houssaye, *Histoire du gouvernement de Venise.—Ed.*

[b] "For even those had died out who had been added by the dictator Caesar under the law of Cassius and by the princeps Augustus under the law of Saenius", Publius Cornelius Tacitus, *Annales*, XI, 25.—*Ed.*

"We should despise the Irishmen, could we believe them capable of deserting the principle of Tenant-Right."[a]

The wrath of the Aberdeen organ is explained by the fact of the Millenarian Ministry being completely disappointed. Messrs. Sadleir and Keogh were the acknowledged leaders of the Brigade—the one in the Cabinet, the other in the field. Mr. Sadleir directed and managed, while Mr. Keogh made the speeches. It was supposed that the purchase of these two would bring over the whole lot. But the members of the Brigade were sent to Parliament pledged to stand in opposition to, and to remain independent of every Government that would not establish perfect religious equality, and realize the principle of Sharman Crawford's bill on the rights of the Irish tenants.[308] *The Times*, therefore, is indignated at these men being unwilling to break their faith. The immediate cause of the outbreak of this angry feeling was given by a meeting and banquet at Kells, County of Meath. The circular invited those to whom it was addressed, to express their indignation at "the recent desertion from the Irish Parliamentary party," and a resolution was passed in that sense.

This failure in the calculations of the Ministry with regard to the Brigade could have been anticipated; but a transformation is now going on in the character and position of Irish parties, of the deep bearing of which neither they nor the English press appear yet to be aware. The bishops and the mass of the clergy approve of the course taken by the Catholic members, who have joined the Administration. At Carlow, the clergy afforded their entire support to Mr. Sadleir, who would not have been defeated but for the efforts of the Tenant-Leaguers. In what light this schism is viewed by the true Catholic party, may be seen from an article in the French *Univers*, the European organ of Jesuitism. It says:

"The only reproach which can, with good foundation, be objected to Messrs. Keogh and Sadleir, is, that they suffered themselves to be thrown into connection with two Associations (the Tenant-League and the Religious Equality Association) which have no other object than to make patent the anarchy which consumes Ireland."

In its indignation, the *Univers* betrays its secret:

"We deeply regret to see the two Associations put themselves in open opposition to the bishops and clergy, in a country where the prelates and dignitaries of the Church have hitherto been the safest guides of popular and national organization."

We may infer that, should the Tenant-Leaguers happen to be in France, the *Univers* would cause them to be transported to Cayenne.

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[a] Quoted from the leading article in *The Morning Advertiser*, February 5, 1853.—*Ed.*

The Repeal[309] agitation was a mere political movement, and therefore, it was possible for the Catholic clergy to make use of it, for extorting concessions from the English Government while the people were nothing but the tools of the priests. The Tenant-Right agitation is a deep-rooted social movement which, in its course, will produce a downright scission between the Church and the Irish Revolutionary party, and thus emancipate the people from that mental thraldom which has frustrated all their exertions, sacrifices, and struggles for centuries past.

I pass now to the "Reunion" of the leading reformers of the County of Lancaster and its representatives, which was held at Manchester on the 3d inst.[a] Mr. *George Wilson* was in the chair. He spoke only of the iniquitous representation of the commercial and industrial compared with the agricultural districts, upon which he expressed himself in the following terms:

"In the five Counties of Buckingham, Dorset, Wilts, Northampton, and Salop, 63 members were returned by 52,921 voters, while only the same number were returned by Lancashire and Yorkshire, with 89,669 county and 84,612 borough voters, making a total of 174,281. So that, if they returned members in proportion to voters alone, those five counties could only claim 19; while, if Lancashire took their proportion, it would be entitled to 207. There were twelve large cities or boroughs (taking London as a double borough) returning 24 members, with 192,000 voters, and a population of 3,268,218, and 383,000 inhabited houses. On the other side, 24 members were returned by Andover, Buckingham, Chippenham, Cockermouth, Totnes, Harwich, Honiton, Thetford, Lymington, Marlborough, Great Marlborough and Richmond; but they had only 3,569 voters, 67,434 inhabitants, and 1,373 inhabited houses.... The most timid reformer and most moderate man would hardly object to the disfranchisement of those boroughs which had a population less than 5,000, and to handing over the 20 members to those large constituencies."

Mr. Milner Gibson, M.P., took up the subject of National Education, and the Taxes on Knowledge. With regard to the Reform Bill, the only passage in his speech deserving notice, is his declaration on the point of equal electoral districts:

"It may be, if you please, a great *class-question.*"

Mr. Brotherton, another M.P., said:

"No Reform Bill would be satisfactory, at this time, which did not propose to equalize the distribution of the representation."

But by far the most memorable speech was that of Mr. Bright, M.P., the real man among the "Manchester men." He said:

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[a] Speeches at a meeting of Parliamentary Reform supporters at Manchester on February 3, 1853 are quoted from the account of the meeting published in *The Times*, No. 21344, February 5, 1853, under the title "Social Soirée of Reformers at Manchester."—*Ed.*

"The Government is a coalition Government, composed of Whigs and Peelites.... There is no great cause for any throwing up of caps, as if we had in the Government men of new principles and of a new policy, who are about to take a great start, and who would not require to be urged on by all those who are favorable to Reform in every part of the country. [Hear.]"

In reference to Parliamentary Reform he said:

"If Louis Napoleon had started with a Representation like ours, in France; if he had given all the Members to the rural districts, where the Bonaparte family are so popular, and had not allowed Members to be returned from Paris, and Lyons, and Marseilles, all the Press of England would have denounced the sham Representation which he was establishing in that country. [Hear! hear!] ... We have one-eighth of the population of England here in Lancashire; we have one-tenth of its rateable property, and we have one-tenth of the whole number of houses.... We begin to know where we are now. [Loud cheers.]... There is another little difficulty, which is the difficulty of the ballot. [Hear! hear!] I read Lord John Russell's speech at his election, and really these London electors were in capital humor or they would not have allowed such an argument to pass without saying something against it. 'He was against secrecy everywhere'; and when I read the paragraph, I said to myself 'Very well; if I had been one of your supporters, I should have recommended you to take a reporter from *The Times* office to the next Cabinet-meeting with you.'" [Hear! laughter.] Now we come to Sir James Graham's argument: 'He did not think secret voting could be made compulsory.' Why can it not be made compulsory? Open voting is made compulsory, and secret voting could be made compulsory. It is compulsory, at any rate, in the State of Massachusetts, if not in the other States of North America; and Sir James Graham knows perfectly well that there was no force in what he was saying to 2,000 or 3,000 of the people of Carlisle, on a rainy day, when, I suppose, people did not weigh matters under their umbrellas very carefully.

"We must not forget," concluded Mr. Bright, "that everything the country has gained since the Revolution of 1688—and especially everything of late years—has been gained in a *manly contest of the industrial and commercial classes against the aristocratic and privileged classes of this country.* We must carry on the same conflict; there are great things yet to be done. [Hear! hear! and cheers.]"

The resolution unanimously agreed to was:

"That this meeting requests the Liberal Members connected with the County of Lancaster to consider themselves a committee for the purpose of aiding in any proceedings with reference to Parliamentary Reform, with a view to secure such additional representation for this County, as its population, industry, wealth and intelligence require."

The Manchester School have repeated at this meeting their battle cry: the industrial Bourgeoisie against the Aristocracy; but, on the other hand, they have also betrayed the secret of their policy, viz.: the exclusion of the people from the representation of the country, and the strict maintenance of their particular class-interest. All that was said with regard to the ballot, national education, taxes on knowledge, &c., is nothing but rhetorical flourishes; the only serious object being the *equalization of Electoral Districts*—at least the only one upon which a resolution was passed and a pledge taken by the

members. Why this? With equal electoral districts the town interest would become the commander of the country interest—the bourgeoisie would become master of the House of Commons. If it were given to the Manchester men to obtain equal electoral districts, without a necessity of making serious concessions to the Chartists, the latter would find instead of two enemies, mutually trying to outbid each other in their appeals to them, one compact army of foes, who would concentrate all their forces to resist the people's demands. There would be, for a while, the unrestricted rule of capital, not only industrially but also politically.

A bad omen for the coalition Ministry may be found in the eulogiums bestowed at Kells and at Manchester on the fallen Administration. Mr. *Lucas*, M. P., said at Kells:

"There were no greater enemies to Tenant Right than the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Palmerston, Sidney Herbert, &c. ... Had they not had the Whig Ministry and the Grahamites nibbling at the Tenant question? They had on the other hand the Tory officials; and he would leave it to the conscience of any man, who read the propositions that emanated from the various parties, to say whether the treatment of the subject on the side of the Derby Government was not a thousand times more honest than that of the Whigs."

At the Manchester Reunion, *Milner Gibson* said:

"Although the Budget of the late Ministry, as a whole, was bad, still there were good indications of future policy in that budget.—[Hear! hear!] At least the late Chancellor of the Exchequer[a] has broken the ice. I mean with regard to the Tea Duties. I have heard from good authority that it was the intention of the late Government to repeal the Advertisement Duty."

Mr. *Bright* went still further in his eulogium:

"The late Government did a bold thing with regard to the Income Tax. For the country gentlemen of England, themselves the owners of a vast portion of the fixed landed property of the country, for them to come forward and support a proposition which made a distinction in the rate charged on fixed property, and that on income derived from trade and other precarious sources, was a step that we ought not to lose sight of, and that we, in this district, are bound to applaud. But there was another point to which Mr. Disraeli referred, and for which I must say I feel grateful to him. In the speech introducing his budget, and in the speech in which he contended for three hours with that mass of power opposed to him, on the night of his final defeat, he referred to the tax on successions, which is what we understand by the legacy and probate duties, and he admitted that it required to be adjusted. [Loud cheers.]"

Written on February 8, 1853

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3699, February 23, and in the *Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 809, February 25, 1853
Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Disraeli.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE ITALIAN INSURRECTION.—BRITISH POLITICS

London, Friday, February 11, 1853

The political torpor which, under the protection of nature's dullest fog, has for so long a time prevailed here, has been suddenly interrupted by the arrival of revolutionary news from Italy. Intelligence has been received by electric telegraph, that an insurrection took place at Milan on the 6th; that proclamations had been posted up, one by Mazzini,[a] the other by Kossuth,[b] exhorting the Hungarians in the Austrian army to join the revolutionists; that the insurrection had been at first suppressed, but had afterwards recommenced; that the Austrians stationed in the arsenal had been massacred, &c.; that the gates of Milan were shut up. The French Government papers, it is true, communicate two further dispatches, dated Berne the 9th, and Turin 8th, which report the definitive suppression of the outbreak on the 7th. But the non-arrival of any direct information at the English Foreign Office for two days, is regarded as a favorable symptom by the friends of Italy.

Rumors are current in Paris, that great excitement prevailed at Pisa, Lucca and in other towns.

At Turin the ministry met in haste, in consequence of a communication from the Austrian Consul, in order to deliberate on the aspect of affairs in Lombardy. The day, on which the first information reached London, was the 9th of February, which day, curiously enough, is also the anniversary of the proclamation of the Roman Republic in 1849,[310] of the decapitation of Charles I in 1649, and of the deposition of James II in 1689.

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[a] G. Mazzini, A. Saffi, "Italian National Committee" (February 1853), *The Times*, No. 21350, February 12, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] L. Kossuth, "In the Name of the Hungarian Nation.—To the Soldiers Quartered in Italy" (February 1853), *The Times*, No. 21348, February 10, 1853.—*Ed.*

As regards the chances of the present insurrection at Milan, there can be little hope of success, unless some of the Austrian regiments pass over to the revolutionary camp. Private letters from Turin, which I expect will shortly reach me, will probably enable me to furnish you a detailed account of the whole affair.

Several statements as to the character of the amnesty lately granted by Louis Napoleon, have been published on behalf of the French refugees. Victor Frondes (a former officer) declares in the *Nation*, a Brussels paper, that he was surprised to see his name in the list of the amnestied, he having already amnestied himself, five months ago, by making his escape from Algiers.

The *Moniteur*[a] announced at first, that 3,000 exiles were to be amnestied, and that only about 1,200 citizens would remain under the ban of proscription. A few days later the same authority stated, that 4,312 persons[b] had been pardoned, so that Louis Napoleon actually forgave 100 persons more than he had previously condemned. Paris and the Department of the Seine alone numbered about 4,000 exiles. Of these only 226 are included in the amnesty. The Department of the Hérault counted 2,611 exiles; 299 are amnestied. The Nièvre furnished 1,478 victims among whom there were 1,100 fathers of families averaging three children each; 180 have been amnestied. In the Department of the Var 687 out of 2,181 have been released. Among the 1,200 republicans transported to Cayenne, only a few have been pardoned, and precisely such as have escaped already from that penal settlement. The number of persons transported to Algeria and now released, is large, but still in no proportion to the immense mass of people that have been carried over to Africa, which is said to amount to 12,000. The refugees now living in England, Belgium, Switzerland and Spain, with very rare exceptions, are entirely excluded from the decree. On the other hand, the amnesty lists actually contain a large number of persons who have never quitted France, or who have long since been permitted to re-enter it; nay, more, there are names which figure in the list several times. But the most monstrous fact is, that the list is swelled with the names of a large number of persons well known to have been slaughtered during the sanguinary "*battues*" of December.

The new Parliamentary session commenced yesterday. As a worthy introduction to the future performances of the Millenarian Ministry, the following scene was produced in the House of Lords:

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[a] Of January 31, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] "Décret accordant la grâce à 4312 condamnés politiques, le 2 février 1853", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 35, February 4, 1853.—*Ed.*

The Earl of Derby asked the Earl of Aberdeen what measures the Government proposed to submit to the consideration of Parliament; upon which the latter replied that he had already, on a former occasion, explained his principles, a repetition of which would be inconvenient; and that any further statement, before the communication to be made in the House of Commons, would be premature. And now ensued a most curious dialogue, in which the Earl of Derby spoke, and the Earl of Aberdeen only bowed significantly:[a]

*The Earl of Derby*—"He would ask the noble Lord what measures he intended to submit to their Lordships in the course of the Session?"

After a few seconds' pause, no noble Lord having risen—

*The Earl of Derby*—"Does silence mean no measures?" [A laugh.]

*The Earl of Aberdeen*—[Muttering some inaudible words.]

*The Earl of Derby*—"May I be permitted to ask what measures will be introduced in this House?"

No answer.

The question of adjournment being put by the Lord Chancellor,[b] their Lordships adjourned.

Passing from the House of Lords to "Her Majesty's liege Commons," we shall observe that the Earl of Aberdeen has expounded the programme of the Ministry much more strikingly by his silence than Lord John Russell by his long and grave speech last night. The short *resumé* of the latter was: "No Measures, but Men"; adjournment of all questions of Parliamentary importance for one year; and strict payment of the salaries of her Majesty's Ministers during that time. Lord John Russell stated the intention of the Government in nearly these words:

"With regard to the number of men to be voted for the Army, the Navy, and Ordnance, there will be no increase beyond the number voted before the Christmas holidays. With regard to the amounts in the various estimates, there will be found a considerable increase upon the estimates of last year.... A bill will be brought in to enable the Legislature of Canada to dispose of the Clergy Reserves in Canada.... The President of the Board of Trade[c] will move for the introduction of a Pilotage bill.... The disabilities of her Majesty's Jewish subjects will be removed.... Propositions will be made on the subject of Education. I am not prepared to say that I am about to introduce, on the part of her Majesty's Government, a very large plan on that subject. It will include educational measures for the poorer classes, and propositions with respect to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.... Transportation to Australia will cease.... There will be made a proposal with respect to the system of secondary punishments.... Immediately after the Easter recess, or as soon as possible after that period, the Chancellor of the Exchequer[d] will propose the financial statement for the

[a] Information about the debate in the House of Lords and Russell's speech in the House of Commons on February 10, 1853 are given according to the account of them in *The Times*, No. 21349, February 11, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] Cranworth.—*Ed.*

[c] Cardwell.—*Ed.*

[d] Gladstone.—*Ed.*

year.... The Lord Chancellor will state in a few days what are the measures he proposes to bring in for the improvement of the law.... It is the intention of the Chief Secretary for Ireland,[a] in a few days, to move the appointment of a select Committee with regard to the law of Landlord and Tenant in Ireland.... Ministers would endeavor to effect a renewal of the Income Tax for the present year, without any observation or discussion whatever."

In reference to Parliamentary Reform, Lord John Russell declares that it may perhaps be taken into consideration in the next session. Accordingly, no Reform Bill at present. Nay more, Johnny was at great pains to disclaim the idea of ever having promised to give a more liberal measure of representative reform than his bill of last session.[311] He was even indignant that words to that effect should have been ascribed to him. He never said nor meant anything of the kind. Nor does he promise that his intended bill of next session will be as comprehensive as that of 1852. With respect to bribery and corruption, he said:

"I think it better to defer giving an opinion as to whether any further measures may be necessary to check bribery and corruption. I will only say that the subject is one of the highest importance."

It is impossible to describe the cool amazement with which this speech of Finality-John[312] was received by the House of Commons. It would be difficult to state, which was greater, the perplexity of his friends, or the hilarity of his foes. All seemed to regard his speech as a complete refutation of Lucretius's doctrine, that "*Nil de nihilo fit.*"[b] Lord John at least made something out of nothing; a dry, long and very tedious speech.

There were two subjects upon which Ministers were supposed to mean to stand or fall—a new assessment of the Income Tax and a new Reform Bill. Now, as to the Income Tax it is proposed to continue it for a year in its present form. As to a Reform Bill, even of Whig dimensions, it is declared that Ministers intend to introduce it only on the condition that they remain in office for a whole year. It is altogether the programme of the late Russell Administration, minus the Reform Bill. Even the financial statement is postponed till after the Easter recess, so that Ministers may be able, in any event, to touch their quarterly pay.

The particular reform propositions are nearly all of them borrowed from Mr. Disraeli's programme. Thus for instance, the law amendment, the abolition of transportation to Australia, the Pilotage bill, the Committee on the Tenant-Right question, etc. The

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[a] John Young.—*Ed.*

[b] "Nothing comes out of nothing" (Lucretius Carus, *De rerum natura.* V).—*Ed.*

only points belonging properly to the present Ministry, are the proposed educational reform which Lord John assures us will be of no larger size than himself, and the removal of Baronet Lionel Rothschild's disabilities. It may be questioned, whether the English people will be very contented with this extension of the suffrage to a Jewish usurer, who was notoriously one of the accomplices of the Bonapartist coup d'état.

This impudence of a Ministry, composed of two parties that were completely beaten at the late general elections, it would be difficult to explain, were it not for the circumstance that any new Reform Bill would necessitate a dissolution of the present House of Commons, the majority of which stick to their dearly-bought seats, gained by narrow majorities.

Nothing is more delightful than the manner in which *The Times* attempts to comfort its readers:

> "Next session is not quite so uncertain an epoch as *to-morrow*; for to-morrow depends not only on the will, but even on the life of the procrastinator, while, if the world endures, next session will certainly arrive. Then put off to next session—the whole Parliamentary reform—give the Ministry a rest for one year!"[a]

I, for my part, am of opinion, that it is highly beneficial to the people, that no Reform Bill is to be *octroyed* by Ministers, in the present dull state of the public mind, and "under the cold shadow of an aristocratic Coalition Cabinet." It must not be forgotten that Lord Aberdeen was a member of the Tory Cabinet, which, in 1830, refused to agree to any measure of reform. National reforms must be won by National agitation, and not by the grace of my Lord Aberdeen.

In conclusion let me mention that, at a special meeting of the General Committee of the *National Association for the Protection of British Industry and Capital*, held in the South-Sea House, on Monday last, under the Presidency of the Duke of Richmond, this Society wisely resolved to dissolve itself.[313]

Written on February 11, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

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[a] Quoted from the leading article in *The Times*, No. 21349, February 11, 1853. —*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE ATTACK ON FRANCIS JOSEPH.— THE MILAN RIOT.—BRITISH POLITICS.— DISRAELI'S SPEECH.—NAPOLEON'S WILL

London, Tuesday, February 22, 1853

The electric telegraph brings the following news from Stuhlweissenburg[a]:

"On the 18th inst., at 1 o'clock, the Emperor of Austria, Francis Joseph, was walking on the ramparts of Vienna, when a Hungarian journeyman tailor named János Libényi, formerly a hussar from Vienna, rushed upon him in a moment and struck him with a poniard. The blow was warded off by an aid-de-camp, the Count O'Donnell. Francis Joseph was wounded below the occiput. The Hungarian, 21 years of age, was struck down by a blow of the aid-de-camp's sword and was arrested immediately."

According to other accounts, the weapon employed was a musket.

A very extensive conspiracy for the overthrow of the Austrian rule has just been discovered in Hungary.

The *Wiener Zeitung*[b] publishes several sentences passed by courts martial on thirty-nine individuals, accused principally of conspiracy with Kossuth and Ruszak, from Hamburg.

Immediately after the revolutionary outbreak in Milan had been crushed, Radetzky gave orders to intercept all communication with Piedmont and Switzerland. You will ere this have received the scanty information that has been allowed to find its way from Italy to England. I call your attention to one characteristic feature in the Milan affair.

Lieutenant-Marshal Count Strassoldo, in his first decree of the 7th inst., although imposing the severest state of siege upon Milan, plainly admits that the bulk of the population took no part whatever in the late insurrection. Radetzky, in his subsequent proclamation of

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[a] The Hungarian name is Székesfehérvár.—*Ed.*

[b] Issue No. 35 of February 10, 1853.—*Ed.*

the 9th inst., dated from Verona, subverts the statement of his inferior, and takes advantage of the rebellion to obtain money under false pretenses. He subjects all persons not notoriously belonging to the Austrian party to fines of unlimited extent, for the benefit of the garrison. In his proclamation of the 11th inst. he declares "that the generality of the inhabitants, with a few praiseworthy exceptions,are unwilling to submit to the Imperial rule," and he instructs all judicial authorities, *i.e.* the courts martial, to sequestrate the property of all the accomplices, explaining this term in the following manner:

"*Che tale complicità consista semplicimente nella omissione della denuncia a cui ognuno è tenuto.*"[a]

He might as well have confiscated all Milan at once under the pretense that, the insurrection having broken out on the 6th, its inhabitants failed to denounce it on the 5th. Whoever will not become a spy and informer for the Hapsburg shall be liable to become the lawful prey of the Croat.[314] In a word, Radetzky proclaims a new system of wholesale plunder.

The Milan insurrection is significant as a symptom of the approaching revolutionary crisis on the whole European continent. As the heroic act of some few proletarians—the sons of Mammon were dancing, and singing, and feasting amid the blood and tears of their debased and crucified nation—proletarians who, armed only with knives, marched to attack the citadel of a garrison and surrounding army of forty thousand of the finest troops in Europe, it is admirable. But as the finale of Mazzini's eternal conspiracy, of his bombastic proclamations and his arrogant capucinades against the French people, it is a very poor result. Let us hope that henceforth there will be an end of *révolutions improvisées*, as the French call them. Has one ever heard of great improvisators being also great poets? They are the same in politics as in poetry. Revolutions are never made to order. After the terrible experience of '48 and '49, it needs something more than paper summonses from distant leaders to evoke national revolutions. Kossuth has seized the opportunity for publicly disavowing the insurrection in general, and the proclamation published in his name in particular.[b] It looks, however, rather suspicious that he claims for himself a post-factum superiority to his friend Mazzini as a politician. *The Leader* remarks on this subject:

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[a] "And that complicity consists in the simple failure to denounce, to which everybody is obliged."—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 508.—*Ed.*

"We deem it necessary to caution our readers that the matter in question lies exclusively between Mr. Kossuth and Mr. Mazzini, the latter of whom is absent from England.[a]

*Della Rocco*, a friend of Mazzini, says in a letter addressed to *The Daily News*, with regard to Mr. Kossuth's and Mr. Agostini's disavowals:

"There are persons who will suspect that they were waiting the definitive news of the success or the failure of the insurrection, as ready to share the honor of the former as to repel the responsibility of the latter."[b]

*B. Szemere*, Ex-Minister of Hungary, protests in a letter addressed to the editor of *The Morning Chronicle*, "against the illegitimate usurpation of the name of Hungary by Kossuth." He says:

"Let those who are desirous of forming a judgment of him as a statesman, read attentively the history of the last Hungarian Revolution, or of learning his skill as a conspirator, cast a retrospective glance on the unhappy Hamburg expedition of last year."[315]

That the revolution is victorious even in its failures, one may see from the terrors the Milan *échauffourée*[c] has thrown in the very heart of continental potentates. Look only at the following letter published in the official *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung*[d]:

"*Berlin*, Feb. 13.—The events at Milan have produced a deep impression here. The news reached the King[e] by telegraph on the 9th, just as the court was in the middle of a ball. The King immediately declared that the movement was connected with a deep conspiracy, which had its ramifications everywhere, and that it showed the necessity for the close union of Prussia and Austria in presence of these revolutionary movements.... A high functionary exclaimed: 'We may thus have to defend the Prussian crown on the banks of the Po.'"

So great was the alarm created in the first moment, that about twenty inhabitants of Berlin were arrested without any other cause than the "deep impression." The *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, the ultra Royalist paper, was confiscated for publishing the document purporting to be from Kossuth. On the 13th the Minister of Westphalia presented to the first chamber a hasty bill for empowering the Government to seize all papers or pamphlets published outside the frontiers of Prussia. Arrests and domiciliar

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[a] "Kossuth and the Milan Revolt", *The Leader*, February 19, 1853.—*Ed.*
[b] Della Rocco, "Mazzini's Proclamation", *The Daily News*, February 21, 1853.—*Ed.*
[c] Affrays.—*Ed.*
[d] *Frankfurter Postzeitung*.—*Ed.*
[e] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

visits are the order of the day at Vienna. Negotiations immediately took place between Russia, Prussia and Austria, for a joint remonstrance to be addressed to the British Government on the subject of political refugees. So weak, so powerless are the so-called "powers." They feel the thrones of Europe vibrate to their foundations at the first forebodings of the revolutionary earthquake. In the midst of their armies, their gallows and their dungeons, they are trembling at what they call "the subversive attempts of a few paid miscreants."

"Quiet is restored." It is. The ominous and dreadful quiet that intervenes between the first burst of the tempest and its returning roar.

From the agitated scenes of the Continent I pass to quiet England. It would seem as if the spirit of little Finality-John[316] had obtained the whole of the official sphere for its dominion; as though the nation throughout had become as paralytic as the men who now govern it. Even *The Times* exclaims with despair:

> "It may be the calm before a storm; it may be the smoke before the fire.... For the present it is dullness."[a]

Business has been resumed in Parliament, but till now the three times repeated bowing of Lord Aberdeen has been the most dramatic, and the only conspicuous act of the Coalition Ministry.[b] The impression Lord John's programme has made on his enemies has been best described by the professions of his friends:

> "Lord John Russell," says *The Times*, "has made a speech with rather less spirit than an ordinary auctioneer would put into his preliminary remarks before a sale of old furniture, damaged goods, or shop fittings.... Lord John Russell creates mighty little enthusiasm."

You know that the new Reform Bill has been postponed under the presence of more urgent practical reforms calling upon the more immediate attention of legislators. Now an instance has already been given of what nature these reforms must turn out to be, while the instrument of reforming, viz., Parliament, remains itself unreformed.

On Feb. 14, Lord Cranworth laid his programme of legal reform before the House of Lords. By far the greater part of his prolix,

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[a] This quotation and one that follows are from the leading article in *The Times*, No. 21350, February 12, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 510.—*Ed.*

tedious, and indecisive speech consisted in the enumeration of the many things he was expected, but not at all prepared to do. He excused himself with being only seven weeks on the woolsack, but, as *The Times* observes, "Lord Cranworth has been 63 years in this world, and 37 at the Bar." [a] In the true spirit of Whiggery, he infers from the comparatively great results obtained by the small legal reforms hitherto made, that it would be an infraction of the laws of modesty to go on reforming in the same strain. In the true spirit of Aristocracy, he abstains from dealing with Ecclesiastical Law, as "It would interfere too much with vested interests." Interests vested in what? In public nuisances. The only measures of any importance prepared by Lord Cranworth are the following two: Firstly, a "Bill to facilitate the transfer of land," the principal features of which are, that it renders the transfer of land only more difficult, by increasing the expenses thereon, and augmenting the technical obstructions, without shortening the length, or diminishing the complexity of conveyances. Second, a proposition to form a commission for digesting the statute law,[317] the whole merit of which will be restricted to the compilation of an index for the 40 quarto volumes of statutes at large. Lord Cranworth certainly may defend his measures against the most inveterate opponents to law-reform with the same excuse which was offered by the poor girl to her Confessor, namely: that, though it was true that she had had a child, it was but a very little one.

Up to this day the only interesting debate in the House of Commons was that in which Mr. Disraeli, on the 18th inst., interpellated the Ministers on the relations of the country with France. Disraeli began with Poitiers and Azincourt,[318] and ended with the hustings at Carlisle, and the Cloth-Hall at Halifax, his object being to denounce Sir James Graham and Sir Charles Wood [b] for irreverent remarks made on the character of Napoleon III. Disraeli could not have rendered the utter decay of the old Tory party more evident, than by his throwing himself up as the apologist of the Bonapartes, the hereditary enemies of the very political class whose chief he himself is. He could not have opened his opposition career in a more inappropriate manner, than by this justification of the actual *regime* in France. The weakness of this part of his speech may be seen from a short analysis of it.

Attempting to explain the causes of the uneasiness felt by the

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[a] Quoted from the leading article in *The Times*, No. 21352, February 15, 1853. — *Ed.*

[b] Graham was deputy from Carlisle and Wood from Halifax.— *Ed.*

public on the state of England's present relations with France, he was compelled to admit that the principal motive was just derived from the large armaments, which were commenced under his own administration. Nevertheless he endeavored to prove, that the increasing and completing of the defenses of Great Britain had their only reason in the great changes occasioned by the modern application of science to the art of war. Competent authorities, he says, had ere this recognized the necessity of such measures. In 1840, under the Ministry of M. Thiers, there had been made some efforts by the Government of Sir Robert Peel, at least to commence a new system with regard to the public defenses. But in vain. Again, at the outbreak of the Continental revolutions in 1848, an opportunity had been offered to the Government of the day to lead popular opinion in the direction which it desired, as far as the defense of the country was concerned. But again without result. The question of national defenses had not become ripe before he and his colleagues were placed at the head of the Government. The measures adopted by them were as follows:

I. A Militia was established.

II. The Artillery was placed in an efficient state.

III. Measures were introduced which will completely fortify the Arsenals of the country, and some important strong posts upon the coast.

IV. A proposition was made by which will be added to the Navy 5,000 sailors and 1,500 marines.

V. Arrangements were made for the establishment of the ancient force in the form of a Channel Fleet of 15 or 20 sail of the line with an adequate number of frigates and smaller ships.

Now, from all these statements, it is evident that Disraeli established exactly the contrary of what he wanted to prove. The Government was unable to effect an increase of armaments, when the Syrian and Tahitian questions menaced the *entente cordiale* with Louis Philippe[319]; it was equally unable to do so when Revolution spread all over the Continent and seemed to threaten British interests at their very root. Why, then, has it become possible to do so now, and why was it done by Mr. Disraeli's Government? Exactly because Napoleon III has raised more fears for the security of England than have existed at any time since 1815. And further, as Mr. Cobden justly observed:

"The proposed increase in the naval force was not an increase of steam machinery, but one of men, and the transition from the use of sailing vessels to that of steamers did not imply the necessity of a larger number of sailors, but quite the contrary."[a]

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[a] Richard Cobden, Speech in the House of Commons on February 18, 1853, *The Times*, No. 21356, February 19, 1853.—*Ed.*

Disraeli said:[a]

"Another cause for the belief in an impending rupture with France is the existence in France of a military government. But when armies are anxious for conquests it is because their position at home is uneasy; and France is now governed by the army, not in consequence of the military ambition of the troops, but in consequence of the disquietude of the citizens."

Mr. Disraeli seems entirely to overlook that the question is just, how long the army will feel easy at home, and how long the entire Nation will bow, out of deference to the egotistical disquietude of a small class of citizens, to the actual terrors of a military despotism, which after all is but the instrument of exclusive class interests.

The third cause alleged by Mr. Disraeli was:

"The considerable prejudice in this country against the present ruler of France.... It is understood that in acceding to power he has terminated what we esteem a Parliamentary Constitution, and that he has abrogated the liberty of the press."

There is, however, but little which Mr. Disraeli knew of to oppose to that prejudice. He said "it was extremely difficult to form an opinion on French politics."

It is simply common sense which tells the English people, although less deeply initiated into the mysteries of French politics than Mr. Disraeli, that the reckless adventurer, being neither controlled by a Parliament nor a press, is the very man to make a piratical descent upon England, after his own exchequer has become exhausted by extravagance and dissipation.

Mr. Disraeli then records some instances, in which the cordial understanding between Bonaparte and the late Administration had greatly contributed toward the maintenance of peace, as in the case of an impending conflict between France and Switzerland, in the opening of the South America rivers, in the case of Prussia and Neuchâtel, in pressing upon the United States the Tripartite renunciation of Cuba, in the common action in the Levant with regard to the *Tanzimat* in Egypt, in the revision of the Greek Succession Treaty, in the cordial co-operation with regard to the Regency of Tunis, &c.[320] Now this reminds me of a certain member of the French party of order, who made a speech at the end of November, 1851, on the cordial understanding between Bonaparte and the majority of the Assembly which had enabled the latter so easily to dispose of the Suffrage, the Association, and the

[a] Here and below Disraeli's speech in the House of Commons on February 18, 1853 is quoted from *The Times*, No. 21356, February 19, 1853. His opponents' statements are also quoted from the same newspaper.—*Ed.*

Press questions. Two days later the coup d'état had been carried out.

Weak and inconsistent as was this part of Disraeli's speech, his attacks on the Coalition Ministry formed a brilliant conclusion:

"There is one other reason," he concluded, "why I am bound to pursue this inquiry at the present moment, and I find that reason in the present state of parties in this House. It is a peculiar state of things. We have at this moment a Conservative Ministry, and we have a Conservative Opposition. [Cheers.] Where the great Liberal party is, I pretend not to know. [Cheers.] Where are the Whigs, with their great traditions? ...There is no one to answer. [Renewed cheering.] Where, I ask, are the youthful energies of Radicalism? Its buoyant expectations—its expanded hopes? Awakened, I fear, from the dreams of that ardent inexperience which attend sometimes the career of youth, it finds itself at the same moment used and discarded. [Cheers.] Used without compunction, and not discarded with too much decency. [Cheers.] Where are the Radicals? Is there a man in the House who declares himself to be a Radical? [Hear, hear!] No, not one. He would be afraid of being caught and turned into a Conservative Minister. [Roars of laughter.] Well, how has this curious state of things been brought about? Where is the machinery by which it has been effected, this portentous political calamity? I believe I must go to that inexhaustible magazine of political devices, the First Lord of the Admiralty (Graham), to explain the present state of affairs. The House may recollect that some two years ago the First Lord of the Admiralty afforded us, as is his wont, one of those political creeds in which his speeches abound. He said: 'I take my stand on progress.' Well, Sir, I thought at the time that progress was an odd thing to take one's stand upon. [Much laughter and cheering.] I thought at the time that this was a piece of oratorical slip-slop. But I apologize for the momentary suspicion. I find that it was a system perfectly matured, and now brought into action. For we have now a Ministry of progress, and every one stands still. [Cheers.] We never hear the word 'reform' now; it is no longer a Ministry of reform; it is a Ministry of progress, every member of which resolves to do nothing. All difficult questions are suspended. All questions which cannot be agreed upon are open questions."

The opponents of Disraeli had but little to say in reply to him, with the exception of that very "inexhaustible magazine of political devices," Sir James Graham, who, at least, conserved his dignity in not wholly retracting the offensive words against Louis Napoleon, of which he had been accused.

Lord John Russell charged Mr. Disraeli with making a party question of the country's foreign policy, and assured the Opposition:

"That after the contentions and struggles of last year the country would gladly see a short time at least of peaceable progress, without any of these great convulsive struggles of parties."

The result of the debate is, that the whole of the navy estimates will be voted by the House, but to the comfort of Louis Napoleon, not from a warlike but only a scientific view of the matter. *Suaviter in*

*modo, fortiter in re.*[a] On Thursday morning last, the Queen's Advocate, appearing before Sir J. Dodson, in the Prerogative Court, requested, on behalf of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, that the original will and codicil of Napoleon Bonaparte should be delivered up by the Register to the French Government; which desire was complied with. Should Louis Bonaparte proceed to open and endeavor to execute this testament, it might prove the modern box of Pandora.

Written on February 22, 1853

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3710, March 7 (evening edition) and March 8 (morning edition), 1853
Signed: *Karl Marx*

[a] Literally: suavely in manner, strongly in matter; gently but firmly—an expression from the treatise *Industriae ad curandos animae morbos* by Claudio Acquaviva, General of the Society of Jesus.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.— THE CLERGY AGAINST SOCIALISM.—STARVATION [321]

London, Friday, February 25, 1853

The Parliamentary debates of the week offer but little of interest. On the 22nd inst., Mr. Spooner moved, in the House of Commons, the repeal of the money grants for the Catholic College at Maynooth,[322] and Mr. Scholefield proposed the amendment "to repeal all enactments now in force whereby the revenue of the State is charged in aid of any ecclesiastical or religious purpose whatsoever." Mr. Spooner's motion was lost by 162 to 192 votes. Mr. Scholefield's amendment will not come under discussion before Wednesday next; it is, however, not improbable that the amendment will be withdrawn altogether. The only remarkable passage in the Maynooth debate is an observation that fell from Mr. Duffy (Irish Brigade):

> "He did not think it wholly impossible that the President of the United States,[a] or the new Emperor of the French,[b] might be glad to renew the relations between those countries and the Irish Priesthood."

In the session of last night Lord John Russell brought before the House of Commons his motion for the "removal of some disabilities of Her Majesty's Jewish subjects." The motion was carried by a majority of 29. Thus the question is again settled in the House of Commons, but there is no doubt that it will be once more unsettled in the House of Lords.

The exclusion of Jews from the House of Commons, after the spirit of usury has so long presided in the British Parliament, is

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[a] Frank Pierce.—*Ed.*
[b] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

unquestionably an absurd anomaly, the more so as they have already become eligible to all the civil offices of the community. But it remains no less characteristic for the man and *for his times*, that instead of a Reform Bill which was promised to remove the disabilities of the mass of the English people, a bill is brought in by Finality-John for the exclusive removal of the disabilities of Baron Lionel de Rothschild. How utterly insignificant an interest is taken in this affair by the public at large, may be inferred from the fact that from not a single place in Great Britain a petition in favor of the admission of Jews has been forwarded to Parliament. The whole secret of this miserable reform farce was betrayed by the speech of the present Sir Robert Peel.[a]

"After all, the House were only considering the noble Lord's private affairs. [Loud cheers.] The noble Lord represented London with a Jew [cheers],and had made the pledge to bring forward annually a motion in favor of the Jews. [Hear!] No doubt Baron Rothschild was a very wealthy man, but this did not entitle him to any consideration, especially considering how his wealth had been amassed. [Loud cries of "hear, hear", and "Oh! Oh!" from the Ministerial benches.] Only yesterday he had read in the papers that the House of Rothschild had consented to grant a loan to Greece, on considerable guaranties, at 9%. [Hear!] No wonder, at this rate, that the house of Rothschild were wealthy. [Hear!] The President of the Board of Control[b] had been talking of gagging the Press. Why, no one had done so much to depress freedom in Europe as the house of Rothschild [Hear, hear!] by the loans with which they assisted the despotic powers. But even supposing the Baron to be as worthy a man as he was certainly rich, it was to have been expected that the noble Lord who represented in that House a government consisting of the leaders of all the political factions who had opposed the late Administration, would have proposed some measure of more importance than the present."

The proceedings on election-petitions have commenced. The elections for Canterbury and Lancaster have been declared null and void, under circumstances which proved the habitual venality on the part of a certain class of electors, but it is pretty sure that the majority of cases will be adjusted by way of compromise.

"The privileged classes," says *The Daily News*,[c] "who have successfully contrived to baffle the intentions of the Reform Bill and to recover their ascendancy in the existing representation are naturally alarmed at the idea of full and complete exposure."

On the 21st inst., Lord John Russell resigned the seals on the Foreign Office, and Lord Clarendon was sworn in as his successor. Lord John is the first Member of the House of Commons admitted to

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[a] Delivered in the House of Commons on February 24, 1853. The account of speech in *The Times*, No. 21361, February 25, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] Charles Wood.—*Ed.*

[c] February 23, 1853 (leading article).—*Ed.*

a seat in the Cabinet without any official appointment. He is now only a favorite adviser, without a place—and without salary. Notice, however, has already been given by Mr. Kelly of a proposition to remedy the latter inconvenience of poor Johnny's situation. The Secretaryship of Foreign Affairs is at the present juncture the more important, as the Germanic Diet has bestirred itself to ask the removal of all political refugees from Great Britain, as the Austrians propose to pack us all up and transport us to some barren island in the South Pacific.

Allusion has been made, in a former letter, to the probability of the Irish Tenant-Right agitation becoming, in time, an anti-clerical movement,[a] notwithstanding the views and intentions of its actual leaders. I alleged the fact, that the higher Clergy was already beginning to take a hostile attitude with regard to the League. Another force has since stepped into the field which presses the movement in the same direction. The landlords of the north of Ireland endeavor to persuade their tenantry that the Tenant League and the Catholic Defense Association are identical, and they labor to get up an opposition to the former under the pretense of resisting the progress of Popery.

While we thus see the Irish landlords appealing to their tenants against the Catholic clergy we behold on the other hand the English Protestant clergy appealing to the working classes against the mill-lords. The industrial proletariat of England has renewed with double vigor its old campaign for the Ten Hours Bill and against the *truck and shoppage system.* As the demands of this kind shall be brought before the House of Commons, to which numerous petitions on the subject have already been presented, there will be an opportunity for me to dwell in a future letter on the cruel and infamous practices of the factory-despots, who are in the habit of making the press and the tribune resound with their liberal rhetorics. For the present it may suffice to recall to memory that from 1802 there has been a continual strife on the part of the English working people for legislative interference with the duration of factory labor, until in 1847 the celebrated Ten Hours Act of John Fielden[323] was passed, whereby young persons and females were prohibited to work in any factory longer than ten hours a day. The liberal mill-lords speedily found out that under this act factories might be worked by shifts and relays. In 1849 an action of law was brought before the Court of Exchequer, and the Judge decided that to work the relay or shift-system, with two sets of children, the adults

[a] See this volume, p. 505.—*Ed.*

working the whole space of time during which the machinery was running, was legal. It therefore became necessary to go to Parliament again, and in 1850 the relay and shift-system was condemned there, but the Ten Hours Act was transformed into a Ten and a Half Hours Act.[a] Now, at this moment, the working classes demand a restitution *in integrum* of the original Ten Hours Bill; yet, in order to make it efficient, they add the demand of a restriction of the moving power of machinery.

Such is, in short, the exoteric history of the Ten Hours Act. Its secret history was as follows: The landed aristocracy having suffered a defeat from the bourgeoisie by the passing of the Reform Bill of 1831, and being assailed in "their most sacred interests" by the cry of the manufacturers for Free Trade and the abolition of the Corn Laws, resolved to resist the middle class by espousing the cause and claims of the working-men against their masters, and especially by rallying around their demands for the limitation of factory labor. So-called philanthropic Lords were then at the head of all Ten-Hours' meetings. Lord Ashley has even made a sort of "renommée" by his performances in this movement. The landed aristocracy, having received a deadly blow by the actual abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846, took their vengeance by forcing the Ten Hours Bill of 1847 upon Parliament. But the industrial bourgeoisie recovered by judiciary authority, what they had lost by Parliamentary legislation. In 1850, the wrath of the Landlords had gradually subsided, and they made a compromise with the Mill-lords, condemning the shift-system, but imposing, at the same time, as a penalty for the enforcement of the law, half an hour extra work *per diem* on the working classes. At the present juncture, however, as they feel the approach of their final struggle with the men of the Manchester School, they are again trying to get hold of the short-time movement; but, not daring to come forward themselves, they endeavor to undermine the Cotton-lords by directing the popular force against them through the medium of the *State Church Clergymen.* In what rude manner these holy men have taken the anti-industrial crusade into their hands, may be seen from the following few instances. At Crompton a Ten-Hours' meeting was held, the Rev. Dr. Brammell [of the State Church] in the chair. At this meeting, Rev. J. R. Stephens, Incumbent of Stalybridge, said:

"There had been ages in the world when the nations were governed by Theocracy.... That state of things is now no more.... Still the spirit of law was the same.... The laboring man should, first of all, be partaker of the fruits of the earth,

[a] "An Act to Amend the Acts Relating to Labour in Factories, 1850."—*Ed.*

which he was the means of producing. The factory law was so unblushingly violated that the Chief Inspector of that part of the factory district, Mr. Leonard Horner, had found himself necessitated to write to the Home Secretary, to say that he dared not, and would not send any of his Sub-Inspectors into certain districts until he had police protection.... And protection against whom? Against the factory-masters! Against the magistrates of the district, against the richest men in the district, against the most influential men in the district, against the men who hold her Majesty's Commission, against the men who sat in the Petty Sessions as the Representatives of Royalty.... *And did the masters suffer for their violation of the law?...* In his own district, it was a settled custom of the male, and to a great extent of the female workers in factories, to be in bed till 9, 10 or 11 o'clock on Sunday, because they were tired out by the labor of the week. Sunday was the only day on which they could rest their wearied frames.... It would generally be found that, the longer the time of work, the smaller the wages.... *He would rather be a slave in South Carolina, than a factory operative in England.*"

At the great Ten-Hours' meeting, at Burnley, Rev. E. A. Verity, Incumbent of Habbergham Eaves, told his audience among other things:

"Where was Mr. Cobden, where was Mr. Bright, where were the other members of the Manchester School, when the people of Lancashire were oppressed?... What was the end of the rich man's thinking? Why, he was scheming how he could defraud the working classes out of an hour or two.That was the scheming of what he called the Manchester School. That made them such *cunning hypocrites*, and such *crafty rascals*. As a minister of the Church of England, he protested against such work."[a]

The motive, that has so suddenly metamorphosed the gentlemen of the Established Church, into as many knights-errant of labor's rights, and so fervent knights too, has already been pointed out. They are not only laying in a stock of popularity for the rainy days of approaching Democracy, they are not only conscious that the Established Church is essentially an aristocratic institution, which must either stand or fall with the landed Oligarchy—there is something more. The men of the Manchester School are Anti-State Church men, they are Dissenters,[324] they are, above all, so highly enamored of the £13,000,000 annually abstracted from their pockets by the State Church in England and Wales alone, that they are resolved to bring about a separation between those profane millions and the holy orders, the better to qualify the latter for heaven. The reverend gentlemen, therefore, are struggling *pro aris et focis*.[b] The men of the Manchester School, however, may infer from this diversion, that they will be unable to abstract the political power from

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[a] E. A. Verity, Speech at a Ten-Hours' meeting, at Burnley, on February 18, 1853, *The People's Paper*, No. 42, February 19, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] For their alters and their firesides, i.e. for all that is sacred to them (M. T. Cicero, *De natura deorum*, Lib. 3, Cap. 40, 94).—*Ed.*

the hands of the Aristocracy, unless they consent, with whatever reluctance, to give the people also their full share in it.

On the Continent, hanging, shooting and transportation is the order of the day. But the executioners are themselves tangible and hangable beings, and their deeds are recorded in the conscience of the whole civilized world. At the same time there acts in England an invisible, intangible and silent despot, condemning individuals, in extreme cases, to the most cruel of deaths, and driving in its noiseless, every day working, whole races and whole classes of men from the soil of their forefathers, like the angel with the fiery sword who drove Adam from Paradise.[a] In the latter form the work of the unseen social despot calls itself *forced emigration*, in the former it is called *starvation*.

Some further cases of starvation have occurred in London during the present month. I remember only that of Mary Ann Sandry, aged 43 years, who died in Coal-lane, Shadwell, London. Mr. Thomas Peene, the surgeon, assisting the Coroner's inquest, said the deceased died from starvation and exposure to the cold. The deceased was lying on a small heap of straw, without the slightest covering. The room was completely destitute of furniture, firing and food. Five young children were sitting on the bare flooring, crying from hunger and cold by the side of the mother's dead body.

On the working of "*forced emigration*" in my next.

Written on February 25, 1853

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3716, March 15, 1853

Signed: *Karl Marx*

[a] Cf. Genesis 3:24.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## FORCED EMIGRATION.—KOSSUTH AND MAZZINI.—THE REFUGEE QUESTION.—ELECTION BRIBERY IN ENGLAND.—Mr. COBDEN[325]

London, Friday, March 4, 1853

From the accounts relating to trade and navigation for the years 1851 and 1852, published in Feb. last, we see that the total declared value of *exports* amounted to £68,531,601 in 1851, and to £71,429,548 in 1852; of the latter amount, £47,209,000 go to the export of cotton, wool, linen and silk manufactures. The quantity of *imports* for 1852 is below that for the year 1851. The proportion of imports entered for home consumption not having diminished, but rather increased, it follows that England has reexported, instead of the usual quantity of colonial produce, a certain amount of gold and silver.[a]

The Colonial Land Emigration Office gives the following return of the emigration from England, Scotland and Ireland to all parts of the world, from Jan. 1, 1847, to June 30, 1852:[b]

| Year | English | Scotch | Irish | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1847 | 34,685 | 8,616 | 214,969 | 258,270 |
| 1848 | 58,865 | 11,505 | 177,719 | 248,089 |
| 1849 | 73,613 | 17,127 | 208,758 | 299,498 |
| 1850 | 57,843 | 15,154 | 207,852 | 280,849 |
| 1851 | 69,557 | 18,646 | 247,763 | 335,966 |
| 1852 (till June) | 40,767 | 11,562 | 143,375 | 195,704 |
| Total | 335,330 | 82,610 | 1,200,436 | 1,618,376 |

[a] This paragraph is omitted in *The People's Paper.*—*Ed.*

[b] The returns are quoted from the article "Effects of Emigration on Production and Consumption" published in *The Economist,* No. 494, February 12, 1853 (the comments quoted below are from this article).—*Ed.*

"Nine-tenths", remarks the Office, "of the emigrants from Liverpool are assumed to be Irish. About three-fourths of the emigrants from Scotland are Celts, either from the Highlands, or from Ireland through Glasgow."

Nearly four-fifths of the whole emigration are, accordingly, to be regarded as belonging to the Celtic population of Ireland and of the Highlands and islands of Scotland. *The London Economist* says of this emigration:

"It is consequent on the breaking down of the system of society founded on small holdings and potato cultivation"; and adds: "The departure of the redundant part of the population of Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland is an indispensable preliminary to every kind of improvement.... The revenue of Ireland has not suffered in any degree from the famine of 1846-47, or from the emigration that has since taken place. On the contrary, her *net revenue* amounted in 1851 to £4,281,999, being about £184,000 greater than in 1843."

Begin with pauperizing the inhabitants of a country, and when there is no more profit to be ground out of them, when they have grown a burden to the revenue, drive them away, and sum up your Net Revenue! Such is the doctrine laid down by Ricardo, in his celebrated work, *The Principle of Political Economy*. The annual profits of a capitalist amounting to £2,000, what does it matter to him whether he employs 100 men or 1,000 men? "Is not," says Ricardo, "the real income of a nation similar?" The net real income of a nation, rents and profits, remaining the same, it is no subject of consideration whether it is derived from 10 millions of people or from 12 millions. Sismondi, in his *Nouveaux Principes d'Économie Politique*, answers that, according to this view of the matter, the English nation would not be interested at all in the disappearance of the whole population, the King[a] (at that time it was no Queen, but a King) remaining alone in the midst of the island, supposing only that automatic machinery enabled him to procure the amount of *Net Revenue* now produced by a population of 20 millions. Indeed, that grammatical entity "the national wealth" would in this case not be diminished.

In a former letter I have given an instance of the clearing of estates in the Highlands of Scotland.[b] That emigration continues to be forced upon Ireland by the same process, you may see from the following quotation from *The Galway Mercury*:

"The people are fast passing away from the land in the West of Ireland. The landlords of Connaught are tacitly combined to weed out all the smaller occupiers,

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[a] The reference is to King George III.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 487-94.— *Ed.*

against whom a regular systematic war of extermination is being waged.... The most heart-rending cruelties are daily practiced in this province, of which the public are not at all aware."[a]

But it is not only the pauperized inhabitants of Green Erin and of the Highlands of Scotland that are swept away by agricultural improvements, and by the "breaking down of the antiquated system of society." It is not only the able-bodied agricultural laborers from England, Wales, and Lower Scotland whose passages are paid by the Emigration Commissioners. The wheel of "improvement" is now seizing another class, the most stationary class in England. A startling emigration movement has sprung up among the smaller English farmers, especially those holding heavy clay soils, who, with bad prospects for the coming harvest, and in want of sufficient capital to make the great improvements on their farms which would enable them to pay their old rents, have no other alternative but to cross the sea in search of a new country and of new lands. I am not speaking now of the emigration caused by the gold mania, but only of the compulsory emigration produced by landlordism, concentration of farms, application of machinery to the soil, and introduction of the modern system of agriculture on a great scale.

In the ancient states, in Greece and Rome, compulsory emigration, assuming the shape of the periodical establishment of colonies, formed a regular link in the structure of society. The whole system of those states was founded on certain limits to the numbers of the population, which could not be surpassed without endangering the condition of antique civilization itself. But why was it so? Because the application of science to material production was utterly unknown to them. To remain civilized they were forced to remain few. Otherwise they would have had to submit to the bodily drudgery which transformed the free citizen into a slave. The want of productive power made citizenship dependent on a certain proportion in numbers not to be disturbed. Forced emigration was the only remedy.

It was the same pressure of population on the powers of production that drove the barbarians from the high plains of Asia to invade the Old World. The same cause acted there, although under a different form. To remain barbarians they were forced to remain few. They were pastoral, hunting, war-waging tribes, whose manner of production required a large space for every individual, as is now the case with the Indian tribes in North America. By augmenting in numbers they curtailed each other's field of production. Thus the

[a] "State of the Country", *The Galway Mercury*, February 5, 1853. This quotation and the paragraph di ctly preceding it are omitted in *The People's Paper*.—*Ed.*

surplus population was forced to undertake those great adventurous migratory movements which laid the foundation of the peoples of ancient and modern Europe.

But with modern compulsory emigration the case stands quite opposite. Here it is not the want of productive power which creates a surplus population; it is the increase of productive power which demands a diminution of population, and drives away the surplus by famine or emigration. It is not population that presses on productive power; it is productive power that presses on population.

Now I share neither in the opinions of Ricardo,who regards "Net Revenue" as the Moloch to whom entire populations must be sacrificed, without even so much as complaint, nor in the opinion of Sismondi, who, in his hypochondriacal philanthropy, would forcibly retain the superannuated methods of agriculture and proscribe science from industry, as Plato expelled poets from his Republic.[a] Society is undergoing a silent revolution, which must be submitted to, and which takes no more notice of the human existences it breaks down than an earthquake regards the houses it subverts. The classes and the races, too weak to master the new conditions of life, must give way. But can there be anything more puerile, more shortsighted, than the views of those economists who believe in all earnest that this woeful transitory state means nothing but adapting society to the acquisitive propensities of capitalists, both landlords and money lords? In Great Britain the working of that process is most transparent. The application of modern science to production clears the land of its inhabitants, but it concentrates people in manufacturing towns.

"No manufacturing workmen," says *The Economist*, "have been assisted by the Emigration Commissioners, except a few Spitalfields and Paisley hand-loom weavers, and few or none have emigrated at their own expense."

*The Economist* knows very well that they could not emigrate at their own expense, and that the industrial middle class would not assist them in emigrating. Now, to what does this lead? The rural population, the most stationary and conservative element of modern society, disappears, while the industrial proletariat, by the very working of modern production, finds itself gathered in mighty centers, around the great productive forces, whose history of creation has hitherto been the martyrology of the laborers. Who will prevent them from going a step further and appropriating these forces, to which they have been appropriated before? Where will be

[a] Plato, *Politeia. X.—Ed.*

the power of resisting them? Nowhere! Then, it will be of no use to appeal to the "rights of property." The modern changes in the art of production have, according to the bourgeois economists themselves, broken down the antiquated system of society and its modes of appropriation. They have *expropriated* the Scotch clansman, the Irish cottier and tenant, the English yeoman, the hand-loom weaver, numberless handicrafts, whole generations of factory children and women; they will expropriate, in due time, the landlord and the cotton lord.

On the Continent heaven is fulminating, but in England the earth itself is trembling. England is the country where the real revulsion of modern society begins.[a]

In my letter of the 1st inst. I told you that Mazzini would remonstrate publicly with Kossuth.[326] On the 2d inst. there appeared actually in *The Morning Advertiser, Morning Post* and *Daily News* a letter from Mazzini. As Mazzini himself has now broken the ice, I may as well state that Kossuth disowned his own document under the pressure of his Paris friends.[b] In the past career of Kossuth we find many such symptoms of vacillating weakness, inextricable contradictions and duplicity. He possesses all the attractive virtues, but also all the feminine faults of the "artiste" character. He is a great artist "*en paroles.*" I recommend Mr. Szemere's lately published biographies of *Louis Batthyány, Arthur Görgey* and *Louis Kossuth* to those who, unwilling to bow to popular superstition, are anxious to form a matter-of-fact judgment.[c]

As to Lombardy, you may be sure that, if Mazzini has failed to draw the Italian middle classes into the movement, Radetzky will not fail therein. At this moment he is preparing to confiscate the property of all emigrants, even those who emigrated with Austrian permission, and have been naturalized in other countries, *unless they prove they are unconnected with the late rising.* The Austrian papers calculate the amount of confiscable property at £12,000,000.

Upon a question put by Lord Dudley Stuart, Lord Palmerston stated in the session of the House of Commons of March 1:

"That no application for the expulsion of the political refugees had been made by the Continental Powers, or that, if made, it would meet with a firm and decided refusal. *The British Government had never undertaken to provide for the internal security of other countries.*"

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[a] The paragraph that follows is omitted in *The People's Paper.*—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 508.—*Ed.*

[c] B. Szemere, *Graf Ludwig Batthyány, Arthur Görgei, Ludwig Kossuth. Politische Characterskizzen aus dem Ungarischen Freiheitskriege.*—*Ed.*

That such an application, however, was intended to be made, you may see from the stockjobbing *Moniteur* and the *Journal des Débats*, which, in one of its last numbers,[a] supposes England already bowing to the joint demands of Austria, Russia, Prussia and France. That journal adds:

"If the Swiss Confederation should refuse to allow Austria to exercise a *surveillance* over the Cantons on her frontiers she will probably violate the Swiss territory and occupy the Canton of Tessin; in which case France, to preserve a political equilibrium would force her armies into the Swiss Cantons on her frontiers."

In substance, the *Journal des Débats* gives, with regard to Switzerland, that simple solution of the question jocosely proposed by Prince Henry of Prussia to the Empress Catherine in 1770, with regard to Poland.[327] In the meantime the venerable body called the German Diet[328] is gravely discussing on "the application about to be made to England," and expends as much breath on this solemn matter as would suffice to swell the sails of the whole German fleet.

In the session of the House of Commons of the 1st inst., there occurred a very characteristic incident. The representatives of Bridgenorth and Blackburn having been declared unduly elected on the ground of bribery, Sir J. Shelley moved that the evidence taken before their respective Committees should be laid upon the table of the House, and that the writs for reelection be suspended until the 4th of April. The Right Hon. Baronet Sir J. Trollope remarked with regard to this: "That 14 Committees had already been appointed to try boroughs for corrupt practices,and that about 50 more remained to be appointed," and he spoke of the difficulty in finding members enough in the House to constitute tribunals to judge the disputed elections, and at the same time to form Committees for the ordinary business of the House. Sifting a little deeper into its own foundation, a breaking down of the House must ensue, and the parliamentary machinery come to a deadlock.

In his recent pamphlet,[b] as well as in his *harangues*, at the Manchester Peace Congress,[329] and at various educational meetings, Mr. Cobden has amused himself with censuring the press. The whole press has retaliated upon him; but the most heavy blow strikes him from the hands of the "Englishman,"[c] whose letters on Louis Napoleon elicited such a sensation at the time of the *coup d'état*,[330] and who has since turned round upon the silken barons and cotton lords.

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[a] Of March 1, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] Richard Cobden, *1793 and 1853, in Three Letters.—Ed.*

[c] Alfred Bate Richards.—*Ed.*

He concludes a letter, addressed to Mr. Cobden, with the following epigrammatic characterization of the West-Riding oracle:

"Elated and *unbalanced* by one single triumph, he would compass a popular autocracy. The prophet of a *clique*, restlessly agitating, greedy of notoriety, chafed of opposition, crotchety, illogical, utopian, stubborn of purpose, arrogant of bearing, a quarrelsome peace preacher, and acrimonious proselyte of universal brotherhood, with liberty upon his lips, but despotism in his dogmas, he is exasperated with a press that will neither be bullied nor bamboozled—would geld its influence, intelligence, and independence, and would sink a profession of accomplished gentlemen to a gang of penny-a-liners, with himself for the only Leader."[a]

Written on March 4, 1853

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3722, March 22, 1853; reprinted in the *Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 814, March 25, the *New-York Weekly Tribune*, No. 602, March 26, and in *The People's Paper*, No. 50, April 16, 1853 (in the form of two separate publications with certain omissions)

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune* and checked with *The People's Paper*

[a] Quoted from Richards' letter to Cobden published in *The Morning Advertiser* on February 24, 1853.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [KOSSUTH AND MAZZINI.— INTRIGUES OF THE PRUSSIAN GOVERNMENT.— AUSTRO-PRUSSIAN COMMERCIAL TREATY.— *THE TIMES* AND THE REFUGEES][331]

London, Friday, March 18, 1853

Parliament will adjourn to-day, for the Easter recess, until April 4th.

In a former letter I reported, according to a generally accredited rumor, that Libényi's wife had been flogged by the Austrians at Pesth.[332] I have since ascertained that he was never married, and likewise that the story circulated in the English press, saying that he had attempted to revenge his father, who had been ill-treated by the Austrians, is wholly unfounded. He acted exclusively under the influence of political motives, and retained to the last hour a firm and heroic demeanor.

You will, ere this, have received with the English papers the reply of Kossuth to Mazzini's declaration.[a] For my part, I am of opinion that Kossuth has only made a bad case still worse. The contradictions in his first and his last declaration[b] are so palpable that I need not insist on urging them here. Besides, there is a repulsive heterogeneousness in the language of the two documents, the former being written in the Oriental hyperbolics of the Prophet, and the latter in the casuistic pleading-style of a lawyer.

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[a] The reference is to Mazzini's letter to a number of English newspapers published on March 2, 1853 (see this volume, p. 508.). Kossuth's reply to this letter was given in his letter to Captain Mayne Reid (date unknown), excerpts from which were published in *The Leader*, No. 154, March 5, 1853.— *Ed.*

[b] The reference is to Kossuth's proclamation of February 1853 "In the Name of the Hungarian Nation.—To the Soldiers Quartered in Italy", published in *The Times*, No. 21348, February 10, 1853 (see this volume, p. 508), and to his letter to Captain Mayne Reid mentioned above.— *Ed.*

Mazzini's friends affirm now, to a man, that the Milanese insurrection was forced upon him and his associates by circumstances which it was beyond his power to control. But, on one side, it belongs to the very nature of conspiracies to be driven to a premature outbreak, either by treason or by accidents. On the other side, if you cry, during three years, *action, action, action*—if your entire revolutionary vocabulary be exhausted by the one word "Insurrection," you cannot expect to hold sufficient authority for dictating, at any given moment: *there shall be no insurrection.* Be this as it may, Austrian brutality has turned the Milanese failure into the real commencement of a national revolution. Hear, for instance, the well-informed organ of Lord Palmerston, *The Morning Post*, of to-day:

"The people of Naples wait for a movement which is sure to take place in the Austrian Empire. Then the whole of Italy, from the frontiers of Piedmont to Sicily, will be in revolt, and sad disasters will follow. The Italian troops will disband—the so-called Swiss soldiers, recruited from the revolution of 1848, will not save the sovereigns of Italy. An *impossible republic* awaits Italy. That will assuredly be the next act of the drama which began in 1848. Diplomacy has exhausted all its powers for the princes of Italy."[a]

Aurelio Saffi, who countersigned Mazzini's proclamation,[b] and who made a tour through Italy before the outbreak, avows, in a letter addressed to *The Daily News*, that "the *upper classes* were sunk in listless indifference or dispair," and that it was the "people of Milan," the proletarians, who,

"abandoned without direction to their own instincts, preserved their faith in the destiny of their country and, in the face of the despotism of Austrian Proconsuls and the judicial assassinations of military commissions, had unanimously made ready for vengeance."[c]

Now, it is a great progress of the Mazzini party to have at last convinced themselves that, even in the case of national insurrections against foreign despotism, there exists such a thing as class-distinctions, and that it is not the upper classes which must be looked to for a revolutionary movement in modern times. Perhaps they will go a step further and come to the understanding that they have to seriously occupy themselves with the material condition of the Italian country population, if they expect to find an echo to their "*Dio e popolo.*" On a future occasion I intend to dwell on the material

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[a] "Political Excitement in Sicily", *The Morning Post*, March 18, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 508.—*Ed.*

[c] The reference is to Saffi's letter to *Italia e Popolo* which was reprinted in *The Daily News* on March 9, 1853.—*Ed.*

circumstances in which by far the greater portion of the rural inhabitants of that country are placed, and which have made them till now, if not reactionary, at least indifferent to the national struggle of Italy.

Two thousand copies of a pamphlet which I published some time ago at *Basle*, entitled "Revelations on the Trial of the Communists at Cologne" (*Enthülungen über den Kölner Kommunisten-Prozess*), have been seized at the Baden frontier and burned, on the request of the Prussian Government. According to the new Press Law imposed on the Swiss Bund by the Continental Powers, the publisher, Mr. Schabelitz, his son, and the printer[a] will be persecuted by the Basle Government, which has already confiscated a number of copies still in possession of the publisher. This will be the first trial of this kind in Switzerland, and the affair has become already a matter of controversy between the Radicals and the Conservative party. How anxious the Prussian Government is to conceal its infamies during the Cologne trial from publicity, you may infer from the fact that the Minister of the Exterior[b] has issued orders for the seizure (*Fahndebriefe*) of the pamphlet wherever it should appear, but does not even dare to call it by its title. In order to mislead the public, he gives as its name "*A Theory of Communism,*" while it contains nothing but revelations of the Prussian state mysteries.

The only "progress" made in official Germany since the year 1848, is the conclusion[c] of the Austro-Prussian Commercial Treaty —*et encore!* That Treaty is surrounded with so many *clausulae,* retrenched behind so many exceptions, and reserves so many chief questions to the future adjustment of yet unborn commissions, while the actual diminution in the tariffs is so small, that it amounts to a mere aspiration towards a real Commercial Union of Germany, and is, practically speaking, utterly insignificant. The most striking feature of the Treaty is the victory Austria has again won over Prussia. This perfidious, this base, this cowardly, this vacillating sham-power, has bowed again before its more brutal, but more straightforward rival. Not only has Austria forced a treaty on Prussia which the latter was most unwilling to accept, but Prussia has been compelled to renew the old *Zoll-Verein*[333] with the old tariff, or to promise not to change, for twelve years, anything in her Commercial policy without the unanimous consent of the minor *Zoll-Verein* States i.e. without the permission of Austria (the South-German

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[a] Jakob Schabelitz and Chr. Krüsi.— *Ed.*
[b] Otto von Manteuffel.— *Ed.*
[c] On February 19, 1853.— *Ed.*

States being not only politically, but also commercially, the vassals of Austria, or the antagonists of Prussia). Since the restoration of "Divine Power," Prussia has marched from degradation to degradation. Her king,[a] "a wise man in his times," appears to think that his people may derive a comforting compensation in the infernal despotism they are subject to from the debasement their Government has to suffer abroad.

The refugee question is not settled yet. The semi-official *Oesterreichische Correspondenz* contradicts the statement, that Austria had addressed at this moment a fresh note to the English Government, because "recent events having shown that Lord Palmerston has recovered his influence, the Imperial Government could not expose its dignity to a certain check." I have written you before on Palmerston's declaration in the House of Commons.[b] From the English papers you know the philo-Austrian declaration of Aberdeen in the House of Lords,[c] that the English Government would make itself the spy and Attorney-General of Austria. Palmerston's journal[d] now remarks on the observation of his colleague:

> "Even on the modified concession which Lord Aberdeen appears inclined to make, we cannot say that we look with much confidence to success.... No one will dare to propose to a British Government to attempt its conversion into an engine of foreign policy and a political man-trap."

You see what good understanding there is in the councils of the Methusalem ministry between "antiquated imbecility and liberal energy." In the whole London press there was a unanimous cry of indignation against Aberdeen and the House of Lords, *with one base exception*, that of *The Times* newspaper.

*The Times*, you will remember, commenced by denouncing the refugees and inviting the Foreign Powers to ask for their expulsion. Then, having ascertained that a renewal of the Alien Bill[334] would be refused with scorn to the Ministry in the House of Commons, it at once overflowed with rhetorically framed descriptions of the sacrifice it was ready to make—oh dear!—for the preservation of the right of asylum. Finally, after the amiable conversation between my Lords of the Upper House it revenged itself on its own highsounding civism, with the following angry explosion in its leading article of March 5th:

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 532.—*Ed.*

[c] On March 4, 1853.—*Ed.*

[d] *The Morning Post* (the quotation that follows is from its leading article of March 10, 1853).—*Ed.*

"It is believed in many parts of the Continent that we delight in this country in a menagerie of refugees—ferocious characters of all nations, and fit for all crimes.... Do these foreign writers who denounce the presence of their own outlawed countrymen in England suppose that the existence of a refugee in this country is an enviable fate? Let them be undeceived. *This wretched class of beings* live, for the most part, in squalid poverty, *eating the salt of the stranger*, when they can get it, sunk, as it were, beneath the turbid waves of this vast metropolis.... *Their punishment is exile in its harshest form.*"

As to the last point, *The Times* is right; England is a delightful country to live out of.

In the "heaven of Mars" Dante meets with his ancestor, Cacciaguida de Elisei, who predicts to him his approaching exile from Florence in these words:

"Tu proverai si come sa di sale
Lo pane altrui, e com'è duro calle
Lo scendere, e'l salir per l'altrui scale."

"Thou shalt prove how salt the savour is
Of others' bread, how hard the passage,
To descend and climb by others' stairs."[a]

Happy Dante, another "being of that wretched class called political refugees," whom his enemies could not threaten with the misery of a *Times*-leader! Happier "*Times*," that escaped a "reserved seat" in his "*Inferno!*"

If the refugees eat the salt of the stranger, as *The Times* says, getting it at strange prices, too, which it forgot to say, is *The Times* itself not feeding on the strangers' flesh and blood? How many leaders and how many pounds have its anonymous Pythias not made out of French revolutions, German insurrections, Italian outbreaks and Hungarian wars, of French "fusillades," of Austrian gallows, of confiscated heads and beheaded property? Unhappy *Times*, if there were no "ferocious characters" on the Continent, if it were to grow older day by day on the coarse food of Smithfield Market, London chimney smoke, dirt, *ferocious* cabmen, the six bridges of the Thames, intermural interments, pestilential churchyards, filthy drink-water, railway accidents, crippled pint and quart bottles, and other interesting topics, which form its regular stock-in-trade, in the intervals of continental dullness. *The Times* is unchanged since the epoch when it called upon the British Government to *murder* Napoleon I.

"Is it considered," it said, in its number of July 27, 1815, "what effect the knowledge of his being in existence must necessarily have on the disaffected in every

[a] Dante, *La Divina commedia*, "Il Paradiso", XVII.—*Ed.*

part of Europe? They will think, and think with truth, that the Allied Sovereigns are *afraid* to touch the life of a man who has so many adherents and admirers."

It is still the same paper which preached the crusade against the United States of America:

"No peace should be made with America, *until that mischievous example of successful democratic rebellion* has been done away."

In *The Times* editorial office there are no "ferocious" continental characters. Quite the contrary. There is, for example, a poor little man, a Prussian, named *Otto von Wenckstern*, once editor of a little German newspaper, afterward sunk in Switzerland, in squalid poverty, appealing to the pockets of *Freiligrath* and other refugees, and lastly finding himself at the same time in the service of the Prussian Ambassador in London—the far-famed *Bunsen*—and an integral member of the Printing-House-square[a] oracle. There are more such conciliatory continental characters in *The Times* Office, forming the connecting link between the Continental Police and the leading journal of England.

The liberty of the Press in England is exemplified by the following case: At the Bow-st. Police Office, in London, Mr. E. Truelove, of the Strand, appeared on an information laid at the instance of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, under 6th and 7th William IV, cap. 76,[b] for having sold a newspaper, called *The Potteries Free Press*, and printed on paper not duly stamped. Four numbers of this paper had been published at Stoke-upon-Trent, the nominal proprietor being Collet Dobson Collet, Secretary of the *Society for the Abolition of Taxes on Knowledge*, who have issued it in "Conformity with the practice of the Stamp-Office, which permits records of current events, and comments thereon, to be published without a stamp in *The Athenaeum, Builder, Punch, Racing Times*, etc."; and with the avowed intention of inviting a Government prosecution, in order that a Jury might determine what description of news is to be entitled to exemption from the penny stamp. Mr. Henry, the magistrate, has reserved his decision. Much, however, will not depend on the decision, for the paper in question is not issued in defiance of the Stamp Law, but merely to avail itself of a still doubtful quibble in the law.

The English papers of to-day have a telegraphic dispatch from Constantinople, of March 6th, according to which, Fuad Effendi, the

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[a] The address of *The Times*.—*Ed.*

[b] "An Act to reduce the Duties on Newspapers, and to amend the Laws relating to the Duties on Newspapers and Advertisments", 1836.—*Ed.*

Minister of Foreign Affairs, has been replaced by Rifaat Pasha. This concession has been extorted from the Porte by the Extraordinary Russian Envoy, Prince Menchikoff. The affair of the Holy Places[335] is not settled yet between Russia, France, and the Porte, as L. Napoleon, highly irritated at the intrigues of Russia and Austria for the prevention of his coronation by the Pope,[a] intends indemnifying himself at the expense of the Turk. In my next letter, I shall treat of this eternally-recurring Eastern question, the *pons asini*[b] of European Diplomacy.[336]

Written on March 18, 1853

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3733, April 4, 1853, and in the *Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 820, April 5, 1853

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

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[a] Pius IX.— *Ed.*

[b] Stumbling-block; literally: asses' bridge (5th proposition of the 1st book of Euclid which the beginners found very difficult to understand).— *Ed.*

# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

# Frederick Engels

## [CRITICAL REVIEW OF PROUDHON'S BOOK *IDÉE GÉNÉRALE DE LA RÉVOLUTION AU XIX-e SIÈCLE*][337]

P. J. PROUDHON,
*IDÉE GÉNÉRALE DE LA RÉVOLUTION AU XIX-e SIÈCLE*
*(CHOIX D'ÉTUDES SUR LA PRATIQUE RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE ET INDUSTRIELLE).*
PARIS, GARNIER FRÈRES, 1851

1) ***"To the bourgeoisie".***

"You", bourgeois, "were always the most fearless and the most skilful revolutionaries...." Even before the invasion of the barbarians, it was you who by means of your municipal federations had laid the shroud over the Roman Empire in Gaul (p. I). From then on until now you were at the head of the revolution. Nothing that was attempted without you or against you met with success; everything that you attempted has been achieved, everything that you will attempt will be achieved.

The historical exposition of this theme in declamatory style.—

At the present moment the old political intriguers are again in the saddle and treat ***you*** as revolutionaries (p. V). Therefore, accept the title, be revolutionary!

2) *As to the subject matter.* There follow seven essays to develop the following three points of view:

a) the old regime, b) the parties at the time of the revolution, c) the solution, i.e. the revolution itself (pp. 1-2).

### *First Essay*

"REACTIONS DETERMINE REVOLUTIONS"

A revolution cannot be prevented. The opinion of Droz, who believes that the first revolution[a] could have been prevented by concessions and skilful behaviour, is as absurd as that of Blanqui, who believes revolutions can be conjured up (pp. 3-4).

The French monarchy from Clovis to Richelieu was revolutionary, it became reactionary in 1614 at the time of the last *États généraux*[338]; the punishment: January

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[a] The French Revolution.— *Ed.*

21, 1793.[a] The revolution can be guided, moderated, made to advance slowly, and this system of giving way step by step is the wisest (p. 5). But it cannot be curbed. Witness[b] the suppression of the conspiracies of 1822 and 1839,[339] and the revolutions of 1830 and 1848. But "established interests and governmental pride" always oppose the peaceful development of the revolution (p. 8). Reaction always creates revolution. So it was in 1789 et seq., so it was in 1848. In February[c] when the proletariat intervened in the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the Crown, it demanded only work. The Republicans promised it work and so it joined them (pp. 10-11). "Work and, by means of work, bread; that was what the working classes asked for in 1848, that was the unshakable foundation they gave to the Republic, that is the revolution." The Republic was the "act of a minority more or less ... usurpatory", "the revolutionary question of work" was something quite different. The Republic was merely the "pledge of the revolution" (p. 11).

The Provisional Government was serious in its promises of work, but it could not keep them, otherwise it would have had to "change course, to alter the economic system of society". But instead of dealing candidly with the difficulties, and turning to the journalists, it kept silent, became directly reactionary, declared itself against socialism, "the new name that the revolution was taking" (p. 13), drove the unemployed masses in Paris and Rouen into revolt, and tried to drown in blood the great idea of February and the protest action of the workers. Henceforth it was established that the Republic of 1848 and that of 1793 were two quite different things, and that socialism was the last word of the Republic of 1848.

Hence the present struggle between all the old revolutionary trends on the one side, and socialism on the other. And if at the outset one did not know what socialism was, the forces of reaction have taught us this since February; "it is by the reaction that the revolution will be determined" (p. 17).

A solemn description of reaction and repression gradually making the majority of the nation revolutionary, and the bourgeoisie itself, the "eternal friend of order", becoming suspect and therefore being punished, and consequently thrown into the arms of the revolution. This leads up to the new electoral law.[340]

Therefore, "the people having been mentally alienated", the sole remedy that remains is "force" (p. 26).

And this "force", for the crisis of 1852,[341] consists of a series of measures which is only completed by the restoration in full of the feudal *ancien régime.*

But that you cannot and dare not do (p. 31). Appeal to the Republicans now to become really revolutionary and give "the revolution pledges" and "plans of economic renovation" (pp. 33, 34).

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[a] The day Louis XVI was executed after the Convention had sentenced him to death.—*Ed.*

[b] Engels uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[c] 1848.—*Ed.*

## *Second Essay*

"IS THERE SUFFICIENT REASON FOR REVOLUTION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY?"

### *1. "The Law Determining the Tendency of Society. The Revolution of 1789 Accomplished Only Half Its Work"*

"The motive for revolutions is not so much the unhappy state experienced by society at a given time as the continuation of this unhappy state which tends to nullify well-being and cause it to disappear" (p. 36). Hence it is the *tendency* of the society which is the cause of revolution. The people, being neither optimists nor pessimists, do not demand that society shall be perfect, but that it "should have a tendency towards well-being and virtue"; they revolt "when society has for them a tendency towards poverty and corruption" (p. 37).

What then is at present the tendency of society?

1789 merely overthrew things, but did not rebuild at all. Hence "the kind of impossibility of living to which French society has been a prey for the last sixty years".

(Therefore—the *actually existing* bourgeois social order is nothing positive, free competition is merely negative, consequently the *true* bourgeois order has yet to be found.)

The feudal organisation which was destroyed on August 4, 1789,[342] has not been replaced by a new "national economy and equilibrium of interests". "Since birth no longer determined the position the citizen occupied, for labour alone was all" (?!) "for even property depended on it ... it was evident that the problem of the revolution consisted .... in establishing everywhere ... ***an egalitarian or industrial regime***" (p. 39).

(As if that did not exist as far as was possible!)

But that was not understood and people resorted merely to ***politics***. The revolutionaries were led astray by "their lack of the rudiments of economics, their ***idea of government***,[a] and their distrust of the proletariat" (p. 40). "In the minds of all, politics again took precedence over industry, ***Rousseau and Montesquieu reigned to the exclusion of Quesnay and Adam Smith.***" (!!!) Hence the new society remains always in an embryonic condition (p. 41).

### *2. "The Anarchy of Economic Forces. The Tendency of Society Towards Poverty"*

"I term *economic forces* certain principles of action such as *division of labour, competition, collective force, exchange, credit, property*, etc., which are to labour and wealth what class distinctions, the representative system, hereditary monarchy, centralised administration"

(a fine juxtaposition!)

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[a] Engels has "l'idée gouvernementale", Proudhon "le préjugé gouvernemental" [343] (p. 40).—*Ed.*

"are to the state. If these forces are kept in equilibrium, subject to the laws appropriate to them, and which do not depend in any way on human arbitrariness, labour can be said to be well-organised and the well-being of all assured. If, on the other hand, they are left without guidance and without any counter-poise"

(against what??),[a]

"labour is in a state of complete anarchy; the useful effects of the economic forces are mixed with an equal amount of harmful effects, the deficiency outweighs the benefit, and society, insofar as it is the seat, agent, or subject of production, circulation and consumption, is in a state of increasing suffering" (pp. 42-43).

Up to now only two forms of social existence[b] are known, "the political form and the economic form, between which moreover there is an essential antipathy and contradiction".

"The anarchy of the economic forces, the struggle they wage against the system of government, which is the sole obstacle to their organisation,—such is the real, deep-seated cause of the malaise to which society in France is a prey."

(Thus Proudhon, like a true Frenchman, confuses the French bureaucratic government with the normal state of a bourgeoisie that rules both itself and the proletariat) (p. 43).

Examples: 1) "Division of labour".—The basic principle of modern industry and at the same time the chief cause of the workers' stupefaction and decreasing wages. In England, for instance, owing to division of labour and the use of machines, the workers in one workshop have been reduced to one-half, one-third or even one-sixth of the previous number, and "their wages have been seen to fall in the same proportion, from an ***average of three francs down to 50 or 30 centimes***" (!!) (p. 46).

Apart from this remarkable information (p. 46), it is all very superficial and commonplace.

2) Competition.—"This is the very law of the market, the spice of commerce, the salt of labour."

(beautiful!)[c]

"Competition, however, lacking legal forms (!) and superior and regulative standards, is in its turn perverted." The workers are excluded from competition, except for competition among themselves to depress wages. It has become a monopoly and has created a new aristocracy.

Very superficial.

"Recently, when the Prefect of Police"

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[a] A pun in the original: Proudhon has "contrepoids" (counterpoise), Engels has "contre quoi" (against what).—*Ed.*

[b] Proudhon has "l'ordre dans une société" (p. 43).—*Ed.*

[c] Engels uses the English word.—*Ed.*

(a compliment paid to Carlier),

"in response to the general wish, authorised the sale of meat by auction,[344] one saw what free competition can do for the well-being of the people and how illusory this guarantee[a] is still among us" (p. 48).

*O crapaud!*[b] The bourgeois measures of Carlier are socialist! Free trade,[c] because it does not exist in France, is socialistic!

Next, credit. A monopoly of the Bank of France. According to Proudhon, this monopoly is to blame for the fact that "property has become progressively mortgaged to an amount of 12 milliard [francs], and the state to an amount of 6 milliard francs", that interest and other expenses in this connection amount to 1,200 million francs per annum

(still only $6^2/_3$ per cent),

and that in addition 700-800 million francs have to be paid annually in discount, "advances of money, payment of arrears, shares of joint-stock companies, dividends, obligations under private deed, judicial expenses, etc.", and that as a result house rents and land rents have become unbearably high, and that of 10 milliards of annual production, 6 milliards are swallowed up through parasitism[345] (pp. 51-52).

Further examples or quotations are intended to prove that the situation of the people is continually worsening, and their income continually decreasing, in arithmetic progression, a counterpart to that of Malthus, such as

65 centimes, 60, 55 ... 15, 10, 5, 0, -5, -10, -15 (p. 52),

so that a time comes when the worker, instead of being paid so and so many centimes for his work per day, must pay 5, 10, 15 centimes into the bargain! And what about the law of wages, and competition!!

Examples follow to prove that the situation of the people since the revolution has continually worsened.

Decrease in the consumption of wine, meat, etc. Reduction in "the height required for military service", and an increase in the number unfit for service—1830 to 1839 $45^1/_2$ per cent; 1839 to 1848 $50^1/_2$ per cent. Incompatibility of universal education with the present social state of affairs. Increase of crime:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1827—34,908 | criminal cases, | | 47,443 | accused | persons |
| 1846—80,891 | ,, | ,, | 101,433 | ,, | ,, |
| 1847—95,914 | ,, | ,, | 124,159 | ,, | ,, |

[a] Proudhon has said earlier: "la concurrence [doit] servir à garantir la sincérité du commerce" ("competition [must] serve as a guarantee of honesty in commerce").—*Ed.*

[b] Toad, contemptible person.—*Ed.*

[c] Here and below Engels uses the English term.—*Ed.*

and in the police courts:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1829—108,390 | cases, | 159,740 | accused | persons |
| 1845—152,923 | ,, | 197,913 | ,, | ,, |
| 1847—184,922 | ,, | 239,291 | ,, | ,, |

### *3. "Government Irregularities, Tendency to Tyranny and Corruption"*

Prior to 1848, philanthropic concern for the workers, even on the part of the government. Since 1848 progress; people realise that only a revolution can achieve decisive results here and therefore leave matters alone.

Interest on the national debt amounted to 63 million in 1814, now it amounts to 271 million. In 1802 the budget was 589 million, in 1848 it was 1,692 million, an increase which cannot be explained by the stupidity and wickedness of the governments. Between 1830 and 1848 the total salaries of officials rose by 65 million. Ditto.

(In France there are 568,365 officials; taking this as the basis Proudhon calculates that every ninth man lives at the expense of the budget, that is to say that there are only 5,115,285 men in France, whereas over $6^1/_2$ million *voted* in 1848!) (p. 62).

This increase in the number of officials and in the size of the military budget is proof of the growing need to enhance the repressive power, and hence of the growing danger to the state from the proletariat.[a] This tendency of the state to maintain big landownership and capital leads directly to corruption, which is the direct consequence of all centralisation.

—Hence:

"there is sufficient reason for revolution in the nineteenth century".

This second essay contains among other things also the following gems:

1. "The system of taxation at present in force ... is conceived in such a way that the producer pays everything, the capitalist nothing. ***In fact***, even when the latter is entered for a particular sum in the book of the tax collector, or when he pays the dues laid down by the Exchequer on articles of consumption, ***it is clear*** that his income, being derived exclusively from the prelibation of his capital and not from the exchange of his products, this income remains free from tax, ***since only he who produces pays***" (p. 65).

This last "since" says the same as the first proposition which has to be proved, and this proposition is thus of course proved. *C'est là la logique tranchante de M. Proudhon.*[b] This is expounded further:

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[a] Proudhon has: "des classes laborieuses" (p. 63).—*Ed.*

[b] Such is the trenchant logic of M. Proudhon.—*Ed.*

"There is ***therefore*** a pact between capital and the authorities for ensuring that taxes are paid exclusively by the worker, and the secret of this pact consists simply, as I have said, in ***imposing taxes on products instead of on capital.*** By means of this dissimulation, the capitalist property-owner ***appears to be paying*** for his lands, for his house, for his chattels, for the alterations he makes, for his travels, for his consumption, ***like all the other citizens.*** Moreover, he says that his income, which without the tax would be 3,000, 6,000, 10,000 or 20,000 francs, is, thanks to the tax, not more than 2,500, 4,500, 8,000 or 15,000 francs. And on top of that he protests more indignantly than his tenants against the size of the budget. Sheer equivocaton! ***The capitalist does not pay anything, the government shares with him, that is all.***"

(It shares also with the producer when it takes part of his products from him, and the capitalist likewise, *dicitur potest*,[a] shares with the producer.)

"They make common cause."

(O Stirner!)

"***What worker then would not regard himself as lucky to be written down in the public ledger for 2,000 francs of rent on the sole condition of parting with one quarter of it as amortisation?***"!!! (pp. 65-66).

2) The register is drawn up "as if the purpose of the legislator[b] was to re-establish the inalienability of real estate—as if he continually wanted to remind the bondsman freed during the night of August 4 that his position was that of a serf, that it was not his lot to own the soil, that every cultivator was of right, except through a concession from the sovereign, a tenant by emphyteusis and in mortmain!" (p. 66).

O Stirner! As if the registration did not affect big real estate just as much as small, according to which Louis Philippe himself was a bondsman.

3) The theory of free trade and explanation of protective duties.

The duties yield 160 million to the state. Suppose the customs were abolished and foreign competition were strong in the French market; "suppose then the state makes the following proposal to the French industrialists: which do you prefer for safeguarding your interests: to pay me 160 million or to receive them? Do you think the industrialists would choose the first alternative? It is precisely this that the government imposes on ***them.*** To the ordinary expenses we have to pay on products from abroad and on those we send there, the state adds 160 million which serve it as a sort of premium; that is the meaning of customs" (pp. 68-69).

If considering the lunatic French tariff, such nonsense can be excused, it is still a bit steep that M. Proudhon measures protective tariffs in general by the French scale and makes out that they are a *tax on manufacturers.*

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[a] One can say.—*Ed.*

[b] Proudhon has: "the legislator of 1789" (p. 66).—*Ed.*

4) pp. 73, 74. Proudhon quotes a speech by Royer-Collard in the Chamber of Deputies; the debate of January 19-24, 1822,[346] in which this lawyer expresses his regret at the disappearance of the independent Benches (parliaments)[347] and other "democratic institutions", "powerful assemblages of private rights, true republics in the monarchy"; they had set limits to sovereignty everywhere, whereas at present although the government is divided up it is unrestricted in its action.

This reactionary review of the old lawyer, who cannot conceal his hatred of the administrative system, M. Proudhon mistakenly regards as social-revolutionary;

"what Royer-Collard said about the monarchy of 1814 is true, what he says of the Republic of 1848 is still more so."

What leads M. Proudhon astray is the confused statement by Royer-Collard:

"The Charter,[348] therefore, at one and the same time has to provide the constitutional basis for ***government and society***; no doubt society has not been forgotten or neglected, but postponed."

What Royer-Collard understands by society is evident from the fact that he says:

"It is only in establishing freedom of the press as a public right that the Charter has restored society to itself" (p. 75).

Hence "society"=the governed considered in their capability of resistance to the government.

## *Third Essay*

### "ON THE PRINCIPLE OF ASSOCIATION"

First of all, before we come to the solution, "it is advisable to estimate the value of the theories offered for public consumption, the compulsory baggage of all revolutions" (p. 79). But when we criticise their principle then we have disposed of all of them, the St. Simonists, Fourier, Owen, Cabet, Louis Blanc, etc. This principle of all systems is association.

Association is not an "equilibrium of economic forces", it is not even a "force", it is a "*dogma*" (p. 84). The further elaboration of the principle of association always leads to a *system* and the socialism based on it necessarily becomes a ***religion*** (p. 84).

Association is not an "economic force". ***Commerce*** is one, for "independently of the service performed by the material fact of transport it is by itself a direct stimulus to consumption, and consequently a cause of production, ***a principle of the creation of values*** (!) ***the metaphysical act*** of exchange, and just as much as labour, but in a different manner from labour, it produces real objects and wealth.... Moreover, the merchant enriched by speculative transactions divested of all stockjobbery (!!), deservedly enjoys the fortune he has acquired; this fortune is as legitimate as that produced by labour"

(the bourgeois forgets here that without capital one can certainly work for another capitalist, but cannot carry on commerce without capital, otherwise this apologia for the merchant is very significant). Further ...

"exchange, this *purely moral* operation ... is also creation" (p. 85).

The "collective force",

which Proudhon flatters himself to have discovered in *Qu'est-ce que la propriété*,

is also an "economic force". Likewise competition, likewise division of labour, property, etc., etc.

What Proudhon calls "economic forces" are simply the modes of production and intercourse of the bourgeoisie, insofar as they serve his purpose, insofar as in his eyes they have either only a good side or, along with the bad side, have at least a very marked good side as well. Even general forms of intercourse and production, which when once discovered are everywhere applied in all succeeding generations, with appropriate modification, are as much at the disposal of society as the use of water power, knowledge of the spherical shape of the earth and the division of the latter into degrees of latitude and longitude, etc., etc., even these general forms Proudhon knows only in their bourgeois form. Exchange, for example, as we have just seen, is from the outset merged in commerce. If the collective force appears at least to be something eternal, it is on the other hand nothing but an attempt to convert the existence of society itself into an economic force. Without society, just as without a collective force, there is no relation between men, no intercourse. Exchange, division of labour, competition, credit are manifestations of the collective force. It takes at least two to produce a relationship, and where two collaborate to do something which cannot be done by one, there exists a collective force. However, it is ridiculous first of all to describe all the forms in which members of society carry on intercourse and produce as forces, and then finally trying to foist on us the existence of society, social production and social intercourse as a distinct economic force. Moreover, the primitive, crude form of collective force which Proudhon has in mind (mass labour in the construction of obelisks, pyramids, etc., etc.) has long ago been almost entirely replaced by the use of machines and horses, division of labour, etc., and converted into quite different forms.

If, however, commerce, competition, division of labour, etc., are economic forces, there is no reason why, for instance, the factory system, banking, paper money, the parcellation of landed property, big landownership, wage labour, capital, and rent, should not also be economic forces. On each of these it is easy to declaim a dithyrambic

panegyric as Proudhon does for the former set of forces. But there's the rub.

It is strange that Proudhon, p. 88, calls these relationships *essentially non-material* forces, and makes this non-materiality the basis for hymns to the effect, for example, that

> the economists by their theory of industrial forces "have, without suspecting it, demonstrated the fundamental dogma of Christian theology, creation ***de nihilo***",

(ex ??[a]) (p. 87), and earlier [he speaks] of

> the "***purely moral***" act of "commerce, which is also a ***creation***" (p. 86).

Next comes the following magnificent piece of sophistry on association:

> "Association is by its nature sterile, even harmful, since it impedes the freedom of the worker. The writers responsible for utopian fraternities ... have, without motives and without proofs, ascribed to the *social contract* [contrat de société] a virtue and an efficacy which belongs only to the collective force, to division of labour, or to exchange.... When an industrial or commercial society has as its aim either to put into operation one of the great economic forces, or to exploit a group of resources the nature of which demands that it remains undivided, one clientele, one monopoly, the society formed for this purpose can have a successful result; but this result is not created by virtue of its principle, but is due to its means. This is so true that whenever the same result can be achieved without association, people"

(i.e. the capitalists)

"prefer not to associate" (pp. 88-89). People associate only when they must.

Association—solidarity, "joint responsibility, fusion of rights and duties in relation to third parties".—"Equality of wages, the supreme law of association."—"One can say" therefore "that association is useful to the associate who is weak or lazy, and only to him."—"Solidarity of the unskilful and the unfit" (pp. 89, 90). Every prospering association "owes its prosperity to an objective cause which is foreign to it and is in no way bound up with its essence". Association is suitable only "in special conditions" (p. 91).

Furthermore, in all workers' associations at present piece-work[b] has been substituted for equality of wages—there is the least possible solidarity, the greatest possible independence when forces and capitals are combined,

that is to say, the least possible *association*, the greatest possible *means*.

> "Association established specially with a view to the family tie and the law of dedication, and apart from any external economic consideration and any preponderant interest, association for its own sake, in short, is purely an act of religion, a supernatural bond, devoid of positive value, a myth."

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[a] Proudhon mistakenly has: "de nihilo"—"without ground", "without reason" (p. 87). Engels queries this and suggests "ex [nihilo]"—"out of nothing".—*Ed.*

[b] Engels uses the English term.—*Ed.*

As far as the Paris workers' associations are concerned, Proudhon gives the following cold-blooded classification:

"A fairly large number exist and can be expected to develop further; one knows why. Some of them are formed by the most skilled workers in their occupation; it is the monopoly of talent which helps them to succeed.... Others attract and keep their customers by cheapness; they live by competition.... In general, finally, in all these associations the workers ... have to work a little more and to content themselves with a smaller reward. There is nothing in that but what is quite usual in political economy and to obtain which ... there was no need of association" (pp. 96-97).

The associations of slaughtermen are not associations, "they are set up at joint expense by citizens of all estates to compete with the monopoly of the butchers. It is the application, such as it is, of a new principle, not to say"

(why not?)

"of a new ***economic force***, *reciprocity*, which consists in the partners guaranteeing one another, irrevocably, their products at the cost of production."[349]

(Of course, M. Proudhon is the first inventor of "reciprocity", cf. *Organisation du crédit et de la circulation*, Garnier frères, 1848, and the *Banque du peuple*) (pp. 97, 98).[350]

Next come advertisements, M. Proudhon's witty remarks about Louis Blanc. *De chacun selon sa capacité, à chacun selon ses besoins*,[a] and then:

of 36 million Frenchmen, 24 million are peasants. "These you will never organise in associations. Agricultural work has no need of joint choreography, and the soul of the peasant rejects it."

Compare the rage of the peasants against the June insurgents, whom they believed to be communists. Moreover

of the remaining 12 million, at least half are "manufacturers, craftsmen, employees, for whom association is purposeless"; there remain 6 million who could perhaps be induced to join the associations, but the majority of whom would very soon break this yoke.

The existing workers' associations are not to be judged by their present results, but by their "secret tendency, which is to affirm the possibility of the social republic. Whether the workers know it or not, the importance of their work does not lie at all in the petty interests of the society ... later on ... the associations of workers, abandoning the production of fancy goods and toys, will have to turn to the major branches of industry which are their natural sphere" (p. 107).

Finally, he invites Louis Blanc,

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[a] "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs", L. Blanc, "Un homme et une doctrine", *Le Nouveau Monde*, No. 6, December 15, 1849.— *Ed.*

the "cicada of the revolution",[a] to "contribute his abstention and his silence as his obol to the cause of the proletariat, which on one day of mistakes fell into his feeble hands" (p. 108).

The point is: association *as such, in abstracto,* is of course just as much dependent on circumstances as any other social relationship. Where the prerequisites are absent, no economic force is of any avail. Competition presupposes the means for it just as much as association. Division of labour can be applied inopportunely just as much as association. One can carry out exchange badly, just as one can form associations badly. Viewed abstractly, every economic force is just as much a dogma as is association, it all depends on the existing conditions. And it is precisely in the investigation of existing conditions that Proudhon has contributed nothing at all; he has treated Parisian small-scale industry as the normal state of affairs, instead of seeing in the development of large-scale industry, machinery and division of labour, as it occurs in England, and the growing centralisation of capital bound up with it, a need for association which requires for its satisfaction a quite different type of amalgamation and centralisation of forces than the Parisian toy associations and the Proudhonist workers' companies.[351]

## *Fourth Essay*

"ON THE PRINCIPLE OF AUTHORITY"

First of all a dithyramb on "anarchy", discovered by M. Proudhon.

### *1. "The Traditional Negation of Government. Emergence of the Idea Which Succeeds It" (p. 116)*

All government has arisen from the patriarchal family. "The final stage of governmental evolution is democracy" (p. 119); the final stage of democracy is the direct government of Considérant, Rittinghausen, etc., etc. And this would logically lead directly to imperial tyranny, as in Greece and Rome (p. 121).

The "negation of government" dates from the Reformation. The principle of authority in the religious sphere supplanted by liberty of thought. Later carried over into the secular sphere as well, especially by Jurieu, who invented (?) the term social contract. The idea of contract, of "the reign of contract", applied in practice to social life, trade, etc., and not merely to politics, would have led beyond the whole government regime. But Rousseau, "who did not understand anything about the social contract", ruined everything.

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[a] Proudhon has: "Louis Blanc considered himself the bee of the revolution, but was merely its cicada" ("Il s'est cru l'abeille de la révolution, il n'en a été que la cigale").— *Ed.*

The social contract must be freely discussed and accepted by every participant, otherwise it is invalid

—and other moral comments of a Stirner-like character (pp. 125-27).

But Rousseau's social contract 1) does not contain even the matters which should be the subject of contract; 2) it contains neither rights nor obligations, but merely punishments (p. 128).

Detailed proof that Rousseau, proceeding from the "broadest democratic basis",[a] abandons one aspect of it after another as being impracticable, and that having recognised the impossibility of maintaining equality and democratic government he "deduces the necessity of the proletariat, the subordinate position of the worker, dictatorship and the Inquisition", and simply puts forward "the code of capitalist and commercial tyranny" (pp. 131-33).

A furious attack on Rousseau in the highest style of Proudhonic declamation, but nevertheless sufficiently serious for people like L. Blanc and Co.

Saint-Simon was the first to envisage the end of the governmental system, the coming of the industrial system. He deduced the negation of the state "from historical observation and the education of mankind".

Proudhon deduces it

"from an analysis of economic functions, and from the theory of credit and exchange". The eighteenth century finally completed the reformation and replaced the idea of government by the idea of contract (of "liberty of thought" in the sphere of practice) (pp. 136-40).

### *2. "General Critique of the Idea of Authority" (p. 141)*

1) ***"Absolute authority"***

Trash.[b]

"Absolutism in its naive expression is repugnant to reason and liberty" (!),

and similar profound matters (pp. 142-46).

2) ***"Laws"***

Infinity of cases, hence laws pass into bad infinity (pp. 147-50).

3) ***"Constitutional monarchy"***

"A hybrid government." It is the ***number***, the majority, that is decisive.

Verbose exposition of all the old abuse of the historical school[352] against majority, against counting heads, etc. (pp. 150-56).

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[a] Engels' quotation marks.— *Ed.*

[b] Engels uses the English word.— *Ed.*

4) ***"Universal suffrage"***

General platitudes about the moral justification of the February revolution.

What universal suffrage can do is shown by the two National Assemblies and the election of Louis Bonaparte.[353]

Universal suffrage is definitely discredited (pp. 156-62).

5) ***"Direct legislation"***

It is at any rate consistently democratic and Robespierre and L. Blanc very wrongly (from their standpoint) oppose it.

Solemn discussion of direct government.

It is a question of ascertaining "the wish of all", as of a "collective being". But this is not possible. Hence a system of questions is necessary, questions which the representatives ask and to which the people have to answer yes or no. But that is nonsense, for no question can be formulated in such a way that all truth, fairness and justice are on one side and all unreason and injustice on the other.

There follows a mass of examples, mostly taken from Herr Rittinghausen himself. Among them is the following example of the *industrial* regime à la Proudhon:

Rittinghausen asks the people: "Should there be a railway from Lyons to Avignon?" and the people say yes. "This *yes*, however, can contain a serious mistake, in any case it is an infraction of the rights of the localities."

"There exists a navigable waterway from Châlon to Avignon which offers transport 70 per cent below all the railway rates (!). It can lower its charges (I know something about it) to 90 per cent (!!). Instead of constructing a railway which will cost 200 million and which will ruin the trade of four departments, why not ***utilise***"

(what does this mean? is it not already utilised?)

"this waterway which would cost almost nothing? But that is not how matters are understood in the *Palais législatif*, where there is no freight commissioner, and since the French people, apart from those living along the Rhône and the Saône, do not know any more than their Ministers what takes place on the two rivers, they will pronounce, as can easily be foreseen, not according to their own thought, but according to the desire of their appointees. Eighty-two departments will decree the ruin (!!!) of four others; that is how direct legislation wants it to be" (p. 169).

Thus under the industrial system railways would never have been built if tug-boat navigation existed on the Rhine. This is already promising enough.

Then on p. 173 against Ledru and the Constitution of 1793,[354] and the system that the people should merely vote the laws, the general principles, but the deputies should make the decrees, i.e. the "executive part". Proof that then, with the help of the decrees, it is possible to reverse in detail that which the people have decided in general, in principle (pp. 174-76).

The final form: where the people themselves perform all governmental duties. But

then they are unable to work, and they do not have slaves. Hence the "governmental idea" results in an absurdity.

As a practical example he considers the Constitution of 1793 and Robespierre. He says that Robespierre was a "juste milieu" man of 1791 and that he hated "direct government." By greater concentration of governmental power he wanted to abolish the Constitution of 1793. This was also the desire of the majority of the Convention, but this majority did not trust him, appropriated the same idea, removed him and subsequently carried out the idea. What the men of Thermidor did was what he wanted.

Proudhon writes that Robespierre was reactionary throughout the revolution and always preached tranquillity. Conclusion: a rhetorical characterisation of Robespierre.

## *Fifth Essay*

"SOCIAL LIQUIDATION"

Recapitulation: the solution is said to lie in reciprocity and in the idea of contract, which is the juridical expression of reciprocity. According to this, three things have to be done: "1) to put a definite stop to the disorganising tendency bequeathed to us by the old revolution[a] and to proceed with the help of the new principle to the ***liquidation of the vested interests***; 2) to organise with the help of the new principle the economic forces and give property its constitution; 3) to make the political or governmental system dissolve, merge and disappear in the economic system" (p. 196).

Assuming that the elections of 1852 turn out to be revolutionary, the following would have to be done:

### *1. "National Bank"*

The citizens can agree on and if necessary contribute to any establishment which proves to be to the advantage of the participants—hence also to a discount bank, and in fact this can be founded without "either ***association*** or fraternity being necessary for it ... there need be nothing but a reciprocal promise of sale or exchange, in short, a simple contract" (p. 198).

The existing bank[355] endeavours to become a "public establishment" 1) because it makes use of capital that does not belong to it, 2) because it has the privilege of issuing paper money, and any privilege is a "public property", 3) because enjoyment of the interest on foreign capital and artificial increase of the price of the circulating medium are illegitimate, "hence the bank, owing to the illegitimacy of its profits, is condemned to become a public establishment" (p. 199). Hence the decree: "***The bank is declared to be not the property of the state but an establishment of public utility, and the liquidation of the company is ordered.***" As an "establishment of public utility having as capitalists its own clients" (!) it does not pay interest to anyone, since the public benefit requires that money shall be as cheap as possible. Once the interest accruing to the bank belongs to the public it can be so much reduced that it covers only the costs of administration, ***i.e. to $^1/_4$ or $^1/_2$ per cent*** (pp. 200-01). This is very different from the socialist State Bank, and from the "credit of the state", which is nothing but "the democratic and social consecration of the principle of plunder, the exploitation of the worker in the name of, on the model of and under the patronage of, the Republic" (pp. 201, 202). This, then, is what the National Assembly should decree.

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[a] That of 1789-94.—*Ed.*

### 2. *"The National Debt"*

Six milliards, interest 270 million, and 74 million annually for redemption, hence 344 million annually, and 56 million for pensions and retirement payments.

With the bank revolutionised and the rate of interest reduced, the national debt can likewise be put on a lower rate of interest. Then it is paid off in annual instalments,[356] that is to say, from the 5 per cent paid $^1/_4$ per cent is reckoned as interest and $4^3/_4$ per cent as repayment of capital (pp. 204-05).

### 3. *"Mortgage Debts, Simple Bonds"*

Interest amounts to 1,200 million annually,

hence capital of about 24 milliards.

Decree: "Interest on all debts, mortgages, simple contract debts, joint-stock shares, is fixed at the same rate"

(as above, $^1/_2$ per cent[a]);

"repayment claims can be met only by annual instalments; the annual instalment for all sums below 2,000 fr. will be 10 per cent, for sums above 2,000 fr. 5 per cent. A section of the offices of the National Discount Bank will become a mortgage bank, the maximum of its advances will be 500 million per annum" (p. 213).

### 4. *"Buildings"*

If the rate of interest=O, house rent is also reduced to nil

(therefore profit and ground rent depend on the rate of interest) (p. 218).

Decree: "Every payment made in respect of rent shall be entered to the account of the property, reckoned as twenty times the rent"

(and what about repairs?).

"With every instalment of rent the tenant will acquire a proportional and joint share in the house he occupies and in the totality of all buildings let for rent and serving as dwellings for the citizens. Property thus paid for will pass by degrees into the hands of the communal administration (!), which by the fact of the payment"

(which it does not make at all!)

"takes over the mortgages and prerogatives in the name"

(and without the permission?)

"of the mass of tenants, and will guarantee"

(solidarity!!!)

"their domicile to all of them in perpetuity at the cost price of the building.—The communes[357] will be able to negotiate separate agreements with the owners for the immediate liquidation and repayment of the leased properties. In this case, and in

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[a] See this volume, p. 559.—*Ed.*

order that the present generation shall enjoy reduced rents, the said communes will be able immediately to reduce the rent of houses for which they have concluded agreements, in such a way that amortisation be completed only in thirty years.—For repairs, fittings and upkeep of the buildings, as in the case of new constructions, the communes will negotiate with the companies of masons or associations of building workers according to the principles and rules of the new social contract. The owners, sole occupiers of their own houses, will retain the property as long as they judge this advantageous to their interests" (pp. 221-22).

### *"5. Landed Property"*

It will be revolutionised through the "mortgage bank". "The special character of the mortgage bank, in addition to the low price and facility of its credit, lies in *repayment by annual instalments*" (p. 223). For example, it has funds of 2 milliards and lends annually 400 million fr. with a 5 per cent annual repayment. In this way the peasants pay off their mortgage creditors and twenty years after taking up the loan they are free from debt. "At the end of five years the capital of 2 milliards would be exhausted; but because of the annual instalments it receives and the deductions it makes from credits (?!!) the bank will find that it has in hand a sum of approximately 400 million, which it will lend out afresh. The transactions therefore will continue in this way till at the end of twenty years the landed property will have repaid 4×2 milliards, i.e. 8 milliards of mortgages, and in 30 years it will be rid of usurers" (p. 224).

A fine calculation! 1) It is not possible to imagine that "the deductions made from credits" can be anything but acts of defraudation. 2) *No* annual instalment is recovered by the bank in the first year; at the end of the first year it gets 5 per cent of 400 million=20 million; at the end of the second year it gets 5 per cent of 800 million=40 million; at the end of the third year 60 million; of the fourth year 80 million; of the fifth year 100 million; it has therefore recovered 300 million, and not approximately 400 million. But supposing it could lend out 400 million in the sixth year, then at the end of this year it would receive only 120 million and therefore be unable to give out 400 million. Supposing the bank had been provided with a capital of 4 milliards instead of 2 milliards and could therefore lend 400 million per annum for ten years before having to resort to the money paid back, even then it would be broke in the 13th year and in this year could lend only 360 million instead of 400 million. With 4,400 million, that is with an original capital enabling it to pay out during 11 years, it would have reached bottom in the 17th year and could only expend 320 million. Finally, with 4,800 million it could give loans for 12 years from the original fund and afterwards from the repayments and at the end of the 20th year have 600 million over in addition to the periodically recurring repayments of 400 million annually, which fall due at that time.

Proof:

Up to the twelfth year payments are made from the capital.

| *Annual advances* | | | | *Annual repayment* | | *Excess* | *Total balance per year* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| lst-12th | year | 4,800 | mill. | | | | 1,320 |
| 13th | " | 400 | " | 240 | mill. | +(1320-400) 920 | =1,160 |
| 14th | " | 400 | " | 260 | " | + 760 | =1,020 |
| 15th | " | 400 | " | 280 | " | + 620 | = 900 |
| 16th | " | 400 | " | 300 | " | + 500 | = 800 |
| 17th | " | 400 | " | 320 | " | + 400 | = 720 |
| 18th | " | 400 | " | 340 | " | + 320 | = 660 |
| 19th | " | 400 | " | 360 | " | + 260 | = 620 |
| 20th | " | 400 | " | 380 | " | + 220 | = 600 |
| 21st | " | 400 | " | 400 | " | + 200 | = 600 |
| 22nd | " | 400 | " | 400 | " | + 200 | = 600 |
| | | | | | | | etc |

never increasing.

That is how M. Proudhon lays the foundation for his National Mortgage Bank.

But the thing can be done even more speedily. One issues a decree stating:

"Every payment of rent for the use of a piece of real estate will make the farmer part-proprietor of it and will count as a mortgage payment by him. When the property has been entirely paid for it ***will be immediately taken over by the commune, which will take the place of the former owner***"

(why does the new owner not immediately enter into his rights?)

"and will share with the farmer the ownership and the net product. The communes will be able to negotiate separate agreements with the owners who desire it for the redemption of the rents and the immediate repayment of the properties. In that case at the request of the communes steps shall be taken to instal (!?) the cultivators, and to delimit their properties, taking care that as far as possible the size of the area shall make up (!?) for the quality of the land, and that the rent"

(where did the annual instalments get to?)

"shall be proportional to the product. As soon as the property has been entirely paid for, all the communes of the Republic will have to reach agreement among themselves to equalise (!?) the differences in the quality of the strips of land, and also the contingencies of farming. The part of the rent due to them from the plots in their particular area will be used for this compensation and general insurance. Dating from the same period the old owners who worked themselves on their properties, will retain their title, and ***will be treated in the same way as the new owners, will have to pay the same rent and will be granted the same rights***"

(what rights?)

"***in such a way that no one is favoured by the chance of location and inheritance and that the conditions of cultivation are equal for all*** (!!!!). The land tax will be abolished"

(after a new one has been put in its place!).

"The functions of the rural police will devolve on the municipal councils" (p. 228).

Colossal nonsense.

Next he explains that

"the right to the increase in value", i.e. the right of the farmer to the improvements he makes to the soil, cannot be implemented, any more than "the right to work", however popular both of these are.

A very legal and moral point of view.

## *Sixth Essay*

"ORGANISATION OF THE ECONOMIC FORCES"

Everything is done by way of contract. I make a contract about something with my neighbour—the contract expresses My will. I can equally well make a contract with all the inhabitants of my commune, and my commune with any other, with all the other communes of the country. "I could be sure that the law thus made throughout the Republic, derived from millions of different initiatives, would never be anything other than ***My law***" (p. 236).

O Stirner!! Hence the regime of contract is something like the following:

### *1. "Credit"*

This is already settled by the bank through the lowering of the rate of interest to $^1/_2$, $^1/_4$, $^1/_8$ per cent, and will be completed by the withdrawal of all gold and silver from circulation.

"As for *personal* credit"

(i.e. not based on security),

"it is not a matter that concerns the National Bank; it should be operated in the workers' companies and the industrial and agricultural societies" (pp. 237-38).

### *2. "Property"*[a]

This is conceived by all socialists[358] either as property of the commune organised through association, where the peasant is an agricultural worker in an association, or as state property which is leased to peasants. The first form is "communistic", "utopian", "still-born"; if it should be seriously attempted "the peasant would be faced with the question of insurrection" (pp. 238-39). The second form, too, is inapplicable, "governmental", "feudal", "fiscal", etc. The reasons advanced in favour of it fall to the ground, for "the net product"

(i.e. the rent),

being the result of the unequal quality of the soil, belongs not to the state but to "the farmer who receives little; it is for this reason that in our plan for liquidation we have

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[a] Proudhon deals with landed property here.—*Ed.*

stipulated that the rent should be proportionate to the type of land so as to form a fund in order to equalise the income of the farmers and to insure the products" (p. 240).

That means everything remains as it was before, the farmer pays the rent during the first 20-30 years to the old property-owner and then to the general assurance fund, which divides it among the owners of inferior land. Thus good and bad land will have exactly the same value, or rather the same lack of value, for it is inconceivable how land then can still have any capital value. In what way this differs from payment of rent to the state—especially as the communes will be at liberty to interfere in everything—is also inconceivable. And that is what Proudhon calls

"property separated from rent, liberated from its fetters and cured of its leprosy"

and believes that it has now become a pure medium of circulation (p. 242).

With the confiscation of landed property by the state, the value of the entire landed property in the country, worth 80 milliards, would be withdrawn from circulation and, as belonging to all, that is to say to no one would have to be struck from the inventory. "In any case, the *collective* wealth of the nation will undoubtedly neither lose nor gain; what does it matter to society whether the 80 milliards of real estate, which constitute individual fortunes, figure or do not figure in the total? But is it the same thing for the farmer in whose hands the mobilised soil once again becomes a value in circulation, money?" (p. 245).

With the system of tenure under the state, the peasant would very soon assert his right of ownership of the soil, which would be easy for him "since the peasants would always have the upper hand in France" (p. 246).

Quite correct, of course, if the lousy small-holding system, the only one that Proudhon knows, were to be retained. But then, too, in spite of Proudhon, mortgages and usury would just as quickly reappear.

"Given the facility of repayment by annual instalments, the value of a piece of real estate can be indefinitely divided, exchanged, and undergo any conceivable change, without the real estate being in the least affected. The rest is a matter of the police, and we do not have to concern ourselves with it" (pp. 246-47).

### *3. "Division of Labour, Collective Forces, Machinery. Companies of Workers"*

"Agricultural labour is a kind of labour which least of all requires, or, better expressed, which rejects with the utmost vigour, the co-operative form; one has never seen peasants forming association for cultivating their fields; and one never will see it. The only relations of concord and solidarity which could exist between farmers, the only form of centralisation of which rural industry is capable ... is that which results from ***the equalisation of the net product,*** from mutual insurance and, above all, from ***the abolition of rent***" (!!) (p. 247).

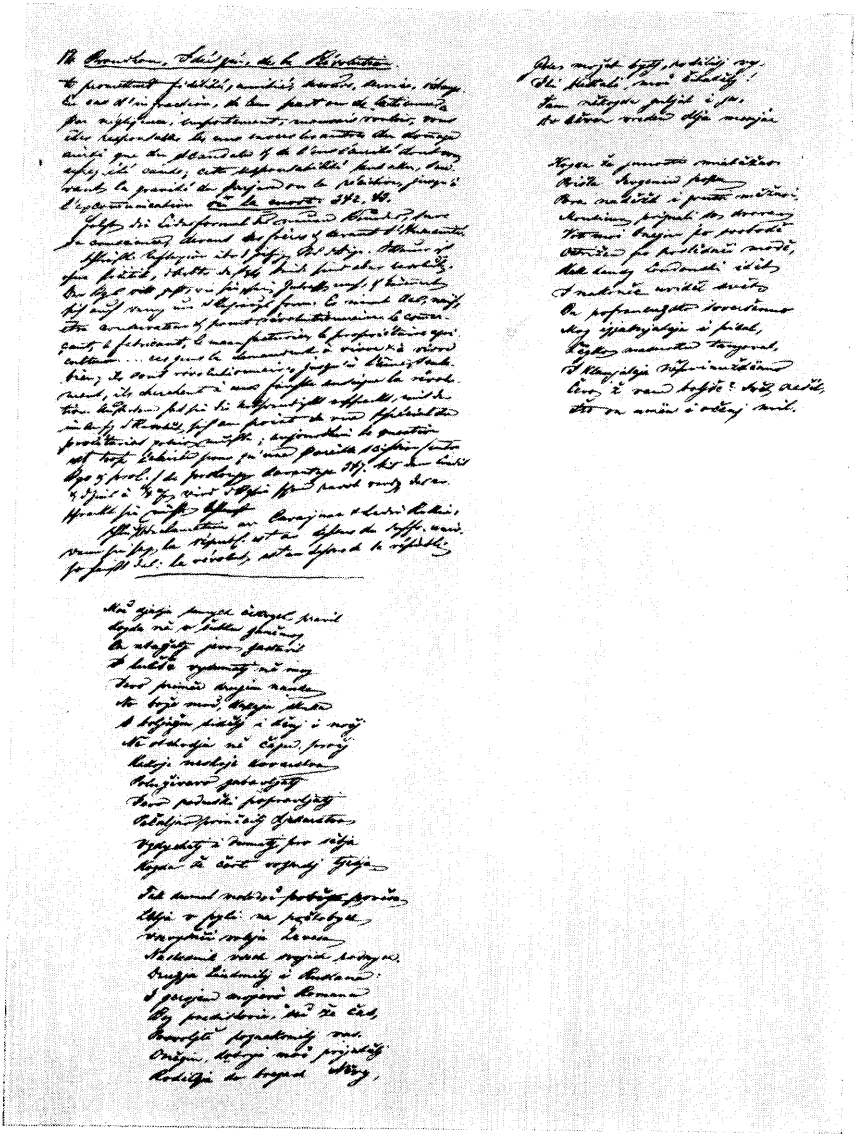

Last page of Engels' manuscript "Critical Review of Proudhon's Book *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX-e siècle*"

a fixed salary and an honourable employment in a workers' company to all the anxiety connected with a private enterprise" (p. 258).

(*Vous les connaissez bien,* M. Proudhon.[a]

### *4. "The Determination of Value, the Establishment of a Cheap Market"*

"The fair price",

the great desideratum,

consists of 1) the costs of production, 2) the ***salary*** of the merchant, or "the compensation for the advantages which the seller forgoes by parting with the article" (p. 262). In order to secure the fair price, one must ensure that the merchant will be able to sell his goods. The Provisional Government could have made commerce flourish at once if it had guaranteed 5 per cent interest to the first 10,000 industrialists to invest up to 100,000 francs each in their business

(where are these to be obtained from, even in the highest prosperity!).

One thousand million would have been invested in industry. "Ten thousand commercial and industrial establishments could not operate simultaneously without supporting one another; what one produces another consumes; work, that is the outlet."

(The landlubber only knows of home trade[b] and like the most shallow English Tory believes that he can make large-scale industry prosper by means of it!)

Thus the state would not have had to pay 50 million, it would not have had to pay 10 million, in order to meet this guarantee (pp. 266, 267).

Worse trash never was written not even by Proudhon himself.[c] Contracts therefore are made on the following basis:

"The state, on behalf of the interests which it temporarily represents, and the departments and communes on behalf of their respective inhabitants ... propose to guarantee that the entrepreneurs who offer the most advantageous conditions will receive either interest"

(after payment of interest has been abolished)

"on the capital and material invested in their enterprises, or a fixed salary, or in appropriate cases a sufficient quantity of orders. In return, the tendering parties will pledge themselves to meet all consumers' requests for the goods and services they have undertaken to supply. Apart from that, full scope is left for competition. They must state the component parts of their prices, the method of delivery, the duration of their commitments, and their means of fulfilment. The tenders submitted under seal within

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[a] You know them very well, M. Proudhon.—*Ed.*
[b] Engels uses the English term.—*Ed.*
[c] Engels wrote this sentence in English.—*Ed.*

the periods prescribed will subsequently be opened and made public 8 days, 15 days[a] ... before the contracts are allocated. At the expiry of each contract, new tenders will be invited" (pp. 268, 269).

### 5. *"Foreign Trade, Balance of Exports and Imports"*

Inasmuch as the purpose of customs duties is to protect home industry, the reduction of the rate of interest, the liquidation of the national debt and private debts, the lowering of rents and leases, the determination of value, etc., will greatly decrease the costs of production of all articles and therefore make it possible to lower customs duties (p. 272).

Proudhon is in favour of abolishing customs duties as soon as the rate of interest is reduced to $^1/_2$ per cent or $^1/_4$ per cent.

"If tomorrow ... the Bank of France reduced its discount rate to $^1/_2$ per cent, interest and commission included, immediately all manufacturers and merchants of Paris and the provinces ***who do not have credit at the Bank*** would endeavour in their negotiations to obtain bills, ***for it would cost only $^1/_2$ per cent*** [to discount] ***these bills received at par instead of 6, 7, 8 or 9 per cent, which money costs at the bankers***" (!!!!) "...Those abroad would also have recourse to this. French bills would cost only $^1/_2$ per cent, whereas those of other states would cost 10 or 12 times as much" (!!), "preference would be given to the former—***everybody would be interested in using this money in their payments***" (!!!) (p. 274). In order to have more French banknotes, the foreign producers would lower the prices of their commodities and our imports would rise. Since, however, foreign countries can neither buy French annuities with the exported banknotes, or lend them to us again, nor take up mortgages on our land, this import cannot harm us; "on the contrary, it is not we who would have to moderate our purchases, it would be up to the foreign countries to be cautious about their sales" (!!) (pp. 274-75).

Owing to the influx of these miraculous French banknotes foreign countries would be compelled to repeat the same economic revolution which Proudhon has achieved for France.

Finally, an appeal to the Republican lawyers, Crémieux, Marie, Ledru, Michel, etc., to take up these ideas. They, the representatives of the *idea of justice*, are called upon to pave the way here (pp. 275, 276).

## *Seventh Essay*

"THE MERGING OF GOVERNMENT IN THE ECONOMIC ORGANISM"

### 1. "***Society without authority***"

Rhetoric.

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[a] Proudhon has: "8 days, 15 days, one month, three months, depending on the importance of the contract" (p. 269).—*Ed.*

2. "***Elimination of governmental functions. Cults***"

Historical, religious philosophical fantasies. Result: this aspect of the voluntary system[a] that prevails in America amounts to the abolition of the state (pp. 293-95).

3. "***Justice***"

No one has the right to judge another unless the latter makes him his judge and freely consents to the law that he has transgressed ...

and other such profound observations.

Under the "regime of contract", everyone has given his consent to the law, and "in accordance with the democratic principle, the judge must be elected by those who are justifiable"

(this is the case in America).

In cases of common law the parties should choose arbitrators whose judgment has executive force in all cases. Thus the state is eliminated also from the judicature (pp. 301-02).

4. "***Administration, police***"

Where all stand in contractual relations to all, no police is necessary, "and the citizens and communes"

(hence also the departments and therefore also the nations)

"no longer need the intervention of the state to manage their property, to construct their bridges, etc., and to carry out all acts of inspection, preservation, and policing" (p. 311).

In other words, administration is not abolished but merely *decentralised.*

5. "***Public education, public works, agriculture, commerce, and finance***"

All these Ministries will be abolished. Fathers of families elect the teachers. The teachers elect the higher educational authorities right up to the supreme "Academic Council" (p. 317). Higher, theoretical education will be linked with vocational education; so long as it is divorced from apprenticeship it is aristocratic by nature, and serves to strengthen the ruling class and the power it wields over the oppressed (pp. 318-19).

On the whole, this, too, is very narrowly conceived and bound up with the division of labour, exactly as is apprenticeship in the workers' companies.

Incidentally, "I do not see any harm in the existence of a central research department, and a department of manufactures and arts in the Republic".

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[a] Engels uses the English term.—*Ed.*

Merely, the Ministries and the French system of centralisation have to be done away with (p. 319).

There must not be any Ministry of Public Works because it would preclude the initiative of the communes and departments, and of the workers' companies.

Therefore here, too, we have the Anglo-American system with social embellishments (pp. 320-21).

The Ministry of Agriculture and Trade is sheer parasitism and corruption. The proof: its budget (pp. 322-24).

The Ministry of Finance comes to an end of itself when there are no longer any finances that have to be administered (p. 324).

6. ***"Foreign affairs, war, the navy"***

Foreign affairs will cease to exist in view of the inevitable universal character of the revolution. The nations will become decentralised, and their various sections will carry on intercourse with their neighbours as if they belonged to the same nation. Diplomacy and war will be at an end. If Russia wants to interfere, Russia will be revolutionised. If England is not willing to give in, then England will be revolutionised and there is an end of the difficulty. The revolutionised nations have the same interests because political economy, like geometry, is the same in all countries. "***There is no Russian, English, Austrian, Tartar or Hindu economics, any more than there is a Hungarian, German or American physics or geometry***" (p. 328).

## *"Epilogue"*

Pure rhetoric. In between is the following point-blank shot which, rather amusingly, overthrows the whole edifice of anarchy.

In the economic regime, "reason aided by experience reveals to man the laws of nature and society, and then it tells him: These laws are those of necessity itself, no man has made them, no one imposes them on you.... Do you promise to respect the honour, the liberty and the well-being of your brothers? Do you promise never to appropriate the products or property of another, whether by violence or fraud, usury or stock-jobbing? Do you promise never to lie or deceive, whether in matters of law or commerce, or in any of your transactions? You are free to accept or refuse. ***If you refuse, you belong to the society of savages; expelled from the community of the human race, you become a suspect; you have no protection. At the least insult, anyone can strike you without incurring any other charge than that of ill-treatment needlessly inflicted on a beast.*** If, on the other hand, you swear adherence to the pact, you belong to the society of free men. All your brothers pledge themselves with you, promise you loyalty, friendship, assistance, service, exchange. In case of infringement, on their part or yours, by negligence, passion or malice, you are responsible to one another for the harm done, as also for the disgrace and insecurity of which you will have been the cause; this responsibility, taking into account the seriousness of perjury or repetition of the offence, can go as far as to incur excommunication ***or death***" (pp. 342-43).

There follows the wording of the oath of the new alliance, sworn

"on one's conscience, before one's brothers, and before humanity".

## Finally, reflections on the present state of affairs.

The peasant has no politics, the worker ditto, but both are revolutionary. Like them, the bourgeois minds his interests, and hardly worries about the form of government. He naively calls that "being conservative and not at all revolutionary". "The merchant, the industrialist, the manufacturer, the landowner ... these people want to live and to live well; they are revolutionary to their heart's core, only they seek the revolution under a false banner." Moreover, they have been frightened by the necessity that at the beginning the revolution had to take up a position corresponding to "the special point of view of the proletariat"; "today the question has been too clearly elucidated for such a split"

## (between bourgeoisie and proletariat)

"to continue any longer" (p. 347). With credit and interest at $^1/_4$ per cent, the bourgeoisie will become revolutionary, this does not frighten them.

## Final rhetoric addressed to Cavaignac and Ledru-Rollin:

When they say that "the republic stands above universal suffrage", that means: "the revolution stands above the republic".[359]

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# APPENDICES

## Ernest Jones

# A LETTER TO THE ADVOCATES OF THE CO-OPERATIVE PRINCIPLE, AND TO THE MEMBERS OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES[360]

The co-operative principles!
The errors of the present movement.
The true basis of co-operation.

It is too much the custom to cry down the individual whose vision is not identical with our own—he who will not advocate a principle in the same way in which it is advocated by ourselves, is too often denounced as an enemy instead of being recognised as a friend, who thinks that better means may be adopted for the furtherance of the very principle itself.

The liberty of opinion is the most sacred of all liberties, for it is the basis of all, and claiming a right to the free expression of my views on a subject that I hold of vital importance to the interests of the people, I take this opportunity for offering a few remarks on the character and results of the co-operative movement.

In accordance with the prejudice above alluded to, some may say, indeed some *have* said, that I am opposed to co-operation: on the contrary, I am its sincere though humble advocate, and, from that very reason, feel bound to warn the people against what I conceive to be the suicidal tendency of our associative efforts as conducted now.

At the same time I feel bound to express my full conviction that the present leaders of the co-operative movement are honest, sincere, and well-meaning men, who, in their zeal for the furtherance of a good cause, have overlooked the fatal tendency of some of the details in their plan of action.

I contend that co-operation as now developed, must result in failure to the majority of those concerned, and that it is merely perpetuating the evils which it professes to remove.

I will divide the remarks I have to offer, under three heads:

1st, what are the means the present co-operative movement possesses, of defeating the system of monopoly and wages-slavery;

2nd, what would be its effects upon society if successful; 3rd, what is the only salutary basis for co-operative industry?

Before proceeding, however, to the consideration of these several points let us ask, what are the avowed objects of co-operation?

To put an end to profitmongering—to emancipate the working classes from wages-slavery, by enabling them to become their own masters; to destroy monopoly and to counteract the centralisation of wealth, by its equable and general diffusion. We now proceed to consider—

I. The means applied to effect these results.

For the above purposes the working classes are exhorted to subscribe their pence, under the conviction that, by so doing, they will soon be enabled to beat the monopolist out of the field, and become workers and shopkeepers for themselves.

They are told that the pence of the working-man are, collectively, more powerful than the sovereigns of the rich—that they can outbuy the money lords in their own markets—that they can outbuy the landlords on their own acres. The fallacy of this is proved by the fact, that out of the annual income of the empire, a by far *greater* portion is absorbed by the rich than by the working classes (a fact too well known to need statistics)—a fact most forcibly conveyed to us by the recollection, that during the last fifty years, while the savings of the working classes (a great portion of the same, however, belonging to the middle classes) have been £43,000,000, the rich classes have *increased* their capital by £2,414,827,575. It is, therefore, an error to say, that capital against capital—pence against pounds—the co-operation of the working classes can beat down the combination of the rich, *if their power of so doing is argued on the ground, that they possess more money collectively.*

But, it may be objected, "the facts you adduce prove the extent to which profitmongering has progressed, and still more forcibly point to the necessity for co-operation."—*Agreed.*—"Again," say they, "admitting that our capital is smaller than that of our masters, we do not merely intend to balance capital against capital as it stands, and there to stop, but so to employ whatever capital we possess, as to make it reproduce itself, while the effect of our success is to impoverish the great employer, and thus daily lessen the discrepancy in our relative resources."

It must, however, be recollected, that while the working classes are trying to do this with their little capital, the monied classes will be trying to do the same thing with their enormous riches; that the monied classes, further, have the advantage of being already far ahead in the race—that they wield all the national power—that they

are, to a great extent, independent of home trade—that their cannonballs open new markets, of which they will take good care to maintain exclusive possession—that they control the entire monied and commercial system, and can, therefore, expand or contract the currency, raise or depreciate the various interests, glut or restrict the market, and create panic upon panic whenever their interest is enlisted in the measure. It may be said, that they would injure themselves by resorting to some of these means for crippling working class co-operation: granted. But, remember! they can *afford to lose*—you cannot! That which would but pinch their little finger would amputate your entire arm. Thus they would counteract the expansion of your capital by reproductive means. Again—never lose sight of this: they wield all the political power as well! If they should fail in other ways, they can destroy you by new laws—they can throw legal obstacles in the way of co-operation that would prove insurmountable: in this the middle class would support them, every shopkeeper, little or large, every profitmonger, down to the smallest, would be against you—for you *profess* to put an end to profitmongering—you *profess* to supersede the shopocratic class.

It is amusing to remark, that many of those who advise a union with the middle classes are strenuous supporters of the present co-operative system; they seek the support of the middle class, and tell us to expect it—with the same breath shouting to the world, that their "co-operation" will destroy the shopkeepers! That destruction, however, proceeds but very slowly, co-operation on their plan has now been long tried—is widely developed, and they tell us it is locally successful—yet, never in the same period, has the monopolist reaped such profits, or extended his operations with such giant strides. Do we find Moses, or Hyam, waning before the tailors—Grissel, or Peto, shrinking before the builders—Clowes, or Odell, falling before the printers? Everywhere they are more successful than before!—Why! because the same briskness of trade that enables the co-operators to live, enables the monopolists, with their far greater powers, to luxuriate.

Thus much for the inequality of the contest—an inequality that might almost deter from the attempt. But that attempt may triumph, if those forces which we really *do* possess are but directed aright.

This brings me to the consideration of the co-operative plan by which you endeavour to effect the regeneration of society.

The co-operative power you have evoked can be applied to only three objects:

1. To the purchase of land;

2. To the purchase of machinery, for the purpose of manufacture;

3. To the establishment of stores, for the purposes of distribution.

1. *The Land.* Consider, firstly, the enormous amount you must subscribe for the purchase of land in sufficient quantity to relieve the labour market of its competitive surplus. Secondly, remember that the more an article is in demand, the more it rises in price. The more land you want, the dearer it will become, and the more unattainable it will be by your means. Thirdly, recollect that your wages have been falling for years, and that they will continue to fall; consequently, while the land is rising in price on the one hand, your means of purchase are diminishing on the other. Fourthly, two parties are required in every bargain—the purchaser and seller. If the rich class find that the poor are buying up the land, they won't sell it to them—we have had sufficient instances of this already. They have sagacity enough not to let it pass out of their hands, even by these means. Fifthly, never lose sight of this fact: only a restricted portion of the land ever *does* come into the market—the *laws of primogeniture, settlement, and entail* lock up the remainder; a *political* law intervenes, that *political power* alone can abrogate.

It may, however, be urged, in answer to the first objection, that the capital invested in the purchase of land would reproduce itself. I answer, reflect on how our forefathers lost the land—by unequal legislation. It was not taken from them by force of arms, but by force of laws—not by direct legal confiscation, but they were ***taxed*** *out* of it. The same causes will produce the same effects. If you re-purchase a portion of the land, you would re-commence precisely the same struggle fought by your ancestors of yore—you would wrestle for a time with adversity, growing poorer every year, till holding after holding was sold, and you reverted to your old condition. This can be obviated only by a re-adjustment of taxation—a measure that can be enforced by political power alone.

2. *Machinery and Manufacture.* The second object to which co-operation is directed, consists in the purchase of machinery for purposes of manufacture. It is argued, "we shall shut up the factories, and competing with the employer, deprive him of his workmen, who will flock to us to be partakers of the fruits of their own industry." It is impossible for you to shut up the factories, because the great manufacturer is not dependent on home-trade—he can live on foreign markets; and in all markets, both home and foreign, he can undersell you. His capital and resources, his command of machinery, enables him to do so. Is it not an undeniable fact, that the working-men's associations—the co-

operative tailors, printers, &c., are *dearer than their monopolising rivals*? And must they not remain so, if their labour is to have a fair remuneration? It is impossible to deprive the employer of workmen to such an extent as to ruin him—the labour surplus is too great; and were it even smaller, the constantly developed power of machinery, which he can always command the readiest, would more than balance the deficiency you caused.

If, then, we do not shut up the factories, we only increase the evil by still more overglutting the market. It is a market for that which *is* manufactured, far more than a deficiency of manufacture under which we labour. If we add to manufacture we cheapen prices; if we cheapen prices we cheapen wages (these generally sink disproportionately)—and thus add to the misery and poverty of the toiling population. "But," you may argue, "we shall *make* a market—create home-trade, by rendering the working classes prosperous " You fail a leverage: the prosperity of the working classes is necessary to enable your co-operation to succeed; and, according to your own argument, the success of your co-operation is necessary to make the working classes prosperous! Do you not see you are reasoning in a circle? You are beating the air. You want some third power to ensure success. In fine, you want political power to re-construct the bases of society. Under the present system, *on your present plan*, all your efforts must prove vain—have proved vain—towards the production of a *national* result.

3. *Co-operative Stores.*—By these you undertake to make the working-man his own shopkeeper, and to enable him to keep in his own pocket the profits which the shopkeeper formerly extracted from his custom.

These stores must be directed towards the distribution of manufactures or of food. If the former, you must either manufacture your goods yourselves, or else buy them of the rich manufacturer. If you manufacture them yourselves, the evil consequences, alluded to in the previous paragraph, meet you at the outset. If you buy them, the manufacturer can undersell you, because the first-hand can afford to sell cheaper than the second—and recollect the wholesale dealer is every year absorbing more and more the retailing channels of trade.

We then suppose your stores to be for the retailing of provisions. Under this aspect, their power, as a national remedy, is very limited. Food is wealth—money is but its representative; to increase the real prosperity of a country, you must increase its wealth, whereas these stores do not create additional food, but merely distribute that which is created already.

But the question is here raised: "If the working-man has to pay a less exorbitant price for the articles he wants, he will have so much more of his wages left to purchase land, and otherwise emancipate himself from wages' slavery. Therefore the co-operative stores are the very means for obviating one of the objections urged: they are the very means for counteracting the threatened fall of wages, and consequent diminution of subscriptions."

This observation brings me to the second division of the subject, as in that the answer is contained; and here again I admit that co-operation on a sound basis is salutary, and may be a powerful adjunct towards both social and political emancipation. The solution of this question, however, depends not only on the means at command, but also on the way in which those means are used—and I contend:

II. That the co-operative system, as at present practised, carries within it the germs of dissolution, would inflict a renewed evil on the masses of the people, and is essentially destructive of the real principles of co-operation. Instead of abrogating profitmongering, it re-creates it. Instead of counteracting competition, it re-establishes it. Instead of preventing centralisation, it renews it—merely transferring the rôle from one set of actors to another.

1. *It is to destroy profitmongering:* Here I refer you to the confessions at the recent meeting of Co-operative Delegates; it was the boast contained in every reported speech, that the society to which the speaker belonged had accumulated a large capital—some as high as £2,000 and £3,000 in a very short space of time—some having started with a capital as small as £25, others having borrowed large sums (in one instance as much as £9,000) from rich capitalists, a measure not much calculated to emancipate co-operation from the thraldom of the rich.

But to revert to the accumulated capital; how was this sum accumulated? By buying and selling. By selling at cost price? Oh no! By buying for little, and selling for more—it was accumulated by *profits*, and profits to such an extent, that in one case, 250 members accumulated a capital of £3,000 in a very short space of time! "Down with profitmongering!"

What is this but the very same thing as that practised by the denounced shopocracy? Only that it has not yet reached so frightful a stage. They are stepping in the footprints of the profitmongers, only they are beginning to do now what the others began some centuries ago.

2. *It is to put an end to competition,* but unfortunately it re-creates it. Each store or club stands as an isolated body, with individual

interests. Firstly, they have to compete with the shopkeeper—but, secondly, they are beginning to compete with each other. Two or more stores or co-operative associations are now frequently established in the same town, with no identity of interests. If they fail, there is an end of it, but if they succeed, they will spread till they touch, till rivalry turns to competition—then they will undermine each other—and be either mutually ruined, or the one will rise upon the ashes of its neighbour. I ask every candid reader—is not this already the case in several of our northern towns?

3. *It is to counteract the ntralisation of wealth,* but it renews it. We proceed one step further—the fratricidal battle has been fought in the one town,—the one association has triumphed over the others, it absorbs the custom of its neighbours—the co-operative power falls out of many hands into few—*wealth centralises.* In the next town the same has been taking place—at last the two victor-associations dispute the prize with each other—they undersell each other—they cheapen labour—the same results attend on the same causes, and the working classes have been rearing up a strong, new juggernaut, to replace the worn out idol under which they bowed before.

Let us reflect, what are the great canal-companies, joint-stock companies, banking companies, railway companies, trading companies—what are they but co-operative associations in the hands of the rich? What have been their effects on the people? To centralise wealth, and to pauperise labour. Where is the essential difference between those and the present co-operative schemes? A few men club their means together. So did *they.* Whether the means are large or little, makes no difference in the working of the plan, otherwise than in the rapidity or slowness of its development. But many of our richest companies began with the smallest means. A few men start in trade, and accumulate profits. So did they. Profits grow on profits, capital accumulates on capital—always flowing into the pockets of those few men. The same with their rich prototypes. What kind of co-operation do you call this? It is the co-operation of Moses and Co., only a little less iniquitous—but, based on the same principle, who guarantees that it will not run to the same lengths? What benefit are the people to derive from this? What is it to us if you beggar the Moseses and the Rothschilds to-morrow, and create another Rothschild and Moses in their place? My idea of reform is not to ruin one man to enrich another—that is merely robbing Peter to pay Paul. As long as there are to be monied and landed monopolists in the world, it matters little to us, whether they bear the name of Lascelles or of Smith. Such is the present system of co-operation,—a system unstable in itself, and, if successful, injurious to the

community. A system that makes a few new shopkeepers and capitalists to replace the old, and increases the great curse of the working classes, the aristocracy of labour.

III. Then what is the only salutary basis for co-operative industry? A ***national*** one. All co-operation should be founded, not on isolated efforts, absorbing, if successful, vast riches to themselves, but on a national union which should distribute the national wealth. To make these associations secure and beneficial, you must make it their interest to *assist* each other, instead of *competing* with each other—you must give them ***unity of action, and identity of interest.***

To effect this, every local association should be the branch of a national one, and all profits, beyond a certain amount, should be paid into a national fund, for the purpose of opening fresh branches, and enabling the *poorest* to obtain land, establish stores, and otherwise apply their labour power, not only to their own advantage, but to that of the general body.

This is the vital point: *are the profits to accumulate in the hands of isolated clubs, or are they to be devoted to the elevation of the entire people? Is the wealth to gather around local centres, or is it to be diffused by a distributive agency?*

This alternative embraces the fortune of the future. From the one flows profitmongering, competition, monopoly, and ruin; from the other may emanate the regeneration of society.

Again—the land that is purchased, should be purchased in trust for the entire union—those located thereon being tenants, and not exclusive proprietors, of the farms they cultivate. Freehold land-societies,[361] companies, etc., but perpetuate the present system—they strengthen the power of landlordism. We have now 30,000 landlords—should we be better off if we had 300,000? We should be worse off—there are too many already! The land can be more easily and more rapidly nationalised, if held by merely 30,000 than if possessed by ten times that amount. And, again, the rent would increase the national fund—while the contributions of the freeholders would be but a chimerical treasure.

Such a union, based on such a plan of action, might hope for success. The present co-operative movement, I repeat, must perish as its kindred have done before it—and, if not, its success would be a new curse to the community. Why do the rich smile on it? Because they know it will prove in the long run harmless as regards them—because they know it has always failed, hitherto, to subvert their power. True the attempts often succeed in the beginning—and why? Because the new idea attracts many sympathisers—while it is too weak to draw down the opposition of the money lord. Thence the

co-operators are enabled to pick up some of the crumbs that fall from the table of the rich. But what is the £3,000 of Rochdale[362] amid the proud treasures of its factory lords? Let the shock come among the mighty colossi of trade, and the pigmies will be crushed betw en them.

A national union, on the plan suggested, does not run these dangers. A national fund thus established, would, in all probability, be a large one—and place a great power in the hands of the association. Persecution would be far more difficult. Now each society stands isolated, and is attacked in detail by the combined forces of monopoly—then to touch one would be to touch all. The national centralisation of popular power and popular wealth (not its *local* centralisation), is the secret of success. Then restrictive political laws would be far more difficult, for they would encounter a gigantic union, instead of a disorganised body. Then the combination of the rich would be far less formidable—for, though superior in wealth, they would be far inferior in numbers. So they are now—but the numbers at present are without a connecting bond; nay, in but too many cases, essentially antagonistic.

I entreat the reader calmly and dispassionately to weigh the preceding arguments. They are written in a hostile spirit to no one at present concerned in co-operative movements—but from a sincere and earnest conviction that the opinions here expressed are founded upon truth. I have given the difficulties in the way of the co-operative movement—not with a view to discouragement—but that by seeing the dangers, we may learn how to avoid them. As it is we are falling from Scylla into Charybdis.

If, then, you would re-create society, if you would destroy profitmongering, if you would supplant competition by the genial influence of fraternity, and counteract the centralisation of wealth and all its concomitant evils,

NATIONALISE CO-OPERATION.

Written in late April and early May 1851 Reproduced from the journal

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Signed: *Ernest Jones*

Ernest Jones

# CO-OPERATION. WHAT IT IS, AND WHAT IT OUGHT TO BE

*Contents*:—The errors of the present movement. Illustrations: Padiham, Bradford, &c. A better spirit: Bingley, Bury.—The true plan of co-operation.—A contrast between the two.

The priest, if you inveigh against his priestcraft, says you are an enemy of christianity itself. So does the co-operator, if you inveigh against that kind of so-called co-operation, which, in reality, is profitmongering, say you are an enemy of co-operation itself. But the reverse is the case. As the true christian tries to rescue christianity from priestcraft, so does the ***real friend*** of co-operation endeavour to rescue that from the pernicious tendencies into which it is being launched.

In No. 2 of this publication it has been shown how the present erroneous system of co-operation leads, in reality, to competition, and through that to monopoly. I will not recapitulate the arguments here, to weary by repetition those readers who have already seen that article—but most earnestly do I invite for it the attention of others.

On the present occasion, I will dwell on the actual working of some of the co-operative efforts, on what they are, and then, on what, as it appears to me, they ought to be.

The plan on which co-operative attempts are now conducted, is to buy cheap in the wholesale market—and to sell *dearer.*

The sale takes place, in some few instances, only to the shareholders themselves—in most, however, to the general public.

Where the sale takes place to the shareholders, the profit goes partly to pay the working expenses, and the remainder of the profit is divided among the shareholders at the end of the year. What is the real meaning of this?—it means that the shareholders buy in the wholesale market, that they then are charged so much more for the retailing than they ought to be, and that, having lost the use of the money for an entire year, they receive back that out of which they

have been robbed, at the end of twelve months. Can there be greater folly than this? People deliberately charge themselves too much, and pay themselves back at the end of the year, having lost the use of their money during all the intermediate time! The excuse for this is, that they must charge more than the wholesale price, to cover the working expenses, and that they cannot know beforehand what the working charges will be. In the first place, this might be known within a very narrow margin of allowance,—but the fact is this, that they want none, or scarcely any of these working charges. If twenty people club together to form a co-operative store, and then get the articles they want retailed to them at second hand by their own agents, they might just as well send one of their number to the wholesale market, buy at first-hand, and divide the goods in the proportionate shares required, among themselves, *without any* working charges, or any other expenses, except the one journey (if such were required) and the one transit of the goods. For instance, if twenty families agree together to buy their groceries wholesale, in the mass,—each says how much he wants,—he lays by so much per week, and keeps it at home, or pays it into the hands of any one who may be appointed to act as banker for the rest (instead of, as now, subscribing it to a store), and at given periods one or more of this little domestic league goes into the wholesale market, buys the groceries, divided there or afterwards into such portions as each of the members has given an order for,—the individual members receive their several shares as ordered—and there the transaction is complete. This is done every day by rich families of the middle-class. Two or three club together to get their coals or potatoes, &c., wholesale; one of them buys the lot,—they get them at the wholesale price—save all the retailing charges, and then divide the articles among themselves.

This could be done by twenty or thirty, as well as by two or three. Here you have all the advantages of a co-operative store, without any of its expenses and difficulties. You require no payment of rent, taxes and rates; no feeing of officers; no fittings and counters; no advertising and placarding; *no payments to lawyers*; ***no registering, enrolling***, or ***certifying***; no profitmongering whatever, under the plea of covering working charges;—the whole thing is merely a domestic arrangement of a few families among each other—and there you have all that is required: you keep your money in your own pockets; you do not clash with the law if unenrolled, or become slaves to it *if* enrolled—every member has the usual legal security against the other,—for the purposes of buying wholesale and selling to the shareholders, a co-operative store is utterly unnecessary—it is

plundering yourselves—it is doing at second-hand that which you can do with a large saving of money at first-hand! Can anything be more comical, than men saying we'll buy at first-hand, but we won't take our goods home, we'll let them stop half way, we'll charge ourselves too much, we'll pay for an expensive machinery in order that we *may* be overcharged, and then, at the end of the year, we'll pay ourselves back a portion of what is left after payment of the working charges, that is, of the charges that are necessary for the process of enabling us to *cheat ourselves*!

Such is the real working of co-operative stores that profess to sell to the shareholders alone. But of such there are but few—for most profess to sell to the general public. The former are imperatively harmless, for a man may cheat himself, if he is fool enough to do so, without inflicting much injury on others.

But, if a man has a right to cheat himself, he has no right to cheat another. And this is done in the other modes of *so-called* co-operation, as existent at the present day.

The next order of co-operation is that in which the goods are sold not only to the shareholders, but to the public at large. In the former kind, we have seen that it is an absurd waste of time, trouble, and money, for an object that could be much better achieved without any co-operative store at all. But in the case now before us, the whole system of profitmongering, leading to competition and monopoly, is attempted over again, under the soothing name of co-operation itself.

Here the profit is taken direct from the purchaser, and no return made at all. The "co-operator" *buys in the cheapest market*, and he sells as dear as he can, coolly telling us that he is doing this with a view to the destruction of that horrid profitmongering of the shopocracy. The poor customer pays him the "profit"—and that he divides at the end of the year between himself and his brother co-operators. Then they boast, that they have made £2,000 net in one year! What did these £2,000 consist of? Of the difference between the wholesale price (the price at which they bought) and the retail price (the price at which they sold) *over and above the working charges*. Every farthing of this £2,000 is profitmongering of the most odious description, because it is done under the name of co-operation; every farthing of this £2,000 is as much direct plunder taken from the public.

Now, since during the last few months an exposure has been made of *this new system of profitmongering*, all the so-called "co-operators" have disclaimed violently against the charge, and have tried to slip unscathed through the imputation, by tacking some supposed "saving-clause" to their rules. For instance, the London tailors

gravely tell us that they see the full force and justice of the resolution passed by the National Convention, for nationalising the tendency of co-operation, and therefore they intend to set five per cent of their net profits aside for a national fund. *Five per cent!* Then they are to pocket *ninety-five per cent* of clear profit! Every fraction of that 95 per cent is a deliberate robbery upon their customers! For, ***no man has a right to take more from society than the value of what he gives to it.*** All beyond that is robbery. The London tailors, therefore, have a right to a fair remuneration for their labour, and no more. A fair remuneration for labour is, supposing that the labourer gives his full strength to society, *as much as will enable that labourer to live in comfort.*

Therefore, every farthing of those net profits after the working charges are paid (a portion of the working charges being a fair remuneration for the work performed), is an imposition and a cheat upon society.

Some societies, however, try to evade the charge of profitmongering by a more roundabout, but equally transparent, trick. I will illustrate this by the *Bradford Co-operative Store.* This store professes to divide only ***half*** the *profits* among its members. Let us analyse the scheme.

*Rule* 1 says: The object of the Association is "to furnish its ***members*** with provision and clothing at ***prime cost.***"

*Rule* 6 says: "All goods shall be sold at *reasonable* market prices, for ready money only, and the whole ***surplus profits***, after deducting working expenses, and ***five per cent interest on shares***, shall be *divided half-yearly among the members* according to the amount of purchases made by each; but no member to receive interest on part shares."

Now, in the first place, if the goods are to be sold at "prime cost," there could be no "surplus profits." But the "members" only get them at "prime cost," the "surplus profits" are to come from the public.

Pretty well this! In the first place, the *members* get their goods at *prime cost.* They are not even to bear their proportion of the working charges—the poor, good-natured "public" are to pay for this.

In the second place, the members are to receive "five per cent interest on their shares." Pretty well again!

*Rule* 3 provides that members may have *as many shares* as they like (though only one vote). A snug investment that! Five per cent! Elsewhere they could get only $3^1/_2$. Here they are to get five! Firstly, *they* get what they want at *prime cost*; secondly, they get five per cent on their investment. The poor, good-natured public are expected to pay for this too!

In the third place, "the *surplus profit* shall be divided half-yearly among the members, according to the amount of purchases made by each." Pretty well once more! So these lucky members are to get their goods at prime cost, to get five per cent. for their money, and besides all this, to get "*surplus profits,*" and divide them every half-year among themselves. And the poor, good-natured public are expected to pay for all this as well!

Pretty well in the profitmongering line. This is worse *than the shopkeepers.* You catch us with a threefold gripe—and tell us all the while you are our benefactors.

In Rochdale and Padiham, "Co-operation" has assumed a form more injurious still to the best interests of humanity and progression. At the latter place, a "co-operative" factory has been built, by shares of £25 each payable in 5s. calls. This is a workingman's factory with a vengeance!—and here, as in almost all the co-operative attempts in England, all the profits are to be divided among the shareholders—the amount of profit to be extorted from the public, being left to the consciences of the profitmongers themselves.

Workingmen! Democrats! Can you for a moment tolerate or sanction such a system?

The least objectionable stores I know of, are those at Bingley and Bury.

So much of the true metal rings at these places, that they have not been as deeply tainted with the rust of profitmongering, as Padiham, Rochdale, Bradford, London, and most other places.

At Bingley they have raised, in two pound shares, a grocer's and draper's shop. In this, Rule 1 says—"One-half of the *clear profits* to be divided annually among its members, the other half to be given to the society, and never to be divided, but *to go to extend its operations* to other branches of business."

There is some recognition of principle in this, but, in reality, there is only a distinction without a difference. Though the members receive only half the profits direct, yet, as the other half goes to extend the business of the association, it, in reality, goes to extend their profits, or by enlarging the concern, it enlarges the "half" which they are to divide among themselves.

At Bury, if I understood them rightly, they adopt the rule, that any one of the general public, who chooses to deal at their store, and subscribe one penny weekly towards it, shall be entitled to a share of the profits proportionate to the amount of his purchase. This is a great advance on every attempt at "co-operation" that has hitherto been made.

Let us now glance at what co-operation ought to be. I believe the

principle of co-operation is but very imperfectly understood in this country. People imagine if a few individuals co-operate together to start a trading concern and make as much money as they can, that this means co-operation in the real sense of emancipated and associated labour.

Nothing of the sort! If that were so, every railway, banking, or shipping company would realise the true principles of co-operation.

By co-operation, a very inadequate word, by the way, we mean the abolition of profitmongering and wages-slavery, by the development of independent and associated labour. But this can be established only on the basis of the following principle already laid down in this article:

*No man has a right to take more from society, than the value of that which he confers upon it.*

Consequently, associated labour has no right to take more from its customers, than will pay for the prime cost of production, and enable the man to live adequately, who devotes all his time to the production or the distribution of wealth.

To meet this position, associated labour has two alternatives: to charge merely thus much additional between the prime cost and the retail price, as will cover the expenses of retailing; or to charge more, but devote every fraction of that overcharge to a national purpose, such as the purchase of land, machinery, &c., whereon to set the present wages-slave at employment in self-remunerating labour.

Considering the present circumstances by which society is surrounded, I prefer the latter, as being the best calculated to further labour's emancipation.

Let us see how this would work. A co-operative association is formed; after payment of its working charges (including labour in production or distribution), it finds itself at the end of the year with a surplus in hand; instead of dividing this surplus among the members, it employs it to purchase land or machinery, which it lets out to other bodies of workingmen, on the associative principle. The rent paid for the land or the machinery, and the surplus of each concern beyond the working charges, is *again to be applied to the further purchase of machinery and land*, on the same terms, and under the same conditions; and so on, continually extending the power, strength, and resources of association. This is co-operation. It is co-operation, because it establishes a ***community of interest***—the success of each "branch" furthers the success of every other, and of the whole collectively. There can be no conflicting interests—no rivalry—no *competition*—for the greater the success of each

undertaking, the more the stability and permanency of the whole is ensured. It makes it the interest of each and of all to see co-operative associations spread and multiply. This, I repeat emphatically, **this is real co-operation.**

But what is the present isolated system? It is based on individual and antagonistic interests. It makes the vital interest of the "co-operator" to ***prevent*** others from co-operating—to hinder the spread of the associative principle. And it does it in this way: a co-operative trading concern is started on the present *isolated* plan; that is, the concern forming a "close borough,"—admitting no more within its pale—making what profits it can, and pocketing them among the same few individuals. What now becomes the interest of these individuals? To prevent another co-operative concern from being started in their immediate neighbourhood—to prevent another body of workingmen from deriving the advantages of co-operation. Because, if the original concern flourishes, it absorbs all the trade of the locality (if one don't, two or more do, it becomes merely a question of numbers—of how many customers there are in a place); if another independent concern is started, it must have a portion of that custom, or it cannot exist. Consequently it becomes a rival of the other association; it begins to compete; there not being customers enough for *all*, the one concern too many must try to draw away customers from those already established. To do this, it must undersell—it must buy still cheaper, and pay still cheaper for its labour, in order that it *may* undersell; the other concerns must do the same in self-defence; and there you have the old system of competition, with its *necessary consequences*, wages-slavery, plunder, ruin on the one hand, and monopoly on the other, added to that profitmongering on which the present plan, as already shown, is altogether based!

Therefore, the present plan is not true co-operation; it is essentially hostile to the spread of associated labour; instead of ending profitmongering, it renews it; instead of abolishing competition, it recreates it; instead of abrogating monopoly, it re-establishes it, and is the death-blow to the hopes of labour's emancipation.

Now, my friends, let me implore of you to weigh these remarks, and those previously given in this work, without prejudice or anger. I write with a sincere conviction of the truth, and of the paramount duty of combating a pernicious fallacy. I am not the *enemy* of co-operation, but its *friend*—its true friend—I do not oppose co-operation, but wish to rescue it from that course, in which it is digging its own grave. I trust those who have supported "co-operation" on its present plan, will not be offended by these

observations. They are made in all friendliness of spirit and sincerity of heart. I believe the advocates of the present system to be generally true, honest, and well-meaning—but may I escape the charge of presumption if I also state my belief that they are quite blind as to the nature and the consequences of what they are advocating with such zeal? Believe me! you are digging the grave of co-operation, while you think you are fashioning its cradle. Compare your plan with that which I have here proposed—and judge dispassionately.

I know self-interest would dictate that I should write in favour of the present movement, and not against it. I know this very article may injure the circulation of these "Notes". But sooner write not at all, *than be such a slave as not to dare write truth.* Then, sink or swim, the truth ***shall*** be written. I launch this little article on the troubled tides of controversy, and commend it to the good sense and honest feeling of my readers.

Published in *Notes to the People,* Vol. 1, No. 21, September 20, 1851

Reproduced from the journal

Signed: *Ernest Jones*

# [LIST OF DOCUMENTS DESPATCHED TO COLOGNE DURING THE COMMUNIST TRIAL][a] [363]

1) Brothers Braubach—Schneider (original) October 27, business friend.

2) J. A. Boecker—Schneider (copy) October 27, Michael Shawcross & Co.

3) I. D. Herstadt—Hontheim—to Marx—Fisher Brothers.

4) J. H. Stein—Esser I—to Marx—business friend.

5) Leonhard Sadée—Schneider II—to Marx—Smith (Wilson) Dryer & Co.

6) Düsseldorfer Haus—Schneider II—from London, October 25 (Marx on Cherval, theoretical explanation).[364]

7) Ebner—for von Hontheim—London, October 26 (triplicate of Marx's first letter to Schneider)—letters of Becker[b] and Daniels to Marx, new samples of Hirsch's handwriting—Cherval's statement in *The People's Paper*—original letter from Stieber to Marx.[365]

8) G. Jung—Schneider II. London, October 27? 1. Legally attested handwriting and affidavit. 2. Quadruple of the first letter to Schneider, together with samples of Hirsch's handwriting.[366] 3. Extract from Becker's letter to Marx on Willich. 4. Three letters from Bermbach to Marx. 5. Copy of Stieber's letter. 6. Instruction to Schneider together with information of the despatch of No. 9 and No. 10.

9) Schneider II, registered—Duplicate of the affidavit, October 28.

10) W. in Düsseldorf—Schneider II—Registration certificate on No. 9, October 28.

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[a] This list was drawn up by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] Hermann Heinrich Becker.—*Ed.*

Nos. 3, 4 or 5: one used for Schneider II. Explanation about Reuter, Stieber, Dietz,[367] October 29.

11) d. No. from B. & Co. von Hontheim—Extract from Marx's first letter to Schneider—Notification of the non-receipt of Schneider's letter.

12) G. Blank & Son.

13) Hasselmann Schults & Co.

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# Georg Eccarius

## A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON THE *COUP D'ÉTAT*[368]

### [Preliminaries]

[*The People's Paper*, No. 21, September 25, 1852]

There is a subject with regard to this country which we have hitherto not been able to dwell upon but which we deem worthy of our most eager attention: namely, the utterly shortsighted and ignorant views on the change in the public destinies of France since the 2nd December, taken by nearly all the authors who have written on the character and consequences of the *coup d'état*. A short review of the publications that have appeared from different quarters on this subject will render the truth of this statement the more evident and the more important, as all these publications pretend more or less, to be the expressions and sentiments of the parties or classes to which their authors respectively belong.

On the 2nd December, in the face of the Bonapartist *coup*, it was but natural that all parties opposed to it should agree in their language—and so it was. The protest of the combined royalists and the proclamation of the Montagne, as dictated by the common interests of self-defence against a common foe, differed only in this, that the latter fraction had at least the courage to take up those arms to which the former merely made a cowardly appeal. Both had the name of the *constitution* in their mouth, of a constitution which had been as often attacked, violated, suspended and overthrown by the royalists, as it had been ridiculously and hopelessly defended by the republicans.

But, what have they done since? The legitimists have accepted, the Orleanists denounced, the republicans execrated, the *coup d'état*. Has any one explained, has any one understood its secret? With the legitimists the fault lies in the socialists; with the Orleanists in the Montagne; with the republicans in the *crime* of Bonaparte. To such

casualties as the mistaken policy of a couple of representatives, or the frivolous ambition of an individual, the mighty changes in the condition of a people are ascribed by the political sages of the day, who still, by exempting themselves from all responsibility in past events, attempt to impose themselves on the public as the initiators of a future, when they, as well as their parties, are crushed for ever, and flung into nought long ago. What a poor argument for historical explanation! But what a rich source of pamphlets, of recriminations, and of all kinds of attacks on antagonistic personalities! We are certainly no partisans of Mr. Bonaparte; we do not mean to thank him as he did not mean to benefit us by it, for having replaced the tyranny of middle-class parliamentary rule by dictatorship of his own and of a military swell-mob; but we are glad at his success, we rejoice in his temporary triumph because it secures the triumph of *our* principles, the triumph of *our* class. His is the momentary glory, the revelry of an hour; but ours will be the final, the definitive victory. *The dictatorship of Bonaparte has prepared the sovereignty of the working-classes.* What are all these lamentations about the decay of French civilisation? What all these splendid comparisons with the fall of the Roman Empire in the mouth of the middle-class writers, but the elegiac confessions that the times of *their* glory are gone in France, never to return? What is it they understand by civilisation, but the government of landlords and capitalists with their appendage of priests and lawyers? Is it the ruin of the working-classes they deplore? Good Heavens! Let them be cheerful, their ruin depends not on the calamities of the middle class. It is just the political ruin of the latter, that prepares the advent of the working-classes, that guarantees their salvation, both political and social. How deeply those writers deplore, and almost weep over, the *decline and hopeless degeneration of France*, of that unhappy and blind nation which could sacrifice its public liberties (?) to the arbitrary pleasure of a tyrant! What are these liberties alleged to have been sacrificed? The Suffrage? You forget the law of the 31st of May.[a] The Press?—why you had gagged, fined, confiscated, and suppressed it. Association?—there never were such things as decrees of suspension, high tribunals, dungeons, or transportations for the leaders of the clubs! No—Blanqui never was in the pontoons of Belle Isle. You never provoked—you never laid an ambush for the people! You never slaughtered them at Rouen, nor massacred them at Lyons, nor shot them in the streets of Paris! To hear you, the people, before the 2nd of December, were as free and sovereign, as they were happy and

[a] This law adopted by the Legislative Assembly abolished universal suffrage.—*Ed.*

prosperous. You wonderful talkers and writers! Yes, decidedly; then it was madness and quite shameful on the part of the people to forsake such disinterested and loyal leaders, on the day when they proclaimed the liberties of the nation to be in danger. But, if it were otherwise—if the people really had nothing to lose—if it was only *your* liberties, *your* rule over the people, that were in danger—what do you say then? Never mind; for morality's sake the people ought to have resisted a man[a] who so openly broke his faith to them. To *them?* Why, he never swore *them* obedience or faithfulness! How preposterous to suppose a "vile and immoral multitude" to stand up for morality! Who accustomed the people to broken oaths? Not Thiers—not Berryer—not Molé—innocent, pure, and honest consciences! It was Bonaparte who invented the trade never known before. The world was so young, so harmless, and so perfect, that it knew almost no crimes before this ominous day of December, which put an end to the paradise of political innocence. The apple of perjury had never been eaten; but the spectacle of a drunken and infuriated army stabbing the peaceful (why were they peaceful, if their liberties were in danger?); violating the virgin, and demolishing the property of the citizen (this last was their worst crime):—should not that have animated the people to rise up in their defence? Why? They had no property; the rich leave them very few virgins; and if the killed had been peaceful, they remained so without being killed. The people allowed Bonaparte to revenge them on their enemies, awaiting the opportunity when they might take their revenge on both. They were right. But to suffer the dictator to enforce a constitution on them which is all but a mockery of the people's dearest principle, the Suffrage!—how disgraceful to a nation to be deluded and duped by the very appearances of unbounded liberty, which is still,in fact, an outrageous slavery! In the first place, they are neither duped nor deluded, because they know this as well as any liberal English newspaper. Then, how can they suffer it? They only take their time. The Orleanists and Republicans no doubt will find it rather long, wishing to return to their country. Now, the people do not have such a desire; they are, besides, in no hurry. Trade is doing well, as yet. And did not you always say, "the people ought to be quiet, and to mind nothing but their work?" Well, they will mind their work, as long as they have any, after which they will look out for themselves. For themselves? Yes, is not that frightful? To behold a people unwilling to hazard their lives for the restoration of a prince,

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[a] Louis Bonaparte.—*Ed.*

or the revival of a middle-class parliament—a people who will only take up arms for murderers! Adieu! civilisation of France—the "Times" despairs of thee! No hopes in France but for the people. There is the terrible deluge, prophesied to the French people so often by every successive party in power. There it is coming, and no escape. O! sage Lord Maidstone! when will our English deluge begin?

In our next we shall commence giving a *résumé* of the works that have appeared on both sides of the Channel, on the subject of the French *coup d'état,* comprehending the "18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," by Charles Marx; "The *coup d'état* of Louis Bonaparte," by Xavier Durrieu; "Napoleon the Little," by Victor Hugo; and "The Social Revolution," by Proudhon.

## No. 1

[*The People's Paper,* No. 22, October 2, 1852]

The empire not having yet been proclaimed, and the new police farce of the infernal machine[369] offering little or no comment, I intend in this letter to criticise a series of works on the events of the 2nd December, enumerated in my last letter, which have as yet been not sufficiently circulated amongst the English public, and most superficially appreciated by the English press. The order in which I shall proceed differs from that in which I first placed the different works under notice; but it will be perceived how much better it suits the purposes of a gradually-progressing and yet all-exhausting criticism, to begin with that work which merely elucidates the data and facts of history, and next to take that which elevates itself to a contemplation of those same facts from the general point of view of current traditional ideas[a]; then to dispose of that work which, although advancing a step in the revolutionary direction, still affects to consider the whole change in the destinies of France, brought about by Bonaparte, as a proof of the truth or necessity of its author's doctrinary Socialist schemes[b]; and, finally, to conclude by reviewing that work which, as we may here at once point out, is the only one that has at once satisfied history, and the want of the present generation to understand the revolutionary movement in which it finds itself engaged.[c]

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[a] An allusion to Victor Hugo's book.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to Proudhon's work.—*Ed.*

[c] This refers to Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.*—*Ed.*

## I.—"THE *COUP D'ÉTAT* OF LOUIS BONAPARTE." BY XAVIER DURRIEU, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE.[a]

The merits of this book consist in the great probability, or rather in the simple truth, of its narrative. As all the witnesses of the 2nd December, who have stood up to denounce the crimes and treachery of Louis Bonaparte, have been charged with gross exaggeration of the facts, by the "Moniteur" and other government organs, the author of this book has rendered a great service by his depositions, which certainly nobody will accuse of tending, by rhetorical or poetic licence, to impose on the public. And if Mr. Durrieu's talent as a writer may be doubted in England, where your penny-a-liners write such admirable articles, although he was a Paris journalist, his right of describing the horrible actions of which he was the spectator and victim at the same time, remains incontestable, and one can only applaud him for having had the courage to come before the public. Here you have a short account of the events he relates, and of the part he played in them.

He commences by a sketch of Louis Bonaparte, and of his principal accomplices in the perpetration of the *coup d'état.* We pass by that of the master, it being too inferior to the portrait which others, and Victor Hugo especially, have given us of that monster scoundrel; we will cast a glance only at those of his ministers.

General Magnan, the commander of the Boulevard-butchery, was accused in 1840 of having favoured Bonaparte's attempts at Strasburg, and Boulogne.[370] Called to appear at the bar of the Peers, he denied and betrayed his then unfortunate master, with so much coolness and contemptible egoism, that even the Peers—those veterans in the traffic of apostasy—felt disgusted. In 1848 he was charged by some Democratic paper with being in the pay of the Orleanists; he went himself to the office, and begged insertion of a protest, in which he denounced the Orleanists, and swore that, as a soldier of the old Republic, under the Convention, his sympathies had ever been attached to the Republican institutions. Three years afterwards he murdered that Republic for the payment of his debts.

General St. Arnaud, the Minister of War, was a simple captain in 1835, when, for certain services rendered at the Castle of Blaye, the prison of the unfortunate Duchess of Angoulême, he was suddenly promoted to the rank of a general. His debaucheries and dissipations would have brought him in contact with the criminal law, had not his

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[a] Xavier Durrieu, *Le coup d'état de Louis Bonaparte,* Genève et New York, [1852].—*Ed.*

*former crimes* protected him. Louis Philippe sheltered him first—Louis Napoleon has sheltered him now.

M. Persigny, the Minister of the Interior of to-day, but who lacked the courage to become it on the 2nd December, raised himself from the station of a penny-a-liner to that of Louis Bonaparte's valet and confidant—the purveyor of his master's pleasures, in which he is even supposed to take a very close part, and the agent in his low intrigues and forgeries; the fellowship of crime is the secret of his present splendour.

M. de Morny, lastly, may be considered as the type of the higher swell-mob, that gang of gamblers, swindlers, and forgers, who always escape by some enormous crimes from the claws of the lower police. He was to be imprisoned on the 3rd; he imprisoned his creditors and accusers on the 2nd December. The portraits of these four men are as true as they are familiar to every Parisian.

I am sorry that I cannot delight you with their counterfeit—the work of Mr. Granier de Cassagnac,[a] a miserable but impudent Gascoign, who erected, almost on the smoking ruins of the December Insurrection, the statues of its murderers, elevating them to the rank of demi-gods, and idolising Bonaparte as the Saviour of society. By the way, it will amuse you to hear, that the *gendarmerie* and clergy of his department have received this new apostle under a triumphal arch, bearing the inscription—"To the defender of order and religion!" After this, may we not hope soon to see the downfall of the two pillars of class society?

Now to Mr. Durrieu. On the morning of the 2nd December, he hastened to the office of the "Révolution," a paper founded by Ledru-Rollin, and invested with that name, after its competitor, the real revolution, had been ruined by him in the struggle of June.[b] As is usual at Paris in times of excitement, the so-called revolutionary notabilities, which means a handful of petty ambitions, held a meeting at the newspaper-office. Durrieu was charged to draw up a proclamation. "Constitution—treason" were its two handles, the paltry weapons which alone were left to the Democrats, after their separation from the Revolution. The proclamation was placarded; so was that issuing from the office of the "Presse." Mr. Durrieu complains that they were so little responded to. But by whom were they signed, and to whom did they appeal? Was there any one of the people's leaders—of those the people acknowledged and cherished

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[a] The reference is to a pamphlet by Granier de Cassagnac, *Récit populaire des evénements de décembre 1851*, Paris, 1852.—*Ed.*

[b] The uprising of the Paris proletariat in June 1848.—*Ed.*

as their champions—amongst the names of the undersigned? They were all known to be Montagnards, "liberal" writers, orators, drums and trumpets of the tribune indeed, but whose greatness sprung from the ruin of the proletarian party, whose eloquence had for condition the silence of the people's defenders; in a word, who had always preached submission and calm, when a combat had to be fought, and who called to arms, when revolution had no interest in the battle, but Mr. Durrieu himself has the naiveté to reveal the reasons why his partisans had no influence on the masses, why their alarm-cries were distrusted, like those of the shepherd-boy in the fable.[371] They had raised their cry too often, when no wolf was to be met; in fact, it was a thing used up. He tells us that, when the surprised Republican Representatives were removed in prison vans to Vincennes, on passing the Boulevards the people attempted to break the file of their *escorte,* and actually offered to release the prisoners. What did these heroes of the tribune reply? "For heaven's sake, desist! Let us proceed to our prison, we know we are *innocent!*" Such frightened, cowardly *innocents*—do they not deserve to be laughed at by the people? These tame and timid souls—these inviolable, but also non-violating personages—these knights of the sorrowful figure, were offered to the people as their guides—nay, their commanders. No, if the people had had the choice (but they had not, nor did they want it then), they would have been right to prefer Bonaparte, although a knave, a thief, an assassin, and whatever else you may call him (for he deserves every one of these titles), even when he struck them in the face, to that band of officious mourners, who have buried Revolution to get the right of lamenting over it. Their sermons have demoralised and torpified the people, while Bonaparte's effrontery has awakened their senses. I say this in respect of the Montagne, and the Democratic leaders as a body, I don't mean to include in my invectives against that party every individual belonging to it (French Democracy is not to be confounded with the English. In France, it represents the small proprietors and tenants, but less their real wants than their imaginary wishes. In England, Democracy applies directly to the movement of the working class); such brave and generous men as the heroic Charles Baudin, and the author of the present work himself, regain as much estimation by their conduct as they may have lost by their narrow principles and views. But these are exceptions, and no hero or martyr ever deserves to have the people on his side, unless he battles for the direct interest of the masses, instead of for the dead letter of a class constitution, or the imaginary glory of some *abstract truth.* But this latter point I will settle in my next, as Mr. Hugo still

affords me still better occasion for it. As for Mr. Durrieu, let me add that, after having issued his proclamation, he took his post on the barricades, where he fought until night, and whence, after all was lost, he escaped only to be taken prisoner, to be conducted to the prison of Mazas, thence to the casemates of Bicêtre and Ivry, the horrors of which he describes with much tact; transported thence on board the "Duguesclin," to be sent to Cayenne, and finally expelled by the Dictator from his country.

## No. 2

[*The People's Paper*, No. 23, October 9, 1852]

Your readers will doubtlessly absolve me for another week from recording and commenting on those well-known despicable quack-performances composing the official history of the day—all the feasts, revelries, processions, demonstrations, conspiracies, triumphs, and final choruses, which make up the "*mise en scène*" of the Empire in France, and through which they hope to derive the power of producing an impression upon a public to whom the piece itself offers no other novelty, than that "the machinery is by electric telegraph." In fact, these are dull times, and men certainly want some leisure yet, before they will be able to come forth with "a new piece." And as good actors require to be critics first, so let the people become critics of their own revolutionary past, and let those who aspire to be their leaders, prove their vocation in guiding them through their studies, and the revolutionary drama of the future will be a hit, and no failure. I proceed with my review.

### II. NAPOLEON THE LITTLE, BY VICTOR HUGO.[a]

It would be difficult exactly to describe my feelings at the moment when I sit down to criticise a work of such generally acknowledged reputation, yet of so little solid or lasting merits as this last production of the most splendid of all French writers. What I cherish in it, what I could not omit expressing, without becoming guilty of ingratitude, is the pleasure it gave me on the first reading. And that pleasure will be shared by all people who do the same, particularly those who had it in the original language. Victor Hugo stands indeed unsurpassed in the ranks of French literature of the nineteenth century. He is a true genius. To compare, as some of his countrymen, or rather, his political enemies do, to compare Victor

[a] Victor Hugo, *Napoléon le petit*, Londres, 1852.—*Ed.*

Hugo with Lamartine as a poet, with Alexander Dumas as a dramatist, with Eugène Sue as a romance-writer, or with Odilon Barrot as an orator, would be comparing a Byron with a Wordsworth, a Shakespeare with a Bulwer, a Walter Scott with a James, or a Sheridan with an Osborne. Lamartine, that vainest of all authors, and that most hypocritical of all men, relates in his "Voyage in the Orient,"[a] that in his youth he considered it the height of all human greatness for one man to unite in himself the poet's laurel, the orator's palm, and the politician's sceptre. He let us into the secret of his own ambition.

But how signally has that ambition failed! History will scarcely recognise him as an historian; but no doubt the Athenians would have given him the headmastership of a school of rhetoric. Ah! On your rival posterity will confer the honours that you have craved in vain. Yes! Victor Hugo's is the laurel! I cannot omit extracting the following poetic passage from his last work:—

*"WILL MEN AWAKEN?"*

"We are in Russia, the Neva is frozen over; houses are built on the ice, and heavy chariots roll over it. 'Tis no longer water, but rock. The people flock up and down this marble, which was once a river. A town is run up, streets are made, shops opened, people buy, sell, eat, drink, sleep, light fires on what once was water. You can do whatever you please there. Fear nothing. Laugh, dance; 'tis more solid than *terra firma*. Why, it sounds beneath the foot like granite. Hurrah for the winter! Hurrah for the ice! This will last till doomsday! And look up at the sky; is it day? is it night? what is it? A dull, wan light drags over the snow; why, the sun is dying!

"No, thou art not dying, O liberty! And these days, at the moment when thou art least expected, in the hour when they shall have most utterly forgotten thee, thou wilt rise dazzling! thy radiant face will suddenly be seen issuing from the earth, resplendent in the horizon! Over all that snow, over all that ice, over that hard, white plain, over that water become rock, over all that villainous winter, thou wilt cast thine arrow of gold, thine ardent and effulgent ray! Light, heat, life! and then, listen! hear you that murmuring sound! hear you that cracking noise wide-spread and so formidable! 'Tis the breaking up of the ice! 'tis the melting of the Neva! 'tis the river resuming its course! 'tis the water, living, joyous, and terrible, upraising the hideous, dead ice, and smashing it. 'T was granite, said you; see, it splinters like glass! 'tis the breaking up of the ice, I tell you: 'tis the truth returning, 'tis progress recommencing, 'tis humanity resuming its march, and uprooting, breaking to pieces, carrying off, and burying fathoms deep, and for ever, not merely the brand-new empire of Louis Bonaparte, but all the constructions and all the walls of the antique despotism. Look on these things as they are passing away; they will never return, you will never behold them again. That book, half submerged, is the old code of iniquity; that sinking stool is the throne; that other stool, standing upon it, is the scaffold!

"And for this immense engulfment, this supreme victory of life over death, what was needed? One of thy glories, O sun! one of thy rays, O liberty!"[b]

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[a] A. Lamartine, *Voyage en Orient.—Ed.*

[b] Victor Hugo, *Napoléon le petit*, Book 1, Ch. IV.—*Ed.*

Yes, Victor Hugo's is the palm of eloquence! His is, also, what is more—the immortelle of the insurgent. He also fought on the barricades of December. But the sceptre of the politician: would that he never thought of aspiring to it; for that we must absolutely deny him, and withhold from his hands. His partisans might entrust him with the leadership of Democracy. Does he not behold the hopeless prostration of that party? His vanity might be flattered by the supposition of a talent which is not given to him. Does he not perceive how it endangers the glory of those talents which really are in his possession? Alas! is it then true that all human greatness—all the heroes and martyrs—all the stars and lumina—find a stone in their road, over which they will stumble! Revel, ye millions! you are rising in the scale; and that makes your great men go down.[a] Let them all break their necks over this stumbling stone of politics, let them be thrown into the sea, if they cannot devise the riddle of the modern Sphinx—the revolutionary solution of the war of classes. But I am forgetting Napoleon the Little. The title is well-chosen, if meant to humiliate Louis Bonaparte. Why, then, is it not carried through in the work itself? There was a Napoleon the Great; but Victor Hugo does not show us a little one. What if this is the work of one man: the dissolution of an assembly—the confiscation of the laws—the suppression of the public liberties—the imprisonment of the representatives—the slaughter of the Republicans—the transportation of thousands—the profanation of religion—the prostitution of justice—the proclamation of a new constitution—the sequestration of the national, and almost the private property—the submission of the proudest nation to his arbitrary pleasure—the restoration of a dynasty, of an Empire: if all this is the work of the one man, as you assert, Mr. Hugo, how can you call him "Little" in your work? But you do not. On the contrary, except in the title, you everywhere swell his personal dimensions to the most enormous bulk of a liar, a swindler, a perjurer, an assassin, it is true; but when you thus place him by the side of Nero, Attila, Jenghiz Khan, or King Bomba,[b] you cannot affirm, in the same breath, that he is the "Little." With all your brilliant parallels you do not obtain that object. Had you shown that for instance the Assembly was already

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[a] Probably a paraphrase of the motto of the *Révolutions de Paris*, a revolutionary-democratic weekly which was published in Paris from July 1789 to February 1794. The motto was: "*Les grands ne nous paraissent grands que parce que nous sommes à genoux: levons-nous!*" ("The great only seem great to us because we are on our knees: Let us rise up!").—*Ed.*

[b] Ferdinand II, King of Naples.—*Ed.*

dead and decayed, when buried by Bonaparte; that the laws had ever been suspended and confiscated; that a systematic suppression of the public liberties had actually left little for the dictator to add; that your representatives were accustomed to imprisonment and transportation, by the same parties who had ever slaughtered your republicans; that religion had profaned itself on every occasion as an instrument of governmental oppression; that justice had proclaimed its prostitution in your High-Courts of May and your Courts-Martial of June,[372] in short, that your whole middle-class rule and bourgeois society was already rotten from top to bottom, smelling of bribery and corruption as much as the soldiery who kicked it from its pedestal, were smelling of brandy and sausages—then you might have justly called him "little" whose name only, not his person, was necessary at the head of a *coup d'état* effected by the last desperate exertions of the army, the priesthood, the functionaries and the mob, to save themselves from their inevitable destruction by the approaching revolution of the working-class, to which they felt themselves exposed by the weakness and incapacity of a parliamentary bourgeoisie. Then what remained for Bonaparte? To make himself the instrument of the situation. To command a situation is greatness. To obey one is littleness. There you would have reduced him to his proper dimensions. You would not have made such a noise of his oath—was he not as dependent, as "little," in breaking it, as he was in taking it? Then the title of your book would have indeed been to the purpose. Nevertheless, one admires your parallels.

"Peter the Cruel massacred, but he did not steal; Henry III assassinated, but he did not swindle; Timour Beg crushed children under horses' hoofs, much as M. Bonaparte exterminated women and old men on the Boulevard, but he did not tell lies."

## No. 3

[*The People's Paper*, No. 24, October 16, 1852]

Having shown that the principal error of V. Hugo consists in ascribing the whole turn of events, before and after the 2nd of Dec., to the policy and conduct of an individual, L. Bonaparte, it becomes incumbent on me, further to develop the causes which necessarily led our author to such a fallacy. Reasoning from general principles—the general principles of society, laid down by the ruling classes and embodied in their very creeds, Victor Hugo judges from an erroneous point of view; he sees in the man the motive power,

instead of seeking for it in class interests, class antagonism, and class revolution, while the man is the mere temporary exponent of the change—as the weathercock betokens the direction of the wind. Victor Hugo belongs to a class who thus look on the effect as the cause—on the instrument as the hand that uses it. In that class, certainly there are those who denounce the inequalities and horrors of the present system with a violence and a declamatory force often superior to the expressions of the very revolutionary class itself. To hear them one would believe that they are more socialist than the whole of the working class. And what are they in fact? They are reactionary. I shall not call them knaves; perhaps they are unconscious of the real tendency of their doctrines and actions, although in our present age illusions are hardly possible to men, who live in contact with the actual world. But most certainly are they the dupes of the class notions, instilled into their minds as the general principles of social life. Incapable of conceiving that such gregarious phrases as "Liberty of the individual," "Industry,""Prosperity," and "Humanity," proclaimed at the outset of our modern age, are just the promises under which all the results of middle-class society were necessarily brought about, they fancy those results to be all the faults of the moral degeneration of the governments, to whose care the development of the social principles had been trusted. And such is particularly the case with Victor Hugo. In his eyes the principles of present social government are right, and the men to be blamed. That is the opinion of all moralising middle-class reformers. Whatever there is wrong and perverted, pernicious and deleterious, it is the fault of the individuals—and the classes who support those individuals? Oh, they never think of classes. Far from them the misanthropical conception of a society composed of classes and ruled by class-interests. "Mend your morals, nations, and your governments will be perfect." Such is their motto. They always treat the people as a whole, address it as a whole, suppose them of the same creed, with one common conscience, with one universal opinion. Take that for granted, and those men would seem the greatest (would-be) benefactors of humanity, the initiators of a new era, the restorers of the paradise lost. Drive them from this ground, show the people that there is neither a community of morals, nor of conscience, nor of opinion ever possible between different classes with opposed interests, that the institutions of a class produce not only with necessity those facts over which our philanthropists lament, but also the men, whom they accuse of all the mischievous arrangements in the body politic—and from the dignity of demi-gods you reduce them to the nullity of sham-prophets. Deprive V. Hugo of these

garments, which style, eloquence and poetry have spread over his work, all that remains is a moral sermon, full of vituperations of the Lord, and of reproach to the middle class, preached to poor peasants who are not a bit wiser for it, neither how it came that they fell into the hands of the former, nor how they will ever be able to escape the grasp of the latter.

## No. 4

[*The People's Paper*, No. 25, October 23, 1852]

### [III.] THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION. AS PROVED BY THE *COUP D'ÉTAT*. BY J. P. PROUDHON.[a]

In suppressing the greater part of my last letter, you have, no doubt, followed such considerations of policy as, under existing circumstances, I can scarcely object to. I have now arrived, in the series of my critical remarks, at the last production of an author who has acquired a considerable reputation on the continent for the "boldness" of his opinions, and is sometimes considered by English middle-class writers as the very incarnation of the revolutionary Socialism in France, but whose only real merit consists, as I shall prove, in the severe, but true judgment which he has passed on all the hollow conceptions of plain Republicanism and of formal Democracy. The sarcasm with which he has attacked and exposed both the political leaders and literary notabilities of the said parties have merited for him the surname of the "Mephisto" of the French Democracy. As it is possible that the meaning of this epithet may not be generally understood by your readers, I think it expedient to give a short explanation of it. There exists an old German legend, long familiarised to the English by Marlowe,[b] but universally divulged in the matchless tragedy of Goethe,[c] in which the vague ideal aspirations of man towards an imaginary state of perfection, are ingeniously parodied by the materialist and practical suggestions of the spirit of the world (Mephisto), with whom the hero, Faust, has concluded an indissoluble treaty of union. Faust, a philosopher, or "black artist," as the medieval legend says, full of wild dreams, conceived in seclusion and ignorance of human society, calls upon the spirit who has the control of the material world, to assist him in

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[a] P. J. Proudhon, *La révolution sociale démontrée par le coup d'état du 2 décembre*, Paris, 1852.—*Ed.*

[b] Ch. Marlowe, *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*.—*Ed.*

[c] Goethe, *Faust*.—*Ed.*

the realisation of his visionary schemes of perfection. Mephisto then acquaints him with the realities of life. But the more Faust becomes conversant with our common world, the more he believes to approach the accomplishment of his ardent desire of perfection by an accumulation of sensual pleasures, the more also does he lose recollection of his first proud conceptions, and the more he descends from the height of moral elevation; until, after a variety of adventures and experiences, in all of which he is attended by Mephisto, the witness and merciless scorner of his weaknesses and vacillations, our "noble, aspiring, and generous" Faust, turns out to be of the same low, degenerate, and egotistical nature of which he had thought himself to be the most competent reformer, and the most opposite example. Substitute for the "noble" Faust a "noble" Democracy, and you may not improperly call Proudhon its Mephisto, in so far as he has, indeed, not only recorded and urged all the manifold deceptions and weaknesses of the French Democracy, but treated with the severest scorn its hyperbolical pretensions and its ridiculous ambition. And that part he has performed ever since the Democrats in the Provisional Government had manifested their incapacity, and the Republicans in the National Assembly enacted their reactionary formalism in the Constitution of 1848. While arguing against the former, that raised upon the shoulders of Revolution, which, if it means anything at all, has for its invariable object "the displacement of the previously commanding interests of the substitution of a government for the benefit of the oppressed classes," they left all the enemies of progress in the undisturbed possession of the strongholds of society, such as the army, the administration, the church, the courts, and the police, and thus allowed them the means of organising their counter-revolutionary crusade. Proudhon crushes the Republican party by sarcastically demonstrating how their great formula of liberty—their "pure and sublime" Democracy obtained its practical realisation only by the slaughter of almost a whole class, and through the establishment of a military dictatorship, placed in the hands of General Cavaignac. But the best of his arguments he has spared for the refutation of the dogma of Universal Suffrage, and on this ground he has given the most deadly blow to the French sham Democracy. I recollect very well the attempts once made to persuade the people of England likewise, that Universal Suffrage alone was in itself the cure of all the social iniquities under which they are suffering, and that, at a certain time, it was held almost a sacrilege or a blasphemy to talk of Social Rights, or the Labour Question. Happily they have learnt that, far from being the definitive end of political development, it is only the

first decisive step in the revolutionary direction, the piece of ground necessary for the organisation of their army, the open field in which the hitherto disguised war of classes can at last be fairly fought out, the means in a word, and not the end, of the people's emancipation. But how much are we indebted for this knowledge to the experiments which, for want of our own experience, the French nation has made on behalf of the whole world, and of which that nation itself could hardly be expected to reap the fruits, if it had not, on the denunciation of Blanqui and other revolutionary leaders, ceased at last to believe in the fatal delusion into which Democracy has led them by representing Universal Suffrage as the magic rod, that has only to be once applied, when the treasures of a new social paradise would be thrown open to the world.

It cannot be said that Proudhon was the first who discovered and exposed the insufficiency of the suffrage to effect the social enfranchisement of the people. As early as April, 1848, Blanqui, then at the head of the Paris proletarians, had the conviction that the result of the first general elections[a] would be the formation of a reactionary assembly, and he urged the Provisional Government to defer the time appointed for those elections, in order to gain the means of better influencing them by the organisation of revolutionary committees, the only condition as he then pointed out, under which the suffrage would be made a weapon in the hands of the people. Thus he indicated already, in opposition to the official Democracy, that he considered Universal Suffrage as a mere instrument of class-warfare which might be turned to advantage if used in the proper way, but which he declared might as well be employed for the purposes of any particular party in power. His views were confirmed by subsequent events, and as he was decided to carry the victory of Revolution in spite of all imposed sham legal decrees, he endeavoured to break up the very National Assembly, which was the first manifestation of Universal Suffrage. The 15th of May was a failure and Blanqui went to prison,[373] while Proudhon profited in safety by this lesson and restricted himself to protesting in the Press against the suffrage, as a political fiction. His peaceful remonstrance, however, did not save him from a similar fate, and he also went into prison for three years, whence he has now come forth, resuming with laudable vigour his former attacks. As it happens, that on this subject Proudhon, although still from a mere theoretical point of view, concurs in the arguments of the revolutionary party, I

[a] The elections to the French Constituent Assembly, held on April 23, 1848.—*Ed.*

give you the whole passage on the Suffrage, contained in his last work; observing that if the argumentation itself necessarily leads to extreme conclusions, his language will be found to lack that spirit and decision which would betray in every work, however disguised and moderate the author might have been obliged to be in his phraseology, from considerations of policy, the man of a determined principle—the man of Revolution.

Proudhon excuses himself, that writing as it were under the jealous eyes of a dictator, he could not allow himself to indulge in using such strong expressions as would expose him at once as the most terrible champion of Revolution. I think, however, that he has, nevertheless, said everything in this work as determinedly as he could have intended to do under any circumstances, seeing that those passages in which he endeavours, by an occasional flattering supposition, to captivate the indulgence of Louis Napoleon's censorship, have altogether nothing to do with, and interrupt in no wise, the strain of his observations. At any rate M. Proudhon could never make me believe him to be a decided champion of Revolution, when I remember him to have always been the loudest where nobody was in the field besides himself, and no immediate measure to be proposed to the people; and to have almost disappeared or entirely plunged himself into doctrinary expositions where a real revolutionary act was to be committed.

While Blanqui was leading the Proletarians onwards, to the direct destruction of the class obstacles that stood in the way of the people's enfranchisement, Proudhon went about preaching the wonderful blessings of petty co-operation; and when the terrible defeat of June had removed, with the best and bravest part of their army, the whole claims of the working class, Proudhon started up in the middle-class Assembly, and proposed the abolition of property. But of the nature of this proposition, and of the particular Socialist doctrine which makes up the chief contents of Proudhon's literary publications, I shall treat in my next letter. Here is the above-mentioned passages on Universal Suffrage[a]:

"It is just the republicans who, on the authority of the most suspicious traditions, have always repeated that the voice of the People is the voice of God. Then it is the voice of God that has elected Louis Napoleon! By the expression of the popular will he is your true and legitimate Sovereign. And to whom would you expect that the people should have given their votes? You have entertained them with 1789, with '92 and '93: the people have retained nothing but the legend of the Empire. In the memory of the people the Empire has wiped out the Republic. Do they remember

[a] The quotations that follow are taken from pp. 80-81 of Proudhon's book.—*Ed.*

Count Mirabeau, Robespierre, their 'Ami du Peuple,' Marat, or the Père Duchesne' (the journal of the Jacobins)? The people know only the good God and the Emperor, as they once knew but the good God and Charlemagne. It is in vain that you have preached the Rights of Man, or that you made a monarch swear to respect the Republic as above Universal Suffrage. The people only recognise the rights of force.

"And you are defeated in virtue of your own principles. You have been defeated because, relying on Rousseau and the most detestable orators of 1793, you would not acknowledge that monarchy is just the direct and inevitable product of popular spontaneity; because, after having abolished the government *by the Grace of God,* you have pretended to establish,by means of another fiction, a government *by the Grace of the People*; because, instead of making yourselves the educators of the multitude you have made yourselves its slaves. You, the same as the masses, required visible manifestations, palpable symbols, puppets in a word. Having chased a king from the throne you placed the mob in his stead, without conceiving that that was just the root from which, sooner or later, would spring up a new crown, the onion which would generate the 'lily.' [The lily is the emblem of Legitimate Monarchy in France.] Scarcely delivered of one idol you must already create a new one, resembling therein those soldiers of Titus who, after the taking of the Temple of Jerusalem, could not withhold their surprise at discovering in the Jewish sanctuary neither statues, nor oxen, nor asses, nor phalluses, nor wenches. They could not conceive an invisible Jehovah. Thus you could not conceive Liberty without chamberlains.

"May these severe remarks be pardoned to an author who has performed so often the part of Cassandra. [A high priestess of the Trojans who predicted the fall of their city.] I do not accuse Democracy as little as I mean to inveigh against the vote which has renewed the mandate of Louis Napoleon. But it is time that this sect of sham-revolutionary men should at once disappear who, speculating more on the agitation than on the instruction of the people, on handstrokes more than on ideas, have made themselves the courtiers of the multitude, and become the most dangerous blockers-up of the revolution.

"Who has named the Constituent Assembly, swarming with Legitimatist dynasties, nobles, generals, and prelates? Universal Suffrage. Who has made the 10th of December, 1848?[a] Universal Suffrage. Who has elected the Legislative Assembly? Universal Suffrage. And who has absolved Bonaparte of his *coup d'état*? Universal Suffrage.

"May it not be said also, that it was Universal Suffrage which commenced the reaction of the 16th of April,[374] which eclipsed itself behind the back of Barbès on the 15th of May, which remained deaf to the appeal of the 13th of June,[375] which allowed the passing of the law of the 31st of May,[b] which crossed arms on the 2nd of December.[c]

"In thus accusing the suffrage, I repeat that I do not intend to attack the established Constitution and the principle of the present government. I have myself defended the suffrage as a constitutional right, and the law of the state; and as it once exists, I do not demand its suppression; but let it be instructed and organised. To the philosopher, however, it must be permitted to argue, for the explanation of history and the information of the future, that Universal Suffrage given to a people of so neglected an education as ours, far from being the instrument of progress, is only the stumbling-block of liberty.

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[a] On this day Louis Bonaparte was elected President of the Republic.—*Ed.*

[b] The law abolishing universal suffrage.—*Ed.*

[c] The reference is to Louis Bonaparte coup d'état.—*Ed.*

"Poor, inconsequent democrats! You made philippic speeches against tyranny, preached the respect of every nationality, the free exercise of the people's sovereignty; you were ready to take up arms to defend against everybody all those sublime and incontestable doctrines.—And with what right, if Universal Suffrage was your rule, did you suppose that the Russian nation felt the least uncomfortable under their Czar; that the Polish, Hungarian, Lombard, and Tuscan peasants were sobbing for their emancipation; that the Lazzaroni hated their King Bomba, and the Trasteverians[376] abhorred Monsignor Antonelli; that the Spaniards and Portuguese blushed for their Queens, Donna Maria and Isabella, when our own people, in spite of the appeal of their representatives, in spite of the written law of the Constitution, in spite of the bloodshed and the merciless proscription, from fear, ignorance, constraint or affection (you may choose), give 7,600,000 votes to the man the most detested by Democracy, whom it believed to have ruined, demolished and used up by a three-years exposure to ridicule, insults, and hatred, when the people make this man a dictator, and Emperor?"[a]

## [No. 5]

[*The People's Paper*, No. 27, November 6, 1852]

While that Assembly of Bonapartist lackeys, called the Senate of France, is deliberating on the ceremonies by which the long expected Empire shall be ushered in at last, and the official world at Paris is all given up to conjectures about the manner of the coronation, the prince's marriage, the probable succession, &c., I shall take advantage of the leisure thus left to my pen, and, turning my back to those "important events" which furnish the gossiping middle-class papers with inexhaustible stuff for small talk, I continue to-day my review on Proudhon's last work. We have seen Proudhon criticising the actions and political systems of the different Republican parties in France; let us now become, in our turn, the critics of his own system. A few words only may be said before, on the career of an author who is yet so little known in England.

Proudhon is a native of Besançon, a town which is perspicuous for the number of eminent men it has sent forth, among whom the names of Victor Hugo and Béranger stand in the first rank. The son of a poor vine-grower, his means for obtaining a good education were but scanty; but thanks to the energy of his character, he had no

[a] At the end of this article the editors of *The People's Paper* added the following note in square brackets: "It is obvious that our correspondent does not attack Universal Suffrage, but the idea, that Universal Suffrage taken nakedly by itself, must necessarily emancipate a people. Here is another proof how necessary the *details* are to guard the suffrage—here is another proof how necessary is a knowledge of our *social rights*, to make the suffrage conducive to happiness and freedom. We trust our correspondent's strictures on a one-sided class-application of Universal Suffrage will not be misunderstood."—*Ed.*

sooner grown up, and secured a situation for himself as printer, than he began to make up the gaps in his knowledge by strenuously applying himself to the study of languages, of history, and of political economy. Proudhon is altogether an autodidact (self-taught),and as such he shares largely in that quality of tenaciously sticking to his first conceptions, so common to the whole of this class of people. It is curious to observe how regularly he relapses into those errors which his critics have so often exposed, and of which it would seem as if he had sometimes become conscious himself.

Napoleon, the uncle of course, has invented a term for such people which marvellously applies to M. Proudhon. He called them "ideologues"—an expression by which he meant to embrace all those speculative minds, philosophers and politicians, who standing aloof from the real movement of history, incapable or unwilling to take any active part therein, or to fill out any practical mission, still wanted to prescribe to the historical process the laws according to which it had to enact itself. Those philosophers, it must be said, deserved by no means the contempt in which they were held by Napoleon, who esteemed but two qualities in man: military genius and administrative talents. They are often superior observers of facts and admirable critics of past events; their weakness consists only in this: that they understand not to draw just conclusions such as correspond to the premises so well defined by them. In their proposed solutions they invariably substitute the arbitrary decrees of speculation to the force of circumstances, to the decisions of the combating elements, to the material power, from which in reality not only the motive force but also the direction can alone be derived. Materialists in their judgment of the past they fall back in the fathomless depths of idealism, of Utopianism, the moment they endeavour to indicate, or rather to fix the constitution of the future. And what is the cause of this error? Merely this: that our "ideologues," correct in their view of the past, by comparing the facts themselves with their representation in thought, neglect to secure for their conjectures on the future that same measure of comparison, which can exclusively guarantee the justice of human conceptions. And this comes because they either take their stand on the ground of a party or class which by its very conditions can have no future, or, what is more generally the case, because they pretend to keep themselves apart from all the actual parties, and to anticipate by speculation the solution of a problem which can only result from the co-operation or rather the conflict of those very parties. They conceive history as a mathematical problem, a sum of equations. Thus they conceive the possibility of calculating it on paper. The elements

known are put in their respective order, a line is drawn, and the result is found without difficulty. But is it thus in reality? Are there any conflicts recorded by history which have proven their decision through the decree of a philosopher, the idea of an individual? Are they all decided by their mere force of an idea? They are decided by men, their solution is given by the triumph of a political class. That is what our "ideologues," including M. Proudhon, overlook.

Let us examine the "solution" offered by Proudhon. There is undoubtedly a conflict of antagonistic interest—a war of classes—existing in all European societies, consequently also in France. That conflict will lead to some final result; the war must end in the triumph of one or the other parties. Translate this into the language of Proudhon: "There is a problem,—hanging over modern society, a problem which must find its definitive solution. That solution is the social revolution of the 19th century." Ah, a revolutionary solution you will say. Then Proudhon is our man? Stop! stop! You think Proudhon would leave the solution of his "problem" to the action of a party, do you? He keeps that for himself; his is to remain the merit of having discovered the philosopher's stone. That solution is contained in the idea of the social revolution. And what is that idea? "The elements of the problem are given by our history." Let us resume them. What is the actual situation of France? In the first place the state is composed of:—[a]

"First, an organised clergy, numbering about 50,000 priests, and as many individuals of both sexes living in the various religious establishments; having at their disposition a capital of three hundred millions of francs, exclusive of the churches, the ecclesiastical estates, forming the private property of the priests, the produce of indulgences, the proceeds of collections, &c., an organ of public morality, presumed to be indispensable, and the more powerful, as its influence is secretly and privately exercised within the precincts of domestic life.

"Second, an army of 400,000 men, disciplined, stripped of all family ties, trained in the contempt of the National Guard, entirely at the command of the Executive, and alone considered to be able to defend so as to keep down the nation.

"Third, a centralised administration, ministers of the police, of public instruction, of the state-works, the taxes, the customs, the domains, numbering upwards of 500,000 functionaries in the salary of the state; holding in its dependence, directly or indirectly, every industry, arts, extending its power over all persons and things, governing and administrating everything, and leaving no other care to the taxpayers, but to produce and pay their rates.

"Fourth, a magistracy, hierarchically organised, and influencing by its inevitable arbitration every social relation, every private interest, Court of Cassation, Court of Appeal, Civil and Commercial Tribunals, Justice of the Peace, etc., all in

[a] There follow quotations from pp. 19-22 of Proudhon's book.—*Ed.*

perfect understanding with the Church, the Administration, the Police and the Army."

As to the nation, it is divided into

"First, the bourgeoisie—that class which comprehends all people living on the revenues of their capital, on their rents, official privileges, places and sinecures, more than on the fruits of their industry. The modern *bourgeoisie,* thus classified, forms a sort of aristocracy of capital and money, analogous to the ancient aristocracy of birth, by their riches as well as by the extent of their patronage; disposing of the bank, the railways, the mines, the insurances, the great industry, the wholesale commerce, and having for the basis of their operations a public and a hypotheticary debt of 1,000 millions of pounds.

"Second, *the small middle class,* composed of speculators, masters, shopkeepers, cultivators and professional men, etc., living much more on their personal produce than on their capital, privileges, or property, but distinguishing themselves from the proletarians by this, that they work for their own account and on their own risks, and enjoy for themselves the profits of their industry.

"Third, *the working class, or proletarians,* living on their wages, and having no economical or industrial initiative, thus fully deserving the name of a mercenary or salaried mass.

"The country has a population of thirty-six millions of inhabitants. Its annual produce is valued at 9,000 millions of francs, one-fourth of which goes off for the maintenance of the State, the Church and other unproductive or parasitic functions; another fourth falls under the title of interest, rent, agio, commission, etc., to the share of the bourgeoisie; which leaves for the working class, including the small middle class, an average revenue or salary of forty-one centimes ($3^1/_2$ d.) per head and per diem, but which in some extreme cases falls short of fifteen centimes ($1^1/_4$ d.) per day."

Here is a picture of the actual situation of France—which, for its exactitude and striking features, can scarcely be surpassed. Here Proudhon has collected all the elements that make up the groundwork, the foundation of the real social revolution. Now, what is the conclusion he draws from these premises?[a]

## [No. 6]

[*The People's Paper,* No. 28, November 13, 1852]

"If the nation is thus divided into three natural categories (mark the expression!) one of which has for its formula: wealth and unproductive consumption; the other: industry, commerce and enterprise, free, but without guarantee; the third: absolute submission and progressive misery; the problem of the revolution is simply to dissolve the first and the third classes in the second, the extremes in the middle, and thereby to effect, that all, without exception, shall enjoy an equal proportion of capital, labour,

[a] Here the editors of *The People's Paper* added the following note in square brackets: "The valuable analysis which follows here we are compelled to leave out this week."—*Ed.*

exchange, liberty and well-being. In this consists the operation of the century, the objects, still so little understood, of Socialism."[a]

Here the "ideologue" becomes at once visible. The elements of the historical process are changed into the elements of an arithmetical sum; the classes become abstract "categories"—and the result, the conclusion is no longer dependent on the action of the principal and original elements, but on their arbitrary arrangement by the pencil of the calculator. The arithmetical means is substituted for the historical solution of the "problem" of reality. A stroke of his pencil is the touch of the new magic rod, by which Mr. Proudhon discovers at once the secret of the social revolution. The small middle class is henceforth the cardinal point of society! Decidedly every man must be made a shopkeeper! for this end. What has to be done? Why the political power must be entrusted to the shopkeepers; credit, the distribution of labour, the entire organisation of the community must be put into their hands—and they will give every man the means of placing himself in their class, the bourgeois as well as the proletarian. A nice solution that—on paper! If it could but be made accepted by the world? Let us see.

Will the bourgeois, the great mill owner, the banker, the 10,000 acres proprietor, the railway millionaire, the cotton growing slaveholder, the rich speculator, will these people accept Proudhon's theory, and modestly forswear their palace-like counting houses for the desk of a small shopkeeper? Will the proletarians, on the other hand, who have learned to appreciate the miraculous force of associated labour, in their great factories and workshops, will they renounce those immense means of production, and of their definitive emancipation, when once theirs, for the idyllic pictures of a ten acres freehold, or a £10 household? Suppose they would, Mr. Proudhon, is that the social solution of the nineteenth century? Why, man, you are behind your time; you are an anachronism. What you preach as a new theory, is an old worn-out fact—it is the solution attempted by the eighteenth century, executed in your own country. Did not 1789 give every peasant his ten acres of land?—were not your shopkeepers and burghers of the towns in possession of their £10 household?—was not liberty the great formula of 1793, the well-being of all the eternal phrases of your "Rights of man" constitutions? Whence, then, came the bourgeois and the proletarian? whence arose these extremes, but just from that middle, your small middle class, invested with the sovereign disposition of

[a] P. J. Proudhon, *La révolution sociale démontrée par le coup d'état du 2 décembre*, Paris, 1852.—*Ed.*

the national interests? And you propose to begin the same thing again! Because you have not learned your lesson, you would make the whole nation repeat their task. Strange philosopher, still stranger initiator of the social revolution of the nineteenth century. Like causes, like effects. Liberty of the individual to dispose over his capital and his labour—and concentration of wealth in the hands of the stranger and the more cunning or clever,—"Credit shall be given equally to all," very good. But can that be done at once? What is credit? The permission to use a portion of the accumulated labour, say the capital, of another man, or the state, if you like, for productive purposes, against the payment of interest, discount, &c.

Now, is the capital accumulated, even supposing it to be in the possession of individuals, of a class, is that capital sufficiently large to put every man on a shopkeeper's or small cultivator's footing, by dividing it into equal portions? That is the question,[a] sir, if you have any notions of credit, is it not? Then how will you proceed? You will give credit to as many as possible. Very well, they will get an advance on those that are provisionally left to look to their wages—labour for an existence. There is the proletarian. Ah, but afterwards, with the reflux of the first lent-out capital, you will afford the proletarians the same credit, and draw them from their slavery. Well, supposing that the population had not increased faster than the accumulation of capital, under your provisions, is it you that decides upon the question of extending the public credit, or is it the class into whose hands you have once, in the beginning, placed the capital? And do you think that class, once materially and economically constituted as such, would not keep the capital of the nation for itself, the more so as they are also entrusted by you with the political power? Acknowledge then, that the proletarians will get no credit; their social enfranchisement does not take place. There is one point. Now, it is obvious, that amongst the capital-holding class, cleverness, invention, ability, force, fraud, and competition, will in time mark out some palpable destructions; the one fraction will get the greater part of the capital into their hands, or the whole of the credit under their control. There is the bourgeoisie. There then you would have, after a similar lapse of time, perhaps at the beginning of the twentieth century, arrived again at the starting point of another "Social Revolution," and another Proudhon might again come forth and propose, for the third time, the same solution. The people, Mr. Proudhon, thank you for this prospect; they will even listen with pleasure to your stricture of other systems, but believe me they will never accept your own.

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[a] Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act III, Scene 1.—*Ed.*

## [No. 7]

[*The People's Paper*, No. 32, December 11, 1852]

### 4.—MR. LOUIS BONAPARTE'S EIGHTEENTH OF BRUMAIRE, BY CHARLES MARX.[a]

It is a very remarkable phenomenon that all the French authors, who have favoured the contemporary world with their accounts of the late *coup d'état*, and to whom not only the consequences but also the origin of that event might be supposed to be best known, have failed in the attempt to explain its real causes; while a German writer, who was himself but a distant observer of the progress of events in France, has given not merely the first, but the only competent version of the history of the Bonapartist Usurpation. This is a truly surprising fact. It might perhaps be thought, that the very circumstance of the author's absence from France had enabled him to take up a more impartial point of view, from which to judge of the character of the situation and the conduct of parties; but we are soon convinced, that such is not the case. No one has shown less of that objective impartiality, which is so wrongly supposed by many people to be the most important requisite in a historian. Such impartiality is simply a fiction, never to be met with in reality; and happily not—for to whom, except to the author himself, could it give satisfaction? Thus it is not his independence from party principles and party views, that has given the power to Mr. Marx of satisfactorily accounting for the causes and effects of the events he records, but rather the correctness of the method and the justice of the principles, which he has followed in his work. The secret of his success, to speak in plain terms, is his adhesion to a party, that was not immediately involved in the struggle, and yet, by its conditions, its growing and indestructible power, and by its future, must finally become the supreme arbiter of all the incidental quarrels and alternative defeats and triumphs of which the official history of the latter days in France is composed. The revolutionary party of the working class disappeared from the political stage with the insurrection of June, 1848. From that time they became the mere witnesses of the historical drama in which all other parties remained engaged: Legitimists, Orleanists, Bonapartists, Republicans, and Democratic Socialists. Consequently, they were the only independent judges of all the errors, faults, "crimes", &c., committed by each of the said fractions.

Let me now briefly state the argument, why it has not been possible to the representatives of any other party, than that of the

[a] See this volume, pp. 99-197.—*Ed.*

revolutionary proletariat, to pronounce a sound and true judgment on the character of the last historical epoch in France. Who are the Legitimists? The representatives of the great landed property, the aristocracy of the soil. And who are the Orleanists? The representatives of commerce, the aristocracy of money. Was it for either of them to confess: Our rule has been upset by the moneyed interest in 1830—and ours by the labour interests in 1848; having succeeded by the combination of our mutual power to grasp again on the political domination, the necessity of our class position, the contingencies of the social struggle compelled us so to strengthen and centralise the resources of the executive, placing it in the hands of a single individual, that it was but the natural and inevitable result of our exertions, if this individual has afterwards deprived us of our prerogative and made himself an absolute dictator and Emperor? Both Legitimists and Orleanists comprehended that, this being the only manner in which their defeat could have been accounted for, it would be better for them to hold their tongues. This they have done. Not so the Republicans, the Democrats, as well as the Democratic Socialists. But what expedient remained to them? History, the history of the human race, its development under the different social constitutions, is no less a physical process, a series of changes, dissolutions, formations, reformations, revolutions, as the history of our globe with its constantly changing and ever returning phenomena of revolution, change of matter, seasons, &c., &c. As there is not one of the manifestations of this permanent physical change which, even if it cannot be traced by our understanding to its immediate source, does not depend on some particular cause so also is there no event, no circumstance in the affairs of the body of a nation, without its necessary preceding impulse. Nowhere do we behold any miracles, nor casualties; nay, as the elements of the social phenomena are all known to us, open to investigation, subject to experience, they are just the very thing of which a full and circumstantial account can, in every instance, be given, unless prejudice or interest blind man's observation. This was the case with the Republicans, who tried everything in order to avoid arriving at conclusions which would have no longer permitted them to advocate interests without the conditions of vitality, and to profess principles of demonstrated importance. Rather than do so, they have preferred to misrepresent reality, to understate their actual defeat, to exaggerate the individual merits of their enemy, in short, to falsify history by the substitution of accidents, casualties and enormities to the simple laws of effects and causes, the law of necessity.

From the point of view of the revolutionary proletarians, no such

deception was possible; no historical fraud could have been intended; and this being the stand, Mr. Marx has not only occupied in the present work, but which he has filled so eminently in all his critical labours: he, the representative of the revolutionary theory of the working-class movements, the literary pilot of the most advanced fraction of European Democracy, he has also shown himself the best historian of the Presidency, Dictature, and Empire of Louis Bonaparte.

## [No. 8][377]

[*The People's Paper*, No. 33, December 18, 1852]

The first chapter of this book, which may be considered as its programme, begins with contrasting the character of the revolution of 1789 with that of 1848. The former was the work of the middle class, the latter announced itself as the revolution of the working class; the former was victorious through the energies and conscience of their objects possessed by its originators; the latter turned out a failure, through the indecision and ignorance of its leaders as well as of the masses. A social revolution was to be made. Nobody knew how. What else could be possible but that people looked back for guidance to the pages of past history? So they tried alternately a National Assembly, declared a Republic, established a Dictature, received the Convention, created another Napoleon. They had only drawn up so many caricatures of a dead epoch, the spirit of which was gone. But have these experiments been useless, or what lesson, yet indispensable towards the completion of their education, have the working classes learned by them?

The social revolution of the nineteenth century cannot draw its poetry from the past, but only from the future. It cannot begin by itself, until stripped of all superstitious veneration of the past. Former revolutions needed the recollections of history, in order to deceive themselves as to their object. The revolution of the nineteenth century must let the dead bury their dead,[a] in order to arrive at a clear perception of its own ends and purposes. There the phrase overstepped the object, here the object far oversteps the phrase.

The Revolution of February, 1848, was a surprise of the governmental stronghold of existing society, and the people proclaimed this unhoped-for *coup-de-main* as a first-rate historical event by which a new epoch was to be opened. On the 2nd of

[a] Matthew 8:22.—*Ed.*

December the revolution of February is lost by the *volte* of a political cheat at cards; and society, instead of having conquered the basis for a new stage of historical development, *seems* only to have restored the state in its most obsolete form, the simple and impudent rule of sword and priest-gown.

Time, however, has not passed away without fruit. French society, during the years 1848-51, has made up—following an abridging because revolutionary method, for those studies and experiences which, in the ordinary and regular course of things, ought to have preceded the revolution of February, if that revolution was to have been something more than a mere superficial shock. Society seems now to have stepped back beyond its point of departure: but, in reality, it had first to create the revolutionary point of issue, the situation, the circumstances, and the conditions in which alone modern Revolution becomes serious.

Middle-class revolutions, like those of the eighteenth century, rapidly storm from conquest to conquest; their dramatic efforts surpass each other; men and things appear as if surrounded by a halo of radiating fire; ecstasy is the spirit of every day. But they are short-living—they soon reach their zenith: and a long apathy seizes upon society before it soberly learns to appropriate the results of the heroic intoxication of its youthful epoch. Proletarian revolutions, like that of the nineteenth century, on the contrary, continually interrupt their own course, sceptically criticise their own performances, return periodically to what they appear to have already completed, in order to do it over again; they rail at the inconsistencies, frailties, contemptibilities of their own first experiments with the merciless superiority of gained experience; they seem to prostrate their antagonist only that he may draw, Antaeus-like, new strength from the earth, and rise again the more gigantically before them; every moment they recoil before the indefinite, monstrous grandeur of their own objects, till that situation has arrived where retreat is no longer possible; and circumstances themselves impose their

> "Hic Rhodus! hic salta!
> Here is Rhodus! come and dance!"[a] 378

I regret that want of space, and the necessity of putting a term to my reflections on the general literature on the *coup d'état,* prevent us from dwelling at greater length on the review of Mr. Marx's particular work, which contains, besides its historical pages, such a picture on the actual condition of the different classes in France,

[a] Marx translates this line as "Here is the rose, here dance!"—*Ed.*

chiefly of the peasantry, as I have not met with in any other place.

I have already said, that the Insurrection of June was the turning point of the tide of Revolution in 1848. Consequently that event must contain in its germs the original and last explanation of all subsequent history, including the *coup d'état* and the proclamation of another Empire. Let us see if our author has successfully argued this idea. I again extract his own words, touching the changed aspect of a class-struggle, after the defeat of the working class.

"After this defeat, the proletarians attempt, indeed, to step forward, every time that the movement appears to take a fresh start; but their efforts become gradually weaker, and the results more insignificant. As soon as one of the higher strata of society passes into revolutionary fermentation, they combine with it, and thus share all the defeats suffered in succession by the respective parties. But these subsequent blows become less severe the more they extend over the whole surface of society. The more prominent leaders of the working class in the assembly and in the press fall, each in its turn, the victims of the courts of law, and more and more equivocal individuals appear at their head. A portion of them throw themselves into doctrinary experiments, such as labour exchange, banks and co-operative associations,[a] and thus engage in a new movement where they renounce the attempt to overthrow the whole world by appropriating and putting in movement its own great resources, labouring instead to effect their emancipation privately and clandestinely behind the back, so to say, of society, and within the narrow limits prescribed by their actual condition. In this they, of course, are defeated. They seem neither to recover from their own energies, their past revolutionary grandeur, nor do they appear likely to gain new energy from their alliance with other classes, until all those classes against which they fought in June, be prostrate aside of them. They, however, do not fall without the honours of the grand historical battle; not only France—all Europe trembles under the earthquake of June, while the subsequent victories over the higher classes[b] are so cheaply bought, as to require the most impudent exaggeration on the part of the conqueror, in order to pass as anything like events, and turn out the more ignominiously the more remote the vanquished class stands from the proletariat.[c]

"All classes and all parties[d] had fused themselves into the one

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[a] Marx has here "exchange banks and workers' associations".—*Ed.*

[b] Marx has here "while the ensuing defeats of the upper classes".—*Ed.*

[c] The next paragraph from Chapter I of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* is omitted by Eccarius.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx has here "During the June days all classes and parties".—*Ed.*

Party of Order, in opposition to the proletariat, the party of Anarchy, of Socialism, and of Communism. They had saved society from 'the enemies of society'. They had given out the watchwords of *bourgeois* society: 'Property, Family, Religion, and Order,' to the army, and encouraged the counter-revolutionary crusade by the sacramental words: '*In hoc signo vinces!*'[a]

"From this moment, as often as any one of the numerous parties that had ranged themselves under this sign against the insurgents of June, ventures to contest the revolutionary battle-field on the grounds of its own separate class interests it succumbs to the cry of 'Property, Family, Religion, and Order.' Society is saved as often as the number of its rulers is diminished by the victory of a more exclusive interest over wider and more general interests. Every demand of simple, middle-class financial reform, of ordinary liberalism—of mere Republican formalism and etiquette—of common-place Democracy, is at once branded as an 'attack upon society', and stigmatised as 'Socialism'. And, finally, the high priests of the religion of order[b] themselves are kicked from their Pythian stools, carried away from their beds in the depth of night, thrown into prison vans, incarcerated, and exiled; their temple levelled to the ground—their mouths gagged—their pens broken—their laws torn to pieces—in the name of 'Religion, of Order, of Property, and of Family.'[c] 'Respectable' capitalists, themselves fanatics of order,[d] are shot down from their balconies by a drunken soldiery—the sanctity of their families profanated—their houses bombarded for pastime, in the name of 'Religion, of Family, of Order, and of Property.'[e] The lowest caste of all society[f] in the end, forms the sacred phalanx of order; and the hero, Crapulinski,* triumphantly enters the Tuileries as the 'saviour of society'."

Published in *The People's Paper*, Nos. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 32 and 33, September 25, October 2, 9, 16, 23, November 6, 13, December 11 and 18, 1852

Reproduced from the newspaper

* See Heine's *Romanzero*, Hamburg, 1851. [ *Note by Eccarius.* The reference is to the poem "Zwei Ritter".]

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[a] "By this sign thou shalt conquer!"—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 112.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx has here "in the name of religion, of property, of the family, of order".—*Ed.*

[d] Marx has here "Bourgeois fanatics for order".—*Ed.*

[e] Marx has here "in the name of property, of the family, of religion and of order".—*Ed.*

[f] Marx has here "the scum of bourgeois society".—*Ed.*

# [APPEAL FOR SUPPORT OF THE MEN SENTENCED IN COLOGNE][379]

We have received the following letter together with the appended appeal. We are publishing the communication in accordance with its authors' wishes.

For the *California Staats-Zeitung*
Washington, January 14, 1853

## *TO THE GERMAN-AMERICAN PUBLIC!*[380]

With the monster trial in Cologne, the workers' movement in Germany has entered a new phase. It has cast off the fetters which the small compass of a fanatical sectarian movement imposed upon it and has stepped out openly into the political arena. Statesmen of the proletariat confronted the public prosecutors of the bureaucratic police state; the aristocrats and members of the bourgeoisie from the Rhineland who formed the jury set themselves up as a court martial and pronounced their verdict "guilty" on labour's opposition to their privileges. This being the situation, it is an agreeable duty for us to publicise the appended appeal, which members of our association have received from the signatories for distribution in the United States, and at the same time we offer our services to transmit to London any small sums remitted, against statement of account.

Whatever title your organisations bear, in these times when your members are enjoying many a frolicsome evening of conviviality, give heart to our active friends back home by stretching out a helping hand to those struck down in the struggle by donating the money raised at such gatherings. Contributions should be sent to the following address: Relief Fund, care of Adolf Cluss, Adams Express, Iron Building, Washington D.C.

Washington, January 10, 1853

*J. Gerhardt*, President
*Ad. Cluss*, Secretary

*APPEAL*

The workers' party has a duty to alleviate the plight of those in the vanguard of the struggle who were sentenced in Cologne and in particular to take care of their families who are bereft of support. We expect that the German workers in the United States will also wish to be associated with this debt the party owes. The treasurer appointed to receive the sums intended for the prisoners and their families is: Ferdinand Freiligrath, 3 Sutton Place, Hackney, London.

London, December 7, 1852

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Johann Baer* | *Ernest Jones* | *L. W. Rings* |
| *E. Dronke* | *G. Lochner* | *E. Rumpf* |
| *J. G. Eccarius* | *K. Marx* | *J. Ulmer* |
| *J. F. Eccarius* | *W. Liebknecht* | *Ferd. Wolff* |
| *Fr. Engels* | *F. Münks* | *W. Wolff* |
| *F. Freiligrath* | *K. Pfänder* | *Münks II* |
| *Imandt* | *W. Pieper* | |

The German-American press is urged to copy.

Published in the *California Staats-Zeitung*, January 1853

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# APPEAL FOR SUPPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PROLETARIAT SENTENCED IN COLOGNE, AND THEIR FAMILIES

Among the obligations which political parties implicitly assume towards themselves and their members is above all that of support for those who fall into the hands of the enemy while occupying outposts which they have defended with the utmost courage and tenacity.—For the proletarian or workers' party, those sentenced in Cologne in Germany fall into this category; they were not sentenced on account of the crime of which they stood accused—ridiculous revolutionary machinations—but because they had helped to organise the workers' party, and they were sentenced by judges who were members of the moneyed and feudal aristocracy, whose verdict was for that reason bound to be unjust, and to cap it all the Prussian government resorted to the basest forgeries to eliminate any possible stirrings of scrupulousness in these judges.

As workers and writers having no private resources, who had earned their daily bread by their hands and their writing, the convicted men have by their imprisonment been robbed of any means of further supporting their families, and as a result of the sufferings and deprivations to which they are subject in prison they themselves risk losing that freshness and elasticity of mind which previously gave them their pre-eminent positions in the party, unless every effort is made to alleviate their situation and relieve them of the burden of anxiety about the maintenance of their families.

A committee was immediately set up in London which elected Ferd. Freiligrath, the poet of the proletariat, to be its treasurer and includes the leader of the English Chartists, Ernest Jones, among its members. It has addressed the following appeal to the German workers in America, to which we have hastened to respond:

"The workers' party has a duty to alleviate the plight of those in the vanguard of the struggle who were sentenced in Cologne and in particular to take care of their families who are bereft of support. We expect that the workers of the United States will also wish to be associated with this debt the party owes."

The treasurer appointed to receive the sums intended for the prisoners and their families is: *Ferdinand Freiligrath*, No. 3 Sutton Place, Hackney, London.

Signed: *Joh. Baer, E. Dronke, Joh. Georg Eccarius, Joh. Fried. Eccarius, Fr. Engels, F. Freiligrath, Imandt, Ernest Jones, W. Liebknecht, G. Lochner, F. Münks, Münks II, K. Marx, K. Pfänder, W. Pieper, W. Rings, E. Rumpf, J. Ulmer, Ferd. Wolff, Wilh. Wolff*

The Socialist Gymnastic Association has requested its administrative council to organise this support; the undersigned are members of the latter who have constituted a special committee and now request all Germans in New York who still have feelings for the cause of freedom and for those who espouse it back in the home country to send their contributions to them; the Gymnastic Association will in due course render a full account of their use.—We take it for granted that associations of like persuasion will gladly and enthusiastically take up this opportunity for offering support.

An appeal has already been sent out by the Executive Committee to all gymnastic societies in the United States.

In conclusion we would further mention that it has been decided the socialist gymnastic societies are to hold a general lottery on the first Monday in March, and we are convinced it will prove highly productive thanks to the generosity which the German women young and old have frequently demonstrated on similar occasions, as an expression of their sympathy for liberty and those in the vanguard of the struggle for it.

Lists for the subscription of contributions, whether they consist of

money or other gifts, bear the seal of the Socialist Gymnastic Association and are to be found at the latter's premises, No. 38 Canal Street; at the house of Reicherzer and Hein, No. 12 North William Street; and with V. Keck, at the house of Jos. Müller, No. 24 Allen Street.

New York, January 16, 1853

The administrative council
of the Socialist Gymnastic Society,
in the name of the latter:
the Relief Committee:
*K. Reicherzer, J. L. Schuler, B. Becker,*
*V. Keck, E. Reistle*

Published in the *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, January 1853

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* was written after Charles Dana, one of the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune*, had suggested to Marx, early in 1851, that he contribute to the newspaper. Being engaged in economic research, Marx asked Engels, on August 14, 1851, to write "a series of articles about Germany, from 1848 onwards". Engels agreed, and in the course of thirteen months he wrote 19 articles about the German revolution of 1848-49. He intended to write one more, concluding article, but it did not appear in the *Tribune* and most probably was not written at all. Engels used as the main source of reference a file of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, apart from some additional material given him by Marx, whom he constantly consulted and who read every article before mailing it.

The series of articles, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, was printed in the *New-York Daily Tribune* over the signature of Karl Marx, the paper's official correspondent. It was only in 1913, when the correspondence between Marx and Engels was published, that it became known that the articles had in fact been written by Engels. During Marx's and Engels' lifetime the work was never republished, apart from the first two articles, which were reprinted in the *New-Yorker Abendzeitung*, a newspaper of the German refugees in the United States, at the end of October 1851. The first separate edition of this work in English was prepared in 1896 by Marx's daughter, Eleanor Marx-Aveling; the same year a German translation appeared. In this and a number of later editions Marx was given as the author.

In the *New-York Daily Tribune* the articles were printed under the general heading: *Germany: Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, and numbered in Roman figures. In the 1896 English edition Eleanor Marx-Aveling provided subheadings which are preserved in this edition. p. 3

[2] The *Tribune* is short for the *New-York Daily Tribune*. Marx's work in this progressive newspaper continued from August 1851 to March 1862, but a large number of the articles he dispatched were written at his request by Engels. Marx began to send his own articles to New York in August 1852, the first being "The Elections in England.—Tories and Whigs" (see this volume, pp. 327-32). Initially, he wrote them in German, and his friends, most often Engels, translated them into English. But by January 1853 he had sufficiently mastered the English language to write his contributions in English. Marx's first

English-language article was "Capital Punishment.—Mr. Cobden's Pamphlet.—Regulations of the Bank of England" (see this volume, pp. 495-501).

Marx's and Engels' articles in the *New-York Daily Tribune* dealt in the main with major questions of foreign and home policy, the working-class movement, the economic development of European countries, colonial expansion, the national liberation movement in oppressed and dependent countries. The articles at once attracted attention by the amount of information they conveyed, their acute political assessments and brilliant literary style. The editors of the *Tribune* publicly acknowledged their outstanding quality. Thus, in a leading article on April 7, 1853, they saw fit "to pay a tribute to the remarkable ability of the correspondent". They went on to say: "Mr. Marx has very decided opinions of his own, with some of which we are far from agreeing; but those who do not read his letters neglect one of the most instructive sources of information on the great questions of current European politics." In a letter to Mrs. Marx of July 1, 1853, Charles Dana, one of the editors, wrote that her husband's articles were highly thought of by the *Tribune* owners and the reading public.

Many of the articles by Marx and Engels were reprinted in the *Tribune*'s special editions, the *New-York Weekly Tribune* and the *Semi-Weekly Tribune*, and were quoted by other American newspapers, in particular by the *New-York Times*. The articles also reached England. Some were reprinted in the Chartist *People's Paper*, and in his speech in the House of Commons on July 1, 1853, John Bright, the Free-Trade leader, specially mentioned Marx's *Tribune* article on Gladstone's budget.

The editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* arbitrarily printed some of Marx's and Engels' articles without the author's signature as editorial leading articles, and occasionally made insertions and additions to the text which were sometimes contrary to their content. Marx repeatedly protested against this. In the autumn of 1857, in view of the economic crisis in the USA, which had also affected the newspaper's finances, Marx had to reduce the number of his contributions. His final break with the newspaper occurred during the Civil War in the United States. It was largely due to the fact that its editorial policies increasingly supported compromise with the slave-owning states and to its general falling away from progressive views. p. 7

[3] Serfdom was abolished in the territories along the left bank of the Rhine annexed to France during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, as were the privileges of the nobility and the clergy, and the church estates. p. 7

[4] The *Continental System*, or the *Continental Blockade*, proclaimed by Napoleon I in 1806, forbade the countries of the European Continent to trade with Great Britain. p. 8

[5] The *Protective Tariff of 1818* (*Schutzzolltarif*) abolished internal duties throughout the territory of Prussia and created the conditions for the formation of the Customs Union (*Zollverein*).

The *Zollverein*, a union of German states, which established a common customs frontier, was set up in 1834 under the aegis of Prussia. Brought into being by the need to create an all-German market, the Customs Union subsequently embraced all the German states except Austria and a few of the smaller states. p. 8

[6] The reference is to the uprising of the Silesian weavers on June 4-6, 1844, the first big class battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in Germany, and to the

uprising of the Bohemian workers in the second half of June 1844. The workers' movement, which was accompanied by factory and machine wrecking, was brutally suppressed by government troops. p. 11

[7] The *German Confederation* (*der Deutsche Bund*)—an ephemeral confederation of German states founded in 1815 by decision of the Congress of Vienna.

The *Federal Diet* (*Bundestag*)—the central body of the German Confederation, which consisted of representatives of the German states and held its sessions in Frankfurt am Main. Having no actual power, it nevertheless served as an instrument of monarchist feudal reaction. After the March 1848 revolution in Germany, Right-wing circles tried to revive the Diet, but in the summer of 1848 it had to cede its functions to the Imperial Regent elected by the Frankfurt National Assembly and to the Imperial Government which the Assembly set up. The Diet's powers were restored in March 1851. The formation in 1866 of the North-German Confederation under Prussia's hegemony put an end to the German Confederation and the Diet. p. 12

[8] The *Customs Union* (*Steuerverein*) was formed in May 1834; it included the German states of Hanover, Brunswick, Oldenburg and Schaumburg-Lippe, which were interested in commerce with Great Britain. In 1854 this separatist union disintegrated and its participants joined the *Zollverein* (see Note 5). p. 12

[9] The *Congress of Vienna* of European monarchs and their ministers (September 1814-June 1815) established a system of all-European treaties after the Napoleonic wars. The Congress decisions helped to restore the feudal system and a number of old dynasties in states that had been subjugated by Napoleon and to preserve the political dismemberment of Germany and Italy, sanctioned the annexation of Belgium to Holland and the partition of Poland, and planned measures to combat the revolutionary movement. p. 13

[10] The July 1830 revolution in France was followed by a revolution in Belgium, and a revival of the revolutionary movement and uprisings in Poland, Germany and Italy. p. 14

[11] "*Young Germany*" (*Junges Deutschland*)—a literary group that emerged in Germany in the 1830s and fell under the influence of Heinrich Heine and Lüdwig Börne. The members of this group (Gutzkow, Wienbarg, Mundt, Laube, Jung and others) engaged in both fiction-writing and journalism, through which they advocated freedom of conscience and the press, the introduction of a Constitution, the emancipation of women, and other reforms. Their political views were, however, vague and inconsistent, and many of them soon became indistinguishable from ordinary liberals. p. 14

[12] The *Holy Alliance*—an association of European monarchs founded in September 1815, on the initiative of the Russian Tsar Alexander I and the Austrian Chancellor Metternich to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries. p. 16

[13] The *Historical School of Law*—a trend in German historiography and jurisprudence which emerged in the late eighteenth century. The representatives of this

school—Gustav Hugo, Friedrich Karl Savigny and others—sought to justify feudal institutions and the privileges of the nobility on the grounds of the inviolability of historical tradition.

For a criticism of this trend see Marx's works: *The Philosophical Manifesto of the Historical School of Law* and *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction* (present edition, Vols. 1 and 3).

*Legitimists*—supporters of the Bourbon dynasty, which represented the interests of the big hereditary landowners. By the "first generation of French Legitimists" Engels means royalist writers and politicians who were vehemently hostile to the French Revolution, being particularly outraged when, in 1792, the monarchy was overthrown. After the restoration of the Bourbons, in 1815-30, the Legitimists formed a Right-wing political party which continued to be active even after 1830, when the dynasty was overthrown a second time. p. 16

[14] The question of introducing a Constitution in Prussia was raised by moderate reformers after the defeat of the Prussian feudal state in the war with Napoleonic France in 1806-07. As early as October 1810, under pressure from the reformers, Frederick William III promised in very vague terms (in his "Edikt über die Finanzen des Staats und die neuen Einrichtungen wegen der Abgaben") to grant "representation both in the provinces and in the entire country". Illusions about the King's intention to introduce a representative system were encouraged by the Prussian ruling circles during the upsurge of patriotism connected with Prussia's entry, in 1813, into the war of liberation waged by the European peoples against Napoleonic rule. However, practical steps were postponed until the end of the war. Article 13 of the Act setting up a German Confederation, adopted by the Congress of Vienna in June 1815, provided for the introduction in the German states of constitutions based on the estate principle. But this provision was not carried out in the majority of states, including Prussia, despite the King's promises to set up representative institutions made by him in a number of patents and manifestos, in particular in a special decree of May 22, 1815 ("Verordnung über die zu bildende Repräsentation des Volkes").

According to the "Verordnung wegen der künftigen Behandlung des gesammten Staatsschulden-Wesens" (Decree on the future handling of all state debts) issued in Prussia on January 17, 1820, new loans and state debts had to be guaranteed by the forthcoming Prussian assembly of the estates as well as by the government. p. 18

[15] The reference is to the *Ständische Ausschüsse*—committees of the estates of the provincial assemblies set up in Prussia in June 1842. They were elected by the provincial assemblies from among their members (on the estate principle) and formed a single advisory body—the United Committees (*Vereinigte Ausschüsse*), which were a sham representative assembly. The session of the United Committees mentioned by Engels below took place from October 18 to November 10, 1842.

Marx refers rather derisively to this body and to the attempts made by the ruling circles and the conservative newspapers to give it the appearance of a constitutional organ in his article "The Supplement to Nos. 335 and 336 of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* on the Commissions of the Estates in Prussia" (present edition, Vol. 1, pp. 292-306). p. 18

[16] The reference is to the *Preussische Seehandlungsgesellschaft* (Prussian Maritime Trading Company)—a commercial and banking company founded in 1772 and

enjoying a number of important state privileges. It advanced big loans to the government and in fact became its banker and broker. p. 19

[17] On February 3 and 8, 1847, Frederick William IV issued an order setting up the United Diet and a patent on its convocation ("Verordnung über die Bildung des Vereinigten Landtages" and "Patent wegen Einberufung des Vereinigten Landtages"). The session of the United Diet opened on April 11 and continued until June 26, 1847. p. 19

[18] In his speech from the throne at the opening of the first United Diet on April 11, 1847, Frederick William IV declared that he would never let the "natural relations between the monarch and the people" turn into "conditioned, constitutional" relations and a "written sheet of paper" become a substitute for "genuine sacred loyalty" (see *Der erste Vereinigte Landtag in Berlin 1847*. Erster Theil). p. 20

[19] The reference is to German or "true socialism" which was widespread in Germany in the 1840s, mostly among petty-bourgeois intellectuals. The "true socialists"—Karl Grün, Moses Hess, Hermann Kriege—substituted the sentimental preaching of love and brotherhood for the ideas of socialism and denied the need for a bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany. Marx and Engels criticised this trend in the following works: *The German Ideology* (see present edition, Vol. 5), *Circular Against Kriege, German Socialism in Verse and Prose* and *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (Vol. 6). p. 20

[20] In April and May 1847, bread riots broke out in many parts of Germany (primarily in Berlin) and other European countries. They were caused by the general rise in food prices due to the crop failure in 1846, and to the effects of the economic crisis which had gripped the whole of Europe. p. 21

[21] On June 26, 1849 the liberal deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly, who had walked out after the Prussian King's refusal to accept the Imperial Crown, met in Gotha for a three-day conference which resulted in the formation of the so-called *Gotha party*. It expressed the interests of the pro-Prussian German bourgeoisie and supported the policy of the Prussian ruling circles aimed at uniting Germany under the hegemony of Hohenzollern Prussia. p. 22

[22] *German Catholicism*—a religious movement which arose in a number of German states in 1844 and affected considerable sections of the middle and petty bourgeoisie. The "German Catholics" did not recognise the supremacy of the Pope, rejected many dogmas and rites of the Roman Catholic Church and sought to adapt Catholicism to the needs of the German bourgeoisie.

*Free Congregationalism*—a movement that took shape in 1846 among Protestant communities which sought to free themselves from the official Lutheran Church. It developed under the influence of the *Friends of Light* (*Lichtfreunde*)—a religious trend that arose in 1841 and was directed against the pietism predominant in the Lutheran Church and distinguished by extreme mysticism and bigotry. This religious opposition expressed the German bourgeoisie's discontent with the reactionary system in Germany in the 1840s. The "free congregations" broke away from the official Lutheran Church and on March 30, 1847 received the right to conduct their own religious services.

In 1859 Free Congregationalism merged with "German Catholicism". p. 23

[23] The *Unitarians* (or *Anti-Trinitarians*) reject the dogma of the "Holy Trinity". The Unitarian Church first appeared in England and America in the seventeenth century, and its teachings have always emphasised the moral and ethical side of the Christian religion in contrast to its external ritualistic aspect. p. 24

[24] Napoleon's victories in Germany in 1806 led to the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation which was founded in 962. At different periods it included German, Italian, Austrian, Hungarian and Bohemian territories, Switzerland and the Netherlands, forming a motley conglomeration of feudal kingdoms and principalities, church lands and free towns with different political structures, legal standards and customs. In August 1806 the Austrian Emperor Francis I renounced the title of Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. p. 24

[25] Marx, Engels and their followers advocated a single German republic before the 1848 revolution (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 335). The same slogan was put forward as the first point in the "Demands of the Communist Party in Germany" (Vol. 7, pp. 3-7)—the political programme of the Communist League in the German revolution formulated by Marx and Engels in March 1848. p. 25

[26] The reference is to the First Opium War (1839-42)—an aggressive war waged by Britain against China which started China's transformation into a semi-colony. One of the clauses of the Nanking Treaty imposed on China provided for the opening of five Chinese ports to foreign trade. p. 26

[27] In February-March 1846, simultaneously with the national liberation insurrection in the free city of Cracow, which had been under the joint control of Austria, Prussia and Russia since 1815, a big peasant uprising flared up in Galicia. Taking advantage of class contradictions, the Austrian authorities provoked clashes between the insurgent Galician peasants and the Polish nobility who were trying to come to the support of Cracow. After putting down the insurgent movement of the nobility, the Austrian Government also suppressed the peasant uprising in Galicia. p. 26

[28] The reference is to the *Academic Legion*, a para-military student organisation set up in March 1848 in Vienna. It also included university lecturers and other intellectuals, mostly radical democrats. The Legion played a significant part in the Austrian revolutionary movement in 1848. After the suppression of the October uprising in Vienna, it was disbanded. p. 33

[29] The reference is to the national liberation war waged by the Italian people against Austrian domination in 1848-49. The war began in March 1848, following a victorious popular uprising in Lombardy and the Venice region, which were under Austrian rule. Under pressure from the masses, the Italian monarchist states, headed by Piedmont, also entered the war. But the treachery of the Italian ruling classes, who feared a revolutionary unification of Italy, led to the defeat of the struggle against Austria.

The first stage of the war resulted in a defeat for the Piedmontese troops at Custozza on July 25, 1848, and the conclusion of an Austro-Piedmont armistice on August 9. In view of the new revolutionary upsurge in Italy, the King of Piedmont

had to resume fighting on March 20, 1849, but already on March 21-23 the Piedmontese army was routed at Mortara and Novara. The military rout of Piedmont and the capitulation of its ruling circles enabled the Austrians to suppress the centres of popular resistance and restore their rule in Northern Italy. p. 34

[30] The reference is to the resolution of the Austrian Imperial Diet abolishing feudal servitude which was passed on August 31, 1848 and which, following its approval by the Emperor, became law on September 9 ("Gesetz über die Aufhebung des Unterthänigkeitsbandes und die Entlastung des bäuerlichen Besitzes."). p. 34

[31] *Penates*—household gods of the ancient Romans. p. 35

[32] The session of the second United Diet, which adopted a law on elections to the Prussian National Assembly ("Wahlgesetz für die zur Vereinbarung der Preussischen Staatsverfassung zu berufende Versammlung. Vom 8. April 1848"), was held from April 2 to 10, 1848. p. 37

[33] In the spring of 1848, Mainz (Mayence) was the scene of bloody clashes between the civic militia and Prussian soldiers. These clashes had repercussions throughout Germany and were discussed in the Frankfurt National Assembly; the latter was content to appoint a committee which submitted its report only after the Mainz civic militia had already been disarmed by Prussian soldiers. p. 41

[34] This apparently refers to the statement by the Frankfurt National Assembly on May 27, 1848, which said that all clauses in the constitutions of individual German states must coincide with those of the all-German Constitution to be drawn up by the Assembly.

Archduke John of Austria was elected Regent of Germany on June 29, 1848, whereupon a provisional Imperial Government, consisting of Right-wing and moderate deputies of the Assembly, was set up under him. It possessed no real power, but nevertheless the Regent and his Ministers were officially vested with the functions of a German Central Authority. p. 41

[35] The reference is to the armistice concluded on August 26, 1848 in the Swedish town of Malmö between Denmark and Prussia for a term of seven months. Under the impact of the March 1848 revolution a national liberation uprising had flared up in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which were subject to the King of Denmark but populated mainly by Germans. The uprising was widely supported by the advocates of German unification. The ruling circles of Prussia, which was at war with Denmark over Schleswig and Holstein, fearing a popular outbreak and an intensification of the revolution, sought an agreement with the Danish monarchy to the detriment of overall German interests, which also had a negative effect on the military operations of the Prussian army. The armistice virtually preserved Danish rule in Schleswig and Holstein, provided for the replacement of the provisional authorities in Schleswig by a new government (in which placemen of the Danish monarchy were preponderant), the separation of the Schleswig and Holstein troops, and other terms unfavourable to the national

liberation movement in the duchies. The revolutionary-democratic changes that had been introduced there were virtually nullified. (The attitude of the Frankfurt National Assembly to the armistice of Malmö is described in detail by Engels in Article X of this series; see this volume, p. 53.)

In March 1849, however, the ruling circles of Prussia, hoping to raise the prestige of the Prussian monarchy by taking part in this popular war and to realise their aggressive plans, resumed hostilities, which proceeded with varying success. However, under pressure from Britain and Russia, which supported Denmark, Prussia signed a peace treaty with Denmark on July 2, 1850, temporarily relinquishing its claims to Schleswig and Holstein and withdrew its military support in the war waged by the duchies. The Schleswig-Holstein troops were defeated and ceased all resistance. As a result, the two duchies remained part of the Kingdom of Denmark. p. 42

[36] On Engels' views on the historical destiny of the Slav peoples incorporated into the Austrian Empire see the Preface to this volume (pp. XV-XVI). p. 43

[37] The first partition of Poland by Prussia, Austria and Tsarist Russia took place in 1772. Russia appropriated mainly the Byelorussian lands which had been earlier annexed by the Kingdom of Poland. As a result of the second and third partitions, by Russia and Prussia in 1793 and by Russia, Prussia and Austria in 1795, Poland ceased to exist as an independent state. p. 44

[38] The March revolution of 1848 provided an impetus for an insurrection of the Poles in the Duchy of Posen for liberation from the Prussian yoke. Polish peasants and artisans took an active part in the insurrection together with members of the lesser nobility. The Prussian Government was forced to promise that a committee would be set up to carry out a reorganisation in Posen: creation of a Polish army, admission of Poles to administrative and other posts, recognition of Polish as an official language, etc. Similar promises were contained in the Convention of April 11, 1848, signed by the Posen Committee and the Prussian Commissioner. However, the Prussian troops broke the Convention and brutally suppressed the insurrection. The reorganisation promised to the Poles was never carried out. p. 45

[39] The *wars of the Hussites*, named after the Czech patriot and reformer Jan Huss, who was burnt at the stake in 1415, began with a popular uprising in Prague on July 30, 1419. The revolutionary wars of the Czech people against feudal exploitation, the Catholic Church and national enslavement continued until 1437 and ended in the defeat of the Hussites. p. 46

[40] The *Slavonic Congress*—the congress of representatives of the Slav lands forming part of the Austrian Empire met in Prague on June 2, 1848. The Right, moderate liberal wing, to which Palacký and Šafařik, the leaders of the Congress, belonged, tried to solve the national question through autonomy of the Slav lands within the framework of the Habsburg monarchy. The Left, radical wing (Sabina, Frič, Libelt and others) wanted joint revolutionary action with the democratic movement in Germany and Hungary. The radical delegates took an active part in the popular uprising in Prague on June 12-17, 1848 against the arbitrary rule of the Austrian authorities, and were subjected to cruel reprisals. On June 16 the moderate liberal delegates declared the Congress adjourned for an indefinite period. p. 47

[41] The mass demonstration in London, called by the Chartists for April 10, 1848, was to present a petition to Parliament for the adoption of the People's Charter. The Government prohibited the demonstration, and troops and police were brought to London to prevent it. The Chartist leaders, many of whom vacillated, called off the demonstration and persuaded the masses to disperse. The failure of the demonstration was used by the Government for an attack on the workers and repressions against the Chartists. p. 50

[42] On April 16, 1848 a peaceful procession of Paris workers marched towards the Town Hall to present a petition to the Provisional Government for "organisation of labour" and "abolition of the exploitation of man by man". The workers encountered battalions of the bourgeois national guard and were forced to retreat.

On May 15, 1848 Paris workers led by Blanqui, Barbès and others took revolutionary action against the anti-labour and anti-democratic policy of the bourgeois Constituent Assembly which had opened on May 4. The participants in the mass demonstration forced their way into the Assembly, demanded the formation of a Ministry of Labour and presented a number of other demands. An attempt was made to form a revolutionary government. National guards from the bourgeois quarters and regular troops succeeded, however, in restoring the power of the Constituent Assembly. The leaders of the movement were arrested and put on trial. p. 50

[43] On May 15, 1848 Ferdinand II, King of Naples, subsequently nicknamed "King Bomba" for the bombardment of Messina in September 1848, suppressed a national uprising in Naples, disbanded the National Guard, dissolved Parliament and abrogated the reforms introduced under pressure from the masses in February 1848. p. 50

[44] Seeing that the war with Denmark over Schleswig and Holstein was waged by the whole of Germany, during the armistice talks in Malmö (see Note 35) the Prussian representatives formally based themselves on the sanction of the Central Imperial Government and the latter's draft agreement. But actually they ignored this draft and changed many of its important points. Nevertheless, the imperial Ministers, fearing that a rupture with Prussia would strengthen the democratic circles, consented to Prussia's terms, and an armistice agreement was concluded on August 26, 1848. When it was rejected by the Frankfurt Parliament on September 5, 1848, the Ministers resigned. An attempt to form a more liberal cabinet failed, and a new government was set up, of almost the same composition as the former one. On September 16 the National Assembly cancelled its earlier decision and ratified the armistice. This evoked a popular uprising on September 18, which was suppressed by Prussian and Austrian troops summoned to Frankfurt by the Imperial Government. p. 53

[45] The temporary press regulations ("Provisorische Vorschrift über die Presse") of March 31, 1848 provided for the payment of high caution deposits by newspaper publishers, preserved censorship and made persons guilty of "misuse of the press" liable to trial at police courts and not by jury.

The Constitutional Act of the Austrian Empire ("Verfassungs-Urkunde des Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates") of April 25, 1848 provided for the establishment of two Chambers—a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate—and the preservation of provincial representative institutions based on the estate

principle. It vested executive power and command of the armed forces in the Emperor and granted him the right to reject laws adopted by the Chambers.

The Provisional Election Regulations to the Constitutional Act of April 25, 1848 ("Provisorische Wahlordnung zur Verfassungs-Urkunde vom 25. April 1848") adopted on May 9, 1848, deprived the majority of the population of the right to vote. They stipulated that "workers receiving pay by the day or by the week, servants, and persons receiving benefits from public charities cannot act as electors". Some senators were appointed by the Emperor, others were elected by the big landowners from among their own ranks. p. 54

[46] The reference is to the battle at the village of Pákozd, near Székesfehérvár (Stuhlweissenburg), on September 29, 1848, in which the Hungarian revolutionary troops defeated the army of the Croatian Ban Jellachich, who had invaded Hungary on September 11 on the secret instigation of the Austrian ruling circles. Pursuing the enemy, the Hungarians reached the Austrian frontier on October 10.

The victory of September 29, 1848 was a landmark in the national liberation war of the Hungarian people. Beginning with the popular uprising in Pest on March 15, 1848 the revolution in Hungary developed along an ascending line. Already in March the country was proclaimed independent in financial and military matters (connection with the Empire continued in the form of Hungary's recognition of a common monarch of the Habsburg dynasty), a national government was set up, and a number of progressive reforms carried out (abolition of serfdom, etc.). In July the National Assembly (Seim) was convened which adopted a decision on the formation of a national army (its soldiers were called "Honveds"—"defenders of the homeland"). Though at first the Austrian ruling circles had to tolerate these changes, they were secretly preparing a blow against revolutionary Hungary. They did their utmost to fan the conflict caused by the Hungarian Government's refusal to satisfy the national demands of the Croats, the Voivodina Serbs and other national minorities which, according to the then existing administrative division, belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary, and incited the Right-wing landowners and bourgeoisie in the national movements of these peoples to start a war against the Hungarians. All this resulted in Jellachich's invasion which, contrary to the Habsburgs' expectations, evoked a new revolutionary upsurge in the country. On September 22, 1848 a Defence Council headed by Lajos Kossuth was set up, to which power was soon transferred; the moderate elements in the National Assembly and the government apparatus were forced into the background. But advocates of compromise with the Habsburgs continued to sabotage resolute revolutionary actions. p. 57

[47] The Hungarian command's delay in taking offensive action in support of the Vienna insurgents—due mainly to the opposition of the advocates of a compromise with the Habsburgs (including the influential General Görgey)—had unfavourable consequences for Hungary too. Having defeated the Hungarians at Schwechat, on the approaches to Vienna, on October 30, 1848, having captured this town and suppressed the Vienna insurrection, Windischgrätz and Austrian counter-revolutionary forces began to concentrate forces for a campaign against Hungary. In December the Austrian army under Windischgrätz invaded Hungary, captured Pest and occupied a considerable part of the country up to the Theiss. The Hungarian National Assembly and the Defence Council were forced to move to Debrecen. But the Hungarian revolutionary army reinforced its

ranks, mobilised all available resources and, supported by the local population and guerrillas in the enemy's rear, began a counter-offensive in early April 1849, delivered a number of crushing blows on the Austrians and drove them out of Hungary (see Engels' articles on the revolutionary war in Hungary for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in Vols. 8 and 9). The Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph had to ask the Russian Tsar Nicholas I for help. By the autumn of 1849 the Hungarian revolution had been suppressed by the joint forces of Habsburg Austria and Tsarist Russia. p. 61

[48] On August 13, 1849, at Világos, the Hungarian army commanded by Görgey surrendered to the Tsarist troops sent to help the Habsburgs to suppress the revolution in Hungary. p. 63

[49] *Lancastrian schools*—primary schools for children of non-propertied parents, in which a system of mutual instruction was employed. For lack of teachers, senior and more capable pupils helped to teach the rest of the pupils. Named after Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838), an English pedagogue, these schools were widespread in England and a number of other countries in the first half of the nineteenth century. p. 64

[50] In the new Prussian Government, formed on November 8, 1849, Count von Brandenburg held the post of Prime Minister, and Manteuffel, the most influential member of the Cabinet, assumed the post of Minister of the Interior (in 1850 he became Prime Minister). The royal decree transferring the Prussian National Assembly from Berlin to Brandenburg ("Botschaft an die zur Vereinbarung der Verfassung berufene Versammlung") was also dated November 8 and announced to the Assembly on the following day. p. 67

[51] In 1637 John Hampden, member of Parliament and later a prominent figure in the English revolution, refused to pay the royal tax collectors the "ship money" tax which had not been approved by the House of Commons. His refusal resulted in a trial which stimulated the growth of opposition to the Stuart monarchy.

The movement in America against the taxes and customs duties introduced by the British Government in the colonies was the prelude to the American War of Independence (1775-83). In 1766 the British Parliament was compelled to cancel the stamp-duty introduced in the preceding year, and later the Americans declared a boycott of English goods subject to indirect taxation. In 1773 an attempt forcibly to bring into America tea on which high duties were imposed, resulted in the destruction of a cargo in the port of Boston, Massachusetts. All this led to further conflicts and culminated in the rebellion of the American colonies against Britain. p. 67

[52] The reference is to a resolution passed by the Prussian National Assembly on November 15, 1848, at a sitting held in a Berlin hotel. It declared the levying of taxes illegal until the Assembly was in a position to continue its sittings in Berlin unhindered. However, it did not call on the people to resist the collection of taxes.

The sitting of November 15 was the last one which the deputies held in Berlin. Early in December some of them, mostly Right-wing deputies, assembled in Brandenburg. But on December 5, 1848 royal decrees were issued dissolving the National Assembly and introducing a Constitution imposed by the King. This completed the Prussian counter-revolutionary coup d'état. p. 67

[53] On March 4, 1849 the counter-revolutionary Austrian Government promulgated a Constitution imposed by the Emperor without waiting for the end of the discussion of constitutional drafts in the Constituent Imperial Diet. Despite the promises of autonomy to the lands inhabited by non-Austrians, the imposed Constitution was conceived in an anti-democratic spirit of centralised bureaucracy and anti-democratic government (the Emperor and his Ministers were to enjoy full powers). In reply to the deputies' protests, the Imperial Diet was dissolved on March 7. The Constitution of March 4 was a step towards restoring absolutism in Austria (it was finally restored by the imperial patent of December 31, 1851, which abolished constitutional rule). p. 70

[54] *Vendée*—a department in Western France; during the French Revolution of 1789-94 a centre of a royalist revolt in which the mass of the local peasantry took part. The name "Vendée" came to denote counter-revolutionary activity. p. 72

[55] Under the Constitution imposed by Frederick William IV on December 5, 1848, a two-Chamber parliament was introduced in Prussia. By the imposition of age and property qualifications the First Chamber was made a privileged chamber of the gentry. The two Chambers met on February 26, 1849. However, the government, displeased with the position of the Left-wing deputies of the Second Chamber, though their opposition was rather moderate, dissolved it on April 27. The pretext for the dissolution was the approval by the Second Chamber of the Imperial Constitution drawn up by the Frankfurt National Assembly. Subsequently, the imposed Constitution was repeatedly revised, on the initiative of the Right-wing ruling circles of Prussia, in a still more anti-democratic spirit. p. 72

[56] The *Fundamental Rights of the German People* ("Die Grundrechte des deutschen Volkes")—a document adopted by the Frankfurt National Assembly as a Declaration of Rights and published as early as December 1848 was incorporated into the text of the Imperial Constitution ("Verfassung des deutschen Reiches") as a separate, sixth, chapter. At its sitting on March 27, 1849, the National Assembly adopted the Imperial Electoral Law ("Reichsgesetz über die Wahlen der Abgeordneten zum Volkshause") along with the Constitution, which was published on March 28. Also on March 28 the Assembly elected the King of Prussia "Emperor of the Germans". p. 76

[57] On March 21, 1848, on the initiative of Prussian bourgeois ministers who sought to bolster the King's prestige, a royal pageant was staged in Berlin accompanied by demonstrations in favour of German unification. Frederick William IV drove along the streets of Berlin wearing a black-red-and-gold armband—the symbol of united Germany—and delivered pseudo-patriotic speeches, posing as an advocate of "German freedom and unity". p. 80

[58] The reference is to the conference of representatives of Prussia, Saxony, Hanover and Württemberg which met in Berlin on March 17, 1849 to revise the so-called Imperial Constitution drawn up by the Frankfurt National Assembly. It resulted in an agreement concluded on May 26, 1849, between the kings of Prussia, Saxony and Hanover (the "Three-King-League") based on the Prussian project for reorganising the German Confederation, which was aimed at establishing Prussia's hegemony in Germany. By trying to make other German princes join this League (known as the Prussian Union), Prussia's ruling circles hoped to unify the German

states, without Austria, under Prussian rule. However, under pressure from Austria, supported by Russia, the Prussian Government was forced to give up its plans in 1850. p. 83

[59] At the elections to the Frankfurt National Assembly in May 1848, the Silesian district of Striegau (Strzegom) elected Wilhelm Wolff to deputise when necessary for the liberal deputy Stenzel, who obtained a majority vote. When Stenzel and a group of other liberal deputies walked out of the Assembly in May 1849, his seat went to Wolff. It was on May 26, 1849, during the Assembly's discussion of an appeal to the German people couched in very moderate terms, that Wolff made the speech referred to, demanding that the Imperial Regent and his Ministers should be outlawed. p. 87

[60] The battle at Waghäusel (Baden) between the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army and the Prussian punitive force took place on June 21, 1849.

Under the walls of Rastatt fortress the Prussian and other punitive forces defeated the Baden-Palatinate army on June 29-30. The latter had to retreat to the south and on July 11-12 crossed over into Switzerland. On July 23 the insurgent garrison of Rastatt capitulated after a severe siege. p. 91

[61] The Imperial Regent and his Ministers were declared deposed and a new executive body—a Regency of five—was formed in their place at the sitting of the National Assembly on June 6, 1849, after its "rump" had moved from Frankfurt to Stuttgart. The Regency consisted of the moderate democrats Raveaux, Vogt, Simon, Schüler and Becher. Their attempts to implement the Imperial Constitution by parliamentary means ended in complete failure. p. 93

[62] The last article in the series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* did not appear in the *New-York Daily Tribune*. The English edition of 1896 and a number of later editions included as the last article Engels' "The Late Trial at Cologne" (see this volume, pp. 388-93), which did not belong to this series. p. 96

[63] This statement was written in connection with the arrest of Bürgers, Röser, Daniels and other members of the Communist League by the Prussian police in Cologne in May 1851, following the arrest of Nothjung, an emissary of the League, by the Saxon authorities in Leipzig, and in view of the rumours spread by the reactionary press of a communist plot, the threads of which allegedly led to Marx in London.

Marx's statement was not published in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* but was printed in the *Kölnische Zeitung* on October 9, 1851. On October 13, Marx wrote to Engels: "You'll have seen in the *Kölnische Zeitung* that I've made a statement refuting the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*'s nonsense. The tittle-tattle was becoming altogether too wild. The ruffians' intention, in launching the recent series of prolonged attacks on me in all the German newspapers, was, I am quite sure, to place me on the horns of a dilemma. Either I must publicly disown the conspiracy and hence our party friends, or I must publicly acknowledge them, thus committing an act of treason 'in law'. However, these gentlemen are too clumsy to catch us out" (see present edition, Vol. 38). p. 97

[64] *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (*Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte*) was written by Marx from December 1851 to March 1852, immediately following the coup d'état in France engineered by the French

President, who called himself "Louis Napoleon". In the course of his work on the book Marx constantly exchanged views with Engels concerning these events. Thus, in this book Marx developed some of the ideas contained in Engels' letter of December 3, 1851, in particular the ironical comparison of the Bonapartist coup d'état of December 2, 1851 with the coup of November 9, 1799 (the 18th Brumaire according to the republican calendar), as a result of which the Directory was overthrown and a dictatorship set up under General Napoleon Bonaparte, who was proclaimed First Consul and later, in 1804, Emperor of the French. Besides periodicals and official documents, Marx also used private letters from Paris as his sources.

*The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* was originally intended as a series of articles in the weekly *Die Revolution*, which was being prepared for publication by Joseph Weydemeyer, a friend of Marx and Engels and a member of the Communist League in the United States. But Weydemeyer managed to put out only two issues (January 1852), following which publication ceased for lack of funds. Marx's articles arrived too late for inclusion. On Marx's advice, Weydemeyer published this work in May 1852 as the first issue of the "non-periodic journal" *Die Revolution*, and provided it with a short preface. In giving it the title *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon*, Weydemeyer failed to take into account that throughout the book Marx referred to the chief initiator of the coup d'état as Louis Bonaparte, which he did deliberately (see his letter to Jenny Marx of June 11, 1852). Being in financial straits, Weydemeyer could not buy up the bulk of the impression from the print-shop, and only a small number of copies reached Europe. All attempts to publish the book in Germany or England (in an English translation) were unsuccessful.

The second edition of the book, this time under the title *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, appeared only in 1869. For this edition Marx revised the text, corrected a large number of misprints, mainly in accordance with the list appended to the 1852 edition, eliminated repetitions, abridged certain passages, and wrote a preface dated June 23, 1869, in which he described the editorial work he had done as follows: "A revision of the present work would have robbed it of its peculiar colouring. Accordingly I have confined myself to mere correction of printer's errors and to striking out allusions now no longer intelligible." This 1869 edition is the one translated here, but since the passages omitted by Marx are of great interest because they show how he revised the book and, in a number of cases (especially the abridgments in Chapter VII) because of their theoretical content, they are reproduced in this volume as footnotes.

The third edition came out in 1885 under the editorship of Engels and with his preface. The text in the main coincided with that of the 1869 edition. Passages from *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* were published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, an illegal organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, on March 18, 1887 (No. 12) and on March 16, 1889 (No. 11). During Engels' lifetime two translations were made from the 1885 edition: a French translation (published in *Le Socialiste*, organ of the Workers' Party of France, from January to November 1891, and in a separate pamphlet that appeared in Lille the same year) and a Russian translation (appeared as a pamphlet in Geneva in 1894).

In English, excerpts from this work were first published in "A Review of the Literature on the *Coup d'État*" by Georg Eccarius, a Communist League member, which was printed in the Chartist *People's Paper* from September to December 1852. In the last section of this review, printed on December 18,

1852, Eccarius quoted long passages from Chapter I of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see this volume, pp. 617-20). In English this work was first published in full in *The People*, the weekly of the Socialist Labour Party of the United States, in September-November 1897. It was published in book form in New York in 1898. p. 99

65 Hegel expressed this idea in his work *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte* (its first edition came out in Berlin in 1837). In the third part of this work, at the end of Section 2, entitled "Rom vom zweiten punischen Krieg bis zum Kaiserthum", Hegel wrote in particular that "A coup d'état is sanctioned as it were in the opinion of people if it is repeated. Thus, Napoleon was defeated twice and twice the Bourbons were driven out. Through repetition, what at the beginning seemed to be merely accidental and possible becomes real and established." Hegel also repeatedly expressed the idea that in the process of dialectical development there is bound to be a transition from the stage of formation and efflorescence to that of disintegration and ruin (see, in particular, G. W. F. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, Th. 3, Abt. 3, §347). Developing this thought and Hegel's idea about the recurrence of historical phenomena Marx wrote in his *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction* (end of 1843-beginning of 1844): "History is thorough and goes through many phases when carrying an old form to the grave. The last phase of a world-historical form is its *comedy*" (see present edition, Vol. 3, p. 179). A similar interpretation of Hegel's idea, albeit in the form of a vague hint, can be found in Marx's article "The Deeds of the Hohenzollern Dynasty" written in 1849 (see present edition, Vol. 9, p. 421). p. 103

66 *Montagne* (the Mountain)—representatives in the Constituent and subsequently in the Legislative Assembly of a bloc of democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists grouped round the newspaper *La Réforme*. They called themselves Montagnards or the Mountain by analogy with the Montagnards in the Convention of 1792-94. p. 103

67 An allusion to the fact that, while in emigration in England, Louis Bonaparte volunteered for the special constabulary (a police reserve consisting of civilians) which helped the regular police disperse the Chartist demonstration on April 10, 1848.

The "*Little Corporal*"—a nickname of General Bonaparte (later Emperor Napoleon I) popular among the French army. p. 103

68 At *Marengo* (North Italy) Napoleon Bonaparte's army, which had crossed the Alps at the St. Bernard Pass, defeated the army of the Austrian General Melas on June 14, 1800.

"*A company of gendarmes to be sent across the Jura*"—Marx refers here to the conflict between France and Switzerland in December 1851-January 1852 over Louis Bonaparte's demand for the deportation of French republican refugees from Switzerland. The Jura—a mountain range on the French-Swiss border.

*Order of St. Andrew*—the highest order of the Russian Empire. Marx apparently refers to the need for Louis Bonaparte to be recognised by the Russian Tsar Nicholas I. p. 103

69 On December 10, 1848 Louis Bonaparte was elected President of the French Republic by a majority vote. p. 105

[70] As the Bible has it (Exodus 16 : 3), during the exodus of the Jews from Egypt the faint-hearted among them, depressed by the difficulties of the journey and by hunger, began to sigh for the days spent in captivity when they at least had something to eat. The expression "to sigh for the fleshpots of Egypt" became a proverb. p. 105

[71] *Hic Rhodus, hic salta!* ("Here is Rhodes, leap here!"—meaning: here is the main point, now show us what you can do!)—words addressed to a swaggerer (in a fable by Aesop, "The Boasting Traveller") who claimed that he had made tremendous leaps in Rhodes.

*Here is the rose, here dance!*—a paraphrase of the preceding quotation (in Greek Rhodes, the name of an island, also means "rose") used by Hegel in the preface to his work *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts.* p. 107

[72] In May 1852 Louis Bonaparte's term of office as President expired. Under the French Constitution of 1848, presidential elections were to be held every four years on the second Sunday in May, and the outgoing President could not stand for re-election. p. 107

[73] *Chiliasts* (from the Greek word *chilias,* a thousand)—preachers of a mystical religious doctrine that Christ would come to earth a second time and usher in a "millennium" of universal equality, justice and well-being. Chiliastic beliefs sprang up in the period of early Christianity and were continuously revived in the doctrines of the various medieval sects which voiced the sentiments of the peasants and the urban poor. p. 107

[74] The *dynastic parties*—the Legitimists (see Note 13) and the Orleanists. The latter supported the House of Orleans, which was overthrown by the February revolution of 1848. They represented the interests of the finance aristocracy and the big bourgeoisie.

The *blue republicans*—bourgeois republicans; *red republicans*—democrats and socialists of various trends.

The *heroes of Africa*—Generals Cavaignac, Lamoricière and Bedeau, who took an active part in the colonial wars in Algeria. p. 107

[75] The *dynastic opposition*—an opposition group in the French Chamber of Deputies during the July monarchy (1830-48). The group, headed by Odilon Barrot, expressed the views of the liberal industrial and commercial bourgeoisie and favoured a moderate electoral reform, which they regarded as a means of preventing a revolution and preserving the Orleans dynasty. p. 108

[76] On the events of May 15, 1848 see Note 42. p. 110

[77] The *Mobile Guard* was set up by a decree of the Provisional Government on February 25, 1848 with the secret aim of fighting the revolutionary masses. Its armed units consisted mainly of lumpenproletarians and were used to crush the June uprising of the Paris workers. Subsequently, it was disbanded on the insistence of the Bonapartists, who feared that in the event of a conflict between President Bonaparte and the republicans the Mobile Guard would side with the latter.

For Marx's description of the Mobile Guard see his work *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 62-63). p. 110

[78] An allusion to a legend according to which the Roman Emperor Constantine (274-337) on the eve of a battle against his rival Maxentius in 312 saw in the sky the sign of the Cross and over it the words: "By this sign thou shalt conquer!" With this legend the Church links Constantine's "conversion" from the persecution of Christianity to its protection. p. 111

[79] The *Vienna treaties*—the treaties and agreements concluded at the Congress of Vienna held by European monarchs and their Ministers in 1814-15. They established the borders and status of European states after the victory over Napoleonic France and sanctioned, contrary to the national interests and will of the peoples, the reshaping of Europe's political map and the restoration of the "legitimate" dynasties overthrown as a result of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. The Vienna treaties confirmed France's territory within the borders of 1790 and the restoration of the Bourbons in France. p. 113

[80] On February 24, 1848 Louis Philippe abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Count of Paris. In view of the latter's minority, his mother, the Duchess of Orleans, was to assume the regency. But the King's abdication failed to halt the development of the revolution. Under pressure from the insurgent masses a Provisional Government was set up which proclaimed a republic the next day. p. 113

[81] The *Executive Commission* (*Commission du pouvoir exécutif*)—the Government of the French Republic set up by the Constituent Assembly on May 10, 1848 to replace the Provisional Government, which had resigned. It existed until June 24, 1848, when Cavaignac's dictatorship was established during the June proletarian uprising. Composed mostly of moderate republicans, the commission included Ledru-Rollin as a representative of the Left. p. 113

[82] The text of the *Constitution of the French Republic* was originally published in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 312, November 7, 1848, and the same year it appeared as a pamphlet. Marx examined this document in 1851 in a special article entitled "The Constitution of the French Republic" (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 567-80). In *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* Marx often designates articles of this Constitution as paragraphs (§§).

The *constitutional Charter*, adopted after the bourgeois revolution of 1830, was the fundamental law of the July monarchy. Nominally the Charter proclaimed the sovereign rights of the nation and restricted somewhat the king's power. But the bureaucratic and police apparatus remained intact, as did the severe laws against the working-class and democratic movement. p. 114

[83] "*Frère, il faut mourir!*" ("Brother, one must die!")—this is how Trappists, monks of a Catholic order, greeted each other. The order was founded in 1664 and was noted for its strict rules and the ascetic life of its members. p. 116

[84] *Clichy*—a debtors' prison in Paris from 1826 to 1867. p. 116

[85] This refers to the Cavaignac Government's attitude towards the new revolutionary upsurge in Italy that began in the autumn of 1848. Though Cavaignac declared a policy of non-interference, he actually rendered diplomatic aid to the ruling circles of the Kingdom of Naples and Austria in their struggle against the Italian

national liberation movement. When Pius IX fled to the Neapolitan fortress of Gaeta after the popular uprising in Rome on November 16, which started a series of events that resulted in the proclamation of the Roman Republic on February 9, 1849, Cavaignac offered him asylum in France. Incited by the French Government, Pius IX called on all Catholic states on December 4, 1848 to intervene against the Roman revolutionaries, and Naples and Austria immediately responded to this call. By his policy Cavaignac in effect prepared for the dispatch of a French expeditionary corps against the Roman Republic undertaken later by President Louis Bonaparte. p. 119

[86] In 1832 Louis Bonaparte became a Swiss citizen in the canton of Thurgau; on his joining the special constabulary in England, see Note 67. p. 119

[87] An ironical allusion to Louis Bonaparte's book *Des Idées napoléoniennes*, which he wrote in England and published in Paris and Brussels in 1839. p. 123

[88] The French Government managed to get allocations from the Constituent Assembly for the dispatch to Italy of an expeditionary corps under General Oudinot in April 1849 on the pretext of defending Piedmont in its struggle against Austria, and of protecting the Roman Republic. The true aim of the expedition was intervention against the Roman Republic and restoration of the Pope's temporal power. (On this subject see also Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*, present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 91-94). p. 123

[89] The reference is to the Bill introduced on November 6, 1851 by the royalists Le Flô, Baze and Panat, questors of the Legislative Assembly (deputies of the Assembly charged with economic and financial matters and safeguarding its security). It was rejected on November 17 after a heated debate, in which Thiers supported the Bill and the Bonapartist Saint-Arnaud opposed it. When the vote was taken, the Montagne supported the Bonapartists because it saw the main danger in the royalists. p. 123

[90] On the events of April 16 and May 15, 1848 see Note 42. p. 124

[91] The *Fronde*—a movement in France against the absolutist regime and its prop, the government of Cardinal Mazarin. It was active from 1648 to 1653 and involved various social sections, which in many cases pursued opposite aims, from radical peasant and plebeian elements and oppositional bourgeoisie, to high-ranking officials who sought to maintain their privileges, and aristocrats seeking lucrative posts, pensions and allowances. The defeat of the Fronde led to the strengthening of absolutism. p. 125

[92] The ruling Bonapartist circles and the counter-revolutionary press, preparing the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, did everything they could to scare all timid and law-abiding citizens by the prospect of anarchy, revolutionary plots, a new Jacquerie and encroachments on property during the presidential elections scheduled for May 1852. A special role in this campaign was played by the pamphlet *Le spectre rouge de 1852* (Brussels, 1851) by A. Romieu, a former prefect of police. p. 125

[93] *Ems*—a health resort in Germany where a Legitimist conference was held in August 1849; it was attended by the Count de Chambord, pretender to the French throne under the name of Henry V.

*Claremont*—a house near London, residence of Louis Philippe after his flight from France. p. 128

[94] Marx uses the term "*Haupt- und Staatsaktionen*" ("principal and spectacular actions"), which has several meanings. In the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, it denoted plays performed by German touring companies. The plays, which were rather formless, presented tragic historical events in a bombastic and at the same time coarse and farcical way.

Secondly, this term can denote major political events. It was used in this sense by a trend in German historical science known as "objective historiography". Leopold Ranke was one of its chief representatives. He regarded *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* as the main subject-matter of history. p. 128

[95] The expeditionary corps under General Oudinot, sent to Italy by decision of President Louis Bonaparte and the French Government, was driven back from Rome by the troops of the Roman Republic on April 30, 1849. But, in violation of the terms of the armistice signed by the French, Oudinot launched a new offensive on June 3. Throughout the siege of Rome until the fall of the Republic on July 3, 1849 the city was repeatedly subjected to heavy bombardment.

Article V belongs to the introductory part of the French Constitution of 1848; the articles of the main part of the Constitution are numbered in Arabic numerals. p. 131

[96] On August 10, 1849 the Legislative Assembly adopted a law under which "instigators and supporters of the conspiracy and the attempt of June 13" were liable to trial by the High Court. Thirty-four deputies of the Montagne (Alexandre Ledru-Rollin, Félix Pyat and Victor Considérant among them) were deprived of their mandates and put on trial (those who had emigrated were tried by default).

On June 13 the editorial offices of democratic and socialist newspapers were raided and many of these papers were banned. p. 132

[97] The events in Paris sparked off an armed uprising of Lyons workers and artisans on June 15, 1849. The insurgents occupied the Croix-Rousse district and erected barricades there, but were overcome by troops after several hours of stubborn fighting. p. 132

[98] An ironical allusion to the plans of Louis Napoleon, who expected to receive the French Crown from the hands of Pius IX, whose temporal power he helped restore. According to the Bible, David was anointed king by the prophet Samuel in oppositon to the Hebrew king Saul (I Samuel 16 : 13). p. 135

[99] The *battle of Austerlitz* between the Russo-Austrian and the French armies on December 2, 1805 ended in victory for the French commanded by Napoleon I. p. 136

[100] See Note 87. p. 140

[101] The *wine tax*, abolished as of January 1, 1850 by decision of the Constituent Assembly, was re-introduced by a law of the Legislative Assembly on December 20-21, 1849.

The *education law*, which virtually placed the schools under the control of the clergy, was adopted by the Legislative Assembly on March 15-27, 1850. For an assessment of these laws see Karl Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 119-20). p. 140

102 The reference is to the commission of 17 Orleanists and Legitimists—deputies of the Legislative Assembly—appointed by the Minister of the Interior on May 1, 1850 to draft a new electoral law. Its members were nicknamed *burgraves*, a name borrowed from the title of a historical drama by Victor Hugo, as an allusion to their unwarranted claims to power and their reactionary aspirations. The drama is set in medieval Germany, where the Burggraf was governor, appointed by the emperor, of a *Burg* (city) or district. p. 144

103 From March 7 to April 3, 1849 the leaders of the Paris workers' uprising of May 15, 1848 were tried at Bourges on a charge of conspiring against the government. Barbès and Albert were sentenced to exile, Blanqui to ten years solitary confinement and the rest of the accused to various terms of imprisonment or exile.

On the events of May 15, 1848 see Note 42. p. 144

104 The press law passed by the Legislative Assembly in July 1850 ("Loi sur le cautionnement des journaux et le timbre des écrits périodiques et non périodiques. 16-23 juillet 1850") considerably increased the caution money which newspaper publishers had to deposit, and introduced a stamp-duty, which applied also to pamphlets. This new law was a continuation of reactionary measures which virtually led to the abolition of freedom of the press in France (see also Karl Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*, present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 137-38). p. 145

105 *Lazzaroni*—a contemptuous name for declassed proletarians, primarily in the Kingdom of Naples. These people were repeatedly used by reactionary governments against liberal and democratic movements. p. 149

106 The reference is to French Guiana where political prisoners were sent for penal servitude. p. 149

107 This refers to Louis Bonaparte's attempts during the July monarchy to stage a coup d'état by means of a military mutiny. On October 30, 1836 he succeeded, with the help of several Bonapartist officers, in inciting two artillery regiments of the Strasbourg garrison to mutiny, but they were disarmed within a few hours. Louis Bonaparte was arrested and deported to America. On August 6, 1840, taking advantage of a partial revival of Bonapartist sentiments in France, he landed in Boulogne with a handful of conspirators and attempted to raise a mutiny among the troops of the local garrison. This attempt likewise proved a failure. He was sentenced to life imprisonment, but escaped to England in 1846. p. 149

108 The *national ateliers* (workshops) were instituted by the Provisional Government immediately after the February revolution of 1848. By this means the Government sought to discredit Louis Blanc's ideas on "the organisation of labour" in the eyes of the workers and, at the same time, to utilise those employed in the national workshops, organised on military lines, against the revolutionary

proletariat. Revolutionary ideas, however, continued to gain ground in the national workshops. The Government took steps to reduce the number of workers employed in them, to send a large number off to public works in the provinces and finally to liquidate the workshops. This precipitated a proletarian uprising in Paris in June 1848. After its suppression, the Cavaignac Government issued a decree on July 3, disbanding the national workshops.

For an assessment of the national workshops see Karl Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (present edition, Vol. 10, p. 63). p. 150

[109] The *parliaments in France*—judicial institutions that came into being in the Middle Ages. The Paris parliament was the highest court of appeal and also performed important administrative and political functions, such as the registration of royal decrees, without which they had no legal force. The parliaments enjoyed the right to remonstrate against government decrees. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they consisted of officials of high birth called the "nobility of the mantle". The parliaments ultimately became the bulwark of Right-wing opposition to absolutism and impeded the implementation of even moderate reforms, and were abolished during the French Revolution, in 1790. p. 159

[110] *Belle Isle*—an island in the Bay of Biscay, a place of detention of political prisoners in 1849-57; among others, workers who took part in the Paris uprising in June 1848 were detained there. p. 162

[111] Here Marx is drawing a parallel with a story told by the Greek writer Athenaeus (2nd-3rd cent. A.D.) in his book *Deipnosophistae* (Dinner-Table Philosophers). The Egyptian Pharaoh Tachos, alluding to the small stature of the Spartan King Agesilaus, who had come with his troops to the Pharaoh's help, said: "The mountain was in labour. Zeus was afraid. But the mountain has brought forth a mouse." Agesilaus replied: "I seem to you now only a mouse, but the time will come when I will appear to you like a lion." p. 163

[112] In the 1850s, the Count of Chambord, the Legitimist pretender to the French throne, lived in Venice.

*Claremont*—see Note 93. p. 166

[113] The reference is to tactical disagreements in the Legitimist camp during the Restoration period. Louis XVIII and Villèle favoured a more cautious introduction of reactionary measures while the Count d'Artois (King Charles X from 1824) and Polignac ignored the actual situation in France and advocated the complete restoration of the pre-revolutionary regime.

The *Tuileries Palace* in Paris was Louis XVIII's residence.

The *Pavillon Marsan*, one of the wings of the Palace, was the residence of the Count d'Artois during the Restoration. p. 168

[114] General Magnan directed the suppression of the armed uprising of workers and artisans in Lyons on June 15, 1849 (see Note 97). p. 169

[115] The *Great Exhibition in London*, from May to October 1851, was the first world trade and industrial exhibition. p. 174

[116] On December 4, 1851 government troops commanded by Bonapartist generals suppressed a republican uprising directed against the coup d'état in Paris. The

uprising was led by a group of Left-wing deputies of the Legislative Assembly and leaders of workers' corporations and secret societies. Employing cannon, the government troops destroyed the barricades erected by the defenders of the Republi . While fighting the insurgents, drunken soldiers and officers fired at passers-by, at customers in cafés and at spectators at windows and balconies. Several bourgeois mansions were also damaged in this Bonapartist terror.

p. 179

117 This refers to the participation of peasants in the republican uprisings in France in late 1851 in protest against the Bonapartist coup d'état. These uprisings, involving mainly artisans and workers of small towns and settlements, local peasants, tradesmen and intellectuals, embraced nearly twenty departments in south-east, south-west and central France. Lacking unity and centralisation they were fairly quickly suppressed by police and troops. p. 188

118 Here Marx compares the Bonapartist authorities' reprisals against the participants in the republican movement, including peasants, with the persecution of the so-called demagogues in Germany in the 1820s and 1830s.

*Demagogues* in Germany were participants in the opposition movement of intellectuals. The name became current after the Karlsbad Conference of Ministers of the German States in August 1819, which adopted a special decision against the intrigues of "demagogues". p. 188

119 *Cévennes*—a mountain region in the Languedoc Province of France where an uprising of peasants, known as the uprising of "Camisards" (*camise* in old French means shirt) took place between 1702 and 1705. The uprising, which began in protest against the persecution of Protestants, assumed an openly anti-feudal character.

*Vendée*—see Note 54. p. 188

120 This refers to a speech by Montalembert, leader of the Legitimists, in the Legislative Assembly on May 22, 1850, in which he urged them to "wage a serious war against socialism". p. 192

121 The *Council of Constance* (1414-18) was convened to strengthen the weakened position of the Catholic Church at that period. The Council condemned the teachings of John Wycliffe and Jan Huss, and put an end to the split in the Catholic Church by electing a new Pope instead of the three pretenders competing for the papacy. p. 194

122 On the "true socialists" see Note 19. p. 194

123 This witticism of Countess Lehon and the caustic remark of Madame de Girardin on the Bonapartist regime, which Marx quotes at the end of the paragraph, were forwarded to him, together with many other items used in *The Eighteenth Brumaire*, by Richard Reinhardt, a German refugee in Paris, Heinrich Heine's secretary. In his letter to Ferdinand Lassalle of February 23, 1852 Marx quotes a letter to him from Reinhardt, in particular the following passage: "As for de Morny, the minister who resigned with Dupin, he was known as the *escroc* [swindler] of his mistress' (Countess Lehon's) husband, a circumstance which caused Émile de Girardin's wife to say that while it was not unprecedented for governments to be in the hands of men who were governed by their wives, none

had ever been known to be in the hands of *hommes entretenus* [kept men]. Well, this same Countess Lehon holds a salon where she is one of Bonaparte's most vociferous opponents and it was she who, on the occasion of the confiscation of the Orleans' estates let fall '*C'est le premier vol de l'aigle*'. [A pun: "It is the first flight of the eagle" and "It is the first theft of the eagle".] Thanks to this remark of his wife's, Emile de Girardin was expelled" (see present edition, Vol. 39). p. 196

[124] The reference is to the Regency of Philippe of Orléans in France from 1715 to 1723 during the minority of Louis XV. p. 196

[125] The *Holy Coat of Trier*—a relic exhibited in the Catholic Cathedral at Trier, allegedly a garment of Christ of which he was stripped at his crucifixion. Generations of pilgrims came to venerate it. p. 197

[126] The *Vendôme Column* was erected in Paris between 1806 and 1810 in tribute to the military victories of Napoleon I. It was made of bronze from captured enemy guns and crowned by a statue of Napoleon; the statue was removed during the Restoration but re-erected in 1833. In the spring of 1871, by order of the Paris Commune, the Vendôme Column was destroyed as a symbol of militarism. p. 197

[127] Engels' articles on England were intended for *Die Revolution*, a New York weekly published by Joseph Weydemeyer. Of the four articles written by Engels in December 1851 and January 1852, only two reached Weydemeyer, the other two having been lost on the way. But even the articles which reached Weydemeyer were not published in *Die Revolution*, since the journal had ceased publication. The first of these articles was published in an abridged form (without the first four paragraphs and the last one) in the *Turn-Zeitung* (No. 15, November 15, 1852), a newspaper published in New York of which Weydemeyer was an editor. The second article was used by Weydemeyer in a number of his own writings for the press.

In the manuscript the title "England" is written by Engels over each of the two extant articles. This title was crossed out above the second article, apparently by Weydemeyer, and it was probably he who numbered the articles with Roman numerals. p. 198

[128] Palmerston, Foreign Secretary in the Whig Ministry of Russell, was dismissed because in a conversation with the French ambassador he had expressed his approval of the Bonapartist coup d'état in France on December 2, 1851, without consulting the other members of the Ministry. The dismissal occurred on December 19, 1851, and in February 1852 Russell's Ministry was replaced by the Tory Ministry of Derby. p. 198

[129] At the battle of Waterloo (June 18, 1815) Napoleon's army was defeated by British and Prussian forces commanded by the Duke of Wellington and Blücher. p. 198

[130] From 1850 to 1853 Britain waged one of its Kaffir wars against the Xhosan tribe in Africa. In the first years of the war the local population defeated the British troops several times, but under the Peace Treaty of 1853 the Xhosas had to cede part of their lands to Britain.

In 1851 the British made an attempt to seize the Slave Coast (West Africa), for which purpose they intervened in an internecine war of the local Yoruba tribes. Despite their bombardment of the town of Lagos in December 1851, the British failed to subjugate the local population and had to content themselves with installing a henchman of theirs in power. It was not until they had "purchased" Lagos in 1861 that the British consolidated themselves on the Slave Coast and laid the foundations of their colony, Nigeria. p. 198

[131] This refers to the French colonial troops who took part in the conquest of Algeria. p. 199

[132] In his song *Les mirmidons ou les funérailles d'Achille*, Béranger allegorically portrayed the base and worthless rulers of France under the Restoration. There is a pun in the title: *mirmidons* (myrmidons) is the name of a legendary tribe in South Thessaly whose warriors fought in the Trojan War under Achilles' command; it also means dwarfs and, figuratively, base, worthless people. p. 200

[133] On the defeat of the Chartists on April 10, 1848 see Note 41. p. 200

[134] Here and below the reference is to the Punic Wars (264-241, 218-201 and 149-146 B.C.) which were waged between the two major slave-owning states of antiquity, Rome and Carthage, for supremacy in the Western Mediterranean, for the conquest of new territories and for slaves. They ended in the defeat of Carthage. p. 201

[135] During the war against the first anti-French coalition (1792-97), Napoleon's army fighting the Austrian forces occupied the neutral Venetian Republic in May-June 1797. Under the Franco-Austrian treaty concluded in Campoformio in October 1797, part of the republic's territory, including Venice, was given to Austria in exchange for concessions the latter made on the frontier along the Rhine; the other part went to the Cisalpine Republic formed by Napoleon out of lands he had captured in Northern Italy; the Ionian Islands and the Venetian Republic's possessions on the Albanian coast were annexed to France. p. 201

[136] The reference is to the British fleet in Portugal, stationed in Tagus estuary, which was used by the British Mediterranean fleet as an intermediate base in the nineteenth century. p. 202

[137] An allusion to the camp at Boulogne established by Napoleon I in 1803-05 for the invasion of England across the Channel. Concentrated here were nearly 2,500 small transport ships and a 120,000-strong army of invasion. The defeat of the French fleet at Trafalgar by Admiral Lord Nelson and the formation in Europe of a new anti-French coalition including Russia and Austria compelled Napoleon to abandon his plan. p. 203

[138] The reference is to an operation in the Schleswig-Holstein war (see Note 35), when, on April 5, 1849, a Danish squadron of ten ships attacked from the sea the Schleswig town of Eckernförde, situated on the shore of a bay, with a view to landing troops there. The ships were destroyed by cross-fire from coastal batteries. p. 204

[139] The *Peace Society*—a pacifist organisation founded by the Quakers in London in 1816. The society was actively supported by the Free Traders, who thought that in conditions of peace free trade would enable England to make full use of her industrial superiority and thus gain economic and political supremacy. p. 205

[140] Here the following editorial note was added, apparently by Weydemeyer: "The letter discussing Palmerston's dismissal has not reached us, it has probably been lost on the way from England." p. 205

[141] The *People's Charter*, which contained the demands of the Chartists, was published on May 8, 1838, in the form of a Bill to be submitted to Parliament. It consisted of six points: universal suffrage (for men of 21 years of age), annual elections to Parliament, secret ballot, equal constituencies, abolition of property qualifications for candidates to Parliament, and salaries for M.P.s. In 1839 and 1842 petitions for the Charter were rejected by Parliament. p. 206

[142] As a result of the Union of 1707 England and Scotland were united into a single state, the Kingdom of Great Britain. The Act of Union abolished the Scottish Parliament and Scotland was given several dozen seats in the London Parliament. But the autonomous rights of the Scottish (Presbyterian) Church were preserved. p. 207

[143] Later, in a series of articles "Lord John Russell", written in the summer of 1855 (see present edition, Vol. 14), Marx characterised Russell's Reform Bill introduced in early 1852 and gave the reasons for its failure. p. 208

[144] This letter was written by Engels on the initiative of Marx (see his letter to Engels of January 24, 1852) and sent by the latter to the editor of *The Times*. At Marx's request Engels prepared a similar letter for *The Daily News*. But the letters were not published because of the openly hostile attitude of these newspapers towards the Communist League leaders. In this volume the letter is published according to the draft written on the back of Engels' letter to Marx of January 28, 1852. The signature "A Prussian" is in Marx's hand. p. 210

[145] The *Grand Jury*—until 1933 a body of from 12 to 23 jurors appointed by the sheriff from among "good and loyal persons" to make a preliminary examination of cases before the accused were brought to trial. p. 211

[146] This series was written by Engels for *Notes to the People*, the weekly organ of the revolutionary wing of the Chartists edited by Ernest Jones. After their temporary break with George Julian Harney, who became associated with the petty-bourgeois democrats and the separatist Willich-Schapper group responsible for the split in the Communist League, Marx and Engels strengthened their ties with Jones, who remained true to the Chartist revolutionary traditions. They supported his agitation and organising work and actively helped him in publishing periodicals. In the summer of 1851, Marx published his article "The Constitution of the French Republic" (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 567-80) in *Notes to the People* and helped Jones write a number of articles on co-operation

(published in this journal), of which Marx was virtually a co-author (see this volume, pp. 571-89).

This series of articles by Engels was printed anonymously in three issues of *Notes to the People* under the editors' headings: "The Continental Correspondent of the 'Notes'", "Letter of Our Foreign Correspondent" and "Our Foreign Correspondent's Letter". Only the first article was provided with a title. Judging by the concluding paragraph of the third article, the published articles did not exhaust the author's plans. However, the continuation of the series did not appear in this weekly, which ceased publication on April 24, 1852. It is not known whether Engels had written the rest of the series. p. 212

147 The reference is to the attempts at armed resistance to the Bonapartist coup d'état in Paris and to the republican uprisings in a number of French departments (see notes 116 and 117).

Having suppressed these actions in defence of the republic, the Bonapartists staged a "plebiscite" in an atmosphere of fierce police terror, on December 20-21, 1851, thus giving the coup d'état the semblance of popular approval. On January 14, 1852 a new constitution was introduced which conferred all state power upon the President, elected for ten years; the composition and legislative functions of the Council of State, the Legislative Corps and the Senate—the supreme state institutions modelled on the corresponding bodies of Napoleon I—were placed under his direct control. This constitution in fact restored the regime of the Empire in France. On December 2, 1852 the Second Republic was abolished and the Prince-President was formally proclaimed Emperor of the French under the name of Napoleon III. p. 212

148 This refers to a number of press laws passed by the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies—"Décret relatif aux cautionnement des journaux et écrits périodiques du 9-12 août 1848"; "Décret relatif à la répression des crimes et délits commis par la voie de la presse du 11-12 août 1848"; "Loi sur la presse du 27-29 juillet 1849"; "Loi sur le cautionnement des journaux et le timbre des écrits périodiques et non périodiques du 16-23 juillet 1850." These laws introduced high caution deposits for the publication of newspapers, a stamp-duty on newspapers and pamphlets and severe punishment for attacks on "the principle of property and family right" and for "incitement to civil war". These laws virtually abolished freedom of the press and freedom of speech in France.

Engels called these press laws "gagging laws" by analogy with the six English acts adopted by the British Parliament in 1819, which abolished inviolability of the person and freedom of the press and assembly. p. 213

149 As Engels foresaw, in late 1853 and in 1854 there were signs of economic crisis in the major capitalist countries. Gluts in the market, above all in America and Australia, resulted in production cutbacks in the English textile and iron industries. Similar processes took place in France. The US industry also experienced serious difficulties. But a world economic crisis did not occur until 1857. p. 221

150 *Belgrave Square*—a fashionable residential district in London's West End. p. 221

[151] The reference is to the confiscation of the property of the House of Orleans decreed by Louis Bonaparte on January 22, 1852. p. 221

[152] In September 1851 arrests were made in France among members of local communities belonging to the Willich-Schapper group, which was responsible for the split in the Communist League in September 1850. The petty-bourgeois conspiratorial tactics of this group, ignoring realities and aiming at an immediate uprising, enabled the French and Prussian police, with the help of the agent-provocateur Cherval, who headed one of these local communities in Paris, to fabricate the case of the so-called Franco-German conspiracy. In February 1852 the accused were sentenced on a charge of plotting a coup d'état. Cherval was allowed to escape from prison. The attempts of the Prussian police to incriminate the Communist League led by Marx and Engels failed. Conrad Schramm, a League member, arrested in Paris in September 1851, was soon released for lack of evidence. Nevertheless, the Prussian Police Superintendent Stieber, one of the organisers of the Cologne Communist trial in 1852, repeated the false police accusation. His perjury was exposed by Marx (see this volume, pp. 404-38). p. 223

[153] In September 1849 Marx was elected to the Committee of Support for German Refugees formed by the German Workers' Educational Society in London. With a view to counteract the attempts of petty-bourgeois refugee democrats to influence the proletarian refugees, the Committee was reorganised into the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee, as suggested by Marx and other Communist League leaders. Engels was among the leaders of the new Committee. In mid-September 1850 Marx and Engels withdrew from the Refugee Committee because the majority of its members were under the influence of the Willich-Schapper group. p. 223

[154] These are Marx's introductory and concluding remarks on the "Political Programme" of General Klapka, who took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary. Marx may have received this document from Bertalan Szemere, Gustav Zerffi or some other Hungarian émigré among his acquaintances. His interest in it, judging by his letter to Engels of May 6, 1852, was aroused by the preparations for armed actions in Hungary and Italy against Austrian rule being made by the followers of Kossuth and Mazzini. Klapka was to be one of the military leaders. In conditions of the temporary triumph of reaction everywhere, Marx regarded these actions as adventurism which could only play into the hands of the counter-revolutionaries. He saw as particularly dangerous the tendency of certain Hungarian and Italian leaders to seek support for their liberation struggle from Louis Bonaparte and his entourage, who were coquetting with the national movements in an attempt to raise the prestige of the Bonapartist regime and further its foreign policy aims. Later, Marx wrote special articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune* warning of the danger of this tendency (see "Movements of Mazzini and Kossuth.—League with Louis Napoleon.—Palmerston", "Kossuth, Mazzini, and Louis Napoleon" and other articles in this volume). Klapka's "Programme" apparently attracted Marx's attention also because of the author's criticism, though timid and half-hearted, of Kossuth's activity and because of his attempt—in opposition to Kossuth—to propose a more democratic course, that of recognising the rights of national minorities from the outset. As can be seen from Marx's letter to Cluss, dated

May 10, 1852, he intended to publish his remarks on the "Programme" as an article in the *New-York Daily Tribune*. In this volume, they are published according to the copy made by Mrs. Marx. p. 224

155 *The Great Men of the Exile* (*Die grossen Männer des Exils*) is a satirical *exposé* of the leaders of the petty-bourgeois emigration and of the separatist Willich-Schapper group which caused a split in the Communist League in the autumn of 1850. In conditions of the offensive of reaction throughout the European Continent, Marx and Engels attached great importance to exposing these circles, whose adventurist, conspiratorial and pseudo-revolutionary activities were accompanied by internal strife and squabbles, provided opportunities for police provocations, and diverted the attention of the proletarian and democratic forces from the truly revolutionary tasks.

It was in early 1851 that Marx and Engels conceived the idea of publishing a satirical *exposé* of the leaders of the emigration who were only playing at revolution. As can be seen from Engels' letters to Marx of January 25 and February 5 and from their joint declaration against Ruge of January 27, 1851 (see present edition, Vols. 10 and 38), Engels already then wanted to publish a series of articles about "continental democracy" in Harney's Chartist weekly *Friend of the People*. However, Harney's association with petty-bourgeois émigrés and the Willich-Schapper group, which resulted in a temporary break with him, made Engels interrupt this work and prompted him and Marx to look for other possibilities for a public criticism of the petty-bourgeois émigré groups. This is testified by Marx's letters to the Frankfurt journalist Hermann Ebner, written in August and on December 2, 1851, containing factual material against Arnold Ruge, Gottfried Kinkel, August Willich and others which is textually close to the corresponding pages of the future *exposé*. It was apparently at that time too that the title of the pamphlet was conceived: in his letter to Ebner written in August 1851 Marx called the people he was unmasking "the great men of the future". Engels, too, returned to this theme. In the autumn of 1851 he began writing a satirical article about Karl Schapper, one of those responsible for the split in the Communist League. He hoped to publish it in the USA with the help of Joseph Weydemeyer. But soon Schapper showed signs of disillusionment with sectarian tactics, as a result of which Marx and Engels presumably decided not to include him among the main characters of their pamphlet. For some time they thought it possible to publish it in Weydemeyer's weekly *Die Revolution*, but this soon ceased publication. Nevertheless, Marx provided Weydemeyer and Cluss, another of his followers in the USA, with information about the habits and intrigues of the émigrés, which they used in their writings in the American labour and democratic press.

By the spring of 1852 the plan had crystallised. The pamphlet was written in May and June 1852, partly in London and partly at Engels' home in Manchester, where Marx arrived at the end of May. The authors used their previous notes and also a wealth of new factual material collected with the help of their friends: articles and pamphlets by the émigré leaders themselves, the latter's biographies compiled by their admirers, various émigré publications, documents, memoirs, the German, French and English press, including periodicals printed by German émigrés in the USA (unfortunately, some of these periodicals were not available to the compiler of this volume), and so on. Apart from Mrs. Marx, Ernst Dronke, a Communist League member, also took part in selecting the material and preparing the manuscript for the press. Early in July Marx passed on the manuscript to the Hungarian émigré Bangya,

who offered to publish it in Germany. Later, it turned out that Bangya was a police spy, who had sold the manuscript to the Prussian police. The actions of Bangya, who managed to win even Marx's confidence for a time, were unmasked by the latter in the article "Hirsch's Confessions" written in April 1853 and published in the American newspaper *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung* on May 5, 1853 (see present edition, Vol. 12).

*The Great Men of the Exile* was not printed during the lifetime of Marx and Engels. The preliminary copy of the manuscript (the first pages are in Dronke's hand and the remainder in Engels' with Marx's additions) was preserved by Marx and later fell into the hands of Eduard Bernstein who, far from taking steps to have it printed, omitted all passages about Marx's talks with Bangya concerning *The Great Men of the Exile* when publishing the Marx-Engels correspondence in 1913. It was not until 1924 that the MS was handed over by Bernstein to the archives of the German Social-Democratic Party, which was custodian of Marx's and Engels' papers. The pamphlet was first published in 1930 in Russian translation in Book 5 of *Marx-Engels Archives* by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU and was not printed in the original German until its inclusion in Marx/Engels, *Werke* in 1960 (Vol. 8).

In English this work was first published in 1971 in the book: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Cologne Communist Trial*, Lawrence & Wishart, London.

In this volume editorial corrections made by Marx and Engels have been taken into account. Passages deleted by the authors in the manuscript are not reproduced, except for two which sum up, as it were, the preceding text. These are given in footnotes (see pp. 231, 273). p. 227

156 Marx and Engels refer here to the sentimental trend in German literature typified by Johann Martin Miller's novel *Siegwart, Eine Klostergeschichte* (1776), which was popular in the late eighteenth century. p. 229

157 *Rationalists*—representatives of a trend in German Protestant theology which enjoyed a considerable following in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century. As distinct from the pietists, another trend in the Lutheran Church which was distinguished by extreme mysticism, the rationalists sought to combine theology with philosophy and prove that "divine revelation" could be explained by reason. p. 234

158 In E.T.A. Hoffmann's story *Meister Johannes Wacht*, the carpenter Johannes Wacht, overwhelmed by grief over the recent loss of his wife and son, finds consolation in artistic work and designs an original building. p. 238

159 The *Hainbund* (Grove Union)—a circle of young poets including Johann Heinrich Voss, Ludwig Heinrich Hölty, Johann Martin Miller and Johann Friedrich Hahn. It was founded in Göttingen University in 1772 and belonged to a trend which soon became known as the *Sturm und Drang* and expressed the discontent of the German burghers with the existing system in Germany. The Union's ideological inspirer was Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock. Characteristic of the *Hainbund* was lyric poetry in which protest was interwoven with sentimental praise of the philistine way of life of German burghers. The Union disintegrated in 1774. p. 244

160 Marx and Engels refer here to the utopian programmes for restoring guilds put forward by artisans' congresses in different towns of Germany in 1848. They nicknamed them *Winkelblechiads* after the German economist K. G. Win-

kelblech, who called for a return to the guild system. On July 15, 1848 an All-German Artisans' Congress met in Frankfurt am Main to work out a common programme. As apprentices were not admitted to the congress by the master-workmen, they convened their own congress and invited representatives of the workers from South German towns. But the programme of this congress was likewise drawn up in the spirit of the utopian ideas of Winkelblech, who took part in both congresses. p. 249

[161] The *Lower Chamber* of the Prussian Diet (*Landtag*) was convened on February 26, 1849, on the basis of the Constitution imposed by Frederick William IV on December 5, 1848 following the coup d'état in Prussia (see Note 52). Despite the fact that in many provinces the elections to it were held in conditions of a virtual state of siege, and notwithstanding the undemocratic electoral law of December 6, 1848, a strong opposition was formed in the Chamber. It was made up of the majority of Left- and Right-Centre deputies of the dissolved Berlin National Assembly. Though the Left wing took a rather moderate stand, the Lower Chamber was dissolved by the government on April 27, 1849. p. 252

[162] See Note 60. p. 253

[163] Kinkel's speech before the military tribunal in Rastatt (he was tried for his part in the campaign for the Imperial Constitution), published in the Berlin *Abend-Post* on April 5 and 6, 1850, was sharply criticised by Marx and Engels in their article "Gottfried Kinkel" which appeared in the fourth issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (see present edition, Vol. 10). In this article Marx and Engels also quoted this passage from Kinkel's speech, describing it as a cowardly renunciation of his revolutionary comrades and unprincipled adaptation to the reaction. Later, this speech of Kinkel's and his speech on May 2, 1850 at the Cologne trial, where he was charged with taking part in the insurgent movement in the Rhine Province in the spring of 1849 (passages from this speech are quoted further in the text), were reproduced in Schrodtmann's book *Gottfried Kinkel. Wahrheit ohne Dichtung*, Vol. 2, Hamburg, 1851. p. 254

[164] According to a thirteenth-century romance, the English King Richard Lionheart, imprisoned by Duke Leopold I of Austria when returning from the third Crusade (1189-92), was freed by the French troubadour Blondel, Richard's court poet, who made his presence known by singing a song known only to the King and himself. p. 257

[165] The *Crystal Palace* was built of metal and glass for the first world trade and industrial exhibition in London in 1851. p. 258

[166] The article "Kinkel's Lectures", which was published in the weekly *Der Kosmos* in 1851, was quoted by Marx in his letter to Engels on May 28, 1851 (see present edition, Vol. 38). p. 258

[167] Under the Constitution, presidential elections were to be held in France on the second Sunday in May 1852. The petty-bourgeois democrats, and in particular the émigrés, hoped this day would bring the democratic parties to power. p. 259

[168] The reference is to the campaign for the Imperial Constitution which was adopted by the Frankfurt National Assembly on March 28, 1849, but rejected by the governments of the majority of German states. In May and June uprisings flared up in Saxony, Rhenish Prussia, Baden and the Palatinate in support of the Constitution, but the movement, led by petty-bourgeois democrats, was largely local and was defeated in July 1849. Engels assessed it in his works *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (present edition, Vol. 10) and *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* (this volume, pp. 69-87). p. 259

[169] This refers to an attempt by Gustav Struve and other German democrats to set up an émigré organisation, a *Democratic Association.* In April 1850 they distributed in England and Germany a circular announcing the formation of a single émigré leading body—the Central Bureau of the United German Emigration. But their plans for unification proved ephemeral. The efforts of the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois democrats were directed largely against the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee (see Note 153), headed at the time by Marx and Engels, and were aimed at bringing the proletarian refugees under the petty-bourgeois influence. Marx and Engels subjected these actions to criticism in the June 1850 "Address of the Central Authority to the League" (see present edition, Vol. 10, p. 373). p. 260

[170] The *Club of Resolute Progress,* founded in Karlsruhe on June 5, 1849, was the more radical wing of the petty-bourgeois democratic republicans (Struve, Tzschirner, Heinzen and others) discontented with the capitulatory policy of the Baden Provisional Government headed by Brentano, and the growth of Rightist elements within it. The Club suggested that Brentano should extend the revolution beyond Baden and the Palatinate and introduce radicals into his government. Brentano refused, so the Club tried, on June 6, to force the government to comply by threatening an armed demonstration. But the government, supported by the civic militia and other armed units, proved the stronger party in the conflict. The Club of Resolute Progress was disbanded. p. 261

[171] See Note 7. p. 261

[172] See Note 22. p. 262

[173] The four faculties usual in German universities were: theological, law, medical and philosophical. p. 262

[174] The first of these uprisings in the Grand Duchy of Baden occurred in April 1848. Led by the petty-bourgeois democrats Friedrich Hecker and Gustav Struve, it started with republican detachments invading Baden from the Swiss border. But this poorly organised uprising was crushed by the end of April.

On September 21, 1848 German refugees led by Struve invaded Baden from Swiss territory. Supported by the local republicans, Struve proclaimed a German Republic in the frontier town of Lörrach and formed a provisional government. The insurgent detachments were soon dispersed by troops, and Struve, Blind and other leaders of the uprising were imprisoned by decision of a court-martial. They were released during the third republican uprising in Baden in May 1849, which occurred in connection with the spread of the campaign in defence of the Imperial Constitution (see Note 168). p. 262

[175] On the *demagogues* see Note 118. p. 265

[176] The *Palais-Royal* in Paris was the residence of Louis XIV from 1643; in 1692 it became the property of the Orleans branch of the Bourbons. In the 1830s and 1840s its grounds and galleries were places of amusement. p. 269

[177] An allusion to the order of the French authorities of January 16, 1845, expelling from France Karl Marx, Heinrich Bürgers, Michael Bakunin and other contributors to the German-language newspaper *Vorwärts!*, published in Paris, for their sharp criticism of the absolutist system in Prussia and other German states and for spreading revolutionary ideas. p. 269

[178] The *Wahl-Manifest der radicalen Reformpartei für Deutschland*, written by Ruge and published in *Die Reform* (Berlin), No. 16, April 16, 1848, proclaimed "the editing of the *rationale* of events" as the main task of the German National Assembly. p. 270

[179] The reference is to the *Second Democratic Congress* of representatives of democratic and workers' organisations of various German towns which was held in Berlin from October 26 to 30, 1848. It discussed the question of constitutional principles, adopted the "Declaration of the Rights of Man" and elected a new Central Committee of German democrats (d'Ester, Reichenbach, Hexamer). Several points of the "Demands of the Communist Party in Germany" written by Marx and Engels were made the basis of the practical proposals on the social question submitted by the Congress for discussion to all democratic associations. The report at the Congress was made by Beust, a delegate from the Cologne Workers' Association. The motley composition of the Congress led to discord and differences on the main political issues. Instead of adopting resolute measures to mobilise the masses for struggle against counter-revolution, the Congress confined itself to sterile and contradictory decisions. Thus, a manifesto adopted on Ruge's proposal on October 29 was couched in bombastic terms and contained nothing but an appeal to secure aid for revolutionary Vienna from the governments of the German states, which were manifestly hostile to it. Marx sharply criticised this document in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, in the article "Appeal of the Democratic Congress to the German People" (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 490-92). p. 272

[180] The reference is to the tactics of passive resistance to the Prussian coup d'état in October-November 1848 (see this volume, pp. 66-70) adopted by the Prussian and German liberals and moderate democrats, including deputies to the Prussian National Assembly (see Note 52). p. 272

[181] Arnold Winkelried was a semi-legendary popular hero of the Swiss war of liberation against the Austrian yoke. According to tradition, during the battle of the Swiss against the forces of Prince Leopold III of Austria at Sempach (Lucerne canton) on June 9, 1386, Winkelried opened the attack with the cry "Der Freiheit eine Gasse!" ("Path to Freedom!") and at the cost of his own life decided the outcome of the battle in favour of the Swiss. p. 274

[182] *Sophiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen*—a moralising and sentimental novel by Johann Timotheus Hermes, popular in Germany at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. p. 275

[183] The *March Association* (thus named after the March 1848 revolution in Germany) had branches in various towns of Germany. It was founded in Frankfurt am Main at the end of November 1848 by the Left-wing deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly. Fröbel, Simon, Ruge, Vogt and other petty-bourgeois democratic leaders of the March associations confined themselves to revolutionary phrase-mongering and showed indecision and inconsistency in the struggle against the counter-revolutionaries, for which Marx and Engels sharply criticised them. p. 275

[184] The French judicial system was introduced in Germany in 1811 in the regions conquered by the French. In the Rhine Province it remained in force even after the province was incorporated in Prussia in 1815, and was superseded by the Prussian system only gradually. p. 277

[185] *Quakers* (or *Society of Friends*)—a religious sect founded in England during the seventeenth-century revolution and later widespread in North America. They rejected the Established Church with its rites and preached pacifist ideas. The "wet" Quakers, so called in opposition to the Orthodox or "dry" Quakers, were a trend which emerged in the 1820s and sought to renew the Quaker doctrines. p. 281

[186] The *European Central Committee* (*Central Committee of European Democracy*) was set up in London in June 1850 on the initiative of Giuseppe Mazzini and united bourgeois and petty-bourgeois refugees from various countries. Extremely heterogeneous in composition and ideological principles, the Central Committee of European Democracy had actually disintegrated by March 1852 because of the strained relations between the Italian and French democratic refugees. Its Inaugural Manifesto, "Aux peuples!", of July 3, 1850, was criticised by Marx and Engels in their international review (May to October) published in the autumn of 1850 in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 528-32). p. 281

[187] *Wasserpolacken*—originally a name given to ferrymen on the Oder who were mainly natives of Upper Silesia; subsequently it became widespread in Germany as a nickname for Silesian Poles. p. 282

[188] *Bronzell* (in the electorate of Hesse-Cassel or Kurhessen) was the site of an unimportant skirmish between Prussian and Austrian detachments on November 8, 1850. Prussia and Austria, contending for hegemony in Germany, claimed to have the sole right to intervene in the internal affairs of Hesse-Cassel in order to crush the growing movement for a constitution there against the Elector Frederick William I and his reactionary Ministers. Austria received diplomatic support from Nicholas I, Emperor of Russia, and Prussia had to yield and allow Austria to undertake a punitive mission in Hesse-Cassel. p. 282

[189] This refers to the international congress of pacifists in Frankfurt am Main in August 1850 attended by such prominent figures as the American philanthropist, Elihu Burritt, the leader of the English Free Traders, Richard Cobden, and the former head of the liberal government in Hesse, Heinrich Jaup. Representatives of the Quaker religious sect were also among the delegates. p. 283

[190] On the demagogues see Note 118. p. 284

[191] A national liberation movement flared up in Greece in the spring of 1821 and after a long struggle led to the country's independence. As a result of Russia's victory in the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-29, Turkey had to recognise the independence of Greece. However, the ruling circles of the European powers who were compelled, under pressure from public opinion, to render military aid to Greece, imposed a monarchy on the newly liberated country. p. 285

[192] This refers to the Polish national liberation uprising of November 1830-October 1831. Its participants belonged mostly to the revolutionary gentry and its leaders were mainly from aristocratic circles. It was crushed by Tsarist Russia aided by Prussia and Austria, the states which had taken part in the partition of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century. p. 285

[193] The *Hambach Festival* was a political demonstration by South-German liberal and radical bourgeoisie at the castle of Hambach (in the Bavarian Palatinate) on May 27, 1832. Its participants called on all the Germans to unite against the German princes in the struggle for bourgeois freedoms and constitutional reforms. The Federal Diet and the governments of German states replied by fresh police measures against the opposition movement. p. 285

[194] In early April 1833, in response to the police measures undertaken by the Federal Diet after the Hambach Festival, a group of conspirators, mainly students, attempted to seize Frankfurt am Main, overthrow the Diet and proclaim a republic. But the conspirators only managed to take possession of the guard-house for a short time, following which they were dispersed by troops. p. 286

[195] The reference is to the march of revolutionary emigrants organised by Mazzini in 1834 with a view to inciting a republican uprising in Piedmont. A detachment of insurgent emigrants of various nationalities under the command of Ramorino invaded Savoy from Switzerland but was defeated by Piedmontese troops.

The *Brimstone Gang* (*Schwefelbande*)—the name of a students' association in Jena University in the 1770s whose members were notorious for their brawls; subsequently the expression "Brimstone Gang" became widespread. p. 286

[196] *"Young Europe"*—an international association of revolutionary political emigrants which was founded on Mazzini's initiative in Switzerland in 1834 and existed until 1836. It included "Young Italy", "Young Poland", "Young Germany" and other national organisations and aimed at establishing a republican system in European states. p. 287

[197] "*Young Germany*" was a secret revolutionary organisation of German émigrés in Switzerland in the 1830s and 1840s (not to be confused with the literary group also known as "Young Germany"—see Note 11). Initially it comprised mainly petty-bourgeois intellectuals, whose object was to set up a democratic republic in Germany, but it soon came more under the influence of the workers'

associations and socialist clubs. In the mid-1830s, the Swiss Government, under pressure from Austria and Prussia, deported the German revolutionaries; the workers' associations were closed. "Young Germany" virtually ceased to exist, though several groups of its followers still remained in the cantons of Geneva and Vaud. In the 1840s "Young Germany" was revived, when, under the influence of Ludwig Feuerbach's ideas, its members carried on mainly atheistic propaganda among the German émigrés, vigorously opposing the communist trends, especially that of Weitling, although some of the members of "Young Germany" were more and more attracted by social questions. In 1845 "Young Germany" was again crushed. p. 288

198 In June 1844 the Bandiera brothers, who were members of a conspiratorial organisation, landed on the Calabrian coast at the head of a small detachment of Italian patriots with the intention of sparking off an insurrection against the Bourbons of Naples and the Austrian rule. But the participants in the expedition were betrayed by one of their number and taken prisoner; the Bandiera brothers were shot. p. 288

199 The reference is to the supporters of the German Augustenburg dynasty, which disputed the claims of the Danish kings to Schleswig-Holstein. p. 289

200 The text of this manifesto is cited by Marx in his letter to Engels written on December 2, 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 38). Apart from the leaders of the separatist Willich-Schapper group, it was signed by French émigrés, followers of Blanqui (including Adam, Barthélemy, Fanon, Gouté, Caperon), and by several Polish and Hungarian émigrés. p. 293

201 On October 28, 1850 there was a meeting in Warsaw between the Russian Emperor Nicholas I, the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph and the head of the Prussian Government, the Count of Brandenburg, during which Nicholas I resolutely took the side of Austria in the Austro-Prussian conflict and brought pressure to bear upon the Prussian Prime Minister, demanding that Prussia should abandon all plans to unite Germany under her hegemony. p. 294

202 The reference is to the former members of the *Labour Commission* that met at the Luxembourg Palace under the chairmanship of Louis Blanc. It was set up on February 28, 1848 by the Provisional Government under pressure from the workers, who demanded a Ministry of Labour. The Commission, on which both workers and employers were represented, acted as mediator in labour conflicts, often taking the side of the employers. The revolutionary action of Paris workers on May 15, 1848 (see Note 42) led to the end of the Luxembourg Commission, which was disbanded by the government the next day. p. 295

203 The toast which Blanqui sent to London from the Belle-Isle prison and which the organisers of the meeting of February 24, 1851 ("banquet of the equal") deliberately concealed from its participants, was published in a number of French newspapers. In *La Patrie* it appeared on February 27 ("Toaste envoyé par le citoyen L.-A. Blanqui à la commission près les réfugiés de Londres pour le banquet anniversaire du 24 février. Prison de Belle-Isle-en-Mer, 10 février

1851"). In March 1851 Marx and Engels translated it into German and English and provided it with an introduction (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 537-39). The German translation was published in 30,000 copies and was circulated in Germany and Austria. p. 295

[204] The reference is to the all-German National Assembly which met in Frankfurt am Main in 1848 and 1849.

The *Pre-parliament*, which met in Frankfurt am Main from March 31 to April 4, 1848, consisted of representatives from the German states, most of the delegates being constitutional monarchists. The Pre-parliament passed a resolution to convoke an all-German National Assembly and produced a draft of the "Fundamental Rights and Demands of the German People". Although this document proclaimed certain rights and liberties, including the right of all-German citizenship for the residents of any German state, it did not touch the basis of the semi-feudal absolutist system prevalent in Germany at the time. p. 298

[205] See Note 125. p. 299

[206] See Note 48. p. 300

[207] See Note 95. p. 300

[208] This refers to the events of June 6, 1849 in Karlsruhe, capital of Baden, when the radical wing of the democrats—founders of the Club of Resolute Progress—attempted to bring pressure to bear upon the Brentano Provisional Government (see Note 170). p. 301

[209] See Note 121. p. 309

[210] The *Holy Grail*—according to a medieval legend, a miraculous cup in which Joseph of Arimathea had received the blood of Christ. p. 311

[211] The reference is to Willisen's views as set out in his book *Theorie des grossen Krieges angewendet auf den russisch-polnischen Feldzug von 1831* (Berlin, 1840) in which he based the science of war on abstract philosophical propositions instead of observable facts. p. 313

[212] The reference is to a unit which was formed by Willich in November 1848 out of German émigré workers and artisans in Besançon (France). Its members received allowances from the French Government but at the beginning of 1849 the latter stopped paying them. Later the unit was incorporated in the Willich detachment which took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising in May-June 1849. p. 314

[213] The reference is to one of the best-known paintings by Wilhelm von Kaulbach, the *Battle of the Huns* (*Hunnenschlacht*), which shows the ghosts of fallen warriors fighting in the air over the battlefield. p. 322

[214] The reference is to the former members of the Imperial Regency appointed by the German National Assembly on June 6, 1849 (see Note 61). p. 325

215 Marx's contribution to the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see Note 2) actually begins with the article "The Elections in England.—Tories and Whigs". Up to that time he had sent to the newspaper only articles from the series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* written by Engels. This article and the one that follows it, "The Chartists", were written by Marx in German as a single article and sent by him on August 2, 1852 to Engels in Manchester to be translated into English. Marx's subsequent articles until the end of January 1853 were also, as a rule, translated by Engels. Later Marx mastered the English language sufficiently to be able to write his contributions in English. In making the English translations, Engels sometimes divided a long article into two parts, which were then sent by Marx to the newspaper as independent articles. In this case Engels thus divided the article which Marx had sent to him into two: "The Elections in England.—Tories and Whigs" and "The Chartists". The dates of this and many other articles given in the *New-York Daily Tribune* do not coincide with the actual dates of their writing. The editors frequently published the articles under the date given by Marx when sending the translated articles to New York, or dated them at their discretion.

In October 1852 the two articles mentioned above, together with the articles "Corruption at Elections" and "Result of the Elections" (see this volume, pp. 342-47 and 348-53), were reprinted in several issues of the Chartist *People's Paper* (which began to appear in May 1852) as a single series under the heading "General Election in Great Britain". The name of the author was followed by an acknowledgement that the articles were reprinted from the *New-York Daily Tribune.* The first article was prefaced with the following brief editorial note in square brackets: "We point our readers' attention to the following valuable papers by Dr. Marx, which have appeared in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* a paper which enjoys the largest circulation of any in the United States, and certainly is the ablest journal in the union. Dr. Marx's view of parties in England is the more valuable, as emanating from one beyond the vortex of party interest, and whose antecedents vouch for his Democracy, and his discriminating judgment." The article "The Chartists" was published in *The People's Paper* with abridgements, some details which Marx had borrowed from this paper being omitted. Later, besides reprints of Marx's and Engels' most important articles from the *New-York Daily Tribune, The People's Paper* published a number of articles specially written for it by Marx and Engels.

As a rule, Marx's articles from the *Tribune* were reprinted in *The People's Paper* without any changes, but sometimes they were abridged. The editors of *The People's Paper* frequently altered the paragraphing and made stylistic improvements. In the present edition some of these changes are preserved where there are misprints in the *New-York Daily Tribune.* In very important cases divergent readings from the texts of these two newspapers are given in footnotes.

p. 327

The *Manchester School*—a trend in economic thinking which reflected the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. Its supporters, known as Free Traders, advocated freedom of trade and non-interference by government in economic life. The centre of the Free Traders' agitation was Manchester, where the movement was headed by two textile manufacturers, Richard Cobden and John Bright, founders of the Anti-Corn Law League in 1838. In the 1840s and 1850s the Free Traders formed a separate political group which later formed the Left wing of the Liberal Party. p. 327

217 The *High Church*—a trend in the Anglican Church which found support chiefly among landowners. It preserved traditional rites and stressed its continuity with Catholicism. The *Low Church*—another trend in the Anglican Church—was supported mainly by the bourgeoisie and the lower clergy and was evangelical in tendency. p. 327

218 The Bill repealing the Corn Laws was passed in June 1846. The English Corn Laws imposed high import duties on agricultural products in the interests of landowners, in order to maintain high prices for them on the home market. Their repeal marked a victory for the industrial bourgeoisie who opposed them under the slogan of free trade. p. 327

219 *Dissenters* were members of Protestant sects and trends in England which to some extent rejected the dogmas and rituals of the official Anglican Church. p. 328

220 *American Whigs* were members of a political party in the USA mainly representing the interests of the industrial and financial bourgeoisie and supported by some of the plantation owners. The American Whig Party existed from 1838 to 1854, when the intensification of the struggle over slavery gave rise to splits and regroupings in the political parties of the country. In 1854 the majority of the Whigs, together with a section of the Democratic Party and the farmers' party (Free-Soilers), formed the Republican Party, which opposed slavery. The Right Whigs joined with the Democratic Party, which defended the interests of the slave-owning planters. p. 329

221 An allusion to the nickname "Finality-John" which was given by the radicals to John Russell, the leader of the Whig Party in England, after his speech in 1837 in which he characterised the Parliamentary Reform of 1832 as the final point of constitutional development in England. p. 330

222 The reference is to the revolution of 1688 (the overthrow of the Stuart dynasty and the enthronement of William III of Orange), after which constitutional monarchy was consolidated in England on the basis of a compromise between the landed aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. p. 330

223 The *Reform Bill* of 1831 was finally passed by the British Parliament in June 1832. The reform of 1832 was directed against the political monopoly of the landed and finance aristocracy and enabled the industrial bourgeoisie to enjoy its due representation in Parliament. The proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, the main forces in the struggle for the reform, remained disfranchised. p. 330

224 "The Chartists" was the first of Marx's and Engels' articles which were published not only in the main edition of the *New-York Daily Tribune* but were also reprinted in the paper's special editions, the *Semi-Weekly Tribune* and the *New-York Weekly Tribune*. Known cases of such reprinting are given in the present edition at the end of articles.

Concerning this article see also Note 215. p. 333

225 *Court of Chancery* or *Court of Equity*—one of the high courts of England, which after the judicial reform of 1873 became a division of the High Court of Justice.

The jurisdiction of the court, presided over by the Lord Chancellor, covered matters concerning inheritance, contractual obligations, joint-stock companies, etc. In a number of cases the powers of this court overlapped those of other high courts. In counterbalance to the English common law accepted in other courts, the legal proceedings in the Court of Chancery were conducted on the basis of the so-called law of equity. p. 334

[226] *Freeholders*—a category of English small landowners dating from feudal times. p. 336

[227] In February 1852 Russell made a preliminary statement of his intention to introduce a franchise Bill, but it was not discussed in Parliament. For Engels' analysis of this Bill see this volume, pp. 205-09. p. 338

[228] This refers to the subsidies granted by the British Parliament in 1846 for the construction of a new building for the Catholic College in Maynooth (Ireland) founded in 1795, and to allocations for its maintenance. These measures of the English ruling classes were aimed at winning over the Irish Catholic clergy to their side and thus weakening the national liberation movement in Ireland.

On the *dissenters* see Note 219. p. 340

[229] Originally, this and the next article, "Result of the Elections", were written by Marx in German as a single article which he sent to Manchester, about August 16, to be translated into English by Engels. Engels divided it into two; when Marx sent these articles to New York, he dated the first article August 20, 1852 and the second August 27, 1852. p. 342

[230] The *Thirty-Nine Articles*, which enunciated the compulsory articles of faith of the Church of England, were promulgated in 1571. p. 342

[231] On June 29 and 30, 1852 a fanatical crowd of English Protestants attacked the Irish population of the town of Stockport (Cheshire). They acted with the connivance of the local authorities and police, who had been inflaming Anglo-Irish national differences. The houses of the Irish Catholics, who made up nearly a third of the town's population, were severely damaged; many Irishmen were badly wounded and one of them was killed. At the same time the police took into custody over a hundred innocent Irishmen, supposedly for participating in the disturbances. p. 344

[232] According to Greek mythology, the Curetes guarded the infant Zeus (Jupiter in Roman mythology) on the Island of Crete, where he had been hidden by his mother, the Goddess Rhea, from his father, the Titan Cronos, who devoured his children because he feared that they would deprive him of his power. The Curetes drowned the cries of the newly born Zeus by beating on their shields with swords. p. 346

[233] On the details about the writing and publication of this article see Note 229. p. 348

[234] In accordance with the procedure adopted in the British Parliament, the House of Commons, when discussing certain important questions, declares itself the Committee of the Whole House. The functions of the Chairman of the

Committee at such sittings are fulfilled by one of the list of chairmen specially appointed by the Speaker to conduct this sitting. p. 350

235 *Navigation Laws*—a series of acts passed in England to protect English shipping against foreign competition. The best known was that of 1651, directed mainly against the Dutch, who controlled most of the sea trade. It prohibited the importation of any goods not carried by English ships or the ships of the country where the goods were produced, and laid down that British coasting trade and commerce with the colonies were to be carried on only by English ships. The Navigation Laws were modified in the early nineteenth century and repealed in 1849 except for a reservation regarding coasting trade, which was revoked in 1854. p. 350

236 The *Irish Brigade*—the Irish faction in the British Parliament in the 1830s-1850s. Until 1847 it was led by Daniel O'Connell, who adopted in the main the tactics of parliamentary manoeuvre to secure concessions for the big Irish bourgeoisie from the British Government. Early in the 1850s, a number of deputies belonging to this faction entered into an alliance with the radical Irish Tenant-Right League and formed in the House of Commons an Independent Opposition. However, the leaders of the Irish Brigade soon came to terms with the British ruling circles and refused to support the League's demands, which led to the demoralisation and final dissolution of the Independent Opposition in 1859. p. 352

237 The editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* prefaced this anonymous article with the following note in square brackets: "In giving place to the following letter from a private correspondent, the Editors of *The Tribune* do not vouch for the exactness of its statements, but only for the extensive means of information possessed by the writer. We give his communication as a matter of interesting news whose correctness or incorrectness time will show." p. 354

238 The *Centralisation*, the leading executive organ of the Polish Democratic Society, was set up in 1836. The Democratic Society was an organisation of the Left wing of the Polish emigration which united representatives of the small nobility (*szlachta*) and the bourgeoisie. Its programme envisaged the abolition of feudal obligations and of inequality of social estates, the transfer of land allotments to the peasants without payment, and a number of other progressive measures. The Democratic Society took an active part in preparing the national liberation uprising in Cracow in 1846. In the summer of 1849, following the prohibition of the Polish Democratic Society by the French authorities, London became the seat of the Centralisation though the majority of its members still remained in France. The 1850s were marked by discord in the Democratic Society. In 1862, when the Central National Committee for Preparing the Uprising was formed in Poland, the Society decided to dissolve itself. p. 355

239 Originally Marx wrote this article and "Political Consequences of the Commercial Excitement" in German as a single article, which he sent to Engels in Manchester on October 12 to be translated into English. Engels divided the text into two independent articles. When sending the translated articles to New York, Marx dated the first article October 15, 1852, and the second October 19, 1852. In this volume some figures have been verified on the basis of the sources used by the author. p. 357

[240] The *Poor Law of 1834*—"An Act for the Amendment and Better Administration of the Laws Relating to the Poor in England and Wales"—provided for only one form of relief for the able-bodied poor: workhouses with a prison-like regime in which the workers were engaged in unproductive, monotonous and exhausting labour. The people called these workhouses "Bastilles for the poor". p. 358

[241] In 1845-47 a grievous famine blighted Ireland due to the ruin of farms and the pauperisation of the peasants. Although the potato crop, the principal diet of the Irish peasants, had been largely destroyed by blight, the English landlords continued to export grain and livestock-products from the country, condemning the poorest sections of the population to starvation. About a million people starved to death and the new wave of emigration caused by famine carried away another million. As a result large districts of Ireland were depopulated and the abandoned land was turned into pasture by the Irish and English landlords. p. 358

[242] For the details about the writing of this article see Note 239. p. 364

[243] See Note 139. p. 366

[244] The *Court of Queen's Bench* is one of the high courts in England; in the nineteenth century (up to 1873) it was an independent supreme court for criminal and civil cases, competent to review the decisions of lower judicial bodies. p. 366

[245] The *Court of Common Pleas*, the court for trial of civil cases, was one of the high courts of England based on English Common Law (after the reform of 1873 it became a division of the High Court of Justice). Among other matters it examined appeals against decisions of lawyers who were responsible for revising the voters' lists. In accordance with English Common Law only questions of law, i.e. questions concerning the violation of legal and judicial procedure, came within the competence of a court of appeal, while questions of fact, i.e. questions concerning the factual circumstances of a case, were examined by jury. p. 367

[246] Originally, this article and "Attempts to Form a New Opposition Party" formed a single article written in German and sent by Marx to Engels in Manchester on October 16, 1852 to be translated into English. Engels divided the material into two articles. When Marx sent them to New York he dated the first article November 2, 1852, and the second November 9, 1852. p. 369

[247] The *Cinque ports*—a confederation of five maritime towns (Hastings, Sandwich, Dover, Romney and Hythe) in south-east England formed in the Middle Ages. They enjoyed privileges in sea trade and fishing but had to supply the king with warships and equipment. The Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports possessed wide administrative and judicial powers. With the formation of a standing royal fleet his office gradually became one of the major sinecures of the British monarchy. p. 370

[248] For the details concerning the writing of this article see Note 246. In the *New-York Daily Tribune* it was published without a title in the section "England". p. 373

[249] See Note 141. p. 374

[250] This is a reference to the representatives of a radical political trend among the Free Traders who founded the National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association in 1849. The Association campaigned for the so-called Little Charter, a reform Bill repeatedly introduced in Parliament by the bourgeois-radical leader Joseph Hume from 1849 to 1851. As distinct from the Chartist People's Charter, the Little Charter consisted of three points containing demands for household suffrage, three-yearly elections to Parliament and voting by ballot. By opposing their programme to that of the Chartists and at the same time borrowing some of their demands from them, though in a rather curtailed form, the bourgeois radicals hoped to influence the workers during the decline of the Chartist movement. But the majority of the politically active English workers did not support the Little Charter, except for the reformist elements in the Chartist movement including Feargus O'Connor's followers who had degenerated into a reformist sect. The Association ceased to exist in 1855. p. 375

[251] The reference is to the Executive Committee, the leading body of the *National Charter Association* founded in July 1840. This Association was the first mass workers' party in the history of the working-class movement, numbering up to 50,000 members at its peak. The Executive Committee was elected at congresses and conferences of delegates. After the defeat of the Chartists in 1848 and the ensuing split in their ranks the Association lost its mass character. However, under the leadership of Ernest Jones and other revolutionary Chartists it fought in 1851-52 for the revival of Chartism on a revolutionary basis, for the adoption of the People's Charter, and for the socialist principles proclaimed by the Chartist Convention in 1851. It ceased its activities in 1858. p. 376

[252] This statement, as well as other newspaper items by Marx and Engels, was written in connection with the Cologne trial of members of the Communist League arrested in the spring of 1851, which started on October 4, 1852 and continued until November 12. During the trial the Prussian police authorities who had organised it resorted to forged documents and false evidence in order not only to convict the accused but also to defame their London friends and the entire proletarian organisation. Official government and bourgeois newspapers, including in England the conservative newspaper *The Times* and the liberal *Daily News* (see, in particular, *The Times*, No. 21245, October 13, 1852), conducted a concerted anti-Communist campaign. In response to the police provocations and slanders, Marx and Engels sent to the counsel for the defence in Cologne material exposing the false accusations and printed refutations in newspapers.

As can be seen from Marx's letter to Engels of October 28, 1852, this statement was written mainly by Marx but it also contained material from Engels' letter to Marx of October 27, 1852. Marx sent the statement to a number of London weeklies and dailies. On December 7 he wrote to Adolf Cluss: "What particularly annoyed the Prussian Embassy was that this public denunciation of the Prussian Government was published in the *most distinguished* and *most respectable* London weeklies *The Spectator* and *The Examiner*." The statement was published simultaneously by five newspapers on October 30, 1852 (under different titles): *The People's Paper* ("The Cologne Trials"), *The*

*Spectator* ("The Cologne Prisoners"), *The Examiner* ("The Communist Trials in Prussia"), *The Morning Advertiser* ("The Prussian Press Contrasts with Two London Journals"), and *The Leader* ("The Trials of Cologne"). In the last two papers the text differs slightly from that of the first three. All these newspapers reproduced the signatures (*The Spectator* with a misprint: *K. Alarx* instead of K. Marx).

As is evident from a letter of Mrs. Marx to Adolf Cluss of October 28, 1852, the statement was also sent to the USA to be published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and German workers' papers. A German translation was printed in the *Republik der Arbeiter*, a newspaper published in New York by Wilhelm Weitling, No. 49, December 4, 1852. p. 378

253 In his letter to Adolf Cluss dated December 7, 1852, Marx informed him of the motives which prompted him to write this statement: it was the clamour raised by a number of German-American democratic newspapers over Marx's warning concerning the danger of a tie-up between the followers of Mazzini and Kossuth and Bonapartist circles. p. 382

254 A draft of this declaration was drawn up by Marx shortly after the Cologne trial (the sentence was passed on November 12 and published in the German newspapers the next day). On November 16 Marx informed Engels of his intention to discuss the declaration with his London comrades, and then to send his variant to Engels for editing. The final text was sent to *The Morning Advertiser* on November 20 and also to some other newspapers.

This declaration was published in German in the USA by the *New Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, No. 39, December 10, 1852. p. 384

255 See Note 115. p. 385

256 See Note 152. p. 385

257 Under the sentence passed by the court in Cologne on November 12, 1852, Heinrich Bürgers, Peter Nothjung and Peter Röser were each condemned to six years' imprisonment in a fortress; Hermann Heinrich Becker, Karl Otto and Wilhelm Reiff to five years; and Friedrich Lessner to three years. Four of the accused—Roland Daniels, Johann Jacob Klein, Johann Erhard and Abraham Jacobi—were acquitted. Roland Daniels died a few years later of tuberculosis contracted during the 18 months he had been imprisoned awaiting trial. Ferdinand Freiligrath evaded arrest and trial by emigrating to London. p. 386

258 See Note 139. p. 386

259 This article was written by Engels at Marx's request for the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see Marx's letter to Engels of October 16, 1852). Later it was included in the separate edition of the series of articles *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* (1896), prepared for publication by Eleanor Marx-Aveling, in place of the last article of the series which Engels had promised to write but which did not appear in the newspaper. p. 388

260 The reference is to the *Communist League*, the first German and international communist organisation of the proletariat formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847, as a result of the reorganisation of the League of the Just (a secret association of workers and artisans that appeared in

the 1830s and had communities in Germany, France, Switzerland and England). The programme and organisational principles of the Communist League were drawn up with the direct participation of Marx and Engels. The League's members took an active part in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany in 1848-49. Though the defeat of the revolution dealt a blow to the League, in 1849-50 it was reorganised and continued its activities. In the summer of 1850 disagreements arose in the League between the supporters of Marx and Engels and the sectarian Willich-Schapper group which tried to impose on the League its adventurist tactics of immediately unleashing a revolution without taking into account the actual situation and the practical possibilities. The discord resulted in a split within the League. Owing to police persecutions and arrests of League members in May 1851, the activities of the Communist League as an organisation practically ceased in Germany. On November 17, 1852, on a motion by Marx, the London District announced the dissolution of the League.

The Communist League played an important historical role as the first proletarian party based on the principles of scientific communism, as a school of proletarian revolutionaries, and as the historical forerunner of the International Working Men's Association. p. 389

261 See Note 152. p. 390

262 See Note 257. p. 393

263 *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* is a militant work in which Marx exposed the unseemly methods used by the Prussian police state against the communist movement. On October 27, 1852 Marx wrote to Engels: "My pamphlet is not intended to defend any principles but to brand the Prussian Government on the basis of an account of the facts and the course of the trial." Marx began writing the pamphlet at the end of October 1852, when the trial of the Communists was still in progress in Cologne (see Note 252), and completed it by early December despite his material difficulties and the fact that he was very busy collecting evidence for the defence counsel in Cologne to discredit the prosecution. His main sources of information were the documents of the trial, in particular the official minutes published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* from October 5 to November 13, 1852 (*Assisen-Procedur gegen D. Herm. Becker und Genossen. Anklage wegen hochverrätherischen Complottes*), newspaper reports, and the material collected by himself and his friends, Engels included. On December 6 a copy of the MS was sent to the publisher Schabelitz Junior, in Switzerland, and on the following day a second copy was despatched to Adolf Cluss, a member of the Communist League in the USA, to be published there. In his covering letter to Cluss Marx wrote: "You will appreciate the humour of the pamphlet when you realise that its author is practically interned through his lack of adequate covering for his posterior and feet and moreover at any moment expects to see *really horrid misery overwhelming his family.* The trial is to blame for this as well, because I have had to spend five weeks working for the Party against the machinations of the government instead of working for my daily bread."

The pamphlet was published in Basle in January 1853, but in March almost the whole edition (2,000 copies) was confiscated by the police in the Baden frontier village of Weill on the way to Germany. In the USA the work was at first published in instalments (on March 6 and April 2 and 28, 1853) in the democratic Boston newspaper *Neue-England-Zeitung* and at the end of April 1853 it was printed as a separate pamphlet by the same publishing house. However, the Boston

edition was circulated at the time mostly among the German refugees in North America.

In 1874 this work was reprinted in 13 instalments in the *Volksstaat* (Leipzig), organ of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from October 28 to December 18, 1874), and Marx was named as its author for the first time. On January 20 and 22, 1875, the *Volksstaat* published, as a supplement to the *Revelations*, Marx's Appendix 4 ("The Communist Trial in Cologne") to his pamphlet *Herr Vogt* written in 1860, and on January 27 it published his special postscript to the *Revelations* dated January 8, 1875. The *Revelations* appeared as a book in Leipzig in 1875, reproducing the text from the *Volksstaat*.

The third edition came out in Hottingen-Zürich in 1885 under the editorship of Engels, with notes and an introductory article by Engels: "On the History of the Communist League". Engels included in this edition Marx's Postscript of 1875, Appendix 4 to *Herr Vogt* and the March and June 1850 Addresses of the Central Authority to the Communist League (see present edition, Vol. 10).

The editions of the *Revelations* printed during Marx's lifetime, and the 1885 edition prepared for publication by Engels after Marx's death, differ only in minor respects, such as discrepancies in separate words, the spelling of some proper names and the use of italics. In the 1875 and 1885 editions some misprints of the first edition are corrected and certain factual and stylistic improvements made, sometimes on the basis of the Boston (1853) edition. In the present edition these improvements of the text, as well as those made in the 1885 edition as compared with the last authorised edition of 1875, are taken into account.

In English the *Revelations* were first published in 1971 in the book: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Cologne Communist Trial*, Lawrence and Wishart, London. p. 395

264 The *Code pénal*, adopted in France in 1810 and introduced in the regions of West and South-West Germany conquered by the French, remained in force in the Rhine Province, along with the *Code civil*, even after its incorporation into Prussia in 1815. p. 400

265 The reference here is to the Willich-Schapper group, which Marx and Engels called the Sonderbund—perhaps an allusion to the separatist union of the seven economically backward Catholic cantons of Switzerland formed in the 1840s to resist progressive bourgeois reforms. This sectarian-adventurist group split away from the Communist League after September 15, 1850, and formed an independent organisation with its own Central Authority. In view of the factionalists' refusal to abide by the decision to transfer the Central Authority to Cologne and because of their disorganising activities, on November 11, 1850 the London District proposed to the Cologne Central Authority to expel the members of the Sonderbund from the League (see present edition, Vol. 10, p. 633). The Central Authority endorsed the proposal and gave notification of this in its Address of December 1. By their activities the members of the Willich-Schapper group helped the Prussian police to discover the League's illegal communities in Germany and frame a case in Cologne in 1852 against prominent members of the League. p. 402

266 See Note 186. p. 402

267 See Note 115. p. 405

[268] *Van Diemen's Land*—the name initially given by Europeans to the island of Tasmania, which was a British penal colony up to 1853. p. 406

[269] The reference is to the *German Workers' Educational Society in London* which was founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other members of the League of the Just (an organisation of German artisans and workers and also of emigrant workers of other nationalities). After the reorganisation of the League of the Just in the summer of 1847 and the founding of the Communist League, the League's local communities played the leading role in the Society. During various periods of its activity, the Society had branches in working-class districts in London. In 1847 and 1849-50 Marx and Engels took an active part in the Society's work, but on September 17, 1850 Marx, Engels and a number of their followers withdrew because the Willich-Schapper sectarian and adventurist faction had temporarily increased its influence in the Society, causing a split in the Communist League. In the late 1850s Marx and Engels resumed their work in the Educational Society, which existed up to 1918, when it was closed down by the British Government. p. 406

[270] See Note 153. p. 407

[271] See Note 152. p. 407

[272] An allusion to the following episode from the period of the Fronde (see Note 91). In September 1650 the Duke de La Rochefoucauld and two of his associates travelled in the coach of their powerful adversary, Cardinal Mazarin, and when the latter jokingly noted that a week ago nobody would even have thought such a situation possible, the Duke said: "Anything can happen in France" ("Tout arrive en France"). p. 409

[273] This is an expression used by the Prussian Minister of the Interior von Rochow. In his letter of January 15, 1838 to the citizens of Elbing, who had expressed their dissatisfaction at the expulsion of seven oppositional professors from the Göttingen University, Rochow wrote: "It behoves a loyal subject to exhibit due obedience to his king and sovereign...; it does not behove him to apply the measure of his limited understanding to the actions of the head of the state." p. 412

[274] Marx emphasises the fact that Cherval was admitted into the League of the Just prior to its reorganisation into the Communist League in June 1847. Though Marx and Engels were not members of the League of the Just, founded in 1836, they were in touch with its leaders. They agreed to join the League and take part in its reorganisation provided it became transformed from a conspiratorial society into an association built on democratic principles, and provided it adopted the principles of scientific communism as its programme. p. 413

[275] The *Dying Warrior* is the well-known statue *The Dying Gaul* (Pergamum School, 3d cent. B.C.). p. 416

[276] Marx adduced fresh data exposing Cherval as a spy and an *agent provocateur* in his work *Herr Vogt*, in the appendices to it, and in the Postscript to the 1875 edition of his *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. According to these data, Cherval, whose real name was Joseph Crämer, was an agent of the

Prussian envoy in Paris and a French spy. He escaped from prison with the connivance of the French and Prussian police. On his arrival in London in May 1852 he was admitted into the German Workers' Educational Society led by Schapper but was soon expelled from it because of his role of provocateur in the case of the so-called German-French plot. p. 417

277 The reference is to the book *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, Part One 1853, Part Two 1854) by the police officials Wermuth and Stieber. In his article "On the History of the Communist League" (1885), Engels describes it as a "crude compilation, which bristles with deliberate falsifications, fabricated by two of the most contemptible police scoundrels of our century". The appendices to the first part, which purported to tell the history of the workers' movement for the information of police agents, reproduced some of the League's documents that had fallen into the hands of the police. The second part contained a "black list" and biographical particulars of people connected with the workers' and democratic movement. p. 418

278 See Note 167. p. 419

279 *Mormons*—members of a religious sect founded in the United States in 1830 by Joseph Smith (1805-1844) who wrote the *Book of Mormon* (1830) on the basis of alleged divine revelations. In the name of the prophet Mormon this book tells of the migration of the Israelite tribes into America which, it claims, took place in antiquity. p. 421

280 *Mazas*—a prison in Paris. Marx refers to statements made by people imprisoned in connection with the so-called Franco-German plot. p. 423

281 This refers to the workers' society founded in London in January 1852 with Marx's support, its president being a Hanoverian refugee, the joiner Gottlieb Stechan. It included workers who broke away from the German Workers' Educational Society, which had come under the influence of the Willich-Schapper group. Georg Lochner, a worker close to Marx and Engels and member of the Communist League, also took an active part in organising this society. Later, many of its members, including Stechan himself, became influenced by the Willich-Schapper group and joined the earlier organisation. p. 427

282 Among Marx's manuscripts is preserved a draft in Marx's own hand of a reply to Stieber which contains a sharp accusation of him as a police spy (see present edition, Vol. 38). The letter refutes Stieber's attempts to dispute the revelations concerning his activities as a spy, in particular in Silesia before the revolution of 1848-49, made in a report from Frankfurt am Main which was published in issue No. 177 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on December 24, 1848 under the title "Dr. Stieber". Concerning Stieber's attempts to depict himself as a more consistent democrat than representatives of the democratic trends and his attacks against the latter, Marx limited himself to this remark: "We excuse the lectures on democracy and democratic organs contained in your letter on the grounds of novelty." At the same time the editors of the newspaper thought fit to publish, in a supplement to issue No. 182, December 30, an official correction to the passage of the above-mentioned report which said that Stieber went to Frankfurt in connection with the popular uprising in September 1848, and pointed out that he went there to arrange personal matters.

The reply to Stieber drafted by Marx was in all probability sent over the signature of another editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, most likely Wilhelm Wolff, who may have been well aware of Stieber's activity in Silesia. p. 435

283 Engels refers to the first supplement to the 1875 and 1885 editions of the *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, which reproduced without the title Appendix 4 ("The Communist Trial in Cologne") to Marx's pamphlet *Herr Vogt* (1860) (see present edition, Vol. 17). It said that soon after the Cologne trial Fleury was charged with forgery and sentenced to several years' penal servitude. p. 442

284 In the Postscript to the 1875 edition of his work Marx pointed out that the Red Catechism had been written not by Moses Hess but by a certain Levy. However, it turned out later that Marx had been right in affirming that the *Red Catechism* had in fact been written by Hess. This can be proved in particular by a letter of Hess to Weydemeyer of July 21, 1850, which Marx did not know about. p. 449

285 The reference is apparently to the *German-American Revolutionary Association*—an organisation of German emigrants in the USA founded in January 1852 by the petty-bourgeois democrats Goegg and Fickler who went to the USA to place the so-called German-American revolutionary loan. p. 450

286 See Note 118. p. 452

287 Criticism of the behaviour of the leader of the sectarian group and some of his followers during the Cologne Communist trial evoked a mordant reaction on the part of Willich. On October 28 and November 4, 1853 he published his article "Doctor Karl Marx und seine 'Enthüllungen'" (*Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, Nos. 33 and 34) violently attacking Marx and his work *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. Marx replied with his pamphlet *Knight of Noble Consciousness* published with the help of Adolf Cluss and Joseph Weydemeyer in New York in January 1854 (see present edition, Vol. 12). p. 452

288 See Note 257. p. 452

289 An allusion to the defeat of Prussia by Napoleonic France at Jena on October 14, 1806. The defeat led to Prussia's capitulation and revealed the instability of the social and political system of the Hohenzollern feudal monarchy. p. 457

290 This refers to the repeal of the Corn Laws (see Note 218). p. 458

291 The reference is to the demagogic attempts made by some representatives of ruling circles in the German states, above all in Prussia, to present the monarchy as the guardian of the working people's welfare (Marx exposed this idea of "social monarchy" even before the 1848-49 revolution in Germany in his article "The Communism of the *Rheinischer Beobachter*", see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 220-34), and to the philanthropic measures proposed by the German liberal bourgeoisie as a means to solve the social question. Thus in 1844-45 in a number of Prussian towns, associations for the improvement of the condition of the working classes were formed on the initiative of the liberal bourgeoisie, who were alarmed by the uprising of the Silesian weavers in the

summer of 1844. They hoped to divert the attention of the German workers from the struggle for their class interests. p. 459

[292] This refers to Palmerston's attitude to the Belgian question in connection with the revolution in Belgium in August 1830 and its separation from the Kingdom of the Netherlands in which it had been incorporated in 1815 by decision of the Vienna Congress. The northern states (Russia, Prussia and Austria) insisted on Belgium's return under the rule of the King of the Netherlands. The ruling circles of the July monarchy in France supported the Belgians while secretly planning to incorporate Belgium in France. To counterbalance certain conservative elements in Britain, Palmerston acted in alliance with the French diplomats (the Belgian question was a pretext for a temporary Anglo-French *rapprochement* in the sphere of foreign policy known in history as *entente cordiale*), but at the same time he resolutely opposed their plans to annex Belgium to France. The efforts of Britain and France were successful: in 1831 the European powers concluded in London a treaty on the independence and neutrality of the Kingdom of Belgium, and the King of the Netherlands' refusal to recognise this treaty and to withdraw the Netherlands garrison from Antwerp led in 1832 to Anglo-French armed intervention in the war. French troops entered Belgium and besieged Antwerp by land, and the English ships by sea, forcing the Dutch to capitulate. In 1833 the King of the Netherlands was compelled to recognise Belgium's independence. p. 473

[293] The relations established between Great Britain and France after the July revolution of 1830 and known in history as *entente cordiale* were confirmed by treaty only in April 1834, when the so-called Quadruple Alliance was concluded between Great Britain, France, Spain and Portugal. But when this treaty was being concluded contradictions between Britain and France became apparent and they subsequently led to the aggravation of relations between the two countries. Formally directed against the absolutist "northern states" (Russia, Prussia and Austria), the treaty in fact allowed Britain to strengthen her position in Spain and Portugal under the pretext of rendering armed assistance to both governments in their struggle against the pretenders to the throne (Don Carlos in Spain and Dom Miguel in Portugal). p. 473

[294] See Note 236. p. 474

[295] *Puseyism*—a trend in the Anglican Church from the 1830s to the 1860s, named after one of its founders, Edward Pusey, an Oxford University theologian. He advocated the restoration of Catholic rites and dogma in the Anglican Church. Many of the Puseyites were converted to Catholicism. p. 475

[296] A criticism of Wakefield's theory of colonisation was later given by Marx in Volume I of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 31). p. 475

[297] *Rotten boroughs*—sparsely populated or depopulated small towns and villages in England which enjoyed the right to send representatives to Parliament since the Middle Ages. These representatives were in fact appointed by the landed aristocracy, who controlled the handful of "free voters" who nominally elected them. The "rotten boroughs" were disfranchised by the electoral reforms of 1832, 1867 and 1884. p. 477

298 The *Tenant-Right League* was founded in August 1850. One of its chief organisers was Charles Gavan Duffy, formerly a leader of the radical "Young Ireland" group. The League aimed at liquidating, by constitutional means, the semi-feudal methods of exploitation of the Irish peasantry which hampered the development of capitalism in Ireland. Despite its moderate leadership, the League reflected the interests of the Irish tenants fighting against the landlords and speculators in land. Its programme included the following demands: prohibition of arbitrary lease cancellation by landlords and compensation of the tenants for land-reclamation work in case of termination of lease, establishment of a fair rent, and recognition of tenants' right to transfer the lease by means of free sale.

During the general elections to Parliament in 1852 the League's demands were supported by the mass of Irish tenants, both Catholic and Protestant. At the re-elections in January 1853 the League campaigned against the Right-wing leaders of the Irish Brigade—Irish M.P.s who, despite their former promises to secure an agrarian reform, conducted a policy of agreement and entered the coalition government. The landlords, together with the Irish Catholic and Protestant higher clergy who feared the rise of the democratic movement in the country, opposed the League. The League had ceased its activities by the end of the 1850s. p. 478

299 The greater part of this article, beginning with the words "The history of the wealth of the Sutherland family" (see this volume, p. 487) to the end, was reprinted in *The People's Paper* on March 12, 1853, as an independent publication signed by Marx and headed "Sutherland and Slavery; or, the Duchess at Home". It had as an epigraph a paraphrase of Luke 6:42: "How canst thou say to thy *sister*: *Sister*, let me take the mote out of thine eye, and perceivest not the beam in thine own eye." After this epigraph, came a short editorial introductory note in square brackets: "Under the sanctified hypocrisy of 'Church and State' a system of oppression is carried on in this gloriously free country, that equals in kindred atrocity the slavery of the American South. We give as a fitting illustration, the following historical statement, showing how the Sutherland family got their wealth. The Duchess of Sutherland here alluded to, is the celebrated 'Countess-Duchess', mother-in-law of the present Duchess. How the present Duke improved on the lessons of the Countess-Duchess, the reader may have occasion to see when we have done with the latter." Marx's article followed.

The text in *The People's Paper* makes more frequent use of italics and has several insignificant omissions of words as compared with that in the *New-York Daily Tribune*. In the quotation from Sismondi's book *The People's Paper* corrected some misprints.

The material on the expropriation of the land of the Celtic population of the Scottish highlands by the Sutherland family, quoted in this article, was subsequently used by Marx in Volume I of *Capital*, in the chapter on the so-called primitive accumulation. In a footnote to the relevant passage Marx wrote: "When the present Duchess of Sutherland entertained Mrs. Beecher Stow, authoress of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, with great magnificence in London to show her sympathy for the Negro slaves of the American republic—a sympathy that she prudently forgot, with her fellow-aristocrats, during the civil war, in which every 'noble' English heart beat for the slave-owner—I gave in the *New-York Daily Tribune* the facts about the Sutherland slaves. (Epitomised in part by Carey in *The Slave Trade*, Philadelphia, 1853, pp. 203, 204.) My article

was reprinted in a Scottish newspaper, and led to a pretty polemic between the latter and the sycophants of the Sutherlands." p. 486

300 *Orangemen*—members of the *Orange Society* (Order), a Protestant terrorist organisation founded in Ireland in 1795 and employed by the authorities, Protestant landlords and the clergy against the Irish national liberation movement. The name was derived from William III, Prince of Orange, who suppressed the Irish uprising of 1689-91 for restoration of the Stuart dynasty. The Order had especially strong influence in Ulster, Northern Ireland, with a mainly Protestant population. Contrary to the will of the landlords and both Catholic and Protestant higher clergy, when the Tenant-Right League (see Note 298) was active in Ireland, there were cases of *rapprochement* between rank-and-file Protestant Orangemen and Catholics on the basis of their common support for the League's agrarian demands. p. 486

301 See Note 217. p. 486

302 *Hudibras*—the title character of a satirical poem by the English poet Samuel Butler written in 1663-78. Hudibras was distinguished for his inclination to absurd reasoning and disputes and for his ability to prove the most absurd propositions by means of syllogisms. The poem was directed against the hypocrisy and religious bigotry of the English bourgeoisie. p. 486

303 This refers to the revolution of 1688 (see Note 222). p. 487

304 This was the first article written by Marx in English (see Note 215). On January 29, 1853 he wrote to Engels: "Yesterday I risked for the first time to write an article for Dana in *English*." Until then Marx wrote his articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune* in German; then they were translated into English, mostly by Engels, but sometimes by Wilhelm Pieper, a German political refugee, philologist and journalist. p. 495

305 This is a reference to the international Peace Congress convened by the Peace Society (see Note 139) at the end of January 1853 in Manchester. Free Traders were especially active at it. The Peace Congress adopted a number of resolutions of no practical importance, against anti-French military propaganda in England and against the growth of armaments. p. 499

306 See Note 227. p. 499

307 On the Tenant-Right League see Note 298. Marx soon carried out his intention by writing the article "The Indian Question.—The Irish Tenant Right" in June 1853 (see present edition, Vol. 12). p. 503

308 This Bill of the Irish radical Sharman Crawford, providing for compensation of tenants for land improvements when the lease was terminated, was first introduced in the House of Commons in 1835 and was rejected in 1836. Reintroduced in 1847, 1852 and 1856, it was each time rejected.

On the *Irish Brigade* see Note 236. p. 504

309 The reference is to the *Repealers*, supporters of the repeal of the Anglo-Irish Union of January 1, 1801, which abolished the autonomy of the Irish Parliament and made Ireland still more dependent on England. In the

1820s, the demand for the repeal of the Union became the most popular slogan of the Irish national liberation movement. In 1840 a Repeal Association was founded whose leader, Daniel O'Connell, stood for a compromise with the English ruling circles and practically reduced the programme of the movement to the demand for autonomy and other political concessions. In January 1847 its radical elements broke away from the Association and formed an Irish Confederation; representatives of the latter's Left revolutionary wing stood at the head of the national liberation movement and in 1848 were subjected to severe repression. Later the Repeal Association finally ceased to exist. p. 505

310 On February 9, 1849 the Constituent Assembly in Rome, elected by universal suffrage, abolished the secular power of the Pope and proclaimed a republic. The Roman Republic had to repulse attacks of the counter-revolutionary Neapolitan and Austrian troops and the French expeditionary corps sent to Italy in April 1849 by decision of President Louis Bonaparte to restore the Papal power. The republic lasted only until July 3, 1849, the main blow having been dealt to it by the French interventionists. p. 508

311 See Note 227. p. 511

312 See Note 221. p. 511

313 The reference is to the *Association for the Protection of Agriculture and British Industry* which originally was named the Association for the Protection of Agriculture. Founded in 1845 to fight the Free Traders it expressed the interests of the big landowners and opposed the repeal of the Corn Laws (see Note 218).

The *South Sea Company*, in the former premises of which the above-mentioned meeting was held, was founded in England about 1712, officially to trade with South America and the islands of the Pacific Ocean. Its true aim was to speculate in state securities, which led to the bankruptcy of the Company in 1720. p. 512

314 The reference is to the Croatian border regiments stationed in the Military Border Area, a special militarily organised region of the Austrian Empire along the frontier with Turkey. They were used by the Austrian command to suppress the national liberation movements in the provinces, in Northern Italy in particular. p. 514

315 In November 1851 Kossuth sent his emissary Mihály Pataki Piringer from London to Hungary via Hamburg, where he established contact with the Hungarian émigré Ignác Ruscsák who was in touch with the Hungarian soldiers of the Austrian regiments stationed in Holstein. The soldiers spread Kossuth's appeals and manifestos. In Hamburg both Piringer and Ruscsák were arrested, and arrests among the soldiers followed. Piringer and Ruscsák were sentenced to death. Piringer was executed on February 5, 1852, but Ruscsák's death sentence was commuted to 18-year hard labour; the arrested soldiers were sentenced to hard labour (from three to eight years) or imprisonment in a fortress. The sentences were published in the *Wiener Zeitung*, No. 35, February 10, 1853. p. 515

316 See Note 221. p. 516

[317] The *Statute Law*—English law based on Acts of Parliament. p. 517

[318] This refers to two major battles in the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) between England and France: in 1358 at Poitiers and in 1415 at Azincourt (Agincourt) the English bowmen routed the French knights' cavalry. p. 517

[319] The Turko-Egyptian conflict over Syria, which was occupied by the Egyptian troops in 1833, recommenced in 1839. French aid to the Egyptian Pasha Muhammed Ali aggravated Anglo-French relations in the Middle East at the time. In an effort to prevent France from spreading its influence in this important region on the approaches to its Asian colonies, Britain rendered military assistance to Turkey against Egypt and, supported by Russia, Austria and Turkey, brought diplomatic pressure to bear upon France, forcing it to refuse aid to Egypt.

In 1844 a new aggravation of Anglo-French relations occurred in connection with the expulsion in March of a British agent from Tahiti, which shortly before had been proclaimed a French protectorate. The Tahiti incident resulted from increased Anglo-French rivalry in the Pacific. p. 518

[320] On the conflict between France and Switzerland see Note 68.

During the 1841 war with Uruguay, Argentina closed the Parana and Uruguay rivers. Demanding the opening of these rivers to their merchant ships, Britain and France brought diplomatic and military pressure to bear upon the Argentine Government and in 1845 they declared war on Argentina. As a result of a long blockade of the coast by the British and French navies, Argentina had to yield and in 1853 signed a treaty opening the above-mentioned rivers to foreign ships.

*Neuchâtel*, a Swiss canton, was at the same time in vassalage to Prussia. In February 1848 a bourgeois revolution in Neuchâtel put an end to Prussian rule and a republic was proclaimed there. Diplomatic interference by the European powers, including Britain and France, prevented Prussia from using force. It was not until 1857 that Prussia finally relinquished her claims to Neuchâtel.

In 1852 the British and French governments suggested to the US Government that they sign a tripartite convention renouncing any claim to Cuba, as they feared that the United States might seize this island belonging to Spain. The convention was not signed because the United States refused.

In 1851, under the pretext of spreading the *Tanzimat* to Egypt (*Tanzimat*—a reform policy carried out in Turkey from 1839 to strengthen the monarchy by a compromise with the nascent bourgeoisie), Turkey suggested that Egypt's governor should carry out a number of "reforms" which would bring Egypt back under Turkish rule. Under pressure from Britain and France, Egypt was forced to accept some of the Turkish demands.

In November 1852 a protocol was signed in London between Britain, France, Russia, Bavaria and Greece under which Adalbert of Bavaria was appointed heir to his childless elder brother King Otto of Greece instead of another prince of Bavaria who had refused to adopt the Orthodox faith.

In the 1840s and 1850s Britain and France raising obstacles to Tunisia's independence interfered in its foreign policy and helped Turkey in its claim to rule in Tunisia. p. 519

[321] This article was published in many editions under the editorial heading: "Parliamentary Debates.—The Clergy and the Struggle for the Ten-Hour

Day.—Starvation". The word "socialism" given in the heading by the *New-York Daily Tribune* should be understood ironically, in the same sense in which Marx spoke of *The Times* attempting to declare the Free Trade principles of the bourgeois Tenant-Right League "Irish socialism". See his article "Defense.—Finances.—Decrease of the Aristocracy.—Politics" (this volume, p. 502). p. 522

322 See Note 228. p. 522

323 This Act was examined by Engels in his articles "The Ten Hours' Question" and "The English Ten Hours' Bill" (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 271-76 and 288-300). However, these articles show that Marxist political economy had not yet been fully developed, as reflected in a certain underestimation of the positive consequences of legal limitation of the working day. Marx and Engels gave an exhaustive assessment of this Act in their later works, particularly Marx's "Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association" and *Capital* (Vol. I, Chapter X, Sections 5-7). p. 524

324 See Note 219. p. 526

325 The text of this article was reprinted, somewhat abridged, on April 16 in *The People's Paper* as two separate items: as a correspondent's report under the general heading "The American Press and the European Movement", containing the concluding sections of the original text, from "On the Continent heaven is fulminating" to the end, and an article entitled "Forced Emigration". The article was published giving the name of the author, "Dr. Marx", while the correspondent's report was published unsigned but with the editors' note: "From the *New-York Daily Tribune*". In a number of cases the use of italics does not coincide in the two newspapers; passages omitted in *The People's Paper* are indicated in footnotes in this volume. There are no other textual discrepancies. p. 528

326 The article mentioned by Marx was not published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and the manuscript is not extant. p. 532

327 This refers to the plan to partition Poland proposed by Henry of Prussia when he visited St. Petersburg in 1770. Striving to preserve its influence over the whole of Poland, the tsarist government at first opposed this plan but the *rapprochement* between Prussia and Austria prompted Catherine II in 1772 to conclude a convention with them sharing part of the Polish territory between the three powers (first partition of Poland). p. 533

328 See Note 7. p. 533

329 See Note 305 p. 533

330 The reference is to articles by an English journalist, Alfred Bate Richards, published from December 1851 to November 1852 in *The Times* under the pen-name "Englishman". p. 533

331 This article was published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* without a heading. p. 535

332 The facts which Marx refers to were probably cited in his report of March 1, 1853, which he mentions in his article "Forced Emigration.—Kossuth and Mazzini.—

Refugee Question.—Election Bribery in England.—Mr. Cobden". This report is not extant (see Note 326). p. 535

333 See Note 5. p. 537

334 The *Alien Bill*, enacted by the British Parliament in 1793, was renewed in 1802, 1803, 1816, 1818 and, finally, in 1848 in connection with revolutionary events on the Continent and the Chartist demonstration on April 10. Enacted for one year, this law authorised the deportation of aliens from England at any time by decision of the government. In 1850 public opinion prevented the renewal of this Bill despite Conservative efforts, which were repeated also in the following years. p. 538

335 The long-standing quarrel between the Greek Orthodox Church and the Roman Church over rights to the Christian Holy Places in Palestine was resumed in 1850 on Louis Bonaparte's initiative, with a view to strengthening France's positions in the Middle East. It grew into a serious diplomatic conflict which served as a pretext for the Crimean War. p. 541

336 By this time Marx and Engels had prepared an article, "British Policy.—Disraeli.—Emigrants.—Mazzini in London.—Turkey", which was published on April 7, 1853 in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and was the first of their articles on the Eastern Question in this newspaper (see present edition, Vol. 12). p. 541

337 This review of Proudhon's book, *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX-e siècle* (1851), containing many critical remarks, was written by Engels at the request of Marx who had decided to write a polemical work against Proudhon. In August 1851 Marx and Engels discussed Proudhon's book in many of their letters. In his letter to Engels of August 8 Marx gave a detailed account of its contents, citing large excerpts, and in mid-August he sent the book to Engels in Manchester asking him for a detailed opinion on it. Engels worked on the review in August (from about August 16 to 21) and from mid-October, and returned it to Marx at the end of October. On November 24, 1851 Marx wrote to Engels: "I have been through your critique again. It's a pity *qu'il n'y a pas moyen* [that there's no means] of getting it printed. Otherwise—and if my own twaddle were added to it—we could bring it out under both our names, provided this didn't upset your firm in any way" (see present edition, Vol. 38).

When Marx learned that Joseph Weydemeyer (who had emigrated to the United States in the autumn of 1851) was going to publish the weekly *Die Revolution* in New York beginning in January 1852, he decided to publish the critique of Proudhon in that journal. On December 19, 1851 he asked Weydemeyer to publish in his weekly an announcement of the forthcoming publication of the *Neuste Offenbarungen des Sozialismus oder "Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX-e siècle, par P. J. Proudhon." Kritik von K. M.* in the form of a series of articles. In January 1852 the notice was published in the first issue of *Die Revolution*, but the plan did not materialise. Until April 1852 Marx was engrossed in writing *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. By that time *Die Revolution* had already ceased to exist as a periodical due to the editor's lack of funds.

In this volume excerpts from Proudhon's book are printed in small type, literal quotations being given in quotes while Engels' expositions of Proudhon's text in German are not. Engels' own text is in ordinary type and

the emphasised words are italicised. The French quotations and the German text are translated into English; the French words and expressions used by Engels in his own text are reproduced in the original and supplied, whenever necessary, with translations in footnotes. Editorial insertions in square brackets are made only when there are obvious omissions in the text or when it is advisable to give Proudhon's terms in French besides their English translations. In the small-type text the words in ordinary italics are ones emphasised by Proudhon, those in heavy italics by Engels. p. 545

338 *États généraux* (States-General)—in feudal France the supreme consultative body composed of representatives of the various estates. From 1614 they did not meet until 1789, when they proclaimed themselves the National Assembly. p. 545

339 Proudhon here refers to a series of trials in 1822 of members of republican societies (including *carbonari*) who tried to foment anti-monarchist uprisings in Belfort, La Rochelle and Saumur, and to an uprising on May 12, 1839 in Paris. The May uprising, in which revolutionary workers played the leading part, was prepared by the secret republican-socialist Society of the Seasons led by Auguste Blanqui and Armand Barbès; it was suppressed by troops and the National Guard. p. 546

340 The new electoral law which in fact abolished universal suffrage in France was adopted by the Legislative Assembly on May 31, 1850 (see this volume, p. 145, where Marx characterises this law). p. 546

341 See Note 72. p. 546

342 During the night of August 3, 1789 the French Constituent Assembly, under pressure from the growing peasant movement, announced the abrogation of a number of feudal obligations which had already been abolished by the insurgent peasants. p. 547

343 Here and below Proudhon uses the terms *le préjugé gouvernemental, le système gouvernemental* and *l'évolution gouvernementale* to denote different aspects of the political system of government to which he counterposes the economic system, organisation of economic forces, invented and proposed by himself. p. 547

344 According to a medieval tradition which even the French Revolution was unable to do away with, the sale of meat in Paris was in the hands of a butchers' corporation that maintained low prices on livestock and high prices on meat. When speaking of "the sale of meat by auction" (*le vente de la viande à la criée*), Proudhon had in mind a series of measures carried out by the government from 1848 to liquidate the monopoly of the butchers' corporation (authorisation of daily trade in meat by people who did not belong to the corporation, etc.). p. 549

345 Proudhon further discloses the meaning of the term "parasitism": "Parasitism is finance, abusive property, the budget and all that accompanies it" (pp. 51-52). p. 549

346 Royer-Collard made this speech on January 22, 1822, when an anti-press bill was being debated in the Chamber of Deputies. p. 552

347 On the French parliaments see Note 109. p. 552

[348] The reference is to the *Charte octroyée* granted in 1814 by Louis XVIII. It was the fundamental law of the Bourbons, introducing a regime of moderate constitutional monarchy with wide powers for the king and high electoral qualifications ensuring above all political privileges for the landed aristocracy. p. 552

[349] Proudhon goes on explaining his idea: "...This principle which is of all importance in the so-called butchers' associations has so little in common with the essence of the association that in many of these slaughter-houses the work is done by hired workers under the guidance of the director who represents the depositors." p. 555

[350] Engels refers to the following footnote by Proudhon on pp. 97 and 98 of the book in question: "Reciprocity is not identical with exchange; meanwhile it increasingly tends to become the law of exchange and to mix up with it. A scientific analysis of this law was first given in a pamphlet, *Organisation du crédit et de la circulation* (Paris, 1848, Garnier frères), and the first attempt to apply it was made by the *People's Bank*."

The *People's Bank* (*La Banque du Peuple*) was founded by Proudhon in 1849 to implement the reforms he suggested in the sphere of credit and circulation which he saw as a means of solving the social question and establishing class harmony. By means of these reforms Proudhon hoped to liquidate loan-interest and to organise exchange without money while preserving private property in the means of production and the wages system. According to Proudhon, this peaceful process was to transform capitalism into a system of equality under which every member of society could become a free producer and exchange equal quantities of labour with others. The short-lived People's Bank only showed how groundless were Proudhon's projects both in theory and in practice. p. 555

[351] Engels refers here to workers' associations permissible in Proudhon's system. While stressing the need for a reform in the sphere of credit and money circulation and for the maintenance of individual property in the means of production, Proudhon also admitted the need for the transfer of a number of big factories, railways, mines, etc., to associations of workers employed in them. Accordingly, Proudhon's term *compagnies ouvrières* is further translated as "workers' associations". p. 556

[352] See Note 13. p. 557

[353] The reference is to the Constituent National Assembly which held its sessions from May 4, 1848, and to the Legislative National Assembly which replaced it on May 28, 1849. Louis Bonaparte was elected President of the French Republic by universal suffrage on May 10, 1848. p. 558

[354] The Jacobin Constitution, adopted by the Convention on June 24, 1793, proclaimed the freedom of person, religion, legislative initiative and the press, freedom to present petitions, and the right to work, to education, and to resist oppression while leaving private property intact. The difficult situation in the republic caused by foreign intervention and counter-revolutionary revolts made the Jacobins postpone the implementation of the constitution and temporarily introduce a democratic-revolutionary dictatorship. After the counter-

revolutionary coup d'état of the ninth Thermidor (July 27-28), 1794, the Constitution of 1793 was replaced in 1795 by a new qualification and anti-democratic constitution. p. 558

[355] The reference is to the Bank of France founded in 1800 by a shareholders' company under Bonaparte's protection. It enjoyed a number of state privileges while remaining the property of the company. In 1848 this bank was granted the monopoly right to issue banknotes of small denomination; its monopoly position was also consolidated by the fact that provincial banks were deprived of the right to issue money. p. 559

[356] In his letter to Engels on August 8, 1851, Marx wrote concerning this passage in Proudhon's book: "Instead of interest the state pays annuities, i.e. it repays in yearly quotas the capital it has been loaned" (see present edition, Vol. 38). p. 560

[357] In accordance with the Constituent Assembly's decrees of January 15 and February 16 and 26, 1790, a new administrative division was introduced in France: the country was divided into 83 departments which, in their turn, were subdivided into cantons and the latter into communes. p. 560

[358] Among the socialists Proudhon names Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen, Cabet, Louis Blanc, and the Chartists. p. 563

[359] The beginning of Chapter One of Pushkin's novel in verse *Yevgeny Onegin* is reproduced on the last page of Engels' manuscript. It corresponds to the Russian original though it is written in Latin letters. This is apparently connected with Engels' study of the Russian language which he began in Manchester in 1851 (see illustration between pages 564 and 565 in this volume). p. 570

[360] In 1851 the Chartist weekly *Notes to the People* published two articles by Ernest Jones, the editor, on co-operation: "A Letter to the Advocates of the Co-operative Principle, and to the Members of Co-operative Societies" (No. 2, May 10, 1851), and "Co-operation. What It Is, and What It Ought to Be" (No. 21, September 20, 1851). They were written at a time when especially close, friendly relations had been established between Marx and Engels on the one hand and Ernest Jones, the Left-wing Chartist leader on the other. Marx and Engels constantly helped Jones in his fight for the revival of Chartism on a socialist basis, in his propaganda campaign and his work as publisher and editor of the Chartist papers, *Notes to the People* and, later, *The People's Paper*, by publicising these periodicals in their articles and contributing to them. Marx also helped Jones to write his articles, particularly on economics. On November 4, 1864 Marx wrote to Engels the following: "I happened to come across several numbers of E. Jones' *Notes to the People* (1851, 1852) which, as far as economic articles are concerned, had been written in the main points under my direction and in part even with my close participation. Well! What do I find there? That then we conducted the same polemic—only in a better way—against the co-operative movement, since in its present narrow-minded form it claimed to be the *latest word*, as ten to twelve years later Lassalle conducted in Germany against Schulze-Delitzsch."

The publication of Jones' articles on co-operation met with a response from Edward Vansittart Neale, a Christian socialist and prominent bourgeois co-operator. On October 11, 1851 the weekly published (issue No. 24) Neale's

first letter and Jones' reply to it. Neale's second letter was published on November 15, 1851 (No. 29) and Jones' reply on November 22 (No. 30).

These two letters by Neale and Jones' replies to them show clearly the difference between the viewpoints of the Christian socialist and the proletarian revolutionary. The former saw the aim of the co-operative movement in distracting the workers from the class struggle and called for the collaboration of hostile classes and the reconciliation of their interests. Jones, supported by Marx, emphasised that from the viewpoint of the workers' liberation struggle peaceful co-operation had no prospect and that under capitalism workers' co-operative societies could not exist for long; they would not withstand competition on the part of big capital and would go bankrupt, or else they would turn into purely capitalist enterprises deriving profit from exploiting workers. The decisive condition, Jones said, for the workers' co-operative societies to be really of use to the working class was that the latter win political power in order to reorganise the existing system in the interest of the working people.

Of Jones' many articles on co-operation the two mentioned at the beginning of this note are included in this volume because they most vividly reflect the influence of Marx's views on Jones and show clearly that Marx in fact took part in writing them. p. 573

361 See Note 226. p. 580

362 The reference is to the funds of the Equitable Pioneers of Rochdale, a consumers' retail co-operative society founded by Rochdale workers in 1844. It was the embryo of the co-operative movement in England and other countries. p. 581

363 This list of documents shows the efforts made by Marx and Engels to help the accused Communists in Cologne and their defence counsel to prove how unfounded were the charges fabricated against them by means of perjury, juggling with facts and forged material. The documents enumerated in the list were to provide the defence with material exposing the provocative actions of the police and judicial authorities. As addressees the list often mentions businessmen and trading houses which Marx and Engels used for safe dispatch of the documents to the defence counsels Schneider II, Esser I and Hontheim. Most of these conspiratorial addresses were supplied by Engels, making use of his commercial ties.

The calendar for July-October 1852 (in Engels' handwriting) at the end of the manuscript is not reproduced in this volume. p. 590

364 In points 3 to 5 Engels lists the envelopes with commercial addresses which he sent to Marx in London on October 28 to be delivered to Hontheim, Esser I, Schneider II (see Engels' letter to Marx of October 28, 1852).

Point 6 refers to a letter from Marx which was sent via Düsseldorf to Schneider II at the address of a German merchant, an acquaintance of Freiligrath. The letter is not extant. On its contents see Marx's letter to Engels dated October 28, 1852. p. 590

365 The following documents are listed:

1) Marx's letter of October 26, 1852 to the lawyer Schneider II which, in view of its importance, was sent to Cologne in four copies through different hands, including Weerth from Manchester (see Marx's letter to Engels of October 26, 1852); two other copies, besides the third spoken of in this point,

are mentioned by Engels in the list under No. 1 and No. 8; the letter has not been found.

2) A letter from Hermann Becker, one of the main accused at the trial, to Marx dated January 27, 1851 (see this volume, p. 452; it is also mentioned in point 8 of this document), and letters from Roland Daniels to Marx, written between February and May 1851, concerning his book *Mikrokosmos. Entwurf einer physiologischen Anthropologie.* The letters in question were written by Becker and Daniels prior to their arrest.

3) Cherval's statement, printed in *The People's Paper* after his escape to England arranged by the French police (see this volume, p. 418).

4) A letter from Stieber to Marx of December 26, 1848, quoted by Marx in his *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see this volume, pp. 435-36); this letter is also mentioned in point 8. p. 590

366 The reference is to the documents which Marx sent to Schneider II (through Hermann Jung living in Frankfurt am Main) proving that the "original minute-book" was a forgery and that Hirsch participated in its fabrication, and exposing Stieber's perjury (see this volume, pp. 426-35, and Marx's letter to Engels of October 28, 1852). p. 590

367 This refers to the theft of the so-called Dietz archive (Dietz was secretary of the sectarian Willich-Schapper group that broke away from the Communist League) by Max Reuter, a Prussian police agent in London (see this volume, pp. 403-07). p. 591

368 This work was published in instalments in nine issues of the Chartist *People's Paper*, from the end of September 1852 until the end of the year. The articles were published unsigned under the editorial heading "Our Paris Correspondence". Their author was Georg Eccarius—a tailor from London, a close associate of Marx and an active member of the Communist League—which can be seen from Marx's letter to Adolf Cluss written in November 1853. This letter also shows that it was Marx who helped to get Eccarius to contribute to the Chartist paper and, most probably, looked through his writings in manuscript before Eccarius sent them to Jones. Marx and Engels rated highly Eccarius' intelligence and theoretical ability (see, for example, their opinion of Eccarius' article "Tailoring in London or the Struggle Between Big and Small Capital" in Volume 10 of the present edition, p. 485). Marx encouraged and assisted his literary activities in every possible way. There is no doubt that Marx also helped Eccarius to write this review, especially in examining the writings of different authors on the coup d'état of December 2, 1851. It is noteworthy that in assessing Victor Hugo's book on this subject Eccarius expresses ideas close to those which Marx himself expressed on the same subject later, in 1869, in the Preface to the second edition of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 21). Eccarius' criticism of Proudhon's social projects in this review coincides with their assessment in the works of Marx and Engels (see, in particular, this volume, pp. 557-68).

The first, introductory, article of the series was printed in *The People's Paper* without the general heading, "A Review of the Literature on the *Coup d'État*", under which the ensuing articles were published. Four articles immediately following the introductory one were marked No. 1, No. 2, etc., while the remaining articles were not numbered. But the general heading and the editors' "to be continued" given in some cases show that the series was not only

written but also published as a single work, of which the separate articles seemed to be chapters. Accordingly, in this volume the missing numbers (5-8) are added in square brackets. In the eighth and ninth articles Eccarius assesses Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.* (As distinct from the erroneous title of the first edition, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon,* he uses the right one which indicates that Marx took part in writing the "Review".) These articles, containing the most important excerpts from Chapter I of *The Eighteenth Brumaire,* acquainted the English reader with this outstanding work for the first time. Later, in his "Statement to the Editorial Boards of the Newspapers *Reform, Volkszeitung* and *Allgemeine Zeitung*" (November 7, 1859), Marx pointed out that his work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* "appeared in excerpts in the then London organ of the Chartists" (i.e. *The People's Paper*) (see present edition, Vol. 17). p. 592

369 At the end of September 1852 the French police declared that an infernal machine had been discovered in Marseilles with which the conspirators wanted to kill Louis Bonaparte, who at the time was touring the South of France. The public regarded this communication as a crude farce providing an additional pretext for proclaiming Louis Bonaparte emperor. p. 595

370 See Note 107. p. 596

371 The reference is to Aesop's fable "The Shepherd Boy and the Wolf" in which the shepherd boy repeatedly raised false alarms by shouting that wolves were attacking the herd. After a number of such episodes, nobody responded to his cries for help when wolves really did attack the herd. p. 598

372 This refers to the High Court in Bourges which passed severe sentences on the participants in the revolutionary events of May 15, 1848 (see Note 103), and to the courts-martial which dealt with the participants in the June uprising in Paris in 1848. p. 602

373 See Note 42. p. 606

374 See Note 42. p. 608

375 On June 13, 1849 the Montagne organised a peaceful demonstration in Paris in protest against a violation of the Constitution—the dispatch of French troops against the Roman Republic. The demonstration was dispersed by troops. p. 608

376 On the *lazzaroni* see Note 105.
*Trasteverians*—inhabitants of a district of Rome situated on the right bank of the Tiber. p. 609

377 In this article Eccarius sets forth the contents of Chapter I of Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* in some places almost literally. Further he cites a long quotation in his own translation, embracing, except for one paragraph, the concluding part of this chapter (see this volume, pp. 106-12). Eccarius' translation differs from that accepted in modern English publications and from the translation in this volume. The use of italics in the passage quoted by Eccarius does not coincide with that in the original. p. 617

378 See Note 71. p. 618

[379] This and the following document include an appeal to the German workers in America written by Marx in the name of a committee founded by him in London for aid to the Communists sentenced in Cologne. On December 7, 1852 Marx wrote to Adolf Cluss in Washington: "Herewith also an appeal for money for the Cologne prisoners and their families. See that it appears in various papers. It might also be a good idea for you too to form committees over there. Here it is being done as a party demonstration. You will observe that Ernest Jones actually appears as a party member. In an introductory note, signed by you both, you might specially emphasise that this is not a case of raising revolutionary funds Kinkel-fashion, etc., but rather of a *definite* party aim whose fulfilment is demanded by the honour of a workers' party" (see present edition, Vol. 39). p. 621

[380] The letter accompanying the appeal was written in the name of the Washington branch of the Socialist Gymnastic Association (*Sozialistischer Turnverein*), an organisation of the German democratic emigrants in the USA founded at a congress of German gymnastic societies in Philadelphia on October 5, 1850. In the early stage of its activity the Association maintained contacts with the German labour movement in America. Joseph Weydemeyer and Adolf Cluss contributed to its periodical, *Turnzeitung*. During the American Civil War it took an active part in the struggle against the slave-owning states. In 1865 it was renamed North-American Gymnastic Association. p. 621

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*Chianella*—waiter from Crefeld; an informer, witness for the prosecution in the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—444, 445

*Cicero* (*Marcus Tullius Cicero*) (106-43 B.C.)—Roman orator and statesman, philosopher.—317, 445

*Clarendon, George William Frederick, 4th Earl of, 4th Baron Hyde* (1800-1870)—British statesman, Whig, Viceroy of Ireland (May 1847-early 1852), Foreign Secretary (1853-58, 1865-66, 1868-70).—477, 523

*Claudius* (10 B. C.-54 A.D.)—Roman Emperor (41-54).—503

*Clauren, Heinrich* (real name *Heun, Carl*) (1771-1854)—German novelist and official.—237, 243

*Clausewitz, Karl von* (1780-1831)—Prussian general and military theoretician.—279

*Clement, Knut Jungbohn* (1810-1873)—German historian and linguist, professor of Kiel University.—285

*Clovis I* (c. 466-511)—Frankish king of the Merovingian dynasty (481-511).—545

*Cluss, Adolf* (1825-1905)—German en-

gineer, member of the Communist League; secretary of the Workers' Educational Society in Mainz (1848); in 1848 emigrated to the United States where, in the 1850s, he was active in the German-American workers' organisations; one of the first propagators of scientific communism in America.—621

*Cobbett, William* (c. 1762-1835)—English politician and radical writer.—498

*Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865)—English manufacturer, a leader of the Free Traders and one of the founders of the Anti-Corn Law League.—205, 283, 365, 458, 464, 497, 498, 499, 518, 526, 534

*Cohnheim, Max*—German democrat, took part in the Baden revolutionary movement in 1848-49; emigrated after the revolution.—280

*Collet, Collet Dobson*—English radical writer and public figure.—540

*Commissaire, Sébastien* (1822-1890)—French republican, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849); took part in the demonstration of June 3, 1849; exiled to Corsica.—126

*Confucius* (550 or 551-479 B.C.)—Chinese philosopher and statesman.—274

*Considérant, Victor Prosper* (1808-1893)—French writer, utopian socialist; disciple and follower of Fourier.—556

*Constant de Rebecque, Henri Benjamin* (1767-1830)—French liberal politician and writer.—104

*Cooke, George Wingrove* (1814-1865)—English liberal historian and journalist.—329

*Cornewall, Lewis*—see *Lewis, Sir George Cornewall*

*Cotta, Johann Georg* (1796-1863)—German publisher, owner of a large publishing house in 1832-63.—248

*Cousin, Victor* (1792-1867)—French philosopher.—104

*Craig, William Gibson* (1797-1878)—English statesman, Whig, Lord of the Treasury (1846-52).—349

*Cramer, Karl Gottlob* (1758-1817)—German writer, author of adventure novels.—237 *

*Cranworth, Robert Monsey Rolfe, Baron* (1790-1868)—English statesman and lawyer, Whig, Lord Chancellor (1852-58, 1865-66).—510, 517

*Crawford, William Sharman* (1781-1861)—Irish radical, M.P.; supported the Chartists; took part in founding the Tenant-Right League.—504

*Creton, Nicolas Joseph* (1798-1864)—French lawyer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, Orleanist.—165

*Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—leader of the English revolution, Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653.—105, 179, 180, 314

*Crossley, Sir Francis* (1817-1872)—English manufacturer, radical, M.P.—338, 341

D

*Dahlmann, Friedrich Christoph* (1785-1860)—German liberal historian and politician, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848 (Right Centre).—22

*Dalhousie, James Andrew Broun Ramsay, Earl and Marquis of* (1812-1860)—English statesman, Peelite, Governor-General of India (1848-56); pursued a policy of colonial conquests.—370

*Dalrymple, Sir John Hamilton Macgill* (1726-1810)—Scottish lawyer and historian, author of *An Essay towards a General History of Feudal Property in Great Britain*.—493

*Damm*—German democrat; in 1849 President of the Baden Constituent Assembly; later emigrated to England.—319

*Daniels, Amalie* (1820-1895)—wife of Roland Daniels.—426-28, 454

*Daniels, Roland* (1819-1855)—German physician, member of the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League from 1850; defendant in the Cologne Communist trial (1852), acquitted by the jury; friend of Marx and Engels.—210, 211, 399, 402, 426, 427, 454, 590

*Dante Alighieri* (1265-1321)—Italian poet.—539

*Danton, Georges Jacques* (1759-1794)—leader of the Right wing of the Jacobins in the French Revolution.—86, 103, 104

*Darasz, Albert* (1808-1852)—prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement, took part in the 1830-31 insurrection; a leader of the democratic organisations of Polish emigrants; member of the Central Committee of European Democracy.—103, 281

*Deflotte*—see *Flotte, Paul Louis Francois René de*

*Della Rocco, Henrico Morozzo*—Italian refugee, follower of Mazzini.—515

*De Maistre*—see *Maistre, Joseph Marie, comte de*

*De Morny*—see *Morny, Charles Auguste Louis Joseph, duc de*

*Demosthenes* (384-322 B.C.)—Greek orator and politician.—273

*Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Earl of* (1799-1869)—English statesman, Tory leader; Prime Minister (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68).—338, 344, 349, 352, 365-67, 370-74, 469, 472-74, 478, 503, 507, 510

*Desfossés, Romain Joseph* (1798-1864)—French admiral, deputy to the Legislative Assembly, Minister of the Navy (November 1849-January 1851).—157

*Desmoulins, Lucie Simplice Camille Benoist* (1760-1794)—French writer; played an active part in the French Revolution, Right-wing Jacobin.—104

*Dickens, Charles John Huffam* (1812-1870)—English writer.—257, 258

*Diderot, Denis* (1713-1784)—French philosopher of the Enlightenment, atheist, leader of the Encyclopaedists.—260

*Dietz, Oswald* (c. 1824-1864)—German architect; participated in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated to London, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; when the League split in 1850, joined the separatist Willich-Schapper group and became a member of its Central Committee; in later years took part in the American Civil War.—293, 385, 390, 403-05, 410, 412-14, 416, 421, 425, 427, 428, 450, 591

*Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and writer; adhered to the Young England group in the 1840s; in later years leader of the Tories; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68), Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80).—349, 364, 458-61, 463, 467-69, 473, 474, 503, 507, 511

*Doblhoff-Dier, Anton, Baron von* (1800-1872)—Austrian statesman, moderate liberal; Minister of Trade (May 1848) and Minister of the Interior (July-October 1848).—56

*Döbler, Ludwig* (1801-1864)—Austrian illusionist, presented "dissolving views".—258

*Dodson, Sir John* (1780-1858)—English judge.—521

*Douro, Marquis of*—see *Wellington, Arthur Richard Wellesley, Marquis of Douro, Duke of*

*Dronke, Ernst* (1822-1891)—German journalist; at first a "true socialist",

in later years a member of the Communist League and an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; supporter of Marx and Engels.—223, 439-42, 622, 624

*Droz, François Xavier Joseph* (1773-1850)—French historian, philosopher and economist.—545

*Duchâtel, Charles Marie Tanneguy, comte* (1803-1867)—French statesman, Orleanist, Minister of Trade (1834-36), Minister of the Interior (1839, 1840-February 1848); follower of Malthus.—167, 269

*Duffy, Sir Charles Gavan* (1816-1903)—Irish politician and writer; a leader of the Young Ireland group and founder-member of the Tenant-Right League, M.P.; emigrated to Australia in 1855.—477, 522

*Dulon, Rudolph* (1807-1870)—German pastor, a leader of the Friends of Light movement opposing the official church; emigrated to America in 1853.—270, 281, 282

*Dumas, Alexandre Dumas père* (1802-1870)—French writer.—600

*Dundas, Sir David* (1799-1877)—English Liberal politician, lawyer, Judge Advocate-General (1849-52).—350

*Dünweg, Hugo*—architect from Barmen, friend of Gottfried Kinkel.—234

*Dupin, André Marie Jean Jacques* (1783-1865)—French lawyer and politician, Orleanist; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49) and President of the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); subsequently Bonapartist.—132, 150, 154

*Duprat, Pascal Pierre* (1815-1885)—French journalist and politician, republican; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; opponent of Louis Bonaparte.—156

*Durrieu, Xavier* (1817-1868)—French journalist and politician, republican; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; author of a book on the coup d'état of 1851.—595, 596-99

E

*Ebner, Hermann*—German journalist, secret agent of the Austrian police in the 1840s and 1850s.—590

*Eccarius, Johann Friedrich*—German tailor; member of the Communist League; emigrated to London in 1851; supported Marx and Engels after the split in the League; brother of Johann Georg Eccarius.—622, 624

*Eccarius, Johann Georg* (1818-1889)—German tailor; prominent in the German and international working-class movement, member of the League of the Just and later of the Communist League; member of the General Council of the First International; in later years took part in the English trade union movement.—592, 622, 624

*Edwards, Henry*—English politician, Tory, M.P. (1847-52).—338, 341

*Eichhorn, Johann Albrecht Friedrich* (1779-1856)—Prussian statesman, Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine (1840-48).—24

*Eisenmann, Gottfried* (1795-1867)—German journalist, physician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Centre, later Left wing).—14

*Engels*—German Protestant pastor from Cologne.—246

*Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895).—1, 10, 12, 21, 22, 39, 50, 53, 62, 74, 88, 96, 206, 217, 222, 269, 378, 379, 384-87, 389, 399, 403, 433, 449, 456, 557, 566, 570, 590, 622, 624

*Escobar y Mendoza, Antonio* (1589-1669)—Spanish preacher, Jesuit.—475

*Esser I, Johann Heinrich Theodor*—Prussian official, lawyer, clerical; in 1848 Vice-President of the Prussian National Assembly, belonged to its Centre; defence counsel in the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—590

*Euclid* (late 4th-early 3rd cent. B.C.)—Greek mathematician.—541

*Ewart, William* (1798-1869)—English politician, Free Trader.—340, 350

F

*Fairbairn, Sir William* (1789-1874)—Scottish engineer, owner of a factory in Manchester.—360

*Falloux, Frédéric Alfred Pierre, comte de* (1811-1886)—French politician and writer, Legitimist and clerical; in 1848 initiated the closure of the national workshops and organised the suppression of the June uprising of the Paris workers; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; Minister of Education (1849).—127, 137, 139, 168, 170

*Fanon*—French émigré, member of the Committee of the French society of Blanquist emigrants in London in the early 1850s.—294

*Faucher, Julius (Jules)* (1820-1878)—German writer, Young Hegelian; advocate of free trade; propagated individualistic, anarchist views in the early 1850s; refugee in England in 1850-51.—305-07

*Faucher, Léon* (1803-1854)—French writer and politician, Malthusian economist, Orleanist; Minister of the Interior (December 1848-May. 1849, 1851), later Bonapartist.—145, 163, 168

*Fazy, Jean Jacques* (1794-1878)—Swiss statesman and journalist, radical, head of government of the Geneva canton (1846-53 and 1855-61); pursued a pro-Bonapartist policy in the 1850s.—264

*Ferdinand I* (1793-1875)—Emperor of Austria (1835-48).—50, 55-57, 65

*Ferdinand II* (1810-1859)—King of the Two Sicilies (1830-59).—50, 601, 609

*Ferenczi*—Hungarian singer.—354

*Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas* (1804-1872)—German philosopher.—247, 265, 270, 273

*Fickler, Joseph* (1808-1865)—German journalist, democrat, a leader of the Baden democratic movement in 1848-49, member of the Baden Provisional Government (1849); after the revolution emigrated to Switzerland; later lived in England and America.—305, 308-09, 317, 320, 321, 322, 323

*Fielden, John* (1784-1849)—English manufacturer, philanthropist, proponent of factory legislation.—524

*Fleury, Charles* (also *Schmidt*, real name *Carl Friedrich August Krause*) (b. 1824)—London businessman, Prussian spy and police agent.—386, 391, 393, 410-14, 419, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 437-43, 451-52, 454

*Flotte, Paul Louis François René de (Deflotte)* (1817-1860)—French naval officer, democrat and socialist, Blanquist; active in the events of May 15 and the June 1848 uprising in Paris; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1850-51).—144

*Follen, August Adolf Ludwig* (1794-1855)—German journalist and poet; took part in the war against Napoleonic France; joined the student movement in 1815.—278, 282

*Fould, Achille* (1800-1867)—French banker and politician, Orleanist, subsequently Bonapartist, Finance Minister several times between 1849 and 1867.—140, 157, 159, 163, 170

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—20, 552

*Fox, William Johnson* (1786-1864)—English politician and journalist, Free Trader, M.P.—350

*Francis I* (1494-1547)—King of France (1515-47).—126

*Francis I* (1768-1835)—Emperor of Austria (1804-35), the last emperor of the Holy Roman Empire known as Francis II (1792-1806).—29, 31

*Francis Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-1916).—72, 513

*Franck, Gustav* (d. 1860)—Austrian democrat, refugee in London in the early 1850s.—320

*Frederick I* ("Barbarossa" or "Redbeard") (c. 1123-1190)—German King from 1152, Holy Roman Emperor (1155-90).—311

*Frederick Augustus II* (1797-1854)—King of Saxony (1836-54).—85

*Frederick William III* (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—15, 17-20

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—16, 17, 19-20, 24, 31, 35, 36, 67, 68, 72, 76, 80, 244, 404, 515, 538

*Freiligrath, Ferdinand* (1810-1876)—German revolutionary poet, member of the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49.—248, 378, 379, 384-87, 433, 540, 622-24

*Fröbel, Julius* (1805-1893)—German radical writer and publisher of progressive literature; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848 (Left wing).—65

*Frondes, Victor*—French army officer banished to Algeria after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; later emigrated to Belgium.—509

*Frost, John* (1784-1877)—English radical; joined the Chartist movement in 1838; sentenced to deportation for life to Australia for organising a miners' uprising in Wales in 1839; was pardoned in 1856 and returned to England.—340, 374

*Fuad Effendi Mehemmed* (1815-1869)—Turkish statesman; in the 1850s and 1860s was several times Minister of Foreign Affairs and Grand Vizier.—540

*Fürstenberg, Baron von*—Prussian landowner, member of the jury in the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—400, 455

G

*Galilei, Galileo* (1564-1642)—Italian physicist and astronomer, founder of mechanics.—456

*Gammage, Robert George* (1815-1888)—Chartist; saddler and cobler; author of *The History of the Chartist Movement* (1854).—376

*Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; in the 1830s and 1840s took part in the revolutionary movement of South America; chief organiser of the defence of the Roman Republic in April-June 1849; in the 1850s and 1860s headed the struggle of the Italian people for national liberation and the unification of the country.—288, 295

*Gauthier* (nicknamed Walther the Pauper) (d. 1096)—French knight, a leader of the detachment of French peasants in the First Crusade (1096-99).—313, 314

*Gavazzi, Alessandro* (1809-1889)—Italian clergyman; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; refugee in England, campaigned against the Catholic Church and the temporal power of the Pope; in later years comrade-in-arms of Garibaldi.—299

*Gebert, August*—Mecklenburg joiner; member of the Communist League in Switzerland and later in London; after the split in 1850 belonged

to the separatist Willich-Schapper group.—293, 450, 452

*Geiger, Wilhelm Arnold*—Prussian police official; in 1848 examining magistrate, then Chief of Police in Cologne.—421

*George III* (1738-1820)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1760-1820).—529

*Gerhardt, J.*—German democrat, refugee in the USA in the early 1850s.—621

*Germans, St.*—see *Saint-Germans, Edward Granville Eliot*

*Gervinus, Georg Gottfried* (1805-1871)—German historian, liberal; in 1848 deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre).—23

*Gibson, Thomas Milner* (1806-1884)—English politician and statesman, Free Trader.—350, 505, 507

*Gipperich (Gibberich), Joseph*—German tailor; after the split in the Communist League member of a Paris community supporting the separatist Willich-Schapper group; defendant in the trial following the so-called Franco-German plot in Paris in February 1852; later emigrated to England.—411, 412, 417, 418-19

*Girardin, Delphine de* (1804-1855)—French authoress; wife of Émile de Girardin.—196

*Girardin, Émile de* (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician, editor of *La Presse*; notorious for his lack of principles in politics; moderate republican during the 1848-49 revolution, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1850-51); later Bonapartist.—156, 283

*Giraud, Charles Joseph Barthélemy* (1802-1881)—French lawyer, monarchist, Minister of Education (1851).—177

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman; Tory, later Peelite; leader of the Liberal Party and head of a number of Liberal cabinets in the latter half of the nineteenth century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55 and 1859-60).—332, 352, 371, 475, 486, 501, 510

*Göbel*—presiding judge of the Assizes in the Cologne trial of Communists.—420, 437, 455

*Goegg, Amand* (1820-1897)—German journalist, democrat; member of the Baden Provisional Government in 1849; emigrated after the revolution; member of the First International in later years; in the 1870s joined the German Social-Democrats.—263, 305, 308-11, 316-23

*Göhringer, Carl* (born c. 1808)—innkeeper from Baden; member of the Communist League; belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group; owner of a public house in London which was the meeting-place of German refugees.—300, 305

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—108, 230, 232, 233, 237-39, 245, 256, 305, 456, 604

*Goldheim*—Prussian police officer, in the early 1850s a secret Prussian agent in London.—401, 422, 428-35, 436-41, 444

*Görgey, Arthur* (1818-1916)—military leader of the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, a commander and, from April to June 1849, commander-in-chief of the Hungarian army; voiced the conservative sentiments of the nobility; advocated agreement with the Habsburgs, and later capitulation; War Minister (from May 1849).—63, 300

*Gorzowski, Tadeusz*—Polish refugee, member of the Polish Democratic Society.—355

*Gottfried von Strassburg* (end of the 12th-beginning of the 13th cent.)—German poet, author of the epic poem *Die Sage von Tristan und Isolde*.—234, 238

*Goupil de Préfelne, Guillaume François*

*Charles* (1727-1801)—French politician, deputy to the Constituent Assembly, constitutional monarchist.—375

*Gouté*—French émigré, member of the Committee of the French society of Blanquist emigrants in London in the early 1850s.—294

*Gracchus Gaius Sempronius* (153-121 B.C.)—people's tribune in Ancient Rome (123-122 B.C.); campaigned for agrarian laws in the interests of the peasants; brother of Gracchus Tiberius.—104

*Gracchus Tiberius Sempronius* (163-133 B.C.)—people's tribune in Ancient Rome (133 B.C.); campaigned for agrarian laws in the interests of the peasants.—104

*Graham, Sir James Robert George* (1792-1861)—British statesman; Whig, then follower of Peel; Home Secretary in Peel's Cabinet (1841-46).—332, 352, 458, 459, 467, 471, 476, 499, 506, 507, 517, 520

*Granier de Cassagnac, Bernard Adolphe* (1806-1880)—French journalist, lacked principle in politics; prior to the 1848 revolution Orleanist, then Bonapartist; deputy to the Legislative Corps during the Second Empire.—196, 597

*Greene, Thomas*—English politician, Peelite, M.P. (1846-52).—350

*Gregory I the Great, Saint* (540-604)—Pope (590-604).—425

*Greif*—Prussian police officer, one of the leaders of the Prussian agency in London in the early 1850s.—386, 390-91, 393, 401, 418-19, 422, 429-33, 439, 440, 442-43, 451

*Grenville, William Wyndham, Baron* (1759-1834)—British statesman, Whig, Prime Minister (1806-07).—500

*Grey, Charles, Earl of* (1764-1845)—British statesman, a Whig leader, Prime Minister (1830-34).—338, 500

*Grey, Sir George* (1799-1882)—British statesman, Whig, Home Secretary (1846-52, 1855-58 and 1861-66) and Secretary for Colonial Affairs (1854-55).—350

*Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl* (1785-1863)—German philologist, author of a historical grammar of the German language, and of folklore adaptations; professor in Göttingen and then in Berlin; liberal.—277

*Grimm, Wilhelm Carl* (1786-1859)—German philologist, co-author of his brother, Jacob Grimm, in his main works; professor in Göttingen and then in Berlin; liberal.—277

*Grunich*—German democrat, refugee in London in the early 1850s.—280

*Gruyères, Counts*—Swiss aristocratic family.—493

*Guise, Duke*—see *Henry II of Lorraine*

*Guizôt, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman; from 1840 up to the February revolution of 1848 virtually directed France's foreign and domestic policy.—104, 116, 167, 168, 183, 184, 196, 424

H

*Haacke, Johann Carl* (born c. 1820)—German tailor; member of the Communist League; after its split belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group.—449

*Habbegg*—German democrat, refugee in London in the early 1850s.—280

*Häbling von Lanzenauer*—German landowner, juryman in the Communist trial in Cologne (1852).—400

*Habsburgs*—dynasty of emperors of the Holy Roman Empire from 1273 to 1806 (with intervals), of Austria (from 1804) and of Austria-Hungary (from 1867 to 1918).—514

*Hampden, John* (1595-1643)—English politician; during the 17th-century

revolution, a leader of the Parliamentary opposition to the absolutist regime.—67

*Hansemann, David Justus* (1790-1864)—German capitalist, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie, Finance Minister of Prussia (from March to September 1848).—36, 39, 45, 66, 67, 294

*Harring, Harro Paul* (1798-1870)—German writer, radical; emigrated in 1828, lived in various countries of Europe and America, including the USA.—284-89

*Hasse, Leo*—friend of Gottfried Kinkel.—244

*Hatchell, John* (b. 1788)—English statesman, Whig, Attorney-General for Ireland (1851-52).—350

*Hätzel, Carl Joseph August* (born c. 1815)—German shoemaker; tried with a group of Communist League members in Berlin in August 1850, acquitted by the jury; member of the separatist Willich-Schapper group; witness for the prosecution in the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—424, 450

*Hauck, Ludwig* (1799-1850)—Austrian army officer, democrat; took part in the uprising in Vienna in 1848 and in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; shot after the defeat of the revolution.—299-300

*Haug, Ernst*—Austrian army officer, democrat; active in the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; after the revolution emigrated to England; an editor of the weekly *Der Kosmos*.—281, 297-98, 300-02, 320, 321

*Haupt, Hermann Wilhelm* (born c. 1833)—German shop assistant, member of the Communist League; arrested with other Cologne Communists he turned King's evidence and was released before the trial; fled to Brazil.—449

*Hautpoul, Alphonse Henri, marquis d'* (1789-1865)—French general, Legitimist, later Bonapartist; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51), War Minister (1849-50).—139, 144, 151-53

*Haynau, Julius Jakob, Baron von* (1786-1853)—Austrian general; took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; commanded the Austrian troops in Hungary (1849-50); initiated violent repressions against Hungarian revolutionaries.—46

*Head, Sir Francis Bond* (1793-1875)—British colonial administrator, traveller and writer.—198

*Heck, Ludwig* (born c. 1822)—tailor from Brunswick, member of the Communist League; after the League split up in 1850, joined the separatist Willich-Schapper group.—414

*Hecker, Friedrich Karl Franz* (1811-1881)—German democrat, a leader of the Baden republican uprising in April 1848; after its defeat he emigrated to Switzerland and later to the USA.—262

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—14, 103, 107, 230, 234, 239, 244, 265-68, 277, 284, 299, 404, 496

*Hein*—German refugee in the USA, member of the Socialist Gymnastic Association in the early 1850s.—625

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—42, 49, 112, 265, 268, 269, 419, 620

*Heinrich LXXII* (1797-1853)—ruler of the tiny German principality of Reuss-Lobenstein-Ebersdorf (1822-48).—75

*Heinzen, Karl* (1809-1880)—German journalist, radical; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland, later to England and in the autumn of 1850 to the USA.—270, 274-80, 293, 301-03, 309, 323

*Henley, Joseph Warner* (1793-1884)—English statesman, Tory, President of

the Board of Trade (1852 and 1858-59).—357, 367

*Henry II of Lorraine* (1614-1664)—one of the leaders of the Fronde.—195

*Henry III* (1551-1589)—King of France (1574-89).—602

*Henry IV* (1553-1610)—King of France (1589-1610).—282

*Henry V*—see *Chambord, Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonné d'Artois, duc de Bordeaux, comte de*

*Henry VI* (1421-1471)—King of England (1422-61).—166

*Henry of Prussia, Friedrich Heinrich Ludwig* (1726-1802)—Prince of Prussia, military leader and diplomat; took part in the Seven Years' War (1756-63).—533

*Henry, Sir Thomas* (1807-1876)—English judge.—540

*Hentze, A.*—German officer, member of the Communist League; after the split in 1850 joined the separatist Willich-Schapper group; witness for the prosecution in the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—424, 450, 452

*Herbert, Sidney, Baron of Lea* (1810-1861)—British statesman, Tory, later Peelite; Secretary for the Admiralty (1841-45), Secretary at War (1845-46 and 1852-55) and War Secretary (1859-60).—352, 507

*Herder, Johann Gottfried von* (1744-1803)—German writer and literary theorist.—270

*Hermes, Johann Timotheus* (1738-1821)—German theologian and writer, author of the novel *Sophiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen*.—275

*Herstadt, I. D.*—banker from Cologne, juryman in the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—400, 590

*Hertle, Daniel* (b. 1824)—German journalist; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to the USA in 1850.—320

*Herwegh, Georg Friedrich* (1817-1875)—German democratic poet.—265

*Hess, Moses* (1812-1875)—German radical journalist, one of the leading representatives of "true socialism" in the mid-1840s; member of the Communist League; after the split in the League he sided with the separatist Willich-Schapper group.—449

*Hinckeldey, Karl Ludwig Friedrich von* (1805-1856)—Prussian government official, Police President of Berlin from 1848.—444

*Hirsch, Wilhelm*—commercial clerk from Hamburg, Prussian police agent in London in the early 1850s.—386, 391-93, 426-30, 437, 439, 440, 442, 443, 451, 452

*Hoffmann, Ernst Theodor Amadeus* (1776-1822)—German writer.—238

*Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—404

*Homer*—semi-legendary epic poet of ancient Greece, author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.—258

*Hontheim, Richard von* (d. 1857)—lawyer in Cologne, defence counsel in the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—428, 433, 434, 436, 590, 591

*Horner, Leonard* (1785-1864)—English geologist and public figure; factory inspector (1833-56); member of the Factories Inquiry Commission in 1833 and of the Children's Employment Commission in 1841; took the side of the workers.—360, 479, 480, 526

*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885)—French writer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; opposed Louis Bonaparte.—138, 234, 595-96, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602-04, 609

*Hume, Joseph* (1777-1855)—English politician, a leader of the radicals, M.P.—340, 362, 372, 374-76

I

*Imandt, Peter*—German teacher, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League; emigrated to London in 1852; supporter of Marx and Engels.—439-42, 622, 624

*Ingersoll, Joseph* (1786-1868)—US Congressman, ambassador to Britain (1852-53).—478

*Isabella II* (1830-1904)—Queen of Spain (1833-68), daughter of Ferdinand VII.—609

*Itzstein, Johann Adam von* (1775-1855)—a leader of the liberal opposition in the Baden Diet; in 1848-49 deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (extreme Left wing); emigrated to Switzerland after the defeat of the revolution.—278

J

*Jacobi, Abraham* (1830-1919)—German physician, member of the Communist League; defendant in the Cologne Communist trial (1852), acquitted by the jury; in later years emigrated to the USA.—210, 211

*Jacoby, Johann* (1805-1877)—German radical writer and politician, physician; in 1848 one of the leaders of the Left wing in the Prussian National Assembly; in the 1870s was close to the Social-Democratic Party.—295

*James I* (1566-1625)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1603-25).—502, 503

*James II* (1633-1701)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1685-88).—508

*James, George Payne Rainsford* (1799-1860)—English romantic writer.—600

*Jaup, Heinrich Karl* (1781-1860)—German lawyer, liberal; head of the Hesse-Darmstadt Government (1848-50); President of the pacifist congress in Frankfurt am Main in August 1850.—283

*Jellachich (Jellačić), Josef, Count* (1801-1859)—Austrian general, Ban of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia (1848-59); took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary and Austria.—55, 56, 57, 59, 61

*Jenghiz Khan* (1162-1227)—Mongolian Khan and general.—601

*Joest, Karl*—manufacturer in Cologne, juryman in the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—400

*John (Johann Baptist Joseph Fabian Sebastian)* (1782-1859)—Archduke of Austria, imperial Regent of Germany (June 1848 to December 1849).—41, 53, 84, 86, 87

*Joinville. François Ferdinand Philippe Louis Marie, Prince de* (1818-1900)—Duke of Orleans, son of Louis Philippe; emigrated to England after the February 1848 revolution.—167, 176

*Jones, Ernest Charles* (1819-1869)—prominent figure in the English working-class movement, proletarian poet and journalist, a leader of the Left wing of the Chartist movement; friend of Marx and Engels.—337-40, 343, 376, 473-74, 573, 581, 582, 589, 622, 624

*Jones, William* (c. 1808-1873)—English watch-maker, Chartist, an organiser of a miners' uprising in Wales in 1839; sentenced to deportation for life in Australia.—341

*Jordan, Sylvester* (1792-1861)—German lawyer and politician, a leader of the constitutional-democratic movement in Kurhessen in the 1830s; member of the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848-49.—13

*Joseph II* (1741-1790)—Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1765-90).—28, 29

*Jung, Georg Gottlob* (1814-1886)—German writer, Young Hegelian, responsible publisher of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, democrat; deputy to the

Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—590

*Jung-Stilling, Johann Heinrich* (1740-1817)—German writer, pietist.—241

*Junkermann*—police inspector in Crefeld, witness for the prosecution in the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—443, 444

*Jurieu. Pierre* (1637-1713)—French theologian, Protestant, opponent of absolutism, predecessor of Rousseau.—556

K

*Ka-gi-ga-gi-wa-wa-be-ta*—leader of an Indian tribe, took part in the international pacifist congress in Frankfurt am Main in August 1850.—283

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—247, 496

*Karl Friedrich August Wilhelm* (1804-1873)—Duke of Brunswick from 1823; early in September 1830, was deposed and forced to emigrate; in the 1840s and 1850s maintained contacts with democratic refugees; published the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*.—264, 279, 301

*Kaulbach, Wilhelm von* (1805-1874)—German painter.—322

*Keck, V.*—German refugee in the USA, member of the Socialist Gymnastic Association in the early 1850s.—625

*Kelly, Sir Fitzroy* (1796-1880)—British statesman, Tory, M.P.—524

*Keogh, William Nicholas* (1817-1878)—Irish lawyer and politician, a leader of the Irish faction in Parliament; held high juridical posts in Ireland.—474, 475, 477, 504

*King, Peter John Locke* (1811-1885)—British politician, radical, M.P.—207, 340

*Kinkel, Johann Gottfried* (1815-1882)—German poet and journalist, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; sentenced to life imprisonment by a Prussian court; in 1850 escaped and emigrated to London, where he became a leader of the petty-bourgeois emigration and came out against Marx and Engels.—103, 229-59, 274, 284, 290-94, 297-304, 306-07, 312, 316-23, 325, 326, 445, 450

*Kinkel, Johanna* (née *Mockel*) (1810-1858)—German authoress, wife of Gottfried Kinkel.—232, 237, 240, 241, 242, 244-47, 252, 254-56, 258, 302-04

*Kiss, Miklós* (b. 1820)—Hungarian officer, democrat, refugee, Kossuth's agent in France and Italy.—355

*Klapka, György (Georg)* (1820-1892)—general of the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49), emigrated in 1849; maintained contact with the Bonapartist circles in the 1850s; after the amnesty in 1867 returned to Hungary.—224, 225

*Klein, Johann Jacob* (born c. 1817)—doctor in Cologne, member of the Communist League, defendant in the Cologne Communist trial (1852); acquitted by the jury.—210, 211, 402

*Klein, Julius Leopold* (1810-1876)—German dramatist and theatre critic.—306

*Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb* (1724-1803)—German poet, representative of the German Enlightenment.—229

*Knapp, Albert* (1798-1864)—German poet, author of hymns, pietist.—235, 252

*Kock, Charles Paul de* (1793-1871)—French novelist and dramatist.—269

*Kortum, Karl Arnold* (1745-1824)—German poet and writer, author of the satiric poem *Die Jobsiade*.—283

*Kossuth, Lajos* (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement, headed the bourgeois-democratic elements in the 1848-49

revolution, head of the Hungarian revolutionary government; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated first to Turkey and later to England and the USA.—224, 225, 274, 276, 295, 326, 354-55, 382, 465, 508, 513, 514, 515, 528, 532, 535

*Kothes, D.*—businessman in Cologne, democrat, witness for the defence in the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—421-24, 429

*Kotzebue, August Friedrich Ferdinand von* (1761-1819)—German writer and journalist, extreme monarchist.—239

*Kräusler*—Prussian professor, juryman in the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—400

*Krug, Wilhelm Traugott* (1770-1842)—German philosopher.—299

*Krüsi, Chr.*—owner of a printshop in Basle.—537

*Krummacher, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1796-1868)—German preacher, Calvinist pastor, leader of the Wuppertal pietists.—243

*Kyburg, Counts* (13th cent.)—a family of Swiss nobles, became extinct in 1264.—493

L

*La Hitte, Jean Ernest Ducos, vicomte de* (1789-1878)—French general, Bonapartist, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1850-51), Foreign Minister (1849-51).—144

*Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louis de* (1790-1869)—French poet, historian and politician; a leader of the moderate republicans in the 1840s; Foreign Minister and effective head of the Provisional Government in 1848.—162, 251, 278, 600

*Lamoricière, Christophe Léon Louis Juchault de* (1806-1865)—French general, moderate republican; took part in suppressing the June 1848 uprising; Minister of War in the Cavaignac Government (June to December 1848); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies.—126, 180

*Lanckoroński, Count*—Polish refugee, agent of the Russian tsarist government.—355

*Landolphe*—French petty-bourgeois socialist, émigré in London; joined the separatist Willich-Schapper group after the split in the Communist League in 1850.—295

*Lansdowne, Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, Marquess of* (1780-1863)—British statesman, Whig, Chancellor of the Exchequer (1806-07), President of the Privy Council (1830-41 and 1846-52), member of Cabinet without office (1852-63).—471, 507

*La Rochefoucauld, François, duc de* (1613-1680)—French moralist writer, prominent in the Fronde.—409

*La Rochejaquelein, Henri Auguste Georges du Vergier, marquis de* (1805-1867)—French politician, a leader of the Legitimist party; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; later senator of the Second Empire.—168

*Las Cases, Emmanuel Augustin Dieudonné, comte de* (1766-1842)—French historian, accompanied Napoleon to St. Helena (1815-16); published *Mémorial de Sainte Hélène* (1822-23).—182

*Latour, Theodor, Count Baillet von* (1780-1848)—Austrian statesman, advocate of absolutist monarchy; Minister of War in 1848; killed by insurgents in the October 1848 uprising in Vienna.—57

*Laube, Samuel*—German tailor, member of the Communist League, joined the separatist Willich-Schapper group when the League split up in 1850.—414

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician, a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats, editor of *La Réforme*; in February-May 1848 Minister of the

Interior in the Provisional Government, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies, where he headed the Montagne party; emigrated to England after the demonstration of June 13, 1849.—6, 46, 113, 126, 131, 134, 216, 272, 281, 282, 290-95, 297, 301, 311, 324, 558, 560, 597

*Le Flô, Adolphe Emmanuel Charles* (1804-1887)—French general, politician and diplomat, representative of the Party of Order, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic.—123, 180

*Lehon, Countess*—lived in Paris in the 1830s-1850s, was connected with the Orleans.—196

*Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, Baron von* (1646-1716)—German philosopher and mathematician.—404

*Leiden, Kosmos Damian*—wine-seller from Cologne, juryman in the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—400

*Lelewel, Joachim* (1786-1861)—Polish historian and revolutionary; took part in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31; a leader of the democratic wing of the Polish emigration in 1847-48; member of the Committee of the Brussels Democratic Association.—355

*Lenzburg, Counts*—representatives of a Swiss aristocratic family which became extinct about 1172.—493

*Leo, Heinrich* (1799-1878)—German historian and writer, extreme monarchist, ideologist of Prussian big landowners.—282

*Leopold, Karl Friedrich* (1790-1852)—Grand Duke of Baden (1830-52).—85, 90

*Lewald, Fanny* (1811-1889)—German writer associated with the Young Germany group.—270

*Lewis, Sir George Cornewall* (1806-1863)—British statesman, Whig, Secretary to the Treasury (1850-52), Chancellor of the Exchequer (1855-58), Home Secretary (1859-61) and Secretary of State for War (1861-63).—350

*Libényi, János* (c. 1832-1853)—Hungarian journeyman tailor who made an attempt on the life of the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph in 1853.—513, 535

*Lichnowski, Felix Maria, Prince von* (1814-1848)—Prussian officer, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing); killed during the September 1848 uprising in Frankfurt.—435

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League; one of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—427-29, 430, 432, 438, 439, 442, 622, 624

*Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, Earl* (1770-1828)—British statesman, a Tory leader, held several ministerial posts, Prime Minister (1812-27).—500

*Loch, James* (1780-1855)—Scottish economist and lawyer, manager of the Duchess of Sutherland's estates.—491, 493

*Lochner, Georg* (born c. 1824)—carpenter; active member of the German working-class movement, member of the Communist League and, later, of the General Council of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—622, 624

*Locke, John* (1632-1704)—English philosopher.—105

*Locke King*—see *King, Peter John Locke*

*Longard, Sebastian*—friend of Gottfried Kinkel; subsequently lawyer in Cologne.—244

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—188

*Louis XV* (1710-1774)—King of France (1715-74).—196

*Louis XVI* (1754-1793)—King of France (1774-92), guillotined during the French Revolution.—16, 546

*Louis XVIII (Louis le Désiré)* (1755-1824)—King of France (1814-15 and 1815-24).—104

*Louis Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Napoleon*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orléans, King of the French (1830-48).—31, 108, 110, 112-14, 119, 121, 126, 135, 138, 148, 166, 167, 169, 170, 183, 186, 221, 264, 472, 518, 551, 597

*Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, Count of Paris* (1838-1894)—grandson of Louis Philippe, pretender to the French throne.—166, 167

*Lucas, Frederick* (1812-1855)—Irish journalist and politician, M.P., a leader of the Tenant-Right movement.—477, 507

*Lucretius (Titus Lucretius Carus)* (c. 99-55 B.C.)—Roman philosopher and poet.—511

*Luther, Martin* (1483-1546)—German theologian, writer, leader of the Reformation; founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany.—104, 317, 422

*Lytton, Edward George Earl Lytton (Bulwer-Lytton)* (1803-1873)—English writer and politician, Whig, Tory from 1852, M.P.—600

M

*Machiavelli, Niccolò* (1469-1527)—Italian politician, historian and writer.—317, 320

*Magnan, Bernard Pierre* (1791-1865)—French general, marshal from December 1851, Bonapartist; took part in suppressing workers' uprisings in Lyons (1831 and 1849), Lille and Roubeaux (1845), and the June 1848 uprising in Paris; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); an organiser of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—169, 177, 180, 596

*Mahon, Philip Henry Stanhope, Viscount* (1805-1875)—British politician and historian, Peelite, M.P.—350

*Maistre, Joseph Marie, comte de* (1753-1821)—French writer, monarchist, an ideologist of the aristocratic and clerical reaction.—16

*Majer, Adolph* (born c. 1819)—member of the Communist League, as emissary of the separatist Willich-Schapper group worked in France from the end of 1850 to 1851; defendant in the trial following the discovery of the so-called Franco-German plot in Paris in February 1852.—223, 293, 407, 414

*Maleville, François Jean Léon de* (1803-1879)—French politician, Orleanist, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; Minister of the Interior (latter half of December 1848).—162

*Malmesbury, James Howard Harris, Earl of* (1807-1889)—British statesman, Tory, Foreign Secretary (1852 and 1858-59).—460, 473

*Malten*—Prussian agent abroad.—285

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, author of a theory of population.—331, 492, 502, 549

*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von* (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (November 1848-November 1850), Prime Minister (1850-58).—460, 473

*Marat, Jean Paul* (1743-1793)—a Jacobin leader in the French Revolution.—608

*Marheineke, Philipp Konrad* (1780-1846)—German Protestant theologian and historian of Christianity, Right-wing Hegelian.—230

*Maria Cristina*, senior (1806-1878)—wife of the Spanish King Ferdinand

VII, Regent of Spain from 1833 to 1840 (during the minority of her daughter Isabella II).—609

*Marlowe, Christopher* (1564-1593)—English poet and playwright.—604

*Marrast, Armand* (1801-1852)—French journalist and politician, a leader of moderate republicans, editor of *Le National*; in 1848 member of the Provisional Government and Mayor of Paris, President of the Constituent Assembly (1848-49).—6, 105, 114, 123

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883)—1, 63, 98, 99, 119, 137, 170, 211, 223, 269, 327, 332, 333, 336, 348, 362, 364, 378-81, 382-87, 389, 392, 399, 402, 404, 407, 413-16, 420-26, 428, 430, 433-38, 442, 444-45, 449, 451-52, 455, 456, 458, 459, 465, 469, 474, 477, 486, 508, 523, 527, 528, 534-36, 541, 590, 591, 595, 615, 617, 619, 622, 624

*Masaniello,* properly *Tommaso Aniello* (1620-1647)—Italian fisherman; leader of the popular revolt in July 1647 against the Spanish Viceroy of Naples.—179

*Masterman, John* (c. 1782-1862)—English banker and politician, Tory, M.P.—349

*Mathy, Karl* (1807-1868)—Baden journalist and politician, moderate liberal; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848-49.—309

*Mauguin, François* (1785-1854)—French lawyer and politician, a leader of the liberal dynastic opposition (until 1848); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic (Right wing).—153, 155

*Maupas, Charlemagne Émile de* (1818-1888)—French lawyer, Bonapartist, Prefect of the Paris police (1851), an organiser of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; Minister of Justice (1852-53).—177, 444

*Maurice of Saxony* (*Moritz von Sachsen*) (1696-1750)—French marshal of German descent; took part in the war for the Austrian succession (1741-48); author of theoretical works on war.—266

*Maximilian II* (1811-1864)—King of Bavaria (1848-64).—75

*Mayerhofer, Rudolph*—Deputy Minister of War in the Baden Provisional Government in 1849; sabotaged the introduction of radical military measures.—263

*Mayne Reid*—see *Reid, Thomas Mayne*

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary; bourgeois democrat, head of the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic in 1849; an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London in 1850; in the early 1850s sought support in Bonapartist circles; in later years became an anti-Bonapartist.—281-84, 286-88, 290-95, 297, 298, 300, 301, 303, 310, 321, 324, 354-56, 382, 465, 508, 514, 515, 532, 535, 536

*Mehemet Ali* (or *Mohammed Ali*) (1769-1849)—Ruler of Egypt (1805-49); carried out a number of progressive reforms.—491

*Melanchthon, Philipp* (1497-1560)—German theologian, closest associate of Martin Luther, together with whom he adapted Lutheranism to the princes' interests.—317

*Melbourne, Frederick James Lamb, Viscount* (1782-1853)—English diplomat, Whig.—502

*Melbourne, William Lamb, Viscount* (1779-1848)—English statesman, Whig, Prime Minister (1834 and 1835-41).—500, 501

*Menchikoff* (*Menshikov*), *Alexander Sergeyevich, Prince* (1787-1869)—Extraordinary Russian Envoy in Turkey in 1853; commander-in-chief of the Russian land and naval forces in the Crimea (1853-55).—541

*Messenhauser, Caesar Wenzel* (1811-1848)—Austrian army officer and

man of letters; commander of the National Guard and commandant of Vienna during the uprising in October 1848; shot after the city was seized by the Austrian troops.—60

*Metternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince von* (1773-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1809-21) and Chancellor (1821-48); an organiser of the Holy Alliance.—15, 26, 27, 29-32, 34, 35, 49, 54, 317

*Meyen, Eduard* (1812-1870)—German journalist, Young Hegelian; emigrated to England after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution.—305-07, 312, 318-19, 322, 324

*Mierosławski, Ludwik* (1814-1878)—prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement; took part in the 1830-31 Polish insurrection, in the preparations for the 1846 uprising in the Polish lands and in the 1848-49 revolution; subsequently a leader of the moderate wing of Polish democratic emigrants; inclined towards Bonapartism.—91

*Miller, Johann Martin* (1750-1814)—German poet and writer, representative of sentimentalism in German literature, author of the novel *Siegwart. Eine Klostergeschichte.*—229, 232, 236, 241, 242, 255, 256

*Milner, Gibson*—see *Gibson, Thomas Milner*

*Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel Victor Riqueti, comte de* (1749-1791)—leading figure in the French Revolution, advocate of constitutional monarchy.—608

*Mockel*—see *Kinkel, Johanna*

*Molé, Louis Mathieu, comte* (1781-1855)—French statesman, Orleanist, Prime Minister (1836-37 and 1837-39), deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic.—144, 168, 594

*Molesworth, Sir William* (1810-1855)—English statesman, Liberal, M.P., Commissioner of Public Works (1853) and Secretary of State for Colonies (1855).—473, 475

*Molinari, G. de* (1819-1912)—Belgian economist and journalist.—294

*Monk (Monck), George, 1st Duke of Albemarle* (1608-1670)—English general and statesman; at first monarchist, then general in Cromwell's army; in 1660 helped to restore the Stuarts to power.—151

*Monsell, William* (1812-1894)—Irish liberal, a leader of the Irish faction in Parliament; clerk of Ordnance (1852-57).—474, 476

*Montalembert, Charles Forbes René de Tryon, comte de* (1810-1870)—French politician and journalist, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, Orleanist, leader of the Catholic circles; supported Louis Bonaparte during the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—160, 168, 192

*Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de* (1689-1755)—French sociologist, economist and writer of the Enlightenment.—547

*Moore, George Henry* (1811-1870)—Irish politician and leader of the Tenant-Right movement, M.P.—477

*More, Sir Thomas* (1478-1535)—English politician, Lord Chancellor (1529-32), humanist writer, an early representative of utopian communism, author of *Utopia*.—493

*Moreau, Jean Victor Marie* (1763-1813)—French general; took part in the wars waged by the French Republic against the coalition of European states.—308

*Morgan, Henry* (d. 1853)—English needle-maker.—484, 485

*Morny, Charles Auguste Louis Joseph, duc de* (1811-1865)—French politician, Bonapartist, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); an organiser of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; Minister of the Interior (December

1851-January 1852); half-brother of Napoleon III.—196, 221, 597

*Mosle, Johann Ludwig* (1794-1877)—German army officer, representative of Oldenburg in the Federal Diet, imperial commissioner in Vienna (August-October 1848).—64

*Mügge, Theodor* (1806-1861)—German writer and journalist, Young Hegelian.—306

*Müller, Christian*—customs officer in Lörrach (Baden).—263, 298

*Müller, Franz Joseph*—legal counsellor in Cologne, conservative; father-in-law of Roland Daniels.—427-28

*Müller, Johannes von* (1752-1809)—Swiss conservative historian.—288, 289

*Münch-Bellinghausen, Franz Theodor, Baron* (b. 1787)—Prussian official, juryman in the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—400, 455

*Münks, F.*—German refugee in London in the early 1850s, member of the Communist League, associate of Marx and Engels.—622, 624

*Münks II*—German refugee in London in the early 1850s, member of the Communist League, associate of Marx and Engels.—622, 624

*Murat, Napoleon Lucien Charles, Prince* (1803-1878)—French politician, Bonapartist, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; cousin of Napoleon III.—356

N

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—7-8, 18, 24, 91, 103-05, 118, 149, 151, 179, 180, 184, 186, 188-93, 195, 197, 200-01, 211, 216, 222, 308, 310, 473, 513, 521, 539, 601, 607, 610

*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—Prince, nephew of Napoleon I; President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—96, 99, 103, 105, 106, 108, 113, 117-23, 125, 126, 129, 131, 135-40, 143-45, 147-53, 155-64, 168-73, 176-82, 184-99, 210, 211-15, 217-22, 354-56, 371, 382, 498-99, 502, 506, 509, 517-21, 533, 541, 558, 593-98, 600-02, 607, 608, 617

*Nasmyth, James* (1808-1890)—English engineer and inventor.—480

*Nero (Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus)* (37-68)—Roman Emperor (54-68).—601

*Nette, Ludwig Heinrich* (born c. 1819)—tailor from Hanover; member of a Paris community belonging, after the split in the Communist League in 1850, to the separatist Willich-Schapper group; defendant in the trial following the discovery of the so-called Franco-German plot in Paris in February 1852.—418, 457

*Neumayer, Maximilien Georges Joseph* (1789-1866) — French general, supporter of the Party of Order, commander of a division in Paris.—151

*Newcastle, Henry-Pelham Fiennes Pelham Clinton, Duke of* (1811-1864)—British statesman, Peelite, Secretary for War and the Colonies (1852-54), Secretary for War (1854-55) and Secretary for Colonies (1859-64).—370

*Ney, Napoléon Henri Edgar* (1812-1882)—French general, Bonapartist, aide-de-camp of President Louis Bonaparte, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1850-51).—138

*Nicolai, Christoph Friedrich* (1733-1811)—German writer, publisher and bookseller, advocate of "enlightened absolutism".—265, 271

*Nitzsch, Karl Immanuel* (1787-1868)—German Protestant theologian and preacher, professor of Bonn and Berlin Universities.—229

*Nothjung, Peter* (1821-1866)—tailor; member of the Cologne Workers'

Association and of the Communist League, defendant in the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—390, 399, 400, 402, 405

*Novalis* (pseudonym of *Friedrich Leopold von Hardenberg*) (1772-1801)—German romantic writer, author of the novel *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*.—237, 239, 240, 242, 244, 246, 249, 254

O

*O'Connell, Daniel* (1775-1847)—Irish lawyer and politician, leader of the liberal wing of the national liberation movement.—277, 353

*O'Donnell, Maximilian, Count von* (1812-1895)—aide-de-camp of Emperor Francis Joseph.—513

*Oppenheim, Heinrich Bernhard* (1819-1880)—German democratic politician, economist and journalist; an editor of the Berlin newspaper *Die Reform* in 1848; refugee in 1849 and 1850; later a national-liberal.—272, 290, 306, 307, 312, 320, 324

*Orléans*—royal dynasty in France (1830-48).—120, 127, 164, 165, 167, 168, 183, 187, 195, 196

*Orléans, Hélène Louise-Elisabeth, Duchesse d'* (1814-1858)—Princess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, widow of Ferdinand, Louis Philippe's eldest son; mother of the Count of Paris, pretender to the French throne.—113, 138

*Osborne*—see *Bernal Osborne, Ralph*

*Oswald, Eugen* (1826-1912)—German journalist, democrat; took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden in 1848-49; emigrated to England after the defeat of the revolution.—280

*Otto, Carl Wunibald* (born 1810)—German chemist; in 1848-49 member of the Cologne Workers' Association; member of the Communist League; a defendant in the Cologne Communist trial (1852); sentenced to five years imprisonment.—210, 211, 402

*Oudinot, Nicolas Charles Victor* (1791-1863)—French general, Orleanist; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; in 1849 commanded the troops sent against the Roman Republic; tried to organise resistance to the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—123, 132, 138

*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—English utopian socialist.—552

*Oxford, Alfred Harley, Earl of* (1809-1853)—English aristocrat.—502

P

*Paget, Clarence Edward* (1811-1895)—British military and political figure, Whig.—350

*Pakington, Sir John Somerset* (1799-1880)—British statesman, Tory, Secretary for War and the Colonies (1852), First Lord of the Admiralty (1858-59 and 1866-67) and Secretary of State for War (1867-68).—460

*Palacký, František* (1798-1876)—Czech historian and liberal politician; Chairman at the Slav Congress in Prague in 1848; favoured preserving the Habsburg monarchy.—46

*Palmer, Roundell, Earl of* (1812-1895)—British statesman, Peelite, later Liberal, Lord Chancellor (1872-74 and 1880-85).—350

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman, Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41 and 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58 and 1859-65); Tory at the beginning of his career, from 1830 onwards, Whig.—198, 205, 354, 356, 370, 371, 458, 459, 469, 471-72, 475, 493, 507, 536, 538

*Paris, Count of*—see *Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans*

*Parker, John* (1799-1881)—British politician, Whig, Secretary to the Admiralty (1841 and 1849-52).—350

*Paulus, Heinrich Eberhard Gottlob* (1761-1851)—German Protestant theologian, representative of the rationalist trend in Lutheranism.—299

*Peel, Sir Robert* (1788-1850)—British statesman, moderate Tory, Prime Minister (1841-46); repealed the Corn Laws in 1846.—200, 208, 332, 350, 365, 370, 371, 458, 460, 500, 518

*Peel, Sir Robert* (1822-1895)—British politician and diplomat, M.P.; son of the above.—523

*Peene, Thomas*—London physician.—527

*Perceval, Dudley* (1801-1856)—British public figure, Tory.—486

*Perczel, Mór* (1811-1899)—Hungarian general; took part in the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Turkey and in 1851 to England.—57, 59, 61

*Perrot, Benjamin Pierre* (1791-1865)—French general; took part in suppressing the June 1848 uprising, commanded the Paris National Guard in 1849.—159

*Persigny, Jean Gilbert Victor Fialin, comte* (1808-1872)—French statesman, Bonapartist, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); an organiser of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; Minister of the Interior (1852-54 and 1860-63).—163, 176, 597

*Peter the Cruel*—King of Castile and Leon (1350-69).—602

*Peter the Hermit* (c. 1050-1115)—French monk and preacher, one of the leaders of the peasant forces in the First Crusade (1096-99).—313, 314

*Peto, Samuel Morton* (1809-1889)—English businessman, engaged in railway construction; M.P., Liberal; withdrew from public activity in 1866, when his firm went bankrupt.—575

*Pfänder, Karl* (c. 1818-1876)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; painter; in 1845 emigrated to London; member of the Communist League and later of the General Council of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—622, 624

*Pharnaces II* (d. 47 B.C.)—King of Bosporus (from 63 B.C.).—412

*Piat, Jean Pierre* (1774-1862)—French general, Bonapartist, organiser and head of the Society of December 10.—149

*Pieper, Wilhelm* (born c. 1826)—German philologist and journalist, member of the Communist League; emigrated to London; in 1850-53, was close to Marx and Engels.—622, 624

*Pierce, Franklin* (1804-1869)—the fourteenth President of the USA.—522

*Pierre*—clerk from London.—431

*Pitt, William* (1759-1806)—British statesman, Tory; Prime Minister (1783-1801 and 1804-06).—469

*Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti)* (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—135, 138, 541

*Platen (Platen-Hallermünde), August, Count von* (1796-1835)—German poet and dramatist.—234

*Plato* (c. 427-c. 347 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—531

*Plutarch* (c. 46-c. 125)—Greek writer and philosopher.—412

*Poinsinet, Antoine Alexandre* (1735-1769)—French dramatist; author of many comedies. He is mentioned in Diderot's dialogue *Le neveu de Rameau*.—305

*Polignac, Jules Auguste Armand Marie* (1780-1847)—French statesman of the Restoration, Legitimist and clerical, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister (1829-30).—168

*Pope*—see *Pius IX*

*Prince of Prussia*—see *William I*

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist; a founder of anarchism; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848).—134, 545, 547-59, 562, 564-67, 595, 604-07, 609-11, 612-13, 614

*Prutz, Robert Eduard* (1816-1872)—German poet, journalist and historian of literature, associated with Young Hegelians.—268

*Publicola* (*Valerius Publius*, called *Publicola*) (d. 503 B.C.)—statesman of the Roman Republic.—104

*Pythagoras* (c. 571-497 B.C.)—Greek mathematician and philosopher.—307

Q

*Quesnay, François* (1694-1774)—French economist, founder of the school of Physiocrats; physician by profession.—547

*Quételet, Lambert Adolphe Jacques* (1796-1874)—Belgian mathematician, statistician and astronomer.—497

R

*Radetzky, Josef, Count of Radetz* (1766-1858)—Austrian field marshal, commander of the Austrian troops in Northern Italy from 1831; in 1848-49 suppressed the Italian national liberation movement; in 1850-56 Governor-General of the Lombardian-Venetian Kingdom.—50, 56, 58, 513, 514, 532

*Radowitz, Joseph Maria von* (1797-1853)—Prussian general and statesman; a Right-wing leader in the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848-49.—301

*Ramorino, Gerolamo* (1792-1849) —Italian general; in 1834 headed the march of revolutionary refugees to Savoy organised by Mazzini; commanded the Piedmontese army in the 1848-49 revolution in Italy and by his treacherous tactics contributed to the victory of the Austrian counter-revolutionary forces.—286

*Rateau, Jean Pierre Lamotte* (1800-1887)—French lawyer, Bonapartist, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic.—121

*Rath, vom*—Cologne manufacturer, juryman in the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—400

*Rattier, François Edmond* (1822-1890)—French republican, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849); took part in the demonstration of June 3, 1849; emigrated.—126

*Raveaux, Franz* (1810-1851)—German politician, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848-49; imperial commissioner in Switzerland, and one of the five Imperial regents in June 1849; member of the Baden Provisional Government; emigrated after the revolution.—324, 325

*Regnault* (*Regnaud*) *de Saint-Jean d'Angély, Auguste Michel Étienne, comte* (1794-1870)—French general, Bonapartist; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; War Minister (January 1851).—158

*Reichenbach, Oskar, Count* (b. 1815)—Silesian landowner, democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49); in 1850 emigrated to England and later to America.—297, 312, 317, 319, 325, 450

*Reicherzer, K.*—German refugee in the USA, member of the Socialist Gymnastic Association in the early 1850s.—625

*Reid, Thomas Mayne* (1818-1883)—British novelist.—535

*Reininger, Johann Georg*—German tailor; member of a Paris community belonging, after the split in the Communist League, to the separatist Willich-Schapper group; defendant in the trial following the discovery of the so-called Franco-German plot in Paris in February 1852.—414

*Reistle, E.*—German refugee in the USA, member of the Socialist Gymnastic Association in the early 1850s.—625

*Rémusat, Charles François Marie, comte de* (1797-1875)—French statesman and writer, Orleanist, Minister of the Interior (1840), deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic.—160

*Renard*—teacher of calligraphy in Cologne, expert at the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—444

*Reuchlin, Johann* (1455-1522)—German scientist, philologist and lawyer, prominent representative of humanism.—270

*Reuter, Max*—Prussian police agent in London in the early 1850s.—390, 392, 406, 449, 591

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—English economist.—528, 531

*Richard I (Richard Lionheart)* (1157-1199)—King of England (1189-99).—257

*Richard III* (1452-1485)—King of England (1483-85).—165

*Richards, Alfred Bate* (1820-1876)—English playwright, journalist (wrote under the pen-name "Englishman"); came out against Cobden and the Manchester School.—534

*Richelieu, Armand Jean du Plessis de* (1585-1642)—French statesman in the period of absolutism, Cardinal.—545

*Richmond, Charles Gordon-Lennox, Duke of* (1791-1860)—British politician, Tory Protectionist.—512

*Rifaat-Pasha, Sadik* (1798-1855)—Turkish statesman and diplomat, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1853).—541

*Rings, L. W.*—member of the Communist League, in the early 1850s emigrated to London, supporter of Marx and Engels.—427-29, 434, 439, 622, 624

*Rittinghausen, Moritz* (1814-1890)—German democrat, contributor to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Cologne Democratic Society and later of the German Social-Democratic Party.—556, 558

*Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de* (1758-1794)—leader of the Jacobins in the French Revolution, head of the revolutionary government (1793-94).—103, 104, 295, 558, 559, 608

*Robinson, Frederick John (Viscount Goderich, 1st Earl of Ripon)* (1782-1859)—British statesman, Tory; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1823-27) and Prime Minister (1827-28).—362

*Rochow, Gustav Adolf Rochus von* (1792-1847)—Prussian Minister of the Interior (1834-42).—412

*Roemer (Römer), Friedrich von* (1794-1864)—Württemberg statesman, one of the leaders of the liberal opposition in the Lower Chamber until 1848; in 1848-49 Minister of Justice and Prime Minister of Württemberg, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly.—13, 309

*Roesler, Gustav Adolf* (1818-1855)—German teacher and journalist, member of the Left in the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49); emigrated to America in 1850.—94

*Romain-Desfossés*—see *Desfossés, Romain Joseph*

*Ronge, Johannes* (1813-1887)—German pastor, one of the initiators of the "German Catholics" movement, took part in the 1848-49 revolution, democrat; emigrated to England after the revolution was defeated.—270, 297-99, 302, 317, 320, 321

*Rosenblum, Eduard*—German student, participated in the Baden-Palatinate

uprising of 1849; emigrated after its defeat.—280

*Röser, Peter Gerhard* (1814-1865)—cigar-maker; prominent figure in the German working-class movement; Vice-President of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848-49); member of the Communist League; defendant in the Cologne Communist trial (1852), was sentenced to six-year imprisonment; later joined the Lassalleans.—399, 402, 449, 457

*Rothschild, Anselm Mayer* (1773-1855)—head of the Rothschild banking house in Frankfurt am Main.—19

*Rothschild, Lionel Nathan, Baron* (1808-1879)—head of the Rothschild banking house in London; Whig, M.P. (from 1858).—512, 523, 579

*Rotteck, Karl Wenzeslaus Rodecker von* (1775-1840)—German historian and politician, liberal.—13, 22, 262-64, 281-301

*Rouher, Eugène* (1814-1884)—French statesman, Bonapartist; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; Minister of Justice (1849-52, with intervals); held several government posts during the Second Empire.—154, 155, 157, 163

*Rousseau, Jean Jacques* (1712-1778)—French philosopher and writer of the Enlightenment.—547, 556-57, 608

*Royer-Collard, Pierre Paul* (1763-1845)—French philosopher and politician, advocate of constitutional monarchy.—104, 552

*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and Young-Hegelian philosopher; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; one of the leaders of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in England in the 1850s.—103, 260, 264-74, 278, 281-84, 290-94, 297-302, 304, 307, 309, 312, 316-18, 320-21, 323, 324, 402

*Rumpf, E.*—German tailor; member of the Communist League; emigrated to London in 1851, supporter of Marx and Engels.—622, 624

*Ruscsák, Ignác*—Hungarian tailor; democrat, associate of Kossuth.—513

*Russell, John, 1st Earl* (1792-1878)—British statesman, leader of the Whig Party, Prime Minister (1846-52 and 1865-66) and Foreign Secretary (1852-53 and 1859-65).—205, 207-08, 331, 338, 349, 370-76, 458, 471, 475, 477, 499, 506, 510-11, 516, 520, 522-23

S

*Sack, Karl Heinrich* (1789-1875)—German Protestant theologian, professor in Bonn, advocate of religious orthodoxy.—229

*Sadleir, John* (1814-1856)—Irish banker and politician, a leader of the Irish group in Parliament, Junior Lord of the Treasury in 1853.—474, 475, 477, 486, 504

*Saedt, Otto Joseph Arnold* (1816-1886)—Prussian legal official, Public Prosecutor in Cologne from 1848, prosecutor in the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—384, 386, 392, 399, 401, 402, 415, 419, 429, 443, 453-56

*Saffi, Aurelio* (1819-1890)—Italian writer and prominent figure in the national liberation movement, associate of Mazzini; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; emigrated to England in 1851.—536

*Saint-Arnaud, Armand Jacques Leroy de* (1801-1854)—French general, from 1852 marshal, Bonapartist; War Minister (1851-54); one of the organisers of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—123, 596

*Saint-Germans, Edward Granville Eliot, 3rd Earl of St. Germans* (1798-1877)—British statesman, Peelite, Chief Secretary for Ireland (1841-45) and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1852-55).—370

*Saint-Jean d'Angély*—see *Regnault (Regnaud) de Saint-Jean d'Angély, Auguste Michel Étienne*

*Saint-Just, Antoine Louis Léon de Richebourg de* (1767-1794)—a Jacobin leader in the French Revolution.—104

*Saint-Priest, Emmanuel Louis Marie de Guignard, vicomte de* (1789-1881)—French general and diplomat, Legitimist, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51).—166

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—20, 557

*Sainte-Beuve, Pierre Henri* (1819-1855)—French manufacturer and landowner, advocate of free trade; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, representative of the Party of Order.—171

*Sallandrouze de Lamornais, Charles Jean* (1808-1867)—French industrialist, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49); supported Louis Bonaparte during the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—179

*Salvandy, Narcisse Achille, comte de* (1795-1856)—French writer and statesman, Orleanist, Minister of Education (1837-38 and 1845-48).—166

*Sandry, Mary Ann* (c. 1810-1853)—English working woman.—527

*Saul*—first King of Israel (c. 1025 B.C.).—285

*Say, Jean Baptiste* (1767-1832)—French economist, one of the founders of the "three production factors" theory, an apologia of capitalist exploitation.—104

*Schabelitz*—Swiss publisher and bookseller; father of Jacob Schabelitz.—537

*Schabelitz, Jacob* (1827-1899)—Swiss publisher and bookseller, member of the Fraternal Democrats society from 1846, member of the Communist League; maintained contacts with Marx and Engels in the late 1840s and the early 1850s.—537

*Schapper, Karl* (c. 1812-1870)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, one of the leaders of the League of the Just, member of the Communist League Central Authority; participant in the 1848-49 revolution; after the revolution one of the leaders of the separatist group that split away from the Communist League in 1850; later a member of the General Council of the First International.—223, 293, 295, 402, 403, 404, 406, 407, 410, 413-16, 420, 445, 449, 451

*Schärttner, August*—cooper in Hanau, active in the 1848 revolution and the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to London; member of the Communist League; after its split in 1850 joined the separatist Willich-Schapper group and became a member of its Central Authority.—293, 305, 451

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—150, 156, 239, 455

*Schimmelpfennig, Alexander* (1824-1865)—Prussian officer, democrat, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated, joined the separatist Willich-Schapper group; took part in the American Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—290, 312, 316, 317, 319

*Schinderhannes*—see *Bückler, Johann*

*Schlönbach, Carl Arnold* (1807-1866)—German poet, friend of Gottfried Kinkel.—244

*Schlössing, Marie*—Berlin acquaintance of Gottfried Kinkel.—234

*Schmidt*—see *Fleury, Charles*

*Schmitz, Th.*—private secretary in Cologne, witness for the defence in the

Cologne Communist trial (1852).—427, 429

*Schnauffer, Karl Heinrich* (c. 1823-1854)—German poet and journalist, democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolutionary movement in Baden; emigrated after the revolution.—280

*Schneider II, Karl*—German lawyer, democrat; in 1848, President of the Cologne Democratic Society and member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats; counsel for the defence in the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—386, 417, 427, 434, 435, 436, 437, 442, 445, 590, 591

*Scholefield, William* (1809-1867)—British radical, M.P.—522

*Schramm, Jean Paul Adam, comte de* (1789-1884)—French general and politician, Bonapartist, Minister of War (October 1850-January 1851).—152, 157

*Schramm, Konrad* (c. 1822-1858)—active figure in the German working-class movement, member of the Communist League; emigrated to London in 1849, responsible editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—415, 416

*Schramm, Rudolf* (1813-1882)—German journalist, democrat, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; emigrated to England after the revolution; opponent of Marx; supporter of Bismarck in the 1860s.—260, 261, 264, 274, 294, 297, 321, 324

*Schuler, J. L.*—German refugee in the USA, member of the Socialist Gymnastic Association in the early 1850s.—625

*Schultz* (d. 1852)—chief of police in Cologne, an organiser of the Cologne Communist trial of 1852.—400, 426, 444, 454

*Schurz, Karl* (1829-1906)—German democrat, active in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland; later US statesman.—243, 257, 290, 293, 312, 316-21, 325

*Schütz, Jacob Friedrich* (1813-1877)—German democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; representative of the Baden Provisional Government in Paris; later emigrated to England.—272

*Schwarzenberg, Felix, Prince zu* (1800-1852)—Austrian conservative statesman and diplomat; Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (from November 1848 to 1852).—34

*Schwarzer, Ernst* (1808-1860)—Austrian official and journalist, Minister of Public Works (from July to September 1848).—56

*Schwezler von Lecton*—widow of an official in Frankfurt am Main.—435

*Scott, Sir Walter* (1771-1832)—Scottish writer.—600

*Seckendorf, August Heinrich Edward Friedrich, Baron von* (1807-1885)—Prussian legal official, member of the Lower Chamber (Centre) in 1849; public prosecutor in the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—392, 399, 401, 402, 419, 429, 433, 455, 456

*Shadwell*—revising barrister for Middlesex in the early 1850s.—367

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English dramatist and poet.—149, 185, 307, 600

*Shelley, John Villiers* (1808-1867)—British M.P., Free Trader.—533

*Sheridan, Richard Brinsley* (1751-1816)—English playwright and politician.—600

*Sigel, Albert* (1827-1884)—Baden officer, journalist; democrat; took part in the Baden revolutionary movement of 1848-49; emigrated to the

USA in 1853; took part in the American Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—321, 324

*Sigel (Siegel), Franz* (1824-1902)—Baden officer, democrat, one of the military leaders of the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; refugee in Switzerland, England and, from 1852, in the USA; took part in the American Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—91, 305, 308, 310, 311, 316, 317, 320, 321, 323-24

*Simon, Ludwig* (1810-1872)—German democrat, lawyer, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five Imperial regents in June 1849; emigrated to Switzerland.—324

*Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard Sismonde de* (1773-1842) — Swiss economist, representative of economic romanticism.—492, 529, 531

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—491, 547, 579

*Socrates* (c. 469-399 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—262

*Somers, Robert* (1822-1891)—British bourgeois journalist.—494

*Somerville, Sir William Meredyth* (1802-1873)—British statesman, Whig, Chief Secretary for Ireland (1847-52).—350

*Soulouque, Faustin* (c. 1782-1867)—President of the Republic of Haiti (1849-59); proclaimed himself Emperor of Haiti in 1849 under the name of Faustin I.—196

*Spiess, Christian Heinrich* (1755-1799)—German writer, author of entertaining novels.—237

*Spooner, Richard* (1783-1864)—British banker and politician, Tory, M.P. —522

*Stadion, Franz, Count von* (1806-1853)—Austrian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1848-49).—65

*Stafford, George Granville Leveson-Gower, 1st Duke of Sutherland from 1833, Marquis* (1758-1833)—big Scottish landowner.—492

*Stahr, Adolf Wilhelm Theodor* (1805-1876)—German writer, author of historical novels and works dealing with the history of art and literature.—256

*Stechan, Gottlieb Ludwig* (born c. 1814)—joiner from Hanover; member of the Communist League, belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group but in December 1851 went over to Marx and Engels; from January 1852 he headed the Workers' Society in London.—427

*Stein, Lorenz von* (1815-1890)—German lawyer and historian, author of works on the socialist movement, advocate of "social monarchy".—455, 456

*Steingens, Luitbert (Suitbert) Heinrich Hermann* (born c. 1817)—German house-painter; emigrated to Brussels, member of the Communist League; after the split in the League in 1850 joined the separatist Willich-Schapper group; witness for the prosecution in the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—424, 450

*Stephens, Joseph Rayner* (1805-1879)—English clergyman; took an active part in the Chartist movement in Lancashire in 1837-39.—525

*Steuart, Sir James,* afterwards *Denham* (1712-1780)—British economist, one of the last representatives of mercantilism.—491

*Stewart, Sir Huston* (1791-1875)—English admiral, Whig, Lord of the Admiralty (1850-52).—350

*Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882)—Prussian police officer, an organiser of and chief witness for the prosecution in the Cologne Communist trial (1852); together with Wermuth he wrote the book *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*; in later years chief of the Prussian political

police.—380, 385, 386, 390, 391, 392, 400-02, 405-25, 427-38, 441, 444-45, 449, 453-55, 590, 591

*Stirner, Max* (real name *Schmidt, Johann Caspar*) (1806-1856) — German Young Hegelian philosopher, an ideologist of individualism and anarchism.—270, 551, 557, 563

*Strassoldo, Julius Cäsar, Count* (1791-1855)—Austrian general; took part in suppressing the national liberation movement in Italy in 1848-49; in 1853 commanded a division stationed in Milan.—513

*Strauss, David Friedrich* (1808-1874)—German Young Hegelian philosopher and writer.—247, 265

*Strodtmann, Adolf* (1829-1879)—German writer, democrat; took part in the Schleswig-Holstein revolutionary movement in 1848; emigrated in 1850; admirer and biographer of Gottfried Kinkel.—229, 241, 243, 256, 290, 293, 312, 316

*Struve, Amalie* (d. 1862)—wife of Gustav Struve, took part in the democratic movement in Germany in 1848-49.—263, 264, 274, 301

*Struve, Gustav von* (1805-1870)—German democrat, journalist; a leader of the Baden uprisings in April and September 1848 and of the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated after the defeat of the revolution; one of the leaders of the German refugees in England; took part in the American Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—260-64, 274, 284, 294, 297-99, 301, 302, 304, 312

*Stuart, Lord Dudley Coutts* (1803-1854)—British M.P., Whig, was associated with Polish conservative and monarchist refugees.—532

*Stuarts*—royal dynasty in Scotland (1371-1714) and England (1603-49 and 1660-1714).—487, 491

*Stüve, Johann Karl Bertram* (1798-1872)—German liberal politician, Minister of the Interior of Hanover (1848-50).—13

*Sue, Eugène Marie Joseph* (1804-1857)—French writer, author of sentimental novels dealing with social problems.—145, 442, 600

*Sutherland, Elisabeth Leveson-Gower, Marchioness Stafford, Countess, Duchess from 1833* (1765-1839)—big Scottish landowner; wife of Marquis Stafford.—491-94

*Sutherland, Harriet Elisabeth Georgiana Leveson-Gower, Duchess* (1806-1868)—big Scottish landowner, Whig, daughter-in-law of the above.—486, 487, 493

*Szemere, Bartholomäus (Bertalan)* (1812-1869)—Hungarian politician and journalist; Minister of the Interior and head of the revolutionary government (1849); fled from Hungary after the defeat of the revolution.—515, 532

T

*Tacitus, Cornelius* (c. 55-c. 120)—Roman historian and orator.—283, 503

*Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de* (1754-1838)—French diplomat, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1797-99, 1799-1807 and 1814-15).—317

*Tausenau, Karl* (1808-1873)—Austrian democrat, head of the Central Committee of the Democratic Societies of Vienna during the 1848 revolution; emigrated to London in 1849.—297, 317-19, 323-24

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*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836, 1840), deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848); after 1848, head of the Orleanists; organised the suppression of the Paris Commune (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73).—123, 129, 131, 134, 144, 160, 167-68, 171, 173, 180, 518

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*Willich, August* (1810-1878)—Prussian officer who left the service on political grounds; member of the Communist League, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; one of the leaders of the separatist group that split away from the Communist League in 1850; in 1853 emigrated to the USA, took part in the American Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—223, 253, 293, 295-97, 300, 301, 304, 312, 314-17, 320-23, 325, 402, 403, 404, 406, 407, 410, 412, 414-15, 420, 445, 449-52, 590

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*Wolff, Ferdinand* (1812-1895)—German journalist, member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee (1846-47) and the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); emigrated after the 1848-49 revolution; associate of Marx and Engels; later withdrew from all political activity.—622, 624

*Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus)* (1809-1864)—German proletarian revolutionary, teacher, prominent in the Communist League; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—87, 93, 378, 379, 384-87, 433, 622, 624

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*Le Constitutionnel*—a daily published in Paris from 1815 to 1817 and from 1819 to 1870; in the 1840s it spoke for the moderate Orleanists, during the 1848 revolution for the monarchist bourgeoisie (the Thiers party), and after the 1851 coup d'état for the Bonapartists.—196, 293

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*La Démocratie pacifique*—a Fourierist daily edited by Victor Considérant and published in Paris from 1843 to 1851.—132

*Der Deutsche Correspondent*—a German-language newspaper published in Baltimore.—311, 325

*Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst*—a Young Hegelian literary and philosophical journal published in Leipzig from July 1841 under the editorship of Arnold Ruge. Earlier (1838-41) it appeared under the title *Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst* (q.v.). In January 1843 the journal was closed down by the Saxon Government and prohibited throughout Germany by order of the Federal Diet.—265, 266, 268

*Deutsche Londoner Zeitung. Blätter für Politik, Literatur und Kunst*—a literary and political weekly published by German refugees in London from April 1845 to February 1851. It was edited by the petty-bourgeois democrat Ludwig Bamberger and supported financially by the deposed Duke Charles of Brunswick. Ferdinand Freiligrath was a member of the editorial board from 1847 to 1851. The newspaper carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—264, 276, 279, 301

*Deutsche Schnellpost für Europäische Zustände, öffentliches und sociales Leben Deutschlands*—organ of the German moderate democratic émigrés in the USA published twice weekly in New York from 1843 to 1851. In 1848 and 1851 its editor was Karl Heinzen; in 1851 Arnold Ruge was also on its editorial board.—278, 290, 293, 301, 302, 303, 311, 316, 323, 325

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*Deutscher Zuschauer. Neue Folge*—a newspaper published in Mannheim by the petty-bourgeois democrat Florian Mördes. As distinct from the above weekly, it bore the subtitle *Neue Folge* (New Series), and had its own numbering.—262

*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*—a German-language yearly published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge; only the first issue, a double one, appeared in February 1844. It carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—269

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*Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung*—a newspaper published in Frankfurt am Main from 1619 to 1866. During the 1848-49 revolution it was the organ of the Central Authority—the Imperial Regent and the Imperial Government; in the 1850s, organ of the Federal Diet. From 1852 onwards it appeared under the title *Frankfurter Post-Zeitung*.—435, 515

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*The Globe and Traveller*—a London daily published from 1803 to 1921; organ of the Whigs until 1866 and later of the Conservatives.—371

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*Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst*—a literary and philosophical journal of the Young Hegelians; it was edited by Arnold Ruge and others and was published in Halle from 1838 to 1841. From July 1841 to January 1843 it appeared under the title *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst* (q.v.).—265, 266

*Herald*—see *The Morning Herald*

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*Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*—a daily founded in Paris in 1789; a government organ during the July monarchy; during the 1848 revolution it voiced monarchist views; after the 1851 coup d'état, an organ of the moderate Orleanist opposition.—112, 179, 296, 533

*Karlsruher Zeitung*—a German daily, official organ of the Grand Duchy of Baden, published in Karlsruhe from 1757; organ of the Brentano Government in 1849.—272, 275

*Kölnische Zeitung*—a Cologne daily newspaper published under this title from 1802 to 1945; organ of the liberal bourgeoisie; in 1848-49 it took an anti-revolutionary stand and attacked the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.—98, 223, 273, 277, 302, 303, 380, 405, 415, 425, 426, 427, 436, 441, 442, 444, 452

*Der Kosmos*—a weekly of German refugees in England; it was published by Ernst Haug in London in 1851 (only six numbers appeared). Gottfried Kinkel and other leaders of petty-bourgeois democracy contributed to it.—258, 300, 301, 304

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*Manchester Times*—see *Examiner and Times*

*Mannheimer Abendzeitung*—a radical daily founded in 1842 by Karl Grün, who soon afterwards became representative of "true socialism". It existed until the end of 1848.—278, 306

*Le Messager de l'Assemblée*—an anti-Bonapartist daily published in Paris from February 16 to December 2, 1851.—176

*Le Moniteur universel*—a daily newspaper published in Paris from 1789 to 1901; official organ of the government (1799-1814, 1816-68).—123, 148, 152, 158, 159, 161, 168, 180, 509, 533, 596

*The Morning Advertiser*—a London daily published from 1794 to 1934; organ of the radical bourgeoisie in the 1850s.—273, 379, 380, 381, 384, 387, 433, 444, 469, 474, 495, 500, 503, 532

*The Morning Chronicle*—a London daily published from 1770 to 1862, organ of the Whigs; in the early 1850s, organ of the Peelites and later of the Conservatives.—297, 353, 369, 371, 453, 469, 486, 515

*The Morning Herald*—a London conservative daily published from 1780 to 1869.—369, 373, 374, 469, 474, 486, 498

*The Morning Post*—a London conservative daily published from 1772 to 1937; in the

mid-nineteenth century it was the mouthpiece of the Right wing of the Whig Party grouped around Palmerston.—370, 371, 469, 532, 536, 538

*La Nation, organe quotidien démocrate socialiste*—a newspaper of Belgian petty-bourgeois democrats published in Brussels from 1848 to 1856.—509

*Le National*—a Paris daily published from 1830 to 1851; organ of the moderate republicans in the 1840s.—112, 113, 119, 120, 145

*National-Zeitung*—a Berlin daily published from 1848 to 1915; in the 1850s it followed a liberal line.—103, 435, 436

*Neue Preussische Zeitung*—a Berlin conservative daily published from June 1848, organ of the Prussian Junkers and Court circles. It was also known as the *Kreuz-Zeitung* because the heading contained a cross bearing the device "Forward with God for King and Fatherland!"—272, 307, 378, 436, 515

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Democratie*—a daily newspaper, organ of the revolutionary proletarian democrats during the German revolution of 1848-49; it was published in Cologne under Marx's editorship from June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849 (with an interval from September 27 to October 12, 1848).—63, 87, 93, 435, 438

*New-York Daily Tribune*—a newspaper founded by Horace Greeley and published from 1841 to 1924; until the mid-1850s it spoke for the Left wing of the American Whigs and subsequently for the Republican Party. In the 1840s and 1850s it opposed Negro slavery. Marx and Engels contributed to the newspaper from August 1851 to March 1862.—4, 7, 53, 332, 341, 347, 353, 356, 363, 368, 372, 377, 382, 383, 389, 393, 464, 465, 470, 476, 485, 494, 501, 507, 512, 521, 527, 534, 541

*New-York Weekly Tribune*—a weekly of the *New-York Daily Tribune* published every Saturday.—341, 347, 356, 363, 368, 476, 485, 501, 512, 534

*New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*—a weekly founded in New York in 1852 by German petty-bourgeois refugees. From March 18, 1853 to March 10, 1854 it appeared under the title *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*.—625

*New-Yorker Deutsche Zeitung, herausgegeben von Freunden des Fortschritts*—a daily newspaper published in 1851 by Karl Heinzen, organ of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in the USA.—311, 323, 325

*New-Yorker Staatszeitung*—a German democratic daily founded in New York in 1834; later an organ of the US Democratic Party.—303, 311

*Northampton Mercury*—an English provincial newspaper.—484

*Notes to the People*—a Chartist weekly edited by Ernest Jones and published in London in 1851 and 1852; Marx and Engels supported the journal, took part in editing and publishing it, and printed a number of articles in it between June 1851 and April 1852.—212, 222, 581, 589

*Oesterreichische Correspondenz*—a semi-official lithographed organ of the Austrian Government; it appeared under this title in Vienna from 1850 to 1863.—538

*La Patrie. Journal du commerce, de l'agriculture, de l'industrie, de la littérature, des sciences et des arts*—a Paris daily published from 1841; in 1850 it spoke for the Party of Order (the monarchist bourgeoisie) and later took a Bonapartist stand.—157, 294, 295, 296

*The People's Paper*—a Chartist weekly founded by Ernest Jones in London in May 1852. From October 1852 to December 1856 Marx and Engels contributed to the newspaper and also helped to edit it.—332, 333, 341, 343, 347, 353, 366, 367, 379, 381, 433, 474, 494, 528, 532, 534, 590, 620

*Le Père Duchesne*—a newspaper published in Paris from 1790 to 1794 by Jacques Hébert; it expressed the views of the urban semi-proletarian masses during the French Revolution.—608

*Le Peuple de 1850*—a socio-reformist newspaper published in Paris; from April 1848 it appeared under the title *Le Représentant du Peuple*; from September 1848 to June 13, 1849, under the title *Le Peuple*; from October 1, 1849 to May 14, 1850, under the title *La Voix du Peuple*, and from June 15 to October 13, 1850, under the title *Le Peuple de 1850*. Its editor was Proudhon.—134

*Poole and Dorsetshire Weekly Herald*—an English provincial newspaper.—343

*Potteries' Free Press*—a newspaper published in Stoke on Trent from February to April 1853.—540

*La Presse*—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1866; in the 1840s, mouthpiece for the opposition to the July monarchy; organ of the moderate republicans in 1848-49, later a Bonapartist paper.—145, 597

*Preussische Lithographische Correspondenz*—a semi-official organ of the Prussian Ministry for Foreign Affairs published in Berlin.—318

*Le Proscrit. Journal de la République universelle*—a monthly published in Paris in 1850, organ of the Central Committee of European Democracy. Only two issues appeared. In late October 1850 it was turned into a weekly which was published under the title *La Voix du Proscrit* in Saint-Amand (France) till September 1851.—134, 281

*Punch, or the London Charivari*—a comic weekly paper of a liberal trend, founded in London in 1841.—540

*Racing Times*—a sports journal founded in London in 1851.—540

*Die Reform. Organ der demokratischen Partei*—a newspaper published by Arnold Ruge and Heinrich Bernhard Oppenheim and edited by Eduard Meyen, organ of the petty-bourgeois democrats; it appeared in Leipzig and Berlin from April 1848, and in Berlin from the summer of 1848 to the early 1850s.—271, 272

*La Réforme*—a daily newspaper published in Paris from 1843 to 1850, organ of the republican democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists.—132, 271

*Republikanisches Regierungs-Blatt. Deutsche Republik! Wohlstand, Bildung, Freiheit für Alle!*—an organ of the petty-bourgeois democrats published by Gustav Struve and Karl Blind in Lörrach during the second Baden uprising in September 1848.—263

*Die Revolution*—a communist journal published in New York in 1852 by Joseph Weydemeyer. On January 6 and 13 two weekly issues appeared; in May and June two "non-periodic" issues appeared.—100-01, 597

*Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*—a daily founded on January 1, 1842, organ of the Rhenish bourgeois opposition. It was published in Cologne till March 31, 1843. From October 15, 1842 to March 17, 1843 it was edited by Marx and assumed a strongly pronounced revolutionary-democratic complexion, which led to its suppression. Engels was one of its contributors.—18

*Schnellpost*—see *Deutsche Schnellpost für Europäische Zustände, öffentliches und sociales Leben Deutschlands*

*Seeblätter*—a newspaper published in Konstanz (Baden) in South Germany.—309

*Semi-Weekly Tribune*—a periodical of the *New-York Daily Tribune* published every Wednesday and Saturday.—341, 347, 353, 356, 363, 368, 377, 393, 464, 476, 485, 494, 501, 507, 512, 534, 541

*The Spectator*—a weekly published in London since 1828; originally liberal, later conservative.—353, 379, 433

*Staatszeitung*—see *New-Yorker Staatszeitung*

*The Sun*—a liberal daily published in London from 1798 to 1876.—483

*The Tablet*—a Catholic weekly published in London since 1840.—477

*Tages-Chronik*—a democratic newspaper published in Bremen from 1849 to 1851. It was edited by Rudolph Dulon. From January 1851 it appeared under the title *Bremer Tages-Chronik. Organ der Demokratie.* Arnold Ruge contributed to it in 1851.—281, 290. 293, 298, 304

*The Times*—a daily newspaper published in London since 1785.—210, 212, 295, 342, 346, 352, 378, 379, 386, 453, 469, 471, 478, 480, 495, 496, 499, 503, 505, 506, 517, 535, 538, 539-40

*Tribune*—see *New-York Daily Tribune*

*L'Univers religieux, philosophique, politique, scientifique et littéraire*—a clerical newspaper founded in Paris in 1833; in the 1850s it supported Bonaparte.—504

*La Voix du Proscrit*—a weekly of the Central Committee of European Democracy published in Saint-Amand (France) from late October 1850 to September 1851; it was the continuation of *Le Proscrit* (q.v.).—283

*Wecker*—see *Baltimore Wecker*

*The Weekly Dispatch*—a London newspaper published under this title from 1801 to 1928; in the 1850s it was radical.—212

*Westamerikanische Blätter*—a German-language newspaper published in the USA.—309

*Wiener Zeitung*—a daily newspaper, official government organ, published in Vienna from 1780 to 1931.—56, 513

*Wochenblatt der Deutschen Schnellpost*—the weekly supplement to the newspaper *Deutsche Schnellpost* (q.v.) which was published in New York from 1843 to 1851.—303, 318

*Wochenblatt der New-Yorker Deutschen Zeitung*—the weekly supplement to the *New-Yorker Deutsche Zeitung* (q.v.) which was published in New York in 1851.—316

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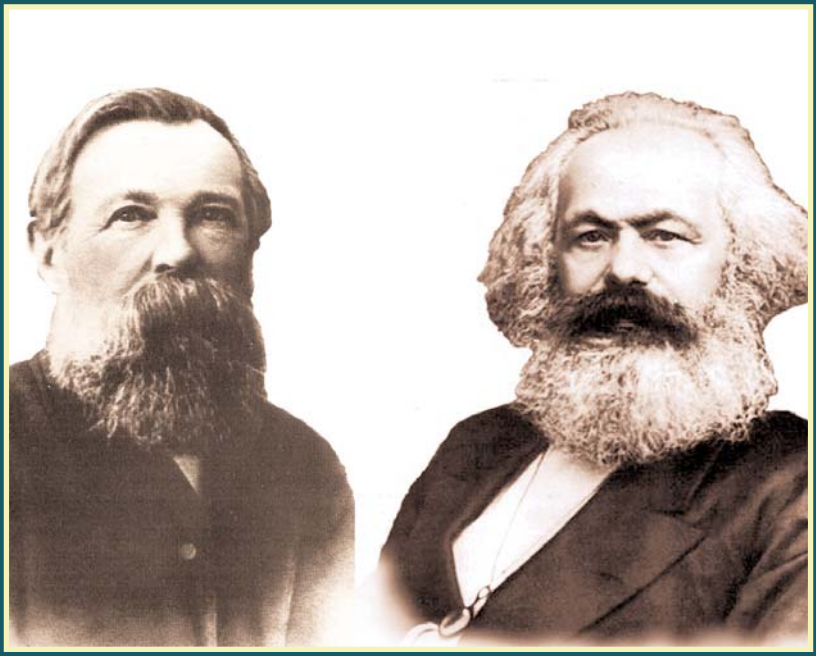

## VOLUME 12

### Marx and Engels 1853-54

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 12

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# Preface

Volume 12 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains articles and reports written between March 22, 1853, and February 10, 1854. Most of the articles were published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* for which Marx began to work in August 1851.

Writing for the *Tribune* became for Marx and also Engels, whom Marx enlisted to write some of the articles, an important part of their revolutionary activity. In the climate of political reaction which prevailed on the European continent in the 1850s, the opportunity to propagate revolutionary communist ideas in the columns of a popular American newspaper was one not to be missed. Marx had no hesitation about contributing to this bourgeois newspaper in view of the progressive role it was then playing in the social life of the USA. It condemned slavery and supported the abolitionist movement at a time when the conflict between the bourgeois North and the slave-owning South was coming to a head; and since this stand corresponded to the mood of broad sections of the population, it attracted many readers to the paper.

Marx's and Engels' articles aroused great interest in America. Many of them, in addition to appearing in the daily issues of the *Tribune,* were reprinted in special supplements: the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* and the *New-York Weekly Tribune.* Eventually it became editorial practice to publish these articles and reports in the form of leaders.

The articles by Marx and Engels in the *New-York Daily Tribune* became known in Europe as well. Thus, in a speech in the House of Commons on July 1, 1853, the leader of the Free Traders, John

Bright, mentioned Marx's *New-York Daily Tribune* article on Gladstone's budget (see this volume, p. 176).

At the same time Marx and Engels tried to use for revolutionary propaganda the then very few organs of the proletarian press. Thus, Marx published a number of articles in the Chartist *People's Paper*, which began to appear in May 1852 with Ernest Jones as editor. It also reproduced some articles by him written for the *Tribune*. Marx also supported the New York working-class paper *Die Reform*, which came out from 1853 to 1854 in German and played a considerable part in the dissemination of communist ideas in the USA. Joseph Weydemeyer and Adolph Cluss were among its most active contributors. Marx did all he could to help his German-American friends with the work of editing *Die Reform*. He allowed them to print gratis in the newspaper translations of his articles from the *Tribune*. His letters to Cluss and Weydemeyer often contained ready-made material for articles. Thus, Cluss included in his article "The 'Best Paper in the Union' and Its 'Best Men' and Political Economists" extracts from Marx's letters criticising the economic theory of Carey, then in fashion in the USA and acclaimed by the bourgeois editors of the *Tribune*. The article "David Urquhart" published in *Die Reform* reproduced in its entirety the text of a letter from Marx to Cluss which has not survived.

Marx and Engels used their journalistic activity to expose reactionary regimes in Europe, to reveal the contradictions of capitalist society, to criticise the different trends of bourgeois ideology, and to formulate the position of the working class and revolutionary democracy on major political questions. Although after the disbandment of the Communist League there was no international working-class organisation on which they could lean, they set themselves the task of preserving international links between the representatives of the working-class movement in different countries, uniting them on the platform of scientific communism, and preparing the conditions for the creation of a proletarian party. By their articles in the press and by other means, they sought to show the more politically conscious elements of the proletariat how unstable was the reign of reaction and to strengthen their belief in the advent of a new revolutionary upsurge.

The journalistic activity of Marx and Engels was closely linked with their theoretical research and rested largely on the results obtained by Marx in his studies of political economy and world

history, and by Engels in his research on military science, Oriental studies, philology and history. The extant notebooks contain numerous copied extracts showing that in addition to accumulating a vast amount of material for his economic work, Marx made a special study of a large number of sources for his articles and reports (these sources are given in the notes to the individual articles). Conversely, Marx's continuous interest in current economic questions broadened the base for his work on general economic theory. The materials quoted by Marx in his articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune* were later used by him in the *Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58* (the *Grundrisse*), and also in Volume I of *Capital*.

In this period, 1853-54, Marx's and Engels' attention was centred on three questions: the economic condition of the European countries, in particular of the most developed one, England, and the consequent prospects for a new upsurge of the democratic and working-class movements; the colonial policy of the capitalist powers and the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples; and, finally, international relations.

Analysing the economic position of the European countries, Marx devoted a number of articles—"The War Question.—British Population and Trade Returns.—Doings of Parliament", "Political Movements.—Scarcity of Bread in Europe", "The Western Powers and Turkey.—Symptoms of Economic Crisis", and many others—to the state of industrial production, primarily in England, agriculture, domestic and foreign trade, market prices, foreign exchange rates, etc. He distinguished different phases in the current trade and industrial cycle and gave concrete expression to the thesis he had propounded as early as the 1840s on the cyclical nature of the development of production under capitalism. Marx revealed laws actually operating in a capitalist economy, and so refuted the arguments of bourgeois apologists who represented capitalism as a never-changing, harmonious system which ensures the well-being of all classes of society. The whole secret of bourgeois political economy, he observed, "consists simply in transforming transitory social relations belonging to a determined epoch of history and corresponding with a given state of material production, into eternal, general, never-changing laws, natural laws, as they call them" (see this volume, p. 247). At the same time, Marx called attention to specific features in the different economic schools and doctrines current in the various countries. Thus, Carey's views were influenced by specific features of social-economic development in the USA, and his attacks on

British industrialists and economists, Ricardo in particular, reflected the struggle between the American and British capitalists. What Carey had in common with the French economist Bastiat and a number of British followers of the classical school, however, was his preaching of the harmony of class interests under capitalism and his defence of the foundations of the capitalist system.

Marx's articles include a sharp, critical description of the economic and political liberalism proclaimed by the British Free Traders. The hypocritical phrases of the Free Traders about "freedom" and prosperity concealed a defence of the unlimited exploitation of the workers, and their pacifist propaganda expressed not their love of peace, but the belief of the British industrial bourgeoisie in Britain's ability to retain its monopoly of world industry and trade by peaceful means, without the onerous expenditure of waging war.

The falsity of the Free Traders' argument that free trade would lead to a development of capitalism without crises was strikingly revealed at the end of 1853, when a phase of prosperity gave way to a period of stagnation in industry and trade. Emphasising the growing influence of British industry and its periodic crises on the world market and on the world economy as a whole, Marx concluded that the symptoms of crisis observable in 1853-54 were inevitably bound to develop into a universal economic crisis, which did in fact break out in 1857.

A number of articles in the present volume, e.g. "The Russian Victory.—Position of England and France" and "The Fighting in the East.—Finances of Austria and France.—Fortification of Constantinople", dealt with the position of France. In them Marx called attention to the political consequences in France of economic difficulties, poor harvests, the rising cost of living, financial mismanagement, and so on. The discontent of the masses, particularly a section of the peasantry, with the measures of Louis Bonaparte's government bore witness to the instability of the Second Empire (see this volume, pp. 540-42). The decisive blow against this counter-revolutionary regime, Marx predicted, would be dealt by the French workers. The time would come "when general causes and the universal discontent of all other classes" would enable the workers of France "to resume their revolutionary work anew" (see this volume, p. 541).

Closely related to the economic reviews were Marx's articles on financial questions: "The New Financial Juggle; or Gladstone and the Pennies", "Achievements of the Ministry", "*L.S.D.*, or Class

Budgets and Who's Relieved by Them", and others. Some of these were written for the Chartist *People's Paper*. In this series of articles Marx showed up the class nature of the economic policy of the bourgeois state and of the financial and fiscal measures taken by the British Government, which was always careful, on this as on other questions, not to overstep the limit "beyond which the working man would gain—the aristocrat and middle classes lose" (see this volume, p. 66). The budget of Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Coalition Cabinet, is described by Marx as "a middle-class Budget—written by an aristocratic pen" (see this volume, p. 63).

Describing the destitution of the English workers and the aggravation of contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, manifested in large-scale class conflicts, strikes and lock-outs, Marx made a profound analysis of the strike movement. He gave a detailed description of the strikes which were taking place in the industrial areas of Britain in his articles "English Prosperity.—Strikes.—The Turkish Question.—India", "Russian Policy Against Turkey.—Chartism", "Panic on the London Stock Exchange.—Strikes", and others, noting a new and positive phenomenon—the participation of unorganised workers in strikes. An analysis of the results of the mass strikes in 1853 and early 1854 helped Marx to give more concrete expression to conclusions on the different forms of the class struggle of the proletariat which he and Engels had drawn in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and other works. Marx showed that strikes are natural phenomena in capitalist society, that they serve as a means of restraining the arbitrary behaviour of factory owners and ensuring that the vital needs of the workers are satisfied. He stressed the influence of the capitalist economic cycle, the fluctuations in the state of the market and the level of wages, in exacerbating social antagonisms and the growth of the class consciousness of the proletariat. "Without the great alternative phases of dullness, prosperity, over-excitement, crisis and distress, which modern industry traverses in periodically recurring cycles, with the up and down of wages resulting from them, as with the constant warfare between masters and men closely corresponding with those variations in wages and profits, the working classes of Great Britain, and of all Europe, would be a heart-broken, a weak-minded, a worn-out, unresisting mass, whose self-emancipation would prove as impossible as that of the slaves of Ancient Greece and Rome" (see this volume, p. 169—written by Marx in English).

Marx saw the prime importance of strikes in the political and moral influence which they have on workers, increasing their spirit

of resistance and further promoting their class solidarity and organisation.

Describing the working-class movement in Britain, Marx concluded that the workers should not confine themselves to waging an economic struggle, important as it might be, but must combine it with a political struggle as the main means of liberating the working people from wage slavery. He constantly emphasised the need to organise the proletariat on a national scale, form a mass political party of the working class and wage a struggle for the conquest of political power. The trade unions—class organisations often created by the workers in the course of the strikes themselves—would, he said, assume particularly great importance for the working class when "their activity will ... be carried over to the *political field*" (see this volume, p. 334). In Marx's view, to overcome the idea that trade unions were not concerned with politics and to draw them into political life was one of the ways of achieving a higher form of class organisation of the British proletariat—of creating a proletarian party.

Marx assigned an important role in this to the revolutionary Chartists led by Ernest Jones, then a small but highly active detachment of the British working-class movement. In the articles "The Labor Question", "Prosperity.—The Labor Question", "Manteuffel's Speech.—Religious Movement in Prussia.—Mazzini's Address.—London Corporation.—Russell's Reform.—Labor Parliament", and others, Marx wrote with great sympathy of Jones' attempts to strengthen the influence of the Chartists among the masses, his tours of industrial areas and his agitation among strikers, trade union members and unorganised workers. In many cases Marx reproduced reports of workers' meetings and Jones' speeches at them, in which one can sense the influence of Marx's own ideas. Marx welcomed the Chartist proposal to convene a representative Labor Parliament as a step towards the founding of a national workers' organisation capable not only of co-ordinating the sporadic strikes, but also of directing the political actions of the masses.

Marx and Engels did all they could to support the endeavours of Jones and other revolutionary Chartist leaders to revive the Chartist movement on a new basis, combining the struggle for the People's Charter with the propaganda of revolutionary socialism. They attached great importance to the struggle of the British workers for universal suffrage. At a time when the British proletariat already constituted the majority of the population, and the ruling classes did not yet possess a sufficiently powerful military and bureaucratic machine, universal suffrage could help the proletariat to win politi-

cal power as an essential prerequisite for achieving socialism in Britain.

Marx pointed to symptoms of revolutionary ferment not only in Britain and France, but also in other European countries—Prussia, Austria, and Italy. For him they were signs of the imminent new revolutionary events. Even the Prussian Government, he noted, "smells the breath of Revolution in midst of the apparent apathy" (see this volume, p. 30). The realisation that the situation in Europe was fraught with a new upsurge of the revolutionary movement impelled Marx and Engels to return to tactical problems and to criticise false tactical premises, particularly those of a conspiratorial and adventurist nature. Thus, criticising the tactics of the Italian revolutionary Mazzini, Marx stressed the mistaken and utopian nature of his view that an Italian revolution "is not to be effected by the favorable chances of European complications, but by the private action of Italian conspirators acting by surprise" (see this volume, p. 512).

Marx's pamphlet *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness*, the text of which includes a letter from Engels, was also aimed against adventurism and sectarianism in the revolutionary movement. In this work, as in two earlier ones—*The Great Men of the Exile* and *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*—Marx and Engels exposed the petty-bourgeois pseudo-revolutionism and phrase-mongering, the demagogic playing at revolutions and conspiracies, in which the leaders of the petty-bourgeois émigrés indulged. The pamphlet unmasks August Willich, one of the leaders of the sectarian faction of the Communist League, who used the émigré democratic press to attack working-class revolutionaries. Analysing Willich's "revolutionary" plans, Marx sharply criticised the voluntarism and subjectivism characteristic of the supporters of conspiratorial tactics, their reluctance and inability to make a sober assessment of the situation, and their political vacillation.

A new and important feature in the theoretical and journalistic work of Marx and Engels at this period was their deep interest in the historical fate of the colonial peoples. At this time they began to publish articles systematically in the press about the situation in the colonial countries of the East, exposing the predatory policy of the capitalist states in relation to these countries. Whereas earlier Marx had treated colonial problems on a general theoretical plane, explaining the general laws of capitalist development and the place which colonial exploitation occupied in it, in the 1850s he began to pay far more attention to

the history of the colonies and dependent countries, colonial policy, and the methods and consequences of colonial rule. And he made extensive use of the results of his studies in his journalistic writings. Marx's articles on this subject proclaimed the ideas of proletarian internationalism, and of the solidarity of the working class with the oppressed peoples of the colonies and dependent countries.

This approach to the colonial question enabled Marx to give a new interpretation of the history of the peoples of the oppressed countries, to reveal the interrelation and interdependence of the historical development of the countries where capitalism was well established and the economically backward countries of the East, of the metropolises and the colonies. Marx regarded colonial policy as an expression of the most repulsive and cruel aspects of the capitalist system. "The profound hypocrisy and inherent barbarism of bourgeois civilization lies unveiled before our eyes, turning from its home, where it assumes respectable forms, to the colonies, where it goes naked" (see this volume, p. 221).

Marx devoted considerable space in his works to India. The position and history of this great country, which had fallen under the rule of British colonialism, was examined by him in a series of articles, "The British Rule in India", "The East India Company — Its History and Results", "The Future Results of British Rule in India", and others, in which he traced the most important stages and methods of the colonial enslavement of India by Britain.

A major role in the subjugation of India, with its colossal natural resources and ancient culture, as Marx shows in his articles, was played by the East India Company—"merchant adventurers, who conquered India to make money out of it" (see this volume, p. 179). Over the decades, the Company robbed the peoples of Hindustan, annexing one region after another, and using the resources it had seized to organise aggressive incursions into neighbouring territories—Afghanistan, Burma and Persia. The Company made wide use of the Ancient Roman principle *divide et impera* (divide and rule), which, as Marx stressed, was one of the main methods of effecting colonial conquests in the capitalist age as well. The colonialists took advantage of India's political fragmentation, its communal heterogeneity, and the strife between the local rulers, and bribed members of the local aristocracy to win their support. Binding the native sovereign princes to them by a system of subsidiary treaties, promissory notes and other bonds of "alliance", they turned them into the Company's puppets. "After having won over their allies in the way of ancient Rome, the East India Company executed them in

the modern manner of Change-Alley," wrote Marx, comparing the methods of the colonialists to the practices of one of the centres of usury in London (see this volume, p. 197). The robbery and usurpation committed by the Company in India served as a source of wealth and strength for the land-owning magnates and money-lords in Britain itself.

While revealing the essence and methods of colonial policy, Marx at the same time showed by his analysis of the internal situation in India and other Eastern countries the reason for their retarded historical development in the periods preceding conquest. He saw the source of their backwardness and weakness, as a result of which they became easy prey for conquerors, in the isolated nature of the small village communities, in the concentration of considerable means of production in the hands of despotic rulers, which impeded the emergence of a capitalist economy, and in other specific features of the social system of the Asian countries, which had at one time attained a high level of civilisation.

Marx gives a vivid portrayal of the British colonialists' predatory rule in India and its appalling consequences for the peoples of that country. Having inherited from the Eastern rulers such branches of administration as the financial and war departments, and using them to rob and oppress the people, the British rulers of India disregarded a third branch, to which even the Eastern despots devoted attention—the department of public works. As a result, irrigated farming in India fell into total decline. The competition of British manufactures was disastrous for local handicraft production, particularly hand-spinning and hand-weaving, and doomed millions of people to poverty and death. A great burden was put upon the population by the land and salt taxes and the whole system of financial extortion practised by the colonialists. While destroying old patriarchal forms of communal land-owning, the British retained in India's social and political system numerous feudal forms which hampered the country's progressive development.

Marx showed that the system of land-tenure and land taxes introduced by the British in India essentially consolidated pre-capitalist relations in the countryside and adapted them to the interests of the colonialists. It strengthened the various forms of shackling tenure in India's agrarian system, and increased the exploitation of the peasants by the landowners, land middlemen and tax collectors to the absolute limit. As a result, Marx remarks, "the Ryots—and they form 11/12ths of the whole Indian population—have been wretchedly pauperized" (see this volume, p. 215).

Pre-capitalist forms of exploitation flourished under colonial rule in other enslaved countries too—in particular, Ireland, which Marx and Engels considered the first British colony. In the article "The Indian Question.—Irish Tenant Right", for example, Marx vividly compared the extortion practised by landlords on the enslaved Irish tenants—an extortion legalised by the British—with the relations "between the robber who presents his pistol, and the traveler who presents his purse" (see this volume, p. 160).

In the article "Revolution in China and in Europe" Marx also showed the pernicious consequences of the intervention of European capital in the internal life of the Asian countries. He pointed to the destructive influence of the competition of British goods on Chinese local industry, to the drain of silver from the country as a result of the import of opium, which threatened to ruin the Chinese economy, and to the enormous growth of taxes in connection with the payment of the indemnity imposed on China by Britain at the end of the First Opium War.

The colonial administrative, legal and military apparatus was a parasite on the body of the oppressed country. Marx showed that under the extraordinarily confused and cumbersome system of government in India true power was wielded by a clique of officials from the head office of the East India Company in London. "...The real Home Government of India are the permanent and irresponsible *bureaucracy*" (see this volume, p. 183).

Marx used the example of British rule in India to show the contradictoriness and double-faced nature of the bourgeois system as a whole, and revealed the reverse side of progress under the rule of the exploiters. The period of the rule of the bourgeoisie, he pointed out in the article "The Future Results of British Rule in India", was in general to create the material basis for a new, socialist society. However, these material prerequisites, the powerful productive forces which constitute the foundation of bourgeois civilisation, are created at the cost of incredible sufferings on the part of the masses. Whole peoples are doomed by the bourgeois age to follow the bitter path of blood and filth, poverty and humiliation. Only after the socialist revolution, he wrote, will "human progress cease to resemble that hideous pagan idol, who would not drink the nectar but from the skulls of the slain" (see this volume, p. 222).

At a time when the colonial system of capitalism was still in the process of formation, Marx saw that it bore the seeds of its own destruction. He noted, for example, that the British colonialists of India, who were motivated solely by the pursuit of profit, would be compelled, against their will, to promote the development of

elements of capitalism in their colony, in particular, to commence railway construction and create related branches of industry. By permitting, albeit in a colonially distorted form, the birth of capitalist economy, the colonialists were bringing to life forces which threatened their rule—a local proletariat and a national bourgeoisie, which were capable of giving a more organised and stable character to the growing resistance of the masses to colonial oppression. These processes had barely begun at that time, but Marx was already fully aware of their significance for the future of the colonial world. He foresaw the growth of the opposition of the masses to the colonialists in India and other oppressed countries. In the article "Revolution in China and in Europe" he noted, in particular, the great successes of the Taiping peasant rebellion. The Taiping movement was ostensibly directed against the oppression of the foreign Manchu nobility. At the same time, like other progressive liberation movements in the East, it was an anti-colonial movement. Its advent was accelerated by "English cannon forcing upon China that soporific drug called opium" (see this volume, p. 93).

Marx saw in the liberation struggle of the enslaved peoples and the victory of the proletariat in the metropolis the two conditions for freeing the oppressed countries from colonial oppression and for their true social rebirth. The population of India, he wrote, would be unable to benefit from the fruits of modern civilisation "till in Great Britain itself the now ruling classes shall have been supplanted by the industrial proletariat, or till the Hindoos themselves shall have grown strong enough to throw off the English yoke altogether" (see this volume, p. 221).

Thus, Marx saw two possible paths for the future liberation of the colonies, which he by no means regarded as mutually exclusive. He considered the struggle of the working class for proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement as two interconnected aspects of the revolutionary process.

His discovery of the profound inner connection between the processes of revolutionary ferment in the colonial world and the maturing of the prerequisites for proletarian revolution in the West was perhaps the most important result of Marx's study of colonial problems. In his articles he showed that the drawing of the colonial and dependent countries into the orbit of capitalist relations would inevitably sharpen the antagonisms of the capitalist world, and that the national liberation movement in these countries, by inflicting blows on the capitalist colonial system, would weaken the position of capitalism in the metropolis. Marx

referred to the revolutionary processes in the East as a spark thrown into the "overloaded mine of the present industrial system" (see this volume, p. 98). Conversely, as all Marx's articles on India, Ireland and China show, the working class of the capitalist countries must in the long term benefit from the destruction of the colonial system, and should render all possible assistance to the liberation of the colonies.

Marx's studies of national and colonial problems in his articles of 1853 and subsequent years were vital contributions to revolutionary theory and provided the foundation for working-class policy on the colonial question. They were the point of departure for Lenin's subsequent analysis of imperialism, and of the liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries as an integral part of the world-wide anti-imperialist revolutionary process.

Marx and Engels examined problems of international relations in the context of prospects for the proletarian and national liberation movement. The articles on these questions constitute a considerable section of the present volume. The experience of the revolution of 1848-49 convinced Marx and Engels of the important role of diplomacy and foreign policy. Diplomatic means were used extensively by the reactionary forces of absolutist states and the ruling bourgeoisie for the achievement of counter-revolutionary ends. Marx and Engels considered, as Marx later formulated it in the "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association", that one of the most important tasks of proletarian revolutionaries was to understand the secrets of international politics and to expose the machinations of the diplomacy of the ruling classes and their aggressive designs. In the working class they saw a real social force capable of effectively counteracting the aggressive policies of governments. They stressed the need for the working class to pursue its own revolutionary line in international conflicts, aimed at thorough-going bourgeois-democratic transformations in Europe and the preparation of the conditions for a victorious proletarian revolution. It was from this position, the position of the "Sixth Power", as Marx and Engels called the European revolution, contrasting it with the five "Great Powers" of the day (see this volume, p. 557), that they approached all international questions.

In their numerous articles on these subjects Marx and Engels exposed the whole system of international relations which had taken shape since the Congress of Vienna in 1815. They saw this system as an obstacle to the progressive development of Europe, the liberation of the oppressed nations, and the national unifica-

tion of politically disunited countries. Statesmen and diplomats clung to this decrepit system, but not from any belief in the principle of observing international agreements. Marx showed in many of his articles that the treaties of 1815 were constantly violated by the rulers of European states when it suited their purpose. Thus the traditional cunning methods of the diplomacy of the ruling classes continued to flourish on the basis of established international relations. Marx and Engels in their articles condemned its practice of setting nations against one another, of intimidation and blackmail, and blatant interference in the internal affairs of small states. In the article "Political Position of the Swiss Republic", in particular, Engels pointed out that the declared neutrality of the small states had in fact become a pure formality and that the existing "European political system" doomed these states to the role of lackeys of the counter-revolutionary forces and the "scapegoat" in the diplomatic game of the Great Powers (see this volume, p. 86).

At the centre of the attention of Marx and Engels at that time were the contradictions between the European powers in the Middle East, the struggle for the partition of the Turkish Empire, for control of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, and for predominance in the Balkans and the countries of Asia Minor. A long series of articles by Marx and Engels is devoted to "the Eastern question", the aggravation of which led to the outbreak of the Crimean War. Already in the first articles on this subject, which were written by Engels—the section "Turkey" in the article "British Politics.—Disraeli.—The Refugees.—Mazzini in London.—Turkey", the articles "The Real Issue in Turkey", "The Turkish Question", and "What Is to Become of Turkey in Europe?"—Marx's and Engels' position on this question was substantially outlined. Their point of view was further developed in Marx's articles "The Turkish Question.—*The Times*.—Russian Aggrandizement", "The War Question.—Doings of Parliament.—India", "The Western Powers and Turkey", and others.

Analysing the position in the Middle East and the Balkans, Marx and Engels revealed the economic, political and military causes of the rivalry between the European powers in this region. The complexity of the problem, in their opinion, lay in the fact that this competition was linked with international confrontations caused by the liberation movement of the Balkan peoples against the rule of feudal Turkey.

In contrast to West European politicians and diplomats, who concealed their aggressive aims in the Middle East behind the doctrine of maintaining the *status quo* as established by the

Congress of Vienna and the pretence of defending the inviolability of the feudal Ottoman Empire, Marx and Engels saw that Empire as a great obstacle to historical progress and the development of the Balkan peoples who were under the rule of the Ottoman conquerors. The revolutionary-democratic solution to the Eastern question lay, in their opinion, first and foremost, in the granting of independence and the right to choose the form of their future state system to the Southern Slavs and all the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula. Marx wrote that the choice would depend on the concrete historical conditions. He did not exclude the possibility of the creation in the Balkans of a Federal Republic of Slavonic States (see this volume, p. 212).

A genuine solution to the Middle East crisis, Marx and Engels stressed, should not be expected from the Western politicians. "The solution of the Turkish problem is reserved, with that of other great problems, to the European Revolution," wrote Engels (see this volume, p. 34). Moreover he foresaw the possibility of the revolution spreading eastwards. Already in 1789 the boundaries of revolution had begun steadily to extend further and further. "The last revolutionary outposts were Warsaw, Debreczin, Bucharest; the advanced posts of the next revolution must be Petersburg and Constantinople" (see this volume, p. 34).

Marx and Engels denounced in particular the policy of Tsarist autocracy, its role of gendarme in Europe, its striving for aggrandisement. Tsarism, they stressed, sought to use for counter-revolutionary and aggressive aims the sincere sympathy which the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula felt for Russia, particularly since its victory in the wars with Turkey had actually facilitated the liberation of those peoples from Turkish oppression. But Tsarist autocracy, the oppressor of the Russian people and the other peoples of the Russian Empire, was the worst enemy of revolution. The strengthening of Tsarism presented a serious threat to the democratic and working-class movement in Europe.

Marx's and Engels' detestation of Tsarism was shared by the progressive representatives of revolutionary democracy, first and foremost, by the Russian revolutionaries themselves. "Half a century ago," Lenin wrote in 1903, "Russia's reputation as an international gendarme was firmly established. In the course of the last century our autocracy rendered no small support to various reactionary causes in Europe even to the point of crushing by downright military force the revolutionary movements in neighbouring countries. One has only to recall the Hungarian campaign of Nicholas I, and the repeated repressions of Poland, to understand why the leaders of the

international socialist proletariat from the forties onward denounced tsarism so often to the European workers and European democrats as the chief mainstay of reaction in the whole civilised world.

"Beginning with the last three decades or so of the nineteenth century, the revolutionary movement in Russia gradually altered this state of affairs. The more tsarism was shaken by the blows of the growing revolutionary movement at home, the weaker it became as the enemy of freedom in Europe" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 461).

Marx and Engels regarded the exposure of the self-seeking, anti-democratic position of the ruling circles of the Western powers, above all, of Britain and France, as one of the main aims of their articles on the Eastern question.

In their view the essence of the foreign policy of these powers was to strive to weaken Russia as a rival in the struggle for supremacy in the Middle East and the Balkans, while at the same time seeking to preserve Tsarism as a dependable weapon and bulwark of counter-revolutionary regimes in Europe. The desire to prevent the revolutionary consequences of the collapse of Tsarism and to avoid a decisive clash with Tsarism on the assumption that it would continue to perform the services of a gendarme in the future revealed, to quote Marx, "the mean and abject spirit of the European middle classes" (see this volume, p. 590). However, he stressed that all the ambiguous manoeuvres and tricks of Western diplomacy—the provocative incitement of the Sultan to offer resistance to Tsarist Russia, while at the same time conniving with the Tsar, and the attempt to perform a mediatory role as "peace-maker"—could only aggravate the situation and precipitate the impending military conflict. Western diplomats and politicians, Marx stated, "will not get rid of their embarrassment in this sneaking way" (see this volume, p. 561). The hostilities between Russia and Turkey which began in October 1853 were inevitably developing into a European war.

The France of Napoleon III, Marx stressed, played the role of one of the main instigators of the Crimean War. "The Bonapartist usurpation, therefore," he pointed out, "is the true origin of the present Eastern complication" (see this volume, p. 615). In the article "The London Press.—Policy of Napoleon on the Turkish Question", and others Marx exposed the adventurism and dynastic aims of Louis Bonaparte and his supporters in the Eastern question. For the ruler of the Second Empire foreign adventures were a means of preserving the counter-revolutionary Bonapartist dictatorship and a way for the usurper of the imperial throne of France to gain

recognition from the European monarchs as one of those who decided the fate of Europe.

Marx's articles "Urquhart.—Bem.—The Turkish Question in the House of Lords", "The Turkish Question in the Commons", "The Quadruple Convention.—England and the War", "The Czar's Views.—Prince Albert", "Russian Diplomacy.—The Blue Book on the Eastern Question.—Montenegro". and many others dealt with the position of the British ruling circles on the Eastern question. They contain a scathing criticism of the foreign policy of the British Government which, as Marx and Engels frequently stressed, was dictated by the interests of the bourgeois-aristocratic oligarchy. The founders of Marxism saw this policy as a manifestation of the counter-revolutionary role which Britain played in Europe during the wars against the French Revolution of 1789-94 and in 1848-49, when the British bourgeoisie in league with Tsarism and other reactionary forces acted as the suppressor of the revolutionary movement. Marx and Engels stressed that British ruling circles were especially apprehensive lest the conflict with Russia on the Eastern question should develop into a general revolutionary conflagration on the continent, which might find a response among the mass of the people in Great Britain. This factor, they noted, left its mark on the whole of British diplomacy.

By their criticism of the British ruling oligarchy, which was acting as a counter-revolutionary force not only in Great Britain itself, but also in the international arena, Marx and Engels sought to promote the democratic struggle for a change in the domestic and foreign policy of Great Britain. This was the aim, in particular, of a series of revealing articles by Marx entitled "Lord Palmerston", which were printed in *The People's Paper* and,in part,in the *New-York Daily Tribune.* Some of the articles in this series were reprinted in Britain in the form of pamphlets.

"Lord Palmerston" is a brilliant *exposé* written on the basis of a detailed study of numerous diplomatic documents, parliamentary debates and the press. In this work Marx draws a remarkably accurate and witty portrait of the eminent statesman of bourgeois-aristocratic Britain. His description of Palmerston actually contains an assessment of the whole British system of government, the whole political course of official Britain, the characteristic features of its diplomacy, its striving to exploit other nations for its own ends, its provocative role in many European conflicts, and its perfidious attitude to its allies. Marx revealed the class roots of this system, showing that British statesmen of the Palmerston type were concerned above all that no clouds should darken "the bright

sky of the landlords and moneylords" (see this volume, p. 351).

Analysing Palmerston's stand on the Irish question and his attitude towards the Italian, Hungarian and Polish national movements, Marx revealed the anti-democratic, anti-revolutionary character of British policy which was demagogically concealed by liberal phrases and hypocritical expressions of sympathy for the victims of despotism. A self-proclaimed supporter of "constitutionalism", Palmerston was in Britain itself the initiator of repressive measures and the opponent of all progressive reforms, while in Europe—in Greece, Spain and Portugal—he supported the reactionary monarchist governments and flirted with Bonapartist circles in France.

Palmerston, Marx emphasises, possessed remarkable political cunning, and an actor's ability to play the role required by this or that situation, in keeping with the British two-party system and the constant polemics between representatives of the government party and the opposition. Marx regarded as one of the main features of Palmerston's political art the ability to represent actions taken in the interest of bourgeois-aristocratic circles as national policy, his feigned concern for the well-being and prestige of the British nation. Palmerston proclaimed himself everywhere as a "truly English minister".

In stressing the similarity between the counter-revolutionary aspirations of Russian Tsarism and of the British oligarchy, however, Marx somewhat exaggerated Palmerston's subservient role in relation to the Tsarist autocracy. The position of Palmerston, as of other leading British statesmen, on the Eastern question was determined not only by fear of revolution and the desire to make use of the Russian autocracy in the struggle against it, but also by the British ruling class's own aggressive aspirations in the Middle East, its expansionist ambitions with respect to the Caucasus, and its plans to build up its own supremacy at the expense of Tsarist Russia. This was, indeed, one of the main causes of the Crimean War.

In writing the pamphlet against Palmerston, and in a number of other works, Marx made use of factual material from the articles and brochures of David Urquhart, then a leading figure in propaganda about "the Russian menace" to Britain. And this caused several newspapers, and also bourgeois historians of a later period, to conclude that Marx and Urquhart shared the same position on the Eastern question. However, in fact, as the works in the present volume show, Marx and Engels disagreed radically with Urquhart and regarded his views as on the whole reactionary. Particularly noteworthy in this respect is the article "David Urquhart", published

in *Die Reform.* In it Marx attacked the emotional attitudinising of David Urquhart, "who is basically conservative", his arbitrary interpretation of revolutionary events as, allegedly, the result of the machinations of Tsarist diplomacy, his Russophobia, and his idealisation of the feudal Ottoman Empire and the reactionary Empire of the Habsburgs. Marx also emphatically refutes Urquhart's conception of history as "more or less exclusively the work of diplomacy" (see this volume, p. 478). Marx regarded Urquhart's denunciation of the foreign policy of Palmerston and the Tsarist government as the only positive aspect of his activity.

When the Crimean War began, Marx and Engels followed its course with the greatest attention. Engels wrote a number of reviews on the fighting on the Danubian and Caucasian fronts, and also on the Black Sea ("The Holy War", "The War on the Danube", "The Last Battle in Europe", and others). These reviews were written immediately after the events in question and some of them inevitably show traces of the influence of the one-sided and sometimes also tendentious information about them in the Western press, which Engels could not immediately check from other sources. As a result of this, his assessment of, in particular, the sea-battle of Sinope on November 30, 1853, in the article "Progress of the Turkish War", was inaccurate. In his reviews (see this volume, pp. 471-73, 520-22) Engels amended some exaggerated statistics about the strength of the Russian troops on the Danube which he had quoted in the articles "The Russians in Turkey" and "Movements of the Armies in Turkey" on the basis of information in the Western press. Nevertheless, Engels' long series of articles on the Crimean War, published in this volume, and also in Volumes 13 and 14 of the present edition, occupies an important place in his writings on military theory. It contains important observations and conclusions on questions of the art of warfare, military strategy and tactics. In analysing the political and military aspects of the Crimean War Marx and Engels worked out a general tactical line for the revolutionary proletariat in this major European military conflict. They arrived at the conclusion that the policy of the ruling classes, whose aggressive aims had plunged the peoples into bloodshed, should be contrasted with the idea of a revolutionary war against Tsarism in the name of the democratic reorganisation of Europe, the liberation of the Poles, Hungarians, Southern Slavs and other oppressed peoples, and the national unification of Germany and also Italy by revolutionary means. Such a war, in their opinion, would inflict a telling blow on Tsarist autocracy, facilitate the liberation of the peoples of Russia, and lead to the collapse of counter-revolutionary regimes in Western

Europe, France and Britain included, and thereby advance the victory of the West European working class.

In this volume four works by Marx are published for the first time in English—"Hirsch's Confessions", "David Urquhart", *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness*, and "Apropos Carey". The articles by Marx and Engels written in English, mainly from the *New-York Daily Tribune*, are published for the first time in the language of the original in collected form (publication in part of a number of them in the collection *The Eastern Question*, London, 1897, is indicated in the notes).

As Marx and Engels repeatedly pointed out in their correspondence, the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* treated their articles in a somewhat arbitrary fashion, particularly those which were printed, unsigned, in the form of editorials. During the preparation of this volume editorial insertions were discovered in some of these articles. These insertions are reproduced in the present edition in notes to the relevant passages in the given article. Parallel publications in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and *The People's Paper* have been collated. Important divergencies between the two texts are indicated in footnotes. Rare instances of discrepancies in the texts of the *New-York Daily Tribune* and its special issues—the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* and *New-York Weekly Tribune*—are also indicated in footnotes, with the exception of corrections of misprints made in the main issue. In this case corrections are made in the text without special mention. Obvious misprints in quotations, proper names, geographical names, numbers, dates, etc., discovered in the text of the *New-York Daily Tribune* and other newspapers, have been corrected after checking with the sources used by Marx and Engels. The articles are published under the titles under which they appeared in the newspapers. In cases when an article bore no title in the original, the editorial heading is given in square brackets.

The volume was compiled and the preface, notes, subject index and the index of quoted and mentioned literature written by Tatyana Vasilyeva and edited by Lev Golman (CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism). The indexes of names and of periodicals were prepared by Galina Kostryukova (CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism).

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# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## WORKS

March 1853-February 1854

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Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

# BRITISH POLITICS.—DISRAELI.—THE REFUGEES.—MAZZINI IN LONDON.—TURKEY[1]

London, Tuesday, March 22, 1853

The most important event in the contemporaneous history of parties is Disraeli's deposition from the leadership of the "great Conservative" minority.[2] Disraeli, it has transpired, was himself prepared to throw overboard his former allies eight or nine weeks before the dissolution of the Tory Cabinet, and desisted from his resolution only at the urgent instance of Lord Derby. He in his turn, is now dismissed and has been formally replaced by Sir John Pakington, a safe character, cautious, not altogether wanting in administrative ability, but a mournful man otherwise, the very incarnation of the worn-out prejudices and antiquated feelings of the old English squireocracy. This change in leadership amounts to a complete, and perhaps to the final transformation of the Tory party.—Disraeli may congratulate himself on his emancipation from the landed humbugs. Whatever be our opinion of the man, who is said to despise the aristocracy, to hate the *bourgeoisie*, and not to like the people; he is unquestionably the ablest member of the present Parliament, while the flexibility of his character enables him the better to accommodate himself to the changing wants of society.

In reference to the Refugee question I told you in my last,[a] that after Lord Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons, the Austrian journals declared it to be useless to ask for redress from a Cabinet corrupted by Palmerstonian influence. But scarcely was Aberdeen's declaration in the House of Lords telegraphed to

[a] K. Marx, "Kossuth and Mazzini.—Intrigues of the Prussian Government.—Austro-Prussian Commercial Treaty.—*The Times* and the Refugees" (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 535-41).—*Ed.*

Vienna when the aspect of things changed again.[3] The same journals now assert that "Austria trusts to the honor of the English Cabinet," and the semi-official *Oesterreichische Correspondenz* publishes the following from its Paris Correspondent:

"Lord Cowley, on his return to Paris, stated to the Emperor of the French,[a] that the diplomatic representatives of England at the Northern Courts had been formally instructed to employ all their efforts to deter the Northern Powers from forwarding a collective note to the British Government, and to urge, as the ground for such abstention, that that Government would be the better enabled to *comply with the demand of those powers*, the more it could keep up, in all eyes of England, the appearance of *acting freely and voluntarily in the matter....*

"The British Ambassador, Lord Cowley, urged the Emperor of the French to place implicit confidence on the British Cabinet, the more so as the Emperor would always be at liberty to take any steps he might consider proper in the event of that confidence not having been justified.... The Emperor of the French, while reserving to himself full freedom of action for the future, was induced *to put the sincerity of the British Cabinet to the proof*, and he is now endeavoring to persuade the other powers to follow his example."

You see what is expected from "*ce cher Aberdeen*," as Louis Philippe used to call him, and what promises he must have made. These promises are actually already followed up by deeds. Last week the English Police drew up a list of the Continental refugees residing in London. Several detectives, in plain clothes, walked from square to square, from street to street, and from house to house, making notes on the personale of the refugees, addressing themselves in the majority of cases to the publicans in the neighborhood, but entering in some instances, under the pretense of the pursuit of criminals, the very domiciles and searching the papers of some exiles.

While the Continental Police is vainly hunting after Mazzini, while at Nuremberg the magistrates have ordered the closure of the gates in order to catch him—no man being hanged there before he is caught, according to the old German proverb—while the English press publishes reports after reports as to his supposed sojourn, Mazzini has for the past few days been safe and sound at London.

Prince Menchikoff, after reviewing the Russian forces stationed in the Danubian Principalities, and after an inspection of the army and fleet at Sebastopol, where he caused manoeuvres of embarking and disembarking troops to be executed under his own eyes, entered Constantinople in the most theatrical style on Feb. 28,

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[a] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

attended by a suite of 12 persons, including the Admiral of the Russian squadron in the Black Sea,[a] a General of Division,[b] and several staff officers, with M. de Nesselrode, Jr., as Secretary of the Embassy. He met with such a reception from the Greek and Russian inhabitants as he were the orthodox Czar himself entering *Tsarigrad* to restore it to the true faith. An enormous sensation was created here and at Paris, by the news that Prince Menchikoff, not satisfied with the dismissal of Fuad Effendi, had demanded that the Sultan should abandon to the Emperor of Russia, not only the protection of all the Christians in Turkey, but also the right of nominating the Greek patriarch; that the Sultan had appealed to the protection of England and France; that Colonel Rose, the British Envoy, had dispatched the steamer *Wasp* in haste to Malta to request the immediate presence of the English fleet in the Archipelago, and that Russian vessels had anchored at Kilia, near the Bosphorus.[c] The Paris *Moniteur* informs us that the French squadron at Toulon had been ordered to the Grecian waters.[d] Admiral Dundas, however, is still at Malta. From all this, it is evident, that the Eastern Question is once more on the European "*ordre du jour,*" a fact not astonishing for those who are acquainted with history.

Whenever the revolutionary hurricane has subsided for a moment, one ever-recurring question is sure to turn up: the eternal "*Eastern Question.*" Thus, when the storms of the first French revolution had passed, and Napoleon and Alexander of Russia had divided, after the peace of Tilsit, the whole of Continental Europe[4] betwixt themselves, Alexander profited by the momentary calm to march an army into Turkey, and to "give a lift" to the forces that were breaking up from within that decaying empire. Again, no sooner had the revolutionary movements of Western Europe[5] been quelled by the Congresses of Laybach and Verona, than Alexander's successor, Nicholas, made another dash at Turkey. When a few years later, the revolution of July, with its concomitant insurrections in Poland, Italy, Belgium, had had its turn, and Europe, as remodeled in 1831, seemed out of the reach of domestic squalls, the Eastern Question, in 1840, appeared on the point of embroiling the "great Powers" in a general war.[6] And now, when the shortsightedness of the ruling

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[a] V. A. Kornilov.—*Ed.*
[b] A. A. Nepokoichitsky.—*Ed.*
[c] The *New-York Daily Tribune* erroneously has "Dardanelles".—*Ed.*
[d] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 79, March 20, 1853.—*Ed.*

pigmies prides itself in having successfully freed Europe from the dangers of anarchy and revolution, up starts again the everlasting topic, the never-failing difficulty: What shall we do with Turkey?

Turkey is the living sore of European legitimacy.[7] The impotency of legitimate, monarchical government, ever since the first French Revolution, has resumed itself in the one axiom: Keep up the *status quo.* A *testimonium paupertatis,* an acknowledgment of the universal incompetence of the ruling powers, for any purpose of progress or civilization, is seen in this universal agreement to stick to things as by chance or accident they happen to be. Napoleon could dispose of a whole continent at a moment's notice; aye, and dispose of it, too, in a manner that showed both genius and fixedness of purpose; the entire "collective wisdom" of European legitimacy, assembled in Congress at Vienna, took a couple of years to do the same job, got at loggerheads over it, made a very sad mess, indeed, of it, and found it such a dreadful bore that ever since they have had enough of it, and have never tried their hands again at parceling out Europe. Myrmidons of mediocrity, as Béranger calls them,[a] without historical knowledge or insight into facts, without ideas, without initiative, they adore the *status quo* they themselves have bungled together, knowing what a bungling and blundering piece of workmanship it is.

But Turkey no more than the rest of the world remains stationary; and just when the reactionary party has succeeded in restoring in civilized Europe what they consider to be the *status quo ante,* it is perceived that in the meantime the *status quo* in Turkey has been very much altered, that new questions, new relations, new interests have sprung up, and that the poor diplomatists have to begin again where they were interrupted by a general earthquake some eight or ten years before. Keep up the *status quo* in Turkey! Why, you might as well try to keep up the precise degree of putridity into which the carcass of a dead horse has passed at a given time, before dissolution is complete. Turkey goes on decaying, and will go on decaying as long as the present system of "balance of power" and maintenance of the "status quo" goes on, and in spite of Congresses, protocols and ultimatums it will produce its yearly quota of diplomatic difficulties and international

[a] P. J. Béranger, *Les Mirmidons, ou les funérailles d'Achille.* There is a pun in the title of this allegory: "les mirmidons" meaning a warlike Thessalian race who accompanied Achilles to the Trojan War, and "mirmidon" also denotes "shorty, dwarf, good-for-nothing".— *Ed.*

squabbles quite as every other putrid body will supply the neighborhood with a due allowance of carburetted hydrogen and other well-scented gaseous matter.

Let us look at the question at once. Turkey consists of three entirely distinct portions: the vassal principalities of Africa, viz. Egypt and Tunis; Asiatic Turkey, and European Turkey. The African possessions, of which Egypt alone may be considered as really subject to the Sultan, may be left for the moment out of the question; Egypt belongs more to the English than to anybody else, and will and must necessarily form their share in any future partition of Turkey. Asiatic Turkey is the real seat of whatever strength there is in the Empire; Asia Minor and Armenia, for four hundred years the chief abode of the Turks, form the reserved ground from which the Turkish armies have been drawn, from those that threatened the ramparts of Vienna, to those that dispersed before Diebitsch's not very skillful manoeuvers at Kulevcha.[8] Turkey in Asia, although thinly populated, yet forms too compact a mass of Mussulman fanaticism and Turkish nationality to invite at present any attempts at conquest; and in fact whenever the "Eastern Question" is mooted, the only portions of this territory taken into consideration, are Palestine and the Christian valleys of the Lebanon.

The real point at issue always is, Turkey in Europe—the great peninsula to the south of the Save and Danube. This splendid territory has the misfortune to be inhabited by a conglomerate of different races[9] and nationalities, of which it is hard to say which is the least fit for progress and civilization. Slavonians, Greeks, Wallachians, Arnauts,[a] twelve millions of men, are all held in submission by one million of Turks, and up to a recent period it appeared doubtful whether, of all these different races, the Turks were not the most competent to hold the supremacy which, in such a mixed population, could not but accrue to one of these nationalities. But when we see how lamentably have failed all the attempts at civilization by Turkish authority—how the fanaticism of Islam, supported principally by the Turkish mob in a few great cities, has availed itself of the assistance of Austria and Russia invariably to regain power and to overturn any progress that might have been made; when we see the central, *i.e.* Turkish authority weakened year after year by insurrections in the Christian provinces, none of which, thanks to the weakness of the Porte and to the intervention of neighboring States, is ever

[a] The Turkish name for Albanians.—*Ed.*

completely fruitless; when we see Greece acquire her independence, parts of Armenia conquered by Russia—Moldavia, Wallachia, Serbia, successively placed under the protectorate of the latter power,—we shall be obliged to admit that the presence of the Turks in Europe is a real obstacle to the development of the resources of the Thraco-Illyrian Peninsula.

We can hardly describe the Turks as the *ruling class* of Turkey, because the relations of the different classes of society there are as much mixed up as those of the various races. The Turk is, according to localities and circumstances, workman, farmer, small freeholder, trader, feudal landlord in the lowest and most barbaric stage of feudalism, civil officer, or soldier; but in all these different social positions he belongs to the privileged creed and nation—he alone has the right to carry arms, and the highest Christian has to give up the footpath to the lowest Moslem he meets. In Bosnia and the Herzegovina, the nobility, of Slavonian descent, has passed over to Islam, while the mass of the people remain Rayahs, *i.e.* Christians. In this province, then, the ruling creed and the ruling class are identified, as of course the Moslem Bosnian is upon a level with his co-religionist of Turkish descent.

The principal power of the Turkish population in Europe, independently of the reserve always ready to be drawn from Asia, lies in the mob of Constantinople and a few other large towns. It is essentially Turkish, and though it finds its principal livelihood by doing jobs for Christian capitalists, it maintains with great jealousy the imaginary superiority and real impunity for excesses which the privileges of Islam confer upon it as compared with Christians. It is well known that this mob in every important *coup d'état* has to be won over by bribes and flattery. It is this mob alone, with the exception of a few colonized districts, which offers a compact and imposing mass of Turkish population in Europe. And certainly there will be, sooner or later, an absolute necessity of freeing one of the finest parts of this continent from the rule of a mob, compared to which the mob of Imperial Rome was an assemblage of sages and heroes.

Among the other nationalities, we may dispose in a very few words of the Arnauts, a hardy aboriginal mountain people, inhabiting the country sloping toward the Adriatic, speaking a language of their own, which, however, appears to belong to the great Indo-European stock. They are partly Greek Christians, partly Moslems, and, according to all we know of them, as yet very unprepared for civilization. Their predatory habits will force any

neighboring government to hold them in close military subjection, until industrial progress in the surrounding districts shall find them employment as hewers of wood and drawers of water, the same as has been the case with the Gallegas[a] in Spain, and the inhabitants of mountainous districts generally.

The Wallachians or Daco-Romans, the chief inhabitants of the district between the Lower Danube and the Dniester, are a greatly mixed population, belonging to the Greek Church and speaking a language derived from the Latin, and in many respects not unlike the Italian. Those of Transylvania and the Bukovina belong to the Austrian, those of Bessarabia to the Russian Empire; those of Moldavia and Wallachia, the two only principalities where the Daco-Roman race has acquired a political existence, have Princes of their own, under the nominal *suzerainetê* of the Porte and the real dominion of Russia. Of the Transylvanian Wallachians we heard much during the Hungarian War[10]; hitherto oppressed by the feudalism of Hungarian landlords who were, according to the Austrian system, made at the same time the instruments of all Government exactions, this brutalized mass was in like manner as the Ruthenian serfs of Galicia in 1846,[11] won over by Austrian promises and bribes, and began that war of devastation which has made a desert of Transylvania. The Daco-Romans of the Turkish Principalities have at least a native nobility and political institutions; and in spite of all the efforts of Russia, the revolutionary spirit has penetrated among them, as the insurrection of 1848 well proved.[12] There can hardly be a doubt that the exactions and hardships inflicted upon them during the Russian occupation since 1848 must have raised this spirit still higher, in spite of the bond of common religion and Czaro-Popish superstition which has hitherto led them to look upon the imperial chief of the Greek Church as upon their natural protector. And if this is the case, the Wallachian nationality may yet play an important part in the ultimate disposal of the territories in question.

The Greeks of Turkey are mostly of Slavonic descent, but have adopted the modern Hellenic language; in fact, with the exception of a few noble families of Constantinople and Trebizond, it is now generally admitted that very little pure Hellenic blood is to be found even in Greece. The Greeks, along with the Jews, are the principal traders in the seaports and many inland towns. They are also tillers of the soil in some districts. In all cases, neither their numbers, compactness, nor spirit of nationality, give them any

[a] An ancient mountain people of Galicia.—*Ed.*

political weight as a nation, except in Thessaly and perhaps Epirus. The influence held by a few noble Greek families as dragomans (interpreters) in Constantinople, is fast declining, since Turks have been educated in Europe and European legations have been provided with attachés who speak Turkish.

We now come to the race that forms the great mass of the population and whose blood is preponderant wherever a mixture of races has occurred. In fact it may be said to form the principal stock of the Christian population from the Morea to the Danube, and from the Black Sea to the Arnaut Mountains. This race is the Slavonic race, and more particularly that branch of it which is resumed under the name of Illyrian (Ilirski), or South Slavonian (Jugoslavenski). After the Western Slavonian (Polish and Bohemian), and Eastern Slavonian (Russian), it forms the third branch of that numerous Slavonic family which for the last twelve hundred years has occupied the East of Europe. These southern Slavonians occupy not only the greater part of Turkey, but also Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia and the south of Hungary. They all speak the same language, which is much akin to the Russian, and by far to western ears, the most musical of all Slavonic tongues. The Croatians and part of the Dalmatians are Roman Catholics, all the remainder belong to the Greek Church. The Roman Catholics use the Latin alphabet, but the followers of the Greek Church write their language in the Cyrillian character,[13] which is also used in the Russian and old Slavonic or Church language. This circumstance connected with the difference of religion, has contributed to retard any national development embracing the whole south Slavonic territory. A man in Belgrade may not be able to read a book printed in his own language at Agram[a] or Betch,[b] he may object even to take it up, on account of the "heterodox" alphabet and orthography used therein; while he will have little difficulty in reading and understanding a book printed at Moscow, in the Russian language, because the two idioms, particularly in the old Slavonic etymological system of orthography, look very much alike, and because the book is printed in the "orthodox" (pravoslavni) alphabet. The mass of the Greek Slavonians will not even have their bibles, liturgies and prayer books printed in their own country, because they are convinced that there is a peculiar correctness and orthodoxy and odor of sanctity about anything printed in holy Moscow or in the imperial printing establishment

[a] Zagreb.—*Ed.*
[b] The Serbian name for Vienna.—*Ed.*

of St. Petersburg. In spite of all the panslavistic efforts of Agram and Prague enthusiasts,[14] the Serbian, the Bulgarian, the Bosnian Rayah, the Slavonian peasant of Macedonia and Thrace, has more national sympathy, more points of contact, more means of intellectual intercourse with the Russian than with the Roman Catholic south Slavonian who speaks the same language. Whatever may happen, he looks to St. Petersburg for the advent of the Messiah who is to deliver him from all evil; and if he calls Constantinople his *Tsarigrad* or Imperial City, it is as much in anticipation of the orthodox Tsar coming from the north and entering it to restore the true faith, as in recollection of the orthodox Tsar who held it before the Turks overrun the country.

Subjected in the greater part of Turkey to the direct rule of the Turk, but under local authorities of their own choice, partly (in Bosnia) converted to the faith of the conqueror, the Slavonian race has, in that country, maintained or conquered political existence in two localities. The one is Serbia, the valley of the Morava, a province with well defined natural lines of frontier, which played an important part in the history of these regions six hundred years ago. Subdued for a while by the Turks, the Russian war of 1806[15] gave it a chance of obtaining a separate existence, though under the Turkish supremacy. It has remained ever since under the immediate protection of Russia. But, as in Moldavia and Wallachia, political existence has brought on new wants, and forced upon Serbia an increased intercourse with Western Europe. Civilization began to take root, trade extended, new ideas sprang up; and thus we find in the very heart and stronghold of Russian influence, in Slavonic, orthodox Serbia, an anti-Russian, progressive party (of course, very modest in its demands of reform), headed by the ex-Minister of Finances Garašanin.[16]

There is no doubt that, should the Greco-Slavonian population ever obtain the mastery in the land which it inhabits and where it forms three-fourths of the whole population (seven millions), the same necessities would by and by give birth to an anti-Russian, progressive party, the existence of which has been hitherto the inevitable consequence of any portion of it having become semi-detached from Turkey.

In Montenegro, we have not a fertile valley with comparatively large cities, but a barren mountain country of difficult access. Here a set of robbers have fixed themselves, scouring the plains and storing the plunder in their mountain fastnesses. These romantic but rather uncouth gentlemen have long been a nuisance

in Europe, and it is but in keeping with the policy of Russia and Austria that they should stick up for the rights of the Black Mountain people (Tsernogorci) to burn down villages, murder the inhabitants and carry off the cattle.

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

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# Frederick Engels

## THE REAL ISSUE IN TURKEY[17]

We are astonished that in the current discussion of the Oriental Question the English journals have not more boldly demonstrated the vital interests which should render Great Britain the earnest and unyielding opponent of the Russian projects of annexation and aggrandizement. England cannot afford to allow Russia to become the possessor of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus. Both commercially and politically such an event would be a deep if not a deadly blow at British power. This will appear from a simple statement of facts as to her trade with Turkey.

Before the discovery of the direct route to India, Constantinople was the mart of an extensive commerce. And now, though the products of India find their way into Europe by the overland route through Persia, Turan[a] and Turkey, yet the Turkish ports carry on a very important and rapidly increasing traffic both with Europe and the interior of Asia. To understand this, it is only necessary to look at the map. From the Black Forest to the sandy hights of Novgorod Veliki, the whole inland country is drained by rivers flowing into the Black or Caspian Sea. The Danube and the Volga, the two giant-rivers of Europe, the Dniester, Dnieper and Don, all form so many natural channels for the carriage of inland produce to the Black Sea—for the Caspian itself is only accessible through the Black Sea. Two-thirds of Europe—that is, a part of Germany and Poland, all Hungary, and the most fertile parts of Russia, besides Turkey in Europe, are thus naturally referred to the Euxine[b] for the export and exchange of their produce; and

[a] The old name of the Turkestan Lowland.—*Ed.*
[b] Pontus Euxinus—ancient name of the Black Sea.—*Ed.*

the more so, as all these countries are essentially agricultural, and the great bulk of their products must always make water-carriage the predominant means of transport. The corn of Hungary, Poland, Southern Russia, the wool and the hides of the same countries appear in yearly increasing quantities in our Western[a] markets, and they all are shipped at Galatz, Odessa, Taganrog, and other Euxine ports. Then there is another important branch of trade carried on in the Black Sea. Constantinople, and particularly Trebizond, in Asiatic Turkey, are the chief marts of the caravan trade to the interior of Asia, to the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris, to Persia, and Turkestan. This trade, too, is rapidly increasing. The Greek and Armenian merchants of the two towns just named import large quantities of English manufactured goods, the low price of which is rapidly superseding the domestic industry of the Asiatic harems. Trebizond is better situated for such a trade than any other point. It has in its rear the hills of Armenia, which are far less impassable than the Syrian desert, and it lies at a convenient proximity to Bagdad, Shiraz, and Teheran, which latter place serves as an intermediate mart for the caravans from Khiva and Bokhara. How important this trade, and the Black Sea trade generally is becoming, may be seen at the Manchester Exchange, where dark-complexioned Greek buyers are increasing in numbers and importance, and where Greek and South-Slavonian dialects are heard along with German and English.

The trade of Trebizond is also becoming a matter of most serious political consideration, as it has been the means of bringing the interests of Russia and England anew into conflict in Inner Asia. The Russians had, up to 1840, an almost exclusive monopoly of the trade in foreign manufactured goods to that region. Russian goods were found to have made their way, and in some instances even to be preferred to English goods, as far down as the Indus. Up to the time of the Afghan war, the conquest of Scinde and the Punjab,[18] it may be safely asserted that the trade of England with Inner Asia was nearly null. The fact is now different. The supreme necessity of a never-ceasing expansion of trade—this *fatum* which, specter-like, haunts modern England, and, if not appeased at once, brings on those terrible revulsions which vibrate from New-York to Canton, and from St. Petersburg to Sidney—this inflexible necessity has caused the interior of Asia to be attacked from two sides by English trade: from the Indus

[a] The *New-York Weekly Tribune* has "English".—*Ed.*

and from the Black Sea; and although we know very little of the exports of Russia to that part of the world, we may safely conclude from the increase of English exports to that quarter, that the Russian trade in that direction must have sensibly fallen off. The commercial battle-field between England and Russia has been removed from the Indus to Trebizond, and the Russian trade, formerly venturing out as far as the limits of England's Eastern Empire, is now reduced to the defensive on the very verge of its own line of custom-houses. The importance of this fact with regard to any future solution of the Eastern Question, and to the part which both England and Russia may take in it, is evident. They are, and always must be, antagonists in the East.

But let us come to a more definite estimate of this Black Sea trade. According to the London *Economist*,[a] the British exports to the Turkish dominions, including Egypt and the Danubian Principalities, were:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| In 1840 | £1,440,592 | In 1846 | £2,707,571 |
| In 1842 | 2,068,842 | In 1848 | 3,626,241 |
| In 1844 | 3,271,333 | In 1850 | 3,762,480 |

In 1851 ..... £3,548,959

Of these amounts, at least two-thirds must have gone to ports in the Black Sea, including Constantinople. And all this rapidly increasing trade depends upon the confidence that may be placed in the power which rules the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, the key to the Black Sea. Whoever holds these can open and shut at his pleasure the passage into this last recess of the Mediterranean. Let Russia once come into possession of Constantinople, who will expect her to keep open the door by which England has invaded her commercial domain?

So much for the commercial importance of Turkey, and especially the Dardanelles. It is evident that not only a very large trade, but the principal intercourse of Europe with Central Asia, and consequently the principal means of re-civilizing that vast region, depends upon the uninterrupted liberty of trading through these gates to the Black Sea.

Now for the military considerations. The commercial importance of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus at once makes them

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[a] "Turkey and Its Value", *The Economist*, No. 498, March 12, 1853.—*Ed.*

first-rate military positions, that is, positions of decisive influence in any war. Such a point is Gibraltar, and such is Helsingör[a] in the Sound. But the Dardanelles are, from the nature of their locality, even more important. The cannon of Gibraltar or Helsingör cannot command the whole of the strait on which they are situated, and they require the assistance of a fleet in order to close it; while the narrowness of the strait at the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus is such that a few properly-erected and well-armed fortifications, such as Russia, once in possession, would not tarry an hour to erect, might defy the combined fleets of the world if they attempted a passage. In that case, the Black Sea would be more properly a Russian lake than even the Lake of Ladoga, situated in its very heart. The resistance of the Caucasians would be starved out at once; Trebizond would be a Russian port; the Danube a Russian river. Besides, when Constantinople is taken, the Turkish Empire is cut in two; Asiatic and European Turkey have no means of communicating with or supporting each other, and while the strength of the Turkish army, repulsed into Asia, is utterly harmless, Macedonia, Thessaly, Albania, outflanked and cut off from the main body, will not put the conqueror to the trouble of subduing them; they will have nothing left but to beg for mercy and for an army to maintain internal order.

But having come thus far on the way to universal empire, is it probable that this gigantic and swollen power will pause in the career? Circumstances, if not her own will, forbid it. With the annexation of Turkey and Greece she has excellent seaports, while the Greeks furnish skillful sailors for her navy. With Constantinople, she stands on the threshold of the Mediterranean; with Durazzo and the Albanian coast from Antivari to Arta, she is in the very center of the Adriatic, within sight of the British Ionian islands, and within 36 hours' steaming of Malta. Flanking the Austrian dominions on the North, East and South, Russia will already count the Hapsburgs among her vassals. And then, another question is possible, is even probable. The broken and undulating western frontier of the Empire, ill-defined in respect of natural boundaries, would call for rectification, and it would appear that the natural frontier of Russia runs from Dantzic or perhaps Stettin to Trieste. And as sure as conquest follows conquest, and annexation follows annexation, so sure would the conquest of Turkey by Russia be only the prelude for the annexation of Hungary, Prussia, Galicia, and for the ultimate

[a] The *New-York Weekly Tribune* gives the English name "Elsinore".—*Ed.*

realization of the Slavonic Empire which certain fanatical Panslavistic philosophers have dreamed of.

Russia is decidedly a conquering nation, and was so for a century, until the great movement of 1789 called into potent activity an antagonist of formidable nature. We mean the European Revolution, the explosive force of democratic ideas and man's native thirst for freedom. Since that epoch there have been in reality but two powers on the continent of Europe—Russia and Absolutism, the Revolution and Democracy. For the moment the Revolution seems to be suppressed, but it lives and is feared as deeply as ever. Witness the terror of the reaction at the news of the late rising at Milan.[19] But let Russia get possession of Turkey, and her strength is increased nearly half, and she becomes superior to all the rest of Europe put together. Such an event would be an unspeakable calamity to the revolutionary cause. The maintenance of Turkish independence, or in case of a possible dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, the arrest of the Russian scheme of annexation is a matter of the highest moment. In this instance the interests of the revolutionary Democracy and of England go hand in hand. Neither can permit the Czar to make Constantinople one of his Capitals, and we shall find that when driven to the wall, the one will resist him as determinedly as the other.

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# Karl Marx

## THE LONDON PRESS.—POLICY OF NAPOLEON ON THE TURKISH QUESTION[20]

London, March 25th, 1853

Until this morning no further authentic news has been received from Turkey. The Paris Correspondent of *The Morning Herald*, of to-day, asserts that he has been informed by responsible authority that the Russians have entered Bucharest. In the *Courrier de Marseille* of the 20th inst. we read:

"We are in a position to convey to the knowledge of our readers the substance of the note which has already been presented to the Sublime Porte by M. d'Ozeroff immediately after the departure of Count Leiningen, and before the brutal 'sortie' of the Prince Menchikoff in the midst of the Divan. The following are the principal points referred to in this diplomatic note. The Count de Nesselrode complained in the most lively terms that the Porte, in spite of its formal promise not to attack the Montenegrins, had carried on a sanguinary war against that people, which had given the greatest dissatisfaction to the Cabinet of St. Petersburg. In order, now, to secure a sufficient protection to the Montenegrins, and for their preservation from new disasters, Russia would invite the Porte to recognize the *independence of Montenegro.* The note contained also a protest against the blockade of the Albanian Coast, and in conclusion it pressed the demand upon the Sultan[a] to dismiss those ministers whose doings had always occasioned misunderstandings between the two governments. On the receipt of this note Turkey is said to have shown a disposition to yield, although with regret, to that one point relating to the dismission of ministers, particularly of Fuad Effendi, the Sultan's brother-in-law, who has actually been replaced by Rifaat Pasha, a partisan of Russia. The Porte, however, refused to acknowledge the independence of Montenegro. It was then that Prince Menchikoff, without previously paying the usual compliments to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, presented himself in the Divan, to the neglect of all diplomatic forms, and intimated in a bullying manner to that body to subscribe to his demands. In consequence of this demand the Porte invoked the protection of England and France."

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[a] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*

In ancient Greece, an orator who was paid to remain silent, was said to have an *ox on his tongue.* The *ox,* be it remarked, was a silver coin imported from Egypt.[21] With regard to *The Times,* we may say that, during the whole period of the revived Eastern Question, it had also an ox on its tongue, if not for remaining silent, at least for speaking. At first, this ingenious paper defended the Austrian intervention in Montenegro, on the plea of Christianity. But afterwards, when Russia interfered, it dropped this argument, stating that the whole question was a quarrel between the Greek and Roman Churches, utterly indifferent to the "subjects" of the Established Church of England. Then, it dwelt on the importance of the Turkish commerce for Great Britain, inferring from that very importance, that Great Britain could but gain by exchanging Turkish Free-Trade for Russian prohibition and Austrian protection. It next labored to prove that England was dependent for her food upon Russia, and must therefore bow in silence to the geographical ideas of the Czar.[a] A gracious compliment this to the commercial system exalted by *The Times,* and a very pleasant argumentation, that to mitigate England's dependence on Russia, the Black Sea had to become a Russian lake, and the Danube a Russian river. Then, driven from these untenable positions, it fell back on the general statement that the Turkish Empire was hopelessly falling to pieces,—a conclusive proof this, in the opinion of *The Times,* that Russia presently must become the executor and heir of that Empire. Anon, *The Times* wanted to subject the inhabitants of Turkey to the "pure sway" and civilizing influence of Russia and Austria, remembering the old story that wisdom comes from the East, and forgetting its recent statement that "the state maintained by Austria in the provinces and kingdoms of her own Empire, was one of arbitrary authority and of executive, tyranny, regulated by no laws at all." In conclusion, and this is the strongest bit of impudence, *The Times* congratulates itself on the "brilliancy" of its Eastern leaders[b]!

The whole London Press, Morning Press and Evening Press, Daily Press and Weekly Press rose as one man against the "leading journal." *The Morning Post* mocks at the intelligence of its brethren of *The Times,* whom it accuses of spreading deliberately false and absurd news. *The Morning Herald* calls it "our Hebraeo-Austro-Russian contemporary," *The Daily News* more shortly the "Brun-

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[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

[b] See the leader in *The Times,* No. 21383, March 23, 1853.—*Ed.*

now organ."[a] Its twin-brother, *The Morning Chronicle* heaves at it the following blow:

"The journalists who have proposed to surrender the Turkish Empire to Russia, on the score of the commercial eminence of a dozen large [Anglo-]Greek firms, are quite right in claiming for themselves the monopoly of brilliancy!"[b]

*The Morning Advertiser* says:

"*The Times* is right in stating that it is isolated in its advocacy of Russian interests.... It is printed in the English language. But that is the only thing English about it. It is, where Russia is concerned, Russian all over."[c]

There is no doubt that the Russian bear will not draw in his paws, unless he be assured of a momentary "entente cordiale" between England and France.[22] Now mark the following wonderful coincidence. On the very day when *The Times* was trying to persuade my lords Aberdeen and Clarendon, that the Turkish affair was a mere squabble between France and Russia, the "roi des drôles"[d] as Guizot used to call him, M. Granier de Cassagnac, happened to discover in the *Constitutionnel*, that it was all nothing but a quarrel between Lord Palmerston and the Czar.[e] Truly, when we read these papers, we understand the Greek orators with Macedonian oxen on their tongues, at the times when Demosthenes fulminated his Philippics.

As for the British aristocracy represented by the Coalition Ministry, they would, if need be, sacrifice the national English interests to their particular class interests, and permit the consolidation of a juvenile despotism in the East in the hopes of finding a support for their valetudinarian oligarchy in the West. As to Louis Napoleon he is hesitating. All his predilections are on the side of the Autocrat, whose system of governing he has introduced into France, and all his antipathies are against England, whose parliamentary system he has destroyed there. Besides, if he permits the Czar's plundering in the East, the Czar will perhaps permit him to plunder in the West. On the other hand he is as quite sure of the feelings of the Holy Alliance with regard to the "parvenu Khan." Accordingly he observes an

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[a] *The Morning Post*, No. 24726, March 22, 1853; *The Morning Herald*, No. 22115, March 25, 1853, and *The Daily News*, No. 2133, March 23, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 26910, March 24, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Morning Advertiser*, March 24, 1853.—*Ed.*

[d] King of the buffoons.—*Ed.*

[e] A. Granier de Cassagnac, "Des Affaires d'Orient", *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 83, March 24, 1853.—*Ed.*

ambiguous policy, striving to dupe the great powers of Europe as he duped the parliamentary parties of the French National Assembly. While fraternizing ostentatiously with the English ambassador for Turkey, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, he simultaneously cajoles the Russian Princess de Lieven with the most flattering promises, and sends to the court of the Sultan M. De la Cour, a warm advocate of an Austro-French alliance, in contradistinction to an Anglo-French one. He orders the Toulon fleet to sail to the Grecian waters, and then announces the day afterward, in the *Moniteur*, that this had been done without any previous communication with England. While he orders one of his organs, the *Pays*, to treat the Eastern Question as most important to France, he allows the statement of his other organ, the *Constitutionnel*, that Russian, Austrian and English interests are at stake in this question, but that France has only a very remote interest in it, and is therefore in a wholly independent position. Which will outbid the other, Russia or England? that is the question with him.

Written on March 25, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

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# Frederick Engels

## THE TURKISH QUESTION[23]

It is only of late that people in the West of Europe and in America have been enabled to form anything like a correct judgment of Turkish affairs. Up to the Greek insurrection[24] Turkey was, to all intents and purposes a *terra incognita*, and the common notions floating about among the public were based more upon the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments* than upon any historical facts. Official diplomatic functionaries having been on the spot, boasted a more accurate knowledge, but this, too, amounted to nothing, as none of these officials ever troubled himself to learn Turkish, South Slavonian, or modern Greek, and they were one and all dependent upon the interested accounts of Greek interpreters and Frank[a] merchants. Besides, intrigues of every sort were always on hand to occupy the time of these lounging diplomatists, among whom Joseph von Hammer, the German historian of Turkey,[b] forms the only honorable exception. The business of these gentlemen was not with the people, the institutions, the social state of the country; it was exclusively with the Court, and especially with the Fanariote Greeks,[25] wily mediators between two parties either of which was equally ignorant of the real condition, power and resources of the other. The traditional notions and opinions, founded upon such paltry information, formed for a long while, and strange to say, form to a great extent even now, the ground-work for all the action of Western diplomacy with regard to Turkey.

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[a] Franks is the name commonly used in the Middle East for West-Europeans.—*Ed.*

[b] Jos. Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches.—Ed.*

But while England, France, and for a long time even Austria, were groping in the dark for a defined Eastern policy, another power outwitted them all. Russia herself semi-Asiatic in her condition, manners, traditions and institutions, found men enough who could comprehend the real state and character of Turkey. Her religion was the same as that of nine-tenths of the inhabitants of Turkey in Europe; her language almost identical with that of seven millions of Turkish subjects; and the well-known facility with which a Russian learns to converse in, if not fully to appropriate a foreign tongue, made it an easy matter for her agents, well paid for the task, to acquaint themselves completely with Turkish affairs. Thus at a very early period the Russian Government availed itself of its exceedingly favorable position in the South-east of Europe. Hundreds of Russian agents perambulated Turkey, pointing out to the Greek Christians, the Orthodox Emperor as the head, the natural protector, and the ultimate liberator of the oppressed Eastern Church, and to the South Slavonians especially, pointing out that same Emperor as the almighty Czar who was sooner or later to unite all the branches of the great Slavic race under one sceptre, and to make them the ruling race of Europe. The clergy of the Greek Church very soon formed themselves into a vast conspiracy for the spread of these ideas. The Servian insurrection of 1804,[26] the Greek rising in 1821 were more or less directly urged on by Russian gold and Russian influence; and wherever among the Turkish pashas the standard of revolt was raised against the Central Government, Russian intrigues and Russian funds were never wanting; and when thus, internal Turkish questions had entirely perplexed the understanding of Western diplomatists who knew no more about the real subject than about the man in the moon, then war was declared, Russian armies marched toward the Balkan, and portion by portion the Ottoman Empire was dismembered.

It is true that during the last thirty years much has been done toward general enlightenment concerning the state of Turkey. German philologists and critics have made us acquainted with the history and literature, English residents and English trade have collected a great deal of information as to the social condition of the Empire. But the diplomatic wiseacres seem to scorn all this, and to cling as obstinately as possible to the traditions engendered by the study of Eastern fairy-tales, improved upon by the no less wonderful accounts given by the most corrupt set of Greek mercenaries that ever existed.

And what has been the natural result? That in all essential

points Russia has steadily, one after another, gained her ends, thanks to the ignorance, dullness, and consequent inconsistency and cowardice of Western governments. From the battle of Navarino[27] to the present Eastern crisis, the action of the Western powers has either been annihilated by squabbles among themselves, mostly arising from their common ignorance of Eastern matters, and from petty jealousies which must have been entirely incomprehensible to any Eastern understanding—or that action has been in the direct interest of Russia alone. And not only do the Greeks, both of Greece and Turkey, and the Slavonians, look to Russia as their natural protector; nay, even the Government at Constantinople, despairing, time after time, to make its actual wants and real position understood by these Western ambassadors, who pride themselves upon their own utter incompetency to judge by their own eyes of Turkish matters, the very Turkish Government has in every instance been obliged to throw itself upon the mercy of Russia, and to seek protection from that power which openly avows its firm intention to drive every Turk across the Bosphorus and plant the cross of St. Andrew upon the minarets of the Aya-Sofiyah.

In spite of diplomatic tradition, these constant and successful encroachments of Russia have at last roused in the Western Cabinets in Europe a very dim and distant apprehension of the approaching danger. This apprehension has resulted in the great diplomatic nostrum, that the maintenance of the *status quo* in Turkey is a necessary condition of the peace of the world. The magniloquent incapacity of certain modern statesmen could not have confessed its ignorance and helplessness more plainly than in this axiom which, from having always remained a dead letter, has, during the short period of twenty years, been hallowed by tradition, and become as hoary and indisputable as King John's Magna Charta.[28] Maintain the *status quo*! Why, it was precisely to maintain the *status quo* that Russia stirred up Servia to revolt, made Greece independent, appropriated to herself the protectorate of Moldavia and Wallachia, and retained part of Armenia! England and France never stirred an inch when all this was done, and the only time they did move was to protect, in 1849, not Turkey, but the Hungarian refugees.[29] In the eyes of European diplomacy, and even of the European press, the whole Eastern question resolves itself into this dilemma, either the Russians at Constantinople, or the maintenance of the *status quo*—anything beside this alternative never enters their thoughts.

Look at the London press for illustration. We find *The Times*

advocating the dismemberment of Turkey, and proclaiming the unfitness of the Turkish race to govern any longer in that beautiful corner of Europe. Skilful as usual, *The Times* boldly attacks the old diplomatic tradition of the *status quo*, and declares its continuance impossible. The whole of the talent at the disposal of that paper is exerted to show this impossibility under different aspects, and to enlist British sympathies for a new crusade against the remnant of the Saracens. The merit of such an unscrupulous attack upon a time-hallowed and unmeaning phrase which, two months ago, was as yet sacred to *The Times*, is undeniable. But whoever knows that paper, knows also that this unwonted boldness is applied directly in the interest of Russia and Austria. The correct premises put forth in its columns as to the utter impossibility of maintaining Turkey in its present state, serve no other purpose than to prepare the British public and the world for the moment when the principal paragraph of the will of Peter the Great,[30] the conquest of the Bosphorus, will have become an accomplished fact.

The opposite opinion is represented by *The Daily News*, the organ of the Liberals. *The Times* at least seizes a new and correct feature of the question, in order afterwards to pervert it to an interested purpose. In the columns of the Liberal journal, on the other hand, reigns the plainest sense, but merely a sort of *household sense*. Indeed, it does not see farther than the very threshold of its own house. It clearly perceives that a dismemberment of Turkey *under present circumstances* must bring the Russians to Constantinople, and that this would be a great misfortune for England; that it would threaten the peace of the world, ruin the Black Sea trade, and necessitate new armaments in the British stations and fleets of the Mediterranean. And in consequence, *The Daily News* exerts itself to arouse the indignation and fear of the British public. Is not the partition of Turkey a crime equal to the partition of Poland[31]? Have not the Christians more religious liberty in Turkey than in Austria and Russia? Is not the Turkish Government a mild, paternal government, which allows the different nations and creeds and local corporations to regulate their own affairs? Is not Turkey a paradise compared to Austria and Russia? Is not life and property safe there? And is not British trade with Turkey larger than that with Austria and Russia put together, and does it not increase every year? And then goes on in dithyrambic strain, so far as *The Daily News* can be dithyrambic, an apotheosis of Turkey, the Turks and everything Turkish, which must appear quite incomprehensible to most of its readers.

The key to this strange enthusiasm for the Turks is to be found in the works of David Urquhart,[a] Esq., M.P. This gentleman, of Scotch birth, with medieval and patriarchal recollections of home, and with a modern British civilized education, after having fought three years in Greece against the Turks, passed into their country and was the first thus to enamour himself of them. The romantic Highlander found himself at home again in the mountain ravines of the Pindus and Balkan, and his works on Turkey, although full of valuable information, may be summed up in the following three paradoxes, which are laid down almost literally thus: If Mr. Urquhart were not a British subject, he would decidedly prefer being a Turk; if he were not a Presbyterian Calvinist, he would not belong to any other religion than Islamism; and thirdly, Britain and Turkey are the only two countries in the world which enjoy self-government and civil and religious liberty. This same Urquhart has since become the great Eastern authority for all English Liberals who object to Palmerston, and it is he who supplies *The Daily News* with the materials for these panegyrics upon Turkey.

The only argument which deserves a moment's notice, upon this side of the question is this: "It is said that Turkey is decaying; but where is the decay? Is not civilization rapidly spreading in Turkey and trade extending? Where you see nothing but decay, our statistics prove nothing but progress." Now it would be a great fallacy to put down the increasing Black Sea trade to the credit of Turkey alone, and yet this is done here, exactly as if the industrial and commercial capabilities of Holland, the high road to the greater part of Germany, were to be measured by her gross exports and imports, nine-tenths of which represent a mere transit. And yet, what every statistician would immediately, in the case of Holland, treat as a clumsy concoction, the whole of the liberal press of England, including the learned *Economist*, tries, in the case of Turkey, to impose upon public credulity. And then, who are the traders in Turkey? Certainly not the Turks. Their way of promoting trade, when they were yet in their original nomadic state, consisted in robbing caravans, and now that they are a little more civilized it consists in all sorts of arbitrary and oppressive exactions. The Greeks, the Armenians, the Slavonians and the Franks established in the large seaports, carry on the whole of the trade, and certainly they have no reason to thank

[a] This evidently refers to David Urquhart's books published in the 1830s: *Turkey and Its Resources* and *The Spirit of the East*.—*Ed.*

Turkish Beys and Pashas for being able to do so. Remove all the Turks out of Europe, and trade will have no reason to suffer. And as to progress in general civilization, who are they that carry out that progress in all parts of European Turkey? Not the Turks, for they are few and far between, and can hardly be said to be settled anywhere except in Constantinople and two or three small country districts. It is the Greek and Slavonic middle class in all the towns and trading posts who are the real support of whatever civilization is effectually imported into the country. That part of the population are constantly rising in wealth and influence, and the Turks are more and more driven into the background. Were it not for their monopoly of civil and military power, they would soon disappear. But that monopoly has become impossible for the future, and their power is turned into impotence, except for obstructions in the way of progress. The fact is, they must be got rid of. To say that they cannot be got rid of except by putting Russians and Austrians in their place, means as much as to say, that the present political constitution of Europe will last forever. Who will make such an assertion?

Written at the end of March 1853

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## THE BERLIN CONSPIRACY

London, Friday, April 1, 1853

At length, the fifth of the "Great Powers," Prussia, enjoys the good fortune of having added of her own to the great discoveries made by the Austrian Police,[32] with respect to the "demagogical machinations" of the revolutionists.

"The Government," we are assured by its official organs, "having obtained proof that the chiefs of the Democratic party held continued relations with the revolutionary *propaganda*, ordered domiciliary visits to be made, on the 29th of March, at Berlin, and succeeded in arresting 40 individuals, among whom were Streckfuss, and the ex-members of the Prussian N. Assembly, Berends, Waldeck, etc. Domiciliary visits were made in the houses of eighty persons suspected of participation in a conspiracy. Arms and amunition were found."[a]

Not content with publishing these "startling facts" in its official papers, the Prussian Government thought proper to forward them by telegraph to the British Foreign Office.

In order to lay bare the mystery of this new police farce, it is necessary to go somewhat back. Two months after the *coup d'état* of Bonaparte, Mr. Hinckeldey, the *Polizei Praesident* of Berlin, and his inferior, Mr. Stieber, the *Polizei Rath*, conspired together, the one to become a Prussian *Maupas*, and the other to become a Prussian *Piétri*. The glorious omnipotence of the French police, perhaps, disturbed their slumbers. Hinckeldey addressed himself to Herr von Westphalen, the Minister of the Interior, making unjust representation to that weak-minded and fanatical reaction-

[a] See "Prussia", *The Morning Post*, No. 24734, March 31, 1853.—*Ed.*

ist (Herr von Westphalen being my brother-in-law I had ample opportunity of becoming acquainted with the mental powers of the man), on the necessity of concentrating the whole police force of the Prussian State in the hands of the *Polizei Praesident* of Berlin. He stated, that in order to accelerate the action of the police, it must be made independent of the Minister of the Interior and intrusted exclusively to himself. The minister von Westphalen, represents the ultra Prussian aristocracy and the President of the ministry, Herr von Manteuffel, represents the old bureaucracy; the two are rivals, and the former beheld in the suggestion of Hinckeldey, although it apparently narrowed the circle of his own department, a means of inflicting a blow on his rival, whose brother, M. von Manteuffel, was the director in the ministry of the Interior, and especially charged with the control of the entire police. Herr von Westphalen therefore submitted his proposition to a council of State, presided over by the King himself.[a]

The discussion was very angry. Manteuffel, supported by the Prince of Prussia, opposed the plan of establishing an independent ministry of police. The King inclined to the proposition of Herr von Westphalen, and concluded with the Solomonian sentence, that he would follow the example of Bonaparte and create a ministry of police, "if the necessity of that step were proved to him by facts." Now, the affair of the Cologne Communists was chosen by Hinckeldey and Stieber to furnish these facts. You are aware of the heroic performances of those men in the Cologne trials.[33] After their conclusion the Prussian Government resolved to elevate the openly-perjured Stieber, the man who had been hissed wherever he showed himself in the streets of Cologne—to the dignity of a *Polizei-Director* of Cologne. But M. de Bethmann-Hollweg and other well-meaning conservative deputies of Rhenish Prussia, intervened, representing to the ministers that such an open insult to the public opinion of that province might have very ominous consequences at a moment when Bonaparte coveted the *natural limits* of France.[34] The Government yielded, contenting itself with the nomination of Stieber as *Polizei-Director* of Berlin, in reward for his perjuries committed at Cologne and his thefts committed at London. There, however, the affair stopped. It was impossible to accomplish the wishes of Mr. Hinckeldey and to create for him an independent ministry of police on the ground of the Cologne trial. Hinckeldey and Stieber watched their time.

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

Happily there came the Milan insurrection. Stieber at once made twenty arrests at Berlin. But the thing was too ridiculous to be proceeded with. But then came Libeny, and now the King was ripe. Overwhelmed with fearful apprehensions he saw at once the necessity of having an independent ministry of police, and Hinckeldey saw his dreams realized. A royal ordinance created him the Prussian *Maupas*, while the brother of Herr von Manteuffel tendered his resignation. The most astounding part of the comedy, however, was yet to come. Scarcely had Mr. Hinckeldey rushed into his new dignity when the "great Berlin conspiracy" was discovered directly. This conspiracy, then, was made for the express purpose of proving the necessity of Mr. Hinckeldey. It was the present Mr. Hinckeldey made over to the imbecile King in exchange for his newly-gained police-autocracy. Hinckeldey's adjunct, the ingenious Stieber, who had discovered at Cologne that whenever letters were found terminating with the words "*Gruss*" and "*Bruderschaft*,"[a] there was unquestionably a Communist conspiracy, now made the discovery that there appeared at Berlin for some time since an ominous quantity of "Calabrese hats," and that the Calabrese hat was unquestionably the "rallying sign" of the revolutionists. Strong upon this important discovery, Stieber made on the 18th of March several arrests, chiefly of workmen and foreigners, the charge against whom was the wearing of Calabrese hats. On the 23d ejusdem domiciliary visits were made in the house of Karl Delius, a merchant at Magdeburg and brother of a member of the Second Chamber, who had also an unhappy taste for Calabrese hats. Finally, as I informed you at the beginning of this letter, on the 29th ultimo the great *coup d'état* against the Calabrese hats was struck at Berlin. All those who know anything of the milk-and-water opposition of Waldeck, Berends,&c., will laugh at the "arms and munition" found in the possession of these most inoffensive Brutuses.

But futile as this police comedy may appear to be got up, as it were, by mere personal motives of Messrs. Hinckeldey & Stieber, it is not without significance. The Prussian Government is exasperated at the passive resistance it meets with in every direction. It smells the breath of Revolution in midst of the apparent apathy. It despairs at the want of a tangible form of that specter, and feels alleviated, as it were, from the nightmare every time the police

[a] "Greeting" and "Fraternity".— *Ed.*

affords bodily shapes to its ubiquitous but invisible antagonist. It attacks, it will go on attacking, and it will successfully convert the passive resistance of the people into an active one.

Written on April 1, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

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## Frederick Engels

# WHAT IS TO BECOME OF TURKEY IN EUROPE?

We have seen how the obstinate ignorance, the time-hallowed routine, the hereditary mental drowsiness of European statesmen, shrinks from the very attempt to answer this question. Aberdeen and Palmerston, Metternich and Guizot, not to mention their republican and constitutional substitutes of 1848 to 1852—who will ever be nameless—all despair of a solution.

And all the while Russia advances step by step, slowly, but irresistibly, towards Constantinople, in spite of all the diplomatic notes, plots and manoeuvres of France and England.

Now this steady advance of Russia, admitted by all parties, in all countries of Europe, has never been explained by official statesmen. They see the effect, they see even the ultimate consequence, and yet the cause is hidden from them, although nothing is more simple.

The great motive power which speeds Russia on towards Constantinople, is nothing but the very device, designed to keep her away from it; the hollow, the never-enforced theory of the *status quo.*

What is this *status quo*? For the Christian subjects of the Porte, it means simply the maintenance for ever and a day, of Turkish oppression over them. As long as they are oppressed by Turkish rule, the head of the Greek Church, the ruler of sixty millions of Greek Christians, be he in other respects what he may, is *their natural liberator and protector.* Thus it is, that ten millions of Greek Christians in European Turkey, are forced to appeal to Russian aid, by that very diplomatic scheme, invented in order to prevent Russian encroachments.

Look at the facts as history records them. Even before the reign of Catherine II Russia never omitted an opportunity of obtaining favorable conditions for Moldavia and Wallachia. These stipulations, at last, were carried to such a length in the Treaty of Adrianople (1829)[35] that the above-named principalities are now more subject to Russia than to Turkey. When, in 1804, the Servian revolution broke out, Russia took the rebel Rayahs at once under her protection, and in two treaties, after having supported them in two wars, guaranteed the internal independence of their country.[36] When the Greeks revolted, who decided the contest? Not the plots and rebellions of Ali Pasha of Janina, not the battle of Navarino, not the French army in the Morea,[37] not the conferences and protocols of London, but the march of Diebitsch's Russians across the Balkan into the valley of the Maritza.[38] And while Russia thus fearlessly set about the dismemberment of Turkey, western diplomatists continued to guarantee and to hold up ăs sacred the *status quo* and the inviolability of the Ottoman territory!

So long as the tradition of the upholding, at any price, of the status quo and the independence of Turkey in her present state is the ruling maxim of Western diplomacy, so long will Russia be considered, by nine-tenths of the population of Turkey in Europe, their only support, their liberator, their Messiah.

Now, suppose for a moment that Turkish rule in the Graeco-Slavonian peninsula were got rid of; that a government more suitable to the wants of the people existed; what then would be the position of Russia? The fact is notorious, that in every one of the States which have sprung up upon Turkish soil and acquired either total or partial independence, a powerful anti-Russian party has formed itself. If that be the case at a time when Russian support is their only safeguard against Turkish oppression, what, then, are we to expect, as soon as the fear of Turkish oppression shall have vanished?

But to remove Turkish authority beyond the Bosphorus; to emancipate the various creeds and nationalities which populate the peninsula; to open the door to the schemes and machinations, the conflicting desires and interests of all the great powers of Europe;—why is not this provoking universal war? Thus asks diplomatic cowardice and routine.

Of course, it is not expected that the Palmerstons, the Aberdeens, the Clarendons, the Continental Foreign Secretaries, will do such a thing. They cannot look at it without shuddering. But whosoever has, in the study of history, learned to admire the

eternal mutations of human affairs in which nothing is stable but instability, nothing constant but change; whosoever has followed up that stern march of history whose wheels pass relentlessly over the remains of empires, crushing entire generations, without holding them worthy even of a look of pity; whosoever, in short, has had his eyes open to the fact that there was never a demagogic appeal or insurgent proclamation, as revolutionary as the plain and simple records of the history of mankind; whoever knows how to appreciate the eminently revolutionary character of the present age, when steam and wind, electricity and the printing press, artillery and gold discoveries cooperate to produce more changes and revolutions in a year than were ever before brought about in a century, will certainly not shrink from facing a historical question, because of the consideration that its proper settlement may bring about a European war.

No, diplomacy, Government according to the old fashion will never solve the difficulty. The solution of the Turkish problem is reserved, with that of other great problems, to the European Revolution. And there is no presumption in assigning this apparently remote question to the lawful domain of that great movement. The revolutionary landmarks have been steadily advancing ever since 1789. The last revolutionary outposts were Warsaw, Debreczin, Bucharest; the advanced posts of the next revolution must be Petersburg and Constantinople. They are the two vulnerable points where the Russian anti-revolutionary colossus must be attacked.

It would be a mere effort of fancy to give a detailed scheme as to how the Turkish territory in Europe might be partitioned out. Twenty such schemes could be invented, every one as plausible as the other. What we have to do is, not to draw up fanciful programmes, but to seek general conclusions from indisputable facts. And from this point of view the question presents a double aspect.

Firstly, then, it is an undeniable reality that the peninsula, commonly called Turkey in Europe, forms the natural inheritance of the South-Slavonian race. That race furnishes seven millions out of twelve of its inhabitants. It has been in possession of the soil for twelve hundred years. Its competitors—if we except a sparse population which has adopted the Greek language, although in reality of Slavonic descent—are Turkish or Arnaut barbarians, who have long since been convicted of the most inveterate opposition to all progress. The South-Slavonians, on the contrary, are, in the inland districts of the country, the exclusive representa-

tives of civilization. They do not yet form a nation, but they have a powerful and comparatively enlightened nucleus of nationality in Servia. The Servians have a history, a literature of their own. They owe their present internal independence to an eleven years' struggle, carried on valiantly against superior numbers. They have, for the last twenty years, grown rapidly in culture and the means of civilization. They are looked upon by the Christians of Bulgaria, Thrace, Macedonia and Bosnia as the center, around which, in their future efforts for independence and nationality, all of them must rally. In fact, it may be said that, the more Servia and Servian nationality has consolidated itself, the more has the direct influence of Russia on the Turkish Slavonians been thrown into the background; for Servia, in order to maintain its distinct position as a Christian State, has been obliged to borrow from the West of Europe its political institutions, its schools, its scientific knowledge, its industrial appliances; and thus is explained the anomaly, that, in spite of Russian protection, Servia, ever since her emancipation, has formed a constitutional monarchy.

Whatever may be the bonds which consanguinity and common religious belief may draw between the Russian and the Turkish Slavonians, their interests will be decidedly opposite from the day the latter are emancipated. The commercial necessities arising from the geographical position of the two countries explain this. Russia, a compact inland country, is essentially a country of predominant agricultural, and perhaps, one day, manufacturing production. The Graeco-Slavonian peninsula, small in extent, comparatively, with an enormous extent of shore on three seas, one of which it commands, is now essentially a country of commercial transit, though with the best capacities for independent production. Russia is monopolizing, South Slavonia is expansive. They are, besides, competitors in Central Asia; but while Russia has every interest to exclude all but her own produce, South Slavonia has, even now, every interest to introduce into the Eastern markets the produce of Western Europe. How, then, is it possible for the two nations to agree? In fact, the Turkish South Slavonians and Greeks have, even now, far more interests in common with Western Europe than with Russia. And as soon as the line of railway, which now extends from Ostende, Havre and Hamburg to Pesth, shall have been continued to Belgrade and Constantinople (which is now under consideration), the influence of Western civilization and Western trade will become permanent in the South-east of Europe.

Again: The Turkish Slavonians especially suffer by their

subjection to a Mussulman class of military occupants whom they have to support. These military occupants unite in themselves all public functions, military, civil and judicial. Now what is the Russian system of government, wherever it is not mixed up with feudal institutions, but a military occupation, in which the civil and judicial hierarchy are organized in a military manner, and where the people have to pay for the whole? Whoever thinks that such a system can have a charm for the South Slavonians, may study the history of Servia since 1804. Kara-George, the founder of Servian independence, was abandoned by the people, and Miloš Obrenović, the restorer of that independence, was ignominiously turned out of the country, because they attempted to introduce the Russian autocratic system, accompanied with its concomitant corruption, half-military bureaucracy and pasha-like extortion.

Here then is the simple and final solution of the question. History and the facts of the present day alike point to the erection of a free and independent Christian State on the ruins of the Moslem Empire in Europe. The next effort of the Revolution can hardly fail to render such an event necessary, for it can hardly fail to inaugurate the long-maturing conflict between Russian Absolutism and European Democracy. In that conflict England must bear a part, in whatever hands her Government may for the moment happen to be placed. She can never allow Russia to obtain possession of Constantinople. She must then, take sides with the enemies of the Czar and favor the construction of an independent Slavonian Government in the place of the effete and overthrown Sublime Porte.[39]

Written at the beginning of April 1853

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## THE BERLIN CONSPIRACY.—LONDON POLICE.—MAZZINI.—RADETZKY

London, Friday, April 8, 1853

At the time of writing my last letter concerning the great conspiracy discovered by Mr. Stieber,[a] I could not anticipate, that my views on that affair would be more or less confirmed by two Conservative Berlin papers. The *Preussisches Wochenblatt*, the organ of the Conservative faction headed by Mr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, was confiscated on April 2d for recommending its readers "not to believe too hastily in the tales of the police respecting the late arrests."[b] But of far greater importance is an article in the *Zeit*, the semi-official journal belonging to the section of the Prussian Ministry headed by M. von Manteuffel. The *Zeit* is compelled to make the following admission:

"Whosoever is not struck with blindness, cannot but be aware that the numerous and inextricable complications presented by the general situation of Europe must lead in a given time, to a violent explosion, which the sincere endeavors of the Great Powers of Europe may postpone for a while, but to prevent which in a permanent way they are utterly unable, notwithstanding all human exertions.... It is for us the accomplishment of a duty not to dissimulate any longer, that discontent is spreading wider and wider and *is the more dangerous and the more deserving of serious attention, as it appears not at the surface but conceals itself more and more in the depth of men's minds.* This discontent, we must say without paraphrase, is created by the efforts to bring about a counter-revolution in Prussia latterly paraded with an incredible *étourderie*."[c]

The *Zeit* is only mistaken in its conclusion. The Prussian counter-revolution is not now about to be commenced, it is to be ended. It is not a thing of recent growth, but began on March 20th,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 28-31.—*Ed.*

[b] "Die neuesten Verhaftungen und Haussuchungen in Berlin", *Preussisches Wochenblatt*, No. 25, April 2, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] "Die Contre-Revolution", *Die Zeit*, No. 77, April 3, 1853.—*Ed.*

1848,[40] and has been steadily advancing ever since that day. At this very moment the Prussian Government is hatching two very dangerous projects, the one of limiting the free sub-division of real property, the other subjecting public instruction to the Church. They could not have selected two objects more appropriate to alienate the peasantry of Rhenish Prussia and the middle classes throughout the monarchy. As a curious incident, I may also mention the forced dissolution of the Berlin Hygienic Society (A Mutual Benefit Sick Club), in consequence of the "great discovery." This society was composed of nearly 10,000 members, all belonging to the working classes. The Government, it appears, are convinced, that the present constitution of the Prussian State is incompatible with "hygienics."

The London press, till now unconscious of the doings of the London police, are surprised by statements in the Vienna *Presse* and the *Emancipation*,[a] the leading reactionary journal of Belgium, that the police of London have drawn up a list of all the political refugees in that city, with a variety of details relating to their private circumstances and conduct.

"Once such a system is tolerated with regard to foreigners," exclaims *The Morning Advertiser*, "it will be employed whenever deemed advisable by the Government, or any member of it, in order to become acquainted with the details of the private lives of our own countrymen.... Is it not saddening to think that the London police should be called upon to play the infamous part assigned to their continental colleagues?"

Besides these statements in Belgian and other papers, the London press is this day informed by telegraphic dispatch from Vienna,[b]

"that 'the Refugee question is settled: the British Government has promised to keep a strict guard on the refugees, and to visit them with the full severity of the law whenever it should be proved that they have taken part in revolutionary intrigues.'"

"Never before," remarks *The Morning Advertiser*, "did England appear in so humiliating a situation as she does now, in having prostrated herself to the feet of Austria. No degradation could equal this. It was reserved for the Coalition Cabinet."[c]

I learn from a very creditable source that the law officers of the Crown will institute a prosecution against Mazzini as soon as his

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[a] *L'Emancipation*, No. 94, April 4, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] The report cited below was published in *The Times*, No. 21395, April 6, 1853 and reprinted in several other newspapers on April 7.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19279, April 7, 1853.—*Ed.*

sojourn at London shall be ascertained. On the other hand I hear that the Ministers will be interpellated in the House of Commons with regard to their scandalous transactions with Austria, and their intentions on the refugee question in general.

I have stated in a former letter that Radetzky was glad to have been afforded, by the Milan insurrection, a pretext for "obtaining money under false pretenses."[a] This view of the matter has since been confirmed by an act not to be misunderstood. In a recent proclamation Radetzky has declared null and void all loans or mortgages contracted since 1847 on the security of the sequestrated estates of the Lombard emigrants. This confiscation can have no other possible excuse than the *horror vacui*[b] of the Austrian exchequer. The sentimental bourgeoisie have everywhere sacrificed the revolution to their god called Property. The counter-revolution now repudiates that god.

A sub-marine telegraphic dispatch of to-day brings the news that Prince Menchikoff has concluded a convention with the Porte, that the Russian armies have received orders to retire from the Turkish frontiers, and that the Eastern question is once more settled.

Written on April 8, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] K. Marx, "The Attack on Francis Joseph.—The Milan Riot.—British Politics.—Disraeli's Speech.—Napoleon's Will" (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 513-21).—*Ed.*

[b] Fear of vacuity.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## HIRSCH'S CONFESSIONS

Hirsch's "Confessions",[41] as I see it, are valid only insofar as they are confirmed by other facts. If only because they contradict themselves. On returning from his mission to Cologne he declared at a workers' public meeting that Willich was his accomplice. Naturally, this ostensible confession was thought too contemptible to record in the minutes. Various people let me know—whether with or without Hirsch's instructions I cannot tell—that Hirsch was willing to make a full confession to me. I turned the offer down. Later, I learned that he was living in the utmost penury. I have no doubt, therefore, that his "very latest" confessions have been written in the interest of the party that is *paying* him at the moment. Strangely, there are people who find it necessary to seek the protection of a person like Hirsch.

For the present, I shall confine myself to a few marginal comments. We have had other spy confessions, those from Vidocq, Chenu, de la Hodde,[a] and so on.[42] There is one point on which they tally. None of them are ordinary spies, but are spies in a higher sense, all of them successors of "Cooper's spy."[b] Their confessions are inevitably just so many apologies.

Hirsch, too, tries to make out, for example, that it was not he but Colonel Bangya who informed Greif, and Fleury through Greif, of the day my party comrades held their meetings. These

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[a] F. Vidocq, *Mémoires*, T. I-IV; A. Chenu, *Les Conspirateurs. Les sociétés secrètes. La préfecture de police sous Caussidière. Les corps francs*; L. de la Hodde, *La naissance de la république en février 1848*.—*Ed.*

[b] Harvey Birch, the main character of James Fenimore Cooper's novel *The Spy*, performed his work out of patriotic motives.—*Ed.*

took place on Thursdays on the few occasions when Hirsch attended, but on Wednesdays after Hirsch was excluded from them. The false minutes[43] of before and after Hirsch's attendances are dated Thursday. Who but Hirsch could have committed this "misstatement"!

Hirsch is luckier on another point. He claims Bangya has repeatedly disclosed information bearing on my correspondence with Germany. And since all the relevant data in the Cologne court records are false, it is certainly impossible to determine who invented them. Now to Bangya.

Spy or no spy, Bangya could never become dangerous either to me or to my party comrades, because I *never* spoke to him about *my* party affairs, and Bangya himself—as he reminds me in one of his exculpatory letters—had always avoided broaching any of these matters. Hence, spy or no spy, he could betray nothing, because he knew nothing. The Cologne records bear this out.[44] They show that apart from confessions made in Germany itself and documents seized there, the Prussian police knew nothing of the party to which I belong and were therefore compelled to serve up the silliest cock-and-bull.

But Bangya sold a pamphlet by Marx "about the refugees" to the police, did he not?[a]

Bangya learned from me in the presence of other persons that Ernst Dronke, Frederick Engels and I were contemplating a publication about the German refugees in London which was to appear in several instalments. He assured me that he could find a publisher in Berlin. I asked him to see about it at once. Eight or ten days later he announced that a Berlin publisher named Eisermann was prepared to put out the *first* instalment on condition that its authors remain anonymous, since otherwise he feared confiscation. I agreed, but stipulated for my part that the fee should be payable at once on delivery of the manuscript, because I did not wish to repeat the experience I had with the *Revue of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* and that the manuscript should be printed on delivery. I then went to see Engels in Manchester where the pamphlet was written. In the meantime, Bangya brought my wife a letter from Berlin in which Eisermann agreed to my conditions with the reservation that the publication of the second instalment would depend on the sales of the first. On my return, Bangya received the manuscript, and I my fee.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 227-326).—*Ed.*

But the printing was delayed on various plausible pretexts. I became suspicious. Not of the manuscript having been given to the police in order that the police should print it. I am now ready to surrender my manuscripts even to the Russian Emperor, so long as he, for his part, should be willing to print them the following day. No, what I feared was suppression of the manuscript.

It attacked the pulpiteers of the day—not, of course, as revolutionaries dangerous to the state, but as windbags of counter-revolution.

My suspicions were confirmed. Georg Weerth, whom I had asked to inquire about Eisermann in Berlin, wrote that no Eisermann could be discovered. Dronke and I went to see Bangya. Eisermann had now become merely Jacob Collmann's manager. Anxious to obtain Bangya's statements in writing, I insisted that he should repeat them in my presence in a letter to Engels in Manchester, giving Collmann's address. I also wrote a few lines to Bruno Bauer, asking him to inquire about who lived in the house that Bangya said belonged to Collmann, but received no answer. The alleged publisher replied to my reminders that no printing date had been *contractually* stipulated. He claimed to be the best judge of the most suitable time. In a subsequent letter he feigned offence. Finally, Bangya informed me that the publisher was refusing to print the manuscript and would return it. He himself disappeared to Paris.

The Berlin letters and Bangya's letters containing the whole negotiations, along with Bangya's exculpatory efforts, are in my possession.

But why was I not put off by the suspicions of Bangya cast about by the refugees? Simply because I knew their "pre-history". And for the time being I propose to leave this pre-history in the obscurity it merits.

Because I *knew* that Bangya had done laudable things as an officer of the revolution in the Hungarian war. Because he corresponded with Szemere, whom I respect, and was on friendly terms with General Perczel. Because I had myself seen a diploma in which *Kossuth* appointed him police chief *in partibus*,[a] countersigned by Count Szirmay, Kossuth's confidant, who lived in the same house as Bangya. This post with Kossuth also explained his inevitable relationship with policemen. If I am not mistaken, Bangya is at present still Kossuth's agent in Paris.

[a] *In partibus infidelium*—here in the sense of "in exile". Literally: in the land of infidels. This phrase was added to the title of Catholic bishops appointed to purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries.—*Ed.*

The Hungarian leaders must have known their man. And what was I risking compared to them? Nothing worse than suppression of a copy to which I had retained the original.

Later, I asked Lizius, a publisher in Frankfurt am Main, and other publishers in Germany whether they would publish the manuscript. They said this was not possible in the present circumstances. Lately, an opportunity has arisen to have it printed outside Germany.

Following these explanations, which I am certainly not addressing to Herr Hirsch, but to my countrymen in America, does not there remain the "open question": what interest did the Prussian police have in suppressing a pamphlet against Kinkel, Willich and the other "great men of the exile"?

Solve for me, o Oerindur,
This riddle of Nature![a]

London, April 9, 1853

First published in the *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, No. 8, May 5, 1853

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the German

Published in English for the first time

[a] A. Müllner, *Die Schuld*, Act II, Scene 5.—*Ed.*

THE
# People's Paper
THE CHAMPION OF
POLITICAL JUSTICE AND UNIVERSAL RIGHT.

50] LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 16, 1853. [Price Fourpence.

## Karl Marx

## THE NEW FINANCIAL JUGGLE; OR GLADSTONE AND THE PENNIES[45]

Our readers know, to their cost, and have learned, to the tune of their pockets, that an old financial juggle has imposed a National Debt of £800,000,000 on the people's shoulders. That Debt was chiefly contracted to prevent the liberation of the American colonies, and to counteract the French Revolution of the last century. The influence of the increase of the National Debt on the increase of the national expenditure, may be gathered from the following tabular analysis[a]:—

1. *National Debt*

| | £ |
|---|---|
| When Queen Anne succeeded to William (1701)[46] | 16,394,702 |
| When George I ascended the Throne (1714) | 54,145,363 |
| When George II began his Reign (1727) | 52,092,235 |
| When George III assumed the reins of Government (1760) | 146,682,844 |
| After the American War (1784) | 257,213,043 |
| At the end of the Anti-Jacobin War (1801) | 579,931,447 |
| In January, 1810 (during the Napoleonic War) | 811,898,082 |
| After 1815 | about 1,000,000,000 |

[a] The figures for the following table were taken mainly from W. Cobbett's book, *Paper against Gold*, pp. 21-25.—*Ed.*

2. *National Expenditure*

| | £ |
|---|---|
| When Queen Anne succeeded to William (1701), all expenses, including the interest of the National Debt, amounted to | 5,610,987 |
| When George I ascended the Throne (1714) | 6,633,581 |
| When George II began his Reign (1727) | 5,441,248 |
| When George III assumed the reins of power (1760) | 24,456,940 |
| At the end of the Anti-Jacobin War (1801) | 61,278,018[a] |

3. *National Taxation*

| | |
|---|---|
| Queen Anne (1701) | 4,212,358 |
| George I (1714) | 6,762,643 |
| George II (1727) | 6,522,540 |
| George III (1760) | 8,744,682 |
| After the American War (1784) | 13,300,921 |
| After the Anti-Jacobin War (1801) | 36,728,971 |
| 1809 | 70,240,226 |
| After 1815 | about 82,000,000 |

The people well know, from personal pocket-experience, what is the weight of taxation resulting from the National Debt—but many are not aware of the peculiar forms under which this Debt has been contracted, and actually exists. The "State," that jointocracy of coalesced land and money mongers, wants money for the purpose of home and foreign oppression. It borrows money of capitalists and usurers, and in return gives them a bit of paper, pledging itself to pay them so much money in the shape of interest for each £100 they lend. The means of paying this money it tears from the working classes through the means of taxation—so that the people are the security for their oppressors to the men who lend them the money to cut the people's throats. This money has been borrowed as a debt under various denominations—sometimes to pay 3 per cent., $3^1/_2$ per cent., 4 per cent., &c., and according to that percentage and other accidents the funds have various denominations, as the 3 per cents., &c.

Every Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the exception of the Whigs, as not only the working classes, but the manufacturers and

[a] *The People's Paper* erroneously gave £82,027,288 here as national expenditure for 1809. The figure has been corrected according to W. Cobbett's book.—*Ed.*

landlords also, have to pay a portion of this interest, and wish to pay as little as possible, tries accordingly, in some way or other, to alleviate the pressure of this incubus.

On the 8th of April, before the Budget of the present Ministry was brought forward, Mr. Gladstone laid before the House a statement of several resolutions dealing with the Public Debt—and before this statement had been made *The Morning Chronicle* announced that resolutions of the utmost importance were to be proposed, "heralded by rumours of great interest and magnitude."[a] The funds rose on these rumours; there was an impression that Gladstone was going to pay off the National Debt. Now, "what was all this pother about?"[b]

The ultimate aim of Mr. Gladstone's proposals, as stated by himself, was to reduce the interest on the various public stocks to $2^1/_2$ per cent. Now, in the years 1822-3, 1824-5, 1830-1, 1844-5, there had been reductions, from 5 per cent. to $4^1/_2$, from $4^1/_2$ to 4, from 4 to $3^1/_2$, from $3^1/_2$ to 3, respectively. Why should there not be a reduction from 3 to $2^1/_2$?

Now, let us see in what manner Mr. Gladstone proposes to achieve this end.

*Firstly.* He proposes with respect to certain stocks amounting to £9,500,000, chiefly connected with the old South Sea Bubble,[47] to bring them under one single denomination, and to reduce them compulsorily from 3. per cent. to $2^3/_4$ per cent. This gives a permanent annual saving approaching to £25,000. The invention of a new general name of various stocks, and the saving for £25,000 on an annual expense of £30,000,000, does not merit any particular admiration.

*Secondly.* He proposes to issue a new financial paper, called Exchequer Bonds, not exceeding the amount of £30,000,000, transferable by simple delivery, without cost of any kind, bearing interest at $2^3/_4$ per cent., up to the lst of September, 1864, and then $2^1/_2$ per cent. up to the lst of September, 1894. Now this is simply the creation of a new financial instrument for the comfort of the monied and mercantile class. He says "without cost," that is, without cost to the City Merchant. At the present moment there are £18,000,000 of Exchequer Bills at $1^1/_2$ per cent. Is it not a loss to the country to pay 1 per cent. more upon the Exchequer *Bonds* than upon the Exchequer Bills? At all events the second

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[a] *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 26922, April 7, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below the quotations are from Benjamin Disraeli's speech in the House of Commons on April 8, 1853 (*The Times*, No. 21398, April 9, 1853).—*Ed.*

proposition has nothing to do with the reduction of the National Debt. The Exchequer *Bills* can circulate only in Great Britain, but the Exchequer *Bonds* are transferable as common Bills, therefore it is a mere measure of convenience to the City Merchants, for which the people pay a high price.

Now, finally, we come to the only important matter—to the 3 per cent. consols, and the "3 per cent. reduced," amounting together to a capital of nearly 500,000,000. As there exists a Parliamentary provision forbidding these stocks to be reduced compulsorily, except on twelve months notice, Mr. Gladstone chooses the system of voluntary commutation, offering various alternatives to the holders of the 3 per cent. stock for exchanging them at option with other stocks to be created under his resolutions. The holders of the 3 per cent. stocks shall have the option of exchanging each £100 3 per cent. in one of the three following forms:—

1.—Semi-Exchange, every £100 of the 3 per cent. with an Exchequer Bond for the like amount carrying interest at the rate of £2 15s. until 1864, and then at the rate of £2 10s. until 1894. If the whole of the £30,000,000 of Exchequer Bonds at $2^1/_2$ per cent. replaced £30,000,000 of 3 per cents., there would be a saving in the first ten years of £75,000; and after the first ten years of £150,000; together £225,000; but the Government would be bound to repay the whole of the £30,000,000, after forty years. In no respect is this a proposition dealing largely, or even at all, with the National Debt. For what is a saving of £225,000 in an annual expense of £30,000,000?

2.—The second proposal is, that the holders of stock shall retain for every £100 in 3 per cents., £82 10s. in new stock of $3^1/_2$ per cent., which would be paid at the rate of £3 10s. per cent. until the 5th of January, 1894. The result of that would be to give a present income to the persons accepting the $3^1/_2$ per cent. stock, of £2 17s. 9d., instead of £3—reduction of 2s. 3d. on the interest of every £100. If the £500,000,000 were all converted under this proposal, the result would be that, instead of paying, as at present, £15,000,000 per annum, the nation would only pay £14,437,500, and this would be a gain of £562,500 a year. But, for this saving of £562,500 Parliament would tie up its hands for half a century, and grant higher interest than 2 four-fifths per cent. at a time of transition and of utter insecurity of every rate of interest! One thing, however, would be gained for Gladstone—at the expiration of forty years there would be, in the place of the 3 per cent. stock being now *defended* by twelve months' notice, a $3^1/_2$ per cent. stock

redeemable at par by Parliament. Gladstone proposes not to fix any limit on that $3^1/_2$ per cent. stock.

3.—The third proposal is, that the holders of every £100 3 per cent. shall receive £110 in a new stock of $2^1/_2$ per cent. until 1894. When Mr. Gladstone first introduced his plan in the House of Commons, on the 8th of April, he had not limited the amount of the new $2^1/_2$ per cent. to be issued, but Mr. Disraeli having pointed out that, contrasting this proposal with the two other ones, every man in his senses would choose the conversion of £100 3 per cent. into £110 $2^1/_2$ per cent.; and that by the conversion of the £500,000,000 3 per cent. into the new stock, the nation would gain on one side, £1,250,000 per annum, but be saddled on the other hand with an addition to the Public Debt of £50,000,000, Mr. Gladstone, on the following day, altered his proposition, and proposed to limit the new $2^1/_2$ per cent. stock to £30,000,000. By this limitation, his proposal loses almost all effect on the great stock of the Public Debt, and augments its capital only by £3,000,000.

Now you know "one of the most important and gigantic financial proposals that ever has been brought forward."[a] There exists, perhaps, in general, no greater humbug than the so-called finance. The simplest operations relating to the Budget and the Public Debt, are clothed by the adepts of that "occult science" in abstruse terminology, concealing the trivial manoeuvres of creating various denominations of stocks, the commutation of old stocks for new ones, the diminishing the interest, and raising the nominal capital—the raising the interest and reducing the capital, the instalment of premiums, bonuses, priority shares—the distinction between redeemable and irredeemable annuities—the artificial graduation in the facility of transferring the various papers—in such a manner that the public understanding is quite bamboozled by these detestable stock-jobbing scholastics and the frightful complexity in details; while with every such new financial operation the usurers obtain an eagerly-seized opportunity for developing their mischievous and predatory activity. Mr. Gladstone is, without any doubt, a master in this sort of financial alchemy, and this proposal cannot be better characterised than by the words of Mr. Disraeli:—

More complicated and ingenious machinery to produce so slight a result, appeared to him never to have been devised by the subtlety and genius of the most

[a] A quotation from the speech of Edward Ellice, M.P. from Coventry, cited by Benjamin Disraeli in his House of Commons speech on April 8, 1853.—*Ed.*

skilful casuist. In Saint Thomas Aquinas[a] there was a chapter that speculated upon the question of how many angels could dance on the point of a needle. It was one of the rarest productions of human genius; and he recognised in these resolutions something of that master mind.

You will remember that we have stated that the ultimate end of Gladstone's plan was the establishment of a "normal" $2^1/_2$ per cent. fund. Now, in order to achieve this end, he creates a very limited $2^1/_2$ per cent. fund, and an illimited $3^1/_2$ per cent. stock. In order to create his limited $2^1/_2$ per cent. stock, he reduces the interest by a half per cent., and augments the capital by a bonus of 10 per cent. In order to rid himself of the difficulty of all legislation on the 3 per cents. being defended by twelve months' notice, he prefers legislating for half a century to come; in conclusion, he would, if successful, cut off all chance of financial liberation for half a century from the British people.

Every one will confess, that if the Jewish Disabilities Bill was a little attempt at establishing religious tolerance—the Canada Reserves Bill a little attempt at granting colonial self-government[48]—the Education Resolution[b] a little attempt at avoiding National Education—Gladstone's financial scheme is a mighty little attempt at dealing with that giant-monster, the National Debt of Britain.

Written on April 12, 1853 Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The People's Paper*, No. 50, April 16, 1853

Signed: *C. M.*

[a] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica.—Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 51-52.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE MINISTRY

London, Tuesday, April 12, 1853

The best thing perhaps that can be said in favor of the Coalition Ministry is that it represents impotency in power at a moment of transition, when not the reality, but only the appearance of government, is possible, with evanescent old parties and not yet consolidated new ones.

The "administration of all the talents," what has it accomplished during its first quarter's trial? Two readings of the Jewish Disabilities Bill and three of the Canada Clergy Reserves Bill.[49] The latter enables the Canadian Legislature to dispose of a certain portion of the proceeds of the land-sales hitherto reserved exclusively for the benefit of the favorite churches of England and Scotland. When first laid before the House by Lord John Russell, it consisted of three clauses, the third clause repealing the enactment by which the consolidated fund was charged to supply the deficiency, if in any year the Canada land-sales could not produce £9,285. This bill had been carried through a second reading, but on the House going into Committee[50] upon it (March 18) Lord John suddenly moved the withdrawal of his own third clause. Now, if the Canadian Legislature were to secularize the Clergy Reserves, about £10,000 per annum would be taken out of the pockets of the British people for the maintenance of a sect thousands of miles away. The Radical Minister, Sir W. Molesworth who disclaims all ecclesiastical endowments, appeared himself to have become a convert to Lord John's doctrine "that British Colonies were not to be freed from the incubus of the Established Church, except at the cost and risk of the British people at home."

Three Radical resolutions were proposed during the first quarter's trial. Mr. Collier moved the abolition of the Ecclesiastical

Courts, Mr. Williams the extension of the legacy and probate-duty to real property, and Mr. Hume the extinction of all "strictly protective" duties. The Ministry, of course, opposed all these "sweeping" reforms. But the Coalition Ministry opposes them in quite a different manner from the Tories. The latter resolutely announced their decision to resist the "encroachments of Democracy." The former actually do the same, but do it under the pretence of attending to reform measures more carefully. They live on reforms, as the others lived on abuses. Apparently eagerly engaged in reforms they have contrived a perfect system of postponing them. One day it is "advisable to await the result of an impending inquiry." Then "a Commission has just been appointed and nothing can be done till it has given its decisions." Again "the object is just under the consideration of the Government," who expect not to be interrupted in their lucubrations. Next, "the subject deserves the attention of the House—when a fitting opportunity shall occur." "The proper season has not yet arrived." "The time is not far distant when something must be done." Particular measures must be postponed in order to readjust entire systems, or entire systems must be conserved in order to carry out particular measures. The "policy of abstention" proclaimed on the Eastern question is also the Ministerial policy at home.

When Lord John Russell first[a] announced the programme of the Coalition Ministry, and when it was received amid general consternation, his adherents exclaimed, "We must have something to be enthusiastic at. Public education shall be the thing. Our Russell is breeding a wonderful Education scheme. You will hear of it."

Now we have heard of it. It was on the 4th of April that Russell gave a general description of his intended Educational Reform. Its principal features consist in enabling the municipal councils to levy a local rate for the assistance of *existing* schools in which the Church of England doctrines are required to be taught. As to the Universities, those pet-children of the State Church, those chief opponents to every reform, Lord John hopes "that the Universities will reform themselves."[b] The malversation of the charities destined for educational establishments is notorious. Their value may be guessed from the following:

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[a] February 10, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below John Russell's speech is quoted from *The Times*, No. 21394, April 5, 1853.—*Ed.*

"There are 24 of £2,000 a year and under £3,000, 10 of £3,000 and under £4,000, 4 of £4,000 and under £5,000, 2 of £5,000 and under £6,000, 3 of £8,000 and under £9,000, and single ones of £10,000, £15,000, £20,000,£29,000, £30,000 and £35,000 a year each."

It needs no great sagacity to conceive why the oligarchs living on the malversation of these funds are very cautious in dealing with them. Russell proposes:

"Charities are to be examined into, those under £30 per annum in the County Courts, those above by the Master of the Rolls. But *no suit* in either of those Courts is to be instigated *without the permission of a Committee of the Council appointed for the purpose.*"

The *permission* of a committee is necessary to institute a suit in the Imperial Courts to redress the plunder of the charities originally destined for the education of the people. A permission! But Russell, even with this reservation, feels not quite sure. He adds:

"If the administration of a school is *found* to be corrupt, *nobody but the Committee of Council shall be allowed to interfere.*"

This is a true Reform in the old English sense of the word. It neither creates anything new, nor abolishes anything old. It aims at conserving the old system, by giving it a more reasonable form and teaching it, so to say, new manners. This is the mystery of the "hereditary wisdom" of English oligarchical legislation. It simply consists in making abuses hereditary, by refreshing them, as it were, from time to time, by an infusion of new blood.

If everybody must confess that the Jewish Disabilities Bill was a *little* attempt at establishing religious tolerance, the Canada Reserves Bill a *little* attempt at granting Colonial Self-Government, the Education Bill a *little* attempt at avoiding public education, Gladstone's financial scheme is, undoubtedly, a *mighty little* attempt at dealing with that giant monster, the National Debt of Great Britain.

On the 8th of April, before the promulgation of the budget, Mr. Gladstone laid before the House of Commons a statement of several resolutions dealing with the public debt, and, before this statement had been made, *The Morning Chronicle* had made a special announcement that resolutions of the utmost importance were about to be proposed, "heralded by rumors of great interest and magnitude."[a] The funds rose on this rumor. There was an

[a] *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 26922, April 7, 1853 (cf. this volume, pp. 48-49).—*Ed.*

impression that Gladstone was going to pay off the National Debt; but on the 8th of April, the moment the Committee met for deliberation on these resolutions, Mr. Gladstone suddenly altered them, and in such a manner as to divest them both of "magnitude and interest." Now, let us ask, with Mr. Disraeli, "what was all this pother about?"[a]

The ultimate aim of Mr. Gladstone's propositions, as stated by himself, was to reduce the interest on the public stocks to the standard rate of $2^1/_2$ per cent. Now, in the years 1822-23-24-25, 1830-31, 1844-45, reductions were made from 5 per cent. to $4^1/_2$ per cent., from $4^1/_2$ to 4 per cent., from 4 to $3^1/_2$ per cent., from $3^1/_2$ to 3 per cent. respectively. Why should there not be a reduction from 3 per cent. to $2^1/_2$ per cent.? Mr. Gladstone's proposals are as follows:

Firstly. With respect to various stocks amounting to £9,500,000, and chiefly connected with the old South Sea bubble,[51] to bring them under one single denomination, and to reduce them compulsorily from 3 to $2^3/_4$ per cent. This would give a permanent annual saving approaching to £25,000. The invention of a new common name for various stocks, and the saving of £25,000 on an annual expense of £30,000,000, is certainly not to be boasted of.

Secondly. He proposes the issue of a new financial paper called *Exchequer Bonds*, not exceeding in amount £30,000,000, transferable by simple delivery without costs of any kind, bearing interest at $2^3/_4$ per cent. up to Sept. 1, 1864, and then $2^1/_2$ per cent. up to Sept. 1, 1894. Now this is merely the creation of a new financial instrument limited in its use by the wants of the monied and mercantile classes. But how can he keep £18,000,000 of Exchequer Bills at $1^1/_2$ per cent. in circulation, with Exchequer Bonds at $2^1/_2$ per cent.? And is it not a loss to the country to pay 1 per cent. more upon Exchequer Bonds than upon Exchequer Bills? Be this as it may, this second proposition has at least nothing to do with the reduction of the public debt.

Thirdly and lastly. We come to the chief object, the only important point of Gladstone's resolutions, to the 3 per cent. consols and the 3 per cent. reduced, amounting together to a capital of nearly £500,000,000. *Hic Rhodus, hic salta!*[b] As there exists a Parliamentary provision forbidding these stocks to be

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[a] Here and below the quotations are from Benjamin Disraeli's speech in the House of Commons on April 8, 1853 (*The Times*, No. 21398, April 9, 1853).—*Ed.*

[b] Words addressed to a braggart in a tale by Aesop. He boasted of his leaps on the Island of Rhodes.—*Ed.*

reduced compulsorily, *except on twelve months notice,* Mr. Gladstone chooses the system of voluntary commutation, offering various alternatives to the [option] holders of the 3 per cent. stocks for exchanging them at option with other stocks to be created under his resolutions. They are to have the option of exchanging every £100 of the 3 per cent. stock in one of the following ways.

1. They may exchange every £100 of 3 per cent. stock for an Exchequer Bond of the like amount, bearing interest at the rate of $2^3/_4$ per cent. until 1864, and then at the rate of $2^1/_2$ per cent. until 1894. If the whole of the £30,000,000 Exchequer Bonds at $2^1/_2$ per cent. should thus replace £30,000,000 of 3 per cent. there would be a saving in the first ten years of £75,000, and after the first ten years of £150,000—together £225,000; but Government would be bound to repay the whole of the £30,000,000. In any case this is not a proposition to deal largely with the public debt.

2. The second proposal is, that the holders of stock shall obtain for every £100 in 3 per cent. £82 10s. in new stock at $3^1/_2$ per cent., which shall be paid at the rate of $3^1/_2$ per cent. until the 5th January, 1894. The result of this would be to give a present income to the persons accepting the $3^1/_2$ per cent. stock of £2 17s. 9d., instead of £3. Here then is a reduction of 2s. 3d. annually in every £100. If the £500,000,000 were all converted upon this proposal, the result would be that instead of paying as at present £15,000,000 a-year, the nation would only pay £14,437,500, and this would be a gain of £562,500 a-year. But for this small saving of £562,500 Parliament would tie up its hands for half a century and guaranty a higher interest than 2 4-5 per cent. at a time of transition and of utter uncertainty as to the future standard rate of interest. On the other hand, one thing at least would be gained for Mr. Gladstone. At the expiration of 40 years, he would not be troubled with a 3 per cent. stock, being defended, as now, by a twelve months' notice. He would only have to deal with the $3^1/_2$ per cent. stock redeemable at par by Parliament. Gladstone proposes not to fix any limit on his $3^1/_2$ per cent. stock.

3. The third proposal is that the holders of every £100 3 per cent. should receive £110 in a new stock of $2^1/_2$ per cent. until 1894. When Mr. Gladstone introduced his plan in the House of Commons on the 8th April, he had not limited the amount (the $2^1/_2$ per cents.) to be issued. But Mr. Disraeli having pointed out that, contrasting this proposal with the two other modes proposed, every man in his senses would choose the conversion of £100 into $2^1/_2$ per cents., and that by the conversion of the whole £500,000,000 3 per cents. into the new stock, the country would

gain on one side £1,250,000 per annum, but be saddled on the other side with an addition to the capital of the public debt of £50,000,000, Mr. Gladstone on the following day altered this proposition and proposed to limit this new $2^1/_2$ stock to £30,000,000. By this alteration the whole of the third proposal loses its significance with respect to the public debt. The capital of that debt would be augmented only by £3,000,000.

Here you have "one of the most important and gigantic financial proposals that has ever been brought forward."[a] There exists perhaps in general no greater humbug than the so-called Finance. The most simple operations on the Budget and the Public Debt are clothed by the adepts of that occult science in an abstruse terminology, concealing the trivial maneuvers of creating various denominations of stocks—the commutation of old stocks into new ones, the diminishing the interest and raising the nominal capital, the raising the interest and reducing the capital, the installing of premiums, of bonus, priority-shares, the distinctions between redeemable and irredeemable annuities, the artificial graduation in the facility of transferring the various descriptions of paper—in a manner which quite bamboozles the public with these detestable stock-jobbing scholastics and frightful complexity of details, while the usurers obtain with every such new scheme an eagerly seized opportunity for developing their mischievous and predatory activity. On the other hand, the political economist finds in all this apparent intricacy of commutations, permutations and combinations, not so much a matter of financial policy as a simple question of arithmetic or of mere phraseology.

Mr. Gladstone is certainly a master in this sort of financial alchymics, and his scheme cannot be better characterized, than in the words of Mr. Disraeli:

> "More complicated and ingenious machinery, to produce so slight a result, appeared to him never to have been devised by the subtlety and genius of the most skilful casuist. In St. Thomas Aquinas[b] there was a chapter that speculated upon the question of how many angels could dance on the point of a needle. It was one of the rarest productions of human genius; and he recognised in these resolutions something of that master mind."

You will remember that I stated that the end of Mr. Gladstone's plan was the establishment of a "normal" $2^1/_2$ per cent. stock. Now, in order to achieve this end, he creates a very limited $2^1/_2$

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[a] A quotation from the speech of Edward Ellice, M.P. from Coventry, cited by Benjamin Disraeli in his House of Commons speech on April 8, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica.*—*Ed.*

per cent. stock and an unlimited $3^1/_2$ per cent. stock. In order to create his small $2^1/_2$ per cent. stock, he reduces the interest by $^1/_2$ per cent., and gives on the other hand a bonus of 10 per cent. for the purpose of accomplishing that reduction. In order to rid himself of the difficulty of the 3 per cent., being "defended" by a twelve-months notice, he prefers legislating for the 40 years next to come, and in conclusion he would, if successful, bereave two generations of all possible fortunate chances in their financial affairs.

The position of the Coalition Ministry in the House, is clearly shown by the statistics of votes. On the question of Maynooth[52] in a large house, it had but the narrow majority of 30. On the Jewish Disabilities Bill (not yet carried through the third reading), in a house of 439 members, its majority amounted not even to 30 votes. In the Canada Reserves Bill, when Russell withdrew his own third clause, the Ministers were saved by the Tories from their own supporters. Their majority was almost entirely supplied from the benches of the Conservatives.

I shall not dwell on the internal dissensions of the Cabinet, which appeared in the debates on the Canada Bill, in the hot controversy of the ministerial papers with regard to the Income-Tax, and above all, in their foreign policy. There is not one single question to which the Coalition Ministry might not answer, as did Gaysa, the Magyar king, who, after having been converted to Christianity, continued, notwithstanding, to observe the rites of his ancient superstition. When questioned to which of the two faiths he really belonged, he replied: "I am rich enough to belong to two sorts of faith."

Written on April 12, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## FEARGUS O'CONNOR.— MINISTERIAL DEFEATS.—THE BUDGET

London, Tuesday, April 19, 1853

The Commission which met last week to examine into the state of mind of Feargus O'Connor, late M.P. for Nottingham, returned the following verdict:

"We find that Mr. Feargus O'Connor has been insane since the 10th of June, 1852, without any lucid intervals."[a]

As a political character O'Connor had outlived himself already in 1848. His strength was broken, his mission fulfilled, and unable to master the proletarian movement organised by himself, he had grown almost a hindrance to it. If historical impartiality oblige me not to conceal this circumstance, it also obliges me in justice to the fallen man, to lay before the same public, the judgment given on O'Connor, by Ernest Jones, in *The People's Paper*:

"Here was a man who broke away from rank, wealth, and station; who threw up a lucrative and successful practice; who dissipated a large fortune, not in private self-denial, but in political self-sacrifice; who made himself an eternal exile from his own country, where he owned broad acres and represented one of its largest Counties; who was hated by his family because he loved the human race; whose every act was devotion to the people; and who ends almost destitute after a career of unexampled labor.... There is his life. Now look at his work: At a time of utter prostration, of disunion, doubt and misery, he gathered the millions of this country together, as men had never yet been gathered. O'Connell rallied the Irish, but it was with the help of the priests; Mazzini roused the Italians, but nobles and traders were on his side; Kossuth gathered the Hungarians, but Senates and armies were at his back; and both the Hungarians and Italians were burning against a foreign conqueror. But O'Connor, without noble, priest or trader, rallied and upheld one downtrodden class against them all! without even the leverage of national feeling to

[a] *The People's Paper*, No. 50, April 16, 1853; below is cited a passage from Ernest Jones' article "The People's Friend" published in this issue.—*Ed.*

unite them! La Fayette had the merchants, Lamartine had the shopkeepers. O'Connor had the people! But the people in the nineteenth century, in Constitutional England, are the weakest of all. He taught them how to become the strongest."

Last week was a week of defeats for the Coalition Cabinet. It met for the first time with a Coalition Opposition. On Tuesday the 12th inst., Mr. Butt moved to maintain for the Irish soldiers the Asylum of Kilmainham Hospital. The Secretary at War[a] opposed the motion; but it was carried against the Government by 198 against 131. On this occasion it was beaten by a Coalition of the Irish Brigade[53] with the Conservative Opposition. On the following Thursday it was defeated by a Coalition of the Conservatives and the Manchester School.[54] Mr. Milner Gibson having brought in his yearly motion for the abolition of the "Taxes on Knowledge," the repeal of the Advertisement Duty was voted,[55] notwithstanding the protestations of Gladstone, Russell and Sidney. They lost, by 200 against 169. Bright, Gibson and MacGregor voted side by side with Disraeli, Pakington, etc., and Mr. Cobden made the formal declaration, "That he accepted the assistance of Mr. Disraeli and his friends with all his heart."[b] But by far the greatest defeat the Government has sustained was brought upon it, not by a division in the House, but by an act of its own.

Of the Kossuth rocket affair[c] full particulars will already have reached the readers of the *Tribune*, but in order to prove that the whole of it was a premeditated affair between Palmerston and the Foreign Powers, it is merely necessary to state what his own official journal, *The Morning Post*, contains with regard to the occurrence:

"The promptitude and vigilance of the course adopted by Government will give confidence to those foreign powers who have doubted the efficacy of our laws in repressing mischief among our troublesome guests."[d]

This business will have its serious consequences for the Coalition Ministry. Already, and this is of great significance, it has demasked old Palmerston's revolutionary dandyism. Even his most credulous but honest admirer, *The Morning Advertiser*, openly disavows him. Palmerston's star began to pale at the time when he bestowed his sympathies on the hero of the 2d December and of the plain of

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[a] S. Herbert.— *Ed.*

[b] Richard Cobden's speech in the House of Commons on April 14 is quoted from the leading article published in *The Times*, No. 21403, April 15, 1853.— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 82-84.— *Ed.*

[d] *The Morning Post*, April 18, 1853.— *Ed.*

Satory; it has vanished, since he became professedly an "Austrian Minister."[56] But, the mission of the Coalition Ministry is precisely the demoralization of all the current talents and *renommées* of the old Oligarchy. And this problem it is resolving with an admirable perseverance. Should Palmerston's Ministry survive this catastrophe, then he may indeed, with a slight alteration of the saying of Francis I, jocosely proclaim "Nothing is lost except honor."[a]

I come now to the event of the day—Mr. Gladstone's budget—laid before the House of Commons in its yesterday's sitting, in a speech which occupied no less than five hours.[b] It is a Coalition Budget, elaborated in an encyclopedical manner, exceedingly fitted for an article in *Ersch & Gruber's* voluminous Dictionary of Arts and Sciences. You know that the era of encyclopedists arrives always when facts have become bulky, and genius remains proportionably small.

In every budget the principal question is the relation between income and expenditure, the balance in the shape of a surplus or a deficiency prescribing the general conditions of either a relaxation or an increase to be established in the taxation of the country. Mr. Disraeli had estimated the revenue for the year 1852-53 at £52,325,000, and the expenditure at £51,163,000. Now, Mr. Gladstone informs us that the actual revenue has been £53,089,000, and the real expenditure only £50,782,000. These figures show an actual surplus of income over expenditure amounting to £2,460,000. Thus far, Mr. Gladstone would seem to have improved Mr. Disraeli. The latter could only boast of a surplus of £1,600,000; Gladstone comes with a saving of £2,460,000. Unfortunately, unlike Disraeli's surplus, that of Mr. Gladstone, on nearer examination, dwindles down to the moderate amount of £700,000, the millions having already found their way out of his pocket by various votes of the House of Commons and other extraordinary expenditure; and, as Mr. Gladstone cautiously adds:

> "It must be remembered that £215,000, out of the £700,000, is derived from occasional and not permanent sources of income."

Then, the only basis of operations left to Mr. Gladstone is a surplus of £485,000. Accordingly any proposed remission of old

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[a] After his defeat and capture at Pavia in 1525, in the war against the King of Spain and the Emperor of Germany, Charles V, Francis I wrote in a letter to his mother: "All is lost except honour."—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to William Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on April 18, 1853, quoted below from the report in *The Times*, No. 21406, April 19, 1853.—*Ed.*

taxes beyond this amount has to be balanced by the imposition of new ones.

Mr. Gladstone opened his speech with the "*question brûlante*" of the Income Tax. He said that it was possible to part with that tax at once, but that the Government were not prepared to recommend its immediate abandonment. The first thing to which he called attention was, that "we draw from this tax £5,500,000." Next he attempted a "brilliant" vindication of the effects of this tax, on the history of which he expended a good deal of breath.

"The Income Tax," he remarked, "has served in a time of vital struggle to enable you to raise the income of the country above its expenditure for war and civil government.... If you do not destroy the efficacy of this engine, it affords you the means, should unhappily hostilities again break out, of at once raising your army to 300,000 men, and your fleet to 100,000, with all your establishments in proportion."

Further Mr. Gladstone observed, that the Income Tax had not only served in carrying on the Anti-Jacobin war, but also the free-trade policy of Sir Robert Peel. After this apologetic introduction we are suddenly startled by the announcement that "the Income Tax is full of irregularities." In fact, Mr. Gladstone admits, that in order to preserve the tax, it must be reconstructed so as to avoid its present inequalities; but that in order to remove these inequalities, you must break up the whole set. Strangely contradicting himself, he is afterwards at great pains to show that there exist no such inequalities at all, and that they are merely imaginary. As to the question of realized and precarious incomes, he reduces it to a question of "land and of trade," and tries to persuade people, through some awkward calculations, that land actually pays 9d. in the pound, while trade only pays 7d. He then adds:

"that the assessment on land and houses does not depend on the returns of the owners, whereas in trade the returns of income are made by the holders themselves, and in many cases in a fraudulent manner."

With regard to fundholders, Mr. Gladstone asserts that to tax the capitalised value of their income, would be a gross breach of the public faith. Any distinction, in short, between realized or precarious income, as proposed by Mr. Disraeli, is flatly rejected by Mr. Gladstone. On the other hand he is ready to extend the Income Tax to Ireland, and an income above £100, the limit of its area having hitherto been at £150 a year. Quite inconsistently, however, with his just pronounced doctrine, that "it is impossible to distinguish between the respective value of

intelligence, labor and property, and to represent these relations in arithmetical results," he proposes to subject incomes between £100 and £150 to a rate of only 5d. in the pound. Lastly, in order to reconcile his admiration for the Income Tax, with the avowed necessity of its abolition, Mr. Gladstone proposes

"to renew the tax for two years, from April, 1853, at 7d. in the pound; for two years more, from April, 1855, at the rate of 6d. in the pound; and for three years more, from April, 1857, at the rate of 5d. in the pound; under which proposal the tax would expire on 5th April, 1860."

Having thus conferred, what he imagines to be a boon, [on] the landed aristocracy and the fundholders, by his refusal to acknowledge the principle of distinction between realized and precarious incomes, Mr. Gladstone, on the other hand, is careful to hold out a similar bait to the Manchester School by the adjustment of the legacy duty, extending it to all kinds of property, but declining to deal with the probates.

"I have no doubt," he remarked, "that this tax, if adjusted by the House, will add £500,000 more to our permanent means in 1853-'54; will add £700,000 more in 1854-'55; £400,000 in 1855-'56; and £400,000 more in 1856-'57; making a total addition to the permanent means of the country of £2,000,000."

Respecting Scotland, Mr. Gladstone proposed, that 1/ should be added to the present Spirits' Duty of 3/8 (the gain would be £318,000), and also an increased impost on the licenses of tea-dealers, brewers, maltsters, tobacco-manufacturers and dealers, and soap-boilers.

The whole amount of the increased taxes available for the year 1853-'54 would thus be:

| | |
|---|---|
| Upon the Income Tax | £295,000 |
| Upon the Legacy Duty | 500,000 |
| Upon Spirits | 436,000 |
| Upon Licenses | 113,000 |
| Total | £1,344,000 |
| Which with the surplus of | 805,000 |
| Would give us for the remission of taxes a sum amounting to | £2,149,000 |

Now, what are the propositions of Mr. Gladstone with respect to the remission of old taxes? I shall restrain myself, of course, from entering too deeply into this labyrinth. It cannot be fathomed in a

moment. Accordingly I shall touch merely on the principal points, which are:

1. The abolition of the duty on Soap, the gross amount of which is actually £1,397,000.
2. Gradual reduction of the duties on Tea, when the descent from $2/2^1/_4$ to 1/ is to be brought about in about three years.
3. Remission of the duties upon a large number of minor articles.
4. Relaxation of the £4,000,000 owed by Ireland in the shape of Consolidated Annuities.
5. Reduction of the Attorney's Certificate Duty by one-half, according to the motion of Lord R. Grosvenor, which abolished the whole.
6. Reduction of the Advertisement Duty to /6, according to the motion of Mr. Gibson (the House having, however, already noted its entire abolition).

Lastly:

7. Abolition of the Stamp Duty on Newspaper Supplements (a huge *pièce de réjouissance*[a] for *The Times*, the only paper issuing Supplements).

These are, in short, the principal features of the budget which Mr. Gladstone has been hatching now for more than four months. The debate in the House of Commons, fixed for Monday next, will afford me the opportunity of further commenting upon that coalition product.

Written on April 19, 1853

Reproduced from the newspaper

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

[a] Enjoyment.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## *L. S. D.*, OR CLASS BUDGETS, AND WHO'S RELIEVED BY THEM

Gladstone has brought forth his Budget. We have heard two cocks on a barn floor crowing against each other, in style somewhat similar to that of the two Chancellors of the Exchequer—Ex[a] and Actual—on the floor of the House of Commons—with this difference, that the Whig Bantam has borrowed some of the notes of the Conservative Turkey. Last week we analysed that portion of Mr. Gladstone's financial plan which deals with the National Debt, and showed how it was a miserable paltering with the question, and a mere matter of convenience to usurers, stockjobbers, and merchants, to facilitate and cheapen their transactions.[b] We shall see, on the present occasion, that the Budget is a class Budget—a middle class Budget—written by an aristocratic pen. We will, first, give a brief outline of this notable affair:—

### *I.—As to Expenditure and Revenue*:

The Chancellor states that the National Expenditure for the present year will exceed that of the last, by £1,400,000!! A promising way of opening a Budget of Financial Reform. The cause of the increase is not less encouraging.

It comprises an increase in our naval force of £617,000; in the army and commissariat of £90,000; for the ordnance £616,000; for the militia £230,000. While education, the arm of enlightenment and the defence of knowledge, receives an increase of only £100,000. The total estimated expenditure of the country for

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[a] Benjamin Disraeli.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 44-49.—*Ed.*

the current year, is placed at £52,183,000. The total income is estimated at £52,990,000—showing a surplus of £807,000, from which, however, £100,000 is deducted for the packet service, and altogether an available surplus predicted of £500,000.

We now approach

*II.—The Financial Scheme.*

Here the Chancellor deals:—*Firstly.* With the Income Tax; and makes no distinction between fixed and precarious incomes. He proposes to reduce, after two years, the tax from 7d. to 6d. in the pound. Then, after two years more, from 6d. to 5d. for three years—to extend the tax to Ireland, and to lower it so as to embrace incomes of £100 per annum. This, he says, "will not touch upon the ranks of labour." The incomes between £100 and £150 are to pay only 5d. in the pound. The effect of this will be, to lighten the burdens of the rich, and cast that alleviation as a weight upon the less rich. The wealthy tradesman is to pay less, but, to make up for it, the poor tradesman is to pay where he did not pay directly before. This is strange justice—for four years, it is true, the man of £100 is to pay 2d. in the pound less than he of £150, or £150,000—but after that period they pay the same—while after two years the rich man comes into the benefit of a reduction effected by taxing the poorer one. Our notion of taxation would far sooner incline to a graduated scale in which the percentage increased with the amount of the income, for 10,000 fivepences are less to the man of £10,000 per annum, than 100 fivepences to him of £100. So much for Whig Finance—with a specious, paltry, and roundabout tinkering, it gradually but surely lightens the burdens of the rich and increases the burdens of the poor. As to saying that the Income Tax does not affect the working man, it is a patent absurdity, for under our present social system of employer and employed, the middle class man generally indemnifies himself for additional taxation in diminished wages or increased prices.

*Secondly.* The Chancellor proceeds to the legacy duties. Here he relieves the sons-in-law and daughters-in-law from the "relations'" duty of 10 per cent. reducing theirs to 7 per cent.—infinitesimal boon!—and includes all property within the operations of the tax, the succession to rateable property being taxed on the life interest. By this means he adds £2,000,000 to the taxation of the country, and takes credit to himself for supporting skill and industry as against property. This clause recognises a principle, and is a significant concession, extorted by industrial and commercial

development from propertied monopoly. It is, we repeat, a concession; but one the evasion of which is not only easy, but may possibly have been borne in mind by the propertied legislators of the financial world.

*Thirdly.* The stamp duties for receipts are to be repealed, and the affixing of a penny postage stamp to a receipt of any amount is in future to be sufficient. A great measure of convenience—to the rich—in which the increased use of stamps is supposed to counterbalance the loss of revenue, but in which, again, no benefit is conferred on the working classes, in but very few of whose transactions matter of sufficient value (£5) to demand a stamp ever comes under consideration.

*Fourthly.* The Advertisement Duty is reduced to 6d., instead of 1s. 6d., as now. This is another instance of miserable tinkering. No sound reason can be advanced for keeping the sixpence if you give up the shilling—inasmuch as the cumbrous and expensive machinery for collecting the sixpence will eat up the proceeds of the tax! But the reason may possibly be, not to have to give up the posts and appointments connected with the levying of that impost. Supplements to newspapers containing advertisements only—are to go free by post. Both these clauses are a concession to the middle class—while the retention of the newspaper stamp still fronts with its massive barrier the spread of Democratic education. "The present papers shall have advantages," says the Chancellor, "but new ones, and cheaper ones, shall not be started."

*Fifthly.* The Tax on Life Assurance is reduced from 2s. 6d. to 6d.—another instance of the same paltering spirit; indentures of apprenticeship, without consideration, from £1 to 2s. 6d.; attorneys' certificates from £12 and £8 to £9 and £6; and the articles of clerks from £120 to £80. The first and two last items of the above are again a manifest relief to the middle class, but not the shadow of a benefit to the poor—while the tax of 6d. is kept on advertisements, the Newspaper Stamp Duties and the Taxes on Paper are retained, in order that those on servants, dogs, and horses, may be reduced to benefit the rich.

*Sixthly.* In Scotland and Ireland an addition is to be made to the Spirit Duties—and the distillers are to have an allowance for "waste."

*Seventhly.* Tradesmen's Licences (another boon to the middle class) are to be more equalised.

*Eighthly.* The Soap Duties, and a host of others, are to be dealt with, and the Duty on Tea is to be reduced from 2s. $2^1/_4$ d. to 1s. 10d. up to '54; to 1s. 3d. to '56; and to 1s. after that date.

Such is a fair outline of the Whig Budget; and we ask our readers whether a more contemptible piece of "Penny Legislation," to use the Chancellor's own expression, ever emanated from the Treasury Bench? It is plausible, specious, and sets forth some showy points; but what real benefit, what real relief, is conferred on the working classes of this country? The reduction of the duties on soap and tea are the only features at which one can catch; but small indeed is the relief thus conferred. The margin has everywhere been nicely measured, beyond which the working man would gain—the aristocrat and middle classes lose; and the transgression of that margin has been studiously avoided. The Budget is likely to catch the thoughtless among the people: "Reduction of Advertisement Duty to 6d. and Suppression of the Supplement Stamp!" But what does it practically amount to for the people? Nothing! "Penny Receipt Stamps!" But what is that to the wages-slaves who "receive" starvation? Absolutely nothing. "Life Assurances reduced from 2s. 6d. to 6d." What is it to the toiler at 6s., 8s., 10s., per week—who cannot insure his life from the crushing slavery of Manchester? Ay, or even to him at £1 and 30s? Nothing! What is it to the workingman that attorneys can get certificates for £3 less? Or clerks be articled for £80 instead of £40 more? What to them is the lightening of the legacy duty in one item, and its general extension so easily avoided? Does it ease their burthen by the weight of a single feather? What is it to them that the shopkeepers' licences shall be more equalised, while their profits on labour's wants find no equality with labour's wage? "Financial Reform" was the one cry out of two which seated this Parliament and raised this ministry. There you have it—the Reform of Whigs, aristocrats, and moneymongers. Something was necessary—some slight concession—the task was to make it so slight, that it should scarcely be perceptible, and admirably has the financial artist succeeded in his attempt. In his own words—to use his own expressions—Gladstone's Budget is framed "for the convenience of the trading classes," and yet it is but a piece of "Penny Legislation."

Written about April 20, 1853 Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The People's Paper*,
No. 51, April 23, 1853

# Karl Marx

## RIOT AT CONSTANTINOPLE.— GERMAN TABLE MOVING.—THE BUDGET[57]

London, Friday, April 22, 1853

A telegraphic dispatch has been received to the effect that on the 12th inst. there was a great tumult at Constantinople and the vicinity, fifteen Christians having been killed or wounded by the fanatic Turkish mob.

"Order was immediately restored by means of the military force."

Another dispatch from Copenhagen states that the Chamber or Folketing has rejected the ministerial message on the proposed succession of the Danish Crown. This we may consider as an important check to the diplomacy of Russia, whose interests the message represented, according to the London protocol acknowledging Russia as ultimate heir of the Danish kingdom.[58]

From the Hague we learn that an agitation similar to that which visited England two years ago in the shape of "Roman Catholic aggression,"[59] has now taken hold of the Netherlands, and led to the formation of an ultra-Protestant ministry. Concerning Germany, or rather that portion of it formerly known under the name of the Empire,[60] nothing can be more significant of the present state of mind prevailing through the educated middle-class, than a declaration of the editor of *The Frankfort Journal*, under date of April 19. For the edification of your readers I give you a translation of it:

"The communications we receive by every post, on the subject of table-moving (*Tisch-Rücken*),[a] are assuming an extent to which, since the memorable 'Song on the Rhine,' by Nic. Becker, and the first days of the revolution of March, 1848, we

[a] The reference is to spiritism, very much in vogue in Germany at the time.— *Ed.*

have seen nothing equal. Satisfactory as these communications are, since they prove better than any political *raisonnement*, in what *harmless and innocent* times we again find ourselves, we regret that we cannot take further notice of them, fearing that they might entirely overwhelm our readers and ourselves, and absorb in the end all the space of this journal."

"*An Englishman*"[a] has addressed a letter to *The Times*, and Lord Palmerston, on the latest Kossuth affair, at the conclusion of which he says:

"When the Coalition Cabinet is gathered to its fathers, or its uncles, or grandfathers, we would delicately hint to the noble lord a new edition of *Joe Miller*. In fact we opine we shall hear no more of Joe. Palmerston will be the word. It is long. That is a fault! We believe, however, it has already been improved into the Anglo-Saxon *Pam*. This will suit verse as well as prose, and rhyme with 'sham, flam, and cram.'"[b]

In my letter of Tuesday last[c] I gave you a rough sketch of Mr. Gladstone's budget. I have now before me an official publication, filling 50 pages in folio: "The Resolutions to be proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer," and "An expository Statement to accompany the Resolutions," but I shall only touch on those details which would be of interest to foreign readers in the event of their becoming the law of Great Britain.

The most important resolutions are those concerning the Customs. There is a proposal to abolish the duties on 123 minor articles, yielding about £55,000 per annum, and including all furniture woods with four exceptions, as well as fixtures and frames, bricks and tiles. There is to be a reduction, firstly, on the tea duties from $2/2^1/_4$ to 1/10 till 5th April, 1854; secondly, on 12 articles of food. The present duty on almonds is to be reduced to 2/2 per cwt.; upon cheese from 5/ to 2/6 per cwt.; on cocoa from 2d. to 1d. per lb.; on nuts from 2/ to 1/ per bushel; on eggs from 10d. to 4d. a hundred; on oranges and lemons to 8d. a bushel; on butter from 10/ to 5/ per cwt.; on raisins from 15/9 to 10/ per cwt.; and on apples from 2/ to 3d. per bushel. The whole of these articles yield, at present, a revenue of £262,000. There is, in the third place, to be a reduction on 133 articles of food, yielding a revenue of £70,000. Besides, a simplification is to be applied on a number of articles by the levy of specific instead of *ad valorem* duties.

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[a] The pen-name of A. Richards.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted from the anonymous article "*The Times* and the New Gunpowder Plot" by A. Richards, published in *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19291, April 21, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 57-62.—*Ed.*

As to the Excise, I have already stated the proposed abolition of the soap tax, and the increase in the scale of licenses to brewers and dealers in tea, coffee, tobacco and soap.

As to the Stamps, besides the reduction on attorneys' certificates, and in the advertisement duty, there is to be a reduction of the duty on life assurances, on receipt stamps, on indentures of apprenticeship, and on hackney carriages.

As to Assessed taxes, there is to be a reduction of the taxes on men-servants, private carriages, horses, ponies and dogs, and a reduction of $17^1/_2$ per cent. in the charge for redemption of land tax.

As to the Post-Office, there is to be a reduction of colonial postages to a uniform rate of 6d.

A general feature of the budget deserving note, is the circumstance of most of its provisions having been forced on the Coalition Ministry, after an obstinate opposition to them in the course of the present session.

Mr. Gladstone proposes *now* to extend the legacy duty to real property; but on the 1st of March he still opposed Mr. Williams's motion, that real property should be made to pay the "same probate and legacy duties as are now payable on personal property!" He affirmed on that occasion, as the Tory journals do at this very moment, that the exemption was only apparent, and counterbalanced by other duties peculiar to real property. It is equally true, that on the same 1st of March, Mr. Williams threatened Mr. Gladstone with "being replaced by Mr. Disraeli, if he were not to give way on that point."

Mr. Gladstone proposes *now* to abolish or reduce the protective duties on about 268 minor articles; but on the 3d of March he still opposed Mr. Hume's motion, of "speedily repealing the strictly protective duties on about 285 articles." It is also true that Mr. Disraeli declared on that day that

> "we could not cling to the rags and tatters of the Protective System."

Mr. Gladstone proposes now to reduce the advertisement duty by one half; but only four days before he brought out his Budget he opposed Mr. Milner Gibson's motion, to repeal that duty. It is true that he was defeated by a division of the House.

It would be easy to augment this enumeration of concessions made by the Coalition Ministry to the Manchester School.[61] What do these concessions prove? That the industrial bourgeoisie, weakly represented as it is in the House, are yet the real masters

of the situation, and that every Government, whether Whig, Tory, or Coalition, can only keep itself in office, and the bourgeoisie out of office, by doing for them their preliminary work. Go through the records of British legislation since 1825, and you will find that the bourgeoisie is only resisted politically by concession after concession financially. What the Oligarchy fail to comprehend, is, the simple fact that political power is but the offspring of commercial power, and that the class to which they are compelled to yield the latter, will necessarily conquer the former also. Louis XIV himself, when legislating through Colbert in the interest of the manufacturers, was only preparing the revolution of 1789, when his "*l'état c'est moi*" was answered by Sieyès with "*le tiers état est tout.*"[a]

Another very striking feature of the budget is the strict adoption of the policy of Mr. Disraeli, "that reckless adventurer" who dared to affirm in the House that the necessary result of commercial free-trade was a financial revolution, that is to say, the gradual commutation of indirect into direct taxation. Indeed, what does Mr. Gladstone propose? He strengthens and extends the system of direct taxation, in order to weaken and to contract the system of indirect taxation.

On the one side he renews the income-tax unaltered for seven years. He extends it to a whole people, to the Irish. He extends it by copying Mr. Disraeli, to a whole class, to the holders of incomes from £100 to £150. He accepts, partially, the extension of the house-tax, proposed by Mr. Disraeli, giving it the name of an altered license-tax and raising the charge for licenses in proportion to the size of the premises. Lastly, he augments direct taxation by £2,000,000, by subjecting real property to the legacy-duty, which was also promised by Mr. Disraeli.

On the other side he attacks indirect taxation under the two forms of Customs and of Excise; in the former by adopting Disraeli's reduction of the tea duties, or by abolishing, reducing, or simplifying the customs duties on 268 articles; in the latter by entirely abolishing the soap-tax.

The only difference between his budget and that of his predecessor, is this, that the one was the author, and that the other is the plagiary; that Disraeli removed the excise-duties in favor of the land-interest, and that Gladstone removes them in

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[a] This refers to the following passage from Emmanuel Sieyès' *Qu'est-ce que le tiers-état?*: "What is the third estate? Everything.—What was it until now politically? Nothing.—What is it striving for? To be something."—*Ed.*

favor of the town-interest; that Disraeli proclaimed the principle, but was forced by his exceptional position to falsify the practice, while Gladstone, opposed to the principle, is enabled by his coalition character to carry details through a series of compromises.

What will be the probable fate of the Coalition budget, and what will be the probable attitude assumed by the respective parties?

There are, in general, but three points on which the battle can be fought—the Income-Tax, the Legacy-Duty, and Ireland.

The Manchester School has pledged itself to oppose any prolongation of that "horrid inequality," the present Income-Tax. The oracle of Printinghouse-square,[a] *The Times*, has thundered for ten years against that same "monstrosity," and the public prejudice of Great Britain in general has doomed the present system of charging equally all descriptions of income. But on this one point Mr. Gladstone repudiates compromise. As Mr. Disraeli, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed to modify the Income-Tax by establishing a distinction between precarious revenues and realized property, charging the former with 5d. and the latter with 7d. in the pound, the Income-Tax would seem to become the rallying point for the common opposition of the Conservatives, the Manchester School and the "general opinion" represented by *The Times*.

But will the Manchester men redeem their pledge? This is very doubtful. They are in the commercial habit of pocketing the present profits, and of letting principles shift for themselves. And the present profits offered by Mr. Gladstone's budget are by no means contemptible. Already the tone of the Manchester organs has become very moderate and very conciliatory with regard to the Income-Tax. They begin to comfort themselves with the prospect held out by Mr. Gladstone, that "the whole Income-Tax shall expire in seven years,"[b] forgetting at the opportune moment that, when the late Sir Robert Peel introduced it in 1842, he promised its expiration by the year 1845, and that the extension of a tax is a very awkward way toward its ulterior extinction.

As to *The Times*, that is the only journal which will profit by Mr. Gladstone's proposal of abolishing the stamp on newspaper supplements. It has to pay for double supplements every day that it publishes them during the week 40,000 pence, or £166 3s. The

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[a] The square in London where *The Times* had its main offices.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted from William Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on April 18, 1853, published in *The Times*, No. 21406, April 19, 1853.—*Ed.*

whole of the 40,000d. remitted by Mr. Gladstone will go into its coffers. We can then conceive that the Cerberus will be soothed down into a lamb, without Mr. Gladstone being metamorphosed into a Hercules. It would be difficult to find in all the Parliamentary history of Great Britain, a more undignified act than this of Mr. Gladstone, buying up the support of a journal by inserting a special provision for it in the budget. The abolition of the Taxes on Knowledge was chiefly asked for with a view to break down the monopoly of the newspaper-leviathans. The "unctuous" Mr. Gladstone adopts only so much of that measure as tends exactly to double the monopoly of *The Times*.

In principle, we contend that Mr. Gladstone is right in rejecting all distinctions between the sources from which income is derived. If you distinguish between the quality of incomes you must also distinguish between quantity, as in 99 cases out of 100, the quantity of an income constitutes its quality. If you distinguish between their quantities you arrive unavoidably at progressive taxation, and from progressive taxation you tumble directly into a very trenchant sort of Socialism, a thing certainly abhorred by the opponents of Mr. Gladstone. With the narrow and interested interpretation of the difference between fixed and precarious incomes, as made by the Manchester School, we arrive at the ridiculous conclusion that the income of the richest class of England, the trading class, is only a precarious one. Under the pretence of philanthropy they aim at changing a portion of the public burdens from their own shoulders to the backs of the land-owners and fundholders.

As to the extension of the legacy-duty to real property the country party, as cannot be doubted, will vehemently resist it. They naturally desire to receive their successions as heretofore, untaxed; but Mr. Disraeli, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, has acknowledged the injustice of that exception, and the Manchester men will vote as one man with the Ministers. *The Morning Advertiser* in its number of yesterday[a] informs the country party that should they be imprudent enough to take their stand on the legacy duty, they must abandon all idea of being supported by the Liberals. There exists hardly any privilege to which the British middle class are more bitterly opposed, and there exists also no more striking instance of oligarchic legislation. Pitt introduced in 1796 two bills, the one subjecting personal property to the probate and legacy-duty, and the other imposing the same duties on real

[a] April 21, 1853.—*Ed.*

property. The two measures were separated because Pitt apprehended a successful opposition from members of both houses to subjecting their estates to those taxes. The first bill passed the House with little or no opposition. Only one division took place, and only 16 members voted against it. The second bill was proceeded with through all its stages, until it came to the third reading, when it was lost by a division of 30 against 30. Pitt, seeing no chance of passing the bill through either house, was forced to withdraw it. If the probate and legacy-duties had been paid on real property since 1796, by far the greater portion of the public debt might have been paid off. The only real objection the country party could now make is the plea that the fundholders enjoy a similar exemption, but they would, of course, not strengthen their position by rousing against them the fundholders, who are gifted with a particular taste for fiscal immunities.

There remains then but one probable chance of successfully opposing the Coalition budget, and this is a coalition of the country party with the Irish Brigade.[62] It is true Mr. Gladstone has endeavored to induce the Irish to submit to the extension of the Income-Tax to Ireland, by making them the gift of four millions and a half of Consolidated Annuities. But the Irish contend that three out of these four and a half millions, connected with the famine of 1846-47,[63] were never intended to constitute a national debt, and have never been acknowledged as such by the Irish people.

The ministry itself seems not to be quite sure of success, since it menaces an *early dissolution* of the House, unless the budget be accepted as a whole. A formidable suggestion this for the great majority of members whose "pockets have been materially affected by the *legitimate* expenses of the last contest," and for those Radicals who have clung as closely as possible to the old definition of an Opposition; namely, that it does, in the machine of Government, the duty of the safety-valve in a steam-engine. The safety-valve does not stop the motion of the engine, but preserves it by letting off in *vapor* the power which might otherwise blow up the whole concern. Thus they let off in vapor the popular demands. They seem to offer motions only to withdraw them afterward, and to rid themselves of their superfluous eloquence.

A dissolution of the House would only reveal the dissolution of the old parties. Since the appearance of the Coalition Ministry, the Irish Brigade has been split up into two factions—one governmental, the other independent. The country party is likewise split up into two camps—the one led by Mr. Disraeli, the other by Sir

John Pakington; although now, in the hour of danger, they both rally again around Disraeli. The Radicals themselves are broken up into two sets—the Mayfair-men[64] and the Manchester-men. There is no longer any power of cohesion in the old parties, but at the same time there is no power of real antagonism. A new general election would not mend, but only confirm this state of things.

By the election-disclosures the Lower House is sunk as low as it can possibly go. But simultaneously, week after week, it has denounced the rottenness of its foundation, the thorough corruption of the *constituencies* themselves. Now after these disclosures, will the ministry venture on an appeal to these branded constituencies—an appeal to the country? To the country at large they have nothing to offer, holding in one hand the refusal of parliamentary reform, and in the other an Austrian patent, installing them as general informers of the continental police.[65]

Written on April 22, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## SOAP FOR THE PEOPLE, A SOP FOR *THE TIMES*.— THE COALITION BUDGET

Everybody knows that a Budget is simply an estimate of the probable Revenue and Expenditure of Government for the year current, which estimate is based on the financial experience, i.e., on the balance sheet for the past year.

The first thing, therefore, for Mr. Gladstone was to produce the balance sheet for the year 1852-3. Mr. Disraeli, in his statement as Chancellor of the Exchequer, has estimated the probable income for 1852-3 at £52,325,000, and the Expenditure for the same period at £51,163,000, thus anticipating a surplus of £1,162,000. Mr. Gladstone, in making up the actual balance from the books, discovers that the real amount of Revenue for the past year was £53,089,000, and the real Expenditure only £50,782,000, showing an actual surplus of £2,307,000, or, as Mr. Gladstone calculates (we know not in what way) £2,460,000.

As it is the fashion, or rather as Parliament affects, to consider the Chancellor of the Exchequer as the mysterious conjuror who, by nobody knows what secret tricks, contrives to produce the whole yearly Revenue of the nation, it is no wonder that that personage, whoever he happens to be, takes care not to discountenance so flattering a delusion. Consequently, if the nation, by increasing the rate of production, is found to have swelled the amount of Tax Revenues above the estimate, it is taken for granted that the Minister of Finance who, by this process, can present more than double the surplus his predecessor had promised, is undoubtedly the man of the greater financial capacities. This was the cheerful idea of Mr. Gladstone, cheerfully received and appreciated by the supporters of the Coalition Oligarchy in the House.

*Two Millions Four Hundred and Sixty Thousand Pounds Surplus!*

But not a farthing out of the two millions will the House permit to go to the people. Where, then, are they to go to? Mr. Gladstone explains it:

"Favourable as this statement may seem, the House must not forget that it has already largely drawn on this surplus by various extraordinary votes on the estimates of the current year."[a]

The House knew from Mr. Disraeli that there would be at all events a surplus of more than one million of pounds. Accordingly, on going into Committee of Ways and Means,[66] it voted merrily the following additional sums above and beyond the ordinary surplus:—

| | £ |
|---|---|
| For the Navy, including Packet Service | 617,000 |
| Army and Commissariat | 90,000 |

To these sums, as Mr. Gladstone announced, will have to be added:—

| | |
|---|---|
| For the Kaffir war[67] (no peace?) | 270,000 |
| Increase on Ordnance | 616,000 |
| Increase on Militia | 230,000 |
| Public (read private) Education | 100,000 |
| Making a total of | £1,923,000 |

Mr. Gladstone again (probably by omitting the Kaffir war item on account of its uncertainty) calculates the total at only £1,654,000. Deducting this sum from the original (barely figurative) surplus of £2,460,000, there would remain an actual surplus of £806,000, or, still calculating with Mr. Gladstone, £807,000. Yet, even from this moderate sum the House is warned to deduct £220,000, accruing from precarious, and not recurring sources of Revenue. Thus the original two millions, so cheerfully announced, are after all but £587,000, by no means a very extensive basis for any even the most moderate reform of taxation. As, however, the country is assured that it has a Ministry of Reform, Reforms there must be; and Mr. Gladstone forthwith engages to bring out these Reforms.

An ordinary Free Trader, a Mr. Hume for instance, would perhaps have advised the Chancellor of the Exchequer to do good

[a] Here and below William Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on April 18, 1853 is quoted from *The Times*, No. 21406, April 19, 1853.—*Ed.*

with his surplus, by the abolition of duties on such foreign articles, the revenue of which, as shown by the Customs' Returns, would balance exactly the £587,000. What a vulgar, commonplace, profane suggestion to so learned and profound a financial alchemist as Mr. Gladstone! Do you think that the man who contemplates nothing short of the suppression of the entire public debt, would gratify his ambition by the simple remission of £500,000 of taxes? Surely, for so small a purpose, Sancho Timber needed not have been removed to his Indian Barataria,[a] to make room for the great Don Quixote of coalition finance.

Gladstone's Taxation Reform bears the proud Oxford Street shop-frontispiece of—

"*Immense Reduction!*

"Five millions, and several odd thousand pounds, forthwith to be dispensed with!"

There is something to attract the people, and to beguile even the most protected Parliamentary old female.

Let us enter the shop. "Mr. Gladstone, your bill of fare, if you please. What is it really that you mean, Sir? Five millions of pounds reduction?" "Decidedly, my dear Sir," answers Mr. Gladstone. "Would you like to look at the figures? Here they are:—

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Abolition of the entire Soap Tax | 1,126,000 |
| 2. Reduction of duty on Life Assurances, from 2s. 6d. to 6d. | 29,000 |
| 3. Reduction of duty on Receipt Stamps to uniform rate of 1d. | 155,000 |
| 4. Reduction on duty on Apprentice Indentures, from 20s. to 2s. 6 d. | 50,000 |
| 5. Reduction on duty on Attorney's Certificates | |
| 6. Reduction on duty on Advertisements, from 1s. 6d. to 6d. | 160,000 |
| 7. Reduction on duty on Hackney Carriages, from 1s. 5d. to 1s. per day | 26,000 |
| 8. Reduction on duty on Men Servants to £1 1s. for those above eighteen years, and 10s. 6d. for those under | 87,000 |

[a] Allusion to the appointment of Charles Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Whig Cabinet of 1846-52, as President of the Control Council on India. Barataria is a fictitious island given over to Sancho Panza in Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.—*Ed.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 9. Reduction on duty on Private Carriages | 95,000 |
| 10. Reduction on duty on Horses, Ponies, and Dogs | 108,000 |
| 11. Reduction on duty on Post Horses, by substituting licenses to charge on mileage | 54,000 |
| 12. Reduction on duty on Colonial Postage (6d. a letter) | 40,000 |
| 13. Reduction on duty on Tea, from 2s. $2^1/_4$d. to 1s. 10d. till 5th of April, '54, to 1s. 6d. in 1855, to 1s. 3d. in 1856, and to 1s. thereafter | 3,000,000 |
| 14. Reduction on duty on Apples, Cheese, Cocoa, Eggs, Butter, and Fruit | 262,000 |
| 15. Reduction on duty on 133 minor articles | 70,000 |
| 16. Abolition of duty on 123 minor articles | 53,000 |
| Total | 5,315,000 |

Why, a remission of £5,315,000 taxes would unquestionably be a handsome thing. But is there no drawback in this most liberal Budget? To be sure, there is. Else, how could it be called a Reform? Constitutional Reforms and Oxford Street shops, handsome as they both look, are sure to have always a very handsome drawback.

Of all clever tricks men contrive in the end to catch the secret. Mr. Gladstone, with only *half a million* in his bag, bestows a donation on the public of *five million and a half.* Whence does he get it? Ay, from the same blindfold public whom he bewilders with his generosity. He makes them a present, but invites them to return the favour. Of course, not in a direct or petulant manner, nor even from the same people whom it is his purpose to win over now. There are various customers with whom he intends to deal, and Russell, the juggler, has taught the adept Gladstone how to redeem his liberality of to-day by a revenge on to-morrow.

Gladstone remits old taxes to the amount of £5,315,000. Gladstone imposes new ones to the amount of £3,139,000. Still Gladstone would give to us a benefit of £2,176,000. But Gladstone is, at the best, but the Minister of the year; and the amount of his contemplated reduction for the year is only £2,568,000, which will cause a loss to the Revenue of £1,656,000, to be balanced by the anticipated yield of the new taxes for the year, viz., £1,344,000, leaving a deficiency of £312,000, which, set off against the actual surplus, as stated in the Budget, of £807,000, would still show a favourable balance of £495,000.

These are the principal features of the Coalition Budget. We shall now state to our readers what are the points of which the Ministry hope to make the most—what objections are most likely

to be raised against it by the various Parliamentary parties in opposition—and, in conclusion, what is our own opinion of the question.

Gladstone, in all his anxiety to create a sensation, and to secure to himself both financial notoriety and popular favour by a large remission of taxes, felt the necessity of introducing his proposal for an increase of £3,139,000, under some plausible and apparently rational pretence. He was aware that he would not be permitted to nibble with the whole system of taxation, for the sole purpose of an uncalled for and unwarranted personal gratification, without some show of what Parliamentary and middle class men call "principle and justice." Accordingly, he astutely resolved to take the legislating Pecksniffs by what he knew to be their weakest side, adroitly screening his intended augmentation of the public burdens behind the pleasant and acceptable phrase of a "just extension of certain taxes, with a view to their final and lasting equalisation." The imposts he chose for that object were:—

1. The Legacy Duty.
2. The Spirits Excise; and,
3. The Income Tax.

The Legacy Duty he demands to embrace equally all kinds of property. As landed property was heretofore exempted, this proposal is expected to gratify the commercial and manufacturing interests. The Spirits Excise is to be extended to Scotland and Ireland, so as to bring them more on a par with distilling England.

Lastly, the Income Tax is to extend, in its area, to incomes between £150 and £100; and also to Ireland. The Income Tax proposal is certainly not one of the points on which Gladstone can expect, or will obtain, much applause. But of that anon, when we come to the objections.

Besides the Legacy and Spirits proposition, the Free Trade reductions on a vast number of import articles are undoubtedly considered by Ministers as the most attractive bait; and some favourable clamour is likely to be got up on this point by the shopkeepers, housewives, and the small middle class in general, before they discover that, with regard to Tea, at least, a very trifling benefit will accrue to the consumers, the profit of the holders and the monopoly of producers tending to absorb the greater part of the advantage. But, then, there is the entire abolition of the duty on Soap—a measure by which he hopes to enable the country to wash away not only its own dirty, filthy, and miserable appearance, by making all faces clean, comfortable and happy; but also to entirely abolish black slavery, and make an end

to the misfortunes of numberless Uncle Toms, by the impulse given to "legitimate trading and production of African palm oil." Assured by this, Gladstone bids fair to out-puff the fastest haberdasher and the most bombastic quack doctor. To these attractive features he adds a good number of minor bribes, including one of several millions to the Irish Brigade,[68] in the shape of a remission of the famine loan, and to *The Times*, the big supporter of the "good Aberdeen," and his colleagues of the Coalition. This latter bribe consists in the abolition of the Stamp on Newspaper Supplements, containing advertisements only, *The Times* being notoriously the only journal issuing any of the kind to any extent.

We come now to the objections that are most likely to be raised against the Budget from oppositional quarters. The discussion on Monday last, in the House, having been only an introductory skirmish, we must glean, if possible, from the daily papers the intentions of parties. And here we are very scantily supplied. *The Times*, *Chronicle*, and *Post*, are actually in the bonds of the Coalition Government, and *The Daily News* can scarcely be regarded as the organ of the Manchester School.[69] Besides, it is still vacillating, and apparently much tempted by the Free Trade propositions. But if we look at *The Herald*, the Tory-Conservative paper, we already find its judgment given; and with a truly unusual frankness:—

"The whole Budget of Mr. Gladstone," it says, "is nothing but a contemptible admixture of bribes and jobs."[a]

The Tories, therefore, are sure to oppose the scheme of Gladstone, from whom Disraeli will not fail to revindicate the stolen feathers of the Legacy and Income Tax extension, the Tea reduction, and other impudently-appropriated merits of his own. The landed aristocracy desire, at all events, if they must submit to a further loss of privileges, to reserve to themselves the merit of a voluntary surrender. But as they cannot well take their stand on the Legacy Duty, Mr. Disraeli will cause them to rally around the principle of distinction between real and precarious incomes, on which ground he will have a considerable portion of the Brigade fighting alongside with him. It is obvious that the Irish can and will never acknowledge the obligation of a debt, forced by the English upon their country only in consequence of the previous ruin of its population. Besides, for all practical purposes, the

[a] Marx's rendering of the statement from *The Morning Herald*, No. 22137, April 20, 1853.—*Ed.*

remission of the interest from £3,000,000 imaginary capital, must appear to them a very inadequate concession for the imposition of a Spirit Excise and an Income Tax. As far as the Manchester School is concerned, although they are pledged to their constituents, if not on the abolition, at least on the transformation of the Income Tax, it is not to be expected that they will act otherwise than as business men, *i.e.* without any political honour, but with a very due regard to profit. And the profit on the side of Mr. Gladstone's Budget, as a "whole," is by no means despicable, as far as those gentlemen are concerned.

Now, as to our opinion on the question at issue, we desire most eagerly to see a ministry defeated, which deserves equal contempt for its reactionary deceitful dodgery at home, as for its cowardly subservient policy abroad. And we think we are the more right in doing so, as such an event would certainly promote the interests of the people. One thing is clear: as long as an aristocratic coalition does the work required from them by the manufacturing and trading class, the latter will neither make any political effort themselves, nor allow the working class to carry their own political movement. If, however, the country party once more obtain the upper hand, the middle class cannot get rid of them without remodelling the rotten oligarchic parliament, and then it is no longer in their power to agitate for a limited reform, but they must go the whole length of the people's demands. The people, of course, can never, without abandoning both their principles and interests, join and appeal to the middle classes: but for the *bourgeoisie*, it would not be the first time that they are forced to throw themselves on the shoulders of the people. And such a contingency would lead to a very decided revolution in the present financial system. Already, it is evident that even middle class society inevitably tends towards the substitution of one direct property-tax in lieu of the traditional fiscal *olla podrida*. The Manchester School has long since registered, Disraeli has acknowledged, and even the oligarchic coalition has confirmed, the principle of direct taxation. But let the machinery of a direct property-tax be once properly established, and the people, with political power in their hands, have only to put that engine into motion, in order to create the

*Budget of Labour.*

Written about April 25, 1853 Reproduced from the newspaper

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No. 52, April 30, 1853

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## THE ROCKET AFFAIR.— THE SWISS INSURRECTION[70]

London, Friday, April 29, 1853

The notorious *Polizei-Director* Stieber, accompanied by the Police Lieutenant, Goldheim, and the *Criminal-Rath*, Nörner, arrived here a few days ago, from Berlin, on the special mission of connecting the Rotherhithe gunpowder-plot with the Calabrian hat-conspiracy at Berlin.[a] I know, from private information, that they met at Kensington, in the house of Fleury, and that the ex-clerk Hirsch was also present at that meeting. A day later the same Hirsch had a secret interview with Mr. Kraemer, the Russian consul. If your readers recollect my letter on the Cologne trials,[b] they must be aware, that the identical personages who concocted that plot, are again at work.

On Saturday, 23d inst., proceedings were commenced, before Mr. Henry, the Bow-st. Police Magistrate, against Mr. Hale, the proprietor of the Rotherhithe rocket manufactory, where the Government seizure had been made. On that day, the question discussed was merely relating to the point, whether the explosive material under seizure was gunpowder, or not. Mr. Henry who had reserved his decision until yesterday, has now pronounced, contradictorily to Mr. Ure, the celebrated chemist's opinion, that it was gunpowder. Accordingly, he fined Mr. Hale 2s. for every pound of gunpowder, beyond the legal allowance, found in his possession, which quantity amounted to 57 lbs. W. Hale, R. Hale, his son, and J. Boylin, then appeared at the side bar to answer the charge of having, at various intervals, between Sept. 13, 1852 and

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[a] See this volume, pp. 28-31.— *Ed.*

[b] F. Engels, "The Late Trial at Cologne" (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 388-93).— *Ed.*

April 13, 1853, made or caused to be made divers large quantities of rockets. Mr. Bodkin, the Government solicitor, stated that Mr. W. Hale had made several unsuccessful applications to the British Government with regard to his rockets, that from October, 1852, a great number of workmen had been employed by him, some of whom were foreign refugees; that the whole of their proceedings had been carried on in the greatest possible secrecy, and that the shipping records at the Customs refuted Mr. Hale's statement of having been an exporter through the Customs. At the conclusion he said:

"The cost of the rockets found in possession of Mr. Hale, was estimated at from £1,000 to £2,000. Where did the money come from? Mr. Hale was only lately a bankrupt, and superseded his bankruptcy by paying only 3s. in the pound."[a]

J. Saunders, a sergeant of the Detective Police, stated, that he took possession of

"1,543 loaded rockets, 3,629 rocket heads, 2,482 rocket bottoms, 1,955 empty rockets, 22 iron shot, 2 instruments for firing rockets."

A witness, Mr. Usener, next appeared, who said that he had been for 15 years an officer in the Prussian artillery, and served in the Hungarian war as Major of the staff. He was employed by the Messrs. Hale in making rockets at Rotherhithe. Before going to the factory he had been in prison for theft for five or six months at Maidstone, to which step he declared he had been driven by utter destitution. The most important part of his deposition was literally as follows:

"I was introduced to the Hales by M. Kossuth; I first saw M. Kossuth on the subject last summer, on his return from America; about the middle of September I saw the elder Mr. Hale in the company of M. Kossuth, at the house of the latter; a Hungarian, the adjutant, was also there; M. Kossuth said to Mr. Hale, 'This person was in the Hungarian service, and a late officer of the Prussian artillery, and I can recommend him to your employ to assist in making *our* rockets, or *your* rockets,' I don't remember which was the word he said; M. Kossuth said my wages should be 18s. per week, and he recommended me to keep the affair quite secret; Mr. Hale, he said, would point out what I was to do; M. Kossuth spoke partly in the Hungarian and partly in the English language; I believe Mr. Hale does not understand the German language. The word *secret* was said to me in German; [...] I was sent to Pimlico by R. Hale to see M. Kossuth; I saw M. Kossuth at Pickering Place; W. Hale and another Hungarian were there; we went to try a firing machine; when we were all together, the machine was set up, and a trial was made with the rockets; the conversation took place partly in English, and chiefly about the quality of the rockets, etc.; we were there an hour and a half, and when it was

[a] Here and below the authors quote from the article "The War Rocket Factory and the Government", *The Times*, No. 21415, April 29, 1853.—*Ed.*

all over, M. Kossuth and Mr. Hale desired us to leave the house carefully, one by one, and Mr. Hale joined us at the corner of the street; on this occasion M. Kossuth repeatedly told us to keep his connection with the rockets secret."

W. Gerlach, another German, was then examined through an interpreter. He was employed at Mr. Hale's factory, in making rockets. There were, besides him, three Hungarians. He was recommended to Mr. Hale by M. Kossuth, but he never saw them in company together.

Mr. Henry, who had the alternative of committing summarily in the penalty of £5, or sending the case before the Assizes, adopted the latter course, but was willing to accept bail for each of the Hales. Mr. W. Hale declared that he would not ask any friend to become bail, either for himself or for his son, and accordingly the defendants were removed to Horsemonger-lane Jail.

The depositions of the witnesses, it is clear, are in strong contradiction with the letter of Mr. Hale, Jr.; the substance of which I have already communicated to you,[71] and, with the letters addressed by Kossuth to Captain Mayne Reid and Lord Dudley Stuart,[a] wherein he affirmed he knew nothing either of Mr. Hale, or his rockets. It would be unjust, however, to draw any inference from this circumstance, before further explanations shall have been given by M. Kossuth. As to Mr. Usener, is it not a shame that a talented countryman of ours in exile, and a man most willing to labor, as is proved by the fact of his agreeing to become an ordinary workman at 18s. a week, should have been driven by mere destitution to theft, while certain German refugees, notorious idlers, assume the privilege of squandering the small funds destined for the revolutionists, in self-imposed missionary trips, ridiculous plots, and public house *conciliabules*?

On Friday, the 22d inst., an insurrection broke out again at Fribourg, in Switzerland, the fifth, already, since the late Sonderbund war.[72] The insurrection was to be commenced simultaneously all over the surface of the canton; but at the given moment, the majority of the conspirators did not come forward. Three "colonnes," who had promised their cooperation in the affair, remained behind. The insurgents, who actually entered the town, were chieflv from the district of Farvagny, and from the communes of Autigny, Prez, Torny [le Grand], Middes, and other neighborhoods. At $4^1/_2$ a. m., the body of 400 peasants, all wearing the colors of the Sonderbund, and carrying the emblem of the Virgin on their standard, moved towards Fribourg, on the road

[a] See *The Times*, No. 21412, April 26, 1853.—*Ed.*

from Lausanne, headed by Colonel Perrier, and the notorious peasant Carrard, the chief of the insurrection of 1851, who had been amnestied by the Grosse-Rath. About 5 o'clock they entered the town, by the "Porte des Etangs," and took possession of the College and the Arsenal, where they seized 150 guns. Alarm having been beaten, the town council immediately declared the state of siege, and Major Gerbex assumed the command of the assembled civic guard. While he ordered the streets at the back of the college to be occupied with cannon, he pushed a body of riflemen forward, to attack the insurgents in front. The riflemen advanced up the two flights of steps, leading to the college, and soon dislodged the peasants from the windows of the buildings. The combat had lasted for about an hour, and the assailants already numbered eight dead and eighteen wounded, when the insurgents, attempting in vain to escape through the back streets, where they were received with grape shot, sent forth a priest with a white flag, declaring their readiness to surrender.

A Committee of the Civic Guard instantly formed a Court-martial, which condemned Col. Perrier to thirty years' imprisonment, and which is still sitting. The number of prisoners is about two hundred, among whom Messrs. Wuilleret, Weck and Chollet. M. Charles, the president of the well-known Committee at Posieux, has been seen at the gate of Romont, but not captured. Besides the parson of Torny le Grand, two other priests are included in the number of prisoners. As to the expenses of the affair, the canton appears to be safe, half the property of the patrician, Mr. Weck, being sufficient for that object.

Written on April 26-29, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Frederick Engels

## POLITICAL POSITION OF THE SWISS REPUBLIC[73]

London, May 1, 1853

Royal families formerly used to employ whipping-boys, who had the honor of receiving condign punishment on their profane backs, whenever any of the scions of royalty had committed an offense against the rules of good behavior. The modern European political system continues this practice, in a certain degree, in the erection of small intermediate States, which have to act the scapegoat in any domestic squabble by which the harmony of the "balance of power" may be troubled. And in order to enable these smaller States to perform this enviable part with suitable dignity, they are, by the common consent of Europe "in Congress assembled,"[74] and with all due solemnity, declared "*neutral.*" Such a scapegoat, or whipping-boy, is Greece—such is Belgium and Switzerland. The only difference is this—that these modern political scapegoats, from the abnormal conditions of their existence, are seldom quite undeserving of the inflictions they are favored with.

The most conspicuous of this class of States has of late been Switzerland,

Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur—[a]

the Swiss. And wherever the *people* of any European State came into collision with their rulers, the Swiss were equally sure to come in for their share of the trouble; until since the beginning of this year, Switzerland, after having made itself gratuitously contempti-

[a] Q. Horatii Flacci, *Epistolarum,* Liber Primus, Epistola II, Ad Lollium; the line ends with "Achivi"—Achaeans.—*Ed.*

ble to the revolutionary party, has been placed in a sort of interdict by the rulers of Continental Europe. Squabbles about refugees with the Emperor Bonaparte, for whose sake Switzerland once came very near risking a war; squabbles with Prussia on account of Neuchâtel; squabbles with Austria about Tessinese and the Milan insurrection[75]; squabbles with the minor German States about subjects which nobody cares for; squabbles on all hands, threatening notes, expulsions, passport chicanes, blockades, raining down upon poor Switzerland thick as hailstones in a storm, and yet, such is human nature, the Swiss are happy, contented and proud in their own way, and feel more at home in this shower of abuse and insult, than if the political horizon was cloudless and bright.

This honorable political position of Switzerland is, by the popular mind of Europe, rather vaguely and clumsily expressed in the common saying: Switzerland has been invented by the rulers of Europe in order to bring republican governments into contempt; and certainly, a Metternich or Guizot may have often said: If Switzerland did not exist, we should have to create it. To them, a neighbor like Switzerland, was a real god-send.

We cannot be expected to repeat the multifarious charges brought of late, against Switzerland and Swiss institutions, by real or would be revolutionists. Long before the movements of 1848, the organs of the revolutionary Communist party of Germany analyzed that subject, they showed why Switzerland, as an independent State, must ever be lagging behind in the march of European progress, and why that country, with all its republican shows, will ever be reactionary at heart.[a] They were even violently attacked, at that time, by divers democratic spouters and manufacturers of clandestine declamation, who celebrated Switzerland as their "model-republic," until the model institutions were once tried upon themselves. The subject is now as trite as can be; nobody disputes the fact, and a few words will suffice to put the matter in its true light.

The mass of the Swiss population follow either pastoral or agricultural pursuits; pastoral, in the high mountains, agricultural wherever the nature of the ground admits of it. The pastoral tribes, for tribes you may call them, rank among the least civilized populations of Europe. If they do not cut off heads and ears like the Turks and Montenegrins, they perform acts of hardly less

[a] The reference is to Engels' article "The Civil War in Switzerland", *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, November 1847 (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 367-74).— *Ed.*

barbarity by their judicial assemblies; and what cruelty and beastly ferocity they are capable of, the Swiss mercenaries at Naples and elsewhere have proved.[76] The agricultural population is quite as stationary as the pastoral; they have nothing in common with the agricultural population of the American Far West, whose very aliment is change, and who clear every twelvemonth an amount of land far larger than all Switzerland. The Swiss peasant tills the patch of ground his father and grandfather tilled before him; he tills it in the same slovenly way as they did; he earns about as much as they did; he lives about as they did, and consequently he thinks very nearly in the same way as they did. Had it not been for feudal burdens and imposts levied upon them, partly by aristocratic families, partly by patrician corporations in the towns, the Swiss peasantry would always have been quite as stationary in their political existence as their neighbors, the cowherds, are up to the present day. The third components of the Swiss people, the industrial population, although necessarily far more advanced in civilization than the two classes mentioned before, yet live under circumstances which exclude them in a great degree from the progressive giant impulse which the modern manufacturing system has imparted to Western Europe. Steam is hardly known in Switzerland; large factories exist in a few localities only; the cheapness of labor, the sparseness of the population, the abundance of small mountain-streams fit for mills; all these and many other circumstances tend to produce a petty and sporadic sort of manufactures mixed up with agricultural pursuits, the most eligible industrial system for Switzerland. Thus watch-making, ribbon-weaving, straw-plaiting, embroidery, &c. are carried on in several cantons, without ever creating or even increasing a town; and Geneva and Basle, the richest, and with Zurich, the most industrial towns, have hardly increased for centuries. If, then, Switzerland carries on her manufacturing production almost exclusively upon the system in practice all over Europe *before* the invention of steam, how can we expect to find other than corresponding ideas in the minds of the producers; if steam has not revolutionized Swiss production and intercommunication, how could it overthrow the hereditary ways of thinking?

The Hungarian Constitution bears a certain resemblance to that of Great Britain, which circumstance has been turned to good account by Magyar politicians, who thence would make us jump to the conclusion that the Hungarian nation is almost as advanced as the English; and yet there are many hundreds of miles and of years between the petty tradesman of Buda and the Cotton lord of

Lancashire, or between the traveling tinker of the Puszta[a] and the Chartist working-man of a British manufacturing metropolis. Thus, Switzerland would give itself the airs of a United States on a smaller scale; but barring the superficial resemblance of political institutions, no two countries are more unlike than ever-moving, ever-changing America, with a historical mission whose immensity people on both sides of the Atlantic are but just beginning to divine, and stationary Switzerland, whose never-ending petty distractions would result in the perpetual round-about motion within the narrowest circle, were she not in spite of herself dragged forward by the industrial advance of her neighbors.

Whoever doubts this, will be satisfied after a perusal of the history of Swiss railways. Were it not for the traffic from south to north moving round Switzerland on both sides, not a railroad would ever have been constructed in that country. As it is, they are made twenty years too late.

The French invasion of 1798, and the French revolution of 1830, gave occasion to the peasantry to throw off their feudal burdens; to the manufacturing and trading population to throw off the mediaeval yoke of patrician and corporative control. With this progress the revolution of *Cantonal* Government was completed. The more advanced cantons had obtained constitutions to suit their interests. This Cantonal revolution reacted upon the Central Representation Assembly[b] and Executive. The party vanquished in the individual cantons was here strong; the struggle was fought over again. The general political movement of 1840-'47, which everywhere in Europe brought about preliminary conflicts, or prepared decisive collisions, was in all second- and third-rate States—thanks to the jealousies of the great powers—favorable to the opposition, which may be described as the middle-class party. It was the case, too, in Switzerland; the moral support of Britain, the indecision of Guizot, the difficulties which kept Metternich at bay in Italy, carried the Swiss over the Sonderbund war[77]; the party which had been victorious in the liberal cantons in 1830, now conquered the Central Powers. The revolutions of 1848 made it possible for the Swiss to reform their feudal constitutions in accordance with the new political organization of the majority of the cantons[78]; and now we may say that Switzerland has attained the highest political development of which she, as an independent State, is capable. That the new

[a] Hungarian steppe.—*Ed.*
[b] The Federal Diet.—*Ed.*

federal constitution is quite adequate to the wants of the country, the constant reforms in the monetary system, the means of communication, and other legislative matters affecting the industry of the country, abundantly show; but, alas! these reforms are of a nature that any other State would be ashamed of, on account of the mass of traditionary nuisances, and the antediluvian state of society, the existence of which, up to that date, they disclose.

What, at most, can be said in favor of the Swiss Constitution 1848 is this: that by its enactment the more civilized portion of the Swiss declared themselves willing to pass, to a certain extent, from the Middle Ages into modern society. Whether, however, they will at any time be able to do away with privileged trades' corporations, guilds, and such-like mediaeval amenities, must remain very doubtful to any one who has the least knowledge of the country, and who has seen in a single instance the strenuous efforts with which respectable "vested interests" oppose even the most matter-of-course reform.

Thus we see the Swiss, true to their character, moving on quietly in their own restricted domestic circle while the year 1848 uprooted all the stability of the European Continent around them. The revolutions of Paris, of Vienna, of Berlin, of Milan, were by them reduced to as many levers of Cantonal intrigue. The European earthquake had even for the radical Swiss no other interest but this—that it might vex some conservative neighbor by upsetting his crockery. In the struggle for Italian independence Sardinia solicited an alliance with Switzerland, and there is no doubt that an addition to the Sardinian army of 20 or 30,000 Swiss would have very soon driven the Austrians out of Italy. When 15,000 Swiss in Naples were fighting against Italian liberty it certainly might be expected that Switzerland, in order to maintain her boasted "*neutrality*," should send an equal number to fight for the Italians; but the alliance was rejected and the cause of Italian independence was lost as much through Swiss as through Austrian bayonets. Then came the disasters of the revolutionary party, and the wholesale emigration from Italy, from France, from Germany, to the *neutral* Swiss soil. But there neutrality ceased; Swiss radicalism was satisfied with what it had achieved, and the very insurgents, who, by holding in check the tutors and natural superiors of Switzerland, the absolutist governments of the Continent, had enabled the Swiss to carry out their internal reform undisturbed—these very insurgents were now treated in Switzerland with every possible insult and turned out of the country at the first bidding of their persecutors. Then began that series of degradation and insult

which one neighboring government after another heaped upon Switzerland, and which would make the blood of every Swiss boil if Swiss nationality had any foundation and Swiss independence any existence other than in boast or fame.

Never has such treatment been offered to any people as the Swiss have been made to submit to by France, Austria, Prussia, and the minor German States. Never were demands half as humiliating made upon any country, without being resented by a struggle for life or death. The surrounding Governments, by their agents, presumed to exercise the office of Police upon the Swiss territory; they exercised it not only over the refugees, but over the Swiss Police officers also. They laid complaints against subaltern agents, and demanded their dismissal; they even went so far as to hint at the necessity of changes in the Constitutions of several cantons. As for the Swiss Government, to every bolder demand, it gave an humbler reply; and whenever its words breathed a spirit of opposition, its acts were sure to make up for it by increased subserviency. Insult after insult was pocketed, command after command was executed, until Switzerland was brought down to the lowest level of European contempt,—till she was more despised than even her two "neutral" rivals, Belgium and Greece. And now, when the demands of her chief assailant, Austria, have reached that hight of impudence which even a statesman of the temper of M. Druey could hardly swallow, without some show of resistance—now, in her most recent, most spirited notes to Vienna, she shows how far she is reduced.

The champions of Italian independence,—men who, far from showing any wicked Socialist or Communist tendencies, would, perhaps, not even go to the length of wishing for Italy the same Constitution as that under which Switzerland lives,—men who have and make no claim to the demagogical celebrity even of Mazzini, are there treated as assassins, incendiaries, brigands, and upsetters of all social order. As to Mazzini, the language is of course far stronger; and yet everybody knows that Mazzini, with all his conspiracies and insurrections, is as much a supporter of social order, as at present constituted, as M. Druey himself. Thus, the result of the whole exchange of notes is, that, in principle, the Swiss give in to the Austrians. How, then, is it to be expected they will not give in in practise?

The fact is this: Any bold and persistent Government can get from the Swiss what it likes. The isolated life which the mass of them lead, deprives them of all sense of their common interest as a nation. That a village, or a valley, or a canton should stick

together is no wonder. But, to stick together as a Nation for a common purpose, be what it may, they never will. In all invasions, as soon as the danger becomes serious, as in 1798, one Swiss has betrayed the other, one canton abandoned the next. The Austrians have expelled 18,000 Tessinese from Lombardy, without any cause. The Swiss make a great outcry about it and collect money for their unfortunate confederates. Now, let Austria hold out, and continue to prohibit the return of these Tessinese, and in a very short time you will see a wonderful change in Swiss opinion. They will get tired of collecting money, they will say that the Tessinese always meddled in Italian politics and deserved no better; in fact they are no true Swiss confederates (*Keine guten Eidgenossen*). Then the expelled Tessinese will settle in the other cantons of Switzerland and "turn the natives out of employment." For in Switzerland a man is not a Swiss, but a native of such and such a canton. And when that comes to pass then you will see our brave confederates muster up their indignation, then you will see intrigues of all sorts directed against the victims of Austrian despotism, then you will see the Tessinese Swiss as much hated, persecuted, calumniated as the foreign refugees were during their time in Switzerland, and then Austria will obtain everything she wants and a great deal more if she takes the trouble to ask for it.

When the nations of Europe have recovered their faculty of free and normal action they will take into consideration what is to be done with these petty "*neutral*" States, which while subservient to counter-revolution when it is ascendant, are neutral and even hostile to every revolutionary movement and yet pass themselves off as free and independent Nations. But, perhaps, by that time, not a trace will be left of these excrescences of an unsound body.

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

# Karl Marx

## REVOLUTION IN CHINA AND IN EUROPE

A most profound yet fantastic speculator on the principles which govern the movements of Humanity,[a] was wont to extol as one of the ruling secrets of nature, what he called the law of the contact of extremes. The homely proverb that "extremes meet" was, in his view, a grand and potent truth in every sphere of life; an axiom with which the philosopher could as little dispense as the astronomer with the laws of Kepler or the great discovery of Newton.

Whether the "contact of extremes" be such a universal principle or not, a striking illustration of it may be seen in the effect the Chinese revolution[79] seems likely to exercise upon the civilized world. It may seem a very strange, and a very paradoxical assertion that the next uprising of the people of Europe, and their next movement for republican freedom and economy of government, may depend more probably on what is now passing in the Celestial Empire,—the very opposite of Europe,—than on any other political cause that now exists,—more even than on the menaces of Russia and the consequent likelihood of a general European war. But yet it is no paradox, as all may understand by attentively considering the circumstances of the case.

Whatever be the social causes, and whatever religious, dynastic, or national shape they may assume, that have brought about the chronic rebellions subsisting in China for about ten years past, and now gathered together in one formidable revolution, the occasion of this outbreak has unquestionably been afforded by the English cannon forcing upon China that soporific drug called opium.[80]

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[a] G.W.F. Hegel.—*Ed.*

Before the British arms the authority of the Manchu dynasty fell to pieces; the superstitious faith in the eternity of the Celestial Empire broke down; the barbarous and hermetic isolation from the civilized world was infringed; and an opening was made for that intercourse which has since proceeded so rapidly under the golden attractions of California and Australia.[81] At the same time the silver coin of the Empire, its lifeblood, began to be drained away to the British East Indies.

Up to 1830, the balance of trade being continually in favor of the Chinese, there existed an uninterrupted importation of silver from India, Britain and the United States into China. Since 1833, and especially since 1840, the export of silver from China to India has become almost exhausting for the Celestial Empire. Hence the strong decrees of the Emperor against the opium trade, responded to by still stronger resistance to his measures. Besides this immediate economical consequence, the bribery connected with opium smuggling has entirely demoralized the Chinese State officers in the Southern provinces. Just as the Emperor was wont to be considered the father of all China, so his officers were looked upon as sustaining the paternal relation to their respective districts. But this patriarchal authority, the only moral link embracing the vast machinery of the State, has gradually been corroded by the corruption of those officers, who have made great gains by conniving at opium smuggling. This has occurred principally in the same Southern provinces where the rebellion commenced. It is almost needless to observe that, in the same measure in which opium has obtained the sovereignty over the Chinese, the Emperor and his staff of pedantic mandarins have become dispossessed of their own sovereignty. It would seem as though history had first to make this whole people drunk before it could rouse them out of their hereditary stupidity.

Though scarcely existing in former times, the import of English cottons, and to a small extent of English woollens, has rapidly risen since 1833, the epoch when the monopoly of trade with China was transferred from the East India Company to private commerce, and on a much greater scale since 1840, the epoch when other nations, and especially our own, also obtained a share in the Chinese trade. This introduction of foreign manufactures has had a similar effect on the native industry to that which it formerly had on Asia Minor, Persia and India. In China the spinners and weavers have suffered greatly under this foreign competition, and the community has become unsettled in proportion.

The tribute to be paid to England after the unfortunate war of 1840, the great unproductive consumption of opium, the drain of the precious metals by this trade, the destructive influence of foreign competition on native manufactures, the demoralized condition of the public administration, produced two things: the old taxation became more burdensome and harassing, and new taxation was added to the old. Thus in a decree of the Emperor,[a] dated Peking, Jan. 5, 1853, we find orders given to the viceroys and governors of the southern provinces of Wu-chang and Hang-Yang to remit and defer the payment of taxes, and especially not in any case to exact more than the regular amount; for otherwise, says the decree, "how will the poor people be able to bear it?"

"And thus, perhaps," continues the Emperor, "will my people, in a period of general hardship and distress, be exempted from the evils of being pursued and worried by the tax-gatherer."[b]

Such language as this, and such concessions we remember to have heard from Austria, the China of Germany, in 1848.

All these dissolving agencies acting together on the finances, the morals, the industry, and political structure of China, received their full development under the English cannon in 1840, which broke down the authority of the Emperor, and forced the Celestial Empire into contact with the terrestrial world. Complete isolation was the prime condition of the preservation of Old China. That isolation having come to a violent end by the medium of England, dissolution must follow as surely as that of any mummy carefully preserved in a hermetically sealed coffin, whenever it is brought into contact with the open air. Now, England having brought about the revolution of China, the question is how that revolution, will in time react on England, and through England on Europe. This question is not difficult of solution.

The attention of our readers has often been called to the unparalleled growth of British manufactures since 1850. Amid the most surprising prosperity, it has not been difficult to point out the clear symptoms of an approaching industrial crisis. Notwithstanding California and Australia, notwithstanding the immense and unprecedented emigration, there must ever without any particular accident, in due time arrive a moment when the extension of the markets is unable to keep pace with the extension

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[a] Hsien Fêng.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted from the article "China", *The Economist*, No. 505, April 30, 1853.—*Ed.*

of British manufactures, and this disproportion must bring about a new crisis with the same certainty as it has done in the past. But, if one of the great markets suddenly becomes contracted, the arrival of the crisis is necessarily accelerated thereby. Now, the Chinese rebellion must, for the time being, have precisely this effect upon England. The necessity for opening new markets, or for extending the old ones, was one of the principal causes of the reduction of the British tea-duties, as, with an increased importation of tea, an increased exportation of manufactures to China was expected to take place. Now, the value of the annual exports from the United Kingdom to China amounted, before the repeal in 1833 of the trading monopoly possessed by the East India Company, to only £600,000; in 1836, it reached the sum of £1,326,388; in 1845, it had risen to £2,394,827; in 1852, it amounted to about £3,000,000. The quantity of tea imported from China did not exceed, in 1793, 16,167,331 lbs.; but in 1845, it amounted to 50,714,657 lbs.; in 1846, to 57,584,561 lbs.; it is now above 60,000,000 lbs.

The tea crop of the last season will not prove short, as shown already by the export lists from Shanghai, of 2,000,000 lbs. above the preceding year. This excess is to be accounted for by two circumstances. On one hand, the state of the market at the close of 1851 was much depressed, and the large surplus stock left has been thrown into the export of 1852. On the other hand, the recent accounts of the altered British legislation with regard to imports of tea, reaching China, have brought forward all the available teas to a ready market, at greatly enhanced prices. But with respect to the coming crop, the case stands very differently. This is shown by the following extracts from the correspondence of a large tea-firm in London:

"In Shanghai the terror is extreme. Gold has advanced upward of 25 per cent., *being eagerly sought for hoarding*; silver has so far disappeared that *none could be obtained* to pay the China dues on the British vessels requiring port clearance; and in consequence of which Mr. Alcock has consented to become responsible to the Chinese authorities for the payment of these dues, on receipt of East India Company's bills, or other approved securities. *The scarcity of the precious metals* is one of the most unfavorable features, when viewed in reference to the immediate future of commerce, as this abstraction occurs precisely at that period when their use is most needed, to enable the tea and silk buyers to go into the interior and effect their purchases, for which a *large portion of bullion is paid in advance, to enable the producers to carry on their operations*.... At this period of the year it is usual to begin making arrangements for the new teas, whereas at present nothing is talked of but the means of protecting person and property, all transactions being at a stand.... If the means are not applied to secure the leaves in April and May, the early crop,

which includes all the finer descriptions, both of black and green teas, will be as much lost as unreaped wheat at Christmas."[a]

Now the means for securing the tea leaves, will certainly not be given by the English, American or French squadrons stationed in the Chinese seas, but these may easily, by their interference, produce such complications, as to cut off all transactions between the tea-producing interior and the tea-exporting sea ports. Thus, for the present crop, a rise in the prices must be expected—speculation has already commenced in London—and for the crop to come a large deficit is as good as certain. Nor is this all. The Chinese, ready though they may be, as are all people in periods of revolutionary convulsion, to sell off to the foreigner all the bulky commodities they have on hand, will, as the Orientals are used to do in the apprehension of great changes, set to hoarding, not taking much in return for their tea and silk, except hard money. England has accordingly to expect a rise in the price of one of her chief articles of consumption, a drain of bullion, and a great contraction of an important market for her cotton and woolen goods. Even *The Economist*, that optimist conjuror of all things menacing the tranquil minds of the mercantile community, is compelled to use language like this:

"We must not flatter ourselves with finding as extensive a market for our exports to China as hitherto.... It is more probable that our export trade to China should suffer, and that there should be a diminished demand for the produce of Manchester and Glasgow."

It must not be forgotten that the rise in the price of so indispensable an article as tea, and the contraction of so important a market as China, will coincide with a deficient harvest in Western Europe, and, therefore, with rising prices of meat, corn, and all other agricultural produce. Hence contracted markets for manufactures, because every rise in the prices of the first necessaries of life is counterbalanced, at home and abroad, by a corresponding deduction in the demand for manufactures. From every part of Great Britain complaints have been received on the backward state of most of the crops. *The Economist* says on this subject:

"In the South of England not only will there be left much land unsown, until too late for a crop of any sort, but much of the sown land will prove to be foul, or otherwise in a bad state for corn-growing. On the wet or poor soils destined for

[a] Here and below the quotations are from the article "China and the Tea Trade", *The Economist*, No. 508, May 21, 1853.—*Ed.*

wheat, signs that mischief is going on are apparent. The time for planting mangel-wurzel may now be said to have passed away, and very little has been planted, while the time for preparing land for the turnip is rapidly going by, without any adequate preparation for this important crop having been accomplished.... Oat-sowing has been much interfered with by the snow and rain. Few oats were sown early, and late sown oats seldom produce a large crop.... In many districts losses among the breeding flocks have been considerable."[a]

The price of other farm-produce than corn is from 20 to 30, and even 50 per cent. higher than last year. On the Continent, corn has risen comparatively more than in England. Rye has risen in Belgium and Holland full 100 per cent. Wheat and other grains are following suit.

Under these circumstances, as the greater part of the regular commercial circle has already been run through by British trade, it may safely be augured that the Chinese revolution will throw the spark into the overloaded mine of the present industrial system and cause the explosion of the long-prepared general crisis, which, spreading abroad, will be closely followed by political revolutions on the Continent. It would be a curious spectacle, that of China sending disorder into the Western World while the Western powers, by English, French and American war-steamers, are conveying "order" to Shanghai, Nanking, and the mouths of the Great Canal. Do these order-mongering powers, which would attempt to support the wavering Manchu dynasty, forget that the hatred against foreigners and their exclusion from the Empire, once the mere result of China's geographical and ethnographical situation, have become a political system only since the conquest of the country by the race of the Manchu Tartars[82]? There can be no doubt that the turbulent dissensions among the European nations who, at the later end of the 17th century, rivaled each other in the trade with China, lent a mighty aid to the exclusive policy adopted by the Manchus. But more than this was done by the fear of the new dynasty, lest the foreigners might favor the discontent existing among a large proportion of the Chinese during the first half century or thereabouts of their subjection to the Tartars. From these considerations, foreigners were then prohibited from all communication with the Chinese, except through Canton, a town at a great distance from Peking and the tea-districts, and their commerce restricted to intercourse with the Hong[83] merchants, licensed by the Government expressly for the foreign trade, in order to keep the rest of its subjects from all connection

[a] "Backwardness of the Season", *The Economist*, No. 507, May 14, 1853.—*Ed.*

with the odious strangers. In any case an interference on the part of the Western Governments at this time can only serve to render the revolution more violent, and protract the stagnation of trade.

At the same time it is to be observed with regard to India, that the British Government of that country depends for full one seventh of its revenue on the sale of opium to the Chinese, while a considerable proportion of the Indian demand for British manufactures depends on the production of that opium in India. The Chinese, it is true, are no more likely to renounce the use of opium than are the Germans to forswear tobacco. But as the new Emperor is understood to be favorable to the culture of the poppy and the preparation of opium in China itself, it is evident that a death-blow is very likely to be struck at once at the business of opium-raising in India, the Indian revenue, and the commercial resources of Hindostan. Though this blow would not immediately be felt by the interests concerned, it would operate effectually in due time, and would come in to intensify and prolong the universal financial crisis whose horoscope we have cast above.

Since the commencement of the eighteenth century there has been no serious revolution in Europe which had not been preceded by a commercial and financial crisis. This applies no less to the revolution of 1789 than to that of 1848. It is true, not only that we every day behold more threatening symptoms of conflict between the ruling powers and their subjects, between the State and society, between the various classes; but also the conflict of the existing powers among each other gradually reaching that hight where the sword must be drawn, and the *ultima ratio* of princes be recurred to. In the European capitals, every day brings dispatches big with universal war, vanishing under the dispatches of the following day, bearing the assurance of peace for a week or so. We may be sure, nevertheless, that to whatever hight the conflict between the European powers may rise, however threatening the aspect of the diplomatic horizon may appear, whatever movements may be attempted by some enthusiastic fraction in this or that country, the rage of princes and the fury of the people are alike enervated by the breath of prosperity. Neither wars nor revolutions are likely to put Europe by the ears, unless in consequence of a general commercial and industrial crisis, the signal of which has, as usual, to be given by England, the representative of European industry in the market of the world.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the political consequences such a crisis must produce in these times, with the unprecedented extension of factories in England, with the utter dissolution of her

official parties, with the whole State machinery of France transformed into one immense swindling and stock-jobbing concern, with Austria on the eve of bankruptcy, with wrongs everywhere accumulated to be revenged by the people, with the conflicting interests of the reactionary powers themselves, and with the Russian dream of conquest once more revealed to the world.

Written on May 20-21, 1853

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# Karl Marx

## AFFAIRS IN HOLLAND.—DENMARK.—CONVERSION OF THE BRITISH DEBT.—INDIA, TURKEY AND RUSSIA[84]

London, Tuesday, May 24, 1853

The general elections in Holland, necessitated by the late dissolution of the States-General, are now completed, and the result has been the return of a majority of 12 in favor of the Ultra-Protestant and Royalist ministry.

Denmark is by this time inundated with anti-governmental pamphlets, the most prominent of which are the *Dissolution of Parliament Explained to the Danish People,* by Mr. Grundtvig, and one anonymous entitled *The Disputed Question of the Danish Succession; or What Is to Be Done by the Powers of Europe.* Both these pamphlets aim at proving that the abolition of the ancient law of succession as demanded by the ministry and stipulated in the London protocol,[85] would turn to the ruin of the country, by converting it, in the first instance, into a province of Holstein, and later into a dependency of Russia.

Thus, it appears, the Danish people have at last become aware of what their blind opposition to the demands for independence raised by the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein in 1848 has brought over them. They insisted upon their country's permanent union with Holstein, for which purpose they made war on the German revolution—they won in that war, and they have retained Holstein. But, in exchange for that conquest, they are now doomed to lose their own country. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in '48 and '49 never ceased to warn the Danish democrats of the ultimate consequences of their hostility to the German revolution.[86] It distinctly predicted that Denmark, by contributing to disarm revolution abroad, was tying itself forever to a dynasty which, as the legitimate course of succession had obtained its

sanction and validity through their own consent, would surrender their nationality to the "bon plaisir"[a] of the Russian czar. The Danish democracy refused to act upon that advice, and are now receiving the same price for their short-sighted folly as the Bohemian Sclaves did, who, in order to "preserve their nationality against the Germans," rushed to the destruction on the Viennese revolutionists, their only possible liberators from that German despotism which they hated. Is not this a grave lesson which is now being received by these two peoples, who allowed themselves to be arrayed in self-destructive warfare against the cause of the revolution, by the intrigues of the counter-revolution?

Now that Mr. Gladstone's scheme for the reduction of the public debt has passed through Parliament, and is undergoing its practical test, his apologists—and almost the entire London press seemed highly to approve of that famous scheme—have all of them become mute at once. Mr. Gladstone's three alternatives for voluntarily converting the five hundred millions of 3 per cents., turn out so very innocent, that none of them has as yet met with an acceptation worth mentioning.—As to the conversion of the South Sea[87] stock, up to the evening of May 19 only £100,000 out of the £10,000,000 had been converted into new stock. It is a general rule that such operations, if not effected in the first weeks, lose every day something of the probability of their being carried out at all. Besides, the rate of interest is just rising in slow but steady progression. It is, therefore, almost an exaggeration to suppose that ten millions of old paper will be converted into new stock within the time fixed for that operation. But even in this case, Mr. Gladstone will have to repay at least eight millions of pounds to those holders of South Sea Funds, who are unwilling to convert them into his new stock. The only fund he has provided for such an eventuality is the public balance at the Bank of England, amounting to about eight or nine millions. As this balance, however, is no excess of income over expenditure, but is only lodged in the Bank, because the public income is paid a few months in advance of the time when it is necessary to expend it, Mr. Gladstone will find himself at a future moment in a very heavy financial embarrassment, which will produce, at the same time, a most serious disturbance in the monetary transactions of the Bank and in the money market in general, the more so as a presumed deficient crop will cause a more or less extensive drain of bullion.

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[a] Caprice.—*Ed.*

The charter of the East India Company expires in 1854. Lord John Russell has given notice in the House of Commons, that the Government will be enabled to state, through Sir Charles Wood, their views respecting the future Government of India, on the 3d of June. A hint has been thrown out in some ministerial papers, in support of the already credited public rumor, that the Coalition have found the means of reducing even this colossal Indian question to almost Lilliputian dimensions. *The Observer* prepares the mind of the English people to undergo a new disenchantment.

"Much less," we read in that confidential journal of Aberdeen, "than is generally supposed will remain to be done in the new organization for the Government of our Eastern Empire."[a]

Much less even than is supposed, will have to be done by my lords Russell and Aberdeen.

The leading features of the proposed change appear to consist in two very small items. Firstly, the Board of Directors will be "refreshed" by some additional members, appointed directly by the Crown, and even this new blood will be infused "sparingly at first." The cure of the old directorial system is thus meant to be applied, so that the portion of blood now infused with "great caution" will have ample time to come to a standstill before another second infusion will be proceeded upon. Secondly, the union of Judge and of Exciseman in one and the same person, will be put an end to, and the Judges shall be educated men. Does it not seem, on hearing such propositions, as if one were transported back into that earliest period of the Middle Ages, when the feudal lords began to be replaced as Judges, by lawyers who were required, at any rate, to have a knowledge of reading and writing?

The "Sir Charles Wood" who, as President of the Board of Control, will bring forward this sensible piece of reform, is the same timber who, under the late Whig Administration, displayed such eminent capacities of mind, that the Coalition were at a dreadful loss what to do with him, till they hit upon the idea of making him over to India. Richard the Third offered a kingdom for a horse[b];—the Coalition offers an ass for a kingdom. Indeed, if the present official idiocy of an Oligarchical Government be the expression of what England *can* do now, the time of England's ruling the world must have passed away.

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[a] *The Observer*, May 22, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] Shakespeare, *King Richard III*, Act V, Scene 4.—*Ed.*

On former occasions we have seen that the Coalition had invariably some fitting reason for postponing every, even the smaller measure. Now, with respect to India their postponing propensities *are* supported by the public opinion of two worlds. The people of England and the people of India simultaneously demand the postponement of all the legislation on Indian affairs, until the voice of the natives shall have been heard, the necessary materials collected, the pending inquiries completed. Petitions have already reached Downing-st., from the three Presidencies,[88] deprecating precipitate legislation. The Manchester School have formed an "Indian Society,"[89] which they will put immediately into motion, to get up public meetings in the metropolis and throughout the country, for the purpose of opposing any legislation on the subject for this session. Besides, two Parliamentary Committees are now sitting with a view to report respecting the state of affairs in the Indian Government. But this time the Coalition Ministry is inexorable. It will not wait for the publication of any Committee's advice. It wants to legislate instantly and directly for 150 millions of people, and to legislate for 20 years at once. Sir Charles Wood is anxious to establish his claim as the modern Manu. Whence, of a sudden, this precipitate legislative rush of our "cautious" political valetudinarians?

They want to renew the old Indian Charter for a period of 20 years. They avail themselves of the eternal pretext of Reform. Why? The English oligarchy have a presentiment of the approaching end of their days of glory, and they have a very justifiable desire to conclude such a treaty with English legislation, that even in the case of England's escaping soon from their weak and rapacious hands, they shall still retain for themselves and their associates the privilege of plundering India for the space of 20 years.

On Saturday last dispatches were received by telegraph from Brussels and Paris, with news from Constantinople to May 13. Immediately after their arrival a Cabinet-Council was held at the Foreign-Office, which sat 3 hours and a half. On the same day orders were sent by Telegraph to the Admiralty at Portsmouth, directing the departure of two steam-frigates, the *London* 90, and *Sanspareil* 71, from Spithead for the Mediterranean. The *Highflyer* steam-frigate 21, and *Oden* steam-frigate 16, are also under orders for sea.

What were the contents of these dispatches which threw ministers into so sudden an activity, and interrupted the quiet dulness of England?

You know that the question of the Holy Shrines had been settled to the satisfaction of Russia,[90] and according to the assurances of the Russian Embassy at Paris and London, Russia asked for no other satisfaction than a priority share in those holy places. The objects of Russian diplomacy were merely of such a chivalric character, as were those of Frederick Barbarossa and Richard Cœur de Lion. This, at least, we were told by *The Times*.

"But," says the *Journal des Débats*, "on the 5th of May the Russian steam-frigate *Bessarabia* arrived from Odessa, having on board a Russian Colonel with dispatches for Prince Menchikoff, and on Saturday, 7th inst., the Prince handed to the Ministers of the Porte the draught of a convention or special treaty, in which the new demands and pretentions were set forth. This is the document called the ultimatum, since it was accompanied by a very brief note, fixing Tuesday, 10th May, as the last day on which the refusal or the acceptance of the Divan could be received. The note terminated in nearly the following words: 'If the Sublime Porte should think proper to respond by refusal, the Emperor would be compelled to see in that act the complete want of respect for his person, and for Russia, and would receive intelligence of it with *profound regret*.'"[a]

The principal object of this treaty was to secure to the Emperor of Russia the Protectorate of all Greek Christians subject to the Porte. By the treaty of Kutshuk-Kainardji, concluded at the close of the 18th century, a Greek chapel was allowed to be erected at Constantinople, and the privilege was granted to the Russian Embassy of interfering in instances of collision of the priests of that chapel with the Turks. This privilege was confirmed again in the treaty of Adrianople.[91] What Prince Menchikoff now demands, is the conversion of that exceptional privilege into the general Protectorate of the whole Greek Church in Turkey, i.e., of the vast majority of the population of Turkey in Europe. Besides, he asks that the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antiochia, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, as well as the metropolitan archbishops, shall be immovable, unless proved guilty of high-treason (against the Russians), and then only upon the consent of the Czar,—in other words, he demands the resignation of the Sultan's[b] sovereignty into the hands of Russia.

This was the news brought by the telegraph on Saturday: firstly, that Prince Menchikoff had granted a further delay until 14th inst., for the answer to his *ultimatum*; that then a change in the Turkish Ministry ensued, Reshid Pasha, the antagonist of

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[a] Quoted from an editorial by X. Raymond in the *Journal des Débats*, May 23, 1853. The editorial gave the wrong date of handing the note to the Ministers. It was handed on May 5, 1853 (see this volume, p. 110).—*Ed.*

[b] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*

Russia, being appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Fuad Effendi reinstated in his office; lastly, that the *Russian ultimatum had been rejected.*

It would have been impossible for Russia to make more extensive demands upon Turkey, after a series of signal victories. This is the best proof of the obstinacy with which she clings to her inveterate notion, that every interregnum of the counter-revolution in Europe constitutes a right for her to exact concessions from the Ottoman Empire. And, indeed, since the first French revolution, Continental retrogression has ever been identical with Russian progress in the East. But Russia is mistaken in confounding the present state of Europe with its condition after the congresses of Laybach and Verona, or even after the peace of Tilsit.[92] Russia herself is more afraid of the revolution that must follow any general war on the Continent, than the Sultan is afraid of the aggression of the Czar.[a] If the other powers hold firm, Russia is sure to retire in a very decent manner. Yet, be this as it may, her late maneuvers have, at all events, imparted a mighty impetus to the elements engaged in disorganizing Turkey from within. The only question is this; Does Russia act on her own free impulse, or is she but the unconscious and reluctant slave of the modern *fatum,* Revolution? I believe the latter alternative.

Written on May 24, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## MAZZINI.—SWITZERLAND AND AUSTRIA.—THE TURKISH QUESTION[93]

London, Friday, May 27, 1853

The presence of M. Mazzini in England is now, at last, confirmed by a quasi-official announcement in a London paper connected with him.

The trial of the Messrs. Hale, on account of the "gunpowder-plot,"[a] will not be brought before the present assizes, but will take place in August next, the Coalition Government being anxious to let time and oblivion interpose between its "discoveries" and the judicial discussion of their value.

Count Karnicky, the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires at Berne, received orders from his Government, on the 21st inst., to quit his post immediately, and return to Vienna, after notifying the President of the Helvetic Confederation[b] of the rupture of diplomatic relations between Austria and Switzerland. The *Bund*, of the 23d, states, however, that the Austrian Envoy had already previously received permission to take a discretionary *congé* when he should think proper. The ultimatum of Count Karnicky is declared by the same journal to be the answer of Austria to the note of the *Bundesrath*,[c] of May 4. That the ultimatum contained something beside a mere answer, may be inferred from the fact, that the Bundesrath has just called upon the Fribourg Government to account for their "extreme" measures recently taken against the defeated rebels. The English journals publish the following dispatch from Berne, dated May 23:

"In consequence of the notification made by the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires to the President of the Helvetic Confederation of the rupture of diplomatic relations

[a] See this volume, pp. 82-84.—*Ed.*
[b] Wilhelm Naeff.—*Ed.*
[c] Federal Council.—*Ed.*

between Austria and Switzerland, the Federal Council has decided on putting an immediate end to the functions of the Swiss Envoy at Vienna."

The substance of this dispatch is, however, refuted by the following article in *La Suisse*, dated May 23:

"We are about in the same situation as Piedmont.[94] The negotiations between the two countries are interrupted.... The Austrian Legation remains at Berne for the disposal of the ordinary current of business. The *Bund* says that the recall of the Swiss Chargé d'Affaires at Vienna was desirable, since he drily managed there his own affairs on pretext of transacting those of the nation, for he was merely engaged in the silk trade. Mr. Steiger is but a diplomatist of the second-hand order, and we happen to know that he understands a great deal more about silk-worms than about his official business. There was, then, no necessity for recalling such a diplomatist, since he had never been commissioned, but was already at Vienna on his own account."[a]

Let nobody imagine, therefore, that the Swiss are recalling to their memory the celebrated motto with which Loustallot adorned, in 1789, his *Révolutions de Paris*:

Les grands ne sont pas grands,
Que parce que nous sommes à genoux.
—Levons nous![b]

The mystery of the Swiss courage is sufficiently explained by the presence of the Duke of Genoa[c] at Paris, and that of the King of Belgium[d] in Vienna and perhaps no less by an article in the French *Moniteur* of May 25th.

"No other nation must ever interpose between France and Switzerland; all other considerations must subside before this fundamental condition."

The hopes of the Prussian King[e] for the recovery of Neuchâtel, thus obtain no great encouragement. A rumor prevails, even of the formation of a French *corps d'observation* on the frontiers of Switzerland. Louis Napoleon, of course, would be but too glad of having an opportunity to revenge himself on the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the Kings of Prussia and Belgium, for the contempt and ridicule with which they have loaded him during the latter months.[95]

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[a] *La Suisse*, No. 120, May 24, 1853.—*Ed.*
[b] The great are only great
Because we are kneeling.
Let us rise!—*Ed.*
[c] Ferdinando Alberto Amedeo.—*Ed.*
[d] Leopold I.—*Ed.*
[e] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

The intelligence I transmitted to you in my last,[a] of the rejection of the Russian ultimatum and of the formation of an anti-Russian Ministry at Constantinople has since been fully confirmed. The most recent dispatches are from Constantinople, of May 17.

"On assuming office, Reshid Pasha requested from Prince Menchikoff a delay of six days. Menchikoff refused, declaring diplomatic relations broken off, and adding that he would remain at Constantinople three days more, to make the necessary preparations for his departure, and he exhorted the Porte to reflection and to profit by the short time he should be detained."

Under date of Constantinople, May 19, we further learn:

"On the 17th, a meeting of the Divan was held, at the issue of which it was definitively resolved that the convention, as proposed by Prince Menchikoff, could not be accepted. Nevertheless, on this being notified to Prince Menchikoff, he did not quit Constantinople. On the contrary, he has opened new communications with Reshid Pasha. The day of the departure of the Russian Embassy is *no longer fixed.*"

Contradictorily to the latter dispatch, the French Government evening organ, *La Patrie,* positively announces that the Government has received intelligence that Prince Menchikoff has taken his departure for Odessa, and that the occurrence had occasioned but little sensation at Constantinople. The *Pays* agrees with this statement, but is contradicted by the *Presse.*[b] Girardin adds, however, that if the news was correct, it might easily be accounted for.

"If Prince Menchikoff really departed from Bujukdere[96] for Odessa, the fact is that, having failed in his mission (manqué son effet), no alternative was left to him but to withdraw, from station to station."

Some papers assert that the fleet of Admiral Delasusse has passed the Dardanelles, and is now at anchor in the Golden Horn, but this assertion is contradicted by *The Morning Post.* The *Triester Zeitung* assures its readers that, before giving an answer to Prince Menchikoff, the Porte had asked Lord Redcliffe and M. De la Cour whether it could eventually count upon their support. To this *The Times* gives its solemn contradiction.

I now give you a literal translation from the Paris *Siècle,* containing some curious details with respect to the negotiations from May 5 to 12th at Constantinople—an exposure of the ridiculous behaviour of Prince Menchikoff, who, in the whole of this transaction, has combined in a most disgusting style, Northern

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[a] See this volume, pp. 105-06.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to Charles Schiller's report published in *La Patrie,* No. 146, May 26, 1853 and confirmed by the article of J. Augier in *Le Pays,* No. 146, May 26, 1853, and by E. de Girardin's article in *La Presse,* May 27, 1853, quoted below.—*Ed.*

barbarity with Byzantine duplicity, and has succeeded in making Russia the laughing-stock of Europe. This "Grec du Bas-Empire"[a] presumed to conquer the sovereignty over a whole empire by mere theatrical performances. For Russia there remains no step from the sublime to the ridicule—a ridicule which can only be wiped out by blood. But these days of stockjobbing moneyocracy are not the days of chivalrous tournaments. The article in the *Siècle*[b] runs thus:—

"On Thursday, the 5th of May, the day of departure of the French steam-packet, the Sublime Porte communicated copies of the firman resolving the question of the Holy Places to M. De la Cour and Prince Menchikoff. The day passed away without any declamation, without any *démarche* on the part of Prince Menchikoff, and all the ambassadors, thinking that question to be settled, profited by the departure of the French steamer, for the announcement of the happy turn of affairs to their respective governments. Prince Menchikoff, however, who had just accepted the firman respecting the Holy Places, dispatched, as soon as midnight had arrived, a common *cavas*, i.e. a gens'-d'arme, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs,[c] with an ultimatum in which he demanded a *sened* (treaty) containing the solution of the Holy Shrines' question *and* the future guaranty of the privileges and immunities of the Greek Church, i.e. the most extensive protectorate of that Church for the benefit of Russia, such as would establish two distinct Emperors in Turkey—the Sultan for the Mussulmans, and the Czar for the Christians. For answering this ultimatum, the Prince allowed only four days to the Porte, requiring, besides, an immediate acknowledgment of the receipt of his ultimatum by a government officer. The Minister of Foreign Affairs returned him a kind of receipt by his aga, an inferior officer of the gendarmery. The Prince dispatched a steamer for Odessa in the course of the same night. On Friday, 6th, the Sultan,[d] having been informed of the presentation of the ultimatum by such an unusual proceeding, called together the Divan, and gave official notice to Lord Redcliffe and M. De la Cour of what had happened. Those two ambassadors immediately concerted measures for a common policy, advising the Porte to reject the ultimatum with the greatest moderation in language and terms. M. De la Cour, besides, is said to have most formally declared that France should oppose every Convention infringing the rights secured to her by the treaty of 1740, respecting the Holy Places. Prince Menchikoff, in the meantime, had retired to Bujukdere (like Achilles to his tent). Mr. Canning, on the 9th, there requested an interview with the Prince with a view of engaging him to a more moderate conduct. Refused. On the 10th the Ministers of War[e] and of Foreign Affairs, were at the Grand Vizir's,[f] who had invited Prince Menchikoff to join him there for the purpose of attempting to arrive at a reasonable arrangement. Refused. Nevertheless, Prince Menchikoff had intimated to the Porte that he was inclined to grant a further delay of three days. Then, however, the Sultan and his Ministers replied, that their

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[a] A Byzantine of the Eastern Roman Empire.—*Ed.*

[b] Below is quoted H. Lamarche's article "Affaires d'Orient.—Rejet de l'Ultimatum Russe", *Le Siècle*, May 26, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] Rifaat Pasha.—*Ed.*

[d] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*

[e] Mehemed Mutergim Pasha.—*Ed.*

[f] Mehemet Ali Pasha.—*Ed.*

resolutions were taken and that time would not modify them. This negative answer of the Porte was sent toward midnight on the 10th, to Bujukdere, where the whole of the Russian Embassy was collected, and where demonstrations for an approaching departure had been made for several days past. The Turkish Ministry, informed of this circumstance, was just about to yield, when the Sultan dismissed it and formed a new Administration."

I conclude my report on Turkish affairs by an excerpt from the *Constitutionnel*, showing the conduct of the Greek clergy during all these transactions.

"The Greek clergy, so deeply interested in this question, had pronounced in favor of the *status quo*, i.e., in favor of the Porte. They are protesting *en masse* against the protectorate threatened to be imposed on them by the Emperor of Russia.[a] Generally speaking, the Greeks desire the support of Russia, but only on condition of not being subject to her direct domination. It is repulsive to their minds to think that the Oriental Church, which is the mother of the Russian Church, should ever become subordinate to the latter, a thing which of necessity would happen, if the designs of the Petersburg Cabinet should be accepted."[b]

Written on May 27, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted from the editorial by L. Boniface in *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 146, May 26, 1853.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE TURKISH QUESTION.—*THE TIMES*.— RUSSIAN AGGRANDIZEMENT[97]

London, Tuesday, May 31, 1853

Admiral Corry's fleet has been seen in the Bay of Biscay on the way to Malta, where it is to reinforce the squadron of Admiral Dundas. *The Morning Herald* justly observes:

"Had Admiral Dundas been permitted to join the French squadron at Salamis, several weeks ago, the present state of affairs would be quite different."[a]

Should Russia attempt, were it only for the salvation of appearances, to back up the ridiculous demonstrations of Menchikoff by actual maneuvers of war, her first two steps would probably consist in the re-occupation of the Danubian Principalities, and in the invasion of the Armenian province of Kars and the port of Batum, territories which she made every effort to secure by the treaty of Adrianople. The port of Batum being the only safe refuge for ships in the eastern part of the Black Sea, its possession would deprive Turkey of her last naval station in the Pontus and make the latter an exclusively Russian Sea. This port added to the possession of Kars, the richest and best cultivated portion of Armenia, would enable Russia to cut off the commerce of England with Persia by way of Trebizond, and afford a basis of operations against the latter power, as well as against Asia Minor. If, however, England and France hold firm, Nicholas will no more carry out his projects in that quarter, than the Empress Catherine carried out hers against Aga Mahmed, when he commanded his slaves to drive the Russian Ambassador Voinovich

[a] *The Morning Herald*, No. 22168, May 26, 1853.—*Ed.*

and his companions with scourges to their ships, away from Astrabad.

In no quarter did the latest news create greater consternation than in Printing-House-square.[a] The first attempt made by *The Times* to lift up its head under the terrible blow, was a desperate diatribe against the electric telegraph, that "most extraordinary" instrument. "No correct conclusions could be drawn," it exclaimed, "from that mendacious wire." Having thus laid its own incorrect conclusions to the fault of the electric wire, *The Times*, after the statement of Ministers in Parliament, endeavors now also to get rid of its ancient "correct" premises. It says:

> "Whatever may be the ultimate fate of the Ottoman Empire, or rather of that Mohammedan Power which has ruled it for four centuries, there can be no difference of opinion between *all* parties in this country and in Europe, that the gradual progress of the indigenous Christian population toward civilization and independent government is the interest of the world, and that these races of men ought never to be suffered to fall under the yoke of Russia, and to swell her gigantic dominions. On that point we confidently hope, that the resistance offered to these pretensions of Russia would be not only that of Turkey, but of all Europe; and this spirit of annexation and aggrandizement needs but to display itself in its true shape to excite universal antipathy and an insurmountable opposition, in which the Greek and Sclavonian subjects of Turkey are themselves prepared to take a great part."[b]

How did it happen, that the poor *Times* believed in the "good faith" of Russia toward Turkey, and her "antipathy" against all aggrandizement? The good will of Russia toward Turkey! Peter I proposed to raise himself on the ruins of Turkey. Catherine persuaded Austria, and called upon France to participate in the proposed dismemberment of Turkey, and the establishment of a Greek Empire at Constantinople, under her grandson,[c] who had been educated and even named with a view to this result. Nicholas, more moderate, only demands the *exclusive Protectorate* of Turkey. Mankind will not forget that Russia was the *protector* of Poland, the *protector* of the Crimea, the *protector* of Courland, the *protector* of Georgia, Mingrelia, the Circassian and Caucasian tribes. And now Russia, the protector of Turkey! As to Russia's antipathy against aggrandizement, I allege the following facts from a mass of the acquisitions of Russia since Peter the Great.

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[a] The square in London where *The Times* had its main offices.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times*, No. 21440, May 28, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] Constantine.—*Ed.*

The Russian frontier has advanced.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Toward Berlin, Dresden and Vienna about | 700 | miles |
| Toward Constantinople | 500 | " |
| Toward Stockholm | 630 | " |
| Toward Teheran | 1,000 | " |

Russia's acquisitions from Sweden are greater than what remains of that Kingdom; from Poland nearly equal to the Austrian Empire; from Turkey in Europe, greater than Prussia (exclusive of the Rhenish Provinces); from Turkey in Asia, as large as the whole dominion of Germany proper; from Persia equal to England; from Tartary to an extent as large as European Turkey, Greece, Italy and Spain, taken together. The total acquisitions of Russia during the last 60 years are equal in extent and importance to the whole Empire she had in Europe before that time.

Written on May 31, 1853

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3794, June 14, 1853

Signed: *Karl Marx*

# Karl Marx

## THE RUSSIAN HUMBUG.—GLADSTONE'S FAILURE.—SIR CHARLES WOOD'S EAST INDIAN REFORMS[98]

London, Tuesday, June 7,[a] 1853

According to a dispatch from Berne, the *Bundesrath*[b] has cancelled the judgment pronounced by the Court Martial at Fribourg against the late insurrectionists, ordering them to be brought before the Ordinary Courts, *unless* they should be pardoned by the Cantonal Council. Here, then, we have the first of the heroic deeds accompanying the "rupture between Switzerland and Austria," the infallible result of which I traced in a former letter on the European "Model Republic."[c]

In transmitting to you the news of the Prussian Government having ordered several Artillery officers on furlough abroad to return immediately to their duties, I stated, by mistake, that those officers were engaged in instructing the Russian army, while I intended to have said the Turkish artillery, in field-practice.[99]

All the Russian Generals, and other Russians residing at Paris have received orders to return to Russia without delay. The language adopted by M. de Kisseleff, the Russian Envoy at Paris, is rather menacing, and letters from Petersburg are ostentatiously shown by him, in which the Turkish question is treated *assez cavalièrement.*[d] A rumor has issued from the same quarter, reporting that Russia demands from Persia the cession of the territory of Astrabad, at the south-eastern extremity of the Caspian Sea. Russian merchants, at the same time, dispatch, or are *reported* to have dispatched, orders to their London agents, "*not* to press any sales of grain at the present juncture, as prices were expected to rise in the imminent eventuality of a war." Lastly, confidential hints are being communicated to every newspaper, that the Rus-

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[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* erroneously has "Saturday, May 7".—*Ed.*
[b] Federal Council.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, pp. 107-08.—*Ed.*
[d] Too freely.—*Ed.*

sian troops are marching to the frontiers—that the inhabitants of Jassy are preparing for their reception—that the Russian Consul at Galatz[a] has bought up an immense number of trees for the throwing of several bridges across the Danube, and other *canards*, the breeding of which has been so successfully carried on by the *Augsburg Gazette*[b] and other Austro-Russian journals.

These, and a lot of similar reports, communications, etc., are nothing but so many ridiculous attempts on the part of the Russian agents to strike a wholesome terror into the western world, and to push it to the continuance of that policy of extension, under the cover of which Russia hopes, as heretofore, to carry out her projects upon the East. How systematically this game of mystification is being played, may be seen from the following:

Last week, several French papers notoriously in the pay of Russia, made the discovery, that the

> "real question was less between Russia and Turkey than between Petersburg and Moscow—*i.e.* between the Czar and the Old-Russian party; and that for the autocrat, there would be less danger in war, than in the vengeance of that conquest-urging party, which has so often shown how it deals with monarchs that displease it."[c]

Prince Menchikoff, of course, is the "head of this party." *The Times* and most of the English papers did not fail to reproduce this absurd statement, the one in consciousness of its meaning; the others, perhaps, its unconscious dupes. Now, what conclusion was the public intended to draw from this novel revelation? That Nicholas, in retreating under ridicule, and abandoning his warlike attitude against Turkey, has won a victory over his own warlike Old-Russians, or that Nicholas, in actually going to war, only does so from the necessity of yielding to that (fabulous) party. At all events, "there would only be a victory of Moscow over Petersburg, or of Petersburg over Moscow;" and, consequently, *none of Europe over Russia.*

Respecting this famous Old-Russian party, I happen to know from several well-informed Russians, aristocrats themselves, with whom I have had much intercourse at Paris, that it has long been entirely extinct, and is only occasionally called back into apparent existence, when the Czar stands in need of some bugbear to frighten the West of Europe into passive endurance of his arrogant claims. Hence the resurrection of a Menchikoff, and his appropriate outfit in the

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[a] M. Cola.—*Ed.*
[b] *Allgemeine Zeitung.*—*Ed.*
[c] Quoted, with slight changes, from *The Times*, No. 21446, June 4, 1853.—*Ed.*

fabulous Old-Russian style. There is but one party among the Russian nobles actually feared by the Czar—the party whose aim is the establishment of an aristocratico-constitutional system, after the pattern of England.

Besides these different spectres conjured up by Russian diplomacy, for the misguidance of England and France, another attempt to bring about the same result has just been made, by the publication of a work entitled, *L'Empire Russe depuis le Congrès de Vienne,* by Viscount de Beaumont-Vassy. It will be sufficient to extract one sentence only, for the purpose of characterising this *opusculum*:

"It is well known that a deposit of coin and ingots exists in the cellar of the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul. This *hidden treasure* was officially estimated, on the 1st of January, 1850, at 99,763,361 silver rubles."[a]

Has any one ever presumed to speak of the *hidden treasure* in the Bank of England? The "hidden treasure" of Russia is simply the metal reserve balancing a three times larger circulation of *convertible* notes, not to speak of the *hidden* amount of inconvertible paper issued by the Imperial Treasury. But, perhaps, this treasure may yet be called a "hidden" one, inasmuch as nobody has ever seen it, except the few Petersburg merchants selected by the Czar's Government for the annual inspection of the bags which hide it.

The chief demonstration of Russia in this direction is, however, an article published in the *Journal des Débats,* and signed by M. de St.-Marc Girardin, that old Orleanist sage. I extract:

"Europe has two great perils, according to us: *Russia,* which menaces her independence; and the *Revolution,* which menaces her *social order.* Now, she cannot be saved from one of these perils except by exposing herself entirely to the other. [...] Does Europe believe that the knot of her independence, and especially of the independence of the Continent, is at Constantinople, and that it is there that the question must be boldly decided; then, that is war against Russia. In that war France and England would struggle to establish the independence of Europe. What would Germany do? We know not. But what we know is, *that in the present state of Europe, war would be the social revolution.*"

As a matter of course, M. de St.-Marc Girardin concludes in favor of peace on any condition against the social revolution, forgetting, however, that the Emperor of Russia has, at least, as much "horreur" of the revolution as he himself and his proprietor, M. Bertin.

Notwithstanding all these soporifics, administered by Russian diplomacy to the Press and people of England, "that old and

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[a] A quotation from Viscount de Beaumont-Vassy's book as cited by *The Times,* No. 21446, June 4, 1853.—*Ed.*

obstinate" Aberdeen has been compelled to order Admiral Dundas to join the French fleet on the coast of Turkey, and even *The Times*, which, during the last few months, knew only how to write Russian, seems to have received a more English inspiration. It talks now very big.

The Danish (once Schleswig-Holstein) question is beginning to create considerable interest in England, since the English Press, too, has at length discovered that it involves the same principle of Russian extension, as supplies the foundation of the Eastern complication. Mr. Urquhart, M.P., the well-known admirer of Turkey and Eastern Institutions, has published a pamphlet on the Danish Succession,[a] of which an account will be given in a future letter.[100] The chief argument put forward in this publication is that the Sound is intended by Russia to perform the same functions for her in the North as the Dardanelles in the South, viz., the securing her maritime supremacy over the Baltic, in the same manner as the occupation of the Dardanelles would do with regard to the Euxine.

Some time since I gave you my opinion that the rate of interest would rise in England, and that such an occurrence would have an unfavorable effect on Mr. Gladstone's financial projects.[b] Now, the minimum rate of discount has in the past week been actually raised by the Bank of England from 3 per cent. to 3 1/2 per cent., and the failure I predicted for Mr. Gladstone's scheme of conversion has become already a fact, as you may see from the following statement:

BANK OF ENGLAND, Thursday, June 2, 1853

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Amount of new stock accepted until this day: | | |
| 3 1/2 per cent | £138,082 | 0/ 3 |
| 2 1/2 per cent | 1,537,100 | 10/10 |
| Exchange Bonds | 4,200 | 0/ 0 |
| Total | £1,679,382 | 11/1 |

SOUTH SEA HOUSE,[101] Thursday, June 2, 1853

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Amount of convertible annuities till this day: | | |
| For 3 1/2 per cent annuities | £17,504 | 12/8 |
| For 2 1/2 per cent annuities | 986,528 | 5/7 |
| Exchequer Bonds | 5,270 | 18/4 |
| Total | £1,009,303 | 16/7 |

[a] The reference is to the section, "The Danish Succession", in David Urquhart's pamphlet, *Progress of Russia in the West, North and South.*—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 102.—*Ed.*

Thus, of the whole amount of South Sea annuities offered for conversion, only one-eighth has been taken, and of the twenty millions new stock created by Mr. Gladstone, only one-twelfth has been accepted. Mr. Gladstone will, therefore, be obliged to contract for a loan at a time when the rate of interest has increased and will most likely continue to increase, which loan must amount to £8,157,811. Failure! The saving of £100,000 anticipated from this conversion, and already placed to the credit of the Budget, has, accordingly, to be dispensed with. Respecting the great bulk of the Public Debt, viz.: the £500,000,000 of 3 per cents., Mr. Gladstone has obtained, as the only result of his financial experiment, that another year will have elapsed on the 10th of Oct., 1853, during which he has been unable to give notice of any conversion. The greatest mischief, however, is this, that £3,116,000 must be paid in money in a few days to holders of Exchequer Bills, who refuse to renew them on the terms offered by Mr. Gladstone. Such is the financial success of the Government of "all the talents."

Lord John Russell, in the debate on the Ecclesiastical Revenues of Ireland (House of Commons, 31st ult.), expressed himself as follows:

"It has been evident, of late years, that the Roman Catholic Clergy—looking to its proceedings in this country—looking to that church acting under the direction of its head,[a] who himself a foreign sovereign, has aimed at political power [hear! hear!], which appears to me to be at variance with the due attachment to the Crown of this country [hear! hear!]—with the due attachment to the general cause of liberty—with the due attachment to the duties a subject of the State should perform toward it—now, as I wish to speak with as much frankness as the honorable gentleman who spoke last,[b] let me not be misunderstood in this House. I am far from denying that there are many members of this House, and many members of the Roman Catholic persuasion, both in *this country* and in Ireland, who are attached to the Throne, and to the liberties of *this country*; but what I am saying, and that of which I am convinced, is, that if the Roman Catholic clergy had increased power given to them, and if they, as ecclesiastics, were to exercise greater control and greater political influence they do now, that power would not be exercised in accordance with the *general freedom* that prevails in *this country*—[Hurrah!]—and that neither in respect of political power, nor upon other subjects, would they favor that *general freedom* of discussion and that activity and energy of the human mind, that belongs to the spirit of the constitution of *this country*. [Flourish of trumpets!] I do not think that, in that respect, they are upon a par with the Presbyterians of Scotland [bagpipes!], the Wesleyans of *this country*,[102] and the Established Church of *this country*. [General rapture.] ... I am obliged, then, to conclude, most unwillingly to conclude, but most decidedly, that the endowment of

[a] Pope Pius IX.—*Ed.*
[b] F. Lucas.—*Ed.*

the Roman Catholic Religion in Ireland, in the place of the endowment of the Protestant Church in *that country*, in connection with the State, is not an object which the Parliament of *this country* ought to adopt or to sanction."[a]

Two days after this speech of Lord John, in which he attempted for the six-thousandth time, to make a show of his love of "general freedom," by his zealous genuflexions before particular sects of Protestant bigotry, Messrs. Sadleir, Keogh, and Monsell gave in their resignations to the Coalition Ministry, in a letter addressed by Mr. Monsell to My Lord Aberdeen. My Lord Aberdeen in his answer dated 3d June, assures these gentlemen that

"The reasons given by Lord John Russell and the sentiments of which you complain, are not shared by me, nor by many of my colleagues.... Lord John Russell desires me to say, that he did not impute want of loyalty to the Roman Catholics."[b]

Messrs. Sadleir, Keogh and Monsell accordingly withdrew their resignations, and the arrangements for a general reconciliation passed off last night in Parliament, "to the greatest satisfaction of Lord John Russell."

The last India Bill of 1783 proved fatal to the Coalition Cabinet of Mr. Fox and Lord North. The new India Bill of 1853 is likely to prove fatal for the Coalition Cabinet of Mr. Gladstone and Lord John Russell. But if the former were thrown overboard, because of their attempt to abolish the Courts of Directors and of Proprietors, the latter are threatened with a similar fate for the opposite reason. On June 3, Sir Charles Wood moved for leave to bring in a bill to provide for the Government of India. Sir Charles commenced by excusing the anomalous length of the speech he was about to deliver, by the "magnitude of the subject," and "the 150,000,000 of souls he had to deal with."[c] For every 30,000,000 of his fellow-subjects, Sir Charles could do no less than sacrifice one hour's breath. But why this precipitate legislation on that "great subject," while you postpone it "for even the most trifling matters?" Because the Charter of the East India Company expires on the 30th April, 1854. But why not pass a temporary

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[a] John Russell's speech is quoted, with slight changes, from the report in *The Times*, No. 21443, June 1, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] See *The Times*, No. 21447, June 6, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] Here and below Charles Wood's speech is quoted from the report in *The Times*, No. 21446, June 4, 1853.—*Ed.*

continuance bill, reserving to future discussion more permanent legislation? Because it cannot be expected that we shall ever find again "such an opportunity of dealing quietly with this vast and important question"—i.e., of burking it in a Parliamentary way. Besides, we are fully informed on the matter, the Directors of the East India Company express the opinion that it is necessary to legislate in the course of the present session, and the Governor-General of India, Lord Dalhousie, summons the Government by an express letter by all means to conclude our legislation at once. But the most striking argument wherewith Sir Charles justifies his immediate legislation, is that, prepared as he may appear to speak of a world of questions, "not comprised in the bill he proposed to bring in," the

"*measure* which he has to submit is, so far as legislation goes, *comprised in a very small compass.*"

After this introduction Sir Charles delivered himself of an apology for the administration of India for the last twenty years. "We must look at India with somewhat of an Indian eye"—which Indian eye seems to have the particular gift of seeing everything bright on the part of England and everything black on the side of India.

"In India you have a race of people slow of change, bound up by religious prejudices and antiquated customs. There are [...],in fact, [...] all obstacles to rapid progress."

(Perhaps there is a Whig Coalition party in India.)

"The points," said Sir Charles Wood, "upon which the greatest stress has been laid, and which are the heads of the complaints contained in the petitions presented to the Committee, relate to the administration of justice, the want of public works, and the tenure of land."

With regard to the Public Works, the Government *intends* to undertake some of "the greatest magnitude and importance." With regard to the tenure of lands, Sir Charles proves very successfully that its three existing forms—the *Zemindari*, the *Ryotwari*, and the *Village* systems—are only so many forms of fiscal *exploitation* in the hands of the Company,[a] none of which could well be made general, nor deserved to be made so. An idea of establishing another form, of an altogether opposite character, does not in the least preoccupy the mind of Sir Charles.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 213-16.—*Ed.*

"With regard to the *administration of justice,*" continues he, "the complaints relate principally to the inconvenience arising from the technicalities of English law, to the alleged incompetency of English judges, and to the corruption of the native officers and judges."

And now, in order to prove the hard labor of providing for the administration of justice in India, Sir Charles relates that already, as early as 1833, a Law Commission was appointed in India. But in what manner did this Commission act, according to Sir Charles Wood's own testimony? The first and last result of the labors of that Commission was a *penal code,* prepared under the auspices of Mr. Macaulay. This code was sent to the various local authorities in India, which sent it back to Calcutta, from which it was sent to England, to be again returned from England to India. In India, Mr. Macaulay having been replaced as legislative counsel by Mr. Bethune, the code was totally altered, and on this plea the Governor-General, not being then of opinion "that delay is a source of weakness and danger," sent it back to England, and from England it was returned to the Governor-General, with authority to pass the code in whatever shape he thought best. But now, Mr. Bethune having died, the Governor-General thought best to submit the code to a third English lawyer,[a] and to a lawyer who knew nothing about the habits and customs of the Hindoos, reserving himself the right of afterward rejecting a code concocted by wholly incompetent authority. Such have been the adventures of that yet unborn code. As to the technical absurdities of the law in India, Sir Charles takes his stand on the no less absurd technicalities of the English law-procedure itself; but while affirming the perfect incorruptibility of the English judges in India, he nevertheless is ready to sacrifice them by an alteration in the manner of nominating them. The general progress of India is demonstrated by a comparison of the present state of Delhi with that under the invasion of Khuli-Khan. The salt-tax is justified by the arguments of the most renowned political economists, all of whom have advised taxation to be laid on some article of first necessity. But Sir Charles does not add what those same economists would have said, on finding that in the two years from 1849-'50, and 1851-'52, there had been a decrease in the consumption of salt, of 60,000 tuns, a loss of revenue to the amount of £415,000, the total salt revenue amounting to £2,000,000. The measures proposed by Sir Charles, and "comprised in a very small compass," are:

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[a] B. Peacock.—*Ed.*

1. The Court of Directors, to consist of eighteen instead of twenty-four members, twelve to be elected by the Proprietors, and six by the Crown.

2. The revenue of Directors to be raised from £300 to £500 a year, the Chairman to receive £1,000.

3. All the ordinary appointments in the civil service, and all the scientific in the military service of India, to be thrown open to public competition, leaving to the Directors the nomination to the Cadetships in the Cavalry-of-the-Line.

4. The Governor-Generalship to be separated from the Governorship of Bengal, and power to be given to the Supreme Government to constitute a new Presidency in the districts on the Indus.

5. And lastly, the whole of this measure only to continue until the Parliament shall provide otherwise.

The speech and measure of Sir Charles Wood was subjected to a very strong and satirical criticism by Mr. Bright, whose picture of India ruined by the fiscal exertions of the Company and Government did not, of course, receive the supplement of India ruined by Manchester and Free Trade. As to last night's speech of an old East-Indiaman, Sir J. Hogg, Director or ex-Director of the Company, I really suspect that I have met with it already in 1701, 1730, 1743, 1769, 1772, 1781, 1783, 1784, 1793, 1813, etc., and am induced, by way of answer to his directorial panegyric, to quote merely a few facts from the annual Indian accounts published, I believe, under his own superintendence.

*Total Net-Revenues of India*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1849-'50 | £20,275,831 | Loss of Revenue within three years, £348,792 |
| 1850-'51 | 20,249,932 | |
| 1851-'52 | 19,927,039 | |

*Total Charges*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1849-'50 | £16,687,382 | Increase of expenditure within three years, £1,214,284 |
| 1850-'51 | 17,170,707 | |
| 1851-'52 | 17,901,666 | |

*Land-Tax*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bengal oscillated in last four years from | £3,500,000 | to | £3,560,000 |
| North West oscillated in last four years from | 4,870,000 | | 4,900,000 |
| Madras oscillated in last four years from | 3,640,000 | | 3,470,000 |
| Bombay oscillated in last four years from | 2,240,000 | | 2,300,000 |

| | Gross Revenue in 1851-52 | Expenditure on Public Works in 1851-52 |
|---|---|---|
| Bengal | £10,000,000 | £87,800 |
| Madras | 5,000,000 | 20,000 |
| Bombay | 4,800,000 | 58,500 |
| Out of | £19,800,000 | not £166,300 |

have been expended on roads, canals, bridges and other works of public necessity.

Written on June 7, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## THE BRITISH RULE IN INDIA[103]

London, Friday, June 10, 1853

Telegraphic dispatches from Vienna announce that the pacific solution of the Turkish, Sardinian and Swiss questions, is regarded there as a certainty.

Last night the debate on India was continued in the House of Commons, in the usual dull manner. Mr. Blackett charged the statements of Sir Charles Wood and Sir J. Hogg with bearing the stamp of optimist falsehood. A lot of Ministerial and Directorial advocates rebuked the charge as well as they could, and the inevitable Mr. Hume summed up by calling on Ministers to withdraw their bill. Debate adjourned.

Hindostan is an Italy of Asiatic dimensions, the Himalayas for the Alps, the Plains of Bengal for the Plains of Lombardy, the Deccan for the Apennines, and the Isle of Ceylon for the Island of Sicily. The same rich variety in the products of the soil, and the same dismemberment in the political configuration. Just as Italy has, from time to time, been compressed by the conqueror's sword into different national masses, so do we find Hindostan, when not under the pressure of the Mohammedan, or the Mogul,[104] or the Briton, dissolved into as many independent and conflicting States as it numbered towns, or even villages. Yet, in a social point of view, Hindostan is not the Italy, but the Ireland of the East. And this strange combination of Italy and of Ireland, of a world of voluptuousness and of a world of woes, is anticipated in the ancient traditions of the religion of Hindostan. That religion is at once a religion of sensualist exuberance, and a religion of

self-torturing asceticism; a religion of the Lingam and of the Juggernaut; the religion of the Monk, and of the Bayadere.[105]

I share not the opinion of those who believe in a golden age of Hindostan, without recurring, however, like Sir Charles Wood, for the confirmation of my view, to the authority of Khuli-Khan.[a] But take, for example, the times of Aurangzeb; or the epoch, when the Mogul appeared in the North, and the Portuguese in the South; or the age of Mohammedan invasion, and of the Heptarchy in Southern India[106]; or, if you will, go still more back to antiquity, take the mythological chronology of the Brahman himself, who places the commencement of Indian misery in an epoch even more remote than the Christian creation of the world.

There cannot, however, remain any doubt but that the misery inflicted by the British on Hindostan is of an essentially different and infinitely more intensive kind than all Hindostan had to suffer before. I do not allude to European despotism, planted upon Asiatic despotism, by the British East India Company, forming a more monstrous combination than any of the divine monsters startling us in the Temple of Salsette.[107] This is no distinctive feature of British Colonial rule, but only an imitation of the Dutch, and so much so that in order to characterise the working of the British East India Company, it is sufficient to literally repeat what Sir Stamford Raffles, the *English* Governor of Java, said of the old Dutch East India Company:

> "The Dutch Company, actuated solely by the spirit of gain, and viewing their [Javan] subjects, with less regard or consideration than a West India planter formerly viewed a gang upon his estate, because the latter had paid the purchase money of human property, which the other had not, employed all the existing machinery of despotism to squeeze from the people their utmost mite of contribution, the last dregs of their labor, and thus aggravated the evils of a capricious and semi-barbarous Government, by working it with all the practised ingenuity of politicians, and all the monopolizing selfishness of traders."[b]

All the civil wars, invasions, revolutions, conquests, famines, strangely complex, rapid, and destructive as the successive action in Hindostan may appear, did not go deeper than its surface. England has broken down the entire framework of Indian society, without any symptoms of reconstitution yet appearing. This loss of his old world, with no gain of a new one, imparts a particular kind of melancholy to the present misery of the Hindoo, and separates

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[a] See this volume, p. 122.—*Ed.*

[b] Th. S. Raffles, *The History of Java*, Vol. 1, p. 151.—*Ed.*

Hindostan, ruled by Britain, from all its ancient traditions, and from the whole of its past history.

There have been in Asia, generally, from immemorial times, but three departments of Government; that of Finance, or the plunder of the interior; that of War, or the plunder of the exterior; and, finally, the department of Public Works. Climate and territorial conditions, especially the vast tracts of desert, extending from the Sahara, through Arabia, Persia, India, and Tartary, to the most elevated Asiatic highlands, constituted artificial irrigation by canals and water-works the basis of Oriental agriculture. As in Egypt and India, inundations are used for fertilizing the soil in Mesopotamia, Persia, &c.; advantage is taken of a high level for feeding irrigative canals. This prime necessity of an economical and common use of water, which, in the Occident, drove private enterprise to voluntary association, as in Flanders and Italy, necessitated, in the Orient where civilization was too low and the territorial extent too vast to call into life voluntary association, the interference of the centralizing power of Government. Hence an economical function devolved upon all Asiatic Governments, the function of providing public works. This artificial fertilization of the soil, dependent on a Central Government, and immediately decaying with the neglect of irrigation and drainage, explains the otherwise strange fact that we now find whole territories barren and desert that were once brilliantly cultivated, as Palmyra, Petra, the ruins in Yemen, and large provinces of Egypt, Persia, and Hindostan; it also explains how a single war of devastation has been able to depopulate a country for centuries, and to strip it of all its civilization.

Now, the British in East India accepted from their predecessors the department of finance and of war, but they have neglected entirely that of public works. Hence the deterioration of an agriculture which is not capable of being conducted on the British principle of free competition, of *laissez-faire* and *laissez-aller*.[a] But in Asiatic empires we are quite accustomed to see agriculture deteriorating under one government and reviving again under some other government. There the harvests correspond to good or bad government, as they change in Europe with good or bad seasons. Thus the oppression and neglect of agriculture, bad as it is, could not be looked upon as the final blow dealt to Indian

[a] *Laissez-faire, laissez-aller* was the formula of the advocates of free trade and non-intervention of the state in economic relations.—*Ed.*

society by the British intruder, had it not been attended by a circumstance of quite different importance, a novelty in the annals of the whole Asiatic world. However changing the political aspect of India's past must appear, its social condition has remained unaltered since its remotest antiquity, until the first decennium of the 19th century. The hand-loom and the spinning-wheel, producing their regular myriads of spinners and weavers, were the pivots of the structure of that society. From immemorial times, Europe received the admirable textures of Indian labor, sending in return for them her precious metals, and furnishing thereby his material to the goldsmith, that indispensable member of Indian society, whose love of finery is so great that even the lowest class, those who go about nearly naked, have commonly a pair of golden ear-rings and a gold ornament of some kind hung round their necks. Rings on the fingers and toes have also been common. Women as well as children frequently wore massive bracelets and anklets of gold or silver, and statuettes of divinities in gold and silver were met with in the households. It was the British intruder who broke up the Indian hand-loom and destroyed the spinning-wheel. England began with driving the Indian cottons from the European market; it then introduced twist into Hindostan, and in the end inundated the very mother country of cotton with cottons. From 1818 to 1836 the export of twist from Great Britain to India rose in the proportion of 1 to 5,200. In 1824 the export of British muslins to India hardly amounted to 1,000,000 yards, while in 1837 it surpassed 64,000,000 of yards. But at the same time the population of Dacca decreased from 150,000 inhabitants to 20,000. This decline of Indian towns celebrated for their fabrics was by no means the worst consequence. British steam and science uprooted, over the whole surface of Hindostan, the union between agriculture and manufacturing industry.

These two circumstances—the Hindoo, on the one hand, leaving, like all Oriental peoples, to the Central Government the care of the great public works, the prime condition of his agriculture and commerce, dispersed, on the other hand, over the surface of the country, and agglomerated in small centers by the domestic union of agricultural and manufacturing pursuits—these two circumstances had brought about, since the remotest times, a social system of particular features—the so-called *village system*, which gave to each of these small unions their independent organization and distinct life. The peculiar character of this system may be judged from the following description, contained in an old official report of the British House of Commons on Indian affairs:

French Princess married King Leopold. It seems that Napoleon is eager to pick a quarrel with King Leopold, who has thrown himself under the protection of Russia and Austria, instead of suing for peace at Paris, as the Kings of Holland and Sardinia, and the Swiss Republic have done. Spain, too, is not looked at favorably by the Emperor: her royal house is too much allied with the Orleans family, not to be disliked by a Bonaparte. A rising, therefore, would not be suppressed by French Intervention, and such a rising is not altogether impossible in Spain, where royalty has lost its dignity by the personal behaviour of the Queen-Mother and of the Queen.

A. C. C.

### The British Rule in India.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

LONDON, Friday, June 10, 1853.

Telegraphic dispatches from Vienna announce that the pacific solution of the Turkish, Sardinian and Swiss questions, is regarded there as a certainty.

Last night the debate on India was continued in the House of Commons, in the usual dull manner. Mr. Blackett charged the statements of Sir Charles Wood and Sir J. Hogg with bearing the stamp of optimist falsehood. A lot of Ministerial and Directorial advocates rebuked the charge as well as they could, and the inevitable Mr. Hume summed up by calling on Ministers to withdraw their bill. Debate adjourned.

Hindostan is an Italy of Asiatic dimensions, the *Himalayan for the Alps, the Plains of Bengal for the* Plains of Lombardy, the Deccan for the Appennines, and the Isle of Ceylon for the Island of Sicily. The same rich variety in the products of the soil, and the same dismemberment in the political configuration. Just as Italy has, from time to time, been compressed by the conqueror's sword into different national masses, so do we find Hindostan, when not under the pressure of the Mohammedan or the Mogul, or the Briton, dissolved into as many independent and conflicting States as it numbered towns, or even villages. Yet, in a social point of view, Hindostan is not the Italy, but the Ireland of the East. And this strange combination of Italy and of Ireland, of a world of voluptuousness and of a world of woes, is anticipated in the ancient traditions of the religion of Hindostan. That religion is at once a religion of sensualist exuberance, and a religion of self-torturing ascetism; a religion of the Lingam and of the Juggernaut; the religion of the Monk, and of the Bayadere.

I share not the opinion of those who believe in a golden age of Hindostan, without recurring, however, like Sir Charles Wood, for the confirmation of my view, to the authority of Khuli-Khan. But take, for example, the times of Auring-Zebe; or the epoch, when the Mogul appeared in the North, and the Portuguese in the South; or the age of Mohammedan invasion, and of the Heptarchy in Southern India; or, if you will, go still more back to antiquity, take the mythological chronology of the Brahmin himself, who places the commencement of Indian misery in an epoch even more remote than the Christian cæsation of the world.

There cannot, however, remain any doubt but that the misery inflicted by the British on Hindostan is of an essentially different and infinitely more intensive kind than all Hindostan had to suffer before. I do not allude to European despotism, planted upon Asiatic despotism, by the British East India Company, forming a more monstrous combination than any of the divine monsters startling us in the Temple of Salsette. This is no distinctive feature of British Colonial rule, but only an imitation of the Dutch, and so much so that in order to characterise the working of the British East India Company, it is sufficient to literally repeat what Sir Stamford Raffles, the *English* Governor of Java, said of the old Dutch East India Company:

"The Dutch Company, actuated solely by the spirit of gain, and viewing their subjects, with less regard or consideration than a West India planter formerly viewed a gang upon his estate, because the latter had paid the purchase money of human property, which the other had not, employed all the existing machinery of despotism to squeeze from the people their utmost mite of contribution, the last dregs of their labor, and thus aggravated the evils of a capricious and semi barbarous Government, by working it with all the practised ingenuity of politicians, and all the monopolizing selfishness of traders.

All the civil wars, invasions, revolutions, conquests, famines, strangely complex, rapid, and destructive as the successive action in Hindostan may appear, did not go deeper than its surface. England has broken down the entire framework of Indian society, without any symptoms of reconstitution yet appearing. This loss of his old world, with no gain of a new one, imparts a particular kind of melancholy to the present misery of the Hindoo, and separates Hindostan, ruled by Britain, from all its ancient traditions, and from the whole of its past history.

There have been in Asia, generally, from immemorial times, but three departments of Government; that of Finance, or the plunder of the interior: that of War, or the plunder of the exterior: and, finally, the department of Public Works. Climate and territorial conditions, especially the vast tracts of desert, extending from the personal influence and minute acquaintance with the situation and concerns of the people render him the best qualified for this charge. The *karnum* keeps the accounts of cultivation, and registers everything connected with it. The *tellier* and the *tofer*, the duty of the former of which consists in gaining information of crimes and offenses, and in escorting and protecting persons traveling from one village to another; the province of the latter appearing to be more immediately confined to the village, consisting, among other duties, in guarding the crops and assisting in measuring them. The *boundary man*, who preserves the limits of the village, or gives evidence respecting them in cases of dispute. The Superintendent of Tanks and Watercourses distributes the water for the purposes of agriculture. The Brahmin, who performs the village worship. The schoolmaster, who is seen teaching the children in a village to read and write in the sand. The calendar brahmin, or astrologer, &c. These officers and servants generally constitute the establishment of a village; but in some parts of the country it is of less extent, some of the duties and functions above described being united in the same person; in others it exceeds the above-named number of individuals. Under this simple form of municipal government, the inhabitants of the country have lived from time immemorial. The boundaries of the villages have been but seldom altered, and though the villages themselves have been sometimes injured, and even desolated by war, famine or disease, the same name, the same limits, the same interests, and even the same families have continued for ages. The inhabitants gave themselves no trouble about the breaking up and divisions of kingdoms; while the village remains entire, they care not to what power it is transferred, or to what sovereign it devolves; its internal economy remains unchanged. The potail is still the head inhabitant, and still acts as the petty judge or magistrate, and collector or rentor of the village."

These small stereotype forms of social organism have been to the greater part dissolved, and are disappearing, not so much through the brutal interference of the British tax-gatherer and the British soldier, as to the working of English steam and English free trade. Those family-communities were based on domestic industry, in that peculiar combination of hand-weaving, hand-spinning and hand-tilling agriculture which gave them self-supporting power. English interference having placed the spinner in Lancashire and the weaver in Bengal, or sweeping away both Hindoo spinner and weaver, dissolved these small semi barbarian, semi-civilized communities, by blowing up their economical basis, and thus produced the greatest, and to speak the truth, the only *social* revolution ever heard of in Asia.

Now, sickening as it must be to human feeling to witness those myriads of industrious patriarchal and inoffensive social organizations disorganized and dissolved into their units thrown into a sea of woes, and their individual members losing at the same time their ancient form of civilization, and their hereditary means of subsistence, we must not forget that these idyllic village-communities, inoffensive though they may appear, had always been the solid foundation of Oriental despotism, that they restrained the human mind within the smallest possible compass, making it the unresisting tool of superstition, enslaving it beneath traditional rules, depriving it of all grandeur and historical energies. We must not forget the barbarian egotism which, concentrating on some miserable patch of land, had quietly witnessed the ruin of empires, the perpetration of unspeakable cruelties, the massacre of the population of large towns, with no other consideration bestowed upon them than on natural events, itself the helpless prey of any aggressor who deigned to notice it at all. We must not forget that this undignified, stagnatory, and vegetative life, that this passive sort of existence evoked on the other part, in contradistinction, wild, aimless, unbounded forces of destruction and rendered murder itself a religious rite in Hindostan. We must not forget that these little communities were contaminated by distinctions of caste and by slavery, that they subjugated man to external circumstances instead of elevating man the sovereign of circumstances, that they transformed a self-developing social state into never changing natural destiny, and thus brought about a brutalizing worship of nature, exhibiting its degradation in the fact that man, the sovereign of nature, fell down on his knees in adoration of Kaumun, the monkey, and Sabbala, the cow.

England, it is true, in causing a social revolution in Hindostan, was actuated only by the vilest interests, and was stupid in her manner of enforcing them. But that is not the question. The question is, can mankind fulfil its destiny without a fundamental revolution in the social state of Asia? If not, whatever may have been the crimes of England she was the unconscious tool of history in bringing about that revolution.

Then, whatever bitterness the spectacle of the crumbling of an ancient world may have for our personal feelings, we have the right, in point of history, to exclaim with Göethe:

"Bellte diese Qual was quälen
Da sie unsere Lust vermehrt,
Hat nicht myriaden Seelen
Timurs Herrschaft aufgezehrt?"

KARL MARX.

### TURKEY AND RUSSIA

Part of a page of the *New-York Daily Tribune* with Marx's article "The British Rule in India"

"A village, geographically considered, is a tract of country comprising some hundred or thousand acres of arable and waste lands; politically viewed it resembles a corporation or township. Its proper establishment of officers and servants consists of the following descriptions: The *potail*, or head inhabitant, who has generally the superintendence of the affairs of the village, settles the disputes of the inhabitants, attends to the police, and performs the duty of collecting the revenue within his village, a duty which his personal influence and minute acquaintance with the situation and concerns of the people render him the best qualified for this charge. The *kurnum* keeps the accounts of cultivation, and registers everything connected with it. The *tallier* and the *totie*, the duty of the former of which consists [...] in gaining information of crimes and offenses, and in escorting and protecting persons traveling from one village to another; the province of the latter appearing to be more immediately confined to the village, consisting, among other duties, in guarding the crops and assisting in measuring them. The *boundary-man*, who preserves the limits of the village, or gives evidence respecting them in cases of dispute. The Superintendent of Tanks and Watercourses distributes the water [...] for the purposes of agriculture. The Brahmin, who performs the village worship. The schoolmaster, who is seen teaching the children in a village to read and write in the sand. The calendar-brahmin, or astrologer, &c. These officers and servants generally constitute the establishment of a village; but in some parts of the country it is of less extent, some of the duties and functions above described being united in the same person; in others it exceeds the above-named number of individuals. [...] Under this simple form of municipal government, the inhabitants of the country have lived from time immemorial. The boundaries of the villages [...] have been but seldom altered; and though the villages themselves have been sometimes injured, and even desolated by war, famine or disease, the same name, the same limits, the same interests, and even the same families have continued for ages. The inhabitants gave themselves no trouble about the breaking up and divisions of kingdoms; while the village remains entire, they care not to what power it is transferred, or to what sovereign it devolves; its internal economy remains unchanged. The potail is still the head inhabitant, and still acts as the petty judge or magistrate, and collector or renter of the village."[a]

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[a] "Report of the Committee of the House of Commons" published in 1812; quoted from Th. S. Raffles' *The History of Java*, Vol. 1, p. 285.— *Ed.*

and thus produced the greatest, and to speak the truth, the only *social* revolution ever heard of in Asia.

Now, sickening as it must be to human feeling to witness those myriads of industrious patriarchal and inoffensive social organizations disorganized and dissolved into their units, thrown into a sea of woes, and their individual members losing at the same time their ancient form of civilization, and their hereditary means of subsistence, we must not forget that these idyllic village-communities, inoffensive though they may appear, had always been the solid foundation of Oriental despotism, that they restrained the human mind within the smallest possible compass, making it the unresisting tool of superstition, enslaving it beneath traditional rules, depriving it of all grandeur and historical energies. We must not forget the barbarian egotism which, concentrating on some miserable patch of land, had quietly witnessed the ruin of empires, the perpetration of unspeakable cruelties, the massacre of the population of large towns, with no other consideration bestowed upon them than on natural events, itself the helpless prey of any aggressor who deigned to notice it at all. We must not forget that this undignified, stagnatory, and vegetative life, that this passive sort of existence evoked on the other part, in contradistinction, wild, aimless, unbounded forces of destruction and rendered murder itself a religious rite in Hindostan. We must not forget that these little communities were contaminated by distinctions of caste and by slavery, that they subjugated man to external circumstances instead of elevating man the sovereign of circumstances, that they transformed a self-developing social state into never changing natural destiny, and thus brought about a brutalizing worship of nature, exhibiting its degradation in the fact that man, the sovereign of nature, fell down on his knees in adoration of Kanuman, the monkey, and Sabbala, the cow.

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Then, whatever bitterness the spectacle of the crumbling of an ancient world may have for our personal feelings, we have the right, in point of history, to exclaim with Goethe:

"Sollte diese Qual uns quälen
Da sie unsre Lust vermehrt,
Hat nicht myriaden Seelen
Timur's Herrschaft aufgezehrt?"[a]

Written on June 10, 1853

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3804, June 25, 1853; reprinted in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 844, June 28, and the *New-York Weekly Tribune*, No. 616, July 2, 1853

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] "Should this torture then torment us
Since it brings us greater pleasure?
Were not through the rule of Timur
Souls devoured without measure?"
From Goethe's "An Suleika", *Westöstlicher Diwan.—Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## ENGLISH PROSPERITY.—STRIKES.—THE TURKISH QUESTION.—INDIA[108]

London, Friday, June 17, 1853

The declared value of British exports for the month of

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|---|---|
| April, 1853, amounts to | £7,578,910 |
| Against, for April, 1852 | 5,268,915 |
| For four months ending April 30 [1853] | 27,970,633 |
| Against the same months of 1852 | 21,844,663 |

Showing an increase, in the former instance, of £2,309,995, or upward of 40 per cent.; and in the latter of £6,125,970, or nearly 28 per cent. Supposing the increase to continue at the same rate, the total exports of Great Britain would amount, at the close of 1853, to more than £100,000,000.

*The Times*, in communicating these startling items to its readers, indulged in a kind of dithyrambics, concluding with the words: "We are all happy, and all united."[a] This agreeable discovery had no sooner been trumpeted forth, than an almost general system of strikes burst over the whole surface of England, particularly in the industrial North, giving a strange echo to the song of harmony tuned by *The Times*. These strikes are the necessary consequence of a comparative decrease in the labor-surplus, coinciding with a general rise in the prices of the first necessaries. 5,000 hands struck at Liverpool, 35,000 at Stockport, and so on, until at length the very police force was seized by the epidemic, and 250

[a] *The Times*, No. 21449, June 8, 1853.—*Ed.*

constables at Manchester offered their resignation. On this occasion the middle-class press, for instance *The Globe,* lost all countenance, and foreswore its usual philanthropic effusions. It calumniated, injured, threatened, and called loudly upon the magistrates for interference, a thing which has actually been done at Liverpool in all cases where the remotest legal pretext could be invoked. These magistrates, when not themselves manufacturers or traders, as is commonly the case in Lancashire and Yorkshire, are at least intimately connected with, and dependant on, the commercial interest. They have permitted manufacturers to escape from the Ten-Hours Act, to evade the Truck Act,[109] and to infringe with impunity all other acts passed expressly against the "unadorned" rapacity of the manufacturer, while they interpret the Combination Act[110] always in the most prejudiced and most unfavorable manner for the workingman. These same "gallant" free-traders, renowned for their indefatigability in denouncing government interference, these apostles of the bourgeois doctrine of *laissez-faire,* who profess to leave everything and everybody to the struggles of individual interest, are always the first to appeal to the interference of Government as soon as the individual interests of the workingman come into conflict with their own class interests. In such moments of collision they look with open admiration at the Continental States, where despotic governments, though, indeed, not allowing the bourgeoisie to rule, at least prevent the workingmen from resisting. In what manner the revolutionary party propose to make use of the present great conflict between masters and men, I have no better means of explaining than by communicating to you the following letter, addressed to me by Ernest Jones, the Chartist leader, on the eve of his departure for Lancashire, where the campaign is to be opened:

"*My Dear Marx*: ... To-morrow, I start for Blackstone-Edge, where a camp-meeting of the Chartists of Yorkshire and Lancashire is to take place, and I am happy to inform you that the most extensive preparations for the same are making in the North. It is now seven years since a really national gathering[111] took place on that spot sacred to the traditions of the Chartist movement, and the object of the present gathering is as follows: Through the treacheries and divisions of 1848, the disruption of the organization then existing, by the incarceration and banishment of 500 of its leading men—through the thinning of its ranks by emigration—through the deadening of political energy by the influences of brisk trade—the national movement of Chartism had converted itself into isolated action, and the organization dwindled at the very time that social knowledge spread. Meanwhile, a labor movement rose on the ruins of the political one—a labor movement emanating from the first blind gropings of social knowledge. This labor movement showed itself at first in isolated cooperative attempts: then, when these were found

to fail, in an energetic action for a ten-hour's bill, a restriction of the moving power, an abolition of the stoppage system in wages, and a fresh interpretation of the Combination Bill. To these measures, good in themselves, the whole power and attention of the working classes was directed. The failure of the attempts to obtain legislative guaranties for these measures has thrown a more revolutionary tendency in the labor-mind of Britain. The opportunity is thus afforded for rallying the masses around the standard of real Social Reform; for it must be evident to all, that however good the measures above alluded to may be, to meet the passing exigencies of the moment, they offer no guaranties for the future, and embody no fundamental principle of social right. The opportunity thus given for a movement, the power for successfully carrying it out, is also afforded by the circumstances of the present time—the discontent of the people being accompanied by an amount of popular power which the comparative scarcity of workingmen affords in relation to the briskness of trade. Strikes are prevalent everywhere and generally successful. But it is lamentable to behold that the power which might be directed to a fundamental remedy, should be wasted on a temporary palliative. I am, therefore, attempting, in reorganizing with numerous friends, to seize this great opportunity for uniting the scattered ranks of Chartism on the sound principles of social revolution. For this purpose I have succeeded in reorganizing the dormant and extinct localities, and arranging for what I trust will be a general and imposing demonstration throughout England. The new campaign begins by the camp-meeting on Blackstone-Edge, to be followed by mass meetings in all the manufacturing Counties, while our agents are at work in the agricultural districts, so as to unite the agricultural mind with the rest of the industrial body, a point which has hitherto been neglected in our movement. The first step will be a demand for the Charter,[112] emanating from these mass meetings of the people, and an attempt to press a motion on our corrupt Parliament for the enactment of that measure, expressly and explicitly as the only means for Social Reform—a phase under which it has not yet been presented to the House. If the working classes support this movement, as I anticipate, from their response to my appeal, the result must be important; for, in case of refusal on the part of Parliament, the hollow professions of sham-liberals and philanthropic Tories will be exposed, and their last hold on popular credulity will be destroyed. In case of their consenting to entertain and discuss the motion, a torrent will be loosened which it will not be in the power of temporising expediency to stop. For you must be aware, from your close study of English politics, that there is no longer any pith or any strength in aristocracy or moneyocracy to resist any serious movement of the people. The governing powers consist only of a confused jumble of worn-out factions, that have run together like a ship's crew that have quarreled among themselves, join all hands at the pump to save the leaky vessel. There is no strength in them, and the throwing of a few drops of bilge water into the democratic ocean will be utterly powerless to allay the raging of its waves. Such, my friend, is the opportunity I now behold—such is the power wherewith I hope to see it used, and such is the first immediate object to which that power shall be directed. On the result of the first demonstration I shall again write to you.

"Yours truly, *Ernest Jones.*"

That there is no prospect at all of the intended Chartist petition being taken into consideration by Parliament, needs not to be proved by argument. Whatever illusions may have been entertained on this point, they must now vanish before the fact, that

Parliament has just rejected, by a majority of 60 votes, the proposition for the ballot introduced by Mr. Berkeley, and advocated by Messrs. Phillimore, Cobden, Bright, Sir Robert Peel, etc. And this is done by the very Parliament which went to the utmost in protesting against the intimidation and bribery employed at its own election, and neglected for months all serious business, for the whim of decimating itself in election inquiries. The only remedy, purity Johnny[a] has yet found out against bribery, intimidation and corrupt practices, has been the disfranchisement, or rather the narrowing of constituencies. And there is no doubt that, if he had succeeded in making the constituencies of the same small size as himself, the Oligarchy would be able to get their votes without the trouble and expense of buying them. Mr. Berkeley's resolution was rejected by the combined Tories and Whigs, their common interest being at stake: the preservation of their territorial influence over the tenants at will, the petty shopkeepers and other retainers of the land-owner. "Who has to pay his rent, has to pay his vote," is an old adage of the glorious British Constitution.

Last Saturday *The Press*, a new weekly paper under the influence of Mr. Disraeli, made a curious disclosure to the public of England, as follows:

> "Early in the spring Baron Brunnow communicated to Lord Clarendon the demand which the Emperor of Russia[b] was about to make on the Porte, that he did so with a statement that the object of the communication was to ascertain the feeling of England on the subject—that Lord Clarendon made no objection, nor in any way discouraged the intended course, and that the Muscovite diplomatist communicated to his imperial master that England was not indisposed to connive at his designs on the Golden Horn."[c]

Now, *The Times* of yesterday had an elaborate and official article emanating from the Foreign Office, in answer to the grave charge of Mr. Disraeli, but which, in my opinion, tends rather to strengthen than to refute that charge. *The Times* asserts that, early in the spring, before the arrival of Prince Menchikoff at Constantinople, Baron Brunnow made a complaint to Lord John Russell, that the Porte had revoked the privileges conferred on the Greek clergy by treaty, and that Lord John Russell, conceiving the matter only to concern the Holy Places, gave his assent to the designs of the Czar. But *The Times* is compelled at the same time to concede that after Prince Menchikoff's arrival at Constan-

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[a] Allusion to John Russell.—*Ed.*
[b] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*
[c] Rendering of a passage from a report in *The Press*, No. 6, June 11, 1853.—*Ed.*

tinople, and when Lord John Russell had been replaced by Lord Clarendon at the Foreign Office, Baron Brunnow made a further communication to Lord Clarendon "purporting to convey the sense of his instructions, and some of the expressions used in the letter of credentials of which Prince Menchikoff was the bearer from the Emperor of Russia to the Sultan.[a]" Simultaneously, *The Times* admits that "Lord Clarendon gave his assent to the demands communicated by Baron Brunnow." Evidently this second communication must have contained something more than what had been communicated to Lord John Russell. The matter, therefore, cannot stop with this declaration. Either Baron Brunnow must turn out a diplomatical cheat, or my Lords Clarendon and Aberdeen are traitors. We shall see.

It may be of interest to your readers to become acquainted with a document concerning the Eastern question, which was recently published in a London newspaper.[b] It is a proclamation issued by the Prince of Armenia, now residing in London, and distributed among the Armenians in Turkey:

"Leo, by the grace of God, sovereign Prince of Armenia, &c., to the Armenians in Turkey:

"Beloved brothers and faithful countrymen.—Our will and our ardent wish is that you should defend to the last drop of your blood your country and the Sultan against the tyrant of the North. Remember, my brothers, that in Turkey there are no knouts, they do not tear your nostrils and your women are not flogged, secretly or in public. Under the reign of the Sultan, there is humanity, while under that of the tyrant of the North there are nothing but atrocities. Therefore place yourselves under the direction of God, and fight bravely for the liberty of your country and your present sovereign. Pull down your houses to make barricades, and if you have no arms, break your furniture and defend yourselves with it. May Heaven guide you on your path to glory. My only happiness will be to fight in the midst of you against the oppressor of your country, and your creed. May God incline the Sultan's heart to sanction my demand, because under his reign, our religion remains in its pure form, while, under the Northern tyrant, it will be altered. Remember, at least, brothers, that the blood that runs in the veins of him who now addresses you, is the blood of twenty kings, it is the blood of heroes—Lusignans—and defenders of our faith; and we say to you, let us defend our creed and its pure form, until our last drop of blood."

On the 13th inst. Lord Stanley gave notice to the House of Commons that on the second reading of the India Bill (23d inst.) he would bring in the following resolution:

"That in the opinion of this House further information is necessary to enable Parliament to legislate with advantage for the permanent government of India, and

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[a] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Daily News*, No. 2207, June 17, 1853.—*Ed.*

that at this late period of the session, it is inexpedient to proceed into a measure, which, while it disturbs existing arrangements, cannot be regarded as a final settlement."[a]

But in April, 1854, the Charter of the East India Company will expire, and something accordingly must be done in one way or the other. The Government wanted to legislate permanently; that is, to renew the Charter for twenty years more. The Manchester School wanted to postpone all legislation, by prolonging the Charter at the utmost for one year.—The Government said that permanent legislation was necessary for the "best" of India. The Manchester men replied that it was impossible for want of information. The "best" of India, and the want of information, are alike false pretences. The governing oligarchy desired, before a Reformed House should meet, to secure at the cost of India, their own "best" for twenty years to come. The Manchester men desired no legislation at all in the unreformed Parliament, where their views had no chance of success. Now, the Coalition Cabinet, through Sir Charles Wood, has, in contradiction to its former statements, but in conformity with its habitual system of shifting difficulties, brought in something that looked like legislation; but it dared not, on the other hand, to propose the renewal of the Charter for any definite period, but presented a "settlement," which it left to Parliament to unsettle whenever that body should determine to do so. If the Ministerial propositions were adopted, the East India Company would obtain no renewal, but only a suspension of life. In all other respects, the Ministerial project but apparently alters the Constitution of the India Government, the only serious novelty to be introduced being the addition of some new Governors, although a long experience has proved that the parts of East India administered by simple Commissioners, go on much better than those blessed with the costly luxury of Governors and Councils. The Whig invention of alleviating exhausted countries by burdening them with new sinecures for the paupers of aristocracy, reminds one of the old Russell administration, when the Whigs were suddenly struck with the state of spiritual destitution, in which the Indians and Mahommedans of the East were living, and determined upon relieving them by the importation of some *new Bishops*, the Tories, in the plenitude of their power, having never thought more than one to be necessary. That resolution having been agreed upon, Sir John Hobhouse, the then Whig President of the Board of Control, discovered

[a] Quoted from a report in *The Times*, No. 21454, June 14, 1853.—*Ed.*

immediately afterwards, that he had a relative admirably suited for a Bishopric, who was forthwith appointed to one of the new sees. "In cases of this kind," remarks an English writer, "where the fit is so exact, it is really hardly possible to say, whether the shoe was made for the foot, or the foot for the shoe." Thus with regard to the Charles Wood's invention; it would be very difficult to say, whether the new Governors are made for Indian provinces, or Indian provinces for the new Governors.

Be this as it may, the Coalition Cabinet believed it had met all clamors by leaving to Parliament the power of altering its proposed act at all times. Unfortunately in steps Lord Stanley, the Tory, with his resolution which was loudly cheered by the "Radical" Opposition, when it was announced. Lord Stanley's resolution is nevertheless self-contradictory. On one hand, he rejects the Ministerial proposition, because the House requires more information for permanent legislation. On the other hand, he rejects it, because it is no permanent legislation, but alters existing arrangements, without pretending to finality. The Conservative view is, of course, opposed to the bill, because it involves a change of some kind. The Radical view is opposed to it, because it involves no real change at all. Lord Stanley, in these coalescent times has found a formula in which the opposite views are combined together against the Ministerial view of the subject. The Coalition Ministry affects a virtuous indignation against such tactics, and *The Chronicle*, its organ, exclaims:

"Viewed as a party-move the proposed motion for delay is in a high degree factious and discreditable.... This motion is brought forward solely because some supporters of the Ministry are pledged to separate in this particular question from those with whom they usually act."[a]

The anxiety of Ministers seems indeed to be serious. *The Chronicle* of to-day, again recurring to the subject, says:

"The division on Lord Stanley's motion will probably be decisive of the fate of the India Bill; it is therefore of the *utmost importance* that those who feel the *importance* of early legislation, should use every exertion to strengthen the Government."[b]

On the other hand, we read in *The Times* of to-day:

"The fate of the Government India Bill has been more respectively delineated.... The danger of the Government lies in the entire conforming of Lord

[a] *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 26981, June 15, 1853.—*Ed.*
[b] *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 26983, June 17, 1853.—*Ed.*

Stanley's objections with the conclusions of public opinion. Every syllable of this amendment tells with deadly effect against the ministry."[a]

I shall expose in a subsequent letter,[b] the bearing of the Indian Question on the different parties in Great Britain, and the benefit the poor Hindoo may reap from this quarreling of the aristocracy, the moneyocracy and the millocracy about his amelioration.

Written on June 17, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] *The Times*, No. 21457, June 17, 1853.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 148-56.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## TURKEY AND RUSSIA.— CONNIVANCE OF THE ABERDEEN MINISTRY WITH RUSSIA.—THE BUDGET.— TAX ON NEWSPAPER SUPPLEMENTS.— PARLIAMENTARY CORRUPTION[113]

London, Tuesday, June 21, 1853

In the year 1828, when Russia was permitted to overrun Turkey with war, and to terminate that war by the Treaty of Adrianople, which surrendered to her the whole of the Eastern coast of the Black Sea, from Anapa in the North to Poti in the South (except Circassia), and delivered into her possession the islands at the mouth of the Danube, virtually separated Moldavia and Wallachia from Turkey, and placed them under Russian supremacy—at that epoch Lord Aberdeen happened to be Minister of Foreign Affairs in Great Britain. In 1853 we find the very same Aberdeen as the chief of the "composite ministry" in the same country. This simple fact goes far to explain the overbearing attitude assumed by Russia in her present conflict with Turkey and with Europe.

I told you in my last letter that the storm aroused by the revelations of *The Press* respecting the secret transactions between Aberdeen, Clarendon and Baron Brunnow,[a] was not likely to subside under the hair-splitting, tortuous and disingenuous pleading of Thursday's[b] *Times. The Times* was even then forced to admit in a semi-official article, that Lord Clarendon had indeed given his assent to the demands about to be made by Russia on the Porte, but said that the demands as represented in London, and those actually proposed at Constantinople, had turned out to be of quite a different tenor, although the papers communicated by Baron Brunnow to the British Minister purported to be "*literal extracts*" from the instructions forwarded to Prince Menchikoff. On

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[a] See this volume, pp. 137-38.—*Ed.*
[b] June 16, 1853.—*Ed.*

the following Saturday, however, *The Times*[a] retracted its assertions—undoubtedly in consequence of remonstrances made on the part of the Russian Embassy—and gave Baron Brunnow a testimonial of perfect "candor and faith." *The Morning Herald* of yesterday puts the question "whether Russia had not perhaps given false instructions to Baron Brunnow himself, in order to deceive the British Minister?"[b] In the meantime, fresh disclosures, studiously concealed from the public by a corrupt daily press, have been made, which exclude any such interpretation, throwing the whole blame on the shoulders of the "composite ministry," and quite sufficient to warrant the impeachment of Lords Aberdeen and Clarendon before any other Parliament than the present, which is but a paralytic produce of dead constituencies artificially stimulated into life by unexampled bribery and intimidation.

It is stated that a communication was made to Lord Clarendon, wherein he was informed that the affair of the Shrines was *not* the *sole object* of the Russian Prince.[c] In that communication the general question was entered into, the question of the Greek Christians of Turkey, and of the position of the Emperor of Russia with respect to them under certain treaties. All these points were canvassed, and the course about to be adopted by Russia explicitly stated—the same as detailed in the projected convention of the 6th of May.[114] Lord Clarendon, with the assent of Lord Aberdeen, in no wise either disapproved or discouraged that course. While matters stood thus in London, Bonaparte sent his fleet to Salamis, public opinion pressed from without, Ministers were interpellated in both Houses, Russell pledged himself to the maintenance of the integrity and independence of Turkey, and Prince Menchikoff threw off the mask at Constantinople. It now became necessary for Lords Aberdeen and Clarendon to initiate the other Ministers in what had been done, and the Coalition was on the eve of being broken up, as Lord Palmerston, forced by his antecedents, urged a directly opposite line of policy. In order to prevent the dissolution of his Cabinet, Lord Aberdeen finally yielded to Lord Palmerston, and consented to the combined action of the English and French fleets in the Dardanelles. But at the same time, in order to fulfill his engagements toward Russia, Lord Aberdeen intimated through a private dispatch to St. Petersburg

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[a] Clauses of the Balta-Liman Convention and the *Times* commentaries to them are quoted from Issue No. 21458, June 18, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Morning Herald*, No. 22189, June 20, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] A. S. Menshikov.—*Ed.*

that he would not look upon the occupation of the Danubian Principalities by the Russians as a *casus belli*, and *The Times* received orders to prepare public opinion for this new interpretation of international treaties. It would be unjust to withhold the testimonial that it has labored hard enough to prove that black is white. This same journal, which had all along contended that the Russian *protectorate* over the Greek Christians of Turkey would not be of any political consequence at all, asserted at once that Moldavia and Wallachia were placed under a divided allegiance, and formed in reality no integral portions of the Turkish Empire; that their occupation would not be an invasion of the Turkish Empire in the "strict sense of the word," inasmuch as the treaties of Bucharest and Adrianople had given to the Czar a Protectorate over his co-religionists in the Danubian Provinces.[115] The Convention of Balta-Liman, concluded on May 1, 1849,[116] distinctly stipulates:

"1. That the occupation of those provinces, if it occurs, shall only be by a joint one of Russian and Turkish forces.

"2. That the sole plea for it shall be in grave events taking place in the principalities."

Now as no events at all have taken place in those Principalities, and moreover, as Russia has no intention to enter them in common with the Turks, but precisely against Turkey, *The Times* is of opinion, that Turkey ought to suffer quietly the occupation by Russia alone, and afterward enter into negotiations with her. But if Turkey should be of a less sedate temper and consider the occupation as a *casus belli*, *The Times* argues that England and France must not do so; and if, nevertheless, England [and] France should do so, *The Times* recommends that it should be done in a gentle manner, by no means as belligerents against Russia, but only as defensive allies of Turkey.

This cowardly and tortuous system of *The Times*, I cannot more appropriately stigmatise than by quoting the following passage from its leading article of to-day. It is an incredible combination of all the contradictions, subterfuges, false pretences, anxieties and lâchetés[a] of Lord Aberdeen's policy:

"Before proceeding to the last extremities the Porte may, if it think fit, protest against the occupation of the principalities, and with the support of all the Powers of Europe, may still negotiate. It will remain with the Turkish government, acting in concert with the ambassadors of the four Powers, to determine this momentous point, and especially to decide whether the state of hostilities is such as to cause the

[a] Baseness.—*Ed.*

Dardanelles to be opened to foreign ships of war, under the Convention of 1841.[117] Should that question be decided in the affirmative, and the fleets be ordered to enter the Straits, it will then remain to be seen whether we come there as mediating Powers or as belligerents; for supposing Turkey and Russia to be at war, and foreign vessels of war to be admitted, *casus foederis* (!) they do not necessarily acquire a belligerent character, and they have a far greater interest in maintaining that of mediating Powers, inasmuch as they are sent not to make war but to prevent it. Such a measure does not of necessity make us principals in the contest."

All the leaders of *The Times* have been to no purpose. No other paper would follow in its track—none would bite at its bait, and even the Ministerial papers, *The Morning Chronicle, Morning Post, Globe,* and *Observer* take an entirely different stand, finding a loud echo on the other side of the channel, where only the legitimist *Assemblée nationale* presumes to see no *casus belli* in the occupation of the Danubian Principalities.

The dissension in the camp of the Coalition Ministry has thus been betrayed to the public by the clamorous dissension in their organs. Palmerston urged upon the Cabinet to hold the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia as a declaration of war, and he was backed up by the Whig and Sham-Radical members of the composite ministry. Lord Aberdeen, having only consented to the common action of the French and English fleets upon the understanding that Russia would not act at the Dardanelles but in the Danubian Provinces, was now quite "outwinded." The existence of the Government was again at stake. At last, at the pressing instances of Lord Aberdeen, Palmerston was prepared to give a sullen assent to the unchallenged occupation of the Principalities by Russia, when suddenly a dispatch arrived from Paris announcing that Bonaparte had resolved to view the same act as a *casus belli.* The confusion has now reached its highest point.

Now, if this statement be correct, and from our knowledge of Lord Aberdeen's past, there is every reason to consider it as such—the whole mystery of that Russo-Turkish tragi-comedy that has occupied Europe for months together, is laid bare. We understand at once, why Lord Aberdeen would not move the British fleet from Malta. We understand the rebuke given to Colonel Rose for his resolute conduct at Constantinople,[118] the bullying behavior of Prince Menchikoff, and the heroic firmness of the Czar who, conceiving the warlike movements of England as a mere farce, would have been glad to be allowed, by the uncontroverted occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia, not only to withdraw from the stage as the "master," but to hold his annual

grand maneuvers at the cost and expense of the subjects of the Sultan. We believe that, if war should break out, it will be because Russia had gone too far to withdraw with impunity to her honor; and above all, we believe her courage to be up to this notch simply because she has all the while counted on England's connivance.

On this head the following passage is in point from the last letter from *The Englishman*[a] on the Coalition Ministry:

"The coalition is shaking at every breeze that flows from the Dardanelles. The fears of the good Aberdeen and the miserable incompetence of Clarendon, encouraged Russia, and have produced the crisis."

The latest news from Turkey is as follows: The Turkish Ambassador at Paris has received by telegraph, via Semlin, a dispatch from Constantinople, informing him that the Porte has rejected the last ultimatum of Russia,[119] taking its stand on the memorandum forwarded to the Great Powers. The *Sémaphore*, of Marseilles, states that news had been received at Smyrna of the capture of two Turkish trading vessels on the Black Sea by the Russians; but that, on the other hand, the Caucasian tribes had opened a general campaign against the Russians, in which Shamyl had achieved a most brilliant victory, taking no less than 23 cannons.

Mr. Gladstone has now announced his altered proposals, with regard to the Advertisement Duty. He had proposed, in order to secure the support of *The Times*, to strike the duty off supplements containing advertisements only. He now proposes, intimidated by public opinion, to let all single supplements go free, and to tax each double supplement $^1/_2$d. Imagine the fury of *The Times*, which, by this altered proposition, will only gain £20,000, instead of £40,000 a year, besides seeing the market thrown open to its competitors. This consistent journal which defends to the utmost the taxes upon knowledge, and the duty on advertisements, now opposes any tax on supplements. But it may console itself. If the Ministry, after having carried the greater part of the budget, feel no longer any necessity for cajoling *The Times*, the Manchester men, as soon as they have secured their share of the budget, will no longer want the Ministry. This is what the latter apprehend, and that very apprehension accounts for the fact of the budget discussion extending over the whole period of the session. It is characteristic of the compensating justice of Mr. Gladstone, that while he reduces the newspaper advertisement

[a] The pen-name of A. Richards.—*Ed.*

duty from 1s. 6d. to 1s. 3d., he proposes to tax the literary advertisements inserted at the end of most books and reviews, 6 pence each.

To-night the House of Commons will be occupied on two cases of bribery. During the present session 47 Election-Committees have been sitting, out of which, 4 are yet sitting, 43 having concluded their investigations, by finding the majority of the unseated members guilty of bribery. To show the respect in which this Parliament, the offspring of corruption and the parent of Coalitions, is held by public opinion, it is sufficient to quote the following words of to-day's *Morning Herald*:

"If want of clear aim and object, and still more, the tottering and quavering attack, be symptomatic of imbecility, then it must be confessed that this Parliament, the child of six months, has fallen already into second childishness. [...] It is already subsiding and curdling away into small knots of spiritless and purposeless coteries."

Written on June 21, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

# Karl Marx

## THE EAST INDIA COMPANY— ITS HISTORY AND RESULTS

London, Friday, June 24,[a] 1853

The debate on Lord Stanley's motion to postpone legislation for India, has been deferred until this evening. For the first time since 1783 the India question has become a ministerial one in England. Why is this?

The true commencement of the East India Company cannot be dated from a more remote epoch than the year 1702, when the different societies, claiming the monopoly of the East India trade, united together in one single Company. Till then the very existence of the original East India Company was repeatedly endangered, once suspended for years under the protectorate of Cromwell, and once threatened with utter dissolution by Parliamentary interference under the reign of William III. It was under the ascendancy of that Dutch Prince when the Whigs became the farmers of the revenues of the British Empire, when the Bank of England[120] sprung into life, when the protective system was firmly established in England, and the balance of power in Europe was definitively settled, that the existence of an East India Company was recognized by Parliament. That era of apparent liberty was in reality the era of monopolies not created by Royal grants, as in the times of Elizabeth and Charles I, but authorized and nationalized by the sanction of Parliament. This epoch in the history of England bears, in fact, an extreme likeness to the epoch of Louis Philippe in France, the old landed

[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* gave an erroneous dateline: "Saturday, June 21" (June 21 was a Tuesday). Here it is corrected according to Marx's notebook, in which mailing of the article is dated June 24.—*Ed.*

aristocracy having been defeated, and the bourgeoisie not being able to take its place except under the banner of moneyocracy, or the "*haute finance.*" The East India Company excluded the common people from the commerce with India, at the same time that the House of Commons excluded them from Parliamentary representation. In this as well as in other instances, we find the first decisive victory of the *bourgeoisie* over the feudal aristocracy coinciding with the most pronounced reaction against the people, a phenomenon which has driven more than one popular writer, like Cobbett, to look for popular liberty rather in the past than in the future.

The union between the Constitutional Monarchy and the monopolizing monied interest, between the Company of East India and the "glorious" revolution of 1688 [121] was fostered by the same force by which the liberal interests and a liberal dynasty have at all times and in all countries met and combined, by the force of corruption, that first and last moving power of Constitutional Monarchy, the guardian angel of William III and the fatal demon of Louis Philippe. So early as 1693, it appeared from Parliamentary inquiries, that the annual expenditure of the East India Company, under the head of "gifts" to men in power, which had rarely amounted to above £1,200 before the revolution, reached the sum of £90,000. The Duke of Leeds was impeached for a bribe of £5,000, and the virtuous King himself convicted of having received £10,000. Besides these direct briberies, rival Companies were thrown out by tempting Government with loans of enormous sums at the lowest interest, and by buying off rival Directors.

The power the East India Company had obtained by bribing the Government, as did also the Bank of England, it was forced to maintain by bribing again, as did the Bank of England. At every epoch when its monopoly was expiring, it could only effect a renewal of its Charter by offering fresh loans and by fresh presents made to the Government.

The events of the Seven-Years-War transformed the East India Company from a commercial into a military and territorial power.[122] It was then that the foundation was laid of the present British Empire in the East. Then East India stock rose to £263, and dividends were then paid at the rate of $12^1/_2$ per cent. But then there appeared a new enemy to the Company, no longer in the shape of rival societies, but in the shape of rival ministers and of a rival people. It was alleged that the Company's territory had been conquered by the aid of British fleets and British armies, and that no British subjects could hold territorial sovereignties

independent of the Crown. The ministers of the day and the people of the day claimed their share in the "wonderful treasures" imagined to have been won by the last conquests. The Company only saved its existence by an agreement made in 1767 that it should annually pay £400,000 into the National Exchequer.

But the East India Company, instead of fulfilling its agreement, got into financial difficulties, and, instead of paying a tribute to the English people, appealed to Parliament for pecuniary aid. Serious alterations in the Charter were the consequence of this step. The Company's affairs failing to improve, notwithstanding their new condition, and the English nation having simultaneously lost their colonies in North America, the necessity of elsewhere regaining some great Colonial Empire became more and more universally felt. The illustrious Fox thought the opportune moment had arrived, in 1783, for bringing forward his famous India bill, which proposed to abolish the Courts of Directors and Proprietors, and to vest the whole Indian government in the hands of seven Commissioners appointed by Parliament. By the personal influence of the imbecile King[a] over the House of Lords, the bill of Mr. Fox was defeated, and made the instrument of breaking down the then Coalition Government of Fox and Lord North, and of placing the famous Pitt at the head of the Government. Pitt carried in 1784 a bill through both Houses, which directed the establishment of the Board of Control, consisting of six members of the Privy Council, who were

"to check, superintend and control all acts, operations and concerns which in any wise related to the civil and military Government, or revenues of the territories and possessions of the East India Company."

On this head, Mill, the historian, says[b]:

"In passing that law two objects were pursued. To avoid the imputation of what was represented as the heinous object of Mr. Fox's bill, it was necessary that the principal part of the power should *appear* to remain in the hand of the Directors. For ministerial advantage it was necessary that it should in *reality* be all taken away. Mr. Pitt's bill professed to differ from that of his rival, chiefly in this very point, that while the one destroyed the power of the Directors, the other left it almost entire. Under the act of Mr. Fox the powers of the ministers would have been avowedly held. Under the act of Mr. Pitt, they were held in secret and by fraud. The bill of Fox transferred the powers of the Company to Commissioners appointed by Parliament. The bill of Mr. Pitt transferred them to Commissioners appointed by the King."

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[a] George III.— *Ed.*

[b] J. Mill, *The History of the British India*; the passage above is also quoted from this book.— *Ed.*

The years of 1783 and 1784 were thus the first, and till now the only years, for the India question to become a ministerial one. The bill of Mr. Pitt having been carried, the Charter of the East India Company was renewed, and the Indian question set aside for twenty years. But in 1813 the Anti-Jacobin war, and in 1833 the newly introduced Reform Bill[123] superseded all other political questions.

This, then, is the first reason of the India question's having failed to become a great political question, since and before 1784; that before that time the East India Company had first to conquer existence and importance; that after that time the Oligarchy absorbed all of its power which it could assume without incurring responsibility; and that afterwards the English people in general were at the very epochs of the renewal of the Charter, in 1813 and 1833, absorbed by other questions of overbearing interest.

We will now take a different view. The East India Company commenced by attempting merely to establish factories for their agents, and places of deposit for their goods. In order to protect them they erected several forts. Although they had, even as early as 1689, conceived the establishment of a dominion in India, and of making territorial revenue one of their sources of emolument, yet, down to 1744, they had acquired but a few unimportant districts around Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. The war which subsequently broke out in the Carnatic had the effect of rendering them after various struggles, virtual sovereigns of that part of India. Much more considerable results arose from the war in Bengal and the victories of Clive. These results were the real occupation of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa.[124] At the end of the Eighteenth Century, and in the first years of the present one, there supervened the wars with Tippoo Saib, and in consequence of them a great advance of power, and an immense extension of the subsidiary system.[125] In the second decennium of the Nineteenth Century the first convenient frontier, that of India within the desert, had at length been conquered. It was not till then that the British Empire in the East reached those parts of Asia, which had been, at all times, the seat of every great central power in India. But the most vulnerable point of the Empire, from which it had been overrun as often as old conquerors were expelled by new ones, the barriers of the Western frontier, were not in the hands of the British. During the period from 1838 to 1849, in the Sikh and Afghan wars, British rule subjected to definitive possession the ethnographical, political, and military

frontiers of the East Indian Continent, by the compulsory annexation of the Punjab and of Scinde.[126] These were possessions indispensable to repulse any invading force issuing from Central Asia, and indispensable against Russia advancing to the frontiers of Persia. During this last decennium there have been added to the British Indian territory 167,000 square miles, with a population of 8,572,630 souls. As to the interior, all the native States now became surrounded by British possessions, subjected to British *suzerainetė* under various forms, and cut off from the sea-coast, with the sole exception of Guzerat and Scinde. As to its exterior, India was now finished. It is only since 1849, that the one great Anglo-Indian Empire has existed.

Thus the British Government has been fighting, under the Company's name, for two centuries, till at last the natural limits of India were reached. We understand now, why during all this time all parties in England have connived in silence, even those which had resolved to become the loudest with their hypocritical peace-cant, after the *arrondissement* of the one Indian Empire should have been completed. Firstly, of course, they had to get it, in order to subject it afterward to their sharp philanthropy. From this view we understand the altered position of the Indian question in the present year, 1853, compared with all former periods of Charter renewal.

Again, let us take a different view. We shall still better understand the peculiar crisis in Indian legislation, on reviewing the course of British commercial intercourse with India through its different phases.

At the commencement of the East India Company's operations, under the reign of Elizabeth, the Company was permitted for the purpose of profitably carrying on its trade with India, to export an annual value of £30,000 in silver, gold, and foreign coin. This was an infraction against all the prejudices of the age, and Thomas Mun was forced to lay down in *A Discourse on Trade from England to the East Indies*, the foundation of the "mercantile system," admitting that the precious metals were the only real wealth a country could possess, but contending at the same time that their exportation might be safely allowed, provided the *balance of payments* was in favor of the exporting nation. In this sense, he contended that the commodities imported from East India were chiefly re-exported to other countries, from which a much greater quantity of bullion was obtained than had been required to pay for them in India. In the same spirit, Sir Josiah Child wrote *A Treatise Wherein It Is Demonstrated That the East India Trade Is the*

*Most National Trade of All Trades.* By-and-by the partisans of the East India Company grew more audacious, and it may be noticed as a curiosity, in this strange Indian history, that the Indian monopolists were the first preachers of free trade in England.

Parliamentary intervention, with regard to the East India Company, was again claimed, not by the commercial, but by the industrial class, at the latter end of the 17th century, and during the greater part of the 18th, when the importation of East Indian cotton and silk stuffs was declared to ruin the poor British manufacturers, an opinion put forward in John Pollexfen: *England and India Inconsistent in Their Manufactures,* London, 1697,[127] a title strangely verified a century and a half later, but in a very different sense. Parliament did then interfere. By the Act 11 and 12 William III, cap. 10, it was enacted that the wearing of wrought silks and of printed or dyed calicoes from India, Persia and China should be prohibited, and a penalty of £200 imposed on all persons having or selling the same. Similar laws were enacted under George I, II and III, in consequence of the repeated lamentations of the afterward so "enlightened" British manufacturers. And thus, during the greater part of the 18th century, Indian manufactures were generally imported into England in order to be sold on the Continent, and to remain excluded from the English market itself.

Besides this Parliamentary interference with East India, solicited by the greedy home manufacturer, efforts were made at every epoch of the renewal of the Charter, by the merchants of London, Liverpool and Bristol, to break down the commercial monopoly of the Company, and to participate in that commerce, estimated to be a true mine of gold. In consequence of these efforts, a provision was made in the Act of 1773 prolonging the Company's Charter till March 1, 1814, by which private British individuals were authorized to export from, and the Company's Indian servants permitted to import into England, almost all sorts of commodities. But this concession was surrounded with conditions annihilating its effects, in respect to the exports to British India by private merchants. In 1813 the Company was unable to further withstand the pressure of general commerce, and except the monopoly of the Chinese trade, the trade to India was opened, under certain conditions, to private competition. At the renewal of the Charter in 1833, these last restrictions were at length superseded, the Company forbidden to carry on any trade at all—their commercial character destroyed, and their privilege of excluding British subjects from the Indian territories withdrawn.

Meanwhile the East India trade had undergone very serious revolutions, altogether altering the position of the different class interests in England with regard to it. During the whole course of the 18th century the treasures transported from India to England were gained much less by comparatively insignificant commerce, than by the direct exploitation of that country, and by the colossal fortunes there extorted and transmitted to England. After the opening of the trade in 1813 the commerce with India more than trebled in a very short time. But this was not all. The whole character of the trade was changed. Till 1813 India had been chiefly an exporting country, while it now became an importing one; and in such a quick progression, that already in 1823 the rate of exchange, which had generally been 2/6 per rupee, sunk down to 2/ per rupee. India, the great workshop of cotton manufacture for the world, since immemorial times, became now inundated with English twists and cotton stuffs. After its own produce had been excluded from England, or only admitted on the most cruel terms, British manufactures were poured into it at a small and merely nominal duty, to the ruin of the native cotton fabrics once so celebrated. In 1780 the value of British produce and manufactures amounted only to £386,152, the bullion exported during the same year to £15,041, the total value of exports during 1780 being £12,648,616, so that the India trade amounted to only 1-32 of the entire foreign trade. In 1850 the total exports to India from Great Britain and Ireland were £8,024,000, of which cotton goods alone amounted to £5,220,000, so that it reached more than $^1/_8$ of the whole export, and more than $^1/_4$ of the foreign cotton trade. But, the cotton manufacture also employed now $^1/_8$ of the population of Britain, and contributed 1-12th of the whole national revenue. After each commercial crisis the East Indian trade grew of more paramount importance for the British cotton manufacturers, and the East India Continent became actually their best market. At the same rate at which the cotton manufactures became of vital interest for the whole social frame of Great Britain, East India became of vital interest for the British cotton manufacture.

Till then the interests of the moneyocracy which had converted India into its landed estates, of the oligarchy who had conquered it by their armies, and of the millocracy who had inundated it with their fabrics, had gone hand in hand. But the more the industrial interest became dependent on the Indian market, the more it felt the necessity of creating fresh productive powers in India, after having ruined her native industry. You cannot continue to

inundate a country with your manufactures, unless you enable it to give you some produce in return. The industrial interest found that their trade declined instead of increasing. For the four years ending with 1846, the imports to India from Great Britain were to the amount of 261 million rupees; for the four years ending 1850 they were only 253 millions, while the exports for the former period 274 millions of rupees, and for the latter period 254 millions. They found out that the power of consuming their goods was contracted in India to the lowest possible point, that the consumption of their manufactures by the British West Indies, was of the value of about 14s. per head of the population per annum, by Chile, of 9s. 3d., by Brazil, of 6s. 5d., by Cuba, of 6s. 2d., by Peru, of 5s. 7d., by Central America, of 10d., while it amounted in India only to about 9d. Then came the short cotton crop in the United States, which caused them a loss of £11,000,000 in 1850, and they were exasperated at depending on America, instead of deriving a sufficiency of raw cotton from the East Indies. Besides, they found that in all attempts to apply capital to India they met with impediments and chicanery on the part of the India authorities. Thus India became the battle-field in the contest of the industrial interest on the one side, and of the moneyocracy and oligarchy on the other. The manufacturers, conscious of their ascendency in England, ask now for the annihilation of these antagonistic powers in India, for the destruction of the whole ancient fabric of Indian government, and for the final eclipse of the East India Company.

And now to the fourth and last point of view, from which the Indian question must be judged. Since 1784 Indian finances have got more and more deeply into difficulty. There exists now a national debt of 50 million pounds, a continual decrease in the resources of the revenue, and a corresponding increase in the expenditure, dubiously balanced by the gambling income of the opium tax, now threatened with extinction by the Chinese beginning themselves to cultivate the poppy, and aggravated by the expenses to be anticipated from the senseless Burmese war.[128]

"As the case stands," says Mr. Dickinson, "as it would ruin England to lose her Empire in India, it is threatening our own finances with ruin, to be obliged to keep it."[a]

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[a] J. Dickinson, *The Government of India under a Bureaucracy*, p. 50.—*Ed.*

I have shown thus, how the Indian question has become for the first time since 1783, an English question, and a ministerial question.

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# Karl Marx

## THE INDIAN QUESTION.—IRISH TENANT RIGHT

London, June 28, 1853

The debate on Lord Stanley's motion with respect to India commenced on the 23d, continued on the 24th, and adjourned to the 27th inst., has not been brought to a close. When that shall at length have arrived, I intend to resume my observations on the India question.

As the Coalition Ministry depends on the support of the Irish party, and as all the other parties composing the House of Commons so nicely balance each other that the Irish may at any moment turn the scales which way they please, some concessions are at last about to be made to the Irish tenants. The "Leasing Powers (Ireland) Bill," which passed the House of Commons on Friday last, contains a provision that for the improvements made on the soil and separable from the soil, the tenant shall have at the termination of his lease, a compensation in money, the incoming tenant being at liberty to take them at the valuation, while with respect to improvements in the soil, compensation for them shall be arranged by contract between the landlord and the tenant.[129]

A tenant having incorporated his capital, in one form or another, in the land, and having thus effected an improvement of the soil, either directly by irrigation, drainage, manure, or indirectly by construction of buildings for agricultural purposes, in steps the landlord with demand for increased rent. If the tenant concede, he has to pay the interest for his own money to the landlord. If he resist, he will be very unceremoniously ejected, and supplanted by a new tenant, the latter being enabled to pay a higher rent by the very expenses incurred by his predecessors, until he also, in his turn, has become an improver of the land, and

is replaced in the same way, or put on worse terms. In this easy way a class of absentee landlords has been enabled to pocket, not merely the labor, but also the capital, of whole generations, each generation of Irish peasants sinking a grade lower in the social scale, exactly in proportion to the exertions and sacrifices made for the raising of their condition and that of their families. If the tenant was industrious and enterprising, he became taxed in consequence of his very industry and enterprise. If, on the contrary, he grew inert and negligent, he was reproached with the "aboriginal faults of the Celtic race." He had, accordingly, no other alternative left but to become a pauper—to pauperise himself by industry, or to pauperise by negligence. In order to oppose this state of things, "Tenant Right" was proclaimed in Ireland—a right of the tenant, not in the soil but in the improvements of the soil effected at his cost and charges. Let us see in what manner *The Times*, in its Saturday's leader, attempts to break down this Irish "Tenant Right:"

"There are two general systems of farm occupation. Either a tenant may take a lease of the land for a fixed number of years, or his holding may be terminable at any time upon certain notice. In the first of these events, it would be obviously his course to adjust and apportion his outlay so that all, or nearly all, the benefit would find its way to him before the expiration of his term. In the second case it seems equally obvious that he should not run the risk of the investment without a proper assurance of return."[a]

Where the landlords have to deal with a class of large capitalists who may, as they please, invest their stock in commerce, in manufactures or in farming, there can be no doubt but that these capitalist farmers, whether they take long leases or no time leases at all, know how to secure the "proper" return of their outlays. But with regard to Ireland the supposition is quite fictitious. On the one side you have there a small class of land monopolists, on the other, a very large class of tenants with very petty fortunes, which they have no chance to invest in different ways, no other field of production opening to them, except the soil. They are, therefore, forced to become tenants-at-will.[130] Being once tenants-at-will, they naturally run the risk of losing their revenue, provided they do not invest their small capital. Investing it, in order to secure their revenue, they run the risk of losing their capital, also.

"Perhaps," continues *The Times*, "it may be said, that in any case a tenantry could hardly expire without something being left upon the ground, in some shape

[a] *The Times*, No. 21464, June 25, 1853.—*Ed.*

or another, representing the tenant's own property, and that for this compensation should be forthcoming. There is some truth in the remark, but the demand thus created [...] ought, under proper conditions of society, to be easily adjusted between landlord and tenant, as it might, at any rate, be provided for in the original contract. We say that the conditions of society should regulate these arrangements, because we believe that no Parliamentary enactment can be effectually substituted for such an agency."

Indeed, under "proper conditions of society," we should want no more Parliamentary interference with the Irish land-tenant, as we should not want, under "proper conditions of society," the interference of the soldier, of the policeman, and of the hangman. Legislature, magistracy, and armed force, are all of them but the offspring of improper conditions of society, preventing those arrangements among men which would make useless the compulsory intervention of a third supreme power. Has, perhaps, *The Times* been converted into a social revolutionist? Does it want a *social* revolution, reorganizing the "conditions of society," and the "arrangements" emanating from them, instead of "Parliamentary enactments?" England has subverted the conditions of Irish society. At first it confiscated the land, then it suppressed the industry by "Parliamentary enactments,"[131] and lastly, it broke the active energy by armed force. And thus England created those abominable "conditions of society" which enable a small *caste* of rapacious lordlings to dictate to the Irish people the terms on which they shall be allowed to hold the land and to live upon it. Too weak yet for revolutionizing those "social conditions," the people appeal to Parliament, demanding at least their mitigation and regulation. But "No," says *The Times*; if you don't live under proper conditions of society, Parliament can't mend that. And if the Irish people, on the advice of *The Times*, tried to-morrow to mend their conditions of society, *The Times* would be the first to appeal to bayonets, and to pour out sanguinary denunciations of "the aboriginal faults of the Celtic race," wanting the Anglo-Saxon taste for pacific progress and legal amelioration.

"If a landlord," says *The Times*, "deliberately injures one tenant, he will find it so much the harder to get another, and whereas his occupation consists in letting land, he will find his land all the more difficult to let."

The case stands rather differently in Ireland. The more a landlord injures one tenant, the easier he will find it to oppress another. The tenant who comes in, is the means of injuring the ejected one, and the ejected one is the means of keeping down the new occupant. That, in due course of time, the landlord, beside

injuring the tenant, will injure himself and ruin himself, is not only a probability, but the very fact, in Ireland—a fact affording, however, a very precarious source of comfort to the ruined tenant.

"The relations between the landlord and tenant are those between two traders," says *The Times.*

This is precisely the *petitio principii* which pervades the whole leader of *The Times.* The needy Irish tenant belongs to the soil, while the soil belongs to the English Lord. As well you might call the relation between the robber who presents his pistol, and the traveler who presents his purse, a relation between two traders.

"But," says *The Times,* "in point of fact, the relation between Irish landlords and tenants will soon be reformed by an agency more potent than that of legislation. [...] The property of Ireland is fast passing into new hands, and, if the present rate of emigration continues, its cultivation must undergo the same transfer."

Here, at least, *The Times* has the truth. British Parliament does not interfere at a moment when the worked-out old system is terminating in the common ruin, both of the thrifty landlord and the needy tenant, the former being knocked down by the hammer of the *Encumbered Estates* Commission, and the latter expelled by compulsory emigration. This reminds us of the old Sultan of Morocco. Whenever there was a case pending between two parties, he knew of no more "potent agency" for settling their controversy, than by killing both parties.

"Nothing could tend," concludes *The Times* with regard to Tenant Right, "to greater confusion than such a *communistic distribution of ownership.* [...] The only person with any right in the land, is the landlord."

*The Times* seems to have been the sleeping Epimenides of the past half century, and never to have heard of the hot controversy going on during all that time upon the claims of the landlord, not among social reformers and Communists, but among the very political economists of the British middle-class. Ricardo, the creator of modern political economy in Great Britain, did not controvert the "right" of the landlords, as he was quite convinced that their claims were based upon fact, and not on right, and that political economy in general had nothing to do with questions of right; but he attacked the land-monopoly in a more unassuming, yet more scientific, and therefore more dangerous manner. He proved that private proprietorship in land, as distinguished from the respective claims of the laborer, and of the farmer, was a

relation quite superfluous in, and incoherent with the whole frame-work of modern production; that the economical expression of that relationship, the rent of land, might, with great advantage, be appropriated by the State; and finally that the interest of the landlord was opposed to the interest of all other classes of modern society. It would be tedious to enumerate all the conclusions drawn from these premises by the Ricardo School against the landed monopoly. For my end, it will suffice to quote three of the most recent economical authorities of Great Britain.

The London *Economist*, whose chief editor, Mr. J. Wilson, is not only a Free Trade oracle, but a Whig one, too, and not only a Whig, but also an inevitable Treasury-appendage in every Whig or composite ministry, has contended in different articles that exactly speaking there can exist no title authorizing any individual, or any number of individuals, to claim the exclusive proprietorship in the soil of a nation.

Mr. Newman, in his *Lectures on Political Economy*, London, 1851, professedly written for the purpose of refuting Socialism, tells us:

"No man has, or can have, a natural right to *land*, except so long as he occupies it in person. His right is to the use, and to the use only. All other right is the creation of artificial law (or parliamentary enactments as *The Times* would call it).... If, at any time, land becomes needed to *live upon*, the right of private possessors to withhold it comes to an end." [Pp. 137, 141.]

This is exactly the case in Ireland, and Mr. Newman expressly confirms the claims of the Irish tenantry, and in lectures held before the most select audiences of the British aristocracy.

In conclusion let me quote some passages from Mr. Herbert Spencer's work, *Social Statics*, London, 1851, also, purporting to be a complete refutation of Communism, and acknowledged as the most elaborate development of the Free Trade doctrines of modern England.

"No one [...] may use the earth in such a way as to prevent the rest from similarly using it. [...] Equity, therefore, does not permit property in land, or the rest would live on the earth by sufferance only. The landless men might equitably be expelled from the earth altogether.... It can never be pretended, that the existing titles to such property are legitimate. Should any one think so let him look in the Chronicles. [...] The original deeds were written with the sword, rather than with the pen. Not lawyers but soldiers were the conveyancers: blows were the current coin given in payment; and for seals blood was used in preference to wax. Could valid claims be thus constituted? Hardly. And if not, what becomes of the pretensions of all subsequent holders of estates so obtained? Does sale or bequest generate a right where it did not previously exist?... If one act of transfer can give no title, can many?... At what rate per annum do invalid claims become valid?... The right of mankind at large to the earth's surface is still valid, all deeds, customs

and laws notwithstanding. [...] It is impossible to discover any mode in which land can become private property.... We daily deny landlordism by our legislation. Is a canal, a railway, or a turnpike road to be made? We do not scruple to seize just as many acres as may be requisite. [...] We do not wait for consent.... The change required would simply be a change of landlords.... Instead of being in the possession of individuals, the country would be held by the great corporate body—society. Instead of leasing his acres from an isolated proprietor, the farmer would lease them from the nation. Instead of paying his rent to the agent of Sir John, or His Grace, he will pay to an agent, or deputy-agent of the community. Stewards would be public officials, instead of private ones, and tenantry the only land tenure.... Pushed to its ultimate consequences, a claim to exclusive possession of the soil involves land-owning despotism." [Pp. 114-16, 122-23, 125.][132]

Thus, from the very point of view of modern English political economists, it is not the usurping English landlord, but the Irish tenants and laborers, who have the only right in the soil of their native country, and *The Times*, in opposing the demands of the Irish people, places itself into direct antagonism to British middle-class science.

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

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# Karl Marx

## RUSSIAN POLICY AGAINST TURKEY.— CHARTISM[133]

London, Friday, July 1, 1853

Since the year 1815 the Great Powers of Europe have feared nothing so much as an infraction of the *status quo*. But any war between any two of those powers implies subversion of that *status quo*. That is the reason why Russia's encroachments in the East have been tolerated, and why she has never been asked for anything in return but to afford some pretext, however absurd, to the Western powers, for remaining neutral, and for being saved the necessity of interfering with Russian aggressions. Russia has all along been glorified for the forbearance and generosity of her "august master," who has not only condescended to cover the naked and shameful subserviency of Western Cabinets, but has displayed the magnanimity of devouring Turkey piece after piece, instead of swallowing it at a mouthful. Russian diplomacy has thus rested on the timidity of Western statesmen, and her diplomatic art has gradually sunk into so complete a *mannerism*, that you may trace the history of the present transactions almost literally in the annals of the past.

The hollowness of the new pretexts of Russia is apparent, after the Sultan[a] has granted, in his new firman to the Patriarch of Constantinople,[b] more than the Czar himself had asked for—so far as religion goes. Now was, perhaps, the "pacification of Greece"[134] a more solid pretext? When M. de Villèle, in order to tranquilize the apprehensions of the Sultan,[c] and to give a proof of the pure intentions of the Great Powers, proposed "that the

[a] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*
[b] Germanos.—*Ed.*
[c] Mahmud II.—*Ed.*

allies ought above all things to conclude a Treaty by which the actual *status quo* of the Ottoman Empire should be guaranteed to it," the Russian Ambassador at Paris[a] opposed this proposition to the utmost, affirming

"that Russia, in displaying *generosity in her relations with the Porte*, and in showing *inappreciable respect* for the wishes of her allies, [...] had been obliged, nevertheless, to reserve exclusively to herself to determine her own differences with the Divan; [...] that a general guarantee of the Ottoman Empire, independently of its being unusual and surprising, would wound the *feelings of his master* and the *rights* acquired by Russia, and the principles upon which they were founded."[b]

Russia pretends now to occupy the Danubian principalities, without giving to the Porte the right of considering this step as a *casus belli*.

Russia pretended, in 1827, "to occupy Moldavia and Wallachia *in the name of the three Powers*."

While Russia proclaimed the following in her declaration of war of April 26, 1828:

"Her allies would always find her ready to concert her march with them, in execution of the Treaty of London,[135] and ever anxious to aid in a work, which her *religion* and all the sentiments honorable to humanity recommended to her active solicitude, always disposed to profit by her actual position *only* for the purpose of accelerating the accomplishment of the Treaty of July 6th,"[c]

while Russia announced in her manifesto, A. D. 1st October, 1829:

"Russia has remained constantly a stranger to every desire of conquest—to every view of aggrandizement."

Her Ambassador at Paris was writing to Count Nesselrode.

"When the Imperial Cabinet examined the question, whether it had become expedient to take up arms against the Porte, [...] there might have existed some doubt about the urgency of this measure in the eyes of those who had not sufficiently reflected upon the *effects of the sanguinary reforms*, which the Chief of the Ottoman Empire has just executed with such tremendous violence. [...]

"*The Emperor has put the Turkish system to the proof, and his Majesty has found it to possess a commencement of physical and moral organization which it hitherto had not.* If this Sultan had been enabled to offer us a more determined and regular resistance, while he had scarcely assembled together the elements of his new plan of reform and ameliorations, how formidable should we have found him had he had time to give it more solidity. [...] Things being in this state, we must congratulate ourselves upon having attacked them before they became more dangerous for us, for delay

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[a] K. O. Pozzo di Borgo.—*Ed.*

[b] "Copy of a Despatch from Count Pozzo di Borgo, dated Paris, 22nd Dec. 1826", *The Portfolio*, 1843, No. II, p. 130.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Portfolio*, 1836, No. VII, pp. 347-50.—*Ed.*

would only have made our relative situation worse, and prepared us greater obstacles than those with which we meet."

Russia proposes now to make an aggressive step and then to talk about it. In 1829 Prince Lieven wrote to Count Nesselrode:

"We shall confine ourselves to generalities, for every circumstantial communication on a subject so delicate would draw down real dangers, and if once we discuss with our allies the articles of treaty with the Porte, we shall only content them when they will *imagine* that they have imposed upon us irreparable sacrifices. It is in the midst of our camp that peace must be signed and it is when it shall have been concluded that Europe must know its conditions. Remonstrances will then be too late and it will then patiently suffer what it can no longer prevent."[a]

Russia has now for several months been delaying action under one pretence or another, in order to maintain a state of things, which, being neither war nor peace, is tolerable to herself, but ruinous to the Turks. She acted in precisely the same manner in the period we have alluded to. As Pozzo di Borgo said:

"It is our policy to see that nothing new happens during the next four months and I hope we shall accomplish it, *because men in general prefer waiting*; but the fifth must be fruitful in events."[b]

The Czar, after having inflicted the greatest indignities on the Turkish Government, and notwithstanding that he now threatens to extort by force the most humiliating concessions, nevertheless raises a great cry about his "friendship for the Sultan Abdul Mejid" and his solicitude "for the preservation of the Ottoman Empire." On the Sultan he throws the "responsibility" of opposing his "just demands," of continuing to "wound his friendship and his feelings," of rejecting his "note," and of declining his "protectorate."

In 1828, when Pozzo di Borgo was interpellated by Charles X about the bad success of the Russian arms in the campaign of that year, he replied, that, not wishing to push the war *à outrance* without absolute necessity, the Emperor had hoped that the Sultan would have profited by his *generosity*, which *experiment* had now failed.

Shortly before commencing her present quarrel with the Porte Russia sought to bring about a general coalition of the Continental Powers against England, on the Refugee question, and having failed in that experiment, she attempted to bring about a coalition with England against France. Similarly, from 1826 to 1828, she

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[a] *The Portfolio*, 1843, Vol. I, No. I, p. 24.—*Ed.*
[b] *The Portfolio*, 1836, Vol. I, Nos. VIII-IX, p. 473.—*Ed.*

intimidated Austria by the "ambitious projects of Prussia," doing simultaneously all that was in her power to swell the power and pretensions of Prussia, in order to enable her to balance Austria. In her present circular note she indicts Bonaparte as the only disturber of peace by his pretensions respecting the Holy Places[136]; but, at that time, in the language of Pozzo di Borgo, she attributed

"all the agitation that pervaded Europe to the agency of Prince Metternich, and tried to make the Duke of Wellington himself perceive that the deference which he would have to the Cabinet of Vienna would be a drawback to his influence with all the others, and to give such a turn to things that it would be no longer Russia that sought to compromise France with Great Britain, but Great Britain who had repudiated France, in order to join the Cabinet of Vienna."[a]

Russia would now submit to a great humiliation if she retreated. That was identically her situation after the first unsuccessful campaign of 1828. What was then her supreme object? We answer in the words of her diplomatist:

"A second campaign is indispensable in order to acquire the superiority requisite for the success of the negotiation. [...] When this negotiation shall take place we must be in a state to dictate the conditions of it in a prompt and rapid manner.... *With the power of doing more* His Majesty would consent to *demand less.* [...] To obtain this superiority appears to me what ought to be the aim of all our efforts. *This superiority has now become a condition of our political existence,* such as we must establish [...] and maintain in the eyes of the world."[b]

But does Russia not fear the common action of England and France? Certainly. In the Secret Memoirs on the Means possessed by Russia for breaking up the alliance between France and England, revealed during the reign of Louis Philippe, we are told:

"In the event of a war, in which England should coalesce with France, Russia indulges in no hope of success, unless that union [...] be broken up; so that at the least England should consent to remain neutral during the continental conflict."[c]

The question is: Does Russia believe in a common action of England and France? We quote again from Pozzo di Borgo's dispatches:

"From the moment that the idea of the ruin of the Turkish Empire ceases to prevail, it is not probable that the British Government would risk a general war for the sake of exempting the Sultan from acceding to such or such condition, above all in the state in which things will be at the commencement of the approaching campaign, when everything will be as yet uncertain and undecided. These

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[a] *The Portfolio,* 1836, Vol. II, pp. 210-11.—*Ed.*
[b] *The Portfolio,* 1836, Vol. I, pp. 364, 361.—*Ed.*
[c] *The Portfolio,* 1836, Vol. II, pp. 294-95.—*Ed.*

considerations would authorize the belief that we have no cause to fear an open rupture on the part of Great Britain; and that she will content herself with counseling the Porte to beg peace, and with lending the aid of the good offices in her power during the negotiation if it takes place, without going further, should the Sultan refuse or we persist."[a]

And as to Nesselrode's opinion of the "good" Aberdeen, the Minister of 1828, and the Minister of 1853, it may be well to quote the following from a dispatch by Prince Lieven:

"Lord Aberdeen reiterated in his interview with me the assurance that at no period it had entered into the intentions of England to seek a quarrel with Russia—that he feared that the position of the English Ministry was not well understood at St. Petersburg—that he found himself in a delicate situation. Public opinion was always ready to burst forth against Russia. The British Government could not constantly *brave* it; and it would be dangerous to excite it on questions [...] that touched so nearly the national prejudices. On the other side we could reckon with entire confidence upon the [...] friendly dispositions of the English Ministry which struggled against them."[b]

The only thing astonishing in the note of M. de Nesselrode, of June 11, is not "The insolent mélange of professions refuted by acts, and threats veiled in declaimers," but the reception Russian diplomatical notes meet with for the first time in Europe, calling forth, instead of the habitual awe and admiration, blushes of shame at the past and disdainful laughter from the Western world at this insolent amalgamation of pretensions, finesse and real barbarism. Yet Nesselrode's circular note, and the "ultimatissimum" of June 16, are not a bit worse than the so much admired master-pieces of Pozzo di Borgo and Prince Lieven. Count Nesselrode was at their time, what he is now, the diplomatical head of Russia.

There is a facetious story told of two Persian naturalists who were examining a bear; the one who had never seen such an animal before, inquired whether that animal dropped its cubs alive or laid eggs; to which the other, who was better informed, replied: "That animal is capable of anything." The Russian bear is certainly capable of anything, so long as he knows the other animals he has to deal with to be capable of nothing.

*En passant*, I may mention the signal victory Russia has just won in Denmark, the Royal message having passed with a majority of 119 against 28, in the following terms:

"In agreement with the 4th paragraph of the Constitution d. d. June 5, 1849, the United Parliament, for its part, gives its consent to the arrangement by His

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[a] *The Portfolio*, 1836, Nos. VIII-IX, pp. 444-45.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Portfolio*, 1843, No. I, pp. 17-19.—*Ed.*

Majesty of the succession to the whole Danish Monarchy in accordance with the Royal message respecting the succession of Oct. 4, 1852, renewed June 13, 1853."

Strikes and combinations of workmen are proceeding rapidly, and to an unprecedented extent. I have now before me reports on the strikes of the factory hands of all descriptions at Stockport, of smiths, spinners, weavers, etc., at Manchester, of carpet-weavers at Kidderminster, of colliers at the Ringwood Collieries, near Bristol, of weavers and loomers at Blackburn, of loomers at Darwen, of the cabinet-makers at Boston, of the bleachers, finishers, dyers and power-loom weavers of Bolton and neighborhood, of the weavers of Barnsley, of the Spitalfields broad-silk weavers, of the lace makers of Nottingham, of all descriptions of workingmen throughout the Birmingham district, and in various other localities. Each mail brings new reports of strikes; the turn-out grows epidemic. Every one of the larger strikes, like those at Stockport, Liverpool, etc., necessarily generates a whole series of minor strikes, through great numbers of people being unable to carry out their resistance to the masters, unless they appeal to the support of their fellow-workmen in the Kingdom, and the latter, in order to assist them, asking in their turn for higher wages. Besides it becomes alike a point of honor and of interest for each locality not to isolate the efforts of their fellow-workmen by submitting to worse terms, and thus strikes in one locality are echoed by strikes in the remotest other localities. In some instances the demands for higher wages are only a settlement of long-standing arrears with the masters. So with the great Stockport strike.

In January, 1848, the mill-owners of the town made a general reduction of 10 per cent. from all descriptions of factory-workers' wages. This reduction was submitted to upon the condition that when trade revived the 10 per cent. was to be restored. Accordingly the work-people memorialized their employers, early in March, 1853, for the promised advance of 10 per cent.; and as they would not come to arrangements with them, upward of 30,000 hands struck. In the majority of instances, the factory-workmen affirmed distinctly their *right* to *share* in the prosperity of the country, and especially in the prosperity of their employers.

The distinctive feature of the present strikes is this, that they began in the lower ranks of unskilled labor (not factory labor), actually trained by the direct influence of emigration, according to various strata of artizans, till they reached at last the factory people of the great industrial centers of Great Britain; while at all

former periods strikes originated regularly from the heads of the factory-workers, mechanics, spinners, &c., spreading thence to the lower classes of this great industrial hive, and reaching only in the last instance, to the artizans. This phenomenon is to be ascribed solely to emigration.

There exists a class of philanthropists, and even of socialists, who consider strikes as very mischievous to the interests of the "workingman himself," and whose great aim consists in finding out a method of securing permanent average wages. Besides, the fact of the industrial cyclus, with its various phases, putting every such average wages out of the question. I am, on the very contrary, convinced that the alternative rise and fall of wages, and the continual conflicts between masters and men resulting therefrom, are, in the present organization of industry, the indispensable means of holding up the spirit of the laboring classes, of combining them into one great association against the encroachments of the ruling class, and of preventing them from becoming apathetic, thoughtless, more or less well-fed instruments of production. In a state of society founded upon the antagonism of classes, if we want to prevent Slavery in fact as well as in name, we must accept war. In order to rightly appreciate the value of strikes and combinations, we must not allow ourselves to be blinded by the apparent insignificance of their economical results, but hold, above all things, in view their moral and political consequences. Without the great alternative phases of dullness, prosperity, over-excitement, crisis and distress, which modern industry traverses in periodically recurring cycles, with the up and down of wages resulting from them, as with the constant warfare between masters and men closely corresponding with those variations in wages and profits, the working-classes of Great Britain, and of all Europe, would be a heart-broken, a weak-minded, a worn-out, unresisting mass, whose self-emancipation would prove as impossible as that of the slaves of Ancient Greece and Rome. We must not forget that strikes and combinations among the serfs were the hot-beds of the mediaeval communes, and that those communes have been in their turn, the source of life of the now ruling bourgeoisie.

I observed in one of my last letters, of what importance the present labor-crisis must turn out to the Chartist movement in England,[a] which anticipation I now find realized by the results obtained in the first two weeks of the reopened campaign by

[a] See this volume, pp. 134-37.—*Ed.*

Ernest Jones, the Chartist leader. The first great open-air meeting was, as you know, to be held on the mountain of Blackstone-Edge. On the 19th ult., the Lancashire and Yorkshire delegates of the respective Chartist localities congregated there, constituting themselves as Delegate-Council. Ernest Jones's petition for the Charter was unanimously adopted as that proposed to emanate from the meetings in the two counties, and the presentation of the Lancashire and Yorkshire petitions was voted to be entrusted to Mr. Apsley Pellatt, M. P. for Southwark, who had agreed to undertake the presentation of all Chartist petitions. As to the general meeting, the most sanguine minds did not anticipate its possibility, the weather being terrific, the storm increasing hourly in violence and the rain pouring without intermission. At first there appeared only a few scattered groups climbing up the hill, but soon larger bodies came into sight, and from an eminence that overlooked the surrounding valleys, thin but steady streams of people could be viewed as far as the eye could carry, through the base pelting of the rain, coming upward along the roads and footpaths leading from the surrounding country. By the time at which the meeting was announced to commence, upward of 3,000 people had met on the spot, far removed from any village or habitation, and during the long speeches, the meeting, notwithstanding the most violent deluge of rain, remained steadfast on the ground.

Mr. Edward Hooson's resolution: "That the social grievances of the working classes of the country are the result of class-legislation, and that the only remedy for such class-legislation is the adoption of the people's Charter," was supported by Mr. Gammage, of the Chartist Executive,[137] and Mr. Ernest Jones, from whose speeche: I give some extracts.[a]

"The resolution which has been moved attributed the people's [...] grievances to class-legislation. He thought that no man who had watched the course of events could disagree with that statement. The House of Commons, so called, had turned a deaf ear to all their complaints, and when the wail of misery had arisen from the people, it had been mocked and derided by the men who assumed to be the representatives of the nation, and if by any singular chance the voice of the people found an echo in that House, it was always drowned in the clamor of the murderous majority of our class-legislators. [Loud applause.] The House of Commons not only refused to do justice to the people, but it even refused to inquire into their social condition. They would all recollect that sometime ago, Mr. Slaney had introduced into the House a motion for the appointment of a standing

[a] Here and below Marx quotes from a report entitled "Glorious Revival of Chartism", *The People's Paper*, No. 60, June 25, 1853.—*Ed.*

commission, whose business it should be to inquire into that condition and suggest measures of relief—but such was the determination of the House to evade the question, that on the introduction of the motion, only twenty-six members were present, and the House was counted out. [Loud cries of shame, shame.] And on the reintroduction of that motion, so far from Mr. Slaney being successful, he (Mr. Gammage) believed that out of 656 honorable men, but 19 were present even to enter on a discussion of the question. [...] When he told them what was the actual condition of the people, he thought they would agree with him, that there existed abundant reasons for inquiry. They were told by political economists that the annual production of this country was £820,000,000. Assuming that there were in the United Kingdom 5,000,000 of working families, and that such families received an average income of fifteen shillings per week, which he believed was a very high average compared with what they actually received [cries of "a great deal too high"], supposing them, however, to average this amount, they received out of their enormous annual production a miserable one hundred and ninety-five millions,—[cries of shame].—and all the rest went into the pockets of idle landlords, usurers and the capitalist class generally.... Did they require a proof that these men were robbers? [...] They were not the worst of thieves who were confined within the walls of our prisons; the greatest and cleverest of thieves were those who robbed by the power of laws made by themselves, and these large robberies were the cause of all the smaller ones that were transacted throughout the country.... Mr. Gammage then entered into an analysis of the House of Commons, proving [...] that from the classes to which the members of that House belonged, and the classes which they represented, it was impossible that there should exist the smallest sympathy between them and the working millions. In conclusion, said the speaker, the people must become acquainted with their Social Rights."

## Mr. Ernest Jones said:

"To-day we proclaim that the Charter shall be law. [Loud cheers.] I ask you now to reengage in this great movement, because I know that the time has arrived for so doing, and that the game is in your hand, and because I am anxious that you should not let the opportunity go by. Brisk trade and emigration have given you a momentary power, and upon how you use that power depends your future position. If you use it only for the objects of the present, you will break down when the circumstances of the present cease. But if you use it, not only to strengthen your present position, but to secure your future one, you will triumph over all your enemies. If brisk trade and emigration give you power, that power must cease when brisk trade and emigration cease, and unless you secure yourself in the interval, you will be more slaves than ever. [Hear, hear.] But the very sources that cause your strength now will cause your weakness before long. The emigration that makes your labor scarce, will make soon your employment scarcer.... The commercial reaction will set in, and now I ask you, how are you preparing to meet it? [...] You are engaged in a noble labor movement for short time and high wages, and you are practically carrying it through to some extent, [...] but mark! you are not carrying it through Parliament. Mark! the game of the employer is this —amuse them with some concessions, but yield to them no law. Don't pass a Wages bill in Parliament, but concede some of its provisions in the factory. [Hear.] The wages slave will then say, "Never mind a political organization for a Ten Hours bill or a Wages measure—we've got it, ay, ourselves without Parliament." Yes, but can you keep it without Parliament? What gave it you? Brisk trade. What will take it from you? Dull trade. [...] Your employers know this. [...] Therefore, they shorten your hours of work or raise your wages, or remit their stoppages, in hopes that you

will forego the political organization for these measures. [Cheers.] They shorten the hours of work, well knowing that soon they will run their mills short time—they raise your wages, well knowing that soon they will give thousands of you no wages at all. But they tell you also—the midland manufacturers—that, even if the laws were passed, this would only force them to seek other means of robbing you—that was the plain meaning of their words. So that in the first place, you can't get the acts passed, because you have not got a People's Parliament. In the second place, if they were passed, they tell you that they would circumvent them. [Loud cries of "hear."] Now, I ask you, how are you preparing for the future? How are you using the vast strength you momentarily possess? [...] That [...] you will be powerless, unless you prepare now—you will lose all you may have gained; and we are here to-day to show you how to keep it and get more. [...] Some people fancy a Chartist organization would interfere with the Labor movement. Good Heaven! it is the very thing to make it successful.... The employed cannot do without the employer, unless he can employ himself. The employed can never employ himself, unless he can command the means of work—land, credit and machinery. He can never command these, unless he breaks down the landed, moneyed and mercantile monopolies, and these he cannot subvert except by wielding sovereign power. Why do you seek a Ten Hours bill? If political power is not necessary to secure labor-freedom why go to Parliament at all? Why not do in the factory at once? Why, because you know, you feel, you by that very act admit tacitly, that political power is needed to obtain social emancipation. [Loud cheers.] Then I point you to the foundation of political power—I point you to the suffrage—I point you to the Charter. [Enthusiastic applause.] ... It may be said: "Why do we not wait till the crisis comes, and the millions rally of their own accord." Because we want not a movement of excitement and danger, but one of calm reason and moral strength. We will not see you led away by excitement, but guided by judgment—and therefore we bid you now reorganize—that you may rule the storm, instead of being tossed by it. Again, continental revolution will accompany commercial reaction—and we need to raise a strong beacon of Chartism to light us through the chaos of tempest. [...] To-day, then, we reinaugurate our movement, and to obtain its official recognition, we go through the medium of Parliament—not that we expect them to grant the petition—but because we use them as the most fitting mouth-piece to announce our resurrection to the world. Yes, the very men that proclaimed our death, shall have the unsought pleasure to proclaim our resurrection, and this petition is merely the baptismal register announcing to the world our second birth." [Loud cheers.]

Mr. Hooson's resolution and the petition to Parliament were here, as well as at the subsequent meetings during the week, enthusiastically accepted by acclamation.

At the meeting of Blackstone-Edge, Ernest Jones had announced the death of Benjamin Ruston, a workingman who seven years before, had presided at the great Chartist meeting held at the same spot[138]; and he proposed that his funeral should be made a great political demonstration, and be connected with the West Riding meeting for the adoption of the Charter, as the noblest obsequies to be given to that expired veteran. Never before in the annals of British Democracy, has such a demonstration been witnessed, as that which attended the revival of Chartism

in the West Riding, and the funeral of Benjamin Ruston, on Sunday last,[a] when upward of 200,000 people were assembled at Halifax, a number unprecedented even in the most excited times. To those who know nothing of English society but its dull, apoplectic surface, it should be recommended to assist at these workingmen's meetings and to look into those depths where its destructive elements are at work.

The Coalition has gained the preliminary battle on the Indian question, Lord Stanley's motion for delay of legislation having been rejected by a majority of 182 votes.[b] Pressure of matter obliges me to delay my comments upon that division.

Written on July 1, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

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[a] June 26, 1853.—*Ed.*
[b] In the House of Commons on June 30, 1853.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE TURKISH WAR QUESTION.— THE *NEW-YORK TRIBUNE* IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA [139]

London, Tuesday, 5th July, 1853

The courier bearing the rejection of the Russian *ultimatissimum*[a] on the part of Reshid Pasha, reached St. Petersburg on the 24th ult., and, three days later, a messenger was dispatched with orders for Prince Gorchakoff to cross the Pruth, and to occupy the Principalities.

The Austrian Government has sent Count Gyulay on an extraordinary mission to the Czar, no doubt with a view of cautioning him against the danger of revolution lurking behind any general European war. We may infer the answer of the Russian Cabinet in the present instance from that which it returned to similar representations from the same power in 1829. It was as follows:—

"On this occasion the Austrian Cabinet has reproduced all the motives of alarm created by the fermentation which, according to its opinion and the information it possesses, reigns in more than one country, as well as the progress lately made by the revolutionary tendencies. These apprehensions are more particularly betrayed in the letter of the Emperor Francis to Nicholas. [...] We are far from denying the dangers which Austria points out to us. [...] Since [...] by means of foreign influence [...] the resistance of the Porte assumes a character of obstinacy which delays beyond our wishes and our hopes the term of this crisis, and even demands redoubled efforts to new sacrifices on our part, Russia will be found to devote more than ever her whole attention to interests which so immediately affect the power and the welfare of her subjects; from that moment the means which she could oppose to the breaking out of the revolutionary spirit in the rest of Europe must necessarily be paralyzed. No power, then, ought to be more interested than Austria in the conclusion of peace, but of a peace glorious to the Emperor and advantageous to his empire. For if the treaty we should sign did not bear this character, the political consideration and influence of Russia would experience through it a fatal blow, the *prestige* of her strength would

[a] Of June 16, 1853.—*Ed.*

vanish, and the moral support which she might perhaps be called upon to lend in future contingencies to friendly and allied powers would be precarious and inefficacious." (Secret dispatch from Count Nesselrode to M. de Tatistcheff, dated St. Petersburg, 12th February, 1829.)[a]

*The Press*, of last Saturday,[b] stated that the Czar, in his disappointment at the conduct of England, and more especially of Lord Aberdeen, had instructed M. de Brunnow to communicate no longer with that "good," old man, but to restrict himself to his official intercourse with the Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

The Vienna *Lloyd*, the organ of the Austrian bankocracy, is very determinedly in favor of Austria siding with England and France for the purpose of discountenancing the aggressive policy of Russia.

You will remember that the Coalition Ministry suffered a defeat on the 14th of April, on the occasion of the proposed repeal of the Advertisement Duty.[c] They have now experienced two more defeats, on the 1st inst., on the identical ground. Mr. Gladstone moved on that day to reduce the Advertisement Duty from 1s. 6d. to 6d., and to extend it to advertisements published with any magazine, pamphlet, or other literary work. Mr. Milner Gibson's amendment for the repeal of all duties now payable on advertisements was rejected by 109 against 99 votes. The retainers of Mr. Gladstone thinking that victory had been won, left the House for dinner and a court-ball, when Mr. Bright rose and made a very powerful speech against the taxes on knowledge in general, and the Stamp and Advertisement Duty in particular. From this speech I will quote a few passages[d] which may be of interest to you:

"He (Mr. Bright) held in his hand a newspaper which was the same size as the London daily newspapers without a supplement, and it was as good a newspaper, he undertook to say, as any published in London. It was printed with a finer type than any London daily paper. The paper, the material, was exceedingly good—quite sufficient for all the purposes of a newspaper. The printing could not be possibly surpassed, and it contained more matter for its size than any daily paper printed in London. The first, second and third sides were composed of advertisements. There were a long article upon the American Art-Union investigation, a leading article giving a summary of all the latest news from Europe, a leading article on the Fisheries dispute, and a leading article, with which he entirely concurred, stating that public dinners were public nuisances. [Hear, and a

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[a] Quoted from *The Portfolio*, 1836, Vol. IV, No. XXVII, pp. 10-12.—*Ed.*

[b] July 2, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 58 and 69.—*Ed.*

[d] These passages, like the passage from Richard Cobden's speech, are quoted from *The Times*, No. 21470, July 2, 1853.—*Ed.*

laugh.] He had seen articles perhaps written with more style, but never any that had a better tone, or that were more likely to be useful. Then again there were 'Three days later from Europe,' the 'Arrival of the *Asia*,' and a condensation from all the news from Europe. From Great Britain there was an elaborate disquisition upon the Budget[a] of the Rt. Honorable gentleman,[b] which did him justice in some parts, but not in others, and which, so far as the Manchester schools were concerned, certainly did them no justice whatever. [Laughter.] Then there were an account of Mrs. Stowe's visit to Edinburgh, a long article from the London *Times* upon the wrongs of dressmakers, articles from Greece, Spain and other continental countries, the Athlone election, and the returns of Her Majesty's Solicitor General by exactly 189 votes—which would very much surprise an American to read—several columns of ordinary news in paragraphs, and most elaborate mercantile and market tables. It wrote steadily in favor of Temperance and Anti-Slavery, and he [Bright] ventured to say that there was not at this moment in London a better paper than that. The name of that paper was the *New-York Tribune*, and it was laid regularly every morning upon the table of every workingman of that city who chose to buy it at the sum of one penny. [Hear, hear.] What he wanted to ask the Government was this: How comes it, and for what good end, and by what contrivance of fiscal oppression was it that one of our workmen here should pay 5d. for a London morning paper, while his direct competitor in New York could buy a paper for 1d.? We were running a race in the face of all the world with the United States; but if our artisans were to be bound either to have no newspaper at all, or to pay 5d. for it, or were to be driven to the public houses to read it, [...] while the artisan in the United States could procure it for 1d., how was it possible that any fair rivalry could be maintained between the artisans of the two countries? As well say that a merchant in England, if he never saw a price-current, would carry on his business with the same facility as the merchant who had that advantage every day. [Hear, hear.] ... If the Chancellor of the Exchequer should oppose what he had stated, he should tell him at once and without hesitation that it was because he had a latent dread of the liberty of the press; and when the right honorable gentleman spoke about financial difficulties, he said it was but a cloak to conceal his lurking horror lest the people should have a free press and greater means of political information. [Hear.] It was the fear that the press would be free which made them keep the 6d. advertisement duty as the buttress to the stamp."

Mr. Craufurd then moved to substitute in lieu of the figure 6d. the cipher 0d. Mr. Cobden supported the motion, and in reply to Mr. Gladstone's statement, that the Advertisement Duty was no question of much importance with regard to the circulation of cheap newspapers, called his attention to the evidence given by Mr. Horace Greeley, who was examined before the Committee which had sat on this subject in 1851.

"This gentleman was one of the Commissioners of the great exhibition, and he was the proprietor of that very newspaper from which his honorable friend, Mr. Bright, had quoted. He was examined as to what the effect of the advertisement

[a] The reference is to Marx's article, "Riot at Constantinople.—German Table Moving.—The Budget", *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3761, May 6, 1853 (see this volume, pp. 67-74). It is this issue that John Bright analyses in his speech.—*Ed.*

[b] William Gladstone.—*Ed.*

duty would be in America, and his reply was that its operation would be to destroy their new papers."

Lord John Russell now got up and said, in rather angry voice, that it was hardly fair to attempt to reverse, in a greatly thinned House, the decisions previously adopted. Of course, Lord John did not recollect that on the very Advertisement Duty his colleagues had been beaten before by a majority of 40, and had only had now a majority of 10. Notwithstanding Lord John's lecture on "constitutional" fairness, the motion of Mr. Gladstone for a duty of 6d. on each advertisement, was negatived by 68 against 63, and Mr. Craufurd's amendment carried by 70 against 61. Mr. Disraeli and his friends voted with the Manchester School.

The House of Commons, in order to do justice to the colossal dimensions of the subject, has been spinning out its Indian debate to an unusual length and breadth, although that debate has failed altogether in depth and greatness of interest. The division leaving Ministers a majority of 322 against 142, is in inverse ratio to the discussion. During the discussion all was thistles for the Ministry, and Sir Charles Wood was the ass officially put to the task of feeding upon them. In the division all is roses, and Sir Charles Wood receives the crown of another *Manu*. The same men who negatived the plan of the Ministry by their arguments, affirmed it by their votes. None of its supporters dared to apologize for the bill itself; on the contrary, all apologized for their supporting the bill, the one because it was an infinitesimal part of a measure in the right direction, the others because it was no measure at all. The former pretend that they will now mend it in Committee; the latter say that they will strip it of all the fancy Reform flowers it parades in.

The Ministry maintained the field by more than one half of the Tory opposition running away, and a great portion of the remainder deserting with Herries and Inglis into the Aberdeen camp, while of the 142 opposite votes 100 belonged to the Disraeli fraction, and 42 to the Manchester School, backed by some Irish discontents and some inexpressibles. The opposition within the opposition has once more saved the Ministry.

Mr. Halliday, one of the officials of the East India Company, when examined before a Committee of Inquiry, stated:

"That the Charter giving a twenty years lease to the East India Company was considered by the natives of India as *farming them out*."[a]

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[a] Quoted from Richard Cobden's speech in the House of Commons on June 27, 1853, published in *The Times*, No. 21466, June 28, 1853.—*Ed.*

This time at least, the Charter has not been renewed for a definite period, but is revokable at will by Parliament. The Company, therefore, will come down from the respectable situation of hereditary farmers, to the precarious condition of tenants-at-will.[140] This is so much gain for the natives. The Coalition Ministry has succeeded in transforming the Indian Government, like all other questions, into an open question. The House of Commons, on the other hand, has given itself a new testimonial of poverty, in confessing by the same division, its impotency for legislating, and its unwillingness to delay legislating.

Since the days of Aristotle the world has been inundated with a frightful quantity of dissertations, ingenious or absurd, as it might happen, on that question: Who shall be the governing power? But for the first time in the annals of history, the Senate of a people ruling over another people numbering 156 millions of human beings and spreading over a surface of 1,368,113 square miles, have put their heads together in solemn and public congregation, in order to answer the irregular question: Who among us is the actual governing power over that foreign people of 150 millions of souls? There was no Oedipus in the British Senate capable of extricating this riddle. The whole debate exclusively twined around it, as although a division took place, no definition of the Indian Government was arrived at.

That there is in India a permanent financial deficit, a regular over-supply of wars, and no supply at all of public works, an abominable system of taxation, and a no less abominable state of justice and law, that these five items constitute, as it were, the five points of the East Indian Charter, was settled beyond all doubt in the debates of 1853, as it had been in the debates of 1833, and in the debates of 1813, and in all former debates on India. The only thing never found out, was the party responsible for all this.

There exists, unquestionably, a Governor-General of India, holding the supreme power, but that Governor is governed in his turn by a home government. Who is that home government? Is it the Indian Minister, disguised under the modest title of President of the Board of Control, or is it the twenty-four Directors of the East India Company? On the threshold of the Indian religion we find a divine trinity, and thus we find a profane trinity on the threshold of the Indian Government.

Leaving, for a while, the Governor-General altogether one side, the question at issue resolves itself into that of the *double Government*, in which form it is familiar to the English mind. The

Ministers in their bill, and the House in its division, cling to this dualism.

When the Company of English merchant adventurers, who conquered India to make money out of it, began to enlarge their factories into an empire, when their competition with the Dutch and French private merchants assumed the character of national rivalry, then, of course, the British Government commenced meddling with the affairs of the East India Company, and the double Government of India sprung up in fact if not in name. Pitt's act of 1784, by entering into a compromise with the Company, by subjecting it to the superintendence of the Board of Control, and by making the Board of Control an appendage to the Ministry, accepted, regulated and settled that double Government arisen from circumstances in name as well as in fact.

The act of 1833 strengthened the Board of Control, changed the proprietors of the East India Company into mere mortgagees of the East India revenues, ordered the Company to sell off its stock, dissolved its commercial existence, transformed it; as far as it existed politically, into a mere trustee of the Crown, and did thus with the East India Company, what the Company had been in the habit of doing with the East India Princes. After having superseded them, it continued, for a while, still to govern in their name. So far, the East India Company has, since 1833, no longer existed but in name and on sufferance. While thus on one hand, there seems to be no difficulty in getting rid of the Company altogether, it is, on the other hand, very indifferent whether the English nation rules over India under the personal name of Queen Victoria, or under the traditional firm of an anonymous society. The whole question, therefore, appears to turn about a technicality of very questionable importance. Still, the thing is not quite so plain.

It is to be remarked, in the first instance, that the Ministerial Board of Control, residing in Cannon-row, is as much a fiction as the East India Company, supposed to reside in Leadenhall-st. The members composing the Board of Control are a mere cloak for the supreme rule of the President of the Board. The President is himself but a subordinate though independent member of the Imperial Ministry. In India it seems to be assumed that if a man is fit for nothing it is best to make him a Judge, and get rid of him. In Great Britain, when a party comes into office and finds itself encumbered with a tenth-rate "statesman," it is considered best to make him President of the Board of Control, successor of the

Great Mogul, and in that way to get rid of him—*teste Carolo Wood.*[a]

The letter of the law entrusts the Board of Control, which is but another name for its President, with

"full power and authority to superintend, direct, and control all acts, operations and concerns of the East India Company which in any wise relate to or concern the Government or revenues of the Indian territories."[b]

Directors are prohibited

"from issuing any orders, instructions, dispatches, official letters, or communications whatever relating to India, or to the Government thereof, until the same shall have been sanctioned by the Board."

Directors are ordered to

"prepare instructions or orders upon any subject whatever at fourteen days' notice from the Board, or else to transmit the orders of the Board on the subject of India."

The Board is authorized to inspect all correspondence and dispatches to and from India, and the proceedings of the Courts of Proprietors and Directors. Lastly, the Court of Directors has to appoint a Secret Committee, consisting of their Chairman, their Deputy Chairman and their senior member, who are sworn to secrecy, and through whom, in all political and military matters, the President of the Board may transmit his personal orders to India, while the Committee acts as a mere channel of his communications. The orders respecting the Afghan and Burmese wars, and as to the occupation of Scinde were transmitted through this Secret Committee, without the Court of Directors being any more informed of them than the general public or Parliament. So far, therefore, the President of the Board of Control would appear to be the real Mogul, and, under all circumstances, he retains an unlimited power for doing mischief, as, for instance, for causing the most ruinous wars, all the while being hidden under the name of the irresponsible Court of Directors. On the other hand, the Court of Directors is not without real power. As they generally exercise the initiative in administrative measures, as they form, when compared with the Board of Control, a more permanent and steady body, with traditional rules for action and a certain knowledge of details, the whole of the ordinary internal administration necessarily falls to

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[a] This is demonstrated by Charles Wood.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx quotes from J. Dickinson's *The Government of India under a Bureaucracy*, p. 8.—*Ed.*

their share. They appoint, too, under sanction of the Crown, the Supreme Government of India, the Governor-General and his Councils; possessing, besides, the unrestricted power to recall the highest servants, and even the Governor-General, as they did under Sir Robert Peel, with Lord Ellenborough. But this is still not their most important privilege. Receiving only £300 per annum, they are really paid in patronage, distributing all the writerships and cadetships, from whose number the Governor-General of India and the Provincial Governors are obliged to fill up all the higher places withheld from the natives. When the number of appointments for the year is ascertained, the whole are divided into 28 equal parts—of which two are allotted to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, two to the President of the Board of Control, and one to each of the Directors. The annual value of each share of patronage seldom falls short of £14,000.

"All nominations," says Mr. Campbell, "are now, as it were, the private property of individuals, being divided among the Directors, and each disposing of his share as he thinks fit."[a]

Now, it is evident that the spirit of the Court of Directors must pervade the whole of the Indian Upper Administration, trained, as it is, at schools of Addiscombe and Haileybury, and appointed, as it is, by their patronage. It is no less evident that this Court of Directors, who have to distribute, year after year, appointments of the value of nearly £400,000 among the upper classes of Great Britain, will find little or no check from the public opinion directed by those very classes. What the spirit of the Court of Directors is, I will show in a following letter on the actual state of India.[b] For the present it may suffice to say that Mr. Macaulay, in the course of the pending debates, defended the Court by the particular plea, that it was impotent to effect all the evils it might intend, so much so, that all improvements had been effected in opposition to it, and against it by individual Governors who had acted on their own responsibility. Thus with regard to the suppression of the Suttee,[141] the abolition of the abominable transit duties, and the emancipation of the East India press.

The President of the Board of Control accordingly involves India in ruinous wars under cover of the Court of Directors, while

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[a] Rendering of a passage from G. Campbell's *Modern India: a Sketch of the System of Civil Government*, pp. 263-64.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 196-200 and 213-16.—*Ed.*

the Court of Directors corrupt the Indian Administration under the cloak of the Board of Control.

On looking deeper into the framework of this anomalous government we find at its bottom a third power, more supreme than either the Board or the Court, more irresponsible, and more concealed from and guarded against the superintendence of public opinion. The transient President of the Board depends on the permanent clerks of his establishment in Cannon-row, and for those clerks India exists not in India, but in Leadenhall-st. Now, who is the master at Leadenhall-st.?

Two thousand persons, elderly ladies and valetudinarian gentlemen, possessing Indian stock, having no other interest in India except to be paid their dividends out of Indian revenue, elect twenty-four Directors, whose only qualification is the holding of £1,000 stock. Merchants, bankers and directors of companies incur great trouble in order to get into the Court for the interest of their private concerns.

"A banker," said Mr. Bright, "in the City of London commands 300 votes of the East India Company, whose word for the election of Directors is almost absolute law."[a]

Hence the Court of Directors is nothing but *a succursal* to the English moneyocracy. The so-elected Court forms, in its turn, besides the above-mentioned Secret Committee, three other Committees, which are 1. Political and Military. 2. Finance and Home. 3. Revenue, Judicial and Legislative. These Committees are every year appointed by rotation, so that a *financier* is one year on the Judicial and the next year on the Military Committee, and no one has any chance of a continued supervision over a particular department. The mode of election having brought in men utterly unfit for their duties, the system of rotation gives to whatever fitness they might perchance retain, the final blow. Who, then, govern in fact under the name of the Direction? A large stuff of irresponsible secretaries, examiners and clerks at the India House,[b] of whom, as Mr. Campbell observes, in his *Scheme for the Government of India*, only one individual has ever been in India, and he only by accident. Apart from the trade in patronage, it is therefore a mere fiction to speak of the politics, the principles, and the system of the Court of Directors. The real Court of

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[a] John Bright's speech is quoted from *The Times*, No. 21466, June 28, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] The East India House was the residence of the Court of Directors of the East India Company in Leadenhall Street in London.—*Ed.*

Directors and the real Home Government, &c., of India are the permanent and irresponsible *bureaucracy*, "the creatures of the desk and the creatures of favor"[a] residing in Leadenhall-st. We have thus a Corporation ruling over an immense Empire, not formed, as in Venice, by eminent patricians, but by old obstinate clerks, and the like odd fellows.

No wonder, then, that there exists no government by which so much is written and so little done, as the Government of India. When the East India Company was only a commercial association, they, of course, requested a most detailed report on every item from the managers of their Indian factories, as is done by every trading concern. When the factories grew into an Empire, the commercial items into ship loads of correspondence and documents, the Leadenhall clerks went on in their system, which made the Directors and the Board their dependents; and they succeeded in transforming the Indian Government into one immense writing-machine. Lord Broughton stated in his evidence before the Official Salaries Committee, that with one single dispatch 45,000 pages of collection were sent.

In order to give you some idea of the time-killing manner in which business is transacted at the India House, I will quote a passage from Mr. Dickinson:

"When a dispatch arrives from India, it is referred, in the first instance, to the Examiners' Department, to which it belongs; after which the Chairs[b] confer with the official in charge of that department, and settle with him the tenor of a reply, and transmit a draught of this reply to the Indian Minister,[c] in what is technically called P.C., i.e. previous communication. [...] The Chairs, [...] in this preliminary state of P.C. depend mainly on the clerks. [...] Such is this dependence that even in a discussion in the Court of Proprietors, after previous notice, it is pitiable [...] to see the chairman referring to a secretary who sits by his side, and keeps on whispering and prompting and chaffing him as if he were a mere puppet, and [...] the Minister at the other end of the system is in the same predicament. [...] In this stage of P.C., if there is a difference of opinion on the draught it is discussed, and almost invariably settled in friendly communication between the Minister and the Chair; finally the draught is returned by the Minister, either adopted or altered; and then it is submitted to the Committee of Directors superintending the department to which it belongs, with all papers bearing on the case, to be considered and discussed, and adopted or altered, and afterward it is exposed to the same process in the aggregate Court, and then goes, for the first time,

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[a] These words by E. Burke are quoted from J. Dickinson's *The Government of India under a Bureaucracy*, as also his statement and a passage from the text by the author below (see pp. 15-16).—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company.—*Ed.*

[c] Here the reference is to the President of the Board of Control, who was a member of the British Government.—*Ed.*

as an official communication to the Minister," after which it undergoes the same process in the opposite direction.

"When a measure is discussed in India," says Mr. Campbell, "the announcement that it has been referred to the Court of Directors, is [...] regarded as an indefinite postponement."[a]

The close and abject spirit of this bureaucracy deserves to be stigmatised in the celebrated words of Burke:

"This tribe of vulgar politicians are the lowest of our species. There is no trade so vile and mechanical as Government in their hands. Virtue is not their habit. They are out of themselves in any course of conduct recommended only by conscience and glory. A large, liberal and prospective view of the interests of States passes with them for romance; and the principles that recommend it, for the wanderings of a disordered imagination. The calculators compute them out of their senses. The jesters and buffoons shame them out of everything grand and elevated. Littleness in object and in means to them appears soundness and sobriety."

The clerical establishments of Leadenhall-st. and Cannon-row cost the Indian people the trifle of £160,000 annually. The oligarchy involves India in wars, in order to find employment for their younger sons; the moneyocracy consigns it to the highest bidder; and a subordinate Bureaucracy paralyse its administration and perpetuate its abuses as the vital condition of their own perpetuation.

Sir Charles Wood's bill alters nothing in the existing system. It enlarges the power of the Ministry, without adding to its responsibility.

Written on July 5, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] G. Campbell, *Modern India: a Sketch of the System of Civil Government*, p. 215.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [LAYARD'S MOTION.— STRUGGLE OVER THE TEN HOURS' BILL][142]

London, Friday, July 8, 1853

With the actual occupation of the Danubian Principalities and the drawing near of the long-predicted crisis, the English Press has remarkably lowered its warlike language, and little opposition is made to the advice tendered in two consecutive leaders of *The Times*[a] that, "as the Russians could not master their propensity for civilizing barbarian provinces, England had better let them do as they desired, and avoid a disturbance of the peace by vain obstinacy."

The anxiety of the Government to withhold all information on the pending Turkish question betrayed itself in a most ridiculous farce, acted at the same time in both Houses of Parliament. In the House of Commons Mr. Layard, the celebrated restorer of ancient Nineveh,[143] had given notice that he would move this evening that the fullest information with regard to Turkey and Russia should be laid before the House. On this notice having been given, the following scene occurred in the lower House[b]:

Mr. *Layard*—The notice of my motion was given for to-morrow. I received a note yesterday afternoon asking me to put off the motion to Monday, 11th inst. I was not able to return an answer yesterday afternoon—in fact, not till this morning. To my surprise, I find that, without my knowledge, I was in the House yesterday; for I find from the notices of motions printed with the votes, that Mr. Layard postponed his motion from Friday the 8th to Monday 11th! [...] It seems scarcely fair that independent members should be treated in this way.

Mr. *Gladstone*—I do not know by whose direction or authority the notice of postponement was placed on the notes of the House. Of one thing I can assure the hon. member, that whatever was done, was done in perfect *bona fides.*

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[a] *The Times,* No. 21475, July 8, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] Rendering of passages from debates in the two Houses on July 7 is according to the report in *The Times,* No. 21475, July 8, 1853.—*Ed.*

Mr. *Layard*—I should like to know who put that notice of postponement in the paper. What reason have you for deferring the motion to Monday?

Mr. *Gladstone*—An indisposition of Lord J. Russell.

Mr. *Layard* then withdrew his motion until Monday.

Mr. *Disraeli*—This appears to me an arrangement of business which requires explanation on the part of the Government—the more so as the India Bill, too, contrary to agreement, is placed on the notes for to-morrow.

After a pause,

Sir *C. Wood* humbly confesses to have been the double sinner, but, availing himself of Mr. Gladstone's suggestion, declared that he had acted with regard to Mr. Layard with the *best intentions in the world.*

The opposite side of the medal was exhibited in the House of Lords, where, at all events, the bodily disposition of poor little Russell had nothing to do with the motion of the Marquis of Clanricarde, similar to that of Mr. Layard, and likewise announced for Friday, after it had already several times been adjourned on the request of Ministers.

Lord *Brougham* rose, with the assurance that he had not communicated with any member of the Ministry, but that he found the motion of Lord Clanricarde, announced for to-morrow, most inconvenient in the present state of affairs. For this he would refer to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

Lord *Clarendon* could certainly not say that there would be neither mischief nor inconvenience in a full discussion of the subject at present. Negotiations were going on; but after the various postponements, he felt that he ought not to ask again his noble friend to withdraw his motion. Yet he reserved to himself, in reply to him, to say nothing more than that which his sense of public duty allowed. Nevertheless, he would ask his noble friend whether he would object to at least postponing the motion until Monday next, it being convenient to have this discussion in both Houses at the same time, and Lord J. Russell being extremely unwell?

Earl of *Ellenborough*—The noble Marquis opposite would only exercise a sound discretion if he deferred not only to Monday, but generally, without fixing at present any day for the motion of which he has given notice for to-morrow.

Lord *Derby*—He had been taken by surprise on finding the noble Marquis bringing the question under consideration, and he concurred entirely with the views of the noble Earl (Ellenborough).

Earl *Grey*—After the declaration of Lord Clarendon the propriety of postponing discussion must be obvious to every one.

The Marquis of Clanricarde then withdrew his motion.

Earl *Fitzwilliam*—He would ask whether the Russian manifesto, the declaration of a *holy war* against Turkey, dated June 26, was authentic?

Earl *Clarendon*—He had received that document from Her Majesty's Minister at St. Petersburg.

Earl of *Malmesbury*—It was due to the dignity of their Lordships that they should be assured by Government of its intention to prevent, as far as it could, a similar discussion taking place on Monday in the other House.

Earl of *Aberdeen*—He and his colleagues would exercise any influence they possessed to do their utmost for preventing that discussion.

To resume: The House of Commons is first made to adjourn discussion by a fraud. Then, under the pretense that the House of Commons had adjourned discussion, the House of Lords is made to do the same. Then the "noble" Lords resolve to postpone the motion *ad infinitum*; and lastly, the dignity of the "noblest assembly on the face of the earth" requires that the Commons too should postpone the motion *ad infinitum.*

On an interpellation from Mr. Liddell, Lord Palmerston declared in the same sitting:

> The recent obstruction of the navigation of the Sulina Canal of the Danube, had been caused by the accidental circumstance of the waters of the river having overflowed and spread over the banks, and so far diminished the force of the current as to increase the quantity of mud on the bar. [...] I am bound to say that, for many years past, the Government has had reason to complain of the neglect of the Government of Russia to perform its duties as the possessor of the territory of which the Delta of the Danube is composed, and to maintain the Canal of the Sulina [...] in efficient navigable state, although Russia always admitted that it was her duty to do so, by virtue of the treaty of Adrianople. [...] While these mouths of the Danube formed parts of the Turkish Territory, there was maintained a depth of 16 feet on the bar, whereas, by neglect of the Russian authorities the depth had diminished to 11 feet, and even these 11 feet were reduced to a small and narrow canal from obstructions on the sides, from sand-banks and from vessels wrecked and sunk, and allowed to remain there, so that it was difficult for any vessel to pass except in calm weather and with a skillful pilot. [...] There was rivalship on the part of Odessa, where existed a desire to obstruct the export of produce by the Danube, and to divert it, if possible by way of Odessa.

Probably the English Ministry hope that, in case of the Principalities becoming Russian, the mouths of the Danube will reopen according as the rivalry of Odessa will be shut.

A few months ago I took occasion to remark on the progress of the Ten Hours' agitation in the Factory districts.[a] The movement has been going on all the while, and has at last found an echo in the Legislature. On the 5th inst., Mr. Cobbett, M.P. for Oldham, moved for leave to bring in a bill to restrict factory labor to ten hours on the first five days of the week, and to seven and a half hours on Saturday. Leave was given to bring in the bill. During the preliminary debate, Lord Palmerston, in the warmth of improvisation, allowed a distinct threat to escape him, that, if no other means for protecting the factory women and children existed, he would propose a restriction of the moving power. The sentence had scarcely fallen from his lips, when a general storm of indignation burst forth against the incautious statesman, not only from the direct representatives of millocracy, but particularly from

[a] The reference is to the article "Parliamentary Debates.—The Clergy Against Socialism.—Starvation" (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 522-27).—*Ed.*

their and his own Whig friends, such as Sir George Grey, Mr. Labouchere, &c. Lord J. Russell having taken Palmerston aside, and after half an hour's private *pourparler*, had to labor very hard to appease the storm, by assuring them that "it appeared to him that his honorable friend had been entirely misunderstood, and that in expressing himself *for* a restriction of the moving power, his friend had meant to express himself *against* it." Such absurd compromises are the daily bread of the Coalition. At all events *they* have the right to say one thing and to mean another. As to Lord Palmerston himself, be it not forgotten that that old dandy of Liberalism expelled a few years ago some hundred Irish families from his "estates," much in the same way as the Duchess of Sutherland did with the ancient clansmen.[a]

Mr. Cobbett, who moved the bill, is the son of the renowned William Cobbett, and represents the same borough his father did. His politics, like his seat, are the inheritance of his father, and therefore independent indeed, but rather incoherent with the state of present parties. William Cobbett was the most able representative, or, rather, the creator of old English Radicalism. He was the first who revealed the mystery of the hereditary party warfare between Tories and Whigs, stripped the parasitic Whig Oligarchy of their sham liberalism, opposed landlordism in its every form, ridiculed the hypocritical rapacity of the Established Church, and attacked the moneyocracy in its two most eminent incarnations—the "Old Lady of Threadneedle-st." (Bank of England) and Mr. Muckworm & Co. (the national creditors). He proposed to cancel the national debt, to confiscate the Church estates, and to abolish all sorts of paper money. He watched step for step the encroachments of political centralization on local self-government, and denounced it as an infringement on the privileges and liberties of the English subject. He did not understand its being the necessary result of industrial centralization. He proclaimed all the political demands which have afterward been combined in the national charter; yet with him they were rather the political charter of the petty industrial middle class than of the industrial proletarian. A plebeian by instinct and by sympathy, his intellect rarely broke through the boundaries of middle-class reform. It was not until 1834, shortly before his death, after the establishment of the new Poor Law,[144] that William Cobbett began to suspect the existence of a millocracy as hostile to the mass of the

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[a] See Marx's article "Elections.—Financial Clouds.—The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery" (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 486-94).—*Ed.*

people, as landlords, banklords, public creditors, and the clergymen of the Established Church. If William Cobbett was thus, on one hand, an anticipated modern Chartist, he was, on the other hand, and much more, an inveterate John Bull. He was at once the most conservative and the most destructive man of Great Britain—the purest incarnation of Old England and the most audacious initiator of Young England. He dated the decline of England from the period of the Reformation, and the ulterior prostration of the English people from the so-called glorious Revolution of 1688. With him, therefore, revolution was not innovation, but restoration; not the creation of a new age, but the rehabilitation of the "good old times." What he did not see, was that the epoch of the pretended decline of the English people coincided exactly with the beginning ascendancy of the middle class, with the development of modern commerce and industry, and that, at the same pace as the latter grew up, the material situation of the people declined, and local self-government disappeared before political centralization. The great changes attending the decomposition of the old English Society since the eighteenth century struck his eyes and made his heart bleed. But if he saw the effects, he did not understand the causes; the new social agencies at work. He did not see the modern *bourgeoisie*, but only that fraction of the aristocracy which held the hereditary monopoly of office, and which sanctioned by law all the changes necessitated by the new wants and pretensions of the middle class. He saw the machine, but not the hidden motive power. In his eyes, therefore, the Whigs were responsible for all the changes supervening since 1688. They were the prime motors of the decline of England and the degradation of its people. Hence his fanatical hatred against, and his ever recurring denunciation of the Whig oligarchy. Hence the curious phenomenon, that William Cobbett, who represented by instinct the mass of the people against the encroachments of the middle class, passed in the eyes of the world and in his own conviction for the representative of the industrial middle class against the hereditary aristocracy. As a writer he has not been surpassed.

The present Mr. Cobbett, by continuing under altered circumstances the politics of his father, has necessarily sunk into the class of liberal Tories.

*The Times*, anxious to make good for its humble attitude against the Russian Czar[a] by increased insolence against the English

[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

workingmen, brings a leader on Mr. Cobbett's motion that aims to be monstrous, but happens to turn out plainly absurd. It cannot deny that the restriction of the moving power is the only means for enforcing upon the factory lords a submission to the existing laws with regard to the hours of factory labor. But it fails to understand how any man of common sense who aims at attaining an end can propose the only adequate means to it. The existing *Ten-and-a-half-hours* act,[145] like all other factory laws, is but a fictitious concession made by the ruling classes to the working-people; and the workingmen, not satisfied with the mere appearance of a concession, dare insist upon its reality. *The Times* has never heard of a thing more ridiculous or more extravagant. If a master should be prevented by Parliament from working his hands during 12, 16, or any other number of hours, then, says *The Times*, "England is no longer a place for a freeman to live in."[a] Thus the South Carolina gentleman who was placed before and condemned by a London Magistrate for having publicly whipped the Negro he had brought with him from the other side of the Atlantic, exclaimed in a most exasperated state of mind, "You don't call this a free country where a man is forbidden to whip his own nigger?" If a man becomes a factory hand, and enters into contract with a master, in virtue of which he sells himself for sixteen or eighteen hours, instead of taking his sleep as better-circumstanced mortals can do, you have to explain that, says *The Times*,

> "by that natural impulse which perpetually adjusts the supply to the demand, and directs people to the occupation *most agreeable and most suited to themselves*."

Legislation, of course, must not interfere with this *travail attrayant*.[b] If you restrict the moving power of machinery to a definite portion of the day, say from 6 o'clock, A. M. to 6 P. M., then, says *The Times*, you might as well suppress machinery altogether. If you stop the gas-light in the public thoroughfares as soon as the sun rises, you must stop it also during the night. *The Times* forbids legislative interference with private concerns, and therefore, perhaps, it defends the duty on paper, on advertisements, and the newspaper-stamp, in order to keep down the private concerns of its competitors, asking the Legislature to relieve its own concern of the supplement duty. It professes an utter abhorrence of parliamentary interference with the sacred

[a] Here and below Marx quotes the second editorial of *The Times*, No. 21474, July 7, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] Attractive labour.—*Ed.*

interest of mill-lords, where the lives and the morals of whole generations are at stake, while it has croaked its most determined interference with cabmen and hackney-coach proprietors, where nothing was at stake except the conveniences of some fat city-men, and perhaps the gentlemen of Printing-house-square.[a] Till now the middle-class economists have told us that the principal use of machinery was its shortening and superseding bodily labor and drudgery. Now *The Times* confesses that, under present class-arrangements machinery does not shorten but prolong the hours of labor—that it firstly bereaves the individual labor of its quality, and then forces the laborer to make up for the loss in quality by quantity—thus adding hour to hour, night labor to day labor, in a process which only stops at the intervals of industrial crises, when the man is refused any labor at all—when the factory is shut before his nose, and when he may enjoy holidays or hang himself if he pleases.

Written on July 8, 1853

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

Signed: *Karl Marx*

[a] The square in London where *The Times* had its main offices.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE RUSSO-TURKISH DIFFICULTY.— DUCKING AND DODGING OF THE BRITISH CABINET.—NESSELRODE'S LAST NOTE.— THE EAST INDIA QUESTION[146]

London, Tuesday, July 12, 1853

The Parliamentary farce of Thursday last was continued and brought to a close in the sitting of Friday, 8th inst. Lord Palmerston requested Mr. Layard not only to put off his motion to Monday, but never to make any mention of it again. "Monday was now to go the way of Friday." Mr. Bright took the opportunity of congratulating Lord Aberdeen on his cautious policy, and generally to assure him of his entire confidence.

"Were the Peace Society[147] itself the Cabinet," says *The Morning Advertiser*, "it could not have done more to encourage Russia, to discourage France, to endanger Turkey, and discredit England, than the very good Aberdeen. [...] Mr. Bright's speech was meant as a sort of Manchester manifesto in favor of the tremblers of the Cabinet."[a]

The Ministerial efforts for burking the intended question of Mr. Layard originated in a well-founded fear that the internal dissensions in the Cabinet could have no longer been kept a secret to the public. Turkey must fall to pieces, that the Coalition may keep together. Next to Lord Aberdeen, the Ministers most favorable to the tricks of Russia, are the following: The Duke of Argyll, Lord Clarendon, Lord Granville, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Mr. Cardwell, and the "Radical" Sir William Molesworth. Lord Aberdeen is said to have threatened at one time to offer his resignation. The "vigorous" Palmerston (civis Romanus sum[148]) party, of course, was but wanting such a pretext for yielding. They resolved that a common representation should be addressed

[a] "The 'Interpellations' on 'Monday'", *The Morning Advertiser*, July 11, 1853.—*Ed.*

to the Courts of St. Petersburg and Constantinople, recommending that the "privileges demanded by the Czar for the Greek Christians should be secured to Christians of all denominations in the Turkish dominions, under a treaty of guaranty, to which the great powers should be parties." This identical proposition was, however, already made to Prince Menchikoff, on the eve of his departure from Constantinople, and was made, as everybody knows, to no purpose. It is, therefore, utterly ridiculous to expect any result from its repetition, the more so, as it is now a matter beyond all doubt that what Russia insists upon having is exactly a treaty which the great powers, viz.: Austria and Prussia, now no longer resist. Count Buol, the Austrian Premier, is brother-in-law to Count Pouilly Meyendorff, the Russian Minister, and acts in perfect agreement with Russia. On the same day on which the two Coalition parties, the slumbering and the "vigorous," came to the above resolution, the *Patrie* published the following:

"The new Internuncio of Austria, at Constantinople, M. de Bruck, commenced by calling upon the Porte to pay 5,000,000 piasters as an indemnity, and to consent to the delivery of the ports of Kleck and Suttorina. This demand was considered as a support given to Russia."[a]

This is not the only support given by Austria to the Russian interests at Constantinople. In 1848, it will be remembered, that whenever the Princes wanted to shoot their people, they provided a "misunderstanding." The same stratagem is now being employed against Turkey. The Austrian Consul at Smyrna causes the kidnapping of a Hungarian[b] from an English coffee house on board an Austrian vessel, and after the refugees have answered this attempt by the killing of an Austrian officer and the wounding [of] another one, M. de Bruck demands satisfaction from the Porte within 24 hours.[149] Simultaneously with this news, *The Morning Post* of Saturday reports a rumor that the Austrians had entered Bosnia. The Coalition, questioned as to the authenticity of this rumor, in yesterday's sitting of both Houses of Parliament, had, of course, received "no information;" Russell alone venturing the suggestion[c] that the rumor had probably no other foundation than the fact that the Austrians collected troops at Peterwardein. Thus is fulfilled the prediction of M. de Tatistcheff, in 1828, that Austria, when things were come to a decisive turn, would eagerly make ready for sharing in the spoil.

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[a] *La Patrie*, No. 190, July 9, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] M. Koszta (arrested by order of Consul Weckbecker).—*Ed.*

[c] In his House of Commons speech of July 11, 1853, published in *The Times*, No. 21478, July 12, 1853.—*Ed.*

A dispatch from Constantinople, dated 26th ult., states:

"The Sultan,[a] in consequence of the rumors that the whole Russian fleet has left Sebastopol and is directing its course toward the Bosphorus, has inquired of the Ambassadors of England and France[b] whether, in the event of the Russians making a demonstration before the Bosphorus, the combined fleets are ready to pass the Dardanelles. Both answered in the affirmative. A Turkish steamer, with French and English officers on board, has just been sent from the Bosphorus to the Black Sea, in order to *reconnoitre*."[c]

The first thing the Russians did after their entry into the Principalities, was to prohibit the publication of the Sultan's firman confirming the privileges of all kinds of Christians, and to suppress a German paper edited at Bucharest, which had dared to publish an article on the Eastern question. At the same time, they pressed from the Turkish Government the first annuity stipulated for their former occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia, in 1848-49. Since 1828 the Protectorate of Russia has cost the Principalities 150,000,000 piasters, beside the immense losses caused through pillage and devastation. England defrayed the expenses of Russia's wars against France, France that of her war against Persia, Persia that of her war against Turkey, Turkey and England that of her war against Poland; Hungary and the Principalities have now to pay her war against Turkey.

The most important event of the day is the new circular note of Count Nesselrode dated St. Petersburg, 20th June, 1853. It declares that the Russian armies will not evacuate the Principalities until the Sultan shall have yielded to all the demands of the Czar,[d] and the French and English fleets shall have left the Turkish waters. The note in question reads like a direct scorn of England and France. Thus it says:

"The position taken by the two maritime Powers is a maritime occupation which gives us a reason for reestablishing the equilibrium of the reciprocal situations by taking up a military position."[e]

Be it remarked, that Besika Bay is at a distance of 150 miles from Constantinople. The Czar claims for himself the right of occupying Turkish territory, while he defies England and France to occupy neutral waters without his special permission. He extols

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[a] Abdul Mejid.— *Ed.*

[b] Stratford de Redcliffe and Edmond De la Cour.— *Ed.*

[c] Quoted from *The Morning Post*, No. 24821, July 11, 1853. Part of the passage is freely rendered.— *Ed.*

[d] Nicholas I.— *Ed.*

[e] Here and below Marx quotes from *The Times*, No. 21478, July 2, 1853.— *Ed.*

his own magnanimous forbearance in having left the Porte complete mistress of choosing under what form She will abdicate her sovereignty—whether "convention, sened, or other synallagmatic act, or even under the form of signing a simple note." He is persuaded that "impartial Europe" must understand that the treaty of Kainardji, which gives Russia the right of protecting a single Greek chapel at Stamboul,[150] proclaims her *eo ipso* the Rome of the Orient. He regrets that the West is ignorant of the inoffensive character of a Russian religious protectorate in foreign countries. He proves his solicitude for the integrity of the Turkish Empire by historical facts—"the very moderate use he made in 1829 of his victory of Adrianople," when he was only prevented from being immoderate by the miserable condition of his army, and by the threat of the English admiral, that, authorized or not authorized, he would bombard every coast-place along the Black Sea; when all he obtained was due to the "forbearance" of the Western Cabinets, and the perfidious destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino.[151]

"In 1833, he alone in Europe saved Turkey from inevitable dismemberment."

In 1833 the Czar concluded, through the famous treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, *a defensive alliance* with Turkey, by which foreign fleets were forbidden to approach Constantinople,[152] by which Turkey was saved only from dismemberment, in order to be saved entire for Russia.

"In 1839 he took the initiative with the other Powers in the propositions which, executed in common, prevented the Sultan from seeing his throne give place to a new Arabian Empire."

That is to say, in 1839 he made the other Powers take the initiative in the destruction of the Egyptian fleet, and in the reduction to impotence of the only man[a] who might have converted Turkey into a vital danger to Russia, and replaced a "dressed up turban" by a real head.

"The fundamental principle of the policy of our august master has always been to maintain, as long as possible, the *status quo* of the East."

Just so. He has carefully preserved the decomposition of the Turkish State, under the exclusive guardianship of Russia.

It must be granted that a more ironical document the East has never dared to throw in the face of the West. But its author is

[a] Mohammed Ali.—*Ed.*

Nesselrode—a nettle, at once, and a rod.[a] It is a document, indeed, of Europe's degradation under the rod of counter-revolution. Revolutionists may congratulate the Czar on this masterpiece. If Europe withdraws, she withdraws not with a simple defeat, but passes, as it were, under *furcae Caudinae.*[153]

While the English Queen[b] is, at this moment, feasting Russian Princesses; while an enlightened English aristocracy and bourgeoisie lie prostrate before the barbarian autocrat, the English proletariat alone protests against the impotency and degradation of the ruling classes. On the 7th July the Manchester School held a great Peace meeting in the Odd-Fellows Hall, at Halifax. Crossley, M. P. for Halifax, and all the other "great men" of the School had especially flocked to the meeting from "town."[c] The hall was crowded, and many thousands could obtain no admittance. Ernest Jones (whose agitation in the factory districts is gloriously progressing, as you may infer from the number of Charter petitions presented to Parliament, and from the attacks of the middle-class provincial press), was, at the time, at Durham. The Chartists of Halifax, the place where he has twice been nominated and declared by show of hands[154] as a candidate for the House of Commons, summoned him by electric telegraph, and he appeared just in time for the meeting. Already the gentlemen of the Manchester School believed they would carry their resolution, and would be able to bring home the support of the manufacturing districts to their good Aberdeen, when Ernest Jones rose and put an amendment pledging the people to *war,* and declaring that before liberty was established peace was a crime. There ensued a most violent discussion, but the amendment of Ernest Jones was carried by an immense majority.

The clauses of the India Bill are passing one by one, the debate scarcely offering any remarkable features,[d] except the inconsistency of the so-called India Reformers. There is, for instance, my Lord Jocelyn, M. P., who has made a kind of political livelihood by his periodical denunciation of Indian wrongs, and of the maladministration of the East India Company. What do you think his amendment amounted to? To give the East India Company a lease for 10 years. Happily, it compromised no one but himself. There is another professional "Reformer," Mr. Jos. Hume, who,

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[a] A pun: "Nessel" in German means "nettle" and "rode" reminds of "rod".—*Ed.*

[b] Victoria.—*Ed.*

[c] London.—*Ed.*

[d] The debate in the House of Commons on July 8, 1853.—*Ed.*

during his long Parliamentary life, has succeeded in transforming opposition itself into a particular manner of supporting the ministry. He proposed not to reduce the number of East India Directors from 24 to 18. The only amendment of common sense, yet agreed to, was that of Mr. Bright, exempting Directors nominated by the Government from the qualification in East India Stock, imposed by the Directors elected by the Court of Proprietors. Go through the pamphlets published by the East Indian Reform Association,[155] and you will feel a similar sensation as when, hearing of one great act of accusation against Bonaparte, devised in common by Legitimists, Orleanists, Blue and Red Republicans, and even disappointed Bonapartists. Their only merit until now has been to draw public attention to Indian affairs in general, and further they cannot go in their present form of eclectic opposition. For instance, while they attack the doings of the English aristocracy in India, they protest against the destruction of the Indian aristocracy of native princes.

After the British intruders had once put their feet on India, and made up their mind to hold it, there remained no alternative but to break the power of the native princes by force or by intrigue. Placed with regard to them in similar circumstances as the ancient Romans with regard to their allies, they followed in the track of Roman politics. "It was," says an English writer, "a system of fattening allies, as we fatten oxen, till they were worthy of being devoured." After having won over their allies in the way of ancient Rome, the East India Company executed them in the modern manner of Change-Alley.[156] In order to discharge the engagements they had entered into with the Company, the native princes were forced to borrow enormous sums from Englishmen at usurious interest. When their embarrassment had reached the highest pitch, the creditor got inexorable, "the screw was turned" and the princes were compelled either to concede their territories amicably to the Company, or to begin war; to become pensioners on their usurpers in one case, or to be deposed as traitors in the other. At this moment the native States occupy an area of 699,961 square miles, with a population of 52,941,263 souls, being, however, no longer the allies, but only the dependents of the British Government, upon multifarious conditions, and under the various forms of the subsidiary[157] and of the protective systems. These systems have in common the relinquishment, by the native States of the right of self-defense, of maintaining diplomatic relations, and of settling the disputes among themselves without the interference of the Governor-General. All of them have to pay

a tribute, either in hard cash, or in a contingent of armed forces commanded by British officers. The final absorption or annexation of these native States is at present eagerly controverted between the Reformers who denounce it as a crime, and the men of business who excuse it as a necessity.

In my opinion the question itself is altogether improperly put. As to the native *States* they virtually ceased to exist from the moment they became subsidiary to or protected by the Company. If you divide the revenue of a country between two governments, you are sure to cripple the resources of the one and the administration of both. Under the present system the native States succumb under the double incubus of their native Administration and the tributes and inordinate military establishments imposed upon them by the Company. The conditions under which they are allowed to retain their apparent independence are at the same time the conditions of a permanent decay, and of an utter inability of improvement. Organic weakness is the constitutional law of their existence, as of all existences living upon sufferance. It is, therefore, not the native *States*, but the native *Princes* and Courts about whose maintenance the question revolves. Now, is it not a strange thing that the same men who denounce "the barbarous splendors of the Crown and Aristocracy of England" are shedding tears at the downfall of Indian Nabobs, Rajahs, and Jagheerdars,[158] the great majority of whom possess not even the prestige of antiquity, being generally usurpers of very recent date, set up by English intrigue! There exists in the whole world no despotism more ridiculous, absurd and childish than that of those *Schazenans* and *Schariars* of the *Arabian Nights*. The Duke of Wellington, Sir J. Malcolm, Sir Henry Russell, Lord Ellenborough, General Briggs, and other authorities, have pronounced in favor of the *status quo*; but on what grounds? Because the native troops under English rule want employment in the petty warfares with their own countrymen, in order to prevent them from turning their strength against their own European masters. Because the existence of independent States gives occasional employment to the English troops. Because the hereditary princes are the most servile tools of English despotism, and check the rise of those bold military adventurers with whom India has and ever will abound. Because the independent territories afford a refuge to all discontented and enterprising native spirits. Leaving aside all these arguments, which state in so many words that the native princes are the strongholds of the present abominable English system and the greatest obstacles to Indian progress, I come to Sir Thomas

Munro and Lord Elphinstone, who were at least men of superior genius, and of real sympathy for the Indian people. They think that without a native aristocracy there can be no energy in any other class of the community, and that the subversion of that aristocracy will not raise but debase a whole people. They may be right as long as the natives, under direct English rule, are systematically excluded from all superior offices, military and civil. Where there can be no great men by their own exertion, there must be great men by birth, to leave to a conquered people some greatness of their own. That exclusion, however, of the native people from the English territory, has been effected only by the maintenance of the hereditary princes in the so-called independent territories. And one of these two concessions had to be made to the native army, on whose strength all British rule in India depends. I think we may trust the assertion of Mr. Campbell, that the native Indian Aristocracy are the least enabled to fill higher offices; that for all fresh requirements it is necessary to create a fresh class; and that

> "from the acuteness and aptness to learn of the inferior classes, this can be done in India as it can be done in no other country."[a]

The native princes themselves are fast disappearing by the extinction of their houses; but, since the commencement of this century, the British Government has observed the policy of allowing them to make *heirs by adoption*, or of filling up their vacant seats with puppets of English creation. The great Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, was the first to protest openly against this system. Were not the natural course of things artificially resisted, there would be wanted neither wars nor expenses to do away with the native princes.

As to the *pensioned princes*, the £2,468,969 assigned to them by the British Government on the Indian revenue is a most heavy charge upon a people living on rice, and deprived of the first necessaries of life. If they are good for any thing, it is for exhibiting Royalty in its lowest stage of degradation and ridicule. Take, for instance, the Great Mogul,[b] the descendant of Timour Tamerlane[159]: He is allowed £120,000 a year. His authority does not extend beyond the walls of his palace, within which the Royal idiotic race, left to itself, propagates as freely as rabbits. Even the police of Delhi is held by Englishmen above his control. There he

[a] G. Campbell, *Modern India: a Sketch of the System of Civil Government*, p. 64.—*Ed.*

[b] Bahadur Shah II.—*Ed.*

sits on his throne, a little shriveled yellow old man, trimmed in a theatrical dress, embroidered with gold, much like that of the dancing girls of Hindostan. On certain State occasions, the tinsel-covered puppet issues forth to gladden the hearts of the loyal. On his days of reception strangers have to pay a fee, in the form of guineas, as to any other *saltimbanque* exhibiting himself in public; while he, in his turn, presents them with turbans, diamonds, etc. On looking nearer at them, they find that the Royal diamonds are, like so many pieces of ordinary glass, grossly painted and imitating as roughly as possible the precious stones, and jointed so wretchedly, that they break in the hand like gingerbread.

The English money-lenders, combined with the English Aristocracy, understand, we must own, the art of degrading Royalty, reducing it to the nullity of constitutionalism at home, and to the seclusion of etiquette abroad. And now, here are the Radicals, exasperated at this spectacle! [a]

Written on July 12, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] This sentence was omitted in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## WAR IN BURMA.—THE RUSSIAN QUESTION.—CURIOUS DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE[160]

London, Friday, July 15, 1853

By the latest overland mail from India, intelligence has been received that the Burmese ambassadors have rejected the treaty proposed by General Godwin. The General afforded them 24 hours more for reflection, but the Burmese departed within 10 hours. A third edition of the interminable Burmese war appears to be inevitable.[161]

Of all the warlike expeditions of the British in the East, none have ever been undertaken on less warranted grounds than those against Burma. There was no possible danger of invasion from that side, as there was from the North-West, Bengal being separated from Burma by a range of mountains, across which troops cannot be marched. To go to war with Burma the Indian Government is obliged to go to sea. To speak of maritime aggressions on the part of the Burmese is as ridiculous, as the idea of their coast-junks fronting the Company's war steamers would be preposterous. The pretension that the Yankees had strong annexation propensities applied to Pegu, is borne out by no facts. No argument, therefore, remains behind, but the want of employment for a needy aristocracy, the necessity of creating, as an English writer says, "a regular quality-workhouse, or Hampton Court[a] in the East." The first Burmese war (1824-26), entered into under the Quixotic administration of Lord Amherst, although it lasted little more than two years, added thirteen millions to the Indian debt. The maintenance of the Eastern settlements at

[a] A palace on the Thames near London, the residence of the English kings from the 16th to the 18th centuries; in Marx's time it was the home of royal pensioners.— *Ed.*

Singapore, Penang and Malacca, exclusive of the pay of troops, causes an annual excess of expenditure over income amounting to £100,000. The territory taken from the Burmese in 1826 costs as much more. The territory of Pegu is still more ruinous. Now, why is it that England shrinks from the most necessary war in Europe, as now against Russia, while she tumbles, year after year, into the most reckless wars in Asia? The national debt has made her a trembler in Europe—the charges of the Asiatic wars are thrown on the shoulders of the Hindoos. But we may expect from the now impending extinction of the Opium revenue of Bengal, combined with the expenses of another Burmese war, that they will produce such a crisis in the Indian exchequer, as will cause a more thorough reform of the Indian Empire than all the speeches and tracts of the Parliamentary Reformers in England.

Yesterday, in the House of Commons, Mr. Disraeli asked Ministers, whether, after the latest circular note of the Russian Cabinet, Mr. Layard might not very properly bring in his motion. Lord John Russell answered, that it appeared to him by far the best not to hear Mr. Layard at present, as, since the publication of that note, it was more important than ever to negotiate. "The notion of the honorable member, that negotiations had come now to a deadlock, was an erroneous notion." Lord John, while actually confessing his Aberdeen *credo*, attempted to re-vindicate the dignity of the *civis Romanus sum*[162] party in the following words:

> "I naturally supposed that a person of the experience and sagacity of Count Nesselrode, would not have affixed his signature to a document declaring to all the world that the Russian Government made the removal of the combined fleets the condition of its evacuation of the Principalities."[a]

In the subsequent Indian debate Mr. Bright moved, that from the ninth clause which provides, "that six of the directors not elected by the Crown, shall be persons who have been ten years in India in the service of the Crown or the Company," the words, "in the service of the Crown or the Company," should be expunged. The amendment was agreed to. It is significant, that during the whole Indian debate no amendments are agreed to by the Ministry, and consequently carried by the House, except those of Mr. Bright. The Peace Ministry, at this moment does everything to secure its *entente cordiale*[163] with the Peace party, Manchester School,[164] who are opposed to any kind of warfare, except by cotton bales and price currents.

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[a] Quoted from *The Times*, No. 21481, July 15, 1853.—*Ed.*

M. Drouyn de Lhuys, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, once upper clerk at the Foreign Office under M. Guizot, and declared by his *chef*, to possess hardly the necessary qualifications for that place, is now indulging freely in the pleasure of exchanging notes and circulars with Count Nesselrode. The *Moniteur* of yesterday brings his reply to the last (2d) *circulaire* of the Russian Minister,[165] which concludes in the following terms:

"The moderation of France takes from her all responsibility, and gives her the right to hope that all the sacrifices which she has made to secure the tranquillity of the East will not have been in vain; that the Russian Government will at length discover some mode of reconciling its pretensions with the prerogatives of the Sultan's sovereignty; and that an arrangement [...] be devised that shall settle, without a resort to force, a question, on the solution of which so many interests are dependent."[a]

I mentioned in a former letter the propositions once made by M. de Villèle to Russia, for the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, by a treaty of guarantee between all the Great Powers,[b] propositions which called forth this reply from Count Pozzo di Borgo:

"That a general guarantee of the Ottoman Empire, independently of its being unusual and surprising, would wound the rights acquired by Russia and the principles upon which they are founded."[c]

Well, in 1841, Russia nevertheless agreed to become party to such an unusual treaty,[166] and Nesselrode himself, in his note of 20th June (2d July) refers to that treaty. Why did Russia assent to it, in contradiction to its traditional policy? Because that treaty was not one of "guarantee of the Ottoman Empire," but rather of execution against its then only vital element, Egypt, under Mehemet Ali—because it was a coalition against France, at least in its original intention.

The Paris journal *La Presse* gives in its number of to-day, which has just come to my hands, a correspondence never before published between the late General Sébastiani, Ambassador in London, and Mme. Adélaide, sister of Louis Philippe, a correspondence which reflects a remarkable light on the diplomatic transactions of that epoch. It contains clear proofs that the Treaty of 1841, far from having been originated by Russia, as Nesselrode affirms in his note, was, on the contrary, originated by France and England against Russia, and was only afterward turned by Russia

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[a] Quoted from *The Morning Post*, No. 24825, July 15, 1853.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 163-64.—*Ed.*
[c] Quoted from *The Portfolio*, Vol. I, No. II, pp. 130-31.—*Ed.*

into a weapon against France. I translate from this important correspondence as much as the pressure of time permits me to do:

I[a]

London, April 21, 1836

In this country all parties are unanimous as to the necessity of closely watching Russia, and I believe that the Tory party is more decided than the Whigs, or at least it seems so, because it is not moderated by office.

II

London, June 12, 1838

I have had to-day a conference of two hours' duration with Lord Palmerston. I have been highly satisfied with him. I was not mistaken in assuring you that he was a friend of King Leopold, and above all a great partisan of the French Alliance. Lord Palmerston has conversed a great deal with me on Oriental affairs. He thinks that the Pasha of Egypt is decided as to his course of action. He wishes that England and France should make fresh efforts, supported by the presence of their fleets, in order to intimidate Mehemet, and that simultaneously our Ambassadors at Constantinople should inform the Sultan[b] that they have received orders from their Courts to assure him of their support against the attempts of the Pasha of Egypt, under the condition that he would not take the initiative in hostilities. I believe this to be a prudent course, and advisable to be followed by England and France. We must maintain the Porte and not suffer the Provinces of Egypt, Syria and Celesyria to become detached from it. Russia only awaits for the moment for marching up her succours to the Sultan, and that *assistance would be the end of the Ottoman Empire.*

III

London, July 6, 1838

People in this country believe in the general understanding of Europe as to the Oriental question. The answer from Paris is impatiently looked for. I think not to have surpassed the line of conduct traced to me by the King in several conversations. As soon as the *entente* shall be established in principle, the manner of action and the position to be taken up by each of the Powers, will be regulated according to contingencies. The part Russia has to play must, of course, be maritime, like that of France and England, and in order to prevent any danger that might result from the action of the fleet in the Black Sea, she must be brought to the understanding that her squadron in the combined fleet is to be drawn from the Baltic.

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[a] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* this document was published under No. II after the extract from H. Sébastiani's letter of June 12, 1838, which was erroneously datelined June 12, 1835. Here it is published as printed in *La Presse* of July 15, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] Mahmud II.—*Ed.*

IV

London, October 3, 1839

England has not accepted the Russian propositions,[167] and Lord Palmerston informed me, on the part of the Government, that she had refused, in order to remain true to the French Alliance. Induced by the same feeling she consents that Mehemet Ali shall receive the hereditary possession of Egypt, and of that portion of Syria within a boundary to be demarked, which should go from St. Jean d'Acre, to the lake of Tabariye. We have, not without difficulty, obtained the assent of the English Government to these latter propositions. I do not think that such an arrangement would be rejected by either France or Mehemet Ali. The Oriental question simplifies itself; it will be terminated by the concurrence of the Powers, and under the guaranty of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. All the principles are maintained. The Sublime Porte is admitted to the law of nations of Europe. *The exclusive protectorate of Russia is annihilated.* I have asked myself why the Republican faction in France showed itself so favorable to Mehemet Ali, and why it has so warmly espoused his cause. I have not been able to find out any other motive, but the revolutionary principle, that of trying to support, to encourage all that is likely to subvert established governments. I believe we ought never to give in to such a snare.

V

London, November 30, 1839

I learn from an authentic source, that Lord Palmerston, in the last council of Ministers, in giving an account of the situation of Oriental affairs, and of the differences existing between the French and English policies, did so with a moderation and a regard for the alliance of both countries, that deserve our gratitude. He has even drawn the attention of his colleagues to a system similar to that mentioned by me. In conclusion he has yielded as to forms, and has renounced a policy of action and of inevitable complication.

VI

London, Dec. 12, 1839

I have seen Lord Palmerston, as I was anxious to know, whether he had to inform me of anything respecting the communication he recently made to me. He has read to me the letter of *M. de Nesselrode* to the Russian *Chargé d'Affaires*, which corresponded exactly to what he had told me. The arrival of *M. de Brunnow* will initiate us into the secret thoughts of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg. Lord Palmerston has been charming in forms and in matter. He views with pleasure the return of good feelings between the French and English Cabinets, and the continuation of the alliance. Believe me, I do not exaggerate in this. I told him with the confidence of truth, that the new situation was exactly such as France had ever wished it to be. He was forced to recognize it himself. The Prince of Esterházy has written to his Chargé d'Affaires that he had been extremely content with the Marshal,[a] and that he was trying at this moment to bring back the French Cabinet to

[a] N. Soult, Prime Minister of France.— *Ed.*

an *entente* with Austria, but that he had found the King *unmanageable.* I can well believe it. The King does not lend his mind to such impracticable divagations. This I write for you alone. Indeed, I believe with your Royal Highness that *Russia will be caught in her own nets*

VII

London, December 18th, 1839

I have received this morning a dispatch, more than usually strange, from the Marshal. It is an answer to the letter in which I reported to him on the communication I made to Lord Palmerston, in regard to the impression evoked at Paris on the announcement of the new mission of M. de Brunnow, and of its aim. I have read to Lord Palmerston *textuellement* the paragraph of the dispatch addressed to me by the Marshal. But in the statement I made to him about it, I made use of such terms as rendered the same ideas without being identical with those of the Marshal. Now the Marshal is kind enough to assure me that there was no difference between my words and his own expression; but he recommends me that I ought to double my circumspection and endeavor to reestablish in our negotiations the textual meaning of his own dispatches. I am much mistaken if this be not a *querelle allemande,*[a] a subtlety worthy of a *Grec du Bas-Empire*[b].... The Marshal is a novice in the career of diplomacy, and I fear that he seeks ability in fineness. He can find it only in sincerity and straightforwardness.

VIII

London, Jan. 3, 1840

Yesterday Lord Palmerston dined with me, in common with the whole *Corps Diplomatique....* He told me that Ministers were going to ask for a supplementary vote for their naval forces, but he stated that he would propose to his colleagues not to demand it on account of the reinforcements of the French fleet, in order to avoid wounding an ally by the least allusion. Lord Holland and Lord John Russell are admirable in their efforts for maintaining the alliance.

IX

London, Jan. 20, 1840

Lord Palmerston has communicated to me the project of a convention to be submitted to the Great Powers and to the Porte.... It is not a convention of the five Great Powers between themselves, but a convention of those same Powers with the Porte.... *M. de Brunnow objects to that form* (see Nesselrode's note, dated 2d July, inst., about the Russian initiative!).... This convention consists of a preamble and VIII articles: in the former it is stated in a positive manner, and almost textually, that the integrity of the Ottoman Empire being essentially necessary for the maintenance of the peace of Europe, the five Powers are disposed to lend it the requisite support and to make it enter into the international confidence of Europe. The articles regulate that support....

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[a] Literally: German quarrel; figuratively: groundless quarrel.—*Ed.*

[b] A Byzantine of the Eastern Roman Empire.—*Ed.*

P.S.—I learn, at this moment, that *Brunnow and Neumann are utterly discontented with the convention of Lord Palmerston.*

X

London, January 21, 1840

The project of convention drawn up by Lord Palmerston appears to me to have been rejected by the Russian and Austrian negotiators. *M. de Neumann* distinguished himself by the violence, and, I venture to say, the stupidity of his complaints. He unveils the policy of his Court. Prince Metternich, who intended to sustain in his hands the balance of power, openly avows his hatred of Russia. He flattered himself to see the propositions of Brunnow received without restrictions, and both have been disappointed to find in Lord Palmerston a Minister who desires sincerely an alliance with France, and who is anxious to operate in understanding with her.

XI

London, Jan. 24, 1840

To-day I had a long conversation with Lord Melbourne, who is a thorough partisan of the alliance with our King. He repeatedly called upon me to show him some means by which a combination of the French and English propositions could be effected.

He judges in the same light as we do the intentions of Russia, and he told me, in a conference with regard to the *Vienna Cabinet, that it was not to be trusted, because it ever turned out in the end, to be the devoted partisan of Russia.*

XII

London, January 27, 1840

The turn now being taken by the Oriental affairs is alarming to me.... There is no doubt that Russia is pushing to war, and that Austria supports her with all her forces.... They have succeeded in frightening England with the "projects of France on the Mediterranean." Algiers and Mehemet Ali are the two means employed by them.... I make all possible efforts to obtain the rejection of the Brunnow propositions, and I had narrowly succeeded in it, when they heard of it, and Austria now presents the Brunnow propositions as her own. This is an evident trickery. But the Council has been convoked, in order to deliberate on the Austrian propositions. It is divided. On the one side, there are Lord Melbourne, Lord Holland and Mr. Labouchere; on the other, Lord Palmerston, Lord J. Russell, and Lord Minto. The other members are fluctuating between the two opinions.

XIII

London, January 28, 1840

The Council has hitherto only deliberated on one point of the project of Lord Palmerston. It has decided that the Convention should be contracted between six,

and not between five (powers), as proposed by *M. de Brunnow*, who was not wanting in zeal for his particular interests (solicitude for the Ottoman Empire). The Porte would not consent to a Convention discussed and settled without its cooperation. *By signing a Treaty with the five Great Powers she would come in consequence of this fact itself under the European law of nations.*

## XIV

London, 28th January, 1840

Are the politics and the interest of the King given up to the caprices of M. Thiers and his newspaper[a]? The system founded with so great pains, with such efforts, and maintained, notwithstanding so many difficulties, for more than ten years, is doomed to destruction.

Written on July 15, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] *Le Constitutionnel.—Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE WAR QUESTION.— DOINGS OF PARLIAMENT.—INDIA[168]

London, Tuesday, July 19, 1853

The Czar[a] has not only commenced war, he has already terminated his first campaign. The line of operations is no longer behind the Pruth, but along the Danube. Meanwhile, what are the Western Powers about? They counsel, i.e. compel the Sultan[b] to consider the war as peace. Their answers to the acts of the autocrat are not cannons, but notes. The Emperor is assailed, not by the two fleets, but by no less than four projects of negotiation. One emanating from the English Cabinet, the other from the French, the third presented by Austria, and the fourth improvised by the "brother-in-law" of Potsdam.[c] The Czar, it is hoped, will consent to select from this *embarras de richesses* that which is most suitable to his purposes. The (second) reply of M. Drouyn de Lhuys to the (second) note of M. de Nesselrode[169] takes infinite pains to prove that "it was not England and France who made the first demonstration."[d] Russia only throws out so many notes to the western diplomats, like bones to dogs, in order to set them at an innocent amusement, while she reaps the advantage of further gaining time. England and France, of course, catch the bait. As if the receipt of such a note were not a sufficient degradation, it [the note] received a most pacific comment in the *Journal de l'Empire* in an article signed by M. de La Guéronnière, but written from notes given by the Emperor and revised by him. That article "would permit to Russia the caprice of negotiating on the right bank rather

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[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*
[b] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*
[c] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*
[d] Quoted from *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 198, July 17, 1853.—*Ed.*

than on the left bank of the Pruth." It actually converts the second note of Count Nesselrode into an "attempt at reconciliation." This is done in the following style:

"Count Nesselrode now speaks only of a moral guarantee, and he announces that, for it, is substituted provisionally a material guarantee *thus making a direct appeal to negotiation.* That being the case it is impossible to consider the action of diplomatists exhausted."[a]

The *Assemblée nationale,* the Russian *Moniteur* at Paris, ironically congratulates the *Journal de l'Empire* for its discovery, however late it had come to it, and regrets only that so much noise should have been made to no purpose.[b]

The English press has lost all countenance.

"The Czar cannot comprehend the courtesy which the Western Powers have shown to him.... He is incapable of courteous demeanor in his transactions with other powers."

So says *The Morning Advertiser.*[c] *The Morning Post* is exasperated because the Czar takes so little note of the internal *embarras* of his opponents:

"To have put forward, in the mere wantonness of insolence, a claim that possessed no character of immediate urgency, and to have done so without any reference to the inflammable state of Europe, was an indiscretion almost incredible."[d]

The writer of the Money Market article in *The Economist* finds out

"that men discover now to their cost, how inconvenient it is that all the most secret interests of the world [i.e., of the Exchange], are dependent upon the vagaries of one man."[e]

Yet in 1848 and '49 you could see the bust of the Emperor of Russia side by side with the *veau d'or*[f] itself.

Meanwhile the position of the Sultan is becoming every hour more difficult and complicated. His financial embarrassments increase the more, as he bears all the burdens, without reaping any of the good chances of war. Popular enthusiasm turns round

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[a] *Le Pays,* No. 197, July 16, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] See A. Letellier's article in *L'Assemblée nationale,* No. 198, July 17, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Morning Advertiser,* July 18, 1853.—*Ed.*

[d] "The Question Between Russia and Turkey...", *The Morning Post,* No. 24827, July 18, 1853.—*Ed.*

[e] *The Economist,* No. 516, July 16, 1853.—*Ed.*

[f] Golden calf.—*Ed.*

upon him for want of being directed against the Czar. The fanaticism of the Mussulman threatens him with palace revolutions, while the fanaticism of the Greek menaces him with popular insurrections. The papers of to-day contain reports of a conspiracy directed against the Sultan's life by Mussulman students belonging to the old Turkish party, who wanted to place Abdul Aziz on the throne.[170]

In the House of Lords, yesterday, Lord Clarendon was asked by Lords Beaumont and Malmesbury to state his intentions, now that the Emperor of France had not hesitated to pronounce his. Lord Clarendon, however, beside a brief avowal that England had indorsed the note of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, concealed himself behind his entrenchment of promises that he would certainly very soon give full information to the House. On the question whether it was true that the Russians had also seized the Civil Government and the Post-Offices of the Principalities, which they had placed under military occupation, Lord Clarendon remained "silent," of course! "He would not believe it, after the proclamation of Prince Gorchakoff."[171] Lord Beaumont replied, he seemed to be very sanguine indeed.

To a question concerning the late Smyrna affray,[a] put by Sir J. Walmsley in the House of Commons, Lord John Russell replied that he had heard indeed of the kidnapping of one Hungarian refugee[b] by the Consul of Austria[c]; but as to Austria having demanded the extradition of all Hungarian and Italian refugees, he had certainly heard nothing of that. Lord John manages interpellations in a style altogether pleasant and not without convenience to himself. Official information he never receives; and in the newspapers he never reads anything that you want him, or expect him to have read.

The *Kölnische Zeitung* in a letter dated Vienna, July 11, contains the following report on the Smyrna affair:

"Chekib Effendi has been sent to Smyrna in order to commence an instruction against the authors of the sedition in which M. de Hackelberg perished. Chekib has also received orders to deliver to Austria the refugees of Austrian or Tuscan origin. Mr. Brown, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States, has had communications on this subject with Reshid Pasha, the result of which was not yet known. I hear at this moment that the assassin of Baron Hackelberg has received from the American Consul at Smyrna a passport that places him out of the reach of the Turkish authorities. *This fact proves that the United States intend intervening in European affairs.* It is also sure that three American men-of-war are with the

[a] See this volume, p. 193.—*Ed.*
[b] M. Koszta.—*Ed.*
[c] Weckbecker.—*Ed.*

Turkish fleet in the Bosphorus, and further, that the American frigate *Cumberland* has brought 80,000,000 of piasters to the Turkish Government."[a]

Whatever truth there be in this and like reports, they prove one thing, viz.: that American intervention is expected everywhere, and is even looked upon with favor by portions of the English public. The behavior of the American Captain[b] and Consul are loudly praised in popular meetings, and the "Englishman"[c] in *The Advertiser* of yesterday called the Stars and Stripes to appear in the Mediterranean and to shame the "muddy old Union Jack" into activity.

To sum up the Eastern question in a few words: The Czar, vexed and dissatisfied at seeing his immense Empire confined to one sole port of export, and that even situated in a sea innavigable through one half of the year, and assailable by Englishmen through the other half, is pushing the design of his ancestors, to get access to the Mediterranean; he is separating, one after another, the remotest members of the Ottoman Empire from its main body, till at last Constantinople, the heart, must cease to beat. He repeats his periodical invasions as often as he thinks his designs on Turkey endangered by the apparent consolidation of the Turkish Government, or by the more dangerous symptoms of self-emancipation manifest amongst the Slavonians. Counting on the cowardice and apprehensions of the Western Powers, he bullies Europe, and pushes his demands as far as possible, in order to appear magnanimous afterward, by contenting himself with what he immediately wanted.

The Western Powers, on the other hand, inconsistent, pusillanimous, suspecting each other, commence by encouraging the Sultan to resist the Czar, from fear of the encroachments of Russia, and terminate by compelling the former to yield, from fear of a general war giving rise to a general revolution. Too impotent and too timid to undertake the reconstruction of the Ottoman Empire by the establishment of a Greek Empire, or of a Federal Republic of Slavonic States, all they aim at, is to maintain the *status quo*, i.e., the state of putrefaction which forbids the Sultan to emancipate himself from the Czar, and the Slavonians to emancipate themselves from the Sultan.

The revolutionary party can only congratulate itself on this state of things. The humiliation of the reactionary western governments, and their manifest impotency to guard the interests of

[a] *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 193, July 14, 1853.—*Ed.*
[b] D. N. Ingraham.—*Ed.*
[c] A. Richards.—*Ed.*

European civilization against Russian encroachment cannot fail to work out a wholesome indignation in the people who have suffered themselves, since 1849, to be subjected to the rule of counter-revolution. The approaching industrial crisis, also, is affected and accelerated quite as much by this semi-Eastern complication, as by the completely Eastern complication of China. While the prices of corn are rising, business in general is suspended, at the same time that the rate of Exchange is setting against England, and gold is beginning to flow to the Continent. The stock of bullion in the Bank of France has fallen off between the 9th of June and the 14th of July, the sum of £2,220,000, which is more than the entire augmentation which had taken place during the preceding three months.

The progress of the India bill through the Committee has little interest. It is significant, that all amendments are thrown out now by the Coalition coalescing with the Tories against their own allies of the Manchester School.

The actual state of India may be illustrated by a few facts. The Home Establishment absorbs 3 per cent. of the net revenue, and the annual interest for Home Debt and Dividends 14 per cent.—together 17 per cent. If we deduct these annual remittances from India to England, the *military charges* amount to about two-thirds of the whole expenditure available for India, or to 66 per cent., while the charges for *Public Works* do not amount to more than $2^3/_4$ per cent. of the general revenue, or for Bengal 1 per cent., Agra $7^3/_4$, Punjab $^1/_8$, Madras $^1/_2$, and Bombay 1 per cent. of their respective revenues. These figures are the official ones of the Company itself.

On the other hand nearly three-fifths of the whole net revenue are derived from the *land*, about one-seventh from *opium*, and upward of one-ninth from *salt*. These resources together yield 85 per cent. of the whole receipts.

As to minor items of receipts and charges, it may suffice to state that the *Moturpha* revenue maintained in the Presidency of Madras, and levied on shops, looms, sheep, cattle, sundry professions, &c., yields somewhat about £50,000, while the yearly dinners of the East India House[a] cost about the same sum.

The great bulk of the revenue is derived from the land. As the various kinds of Indian land-tenure have recently been described in so many places, and in popular style, too, I propose to limit my

[a] Residence of the Court of Directors of the East India Company in Leadenhall Street in London.—*Ed.*

observations on the subject to a few general remarks on the Zemindari and Ryotwar systems.[172]

The Zemindari and the Ryotwar were both of them agrarian revolutions, effected by British ukases, and opposed to each other, the one aristocratic, the other democratic; the one a caricature of English landlordism, the other of French peasant-proprietorship; but pernicious, both combining the most contradictory character—both made not for the people, who cultivate the soil, nor for the holder, who owns it, but for the Government that taxes it.

By the Zemindari system, the people of the Presidency of Bengal were depossessed at once of their hereditary claims to the soil, in favor of the native tax gatherers called *Zemindars.* By the Ryotwar system introduced into the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, the native nobility, with their territorial claims, merassees, jagheers, &c., were reduced with the common people to the holding of minute fields, cultivated by themselves in favor of the Collector of the East India Company.[173] But a curious sort of English landlord was the Zemindar, receiving only one-tenth of the rent, while he had to make over nine-tenths of it to the Government. A curious sort of French peasant was the Ryot, without any permanent title in the soil, and with the taxation changing every year in proportion to his harvest. The original class of Zemindars, notwithstanding their unmitigated and uncontrolled rapacity against the depossessed mass of the ex-hereditary landholders, soon melted away under the pressure of the Company, in order to be replaced by mercantile speculators who now hold all the land of Bengal, with exception of the estates returned under the direct management of the Government. These speculators have introduced a variety of the Zemindari tenure called *patnee.* Not content to be placed with regard to the British Government in the situation of middlemen, they have created in their turn a class of "hereditary" middlemen called *patnetas,* who created again their sub-patnetas, &c., so that a perfect scale of hierarchy of middlemen has sprung up, which presses with its entire weight on the unfortunate cultivator. As to the Ryots in Madras and Bombay, the system soon degenerated into one of forced cultivation, and the land lost all its value.

"The land," says Mr. Campbell, "would be sold for balances by the Collector, as in Bengal, but generally is not, for a very good reason, viz.: that nobody will buy it."[a]

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[a] G. Campbell, *Modern India: a Sketch of the System of Civil Government,* p. 359.—*Ed.*

Thus, in Bengal, we have a combination of English landlordism, of the Irish middlemen system, of the Austrian system, transforming the landlord into the tax-gatherer, and of the Asiatic system making the State the real landlord. In Madras and Bombay we have a French peasant proprietor who is at the same time a serf, and a *métayer* of the State. The drawbacks of all these various systems accumulate upon him without his enjoying any of their redeeming features. The Ryot is subject, like the French peasant, to the extortion of the private usurer; but he has no hereditary, no permanent title in his land, like the French peasant. Like the serf he is forced to cultivation, but he is not secured against want like the serf. Like the *métayer* he has to divide his produce with the State, but the State is not obliged, with regard to him, to advance the funds and the stock, as it is obliged to do with regard to the *métayer*. In Bengal, as in Madras and Bombay, under the *Zemindari* as under the *Ryotwar*, the Ryots—and they form 11-12ths of the whole Indian population—have been wretchedly pauperized; and if they are, morally speaking, not sunk as low as the Irish cottiers, they owe it to their climate, the men of the South being possessed of less wants, and of more imagination than the men of the North.

Conjointly with the land-tax we have to consider the salt-tax. Notoriously the Company retain the monopoly of that article which they sell at three times its mercantile value—and this in a country where it is furnished by the sea, by the lakes, by the mountains and the earth itself. The practical working of this monopoly was described by the Earl of Albemarle in the following words:

"A great proportion of the salt for inland consumption throughout the country is purchased from the Company by large wholesale merchants at less than 4 rupees per *maund*[a]; these mix a fixed proportion of sand, chiefly got a few miles to the south-east of Dacca, and send the mixture to a second, or, counting the Government as the first, to a third monopolist at about 5 or 6 rupees. This dealer adds more earth or ashes, and thus passing through more hands, from the large towns to villages, the price is still raised from 8 to 10 rupees and the proportion of adulteration from 25 to 40 per cent. [...] It appears then that the people [...] pay from £21, 17s. 2d. to £27, 6s. 2d. for their salt, or in other words, from 30 to 36 times as much as the wealthy people of Great Britain."[b]

As an instance of English bourgeois morals, I may allege, that Mr. Campbell defends the Opium monopoly because it prevents

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[a] Asiatic measure of weight of varying value (Indian standard $\approx 82^2/_7$ lb.).—*Ed.*

[b] Marx gives a rendering of George Albemarle's speech in the House of Lords on July 1, 1853, published in *The Times*, No. 21470, July 2, 1853.—*Ed.*

the Chinese from consuming too much of the drug, and that he defends the Brandy monopoly (licenses for spirit-selling in India) because it has wonderfully increased the consumption of Brandy in India.

The Zemindar tenure, the Ryotwar, and the salt tax, combined with the Indian climate, were the hotbeds of the cholera—India's ravages upon the Western World—a striking and severe example of the solidarity of human woes and wrongs.

Written on July 19, 1853

Reproduced from the newspaper

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

# Karl Marx

## THE FUTURE RESULTS OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

London, Friday, July 22, 1853

I propose in this letter to conclude my observations on India.

How came it that English supremacy was established in India? The paramount power of the Great Mogul was broken by the Mogul Viceroys. The power of the Viceroys was broken by the Mahrattas.[174] The power of the Mahrattas was broken by the Afghans, and while all were struggling against all, the Briton rushed in and was enabled to subdue them all. A country not only divided between Mahommedan and Hindoo, but between tribe and tribe, between caste and caste; a society whose framework was based on a sort of equilibrium, resulting from a general repulsion and constitutional exclusiveness between all its members. Such a country and such a society, were they not the predestined prey of conquest? If we knew nothing of the past history of Hindostan, would there not be the one great and incontestable fact, that even at this moment India is held in English thraldom by an Indian army maintained at the cost of India? India, then, could not escape the fate of being conquered, and the whole of her past history, if it be anything, is the history of the successive conquests she has undergone. Indian society has no history at all, at least no known history. What we call its history, is but the history of the successive intruders who founded their empires on the passive basis of that unresisting and unchanging society. The question, therefore, is not whether the English had a right to conquer India, but whether we are to prefer India conquered by the Turk, by the Persian, by the Russian, to India conquered by the Briton.

England has to fulfill a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerating—the annihilation of old Asiatic society,

and the laying the material foundations of Western society in Asia.

Arabs, Turks, Tartars, Moguls, who had successively overrun India, soon became *Hindooized*, the barbarian conquerors being, by an eternal law of history, conquered themselves by the superior civilization of their subjects. The British were the first conquerors superior, and therefore, inaccessible to Hindoo civilization. They destroyed it by breaking up the native communities, by uprooting the native industry, and by levelling all that was great and elevated in the native society. The historic pages of their rule in India report hardly anything beyond that destruction. The work of regeneration hardly transpires through a heap of ruins. Nevertheless it has begun.

The political unity of India, more consolidated, and extending farther than it ever did under the Great Moguls, was the first condition of its regeneration. That unity, imposed by the British sword, will now be strengthened and perpetuated by the electric telegraph. The native army, organized and trained by the British drill-sergeant, was the *sine qua non* of Indian self-emancipation, and of India ceasing to be the prey of the first foreign intruder. The free press, introduced for the first time into Asiatic society, and managed principally by the common offspring of Hindoos and Europeans, is a new and powerful agent of reconstruction. The Zemindari and Ryotwar[175] themselves, abominable as they are, involve two distinct forms of private property in land—the great desideratum of Asiatic society. From the Indian natives, reluctantly and sparingly educated at Calcutta, under English superintendence, a fresh class is springing up, endowed with the requirements for government and imbued with European science. Steam has brought India into regular and rapid communication with Europe, has connected its chief ports with those of the whole south-eastern ocean, and has revindicated it from the isolated position which was the prime law of its stagnation. The day is not far distant when, by a combination of railways and steam-vessels, the distance between England and India, measured by time, will be shortened to eight days, and when that once fabulous country will thus be actually annexed to the Western world.

The ruling classes of Great Britain have had, till now, but an accidental, transitory and exceptional interest in the progress of India. The aristocracy wanted to conquer it, the moneyocracy to plunder it, and the millocracy to undersell it. But now the tables are turned. The millocracy have discovered that the transformation of India into a reproductive country has become of vital importance to them, and that, to that end, it is necessary, above

all, to gift her with means of irrigation and of internal communication. They intend now drawing a net of railroads over India. And they will do it. The results must be inappreciable.

It is notorious that the productive powers of India are paralyzed by the utter want of means for conveying and exchanging its various produce. Nowhere, more than in India, do we meet with social destitution in the midst of natural plenty, for want of the means of exchange. It was proved before a Committee of the British House of Commons, which sat in 1848, that

> "when grain was selling from 6/ to 8/ a quarter at Khandesh, it was sold at 64/ to 70/ at Poona, where the people were dying in the streets of famine, without the possibility of gaining supplies from Khandesh, because the clay-roads were impracticable." [a]

The introduction of railroads may be easily made to subserve agricultural purposes by the formation of tanks, where ground is required for embankment, and by the conveyance of water along the different lines. Thus irrigation, the *sine qua non* of farming in the East, might be greatly extended, and the frequently recurring local famines, arising from the want of water, would be averted. The general importance of railways, viewed under this head, must become evident, when we remember that irrigated lands, even in the districts near Ghauts, pay three times as much in taxes, afford ten or twelve times as much employment, and yield twelve or fifteen times as much profit, as the same area without irrigation.

Railways will afford the means of diminishing the amount and the cost of the military establishments. Col. Warren, Town Major of the Fort St. William, stated before a Select Committee of the House of Commons:

> "The practicability of receiving intelligence from distant parts of the country, in as many hours as at present it requires days and even weeks, and of sending instructions, with troops and stores, in the more brief period, are considerations which cannot be too highly estimated. Troops could be kept at more distant and healthier stations than at present, and much loss of life from sickness would by this means be spared. Stores could not to the same extent be required at the various dépôts, and the loss by decay, and the destruction incidental to the climate, would also be avoided. The number of troops might be diminished in direct proportion to their effectiveness."

We know that the municipal organization and the economical basis of the village communities has been broken up, but their worst feature, the dissolution of society into stereotype and

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[a] Quoted from J. Dickinson's *The Government of India under a Bureaucracy*, pp. 81-82.—*Ed.*

disconnected atoms, has survived their vitality. The village isolation produced the absence of roads in India, and the absence of roads perpetuated the village isolation. On this plan a community existed with a given scale of low conveniences, almost without intercourse with other villages, without the desires and efforts indispensable to social advance. The British having broken up this self-sufficient *inertia* of the villages, railways will provide the new want of communication and intercourse. Besides,

"one of the effects of the railway system will be to bring into every village affected by it such knowledge of the contrivances and appliances of other countries, and such means of obtaining them, as will first put the hereditary and stipendiary village artisanship of India to full proof of its capabilities, and then supply its defects." (Chapman, *The Cotton and Commerce of India* [pp. 95-97].)

I know that the English millocracy intend to endow India with railways with the exclusive view of extracting at diminished expenses the cotton and other raw materials for their manufactures. But when you have once introduced machinery into the locomotion of a country, which possesses iron and coals, you are unable to withhold it from its fabrication. You cannot maintain a net of railways over an immense country without introducing all those industrial processes necessary to meet the immediate and current wants of railway locomotion, and out of which there must grow the application of machinery to those branches of industry not immediately connected with railways. The railway-system will therefore become, in India, truly the forerunner of modern industry. This is the more certain as the Hindoos are allowed by British authorities themselves to possess particular aptitude for accommodating themselves to entirely new labor, and acquiring the requisite knowledge of machinery. Ample proof of this fact is afforded by the capacities and expertness of the native engineers in the Calcutta mint, where they have been for years employed in working the steam machinery, by the natives attached to the several steam engines in the Burdwan[a] coal districts, and by other instances. Mr. Campbell himself, greatly influenced as he is by the prejudices of the East India Company, is obliged to avow

"that the great mass of the Indian people possesses a great *industrial energy*, is well fitted to accumulate capital, and remarkable for a mathematical clearness of head, and talent for figures and exact sciences." "Their intellects," he says, "are excellent."[b]

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[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* erroneously has "Hurdwar".— *Ed.*

[b] G. Campbell, *Modern India: a Sketch of the System of Civil Government*, pp. 59-60.— *Ed.*

Modern industry, resulting from the railway system, will dissolve the hereditary divisions of labor, upon which rest the Indian castes, those decisive impediments to Indian progress and Indian power.

All the English bourgeoisie may be forced to do will neither emancipate nor materially mend the social condition of the mass of the people, depending not only on the development of the productive powers, but on their appropriation by the people. But what they will not fail to do is to lay down the material premises for both. Has the bourgeoisie ever done more? Has it ever effected a progress without dragging individuals and people through blood and dirt, through misery and degradation?

The Indians will not reap the fruits of the new elements of society scattered among them by the British bourgeoisie, till in Great Britain itself the now ruling classes shall have been supplanted by the industrial proletariat, or till the Hindoos themselves shall have grown strong enough to throw off the English yoke altogether. At all events, we may safely expect to see, at a more or less remote period, the regeneration of that great and interesting country, whose gentle natives are, to use the expression of Prince Soltykov, even in the most inferior classes, "*plus fins et plus adroits que les Italiens,*"[a] whose submission even is counterbalanced by a certain calm nobility, who, notwithstanding their natural langor, have astonished the British officers by their bravery, whose country has been the source of our languages, our religions, and who represent the type of the ancient German in the Jat,[176] and the type of the ancient Greek in the Brahmin.[177]

I cannot part with the subject of India without some concluding remarks.

The profound hypocrisy and inherent barbarism of bourgeois civilization lies unveiled before our eyes, turning from its home, where it assumes respectable forms, to the colonies, where it goes naked. They are the defenders of property, but did any revolutionary party ever originate agrarian revolutions like those in Bengal, in Madras, and in Bombay? Did they not, in India, to borrow an expression of that great robber, Lord Clive himself, resort to atrocious extortion, when simple corruption could not keep pace with their rapacity? While they prated in Europe about the inviolable sanctity of the national debt, did they not confiscate in India the dividends of the rajahs,[178] who had invested their

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[a] "More subtle and adroit than the Italians." See A. D. Soltykov's *Lettres sur l'Inde*, p. 61.—*Ed.*

private savings in the Company's own funds? While they combatted the French revolution under the pretext of defending "our holy religion," did they not forbid, at the same time, Christianity to be propagated in India, and did they not, in order to make money out of the pilgrims streaming to the temples of Orissa and Bengal, take up the trade in the murder and prostitution perpetrated in the temple of Juggernaut[179]? These are the men of "Property, Order, Family, and Religion."

The devastating effects of English industry, when contemplated with regard to India, a country as vast as Europe, and containing 150 millions of acres, are palpable and confounding. But we must not forget that they are only the organic results of the whole system of production as it is now constituted. That production rests on the supreme rule of capital. The centralization of capital is essential to the existence of capital as an independent power. The destructive influence of that centralization upon the markets of the world does but reveal, in the most gigantic dimensions, the inherent organic laws of political economy now at work in every civilized town. The bourgeois period of history has to create the material basis of the new world—on the one hand universal intercourse founded upon the mutual dependency of mankind, and the means of that intercourse; on the other hand the development of the productive powers of man and the transformation of material production into a scientific domination of natural agencies. Bourgeois industry and commerce create these material conditions of a new world in the same way as geological revolutions have created the surface of the earth. When a great social revolution shall have mastered the results of the bourgeois epoch, the market of the world and the modern powers of production, and subjected them to the common control of the most advanced peoples, then only will human progress cease to resemble that hideous, pagan idol, who would not drink the nectar but from the skulls of the slain.

Written on July 22, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## FINANCIAL FAILURE OF GOVERNMENT.—CABS.—IRELAND.—THE RUSSIAN QUESTION[180]

London, Friday, July 29, 1853

Mr. Gladstone, in the sitting of the House of Commons of last night, brought forward a resolution that provision should be made out of the Consolidated Fund for paying off the South-Sea-Stock[181] not commuted under his financial scheme. To bring forward such a resolution was to own the complete failure of his commutation plan. Beside this small defeat the Ministry has had to undergo a very heavy one concerning their India Bill. Sir John Pakington moved the insertion of a clause, by virtue of which the salt-monopoly should cease, and enacting that the manufacture and sale of salt in India shall be absolutely free, subject only to excise or other duty. The motion was carried by 117 against 107, notwithstanding the desperate exertions of Sir Charles Wood, Lord John Russell, Sir J. Hogg, Sir H. Maddock, and Mr. Lowe (of *The Times*). The oligarchy having succeeded in raising the salary of the President of the Board of Control to £5,000, propose now to raise the salaries of the immaculate East India Directors from £300 to £1,000, and those of the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman to £1,500. Evidently they suppose India to possess the same miraculous power as is attributed in Hindostan to the leaves of a fabulous tree on the extreme hights of the Himalaya, viz.: that it converts into gold everything that it touches—the only difference being that what the credulous Hindoo expects from the juice of the leaves, the enlightened Englishman expects from the blood of the natives.

The Chinese Sultan of the *Arabian Nights*, who rose one fine morning and went to his window to look at Aladdin's palace, was astonished to behold nothing but an empty place. He called his

Grand Vizier and asked him if he could see the palace. The Grand Vizier could see nothing, and was not less astonished than the Sultan, who flew into a passion and gave orders to his guards to arrest Aladdin. The public of London, when it rose on Wednesday morning, found itself much in the situation of that Chinese Sultan. London looked as if London had gone out-of-town. There were and there continued to be empty places where we were wont to see something. And as the eye was amazed at the emptiness of the places, so the ear was amazed at their tomb-like tranquillity. What was it that had happened to London? A *cab-revolution*; cabmen and cabs have disappeared, as though by miracle, from the streets, from their stands, from the railway stations. The cab-proprietors and the drivers are in rebellion against the new Cab-act, that great and almost "unique" act of the Ministry of all the talents. They have struck.

It has often been observed that the British public is seized with periodical fits of morality, and that once every six or seven years, its virtue becomes outrageous, and must make a stand against vice. The object of this moral and patriotic fit happened for the present to be *poor cabby*. His extortions from unprotected females and fat city men were to be put down, and his fare to be reduced from 1s. to 6d. per mile. The sixpenny morality grew epidemic. The Ministry, by the organ of Mr. Fitzroy, brought in a draconic law against Cabby, prescribing the terms of the contracts he had to fulfil with the public, and subjecting at the same time his fares and his "Hansoms," his horses and his morals to Parliamentary legislation. Cabby, it appears, was to be forcibly transformed into the type of British respectability. The present generation could not do without improvising at least one virtuous and disinterested class of citizens, and Cabby was selected to form it. So anxious was the Ministry of all the talents to perform its masterpiece of legislation, that the Cab-act, hardly carried through the House, was put into operation before any part of the machinery for working it was ready. Instead of authentic copies of the new regulations and tables of fares and distances, the *Cadis* of London having been provided beforehand, the police magistrates were advised to decide any conflict arising between Cabby and the public in the most summary way. Thus, we had during two weeks the various and elevating spectacle of a continuous fight before the magistrates between a real army of 6d. Hampdens[182] and the "atrocious" cabmen, the one fighting for virtue, and the others for money. Day after day was Cabby moralized, sentenced, imprisoned. At last he made sure that he was unable to pay his

proprietor the old rent with the new tariff, and proprietor and driver seceded to their *Mons Sacer*,[183] to the National Hall, in Holborn, where they came to the terrible resolution which for three days has produced the cab-desolation of London. Two things they have already effected: firstly, that the Ministry through the organ of Mr. Fitzroy, have amended their own act so much as nearly to annihilate it; and secondly, that the Eastern Question, the Danish *coup d'état*, the bad harvest, and the approaching cholera have all disappeared before that one great struggle of public virtue, which persists in paying only 6d. per mile, and the private interest which persists in asking 12 pence.

"Strike" is the order of the day. During the present week 5,000 miners have struck in the northern coal district; 400 to 500 journeymen cork-cutters in London; about 2,000 laborers employed by the different wharfingers on the Thames; the police force at Hull, similar attempts being made by the City and general Metropolitan Police; and finally the bricklayers employed at St. Stephens, under the very nose of Parliament.

"The world is becoming a very paradise for laborers. Men are becoming valuable," exclaims *The Times*. In the years 1849, '50, '51, '52, while commerce was progressively growing, industry extending to unheard-of dimensions, and profits continually augmenting, wages in general remained stationary, and were in most instances even maintained at the reduced scale occasioned by the crisis of 1847. Emigration having reduced the numbers, and the rise in the prices of the first necessaries having sharpened the appetites of the people, strikes broke out, and wages rose in consequence of those strikes, and lo! the world becomes a paradise for laborers—in the eyes of *The Times*. In order to reduce that paradise to terrestrial dimensions, the mill-lords of Lancashire have formed an association, for mutually assisting and supporting each other against the demands of the people. But not content with opposing combination to combination, the bourgeoisie threaten to appeal to the interference of law—of law dictated by themselves. In what manner this is done may be inferred from the following expectorations of *The Morning Post*, the organ of the liberal and amiable Palmerston.

"If there be a piece of wickedness which preeminently deserves to be *punished with an iron hand*, it is the system of strikes.... What is wanted is some stringent and summary mode of punishing the leaders and chief men of these combinations. [...] It would be no interference with the freedom of the labor market *to treat these fellows to a flogging*.... It is idle to say that this would interfere with the labor market. As long as those who supply the labor market refrain from jeopardizing

the interests of the country, *they may be left* to make their own terms with the employers."[a]

Within a certain conventional limit, the laborers shall be allowed to imagine themselves to be free agents of production, and that their contracts with their masters are settled by mutual convention; but that limit passed, labor is to be openly enforced upon them on conditions prescribed by Parliament, that permanent Combination Committee of the ruling classes against the people. The deep and philosophical mind of the Palmerstonian organ is curiously disclosed in its yesterday's discovery, on that "the hardest used of all classes in this country is the *poor of the higher ranks*," the poor aristocrat who is forced to use a cab instead of a "brougham" of his own.[b]

Like the world in general, we are assured, that Ireland in particular is becoming a paradise for the laborer, in consequence of famine[184] and exodus. Why then, if wages really are so high in Ireland, is it that Irish laborers are flocking in such masses over to England to settle permanently on this side of the "pond,"[c] while they formerly used to return after every harvest? If the social amelioration of the Irish people is making such progress, how is it that, on the other hand, insanity has made such terrific progress among them since 1847, and especially since 1851? Look at the following data from "the Sixth Report on the District Criminal and Private Lunatic Asylums in Ireland":

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|---|---|
| 1851—Sum total of admissions in Lunatic Asylums (1,301 males and 1,283 females.) | 2,584 |
| 1852 (1,276 males and 1,386 females.) | 2,662 |
| March, 1853 (1,447 males and 1,423 females.) | 2,870 |

And this is the same country in which the celebrated Swift, the founder of the first Lunatic Asylum in Ireland,[185] doubted whether 90 madmen could be found.

The Chartist agitation reopened by Ernest Jones, is proceeding vigorously, and on the 30th inst., a great open-air meeting of the Chartists of London will be held on Kennington Common, the place where the great gathering of April 10, 1848, took place.[186]

Mr. Cobbett has withdrawn his Factory Bill, intimating his intention of reintroducing it early in next session.

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[a] *The Morning Post*, No. 24835, July 27, 1853.—*Ed.*
[b] *The Morning Post*, No. 24836, July 28, 1853.—*Ed.*
[c] The Irish Sea.—*Ed.*

As to the financial and general prospects of England *The Manchester Guardian* of the 27th inst., entirely confirms my own previous predictions in the following passages of a leading article:—

"Seldom perhaps has there been a time when there were floating in our commercial atmosphere so many elements of uncertainty calculated to excite *uneasiness*—we use that mild word advisedly. At any former period before the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the general adaptation of the free trade policy, we should have used the stronger term of *serious alarm*. These elements are firstly the apprehended deficiency of the crops, secondly the continued abstraction of gold from the cellars of the bank, and thirdly the great probability of war."

The last of the Constitutions of 1848, has now been overthrown by the *coup d'état* of the Danish King.[a] A Russian Constitution has been conferred upon the country, which, by the abolition of the *Lex Regia*, was doomed to become a Russian Province.[187] In a subsequent letter I shall give an exposé of the affairs of that country.[b]

"It is our policy to see that nothing new happens during the next four months, and I hope we shall accomplish it, because *men in general prefer waiting*; but the fifth must be fruitful in events."

Thus wrote Count Pozzo di Borgo on the 28th Nov., 1828, to Count Nesselrode,[c] and Count Nesselrode is now acting on the same maxim. While the military assumption of the Principalities was completed by the assumption of their Civil Government by the Russians, while troops after troops are pouring into Bessarabia and the Crimea, a hint has been given to Austria that her mediation might be accepted, and another to Bonaparte that his proposals were likely to be met with a favorable reception by the Czar. The Ministers at Paris and London were comforted with the prospect that Nicholas would condescend to definitively accept their excuses. All the Courts of Europe, transformed into so many Sultanas, were anxiously waiting which of them, the magnanimous commander of the faithful would throw his handkerchief to. Having kept them in this manner for weeks, nay for months, in suspense, Nicholas suddenly makes a declaration that neither England, nor France, nor Austria, nor Prussia, had any business in his quarrel with Turkey, and that with Turkey alone he could negotiate. It was probably in order to facilitate his negotiations with Turkey, that he recalled his embassy from Constantinople. But while

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[a] Frederick VII.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 237-38.—*Ed.*
[c] Quoted from *The Portfolio*, 1836, Vol. I, p. 473.—*Ed.*

he declares that the Powers are not to meddle in Russia's concerns, we are informed on the other hand that the representatives of France, England, Austria and Prussia kill their time in meeting at Vienna in conference, and in hatching projects for the arrangement of the Eastern Question, neither the Turkish nor Russian Ambassador participating in these mock-conferences. The Sultan[a] had appointed, on the 8th inst. a warlike ministry, in order to escape from his armed suspension, but was compelled by Lord Redcliffe to dismiss it on the same evening. He has now been so much confused that he intends to send an Austrian courier to St. Petersburg with the mission of asking whether the Czar would re-enter into direct negotiations. On the return of that courier and the answer he brings, shall depend, whether Reshid Pasha is himself to go to St. Petersburg. From St. Petersburg he is to send new draft notes to Constantinople; the new draft notes are to be returned to St. Petersburg, and nothing will be settled before the last answer is again returned from St. Petersburg to Constantinople—and then the fifth month will have arrived, and no fleets can enter the Black Sea; and then the Czar will quietly remain during the winter in the Principalities, where he pays with the same promises that still circulate there from his former occupations, and as far back as 1820.

You know that the Serbian Minister Garašanin has been removed at the instance of Russia. Russia insists now, following up that first triumph, on all anti-Russian officers being expelled the service. This measure, in its turn, was intended to be followed by the reigning Prince Alexander being replaced by Prince Michel Obrenović, the absolute tool of Russia and Russian interests. Prince Alexander, to escape from this calamity, and likewise under the pressure of Austria, has struck against the Sultan, and declared his intention of observing a strict neutrality. The Russian intrigues in Serbia are thus described in the *Presse* of Paris:

"Every body knows that the Russian Consulate at Orsova—a miserable village where not a single Russian subject is to be found, but situated in the midst of a Servian population, is only a poor establishment, yet it is made the hotbed of Muscovite propaganda. The hand of Russia was judiciarily seized and established in the affair of Ibraila in 1840, and of John Lutzo in 1850, in the affair of the recent arrest of 14 Russian officers, which arrest became the cause of the resignation of Garašanin's Ministry. It is likewise known that Prince Menchikoff, during his stay at Constantinople, fomented similar intrigues through his agents at Broussa, Smyrna, as in Thessalonica, Albania and Greece."[b]

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[a] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted from J. Paradis' article in *La Presse*, July 26, 1853.—*Ed.*

There is no more striking feature in the politics of Russia than the traditional identity not only of her objects, but of her manner in pursuing them. There is no complication of the present Eastern Question, no transaction, no official note, which does not bear the stamp of quotation from known pages of history.

Russia has now no other pretext to urge against the Sultan, except the treaty of Kainardji,[188] although that treaty gave her, instead of a protectorate over her correligionists, only the right to build a chapel at Stamboul, and to implore the Sultan's clemency for his Christian subjects, as Reshid Pasha justly urged against the Czar in his note of the 14th inst. But already in 1774, when that treaty was signed, Russia intended to interpret it one day or the other in the sense of 1853. The then Austrian Internuncio at the Ottoman Porte, Baron Thugut, wrote in the year 1774 to his Court:

"Henceforth Russia will always be in a situation to effect, whenever she may deem the opportunity favorable, and without much preliminary arrangement, a descent upon Constantinople from her ports on the Black Sea. In that case a conspiracy concerted in advance with the chiefs of the Greek religion, would no doubt burst forth, and it would only remain for the Sultan to quit his palace at the first intelligence of this movement of the Russians, to fly into the depth of Asia, and abandon the throne of European Turkey to a more experienced possessor. When the capital shall have been conquered, terrorism and the faithful assistance of the Greek Christians will indubitably and easily reduce, beneath the scepter of Russia, the whole of the Archipelago, the coast of Asia Minor and all Greece, as far as the shore of the Adriatic. Then the possession of these countries, so much favored by nature, with which no other part of the world can be compared in respect to the fertility and richness of the soil, will elevate Russia to a degree of superiority surpassing all the fabulous wonders which history relates of the grandeurs of the monarchies of ancient times." [Pp. 579-80.][a]

In 1774, as now, Russia was tempting the ambition of Austria with the prospect of Bosnia, Servia and Albania being incorporated with her. The same Baron Thugut writes thus on this subject:

"Such aggrandizement of the Austrian territory would not excite the jealousy of Russia. The reason is that the requisition which Austria would make of Bosnia, Servia, etc., although of great importance under other circumstances, would not be of the least utility to Russia, the moment the remainder of the Ottoman Empire should have fallen into her hands. For these provinces are inhabited almost entirely by Mahommedans and Greek Christians: the former would not be tolerated as residents there; the latter, considering the close vicinity of the Oriental Russian Empire would not hesitate to emigrate thither; or if they remained, their faithlessness to Austria would occasion continuous troubles; and thus an extension of territory, without intrinsic strength, so far from augmenting the power of the Emperor of Austria, would only serve to weaken it."

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[a] Here and below, the quotations are from Joseph von Hammer's *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Vol. 8.—*Ed.*

Politicians are wont to refer to the testament of Peter I,[189] in order to show the traditional policy of Russia in general, and particularly with regard to her views on Constantinople. They might have gone back still further. More than eight centuries ago, Svyatoslav, the yet Pagan Grand Duke of Russia, declared in an assembly of his Boyars, that "not only Bulgaria, but the Greek Empire in Europe, together with Bohemia and Hungary, ought to undergo the rule of Russia." Svyatoslav conquered Silistria and threatened Constantinople, A.D. 968, as Nicholas did in 1828. The Rurik dynasty transferred, soon after the foundation of the Russian Empire, their capital from Novgorod to Kiev, in order to be nearer to Byzantium. In the eleventh century Kiev imitated in all things Constantinople, and was called the *second Constantinople*, thus expressing the everlasting aspirations of Russia. The religion and civilization of Russia are of Byzantine offspring, and that she should have aimed at subduing the Byzantine Empire, then in the same decay as the Ottoman Empire is now in, was more natural than that the German Emperors should have aimed at the conquest of Rome and Italy. The unity, then, in the objects of Russian policy, is given by her historical past, by her geographical conditions, and by her necessity of gaining open sea-ports in the Archipelago as in the Baltic, if she wants to maintain her supremacy in Europe. But the traditional manner in which Russia pursues those objects, is far from meriting that tribute of admiration paid to it by European politicians. If the success of her hereditary policy proves the weakness of the Western Powers, the stereotyped mannerism of that policy proves the intrinsic barbarism of Russia herself. Who would not laugh at the idea of French politics being conducted on the testament of Richelieu, or the capitularies of Charlemagne[190]? Go through the most celebrated documents of Russian diplomacy, and you will find that shrewd, judicious, cunning, subtle as it is in discovering the weak points of European Kings, ministers and courts, its wisdom is at a complete dead-lock as often as the historical movements of the Western peoples themselves are concerned. Prince Lieven judged very accurately of the character of the good Aberdeen when he speculated on his connivance with the Czar, but he was grossly mistaken in his judgment of the English people when he predicted the continuance of Tory rule on the eve of the Reform move of 1831. Count Pozzo di Borgo judged very correctly of Charles X, but he made the greatest blunder with regard to the French people when he induced his "august master" to treat with that King of the partition of Europe on the eve of his expulsion from France. The Russian

policy, with its traditional craft, cheats and subterfuges, may impose upon the European Courts which are themselves but traditional things, but it will prove utterly powerless with the revolutionized peoples.

At Beyrut, the Americans have abstracted another Hungarian refugee from the claws of the Austrian eagle. It is cheering to see the American intervention in Europe beginning just with the Eastern Question. Besides the commercial and military importance resulting from the situation of Constantinople, there are other historical considerations, making its possession the hotly-controverted and permanent subject of dispute between the East and the West—and America is the youngest but most vigorous representative of the West.

Constantinople is the eternal city—the Rome of the East. Under the ancient Greek Emperors, Western civilization amalgamated there so far with Eastern barbarism, and under the Turks, Eastern barbarism amalgamated so far with Western civilization, as to make this center of a theocratical Empire the effectual bar against European progress. When the Greek Emperors were turned out by the Sultans of Iconium,[191] the genius of the ancient Byzantine Empire survived this change of dynasties, and if the Sultan were to be supplanted by the Czar, the *Bas-Empire* would be restored to life with more demoralizing influences than under the ancient Emperors, and with more aggressive power than under the Sultan. The Czar would be for Byzantine civilization what Russian adventurers were for centuries to the Emperors of the Lower Empire—the *corps de garde* of their soldiers. The struggle between Western Europe and Russia about the possession of Constantinople involves the question whether Byzantinism is to fall before Western civilization, or whether its antagonism shall revive in a more terrible and conquering form than ever before. Constantinople is the golden bridge thrown between the West and the East, and Western civilization cannot, like the sun, go around the world without passing that bridge; and it cannot pass it without a struggle with Russia. The Sultan holds Constantinople only in trust for the Revolution, and the present nominal dignitaries of Western Europe, themselves finding the last stronghold of their "order" on the shores of the Neva, can do nothing but keep the question in suspense until Russia has to meet her real antagonist, the Revolution. The Revolution which will break the Rome of the West will also overpower the demoniac influences of the Rome of the East.

Those of your readers who, having read my letters on German

Revolution and Counter-Revolution, written for *The Tribune* some two years ago,[a] desire to have an immediate intuition of it, will do well to inspect the picture[b] by Mr. *Hasenclever*, now being exhibited in the New-York Crystal Palace,[192] representing the presentation of a workingmen's petition to the magistrates of Düsseldorf in 1848. What the writer could only analyze, the eminent painter has reproduced in its dramatic vitality.

Written on July 29, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] See present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 3-96. These articles were written by Engels at the request of Marx and appeared under the signature of Karl Marx as official correspondent of the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

[b] "Arbeiter und Stadtrath" (1849).—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.— THE PRESS ON THE EASTERN QUESTION.— THE CZAR'S MANIFESTO.—DENMARK][193]

London, Tuesday, Aug. 2, 1853

London has ceased to be cabless. Cabby parted with his system of passive resistance on Saturday last. Meanwhile Parliament continues to break down its great act of the session, removing step by step every *casus belli* between Cabby and the House of Commons.

The India bill has passed on Friday through its last stage, after the Ministerial propositions for raising the Directors' and Chairmen's salaries had been rejected, and the latter reduced to £900 and £1,000 respectively. The Special Court of East India Proprietors which met on Friday last, offered a most lugubrious spectacle, the desponding cries and speeches clearly betraying the apprehensions of the worthy proprietors, that the Indian Empire might *have been* their property for the better time. One right honorable gentleman gave notice of his intention to move resolutions in the House of Commons rejecting the present bill, and on the part of the Proprietors and Directors declining to accept the part assigned to them by the Ministerial measure. A strike of the honorable East India Proprietors and Directors. Very striking, indeed! The Abolition of the Company's Salt-monopoly by the British House of Commons was the first step to bringing the finances of India under its direct management.

The Naval Coast-Volunteers' bill passed through Committee in yesterday's sitting. The object of this measure is to form a body of 10,000 men, to be trained during four weeks annually for the defense of the British Coasts. They are to receive a bounty of £6, as in the case of the militia. Their service is to be limited to five years in times of peace, and to six in time of danger. When called out, they will receive the pay of able seamen, with an additional

two-pence per day during the last year. The men are not to be taken more than fifty leagues from the coasts in time of peace, and 100 in time of danger.

The Irish Landlords' and Tenants' bill[194] likewise passed through the third reading yesterday night. One important amendment in favor of the Tenants was added, viz.: the prohibition of Landlords to seize and sell the standing crops of a Tenant.

Mr. Cobden has published a pamphlet on the origin of the Burmese war.

So great are the fears of a deficient harvest in France, that the Government of Louis Bonaparte has treated with the Syndicate of the Paris bakers for a slight reduction in the prices of bread during the first half of August, notwithstanding the steady rise in flour at the *Halle aux blés*.[a] The bakers are to be indemnified by a subsequent augmentation of prices.

"This," says *The Economist*, "is a conspiracy on the part of the French Government to cheat the people into a belief that the crops are not short, when they are."[b]

Day after day the columns of the Press are inundated with conflicting dispatches on the Eastern affairs, manufactured in Vienna and Berlin, partly by Russian agents, in order to deceive the French and British public as to the operations of Russia, and partly on orders sent expressly from Paris, for stockjobbing purposes. A declaration contained in to-day's *Morning Post* would command consideration were it not that the Palmerstonian organ had quite abused such threats, which it only proffered one day in order to take them in again the day after.

"By the 10th of August the whole matter will be terminated peaceably, or the combined fleets will be commanded to proceed to the Bosphorus, or perhaps to the Black Sea. Active measures will succeed patient negotiation, and the dread of danger will no longer prevent the strong means which may ensure safety. [...] If the Czar accept the proposal now made, [...] the first condition will be the *immediate* evacuation of the [...] Principalities."

*The Morning Post* then asserts, that on the 24th ult. the representatives of England, France, Austria and Prussia[c] convened on the terms of an *ultimatum* immediately forwarded to St. Petersburg.[195] This assertion, however, is contradictory to the late

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[a] Corn market in Paris.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Corn Trade Under Protection", *The Economist*, No. 518, July 30, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] J. Westmorland, F. Bourqueney, K. Buol-Schauenstein and H. Arnim.—*Ed.*

declarations of Lord Clarendon and Lord John Russell, who spoke only of a joint note of France and England, and is altogether ignored by the French Press. Yet, be this as it may, it indicates at least, that the Palmerston party in the Cabinet has handed an ultimatum to the good Aberdeen, which the latter is to answer on the 10th of August.

As though we had not yet enough of conferences at Vienna and Constantinople, we learn from the *National-Zeitung*, that other conferences are now to sit at Berlin too. The Emperor of Russia, to provide these conferences with the required "stuff," has complacently declared, that, with all his willingness, to renounce the occupation of the Principalities as the material guaranty for his religious associations, he would now be obliged to hold them as a guaranty for the indemnification for his present expenses of occupying them. While Prince Gorchakoff announced in his proclamations that Russia pledged herself to abstain from all interference with the constituted authorities of the Principalities, the Czar issues a decree forbidding the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia[a] to pay any tribute to, or to hold any communication with, the Government of Turkey. In consequence of this notification the Hospodar of Wallachia informed the Russian Consul at Bucharest, that he had already sent his tribute money to the Sultan,[b] to which the Consul replied: *c'est de l'argent perdu*,[c] as the Hospodar would have to pay it again to Russia.

The *Patrie* of yesterday communicates the fact that three of the most influential Boyars of Moldavia had left Jassy for Petersburg, with the especial consent of the Hospodar, in order to remonstrate with the Czar on the conduct of the Russian soldiers, who, in violation of the solemn promise given to the Porte, treated the Danubian Provinces as a conquered country, and committed numberless extortions therein. The Russians can certainly not be accused of seeking to make propaganda by making themselves popular in the Principalities.

Russia continues its armaments with the same ostentation as before. The *Hamburger Nachrichten* publishes the following Imperial manifesto, dated Petersburg, 23d July:

"By the Grace of God, we, Nicholas I, by our manifesto of August 1st (13th), 1834, have ordered that every year levies shall take place in certain parts of our Empire: to-day we order:

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[a] G. Ghica and B. Stirbei.— *Ed.*
[b] Abdul Mejid.— *Ed.*
[c] This is lost money.— *Ed.*

1. For completing our forces, maritime as well as land, the tenth partial *recrutement* shall take place in the Eastern part of our Empire, at the rate of 7 men in every 1,000, the same as the recruitment which took place in 1852 in the Western portion of the Empire.

2. Besides, a levy of 3 in every 1,000 shall take place in the Eastern Provinces of our Empire as completing the proportion of 6 in every 1,000, of which only one half had been levied by the previous recruitment.

3. To the Districts of Pskov, Vitebsk, and Mogilev, which had been exempted in virtue of our manifesto of 31st Oct., 1845, and of 26th Sept., 1846, on account of the bad harvest, the recruitment for 1853 shall be proceeded with at the rate of 3 in every 1,000. With regard to the Jews in the Districts of Vitebsk and Mogilev, the recruitment among them shall take place the same as in the other Districts, at the rate of 10 in every 1,000.

4. The levy shall begin on 1st November and be completed on 1st December.

Given at St. Petersburg. *Nicholas I.*"

The manifesto is followed by two ukases, regulating the details of this new and extraordinary levy. Beside the above-mentioned districts, there shall take place, according to a second ukase, a recruitment among the odnodworzes[196] and inhabitants of towns in the districts of Kiev, Podolia, Volhynia, Minsk, Grodno, Wilno and Kovno.

The *Hamburger* correspondent reports as follows:

"The armaments in the interior of the Empire continue without interruption. The reserve battalions of the 4th infantry corps are being concentrated near Tula. We learn from an order of the day that the guards and grenadiers still occupy their positions in the camps near Krasnoe Selo, and near Pudost, not far from Gatchina. The field-maneuvers of these two corps, amounting to 100,000 men, continue."[a]

The *Post Zeitung* of Stockholm, of July 16, announces that the Emperor of Russia had given orders for the arming and fitting out of the Baltic fleet, composed of 20 vessels of the line, and of 15 frigates. The *Kölnische Zeitung* of 29th July, states:

"The return of the Danish-Swedish fleet before the term fixed for its evolutions has taken place, in consequence of an order received by the commander to immediately repair to the Baltic."[b]

Both the French journals and *The Morning Chronicle*, of to-day, contain a telegraphic dispatch from Vienna of the 3d of July, stating that America had offered the Porte money and active assistance.

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[a] The *Hamburger Nachrichten* report and the Manifesto of Nicholas I are apparently quoted from *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 214, August 2, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] A quotation from the correspondence from Berlin of July 29, published in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, July 31, 1853.—*Ed.*

The impression produced on the Continental mind, by the threatening attitude of Russia, combined with the threatening prospect of the harvests, is most significantly reflected in the following words of *The Economist*:

"The Czar has awakened into life and hope the revolutionary spirit of Europe, and we read of plots in Austria, plots in Italy, and plots in France; and there begins to be more alarm lest there should be fresh revolutionary disturbances, than that governments should go to war."[a]

A well informed Danish gentleman, who has very recently arrived here from fear of the cholera now raging in Copenhagen to such an extent that already 4,000 persons have been attacked with it, and that no less than 15,000 applications for passports to leave the Danish capital have been made, informs me that the Royal message concerning the succession was chiefly carried through the abstention from voting of a great number of Eydermen,[197] who had hoped to avoid a crisis by their passive attitude. The crisis which they apprehended, however, has come upon them in the shape of the octroyed Constitution, and that Constitution is aimed especially against the "peasant's friends"[198]—party by whose support the Danish Crown has achieved its previous triumphs in the succession question. As I propose to recur to this subject in a special letter,[b] I will merely observe here, that the Danish Government has laid before the United Diet (the Landsting and the Folketing together), the notes exchanged with the Great Powers on the subject of its propositions.

Of these documents the most interesting pieces are especially at this moment, the note of England and the note of Russia. The "silent" Clarendon not only approves of the Royal message, but distinctly hints to the Danish Government that it could not go on with the old Democratic Constitution, with Universal Suffrage, and with no House of Lords. The silent Clarendon therefore has taken the initiative, for the interests of Russia, to recommend and provoke the Danish coup d'état. The Russian note, addressed by Count Nesselrode to Baron Ungern-Sternberg, after having reviewed the articles of the Treaty of London, dated 8th of May, 1852,[199] concludes as follows:

"The treaty of the 8th of May does not formally prescribe that the Lex Regia[200] should be canceled; because such a disposition would not have been opportune in a treaty concluded between independent States. It would have been contrary to diplomatic usage, and still more to the respect due to the sovereign dignity of the

[a] "The Eastern Question", *The Economist*, No. 518, July 30, 1853.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 241-42.—*Ed.*

Danish crown. But the Powers in giving their assent to a retrocession destined to supplant the arrangements of the Lex Regia, where the necessity of employing it would occur, in promising their support, have naturally been obliged to leave to his Majesty the King of Denmark[a] the choice of the means adequate toward realizing the object by way of legislating. His Majesty, by making use of his Royal prerogative, has manifested his intention of establishing an order of succession, for all the States subject to his rule, by which, in case of the male descendants of Frederick III becoming extinct, all claims arising from Articles 27 and 40 of the Lex Regia should be excluded, and Prince Christian of Glücksburg called upon the throne with a view of securing the Danish crown to him and his male descendants by his marriage with Princess Louise of Hesse. Such are the stipulations of the Royal Message of October 4, 1852. They express the views which, at least on the part of the Imperial Government, have served as the foundation of the present negotiations. They form in the eyes of the Imperial Cabinet, a whole and cannot be retrenched; for, it appears to us that the abrogation of Articles 27 and 40 of the Lex Regia is a necessary consequence and a condition *sine qua* not only of the stipulations which called Prince Christian of Glücksburg and his descendants to the throne, but also of the principle established in the preambulum of the treaty; that a contingency by which the male descendants should be called to the succession of the throne, in the totality of the States now subjected to the sovereignty of Denmark, was the safest means for securing the integrity of that monarchy.... They declare in Article II of the treaty that they recognize in a permanent manner the principle of the integrity of the Danish monarchy.... They have promptly made known their intention of preventing, combinedly, the return of the complications which have signaled in so unfortunate a manner the course of the last year.... The extinction of the male line of Prince Christian of Glücksburg would revive, without contradiction, the eventual claims which His Majesty the Emperor has renounced[b] in favor of that Prince. The initiative, however, expressly reserved to the King of Denmark, as well as the cooperation of the three Great Powers, in the aforesaid contingencies, when they shall happen, offer henceforth a guarantee to the Danish patriots against the ambitious plans and designs existing nowhere except in their own imagination."

Thus Russia gives to understand, that the temporary suppression of the Lex Regia as agreed upon in the protocol of the 8th May must be interpreted as a permanent one, that the permanent resignation of the Emperor of Russia is only a temporary one, but that the Danish patriots may henceforth repose on the protection of their country's integrity by the European Powers. Do they not witness how the integrity of Turkey has been protected since the treaty of 1841?

Written on August 2, 1853 — Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3847, August 16, 1853

Signed: *Karl Marx*

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[a] Frederick VII.— *Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "reassumed", which seems to be a misprint.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## ADVERTISEMENT DUTY.— RUSSIAN MOVEMENTS.—DENMARK.— THE UNITED STATES IN EUROPE[201]

London, Friday, Aug. 5, 1853

The act for the repeal of the Advertisement Duty received the Royal assent last night, and comes into operation this day. Several of the morning papers have already published their reduced terms for advertisements of all kinds.

The dock-laborers of London are on the strike. The Company endeavor to get fresh men. A battle between the old and new hands is apprehended.

The Emperor of Russia[a] has discovered new reasons for holding the Principalities. He will hold them no longer as a material guarantee for his spiritual aspirations, or as an indemnity for the costs of occupying them, but he must hold them now on account of "internal disturbances" as provided by the Treaty of Balta-Liman.[202] And, as the Russians have actually put everything in the Principalities topsy-turvy, the existence of such disturbances cannot be denied. Lord Clarendon confirmed, in the sitting of the House of Lords of August 2d, the statement given in my last letter with regard to the Hospodars having been prohibited from transmitting their tribute to Constantinople, and from entertaining further communications with Turkey.[b] Lord Clarendon declared with great gravity of countenance, and a pompous solemnity of manner, that he would

"instruct, by the messenger who leaves London this night, Sir Hamilton Seymour to demand from the Russian Cabinet the *explanation* which England is entitled to."[c]

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[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 235.—*Ed.*

[c] Here and below the quotations are from House of Commons speeches of M.P.s, published in *The Times*, No. 21497, August 3, 1853.—*Ed.*

While Clarendon sends all the way to St. Petersburg to request *explanations*, the *Patrie* of to-day[a] has intelligence from Jassy of the 20th ultimo, that the Russians are fortifying Bucharest and Jassy; that the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia[b] are placed under a Russian Board of Control composed of three members; that contributions in kind are levied on the people, and that some refractory Boyards have been incorporated in Russian regiments. This is the "explanation" of the manifesto of Prince Gorchakoff, according to which

"his august master had no intention of modifying the institutions which governed the country, and the presence of his troops would impose upon the people neither new contributions nor charges."

In the sitting of the House of Commons of the same day Lord John Russell declared, in answer to a question put by Lord Dudley Stuart, that the four powers had convened at Vienna on a common proposition to be made to the Czar, "acceptable" to Russia and to Turkey, and that it had been forwarded to St. Petersburg. In answer to Mr. Disraeli he stated:

"The proposition was in fact an *Austrian proposition*, though it came originally from the Government of France."

This original Frenchman, naturalized in Austria, looks very suspicious, and the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*[c] gives, in a Vienna letter, the *explanation* that

"the Russian and Austrian Cabinets have fully resolved in common not to allow English influence to predominate in the East."

The Englishman[d] observes, on the *explanations* of the Coalition Ministry:

"They are great in humiliation, strong in imbecility, and most eloquent in taciturnity."

Moldavia and Wallachia once Russified, Galicia, Hungary and Transylvania would be transformed into Russian "*enclaves*."

I have spoken in a former letter of the "hidden treasures" in the Bank of St. Petersburg, forming the metal reserve for a three times larger paper circulation.[e] Now, the Russian Minister of War[f]

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[a] The reference is to Charles Schiller's report, published in *La Patrie*, No. 216, August 4, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] G. Ghica and B. Stirbei.—*Ed.*

[c] *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, No. 177, August 2, 1853.—*Ed.*

[d] A. Richards (below Marx quotes his article "The Demand for Explanations" in *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19382, August 5, 1853.—*Ed.*

[e] See this volume, p. 117.—*Ed.*

[f] V. A. Dolgorukov.—*Ed.*

has just applied for the transfer of a portion of this treasure into the military chest. The Minister of Finance[a] having objected to this step, the Emperor applied himself to the Holy Synod, the depository of the Church-Property, for a loan of 60 millions of rubles. While the Czar is wanting in wealth, his troops are wanting in health. It is stated on very reliable authority, that the troops occupying the Principalities have suffered enormously from heat on their march, that the number of sick is extraordinary, and that many private houses at Bucharest and Jassy have been converted into hospitals.

*The Times* of yesterday denounced the ambitious plans of Russia on Turkey, but tried, at the same time, to cover her intrigues in Denmark. It does the work of its august master even while ostentatiously quarreling with him.

"We discredit," says *The Times*, "[...] the assertion that the Russian Cabinet has succeeded in establishing its hold upon the Court of Copenhagen, and the statement that the Danish Government have proceeded, under Russian influence, to abrogate or impair the Constitution of 1849, is wholly inaccurate. The Danish Government have caused a bill or draft to be published, containing *some modifications of the Constitution* now in force, but this bill is to be submitted to the discussion and vote of the Chambers when they reassemble, and it has not been promulgated by Royal authority."

The dissolution of a Legislative Assembly into four separate feudal provincial diets, the right of self-assessment canceled, the election by universal suffrage suppressed, the liberty of the press abolished, free competition supplanted by the revival of close guilds, the whole official, i.e. the only intelligent class in Denmark excluded from being eligible except on Royal permission, that you call "some modifications of the Constitution?" As well you might call Slavery a slight modification of Freedom. It is true that the Danish King[b] has not dared to promulgate this new "fundamental law" as law. He has only sent, after the fashion of Oriental Sultans, the silken string to the Chambers with orders to strangle themselves. Such a proposition involves the threat of enforcing it if not voluntarily submitted to. So much for the "some modifications of the Constitution." Now to the "Russian influence."

In what way did the conflict between the Danish King and the Danish Chambers arise? He proposed to abrogate the Lex Regia,[203] viz.: The existing law of succession to the throne of Denmark. Who urged the King to take this step? Russia, as you will have seen from the note of Count Nesselrode, dated 11th

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[a] P. F. Brok.—*Ed.*
[b] Frederick VII.—*Ed.*

May, 1853, communicated in my last letter.[a] Who will gain by that abrogation of the Lex Regia? No one but Russia. The Lex Regia enables the female line of the reigning family to succeed to the throne. By its abrogation the agnates would remove from the succession all the claims of the cognates hitherto standing in their way. You know that the kingdom of Denmark comprehends, besides Denmark Proper, viz.: the Isles and Jutland, also the two Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The succession to Denmark Proper and Schleswig is regulated by the same Lex Regia, while in the Duchy of Holstein, being a German fee, it devolves to the agnates, according to the Lex Salica.[204] By the abrogation of the Lex Regia the succession to Denmark and Schleswig would be assimilated to that of the German Duchy of Holstein, and Russia, having the next claims on Holstein, as the representative of the house of Holstein-Gottorp, would in the quality of chief agnate, also obtain the next claim on the Danish throne. In 1848-50, Denmark, being assisted by Russian notes and fleets, made war on Germany[b] in order to maintain the Lex Regia, which forbade Schleswig to be united with Holstein, and to be separated from Denmark.[205] After having beaten the German revolution, under the pretext of the Lex Regia, the Czar confiscates democratic Denmark by abrogating the same law. The Scandinavians and the Germans have thus made the experience that they must not found their respective national claims on the feudal laws of Royal succession. They have made the better experience, that, by quarrelling amongst themselves, instead of confederating, Germans and Scandinavians, both of them belonging to the same great race, only prepare his way to their hereditary enemy, the Sclave.

The great event of the day is the appearance of American policy on the European horizon. Saluted by one party, detested by the other, the fact is admitted by all.

"Austria must look to the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire for indemnification for the loss of her Italian provinces—a contingency not rendered less likely by the quarrel [...] she has had the folly to bring on her with Uncle Sam. An American squadron in the Adriatic would be a very pretty complication of an Italian insurrection, and we may all live to see it, for the Anglo-Saxon spirit is not yet dead in the West."

Thus speaks *The Morning Herald*,[c] the old organ of the English Aristocracy.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 237-38.—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "made over to Germany", which seems to be a misprint.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Morning Herald*, No. 22228, August 4, 1853.—*Ed.*

"The Koszta affair," says the Paris *Presse*, "is far from being terminated. We are informed that the Vienna Cabinet has asked from the Washington Cabinet a reparation, which it may be quite sure not to receive. Meanwhile, Koszta remains under the safeguard of the French Consul."[a]

"We must go out of the way of the Yankee, who is half of a buccanier and half a backwoodsman, and no gentleman at all," whispers the Vienna *Presse*.

The German papers grumble about the secret treaty pretended to have been concluded between the United States and Turkey, according to which the latter would receive money and maritime support, and the former the harbor of Enos in Rumelia, which would afford a sure and convenient place for a commercial and military station of the American Republic in the Mediterranean.

"In due course of time," says the Brussels *Emancipation*,[b] "the conflict at Smyrna between the American Government and the Austrian one, caused by the capture of the refugee Koszta, will be placed in the first line of events of 1853. Compared with this fact, the occupation of the Danubian Principalities and the movements of the western diplomacy and of the combined navies at Constantinople, may be considered as of second-rate importance. The event of Smyrna is the beginning of a new history, while the accident at Constantinople is only the unraveling of an old question about to expire."

An Italian paper, *Il Parlamento*, has a leader under the title "*La Politica Americana* in Europa," from which I translate the following passages literally:

"It is well known," says the *Parlamento*, "that a long time has elapsed since the United States have tried to get a maritime station in the Mediterranean and in Italy, and more particularly at such epochs when complications arose in the Orient. Thus for instance in 1840, when the great Egyptian question was agitated, and when St. Jean d'Acre was assailed, the Government of the United States asked in vain from the King of the Two Sicilies[c] to temporarily grant it the great harbor of Syracuse. To-day the tendency of American policy for interfering with European affairs cannot be but more lively and more steadfast. There can be no doubt but that the actual Democratic Administration of the Union manifests the most clamorous sympathies with the victims of the Italian and Hungarian revolution, that it cares nothing about an interruption of the diplomatical intercourse with Austria, and that at Smyrna it has supported its system with the threat of the cannon. It would be unjust to grumble at this aspiration of the great transatlantic nation, or to call it inconsistent or ridiculous. The Americans certainly do not intend conquering the Orient and going to have a land war with Russia. But if England and France make the best of their maritime forces, why should not the Americans do so, particularly as soon as they will have obtained a station, a point of retreat and of "approvisionnement" in the Mediterranean? For them there are great interests at stake, the republican element being diametrically opposed to the

[a] Quoted from Nefftzer's report "Bulletin du jour", *La Presse*, August 4, 1853.— *Ed.*

[b] *L'Emancipation*, No. 204, July 23, 1853.— *Ed.*

[c] Ferdinand II.— *Ed.*

Cossack one. Commerce and navigation having multiplied the legitimate relations and contracts between all peoples of the world, none can consider itself a stranger to any sea of the Old or New Continent, or to any great question like that of the destiny of the Ottoman Empire. The American commerce, and the residents who exercise it on the shores of our seas, require the protection of the stars and stripes, and in order to make it permanent and valid in all seasons of the year, they want a port for a military marine that ranks already in the third line among the maritime powers of the world. If England and France interfere directly with all that regards the Isthmus of Panama, if the former of those powers goes as far as to invent a king of the Mosquitoes, in order to oppose territorial rights to the operations of the United States, if they have come to the final understanding, that the passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific shall be opened to all nations, and be possessed by a neutral State, is it not evident then, that the United States must pretend at exercising the same vigilance with regard to the liberty and neutrality of the Isthmus of Suez, holding their eyes closely fixed on the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, which will be likely to devolve Egypt and Libya wholly or partly to the dominion of some first-rate power? Suez and Panama are the two great doorways of the Orient, which, shut till now, will hereafter compete with each other. The best way to secure their ascendency in the Transatlantic question is to cooperate in the Mediterranean question. We are assured that the American men-of-war in the neighborhood of the Dardanelles do not renounce the pretension to enter them whenever they please, without being subjected to the restrictions convened upon by the Great Powers in 1841, and this for the incontrovertible reason. that the American Government did not participate in that Convention. Europe is amazed at this boldness, because it has been, since the peace of 1783, in the habit of considering the United States as in the condition of the Swiss Cantons after the Westphalian treaty,[206] viz.: as peoples allowed a legitimate existence, but which it would be too arduous to ask to enter into the aristocracy of the primitive Powers, and to give their votes on subjects of general policy. But on the other side of the Ocean the Anglo-Saxon race sprung up to the most exalted degree of wealth, civilization and power, cannot any longer accept the humble position assigned to it in the past. The pressure exercised by the American Union on the Council of Amphictyons of the Five Powers, till now the arbiters of the globe, is a new force that must contribute to the downfall of the exclusive system established by the treaties of Vienna. Till the Republic of the United States succeed in acquiring a positive right and an official seat in the Congresses arbitrating on general political questions, it exercises with an immense grandeur, and with a particular dignity the more humane action of natural rights and of the *jus gentium*.[a] Its banner covers the victims of the civil wars without distinction of parties, and during the immense conflagration of 1848-49 the hospitality of the American Navy never submitted to any humiliation or disgrace."

Written on August 5, 1853

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3850, and the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 859, August 19, 1853

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

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[a] International law.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE WAR QUESTION.— BRITISH POPULATION AND TRADE RETURNS.— DOINGS OF PARLIAMENT[207]

London, Friday, Aug. 12, 1853

Bonaparte compensates the French Navy for their humiliating position in Besika Bay by a reduction in the price of tobacco to the sailors, as we are informed by to-day's *Moniteur*.[a] He won his throne by sausages.[208] Why should he not try to hold it by tobacco? At all events, the Eastern complication will have produced the *démonétisation* of Louis Bonaparte in the eyes of the French peasants and the army. They have learned that the loss of liberty at home is not made up by a gain of glory abroad. The "Empire of all the glories" has sunk even lower than the "Cabinet of all the talents."

From the Constantinople journals which have just arrived, we learn that the Sultan's[b] manifesto to his subjects appeared on the 1st August, that the Russian Consul at Adrianople has received orders from St. Petersburg to withdraw from Turkey, that the other Russian Consuls expect similar orders, and that the Constantinople papers have been prohibited in the Principalities. The *Impartial* of Smyrna, of Aug. 1, has the following communication with regard to Persia:

"The Shah of Persia,[c] after the correspondence exchanged between the Porte and the Russian Cabinet on the occasion of the pending dispute, had been communicated to him on his request, has officially declared that all the right was on the side of the Porte, and that in case of war, he will fairly stand by her. This news had made a great impression on the Russian Ambassador at Teheran, who is said to prepare for demanding his passports."

The contents of the proposition made to Russia, and accepted by the Czar,[d] according to the mysterious Petersburg dispatch,

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[a] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 223, August 11, 1853.— *Ed.*
[b] Abdul Mejid.— *Ed.*
[c] Nasr-ed-Din.— *Ed.*
[d] Nicholas I.— *Ed.*

form the subject of conjecture through the whole European Press. The Palmerstonian *Morning Post* avers:

"On the 25th of July M. de Meyendorff transmitted to his Imperial master, not indeed the formal propositions (accepted at the Vienna Conference), "but an account of what had passed at the conference of the 24th.... We believe we shall not be far wrong when we confidently affirm that the affair is settled in such a manner as to preserve intact the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The mode of settlement will be this: Reshid Pasha will address the Count Nesselrode a note, in which he will inclose the firmans in which are accorded to the Greek Christians, subjects of the Sultan, more privileges than even Russia had asked for them. He will say many civil things to the Czar and assure him of the excellent disposition of the Sultan towards his own subjects, to whom he has accorded such and such rights. This note will be presented by a Turkish Ambassador, and the affair will be at an end.... By the 10th of September the last Russian soldier will have crossed the Pruth!"[a]

On the other hand, private letters from Vienna, alluding to the appearance of Russian gun-boats above the confluence of the Pruth and the Danube, confirm the statement given in my last letter, that the propositions sent to St. Petersburg, do not include at all the withdrawal of the Russian armies from the Principalities, that they emanate from the Austrian Cabinet, to whose intervention the British Ambassador at Vienna,[b] "that true lover of harmony," had appealed, after the French and English proposals had been rejected by the Czar; and that they afford Russia the desired opportunity for prolonging negotiations *in infinitum*.[209] According to the semi-official Frankfort *Ober-Postamts-Zeitung*, Russia has only permitted Austria to enlighten Turkey with regard to her own interests.

The lately published Population Returns prove the slow but steady decrease of the population of Great Britain.[c] In the quarter ending June, 1853,

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|---|---|
| the number of deaths was | 107,861 |
| while the number of births was | 158,718 |
| Net increase of births as far as the registered districts are concerned | 50,857 |
| The excess of births over deaths in the United Kingdom is assumed to be | 79,820 |
| Number of emigrants during the quarter | 115,959 |
| Excess of emigration over increase of births | 36,139 |

[a] *The Morning Post*, August 11, 1853.—*Ed.*
[b] J. Westmorland.—*Ed.*
[c] The data are quoted from *The Times*, No. 21498, August 4, 1853.—*Ed.*

The last Return showed an excess of emigration over births of only 30,000.

The decrease of population, resulting from emigration, coincides with an unprecedented increase in the powers of production and capital. When we remember Parson Malthus denying emigration any such influence, and imagining he had established, by the most elaborate calculations, that the united navies of the world could never suffice for an emigration of such dimensions as were likely to affect in any way the overstocking of human beings, the whole mystery of modern political economy is unraveled to our eyes. It consists simply in transforming transitory social relations belonging to a determined epoch of history and corresponding with a given state of material production, into eternal, general, never-changing laws, natural laws, as they call them. The thorough transformation of the social relations resulting from the revolutions and evolutions in the process of material production, is viewed by the political economists as a mere Utopia. They see the economical limits of a given epoch, but they do not understand how these limits are limited themselves, and must disappear through the working of history, as they have been created by it.

The accounts relating to Trade and Navigation for the six months ending July 5, 1853, as published by the Board of Trade, show in general a great increase when compared with the exports, imports, and shipping in the corresponding period of the year 1852.[a] The import of oxen, bulls, cows, calves, sheep and lambs has considerably increased.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The total import of grains amounted, in the six months ending July 5th, 1852, to | qrs. | 2,604,201 |
| But in the corresponding months of 1853, to | qrs. | 3,984,374 |
| The total imports of Flour and Meal amounted, during six months of 1852, to | qrs. | 1,931,363 |
| And in the corresponding months, 1853, to | qrs. | 2,577,340 |
| Total imports of Coffee, 1852 | lbs. | 19,397,185 |
| Total imports of Coffee, 1853 | lbs. | 21,908,954 |
| Total imports of Wine, 1852 | gals. | 2,850,862 |
| Total imports of Wine, 1853 | gals. | 4,581,300 |
| Total imports of Eggs, 1852 | No. | 64,418,591 |
| Total imports of Eggs, 1853 | No. | 67,631,380 |
| Total imports of Potatoes, 1852 | cwts. | 189,410 |

[a] Below the figures are quoted from "Accounts Relating to Trade and Navigation" and other material published in *The Economist*, No. 519, August 6, 1853.—*Ed.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Total imports of Potatoes, 1853 | cwts. | 713,941 |
| Total imports of Flax, 1852 | cwts. | 410,876 |
| Total imports of Flax, 1853 | cwts. | 627,173 |
| Total imports of Raw Silk, 1852 | lbs. | 2,354,690 |
| Total imports of Raw Silk, 1853 | lbs. | 2,909,733 |
| Total imports of Cotton, 1852 | cwts. | 4,935,317 |
| Total imports of Cotton, 1853 | cwts. | 5,134,680 |
| Total imports of Wool (sheep and lambs), 1852 | lbs. | 26,916,002 |
| Total imports of Wool (sheep and lambs), 1853 | lbs. | 40,189,398 |
| Total imports of Hides (tanned), 1852 | lbs. | 1,075,207 |
| Total imports of Hides (tanned), 1853 | lbs. | 3,604,769 |

A decrease is found in cocoa, guano, unrefined sugar, tea, &c. As to the exports we find:

| | |
|---|---|
| Those of Cotton Manufactures in 1852 | £11,386,491 |
| Those of Cotton Manufactures in 1853 | 13,155,679 |

As to cotton yarn—and the same remark applies to linen and silk yarn—we find that the exported *quantity* has decreased, but that the declared *value* had considerably risen.

| | |
|---|---|
| Linen Manufactures, 1852 | £2,006,951 |
| Linen Manufactures, 1853 | 2,251,260 |
| Silk Manufactures, 1852 | 467,838 |
| Silk Manufactures, 1853 | 806,419 |
| Woolen Manufactures, 1852 | 3,894,506 |
| Woolen Manufactures, 1853 | 4,941,357 |
| Earthen Ware Manufactures, 1852 | 590,663 |
| Earthen Ware Manufactures, 1853 | 627,218 |
| Glass Manufactures, 1852 | 187,470 |
| Glass Manufactures, 1853 | 236,797 |
| Haberdashery and Millinery, 1852 | 884,324 |
| Haberdashery and Millinery, 1853 | 1,806,007 |
| Hardware and Cutlery, 1852 | 1,246,639 |
| Hardware and Cutlery, 1853 | 1,663,302 |
| Machinery, 1852 | 476,078 |
| Machinery, 1853 | 760,288 |
| Iron Bars, Bolts and Rods, 1852 | 1,455,952 |
| Iron Bars, Bolts and Rods, 1853 | 2,730,479 |
| Wrought Iron, 1852 | 696,089 |
| Wrought Iron, 1853 | 1,187,059 |
| Wire, 1852 | 42,979 |
| Wire, 1853 | 106,610 |

With regard to the imports of manufactures, the greatest increase is found in shoes, boots and gloves, and the greatest decrease in glass manufactures, watches, woolen stuffs, and Indian silk manufactures. With regard to exports, the increase is greatest in linen, silks, woolens and metals. As to the importations of articles of consumption, we find that, with the exception of grains and cattle, the increase in nearly all articles bears witness that the home consumption of the higher and middle classes has advanced in a much larger proportion than that of the working classes. While, for instance, the consumption of wine has doubled, the consumption of cocoa, unrefined sugar, and tea has decidedly retrograded.

Out of 260 reports on the wheat crops throughout the United Kingdom, only 25 speak of the crop as fine and abundant, 30 as an average one, and above 200 reports declare it to be bad and deficient. Oats, barley and beans are expected to turn out less unfavorable, as the wet has benefited them; but the potatoes are blighted in all parts of the country. Messrs. J. [and] C. Sturge & Co. remark, in their last circular on the wheat crop:

> "The wheat crop on the aggregate will probably be the least productive of any since 1816, and unless the harvest of 1854 is very early, we may require an importation of all kinds of grain and breadstuffs greater even than that of 1847—probably not less than 15,000,000 quarters—but our present prices are sufficient to induce imports to this extent, unless France should compete with us in the producing markets."

As to a very early crop in 1854, there seems to be no great prospect of that, inasmuch as experience has shown that bad harvests generally follow in succession just as the good ones; and the succession of good harvests since 1848 has already been unusually long. That England will obtain a sufficient supply of corn from foreign countries is, perhaps, pretty sure; but that the exportation of her manufactures will, as Free Traders expect, keep pace with the importations of grains, cannot be presumed. The probable excess of importation over exportation will, besides, be accompanied by a falling off in the home consumption of manufactures. Even now the bullion reserve in the Bank of England is decreasing week after week, and has sunk to £17,739,107.

The House of Lords in its sitting of Friday last rejected the Combination of Workmen Bill, which had passed through the Commons. This bill was but a new interpretation of the old Combination Act of 1825,[210] and intended, by removing its cumbrous and equivocal terminology, to place the workingmen on

a more equal footing with their employers, as far as the legality of combination is concerned. The sentimental lords who please themselves in treating the workingmen as their humble clients, feel exasperated whenever that rabble asks for rights instead of sympathies. The so-called Radical papers have, of course, eagerly seized on this opportunity to denounce the Lords to the proletarians as their "hereditary foes." I am far from denying it. But let us now look at these Radicals, the "natural friends" of the workingmen. I told you in a former letter that the Manchester master-spinners and manufacturers were getting up an association for resisting the demands of their "hands."[a] This association calls itself "an association for the purpose of aiding the trade in regulating the excitement among the operatives in the Manchester district." It purports to have been formed for the following purposes:

"1. The establishment of wages for various operations connected with spinning and weaving, similar to those paid in the other districts of the cotton trade.

"2. The mutual protection of its members in the payment of such wages against the resistance offered to them on the part of the operatives employed by them respectively.

"3. The securing to the operatives themselves the advantage of a uniformity of adequate wages, to be paid to them throughout town and neighborhood."[b]

In order to effect these purposes they have resolved to set up a whole organization, by forming local associations of master-spinners and manufacturers, with a central committee.

"They will resist all demands made by *associated bodies* of mill-hands, as any concession to them would be injurious to employers, operatives, and the trade generally."

They will not allow the machinery set up by and for themselves to be counterbalanced by a similar machinery set up by their men. They intend fortifying the monopoly of capital by the monopoly of combination. They will dictate terms as an associated body. But the laborers shall only dispute them in their individual capacity. They will attack in ranged battle, but they will not be resisted, except in single fight. This is "*fair competition*," as understood by the Manchester Radicals and model Free Traders.

In its sitting of Aug. 9, the House of Lords had to decide on the fate of three Ireland Bills, carried through the Commons after ten months' deliberation, viz.: the *Landlord and Tenant Bill*, removing

[a] See this volume, pp. 225-26.—*Ed.*

[b] This and the following quotation are from "Manchester.—Meeting of Manufacturers" in *The People's Paper*, No. 63, July 16, 1853.—*Ed.*

the laws concerning mortgages, which form at present an insuperable bar to the effective sale of the smaller estates not falling under the *Encumbered Estates Act*[211]; the *Leasing Powers Bill*, amending and consolidating more than sixty acts of Parliament which prohibit leases to be entered into for 21 years, regulating the tenant's compensation for improvements in all instances where contracts exist, and preventing the system of sub-letting; lastly, the *Tenant's Improvement Compensation Bill*, providing compensation for improvements effected by the tenant in the absence of any contract with the landlord, and containing a clause for the retrospective operation of this provision. The House of Lords could, of course, not object to parliamentary interference between landlord and tenant, as it has laden the statute book from the time of Edward IV to the present day, with acts of legislation of landlord and tenant, and as its very existence is founded on laws meddling with landed property, as for instance the *Law of Entail*. This time, the noble lords sitting as Judges on their own cause, allowed themselves to run into a passion quite surprising in that hospital of invalids.

"Such a bill," exclaimed the Earl of Clanricarde, "as the Tenants' Compensation Bill, such a total violation and disregard of all contracts, was never before, he believed, submitted to Parliament, nor had he ever heard of any government having ventured to propose such a measure as was carried out in the retrospective clauses of the bill."[a]

The Lords went as far as to threaten the Crown with the withdrawal of their feudal allegiance,[212] and to hold out the prospect of a landlord rebellion in Ireland.

"The question," remarked the same nobleman, "touched nearly [...] the *whole question of the loyalty* and confidence of the landed proprietors in Ireland in the Government of this country.[...] If they saw landed property in Ireland treated in such a way, he would like to know what was to *secure their attachment to the Crown, and their obedience to its supremacy*?"

Gently, my lord, gently! What was to secure their obedience to the supremacy of the Crown? One magistrate and two constables. A landlord rebellion in Great Britain! Has there ever been uttered a more monstrous anachronism? But for a long time the poor Lords have only lived upon anachronisms. They naturally encourage themselves to resist the House of Commons and public opinion.

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[a] M.P.s' speeches in the House of Lords are quoted from *The Times*, No. 21503, August 10, 1853.—*Ed.*

"Let not their lordships," said old Lord St. Leonards, "for the sake of preventing what was called a *collision* with the other House, or for the sake of popularity, or on account of a pressure from without, pass imperfect measures like these." "I do not belong to any party," exclaimed the Earl of Roden, "but I am highly interested in the welfare of Ireland."

That is to say, his lordship supposes Ireland to be highly interested in the welfare of the Earl of Roden. "This is no party question, but a Lords' question," was the unanimous shout of the House; and so it was. But between both parties, Whig Lords and Tory Lords, Coalition Lords and Opposition Lords, there has existed from the beginning a secret understanding to throw the bills out, and the whole impassioned discussion was a mere farce, performed for the benefit of the newspaper reporters.

This will be evident when we remember that the bills which formed the subject of so hot a controversy were originated, not by the Coalition Cabinet, but by Mr. Napier, the Irish Attorney-General under the Derby Ministry, and that the Tories at the last elections in Ireland appealed to the testimony of these bills introduced by them. The only substantial change made by the House of Commons in the measures introduced by the Tory Government was the excluding of the growing crops from being distrained upon. "The bills are not the same," exclaimed the Earl of Malmesbury, asking the Duke of Newcastle whether he did not believe him. "Certainly not," replied the Duke. "But whose assertion would you then believe?" "That of Mr. Napier," answered the Duke. "Now," said the Earl, "here is a letter of Mr. Napier, stating that the bills are not the same." "There," said the Duke, "is another letter of Mr. Napier, stating that they are."

If the Tories had remained in, the Coalition Lords would have opposed the Ireland Bills. The Coalition being in, on the Tories fell the task of opposing their own measures. The Coalition having inherited these bills from the Tories and having introduced the Irish party into their own cabinet, could, of course, not oppose the bills in the House of Commons; but they were sure of their being burked in the House of Lords. The Duke of Newcastle made a faint resistance, but Lord Aberdeen declared himself contented with the bills passing formally through a second reading, and being really thrown out for the session. This accordingly was done. Lord Derby, the chief of the late Ministry, and Lord Lansdowne, the nominal President of the present Ministry, yet at the same time one of the largest proprietors of land in Ireland, managed, wisely, to be absent from indisposition.

On the same day the House of Commons carried the *Hackney Carriages Duties Bill* through the third reading, renewing the official price-regulations of the 14th century, and accepting the clause proposed by Mr. F. Scully, which subjects cab proprietors' strikes to legal penalties. We have not now to settle the question of state interference with private concerns. We have only to state that this passed in a free-trade House. But, they say, that in the cab trade there exists monopoly and not free competition. This is a curious sort of logic. First they subject a particular trade to a duty, called license, and to special police regulations, and then they affirm that, in virtue of these very burdens imposed upon it, the trade loses its free-trade character and becomes transformed into a state monopoly.

The *Transportation Bill* has also passed through Committee. Except a small number of convicts who will continue to be transported to Western Australia, the penalty of transportation is abolished by this bill. After a certain period of preliminary imprisonment the offenders will receive tickets of leave in Great Britain, liable to be revoked, and then they will be employed on the public works at wages to be determined by Government. The philanthropic object of the latter clause is the erection of an artificial surplus in the labor market, by drawing forced convict-labor into competition with free labor; the same philanthropists forbidding the workhouse paupers all sort of productive labor from fear of creating competition with private capital.

The London *Press*, a weekly journal, inspired by Mr. Disraeli, and certainly the best informed paper as far as ministerial mysteries are concerned, made, on Saturday last, and accordingly before the arrival of the Petersburg dispatch, the following curious statement:

"We are informed, that in their private and confidential circles, the ministers declare that there is not only now no danger of war, but that the peril, if it ever existed, has long been averted. It seems that the proposition formally forwarded to St. Petersburg, [...] had been previously approved by the Emperor; and while the British Government assume in public countenance a tone which is exercising a deleterious influence on the trade of the country, in private they treat the panic as a hoax, scoff off any idea of war having ever been seriously contemplated by any power, and speak of the misunderstanding in question 'as a thing that has been settled these three weeks.' What does all this mean, what is the mystery of all this conduct? ... The propositions now at St. Petersburg, and which were approved by the Emperor before they were transmitted to St. Petersburg, involve a complete concession by Turkey to Russia of all those demands, a resistance to which brought about the present war between these two countries. Those demands were resisted by the Porte under the counsel and at the special instigation of England and France. By the advice and special instigation of England and France, those demands, according to this project, are now to be complied with. [...] There is some

change of form, [...] but there is nothing material in that change. [...] The Emperor of Russia, in virtually establishing the Protectorate over the great bulk of the population of European Turkey, is to declare, that in so doing he has no wish to impugn the sovereign rights of the Sultan. Magnanimous admission!"[a]

Royalty in Great Britain is supposed to be only a nominal power, an assumption which accounts for the peace all parties keep with it. If you were to ask a Radical why his party abstained from attacking the prerogatives of the Crown, he would answer you: It is a mere State decoration which we don't care about. He would tell you that Queen Victoria has only once dared to have a will of her own, at the time of the famous bed chambermaid's catastrophe, when she insisted upon retaining her female Whig *entourage*, but was forced to yield to Sir Robert Peel, and dismiss it. Various circumstances, however, connected with the Oriental question—the inexplicable policy of the Ministry, the denunciations of foreign journals, and the successive arrival of Russian princes and princesses, at a moment when England was supposed to be on the eve of a war with the Autocrat—have accredited the rumor that there existed, during the whole epoch of the Eastern crisis, a Court conspiracy with Russia, sustaining the good old Aberdeen in office, paralyzing the showy alliance with France, and counteracting the official resistance to Russian encroachments. The Portuguese counter-revolution is hinted at, which was enforced by an English fleet, for the sole interest of the Coburg family.[213] It is iterated that Lord Palmerston, too, had been dismissed from the Foreign Office in consequence of Court intrigues. The notorious friendship between the Queen and the Duchess of Orleans is alluded to. It is remembered that the Royal Consort is a Coburg,[b] that the Queen's uncle is another Coburg,[c] highly interested as King of Belgium and as the son-in-law of Louis Philippe, in the fall of Bonaparte, and officially received into the circle of the Holy Alliance, by the marriage of his son[d] with an Austrian Archduchess.[e] Lastly, the reception which the Russian guests meet with, is contrasted with the imprisonment and chicanery English travelers lately met with in Russia.

The Paris *Siècle* some weeks ago denounced the English Court. A German paper dwelt on the Coburg-Orleans conspiracy, which, for the sake of family interests, had, through the medium of King

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[a] *The Press*, No. 14, August 6, 1853.—*Ed.*
[b] Prince Albert.—*Ed.*
[c] Leopold I.—*Ed.*
[d] Léopold Louis Philippe Marie Victor.—*Ed.*
[e] Marie Henriette.—*Ed.*

Leopold and Prince Albert, enforced upon the English Ministry a line of policy dangerous to the Western nations, and fostering the secret intentions of Russia. The Brussels *Nation* had a long report of a Cabinet Council held at London, in which the Queen had formally declared that Bonaparte, by his pretensions to the Holy Shrines, had been the only cause of the present complications, that the Emperor of Russia wished less to humiliate Turkey than his French rival, and that she would never give her Royal assent to any war against Russia for the interest of a Bonaparte.

These rumors have been delicately alluded to by *The Morning Advertiser*, and have found a loud echo in the public, and a cautious one in the weekly press.

"Without desiring," says *The Leader*,[a] "to put constructions too wide, let us simply observe facts. The Princess Olga has come to England with her husband,[b] and her sister,[c] the Duchess of Leuchtenberg, the Emperor's most diplomatic daughter. She has been received by Baron Brunnow, and [...] she is at once welcomed *at Court*, and surrounded by the representatives of good society in England, Lord Aberdeen being among that [...] number."

Even *The Examiner*, the first of the first-rate London weekly papers, announces the arrival of these guests under the laconic rubric "*More Russians.*" In one of its leaders we find the remark,

"No earthly reason now exists why the Peace Society should not reappear before the world, in the most approved form, *under the patronage of His Royal Highness, Prince Albert.*"[d]

A more direct allusion is not allowable in a journal of the standing of *The Examiner*. It concludes the article from which I quote by contrasting the English Monarchy with the Transatlantic Republic:

"If the Americans should be ambitious to seize the place we once held in Europe, that is no affair of ours. Let them reap the present honor and ultimate advantage of enforcing the law of nations, and of being reverenced as the protectors of the feeble against the [...] strong. England is content, provided only Consols be at par, and her own coasts [...] secure against any immediate attack of a foreign army."

On a vote of £5,820, to defray the charge of works, repairs, furniture, etc., at the residence of the British Ambassador at Paris,

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[a] *The Leader*, No. 176, August 6, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] Charles Frederick Alexander.—*Ed.*

[c] Maria Nikolayevna.—*Ed.*

[d] Here and below Marx quotes from "Triumph of the Peace Party" in *The Examiner*, No. 2375, August 6, 1853.—*Ed.*

for the year ending 31st March, 1854, being proposed, Mr. Wise asked what had become of the £1,100 a year, voted for the last thirty years, in order to keep in repair the residence of the British Ambassador at Paris. Sir William Molesworth was compelled to own that the public money had been misapplied, and that, according to the architect Albano, sent by Government to Paris, the residence of the British Ambassador was in a most dilapidated state. The verandah around the house had fallen in; the walls were in a state of decay; the house had not been painted for several years; the staircases were unsafe; the cesspools were exhaling a most offensive effluvium; the rooms were full of vermin, which were running over the tables, and maggots were in every place on the furniture and on the curtains, while the carpets were stained by the dirt of dogs and cats.

Lord Palmerston's *Smoke Nuisance Suppression Bill* has passed a second reading. This measure once carried, the metropolis will assume a new aspect, and there will remain no dirty houses in London, except the House of Lords and the House of Commons.

Written on August 12, 1853

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3854, August 24, 1853 and in abridged form in German in *Die Reform*, No. 43, August 27, 1853

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## URQUHART.—BEM.— THE TURKISH QUESTION IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS[214]

London, Tuesday, August 16, 1853

David Urquhart has published four letters on the Oriental question,[a] purporting to expose four delusions—firstly, that regarding the identity of the Oriental and Russian Churches; secondly, of there being a diplomatical contest between England and Russia; thirdly, of there being a possibility of war between England and Russia; and lastly, the delusion of union between England and France. As I intend to recur another time more fully to these letters,[215] I confine myself for the present to communicating to you the following letter addressed by Bem to Reshid Pasha, a letter published for the first time by Mr. Urquhart.

"Monseigneur! Not seeing the order arrive to command my presence at Constantinople, I conceive it to be my duty to address to your Highness some considerations which appear to me to be urgent. I commence by declaring that the Turkish troops which I have seen, cavalry, infantry, and field artillery—are excellent. In bearing, instruction, and military spirit, there can be no better. The horses surpass those of any European cavalry. That which is inappreciable is the desire felt by all the officers and all the soldiers to fight against Russia. With such troops I would willingly engage to attack a Russian force double their number, and I should be victorious. And as the Ottoman Empire can march against the Russians more troops than that Power can oppose to them, it is evident that the Sultan[b] may have the satisfaction to see restored to his sceptre all the Provinces treacherously withdrawn from his ancestors by the Czars of Moscow....

Bem."[c]

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[a] D. Urquhart, "What Means Protection of the Greek Church", "Time in Diplomacy.—The European Recognition", "The Relative Power of Russia and Great Britain", "War between England and France", *The Morning Advertiser*, August 11, 12, 15, 16, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Morning Advertiser*, August 15, 1853.—*Ed.*

The Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs[a] has sent to all the European Courts a note relative to the conduct of the American frigate *St. Louis*, in the Koszta affair, denouncing the American policy in general. Austria contends that she has the right to kidnap foreigners from the territory of a neutral power, while the United States have no right to commence hostilities in order to defend them.

On Friday, in the House of Lords, the Earl of Malmesbury did not inquire into the mystery of the Vienna Conference, or of the propositions forwarded by it to the Czar,[b] nor did he inquire as to the present state of transactions. His curiosity was rather of a retrospective and antiquarian character. What he moved for was "simple translations" of the two manifestos addressed by the Emperor, in May and June, to his diplomatical agents, and published in the *St. Petersburg Gazette*,[216] and also "for any answer which Her Majesty's Government might have sent to the statements therein contained." The Earl of Malmesbury is no ancient Roman. Nothing could be more repulsive to his feelings than the Roman manner of openly examining foreign Ambassadors amid the *patres conscripti.*

The two Russian circulars he stated himself to "have been published openly to all Europe by the Emperor of Russia [...] in his own language, and [...] have also appeared in the English and French languages in the public prints."

What possible good, then, could result from translating them again from the language of the writers of the public prints into the language of the clerks of the Foreign Office?

"The French Government did answer the circulars immediately and ably.... The English reply, as we are told, was made soon after that of the French Government."

The Earl of Malmesbury was anxious to know how the indifferent prose of M. Drouyn de Lhuys might look when translated into the noble prose of the Earl of Clarendon.

He felt himself bound to remind "his noble friend opposite," that John Bull, after thirty years of peace, of commercial habits, and of industrial pursuits, had become "somewhat nervous" with regard to *war*, and that this nervosity had, since the month of

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[a] *K. Buol-Schauenstein.—Ed.*

[b] *Nicholas I.—Ed.*

[c] Here and below passages from Malmesbury's speech and from those of other speakers in the House of Lords on August 12, 1853, are quoted from *The Times*, No. 21506, August 13, 1853.—*Ed.*

March last, "increased from the continued and lengthened mystery which the Government have drawn over their operations and negotiations." In the interest of peace, therefore, Lord Malmesbury interpellates, but in the same interest of peace the Government keeps silence.

The first signs of aggression of Russia on European Turkey no one was more annoyed at than the noble Earl himself. He had never suspected such a thing as Russian designs upon Turkey. He would not believe in what he saw. There was above all "the honor of the Emperor of Russia." But did the aggrandizement of his Empire ever damage the honor of an Emperor? There was "his conservative policy [...] which he had emphatically proved during the revolutions of 1848." Indeed, the Autocrat did not join in the wickedness of those revolutions. Especially, in 1852, when the noble Earl held the Foreign Office

> "it was impossible for any Sovereign to give more repeated assurances, or to show a more sincere interest in the maintenance of the treaties by which Europe is bound, and the maintenance of the territorial arrangements which have existed for the happiness of Europe for so many years."

Certainly, when Baron Brunnow induced the Earl of Malmesbury to sign the treaty of 8th May, 1852, with regard to the succession of the Danish throne, he caught him with repeated assurances as to the foible of his august master for existing treaties; and when he persuaded him, at the time the Earl hailed the usurpation of Bonaparte, to enter into a secret alliance with Russia, Prussia, and Austria against this same Bonaparte, he made a great show of his sincere interest in the maintenance of the existing territorial arrangements.

In order to account for the sudden and unexpected change which has overcome the Emperor of Russia, the Earl of Malmesbury then enters into a psychological analysis "of the new impressions made on the *Emperor of Russia's mind.*" The "feelings" of the Emperor, he ventures to affirm, "were irritated at the conduct of the French Government in regard to the Holy Shrines in Palestine." Bonaparte, it is true, in order to allay those irritated feelings, dispatched M. De la Cour to Constantinople, "a man of singularly mild and conciliatory conduct." But says the Earl, "it appears that in the Emperor of Russia's mind, what had passed had not been effaced," and that there remained a residue of bitter feeling with regard to France. M. De la Cour, it must be confessed, settled the question finally and satisfactorily, before Prince Menchikoff's arrival at Constantinople. "Still the impression

on the mind of the Russian Emperor remained unaltered." So strong was this impression, and the mental aberration resulting from it, "that the Emperor still suspected the Turkish Government of wishing to impose upon Russia conditions which she had no right to impose." The Earl of Malmesbury owns that it is "impossible" not only for "any human being," but even for an English Lord, to "read the human mind;" nevertheless, "he cannot help thinking that he can account for those strange impressions effected upon the Emperor of Russia's mind." The moment, he says, had arrived, which the Russian population had been taught for many generations to look forward to as the "predestinated epoch of their obtaining Constantinople, and restoring the Byzantine Empire." Now he supposes "these feelings" to have been shared by "the present Emperor." Originally, the sagacious Earl intended to explain the Emperor's obstinate suspicion, that the Turkish Government wanted to hurt him in his rights, and now he informs us that he suspected Turkey, because he thought the proper moment to have arrived of swallowing her. Arrived at this point the noble Earl had necessarily to change the course of his deductions. Instead of accounting for the new impressions on the Emperor of Russia's mind which altered the old circumstances, he accounts now for the circumstances, which restrained for some time the ambitious mind and the old traditional feeling of the Czar from "giving way to temptation." These circumstances resolve themselves in the one great fact, that at one period the Earl of Malmesbury was "in," and that at the other period he was "out."

When "in" he was the first, not only to acknowledge Boustrapa,[a] but also to apologize for his perjury, his murders, and his usurpation. But, then,

> "the newspapers of the day continually found fault with what they called a subservient and cringing policy to the French Emperor."

The Coalition Ministry came, and with it Sir J. Graham and Sir Charles Wood,

> "condemning at public meetings the policy and character of the French Emperor, and condemning the French people, too, for the choice of this prince as their sovereign."

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[a] A nickname of Louis Bonaparte, composed from the first syllables of the towns Boulogne and Strasbourg, where Bonapartist putsches were organised in 1836 and 1840, and of Paris, where a coup d'état was staged on December 2, 1851.— *Ed.*

Then followed the Montenegro affair,[217] and the Coalition

"allowing Austria to insist on the Sultan giving up any further coercion of the rebellious Montenegrins, and not even securing to the Turkish army a safe and peaceable retreat, thus causing Turkey a loss of from 1,500 to 2,000 men."[a]

At a later period the recall of Col. Rose from Constantinople, the refusal of the British Government to order simultaneously with France their fleet to Besika Bay or Smyrna—all these circumstances together, produced the impression on the Emperor of Russia's mind that the people and the Government of England were hostile to the French Emperor, and that no true alliance was possible between the two countries.

Having thus traced with a delicacy worthy of a romance-writer, who analyzes the undulating feelings of his heroine, the succession of circumstances belaboring the Emperor of Russia's impressionable mind and seducing him from the path of virtue, the Earl of Malmesbury flatters himself to have broken through the prejudices and antipathies which had alienated for centuries the French from the English people by his close alliance with the oppressor of the French people, he congratulates the present Government upon having inherited from him the intimate alliance with the Western Czar, and upon having reaped where the Tories had sown. He forgets that it is exactly this intimate alliance under the auspices of which the Sultan has been sacrificed to Russia, the Coalition being backed by the French Emperor, while the French Soulouque eagerly seizes the opportunity of slipping on the shoulders of the Mussulman into a sort of Vienna Congress and becoming respectable. In the same breath in which he congratulates the Ministry on their close alliance with Bonaparte, he denounces the very policy which has been the fruit of that *mésalliance.*

We shall not follow the Earl in his expectorations on the importance of Turkish integrity, in his denial of her decay, in his repudiation of the Russian religious Protectorate, nor in his reproaches to the Government for not having declared the invasion of the Principalities a *casus belli,* and for not having answered the crossing of the Pruth by sending out their fleet. He has nothing new except the following letter, "perfectly unsurpassed for insolence," addressed by Prince Menchikoff to Reshid Pasha on the eve of his departure from Constantinople:

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[a] Here Marx quotes not from Malmesbury's speech, as below and above, but from Clarendon's speech in the House of Lords on August 12, 1853.—*Ed.*

"Buyukdere, May 9, [21st]

"At the moment of departure from Constantinople, the undersigned Ambassador of Russia, has learnt that the Sublime Porte manifested its intention to proclaim a guaranty for the exercise of the spiritual rights vested in the clergy of the Eastern Church, which, in fact, renders doubtful the maintenance of the other privileges which that Church enjoys. Whatever may be the motive of this determination, the undersigned is under the necessity of informing his Highness, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, that a declaration or any other act, which, although it may preserve the integrity of the purely spiritual rights of the orthodox Eastern Church, tends to invalidate the other rights, privileges and immunities accorded to her religion and clergy, from the most ancient times, and which they enjoy at the present moment, will be considered by the Imperial Cabinet as an act of hostility to Russia and to her religion.

"The undersigned begs, &c.

"Menchikoff."

The Earl of Malmesbury "could hardly believe that the Russian Emperor countenanced the conduct of Prince Menchikoff, or the manner in which he acted," a doubt confirmed by Nesselrode's notes following Menchikoff's departure, and the Russian army following Nesselrode' notes.

The "silent" Clarendon, "painful as it was to him," was obliged "to give the same answer over and over again," viz.: to give no answer at all. He felt it "his public duty not to say a word" which he had not already said, of "not laying any communication before them, and of not producing any separate dispatch." The noble Earl accordingly gave not one iota of information which we did not know before. His principal aim was to establish that, during the whole time that the Austrian and Russian Cabinets were making their encroachments, he was in "constant communication" with them. Thus he was in constant communication with the Austrian Government when it sent Prince Leiningen to Constantinople and its troops to the frontier, "because," at least this, says the innocent Clarendon, was the "reason given"—"because it apprehended an outbreak of its own subjects on the frontier." After the Sultan had yielded to Austria, by withdrawing his force, the energetic Clarendon "was again in communication with Austria, in order to insure the full execution of the treaty."

"I *believe*," continues the credulous Lord, "it was carried out, *for* the Austrian Government *assured* us that such was the case."

Very good, my Lord! As to the *entente cordiale* with France, it had ever existed since 1815! As to the part the French and English Governments took "with respect to the sending of their respective

fleets," there "was not a shade of difference." Bonaparte ordered his fleet to proceed to Salamis,

"believing that danger was imminent," and, "although he" (Clarendon) "told him the danger was not so imminent, and that for the moment it was not necessary for the French fleet to leave the French ports," he ordered the French fleet to leave them; but this circumstance did not make the *slightest difference because* it was much more handy and more advantageous to have one fleet at Salamis and the other at Malta, than to have one at Malta and the other at Toulon."

Lord Clarendon further states that throughout the insolent pressure of Prince Menchikoff on the Porte

"it was a matter of satisfaction that the fleet was not ordered out because no one could say that the Turkish Government acted under their dictation."

After what has passed, it is indeed probable, that, had the fleet then been ordered out, the Sultan would have been forced to draw in. As to Menchikoff's "valedictory letter," Clarendon owned it to be correct, "but such language in diplomatic negotiations with governments was, fortunately, rare, and he hoped would long remain so." As to the invasion of the Principalities, the English and French Governments

"advised the Sultan to waive his undoubted right of treating the occupation of the Principalities as a *casus belli.*"

As to the negotiations yet pending, all he would say was that,

"an official communication had been received this morning from Sir Hamilton Seymour, that the propositions agreed upon by the Ambassadors at Vienna, *if slightly modified,* would be received at St. Petersburg."

As to the terms of the settlement, he would rather die than let them slip out.

The noble Lord was responded to by Lord Beaumont, the Earl of Hardwicke, the Marquis of Clanricarde, and the Earl of Ellenborough. There was not one single voice to felicitate Her Majesty's Government on the course pursued in these negotiations. There were very great apprehensions on all sides that the ministerial policy had been the wrong way; that they had acted as mediators in behalf of Russia, instead of as defenders of Turkey, and that an early display of firmness on the part of England and France, would have placed them in a better position than that which they now hold. The old obstinate Aberdeen answered them, that "it was easy to speculate on what would have been the case, after the event had occurred; to say what might have been the

case, had they followed a different course." However, his most startling and important statement was the following:

"Their Lordships must be aware that they were not bound by any treaty. He denied that this country was bound by the stipulations of any treaty to take part in any hostilities in support of the Turkish Empire."

The Emperor of Russia, when England and France first showed their disposition to meddle with the pending Turkish affair, utterly repudiated the binding force of the treaty of 1841 upon his own dealings with the Porte, and the right of interposition resulting therefrom on the part of the Western Cabinets. At the same time he insisted upon the exclusion of the ships of war of the other Powers from the Dardanelles, in virtue of the same treaty of 1841. Now, Lord Aberdeen, in open and solemn assembly of Parliament, endorses this arrogant interpretation of a treaty which is only respected by the Autocrat when it excludes Great Britain from the Euxine.[a]

Written on August 16, 1853

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3862 and the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 863, September 2, 1853

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Ancient name of the Black Sea.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE TURKISH QUESTION IN THE COMMONS[218]

London, Friday, Aug. 19,[a] 1853

Lord John Russell having postponed his explanations on the Turkish question again and again, till at last, the last week of the Parliamentary session had happily arrived, came suddenly forward on Monday last, and gave notice that he would make his long deferred statement on Tuesday. The noble lord had ascertained that Mr. Disraeli had left London on Monday morning. In the same manner Sir Charles Wood, when he knew Sir J. Pakington and his partisans to be out of the House, suddenly brought in his India Bill, as amended by the House of Lords, and carried, in a thin house, without division, the re-enactment of the Salt-Monopoly. Such mean and petty tricks are the nerves and sinews of Whig Parliamentary tactics.

The Eastern question in the House of Commons, was a most interesting spectacle. Lord J. Russell opened the performances in a tone quite conformed to the part he had to play. This diminutive earthman, supposed to be the last representative of the once powerful Whig tribe, spoke in a dull, low, dry, monotonous, and barren-spirited manner—not like a Minister, but like a police reporter, who mitigates the horrors of his tale by the trivial, commonplace, and business-like style in which he relates it. He offered no "apology," but he made a confession. If there was any redeeming feature in his speech, it was its stiffness itself, which seemed intended to conceal some painful impressions laboring in

[a] The article is dated "August 18" in the *New-York Daily Tribune*. This is evidently a slip of the pen because Friday was on August 19, which was also put down in Marx's notebook as the date of sending the article to New York.— *Ed.*

the little man. Even the inevitable phrase of "the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire," sounded like an old reminiscence, recurring, by some inadvertence, in a funeral oration over that same Empire. The impression produced by this speech, which purported to announce the settlement of the Eastern complication, may be judged from the fact that, as soon as transmitted by telegraph to Paris, the funds fell immediately.

Lord John was right in stating that he had not to defend the Government, the Government not having been attacked; on the contrary, every disposition had been shown on the part of the House to leave negotiations in the hands of the Executive. Indeed no motion has been put by any member of Parliament to force discussion upon Ministers and there has not been held any meeting out of the House to force such a motion upon members of Parliament. If the ministerial policy has been one of secrecy and mystification, it was so with the silent consent of Parliament and of the public. As to the withholding of documents while negotiations were pending, Lord John asserted it to be an eternal law established by parliamentary tradition. It would be tedious to follow him in the narration of events familiar to everybody, and infused with no new life by his manner of rather enumerating than reciting them. There are, however, some important points Lord John was the first officially to confirm.

Before Prince Menchikoff's arrival at Constantinople the Russian Ambassador[a] informed Lord John that the Czar[b] intended to send a special mission to Constantinople with propositions relating exclusively to the Holy Cross and the immunities of the Greek Church connected with them. The British Ambassador at St. Petersburg,[c] and the British Government at home suspected no other intention on the part of Russia. It was not until the beginning of March, when the Turkish Minister informed Lord Stratford (Mr. Layard, however, affirms that Colonel Rose and many other persons at Constantinople were already initiated in the secret) that Prince Menchikoff had proposed a secret treaty[219] incompatible with Turkish independence, and that he had declared it to be the intention of Russia to consider any communication of the fact to either France or England as an act of direct hostility against Russia. It was known at the same time, not

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[a] F. I. Brunnow.—*Ed.*
[b] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*
[c] G. H. Seymour.—*Ed.*

from mere rumor, but from authentic reports that Russia was accumulating great masses of troops on the frontiers of Turkey and at Odessa.

As to the note forwarded by the Vienna Conference to the Czar, and agreed upon by him, it had been prepared at Paris by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, who took the reply of Reshid Pasha to the last Russian note[220] for his basis. It was afterward taken up, in an altered form, by Austria, as her own proposition, on the 24th July, and received its final touch on the 31st of July. The Austrian Minister[a] having previously communicated it to the Russian Ambassador at Vienna,[b] it was already, on the 24th, conveyed to St. Petersburg before it was finally arranged, and it was not sent to Constantinople till the 2d of August, when the Czar had already agreed to it. Thus, after all, it is a Russian note addressed through the means of the four Powers to the Sultan, instead of a note of the Four Powers addressed to Russia and Turkey. Lord John Russell states that this note has "not the *exact form of Prince Menchikoff's note,*" owning thereby that it has its exact contents. To leave no doubt behind, he adds:

"*The Emperor considers that his objects will be attained.*"[c]

The draft contains not even an allusion to the evacuation of the Principalities.

"Supposing that note," says Lord John, "to be finally agreed upon [...] by Russia and [...] Turkey, *there will still remain the great question of the evacuation of the Principalities.*"

He adds at the same time, that the British Government "considers this evacuation to be essential," but upon the mode by which this object is to be obtained he asks permission to say nothing. He gives us, however, sufficiently to understand that the fleets of England and France may have to leave Besika Bay before the Cossacks shall have left the Principalities.

"We ought not to consent to any arrangement by which it may be stipulated that the advance of the fleets to the neighborhood of the Dardanelles should be considered as equivalent to an actual invasion of the Turkish Territories. But, of course, if the matter is settled, if peace is secured, Besika Bay is not a station which would be of any advantage either to England or France."

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[a] K. Buol-Schauenstein.—*Ed.*

[b] P. K. Meyendorff.—*Ed.*

[c] Russell's speech and those of other speakers in the House of Commons on August 16, 1853, are quoted from *The Times*, No. 21509, August 17, 1853.—*Ed.*

Now, as no man in his senses has ever supposed the French and English fleets are to remain for all time at Besika Bay, or France and England to enter into a formal stipulation forbidding them to advance to the neutral neighborhood of the Dardanelles, these ambiguous and cumbrous phrases, if they have any meaning at all, mean that the fleets will retire, after the note shall have been accepted by the Sultan and the Cossack promised to evacuate the Principalities.

"When the Russian Government," says Lord John, "had occupied the Principalities, Austria [...] declared that, in conformity with the spirit of the Treaty of 1841, it was absolutely necessary that the representatives of the Powers should meet in conference, and should endeavor to obtain some amicable solution of a difficulty which might otherwise threaten the peace of Europe."

Lord Aberdeen, on the contrary, declared some days ago[a] in the House of Lords, and also, as we are informed from other sources, in a formal note communicated to the Cabinets of St. Petersburg and Constantinople in the course of last June, that

"the Treaty of 1841 did not in any way impose upon the Powers who signed it the obligation of actual assistance in behalf of the Porte [but of a temporary abstention from entering the Dardanelles!] and that the Government of Her British Majesty[b] held themselves perfectly free to act or not to act, according to its own interests."

Lord Aberdeen only repudiates all obligations toward Turkey, in order not to possess any right against Russia.

Lord John Russell concludes with "*a fair aspect*" of the negotiations approaching their crowning result. This seems a very sanguine view of the matter, at the moment when the Russian note, arranged at Vienna and to be presented by Turkey to the Czar, has not yet been accepted by the Sultan, and when the *sine qua non* of the Western Powers, viz.: the evacuation of the Principalities, has not yet been pressed upon the Czar.

Mr. Layard, the first speaker who rose in response to Lord John, made by far the best and most powerful speech—bold, concise, substantial, filled with facts, and proving the illustrious scholar to be as intimately acquainted with Nicholas as with Sardanapalus, and with the actual intrigues in the Orient as well as with the mysterious traditions of its past.

Mr. Layard regretted that Lord Aberdeen had "on several occasions, and in several places, declared that his policy is essentially a policy based on peace." If England shrank from

[a] On August 12, 1853.—*Ed.*
[b] Victoria.—*Ed.*

maintaining her honor and interests by war, she encouraged on the part of a lawless Power like Russia, pretensions which must inevitably lead sooner or later to war. The present conduct of Russia must not be considered as a mere casual and temporary occurrence, but as part and parcel of a great scheme of policy.

As to the "concessions" made to France and the "intrigues" of M. de Lavalette, they could not even afford a pretext to Russia, because

"a draught of the firman making those concessions, of which Russia complains, was delivered by the Porte to M. de Titoff some days, if not weeks, before it was issued, and [...] no objection whatever was made to the terms of that firman."

Russia's designs with regard to Serbia, Moldo-Wallachia and the Christian population of Turkey were not to be misunderstood. Immediately after his public entry at Constantinople, Prince Menchikoff demanded the dismissal of M. Garašanin, from his post of Serbian Minister. That demand was complied with, although the Serbian Synod protested. M. Garašanin was one of the men brought forward by the insurrection of 1842, that national movement against Russian influence which expelled the then reigning Prince Michel from Serbia,[221] he and his family being mere tools in the hands of Russia. In 1843 the Russian Government claimed the right of interference in Serbia. Completely unauthorized by any treaty, she was authorized by *Lord Aberdeen*, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, who declared, "*that Russia had the right to place her own construction on her own treaties.*"

"By her success in that transaction," says Mr. Layard, "Russia showed that she was mistress of Serbia and could check any rising independent nationality."

As to the Danubian Principalities, Russia first took advantage of the national movement of 1848 in those provinces, compelling the Porte to expel from them every man of liberal and independent opinions. Then, she forced upon the Sultan the treaty of Balta-Liman,[222] by which she established her right to interfere in all the internal affairs of the Principalities,

"and her present occupation of them has proved that Moldavia and Wallachia are to all intents and purposes Russian provinces."

There remained the Greeks of Turkey and the Slavonians of Bulgaria professing the Christian religion.

"The spirit of inquiry and independence has sprung up among the Greeks, and this together with their commercial intercourse with the free States of Europe, has

greatly alarmed the Russian Government. There was another cause, viz., the spread of the Protestant faith among the Christians of the East, [...] mainly through the influence and teachings of American missionaries, scarcely a considerable town exists in Turkey, in which there is not a nucleus of a Protestant community. [Another motive for American intervention.] The Greek clergy backed by the Russian mission have done all in their power to check this movement, and, when persecution was no longer available, Prince Menchikoff appeared at Constantinople. [...] The great end of Russia has been to crush the spirit of religious and political independence, which has manifested itself of late years among the Christian subjects of the Porte."

As to the establishment of a so-called *Greek Empire at Constantinople,* Mr. Layard, meaning of course the Greeks in contradistinction to the Slavonians, stated that the Greeks amount hardly to 1,750,000; that the Slavonians and Bulgarians have been struggling for years to throw off all connection with them, by refusing to accept for their clergy and bishops the priests of the Greek nation; that the Serbians have created a Patriarch of their own in lieu of that at Constantinople; and that establishing the Greeks at Constantinople would be playing the whole of Turkey into the hands of Russia.

To the members of the House, who declared that it would signify little whether Constantinople was in the hands of Russia or not, Mr. Layard replied that, Constantinople being broken, all the great Provinces which constitute Turkey, as, for instance, Asia Minor, Syria and Mesopotamia, would fall into a state of confusion and anarchy. The power into whose hands they were to fall, would command India. The power which held Constantinople, would ever be looked upon in the East as the dominant power of the world.

Russia, however, was aware that no European State would permit her to take possession of Constantinople at this time. Meanwhile,

"her object is to render all independent nationalities in that country impossible—to weaken the Turkish power gradually, but surely; and to show to those who would oppose her designs, that any such opposition is not only useless, but would entail upon them her vengeance; in fact, to render any other government but her own impossible in Turkey. *In those designs she has entirely succeeded on this occasion.*"

Mr. Layard represented that the Government, after the demand of a secret treaty by Prince Menchikoff, and the great Russian armaments on the frontier and at Odessa, were satisfied with the explanations and assurances given at St. Petersburg, and failed to declare that England and France would consider the passing of

the Pruth as a *casus belli*, and that they had not interdicted Russia from entering into any treaties or engagements with Turkey without their participation.

"If we had taken that step Russia would never have dared to cross the Pruth."

Mr. Layard then exposed how the Principalities, independent, united with Bessarabia and leaning on Hungary, would ultimately be the only means of preserving Constantinople from the Russians and of cutting the great Sclav race in two. He thinks that Russia *will* evacuate the Principalities.

"It would not be worth the while of Russia to engage in a war with the Great Powers of Europe on account of those provinces, which are already, to all intents and purposes, her own. [...] Russia has gained, without firing a shot, what is worth to her a bloody and expensive campaign; she has established her power in the East; she has humiliated Turkey; she has compelled her to go to all the expense of a war, and has exhausted her resources; but, what is more, she has humiliated this country and France in the eyes of her own subjects and of the populations of the East."

The note drawn up by the Vienna Conference will have the result that,

"if the Porte declines to adhere to it, Russia will have turned the tables completely upon us, and made us her ally against Turkey in compelling her to accept an unjust proposal. If she accept, England has directly sanctioned the right of Russia to interfere in behalf of twelve millions of Christians, the subjects of the Porte.... Look at the question as we will; it is clear that we have taken the place of a second-rate Power in it, and conceded that of a first-rate Power to Russia alone.... We had an opportunity which, perhaps, will never occur again of settling on a proper basis this great Eastern question.... Russia has been enabled to strike a blow from which Turkey will never recover.... The result of the policy which this country has pursued will not end here. Sweden, Denmark, every weak State of Europe, which has placed dependence on the character of this country, [...] will see that it is useless any more to struggle against the encroachments of Russia."

Sir John Pakington next made some remarks, which were important as declaratory of the views of the Tory opposition. He regretted that Lord John Russell could not make a statement more satisfactory to the House and to the country. He assured the Government that its determination to consider the evacuation of the Principalities as a *sine qua non*, will "be supported not only by the opinion of this House, but by the almost unanimous opinion of the people of this country." Till the papers should have been produced, he must reserve his judgment on the policy of advising Turkey not to consider the occupation of the Principalities as a *casus belli*, of not following a more vigorous and decisive policy at

an earlier period, of injuring and holding in suspense the interests of Turkey and of Great Britain, and their commerce, by transactions protracted for six months.

Lord Dudley Stuart indulged in one of his habitual good-natured Democratic declamations, which are certainly more gratifying to the man who spouts them than to anybody else. If you compress inflated balloons or blown up phrases, there remains nothing in your hands, not even the wind that made them appear like something. Dudley Stuart repeated the often repeated statements on the improvements going on in Turkey, and on the greater liberality of the Sultan's rule, whether in regard to religion or commerce, when compared with that of Russia. He remarked, justly, that it was useless to boast of peace, while the unhappy inhabitants of the Danubian Principalities actually endured the horrors of war. He claimed for the inhabitants of these provinces the protection of Europe against the terrible oppression to which they were now subjected. He showed, by facts from Parliamentary history, that the members of the House had the right of speechifying, even while negotiations were going on. He forgot hardly anything, which must be familiar to a true and constant reader of *The Daily News*. There were two "points" in his speech:

> "Although the explanation of the noble lord" (J. Russell) "had not been very full, for he told the House nothing but what it knew before, still, from its very omissions, he was afraid that they must come to the conclusion, *that the noble lord had been doing something of which he ought to be ashamed.*"

As to the Earl of Aberdeen,

> "he had told them that peace had been preserved for thirty years, with great advantage to the prosperity and liberty of Europe, but he" (Dudley Stuart) "denied that the liberty of Europe had been benefited by the peace. Where, he would ask, was Poland? where Italy? where Hungary?—nay, where Germany?"

Borne along by the power of fluency, that fatal gift of third-rate orators, the Democratic lord cannot stop, till he arrives, from the despots of the Continent, to his native monarch, "who rules in the hearts of her subjects."

Mr. M. Milnes, one of those ministerial retainers, on whose brow you read:

> "Do not talk of him
> But as a property,"[a]

[a] Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, Act IV, Scene 1.—*Ed.*

did not dare to make a decidedly ministerial speech. He made an alternative speech. On the one side he found that Ministers, by withholding the papers from the table of the House, "acted with very great prudence and judgment," but, on the other hand, he gave them to understand that they would have acted "more strongly and firmly" the other way. On the one hand he thought the Government might have been right in submitting to the demands of Russia, but, on the other hand, it seemed questionable to him whether they had not, in some degree, encouraged Turkey to pursue a line of policy which they were not prepared to support, etc., etc. On the whole, he made out that "the more he reflected on those subjects, the more extreme were the difficulties which they presented to his mind"—the less he understood those subjects, the better he understood the temporizing policy of the Government.

After the alternative juggle and perplexed mind of Mr. Monckton Milnes we are refreshed by the rough straightforwardness of Mr. Muntz, M.P. for Birmingham, and one of the matadors of the Reform-House of 1831.

"When the Dutch Ambassador made to Charles II some very objectionable proposition, the King replied: 'God bless me! you never made such a proposition to Oliver Cromwell.' 'No,' said the Ambassador, 'you are a very different man from Oliver Cromwell.' If this country had had now such a man as Oliver Cromwell, we should have had a different Minister, and a very different Government, and Russia would never have marched into the Danubian Provinces. [...] The Emperor of Russia knew, that nothing would make this country go to war: witness Poland, witness Hungary. This country was now reaping the benefit of its own conduct in those instances. [...] He considered the state of this country in relation to its foreign affairs was a very objectionable and a very unsatisfactory one. And he believed that the people of England felt that their character had been degraded, and that all sense of honor on the part of the Government was absorbed in consideration of mere pounds, shillings and pence. The only questions mooted by the Government now were simply what would be the expense, and would war be agreeable to the different tradesmen of the nation?"

Birmingham happening to be the center of an armament-manufacturing and musket-selling population, the men of that town naturally scoff at the Manchester Cotton-Peace-Fraternity.

Mr. Blackett, the member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, did not believe that the Russians would evacuate the Principalities. He warned the Government

"*not to be swayed by any dynastic sympathies or antipathies.*"

Assailed on all sides, from all shades of opinion, the Ministers sat there mournful, depressed, inanimate, broken down; when

Richard Cobden suddenly rose, congratulating them for having adopted his peace doctrines and applying that doctrine to the given case, with all the sharp ingenuity and fair sincerity of the *monomaniac,* with all the contradictions of the *idéologue,* and with all the calculating cowardice of the shop-keeper. He preached what the ministry had openly acted, what the Parliament had silently approved, and what the ruling classes had enabled the ministry to do and the Parliament to accept. From fear of war he attained for the first time to something like historical ideas. He betrayed the mystery of middle-class policy, and therefore he was repudiated as a traitor. He forced middle-class England to see herself as in a mirror, and as the image was by no means a flattering one, he was ignominiously hissed. He was inconsistent, but his inconsistency itself was consistent. Was it his fault if the traditional fierce phrases of the aristocratic past did not harmonize with the pusillanimous facts of the stockjobbing present?

He commenced by declaring that there was no difference of opinion on the question:

"Still, there was apparently very great uneasiness on the subject of Turkey."

Why was this? Within the last twenty years there had been a growing conviction that the Turks in Europe were intruders in Europe; that they were not domiciled there; that their home was Asia; that Mohammedanism could not exist in civilized States; that we could not maintain the independence of any country, if she could not maintain it for herself; that it was now known that there were three Christians to every Turk in European Turkey.

"We could not take a course which would insure Turkey in Europe as an independent power against Russia, unless the great bulk of the population were with us in our desire to prevent another power from taking possession of that country.... As to sending our fleets up to Besika Bay, and keeping out the Russians, no doubt we could do that, because Russia would not come into collision with a maritime power; but we were keeping up these enormous armaments, and were not settling the Eastern Question.... The question was, what were they going to do with Turkey, and with the Christian population of Turkey. Mohammedanism could not be maintained; and we should be sorry to see this country fighting for Mohammedanism in Europe."

Lord Dudley Stuart had talked about maintaining Turkey on account of commerce. He (Cobden) never would fight for a tariff. He had too much faith in free trade principles to think that they needed fighting for. The exports to Turkey had been overrated. Very little of it was consumed in the countries under the dominions of the Turks.

"All the commerce which we had in the Black Sea, was owing to the encroachments of Russia upon the Turkish coast. Our grain and flax we did not now get from Turkey, but from Russia. And would not Russia be as glad to send us her tallow, hemp and corn, whatever aggressions she might make on Turkey? [...] We had a trade with Russia in the Baltic.... What prospect had we of a trade with Turkey? It was a country without a road. [...] Russia was the more commercial people. Let us look at St. Petersburg, at her quays and wharves, and warehouses.... What natural alliance then could we have with such a country as Turkey?... Something had been said about the balance of power. That was a political view of the question.... A great deal had been said about the power of Russia, and the danger to England in consequence of her occupying those countries on the Bosphorus. [...] Why, what an absurdity it was to talk of Russia coming to invade England! Russia could not move an army across her own frontiers, without coming to Western Europe for a loan.... A country [...] so poor, [...] a mere aggregate of villages without capital and without resources, as compared with England, never could come and injure us, or America, or France.... England was ten times more powerful than she had ever been, and far more able to resist the aggressions of a country like Russia."

And now Cobden passed to the incomparably greater dangers of war to England in her present condition than at former epochs. The manufacturing population had greatly increased. They were far more dependent on the export of their produce and on the import of raw materials. They possessed no longer the monopoly of manufacture. The repeal of the Navigation Laws[223] had thrown England open to the competition of the world in shipping as well as in everything else.

"He begged [...] Mr. Blackett to consider that no port would suffer more than that which he represented. [...] The Government had done wisely in disregarding the cry of thoughtless men.... Their taking up a position for maintaining the integrity of the Turkish Empire he did not blame, as that was a traditional policy handed down to them.... The Government of the day would obtain credit for having been as peaceable as the people would allow them to be."

Richard Cobden was the true hero of the drama, and shared the fate of all true heroes—a tragical one. But then came the sham hero; the fosterer of all delusions, the man of fashionable lies and of courtly promises; the mouthpiece of all brave words that may be said in the act of running away; Lord Palmerston came. This old, experienced and crafty debater saw at once that the criminal might escape sentence by disavowing his advocate. He saw that the Ministry, attacked on all sides, might turn the tables by a brilliant diatribe against the only man who dared to defend it, and by refuting the only grounds on which its policy possibly might have been excused. There was nothing easier than to show the contradictions of Mr. Cobden. He had stated his perfect concurrence with the precedent orators, and ended by differing from

them on every point. He had defended the integrity of Turkey, and did everything to show that she was worth no defence. He, the preacher of peace, had advocated the aggressions of Russia. Russia was weak, but a war with Russia would be inevitable ruin to England. Russia was a conglomerate of mere villages, but St. Petersburg being a finer city than Constantinople, Russia was entitled to possess them both. He was a Free Trader, but he preferred the protective system of Russia to the free-trade system of Turkey. Whether Turkey consumed herself, or was a canal through which passed articles of consumption to other parts of Asia, was it indifferent to England that she should remain a free passage? Mr. Cobden was a great advocate for the principle of non-intervention, and now he would dispose, by parliamentary enactments, of the destinies of the Mohammedans, Greeks, Slavonians, and other races inhabiting the Turkish Empire. Lord Palmerston exalted the progress Turkey had made, and the forces she now commanded. "Turkey, it is certain, has no Poland and no Siberia."[a] Because Turkey possessed so much strength, Lord Palmerston would, of course, compel her to suffer a few provinces to be invaded by the Russians. A strong empire can suffer anything. Lord Palmerston proved to Richard Cobden that there existed not one sound reason for adopting the course adopted by Lord Palmerston and his colleagues, and, interrupted at each sentence by enthusiastic cheers, the old histrion contrived to sit down, with the impudent and self-contradictory phrase:

> "I am satisfied that Turkey has within itself the elements of life and prosperity, and I believe that the course adopted by Her Majesty's Government is a sound policy, deserving the approbation of the country, and which it will be the duty of every English Government to pursue." (Cheers.)

Palmerston was great in "*fearful bravery*," as Shakespeare calls it.[b] He showed, as Sidney said, "a fearful boldness, daring to do that which he knew that he knew not how to do."

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

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[a] The *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd Ser., Vol. CXXIX, p. 1809, gives "Circassia" instead of "Siberia" as cited in the report of *The Times*.—*Ed.*

[b] Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, Act V, Scene 1.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## AFFAIRS CONTINENTAL AND ENGLISH[224]

London, Tuesday, Aug. 23, 1853

The German and Belgian papers affirm, on the authority of the telegraphic dispatches from Constantinople, of the 13th inst., that the Porte has acceded to the proposals of the Vienna Conference. The French papers, however, having received dispatches from Constantinople of the same date, state merely that the Divan had shown a willingness to receive those proposals. The definitive answer could hardly reach Vienna before the 20th inst. The pending question, and a very serious one, is, whether the Porte will send its Ambassador to St. Petersburg before or after the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the Principalities.

The last accounts from the Black Sea announce that the north-east winds had begun to disturb the navigation. Several ships anchored at Penderekli and other places on the coast, had been compelled to quit their anchorage to avoid being cast ashore.

You know that after the events in Moldavia and Wallachia, the Sultan[a] had ordered the Hospodars[b] to leave the Principalities for Constantinople, and that the Hospodars refused to comply with their sovereign's demands. The Sultan has now deposed the Hospodar of Wallachia on account of his favorable reception of the Russian troops and the support he gave them. On the 9th inst. this firman was read to the Assembly of Boyards, who resolved to petition the Hospodar not to abandon the Government in the present critical circumstances. The Prince acted accordingly. Mano, the Secretary of State, and Ioanidis, the Director of the Ministry of the Interior, have also been summoned to Constan-

[a] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*
[b] G. Ghica (Moldavia) and B. Stirbei (Wallachia).—*Ed.*

tinople; they, however, refused to go, on the pretext that public order might be disturbed. The French and British Consuls, upon this, suspended immediately all relations with the rebel Government.

Affairs in Serbia are taking a complicated turn. The Paris *Constitutionnel* of last Friday had the following Constantinople intelligence.[a] Austria, taking advantage of the Sultan's difficulties, had pressed certain demands upon him.

An Austrian Consul-General, having lately made a tour of inspection through Bosnia and Serbia, declared to Alexander, the Prince of Serbia, that Austria was prepared to occupy Serbia with her troops in order to suppress any dangerous movement among the population. The Prince, having refused the offer of the Consul-General, at once dispatched a special messenger to Constantinople with an account of this Austrian overture, and Reshid Pasha referred to Baron de Bruck for explanations. The latter said that the Consul-General had previously communicated with the Prince, alleging the fear Austria was in, lest her subjects, on the borders of Serbia, should become involved in any disturbances arising in that province. The reply of Reshid Pasha was to the effect that any occupation of Serbia by Austrian troops would be considered an act of hostility by the Porte, which would itself be answerable for the tranquility of that province; moreover, the Pasha promised that a special Commissioner should be at once sent to see and report on the state of affairs in Serbia.

The day after, several London papers announced the entrance into Serbia of the Austrian troops, an announcement which, however, has turned out to be unfounded. Yesterday the same papers communicated the outbreak of a counter-revolution in Serbia, yet this news likewise rested on no better foundation than a false translation of the German word, *Auflauf*,[b] the fact being that only a small riot had taken place. To-day the German papers publish news from Constantinople of the 9th inst. According to them, several divans had been held on Serbian affairs. The conduct of Prince Alexander was much approved of, and the decision arrived at that, if Austrian troops should attempt to occupy that province, they should, if necessary, be expelled by force. A division of troops has actually been directed towards the frontiers of Bosnia. Private letters received at Constantinople on the 8th inst.,

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[a] The reference is to the report in *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 231, August 19, 1853.— *Ed.*

[b] Unlawful assembly, riot, tumult.— *Ed.*

conveyed thither the news of Prince Alexander having, in consequence of his conflict with the Austrian Consul, appealed to the decision of the Consuls of France and England, and absented himself momentarily from Belgrade. It is said that he went to Nissa, there to wait for orders from the Porte.

Mr. D. Urquhart, in a letter[a] addressed to *The Morning Advertiser* of this day, remarks, with regard to the Serbian complication:

"War with Turkey is not [...] at present contemplated by Russia; for, by the cooperation of Austria, she would lose her 'Greek' allies, but she involves Austria in a preparatory collision, which will bring Serbia into a condition parallel to that of the Principalities. Thus will be introduced a religious warfare between Latins and Greeks.... Russia, by a sudden shifting of decorations, may render her own occupation of the Principalities acceptable to Turkey, as a protection against the Austrian occupation of Serbia, and thus mutually engage Austria and Turkey in projects of dismemberment, and support them therein."

The Hospodar of Moldavia proposes to contract a loan with Russian bankers in order to meet the extraordinary expenses of the occupation.

The want of provisions is so great in the fortresses of Bulgaria that the strictest economy has to be observed, and the garrisons are suffering severely.

The *Journal de Constantinople* reports from Aleppo:

"A discovery has recently been made of a gang of evil-disposed Turks about to rise, as in 1850, against the Christian population of that town. But thanks to the extreme vigilance of the Governor Pasha,[b] and of Ali Asmi Pasha, the Commander-in-Chief of the troops at Aleppo, their attempts have been suppressed and public order has been preserved. On this occasion Demetrius, the Patriarch of the Greek Catholic creed, and Basilius, the Patriarch of the Armenian creed, have addressed in the name of their respective communities a collective letter of gratitude to Reshid Pasha, for the protection afforded to the Christians by the Sultan's Government."

The German *St. Petersburg Gazette* has the following in a leader on Oriental affairs:

"What the friends of peace could only hope for at the commencement of July, has become a certainty in the latter days. The work of mediation between Russia and Turkey is now definitively placed in the hands of Austria. At Vienna there will be devised a solution of the Eastern question, which in these latter times has kept in suspense all the action between the Black Sea and the Ocean, and which alone has prevented European Diplomacy from taking its habitual holidays."

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[a] "The Kaiser and the Czar."—*Ed.*

[b] Osman Pasha.—*Ed.*

Observe the studious affectation with which, in lieu of the four Powers, Austria alone is constituted mediator, and which places the suspense of nations, in the true Russian style, only on a scale with the interrupted holidays of diplomacy.

The Berlin *National Zeitung* publishes[a] a letter from Georgia, dated 15th July, stating that Russia intends a new campaign against the people of the Caucasus at the end of the present month, and that a fleet in the Sea of Azov is fitted out in order to support the operations of the land army.

The session of 1853 was brought to a close on Saturday last—Parliament being prorogued until October 27. A very indifferent and meager speech, purporting to be the Queen's[b] message, was read by commission. In answer to Mr. Milnes Lord Palmerston assured Parliament that it could safely disband, as far as the evacuation of the Principalities was concerned, giving, however, no pledge of any kind but "his confidence in the honor and the character of the Russian Emperor," which would move him to withdraw his troops *voluntarily* from the Principalities.[c] The Coalition Cabinet thus revenged itself for his speech against Mr. Cobden,[d] by forcing him to record solemnly his "confidence in the character and the honor" of the Czar. The same Palmerston received on the same day a deputation from the aristocratic fraction of the Polish Emigration at Paris and its collateral branch at London,[225] presenting his lordship with an address and medallions in gold, silver and bronze of Prince Adam Czartoryski, in testimony of their gratitude to his lordship for allowing the sequestration of Cracow in 1846, and for otherwise exhibiting sympathy with the cause of Poland. The inevitable Lord Dudley Stuart, the patron of the London branch of the Paris society, was of course the master of ceremonies. Lord Palmerston assured these simple-minded men "of his deep interest in the history of Poland, which was a very painful history."[e] The noble lord omitted not to remind them that he spoke not as a member of the Cabinet, but received them only as a private amateur.

The first half of the long protracted session of 1853 was filled up with the death-struggle of the Derby Ministry, with the

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[a] *National-Zeitung*, No. 384, August 19, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] Victoria.—*Ed.*

[c] Quoted according to *The Times*, No. 21513, August 22, 1853.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 275-76.—*Ed.*

[e] Quoted from "Lord Palmerston and the Poles" published in *The Times*, No. 21513, August 22, 1853.—*Ed.*

formation and final victory of the Coalition Cabinet, and with the Easter recess of Parliament. As to the real session, its most remarkable features were the dissolution of all the old political parties, the corruption of the members of Parliament, and the petrifaction of the privileged constituencies revealing the curious working of the Government, embracing all the shades of opinion, and all the talents of the official world, proclaiming postponement the solution of all questions, shifting all difficulties by half-and-half measures, feeding upon promises, declaring "performance as a kind of will or testament which argues a great weakness in his judgment that makes it," retracting, modifying, unsettling its own legislative acts as quickly as it brought them in, living upon the inheritance of predecessors whom it had fiercely denounced, leaving the initiative of its own measures to the house which it presumed to lead, and reaping failure as the inevitable fate of the few acts, the uncontroverted authorship of which it holds. Thus parliamentary reform, national education reform, and law reform (a few trifles apart) have been postponed. The Transportation bill, the Navigation bill, etc., were inherited from the Derby Cabinet. The Canada Clergy Reserves[226] bill was dreadfully mutilated by the Government a few days after having introduced it. As to the budget, the Succession act was proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer only after he had voted against it. The Advertisement act was undergone by him only when his opposition to it had twice been voted down. The new regulation of the licensing system was finally abandoned, after it had suffered various transformations. Introduced by Mr. Gladstone with pretensions to a great scheme, a thing worth the budget as a whole, it came out of the House as a miserable patch-work, as a mere conglomerate of fortuitous, incoherent and contradictory little items. The only great feature of the India bill, the non-renewal of the Company's charter, was introduced by the Ministry after they had announced its renewal for 20 years more. The two acts truly and exclusively belonging to the Ministry of all the talents: the Cab act and the Conversion of the Public Debt, had scarcely passed the threshold of the House, when they were publicly hissed as failures. The foreign policy of the "strongest Government England ever saw," is owned by its own partisans to have been the *nec plus ultra* of helpless, vacillating weakness. The Chesham Place Treaty, however, contracted between the Peelite bureaucrats, the Whig oligarchs and the sham-Radicals,[227] has been linked the more strongly by the threatening aspect of things abroad and by the even more imminent symptoms of popular discontent at home—manifested

through the unprecedented intensity and generality of strikes, and the renewal of the Chartist agitation. In judging the external policy of the ruling classes and of the Cabinet, we must not lose sight of a war with Russia training behind it a general revolutionary conflagration of the Continent, and at this time likely to meet with a fatal echo from the masses of Great Britain.

As to the House of Lords, its doings admit of a very short *résumé*. It has exhibited its bigotry by the rejection of the Jewish Emancipation bill,[228] its hostility to the working classes by burking the Workingmen's Combination bill, its interested hatred of the Irish people by shelving the Irish Land bills, and its stupid predilection for Indian abuses by re-establishing the Salt monopoly. It has acted throughout in secret understanding with the Government that whatever progressive measures might by chance pass the Commons, should be canceled by the enlightened Lords.

Among the papers laid on the table of Parliament before its prorogation, there is a voluminous correspondence carried on between the British and Russian Governments with regard to the obstructions to navigation in the Sulina mouth of the Danube. The correspondence begins on Feb. 9, 1849, and concludes in July, 1853, having concluded nothing whatever. Things have now arrived at such a point that even the Austrian Government is forced to announce that the mouth of the Danube has become impassable for navigation, and that its own mails to Constantinople will be henceforth forwarded by Trieste. The whole difficulty is the fruit of British connivance at Muscovite encroachments. In 1836 the English Government acquiesced in the usurpation of the mouth of the Danube by Russia, after having instructed a commercial firm to resist the interference of the officers of the Russian Government.

The so-called peace concluded with Burma, announced with a proclamation of the Governor-General of India,[a] dated June 30, 1853, and upon which the Queen is made to congratulate Parliament, is nothing but a simple truce. The King of Ava,[b] starved into submission, expressed his desire for the cessation of war, set the British prisoners at liberty, asked for the raising of the river blockade, and forbade his troops to attack the territories of Mecadeay and Toungu, where the British Government had placed garrisons—in the same manner as the Turkish Government has forbidden its troops to attack the Russians stationed in the

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[a] J. Dalhousie.—*Ed.*
[b] Mindon.—*Ed.*

Principalities. But he does not recognize the claims of England to Pegu or to any other portion of the Burmese Empire. All that England has got by this struggle is a dangerous and controverted frontier instead of a secure and acknowledged one. She has been driven out of the ethnographical, geographical and political circumscription of her Indian dominions, and the Celestial Empire itself no longer forms any natural barrier to her conquering force. She has lost her point of gravitation in Asia and pushed into the indefinite. She is no longer mistress of her own movements, there being no stopping but where the land falls into the sea. England seems thus to be destined to open the remotest Orient to Western intercourse, but not to enjoy nor to hold it.

The great colliers' strikes in South Wales not only continue, but out of them have arisen new strikes among the men employed at the iron mines. A general strike among the British sailors is anticipated for the moment when the Merchant Shipping bill will come into operation, the foreigners being, as they say, admitted only for the purpose of lowering their wages. The importance of the present strikes, to which I have repeatedly called the attention of your readers, begins now to be understood even by the London middle-class press. Thus, the *Weekly Times* of last Saturday remarks:

"The relations between employer and employed have been violently disturbed. Labor throughout the length and breadth of the land has bearded capital, and it may safely be asserted that the quarrel thus evoked has only just commenced. The working classes have been putting forth strong feelers to try their position. [...] The agitation at present is limited to a series of independent skirmishes, but there are indications that the period is not very distant when this desultory warfare will be turned into a systematic and universal combination against capital ...."[a]

Written on August 23,1853

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3864, September 5, 1853; reprinted in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 864, September 6, 1853

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Quoted from "The Parliamentary Doings of '53" in the *Weekly Times*,No. 345, August 21, 1853.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## MICHAEL BAKUNIN[229]

### TO THE EDITOR OF *THE MORNING ADVERTISER*

Sir,—Messrs. Herzen and Golovine have chosen to connect the *New Rhenish Gazette*, edited by me in 1848 and 1849, with the polemics going on between them and "F.M.,"[a] with regard to Bakunin. They tell the English public that the calumny against Bakunin took origin in that paper, which had even ventured to appeal to the testimony of George Sand. Now, I care nothing about the insinuations of Messrs. Herzen and Golovine. But, as it may contribute to the settlement of the question raised about Michael Bakunin, permit me to state the real facts of the case:

On July 5th, 1848, the *New Rhenish Gazette* received two letters from Paris—the one being the authographic correspondence of the Havas-Bureau, and the other a private correspondence, emanating from a Polish refugee,[b] quite unconnected with that concern—both stating that George Sand was in possession of papers compromising Bakunin as having lately entered into relations with the Russian Government.

The *New Rhenish Gazette*, on July 6th, published the letter of its Paris correspondent.

Bakunin, on his part, declared in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*[c] (a Breslau[d] paper), that, *before the appearance* of the Paris correspondence in the *New Rhenish Gazette*, similar rumours had been secretly colported at Breslau, that they emanated from the Russian embassies, and that he could not better answer them than by

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[a] Francis Marx.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Ewerbeck, who is referred to below as the Paris correspondent.—*Ed.*

[c] In 1846-49 known as *Allgemeine Oder-Zeitung.—Ed.*

[d] Wrocław.—*Ed.*

appealing to George Sand. His letter to George Sand was published simultaneously with his declaration. Both the declaration and the letter were reprinted immediately by the *New Rhenish Gazette*, (vide *New Rhenish Gazette*, July 16, 1848). On August 3, 1848, the *New Rhenish Gazette* received from Bakunin, through the means of M. Kościelski, a letter addressed by George Sand to its editor, which was published on the same day, with the following introductory remarks:—

"In number 36, of this paper, we communicated a rumour circulating in Paris, according to which George Sand was stated to be possessed of papers which placed the Russian refugee, Bakunin, in the position of an agent of the Emperor Nicholas. We gave publicity to this statement, because it was communicated to us simultaneously by two correspondents wholly unconnected with each other. By so doing, we only accomplished the duty of the public press, which has severely to watch public characters. And, at the same time we gave to Mr. Bakunin an opportunity of silencing suspicions thrown upon him in certain Paris circles. We reprinted also from the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* Mr. Bakunin's declaration, and his letter addressed to George Sand, without waiting for his request. We publish now a literal translation of a letter addressed to the Editor of the *New Rhenish Gazette* by George Sand, which perfectly settles this affair."—(Vide *New Rhenish Gazette*, Aug. 3, 1848.)[a]

In the latter part of August, 1848, I passed through Berlin, saw Bakunin there, and renewed with him the intimate friendship which united us before the outbreak of the revolution of February.

In its number of October 13, 1848, the *New Rhenish Gazette* attacked the Prussian ministry for having expelled Bakunin, and for having threatened him with being delivered up to Russia if he dared to re-enter the Prussian States.

In its number of February 15, 1849, the *New Rhenish Gazette* brought out a leading article on Bakunin's pamphlet—*Aufruf an die Slaven*, which article commenced with these words—"*Bakunin is our friend.* This shall not prevent us from subjecting his pamphlet to a severe criticism."[b]

In my letters, addressed to the *New-York Daily Tribune* on "Revolution and Contre-revolution in Germany," I was, as far as I know, the first German writer who paid to Bakunin the tribute due to him for his participation in our movements, and, especially

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 7, p. 315.—*Ed.*

[b] See Frederick Engels, "Democratic Panslavism" (present edition, Vol. 8, p. 363).—*Ed.*

in the Dresden insurrection,[230] denouncing, at the same time, the German press and the German people for the most cowardly manner in which they surrendered him to his and their enemies.[a]

As to "F.M." proceeding, as he does, from the fixed idea, that continental revolutions are fostering the secret plans of Russia, he must, if he pretend to anything like consistency, condemn not only Bakunin, but every continental revolutionist as a Russian agent. In his eyes revolution itself is a Russian agent. Why not Bakunin?

London, August 30, 1853.

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The Morning Advertiser*, September 2, 1853

Signed: *Karl Marx*

[a] The articles, written by Engels, were published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* under the signature of Marx as its official correspondent. For the relevant passage on Bakunin see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 90.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## RISE IN THE PRICE OF CORN.—CHOLERA.—STRIKES.—SAILORS' MOVEMENT[231]

London, Tuesday, Aug. 30, 1853

The Breslau *Gazette* states that the exportation of corn from Wallachia is definitively prohibited.

There is at this moment a somewhat greater question at issue than the Eastern one, viz.: the question of subsistence. Prices of corn have risen at Königsberg, Stettin, Dantzic, Rostock, Cologne, Hamburg, Rotterdam, and Antwerp, and of course at all importing markets. At the principal provincial markets in England wheat has advanced from 4 to 6s. per qr. The constantly increasing prices of wheat and rye in Belgium and France, and the consequent dearness of bread, create much anxiety. The French Government is buying up grain in England at Odessa, and in the Baltic. The conclusive report of the crops in England will not be out before next week. The potatoe disease is more general here than in Ireland. The export of grain has been prohibited by all Italian Governments, including that of Lombardy.

Some cases of decided Asiatic cholera occurred in London during the last week. We also hear that the cholera has now reached Berlin.

The battle between labor and capital, between wages and profits, continues. There have been new strikes in London on the part of the coal-heavers, of the barbers, of the tailors, ladies' boot and shoe makers, umbrella and parasol coverers, shirtmakers and makers of underclothing generally, and of other working people employed by slopsellers and wholesale export-houses. Yesterday, a strike was announced from several bricklayers, and from the Thames lightermen, employed in the transit of goods between the

wharfs and ships in the river. The strikes of the colliers and iron-workers in South Wales continues, and a new strike of colliers in Resolven has to be added to the list, etc., etc.

It would be tedious to go on enumerating, letter after letter, the different strikes which come to my knowledge week after week. I shall therefore merely dwell occasionally on such as offer peculiar features of interest, among which, though not yet exactly a strike, the pending conflict between the police-constables and their chief, Sir Richard Mayne, deserves to be mentioned. Sir Richard Mayne, in his circular addressed to the several divisions of the metropolitan police force, has prohibited policemen from holding meetings, or combining, while he professed himself willing to attend to individual complaints. The policemen respond to him that they consider the right of meeting to be inalienable from Englishmen. He reminds them that their scale of wages was struck at a time when provisions were much dearer than they are at present. The men reply that "their claim is not grounded on the price of provisions only, but that it rests on the assurance that flesh and blood are not so cheap as they have been."

The most important incident in this history of strikes is the declaration of the "Seamen's United Friendly Association," calling itself the Anglo-Saxon Sailor's Bill of Rights. This declaration refers to the Merchant Shipping Bill, which repeals the clause of the Navigation Act,[232] rendering it imperative on British owners to carry at least three-fourths of British subjects on board their ships; which bill now throws open the coasting trade to foreign seamen even where foreign ships are excluded. The men declare this bill to be, not a Seamen's bill but an Owners bill. Nobody had been consulted but the ship-owner. The manning clause had acted as a check on the conduct of masters in the treatment and retention of crews. The new law would place seamen completely in the power of any bad officer. The new law proceeded upon the principle "that the 17,000 masters were all men of kind disposition, overflowing with generosity, benevolence and amiability; and that all seamen were untractable, unreasonable and naturally bad." They declare that while the owner may take his ships wherever he pleases, their labor is restricted to their own country, as the Government had repealed the Navigation law without first procuring reciprocal employment for them in the ships of other nations.

"Parliament having offered up the seamen as a holocaust to the owners, we as a class are constrained to combine and take measures for our own protection."

These measures consist chiefly in the intention of the seamen to uphold on their part the *manning clause*, it being declared at the same time

"that the seamen of the United States of America be considered as British; that an appeal be made to them for aiding their union; and that, as there would be no advantage to sail as an Englishman after the first of October, when the above law will be passed; as on the contrary freedom from impressment or service in Her Majesty's Navy during war might be secured by serving as foreigners in British ships during peace, and as there would be more protection during peace by possessing the freedom of America, [...] the seamen [...] will procure certificates of the United States citizenship, on arrival at any port of that Republic."[233]

Written on August 30, 1853

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3873, September 15, 1853; reprinted in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 867, September 16 and the *New-York Weekly Tribune*, No. 627, September 17; published simultaneously in abridged form in German in *Die Reform*, No. 49, September 17, 1853

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE PEOPLE'S PAPER*[234]

Dear Sir,—*The Morning Advertiser*, of the 3rd inst., published the subjoined article, "How to write History.—By a Foreign Correspondent," while he refused to insert my answer to the "Foreign Correspondent." You will oblige me by inserting into *The People's Paper* both, the Russian letter and my reply to it.

Yours truly,

Dr. *Karl Marx.*

London, September 7th.

### HOW TO WRITE HISTORY.— BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

"Bakunin is a Russian agent—Bakunin is not a Russian agent. Bakunin died in the prison of Schlisselburg, after having endured much ill-treatment—Bakunin is not dead: he still lives. He is made a soldier and sent to the Caucasus—no, he is not made a soldier: he remains detained in the Citadel of St. Peter and St. Paul. Such are the contradictory news which the press has given us in turn concerning Michael Bakunin.

"In these days of extensive publicity, we only arrive at the true by affirming the false, but, has it at least been proved that Bakunin has not been in the military pay of Russia?

"There are people who do not know that humanity makes men mutually responsible—that in extricating Germany from the influence which Russia exercises on it, we react upon the latter country, and plunge it anew into its despotism, until it becomes vulnerable to revolution. Such people it would be idle to attempt to persuade that Bakunin is one of the purest and most generous representatives of progressive cosmopolitism.

"'Calumniate, calumniate,' says a French proverb, [and] 'something will always remain.' The calumny against Bakunin, countenanced in 1848 by one of his friends, has been reproduced in 1853 by an unknown person.

"'One is never betrayed but by one's own connexion,' says another proverb; 'and it is better to deal with a wise enemy than with a stupid friend.' The conservative journals have not become the organ of the calumny insinuated against Bakunin. A friendly journal undertook that care.

"Revolutionary feeling must be but slightly developed, when it can be forgotten for a moment, as Mr. Marx has forgotten, that Bakunin is not of the stuff of which police spies are made. Why, at least, did he not do, as is the custom of the English papers—why did he not simply publish the letter of the Polish refugee, which denounced Bakunin? He would have retained the regret of seeing his name associated with a false accusation!"

## THE FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT IN SATURDAY'S *MORNING ADVERTISER*

"'It is better to deal with a wise enemy than a stupid friend.' Exactly so.

"Is he not a 'stupid friend' who is astonished at the discovery, that a controversy involves antagonistic opinions, and that historical truth cannot be extricated but from contradictory statements?

"Is he not a 'stupid friend' who thinks necessary to find fault with explanations in 1853, with which Bakunin himself was satisfied in 1848, to 'plunge Russia anew in its despotism,' from which she has never emerged, and to call French a trite Latin proverb?

"Is he not a 'stupid friend' who assures a paper to have 'countenanced' a statement made by its Foreign Correspondent and unmarked by its editor?

"Is he not a 'stupid friend' who sets up 'conservative journals' as models for 'revolutionary feeling' at its highest pitch, invented the *lois des suspects*,[235] and suspected the 'stuff' of a traitor even in the Dantons, the Camille Desmoulins, and the Anacharsis Clootses, who dares attack third persons in the name of Bakunin, and dares not defend him in his own name?

"In conclusion, let me tell the friend of proverbial commonplace that I have now done with him and with all such-like friends of Bakunin."

"Karl Marx.

"London, September 4th."

First published in *The People's Paper*, No. 71, September 10, 1853

Reproduced from the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## [THE VIENNA NOTE.— THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE.—LETTERS FROM SHUMLA.—PEEL'S BANK ACT][236]

London, Friday, Sept. 9, 1853

When I told you in my letter of August 30, that the Vienna Note was "rejected" by the Porte, inasmuch as the alterations demanded by it and the condition of immediate and previous evacuation[a] cannot be considered otherwise than as a refusal of Russia's pretensions, I found myself in contradiction with the whole Press, which assured us that the alterations were insignificant, not worth speaking of, and that the whole affair might be regarded as settled.[237] Some days later, *The Morning Chronicle*[b] startled the confiding stockjobbers with the announcement that the alterations proposed by the Porte were of a very serious character, and by no means easy to be dealt with. At this moment there exists only one opinion, namely, that the whole Eastern question has come back to its point of issue, an impression in no way impaired by the complete publication in yesterday's papers of the official Note addressed by Reshid Pasha to the Representatives of Austria, France, Great Britain, and Prussia, dated August 19, 1853.

That the Russian Emperor will reject the Turkish "alterations" there is not the slightest doubt. Already, we are informed by the *Assemblée nationale*, the Paris *Moniteur* of the Emperor of Russia, that,

"according to correspondences received to-day at Paris, the first impressions produced on the Cabinet of St. Petersburg were by no means favorable to the modifications proposed by the Porte. [...] Whatever may be the resolution of that Cabinet we must prepare ourselves beforehand to take it coolly and to repress our

[a] Of the Danubian Principalities.—*Ed.*
[b] Of September 3, 1853.—*Ed.*

fears. We have to consider that even were the Russian Cabinet to refuse the proposed change of the note, there would remain the resources of fresh negotiation at Constantinople."[a]

The intimation contained in this last hint, that Russia will attempt to gain another delay of the decision of the dispute, is confirmed by the Berlin *Lithographic Correspondence*:

"The Austrian Government has presented a memorial to the Emperor Nicholas containing new propositions of modification, and it has undertaken to terminate the crisis in a manner quite different from all previous attempts."

In a letter published by the Vienna *Wanderer* from Odessa dated 26th Aug. the solution of the Oriental question is stated "to be not so near at hand as was expected by some people. The armaments have not been suspended for one day, and the army in the Principalities continually receives reinforcements."[b] The Kronstadt *Satellite* positively announces that the Russian troops will take up their winter quarters in the Principalities.

A note issued from Washington could scarcely have produced a greater sensation in Europe than your editorial remarks on Capt. Ingraham.[c] They have found their way, with and without commentaries, into almost the whole weekly press of London, into many French papers, the Brussels *Nation*, the Turin *Parlamento*, the *Basle Gazette*, and every liberal newspaper of Germany. Your article on the Swiss-American alliance having simultaneously been reprinted in a number of German journals, you may consider the following passage from an article of the Berlin *Lithographic Correspondence* as partly addressed to you:

"Some time since the press has had various occasions to pronounce itself on the United States theory with regard to intervention. Very recently the Koszta affair at Smyrna has renewed the discussion, and this affair is not yet terminated, when already foreign and native journals hold out the prospect of an intervention on the part of the United States in favor of Switzerland, if it should be threatened by an attack. To-day we are informed that several Powers have the intention of making a collective declaration against the doctrine of international right put forth by the United States, and that we may hope to see those Cabinets arrive at a perfect understanding. If the American intervention theories were not *refuted* in a peremptory manner, *the extirpation of the revolutionary spirit in Europe would meet with an insuperable obstacle*. We may add, as an important fact, that France is among the Powers ready to participate in this remonstrance."

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[a] *L'Assemblée nationale*, No. 251, September 8, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] *Der Wanderer*, September 4, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] The reference is to the editorial "Peace or War" in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3839, August 6, 1853.—*Ed.*

On this last point, the *Constitutionnel* of Tuesday last takes good care not to leave any doubt, when it says:

"It is necessary to be candid in all things. It is not as a citizen of the United States that Koszta is defended against Austria by the agents of the American Republic, but as a revolutionist. But none of the European Powers will ever admit as a principle of public law that the Government of the United States has the right to protect revolution in Europe by force of arms. On no grounds would it be permitted to throw obstacles in the way of the exercise of the jurisdiction of a government, under the ridiculous pretense that the offenders have renounced their allegiance, and from the real motive that they are in revolt against the political constitution of their country. The Navy of the American Union might not always have such an easy triumph, and such headstrong conduct as that pursued by the Captain of the *St. Louis* might on another occasion be attended with very disastrous consequences."[a]

The *Impartial* of Smyrna, received to-day, publishes the following interesting letters from Shumla:

"Shumla, Aug. 8, 1853

"The Commander-in-Chief, Omer Pasha, has so ably distributed his troops, that on the first emergency, he may within 24 hours concentrate at any point on the Danube, a mass of 65,000 men, infantry and cavalry, and 180 pieces of cannon. A letter I received from Wallachia, states that typhus is making frightful havoc in the Russian army, and that it has lost not less than 13,000 men since its entry into campaign. Care is taken to bury the dead during the night. The mortality is also very high among the horses. Our army enjoys perfect health. Russian detachments, composed of 30 to 60 soldiers, and dressed in Moldavian uniform, appear from time to time on the opposite bank of the Danube. Our general is informed of all their movements. Yesterday 1,000 Roman Catholic Albanians arrived. They form the vanguard of a corps of 13,000 men expected without delay. They are sharpshooters. Yesterday there arrived also 3,000 horse, all of them old soldiers, perfectly armed and equipped. The number of our troops is increasing every day. Ahmet Pasha started yesterday for Varna. He will wait there for the Egyptian forces, in order to direct them to the points they are to occupy.

"Shumla, Friday, Aug. 12, 1853

"On the 9th inst. two regiments of infantry and one battery of light artillery, belonging to the guards of the Sultan, started for Rasgrad. On the 10th we got news that 5,600 Russians had encamped themselves on the bank of the Danube near the port of Turtukai, in consequence of which the outposts of the two armies are only at the distance of a rifle-shot from each other. The gallant Colonel Skander-Bey has left for that post, with several officers. Omer Pasha has established telegraphs, with a view of having communicated to the headquarters at every time of day or night the events passing on every point of the river.

"We have had continual rains for some days past, but the works of fortification have none the less been continued with great activity. A salute of cannon is fired

[a] Quoted from Boniface's article in *Le Constitutionnel* of September 5, 1853.— *Ed.*

twice a day, at sunrise and sunset. We hear nothing of this sort from the opposite side of the river.

"The Egyptian troops, after having undergone their quarantine at Constantinople, will embark for Varna, whence they are to be directed to Babadegh. The Brigadier Izzet Pasha expects them there In the district of Dobrudja-Ovassi 20,000 Tartars have assembled, in order to participate in the war against the Russians. They are for the greater part ancient emigrants, who left the Crimea at the time of its conquest by Russia. The Ottoman army, whose strength augments every day by the arrival of troops, both regular and irregular, is tired of passiveness, and burns with the desire of going to war. It is to be feared that we shall have one of these days a transit across the Danube without superior orders, especially now that the presence of the Russians, who show themselves on the opposite bank, adds to the excitement. Several physicians, Mussulmans and Christians, left some days ago, in order to establish military hospitals on the European plan at Plevna, at Rasgrad, at Widin, and at Silistra. On the 11th there arrived from Varna two superior English officers. They have had a long audience with Omer Pasha, and have visited the fortifications, attended by several Turkish officers. They have found them in a perfect state of defense, provided with ample magazines, baking-stoves, fountains of fresh water, etc. All these fortifications are constructed with the greatest solidity. The most severe discipline prevails among our troops.

"Shumla, Monday, Aug. 15, 1853

"On the 13th, the English General O'Donnell arrived from Constantinople. He had an interview of two hours' duration with Omer Pasha, and left on the following day, attended by an aide-de-camp of the Commander-in-Chief, for the purpose of inspecting the fortifications. Yesterday three batteries and an immense train of ammunition arrived from Varna. To-morrow a reinforcement of one battery, two battalions of infantry, and 1,000 horse, will leave for the port of Rahova.[a] The engineers at this place are busily engaged in restoring the fortifications destroyed by the Russians in 1828. Turkey may have unbroken confidence in her army."

The Earl of Fitzwilliam addressed a letter on Thursday last to the meeting of Sheffield cutlers, in which he protests against the monstrous assumption with which Parliament was closed by the heroic Palmerston, that "reliance was to be placed on the honor and character of the Emperor of Russia."

Mr. Disraeli has summoned his constituents to meet him at Aylesbury on the 14th inst. *The Daily News* of yesterday attempted, in a long and dull article, to combat what Mr. Disraeli is supposed by it to be likely to tell his electors. Such a performance I think *The Daily News* might have left with greater propriety to its venerable grandsire, the London *Punch.*

It is now the fourth time since January, that the rate of interest has been raised by the Bank of England. On Sept. 4, it was fixed at 4 per cent.

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[a] Orekhovo.— *Ed.*

"Another attempt has been made *to reduce the circulating medium of the country*—another effort to arrest the tide of national prosperity,"

exclaims the London *Sun*.[a] On the other hand, it comforts itself with the consideration that the Bank of England has lost much of its mischievous power in consequence of the Peel Act of 1844.[238]

*The Sun* is mistaken in what it fears, and in what it hopes. The Bank of England has as little as any other bank either the power of expanding or of contracting the currency of the country. The really mischievous powers possessed by it are by no means restricted, but on the contrary strengthened by the Peel Act of 1844.

As the Bank Act of 1844 is generally misunderstood, and as its working will become, in the approaching crisis, of paramount importance not only to England but to the whole commercial world, I propose briefly to explain the tendency of the act.

Peel's Bank Act of 1844 proceeds on the assumption that the metallic circulation is the normal one; that the amount of the currency regulates prices; that in the case of a purely metallic circulation, the currency would expand with a favorable exchange and with an influx of bullion, while it would be contracted by an adverse exchange and a drain of bullion; that a circulation of bank notes has exactly to imitate the metallic circulation; that accordingly there had to be a degree of correspondence between the variations in the amount of bullion in the vaults of the Bank of England and the variations in the quantity of its notes circulating among the public; that the issue of notes must be expanded with a favorable, and contracted with an unfavorable exchange; lastly, that the Bank of England had the control over the amount of its notes in circulation.

Now there is not one of these premises which is not utterly fallacious and contradictory to facts. Suppose even a purely metallic circulation, the amount of currency could not determine prices, no more than it could determine the amount of commercial and industrial transactions; but prices on the contrary would determine the amount of currency in circulation. Unfavorable exchanges, and a drain of bullion, would not contract even a purely metallic circulation, as they would not affect the amount of currency in circulation, but the amount of currency in reserve, sleeping in the banks as deposits, or in private hoards. On the other hand, a favorable exchange and a concomitant influx of bullion, would augment, not the currency in circulation, but the

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[a] *The Sun*, September 3, 1853.—*Ed.*

currency deposited with bankers or hoarded by private individuals. The Peel Act, therefore, starting upon a false conception of a purely metallic circulation, naturally arrives at a false imitation of it by a paper circulation. The idea itself, that a bank of issue has a control over the amount of its outstanding notes, is utterly preposterous. A bank issuing convertible notes or advancing notes generally on commercial securities, has neither the power of augmenting the natural level of circulation nor the power to cripple it by one single note. A bank may certainly issue notes to any amount its customers will accept; but, if not wanted for circulation, the notes will be returned to it in the form of deposits, or in payment for debts, or in exchange for metal. On the other hand, if a bank intend to forcibly contract its issues, its deposits would be withdrawn to the amount needed for filling up the *vacuum* created in the circulation. Thus a bank has no power whatever over the quantity of circulation, whatever may be its power for the abuse of other people's capital. Although in Scotland banking was practically unrestricted before 1845, and the number of banks had considerably increased since 1825, the circulation declined, and there was only £1 (of paper) per head of population, while there was in England £2 per head, notwithstanding that the whole circulation below £5 was metallic in England and paper in Scotland.

It is an illusion that the amount of circulation must correspond to the amount of bullion. If the bullion increases in the vaults of a bank, that bank certainly tries by all means to extend its circulation, but, as experience teaches, to no purpose. From 1841-'43, the bullion in the Bank of England rose from £3,965,000 to £11,054,000, but its total circulation declined from £35,660,000 to £34,094,000. Thus the Bank of France had, on March 25, 1845, an outstanding circulation of 256,000,000 f., with a bullion reserve of 234,000,000 f.; but on March 25, 1846, its circulation was 249,404,000 f., with a bullion reserve of only 9,535,000 f.

It is an assumption no less incorrect, that the internal circulation must diminish in the case of a drain of bullion. At this moment, for instance, while the efflux of bullion is going on, $3,000,000 have been brought to the mint and added to the circulation of the country.

But the main fallacy rests on the supposition that demand for pecuniary accommodation, i.e. loan of capital, must converge with demand for additional means of circulation; as if the greater amount of commercial transactions were not effected by bills,

checks, book-credits, clearing-houses, and other forms of credit quite unconnected with the so-called circulation. There can exist no better mode of verifying the facility of bank-accommodations than the market rate of interest, and no more efficient means for ascertaining the amount of business actually done by a bank than the return of bills under discount. Let us proceed on this two-fold scale of measurement. Between March and September, 1845, when with the speculation mania the fictitious capital reached its utmost height and the country was inundated with all possible enterprises on an immense scale, the rate of interest being nearly $2^1/_2$ per cent., the circulation of bank notes remained nearly stationary, while at a later period in 1847, the rate of interest being $4^1/_2$ per cent., the price of shares having sunk to the lowest ebb, and discredit spreading in all directions, the circulation of bank notes reached its maximum.

The note circulation of the Bank of England was £21,152,853 on the 17th April; £19,998,227 on the 15th of May; and £18,943,079 on the 21st of August, 1847. But while this falling off in the circulation occurred, the market rate of interest had declined from 7 and 8 to 5 per cent. From the 21st Aug., 1847, the circulation increased from £18,943,079 to £21,265,188 on Oct. 23. At the same time the market rate of interest rose from 5 to 8 per cent. On the 30th of October the circulation was £21,764,085, the interest paid in Lombard-st. amounting to 10 per cent. Take another instance:

| | Bank of England Bills under Discount | Notes in Circulation |
|---|---|---|
| Sept. 18, 1846 ..... | £12,323,816 | £20,922,232 |
| April 5, 1847 ..... | 18,627,116 | 20,815,234 |

So that the banking accommodation in April, 1847, greater by 6,000,000 than that of Sept., 1846, was carried on with a less amount of circulation.

Having exposed the general principles of Peel's Bank Act, I come now to its practical details. It assumes that £14,000,000 of bank notes form the necessary minimum amount of circulation. All notes issued by the Bank of England beyond that amount shall be represented by bullion. Sir Robert Peel imagined he had discovered a self-acting principle for the issue of notes, which would determine with mechanical accuracy the amount of the circulation, and which would increase or diminish [it] in the precise degree in which the bullion increased or decreased. In order to

put this principle into practice, the Bank was divided into two departments, the Issue Department and the Banking Department, the former a mere fabric of notes, the latter the true Bank, receiving the deposits of the State and of the public, paying the dividends, discounting bills, advancing loans, and performing in general the business with the public, on the principles of every other banking concern. The Issue Department makes over its notes to the Banking Department to the amount of £14,000,000, plus the amount of bullion in the vaults of the Bank. The Banking Department negotiates those notes with the public. The amount of bullion necessary to cover the notes beyond £14,000,000, remains in the Issue Department, the rest being surrendered to the Banking Department. If the amount of bullion diminish beneath the circulation exceeding £14,000,000, the notes returning to the Banking Department in discharge of its advances, or under the form of deposits, are not reissued nor replaced, but annihilated. If there were a circulation of £20,000,000, with a metallic reserve of £7,000,000, and if the Bank were further drained by an efflux of £1,000,000, all the bullion would be requested by the Issue Department, and there would not remain one sovereign in the Banking Department.

Now everybody will understand that this entire machinery is illusory on the one hand, and of the most pernicious character on the other hand.

Take, for instance, the Bank returns in last Friday's *Gazette*.[a] There you find, under the head of the Issue Department, the amount of notes in circulation stated to be £30,531,650, i.e., £14,000,000+£16,962,918—the latter sum corresponding to the bullion reserve of last week. But, turning to the head of Banking Department, you will find £7,755,345 in notes in its assets. This is the portion of the £30,531,650 not accepted by the public. Thus the self-acting principle determines only the £30,531,650 in notes to be transported from the Issue Department to the Banking Department. But there they remain. As soon as the Banking Department comes into contact with the public, the amount of circulation is regulated, not by Peel's Act, but by the wants of business. The self-acting principle, accordingly, extends its operation not beyond the vaults of the Bank premises.

On the other hand, there occur moments, when the Bank of England, by her exceptional position, exercises a real influence, not only on English commerce, but on the commerce of the world.

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[a] *The Economist*, No 523, September 3, 1853.—*Ed.*

This happens in moments of general discredit. In such moments the Bank may, by raising in accordance with the Peel Act its minimum rate of interest, correspondingly with the efflux of bullion, and by refusing her accommodation, depreciate the public securities, lower the prices of all commodities, and enormously aggravate the disasters of a commercial crisis. It may, in order to stop the efflux of bullion and to turn the exchanges, transform every commercial stagnation into a monetary peril. And in this manner the Bank of England has acted and was forced to act by the Peel Act in 1847.

This, however, is not all. In every banking concern, the heaviest liabilities are not the amount of notes in circulation, but the amounts of notes and metals in deposit. The banks of Holland, for instance, had, as Mr. Anderson stated before a Committee of the House of Commons, before 1845, £30,000,000 in deposit, and £3,000,000 only in circulation.

"In all commercial crises," says Mr. Alex. Baring, "for instance, in 1825, the claims of the depositors were the most formidable, not those of the holders of notes."

Now, while the Act of Peel regulates the amount of bullion to be held in reserve for the convertibility of notes, it leaves Directors the power to do with the deposits as they please. Yea, more. The very regulations of this act, as I have shown, may force the Banking Department to stop the payment of the deposits and of the dividends, while bullion to any amount may lie in the vaults of the Issue Department. This happened, indeed, in 1847. The Issue Department being yet possessed of £61,000,000 of bullion, the Banking Department was not saved from bankruptcy but by the interference of Government suspending, on their responsibility, the Peel Act, on 25th Oct., 1847.

Thus the result of the Peel Act has been that the Bank of England changed its rate of interest thirteen times during the crisis of 1847, having changed it only twice during the crisis of 1825; that it created amid the real crisis a series of money panics in April and October, 1847; and that the Banking Department would have been obliged to stop but for the stoppage of the act itself. There can, therefore, exist no doubt that the Peel Act will aggravate the incidents and severity of the approaching crisis.

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# Karl Marx

## POLITICAL MOVEMENTS.— SCARCITY OF BREAD IN EUROPE

London, Tuesday, Sept. 13, 1853

The *Sunday Times* published in its last number a dispatch from Lord Clarendon to Sir H. Seymour, in answer to the note of Count Nesselrode of June 20. This dispatch bears date July 16. It is a mere "doublière" of the reply of M. Drouyn de Lhuys.[a] A correspondent of *The Leader* on Saturday last, expresses himself in the following spirited manner on the "antagonism" between Lords Aberdeen and Palmerston[b]:

"Lord Aberdeen [...] could never understand Lord Palmerston's affectations—never seeing that, consequent upon these affectations, *Lord Palmerston was always able to promote unmolested the Russian system, even better than Lord Aberdeen himself*.... Lord Palmerston [...] disguises cynicism in *Compromise*.... Lord Aberdeen did, as Lord Palmerston did not, express his convictions.... Lord Palmerston sees the expediency, and Lord Aberdeen does not see the expediency of talking intervention, while acting non-intervention.... Lord Aberdeen knowing, from his acquaintance with the governing classes, how seats are got, and voters bought, does not think the British Constitution the most perfect of human institutions; and, calculating that the people of Continental Europe are not more amiable or more honest than the people of Great Britain, he abstains from urging on continental governments the desirability of abolishing paternal despotism in favor of self-government by governing classes.... Lord Aberdeen [...] perceives that Great Britain is a power made up of conquests over nationalities, and scorns a foreign policy affecting to befriend struggling nationalities. Lord Aberdeen does not see why England, which has conquered and plundered India, and keeps India down for India's good, should set up for a hater of Czar Nicholas, who [...] a good despot in Russia, and keeps Poland down for Poland's obvious good. Lord Aberdeen does not see why England, which has crushed several rebellions in Ireland, should be fanatically angry with Austria for keeping down Hungary; and knowing that England

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[a] See this volume, pp. 203-09.—*Ed.*

[b] Below is quoted the second article of the series "The Governing Classes", dealing with Aberdeen's surrender.(*The Leader*,No. 181, September 10, 1853).—*Ed.*

forces an alien Church on Ireland, he understands the eagerness of the Pope[a] to plant Cardinal Wiseman in Westminster. He knows that we have had Kaffir wars, and does not think Nicholas a ruffian for thinning his army among the Caucasians; he knows that we send off periodically, rebellious Mitchells and O'Briens to Van Diemen's Land[b] and does not feel horror because Louis Napoleon institutes a Cayenne. Whenever he has to write to the Neapolitan Government about Sicilian affairs, he does not plunge into ecstatic liberalism, because he bears in mind that Great Britain has a proconsul at Corfu.... It is a happy arrangement, a Coalition Government, which includes, with Lord Aberdeen *acting* the Russian, Lord Palmerston, to *talk* the Bermondsey *policy*."[239]

As a proof that I have not undervalued the heroism of Switzerland,[c] I may allege a letter addressed by its Federal Council to the Ticinese Government, contending that

"the affair of the Capuchins[240] is purely a Cantonal question, and that consequently it is for the Canton of Ticino to consider whether it is better for it to resist, and continue subject to the rigorous measures of Austria, or to make to the Government offers of renewal of negociations."[d]

Thus it appears that the Swiss Federal Council tries to bring down its dispute with Austria within the proportions of a simple Cantonal affair. The same Council has just ordered the expulsion of the Italians, Clementi, Cassola and Grillenzoni, after the Jury at Chur had acquitted them from the charge of having abetted the Milan insurrection[241] by the forwarding of arms across the Ticinese frontier.

The British support to Juggernaut appears not yet to have been altogether done away with. On the 5th of May, 1852, the following dispatch was addressed by the Court of Directors to the Governor of India:

"We continue to be of opinion that it is desirable finally to dissever the British Government from all connection with the temple, and we therefore authorize to make arrangements for accomplishing this object by the discontinuance of any periodical allowance to it, in lieu of which some final payment may be made in the way of compensation to any persons who may appear upon a liberal construction of past engagements or understandings to be entitled to such indemnifications."

On the 11th April, 1853, however, nothing had been done by the Indian Government, the subject being still under consideration at that date.

A week has been consumed in a government inquiry into the cruelties practised upon the prisoners in Birmingham jail, cruelties which have induced several of them to commit and others to

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[a] Pius IX.—*Ed.*
[b] Tasmania.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, pp. 107-08.—*Ed.*
[d] *The Leader*, No. 181, September 10, 1853.—*Ed.*

attempt suicide. Startled on one side by an exposition of atrocities not surpassed by any committed in an Austrian or Neapolitan *carcere duro*,[a] we are on the other side surprised at the tame acquiescence of the visiting magistrates in the representations which were made to them by interested parties, and at their utter want of sympathy with the victims. Their solicitude for the barbarous gaoler was so great that they regularly forewarned him of their approaching visits. The chief culprit, Lieutenant Austin, is one of those persons whom Carlyle designated in his *Model Prisons*[242] as the true officers of the pauper and criminal.

One of the topics of the day is *Railway morality*. The Yorkshire and Lancashire Board of Directors particularly announce on their tickets that

> "whatever accident may happen, whatever injury may be inflicted through their own negligence or that of their servants, they would hold themselves absolved from all legal responsibility."[b]

At the same time the Directors of the Birmingham and Shrewsbury line appeared before the Vice-Chancellor's Court on Saturday for having cheated their own shareholders. There exists a rivalry between the Great Western and the North-Western lines as to which of the two should absorb the above line in question. The majority of the shareholders being in favor of amalgamation with the North-Western, and the Directors of absorption into the Great Western, it occurred to the latter to turn a number of shares held by them in trust for the Company to account, for the manufacture of fictitious voters. For this purpose the shares were transferred to a number of nominal holders—in some instances it would seem without the concurrence of the parties whose names were used, and in one instance to a child of nine years of age—who paid no consideration for the shares, but executed re-transfers of them into the hands of the Directors, and supplied them, in virtue of their nominal ownership, with a given number of proxies, to insure a majority in favor of the union with the Great Western. The learned Judge remarked that "anything more flagrant or more gross could scarcely be conceived, and the way in which the plan had been carried out was still more gross." With this reflection he dismissed the guilty parties, as is usual among the bourgeoisie, while a poor devil of a proletarian would have been sure to be transported for a theft beyond five pounds.

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[a] Punishment cell.—*Ed.*

[b] This and the following quotation are from "Vice-Chancellor's Court, Saturday, Sept. 3", *The Times*, No. 21525, September 5, 1853.—*Ed.*

It is curious to observe the British public in its fluctuating indignation now against the morality of mill lords, and now against the pit-owners, now against the little dealers in adulterated drugs, and then against the railwaymen who have supplanted the obsolete highwaymen; in short, against the morality of every particular class of capitalists. Taking the whole, it would seem that capital possesses a peculiar morality of its own, a kind of superior law of *a raison d'état*, while ordinary morals are a thing supposed to be good for the poor people.

Manchester Parliamentary Reformers seem to be in a pretty fix. The election revelations of the last session concerned almost exclusively boroughs, and even the great ones, as Hull, Liverpool, Cambridge and Canterbury. The liberal election-broker, Mr. Coppock, confessed in a fit of veracity: "What St. Albans was all other boroughs are." Now the oligarchy meditate turning these exposures to recount in effecting a reform in favor of counties and at the cost of boroughs. The Manchester Reformers, who desire no general extension of the suffrage, but only one within the borough-limits, are, of course, dumb under such a proposition. It is pitiful to see how their organ, *The Daily News*, struggles to get out of this difficulty.

On January 14, 1846, the Bank rate of interest was raised to 3 $^1/_2$ per cent.; on Jan. 21, 1846, to 4 per cent.; and it was not until April, 1847, that the rate rose to 5 per cent.; but it is known that in the last three weeks of April, 1847, almost all operations of credit were at a deadlock. In 1853, the upward movement of the Bank rate of interest was by far more rapid. From 2 per cent., at which it was on 24th April, 1852, it rose to $2^1/_2$ per cent. on Jan. 8, 1853; to 3 per cent. on the 22d of the same month, to $3^1/_2$ per cent. on the 4th June, to 4 per cent. on the 1st of September, and already the rumor runs through the city that it will shortly rise to 5 per cent. In Nov. 1846, the average price of wheat was 56/9 per qr.; in the latter weeks of August, 1853, it had reached 65/ to 66/. About this period last year the Bank of England

| | |
|---|---|
| held in its cellars ..... | £21,852,000 |
| It now holds only ..... | £16,500,068 |
| Being a difference of ..... | £5,351,932 |

The bullion decreased during last week but one by £208,875, and in last week by £462,852. The effect upon prices at the Stock Exchange has been immediate, every description of security declining. We read in the Money article of last Wednesday's *Times*:

"Notwithstanding the depression in the Stock-market, Exchequer bills remained at 2 per cent. discount to 1 per cent. premium, but an impression is entertained that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in order to sustain the price, causes them to be purchased on Government account, in the absence of any funds immediately available for that purpose, by the sales of 3 per cent. Stocks held on account of savings-banks."[a]

This would be a masterpiece on the part of Mr. Gladstone: selling Consols at a low figure and purchasing Exchequer bills at a high one, causing a loss of half the income of the 3 per cent. stocks by converting them into Exchequer bills bearing little more than $1^1/_2$ per cent. interest.

How can we reconcile an unfavorable exchange or drain of bullion with the unprecedented increase of British exports, which at the end of the year will surpass by £16,000,000 even the exports of 1852?

"As we give credit [...] to all the world in the case of our exports, and pay ready money in the case of our imports, a large expansion of our trade at any moment must necessarily lead to a considerable balance in the payments against us at the time, but which must all be returned when the credit upon our exports has expired, and remittances ought to be made for them."

So says *The Economist*.[b] According to this theory, if the exports of 1854 were to surpass again those of 1853, the exchange must continue to be against England, and a commercial crisis would be the only means of adjustment. *The Economist* thinks that disasters like those of 1847 are out of the question, because no considerable portion of capital has been fixed now as then, in railways, etc. He forgets that it has been converted into factories, machinery, ships, etc. On the other hand, *The Observer* laments the

"foolish investments in *foreign railways*, and other companies of very doubtful and suspicious character."[c]

*The Economist* thinks that the extended commercial operations, so far as Europe is concerned, may receive a *wholesome check* from the high price of corn, but that *America and Australia*, etc., are *sure. The Times* at the same time asserts that the tightness of the New-York money market will put a *wholesome check* on American operations.

"We must not calculate on the same extent of orders from the United States that we have hitherto experienced," exclaims *The Leader*.[d]

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21527, September 7, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] In "As Applied to Interest on Capital", *The Economist*, No. 524, September 10, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Observer*, September 11, 1853. The passages rendered below are from the issue of September 4, 1853.—*Ed.*

[d] "The Threatened Stop in the Rise of Wages", *The Leader*, No. 180, September 3, 1853.—*Ed.*

Australia remains. Here steps in *The Observer*:

"Exports have been pushed injudiciously forward. [...] From the 74,000 tons of shipping now entered in London for the southern colonies, the condemnatory notices we gave from Adelaide, Melbourne, etc., will receive their justification. It is not to be denied that present prospects are not promising."

As to the Chinese market all reports are unanimous on the point that there exists a great alacrity to sell, but as great a reluctance to buy, the precious metals being hoarded, and any alteration of this state of things remains out of question as long as the revolutionary movement in the monster Empire has not accomplished its end.

And the home market?

"Large numbers of the power-loom weavers in Manchester and its neighborhood have followed the example of Stockport in striking for an advance of 10 per cent. on their wages.... The factory heads will probably find, before the end of the winter, that the question is not whether an increase of 10 per cent. will be conceded, but whether the manufacturers will allow work to be resumed at the present rate of wages."

In these terms, not to be misunderstood, *The Morning Chronicle*[a] alludes to the imminent decline of the domestic market.

I have repeatedly dwelt on the immense enlargement of the old factories, and the unparalleled erection of new ones. I reported to you upon some new-built mills which form, as it were, whole manufacturing towns. I stated that at no former epoch had such a proportion of the floating capital accumulated during the period of prosperity, been directly sunk for manufacturing purposes[b]. Now, take these facts on the one hand, and on the other the symptoms of overstocked markets at home and abroad; remember also, that an unfavorable exchange is the surest means to precipitate over-exports into foreign markets.

But it is the bad harvest which, above all, will drive the long-accumulated elements of a great commercial and industrial crisis to eruption. Every other sort of produce, when enhanced, checks its own demand; but Corn, as it becomes appreciated, is only the more eagerly sought for, drawing depreciation on all other commodities. The most civilized nation, like the most brutal

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[a] On September 7, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] See Marx's articles "Pauperism and Free Trade.—The Approaching Commercial Crisis" and "Political Prospects.—Commercial Prosperity.—Case of Starvation" (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 357-63, 477-85).—*Ed.*

savage, must procure its food before it can think of procuring anything else, and the progress of wealth and civilization is generally in the same proportion, in which the labor and cost of producing food diminish.—A general bad harvest is in itself a general contraction of markets, at home and abroad. Now the present harvest is at least as deficient in the southern part of Europe, in Italy, France, Belgium, Rhenish Prussia, as it was in 1846-47. It is by no means promising in the north-west and north-east. As to England, *The Mark Lane Express,* that *Moniteur* of the London Corn Exchange, states in its number of yesterday week[a]:

"That the produce of wheat in the United Kingdom will be the smallest gathered for many years, does not admit of question. [...] The average yield will fall materially short in almost all parts of the kingdom, [...] independent of which it must be borne in mind that the breadth of land sown was, owing to the unpropitious weather during the seeding time, at least one-fourth less than usual."

This situation will not be alleviated by the delusion of commercial convulsions, industrial over-production, and bad harvests having been simultaneously done away with by *free trade.* On the contrary.

"Holders," remarks the same *Mark Lane Express,* "cannot yet realize the idea of scarcity under Free Trade. Hence few are disposed to hold heavy stocks. [...] If our necessities should drive us hereafter to import largely, the chances are, that we shall have to pay *dearly* for supplies."

*The Mark Lane Express* of yesterday adds:

"There is still so large a proportion of the crops abroad that the character of the weather for some weeks to come will have great influence on trade. [...] The quality of the grain exposed in the fields has already suffered from the last rains, [...] and a continuance of wet might be productive of an immense amount of mischief.... The ultimate result of the harvest threatens to be [...] less satisfactory than appeared likely a week or two ago.... The accounts which have reached us the last few days with regard to *potatoes,* are less favorable than those previously received.... Notwithstanding the enormously large supplies from abroad during last week (88,833 qrs.), the reaction on prices has been only small, the fall from the highest point not having exceeded 1s. to 2s. per quarter.... The probable result of the harvest in the Baltic is on the whole of an unsatisfactory character.... According to the latest advices, wheat was at 60s. f. o. b. at Dantzic, at 56s. 3d.at Königsberg, 54s. at Stettin, 58s. at Rostock."

The consequences of the dearth are already appearing, as in 1847, on the political horizon. At Naples the town authorities are without means to employ the laborers on public works, and the Exchequer is unable to pay the State officers. In the Papal States,

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[a] Of September 5, 1853.—*Ed.*

at Tolentino, Terni, Ravenna and Trastevere, there have been bread riots by no means mitigated by the recent arrests, the invasion of the Austrians, and the threat of the bastinado. In Lombardy the political consequences of dearth and industrial stagnation will not be avoided by Count Strassoldo's imposing an additional tax of $6^1/_2$ kreuzen per florin, payable on the 20th Sept. and 10th Oct., this year, and to be levied on all payers of direct taxes, including the income tax and the tax upon salaries. The general distress in Austria is betrayed by her lingering after a new loan, introduced on the market as usual by the assertion that she wants the money only to reduce her army. The feverish anxiety of the French Government may be inferred from its false harvest accounts, its false assize of bread at Paris, and its immense purchases of corn on all markets. The provinces are disaffected, because Bonaparte feeds Paris at their expense; the bourgeoisie are disaffected because he interferes with commerce in behalf of the proletarians; the proletarians are disaffected because he gives wheat bread instead of brown to the soldiers, at the moment when peasants and workmen are menaced with the prospect of no bread at all; lastly, the soldiers are disaffected because of the humble anti-national attitude of France in the Eastern question. In Belgium several food riots have echoed the foolish festivities lavished by the Coburgs on the Austrian Archduchess.[a] In Prussia the fear of the Government is so great that several corn-brokers have been arrested by way of show, and the rest summoned before the Police President, who "requested" them to sell at "honest" prices.

I conclude by again recording my opinion, that neither the declamation of the demagogues, nor the twaddle of the diplomats will drive matters to a crisis, but that there are approaching economical disasters and social convulsions which must be the sure forerunners of European revolution. Since 1849 commercial and industrial prosperity has stretched the lounge on which the counter-revolution has slept in safety.

Written on September 13, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Marie Henriette.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE WESTERN POWERS AND TURKEY.— IMMINENT ECONOMIC CRISIS.— RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION IN INDIA[243]]

London, Tuesday, Sept. 20, 1853

In my letter of July 19, I said:

"The Western Powers [...] *commence* by encouraging the Sultan[a] to resist the Czar, from fear of the encroachments of Russia, and *terminate by compelling the former to yield*, from fear of a general war giving rise to a general revolution."[b]

Now, at this moment the strength of the combined fleets is intended to be used *for Russia against Turkey*. If the Anglo-French fleet enter the Dardanelles at all, it will be done not to bombard Sebastopol, but to reduce to terms the Mussulmans who might prevent the Sultan from accepting *without conditions* the Vienna Note.

"On the 13th of September," says D. Urquhart, "[...] the four Foreign Secretaries[c] quietly assembled in Downing-st., and decided to send orders to Constantinople to enforce upon the Porte the withdrawal of the modifications which the European Conference had accepted. Not content with this, and in case the Sultan should find himself unable to resist the exasperation of his people, they send orders for the squadron to advance into the waters of the Bosphorus to support him against his subjects. Nor content with this, they also dispatched orders to Omer Pasha to forbid him from passing from one province to another in his Sovereign's Dominions.

"They have consequently contemplated the rebellion as the result of their dispatch, and provided means for putting it down, these means being the allied squadron."[d]

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[a] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 212.—*Ed.*

[c] Clarendon, the Foreign Secretary at the time, and the former Foreign Secretaries Aberdeen, Palmerston and Russell.—*Ed.*

[d] [D. Urquhart,] "The Political Malefactors", *The Morning Advertiser*, September 20, 1853. Below on pp. 315-16 Marx quotes from the same article.—*Ed.*

It was from Sunday's *Journal des Débats* that the English public became aquainted with this news. The *Journal des Débats* stated that Mr. Reeve, having left London on the 13th inst., with dispatches for Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, arrived in Paris on the morning and left it on the evening of the 14th, after he had communicated to the French Government the tenor of his instructions, ordering the English Ambassador to demand the entire adhesion of the Porte to the Vienna proposals, the retraction of its modifications of the 19th August, threatening it with the withdrawal of the support of the four Powers in the event of a war arising from its refusal to yield, and offering it the assistance of the French and English fleets for putting down any insurrection that might break out in Constantinople if the Porte were to comply with the Vienna Note, and against Omer Pasha, if he dared to act in disobedience to the orders of the Porte. Before the arrival of the *Journal des Débats*, we were informed that the Vienna Conference, on receipt of the Emperor's[a] refusal, sent proposals to the Sultan that he should recall his words, that he should sign the note he had refused to sign, and be content with an assurance that the Conference would put any interpretation on the note agreeable to the Sultan himself. *The Times* avoids speaking of the compromising revelations made by the *Journal des Débats*. So does *The Morning Chronicle*, *The Morning Post*, and the whole of the governmental London press. In the meantime *The Morning Post* denounces the fanaticism of the Constantinople mob, *The Morning Chronicle* is exciting its dull readers by romantic descriptions of the fierce and undisciplined Asiatic hordes inundating European Turkey, and swelling Omer Pasha's army; the gallant *Globe* publishes day after day carefully selected extracts from the peace-mongering press of the Manchester school, and, in due time, the respectable classes of England will be prepared "*to annihilate Paganism*," and to shout with Prince Gorchakoff, "Long life to the Czar! Long life to *the God of the Russians!*"

In its to-day's number *The Times* discovers that "*the Turkish question has plainly become a question of words*;" the inference to be drawn from its premises being, that the Sultan who intends exposing the peace of the world for mere words, must be forcibly brought to reason by the more sober-minded Palmerstons and Aberdeens. The Czar, we are told by *The Times*, having preferred unjust demands upon the Sultan, the Sultan rejected them, the Czar seized the Danubian Principalities, England and France dispatched their fleets

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[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

to Besika Bay, and the representatives of these Powers met those of Austria and Prussia in Vienna.

Why did they meet them in Vienna? *In favor of Turkey,* says *The Times.*

"Not only could there be *no desire of coercing the Ottoman Government,* but there was *no occasion for such an action.*"

If, then, there is now a desire on the part of the four Powers for *coercing* the Ottoman Government, "it is simply because there is now" an *occasion* for "such an action." Would it then be wrong to suppose that the sole and principal aim of the Vienna Conference and of the interference of Palmerston and Aberdeen has been the affording such an occasion, that they made only a show of resistance to Russia, in order to gain a pretext for coercing Turkey into submission to her?

"The demands of Russia," continues *The Times,* were "thought unjustifiable by the other Great Powers, [...] incompatible with the sovereign rights of the Sultan," and therefore, the Great Powers drew up a Note to be presented by the Sultan to the Czar, ratifying all the demands of the Czar and something more.

"The terms of this document," says *The Times,* "were *liable to misconstruction,* [...] but two points were unimpeachably clear—first, that the four Powers intended to maintain the territorial and administrative rights of the Porte; and, next, that in the event of dispute *they would have been bound by this intention.*"

Why should the Sultan not subscribe a note derogatory of his sovereign rights and surrendering the protectorate of twelve millions of his subjects to the control of the autocrat, while he feels himself backed by the good "*intentions*" of the four Powers and by their being *bound* by hidden "good *intentions*" in the case of a dispute? As the Sultan has had occasion to learn, the four Powers feel themselves not bound either by the law of nations, or by explicit treaties, to defend him in the event of a dispute with Russia; why should he not trust to their valor in the event of a dispute arising from a note which endows Russia with open claims and Turkey with "hidden intentions?"

"Let us take," says *The Times,* "the extreme case of supposing that, after the acceptance [...] *pure et simple* of the original Vienna Note, the Czar should [...] have availed himself of those opportunities with which the note [...] is thought to have provided him."

What then?

"*The Sultan would have protested,* and the case would have arisen for the application of the adjustment of 1853."

As if there had arisen no case for the application of the adjustment of 1840 and 1841, of the treaty of Balta-Liman,[244] and of the violation of the law of nations, characterized by Lord Clarendon himself as "an act of piracy!"

"The ambiguity," says *The Times*, "[...] would merely have misled the Emperor of Russia."

Exactly so, as the treaty of 1841 has "misled" him to keep the united fleets out of the Dardanelles while he himself entered the Principalities.

The Sultan, however, is stiff-necked. He has refused compliance with a note which was able to express its good intentions for Turkey only by delivering her up to Russia. He proposed certain modifications in this note, and "the four Powers," says *The Times*, "showed by their approval of the Turkish modifications, that they believed them to coincide with their own proposals." But, as the Emperor of Russia is of a contrary opinion, and as *The Times* thinks it most undoubtedly true, that the Czar's "proceedings in this dispute deserve *no consideration whatever*," *The Times* comes to the conclusion that, as Russia will not yield to the reasonable [...] conditions of Turkey, Turkey must yield to the unreasonable conditions of Russia, and that

"a state which [...] is yet so impotent as to require European protection at every menace of aggression from without or insurrection from within, *must at least so far pay the penalty of its weakness as to receive aid indispensable to its existence on the terms least onerous to its supporters*."

The four Powers, of course, must join Russia against Turkey, because Turkey is supposed to want their aid in order to resist Russia.—Turkey must "pay the penalty for its weakness," in having had recourse to the four Great Powers she is obliged by treaties to appeal to.

"There is no alternative. Either the laws of England have to be exercised in their penal rigour[a] upon the persons of four traitors" (Aberdeen, Clarendon, Palmerston, and Russell), "or the Czar of Russia commands the world."

Such declamation as this uttered in *The Morning Advertiser* by D. Urquhart, is good for nothing. Who is to judge the four traitors? Parliament. Who forms that Parliament? The representatives of the Stockjobbers, the Millocrats, and the Aristocrats. And what foreign policy do these representatives represent? That of the *paix*

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[a] *The Morning Advertiser* has "vigour".—*Ed.*

*partout et toujours.*[a] And who execute their ideas of foreign policy? The identical four men to be condemned by them as traitors, according to the simple-minded *Morning Advertiser.* One thing must be evident at least, that it is the Stockjobbers, and the Peacemongering Bourgeoisie, represented in the Government by the Oligarchy, who surrender Europe to Russia, and that in order to resist the encroachments of the Czar, we must, above all, overthrow the inglorious Empire of those mean, cringing and infamous adorers of the *veau d'or.*[b]

Immediately after the arrival of the Vienna Note at Constantinople, the Ottoman Porte called 80,000 men of the Redifs[c] under arms. According to a telegraphic dispatch dated Constantinople, Sept. 5, the Turkish Ministry had resolved, after a conference held at the house of the Grand Vizier,[d] to maintain their last note at the hazard of war. The enthusiasm of the Mussulman population has reached its highest pitch. The Sultan, having reviewed the Egyptian troops, and being received with deafening acclamations, was, after the review, lifted from his horse by the multitude and carried in triumph through the streets of Stambul. He has reiterated to the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia[e] his order to quiet the Principalities. As the Russian subjects resident at Constantinople have been convicted of intriguing against the Turkish Government, Reshid Pasha has given a warning to the Russian Consul on their behalf. A Constantinople journal states that the Israelite community at Constantinople has offered to the Sultan a million of piasters in order to contribute to the expenses occasioned by the military preparations of the Empire. The Smyrna Israelites are said to have come to a similar resolution. A letter in the Vienna *Presse* informs us that several boyards have been arrested at Galatz because they had entered into a secret correspondence with Omer Pasha informing him of all details with regard to the state of the Russian army in the Principalities. A letter of Omer Pasha has been found inviting these boyards to enlist as many foreigners as possible.

Prince Menchikoff had arrived at Vienna on the 13th instant, accompanied by a Secretary, and as the bearer of a new manifesto of the Emperor Nicholas, addressed to the European Powers, and

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[a] Peace at all costs.—*Ed.*
[b] The golden calf.—*Ed.*
[c] Reserve troops in the Ottoman Empire.—*Ed.*
[d] Mustafa Pasha.—*Ed.*
[e] Ghica and Stirbei.—*Ed.*

explaining his reasons for rejecting the Turkish modifications. The Emperor himself will arrive at Olmütz on the 21st instant, accompanied by Count Nesselrode and by Baron de Meyendorff. The King of Prussia[a] whom he had summoned by Prince de Lieven to the Olmütz Conference, has refused to make his appearance on the ground that, under existing circumstances, such a step on his part would have too much *éclat.* A Russian corps d'armée 30,000 strong is stationed now at Krajova on the frontiers of Bulgaria. Until now there have existed only eight army commissariats in the Russian Empire. A regular ninth commissariat has just been established at Bucharest—a sure indication that the Russians do not think of evacuating the Principalities.

On the 15th of Sept. the Bank of England raised its rates of interest to $4^1/_2$ per cent. The Money article in to-day's *Times* tells us that "The measure is regarded with general satisfaction." In the same article, however, we find it stated that,

"at about 2 p.m. business at the Stock Exchange was in fact almost wholly suspended, and when the announcement was made, shortly afterward, of the advance to $4^1/_2$ per cent., prices declined to 95 for money and $95^1/_8$ to $^1/_4$ for the 13th of Oct. A general opinion prevailed, that if the advance had been to 5 instead of $4^1/_2$ per cent., the effect on the market would possibly have been less unfavorable, since the public would then have considered the probability of any further action to have ceased.... In the Railway market [...] a severe relapse occurred after the breaking up of the Bank Court, and prices of all kinds left off with a very unsettled appearance."[b]

The writer in *The Times* congratulates the Bank Directors on their following up the policy of the Peel Act.

"In proportion as the circulation diminished from the drain of gold, the Directors have asked a higher price for the use of what remained, and have thus allowed the Bank Charter Act of Sir R. Peel that *free course,* by which alone its soundness can be demonstrated, and which was prevented by the infatuated proceedings of the Directors in 1847."

Now I have shown in a former letter that the infatuation of the Directors in 1847 consisted precisely in their close adherence to the Peel Act, the "free course" of which had to be interrupted by Government, in order to save the Banking Department from the necessity of stopping payment.[c] We read in *The Globe*:

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[b] This and the following quotation are from *The Times*, No. 21535, September 16, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 300-01.—*Ed.*

"It is highly improbable that the causes which have produced our present prosperity will continue to operate in the same proportion. Unhealthy results have already appeared in Manchester, where some of the largest firms have been compelled to limit their amount of production.... All departments of the Stock Exchange continue in a very depressed state. The Railway market is in a complete state of panic.... The efflux of gold to the Continent continues, and nearly half a million of money goes over to St. Petersburg in a day or two by steamer.... One object of its" (the Bank's) "husbanding its resources of specie is probably a desire to assist the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the seven or eight millions which he will require to pay off the South Sea stockholders and other dissentients."[a]

*The Morning Post* of the 14th inst. reports from Manchester:

"The market for cloth and yarn is dull, and the prices of all descriptions of manufactures are barely supported. The absence of demand from almost every foreign market and the anticipated money pressure at home, have mainly contributed to a state of things which is most anomalous, when contrasted with the accounts of prosperity generally current."

The same journal, of the 15th inst., winds up a leading article on the collecting elements of the approaching crisis in the following terms:

"We warn the commercial world that we are at a phase in which care and steady consideration are eminently requisite in the conception and conduct of enterprise. Our financial position, besides, is one which, in our view, is full of dangers even more serious and more difficult of avoidance than our commercial."

From the combined statements of *The Globe* and *Morning Post*, it follows that while the demand is declining on the one hand, the supply, on the other, has been overdone. Manufacturers will attempt to cover their retreat by falling back on the quarrel existing with their workmen. The trade reporter in yesterday's *Morning Chronicle* writes from Manchester:

"Manufactures are becoming greatly indifferent about entering into engagements, from the persuasion that an extensive, if not *universal stoppage of mills* must take place before any settlement of the wages question can be effected. On this subject there have been conferences among employers in various parts of the districts within the last few days; and it is evident that the exorbitant clamors set up by the operatives, together with the wild attempts at dictation, are forcing the millowners into a general combination for self-defense."

We read in the money article of *The Times*:

"Masters are forming Unions for self-defense in all the districts. At Ashton, Stalybridge, Hyde, and Glossop, nearly 100 firms have placed their names to a

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[a] *The Globe*, September 13, 1853.—*Ed.*

deed of Union within the last few days. At Preston the masters have entered into heavy bonds to each other to resist the operatives by closing their mills for three months."[a]

A telegraphic dispatch from Marseilles reports that wheat has again advanced by 2 frs. 25 cent. per hectolitre.

"The augmentation of the interest on treasury bonds, announced in the *Moniteur*, produced a most unfavorable impression at the Bourse, that measure being generally considered as a sign that the Government is in want of money. [...] A loan was spoken of which the Government would be obliged to contract. [...] The Minister of Finance[b] has sent a circular to a vast number of landed proprietors, asking them to pay six months' taxes in advance, as a mark of gratitude for the great benefits which the present Government had conferred on them, and for the additional value which it had imparted to property." "This," remarks *The Observer*, "is the beginning of the end."[c]

Having dwelt in a former letter on the vital importance of railways for India,[d] I think fit to give now the latest news which has been published with regard to the progress and prospects of the intended network. The first Indian railway was the line now in operation between Bombay and Thane. Another line is now to be carried from Calcutta to Russnehael on the Ganges, a distance of 180 miles, and then to proceed along the right bank of the river to Patna, Benares and Allahabad. From Allahabad it will be conducted across the Doab to Agra and thence to Delhi, traversing in this manner a space of 1,100 miles. It is contemplated to establish steam ferry-boats across the Soane and Tunona,[e] and that the Calcutta line will finally proceed from Delhi to Lahore. In Madras a railway is to be commenced forthwith, which, running 70 miles due west, will branch off into two arms—one pursuing the Ghats and terminating at Calicut, the other being carried on by Bellary and Poona to Bombay. This skeleton of the chain of railways will be completed by the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, the preliminary surveys for which are now proceeding under the sanction of the Court of Directors. This line will pass from Bombay by Baroda to Agra, where it will meet the great trunk railway from Calcutta to Delhi, and by its means Bombay, the Capital of Western India and the best port of communication with Europe, for all Hindostan, will be put in

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21537, September 19, 1853.—*Ed.*
[b] J. M. Bineau.—*Ed.*
[c] *The Observer*, September 19, 1853.—*Ed.*
[d] See this volume, pp. 218-21.—*Ed.*
[e] Jumna.—*Ed.*

communication with Calcutta on the one hand, and with the Punjab and the north-western provinces on the other. The promoters of this scheme intend also to throw out branches into the great cotton district of the interior. In the meantime, measures are in progress for extending the electric telegraph throughout the whole of the peninsula of India.

Written on September 20, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## [THE WESTERN POWERS AND TURKEY.— SYMPTOMS OF ECONOMIC CRISIS][245]

London, Friday, Sept. 23, 1853

*The Globe*, in its number of Sept. 20, denies the authenticity of the statement of the *Journal des Débats* with regard to the mission of Mr. Reeve, and *The Times* of Wednesday reprints the article of *The Globe* under the head of *gobemoucherie*, accusing the French press of trading in *canards*. But did not the leading article of *The Times* I analyzed in my last letter[a] wholly confirm the statement of the *Journal des Débats*? Has there appeared any refutation in the Paris *Moniteur*? Did not, on the same day that *The Globe* gave the lie to the *Débats*, the *Assemblée nationale* reiterate that

"Lord Redcliffe was to notify to the Sultan that, if he refused to withdraw his modification, the English fleet would enter the Dardanelles, and the French fleet would not be slow to follow?"[b]

Did not *The Times*, on the same day on which it reproduced the denial of *The Globe*, explicitly declare that

"England and France have no business to interfere between Russia and Turkey, except on the terms proposed by the four allied Powers, and accepted by Russia, whether these terms were *agreeable* to the haughty spirit of Turkey or not?"

Were we not told by *The Morning Post*, before the *Journal des Débats* had arrived at London, that

"on the receipt of the Emperor of Russia's[c] answer to the proposal for the modifications of the Vienna Note, the Conference of the Representatives of the Great Powers had immediately assembled, and on the 4th inst. dispatched a courier

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[a] See this volume, pp. 310-12.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted from Am. Pellier's article in *L'Assemblée nationale*, No. 263, September 20, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

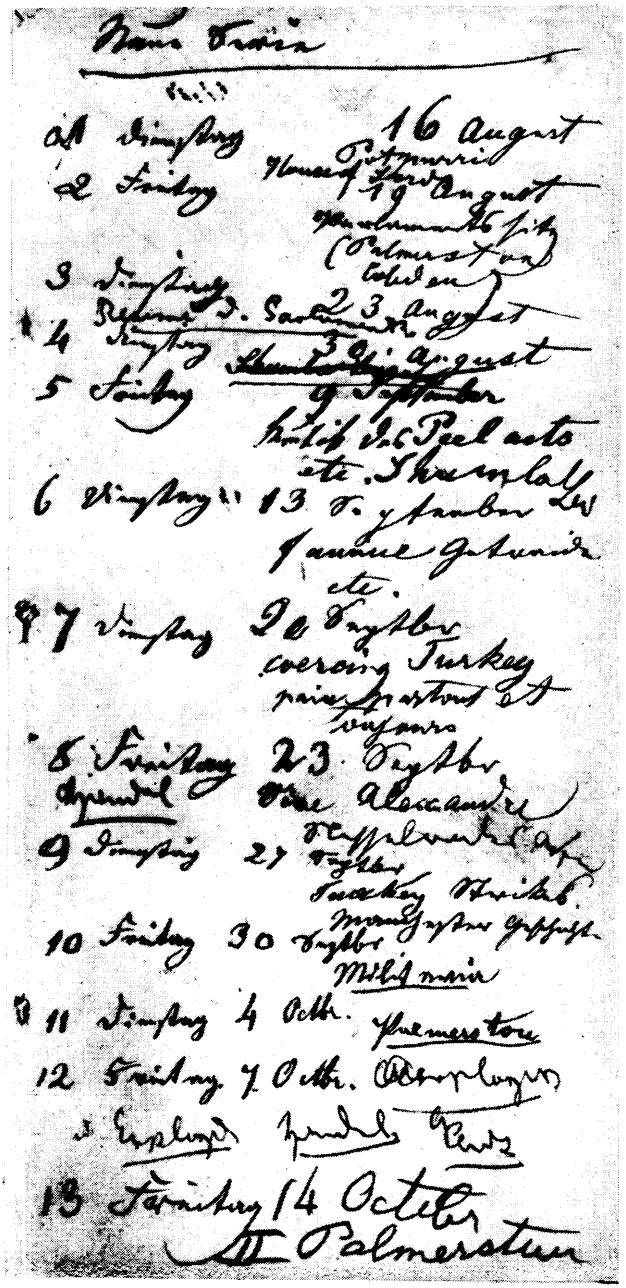

A page from Marx's notebook with notes on the mailing of articles to the *New-York Daily Tribune*

to Constantinople with *certain communications* from the Conference to the Divan, which it was hoped would *induce* the Porte to accept the Vienna Note!"[a]

Finally, we read in a morning paper of to-day that

"Mr. Reeve is going to Constantinople, that he is the bearer of dispatches from Lord Clarendon to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and that a connection of the most intimate kind exists between him and the Foreign Office, he having been the channel of communication between Downing-st. and Printing-house Square."

The truth is, that since the last revelations made by the French Press, the Eastern question has again assumed quite a new aspect, and the ignominious resolutions the English Ministry had decided upon are likely to be frustrated by events contrary to all their calculations and expectations.

Austria has seceded from the joint action with her pretended allies; the Vienna Conference has been broken off, at least for a moment. Russia has pulled off the mask she thinks no longer of any avail, and the English Ministry is driven out of its last entrenchments.

"Lord Aberdeen," as the *Liverpool Courier*[b] justly remarks, "recommended that the Sultan[c] should have recourse to a transparent and contemptible fraud; that the parties to the Vienna Conference should exercise a *mental reservation* with regard to the note, and that the Sultan should read it in an *unnatural sense*, i.e., the terms of the note being clear and precise, and the Emperor of Russia having refused point-blank to adopt the Sultan's modifications, the Powers should hold themselves prepared, hereafter, to act *as if those modifications had been received.*"

*M. Drouyn de Lhuys* suggested to the Vienna Conference an explanatory note conceived in that hypocritical sense, and to be communicated to the Porte, but Count Buol rejected this proposition, declaring that it

"was too friendly to the Porte, that the time was gone by for collective action, and that each power was free to act as it pleased."

Thus the English Ministry has lost the resource of covering itself with the *common* arbitration of the *European* Areopagus, that joint-stock company disappearing before one word of the Austrian Minister, as it had been conjured up by him. In the beginning Austria wanted no conference at all till Russia had crossed the Pruth. Russia having advanced to the Danube, Austria does want the conference no more, at least no more on its primitive

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[a] *The Morning Post*, No. 24881, September 19, 1853.—*Ed.*
[b] Of September 21, 1853.—*Ed.*
[c] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*

conditions. On the other hand Count de Nesselrode has published two circulars, which do not any longer allow backing the original Vienna Note by hidden "good intentions" or interpreting it in any other sense than its literal one.

The modifications proposed by the Porte have reduced the whole question to "a mere question of words,"[a] shouted the whole ministerial press.

By no means, says Nesselrode. The Czar puts the same interpretation upon the original text as the Sultan did. The original note is nothing and has never been intended to be anything but a second edition of Menchikoff's note, and we do abide by the text, the whole text, and nothing but the text. The ministerial *Globe* is of course amazed at the discovery that both the Czar and the Sultan, regard the original note "as implying recognition of those demands which Russia had preferred, which Turkey had refused, and which the four Powers did not" (?) "intend to indorse,"[b] and that "Russia insists upon an *absolute* recognition of the claims which she first advanced." And why should she not? If she was bold enough to advance those claims four months ago, why should she desist now after having won the first campaign?

The same *Globe* which pretended some days ago the Turkish modifications to be scholastic *quibbles, superfluous* subtilities, is now obliged to own that "the Russian interpretation shows that they were *necessary*."

The *first* dispatch of Nesselrode is not yet made public, but *The Morning Post* assures us that it declares "the Vienna Note to be neither more nor less than the equivalent of Prince Menchikoff's note," and the evening *Globe* adds, that according to it,

> "The Emperor regarded [...] the Vienna Note as securing for him that recognition on Turkey, and that hold upon her Government, which the Porte, with the support of the four Powers, had refused, and which it was the object of the mediation to prevent. [...] That the Emperor [...] never ceased to reserve to himself the right of dealing directly with Turkey alone, setting aside the mediators whom he affected to acknowledge."

At no time did he affect to acknowledge them as mediators. He permitted three of them to march in the rear of Austria, while he allowed Austria herself to come an humble supplicant to him.

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21538, September 20, 1853. See also this volume, p. 310.— *Ed.*

[b] Here and below the quotations are from the leader in *The Globe*, September 22, 1853.— *Ed.*

As to the *second* dispatch, dated St. Petersburg, 7th, published by the Berlin *Zeit* on the 18th inst., and addressed to Baron Meyendorff at Vienna, Nesselrode is perfectly right in stating that the original note was described to him as an "*ultimatum*" by the Austrian Envoy, which Russia obliged herself to give her consent to upon the express condition of its being accepted by the Porte *without any alteration whatever.* "Will any one refuse to hear this testimony to the *loyauté* of the Emperor?"[a] It is true that he has committed a little act of "piracy" on the Principalities; that he has overrun them, seized them, taxed them, governed them, plundered them, appropriated them, eaten them up, notwithstanding the proclamations of Gorchakoff; but never mind. Did he not, on the other hand, "on the receipt of a first draft of a note, notify his accession to it by telegraph, *without waiting to learn if it had been approved in London or in Paris*?" Could he be expected to do more than to notify by telegraph, that a note, dictated by a Russian Minister at Vienna, would not be rejected by a Russian Minister at St. Petersburg? Could he do more for Paris and London than not even to wait for their approval? But he did more, indeed. The draft, whose acceptance he condescended to notify by telegraph, was "*altered*" at Paris and London, and "did he retract his consent, or raise the smallest difficulty?" It is true, that according to his own statement, the note in its "final form" is "neither more nor less than an *equivalent* of Prince Menchikoff's note;" but an equivalent note remains, at all instances, "*different*" from the original one; and had he "not stipulated the acceptance of the Menchikoff note without *any* alteration?" Might he not, "on this ground alone, have refused to take it into consideration?" He did not do so. "Could a more conciliatory spirit be shown?" The *ultimatum* of the Vienna Conference is no business of his; it is their own property. "It is *their affair* to consider the *delays* which will result" from the Sultan not yielding. He, for his part, does not care about staying some months longer in the Principalities, where his troops are clothed and fed for nothing.

Odessa does not suffer from the mouth of the Danube being blocked, and, if the occupation of the Principalities contributes to raise the price of wheat at Mark-lane,[b] the profane Imperials will find the quicker their way back to the Holy Russia. It is, therefore, for Austria and the Powers to

[a] Nesselrode's dispatch is quoted from and presented according to *The Times*, No. 21540, September 22, 1853.— *Ed.*

[b] The Corn Exchange.— *Ed.*

"declare to the Porte, frankly and firmly, that they, after having in vain opened up to it the only road that could lead to an immediate restoration of its relations with us, henceforth leave *the task for itself alone*."

They did enough for the Sultan by having opened the road to the Danube to the Czar and closed the road to the Black Sea to the Allied Squadron. Nesselrode's "august master" denounces then, "the *warlike* inspiration which seems at present to influence the Sultan and the majority of his Ministers." He, on his part, would certainly prefer the Sultan taking it coolly, opposing peace tracts to gunboats, and compliments to Cossacks. "He has exhausted the measure of concessions, without the Porte having yet made a single one. His Majesty can go no further." Certainly not, he *can go no further,* without crossing the Danube. Nesselrode compresses his whole argument into a masterly dilemma not to be escaped from. Either the alterations proposed by the Porte mean nothing, or they mean something. If they mean nothing, why should the Porte insist upon them? If they mean something, "it is very simple that we refuse to accede to them."

"The evacuation of the Principalities," said Lord Clarendon, "is a *sine qua non, preliminary* to any settlement."[a] Quite the contrary, answers Nesselrode. "The settlement," i.e., the arrival of the Turkish Ambassador bearing the Austrian note without *alterations* "is a *sine qua non* preliminary to the evacuation of the Principalities."

In one word, the magnanimous Czar is ready to part with the Vienna Conference humbug, as it is no longer wanted for terminating his first campaign; but he will hold the closer the Principalities, as they are the indispensable condition for commencing the second one.

If it be true, as we are informed to-day by telegraphic dispatch, that the Conference has resumed business, the Powers will repeat to Nicholas the song Alexander was received with by the Paris mob:

Vive Alexandre,
Vive le roi des rois,
*Sans rien prétendre*
*Il nous donne des lois.*[b]

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[a] Quoted from Clarendon's House of Lords speech on August 8, 1853 in *The Times*. No. 21502, August 9, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] Long live Alexander,
King of Kings.
*He grants us laws*
*And asks for nothing in return.—Ed.*

The Czar himself, however, holds no longer his former control over the Eastern complication. The Sultan has been forced to conjure up the old fanatic spirit, to cause a new invasion of Europe by the rude warlike tribes of Asia, not to be soothed down with diplomatic notes and conventional lies, and there seems transpiring, even through the insolent note of the Muscovite, something like an apprehension at the "warlike spirit" domineering over Stambul. The manifesto, addressed by the Sultan to the Mussulmans, declines any other concession to Russia, and a deputation of the Ulemas[246] is said to have called upon the Sultan to abdicate or to declare war without further delay. The division in the Divan is extreme, and the pacific influence of Reshid Pasha and Mustafa Pasha is giving way to that of Mehemet Ali, the Seraskier.[a]

The infatuation of the so-called *radical* London press is quite incredible. After having told us some days ago, that "the laws of England have to be exercised in their *penal rigor*[b] *upon the persons of four traitors*"[c] (Aberdeen, Clarendon, Palmerston and Russell), *The Morning Advertiser*, of yesterday, concludes one of its leaders as follows:

> "Lord Aberdeen must, therefore, make way for a successor. Need we say who that successor must be? There is but one man to whom the country points at this important junction, as fit to be entrusted with the helm of affairs. *That man is Lord Palmerston.*"

*The Morning Advertiser* being unable to read events and facts, should at least be able to read the articles of Mr. Urquhart, published day after day in its own columns.

On Tuesday evening a meeting of the inhabitants of Sheffield was called, by requisition to the Mayor, "to take into consideration the present unsettled and unsatisfactory state of the Eastern question and the propriety of memorializing government on the subject." A similar meeting is to be held at Stafford and many other attempts are afloat at getting up public demonstrations against Russia and the ministry of "all the talents." But, generally, public attention is absorbed by the rate of discount, corn prices, strikes and commercial apprehensions, and more yet by the *cholera* ravaging Newcastle and being met with explanatory notes by the

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[a] War Minister.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Morning Advertiser* has "vigour".—*Ed.*

[c] Quoted from Urquhart's article in *The Morning Advertiser*, September 20, 1853. Marx quotes this statement more fully in his article of September 20, 1853 (see this volume, pp. 312-13).—*Ed.*

London Board of Health. An order in council has been issued, putting in force the provisions of the *Epidemic Disease Act* for the next six months throughout the Islands; and hasty preparations for the due reception of the scourge are making in London and other great towns. If I shared the opinions of Mr. Urquhart, I should say, that the Czar had dispatched the Cholera morbus to England with the "*secret mission*" to break down the last remnant of what is called the Anglo-Saxon spirit.

A wonderful change has come over the manufacturing districts during the last four weeks. In July and the beginning of August there was nothing to be seen but bright prosperity, only slightly overshadowed by the distant cloud of the "Eastern Question," and more so, perhaps, by the fear that a shortness of hands would prevent our cotton-lords to explore to the dregs that immense mine of profitable business which they saw before them. The Eastern dispute seemed settled, the crop might certainly turn out a little short, but there was free trade to keep prices down with the never-failing supplies of America, of the Black Sea and the Baltic. Day after day the demand for manufactured goods went on increasing. California and Australia poured forth their golden treasures into the lap of British industry. *The Times*, forgetting Malthus and all its own former rhapsodies about overpopulation, seriously discussed the question whether the shortness of the supply of working-hands, and consequent rise of wages, would not, by raising the cost of production of British manufactures in a proportionate manner, put a stop to this flourishing trade, unless the Continent sent a colony of workmen. The working classes were, as their employers said, only *too well off*, so much so, that their demands knew no bounds, and their "impudence" was daily becoming more intolerable. But that was in itself a proof of the immense, unheard-of prosperity which the country was enjoying; and what could be the cause of this prosperity but Free Trade? And what was worth more than all this, was the certitude that the enormous trade done was *sound*, that there were no stocks, no wild speculation. Thus the manufacturers, one and all, were wont to express themselves, and they acted upon these views; they built factories by the hundred, they ordered steam-engines of thousands of horse-power, thousands of power-looms, hundreds of thousands of spindles. Never was engineering and machine-making a more profitable trade than in 1853. Establishments broken down in the whole of their internal organization by the great strike of 1851,[247] now regained their position, and even improved it; and I could name more than one first-rate and

celebrated machine-making firm who, but for this unprecedented business, would have succumbed under the consequence of the blow inflicted by the mechanics during the great turn-out.

The fact is that the bright sunshine of prosperity is for the moment hidden by gloomy clouds. No doubt the altered aspect of the Eastern dispute has contributed a good deal; but that affects the home American and Colonial trade very little. The raising of the rate of discount is less a cause than a symptom of "something being rotten in the state of Denmark."[a] The shortness of the crop and increase in the price of provisions are no doubt causes which have counteracted and will counteract still more the demand for manufactured goods from those markets which are exposed to the operation of these causes, and among these the home market, the mainstay of British industry, stands in the first rank. But the rise in the price of provisions is at this moment, in most districts of England and Scotland, very nearly or altogether compensated by the rise of wages, so that the purchasing power of the consumer can hardly be said to have been *already* lessened much. Then the rise in wages has raised the cost of production in those branches of industry in which manual labor prevails; but the price of nearly all manufactured goods was, up to August, pushed a good deal ahead of the cost of production by the large demand. All these causes have cooperated to deaden business; but, after all, they are not sufficient to account for the general anxiety that pervades the commercial classes of the manufacturing districts.

The fact is, that the spell of the Free Trade delusions is vanishing away, and the bold industrial adventurers begin to have a glimmering that economical revulsions, commercial crises and recurrence of over-production are yet not quite so impossible in a Free Trade country as they dreamt. And over-production there has been, there is, there must be, for even those bugbears of *The Manchester Guardian*, the "*Stocks*," are there; aye, and increasing too. The demand for goods is decidedly falling off, while the supply increases every day. The largest and most numerous of the new industrial constructions are only *now gradually coming into operation.* The shortness of hands, the strikes of the building trades, the impossibility of supplying the enormous quantities of machinery on order, have caused many an unforeseen delay and postponed, for a time, the eruption of those symptoms of industrial plethora which otherwise would have shown themselves sooner. Thus the largest mill in the world, Mr. T. Salt's, near

[a] Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene 4.—*Ed.*

Bradford, was only to be opened this week, and it will take some time yet, ere the whole of the productive power employed there can be brought fully to bear on the market. Thus plenty of the larger new concerns in Lancashire will not be fit for work before winter, *while it will be spring, and perhaps later, before the market will feel the full effect of this new and stupendous accession of productive power.* According to the last news from Melbourne and Sydney, import markets were becoming much duller, and many shipments will now be indefinitely postponed. As to *over-speculation,* we shall hear of that by and by, when accounts come to be closed. Speculation has been distributed over such a variety of articles that it shows less this time than before, although there is plenty of it.

Written on September 23, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## [PANIC ON THE LONDON STOCK EXCHANGE.—STRIKES][248]

London, Tuesday, Sept. 27,[a] 1853

The intelligence that the combined fleets had passed up the Dardanelles, concurrent with rumors of a change in the Ministry and of commercial difficulties, produced a real panic at the Stock Exchange on Saturday:

"To describe the state of the English funds, or the scene that has prevailed in the Stock Exchange, would be a task of no small difficulty. It is rare that such excitement is witnessed, and it is well that it is infrequent.... It is perhaps no inflation to assert that the *Bearing* at the present time equals almost what took place during the French Revolution.... Funds have this week been done at $91^1/_2$ [...] and [...] have not been so low since 1849.... In the railway market there has been an incessant fall."

Thus says *The Ministerial Observer.*[b] All the leading railway shares were about 68 s. to 80 scp. under the prices of the previous week. As to the sudden pressure of stock upon the market, it would not signify much, as the mere time-dealers are able, at a given moment, to turn the market and intimidate the *bona fide* stockholders. But, coinciding, as it does, with general symptoms of a commercial crisis, the great fluctuation of funds, even if it be of a mere speculative character, will prove fatal in its consequences. At all events, this consternation in the Money market is condemnatory of any State loans looming in the future, and particularly so of the Austrian ones. Moreover, capitalists are reminded that Austria did pay, in 1811, a dividend 1s. 7d.

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[a] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* the article was datelined: "Thursday, Sept. 29". Here it is corrected on the basis of a note in Karl Marx's notebook.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below the quotations are from *The Observer,* September 26, 1853.—*Ed.*

farthing in the pound on their promissory notes; that, notwithstanding her revenue having been screwed up from £12,000,000 to £18,000,000 sterling, by means of a greatly increased pressure of taxation exerted on Hungary and Lombardy since 1849, her annual deficit amounts, on an average, to more than one-quarter of her whole revenue; that about £50,000,000 have been added to her national debt since 1846; and that she only has been prevented from a new bankruptcy by the interested forbearance of the children of Israel, who still hope to rid their tills of heaps of Austrian paper accumulated in them.

"Trade has been pushed on somewhat beyond its proper limits, and our commercial liabilities have partially outstripped our means," says *The Observer*. "It is useless," exclaims *The Morning Post*, "to evade the question, for although there are [...] some favorable features in the pending crisis which did not exist in 1847, it must be perceptible to every intelligent observer of passing events that, to say the least of it, a very trying condition of affairs has arrived."[a]

The bullion reserve in the Bank of England has again decreased by £338,954, and its reserve of notes—i.e., the fund available for discounts,—amounts but to seven millions, a sum fully required by the Chancellor of the Exchequer[b] for paying off the dissentient holders of South Sea stock. As to the state of the Corn market, we learn the following from yesterday's *Mark Lane Express*[c]:

"With average crops we have for [...] years consumed some millions of quarters of foreign wheat per annum. What, then, are our requirements likely to be under existing circumstances? The produce of wheat at the utmost cannot be estimated at more than three-quarters of an average, and there is [...] no excess in the yield of any other crop. Potatoes are seriously affected by disease, and have been forced into consumption so rapidly, owing to their unfitness for storing, that this article of food must very shortly become scarce. So enormous has been our consumption that with an importation of 3,304,025 qrs. of wheat and 3,337,206 cwts. of flour during the eight months ending the 5th inst., the stocks in granary are by no means excessive.... We are anxious not to exaggerate the difficulties the country may be placed in, but *that difficulties exist it would be folly to deny....* The reports as to the yield of wheat are *very unsatisfactory*; in many cases where the produce has been tested by thrashing, the quantity turned out little more than half of what had been calculated upon."

While thus the bright sunshine of commercial and industrial prosperity is hidden by gloomy prospects, *strikes* are still forming, and will for some time yet form, an important feature of our industrial condition; only they are beginning to change their

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[a] *The Morning Post*, No. 24887, September 26, 1853.—*Ed.*
[b] Gladstone.—*Ed.*
[c] Of September 26, 1853.—*Ed.*

character contemporary with the change that is now going on in the general condition of the country.

At Bury a new advance of 2d. per 1,000 hanks has been asked on the part of the spinners. Masters refusing, they left work, and the weavers will do so as soon as they have worked up the yarn on hand. At Preston, while the weavers still demand an advance of 10 per cent., being supported by the operatives of the surrounding districts, six masters have already locked up their mills and the others are likely to follow them. Two thousand operatives have thus been thrown out of work. At Blackburn the mechanics of Mr. Dickinson, iron-founder, still remain out. At Wigan the capreelers of one mill have struck for an advance of 1d. per score, and the throstle-spinners of another mill refused to commence work until their wages were advanced. The mills were closed. At the same place the coal-miners' strike, embracing about 5,000 hands, is going on. The Earl of Crawford, and other extensive coal-miners in the neighborhood, dismissed their hands on Wednesday evening. A numerous meeting of the colliers was then held in Scales' Orchard. At Manchester 5,000 looms stand still, besides the minor strikes going forward, such as that of the fustian-dyers, the skein-dyers, felt-hat makers, etc. At Bolton, meetings of the operative cotton-spinners are being held for an advance of wages. There are shoemakers' strikes at Trenton, Bridgewater, etc.; cab-drivers' strikes at Glasgow; masons' strikes at Kilmarnock; threatened turn-outs of the police at Oldham, etc. At Birmingham, nailers demand an advance of 10 per cent.; at Wolverhampton, the carpenters one of 6d. per day; the London carpenters ditto, and so on. While through the principal manufacturing towns of Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, etc., the operatives are holding public meetings, to decide upon measures for the support of their suffering brethren, the masters on the other hand are resolved to close their establishments for an indefinite period, with the design of starving their hands into subjection.

"We find," says the *Sunday Times*, "that, generally speaking, the demand for an advance of wages has not exceeded 6d. a day; and, looking at the present price of provisions, [...] it can hardly be said [...] that the demand is an unreasonable one. We know it has been said that one aim of the present strikers is to obtain a sort of *communistic share* of the real or supposed profits of the manufacturer; but the comparison between the *increased demand for wages* and the *enhanced value of the prime necessaries of life*, furnishes an ample refutation of the charge."[a]

[a] "The Wages Movement,—'The Strikes'", *Sunday Times*, No. 1616, September 25, 1853.— *Ed.*

When the working people ask for more than "the prime necessaries of life," when they pretend "to share" in the profits resulting from their own industry, then they are accused of *communistic* tendencies. What has the price of provisions to do with the "eternal and supreme law of supply and demand?" In 1839, 1840, 1841, and 1842, while there was a continued rise in the price of provisions, wages were sinking until they reached the starvation point. "Wages," said then the same manufacturers, "don't depend upon the price of provisions, but upon the eternal law of supply and demand."

"The demands of the working people," says the *Sunday Times*, "may be submitted to when urged in a *respectful* manner."

What has *respect* to do with the "eternal law of supply and demand?" Has any one ever heard of the price of coffee rising at Mincing-lane[a] when "urged in a *respectful* manner?" The trade in human flesh and blood being carried on in the same manner as that of any other commodity, give it at least the chances of any other.

The wages-movement has been going on now for a period of six months. Let us judge it by the test acknowledged on the part of the masters themselves, by the "eternal laws of supply and demand," or are we, perhaps, to understand, that the eternal laws of political economy must be interpreted in the same manner as the eternal peace treaties Russia has concluded with Turkey?

Six months ago the work-people, had they even found their position not strengthened by the great demand for their labor, by constant and enormous emigration to the gold fields and to America, must have inferred the enhancement of industrial profits from the general prosperity-cry uttered by the middle-class press exulting at the blessings of Free Trade. The workmen, of course, demanded their share of that so loudly proclaimed prosperity, but the masters fought hard against them. Then, the workmen combine, threaten to strike, enforce their demands in a more or less amicable manner. Wherever a strike occurs, the whole of the masters and their organs in pulpit, platform and press, break out into immoderate vituperation of the "impudence and stupidity" "of such *attempts at dictation.*" Now, what did the strikes prove, if not that the workmen preferred applying a mode of their own of testing the proportion of the supply to the demand rather than to

[a] A London street, centre of trade in spices and other goods brought from the colonies.— *Ed.*

trust to the interested assurances of their employers? Under certain circumstances, there is for the workman no other means of ascertaining whether he is or not paid to the actual market value of his labor,[249] but to strike or to threaten to do so. In 1852, on an average, the margin between the cost of the raw material and the price of the finished goods—for instance, the margin between the cost of raw cotton and that of yarn, between the price of yarn and that of cotton goods, was greater, consequently the profit of the spinner and the manufacturer was undoubtedly larger than it has been in 1853. Neither yarn nor goods have, until very lately, risen in the same proportion as cotton. Why, then, did the manufacturers not advance wages at once in 1852? There was no cause, they say, in the relative position of supply and demand justifying such a rise of wages in 1852. Indeed? Hands were not quite as short a year ago as they are now, but the difference is out of proportion to the sudden and repeated rise of wages forced out of the manufacturers since then, by virtue of the law of supply and demand, as expounded by turn-outs. There are, certainly, more factories at work than last year, and more able-bodied workmen have emigrated since then, but at the same time never has there been such a supply of factory labor poured into our "hives of industry" from agricultural and other pursuits, as during the last twelve months.

The fact is that the "hands," as usual, perceived only too late, that the value of their labor had risen 30 per cent. many a month ago, and then, in the summer of this year—only then—they began to strike, first for 10 per cent., then for another 10 per cent., and so on, for as much, of course, as they could get. The constant success of these strikes, while it generalized them all over the country, was the best proof of their legitimacy, and their rapid succession in the same branch of trade, by the same "hands" claiming fresh advances, fully proved that according to supply and demand the work-people had long been entitled to a rise of wages, which was merely kept from them on account of their being ignorant of the state of the labor market. When they at last became acquainted with it, the manufacturers, who had all the while preached "the eternal law of supply and demand," fell back on the doctrine of "enlightened despotism," claiming the right to do as they liked with their own, and propounding as their angry *ultimatum* that the work-people don't know what is good for them.

The change in the general commercial prospects must change the relative position of the work-people and their employers. Sudden as it came on, it found many strikes begun, still more in

preparation. No doubt, there will be more, in spite of the depression, and, also, for a rise of wages, for as to the argument of the manufacturer, that he cannot afford to advance, the workmen will reply, that provisions are dearer; both arguments being equally powerful. However, should, as I suppose, the depression prove lasting, the work-people will soon get the worst of it, and have to struggle—very unsuccessfully—against *reduction.* But then their activity will soon be carried over to the *political field,* and the *new organization of trades, gained in the strikes, will be of immense value to them.*

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Frederick Engels

## THE RUSSIANS IN TURKEY[250]

The certainty of war, and the probability that each steamer that now arrives from Europe will report the maneuvers of armies and the results of battles, render it more than ever necessary accurately to understand the respective positions and forces of the combatants, and the various facts which will govern the movements of the campaign. This necessity we propose to meet by a succinct analysis of the elements of offense and defense on both sides, and of the leading strategic considerations which are likely to have weight on the minds of the opposing commanders.

The Russian troops occupying the Danubian Principalities consisted, at the beginning, of two infantry corps and the usual amount of reserve cavalry and artillery. An infantry corps in Russia, counts three divisions, or six brigades of infantry, several regiments of light cavalry, and a brigade of artillery, which, altogether, should amount to about 55,000 men, with about a hundred guns. To every two infantry corps there is a "reserve cavalry corps" and some reserve artillery, including heavy siege artillery. Thus, the original army of occupation amounts, upon paper, to something like 125,000 men. A third infantry corps has since begun to cross the Pruth, and we may, therefore, after all due deductions, consider the Russian forces concentrated on the Danube to number from 140,000 to 150,000 fighting men. How many, in a given moment, may be able to rally around the standards, depends upon the sanitary condition of the district, the greater or less efficiency of the Russian commissariat, and other circumstances of a similar nature which it is impossible correctly to estimate at a distance.

From all the information at our command, the Turkish army opposed to the Russians on the Danube, may be estimated at the very outside, at 110,000 to 120,000 men. Before the arrival of the Egyptian contingent, it was generally asserted not to surpass 90,000 men. There is, then, as far as we can judge, an evident inferiority of numbers on the part of the Turks. And as to the intrinsic value and quality of either army, an equal superiority on the part of the Russians must be admitted. It is true that the Turkish artillery, formed by excellent French and Prussian officers, enjoys a high reputation, while the Russian gunners are notoriously poor marksmen; but in spite of all recent improvements, the Turkish infantry cannot be compared to Russian grenadiers, and Turkish horsemen still lack that discipline and steadiness in battle which will allow of a second and a third charge after the first has been repulsed.

The Generals, on both sides, are comparatively new men. The military merits of Prince Gorchakoff, the Russian commander, and the reasons why the Emperor appointed him to that post, we have already had occasion to state to our readers.[251] An honest man, and a zealous partisan of Russia's "manifest destiny," it yet remains to be seen whether he can conduct a campaign of such magnitude as that now opening. Omer Pasha, the Turkish Generalissimo, is better known, and what we know of him is generally favorable. His expeditions against Kurdistan and Montenegro were, the first successful under difficult circumstances; the second, exceedingly well planned, and certain of almost bloodless success, but for the interference of diplomacy.[252] The chief superiority, then, which can be found on the side of the Turks is, perhaps, that of generalship; in most other respects the Russians have the advantage.

Though the Turks have declared war, and are perhaps, more vehement in their disposition to come to blows than the Russians, it seems evident, that as the weaker party, they will find the greater advantage in defensive, and the Russians in offensive action. This of course excludes the chances which may arise from glaring mistakes in the arrangements of either General. If the Turks were strong enough for the offensive, their tactics would be plain. They would then have to deceive the Russians by false maneuvers on the upper Danube, concentrate their forces rapidly between Silistra and Orsova, cross the lower Danube, fall upon the enemy where his position is weakest, namely, at the narrow strip of land forming the frontier between Wallachia and Moldavia; and then separating the Russian troops in both

Principalities from each other, repel with concentrated forces the corps in Moldavia, and crush that which would find itself isolated and cut off in Wallachia. But as all the chances of an offensive movement are against the Turks, they could reasonably undertake a similar operation in consequence only of egregious blunders on the part of the Russian General.

If the Russians seize the opportunity for offensive action, they have two natural obstacles to pass before they penetrate to the heart of the Turkish Empire; first the Danube and then the Balkan. The passage of a large river, even in presence of a hostile army, is a military feat so often performed during the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, that every lieutenant now-a-days can tell how it is to be done. A few feigned movements, a well-appointed pontoon train, some batteries to cover the bridges, good measures for securing the retreat, and a brave vanguard, are about all the conditions required. But the crossing of a great mountain range, and especially one provided with so few passes and practicable roads as the Balkan, is a more serious operation. And when this mountain range runs parallel to the river, at a distance of no more than forty or sixty miles, as the Balkan does to the Danube, the matter becomes more serious still, as a corps defeated on the hills may, by active pursuit, be cut off from its bridges and thrown into the river before succor can arrive; an army, thus defeated in a great battle, would be inevitably lost. It is this proximity and parallel direction of the Danube and the Balkan which forms the natural military strength of Turkey. The Balkan, from the Macedo-Servian frontier to the Black Sea, that is the Balkan proper, "Veliki Balkan," has five passes, two of which are high roads, such as high roads are in Turkey. These two are the passes of Ikhtiman, on the road from Belgrade, through Sofia, Philippopolis and Adrianople to Constantinople, and of Dobrol, on the road from Silistra and Shumla. The other three, of which two are between the above and the third towards the Black Sea, may be considered as impracticable for a large army, with the impediments of war. They may give passage to smaller corps, perhaps even to light field artillery, but they cannot be made the lines of operation and of communication for the main body of the invaders.

In 1828 and 1829, the Russian forces operated upon the line from Silistra by Dobrol to Adrianople, Ainadjik, this route being the shortest and most direct from the Russian frontier to the Turkish Capital, offers itself as the most natural to any Russian army which comes from the north, is supported by a fleet in

undisputed possession of the Black Sea, and whose object is to bring matters to a speedy decision by a victorious march upon Constantinople. In order to pass by this road, a Russian army, after having passed the Danube, has to force a strong position flanked by the two fortresses of Shumla and Varna, to blockade or to take both of these fortresses, and then to pass the Balkan. In 1828, the Turks risked their main strength in this position. They were defeated at Kulevcha[253]; Varna and Shumla were taken, the defense of the Balkan was but feeble, and the Russians arrived at Adrianople, very much enfeebled, it is true, but yet having encountered no resistance, as the Turkish army was completely dissolved and not a brigade at hand for the defense of Constantinople. The Turks committed, on that occasion, a great mistake. A range of mountains, as every officer understands, must not be defended by a defensive position in front of it, nor by dividing the defending armies so as to block up all the passes; but by taking up a central position behind it, by observing all the passes, and when the enemy's intentions are clearly developed, by falling with concentrated forces upon the heads of his columns as they emerge from the various ravines of the mountain range. The strong position across the Russian line of operations between Varna and Shumla led the Turks to make that decisive stand there, which, with more concentrated strength and against an enemy necessarily weakened by sickness and detachments, they ought to have made in the plain of Adrianople.

Thus we see that in the defense of the line from Silistra to Adrianople the passage of the Danube ought to be defended without risking a decisive action. The second stand should be made *behind*, not *between*, Shumla and Varna, and no decisive action risked unless the chances of victory are *very great*. Retreat across the Balkan is the next step leaving the passes defended by detachments, capable of as much resistance as may appear advisable without bringing on a decisive engagement. In the meantime the Russians will weaken themselves by blockading the fortresses, and, if they follow their anterior practice, they will again take these fortresses by storm, and lose a great many men by the operation; for it is a curious fact, and characteristic of the Russian army, that up to the present time it has, unaided, *never been able to lay a regular siege*. The want of skilful engineers and artillerists, the impossibility of creating in a barbarous country large magazines of war, material for sieges, or even to carry across immense tracts of country whatever material may exist, have always driven the Russians to the necessity of carrying every

fortified place by assault after a short, violent, but seldom very effective cannonade. Thus Suwaroff took Ismail and Otchakov[254]; thus, in 1828 and 1829, the Turkish fortresses in Europe and Asia were stormed; and thus they carried Warsaw in 1831.[255] In either case the Russian army will arrive at the passes of the Balkan in a weakened condition, while the Turks have had time to concentrate their detachments from all sides. If the invaders are not repelled while attempting to cross the Balkan, by a dash of the whole Turkish army, the decisive battle may be fought under the walls of Adrianople, and then, if the Turks are defeated, they will at least have exhausted all the chances left them.

But a Russian victory at Adrianople can, under present circumstances, decide very little. The British and French fleets are at Constantinople, and in their teeth no Russian General can march upon that capital. The Russians, arrested at Adrianople, unable to rely on the support of their fleet, which itself would be menaced, would soon fall victims by thousands to disease, and have to retrace their steps beyond the Balkan. Thus, even in victory, they would be defeated as regards their great object in the war. There is, however, another line of operations which they may, perhaps, more advantageously take. It is indicated by the route which leads from Widin and Nikopolis, by way of Sofia, to Adrianople. Apart from political considerations, it would never enter the head of any sensible Russian General to follow this route. But so long as Russia can depend on Austria—so long as the approach of a Russian army to the Serbian frontier, combined with Russian intrigues in Serbia, may excite insurrectionary movements in that country, in Montenegro, and among the predominant Greco-Slavic population of Bosnia, Macedonia, and Bulgaria—so long as the crowning operation of a strictly military campaign, the taking of Constantinople, is out of the question, from the presence of a European fleet—so long this plan of campaign will be the only one which the Russians can adopt with much chance of success, and without forcing England and France to determined hostile action by too direct a march upon Constantinople.

It appears, indeed, from the present position of the Russian army, that something of this sort is projected. Its right wing has been extended to Krajova, near the western frontier of Wallachia, and a general shifting of its array toward the upper Danube has taken place. As this maneuver is entirely out of the line of operations by Silistra and Shumla, it can only have for its object to put the Russians in communication with Servia, the center of

Slavic nationality and Greek Catholicism in Turkey. A defensive position on the lower Danube, combined with an advance across the upper Danube toward Sofia, would be perfectly safe if supported by Austria, combined with a movement of the Turkish Slavonians in favor of national independence; and such a movement could not be more forcibly provoked than by a march of the Russian army into the very heart of the Slavonian population of Turkey. Thus, the Czar[a] will obtain far more easily and in a far less offensive manner what he has claimed throughout the controversy. This is the organization of all the Turkish Slavonians in distinct principalities, such as Moldavia, Wallachia and Servia now are. With Bulgaria, Montenegro and Macedonia under the nominal sovereignty of the Sultan[b] and the real protection of the Czar, Turkey in Europe would be confined to the environs of Constantinople and deprived of its nursery of soldiers, Albania. This would be a far better result for Russia than a decisive victory at Adrianople, followed by a dead stand of her armies. It is a result which appearances indicate that she is about to try for. Whether she is not mistaken in relying on the Slavonians of Turkey is a doubtful question, though there will be no cause of astonishment should they all declare against her.

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[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*
[b] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*

# KARL MARX

## LORD PALMERSTON[256]

Written in October-beginning of December, 1853

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# LORD PALMERSTON.

Written for the "New York Tribune," by Dr. MARX, and communicated by him to us.

FIRST ARTICLE.

RUGGIERO is again and again fascinated by the false charms of Alcine, which he knows to disguise an old witch—

Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything

and the knight-errant cannot withstand falling in love with her anew whom he knows to have transmuted all her former adorers into asses and other beasts. The English public is another Ruggiero, and Palmerston is another Alcine. Although a septuagenarian, and since 1847 occupying the public stage, almost without interruption, he contrives to remain a novelty, and to evoke all the hopes that used to centre on an untried and promising youth. With one foot in the grave, he is supposed not yet to have begun his true career. If he were to die to-morrow, all England would be surprised at learning that he has been a Secretary of State half this century.

If not a good statesman of all work, he is at least a good actor of all work. He succeeds in the comic as in the heroic—in pathos as in familiarity—in the tragedy as in the farce: although the latter may be more congenial to his feelings. He is no first class orator, but he is an accomplished debater. Possessed of a wonderful memory, of great experience, of a consummate tact, of a never-failing *presence d'esprit*, of a gentlemanlike versatility, of the most minute knowledge of parliamentary tricks, intrigues, parties, and men, he handles difficult cases in an admirable manner and with a pleasant volubility, sticking to the prejudices and susceptibilities of his public, secured from any surprise by his cynic impudence, from any self-confession by his selfish dexterity, from running into a passion by his profound frivolity, his perfect indifference, and his aristocratic contempt. Being an exceedingly happy joker, he ingratiates himself with everybody. Never losing his temper, he imposes on an impassioned antagonist. When unable to master a subject, he knows how to play with it. If wanting of general views, he is always ready to tissue elegant generalities.

Endowed with a restless and indefatigable spirit, he abhors inactivity, and pines for agitation, if not for action. A country like England allows him, of course, to busy himself in every corner of the earth. What he aims at is not the substance, but the mere appearance of success.

If he can do nothing, he will devise anything. Where he dares not interfere, he intermeddles. Not able to vie with a strong enemy, he improvises a weak one.

Being no man of deep designs, pondering on no combinations of long standing, pursuing no great object, he embarks in difficulties with a view to disentangle himself in a showy manner. He wants complications to feed his activity, and when he finds them not ready, he will create them. He exults in show-conflicts, show-battles, show enemies, diplomatical notes to be exchanged, ships to be ordered to sail, the whole movement ending for him in violent parliamentary debates, which are sure to prepare him an ephemeral success, the constant and the only object of all his exertions. He manages internal conflicts like an artist, driving matters to a certain point, retreating when they threaten to become serious, but having got, at all events, the dramatic excitement he wants. In his eyes, the movement of history itself is nothing but a pastime, expressly invented for the private satisfaction of the noble Viscount Palmerston of Palmerston.

Yielding to foreign influence in facts, he opposes it inwards. Having inherited from Canning England's mission to propagate Constitutionalism on the Continent, he i never in the act of piracy, while admitting that Denmark had evidenced no hostility whatever towards Great Britain, he contended that they were right in bombarding its capital and stealing its fleet, because they had to prevent Danish neutrality from being, perhaps, converted into open hostility by the compulsion of France. This was the new law of nations, proclaimed by my lord Palmerston.

When again speechifying, we find that English minister *par excellence*, engaged in the defence of foreign troops, called over from the continent to England, with the express mission of maintaining forcibly the oligarchic rule, to establish which William had, in 1688, come over from Holland, with his Dutch troops. Palmerston answered to the well-founded "apprehensions for the liberties of the country," originating from the presence of the King's German Legion, in a very flippant manner. Why should we not have 16,000 of those foreigners at home; while you know, that we employ "a far larger proportion of foreigners abroad." (House of Commons, March 10, 1812.)

When similar apprehensions for the constitution arose from the large standing army, maintained since 1815, he found "a sufficient protection of the constitution in the very constitution of our army," a large proportion of its officers being "men of property and connexions." (House of Commons, March 8, 1816.)

When the large standing army was attacked from a financial point of view, he made the curious discovery that "much of our financial embarrassments had been caused by our former low peace establishment." (House of Commons, March 8, 1816.)

When the "burders of the country," and the "misery of the people" were contrasted with the lavish military expenditure, he reminded parliament that these burdens and that misery "were the price which we (viz., the English oligarchy) agreed to pay for our freedom and independence." House of Commons, May 16, 1828.)

In his eyes, military despotism was not to be apprehended from the exertions of "those self-called, but misled Reformers, who demand that sort of reform in the country which, according to every first principle of government, must end, if it were acceded to, in a military despotism." (House of Commons, June 14, 1820.)

While large standing armies were thus his panacea for maintaining the constitution of the country, flogging was his panacea for maintaining the constitution of the army. He defended it in the debates on the Mutiny Bill, on the 5th of March, 1824, he declared it to be "absolutely indispensable" on March 11, 1825, he recommended it again on March 10, 1828; he stood by it in the debates of April, 1833, and he proved an amateur of flogging on every subsequent occasion.

There existed no abuse in the army, he did not find plausible reasons for, if it happened to foster the interests of aristocratic parasites. Thus, for instance, in the debates on the Sale of Commission. (House of Commons, March 12, 1828.)

Lord Palmerston likes to parade his constant exertions for the establishment of religious liberty. Now, he voted against Lord Russell's motion for the Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts. Why? Because he was "a warm and zealous friend to religious liberty," and could, therefore, not allow the Dissenters to be relieved from "imaginary grievances, while real afflictions pressed upon the Catholics." (House of Commons, Feb. 26, 1828.)

In proof of his zeal for religious liberty he informs us of his "regret to see the increasing numbers of the Dissenters. It is my wish that the Established Church should be the predomi-

Part of a page of *The People's Paper* with the first article of Marx's series *Lord Palmerston*

# FIRST ARTICLE[a]

[*The People's Paper*, No. 77, October 22, 1853]

*Ruggiero* is again and again fascinated by the false charms of Alcina, which he knows to disguise an old witch—

> Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything,[b]

and the knight-errant cannot withstand falling in love with her anew whom he knows to have transmuted all her former adorers into asses and other beasts. The English public is another Ruggiero, and Palmerston is another Alcina. Although a septuagenarian, and since 1807 occupying the public stage, almost without interruption, he contrives to remain a novelty, and to evoke all the hopes that used to centre on an untried and promising youth. With one foot in the grave, he is supposed not yet to have begun his true career. If he were to die to-morrow, all England would be surprised at learning that he has been a Secretary of State half this century.

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[a] The article published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on October 19, 1853 began as follows: "The Eastern complications have worked a great change in England, if not as to parties, at least as to the men at the head of parties. Lord Palmerston has again become a popular favorite. He is in everybody's mouth, he is the only man to save England, he is confidently announced as the indispensable Premier of any modified Cabinet, extolled alike by the Tories, the Whigs, the self-styled patriots, the press, and public opinion in general.

"So extraordinary a phenomenon is the Palmerston mania that one is tempted to suppose it to be of a merely fictitious character, got up not for home consumption, but as an article of export, destined for foreign use. This, however, would be a mistake."—*Ed.*

[b] Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, Act II, Scene 7. Ruggiero and Alcina are characters from Ariosto's poem *L'Orlando furioso*.—*Ed.*

work. He succeeds in the comic as in the heroic—in pathos as in familiarity—in the tragedy as in the farce: although the latter may be more congenial to his feelings. He is no first class orator, but he is an accomplished debater. Possessed of a wonderful memory, of great experience, of a consummate tact, of a never-failing *présence d'esprit*,[a] of a gentlemanlike versatility,[b] of the most minute knowledge of parliamentary tricks, intrigues, parties, and men, he handles difficult cases in an admirable manner and with a pleasant volubility, sticking to the prejudices and susceptibilities of his public, secured from any surprise by his cynic impudence, from any self-confession by his selfish dexterity, from running into a passion by his profound frivolity, his perfect indifference, and his aristocratic contempt. Being an exceedingly happy joker, he ingratiates himself with everybody. Never losing his temper, he imposes on an impassioned antagonist. When unable to master a subject, he knows how to play with it. If wanting of general views, he is always ready to tissue elegant generalities.

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[a] Presence of mind.—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has "variety of talent" instead of "versatility".—*Ed.*

[c] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has "international".—*Ed.*

invented for the private satisfaction of the noble Viscount Palmerston of Palmerston.[a]

Yielding to foreign influence in facts, he opposes it in words. Having inherited from Canning England's mission to propagate Constitutionalism on the Continent, he is never in need of a theme to pique the national prejudices, and to counteract revolution abroad, and, at the same time, to hold awake the suspicious jealousy of foreign powers. Having succeeded in this easy manner to become the *bête noire* of the continental courts, he could not fail in being set up as the truly English minister at home. Although a Tory by origin, he has contrived to introduce into the management of foreign affairs all the shams and contradictions that form the essence of Whiggism. He knows how to conciliate a democratic phraseology with oligarchic views,[b] how to cover the peacemongering policy of the middle classes with the haughty language of England's aristocratic past—how to appear as the aggressor where he connives, and as the defender where he betrays—how to manage an apparent enemy, and how to exasperate a pretendant ally—how to find himself, at the opportune moment of the dispute, on the side of the stronger against the weak, and how to utter brave words in the act of running away.

Accused by the one party of being in the pay of Russia, he is suspected by the other of Carbonarism.[257] If, in 1848, he had to defend himself against the motion of impeachment for having acted as the minister of Nicholas, he had, in 1850, the satisfaction of being persecuted by a conspiracy of foreign ambassadors, which was successful in the House of Lords, but baffled in the House of Commons.[258] If he betrayed foreign peoples, he did it with great politeness—politeness being the small coin of the devil, which he gives in change for the life-blood of his dupes. If the oppressors were always sure of his active support, the oppressed did never want a great ostentation of his rhetorical generosity. Poles, Italians, Hungarians, Germans, found him in office, whenever they were crushed, but their despots always suspected him of secret conspiracy

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[a] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* the phrase "the private satisfaction of" is omitted and this sentence is followed by the text: "He is a great sample of that species designated by Thomas Carlyle as the sham captains of the world."—*Ed.*

[b] In the *New-York Daily Tribune*: "He knows how to conciliate a large phraseology with narrow views."—*Ed.*

with the victims they had allowed him to make. Till now, in all instances, it was a probable chance of success to have him for one's adversary, and a sure chance of ruin to have him for one's friend. But, if this art of diplomacy does not shine in the actual results of his foreign negotiations, it shines the more brilliantly in the construction he induced the English people to lay upon them, by accepting phrases for facts, phantasies for realities, and high-sounding pretexts for shabby motives.

Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston, deriving his title from a peerage of Ireland, was nominated Lord of the Admiralty in 1807, on the formation of the Duke of Portland's Administration. In 1809, he became Secretary of War, and he continued to hold this office till May, 1828. In 1830 he went over, very skilfully too, to the Whigs, who made him their permanent Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Excepting the intervals of Tory administration, from November 1834 to April 1835, and from 1841 to 1846, he is responsible for the whole foreign policy England has pursued from the revolution of 1830 to December 1851.

Is it not a very curious thing to find, at first view, that Quixote of "free institutions," and that Pindarus of the "glories of the constitutional system," a permanent and an eminent member of the Tory administrations of Mr. Perceval, the Earl of Liverpool, Mr. Canning, Lord Goderich, and the Duke of Wellington, during the long epoch of the Anti-Jacobin war carried on, the monster-debt contracted, the Corn Laws promulgated,[259] foreign mercenaries stationed on the English soil,[260] the people—to borrow an expression from his colleague, Lord Sidmouth,[a]—"bled," from time to time, the press gagged, meetings suppressed, the mass of the nation disarmed, individual liberty suspended together with regular jurisdiction, the whole country placed as it were in a state of siege—in one word, during the most infamous and most reactionary epoch of English history?

His *debut* in parliamentary life is a characteristic one. On February 3, 1808, he rose to defend—what?—secrecy in the working of diplomacy, and the most disgraceful act ever committed by one nation against another nation, viz., the bombardment of Copenhagen, and the capture of the Danish fleet, at the time when England professed to be in profound peace with Denmark.[261] As to the former point, he stated that,

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[a] The phrase "to borrow an expression from his colleague, Lord Sidmouth" is omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

"In this particular case, his Majesty's Ministers are pledged" (by whom?) "to secrecy;" but he went farther[a]: "I also object generally to making public the working of diplomacy, because it is the tendency of disclosures in that department to shut up future sources of information."

Vidocq would have defended the identical cause in the identical terms. As to the act of piracy, while admitting that Denmark had evidenced no hostility whatever towards Great Britain, he contended that they were right in bombarding its capital and stealing its fleet, because they had to prevent Danish neutrality from being, perhaps, converted into open hostility by the compulsion of France. This was the new law of nations, proclaimed by my lord Palmerston.

When again speechifying, we find that English minister *par excellence*, engaged in the defence of foreign troops, called over from the Continent to England, with the express mission of maintaining forcibly the oligarchic rule, to establish which William had, in 1688, come over from Holland with his Dutch troops. Palmerston answered to the well-founded "apprehensions for the liberties of the country," originating from the presence of the King's German Legion, in a very flippant manner. Why should we not have 16,000 of those foreigners at home; while you know, that we employ "a far larger proportion of foreigners abroad." (House of Commons, March 10, 1812.)

When similar apprehensions for the constitution[b] arose from the large standing army, maintained since 1815, he found "a sufficient protection of the constitution in the very constitution of our army," a large proportion of its officers being "men of property and connexions." (House of Commons, March 8, 1816.)

When the large standing army was attacked from a financial point of view, he made the curious discovery that "much of our financial embarrassments had been caused by our former low peace establishment." (House of Commons, April 25, 1816.)

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[a] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* the end of the quotation and the following sentence are given as follows: "...his Majesty's Ministers 'are pledged to security,' but he improved on this statement".—*Ed.*

[b] The phrase "for the constitution" is omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

[c] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* in this article on Palmerston and in the following articles, there are, as a rule, no references to the House sittings.—*Ed.*

for our freedom and independence." (House of Commons, May 16, 1820.)

In his eyes, military despotism was not to be apprehended from the exertions of

"those self-called, but misled Reformers, who demand that sort of reform in the country which, according to every first principle of government, must end, if it were acceded to, in a military despotism." (House of Commons, June 14, 1820.)

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There existed no abuse in the army, he did not find plausible reasons for, if it happened to foster the interests of aristocratic parasites. Thus, for instance, in the debates on the Sale of Commission. (House of Commons, March 12, 1828.)

Lord Palmerston likes to parade his constant exertions for the establishment of religious liberty. Now, he voted against Lord Russell's motion for the Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts.[263] Why? Because he was "a warm and zealous friend to religious liberty," and could, therefore, not allow the Dissenters[264] to be relieved from "imaginary grievances, while real afflictions pressed upon the Catholics." (House of Commons, Feb. 26, 1828.)

In proof of his zeal for religious liberty he informs us of his "regret to see the increasing numbers of the Dissenters. It is my wish that the Established Church should be the predominant Church in this country," and it is his wish "that the Established Church should be fed at the expense of the misbelievers." His jocose lordship accuses the rich Dissenters of affording churches for the poor ones,[b] while

"with the Church of England it is the poor alone who feel the want of Church accommodation.... It would be preposterous to say, that the poor ought to subscribe for churches out of their small earnings." (House of Commons, April 9, 1824.)

It would be, of course, more preposterous yet to say, that the rich members of the Established Church ought to subscribe for the church out of their large earnings.

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[a] In the *New-York Daily Tribune*: "corporal punishment and flogging".—*Ed.*

[b] In the *New-York Daily Tribune*: "of satisfying the ecclesiastical wants of the poorer ones".—*Ed.*

Let us now look at his exertions for Catholic Emancipation,[265] one of his great "claims" on the gratitude of the Irish people. I shall not dwell upon the circumstances, that, having declared himself for Catholic Emancipation, when a member of the Canning Ministry, he entered, nevertheless, the Wellington Ministry, avowedly hostile to that emancipation. Perhaps Lord Palmerston considered religious liberty as one of the Rights of Man, not to be intermeddled with by Legislature. He may answer for himself,

"Although I wish the Catholic claims to be considered, I never will admit those claims to stand upon the ground of right.... If I thought the Catholics were asking for their right, I, for one, would not go into the committee." (House of Commons, March 1, 1813.)

And why is he opposed to their asking their right?

"Because the Legislature of a country has the right to impose such political disabilities upon any class of the community, as it may deem necessary for the safety and the welfare of the whole.... This belongs to the fundamental principles on which civilised government is founded." (House of Commons, March 1, 1813.)

There you have the most cynic confession ever made, that the mass of the people have no rights at all, but that they may be allowed that amount of immunities, the Legislature—or, in other words, the ruling class—may deem fit to grant them. Accordingly, Lord Palmerston declared in plain words, "Catholic Emancipation to be a measure of grace and favour." (House of Commons, Feb. 10, 1829.)

It was then entirely upon the ground of expediency that he condescended to discontinue the Catholic disabilities. And what was lurking behind this expediency?

Being himself one of the great Irish proprietors, he wanted to entertain the delusion, that other remedies for Irish evils than Catholic Emancipation are impossible, that it would cure absenteeism,[266] and prove a substitute for Poor Laws.—(House of Commons, March 18, 1829.)

The great philanthropist, who afterwards cleared his Irish estates of their Irish natives, could not allow Irish misery to darken, even for a moment, with its inauspicious clouds, the bright sky of the landlords and moneylords.[a]

"It is true," he said, "that the peasantry of Ireland do not enjoy all the comforts which are enjoyed by all the peasantry of England" (only think of all the

[a] In the *New-York Daily Tribune*: "the bright sky over the Parliament of landlords and moneylords."—*Ed.*

comforts enjoyed by a family at the rate of 7s. a week). Still, he continues, "still however, the Irish peasant has his comforts.... He is well supplied with fuel, and is seldom" (only four days out of six), "at a loss for food."

What a comfort![a] But this is not all the comfort he has—"he has a greater cheerfulness of mind than his English fellow sufferer!"—(House of Commons, May 7, 1829.)

As to the extortions of Irish landlords, he deals with them in as pleasant a way as with the comforts of the Irish peasantry.

It is said that the Irish landlord insists on the highest possible rent that can be extorted. Why Sir, I believe that is not a singular circumstance; certainly in England the landlord does the same thing.—(House of Commons, May 7, 1829.)

Are we then to be surprised that the man, so deeply interested in the mysteries of the "glories of the English constitution," and the "comforts of her free institutions," should aspire at spreading them all over the Continent?

## SECOND ARTICLE

[*The People's Paper*, No. 78, October 29, 1853]

When the Reform Movement[267] had grown irresistible, Lord Palmerston deserted the Tories, and slipped into the Whiggery camp. Although he had apprehended the danger of military despotism springing up, not from the presence of the King's German legion on the English soil, nor from keeping large standing armies, but only from the "self-called Reformers," he patronised, nevertheless,[b] already in 1828, the extension of the franchise to such large industrial places as Birmingham, Leeds, and Manchester. But why?

"Not because I am a friend to Reform in principle, but because I am its decided enemy."

He had persuaded himself that some timely concessions made to the overgrown manufacturing interest[c] might be the surest means

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[a] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* this sentence is omitted.—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* of October 19, 1853 has the beginning of this passage as follows: "It is known that, when the Reform-movement had grown irresistible, Lord Palmerston deserted the camp of the Tories, and skilfully effected his junction with the Whigs. We have seen that he once apprehended danger of military despotism from the demands of the self-called Reformers. Nevertheless...."—*Ed.*

[c] The *New-York Daily Tribune* gives "factory-kings" instead of "manufacturing interest".—*Ed.*

of escaping "the introduction of general reform." (House of Commons, June 27th, 1828.) Once allied with the Whigs, he did not even pretend that the Reform Bill aimed at breaking through the narrow trammels of the Venetian Constitution; but, on the contrary, at the increase of its strength and solidity, by disjoining the middle classes from the people's opposition.

"The feelings of the middle classes will be changed, and their dissatisfaction will be converted into that attachment to the constitution, which will give to it a vast increase of strength and solidity."

He consoled the peers with the prospect of the Reform Bill not really endangering the "influence of the House of Lords," and their "interfering in elections." He told the aristocracy that the constitution was not to lose its feudal character, "the landed interest being the great foundation upon which rests the fabric of society, and the institutions of the country." He allayed their fears by throwing out the ironical hint that "we have been charged with not being in earnest or sincere in our desire to give to the people a real representation," that "it was said, we only proposed to give a different kind of influence to the aristocracy and the landed interest." He went even as far as to own that, besides the inevitable concession to be made to the middle classes, "disfranchisement," viz., the disfranchisement of the old Tory rotten boroughs for the benefit of new Whig boroughs, "was the chief and leading principle of the Reform Bill."[a] (House of Commons, March 24th, 1831, and May 14, 1832.)

It is now time to return to the performances of the noble lord in the foreign branch of policy[b]:

In 1823, when, consequent on the resolutions of the Congress of Verona,[268] a French army was marched into Spain, in order to overturn the constitution of that country, and to deliver it up to the merciless revenge of the Bourbon idiot[c] and his suite of bigot monks, Lord Palmerston disclaimed any "Quixotic crusades for abstract principles," any intervention in "favour of the people," whose heroic resistance had saved England from the sway of Napoleon. The words he addressed on that occasion to his Whig

[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune*, instead of "viz., the disfranchisement of the old Tory rotten boroughs for the benefit of new Whig boroughs", has: "that is to say, a new kind of distribution of rotten boroughs between the Tory Aristocrats and the Whig Aristocrats was the chief and leading principle of the Reform Bill".—*Ed.*

[b] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* this sentence ends as follows: "during the Tory period of his life".—*Ed.*

[c] Ferdinand VII.—*Ed.*

adversaries are a lively and true picture of his own foreign policy, after he had turned himself into the permanent Minister of Foreign Affairs for those who then were his opponents. He said,

"Some would have had us use threats in negotiation, without being prepared to go to war, if negotiation failed.[...] To have talked of war, and to have meant neutrality; to have threatened an army, and to have retreated behind a state paper; to have brandished the sword of defiance in the hour of deliberation, and to have ended in a penful of protests on the day of battle, would have been the conduct of a cowardly bully, and would have made us the object of contempt, and the laughing-stock of Europe."—(House of Commons, April 30, 1823.)

At last, we arrive at the Greco-Turkish debates, affording to Lord Palmerston the first opportunity for displaying his unrivalled talents, as the unflinching and persevering advocate of Russian interests, in the Cabinet and in the House of Commons. One by one, he re-echoed all the watch-words given out by Russia of Turkish cruelty, Greek civilisation, religious liberty, Christianity, and so forth. At first, we meet him repudiating, in his ministerial capacity,[a] any intention of passing "a censure" upon the meritorious conduct "of Admiral Codrington," which had caused the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino,[269] although he admits that "this battle took place against a power with which we are not at war," and that it was "an untoward event."—(House of Commons, January 31, 1828.)

Then, having retired from office, he opens the long series of his attacks upon Aberdeen, by reproaching him with having been too slow in executing the orders of Russia.[b]

"Has there been much more energy and promptitude in fulfilling our engagements to Greece? [...] July, 1829, is coming fast upon us, and the treaty of July, 1827,[270] is still unexecuted.... The Morea, indeed, has been cleared of the Turks.... But why were the arms of France checked at the Isthmus of Corinth?... The narrow policy of England stepped in, and arrested her progress.... But why do not the allies deal with the country north of the Isthmus, as they have done with that of the south, and occupy at once all that which must be assigned to Greece? I should have thought that the allies had had enough of negotiating with Turkey about Greece."—(House of Commons, June 1, 1829.)

Prince Metternich was, as is generally known, at that time opposing the encroachments of Russia, and accordingly her diplomatic agents—I remind you of the despatches of Pozzo di Borgo and Prince Lieven—had been advised to represent Austria as the great enemy of Grecian emancipation and of European civilisation, the

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[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "as the Minister of War".—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "the Czar's orders".—*Ed.*

furtherance of which was the exclusive object of Russian diplomacy.[a] The noble lord follows, of course, in the beaten track.

"By the narrowness of her views, the unfortunate prejudices of her policy, Austria almost reduced herself to the level of a second-rate power;" and consequent on the temporising policy of Aberdeen, England is represented as "the key-stone of that arch of which Miguel, Spain, Austria, and Mahmud are the component parts.... People see in the delay in executing the treaty of July not so much fear of Turkish resistance as inevitable[b] repugnance to Grecian freedom."—(House of Commons, June 1, 1829.)

Again he assails Aberdeen because of his anti-Russian diplomacy[c]:

"I, for one, shall not be satisfied with a number of despatches from the government of England, which will no doubt read well and smooth enough, urging, in general terms, the propriety of conciliating Russia, but accompanied, perhaps, by strong expressions of the regard which England bore to Turkey, which, when read by an interested party, might easily appear to mean more than was really intended.... I should like to see that, whilst England adopted a firm resolution—almost the only course she could adopt—upon no consideration and in no event to take part with Turkey in that war—that that decision was fairly and frankly communicated to Turkey.... There are three most merciless things—time, fire, and the Sultan."—(House of Commons, Feb. 16, 1830.)

Arrived at this point, I must recall to memory some few historical facts, in order to leave no doubt about the meaning of the noble Lord's philo-Hellenic feelings.[d]

Russia, having seized upon Gokcha, a strip of land bordering on the Lake of Sevan, which was an indisputed possession of Persia, demanded as the price of its evacuation the abandonment of Persia's claims to another portion of her own territory, the lands of Kapan. Persia not yielding, she was overrun, vanquished, and forced to subscribe to the treaty of Turkmanchai,[271] in February, 1828. According to this treaty Persia had to pay an indemnity of

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[a] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* this sentence ends as follows: "to denounce Austria, as the stupid ally of the Sultan".—*Ed.*

[b] "Invincible" according to G. H. Francis' *Opinions and Policy of the Right Honourable Viscount Palmerston*, London, 1852.—*Ed.*

[c] Instead of "Again he assails Aberdeen because of his anti-Russian diplomacy", the *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "For half a century one phrase has stood as a barrier between Russia and Constantinople—the phrase of the integrity of the Turkish Empire being necessary to the balance of power. 'I object,' exclaims Palmerston on Feb. 5, 1830, 'to the policy of making the integrity of the Turkish dominion in Europe an object essentially necessary to the interests of Christian and civilized Europe.' Again he returns to attack Aberdeen."—*Ed.*

[d] The end of the sentence beginning with "in order to leave no doubt" is omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

two millions sterling to Russia, to cede the provinces of Erivan and Nakhichevan, including the fortresses of Erivan and Abbasabad, the exclusive purpose of this arrangement being, as Nicholas stated, to define the common frontier by the Araxes, the only means, he said, of preventing any future dispute of the two empires, although he refused simultaneously to give back Talish and Moghau, which are situated on the Persian bank of the Araxes. Finally, Persia pledged herself to maintaining no navy on the Caspian Sea. Such were the origin and the results of the Russo-Persian war.

As to the religion and the liberty of Greece, Russia cared at that epoch as much about them as the god of the Russians cares now about the key of the "Holy Sepulchre" and the famous "Cupola."[272] It was the traditionary policy of Russia, to excite the Greeks to revolt, and, then, to abandon them to the revenge of the Sultan. So deep was her sympathy for the regeneration of Hellas, that she treated them as rebels at the congress of Verona, acknowledging the right of the Sultan to exclude all foreign intervention between himself and his Christian subjects. Yea, the Czar[a] offered "to aid the Porte in suppressing the rebellion;" a proposition which was, of course, rejected. Having failed in that attempt, he turned round upon the Great Powers with the opposite proposition, "To march an army into Turkey, for the purpose of dictating peace under the walls of the Seraglio." In order to hold his hands bound by a sort of common action, the other Great Powers concluded a treaty with him at London, July 6, 1827, by which they mutually engaged in enforcing, if need be, by arms, the adjustment of the differences between the Sultan and the Greeks. A few months before she had signed that treaty, Russia concluded another treaty with Turkey, the treaty of Akerman,[273] by which she bound herself to renounce all interference with Grecian affairs. This treaty was brought about, after Russia had induced the crown prince of Persia to invade the Ottoman dominions, and after she had inflicted the greatest injuries on the Porte, in order to drive her to a rupture. After all this had passed, the resolutions of the London treaty of July 6, 1827, were presented to the Porte by the English Ambassador,[b] or in the name of Russia and the other Powers. By virtue of the complications resulting from these frauds and lies, Russia found at last the pretext for beginning the war of 1828 and 1829. That war

[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*
[b] Stratford de Redcliffe.—*Ed.*

terminated with the treaty of Adrianople,[274] whose contents are resumed in the following quotations from McNeill's celebrated pamphlet on the *Progress of Russia in the East*:

"By the treaty of Adrianople the Czar acquired Anapa and Poti with a considerable extent of coast on the Black Sea, a portion of the Pashalik of Akhalzikh, with the fortresses of Akhalkalaki and Akhalzikh, the islands formed by the mouths of the Danube, the stipulated destruction of the Turkish fortress of Giurgevo, and the abandonment by Turkey of the right bank of the Danube to the distance of several miles from the river.... Partly by force, and partly by the influence of the priesthood, many thousand families of the Armenians were removed from the Turkish provinces in Asia to the Czar's territories.... He established for his own subjects in Turkey an exception from all responsibility to the national authorities, and burdened the Porte with an immense debt, under the name of expenses for the war and for commercial losses—and, finally, retained Moldavia, Wallachia, and Silistra, in pledge for the payment.... Having by this treaty imposed upon Turkey the acceptance of the protocol of March 22, which secured the suzerainty of Greece, and a yearly tribute from that country, Russia used all her influence to procure the independence of Greece, which was erected into an independent state, of which Count Capo d'Istria, who had been a Russian Minister, was named President." (Pp. 105-07.)

Such are the facts. Now look at the picture drawn of them by Lord Palmerston's hand[a]:

"It is perfectly true that the war between Russia and Turkey arose out of aggressions made by Turkey on the commerce and rights of Russia, and violations of treaties."—(House of Commons, Feb. 16, 1830.)

When the Whig-incarnation of the office of Foreign Affairs, he improved on this statement:

"The honourable and gallant member" (Col. Evans) "has represented the conduct of Russia as one of unvarying aggression upon other States from 1815 to the present time. He adverted more particularly to the wars of Russia with Persia and Turkey. Russia was the aggressor in neither of them, and although the result of the Persian war was an aggrandisement of her power, it was not the result of her own seeking.... Again, in the Turkish war, Russia was not the aggressor. It would be fatiguing to the house to detail all the provocations Turkey offered to Russia; but I believe there cannot be a doubt that she expelled Russian subjects from her territory, detained Russian ships, and violated all the provisions of the treaty of Akerman, and then, upon complaint being made, denied redress—so that, if there ever was a just ground for going to war, Russia had it for going to war with Turkey. She did not, however, on any occasion, acquire any increase of territory, at least in Europe. I know there was a continued occupation of certain points" [Moldavia and Wallachia are only points, and the mouths of the Danube are mere zeros] "and some additional acquisitions on the Euxine in Asia; but she

[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* erroneously adds: "in a speech in the House of Commons on Aug. 7, 1832".—*Ed.*

had an agreement with the other European powers that success in that war should not lead to any aggrandisement in Europe."—(House of Commons, Aug. 7, 1832.)

Your readers will now understand Sir Robert Peel's telling the noble lord, in a public session of the house,[a] that "he did not know whose representative he was."[275]

## THIRD ARTICLE[b]

[*The People's Paper*, No. 79, November 5, 1853]

The noble viscount is generally known as the chivalrous protector of the Poles, and never fails to give vent to his painful feelings with regard to Poland before the deputations that wait upon him once every year by "dear, dully, deadly" Dudley Stuart,[c]

"a worthy who makes speeches, passes resolutions, votes addresses, goes up with deputations, has at all times the necessary quantity of confidence in the necessary individual, and can, also, if necessary, give three cheers for the Queen."

The Poles had been in arms for about a month when the noble lord came into office, in November, 1830. As early as August 8th, 1831, Mr. Hunt presents to the House of Commons a petition from the Westminster Union, in favour of the Poles, and "for the dismissal of Lord Palmerston from his Majesty's councils." Mr. Hume stated on the same day he concluded from the silence of the noble lord that the government "intended to do nothing for the Poles, but allow them to remain at the mercy of Russia." Lord Palmerston replied that, "whatever obligations existing treaties

[a] On February 16, 1830.—*Ed.*

[b] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* of November 4, 1853, and also in the pamphlet *Palmerston and Russia*, published on the basis of the newspaper text in London in 1853, the article begins as follows: "At a recent meeting in London, to protest against the action of the British Ministry, in the present controversy between Russia and Turkey, a gentleman who presumed to find special fault with Lord *Palmerston*, was saluted and silenced by a storm of indignant hisses. The meeting evidently thought that if Russia had a friend in the Ministry it was not the noble Viscount, and would no doubt have rent the air with cheers, had some one been able to announce that his Lordship had become Prime Minister. This astonishing confidence in a man so false and hollow, is another proof of the ease with which people may be imposed on by brilliant abilities, and a new evidence of the necessity of taking off the mask from this wily enemy to the progress of human freedom. Accordingly, with the history of the last twenty-five years, and the debates of Parliament for guides, we proceed with the task of exposing the real part which this accomplished actor has performed in the drama of modern Europe."—*Ed.*

[c] The *New-York Daily Tribune* adds: "who has been described by one, not too friendly or too just to his Lordship, as 'a worthy...'".—*Ed.*

imposed, would at all times receive the attention of the government." Now, what sort of obligation was there imposed in his opinion upon England by existing treaties?

"The claims of Russia," he tells us himself, "to the possession of Poland bear the date of the treaty of Vienna."—(House of Commons, July 9, 1833.)

And that treaty makes this possession dependent upon the observance of the Polish constitution by the Czar, but

"the mere fact of this country being a party to the treaty of Vienna, was not synonymous with our guaranteeing that there would be no infraction of that treaty by Russia."—(House of Commons, March 25, 1834.)

If you guarantee a treaty, you do by no means guarantee the observance of the treaty. Thus answered the Milanese to the Emperor Barbarossa: "You have had our oath, but remember we did not swear to keep it."[276]

For one thing, however, the treaty of Vienna is good. It gives to the British government, as one of the contracting parties,

"a right to entertain and express an opinion on any act which [...] tends to a violation of that treaty.... The contracting parties to the treaties of Vienna had a right to require that the constitution of Poland should not be touched, and this was an opinion which I have not concealed from the Russian government. I communicated it *by anticipation* to that government previous to the taking of Warsaw, and before the result of hostilities was known. I communicated it again when Warsaw fell. [...] The Russian government, however, took a different view of the question."—(House of Commons, July 9, 1833.)

He is quietly anticipating the downfall of Poland, and watches this opportunity for expressing and entertaining an opinion on certain articles of the treaty of Vienna, persuaded as he is that the magnanimous Czar waits only for having crushed the Polish people by armed force, in order to honour a constitution trampled upon when they were yet possessed of unbounded means of resistance. Simultaneously the noble lord charges the Poles with having "taken the uncalled for, and, in his opinion, *unjustifiable* steps of the [...] dethronement of the Emperor."—(House of Commons, July 9, 1833).

"He could also say that the Poles were the aggressors, for they commenced the contest."—(House of Commons, August 7, 1832.)

When the apprehensions for the extinction of Poland became troublesome, he declared that

"to exterminate Poland, either *morally or politically*, is so perfectly impracticable that I think there need be no apprehension of its being attempted."—(House of Commons, June 28, 1832.)

When reminded afterwards of the wayward expectations thus held out, he assures that he had been misunderstood, that he had said so not in the political but in the Pickwickian sense of the word, meaning that the Emperor of Russia was unable

"to exterminate *nominally or physically* so many millions of men as the Polish kingdom in its divided state contained."—(House of Commons, April 20, 1836.)

When the house makes a pretence of interfering during the struggle of the Poles,[a] he appeals to his ministerial responsibility. When the thing is done, he coolly tells them that

"no vote of this house would have the slightest effect in reversing the decision of Russia."—(House of Commons, July 9, 1833.)

When the atrocities committed by the Russians, after the fall of Warsaw, are denounced, he recommends to the house great tenderness towards the Emperor of Russia, declaring that

"no person could regret more than he did—the expressions which had been uttered" (House of Commons, June 28, 1832), that "the present Emperor of Russia was a man of high and generous feelings"—that "where cases of undue severity on the part of the Russian government to the Poles have occurred, we may set this down as a proof that the power of the Emperor of Russia is practically omitted, and we may take it for granted that the Emperor has, in those instances, yielded to the influence of others, rather than follow the dictates of his spontaneous feelings."—(House of Commons, July 9, 1833.)

When the doom of Poland was sealed on the one hand, and on the other the dissolution of the Turkish Empire became imminent, from the rebellion of Mehemet Ali,[b] he assured the house that "affairs in general were proceeding in a satisfactory train."—(House of Commons, January 26, 1832.)

A resolution for granting subsidies to the Polish refugees having been moved, it is

"exceedingly painful to him to oppose the grant of any money to those individuals which the natural and spontaneous feelings of every generous man would lead him to acquiesce in; [...] but, [...] it is [...] not consistent with his duty [...] to propose any grant of money to those unfortunate persons."—(House of Commons, March 25, 1834.)

The same tender-hearted man had defrayed, as we shall see by and by, the cost of Poland's fall, to a great extent, out of the pockets of the British people.

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[a] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* this sentence begins as follows: "When the house threatened to interfere during the struggle in favor of the Poles...."—*Ed.*

[b] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* this sentence begins as follows: "When on the one side the utter ruin of Poland was secured, and on the other the dissolution of the Turkish Empire became imminent from the progress of Ibrahim Pasha...."—*Ed.*

The noble lord has taken good care to withhold all state papers on the Polish catastrophe from the parliament. But statements made in the House of Commons, which he did never as much as attempt to controvert, leave no doubt as to the game he played at that fatal epoch.

After the Polish revolution had broken out, the Consul of Austria did not quit Warsaw, and the Austrian government went so far as to send a Polish agent, M. Walewski, to Paris, with the missions of negotiating with the governments of France and England about the re-establishment of a Polish kingdom. The Court of the Tuileries declared "it was ready to join England in case of her consenting to the project." Lord Palmerston rejected the offer. In 1831 M. de Talleyrand, the Ambassador of France, at the Court of St. James, proposed a plan of combined action on the part of France and England, but met with a distinct refusal, and with a note from the noble lord, stating that

"an amicable intermediation on the Polish question would be declined by Russia. The powers had just declined a similar offer on the part of France; the intervention of the two Courts of France and England could only be by force in case of a refusal on the part of Russia, and the amicable and satisfactory relations between the Cabinet of St. James and the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, would not allow his British Majesty[a] to undertake such an interference. The time was *not yet* come to undertake such a play with success against the will of a sovereign, whose *rights were indisputable.*"

This was not all.[b] On February 23, 1848, Mr. Anstey made the following declaration in the House of Commons:

"Sweden was arming her fleet for the purpose of making diversion in favour of Poland, and of regaining to herself the provinces in the Baltic, which have been so unjustly wrested from her in the last war. The noble lord instructed our ambassador at the Court of Stockholm, in a contrary sense, and Sweden discontinued her armaments. The Persian Court [...] had, with similar purpose, despatched an army three days on its march towards the Russian frontier, under the [...] command of the Persian Crown prince. [...] The Secretary of Legation at the Court of Teheran, Sir John McNeill followed the prince, at a distance of three days' march from his headquarters, overtook him, and there, under instructions from the noble lord, and in the name of England, threatened Persia with war if the prince advanced another step towards the Russian frontier. Similar inducements were used by the noble lord to prevent Turkey from renewing war on her side."

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[a] William IV.—*Ed.*

[b] The text beginning with the words "This was not all", and ending with the quotation from Knight's speech in the House of Commons on July 13, 1840, is omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune.*—*Ed.*

To Colonel Evans asking for the production of papers with regard to Prussia's violation of her pretended neutrality in the Russo-Polish war, the noble lord objected,

"that the ministers of this country could not have witnessed that contest without the deepest regret, and [...] it would be most satisfactory for them to see it terminated."—(House of Commons, August 16, 1831.)

Certainly he wished to see it terminated as soon as possible, and Prussia shared in his feelings.

On a subsequent occasion, Mr. H. Gally Knight thus resumed the whole proceedings of the noble lord with regard to the Polish insurrection—

"There is something *curiously inconsistent* in the proceedings of the noble lord when Russia is concerned.... On the subject of Poland, the noble lord has disappointed us again and again. Remember when the noble lord was pressed to exert himself in favour of Poland, then he admitted the justice of the cause—the justice of our complaints; but he said, 'Only restrain yourselves at present, there is an ambassador fast setting out of known liberal sentiments, you may be sure we will do all that is right; you will only embarrass his negotiation, if you incense the power with whom he has to deal. So, take my advice, be quiet at present, and be assured that a great deal will be effected.' We trusted to those assurances; the liberal ambassador went; whether he ever approached the subject or not, was never known, but all we got were the fine words of the noble lord, and no results."—(House of Commons, July 13, 1840.)

The so-called kingdom of Poland having disappeared from the map of Europe, there remained still, in the free town of Cracow, a fantastic remnant of Polish nationality. The Czar Alexander had, during the general anarchy resulting from the fall of the French empire, not conquered the Duchy of Warsaw, but simply seized it, and wished, of course, to keep it, together with Cracow, incorporated with the Duchy by Bonaparte. Austria, once possessed of Cracow, wished to have it back. The Czar being unable to obtain it himself and unwilling to concede it to Austria, proposed to constitute it as a free town. Accordingly the treaty of Vienna stipulated in article VI,[a]

"that the town of Cracow with the territory is to be for ever a free, independent, and strictly neutral city, under the protection of Austria, Russia, and Prussia," and in its article IX "that the Courts of Russia, Austria, and Prussia engage to respect, and to cause to be always respected, the neutrality of the free town of Cracow and its territory. *No armed force shall be introduced upon any pretence whatever.*"

Immediately after the close of the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, the Russian troops suddenly entered Cracow, the

[a] Here and below the *New-York Daily Tribune* has no references to numbers of articles in the 1815 Treaty of Vienna.—*Ed.*

occupation of which lasted two months.[a] This, however, was considered as a transitory necessity of war, and in the turmoil of that time was soon forgotten.

In 1836, Cracow was again occupied by the troops of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, on the pretext of forcing the authorities of Cracow to deliver up the individuals concerned in the Polish revolution five years before. The constitution of Cracow was abrogated, the three consular residencers assumed the highest authority—the police was entrusted to Austrian spies—the senate was overthrown—the tribunals were destroyed—the university of Cracow put down in consequence of the prohibitions to the neighbouring provinces—and the commerce of the free city with the surrounding countries destroyed.[b]

On March 18th, 1836, when interpellated on the occupation of Cracow, the noble viscount declared that occupation to be of a merely transitory character. Of so palliative and apologetic a kind was the construction he put on the doings of his three northern allies, that he felt himself obliged suddenly to stop and to interrupt the even course of his speech by the solemn declaration.

"I stand not up here to defend the measure, which, on the contrary, I *must* censure and condemn. I have merely stated those circumstances which, though they do not excuse the forcible occupation of Cracow, might yet afford a justification, &c...."

He admits that the treaty of Vienna bound the three Powers to abstain from any step without the previous consent of England, but,

"they may be justly said to have paid an *involuntary* homage to the justice and plain dealing of this country, by supposing that we would never give our assent to such a proceeding."

Mr. Patrick Stewart[c] having, however, found out that there existed better means for the preservation of Cracow than the

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[a] Instead of this sentence the *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "In 1831, Cracow was temporarily occupied by Russian troops."—*Ed.*

[b] Instead of this passage the *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "In 1836, Cracow was again occupied by the troops of Russia, Austria and Prussia, on the pretext of their being obliged to accomplish, in that way, the expulsion of some Polish refugees from the town and its territory. On this occasion the noble Lord abstained from all remonstrance on the ground, as he stated, in 1836 and in 1840, 'that it was difficult to give effect to our remonstrances.'—As soon, however, as Cracow was definitively confiscated by Austria, a simple remonstrance appeared to him to be 'the only effectual means'."—*Ed.*

[c] Here and below the *New-York Daily Tribune* erroneously has: "Sir Stratford Canning".—*Ed.*

"abstention from remonstrance," moved on April 20, 1836, that the government should be ordered to send a representation to the free town of Cracow as consul, there being three consuls there from the three Northern Powers. The joint arrival of an English and French consul at Cracow would prove an event.[a] The noble viscount seeing that the majority of the house was for the motion induced Mr. Stewart to withdraw it by solemnly pledging himself that the government "intended to send a consular agent to Cracow." On March 22, 1837, being reminded by Lord Dudley Stuart of his promise, the noble lord answered that "he had altered his intention, and had not sent a consular agent to Cracow, and it was not at present his intention to do so." Lord D. Stuart having given notice that he should move for papers elucidatory of this singular declaration, the noble viscount succeeded in defeating the motion by the simple process of being absent and of causing the house to be counted out.[b]

In 1840, the "temporary" occupation continued, and the people of Cracow had addressed a memorandum to the governments of France and England, which says, amongst other things:

"The misfortunes which overwhelm the free city of Cracow and its inhabitants, are such that the undersigned see no further hope for themselves and their fellow citizens than in the powerful and enlightened protection of the governments of France and England. The situation in which they find themselves placed, gives them a right to invoke the intervention of every power that subscribed to the treaty of Vienna."[c]

Being interrogated on July 13th, 1840, about this petition from Cracow, the noble viscount declared

"that between Austria and the British government the question of the evacuation of Cracow remained only a question of time."

As to the violation of the treaty of Vienna

"there were no means of enforcing the opinions of England, supposing that this country was disposed to do so by arms, [...] because Cracow was evidently a place where no English action could possibly take place."

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[a] After these words the *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "and must, in any case, have prevented the noble lord from afterward declaring himself unaware of the intrigues pursued at Cracow by the Austrians, Russians and Prussians".—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has after this: "He never stated why or wherefore he had not fulfilled his pledge, and withstood all attempts to squeeze out of him any papers on the subject." The following text beginning with: "In 1840, the 'temporary' occupation continued" and ending with the quotation from Palmerston's statement on August 17, 1846, is omitted in the *Tribune*.—*Ed.*

[c] Quoted from Canning's speech in the House of Commons on July 13, 1840.—*Ed.*

Be it remarked that two days after this declaration the noble lord concluded a treaty with Russia, Austria, and Prussia for closing the Black Sea[277] to the English navy, probably in order that no English action could take place in those quarters. It was at the very same time that the noble lord renewed a Holy Alliance with those Powers against France. As to the commercial loss sustained by England, consequent upon the occupation of Cracow, the noble lord demonstrated that "the amount of general exports to *Germany* had not fallen off," which, as Sir Robert Peel justly remarked, had nothing to do with Cracow. As to his intentions on the subject and to the consular agent to be sent to Cracow,

"he thought that his experience of the manner in which his unfortunate assertion" (made by the noble lord in 1836, in order to escape from the censure of a hostile house) "of an intention to appoint a British Consul at Cracow, had been taken up by honourable gentlemen opposite, justified him in positively refusing to give any answer to such a question, which might expose him to similar [...] unjustifiable attacks."

On August 17, 1846, he stated that

"whether the treaty of Vienna is, or is not executed and fulfilled by the Great Powers of Europe, depends not upon the presence of a consular agent at Cracow."

On January 28, 1847, when again asked[a] for the production of papers relative to the *non-appointment* of a British Consul at Cracow, he declared that

"the subject had *no necessary* connexion with the discussion on the incorporation of Cracow, and he saw no advantage in reviving an angry discussion on a subject which had *only a passing interest.*"

He proved true to his opinion in the production of state papers, pronounced on March 17, 1837:

"If the papers bear upon questions now under consideration, their production would be dangerous; if they refer to questions that are gone by, they can obviously be of no use."

The British government was very exactly informed of the importance of Cracow, not only from a political but also from a commercial point of view, their own Consul at Warsaw, Colonel Duplat having reported to them that[b]

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[a] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* this sentence begins as follows: "Ten years afterward, when Cracow was doomed, and when the noble Lord was again asked ..."—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "The Consul at Warsaw, Col. Duplat, having reported in detail thereupon...." The following quotation from this report is omitted.—*Ed.*

"Cracow, since its elevation into an independent state, has always been the depot of very considerable quantities of English merchandise sent thither by the Black Sea, Moldavia, and Galicia, and even *via* Trieste; and which afterwards find their way to the surrounding countries. In the course of years it came into railway communication with the great lines of Bohemia, Prussia, and Austria.... It is also the central point of the important line of railway communication between the Adriatic and the Baltic. It will come in direct communication of the same description with Warsaw.... Looking, therefore, to the almost certainty of every great point of the Levant, and even of India and China, finding its way up the Adriatic, it cannot be denied that it must be of the greatest commercial importance, even to England, to have such a station as Cracow, in the centre of the great net of railways connecting the Western and Eastern Continent."[a]

Lord Palmerston himself was obliged to confess to the house that the Cracow insurrection of 1846[278] had been intentionally provoked by the Three Powers.

"I believe the original entrance of the Austrian troops into the territory of Cracow was in consequence of an application from the government. But, then, those Austrian troops retired. *Why* they retired has never yet been explained. With them retired the government and the authorities of Cracow; the *immediate*, at least, the early, consequence of that retirement, was the establishment of a provisional government at Cracow. (House of Commons, Aug. 17, 1846.)

On the 22nd of February, 1846, the army of Austria, and afterwards of Russia and Prussia, took possession of Cracow. On the 26th of the same month the Prefect of Tarnów issued his proclamation calling upon the peasants to murder their proprietors, and promising them "a sufficient recompense, in money,"[b] which proclamation was followed by the Galician atrocities, and the massacre of about 2,000 proprietors. On March the 12th appeared the Austrian proclamation to the "faithful Galicians having aroused themselves for the maintenance of order and law, and destroyed the enemies of order." In the official *Gazette*[c] of April 28th, Prince Frederick of Schwarzenberg stated that "the acts that had taken place had been *authorised* by the Austrian government," which, of course, acted on a common plan with Russia and with Prussia, the footman of the Czar.[d] Now, after all

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[a] Marx gives this passage from Duplat's report to Aberdeen of March 10, 1846 as quoted in the speech of Stuart Wortley in the House of Commons on March 16, 1847.—*Ed.*

[b] This and the following documents are cited according to Milnes' speech in the House of Commons on August 17, 1846.—*Ed.*

[c] *Oesterreichisch Kaiserliche Wiener Zeitung.—Ed.*

[d] The phrase "the footman of the Czar" is omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune.— Ed.*

these abominations had passed, Lord Palmerston thought fit to declare in the house,

"I have too high an opinion of the sense of justice and of right that must animate the governments of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, to believe that they can feel any disposition or intention to deal with Cracow otherwise than Cracow is entitled by treaty-engagements to be dealt with." (House of Commons, Aug. 17th, 1846.)

For the noble lord the only business in hand was to get rid of parliament, the session drawing to a close. He assured the Commons that "on the part of the British government everything shall be done to ensure a due respect being paid to the provisions of the treaty of Vienna." Mr. Hume, giving vent to his doubts about Lord Palmerston's "*intention* to cause the Austro-Russian troops to retire from Cracow," the noble lord begged of the house not to give credence to the statements made by Mr. Hume, as he was in possession of better information, and was convinced that the occupation of Cracow was only a "*temporary*" one. The parliament of 1846 having been got rid of, in the same manner as that of 1853, out came the Austrian proclamation of November 11th, 1846, incorporating Cracow into the Austrian dominions. When parliament re-assembled on January 19th, 1847, it was informed by the Queen's[a] Speech that Cracow was gone, but that there remained in its place a protest on the part of the brave Palmerston. To deprive this protest of even the appearance of a meaning, the noble lord contrived at that very epoch to engage, on the occasion of the Spanish marriages,[279] England in a quarrel with France, very near setting the two countries by the ears, as he was twitted in the teeth by Mr. Smith O'Brien. The French government having applied to him for his co-operation in a joint protest against the incorporation of Cracow, Lord Normanby, under instructions from the noble viscount, answered that the outrage of which Austria had been guilty in annexing Cracow was not greater than that of France in effecting a marriage between the Duke of Montpensier and the Spanish Infanta—the one act being a violation of the treaty of Vienna, and the other of the treaty of Utrecht.[280] Now, the treaty of Utrecht, renewed in 1782, was definitively abrogated by the Anti-Jacobin war; and that, therefore, ever since 1792 ceased to exist. There was no man in the house better informed of this circumstance than the noble lord, as he had stated himself on the occasion of the blockades of Mexico and Buenos Ayres,[281] that

[a] Queen Victoria.—*Ed.*

"the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht have long lapsed in the variations of war, with the exception of the single clause relating to the boundaries of Brazil and French Guiana, because that clause had been expressly incorporated in the treaty of Vienna."[a]

We have not yet done with the exertions of the noble lord for resisting the encroachments of Russia on Poland.[b]

There existed a curious convention between England, Holland, and Russia—the so-called *Russian-Dutch loan.* During the Anti-Jacobin war the Czar Alexander had contracted a loan with Messrs. Hope and Co., at Amsterdam; and after the fall of Bonaparte, the King of the Netherlands[c] "desired to make a suitable return to the Allied Powers for having delivered his territories," and for having annexed to his own Belgium, upon which he had no claim whatever, and engaged himself—the other Powers waiving their common pretensions in favour of Russia, then in great need of money—to execute a convention with Russia for paying her by successive instalments the twenty-five millions of florins she owed to Messrs. Hope and Co. England, in order to cover the robbery she committed on Holland, of her colonies at the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, became a party to that convention, and bound herself to pay a certain proportion of the subsidies granted to Russia. This stipulation became part of the treaty of Vienna, but upon the *express condition* "that the payment should cease if the union between Holland and Belgium were broken prior to the liquidation of the debt." When Belgium separated itself by revolution[d] from Holland, she of course refused to pay her portion[e] to Russia. On the other hand, there remained, Mr. Herries stated, "not the smallest iota of a claim on the part of Russia for the continuance of debt by England." (House of Commons, Jan. 26, 1832.)

Lord Palmerston, however, found it quite natural that,

"at one time Russia is paid for supporting the union of Belgium with Holland, and that at another time she is paid for the separation of these countries." (House of Commons, July 16th, 1832.)

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[a] Quoted from Palmerston's speech on March 19, 1839.—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has "upon Europe" instead of "on Poland".—*Ed.*

[c] William I.—*Ed.*

[d] This refers to the revolution of 1830-31.—*Ed.*

[e] After the words "to pay her portion" the *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "on the ground that the loan had been contracted to continue her in the undivided possession of the Belgian provinces, and that she no longer had the sovereignty of that country".—*Ed.*

He appealed in a very tragical manner to the faithful observance of treaties—and above all, of the treaty of Vienna; and he contrived to carry a new convention with Russia, dated 16th November, 1831, in the preamble of which it is expressly stated that it is contracted "in consideration of the general arrangements of the Congress of Vienna which remain in full force."

When the convention relating to the Russo-Dutch loan, had been inserted in the treaty of Vienna, the Duke of Wellington exclaimed,

> "This is a master-stroke of diplomacy on the part of Lord Castlereagh; for Russia has been tied down to the observance of the Vienna treaty by a pecuniary obligation."

When Russia, therefore, withdrew her observance of the Vienna treaty by the Cracow confiscation, Mr. Hume moved to stop any further payment[a] to Russia from the British Treasury. The noble viscount, however, thought that although Russia had a right to violate the treaty of Vienna with regard to Poland, England remained tied to the treaty with regard to Russia.

But this is not the most extraordinary incident of the noble lord's proceedings. After the Belgian revolution had broken out, and before parliament had sanctioned the new loan to Russia, the noble lord defrayed the costs of the Russian war against Poland, under the false pretext of paying off the old debt contracted by England in 1815, although we may state, on the authority of the greatest English lawyer, Sir E. Sugden, now Lord St. Leonards, that

> "there was not a single debatable point in that question, [...] and [...] the government had no power whatever to pay a shilling of the money." (House of Commons, January 26, 1832.)

And on the authority of Sir Robert Peel that "the noble lord was *not warrantable by law* in advancing the money." (House of Commons, July 12, 1832.)

Now we understand why the noble lord is reiterating on every occasion that "nothing can be more painful to men of proper feeling than discussions upon the subject of Poland."[b]

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[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "any further annual payment".—*Ed.*

[b] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* this passage ends as follows: "They can also appreciate the degree of earnestness he is now likely to exhibit in resisting the encroachments of the power he has so uniformly served."—*Ed.*

## FOURTH ARTICLE[a]

[*The People's Paper*, No. 80, November 12, 1853]

The great and eternal themes of the noble viscount's self-glorification are the services he has rendered to the cause of constitutional liberty all over the continent. The world owes him, indeed, the invention of the "constitutional" kingdoms of Portugal, Spain, and Greece,—three political phantoms, only to be compared with the *homunculus* of *Faust's* Wagner.[b] Portugal, under the yoke of that huge hill of flesh, Donna Maria da Gloria, backed by a Coburg,[c]

"must be looked upon as one of the *substantive* powers of Europe." (House of Commons, March 10, 1837.)

At the very time the noble viscount uttered these words, six British ships-of-the-line anchored at Lisbon, in order to defend the "substantive" daughter of Don Pedro from the Portuguese people, and to help her to destroy the constitution she had sworn to defend. Spain, at the disposition of another Maria,[d] who, although a notorious sinner, has never found a Magdalene,

"holds out to us a fair, [...] a flourishing, and even a formidable power among the European kingdoms." (Speech of Lord Palmerston, H. of C., March 10, 1837.)[e]

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[a] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* of November 21, 1853, the article begins as follows: "There are those who expect that in the war between Turkey and Russia, which has now begun, the British Government will at last abandon its system of half-way measures and fruitless negotiations to act with energy and effect in repelling the Muscovite invader back from his prey and from the universal dominion he dreams of. Such an expectation may not be without some ground of abstract probability and policy to justify it, but how little real reason there is for it will appear to whoever ponders the facts below set forth with regard to the past conduct of that English Minister who is thought to be most hostile to the advance of Russian despotism in Europe. Indeed, most people in England who are dissatisfied with the policy of the Government in the contest between Turkey and Russia, fondly believe that matters would be in a very different state if Lord *Palmerston* had the control of them. Such persons, in recalling the noble Viscount's history, must leave blank the whole eventful period from 1832 to 1847—a blank which we will fill up for their instruction."—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "the constitutional model-kingdoms"; the end of this sentence, beginning with the words "three political phantoms", is omitted.—*Ed.*

[c] Ferdinand August.—*Ed.*

[d] Maria Cristina.—*Ed.*

[e] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has instead of this sentence: "Spain, crushed beneath the yoke of another Maria—the she-wolf of Naples, 'holds out to us,' according to his sanguine view of the case, 'a fair and legitimate hope that she may yet become what she has proved in former times—a flourishing and even a formidable power among the European Kingdoms'."—*Ed.*

Formidable, indeed, to the holders of Spanish bonds. The noble lord has even his reasons ready for having delivered the native country of the Pericles and the Sophocles to the nominal sway of an idiot Bavarian boy.

"King Otto belongs to a country where there exists a free Constitution." (H. of C., August 8, 1832.)

A free constitution in Bavaria, the German Bastia![a] This passes the *licentia poetica*[b] of rhetorical flourish, the "legitimate hopes" held out by Spain, and the "substantive" power of Portugal. As to Belgium, all Lord Palmerston did for it was burdening it with a part of the Dutch debt, reducing it by the Province of Luxemburg, and adding to it a Coburg dynasty. As to the *entente cordiale* with France, waning from the moment he pretended to give it the finish by the Quadruple Alliance[282] of 1834, we have already seen how far the noble lord understood to manage it in the instance of Poland, and we shall hear, by and by, what became of it in his hands.[c]

One of those facts, hardly adverted to by contemporaries, but broadly marking the boundaries of historical epochs, was the military occupation of Constantinople by the Russians, in 1833.

The eternal dream of Russia was at last realised. The barbarian from the icy banks of the Neva held in his grasp luxurious Byzantium, and the sunlit shores of the Bosphorus. The self-styled heir to the Greek Emperors occupied, however temporarily, the Rome of the East.[d]

"The occupation of Constantinople by Russian troops [...] sealed the fate of Turkey as an independent power. [...] The fact of Russia having occupied Constantinople even for the purpose" (?) "of saving it, was as decisive a blow to Turkish independence as if the flag of Russia now waved on the Seraglio." (Speech of Sir Robert Peel, H. of C., March 17, 1834.)

In consequence of the unfortunate war of 1828-29,[e] the Porte had lost her prestige in the eyes of her own subjects. As usual with Oriental empires, when the paramount power is weakened, successful revolts of Pashas broke out. As early as October, 1831,

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[a] A town in Corsica; the *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "the German Boeotia!"; both these towns symbolise provincial backwardness.—*Ed.*

[b] Poetical liberty.—*Ed.*

[c] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has instead of the last sentence: "But let us come to the Turks and Russians."—*Ed.*

[d] This sentence is omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune.*—*Ed.*

[e] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has further: "and the treaty of Adrianople".—*Ed.*

commenced the conflict between the Sultan[a] [and] Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, who had supported the Porte during the Greek insurrection. In the spring of 1832, Ibrahim Pasha, his son, marched his army into Syria, conquered that province, by the Battle of Homs, crossed the Taurus, annihilated the last Turkish army at the battle of Konia, and moved on the way to Stambul. The Sultan was forced to apply to St. Petersburg, on February 2, 1833. On February 17, the French Admiral Roussin arrived at Constantinople, remonstrated with the Porte two days afterwards, and engaged for the retreat of the Pasha on certain terms, including the refusal of Russian assistance; but, unassisted as he was, he was, of course, unable to cope with Russia. "You have asked for me, and you shall have me."[b] On February 20, a Russian squadron sailed from Sebastopol, and disembarked a large force of Russian troops on the shores of the Bosphorus, and laid siege to the capital. So eager was Russia for the protection of Turkey, that a Russian officer was simultaneously dispatched to the Pashas of Erzerum and Trebizond, to inform them that, in the event of Ibrahim's army marching towards Erzerum, both that place and Trebizond should be immediately protected by a Russian army. At the end of May, 1833, Count Orloff arrived from St. Petersburg, and intimated to the Sultan that he had brought with him a little bit of paper, which the Sultan was to subscribe to, without the concurrence of any minister, and without the diplomatic agent, at the Porte. In this manner the famous treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi was brought about and concluded for eight years to come. By virtue of it the Porte entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Russia, resigned the right of entering into any new treaties with other powers, except with the concurrence of Russia, and confirmed the former Russo-Turkish treaties, especially that of Adrianople.[c] By a secret article, appended to the treaty, the Porte obliged herself,

> "in favour of the Imperial Court of Russia, to close the Straits of the Dardanelles—viz., not to allow any foreign man-of-war to enter it under any pretext whatever."[d]

Whom was the Czar indebted to for occupying Constantinople by his troops, and for transferring, by virtue of the treaty of

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[a] Mahmud II.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted from Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni*.—*Ed.*

[c] The phrase "especially that of Adrianople" is omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

[d] Martens, *Recueil de traités*. T. II, p. 659.—*Ed.*

Unkiar-Skelessi, the supreme seat of the Ottoman empire from Constantinople to St. Petersburg? To nobody else but to the Right Honourable Henry John Viscount Palmerston, Baron Temple, a Peer of Ireland, a Member of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight of the Great Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, a Member of Parliament, and His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi was concluded on July 8th, 1833. On July 11th, 1833, Mr. H. L. Bulwer, moved for the production of papers with respect to the Turko-Syrian affairs. The noble lord opposed the motion,

"because the *transactions* to which the papers called for referred, were *incomplete*, and the character of the whole transaction would depend upon its termination. [...] As the results were not yet known, [...] the motion was premature."—(H. of C., July 11, 1833.)

Accused by Mr. Bulwer of not having interfered for the defence of the Sultan against Mehemet Ali, and not having thus prevented the advance of the Russian army, he began that curious system of defence and of confession, developed on later occasions, the *membra disjecta*[a] of which I shall now gather together.

"He was not *prepared* to deny, that the latter part of last year an application was made on the part of the Sultan to this country for assistance."—(H. of C., July 11, 1833.)

The Porte made formal application for assistance in the course of August—(H. of C., August 24, 1833.)

No, not in August.

"The request of the Porte for naval assistance has been made in the month of October, 1832."—(H. of C., August 28, 1833.)

No, it was not in October.[b]

"Its assistance was asked by the Porte in November 1832."—(H. of C., March 17, 1834.)

The noble lord is as uncertain of the day when the Porte implored his aid, as Falstaff was of the number of rogues in buckram suits, who came at his back, in Kendal green.[c] He is not

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[a] Scattered parts, disjointed quotations.—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has after this: "as we learn from a speech made a year later".—*Ed.*

[c] Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, Part I, Act II, Scene 4.—*Ed.*

*prepared*, however, to deny that the armed assistance offered by Russia was rejected by the Porte, and that he was applied to. He refused to comply with her demands. The Porte did again apply to the noble lord. First she sent M. Maurogeni to London; then she sent Namick Pasha, who entreated the assistance of a naval squadron on the condition of the Sultan undertaking to defray all the expenses of that squadron, and promising in future requital for that succour, the grant of new *commercial* privileges, and advantages to British subjects in Turkey. So sure was Russia of the noble lord's refusal, that she joined the Turkish Envoy in praying his lordship for the affording of the demanded succour. He tells us himself,

"it was but justice that he should state, that so far from Russia having expressed any jealousy as to this government granting this assistance, the Russian Ambassador[a] officially communicated to him, [...] while the request was still under the consideration, that he had learned that such an application had been made, and that, from the interest taken by Russia in the maintenance and preservation of the Turkish empire, it would afford satisfaction if ministers could find themselves able to comply with that request."—(H. of C., August 28, 1833.)

The noble lord remained, however, inexorable to the demands of the Porte, although backed by disinterested Russia herself. Then, of course, the Porte knew what she was about. She understood that she was doomed to make the wolf shepherd. Still she hesitated, and did not accept the Russian assistance till three months later.[b]

"Great Britain," says the noble lord, "never complained of Russia granting that assistance, but, on the contrary, was glad that Turkey had been able to obtain effectual relief from any quarter."—(H. of C., March 17, 1834.)

At whatever epoch the Porte may have implored the aid of Lord Palmerston, he cannot but own,

"No doubt if England had *thought fit* to interfere, the progress of the invading army would have been stopped, *and the Russian troops would not have been called in.*"—(H. of C., July 11, 1833.)

Why then did he not "*think fit*" to interfere and to keep the Russians out?

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[a] K. Lieven.—*Ed.*

[b] Instead of the three last sentences the *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "Then, of course, the Porte knew what it was about, and comprehended that it was doomed to accept the Russian assistance."—*Ed.*

First he pleads *want of time.* According to his own statement the conflict between the Porte and Mehemet Ali arose as early as October 1831, while the decisive battle of Konia was not fought till December 21st 1832. Could he find no time during all this period? A great battle was won by Ibrahim Pasha in July 1832,[283] and again he could find no time from July to December. But he was all that time waiting for a *formal* application, which, according to his last version, was not made till the 3rd of November.

"Was he then," asks Sir Robert Peel, "so ignorant of what was passing in the Levant, that he must wait for a formal application?"—(H. of C., March 17, 1834.)

And from November, when the formal application was made, to the latter part of February, there elapsed again four long months, and Russia did not arrive until February 20, 1833. Why did not he?

But he has better reasons in reserve.

The Pasha of Egypt was but a rebellious subject, and the Sultan was the Suzerain.

"As it was a war against the sovereign by a subject, and that sovereign was in alliance with the King of England, it would have been inconsistent with good faith to have had *any communication* with the Pasha." (H. of C., August 28, 1833.)

*Etiquette* prevented the noble lord from stopping Ibrahim's armies. *Etiquette* forbade him giving instructions to his Consul at Alexandria to use his influence with Mehemet Ali.[a] Like the Spanish Grandee, the noble lord would rather let the Queen burn to ashes than infringe on *etiquette* and interfere with her petticoats. Perchance it so appears that the noble lord had already in 1832 accredited consuls and diplomatic agents to the "subject" of the Sultan without the consent of the Sultan, that he entered into treaties with Mehemet altering existing regulations and arrangements touching matters of trade and revenue and establishing other ones in their room; that he did so without the consent of the Porte beforehand, or caring for its approbation afterwards.[b]—(H. of C., February 23, 1848.)

Accordingly, we are told by Earl Grey, the then chief of the noble viscount, that

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[a] These two sentences are omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune.*—*Ed.*

[b] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* the end of this sentence is given as follows: "that he had entered into treaties with Mehemet Ali altering existing regulations and arrangement touching matters of trade and revenue; that he did not ask the consent of the Porte beforehand, not even care for its approbation afterward: and that he had thus treated 'the rebellious subject' as an independent power".—*Ed.*

"They had at the moment extensive commercial relations with Mehemet Ali which it would not have been their interest to disturb."—(House of Lords, February 4, 1834.)

What commercial relations with the "rebellious subject."[a]

But the noble viscount's fleets were occupied in the Duero, and the Tagus, and blockading the Schelde, and doing the service of the midwife at the birth of the constitutional empires of Portugal, Spain, and Belgium, and he was, therefore, not in a situation to spare one single ship.—(H. of C., July 11, 1833, and March 17, 1834.)

But what the Sultan insisted on was precisely naval assistance. For argument's sake we will grant the noble lord to have been unable to dispose of one single vessel.[b] But there are great authorities assuring us that what was wanted was not a single *vessel*, but only a single *word*[c] on the part of the noble lord. There is Admiral Codrington, the destroyer of the Turkish fleet at Navarino.

"Mehemet Ali," he states, "had of old felt the strength of our representations on the subject of the evacuation of the Morea. He had then received orders from the Porte to resist all applications to induce him to evacuate it at the risk of his head, and he did resist accordingly, but at last prudently yielded and evacuated the Morea."—(H. of C., April 20, 1836.)

There is the Duke of Wellington.

"If, in the session of 1832 or 1833, they had plainly told Mehemet Ali, that he should not carry on his contest in Syria and Asia Minor, they would have put an end to the war without the risk of allowing the Emperor of Russia to send a fleet and an army to Constantinople."—(House of Lords, February 4, 1834.)

But there are better authorities. There is the noble lord himself.

"Although," he says, "his Majesty's government did not comply with the demand of the Sultan for naval assistance, yet the moral assistance of England was afforded; and the communications made by the British government to the Pasha of Egypt, and to Ibrahim Pasha, commanding in Asia Minor, did materially contribute to bring about that arrangement" (of Kutaiah) "between the Sultan and the Pasha, by which that war was *terminated*."—(H. of C., March 17, 1834.)

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[a] This sentence is omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has after this: "for such trifles as preventing Russia from occupying Constantinople, or Mehemet Ali from endangering the *status quo* of the world".—*Ed.*

[c] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has further: "in order to check the ambition of Mehemet Ali and the armies of Ibrahim Pasha. Lord Mahon tells us this, and when he made his statement he had just been employed at the Foreign Office under Sir Robert Peel".—*Ed.*

There is Lord Derby, then Mr. Stanley and a member of the Palmerston Cabinet, who

"boldly asserts that what stopped the progress of Mehemet Ali, was the distinct declaration of France and England that they would not permit the occupation of Constantinople by his troops."—(H. of C., March 17, 1834.)

Thus then, according to Lord Derby and to Lord Palmerston himself,[a] it was not the Russian squadron and army at Constantinople, but it was a *distinct declaration* on the part of the British consular agent at Alexandria, that stopped Ibrahim's victorious march upon Constantinople, and brought about the arrangement of Kutaiah, by virtue of which Mehemet Ali obtained, besides Egypt, the Pashalik of Syria, of Adana and other places, added as appendage. But the noble lord thought fit not to allow his consul at Alexandria to make this distinct declaration till after the Turkish army was annihilated—Constantinople overrun by the Cossacks, the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi signed by the Sultan, and pocketed by the Czar.

If want of time and want of fleets, forbade the noble lord to assist the Sultan, and a superfluity of *etiquette* to check the Pasha, did he at least employ his ambassador at Constantinople to guard against excessive influence on the part of Russia, and to keep her influence confined to narrow bounds? Quite the contrary. In order not to clog the movements of Russia, the noble lord took good care to have no ambassador at all at Constantinople during the most fatal period of the crisis.

"If ever there was a country in which the weight and station of an ambassador were useful—or a period in which that weight and station might be advantageously exerted—that country was Turkey, during the six months before the 8th of July."—(Speech of Lord Mahon, H. of C., April 20, 1836.)

Lord Palmerston tells us, that the British Ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning, left Constantinople in September, 1832—that Lord Ponsonby, then at Naples, was appointed in his place in November, and that "difficulties experienced in making the necessary arrangements for his conveyance,"—although a man-of-war was in waiting for him—"and the unfavourable state of the weather, did prevent his getting to Constantinople until the end of May, 1833."—(H. of C., March 17, 1834.)

The Russian was not yet in, and Lord Ponsonby was accordingly

[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has after this: "—and this is the most curious feature of these curious transactions".—*Ed.*

ordered to require seven months for sailing from Naples to Constantinople.[a]

But why should the noble lord prevent the Russians from occupying Constantinople?

"He for his part had great doubts that *any* intention to partition the Ottoman Empire *at all* entered into the policy of the Russian government."—(H. of C., July 11, 1833.)

Certainly not. Russia wants not to partition the empire but to keep the whole of it. Besides the security Lord Palmerston possessed in this *doubt* he had another security "in the *doubt*, whether it enters into the policy of Russia *at present* to accomplish the object," and a third "security" in the third "*doubt*"

"whether the *Russian nation*" (just think of a Russian *nation*!)[b] "would be prepared for that transference of power, of residence, and authority to the southern provinces which would be the necessary consequence of the conquest by Russia of Constantinople."—(H. of C., July 11, 1833.)

Besides these negative arguments the noble lord had an affirmative one:

"if they had quietly beheld the temporary occupation of the Turkish capital by the forces of Russia, it was because they had full confidence in the honour and good faith of Russia.... The Russian government in granting its aid to the Sultan had pledged its honour, and in that pledge *he* reposed the most implicit confidence."[c]—(H. of C., July 11, 1833.)

So inaccessible, indestructible, integral, imperishable, inexpungable, incalculable, incommensurable, and irremediable; so boundless, dauntless, and matchless was the noble lord's confidence, that still on March 17, 1834, when the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi had become a *fait accompli*, he went on declaring that, "in their *confidence* ministers were not deceived." Not his is the fault if nature has developed his protuberance of confidence to altogether anomalous dimensions.

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[a] Instead of the sentence beginning with the words: "The Russian was not yet in", the *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "Sir Stratford Canning is recalled in September and Lord Ponsonby appointed in November. But Ibrahim Pasha had not yet crossed the Taurus, not yet fought the battle of Konia and the Russians had not yet seized upon Czarigrad. Accordingly Lord Ponsonby is ordered to employ seven months in sailing from Naples to Constantinople."—*Ed.*

[b] The phrase in brackets is omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

[c] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has after the quotation: "With the same confidence he had relied upon Russia not abolishing the Polish Constitution and Nationality. Meanwhile the Czar had abolished both by the Organic Statute of 1832[284]—but the most implicit confidence of the noble lord remained unshaken."—*Ed.*

# ARTICLE FIFTH

[*The People's Paper,* No. 81, November 19, 1853]

The contents of the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi were published by *The Morning Herald,* on Aug. 21, 1833.[a] On August 24, Sir Robert Inglis asked Lord Palmerston in the House of Commons,

"whether there really had been concluded a treaty, offensive and defensive, between Russia and Turkey? [...] He hoped that the noble lord would be prepared, before the prorogation of parliament to lay before the house, not only the treaties that had been made, but all communications connected with the formation of those treaties between Turkey and Russia."

Lord Palmerston answered that

"when they were *sure* that such a treaty as that alluded to really did exist; and when they were in possession of that treaty, it would *then* be for them to determine what was the course of policy they ought to pursue.... It could be no blame to him if the newspapers were sometimes beforehand with the government." (House of Commons, August 24, 1833.)

Seven months afterwards he assures that

"it was perfectly impossible that the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, not to be ratified at Constantinople until the month of September, should have been officially known to him in August." (H. of C., March 17, 1834.)

He did know the treaty, but not officially.[b]

"The British government was surprised to find that when the Russian troops quitted the Bosphorus, they carried that treaty [...] with them." (Speech of Lord Palmerston, H. of C., March 1, 1848).

Yea, the noble lord was in possession of the treaty *before* it had been concluded.

"No sooner had the Porte received it" (viz., the draft of the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi), "than the treaty was communicated by them to the British Embassy at Constantinople, with the prayer for our protection against Ibrahim Pasha, and [...] against Nicholas. [...] The application was rejected,—but that was not all. With an atrocious perfidiousness, the fact was made known to the Russian Minister. Next day the very copy of the treaty which the Porte had lodged with the British Embassy, was returned to the Porte by the Russian Ambassador,[c] who ironically

[a] Instead of "by *The Morning Herald*" the *New-York Daily Tribune* of November 21, 1853, has: "by the journals of London".—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "Now, was the noble lord really not sure in August that such a treaty 'really' existed? Was he at that time not yet in possession of that treaty? At a later epoch, in March, 1850 [there is a mistake in the date: it should be 1848.—*Ed.*], he himself stated that..."—*Ed.*

[c] K. Lieven.—*Ed.*

advised the Porte—'to choose better another time its confidents.'" (H. of C., Feb. 8, 1848.)[a]

But the noble viscount had obtained all he cared for. He was interrogated with respect to the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, of whose existence he was not sure on August 24, 1833. On August 29 parliament was prorogued, receiving from the throne the consolatory assertion that

"the hostilities which had disturbed the peace of Turkey had been terminated, and they might be assured that the king's[b] attention would be carefully directed to any events which might affect the present state or the future independence of that empire."

Here we have the key to the famous Russian treaties of July. In July they are concluded; in August, something about them is transpiring through the public press. Lord Palmerston is interrogated in the Commons. He, of course, is aware of nothing. Parliament is prorogued—and, when it reassembles, the treaty has grown old, or, in 1841, has already been executed, in spite of public opinion.[c]

Parliament was prorogued on August 29, 1833, and it reassembled on Feb. 5, 1834. The interval between the prorogation and its reassembling was marked by two incidents intimately interwoven with each other. On the one hand, the united French and English fleets proceeded to the Dardanelles, displayed there the tricoloured, and the national flag of England, sailed their way to Smyrna, and returned from thence to Malta. On the other hand, a new treaty was concluded between the Porte and Russia, on January 29, 1834, the treaty of St. Petersburg.[285] This treaty was hardly signed when the united fleet was withdrawn.

This combined manoeuvre was intended to stultify the British people and Europe into the belief that the hostile demonstration on the Turkish seas and coasts, directed against the Porte, for having concluded the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, had enforced upon Russia the new treaty of St. Petersburg. This treaty, by promising the evacuation of the Principalities,[d] and reducing the Turkish payments to one-third of the stipulated amount, appar-

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[a] From the speech of M.P. Th. Ch. Anstey.—*Ed.*

[b] William IV.—*Ed.*

[c] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "in spite of Parliament and public opinion".—*Ed.*

[d] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has after that: "with the exception of Silistra".—*Ed.*

ently relieved the Porte from some engagements enforced on her by the treaty of Adrianople. In all other instances it was a ratification of the treaty of Adrianople, not at all relating to the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, nor dropping a word about the passage of the Dardanelles. On the contrary, the alleviations it granted to Turkey, were the purchase-money for the exclusion of Europe, by the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, from the Dardanelles.

"The very day on which the demonstration" (of the British fleet) "was being made, an assurance was given by the noble lord to the Russian Ambassador[a] at this court, that this combined movement of the [...] squadrons was not intended in any sense hostile to Russia, nor to be taken as a hostile demonstration against her; but, that, in fact, it meant nothing at all. I say this on the authority of Lord Ponsonby, the noble lord's own colleague, the Ambassador at Constantinople."—(Speech of Mr. Anstey, H. of C., Feb. 23, 1848.)

After the treaty of St. Petersburg had been ratified, the noble lord expressed his satisfaction with the moderation of the terms imposed by Russia.[b]

When Parliament had reassembled, there appeared in *The Globe*, the organ of the Foreign Office, a paragraph stating that

"The treaty of St. Petersburg was a proof either of the moderation or good sense of Russia, or of the influence which the union of England and France, and the firm and concerted language of those two powers had acquired in the councils of St. Petersburg."—(*Globe*, Feb. 24, 1834.)

Thus public attention was to be diverted from the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, and the animosity it had aroused in Europe against Russia, to be soothed down.[c]

Artful as the dodging was, it would not do. On March 17, 1834, Mr. Sheil brought in a motion for

"the copies of the treaties between Turkey and Russia, [...] and of any correspondence between the English, Russian, and Turkish Governments, respecting those treaties, to be laid before the house."

The noble lord resisted this resolution to his utmost, and succeeded in baffling it by assuring the house that "peace [...]

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[a] K. Lieven.—*Ed.*

[b] This sentence is omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune.—Ed.*

[c] In the pamphlet *Palmerston and the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi*, published in 1854, this paragraph was given as follows: "Thus, on the one hand, the Treaty of Adrianople, protested against by Lord Aberdeen and the Duke of Wellington, was surreptitiously to be recognised on the part of England by Lord Palmerston officially expressing his satisfaction with the convention of St. Petersburg, which was but a ratification of that Treaty. On the other hand, public attention was to be diverted from the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, and the animosity it had aroused in Europe against Russia, to be soothed down."—*Ed.*

could be preserved only by the house reposing confidence in the government," and refusing to accede to the motion.[a] So grossly inapt were the reasons he stated to prevent him from producing the papers, that Sir Robert Peel called him, in his parliamentary language "a very unconclusive reasoner," and his own Colonel Evans could not help exclaiming:

"The speech of the noble lord appeared to him the most unsatisfactory he had ever heard from him."

Lord Palmerston strived to convince the house that,[b] according to the *assurances* of Russia, the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi was to be looked upon "as one of reciprocity," that reciprocity being, that if the Dardanelles should be closed against England in the event of war they should be closed against Russia also. The statement was altogether false, but if true, this certainly would have been Irish reciprocity, for it was all on one side. To cross the Dardanelles is for Russia not the means to get at the Black Sea, but on the contrary, to leave it.

So far from refuting Mr. Sheil's statement, "the consequence of the treatv of Unkiar-Skelessi was [...] the same as if the Porte surrendered to Russia the possession of the Dardanelles," Lord Palmerston owned that the treaty closed the Dardanelles to British men-of-war, and that "under its provisions even *merchant vessels* might, [...] in effect, be practically excluded from the Black Sea," in the case of a war between England and Russia. But if the government acted with a "temper," if it "showed no unnecessary distrust," that is to say, if it quietly submitted to all further encroachments of Russia, he was

"inclined to think that the case might not arise in which that treaty would be called into operation; and that therefore it would, in practice, remain a dead letter."—(H. of C., March 17, 1834.)

Besides, "the assurance and explanations" which the British government had received from the contradictory parties to that treaty greatly tended to remove its objections to it. Thus then it was not the articles of the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, but the assurances Russia gave with respect to them, not the acts of Russia,

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[a] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* this phrase was given as follows: "He enjoined the House not to press upon him, as 'peace could be preserved only by the House reposing confidence in the Government,' which, if let alone, would certainly protect the interests of England from encroachment."—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "In order to mystify the House, he dropped some words to the effect...." —*Ed.*

but her language, he had in his opinion to look upon. Yet, as on the same day his attention was called to the protest of the French chargé d'affaires, M. Lagrené, against the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, and the offensive and contumacious language of Count Nesselrode, answering in the *St. Petersburg Gazette*[a] that "the Emperor of Russia would act as if the declaration contained in the note of M. Lagrené had no existence," then the noble lord, eating up his own words, propounded the opposite doctrine that

"it was on all occasions the *duty* of the English government to look rather to the acts of foreign power, than to the language which the power might hold on any particular subject on any occasion."[b]

One moment he appealed from the acts of Russia to her language, and the other from her language to her act.

Still in 1837 he assured that

"the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi was a treaty between two independent powers."—(H. of C., December 14, 1837.)[c]

Ten years later, the treaty having long since elapsed, and the noble lord being just about acting the play of the Truly English Minister and the "*civis Romanus sum*,"[286] he told the house plainly,

"the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi [...] was no doubt to a certain degree forced upon Turkey by Count Orloff, the Russian Envoy, under circumstances"—created by the noble lord himself—"which rendered it difficult for Turkey to refuse acceeding to it.... It gave practically to the Russian government a power of interference and dictation in Turkey, not consistent with the independence of that state."—(H. of C., March 1, 1848.)

During the whole course of the debates about the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, the noble lord, like the clown in the comedy, had an answer of most monstrous size, that must fit all demands and serve all questions—the Anglo-French alliance. When his conniv-

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[a] This newspaper is not mentioned in the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted from Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on March 17, 1834.—*Ed.*

[c] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* this sentence was given as follows: "Three years later [in 1837.—*Ed.*], in a thin House, composed almost entirely of his retainers, he came roundly out and told Mr. Thomas Attwood very coolly that 'the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi was a matter which had gone by,' and that it had never been 'the intention of the Government to have recourse to hostile measures to compel Russia and Turkey—two independent powers—to cancel the treaty made between them." This sentence was given in a different place.—*Ed.*

ance with Russia was pointed at, in sneers, he gravely retorted[a]:

"If the present relations established between this country and France, were pointed at in these sneers, he would only say, that he should look [...] with feelings of pride and satisfaction at the part he had acted in bringing about that good understanding."—(H. of C., July 11, 1833.)

When the production of the papers relating to the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi was demanded, he answered that

"England and France had now cemented a friendship [...] which had only grown stronger."—(H. of C., March 17, 1834.)

"He could but remark," exclaimed Sir Robert Peel, "that whenever the noble lord was thrown into a difficulty as to any part of our European policy, he at once found a ready means of escape, by congratulating the House upon the close alliance [...] between this country and France," simultaneously the noble lord was strengthening the suspicions of his Tory opponents that "England was compelled to connive [...] at an aggression upon Turkey, which *France* had directly encouraged."[b]

At that time, then, the ostensible alliance with France was to cover the secret infeoffment to Russia, as, in 1840, the clamorous rupture with France was to cover the official alliance with Russia.

While the noble lord fatigued the world with ponderous folios of printed negotiations on the affairs of the constitutional empire of Belgium and with ample explanations, verbal and documentary, with regard to the "substantive power" of Portugal, to this moment it has proved quite impossible to wrest out of him any document whatever relating to the first Syro-Turkish war, and to the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi. When the production of the papers was first demanded, on July 11th, 1833, "The motion was premature, the transactions incomplete, and the results not yet known." On August 24th, 1833, "the treaty was not officially signed, and he was not in possession of it." On March 17th, 1834, "Communications were still carrying on ... the discussions, if he might so call them, were not yet completed." Still, in 1848, when Mr. Anstey told him that, in asking for the papers, he did ask for the

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[a] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* this passage reads as follows: "The great triumphant argument which, during the whole transactions with respect to the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, the noble lord had ready to oppose to all the attacks upon his connivance with Russia, was that of his intimate alliance with France. Like the clown in the comedy, he had an answer of most monstrous size, that must meet all demands and serve all questions, namely: The Anglo-French Alliance. When he was pointed at with sneers because he had allowed the Russian occupation of Constantinople, he retorted that...." — *Ed.*

[b] Quoted from Peel's speech in the House of Commons on March 17, 1834.— *Ed.*

proof of the noble lord's collusion with the Czar, the chivalrous minister preferred killing time by a five hours' speech to killing suspicion by self-speaking documents. Notwithstanding all this, he had the cynic impudence to assure Mr. T. Attwood, on December 14th, 1837,[a] that "the papers connected with that treaty, viz., the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, were laid before the house three years ago," that is to say in 1834, when "peace could be preserved only" by withholding the papers from the house. On the same day he told Mr. Attwood that

> "this treaty was a matter which had gone by, that it was entered into for a limited period, [...] and that period having expired, [...] its introduction by the honourable member was wholly unnecessary and uncalled for."

According to the original stipulation, the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi was to expire on July 8th, 1841. Lord Palmerston tells Mr. Attwood that it had already expired on December 14th, 1837.[b]

> "What trick, what devise, what starting hole, can'st thou now find to hide thee from this open and apparent shame? Come let's hear, Jack—what trick hast thou now?"[c]

## ARTICLE SIXTH

[*The People's Paper*, No. 84, December 10, 1853]

There is no such word in the Russian vocabulary as "honour." As to the thing itself, it is considered to be a French delusion.

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[a] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* this sentence begins as follows: "His system of fictions, pretexts, contradictions, traps and incredible statements reached its climax, when, on December 14, 1837, he objected to a resolution of Mr. T. Attwood for the production of the papers connected with the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, on the ground that...."—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "The noble Viscount knew as well that the papers were not laid before the House in 1834, or at any other period, as that the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, far from having expired on December 14, 1837, continued to remain in full vigor till July 8, 1841."—*Ed.*

[c] W. Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, Part I, Act II, Scene 4.—*Ed.*

In the *New-York Daily Tribune* the article ends as follows: "Such a gross system of fraud formed the last refuge of an English Minister, who had opened Constantinople to a Russian army, and closed the Dardanelles to the English navy, and who had helped the Czar to get possession of Constantinople for months and the control of Turkey for years. How absurd then to suppose that he is now likely to turn about and oppose a friend he has so long and so faithfully served."—*Ed.*

"Schto takoi honneur? Eto Fransusski chimere," is a Russian proverb. For the invention of Russian honour the world is exclusively indebted to my Lord Palmerston, who, during a quarter of a century, used, at every critical moment, to pledge himself, in the most emphatical manner, for the "honour" of the Czar.[a] So he did at the close of the Session of 1853, as at the close of the Session of 1833.

Now it happens that the noble lord, while he expressed "his most implicit confidence in the honour and good faith" of the Czar, had just got into possession of documents, concealed from the rest of the world, and leaving no doubt, if any existed, about the nature of Russian honour and good faith. He had not even to scratch the Muscovite in order to find the Tartar. He had caught the Tartar in his naked hideousness. He found himself possessed of the self-confessions of the leading Russian ministers and diplomatists, throwing off their cloaks, opening out their most secret thoughts, unfolding, without constraint, their plans of conquest and subjugation, scornfully railing at the imbecile credulity of European Courts and Ministers, mocking the Villèles, the Metternichs, the Aberdeens, the Cannings, and the Wellingtons; and devising, in common, with the savage cynicism of the barbarian, mitigated by the cruel irony of the courtier, how to sow distrust against England at Paris, and against Austria at London, and against London at Vienna, how to set them all by the ears, and how to make all of them the mere tools of Russia.

At the time of the insurrection of Warsaw, the vice-royal archives kept in the palace of Prince Constantine, and containing the secret correspondence of Russian ministers and ambassadors from the beginning of the century down to 1830, fell into the hands of the victorious Poles. Polish Refugees brought these papers over first to France, and, at a later period, Count Zamoyski, the nephew of Prince Czartoryski, placed them in the hands of Lord Palmerston, who buried them in Christian oblivion. With these papers in his pockets, the noble viscount was the more eager to proclaim in the British Senate and to the world "his most implicit confidence in the honour and good faith of the Emperor of Russia."[b]

Not the fault of the noble viscount, that those startling papers were at length published at the end of 1835, through the famous

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[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted from Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on August 20, 1853.—*Ed.*

*Portfolio.* King William IV, whatever he was in other respects, was a most decided enemy of Russia. His private secretary, Sir Herbert Taylor, was intimately connected with David Urquhart, introducing this gentleman to the King himself, and from that moment royalty was conspiring with those two friends against the policy of the "truly English" minister.

"William IV [...] ordered the above-mentioned papers to be given up by the noble lord. They were given up and examined at the time at Windsor Castle, and it was found desirable to print and publish them. [...] In spite of the great opposition of the noble lord, the king compelled him to lend the authority of the Foreign Office to their publication, [...] so [...] that the editor, who took the charge of revising them for the press, published not a single word which had not the signature or initials attached. I, myself, have seen the noble lord's initial attached to one of those documents, although the noble lord has denied these facts. Lord Palmerston was compelled to place the documents in the hands of Mr. Urquhart for publication. Mr. Urquhart was the real editor of *The Portfolio.*" (Speech of Mr. Anstey, House of Commons, February 23rd, 1848.)

After the death of the king, Lord Palmerston refused to pay the printer of *The Portfolio*, and disclaimed, publicly and solemnly, all connexion on the part of the Foreign Office, and induced, in what manner is not known, Mr. Backhouse, his under-secretary, to set his name to those denials.[a] We read in *The Times* of January 26th, 1839:

"It is not for us to understand how Lord Palmerston may feel, but we are sure there is no misapprehending how *any other person* in the station of a gentleman, and in the position of a minister, *would feel*, after the notoriety given to the correspondence between Mr. Urquhart, whom Lord Palmerston dismissed from office, and Mr. Backhouse, whom the noble viscount has retained in office, by *The Times* of yesterday. There never was a fact apparently better established through this correspondence than that the series of official documents contained in the well-known publication, called *The Portfolio*, were printed and circulated by Lord Palmerston's authority, and that his lordship is responsible for the publication of them, both as a statesman to the political world here and abroad, and as an employer of the printers and publishers, for the pecuniary charge accompanying it."[b]

In consequence of her financial distress, resulting from the exhaustion of the treasury by the unfortunate war of 1828-29, and the debt to Russia stipulated by the treaty of Adrianople, Turkey found herself compelled to extend that obnoxious system of monopolies by which the sale of almost all articles was granted only to those who had paid government licenses. Thus a few

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[a] Published in *The Times*, No. 16948, January 25, 1839.—*Ed.*
[b] Marx apparently quotes from *The Portfolio*, 1843, Vol. II, No. VI.—*Ed.*

usurers were enabled to seize upon the entire commerce of the country. Mr. Urquhart proposed to King William IV, a commercial treaty to be concluded with the Sultan,[a] which treaty, while guaranteeing great advantages to British commerce, intended at the same time to develop the productive resources of Turkey, to restore her Exchequer to health, and thus to emancipate her from the Russian yoke. The curious history of this treaty cannot be better related than in the words of Mr. Anstey:

"The whole of the contest between Lord Palmerston on the one hand, and Mr. Urquhart on the other, was directed to this treaty of commerce. On the third of October, 1835, Mr. Urquhart obtained his commission as Secretary of Legation at Constantinople, given him for the one purpose of securing the adoption there of the Turkish commercial treaty. He delayed his departure however till June or July, 1836. Lord Palmerston pressed him to go. The applications to him urging his departure were numerous, but his answer invariably was: I will not go until I have this commercial treaty settled with the Board of Trade and the Foreign Office; and then I will accompany it, and procure its acceptance at the Porte.... Finally, Lord Palmerston gave his approbation to the treaty, and it was forwarded to Lord Ponsonby, the Ambassador at Constantinople." (In the meantime the latter had been instructed by Lord Palmerston to take the negotiations entirely out of the hands of Mr. Urquhart into his own, contrary to the engagement entered into with Mr. Urquhart.) "As soon as the removal of Mr. Urquhart from Constantinople had been effected through the intrigues of the noble lord, the treaty was immediately thrown overboard. Two years later the noble lord resumed it, giving Mr. Urquhart before Parliament the compliment of being the author of it, and disclaiming for himself all merits in it. But the noble lord had destroyed the treaty, falsified it in every part, and converted it to the ruin of commerce. The original treaty of Mr. Urquhart placed the subjects of Great Britain in Turkey, upon the footing of the most favoured nation"—viz., the Russians. "As altered by Lord Palmerston, it placed the subjects of Great Britain upon the footing of the taxed and oppressed subjects of the Porte. Mr. Urquhart's treaty stipulated for the removal of all transit duties, monopolies, taxes, and duties of whatever character, others than those stipulated by the treaty itself. As falsified by Lord Palmerston, it contained a clause, declaring the perfect right of the Sublime Porte to impose whatever regulations and restrictions it pleased, with regard to commerce. Mr. Urquhart's treaty left importation subject only to the old duty of three shillings; that of the noble lord raised the duty from three shillings to five shillings. Mr. Urquhart's treaty stipulated for an *ad valorem* duty in this manner, that if any article of commerce was so exclusively the production of Turkey, as to insure it a ready sale, at the prices usually received under the monopoly in foreign ports, then the export duty to be assessed by two commissioners appointed on the part of England and Turkey, might be a high one, so as to be remunerative and productive of revenue, but that, in the case of commodities produced elsewhere than in Turkey, and not being of sufficient value in foreign ports to bear a high duty, a lower duty should be assessed. Lord Palmerston's treaty stipulated a fixed duty of twelve shillings *ad valorem* upon every article whether it would bear the duty or not. [...] The original treaty extended the benefit of Free Trade to Turkish ships and produce; [...] the

[a] Mahmud II.—*Ed.*

substituted treaty contained no stipulation whatever on the subject.... I charge these falsifications, I charge also the concealment of them, upon the noble lord, and further—I charge the noble lord with having falsely stated to the house that his treaty was that which had been arranged by Mr. Urquhart."—(Speech of Mr. Anstey, H. of C., February 23rd, 1848.)

So favourable to Russia, and so obnoxious to Great Britain, was the treaty as altered by the noble lord, that some English merchants in the Levant resolved to trade henceforth under the protection of Russian firms, and others, as Mr. Urquhart states, were only prevented from so doing by a sort of national pride.

With regard to the secret relations between the noble lord and William IV, Mr. Anstey stated to the house,

"The king forced the question of the progress of Russian encroachment in Turkey, upon the attention of the noble lord.... I can [...] prove that the noble lord was obliged to take the directions in this matter from the late King's private secretary, and that his existence in office depended upon his compliance with the wishes of the monarch.... The noble lord did on one or two occasions, as far as he dared, resist, but his resistance was [...] invariably followed by *abject* expressions of *contrition* and *compliance.* I will not take upon myself to assert that, on one occasion, the noble lord was actually out of office for a day or two, [...] but I am able to say that the noble lord was [...] in danger of a most unceremonious expulsion from office on that occasion. I refer to the discovery which the late king had made, that the noble lord consulted the feelings of the Russian government as to the choice of an English ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg, and that Sir Stratford Canning, originally destined for the embassy, was set aside to make room for the late Earl of Durham, an ambassador more agreeable to the Czar."—(H. of C., Feb. 23, 1848.)

It is one of the most astonishing facts that, while the king was vainly struggling against the Russian policy of the noble lord—the noble lord and his Whig-allies succeeded in keeping alive the public suspicion that the king—who was known as a Tory—was paralysing the anti-Russian efforts of the "truly English" minister. The pretended Tory predilection of the monarch for the despotic principles of the Russian Court, was of course made to explain the otherwise inexplicable policy of Lord Palmerston. The Whig Oligarchs smiled mysteriously when H. L. Bulwer informed the house, that

"no longer ago than last Christmas Count Apponyi, the Austrian ambassador of Paris, stated, in speaking of the affairs of the East, that this Court had a greater apprehension of French principles than of Russian ambition."—(H. of C., July 11, 1833.)

They smiled again, when Mr. T. Attwood interrogated the noble lord

"what reception Count Orloff, having been sent over to England after the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, had met with at his Majesty's Court."—(H. of C., August 28, 1833.)

The papers entrusted by the dying king and his Secretary, the late Sir Herbert Taylor, to Mr. Urquhart "for the purpose of vindicating, upon the fitting opportunity, the memory of William IV"—will, when published, throw a new light upon the past career of the noble lord and the Whig Oligarchy, of which the public generally know little more than the history of their pretensions, their phrases, and their so-called principles—in a word, the theatrical and fictitious part,—the mask.

This is a fitting occasion to give his due to Mr. David Urquhart, the indefatigable antagonist for twenty years of Lord Palmerston, who has proved his only adversary—one not to be intimidated into silence, bribed into connivance, charmed into suitorship, while, what with cajoleries, what with seductions, Alcina Palmerston contrived to change all other foes into fools. We have just heard the fierce denunciation of his lordship by Mr. Anstey.

"A circumstance most significant is that the accused minister sought the member"—viz., Mr. Anstey—"[...] and was content to accept his [...] co-operation and private friendship without the forms of recantation or apology. [...] Mr. Anstey's recent legal appointment by the present government speaks for itself." (D. Urquhart's *Progress of Russia.*)

On February 8, 1848, the same Mr. Anstey had compared the noble viscount with

"the *infamous* Marquis of Carmarthen, Secretary of State to William III, [...] whom, during his visit to his court, the Czar, Peter I, found means to corrupt to his interests with the gold of British merchants."—(H. of C., February 8, 1848.)

Who defended Lord Palmerston on that occasion against the accusations of Mr. Anstey? Mr. Sheil; the same Mr. Sheil which had, on the conclusion of the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, in 1833, acted the same part of accuser against his lordship as Mr. Anstey in 1848. Mr. Roebuck, once his strong antagonist, procured him the vote of confidence in 1850. Sir Stratford Canning, having denounced during a decennium the noble lord's connivance with the Czar, was content to be got rid of as Ambassador at Constantinople. The noble lord's own dear Dudley Stuart was intrigued out of Parliament for some years for having opposed the noble lord. When returned back to it, he had become the *âme damnée* of the truly English minister. Kossuth, who might have

known from the Blue Books[a] that Hungary had been betrayed by the noble viscount, called him "the dear friend of his bosom" when landing at Southampton.

## SEVENTH ARTICLE[287]

[*The People's Paper,* No. 85, December 17, 1853]

One glance at the map of Europe will show you on the Western littoral of the Black Sea the outlets of the Danube, the only river which, springing up in the very heart of Europe, may be said to form a natural highway to Asia. Strictly opposite, on the Eastern side, to the south of the river Kuban, begins the mountain-range of the Caucasus, stretching from the Black Sea to the Caspian in a south-easterly direction for some seven hundred miles and separating Europe from Asia.

If you hold the outlets of the Danube, you hold the Danube, and with it the highway to Asia, and a great part of the commerce of Switzerland, Germany, Hungary, Turkey, and above all of Moldo-Wallachia. If you hold the Caucasus too, the Black Sea becomes your property,[b] and to shut up its door, you only want Constantinople and the Dardanelles. The possession of the Caucasus mountains makes you at once master of Trebizond, and through their domineering the Caspian Sea, of the northern seaboard of Persia.

The greedy eyes of Russia embraced at once the outlets of the Danube and the mountain-range of the Caucasus. There, the business in hand was to conquer supremacy, here to maintain it. The chain of the Caucasus separates Southern Russia from the luxurious provinces of Georgia, Mingrelia, Imeretia, and Guria, wrested by the Muscovite from the Mussulman. Thus the foot of the monster empire is cut off from its main body. The only military road deserving to be called such winds from Mozdok to Tiflis, through the *Engpass* of Dariel, fortified by a continuous line of entrenched places, but exposed on both sides to the never-ceasing attacks from the Caucasian tribes. The union of those

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[a] "Correspondence Relative to the Affairs of Hungary. 1847-1849. *Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.* August 15, 1850."—*Ed.*

[b] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* of January 11, 1854, this sentence begins as follows: "But give the same power the Caucasus in addition, and the Black Sea will exclusively belong to it as a *mare clausum* [closed sea]...."—*Ed.*

tribes under one military chief might even endanger the bordering country of the Cossacks. "The thought of the dreadful consequences which a union of the hostile Circassians under one head would produce in the south of Russia fills one with terror"—exclaims M. Kupffer, a German, who presided over the scientific commission, which, in 1829, accompanied the expedition of General Emmanuel to Elbruz.[a]

At this very moment our attention is directed with equal anxiety to the banks of the Danube, where Russia has seized the two corn-magazines of Europe, and to the Caucasus, whence she is menaced in the possession of Georgia.[b] It was the treaty of Adrianople, that prepared Russia's usurpation of Moldo-Wallachia, and recognised her claims to the Caucasus.

Article IV of that treaty stipulates,

"All the countries situated north and east of the line of demarcation between the two empires" (Russia and Turkey), "towards Georgia, Imeretia, and the Guria, as well as all the littoral of the Black Sea, from the mouth of the Kuban, as far as the port of St. Nicholas inclusively, shall remain under the domination of Russia."

With regard to the Danube the same treaty stipulates,

"The frontier line will follow the course of the Danube to the mouth of St. George, leaving all the islands formed by the different branches in the possession of Russia. The right bank will remain as formerly in the possession of the Ottoman Porte. It is however agreed that that right bank from the point where the arm of St. George departs from that of Sulina, still remain uninhabited to a distance of two hours" (six miles) "from the river, and that no kind of structure shall be raised there, and in like manner, on the islands which still remain in the possession of the Court of Russia. With the exception of quarantines which will be there established, it will not be permitted to make any other establishment or fortification."

Both these paragraphs, inasmuch as they secure to Russia an "extension of territory and exclusive commercial advantages," openly infringed upon the protocol of April 4, 1826, drawn up by the Duke of Wellington at St. Petersburg, and on the treaty of July 6, 1827, concluded between Russia and the other Great Powers at London.[288] The English Government, therefore, refused to recognise the treaty of Adrianople. The Duke of Wellington protested against it. (Speech of Lord Dudley Stuart, H. of C., March 17, 1837.)

Lord Aberdeen protested.

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[a] Kupffer, *Voyage dans les environs du Mont Elbrouz dans le Caucase, entrepris par ordre de la sa Majesté l'Empereur en 1829*, p. 4.—*Ed.*

[b] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* this sentence is followed by: "Her movements in both these regions have a common origin."—*Ed.*

"In a dispatch to Lord Heytesbury dated October 31st, 1829, he commented with no small dissatisfaction on many parts of the Treaty of Adrianople, and especially notices [...] the stipulations respecting the islands of the Danube. He denies that that peace" (the Treaty of Adrianople), "has respected the territorial rights of the Sovereignty of the Porte, and the condition and the interests of all maritime states in the Mediterranean."—(Speech of Lord Mahon, H. of C., April 20, 1836.)

He declared that

"the independence of the Porte would be sacrificed, and the peace of Europe endangered by this treaty being agreed to."—(Speech of Earl Grey, H. of L., Feb. 4th, 1834.)

Lord Palmerston himself informs us,

"As far as the extension of the Russian frontier is concerned [...] in the South of the Caucasus, and the shores of the Black Sea, it is certainly not consistent with the solemn declaration made by Russia in the face of Europe, previous to the commencement of the Turkish war." (H. of C., March 17th, 1837.)

The Eastern littoral of the Black Sea, by blockading of which and cutting off supplies of arms and gunpowder to the north-western districts of the Caucasus, Russia could alone hope to realise her nominal claim to those countries—this littoral of the Black Sea and the outlets of the Danube are certainly no places "where an English action could possibly take place,"[a] as was lamented by the noble lord in the case of Cracow. By what mysterious contrivance, then, has the Muscovite succeeded in blockading the Danube, in blocking up the littoral of the Euxine, and in forcing Great Britain to submit, not only to the Treaty of Adrianople, but at the same [time] to the violation by Russia herself of that identical treaty?

These questions were put to the noble viscount in the House of Commons, on April 20th, 1836, numerous petitions having poured in from the merchants of London, of Glasgow, and other commercial towns, against the fiscal regulations of Russia in the Black Sea, and her enactments and restrictions tending to intercept English commerce on the Danube. There had appeared, on February 7th, 1836, a Russian ukase, which, by virtue of the Treaty of Adrianople, established a quarantine on one of the islands formed by the mouths of the Danube. In order to execute that quarantine, Russia claimed a right of boarding and search, of levying fees, and seizing and marching off to Odessa refractory ships, proceeding on their voyage up the Danube. Before the quarantine was established, or rather before a custom-house and

[a] Marx quotes from Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on July 13, 1840.—*Ed.*

fort were erected, under the false pretence of a quarantine, the Russian authorities threw out their feelers, to ascertain the risk they might run with the British government. Lord Durham, acting upon instructions received from England, remonstrated with the Russian Cabinet, for the hindrance which had been given to British trade.

"He was referred to Count Nesselrode, Count Nesselrode [...] referred him to the Governor of South Russia, and the Governor of South Russia again referred him to the Consul at Galatz, who communicated with the British Consul at Brăila, who was instructed to send down the captains from whom toll had been exacted, to [...] the Danube, the scene of their injuries, in order that inquiry might be made on the subject, it being well known that the captains thus referred to were then in England."—(H. of C., April 20, 1836 [Speech of Mr. Patrick Stewart].)

The formal ukase of the 7th Feb., 1836, aroused, however, the general attention of British commerce.

"Many ships had sailed, and others were going out, to whose captains strict orders had been given, not to submit to the right of boarding and search, which Russia [...] claimed. [...] The fate of these ships must be inevitable, unless some expression of opinion were made on the part of that house. [...] Unless that were done, British shipping, to the amount of not less than 5,000 tons, would [...] be seized and marched off to Odessa, until the insolent commands of Russia were complied with." (Speech of Mr. Patrick M. Stewart, H. of C., April 20, 1836.)

Russia required the marshy islands of the Danube, by virtue of a clause of the Treaty of Adrianople, which clause itself was a violation of the treaty she had previously contracted with England and the other powers in 1827. The bristling [of] the gates of the Danube with fortifications, and these fortifications with guns, was a violation of the Treaty of Adrianople itself, which expressly prohibits any fortification to be erected within six miles of the river. The exaction of tolls, and the obstruction of the navigation, was a violation of the Treaty of Vienna, declaring that the navigation of rivers along their whole course, from the point where each of them becomes navigable to its mouth, shall be entirely free, that "the amount of the duties shall in no case exceed those now" (1815) "paid;" and that "no increase shall take place, except with the common consent of the states bordering on the river." Thus, then, all the argument on which Russia could plead not guilty was the treaty of 1827, violated by the Treaty of Adrianople, the Treaty of Adrianople violated by herself, the whole backed by a violation of the Treaty of Vienna.

It proved quite impossible to wring out of the noble lord any declaration, whether he did or did not recognise the treaty of Adrianople. As to the violation of the Treaty of Vienna, he had

"received no official information that anything has occurred which is not warranted by the treaty. [...] When such a statement is made by the parties concerned, it shall be dealt with [...] in such manner as the law-advisers of the Crown shall deem consistent with the rights of the subjects of this country." (Speech of Lord Palmerston, H. of C., April 20, 1836.)

By the treaty of Adrianople, Art. 5, Russia guarantees the "prosperity" of the Danubian Principalities and full "liberty of trade" for them. Now, Mr. Stewart proved that the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were objects of deadly jealousy to Russia, as their trade had taken a sudden development since 1834, as they vied with Russia's own stable production, as Galatz was becoming the great depot of all the grain of the Danube, and driving Odessa out of the market. If, answered the noble lord,

"if my honourable friend had been able to show that whereas some years ago we had had a large and important commerce with Turkey, [...] and that that commerce had, by the aggression of other countries, or by the neglect of the government of this, dwindled down to an inconsiderable trade, then there might have been ground to call upon parliament." In lieu of such an occurrence, "my honourable friend has shown that during the last few years the trade" with Turkey "has risen from next to nothing to a very considerable amount."

Russia obstructs the Danube navigation, because the trade of the Principalities is growing important, says Mr. Stewart. But she did not so when that trade was next to nothing, retorts Lord Palmerston. You neglect to oppose the recent encroachments of Russia on the Danube, says Mr. Stewart. We did not so at the epoch these encroachments were not yet ventured upon, replies the noble lord. What "circumstances" have, *therefore*, "occurred against which the Government [...] are [...] not likely to guard, unless driven thereto by the direct interference of this House?"[a] He prevented the Commons from passing a resolution by assuring them that,

"there is no disposition of his Majesty's[b] government to submit to aggressions on the part of any power, be that power what it may, and be it more or less strong," and by warning them that, "we should also cautiously abstain from anything which might be construed by other powers, and *reasonably* so, as being a provocation on our part."

A week after these debates had taken place in the House of Commons, a British merchant[c] addressed a letter to the Foreign Office with regard to the Russian Ukase.

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[a] This sentence is omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*
[b] William IV.—*Ed.*
[c] James Bell.—*Ed.*

"I am directed by Viscount Palmerston," answered the Under-Secretary[a] at the Foreign Office, "to acquaint you that his lordship has called upon the law-adviser for the Crown for his opinion as to the regulations promulgated by the Russian Ukase of Feb. 7, 1836; but in the meantime Lord Palmerston directs me to acquaint you, with respect to the latter part of your letter, that it is the opinion of his Majesty's government, that no toll is justly demanded by the Russian authorities at the mouth of the Danube, and that you have acted properly in directing your agents to *refuse* to pay it."[b]

The merchant acted according to this letter. He is abandoned to Russia by the noble lord; a Russian toll is, as Mr. Urquhart states, now exacted in London and Liverpool by Russian Consuls on every English ship sailing for the Turkish ports of the Danube; and "the quarantine still stands on the Island of Leti."

Russia did not limit her invasion on the Danube to a quarantine established, to fortifications erected, and to tolls exacted. The only mouth of the Danube remaining still navigable, the Sulina mouth, was acquired by her through the treaty of Adrianople. As long as possessed by the Turks, there was kept a depth of water in the channel of from fourteen to sixteen feet. Since, in the possession of Russia, the water became reduced to eight feet, a depth wholly inadequate to the conveyance of the vessels employed in the corn trade. Now Russia is a party to the treaty of Vienna, and that treaty stipulates in Art. 113, that

"each state shall be at the expense of keeping in good repair the Towing Paths, and shall maintain the necessary work in order that no obstruction shall be experienced by the navigation."

For keeping the channel in a navigable state, Russia found no better means than gradually reducing the depth of the water,[c] paving it with wrecks, and choking up its bar with an accumulation of sand and mud. To this systematic and protracted infraction of the treaty of Vienna she added another violation of the treaty of Adrianople, which forbids any establishment at the mouth of the Sulina, except for quarantine and light-house purposes, while, at her dictation, a small Russian fort has there sprung up, living from the extortions upon the vessels, the occasion for which is afforded by the delays and expenses for lighterage, consequent upon the obstruction of the channel.

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[a] John Backhouse.—*Ed.*

[b] This quotation and those following, including passages from the Vienna Treaty of 1815, are given according to D. Urquhart, *Progress of Russia in the West, North, and South.*—*Ed.*

[c] The phrase "gradually reducing the depth of the water" is omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune.*—*Ed.*

*Cum principia negante non est disputandum,*[a] of what use is it to dwell upon abstract principles with despotic governments, who are accused of measuring right by power, and of ruling their conduct by expediency, and not by justice.—(Speech of Lord Palmerston, April 30, 1823.)

According to his own maxim the noble viscount was contented to dwell upon abstract principles with the despotic government of Russia; but he went farther. While he assured the house on July 6, 1840, that the freedom of the Danube navigation was "guaranteed by the treaty of Vienna"—while he lamented on July 13, 1840, that the occupation of Cracow being a violation of the treaty of Vienna, "there were no means of enforcing the opinions of England, because Cracow was evidently a place where no English action could possibly take place;" two days later he concluded a Russian treaty, closing the Dardanelles to England[b] "during times of peace with Turkey," and thus depriving England of the only means of "enforcing" the treaty of Vienna, and transforming the Euxine into a place where no English action could possibly take place.

This point once obtained, he contrived to give a sham satisfaction to public opinion by firing off a whole battery of papers, reminding the "despotic government, which measures right by power, and rules its conduct by expediency, and not by justice," in a sententious and sentimental manner, that

"Russia, when she compelled Turkey to cede to her the outlet of a great European river, which forms the commercial highway for the mutual intercourse of many nations, undertook duties and responsibilities to other states which she should take a pride in making good."

To this dwelling upon abstract principles Count Nesselrode was giving the inevitable answer that, "the subject should be carefully examined," and expressing from time to time "a feeling of soreness on the part of the imperial government at the mistrust manifested as to their intentions."

Thus, through the management of the noble lord, in 1853 things arrived at the point where the navigation of the Danube was declared impossible, and corn rotting at the mouth of the Sulina, while famine threatened to invade England, France, and the South of Europe. Thus Russia was not only adding, as *The Times* says, "to her other important possessions, that of an iron

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[a] There can be no dispute with him who denies principles. This phrase is omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune.—Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "to English men-of-war".—*Ed.*

gate between the Danube and the Euxine,"[a] she possessed herself of the key to the Danube, of a bread-screw, which she can put on, whenever the policy of Western Europe becomes obnoxious to punishment.[b]

## EIGHTH ARTICLE

[*The People's Paper*, No. 86, December 24, 1853]

The petitions presented to the House of Commons, on April 20th, 1836, and the resolution moved by Mr. Patrick M'Stewart in reference to them, did not only refer to the Danube, but to Circassia too, the rumour having spread through the commercial world that the Russian government, on the plea of blockading the coast of Circassia, pretended to exclude English ships from landing goods and merchandise in certain ports of the Eastern littoral of the Black Sea. On that occasion Lord Palmerston solemnly declared:

"If parliament will place their confidence in us—if they will leave it to us to manage the foreign relations of the country [...] we shall be able to protect the interests, and to uphold the honour of the country, without being obliged to have recourse to war."—(House of Commons, April 20th, 1836.)

Some months afterwards, on October 29th, 1836, the *Vixen*, a trading vessel belonging to Mr. George Bell, and laden with a cargo of salt, set out from London on a direct voyage for Circassia. On November 25th, she was seized in the Circassian Bay of Soudjouk-Kale by a Russian man-of-war, for "having been employed on a blockaded coast." (Letter of the Russian Admiral Lazareff to the English Captain, Mr. Childs, December 24th, 1836.[c]) The vessel, her cargo, and her crew were sent to the port

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[a] This statement from *The Times*, No. 16062, March 28, 1836, is quoted according to D. Urquhart, *Progress of Russia in the West, North, and South.*—*Ed.*

[b] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* the article ends as follows: "The mystery, however, of Lord Palmerston's transactions with Russia as to her schemes on the Danube was not revealed till during the course of the debates on Circassia. Then it was proved by Mr. Anstey on February 23, 1848, that 'the noble Viscount's first act on coming into office'" (as the Minister of Foreign Affairs) "'was to accept the treaty of Adrianople,'—the same treaty against which the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen had protested.

"How this was done and how Circassia was delivered by Lord Palmerston to Russia, as far as he had the power to deliver it, may perhaps, form the subject of another article."[289]—*Ed.*

[c] D. Urquhart, *Progress of Russia in the West, North, and South*, p. 320.—*Ed.*

of Sebastopol, where the condemnatory decision of the Russians was received on January 27th, 1837. This time, however, no mention was made of a "blockade," but the *Vixen* was simply declared a lawful prize, because "it was guilty of smuggling;" the importation of salt being prohibited, and the Bay of Soudjouk-Kale, a Russian port, not provided with a custom-house. The condemnation was executed in an exquisitely ignominious and insulting manner. The Russians, who effected the seizure, were publicly rewarded with decorations. The British flag was hoisted, then hauled down, and the Russian flag hoisted in its stead. The master and crew, put as captives on board the *Ajax*—the captor—were despatched from Sebastopol to Odessa, and from Odessa to Constantinople, whence they were allowed to return to England. As to the vessel itself, a German traveller, who visited Sebastopol a few years after this event, wrote, in a letter addressed to the *Augsburg Gazette*:

"After all the Russian ships-of-the-line which I visited, no vessel excited my curiosity more than the *Soudjouk-Kale*, formerly the *Vixen*, [...] under Russian colours, she has now quite changed her appearance. [...] This little vessel is now the best sailer in the Russian fleet, and is generally employed as transport between Sebastopol and the coast of Circassia."[a]

The capture of the *Vixen* certainly afforded Lord Palmerston a great occasion for fulfilling his promise "to protect the interests, and to uphold the honour of the country." Besides the honour of the British flag and the interests of British commerce there was another question at stake—*the independence of Circassia.* At first Russia justified the seizure of the *Vixen* on the plea of an infraction of the blockade proclaimed by her; but the ship was condemned on the opposite plea of a contravention against her custom-house regulations. By proclaiming a blockade, Russia declared Circassia a hostile foreign country, and the question was whether the British government had ever recognised that blockade? By the establishment of custom-house regulations, Circassia was, on the contrary, treated as a Russian dependency, and the question was whether the British government had ever recognised the Russian claims to Circassia?

Before proceeding, let it be remembered that Russia was at that epoch yet far from having completed her fortifications of Sebastopol.

Any Russian claim to the possession of Circassia could only be derived from the treaty of Adrianople, as explained in a previous

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[a] Quoted from *The Portfolio,* 1844, Vol. II, No. VIII, p. 533.—*Ed.*

article. But the treaty of July 6th, 1827, bound Russia to not attempting any territorial aggrandisement, nor securing any exclusive commercial advantage from her war with Turkey. Any extension, therefore, of the Russian frontier, attendant on the treaty of Adrianople, openly infringed the treaty of 1827, and was, as shown by the protest of Wellington and Aberdeen, not to be recognised on the part of Great Britain. Russia, then, had no right to receive Circassia from Turkey. On the other hand, Turkey could not cede to Russia what she never possessed, and Circassia had always remained so independent of the Porte that, at the time when a Turkish Pasha yet resided at Anapa, Russia herself had concluded several conventions with the Circassian chieftains as to the coast-trade, the Turkish trade being exclusively and legally restricted to the port of Anapa. Circassia being an independent country, the municipal, sanitary, or customs' regulations with which the Muscovite might think fit to provide her were as binding as his regulations for the port of Tampico.

On the other hand, if Circassia was a foreign country hostile to Russia, the latter had only a right to blockade, if that blockade was no paper blockade—if Russia had the naval squadron present to enforce it, and really domineered the coast. Now, on a coast extending 200 miles, Russia possessed but three isolated forts, all the rest of Circassia remaining in the hands of the Circassian tribes. There existed no Russian fort in the bay of Soudjouk-Kale. There was in fact no blockade, because no maritime force was employed. There was the offer of the distinct testimony of the crew of two British vessels who had visited the bay—the one in September, 1834—the other, that of the *Vixen* itself—confirmed subsequently by the public statements of two British travellers who visited the harbour in the years 1837 and 1838, that there was no Russian occupation whatever of the coast.—(*Portfolio*, VIII, March 1, 1844.)

When the *Vixen* entered the harbour of Soudjouk-Kale,

> "there were no Russian ships of war in sight nor in the offing.... A Russian vessel of war came into the harbour 36 hours after the *Vixen* had cast anchor, and at the moment when the owner and some of the officers were on shore [...] in fixing the dues demanded by the Circassian authorities, and payable on the value of the goods.... The man-of-war came not coastwise, but from the open sea."—(Speech of Mr. Anstey, H. of C., Feb. 23, 1848.)

But need we give further proofs than the St. Petersburg Cabinet itself seizing the *Vixen en pretext* of blockade, and confiscating it *en pretext* of custom-house regulations?

The Circassians thus appeared the more favoured by accident, as the question of their independence coincided with the question of the free navigation of the Black Sea—the protection of British commerce, and an insolent act of piracy committed by Russia on a British merchant ship. Their chance of obtaining protection from the mistress of the seas seemed less doubtful as

"the Circassian declaration of independence had a short time ago been published after mature deliberation and several weeks' correspondence with different branches of the government, in a periodical" (*The Portfolio*) "connected with the foreign department, and as Circassia was marked out as an independent country in a map revised by Lord Palmerston himself."—(Speech of Lord Stanley, H. of C., June 21, 1838.)

Will it then be believed that the noble and chivalrous Viscount knew how to handle the case so masterly, that the very act of piracy committed by Russia against British property afforded him the long sought-for occasion of formally recognising the treaty of Adrianople, and the extinction of Circassian independence?

On March 17, 1837, Mr. Roebuck moved, with reference to the confiscation of the *Vixen*, for

"a copy of all correspondence between the government of this country and the governments of Russia and Turkey [...] relating to the treaty of Adrianople, as well as [...] all transactions or negotiations connected with the ports and territories on the shores of the Black Sea by Russia since the Treaty of Adrianople."

Mr. Roebuck, from fear of being suspected of humanitarian tendencies, and of defending Circassia on the ground of abstract principles, plainly declared:

"Russia may endeavour to obtain possession of all the world, and I regard her efforts with indifference; but the moment she interferes with our commerce, I call upon the government of this country" (which country exists in appearance somewhere beyond the limits of all the world), "to punish the aggression."

Accordingly he wanted to know "if the British government had acknowledged the treaty of Adrianople?"

The noble lord, although pressed very hard, had ingenuity enough to make a long speech, and

"to sit down without telling the house [...] who was in actual possession of the Circassian coast at the present moment [...] whether it really belonged to Russia, and whether it was by right of a violation of fiscal regulations, or in consequence of an existing blockade, that the *Vixen* had been seized, and whether or not he recognised the Treaty of Adrianople." (Speech of Mr. Hume, H. of C., March 17th, 1837.)

Mr. Roebuck stated that, before allowing the *Vixen* to proceed to Circassia, Mr. Bell had applied to the noble lord, in order to ascertain whether there was any impropriety or danger to be apprehended of a vessel landing goods in any part of Circassia, and that the Foreign Office answered in the negative. Thus, Lord Palmerston found himself obliged to read to the house the correspondence exchanged between himself and Mr. Bell. Reading these letters, one would fancy he was reading a Spanish comedy of the cloak and the sword, rather than an official correspondence between a minister and a merchant. When he heard the noble lord read the letters respecting the seizure of the *Vixen,* Daniel O'Connell exclaimed, "He could not help calling to his mind the expression of Talleyrand that language had been invented to conceal thoughts."

For instance, Mr. Bell asks, "whether there were any restrictions on [...] trade recognised by His Majesty's government—as, if not, he intended to send thither a vessel with a cargo of salt?" "You ask me," answers Lord Palmerston, "whether it would be for your advantage to engage in a speculation in salt," and informs him "that it is for commercial firms to judge for themselves whether they shall enter or decline a speculation." "By no means," replies Mr. Bell. "All I want to know is, whether or not His Majesty's government recognise the Russian blockade on [...] the Black Sea to the South of the river Kuban?" "You must look at the London *Gazette,*" retorts the noble lord, "in which all the notifications, such as those alluded to by you, are made." The London *Gazette* was, indeed, the quarter to which a British merchant had to refer for such information, instead of the ukases of the Emperor of Russia. Mr. Bell, finding no indication whatever in the *Gazette* of the acknowledgement of the blockade or of other restrictions, despatched his vessel. The result was, that some time after he was himself placed in the *Gazette.*

"I referred Mr. Bell," says Lord Palmerston, "to the *Gazette,* where he would find that no blockade had been [...] communicated or declared to this country by the Russian government—consequently, none was acknowledged."

By referring Mr. Bell to the *Gazette,* Lord Palmerston did not only deny the acknowledgement on the part of Great Britain of the Russian blockade, but simultaneously affirmed that, in his opinion, the coast of Circassia formed *no part* of the Russian territory, because blockades of their own territories by foreign states—as for instance against revolted subjects—are *not* to be notified in the *Gazette.* Circassia forming no part of the Russian

territory could not, of course, be included in Russian custom-house regulations. Thus, according to his own statement, Lord Palmerston denied, in his letters to Mr. Bell, Russia's right to blockade the Circassian coast, or to subject it to commercial restrictions. It is true that, through his speech, transpired the desire to induce the house to infer that Russia had possession of Circassia. But, on the other hand, he stated plainly,

"As far as the extension of the Russian frontier is concerned [...] on the South of the Caucasus and the shores of the Black Sea, [...] it is certainly not consistent with the solemn declaration made by Russia in the face of Europe, previous to the commencement of the Turkish war."

When he sat down, pledging himself ever "to protect the interests and to uphold the honour of the country," he seemed to labour beneath the accumulated miseries of his past policy, rather than hatching treacherous designs for the future. On that day he met with the following cruel apostrophe:

"The want of vigour and alacrity to defend the honour of the country which the noble lord had displayed was most culpable; [...] the conduct of no former minister had ever been so vacillating, so hesitating, so uncertain, so cowardly, when insult had been offered to British subjects. [...] How much longer [...] did the noble lord propose to allow Russia thus to insult Great Britain, and thus to injure British commerce? [...] The noble lord was *degrading* England by holding her out in the character of a bully—haughty and tyrannical to the weak, humble and abject to the strong."

Who was it that thus mercilessly branded the truly English Minister? Nobody else than Lord Dudley Stuart.

On November 25th, 1836, the *Vixen* was confiscated. The stormy debates of the House of Commons, just quoted, took place on March 17th, 1837. It was not till April 19th, 1837, that the noble lord requested the Russian government

"to state the reasons on account of which it had thought itself warranted to seize, [...] in time of peace, a merchant vessel belonging to British subjects."

On May 17th, 1837, the noble lord received the following despatch from the Earl of Durham, the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg[a]:

"My Lord,—With respect to the military *de facto* occupation of Soudjouk-Kale, I have to state to your lordship that there is a fortress in the bay which bears the

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[a] Passages from Palmerston's correspondence with Durham, the English Ambassador to Russia, are quoted from "Letters from the Black Sea and the Caucasus.—The *Vixen* again", *The Portfolio*, 1844, Vol. II, No. VIII.—*Ed.*

name of the Empress (Alexandrinski), and that it has always been occupied by a Russian garrison.

"I have &c.

"*Durham.*"

It need hardly be remarked that the fort Alexandrinski had not even the reality of the pasteboard towns exhibited by Potemkin, before the Empress Catherine II, on her visit to the Crimea.[290] Five days after the receipt of this despatch, Lord Palmerston returns the following answer to St. Petersburg:

"His Majesty's government, considering in the first place that Soudjouk-Kale which was acknowledged by Russia in the Treaty of 1783 as a Turkish possession, now belongs to Russia, as stated by Lord Nesselrode, by virtue of the Treaty of Adrianople, [...] see no sufficient reason to question the right of Russia to seize and confiscate the *Vixen.*"[a]

There are some very curious circumstances connected with the negotiation. Lord Palmerston requires six months of premeditation for opening, and hardly one to close it. His last despatch, of May 23d, 1837, suddenly and abruptly cuts off any further transactions. It quotes the date before the Treaty of Kutshuk-Kainardji, not after the Gregorian, but after the Greek chronology. Besides, "between April 19th, and May 23d," as Sir Robert Peel said,

"a remarkable change from official declaration to satisfaction, occurred [...] apparently induced by the *assurance* received from Count Nesselrode, that Turkey had ceded the coast in question to Russia by the Treaty of Adrianople. [...] Why did he not protest against this ukase?" (H. of C., June 21st, 1838.)

Why all this? The reason is very simple. King William IV had secretly instigated Mr. Bell to despatch the *Vixen* to the coast of Circassia. When the noble lord delayed negotiation, the King was still in full health. When he suddenly closed the negotiations, William IV was in the agonies of death, and Lord Palmerston disposed as absolutely of the Foreign Office, as if he was himself the Autocrat of Great Britain. Was it not a master-stroke on the part of his jocose lordship to formally acknowledge by one dash of the pen the Treaty of Adrianople, Russia's possession of Circassia, and the confiscation of the *Vixen*, in the name of the dying king, who had despatched that saucy *Vixen*, with the express view to mortify the Czar,[b] to disregard the Treaty of Adrianople, and to affirm the independence of Circassia?

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[a] Quoted from D. Urquhart, *Progress of Russia in the West, North, and South,* p. 320.—*Ed.*

[b] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

Mr. Bell, as we stated, went into the *Cazette*, and Mr. Urquhart, then the first secretary of the Embassy at Constantinople, was recalled, because of "having persuaded Mr. Bell to carry his *Vixen* expedition into execution."

As long as King William IV was alive, Lord Palmerston dared not openly countermand the *Vixen* expedition, as is proved by the Circassian declaration of independence, published in *The Portfolio*, by the Circassian map—revised by his lordship—by his uncertain correspondence with Mr. Bell, by his vague declarations in the house, by the supercargo of the *Vixen*, Mr. Bell's brother receiving, when setting out, despatches from the Foreign Office, for the Embassy at Constantinople, and direct encouragement from Lord Ponsonby, the British Ambassador to the Sublime Porte.

In the earlier times of Queen Victoria, the Whig ascendancy seemed to be safer than ever, and accordingly the language of the chivalrous viscount suddenly changed. From deference and cajolery, it became at once haughty and contemptuous. Interrogated by Mr. T. Attwood, on December 14, 1837, with regard to the *Vixen* and Circassia—

"As to the *Vixen*, Russia had given such explanations of her conduct as ought to satisfy the government of this country. That ship was not taken during a blockade. It was captured because those who had the management of it contravened the municipal and customs' regulations of Russia."

As to Mr. Attwood's apprehension of Russian encroachment—

"I say that Russia gives to the world quite as much security for the preservation of peace as England." (Speech of Lord Palmerston, H. of C., Dec. 14, 1837.)

At the close of the session the noble lord laid before the house the correspondence with the Russian government, the two most important parts of which we have already quoted.

In 1838 party aspects had again changed, and the Tories recovered an influence. On June 21st they gave Lord Palmerston a round charge, Sir Stratford Canning, the present Ambassador at Constantinople, moving for a Select Committee to inquire into the allegations made by Mr. George Bell against the noble lord, and into his claims of indemnification. At first his lordship was highly astonished that Sir Stratford's motion should be of "so trifling a character."

"You," exclaimed Sir Robert Peel, "are the first English minister who dares to call trifles the protection of the British property and commerce."

"No individual merchant," said Lord Palmerston, "was entitled to ask Her Majesty's government to give an opinion on questions of that sort, as the right of

Russia to the sovereignty of Circassia, [...] or to establish those customs and sanitary regulations she was enforcing by the power of her arms."

"If that be not your duty, what is the use of the Foreign Office at all?" asked Mr. Peel.

"It is said," resumed the noble lord, "that Mr. Bell, this innocent Mr. Bell, was led into a trap by me by the answers I gave him. [...] The trap, if there was one, was laid not for Mr. Bell, but by Mr. Bell," namely, by the questions he put to innocent Lord Palmerston.

In the course of these debates (June 21st, 1838), out came at length the great secret. Had he been willing to resist in 1836 the claims of Russia, the noble lord had been unable to do so from the very simple reason that, already in 1831 his first act on coming into office was to acknowledge the Russian usurpation of the Caucasus, and thus, in a surreptitious way, the treaty of Adrianople. Lord Stanley (now Lord Derby) stated that, on August 8th, 1831, the Russian Cabinet informed its representative at Constantinople of its intention

"to subject to sanitary regulations the communications which freely exist between the inhabitants of the Caucasus and the neighbouring Turkish provinces," and that he was "to communicate the above-mentioned regulations to the foreign missions at Constantinople as well as to the Ottoman Government."

By allowing Russia the establishment of so-called sanitary and custom-house regulations on the coast of Circassia, although existing nowhere except in the above letter, Russian claims to the Caucasus were acknowledged, and consequently the treaty of Adrianople, on which they were grounded.

"Those instructions," said Lord Stanley, "had been communicated in the most formal manner to Mr. Mandeville" (Secretary to the Embassy), "at Constantinople, expressly for the information of the British merchants, and transmitted to the noble Lord Palmerston."

Neither did he, nor dared he, "according to the practice of former governments, communicate to the committee at Lloyd's[291] the fact of such a notification having been received." The noble lord made himself guilty of "a six years' concealment," exclaimed Sir Robert Peel.

On that day his jocose lordship escaped from condemnation by a majority of sixteen; 184 votes being against, and 200 for him. Those sixteen votes will neither out-voice history nor silence the mountaineers,[292] the clashing of whose arms proves to the world that the Caucasus does not "now belong to Russia, as stated by Count Nesselrode," and as echoed by Lord Palmerston!

# Karl Marx

## THE WAR QUESTION.—FINANCIAL MATTERS.—STRIKES[293]

London, Friday, Oct. 7, 1853

On Friday last, *The Morning Chronicle*, in its fourth edition, communicated a telegraphic despatch, according to which the Sultan[a] had declared war against Russia. The Paris *Patrie* of yesterday evening announces, in a semi-official note, that the intelligence received from the East, does not confirm the statement of *The Morning Chronicle*. According to another Ministerial paper, the *Constitutionnel*, it was on the reiterated representations of Mr. de Bruck, the Austrian Internuncio, that the Divan assembled on the 25th, with the view to deliberate on the Vienna note, when it declared it would abide by the last note of Reshid Pasha.[294] A Grand Council was convoked on the following day. This Council consisting of 120 of the principal Ministers, Councillors, Pashas and religious dignitaries, resolved that

> "it would be contrary to the dignity, and subversive of the sovereign authority of the Sultan to sign the Vienna note without the modifications suggested by the Divan, and that, inasmuch as the Czar[b] had declared those modifications to be totally inadmissible, and refused to abandon his demand for an engagement destructive of the independence of the Ottoman Empire, it only remained for the Council to advise the Sultan to proceed at once to adopt the measures necessary for the preservation of his Empire, and to free his dominions from the presence of the invader."[c]

As to the *formal* declaration of war, it has not yet been confirmed by any authentic dispatch. This time, at least, the Porte

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[a] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*

[b] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

[c] Quoted according to the article published in *The Morning Post*, October 5, 1853 and reprinted in *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 279, October 6, 1853.—*Ed.*

has caught the Western diplomats. The English and French Governments, not daring to call their fleets home, unable to hold any longer their ridiculous position at Besika Bay, unwilling to pass the straits in open defiance to the Czar, wanted the Porte to send for ships from Besika Bay on the pretext that danger to the Christians at Constantinople was to be apprehended during the *fêtes* of the Bairam. The Porte refused, observing that there was no danger; that if there was, it would protect the Christians without foreign aid, and that it did not wish to summon the ships until after the *fêtes*. But the vanguard of the united fleets had hardly crossed the straits, when the Porte, having now put its vacillating and treacherous allies into a fix, declared for war. As to the war itself, it commenced three months ago, when the Russian forces crossed the Pruth. The first campaign was even brought to a close when the Russian legions reached the banks of the Danube. The only change that can now take place will be that the war will cease to be a one-sided one.

Not only the Bey of Tunis,[a] but the Shah of Persia,[b] notwithstanding the intrigues of Russia, has placed at the disposal of the Sultan a corps of 60,000 of his best troops. The Turkish army, then, may truly be said to be a mustering of all the available forces of Mohammedanism in Europe, Africa, and Western Asia. The hosts of the two religions which have long struggled for supremacy in the East, the Russo-Greek and the Mohammedan are now fronting each other, the one summoned by the arbitrary will of a single man—the other by the fatal force of circumstances, according to their mutual creeds, as the Russo-Greek Church rejects the dogma of predestination, while Mohammedanism centers upon fatalism.

To-day two meetings are to be held, the one in Downing-st.—the other at the London Tavern; the one by the Ministers—the other against them; the one in favor of the Czar—the other in favor of the Sultan.

From the leaders of *The Times* and *Morning Chronicle*, we might infer, if there could exist any doubt about the intention of the Coalition, that it will try to the utmost to prevent war, to resume negotiations, to kill time, to paralyze the Sultan's army, and to support the Czar in the Principalities.

"The Czar has declared for peace," *The Times* is happy to

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[a] Ahmed.—*Ed.*
[b] Nasr-ed-Din.—*Ed.*

state,[a] upon undoubted authority. The Czar has expressed "pacific sentiments at Olmütz[295] *by his own lips*." He will not accept the modifications the Porte has proposed; he will abide by the original Vienna note, but he will allow the Vienna conference to interpret the note in a *preternatural sense*, contradictory to his own Nesselrode's interpretation. He will allow them to occupy themselves with conferences, provided they allow him, meanwhile, to occupy the Principalities.

*The Times*, in its peace paroxysm, compares the two Emperors of Russia and Austria to a couple of savage chiefs in the interior of Africa, in order to arrive at the conclusion:

"After all, what does the world care for the Emperor of Russia, *that it should go to war out of deference to his political mistakes?*"

The banks of Turin, Paris, Berlin and Warsaw have raised their rate of discount. In the bank returns of last week, the bullion reserve of the Bank of England was stated to have again decreased by £181,615, its total amount now being only £15,680,783. The active circulation of notes has decreased to the extent of nearly £500,000, while the discount of bills has increased by £400,000,[b] a coincidence which confirms the statement I made in my letter on the Peel Act, that the amount of bank notes in circulation does not rise and fall in proportion to the amount of banking business which is done.[c]

Mr. Dornbush concludes his monthly commercial circular as follows:

"Political events during the last week have greatly added to the agitation in the Corn trade, caused by the increasing reports of a deficient wheat crop, the spreading of the potato disease and the scarcity of ship-room. Town flour has advanced to 70 shillings per 280 pounds, new wheat to 80 shillings, with a rising discount approaching 5 per ct. A great excitement now pervades the corn trade—the probability of a war in the East, the prohibition of exporting grain from Egypt, the confirmed deficiency in the wheat crop in England, the spreading of the potato disease, the falling off in the foreign arrivals (especially from the South of Europe), the continued demand for France, Belgium and Holland—these were the principal exciting causes that again drove up prices of wheat variously from one shilling to six shillings per quarter in the leading provincial markets held last week.... Generally, immediately after harvest, the tendency of prices is and remains

[a] Here and below Marx quotes from the leaders in *The Times*, No. 21552, October 6, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] Based on an account of September 24, 1853 in *The Economist*, No. 527, October 1, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 295-300.—*Ed.*

downward till Christmas. This year the movement has been the reverse.... Prices have been rising for some months past. At this moment there is no actual want of corn in any part of this quarter of the globe; many granaries, barns and rick-yards are full to repletion, and in some sea ports store-room is wanting. The late rise in price, therefore, has not been caused by a present, but by a prospective scarcity of corn, founded on the presumption of a deficiency in the crops, the effects of which are expected to be felt as the season advances. The coming winter is likely to prove one of great hardship and privation.... The prevailing opinion is still in favor of a further advance in prices; and while the bulk of speculators continue 'buying and storing,' the tendency is likely to remain upward, probably till next spring.... The presumable high range of prices during the next winter is likely to become, in the following spring, a great attraction to the importation of corn from distant regions, which, in ordinary seasons, cannot be reached on account of the distance and high cost of carriage; next spring an accumulation of arrivals from all accessible parts of the world is not improbable; and the very cause which now contributes to raise the price by the withdrawal of stocks from sale, will, with the setting in of the downward tide of prices, tend to depress the value of corn with a force commensurate to the then eagerness of holders to dispose of their stocks. Now the rule is to buy; then the watchword will be to sell. *Next year may prove as dangerous and disastrous as* 1847."

The general depression in the Manchester market continues. In proportion as the news from Australia and China, as well as that regarding the Eastern complication, are taking a more gloomy character, the minds of cotton-spinners, manufacturers and merchants, become more unsettled. The fall in prices may now be considered in ordinary qualities and Nos. of yarn to be from $^7/_8$ to 1d. per lb., from the highest point two months ago, which is very near twice as much as the fall in the corresponding quality of cotton, amounting to no more than $^1/_2$ to $^5/_8$ d. And even at the extreme reduction of 1d., people find it difficult to sell, and stocks, the bugbears of our sympathetic school of political economists, go on accumulating. Of course it must not be expected that this accumulation of stocks will increase very rapidly; at the present moment both merchants and manufacturers, on finding several markets overstocked, have yet the outlet of sending their goods, on consignment, to other markets, and this faculty they *very largely use just now.* But to throw the entire exportable produce of British industry, large enough to swamp, at regular intervals, the whole world, upon a few more or less confined markets, will necessarily excite the same state of plethora, and the revulsions consequent upon it, in those very markets which are as yet stated to be healthy. Thus it is that the slightly improved news from India, according to which there still is no chance of profitable exportation to that country, but merely a chance of diminishing loss upon fresh exports, has induced a rather considerable business to that

country, partly on account of the regular India houses, partly on account of the Manchester spinners and manufacturers themselves, who, rather than submit to the loss incumbent upon sales in a declining market, prefer taking whatever slight chance of a better sale there may result from a speculative export to India. And here I may add, that it has been ever since 1847 a regular practice with the Manchester spinners and manufacturers to send out for their own account large shipments to India, etc., and to have the returns in Colonial produce, sold equally for their own account either in British North America or Continental harbors. These speculations do not, certainly, belong to the legitimate trading sphere of the manufacturer, who is necessarily not half as well informed of the state of the markets as the sea-port merchant, but they please the British cotton-spinner who, while directing such distant operations, believes that favorite illusion realized, in which he imagines himself the supreme director, the ruling mind, as it were, of the world's trade and commercial destinies. And if it were not for these speculations which hold fast for a year or eighteen months a considerable portion of the industrial surplus capital, there is no doubt that the extension of manufactures in England would for the last five years have gone on at a still more rapid rate.

In the dry goods market, domestics are the articles suffering under the greatest depression; stocks continue to accumulate although a great number of looms have been stopped. Yet it cannot be said that there is anything doing in other sorts of goods.

A similar stagnation prevails at Leeds and Bradford, at Leicester and Nottingham. At the latter place the hours of work have been reduced to ten and even eight in the lace trade; hosiery has been depressed ever since June last, when the production was at once reduced in Nottingham by one-third of its amount. The only trade that appears to go on in uninterrupted prosperity for the present, is the hardware trade of Birmingham and its vicinity.

At London, bankruptcy begins to spread among the small shop-keepers.

In my letter of August 12, I stated that the master spinners and manufacturers were getting up "An Association for the purpose of aiding the trade in regulating the excitement among the operatives in the Manchester District," that that Association was to consist of local Associations, with a Central Committee, and that it intended "resisting all demands made by *associated bodies* of mill-hands,

fortifying the monopoly of capital by the monopoly of combination, and dictating terms as an Associated body."[a]

Now, is it not a very curious fact, that this scheme, of which I informed you about two months ago, has, to this very moment, never been alluded to by the London papers, although silently carried out in the meantime, and already doing its work at Preston, Bolton and Manchester? The London press, it appears, was anxious to withhold the fact from the eyes of the world, that the Factory Lords were systematically arraying their class against the class of Labor, and that the successive steps taken by them, instead of being the spontaneous result of circumstances, are the premeditated effects of a deep-laid conspiracy of an organized Anti-Labor League! This English Capitalist League of the nineteenth century is yet to find its historian, as the French Catholic League did in the authors of the *Satyre Menippée*, at the end of the sixteenth century.[296]

The work-people, in order to succeed in their demands, must naturally try to keep the one party *in* till the strike of the others has proved victorious. Where this plan is acted upon, the millowners combine to close *all* their mills, and, thus, to drive their hands to extremities. The Preston manufacturers,[297] as you know,[b] were to begin the game. Thirteen mills are already closed, and, at the expiration of another week, every mill is to be shut up, throwing out of work more than 24,000 men. The weavers have addressed a memorial to the masters, soliciting an interview, or offering to refer the matters in dispute to arbitration, but their request was rejected. As the Preston weavers are assisted by penny collections from the operatives of the surrounding districts, from Stalybridge, Oldham, Stockport, Bury, Withnell, Blackburn, Church-Parish, Acton, Irwell-Vale, Enfield, Burnley, Colne, Bacup, &c.; the men having discovered that the only means of resisting the undue influence of capital, was by union among themselves; the Preston factory-lords, on their part, have sent out secret emissaries to undermine the means of succor for the men on strike, and to induce the millowners of Burnley, Colne, Bacup, &c., to close their establishments, and to cause a general cessation of labor. In certain places, as at Enfield, the overlookers have been induced to inform their masters, who had taken a part in forwarding the movement, and accordingly a number of penny collectors have been discharged. While the Preston men are

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[a] See this volume, p. 250. — *Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 316. — *Ed.*

exhorted by the work-people of the surrounding districts to remain firm and united, the Preston masters meet with an immense applause from the other manufacturers, being extolled as the true heroes of the age.

At Bury, matters are taking a similar turn as at Preston. At Bolton, the bedquilt makers having lots cast to decide which of them were to begin striking, the masters of the whole trade at once closed their mills.

Besides the simultaneous closing of mills, other means of combination are resorted to. At Keighley, for instance, the weavers of Mr. Lund struck for an advance of wages, the principal cause of their turn-out being his giving less than was received by the weavers of Mr. Anderton, at Bingley. A deputation of the weavers having asked for an interview with Mr. Lund, and proceeded to his lodgings, they had the door politely shut in their faces. But, a week afterward, Mr. Anderton's work-people were informed by notice that a reduction would be made in the wages of his weavers of 3d. per piece, and of his woolcombers of one farthing per pound, Mr. Lund and Mr. Anderton having, in the meantime, concluded an alliance offensive and defensive, with a view to fight the weavers of the one by pulling down the wages of the other. Thus, it is supposed, Mr. Lund's weavers will be driven to submission or Mr. Anderton's weavers to a turn-out, and the additional weight of another turn-out doing away with all chance of support, both sets will bend to a general reduction.

In other instances the masters try to enlist the shop-keepers against the working men. Thus Mr. Horsfall, the coal king of Derby main pit, when, in consequence of a reduction of wages, his hands struck, went to all the butchers, bakers and provision dealers of the neighborhood the colliers trade with, to prevail on them not to let his men have anything on credit.

In all localities where the Association for "regulating the excitement among the operatives" exists, the associated masters have pledged themselves to heavy fines, in case of any individual member violating the status of their League, or yielding to the demands of the "hands." At Manchester these fines amount to £5,000, at Preston to £3,000, at Bolton to £2,000, etc.

There is one feature which, above all, distinguishes the present conflict from past ones. At former periods—as in 1832, 1839, 1840, 1842—a *general holiday*, as it was called, viz.: a general and simultaneous stopping of labor throughout the whole kingdom, was a favorite idea with the operatives, and the great object they

aimed at. This time, it is capital which threatens a general withdrawal. It is the masters who endeavor to bring about a general closing of mills. Do you not think that, if successful, it may prove a very dangerous experiment? Is it their intention to drive the English people to an insurrection of June,[298] in order to break their rising spirit, and to lay them prostrate for a series of years to come?

At all events, we cannot too closely watch the symptoms of the civil war preparing in England, especially as the London press intentionally shuts its eyes to great facts, while it diverts its readers with descriptions of such trifles as the banquet given by Mr. Titus Salt, one of the factory princes of Yorkshire, at the opening of his palace-mill, where not only the local aristocracy were regaled, but his hands, too. "Prosperity, health, and happiness to the working class," was the toast proposed by him, as the public is told by the Metropolitan press, but it is not told, that, some days afterwards, his moreen weavers received notice of *another reduction* in their wages from 2/3 to 2/1. "If this means either health or prosperity to the moreen weavers," writes one of his victims to *The People's Paper*, "I, for one, do not want it."[a]

You will perhaps have seen from *The Times* that a Mrs. MacDonnell, of Knoydart, Glengarry, has, in imitation of the Duchess of Sutherland, undertaken to clear her estates, in order to replace men by sheep.[b] *The People's Paper*, informed by a correspondent on the spot, gives the following graphic description of this Malthusian operation!

"This lady had a number of cottagers on her domains, many of whom were unable to pay their rents—some being considerably in arrears, *as we are told*. She, therefore, ordered them all off, and drove them to take refuge in the woods and caves, where they have since been lurking, or rather dying, while Mrs. MacDonnell's horses have been warmly bedded in secure and comfortable dwellings. She at the same time offered them a free passage to Canada, passage money being cheaper than poor rolls, and permission to sell 'their little stocks,' they having no stock whatever to sell, except the clothes they stand in, a broken table, or a rheumatic cat. Finally, she forgave them the arrears—she could not get. This is called '*noble generosity*.'"

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[a] Quoted from the postscript to the article of Ernest Jones "The Highland Lady.—The Yorkshire Factory Prince" in *The People's Paper*, No. 74, October 1, 1853. The quotation below is from the same article.—*Ed.*

[b] See K. Marx, "Elections.—Financial Clouds.—The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery" (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 486-94).—*Ed.*

Such ejections appear to be again the order of the day, throughout the Highlands. Thus, at least, we are informed by Sir Charles Forbes, a Highland laird, writing to *The Times*,

"that sheep-farms are now becoming so valuable, that it will pay our English sheep-farmers to hire sheep at any time, and to pay for the removal of all who stand in their way."[a]

Written on October 7, 1853

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3904, October 21, 1853; reprinted in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 878, October 25; published simultaneously in abridged form in German in *Die Reform*, Nos. 64 and 65, October 24 and 25, 1853

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] *The Times*, No. 21544, September 27, 1853.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE TURKISH MANIFESTO.— FRANCE'S ECONOMIC POSITION][299]

London, Tuesday, October 18, 1853

The Turkish manifesto addressed on the 4th of October to the four Great Powers as a justification of the Sultan's[a] declaration of war against the Czar,[b] is, in every respect, superior to the huge mass of state papers, which Europe has been inundated with since May, 1853.

The Sultan, it states, has given no motive for quarrel. There remained not even a pretext for it, after the question of the Holy Shrines had been settled. On the part of Russia all treaties were infringed; on the part of Turkey all means of conciliation exhausted. According to the Powers themselves, the Sultan was not to subscribe to Prince Menchikoff's note. How, then, could he be expected to adopt the Vienna note, which, as a whole, was not different from that of Prince Menchikoff's? The explanatory epistle of the Vienna conference could not change the condition of affairs. The *clear* and *precise* paragraph of the treaty of Kainardji being misconstrued by Russia, what would not be the risk of "placing in her hands *vague* and *obscure* paragraphs affording her a solid pretext for her pretentions to a religious Protectorate?" Moreover, the modifications proposed by the Sultan have been fully justified by the subsequent explanations published by Nesselrode. The occupation of the Principalities had, at first sight, constituted a *casus belli*, and the Porte is now decided to proclaim it a *casus belli*. Prince Gorchakoff has, accordingly, been summoned to evacuate the Danubian provinces. If fifteen days after

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[a] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*
[b] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

the arrival of that notification he should answer in the negative, Omer Pasha is to commence hostilities, the Russian agents are to quit the Ottoman states, and the commercial relations of the two countries to be broken off. No embargo, however, will be laid upon Russian merchant vessels, but they will receive orders to leave the Turkish ports. The straits will remain open to the mercantile navy of friendly Powers.

Such is the substance of the Sultan's manifesto.

The Turkish ultimatum was intimated to Prince Gorchakoff on the 9th inst. Accordingly, the term for evacuating the Principalities expires on the 25th inst. The threat, however, of commencing hostilities cannot be understood in a literal sense, as Omer Pasha is certain not to abandon his strong positions, with a view to attacking the Russians.

In *The Morning Herald* of yesterday you will find confirmed my observations on the westward movement of the Russian army, and the secret understanding with Austria which this movement indicates.[a]

Russia, true to the old Asiatic system of cheating and petty tricks, now plays upon the credulity of the Western World by spreading the rumor that the Czar had "*just* sent a courier in *all* haste to Vienna to declare that he accepted freely and completely the whole of the conditions proposed by the mediating powers," when, unfortunately, "he became informed of the declaration of war on the side of the Porte." Then, of course, the God of the Russians retracted at once *all the concessions* he had ever made, and exclaimed that "nothing remained but war, and war to the knife," (guerre à l'outrance). Thus the Czar, it appears, has been forced into war by the Sultan.

Mr. de Bruck, the Austrian Internuncio, is said to have interrogated the Porte whether it intended to appeal to the political refugees in order to form a foreign legion. Reshid Pasha replied that, notwithstanding the propositions incessantly made to the Porte, he had not yet come to any decision; but that in the case of Turkey being abandoned by her allies, she would believe herself perfectly justified in making use of all means for her proper defense, and in employing the services of the political refugees disseminated throughout the several countries of Europe.

We read in the *Constitutionnel*[b]:

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[a] See this volume, pp. 339-40.—*Ed.*
[b] Of October 15, 1853.—*Ed.*

"We have reason to believe that there has arrived at this moment at Paris and London an official demand for the succor of France and England on the part of the Sublime Porte."

You will read in the newspapers that the Emperor of Austria[a] has reduced his army by about 100,000 men. The truth is that this number have been dismissed on furlough, but are revocable at any moment. The financial pressure on the one side, and the hope of thus catching the money-lenders on the other, have induced the Vienna Cabinet to take this step.

The following extract from a London commercial circular, concerning the corn trade of France, will, I suppose, be read with interest:

"From a very extensive correspondence [...] taking every possible trouble to ascertain the real state of the case, we believe the crop of wheat in France to be on an average fully one-third short, varying according to locality, the greatest deficiency being in the south. It is true that journals under the influence of the Government have endeavored to persuade the public that such is not the case, but the very acts of the Government are a sufficient contradiction to such assertions. It first relaxed the Navigation Laws in favor of this country; it then repealed them altogether; next it anticipated the reduction of the duty, which the sliding-scale would of itself have secured, by fixing it at the minimum (without reference to the sections into which France is divided at various rates of duty) and opened the ports to foreign vessels free of tonnage dues. Since then it has opened all the rivers and canals free to corn vessels, and invited the railways to carry the food at reduced rates; it has opened Algeria free, and allowed it to ship to France by any tonnage; it has prohibited the export of potatoes and vegetables, and has not hesitated to interfere arbitrarily in many markets between buyers and sellers. Surely all this confirms a short crop, or are very unnecessary precautions. The trade in France has, however, been in a state of suspense for some time: not that the merchants throughout the kingdom have any doubt as to the result of the harvest, but the false step which the Government adopted with regard to fixing the price of bread has so perplexed them that they have been afraid to act, and it is notorious that as soon as the decree was issued, telegraphs were sent off in all directions, cancelling the orders given for corn; and it is impossible to estimate the ultimate consequence this measure may have upon prices. The average production of wheat in France is estimated at 80 millions of hectolitres (about 28 millions qrs.), the highest production during the last 25 years having been 97 millions in 1847, and the lowest 52 millions in 1830. The growth of wheat has increased very much of late years, much faster in proportion than the population; and the fact that stocks are completely exhausted at the present time, shows that the population have been much better fed and in a more prosperous condition than they used to be.

"The following table will show the progress of the population and production during the last 25 years:

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[a] Francis Joseph I.—*Ed.*

| | Population | | Average production of Wheat in five years. Hectolitres |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1831 | 32,569,223 | from 1827 to 1831 | 57,821,336 |
| 1836 | 33,540,910 | from 1832 to 1836 | 68,684,919 |
| 1841 | 34,240,178 | from 1837 to 1841 | 71,512,258 |
| 1846 | 35,400,486 | from 1842 to 1846 | 72,015,564 |
| 1851 | 35,781,821 | from 1847 to 1851 | 86,121,123 |

"The increase of consumption, in proportion to the increase of population, will cause the effect of a bad harvest to be more severely felt, as there are no old stocks left to fall back upon, and of course no stocks of foreign grain in warehouse."[a]

The sinister intentions of the governing classes of England, with regard to Turkey, may be inferred from the sermons of Messrs. Bright and Cobden at Edinburgh, from the Gladstone speeches at Manchester, and from the hint thrown out by several papers, that, in the case of a Russo-Turkish war, Lord Aberdeen will be replaced by Lord Palmerston, the chivalrous antagonist of Russia.

Jail Inquiries are now a constant feature in the reports of the press. From what has been disclosed it appears that prison discipline in Birmingham consists of collars and mural torture; in Leicestershire of cranks,[300] and in Hampshire of the less artificial method of starvation. And "you call this a free country!"

I stated, in a former letter, that the so-called peace concluded with Burma, was but an armistice, and that the new acquisitions would prove an endless source of new troubles to the British conquerors.[b] The last overland mail informs us, indeed, that the war party in Burma is increasing in strength; that the new territories are literally overrun by large bands of robbers, instigated by the Government of Ava and requiring a considerable increase of military force at Prome, and that

"the British troops are sick and disgusted, healthy sites for barracks having not yet been discovered."[c]

The shameful neglect of all means of irrigation on the part of the Indo-British rulers, is again producing, in the district of Patna, its regular quota of cholera and famine, consequent on the long continued drouth.

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[a] Quoted from *The Economist*, No. 529, October 15, 1853.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 201-02 and 282-83.—*Ed.*
[c] *The Times*, No. 21560, October 15, 1853.—*Ed.*

From a return just issued I abstract the following statistics of wrecks of British and foreign vessels on the coasts of the United Kingdom[a]:

| Year | Total wrecks | Sunk by leaks or collisions | Strand-ed | Lives lost | Total sum of wrecks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1850 | 277 | 84 | 304 | 784 | 681 |
| 1851 | 358 | — | 348 | 750 | 701 |
| 1852 | — | — | — | about 900 | 1,100 |
| Sum total of wrecks during the 3 years ..... | | | | | 2,482 |
| And of lives lost ..... | | | | | 2,434 |

Written on October 18, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] "Wreck Chart of the British Isles" (a fourth report) issued by the Department of the Admiralty.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [ARREST OF DELESCLUZE.—DENMARK.—AUSTRIA.—*THE TIMES* ON THE PROSPECTS OF WAR AGAINST RUSSIA][301]

London, Friday, Oct. 21, 1853

Among the arrests recently made at Paris, the most important is that of M. Delescluze, private Secretary to M. Ledru-Rollin. He had been sent to Paris on a secret mission, and compromising papers, as is stated, have been seized upon him. One cannot understand M. Ledru-Rollin's trusting to a man who has never cleared himself from the suspicion of having betrayed in 1848 the Belgian Legion in the famous affair of Risquons-Tout.[302]

At Copenhagen the consummation of the coup d'état seems imminent, as the Ministry will not yield, and as the *Folketing* has pronounced against the abolition of the existing Constitution, unless the Government submit to them its own project of a Constitution for the whole Danish monarchy. The two separate projects for the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein have appeared.[303] They are poor imitations of the constitutions of the old Prussian Provincial Diets, distributing the representation among the several "orders," making the right of election dependent on the holding of landed property, and limiting its exercise by the condition of "domicile" in the respective electoral districts. The most remarkable paragraphs in these constitutions are two, one of which deprives the courts of law of their ancient right of canceling administrative decrees, and the other excluding all individuals from the right of voting who compromised themselves in the revolutionary struggle from 1848-50, whether they have since been amnestied or not.

I told you in my last letter that the Austrian decree reducing the army was intended merely to entrap the money-lenders[a]; and now

[a] See this volume, p. 418.—*Ed.*

that all chance of obtaining a loan has vanished—now that the Government declare they never intended to contract any loan—now that they have entered upon a fresh emission of paper, we are informed that

"no arrangements are being made for carrying into execution the Imperial decree relative to the reduction of the army, and that, on the contrary, the generals who command in Lombardy, Hungary, and Croatia, have, all of them, demanded reenforcements on account of the state of the public mind in those countries."[a]

A Paris correspondent writes as follows to *The Morning Post* with reference to the proceedings of the Emperor of Russia during his late visits to Olmütz and Berlin:

"The Czar's[b] chief object was to make a new alliance between the Northern Powers.... To overcome the resistance of Prussia he used every argument—I may say every bribe; for he offered, in the event of his advancing into and holding Turkish territory, to yield the occupation of Warsaw and the military dominion of Poland to Prussia."[c]

As to the reported successes of the Russians over Shamyl, letters have arrived at Paris which show them to be nothing but inventions, no engagement of any description having taken place in the Caucasus since the month of May, when the victory at Mendoh was gained by Shamyl, and the Russians were driven back from their attempts upon Malka.

"We quite understand the popularity of a war with Russia on behalf of the Poles or the Hungarians, even if there was no ground of our interference except political sympathy.... We do not understand a war on behalf of the Turk."

Thus wrote *The Times* on Oct. 12. A week later we are told by the same paper:

"The first collision between British and Russian armies would be a signal of revolution all over the Continent, and we think it by no means unlikely, nor, indeed, altogether objectionable, that such a consideration may have occasionally passed through the minds of our aristocratic, plutocratic, [...] despotic, and anything but democratic rulers.... We are deliberately to go to war with Russia, in defense of the Turkish *nominal* sovereignty over certain really independent provinces, because by so doing we shall provoke a rebellion in the Austrian Empire."[d]

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[a] Judging by Marx's notebook, this is quoted from the letter from Vienna published in the *Frankfurter Journal* as reprinted in *The Morning Post*, October 21, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Morning Post*, October 19, 1853.—*Ed.*

[d] *The Times*, No. 21563, October 19, 1853.—*Ed.*

One day England is not to go to war with Russia, because by so doing it would defend the Turks, instead of the Poles and Hungarians; and the next day because any war in behalf of Turkey would be simultaneously a war in behalf of the Poles and the Hungarians.

The Vienna *Presse* states that Abd-el-Kader has been asked by the Sultan to accept a military command in the case of a war with Russia. The negotiations were managed by the Sheikh-ul-Islam,[a] and the Emir declared his willingness to enter the service of Turkey on the condition that the advice of Bonaparte was previously asked. The command destined for him was that of the Asiatic army.

Written on October 21, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Arif Hikmet Bey.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## MOVEMENTS OF THE ARMIES IN TURKEY

Several important military movements have recently taken place in the seat of war in Turkey, which more clearly define the positions and plans of the respective parties. The Russians—to whom we first advert because they are the attacking party, and as such must be regarded as taking the initiative—have continued to extend their line of operations toward the West. Brigade after brigade has been sent in the direction of Widin, on the upper Danube; and now the front of the Russian army may be said to extend from Kalafat, opposite Widin, to Orasch, opposite Orsova, in a direction which equally menaces the road to Constantinople, and that to Servia and Macedonia. The first movement toward Kalafat was sufficient to establish the certainty of a Russian diversion toward the centers of the Slavonic and Greek population of Turkey. It made it probable, at the same time, that the plan of the campaign would be defensive action and mere demonstrations on the direct road to Constantinople, with energetic offensive action on the road to Sofia, in Servia and Macedonia. However, when these movements were made, the Turks had not declared war. This event has since taken place, and appears to have irritated the Czar[a] to such a degree that he is likely to impart a far more energetic impulse to his troops than was previously to be expected. Not only is Prince Paskiewich called to the command of the Russian forces, but he is also said to bring with him 40,000 soldiers from the army in Poland, who next to the guards and grenadiers, are considered the best troops in the Russian pay. Such reenforcements would establish a superiority for the Russian

[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

arms which might justify offensive action, both on the Upper and Lower Danube, while at the same time they might be considered as a counterpoise against any French and British forces, that, according to rumor, are likely to be sent to the support of Turkey. At all events, these Russian reenforcements cannot arrive on the Danube in time for operations this season. From Warsaw to Bucharest, by way of Dubno, Chotin and Jassy, the distance is eight hundred miles across a country in which an army cannot move more than eight or ten miles a day. It will then be three months or till the beginning of January before these fresh troops can take up their positions; and considering the season of the year, it is even probable that it will take them longer. These troops, then, must remain entirely in the background until the beginning of the spring campaign.

The Russian forces, now in the Principalities, have been estimated at from 130,000 to 150,000 men. Supposing they have lost by sickness and desertion from 20,000 to 30,000, they still maintain a numerical superiority over the Turks opposed to them. For if we know but little more of the actual strength of the Russians than what may be concluded from the number of divisions and brigades marched into Turkey, and from the effective numbers they ought to show on their rolls, the numbers of the Turkish forces on the Danube are very well known through the reports of British, French and Piedmontese officers sent there by their respective Governments. Now, all these reports agree in this fact, that even after the arrival of the Egyptian contingent, the Turkish active army, under Omer Pasha, did not number more than 110,000 combatants, of whom only 80,000 were regulars. Behind them, at Adrianople, an army of reserve was being formed which was to consist of 80,000 Redifs (old soldiers called in again), but of the state of this reserve we have no positive information. The fact, then, is this, that on the day when the first shot will be fired, Omer Pasha will command an army numerically inferior to that of his opponent, and that nothing but blunders on the part of his enemy, or capital generalship on his own part, will save him from defeat.

We have equally good information as to the position and the defensive preparations of the Turks. Three lines have been fortified: first, the Danube, to prevent its being passed by the enemy; second, that from Varna to Shumla; third, that a few leagues in the rear of the second, on the river Kamčiya, where is the fort which guards the passes of the Balkan. These fortifications are described by the foreign officers as formidable, and likely

to frustrate any attempt of an enemy to carry them. Now, with all respect for the important art of field fortification, and for the judgment of the officers who give this report, we may be allowed to say that such opinions must be received with great caution. How many field-works considered to be impregnable have been carried, after a few rounds of grape-shot, on the first assault; and who does not know that the most celebrated field-works ever constructed, the lines of Torres Vedras,[304] were strong, not by their passive capacity of resistance but because Wellington had 100,000 men to defend them, while Masséna could only bring 30,000 men to the attack? Single, detached field-works, as in mountain passes for instance, have often done great service; but never in modern times has a superior army, commanded by an able General, been defeated in a general action on account of the passive resistance offered by field-works. And then the manner in which field-works are defended is almost everything; but half-disciplined troops, or soldiers without any discipline, are of little avail behind breastworks when a vigorous shower of grape is directed upon them.

But let us look at the three lines of defense the Turks have fortified. The first is that of the Danube. Now, to fortify the line of the Danube can only mean to erect such works as will prevent the Russians from crossing that river. The course of the Danube, from Orsova to the sea, is nearly 600 miles long; to fortify such a line effectually and to garrison the fortifications, would require six times as many men as the Turkish General can command, and if he had them he would commit the greatest blunder should he put them to such a use. We conclude then that this first line of fortifications must be confined to works between Rustchuk and Orsova, by which the passage of the river is molested, but not effectually prevented.

The second position from Shumla to Varna is exactly the same in which the Turks were routed in 1829, and in which they are again sure to be annihilated if they there accept a decisive battle. The position appears to possess striking advantages for defense, and to be susceptible of great additional strength by art; and the position on the Kamčiya, to the rear of Varna and Shumla, appears to be still stronger, and has the advantage of forcing the enemy to leave troops behind to blockade those fortresses. But both have this disadvantage, that they have a narrow pass in their rear as the only means of retreat, which outweighs, for an inferior army, all other advantages, and which would make it an egregious mistake to accept a battle unless the inferior army were as sure as

the British were at Waterloo that at the decisive moment an allied army would fall upon the flanks of the attacking enemy.[305]

As to Omer Pasha we have no means of judging to what use he really intends turning these fortifications. We cannot doubt but he knows very well that his part in the war will be chiefly defensive; and he is, therefore, perfectly justified in strengthening his defensive position by all the means which the art of fortification places at his disposal. We do not know, whether he intends these fortifications to frighten the Russians from passing the Danube at those points by which Constantinople is most directly menaced or whether he proposes to accept a decisive battle in them. It is said that he has disposed his army in such a manner that at whatever point toward Shumla the Russians shall cross the river, he will be prepared to fall upon the head of their main column and beat it before support can arrive. In that case, the second line of fortifications would form a secure retreat if the operation should be frustrated. But the truth is that a great defensive battle on any of the three lines would be a mistake; for either the Russians will concentrate all their forces for the attack, and then Omer Pasha will stand but a poor chance; or they will divide themselves, and then he ought to leave his fortified lines in order to fall upon one of their columns. The best use to which he could turn these fortifications, and the only one consistent with the modern system of warfare, would be to use them as a provisional base for offensive operations against detached Russian columns, on their passing the Danube; to check the Russian advance by a more or less obstinate defense of each line; and to hold, by means of the third line, the most important passes of the Balkan as long as this can be done without a general engagement. At the same time it cannot be denied that any army, and particularly the Turkish army, would be exceedingly demoralized by the abandonment without a battle, of these fortifications; for if they cannot hold out behind ditches and bulwarks, how are they to beat the Russians in the open field? This is the way the private soldier always reasons, especially if only half-disciplined; and therefore, if the fortifications in question actually have the importance ascribed to them, we cannot but consider them more dangerous to the Turks themselves than to the Russians.

But the Russians have fortified themselves, too, in Wallachia? Certainly, and their case is different. They are the attacking party; their fortifications merely serve to cover retreat and check pursuit in case of disaster; and they have four lines of rivers, one behind the other, crossing their line of retreat, and forming as many lines

of defense. These lines are, the Danube, the Arges, the Buzeu and the Sereth. Here is a fair case for precautionary fortifications; here are natural lines of defense which form, to a European army, no obstacle for retreat, while with a little artificial improvement they may become serious obstacles to pursuit; and above all, here is no intention of accepting a general battle with only one line of retreat in the rear. The Russian fortifications, as far as we can judge, belong decidedly to the European system of warfare, while the Asiatic spirit predominates in those of the Turks. This same unreflecting character is the ruling feature of the general position of the latter. They defend Constantinople by placing themselves across the nearest road which leads to it, while the Russians appear to direct their first attack, not upon that city, but upon the central parts of the peninsula, where Turkish dominion is most vulnerable, and where, after all, for a Russian army lies the shortest way to the capital.

There is, however, one thing which we must not forget. The Russian army is, and ever has been, slow and cautious in its movements. It will most probably not act during the winter season. A few skirmishes may take place in order to secure this or that island of the Danube to either party. But unless the Czar commands extraordinary activity—which command would most likely be frustrated by the passive pedantry of his generals—there is very little chance of decisive maneuvers before spring. The Danube might be passed but the Balkan cannot be traversed, and between the two, the position of the Russian army would be most dangerous.

In the meantime, the Turks have sent their fleet to Varna. Admiral Slade, an Englishman, who commands it, appears to be in high spirits. But that movement, too, is full of risk. The Russian fleet, indeed, appears inferior to the Turkish in everything but numbers; but as long as the Russians have two guns and two ships of the line to one of the Turks, the latter cannot venture an action out of the reach of their strand batteries. And in that case, the fleet would be safer and better placed in the Bosphorus, where it is not likely the Russians will blockade it. Once at Varna, the Turkish fleet is exposed to be deprived of all possibility of movement; while in the Bosphorus, it retains its freedom of action, and might be used for expeditions to Trebizond, to the Caucasian coast, or against detached positions of the Russian fleet.

In every respect, then, we are unwillingly compelled to believe the Russians to be superior to the Turks. Whether Omer Pasha, who is really an able soldier, will succeed by his personal qualities

in changing the balance, remains to be seen. Old Paskiewich, however, although a slow, is an experienced general, and will not easily be caught.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE HOLY WAR[306]

The war has at last opened on the Danube,—a war of religious fanaticism on both sides, of traditional ambition with the Russians, of life and death with the Turks. As was to have been expected, Omer Pasha has been the first to begin positive hostilities; it was in the line of his duty to make some demonstration toward the forcible expulsion of the invaders from the Ottoman territory; but it is by no means certain that he has thrown from thirty to fifty thousand men across the Danube, as is rumored from Vienna, and there is reason to fear that if he has done so he has committed a fatal blunder. On the shore he leaves, he has ample resources of defense and a good position; on the shore he seeks he has inferior power of attack and no retreat in case of disaster. The report of his crossing with such numbers must therefore be doubted till more positive advices.

While the struggle in Europe is commenced under disadvantageous circumstances for the Turks, the case is otherwise in Asia. There, the frontier territories of Russia and Turkey divide themselves, in a military point of view, into two quite distinct theaters of operation. It is the high ridge, or rather concatenation of ridges, connecting the Caucasus with the table-land of Central Armenia, and dividing the waters that run toward the Black Sea from those which the Araxes leads to the Caspian Sea, or the Euphrates to the Persian Gulf; it is this ridge which formerly parted Armenia from Pontus that now forms the partition of the two distinct districts where the war is to be waged. This range of abrupt and generally barren rocks, is traversed by very few roads—the two principal of which are those from Trebizond and Batum to Erzerum. Thus for all military purposes, the hills in

question may be considered as nearly impassable, forcing both parties to have distinct corps on either side, operating more or less independently of each other.

The country on the shore of the Black Sea is intersected by a number of rivers and mountain torrents, which form as many military positions for defense. Both the Russians and the Turks have fortified posts on important points. In this generally broken country (the valley of the river Rioni is the only one which forms anything like a plain), a defensive war might be carried on with great success against a superior army (as very few positions are liable to be turned on the land side, on account of the mountains), were it not for the cooperation of the respective fleets. By advancing, and, in case of need, landing troops upon the flank of the enemy, while the army engages him in front, a fleet might turn all these strong positions, one by one, and neutralize, if not destroy, fortifications which, on neither side of the frontier, are very respectable. Thus the possession of the Black Sea coast belongs to him who is master of the Sea; or, in other words, unless the allied fleets cooperate actively with the Turks, it will in all likelihood belong to the Russians.

The country in the interior, on the inland side of the mountains, comprises the territory in which the Euphrates, the Araxes and the Kura (Cyrus) take their rise; the Turkish province of Armenia is on the one, the Russian province of Georgia on the other side of the frontier. This country, too, is extremely mountainous and generally impassable to armies. Erzerum on the part of the Turks, Tiflis on the part of the Russians, may be said to be the two immediate bases of operations, with the loss of which the possession of the whole neighboring country would be inevitably lost. Thus the storming of Erzerum by the Russians decided the Asiatic campaign of 1829.

But what is the immediate *basis* of operation for one party, will be the direct *object* of operations to the other. Thus the roads connecting Tiflis and Erzerum will be the lines of operations for both. There are three roads; one by the upper Kura and Akhalzikh, the other by the upper Araxes and Erivan, the third in the midst between these two, across the mountains by way of Kars. All these roads are guarded on either side by fortified towns and posts, and it would be difficult to say which would be for Turks or Russians the most eligible. Suffice it to say that the road by Akhalzikh is the one which would lead a Turkish army most directly upon the insurgent districts of the Caucasus, but that very advance of the Turks would be turned by a Russian corps

advancing from Batum up the valley of the Chorokh by Olti upon Erzerum; the road from Batum joins that from Tiflis only about 15 miles from Erzerum, which would enable a Russian corps advancing in the direction alluded to, to cut off the communication of the Turks, and, if strong enough, to take possession even of Erzerum, the fortifications of which are of a merely Asiatic character and not capable of serious resistance.

The key to the theater of war in Asia, and on either side of the hills, then, is Batum, and considering this, as well as its commercial importance, we need not wonder at the efforts the Czar[a] has always been making to get hold of it. And Batum is the key of the theater of war, nay, of all Turkey in Asia, because it commands the only passable road from the coast to the interior—a road which turns all the Turkish positions in advance of Erzerum. And whichever of the two fleets in the Black Sea drives the other back into its harbors, that fleet commands Batum.

The Russians are perfectly aware of the importance of this post. They have sent, by land and by water, reinforcements to the Transcaucasian coast. A short time ago it might have been believed that the Turks, if weaker in Europe, enjoyed a decided superiority in Asia. Abdi Pasha, who commands the Asiatic army, was said to have collected 60,000 or 80,000, nay 120,000 men, and swarms of Bedouins, Kurds and other warlike irregulars were reported to flock daily to his standard. Arms and ammunitions were said to be in store for the Caucasian insurgents, and as soon as war was declared, an advance was to be made into the very heart of these centres of resistances to Russia. It may, however, be as well to observe that Abdi Pasha cannot possibly have more than about 30,000 regular troops, and that before the Caucasus is reached, with these, and with these alone, he will have to encounter the stubborn resistance of Russian battalions. His Bedouins and Kurdish horsemen may be capital for mountain warfare, for forcing the Russians to detach largely and to weaken their main body; they may do a great deal of damage to the Georgian and Colonist villages in the Russian territory, and even open some sort of an underhand communication with the Caucasian mountaineers. But unless Abdi Pasha's regulars are capable of blocking up the road from Batum to Erzerum, and can defeat whatever nucleus of an active army the Russians may be enabled to bring together, the success of the irregulars will be of a very ephemeral nature. The support of a regular army is

[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

now-a-days necessary to the progress of all insurrectionary or irregular warfare against a powerful regular army. The position of the Turks on this frontier would be similar to that of Wellington in Spain, and it remains to be seen whether Abdi Pasha will know to husband his resources as well as the British general did, against an enemy decidedly his superior in regular warfare and the means of carrying it on. In 1829 the Russian forces in Asia, amounted, before Erzerum, to 18,000 men only, and considering the improvements that have since then taken place in the Turkish army (although that of Asia has least participated in them), we should say the Russians would have a fair chance of success if they could unite 30,000 men in a body before the same place now.

Whether they will be able to do so or not, who can decide at the present time, when there is even less of real facts known, and more idle rumors spread as to the Russian army in Asia than as to that in Europe? The Caucasian army is officially computed at 200,000 men, at its full complement; 21,000 Cossacks of the Black Sea have been marched toward the Turkish frontier; several divisions are said to have been embarked from Odessa for Redut Kale, on the South Caucasian coast. But everybody knows that the Caucasian army does not count half its official complement, that the reenforcement sent beyond the Caucasus cannot, from obvious causes, have the strength reported by Russian papers, and from the conflicting evidence we receive, we are absolutely at a loss to make anything like an estimate of the Russian forces on the Asiatic frontier. But that we may say, that in all probability the forces of both parties (an immediate general insurrection of the Caucasians left out of the question), the forces will be pretty nearly balanced, that the Turks may, perhaps, be a little stronger than the Russians, and therefore will be, on this theater of war, justly entitled to undertake *offensive* operations.

The chances for the Turks are, indeed, far more encouraging in Asia than in Europe. In Asia they have but one important post to guard, Batum; and an advance, be it from Batum, or from Erzerum toward the Caucasus, opens to them in case of success a direct communication with their allies, the mountaineers, and may at once cut off the communication, at least by land, of the Russian army south of the Caucasus with Russia; a result which may lead to the entire destruction of that army. On the other hand, if defeated, the Turks risk losing Batum, Trebizond and Erzerum; but even if that be the case, the Russians will then not be strong enough to advance any further. The advantages are far superior to

the loss to be undergone in case of defeat; and it is therefore, for sound and satisfactory reasons, that the Turks appear to have decided upon offensive warfare in those regions.

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## WAR.—STRIKES.—DEARTH[307]

London, Tuesday, Nov. 1, 1853

The news of the cannonade of Isakchea[308] had hardly reached London, when the intelligence was telegraphed from Vienna to London and Paris, that the Porte, at the request of the representatives of the four Powers, had issued orders for the adjournment of the hostilities, if they should not have already commenced, till the 1st November. Is the exchange of cannon-shots at Isakchea to be or not to be considered as a commencement of hostilities? That is the question now stirring the Stock Exchange and the press. In my opinion it is a very indifferent one, as in any event the *armistice* would have elapsed to-day.

It is rumored that the Turkish army had crossed the Danube at Widin and Matchin, viz.: at the north-eastern and north-western frontiers of Bulgaria. The accuracy of this dispatch appears very doubtful. According to the Paris *Presse* of to-day, it was resolved by a military council held in the Seraskirat[a] on the 15th or 16th Oct., that as soon as the refusal of Prince Gorchakoff to evacuate the Principalities would be officially known, the hostilities were to commence in Asia, on two different points: against the fortress of Poti, at the Black Sea, and on the frontier of Georgia. The same paper informs us, that Gen. Baraguay d'Hilliers, the newly appointed French Ambassador at Constantinople, has set out accompanied by a staff composed of officers of the *génie* and of the *artillerie*. Mr. Baraguay is known as a bad General and a good intriguer. I remind you of his exploits at the famous Club of the Rue de Poitiers.[309]

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[a] War Ministry of the Ottoman Empire.—*Ed.*

While the first cannon bullets have been exchanged in the war of the Russians against Europe, the first blood has been spilt in the war now raging in the manufacturing districts, of capital against labor. On Friday night a riot took place at Wigan, arising out of the contest between the colliers and the coal kings; on Saturday the town was stated to be perfectly quiet, but to-day we are informed by electric telegraph that at the colliery of Lord Crawford or of the Earl Balcarres, an attack was made by the colliers; that the armed force was called out; that the soldiers fired, and that one of the workmen was killed.[310] As I am to receive private information from the spot, I adjourn my report on this event,[a] only warning your readers against the reports of *The Daily News* and *The Times*, the former of these papers being in the direct pay of the Manchester School, and the latter being, as *The Morning Herald* justly remarks, "the bitter, unforgiving, relentless enemy of the working classes."

In 1842, when the Manchester School, under the banner of free trade, enticed the industrial proletariat into insurrectionary movements, and, in the time of peril,[311] treacherously abandoned them, as Sir Robert Peel plainly told the Cobdens in the House of Commons—at that epoch their watchword was: *Cheap food and dear wages.* The Corn Laws having been abrogated and free trade, as they do understand it, realized, their battle-cry has been changed into: *Cheap wages and dear food.* With the adoption of the Manchester commercial system by Government, the millocracy had imposed upon themselves a problem impossible to be resolved under their régime: the securing of an uninterrupted continuance of brisk trade and commercial prosperity. For the hour of adversity, they had cut off any position to fall back upon. There was no more deluding the masses with Parliamentary reform, as in 1831; the legislative influence, conquered by that movement for the middle classes, having been exclusively employed against the working classes; and the latter having, in the meantime, got up a political movement of their own—Chartism. There is no more charging the aristocratic protectionists with all the anomalies of the industrial system and the deadly conflicts springing up from its very bowels, as free trade has worked for about eight years under wonderfully fortunate circumstances with a California and an Australia—two worlds of gold, extemporized, as it were, by the imaginative powers of the modern *demiurge.* Thus, one by one, step by step, the industrial bourgeoisie have removed, with their

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[a] See this volume, pp. 446-47.—*Ed.*

own hands, all the carefully propagated delusions that could be conjured up at the hour of danger, in order to deturn the indignation of the working classes from their real antagonist, and to direct it against the antagonists of the millocracy, against the landed aristocracy. In 1853, there have waned away the false pretenses on the part of the masters and the silly illusions on the part of the men. The war between those two classes has become unmitigated, undisguised, openly avowed and plainly understood. "The question," exclaim the masters themselves in one of their recent manifestoes—"is no longer one of *wages* but one of *mastership*."[a] The Manchester liberals, then, have at last thrown off the lion's skin. What they pretend at—is mastership for capital and slavery for labor.

*Lock-out* vs. *Turn-out*, is the great lawsuit now pending in the industrial districts, and bayonets are likely to give judgment in the case. A whole industrial army, more than 70,000 working-men are disbanded and cast upon the streets. To the mills closed at Preston and Wigan there have been added those of the district of Bacup, which includes the townships of Bacup, Newchurch, Rawtenstall, Sharnford, and Stanford. At Burnley the mills stopped last Friday; at Padiham on Saturday; at Accrington the masters are contemplating a lock-out; at Bury, where about 1,000 men are already out of work, the masters have given notice to their hands of a "lock-out unless they discontinued their contributions to those out of work in their own town and at Preston;" and at Kindley, three large mills were closed on Saturday afternoon, and more than a thousand additional persons thrown out of employment.

While the hypocritical, phrase-mongering, squint-eyed set of Manchester humbugs spoke peace to the Czar[312] at Edinburgh, they acted war with their own countrymen at Manchester. While they preached *arbitration* between Russia and Europe, they were rejecting scornfully all appeals to arbitration from their own fellow-citizens. The workmen of Preston had carried in an open air meeting the resolution

"that the delegates of the factory operatives recommend the Mayor to call a public meeting of the manufacturers and the operatives to agree to an amicable settlement of the dispute now pending."[b]

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[a] Here and below Marx quotes from the article "As They've Made Their Bed Se They Must Lie", published in *The People's Paper*, No. 78, October 29, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] *The People's Paper*, No. 78, October 29, 1853; *The Times*, No. 21568, October 25, 1853.—*Ed.*

But the masters do not want *arbitration.* What they pretend at is *dictation.* While, at the very moment of a European struggle, those Russian propagandists cry for reduction of the army, they are at the same time augmenting the army of civil war, the police force, in Lancashire and Yorkshire. To the workmen we can only say with *The People's Paper.*

"If they close all the mills of Lancashire do you send delegates to Yorkshire and enlist the support of the gallant men of the West Riding. If the mills of the West Riding are closed, appeal to Nottingham and Derby, to Birmingham and Leicester, to Bristol and Norwich, to Glasgow and Kidderminster, to Edinburgh and Ipswich. Further and further, wider and wider, extend your appeals and rally your class through every town and trade. If the employers choose to array all their order against you, do you array your entire class against them. If they will have the vast class struggle, *let them have it,* and we will abide the issue of that tremendous trial."

While, on the one hand, we have the struggle of masters and men, we have, on the other, the struggle of commerce with overstocked markets, and of human industry with the shortcomings of nature.

At a very early period of the Chinese revolution, I drew the attention of your readers to the disastrous influences it was likely to exercise on the social condition of Great Britain.[a]

"The Chinese insurrection," we are now told by *The Examiner,*[b] "is rampant in the tea districts, the result of which is that teas are *looking up* in the market of London, and calicos are *looking down* in the market of Shanghai." "At Shanghai," we read in the circular of Messrs. Bushby & Co., a Liverpool house, "the tea market has opened at prices about 40 to 50 per cent. above last season. Stocks were light, and supplies coming [...] slowly."[c]

The last advices from Canton state that the

"insurgents are [...] generally spreading themselves throughout the country *to the entire ruin of trade,* that manufactures, almost without exception, have given way in price; in some instances, the fall is very serious. Stocks are large and fast accumulating, and we fear the prospect of amendment is rather remote. At Amoy the trade in imports, beyond a few chests of opium, appears at an end for the present."

The following is described as the state of the markets at Shanghai:

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[a] See this volume, pp. 93-100.—*Ed.*

[b] Of October 29, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] Here and below quotations from accounts of various firms are given according to *The Economist,* No. 531, October 29, 1853.—*Ed.*

"Both black teas and raw silks have been offering freely, but the conditions imposed by holders have been such as greatly to restrict operations; *no desire appeared to take manufactures*, and transactions have been chiefly effected by means of opium at very low prices, and bullion from Canton. Large amounts of treasure have been removed from that place, but the supply is rapidly being exhausted, and we must look to other quarters for silver bullion and coin, without which we shall soon be unable to purchase produce, unless a great improvement should take place in the import market. Business in the latter has been very limited, and chiefly confined to sales of damaged goods at auction."

In the commercial circular from Messrs. Gibson & Co., dated Manchester, Oct. 21, we find noticed, as a most prominent cause of the actual depression,

"not only present bad advices from our great Chinese market, [...] but the prospect of such continuing to arrive in that absence of confidence in monetary transactions there, which must so inevitably be the result, and for a protracted period, of the complete and radical changes which appear likely to be effected in the government and institutions of that vast Empire."

As to the Australian markets, *The Melbourne Commercial Circular* states, that

"where goods purchased only about a month ago [...] have been sold, if then delivered, at a profit of no less than 100 @ 150 per cent., [...] now [...] they would not realize enough to cover the expenses."[a]

Private letters from Port Philip, received last week, are also extremely unfavorable with regard to the state of the markets. Goods continue to pour in from all parts of the world, and the prices they could command were so low, that rather than submit to immediate sacrifices, ships were being purchased in numbers, to be used for storage.

We can then not be surprised at the commercial circulars continuing to record dullness and declining prices in the markets of the industrial districts. Thus we read in the circulars of Messrs. Fraser, Son & Co., dated Manchester, Oct. 21:

"The extent of operations, whether for the home trade, or for foreign parts, has been on an exceedingly limited scale, and prices have suffered throughout to a greater or lesser extent. The further decline in $^7/_8$ prints and madapolams may be stated at $1\,^1/_2$d. to 3d. per piece; in 56 to 66 reed 34 in. to 36 in. shirtings $4\,^1/_2$d. to 6d. per piece; in 36-72 reed shirtings, 3d. per piece; in 39 in. shirtings, of low quality, weighing $5\,^1/_4$ to 6 lbs., about $4\,^1/_2$d. per piece; in 39 in. 60 to 64 reed shirtings 3d. per piece; in 45 to 54 in. shirtings $4\,^1/_2$d. to $7\,^1/_2$d. per piece; in low 5 to 8 jaconets $1\,^1/_2$d.,

[a] Quoted from a letter from Australia published in *The Times*, No. 21568, October 25, 1853, p. 7.—*Ed.*

and in 14 to 16 square jaconets 3d. per piece; in T cloths $1^1/_2$d., in long cloths 3d. per piece and in domestic of certain classes about 1-16d. per yard. In yarns, watered twist has declined the most for common and middling qualities, which may be considered as $^1/_4$d. to $^1/_2$d. per lb. below last month's quotations. Mule yarns have been most affected in No. 40's, which have been selling at a reduction of fully 1d. per lb. from the highest point of the year. [...] Other yarns at 20s. below 60 have been similarly affected."

As to the food market, the London *Weekly Dispatch*[a] states:

"In so far as wheat is concerned, the opinions of farmers, as they proceed to thrash their grain and count their stocks, is that the crop will be shorter still than they anticipated. Indeed they call it [...] *a half-crop*."

The wetness of the weather since about a fortnight, highly unfavorable for wheat-sowing and seeding in the ground, evokes, too, serious apprehensions for the harvest of 1854.

From Oxfordshire it is reported as follows:

"As to the wheat crop, as a whole it is a miserable failure; farms that usually produce from 40 to 44 bushels per acre are this year yielding from 15 to 20 bushels; and some well cultivated wheat and bean lands are yielding but from 8 to 10 bushels per acre. [...] Potatoes sadly diseased, are an insignificant yield."

A Yorkshire report informs us that:

"The wet has caused a complete cessation of all active out-door operations; and the remains of the latter harvest, we are sorry to say—all the beans, the bulk of spring wheat, and some oats, are, by being exposed to the action of the weather, rendered so soft as to prevent the hope that it can ever be fit to thrash after the drying winds of spring. It is, moreover, sadly sprouted, and a sad waste of this last resource will doubtless inevitably take place. We give a faint idea of the extent of the loss to which we now refer. Commencing at the Tees, and from thence to Catterick, at Stokesley, and embracing the lowlands of Cleveland, and eastward of Thirsk to the sea, westward of Harrogate and from the Humber to the sea, [...] vast quantities of corn are abroad and spoiled by the wet, with a rainy sky overhead; a full fifty per cent. of the potatoes irrevocably diseased, and a new demand for seed has sprung up, with small stocks of old corn. *It is certain that the whole of the wheat-growing districts of the country are deficient and spoiled beyond any former period within our recollection.*"

A Hertfordshire report states:

"It is very extraordinary at this period of the year *not to have concluded the harvest in this country*. Such, however, is the fact, as there are many fields of oats not yet carted, and a considerable portion of the spring-sown beans, with an occasional field of barley; indeed, there are some fields of lent-corn not yet cut."

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[a] No. 2707, October 30, 1853.—*Ed.*

*The Economist* of last Saturday publishes the following table, showing the quantities of wheat and grains of all kinds, and of meal and flour of all kinds imported into the United Kingdom during the period from Jan. 5 to Oct. 10, 1853:

| Countries from which exp't'd | Wheat, qrs. | Wheat, meal, or flour, cwts. | Corn [...] of all kinds, qrs. | Agg. of meal and fl'r of all kinds, cwts. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Russia, viz.: | | | | |
| Northern Ports | 69,101 | 64 | 307,976 | 65 |
| Ports within Black Sea | 704,406 | — | 1,029,168 | — |
| Sweden | 3,386 | 13 | 3,809 | 13 |
| Norway | — | 1 | 561 | 1 |
| Denmark | 220,728 | 5,291 | 733,801 | 5,291 |
| Prussia | 872,170 | 3,521 | 899,900 | 3,521 |
| M'kl'nbg-Schwerin | 114,200 | — | 123,022 | — |
| Hanover | 19,187 | — | 146,601 | — |
| Oldenburg | 2,056 | — | 19,461 | — |
| Hanseatic Towns | 176,614 | 53,037 | 231,287 | 53,066 |
| Holland | 58,034 | 306 | 132,255 | 308 |
| Belgium | 15,155 | 353 | 20,829 | 353 |
| Channel Islds. (foreign produce) | 526 | 4,034 | 629 | 4,034 |
| France | 96.652 | 857,916 | 470,281 | 858,053 |
| Portugal | 4,217 | 4 | 21,657 | 4 |
| Azores | 630 | — | 14,053 | 1 |
| Spain | 13,939 | 177,963 | 48,763 | 177,985 |
| Gibraltar | — | 9 | 4,368 | 9 |
| Italy, viz.: Sardinian Territories | 7,155 | 2,263 | 8,355 | 2,263 |
| Tuscany | 48,174 | 67,598 | 45,597 | 67,598 |
| Papal Territories | 39,988 | — | 41,488 | — |
| Naples and Sicily | 8,618 | 2 | 11,977 | 2 |
| Austrian Territories | 44,164 | 370 | 106,796 | 370 |
| Malta | 28,569 | — | 56,281 | — |
| Ionian Islands | 82 | — | 16,220 | — |
| Greece | 1,417 | — | 10,221 | — |
| Wall'hia and Moldavia | 209,048 | — | 601,481 | — |
| Syria | 21,043 | — | 24,686 | — |
| Egypt | 297,980 | — | 543,934 | — |

| Countries from which exp't'd | Wheat, qrs. | Wheat, meal, or flour, cwts. | Corn [...] of all kinds, qrs. | Agg. of meal and fl'r of all kinds, cwts. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Othr. Turk'h Dom'n | 218,407 | 7,370 | 689,703 | 7,340 |
| Algeria | — | — | 21,661 | — |
| Morocco | 3 | 3 | 13,451 | — |
| British East India | — | 205 | — | 205 |
| British N. America | 45,587 | 232,216 | 62,626 | 232,493 |
| U.S. of America | 434,684 | 2,388,056 | 630,324 | 2,389,283 |
| Brazil | — | 3 | 237 | 320 |
| Other Parts | 1 | 148 | 8 | 148 |
| Total | 3,770,921 | 3,800,746 | 7,093,458 | 3,802,743 |

The total of wheat is ..... qrs. 3,770,921
The equivalent of 3,802,743 cwts. of meal and flour is ..... qrs. 1,086,522
Total of grain, flour and meal ..... qrs. 8,179,980

*The Economist*, in order to allay the apprehensions of the city merchants, draws the following conclusions from the foregoing table:

"In 1847, notwithstanding the extraordinary stimulus of high prices, we imported of wheat and flour, in the whole year, only 4,464,000 quarters. In the first nine months of the present year we have imported, without any such stimulus, except during the last two months, 4,856,848 quarters. [...] Now, *one of two things must be true* with regard to these large imports as they affect our own home supply—either they have to a great extent been consumed, and have thereby saved in the same proportion our own home production, or they are *warehoused*, and they will be available hereafter."

Now, this dilemma is utterly inadmissible. Consequent on the prohibitions or the threatened prohibitions of the export of corn from the continent, the corn merchants thought it fit to warehouse their stores meanwhile in England, where they will be only available hereafter in case of the corn prices ranging higher in England than on the continent. Besides, in contradistinction to 1847, the supply of the countries likely to be affected by a Russo-Turkish war amounts to 2,438,139 quarters of grain and 43,727 cwt. of flour. From Egypt, too, exportation will be prohibited after 30th November next. Finally, England has this year to look only to the usual *annual* surplus of other nations, while, before the abrogation of the Corn Laws, it had at its

disposition, in seasons of want, the foreign stocks accumulated during the favorable seasons.

*The Weekly Times*, from its point of view, sums up the situation in the following terms:

"The quartern loaf is a shilling—the weather is worse than it has been for half a century at this season of the year—the operative classes are in the delirium of strikes—Asiatic cholera is raging among us once more, and we have got a war mania. We only want war taxes and famine to make up the orthodox number of the plagues of England."[a]

Written on November 1, 1853

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3925, November 15, 1853

Signed: *Karl Marx*

[a] *The Weekly Times*, No. 355, October 30, 1853.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [PERSIAN EXPEDITION IN AFGHANISTAN AND RUSSIAN EXPEDITION IN CENTRAL ASIA.—DENMARK.—THE FIGHTING ON THE DANUBE [AND IN ASIA.—WIGAN COLLIERS][313]

London, Friday, Nov. 4, 1853

Shafi Khan, the Persian Ambassador at the Court of St. James, has been suddenly recalled from England by the Shah. This recall coincides strangely with the operations of Persia in Afghanistan, where it was said to have taken Herat, and with the Russian expedition upon Khiva, the capital of the Khanate of Khiva.[314] The Persian expedition and the Russian one may be considered as two movements, the one from the west, the other from the north, centered on the Punjab, the northern outpost of the British dominions in the East. The Russian expedition is commanded by Gen. Perowski, the same whose Khiva expedition in 1839-40 proved abortive. The Russians having organized, of late years, a flotilla in the Aral Sea, are now able to ascend the river Amu-Darya.

A large Russian fleet is cruising in the Baltic, where it recently took an opportunity to inspect the fortifications of Slite, and the harbor of the Swedish Island of Gothland, of which Russia is covetous, in the manner she got possession of the Island of Aland, close to the coast of Sweden, and strongly fortified by Russia in 1836. From Gothland the Russian fleet proceeded to the Cattegat and the Sound, with a view to support the King of Denmark's[a] intended *coup d'état* in the very probable case of the Copenhagen Diet not quietly accepting the so-called Whole-State Constitution (*Gesammt-Staats-Verfassung*) octroyed by the magnanimous Czar. The state of affairs at Copenhagen is this: the Danish Government has succeeded in carrying the abolition of the *Lex Regia*,[315] and introducing the new law of royal succession, by the support they

[a] Frederick VII.—*Ed.*

received from the Peasant-leaguers.[316] This party, under the leadership of Col. Tscherning, aims principally at the transformation of the *Feste Gut*, a sort of feudal peasant-tenure, into free property; and the introduction of municipal laws favorable to the interests and the development of the peasantry. The properly called national and liberal party—the party of the Eyderdanes, who formed the Casino Ministry[317] in 1848, forced the Constitution of 1849 upon the King, and carried the war against Schleswig-Holstein—consisting chiefly of professional gentlemen, had neglected, like the rest of the liberal party all over the Continent, to consult the interests of the mass of the people, formed in Denmark by the peasantry. Thus their influence on the people was lost, and the Government has succeeded in excluding them almost altogether from the present Folketing, where they can hardly be said to muster more than ten men. The Government, however, having got rid of the obnoxious opposition of the Eyderdanes by the aid of the Peasant-leaguers, threw off the mask, called Mr. Oersted, who was odious to both parties, to the Ministry; and so far from any longer cajoling the peasant party, a royal veto prevented the publication of the new Municipal law, originally introduced by the Government itself in order to catch the peasants. The Peasant-leaguers, duped and abused by the Government, have entered into a coalition with the Eyderdanes, and appointed Monrad, a clergyman and one of the leaders of the Eyderdanes, as Vice-President of the Committee sitting on the Constitutional question. This coalition has baffled all hope of overthrowing the Constitution in a constitutional way, and accordingly the whole plan having been formed by and for the Muscovites, a Russian fleet appears in the Danish waters at the very moment of the crisis.

All the journals of Vienna and Berlin confirm the intelligence of the passage of the Danube by strong divisions of the Turkish army. According to the *Oesterreichische Correspondenz* the Turks have been repulsed by the Russians in Lesser Wallachia. A telegraphic dispatch states that a serious engagement took place on the 21st ult. between the two armies in Asia. We must wait for more ample and authentic information to account for the circumstances which may have induced the Turkish Commander-in-Chief to cross the Danube at Widin, a maneuver which, at first view, must be regarded as a gross blunder. The *Kölnische Zeitung* announces that Prince Gorchakoff has seized upon all the treasure-chests (it is not said whether governmental or other) of Wallachia; and, according to another German paper, the same

General has removed to the interior all deposits of corn on the Danube designed to be exported to foreign countries.

The news of advantages gained by Shamyl over Prince Woronzoff, are confirmed by the French papers of to-day. We read in the *Agram Gazette*, that an important letter has been received by Prince Danilo from Russia, and the Prince after having received it, gave orders to have all the corn which had been gathered in from the Montenegrin territory removed to Zabljak. Cartridges are being made and bullets cast. It is said that Russia has informed the Vladika that a collision between the Turks and Russians was imminent, and that the war had a patriotic and sacred character; and that the Montenegrins ought to watch their frontiers narrowly, in order that neighboring provinces should not furnish aid to the Porte.

The *Wanderer* of Vienna, of the 27th ult., says that a letter from St. Petersburg states, that the Emperor Nicholas has ordered the formation of an army of reserve, the headquarters of which are to be in Volhynia.

On last Tuesday a riot occurred at Blackburn on occasion of the election of councillors at St. Peter's Ward, and the soldiery was forced to interfere.

With regard to the Wigan riots, Mr. Cowell, the leader of the laborers at Preston, has declared in a public meeting that—

> "he very much regretted what had occurred in Wigan. He was sorry the people of Wigan had no more sense than to have recourse to a system of leveling. There was no sense in working people collecting together and destroying the property they had produced. The property itself never did them any injury—it was the men that held the property that were the tyrants. Let them respect property and life, and by proceeding in a peaceable, orderly and quiet manner, they might rely on the struggle terminating in their favor."[a]

Now I am far from defending the aimless acts of violence committed by the Wigan colliers, who have paid for them with the blood of seven men. But, on the other hand, I understand that there is a great difficulty, especially for the inferior elements of the working classes, to which the colliers undoubtedly belong, in proceeding "peaceably, orderly and quietly," when they are driven to acts of frenzy by utter destitution and by the cool insolence of their masters. The riots are provoked by the latter in order to enable themselves to appeal to the armed force and to put down, as they have done in Wigan, all meetings of the workingmen by

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[a] Quoted according to "The Operatives of Preston" in *The People's Paper*, No. 79, November 5, 1853.—*Ed.*

order of the magistrates. The riot which occurred in the town of Wigan, on Friday afternoon, was occasioned by the coal kings of the district meeting in large numbers at Whiteside's Royal Hotel, in order to deliberate on the demands of the colliers, and by their coming to the resolution to repudiate all compromise with the men. The attack on the saw-mills at Haigh, near Wigan, which occurred on Monday, was directed against the foreign colliers, brought over from Wales by Mr. Peace, the Agent for the Earl of Balcarres, in order to replace the turnouts of the coal pits.

The colliers were certainly not right in preventing their fellow-laborers, by violence, from doing the work they had abandoned themselves. But when we see the masters pledging each other by heavy fines, with a view to enforce their *lock-out*, can we be astonished at the more rude and less hypocritical manner in which the men attempt to enforce their *turn-out*? Mr. Joseph Hume himself says, in a letter addressed to the operatives at Preston:

"I see on the list of advocates for arbitration to settle the disputes of nations, instead of having recourse to war, many master-manufacturers who are at this moment in strife against their men."[a]

The Manufacturers' Association at Preston have published a manifesto in order to justify the general lock-out.[b] Their sincerity may be inferred from the fact, that the masters' secret league, the programme of which I communicated to your readers about two months ago,[c] is not mentioned in a single word, thus giving the hue of a necessity, which the masters were unable to escape, to the deliberate result of conspiracy. They reproach the workingmen with asking for 10 per cent. neither more or less. They do not tell the public that, when the masters took off 10 per cent. in 1847, they promised to restore it as soon as trade had revived, and that the men have been informed again and again of the revival of trade by the glowing descriptions of Messrs. Bright, Cobden & Co., by the declamations of the whole middle-class press, and by the royal speech on the opening of Parliament. They do not tell us that bread is more than 40 per cent. dearer, coals 15 to 20 per cent., meat, candles, potatoes, and all other articles, largely entering in the consumption of the working classes, about 20 per

[a] "The Wages Movement.—Preston, Oct. 29", *The Times*, No. 21573, October 31, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times*, No. 21576, November 3, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 250.—*Ed.*

cent. dearer than before, and that the manufacturers vanquished their antagonists under the banner of: *Cheap bread and dear labor!* They reproach the men with continuing to enforce an equalization of wages in the same town for the mills of the same description. Why, does not the whole doctrine of their masters, of Ricardo and Malthus, proceed from supposing such an equalization to exist throughout the whole country? The men, they say, are acting under the orders of a Committee. They are instigated by "strangers," "intruders," "traders in agitation." Just the same thing was contended on the part of the protectionists reproaching, at the time of the Corn Law League,[318] the same manufacturers with being directed by Messrs. Bright and Cobden, "two professional traders in agitation," and with blindly acting under the orders of the Revolutionary Committee at Manchester, levying taxes, commanding an army of lecturers and missionaries, inundating the country with small and large prints and forming a state in the state. The most curious fact is that while the masters accuse the men of "acting under the orders of a Committee," they call themselves the "United Manufacturers' Association," publishing their very manifesto through a *Committee* and plotting with the "strangers" of Manchester, Bolton, Bury, etc. The "strangers" of whom the masters' manifesto speaks, are merely the men of the neighboring industrial localities.

I am far, however, from supposing that the workmen will obtain the immediate end their strikes aim at. On the contrary, I have stated in a former letter, that at no distant period they will have to strike against a *reduction* instead of for an *advance* of wages.[a] Already reductions of wages are growing numerous, and producing their correspondent quota of strikes. The true result of this whole movement will be, as I stated on a previous occasion, that "the activity of the working classes will soon be carried over to the political field, when the new organization of trades, gained in the strikes, will prove of immense value to them." Ernest Jones and the other Chartist leaders, are again in the field; and at the great meeting at Manchester, on last Sunday, the following resolution was passed:

"That after witnessing the united exertions of the master class against the trades of this country, by opposing a fair day's wages for a fair day's work, this meeting is of opinion that the present struggle of labor cannot be carried to a successful issue, except by [...] subverting the monopolies of the master class, through the representation of the laboring classes in the Commons's House of

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[a] See this volume, pp. 333-34.—*Ed.*

Parliament by the enactment of the People's Charter, when alone they will be enabled to make laws in their own interest, to repeal those that are injurious, and to obtain the command of means of work, high wages, cheap food, steady trade, and independent self-employment."[a]

Written on November 4, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] *The People's Paper*, No. 79, November 5, 1853.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE PROGRESS OF THE TURKISH WAR

There is no longer a doubt that military operations have begun on the Danube. Omer Pasha has crossed that river at Widin, occupied Kalafat, a village on the opposite side, and marched his advanced guard upon Krajova, while another attack of the Turks, from Rustchuk, has been made upon the opposite town of Giurgevo, and a third and fourth attack in the direction of Braila and Turnu are spoken of. At the same time another engagement, in which the Russians were the attacking party, has taken place at Oltenitza. This last affair is reported by one of our dispatches to have lasted three hours and to have ended in the repulse of the Russians; while another dispatch, received from Vienna on the evening of the 8th inst., states that the battle lasted twenty-eight hours, and that even the result was not ascertained. The former account seems more likely to be true.

The results of the other rencontres are also variously stated. That at Giurgevo appears by all accounts to have been fruitless; of the effects of those near Braila and Turnu, we are ignorant; as to the advance from Kalafat, some telegraphs report advantages gained by the Turks and a repulse of the Russians—others, the Turks to have been checked at once, and driven back upon Kalafat. The probabilities remain in favor of the first report.

What is certain, on the whole, is this: Omer Pasha, from reasons hereafter to be considered, has abandoned what we have before this declared to be the natural position of the Turks on this frontier, namely, the defensive.[a] He has taken offensive steps, and profiting by the withdrawal of the Russians from Lesser Wallachia,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 336 and 427.—*Ed.*

he crossed the Danube at the extreme left of his own position, at Widin, on the 28th of October; with what force, we are utterly at a loss to make out. However, as since then we have only heard of simulated or partial attacks of the Turks on other points, and as it would be a gratuitous madness to pass a river like the Danube in the face of a powerful enemy, with a force of no consequence, we may take it for granted that Omer Pasha has with him the main portion of his disposable active army. For, unless convinced by undoubtable intelligence, we will not believe that he has committed himself, so far as some dispatches maintain, by crossing the Danube with 7,000 men, and having no nearer supports or reserves than 8,000 men at Sofia, 150 miles off. Yet, as the main body of the Turkish army has but very lately been concentrated at Varna, Shumla and Rustchuk, we find it equally difficult to explain how Omer Pasha should all at once succeed in concentrating the gross of his army at Widin, 250 miles, on an average, distant from the above places.

The most probable solution is, that on seeing the advance of the Russians toward Widin, Omer Pasha has shifted the position of his army in a considerable degree to the left; leaving the defense of the direct road to Constantinople to the garrisons of Rustchuk, Silistra, Varna and Shumla, he has taken Rustchuk for the support of his right, Widin for that of his left wing, Nicopolis for the rallying point of his center. In this position, extending from Rustchuk to Widin, some 200 miles, he has rallied to his left wing whatever troops he could collect with him, and passed the Danube, thus apparently turning the right wing of the Russians. He expected to fall upon their advance corps and to force them to retreat behind the river Shil, the passage of which he might either force in front, or by sending near Rahova another corps across the Danube, which would thus turn the Shil. The river Aluta, the second tributary of the Danube which runs across the road from Widin to Bucharest, might be forced in the same way, by throwing another portion of the Turkish center across the Danube at Nicopolis and Turnu, below the junction of this river with the Aluta. Finally, simulated attacks lower down, at Giurgevo and Braila, might contribute to lead the Russians into error as to the real points at which the Turks were arriving.

There can be hardly a doubt that, leaving political motives for a moment out of the question, such must have been the plans of Omer Pasha. The London *Times*[a] speaks of an *actual passage* of the

[a] No. 21579, November 7, 1853.—*Ed.*

Turks at Giurgevo; but this is an evident falsehood. There is not an ensign in any disciplined army who would commit such a blunder as to cross the greatest river in Europe—where it is broadest and most difficult, too—with two corps, at two different points, 250 miles asunder, in the presence of a respectable and concentrated enemy.

What, then, does Omer Pasha's maneuver amount to? It is an attempt to turn the flank of the enemy, and to roll up by simultaneous flank and front attacks his whole line of battle. Such a maneuver is perfectly justified when you can bring, unawares, your own main strength upon the enemy's flank; when your front is safe from attack; when your retreat, in case of a check, is secured; and when, by rolling up, from one flank to the other, the enemy's position, you cut off his communications with his base of operations. Now, in the present instance, the latter conviction is not fulfilled. On the contrary, while Omer Pasha's retreat may be menaced by the right wing of his corps in Wallachia being outflanked, and the road to Kalafat thus cut off (in which case his only retreat would be into Austria), the attack from Kalafat toward Bucharest does not at all interfere with the Russian line of retreat. It will be recollected that, upon that ground, we stated some time ago, the only useful line of attack for the Turks to be that from the Danube toward the Sereth, or the narrow strip of land which divides Bessarabia from the Austrian frontier.[a] Instead of the movement which would at once have menaced, if not interrupted the Russian line of communications, the Turks attack at the opposite end where, even in case of victory, no decisive success is to be expected. As to the Turkish front being safe from attack, that may be the case, insofar as the main operations taking place between Widin and Krajova or Slatina, the Russians are not likely to cross the Danube lower down—unless they were bolder in their strategy than we know them to be. But at the same time, the Turkish front from Widin to Rustchuk is equally impeded by the large river which separates it from the enemy, and there must be comparative inaction in that quarter.

The main condition, however, is not fulfilled in this instance.

We have a splendid historical example of this sort of maneuver in the battle of Jena.[319] Napoleon succeeded in bringing the mass of his forces unawares upon the left flank of the Prussians, and in eight hours rolled them up so completely, that the Prussian army

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[a] See this volume, pp. 336-37.—*Ed.*

was cut off from its retreat, and annihilated, and has never been heard of since as an army. But that took place on a ground twenty miles square and within twenty hours. Here we have a territory two hundred miles by fifty, with no roads, and the duration of every movement corresponding thereto. The surprise, the vigor and impetuosity of attack, to which Napoleon at Jena owed his complete success, must here, after a few efforts, literally stick fast in the mud. This will be more apparent if we look at the map. The Turks, from Kalafat, have to march upon Krajova. Here they meet with the first of those rivers, which descending from the Transylvanian Alps to the Danube, traverse Wallachia from north to south, and form as many lines of defense to be forced by an attacking army. The country is exactly similar in this respect to Lombardy, and the two rivers here in question, the Shil and Aluta, may be compared to the Mincio and Adige, whose military importance has so often been conspicuous.

Supposing the Turks force the passage of the Shil, which they may perhaps do, they will meet the first serious resistance on the Aluta, near Slatina. The Aluta is a much more formidable barrier by its width and depth; besides, with a little alacrity, the Russians may there concentrate an army capable not only of repelling all Turkish attacks, but of following up the victory at once. Indeed, a Russian victory at Krajova, unless very strongly defined, would not be of much importance, as in three forced marches the Turks could reach Kalafat and the Danube, and thus escape pursuit. But a Turkish defeat at Slatina, besides being more decisive from the greater mass of Russian troops collected there, would give the Russians five or six days of pursuit; and everybody knows that the fruits of a victory are not collected on the field of battle, but during the pursuit, which may bring about a total disorganization of the discomfited army. It is, then, not likely that Omer Pasha, if Gorchakoff wishes to oppose him there, will ever be able to cross the Aluta; for taking every chance in favor of the Turks, Omer Pasha cannot bring more than 25,000 men to the banks of that river, while Gorchakoff may easily collect 35,000 in good time. As to the flank attacks of the Turks from the southern shore of the Danube, they are tolerably harmless, if the attacking force does not dispose of a prodigious quantity of pontoons and other materials very rarely met with among the Turks. But supposing that even the Aluta were forced, and even the Arges, another important river further east, who will imagine that Omer Pasha can succeed in forcing the Russian retrenchments at Bucharest, and in putting to flight, in a pitched battle, an army which must

certainly outnumber by about one-third the troops he could bring against it?

If the war, then, is conducted upon anything like military principles on the Russian side, Omer Pasha's defeat appears certain; but if it is carried on not according to military but to *diplomatic* principles, the result may be different.

The voluntary retreat of the Russians from the important military position of Kalafat, after so many troops had been sent there to menace Servia; the unresisted passage of the Danube by Omer Pasha; his comparatively unmolested and very slow movements in Lesser Wallachia (the country west of the Aluta); the insignificance, as far as we can judge, of the Turkish attacks on all other points; lastly, the strategical errors implied in the advance from Widin, and which nobody can for a moment suppose Omer Pasha to have overlooked—all these facts seem to give some ground for a conclusion which has been adopted by some competent judges, but which appears rather fanciful. It is, that there is a sort of tacit understanding between the two opposing generals, by which Lesser Wallachia is to be ceded by the Russians to the Turks. The Aluta, say those who entertain this opinion, forms a very comfortable natural barrier, across which the two armies may look at each other the whole dreary winter long, while the diplomatists again busy themselves to find out a solution. The Russians, by receding so far, would not only show their generosity and peaceable feelings, but they would at the same time get a sort of right upon the usurped territory, as a *joint occupation* of the Principalities by Russians and Turks is a thing exceedingly in harmony with existing treaties. They would, by this apparent generosity in Europe, escape real dangers in Asia, where they appear to be worse off than ever, and above all, they would at any moment be strong enough to drive the Turks out of the strip of territory allowed to them on the left bank of the Danube. Curious but by no means satisfactory evidence in favor of this theory may be found in the fact that it is openly propounded by Vienna journals enjoying the confidence of the Court. A few days will show whether this view of the question is correct, or whether actual war, in good earnest, is to be carried on. We shall be disappointed if the latter does not prove to be the case.

In Asia we begin to find out that both parties are a good deal weaker than was supposed. According to the *Journal de Constantinople*, the Turks had, on the 9th October, in Erzerum 10,000 men, as a reserve; in Batum, 4,000 regulars and 20,000 irregulars, intended, evidently, for an active army; in Bayazid, on the Persian

frontier, 3,000 men; in Kars and Ardahan, the two most important points on the Russian frontier (next to Batum), advanced guards of, together, 16,000 men.[a] These were to be reenforced in a few days by 10,000 or 12,000 fresh troops from Syria. This certainly is a very considerable reduction from what other reports led us to suppose; they are 65,000 instead of 100,000! But on the other hand, if the news by way of Constantinople is to be trusted, the main pass of the Caucasus, connecting Tiflis and Georgia with Russia, is in the hands of the mountaineers; Shamyl has driven the Russians back to within nine miles of Tiflis; and Gen. Woronzoff, commander in Georgia, has declared that in case of a Turkish war he could not hold that province unless reenforced by 50,000 men. How far these accounts may be correct we cannot judge; but the reenforcements sent in great haste by sea to Jerkum Kale, Redut Kale and other points on the Transcaucasian coast prove that the star of Russia does not shine very brilliantly in that quarter. As to the strength of these reenforcements, reports differ; it was first said 24,000 men had been sent, but where were the Russians to get ships for such an army? It now turns out that the 13th Division, the first of the 5th corps (General Lüders) has been sent thither; that would be some 14,000 men, which is more than likely. As to the story of the Cossacks of the Black Sea having rounded by land the western point of the Caucasus, and succeeded in passing undisturbed along the rocky and narrow shore toward Redut Kale, to the strength of 24,000 men (this seems to be a favorite number with the Russians), the longer we looked at it, the more incredible it seems. The Tchornomorski[b] Cossacks have plenty to do to guard the line of the Kuban and the Terek, and as to cavalry passing, single-handed and unattacked, in such force, a defile of one hundred and fifty miles, through a hostile population, where a few men might stop them or cut their column in two—these things are only heard of in Russia, where up to the present day it is affirmed that Suwaroff beat Masséna at Zurich.[320]

Here, then, is the best ground for the Turks to act. Rapid, concentrated attacks of the regulars on one main road to Tiflis—along shore, if the Turks can hold out at sea; by Kars or

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[a] The figures are evidently taken from the report in *The Times*, No. 21578, November 5, 1853, which refers to the *Journal de Constantinople* of October 19, 1853. Instead of "on the 9th October" this sentence should read "on the 19th October"; this is evidently a misprint in the newspaper.—*Ed.*

[b] Tchornoye morye is the Russian for the Black Sea.—*Ed.*

Ardahan, in the interior, if they cannot—accompanied by an indefatigable, energetic, sudden warfare, according to their own fashion, by the irregulars, would soon put Woronzoff in an inextricable position, open a communication with Shamyl, and ensure a general insurrection of the whole Caucasus. But here more than on the Danube boldness, rapidity, and *ensemble* of action is required. It remains to be seen whether these qualities belong to the Turkish commanders in that region.

Written about November 8, 1853

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3934, November 25, 1853, as a leader

# Frederick Engels

## THE RUSSIAN DEFEATS[321]

We have carefully examined the European journals brought by the *Canada* in order to gather all possible light as to the fighting which has taken place between the Turks and the Russians in Wallachia, and are able to add some important facts to those reported by the *Washington*, which we commented upon on Friday last.[a] We knew then that several engagements had taken place, and with regard to their details we know little more now. Our reports are still incoherent, contradictory and scanty, and so will probably remain till we receive the official dispatches of the Turkish Generals. So much is, however, clear, namely, that the Turks have been maneuvered with a degree of skill and have fought with a steady enthusiasm sufficient to justify the laudations of their warmest admirers,—laudations that by the mass of cool and impartial men have been regarded as exaggerated. The result is a general surprise. Of Omer Pashá's talents as a commander, all persons were prepared to receive very brilliant proofs, but the merit of his army has not been recognized by western journalists or statesmen at its true value. It is true its ranks are filled by Turks, but they are a very different sort of soldiers from those Diebich drove before him in 1829. They have beaten the Russians with heavy odds and under unfavorable circumstances. We trust this may prove but the augury and beginning of far more conclusive defeats.

We now learn for the first time that the Council of War at Constantinople had concentrated at Sofia an army of some 25,000 men in order to operate in Servia in case of need. Of this force

[a] See this volume, pp. 450-56.—*Ed.*

and its destination, strange to say, no previous information seems to have reached Western Europe, but it is clear that Omer Pasha has made the best use of it. Its disposition at Sofia was a blunder since if the Servians should not revolt and make common cause with the Russians,—which under the reigning prince[a] they are not likely to do,—there is no occasion for an army in that quarter; while in case of a revolt the Turks must either march into the country and suppress it, for which, with the Russians in Wallachia, 25,000 men would not suffice, or else they must occupy the passes of the frontier and confine the Servians at home, for which a quarter of that force would be ample. Omer Pasha evidently viewed the matter in this light, for he has marched the corps straight to Widin, and added it to the force he had there previously. This reenforcement has, no doubt, essentially contributed to the victory he has now gained over the right wing of the Russians under General Dannenberg, a victory of which we have no particulars beyond the number of Russian officers killed and captured; but which must have been quite complete, and will prove morally even more beneficial to the Turks than it was materially.

We now learn, also, that the Turkish force which crossed from Turtukai (a point between Rustchuk and Silistra), to Oltenitza, was led by *Ismail Pasha* or [by] General Guyon (he has not renounced Christianity though he holds a high rank in the Sultan's army), whose gallantry in the Hungarian war gave him a high reputation as a bold, energetic and rapid executive officer. Without remarkable strategic talent, there are few men who will carry out orders with such effect, as he has proved on the present occasion, where he repelled his assailant with the bayonet. The defeat of Gen. Pawloff at Oltenitza, must substantially open the country behind the Aluta, and clear the way to Bucharest, since it is proved that Prince Gorchakoff has not advanced to Slatina, as was reported, but remains at the Capital of the Principalities, wisely preferring not to divide his forces, which is again an indication that he does not think himself entirely secure. No doubt a decisive battle has been fought long ere this in the vicinity of that place. If Gorchakoff is not a humbug, and if he can concentrate there from seventy to eighty thousand men—a number which all reasonable deductions from the official force of the Russians still leave to him,—the advantage is decidedly on his side. But seeing how false and exaggerated are the figures reported from the Russian camp;

[a] Alexander Karageorge.—*Ed.*

seeing how much more powerful and effective is Omer Pasha's army than has been supposed, the conditions of the campaign become more equal than has been imagined, and the defeat of Gorchakoff comes within the probabilities of the case. Certainly, if the Turkish Generalissimo can concentrate for the decisive struggle fifty or sixty thousand troops already flushed with victory—and we now see nothing to prevent it—his chance of success is decidedly favorable. In saying this we desire to speak with moderation, for there is no use in making the Turks seem better off than they are because our sympathies are with them.

It is impossible to study the geographical structure of Wallachia, especially in a military point of view, without being reminded of Lombardy. In the one the Danube and in the other the Po and its confluents form the southern and western boundaries. The Turks have also adopted a similar plan of action with that pursued by the Piedmontese in the campaign of 1849, ending in the disastrous battle of Novara.[322] If the Turks prove victorious, the greater will be their claim on our admiration, and the more palpable the bullying incapacity of the Muscovite. At all events Gorchakoff is no Radetzky and Omer Pasha no Ramorino.

Written about November 11, 1853

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3936, November 28, 1853, as a leader

# Karl Marx

## THE LABOR QUESTION[323]

London, Friday, Nov. 11, 1853

*Golden opportunities, and the use made of them,* is the title of one of the most tragi-comical effusions of the grave and profound *Economist.*[a] The "golden opportunities" were, of course, afforded by free trade, and the "use" or rather "abuse" made of them refers to the working classes.

"The working classes, for the first time, had their future in their own hands! The population of the United Kingdom began actually to *diminish,* the emigration carrying off more than its natural increase. How have the workingmen used their opportunity? What have they done? Just what they used to do formerly, on every recurrence of temporary sunshine, married and multiplied as fast as possible. [...] At this rate of increase it will not be long before emigration is effectually counterbalanced, and the golden opportunity thrown away."

The golden opportunity of *not* marrying and *not* multiplying, except at the orthodox rate allowed by Malthus and his disciples! Golden morality this! But, till now, according to *The Economist* itself, population has diminished, and has not yet counterbalanced emigration. Overpopulation, then, will not account for the disasters of the times.

"The next use the laboring classes should have made of their rare occasion ought to have been to accumulate savings and become capitalists. [...] In scarcely one instance do they seem to have [...] risen, or begun to rise, into the rank of capitalists. [...] They have thrown away their opportunity."

The opportunity of becoming capitalists! At the same time *The Economist* tells the workingmen that, after they had at last obtained ten per cent. on their former earnings, they were able to pocket

[a] *The Economist,* No. 532, November 5, 1853.—*Ed.*

16s. 6d. a week instead of 15s. Now, the mean wages are too highly calculated at 15s. per week. But never mind. How to become a capitalist out of 15 shillings a week! That is a problem worthy of study. The workingmen had the false idea that in order to ameliorate their situation they must try to ameliorate their incomes. "They have struck," says *The Economist*, "for more than would have done them any service." With 15 shillings a week they had the very opportunity of becoming *capitalists*, but with 16s. 6d. this opportunity would be gone. On the one hand workingmen must keep hands scarce and capital abundant, in order to be able to force on the capitalists a rise of wages. But if capital turns out to be abundant and labor to be scarce, they must by no means avail themselves of that power for the acquisition of which they were to stop marrying and multiplying. "They have lived more luxuriously." Under the Corn Laws, we are told by the same *Economist*, they were but half-fed, half-clothed, and more or less starved. If they were then to live at all, how could they contrive to live less luxuriously than before? The tables of importation were again and again unfolded by *The Economist*, to prove the growing prosperity of the people and the soundness of the business done. What was thus proclaimed as a test of the unspeakable blessings of free trade, is now denounced as a proof of the foolish extravagance of the working classes. We remain, however, at a loss to understand how importation can go on increasing with a decreasing population and a declining consumption; how exportation can continue to rise with diminishing importation, and how industry and commerce can expand themselves with imports and exports contracted.

"The third use made of the golden opportunity should have been to procure the best possible education for themselves and their children, so as to fit themselves for the improvement in their circumstances, and to learn how to turn it to the best account. Unhappily, we are obliged to state that [...] schools have seldom been so ill attended, or school fees so ill paid."

Is there anything marvellous in this fact? Brisk trade was synonymous with enlarged factories, with increased application of machinery, with more adult laborers being replaced by women and children, with prolonged hours of work. The more the mill was attended by the mother and the child, the less could the school be frequented. And, after all, of what sort of education would you have given the opportunity to the parents and their children? The opportunity of learning how to keep population at the pace described by Malthus, says *The Economist*. Education, says

Mr. Cobden, would show the men that filthy, badly ventilated, overstocked lodgings, are not the best means of conserving health and vigor. As well might you save a man from starving by telling him that the laws of Nature demand a perpetual supply of food for the human body. Education, says *The Daily News*, would have informed our working classes how to extract nutritive substance out of dry bones—how to make tea cakes of starch, and how to boil soup with devil's dust.

If we sum up then the golden opportunities which have thus been thrown away by the working classes, they consist of the golden opportunity of *not* marrying, of the opportunity of living *less* luxuriously, of not asking for higher wages, of becoming capitalists at 15 shillings a week, and of learning how to keep the body together with coarser food, and how to degrade the soul with the pestiferous doctrines of Malthus.

On Friday last Ernest Jones visited the town of Preston to address the factory-hands locked out of the mills, on the labor question. By the appointed time at least 15,000 persons (the *Preston Pilot* estimates the number at 12,000) had assembled on the ground, and Mr. Jones, on proceeding to the spot, was received with an enthusiastic welcome.[a] I give some extracts from his speech:

"Why have these struggles been? Why are they now? Why will they return? Because the fountains of your life are sealed by the hand of Capital, that quaffs its golden goblet to the lees and gives the dregs to you. Why are you locked out of life when you are locked out of the factory? Because you have no other factory to go to—no other means of working for your bread. [...] What gives the capitalist this tremendous power? That he holds all the means of employment.... The means of work is, therefore, the hinge on which the future of the people turns.... It is a mass movement of all trades, a national movement of the working classes, that can alone achieve a triumphant result.... Sectionalize and localize your struggle and you may fail—nationalize it and you are sure to win."

Mr. George Cowell in very complimentary terms moved, and Mr. John Matthews seconded, a vote of thanks to Ernest Jones for his visit to Preston and the services he was rendering to the cause of labor.

Great exertions had been made on the part of the manufacturers to prevent Ernest Jones visiting the town; no hall could be had for the purpose, and bills were accordingly printed in Manchester

[a] When describing Jones and other speakers at the meeting in Preston on November 4, 1853, Marx closely followed the article "Immense Demonstration at Preston" published in *The People's Paper*, No. 80. The quotation from Jones' speech is given according to that article.—*Ed.*

convening an open-air meeting. The report had been industriously circulated by some self-interested parties, that Mr. Jones was going to oppose the strike, and sow division among the men, and letters had been sent that it would not be personally safe for him to visit Preston.

Written on November 11-12, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## PROSPERITY.—THE LABOR QUESTION

London, Tuesday, Nov. 15, 1853

"The Trade Returns and the Money Market" is the title under which *The Economist* publishes an article intended to prove the general prosperity and the fair prospects of trade, although we are told in the same number that

> "provisions are high and are still rising in price," that "a quarter of wheat will sell at 80 shillings," and that "the state of the Cotton trade [...] is not such as to make the millowners at all anxious to recommence work."[a] "There is much of instruction," says *The Economist*, speaking of the tables of importations, "conveyed in these long columns of figures—so much that goes to confirm great principles which have been the subject of strong political contest—so much that explains the recent events, with regard to the Money Market, and [...] casts light upon the future—so much that is highly instructive to the statesman, the financier, the banker, and the trader, in enabling them to take an accurate view of the state of things at present, and to make a just estimate of their position hereafter—that we feel we cannot perform a better service than to call attention to some of the main facts developed by these returns, and trace their connection with other most important features of the time."

Let us then sit down at the feet of this prophet and hearken to his very circumlocutory oracles. This time the tables of importation are referred to in order to prove, not the lavish expenditure of the working classes, but the unspeakable blessings these very classes are reaping from free trade. These tables are as follows:

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[a] "Faults and Follies of Wages Movement", *The Economist*, No.533, November 12, 1853. The tables and quotations below are cited from the above-mentioned article published in the same issue of *The Economist*.—*Ed.*

TABLE I

*Consumed from Jan. 5 to Oct. 10*

| | | 1852 | 1853 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cocoa | lb. | 2,668,822 | 3,162,233 |
| Coffee | lb. | 25,123,946 | 28,607,613 |
| Tea | lb. | 42,746,193 | 45,496,957 |
| Sugar | cwt. | 5,358,967 | 5,683,228 |
| Tobacco | lb. | 21,312,459 | 22,296,398 |
| Wine | gals. | 4,986,242 | 5,569,560 |

One glance over this table shows us the fallacy of *The Economist.* All we know of the enumerated commodities is, not that they have been *consumed,* as is stated, but that they have been *entered* for consumption, which is quite a different thing. There is no shop-keeper so ignorant as not to be able to distinguish between the stock of commodities that may have entered his premises, and the stock that has been really sold and consumed by the public.

"This list may be regarded as including the chief articles of luxury of the operative classes," and down *The Economist* puts it to the account of these classes. Now, one of these articles, viz., coffee, enters but sparingly into the consumption of the English operative, and wine does not enter it at all. Or does *The Economist* think the operative classes must be better off because their masters are consuming more wine and coffee in 1853 than in 1852? As to tea, it is generally known that, consequent upon the Chinese revolution and the commercial disturbances connected with it, a speculative demand has sprung up based on the apprehensions for the future, but not on the wants of the present. As to sugar, the whole difference between October, 1852 and 1853, amounts but to 324,261 cwt.; and I don't pretend to the omniscience of *The Economist,* which knows, of course, that not one cwt. out of these 324,261 has entered the stocks of the shop-keeper or the sweetmeats of the upper classes, but that all of them must have inevitably found their way to the tea of the operative. Bread being dear, he will have fed his children upon sugar, as Marie Antoinette, during the famine of 1788, told the French people to live upon macaroons. As to the rise in the import of tobacco, the demand for this article on the part of the operatives regularly increases in the same proportion as they are thrown out of work, and their regular course of living is interrupted.

Above all, we must not forget that the amount of commodities imported in October, 1853, was determined not by the actual demand of that month, but by a conjectural demand calculated on an altogether different state of the home market. So much for the first table and its "connection with other most important features of the time."

TABLE II

*Imported from Jan. 5 to Oct. 10*

| | | 1852 | 1853 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bacon | cwt. | 62,506 | 173,729 |
| Beef salted | cwt. | 101,531 | 160,371 |
| Pork salted | cwt. | 77,788 | 130,142 |
| Hams salted | cwt. | 6,766 | 14,123 |
| Lard | cwt. | 14,511 | 102,612 |
| Total | | 263,102 | 580,977 |
| Rice | cwt. | 633,814 | 1,027,910 |
| Potatoes | cwt. | 238,739 | 820,524 |
| Grain and Flour | qrs. | 5,583,082 | 8,179,956 |
| Cheese | cwt. | 218,846 | 294,053 |
| Butter | cwt. | 205,229 | 296,342 |
| Eggs | qrs. | 89,433,728 | 103,074,129 |

To *The Economist* the glorious discovery was certainly reserved that, in years of dearth and imminent famine, the relative excess of imports above those of common years, of provisions, rather proves the sudden development of consumption than the unusual falling off of production. The sudden rise in the price of an article is no doubt a premium on its importation. But has any one ever contended that the dearer an article the more eagerly it will be consumed? We come now to a third class of importations, constituting the *raw materials* of manufactures:

TABLE III

*Imported from Jan. 5 to Oct. 10*

| | | 1852 | 1853 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Flax | cwt. | 971,738 | 1,245,384 |
| Hemp | cwt. | 798,057 | 788,911 |

| | | 1852 | 1853 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Silk, Raw | lbs. | 3,797,757 | 4,355,865 |
| Silk, Thrown | lbs. | 267,884 | 577,884 |
| Cotton | cwt. | 6,486,873 | 7,091,999 |
| Wool | lbs. | 63,390,956 | 83,863,475 |

As the production of 1853 has largely surpassed that of 1852, more raw materials were wanted, imported, and worked up. *The Economist,* however, does not pretend that the surplus of manufactures produced in 1853 has entered the home consumption. He puts it to the account of *exports.*

"The most important fact is the enormous increase in our exports. The increase upon the single months ending the 10th October is no less than £1,446,708, completing an aggregate increase [in the nine months] of £12,596,291; the amount being £66,987,729 in the present year, against £54,391,438 in the corresponding period of 1852.... Taking only our exports of British produce, the increase is no less than 23 per cent. in the year."

But how does it stand with these additional £12,596,291. "A large portion of these exports are only on the way to their ultimate markets," where they will arrive just at the proper moment to completely undo them. "A considerable part of the increase is to Australia," which is glutted; "to the United States," which are overdone; "to India," which is depressed; "to South America," which is altogether unable to absorb the over-imports repelled from the other markets.

"The enormous increase of articles imported and consumed, is already paid by this country, or [...] the bills thrown for [...] them are running and will be paid in a very short period.... *When* shall we be paid for the exports? In six months, nine months, twelve months, and for some in eighteen months or two years' time."

It "is but a *question* of time," says *The Economist.* What an error!

If you throw this enormous surplus of manufactures upon markets already inundated by your exports, the time you wait for, may *never* arrive. What appears in your tables as an enormous list of imaginary wealth, may turn out an enormous list of real losses, a list of bankruptcies on a world-wide scale. What then do table No. III and the boasted figures of exports prove? What all of us were long since aware of, that the industrial production of Great Britain has enormously increased in 1853, that it has overshot the mark, and that its movement of expansion is becoming accelerated at the very moment when markets are contracting.

*The Economist* arrives, of course, at an opposite result.

"The pressure on the Money Market, and the rise in the rate of interest," he tells us, "are but the transitory consequence of the large imports being immediately paid, while the enormous surplus of exports is advanced on credit."

In his eyes, then, the tightness of the Money Market is but the result of the additional amount of exports. But we may as justly say that in these latter months the increase of exports has been but the necessary result of the pressure on the Money Market. That pressure was attended by an influx of bullion and an adverse exchange—but is an adverse exchange not a premium on bills drawn on foreign countries, or in other words, a premium on exportation? It is precisely by virtue of this law that England, in times of pressure on her own Money Market, deranges all the other markets of the world, and periodically destroys the industry of foreign countries, by bombarding them with British manufactures at reduced prices.

*The Economist* has now found out the "two points" in which the workingmen are decidedly wrong, decidedly blameable and foolish.

"In the first place they are at issue. in most cases, on the merest fraction of a coin."

Why is this? Let *The Economist* answer himself:

"The dispute has been changed from being a question of contract to being a struggle for power." "Secondly, [...] the operatives have not managed their own business, but have submitted to the dictation of irresponsible, if not self-styled leaders.... They have acted in combination, and through [...] a body of insolent clubs.... We do not fear the political opinions [...] of the working classes themselves; but we do fear and deprecate those of the men whom they allow to prey upon them and speak for them."

To the class organization of their masters the operatives have responded by a class organization of their own; and *The Economist* tells them that he will discontinue "to fear" them, if they dismiss their generals and their officers and resolve to fight single-handed. Thus the mouth-pieces of the allied despots of the north assured the world again and again, during the period of the first struggles of the French revolution, that they did "not fear" the French people itself, but only the political opinions and the political actions of the savage *Comité du Salut Public,*[324] the insolent clubs, and the troublesome generals.

In my last letter I told *The Economist* that it was not to be wondered at if the working classes had not used the period of prosperity to educate their children and themselves. I am now

enabled to forward you the following statement, the names and particulars of which have been given me, and are about to be sent to Parliament: In the last week of September, 1852, in the township of ... four miles from ..., at a bleaching and finishing establishment called..., belonging to ..., Esq., the undermentioned parties attended their work *sixty hours* consecutively, with the exception of *three hours for rest!*

| Girls | Age | Girls | Age |
|---|---|---|---|
| M.S. | 22 | H.O. | 15 |
| A.B. | 20 | M.L. | 13 |
| M.B. | 20 | B.B. | 13 |
| A.H. | 18 | M.O. | 13 |
| C.N. | 18 | A.T. | 12 |
| B.S. | 16 | C.O. | 12 |
| T.T. | 16 | S.B. | 10! |
| A.T. | 15 | Ann B. | 9! |
| M.G. | 15 | | |
| Boys | | Boys | |
| W.G. | 9 | J.K. | 11 |

Boys of nine and ten working 60 hours consecutively, with the exception of three hours' rest! Let the masters say nothing about neglecting education now. One of the above, Ann B., a little girl only nine years of age, fell on the floor asleep with exhaustion, during the 60 hours; she *was roused and cried, but was forced to resume work!!*

The factory operatives seem resolved to take the education movement out of the hands of the Manchester humbugs. At a meeting held[a] in the Orchard by the unemployed operatives at Preston, as we hear:

"Mrs. Margaret Fletcher addressed the assembly on the impropriety of married females working in factories and neglecting their children and household duties. Every man was entitled to a fair day's wages for a fair day's work, by which she meant, that he ought to have such remuneration for his labor as would afford him the means of maintaining himself and family in comfort; of keeping his wife at home to attend to domestic duties, and of educating his children. [Cheers.] The speaker concluded by moving the annexed resolution:

"*Resolved*, that the married portion of the females in this town do not intend to go to work again until their husbands are fairly and fully remunerated for their labor.

"Mrs. Ann Fletcher (sister of the last speaker) seconded the resolution, and it was carried unanimously.

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[a] On November 7, 1853.—*Ed.*

"The Chairman announced that when the 10 per cent. question was settled, there would be such an agitation raised respecting the employment of married women in factories as the millowners of the country little expected."[a]

Ernest Jones, in his tour through the manufacturing districts, is agitating for a "Parliament of Labor."[325] He proposes that

"a delegation from all trades shall assemble in the center of action, in Lancashire, in Manchester, and remain sitting until the victory is obtained. This would be an expression of opinion so authoritative and comprehensive as would fill the world with its voice, and divide with St. Stephen's[b] the columns of the press.... At a crisis like this the ear of the world would hang more on the words of the humblest of those delegates than on those of the coroneted senators of the loftiest House."[c]

The organ of Lord Palmerston is of a quite different opinion:

"Among ourselves [...]," exclaims *The Morning Post*,[d] "the boasted *progress* has been effectually checked, and since the wretched failure of the 10th of April[326] no further attempt has been made to convert laborers into legislators, or tailors into tribunes of the people."

Written on November 15, 1853

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3938, November 30, 1853

Signed: *Karl Marx*

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[a] Quoted from "The Operatives of Preston" in *The People's Paper*, No. 79, November 5, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] The British Parliament.—*Ed.*

[c] Ernest Jones, "A Parliament of Labour. To the Trades and Working Men in General", *The People's Paper*, No. 80, November 12, 1853.—*Ed.*

[d] Of November 14, 1853.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## PROGRESS OF THE TURKISH WAR

The news from the seat of war, brought by the steamer *Humboldt*, confirms the report previously received by the *Europa* that the Turks, after having again and again made good their position at Oltenitza, against heavy odds, and with hard fighting, finally retired across the river about the 14th ult. and took up their position in their former entrenchments at Turtukai. We presume that when we receive our letters and journals this will be explained, but at present we do not altogether understand the reason for the movement. It is stated in the dispatch that it was accomplished without molestation, which precludes the supposition that it was the result of any decided advantage gained by Prince Gorchakoff, unless indeed we are to believe that the Russian commander had succeeded in mustering for his second attack on that place twice the force that he had brought against it on the first. But the truth is, that he had no such corps of 45,000 men for such a purpose, as will appear on a careful review of all the facts in our possession. It is also stated that the Turks return to Turtukai, in order not to expose themselves to the danger of a surprize at Oltenitza in winter, when retreat across the river would be difficult; but this statement contradicts the fact that they are acting on the offensive without a check hitherto and with undeniable preponderance of forces. Besides, their left wing is not only maintained at Widin, on the Wallachian side of the Danube, but is even strengthened, which indicates anything but a general retrograde movement on their part. And, taking the hypothesis of a projected movement, with a large force, across the river at Braila or Galatz, which is probably true, we are at a loss to understand why *Omer Pasha* should withdraw his troops from the strong

position at Oltenitza simply because he was about, with another body of men, to move decisively against the Russian left flank. But the perplexities of the case will be better understood by referring to the events of the campaign since its beginning.

It is certain first of all that the Turks were allowed to cross the river without serious opposition, both at Widin and Turtukai. There was nothing surprising in this, as military experience has established the impossibility of preventing an active enemy from crossing a river, however large; and also, that it is always most advantageous to attack him after he has got part of his troops across—thus falling upon them with a superior force, and while they have only one line of retreat and that encumbered. But that the Turks should establish themselves upon the left bank of the Danube; that in every action fought they should come off victorious; that they should keep possession of Oltenitza, not more than forty miles from Bucharest, for ten days without the Russians being able to dislodge them from that important position; and that they should finally retire from it unmolested and of their own accord—all this shows that the proportionate strength of the Turkish and Russian forces opposed to each other in that quarter has been greatly mistaken.

We know pretty accurately what forces the Turks had to dispose of; but as to the forces of the Russians, we have always been obliged to grope in the dark. Two army Corps, it was stated, had crossed the Pruth, and part of a third followed them shortly afterward. Supposing this to be correct, the Russians could not have less than 150,000 men in the Principalities. Now, however, when events have already shown that there is no such Russian force in Wallachia—now at last we receive an authentic account, by way of Vienna, of what they really have there.[a] Their forces consist of:

1. The Fourth Army Corps, under Gen. Dannenberg, consisting of the following 3 divisions of infantry:
   - *A* The 10th Division (Gen. Simonoff) ..... 16,000 men
   - *B* The 11th Division (Gen. Pawloff) ..... 16,000 men
   - *C* The 12th Division (Gen. Liprandi) ..... 16,000 men
   - *D* One battalion of riflemen ..... 1,000 men
2. One brigade of the 14th Division, belonging to the Fifth Army Corps, and commanded by Gen. Engelhardt ..... 8,000 men

Total, Infantry ..... 57,000 men

[a] Below Engels makes use of the data from the report of the Vienna correspondent of *The Times* and the editorial in its No. 21587, November 16, 1853.—*Ed.*

3. Two divisions of light horse, commanded by Gen. Nirod and Gen. Fischbach, together 8,000 men, and 10 regiments of Cossacks. 6,000 men, making in all ..... 14,000 men
4. One division of artillery, of about one battery (12 guns) for every infantry regiment, or altogether 170 to 180 guns.

It also appears, that the Fifth Army Corps, that of Gen. Lüders, is not even concentrated at Odessa, but has part of its troops at Sebastopol, and part in the Caucasus; that the Third Army Corps under Gen. Osten-Sacken, is still in Volhynia, or at least has but just crossed the Pruth, and cannot be brought down to the theater of war in less than three or four weeks; and that the Russian cavalry of reserve—mostly heavy horse—are behind the Dnieper, and will require five or six weeks to march to the place where they are wanted. This information is no doubt correct; and if it had been before us six weeks ago we should have said that Omer Pasha ought to pass the Danube, no matter where or how, but the sooner the better.

There is, in fact, nothing which can rationally explain the foolhardiness of the Russians. To march with something like 80,000 men into a *cul-de-sac* like Wallachia, to stop there a couple of months, to have, as the Russians themselves have confessed, about 15,000 men sick in hospital, and to trust to good luck, without getting further reenforcements, is a thing that has never been done, and that nobody had any right to suspect in people like the Russians, who are generally so very cautious, and always take care to be on the safe side. Why, this whole available army in Wallachia, after deducting detachments, would only come to some 46,000 men, who might, besides, be wanted at different points!

But such is the fact, and we can only explain it by an absolute confidence on the part of the Russians in the diplomatic intrigues of their friends in the British Government, by an unwarranted contempt for their opponents, and by the difficulties which the Russians must find in concentrating large bodies of troops and large masses of stores at a point so remote from the center of their Empire.

The Turks, on the other hand, are 25,000 strong at Kalafat, in Lesser Wallachia, and are strengthening that force. As to the ulterior movements of this corps we know little. They seem not to have advanced even as far as Krajova, and indeed, to have done nothing more than occupy the neighboring villages. The reason for this is also doubtful, and we can only suppose that Omer Pasha is in some way controlled in his movements by the Council at Constantinople, which originally stationed those 25,000 men at

Sofia. At any rate, as far as it is possible to judge at this distance, this corps is quite useless where it is, and its presence there is a mistake, since even for hypothetical and improbable use against the Servians, it is, as we have shown on a former occasion, either too large or too small.[a] It would apparently have been far better to move it lower down the Danube, for it crossed on Oct. 28, and up to Nov. 15 it had not advanced much, or in any way operated actively. These fifteen days might have been better employed in moving it 150 miles lower down the Danube, as far as Sistova, where it would have been in immediate connection with the left wing of the Turkish grand army, and a couple of marches more would have brought it down upon Rustchuk, the headquarters of the Turkish left. That these 24,000 men united with the main body would have been worth twice their number at Kalafat nobody can doubt; and events support this opinion, for, as before stated, we have not yet heard that during the nineteen days since they crossed the Danube, they have given any active support to *Omer Pasha.*

The attacks of the Turks at Nicopolis and Rustchuk were mere feints. They appear to have been well executed, with no more troops than was necessary, and yet with that vigor which is apt to lead an enemy into error as to the ulterior objects of the attacking party. The main attack was at Oltenitza. What force they brought there is even now uncertain. Some reports say that as early as the 11th the Turks had 24,000 men at Oltenitza, and the Russians 35,000 to oppose them. But this is evidently false. If the Russians were stronger than the Turks in the proportion of three to two, they would have very soon sent them back to the other side of the Danube, when the fact is that the 11th saw a Russian defeat.

It would seem now as much as ever that nothing but exceedingly bad generalship can prevent the Turks from driving Gorchakoff out of Wallachia. It is certain, however, that there have been some singular specimens of generalship on both sides. On the 2d of November the Turks crossed at Oltenitza—evidently their main point of passage. On the 3d, 4th and 5th they successfully repulsed the attacks of the Russians, thereby establishing their superiority upon the left bank of the Danube. During these three days their reenforcements ought to have arrived, and they ought to have been at once in a position to march upon Bucharest. This was the way Napoleon acted, and every general

[a] See this volume, pp. 457-58.—*Ed.*

since his time has known that rapidity of movement can in itself make up for deficiency of strength, inasmuch as you fall upon your opponent before he has time to concentrate his forces. Thus, as men say in trade, Time is money; so we may say in war, Time is troops. But here in Wallachia, this maxim is neglected. The Turks quietly keep possession of Oltenitza during nine days, from the 6th to the 15th, and excepting petty skirmishes, nothing at all is done, so that the Russians have time to concentrate their forces, to dispose them as maturely as possible, and if their line of retreat is menaced, to restore and secure it. Or are we to suppose that Omer Pasha intended merely to keep the Russians near Oltenitza till his main army had crossed lower down and entirely intercepted their retreat? Possibly, though this is an operation which, with 24,000 men at Kalafat and 24,000 at Oltenitza, presupposes some 50,000 more lower down toward Orsova. Now, if he had such a force there, as very possibly he may, they might have passed the time much better than in all these artificial and subtle maneuvers. In that case, why not throw 70,000 or 80,000 men in one mass across the Danube at Braila, and cut the Russians in Wallachia off at once from their communications? As we have said, it is probable that this movement is now to be made, but why this long delay, and why these complicated preliminaries, does not appear. With so great a preponderance of force all ready on the line of operations, there was no particular advantage to be gained by deceiving Prince Gorchakoff. He should rather have been cut off and crushed at once.

As to the Turkish soldiers themselves, in the few engagements where they have acted, they have so far come out in capital style. The artillery has everywhere proved that the Emperor Nicholas did not exaggerate when he pronounced it among the best in Europe. A battalion of riflemen, organized only ten weeks before the beginning of hostilities, and armed with Minié rifles, then just arrived from France, has, during this short time, gained high proficiency in the skirmishing service, and furnished first-rate marksmen, who well know how to use that formidable weapon; at Oltenitza they had an opportunity of showing this by picking off almost all the superior officers of the Russians. The infantry in general must be quite capable of the ordinary line and column movements, and besides, must have attacked at Oltenitza with great courage and steadiness, as at least on two days out of three, the charge of the Turkish infantry decided the battle, and that at close quarters; and with the bayonet, the Russian infantry, it is well-known, are no contemptible opponents.

The news from Asia is even more decisively in favor of the Turks than that from Europe. It appears certain that there has been a general and combined rising of the Circassian tribes against the Russians; that they hold the Gates of the Caucasus, and that Prince Woronzoff has his communications cut off in the rear, while he is pressed by the Turkish forces in front. Thus the war everywhere opens with disasters for the Czar. Let us hope that such may be its history to the end, and that the Russian Government and people may be taught by it to restrain their ambition and arrogance, and mind their own business hereafter.

Written about November 18, 1853

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3944, December 7, 1853, as a leader

# Karl Marx

## DAVID URQUHART[327]

In one of the English newspapers to arrive here recently by steamer we discover to our amazement that Mr. D. Urquhart, often mentioned lately as an agitator for the anti-Russian meetings in England, is described as a *tool in the service of Russia.*[a] We can only put this absurdity down to intrigues on the part of "free Slavdom", for the whole of Europe has so far known Urquhart only as a dyed-in-the-wool, almost maniacal Russophobe and Turkophile. When he was Secretary to the embassy in Constantinople the Russians had even demonstrably tried to poison him. Therefore a few remarks about a man whose name is on everyone's lips but whose actual significance hardly anyone can account for.

Urquhart systematically rides a fixed idea. For 20 years he has been *unsuccessfully* denouncing Palmerston and the Russian tricks and dodges, and was, therefore, naturally bound to go half-crazy, as would anybody who had a *particular* idea that was right, but of which he could not convince the world. The fact that Palmerston has been able to hold on until today with his diplomacy, he puts down to the quarrel between the Whigs and Tories, which is partly, but of course only partly, correct. For the English Parliament of today, which judges every issue not on its own merits but solely according to whether a party is "*in office*" or "*out of office*", he, who is basically conservative, sees no other salvation but strengthening the royal prerogative, on the one hand, and *local, municipal self-government,* on the other. To put up a front

[a] The reference is to the article "A Russian Movement in England", in *The People's Paper,* No. 80, November 12, 1853.—*Ed.*

against Russia he wants the West to form as compact and uniform a mass as the Russian. He, therefore, *will not hear of parties* and is a bitter enemy of all efforts to bring about centralisation. As all the revolutions since 1848 have temporarily been favourable to Russia's progress, he foolishly attributes this outcome to Russian diplomacy, seeing it as Russia's *original motive.* Russia's agents are, therefore, according to Urquhart, the secret commanders of the revolutions. As *Austria* is the direct counter-force to Russia within the old conservative system, he shows a preference for Austria and a dislike of anything that could imperil its international power. In contrast to the Russian way of levelling things out, on the one hand, and to the revolutionary way of doing so, on the other, he clings to the individuality and particular characteristics of peoples. In his eyes, therefore, the Jews, the Gypsies, the Spaniards and the Mohammedans, including the Circassians, are the four finest peoples, as they have not been tainted by the vulgarism of Paris and London. From all this it is clear that his conception of history had necessarily to assume a very subjective character. History to him is more or less exclusively the work of diplomacy. As far as the objective, material conception of history is concerned, he thinks it is like making crimes into general laws instead of bringing them to trial.

"He is an honest, obstinate, truth-loving, enthusiastic, totally illogical old man, tormenting himself with his deep-seated prejudices", as one of his critics says of him.

However, as he has but *one* cause in life, his campaign against Russia, which he conducts with monomaniacal acumen and a great deal of expert knowledge, none of this does any harm. The knight with *one* cause in life is bound once more to be "the noble knight of the woeful countenance", nor is there any lack of Sancho Panzas, here or in Europe. A modified example of this species appears in the guise of "A.P.C.",[a] the London A-B-C scholar from the *Tribune.*[328]

Written about November 20, 1853

First published in *Die Reform*, No. 112, December 19, 1853

Printed according to the newspaper
Translated from the German
Published in English for the first time

[a] F. Pulszky.—*Ed.*

# KARL MARX

## THE KNIGHT OF THE NOBLE CONSCIOUSNESS[329]

Written about November 21-28, 1853

First published as a pamphlet in New-York, January 1854

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Printed according to the pamphlet
Translated from the German
Published in English for the first time

The man of small-scale war (see Decker's *Theorie des kleinen Kriegs*) does not need to be a man at all noble, but must have a *noble* consciousness. According to Hegel, the consciousness that is noble becomes transmuted necessarily into a consciousness that is *base.*[a] I shall elucidate this transmutation from the effusions of Herr Willich—who is Peter the Hermit and Walther Havenought in one person. I shall confine myself to the *cavaliere della ventura*[b]; the *cavalieri del dente*[c] standing behind him I leave to their mission.

To make it clear from the outset that the man of the noble consciousness is wont to express truth in the "higher" sense by lies in the "ordinary" sense, Herr Willich begins his reply to my *Revelations*[330] with the words:

> "Dr. Karl Marx published a report on the Cologne Communist trial in the *Neue-England-Zeitung* and the *Criminal-Zeitung.*"[d]

I have never reported on the Cologne Communist trial in the *Criminal-Zeitung.* It is common knowledge that I published the *Revelations* in the *Neue-England-Zeitung* and Herr Willich published Hirsch's confessions[e] in the *Criminal-Zeitung.*

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[a] G.W.F. Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes,* section "Die Bildung und ihr Reich der Wirklichkeit".— *Ed.*

[b] Knight of fortune, adventurer.— *Ed.*

[c] Parasites.— *Ed.*

[d] A. Willich, "Doctor Karl Marx und seine Enthüllungen", *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung,* October 28, 1853. Below Marx quotes this issue of the newspaper.— *Ed.*

[e] W. Hirsch, "Die Opfer der Moucharderie, Rechtfertigungsschrift", *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung,* April 1, 8, 15, 22, 1853 (see this volume, pp. 40-43).— *Ed.*

On p. 11 of the *Revelations* it is stated: "From the list of documents stolen from the Willich-Schapper party and from the dates of these documents it follows that although the party had been warned by Reuter's burglary, it still constantly found ways and means of having its documents stolen and allowing them to fall into the hands of the Prussian police." On p. 64 this passage is repeated.[a]

"Herr Marx," replied Herr Willich, "knows very well that these documents were themselves mostly falsified, and in part invented."

*Mostly* falsified, therefore not *wholly* falsified. *In part* invented, therefore not wholly invented. Herr Willich, therefore, admits: both before and after Reuter's burglary, documents belonging to his faction found their way to the police. Just as I assert.

So the noble-mindedness of Herr Willich consists in detecting a *false consciousness* behind a *correct fact*. "Herr Marx *knows*." How does Herr Willich know what Herr Marx knows? I know of some of the documents in question that they are genuine. About none of them do I know that during the proceedings at the trial it was shown to be falsified or invented. But I *ought* to have known "more", since "a certain Blum, who was among Willich's closest associates", was "Marx's informant". Blum, therefore, flourished[b] in Willich's immediate neighbourhood. So much the more distant did he keep himself from me. All that I know about Blum, to whom I have never spoken, not even metaphorically,[c] is that he is said to be a Russian by birth and a shoemaker by trade, that he also plays the part of Morison, swears by Willich's Morison pills, and now probably lives in Australia.[331] About the activity of the Willich-Kinkel missionaries, I received information from Magdeburg, not London. Hence the man of the noble consciousness could have spared himself the certainly painful operation of publicly vilifying one of his sons in the faith on the basis of mere suspicion.

At first the noble-minded one tells a lie attributing a non-existent informant to me, then he tells a lie denying the existence of an existing letter. He quotes: "Page 69 of the *Revelations*, note A[d] *from* the *alleged* letter of Becker's."

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 406.—*Ed.*

[b] A pun in German: "Blume" means "flower".—*Ed.*

[c] A pun on words: "durch die Blume sprechen" means "to speak metaphorically".—*Ed.*

[d] See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 452.—*Ed.*

# Der Ritter

vom

# edelmüthigen Bewußtsein,

von

**Karl Marx.**

Title page of the first edition of Marx's pamphlet *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness*

Herr Willich is too noble-minded to assume that "a man of intellect and character" like Becker could fail to see the intellect and character of a man like Willich. Hence, he converts Becker's letter into an alleged one and me into a forger. He does so, of course, out of nobility of mind. The alleged letter is still in the possession of defence counsel Schneider II. I sent it to Cologne for the defence at the time of the trial, because it refutes that Becker had any part in Willich's stupidities. Not only was the letter written by Becker, but the Cologne and London postmarks testify to the date of despatch and receipt.

"Previously, however, Frau Kinkel wrote a fairly long, informative letter to me" (Willich); "Becker in Cologne undertook its despatch. He told her that the letter had been mailed—I have never seen it. Has *Herr Marx*, Becker, or the post, *kept* it?"

Not the post, Willich asserted. Perhaps Becker? As long as he was in freedom, no Willich had asked him about it. Therefore, "Herr Marx". In his quiet way, Herr Willich contrives to make out that I publish letters which Becker did *not* write to me and that I suppress letters which Becker entrusted to me for despatch. Unfortunately, Becker was so kind as *never* to trouble me with any mailing of letters, whether from Frau Johann or from Herr Johann Gottfried.[a] Neither the prison nor the Black Bureau[332] stands in the way of approaching Becker with inquiries of such a neutral content. Herr Willich lyingly perpetrates a foul insinuation out of a pure intention to promote virtue and to depict the elective affinity between the good, between the Kinkels and Willichs, as victorious over all divisive arts of the wicked.

"The party situation within the proletariat is that between the Marx party and the Willich-Schapper party, according to *Herr Marx's designation, not mine.*"

The man of the noble consciousness has to prove his own modesty by the overweening conceit of others. Therefore, he converts the "*designation of the Cologne bill of indictment*" (see p. 6 of the *Revelations*[b]) into "*Herr Marx's designations*". Similarly, out of modesty he converts the party situation within a particular German secret society,[333] about which I speak (see loc. cit.), into the "party situation within *the* proletariat".

"When in the autumn of 1850 Techow came to London—Marx *contrived* to have Dronke write to him that Techow had made *highly contemptuous statements* about me; the letter was read out. Techow arrived, we spoke to each other as man to man, the information given in the letter had been invented!!"

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[a] An allusion to Gottfried Kinkel and his wife, Johanna Kinkel.—*Ed.*
[b] See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 402.—*Ed.*

*When* Techow came to London, I *had* Dronke write to me, I received the letter, I read it aloud, and *then* Techow came. The false consecutio temporum reflects the embarrassment of the noble-minded one, who is trying to create a false causal connection between me, Dronke's letter and Techow's coming. In Dronke's letter, which incidentally is addressed to Engels and not to me, the incriminating passage reads word for word as follows:

"Today I caused Techow to change his opinion somewhat, although in doing so I became involved in a heated dispute with him and Schily"—*Schily is at this moment in London*—"and he repeatedly declared the attacks on Sigel to be a personal whim of Willich's, to whom he incidentally denies even the *slightest* military talent."

Dronke, therefore, speaks not of Techow's highly contemptuous statements in general, but of Techow's contemptuous utterances about Herr Willich's military talent. Hence, if Techow did declare anything to have been *invented*, it was not the information in Dronke's letter, but the information by the noble-minded one about Dronke's information. In London, Techow did not modify the view he held in Switzerland about Herr Willich's military talent, although perhaps he did modify other views he had held about the false ascetic. My connection with Dronke's letter and Techow's coming is, therefore, confined to the fact that I read out Dronke's letter, just as I as President of the Central Authority[a] had to read out all letters. Thus, among others, a letter from Karl Bruhn, in which he, too, made merry over Willich's military talent. At the time, Herr Willich was convinced that I *had let* Bruhn write this letter. But since Bruhn, unlike Techow, has not yet gone to Australia, Herr Willich prudently suppresses "this sample of my tactics". Similarly, I had to read out a letter in which Rothacker writes:

"I will join any other community,—but *this one*" (viz. Willich's) "*never*".

He relates how, owing to simple opposition to Willich's views on "the striking arming of Prussia", he incurred the fate of having one of Willich's henchmen

"demand his immediate expulsion from the League, while another wanted to have a commission appointed to investigate how this Rothacker had come into the League, which he considered *suspicious*".

Herr Willich was convinced that I *had* Rothacker write this letter. But since instead of digging for gold in Melbourne,

[a] Of the Communist League.—*Ed.*

Rothacker is putting out a newspaper in Cincinnati, Herr Willich has again found it convenient to deprive the world of this further "sample of my tactics".

In accordance with his nature, the noble-minded one wants to evoke delight whenever he goes, and to receive homage everywhere. If, therefore, he finds his good opinion of himself contradicted, if Techow denies him military talent or Rothacker denies him political competence, or if Becker goes so far as to call him "*stupid*", then these unnatural experiences are accounted for by pragmatic reference to the tactical opposition between Ahriman—Marx and Engels—and Ormuzd—Willich; accordingly, his nobility of mind finds expression in the extremely base occupation of detecting, inventing, and lying about the secrets of this imagined tactic. We see, says Hegel, how this consciousness is concerned not with what is highest, but with what is lowest, namely with itself.

"Here," exclaims Herr Willich triumphantly, "are some samples of the tactics of Herr Marx."

"The first contradiction between Marx, Engels and myself showed itself when the invitation to a meeting was sent to us from the men of the revolution living in London who possessed a greater or lesser sphere of influence. I wanted to accept it; I demanded that our party line and organisation should be safeguarded, but that the *scandal of internal dissensions among the émigrés* should not be spread *outside.* I was voted down, the invitation was refused, *and from that day date the disgusting dissensions among the London émigrés,* the consequences of which are still *present* today, although now they have certainly lost all significance for public opinion."

Herr Willich, as a "partisan" in the war, finds that in peace also it accords with his mission to go from one party to another,[a] and it is fully in accord with the truth that his noble-minded desires for a coalition were voted down. The admission is all the more naive since Herr Willich later tried to spread the word that the émigrés had expelled us from their guild organisation. Here he admits that we had expelled the émigrés' guild from our midst. So much for the facts. Now for their *transfiguration.* The noble-minded one has to prove that it was only due to Ahriman that he was prevented from the noble work of obviating all the evil that had befallen the émigrés. To this end he had once again to resort to lying with an evangelist-like distortion of secular chronology (see Bruno Bauer's *Synoptiker*[b]).[334] Ahriman—Marx and Engels—announced their

[a] A pun on the word *Parteigänger* (partisan) the second component of which is derived from an old German word meaning "to go", "to walk".—*Ed.*

[b] B. Bauer, *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker.*—*Ed.*

withdrawal from the Workers' Society of Great Windmill Street[335] and their split away from Willich in the meeting of the Central Authority on September 15, 1850.[a] From that day they withdrew from all public organisations, demonstrations, and manifestations. It was, therefore, since September 15, 1850. On July 14, 1851 "the notable men of all factions" were invited to Citizen Fickler, on July 20, 1851 the "Agitation Union" was founded, and on July 27, 1851 the German "Émigré Club".[336] "From *that* day", when the secret desires of the noble-minded one were fulfilled, "date the disgusting dissensions" among the "London émigrés", and the struggle on both sides of the ocean between the "Émigrés" and the "Agitators", the great war between frogs and mice.[b]

> Now who will give me words and who the tongue,
> To sing of such brave deeds in sonorous sounds!
> For ne'er was strife upon this earth begun
> More proudly fought on bloodier battle grounds;
> Compared to this all other wars are roses.
> To tell of it my lyric art confounds
> For on this earth there ne'er was seen such glory
> Or noble valour bright as in this story.
>
> (After Boiardo, *Orlando Innamorato,* Canto 27)

The "significance of these disgusting dissensions" never existed in "public opinion", but only in the private opinion of the frog-and-mouse warriors. But "the consequences *are* still *present*". Even the stay of Herr Willich in America is a consequence. The money which found its way from America to Europe in the shape of a loan[337] made the journey from Europe back to America in the shape of Willich. One of his first occupations there was the formation of a secret committee in ..., to safeguard the Holy Grail,[338] the democratic gold, for Gottfried of Bouillon and Peter the Hermit[c] against Arnold Winkelried-Ruge and Melanchthon-Ronge.

Although the "noble ones" were left to themselves and, according to the expression of Eduard Meyen, were *all* united "up to and including Bucher", the process of scission proceeded so famously, not only among the main armies but also within each camp, that the Agitation Union was soon reduced to a half-complete pleiad, while the Émigré Club, in spite of the cohesive power of the

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 10, p. 483.—*Ed.*

[b] An allusion to *Batrachomyomachia—The Battle of the Frogs and the Mice,* a mock-heroic Greek poem, which parodies Homer's *Iliad.*—*Ed.*

[c] An allusion to Gottfried Kinkel and August Willich.—*Ed.*

man of the noble consciousness, was reduced to the trinity of Willich, Kinkel, and the innkeeper Schärttner. Even the trinitarian loan-regency—so attractive was the noble consciousness—degenerated into something which cannot even be called a duality, namely, Kinkel-Willich. Herr Reichenbach was too respectable to remain as the third in such an alliance for long. He learned to know the "personal character" of the noble-minded one from practical experience.

Among the samples which the noble-minded one gives of the "tactics of Marx", are included also his experiences with Engels. At this point I insert a letter from Engels himself:

"*Manchester*, November 23, 1853. I, too, have the honour to figure in the novel which Herr August Willich published to justify himself in the *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung* (dated October 28 and November 4). I am compelled to put on record a few words on this matter, insofar as it concerns me.

"That friend Willich, who confuses pure idleness with *pure* activity and, therefore, is exclusively concerned with friend Willich, possessed an excellent memory in everything that touches on his person, and that he kept a kind of register of every remark made about him even in beer-drinking company, long ago ceased to be a secret to those who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. Friend Willich, however, for a long time past has known how to make very good use of his memory and his register. On each occasion when trifles of this sort came to be spoken of again, a slight distortion, a few apparently unintentional omissions, made him the hero of the dramatic event, the focal point of a group, of a living picture. In the details of Willich's novel as in its entirety, the struggle always and everywhere turns on the artless and therefore persecuted Willich. In each separate episode we find at the end honest Willich making a speech and the infamous opponents defeated, broken, crushed and knuckling under in the consciousness of their nullity. *Et cependant on vous connaît, ô chevaliers sans peur et sans reproche!*[a]

"In Willich's novel, therefore, the era of suffering, during which the noble-minded one had to suffer so much iniquity at the hands of Marx, Engels and the other impious ones, is at the same time an era of triumph, in which he always victoriously crushes his opponents, and each new triumph surpasses all the previous ones. Friend Willich depicts himself, on the one hand, as the suffering

[a] And nevertheless one knows you, o you knights without fear and without reproach!—*Ed.*

Christ, who took on himself the sins of Marx, Engels and Co., but on the other hand, as the Christ who came to judge the living and the dead. It was left for friend Willich to unite two such contradictory roles *simultaneously* in *one* person. One who represents these two aspects simultaneously, must indeed be believed.

"For us, who have long known by heart these self-indulgent fantasies with which an elderly bachelor fills his sleepless nights, for us the only surprising thing is that all these idiosyncrasies still crop up today in the same unaltered form as in 1850. Now for the details.

"Friend Willich, who converts Herr Stieber and Co. into agents of a German 'federal police', which has not existed since the long past affair of the demagogues,[339] and who relates a quantity of equally wondrous 'facts', asserts with his usual accuracy that I wrote a 'pamphlet' on the Baden campaign of 1849. Friend Willich, who has studied with rare thoroughness that part of my work in which he is mentioned, knows very well that I never issued any such 'pamphlet'. What I wrote was a series of articles on the campaign for an Imperial Constitution in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue*, Hamburg and New York, 1850, in one of which I published an account of my experiences during the Palatinate-Baden campaign.[a] In this article, of course, friend Willich also figures and, he says, this article was 'very appreciative' of him, but immediately brought him into conflict with his habitual modesty by making him, as it were, a 'competitor of so many other great statesmen, dictators and generals'.

"And what was the nature of this great 'appreciation' on my part which so rejoices the noble heart of Herr Willich? It consists in the fact that I 'appreciated' Herr Willich as, in certain circumstances, a thoroughly useful battalion commander, who in twenty years, when a Prussian lieutenant, had acquired the requisite knowledge; who was not without aptitude for a small war, particularly a guerilla war, with, finally, the advantage that he was the right man at the right place as leader of a volunteer corps of 600-700 men, whereas the majority of the superior officers in that campaign were persons who either had had no military training at all or one wholly unsuitable for their position. To say that Herr Willich could lead 700 men better than a student, non-commissioned officer, schoolmaster or shoemaker, taken at

[a] The reference is to the fourth article, "To Die for the Republic!" of Engels' "The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution" (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 203-39).—*Ed.*

random, is of course 'very appreciative' in the case of a Prussian lieutenant who had had twenty years to prepare himself! *Dans le royaume des aveugles le borgne est roi.*[a] And it goes without saying that in his subordinate position he bore less responsibility, hence could make fewer mistakes than his 'competitors' who were divisional or top-ranking generals. Who knows whether Sigel, who was out of place as an "Obergeneral", would not also have achieved something as a simple battalion commander?

"And now for the doleful lament of modest Willich, who meanwhile, by virtue of seniority, has been promoted by some American newspapers to the rank of 'general', probably through my fault,—that my 'appreciation' had exposed him to the danger of also becoming a general in partibus, and not merely a general, but commander of an army, a *statesman*, indeed—a *dictator*! Friend Willich must have developed some peculiar notions of the brilliant rewards which the Communist Party holds in store for a moderately good battalion or volunteer-corps commander who joins it.

"In the above-mentioned article I spoke of Willich only as of a soldier, for he could be of public interest only in that capacity, since it was but later that he became a '*statesman*'. If I had possessed the malice towards him that he ascribes to me and my friends, if I had been interested in giving a picture of his personal character, what stories could have been told! If I were to have confined myself even to merely the amusing aspect, how could I have left out the story of the apple tree under which he and his Besançons[340] had sworn an oath to die while singing a song rather than once again forsake German soil. How could I have failed to relate the comedy at the frontier, when friend Willich behaved as if this oath was now going to be fulfilled; when some honest fellows came to me in full earnest to induce me to make brave Willich abandon his resolve; when finally Willich asked the assembled corps whether they would not rather die on German soil than go back into exile, and after a long general silence a single death-defying Besançon cried out: 'stay here!', and when in conclusion the whole company with great satisfaction and with their weapons and baggage crossed into Switzerland. Would not the subsequent history of the baggage itself have made quite an episode, not without value today as Willich himself invites half the world to speak out about his 'character'. Anyone who should desire further details about this and other adventures need only

[a] In the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed man is king.—*Ed.*

turn to one of his 300 Spartans, who had at that time searched in vain for their Thermopylae.[341] They were always ready to relate behind Willich's back the greatest scandals about his personal character. Of this I have plenty of witnesses.

"I am not going to waste any words on the story about my 'courage'. To my surprise at the time, I discovered in Baden that courage is one of the commonest of all qualities, and not worth speaking about; that crude courage alone, however, is of no more value than mere *goodwill*, and that, therefore, it often happens that each individual is a hero as regards courage, and yet the whole battalion takes to its heels as one man. We have an example of this in the expedition of Willich's corps to Karlsdorf, which is described at some length in my account of the campaign for an Imperial Constitution.[a]

"On this occasion, namely, on New Year's Eve 1850, Willich claims to have preached me a victorious moral sermon. Since I am not accustomed to keep a record of how I spend the transition from one year to the next, I cannot vouch for the date. At any rate, Willich never delivered the sermon in the shape in which he has had it printed.

"In the Refugee Committee,[342] he says, I and several others behaved in an 'unworthy' manner towards the great man. Shocking![b] But where then were the victorious moral arguments at the time when Willich, pulveriser of the impious, suddenly found himself powerless against mere 'unworthy behaviour'. No one will demand that I should pay serious attention to such silly remarks.

"In the meeting of the Central Authority,[c] when it came to a challenge to a duel between Schramm and Willich, I am supposed to have committed the crime of having 'left the room' together with Schramm shortly before the scene took place, and, therefore, of having prepared the whole scene in advance.

"Previously it was Marx who was alleged to have 'egged on' Schramm, now for a change I am supposed to have done so. A duel between a Prussian lieutenant, an old hand at pistol shooting, and a *commerçant*, who perhaps had never had a pistol in his hand, was truly a remarkable means to 'get rid' of the lieutenant. Yet friend Willich maintained everywhere, orally and in writing, that we had wanted to get him shot.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 215-18.—*Ed.*
[b] Engels uses the English word.—*Ed.*
[c] In late August 1850.—*Ed.*

"It is quite possible—I do not keep a record of when certain needs cause me to leave the room—that I left the room at the same time as Schramm; but it is not likely, since from the minutes of that meeting of the Central Authority deposited with me I see that on that evening Schramm and I took turns in recording the minutes. Simply, Schramm was furious at Willich's shameless behaviour, and to the great astonishment of us all he challenged him to a duel. A few minutes before, Schramm himself had no inkling that it would come to this. Never was an action more spontaneous. Here again Willich relates that he made a speech, saying: 'You, Schramm, leave the room!' Actually, Willich appealed to the Central Authority to expel Schramm. The Central Authority ignored his request and Schramm departed only after being personally addressed by Marx, who wanted to avoid any further scandal. On my side there is the minute book, on that of Herr Willich is his personal character.

*"Frederick Engels"*

Herr Willich relates further that in the Workers' Society he gave an account of the "unworthy behaviour" of the Refugee Committee, and that he made it the basis for a motion.

"When the indignation against Marx and his clique rose to a climax," the noble-minded one reports, "*I voted* for the matter to be dealt with by the *Central Authority. This* took place."

What took place? Willich's voting or the Central Authority's dealing with the matter? What magnanimity! His imperious vote rescues his enemies from the popular indignation that had risen to a climax. Herr Willich forgets the fact that the Central Authority was the *secret* committee of a *secret* society, whereas the Workers' Society was a *public*, open society. He forgets that treatment of the matter by the Central Authority could not therefore be made the subject of a vote in the Workers' Society, and so the Samaritan scene in which he figures as the hero could not have happened. Friend Schapper will help him to refresh his memory.

From the public Workers' Society, Herr Willich leads us into the secret Central Authority, and from the Central Authority to Antwerp, to the duel, to his duel with Schramm[a]:

"Schramm came to Ostend in the company of a *former Russian officer*, who according to *his own account* went over to the Hungarians in the Hungarian revolution, and who *vanished without trace* after the duel."

[a] The duel was fixed for September 11, 1850.—*Ed.*

This "former Russian officer" is no other than *Henryk Ludvic Miskowsky.*

"This is to testify," states one of the certificates of the *former Russian officer,* "that the bearer Henri Lewis Miskowsky, a *Polish* gentleman, has served *during the late Hungarian war* 1848-1849 as officer in the 46th battalion of the Hungarian *Honveds,* and that he behaved as such *praiseworthy* and *gallantly.*
"*London, November* 12, 1853. *L. Kossuth,* late Governor of Hungary."[a]

Mendacious man of noble consciousness! But the intention is *noble.* The opposition of good and evil must be presented in striking contrast as a living picture. What an artistic grouping! On one side the noble-minded one, surrounded

"by Techow, now in Australia, Vidil, French captain of Hussars, then in exile and now a prisoner in Algiers, and Barthélemy, owing to French newspapers known as one of the most resolute revolutionaries".

In short, on one side is Willich in person, surrounded by the élite of two revolutions. On the other side is Schramm, the depraved, deserted except for a "former Russian officer", whose participation in the Hungarian revolution is not a matter of fact, but only occurred "according to his own account", and who even "vanished without trace after the duel", and is, therefore, in the final analysis, the devil himself. In a picturesque description, virtue puts up at the "best hotel" in Ostend, where a "Prussian prince" is lodged, whereas depravity, together with the Russian officer, "lived in a private house". The Russian officer does not seem to have entirely "vanished after the duel", since, according to Herr Willich's further account, "Schramm remained behind at the stream with the Russian officer". Moreover, the Russian officer has not vanished from the world as the noble-minded one hopes, which is proved by the statement reproduced below:

"London, Nov. 24, 1853

"Under the date October 28, in the *Criminal-Zeitung* there is an article by Herr Willich in which, among other things, he describes the duel he fought with Schramm in Antwerp in 1850. I regret to say that not all points of the description give the public a truthful account. The article says: 'The duel was arranged, etc.; Schramm came accompanied by a former Russian officer, etc., who, etc., vanished.' This is an untruth. I was never in the service of Russia, and all the other *Polish* officers in the Hungarian war of liberation could, just as much as myself, be called *Russian.* I served in Hungary from the beginning of the war in 1848 until 1849 when the end came at Villagos. Furthermore, I have not vanished without trace. After Schramm's shot, which he fired at Willich at half a pace from the initial position, had missed, Willich fired at Schramm from where he stood and his bullet

[a] This text is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

wounded Schramm slightly in the head. I remained with Schramm *because we had no doctor*" (Herr Willich had arranged the duel), "washed and bandaged his wound, paying no attention to the seven persons who were haymaking nearby, who had witnessed the duel, and who could have become dangerous for me. Willich and his named companions left the scene in haste, while Schramm and I remained where we were, watching them go. Soon they were out of sight. I must point out, furthermore, that Willich and his companions were already at the scene of the duel when we arrived, and that they had marked out the duelling ground, on which Willich took up a position that placed him in the shade. I pointed this out to Schramm, who said: let it be. Schramm was in good spirits, fearless and quite unperturbed. That I was *compelled* to remain behind in Belgium was not unknown to the persons concerned. I do not wish to dwell on the other circumstances of this in form so peculiar duel.

*"Henryk Ludvic Miskowsky"*

The wheel-work of the noble-minded one is wound up. He conjured up a Russian officer only to make him vanish without trace. In his place I must now necessarily make my appearance on the battlefield as Samiel, albeit in incorporeal form.

"Early next morning" (after Herr Willich's arrival in Ostend), "he" (a friendly French citizen) "showed us the *Précurseur de Bruxelles*, in which newspaper there was a private correspondent's report containing the following passage: '*A number of German refugees have arrived in Brighton.* A message from this town informs us: in the next few days Ledru-Rollin and the French refugees from London will hold a congress in Ostend together with Belgian democrats.' Who can claim the honour of calling this idea his own? It did not come from a *Frenchman*, it was too à propos for that. This honour belongs exclusively to Herr Marx, *for although* one of his friends *may* have undertaken it—the brain is the source of ideas and not the hand."

"A friendly French citizen" showed Herr Willich and Co. the *Précurseur de Bruxelles*. He *showed* them something that does not exist. There is, of course, a *Précurseur d'Anvers*. Systematic falsification and distortion in regard to topography and chronology is an essential function of the noble consciousness. Ideal time and ideal space are the appropriate framework for its ideal productions.

In order to prove that this idea, namely the article in the *Précurseur de Bruxelles* "came from" Marx, Herr Willich assures us that "it did not come from a Frenchman". *This* idea did not *come from*! "It was too à propos for that." Mon dieu, an idea which Herr Willich himself can only describe in French could not come from a Frenchman? But how does the Frenchman appear on the scene at all, noble-minded one? What has the Frenchman to do with Willich and Schramm and the former Russian officer and the *Précurseur de Bruxelles*?

The spokesman of the noble-minded one's thoughts gives tongue out of season and betrays the fact that he finds it à propos to conjure away an essential intermediate link.

*Before* Schramm had challenged Herr Willich to a duel, the Frenchman Barthélemy had agreed to fight a duel with the Frenchman Songeon, and this was to take place in Belgium. Barthélemy chose Willich and Vidil as seconds. Songeon travelled to Belgium. The incident with Schramm came in between. Both duels were then to take place on the same day. Songeon did *not* turn up. On his return to London, Barthélemy asserted *publicly*: Songeon was responsible for the article in the *Précurseur d'Anvers*.

The noble-minded one hesitated for a long time before he finally applied the idea concerning Barthélemy to his own person and the idea about Songeon to me. Originally, as Techow himself told Engels and me after his return to London, the noble-minded one was firmly convinced that through Schramm I aimed at his removal from this world, and he put this idea in writing everywhere. On closer reflection, however, he found it impossible that a diabolical tactician could hit on the idea of getting rid of Herr Willich by means of a duel with Schramm. Hence, he seized on the idea "which did not come from a Frenchman".

*Thesis*: "This honour belongs exclusively to Herr Marx." *Proof*: "*For although* one of his friends *may* have undertaken" (to *undertake* an idea!) "*it*" (for the pure-minded one an *idea* is not feminine[a] but sexless),—"the brain is the source of ideas and not the hand." *"For although!"* A significant *"although"*! To prove that Marx had *invented* "it", Herr Willich imputes that a friend of Marx's had *undertaken* "it", or rather "may have undertaken it". *Quod erat demonstrandum.*

"*If*," says the noble-minded one, "if it is established that Szemere, Marx's friend, betrayed the crown of Hungary to the Austrian Government, that *would* be a convincing proof, etc."

However, precisely the opposite is true. But that has no bearing on the matter. If Szemere had committed treason, then for Herr Willich that *would* be a "convincing" proof that Marx had undertaken the article in the *Précurseur de Bruxelles*. *Although*, however, the premise is *not* an established fact, the conclusion remains valid, and it is established that if Szemere betrayed holy Stephen's crown, Marx betrayed holy Stephen himself.

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[a] In German "Idee" is of feminine gender.—*Ed.*

After the Russian officer vanished without trace, Herr Willich reappeared, and this in the "Workers' Society in London", where

"the workers unanimously condemned Herr Marx" and "on the day after his resignation from the Society in a general meeting of the London District unanimously expelled him from the League".

*Previously*, however,

"Marx with the majority of the Central Authority adopted a resolution to transfer the Central Authority from London"

and, despite Schapper's well-meant remonstrances, resolved to form a section for themselves. According to the statutes of the secret society the majority had the right to transfer the Central Authority to Cologne and provisionally to expel the entire Willich group, which was *not entitled to pass resolutions* in regard to it. The striking fact remains that on this occasion the noble-minded one, with his predilection for petty dramatics, in which Herr Willich plays a great rhetorical role, allowed the catastrophe itself, the scene in which the split occurred, to pass without taking advantage of it. The temptation was great, but unfortunately the dry text of the minutes exists and it proves that the triumphant Christ sat for hours silent and embarrassed in face of the accusations of the evil ones, then finally made off, left friend Schapper in the lurch, and did not recover his speech until he was in the "circle" of the believers. En passant: whereas Herr W. in America proclaims the glories of the "Workers' Society linked with him by respect and confidence", even Herr Schapper has considered it necessary for the time being to resign from Herr Willich's Society.

For a moment the man of the noble consciousness rises from the sphere of "tactical" procedure characteristic of him to the sphere of theory. Or so it seems. In actual fact he continues to furnish "samples of the tactics of Herr Marx". On p. 8 of the *Revelations* it says: "The Schapper-Willich party" (Herr Willich quotes it as Willich-Schapper) "have never laid claim to the dignity of having their own ideas. Their own contribution is the peculiar misunderstanding of other people's ideas".[a] In order to show the public how well provided he is with ideas of *his own*, Herr W. reports as his latest discovery, and indeed as a refutation of the views of Engels and myself, "what *institutions*" the petty bourgeoisie would "adopt" if it came to power. In a circular letter[b] drawn up by Engels and myself, which the police of Saxony

[a] See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 403.—*Ed.*

[b] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Address of the Central Authority to the Communist League" (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 277-87).—*Ed.*

found on Bürgers, and which was published in the most widely-read German newspapers and forms the basis of the Cologne bill of indictment, there is a rather lengthy account of the pious wishes of the German petty bourgeoisie. This provides the text for Willich's sermon. The reader should compare the original and the copy. How human of virtue to copy vice, even if with a "peculiar misunderstanding"! The improved sentiments compensate for the inferior style.

On p. 64 of the *Revelations* it says that in my view the Communist League "aims at forming not the *government party of the future* but the *opposition party of the future*".[a] Herr Willich is so noble that he craftily omits the first part of the sentence, "not the *government party*", in order firmly to seize on the latter part, "the opposition party of the future". By this ingenious halving of the sentence he proves that the Party of *office-seekers* is the true Party of the revolution.

The other idea of "his own" which Herr Willich produces is that the practical opposition between the noble consciousness and its opponents can be also *theoretically* expressed as "a division of mankind into two species", the Willichs and the anti-Willichs, the noble species and the ignoble species. Concerning the former, we learn that its main characteristic lies in the fact "*that they recognise one another*". To be boring is the privilege of the noble-minded one when he ceases to amuse by his samples of tactics.

We have seen how the man of the noble consciousness distorts or adapts facts by means of lies, or accords ludicrous hypotheses the rank of serious theses,—all in order to show that the opposite to himself is *in fact* the ignoble, the base. We have seen how in consequence his whole activity consists exclusively in discovering the base. The reverse aspect of this activity is that the actual complications with the world into which he himself gets entangled, however compromising they may appear to be, are transformed into proofs of his own noble-mindedness. To the pure, all is pure, and an opponent who fails to see the nobility of his deeds proves by that very fact that he is impure. The noble-minded one, therefore, does not have to *justify* himself, but has merely to express his moral indignation and astonishment at an opponent who compels him to provide justification. Hence the episode in which Herr Willich pretends to *justify* himself could just as well have been omitted altogether, as anyone can see by comparing my *Revelations*, Hirsch's confessions and

[a] See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 449.—*Ed.*

Herr Willich's reply. Hence, I shall give only a few examples to characterise the *men* of the noble consciousness.

Herr Willich was less compromised by my *Revelations* than by Hirsch's confessions, although the latter were originally intended to glorify him as the deliverer of his own enemies. Hence, he is careful to avoid dealing with Hirsch's confessions. He avoids even any mention of them. Hirsch is the notorious tool of the Prussian police against the party to which I belong. In contrast to this fact, Herr Willich puts forward the suggestion that *really* Hirsch was chosen by me to "smash" the Willich party.

> "Very soon he" (Hirsch) "intrigued with some followers of Marx, in particular a certain Lochner, in order to smash the Society. *As a result of this* he was put under observation. He was found out, etc. On a motion from me, he was expelled; Lochner stood up for him and was likewise expelled.... Hirsch *then* intrigued particularly against O. Dietz.... This intrigue was again immediately discovered."

That Hirsch was expelled as a spy from the Workers' Society of Great Windmill Street on a motion from Herr Willich, I myself reported in the *Revelations*, p. 67.[a] This expulsion carried no weight with me, since I ascertained what Herr Willich himself now confirms, namely, that it took place not on the basis of proven facts, but on the suspicion of imaginary intrigues between Hirsch and me. I knew Hirsch to be innocent of this crime. As for Lochner, he demanded proof of Hirsch's guilt. Herr Willich replied that Hirsch's sources of subsistence were unknown. But what about the sources of subsistence of Herr Willich? asked Lochner. On account of this "unworthy" utterance, Lochner was brought before a *court of honour* and since he refused to repent his sin in spite of all spiritual admonition, he was "expelled". After Hirsch had been expelled, and Lochner had been sent off after him, Hirsch

> "*then* intrigued particularly against O. Dietz with a very suspicious former police agent, who denounced Dietz to us".

Stechan, who had escaped from a Hanover prison, came to London, joined Willich's Workers' Society and denounced O. Dietz. Stechan was neither "suspicious" nor a "former Saxon police agent". What led him to denounce O. Dietz was the fact that the examining magistrate in Hanover had shown him a number of letters sent by him to London addressed to Dietz, the secretary of Willich's Committee.[343] At approximately the same

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 451.—*Ed.*

time as Stechan, Lochner appeared on the scene, also Eccarius II,[a] who had just been released from prison in Hanover and deported, Gimpel, for whose arrest a warrant had been issued on account of his participation in the Schleswig-Holstein affairs, and Hirsch, who had been imprisoned in Hamburg in 1848 because of a revolutionary poem, and who asserted that he was again being hunted by the police. Together with Stechan, they formed a kind of opposition and committed the sin against the Holy Ghost of contesting Herr Willich's articles of faith in the public discussions of the Society. All of them were struck by the fact that Stechan's denunciation of Dietz was answered by the expulsion of Hirsch by Willich. Soon all of them resigned from the Workers' Society and for a period formed with Stechan a society of their own.[344] They did not come into contact with me until *after* their resignation from Herr Willich's Society. The noble-minded one betrays his lie by distorting the time-sequence and omitting Stechan, the essential but irksome intermediate link.

On p. 66 of the *Revelations* I say: "Not long before the court action in Cologne, Kinkel and Willich sent a journeyman tailor[b] as emissary to Germany, etc."[c]

"Why," exclaims the noble-minded one indignantly, "why does Herr Marx lay stress on the *journeyman tailor*?"

I do not "lay stress" on the journeyman tailor in the way that, for example, the noble-minded one lays stress on Pieper, "the private tutor with Rothschild", although as a result of the Cologne Communist trial Pieper lost his job with Rothschild and instead won a place on the editorial board of the organ of the English Chartists.[d] I call the journeyman tailor a journeyman tailor. Why? Because I must not mention his name and yet prove to the Herren Kinkel-Willich that I was well acquainted with the personality of their emissary. The noble-minded one, therefore, accuses me of high treason against all journeyman tailors and tries to secure their votes by a Pindaric ode to journeyman tailors. In order to spare the good reputation of journeyman tailors, he magnanimously omits to say that Eccarius, whom he calls one of the expelled he-goats, is a journeyman tailor, which so far has not prevented Eccarius from being one of the greatest thinkers of the German

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[a] Johann Friedrich Eccarius.—*Ed.*
[b] August Gebert.—*Ed.*
[c] See present edition. Vol. 11, p. 450.—*Ed.*
[d] *The People's Paper*.—*Ed.*

proletariat and from gaining a position of prestige among the Chartists themselves by his English articles in *The Red Republican*, the *Notes to the People*, and *The People's Paper*. This is how Herr Willich *refutes* my revelations of the activity of the journeyman tailor whom he and Kinkel sent to Germany.

We now come to the case of *Hentze*. The man of the noble consciousness tries to cover up his own position by an attack on me.

"*Among other things, he*" (Hentze) "*lent Marx 300 talers.*"

In May 1849 I gave Herr Rempel an account of the financial difficulties of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which increased as the number of subscribers grew larger since expenses were in cash but receipts were to come in later. More, considerable losses were caused by the desertion of almost all the shareholders as a result of the articles in favour of the Paris June insurgents and against the Frankfurt parliamentarians, the Berlin agreement-seekers, and the members of the March Associations.[345] Herr Rempel referred me to Hentze, and Hentze advanced the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* 300 talers against my written undertaking. Hentze, who at the time was himself being harried by the police, found it necessary to leave Hamm and travelled with me to Cologne, where I was greeted by the news of my expulsion from Prussia. The 300 talers borrowed from Hentze, the 1,500 talers for subscriptions which I received through the Prussian post, and the rapid printing-press, etc., belonging to me, were all used to cover the debts of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* to compositors, printers, paper merchants, office workers, correspondents, editorial personnel, etc. No one knows this better than Herr Hentze, since he himself lent my wife a travelling case in which to pack her silver in order to take it to a pawnshop in Frankfurt and thus obtain the means to meet our private needs. The account books of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* are in Cologne in the care of the merchant Stephan Naut, and I authorise the noble-minded one to have an officially certified extract from them made for him there.

After this digression, let us return to the matter in hand.

The *Revelations* does not find it at all unclear that Herr Willich was Hentze's friend and received support from him. What it finds unclear (p. 65[a]) is that Hentze, whose house had been searched and whose documents were seized, who was proved to have sheltered Schimmelpfennig on a secret mission in Berlin, and who,

[a] See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 450.—*Ed.*

on his own "admission", was an accomplice of the League, that this Hentze at the period when the Cologne trial was approaching a decision, when the attention of the Prussian police was strained to the utmost and every half-suspected German in Germany or England was being kept under the strictest surveillance, that this Hentze received permission from the authorities to travel to London and to consort freely there with Willich, and then came to Cologne in order to give "false evidence" against Becker. The specific time gives the relationship between Herr Hentze and Herr Willich its specific character, and the circumstances mentioned must have appeared strange to Willich himself, although he did not know that Hentze communicated with the Prussian police by telegraph from London. It is a question of the specific time. Herr Willich correctly feels that this is so, and therefore declares in his noble manner:

"He" (Hentze) "came to London before the trial" (this I, too, maintain), "not to me, but to the *Great Exhibition*."

The noble-minded one has his own Great Exhibition just as he has his own *Précurseur de Bruxelles*. The real Great Exhibition in London closed in October 1851; Herr Willich makes Hentze travel "to *it*" in August *1852*. This circumstance can be testified to by Schily, Heise, and the other guarantors of the Kinkel-Willich loan, on each of whom Herr Hentze danced attendance in order to gain their votes for the transference of the American money from London to Berlin.

Long before Herr Hentze stayed with Herr Willich he had been invited to appear at the Cologne court trial as a witness, not for the defence but for the prosecution. As soon as we learned that Herr Willich had instructed Hentze to testify *against* Becker, "the man of intellect and character" (p. 68 of the *Revelations*[a]), the necessary information was sent at once to lawyer Schneider II, Becker's defence counsel. The letter arrived on the day when Hentze was being heard as a witness; the nature of his testimony agreed with our prediction. *For that reason*, Becker and Schneider cross-examined him publicly about his relation to Willich. The letter is to be found in the dossiers of the defence in Cologne, and the report on the cross-examination of Hentze in the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

I do not put forward the argument: *If* it is established that Herr Hentze did this or that, that *would* be a striking proof of the

[a] See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 452.—*Ed.*

activity of Herr Willich; "for although" friend Hentze "may have undertaken it—the brain is the source of ideas and not the hand". I leave this dialectic to the man of the noble consciousness.

Let us return to Herr Willich's proper domain:

"*A few more samples* of the *tactics*" (pursued by Marx) "for their full appreciation."

At the time of passive resistance in Hesse, of the mobilisation of the *Landwehr*[a] in Prussia, and of the simulated conflict between Prussia and Austria,[346] the noble-minded one was on the point of achieving a military insurrection in Germany, to be brought about by sending "to some persons in Prussia a short draft plan for forming committees of the *Landwehr*", and by the *willingness* of Herr Willich "***himself*** to go to Prussia".

"It was Herr Marx, who having been informed by one of his agents, made my *intended departure* more widely known and subsequently boasted of having hoaxed me with *false letters from Germany.*"

Indeed![b] Becker sent me with comical marginal notes the lunatic letters with which Willich favoured the public in Cologne. I was not so cruel as to deprive my friends of the enjoyment of reading them. Schramm and Pieper took delight in hoaxing Herr Willich with replies, not "*from Germany*" but through the *London post.* The noble-minded one will take care not to produce the postmarks of the letters. He asserts that he "received *one* letter in an imitated handwriting and recognised it as false". This is impossible. These letters were all written by the same hand. While, therefore, Herr Willich "boasts" of having discovered a non-existent imitated handwriting, and of having discovered *one* that was false among a number of letters each of which was in its way as genuine as any of the others, he was much too noble-minded to recognise the hoax from the glorification of his person couched in Asiatic hyperbolae, the crudely comic account of his fixed ideas, and the romantic exaggeration of his presumptions. Even if Herr Willich had seriously intended his departure, it was frustrated not by my "making it more widely known to third persons", but by what was made known to Herr Willich himself. For the last letter which he received tore away the transparent veil. Until the present moment his vanity has compelled him to declare the letter which undeceived him to be *false,* and the letters which *made a fool* of

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[a] Army reserve.—*Ed.*
[b] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

him to be genuine. Does the noble-minded one, because he is virtuous, believe that there shall indeed be sect and cakes[a] but no humour in the world? It was ignoble of the noble-minded one to withhold from the public the enjoyment of these letters.

"As regards the correspondence with Becker mentioned by Marx, what is said about it is *false.*"

As regards this false correspondence and Herr Willich's *intention* to travel to Prussia in person, and my making it more widely known to third persons, I found it appropriate to send a copy of the *Criminal-Zeitung* to ex-Lieutenant Steffen. Steffen was a witness for the defence on behalf of Becker, who had entrusted all his documents to him for safe-keeping. Compelled by the police to leave Cologne, he is now a teacher in Chester, for he belongs to the ignoble species of human beings who have to *earn* their living, even in exile. The man of the noble consciousness, true to his ethereal nature, does not live from capital, which he does not possess, nor from work, which he does not perform. He lives from the manna of public opinion, from the *respect* of other people. Hence he fights for this as his sole capital.

Steffen writes to me:

*"Chester, November 22, 1853*

"Willich is very angry at your giving me fragments from a letter of Becker's. He describes the letter, and therefore also the passages quoted from it, as *fictitious.* To this clumsy assertion I counterpose the facts in order to provide documentary evidence for Becker's view of Willich. One evening, with a hearty laugh, Becker gave me two letters and told me to read them when I was in low spirits; the contents would be the more effective in cheering me up, because I would be in a position to judge them from a military standpoint in view of my earlier circumstances. In fact, on reading those letters sent by August Willich to Becker, I found they contained extremely comic and remarkable *orders of the day to the troops* (to make use of an appropriate royal Prussian expression), in which the great Field-Marshal and social Messiah sends out from England the order to capture Cologne, to confiscate private property, to establish an artificially contrived military dictatorship, to introduce a military-social code of laws, to ban all newspapers except *one,* which would have to publish daily orders about the prescribed mode of thought and behaviour, and a quantity of further details. Willich was kind enough to promise that *when* this job in Cologne and the Prussian Rhine province was *done,* he *himself* would come to separate the sheep from the goats and to pass judgment on the living and the dead. Willich claims that his 'short draft plan would be easy to put into effect *if* some persons took the initiative', and 'that it would have *highly important* consequences' (for whom?). For my edification I should very much like to know who were the deep-thinking '*Landwehr* officers' who 'later explained' this to Willich, and whether these gentlemen, who made a pretence of believing in 'the

[a] Marx uses the English phrase "sect and cakes".—*Ed.*

highly important consequences of the short draft plan', stayed in England during the mobilisation of the Prussian *Landwehr* or in Prussia, where the child of the world was to be brought into being. It was very good of Willich to have sent the birth announcement and the description of the child to 'some' persons. None of these persons, however, seem to have been more inclined to act as godfather at the baptism than Becker, 'the man of intellect and character'. On one occasion, Willich sent over an adjutant named....[a] This man did me the honour of having me summoned and was very firmly convinced that he could judge the whole situation in advance better than anyone confronted by the facts day by day. Hence he came to have a very low opinion of me when I informed him that the officers of the Prussian army would not consider themselves lucky to fight under his and Willich's banner, and were not at all inclined to proclaim a Willichian republic at the earliest possible moment. He was still more angry when he found that no one was stupid enough to want to multigraph the Appeal, which he had brought with him ready-made, inviting the officers to declare themselves immediately and openly in favour of 'that' which he called democracy. Full of rage, he left 'the Cologne enslaved by Marx' (as he wrote to me) and arranged for his nonsense to be multigraphed elsewhere, sent it to a great many officers, and *thus* it came about that the chaste secret of this cunning method of turning Prussian officers into republicans was prostituted by the 'Spectator' of the *Kreuzzeitung*.

"Willich says he is absolutely incapable of believing that persons of 'Becker's character and intellect' could laugh at his plan. He declares the utterance of this fact a clumsy lie. If he had read the *Cologne Trial*, and after all he has every reason to do so, he would have found that both Becker and I *openly* expressed the judgment on his plan contained in the letter published by you. If Willich would like to have a correct *military* description of the then existing situation, which he depicts according to his fantasy, I can oblige him.

"I regret that it is not only in Weydemeyer and Techow that Willich finds former comrades who deny him the wished-for admiration of his military genius and practical understanding of the situation.

"*W. Steffen*"

Now for the final "sample of the tactics of Marx".

Herr Willich gives a fantastic description of a February banquet in 1851 organised by Louis Blanc as a counter-demonstration to Ledru-Rollin's banquet and against the influence of Blanqui.

"Herr Marx, of course, was not invited."

Of course not. Anyone could get in for two shillings, and a few days later Louis Blanc asked Marx with great emphasis why he had not been present at it.

"Thereupon" (where? at the banquet?) "an *undelivered toast* of Blanqui's, with an introduction reviling the celebration and calling Schapper and Willich misleaders of the people, was distributed as a leaflet among the workers in Germany."

The "undelivered toast of Blanqui's"[347] forms an essential part of the story recounted by the noble-minded one, who, believing in

[a] Marx also quotes this passage in his pamphlet *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17). There the name Schimmelpfennig is given instead of dots.—*Ed.*

his words in the *higher* sense, is accustomed to state emphatically: "*I never lie.*"

Some days after the banquet the Paris *Patrie* published a toast which Blanqui had sent from Belle-Île to the organisers of the celebration at their request, and in which in his customary pregnant manner he scourged the entire Provisional Government of 1848 and particularly the father of the banquet, M. Louis Blanc. The *Patrie* said it was surprised that this toast had been suppressed at the banquet. Louis Blanc immediately declared in the London *Times* that Blanqui *was* an abominable intriguer and had never sent any such toast to the banquet committee. On behalf of the banquet committee, MM. Louis Blanc, Landolphe, Barthélemy, Vidil, Schapper, and *Willich himself*, stated in the *Patrie* that they had *never* received the toast in question. Before printing this statement, however, the *Patrie* made enquiries of M. Antoine, Blanqui's brother-in-law, who had sent the toast for publication. *Below* the statement of the gentlemen mentioned above, the newspaper printed Antoine's reply, which was to the effect that he had certainly sent the toast to Barthélemy and had received from him an acknowledgement of its receipt. "Thereupon", M. Barthélemy declared that it was true he had received the toast but had put it aside as unsuitable without notifying the committee about it. Unfortunately, however, ex-Captain Vidil, who was one of the signatories, had already written to the *Patrie* that his military sense of honour and his instinct for truth compelled him to confess that he himself, Louis Blanc, Willich and all the others had lied in their first statement. The committee, he said, did not consist of the six persons named but had thirteen members. Blanqui's toast had been submitted to all of them, it had been discussed by all of them, and after a fairly lengthy debate it was decided by a majority of seven to six to suppress it. He himself was among the six who had voted *in favour* of its being read out.

One can understand the jubilation of the *Patrie* when, after Vidil's letter, it received M. Barthélemy's declaration, which it published with the following "preface".

"We have often asked ourselves, and it is a difficult question to answer, whether the demagogues are notable more for their boastfulness or their stupidity. A fourth letter from London has increased our perplexity. There they are, we do not know how many poor wretches, who are so tormented by the longing to write and to see their names published in the *reactionary* press that they are undeterred even by the prospect of infinite humiliation and mortification. What do they care for the laughter and the indignation of the public—the *Journal des Débats*, the *Assemblée nationale* and the *Patrie* will publish their stylistic exercises; to achieve this no cost to the cause of cosmopolitan democracy can be too high.... In the name of literary commiseration we therefore

include the following letter from 'citizen' Barthélemy—it is a novel, and, we hope, the last proof of the authencity of Blanqui's famous toast whose existence they first all denied and now fight among themselves for the right to acknowledge."[a]

So much for the history of Blanqui's toast. As a result of "Blanqui's undelivered toast", the *Société des proscrits démocrates [et] socialistes* broke off its agreement with Herr Willich's Society.

Simultaneously with the split in the German Workers' Society and the German Communist Society, a split took place in the *Société des proscrits démocrates [et] socialistes.* A number of members suspected of gravitating towards *bourgeois* democracy, towards *Ledru-Rollinism,* handed in their resignations and were subsequently expelled. Ought then the man of the noble consciousness to tell this society what he now says to the bourgeois democrats, that Engels and Marx had prevented him from sinking into the arms of bourgeois democracy, from remaining "united by bonds of sympathy with *all* companions of the revolution", or ought he to tell them that "in the split the various views about revolutionary development played *no* part"? *On the contrary,* the noble-minded one said that in both societies the split occurred as a result *of the same* diametrically opposed principles, that Engels, Marx, etc., represented the *bourgeois element* in the German Society just as Madier and Co. did in the French one. The noble-minded one is even afraid that mere contact with this bourgeois element could endanger the "true faith" and therefore with calm nobility moved that the bourgeois element should not be admitted to the Société des proscrits, "not even as *visitors*".

Invented! False! exclaims the noble-minded one in his staunch monosyllables. "Samples of tactics" on my part! Voyons!

"*Présidence du citoyen Adam. Séance du 30 Sept. 1850.*

"Trois délégués de la société démocratique allemande de Windmill-Street sont introduits. Ils donnent connaissance de leur mission qui consiste dans la communication d'une lettre dont il est fait lecture." (In this letter the reasons for the split are allegedly set out.) "*Le citoyen Adam* fait remarquer *l'analogie* qui existe entre les événements qui viennent de s'accomplir dans les deux sociétés de chaque côté *l'élément bourgeois* et *le parti prolétaire* ont fait scission dans les circonstances *identiques* etc. etc. *Le citoyen Willich* demande que les membres démissionaires" (he then corrects himself, as the minutes state, and says: "expulsés") "de la société

[a] P. Mayer [Editorial Preface to Barthélemy's letter], *La Patrie,* No. 71, March 12, 1851.—*Ed.*

allemande, ne puissent être reçus même comme *visiteurs* dans la société française." (Extraits conformes au texte original des procès verbaux).

"*L'archiviste de la société des proscrits démocrates [et] socialistes.*

*J. Clédat*"[a]

Herewith ends the mellifluous, singular, grandiloquent, unprecedented, truthful, and adventurous story of the world-renowned *knight of the noble consciousness.*

> "An honest mind and plain; he must speak truth,
> And they will take it so; if not, he's plain.
> These kind of knaves I know."[b]

London, November 28, 1853.

*Karl Marx*

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[a] "*Meeting of 30 Sept. 1850, citizen Adam in the chair.*

"Three delegates from the German Democratic Society of Windmill Street are introduced. They make known their mission, which is to deliver a letter that is read out." (In this letter the reasons for the split are allegedly set out.) "*Citizen Adam* calls attention to the *analogy* between the events which have taken place in the two societies, in both of them the *bourgeois element* and the *proletarian party* have separated from each other under *identical* circumstances, etc., etc. *Citizen Willich* moves that the members who have resigned" (he then corrects himself, as the minutes state, and says "who have been excluded") "from the German Society should not be admitted to the French Society, even as visitors." (Extracts conform to the original text of the minutes).

"*Recorder of the Society of Exiled Democrats and Socialists*

*J. Clédat.*"

[b] Quoted by Marx in English from Shakespeare's *King Lear,* Act 2, Scene 2.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [MANTEUFFEL'S SPEECH.— RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT IN PRUSSIA.— MAZZINI'S ADDRESS.—LONDON CORPORATION.— RUSSELL'S REFORM.—LABOR PARLIAMENT]

London, Tuesday, Nov. 29, 1853

Yesterday morning the Prussian Chambers[a] were opened by a speech of the Prime Minister, Mr. Manteuffel. The passage relative to the eastern complication, as communicated to us by electric telegraph, is couched in terms clearly intended to allay the suspicions afloat with respect to a conspiracy between the courts of St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna. It is the more remarkable as it is generally known that Frederick William IV, by the organ of the same Manteuffel, has condescended at various previous occasions, to solemnly communicate to his loyal people, that the Chambers have no call to intermeddle with matters of foreign policy, since the external relations of the state fall as much under the exclusive control of the crown, as the king's own demesne lands. The above-mentioned passage, involving as it does, something like an appeal to the people, betrays the extreme difficulties the Prussian Government finds itself placed in, menaced on the one hand by Russia and France, and on the other by its own subjects, at the same time that it is stimulated by the high price of provisions, a deeply depressed commerce, and the remembrance of an atrocious breach of faith still to be expiated.[348] The Prussian Government itself has cast off the refuge of working on public opinion through the means of the Chambers, which are deliberately constituted by the king as a mere sham, intentionally treated by the ministers as a mere sham, and accepted by the people as a mere sham, in a manner not to be misunderstood. It will not do to tell them now

[a] "Opening of the Prussian Chambers", *The Times*, No. 21598, November 29, 1853.—*Ed.*

that these mock institutions are, all of a sudden, to be looked upon as the bulwarks of "Fatherland."

"The Prussians," says *The Times* of to-day, "have hardly shown the sense and sagacity for which they once had credit, by the undeserved contempt into which they have allowed the Chambers elected under the present constitution to fall."

On the contrary, the Prussians have fully shown their good sense, by allowing the men who betrayed the revolution in the hope of reaping its fruits, to enjoy not even the *appearance* of influence, and to prove to the government that they are not the dupes of its juggle, and that the Chambers, in their opinion, if they are anything at all, are but a new bureaucratic institution, added to the old bureaucratic institutions of the country.

Every one not thoroughly acquainted with the past history of Germany will be at a loss to understand the religious quarrels again and again troubling the otherwise dull surface of German society. There are the remnants of the so-called German Church,[349] persecuted now, as eagerly as in 1847, by the established governments. There is the question of marriages between Catholics and Protestants, setting the Catholic clergy and the Prussian Government by the ears, as in 1847.[350] There is, above all, the fierce combat between the Archbishop of Freiburg,[a] excommunicating the Baden Government, and having his letter publicly read from the pulpits, and the Grand Duke[b] ordering the recreant churches to be closed, and the parish priests to be arrested; and there are the peasants assembling and arming themselves, protecting their priests and driving back the gendarmes, which they have done at Bischofsheim, Königshofen, Grünsfeld, Gerlachsheim, where the Mayor of the village was forced to fly, and at many other villages. It would be a mistake to consider the religious conflict in Baden as possessed of a purely local character. Baden is only the battleground the Catholic party has deliberately chosen for attacking the Protestant princes. The Archbishop of Friburg represents in this conflict the whole Catholic clergy of Germany, as the Grand Duke of Baden represents all the great and small potentates confessing the reformed creed. What then are we to think of a country renowned on the one hand for the profound, bold and unparalleled criticism to which it has subjected all religious traditions, and surprising, on the other, all Europe, at periodically recurring epochs, with the

[a] Hermann Vicari.—*Ed.*
[b] Frederick I.—*Ed.*

resurrection of the religious quarrels of the 17th century? The secret is simply this, that all popular commotions, lurking in the background, are forced by the governments to assume at first the mystical and almost uncontrollable form of religious movements. The clergy, on their part, allow themselves to be deceived by appearances, and, while they fancy they direct the popular passions for the exclusive benefit of their corporation, against the government, they are, in truth, the unconscious and unwilling tools of the revolution itself.

The daily London press exhibits a great show of horror and moral indignation at an address issued by Mazzini, and found in the possession of Felice Orsini, leader of the National Band No. 2, destined to rise in the province of Lugagnano, which contains portions of Modena, Parma, and the Kingdom of Piedmont. In this address the people are exhorted to "act *by surprise*, as the people of Milan tried to do, and will again."[a] The address then says: "The *dagger*, if it strikes unexpectedly, does good service and supplies the place of muskets." This the London press represents as an open appeal to "*secret, cowardly assassination.*" Now I want only to know how, in a country like Italy, where public means of resistance are nowhere, and police spies are everywhere, an insurrectionary movement could expect any chance of success if *surprise* be not resorted to? I want to know, if the people of Italy are to fight with the troops of Austria at all, with what kind of weapons they are to fight except with those left to them—with the *daggers* Austria has not succeeded in taking away? Mazzini is far from telling them to use the dagger for cowardly assassination of the *unarmed* foe—exhorts them to use it "by surprise," it is true, but in the broad light [of] day, as *at Milan*, where a few patriots, armed only with knives, rushed on the guard-houses of the armed Austrian garrisons.

But, says *The Times*, "constitutional Piedmont is to undergo the same fate as Rome, Naples, and Lombardy!"

Why not? Was it not the King of Sardinia[b] who betrayed the Italian revolution in 1848 and in 1849, and can Italy be transformed into a Republic with a King of Piedmont[c] any more than Germany with a King of Prussia? So much as to the morality of Mazzini's address. As to its political value, it is quite another

[a] Here and below Marx quotes from the second editorial in *The Times*, No. 21592, November 22, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] Charles Albert.—*Ed.*

[c] Victor Emmanuel.—*Ed.*

question. I, for my part, think Mazzini to be mistaken, both in his opinions about the Piedmontese people and in his dreams of an Italian revolution, which he supposes is not to be effected by the favorable chances of European complications, but by the private action of Italian conspirators acting by surprise.

You will have seen by the London papers that Government has appointed a commission for inquiring into the corrupt practices and the whole organization of that most venerable body known as the Corporation of the City. The following are some of the facts contained in the reports of the commission, whose labors are still far from having arrived at a close:

The revenue of the Corporation of London is estimated at £400,000, without taking all items into account, and the gross amount paid away in salaries reaches the very considerable sum of £107,000, or more than 25 per cent. of the whole income. The legal salaries are set down at £14,700, of which the Recorder receives £3,000, the Common Sergeant, £1,500, and the Judge of the Sheriff's Court, £1,200. The Town Clerk receives £1,892; the Secretary, £1,249, and the Remembrancer, £1,765. The Chief Clerks at the Mansion-House and Guildhall[a] receive between them £1,250, a year. The Mace-bearer receives £550, and the Sword-bearer £550; the Upper Marshal £450 or £500, the Under Marshal £200 or £300. These Bumbles draw besides, £70 for uniforms, £14 for boots, and £20 for cocked hats. Mr. Bennoch stated in his evidence that

> "the whole expense of the establishments in the Corporation of London is much greater than the whole expense of the Federal Government of the United States, or, what is perhars a more startling statement, its expenditure upon itself, in administering the funds of the Corporation, is larger than the whole amount of revenue from rents, tolls and fees from brokers which it receives."[b]

The great secret of the Reform pills Lord John Russell intends to administer to the British public has at last come out. He proposes: 1, a repeal of the property qualification for members of Parliament, a qualification which has long since become a nominal one; 2, a readjustment of the constituencies by doing away with some small boroughs and adding more large ones; 3, a reduction of the county constituencies from the £20 to the £10 borough qualification. A fourth proposition to lower the franchise to £5 has been abandoned, as by this means, says *The Times*,

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[a] Residence of Lord Mayor and the City Hall.— *Ed.*

[b] "City Corporation Commission", *The Times*, No. 21593, November 23, 1853.— *Ed.*

"the present electors would be virtually disenfranchised, because the class to be admitted will greatly outnumber all others put together, and has only to be unanimous to be supreme."

In other words, enfranchising the majority even of the small trading class would disenfranchise the minority. A very ingenious argument this. The most important feature of the Reform bill looming in the future is, however, not this point, or all its points taken together. This important feature is the general and absolute indifference its announcement meets with. Every police report attracts a great deal more of public attention than the "*great measure,*" the new Reform bill, the common work of the "Ministry of all the talents."

Ernest Jones was quite right in anticipating that the first note sounded of the mass movement of the people and a national organization headed by a Labor Parliament would strike alarm into the moneyed classes, and force the London class papers to take notice of it. *The Times* has immediately seen the importance of this new movement, and has given for the first time a report of the Chartist meeting held in the People's Institute at Manchester.[a] All its contemporaries are filled with leading articles on the labor movement and the Labor Parliament proposed by the Chartists, who were long since supposed to have died of exhaustion. *The Economist* has no less than four articles on the question. The reports, however, of the highly important meeting at Manchester cannot be said to afford any idea of its character or the business there transacted. I think fit, therefore, to give a report of my own. The following resolutions were proposed and adopted:

"1. That this meeting, after witnessing the futility of sectional struggles on the part of isolated bodies of workingmen to maintain a just standard of wages and to achieve the emancipation of labor, is of the opinion that the time has now arrived when a united and mass movement of the working classes, based on a national organization, and guided by one directing body, can alone insure adequate support to the men now locked out of employment and on strike, and enable workingmen in the future to emancipate labor from the thraldom of capital. The mass movement of the people and national organization be not intended to, and shall not, interfere with the present Trade Unions and combinations of workingmen, but that its action be to centralize, concentrate and confederate the strength of all, and of the entire body of workingmen. [...]

"2. That to carry the foregoing resolution it will be imperatively necessary that a Labor Parliament should meet as soon as possible; that Parliament to consist of delegates elected by the workingmen of each town in public meeting assembled. That the duties of that Parliament shall be to organize machinery whereby support may be rendered to the people now out on strike, or locked out by the manufacturers, by raising a national subscription of the most extensive character to

[a] "The Strikes", *The Times*, No. 21593, November 23, 1853.—*Ed.*

lay down a specific plan of action for the guidance of the working classes in their contest with the employers, and to propound the means by which labor may be emancipated from the undue influence of capital and become independent, self-employing and remunerative, without the necessity of strikes.

"3. That this meeting elect a Committee to correspond for the above purpose with the various towns and districts to make all necessary arrangements for the calling of the Labor Parliament, and to arrange and publish the necessary details for the sitting of the delegates, as well as a programme of the business to be brought before the delegation."[a]

By far the most remarkable speech was that of Mr. Jones, of which I give some extracts:

"The employer says, in The London *Times*, you have nothing to do with his profits. You must only count your own heads, not his profits. If there are many heads, although you want more, you will get less. And that he calls the law of supply and demand. That alone, he says, should regulate your wages. But does it? [...] No! If you've no business to claim a rise of wages when his profits are high, he should not pull you down when his profits become low. But then he'll tell you, though not one hand less may be employed—'trade's bad, times are hard, my profits have grown smaller—I can't afford to pay you the same wages.' It is not the law of supply and demand, then, but the law of dear cotton and small profits that regulates your labor. [...] The law of supply may be true, but the law of life is truer. The law of demand may be strong, but the law of starvation will be stronger still! We say, if the one capital, money, has a right to profits, so has the other capital, labor, too; and labor has the greater right, because labor made money, and not money labor. What is profit? The capital that remains after deduction of all working charges. The wages you have hitherto received are merely a portion of the working charges. That which only keeps soul and body together is no reward for toil. It is merely the necessary cost of keeping the human machine in working order. [...] You must have a surplus over and above the working cost of feeding and housing the machine of flesh and blood. You must have food for heart and brain, as well as for the mouth and belly. [...] The employer dreads your getting more wages; not because he can't afford to pay them, for his capital has increased more than 100 per cent, in the last seven years, and you asked for only 10 on your wage out of his 100 on your work. He dreads it, because higher wages would lead to independence; he dreads it, because higher wages would lead to education; he dreads it, because an enlightened people will not be slaves; he dreads it, because he knows you would then no more submit to work so many hours; he dreads it, because you would then not allow your wives to slave in the factory hell; he dreads it, because you would then send your children to school instead of the mill; he dreads it, because he knows if the wife was at the fireside, the child at the school and short time at the factory, the surplus hands that now beat wages down would flee from his control and labor would become a priceless pearl, gemming the diadem of human freedom. But the question has once more changed its aspect; it is not merely one of obtaining a share in the employer's profits, or a rise of 10 per cent.; it is one of preventing a fall of 20. [...] Good trade or bad trade makes little change to them; in the one they plunder the world abroad—in the other they

[a] Passages from the resolutions adopted at the Chartist meeting on November 20, 1853 and Jones' speech are quoted from the report by J. Benson: "Highly Important Meeting At Manchester" in *The People's Paper*, No. 82, November 26, 1853.—*Ed.*

plunder the world at home. [...] The question is rapidly changing for you, not into one of lower or higher wages, but into one of starvation or existence; of life in the factory hell or death at the factory door. The capitalists, those Cossacks of the West, first crossed the Danube of labor's rights; they have proclaimed their martial law of gold, and hurl starvation into our ranks from the batteries of monopoly. Town after town is placed in a state of siege. Non-employment digs the trenches, hunger scales the citadel of labor, the artillery of famine plays on the lines of toil. Every day their great confederation spreads; every day their movement becomes more national. [...] How are you prepared to confront them? Your movement is running into chaos and confusion. [...] As the lock-outs spread and your isolated action continues, you will be poaching in each other's preserves; the collectors of the one place will meet those of the others on the same ground—you will stand as foes where you should shake hands as allies—you will weaken each other's help where you should help each other's weakness. [...] The Wigan colliers were close to Preston, to Stockport, to Manchester, to Oldham, and they were left to fall unaided. [...] The factory operatives are on strike at Wigan too. And what do they say to the defeat of their brother workingmen the miners? They consider it a happy riddance. [...] They cannot help it—because they stand in each other's way. But why do they so stand? [...] Because you hedge your movement within the narrow limits of one trade, one district and one interest. [...] The movement of your employers is becoming national, and national must be your resistance also. As it is you are running into anarchy and ruin. Do not suppose that I impugn the wisdom, conduct or integrity of the Trades Unions. [...]

"But the leading strings that support the child become impediments that clog the man. [...] That isolation which worked well in the infancy of the labor movement becomes ruin in its manhood. [...] Let all the trades be represented whose support you seek. [...] Place the cause of labor not in the hands of one mill, or one town, or even one district, but place it in the hands of a laborers' Parliament."

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Frederick Engels

## THE WAR ON THE DANUBE[351]

As we have already observed, the retreat of the Turks from Oltenitza appears to indicate the conclusion of the first epoch of the Turko-Russian war; with it at least a first and distinct series of operations, beginning with the passage at Kalafat, seems to be concluded, to make room either for the tranquility of winter quarters, or for the execution of new plans not yet developed. The moment seems opportune for a review of the campaign up to that epoch, the more so as the official and non-official reports of the only action of consequence fought on the Danube, the Russian attack upon the Turkish tête-du-pont[a] at Oltenitza, are just come to hand.

On the 28th of October the Turks crossed from Widin to Kalafat. They were hardly disturbed in their occupation of this point, except by reconnoitering skirmishes; for when the Russians were on the point of concentrating an effective force at Krajova for the attack on Kalafat, they were disturbed by the news of a second and more dangerous advance of the Turks, who, on the 2d of November, had crossed the Danube at Oltenitza, whence they seriously menaced the Russian communications. Simulated and secondary attacks were at the same time made by the Turks on the whole line of the Danube from Widin to Oltenitza, but these either found the Russians well prepared, or were not undertaken with a sufficient force to deceive the enemy and lead him into any serious error.

The corps at Kalafat therefore, remained unmolested and gradually received reinforcements, which are said to have swelled

[a] Bridge-head.— *Ed.*

it to something like 24,000 men. But as this corps has neither advanced or suffered a repulse, we may for the present leave it out of consideration.

The passage at Oltenitza took place according to Omer Pasha's report[a] in the following way. Oltenitza is a village situated near the confluence of the Arges River and the Danube. Opposite the mouth of the Arges there is an island in the Danube; on the southern bank of this river the village and fort of Turtukai are situated, on a steep bank rising to some 600 or 700 feet, on the top of which elevation the fort of Turtukai is constructed. The guns of Turtukai, therefore, form a most effective support to any corps crossing the river at this point. On the lst Nov. the Turks crossed over to the island and there threw up solid entrenchments during the night. On the 2d they crossed from this island to the Wallachian shore, east of the Arges. Two battalions, with 100 horsemen and two guns passed in boats to the Wallachian side; a few gun-shots from Turtukai drove the Russian outposts from a lazaretto building situated near the riverside, and this building, which was immediately taken possession of by the Turks, proved a great advantage to them. It was massively constructed, with vaulted chambers, thereby offering, with hardly any additional labor, all the advantages of that great desideratum in field fortification, a *réduit.* Consequently the Turks at once began throwing up entrenchments from the Arges to the Danube; four hundred men were kept constantly employed, galianes and fascines having been prepared beforehand. From all the reports we receive, we can only conclude that these entrenchments were continuous lines, cutting off entirely every communication from the Russian positions to the Turkish points of landing. Fortification by continuous entrenched lines has been long since generally condemned and found ineffective; but the special destination of this entrenchment as a bridge-head, the fact that a capital *réduit* was found ready-made, the want of engineers among the Turks, and other circumstances peculiar to the Turkish army, may have rendered it, after all, more advisable to employ this antiquated system. In the Arges the Turks found a number of boats which were at once employed, together with what they had before, in the construction of a bridge across the Danube. All these works were nearly completed by the morning of Nov. 4.

At Oltenitza, then, the Turks had a mere bridge-head on the left bank of the Danube; the Turkish army had not crossed the river,

[a] Published in *The Times,* No. 21600, December 1, 1853.—*Ed.*

nor has it done so since; but it had a safe *débouché* on the left bank, which might be turned to account the very moment when a sufficient force was concentrated at Turtukai. They had the means, beside, of taking either the right or the left of the Arges; and, finally, all their operations in the vicinity of the river were protected by ten heavy guns in the fort on the hights of Turtukai, whose range, consequent upon this elevated position and the narrowness of the river at that point, extended at least half a mile beyond the bridge-head.

The bridge-head was occupied by three battalions of the line (2,400 men), two companies of guards (160 men), two of sharp shooters (200 men), 100 cavalry and some artillery, who attended to the 12 heavy guns placed in the Lazaretto. The right wing of the entrenchment was enfiladed and flanked by the guns of Turtukai, which besides could sweep the whole of the plain in front of the center of the bridge-head. The left wing, resting on the River Arges, was flanked by the battery on the island, but part of this ground was thickly studded with brush-wood, so as to offer considerable shelter to the Russians in approaching.

When on Nov. 4, the Russians attacked the Turkish lines they had, according to Omer Pasha, 20 battalions, 4 regiments of cavalry and 32 guns, altogether about 24,000 men. It appears they formed in the following order: twelve battalions and 14 guns opposite the center of the bridge-head; two battalions and two guns in the wood to the left (Russian right) on the river Arges, six battalions, *en échélon*, with four guns against the Turkish right, toward the Danube, their line being prolongated and outflanked by the cavalry. The center first formed a column of attack, after the fire of the Russian guns had been kept up for a time; the two wings followed; then the artillery, which had first fired at a distance of some 1,200 yards from the parapets came up to effective grape range (600 to 700 yards), and the columns of attack were hurried forward. As may be anticipated, the column of the Russian left (nearest the Danube) was shattered by the fire of the Turtukai guns; that of the center very soon shared the same fate; that of the right (on the Arges) was crushed by the fire from the island, and appears to have been far too weak to do any good. The attack was once or twice repeated, but without the *ensemble* of the first assault, and then the Russians had enough of it. They had marched resolutely up to the brink of the ditch (which must not be too literally understood), but the Turkish fire proved overwhelming before they came to a hand-to-hand fight.

During the fight Omer Pasha sent a battalion of regulars across the river to act as reserve. Thus the Turks engaged may be estimated at 3,600 infantry, with 44 heavy guns.

The forces of the Russians are less easily ascertained. While Omer Pasha speaks of twenty battalions, two British officers in his camp agree in reducing the force actually engaged to some 8,000 men. These two statements are not exactly contradictory. The Russians might have some twenty battalions in order of battle, and yet from the nature of the ground, or from contempt of their opponents, the actual mass of the attacking columns might not exceed eight battalions at a time; and a circumstance which the British officers do not mention, but which Omer Pasha reports, shows that the Russians had ample reserves. It is this, that every fresh attack was headed by a fresh battalion drawn from the reserves for the purpose. Besides, the reports of the two "officers of her Majesty's guards" bear in every line the stamp of that ignorant and inexperienced self-sufficiency which belongs to subalterns of the privileged corps of all armies.

Upon the whole, therefore, we think Omer Pasha's statement entitled to credit. There may have been eighteen or twenty Russian battalions present during the action, of which ten or twelve may successively have been brought to act, although from six to eight thousand may be the number of those who at a given time advanced simultaneously and ineffectually upon the Turkish entrenchments. The loss of the Russians, which must have amounted at least to 1,500 or 2,000, also proves what numbers they must have brought into the field. They were finally repulsed, leaving 500 muskets, plenty of baggage and ammunition, and 800 killed and wounded in the hands of the Turks, and retreated partially in disorder.

If we look at the tactics of this conflict on either side, we are surprised to find a gross blunder committed by the Russians, which was deservedly expiated by their signal defeat. They showed a contempt of their adversaries which has been seldom equaled. They had to attack pretty strong lines, with a capital *réduit* flanked by ten heavy guns on the island, commanded by twenty-two guns at Turtukai, which also commanded the ground in front of the lines; altogether, forty-four, or at least thirty-eight guns, all or mostly of heavy metal. Now every officer knows that in attacking a field fortification, you have first by your artillery to silence its guns and the batteries that may support it; then to destroy, as much as possible, the parapets, palisades and other defenses; then, by approaching your batteries still closer to the attacked works, to

sweep the parapets with a continued hail-storm of grape-shot, until at last you can risk launching your columns of attack upon the half-demolished work and its demoralized defenders. In order to do all this, you must have a decided superiority in the number and caliber of your artillery. But what do we see the Russian attempt? To storm a bridge-head, defended by artillery superior to their own in number, superior in caliber, and still more superior in practice, after a short cannonade from twelve 12-pounders and twenty 6-pounders! This Russian cannonade can only be considered as a mere formality, a sort of civility offered to the Turks, for it could have no serious purpose; and if, as all reports agree, the Russian batteries advanced up to within 650 yards of the bridge-head, it is a wonder that we do not hear of a number of dismounted guns. At the same time we must acknowledge the bravery of the Russian troops, who were very likely for the first time exposed to fire and that under such adverse circumstances, yet advanced to within fifty yards of the Turkish lines before they were crushed by the superior fire poured in upon them.

As to the Turks, we cannot say much in favor of their tactics either. It was very well that Omer Pasha during the assaults did not crowd together more troops in the bridge-head than were necessary for its defense. But how is it that he did not concentrate a reserve, especially of cavalry, on the Turtukai end of the bridge and on the island? that, as soon as the repulse of the Russians was becoming manifest, he did not launch his cavalry on the beaten foe? and that, after all, he was satisfied with the moral effect of the victory and neglected to gather all its fruits, by which he might have decided the campaign? We can only find two excuses: firstly, that the system of continuous lines in field fortification does not easily admit of any vigorous offensive action after the repulse of the enemy, as the uninterrupted lines do not offer any wide space for sudden and energetic sallies of masses of troops; and secondly, that Omer Pasha either distrusted the capacity of his troops for fighting in the open field, or that he had not troops enough at hand to follow up the victory.

This leads us to the strategic questions connected with this action. If Omer Pasha had had at Oltenitza the troops who were lounging without anything to do at Kalafat, would he not have acted with more decision? How was it that a corps of 12,000 men, with a reserve of equal force, was directed upon Kalafat, to menace that point of the Russian position, where of all points it must have been most desirable to the Russians to be attacked?

How came it that on the point where the Turks could gain decisive advantages these 24,000 men were not present?

But this is only one point. The Russians, it is now ascertained beyond doubt, could not muster more than 50,000 or 55,000 combatants in Wallachia at the end of October. Taking into consideration the want of roads, the intersected nature of the country, detachments not to be avoided, the regular wear and tear of an active army, the Russians, it is certain, could on no point muster more than 30,000 men in a single mass. Forty thousand Turks collected upon any given spot of Wallachia were sure to beat them, and there is no doubt that the Turks, if they had been so minded and taken proper steps in proper time, could have collected that body, or even twice as many, with comparative ease. But the interference of European diplomacy, irresolution in the Divan, vacillation in the Turkish policy towards Servia, and other similar considerations, appear to have produced a series of half-measures, which placed Omer Pasha in a very singular position when hostilities broke out. He knew the weakness of the Russians; he himself had a far superior army, eager to go to war; but his army was spread upon an extent of country three hundred and fifty miles long, and fifty to one hundred miles wide. The lameness of his operations in the first half of November was the necessary consequence of this. The passage at Kalafat, otherwise a mistake, thus became a sort of necessity, Widin being the natural point of concentration of some twenty thousand men, who without that passage would have been entirely inactive, being too far distant from the main army. This passage enabled them at least to paralyze a portion of the Russian forces, and to create a moral impression in favor of the Turks.

The passage at Oltenitza—which was intended evidently as the main attack by which Bucharest was to be taken, and the Russians allured westward by the Kalafat operation, to be cut off from their retreat—had no effect whatever, because the necessary forces for a march on Bucharest appear not to have been forthcoming. The moral effect of the combat at Oltenitza was certainly a great gain, but the inactivity after the victory—an inactivity which lasted *nine days*, and ended in the voluntary retreat of the Turks behind the Danube, in consequence of the rains setting in—this inactivity and retreat may not destroy the flush of victory on the cheek of the Turkish soldier, but it undermines the reputation of the Turkish General, most probably more than he deserves. But here, if the original fault lies with the Divan, there must be some fault with Omer Pasha. To pass twelve days on the

left bank of the Danube, to possess a bridge and a bridge-head strong enough to repel the united force of the Russians, to have behind him an army numerous and eager to fight and not to find means to carry 30,000 or 40,000 men across—why, all this cannot have been done without some negligence on the part of the General. The Russians may be thankful for their escape. Never did a Russian army get out of a scrape half as bad as this with so little material damage. They deserved to be cut to pieces, and they are all safe. Whether they will ever be taken at such advantage again may well be doubted.

Written about December 2, 1853

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# Karl Marx

## THE TURKISH WAR.—INDUSTRIAL DISTRESS[352]

London, Friday, Dec. 2, 1853

No more fighting of any account has taken place in Turkey since my last letter, but Russian diplomacy, more dangerous than Russian generalship, is again at work, and the revival of the famous London Conferences of 1840 and 1841, which terminated with sanctioning the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, under a slightly altered form, is more or less clearly announced through the medium of the ministerial papers on both sides of the Channel. *The Times* even hints at "*vigorous measures of pacification,*" viz.: a sort of *armed pacification* directed *against* Turkey by her self-styled protectors. There is one great diplomatic fact not to be misunderstood, namely, the last Note sent by the English Cabinet to Constantinople, presented by the British Ambassador to the Porte, rejected by the Divan on the 14th Nov., and turning out to be but a second edition of Reshid Pasha's answer to Prince Menchikoff's ultimatum in the month of May last.[353] This is the manner in which the Palmerstons and Aberdeens give the Sultan[a] to understand that, however the face of things may have otherwise changed, the relative situations of Turkey and Russia have undergone no change whatever since the month of May last, Turkey having won nothing nor Russia lost anything in the eyes of Western diplomacy.

As Prince Alexander of Servia forbids the Turkish troops to cross his territory, asks for the return of the Russian Consul-General, and treats, in his declaration to the Sultan, Turkey and Russia as the two protecting powers placed on the same footing with regard to the Principality, serious conflicts with Servia may be

[a] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*

apprehended, which, fatal as they might have proved to Turkey at any other moment, are at present perhaps the only means of saving her from the claws of Western diplomacy. Every new incident adding to the present complication, driving bankrupt Austria out of her dangerous neutrality, augmenting the chances of an European war, and enforcing upon Turkey the alliance with the revolutionary party, must turn out favorable to her, at least in her conflict with Russia. The constitutional causes of her decay will, of course, continue to do their work, if not counteracted by thorough transformation of the Turkish rule in Europe.

From the war carried on in the Principalities between Russians and Turks, let us return for one moment to the war raging in the manufacturing districts of England between masters and men. You will remember the epoch when the masters fiercely opposed and denounced the short-time movement on the part of the men. Now the tables are turned, and, as I predicted at the time, the system of short time is *enforced* by the masters on the men.[a] The lock-out exhibits its true meaning as a *financial measure* on the part of the masters, as a sort of antidote to an industrial over-production unparalleled in the "history of prices."[b] Since Monday last the mills have resumed work, but only for four days per week, in the Rochdale district—Burnley, Bacup, Newchurch—at Bury in the Ashton district—Ashton, Stalybridge, Glossop, Hyde, Newton. Bolton will soon be obliged to follow. Manchester is deliberating the question not *whether*, but *when*, to give way. In two or three weeks short time will be general, save in some few favored branches of industry. This, of course, must be followed by a stoppage of the supplies to the Preston resistants. But even four days' work still overruns the demand. Just think that not three weeks ago the Preston masters had on hand a stock equal to twenty weeks' production, which proved almost unsalable. The industrial crisis has no longer to begin; it has fairly set in.

"The reduction of time," says *The Times*, "is accompanied by a reduction of wages to the standard [...] before the recent advances were obtained by the hands."[c] "A pauper cannot dictate conditions—he must take what is offered him," says *The Economist*, in a fit of sincerity.[d]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 410-14.—*Ed.*

[b] An allusion to Th. Tooke's works: *A History of Prices, and of the State of the Circulation, from 1793 to 1837*, Vol. I-II, *A History of Prices, and of the State of the Circulation, in 1838 and 1839* and *A History of Prices, and of the State of the Circulation, from 1839 to 1847 inclusive*.—*Ed.*

[c] "Short Time Movement by the Employers", *The Times*, No. 21599, November 30, 1853.—*Ed.*

[d] "The Turn-outs and the Poor Law", *The Economist*, No. 535, November 26, 1853.—*Ed.*

I have repeatedly stated that the turn-outs of the men, by beginning at too late an epoch, when the opportunities afforded by unprecedented prosperity were already vanishing away, could not prove successful in an economical point of view, or as far as their immediate end was concerned. But they have done their work. They have revolutionized the industrial proletariat, and, stirred up by dear food and cheap labor, the political consequences will show themselves in due time. Already the idea of a Parliament of Labor which, in fact, means nothing but a general reassembling of the workingmen under the banners of Chartism, evokes the fears of the middle-class press.

"Mr. Ernest Jones [...]," says *The Economist*, "the editor of *The People's Paper*, is described as the successor of Mr. Feargus O'Connor, as Mr. O'Connor was the successor of Mr. Hunt.... From following Hunt and O'Connor, the workingmen got nothing but hard knocks and great losses; nevertheless, they place equal confidence in the successor of these great kings, and now look to be saved by Jones."[a]

From the following quotations you will see that the English class papers, if stimulated by party motives, as is the case with *The Morning Herald*, or if inspired, as *The Morning Post*, by a cynical but keen observer like Palmerston, know how to judge the present state of affairs, and how to deal with the vulgarism of Prosperity-Robinson[b]:

"To hear them now, you would suppose that the authority of millowners was nothing less than divine, and that the safety of the empire depended on their being allowed to exercise powers little short of those of the French Emperor[c].... Some 60,000 of the workingmen of Lancashire are at this moment living on fare which barely suffices to keep soul and body together, without so much as a thought of a plunder or violence, although in towns which manufacturing economy has left wholly unguarded by police. Right or wrong these men have stood by their opinions and their leaders manfully, and it would not be easy to find another instance of a movement at once so peacefully and so effectually carried out."

(*Morning Herald*)

"Our economists boasted of the overwhelming blessings which would flow, past all our dreams, as the result of free trade; yet there we are with the winter before us, and the pestilence only waiting the return of spring, and just when our poor are most in need of more than usual food and clothing to raise their physical system up to the point most capable of resisting disease—just at this time, they are actually crushed by the unprecedented high prices of all the necessaries of life. Not a sign is visible of the milk and honey that were to enrich the land; while all that

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[a] "The Labour Parliament", *The Economist*, No. 535, November 26, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] A nickname of the Chancellor of Exchequer F. J. Robinson, who predicted prosperity on the eve of the crisis in 1825.—*Ed.*

[c] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

was predicated of the perpetuity of cheapness and plenty seems in a fair way of being classed among the other thousand popular delusions by which society has been gulled.... English society is a filthy, pestilent, immoral, ignorant, cruel, blundering, discontented, and uncommonly hard up community."

Such is the language of *The Morning Post*,[a] the drawing-room print, and the official organ of mv Lord Palmerston.

Written on December 2, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] *The Morning Post*, November 17, 1853.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE QUADRUPLE CONVENTION.— ENGLAND AND THE WAR[354]

London, Friday, Dec. 9, 1853

Your readers have followed, step by step, the diplomatic movements of the Coalition Cabinet, and they will not be surprised at any new attempt, on the part of the Palmerstons and the Aberdeens, to back the Czar[a] under the pretext of protecting Turkey and securing the peace of Europe. Even the resurrection of a Vienna Conference[355] or of a London Congress they are fully prepared for. The Metropolitan Stock Exchange was first informed by *The Morning Chronicle*,[b] on Friday last, of England having succeeded in inducing Austria and Prussia to support the Western Powers in their attempt at a new mediation between the belligerent parties. Then came *The Morning Post* with the news of "this attempt" and with the consolatory announcement that

"in this attempt the cooperation of Prussia and Austria has been sought and obtained, and the four Powers have signed a protocol, engaging them, implicitly, to maintain the *present territorial distribution of Europe*, and inviting the belligerent Powers to come to an amicable adjustment of their differences by means of an European conference. The first step that will be taken, in consequence of this proceeding of the four Powers, will be to ascertain the views of Turkey on the bases upon which she will allow negotiations for an arrangement of the Eastern dispute to be conducted. This clearly ascertained, the four Powers will then invite Russia to state her views in regard to the [...] bases of the proposed arrangement, and then both Powers will be requested to send plenipotentiaries to a conference of the Great Powers, [...] at some time and place to be hereafter determined upon.... *The Czar's dignity* might be preserved while the interests of Turkey would be fully upheld, in the first place *by a treaty between Turkey and Russia of amity and peace and of commerce*, stipulating for a due protection of the subjects of either state within the territories of the other, and, in the second place, by a treaty between the

[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*
[b] Of December 2, 1853.—*Ed.*

Sultan[a] and the five Powers, *such a treaty as that of the Dardanelles of 1841*, in which the Sultan should undertake to respect the *existing constitutions and privileges of the Danubian Principalities and of Servia*, and in which he should bind himself *as in the treaty [of] Kainardji*, but this time to Europe, and not to Russia—specially to protect the Christian religion within his dominions."[b]

At last came the thunderer of Printing House-square, announcing in a first edition[c] that the alliance between the four Powers had been definitively concluded, and that they had laid down conditions which Russia and the Porte would, if necessary, "be *forced* to accept." Instantly the funds rose; but the satisfaction of the stockjobbers proved short-lived, as the same *Times* announced in its second edition that the four Powers had indeed drawn up a protocol and presented the draft of a collective note, without having, however, bound themselves to *enforce* its acceptance. Down went the funds again. At last the "startling news" was reduced to the old story of the resurrection of the dead body of the late Vienna Conference—it would be preposterous to speak of its ghost—and a telegraphic dispatch confirmed the report that

"the Conference of the four Powers at Vienna had on the 6th forwarded to Constantinople another proposal for the arrangement of the pending differences founded on a new project, and that negotiations for peace will continue, even though hostilities should not be suspended."

On the very eve of war the Vienna Conference, that retrospective Pythia, had just proposed to Turkey to accept Prince Menchikoff's ultimatum. After the first defeat Russia had undergone, England and France took up Reshid Pasha's answer to Prince Menchikoff's ultimatum. What phase of the past transactions they will now have arrived at in their retrograde movement, it is impossible to predict. The *Augsburger Zeitung* states that the *new* propositions of the Conference express the desire of the four Powers to "prevent war."[d] A startling novelty this!

Insipid, as all this diplomatic gossip may appear at a moment, when the *status quo* has been supplanted by a *status belli*, we must not forget that the hidden intentions of the British Cabinet transpire through these fantastical projects of conferences and congresses; that the ministerial papers throw out their feelers to ascertain how far the Ministry may venture to go; and that the

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[a] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted, with slight digressions, from *The Morning Post*, December 6, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] Of December 6, 1853.—*Ed.*

[d] *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 337, December 3, 1853.—*Ed.*

unfounded rumors of to-day more than once have foreshadowed the events of to-morrow. So much is sure, that if not accepted by Austria, the quadruple alliance *has* been proposed by England with a view to enforce upon Turkey the resolutions to be agreed upon by the four Powers. If no alliance has been concluded, a "protocol" has at least been signed by the four Powers, establishing the principles upon which to conduct the transactions. It is no less sure that the Vienna Conference, which prevented Turkey from moving till the Russian army had occupied the Principalities and reached the frontiers of Bulgaria, has again resumed its work and already dispatched a new note to the Sultan. That the step from a Vienna Conference to a European Congress, at London, is by no means a great one, was proved in 1839 at the epoch of Mehemet Ali's insurrection. The Congress pursuing its work of "pacification," while Russia pursued her war against Turkey, would be but a repetition of the London Congress of 1827-29, resulting in the destruction of the Turkish fleet, at Navarino, and the loss of Turkish independence, by the treaty of Adrianople. The bases upon which the British Cabinet have proposed, and the other Powers agreed to conduct negotiations, are clearly indicated by the ministerial papers. Maintenance of the "present territorial distribution of Europe." It would be a great mistake to consider this proposition as a simple return to the provisions of the peace of Vienna. The extinction of the Kingdom of Poland, the possession of the mouths of the Danube by Russia, the incorporation of Cracow, the transformation of Hungary into an Austrian province—all these "territorial arrangements" have never been sanctioned by any European Congress. A sanction, then, of the present "territorial distribution of Europe" would be, instead of a simple admission of Turkey to the treaty of Vienna, as is pretended, rather a sanction of all the violations of that treaty by Russia and Austria, since 1830. "A treaty of amity, and peace, and commerce between Russia and Turkey"—such are the identical terms in the preamble of the treaties of Kainardji, Adrianople and Unkiar-Skelessi. "A treaty as that of the Dardanelles of 1841," says the Palmerstonian paper.[a] Exactly so. A treaty like that which excluded Europe from the Dardanelles and transformed the Euxine into a Russian lake. But, says *The Times*, why should we not stipulate for the free entrance of the Dardanelles for men-of-war, and the free navigation of the Danube. But read the letter addressed by Lord Palmerston in

[a] *The Morning Post.—Ed.*

September, 1839, to Mr. Bulwer,[356] the then Envoy at Paris, and we shall find that similar hopes were held out at that epoch.

"The Sultan, bound to respect the existing constitutions of the Principalities and Servia." But these existing constitutions distribute the sovereignty over the provinces between the Czar and the Sultan, and they have, till now, never been acknowledged by any European Congress. The new Congress then, would add to the *de facto* protectorate of Russia over Turkish provinces, the sanction of Europe. The Sultan would then be bound not to the Czar, but to Europe, to protect "the Christian religion within his dominions." That is to say, the right of interference between the Sultan and his Christian subjects by foreign powers, would become a paragraph of European international law, and, in case of any new conflicts occurring, Europe would be bound by treaty to back the pretentions of Russia, who, as a party to the treaty, would have a right to interpret in her sense the protection to be asked for by the Christians in the Sultan's dominions. The new treaty, then, as projected by the Coalition Cabinet, and as explained by its own organs, is the most comprehensive plan of European surrender to Russia ever conceived, and a wholesale sanction of all the changes brought about by the counter-revolutions since 1830. There is, therefore, no occasion for throwing up caps and being astonished at the change of the policy of Austria, a change, as *The Morning Post* feigns to believe, "effected suddenly within the last ten days." As to Bonaparte, whatever his ulterior designs may be, for the moment the Parvenu Emperor is content enough to climb up into the heaven of the old legitimate powers, with Turkey as his ladder.

The views of the Coalition Cabinet are clearly expressed by *The Guardian*, the ministerial weekly paper:

"To treat Russia as a beaten enemy and fancy we have her by the throat because Russian troops have been foiled at the trenches of Oltenitza and some forts captured on the Black Sea, is simply ridiculous; these petty losses would in themselves but exasperate her pride and indispose her to treat till she could do so on better terms. But sovereigns, like other men, are governed by mixed motives. The Czar is a proud and passionate, but he is also a prudent man. He is engaged in a quarrel in which he may lose and cannot gain. His policy is that of his predecessors, who have throughout gained more by threatening than by waging war, and whose steady and undeviating system of encroachment had in it a vein of elastic pliability, which enabled them to avoid great disasters and even to *turn minor reverses to profitable account.* The preliminary resolution of the four Powers, that no change shall be made or permitted in the territorial arrangements of Europe, appears to be based on *this rational* view of his position and policy. It will disappoint those who see in imagination the feet of England on his neck, or who suffer themselves to be misled by the chimerical nonsense of the *Protectionist*

papers. But the business in hand *is not the humiliation of Russia* but the pacification of Europe" (in a Russian sense of course), "the establishment, as far as possible, of that durable peace for which the French Soldier-Envoy[a] pledges his master's honor to the Sultan. And the *coming treaty*, we may be sure, [...] will not be a mere restoration of the *status quo*, but will attempt at least to settle on some permanent footing the relations of Turkey with Europe and of the Turkish Government with its Christian subjects, attempt—for, settle it so durably as we may, *any arrangement which leaves a Turkish Empire in Europe will always be provisional* at bottom. Such a *provisional* arrangement, however, is the thing now practicable and needful."[b]

The ultimate object, then, the powers aim at, is to help the Czar "to turn minor reverses to profitable account," and "to leave no Turkish Empire in Europe." The provisional arrangement will, of course, prepare that ultimate consummation as far as "the thing is now practicable."

Some circumstances, however, have singularly confounded the calculations of the Coalition politicians. There is intelligence of new victories gained by Turkey on the shores of the Black Sea and on the frontiers of Georgia. There is, on the other hand, a peremptory assertion representing the whole army in Poland as under orders for the Pruth, while we are informed from the frontiers of Poland that "in the night from the 23d and 24th ult., the brinka, or levy of men for the army, took place, and in places, where formerly one or two men were taken, eight or ten have now been drawn." This, at least, proves little confidence on the part of the Czar in the pacifying genius of the four Powers. The official declaration on the part of Austria, "that no alliance had been concluded between the four Courts," proves on her part that, willing as she is to enforce conditions upon Turkey, she dares not assume even the appearance of coercing the Czar to submit to conditions projected in his own interest. Lastly, the Sultan's reply to the French Ambassador that "at present an amicable arrangement is quite unacceptable without the complete abandonment by Russia of the pretensions which she has raised and without the immediate evacuation of the Principalities," has struck the Congress-mongers like a thunderbolt, and the organ of the crafty and experienced Palmerston now frankly tells the other fellows of the brotherhood the following piece of truth:

"To the immediate evacuation of the Principalities and the total abandonment of all her claims, [...] Russia cannot submit without a loss of [...] dignity and influence which it is foolish to suppose a power of her magnitude will endure

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[a] A. Baraguay d'Hilliers.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Guardian*, No. 418, December 7, 1853.—*Ed.*

without a desperate struggle. For this present attempt at negotiation we are sorry, therefore, that we can only prognosticate failure."[a]

Defeated Russia can accept no negotiations at all. The business in hand is, therefore, to turn the balance of war. But how to effect this, but by enabling Russia to gain time? The only thing she wants is procrastination, time to levy new troops, to distribute them throughout the empire—to concentrate them, and to stop the war with Turkey till she has done with the mountaineers of Caucasus. In this way the chances of Russia may improve, and the attempt at negotiation "may be successful when Russia proves victorious instead of defeated." Accordingly, as stated by the Vienna *Ost-Deutsche Post*, and the ministerial *Morning Chronicle*, England has urged on Turkey the propriety of consenting to a three months' armistice.[b] Lord Redcliffe had a five hours' interview with the Sultan, for the purpose of obtaining from His Highness that consent to the suggested armistice which his Ministers had refused, and the result was, that an extraordinary council of Ministers was convened to take the matter into consideration. The Porte definitively refused to accede to the proposed armistice, and could not accede to it without openly betraying the Ottoman people.

"In the present state of feeling," remarks the to-day's *Times*, "it will not be easy to bring the pretentions of the Porte within the bounds of moderation."

The Porte is immoderate enough to understand that it is perfectly irreconcilable with the dignity of the Czar to be defeated, and that it must therefore grant him a three months' armistice in order to frustrate its own success, and to help him to become again victorious and "magnanimous." All hope of bringing about the three months' armistice has not yet been parted with.

"Possibly," says *The Times*, "an armistice recommended by the four Powers may fare better."

The good-natured *Morning Advertiser* is

"unwilling to assume that these representations are correct," because "a more direct attempt to betray the Ottoman cause into the hands of the Czar, or one better adapted to answer that purpose, could not have been devised by the most ingenious mind."[c]

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[a] *The Morning Post*, December 8, 1853.—*Ed.*
[b] *The Morning Chronicle*, December 7, 1853.—*Ed.*
[c] *The Morning Advertiser*, December 8, 1853.—*Ed.*

The confidence of the radical *Morning Advertiser* in "the honor and the good faith" of Palmerston, and its ignorance of the history of England's diplomatic past, seem equally incommensurable. This paper being the property of the Licensed Victuallers' Association, I suspect, that those very victuallers themselves write from time to time the editorial articles.

While England is thus occupied at Constantinople and Vienna, the outpost of Russia, let us see how on the other hand, the Russians manage affairs in England.

I have already, in a previous letter, informed your readers that at this very epoch, when the Coalition feigns to threaten Russia in the Black Sea, Russian men-of-war, the two frigates *Aurora* and *Navarino*,[357] are fitting out in the Queen's dockyards at Portsmouth. On Saturday last[a] we were informed by *The Morning Herald* and *The Daily News*, that six sailors had escaped from the Russian frigate *Aurora*, and nearly reached Guildford, when they were overtaken by an officer of the Russian frigate *Aurora* and an English inspector of police, brought back to Portsmouth, placed on board the *Victorious*—an English ship occupied by the crew of the *Aurora*, while out-fitting—subjected to cruel, corporeal punishment and placed in irons. When this became known in London, some gentlemen obtained, through the instrumentality of Mr. Charles Ronalds, solicitor, a writ of habeas corpus, directed to Rear-Admiral Martin, some other English officers of the navy, and to the Russian captain, commander of the frigate *Aurora*, ordering them to bring the six sailors before the Lord Chief Justice of England. The English dockyard authorities declined to obey the writ, the English captain appealing to the Vice-Admiral and the Vice-Admiral to the Admiral, and the Admiral feeling himself obliged to communicate with the Lord of the Admiralty, the famous Sir James Graham, who, ten years before, in the case of the Bandieras, placed the British Post Office at the service of Metternich.[358] As to the Russian captain, although the Queen's[b] writ was served on him on board the English ship the *Victorious*, and though he was fully informed of its nature by an interpreter, he threw it contemptuously from the vessel, and when thrust through a port-hole, it was thrown out again. "If," said the Russian captain, "it came from Her Majesty in reality, it would be sent to his Ambassador or Consul." The Consul being absent, the Vice-Consul refused to interfere. On Dec. 6, fresh writs were

[a] I.e., on December 3.—*Ed.*
[b] Victoria.—*Ed.*

served on the naval authorities at Portsmouth, commanding them in the Queen's name to produce not only the six men in question before the Lord Chief Justice, but the Russian captain also. Instead of the writ being complied with, the Admiralty used every effort to tow the ship out of the harbor and to get her to sea, and the other day, the *Aurora*, Capt. Isylmetieff, was seen, by daylight, sailing for the Pacific, defying the writ of the habeas corpus. In the meantime, as we are informed, by yesterday's *Daily News*,

"the Russian corvette, *Navarino*, is still in dock, undergoing a thorough re-caulking and repair. A number of dockyard men are engaged on her."

Now mark in what manner this "startling" case has been dealt with by the Ministerial Press.

*The Morning Chronicle*, the Peelite organ, chose to remain silent, its own Graham being the most compromised man in the whole affair. The Palmerstonian *Morning Post* was the first to break silence, as its Lord could not let escape such an occasion of proving his mastership in making pleasant apparently difficult cases. The whole case, it stated, was greatly exaggerated and overrated. The six deserters, it stated on the authority of the Russian captain, who ordered them to be cruelly flogged and hulked,

"these seamen say that they did not desert from their own inclination, but were inveigled away by persons who introduced themselves to them in the streets,"[a]

these seamen having also contrived against their inclination and against the orders of the Russian captain to get ashore at Portsmouth,

"made them intoxicated and then took them away in a carriage, up the country," and then deserted the deserters, "giving them directions how to get to London, with the address of some persons, to whom to go to there."

The absurd story is invented by the Palmerstonian organ with a view to induce the public to believe, that the "deserters gave themselves up to the Police," a lie too gross to be reechoed by *The Times* itself. The whole affair, insinuates *The Post*, with a great show of moral indignation, was got up by some Polish refugees, who, probably, intended wounding the feelings of Lord Palmerston, its magnanimous master.

Another ministerial organ, *The Globe*,[b] states that

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[a] Here and below Marx quotes from "The Russians at Portsmouth.—Singular Affair", *The Morning Post*, December 6, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] Of December 7, 1853.—*Ed.*

"the plea that a foreigner is only bound to recognize processes coming to him from the Minister of his own country is manifestly untenable; otherwise, any foreigners in a British seaport could break our law and could be brought under no responsibility, except by the intervention of an Ambassador."

*The Globe* arrives therefore at the moderate conclusion that the reply of the Russian captain to the clerk who served on him the writ of habeas corpus "is not perfectly satisfactory." But in human matters it would be idle to aspire to anything like perfection.

"If the Russian captain had hanged them" (viz., the six recaptured sailors) "all at the yard-arm of his frigate the next morning, he would have been altogether [...] *beyond* the control of the English law," exclaims *The Times*.[a]

And why this? Because in the treaty of navigation concluded between Russia and Great Britain in 1840 (under the direction of Lord Palmerston) there is a provision to this effect:

"The Consuls, Vice-Consuls, and commercial agents [...] of the [...] high contracting parties, residing in the dominions of the other, shall receive from the local authorities such assistance as can by law be given them, for the recovery of deserters from the ships of war or merchant vessels of their respective countries."

But, good *Times*, the question is exactly what assistance the English authorities were warranted by law to give the Russian captain. As to the Russian authorities themselves, "sending their vessels to England to be repaired at this crisis in political affairs," it appears to *The Times*, "to be an act of great indelicacy and bad taste," and it thinks, "the position, in which the officers of these vessels have been placed here, is that of spies." But, it says, "the British Government could no more forcibly express its contempt for such politics" than by admitting the Russian spies into the Queen's own dockyards "even at some public inconvenience," by placing at their disposal British men-of-war, employing the dockyard men, paid out of the pockets of the British people, in their service and firing parting salutes to them, when they run away after having insulted the laws of England.

Written on December 9, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21605, December 7, 1853.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE RUSSIAN VICTORY.— POSITION OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE[359]

London, Tuesday, Dec. 13, 1853

"With the fleets of France and England in the Black Sea, the astonished Sultan of Turkey is already surprised that one of his ships is captured with impunity by a Russian vessel. The spring will bring him further wonders."

Thus we were informed by last Saturday's *Press*.[a] The following Monday brought the "further wonders," not expected until spring. Defeat of a Turkish squadron by a Russian fleet in the Black Sea, off Sinope[360]—such were the contents of a Russian dispatch from Odessa, dated 5th inst., confirmed afterward by the French *Moniteur*[b]. Although we are not yet in possession of the exact details of this occurrence, so much is clear that the Russian report greatly exaggerates the case; that the whole matter in question is to be reduced to the surprise of some Turkish frigates and a certain number of transports, which had on board troops, provisions, ammunition and arms, destined for Batum; that the Russian force was largely superior in number to the Turkish one, and that, nevertheless, the latter only surrendered after a desperate engagement, lasting an hour.

"Our fleet," says the *Englishman*,[c] "at all events, is *not* there to prevent the Russians from attacking Turkey. The fleet is *not* there to interfere with Russian convoys of men and arms to the Caucasus. The fleet is *not* there to see that the

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[a] Of December 10, 1853.— *Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the reports published on December 12, 1853 in *The Times*, No. 21609, and in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 346.— *Ed.*

[c] A. Richards, "The New Battle of Navarino", *The Morning Advertiser*, December 13, 1853.— *Ed.*

Black Sea is not a Russian lake. The fleet is *not* there to help our ally, nor to save him from destruction. The fleet is *not* there to avert a Navarino, after the memorable pattern.... Russian Admirals may maneuver, we suppose, within gun-shot of Constantinople, and the screws of England will continue as impassive as the prime screw of Lord Aberdeen himself. Will these costly farces be tolerated by the people?"

The coalition is exasperated at the Czar having beaten the Turks at sea instead of on the *terra firma.* A victory of the latter sort they wanted. Russian successes at sea may endanger their places, just at the moment when Count Buol has assured the Sultan[a] of the Czar's strictly *defensive* intentions, and when Lord Redcliffe was urging on him a three months' armistice. It is very amusing to observe how the business of soothing down the public has been distributed between the several organs of the Coalition Ministry.

*The Times,* as the representative of the whole of the Cabinet, expresses its *general* indignation at the ingratitude of the Czar, and ventures even upon some menaces.

*The Morning Post,* of course, is still more warlike, and gives its readers to understand that the "untoward" event at Sinope could never have occurred if Lord Palmerston were the Premier, or at least the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

"It is at least evident," says *The Post,*[b] "that a Russian naval force, dispatched to act on the Turkish coast, has been able to strike a sudden and heavy blow at the resources of the Porte, precisely in the quarter where the Divan had the best reason to expect that if there were anything substantial, anything beyond mere ostentation, in the professed services of her allies, the value and operation of such services might now be expected to become available. It will hardly be urged, we suppose, that the Black Sea is an appropriate stage for another scene of the diplomatic comedy which has been played in the Principalities under the name of the 'Material Guarantee.'[361] [...] The Russians, therefore, may be taken to have abandoned the hypocrisy of their *defensive attitude.* [...] It must be a subject of deep regret, that the extent to which *our*" (read Aberdeen's) "suiting policy has gone, has brought heavy damage on our ally and a shadow of reproach on ourselves. It would be a matter of lasting blame and scandal, should a second such disaster be suffered to occur for want of that protection which our fleets were expressly dispatched to afford."

The philosophical *Morning Chronicle,* the special organ of the Peelites, thinks

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[a] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*

[b] Of December 13, 1853.—*Ed.*

"it not improbable that the power which has disturbed the peace of the world may *now* be disposed to acquiesce in the termination of the war."[a]

The Emperor Nicholas, on the plea that "he does not wish to oppose the *expression of the free will*" of the Hospodars Stirbei and Ghica to withdraw from the government of Moldavia and Wallachia, has, by rescript of Nov. 8, entrusted their functions to General von Budberg, placed, however, under the superior control of Prince Gorchakoff.

The fact of England urging upon Turkey an armistice at a moment when it cannot but assist the Czar in gaining time to concentrate his troops and to work at the decomposition of the ostensible alliance between France and England; the simultaneous intrigues of Nicholas to upset Bonaparte and to replace him by Henry V; the loudly boasted-of "fusion" of the two Bourbon branches negotiated in common by King Leopold, Prince Albert and the Princes of Orléans—such are the circumstances which induce the public to direct anew their attention to Windsor Castle, and to suspect it of a secret conspiracy with the courts of Brussels, Vienna and St. Petersburg.

"The present race of Englishmen," says the aristocratic *Morning Herald*, "should see that the policy of this country be not made subordinate to Orleanistic dreams of restoration, Belgian terrors of annexation, and infinitesimal German interests."

"There are," insinuates *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, "conspirators not watched by the Home Office [...], conspirators whose names, like stars upon a frosty night—glitter in *The Court Circular*. They do not live in St. John's Wood, neither dwell they in Chelsea. No. They enjoy a somewhat larger accommodation in the Halls of Claremont.[362] One of those conspirators—the frequent guest of our gracious Queen—called by compliment the Duke of Nemours, went fresh from his English home to Frohsdorf to make that bridge—that is, to bridge the abyss for the Bourbons back to France. And doubtless he will return and again eat his venison at Buckingham Palace or Windsor Castle.[b]

"Your ministers," writes the Paris correspondent of *The Leader*, "are doing what Victoria tells them to do. Queen Victoria wishes all that King Leopold wishes. King Leopold desires all that Emperor Nicholas desires, so that *Nicholas is de facto the present King of England.*"[c]

The position of Bonaparte is at this moment more critical than ever before, although, at first view, his chances of fortune never

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[a] *The Morning Chronicle*, December 13, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] "Our Foreign Conspirators", *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, No. 577, December 11, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] "Letters from Paris. Letter CII", *The Leader*, No. 194, December 10, 1853.—*Ed.*

seemed more promising. He has succeeded in slipping into the circle of European royalty. The character Nicholas has lost, he has won. For the first time in his life he has become "respectable." The power which, combined with Russia, tumbled down his uncle[a] from his gigantic throne, England, has been forced into an apparent alliance with himself against Russia. Circumstances have almost constituted him the arbiter of Europe. The prospect of a European war, dragging along with it insurrectionary movements in Italy, Hungary, and Poland—countries where the people looking almost exclusively to the recovery of their national independence, are by no means too scrupulous as to the quarter from which to receive assistance—these eventualities seem to allow the man of the 2d of December to lead the dance of the peoples, if he should fail to play the pacificator with the kings. The enormous blunders committed by his predecessors have given his policy even the appearance of national vigor, as he, at least, evokes apprehensions on the part of the powers, while they, from the Provisional Government down to the *Burgraves* of the Assemblée Legislative,[363] had assumed only the power to tremble at everything and everybody.

But now let us look at the opposite side of the medal. The fusion between the two branches of the Bourbon dynasty, whatever may be its intrinsic value, has taken place under the auspices of the Courts of London and Vienna, and at the dictation of the Emperor Nicholas. It is, therefore, to be considered as the first act of a Holy Alliance directed against Bonaparte. On the other hand it has, for the moment, conciliated the different parties of the French *Bourgeoisie*, whose very divisions prevented them in 1848-51 from opposing the usurpation of the hero of Strasbourg and Boulogne.[b] The blue Republicans themselves, meeting at the house of Mr. Carnot, have decided, almost unanimously, that they would lend their aid to the Legitimists in any attempt to overthrow Bonaparte. These gentlemen seem fully resolved to run again through the traditionary cycles of restoration, Bourgeois-monarchy and Republic. For them the Republic meant never anything but, "*Ote-toi de là, que je m'y mette,*"[c] and if they cannot take themselves the place of their rival, they will at least inflict upon him the greatest punishment they are aware of—the loss of place. The

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[a] Napoleon I.—*Ed.*

[b] An allusion to the abortive Bonapartist putches in Strasbourg on September 30, 1836, and in Boulogne on August 8, 1840.—*Ed.*

[c] Go so that I can take your place.—*Ed.*

parts to be acted have already been distributed. The generals, the ministers, all the principal functionaries are already nominated. The danger threatening Bonaparte from this side is a military insurrection which, if it do not lead to the restoration of the Bourbons, may afford the occasion for a general outbreak. But after all this Malet conspiracy,[364] dependent on the support of the Cossacks, is no more dangerous than the Ledru-Rollin conspiracy, dependent on the support of the Turks. Let me remark, *en passant*, that if the whole French emigration at London and Jersey were to meet, Ledru would hardly venture to present himself. The great majority of the French refugees belonging to different fractions of the socialist party, have joined together in the Société des proscrits démocrates et socialistes, avowedly hostile to the pretensions of Ledru. He is said to possess still some influence with the French peasantry, but power must be conquered, not in the departments, but at Paris, and at Paris he will meet with a resistance he is not the man to overcome.

The serious dangers to be apprehended on the part of Bonaparte rise from quite a different quarter, viz.: from the high prices of provisions, the stagnation of trade, and the utter dilapidation and exhaustion of the Imperial exchequer. It was the peasantry who, in their superstitious faith in the magic powers of the name of "Napoleon," and in the golden promises held out by the hero of Strasbourg, first imposed him on France. For them the restoration of the Bonaparte dynasty was the restoration of their own supremacy, after they had been abused by the restoration, speculated upon by the monarchy of July, and made by the Republic to pay the expenses of the revolution of February. They are now disabused, not only by dragonnades but by famine too. Incendiarism spreads, at this moment, through France at an unparalleled pace. As to the middle classes, they were foolish enough to suspect the Assemblée Nationale of having caused, by the disputes and intrigues going on among its different fractions, and by their common opposition to the executive power, the transitory commercial stagnation of 1851. They deserted not only their own representatives, but they provoked intentionally the *coup d'état* with a view to restore what they called "a regular Government," and above all, "sound business." They have now discovered that industrial crises are neither to be prevented by military despotism nor alleviated by its stretching public credit to its utmost limits, exhausting it by the most lavish expenditure, and making a financial crisis the inevitable partner of a commercial one. The middle class pine, therefore, for a new change of power,

to afford them at last "a regular Government" and "sound business." As to the proletarians, they accepted Bonaparte from the first moment only as a transitory necessity, as the destroyer of the *république cosaque*,[a] and their avenger on the *party of order*.[365] Weakened as they were by successive defeats before the 2d of December, and fully occupied as they were during the years 1852 and 1853, they have had time to watch the occasion when general causes and the universal discontent of all other classes would enable them to resume their revolutionary work anew.

The following Paris commercial report will throw some light on the social state of France:

"The state of commercial affairs in Paris during the last week is not satisfactory. Except the manufacturers who are preparing New Year's presents for the shop-keepers, and those employed in dress-making, trade appears to be at a complete standstill. One great cause of this is the dearness of provisions in the provinces, which prevents the mass of the population from making their usual purchases. The wheat crop, the chestnuts, and the vintage failed simultaneously in the central departments of France, and the peasants, being compelled to make sacrifices in order to buy bread, deprive themselves of everything but articles of first necessity. The provincial letters state that the principal portion of the cotton goods offered for sale at the late fairs found no buyers, which easily accounts for the stagnation in trade apparent at Rouen. All exportation is confined at present to the South American States. The markets of New-York and New Orleans are represented as glutted with French produce, and consequently no orders are expected from those quarters. The houses which fabricate generally for Belgium and Germany have almost all suspended their works, all orders from their correspondents abroad having ceased. [...] Business must be dull in Paris when the Bank of France finds, as it does at present, the commercial bills offered for discount decrease considerably in amount. The corn market, which was dull ten days since, with declining prices, has become animated, and the holders of wheat are more firm in their banks.[b] The bakers have shown a greater inclination to purchase flour, and several buyers from the eastern departments have definitively arrested the downward tendency of prices. The corn factors in Paris not being able to execute all the orders received on Wednesday last, the buyers proceeded to Havre, where a decline of 2f. a barrel had previously been announced. Flour immediately on the arrival of the buyers rose from 44f. to 47f. the barrel, and wheat from 83f. to 86f. the measure of 200 kilogrammes. A similar rise took place in the markets through the department of the North. The corn market at Strasbourg has been well supplied, and wheat has declined 1f. the hectolitre; at Lyons the market was quiet, but without a fall. Rye has again risen in Paris; [...] sales 12,000 quintals of oats at 22f. 9c. the 100 kilogrammes. A letter from Marseilles of the 2d inst., states that 341 ships, bearing 804,270 hectolitres of wheat

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[a] A paraphrase of Napoleon's statement: "In fifty years Europe will be republican or Cossack" (cf. Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, present edition, Vol. 11, p. 182).—*Ed.*

[b] The Economist has "... in their demands".—*Ed.*

entered that port between the 1st and 30th of November. These arrivals make 2,102,467 hectolitres of wheat imported into Marseilles by 714 ships, within the last 4 months."[a]

Written on December 13, 1853

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] "France", *The Economist*, No. 537, December 10, 1853.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## PALMERSTON'S RESIGNATION[366]

The most interesting and important piece of intelligence brought by the steamer *Africa* is the resignation of *Lord Palmerston* as a member of the Coalition Ministry under Lord Aberdeen.[367] This is a master-stroke of that unscrupulous and consummate tactician. Those journals at London which speak for the Ministry, carefully inform the public that the event does not grow out of the Eastern difficulty, but that his conscientious Lordship, like a true guardian of the British Constitution, quits office because he cannot give his consent to a measure of Parliamentary Reform, even of the pigmy dimensions natural to such a Whig as Lord John Russell. Such is, indeed, the official motive of resignation he has condescended to communicate to his colleagues of the Coalition. But he has taken good care that the public shall have a different impression, and in spite of all the declarations of the official organs, it is generally believed that while the Reform Bill is the pretext, the Russian policy of the Cabinet is the real cause. Such has been for some time, and especially since the close of the last session of Parliament, the tenor of all the journals in his interest. On various keys, and in multiform styles, they have played a single tune, representing Lord Palmerston as vainly struggling against the influence of the Premier, and revolting at the ignominious part forced upon him in the Eastern drama. Rumors have been incessantly circulated concerning the division of the Ministry into two great parties, and nothing has been omitted to prepare the British public for an exhibition of characteristic energy from the chivalrous Viscount. The comedy having been thus introduced, the *mise en scene* arranged, the noble Lord, placed behind the curtain, has chosen, with astonishing sagacity, the exact

moment when his appearance on the stage would be most startling and effective.

Lord Palmerston secedes from his friends of the Coalition just as Austria has eagerly seized the proposition for new conferences; just as the Czar[a] is spreading wider his nets of intrigue and war, effecting an armed collision between the Servians and Bosnians, and threatening the reigning prince of Servia[b] with deposition should he persist in remaining neutral in the conflict; just as the Turks, relying on the presence of the British and French fleets, have suffered the destruction of a flotilla and the slaughter of 5,000 men by a Russian fleet three times as powerful; when Russian captains are allowed to defy the British law in British ports, and on board of British vessels; when the dynastic intrigues of the "spotless Queen" and her "German Consort"[c] have become matters of public notoriety; and, lastly, when the dull British people, injured in their national pride abroad, and tortured by strikes, famine, and commercial stagnation at home, begin to assume a threatening attitude, and have nobody upon whom to avenge themselves but their own pitiful Government. By retiring at such a moment, Lord Palmerston throws off all responsibility from his own shoulders upon those of his late partners. His act becomes a great national event. He is transformed at once into the representative of the people against the Government from which he secedes. He not only saves his own popularity, but he gives the last finish to the unpopularity of his colleagues. The inevitable downfall of the present Ministry appearing to be his work, he becomes a necessary element of any that may succeed it. He not only deserts a doomed Cabinet, but he imposes himself on its successor.

Besides saving his popularity and securing a prominent place in the new administration, Lord Palmerston directly benefits the cause of Russia by withdrawing at the present momentous crisis. The Coalition Cabinet, at whose procrastinating ingenuity Russian diplomacy has mocked, whose Orleanist and Coburg predilections have ever been suspected by Bonaparte, whose treacherous and pusillanimous weakness begins even to be understood at Constantinople—this Ministry will now lose what little influence it may have retained in the councils of the world. An administration disunited, unpopular, not relied upon by its friends, nor respected

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[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*
[b] Alexander Karageorgević.—*Ed.*
[c] Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.—*Ed.*

by its foes; considered as merely provisional, and on the eve of dissolution; whose very existence has become a matter of doubt—such an administration is the least adapted to make the weight of Great Britain felt in the balance of the European powers. Lord Palmerston's withdrawal reduces the Coalition, and with it England herself, to a nullity as far as foreign policy is concerned; and never has there existed an epoch when the disappearance of England from the public stage, even for a week or a fortnight, could do so much for the Autocrat. The pacific element has triumphed over the warlike one in the councils of Great Britain. Such is the interpretation that must be given at the courts of Berlin, Paris and Vienna to Lord Palmerston's resignation; and this interpretation they will press upon the Divan, already shaken in its self-confidence by the last success of Russia, and consulting under the guns of the united fleets.

It should not be forgotten that since Lord Palmerston became a member of the Coalition Ministry, his public acts, as far as foreign policy is concerned, have been limited to the famous gunpowder plot,[a] and the avowed employment of the British police as spies against the political refugees; to a speech wherein he jocosely treated the obstruction by Russia of the navigation of the Danube as of no account[b]; and, lastly, to the oration with which he dismissed Parliament,[c] assuring the Commons that all the Government had done in the Eastern complication had been right—that they might quietly disband since the Ministers remained at their posts, and pledging himself "for the honor and good faith of the Emperor of Russia."

Besides the general causes we have enumerated, Lord Palmerston has had a special reason for surprising the world with this last act of self-sacrificing patriotism. He has been found out. His prestige has begun to wane, his past career to be known to the public. The people of England, who had not been undeceived by his avowed participation in the conspiracy of the 2d of December, which overthrew the French Republic,[368] and by his gunpowder comedy, have been aroused by the revelations of Mr. *David Urquhart*, who has vigorously taken his Lordship in hand. This gentleman, by a recently published work called the *Progress of Russia*, by articles in the English journals, and especially by speeches at the anti-Russian meetings held throughout the

[a] See this volume, pp. 82-84.—*Ed.*
[b] July 7, 1853 (see this volume, p. 187).—*Ed.*
[c] On August 20, 1853.—*Ed.*

Kingdom, has struck a blow at the political reputation of Lord Palmerston which future history will but confirm. Our own labors in the cause of historical justice have also had a share, which we were far from counting upon, in the formation of a new opinion in England with regard to this busy and wily statesman. We learn from London, quite unexpectedly, that Mr. Tucker has reprinted there and gratuitously circulated fifty thousand copies of an elaborate article in which, some two months since, we exposed his Lordship's true character and dragged the mask from his public career.[a] The change in a public feeling is not a pleasing one for its subject, and he thinks perhaps, to escape from the rising tide of reprehension, or to suppress it by his present *coup*. We predict that it will not succeed, and that his lengthened career of official life will ere long come to a barren and unhappy end.

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[a] [K. Marx] *Palmerston and Russia*, reprinted from the *New-York Daily Tribune*, where it was published as the third article in the series "Lord Palmerston" (see this volume, pp. 358-69).—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## PROGRESS OF THE TURKISH WAR[369]

After a long delay we are at last in possession of official documents in relation to the two victories which Russia so loudly boasts of and so liberally rewards.[a] We allude, of course, to the destruction of the Turkish squadron at Sinope and the engagement near Akhalzikh,[370] in Asia. These documents are the Russian bulletins; but the fact that the Turkish official organ has maintained a profound silence on the subject, when its communications, if it had any to make, should have reached us before those from St. Petersburg, makes it certain that the Porte has nothing agreeable to publish. Accordingly we proceed, on the information we have, to analyse the events in question, in order to make our readers acquainted with the real state of the case.

The battle of Sinope was the result of such an unparalleled series of blunders on the part of the Turks that the whole affair can only be explained by the mischievous interference of Western diplomacy or by collusion with the Russians of some parties in Constantinople connected with the French and English Embassies. In November, the whole Turkish and Egyptian fleet proceeded to the Black Sea, in order to draw the attention of the Russian Admirals from an expedition sent to the coast of the Caucasus in order to land supplies of arms and ammunition for the insurgent mountaineers. The fleet remained eighteen days at sea without meeting with a single Russian man-of-war; some say the Russian squadron never left Sebastopol during all that time, whereby the

[a] The reference is to the publication of news, with comments, from Russian newspapers of December 23, 1853 in the English press, notably *The Times*, No. 21619 and *The Morning Herald*, No. 22349.—*Ed.*

expedition to the Caucasus was enabled to effect its object; others report that, being well informed of the plans of the Turks, it withdrew eastward, and merely watched the vessels conveying stores, which, in consequence, never reached the Caucasian shore, and had to return to Sinope, while the main fleet reentered the Bosphorus. The great amount of powder on board the Sinope squadron, which caused the explosion of several of them at a comparatively early period of the engagement, appears to be a proof that the latter version is correct.

Thus seven Turkish frigates, two steamers, three sloops, and one or two smaller ships, together with some transports, were abandoned in the harbor of Sinope, which is little better than an open roadstead, formed by a bay open towards the sea, and protected by a few neglected and ill-constructed batteries, the best of which was a castle constructed at the time of the Greek Emperors, and most likely before artillery was known in Europe. How it happened that a squadron of some three hundred guns, mostly of inferior caliber, was thus abandoned to the tender mercies of a fleet of three times its force and weight of metal, at that point of the Turkish shore, which from its proximity to Sebastopol is most exposed to a Russian attack, while the main fleet was enjoying the tranquil ripple of the Bosphorus, we have yet to learn. We know that the dangerous position of this squadron was well appreciated and warmly debated at headquarters; that the discordant voices of Turkish, French and British admirals, were loudly heard in the councils of war, and that the ever-meddling ambassadors were there also, in order to speak their minds upon the matter, but nothing was done.

In the meantime it appears, according to one statement, that an Austrian steamer reported at Sebastopol the position of the squadron. The Russian official report maintains on the contrary, that Nachimoff while cruising off the coast of Asia, descried the squadron, and took measures to attack it. But, if the Russians descried the Turks at Sinope, the Turks from the tower and minarets of the town must necessarily have descried the Russians long before. How then came it to pass that the Turkish batteries were in such bad trim, when a couple of days' labor might have done a great deal toward their repair? How happened it that the Turkish vessels were at anchor in places where they obstructed the fire of the batteries, and were not shifted to moorings more fit to meet the threatened danger? There was time enough for all this; for Admiral Nachimoff states that he first sent to Sebastopol for three three-deckers before he ventured the attack. Six days, from

November 24 to November 30, would not have been allowed to elapse without some effort on the part of the Turks: but indeed, the report of the Turkish steamer *Taïf*, which escaped to Constantinople, amply proves that the Turks were taken by surprise.[a] So far, then, the Russian report cannot be correct.

Admiral Nachimoff had under his command three ships-of-the-line, one of them a three-decker, six frigates, several steamers, and six or eight smaller vessels, a force of at least twice the weight of metal of the Turkish squadron. Yet he did not attack until he got three more three-deckers, which, by themselves, should have been quite sufficient to perform the exploit. With this disproportionate superiority he proceeded to the assault. A fog, or as some say, the use of the British flag, enabled him to approach unmolested to a distance of 500 yards. Then the fight began. The Russians, not liking to stand under canvas on a lee shore, dropped their anchors. Then the firing from the two moored fleets, without any naval maneuvers, and having rather the character of a cannonade on shore, went on for four hours. The possibility of doing away with all naval tactics, with all movements, was very favorable to the Russians, whose Black Sea fleet, manned almost exclusively with "land-lubbers," and especially with Polish Jews, might have had very poor success if opposed to the well-manned Turkish ships in deep water. Four hours were required by the Russians before they could silence the feeble ships of their opponents. They had, besides, this advantage, that any stray shot on their part would do harm either in the batteries or in the town, and what a number of misses, in comparison to the hits, they must have made, appears from the almost total destruction of the place, accomplished long before the hostile fleet was silenced. The Russian report says only the Turkish quarter was burnt down, and that the Greek quarter escaped as if by miracle. This is, however, contradicted by better authority, which states that the whole town is in ruins.

Three Turkish frigates were burnt during the action, four were run ashore and burnt afterwards, along with one steamer and the smaller vessels. The steamer *Taïf*, however, cut her cables, boldly steamed through the Russian lines, and escaped to Constantinople, although chased by Admiral Korniloff with three Russian steamers. Considering the clumsiness of Russian naval maneuvers, the bad position of the Turkish fleet in front, and in the line of fire, of their own batteries, and above all the *absolute certainty of destruction*, it would have perhaps been better if the whole Turkish

[a] Published in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 356, December 22, 1853.—*Ed.*

squadron had got under weigh and borne down as far as the wind permitted upon the enemy. The ruin of some, which could by no means be avoided, might have saved at least a portion of the squadron. Of course the direction of the wind must have decided as to such a maneuver, but it seems doubtful whether Osman Pasha ever thought of such a step at all.

The victory of Sinope has no glory for the Russians, while the Turks fought with almost unheard of bravery; not a single ship having struck its flag during the whole action. And this loss of a valuable portion of their naval force, the momentary conquest of the Black Sea, and the dejecting moral consequences of such an event upon the Turkish population, army and navy, is entirely due to the "good offices" of Western diplomacy, which prevented the Turkish fleet from standing out and protecting or fetching home the Sinope squadron. And it is equally due to the secret information given to the Russians enabling them to strike the blow with certainty and safety.

The second victory of which the Russians boast, came off at Akhalzikh, in Armenia. The Turks have for some time past been checked in the offensive movements which they had effected on the Georgian frontier. Since the taking of Shefkatil, or St. Nicholas, not a place of any importance has been taken, nor any victory gained of more than ephemeral effect. And this in a country where the Russians must fight under all imaginable disadvantages, where their land communications with Russia are reduced to two roads infested by insurgent Circassians, where their sea communications might very easily be cut off or endangered, and where the Transcaucasian country occupied by them, with Tiflis for its centre, might be considered more as an independent state than as part and parcel of a mighty empire. How is this check of the Turkish advance to be explained? The Turks accuse Abdi Pasha of treason and have recalled him; and certainly it is very curious that Abdi Pasha is the only Turkish General in Asia, who has been allowed by the Russians to gain local and partial victories. But there are two mistakes on the part of the Turks which explain the want of success in the beginning and the actual defeat in due course afterward. They have spread and divided their army upon all the long line from Batum to Bayazid; their masses are nowhere strong enough for a concentric attack upon Tiflis, though part of them are at the present moment, enjoying the undisputed and useless possession of the city of Erivan. The country is barren and rocky, and it may be difficult to feed a large army there; but quick concentration of all

resources and rapid movements are the best means against famine in an army. Two corps, one for covering Batum and attacking on the coastline, another for a direct march upon Tiflis through the valley of the Kura would have been sufficient. But the Turkish forces have been divided and subdivided without any necessity whatever, and to the almost entire disabling of every one of the different corps.

In the second place, the inactivity in which diplomacy held the Turkish fleet allowed the Russians to land two divisions of infantry (of the 5th corps) in Mingrelia, and thus to reenforce Prince Woronzoff's Caucasian army by nearly 20,000 men. Thus strengthened, he not only arrested the Turks on the coast, but has now had the satisfaction of seeing a corps under Gen. Andronnikoff deliver the beleaguered fortress of Akhalzikh, and beat the enemy on the open field near that town. The Russians pretend that with about 10,000 men they have routed 18,000 Turks; of course we cannot rely upon such statements; but must confess that the great number of irregulars in the Turkish Anatolian army and the almost total absence of European officers, particularly in the higher commands and on the staff, must make them but a poor match for an equal number of Russians. The Russians pretend they have taken ten or twelve pieces of cannon, which may be true, as in that impassable country the vanquished party must necessarily abandon most of its guns; at the same time they confess they have made only 120 prisoners. This amounts to a confession that they have massacred almost all the wounded on the field of battle, they being necessarily left in their hands. Besides, they prove that their measures for pursuit and intercepting the retreat of at least part of the enemy, must have been wretchedly planned. They had plenty of cavalry; a bold charge into the midst of the fugitives would have cut off whole battalions. But this action offers, so far as our reports go, but little military or political interest.

On the Danube, the Russians have done nothing more than repeat the affair by which they opened the campaign, at Matchin, a fort, or a projecting rock opposite Braila. They appear to have made little impression. We have also, on good authority, a detailed statement of the Turkish troops concentrated at Widin. They consist of 34,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, and 2,000 artillery, with 66 field-guns, besides heavy artillery on the walls of Widin, and on the redoubts of Kalafat. Thus, 40,000 Turks are wasted in order to occupy the direct route from Bucharest into Servia. Forty thousand men, chained down to extensive fortifications which they

have to defend, are too few to withstand the attack of a large army, and a great deal too many to defeat roving expeditions of small bodies. With the force already collected at Shumla, these 40,000 men would there be worth twice their number elsewhere. Their absence, next to diplomatic interference, ruined the operation of Oltenitza. It is impossible that Omer Pasha should not know, that if he stands with 100,000 men between Silistra and Rustchuk, the Russians, in numbers sufficient to do mischief, will never attempt to pass by him in order to throw themselves into the mountains of Servia. Such a disposition of his troops cannot accord with his judgment, and he must chafe desperately at the maleficent influences which force it upon him.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE EUROPEAN WAR[371]

At last, the long-pending question of Turkey appears to have reached a stage where diplomacy will not much longer be able to monopolize the ground for its ever-shifting, ever-cowardly, and ever-resultless movements. The French and British fleets have entered the Black Sea in order to prevent the Russian Navy from doing harm either to the Turkish fleet or the Turkish coast. The Czar Nicholas long since declared that such a step would be, for him, the signal for a declaration of war. Will he now stand it quietly?

It is not to be expected that the combined fleets will at once attack and destroy either the Russian squadron or the fortifications and navy-yards of Sebastopol. On the contrary, we may rest assured that the instructions which diplomacy has provided for the two Admirals[a] are so contrived as to evade, as much as possible, the chance of a collision. But naval and military movements, once ordered, are subject not to the desires and plans of diplomacy, but to laws of their own which cannot be violated without endangering the safety of the whole expedition. Diplomacy never intended the Russians to be beaten at Oltenitza; but a little latitude once given to Omer Pasha, and military movements once begun, the action of the two hostile commanders was carried on in a sphere which was to a great extent uncontrollable by the Ambassadors at Constantinople. Thus, the fleets once removed from their moorings in the Beikoz roads, there is no telling how soon they may find themselves in a position from which Lord Aberdeen's prayers for

[a] J. W. Dundas and F. Hamelin.—*Ed.*

peace, or Lord Palmerston's collusion with Russia cannot draw them, and where they will have to choose between an infamous retreat or a resolute struggle. A narrow land-locked sea like the Euxine, where the opposing navies can hardly contrive to get out of sight of each other, is precisely the locality in which conflicts under such circumstances, may become necessary almost daily. And it is not to be expected that the Czar will allow, without opposition, his fleet to be blockaded in Sebastopol.

If, then, a European war is to follow from this step, it will be in all likelihood a war between Russia on one hand, and England, France and Turkey on the other. The event is probable enough to warrant us in comparing the chances of success and striking the balance of active strength on each side, so far as we can do so.

But will Russia stand alone? What part will Austria, Prussia and the German and Italian States, their dependants, take in a general war? It is reported that Louis Bonaparte has notified the Austrian Government that if in case of a conflict with Russia, Austria should side with that power, the French Government would avail itself of the elements of insurrection which in Italy and Hungary only require a spark to be kindled again into a raging fire, and that then the restoration of Italian and Hungarian nationality would be attempted by France. Such a threat may have its effect upon Austria; it may contribute to keep her neutral as long as possible, but it is not to be expected that Austria will long be enabled to keep aloof from such a struggle, should it come to pass. The very fact of the threat having been uttered, may call forth partial insurrectionary movements in Italy, which could not but make Austria a still more dependant and still more subservient vassal of Russia. And then, after all, has not this Napoleonic game[372] been played once already? Is it to be expected that the man who restored the Pope[a] to his temporal throne,[373] and who has a candidate cut-and-dried for the Neapolitan monarchy,[b] will give to the Italians what they want as much as independence from Austria—unity? Is it to be expected that the Italian people will rush headlong into such a snare? No doubt they are sorely oppressed by Austrian rule, but they will not be very anxious to contribute to the glory of an Empire, which is already tottering in its native soil of France, and of a man who was the first to combat their own revolution. The Austrian Government knows all this, and therefore we may assume that it will be more influenced by its

[a] Pius IX.—*Ed.*

[b] Napoléon Lucien Charles Murat, son of Joachim Murat, Marshal of France and King of Naples.—*Ed.*

own financial embarrassments than by these Bonapartistic threats; we may also be certain that at the decisive moment, the influence of the Czar will be paramount at Vienna, and will entangle Austria on the side of Russia.

Prussia is attempting the same game which she played in 1780, 1800 and 1805.[374] Her plan is to form a league of neutral Baltic, or North German, States, at the head of which she can perform a part of some importance, and turn to whichever side offers her the greatest advantages. The almost comical uniformity with which all these attempts have ended by throwing the greedy, vacillating and pusillanimous Prussian Government into the arms of Russia, belongs to history. It is not to be expected that Prussia will now escape her habitual fate. She will put out feelers in every direction, offer herself at public auction, intrigue in both camps, swallow camels and strain at gnats, lose whatever character may perchance yet be left to her, get beaten, and at last be knocked down to the lowest bidder, who, in this and in every other instance, will be Russia. She will not be an ally, but an incumbrance to Russia, for she will take care to have her army destroyed beforehand, for her own account and gratification.

Until at least one of the German Powers is involved in a European war, the conflict can only rage in Turkey, on the Black Sea and in the Baltic. The naval struggle must, during this period, be the most important. That the allied fleets can destroy Sebastopol and the Russian Black Sea fleet; that they can take and hold the Crimea, occupy Odessa, close the Sea of Azov, and let loose the mountaineers of the Caucasus, there is no doubt. With rapid and energetic action nothing is more easy. Supposing this to occupy the first month of active operations, another month might bring the steamers of the combined fleets to the British Channel, leaving the sailing vessels to follow; for the Turkish fleet would then be capable of doing all the work which might be required in the Black Sea. To coal in the Channel and make other preparations, might take another fortnight; and then, united to the Atlantic and Channel fleets of France and Britain, they might appear before the end of May in the roads of Kronstadt in such a force as to assure the success of an attack. The measures to be taken in the Baltic are as self-evident as those in the Black Sea. They consist in an alliance, at any price, with Sweden; an act of intimidation against Denmark, if necessary; an insurrection in Finland, which would break out upon landing a sufficient number of troops and a guarantee that no peace would be concluded except upon the condition of this province being reunited to

Sweden. The troops landed in Finland would menace Petersburg, while the fleets should bombard Kronstadt. This place is certainly very strong by its position. The channel of deep water leading up to the roads will hardly admit of two men-of-war abreast presenting their broadsides to the batteries, which are established not only on the main island, but on smaller rocks, banks and islands about it. A certain sacrifice, not only of men, but of ships, is unavoidable. But if this be taken into account in the very plan of the attack, if it be once resolved that such and such a ship must be sacrificed, and if the plan be carried out vigorously and unflinchingly, Kronstadt must fall. The masonry of its battlements cannot for any length of time withstand the concentrated fire of heavy Paixhans guns,[375] that most destructive of all arms when employed against stone walls. Large screw-steamers, with a full complement of such guns amid ships, would very soon produce an irresistible effect, though of course they would in the attempt risk their own existence. But what are three or four screw-ships of the line in comparison with Kronstadt, the key of the Russian Empire, whose possession would leave St. Petersburg without defense.

Without Odessa, Kronstadt, Riga, Sebastopol, with Finland emancipated, and a hostile army at the gates of the capital, with all her rivers and harbors closed up, what would Russia be? A giant without arms, without eyes, with no other resource than trying to crush her opponents under the weight of her clumsy torso, thrown here and there at random wherever a hostile battle-cry was heard. If the maritime powers of Europe should act thus resolutely and vigorously, then Prussia and Austria might so far be relieved from the control of Russia that they might even join the allies. For both the German powers, if secure at home, would be ready to profit by the embarrassments of Russia. But it is not to be expected that Lord Aberdeen and M. Drouyn de Lhuys should attempt such energetic steps. The powers that be are not for striking their blows *home*, and if a general war breaks out, the energy of the commanders will be shackled so as to render them innocuous. If nevertheless, decisive victories occur, care will be taken that it is by mere chance, and that their consequences are as harmless as possible for the enemy.

The war on the Asiatic shore of the Black Sea might at once be put an end to by the fleets; that on the European side would go on comparatively uninterrupted. The Russians, beaten out of the Black Sea, deprived of Odessa and Sebastopol, could not cross the Danube without great risk (except in the direction of Servia, for insurrectionary purposes), but they might very well hold the

Principalities, until superior forces and the risk of large bodies of troops being landed on their flank and rear should drive them out of Wallachia. Moldavia they need not evacuate without a general action, for flank and rear demonstrations would there be of little importance, as long as Chotin and Kishinev offered them a safe communication with Russia.

But as long as the war is confined to the Western Powers and Turkey on the one hand, and Russia on the other, it will not be a European war such as we have seen since 1792. However, let it once commence, and the indolence of the Western Powers and the activity of Russia will soon compel Austria and Prussia to decide for the Autocrat. Prussia will probably be of no great account, as it is more than likely that her army, whatever its capacities may be, will be wasted by presumption at some second Jena.[376] Austria, notwithstanding her bankrupt condition, notwithstanding the insurrections that may occur in Italy and Hungary, will be no contemptible opponent. Russia herself obliged to keep up her army in the Principalities, and on the Caucasian frontier, to occupy Poland, to have an army for the defense of the Baltic coast, and especially of St. Petersburg and Finland, will have very few troops to spare for offensive operations. If Austria, Russia and Prussia (always supposing the latter not yet put to rout), can muster five or six hundred thousand men on the Rhine and the Alps, it will be more than can be reasonably expected. And for five hundred thousand allies, the French alone are a match, supposing them to be led by Generals not inferior to those of their opponents, among whom the Austrians alone possess commanders worthy of the name. The Russian Generals are not formidable, and as to the Prussians, they have no Generals at all; their officers are hereditary subalterns.

But we must not forget that there is a sixth power in Europe, which at given moments asserts its supremacy over the whole of the five so-called "Great" Powers and makes them tremble, every one of them. That power is the Revolution. Long silent and retired, it is now again called to action by the commercial crisis, and by the scarcity of food. From Manchester to Rome, from Paris to Warsaw and Pesth, it is omnipresent, lifting up its head and awaking from its slumbers. Manifold are the symptoms of its returning life, everywhere visible in the agitation and disquietude which have seized the proletarian class. A signal only is wanted, and this sixth and greatest European power will come forward, in shining armor, and sword in hand, like Minerva from the head of the Olympian. This signal the impending European war will give,

and then all calculations as to the balance of power will be upset by the addition of a new element which, ever buoyant and youthful, will as much baffle the plans of the old European Powers, and their Generals, as it did from 1792 to 1800.

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# Karl Marx

## [THE WESTERN POWERS AND TURKEY][377]

London, Tuesday, Jan. 10, 1854

The charge against Mr. Szemere of having revealed the place where the Hungarian crown[378] was concealed, was first brought forward by the Vienna *Soldatenfreund*, the avowed organ of the Austrian police, and this single fact should have sufficed to prove the falsehood of the accusation.

The police is not used to gratuitously denounce its own accomplices, while it is one of its habitual tricks to throw suspicion on the innocent, in order to cover the culpable. A man of the standing and the influence of Mr. Szemere would be the very last to be spontaneously sacrificed by the Austrian police, had they been able to secure his cooperation. If the secret was not betrayed by the indiscretion of one of the agents of Mr. Kossuth—a case by no means improbable—I cannot but suspect the Count K. Batthyány, now resident at Paris, of having been the traitor. He was one of the very few persons initiated into the secret of the place where the regalia were hidden, and he is the only man among them who has applied to the Vienna Court for an *amnesty*. This last fact I have reason to suppose, he will not deny.

Lord Hardinge, the British Commander-in-Chief, has been prevailed upon to withdraw his resignation. As to the Duke of Norfolk, we are informed by the correspondent of *The Dublin Evening Mail*, that

"a bit of Palace gossip has got wind. [...] A certain noble Duke, who holds an office at Court, *in commendam*, with the highest hereditary feudal dignity in the State, made a little too free, it is said, with the champagne at the Royal table, the result of which was the loss of his most noble equilibrium in the dining-room, and the involvement of Majesty itself in the catastrophe. [...] The consequence of this

annoying *contretemps* has been the resignation of the noble Duke and the appointment of Earl Spencer as Lord High Steward of her Majesty's Household."[a]

Mr. Sadleir, the broker of the Irish brigade, has again tendered his resignation of his ministerial post, which has this time been accepted by Lord Aberdeen. His position had become untenable after the public disclosures made before an Irish court of law as to the scandalous means by which he had contrived to get into Parliament. The control of the Cabinet of all the Talents over the Irish brigade will not be strengthened by this untoward event.

The bread-riots which occurred on Friday and Saturday at Crediton, Devonshire,[379] were a sort of popular answer to the glowing descriptions of prosperity which the ministerial and free trade papers thought fit to amuse their readers with at the obsequies of the year 1853.

The *Patrie* states from Trebizond that the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Teheran, having demanded the dismissal of two of the most popular Ministers of the Shah of Persia, the people became excited, and the Commander of the Guard said he would not answer for public tranquillity if this demand were complied with. According to this account, it was the dread of an explosion from the dislike of the people for Russia that induced the Shah to renew his relations with the Chargé d'Affaires of England.

To the huge mass of diplomatic papers, communicated to the public, are now added a *Note of the four Powers* dated the 12th of December and jointly addressed by their respective Ambassadors at Constantinople to the Porte, and a new circular of Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys to the French diplomatic agents, dated Paris, Dec. 30. On perusing the Note of the four Powers, we understand the extreme agitation which prevailed at Constantinople after the acceptance of the Note by the Porte became known, the insurrectionary movement occurring on the 21st, and the necessity the Turkish Ministry was placed in, solemnly to proclaim that the operations of the war would not be interrupted nor interfered with by the renewed peace negotiations. Just nine days after the intelligence of the treacherous and cowardly butchery at Sinope had reached Constantinople and aroused throughout the Ottoman Empire one tremendous cry for revenge, the four Powers coolly invite, and the Ambassadors of Great Britain and France force, the Porte to enter into negotiations with the Czar, the base of which is

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[a] "From our Private Correspondent, London, Saturday", *The Dublin Evening Mail*, No. 5466, January 2, 1854.—*Ed.*

that all the *ancient treaties shall be renewed*; that the firmans relative to the spiritual privileges octroyed by the Sultan to his Christian subjects, shall be accompanied by new assurances given to each of these Powers, consequently to the Czar; that the Porte shall name a plenipotentiary to establish an armistice; that it shall allow Russia to erect a church and a hospital at Jerusalem and pledge itself to the Powers, consequently to the Czar, to ameliorate its internal administrative system. The Porte shall not only not receive any indemnity at all for the heavy losses it has undergone consequent on the piratical acts of the Muscovite; all the chains in which Russia has made Turkey dance for a quarter of a century, shall not only be forged anew, but the prisoner shall be kept closer than before; the Porte shall lay itself at the mercy of the Autocrat by giving him humble assurances with regard to the firmans relative to the spiritual privileges of its Christian subjects, and pledging itself to him with regard to its internal administrative system; thus surrendering at once the religious protectorate and the dictation over its civil government to the Czar. In compensation for such a surrender the Porte receives the promise of "the most speedy evacuation possible of the Principalities," the invasion of which Lord Clanricarde declared to be "an act of piracy,"[a] and the assurance that the preamble of the treaty of July 13, 1841[380]—which has proved so trustworthy a safeguard against Russia—shall be formally confirmed.

Although the unfathomable abjectness of these pitiful "Powers" reached its highest possible pitch in frightening, some days after the event of Sinope, the Porte into a negotiation on such bases, they will not get rid of their embarrassment in this sneaking way. The Czar has gone too far to suffer even the appearance of his pretended exclusive protectorate over the Christian subjects of Turkey to be supplanted by a European one, and already we are informed by the Vienna correspondent of *The Times*[b] that

> "Austria has demanded whether the Russian Court would object to a European protectorate over the Christians in Turkey. The reply, in most positive language, was that Russia would permit no other power to meddle in the matter of the Greek Church. Russia had treaties with the Porte, and would settle the question with her alone."

We are also informed by *The Standard* that

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[a] Quoted from Clanricarde's speech in the House of Lords on August 8, 1853, published by *The Times*, No. 21502, August 9, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] "Vienna, Sunday afternoon", *The Times*, No. 21633, January 9, 1854.—*Ed.*

"Nicholas will not accept any proposition not proceeding directly from the Turkish sovereign individually, thus rejecting any right of mediation or interference on the part of the European Powers—an insult to those Powers which none can regard as unmerited."

The only important passage of the circular of Monsieur Drouyn de Lhuys is that announcing the entrance of the united squadrons into the Black Sea, with a view to

"combine their movements in such a manner as to prevent the territory or the flag of Turkey from being the object of any fresh attack on the part of the naval forces of Russia."

*Non bis in idem. La moutarde après la viande.*[a] *The Morning Chronicle* of yesterday published a telegraphic dispatch from its correspondent at Constantinople, dated the 30th, stating that the combined fleets had entered the Black Sea.

"The fleets may enter the Black Sea," says *The Daily News*, "only to do what they have been doing in the Bosphorus—nothing."

According to *The Press*,

"Orders have already been sent out for one ship from the English and one from the French fleet to enter the Black Sea, and under flag of truce to enter Sebastopol. When there they are to inform the Russian Admiral that if he leaves the port of Sebastopol he will be immediately fired into."

Although the Russian fleet, at this not very propitious season, and after their glorious exploit at Sinope, have nothing whatever to call them out into the Black Sea, the Czar will not allow England and France to exclude him, even temporarily, from waters from which he has succeeded in excluding them ever since 1833.[381] His prestige would be gone were he not to answer this communication by a declaration of war.

"A declaration of war of Russia against France and England," says the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, "is more probable than a speedy peace between Russia and Turkey."

At Newry (Ulster), a great meeting was held for the purpose of taking into consideration the unprovoked aggression of Russia against Turkey. I am glad to be enabled, through the friendly communication from Mr. Urquhart of the Newry report, to give your readers the most remarkable passages of that gentleman's speech. Having explained, on several occasions, my own views of the Oriental question, I need not point out those topics on which I

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[a] None can be punished twice for the same crime. Mustard after the supper.—*Ed.*

must disagree from Mr. Urquhart. Let me only remark that his views are confirmed by the intelligence that

"the peasants of Lesser Wallachia, assisted by the Wallachian soldiery, have risen against the Russians. The whole country in the environs of Kalafat and along the left shore of the Danube, is in motion. The Russian functionaries have evacuated Turmal."

After some introductory remarks Mr. Urquhart said:

...."In those matters which affect our gravest interests and intercourse with foreign States, there is neither restraint of law, nor guidance of system, there is no responsibility to the nation, no penalties for the omission of any duty, or for the perpetration of any crime; you are entirely destitute of all Constitutional means of restraint, because you are either kept in ignorance or you are misinformed. This system is, therefore, one calculated to pervert the nation, to corrupt the Government and to endanger the State. Meanwhile, you are opposed to a Government, the most crafty and systematic, the most hostile and unscrupulous, and which has worked its way to that preeminence of power by which it threatens the world, through the use which it has been enabled to make of the very Governments which it labors to overthrow—and there is this peculiarity in our condition, as there was formerly in that of Athens—that Russia has found or formed the chief instruments of her greatness in the breast of that State, whose public councils most opposed her policy. There is for this a substantive reason that England in such matters is the black spot of ignorance. The United States has a President, and he exercises the due prerogatives of royalty; there is a Senate which controls the executive, and has prior knowledge of its acts. [Hear, hear and cheers.] In France, there have been repeatedly Committees of Parliament, to investigate the national transactions, calling for documents, and bringing before them the Foreign Minister for examination. There, too, the nation is alert, according, at least, to its knowledge, and so is the Government; for on such matters hinge the existence of ministries and of dynasties. In Austria, there is at least a monarch, and he has knowledge of the acts of his servants. In Turkey and in Russia, you see that in one country the feeling of the people constrains the Government, and in the other the Government represents the will of the nation. England alone remains with a crown without authority, with a Government without system, with a Parliament without control, and a nation without knowledge. [Hear, hear.] Reverting now to the application of this state of things, to the facts before us, I have first to tell you—and it is the salient matter—that Russia has no force to effect her threats, and that she has calculated merely upon the facility of terrifying you by groundless fears, that she has had no purpose whatever of making war on Turkey, that she has no means for doing so, that she has not even made disposition for such an object, that she has calculated upon you restraining Turkey, so that she might occupy her provinces, and calculates further upon you for forcing from that State such compliance with insolent demands as shall break up the Ottoman Empire. [Hear, hear.] It is by your Ambassador in Constantinople[a] and by your squadron in the Bosphorus that she is about to achieve her ends. And here I must advert to a statement made by my gallant friend Colonel Chesney, and at the same time supply an omission which he has made. He stated, that as matters stood before the Pruth was crossed, Turkey was more than a match for Russia, but he did not give you the high estimate he entertains and has expressed of the military qualities of the Turks. He stated, even at the present moment, and with all the immense advantages which you have enabled Russia to acquire, he was still in doubt whether

[a] Stratford de Redcliffe.—*Ed.*

Turkey was not a match for Russia. On this point I have not the shadow of a doubt, if you grant me two conditions—the first, that your Ambassador and your squadron are withdrawn, the second, that Turkey recovers its emasculating reliance on foreigners. But after that came another statement, doubtingly indeed made, but which from his high authority, and there is no higher authority in these matters—may carry an undue weight or bear an unjustifiable interpretation. He said that the moment might be at present favorable for Russia, because the Danube was frozen, and she might push her forces across into Bulgaria. But what forces has she got to push into Bulgaria? Europe has for many months given heed to exaggerated statements; we have been industriously informed of the vast accumulations of her forces prepared to come in action. They were currently rated at 150,000 men, and the people were ready to believe that 150,000 men sufficed for the conquest of Turkey. I received some time ago an official statement which reduced to 80,000 men the whole number that had crossed the Pruth, of which between 20,000 or 30,000 had already perished by disease or were in hospital. The statement was sent by me to one of the newspapers, but was not inserted, being considered incredible. Russia has now published her own statement, reducing the entire number to 70,000 men. [Cheers.] Putting aside then the relative strength of both Empires, if all their forces were brought up, it must be clear that Russia had no intention of making war with such an amount of force as this. Now what was the force which Turkey had to oppose? No less than, at the time referred to, 180,000 men between the Balkan and the Danube, now increased to 200,000 men in strong, fortified positions, with a Russian force reduced to 50,000 men at the outside, and these demoralized by defeat and infected by desertion. As to the qualities of the Turkish troops and their superiority to the Russians, you have heard the testimony of General Bem; you have the living testimony of Colonel Chesney—confirmed by the events which have filled Europe with astonishment and admiration. Observe we are not now upon the point of the relative power of the two Empires but of that of the intention and mode of proceeding of the one—Russia. My argument is that she did not propose making war; because, on the one hand, she had not upon the spot the requisite force, and, on the other, that she could reckon on the Cabinet of England. Russia had no intention of making war—she has no intention now. This is what I have stated before the war—that she would enter and occupy the Principalities by the aid of England. How have I been able to prognosticate? Not, certainly, by the knowledge of Russia's designs, which thousands know as well or better than me, but by the knowledge of England's character. But let us reconsider the case—it is too important to pass it over. Colonel Chesney said that the real question was the reserve which Russia had behind the Pruth. Of that reserve he had heard lately a great deal. Osten-Sacken, with his 50,000 men, was on full march on the Danube to retrieve the disaster of Oltenitza. Now, the 50,000 men dwindled to 18,000, and the best of all is, that even they have not arrived. [Laughter and cheering.] Taking then Colonel Chesney's number, 75,000 reduced by deaths and sickness to 50,000, and throwing into these the 18,000 of ubiquitous reserve, we shall only have, after all, 70,000 men to operate against 200,000 strongly entrenched and in a mountainous region, and at a season of the year when hitherto the Russians have invariably retired from the field.

"Now let me recall the events of the late war in 1828 and '29. Turkey was then in convulsions. Then Mussulman's sword was turned against Mussulmans; the provinces were in revolt, Greece in insurrection, the old military force annihilated, the new conscripts scarcely disciplined, and amounting only to 33,000 men. The command of the Black Sea wrenched from Turkey by British broadsides, delivered in full force in the harbor of Navarino,[382] and then it was that Russia, backed by England and France, made a spring upon Turkey and reached the center of her provinces before she knew that war was declared. And how many men do you think she then judged it prudent to employ? Two hundred and sixteen thousand. [Cheers.] And yet it was only by deception and through the influence of the

English Ambassador, who unfortunately had returned, that she was seduced to sign that treaty of Adrianople that was surprised from her. [Hear, hear.] Look at Turkey now, united in heart and feeling, with a heroism inspired at once by the love of country and detestation of outrages—with united authority, ample resources, able to dispose of 300,000 volunteers, of the most martial character to be found on the face of the earth—of 250,000 disciplined troops—victorious in Asia—with the command of the Black Sea—not lost, be it observed, as I shall presently show, at Sinope—with steam to convey, without loss of men or time, her contingents to the scene of action from the remotest provinces of the Empire, from the snowy heights of the Caucasus to the arid deserts of Arabia, from the wastes of Africa to the Persian Gulf—one spirit of indignation prevails—of manhood has been aroused. [Hear and cheers.] Yes, but as in the former war, a Navarino brought the Cossacks across the Balkan; so now may the screw propellers of Britain, even without war, bring Russian hulks to the Dardanelles. But I am speaking of Russian intentions. That is the point. It is in Downing-st. that this victory is to be achieved, and not in the East. Meanwhile, are you unscathed? Is there a man before me who does not suffer in substance? Is there one the price of whose bread is not enhanced, whose employment, or the employment of his capital is not curtailed? [Hear, hear.] Whose taxes are not increased? Is not Change-alley[a] convulsed? Have we not seen by this movement of Russian troops a disturbance of the money market produced equal to two-thirds of that experienced in 1847—and yet Russia has never intended war. Have we not seen the Governments of Europe degraded and the ground-work laid of insurrections and convulsions—and yet Russia never intended war. Have we not seen the Ottoman Empire exhausting itself by an enormous military establishment of half a million of men, because Russia has displaced 70,000 troops to feed at her expense and at the expense of the operatives of Great Britain? And all this because you have believed people easy of belief that Russia was so strong that she could not be resisted—Turkey so weak that she could not be supported. Really we live in an age of dreams and of fables; we are men not to believe this only, we are men to believe that Russia is more powerful than all the powers of the world banded against her. *The Times* makes light of the army of Moslems, makes equally light of the armies of France and the navies of England, and gravely tells us that all Europe and Turkey to boot may as soon attempt to keep the Russians out of Constantinople, as to keep the north winds from blowing across the Sarmatian Plains. And the argument as regards Europe is just as good as respecting Turkey; yet Turkey will fall, if you persevere. Russia has displaced 70,000 men, and in consequence Turkey is moved with terror and indignation—England convulsed with fear and panic—Russia, too, convulsed with shouts of laughter. [Laughter and prolonged cheering.] I have said I would revert to the affair of Sinope, or as it has been justly termed, the little Navarino. I don't refer to that ungraceful event in reference to our conduct—for we have done in this nothing more disgraceful than in the rest—but I refer to it as bearing upon the relative strength of the two parties. So considered, it has added nothing to Russia's power, and taken nothing from that of Turkey, but the reverse. It has placed in the most unmistakable light the justifiable fears of the Russians of Turkish prowess. Here we have seen a fact without parallel even in our own naval annals—frigates laying themselves alongside line-of-battle ships, and commanders casting the torch into the powder magazine, and offering themselves up for holocaust on their country's shrine. What may not be achieved against a Government which in every act, and especially in this, is the object of abhorrence and disgust to every human being. Observe that the maritime force of Turkey is untouched; not a line-of-battle ship, not a steamer has been sacrificed. Now she is doubly insured in the command of the Black Sea if the diplomatists are withdrawn;

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[a] A street in London where the Stock Exchange is situated.—*Ed.*

and it is they, and they alone, who have produced the so-called disaster of Sinope. But that disaster was prepared for another end; it was as a rod and a goad to urge the lagging beasts of burden in Paris and in London, and to drive them into enforcing the terms of settlement upon the belligerents. Before I entered this meeting, I heard it stated by a gentleman of the Committee, that it was perfectly competent for England and France to interpose between them if they expected by so doing to secure peace. I know that what he has stated is the general impression throughout this land, but I did not the less on that account listen to him with horror. Who gave you the right to go about the world enforcing peace by arms? It is one thing to resist aggression, it is another thing to commit it. [Hear, hear!] You cannot interpose even to save Turkey, save by declaring war against Russia. Your interposition, however, will be for Russia's behoof, and at her dictation, and with the effect of imposing conditions on Turkey which must bring her fall.... In your negotiations you will propose to Turkey to relieve her from her past treaties with Russia in consideration of an European settlement. This has, indeed, been already put forward, and has been received with acclamation by a nation which has acclaims ready for every perversion. Good Heavens! a European settlement! That is what Turkey has to rely upon. Surely your treaty of Vienna was a European settlement, and what was the result? That settlement was important by its establishment of Poland; and what befell Poland? When Poland had fallen, what did your Minister tell you respecting that treaty? Why, it was this: 'That it had given to England the right to express an opinion regarding the events in Poland.' After going on to state that he had remonstrated on the subject before the event, he says: 'But Russia took another view of the case.' And so it will be with your present settlement; she will take another view of the case. [Loud cheers.] These words were stated in the House of Commons; they were uttered by the very Minister" (Lord Palmerston) "who has now in his hands the fate of Turkey, as he had of Poland. But now you are warned; then you were unconscious.... Let me refer to a piece of intelligence recently published in *The Times* newspaper. It is there stated that our Minister in Persia had had a difference with the Government of the Shah, who was on the point of yielding, when the Minister of Russia interposed to exasperate the quarrel. Thus there you have at the one and at the same moment Russia driving England out of Persia, and England imposing Russia on Turkey. This same letter mentions that an embassy had reached Teheran; that the Afghans were in the greatest state of ferment, and that Dost Mohammed, the implacable enemy of Russia, had much at heart the success of his embassy which was to move Persia to support Turkey. Now, you will recollect that sixteen years ago, England made war against the Afghans, with the purpose of dethroning Dost Mohammed, because he was the enemy of England and the firm ally of Russia. Now, perhaps your Government believed this. If it did, it is very strange that it was not upon Russia they made war, but upon the Afghans, which was exactly the course to throw them into the arms of Russia. But your Government entertained no such belief; it then perfectly knew that Dost Mohammed, as now appears, was the implacable foe of Russia, and it was on that very account that it had attacked him. The fact has been established, and in the House of Commons it has been proved, that documents had been absolutely forged representing Dost Mohammed falsely as the ally of Russia. The Envoy of England himself sent home the original for publication. [Shame.] This is but the legitimate result of the secrecy in the Government and that ignorance in the nation to which I already referred. There is not a man in this assembly upon whom my eyes can rest, who is not by sufferance a participator in this crime, and who by this indifference to his country's acts and honor is not degraded to the position of a slave, while under the delusion that he is a freeman. [Hear, hear.] May I tell you something of what is thought of you by strangers? You have heard recently much of German influences at Court. Perhaps you would like to hear something of the opinions of German cousins of the Queen;

and let me tell you, if Germany is Russian, it is England that has made her so. Listen now to these words:

"'If Turkey is not interfered with by England and France she will conquer. If, on the contrary, the Western Powers, in their infatuated subservience cannot refrain from "mediating," or from meddling with the affairs of the East, Turkey is doomed, and universal dominion of the Muscovy Cossacks will soon sway the destinies of this world! Yet how noble has hitherto been the position and attitude of poor Turkey, in spite of all diplomatic embezzlement, and though she mistook a band of assassins for her friends. Matters look, indeed, gloomy! and I have hourly been expecting a bombardment by the allied fleets of her capital in order to bend her moral heroism to disgraceful submission. The Turks may truly say: "*Longa est injuria, longae ambages, sed summa sequor fatigia rerum!*"[a] What a contrast in their present behavior as compared with that of England on similar occasions! they "make war"—England carries on piracy. Recollect only the "Declaration of Lima" and the invasion of Afghanistan, the bombardment of Copenhagen[383] and the battle of Navarino and then think of Turkey as it stands there at present—abased and threatened, even invaded and provoked by the "civilized world;" she remains amid all her trials, calm and judicious, firm and resolute, but serene.'"

"You may judge by this that there are those in the loftiest station who may sigh in vain for the privilege which your indulgence affords to me of finding a vent for my indignation, and the opportunity of warning of coming events. Suffer me then to tell you the position in which you stand. Britain presents two features, she is an idiot at home, she is a maniac abroad, an armed maniac, endangering her own life and the lives of others. You are not so individually though you are so collectively. Awaken then your individual intelligence and restrain the corporate maniac until you have time to treat the disordered brain—this system from which all the evil proceeds." [Loud and long continued cheering.]

I may add to Mr. Urquhart's speech that Lord Palmerston's last *coup d'éclat*[384] and the favor of the people bestowed upon him, have made him Prime Minister in reality, if not in name.

Written on January 10, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Vergilius, *Aeneid*, I, 341.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE WAR IN THE EAST] [385]

London, January 14, 1854

At last, this long-pending "Eastern Question" appears to have reached a step where diplomacy will not much longer be enabled to monopolise this ground for its ever shifting and ever resultless movements. On the 3rd inst. the French and British fleets have entered the Black Sea, in order to prevent the Russian navy from doing harm either to the Turkish fleet or the Turkish coast. Once before the Czar Nicholas has declared that such a step would be, for him, the signal for a declaration of war. Will he now stand it quietly? There is a report to-day that the combined French and English fleets, together with the first division of the Turkish navy, are transporting 17,000 Turks to Batum. If this be correct, it is as much an act of war as if they made a direct attack upon Sebastopol, and the Czar cannot but declare war at once.

But would Russia stand alone? Which part would Austria and Prussia take in a general war?

It is reported that Louis Bonaparte has notified to the Austrian Government that, if in case of a conflict with Russia, Austria allied with this power, the French Government would avail itself of the elements of insurrection, which, in Italy and Poland, only required a spark to be kindled again into a raging fire, and that then the restoration of Italian and Polish nationality would be attempted by France. The Austrian government, however, we may confidently assume, will be more influenced by its own financial embarrassments than by the threats of Bonaparte.

The state of the Austrian Exchequer may be inferred from the late augmentation of its depreciated notes and from the recent expedient of the government enacting a discount of 15 pct. upon the paper money issued by themselves. This device, working the

depreciation of their own paper, perhaps carries tax making ingenuity to its perfection, it is putting a tax on the payment of taxes. According to the German papers, the Austrian budget for 1854 will show a deficit of 45,000,000 flrs. on the ordinary service, and 50,000,000 flrs. on the extraordinary. For the 100th time Austria is moving towards a loan, but in a manner which promises no success. It is now proposed to raise a loan of 50,000,000 flrs. for the ostensible purpose of paying interest due and some other pressing demands.

When the news of the intended entrance of the united squadron into the Black Sea reached Vienna, the money changers had enough to do to change paper currency for silver coin. People with 100 and 200 florins thronged to their counting-houses with a view to secure their endangered treasures. Nevertheless, on the decisive moment, the influence of St. Petersburg at Vienna will be paramount and entangle Austria, on the side of Russia, into the coming struggle. As to Prussia, she is attempting the same game as in 1780, in 1800 and 1805,[386] to form a league of neutral Baltic or Northern German States, at the head of which she might play a part of some importance and turn to which side was to offer her the greatest advantages.

That the Turko-European fleets can destroy Sebastopol and the Russian Black Sea fleet, that they can take possession of, and hold the Crimea, occupy Odessa, close the Sea of Azov and let loose the mountaineers of the Caucasus, there is no doubt. The measures to be taken in the Baltic are as self-evident as those in the Black Sea: an alliance at any price with Sweden; an act of intimidation against Denmark, if necessary; an insurrection in Finland, which would break out upon landing a sufficient number of troops, and a guarantee that no peace would be concluded except upon the condition of this province being reunited to Sweden; the troops landed in Finland, to menace Petersburg while the fleet bombards Kronstadt.

All will depend on the maritime powers of Europe acting resolutely and vigorously.

The *New Prussian Gazette* of the 29th ult. confirms the account of the Emperor of Russia having ordered all the forces in his empire to be placed on a war-footing. Not only has he withdrawn his deposits from the banks of England and France, but also ordered voluntary collections to be raised on the part of his nobility, and the railways in progress to be suspended, in order to devote to war all the men and money required for their construction.

On the other hand armaments in France are going on more actively than ever, the second moiety of the contingent of 800,000 men of the class of 1852 having been called out. In France, too, a loan of 200,000,000 frs. (about £8,000,000) has long been contemplated, but the dearth of food, the failure in the wine and silk crops, the prevailing commercial and industrial distress, the great apprehensions entertained about the payments to be made at the end of February, the downward tendency of the funds and railway shares, all these circumstances tend by no means to facilitate such a transaction.

It is the intention of the British Government, as we are informed by *The Times*, to raise the number of seamen and marines for the current year to 53,000 men, which is an increase of about 8,000 on the number voted for last year, and a further addition to the 5,000 men, raised under the orders of Lord Derby's administration.[a] The total increase in the Navy since 1852 may therefore be stated of about 13,000 men. For the force now to be raised for the service of the fleet 38,000 will be seamen and boys, and 15,000 marines.

At last the murder is out, as regards the affair of Sinope. The statements published of the relative strength of Russia and Turkey at that place, show that the Russians had 3 steam two-deckers, one three-decker and 680 guns on their side more than the Turkish forces. So considered the event of Sinope has added nothing to Russia's power, and taken nothing from that of Turkey, but the reverse. Here we have seen a fact without parallel even in our own annals—frigates laying themselves alongside line-of-battle ships, and commanders casting the torch into the powder magazine and offering themselves up for holocaust on their country's shrine. The real maritime force of Turkey is untouched; not a line-of-battle ship, not a steamer having been sacrificed. This is not all. According to the last intelligence received, one of the finest three-deckers of the Russian fleet, the *Rostislav*, 120-gun ship, has been sunk by the Turks. This fact, kept back hitherto under the specious pretext that the *Rostislav* did not sink during the action, but immediately afterwards, is now admitted by the Russians, and forms a good set-off against the destroyed Turkish ships.[387] If one three-decker was actually sunk, we may expect that the other Russian vessels received very serious harm indeed during the action, and after all the victory of Sinope may have more disabled the Russian than the Turkish fleet. When the Pasha

[a] *The Times*, No. 21631, January 6, 1854.—*Ed.*

of Egypt[a] heard of the disaster at Sinope, he ordered the immediate armament of 6 frigates, 5 corvettes and 3 brigs, destined to fill up the chasm which has been produced in the material of the Turkish fleet.

The Egyptian steam-frigate *Pervaz-Bahri* disabled and taken after nearly five hours' struggle by the far larger Russian steam-frigate *Vladimir,* was so riddled with shot that she could hardly be brought into Sebastopol, and when there, sank at once. The *Pervaz-Bahri* was only carried into the harbour of Sebastopol by the aid of its chief engineer, Mr. Bell, an Englishman, who was promised on the part of Admiral Korniloff, if he succeeded in taking her there in safety, to be set immediately at liberty. When arrived at Sebastopol, instead of being released, Mr. Bell and his sub-engineers and stokers were put into close confinement, with the miserable allowance of 3d. a-day for their maintenance and given to understand that they would have to march 80 miles on foot, at this inclement season, into the interior. Prince Menchikoff, who commands at Sebastopol, was approved by the Czar and his Ministers, who turned a deaf ear to the representations of our Consul at Odessa[b] and the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg.[c] It was already known that at the battle of Sinope two English merchant men, following private trade, were headlessly and ruthlessly involved in the general destruction. The following is the simple narrative of the destruction of one of those vessels as given by a French paper:

"On the 30th November the brigantine *Howard,* belonging to Bideford, a seaport in the South of England, had finished the discharge of a cargo of coals to the Austrian Consul, Mr. Pirentz, at Sinope, and was then at anchor taking in ballast with a view of sailing to Fatsah for a cargo of corn, which she had engaged to carry to England, when the Russian fleet suddenly came in sight, and without giving any notice whatever, or affording any opportunity for foreign vessels to remove out of danger, commenced a heavy fire of shot and shells on the Turkish fleet lying at anchor and in a few minutes entirely destroyed the *Howard* and other merchant vessels in the harbour."[d]

This atrocious infraction of international law is paraded in the Odessa bulletin, while the Russian journals simultaneously announced in insulting language that, while the English fleets dared not enter the Black Sea, the English Government dared not refuse the use of its dockyards to repair a Russian man-of-war.

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[a] Abbas Pasha.—*Ed.*
[b] J. James.—*Ed.*
[c] G. H. Seymour.—*Ed.*
[d] "Londres, 5 janvier", *Journal des Débats,* January 7, 1854.—*Ed.*

The latest mails have brought us more supplementary news with regard to the military events which lately took place in Asia. It appears that the Turks have been compelled entirely to evacuate the Russo-Armenian territory, but the precise result of the engagements, which determined this retreat, is not yet known[a]. One Turkish corps had penetrated on the direct road to Akhalzikh from Ardahan, while another body took the more southern road from Kars by Alexandropol (in Georgian, Gümri) to Tiflis. Both these corps, it appears, were met by the Russians. According to the Russian accounts the Turks were routed on either line and lost about 40 pieces of cannon; as to the Turkish accounts, we have nothing official, but in private correspondence the retreat is explained by the necessity of going into winter quarters. Certain it is, that the Turks have evacuated the Russian territory with the exception of Fort St. Nicholas, that the Russians followed them, and that their advanced guard even ventured to within a mile of Kars, where it was repulsed. We know, besides, that the Turkish army of Anatolia, recruited as it is from the Asiatic provinces, the seat of old Moslem barbarism, and counting in its ranks a great number of irregulars, unreliable though generally brave soldiers of adventure, fancy warriors, and filibusters of Kurdistan—that this army of Anatolia, is nothing like the staid, disciplined and drilled army of Rumelia, where the commander knows how many and what men he has from day to day under his command, and where the thirst for independent adventure and private plunder is held under check by articles of war and courts martial. We know that the Russians, very hard up for troops in the beginning of the Asiatic campaign, have been reinforced by the 13th division of infantry (16,000 men) under Lieut.-General Obrucheff II, and by a body of Cossacks from the Don; we know that they have been able to keep the mountaineers in bounds, to maintain their communication as well across the Caucasus by Vladikavkaz as by sea to Odessa and Sebastopol. Under these circumstances, and considering that the Turkish commander Abdi Pasha was either a traitor or a dunce (he has been recalled since and Ahmed Pasha has been sent in his stead), we should not wonder at all if the Turks had been worsted, although there can be no doubt of the exaggeration prevailing in the Russian bulletins.

On the Danube, the Russians have some time ago attacked

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[a] The description of the engagement at Akhalzikh of November 26, 1853 is given above, on pp. 550-52 of this volume.—*Ed.*

Matchin, a fort situated on an arm of the Danube. A steamer came up with two gunboats; they were met by a hot fire; the gunboats, it is said, were sunk, and the steamer so far damaged that it had to make the best of its way home. Three or four skirmishes occurred, partly between the outposts at Kalafat, partly between the Russian posts on the Danube and small Turkish parties who crossed the river in order to surprise them. The Turks ascribe to themselves the advantage in all the encounters. It is to be regretted that the Turkish irregulars, fit more for this duty than for any other, have not long since been ordered to carry on this war on a small scale with the greatest activity. They would have proved more than a match for the Cossacks, disorganized the necessarily faulty system of outposts of the enemy, faulty because extending over a line 300 miles in length; they would have disturbed the Russian plans, obtained a perfect knowledge of the enemy's movements and might with proper caution and boldness have been victorious in every encounter.

From telegraphic news, received this moment, it appears that

"on the 6th of this month, a Turkish division, 15,000 strong, with 15 pieces of artillery, attacked the entrenched position of Chetatea, not far from Kalafat, and took it with storm; that the Russians lost 2,500 men, and that a reinforcement of 18,000 Russians marching from Karaul, was forced to retire with a loss of 250 men."[a]

According to another report, the great majority of the population of Lesser Wallachia has risen against, and Krajova been placed in a state of siege by, the Russians.

Meanwhile Russia exhausted herself in efforts to seduce or alarm in all quarters of the world, on our Indian frontiers, in Persia, Servia, Sweden, Denmark, &c. In Persia the British minister had had a difference with the Government of the Shah, who was on the point of yielding, when the Russian Ambassador interposed not only to exasperate the Shah against England, but to drive him into active hostility too, and a declaration of war against the Porte. This intrigue, however, is said to have been baffled by the British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Thompson's menace of withdrawing from Teheran, by the dread of an immediate explosion from the dislike of the Persian people for Russia, and by the arrival of an Afghan Embassy, threatening, if Persia formed an alliance with Russia, an invasion of the Persian territory by the Afghans.

A crowd of Russian agents was simultaneously overrunning Servia—seeking out and applying themselves to the places and

[a] Marx quotes from the report in *The Times*, No. 21638, January 14, 1854.—*Ed.*

persons formerly known by their attachment to the banished family of the Obrenović—speaking to some of the young Prince Michael—to others of his old father Miloš—now making them hope, through the protection of Russia, for the extension of the limits of Servia—the formation of a new kingdom of Illyria, which should unite all those who spoke the Servian language actually under the domination of Turkey and Austria,—and now announcing to them, in case of resistance, innumerable armies and utter subjugation. Notwithstanding these intrigues, in opposite senses, that Russia ceased not to carry on, she has not succeeded in breaking the bonds between the Servians and the Sultan,[a] but, on the contrary, two firmans were expected from Constantinople at Belgrade, the one suppressing all the relations existing between Servia and Russia, and the other confirming all the privileges conceded, at different epochs, to the Servian people. Then, the Russian Government has actively pursued negotiations at Stockholm and Copenhagen, for the purpose of inducing the governments of Sweden and Denmark to side with her in the approaching European struggle; the great object she has in securing their alliance being to obtain the closing of the passages of the Sound and Belts against the Western Powers. All she has effected till now, is the conclusion of a treaty between Sweden, Denmark and Prussia concerning an armed neutrality, and preparations of armaments, ostensibly directed against herself. Private letters from Sweden exult in the possibility of the Duchy of Finland, so shamefully seized by Russia without a declaration of war, being restored to the Scandinavian Kingdom. As to Denmark, the attitude, not of the people, but of the Court, is more equivocal. It is even rumoured that the present Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs[b] will resign and be replaced by Count Reventlow-Criminil, a man known to be intimately connected with the Court of St. Petersburg. In France the "fusion" of the Orleanists and Legitimists[388] owes to Russia the sort of success it has met with, while that same power is stirring up heaven and earth to destroy the *entente cordiale* existing between the Governments of England and France and to sow distrust between them. Attempts are being made by some of the Paris journals, in the pay of Mr. Kisseleff, to create a belief that the English Government is not sincere, and we see that in England a journal, in the pay of Mr. de Brunnow, in return casts doubts on the sincerity of the French Government.

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[a] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*

[b] Ch. A. Bluhme.—*Ed.*

Another blow, principally aimed against the Western powers, is the Russian prohibition relative to the exportation of Polish corn.

In the meantime the movements of Western diplomacy were by no means hostile to Russia, but exhibited, on the contrary, rather too anxious a tendency to temporise with justice and to compromise with crime. It is now obvious to everyone that their course has been a mistaken and a mischievous one. The resurrection of the Vienna conference and the protocol drawn up by them on the 5th ult., the letter of the French and British Ambassadors at Constantinople to Reshid Pasha,[389] the collective note of the 4 Great Powers presented to the Porte on the 15th, and accepted by the Sultan on the 31st ult., the circular of Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys, announcing the entrance of the united fleets into the Black Sea, to the French diplomatic agents, dated 30th ult., such are the principal events of the diplomatic history of the last 6 weeks.[a] As to the protocol of the Vienna conference, your readers will have been informed of its contents before now. Can there be anything more ludicrous than its assertion that

"the assurances given on several occasions by the Emperor of Russia exclude the idea that that august Sovereign entertains any wish to interfere with the integrity of the Ottoman Empire,"[b]

and anything more mischievous than its urging on Turkey the propriety of consenting to a month's armistice? Two days after the news of the disgraceful butchery at Sinope had reached Constantinople on the 5th ult., Reshid Pasha addressed a letter to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and General Baraguay D'Hilliers, communicating the news from Sinope and asking that the fleets might enter the Black Sea. On the 12th, a week after the date of Reshid Pasha's note, he received a very indifferent answer on the part of the two Ambassadors, intimating to him that

"the presence of the United Squadron had 'a *political* signification,' consequently no *military* one, and that it was a '*moral* support,' consequently no *naval* one."

Thus the Porte was coerced into the acceptance of the joint Note of the 4 Powers presented to her on the 15th December. This note grants the Porte not only no compensation whatever for the losses she has undergone consequent upon the piratical acts of the Autocrat; it insists not only upon the renewal of all the ancient treaties of Kainardji, Adrianople, Unkiar-Skelessi, etc., which have

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[a] On the note of the four powers and Drouyn de Lhuys' circular see this volume, pp. 560-61.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted from *The Times*, No. 21615, December 19, 1853.—*Ed.*

furnished, for a century and a half, the arsenal from which Russia has drawn her weapons of fraud, interference, progress and incorporation; but it allows the Czar to carry the point of the religious protectorate and administrative dictation over Turkey by stipulating that

> "the communication of the firmans relative to the spiritual privileges octroyed by the Sublime Porte to all its subjects not Mussulmen, should be made to all the Powers, and accompanied by *suitable* assurances given to each of them,"

and that the Porte shall declare on its part its firm resolution to develop more efficaciously its administrative system and internal reforms.

These new propositions, while in their letter investing the 5 Powers of Europe with a joint protectorate over the Christian subjects of Turkey, give in reality the protectorate to Russia alone. The arrangement is to be, that France and Austria being Roman Catholic countries, are to have the protectorate over the Roman Catholic Christians in Turkey, and England and Prussia being Protestant countries, are to have the protectorate over the Protestant subjects of the Sultan, while Russia is to have the protectorate over those professing the Greek faith. Now, as the Roman Catholics do not number 800,000, nor the Protestants 200,000, while those who profess the Greek religion amount to nearly 10,000,000, it is plain that the Czar would indeed acquire the protectorate over the Christian subjects in Turkey. These proposals of the 4 Powers were not accepted by the Porte till on the 19th ult., when Riza Pasha and Halil Pasha had entered the Ministry, the success of the Peace or Russian party having been thus assured.

On the 21st ult., when it became known that the Council of Ministers had notified to the four Ambassadors the adoption of the propositions, they had suggested, the Saftas (students) assembled to present a petition against the resolution taken by the government, and the outbreak of disturbances was only prevented by the arrest of the ringleaders. So great was the exasperation which prevailed at Constantinople, that the Sultan did not venture to repair on the following day to the Divan, nor proceed, as usual, amidst the thunder of the cannon, and the hurrahs of the foreign war crew, to the mosque of Tophana; and that Reshid Pasha fled for refuge from his own palace in Stambul to the palace contiguous to the residence of the Sultan. On the following day the public mind was somewhat calmed by a proclamation on the

part of the Sultan, that no stop should be put to the military operations.

These tortuous, pusillanimous and inexplicable movements of the Western diplomacy, which, throughout the dreary history of the last 9 months, almost exhausted public patience, have thrown doubts upon the sincerity of the British Government, and, as the public feel themselves at a loss to understand the motives that may have caused the long endurance on the part of the Western Powers, secret influences are spoken of, and rumours are industriously spread, that Prince Albert, the husband of the Queen,[a] is interfering in the affairs of the Executive; that he is not only attending on his Sovereign Lady at the meetings of her Council, but is using his influence to control the advice of the responsible advisers; that, while exercising his opportunity to be present at the meeting of the Queen with her Ministers, he is in constant and direct communication with foreign courts, including the Russian one, but except that of France. Another tale is, that the "fusion" of the Orléans and elder Bourbon branches of the late royal family of France receives almost as much countenance from our Court as it does from that of Russia, and the visit of the Duke of Nemours at the Court of Queen Victoria, fresh from the meeting with "Henry the Fifth,"[b] is pointed at as a proof.

A fourth report, that the negotiations in the Eastern question, have, with the assent of Russia, been delegated to the sole intermediation of Count Buol-Schauenstein, brother-in-law of Count Meyendorff, is cited as evidence that this government has never desired independent or effective negotiations, but has, from the first, sought to aid the designs of Russia and her allies, while seeming to oppose her. Mr. Roebuck, it is confidently stated, will bring the whole question of Coburg influence before the House of Commons, while Lord Brougham is said to intend bringing it before the House of Lords. There is no doubt that the Coburg influences form, as this moment, the almost exclusive topic of conversation in the metropolis. Parliament will reassemble on the 31st instant.

So stern a winter as the present one has not been known since 1809. The intensity of the cold has been by no means the most trying incident; the incessant changes both of temperature and of the character of the weather have been far worse. The trains run on the railway with the greatest difficulty; in some parts transit

[a] Victoria.— *Ed.*

[b] Comte de Chambord.— *Ed.*

appears to be quite cut off, and in the means of communication England is thrown back to times forgotten. The electric telegraph has been used to mitigate the inconvenience of commercial documents intercepted by snow drifts, and to prevent the noting of bills for unexplained non-payment. Nevertheless the noting of more than 500 bills in London illustrates the social anarchy occasioned by the uncommon inclemency of the season. The papers are filled with records of the fearful shipwrecks caused by the snow storms and gales, particularly on the Eastern coast. Although the recently published tables of trade, navigation and revenue[a] show a continuance of the prosperity with which 1853 began, the severity of the season, coupled with the rising prices of the first necessaries, principally of corn, coals and tallow, acts as a hard pressure upon the condition of the lower classes. Numerous cases of starvation have occurred. Bread riots in the West are now forming an accompaniment to the lock-outs in the North.

Time, however, compels to defer a detailed account of trade and commerce to a following letter.

Written on January 14, 1854

First published in the *Zuid Afrikaan*, March 6, 1854, in English and Dutch

Reproduced from the newspaper, checked with the Dutch

[a] "Accounts Relating to Trade and Navigation for the Eleven Months Ended December 5, 1853", *The Economist*, No. 541, January 7, 1854.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE LAST BATTLE IN EUROPE

The letters of our London correspondents and the European journals enable us at last to appreciate in all its bearings the prolonged struggle between the Turks and Russians, of which Chetatea,[390] a small village nine miles north of Kalafat, was the arena. Next to the fact that the series of sanguinary actions in question was characterized by great bravery and that the Turks came off victors, the most striking feature of the whole is that it is without practical result, so far as the expulsion of the Russians from Wallachia is concerned. This comes from a mistake on the part of the Turks to which we have more than once had occasion to direct the attention of our readers. We allude to their sending a separate army to Kalafat, in order to shut up the road to Servia, while the presence of a strong and concentrated force near Rustchuk and Orsova[a] would have been the best guarantee against the Russians venturing into that province. Such a force would have menaced the communications of any Russian army marching westward, while a bridge and bridge-head at Oltenitza or somewhere thereabouts, fortified like that of Kalafat, could have maintained a footing for them on the left bank of the Danube. But even without that, the Russians could not cross the Upper Danube and march into Servia, without leaving the Turks to cross the Lower Danube and march upon Bucharest. Of course, in saying this, we reckon the relative strength of the parties to be what it is in reality, and ascribe a decided superiority of numbers

[a] See this volume, pp. 474, 520-21.—*Ed.*

to the Turkish army of Rumelia, over the Russian army of Wallachia.

Now the fact is that the Turks have used their superiority in the very way to nullify it and provide for being finally beaten. They did not concentrate their forces on the Lower Danube, but divided them. While 30,000 to 35,000 men occupied Widin and Kalafat, the rest of the army remained on the Middle and Lower Danube. They occupy the arc of a circle, while the Russians occupy the chord of this arc. Thus the latter have less space to traverse in order to concentrate all their troops on a given spot. Moreover, the shorter roads of the Russians are through a level country, while the longer ones of the Turks pass over hills and cross many mountain torrents. The Turkish position is, then, as disadvantageous as can be, and yet it has been taken in order to satisfy the old prejudice that there is no better way of barring a road against an enemy than by placing yourself across it.

On the 20th of December Omer Pasha knew at Shumla, that the Russians were preparing a general attack upon Kalafat for the 13th of January. He had twenty-two days' time; yet such is the position of Kalafat with regard to the other stations of the Turkish army, that it does not appear that he could bring on any reenforcements except a few reserves from Sofia. On the other hand, that the Russians, without having received any considerable reenforcements from home—on January 3 Osten-Sacken's ubiquitous corps was not yet at Bucharest—should venture upon a concentration so far west, shows that either the state of the weather and of the Danube did not allow the Turks to cross the river lower down, or that Gorchakoff had other reasons to be assured of their inactivity in that quarter. The Turks at Kalafat were ordered to attack the Russians while yet in the act of concentrating themselves. The best way to do this was to repeat the experiment of Oltenitza.[a] Why was not this done? The bridge at Kalafat stands, in spite of winter and floating ice, and there was no position lower down where a similar bridge and bridge-head could be erected. Or had Omer Pasha been ordered to keep on the right bank of the river? There is so much of a contradictory nature in the Turkish proceedings, bold and clever measures are so regularly followed by the most palpable sins of omission and commission, that diplomatic agency must be at the bottom of it. At all events, Gorchakoff would not have stirred an inch toward

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[a] On the progress of the engagement at Oltenitza see this volume, pp. 516-22.—*Ed.*

Kalafat, had he not been certain that the Turks would not repeat the Oltenitza movement.

Altogether some 30,000 Russians must have been sent against Kalafat, for with a lesser force they would hardly have ventured to attack a fortified position, defended by a garrison of 10,000 men, with at least 10,000 more for purposes of reserve or sally. At least one half, then, of the Russian active army in Wallachia was concentrated there. Where and how could the other half, spread over a long line, have resisted a Turkish force crossing at Oltenitza, Silistra or Orsova? And if the communication between Widin and Kalafat could be kept up without difficulty, then there was a possibility of crossing at other points. Thus the Russians by their position on the chord of the arc, the periphery of which was held by the Turks, were enabled to bring a superior force to the field of battle at Chetatea, while the Turks could not reenforce their corps at Kalafat, though aware of the intended attack long beforehand. The Turks, deprived of that movement of diversion which would have prevented the whole battle, deprived of the chance of succor, were reduced to their bravery and to the hope of cutting up the enemy in detail before his concentration was completed. But even this hope was slight, for they could not move very far from Kalafat, and every hostile corps of inferior strength could retire out of the circle of their operations. Thus they fought for five days, generally with success, but at last had to retire again to their entrenchments in the villages around Kalafat, the Russian forces being decidedly superior in strength at the end, when new reenforcements arrived. The result is that the Russian attack upon Kalafat is most probably averted or delayed, and that Turks have shown that in the open field, no less than behind ramparts and ditches, they can fight well. The murderous character of the encounters may be inferred from the statement of a letter from Bucharest, to the effect that in the engagements one whole regiment of Russian rifles, and all but 465 men of a regiment of lancers, were completely annihilated.

At Oltenitza the Turks were attacked in their entrenched positions by the Russians; at Chetatea the Russians were attacked in their entrenched positions by the Turks. On both occasions the Turks have proved victorious, but without reaping any positive results from their victory. The battle of Oltenitza happened just when the proclamation of an armistice was on its way from Constantinople to the Danube. And the battle of Chetatea curiously coincides with the news of the Divan having accepted the lasts proposals of peace, imposed upon them by their Western

allies.[391] In the one instance the machinations of diplomacy are nullified in the clash of arms, while in the other the bloody work of war is simultaneously frustrated by some secret diplomatic agency.

Written on January 19, 1854

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## [THE FIGHTING IN THE EAST.— FINANCES OF AUSTRIA AND FRANCE.— FORTIFICATION OF CONSTANTINOPLE[392]]

London, Friday, Jan. 20, 1854

The latest mails have brought us some supplementary news with regard to the military events which lately took place in Asia. It appears that the Turks have been compelled entirely to evacuate the Russo-Armenian territory, but the precise result of the engagements which determined their retreat, is not known. The Turks had penetrated on the direct road to Akhalzikh from Ardahan, while another body took the more southern road from Kars by Alexandropol (in Georgian, Gümri) to Tiflis. Both these corps, it appears, were met by the Russians; according to the Russian accounts, the Turks were routed on either line and lost about forty pieces of cannon; as to the Turkish accounts, we have nothing official, but in private correspondence the retreat is explained by the necessity of going into winter quarters.

The only thing certain is this, that the Turks have evacuated the Russian territory with the exception of Fort St. Nicholas; that the Russians followed them, and that their advanced guard even ventured to within a mile of Kars, where it was repulsed. We know, besides, that the Turkish army of Anatolia, recruited as it is from the Asiatic provinces, the seat of the old Moslem barbarism, and counting in its ranks a great number of irregulars, unreliable, though generally brave, soldiers of adventure, fancy warriors and filibusters, that this army of Anatolia is nothing like the stern, disciplined and drilled army of Rumelia, whose commander knows how many and what men he has from day to day under his command, and where the thirst for independent adventure and private plunder is held under check by articles of war and courts martial. We know that the Russians, who were very hard up for

troops in the beginning of the Asiatic campaign, have been reinforced by 16,000 men under Lieut.-Gen. Obrucheff II, and by a body of Cossacks from the Don; we know that they have been able to keep the mountaineers within bounds, to maintain their communication as well across the Caucasus by Vladikavkaz, as by sea to Odessa and Sebastopol.

Under these circumstances and considering that the Turkish commander Abdi Pasha was either a traitor or a dunce (he has been recalled since and placed under arrest at Kars; Ahmed Pasha was sent in his place), we should not wonder at all if the Turks had been worsted, although there can be no doubt of the exaggeration prevailing in the Russian bulletins. We read in the *Augsburger Zeitung*[a] that

> "towards the end of November, Shamyl made a desperate attempt to force his way to the south, in order to effect a direct communication with the Turks. The strength of his corps was estimated at from 10,000 to 16,000 men, and it is affirmed that the Murides, the flower of his troops, were cut to pieces."

This however wants confirmation.

At last the murder is out, as regards the affair at Sinope. One of the finest three-deckers of the Russian fleet—the *Rostislav*,[393] 120-gun ship—was sunk there by the Turks. This fact—kept back hitherto under the specious pretext that the *Rostislav* did not sink during the action, but immediately afterward—is now admitted by the Russians, and forms a good set-off against the destroyed Turkish ships. If one three-decker was actually sunk, we may suppose that the other Russian vessels received very serious harm indeed during the action—and, after all, the victory of Sinope may have more disabled the Russian than the Turkish fleet. Altogether, the Turks appear to fight like Turks when on the water. The Egyptian steam-frigate *Pervaz-Bahri*, disabled and taken after nearly five hours' struggle by the far larger Russian steam-frigate *Vladimir*, was so riddled with shot that she could hardly be brought into Sebastopol, and when there, sank at once. So far, then, the prizes carried off by the Russians amount to nothing, and indeed the impossibility for them to carry off a single prize from Sinope shows both the obstinacy of the Turkish defense and the mutilated state of the Russian fleet after the action.

There is a report that the combined French and English fleets, together with the first division of the Turkish Navy, are

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[a] Issue No. 9, January 9, 1854.—*Ed.*

transporting 17,000 Turks to Batum. If this be true, it is as much an act of war as if they made a direct attack upon Sebastopol, and the Czar[a] cannot but declare war at once. Immediately prior to the entrance of the combined fleets into the Black Sea, the Czar is said to have sent his mandate for the withdrawal of all his vessels of war from the waters of the Euxine to Sebastopol. A letter dated Odessa, Dec. 24, reports that

"the commander of the Russian flotilla in the Sea of Azov had sent one of his *aides-de-camp* to Sebastopol to explain how critical his position was. Two corps of 12,000 men each were ready to be embanked at Sebastopol, when this operation of war was paralyzed by the news of the imminent entrance of the united fleets into the Euxine."[b]

From the last telegraphic news received it appears that the Russians intended attempting a general attack on the Turkish lines at Kalafat, on the 13th inst., the Russian New-Year's day. They had already pushed forward about 10,000 men in entrenchments at Chetatea, a village nine English miles north of Kalafat, but were prevented from concentrating their whole available force by the Turkish General's getting the start of them, storming the enemy's entrenchments with 15,000 or 18,000 men, proving victorious in a series of most murderous encounters that took place on the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th inst., and finally forcing the Russians to retire in the direction of Krajova. The Russians themselves confess a loss of 1,000 killed and 4,000 wounded. Gen. Anrep, we are told by the telegraph, "who commanded the Russians, was severely wounded, as well as Gen. Tuinont." On the 10th, it is stated, the Turks who were commanded by Selim Pasha (the Pole Zedlinsky), again *retired* to Kalafat. Thus far the telegraphic news, hitherto the only source of information about these most important events. The report winding up, on the one hand, with the retirement of the Russians on Krajova, and of the Turks, on the other, to Kalafat, evokes a suspicion that great strategical faults have again been committed on both sides. There is one report afloat that Omer Pasha caused a whole corps to pass the [Danube] between the Aluta and the Shil, thus menacing the communications of the Russian corps at Krajova. But how could the Turks cross the Danube, which is filled with floating masses of ice, at any other point than Kalafat, where alone they were prepared for such an emergency?

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[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below the facts are cited according to *The Times*, No. 21639, January 16, 1854.—*Ed.*

The defeats the Russians met with at Kalafat are perhaps more important in a political than a military view. Coupled with the entrance of the united fleets into the Black Sea, they cut off the last probability of the Czar's yielding to the humble supplication for peace forwarded by the courier of the Vienna Conference to St. Petersburg. On the other hand they must produce the immediate effect on neighboring Servia of strengthening the National party and intimidating the Russian one, who have lately been lifting up their heads with amazing impudence at Belgrade. Prince Alexander, it is true, and the mass of the Servian people, could not be prevailed upon to break the bonds between their country and the Sultan,[a] although a crowd of Russian agents is simultaneously overrunning Servia, carrying on their intrigues in opposite senses—seeking out and applying themselves to the places and persons formerly known for their attachment to the banished family of the Obrenović—speaking to some of the young Prince Michael—to others of his old father Miloš—now making them hope, through the protection of Russia, for the extension of the limits [of] Servia—the formation of a new kingdom of Illyria, which would unite all those who speak the Servian language now under the domination of Turkey and Austria—and now announcing to them, in case of resistance, innumerable armies and utter subjugation. You are aware that Prince Miloš, residing at Vienna, is the old *protégé* of Metternich, while Michael, his son, is a mere creature of Russia, who in 1842 rendered the princedom vacant by flying from Servia. The Russian defeat at Kalafat will, at the same time, relieve Austria from the fear of a Russian army appearing before Belgrade and evoking among the subjects of Austria, of common origin and faith with herself, the consciousness of their own strength and of the degradation they endure in the domination of the Germans.

As to Austria, I may state *en passant*, that she has at last renounced the long-cherished hope of raising a new loan. The state of her Exchequer may be inferred from the expedient her Government has recently resorted to, of exacting a discount of 15 per cent. upon its own paper money—a financial maneuver only to be compared with the devises of the swindling ingenuity of the French *Rois Faux Monoyeurs*,[b] who appreciated the coin when they had to pay, and depreciated it when they had to receive money. According to the German papers, the Austrian budget for 1854

[a] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*
[b] Royal counterfeiters.—*Ed.*

will show a deficit of 45,000,000 florins on the ordinary service, and 50,000,000 florins on the extraordinary. Whenever news of warlike character reaches Vienna, people throng to the banking-houses, in order to change paper currency for silver coin.

France, too, it is known, has long been moving for a loan of 200,000,000 francs (£8,000,000 sterling), but the dearth of food, the failure of the wine and silk crops, the prevailing commercial and industrial distress, the great apprehensions entertained about the payments to be made at the end of February, the downward tendency of the public funds and railway shares, all these circumstances have by no means tended to facilitate such a transaction. Bonaparte could not succeed in finding takers at the Bourse for the new loan. There remained no resource save that recurred to on the eve of the coup d'état—sending Persigny to the Bank of France, forcing out of it 50,000,000 francs ($10,000,000), and leaving in their place that amount of treasury bonds, under the head of "securities." This was actually done on New-Year's day. The fall of the funds to 69 hailed this financial coup d'état. The Government will, as we are now officially informed, obtain a loan from the Bank of France of 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 francs, against treasury bonds. Those not acquainted with what passed on New-Year's day in the parlor of the Bank of France, will be at a loss to understand how the Bank has been prevailed upon to accept a loan rejected at the Bourse.

As to Persia the news continues to be contradictory. According to one report the Persian army is marching upon Erzerum and Bagdad; according to another the Russian intrigue has been baffled by the British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Thompson, who menaced withdrawal from Teheran, by the dread of an immediate explosion of the dislike of the Persian people for Russia, and by the arrival of an Afghan Embassy, threatening, if Persia formed an alliance with Russia, an invasion of the Persian territory by the Afghans.

According to private correspondence from Constantinople, published in the *Patrie*, the Divan has resolved to fortify Constantinople on the land side. A mixed commission, consisting of European and Ottoman officers, is said to have already commenced the preparatory survey of the localities. The fortification of Constantinople would altogether change the character of Russo-Turkish warfare, and prove the heaviest blow ever dealt to the eternal dreams of the self-styled heir of the Byzantine Emperors.

The rumor of Austria's concentrating a corps *d'armée* in the Banat, to be placed under the command of Gen. Count Schlick, is contradicted by the German Press.

The *Correspondenz*, of Berlin, states that general orders have been given to the authorities to hold themselves prepared, in case of a mobilization of the Landwehr.[394]

Overtures have been made from St. Petersburg to the Cabinet of Copenhagen for the cession of the Island of Bornholm to Russia.

"Bornholm," as it is justly remarked by *The Daily News*,[a] "might be a Malta or Gibraltar of the Baltic. It is within a day's sail of the Sound and Copenhagen, and [...] placed by nature at the very throat of the Baltic."

In the message sent by Lord Redcliffe to the Governor of Sebastopol, and intimating to him the appearance of the united squadron in the Black Sea, the only object of the movement is stated to be "the protection of the *Ottoman territory* from all aggression or hostile act,"[b] *no mention* being made of the protection of the *Ottoman flag*.

As all the accounts received from Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Constantinople and St. Petersburg, indicate the prospect of war, prices have generally declined in all stock markets on both sides of the Channel.

Written on January 20, 1854 — Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3997, February 8, 1854

Signed: *Karl Marx*

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[a] Issue No. 2391, January 18, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Redcliffe, Baraguay d'Hilliers, "To the Governor of Sebastopol", *The Daily News*, No. 2390, January 17, 1854.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE CZAR'S VIEWS.—PRINCE ALBERT][395]

London, Tuesday, Jan. 24, 1854

The attempts of the Russian army to cross the Danube simultaneously on the whole line of operations—at Matchin, Giurgevo and Kalafat—are to be considered as reconnoitering maneuvers rather than as serious attacks, which can hardly be ventured upon with the present forces Gen. Gorchakoff has to dispose of.

Last Saturday's *Press*—the Disraeli paper—published a note of a conversation very recently held at Gatchina between the Czar and a "distinguished" Englishman. Almost the whole of the daily London press has reprinted this note, which, besides the known and worn-out commonplaces of Russian diplomacy, contains some interesting statements.

> The Czar "distinctly stated that the ultimatum of Menchikoff had not been disapproved of in London, but that the English Ministry, *having been informed that it would probably be accepted by the Porte,* had recognized it as a satisfactory settlement."

This would only prove that poor John Russell was *falsely informed* by Baron de Brunnow as to the "probable" intentions of the Sublime Porte, and that the Porte's refusing to yield to the Menchikoff ultimatum at once, was by no means the fault of the Coalition Cabinet. The Czar goes on informing "the individual of distinction" that

> "when the news of the victory of Sinope arrived, General Castelbajac" (the French Ambassador) "addressed him a letter beginning something in this way: 'As a Christian and as a soldier, permit me [...] to congratulate your Imperial Majesty on the glorious victory obtained by your Majesty's fleet.'"

Let me remark that Gen. Castelbajac, an old Legitimist and a relative of La Rochejaquelein's, gained his generalship, not by

services in the camp, but by less dangerous service in the ante-chambers of the Court, and the ardent confession of exalted royalist principles. Bonaparte appointed him as Ambassador to the Court of St. Petersburg, with a view to give the Czar a proof of deference to his personal wishes, although he was fully aware that Castelbajac was to conspire with the Czar for the restoration of the Bourbons rather than further the interests of his nominal master. This Castelbajac, then, is the very man to have congratulated the Czar "as a soldier and a Christian" on the resultless butchery of Sinope.

"He did not believe," the Czar is stated to have said, "that England, with a *Bourgeois* Parliament, could carry on a war with glory."

There is no doubt that the Czar knows his Cobdens and his Brights, and estimates at its just value the mean and abject spirit of the European middle classes. Finally, the Czar is quite right in stating that, on the one hand, he had not been prepared for war—fully convinced as he was that he should obtain all he cared for by the simple act of bullying—and that, on the other hand, if war were brought about, it would be the "war of incapacities," making it inevitable by their anxious efforts to prevent it, and plunging into it finally in order to cover their blunders and save their places.

"Public opinion is half-inclined to sacrifice Prince Albert at the shrine of rumor. A whisper, which was first insinuated for party uses, has grown into a roar, and a constructive hint has swelled into a positive and monstrous fiction. That those who seek the presence of the Queen[a] should find Prince Albert with her Majesty, is a fact which rather won the sympathy and esteem of the English public; but then it was said that he attended meetings of the Queen with her Ministers; next, that Ministers were made aware of his presence—that, however reluctant to proceed with business before a third party, they found it necessary to do so—that it even became necessary to defend their opinions before the Prince—that the Prince, in fact, interfered with their counsel to their Sovereign—that he not only influenced the Royal mind, but possessing the power of free communication with foreign Courts, he constituted an unlicensed channel for information between the confidential council of the Queen and the Cabinets of foreign potentates, perhaps of the enemies of England—that in short, Prince Albert was a traitor to his Queen, that he had been impeached for high treason, and finally, that on a charge of high treason he had been arrested and committed to the Tower. This was the story not only told in all parts of England a day or two back, but by some believed."

I quote the above passage from *The Spectator*, in order to show your readers how public rumor has been induced by the

[a] Victoria.—*Ed.*

Palmerstonian press to make a poor stupid young man the scapegoat of the responsible Ministers. Prince Albert is a German Prince, connected with most of the absolute and despotic Governments of the Continent. Raised to the rank of Prince-Consort in Great Britain, he has devoted his time partly to fattening pigs, to inventing ridiculous hats for the army, to planning model lodging houses of a peculiarly transparent and uncomfortable kind, to the Hyde Park Exhibition, and to amateur soldiery. He has been considered amiable and harmless, in point of intellect below the general average of human beings, a prolific father and an obsequious husband. Of late, however, he has been deliberately magnified into the most influential man and the most dangerous character of the United Kingdom, said to dispose of the whole State machinery at the secret dictation of Russia. Now there can exist but little doubt that the Prince exercises a direct influence in Court affairs, and, of course, in the interest of despotism. The Prince cannot but act a Prince's part, and who was ever silly enough to suppose he would not? But I need not inform your readers of the utter impotency to which British Royalty itself has been reduced by the British oligarchy, so that, for instance, King William IV, a decided foe to Russia, was forced by his Foreign Minister[a]—a member of the Whig oligarchy—to act as a foe to Turkey. How preposterous, then, to suppose Prince Albert to be able to carry one single point in defiance of the Ministry, except so far as little Court affairs, a dirty riband, or a tinsel star, are concerned! Use is made of his absolutist *penchants* to blind the people's eyes as to the plots and treacheries of the responsible Ministers. If the outcry and attack means anything it means an attack on royalist institutions. If there were no Queen there would be no Prince—if there were no throne there would be no Court influences. Princes would lose their power if thrones were not there to back them, and for them to lean upon. But, now mark! the papers which go the farthest in their "fearful boldness," which cry the loudest and try to make a sort of political capital out of Prince Albert, are the most eager in their assertions of loyalty to the throne and in fulsome adulation of the Queen. As to the Tory papers this proposition is self-evident. As to the radical *Morning Advertiser*, it is the same journal which hailed Bonaparte's coup d'état, and recently attacked an Irish paper for having dared to find fault with the Queen, on the occasion of her presence at Dublin, which reproaches the French Revolutionists with profess-

[a] Palmerston.—*Ed.*

ing Republicanism, and continues to designate Lord Palmerston as the savior of England. The whole is a Palmerstonian trick. Palmerston, by the revelations of his Russianism and his opposition to the new Reform Bill, has become unpopular. The latter act has taken the liberal gilding off his musty gingerbread. Nevertheless, he wants popularity in order to become Premier, or at least Foreign Minister. What an admirable opportunity to stamp himself a Liberal again and to play the part of Brutus, persecuted by secret Court influences. Attack a Prince-Consort—how taking for the people. He'll be the most popular statesman of the age. What an admirable opportunity of casting obloquy on his present colleagues, of stigmatizing them as the tools of Prince Albert, and of convincing the Court that Palmerston must be accepted on his own terms. The Tories, of course, join in the cry, for church and crown are little to them compared with pounds and acres, and these the cotton-lords are winning from them fast. And if the Tories, in the name of "constitution" and "liberty" talk daggers against a Prince, what enlightened Liberal would not throw himself worshipping at their feet!

At the annual meeting of the Manchester Commercial Association the President, Mr. Aspinall Turner, declared with regard to the strikes and lock-outs and the general agitation of the workingmen, which he justly described as "the civil war going on between masters and operatives in Lancashire"—that, "as Manchester had put down royal tyranny and aristocratic tyranny, so it would also deal with the tyranny of Democracy."[a]

"Here we have," exclaims *The Press*, "an involuntary avowal of the policy of the Manchester school. The crown is in England supreme—then diminish the royal power. The aristocracy stands before us—sweep it from our path. Workingmen agitate—crush them to the earth."

Written on January 24, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] "'The Manchester School' and the Strikes", *The Press*, Vol. I, No. 38, January 21, 1854.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [FORTIFICATION OF CONSTANTINOPLE.— DENMARK'S NEUTRALITY.— COMPOSITION OF BRITISH PARLIAMENT.— CROP FAILURE IN EUROPE][396]

London, Friday, Jan. 27, 1854

The fortification of Constantinople would be, as I stated in my last letter,[a] the most important step the Turks could take. Constantinople once fortified, with suitable strengthening of the forts on the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, the independence of Turkey, or of any power holding that capital, would require no foreign guarantee. There is no town more easy to be fortified than Constantinople. One single side of the triangle only—the one toward the land—would require a continuous rampart; the second, toward the Sea of Marmora, and the third, toward the Golden Horn, require no fortifications. A line of detached forts, at a convenient distance from the *enceinte*, and continued eastward so as to protect Pera, Galata and the north-eastern bank of the Golden Horn, would both strengthen the *enceinte* and prevent an enemy from turning it and carrying on works of siege on the hills commanding the town from behind Pera and Galata.

Such a fortress would be almost impregnable. Its communications cannot be cut off, unless the Dardanelles or the Bosphorus is forced, and if that were the case the City would be at once lost. But two such narrow passages may easily be fortified so strongly that no hostile fleet can pass through. A Russian army coming from the land side would have to rely upon perilous sea communication with Sebastopol and Odessa, and could hardly hold out for the time required to take the town, while its

[a] See this volume, pp. 587-88.—*Ed.*

continuous falling off in numbers would expose it to defeats from the garrison of the town and the reserves arriving from Asia.

The reply of Russia to the declaration of neutrality[397] on the part of Denmark arrived at Copenhagen on the 20th inst. Russia is stated to refuse to consent to the neutrality, calling on Denmark to take one side or the other. Immediately after this notification, the Ambassadors of France, England and Russia,[a] are said to have had a conference with the Danish Ministers. Now, I am informed from a very trustworthy source, although I can, of course, not vouch for the correctness of the information, that the protest is but a feint on the part of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg calculated to drive the other powers the faster into a formal acknowledgment of the terms on which the Danish neutrality is proposed. I am assured that recent negotiations were going on between Denmark on the one side, and France and England on the other, according to which, in the case of war, England was to occupy the Sound with her men-of-war, and France the Duchy of Schleswig, with a *corps d'armée.* To thwart this combination, communicated to Nesselrode by the Minister Oersted, Russia is said to have intimated to the Copenhagen Cabinet to propose the declaration of neutrality. She now feigns to oppose, and which, if adhered to by France and England, will not only break up their original plan, but also, by exempting from the laws of war, goods carried in neutral vessels, will secure the export of Russian merchandise by the Baltic.

The Czar's protest against the purchase, on the part of Prussia, of an Oldenburg port in the North Sea, is a *bona fide* protest, astonished as the Berlin public is said to have been at this other symptom of the ubiquitous intermeddling of Timur Tamerlane's successor.

The great "Manchester Reform meeting" has "come off, and a great piece of humbug it was," as *The Englishman*[b] justly remarks. The Aberdeen policy extolled, Turkey insulted, Russia glorified, all interference between foreign states disclaimed—these few topics which, as far as foreign policy is concerned, form the regular stock-in-trade of the Manchester School[398]—have again been expatiated on by Messrs. Cobden, Bright and the other "'umble and 'omely men," who want to have a "man of peace" at the Horse Guards, and a "lock-out" at the House of Lords to sell the English and to undersell all other nations.

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[a] A. Dotézac, A. Buchanan and Baron Ungern-Sternberg.—*Ed.*
[b] A. Richards.—*Ed.*

Mr. Cobden's speech was a mere repetition, and a disingenuous one too, of the speech he made at the closing of Parliament. The only luxury of novelty he indulged in consisted of two arguments—the one directed against France, the other against America. It looks rather suspicious that the same man who took so prominent a part in bringing about the alliance with France at the time when the exploits of the Decembrists had aroused a cry of indignation in England, is now busied in undoing his own work by sneering at that alliance, and denouncing it as "inconsiderate" and "untimely."

As to America, Mr. Cobden declares that it is from the growth of its manufactures and commerce, and not from the warlike policy of Russia, that England may fear to see endangered the grandeur of her commercial and national prosperity. How does this tally with his professional free trade cant, according to which the commercial prosperity of one people depends on the *growth* of the commerce and industry of all other peoples, the notion of any dangerous rivalry between two industrial peoples being disclaimed as a fallacy of protectionist "quacks"? How does this tally with

"England's, by the magic of her machinery, having united forever two remote hemispheres in the bonds of peace, by placing Europe and America in *absolute and inextricable dependence on each other*"?

It is not the first time that Mr. Cobden, in order to divert from Russia the suspicions and the animosity of the English people, is anxious to turn them against the United States of America. In 1836, the seizure of an English vessel on the Circassian coast by a Russian man-of-war, and the fiscal regulations of the St. Petersburg Cabinet with regard to the navigation of the Danube, together with the revelations published in *The Portfolio,* having evoked the wrath of the English people, and, above all, the commercial classes, against Russia,—Mr. Cobden, at that epoch yet "an infant in literary life and unlearned in public speaking," published a small anonymous pamphlet, entitled *Russia: A Cure for Russophobia. By a Manchester Manufacturer.* In this pamphlet it is argued that "in less than twenty years this [namely, the fear of the growth of American prosperity, and not of Russian aggrandizement] will be the sentiment of the people of England generally; and the same convictions *will be forced upon the Government of the country.*" In the same pamphlet he professed that,

"in examining the various grounds upon which those who discuss the subject take up their hostile attitude towards the Russian nation, we have discovered, with

infinite surprise and a deep conviction of the truth, that a century of *aristocratic* Government in England has impregnated all classes with the haughty and arrogant spirit of their rulers" (against meek Russia); that "if the Government of St. Petersburg were transferred to the shores of the Bosphorus, a splendid and substantial European city would, in less than twenty years, spring up in the place of those huts which now constitute the capital of Turkey; [...] noble buildings would arise, learned societies flourish, and the arts prosper. [...] If Russia's Government should attain to that actual power, she would cease the wars of the sword and begin the battle with the wilderness, by constructing railroads, building bridges, [...] by fostering the accumulation of capital, *the growth of cities, and the increase of civilization and freedom....* The slavery which pollutes Constantinople [...] would instantly disappear, and commerce [...] and laws protecting life and property"—(as now exemplified in Moldo-Wallachia)—"take its place."

As a proof of Russia's civilization and consequently her right to appropriate Turkey, Mr. Cobden told his astonished readers that the Russian merchant possessed of 10,000-15,000 roubles, not only engages in foreign commerce, but is "*exempt from corporal punishment, and qualified to drive about in a carriage and pair.*" Are we then to be astonished at the Russian Emperor's recently expressed conviction that "England, with a Bourgeois Parliament, could not carry on a war with glory"?[a] So deeply imbued was Mr. Cobden in 1836 with the "wickedness of the public writers and speakers," who ventured to find fault with the Autocrat of all the Russias, that he wound up his pamphlet with the question:

"And who and what are those writers and speakers? How long shall political quacks be permitted without fear of punishment, [...] to inflame the minds and disorder the understandings of a whole nation?"

Those "public writers and speakers," we presume, who possess 10,000 to 15,000 roubles and are able to drive about in a carriage and pair, to be exempted at least from "corporal *punishment.*" Till now, Mr. Cobden's Philo-Russian mania had been considered, by some, as one of the multifarious crotchets he uses to trade in, by others as the necessary offspring of his peace doctrine. Of late, however, the public has been informed by one[b] who justly describes himself as the "literary horse, or ass if you like," of the late Anti-Corn Law League,[399] that when Mr. Cobden wrote his first pamphlet, "he had been to Russia on a commercial errand of his own in 1834-35, and was successful," that his "heart and calico were both in Russia in 1836," and that his anger at the "English

[a] *The Press*, No. 38, January 21, 1854 (see this volume, p. 590).—*Ed.*
[b] A. Somerville.—*Ed.*

writers, speakers, authors and reviewers," originated from their criticising his new customer, Nicholas of Russia.

As the House of Commons is to reassemble in a few days, it seems proper to give, in a condensed form, the statistics of British representation:

| | Seats | Percentage of the actual Representation |
|---|---|---|
| The relations of Peers possess ..... | 103 | 17,0 |
| Irish Peers ..... | 6 | |
| The country gentlemen ..... | 266 | 41,3 |
| Men of letters and science ..... | 20 | 3,0 |
| The army and navy ..... | 30 | 4,6 |
| The commercial and moneyed interest ..... | 109 | 17,1 |
| The lawyers ..... | 107 | 17,0 |
| The workingmen's interest ..... | None | |
| Total seats occupied..... | 641 | |

The *Irish Peers* in the House of Commons[400] are: Viscount Palmerston, for Tiverton; Viscount Barrington, for Berkshire; Earl Annesley, for Grimsby; Viscount Monck, for Portsmouth; Viscount Galway, for Retford; and Lord Hotham, for East Yorkshire. The men of literature and science are: Benjamin Disraeli, for Buckinghamshire; Thomas Macaulay, the historian, for Edinburgh; MacGregor, the commercial statist, for Glasgow; William Stirling, author of *Annals of the Artists of Spain, etc.*, for Perthshire; W. Gladstone, author of *The State in its Relations with the Church,* and other works, for Oxford University; Dr. Austen H. Layard, author of *Nineveh and Its Remains, etc.*, for Aylesbury; James Wilson, the editor of *The Economist,* for Westbury; Sir William Molesworth, the Editor of Hobbes' works, etc., for Southwark; Sir E. L. Bulwer-Lytton, poet, dramatist, novelist, for Hertfordshire; William Johnson Fox, Anti-Corn-Law-League writer, for Oldham; W. A. Mackinnon, author of a (very pitiful) *History of Civilization, etc.*, for Rye; R. Monckton Milnes, author of *Memorials of Travel, etc.*, and Benjamin Oliveira, author of a *Tour in the East,* both for Pontefract; Edward Miall, author of several theological and political works, for Rochdale; William Mure, author of a *History of Grecian Literature,* for Renfrewshire, Scotland; W. P. Urquhart, author of *The Life of Francesco Sforza,* for Westmeath County, Ireland; Robert Stephenson, the celebrated railway engineer,

for Whitby; William Michell, physician, for Bodmin; John Brady, surgeon, for Leitrim. Whether Lord John Russell may be safely classed under the head of literary gentlemen I dare not decide.

There are, at least, 100 seats, the representatives of which are nominally elected by the constituencies, but really appointed by Dukes, Earls, Marquises, ladies and other persons, who turn their local influence to political account. The Marquis of Westminster, for instance, disposes of two seats for Chester, a town mustering 2,524 electors; the Duke of Norfolk of one seat for Arundel; the Duke of Sutherland of two seats for Newcastle-under-Lyne; the Marquis of Lansdowne of one seat for Calne; the Earl Fitzwilliam of two seats for Malton; the Duke of Richmond of two seats for Chichester; Miss Pierse of one seat for Northallerton, &c.

The disproportion on one side of the electoral body, and on the other of the representatives, when compared with the entire population, may be shown by some few instances:

In Berkshire the entire population amounts to 170,065, and the number of electors to 7,980. It chooses nine representatives for the House, while Leicestershire, with an entire population of 230,308, and a constituency of 13,081 disposes of six seats only; Lincolnshire, with a population of 407,222, and 24,782 electors, disposes of thirteen seats in the House, while Middlesex, with an entire population of 1,886,576, and a constituency of 113,490 elects only fourteen members. Lancashire, with a population of 2,031,236, has a constituency of only 81,786 electors, and disposes of but twenty-six seats in the House, while Buckinghamshire, with an entire population of 163,723, and with 8,125 electors, is represented by eleven members. Sussex, with an entire population of 336,844, and with 18,054 electors, elects eighteen members, while Staffordshire, with a population of 608,716, and with 29,607 electors elects only seventeen.

The relation of the Electoral body to the population is:

In England one County Elector represents 20.7 persons of the County population.

In Wales one County Elector represents 20.0 persons of the County population.

In Scotland one County Elector represents 34.4 persons of the County population.

In England one Borough Elector represents 18.0 persons of the borough population.

In Wales one Borough Elector represents 24.4 persons of the borough population.

In Scotland one Borough Elector represents 23.3 persons of the borough population.

The data for Ireland are not so complete as for England and Scotland; but the following may be taken as a fair approximation for the same period, 1851-52.

One Elector in an Irish County represents 36 persons of the County population.

One Elector in an Irish borough represents 23 persons of the borough population.

The general deficiency of the European Grain markets may be stated as follows: the deficiency of grain in France in place of being ten millions of hectolitres, as stated by the *Moniteur*, to calm the alarm,[a] greatly exceeds twenty millions, that is, more than eight million quarters of English measure; and the deficiency of potatoes is not less than one-fourth of the average of the last five years, while the deficiency in wine, oil and chestnuts is yet greater. The deficiency in the produce of corn in Belgium and Holland is about four millions of hectolitres; that of the Rhine Provinces, Prussia and Switzerland, at a moderate estimate, is taken to exceed ten million hectolitres. The estimated deficiency in Italy is known to be very great, but there is greater difficulty in arriving at even a proximate result. The lowest estimate, however, gives ten millions of hectolitres of grain, or a deficiency throughout the great grain-producing districts of Western Europe of not less than forty-four millions of hectolitres (seventeen million quarters). The deficiency in England is known to exceed five million quarters of grain, and calculations worthy of grave consideration give that amount as the deficiency in wheat alone. Thus there is a fatal deficiency in the last harvest in Western Europe alone of no less than twenty-two million quarters, without taking into account the great inferiority and shortcoming of other cereals, and the general prevalence of the potato-rot—a deficiency which, if valued in wheat, must be equal to at least five million quarters, or a grand total of twenty-seven million quarters of grain.

As to the supplies that may be expected from foreign markets, it is asserted by very competent commercial authority:

"In Poland the crops have been very short; in Russia, deficient, as seen by the high prices asked for grain at the Baltic ports before our deficiencies were known. And though in the Danubian provinces the harvest has not failed, yet the stocks there, as well as at Odessa, are greatly lessened by the immense exportations to the

[a] "Paris, le 16 novembre", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 321, November 17, 1853.— *Ed.*

Mediterranean and to France. As to America, it is unable to supply two million of quarters. All the ships of the world are inadequate to the supply of a quantity near, or even approaching a moiety of the deficiency, which at present is known to all England to exist."

Written on January 26-27, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx
## [COUNT ORLOV'S MISSION.— RUSSIAN FINANCES DURING THE WAR][401]

London, Friday, Feb. 3, 1854

I was able to see the State procession of the Queen[a] to open Parliament, as it passed the Horse Guards. The Turkish Ambassador was received with loud cheers and hurrahs. Prince Albert, whose countenance was deadly pale, was furiously hissed by the crowds on both sides of the streets, while the Queen was sparing of her usual salutes and morbidly smiled at the unwonted manifestations of popular discontent. In a previous letter I have reduced the anti-Albert movement to its true dimensions, proving it to be a mere party trick.[b] The public demonstration is, nevertheless, of a very grave character, as it proves the ostensible loyalty of the British people to be a mere conventional formality, a ceremonious affectation which cannot withstand the slightest shock. Probably it may induce the Crown to dismiss a Ministry, the anti-national policy of which threatens to endanger its own security.

When the recent mission of Count Orloff to the Vienna Cabinet[402] became known *The Times* informed its credulous readers that Orloff was the very man the Czar used to employ on pacific errands.[c] Now I need not inform you that this same Orloff appeared in the spring of 1833 at Constantinople to squeeze out of the Porte the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi.[403] What he now asks from the Cabinet at Vienna is the permission to send a Russian corps from Warsaw, by way of Hungary, to the Danubian seat of

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[a] Victoria.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 589-92.—*Ed.*
[c] *The Times*, No. 21650, January 28, 1854.—*Ed.*

war. It may be considered as the first result of his presence at Vienna, that Austria now insists upon the Porte's dismissing its present commanders on the Danube—Selim Pasha, Ismail Pasha and Omer Pasha—on the plea that they are renegades[404] and revolutionists. Every one acquainted with the past history of Turkey knows that from the beginning of the Osman power all her great generals, admirals, diplomatists and ministers have always been Christian renegades, Serbs, Greeks, Albanians, etc. Why not ask Russia to dismiss the forty or fifty men she has bought from all parts of Europe, and who constitute her whole stock of diplomatic ingenuity, political intelligence and military ability? In the meantime Austria has concentrated 80,000 men on the Turkish frontiers in Transylvania and Hungary, and ordered a Bohemian corps mustering some 30,000 men to join them. The Prussian Government on its part is stated to have declined to comply with the command of the Czar ordering Frederick William IV to send a corps of 100,000 men to occupy Poland in the name and interest of Russia, and thus set the garrisons there at liberty to march to the south for the prosecution of the campaign in the Principalities.

In a previous letter I called your attention to the recent financial expedient resorted to by the Austrian Government of exacting a discount of 15 per cent. upon their own paper money, when paid for taxes.[a] This ingenious "tax upon the payment of taxes" is now extended to Italy also. The *Milan Gazette* of the 22d inst. publishes a decree from the Austrian Minister of Finance, announcing that

> "in consequence of the fall in the value of paper money it will not be received at the custom-house unless at a discount of 17 per cent."

As to the Russian Exchequer, I had on a previous occasion, at the beginning of what is called the Eastern complication, to warn your readers against the industriously circulated statement of the "hidden" treasures slumbering in the vaults of the Bank of St. Petersburg, and the ridiculous exaggeration of the vast monetary power that Russia can wield at a given moment.[b] My views are fully confirmed by what has happened since. Not only has the Czar been forced to withdraw his metallic deposits from the banks of England and France, but, moreover, to commit an act of fraudulent confiscation. Prince Paskiewich has informed the War-

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[a] See this volume, pp. 586-87.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 117.—*Ed.*

saw mortgage or discount Bank that its capital will be taken as a forced loan, although the statutes of that bank forbid its advancing money upon any security but landed property. We are also informed that the Russian Government intends issuing a sum of 60,000,000 roubles in inconvertible paper, to defray the expenses of the war. This contrivance is no new one on the part of the Petersburg Cabinet. At the close of 1768, Catherine II, in order to meet the expenses of the war with Turkey, founded a bank of assignats, ostensibly instituted on the principle of issuing convertible notes payable to the bearer. But by a well-managed oversight, she forgot to tell the public in what sort of money these notes were to be payable, and some months later the payments were only made in copper coin. By another untoward "accident" it happened that these copper coins were overvalued by 50 per cent. when compared with the uncoined metal, and only circulated at their nominal value in consequence of their great scarcity and the want of small money for retail purposes. The convertibility of the notes was, therefore, a mere trick. In the first instance Catherine limited the whole issue to 40,000,000 roubles, in 25 rouble notes, the rouble representing a silver coin varying from 38 to 40d. British money, according to the rate of exchange, being equivalent to somewhat above 100 copper copeks. At the death of Catherine, in 1796, the mass of this paper money had risen to 157,000,000, nearly four times its original amount. The exchange in London had come down from 41d. in 1787 to 31d. in 1796. During the two subsequent governments, a rapid increase of issues having taken place, in 1810 the paper circulation reached 577,000,000, and the paper rouble was only worth $25\,^{2}/_{5}$ copeks, i.e., one-quarter of its value in 1788; and exchange in London, in the autumn of 1810, sunk to $11\,^{1}/_{2}$d. the rouble, instead of representing 38-40d. In 1817 the amount of notes in circulation was 836,000,000, according to the statement of Count Gurieff. As the custom-house duties and other taxes were calculated in silver roubles, the Government now declared these assignats to be receivable in the proportion of 4 to 1, thus avowing a depreciation of 75 per cent. During the progress of the depreciation, the prices of commodities rose proportionably, subject to very great fluctuations, which commenced troubling the Cabinet itself, and forced it to contract foreign loans in order to withdraw from circulation a portion of the notes. On the lst of January, 1821, their amount was announced to have been reduced to 640,000,000. The subsequent wars with Turkey, Persia, Poland, Khiva, etc., again swelled the mass of the bank assignats, lowered the exchanges

anew, and subjected all commodities to extensive and irregular oscillations of prices. It was not till the lst July, 1839, that, the rate of exchange being ameliorated in consequence of an enormous export of grain to England, the Czar issued a manifesto, according to which, from the lst of July, 1840, the huge mass of bank assignats was to be converted into bank notes payable on demand in silver roubles at the full amount of 38d. The Czar Alexander had declared the assignats to be receivable, on the part of the tax-gatherer, at the proportion of 4 to 1; but the Czar Nicholas is said to have restored them, by his conversion, to their full original value again. There was, however, a curious little clause annexed, ordering that for every *one* of such new notes three and a half of the old ones should be delivered up. The old note was not declared to be depreciated to 28 per cent. of its original amount, but $3^1/_2$ of the old notes were declared to be equivalent to a full *new* note. Hence we may infer, on the one hand, that the Russian Cabinet is as conscientious and punctilious in financial as in diplomatic distinctions; and on the other, that the mere danger of an approaching war suffices to throw it back into all the monetary difficulties which Nicholas has tried for about twenty years to emerge from.

One of the European Governments after the other comes forward appealing to the pockets of its beloved subjects. Even the King of sober-minded Holland[a] demands of the States General 600,000 rix-dollars for works of fortification and defense, adding "that circumstances may determine him to mobilize a portion of the army and to send out his fleets."

If it were possible to meet real wants and to fill the general vacuum of money chests by any ingenious art of book-keeping, the contriver of the French budget,[b] as published some days ago in the *Moniteur*, would have done the thing; but there is not the smallest shopkeeper at Paris unaware of the fact that, by the most skilful grouping of figures, one cannot get out of the books of his creditor, and that the hero of the 2d of December,[c] deeming the public pocket to be inexhaustible, has recklessly run into the nation's debt.

There can be imagined nothing more *naïf* than the announcement of the Danish Ministry at the sitting of the Folketing, on the

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[a] William III.—*Ed.*

[b] Bineau, "Rapport à l'Empereur", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 27, January 27, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

17th inst., that the Government intended postponing to a more *expedient* season the proposition to change the fundamental institutions of Denmark, and introduce their much cherished Whole State Constitution (*Gesammtstaatsverfassung*).[405]

Written on February 3, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## [BLUE BOOKS.— PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES ON FEBRUARY 6.— COUNT ORLOV'S MISSION.— OPERATIONS OF THE ALLIED FLEET.— THE IRISH BRIGADE.— CONCERNING THE CONVOCATION OF THE LABOR PARLIAMENT][406]

London, Tuesday, Feb. 7, 1854

The "Rights and Privileges of the Greek and Latin Churches," as the ministerial blue book on the Eastern question has been ingeniously baptized, have been subjected by me to a scrutinizing perusal, and I intend shortly to give your readers a condensed survey of this diplomatic labyrinth.[a] For the present, I content myself with the simple assurance that a more monstrous monument of Governmental infamies and imbecility has, perhaps, never been bequeathed to history. And let us remember, what Mr. Baillie said in the House of Commons[b] on the value of these blue books:

"As for information, they had quite as much on this subject as they required—not, he admitted, official information—but [...] quite as much as they were likely to receive from a blue book that had been *carefully prepared*, and had *concealed all that a Government might desire*. [...] He spoke from experience ['hear, hear,' and laughter from the ministerial benches], from a knowledge of how blue books relating to foreign affairs had been prepared for this House."

I know very well that Lord Palmerston, when once accused of having perverted the documents relating to the Afghan war, of having suppressed most important passages in dispatches, and even of having deliberately falsified others,[407] made the following ingenious reply:

"Sir, if any such thing had been done, what was to prevent the two adverse Governments, who succeeded us in power, one of which endured for five years—from proclaiming the fact and producing the real documents?"[c]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 615-16.—*Ed.*

[b] On January 31, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] Quoted from Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on March 1, 1848.—*Ed.*

But I know equally well that the secret of these blue-book dodges is the very secret of the alternate Whig and Tory succession in government, each party having a greater interest to maintain the capability of its opponent for succession, than by ruining their mutual political "honor" to compromise the government of the ruling classes altogether. This is what the British are pleased to call the operation of their glorious constitution.

Lord Clanricarde had given notice that he would move a discussion of the Eastern question in the House of Lords, yesterday. Consequently, great expectations were entertained, and the House almost crowded. Mr. Urquhart did not hesitate even to designate, in yesterday's *Morning Advertiser*, Lord Clanricarde as the future leader of the national party,[a] remembering that he was the only man who opposed, in 1829, the Russians in crossing the Balkan, but forgetting, no doubt, that the same noble Marquis was, during the momentous epoch of 1839-40, Lord Palmerston's Ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg, and his chief instrument in bringing about the separate-treaty of 1840 and the rupture with France.[408]

The public has been decidedly disappointed by the debates, as the Marquis of Clanricarde, inferring from the reports in the public papers, that "there appeared to be something of the semblance of negotiations still going on at Vienna, was extremely sorry to occasion any discussion which might prevent a peaceful termination to those negotiations."[b] Accordingly, he gave notice of his intention to bring forward a motion on the same subject this day week. The noble Marquis contented himself with asking Lord Clarendon "whether any answer had yet been received from the Emperor of Russia to the Vienna proposals?" and "what instructions had been given to the British Minister at St. Petersburg?" Lord Clarendon's reply was, "that he had only received this afternoon an official statement of the facts from Vienna." The Emperor of Russia had rejected the Vienna note, and offered, in its stead, a counter project. On the 2d inst. the Conference had been called together, and had rejected on its part the counter project.

"The new proposals put forward by Russia were wholly unacceptable—they could not be transmitted to Constantinople, and, therefore, there was an end of

[a] D. Urquhart, "How Our Negotiations with Russia Will Conduct Us into a War with France", Letter III, *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19540, February 6, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes from Clanricarde's speech, as well as from those of other members of the House of Lords and of the House of Commons, according to *The Times*, No. 21658, February 7, 1854.—*Ed.*

them. He had no reason to think that fresh negotiations on the subject would be renewed. As to the preservation of peace, he held out no such expectation at all."

With regard to the other question put by Lord Clanricarde, he stated that

"on Saturday evening Baron Brunnow called on him at the Foreign Office and placed in his hands a note, in which he announced that the answer he had received from him to the inquiry he was instructed to make by his Government, was not of a kind that permitted him to continue diplomatic relations, and that, therefore, diplomatic relations between Russia and England were suspended. Baron Brunnow had taken leave of him on Saturday evening, but it was then too late to depart from London, and he understood that he was to leave early this morning."

M. de Kisseleff, we are informed by telegraph, left Paris yesterday and is gone to Brussels. The official or Government journals state that all the Embassy at London would be broken up, and every Russian leave England. But I happen to know, from an excellent source, that, on the contrary, the number of Russians in England will only be diminished by the person of the Ambassador, and that the whole *personnel* remains at London under the superintendence of M. de Berg, First Secretary of the Embassy. As to the position of the British Ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg, Lord Clarendon declared that

"as it was half past 6 o'clock on Saturday when Baron Brunnow called upon him, and as it was necessary [...] to have previous communication with the French Government, it was not possible at the moment to send instructions to the British Minister at St. Petersburg, but they had already held communication with the French Ambassador on the subject, and instructions would be sent to Sir G. Seymour and Gen. de Castelbajac tomorrow, which would place them on exactly the same footing as the Russian Ambassador here, and diplomatic relations between the two countries and Russia would be suspended."

Lord John Russell repeated in the House of Commons the declaration of Lord Clarendon in the Upper House, and Lord Palmerston announced that

"he would bring forward a measure to consolidate the militia laws, in which it was his intention that a militia force should be organized for Scotland and Ireland, the period of enrollment depending upon the votes of the House."

The English army is to be augmented immediately by 11,000 men; 1,500 coast guards are also to be embarked forthwith, intended to form a stock for the crews of the newly commissioned ships. A royal proclamation has been issued forbidding the exportation of any vessels of war, military stores and ammunition to Russia. Embargo has been laid by the naval authorities visiting the private dockyards on the Thames on two vessels in course of

construction for Russian account. A contract, on behalf of the British Government, for coal sufficient for steamers of the aggregate amount of 11,000 horse-power, has been concluded at Copenhagen. Admiral Sir Charles Napier is to have command of the Baltic fleet about to be formed.

The official *Wiener Zeitung* announces that

"the Government has received notice that Russia has expressly declared to the four Powers that she regards herself as released from the promise made at Olmütz to remain on the defensive in the Principalities."

Concerning the object of the mission of Count Orloff at Vienna a number of conflicting rumors are afloat; the most credible of which appears to be contained in the Berlin correspondence of to-day's *Times*.

"Russia," says this correspondent, "invites Austria and Prussia to enter with her into a treaty of neutrality for all contingencies; suggests to them to make the declaration of their neutrality the common expression of the neutrality of the German Bund; undertakes to come to the assistance of the Bund should any of its members be attacked; and binds herself, in the case of any territorial changes having to be arranged at the end of the war, to conclude no peace without having due consideration for the interests of the German Powers in such territorial changes. In this proposal for a treaty of neutrality distinct reference is made to the principles and provisions of the Holy Alliance of 1815."

As to the decision probably come to by Austria and Prussia, I can only repeat the convictions already recorded by me on this question.[a] Austria will endeavor by every means to maintain her position of neutrality as long as she will be permitted to do so, and will declare for Russia when the proper time has arrived. Prussia, on the other hand, is likely again to miss the proper time for abandoning her neutrality and will end by calling upon herself the fate of another Jena.[409]

We learn from Constantinople that the combined fleet have returned to their anchorage at Beikoz, notwithstanding the following order, sent out to them, on behalf of the Ambassadors, by the *Samson*:

"The Ambassadors are surprised at the sudden resolution of the Admirals, more particularly at the present moment, when a Turkish steam-flotilla is on the point of starting with ammunition and other stores for the army of Anatolia. The orders of the French and British Governments [...] were formal and precise [they were indeed, but not the original orders with which the Admirals were dispatched, but only those just received], respecting the protection to be afforded by the combined fleets to the Ottoman flag and territory, and the attention of both Admirals is again called to

[a] See this volume, pp. 554-55.—*Ed.*

the stringent nature of these instructions which had been duly notified to them. The Admirals, it would appear, consider that the measures entrusted to their execution may be equally well effected, whether the force under their command be stationed at Beikoz or Sinope. [In this case, it would appear to others, that the same instructions might have been carried out by the fleets quietly remaining at Malta and Toulon.] This is a matter which must entirely depend upon their [...] judgment, and on them the responsibility will rest."

The Russian fleet is known to be at Kaffa, near the Strait of Yenikale,[a] whence the distance to Batum is only one-third of the distance between Batum and Beikoz. Will the Admirals be able to prevent a Sinope at Batum, "whether they be stationed at Beikoz or elsewhere?"

You will remember that the Czar's first proclamation accused the Sultan of enlisting under his banner the revolutionary dregs of all Europe. Now, while Lord Stratford de Redcliffe declares to Lord Dudley Stuart that he could not assist him in organizing any of those dregs as a voluntary legion, the Czar has himself been the first to establish a revolutionary corps, the so-called Greco-Slavonian Legion, with the direct intention of provoking the Sultan's subjects to revolt. The corps is being organized in Wallachia and numbers already, according to Russian statements, above 3,000 men, not to be paid in *bons à perpétuité*,[b] as the Wallachians themselves, colonels being promised 5 ducats per day; majors 3 ducats; captains 2; subaltern officers 1, and soldiers 2 zwanzigers, the arms to be supplied by Russia.

Meanwhile the armaments of France seem no longer to be intended to remain on paper. As you know, the reserves of 1851 have been called out and in the last few days immense military stores have been sent from Arras to Metz and Strasbourg. General Pélissier has left for Algiers with orders to select the different corps which are to form the expedition to Constantinople, for which Sir J. Burgoyne and Colonel Ardant have gone to prepare quarters.

The rumored passage of Omer Pasha at the head of a large army, though if attempted it could hardly be executed at a more opportune moment, since the Russians are known to be concentrated at Krajova, between Bucharest and Kalafat, yet needs confirmation.

To return to the doings of the British Parliament, there is, of course, not much to be mentioned, with the exception of the

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[a] The Kerch Strait.— *Ed.*

[b] Obligation for all eternity.— *Ed.*

proposition of a bill for throwing open the coast-trade to foreign vessels, a proposition which has not met with a single protest. Protestation must be decidedly dead, since it shows no capacity to make the slightest stand against the universal invasion of the modern principle of commerce: to buy in the cheapest market whatever you require. How far the cheapest crew is qualified to protect life and property, the late catastrophe of the *Tayleur* has shown.[410]

Mr. I. Butt, in yesterday's sitting of the Commons, gave notice

"that to-morrow he should move that there should be read by the Clerk, at the table of the House, an article published in *The Times* of to-day, and the previous statements of *The Dublin Freeman's Journal,* imputing to the" (*Irish*) "members of the House a trafficking in places for money. He should also move for a Select Committee to inquire into the allegations of such trafficking as contained in these publications."

Why Mr. Butt is indignant only at the trafficking for money will be understood by those who remember that the legality of any other mode of trafficking was settled during last session. Since 1830 Downing-st. has been placed at the mercy of the Irish Brigade.[411] It is the Irish members who have created and kept in place the Ministers to their mind. In 1834 they drove from the Cabinet Sir J. Graham and Lord Stanley. In 1835 they compelled William IV to dismiss the Peel Ministry and to restore the Melbourne Administration. From the general election of 1837 down to that of 1841, while there was a British majority in the Lower House opposed to that Administration, the votes of the Irish Brigade were strong enough to turn the scale and keep it in office. It was the Irish Brigade again who installed the Coalition Cabinet. With all this power of Cabinet-making, the Brigade have never prevented any infamies against their own country nor any injustice to the English people. The period of their greatest power was at the time of O'Connell, from 1834-1841. To what account was it turned? The Irish agitation was never anything but a cry for the Whigs against the Tories, in order to extort places from the Whigs. Nobody who knows anything about the so-called Litchfield-house contract,[412] will differ from this opinion—that contract by which O'Connell was to vote for, but licensed to spout against, the Whigs on condition that he should nominate his own Magistrates in Ireland. It is time for the Irish Brigade to put off their patriotic airs. It is time for the Irish people to put off their dumb hatred of the English and call their own representatives to an account for their wrongs.

The "Society of Arts"[413] and tricks have lately ventured on an escamotage of the Labor Parliament by a countermove intended to "settle" the still enduring struggle between the capitalists and workingmen of England. The meeting was presided over by a noble Lord, and delegates from both parties had been invited to discuss their grievances after the fashion of the Luxembourg conferences of M. Louis Blanc.[414] The humbug was protested against by Mr. Ernest Jones, in the name of the working classes, and old Robert Owen told these enlightened gentlemen that no arbitration, nor device, nor art of any kind, could ever fill the gulf dividing the two great fundamental classes of this or any country. It is superfluous to add that the meeting dissolved under an ample cover of ridicule. The Chartists of London and the Provincial Delegates held a public meeting on the following day, when the proposal of the Labor Parliament was unanimously approved, and the 11th March named for its opening at Manchester.

Written on February 7, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## [RUSSIAN DIPLOMACY.— THE BLUE BOOK ON THE EASTERN QUESTION.— MONTENEGRO][415]

London, Friday, Feb. 10, 1854

At the time when the treaty of neutrality was concluded between Denmark and Sweden, I stated my conviction, contrary to the current opinion in England and France, that it was not by any means to be looked upon as a triumph of the Western Powers, and that the pretended protest of Russia against that treaty was nothing but a feint.[a] The Scandinavian papers, and *The Times'* correspondent, quoting from them, are now unanimous in recording the same opinion, declaring the whole treaty to be the work of Russia.

The propositions submitted by Count Orloff to the Vienna Conference, and rejected by them, were as follows:

1. Renewal of the old treaties.
2. Protectorate of Russia over the Greek Christians of Turkey.
3. Expulsion of all political refugees from the Ottoman Empire.
4. Refusal to admit the mediation of any other Power, and to negotiate otherwise than directly with a Turkish Envoy, to be sent to St. Petersburg.

On the latter point Count Orloff declared his readiness to compromise, but the Conference refused. Why did the Conference refuse? Or why did the Emperor of Russia refuse the last terms of the Conference? The propositions are the same on both sides. The renewal of the old treaties had been stipulated, the Russian Protectorate admitted with only a modification in the form; and, as the last point had been abandoned by Russia herself, the

[a] See this volume, p. 594.—*Ed.*

Austrian demand for the expulsion of the refugees[416] could not have been the cause of a rupture between Russia and the West. It is evident, then, that the position of the Emperor of Russia is now such as to prevent him from accepting *any* terms at the hands of England and France, and that he *must* bring Turkey to his feet either with or without the chance of a European war.

In military circles the latter is now regarded as inevitable, and the preparations for it are going on in every quarter. Admiral Bruat has already left Brest for Algiers, where he is to embark 10,000 men, and sixteen English regiments stationed in Ireland are ordered to hold themselves ready to go to Constantinople. The expedition can only have a twofold object: either to coerce the Turks into submission to Russia, as Mr. Urquhart announces, or to carry on the war against Russia, in real earnest. In both cases the fate of the Turks is equally certain. Once more handed over to Russia, not indeed directly, but to her dissolving agencies, the power of the Ottoman Empire would soon be reduced, like that of the Lower Empire, to the precincts of the capital. Taken under the absolute tutorship of France and England the sovereignty of the Ottomans over their European estates would be no less at an end.

If we are to take the war into our hands, observes *The Times*, we must have the control over all the operations.

In this case, then, the Turkish Ministry would be placed under the direct administration of the Western Ambassadors, the Turkish War Office under the War Offices of England and France, and the Turkish armies under the command of French and English Generals. The Turkish Empire, in its ancient conditions of existence, has ceased to be.

After his complete "failure" at Vienna, Count Orloff is now gone back to St. Petersburg—"with the assurance of the Austrian and Prussian neutrality, under all circumstances." On the other hand, the telegraph reports from Vienna that a change has taken place in the Turkish Ministry, the Seraskier and Kapudan Pasha[a] having resigned. *The Times* cannot understand how the war party could have been defeated at the very time that France and England were going to war. For my part, if the news be true, I can very well understand the "god-sent" occurrence as the work of the

[a] The War Minister and the Minister for the Navy.—*Ed.*

English Coalition representative at Constantinople, whom we find so repeatedly regretting, in his blue-book dispatches, that

"he could hardly yet go so far in his pressure on the Turkish Cabinet as it might be desirable."

The blue books begin with dispatches relating to the demands put forward on the part of France with respect to the Holy Shrines—demands not wholly borne out by the ancient capitulations,[417] and ostensibly made with the view to enforce the supremacy of the Latin over the Greek Church. I am far from participating in the opinion of Mr. Urquhart, according to which the Czar had, by secret influences at Paris, seduced Bonaparte to rush into this quarrel in order to afford Russia a pretext for interfering herself in behalf of the privileges of the Greek Catholics. It is well known that Bonaparte wanted to buy, *coûte que coûte*,[a] the support of the Catholic party, which he regarded from the very first as the main condition for the success of his usurpation. Bonaparte was fully aware of the ascendancy of the Catholic Church over the peasant population of France, and the peasantry were to make him Emperor in spite of the *bourgeoisie* and in spite of the proletariat. M. de Falloux, the Jesuit, was the most influential member of the first ministry he formed, and of which Odilon Barrot, the *soi-disant* Voltairian, was the nominal head. The first resolution adopted by this ministry, on the very day after the inauguration of Bonaparte as President, was the famous expedition against the Roman Republic. M. de Montalembert, the chief of the Jesuit party, was his most active tool in preparing the overthrow of the parliamentary *régime* and the coup d'état of the 2d December. In 1850, the *Univers*, the official organ of the Jesuit party, called day after day on the French Government to take active steps for the protection of the interests of the Latin Church in the East. Anxious to cajole and win over the Pope,[b] and to be crowned by him, Bonaparte had reasons to accept the challenge and make himself appear the "most Catholic"[418] Emperor of France. *The Bonapartist usurpation, therefore, is the true origin of the present Eastern complication.* It is true that Bonaparte wisely withdrew his pretensions as soon as he perceived the Emperor Nicholas ready to make them the pretext for excluding him from the *conclave* of Europe, and Russia was, as

[a] At all costs.—*Ed.*
[b] Pius IX.—*Ed.*

usual, eager to utilise the events which she had not the power to create, as Mr. Urquhart imagines. But it remains a most curious phenomenon in history, that the present crisis of the Ottoman Empire has been produced by the same conflict between the Latin and Greek Churches which once gave rise to the foundation of that Empire in Europe.

It is not my intention to investigate the whole contents of the "Rights and Privileges of the Latin and Greek Churches," before having considered a most important incident entirely suppressed in these blue books, viz.: The Austro-Turkish quarrel about Montenegro.[419] The necessity to previously treat this affair is the more urgent, as it will establish the existence of a concerted plan between Russia and Austria for the subversion and division of the Turkish Empire, and as the very fact of England's putting the subsequent negotiations between the Court of St. Petersburg and the Porte into the hands of Austria, cannot fail to throw a most curious light on the conduct of the English Cabinet throughout this Eastern question. In the absence of any official documents on the Montenegro affair, I refer to a book, which has only just been published on this subject, and is entitled the *Handbook of the Eastern Question*, by L. F. Simpson.[a]

The Turkish fortress of Zabljak (on the frontiers of Montenegro and Albania) was stormed by a band of Montenegrins in December, 1852. It is remembered that Omer Pasha was ordered by the Porte to repel the aggressors. The Sublime Porte declared the whole coast of Albania in a state of blockade, a measure which apparently could be directed only against Austria and her navy, and which indicated the conviction of the Turkish Ministry that Austria had provoked the Montenegrin revolt.

The following article, under date of Vienna, Dec. 29, 1852, appeared then in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*:

"If Austria wished to assist the Montenegrins, the blockade could not prevent it. If the Montenegrins descended from their mountains, Austria could provide them with arms and ammunition by Cattaro, in spite of the presence of the Turkish fleet in the Adriatic. Austria does not approve either of the present incursion of the Montenegrins, *nor of the revolution which is on the eve of breaking out in Herzegovina and Bosnia among the Christians.* She has constantly protested against the persecutions of the Christians, and that in the name of humanity; Austria is obliged

[a] L. F. Simpson, *The Eastern Question: a Connected Narrative of Events from the Missions of Count Leiningen and Prince Menschikoff to Constantinople, to the Present Day.* Marx quotes below passages from this book (pp. 3-6 and 8-10).—*Ed.*

to observe neutrality toward the Eastern Church. The last news from Jerusalem will have shown how fiercely religious hatred burned there. The agents of Austria must, therefore, exert all their efforts to maintain peace between the Greek Christians and the Latin Christians of the Empire."

From this article we glean, firstly, that coming revolutions of the Turkish Christians were anticipated as *certain*, that the way for the Russian complaints concerning the oppression of the Greek Church was paved by Austria, and that the religious complication about the Holy Shrines was expected to give occasion for Austria's "neutrality."

In the same month a note was addressed to the Porte by Russia, who offered her mediation in Montenegro, which was declined on the ground that the Sultan[a] was able himself to uphold his own rights. Here we see Russia operating exactly as she did at the time of the Greek revolution[420]—first offering to protect the Sultan against his subjects, with the view of protecting afterward his subjects against the Sultan, if her assistance should not be accepted.

The fact that there existed a concert between Russia and Austria for the occupation of the Principalities, even at this early time, may be gleaned from another extract from the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, of 30th December, 1852:

"Russia, which has only recently acknowledged the independence of Montenegro, can scarcely remain an idle spectator of events. Moreover, commercial letters and travelers from Moldavia and Wallachia, mention that from Volhynia down to the mouth of the Pruth, the country swarms with Russian troops, and that reenforcements are continually arriving."

Simultaneously the Vienna journals announced that an Austrian army of observation was assembling on the Austro-Turkish frontiers.

On Dec. 6, 1852, Lord Stanley interpellated Lord Malmesbury with respect to the affairs of Montenegro, and Bonaparte's noble friend made the following declaration:

"The noble lord intimated his desire to ask whether any change had recently taken place in the political relations of that wild country bordering on Albania, called Montenegro. I believe that no change whatever has taken place with respect to its political relations. The chief of that country[b] bears a double title; he is head of the Greek Church in that country, and he is also the temporal sovereign. But with respect to his ecclesiastical position he is *under the jurisdiction of the Emperor of Russia, who is considered to be the head of the whole Greek Church.* The chief of

[a] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*
[b] Danilo I Petrović Njegoš.—*Ed.*

Montenegro has been" (as I believe all his ancestors were before him) "accustomed to receive from the sanction and recognition of the Emperor his Episcopal jurisdiction and titles. With respect to the independence of that country, whatever the opinion of different persons may be as to the advantage of such a position, the fact is that *Montenegro has been an independent country for something like 150 years*, and though various attempts have been made by the Porte to bring it into subjection, those attempts have failed one after another, and the country is in the same position now that it was some 200 years ago."

In this speech Lord Malmesbury, the then Tory Secretary for Foreign Affairs, quietly dissects the Ottoman Empire by separating from it a country that had ever belonged to it, recognising at the same time the Emperor of Russia's spiritual pretensions over subjects of the Porte. What are we to say of these two sets of Oligarchs, except that they rival each other in imbecility?

The Porte was, of course, seriously alarmed at this speech of a British Minister, and there appeared, shortly afterward, in an English newspaper the following letter from Constantinople, dated Jan. 5, 1853:

"The Porte has experienced the greatest irritation owing to Lord Malmesbury's declaration in the House of Lords that Montenegro was independent. He thus played into the hands of Russia and Austria, by which England will lose that influence and confidence which she has hitherto enjoyed. In the first article of the treaty of Sistova, concluded between the Porte and Austria in 1791 (to which treaty England, Holland, and Russia were mediating parties), it is expressly stipulated that an amnesty should be granted to the subjects of both Powers who had taken part against their *rightful sovereigns*, viz.: the Servians, *Montenegrins*, Moldavians and Wallachians, named as rebel subjects of the Porte. The Montenegrins who reside in Constantinople, of whom there are 2,000 to 3,000, pay the *haratch* or capitation-tax, and in judicial procedure with subjects of other Powers at Constantinople, the Montenegrins are always considered and treated as Turkish subjects without objection."

In the beginning of January, 1853, the Austrian Government sent Baron Kellner von Köllenstein, an aide-de-camp of the Emperor,[a] to Cattaro to watch the course of events, while Mr. d'Ozeroff, the Russian Envoy at Constantinople, handed in a protest to the Divan against the concessions made to the Latins in the question of the Holy Shrines. At the end of January, Count Leiningen arrived at Constantinople, and was admitted on the 3d February, to a private audience with the Sultan, to whom he delivered a letter from the Austrian Emperor. The Porte refused

[a] Francis Joseph I.—*Ed.*

to comply with his demands, and Count Leiningen thereupon gave in an *ultimatum,* allowing the Porte four days to answer. The Porte immediately placed itself under the protection of England and France, which did not protect her, while Count Leiningen refused their mediation. On Feb. 15, he had obtained everything he had asked for (with the exception of Art. III) and his ultimatum was accepted. It contained the following articles:

"I. Immediate evacuation of Montenegro and the establishment of the *status quo ante bellum.*

"II. A declaration by which the Porte is to engage herself to maintain the *status quo* of the territories of Kleck and Suttorina, and to recognize the *mare clausum* in favor of Austria.

"III. A strict inquiry to take place concerning the acts of Mussulman fanaticism committed against the Christians of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

"IV. Removal of all the political refugees and renegades at present in the provinces adjoining the Austrian frontiers.

"V. Indemnity of 200,000 florins to certain Austrian merchants,whose contracts had been arbitrarily annulled, and the maintenance of those contracts for all the time they were agreed on.

"VI. Indemnity of 56,000 florins to a merchant whose ship and cargo had been unjustly confiscated.

"VII. Establishment of numerous consulates in Bosnia, Servia, Herzegovina and all over Rumelia.

"VIII. Disavowal of the conduct maintained in 1850, in the affair of the refugees."

Before acceding to this ultimatum, the Ottoman Porte, as Mr. Simpson states, addressed a note to the Ambassadors of England and France, demanding a promise from them of positive assistance in the event of a war with Austria. "The two Ministers not being able to pledge themselves in a definite manner," the Turkish Government yielded to the energetic proceedings of Count Leiningen.

On February 28th, Count Leiningen arrived at Vienna, and Prince Menchikoff at Constantinople. On the 3d of March, Lord John Russell had the impudence to declare, in answer to an interpellation of Lord Dudley Stuart, that

"In answer to representations made to the Austrian Government, assurances had been given that the latter held the same views as the English Government on the subject; and, though he could not state the precise terms of the arrangement that had been made, the intervention of France and England had been *successful,* and he trusted the late differences were now over. The course adopted by England had been to give Turkey such advice as would maintain her honor and her independence.... For his own part, he thought that on grounds of right, of

international law, of faith toward our ally, and also on grounds of general policy and expediency, *the maintenance of the integrity and independence of Turkey was a great and ruling point of the foreign policy of England.*"

Written on February 10, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# APPENDIX

# Karl Marx

## [APROPOS CAREY][421]

### CLUSS' ARTICLE "THE 'BEST PAPER IN THE UNION' AND ITS 'BEST MEN' AND POLITICAL ECONOMISTS" WITH EXTRACTS FROM MARX'S LETTERS

[*Die Reform*, No. 48, September 14, 1853]

The "uneducated" public having ceased to pass judgment on it, the *Neu-England-Zeitung* of Boston has, with commendable modesty and anticipating the significance of its insipid *Grenzboten*[a] radicalism, reached the conclusion that it is the "best newspaper". For some time now, that newspaper has performed some grotesque antics. It resembles an overladen and frail little craft that has put out from the coast of the old world on a voyage of discovery. Suddenly the vessel finds itself out on the high seas and, would you credit it, they have forgotten to bring a compass, a pilot and a captain *who can navigate*! They are now at the mercy of the winds and the waves. At this juncture a worthy old gentleman tries to lecture the unthinking crew on the *seriousness of the situation*; but he is still sermonising when a laughing nymph appears in the distance to chaff at him, and she disturbs the edifying devotions by delighting in the confused doings of those trusty gentlemen.[b] One man after another goes onto the after-deck from amongst this motley rabble, and keeps turning the wheel and trimming the sails. The general confusion is only made worse by the contradictory but always *well-intentioned* instructions of the pseudo-captain,[c] calling for the squaring of the circle, "higher unity", the true, correct course to Canaan, the milk-and-honey world of the future—and this after he had, down in his cabin, just seen himself, and felt like, a second Jean Paul.

Today, as in a final burst of energy, as in death-throes, new and larger sails are suddenly hoisted, while tomorrow fatigue sets in as after the agitation of a consuming fever. Overworked and on the verge of collapse, the crew reef the sails again. They try to put the disorderliness of the chaos from their minds by conjuring up "interesting" family quarrels. Seeking to conceal the contradictions of reality, in the midst of which they feel helpless, they allow that much-vaunted "higher unity" of ideal, free communal activity to go to pieces by decreeing differences between *the European and the American outlook*. The Athenian citizen, whose threadbare probity and woollen rags thrown proudly over his shoulder one has just admired as he delivered his sermon on freedom, steps into the background, and new actors come forward. Can one expect them to understand

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[a] An allusion to the German liberal journal *Grenzboten*.—*Ed.*

[b] An allusion to Wilhelm Weitling, an editor of the *Neu-England-Zeitung*, the author of *Das Evangelium eines armen Sünders*.—*Ed.*

[c] An allusion to Eduard Schläger, the publisher of the *Neu-England-Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

that modern *bourgeois* civilisation is based on the slavery of wage-labour, after one of the family had in his stupor completely failed to see yesterday that *ancient* civilisation was founded on absolute slavery? Most certainly not.

In the struggle between the "European and the American outlook" the spokesman for Europe is "Leonidas"-Confucius[a]-Ruge, the Pomeranian *aurora borealis*, representing half a dozen Southern German dictators groping around in a half-light. Everyone knows that he preaches something he has christened *humanism*, and that occasionally he has someone sound his praises to John Bull as the third great German philosopher alongside Strauss and Feuerbach. Ruge's "outlook" can be summed up briefly. In the writings of the philosopher Kant he discerns a *system of limited freedom*, in those of Fichte the *principle of absolute freedom*, and in those of Hegel the *principle and system of absolute freedom through the medium of dialectics*. Herr Ruge has always displayed an instinctive aversion to dialectics and he has always taken up its easier aspect, that of becoming entangled in contradictions, but not that of mastering them. It is therefore natural that he should constantly malign dialectics as being sophistry, as, for example, in the works of Marx. Ruge describes his *humanism* as the *introduction in society of the principle and system of absolute freedom*. So far as we are able to understand it, this humanism of Herr Ruge, his unity of practice and theory, consists in passing off his *de facto* clumsiness as theory to the men of practice and his peculiar and feeble thinking as practice to the theoreticians. Ever since Feuerbach, Bauer, Strauss and others successively dispatched one another from the scene, and no prince of science existed any longer, and since even the materialists pushed their noses in, a state of mind has occurred in old Ruge infected with which, quoting silly Gretchen, his translator into German-American said:

> And all this does my brain impair,
> As if a mill-wheel were turning there.[b]

For Ruge was in the habit of singing the praises of the reigning prince of science to the public as loudly as possible, in order to win renown himself. Out of all that has come an *olla podrida*[c] of contradictions, which, in the absence of dialectics, has very recently had a democratic gravy poured over it, and, in the form of a *box*[d] *of humanism*, appearing not, it is true, in the world theatre but in *Janus*, blissfully introduced itself to a "very select" public, which unfortunately had almost completely dispersed before the box was constructed.[422]

Of the European press Herr Ruge had in the last few years thrust himself on *The Leader*, edited in London by his friend *Thornton Hunt* who, logically, was extolled in *Janus* as the "most outstanding writer among the English socialists". This unctuous coward had preached communism in order to divert attention from Chartism,[e] and we denounced him in the American press for it at that time. Today

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[a] A pun on "Confucius" and the German word *Konfusius* (muddler). It was also used, with reference to Ruge, in Marx's letter to Weydemeyer of January 23, 1852, and in the pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile*, written jointly by Marx and Engels (see present edition, Vols. 39 and 11 resp.).—*Ed.*

[b] Goethe, *Faust*, Part I, Scene 4, Faust's study (a remark of Faust's famulus).—*Ed.*

[c] A Spanish dish, a stew made of one or more meats and several vegetables; figuratively, hodge-podge.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx uses the word *Loge* which means both a lodge in Freemasonry and a box in the theatre.—*Ed.*

[e] An allusion to Hunt's efforts, in *The Northern Star*, No. 734, November 29, 1851, to pass himself off as a champion of the people and Communist.—*Ed.*

that charge is justified before our party. Hunt had forced his way into the Chartists' Executive[423] with the intention of delivering the Chartists into the hands of the finance-reformers (the industrial bourgeoisie). In order to trap *Ernest Jones* he preached physical force and talked of nothing but rifles, at a time of the most splendid prosperity and in the most unfavourable of circumstances. In recognition of his efforts he was thrown out of the official position he held with the workers. Good! Nowadays the scoundrel has thrown off his mask. He has become one of the most respectable gossips of the middle class, and he declares *Bright*, that ideal of the modern English bourgeois, to be a genuine "old Englishman"[a] and the most disinterested of humanitarian enthusiasts with regard to the unfortunate Indian people, and stated recently that he would even prefer despotism to a "raving republic". That is the sort of pitiable figure that the puffed-up "higher unity" cuts. Behind it, whenever *real* conflicts arise, we see bragging arrogance in all its superficiality!

## [*Die Reform*, No. 49, September 17, 1853]

Let us now turn to the "American outlook" which represents the counterpart to the familv row in the *Neu-England-Zeitung*. For the most part this outlook consists of trivialities and latterly of sententious ideas taken from street ballads which, apparently strung together in public houses under the influence of Philadelphian *lager*, provide the sort of material to fill a cess-pit whose outer walls are cemented with untruths, dirty tricks and platitudes. A few Philadelphian Romans,[b] notably a certain Herr Pösche, currently busy earning his spurs as a cheer-leader for Cushing in Pierce's glorious army of place-hunters, are flourishing as matadors of this school.[424] A bourgeois conservative economic theory, of the kind that *socialists of all parties* are busy fighting—that propounded by the American *Carey* and the Frenchman *Bastiat*—is being trotted out to the credulous public* as the latest German-American discovery, the "*higher unity*" of political economy. We shall see that wherever this grand *higher unity* ventures into contact with real life, it becomes a willing tool in the hands of the *powers that be*. The editors of the *Neu-England-Zeitung* appear not yet to have stained their chaste convictions with studies of such a demanding material nature as those that political economy involves; for we see daily that [...][c] discussion of social questions [...][c] everyone who feels like voiding his bowels. The said doctrine was last demolished, together with M. Bastiat, before the socialist tribunals of Europe in 1849, in the course of a discussion in Proudhon's *Voix du peuple*.[d] As far as European society is concerned, historical

* Judging by the continuing cry of distress from the *Neu-England-Zeitung* and the rumours that are going round, the public would appear, incidentally, to have become something of a rash hypothesis.—*A. C.*

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[a] Marx uses the English words "old Englishman".—*Ed.*

[b] A pun on the title of the book *The New Rome. The United States of the World* by German petty-bourgeois émigrés Th. Poesche and Ch. Goepp, published in Philadelphia in 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] The text is indecipherable here.—*Ed.*

[d] Published in 1850 as a book, Fr. Bastiat, *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon*, Paris. For Marx's critical analysis of the points of view of the two participants in the discussion see present edition, Vol. 29.—*Ed.*

developments have long since cut the ground from under that particular theoretical representation of a specific historical epoch.

In America, where today the social contradictions are much less sharp than in radically undermined Europe, this theory found its champion in the economist Carey. Its conservative-bourgeois opponent (taking the view of the more recent English school) has already appeared in the person of Professor *Wayland.* His *Principles of Political Economy* has been introduced as a textbook at most of the academies of New England, much to the annoyance of Carey's adherents.

Let us summarise briefly the main points of the doctrine which is compiled by Bastiat in his *Social Harmonies* with grace and in easily comprehensible form, but propagated by Carey without any talent for presentation or for summing up and precision. One cannot deny C. H. Carey a certain amount of positive knowledge and even some original and attractive ideas.[a]

His chief merit is that he has indeed cultivated a native product, grown directly from American soil without any foreign admixtures. His science is of anything but universal character, it is pure *Yankee science.* It attempts to demonstrate that the *economic* conditions of bourgeois society, instead of being conditions for struggle and antagonism, are rather conditions for partnership and harmony. (Very fine in theory, but modern industrial towns demonstrate how things work out in practice!) Those economic conditions can be broken down as follows:

1) *Rent,* the share of the landowner,
2) *Profit,* the share of the capitalist,
3) *Wages,* the share of the worker in the value of the finished product.

We can see that Carey is much too experienced to link the existence of classes with the existence of *political* privileges and monopolies, as for instance the newly-fledged Roman youths at Philadelphia would, or before them s. v.[b] Heinzen, and thus to see social harmony as being unconditionally invented and patented for all time with the great French Revolution.[425] Carey seeks rather for economic reasons behind economic facts, though in so doing he fails to transcend the as yet indistinct, hazy and fluid class relations of America. He therefore only proves that he regards a *point of transition* in the development of society as the *normal condition* of its life. Most characteristic is the argument of Carey's school

[a] For Marx's assessment of Bastiat and Carey see present edition, Vol. 29.—*Ed.*
[b] *Salva venia*—if you please.—*Ed.*

against the English economists. It attacks *Ricardo*, classical champion of the bourgeoisie and most stoic opponent of the proletariat, describing him as a man whose works provide an arsenal for anarchists, socialists, in brief for all "enemies of the bourgeois order". With fanaticism it attacks not only Ricardo but all other leading economists of modern bourgeois Europe, and reproaches these economic heralds of the bourgeoisie with having split society and with forging weapons for civil war by cynically providing the proof that the economic foundations of the various classes are bound to give rise to an inevitable and constantly growing antagonism between them.

The Frenchman Bastiat is an unqualified Free Trader; the Philadelphian Roman youths parrot his views about the "blessings of free trade" with naive credulity. Carey himself began his economic career as a Free Trader, and at the time he would come up with some good jokes, for example that one should couple bourgeois France with China on account of her preference for protective tariffs.[a] As is usually the case with advocates of free trade, he blamed all the discord in society on improper interference by the state in ventures which were the prerogative of private industry and the like. This was all Yankee, Yankee from head to foot. Nowadays Mr. Carey has become sour, he sighs and complains together with the Frenchman *Sismondi* about the destructive effects seen in the centralising big industry of England, which for him engenders the "evil principle" in society.[426]

He would be highly surprised if he knew how German greenhorns saw the avalanche-like growth of the power of big capital as the formation of so many snowballs full of "Anglo-Saxon" enthusiasm for decentralisation and individualism.

Apart from the fact that Carey totally overlooks the transforming, *revolutionary* element in the destructive effects of industry, he is nevertheless again too much of a Yankee to make industry as such *responsible*, yet that would be the only logical conclusion to be drawn from his argument. He makes the English personally responsible for the effects of their industry, not to mention the fact that Ricardo is in his turn made responsible for England. Caught in this contradiction, he must necessarily burrow himself deeper and deeper in the petty-bourgeois element, advocating the long since discarded patriarchal association between agriculture and manufacturing.

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[a] The reference is to Carey's book *Essay on the Rate of Wages: with an Examination of the Causes of the Differences in the Condition of the Labouring Population Throughout the World.* Philadelphia, 1835, pp. 194-210, 213, 228, 230, etc.—*Ed.*

But the mark of the Yankee with Carey and his adherents is this: under the pretext and, we ought to admit it, with good will and with the conviction of speaking for the "most numerous and the poorest class",[a] they throw down the gauntlet to the English bourgeoisie. Sismondi did that by condemning *modern industry* and expressing his longing to return to the *old method of manufacture*; nowadays, however, they do it by preaching protective tariffs. Accordingly all they are really aiming at with all their philanthropic talk is artificially *accelerating* the ***English*** development of the *industrial bourgeoisie in America.* This is a philanthropic and utopian gesture in the competitive struggle between England and America, this most interesting of phenomena confronting present-day bourgeois economists. The ingenious aspect of economics is revealed here in all its glory.

As this is completely overlooked even by Carey's school, it would of course be unfair of us to assume even an inkling of all this in the thinking of a "State-haemorrhoidarius" and the newly-fledged political economists of the *Neu-England-Zeitung,* since they are stuck in the bourgeois mire right up to their ears and are not even remotely aware of the historical significance of the school of thinking which they themselves have learned by heart.

[*Die Reform*, No. 50, September 21, 1853]

In the competitive struggle between America and England we see the latter pushed increasingly into the position of Venice, Genoa and Holland, which were all forced to lend their capital on interest after the monopoly of their trading power had been broken. Genoa and Venice helped Holland to emerge, Holland provided England with capital, and now England is obliged to do the same for the United States of America. Only today all the conditions in this process are of a much larger scale than they were at that time. England's position differs from that of those countries in that the main factor for them was a monopoly of trade, which is easy to break, whilst she possesses a monopoly of industry as well, which by its very nature is tougher. On the other hand the English bourgeoisie's surfeit of capital is all the more colossal, so that it is obliged to build railways in both continents, and to invest capital in gas-lighting in Berlin, in the vineyards of Bordeaux, and in Russian factories and American steamers. All this provides one with material to support the most interesting observation that the attraction which English central capital exerts necessarily has its complement in a centrifugal force which

[a] A phrase coined by Henri Saint-Simon.—*Ed.*

pours it out again into all the corners of the world. If there were to be a revolution, then the English would have furnished the European continent with all those lines of communication and all that production machinery for nothing. America is not waiting for revolutions. It is settling its accounts in a conservative bourgeois fashion by from time to time liquidating its business with England through bankruptcies. This is one of the secrets of its rapid rise, a regular phenomenon just like railway accidents and shipwrecks. That same lack of concern, that same mad frenzy of production which makes it possible for tens of thousands to be brought into the world who under different circumstances would never see the light of day, cold-bloodedly sends hundreds upon hundreds, propelled by steam, to an early death. The one is simply the complement of the other. *The unscrupulous multiplying of the wealth of capitalist companies accompanied by complete disregard for human life!* That is how the commentary reads on the "victory of individuality amongst the Anglo-Saxons"!

All these are facts which are naturally incomprehensible to the "sober non-violence and homely good sense" of Philadelphian Roman youths who have ingeniously managed to find out from some conservative review or other that the women workers of Lowell today are three times better off as regards their earnings than they were thirty years ago. According to that clever conclusion those women workers of years ago must have eaten only four and a half days a week and must have covered their nakedness with nothing more than a fig-leaf. That Lowell should only have come into existence during the last thirty years, or should have worked its way up from a quietly vegetating population of 200 souls to an industrial town of 36,000 souls; that today approximately a third of that population should consist of women workers* who are living from hand to mouth on an average wage of three dollars a week, that is to say that their wages fluctuate to such an extent above and below this average that they can put a few coppers into the savings bank when times are good, only to use them up again when business stagnates completely or they are laid off for *half the week*; that these women workers should for the most part be condemned to celibacy, not by democratic decree but through pressure of circumstances—these are all things which a "democratic" candidate for high office *must* not see, even if one wanted to assume that he had the necessary powers of vision.

It is true that here in America we cannot deny the existence of that "equality of opportunity for the individual, which is the highest goal one (i.e. the Philadelphian Romans) can perceive". Yellow fever has for long enough been acting as a delegate of the Roman democrats and has demonstrated that principle in New Orleans. However, the possibility of equality, young Sir, lies beyond the range of vision of the bourgeoisie, and only the reformer[a] who has perceived the

* Five-eighths of the population of Lowell is estimated to be women, and only three-eighths men. We believe that *in fact* the disproportion is much more glaring.—*A. C.*

[a] An allusion to Karl Marx.—*Ed.*

full implications of the present conditions of workers has the requisite wider horizon, not hedged round by any kind of prejudice, to include it.

Having now sketched the heroes of both worlds, but, where the hero of the New World was concerned, having preferred to discuss political economy in the original[a] rather than the dull and bloodless imitation which he is always repeating (and we have done this in order to be able to observe the decorum which we owe to the public, and to interrupt the personification of boredom in all its monotony and trite learning in all its gloom), we must add that each of the two parties is accusing the other of gross ignorance in matters of world history (a fact which we simply register), and that the editors occasionally christen these touching, "interesting" scenes a "struggle between materialism and idealism", with Heinzen appearing as godfather in the old disguise of Orlando Furioso.

The feud had become very vehement, and it seemed that the interplay of opposing arguments would end in a brawl rather than resolving itself in that "higher unity" which everyone had so hoped for. They therefore improvised a plan to produce unity through arbitration, a *deus ex machina*,[b] summoned in the person of an "earnest" man,[c] a former diplomat and envoy of some petty republic, unless the solemn protestations of the political sages and grandees of international law are totally deceiving us, betraying to us with their carefully restrained judgments, as they do at every turn, the man who is already groaning under the burden of some future government office. He settles the "struggle" to the satisfaction of both sides, for both parties are adjudged to be at fault, and therefore neither has to make a more dishonourable retreat than the other. Though occasionally still grunting bad-temperedly, "Leonidas" walks peaceably along with his opponents, the "unknown Greeks", whose rôle in the comedy had been taken by the Philadelphian Roman youths. Moved, the choir of the priests of humanism sings "These sacred halls know not what vengeance is!" The curtain falls, but there is no Bengal flame to cast a red light on the patriotic tableau. The final scene is yet to come.

[*Die Reform,* No. 51, September 24, 1853]

Thanks to his manner of a whimpering Heraclitus, the "earnest" arbitrator had gained universal sympathy, extravagantly bestowed upon him by all the treasure-hunters who subscribe to the "science of the future", who were whimpering before him, and who, on their own admission, cast their pearls before the public as Californian gold-diggers would, still rough and unpolished. And lo, full of good cheer and with a happy heart a guest suddenly arrives on the scene, all the more worthy for being uninvited,[d] who chooses, in the rôle of Democritus, to make fun of everything that is funny, and thinks all the evidence indicates that throughout the whole struggle there has been much ado about nothing. He scoffed at the whole fantastic notion of a special democratic mentality, which cannot conceive of

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[a] As presented by Carey and Bastiat, "hero of the New World" is an allusion to Eduard Schläger.— *Ed.*

[b] Literally "a god from a machine"—a person or thing that appears or is introduced (as into a story) suddenly and unexpectedly and provides an artificial or contrived solution to an apparently insoluble difficulty.— *Ed.*

[c] Karl Blind. In the original the form *ernschte* is used ironically instead of *ernste* (serious).— *Ed.*

[d] Evidently an allusion to the diplomatic mission which Blind carried out in Paris on instructions of the Provisional Government of Baden during the campaign for an imperial constitution in 1849.— *Ed.*

the revolution as anything other than the "fiery hell-hounds" of the wire-pulling European Central Committee.[427] He pacifies their lordships, saying they need have no fear of Bashkirs, and the Prussians and the Bavarians are not so bad either. He explains to them how, without the princehood of its princes, without the customary collection of youths in spiked helmets, with or without monkey-tail cockades, Germany might have stood a chance of Bashkirs. He chuckles at the tender "revolutionary" concern for the national independence of the thirty-six sovereigns, of the Prussian, Bückeburg, Darmstadt or Baden governments, and at the way imperial troops—imperial troops for the "German nation"—are preferred to Bashkirs. He laughs at people's dread of the impending floods of Bashkirs, at the festive bluster, at all the rubbish of political wisdom, the moralising national manifestos addressed to the Prusso-Baden princelings, at the way they are urged faithfully to protect the thirty-six mother-countries with their half-and-half despotism from the Bashkirs, so as to prevent at all costs the premature outbreak of the great conflict, which the democrats do not expect to occur until fifty years after Napoleon's prophecy[a] but which must not occur during their lifetimes. He laughs at the feeble and absurd efforts of democratic sects to reduce all the existing convulsions of European society, the whole enormous historical crisis, and the thousands of difficulties, complications and class problems to a superficial and insipid difference between Cossacks and republicans, and to treat the overthrow of a whole system of production with all the shocks for the world market, with all the class struggles and upheavals in industry that this inevitably entails as if it were just the plainest of pot-house fare, like some fraternal luncheon that has yet to be arranged. He laughs at the barbaric somersaults of Menchikoff, at the diplomatic absurdities of his superiors, Nesselrode-Libinsky,[b] at the top-booted Don Quixote of the European counter-revolution, the mighty and formidable recruiter of Jews Nicholas, and at the "helpless voice" of his politically skilled opponents together with their high-ranking judge. He offers his congratulations on the final extinguishing of the "tiny spark [of revolution] flickering on", and on the final decaying of the whole theatrical apparatus of official democracy, but on the other hand whispers into the ears of the jousters, numb with astonishment at the proletarian audacity they have witnessed, that the *material revolution without hollow-sounding words* is for that very reason more inevitable today than ever, and that *it* was Russia's equal opponent.

Whispering is heard everywhere, and "righteous indignation" manifests itself amongst the democratic notabilities. The agitation grows and nobody notices that, having ended his scornful reprimand, the proletarian rogue has silently turned his back on the sacred halls of "higher unity". People clear their throats. Misunderstood and foundering, political wisdom fires a distress signal, which fades away in melancholy, and there appears the now inevitable factotum of governmental power *in partibus*.[c] Slowly and discreetly, and with *earnest*, ominous demeanour and thoughtfully folded arms, the latter shakes off the fiercely snapping cluster of talents. Resplendent under his arms is the testament of Peter the Great,[428] a history of Russia, bound in pigskin, is borne in and opened at his behest, and bundles of treaties on parchment are piled up round him. He begins to speak. Svyatoslav, Ivan

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[a] The reference is to Napoleon's statement: "In fifty years Europe will be either republican or a Cossack one" (see this volume, p. 541).—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to K. K. Labensky.—*Ed.*

[c] K. Blind. *In partibus* or *in partibus infidelium*—outside the real world, abroad. The phrase means literally "in the country of infidels" and was added to the title of Catholic bishops who were appointed to purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries.—*Ed.*

Vasilyevich, Peter I, Catherine II and Nicholas file past, a series of irrefutable signposts pushed successively forward from Moscow to the Danube. What is the direction in which they point? To Constantinople, the fateful city of the Tsar. Is that understood? Tremble Byzantium! Who will save you? And who will save the world from the Cossack flood? Democracy? "It *alone* speaks out* and vainly raises its helpless voice against Russia; the democratic party has got into disrepute in the City, at Westminster Hall and St. James's alike"—thus speaks the factotum himself. The German princes? They are themselves nothing more than the princelings of the Cossacks. Boustrapa[b]? He wants to parade as a Cossack on the Rhine himself. Aberdeen? Has he not once already allowed the Cossacks to get as far as Adrianople?

Who then is left? The Slav revolution? A miserable Montenegrin "Hölperlips".[429] The pessimistic political sages no longer think much of that. What then? There is nothing, nothing else, nowhere is there salvation! Let us cover our heads and hide our tallow candles—*l'Europe sera cosaque.* But wait! Here comes the revolution, the great "mighty people's revolution", the "fourth estate" is on its way, the "estate" which has no more to do than to "launch itself against the Tartar flood of tsarist despotism" if it wishes later to see the "knife and fork question"[c] resolved, an issue which has of course long since been resolved for the people of other estates. Indeed, forward with the "fourth estate", forward with the "people's revolution", forward into battle against Russia! Russia is the seat of "Europe's order based on sceptre, cross, sabre and money"!

The speaker has finished, his "helpless voice" falls silent. He throws back his head, looks about him, triumphant, "earnest", serenely cool.

Where is that other horseman,
His mount has left the stable?

Dumbfounded, they cast an eye round the trusty company. "Thalberg not here?" No answer. The speaker's mournful gaze strays involuntarily out to the blue-vaulted sky. "Paradoxes," he stammers. In resignation he lowers his gaze, and on the street it lights upon the missing intruder, who is playing with a box of matches and laughing away.

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Signed: *Ad. Cluss*

Printed according to the newspaper

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* Is the "democratic party" suddenly counting old Aunt Voss[a] and Herr Brüggemann of the *Kölnische Zeitung* amongst its number? For during the most recent complications the latter *alone* has gathered at least three score very patriotic. very nationalistic and strongly anti-Russian supporters. Equally all the respectable German press, with the exception of the *Kreuz-*, the *Ostsee-*, the *Augsburger-* and the *Oberpostamts-Zeitung.* The "watchful eye and admonishing words" of these "disreputable people" do then still have sympathisers.—*A. C.*

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[a] *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen.—Ed.*

[b] A nickname of Louis Bonaparte, composed of the first syllables of Boulogne and Strasbourg (centres of Bonapartist putsches of 1836 and 1840), and Paris, where the Bonapartist coup d'état came off on December 2, 1851.—*Ed.*

[c] An expression used in 1838 by Parson J. R. Stephens,a prominent Chartist.It became a symbol of Chartist aspirations.—*Ed.*

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] This article is the first in a series on the Eastern question by Marx and Engels published in the *New-York Daily Tribune.* The increase in tension between Russia and the Western Powers in the Near East and the Balkans in 1853 eventually led to the Crimean war. At Marx's request Engels wrote a number of articles from mid-March to early April on the basis of a brief plan suggested to him by Marx in his letter of March 10, 1853 (see present edition, Vol. 39). Marx soon joined in with articles of his own.

Like most articles by Marx and Engels in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* this one was not republished in their lifetime. The section "Turkey", together with the other articles on the Eastern question, was included in a collection compiled by Eleanor Marx and Edward Aveling: *The Eastern Question. A Reprint of Letters written 1853-1856 dealing with the events of the Crimean War,* London, 1897. The collection gave Marx as the author of all the articles, since they had been published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* either anonymously, as editorials, or signed by Marx. Only in 1913, after the publication of the correspondence between Marx and Engels, it was discovered that many articles which Marx had sent to the newspaper were written wholly or in part by Engels.

In this article Marx is the author of the sections "British Politics.—Disraeli.—The Refugees.—Mazzini in London", and Engels of the section "Turkey".

In a leader for the issue that carried this article the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* wrote: "In this connection we may properly pay a tribute to the remarkable ability of the correspondent by whom this interesting piece of intelligence is furnished. Mr. Marx has very decided opinions of his own, with some of which we are far from agreeing, but those who do not read his letters neglect one of the most instructive sources of information on the great questions of current European politics."

The *New-York Daily Tribune* was an American newspaper founded in 1841 by Horace Greeley, journalist and politician, and published until 1924. Until the mid-1850s it was a Left-wing Whig paper and after that the organ of the Republican Party. In the forties and the fifties it took a strong stand against slavery. Among its contributors were prominent American writers and journalists. Charles Dana, who was strongly influenced by the ideas of utopian socialism, was one of its editors from the late 1840s. Marx began to write for

the newspaper in August 1851 and continued to contribute to it until March 1862. The articles Marx and Engels wrote dealt with key issues of foreign and domestic policy, the working-class movement, the economic development of European countries, colonial expansion, the national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries, etc. During the period of reaction in Europe Marx and Engels made use of this widely-read American newspaper to expose the evils of capitalist society, its irreconcilable contradictions and the limitations of bourgeois democracy.

The *New-York Daily Tribune* editors took on occasion considerable liberties with the articles contributed by Marx and Engels, publishing some of them unsigned in the form of editorials or making additions which often contradicted the main text. Marx protested against this repeatedly. In the autumn of 1857, when the economic crisis in the USA affected the finances of the newspaper, Marx was compelled to reduce the number of his articles. His association with the newspaper ceased entirely during the American Civil War, when advocates of a compromise with the slave-owning South gained control over it. p. 3

[2] In March 1853 Disraeli, leader of the Tories since 1848, was replaced in this post by Lord Pakington. This was the result of disagreements between Disraeli, who supported certain concessions to the free-trade industrial bourgeoisie, and the Tory advocates of protectionism. The latter won the day, but subsequently the Disraeli line prevailed, reflecting the gradual changing of the old aristocratic Tory Party into a party of the conservative sections of the British bourgeoisie. p. 3

[3] At the sitting of the House of Commons on March 1, 1853, Palmerston formally declared that if the continental powers demanded that Britain should expel political refugees, Britain would decline. However, the statement of the Prime Minister, Lord Aberdeen, in the House of Lords on March 4 contained a promise of concessions on this question. Marx had dealt with this subject in a number of his previous reports to the *New-York Daily Tribune*. See also an article on this subject, "The Refugees and the London Police", in *The People's Paper*, No. 47, March 26, 1853. p. 4

[4] The *treaties of Tilsit*—peace treaties signed on July 7 and 9, 1807 by Napoleonic France and the members of the fourth anti-French coalition, Russia and Prussia, which were defeated in the campaigns of 1806 and 1807. In an attempt to split the defeated powers, Napoleon made no territorial claims on Russia and even succeeded in transferring part of the Prussian monarchy's eastern lands to Russia. He established an alliance with Alexander I when the two emperors met in Erfurt in the autumn of 1808. The treaties imposed harsh terms on Prussia, which lost nearly half its territory to the German states dependent on France, was made to pay indemnities, and had its army reduced. However, Russia, like Prussia, had to break the alliance with Britain and join Napoleon's Continental System, which was to its disadvantage. Napoleon formed the vassal Duchy of Warsaw on Polish territory seized by Prussia during the partitions of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century, and planned to use the duchy as a springboard in the event of war with Russia.

In Tilsit Alexander I pledged, with France acting as a mediator, to start peace negotiations with Turkey with which Russia had been at war since 1806. In August 1807 Russia and Turkey signed an armistice, but a peace treaty was not concluded and military operations were resumed in 1809. The war ended with the defeat of Turkey in 1812.

Increasingly strained relations between France and Russia led to Napoleon's campaign against Russia in 1812. p. 5

[5] At the Congress of the Holy Alliance (an alliance of European monarchs founded on September 26, 1815 on the initiative of the Russian Emperor Alexander I and the Austrian Chancellor Metternich), which began in Troppau in October 1820 and ended in Laibach in May 1821, the principle of intervention in the internal affairs of other states was officially proclaimed. Accordingly, the Laibach Congress decided to send Austrian troops to Italy to crush the revolutionary and national liberation movement there. French intervention in Spain with similar aims was decided on at the Congress of Verona in 1822. p. 5

[6] The aggravation of the Eastern question in the early 1840s was caused by the Turko-Egyptian war of 1839-41. In 1839 the Turkish army invaded Syria, which had been conquered in 1831-33 by the Egyptian ruler Mehemet Ali, but it was defeated. Fearing Russian intervention, the Western powers decided to send a joint Note to the Turkish Sultan offering their assistance. However, as a result of the struggle between Britain and France over spheres of influence in the Near East, the London Convention on military assistance to the Sultan was signed on July 15, 1840 by Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia, without France. The latter was counting on Mehemet Ali, but was soon compelled to abandon him to his fate. After the military intervention of Britain and Austria, Mehemet Ali was forced to renounce all his possessions outside Egypt and submit to the supreme power of the Turkish Sultan. p. 5

[7] The principle of legitimacy was proclaimed by Talleyrand at the Vienna Congress of European monarchs and their Ministers held in 1814-15. It actually meant the restoration of the "legitimate" dynasties and monarchies overthrown during the French revolution of 1789-94 and the Napoleonic wars, and was made the cornerstone of the treaties of Vienna. However, in recarving the map of Europe, the governments which had defeated Napoleonic France were prompted more by their own, frequently conflicting, interests than by the claims of the "legitimate" monarchs who were being restored. p. 6

[8] Turkish armies laid siege to Vienna in 1529 and 1683 but in both cases failed to take it. In 1683 it was saved by the army of the Polish King John Sobieski.

The *battle of Kulevcha* (Bulgaria) took place on May 30, 1829, during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29. The Turkish army was defeated. p. 7

[9] The word "race" is used here in accordance with its meaning at the time: it meant both "races of the second order" (groups within the main races) and linguistic and ethnic groups. p. 7

[10] Transylvania became part of Hungary under the Austrian rule of the Habsburgs in the late seventeenth century. During the 1848-49 revolution the Hungarian revolutionary Government refused to recognise the right of the Transylvanian Wallachians to national independence. As a result, the Austrian counter-revolutionary forces were able to draw the insurgent army of Transylvanian Wallachians into the struggle against the Hungarian revolutionary army. The defeat of the Hungarian bourgeois revolution had deplorable consequences for the people of Transylvania, where the rule of the Hungarian magnates was restored. p. 9

[11] The *Ruthenians*—the name given in nineteenth-century West-European ethnographical and historical works to the Ukrainian population of Galicia and Bukovina, which was separated at the time from the rest of the Ukrainian people. During the national liberation uprising in Cracow in 1846 the Austrian authorities provoked clashes between Ukrainian peasants and insurgent Polish detachments. However, after the suppression of the uprising, the participants in the peasant movement in Galicia were subjected to brutal reprisals. p. 9

[12] In the summer of 1848, the anti-feudal movement and the struggle for complete liberation from the rule of the Turkish Sultan gained strength in the Danubian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, which formally remained autonomous possessions of Turkey. The movement in Wallachia grew into a bourgeois revolution. In June 1848, a Constitution was proclaimed, a liberal Provisional Government was formed and George Bibesco, the ruler of Wallachia, abdicated and fled the country.

On June 28, 1848, 12,000 Russian soldiers entered Moldavia and in July Turkish troops invaded the country. The Russian and Turkish intervention helped restore feudal rule, and the subsequent entry of Turkish troops into Wallachia with the consent of the Tsarist Government brought about the defeat of the bourgeois revolution there. p. 9

[13] The *Cyrillic alphabet*, one of the two ancient Slav alphabets (the other is called the Glagolitic alphabet), is named after Cyril, a missionary monk of the mid-ninth century, who, together with his brother Methodius, translated several religious texts from Greek into Slavonic. The Russian, Bulgarian and many other Slavonic languages use a modified form of the Cyrillic alphabet. p. 10

[14] A reference to the reactionary bourgeois and landowner elements of the national movement in Croatia and Bohemia, who during the 1848-49 revolution opposed the revolutionary-democratic solution of the national question and advocated uniting the oppressed Slav peoples within the framework of the Habsburg Empire. This standpoint was reflected in the decisions of the Croatian Sábors held in 1848 in Agram (Zagreb), and in the efforts of the moderately liberal wing of the 1848 Slav Congress in Prague (Palacký, Šafařík) to maintain and strengthen the Habsburg monarchy. The Left, radical wing (Sabina, Frič, Libelt and others), on the other hand, wanted to act in alliance with the revolutionary-democratic movement in Germany and Hungary. p. 11

[15] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "the Russian war of 1809". The reference is to the Russo-Turkish war of 1806-12, which ended in the defeat of Turkey and the signing in May 1812 of the Bucharest peace treaty, according to which Bessarabia was joined to Russia. The treaty provided for Serbian autonomy in domestic affairs, thus laying the foundation for Serbia's future independence (see Note 26). In 1807 Russia and Turkey concluded an armistice with the mediation of France, but the peace negotiations were interrupted and military operations resumed in 1809. p. 11

[16] The anti-Russian party in Serbia, headed by Garašanin, sought support from the Western powers. In response to a demand from the Russian Ambassador Extraordinary to Constantinople, Prince Menshikov, Prince Alexander of Serbia dismissed Garašanin from the post of the head of government and Foreign

Minister. The struggle between the different parties led to an aggravation of the political situation in Serbia in 1853. p. 11

[17] This article was published in the collection: Karl Marx, *The Eastern Question*, London, 1897. The collection gave Marx as the author of the article. However, it was later discovered that this article, as well as "The Turkish Question" and "What Is to Become of Turkey in Europe?", were written by Engels. This is confirmed by Engels' letter to Marx of March 11, 1853, in which he agreed, in response to Marx's request, to write a series of articles on the subject, and also by his letter to Marx of May 1, 1854, in which he referred to these articles in connection with future plans for writing on the Eastern question for the press (see present edition, Vol. 39). p. 13

[18] The first Anglo-Afghan War of 1838-42, started by the British with the aim of seizing Afghanistan, ended in total failure for the British colonialists.

In 1843 the British colonialists seized Sind, a region in the north-western part of India bordering on Afghanistan. During the Anglo-Afghan war the East India Company resorted to threats and violence to obtain the consent of the feudal rulers of Sind to the passage of British troops across their territory. Taking advantage of this, the British demanded in 1843 that the local feudal princes proclaim themselves vassals of the Company. After crushing the rebel Baluch tribes (the natives of Sind), the annexation of the entire region by British India was announced.

The *Punjab* (North-West India) was conquered in British campaigns against the Sikhs in 1845-46 and 1848-49. In the sixteenth century, the Sikhs were a religious sect in the Punjab. Their teaching of equality became the ideology of the peasants and lower urban strata who fought against the Empire of the Great Moguls and the Afghan invaders in the late seventeenth century. Subsequently a local aristocracy emerged among the Sikhs, whose representatives ruled the Sikh state established in the latter half of the eighteenth century. In 1845, the British authorities in India provoked an armed conflict with the Sikhs and in 1846 succeeded in turning the Sikh state into a vassal. In 1848 the Sikhs revolted, but were totally subjugated in 1849. The conquest of the Punjab turned all India into a British colony. p. 14

[19] A reference to the Milan insurrection started on February 6, 1853 by the followers of the Italian revolutionary Mazzini and supported by Hungarian revolutionary refugees. The aim of the insurgents, who were mostly Italian workers, was to overthrow Austrian rule, but their conspiratorial tactics led them to failure. Marx analysed it in a number of articles (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 508-09, 513-16 and 535-37). p. 17

[20] This article was published in *The Eastern Question*. p. 18

[21] A reference to a coin with an imprint of the Egyptian sacred bull Apis; such coins with imprints of animals were used in Greece until the fifth century B.C. p. 19

[22] A reference to the cordial agreement (*entente cordiale*) between France and England in the early period of the July monarchy (1830-35). The agreement proved ineffectual, however, and was soon followed by increased friction between the two powers. p. 20

[23] This article was published in *The Eastern Question* which gave Marx as its author (see Note 17). p. 22

[24] The Greek insurrection was prepared by secret societies of Greek patriots (Hetaeria). It was sparked off in spring 1821 by a march of a detachment under Alexander Ypsilanti—a Greek officer in the Russian army and leader of a secret society in Odessa—to the Danubian Principalities across the Pruth in order thence to enter Greece. The campaign was a failure, but it marked the beginning of a mass movement in Greece which soon spread throughout the country. In January 1822 the National Assembly in Epidaurus proclaimed the independence of Greece and adopted a Constitution. Initially the powers of the Holy Alliance strongly opposed the insurrection. However, the great sympathy aroused everywhere for the Greek struggle against Turkish domination, and especially the opportunity of using this struggle to strengthen their influence in the south of the Balkans, caused Britain, Russia and France to recognise Greece as a belligerent and render her armed assistance. Russia's victory in the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29 was of major importance in helping Greece to acquire independence. Turkey was compelled to recognise Greece as an independent state. However, the European powers imposed a monarchical form of government on the Greek people. p. 22

[25] *Fanariote Greeks*—inhabitants of Fanar (a district in Constantinople), most of whom were descendants of aristocratic Byzantine families. Owing to their wealth and political connections they held important posts in the administration of the Ottoman Empire. p. 22

[26] The Serbian insurrection, which flared up in February 1804 against the arbitrary rule and brutal reprisals of the Turkish janissaries, developed into an armed struggle for the country's independence from Turkey. During the insurrection a national government was set up and Georgi Petrović (Karageorge), the leader of the insurgents, was proclaimed the hereditary supreme ruler of the Serbian people in 1808. The Serbian movement was greatly advanced by the successful operations of the Russian army in the Balkans during the Russo-Turkish war of 1806-12. According to the Bucharest peace treaty of 1812 Turkey was to give Serbia autonomy in domestic affairs. Taking advantage of Napoleon's invasion into Russia, however, the Turkish Sultan organised a punitive expedition to Serbia in 1813 and restored his rule there. As a result of a new insurrection by the Serbs in 1815 and also diplomatic assistance from Russia, Turkish rule was overthrown. After the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29, which ended with the signing of a peace treaty in Adrianople in 1829, Turkey recognised the autonomy, i.e., the virtual independence, of the Serbian Principality in a special order issued by the Sultan in 1830. p. 23

[27] The *battle of Navarino* took place on October 20, 1827. It was fought by the Turko-Egyptian fleet, on the one side, and the allied British, French and Russian fleet commanded by Vice-Admiral Codrington, on the other. The latter was sent by the European powers to Greek waters for the purpose of armed mediation in the war between Turkey and the Greek insurgents. The battle ended in a crushing defeat for the Turko-Egyptian fleet. p. 24

[28] *Magna Charta* (*Magna Carta Libertatum*)—a charter signed by King John of England on June 15, 1215, under pressure from the rebellious barons, who were supported by the knights and burghers. It restricted the rights of the King, mainly in the interests of the big feudal magnates, and contained some concessions to the knights and burghers. p. 24

[29] In 1849 the Russian and Austrian governments demanded that Turkey should extradite Hungarian and Polish refugees who had taken part in the revolution in Hungary. The Turkish Government, which hoped to make use of the refugees in reorganising the army, refused to comply with this demand. The conflict became especially acute after the intervention of the Western powers, which decided to oppose Russia for fear of her growing influence in the Near East and in Central Europe. The British Government sent a squadron to the Dardanelles. Nicholas I was compelled to give way and be content with the Turkish Government's promise to expel the refugees from Turkey. p. 24

[30] The *will of Peter the Great*—a spurious document circulated by enemies of Russia. The idea of the existence of the "will" was advanced in the West as early as 1797. In 1812 Ch. L. Lesur described the contents of this pseudo-will in his book *Des progrès de la puissance russe, depuis son origine jusqu'au commençement du XIX^e^ siècle*, and in 1836 it was reproduced as a document in T. F. Gaillardet's book *Mémoires du Chevalier d'Eon*. In Marx's and Engels' lifetime many people in Western Europe regarded this document as authentic. p. 25

[31] A reference to the three partitions of Poland (1772, 1793 and 1795) by Prussia, Tsarist Russia and Austria (which did not take part in the second one). As a result of the third partition the Polish state ceased to exist. p. 25

[32] A reference to the actions of the Austrian police in connection with the Milan insurrection in February 1853 (see Note 19) and the attempt of the Hungarian tailor János Libényi to assassinate the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph on February 18, 1853 (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 513). These events were used by the Austrian authorities as a pretext for mass arrests and trials of persons suspected of conspiracy against the government and participation in the national liberation movement in Hungary and Italy. Marx compares these reprisals with the measures taken by the governments of German states against participants in the opposition movement after the Napoleonic wars, which were carried out on the pretext of fighting against "demagogical machinations". p. 28

[33] The *Cologne communist trial* (October 4-November 12, 1852) was a trial of a group of Communist League members charged with "treasonable conspiracy". The trial was rigged by the Prussian police on the basis of forged documents and fabricated evidence, which were used not only against the accused but also to discredit the whole proletarian organisation. Such evidence included, for instance, the so-called Original Minute-book of the Communist League Central Authority meetings and other documents forged by police agents, but also genuine documents of the Willich-Schapper adventurist faction which was responsible for the split in the Communist League. Seven of the twelve accused were sentenced to imprisonment for terms of three to six years. Marx guided the defence from London by sending material revealing the provocative methods of the prosecution, and after the trial he exposed its organisers (see Engels' article "The Late Trial at Cologne", published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, and Marx's pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 388-93 and 395-457). p. 29

[34] Marx is referring to Napoleon III's claims to the left bank of the Rhine, which representatives of French ruling circles had regarded as France's "natural border" in the east ever since the seventeenth century. p. 29

[35] The *Treaty of Adrianople*—a peace treaty signed between Turkey and Russia in September 1829 to end the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29. By the treaty Russia obtained the Danube Delta with its islands and a considerable portion of the eastern Black Sea coast south of the Kuban estuary. Turkey was to recognise the autonomy of Moldavia and Wallachia, granting them the right to elect their Hospodars independently; their autonomy was to be guaranteed by Russia. The Turkish Government also pledged to recognise Greece as an independent state, whose only obligation to Turkey was to pay an annual tribute to the Sultan, and to observe the previous treaties with regard to Serbian autonomy, issuing a special order in official recognition of it.

Marx's notebook with excerpts for 1853 contains, on page 18, a passage in French from the Adrianople treaty. The text of the treaty was published in many collections of documents, in works by various authors quoted by Marx, and in periodicals p. 33

[36] See Note 26. p. 33

[37] Ali Pasha of Janina, who ruled over a vast territory in the south-west of the Balkans (Epirus, Albania, South Macedonia and other lands, with Janina as the centre), had been at war with the Turkish Sultan since 1820, a fact which contributed to the success of the Greek uprising. However, unlike the national liberation movement of the Greeks, this struggle was of a feudal-separatist nature and ended in his defeat in 1822.

For the *battle of Navarino* see Note 27.

When war broke out between Turkey and Russia in the spring of 1828, French troops under the command of General Maison landed in Morea (the Peloponnesus) in Southern Greece in August and occupied the peninsula. The aim of the expedition, which was organised on the pretext of rendering assistance to the Greeks, was to counteract growing Russian influence in the Balkans and consolidate the position of France in the region. p. 33

[38] The *London conferences* of the representatives of Britain, Russia and France were held in 1827-29 and discussed the Greek question. On July 6, 1827, the three powers signed a Convention which confirmed the Protocol on Greek autonomy signed by Britain and Russia in St. Petersburg on April 4, 1826. Both the Protocol and the Convention contained clauses on the diplomatic recognition of Greece as an independent state and armed mediation in the Turko-Greek conflict. On the basis of this Convention the allied fleet was sent into Greek waters and took part in the battle of Navarino. A number of other documents concerning Greece were also signed, including a Protocol of March 22, 1829, which established the borders of the Greek state and provided for a monarchical form of government in Greece. However, these agreements and the steps taken by Britain and France, who hoped to settle the conflict through diplomacy, without a defeat for Turkey in the Russo-Turkish war, could not make Turkey change her attitude on the Greek question. It was only after the victory of the Russian army under General Diebich in the 1829 campaign that Turkey agreed to make some concessions. p. 33

[39] The editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* inserted the following passage at the end of the article (which was also reproduced in the *New-York Weekly Tribune*): "For the present, the duty of those who would forward the popular cause in Europe is to lend all possible aid to the development of industry, education, obedience to law, and the instinct of freedom and independence in the Christian dependencies of Turkey. The future peace and progress of the world

are concerned in it. If there is to be a harvest, too much care cannot be given to the preparation of the soil and the sowing of the seed." p. 36

[40] An allusion to the swing to the right of the liberal bourgeoisie already in the early days of the March 1848 revolution in Prussia. Immediately after the uprising in Berlin (March 18) the bourgeoisie hastily organised a civic militia to counterbalance the revolutionary insurgent workers. Engels described the situation in Prussia at the time in his work *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, pointing out that "the alliance between the bourgeoisie and the supporters of the overturned system was concluded upon the very barricades of Berlin" (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 36). p. 38

[41] Clippings from the *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung* of April 1, 8, 15 and 22, 1853 containing Hirsch's article "Die Opfer der Moucharderie" with Marx's notes and underlinings have been preserved. p. 40

[42] The books by Adolphe Chenu and Lucien de la Hodde are analysed in a review by Marx and Engels, published in the fourth issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 311-25). p. 40

[43] A reference to the so-called Original Minute-book of the Communist League Central Authority fabricated by Prussian agent-provocateurs in London and presented at the Cologne trial as official proof of the defendants' guilt. Concerning this forged document see Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 420-24). p. 41

[44] According to most recent research, Bangya passed on to the Prussian police information he happened to learn from German refugees in France. The police used it to arrest a number of Communist League members in Germany and stage a trial in Cologne. See E. Schraepler, *Handwerkerbünde und Arbeitervereine. 1830-1853*, Berlin-New York, 1972, S. 462 et al. p. 41

[45] This article is the first in a series by Marx on the budget of Aberdeen's Coalition Ministry, published in the London weekly *The People's Paper*, the organ of the revolutionary wing of Chartists founded in May 1852. He wrote them at the same time as his articles on the subject for the *New-York Daily Tribune*, and in places the text is almost identical.

Marx contributed his articles to *The People's Paper* without payment, and frequently assisted with editing articles and helped Ernest Jones, the editor-in-chief, with matters of organisation. He also enlisted his close colleagues, Georg Eccarius, Wilhelm Pieper and Adolph Cluss, to write for the newspaper as permanent contributors. Eccarius, in particular, wrote with Marx's assistance a review of the literature on the coup d'état in France on December 2 (see present edition, Vol. 11, Appendices). This review was the first in the English press to popularise Marx's ideas that were set forth in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.

Apart from publishing Marx's articles, written specially for it, *The People's Paper* from October 1852 to December 1856 reprinted the most important articles by Marx and Engels from the *New-York Daily Tribune*. In 1856, as a result of Jones' rapprochement with the bourgeois radicals, Marx and Engels ceased their work for *The People's Paper* and temporarily broke off relations

with Jones. In June 1858 the newspaper passed into the hands of bourgeois businessmen. p. 44

[46] Following William Cobbett, Marx gives the year 1701 as the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, in accordance with the calendar in operation in England before 1752, when the new year began with March 25. According to the new style, Anne's reign began in 1702. p. 44

[47] The *South Sea Company* was founded in England about 1712 officially for trade with South America and the Pacific islands, but its real purpose was speculation in state bonds. The government granted several privileges and monopoly rights to the Company, including the right to issue state securities. The Company's large-scale speculation brought it to bankruptcy in 1720 and greatly increased Britain's national debt. p. 46

[48] A reference to Russell's motion for the "removal of some disabilities of Her Majesty's Jewish subjects", introduced in the House of Commons on February 24, 1853. The motion aimed at granting the Jews the right to be elected to the House of Commons. It passed through the Commons but was turned down by the House of Lords. Marx gave an appraisal of this bill in his article "Parliamentary Debates.—The Clergy Against Socialism.—Starvation" (see present edition, Vol. 11).

The *Canada Clergy Reserves* (1791-1840) consisted of a seventh of the revenue from the sale of lands in Canada and were used chiefly for subsidising the Established and the Presbyterian Churches. In 1853 the British Parliament passed a law authorising the legislative bodies in Canada to distribute the funds independently and grant subsidies to other churches also according to the proportion of the population professing this or that religion. When Peel's Bill, introduced on February 15, 1853, was passing through the House of Commons, the members, on Russell's initiative, voted against the clause on the withdrawal of subsidies to various churches in Canada, which were granted in years when their share of the revenue from the sale of lands was below a fixed sum. p. 49

[49] See Note 48. p. 50

[50] In accordance with parliamentary procedure, the House of Commons, when discussing certain important questions, declares itself a Committee of the whole House. The functions of the Chairman of the Committee at such sittings are performed by one of the persons on a list of chairmen who is specially appointed by the Speaker. p. 50

[51] See Note 47. p. 53

[52] This refers to the debates on the system of education in the Catholic College in Maynooth (Ireland) in the House of Commons in February and March 1853. The College was founded in 1795 with the support of Pitt the Younger, who secured the granting of considerable subsidies for it by the British Parliament. This policy, pursued in following years also, aimed at winning support for the British Government from the upper strata of the Irish landlords, bourgeoisie and clergy, and thereby causing a split in the Irish national movement. p. 56

[53] The *Irish Brigade*—the Irish faction in the British Parliament from the 1830s to the 1850s. It was led by Daniel O'Connell until 1847. As neither the Tories nor the Whigs had a decisive majority the Irish Brigade, alongside the Free

Traders, could tip the balance in Parliament and in some cases decide the fate of the government.

In the early 1850s, a number of M.P.s belonging to this faction entered into an alliance with the radical Irish Tenant-Right League and formed the so-called Independent Opposition in the House of Commons. However, the leaders of the Irish Brigade soon concluded an agreement with British ruling circles and refused to support the League's demands, which led to the demoralisation and final dissolution of the Independent Opposition in 1859. p. 58

[54] The *Manchester School*—a trend in economic thinking which reflected the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. Its supporters, known as Free Traders, advocated removal of protective tariffs and non-intervention by the government in economic life. The centre of the Free Traders' agitation was Manchester, where the movement was headed by two textile manufacturers, Richard Cobden and John Bright, who founded the Anti-Corn Law League in 1838. In the 1840s and 1850s the Free Traders were a separate political group, which later formed the Left wing of the Liberal Party. p. 58

[55] The *Taxes on Knowledge* in Britain were the advertisement duty, the stamp duty on newspapers and the tax on paper. p. 58

[56] In a conversation with the French Ambassador, shortly after the Bonapartist coup d'état on December 2, 1851, the British Foreign Secretary Palmerston approved of Louis Bonaparte's usurpation. (Marx calls the latter "the hero of the plain of Satory", referring to a review that he held near Versailles in the autumn of 1850 which was actually a Bonapartist demonstration.) Palmerston did this without consulting the other members of the Ministry, however, which led to his dismissal in December 1851. The British Government was nevertheless the first to recognise Bonaparte.

As Home Secretary in Aberdeen's Coalition Government formed in December 1852, Palmerston instigated police persecutions, harassment in the press and lawsuits against political refugees in Britain. His department communicated information about their activities to the police of Austria and other continental powers. While carrying on this policy, Palmerston professed loyalty to constitutional and democratic principles. p. 59

[57] The editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* published the following note to this article in the same issue of May 6, 1853: "Our readers will find a masterly exposition of Mr. Gladstone's budget, and of its bearing on the present stated parties in England, in the letter of our London Correspondent, Dr. Marx, published in this morning's *Tribune*. We have seen nowhere an abler criticism on the budget or on its author, and do not expect to see one." p. 67

[58] A reference to the London Protocol of May 8, 1852 on the integrity of the Danish monarchy, signed by the representatives of Austria, Denmark, England, France, Prussia, Russia and Sweden. It was based on the Protocol adopted by the above-mentioned countries (except Prussia) at the London Conference on August 2, 1850, which supported the indivisibility of the lands belonging to the Danish Crown, including the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein. The 1852 Protocol mentioned the Russian Emperor (as a descendant of Duke Charles Peter Ulrich of Holstein-Gottorp who reigned in Russia as Peter III) among the lawful claimants to the Danish throne who had waived their rights in favour of Duke Christian of Glücksburg who was proclaimed successor to King Frederick VII.

This provided an opportunity for the Russian Tsar to claim the Danish Crown in the event of the Glücksburg dynasty dying out. p. 67

[59] A reference to attempts by the Pope in 1850 to assume the right of appointing Catholic bishops for Britain. This was opposed by the Church of England and the government. A law was passed in 1851 which decreed the Pope's appointments invalid. p. 67

[60] A reference to the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation (962-1806), which at different periods included the German, Italian, Austrian, Hungarian and Bohemian lands, Switzerland and the Netherlands. It was a motley conglomeration of feudal kingdoms and principalities, church lands and free towns with different political structures, legal standards and customs. p. 67

[61] See Note 54. p. 69

[62] See Note 53. p. 73

[63] In 1845-47 there was famine in Ireland due to the ruin of farms and the pauperisation of the peasants. Although blight had caused a great shortage of potatoes, the principal diet of the Irish peasants, the English landlords continued to export food from the country, condemning the poorest sections of the population to starvation. About a million people starved to death and the new wave of emigration caused by the famine carried away another million. As a result, large areas of Ireland were depopulated and the abandoned land was turned into pastures by the Irish and English landlords. p. 73

[64] The *Mayfair-men*, or *Mayfair Radicals*—the name given to a group of aristocratic politicians (Molesworth, Bernal Osborne and others), who flirted with democratic circles. Mayfair is an upper-class residential district in London bordering Hyde Park. p. 74

[65] An allusion to the attitude of Aberdeen's Coalition Ministry, especially of Palmerston as Home Secretary, to political refugees in Britain and the services which the Home Office rendered to the police authorities of Austria and other powers in the struggle against the revolutionary-democratic movement (see Note 56). p. 74

[66] In accordance with parliamentary procedure, the House of Commons, when discussing important questions concerning the national budget, declares itself a Committee of Ways and Means. This is one of the cases when the House sits as a committee (see Note 50). p. 76

[67] A reference to the eighth Kaffir war waged by Britain in 1850-53 against the Xhosa tribes. (The name "Kaffir" is wrongly applied to members of all the tribes inhabiting South-Eastern Africa.) In accordance with the peace treaty of 1853 the Xhosa tribes ceded some of their lands to the British. p. 76

[68] See Note 53. p. 80

[69] See Note 54. p. 80

[70] Marx sent this article to the *New-York Daily Tribune* together with Engels' article on Switzerland, written at his request and posted to him from Manchester on

April 26, 1853, as one report. The editors divided the material into two parts and published them as separate articles. (Marx later wrote of this in his letters to Engels of June 2 and 29, 1853.) The first article comprised the text written by Marx after he had received Engels' article and the beginning of Engels' report describing the separatist putsch of clerical and conservative elements in the Freiburg canton in the spring of 1853. The bulk of Engels' report was published as a separate article, signed by Marx; in another issue (see below "Political Position of the Swiss Republic"). In this volume the articles are given as published in the afternoon and evening editions of the *New-York Daily Tribune.*
p. 82

[71] This letter has not come to light. It is possible that the words "the substance of which I have already communicated to you" were inserted by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune,* and refer to some other material, such as the article by A.P.C. (Aurelius Pulszky), "Oriental Affairs.—Austria and Radetzky.—The Gunpowder Plot", in the newspaper issue of May 6, 1853, which mentioned Hale's letter published in *The Daily News* on April 18, 1853. This article said that the letter denied Kossuth's participation in the production of rockets.
p. 84

[72] The *Sonderbund*—a separatist union formed by the seven economically backward Catholic cantons of Switzerland in 1843 to resist progressive bourgeois reforms and defend the privileges of the Church and the Jesuits. The decree of the Swiss Diet of July 1847 on the dissolution of the Sonderbund served as a pretext for the latter to commence hostilities against the other cantons early in November. On November 23, 1847, the Sonderbund army was defeated by the federal forces. Even after the defeat of the Sonderbund its adherents among the Catholic clergy, the patrician upper strata in the towns, and the conservative section of the peasantry made attempts to seize power in separate cantons. p. 84

[73] This article constitutes the main part of Engels' correspondence included by Marx in their common report (see Note 70). The editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* published the article under the date-line "May 1", but actually it was written not later than April 26 and sent by Marx to New York on the 29th of that month. The article was printed under the heading "Switzerland" and entitled "Political Position of This Republic". In this edition the title of the article has been changed in accordance with its publication in the German and Russian editions of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels.

The article was published in German with slight abridgements, under the title "Switzerland", in the New York newspaper *Die Reform* of June 1 and 4, 1853. The editorial note to the article gave Marx as its author. Following this *Die Reform* began to publish translations or renderings of Marx's articles printed in the *New-York Daily Tribune.* The main part in popularising Marx's articles through *Die Reform* was played by Joseph Weydemeyer and Adolph Cluss, former members of the Communist League. p. 86

[74] A reference to the Vienna Congress (September 1814-June 1815). On March 20, 1815 the main powers participating in the Congress signed a declaration guaranteeing "permanent neutrality" to Switzerland. p. 86

[75] Switzerland was drawn into a conflict with France (December 1851-January 1852) over Louis Bonaparte's demand for the expulsion from Switzerland of French republican refugees, opponents of the Bonapartist coup d'état of December 2, 1851. As in 1836, when the July monarchy staged military demonstrations threatening Switzerland with war for granting asylum to French refugees—Louis Bonaparte among them—the Swiss Government was again compelled to make major concessions to France.

In the eighteenth century the principality of Neuchâtel and Valangin (in German: Neuenburg and Vallendis) was under Prussian rule. It was ceded to France in 1806, during the Napoleonic wars. In 1815, by a decision of the Vienna Congress, it was incorporated into the Swiss Confederation as the 21st canton, while remaining a vassal of Prussia. On February 29, 1848 a bourgeois revolution in Neuchâtel put an end to Prussian rule and a republic was proclaimed. Prussia, however, laid constant claims to Neuchâtel up to 1857, which led to a sharp conflict with the Swiss Republic, and only pressure from France forced her to renounce these claims officially.

In 1853 a dispute arose between Switzerland and Austria over the Italian refugees residing in the Swiss canton of Tessin (Ticino), who had taken part in the national liberation movement in Italy and fled to Switzerland from the Italian provinces under Austrian rule after the unsuccessful uprising in Milan of February 6, 1853 (see Note 19). p. 87

[76] From the fifteenth to the mid-nineteenth century the Swiss cantons concluded agreements with the European states for the supply of Swiss mercenaries. The reference here is to agreements signed in 1848 by the canton of Berne and some other cantons with the counter-revolutionary government of Ferdinand II, King of Naples. The use of Swiss troops against the revolutionary movement in Italy aroused profound indignation among the Swiss progressive public, which eventually led to the annulment of these agreements. p. 88

[77] See Note 72. p. 89

[78] A reference to the Constitution of the Swiss Confederation adopted on September 12, 1848. The new Constitution ensured a measure of centralisation, changing a confederation of cantons (the confederation treaty of 1814 sanctioned by the Congress of Vienna greatly restricted the power of central government) into a federative state. In place of the former Swiss Diet a new legislative body, a Federal Assembly (Bundesversammlung) was set up consisting of two chambers—the National Council and the Council of States. Executive power was vested in the Federal Council whose Chairman acted as President of the Republic. p. 89

[79] In 1850 popular unrest spread over a number of Southern provinces in China (Kwangsi, etc.), and developed into a powerful peasant war. The insurgents established a state of their own over a considerable part of Chinese territory. The state was called Taiping Tankuo, hence the name of the movement—the Taiping uprising. The leaders of the movement put forward a utopian programme calling for China's feudal social order to be transformed into a semi-military patriarchal system based on the egalitarian principle in the sphere of production and consumption. The movement, which was also directed

against foreign invaders, was weakened by internal strife and the formation of its own feudal top strata in the Taiping state. It was dealt a crushing blow by the armed intervention of Britain, the USA and France, who initially aided the Manchu dynasty under cover of neutrality. The Taiping uprising was put down in 1864. p. 93

[80] A reference to the Anglo-Chinese war of 1840-42, known as the First Opium War. It was started over the confiscation of foreign merchants' stocks of opium by the Chinese authorities. As a result of the war, the British imposed the Nanking Treaty on China in 1842, the first of a series of treaties concluded by the Western powers with China, which reduced it to the level of a semi-colony. The Nanking Treaty made China open five of its ports to British commerce—Canton, Shanghai, Amoy, Ningpo, and Foochow, cede the Island of Hongkong to Great Britain "in perpetuity" and pay a large indemnity. In 1843 a supplementary treaty was signed by which extraterritoriality was granted to foreigners in China. Similar treaties with China were also signed by the USA and France in 1844. p. 93

[81] Rich deposits of gold were discovered in California in 1848 and in Australia in 1851. These discoveries were of great importance for the development of the European and American states. p. 94

[82] Early in the seventeenth century China was threatened by the united Manchu tribes (known together with the Mongols as Tartars, the name of a Mongol tribe in North-Eastern Mongolia and Manchuria at the time of the formation of Genghis Khan's Empire in the early thirteenth century). The invasion by the Manchus led to the rule of the Ch'ing dynasty in the country (1644-1912), which constantly aroused the anger and opposition of the Chinese people. p. 98

[83] *Hong*—a privileged merchants' guild, founded in China in 1721, whose members, on paying a large entrance fee to the treasury, obtained a monopoly of trade with foreigners. After the conclusion of the Nanking Treaty it was dissolved. p. 98

[84] This article is the first of a series written by Marx in 1853 dealing with the British conquest of India, Britain's colonial rule in that country, and its consequences for the peoples of Hindustan. The articles were based on detailed study, especially of the history and socio-economic conditions of India and certain other countries in the East. Marx copied a great deal of information on the subject from books and various other sources, which can be found in three of his notebooks with excerpts marked XXI, XXII and XXIII, which also contain passages copied from works on European history and political economy. The material on India and other countries of the East contains passages from parliamentary Blue Books, parliamentary reports, various reference-books on statistics, commerce, railway construction in India, etc., European travellers' notes including those of the French physician and writer François Bernier: *Voyages contenant la description des états du Grand Mogol, de l'Indoustan*, Paris, 1830, and the Russian traveller A. D. Soltykov: *Lettres sur l'Inde*, Paris, 1849. Marx paid great attention to the works of English orientalists, among them R. Patton, *The Principles of Asiatic Monarchies*, London, 1801; M. Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of*

*India*, London, 1810-17; and Th. S. Raffles, *The History of Java*, London, 1817. Marx obtained a great deal of information from the series of works (by John Dickinson and other authors) published by the Free Traders' India Reform Association, and also from the books: G. Campbell, *Modern India; a Sketch of the System of Civil Government*, London, 1852, and *A Scheme for the Government of India*, London, 1853; J. Chapman, *The Cotton and Commerce of India*, London, 1851, and others. Some of the works Marx used are cited or mentioned in his articles. In the course of his research Marx frequently discussed his ideas on the subject with Engels, who was also studying Oriental history at the time (see Marx's letters to Engels of June 2 and 14, 1853 and Engels' reply of June 6, 1853 to the first letter). The results of their discussions were also used by Marx for his articles.

The text of the last section in the article ("Turkey and Russia") was published under this title in *The Eastern Question*. p. 101

[85] See Note 58. p. 101

[86] Marx is referring to a series of articles published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49 in connection with the Danish-German war over Schleswig and Holstein.

By a decision of the Vienna Congress (1815), the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein remained in the possession of the Danish monarchy (the personal union of Schleswig, Holstein and Denmark had existed since 1499), even though the majority of the population in Holstein and in Southern Schleswig were Germans. Under the impact of the March 1848 revolution in Prussia, the national movement among the German population of the duchies grew, and became radical and democratic, forming part of the struggle for the unification of Germany. Volunteers from all over the country rushed to the aid of the local population when it took up arms against Danish rule. Prussia and other states of the German Confederation also sent federal troops to the duchies. However, the Prussian ruling circles, which had declared war against Denmark, fearing a popular upsurge and an intensification of the revolution, sought an agreement with the Danish monarchy at the expense of the common interests of the German states. An armistice between Prussia and Denmark was concluded on August 26, 1848, at Malmö. On March 2, 1849, Prussia resumed hostilities, but under pressure from England and Russia, who supported Denmark, was forced to conclude a peace treaty (July 2, 1850), temporarily relinquishing its claims to Schleswig and Holstein and abandoning them to continue fighting alone. The Schleswig-Holstein troops were defeated and ceased to offer resistance.

The position of the proletarian wing of German democracy on the Schleswig-Holstein issue was set forth in a number of articles by Engels published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, in particular "The War Comedy", "The Armistice with Denmark", "The Armistice 'Negotiations'", "The Danish Armistice", "The Danish-Prussian Armistice", "European War Inevitable", and "From the Theatre of War.—The German Navy" (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 42-44, 266-69, 270, 411-15 and 421-25; Vol. 8, pp. 456-57; Vol. 9, pp. 259-60). Marx refers to several publications on this question in his Notebook XXII for 1853. p. 101

[87] See Note 47. p. 102

[88] *Downing Street*—a side-turning off Whitehall, where the main government buildings in London are situated; it contains the residences of the Prime Minister (at No. 10) and the Chancellor of the Exchequer (at No. 11).

The *Presidencies*—Bengal, Bombay and Madras, the three divisions of the East India Company's territory which were originally governed by the Presidents of the Company's three factories. The Regulating Act of 1773 raised the Governor of Bengal to the rank of Governor-General of all Britain's possessions in India. He was called Governor-General of Bengal until 1833 and then Governor-General of India. p. 104

[89] A reference to the India Reform Association, founded by the Free Trader John Dickinson in March 1853. p. 104

[90] The long-standing dispute between the Greek Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church over rights to the Christian Holy Places in Palestine was resumed in 1850 on Louis Bonaparte's initiative. It soon developed into a serious diplomatic conflict between Russia, which upheld the privileges of the Greek Orthodox clergy, and France, which supported the Roman Catholics. Both sides made use of this conflict in their struggle for hegemony in the Middle East. The vacillating Turkish Government at first yielded to the French demand but on May 4, 1853, during Menshikov's visit to Turkey, it agreed to guarantee special rights and privileges to the Greek Orthodox Church (a special order to this effect was issued by the Sultan a month later). At the same time the Sultan, supported by the British and French ambassadors, rejected Nicholas I's demand that he should be recognised as the protector of the Orthodox population in the Ottoman Empire. p. 105

[91] The *Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji*, signed between Russia and Turkey on July 21, 1774, put an end to the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-74, in which Turkey was defeated. By that treaty Russia obtained the section of the Black Sea coast between the Southern Bug and the Dnieper, with the fortress of Kinburn, and also Azov, Kerch and Jenikale, and secured independent status for the Crimea facilitating its incorporation into Russia. Russian merchant ships were granted the right of free passage through the Bosporus and the Dardanelles. The Sultan was to grant a number of privileges to the Greek Orthodox Church in Turkey, in particular Article 14 of the treaty provided for the construction of an Orthodox church in Constantinople.

For the *Treaty of Adrianople* see Note 35. p. 105

[92] For the *Laibach* and *Verona congresses of the Holy Alliance* see Note 5.

For the *treaties of Tilsit* see Note 4. p. 106

[93] A section of this article was published under the title "The Ultimatum and After" in *The Eastern Question*. p. 107

[94] In 1853 Austria broke off diplomatic relations with Piedmont (Sardinia) after the Piedmontese authorities had granted asylum to a number of refugees from Lombardy (which was under Habsburg rule), who had participated in the national liberation movement of 1848-49 in Italy and the Milan insurrection of February 6, 1853. p. 108

[95] In addressing Louis Bonaparte, who was proclaimed Emperor of the French in December 1852, Nicholas I, by agreement with the Austrian and Prussian courts, used the expression "Your Majesty and dear friend", instead of the usual "Your Majesty and dear brother", and called him "Emperor Louis Napoleon" and not "Emperor Napoleon III". The Austrian and Prussian courts, however, used the accepted form of address for him, but in referring to the need to observe the Vienna Congress decisions, they also hinted at the illegality of his rule since the Congress had prohibited the Bonaparte dynasty from occupying the French throne. p. 108

[96] *Bujukdere*—a holiday resort on the shore of the Bosporus, near Constantinople, where the Russian embassy in Turkey had its summer residence. p. 109

[97] This article was published in *The Eastern Question* under the title "The English and French Fleets.— *The Times.*—Russian Aggrandizement". p. 112

[98] This article was published in *The Eastern Question.* p. 115

[99] Marx's article, to which he refers in citing this fact, has not been discovered in the *New-York Daily Tribune.* Judging by the notes made by Jenny Marx on the dispatch of articles to the newspaper, it was written by Marx on June 3, 1853, but for some reason was not published. The report on the recall of the Prussian officers appeared in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* on June 1, 1853. p. 115

[100] The article which Marx intended to write was not published in the *New-York Daily Tribune.* p. 118

[101] See Note 47. p. 118

[102] *Wesleyans* or *Methodists*—a religious sect founded by John Wesley in Britain in the eighteenth century. At the end of the century it split off from the Church of England and also became popular, as a form of Protestantism, in the USA and Canada. Its distinguishing feature was its demand for a strict and methodical adherence to Christian doctrines, concerning which divisions arose between Wesleyan Methodists and "Primitive" Methodists. p. 119

[103] For the preparatory materials for Marx's articles on India see Note 84. In writing this article, Marx made use of some of Engels' ideas which the latter set forth in his letter to Marx of June 6, 1853. p. 125

[104] A reference to the rule in India, mainly in the north, of the Mohammedan invaders who came from Central Asia, Afghanistan and Persia. Early in the thirteenth century the Delhi Sultanate became the bulwark of Moslem domination but at the end of the fourteenth century it declined and was subsequently conquered by the Moguls, new invaders of Turkish descent, who came to India from the east of Central Asia in the early sixteenth century and in 1526 founded the Empire of the Great Moguls (named after the ruling dynasty of the Empire) in Northern India. Contemporaries regarded them as the direct descendants of the

Mongol warriors of Genghis Khan's time, hence the name "Moguls". In the mid-seventeenth century the Mogul Empire included the greater part of India and part of Afghanistan. Later on, however, the Empire began to decline due to peasant rebellions, the growing resistance of the Indian people to the Mohammedan conquerors and increasing separatist tendencies. In the early half of the eighteenth century the Empire of the Great Moguls practically ceased to exist. p. 125

105 *Religion of the Lingam*—the cult of the God Shiva, particularly widespread among the southern Indian sect of the Lingayat (from the word "linga"—the emblem of Shiva), a Hindu sect which does not recognise distinctions of caste and rejects fasts, sacrifices and pilgrimages.

*Juggernaut* (*Jagannath*)—a title of Krishna, the eighth avatar of Vishnu. The cult of Juggernaut was marked by sumptuous ritual and extreme religious fanaticism which manifested itself in the self-torture and suicide of believers. On feast days some believers threw themselves under the wheels of the chariot bearing the idol of Vishnu-Juggernaut. p. 126

106 *Heptarchy* (government by seven rulers)—a term used by English historiographers to describe the political system in England from the sixth to eighth centuries, when the country was divided into seven highly unstable Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, which, in their turn, frequently split up and reunited. Marx uses this term by analogy to describe the disunity of the Deccan (Central and South India) before its conquest by the Mohammedans at the beginning of the fourteenth century. p. 126

107 The island of Salsette, north of Bombay, was famous for its 109 Buddhist cave temples. p. 126

108 The text of the section "The Turkish Question" was published in *The Eastern Question* under the title "Brunnow and Clarendon.—Armenian Proclamation". p. 134

109 The Ten Hours' Bill, which applied to women and children only, was passed by the British Parliament on June 8, 1847. The Truck Act was passed in 1831. However many manufacturers evaded these laws in practice. p. 135

110 In 1824, under mass pressure, the British Parliament lifted the ban on the trade unions. In 1825, however, it passed a Bill on workers' combinations, which, while confirming the raising of the ban on trade unions, greatly restricted their activity. In particular, any agitation for workers to join unions and take part in strikes was regarded as compulsion and violence and punished as a crime. p. 135

111 A reference to the Blackstone-Edge meeting organised by the Chartists on August 2, 1846. The meeting in which Ernest Jones took part was held on June 19, 1853. p. 135

112 The *People's Charter*, the Chartist programme document, contained a demand for universal suffrage (for men of 21 and over), annual elections to Parliament, secret ballot, equal constituencies, abolition of property qualifications for candidates to Parliament, and salaries for M.P.s. p. 136

[113] This article, without the sections "The Budget" and "Tax on Newspaper Supplements", was published in *The Eastern Question* under the title "Aberdeen, Clarendon, Brunnow.—Connivance of the Aberdeen Ministry with Russia". p. 142

[114] A reference to the draft convention between Russia and Turkey which Menshikov laid as an ultimatum before the Porte after the settlement of the question of the Holy Places on May 4, 1853 (see Note 90). The draft provided not only for freedom of religion for Orthodox believers in the Turkish Empire but also for the Russian Tsar's protectorate over them and was rejected by the Sultan (see this volume, pp. 105-06 and 109-11). p. 143

[115] The Bucharest Treaty, concluded between Russia and Turkey in 1812, confirmed certain autonomous rights of Moldavia and Wallachia and the right of Russia, laid down in the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji in 1774, to defend the interests of the Orthodox Christians in the Danubian Principalities against the Porte. Under the Adrianople Treaty of 1829 Moldavia and Wallachia were granted autonomy in domestic affairs and were actually placed under the protectorate of Russia. p. 144

[116] The *Balta-Liman Convention* was concluded between Russia and Turkey on May 1, 1849, following the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia by Russian and Turkish troops for the purpose of suppressing the revolutionary movement. According to the Convention the occupation was to continue until the danger of revolution was completely removed (the occupation troops were withdrawn in 1851), the Hospodars were to be appointed temporarily by the Sultan in agreement with the Tsar, and a number of measures, including an occupation, to be taken by Russia and Turkey in the event of a new revolution were laid down. p. 144

[117] The *Convention of 1841* on the Black Sea Straits was signed by Austria, Britain, France, Prussia, Russia and Turkey in London on July 13, 1841. According to the Convention the Bosporus and the Dardanelles were to be closed in peacetime to all foreign warships. The Convention said nothing about wartime, leaving Turkey to decide the question at her own discretion. p. 145

[118] An allusion to the recall of Colonel Rose from Constantinople in February 1853, and the appointment of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe in his place as British Ambassador to Turkey. p. 145

[119] A reference to Chancellor Nesselrode's letter to the Turkish Foreign Minister Reshid Pasha of May 31, 1853. The letter was written in the form of ultimatum. It laid the responsibility for Menshikov's unsuccessful mission on the Turkish Government and called for acceptance of Russian demands to guarantee the privileges of the Orthodox Christian subjects of the Sultan, which actually meant the establishment of the Tsar's protectorate over them. Nesselrode threatened to resort to military action, i.e., the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia, if the ultimatum was rejected. Turkey, supported by Britain and France, rejected the demands of the Tsarist Government in Reshid Pasha's letter of June 16, 1853. p. 146

[120] The *Bank of England* was founded by private persons in 1694. The founders loaned its fixed capital to the government, which explains the origin of the British national debt. The Bank was actually controlled by the government and

functioned as the state bank, e.g. it was entitled to issue money. It remained nominally a private establishment, however, until the end of the Second World War. p. 148

[121] A reference to the overthrow of the Stuart dynasty and the enthronement of William III of Orange, after which constitutional monarchy was consolidated in England on the basis of a compromise between the landed aristocracy and the financial bourgeoisie. p. 149

[122] The *Seven Years' War* (1756-63)—a war between the Anglo-Prussian and the Franco-Russo-Austrian coalitions. One of the chief causes of the war was the colonial and commercial rivalry between England and France. The main theatre of operations in the East was India where the French and their puppets among the local princes were opposed by the British East India Company, which took advantage of the war to seize new Indian territories. The war ended with France losing almost all her possessions in India (except five coastal towns whose fortifications she was compelled to demolish), while England considerably strengthened her colonial might. p. 149

[123] A reference to the Reform Bill which was passed by Parliament in June 1832. The Bill was directed against the political monopoly of the landed and financial aristocracy and gave representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie access to Parliament. The proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, the main forces in the struggle for the reform, received no electoral rights. p. 151

[124] Marx lists a number of wars of conquest waged by the British East India Company. The war in the Carnatic (a principality in South-Eastern India) lasted at intervals from 1746 to 1763. The warring sides—the British and French East India Companies—sought to subjugate the Carnatic under the guise of supporting different local pretenders to the principality. The British, who in January 1761 took possession of Pondichery, the principal French bastion in the south, ultimately won the day.

In 1756, in an effort to avert a British invasion, the Nawab of Bengal started a war, seizing Calcutta, the British base in North-Eastern India. But the armed forces of the British East India Company under Robert Clive's command soon recaptured the city, demolished the Bengal fortifications of the French, who supported the Nawab, and defeated him at Plassey on June 23, 1757. In 1763 they crushed the uprising that broke out in Bengal against British rule. Along with Bengal, the British took possession of Bihar, a region on the Ganges, which was under the rule of the Nawab of Bengal. In 1803, the British completed the conquest of several feudal principalities of Orissa situated south of Bengal. p. 151

[125] In 1790-92 and 1799 the British East India Company waged wars with Mysore, an independent feudal state in South India. Its ruler Tippoo Saib had taken part in previous Mysore campaigns against the British and was a sworn enemy of the British colonialists. In the first of these wars Mysore lost half of its dominions, which were seized by the East India Company and its allied feudal princes. The second war ended with the total defeat and the death of Tippoo. Mysore became a vassal principality.

The *subsidiary system*, or the system of so-called *subsidiary agreements*—a method of turning the potentates of Indian principalities into vassals of the East India Company. Most widespread were agreements under which the princes had to maintain (subsidise) the Company's troops stationed on their territory and agreements which saddled the princes with loans on exorbitant terms. Failure to fulfil them resulted in the confiscation of their possessions. p. 151

[126] See Note 18. p. 152

[127] Marx's preparatory materials on India (Notebook XXI) include passages from J. R. MacCulloch's *The Literature of Political Economy*, London, 1845. The book contains extracts from the works of English economists of an earlier period on British trade with India, among them the above-mentioned treatises of J. Child, Th. Mun and J. Pollexfen. p. 153

[128] In the first Burmese war of 1824-26 the troops of the East India Company seized the Province of Assam, bordering on Bengal, and the coastal districts of Arakan and Tenasserim. The second Burmese war (1852) resulted in the seizure by the British of the Province of Pegu. Burma did not sign a peace treaty, however, and refused to recognise the seizure of Pegu. In 1853 the British authorities threatened to resume military operations but abstained from this step, largely due to the guerrilla warfare in Pegu against the foreign invaders, which continued until 1860. In the 1860s Britain imposed on Burma a number of unequal treaties and in 1885, as a result of the third Burmese war, annexed the whole territory of Burma. p. 155

[129] A reference to the debate in the House of Commons (June 24, 1853) on the Bill on Irish landlords and tenants introduced by the Aberdeen Ministry.

The government hoped to normalise relations between landlords and tenants by granting the latter certain rights and thereby mitigating the agrarian struggle in the country. After more than two years of debates Parliament rejected the Bill. p. 157

[130] *Tenancy-at-will*—a form of tenancy, inherited from the Middle Ages, which did not guarantee a definite term of lease for the tenant and under which the contract could be broken or modified by the landlord at any time, depending on his will. p. 158

[131] After the Act of Union was passed in 1801, the British Parliament abolished the protective tariffs shielding Ireland's young and weak industry from foreign competition. This resulted in the collapse of local enterprises, which were unable to compete with British industry, and in Ireland's transformation into an agrarian appendage of Britain. p. 159

[132] Marx's excerpts from F. W. Newman's *Lectures on Political Economy* and H. Spencer's *Social Statics* are contained in his Notebook XXI. p. 162

[133] The title under which the article appeared in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*. The *New-York Daily Tribune* entitled it "Russian Policy Against Turkey", and under this title the first section of the article, bearing on the Russo-Turkish conflict, was published in *The Eastern Question*.

In his work on this article and other reports dealing with the history of international relations, Marx made use of materials and documents usually translated into English and published in *The Portfolio; or a Collection of State Papers.* His excerpts from this source are contained in Notebook XXII. p. 163

[134] "*Pacification of Greece*"—an expression used in the diplomatic documents of the European powers with reference to their intervention in the Turko-Greek conflict caused by the liberation struggle of the Greek people against Turkish rule in the 1820s. p. 163

[135] See Note 38. p. 164

[136] A reference to Nesselrode's Note (a circular letter of June 11, 1853) to Russian diplomats abroad. The Note criticised the Porte's actions and gave grounds for presenting a new ultimatum to Turkey demanding that the Russian Tsar be recognised as the protector of the Christian subjects of the Sultan and threatening to resort to "decisive measures" if these demands were rejected. This ultimatum, which Marx calls below an "ultimatissimum", was presented to the Porte on June 16, 1853. p. 166

[137] A reference to the Executive Committee of the National Charter Association founded in July 1840. The Association was the first mass workers' party in the history of the working-class movement and had up to 50,000 members at the height of the Chartist movement. However, a lack of ideological and tactical unity and a certain looseness in its organisation affected its activities. After the defeat of the Chartists in 1848 and the ensuing split in their ranks the Association lost its mass character. Nevertheless, under the leadership of Ernest Jones and other revolutionary Chartists it fought for the revival of Chartism on a socialist basis, which found its expression in the programme adopted by the Chartist Convention in 1851. The Association ceased its activities in 1858. p. 170

[138] See Note 111. p. 172

[139] The first section of this article, entitled "Austria and Russia", was published in *The Eastern Question.*

On the use by Marx of facts and materials published in *The Portfolio* for his articles on the history of international relations, see Note 133. p. 174

[140] See Note 130. p. 178

[141] The *Suttee*—a custom by which a Hindu widow immolates herself on the funeral pyre with her husband's body. p. 181

[142] The first section of this article was published in *The Eastern Question* under the title "Layard.—Gladstone.—Aberdeen.—Palmerston". p. 185

[143] A reference to the excavations of Nineveh, the capital of ancient Assyria, directed by the English archaeologist Austen Henry Layard in 1845-51. p. 185

[144] Under the Poor Law of 1834 the only relief available to the poor who were fit for work was admission to a workhouse. These were dubbed "Poor Law Bastilles". p. 188

[145] A reference to the Bill passed by Parliament on August 5, 1850, in response to workers' protest against the verdict of the Court of Exchequer, which on February 8, 1850 acquitted a group of manufacturers accused of violating the Ten Hours' Bill. This ruling created a precedent and was tantamount to a repeal of the Bill. The workers were also incensed by the relay system practised by British manufacturers. Under the relay system, women and juveniles stayed at work for the full length of the working day for adult men (up to 15 hours), but worked at intervals. The length of their actual work was not outwardly to exceed the legal limit. The manufacturers began to make especially wide use of this system after 1847, in an attempt to circumvent the Ten Hours' Bill.

The new Bill prohibited the relay system but fixed a $10^1/_2$-hour working day for women and juveniles. Marx makes a more detailed analysis of the British workers' struggle for a shorter working day in Volume I of *Capital*. p. 190

[146] This article, excluding the section "The East India Question", was published in *The Eastern Question*. p. 192

[147] The *Peace Society* (the Society for Promoting Permanent and Universal Peace)—a pacifist organisation founded by the Quakers in London in 1816. It was strongly supported by the Free Traders, who believed that, given peace, free trade would enable Britain to make full use of her industrial superiority and thus gain economic and political supremacy. p. 192

[148] An allusion to Palmerston's speech during a parliamentary debate on the Anglo-Greek conflict in June 1850. In January 1850 the British Government presented Greece with an ultimatum and sent ships to blockade Piraeus using as a pretext the burning (in Athens in 1847) of the house of the Portuguese merchant Pacifico, who was a British subject. The real object of the move, however, was to make Greece surrender several strategically important islands in the Aegean Sea. In his speech of June 25, 1850 Palmerston justified Britain's action by the need to safeguard the prestige of British subjects, and drew an analogy between them and Roman citizens. The Latin phrase he cited: "civis Romanus sum" ("I am a Roman citizen"), was used to indicate the high status and privileges afforded by British citizenship. p. 192

[149] A reference to the Smyrna incident caused by the arrest of Martin Koszta, a Hungarian refugee and US subject, by order of the Austrian consul, who had him put on board the Austrian warship *Hussar*. This led to an armed clash between the refugees and Austrian naval officers. Ingraham, the captain of the American warship *Saint Louis*, had to intervene and demanded the release of Koszta. Thanks to the mediation of the consuls of other powers an armed conflict was averted. After the negotiations, which lasted for several months, Koszta was released and left for the USA. p. 193

[150] See Note 91. p. 195

[151] See Note 27. p. 195

[152] In the spring of 1833 Russian troops were landed in Unkiar-Skelessi, near the Bosporus, to render assistance to the Turkish Sultan against the army of the insurgent Egyptian ruler Mehemet Ali. In May 1833 the Porte, with the mediation of Britain and France, signed a peace treaty with Mehemet Ali, ceding him Syria and Palestine. However, Russian diplomats took advantage of the strained situation and the presence of Russian troops in Turkey and prevailed upon the Porte to sign, on July 8, 1833, the *Unkiar-Skelessi Treaty* on a defensive alliance with Russia. On the insistence of Russia a secret clause was included in the treaty prohibiting all foreign warships, except those of Russia, to pass through the Bosporus and the Dardanelles. This clause remained in force until the new Egyptian crisis of 1839-41 (see Note 6). In negotiating with Britain and other powers on joint operations against Mehemet Ali, Nicholas I had to comply with their demand that in peacetime the Straits be closed to warships of all foreign states without exception. p. 195

[153] *Furcae Caudinae*—a gorge near the Roman town of Caudium, where in 321 B.C., during the second Samnite war, the Samnites defeated the Roman legions and made them pass under the "yoke", which was considered a terrible disgrace to a defeated army. Hence the expression "to pass under furcae Caudinae", that is to be subjected to extreme humiliation. p. 196

[154] Until 1872 candidates to the British Parliament were nominated by a show of hands and even persons without the right to vote could take part in the nomination. But only a very small section of the population could take part in the election, the franchise being restricted by a high property qualification, residence qualification, etc. Candidates turned down by open vote could also stand for election. Marx described these features of the British electoral system in his article "The Chartists" (1852), citing as an example the nomination of candidates in Halifax where Ernest Jones' candidacy was proposed (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 333-41). p. 196

[155] See Note 89. p. 197

[156] '*Change Alley*—a street in London containing many banks and usurers' offices; it was famous for all kinds of financial transactions and speculative deals. p. 197

[157] See Note 125. p. 197

[158] *Jagirdars*—representatives of the Moslem feudal gentry in the Great Mogul Empire who received for temporary use large estates (jagirs) in return for which they rendered military service and supplied contingents of troops. When the Empire began to disintegrate the jagirdars became hereditary feudal owners. p. 198

[159] Babur (1483-1530), the founder of the Great Mogul Empire (see Note 104), was a descendant of Tamerlane, who in his turn considered himself the

successor of Genghis Khan. In the eighteenth century, after the disintegration of the Empire, the Mogul emperors became the puppets of the regional governors and Indian feudal lords. After the seizure of Delhi in 1803 by the British they became figureheads of the East India Company and received pensions from it. In 1858, when India was declared a possession of the British Crown, the last formal vestiges of Mogul power were abolished. p. 199

[160] This article, excluding the first section "War in Burma", was published under the title "The Russian Question.—Curious Diplomatic Correspondence" in *The Eastern Question.* p. 201

[161] See Note 128. p. 201

[162] See Note 148. p. 202

[163] See Note 22. p. 202

[164] See Note 54. p. 202

[165] A reference to Nesselrode's circular letter to Russian diplomats abroad of July 2, 1853. (Below Marx cites the date as June 20, 1853, according to the old style accepted in Russia.) The text of it was published in *The Times*, No. 21418, July 12, 1853. Written in the spirit of the previous Note of June 11, 1853 (see Note 136), it supported the Tsarist Government's demands on Turkey and criticised the policy of the Western powers. In referring to the French Minister's reply to the Note, Marx made a slight error, which was due to the lack of clarity in the text of the telegram from Paris published in *The Morning Post.* He quoted from Drouyn de Lhuys' reply to Nesselrode's first Note of June 11, 1853, the text of which together with the text of the French Government's reply of June 25, 1853 was published in the official newspaper *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 195, on July 14, 1853. Nesselrode's Note of July 2 and Drouyn de Lhuys' reply to it of July 15 were published in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 198 for July 17, 1853, after Marx had written his article. In the second Note, the French Government likewise expressed its disapproval of the Tsar's position in the Eastern question and professed to stand for a peaceful solution of the conflict. p. 203

[166] A reference to the London Convention of July 13, 1841 (see Note 117). The Convention annulled the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi (1833), which was advantageous to Russia because it opened the Black Sea Straits to Russian warships. Nevertheless, the Tsarist Government, which had taken part since 1840 in the joint military operations of the four powers (Austria, Britain, Prussia and Russia) against Mehemet Ali, who was supported by France, was compelled to adhere to the principle of neutralising the Straits advanced by the Western powers. Yielding to threats of an anti-French coalition, France abandoned Mehemet Ali and signed the Convention. p. 203

[167] Taking advantage of the Turko-Egyptian conflict of 1839 (see Note 6) and increasing tension between Britain and France, the Tsarist Government proposed to Palmerston, in September 1839, the conclusion of an agreement,

which, under the guise of joint assistance to the Sultan, would provide for a division of spheres of influence in the Middle East between the two powers. The British Government, which was striving for complete domination in Turkey, rejected the proposal on the pretext that the Eastern question should be settled by a general agreement of European powers. p. 205

168 The first section of this article was published under the title "Russia and the Western Powers" in *The Eastern Question.* p. 209

169 Nesselrode's Note of July 2, 1853 and the reply of the French Foreign Minister Drouyn de Lhuys sent on July 15, 1853 (see Note 165) contained mutual accusations of the French and Russian governments of provoking a conflict. Nesselrode asserted that Britain and France had been the first to demonstrate hostility by sending their squadrons to the Straits before the Russian army entered the Danubian Principalities. Drouyn de Lhuys' Note laid the whole responsibility for the conflict on Russia. p. 209

170 A reference to the conspiracy against the Sultan Abdul Mejid organised by opponents of the policy of reforms (tansimat). The foundation of this policy was laid by Abdul Mejid's rescript of 1839, which proclaimed the introduction of certain changes, e.g. reform of the taxation system, a guarantee of the inviolability of life and property, and some others. Despite the highly limited nature of these reforms, they were violently opposed by reactionaries grouped around the Sultan's brother Abdul Aziz. p. 211

171 A reference to the proclamation issued by Gorchakov, the commander of the Russian army on the Danube, to the inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia in the summer of 1853 and published in *The Times*, No. 21477, July 11, 1853. The proclamation declared that the object of the Russian army's entry into the Danubian Principalities was not to change the political institutions and the order guaranteed for the Principalities by former treaties. p. 211

172 The *Zemindari* and *Ryotwari systems*—two systems of land taxation introduced by the British colonial authorities. The Zemindari system was introduced in Bengal and then in other provinces in North-Eastern and Central India at the end of the eighteenth century. The Ryotwari system was established in the Madras Presidency (first in two districts in 1792, and then throughout the region in 1818-23) and in the Presidency of Bombay (1818-28). In both cases the colonial power was recognised as the supreme owner of the land. Under the Zemindari system the tax from the agricultural population was collected, in return for a certain share, by zemindars, hereditary tax-collectors, who formed a new stratum of feudal landowners. To help them perform this function they enlisted the services of agricultural middlemen of lower rank. Under the Ryotwari system the Indian peasants, the ryots, were directly dependent on the East India Company, to whom they paid tax. The tax was collected by company officials and its rate depended on the harvest. p. 214

173 *Collector*—the British chief official of a district in India who acted as a magistrate and collected taxes. p. 214

174 *Mahrattas* (Marathas)—a people who lived in the North-Western Deccan. In the mid-seventeenth century they began an armed struggle against the Empire of the Great Moguls, thus contributing to its decline. In the course of the struggle the Mahrattas formed an independent state of their own, whose rulers soon embarked on wars of conquest. At the close of the seventeenth century their state was weakened by internal feudal strife, but early in the eighteenth century a powerful confederation of Mahratta principalities was formed under a supreme governor, the peshwa. In 1761 they suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Afghans in the struggle for supremacy in India. Weakened by this struggle and internal feudal strife, the Mahratta principalities fell prey to the East India Company and were subjected by it as a result of the Anglo-Mahratta war of 1803-05. p. 217

175 See Note 172. p. 218

176 *Jats*—a caste group in Northern India which consisted mainly of peasants, but also included the military. In the seventeenth century the Jat peasants repeatedly rose in revolt against the rule of the Mogul feudals. p. 221

177 *Brahmins*—one of the four ancient Indian castes which originally consisted mainly of privileged priests; like other Indian castes, it subsequently also contained people of different trades and social standing, including impoverished peasants and artisans. p. 221

178 *Rajah*—title of the Indian princes. In the Middle Ages it was given to Hindu feudal lords and in British India to certain big landowners. p. 221

179 The *temple of Juggernaut* in Orissa (Eastern India)—the centre of worship of Vishnu-Juggernaut, one of the chief Hindu deities (see Note 105). The priests of the temple, who were under the protection of the East India Company, obtained vast sums of money from mass pilgrimages, while encouraging the temple women to engage in prostitution, and from organising sumptuous festivals which were accompanied by the suicide and self-torture of fanatic believers. p. 222

180 The final section of this article was published under the title "Traditional Policy of Russia" in *The Eastern Question.* p. 223

181 See Note 47. p. 223

182 Marx ironically compares the adherents of lowering cabmen's payment to sixpence per mile with a leading figure of the English revolution in the seventeenth century, John Hampden, who was tried in 1637 for refusal to pay the King's tax-collectors "ship money", a tax which had not been authorised by the House of Commons. p. 224

183 *Mons Sacer*—a sacred mountain where, as the legend goes, plebeians retired in protest against patrician oppression in 494 B.C. p. 225

[184] See Note 63. p. 226

[185] Jonathan Swift bequeathed all his fortune for the building of a lunatic asylum in Dublin. The asylum was opened in 1757. p. 226

[186] On April 10, 1848, a Chartist demonstration was organised in London to present the Chartist petition to Parliament. The government banned the demonstration and troops and police were brought to London to prevent it. The Chartist leaders, many of whom vacillated, decided to call off the demonstration and persuaded the participants to disperse. This failure was used by reactionary forces to launch an offensive against the workers and repress the Chartists. p. 226

[187] A reference to amendments to the Danish Constitution of June 5, 1849 to give more powers to the Crown, drafted in 1853. The new Constitution was promulgated on October 2, 1855.

*Lex Regia*—the law of Danish succession promulgated on November 14, 1665 by King Frederick III of Denmark extended to women the right of succeeding to the throne. Under the London Protocol of May 8, 1852 (see Note 58) and the new law of succession of July 31, 1853 this right was abolished. Thus, Duke Christian of Glücksburg was proclaimed successor to King Frederick VII as the latter had no heir. The new law indirectly confirmed the right of members of the Russian imperial dynasty to succeed to the Danish throne. p. 227

[188] See Note 91. p. 229

[189] See Note 30. p. 230

[190] In his "political testament" (1633) Richelieu expounded the principles of the domestic and foreign policy of French absolutism, in an attempt to substantiate its claims for an extension of France's boundaries and French hegemony in Europe.

*Capitularies*—the name given from the time of Charlemagne (768-814) to the collections of ordinances of the Frankish kings of the Carolingian dynasty; some of them dealt with the administration of the conquered lands. p. 230

[191] At the end of the eleventh century a Turkish feudal state sprang up in the east of Asia Minor as a result of its conquest by the Ogyz Turks. Its capital was the town of Iconium (Konia). The Iconian Sultanate under the ruling Seljukian dynasty waged a struggle against Byzantium and the crusaders. In the second half of the thirteenth century under the impact of the Mongolian invaders it disintegrated into independent principalities. One of them, headed by the tribal chief Osman, was situated in the north-west of Anatolia and bordered on Byzantium. It became the nucleus of the newly formed Turkish state—the Ottoman (Osman) Empire. In the fourteenth century the new state included the old possessions of the Iconian sultans and the conquered territories of the neighbouring countries. In 1453 under Mehemed II the Osman Turks captured Constantinople, the last stronghold of the Byzantine emperors, and turned it into the capital of the Ottoman Empire. p. 231

[192] The New York *Crystal Palace* was built for the World Industrial Exhibition of 1853. It was opened on July 15; later it was used to house various exhibitions. It was destroyed by fire in 1856. p. 232

[193] This article, entitled "The Press on Eastern Affairs.—Notes of England and Russia", was published in abridged form in *The Eastern Question.* p. 233

[194] See Note 129. p. 234

[195] On July 24, 1853 a conference of the representative of Austria and the ambassadors of Britain, France and Prussia on mediation between Russia and Turkey was opened in Vienna. It drafted a conciliatory Note (the so-called Vienna Note) which laid down that Turkey observe the Kuchuk Kainarji and Adrianople treaties and respect the rights and privileges of the Greek Orthodox Church. The conference ruled that the Note be sent first to the Tsar and, in the event of his approval, to the Sultan.

Nicholas I approved the Note, but Abdul Mejid made his agreement to sign it conditional on the insertion of a number of amendments and reservations, which the Tsarist Government thought unacceptable. p. 234

[196] *Odnodvortsi*—a special group of state peasants in the Russian Empire formed from the lower ranks of the servicemen (*sluzhiliye lyudi*) who had originally performed the service of guarding the outlying areas of the State of Muscovy, where they settled in separate households and were soldiers and farmers at one and the same time. p. 236

[197] *Eidermen* or *Eider Danes*—the Danish liberal party of the middle of the nineteenth century whose members supported the union of Schleswig (up to the River Eider) with Denmark. The party favoured the separation of Denmark and Holstein, where the population consisted mainly of Germans; it shared the Danish bourgeoisie's fear of the competition of Holstein's industry. Therefore the Eider Danes opposed any Danish succession law which applied to all parts of the Kingdom of Denmark. p. 237

[198] A reference to a party which was founded in Denmark in 1846. It demanded the transfer of lands which peasants used as feudal tenants into their private ownership, and also the abolition of feudal obligations and the introduction of universal suffrage and other reforms in the interests of the wealthy peasants. p. 237

[199] See Note 58. p. 237

[200] See Note 187. p. 237

[201] This article, excluding the section "Advertisement Duty", was published under the title "Russian Movements.—Denmark.—United States and Europe" in *The Eastern Question.* p. 239

[202] See Note 116. p. 239

[203] See Note 187. p. 241

[204] A reference to the law excluding succession by the female line, which existed in a number of West-European monarchies. This was based on Salic law (Lex Salica), the law of the Salian Franks, which dated back to the sixth century. Chapter LIX of the Lex Salica allowed succession by the male line only. p. 242

[205] See Note 86. p. 242

[206] The *Treaty of Westphalia of 1648* ended the European Thirty Years' War (1618-48) in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the Catholic German princes fought the Protestant countries of Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands and a number of German Protestant states. The rulers of Catholic France—rivals of the Habsburgs—supported the Protestant camp. The treaty as a whole sealed the victory of the anti-Habsburg coalition, promoted the establishment of France's hegemony in Europe and added to the political disunity of Germany. Under the terms of the Treaty of Westphalia the Swiss Confederation was recognised as an independent state. p. 244

[207] The first section of the article was published under the title "To Withdraw or Not to Withdraw" in *The Eastern Question.* p. 245

[208] An ironical allusion by Marx to the methods used by Louis Bonaparte and his entourage in preparing the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, when they were trying to win the support of officers and soldiers. During the receptions and after the military parades organised by Louis Bonaparte, then President of the Republic, officers and men were usually treated to sausage-meat, cold fowl, champagne, etc. p. 245

[209] Marx is summing up his comments (see pp. 209, 228, 234-35 and 240) on the attempts of the Western powers at mediation in the Turkish conflict at the conference of diplomats in Vienna in the last decade of July 1853 and on its conciliatory Note (see Note 195). However, it is highly probable that this refers to an article mailed to the *New-York Daily Tribune* between August 5 and 12, 1853, which was either lost on the way to New York or was not published due to reasons unknown. p. 246

[210] See Note 110. p. 249

[211] The *Encumbered Estates Act* was adopted by the Irish Parliament in 1849 and was later supplemented by the Acts of 1852-53 and others. This Act provided for the sale of mortgaged estates by auction if their owners were proved to be insolvent. It resulted in the lands of ruined landlords passing into the hands of usurers, middlemen and rich tenants. p. 251

[212] By a tradition dating back to the Middle Ages the members of the House of Lords are obliged to swear a solemn oath (the oath of allegiance) to the Crown. At the same time the medieval Magna Carta Libertatum (1215) gave English feudal lords the right to revolt against the throne in cases of infringement of their feudal privileges. p. 251

[213] A reference to Britain's support of the Portuguese branch of the Coburg dynasty during the popular uprising of 1846-47. The uprising was brutally suppressed. p. 254

[214] This article was published under the same title in *The Eastern Question.* p. 257

[215] This article has not been found. p. 257

[216] A reference to Nesselrode's circular letters of June 11 and July 2, 1853 (see Notes 136 and 165). p. 258

[217] In 1852 a conflict arose between Turkey and Montenegro, which demanded complete independence of the Sultan, whose vassal it remained nominally. The Porte rejected Russia's mediation on this issue, and at the beginning of 1853 the Turkish army under the command of Omer Pasha invaded Montenegro. The Austrian Government feared that if Russia entered the war to defend the Montenegrins that would cause unrest in the Slav regions of the Habsburg Empire, so it hastily dispatched Count Leiningen on a special mission to Constantinople (Marx mentions this mission below) to demand the withdrawal of Turkish troops from Montenegro and the restoration of the status quo. The concentration of Austrian troops on the Montenegrin border compelled the Porte to accept these demands. p. 261

[218] This article was published under the same title in *The Eastern Question.* p. 265

[219] Together with a draft Russo-Turkish agreement which recognised the Tsar as the protector of Orthodox Christians in Turkey, Prince Menshikov proposed that the Turkish Government should sign a secret document on a defence alliance which would provide for Russian military assistance to the Sultan in the event of a third power attempting to violate the above-mentioned agreement on the privileges of the Greek Orthodox Church in Turkey. The Turkish Government, supported by the British and French Ambassadors to Constantinople, rejected the draft agreement and the secret defence treaty. p. 266

[220] A reference to the reply of the Turkish Foreign Minister Reshid Pasha of June 16, 1853 to Chancellor Nesselrode's letter of May 31, 1853 (see Note 119). In his reply Reshid Pasha rejected Nesselrode's ultimatum. At the same time he wrote that the Porte was willing to send a special mission to St. Petersburg to settle the dispute in such a way that the rights of the Greek Orthodox Church in Turkey could be confirmed without damage to the Sultan's sovereignty. p. 267

[221] In 1839 the Serbian Prince Miloš Obrenović, whose attempts to establish autocratic rule were firmly opposed by the commercial bourgeoisie, was

compelled to abdicate. However, his successor Mihailo Obrenović strove to continue his father's policy. In August 1842 the so-called defenders of the statute, who supported a moderate Constitution and bourgeois reforms, revolted against him and proclaimed Alexander Karageorgević Prince of Serbia. In effect a regime of the merchant oligarchy was established, the representatives of which (Garašanin and others) made plans for uniting the lands of the Southern Slavs under Serbia. p. 269

[222] See Note 116. p. 269

[223] *Navigation Acts* were passed in Britain to protect British shipping against foreign competition. The best known was that of 1651, directed mainly against the Dutch, who controlled most of the sea trade. It prohibited the importation of any goods not carried by British ships or the ships of the country where the goods were produced, and laid down that British coasting trade and commerce with the colonies were to be carried on only by British ships. The Navigation Acts were modified in the early nineteenth century and repealed in 1849 except for a reservation regarding coasting trade, which was revoked in 1854. p. 275

[224] The first section of this article was published under the same title in *The Eastern Question.* p. 277

[225] The aristocratic wing of the Polish emigration centred around Prince Adam Czartoryski who resided in the Hôtel Lambert in Paris. Polish aristocratic émigrés also lived in Britain and other countries. Polish patriots organised a national liberation uprising in the Cracow Republic which, by a decision of the Vienna Congress, was controlled jointly by Austria, Russia and Prussia—the countries who had taken part in the partitions of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century. On February 22, 1846 the insurgents managed to take power, formed a National Government of the Polish Republic and issued a manifesto on the abolition of feudal obligations. The Cracow uprising was suppressed in early March 1846, and in November 1846 Austria, Prussia and Russia signed a treaty on the annexation of the free city of Cracow to the Austrian Empire. Palmerston, who became Foreign Secretary in July 1846, rejected the French proposal for a collective protest against this action and in a letter of November 23, 1846 notified the Vienna Cabinet that Britain would not defend the Cracow Republic, while hypocritically calling on Austria, Prussia and Russia to renounce their intentions with regard to Cracow. p. 280

[226] See Note 48. p. 281

[227] A reference to an agreement reached between the Peelites, the Whigs and the so-called Mayfair Radicals (see Note 64) who met at the private residence of Lord John Russell in Chesham Place, London, in the spring of 1852. The agreement provided for joint opposition to Derby's Tory Cabinet and also the formation of a Coalition Ministry in case of its resignation. It remained in force until December 1852 when the Aberdeen Coalition Ministry was formed. The key posts in the new Ministry were held by the Whig and Peelite leaders, while the

representatives of the Mayfair Radicals were given a number of administrative appointments. p. 281

228 See Note 48. p. 282

229 On August 23, 1853 *The Morning Advertiser* published a note under the heading "The Russian Agent Bakunin" signed with the initials F. M. (the author was Francis Marx, an English conservative journalist, and supporter of Urquhart); it accused Bakunin of being connected with the Tsarist Government. On the following day, August 24, the paper published a letter by Golovin (the author of the anonymous article on Bakunin in *The Morning Advertiser* for August 14 which prompted F. M.'s note), Herzen and the Polish refugee Worcell refuting F. M.'s note. On August 27 the latter replied with a statement in which he said that revolutions in Europe were always fomented by Tsarist agents. On August 29 Golovin and Herzen published another letter entitled "Who Is F. M.?" Herzen abstained from further polemic on the subject, which was carried on by Golovin alone.

In the letter of August 24 a "certain German newspaper" was mentioned, in which Bakunin had allegedly been first accused. The authors of the letter hinted at the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. In this connection Marx decided to send his letter to the editor of *The Morning Advertiser*. p. 284

230 From May 3 to 9, 1849 Dresden, the capital of Saxony, was the scene of an armed uprising caused by the refusal of the King of Saxony to approve the Imperial Constitution drafted by the Frankfurt National Assembly. The insurgents, among whom the workers played a prominent part in barricade fighting, gained control of a considerable section of the town and formed a provisional government headed by the radical democrat Samuel Tzschirner. An active part in the uprising was played by Mikhail Bakunin, the Russian revolutionary, Stephan Born, a workers' leader, and Richard Wagner, the composer. The uprising was suppressed by Saxon and Prussian troops. p. 286

231 In all probability the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* omitted the part of the article concerning the Russo-Turkish conflict. In his next newspaper report of September 9, 1853, Marx refers to the passage in his article written on August 30, 1853 (i.e., this article) in which he wrote about the actual rejection of the Vienna Note; this passage is not given in the text included in the present publication. The comparatively short length of the article testifies to the fact that it was abridged. The editors may have had other material at hand on the subject (Ferenc Pulszky's article) ready for publication in the same number (September 15, 1853). It is also possible that the omitted part was used by the editors for the leader which read, in part, as follows: "The news from Europe would seem to leave the Eastern question as far from actual settlement as ever. The Czar had accepted the Vienna propositions on the express condition that the Sultan should make no modification in them, and without any stipulation as to the withdrawal of his troops from the Turkish dominions. The Porte has, however, made some modifications in these proposals, and one or two of them are sufficiently shrewd and important, as our reader may see by reference to another column. Now it remains to be seen whether the Czar will allow these changes, or will go to war. To us it is by no means certain that he will not, after sufficient time for consideration, and after the season for naval operations has fully passed, reply that he can submit to no such indignities, and that he will now proceed to take further guarantees by

annexing as much of Turkey as he may judge proper. We are no believers in a long maintenance of peace, and shall admit there has been a settlement of the Turkish question only when the papers have been signed on both sides, and the Russian army marched back to its own side of the Pruth" (*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3873, September 15, 1853). p. 287

[232] See Note 223. p. 288

[233] The text of the declaration of the Seamen's United Friendly Association, which may have been quoted by Marx from a leaflet, was published later in *The People's Paper*, No. 80, November 12, 1853. p. 289

[234] Marx's statement to the editor of *The People's Paper* was written in connection with the anonymous article (by Golovin) "How to Write History", published in *The Morning Advertiser* on September 3, 1853. This article, which attacked Marx, was a reply to Marx's letter to the editor of *The Morning Advertiser* of August 30, 1853 (see this volume, pp. 284-86).

On August 31 *The Morning Advertiser* published Arnold Ruge's letter in which Marx and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* were openly accused of slandering Bakunin. In his reply to Golovin Marx also exposed Ruge's false arguments. Details connected with this statement are given by Marx in his letter to Engels of September 3, 1853, in which he also includes the first draft of his reply. On September 7, 1853 Marx wrote to Engels that he had sent his reply to *The People's Paper* because the editors of *The Morning Advertiser* had refused to publish it.

In October the editors of *The Morning Advertiser* announced that the matter was closed. p. 290

[235] A reference to the Convention decrees adopted in 1793 (spring-autumn) at the height of the struggle against counter-revolutionary conspiracies and revolts. The law on suspects (*lois des suspects*), promulgated on September 17, 1793, provided for the arrest of all persons "who by their conduct or their connections, their talks or writings proved to be adherents of tyranny". p. 291

[236] This article was published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* unsigned and without a title. In selecting a title for it the editors of the present edition had regard to the entry "9. September. Kritik des Peel acts etc. Schumla Briefe" in Marx's notebook.

The first two sections of this article were published under the title "The Vienna Note" in *The Eastern Question*. p. 292

[237] This part of the article mentioned was omitted by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see Note 231). p. 292

[238] The Bank Act of 1844 passed by Peel's government established the maximum quantity of bank-notes in circulation guaranteed by definite reserve funds of gold and silver. The additional issue of bank-notes was allowed only if precious metal reserves were increased proportionally. The Act was violated several times by the government itself, in particular, during the monetary crises of 1847 and 1857. Besides this article, Marx gave an analysis of the meaning and significance of the

1844 Act in a series of articles written in 1857-58 for the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see present edition, Vols. 15 and 16). A detailed description of the Act is given in Marx's *Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. XXIV. p. 296

239 See Note 165. p. 302

240 A reference to the closure of the Capuchin monastery in Locarno in the autumn of 1852 and the expulsion of 22 Italian-born Capuchins from Ticino to Lombardy. The actions of the Swiss authorities against the Capuchin Order, which enjoyed Austrian protection, aggravated Austro-Swiss relations, which were further strained by the fact that participants in the Italian national liberation movement resided on Swiss territory. p. 302

241 See Note 19. p. 302

242 Th. Carlyle, *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, No. II, *Model Prisons*, London, 1850. A critical analysis of this work was given in one of the reviews published by Marx and Engels in the fourth issue of the journal *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 301-09). p. 303

243 The first section of this article concerning the Russo-Turkish conflict was published under the title "The Vienna Note (continued)" in *The Eastern Question*. p. 309

244 A reference to the London Convention of July 15, 1840 signed by Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia on support to the Turkish Sultan against the Egyptian ruler Mehemet Ali, and also to the London Convention of 1841 (see Note 117) and the Balta-Liman Convention of 1849 (see Note 116). France, which supported Mehemet Ali, did not sign the first Convention, but the threat of an anti-French coalition made it deny its support to the Egyptian ruler and take part in the drawing up of the London Convention of 1841. Besides the clauses on armed intervention in the Turko-Egyptian conflict and an ultimatum to Mehemet Ali to give up all his possessions except Egypt to the Sultan, the 1840 Convention had a clause on the joint protection of the Straits, which served as a prerequisite for the stipulation in the 1841 Convention that the Straits should be closed to men-of-war of all states. p. 312

245 In response to Marx's request Engels sent him material on the economic situation in Lancashire and other industrial regions of England which Marx used in this and the following article. Marx wrote about it in his letter to Engels of September 28, 1853 (see present edition, Vol. 39).

The first section of this article was published under the title "The English Ministry Outwitted.—Panic" in *The Eastern Question*. p. 318

246 The *ulema* (*ulama*)—a body of the theologians and legalists of Islam; it provided teachers for the mosques and schools, supervised law and the courts and had a great influence on the political life of the Turkish Empire. p. 325

247 A reference to a strike of engineering workers that started in late December 1851 and involved several towns in South-East and Central England. The strike was organised by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers with the aim of abolishing overtime and improving working conditions. The employers responded with a

lockout. After three months' struggle the workers lost and were compelled to resume work on former terms. The employers suffered considerable material losses, however, as a result of the strike and lockout. p. 326

248 On the use of Engels' material in this article see Note 245.

In selecting a title for the article the editors of the present edition made use of the entry in Marx's notebook: "Dienstag. 27. September. Turkey. Strikes. Manchester Geschichte."An abridged translation into German was published in *Die Reform* under the title "Der Stand der Arbeiterbewegung in England".

An excerpt from the first section of the article together with the beginning of the following article: "The Russians in Turkey", was published under the title "The English Ministry Outwitted.—Panic" in *The Eastern Question.* p. 329

249 In the latter period Marx and Engels substituted the more precise terms "value of labour power" and "price of labour power" for "value of labour" and "price of labour" as Marx concluded that the worker sells the capitalist his labour power and not his labour (see F. Engels, Introduction to a separate edition of Marx's "Wage Labour and Capital" of 1891, present edition, Vol. 28). p. 333

250 This article was the first in a series in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on the preparation and course of the Crimean war. (Turkey declared war on Russia at the beginning of October 1853.) The articles were written by Engels, who gave a systematic account of the campaign drawing on available information, mostly from the West-European press. Many articles were published unsigned by the newspaper editors, as leaders.

The beginning of this article was combined with part of the first section of the article "Panic on the London Stock Exchange.—Strikes" and published under the title "The English Ministry Outwitted.— Panic" in *The Eastern Question.* p. 335

251 A reference to the leader "Russian Designs in Turkey" published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on September 17, 1853. The reference would appear to have been inserted by the newspaper editors. p. 336

252 A reference to the Turkish military expedition under Omer Pasha to Kurdistan in 1846 to suppress an uprising against the Sultan. On the expedition of Omer Pasha to Montenegro see Note 217. p. 336

253 See Note 8. p. 338

254 Alexander Suvorov took part in the siege of Ochakov but not in the storming of it on December 17, 1788 due to a wound received during the siege and also to disagreement with the commander-in-chief of the Russian army, Prince Potemkin, as to the conduct of the siege. On December 22, 1790 the Russian army commanded by Suvorov took the Turkish fortress of Izmail by storm and this contributed greatly to the victory of the Russians in the Russo-Turkish war of 1787-91. p. 339

255 The capture of Warsaw by Russian troops on September 8, 1831 was one of the

final acts of Tsarist Russia, which together with Prussia and Austria suppressed the Polish national liberation insurrection of 1830-31. The majority of its participants were revolutionary nobles (the *szlachcics*) and most of its leaders came from the ranks of the aristocracy. In spite of its defeat, it was of major international significance because it diverted the forces of counter-revolution and thwarted their plans regarding the bourgeois revolution of 1830 in France and the 1830-31 revolution in Belgium. p. 339

256 The pamphlet *Lord Palmerston* was planned by Marx as a series of articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune.* When he started working on it in early October 1853 Marx gave his consent to its simultaneous publication in the Chartist *People's Paper.* However, whereas the Chartist paper started publishing Marx's articles as a series entitled "Lord Palmerston" and prefaced each article with the editorial note: "Written for the *New-York Tribune* by Dr. Marx, and communicated by him to us", the editors of the *Tribune* published the first article as a leader without mentioning the author's name. This determined the subsequent publication of the work as articles outwardly not connected with each other. Eight articles appeared in *The People's Paper* between October 22 and December 24, 1853, and the last, like the preceding ones, ended with the words: "To be continued". As can be seen from Marx's letter to Engels of December 14, 1853, Marx intended to write additional articles on Palmerston's policy in 1840-41, when the London Conventions were concluded, and also to analyse Palmerston's stand during the 1848-49 revolutions. However, these plans were not realised.

The *New-York Daily Tribune* did not publish all of Marx's articles and its final publication was at the beginning of 1854, although Marx dispatched the last article to New York as early as December 6, 1853. In all, the newspaper published four articles as leaders and under different titles. On October 19, 1853, the *Tribune* published the leader "Palmerston" which corresponded to the first and second articles published in *The People's Paper*; on November 4, 1853, the leader "Palmerston and Russia" corresponding to the third article of the series; on November 21, 1853, the leader "A Chapter of Modern History" corresponding to the fourth and fifth articles; and on January 11, 1854, the leader "England and Russia" corresponding to the seventh article. The first three leaders were also reprinted in the *New-York Weekly Tribune* on October 22, November 12 and December 3, 1853. The sixth and eighth articles of the series were never published by the *Tribune* and in its special issues. The texts of the articles in *The People's Paper* and the *New-York Daily Tribune* are not identical. When Marx sent his articles to the *Tribune* and *The People's Paper* he evidently modified them in accordance with the different form of publication in these newspapers. There are also signs that the *Tribune* editors altered Marx's text.

The pamphlet against Palmerston was widely circulated. On November 26, 1853, the *Glasgow Sentinel* reprinted from the *Tribune* the article "Palmerston and Russia" (the third of the *People's Paper* series). In December 1853 the London publisher Tucker published this article under the same title in pamphlet form. (Marx mentions this edition in his article "Palmerston's Resignation", see this volume, p. 546). At the beginning of February 1854 a second edition of this pamphlet was put out with Marx's participation: Marx made some amendments and additions on the basis of the *People's Paper* publication.

Shortly afterwards Tucker published another pamphlet, *Palmerston and the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi* (the title-page bearing the title: "Palmerston, What Has He Done?"); with slight amendments the pamphlet reproduced the text of the fourth (excluding the first four paragraphs) and the fifth articles of the *People's Paper*

series. Both pamphlets were included as Nos. 1 and 2 in the *Political Fly-Sheets* series published by Tucker, and in the first half of 1855 they were again reprinted together with pamphlets by other authors. Tucker mentioned Marx's name in the preface to that edition as the author of pamphlets Nos. 1 and 2 (in the table of contents pamphlet No. 1 was entitled differently: "Palmerston and Poland"). Marx himself prevented the rest of his articles from being published in Tucker's edition because Urquhart's articles had also been published in the *Political Fly-Sheets* series. On this score Marx wrote to Lassalle on June 1, 1854: "I have no desire to be numbered among the associates of this gentleman; the estimation of Palmerston is the only point we have in common. In the rest I have a diametrically opposite point of view. This became evident during our first meeting."

On November 17, 1855 and January 5, 1856, the Urquhart *Sheffield Free Press*, which was in opposition to Palmerston, published two of Marx's articles (the third and the sixth from the *People's Paper* publication). The first of them was also reprinted as No. 4a of *The Free Press Serials* published in Sheffield. Almost simultaneously all eight articles of the series appeared in the five issues (Nos. 12, 13, 14, 18 and 19 of December 29, 1855, January 5 and 12 and February 9 and 16, 1856) of the London Urquhart *Free Press* and were published as No. 5 of *The Free Press Serials* entitled "The Story of the Life of Lord Palmerston". The author's name was mentioned in the editorial introduction to this edition.

An abridged translation of the *Tribune* text into German by Adolph Cluss was printed in New York in *Die Reform* as early as November 2, 1853. The publishers' note to it stated the following: "The great interest aroused by Palmerston's name at the present time has induced us to print this rendering from the *Tribune*. The essay reveals a more than average knowledge of British affairs by the author, and though it bears no signature it is easy to tell who the author is." The article "Palmerston", published in instalments in *Die Reform* on November 2, 3, 4, 8 and 9, corresponds to the first and second articles in the *People's Paper* series. In February 1855 Marx published two articles entitled "Lord Palmerston" in the Breslau (Wrocław) *Neue Oder-Zeitung* which were in the main a summary of the *People's Paper* and the *Tribune* publications. Excerpts from Marx's pamphlet (his name was mentioned in the editors' note) were published in Berlin in 1859-60 by the German journalist E. Fischel in *Das Neue Portfolio. Eine Sammlung wichtiger Dokumente und Aktenstücke zur Zeitgeschichte*, Hefte 1-2, under the title "Der 'wahrhaft' englische Minister und Russland am Bosporus. Lord Palmerston und die polnische Insurrection 1831".

In 1893, after Marx's death, the third article of the series appeared in Polish in the seventh issue of the journal *Przedświt*, published in London by Polish socialists connected with Engels. The seventh article was reprinted from the *Tribune* under the same title, "England and Russia", in the collection: Karl Marx, *The Eastern Question*, London, 1897. In 1899 a separate edition of all the articles of the series: Karl Marx, *The Story of the Life of Lord Palmerston*, was published in London. It was prepared by Eleanor Marx and reproduced the London *Free Press* series.

In his work on the pamphlet Marx used a great deal of material, in particular, the Blue Books, periodical publications of British parliamentary and Foreign Office documents. In addition he drew on parliamentary reports, various collections of international treaties and diplomatic documents, satirical pamphlets and the press. Several notebooks with excerpts made by Marx from various books are extant. These books include: *The Russians in Moldavia and Wallachia*, London, 1849; Heinrich Brandt, *Russlands Politik und Heer in den letzten Jahren*, Berlin, 1852; *The Greek and Eastern Churches. Their History, Faith, and Worship*, London, 1852; J. M. Neale, *Introduction to the History of the Holy Eastern Church*, London,

1851; V. Krasinski, *Sketch of the Religious History of the Slavonic Nations*, Edinburgh, 1851; A. Theiner, *Die Staatskirche Russlands im Jahre 1839*, Schaffhausen, 1844; D. Urquhart, *Progress of Russia in the West, North, and South*, London, 1853, *Reasons for Demanding Investigation into the Charges Against Lord Palmerston*, Glasgow, 1840, *An Appeal Against Faction*, London, 1843, and *La Crise*, Paris, 1840; G. Francis, *Opinions and Policy of Palmerston*, London, 1852. Marx used the last book as well as *Hansard* when citing from Palmerston's speeches. (The sources of quotations are given in the Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature.)

In this volume the text of the pamphlet is reproduced according to *The People's Paper*. The main differences between the *People's Paper* text and that of the *New-York Daily Tribune* are given in footnotes. Misprints which occurred in *The People's Paper* are corrected on the basis of later authorised editions and factual data. p. 341

257 *Carbonari*—members of bourgeois and aristocratic revolutionary secret societies which appeared in Italy in the early nineteenth century. They fought for national independence and unification of Italy and at the same time demanded liberal-constitutional reforms. The Carbonari played an important role in the revolutionary developments in the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia early in the 1820s and also during the revolutionary struggle in Italy against Austrian rule and local feudal monarchies in the 1830s. p. 347

258 In the course of the parliamentary debates in June 1850 on the Anglo-Greek conflict connected with the Pacifico incident (see Note 148) the government's foreign policy was approved by the House of Commons; the House of Lords, however, rejected by a majority of 37 the stand taken by the Foreign Secretary Palmerston on this issue. France and Russia also disapproved of this stand; as a sign of protest the French Ambassador left London and the Russian Ambassador refused Palmerston's invitation to dinner. p. 347

259 In 1815 a law was passed prohibiting grain imports when grain prices in England fell below 80 shillings per quarter. In 1822 the law was modified slightly and in 1828 a sliding scale was introduced—a system of raising or lowering tariffs in proportion to the fall or rise of grain prices on the home market. The Corn Laws were introduced by Tory cabinets in the interests of the big landowners. The industrial bourgeoisie who opposed the Corn Laws under the slogan of free trade secured their repeal in 1846. p. 348

260 Marx has in mind the presence of foreign mercenaries in Britain, who were recruited by the British army during the Napoleonic wars mostly from small German states, in particular Hanover, the ancestral land of the British kings of the Hanover dynasty. p. 348

261 A reference to the bombardment of Copenhagen by the British in September 1807 with the aim of preventing Denmark from joining the continental blockade inaugurated by Napoleon, which forbade the countries of the Continent to trade with Britain. p. 348

262 A *Mutiny Act* was passed annually by Parliament from 1689 to 1881. By this Act the Crown was invested with the authority to have a standing army and navy of

a certain strength, to introduce rules and regulations in the army and navy, to court-martial and establish a system of punishment for mutiny, disobedience of orders, breach of discipline, etc. p. 350

263 Under the *Corporation Act* passed by the British Parliament in 1661 persons who held elected posts (this applied mainly to municipal administration) were required to accept the dogmas of the Church of England.

The *Test Act* of 1673 required the same of all persons holding government posts. p. 350

264 *Dissenters*—members of Protestant sects and trends which departed from the dogmas of the official Church of England; in a broader sense those who disagree with any opinion. p. 350

265 *Catholic Emancipation*—the abolition by the British Parliament in 1829 as a result of the mass movement in Ireland of restrictions on the political rights of Catholics. Catholics were granted the right to stand for election to Parliament and to hold certain government offices. Simultaneously, the property qualification was raised fivefold. The British ruling classes hoped that this manoeuvre would bring the élite of the Irish bourgeoisie and Catholic landowners to their side and cause a split in the Irish national movement. p. 351

266 *Absentees*—landlords who owned estates in Ireland but lived permanently in England. Their estates were managed by realty agents who robbed the Irish peasants, or were leased to speculator-middlemen, who subleased small plots to the peasants. p. 351

267 A reference to the broad campaign for a Reform Bill (see Note 123) which started some years before the Bill was passed in 1832. p. 352

268 See Note 5. p. 353

269 See Note 27. p. 354

270 A reference to the London Convention of July 6, 1827 (see Note 38). p. 354

271 The *Treaty of Turkmanchai*, which ended the Russo-Persian war of 1826-28, was signed on February 22, 1828. Under this treaty Russia received the territories of the Yerevan and Nakhichevan khanates (Eastern Armenia), and Russia's exclusive right to have a navy in the Caspian Sea was confirmed. Persia was to pay war indemnities of 20 million rubles. At the same time the treaty marked a turning point in the destiny of the Armenian people who were suffering from Persian and Turkish despotism. The Persian Government was required to let Armenians leave the country freely and soon more than 40,000 people moved to the Armenian region which was joined to Russia, and to other Russian Transcaucasian territories. Turkish Armenians also moved to the region. p. 355

[272] One of the points at issue in the conflict over the "Holy Places" (see Note 90) which France and Russia used as a pretext in the struggle for hegemony in the Middle East, was the question of whether the Catholic or Orthodox Church should have the keys to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the right to take care of its dome. p. 356

[273] The *Treaty of Akkerman* was signed by Russia and Turkey on October 7, 1826. Under this treaty the Turkish Government was to observe the former treaties signed with Russia, the Russian merchant fleet obtained the right to sail in Turkish waters and Russian merchants to trade throughout the whole of Turkey. The treaty confirmed the recognition of Serbian autonomy by the Sultan and provided for the election of Hospodars in Moldavia and Wallachia from the local Boyards. The Akkerman Treaty did not touch upon the Greek question. In this connection on the eve of the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29 Turkish official circles violated the treaty and asserted that by it Russia had pledged non-interference in Greek affairs and broken this pledge by her assistance to the Greeks. However, in fact the Tsarist Government's declaration of its "disinterestedness in Greek affairs" was made several months before it signed the treaty. p. 356

[274] See Note 35. p. 357

[275] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* of October 19, 1853 this article was concluded with the following words, evidently added by the editors: "This was a plain way of saying he was not the representative of liberty, or honesty, or what makes the best character of England. Such as the noble lord was then, and in the earlier part of his career which we have reviewed, he is at this, and none who know him can expect at his hands any but false service to the cause of justice and human rights in the present momentous crisis. What remains of his public history we leave for another day; we are sorry to say that is not the better half." p. 358

[276] The refusal of the Milanese to pay homage to Frederick I Barbarossa took place in 1159 and was prompted by Frederick's attempts to abolish the free towns in Northern Italy and subjugate them to his rule. The prolonged struggle that ensued culminated in the victory of the towns although the city of Milan was destroyed in 1162. p. 359

[277] A reference to the *London Convention of July 15, 1840* (see Note 244). p. 365

[278] For the *Cracow insurrection* see Note 225; for the developments in Galicia mentioned below see Note 11. p. 366

[279] In 1846 the Guizot Government managed to arrange the marriage of the Spanish infanta Maria Luisa Fernanda to Louis Philippe's youngest son, the Duke of Montpensier, and thwart Britain's plans to marry Leopold of Coburg to Isabella II of Spain. The tension between the British and French

governments became very acute and after the failure of British diplomacy Palmerston sought a pretext to take revenge. p. 367

280 The *Treaty of Utrecht of 1713* was one of a series of peace treaties concluding the war of the Spanish succession which began in 1701 between France and Spain, on the one hand, and the countries of the anti-French coalition—Britain, the Netherlands, Portugal, Prussia, Savoy and Habsburg Austria—on the other; Austria did not sign the treaty and made peace with France at Rastatt in 1714. Under the terms of the treaty, Philip V, the Bourbon King of Spain and Louis XIV's grandson, kept Spain. The King of France was to renounce his right and that of his successors from the Bourbon dynasty to the Spanish Crown. Several French and Spanish possessions in the West Indies and North America, as well as Gibraltar, were obtained by Britain.

When he accused France in 1846 of violating the Treaty of Utrecht, Palmerston had in mind Louis Philippe's plans to unite the two monarchies through the marriage of his youngest son and the Spanish infanta. p. 367

281 Under the pretext of protecting French subjects in Mexico a French squadron started to blockade the Mexican ports on April 16, 1838; after the bombardment, the port of Vera Cruz was occupied on November 27-28. On March 9, 1839 Mexico was compelled to sign a treaty and an agreement with France.

The blockade of Buenos Aires and the littoral territory by the Anglo-French fleet (1845-50) was aimed at making the Argentine Government open the Paraná and Uruguay to foreign ships (they had been closed since 1841 as a result of the war between Argentina and Uruguay) and recognise Uruguay's independence. In 1850-51 these demands were accepted. p. 367

282 The relations established between Britain and France after the July revolution of 1830 and known in history as the *entente cordiale* were not confirmed by treaty until April 1834, when the so-called Quadruple Alliance was concluded between Britain, France, Spain and Portugal. But when this treaty was being concluded disagreements between Britain and France became apparent and they subsequently led to the aggravation of relations between the two countries. Formally directed against the absolutist "northern states" (Russia, Austria and Prussia), the treaty in fact allowed Britain to strengthen her position in Spain and Portugal under the pretext of rendering armed assistance to both governments in their struggle against pretenders to the throne (Don Carlos in Spain and Dom Miguel in Portugal). p. 371

283 A reference to the battle of Beilan (Syria) which took place at the end of July 1832. Egyptian troops commanded by Ibrahim Pasha defeated the Sultan's army and drove it out of Syria. The subsequent entry of Egyptian troops into Asia Minor and the defeat of the Turkish army in December 1832 at Konia (the battle is mentioned several times above) led to the victory of Egypt in the Turko-Egyptian war of 1831-33. In April 1833 under a treaty signed at Kutaiah the Egyptian Pasha Mehemet Ali was recognised as independent ruler of Egypt and Syria. p. 375

[284] The *Organic Statute of the Kingdom of Poland of 1832* was introduced by the Tsarist Government after the suppression of the Polish national liberation insurrection of 1830-31. The statute abolished the remnants of national autonomy of the Polish lands which were under Tsarist Russia's rule. It also abolished the 1815 Constitution, the Polish Diet and the Polish army; the Russian system of administration was extended to the kingdom. p. 378

[285] A reference to the Russo-Turkish Treaty of January 29, 1834 which amended certain articles of the 1829 Treaty of Adrianople. The annual payments of indemnities by Turkey under the Adrianople Treaty were curtailed, the total sum of indemnities being reduced by two million ducats. p. 380

[286] See Note 148. p. 383

[287] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* of January 11, 1854 the article began as follows: "Lord Palmerston's resignation seems to be working in England all the marvels he could have hoped from it. While the public indignation is becoming more and more active against the Cabinet he has abandoned, and whose policy he had on all occasions, up to the last moment of his connection with them, emphatically endorsed, the very parties loudest in their denunciations of the Coalition, vie with each other in the praise of Palmerston. And while they call for energetic and honorable resistance to the encroachments of Russia, on the one hand, they seem to desire nothing so much as the restoration of their favorite statesman to high office on the other. Thus this accomplished and relentless actor deludes the world. It would be an amusing spectacle were the interests involved less momentous. How deep is the delusion we have already had occasion to show, and now add below a new demonstration of the truth that, for some reason or other, Lord Palmerston has steadily labored for the advancement of Russia, and has used England for that purpose. Those who seek to look behind the scenes of current history and to judge events and men at their real value will, we think, find our exposure instructive."

These words could not be by Marx, as the last articles of the series "Lord Palmerston" were sent by him to the *New-York Daily Tribune* not later than December 6, 1853, not less than ten days prior to Palmerston's resignation (December 16, 1853). The editors of the *Tribune* delayed publication of this article until January 11, 1854, and the passage which they inserted in it may have been borrowed from another article by Marx, which he sent later (Marx's notebook gives the date December 20, 1853), on English press comments on Palmerston's resignation. The article of December 20, 1853 has not been discovered in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and the manuscript is not extant. p. 391

[288] For the *St. Petersburg Protocol of April 4, 1826* and the *London Convention of July 6, 1827* see Note 38.

Britain and Russia, who signed the Protocol, tried to conceal the real aims of their intervention in the Greco-Turkish conflict on the side of Greece and declared that they had no intention of expanding their territory at Turkey's expense, or of seeking exceptional influence or special commercial privileges in the Sultan's possessions. Similar declarations were made when Britain, Russia and France signed the London Convention of July 6, 1827. p. 392

289 This article has not been discovered in the *New-York Daily Tribune* although, according to Marx's notebook, it was posted by Marx to New York on December 6, 1853. *The People's Paper* published it on December 24, 1853 as the eighth in the "Lord Palmerston" series. p. 398

290 Marx is alluding to the so-called Potemkin villages—an expression which symbolises sham prosperity. It was said that the Empress Catherine II's favourite, Prince Potemkin, who was Governor-General of the southern provinces of Russia, built sham villages on Catherine's route to the south in 1787 to convince her that the territory entrusted to him was flourishing. p. 404

291 *Lloyd's*—a company founded in London in the seventeenth century specialising in marine insurance and shipping information. p. 406

292 A reference to the war of the mountain-dwellers of the Northern Caucasus against Tsarist Russia which began at the end of the 1820s. It was caused by the Tsarist colonisation policy and the oppressive rule of local feudal lords who were supported by the Tsarist Government. This movement was led mainly by the adherents of Muridism—a fanatical and militant trend in Islam. Using the support of the Moslem clergy and the discontent of the mountain-dwellers they were able to muster considerable forces and to set up a religious-military state headed by Shamyl in Daghestan and Chechnya in the 1830s. The war waged by Tsarist troops against Shamyl, who had captured the mountain fortresses, was very arduous and continued for decades. The Russian troops won decisive victories over Shamyl's forces after the end of the Crimean war; in 1859 Gunib, the last stronghold of the mountain-dwellers, fell. Shamyl's defeat was also due to the fact that the peasants oppressed by the local nobility which consisted of the upper stratum of Murids, deserted the movement. p. 406

293 On November 3, 1853 the *New-York Daily Tribune* (No. 3915) published a comment from Buffalo on this article. It was written in the form of a letter to the editors, entitled "Workmen's Strike in England" and signed "An Old English Factory Clerk". The writer of the letter stressed, in particular, that "every word of 'Karl Marx's' letter of the 7th inst., is true, touching the intentions of bad men, to provoke the operatives to overt acts". In their note the editors argued the importance of strikes in the struggle for the workers' economic interests, advising the latter to fight for protectionist tariffs, and concluded with "but let every one act as to him shall seem advisable".

The article, entitled "Die Lage England", was published in an abridged form in the New York newspaper *Die Reform.*

The first section of this article was published under the title "The War Question" in *The Eastern Question.* p. 407

294 A reference to Reshid Pasha's Note of August 19, 1853 to the representatives of Britain, France and Prussia, which stated that the Turkish Government would accept the Vienna Note (see Note 195) only if certain amendments and reservations were made in it, and if the Russian troops withdrew from the Danubian Principalities. p. 407

295 In September 1853 a meeting between Nicholas I and the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph took place in Olmütz as a result of which the Austrian Government made an unsuccessful attempt to encourage the Western powers to take a new step towards settling the Russo-Turkish conflict on the basis of unconditional acceptance of the Vienna Note by the Sultan. During the talks Nicholas I sought to convince Francis Joseph that the operations of Russian troops in the Danubian Principalities would be limited to defence of the left bank of the Danube.
p. 409

296 A reference to an anonymous political pamphlet published in France in 1594. It was written by supporters of religious peace closely associated with King Henry IV (Jacques Gillot, Florent Chrestien, P. Le Roy and others). The pamphlet was directed against the Catholic League (which was founded in 1576 during the Huguenot wars and operated with intervals up to 1596), whose aristocratic leaders strove to reduce the power of the monarchy and gain unrestricted privileges for the Catholic feudal nobility. The title of the pamphlet was borrowed from the Roman author Varro (lst century B.C.) who wrote his Menippean Satires in imitation of the Greek philosopher Menippus. p. 412

297 A description follows of the initial stages of the major social clash between workers and employers which is known in the history of the working-class movement as the *Preston strike.* The weavers and spinners of the textile mills in and around Preston went on strike in August 1853 demanding a ten per cent wage rise; they were supported by workers of other trades. In September of the same year the Manufacturers' Association responded with a lockout. Twenty-five thousand workers out of thirty thousand were without work. The lockout lasted until February 1854, but the strike continued after that date. To break the strike the Manufacturers' Association started bringing workers to Preston from Ireland and English workhouses. In March 1854 the leaders of the strike were arrested, and as funds were low the workers were compelled to return to work. The strike ended in May.

In his reports to the *New-York Daily Tribune* Marx wrote about different episodes of the strike; at the end of March 1854 he devoted a whole article to this event, "British Finances.—The Troubles at Preston" (see present edition, Vol. 13). p. 412

298 A reference to the heroic uprising of the Paris workers in June 1848. The uprising was the first great civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in history.
p. 414

299 The first section of this article was published under the title "The Turkish Manifesto" in *The Eastern Question.* p. 416

300 *Crank*—a revolving disc which criminals sentenced to hard labour are required to turn a certain number of times each day. p. 419

301 A section of this article was published under the title "The Northern Powers" in *The Eastern Question.* p. 421

302 The so-called trial of Risquons-Tout which was held from August 9 to 30, 1848 in Antwerp was rigged by the government of the Belgian King Leopold against the

democrats. The pretext for it was a clash which took place not far from the French border near the village of Risquons-Tout on March 29, 1848, between a Belgian republican legion which was on its way home from France and a detachment of soldiers. The principal among the accused (Mellinet, Ballin, Tedesco) were sentenced to death, later commuted to thirty years imprisonment; subsequently they were pardoned.

Delescluze was at that time government commissioner of the Départment du Nord, bordering on Belgium, through which the Belgian legion passed. p. 421

303 Among the entries in Marx's notebook made on October 19, 1853 there is a passage in German from the draft Constitution of Schleswig and in French from an article on the draft Constitution of Denmark published in *L'Indépendance.* p. 421

304 A reference to the fortified lines near the town of Torres Vedras (Portugal) built in 1810 on Wellington's orders to protect Lisbon from the French troops. p. 426

305 During the 1815 campaign in Belgium Napoleon hoped by defeating the Prussians at Ligny on June 16 to isolate them from Wellington's Anglo-Dutch army and rout the allied armies separately. However, when the French attacked Wellington's army and tried to outflank it at Waterloo on June 18, 1815, Prussian troops commanded by Blücher, who had evaded pursuit, joined in the battle and decided the outcome in favour of the allies. p. 427

306 This article was published under the same title in *The Eastern Question.* p. 430

307 The beginning of this article was published under the title "War" in *The Eastern Question.* p. 435

308 On October 23, 1853, during the transfer of part of the Russian Danubian fleet from Izmail to the region of Brăila and Galatz, Russian ships and gunboats passing the fort of Isakchea exchanged artillery fire with the Turkish garrison there. The garrison suffered heavy losses as a result. p. 435

309 A reference to the *Committee at rue de Poitiers*—the leading body of the so-called Party of Order which was a coalition of two monarchist factions in France: the Legitimists (supporters of the Bourbon dynasty) and the Orleanists (those of the Orleans dynasty). This party of the wealthy conservative bourgeoisie, formed in 1848, held key posts in the Legislative Assembly of the Second Republic from 1849 until the coup d'état of December 2, 1851. The failure of its policy was used by supporters of Louis Bonaparte in the Bonapartist interests. General Baraguay d'Hilliers, who supported the Committee during the Republic, sided with the Bonapartists on the eve of the coup. p. 435

310 In October 1853 a strike began in Wigan in which several thousand factory workers and miners took part. The employers responded with a lockout. At their meeting on October 28 the mine and factory owners decided to resume work on October 31 using as strikebreakers workers they had brought from Wales. On learning of this a thousand-strong crowd of strikers stoned the premises of the

meeting, the Chamber of Commerce and the houses of some employers. The workers were dispersed by troops summoned for the purpose. On October 31, the day when the mines were opened, disturbances broke out again in Wigan, with clashes between strikers and strikebreakers. The military opened fire, and some strikers were killed. p. 436

311 In August 1842, at a time of economic crisis and growing poverty, workers' strikes and disturbances started in several industrial regions of England. In Lancashire, large areas of Cheshire, Yorkshire and other counties the strikes grew into spontaneous uprisings. The government responded with mass reprisals and severe court sentences for the Chartist leaders. The bourgeoisie who shared the Free Traders' views tried to use the workers' movement to bring pressure to bear on the government to repeal the Corn Laws. In many instances they incited the workers to action. However, the bourgeoisie became alarmed at the scope of the strikes and disturbances and, convinced that the workers were pursuing their own ends, supported the brutal reprisals against them. For details see Engels' work *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* and his article "History of the English Corn Laws" (present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 520-23 and 656-61). p. 436

312 A reference to the speeches by Bright and Cobden at the conference in Edinburgh organised by the Peace Society (see Note 147). p. 437

313 The part of the article published in *Die Reform* was entitled "Persien, Russland und Dänemark (*Tribune*-Korrespondenz von Karl Marx)".

The text of the first two sections was published under the title "Persia.—Denmark" in *The Eastern Question.* p. 444

314 Persian ruling circles made several attempts to annex Herat, a trade-route junction. Afghanistan and Persia fought incessant wars for possession of the town. The capture of Herat by Persian troops in October 1856 was used by Britain to unleash war against Persia, as a result of which the Shah had to evacuate Herat. In 1863 Herat was annexed by the Afghan Emir.

In 1853 the Tsarist Government organised a military expedition to Kazakhstan up the Syr Darya. It was led by the Orenburg Governor-General V. A. Perovsky (his unsuccessful Khivan expedition of 1839-40 is mentioned below). The expedition was sent against the Kokand Khanate which had captured Kazakh lands (Marx's article mistakenly gives "Khiva"). This led to the setting up of the Syr Darya military line by the Russians, which served as a bridgehead for a subsequent offensive against the Kokand, Bukhara and Khiva khanates. p. 444

315 See Note 187. p. 444

316 See Note 198. p. 445

317 A reference to the Danish Government formed on March 22, 1848 as a result of the revolutionary upsurge in the country which found expression in mass demonstrations in the Copenhagen theatre Casino. As well as conservatives, the new government included representatives of the liberal party of Eidermen (or Eider Danes) (see Note 197). The Government took a chauvinist stand on the

national liberation movement in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein and fought against the unification of these German regions with Germany. On the war for Schleswig-Holstein in 1848-50 see Note 86. p. 445

318 The *Anti-Corn Law League* was founded in 1838 by the Manchester factory owners Richard Cobden and John Bright. The League demanded unrestricted free trade and fought for abolition of the Corn Laws, which placed high tariffs on imported agricultural produce. In this way, the League sought to weaken the economic and political position of the landed aristocracy, as well as to cut workers' wages.

The struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the Corn Laws culminated in their repeal in 1846 (see Note 259). p. 448

319 In the *battle of Jena* on October 14, 1806 the Prussian troops were defeated by Napoleon's army. This resulted in Prussia's capitulation. p. 452

320 On September 25-26, 1799 the French Army commanded by Masséna defeated the Russian corps under General Rimsky-Korsakov at Zurich. This defeat put the Russian troops commanded by Suvorov which were marching from Northern Italy to join Rimsky-Korsakov's corps in a very difficult position. However, despite the considerable numerical superiority of the enemy troops, Suvorov's army succeeded in dealing them several blows and reached the Upper Rhine region. In his work "Po and Rhine" written in 1859 Engels calls Suvorov's march over the Alps during this campaign "the most remarkable of all the Alpine crossings" (see this edition, Vol. 16). p. 455

321 This article by Engels, as can be seen from the entry in Marx's notebook, was dispatched to the *New-York Daily Tribune* together with Marx's article "The Labor Question" (see this volume, pp. 460-63) as a single report. However, the newspaper editors divided it in two parts and published Engels' text as a leader and the text written by Marx as a separate article under his signature in the issue of November 28.

From Engels' article it is evident that he had at his disposal inaccurate information on the balance of forces on the Danube during the battles of Kalafat and Oltenitza and some other facts; the Russian troops at Oltenitza were commanded by Dannenberg, not Pavlov; General Guyon and Ismail Pasha are two different people and not the same person as is stated in the article. Later when he obtained more reliable information Engels reassessed the balance of forces and also the qualities of the Turkish military command and the results of the battles of Kalafat and Oltenitza (see this volume, pp. 471-76 and 516-22). p. 457

322 On March 23, 1849 the Austrian army commanded by Radetzky inflicted a decisive defeat upon the Piedmontese army at Novara, which led to the restoration of Austrian rule in Northern Italy. In the course of the campaign the Austrian commander-in-chief made use of the dispersal of Piedmontese forces under the command of General Ramorino. p. 459

[323] See Note 321.

The fact that Marx used the material published in *The People's Paper* for November 12, 1853 in his article datelined November 11, 1853 shows that either this issue of the newspaper appeared earlier than the date which it bears or, which is more likely, Marx had access to this and other material in advance. p. 460

[324] *Comité du Salut Public* (The Committee of Public Safety)—the central body of the revolutionary government in France during the Jacobin dictatorship (June 2, 1793-July 27, 1794). p. 468

[325] In connection with an upsurge in the strike movement in 1853 a group of Chartists headed by Ernest Jones proposed the setting up of a broad workers' organisation "The Mass Movement" which was to unite trade unionists and unorganised workers with the primary aim of co-ordinating strikes in various parts of the country. The organisation was to be headed by a regularly convened Labour Parliament consisting of delegates elected at meetings of unorganised workers and at trade union meetings. The Labour Parliament assembled in Manchester on March 6, 1854 and was in session until March 18. It discussed and adopted the programme of the Mass Movement and set up an Executive of five members. Marx, who was elected an honorary delegate to the Parliament, sent it a letter (see this edition, Vol. 13) in which he formulated the task of creating an independent political party of the proletariat. Marx saw the convocation of the Labour Parliament as an attempt to lead the labour movement out of narrow trade unionism and to unite the economic and political struggle. Most of the trade union leaders, however, did not support the idea of creating a single mass workers' organisation. The abatement of the strike movement by the summer of 1854 also affected the campaign. The Labour Parliament was never convened after March 1854. p. 470

[326] See Note 186. p. 470

[327] This article published by Adolph Cluss in the New York newspaper *Die Reform* is a reproduction of Marx's comments on Urquhart that he made in the non-extant part of his letter to Cluss written in mid-November. In his letter to Joseph Weydemeyer of December 7, 1853, in which he quotes part of the above-mentioned letter (see present edition, Vol. 39), Cluss wrote: "Marx added some notes on Urquhart because Jones, in a paper I am to receive, characterises him in a tactless way as a Russian ally. Marx writes that he gave Jones a dressing down for this. I have made up a short article out of the 'Urquhartiade'." When the article was being prepared for the press Cluss evidently changed the opening sentence. The rest of Marx's text appears not to be touched by him and is authentic or nearly authentic. For his criticism of Urquhart's views Marx draws from the book: D. Urquhart, *Progress of Russia in the West, North, and South,* London, 1853. As far back as June 1853 he planned to write a special article for the *New-York Daily Tribune* devoted to a critical analysis of this book (see this volume, p. 118). p. 477

[328] A reference to articles by the Hungarian journalist Aurelius Ferenc Pulszky, who was a supporter of Kossuth. Residing in London as a refugee, he contributed to the *New-York Daily Tribune* from 1853 to 1860. His reports were published unsigned or under the initials A. P. C. (which evidently stood for

Aurelius Pulszky's Correspondence). Marx got to know about Pulszky contributing to the *New-York Daily Tribune* much later. It is still unclear whether Marx knew that reports signed with the initials A. P. C. belonged to Pulszky.

p. 478

329 Marx's pamphlet *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness* written in November 1853 and published with Adolph Cluss' and Joseph Weydemeyer's assistance in pamphlet form in New York in January 1854 was a reply to the slanderous article by August Willich, "Doktor Karl Marx und seine Enthüllungen", which was published in the *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung* on October 28 and November 4, 1853. Soon after Willich's article appeared supporters of Marx and Engels in the USA, Joseph Weydemeyer, Adolph Cluss and Abraham Jacobi, sent a refutation to the newspaper which was published on November 25, 1853. However, Marx thought it expedient to answer himself. A clipping from the *Belletristisches Journal* with Marx's underlinings, etc., is extant. In his pamphlet Marx refutes Willich's attempts to cast doubt on the fairness of Marx's criticism of the activity of the Willich-Schapper sectarian and adventurist group in his work *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.* Marx included Engels' letter-statement of November 23, 1853 which he wrote at Marx's request (this letter is not otherwise extant) and also statements of revolutionary refugees who testified to the slanderous character of Willich's assertions (on this see Marx's letter to Engels of December 2, 1853, present edition, Vol. 39). Marx borrowed some passages for his pamphlet from the work *The Great Men of the Exile* which he wrote jointly with Engels in May-June 1852 but which was not published (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 227-326). p. 479

330 *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 395-457), which Marx wrote between late October and early December 1852, was published in pamphlet form in Basle in January 1853. Almost all its copies (2,000) were confiscated by the police in Baden while being transported from Switzerland to Germany. In the USA the work was initially reprinted in March and April in instalments in the Boston *Neu-England Zeitung,* and at the end of April 1853 it was published by this newspaper as a pamphlet. In *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness* Marx cites the *Revelations* from a separate Boston edition. p. 481

331 The editors gave the following footnote to this passage: "Mr. Blum is in Philadelphia, not in Australia, and when the American Workers' Union was formed he sat on its board as Willich's agent." p. 482

332 The *Black Bureau*—a secret institution established at postal departments in France, Prussia, Austria and several other states to inspect private correspondence. It existed at the time of absolute monarchies in Europe. p. 485

333 A reference to the Communist League, the first German and international communist organisation of the proletariat, formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847, as a result of the reorganisation of the League of the Just (a secret association of workers and

artisans that appeared in the 1830s and had communities in Germany, France, Switzerland and England). The programme and organisational principles of the Communist League were drawn up with the direct participation of Marx and Engels. The League's members took an active part in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany in 1848-49. Though the defeat of the revolution dealt a blow at the League, it was reorganised in 1849-50 and continued its activities. In the summer of 1850 disagreements arose in the League between the supporters of Marx and Engels and the Willich-Schapper sectarian group which tried to impose on the League its adventurist tactics of starting a revolution immediately without taking into account the actual situation and the practical possibilities. The discord resulted in a split within the League. Owing to police persecutions and arrests of League members in May 1851, the activities of the Communist League as an organisation in Germany practically ceased. On November 17, 1852, on a motion by Marx, the London District announced the dissolution of the League.

The Communist League played an important historical role as the first proletarian party based on scientific principles of communism, as a school of proletarian revolutionaries, and as the historical forerunner of the International Working Men's Association. p. 485

334 *Synoptics*—the writers of the first three Gospels. Marx is referring to Bruno Bauer's book which points out contradictions between the different Gospel versions and also between actual historical events and the Gospels. p. 487

335 A reference to the *German Workers' Educational Society* in London which was founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other leaders of the League of the Just. After the reorganisation of the League of the Just in the summer of 1847 and the founding of the Communist League (see Note 333), the League's local communities played a leading role in the Society. During various periods of its activity, the Society had branches in working-class districts in London. In 1847 and 1849-50 Marx and Engels took an active part in the Society's work, but on September 17, 1850 Marx, Engels and a number of their followers withdrew because the Willich-Schapper sectarian and adventurist faction had temporarily increased its influence in the Society, causing a split in the Communist League. In the late 1850s Marx and Engels resumed their work in the Educational Society, which existed up to 1918, when it was closed down by the British Government. p. 488

336 The tasks of these two organisations, both with small memberships and headed mainly by petty-bourgeois democrats, were to collect money for starting an "immediate revolution" in Germany. Willich and other Communist League members who belonged to his faction joined the Émigré Club. Shortly afterwards these two organisations broke up. For details on the disputes between them see: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile* (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 227-326). p. 488

337 A reference to the attempts by Johann Gottfried Kinkel and other leaders of the Émigré Club to organise a so-called German-American revolutionary loan. To this end Kinkel went to the USA in September 1851. The loan was to be floated among the German-born Americans and used to begin an immediate

revolution in Germany. The Agitation Union, headed by Arnold Ruge, was in rivalry with the Émigré Club and also sent a representative to the USA to canvass for revolutionary funds. The attempt to distribute the "revolutionary loan" failed. Marx and Engels in a number of works and letters denounced the undertaking as an adventurist attempt to produce a revolution artificially during a period when the revolutionary movement was on the wane. p. 488

338 The *Holy Grail*—according to medieval legend, the cup or chalice used by Christ at the Last Supper. p. 488

339 *Demagogues*—members of the opposition movement among German intellectuals. The word has been in use since the Carlsbad Conference of Ministers of German States in August 1819, which adopted a special resolution against the demagogues' intrigues. p. 490

340 A reference to the detachment formed by Willich in Besançon, France, in November 1848 from German emigrant workers and artisans. The members of the detachment received allowances from the French Government until the beginning of 1849. Later the detachment merged with a volunteer corps which took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849 under the command of Willich. p. 491

341 Engels is referring to the Spartan King Leonidas and his troop of three hundred men who fought the battle of Thermopylae in 480 B.C., defending the mountain pass against an army of Persians during the Greco-Persian wars. King Leonidas and his men were all killed during the battle. p. 492

342 In September 1849 Marx was elected to the German Relief Committee formed by the German Workers' Educational Society in London. With a view to counteracting the attempts of petty-bourgeois refugee democrats to influence the proletarian refugees, the Committee was reorganised into the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee, as suggested by Marx and other Communist League leaders. Engels was among the leaders of the new committee. In mid-September 1850 Marx and Engels withdrew from the Refugee Committee because the majority of its members were under the influence of the Willich-Schapper group. p. 492

343 Marx is referring to the Central Committee of the Willich-Schapper sectarian and adventurist faction which split away from the Communist League in September 1850 and formed an independent organisation. Marx and Engels ironically called this organisation the Sonderbund by analogy with the separatist union of the seven economically backward Catholic cantons of Switzerland formed in the 1840s to resist progressive bourgeois reforms. p. 499

344 A reference to the workers' society founded in London in January 1852 with Marx's support and a Hanoverian refugee, the carpenter G. L. Stechan, as President. It included workers who broke away from the German Workers' Educational Society which had come under the influence of the Willich-

Schapper group. The Communist League member Georg Lochner, a worker close to Marx and Engels, also took an active part in organising this society. Later, many of its members, including Stechan himself, came under the influence of the Willich-Schapper group and re-joined the Educational Society.
p. 500

345 A reference to the articles by Marx and Engels on the uprising of Paris workers in June 1848, the anti-revolutionary policy of the liberal majority in the Frankfurt National Assembly, the collaborationist position of the liberal deputies in the Prussian National Assembly, and the wavering of the petty-bourgeois leaders of the March Associations (see present edition, Vols. 7-9).

*March Associations*, which were organised at the end of November 1848 by representatives of the Left wing of the Frankfurt National Assembly, existed in a number of German towns and were headed by the Central March Association in Frankfurt. They were named after the March revolution of 1848 in Germany. Their leaders, Fröbel, Simon, Wesendock, Raveaux, Eizenmann, Ruge, Vogt and others, all petty-bourgeois democrats, confined themselves to revolutionary bluster and were hesitant and inconsistent in their struggle against counter-revolution. In December 1848 Marx and Engels, writing in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, began to criticise the hesitant and ambivalent policy of the leaders of the March Associations, pointing out that such a policy aided the enemies of the revolution. p. 501

346 A reference to the conflict between Prussia and Austria which arose in the autumn of 1850 as a result of their struggle for supremacy in Germany. Prussia and Austria both demanded the right to intervene in the internal affairs of the Hesse-Cassel electorate to suppress the growing movement for a Constitution directed against Frederick William I and his reactionary Ministers. Austria received diplomatic support from Nicholas I, the Russian Tsar. Prussia was obliged to surrender and let the Austrians carry out a punitive mission in Hesse-Cassel. p. 503

347 On February 24, 1851 an international meeting, the so-called banquet of the equal, was organised in London by some French emigrants headed by Louis Blanc and the Blanquist refugees Barthélemy, Adam and others, together with the Willich-Schapper faction, to celebrate the anniversary of the February revolution of 1848. Marx and Engels sent their supporters, Konrad Schramm and Wilhelm Pieper, to the banquet, who were assaulted and turned out by Willich and Schapper's followers. Blanqui, who was in prison at the time, sent the text of a toast to London to be read out at the banquet. In the toast he denounced Louis Blanc and other members of the Provisional Government of the French Republic. The text was deliberately withheld from those present at the banquet by its organisers. However, it was published in a number of French newspapers. Marx and Engels translated it into English and German and provided it with a preface (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 537-39). The German version was printed in a large edition and distributed in Germany and England. The fate of the English translation is unknown. p. 505

[348] A reference to Frederick William IV breaking his solemn promise to the people during the March revolution of 1848 in Prussia to establish a constitutional order. p. 509

[349] Before the revolution of 1848-49 representatives of religious trends in Germany, so-called German Catholicism and the Protestant Free Communities, tried to establish a German National Church. German Catholicism, which appeared in 1844 in a number of German states, was aimed against the obscurantism and ritualism of the Catholic Church. While rejecting the Papacy and many dogmas and rituals of the Catholic Church, the German Catholics tried to apply Catholicism to the needs of the German bourgeoisie. The Free Communities broke away from the official Protestant Church in 1846 under the influence of the so-called Friends of Light, who were against Pietism, a mystical and self-righteous trend which dominated the Protestant Church. These two forms of religious opposition reflected the discontent of the bourgeoisie in the 1840s with the reactionary order in Germany and its striving for political unification of the country. The Free Communities and the German Catholics united in 1859. p. 510

[350] The conflict concerning the religious denomination of children of mixed marriages between Catholics and Protestants arose in 1837 with the arrest of C. A. Droste-Vischering, Archbishop of Cologne, who was accused of high treason for refusing to obey the orders of Frederick William III, the King of Prussia. It ended in 1841 under Frederick William IV with the Prussian Government yielding to the Catholic Church. p. 510

[351] This article was published in *The Eastern Question* and attributed to Marx. At the beginning of the article Engels would seem to be referring to his article "Progress of the Turkish War", which appeared as a leader in the *New-York Daily Tribune* of December 7, 1853 (see this volume, pp. 471-76). p. 516

[352] The beginning of the article was published under the title "Diplomacy Again" in *The Eastern Question.* p. 523

[353] See Notes 114 and 119. p. 523

[354] This article was published in *The Eastern Question.* p. 527

[355] See Note 195. p. 527

[356] In Marx's notebook of excerpts for 1853 there is a passage from Palmerston's letter to Bulwer dated September 10, 1839. As a source Marx used the *Correspondence Relative to the Affairs of the Levant,* London, 1841. p. 530

[357] In the known and published articles by Marx written for the *New-York Daily Tribune* during this period this fact is not mentioned. It is possible that this material was left out by the editors. p. 533

[358] In 1844 the British Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, to please the Austrian Government, ordered the Post Office to allow the police to open the correspondence of Italian revolutionary immigrants.

Marx is referring to the Bandiera brothers, members of a conspiratorial organisation, who landed in June 1844 on the Calabrian coast at the head of a small detachment of Italian patriots, with the intention of sparking off an insurrection against the Bourbons of Naples and Austrian rule. The members of the expedition were betrayed by one of their number, however, and taken prisoner. The Bandiera brothers were shot. p. 533

[359] Passages from this article were published in *The Eastern Question.* p. 536

[360] The battle of Sinope was fought on November 30, 1853. The Turkish fleet on its way to deliver troops and arms to the Caucasian coast, was detected and attacked by the Russian Black Sea squadron, under the command of Vice-Admiral P. S. Nakhimov. The Russian fleet included six battleships and two frigates; the Turks, supported by coastal batteries, had sixteen ships, including two steamships. The Russian armament was superior, however, and during the battle fifteen Turkish ships were sunk and their commander, Admiral Osman Pasha, was taken prisoner. The Sinope victory consolidated Russia's position on the Black Sea and at the same time precipitated a declaration of war on Russia by Britain and France. p. 536

[361] The Manifesto issued by Nicholas I on June 26, 1853 in connection with the Tsarist Government's decision to bring troops into the Danubian Principalities, and also a number of Russian diplomatic documents, stated that the aim of occupying the Principalities was to create "material guarantees" to safeguard the rights and privileges of the Greek Orthodox Church in Turkey and ensure that the Sultan fulfilled his obligations to Russia. p. 537

[362] *Claremont*—a house near London, the residence of Louis Philippe after his escape from France. p. 538

[363] A reference to the commission of seventeen Orleanist and Legitimist deputies of the Legislative Assembly, notorious for their reactionary views, appointed by the Minister of the Interior in May 1850 to draft a new electoral law. The name is borrowed from the title of an historical drama by Victor Hugo set in medieval Germany where the *Burggraf* was governor, appointed by the Emperor, of a *Burg* (city) or district. p. 539

[364] An allusion to General Malet's unsuccessful plot against Napoleon I in October 1812. The organisers of the plot, in which both extreme Royalists and Republicans took part, were counting on Napoleon's defeat in Russia and tried to make use of a rumour of his death during the Russian campaign. p. 540

[365] See Note 309. p. 541

[366] This article was published in *The Eastern Question.* p. 543

[367] Palmerston announced his resignation from the Aberdeen Coalition Ministry on December 16, 1853. It was not accepted, however, and he soon returned to the post of Home Secretary. p. 543

[368] An allusion to the hasty recognition by Palmerston of the Bonapartist coup of December 2, 1851 (see Note 56). p. 545

[369] This article was written by Engels on the basis of material in the British and French official press (*The Times, The Morning Herald, Le Moniteur universel*) which was biased in its appraisal of the military operations on the eve of the Western powers declaring war on Russia and in its comments on Russian reports during the Crimean war. This accounts for the inaccuracies in Engels' description of the battle of Sinope and his analysis of the balance of forces and the fighting power and actions of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea. Drawing on British newspapers Engels used information which stated incorrectly that the Black Sea fleet was tactically weak and its personnel consisted mainly of "fresh water sailors" and non-Russians. A considerable role in belittling the importance of the battle of Sinope was played by the political bias of this article directed against Russian Tsarism as the bulwark of reaction. The article was published in *The Eastern Question.* p. 547

[370] The battle of Akhalzikh in the Caucasian theatre of military operations took place on November 26, 1853. p. 547

[371] This article was published in *The Eastern Question.* p. 553

[372] During his Italian campaigns of 1795-96 and 1800, Napoleon Bonaparte took advantage of the Italian republican and national liberation movement against Austrian feudal-absolutist rule in order to establish French supremacy in some of the Italian states; some Italian regions were annexed to France. p. 554

[373] A reference to the abolition of the Roman Republic and the restoration of the secular power of the Pope in July 1849, as a result of French military intervention initiated by Louis Bonaparte after he had been elected President of the French Republic. p. 554

[374] During the war of the Bavarian succession (1778-79), waged between Austria and the allied Prussia and Saxony, the Prussian Government made attempts to gain Tsarist Russia's support, and this enabled the latter to play the role of arbiter during the Teschen peace negotiations. However, Prussia's plans were frustrated by the defence alliance concluded in 1780 between Russia and Austria.

In 1800, during the war of France against the second anti-French coalition, Prussia tried to act as the mediator between the belligerent powers, but as a result was itself isolated.

In 1805, during the war of the third coalition (Austria, Britain, Sweden and Russia) against Napoleonic France, Prussia took a neutral stand, waiting to see how the situation developed. After Austria's defeat and withdrawal from the war, Prussia joined the allies, who formed a fourth anti-French coalition in September 1806, but in October was routed by Napoleon's troops. p. 555

[375] The Paixhans guns were used in the navy. They were invented by the French General Paixhans in 1822 to fire hollow explosive shells. They are described by Engels in his article "Navy" (see present edition, Vol. 18). p. 556

[376] See Note 319. p. 557

[377] Part of this article was published under the title "More Documents" in *The Eastern Question.* p. 559

[378] After the defeat of the 1848-49 Hungarian revolution, Kossuth and his supporters hid the regalia of the first King, Stephen, in the vicinity of Orsova, including his crown by which the Austrian emperors were crowned kings of Hungary. On September 8, 1853 the hiding place was discovered, and rumours spread about who had given away the secret to the Austrian authorities. Drawing on the information of their London correspondent A. Pulszky, the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* on October 19, 1853 wrongly accused Bertalan Szemere, a participant in the Hungarian revolution. p. 559

[379] On January 6-9, 1854 food riots began in several towns in Devonshire; they were caused by the rise in bread prices, and soon spread throughout the county. The main participants were women and children who looted foodshops. The disturbances were suppressed by the army. p. 560

[380] See Note 117. p. 561

[381] A reference to the secret article in the Russo-Turkish treaty of friendship and mutual defence signed in Unkiar-Skelessi on July 8, 1833 (see Note 152). p. 562

[382] See Note 27. p. 564

[383] The first Anglo-Afghan war of 1838-42 started with the invasion of Afghanistan by British occupation troops in Sind. The invasion was carried out under the pretext of rendering assistance to the pretender, the Emir Dost Mohammed's brother Shuja. However, a popular uprising in November 1841 against the British invaders and Shuja compelled the British, who sustained a severe defeat, to withdraw.

For the *bombardment of Copenhagen* see Note 261. p. 567

[384] See Note 367. p. 567

[385] This article was written by Marx for the newspaper *Zuid Afrikaan* published in Capetown simultaneously in English and Dutch. In December 1853 Marx received an invitation to contribute to this paper through the husband of his younger sister Louise, the Dutch businessman J. K. Juta. Only one of the three articles Marx sent to *Zuid Afrikaan* was published. p. 568

[386] See Note 374. p. 569

[387] The report on the sinking of the Russian battleship *Rostislav* published in *The Times,* No. 21631, on January 9, 1854 was incorrect. According to Russian official documents, after the battle of Sinope the *Rostislav* returned safely to Sevastopol for repairs. p. 570

388 A reference to the meeting of Count Chambord, the pretender to the French throne, with the Orleanist Duke Louis de Nemours, which took place at the end of 1853, and also Chambord's visit to Louis Philippe's widow at the beginning of 1854. However, this fresh attempt at merging the junior and senior branches of the Bourbon dynasty was unsuccessful. p. 574

389 A reference to the Protocol signed on December 5, 1853 at the conference in Vienna by the representatives of Britain, France and Prussia and the Austrian Foreign Minister Buol. In this Protocol as in the subsequent Notes the four powers offered their mediation in the conflict between Russia and Turkey.

The letter of December 12, 1853, from the French and British ambassadors to Constantinople, Baraguay d'Hilliers and Stratford de Redcliffe, to the Turkish Foreign Minister Reshid Pasha, stated that the presence of the French and British fleets in the Bosporus testified to the friendly intentions of the British and French governments towards Turkey and that in the event of the Tsarist Government landing its troops on Turkish territory their fleets would aid the Ottoman Empire. p. 575

390 After Oltenitza in early November 1853 the battle of Chetatea was the second most important battle between the Turkish and Russian armies in the Danubian theatre during the early period of the Crimean war. The main military operations took place in January 1854 when the Turks attempted to launch an offensive in the vicinity of Kalafat at the junction of the borders of Wallachia, Serbia and Bulgaria. After staunch resistance the Russian detachment abandoned its position at Chetatea in the face of a large Turkish force (about 18,000 men). However, the arrival of Russian reinforcements put the Turks on the defensive and subsequently caused them to withdraw to Kalafat. p. 579

391 A reference to the Note to Constantinople signed by the British, French, Austrian and Prussian ambassadors on December 12, 1853 (see this volume, p. 560). The Note contained a fresh offer of mediation in the Russo-Turkish conflict. In a reply sent on December 31, 1853, Turkey stated her conditions for peace negotiations: 1) the preservation and guarantee of her territorial integrity; 2) Russian evacuation of the Danubian Principalities; 3) the renewal and observance of the 1841 treaty; 4) respect of the Sultan's sovereignty. These conditions were approved by a new Vienna Conference of the ambassadors on January 13, 1854 and forwarded to the Tsarist Government. p. 582

392 A part of this article was published under the title "The War in Asia" in *The Eastern Question.* p. 583

393 See Note 387. p. 584

394 *Landwehr*—the army reserve formed in Prussia during the struggle against Napoleon. In the 1840s the army reserve consisted of men under forty who had done three years active service and not less than two years in the reserve. In contrast to the regular army, conscription to the army reserve took place in cases of extreme necessity (war, or the threat of war). p. 588

395 In his description of the campaign against Albert, the Prince Consort, Marx used material published in the Chartist *People's Paper* on January 21, 1854.

This article, excluding the last paragraph, was published under the same title in *The Eastern Question.* p. 589

396 The description of the fortification of Constantinople was apparently written by Engels. In his letter to Engels of January 25, 1854, Marx asked his opinion on the subject (see present edition, Vol. 39). Presumably Marx received a note or a letter from Engels, which is not extant, with the relevant material and included it in his report for the *New-York Daily Tribune* dated January 27, 1854. The rest of the article is probably by Marx. The first two sections of this article were published under the title "Cobden and Russia" in *The Eastern Question.*

Cobden's pamphlet is quoted below from A. Somerville's *Cobdenic Policy the International Enemy of England,* London, 1854. p. 593

397 A reference to the declaration by Sweden and Denmark (December 1853) that if hostilities commenced in the Baltic Sea they would remain neutral. p. 594

398 See Note 54. p. 594

399 See Note 318. p. 596

400 According to a tradition that grew up after the Act of Union, twenty-six Irish peers out of approximately a hundred (the title of peer was conferred on many members of the British aristocracy possessing large landed estates in Ireland) were elected to the House of Lords; the rest could stand for election to the House of Commons. p. 597

401 An abridged version of this article was published under the title "War Finance" in *The Eastern Question.* p. 601

402 On the instructions of Nicholas I, A. F. Orlov negotiated with Emperor Francis Joseph in Vienna in late January and early February 1854. The Russian Government sought to secure Austria's benevolent neutrality in the war, in return for a guarantee of the inviolability of Austrian possessions. It also advanced a plan for a joint Russo-Austrian protectorate over states which would be formed in the Balkans if Turkey disintegrated. Orlov's mission was unsuccessful, however, owing to disagreements between Russia and Austria on the Eastern question. p. 601

403 As Ambassador Extraordinary to Constantinople and commander-in-chief of the Russian troops sent to assist the Turkish Sultan Mahmud II to defeat Mehemet Ali of Egypt, Orlov played a major part in the conclusion of the Unkiar-Skelessi Treaty between Russia and Turkey in 1833 (see Note 152). p. 601

404 *Renegades* was the name given in the Middle Ages to Christians in Moslem Spain who embraced Islam. Among Christians in Europe the word was afterwards applied generally to Christians in the Eastern countries who became Mohammedans. p. 602

405 A reference to the new Danish Constitution drafted in 1853 (see Note 187). It restricted the autonomy of Denmark proper, Schleswig, Holstein and Lauenburg and made them more dependent on the Danish Crown. This Constitution, which came into force on October 2, 1855, met with strong opposition and was replaced in 1863 with a more liberal one. p. 605

406 Excerpts from this article were published under the title "Blue Books.—Ambassadors Withdrawing" in *The Eastern Question.*

The blue book on the Eastern question mentioned in this article is *Correspondence respecting the Rights and Privileges of the Latin and Greek Churches*

*in Turkey. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty*, London, 1854. p. 606

407 A reference to the reports submitted to Parliament on the negotiations between Alexander Burnes, the British representative in Kabul, and the Emir of Afghanistan, Dost Mohammed. As a result of the negotiations the British Government, at Palmerston's insistence, declared war on Afghanistan in 1838. The reports were submitted to Parliament in 1839 but, as subsequently transpired, the most important papers were not produced, which made it possible to claim that Dost Mohammed was the initiator of the Anglo-Afghan conflict. Palmerston's opponents raised this question in the House of Commons in 1848. p. 606

408 See Note 6. p. 607

409 See Note 319. p. 609

410 The British ship *Tayleur* bound for Melbourne was wrecked and sank near the island of Lambey not far from Dublin. Investigations revealed that the ship's crew consisted of untrained, inexperienced sailors. p. 611

411 For *Downing Street* see Note 88; for the *Irish Brigade* see Note 53. p. 611

412 The *Litchfield-house contract* (or compact) was concluded between the Whig leaders and Daniel O'Connell, leader of the Liberal wing of the Irish national liberation movement, who headed the Irish faction in Parliament. The negotiations were conducted at Lord Litchfield's house in London. Under the contract the Irish Liberal leaders were promised some posts in the government. In his turn, O'Connell pledged to stop the mass campaign for the repeal of the Union and to support the Whigs in Parliament. p. 611

413 The *"Society of Arts" and tricks*—an ironical name given by Marx to the cultural and philanthropic Society of Arts founded in 1754; in the 1850s its President was Prince Albert. The Society tried to prevent the development of the mass strike movement in Britain and the convocation of the Labour Parliament (see Note 325), and sought to play the part of arbitrator between workers and employers. At its meeting in January 1854 Ernest Jones tried to propose a resolution recognising the workers' right to strike and condemning lockouts, but the meeting would not let him speak. His comrades-in-arms walked out in protest. Robert Owen also spoke against the view, supported by a majority at the meeting, that the labour question could be solved by philanthropic measures and arbitration. p. 612

414 A reference to the Labour Commission that met at the Luxembourg Palace under the chairmanship of Louis Blanc. It was set up on February 28, 1848 by the Provisional Government under pressure from the workers who demanded a Ministry of Labour. The Commission, in which both workers and employers were represented, acted as mediator in labour conflicts, often taking the side of the employers. The revolutionary action of the masses on May 15, 1848 put an end to the Luxembourg Commission, which the government disbanded on May 16, 1848. p. 612

415 This article was published in *The Eastern Question*. p. 613

416 For the Austrian and Russian demands for extradition of Hungarian and Polish revolutionary refugees in Turkey see Note 29. p. 614

[417] *Capitulations*—documents that granted commercial advantages and privileges to the subjects of West-European states in Oriental countries, including Turkey. p. 615

[418] Marx is ironically dubbing Louis Bonaparte with the title the Pope conferred on Ferdinand, King of Aragon (1479-1516), for the banishment of the Moors from Spain and which was subsequently used by the Pope in addressing the Spanish kings. p. 615

[419] See Note 217. p. 616

[420] See Note 24. p. 617

[421] These notes by Marx on Henry Charles Carey's views consist of fragments from Marx's letters to his pupil and comrade-in-arms Adolph Cluss, that were inserted by the latter in his article "The 'Best Paper in the Union' and Its 'Best Men' and Political Economists". The article by Cluss was published in the American working-class newspaper *Die Reform*. It contained criticism of the ideological discord among the German petty-bourgeois émigrés and their infatuation with the theories of bourgeois economists. Cluss reproduced whole passages from Marx's letters, making some changes or additions evidently for the sake of coherence, of which he wrote to Marx on September 11, 1853, referring jokingly to his own work as a plagiarism. Marx's authorship is also evident from their similarity to and frequently full coincidence with what Marx wrote on Carey's views to Engels (June 14, 1853) and Weydemeyer (March 5, 1852) (see present edition, Vol. 39). In his letter to Engels of October 8, 1853, Marx took a favourable view of Cluss' work but at the same time he stated definitely: "In his attack upon the *Neu-England Zeitung* he—aptly as I think—makes use of sundry passages from my letters about Carey, etc." (Ibid.) Since the text belonging to Cluss is also based on Marx's advice and instructions and his description of petty-bourgeois émigrés, and also because this form is more convenient for the reader, in this edition the article is published in full, and Cluss' text is given in smaller type.

Marx's notes, as a separate publication, appeared in Russian in the journal *The U.S.A.*, No. 5, 1977. p. 623

[422] An allusion to the fact that the German refugee newspaper *Janus*, published by Karl Heinzen in New York, ceased publication at the end of 1852. Its issues for 1852 contained articles by Arnold Ruge, which Marx, in his letter to Engels of April 30, 1852, described as follows: "...in the *Janus* we sent you, Ruge seeks—and *how* he seeks, *mon Dieu!*—to appropriate communism as the latest product of his 'humanist thought'" (see present edition, Vol. 39). p. 624

[423] See Note 137. p. 625

[424] Marx's criticism of the *Neu-England Zeitung* was evidently prompted by Poesche's article "Die 'Klassenkämpfer'", published in that newspaper on September 3, 1853. In connection with the article Marx wrote to Adolph Cluss on September 15, 1853 that Poesche makes "insipid would-be jokes about cranky proponents of the class struggle", etc., and further, "I think it is time you made a fresh start in the polemic and picked a few holes in the jejune arguments of Goepp-Poesche, discoverers of the *material view* though their materialism is that of the man-in-the-street" (see present edition, Vol. 39). p. 625

[425] A similar idea is expressed in Marx's letter to Weydemeyer of March 5, 1852: "He [Carey] tries to refute them [Ricardo, Malthus, Mill, Say, etc.], not, it is true, like the fatuous Heinzen, by relating the existence of classes to the existence of *political* privileges and *monopolies*, but by seeking to demonstrate that *economic* conditions—rent (landed property), *profit* (capital) and wages (wage labour), rather than being conditions of struggle and antagonism, are conditions of association and harmony." In reproducing Marx's notes in his article, Cluss possibly made some editorial changes in this passage, as suggested by his letter to Marx of September 11, 1853. p. 626

[426] Marx is referring to Carey's book *The Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign: Why It Exists, and How It May Be Extinguished*, published in Philadelphia in 1853. (In the same year a stereotyped edition of the book came out in London.) In his book (pp. 202-04), Carey quoted from Marx's article "Elections.—Financial Clouds.—The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery" published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on February 9, 1853 (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 486-94). Marx read Carey's book when he received a copy from the author, and gave a brief critical review of it in his letter to Engels of June 14, 1853. The main points of this criticism are reproduced in this article. p. 627

[427] A reference to the Central Committee of European Democracy set up in London in June 1850 on the initiative of Giuseppe Mazzini. It included bourgeois and petty-bourgeois refugees from various countries. Extremely heterogeneous in composition and ideological principles, the Central Committee of European Democracy had practically disintegrated by March 1852 because of strained relations between the Italian and French democratic refugees. Its inaugural manifesto "Aux peuples!" of July 3, 1850 was criticised by Marx and Engels in their international review (from May to October) published in the autumn of 1850 in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 490-532). p. 631

[428] See Note 30. p. 631

[429] See Note 217. p. 632

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*Alexander I* (1777-1825)—Emperor of Russia (1801-25).—5, 324, 362, 368, 604

*Alexander Karageorgević* (1806-1885)—Prince of Serbia (1842-58).—228, 278-79, 458, 523, 544

*Alexandra Fyodorovna (Charlotte Louise)* (1798-1860)—daughter of Frederick William III and wife of Tsar Nicholas I.—404

*Ali Asmi Pasha*—commander of the Turkish troops in Aleppo in 1853.—279

*Ali Pasha* (1741-1822)—founder and ruler of a state in the south-west of the Balkans whose capital was Janina (1788-1822); fought against the Turkish Sultan (1820-22), was assassinated after his capitulation.—33

*Amherst, William Pitt Amherst, Earl* (1773-1857)—British diplomat and statesman, Governor-General of India (1823-28).—201

*Anderson*—manager of the Bank of Scotland.—300

*Anderton, William*—Yorkshire manufacturer.—413

*Andronnikoff (Andronnikov), Ivan Malkhazovich, Prince* (1798-1868)—Russian general of Georgian descent; took part in military operations in the Caucasus during the Crimean war.—551

*Anne* (1665-1714)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1702-14).—44, 45

*Annesley, William Richard, 4th Earl of* (1830-1874)—Irish peer, Tory M.P.—597

*Anrep-Elmpt, Iosif Romanovich, Count* (1798-1860)—Russian general; commanded Russian troops on the Danube in 1853 and early 1854.—585

*Anstey, Thomas Chisholm* (1816-1873)—English lawyer and politician; radical M.P. (1847-52).—361, 380-81, 385, 387-90, 398, 400

*Antoine, Gustav*—French refugee in London in the early 1850s; son-in-law of Auguste Blanqui.—506

*Apponyi, Antal, Count* (1782-1852)—Austrian diplomat of Hungarian descent; ambassador to Paris (1826-49).—389

*Aquinas, Thomas (Thomas of Aquino)* (1225-1274)—scholastic theologian and philosopher; was canonised by the Catholic Church.—49, 55

*Ardant, Paul Joseph* (1800-1858)—French colonel, general from 1855, military engineer; in 1854 was sent on a military mission to Turkey.—610

*Argyll, George John Douglas Campbell, 8th Duke of* (1823-1900)—British statesman, Peelite; Lord Privy Seal (1853-55, 1859-66, 1880-81); Secretary for India (1868-74).—192

*Arif Hikmet Bey* (b. 1786)—Turkish statesman, Sheikh-ul-Islam (1846-54).—423

*Ariosto, Lodovico* (1474-1533)—Italian Renaissance poet, author of *L'Orlando furioso*.—345

*Aristotle* (384-322 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—178

*Arnim, Heinrich Friedrich, Count of* (1791-1859)—Prussian diplomat; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1849), ambassador to Vienna (1845-48, 1851-58).—234

*Assurbanipal*—King of Assyria (668-c. 626 B.C.).—268

*Attwood, Thomas* (1783-1856)—English banker, economist and radical politician, until 1839 adhered to the Right wing of the Chartist movement.—383, 385, 389, 405

*Augier, J.*—French journalist.—109

*Aurangzeb, Mohi ud-din Mohammed* (1658-1707)—ruler of the Grand Mogul Empire in India.—126

*Austin*—deputy governor of the Birmingham borough gaol (1853).—303

B

*Backhouse, John* (1772-1845)—British official, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (1827-42).—387, 396

*Baillie, Henry James* (b. 1804)—British M.P., Tory.—606

*Bahadur Shah II* (1767-1862)—last nominal ruler of the Grand Mogul Empire in India.—199

*Bakunin, Mikhail* (1814-1876)—Russian democrat, journalist; participant in the 1848-49 revolutions in Germany; subsequently an ideologist of Narodism and anarchism.—284-86, 290, 291

*Balcarres*—see *Crawford, James*

*Bandiera* brothers, *Attilio* (1810-1844) and *Emilio* (1819-1844)—Austrian naval officers, leaders of the national liberation movement in Italy, members of the Young Italy society; executed for their attempt to stir up an insurrection in Calabria (1844).—533

*Bangya, Janos* (1817-1868)—Hungarian journalist and officer, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; Kossuth's emissary abroad and at the same time an agent-provocateur; later served in the Turkish army under the name of Mehemed bey.—40, 42

*Baraguay d'Hilliers, Achille, comte* (1795-1878)—French general, since 1854 marshal, Bonapartist; ambassador to Constantinople (1853-54); commander of the French expeditionary corps in the Baltic in 1854.—531, 560, 575, 588, 619

*Baring Alexander, 1st Baron Ashburton* (1774-1848)—head of a banking house in London, Tory M.P.—300

*Barrington, William Keppel, Viscount* (b. 1793)—Irish peer, M.P.—597

*Barrot, Camille Hyacinthe Odilon* (1791-1873)—French politician and lawyer; leader of the liberal dynastic opposition until February 1848; from December 1848 to October 1849 headed the monarchist coalition ministry.—615

*Barthélemy, Emmanuel* (c. 1820-1855)—French worker, Blanquist, member of secret revolutionary societies during the July monarchy and participant in the June 1848 uprising in Paris; a leader of the Société des proscrits démocrates et socialistes in London; executed in 1855 on a criminal charge.—494, 496, 506-07

*Basilius Haivalian*—Patriarch of the Armenian Church in Aleppo (1853-54).—279

*Bastiat, Frédéric* (1801-1850)—French economist; preached harmony of class interests in bourgeois society.—625, 627, 630

*Batthyány, Kázmér, Count of* (1807-1854)—Hungarian statesman, liberal aristocrat; Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Hungarian revolutionary Government of Szemere (1849); after the suppression of the revolution emigrated to Turkey and then to France.—559

*Bauer, Bruno* (1809-1882)—German philosopher, Young Hegelian.—42, 487, 624

*Beaumont, Miles Thomas Stapleton, Baron* (1805-1854)—English landowner, member of the House of Lords, Liberal.—211, 263

*Beaumont-Vassy, Edouard Ferdinand de la Bonninière, vicomte de* (1816-1876)—French writer and historian; monarchist.—117

*Becker, Hermann Heinrich* (1820-1885)—German lawyer and journalist, member of the Communist League (from 1850); sentenced to five years' imprisonment at the Cologne Communist trial in 1852; subsequently a national-liberal.—482, 485, 487, 502-04

*Becker, Nicolaus* (1809-1845)—German poet.—67

*Bell*—chief engineer on the Egyptian frigate *Pervaz Bahri*, an Englishman.—571

*Bell, George*—British merchant, brother and partner of James Bell.—398, 402-06

*Bell, James Stanislas* (d. 1842)—British merchant; a spy in the Caucasus in the 1830s.—395, 405

*Bem, Jósef* (1795-1850)—Polish general, participant in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31 and in the revolutionary struggle in Vienna in 1848; a leader of the Hungarian revolutionary army in 1848-49; emigrated to Turkey after the defeat of the revolution.—257, 564

*Bennoch Francis*—British merchant, London City Councillor (1853).—512

*Béranger, Pierre Jean de* (1780-1857)—French poet and song writer, author of political satires, democrat.—6

*Berends, Julius* (b. 1817)—owner of a printshop in Berlin, Left-wing deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (1848).—28, 30

*Berg*—Russian diplomat, First Secretary of the Russian embassy in London (c. 1842-54).—608

*Berkeley, Francis Henry Fitzhardinge* (1794-1870)—English politician, Liberal M.P.—137

*Bertin, Louis Marie Armand* (1801-1854)—French journalist, Orleanist; publisher of the *Journal des Débats* in 1841-54.—117

*Bethmann-Hollweg, Moritz August von* (1795-1877)—Prussian lawyer and politician; a conservative leader, deputy to the First (1849-52) and the Second (1852-55) Chamber of the Prussian Diet.—29, 37

*Bethune, John Elliot Drinkwater* (1801-1851)—British lawyer; from 1848 to 1851 legislative member of the Supreme Council of India.—122

*Bineau, Jean Martial* (1805-1855)—French engineer and politician, Bonapartist; Minister of Public Works (1849-51) and Minister of Finance (1852-55).—316, 604

*Bird, T.*—Vienna correspondent of *The Times* (1848-66).—561

*Blackett, John Fenwick Burgoyne* (1821-1856)—British M.P.—125, 273, 275

*Blanc, Jean Joseph Louis* (1811-1882)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, historian; member of the Provisional Government in 1848; pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie; from August 1848 a leader of petty-bourgeois émigrés in London.—505-06, 612

*Blanqui, Louis Auguste* (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, utopian communist; organiser of secret societies and plots; during the 1848 revolution adhered to the extreme Left of the democratic and proletarian movement in France.—505, 507

*Blind, Karl* (1826-1907)—German journalist, democrat; took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden in 1848-49; in the 1850s was a leader of German petty-bourgeois émigrés in London, subsequently a national-liberal.—630, 631

*Bluhme, Christian Albrecht* (1794-1866)—Danish statesman, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1851-54) and Prime Minister (1852-53).—574

*Blum, Hans*—German democrat, member of the Communist League; from 1850 adhered to the Willich-Schapper sectarian group; subsequently emigrated to the USA and took part in the American Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—482

*Bodkin, Sir William Henry* (1791-1874)—British lawyer, Tory M.P. (1841-47); in 1853 government solicitor.—83

*Boiardo, Matteo Maria* (1434-1494)—Italian Renaissance poet, author of *L'Orlando innamorato*.—488

*Bonaparte*—imperial dynasty in France (1804-14, 1815 and 1852-70).—540

*Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon I*

*Bonaparte, Louis*—see *Napoleon III*

*Boniface, Louis* (b. 1796)—French journalist, Bonapartist.—111, 294

*Bourbons*—royal dynasty in France (1589-1792, 1814-15 and 1815-30).—538-40, 557, 577, 590

*Bourqueney, François Adolphe, comte de* (1799-1869)—French diplomat, envoy (1841-44) and the ambas-

sador to Constantinople (1844-48), envoy (1853-56) and ambassador to Vienna (1856-59).—234

*Boustrapa*—see *Napoleon III*

*Boylin, James*—a clerk employed at Hale's rocket factory in a London suburb.—82

*Brady, John* (b. 1812)—British physician, M.P.—598

*Briggs, John* (1785-1875)—British general; served in the East India Company in 1801-35; member of its Court of Proprietors (1853).—198

*Bright, John* (1811-1889)—English manufacturer and politician, a Free Trade leader and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League.—58, 123, 137, 175-77, 182, 192, 197, 202, 419, 447, 448, 590, 625

*Broc, Pyotr Fyodorovich* (1805-1875)—Russian statesman, Minister of Finance (1852-58).—241

*Brougham and Vaux, Henry Peter, 1st Baron* (1778-1868)—English Whig statesman, lawyer and writer.—186, 577

*Brougthon*—see *Hobhouse, John Cam*

*Brown, John P.*—American chargé d'affaires in Turkey (1853).—211

*Bruat, Armand Joseph* (1796-1855)—French admiral, commander of a squadron (1854), then of the French navy in the Black Sea (1855).—614

*Bruck, Karl Ludwig, Baron von* (1798-1860)—Austrian manufacturer and statesman; Minister of Trade, Industry and Public Works (1848-51), envoy to Constantinople (1853-55), Minister of Finance (1855-60).—193, 278, 407, 417

*Brüggemann, Karl Heinrich* (1810-1887)—German journalist, moderate liberal, editor-in-chief of the *Kölnische Zeitung* (1845-55).—632

*Bruhn, Karl von* (b. 1803)—German journalist, member of the Communist League; expelled in 1850; subsequently editor of the Lassallean paper *Nordstern* in Hamburg (1861-66).—486

*Brunnow, Filipp Ivanovich, Baron* (1797-1875)—Russian diplomat, envoy (1840-54 and 1858-60) and ambassador (1860-74) to London.—19, 137, 138, 142, 143, 175, 205-08, 255, 259, 266, 574, 589, 608

*Brutus, Marcus Junius* (c. 85-42 B.C.)—Roman republican statesman, an initiator of a conspiracy against Julius Caesar.—30, 592

*Buchanan, Sir Andrew* (1807-1882)—English diplomat, envoy to Copenhagen (1853-58).—594

*Bucher, Lothar* (1817-1892)—Prussian official and journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848 and then a refugee in London; subsequently a national-liberal and supporter of Bismarck.—488

*Budberg, Alexander Ivanovich, Baron* (1798-1876)—Russian general; Commissioner Plenipotentiary in the Danubian Principalities (1853-54).—538

*Bulwer-Lytton*—see *Lytton, Edward George*

*Bulwer, William Henry Lytton Earle, Baron Dalling and Bulwer* (1801-1872)—English diplomat, Whig M.P. (1830-37); chargé d'affaires in Paris, 1839 and 1840, then envoy to Madrid (1843-48), to Washington (1849-52) and Florence (1852-55); in 1858-65 ambassador to Constantinople.—373, 389, 530

*Buol-Schauenstein, Karl Ferdinand, Count of* (1797-1865)—Austrian statesman and diplomat; envoy to St. Petersburg (1848-50) and to London (1851-52), Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1852-59).—193, 234, 258, 267, 321, 537, 577

*Bürgers, Heinrich* (1820-1878)—German journalist, contributor to the *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842 and 1843); member of the Cologne community of the Communist League (1848); an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; from 1850 member of the Communist League Central Authority; sentenced to six years' imprisonment at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); subsequently a liberal.—498

*Burgoyne, Sir John Fox, Baronet* (1782-1871)—English general, military engineer; inspector general of fortifications (1845-68); the principal engineer adviser to the English commander during the first part of the siege of Sevastopol, field marshal from 1868.—610

*Burke, Edmund* (1729-1797)—English journalist and statesman, Whig M.P., opponent of the French Revolution.—183, 184

*Butenev, Appolinary Petrovich* (1787-1866)—Russian diplomat, ambassador to Constantinople (1830-40).—379

*Butt, Isaac* (1813-1879)—Irish lawyer and politician, Liberal M.P.; in the 1870s one of the initiators of the Home Rule movement.—58, 611

C

*Campbell, Sir George* (1824-1892)—British official in India, author of works on India; subsequently Liberal M.P. (1875-92).—181-82, 184, 199, 214, 215, 216, 220

*Canning, George* (1770-1827)—English Tory statesman and diplomat; Foreign Secretary (1807-09, 1822-27) and Prime Minister (1827).—110, 347-48, 351, 363-64, 386

*Capo d'Istria, Giovanni Antonio (Joannes), Count* (1776-1831)—Greek statesman; from 1809 to 1822 was in the Russian service, Second Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Russia (1815-22); President of Greece (1827-31).—357

*Cardwell, Edward Cardwell, Viscount* (1813-1886)—English statesman, a leader of the Peelites and then a Liberal; President of the Board of Trade (1852-55), Secretary for Ireland (1859-61), Secretary for the Colonies (1864-66) and Secretary for War (1868-74).—192

*Carey, Henry Charles* (1793-1879)—American economist, advocated harmony of class interests in capitalist society.—623, 625-28, 630

*Carlyle, Thomas* (1795-1881)—British writer, historian and philosopher, supported the Tories; preached views bordering on feudal socialism up to 1848; later a relentless opponent of the working-class movement.—303, 347

*Carmarthen*—see *Osborne, Sir Thomas*

*Carnot, Lazare Hippolyte* (1801-1888)—French journalist and politician; member of the Provisional Government (1848); after 1851 a leader of the republican opposition to the Bonapartist regime.—539

*Carrard, Nicolas* (d. 1853)—a leader of the clerical opposition to the Swiss government; organised putsches in Fribourg in 1850, 1851 and 1853.—85

*Cassola, Carlo* (b. 1814)—Italian revolutionary, follower of Mazzini.—302

*Castelbajac, Barthélemy Dominique Jacques Armand, marquis de* (1787-1864)—French general, Legitimist; from 1850 to 1854 envoy to St. Petersburg.—589-90, 608

*Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount* (1769-1822)—British Tory statesman; Secretary for War and for the Colonies (1805-06, 1807-09) and Foreign Secretary (1812-22).—369

*Catherine II* (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-96).—33, 112, 113, 404, 603, 632

*Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de* (1547-1616)—Spanish writer.—77, 348, 631

*Chambord, Henri Charles, duc de Bordeaux, comte de* (1820-1883)—last representative of the elder Bourbon line, pretender to the French throne as Henry V.—538, 577

*Chapman, John* (1801-1854)—English radical writer, advocate of reforms in India.—220

*Charles I* (1600-1649)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1625-49); executed during the English Revolution.—148

*Charles II* (1630-1685)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1660-85).—273

*Charles V* (1500-1558)—Holy Roman Emperor (1519-56) and King of Spain under the name of Charles I (1516-56).—59

*Charles X* (1757-1836)—King of France (1824-30).—165, 230

*Charles Albert* (*Carlo Alberto*) (1798-1849)—King of Sardinia (1831-49).—511

*Charles Frederick Alexander* (1823-1891)—Prince of Württemberg and subsequently King Charles I of Württemberg (1864-91).—255

*Charles the Great* (*Charlemagne*) (c. 742-814)—King of the Franks (768-800) and Holy Roman Emperor (800-814).—230

*Charles, Jacques Hubert* (1793-1882)—Swiss conservative politician and writer, participant in the Fribourg putsch of 1853.—85

*Chekib Effendi*—Turkish statesman, member of the State Council (Divan); in July 1853 was empowered to investigate the Smyrna incident.—211

*Chenu, Adolphe* (born c. 1817)—member of secret revolutionary societies in France during the July monarchy, agent-provocateur of the secret police.—40

*Chesney, Francis Rawdon* (1789-1872)—English colonel, general after 1855; author of *Russo-Turkish Campaigns of 1828 and 1829*.—563, 564

*Child, Sir Josiah* (1630-1699)—English economist, banker and merchant; mercantilist; President of the Court of Directors of the East India Company (1681-83 and 1686-88).—152

*Childs, Thomas*—captain of the British ship *Vixen*.—398

*Chollet, Joseph*—participant in the Fribourg putsch of 1853.—85

*Christian IX* (1818-1906)—Prince of Glücksburg, later King of Denmark (1863-1906).—238

*Clanricarde, Ulick John de Burgh, 1st Marquis and 14th Earl of* (1802-1874)—British Whig diplomat and politician, ambassador to St. Petersburg (1838-41).—186, 251, 263, 561, 607, 608

*Clarendon, George William Frederick Villiers, 4th Earl of, 4th Baron Hyde* (1800-1870) — British statesman, Whig, later Liberal; Viceroy of Ireland (1847-52), Foreign Secretary (1853-58, 1865-66 and 1868-70).—20, 33, 137, 138, 142, 143, 146, 186, 187, 192, 211, 235, 237, 239, 240, 258, 261-63, 301, 309, 312, 321, 324, 325, 607, 608

*Clédat, Jean*—member of the Société des proscrits démocrates et socialistes in London (1850).—508

*Clementi, Luigi*—Italian revolutionary, follower of Mazzini.—302

*Clive, Robert, Baron Clive of Plassey* (1725-1774)—governor of Bengal (1757-60 and 1765-67).—151, 221

*Cloots, Jean Baptiste* (*Anacharsis*) (1755-1794)—a leader of the French Revolution, Danish by birth; was close to the Left Jacobins; prior to the Revolution Prussian baron.—291

*Cluss, Adolph* (1825-1905)—German engineer, member of the Communist League; secretary of the Workers' Educational Society in Mainz (1848); in 1848 emigrated to the USA, where he took part in the work of German-American workers' organisations in the 1850s; one of the first propagandists of scientific communism in America.—623, 625, 626, 629, 632

*Cobbett, John Morgan* (1800-1877)—English lawyer and politician, M.P., son of William Cobbett.—187, 188, 189, 226

*Cobbett, William* (c.1762-1835)—English politician and radical writer.—44, 149, 187-89

*Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865)—English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League.—58, 137, 175-77, 234, 274-76, 280, 419, 436, 447, 448, 462, 590, 594-96

*Coburgs*—representatives of the Saxe-Coburg-Gotha dynasty; ruled in Belgium, Portugal, Britain and several

other European states.—254, 308, 370, 371, 544, 577

*Coburg*—see *Albert*

*Codrington, Sir Edward* (1770-1851)—British admiral, commander of the combined Russian, British and French fleet in the battle of Navarino (1827).—354, 376

*Cola, M.*—Russian consul in Galatz (1853).—116

*Colbert, Jean Baptiste* (1619-1683)—French statesman, Controller-General of Finance (1665-83); virtually directed France's home and foreign policy.—70

*Collier, Robert Porrett, 1st Baron Monkswell* (1817-1886)—English lawyer and radical politician, M.P.—50

*Confucius* (550 or 551-479 B.C.)—Chinese philosopher and statesman.—624

*Constantine (Konstantin) Pavlovich* (1779-1831)—Russian Grand Duke, commander of the Polish army from 1814; virtual Viceroy of Poland (1814-31).—113, 386

*Cooper, James Fenimore* (1789-1851)—American novelist.—40

*Coppock, James* (1798-1857)—English lawyer, electoral agent.—304

*Corry, Armar Lawry* (1792-1855)—British admiral.—112

*Cowell, George*—English worker, Chartist; one of the leaders of the Preston strike in 1853-54.—446, 462

*Cowley, Henry Wellesley, 1st Earl of* (1804-1884)—British diplomat, ambassador to Paris (1852-67).—4

*Craufurd, Edward Henry John* (b. 1816)—English judge; M.P. (1852-53).—176, 177

*Crawford, James Lindsay Balcarres, Earl of* (1783-1869)—English landlord and mine-owner.—331, 436, 447

*Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—leader of the English revolution; from 1653 Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland.—148, 273

*Crossley, Sir Francis* (1817-1872)—English manufacturer, radical M.P.—196

*Cushing, Caleb* (1800-1879)—American lawyer and politician, Attorney-General (1853-57).—625

*Czartoryski, Adam Jerzy, Prince* (1770-1861)—Polish magnate, friend of Alexander I; Russian Foreign Minister (1804-06); head of the Provisional Government during the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, later leader of Polish conservative-monarchist émigrés in Paris.—280, 386

D

*Dalhousie, James Andrew Broun Ramsay, Marquess and Earl of* (1812-1860)—British statesman, Peelite; Governor-General of India (1848-56); pursued a policy of colonial conquests.—121, 122, 199, 282

*Danilo I Petrović Njegoš* (1826-1860)—Prince of Montenegro (1852-60).—446, 617

*Dannenberg, Pyotr Andreyevich* (1792-1872)—Russian general, commander of Russian forces on the Danube and in the Crimea during the Crimean war.—458, 472

*Danton, Georges Jacques* (1759-1794)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, leader of the Right-wing Jacobins.—291

*Decker, Karl von* (1784-1844)—German general and military writer.—481

*Delacour (De la Cour), Edmond* (1805-1873)—French diplomat, ambassador to Constantinople (1853).—21, 109, 110, 194, 259, 278

*Delahodde (de la Hodde), Lucien* (1808-1865)—French journalist, member of secret revolutionary societies during the Restoration and the July monarchy, police agent-provocateur.—40

*Delasusse, Aaron Louis Frédéric Regnault, Baron de* (1788-1860)—French admiral.—109

*Delescluze, Louis Charles* (1809-1871)—French revolutionary, participant in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 and member of the Paris Commune of 1871.—421

*Delius*—Prussian official, deputy to the Second Chamber of the Prussian Diet (1852-53), brother of Karl Delius.—30

*Delius, Karl*—Magdeburg merchant.—30

*Demetrius Antachi*—Patriarch of the Greek Church in Aleppo (1853-54).—279

*Democritus* (c. 460-c. 370 B.C.)—Greek philosopher, a founder of the atomistic theory.—630

*Demosthenes* (384-322 B.C.)—Greek orator and politician; Athens leader of the Anti-Macedonian Party; champion of democracy in slave-owning society.—20

*Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Earl of* (1799-1869)—British statesman, Tory leader, Prime Minister (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68).—3, 186, 252, 280, 281, 377, 401, 406, 413, 570, 611, 617

*Desmoulins, Lucie Simplice Camille Benoist* (1760-1794)—French journalist; leader in the French Revolution; Right-wing Jacobin.—291

*Dickens, Charles John Huffam* (1812-1870)—English novelist.—79, 360

*Dickinson*—owner of iron works in Blackburn, Lancashire.—331

*Dickinson, John* (1815-1876)—English writer, Free Trader, author of several books on India, a founder of India Reform Society.—155, 180, 183, 184, 219

*Diebich-Zabalkansky, Ivan Ivanovich, Count* (*Diebitsch, Hans Karl Friedrich Anton*) (1785-1831)—Russian field marshal, commander-in-chief of the Russian army during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29 and of the troops which crushed the Polish uprising of 1830-31.—7, 33, 457

*Dietz, Oswald* (c. 1824-1864)—German architect; participated in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated to London; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; after the split of the League in 1850 joined the sectarian Willich-Schapper group, member of its Central Committee; subsequently took part in the American Civil War on the side of the North.—499, 500

*Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and author, a Tory leader; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68) and Prime Minister (1868 and 1874-80).—3, 46, 48, 53, 54, 55, 58-60, 63, 69, 70, 72, 73, 75, 80, 81, 137, 177, 178, 186, 202, 240, 253, 265, 295, 589, 597

*Dolgorukoff* (*Dolgorukov*), *Vasily Andreyevich, Prince* (1803-1868)—Russian statesman; War Minister (1853-56); Chief of the gendarmes (1856-66).—240, 241

*Dornbush*.—409

*Dost Mohammed Khan* (1793-1863)—Afghan Emir (1826-39 and 1842-63).—566

*Dotézac, Adolphe* (1808-1889)—French diplomat, envoy to Copenhagen (1848-69).—594

*Dronke, Ernst* (1822-1891)—German writer, at first a "true socialist", later member of the Communist League and an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; after the 1848-49 revolution emigrated to England; supported Marx and Engels.—41, 42, 485, 486

*Drouyn de Lhuys, Edouard* (1805-1881)—French diplomat and politician, in the 1840s Orleanist and after 1851 Bonapartist; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1848-49, 1851, 1852-55, 1862-66).—203, 209, 211, 258, 267, 301, 321, 556, 560, 562, 575

*Druey, Henri* (1799-1855)—Swiss radical statesman; member of the Federal Council (1848-54), and President of the Swiss Confederation in 1850.—91

*Dundas, Sir James Whitley Deans* (1785-1862)—British admiral, commander-in-chief of the British navy in the Mediterranean from 1852 to January 1855.—5, 112, 118, 553

*Duplat, Gustavus Charles*—British diplomat, consul at Warsaw (1841-54).—365

*Durham, John George Lambton, 1st Earl of* (1792-1840)—British politician,

Whig; ambassador to St. Petersburg (1835-37).—389, 394, 403

E

*Eccarius, Johann Friedrich*—German tailor, member of the Communist League; emigrated to London in 1851; supported Marx and Engels during the split in the Communist League.—500

*Eccarius Johann Georg* (1818-1889)—German tailor, brother of Johann Friedrich Eccarius; prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; member of the League of the Just and later of the Communist League; member of the General Council of the First International; subsequently took part in the British trade union movement.—500

*Edward IV* (1442-1483)—King of England (1461-83).—251

*Elizabeth I* (1533-1603)—Queen of England (1558-1603).—148, 152

*Ellenborough, Edward Law, 1st Earl of* (1790-1871)—British Tory statesman; Governor-General of India (1842-44); First Lord of the Admiralty (1846); President of the Board of Control for India (1858).—181, 186, 198, 263

*Ellice, Edward* (1781-1863)—British politician, M.P. (1818, 1820, 1830 and 1831-63).—48, 55

*Elphinstone, Mountstuart* (1779-1859)—governor of Bombay (1819-27), author of a *History of India*.—199

*Emmanuel, Georgy Arsenyevich* (1775-1837)—Russian general of Magyar descent, Russian commander in the Caucasus (1826-31).—392

*Engelhardt*—Russian general, commander of Russian troops on the Danube in 1853.—472

*Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895).—41, 42, 82, 87, 232, 285, 450-52, 457, 474, 486, 496, 497, 507, 516

*Ersch, Johann Samuel* (1766-1828)—German bibliographer, professor of geography and statistics in Halle.—59

*Esterházy of Galántha, Paul Anton (Pál Antál), Prince* (1786-1866)—Hungarian magnate, diplomat in the service of Austria, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Hungarian government (March-September 1848).—205-06

*Evans, Sir George de Lacy* (1787-1870)—English general; participant in the Crimean war; M.P.—357, 362, 382

*Ewerbeck, August Hermann* (1816-1860)—German physician and man of letters; member of the Communist League until 1850.—284, 291

F

*Falloux, Frédéric Alfred Pierre, comte de* (1811-1886)—French politician and writer, Legitimist and clerical; in 1848 inspired the suppression of the June uprising in Paris; Minister of Education (1848-49).—615

*Ferdinand II* (1810-1859)—King of Naples (1830-59).—243

*Ferdinand VII* (1784-1833)—King of Spain (1808 and 1814-33).—353

*Ferdinand August Franz Anton* (1816-1885)—Prince Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld-Kohary, husband of Queen Maria II da Gloria of Portugal, King of Portugal under the name of Ferdinand II (1837-53) and regent from 1853 to 1855.—370

*Ferdinando Alberto Amedeo* (1822-1855)—Duke of Genoa, brother of Victor Emmanuel II, King of Sardinia.—108

*Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas von* (1804-1872)—German materialist philosopher.—624

*Fichte, Johann Gottlieb* (1762-1814)—German philosopher.—624

*Fickler, Joseph* (1808-1865)—German journalist, democrat; a leader of the 1848-49 democratic movement in Baden; after the revolution emi-

grated to Switzerland and then to Britain and America.—488

*Filmore, L.*—Berlin correspondent of *The Times* (1853-54).—609

*Fischbach*—Russian general, commander of Russian troops on the Danube in 1853.—473

*Fitzroy, Henry* (1807-1859)—English politician, Peelite, Under-Secretary for Home Affairs from 1852 to 1855.—224, 225

*Fitzwilliam, Charles William Wentworth, 3rd Earl of* (1786-1857)—English politician, Whig M.P.—186, 295, 598

*Fletcher Ann.*—469

*Fletcher Margaret.*—469

*Fleury, Charles* (real name: *Carl Friedrich August Krause*) (b. 1824)—London businessman, Prussian spy and police agent.—40, 82

*Forbes, Charles*—Scottish landowner.—415

*Fox, Charles James* (1749-1806)—British statesman, Whig leader; in 1783 Foreign Secretary in Portland's Coalition Ministry (the Fox-North Ministry).—120, 150

*Fox, William Johnson* (1786-1864)—English politician and author, Free Trader, M.P.—597

*Francis I* (1494-1547)—King of France (1515-47).—59

*Francis Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-1916).—108, 174, 418, 618

*Frederick I* (1826-1907)—virtual ruler of Baden from 1852, Grand Duke of Baden from 1856.—510

*Frederick I ("Barbarossa" or "Redbeard")* (c. 1123-1190)—King of Germany from 1152, Holy Roman Emperor (1155-90).—105, 359

*Frederick III* (1609-1670)—King of Denmark (1648-70).—238

*Frederick VII* (1808-1863)—King of Denmark (1848-63).—168, 227, 238, 241, 445

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—29, 30, 108, 209, 314, 509, 511, 602

*Fuad Pasha, Mehemmed* (1814-1869)—Turkish statesman; in the 1850s and 1860s repeatedly held the posts of Grand Vizier and Minister of Foreign Affairs.—5, 18, 106

G

*Galway, George Edward Arundell (Monckton-Arundell), Viscount* (1805-1876)—Irish peer, Tory M.P.—597

*Gammage, Robert George* (1815-1888)—shoemaker, a Chartist leader, author of *The History of the Chartist Movement* (1854).—170, 171

*Garašanin, Iliya* (1812-1874)—Serbian liberal statesman; Minister of the Interior (1843-52 and 1858-59), Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1852-53 and 1861-67).—11, 228, 269

*Gebert, August*—Mecklenburg joiner, member of the Communist League first in Switzerland and then in London; after the split in the League in 1850 joined the separatist Willich-Schapper group, member of its Central Committee.—500

*George I* (1660-1727)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1714-27).—44, 45, 153

*George II* (1683-1760)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1727-1760).—44, 45, 153

*George III* (1738-1820)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1760-1820).—44, 45, 150, 153

*Gerbex, Charles Léopold Dominique* (1816-1879)—Swiss army officer, chief of the National Guard in the canton of Fribourg from 1852 onwards; directed the suppression of the putsch in Fribourg in 1853.—85

*Gerlach, Wilhelm*—German refugee in London, a worker at Hale's rocket factory in a London suburb.—84

*Germanos*—Patriarch of the Greek Church in Constantinople (1852-53).—163

*Géza* (Gaysa) (c. 949-997)—ruler of Hungary (972-997); spread Christianity.—56

*Ghica, Grigore Alexandru, Prince* (1807-1857)—hospodar of Moldavia (1849-

53 and 1854-56).—235, 240, 277, 313, 538

*Gibson, Thomas Milner* (1806-1884)—British politician and statesman, Free Trader and later Liberal; Secretary of the Board of Trade (1859-65 and 1865-66).—58, 62, 69, 175

*Girardin, Emile de* (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician, editor of the newspaper *La Presse*; lacked principles in politics; during the 1848-49 revolution a republican and subsequently a Bonapartist.—109

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory and later Peelite, leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the nineteenth century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55 and 1859-66), Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—44-49, 52-55, 58-66, 68-73, 75-81, 102, 115, 118, 119, 120, 146, 175, 177, 185, 186, 223, 281, 305, 330, 419, 597

*Goderich*—see *Robinson, Frederick John*

*Godfrey of Bouillon* (*Godefroy de Bouillon*) (c. 1060-1100)—Duke of Lower Lorraine (1089-1100), a leader of the first crusade (1096-99).—488

*Godwin, Sir Henry Thomas* (1784-1853)—British general, commander-in-chief of the British army during the second Burmese war (1852).—201

*Goepp, Charles*—American writer of German descent; in the 1850s was close to the German petty-bourgeois democratic émigrés in the United States; co-author, with Theodor Poesche, of *The New Rome. The United States of the World*, published in 1852.—625

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—132, 133

*Goldheim*—Prussian police officer, secret agent of the Prussian police in London in the early 1850s.—82

*Golovine* (*Golovin*), *Ivan Gavrilovich* (1816-1886)—Russian liberal landowner, journalist; emigrated to England; close to Herzen and Bakunin in the 1840s and 1850s.—284, 290, 291

*Gorchakoff* (*Gorchakov*), *Mikhail Dmitrievich, Prince* (1793-1861)—Russian general, commander of the Russian troops on the Danube (1853-54) and commander-in-chief in the Crimea (February to December of 1855); governor of the Kingdom of Poland (1856-61).—174, 211, 235, 240, 310, 323, 336, 416, 417, 435, 445, 453, 458, 471, 474, 475, 538, 580, 589

*Graham, Sir James Robert George* (1792-1861)—British statesman, a Whig at the beginning of his career, later a Peelite; Home Secretary (1841-46), First Lord of the Admiralty (1830-34, 1852-55).—260, 533, 534, 611

*Granier de Cassagnac, Bernard Adolphe* (1806-1880)—French journalist, unprincipled politician; Orleanist until the 1848 revolution, subsequently Bonapartist; deputy to the Legislative Corps during the Second Empire, contributed to *Le Constitutionnel*.—20

*Granville, George Leveson-Gower, 2nd Earl of* (1815-1891)—British statesman, Whig, subsequently one of Liberal Party leaders; Foreign Secretary (1851-52, 1870-74 and 1880-85); Secretary of State for the Colonies (1868-70, 1886); President of the Council (1852-54).—192

*Greeley, Horace* (1811-1872)—American journalist and politician; founder and editor of the *New-York Daily Tribune*; subsequently abandoned radical views.—176

*Greif*—Prussian police officer; one of the chiefs of the Prussian secret service in London in the early 1850s.—40

*Grey, Charles, 2nd Earl* (1764-1845)—British statesman, a Whig leader, Prime Minister (1830-34).—375, 393

*Grey, Sir George* (1799-1882)—British Whig statesman; Home Secretary (1846-52, 1855-58 and 1861-66) and Secretary of State for the Colonies (1854-55).—188

*Grey, Sir Henry George, 3rd Earl of* (1802-1894)—British Whig statesman; Secretary-at-War (1835-39) and

Secretary of State for the Colonies (1846-52); son of Charles Grey.—186
*Grillenzoni, Giovanni* (1796-1868)—Italian revolutionary; follower of Mazzini.—302
*Grosvenor, Lord Robert, 1st Baron Ebury* (1801-1893)—British politician, Whig, later Liberal.—62
*Gruber, Johann Gottfried* (1774-1851)—German scientist, historian of literature.—59
*Grundtvig, Nikolai Frederik Severin* (1783-1872)—Danish theologian and poet; deputy to the Folketing.—101
*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman; virtually directed France's foreign and home policy from 1840 to the February revolution of 1848.—20, 32, 87, 89, 203
*Gurieff (Guriev), Dmitry Alexandrovich, Count* (1751-1825)—Russian statesman, Minister of Finance (1810-23).—603
*Guyon*—see *Khourschid Pasha*
*Gümpel*—German democrat; refugee in London in the early 1850s.—500
*Gyulay, Ferenc, Count* (1798-1868)—Austrian general, War Minister (1849-50).—174

H

*Habsburgs (or Hapsburgs)*—imperial dynasty of the Holy Roman Empire from 1273 to 1806 (with intervals), of Austria (from 1804) and of Austria-Hungary (1867-1918).—16
*Hackelberg, Otto, Baron von*—Austrian naval officer, killed in Smyrna in 1853.—211
*Hale, Robert*—son and partner of William Hale.—82, 83, 84, 107
*Hale, William*—owner of a rocket factory in a London suburb.—82-84, 107
*Halil Pasha* (d. 1856)—Turkish military figure and statesman; kapudan Pasha (Naval Minister) (1854-55).—576
*Halliday, Sir Frederick James* (1806-1901)—East India Company official, Governor of Bengal (1854-59).—177
*Hamelin, François Alphonse* (1796-1864)—French admiral, commander-in-chief of the French fleet in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea (1853-54); Minister of the Navy (1855-60).—553
*Hamilton*—see *Seymour, George Hamilton*
*Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph, Baron von* (1774-1856)—Austrian orientalist, author of works on the history of Turkey.—22, 229
*Hampden, John* (1595-1643)—prominent figure in the English revolution, a leader of the Parliamentary opposition to the absolutist regime.—224
*Hardinge, Sir Henry, Viscount* (1785-1856)—British general, field marshal from 1855, Tory; Secretary for War (1828-30 and 1841-44); Governor-General of India (1844-47); commander-in-chief of the British army (1852-56).—559
*Hardwicke, Charles Philip Yorke, 4th Earl of* (1799-1873)—British naval officer and politician, Tory; admiral from 1854.—263
*Hasenclever, Johann Peter* (1810-1853)—German artist.—232
*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—93, 481, 487, 624
*Heinzen, Karl* (1809-1880)—German radical journalist, participant in the 1849 uprising in Baden and the Palatinate; refugee in Switzerland and later in England; emigrated to the USA in autumn 1850.—626, 630
*Heise, Hermann* (d. 1860)—German democratic journalist, participant in the revolution of 1848-49, later a refugee in England.—502
*Henry V* (of France)—see *Chambord*
*Henry, Sir Thomas* (1807-1876)—British judge.—82, 84
*Hentze, A.*—German army officer, member of the Communist League; after the split in the League in 1850 joined the sectarian Willich-Schapper group; witness for the prosecution

at the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—501, 502, 503

*Heraclitus* (c. 540-c. 480 B.C.)—Greek philosopher, a founder of dialectics.—630

*Herbert, Sidney, Baron of Lea* (1810-1861)—British statesman, Tory at the beginning of his career and later a Peelite; Secretary-at-War (1845-46 and 1852-55) and Secretary for War (1859-60).—58, 192

*Herries, John Charles* (1778-1855)—British statesman, Tory.—177, 368

*Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich* (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher and writer.—284

*Heytesbury*—see *A'Court, William*

*Hinckeldey, Karl Ludwig Friedrich von* (1805-1856)—Prussian official, Police President of Berlin from 1848; President of the Police Department in the Ministry of the Interior from 1853.—28-30

*Hirsch, Wilhelm*—commercial clerk from Hamburg, Prussian police agent in London in the early 1850s.—40, 41, 43, 82, 481, 498, 500

*Hobbes, Thomas* (1588-1679)—English philosopher.—597

*Hobhouse, John Cam, Baron Broughton de Gyfford* (1786-1869)—British Whig statesman, President of the Board of Control for India (1835-41 and 1846-52).—139, 183

*Hogg, Sir James Weir* (1790-1876)—British politician, Peelite; President of the Court of Directors of the East India Company (1846-47 and 1852-53).—123, 125, 223

*Holland, Henry Richard Fox Vassall, Baron* (1773-1840)—British Whig politician, member of the Ministries of Granville (1806-07), Grey (1830-34) and Melbourne (1834, 1835-40).—206, 207

*Homer*—semi-legendary Greek epic poet.—140, 488

*Hooson, Edward*—British worker, prominent Chartist.—170, 172

*Horace* (*Quintus Horatius Flaccus*) (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—86

*Horsfall, Thomas Berry* (b. 1805)—British mine-owner and politician, Tory M.P.—413

*Hotham, Beaumont, Baron* (1794-1870)—British general; Tory M.P.—597

*Hsien Fêng* (c. 1831-1861)—Emperor of China (1850-61).—95, 98

*Hume, Joseph* (1777-1855)—British politician, radical leader, M.P.—51, 69, 76, 125, 196, 358, 367, 369, 401, 405, 447

*Hunt, Henry* (1773-1835)—British politician, radical M.P.—358

*Hunt, Thornton Leigh* (1810-1873)—English radical journalist, participant in the Chartist movement in the 1840s and 1850s; co-founder with G. H. Lewes of the newspaper *The Leader* (1850).—525, 624

I

*Ibrahim Pasha* (1789-1848)—foster-son of the Viceroy of Egypt Mehemet Ali; Egyptian commander-in-chief during the war against Turkey (1831-33 and 1839-41); virtual ruler of Egypt from 1847.—360, 375, 376, 377, 379

*Inglis, Sir Robert Harry* (1786-1855)—British politician, Tory M.P.—177, 379

*Ingraham, Duncan Nathaniel* (1802-1891)—American naval officer, captain of the warship *St. Louis* which was anchored at Smyrna in 1853.—212, 293

*Ioanidis*—official of the Wallachian Ministry of Home Affairs in 1853.—277

*Iskander-bey* (1810-1861)—Turkish colonel of Polish descent; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; emigrated to Turkey after the defeat of the revolution; commanded Turkish troops on the Danube (1853-54), in the Crimea (1855), and in the Caucasus (1855-56).—294

*Ismail Pasha* (1805-1861)—Turkish general of Circassian descent.—458

*Ismail Pasha* (*György Kmety*) (1810-1865)—Turkish general of Magyar

descent; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; Turkish commander on the Danube (1853-54) and in the Caucasus (1854-55).—602

*Ivan IV* (*Ivan Vasilyevich, Ivan the Terrible*) (1530-1584)—the first tsar of Russia (1547-84).—631-32

*Izylmetieff* (*Izylmetyev*) *Ivan Nikolayevich* (1813-1870)—Russian rear admiral, commander of the frigate *Aurora* in 1853-54.—533, 534

*Izzet Pasha*—Turkish general.—295

J

*James, J.*—British consul in Odessa in 1853-54.—571

*Jean Paul* (pen-name of *Richter, Johann Paul Friedrich*) (1763-1825)—German satirist.—623

*Jocelyn, Robert, Viscount* (1816-1854)—British officer, M.P.; secretary of the Board of Control for India (1845-46).—196, 197

*John* (*Lackland*) (c. 1167-1216)—King of England (1199-1216).—24

*Jones, Ernest Charles* (1819-1869)—prominent figure in the English working-class movement; proletarian poet and journalist, Left-wing Chartist leader; friend of Marx and Engels.—57, 58, 135, 136, 170-72, 196, 226, 414, 448, 462, 463, 470, 513, 514, 525, 612, 625

K

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—624

*Kara George* (*Karageorge*) (1752-1817)—leader of the Serbs in the struggle against Turkish oppression in 1804-13, ruler of independent Serbia (1811-13); in 1813 was forced to leave Serbia and returned incognito in 1817; assassinated by order of Milosh Obrenovich.—36, 458

*Karnicki, Wladislaw, Count*—Austrian diplomat, chargé d'affaires in Berne in 1853.—107, 108

*Kellner von Köllenstein, Friedrich, Baron* (b. 1802)—Austrian general, aide-de-camp of Emperor Francis Joseph I from 1849.—618

*Keogh, William Nicholas* (1817-1878)—Irish lawyer and politician, a leader of the Irish group in Parliament; repeatedly held high judicial posts in Ireland.—120

*Kepler, Johannes* (1571-1630)—German astronomer.—93

*Khalchinsky, Ivan Dmitrievich* (1810-1856)—Russian diplomat, consul-general in Moldavia and Wallachia in 1853.—235

*Khourschid Pasha* (*Gyuon, Richard Debaufre*) (1803-1856)—Turkish general of British descent, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; Turkish commander in the Caucasus in 1853.—458

*Khuli-Khan*—see *Nadir Shah*

*Kinkel, Johann Gottfried* (1815-1882)—German poet and journalist, democrat; participant in the 1849 uprising in Baden and the Palatinate; sentenced to life imprisonment by Prussian court; escaped from prison and emigrated to England; a leader of petty-bourgeois émigrés in London; opposed Marx and Engels.—43, 485, 488, 489, 500, 502

*Kinkel, Johanna* (*née Mockel*) (1810-1858)—German writer, wife of Gottfried Kinkel.—485

*Kisseleff* (*Kiselev*), *Nikolai Dmitrievich* (1800-1869)—Russian diplomat, ambassador to Paris (1851-54).—115, 574, 608

*Knight, Henry Gally* (1786-1846)—English traveller and writer, M.P.—362

*Korniloff* (*Kornilov*), *Vladimir Alexeyevich* (1806-1854)—Russian admiral, Chief of Staff of the Black Sea Fleet (1849-53); organised the defence of Sevastopol.—5, 549, 571

*Kościelski, Wladyslaw* (b. 1820)—Polish democrat; emigrant; later a general in the Turkish army.—285

*Kossuth, Lajos* (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation

movement, headed bourgeois-democratic elements during the 1848-49 revolution; head of the Hungarian revolutionary government; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated first to Turkey and then to England and the USA.—42, 57, 68, 83, 84, 390, 494, 559

*Koszta, Martin* (d. 1858)—participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Turkey and then to the USA, where he became a US citizen; the attempt of the Austrian authorities to arrest him in Smyrna in 1853 led to a clash with Hungarian refugees.—193, 211, 243, 258, 293

*Kraemer, Georgi*—Russian consul-general in London (1853).—82

*Kupffer, Adolf Yakovlevich* (1799-1865)—Russian physicist and mineralogist; headed a scientific expedition to the Elbrus in 1829.—392

L

*Labensky, Ksavery Ksaveryevich* (1800-1855)—Russian diplomat, Councillor of the Department of Foreign Affairs (1841-55).—631

*Labouchere, Henry, 1st Baron Taunton* (1798-1869) — British statesman, Whig; President of the Board of Trade (1839-41 and 1847-52); Secretary of State for the Colonies (1855-58).—188, 207

*La Fayette, Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier, marquis de* (1757-1834)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, a leader of the moderate constitutionalists (Feuillants); took part in the July revolution of 1830.—58

*Lagrené, Théodose Marie Melchior Joseph de* (1800-1862)—French diplomat; official of the French legation in St. Petersburg in 1831-34; for some time performed the functions of the chargé d'affaires.—383

*La Guéronnière, Louis Étienne Arthur Dubreuil Hélion, vicomte de* (1816-1875)—French political writer, Bonapartist in the 1850s.—209

*Lamarche, Hippolyte Dumas de* (b. 1789)—French journalist; contributed to *Le Siècle*.—110

*Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louis de* (1790-1869)—French poet, historian and politician; a moderate republican leader in the 1840s; Minister of Foreign Affairs and virtually head of the Provisional Government in 1848.—58

*Landolphe*—French petty-bourgeois socialist, refugee in London; after the split in the Communist League in 1850 joined the sectarian Willich-Schapper group.—506

*Lansdowne, Sir Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, Marquis of* (1780-1863)—British statesman, Whig; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1806-07); President of the Council (1830-41, 1846-52); Minister without portfolio (1852-63).—252, 598

*Larochejaquelein (La Rochejaquelein), Henri Auguste Georges Du Vergier, marquis de* (1805-1867)—French politician, a Legitimist leader; deputy to the Constituent Assembly during the Second Republic, senator during the Second Empire.—589

*Lavalette (La Valette), Charles Jean Marie Félix, marquis de* (1806-1881)—French statesman, Bonapartist; ambassador to Constantinople (1851-53); Minister of the Interior (1865-67); Minister of Foreign Affairs (1868-69).—269

*Layard, Sir Austen Henry* (1817-1894)—British archaeologist and politician; Radical, subsequently Liberal; M.P.—185, 186, 192, 202, 266, 268-71, 597

*Lazareff (Lazarev), Mikhail Petrovich* (1788-1851)—Russian admiral, Antarctic explorer; commander-in-chief of the Black Sea Fleet from 1833.—398

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician, a petty-bourgeois democrat leader; editor of *La Réforme*; Minister

of the Interior in the Provisional Government (1848); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (leader of the Montagnards); emigrated to England after the demonstration of June 13, 1849.—421, 495, 505, 540

*Leeds*—see *Osborne, Sir Thomas*

*Leiningen-Westerburg, Christian Franz Seraphin Vincenz, Count* (1812-1856)—Austrian general; sent on a diplomatic mission to Constantinople in 1853.—18, 262, 616, 618, 619

*Leonidas* (c. 508-480 B.C.)—King of Sparta (c. 488-480 B.C.), hero of the battle of Thermopylae during the Greco-Persian war.—624, 630

*Leopold I* (1790-1865)—King of the Belgians (1831-65).—108, 204, 254, 538

*Léopold Louis Philippe Marie Victor* (1835-1909)—eldest son of Leopold I, King of Belgium under the name of Leopold II (1865-1909).—254

*Letellier, A.*—French journalist.—210

*Libeny (Libényi), János* (c. 1832-1853)—Hungarian tailor; attempted to assassinate the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria in 1853.—30

*Liddell, Henry George, 2nd Earl of Ravensworth* (1821-1903)—British politician, M.P.—187

*Lieven, Darya (Dorothea) Khristoforovna, Princess* (1785-1857)—wife of Russian diplomat Khristofor Lieven, hostess of political salons in London and Paris.—21

*Lieven, Khristofor Andreyevich, Prince* (1774-1839)—Russian diplomat, envoy to Berlin (1810-12); ambassador to London (1812-34).—165, 167, 230, 355, 374, 379, 381

*Lieven, Wilhelm Karlovich, Baron* (1800-1880)—Russian general, sent on diplomatic missions abroad.—314

*Liprandi, Pavel Petrovich* (1796-1864)—Russian general, commander of Russian troops on the Danube and in the Crimea during the Crimean war.—472

*Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, 2nd Earl of* (1770-1828)—British statesman, a Tory leader; Home Secretary (1804-09); Secretary for War and the Colonies (1809-12); Prime Minister (1812-27).—348

*Lizius*—book-publisher in Frankfurt am Main.—43

*Lochner, Georg* (born c. 1824)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement, joiner by trade; member of the Communist League and of the General Council of the First International, friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—499

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—70

*Louis Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Napoleon*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—4, 148, 149, 166, 203, 254

*Louise* (1817-1898)—Princess of Hesse, wife of Prince Christian of Glücksburg, later King of Denmark.—238

*Loustallot, Elisée* (1762-1790)—French democratic journalist, a Jacobin leader in the French Revolution.—108

*Lowe, Robert, 1st Viscount Sherbrooke* (1811-1892)—British statesman and journalist, contributor to *The Times*; Whig and later Liberal; M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer (1868-73); Home Secretary 1873-74).—223

*Lucas, Frederick* (1812-1855)—Irish journalist and politician, a leader of the Irish Tenant-Right movement; M.P. (1852-55).—119

*Lüders, Alexander Nikolayevich, Count* (1790-1874)—Russian general, commander of a corps on the Danube (1853-54) and of the Southern army (1855); in December 1855 commander-in-chief of the Russian army in the Crimea.—455, 473

*Lund*—Yorkshire manufacturer.—413

*Lusignan, Levon*—Armenian prince, political adventurer; in 1853 a refugee in England.—138

*Lytton, Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer-Lytton, 1st Baron* (1803-

1873)—British writer and politician; at the beginning of his career a Whig and from 1852 a Tory; M.P.—597

M

*Macaulay, Thomas Babington, Baron* (1800-1859)—English historian and politician, Whig M.P.; as member of the Supreme Council of India (1834-38) took part in drafting a penal code for India, which was adopted in 1860.—122, 181, 597

*MacDonnell,* Mrs.—Scottish landowner.—414

*MacGregor, James*—M. P. (1852-53).—58

*MacGregor, John* (1797-1857)—Scottish statistician and historian, Free Trader, M.P.; promoter of the Royal British Bank (1849-56).—597

*Mackinnon, William Alexander* (1789-1870)—British politician; at the beginning of his career a Tory and later a Liberal; M.P.—597

*McNeill, Sir John* (1795-1883)—British diplomat, envoy to Teheran (1836-42).—357, 364

*Maddock, Sir Thomas Herbert* (1792-1870)—British politician, M.P.—223

*Madier*—French mechanic; democrat; a refugee in Britain in the early 1850s.—507

*Mahmud II* (1785-1839)—Sultan of Turkey (1808-39).—163, 165, 166, 204, 355, 356, 372-77, 388, 530

*Mahon, Philip Henry Stanhope, Viscount* (1805-1875)—British politician and historian, Peelite, M.P.; Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (1834-35).—376, 377, 392, 393

*Malcolm, Sir John* (1769-1833)—British diplomat and official, sent on missions to Teheran (1799-1801, 1808-09 and 1810); governor of Bombay (1826-30); author of several works on India.—198

*Malet, Claude François de* (1754-1812)—French general and politician; Republican, headed the anti-Bonapartist conspiracy of 1812, for which he was executed.—540

*Malmesbury, James Howard Harris, 3rd Earl of* (1807-1889)—British statesman, Tory, later Conservative; Foreign Secretary (1852, 1858-59), Lord Privy Seal (1866-68, 1874-76).—186, 211, 252, 258-62, 617, 618, 636

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman, economist, founder of a misanthropic population theory.—247, 326, 448, 460, 461

*Manchus (the Ch'ing dynasty)*—dynasty of Chinese emperors ruling from 1644 to 1912.—94, 98

*Mandeville, John H.*—secretary of the British Embassy in Constantinople in 1853.—406

*Mano, Janku*—Wallachian Minister of Foreign Affairs (1850-54).—277

*Manteuffel, Karl Otto, Baron von* (1806-1879)—Prussian statesman; Deputy Minister of the Interior (1851-53); Minister of Agriculture (1854-58); brother of Otto Theodor Manteuffel.—29, 30

*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von* (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman; Minister of the Interior (1848-50), Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1850-58).—29, 30, 37, 509

*Maria Cristina, eldest* (1806-1878)—wife of the Spanish King Ferdinand VII; Regent of Spain (1833-40).—370

*Maria II da Gloria* (1819-1853)—Queen of Portugal (1826-28 and 1834-53).—370

*Maria Luisa Fernanda* (1832-1897)—Infanta, sister of Queen Isabella II of Spain, wife of the Duke of Montpensier.—367

*Maria Nikolayevna* (1819-1876)—daughter of Nicholas I, wife of the Duke of Leuchtenberg.—255

*Marie Antoinette* (1755-1793)—Queen of France (1774-93), wife of Louis XVI; executed during the French Revolution.—465

*Marie Henriette* (1836-1902)—Archduchess of Austria, wife of the King of the Belgians Leopold II.—254, 308

*Martens, Georg Friedrich von* (1756-1821)—German lawyer, diplomat

and writer; author of *Recueil de traités...*—372

*Martin, Sir William Fanshawe* (1801-1895)—British admiral, Superintendent of the Portsmouth Dockyard in 1853.—533

*Marx, Francis Joseph Peter* (1816-1876)—English landowner, conservative journalist; friend and associate of David Urquhart.—284

*Marx, Jenny (née von Westphalen)* (1814-1881)—wife of Karl Marx.—41

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883).—3, 28, 37, 39-43, 82, 84, 109, 115-18, 141, 142, 157, 169, 175, 181, 187, 203, 227, 231, 237, 239, 240, 250, 257, 284-86, 287, 290, 292, 302, 306, 309, 314, 316, 412, 419, 421, 436, 438, 447, 448, 481-90, 492, 495, 496-508, 524, 525, 533, 546, 562, 595, 601, 606, 607, 615, 623-24, 629

*Masséna, André, Duke of Rivoli, Prince of Essling* (1756-1817)—French marshal, participant in the Napoleonic wars.—426, 455

*Matthews, John*—English worker, Chartist.—462

*Maupas, Charlemagne Emile de* (1818-1888)—French lawyer, Bonapartist, Prefect of the Paris police (1851); one of the organisers of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; Minister of Police (1852-53).—28, 30

*Maurogeni*—Turkish diplomat, chargé d'affaires in Vienna in the early 1830s.—374

*Mayer, P.*—French journalist.—507

*Mayne, Sir Richard* (1796-1868)—London Chief of Police from 1850.—288

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, bourgeois democrat, head of the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London in 1850; in the early 1850s sought support of the Bonapartists but later opposed them.—3, 4, 37, 38, 57, 91, 107, 509, 511, 512

*Mehemed Mutergim Pasha*—Turkish statesman, War Minister in early 1853.—110

*Mehemet Ali* (or *Mohammed Ali*) (1769-1849)—Viceroy of Egypt (1805-49); carried out several progressive reforms; waged wars against the Sultan of Turkey (1831-33 and 1839-40).—195, 203-05, 207, 360, 373, 375, 376, 377, 529

*Mehemet Ali Pasha* (1807-1868)—Turkish statesman, Grand Vizier (1852-53); War Minister (1853-54).—104, 203-05, 325, 360, 373, 375, 376, 377, 529

*Melanchthon, Philipp* (1497-1560)—German theologian, close associate of Luther; together with him adapted Lutheranism to the princes' interests.—488

*Melbourne, William Lamb, Viscount* (1779-1848)—British statesman, Whig; Home Secretary (1830-34), Prime Minister (1834 and 1835-41).—207, 306, 611

*Menchikoff (Menshikov), Alexander Sergeyevich, Prince* (1787-1869)—Russian general and statesman; Ambassador Extraordinary in Constantinople (1853); commander-in-chief of the Russian army and navy in the Crimea (1853-55).—4, 5, 18, 39, 105, 109, 110, 112, 137, 138, 142, 143, 145, 193, 228, 261, 262, 263, 266, 267, 269, 270, 313, 322, 323, 416, 523, 529, 571, 589, 616, 619, 631

*Metternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince von* (1773-1859)—Austrian diplomat and statesman; Foreign Minister (1809-21), Chancellor (1821-48); one of the founders of the Holy Alliance.—32, 87, 89, 166, 207, 354, 386, 533, 586

*Meyen, Eduard* (1812-1870)—German writer, Young Hegelian; after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution emigrated to England; subsequently a national-liberal.—488

*Meyendorff, Pyotr Kazimirovich, Baron* (1796-1863)—Russian diplomat, envoy to Vienna (1850-54).—193, 246, 267, 314, 323, 577

*Miall, Edward* (1809-1881)—English author, preacher of non-conformism,

M.P.; flirted with the Chartists in the 1840s.—597

*Michell, William*—English physician, M.P.—598

*Miguel, Maria Evarist* (1802-1866)—King of Portugal (1828-34).—355

*Mill, James* (1773-1836)—British economist and philosopher.—150

*Miller, Joseph* or *Josias* (commonly called *Joe Miller*) (1684-1738)—English comic actor.—68

*Milner Gibson*—see *Gibson, Thomas Milner*

*Milnes, Richard Monckton, 1st Baron Haughton* (1809-1885)—English author and politician, M.P.; at the beginning of his career a Tory, in the latter half of the 19th century a Liberal.—272, 280, 366, 597

*Mindon*—Burmese King (1853-78).—282, 283

*Minié, Claude Étienne* (1804-1879)—French army officer and military inventor.—475

*Minto, Gilbert Elliot, 2nd Earl of* (1782-1859)—British diplomat and statesman, Whig; First Lord of the Admiralty (1835-41); Lord Privy Seal (1846-52).—207

*Miskowsky, Henryk Ludvic* (d. 1854)—Polish army officer, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; emigrated to Turkey after the revolution and later to London.—494, 495

*Mitchell, John* (1815-1875)—Irish revolutionary democrat, Left-wing leader of Young Ireland; deported to a penal colony in 1848; escaped in 1853 and emigrated to the USA.—302

*Molesworth, Sir William* (1810-1855)—British statesman, Liberal; First Commissioner of the Board of Works (1853); Secretary of State for the Colonies (1855).—50, 192, 256, 597

*Monck, Sir Charles Stanley, Fourth Viscount Monck in Irish peerage, First Baron Monck in peerage of the United Kingdom* (1819-1894)—British statesman, Liberal; Lord of the Treasury (1855-58).—597

*Monrad, Ditlev Gothard* (1811-1887)—Danish bishop, Minister of Worship (1848 and 1859-63), Prime Minister and Minister of Finance (1863-64); leader of the National-Liberal Party in the 1850s.—445

*Monsell, William, Baron Emly* (1812-1894)—Irish Liberal, a leader of the Irish faction in Parliament; clerk of ordnance (1852-57).—120

*Montalembert, Charles Forbes René de Tryon, comte de* (1810-1870)—French politician and writer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; Orleanist.—615

*Montpensier, Antoine Marie Philippe Louis d'Orleans, duc de* (1824-1890)—son of King Louis Philippe of the French, and husband of the Spanish Infanta Maria Luisa Fernanda; pretender to the Spanish throne in 1868-69.—367

*Morison, James* (1770-1840)—English quack who made a fortune selling "Morison's pills".—482

*Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus* (1756-1791)—Austrian composer.—372

*Müllner, Amadeus Gottfried Adolf* (1774-1829)—German poet, playwright and literary critic.—43

*Mun, Thomas* (1571-1641)—English merchant and economist, mercantilist; a Director of the East India Company from 1615.—152

*Munro, Sir Thomas* (1761-1827)—British general, governor of Madras (1819-27).—197-98

*Muntz, George Frederick* (1794-1857)—English radical, M.P.; organised a number of mass meetings in support of the campaign for the Reform Bill of 1832.—273

*Murat, Joachim* (1767-1815)—Marshal of France (1804); King of Naples (1808-15).—554

*Murat, Napoléon Lucien Charles, Prince* (1803-1878)—French politician, Bonapartist, cousin of Napoleon III.—554

*Mure, William* (1799-1860)—English philologist and historian, Tory M.P.—597
*Mussurus Bey*—Turkish ambassador to Britain (1851-56).—601
*Mustafa Pasha* (born c. 1796)—Turkish statesman, Grand Vizier (1853-54).—313, 325

N

*Nachimoff (Nakhimov), Pavel Stepanovich* (1802-1855)—Russian admiral, commander of the Russian squadron at the battle of Sinope; an organiser and leader of the defence of Sevastopol (1854-55).—548, 549
*Nadir Shah (Khuli-Khan)* (1688-1747)—Shah of Persia (1736-47); invaded India in 1738-39.—122, 126
*Naeff, Wilhelm* (1802-1881)—Swiss statesman; President of the Swiss Confederation in 1853.—107-08
*Namick Pasha*—Turkish politician; sent on a diplomatic mission to London in October 1832.—374
*Napier, Sir Charles* (1786-1860)—British admiral; fought in the wars against Portugal (1810 and 1834) and Syria (1840); commander of the British fleet in the Baltic in 1854.—609
*Napier, Sir Joseph* (1804-1882)—British politician, Tory M.P., Attorney-General for Ireland (1852); Lord Chancellor for Ireland (1858-59).—252
*Napoleon I (Bonaparte)* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—5, 6, 353, 362, 368, 452, 474, 538, 541
*Napoleon III (Louis Napoleon)* (1808-1873)—nephew of Napoleon I, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—4, 18, 20, 21, 28, 29, 58, 87, 108, 143, 145, 166, 197, 209, 211, 227, 234, 245, 254, 255, 259, 260, 261, 263, 302, 308, 423, 525, 530, 538, 539, 540, 544, 568, 587, 590, 591, 604, 615, 617, 632
*Nasr-ed-Din* (1831-1896)—Shah of Persia (1848-96).—245, 408, 560
*Naut, Stephan Adolf*—Cologne merchant, one of the responsible editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.—501
*Nefftzer, Auguste* (1820-1876)—French journalist, contributor to *La Presse* (1844-57 and 1859-61).—243
*Nemours, Louis Charles Philippe Raphaël, duc de* (1814-1896)—second son of King Louis Philippe of France.—538, 577
*Nepokoichitsky, Artur Adamovich* (1813-1881)—Russian general; fought in the Crimean war.—5
*Nesselrode, Dmitry Karlovich, Count*—Russian diplomat, son of Karl Vasilyevich Nesselrode.—5
*Nesselrode, Karl Vasilyevich, Count* (1780-1862)—Russian diplomat and statesman; Foreign Minister (1816-56); State Chancellor from 1845 onwards.—18, 164-65, 175, 192, 194, 196, 203, 205, 206, 209, 210, 227, 237, 242, 246, 258, 262, 301, 314, 322, 323, 324, 383, 394, 397, 404, 406, 409, 416, 594, 631
*Neumann, Philipp, Baron von* (b. 1778)—Austrian diplomat and statesman.—207
*Newcastle, Henry Pelham Fiennes Pelham Clinton, 5th Duke of* (1811-1864)—British statesman, Peelite; Chief Secretary for Ireland (1846), Secretary for War and the Colonies (1852-54), Colonial Secretary (1859-64).—252, 325
*Newman, Francis William* (1805-1897)—English professor of philology and writer, radical.—161
*Newton, Sir Isaac* (1642-1727)—English physicist, astronomer and mathematician.—93
*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—5, 17, 19, 20, 36, 105, 106, 108, 111-13, 116-18, 137, 145, 163, 165, 174, 175, 189, 194-96, 209, 211, 212, 227, 230, 234, 235, 239-42, 245, 254, 258-62, 264, 266-68, 273, 280, 285, 292, 293, 295, 301, 302, 309-10, 313, 322-25, 340, 347, 355, 356, 359, 360, 372, 378, 379,

385, 386, 390, 402, 404, 407, 408-09, 416, 417, 419, 422, 424, 428, 432, 444, 446, 475, 527, 530, 531, 532, 538, 539, 544, 553, 554, 555, 560-62, 568, 571, 575, 585, 586, 590, 594, 596, 597, 601, 602, 604, 607, 610, 613-15, 631, 632

*Nirod*—Russian general; commander on the Danube in 1853.—473

*Norfolk, Henry Charles Howard, 13th Duke of* (1791-1856)—Whig M.P. (1829-41), Lord Steward (1853-54).—559-60, 598

*Normanby, Constantine Henry Phipps, 1st Marquess of* (1797-1863)—British statesman, Whig; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1835-39); Secretary for War and the Colonies (1839), Home Secretary (1839-41); in 1846-52, ambassador to Paris.—367

*Nörner*—Prussian law officer in the early 1850s.—82

*North, Frederick, 2nd Earl of Guilford* (1732-1792)—British statesman, Tory; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1767), Prime Minister (1770-82); Home Secretary in Portland's Coalition Cabinet (Fox-North Cabinet).—120, 150

O

*Obrenović*—dynasty of princes (1817-42 and 1858-82) and kings (1882-1903) of Serbia.—574, 586

*Obrenović, Mihailo* (1823-1868)—Prince of Serbia (1839-42 and 1860-68).—228, 269, 574, 586

*Obrenović, Miloš* (1780-1860)—Prince of Serbia (1817-39 and 1858-60).—36, 574, 586

*O'Brien, William Smith* (1803-1864)—prominent figure in the Irish national liberation movement, Right-wing leader of Young Ireland; sentenced to death, commuted to life deportation; amnestied in 1856.—302, 367

*Obrucheff (Obruchev), Alexander Afanasyevich*—Russian general.—572, 584

*O'Connell, Daniel* (1775-1847)—Irish lawyer and politician, leader of the Liberal wing of the national liberation movement.—57, 402, 611

*O'Connor, Feargus Edward* (1794-1855)—Left-wing Chartist leader, editor-in-chief of *The Northern Star*; reformist after 1848.—57, 58, 525

*O'Donnell*—British general.—295

*Oersted, Anders Sandöe* (1778-1860)—Danish lawyer and statesman; Prime Minister (1853-54).—445, 594

*Offley, E.S.*—American consul in Smyrna (1853).—211-12

*Olga Nikolayevna* (1822-1892)—daughter of Nicholas I and wife of Karl Friedrich Alexander, Prince of Württemberg and subsequently King Charles I of Württemberg.—255

*Oliveira, Benjamin* (b. 1806)—British M.P.—597

*Omer Pasha (Michael Lattas)* (1806-1871)—Turkish general of Croatian descent; Turkish commander-in-chief on the Danube during the Crimean war (1853-54).—294, 295, 309, 310, 313, 336, 417, 425-27, 428, 430, 450, 451, 452, 453, 457, 458, 459, 471, 473, 474, 475, 517-19, 520, 521, 552, 553, 580, 585, 602, 610, 616

*Orleans*—royal dynasty in France (1830-48).—544, 577

*Orléans, Hélène Louise Elizabeth de Mecklenbourg-Schwerin, duchesse d'Orléans* (1814-1858)—widow of Ferdinand, eldest son of Louis Philippe, and mother of the Count of Paris, pretender to the French throne.—254

*Orloff (Orlov), Alexei Fyodorovich, Count,* after 1856—*Prince* (1786-1861)—Russian general and statesman; signed the treaties of Adrianople (1829) and Unkiar-Skelessi (1833) with Turkey; headed the Russian delegation to the Paris Congress (1856).—372, 383, 390, 601, 606, 609, 613, 614

*Orsini, Felice* (1819-1858)—Italian democrat, republican; executed for his attempt to assassinate Napoleon III.—511

*Osborne, Sir Thomas, successively 1st Earl of Danby, Marquis of Carmarthen, Duke of Leeds* (1631-1712)—British

Tory statesman; Prime Minister (1674-79 and 1690-95); charged with bribery by Parliament in 1695.—149, 390

*Osman Pasha* (c. 1785-c. 1860)—Turkish admiral; commander of the Turkish squadron at the battle of Sinope.—550

*Osman Pasha*—governor of Aleppo in 1853.—279

*Osten-Sacken, Dmitry Yerofeyevich, Count* (1789-1881)—Russian general; commander in the South of Russia during the Crimean war (1853-54) and of the Sevastopol garrison (late 1854 and 1855).—473, 564, 580

*Otto I* (1815-1867)—Prince of Bavaria, King of Greece (1832-62).—371

*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—British utopian socialist.—612

*Ozeroff* (*Ozerov*)—Russian diplomat, acting chargé d'affaires in Constantinople in 1853.—18, 618

P

*Paixhans, Henri Joseph* (1783-1854)—French general, military engineer and inventor.—556

*Pakington, Sir John Somerset* (1799-1880)—British statesman, Tory, later Conservative; Secretary for War and the Colonies (1852); First Lord of the Admiralty (1858-59 and 1866-67) and Secretary for War (1867-68).—3, 58, 74, 223, 265, 271

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman; at the beginning of his career a Tory, from 1830 onwards a Whig leader; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41 and 1848-51); Home Secretary (1852-55), and Prime Minister (1855-58 and 1859-65).—3, 20, 26, 32, 33, 58, 59, 68, 144-46, 188, 189, 192, 205-08, 226, 234, 246, 255, 256, 276, 277, 280, 295, 303, 304, 309, 310, 311, 312, 325, 345-87, 388, 389, 390, 393, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 419, 470, 477, 525, 527, 529, 531, 533, 534, 537, 543-46, 554, 566, 567, 591, 592, 597, 606, 607, 608

*Paradis, Jean Baptiste* (b. 1827)—French journalist, contributed to *La Presse* in 1853.—228

*Paskiewich* (*Paskevich*), *Ivan Fyodorovich, Prince* (1782-1856)—Russian field marshal-general; from June 1831, commander-in-chief of the Tsarist army suppressing the Polish insurrection; governor of the Kingdom of Poland from 1832; commander-in-chief of the army suppressing the revolution in Hungary (1849), and of the Russian forces on the Danube (1854).—424, 429, 602

*Pawloff* (*Pavlov*), *Prokofy Yakovlevich* (1796-1868)—Russian general; Russian commander on the Danube and in the Crimea during the Crimean war.—458, 472

*Peace*—employee of the Earl of Crawford, a mine-owner.—447

*Peacock, Sir Barnes* (1810-1890)—English lawyer; held high posts in the Indian colonial administration and justice department in the 1850s and 1860s.—122-23

*Pedro I* (1798-1834)—Emperor of Brazil (1822-31); King of Portugal under the name of Pedru IV (1826); abdicated in favour of his daughter, Maria II da Gloria.—370

*Peel, Sir Robert* (1788-1850)—British statesman; moderate Tory; Prime Minister (1834-35 and 1841-46); repealed the Corn Laws in 1846.—60, 71, 181, 254, 292, 296-97, 298, 299, 300, 314, 358, 365, 369, 371, 375, 376, 382, 384, 404, 405, 406, 409, 436, 611

*Peel, Sir Robert* (1822-1895)—British politician and diplomat, son of Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel; in the early 1850s a Peelite; M.P.—137

*Pélissier, Aimable Jean Jacques* (1794-1864)—French general, marshal from 1855; participated in the conquest of Algeria in 1830-50; commander-in-chief of the French army in the Crimea (May 1855-July 1856).—610

*Pellatt, Apsley* (1791-1863)—English manufacturer, radical M.P.—170
*Pellier, Am.*—French journalist.—318
*Perceval, Spencer* (1762-1812)—British statesman, Tory; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1807-09); Prime Minister (1809-12).—348
*Perczel, Moritz (Mor)* (1811-1899)—Hungarian general; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, after its defeat emigrated to Turkey and in 1851 to Britain.—42
*Pericles* (c. 490-429 B.C.)—Athenian statesman.—371
*Perowski (Perovsky), Vasily Alexeyevich* (1795-1857)—Russian general; military governor of Orenburg (1833-42); Governor-General of the Orenburg and Samara gubernias (1851-57); headed a military expedition to Khiva in 1839-40.—444
*Perrier, Charles Nicolas Ferdinand* (1812-1882)—Swiss officer and conservative writer; a leader of the Fribourg putsch (1853).—85
*Persigny, Jean Gilbert Victor Fialin, comte* (1808-1872)—French statesman, Bonapartist; one of the organisers of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; Minister of the Interior (1852-54 and 1860-63).—587
*Peter I (the Great)* (1672-1725)—Russian Tsar (1682-1721); Emperor of Russia from 1721.—25, 130, 229, 390, 632
*Peter the Hermit* (c. 1050-1115)—French monk and preacher, a peasant leader in the First Crusade (1096-99).—481, 488
*Phillimore, John George* (1808-1865)—English lawyer and politician, Liberal M.P.—137
*Pieper, Wilhelm* (born c. 1826)—German philologist and journalist; member of the Communist League; refugee in London; was close to Marx and Engels and contributed to *The People's Paper* in 1850-53.—500, 503
*Pierce, Franklin* (1804-1869)—14th President of the USA (1853-57).—625
*Pierse.*—598
*Piétri, Pierre Marie* (1809-1864)—French politician, Bonapartist, Prefect of Paris police (1852-58).—28
*Pindar* (c. 518-c. 442 B.C.)—Greek lyric poet, famous for his odes.—348, 500
*Pirentz*—Austrian consul in Sinope (1854).—571
*Pitt, William* (1759-1806)—British Tory statesman; Prime Minister (1783-1801 and 1804-06).—72, 73, 150, 151, 179
*Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti)* (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—119, 302, 554, 615
*Poesche, Theodor* (1826-1899)—German statistician, democrat, participant in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated to the USA after the defeat of the revolution; co-author, with Ch. Goepp, of *The New Rome.The United States of the World.*—625
*Pollexfen, John* (born c. 1638)—English merchant and economist; advocated abolition of the East India Company's monopoly.—153
*Ponsonby, Sir John, Viscount* (c. 1770-1855)—British diplomat; envoy to Naples (1832); ambassador to Constantinople (1832-41) and Vienna (1846-50).—377, 381, 388, 405
*Portland, William Henry Cavendish Bentinck, 3rd Duke of* (1738-1809)—British statesman, Whig; Home Secretary (1794-1801); Prime Minister (1783 and 1807-09).—348
*Potemkin, Grigory Alexandrovich, Prince* (1739-1791) Russian statesman, field marshal-general from 1784; directed the colonisation of the Southern territories incorporated into Russia.—404
*Pozzo di Borgo, Karl Osipovich, Count* (1764-1842)—Russian diplomat of Corsican descent; envoy to Paris (1814-21), ambassador to Paris (1821-35) and to London (1835-39).—164-67, 203, 227, 230, 354
*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist, founder of anarchism.—625
*Pulszky, Ferenc* (1814-1897)—Hungarian politician, writer and archaeologist, a Pole by birth; took part in the

Hungarian revolution of 1848-49; emigrated after its suppression; contributed to the *New-York Daily Tribune* in the 1850s; returned to Hungary in 1867 after an amnesty, deputy to the Diet (1867-76 and 1884-97).—478

R

*Radetzky, Josef, Count of Radetz* (1766-1858)—Austrian field marshal; commander of the Austrian forces in North Italy from 1831; suppressed the Italian national liberation movement in 1848-49; Governor-General of the Kingdom of Lombardy and Venice (1850-56).—37, 39, 459

*Raffles, Sir Thomas Stamford* (1781-1826)—British colonial official; governor of Java from 1811 to 1816; author of *The History of Java*.—126, 131

*Ramorino, Gerolamo* (1792-1849)—Italian general, commander of the Piedmontese army during the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; his tactics contributed to the victory of the Austrian counter-revolutionary army.—459

*Raymond, Louis Anne Xavier* (b. 1812)—French journalist; contributed to the *Journal des Débats*.—105

*Redcliffe*—see *Stratford de Redcliffe*

*Reeve, Henry* (1813-1895)—English journalist and official; in 1853 Registrar in the Privy Council.—310, 318, 321

*Reichenbach, Oskar, Count of* (b. 1815)—Silesian landowner, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848-49; emigrated to England in 1850, then to America.—489

*Reid, Thomas Mayne* (1818-1883)—English writer.—84

*Rempel, Rudolph* (1815-1868)—German manufacturer, a "true socialist" in the mid-1840s.—501

*Reshid Pasha* (1802-1858)—Turkish statesman; repeatedly held the posts of Grand Vizier and Foreign Minister.—105, 109, 174, 211, 228, 229, 246, 257, 261, 267, 268, 278, 279, 292, 313, 325, 407, 417, 523, 528, 575, 576

*Reuter, Max*—Prussian police agent in London in the early 1850s.—482

*Reventlow-Criminil, Heinrich Anna, Count* (1798-1869)—Danish statesman and diplomat; Foreign Minister (1842-48); Minister for Holstein (1852-54).—574

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—English economist.—161, 162, 448, 627

*Richard I (Coeur de Lion)* (1157-1199)—King of England (1189-99).—105

*Richard III* (1452-1485)—King of England (1483-85).—103

*Richards, Alfred Bate* (signed himself '*An Englishman*') (1820-1876)—English playwright and journalist; opposed Cobden and the Manchester School.—68, 146, 212, 240, 536, 594

*Richelieu, Armand Jean du Plessis, duc de* (1585-1642)—French cardinal and statesman during the period of absolutism.—230

*Richmond, Charles Gordon-Lennox, 15th Duke of* (1791-1860)—British politician; Tory, protectionist.—598

*Rifaat Pasha, Sadik* (1798-1855)—Turkish statesman and diplomat; Foreign Minister (March to May 1853).—18, 110

*Riza Pasha* (1809-1859)—Turkish general and statesman; repeatedly held the post of War Minister in the 1840s and 1850s.—576

*Robinson, Frederick John, Viscount Goderich*, afterwards *1st Earl of Ripon* (1782-1859)—British statesman, Tory; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1823-27); Prime Minister (1827-28).—348, 525

*Roden, Robert Jocelyn, 3rd Earl of* (1788-1870)—English aristocrat, Conservative.—252

*Roebuck, John Arthur* (1801-1879)—British politician and journalist, radical M.P.—390, 401, 577

*Ronalds, Charles*—English lawyer.—533

*Ronge, Johannes* (1813-1887)—German clergyman, petty-bourgeois democrat,

a founder of the "German-Catholics" movement; participated in the revolution of 1848-49; after its defeat emigrated to Britain.—488

*Rose, Hugh Henry, Baron Strathnairn* (1801-1885)—British officer, later field marshal; chargé d'affaires in Constantinople (1852-53); took part in the Crimean war; organised the suppression of the national liberation movement in India (1857-59).—5, 145, 261, 266

*Rothacker, Wilhelm*—German democrat, member of the Communist League; emigrated to the USA after the defeat of the revolution of 1848-49.—486, 487

*Roussin, Albin Reine, baron* (1781-1854)—French admiral, Minister of the Navy (1840, 1843); ambassador to Constantinople (1832-34).—372

*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical journalist, Young Hegelian; Left-wing deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848; a leader of German petty-bourgeois émigrés in Britain in the 1850s; national-liberal after 1866.—488, 624

*Ruriks*—dynasty of Russian princes and subsequently tsars (912-1598), descended from Rurik, a semi-legendary Varangian leader.—230

*Russell, Sir Henry* (1751-1836)—English lawyer, judge in India (1798-1813).—198

*Russell, John Russell, 1st Earl* (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader; Prime Minister (1846-52 and 1865-66); Foreign Secretary (1852-53 and 1859-65).—50-52, 56, 58, 78, 103, 119-20, 137, 138, 139, 143, 175, 177, 186, 188, 193, 202, 206, 207, 211, 235, 240, 265, 266, 267, 268, 271, 272, 309, 312, 325, 350, 509, 512, 543, 589, 608, 619

*Ruston, Benjamin* (d. 1853)—English worker, Chartist.—172, 173

S

*Sadleir, John* (1814-1856)—Irish banker and politician, a leader of the Irish group in Parliament; Junior Lord of Treasury (1853).—120, 560

*Saint-Marc, Girardin* (1801-1873)—French journalist and literary critic, Orleanist.—117

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—628

*Salt, Sir Titus* (1803-1876)—English manufacturer.—327, 414

*Sand, George* (pen-name of *Amandine Aurore Lucie Dupin, baronne Dudevant*) (1804-1876)—French novelist, representative of the democratic trend in romanticism.—284, 285

*Sardanapalus*—see *Assurbanipal*

*Saunders, John*—London police-sergeant.—83

*Schapper, Karl* (c. 1812-1870)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; a leader of the League of the Just; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; participant in the revolution of 1848-49; a leader of the sectarian group during the split in the Communist League in 1850; again became a close associate of Marx in 1856; member of the General Council of the First International.—482, 485, 493, 497, 505

*Schärttner, August*—a Hanau cooper, participant in the 1848 revolution and the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to London; member of the Communist League; after its split in 1850 joined the Willich-Schapper sectarian group, and became a member of its Central Committee.—489

*Schiller, Charles*—French journalist.—109, 236, 240, 407

*Schily, Viktor* (1810-1875)—German lawyer, democrat; participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, then a refugee in France; member of the First International.—486, 502

*Schimmelpfennig, Alexander* (1824-1865)—Prussian army officer, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849 and later

emigrated to the USA; adhered to the Willich-Schapper sectarian group; fought in the American Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—501, 505

*Schläger, Eduard*—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; a refugee in the USA in the 1850s-1870s; editor of the *Neu-England-Zeitung*.—623, 630

*Schlick, Franz Heinrich, Count* (1789-1862)—Austrian general; took part in suppressing the revolution of 1848-49 in Hungary; commanded the Austrian forces in Galicia and Bukovina (1854-59).—587

*Schneider II, Karl*—German lawyer, democrat, participant in the 1848-49 revolution; defence counsel at the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—485, 502

*Schramm, Konrad* (c. 1822-1858)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement, member of the Communist League; a refugee in London from 1849; responsible editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—492, 493, 494, 496, 503

*Schwarzenberg, Friedrich, Prince* (1800-1870)—Austrian army officer and later general; took part in suppressing the peasant riots in Galicia (1846) and the revolution in Hungary (1849).—366

*Scully, Francis* (b. 1820)—Irish politician; Liberal M.P. (1847-57).—253

*Sébastiani, Horace François Bastien, comte* (1772-1851)—French marshal and diplomat, Orleanist; Foreign Minister (1830-32), ambassador to London (1835-40).—203-08

*Selim Pasha (Zedlinsky)*—Turkish general of Polish descent; commanded Turkish forces on the Danube in 1853-54.—585, 602

*Seymour, George Hamilton* (1797-1880)—British diplomat, envoy to St. Petersburg in 1851-54.—239, 263, 266, 301, 571, 607, 608

*Shafi Khan*—Persian diplomat; envoy to London in 1853.—444

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English poet and dramatist.—103, 272, 276, 327, 345, 373, 385, 508

*Shamyl* (c. 1798-1871)—leader of the Daghestan and Chechen mountaineers' struggle against the Tsarist colonisers from the 1830s to the 1850s.—146, 422, 446, 455, 456, 584

*Sheil, Richard Lalor* (1791-1851)—Irish playwright and politician; Whig M.P.—381, 382, 390

*Sidmouth, Henry Addington, 1st Viscount* (1757-1844)—British statesman, Tory; Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer (1801-04); Home Secretary (1812-21).—348

*Sidney*—see *Herbert, Sidney*

*Sidney, Sir Philip* (1554-1586)—English poet and diplomat.—276

*Sieyès, Emmanuel Joseph, comte de* (1748-1836)—French abbot, took an active part in the French Revolution; moderate constitutionalist (Feuillant).—70

*Sigel, Franz* (1824-1902)—Baden army officer; democrat, one of the military leaders of the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849; then a refugee in Switzerland, Britain, and from 1852 in the USA; took part in the American Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—486, 491

*Simpson, Leonard Francis*—English man of letters.—616, 619

*Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de* (1773-1842)—Swiss economist, representative of economic romanticism.—627, 628

*Slade, Sir Adolphus* (1804-1877)—British naval officer, subsequently admiral; was in the Turkish service from 1849 to 1866.—428

*Slaney, Robert Aglionby* (1792-1862)—British politician, M.P. (1826-35 1837-41, 1847-62); advocate of reforms to improve the living conditions of the poor.—171

*Soltykoff (Soltykov), Alexei Dmitrievich, Prince* (1806-1859)—Russian travel-

ler, writer and painter; travelled in India (1841-43 and 1845-46).—221

*Somerville, Alexander* (1811-1885)—English radical journalist; signed his works "One who has whistled at the Plough".—595, 596

*Songeon*—French democrat, member of secret revolutionary societies of Paris workers; a refugee in London in the 1850s; subsequently Chairman of the Paris Municipal Council.—496

*Sophocles* (c. 497-406 B.C.)—Greek dramatist.—371

*Soulouque, Faustin* (c. 1782-1867)—President of the Republic of Haiti (1849-59); proclaimed himself Emperor Faustin I in 1849.—261

*Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu, Duke of Dalmatia* (1769-1851)—French marshal and statesman; commanded the French troops in Spain in 1808-14; War Minister (1830-34 and 1840-45); Minister of Foreign Affairs (1839-40) and Prime Minister (1832-34, 1839-40, 1840-47).—205

*Soymonoff (Soymonov), Fyodor Ivanovich* (1800-1854)—Russian general; commanded Russian forces on the Danube and in the Crimea during the Crimean war; killed at the battle of Inkerman.—472

*Spencer, Frederick, 4th Earl of* (1798-1857)—British admiral; Lord Steward of the Household from January 1854.—560

*Spencer, Herbert* (1820-1903)—English positivist philosopher and sociologist.—161, 162

*Stanley*—see *Derby, Edward George Geoffrey Smith*

*Stanley, Edward Henry, 15th Earl of Derby* (1826-1893)—British statesman, son of Edward Derby; at the beginning of his career Tory, in the 1860s-1870s Conservative, and subsequently Liberal; Secretary of State for India (1858-59); Foreign Secretary (1866-68 and 1874-78); Secretary of State for the Colonies (1882-85).—138, 140, 141, 148, 157, 173

*Stechan, Gottlieb Ludwig* (born c. 1814)—Hanover joiner, member of the Communist League; belonged to the Willich-Schapper sectarian group after the split in the Communist League in 1850; rejoined the supporters of Marx and Engels in December 1851.—499

*Steffen, Wilhelm*—former Prussian army officer, witness for the defence at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); emigrated to Britain in 1853 and afterwards to the USA; closely associated with Marx and Engels in the 1850s.—504, 505

*Steiger*—Swiss chargé d'affaires in Vienna (1853).—108

*Stephen I (István)* (c. 975-1038)—Hungarian Prince (from 997), and King of Hungary (1001-1038).—496

*Stephens, Joseph Rayner* (1805-1879)—English clergyman; active in the Chartist movement in Lancashire (1837-39).—632

*Stephenson, Robert* (1803-1859)—English engineer and politician; Tory M. P.—597

*Stewart, Patrick*—British politician, radical M. P. (1835-36).—363, 394, 395, 398

*Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882)—Prussian police officer, one of the organisers of the Cologne Communist trial (1852) and principal witness for the prosecution; jointly with Wermuth wrote *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts (Communist Conspiracies of the 19th Century)*.—28-30, 37, 82, 490

*Stirbei, Barbu Demetrius Bibesco, Prince* (1801-1869)—hospodar of Wallachia (1849-53 and 1854-56).—235, 240, 277, 313, 538

*Stirling*—see *Stirling-Maxwell*

*Stirling-Maxwell, Sir William* (1818-1878)—English historian and art critic; moderate Tory, M. P.—597

*St. Leonards*—see *Sugden, Edward Burtenshaw*

*Stowe, Harriet Elizabeth Beecher* (1811-1896)—American novelist, author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.—80, 181

*Strassoldo-Grafenberg, Michael, Count* (1800-1873)—Austrian official; governor of Milan in 1850-53.—308

*Stratford de Redcliffe, Stratford Canning, 1st Viscount* (1786-1880)—British diplomat; envoy to Constantinople (1810-12, 1825-28, 1841-58).—21, 109, 110, 194, 228, 266, 310, 318, 321, 356, 363, 377, 390, 405, 532, 537, 560, 563, 575, 588, 609, 610, 615, 619

*Strauss, David Friedrich* (1808-1874)—German philosopher and writer; Young Hegelian.—624

*Streckfuss, Adolf* (1823-1895)—German democratic writer and politician; charged with high treason for his book *Die grosse Französische Revolution.*—28

*Stuart, Lord Dudley Coutts* (1803-1854)—British politician, Whig M.P.; connected with conservative-monarchist Polish emigrants.—84, 240, 272, 274, 280, 358, 364, 390, 392, 403, 610, 619

*Stuart-Wortley, James Archibald* (1805-1881)—British politician, M.P. (1835-37, 1842-59); Solicitor-General (1856-57).—363

*Sturge, Charles* (1802-1888)—brother and partner of Joseph Sturge.—249

*Sturge, Joseph* (1793-1859)—English farmer and politician, Free Trader; headed an agricultural company with his brother Charles.—249

*Sugden, Edward Burtenshaw, Baron St. Leonards* (1781-1875)—British lawyer and statesman, Tory; Lord Chancellor (1852).—252, 369

*Sutherland, Elizabeth Leveson-Gower, Marchioness of Stafford, Countess of* (1765-1839)—big Scottish landowner, wife of Marquis of Stafford.—188, 414

*Sutherland, George Granville William Leveson-Gower, Duke of* (1828-1892).—598

*Sutzo, John (Soutzo, Johann)*—228

*Suwaroff (Suvorov), Alexander Vasilyevich, Count Suvorov Rimniksky, Prince Italiisky* (1729 or 1730-1800)—Russian general.—339, 455

*Svyatoslav Igorevich* (d. 972 or 973)—Grand Prince of Kiev (c. 945-972).—230, 631

*Swift, Jonathan* (1667-1745)—Irish satirist; wrote in English.—226

*Szemere, Bertalan* (1812-1869)—Hungarian politician and writer; Minister of the Interior (1848) and head of the revolutionary government (1849); emigrated after the defeat of the revolution.—42, 496, 559

*Szirmay*—Hungarian refugee, Kossuth's emissary in Paris in the early 1850s.—42

T

*Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de, Prince et Duc de Bénévent* (1754-1838)—French diplomat; Foreign Minister (1797-99, 1799-1807, 1814-15); represented France at the Vienna Congress (1814-15); ambassador to London (1830-34).—361, 402

*Tatistcheff (Tatishchev), Dmitry Pavlovich* (1767-1845)—Russian diplomat, ambassador to Vienna (1826-41).—175, 193

*Taylor, Sir Herbert* (1775-1839)—British general; private secretary of King William IV (1830-37).—387, 390

*Techow, Gustav Adolph* (1813-1893)—Prussian army officer, democrat; participant in the revolutionary events of 1848 in Berlin; Chief of General Staff of the Palatinate revolutionary army; emigrated to Switzerland after the defeat of the revolution; one of the leaders of the émigrés' organisation "Revolutionary Centralisation" in Switzerland; left for Australia in 1852.—486, 487, 494, 496, 505

*Thalberg, Sigismund* (1812-1871)—Austrian pianist and composer.—632

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman; Prime Minister (1836, 1840); head of the Orleanist monarchist party after

1848; crushed the Paris Commune; President of the Republic (1871-73).—208

*Thompson*—British diplomat, chargé d'affaires in Persia.—573, 587

*Thugut, Johann Amadeus Francis de Paula, Baron* (1736-1818)—Austrian diplomat and statesman; envoy to Constantinople (1771-76); Foreign Minister (1794-1800).—229

*Timur* (*Timour, Tamerlane*) (1336-1405)—Mongol conqueror; founded a large state in the East.—199, 594

*Tippoo Saib* (*Tipu Sahib*) (1750-1799)—Sultan of Mysore (1782-99); waged wars against the British conquerors of India in the 1780s and 1790s.—151

*Titoff* (*Titov*), *Vladimir Pavlovich* (1805-1891)—Russian diplomat, envoy to Constantinople (1843-53).—269

*Tooke, Thomas* (1774-1858)—English economist of the classical school.—524

*Tscherning, Anton Frederick* (1795-1874)—Danish army officer and politician; Liberal; War Minister (1848).—445

*Tucker*—London publisher.—546

*Turner, James Aspinall* (1797-1867)—English cotton manufacturer, President of the Manchester Commercial Association.—592

U

*Ungern-Sternberg, Ernst Wilhelm, Baron*—Russian diplomat; envoy to Copenhagen in the 1850s.—237, 594

*Ure, Andrew* (1778-1857)—English chemist and economist, Free Trader.—82

*Urquhart, David* (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician, Turkophile; carried out diplomatic missions in Turkey in the 1830s; Tory M.P. (1847-52).—26, 118, 257, 279, 309, 312, 325, 326, 387, 388, 389, 390, 396, 398, 404, 477, 545, 562, 567, 607, 614, 615

*Urquhart, William Pollard* (1815-1871)—British economist and Liberal politician; M.P.—597

*Usener* (*Uzner*), *August* (b. 1818)—Prussian army officer, participant in the 1848-49 revolutions in Germany and Hungary, subsequently a refugee in London; worked at W. Hale's factory.—83, 84

V

*Vicari, Hermann von* (1773-1868)—German Catholic prelate; Archbishop of Freiburg (Baden) from 1842.—510

*Victoria* (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901).—179, 196, 254, 255, 280, 282, 364, 405, 538, 544, 559, 560, 577, 590-92, 601

*Vidil, Jules*—French army officer, socialist; member of the Blanquist Société des proscrits démocrates et socialistes in London; adhered to the Willich-Schapper group after the split of the Communist League in 1850.—494, 496, 506

*Vidocq, François Eugène* (1775-1857)—French secret police agent; presumed author of the *Memoirs*; his name was used to denote a cunning sleuth and rogue.—40, 349

*Villèle, Jean Baptiste Séraphin Joseph, comte de* (1773-1854)—French statesman of the Restoration, Legitimist; Prime Minister (1822-28).—163, 203, 386

*Virgil* (*Publius Vergilius Maro*) (70-19 B.C.)—Roman poet.—567

*Voinovich, Marko Ivanovich, Count* (d. 1807)—Russian naval officer, of Dalmatian descent; from 1801 admiral.—112

W

*Waldeck Benedikt Franz Leo* (1802-1870)—German lawyer and radical politician; in 1848 a Left-wing leader and Vice-President of the Prussian

National Assembly; subsequently a Progressist.—28, 30

*Walewski, Alexandre Florian Joseph Colonna, comte* (1810-1868)—French diplomat and statesman, son of Napoleon I and Polish Countess Marie Walewska; participant in the insurrection of 1830-31 and later an émigré in France; Foreign Minister (1855-60).—361

*Walmsley, Sir Joshua* (1794-1871)—British politician, radical M.P.—211

*Walter the Penniless* (d. 1097)—French knight, a leader of the French peasants in the First Crusade (1096-1099).—481

*Warren, Sir Charles* (1798-1866)—English army officer, general from 1858; served in India (1816-19 and 1830-38); took part in the Crimean war.—219

*Wayland, Francis* (1796-1865)—American clergyman, author of popular textbooks on ethics and political economy.—626

*Weck, Louis*—participant in the 1853 putsch in Fribourg (Switzerland).—85

*Weckbecker*—Austrian consul-general in Smyrna (1853).—193, 211, 278

*Weerth, Georg* (1822-1856)—German poet and writer; member of the Communist League; founder of proletarian poetry in Germany; editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—42

*Weitling, Wilhelm Christian* (1808-1871)—German tailor, one of the early leaders of the working-class movement in Germany; theoretician of utopian egalitarian communism.—623

*Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of* (1769-1852)—British general and statesman, Tory; Prime Minister (1828-30).—166, 198, 348, 351, 369, 376, 381, 386, 392, 398, 400, 426, 433

*Westminster, Richard Grosvenor, 2nd Marquis of* (1795-1869)—big English landowner, Whig M.P.—598

*Westmorland, John Fane, Earl of* (1784-1859)—British diplomat; ambassador to Berlin (1841-51) and to Vienna (1851-55).—234, 246

*Westphalen, Ferdinand Otto Wilhelm Henning von* (1799-1876)—Prussian statesman; Minister of the Interior (1850-58); step-brother of Marx's wife Jenny.—28, 29

*Weydemeyer, Joseph* (1818-1866)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement; came under the influence of "true socialism" in 1846-47; subsequently friend and associate of Marx and Engels; first disseminator of Marxism in America.—505, 624

*William I* (1772-1843)—King of the Netherlands (1813-40), and of Belgium (1815-30).—368

*William I* (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, King of Prussia (1861-88) and Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—29

*William III* (1650-1702)—Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the Netherlands (1672-1702), King of England, Scotland and Ireland (1689-1702).—44, 148, 149, 153, 349, 390

*William III* (1817-1890)—King of the Netherlands (1849-90).—604

*William IV* (1765-1837)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1830-37).—361, 380, 387-390, 395, 404, 405, 591, 611

*Williams, William*—British politician, radical M.P. (1853).—51, 69

*Willich, August* (1810-1878)—Prussian army officer; retired on account of his political views; member of the Communist League; participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849); a leader of the sectarian group which split from the Communist League in 1850; emigrated to the USA in 1853, took part in the American Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—40, 43, 481-82, 485-508

*Wilson, James* (1805-1860)—English economist and politician, Free Trader; founder and editor of *The Economist*; Financial Secretary to the Treasury (1853-58).—161, 597

*Winkelried, Arnold von* (d. 1386)—semi-legendary hero of the Swiss war of liberation against the Habsburgs; according to legend he secured the victory over the Austrian Duke Leopold in the battle of Sempach at the price of his life.—488

*Wise, John Ayshford*—British M.P. (1853).—256

*Wiseman, Nicholas* (1802-1865)—English Catholic priest; became first Archbishop of Westminster and Cardinal in 1850.—302

*Wood, Sir Charles, 1st Viscount Halifax* (1800-1885)—British statesman, Whig; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1846-52), President of the Board of Control for India (1852-55); First Lord of the Admiralty (1855-58); Secretary of State for India (1859-66).—77, 103; 104, 115, 120-23, 125, 126, 139, 140, 177, 180, 184, 186, 223, 260, 265

*Woronzoff (Vorontsov), Mikhail Semyonovich, Prince* (1782-1856)—Russian statesman and general; in 1844-54 commander-in-chief of the Transcaucasian Russian army in the Caucasus and governor of the Caucasus.—446, 455, 456, 476, 551

*Wuilleret, Louis* (1815-1898)—Swiss lawyer and politician, a leader of the Conservative Party in the canton of Fribourg; clericalist.—85

Z

*Zamoyski, Wladyslaw, Count*—Polish magnate, participant in the insurrection of 1830-31; later a leader of the Polish conservative monarchist refugees in Paris.—386

*Zhigmont (Tuinont), Semyon Iosifovich* (1812-1886)—Russian general, commander of the Odessa regiment of chàsseurs in 1852-53.—585

## INDEX OF LITERARY AND MYTHOLOGICAL NAMES

*Achilles* (Gr. Myth.)—the bravest Greek warrior in the Trojan War, hero of Homer's *Iliad*, the first song of which describes Achilles' quarrel with Agamemnon, the Greeks' leader, and his withdrawal into his tent.—110

*Ahriman*—Greek name of the ancient Persian Anra Mainyu, the principle of evil.—487

*Aladdin*—a character from the *Arabian Nights*, owner of a magic lamp.—223

*Alcina*—a character from Lodovico Ariosto's poem *L'Orlando furioso* and Matteo Bojardo's *Orlando innamorato*, a sorceress.—345, 390

*Birch, Harvey*—the main character of Fenimore Cooper's novel *The Spy*, who considered spying as his duty to his country.—40

*Cerberus* (Gr. Myth.)—a never sleeping dog guarding the entrance of Hades.—72, 631

*Christ, Jesus* (Bib.).—490, 497

*Don Quixote*—hero of Cervantes' novel of the same name.—77, 201, 348, 353, 631

*Epimenides* (Gr. Myth.)—a Cretan prophet who, according to legend, spent more than half a century in sleep.—160

*Falstaff, Sir John*—a fat, merry ribald and boastful knight in Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Henry IV*.—373

*Faust*—hero of a medieval German legend and of Goethe's tragedy.—370, 624

*Gretchen*—heroine of Goethe's *Faust*.—624

*Hercules (Heracles)* (Greek and Roman Myth.)—a hero of extraordinary strength and courage.—72

*John Bull*—a personification of England, the main character of John Arbuthnot's book *The History of John Bull* (1712).—189, 258, 624

*Juggernaut*—(Hindu Myth.)—Krishna, an incarnation of the Hindu god Vishnu.—126, 302

*Manu*—a legendary law-giver of ancient India; the *Laws of Manu* were compiled by Brahmins between the 1st and 5th centuries.—104, 177

*Mary* (Bib.).—370

*Minerva* (Roman Myth.)—goddess of wisdom.—557

*Oedipus* (Gr. Myth.)—King of Thebes, who solved the enigma of the Sphinx's riddle and saved Thebes from the monster; hero of Sophocles' tragedies *Oedipus Rex* (*Tyrannus*) and *Oedipus at Colonus*.—178

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*Le Constitutionnel*—French daily published in Paris from 1815 to 1817 and from 1819 to 1870; mouthpiece of the moderate Orleanists in the 1840s; during the 1848 revolution voiced the views of the monarchist bourgeoisie (Thiers' party); after the coup d'état in December 1851, became a Bonapartist newspaper.—20, 21, 111, 208, 278, 294, 407, 417-18

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*Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*—newspaper founded by German refugees in Brussels and published from January 1847 to February 1848. From September 1847 Marx and Engels regularly contributed to it and under their influence it became an organ of revolutionary communist propaganda.—87

*The Dublin Evening Mail*—liberal daily published from 1823.—559, 560

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*The Examiner*—English liberal weekly published in London from 1808 to 1881.—255, 438

*Frankfurter Journal*—German daily published in Frankfurt am Main from the seventeenth century to 1903; voiced liberal views in the 1840s and 1850s.—67, 422

*Frankfurter Postzeitung*—German newspaper published in Frankfurt am Main from 1619 to 1866; organ of the Federal Diet in the 1850s; appeared under this title from 1852.—246, 632

*The Freeman's Journal*—Irish liberal daily published in Dublin from 1763 to 1924; supported the demand for the repeal of the Union and defended the Irish tenants' rights in the 1840s and 1850s.—611

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*Die Grenzboten, Zeitschrift für Politik und Literatur*—German liberal weekly published in Leipzig from 1841 to 1922.—623

*The Guardian*—English weekly, organ of the Established Church, published in London since 1846.—530, 531

*Hamburger Nachrichten*—German daily published from 1792; during the 1848-49 revolution was the mouthpiece of the bourgeoisie demanding an Imperial Constitution, and later supported the Prussian monarchy; official organ of Bismarck at the end of the century.—235, 236

*Herald*—see *The Morning Herald*

*L'Impartial*—Turkish newspaper, organ of the government, published in French in Smyrna from 1840.—245, 294

*Journal de Constantinople*—Turkish newspaper published in French from 1846; was subsidised by the Turkish Government but was actually the vehicle of French influence; appeared six times a month.—279, 454

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*Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*—French daily founded in Paris in 1789; organ of the government during the July monarchy; voiced monarchist views during the 1848 revolution; mouthpiece of the moderate Orleanist opposition after the coup d'état of 1851.—105, 117, 310, 318, 506, 571

*Kölnische Zeitung*—German daily, organ of the liberal bourgeoisie, published from 1802 to 1945.—211, 236, 445, 502, 632

*Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*—German newspaper published from 1785; voiced moderate liberal views in the 1840s; commonly called *Vossische Zeitung* after its owner Christian Friedrich Voss.—632

*Kreuz-Zeitung*—see *Neue Preussische Zeitung*

*The Leader*—English liberal weekly founded in London in 1850.—255, 301, 302, 305, 538, 624

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*The Liverpool Courier*—English conservative newspaper published from 1808.—321

*Der Lloyd*—Austrian conservative newspaper published in Vienna from December 1848 to 1854.—175

*Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*—English liberal newspaper founded in 1842; published under this title from 1843 to 1918.—538

*The London Gazette*—English biweekly, organ of the government, published since 1666.—402, 405

*The Manchester Guardian*—English daily founded in 1821; organ of the Free Traders and from the mid-nineteenth century of the Liberal Party.—311, 327

*The Mark Lane Express, and Agricultural Journal, etc.*—English weekly, organ of the commercial bourgeoisie, published in London from 1832 to 1924.—307, 330

*Le Moniteur universel*—French daily published in Paris from 1789; official organ of the government from 1799.—5, 21, 108, 209, 236, 245, 307, 316, 318, 536, 549, 599, 604

*The Morning Advertiser*—English daily published in London from 1794 to 1934; mouthpiece of the radical bourgeoisie in the 1850s.—20, 38, 58, 68, 72, 192, 210, 212, 240, 255, 257, 279, 284, 286, 290, 291, 310, 312-13, 325, 532-33, 536, 591, 592, 607

*The Morning Chronicle*—English daily published in London from 1770 to 1862; organ of the Whigs (1840s), of the Peelites (early 1850s) and later of the Conservative Party.—20, 46, 52, 80, 140, 145, 236, 292, 306, 310, 315, 407, 408, 527, 532, 534, 537, 562

*The Morning Herald*—English conservative daily published in London from 1780 to 1869.—18, 19-20, 80, 112, 143, 147, 242, 379, 417, 436, 525, 533, 538, 547

*The Morning Post*—English conservative daily published in London from 1772 to 1937; organ of the Right wing of the Whigs led by Palmerston in the mid-nineteenth century.—19-20, 28, 58, 80, 109, 145, 193, 194, 203, 210, 225-26, 234, 246, 310, 315, 318, 321, 322, 330, 422, 470, 525-29, 530, 532, 534, 537

*La Nation, organe quotidien démocrate socialiste*—newspaper of the Belgian petty-bourgeois democrats published in Brussels from 1848 to 1856.—255, 293

*National-Zeitung*—German daily published in Berlin from 1848 to 1915; voiced liberal views in the 1850s.—235, 280

*Neu-England Zeitung*—democratic weekly published by German petty-bourgeois émigrés in Boston (USA) from 1846 to 1853.—481, 623, 625, 628

*Neue Oder-Zeitung*—German daily published in Breslau (Wrocław); from 1846 to March 1849 it came out under the title *Allgemeine Oder-Zeitung* as the organ of Catholic opposition circles. From March 1849 to the end of 1855 it appeared as *Neue Oder-Zeitung* and was the organ of the German bourgeois democrats; in 1855 Marx was its London correspondent.—284, 285

*Neue Preussische Zeitung*—German daily published in Berlin from June 1848; mouthpiece of Junkers and Court circles; also known as *Kreuz-Zeitung* because the heading contained a cross bearing the device "Forward with God for King and Fatherland".—240, 505, 562, 569

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Democratie*—German daily, organ of the revolutionary-proletarian wing of the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; it was published in Cologne under the editorship of Marx from June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849 (with an interval between September 27 and October 12, 1848).—101, 284, 285, 501

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*—journal, theoretical organ of the Communist League, founded by Marx and Engels in December 1849 and published until November 1850.—41, 490

*New-York Daily Tribune*—American newspaper founded by Horace Greeley in 1841 and published until 1924; organ of the Left-wing American Whigs until the mid-1850s, and later of the Republican Party; in the 1840s and 1850s it voiced progressive views and opposed slavery. Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862.—3, 5, 12, 17, 21, 27, 31, 36, 39, 56, 58, 62, 74, 85, 92, 100, 106, 111, 114, 115, 124, 133, 141, 147, 148, 156, 162, 173, 174-77, 184, 191, 200, 204, 208, 216, 220, 222, 232, 238, 244, 256, 264, 265, 276, 283, 285, 289, 293, 300, 308, 317, 328, 329, 334, 340, 342, 345-46, 347-52, 353-57, 358, 360, 361-85, 391, 392, 395-98, 415, 420, 423, 429, 434, 443, 449, 456, 459, 463, 470, 476, 478, 515, 522, 523, 526, 535, 542, 546, 552, 558, 567, 582, 588, 592, 600, 605, 612, 620

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*New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*—special edition of the *New-York Tribune* reprinting its most important articles; it came out on Tuesdays and Fridays.—12, 21, 31, 39, 56, 74, 85, 106, 111, 133, 141, 147, 156, 162, 173, 184, 191, 200, 208, 222, 232, 244, 264, 276, 283, 289, 308, 317, 328, 334, 415, 420, 423, 449, 463, 515, 522, 535, 542, 567, 592, 600, 605, 612, 620

*New-York Weekly Tribune*—special edition of the *New-York Tribune* reprinting its most important articles; came out on Saturdays.—12, 14, 16, 17, 27, 36, 100, 124, 126, 133, 141, 289, 317, 420, 429, 434, 449, 515, 542, 546, 552, 582, 600, 612, 620

*The Northern Star*—English weekly, central organ of the Chartists, published from 1837 to 1852, first in Leeds, and from November 1844 in London. Its founder and editor was Feargus O'Connor, George Harney being one of its editors. Engels contributed to it from 1843 to 1850.—624

*Notes to the People*—Chartist weekly published under Ernest Jones' editorship in London in 1851 and 1852. Marx and Engels supported it and contributed a number of articles from June 1851 to April 1852.—501

*Ober-Postamts-Zeitung*—see *Frankfurter Postzeitung*

*The Observer*—English conservative weekly published in London since 1791.—103, 145, 305-06, 316, 329, 330

*Oesterreichische Correspondenz*—semi-official organ of the Austrian Government published in Vienna from 1850 to 1863.—4, 445

*Oesterreichischer Soldatenfreund*—Austrian newspaper published in Vienna from 1848 to 1854.—559

*Oesterreichisch Kaiserliche Wiener Zeitung*—Austrian official government newspaper published from 1780 to 1931.—366, 609

*Ost-Deutsche Post*—Austrian moderate liberal daily published in Vienna from 1848 to 1866.—532

*Ostsee-Zeitung*—German daily published in Stettin from 1835, first under the title *Börsen-Nachrichten der Ostsee*.—632

*Il Parlamento*—Italian moderate liberal newspaper published in Turin.—243, 293

*La Patrie*—French daily published in Paris from 1841; mouthpiece of the monarchist bourgeoisie represented by the Party of Order in 1850, and later a Bonapartist newspaper.—109, 193, 235, 240, 407, 506, 560, 587

*Le Pays*—French daily founded in Paris in 1849; semi-official organ of Louis Napoleon's government in 1852-70, its sub-title was *Journal de l'Empire*.—21, 109, 210

*The People's Paper*—Chartist weekly founded by Ernest Jones in London in May 1852; Marx and Engels contributed to it from October 1852 to December 1856 and helped with its editing.—44, 49, 57, 66, 81, 170, 250, 290, 291, 342, 345, 352, 358, 379, 385, 391, 398, 414, 437, 438, 446, 449, 462, 470, 477, 500-01, 514, 515, 525

*The Portfolio*—a collection of diplomatic papers and documents published by David Urquhart in London. The series *The Portfolio; or a Collection of State Papers* was published in 1835-37 and another, *The Portfolio. Diplomatic Review*, in 1843-45.—164, 165, 167, 175, 203, 227, 387, 399-401, 403, 405

*Post*—see *The Morning Post*

*Post Zeitung* (Stockholm).—236

*Le Précurseur*—Belgian bourgeois daily published in Antwerp from 1836.—495, 496

*The Press*—English Tory weekly published in London from 1853 to 1866.—137, 142, 175, 253, 536, 562, 589, 592, 596

*Die Presse*—Austrian liberal daily published in Vienna from 1848 to 1894; in 1861 and 1862 it occupied an anti-Bonapartist position and published articles and news reports by Marx.—38, 243, 313, 423

*La Presse*—French daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1866; mouthpiece of the opposition to the July monarchy in the 1840s; organ of the moderate republicans in 1848 and 1849, later a Bonapartist newspaper.—109, 203, 204, 228, 243, 435

*Preston Pilot*—English weekly published from 1825 to 1888.—462

*Preussische Correspondenz*—see *Preussische Litographische Correspondenz*

*Preussische Litographische Correspondenz*—semi-official organ of the Prussian Ministry of Foreign Affairs published in Berlin.—293, 588

*Preussisches Wochenblatt*—German conservative weekly published in Berlin from 1851 to 1861.—37

*Punch, or the London Charivari*—English liberal comic weekly founded in 1841.—295

*The Red Republican*—Chartist weekly published by George Harney from June to November 1850; it carried the first English translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Marx and Engels.—501

*Die Reform*—newspaper, organ of the American Workers' Association, published by German socialist émigrés in New York from March 5, 1853 to April 26, 1854; first it was published weekly, then twice a week, and from October 15, 1853 daily. Joseph Weydemeyer was its co-editor and Adolph Cluss a permanent contributor;

it frequently reprinted articles by Marx and Engels from the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—92, 256, 289, 334, 415, 478, 558, 628, 630, 632

*Révolutions de Paris*—French revolutionary-democratic weekly published in Paris from July 1789 to February 1794; Elisée Loustallot was its editor until September 1790.—108

*Satellite* (Kronstadt, Transylvania).—293

*Le Sémaphore de Marseille*—French daily published from 1827 to 1945.—146

*Le Siècle*—French daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939; mouthpiece of the opposition demanding moderate constitutional reforms in the 1840s; moderate republican in the 1850s.—109, 110, 254

*Soldatenfreund*—see *Oesterreichischer Soldatenfreund*

*The Spectator*—English weekly published in London since 1828; first liberal and later conservative.—590

*The Standard*—English conservative daily founded in London in 1827.—561

*St. Petersburg Gazette* (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosty*)—Russian daily, official government organ, published from 1728 to 1917; came out under this title between 1728 and 1914.—258

*St. Petersburg Gazette* (*St.-Petersburger Zeitung*)—Russian daily published in German from 1727 to 1914.—279

*La Suisse*—Swiss liberal newspaper published in Berne from 1846 to 1860.—108

*The Sun*—English liberal daily published in London from 1798 to 1876.—296

*Sunday Times*—English weekly published in London since 1822; organ of the Whigs in the 1850s.—301, 331-32

*The Times*—English conservative daily founded in London in 1785.—19, 24-25, 28, 38, 46, 51, 53, 58, 59, 62, 68, 71-72, 75, 76, 80, 83, 84, 105, 109, 112, 113, 116-18, 120, 125, 134, 137, 139, 140-44, 145, 146, 158-62, 166, 175, 176, 177, 182, 185, 189, 190, 191, 193, 194, 202, 215, 223, 225, 239, 241, 246, 251, 258, 267, 276, 280, 303, 304, 305, 310-12, 314, 315-16, 318, 322-24, 326, 387, 397-98, 408, 409, 414-15, 419, 421, 422, 436, 437, 439, 447, 451, 455, 472, 509, 512, 513, 514, 517, 523, 524, 528, 529, 532, 534-35, 536, 537, 538, 547, 561, 570, 573, 575, 585, 601, 607, 611, 613, 614

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*Triester Zeitung*—Austrian government daily published from 1850 to 1915.—109

*L'Univers religieux, philosophique, politique, scientifique et littéraire*—French clerical newspaper founded in Paris in 1833; supported Bonaparte in the 1850s.—615

*Voix du peuple*—French newspaper published in Paris from October 1 to May 14, 1850 and edited by Proudhon.—625

*Der Wanderer*—Austrian daily published in Vienna from 1809 to 1866.—293, 446

*Weekly Dispatch*—English newspaper published in London from 1801 to 1928; voiced radical views in the 1850s.—440

*Weekly Times*—English liberal newspaper published in London from 1847 to 1885.—283, 443

*Wiener Zeitung*—see *Oesterreichisch Kaiserliche Wiener Zeitung*

*Die Zeit*—German conservative newspaper published in Berlin from 1851 to 1858.—37, 323

*De Zuid-Afrikaan* or *The Zuid Afrikaan*—newspaper published simultaneously in English and Dutch in Kapstadt (Cape Town) from 1830 to 1930. Marx contributed to it in 1854.—578

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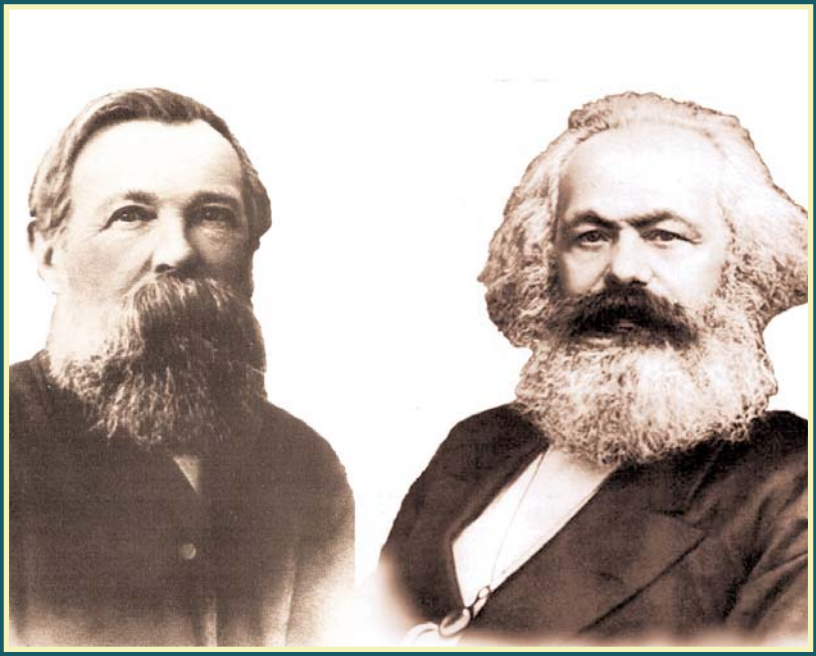

## VOLUME 13

### Marx and Engels 1854-55

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 13

## Marx and Engels 1854-55

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BARRIE SELMAN: The Opening of Parliament; Comments on the Cabinet Crisis; Parliamentary News; From Parliament.—From the Theatre of War; On the Ministerial Crisis; The Defeated Government; The Parties and Cliques; Two Crises

# Preface

Volume 13 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains articles written by them in the period from February 13, 1854 to February 6, 1855. For the most part these articles were published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, to which Marx and Engels had begun to contribute in August 1851. Many were also reprinted in the newspaper's special issues, the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* and the *New-York Weekly Tribune*; some of them also appeared in the Chartist *People's Paper*. In January 1855 Marx began to publish his articles in the democratic German newspaper, the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, using as a rule material intended for the *New-York Daily Tribune*. Marx's and Engels' newspaper articles in this period deal with a broad range of contemporary socio-economic and political problems, as well as with questions of the bourgeois-democratic and working-class movement, and are an important part of their literary legacy.

Marx's and Engels' journalism is an outstanding phenomenon. Their articles written more than a century ago about specific events and in a language not their own, have not lost their importance and interest for later generations. Their analysis of contemporary events showed up their causes and inner connections, explained their sometimes apparently fortuitous succession, and made clear their meaning in terms of contemporary history. Marx and Engels were not content with only superficial current information. Their articles reflect the results of many years of study in economics, politics, history, military science, and language. When circumstances compelled them to turn to subjects with which they did not consider themselves fully conversant, they would undertake special researches. Thus, in 1854, in connection with the beginning of the fourth bourgeois revolution in Spain, Marx embarked upon a study of the country's language and

history, in particular, of the three revolutions which had taken place there earlier. His surviving five notebooks with excerpts on the Spanish history bear eloquent witness to the depth and thoroughness of these studies. A great deal of literature on the history of the Slavs, Greeks and other peoples inhabiting the Balkan Peninsula, the history of Turkey and its social structure, the Orthodox Church and other problems was studied by Marx and Engels in 1854 in connection with the events in the Balkans.

At the same time Marx and Engels were not merely academic commentators. They wrote on the basis of very close contacts with their contemporaries, with influential political and public figures, and particularly with the proletarian and democratic émigrés of various nationalities in London. Marx's visits to sessions of the British Parliament and Engels' daily contact with Manchester business circles provide cases in point.

In 1854, their journalism was for Marx and Engels practically the only way to disseminate among the democratically-inclined reading public in general, and the workers in particular, the results of their own studies in various spheres of history, political economy and military science.

All that took place in the international arena or in the domestic life of this or that country was evaluated by Marx and Engels from the point of view of their steady aim to establish and equip a revolutionary working-class party; and the experience and knowledge accumulated by them in this connection has enriched the treasury of working-class revolutionary theory. The contents of the present volume illustrate most clearly Marx's and Engels' ability unfailingly to represent the interests of the proletariat in the process of the not yet completed bourgeois-democratic transformations in Europe, as well as the separation, which had just begun, of the working-class movement from the general democratic movement. In their articles strictly scientific analysis is accompanied by invective against the representatives of the ruling classes: the cupidity and mediocrity of the ruling circles, their hypocrisy, sanctimoniousness and corruption are exposed with mordant wit and sarcasm.

The central political event in Europe in 1854 was the military conflict between Russia and Turkey, which broke out in 1853 and in 1854 developed into a war of Britain, France and Turkey against Russia—the Crimean War. Marx and Engels devote the utmost attention to the history of this conflict, the analysis of its causes, and the policies of the individual states. They approach

the analysis of the foreign policy of the European powers in the period of the Crimean War, the diplomatic negotiations in Vienna, and the actual course of the military operations, from the viewpoint of the revolutionary proletariat. In examining the events taking place, they always bear in mind the prospects for the development of the working-class movement in Europe and the future of the national liberation and unification movements.

Proceeding from concrete historical conditions, Marx and Engels saw in Tsarism the bulwark of feudal absolutist reaction in Europe. They regarded Tsarism's collapse and the consequent removal of its reactionary influence on Europe as an essential precondition for the victory of a proletarian revolution in Britain and France and for a democratic settlement of the fundamental questions of the historical development of Germany, Italy, Poland, Hungary and other European countries—questions which remained unsolved during the revolution of 1848-49.

At the same time Marx and Engels saw clearly that, in spite of their political and military rivalry, Tsarist Russia and oligarchical Britain and Bonapartist France, who were fighting against it, as well as the "neutral" reactionary regimes of Austria and Prussia, in fact held the same counter-revolutionary position.

The aim of the Western powers was the removal of Russia as a rival in the struggle for supremacy in the Near East, the consolidation of their own influence in the Balkans and the Black Sea area, the weakening, but by no means the collapse, of the military power of Tsarist Russia, and the pursual, under the pretext of defending Turkey, of a policy aimed at strengthening its colonial dependence on the Western powers. "A feeling of doubt, mistrust and hostility against their western allies is gaining possession of the Turks," Marx writes in April 1854. "They begin to look on France and England as more dangerous enemies than the Czar himself..." (p. 160).

Marx and Engels paid special attention to exposing the foreign policy of the British ruling classes and their parties, the Whigs and the Tories. In articles dealing with debates in the British Parliament in connection with the publication of documents relating to the pre-history of the Eastern conflict—"The Documents on the Partition of Turkey", "The Secret Diplomatic Correspondence" and several others, Marx exposed the "infamy" (p. 466) of British diplomacy, which was allegedly striving to keep intact the Ottoman Empire and the "balance of power ... in Europe", but was in fact defending its own mercenary interests in the Eastern question. Marx shows that if the partition of Turkey

had not, in the last analysis, contained the spectre of revolution, "Her Majesty's Government would be as ready to swallow the Grand Turk [i.e., the Sultan] as his Cossack Majesty [i.e., Nicholas I]" (p. 97). Throughout the article runs the idea that the allies were conducting a "mock", "sham" war. Both sides, write Marx and Engels in the article "That Bore of a War", "are ruled more by diplomatical than strategical motives" (p. 336).

Considerable space in this volume is devoted to the domestic and foreign policy of Bonapartist France. Marx and Engels believed that the ruling clique in this country had acted as one of the main instigators of the Crimean War and that it regarded foreign policy adventurism and wars of aggrandisement as a means of strengthening the shaky Bonapartist regime. "Bonaparte," writes Marx in February 1854, "is of course in good earnest in embarking in the war. He has no alternative left but revolution at home or war abroad" (p. 33). The representatives of the Bonapartist clique were, moreover, using the war as a means of helping themselves from public funds, as an excuse, to quote Marx, "to remove the last weak barriers yet standing between themselves and the national treasury" (p. 52).

In a number of articles Marx and Engels engage in a polemic (directly and indirectly) with the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois émigrés, individual representatives of whom regarded the war against Russia as "a war between liberty and despotism" (p. 228). The fundamental difference between this point of view and the position of Marx and Engels was that the latter advanced the battle-cry of a revolutionary war against Tsarism. Marx's and Engels' tactical position during the Crimean War was essentially a continuation of their tactics in 1848-49 when, in the columns of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, they had called for a revolutionary war against Tsarism. As Lenin pointed out (*Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 300), these tactics were dictated by the historical conditions of the whole period 1789-1871, when the task of finally destroying absolutism and feudalism came to the fore.

In outlining the tactics of the proletariat at the time of the Crimean War, Marx and Engels proceeded from the fact that if the war against Tsarism were to assume a European character, it could produce a new revolutionary upsurge in the countries of Europe and lead to the collapse of the anti-popular, despotic regimes in these countries and to the liberation of the oppressed nationalities in Europe; in these conditions the war which had broken out would turn into a revolutionary war of the peoples against Tsarism. This war could hasten the maturing of a

revolutionary situation in Russia itself and bring closer a revolution aimed against autocracy and serfdom.

Marx's and Engels' belief in the possibility of a new revolutionary upsurge during the Crimean War was based on their conclusion from the experience of the revolution of 1848-49 that a new revolutionary upsurge was possible only after a new economic crisis. In 1853-54 signs of crisis began to be observed in the economy of the European countries. At this time Marx engaged in a thorough study of the problem in question, compiled the large conspectus "Money, Credit, Crises" (extant in one of the notebooks of excerpts), which he later used for his *Grundrisse der Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie.* He also studied and drew conclusions from information on the state of industry and trade published by the journal *The Economist.* In the articles "British Finances", "The Crisis in Trade and Industry", "The Commercial Crisis in Britain" and certain others, Marx writes about the first symptoms of the approaching economic crisis: a certain degree of overproduction, general stagnation in trade and industry, suspension of payments, bankruptcies, etc. Marx not only records these symptoms, but also notes a number of most important factors. He pays special attention to these phenomena in the economy of Britain where the capitalist mode of production was most highly developed. The crisis in the economy of Britain, which still continued to hold its monopolist position in the world market, was of decisive importance for social and economic development throughout the world. Marx examines these symptoms of crisis as a manifestation of the general laws inherent in the capitalist mode of production with its antagonistic contradictions. "The crisis may be traced to the same source—the fatal working of the English industrial system which leads to overproduction in Great Britain, and to over-speculation in all other countries" (p. 588). In the signs of crisis in 1853-54 Marx detected the approach of the acute economic crisis of 1857.

Marx and Engels believed that the impending economic crisis and the Crimean War were together creating the conditions for a new revolutionary upsurge in the European countries, preparing the downfall of their anti-popular despotic regimes and the liberation of the oppressed nationalities of Europe. Marx and Engels also showed how the future of both the peoples oppressed by the Austrian Empire, and the Slav and other peoples who formed part of the Ottoman Empire, was integrally bound up with the revolutionary-democratic transformations in Europe, and with a revolutionary war which would lead to the collapse of these

empires and the formation of independent democratic states in the Balkans.

Contrary to the opinion of many West-European politicians, in particular, the English conservative writer and journalist David Urquhart, who supported the preservation of the reactionary Turkish state, Marx and Engels regarded the feudal Ottoman Empire as a great obstacle to historical progress, and supported the demand for national independence of the Slav and other peoples under the rule of their Turkish conquerors. In the article "The Policy of Austria.—The War Debates in the House of Commons" Marx calls Turkey "that keystone of the antiquated European system" (p. 324).

Many of the articles in the present volume are devoted to the description and analysis of the course of the military operations, the alignment of forces on both sides, the military organisation, and questions of the art of war.

In the military articles published in the *New-York Tribune*, usually in the form of leaders, Engels analyses the strength and organisation of the armies of Russia, Austria, Britain, France and Turkey, and gives a description of their men and officers. He concludes that the allied armies are commanded by "strategical mediocrities and routine generals" (p. 513). In the articles "The Present Condition of the English Army—Tactics, Uniform, Commissariat, &c.", "The Formation of a Special Ministry of War in Britain.—The War on the Danube.—The Economic Situation", "Reorganisation of the British War Administration.—The Austrian Summons.—Britain's Economic Situation.—St. Arnaud", "British Disaster in the Crimea", and a number of others, Marx and Engels criticise the organisation of Britain's war department, and the Coalition Government's conduct of the war.

Engels drew attention to the gross incompetence of the British and French Army and Navy Commands. Their confusion in orders issued, and preservation of an antiquated system of Army and Navy organisation, together with routine and perfunctory training of the lower ranks, led to needless casualties, epidemics and hunger for the ranks, and great loss of life in Gallipoli, Varna and the Crimea. These shortcomings, he writes, "are still aggravated by the oligarchic character of the English Administration, which entrusts the most important offices to men, who, although their parliamentary support may be needed by the set of place-hunters just in power, are altogether destitute even of elementary professional knowledge and fitness" (pp. 212-13).

In the articles "The Siege of Silistria", "That Bore of a War",

"The Battle of the Alma", "The Battle of Inkerman", "The Crimean Campaign", and many others, Engels—while praising the heroism of the Russian soldiers—points to the backwardness of the art of war in the Russia of landowners and serfs, the mediocrity of a considerable section of the officers, and the "parade-drill" of the lower ranks in the Tsarist army.

The military operations in the Danube region and in the Crimea gave Engels the opportunity not only to analyse them from the point of view of the art of war, the comparative merits of the armies and their leaders, but also to develop a number of important questions of military theory, strategy and tactics. Engels' erudition as a military theoretician enabled him, in spite of the extreme scarcity of information and contrary to generally accepted judgments and forecasts, to give a correct assessment of individual episodes in the war and to make a number of assumptions which were later in all respects confirmed. Engels refuted the communiques that boasted of a "formidable" victory over the Russians in the Danube theatre (see "News from the European Contest") or of the capture of Sevastopol by the allies in September 1854 ("The News from the Crimea", "The Sevastopol Hoax", "The Sevastopol Hoax.—General News"). At the very beginning of the war Engels demonstrated the impossibility of Russian troops marching on Constantinople, and explained the landing of Russian troops in the Dobrudja as a strategical manoeuvre aimed at reducing the front line. As early as October 1854 he correctly judged the importance for the outcome of the whole campaign of the battle of Sevastopol, which would remain "unparalleled in military history" (p. 509).

Engels revealed the inner laws of the war, established the dependence of a country's military potential on the extent of its industrial development and the deployment of its economic resources, and showed how the actual conduct of war and the tactical manoeuvrability of the troops corresponds to the level of development of the country's socio-economic and political structure. Thus these articles written by Engels in 1854 constitute an important stage in the development of Marxist military thought. The analysis of military operations was later generalised by him in a number of articles for the *New American Cyclopaedia* (see this edition, Vol. 18).

The exposure of the foreign policy of the British oligarchy was combined in the writings of Marx and Engels with a revelation of the anti-popular nature of the bourgeois-aristocratic system in

Britain. Marx draws attention to the disparity in Britain between the political system and economic and social development, which was brought out particularly clearly by the Crimean War. In the articles "On the Ministerial Crisis", "Fall of the Aberdeen Ministry", "The Defeated Government" Marx speaks of the crisis of the traditional two-party system, and the breaking down of the old aristocratic parties of the Whigs and Tories which was in process. "The old parliamentary parties that had been entrusted with a monopoly of government now exist merely in the form of coteries," Marx writes in the article "The Parties and Cliques" (p. 643), and their internal contradictions are no longer of a party nature, but are "only due to personal whims and vanities" (p. 638).

Many articles ("Debates in Parliament", "The War Debate in Parliament", "The War.—Debate in Parliament", and others) deal with the proceedings of the British Parliament, the analysis of debates on the causes, outbreak and course of the Crimean War, the activity of the war departments, the state of the army, the Budget, and various draft reforms, etc. In this concrete material is revealed the class essence of British parliamentarianism, the limited nature of British bourgeois democracy, the hypocrisy and pretence of the representatives of the main political groupings, their opposition to any reforms which might affect the interests of the ruling oligarchy (for example, electoral reform), and the cumbersome and routine nature of parliamentary procedure itself. "Then why remains Parliament?" Marx asks in the article "The Treaty Between Austria and Prussia.—Parliamentary Debates of May 29", "Old Cobbett has revealed the secret. As a safety-valve for the effervescing passions of the country" (p. 219).

The criticism by Marx and Engels of the position of the bourgeois Free Traders and their ideologists Bright and Cobden is of fundamental importance. These representatives of the so-called Manchester school, which expressed the interests of the British industrial bourgeoisie, opposed the war with Russia, arguing that the two states had interests in common. As in his earlier works, Marx exposes the hypocrisy of these bourgeois ideologists, stressing that behind their feigned love of peace lay the conviction that Britain was capable of establishing its monopoly on the world market without military expenditure. Their "philanthropy", says Marx, disappears as soon as it is a question of the working class; in that case the self-same Free Traders support the uncontrolled exploitation of the workers, opposing the restriction of the working day and the protection of female and child labour by law (p. 576). The latter is one of Marx's first demands for labour

legislation. He engages in an open polemic with Cobden and Bright also on the question of crises, refuting the assertion of the Free Traders that the repeal of the Corn Laws and Free Trade are a panacea against economic crises.

Marx continues to denounce the eviction of tenants from land belonging to big landowners in Scotland and Ireland. "The process still continues," he writes, "and with a vigor quite worthy of that virtuous, refined, religious, philanthropic aristocracy of this model country" (p. 197).

As ever, the position of the working class and its struggle with capital remained at the centre of the attention of Marx and Engels. For a number of reasons Marx was able in 1854 to study the position of the working class and observe the working-class movement mainly in Britain, which is why he writes primarily about the British proletariat in his articles of this period.

He speaks of its lack of political rights, its difficult economic position and its resort to strike action ("Debates in Parliament", "British Finances.—The Troubles at Preston" and others). He carefully traces the processes taking place in the working-class movement following structural changes in the capitalist economy and new developments in the socio-economic life of Europe and America, and studies the special features of the growth and spread of the working-class movement itself.

Marx notes with satisfaction the signs of political activity in the British working class, which were particularly significant with the decline of the Chartist movement after 1848. This is why he paid special attention to the opening of the Labour Parliament in Manchester, which was convoked on the initiative of the Chartists led by Ernest Jones with the aim of creating a broad working-class organisation, a "Mass Movement", to unite trade unionists and unorganised workers. Marx and Engels, who had been closely connected with the Chartists for many years and had greatly assisted Ernest Jones in the fifties in his struggle to revive Chartism on a new, socialist basis, welcomed the creation of this organisation. Marx was invited to take part in the Labour Parliament as an honorary delegate. In connection with its convocation he wrote two articles and one address ("Opening of the Labour Parliament.—English War Budget", "The Labour Parliament", "Letter to the Labour Parliament"). In them he maintains that the Labour Parliament, whatever its outcome, was an important milestone in the history of the working class because it was convoked on the initiative of the workers themselves. Marx points out, however, that the success of the movement

as a whole depended on whether the British workers could create "organisation of the labouring classes on a national scale" (p. 60).

In the article "Evacuation of the Danubian Principalities.—The Events in Spain.—A New Danish Constitution.—The Chartists" Marx gives a detailed account of a speech by Ernest Jones at a workers' meeting in Bacup (near Rochdale, Lancashire), in which he touched upon the question of the need for the working class to gain political power and implement the People's Charter at the new stage of the working-class movement. Thus, having defined the revolutionary tendency in the development of the mass working-class movement, Marx sees its task as the creation of its own mass political, genuinely revolutionary party. And although Marx's hopes that the convocation of the Labour Parliament would pave the way for the founding of such a party in Britain were not justified, because the British workers in fact turned increasingly to programmes of limited reform and the trade unions grew increasingly indifferent to politics, his deductions were none the less of theoretical and practical value for the subsequent development of the working-class movement. These deductions, important not only for British workers but for the workers of other countries, were later developed in the programme of the First International.

A number of other articles collected in this volume are devoted to an analysis of the policies of the French Government. They reveal the Bonapartist regime as one of adventurism in foreign policy and demagogy, deception and repression at home. Marx and Engels show how the processes of corruption and decay, integral features of the Bonapartist regime, were also affecting its mainstay—the army. In the article "Reorganisation of the British War Administration.—The Austrian Summons.—Britain's Economic Situation.—St. Arnaud" Marx denounces the moral degeneration of the French army command, using the example of War Minister Marshal St. Arnaud who carved out his career in the Foreign Legion at Algiers, the nucleus of which was formed by "notorious desperadoes, adventurers of broken fortune, deserters from all countries, the general offal of the European armies" (p. 232). Napoleon III himself, intoxicated by the theatrical illusion of his own greatness, appears before the reader in the articles of Marx and Engels as the "actual official apery of a great past" (p. 473), i.e., of Napoleon I.

Marx and Engels relentlessly attacked pro-Bonapartist feeling

among the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats, both in emigration and in France itself, individual representatives of whom (Barbès, Kossuth, and some of the Polish émigrés) were inclined to believe Napoleon III's demagogic protestations about the defence of the freedom and interests of the oppressed nationalities. In this connection Marx and Engels ridiculed Barbès' belief in "Decembrist civilization" (p. 491). The chauvinist position adopted by Barbès during the Crimean War placed him outside the working-class movement and from then on he "ceased to be one of the revolutionary chiefs of France" (p. 491). In the article "The Sevastopol Hoax.—General News" Marx and Engels contrast Barbès with Auguste Blanqui whom they consider a true revolutionary.

A number of articles in the present volume are devoted to an analysis of the domestic and foreign policy of Prussia and Austria. Marx and Engels associated the participation of these countries in the Crimean War with the settlement of the problem of the revolutionary-democratic unification of Germany, with the possible collapse of the Prussian monarchy and the Austrian Empire, the formation by the enslaved peoples of independent states, and the democratic reorganisation of a number of European countries. They hoped that Prussia's entry into the war against Tsarist Russia would serve as a stimulus for a new upsurge of the revolutionary-democratic movement in which the decisive role would be played by the working class. From this point of view Marx and Engels denounce the policy of reactionary Prussian, and also Austrian ruling circles, for whom the main task was to ensure the inviolability of counter-revolutionary systems, maintain their rule in the captured territories, and enjoy "undisturbed possession of Posen, of Galicia, of Hungary, and of Italy" (p. 216).

Marx and Engels devoted considerable attention to Austria, for in the diplomatic intrigues around the conflict between Russia and Turkey it played the role of armed mediator and held "the post of honor and of advantage" (p. 255). Marx makes a detailed examination of Austria's position, the state of its finances, and its military potential. He shows the internal instability of the Habsburg Empire. An analysis of the Austrian monarchy's budget and the state of its finances in the article "Austrian Bankruptcy" leads Marx to the conclusion that "on the possession of Hungary and Lombardy depends not only the political but the economical existence of the Austrian Empire, and that with their loss the long-delayed bankruptcy of that state becomes inevitable" (p. 49). Marx and Engels believed that Austria was, on the one hand,

interested in preventing the spread of the influence of Tsarist Russia in the Balkan Peninsula, but, on the other, thought it impossible to permit any serious weakening of Tsarism "because in that case the Hapsburgs would be left without a friend to help them out of the next revolutionary slough" (p. 255). This also determined Austria's policy of being "treacherous to either of the belligerents or to both" for the sake of its own interests, the interests of the Habsburg dynasty (p. 256), while outwardly acting as a mediator (the Vienna conferences, the occupation of the Danubian Principalities by Austrian troops, etc.).

Marx and Engels assumed that the drawing of Austria into the war would mean the transfer of military operations to Europe, which would produce an upsurge in the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples. "The populations most immediately interested in the issue of the eastern complications are, besides the Germans, the Hungarians and Italians" (p. 156), writes Marx in the article "Reshid Pasha's Note.—An Italian Newspaper on the Eastern Question".

Denunciation of the anti-democratic policies of the ruling classes in the European states is accompanied in Marx's and Engels' articles by sharp criticism of the government and bourgeois press which acted as the apologist and bearer of these policies. They castigate the press for its sensationalism, its incorrect and sometimes deliberately falsified information, its professional incompetence, and its "mean servility" (p. 308) to the powers-that-be.

Considerable space in the present volume is taken up by articles on Spain. A section of them is devoted to the events of the revolution of 1854. In addition, a series of articles printed in the *New-York Daily Tribune* in the form of leaders from September to December 1854 is published under the general heading "Revolutionary Spain". This work, which deals with the history of the three preceding Spanish revolutions of the nineteenth century (1808-14, 1820-23, 1834-43), was published by the newspaper in part only; the last three articles in the series have not been discovered, but one can get an idea of their contents from the draft contained in the present volume (pp. 654-59). Marx's articles on Spain, in particular, his work "Revolutionary Spain", not only provide a key to the explanation of the essential features of the country's history, but are also important for an understanding of the general problems of bourgeois revolutions.

On the basis of his study of the most important events in Spain's earlier political and civic history: the period of the Reconquest,

the creation of the united Spanish kingdom, the establishment of absolutism, the relations of the monarchy with the townspeople, the nobility and the Church, Marx reveals the causes, character and specific features of the Spanish bourgeois revolutions of the nineteenth century.

Marx came to the conclusion that modern Spanish history deserved a very different appreciation from what it had hitherto received (p. 286). He emphasises that in Spain absolutism did not play the role of a centralised state as it did in other large-scale European absolutist regimes. "The absolute monarchy in Spain," he writes, "bearing but a superficial resemblance to the absolute monarchies of Europe in general, is rather to be ranged in a class with Asiatic forms of government. Spain, like Turkey, remained an agglomeration of mismanaged republics with a nominal sovereign at their head" (p. 396). Marx maintains that already in the reign of Charles V Spain "exhibited all those symptoms of inglorious and protracted putrefaction" (p. 395). Describing the pernicious influence of Spanish absolutist rule on the country's history, he remarks that as a consequence of this in Spain "the aristocracy sunk into degradation without losing their worst privilege, the towns lost their medieval power without gaining modern importance" (p. 396).

However, the national liberation struggle of the Spanish people against Napoleon I showed that if the Spanish state was moribund, the popular masses, on the contrary, were possessed of revolutionary energy, a sense of national dignity and the ability to resist. Marx emphasises that the resistance to the Napoleonic invasion in 1808 "originated with the people, while the 'better' classes had quietly submitted to the foreign yoke" (p. 399). He devotes considerable space to the heroic guerrilla struggle of the Spanish people against the Napoleonic invasion and describes the various stages of this national liberation movement.

Marx reveals the inner contradictions of this Spanish national liberation movement; the combination of the spirit of political and social regeneration with the spirit of reaction, a feature of all the wars against Napoleonic France, was particularly characteristic of Spain (p. 403). National in character, the first bourgeois revolution in this country was aimed not only against the foreign yoke, but also against the putrescent regime of the Spanish Bourbons. In this respect its aim was achieved on a national scale. At the same time the national liberation struggle took on superstitious and fanatical forms and was exploited by reactionary ruling circles in order to return Ferdinand VII to the throne and restore the

Inquisition. Marx notes the same phenomenon in the third revolution and the Carlist War, when the struggle between capitalism, which was establishing itself, and feudalism, which had become obsolete—the struggle of two social systems—assumed the form of a struggle of opposing dynastic interests.

Marx sees the root of this contradictory phenomenon in the backwardness of the popular masses, above all the peasantry, and in the weakness of the national bourgeoisie, the interests of which, due to lack of development in industry and the home market and to agricultural backwardness and decline, were linked with the interests of the ruling circles, the bureaucracy, and the preservation of the colonial empire. Marx describes the limitations and weakness of the Spanish bourgeoisie most vividly in his analysis of the Constitution of 1812, in which radical demands were combined with sombre vestiges of the age of clerical domination. He draws attention to the fact that "it was almost the chief principle of that Constitution not to abandon any of the colonies belonging to Spain" (p. 369).

Marx's study of the Spanish revolutions enabled him to reveal a number of features characteristic of bourgeois revolutions, particularly in countries with poorly developed capitalism and a large number of feudal vestiges. He showed the role of the popular masses as the driving force of these revolutions, but at the same time wrote also of their prejudices and ignorance, their political limitations, their belief in "a sudden disappearance of their social sufferings from mere change of Government" (p. 437).

Marx emphasised that in a country with a low level of socio-economic development, the political immaturity of the masses and the weakness of the national bourgeoisie can lead to a situation in which the army becomes the spokesman of national interests and the instrument of insurrection. However, this exceptional position of the army, in cases when it is divorced from the popular masses, contains the danger of its becoming a Pretorian Guard—an instrument in the hands of ambitious generals. Marx's analysis of all four Spanish revolutions bears out this truth.

The events of 1854 in Spain enabled Marx to conclude that pressure must be exerted on the military by the revolutionary masses to make them adhere to a more radical programme. He writes: "It is a fact, then, that the military insurrection has obtained the support of a popular insurrection only by submitting to the conditions of the latter" (p. 310).

In the fighting at the barricades in 1854 in Madrid and other

Spanish towns Marx and Engels recognised a revival of this form of struggle against government troops, which had seemed to have lost its importance after the defeats of 1848. "That prejudice has fallen," we read in the article "That Bore of a War". "We have again seen victorious, unassailable barricades" (p. 338).

Marx repeatedly returns to the idea of the objective prerequisites for a bourgeois-democratic revolution and the impossibility of importing it. At the basis of a bourgeois-democratic revolution lie deep-seated social, economic and political causes, the struggle between the obsolete feudal system and elements of emergent and growing capitalism. A state of "revolutionary crises" (p. 369) has to develop for the success of a revolution in any given country. Marx illustrates this tenet with the example of the second revolution in Spain. It began with an armed uprising by Rafael Riego's detachment of 1,500 men in January 1820. In March Riego was forced to disband the remnants of the detachment, but by then the movement had already enveloped the whole country, and on March 9 Ferdinand VII was compelled to swear in the Constitution. "Notwithstanding its [the military insurrection's] failure," writes Marx, "the revolution proved victorious" (p. 444).

For a revolution to be successful the most decisive action is required from its leaders. "At the outset," writes Marx of the events of 1808, "the Spanish revolution failed by its endeavor to remain legitimate and respectable" (p. 409). Marx stresses the importance of a strong central revolutionary authority, capable of carrying out profound social and political transformations at home, abolishing existing feudal institutions, and renouncing all the debts and financial obligations of the former government. In the surviving preliminary draft from the series of articles "Revolutionary Spain", Marx writes that the alliance of the peasantry with the urban revolutionary masses is of paramount importance (pp. 657, 658). Speaking of the causes of the defeat of the second revolution, Marx emphasises that, by failing to link the interests of the peasantry with the interests of the urban population, the revolutionary party alienated the peasant masses from the revolution, thereby narrowing the social basis of the movement.

Marx demonstrates the negative role of the liberal leaders of the revolution, their limitations, their close link with the ruling circles, their fear of a radical solution of cardinal problems. As can be seen from Marx's letter of October 10, 1854 to Engels, the description which Marx gave of such Spanish leaders as Espartero and O'Donnell was used by him in his broad generalisations, and

criticism not only of the Spanish liberals, but also of the leaders in the War of Independence of the North American colonies and the French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century (Washington, Lafayette, and others) (present edition, Vol. 39).

In his articles on the fourth bourgeois revolution in Spain, the bulk of which are published in this volume (the rest, written at a later date, are in Volume 15 of the present edition), Marx notes the characteristic features of this revolution which distinguish it sharply from the preceding ones. They stem from the development of modern industry in Spain, the formation of a working class, and the greater activity of the peasant masses. Marx notes the participation of the Spanish proletariat in the revolutionary fighting of 1854-56. Although in this revolution the working class did not advance its own social and political programme and was close to the radical wing of the bourgeoisie, its appearance in the political arena had a considerable influence on the revolution, depriving it, unlike preceding ones, of a dynastic and military character. The first three revolutions gave Marx grounds for maintaining that "the social question in the modern sense of the word has no foundation in... Spain" (p. 376). After the experience of the events of 1854-56 he came to the conclusion that "the next European revolution will find Spain matured for co-operation with it" (present edition, Vol. 15). This forecast of Marx's was proved correct by the events of the fifth bourgeois revolution in Spain of 1868-74. The events of 1854-56 were also one of the first signs of the instability of the reaction which had reigned on the European continent since the defeat of the revolution of 1848-49, and heralded new revolutionary upheavals.

* * *

The present volume contains 94 works in all, of which about 40 have not been reproduced in English after their initial publication in the *New-York Tribune*; 16 articles are published in English for the first time (14 articles from the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* and two articles by Engels "The Fortress of Kronstadt" and "The Russian Army", which were not published during his lifetime). The manuscripts contained in the section "From the Preparatory Materials" are published in full in English for the first time.

In the course of work on the present volume the authorship of the articles "The European War", "The Turkish War" and "News from the European Contest" was established for the first time.

Throughout, authorship and dating of the articles have been

carefully checked on the basis of Marx's Notebook in which their despatch to New York was recorded, of Marx's and Engels' correspondence with each other and with third persons, of the sources which they used in writing articles, as well as of other materials. Any changes are indicated in notes to the respective works.

In the case of articles which were published both in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and *The People's Paper*, and in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* all discrepancies of substance are indicated in footnotes.

As is known from letters of Marx and Engels, the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* frequently treated the text of their articles in an arbitrary fashion, particularly those which were printed as leaders. This applies in particular to Engels' military reviews. In the present volume all known cases of editorial interference with the texts of Marx and Engels are indicated in the notes.

In studying the historical material quoted in Marx's and Engels' articles, it must be borne in mind that they made use of newspaper information which in a number of cases proved to be inaccurate.

In texts written in English proper names and geographical names have been reproduced on the basis of the nineteenth-century reference books; obvious misprints and errors in figures, dates, etc., discovered in the preparation of the present volume have been silently corrected.

In cases where an article has no title, the editors have provided one which is given in square brackets.

The volume was compiled, the text prepared and the preface and notes written by Valentina Smirnova and edited by Lev Churbanov (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). All the indexes were prepared by Galina Voitenkova; the index of periodicals and the glossary of geographical names with the help of Vasily Kuznetsov and Yuri Vasin respectively (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). The translations were made by Susanne Flatauer and Barrie Selman and edited by Richard Abraham and Frida Knight (Lawrence and Wishart) and Salo Ryazanskaya, Natalia Karmanova and Margarita Lopukhina (Progress Publishers) and Norire Ter-Akopyan, scientific editor (USSR Academy of Sciences).

The volume was prepared for the press by the editors Natalia Karmanova, Margarita Lopukhina, Mzia Pitskhelauri and the assistant editor Natalia Belskaya (Progress Publishers).

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## WORKS

February 13, 1854-February 6, 1855

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## THE WAR QUESTION IN EUROPE[1]

Though the arrival of the *Nashville* puts us in possession of no decisive news from the seat of war, it puts us in possession of a fact of great significance in the present state of affairs. This is that now, at the eleventh hour, when the Russian Embassadors[a] at Paris and London have left, when the British and French Embassadors[b] at St. Petersburg are recalled, when the naval and military strength of France and England is being already concentrated for immediate action—at this very last moment, the two Western Governments are making fresh proposals to negotiate by which they concede almost everything that Russia wants. It will be remembered that the main point claimed by Russia was her right of settling directly with the Porte, and without the interference of the other Powers, a quarrel which, it was pretended, concerned Russia and Turkey only. This point has now been conceded to Russia. The proposals are contained in the letter of Napoleon,[c] which we copy in another place,[2] and are to the effect that Russia shall treat with Turkey direct, while the treaty to be concluded between the two parties shall be guaranteed by the four Powers. This guarantee is a drawback upon the concession, as it gives the Western Powers a ready pretext to interfere in any future quarrel of the kind. But it does not make matters worse for Russia than they are now, when the Emperor Nicholas must see that any attempt of his at a dismemberment of Turkey cannot be

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[a] N. D. Kiselyev and F. I. Brunnow.—*Ed.*

[b] G. H. Seymour and Castelbajac.—*Ed.*

[c] Letter of Napoleon III to Nicholas I dated January 29, 1854. *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 43, February 14, 1854.—*Ed.*

carried out without the risk of a war with England and France. And then, the actual gain to Russia will depend upon the nature of the treaty which is not yet concluded; and Russia, having seen in how cowardly a manner the Western Powers now shrink from the necessity of war, will but have to keep her armies concentrated, and to continue her system of intimidation in order to gain every point during the negotiations. Besides, Russian diplomacy need hardly be afraid of a contest with those egregious Embassadors who manufactured the famous blundering first Vienna note.[3]

Whether, however, the Czar will accept this proposal, or trust to his army, remains to be seen. He cannot afford to go through such armaments and dislocations of troops over his vast Empire once in every five years. The preparations have been made on such a scale that a very great material gain only can repay their cost. The Russian population are thoroughly roused to warlike enthusiasm. We have seen a copy of a letter from a Russian merchant—not one of the many German, English, or French traders, who have settled in Moscow—but a real old Muscovite, a genuine son of *Sviataia Russ*,[a] who holds some goods on consignment for English account, and had been asked whether in case of war these goods would run the risk of confiscation. The old Russ, quite indignant at the imputation thus cast upon his Government, and perfectly well acquainted with the official phraseology, according to which Russia is the great champion of "order, property, family, and religion," in contrast to the revolutionary and socialist countries of the West, retorts that

> "Here in Russia, God be praised, the distinction between *mine* and *thine* is yet in full force, and your property here is as safe as anywhere. I would even advise you to send over as much of your property as you can, for it will perhaps be safer here than where it is now. *As to your countrymen, you may perhaps have reason to fear,* as to your property, not at all."[4]

In the meantime, the armaments prepared in England and France are upon a most extensive scale. The French ocean squadron has been ordered from Brest to Toulon in order to transport troops to the Levant. Forty or sixty thousand, according to different statements, are to be sent, a large portion of them to be drafted from the African army; the expedition will be very strong in riflemen, and be commanded either by Baraguay d'Hilliers or by St. Arnaud. The British Government will send

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[a] Holy Russia.—*Ed.*

about 18,000 men (22 regiments of 850 each) and at the date of our last advices,[a] a portion of them had already embarked for Malta, where the general rendezvous is to be. The infantry go in steamers, and sailing vessels are employed for the conveyance of cavalry. The Baltic fleet, which is to be concentrated off Sheerness, in the Thames, by the 6th of March, will consist of fifteen ships of the line, eight frigates, and seventeen smaller vessels. It is the largest fleet the British have got together since the last war; and as one half of it will consist of paddle or screw steamers, and as the rating and weight of metal is at present about 50 per cent. higher than fifty years ago, this Baltic fleet may prove to be the strongest armament ever turned out by any country. Sir Charles Napier is to command it; if there is to be war, he is the man to bring his guns to bear at once upon the decisive point.

On the Danube, the battle of Chetatea[b] has evidently had the effect of delaying the Russian attack upon Kalafat. The Russians have been convinced by that five days' struggle that it will be no easy matter to take an intrenched camp which can send out such sallies. It seems that even the positive command of the Autocrat himself is not sufficient, after such a foretaste, to drive his troops to a rash attempt. The presence of Gen. Schilder, Chief of the Engineers, who was sent from Warsaw on purpose, seems even to have had a result contrary to the Imperial order, for instead of hurrying on the attack, an inspection of the fortifications from a distance was sufficient to convince him that more troops and more heavy guns were needed than could at once be brought up. Accordingly the Russians have been concentrating whatever forces they could around Kalafat, and bringing up their siege guns, of which, it seems, they brought seventy-two into Wallachia. *The London Times* estimates their forces at 65,000 men, which is rather high, if we consider the strength of the whole Russian army in the Principalities.[c] This army now consists of six divisions of infantry, three divisions of cavalry, and about three hundred field-guns, besides Cossacks, riflemen, and other special corps, of a total nominal strength before the beginning of the war, of 120,000 men. Assuming their losses, by sickness and on the battle-field, to be 30,000 men, there remain about 90,000 combatants. Of these, at least 35,000 are required to guard the line of the Danube, to

[a] i.e. February 10, 1854, when Marx's article "Russian Diplomacy.—Blue Book on the Eastern Question.—Montenegro" (see present edition, Vol. 12) was sent off.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 579-82.—*Ed.*

[c] Moldavia and Wallachia.—*Ed.*

garrison the principal towns, and to maintain the communications. There would remain, then, at the very outside, 55,000 men for an attack upon Kalafat.

Now look at the respective positions of the two armies. The Russians neglecting the whole line of the Danube, disregarding the position of Omer Pasha at Shumla, direct their main body, and even their heavy artillery, to a point on their extreme right where they are further from Bucharest, their immediate base of operations, than the Turks are. Their rear is therefore as much exposed as it possibly can be. What is worse still is that, in order to get some slight protection for their rear, they are obliged to divide their forces, and to appear before Kalafat with a force which by no means has that evident superiority which, by insuring success, might justify such a maneuver. They leave from thirty to forty per cent. of their army scattered behind the main body, and these troops are certainly not capable of repelling a resolute attack. Thus, neither is the conquest of Kalafat assured, nor the communications of the besieging army placed out of the reach of danger. The blunder is so evident, so colossal, that nothing short of absolute certainty of the fact can make a military man believe that it has been committed.

If Omer Pasha, who still has a superior force disposable, passes the Danube at any point between Rustchuk and Hirsova, with say seventy thousand men, the Russian army must either be annihilated to the last man or take refuge in Austria. He has had a full month for concentrating such a mass. Why does he not cross a river which is now no longer obstructed by floating ice? Why does he not even retake his *tête-de-pont* at Oltenitza, in order to be able to move at any moment? That Omer Pasha is ignorant of the chances the Russians have given him by their unheard-of blunder is impossible. He must, it would seem, be tied by diplomatic action. His inactivity must be intended to form an offset against the naval promenade of the combined fleets in the Black Sea. The Russian army must not be annihilated or driven to take refuge in Austria, because then peace would be endangered by fresh complications. And in order to suit the intrigues and the sham-action of diplomatic jobbers, Omer Pasha must allow the Russians to bombard Kalafat, to place their whole army, all their siege artillery at his mercy, without his being allowed to profit by the occasion. It would indeed seem that if the Russian commander[a] had not had a material, positive guarantee that his flanks and rear would not be

[a] M. D. Gorchakov.— *Ed.*

attacked, he would never have attempted to march upon Kalafat. Otherwise, in spite of all stringent instructions, he would deserve to be tried at the drum-head and shot. And unless, by the steamer now due here, or at furthest within a few days, we hear that Omer Pasha has crossed the Danube and marched upon Bucharest, it will be scarcely possible to avoid the conclusion that a formal agreement of the Western Powers has been made to the effect that in order to satisfy the military point of honor of Russia, Kalafat is to be sacrificed without the Turks being allowed to defend it by the only way it can be effectually defended—by an offensive movement lower down the Danube.[5]

Written on February 13-14, 1854

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 4019, March 6, 1854 as a leader

Reproduced from the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## [DECLARATION OF THE PRUSSIAN CABINET.—NAPOLEON'S PLANS.—PRUSSIA'S POLICY][6]

The following information, which, if true, is of the highest importance, and a portion only of which has appeared in the European journals, and that in a partial and disguised form, we have received from a most trustworthy source[7] at London:

I. On the 3d of February the following declaration on the part of the Prussian Cabinet was dispatched to Paris and London:

"1. The explanations of Count Orloff leaving no doubt whatever as to the uselessness of any further attempt at mediation with the St. Petersburg Cabinet, Prussia hereby withdraws her mediation, the opportunity for which can no longer be said to exist.

"2. Count Orloff's proposals of a *formal* and binding treaty of neutrality have met with an absolute refusal, communicated to him in a note, Prussia being decided upon observing even without the concurrence of Austria, the most strict neutrality on her part, which she is determined to enforce by *suitable armaments*, as soon as the proper moment shall have arrived.

"3. Whether Prussia shall propose, in common with Austria, a general arming of the German Confederation,[8] will depend on the conduct of the maritime powers toward Germany."

II. Louis Napoleon has sent a confidential agent (Mr. Brenier) to Turin, with the following message for the King of Piedmont[a] and Mr. Cavour: At a given time insurrectionary movements are to break out in Parma, Piacenza, Guastalla, and Modena. Sardinia must then occupy those countries, from which the now reigning princes are to be expelled. Napoleon is to guarantee to the King the incorporation with Sardinia of the three former principalities, and perhaps of Modena, also, in compensation for which territories the County of Savoy is to be ceded to France.[9] This

[a] Victor Emmanuel II.—*Ed.*

arrangement England may be said to have as good as agreed to, although reluctantly and with very bad grace. Mr. Brenier then proceeded further on his tour through Italy till he reached Naples, where his arrival evoked the "most painful sensation." His mission is that of preparing an Italian insurrection, as Napoleon is seriously convinced that he is the man, not only to set Italy on fire, but also to draw the exact line which the flame shall be forbidden to cross. He proposes to concentrate the following armies:

1—100,000 men on the frontier of Savoy.
2— 60,000 men at Metz.
3— 80,000 men at Strassburg.

III. Prussia does not object to the assembling of a French army of 100,000 men on the frontier of Savoy, but she considers the concentration of an army at Metz, and of another at Strassburg, to be a direct menace against herself. She already fancies Baden, Hesse, Württemberg, etc., in full insurrection and some 100,000 peasants marching from the south of Germany on her own frontiers. She has, therefore, protested against these two measures, and it is this eventuality which is alluded to in section 3 of the Prussian declaration. At all events, Prussia will put her army on a war footing *by*, and perhaps *before*, the end of March. She intends calling out a force of 200,000 to 300,000 men, according to circumstances. But if Napoleon insists on concentrating the two armies at Metz and Strassburg, the Prussian Government *has* already resolved to augment its force to 500,000 men. In the Berlin Cabinet, where the King,[a] with the great majority of his Ministers, had chosen to side with Russia, and Manteuffel alone, backed by the Prince of Prussia,[b] carried the declaration of neutrality (Manteuffel originally proposed a formal alliance with England), fear and confusion are asserted to reign supreme. There exists already a formal resolution of the Cabinet (Cabinets-Beschluss) according to which, under certain circumstances, all the more notorious democrats of the monarchy, and, above all, of Rhenish Prussia, are to be arrested on the same night, and to be transported to the eastern fortresses, in order to prevent them from favoring the subversive plans of Napoleon, (*die Umsturzpläne Napoleon's!!*) or from getting up popular movements generally. This measure, it is proposed, shall be executed instantly in the case of Italian disorders breaking out, or if Napoleon concentrates

[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*
[b] Future King of Prussia, William I.—*Ed.*

the two armies at Metz and Strassburg. This resolution, we are assured, has been taken *unanimously*, although *all* the eventualities are not provided for under which the Cabinet might think fit to put it into execution.

Written on February 17, 1854

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4022, March 9, 1854 as a leader

Reproduced from the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT[10]

London, Tuesday, Feb. 21, 1854

The military and naval estimates have been laid before Parliament. In the army, the total number of men asked for the current year is 112,977, an increase upon last year of 10,694. The total cost of the land forces for service at home and abroad, for the year ending on the 31st of March, 1855, exclusively of the Australian colonies, and of the charge transferred to the East India Company,[11] is £3,923,288. The gross total amount is £4,877,925, which will provide for 5,719 officers, 9,956 non-commissioned officers, 126,925 rank and file. The naval estimates for the year ending March 31, 1855, show a total for the effective service of £5,979,866, an increase upon last year of £1,172,446. The charge for the conveyance of troops and ordnance stands at £225,050, an increase of £72,100. The grand total for the year amounts to £7,487,948. The force will consist of 41,000 seamen, 2,000 boys, 15,500 marines; the total, including 116 men in the picking service, 58,616.[a]

Mr. Layard had given notice that he should call attention to the Eastern question on last Friday evening, and he seized upon the very moment when the Speaker[b] was to leave the Chair, in order that the House might consider the navy estimates.[12] Shortly after 4 o'clock all the galleries were overcrowded, and at 5 o'clock the House was full. Two long hours, to the visible mortification of the members and the public, were killed with indifferent conversation

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[a] Marx took these figures from the leading articles in *The Times*, Nos. 21668 and 21669, February 18 and 20, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Charles Shaw-Lefevre.—*Ed.*

on minor topics. So intensely excited was the curiosity of the honorables themselves that they delayed dinner till 8 o'clock, to assist at the opening of the great debate[a]—a rare occurrence, this, in the parliamentary life of the Commoners.

Mr. Layard, whose speech was continually interrupted by cheers, began by stating that the government had placed them in so extraordinary a position that they were at a loss to know how they really stood. Before they could vote the demanded advances, it was the duty of the government to state *what their intentions were.* But before asking [the] government what they were about to do, he wished to know *what they had already done.* He had said last year that if the government had adopted a tone more worthy of this country, they would not have been plunged into war; nor, after a careful perusal of the voluminous Blue Books lately issued,[b] had he found cause to change his opinions. Comparing the contents of various dispatches on various sides, he argued that the Ministry had overlooked the most obvious facts, had misunderstood the most unmistakeable tendencies, and trusted to the most evidently fallacious assurances. Declaring that the tragedy of Sinope[c] impeached the honor of England and required ample explanation, he drew evidence from the published documents to show that the Admirals of the united fleets might have prevented the catastrophe, or that the Turks by themselves [might] have averted it, if it had not been for the timorous and vacillating instructions sent out by the British government. He inferred from their recent language that they would still treat on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum,*[d] which presumed step he condemned. He called upon the government to do their duty, in the certainty that the people of England would do theirs.

Sir James Graham, with his notorious effrontery, answered him that they must either put their confidence in Ministers or turn them out. But "meanwhile don't let us *potter* over Blue Books." They had been deceived by Russia, who was an old and faithful

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[a] The debates in the House of Commons on February 17 and 20, 1854 are reported according to *The Times,* Nos. 21668 and 21670, February 18 and 21, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to *Correspondence Respecting the Rights and Privileges of the Latin and Greek Churches in Turkey,* the first issues of which appeared at the beginning of 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] This refers to the naval battle of Sinope (Black Sea) on November 30 (18), 1853 between Russian and Turkish squadrons during the Crimean War. The Turks were defeated.—*Ed.*

[d] The state before the war.—*Ed.*

ally of Great Britain, but "dark, malignant suspicions did not easily take root in generous minds." This old fox, Sir Robert Peel's "dirty little boy," the murderer of the Bandieras,[13] was quite charming with his "generous mind" and his "slowness to suspect."

Then came Lord Jocelyn and Lord Dudley Stuart, whose speeches filled the papers the next day, but emptied the House on this evening. Mr. Roebuck next commenced by defending the ministers for their conduct in a delicate situation, but ended by declaring that it was now time for the ministry to *declare clearly what they intended to do.* Lord John Russell, on the plea of answering this question, rose, gave an apologetic recapitulation of the history of the late differences, and when he had convinced himself that this would not do, feigned to be willing to tell them "what they intended to do;" a thing he himself may not have been quite sure of. According to his statement they had entered into some vague sort of alliance with France, not by means of a treaty concluded, but of notes interchanged. England and France were now proposing to Turkey also a sort of treaty, by virtue of which the Porte should not sue for peace without their consent. They had been cruelly overcome by the incredible perfidy of the Czar. He (Russell) despaired of peace being preserved. They were likely to enter on war. He consequently wanted some £3,000,000 more than last year. Secrecy was the condition of success in war and therefore he could not tell them just now what they were to do in that war. As the latter, or theatrical part of his speech was performed with great force and with much moral indignation at the Czar "the butcher," the applause was immense, and the House, in their enthusiasm, were on the point of voting the estimates, when Mr. Disraeli interceded and succeeded in adjourning the discussion to Monday evening.

The debates were resumed yesterday evening[a] and only concluded at 2 o'clock, a.m.

First rose Mr. Cobden, promising to confine himself strictly to the practical question in hand. He took great pains to prove from the Blue Books, what was denied by nobody, that the French Government had originated "this melancholy dispute," by the mission of Mr. Lavalette respecting the Holy Places and the concessions it wrung from the Porte.[14] The French President, who, at that time, had some expectation of becoming Emperor, might have had some wish to make a little political capital by making these demands upon Turkey on behalf of the Latin Christians.

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[a] February 20, 1854.—*Ed.*

The first movement of Russia, therefore, was traceable to the proceedings of France, in this matter. The non-signature of the Vienna note had been the fault of the allies, not of the Turkish government, because, if it had been threatened with the withdrawal of the fleet from Besika Bay, the Porte would immediately have signed it. We were going to war because we insisted upon Turkey refusing to do that by a note to Russia which we intended to ask her to do for ourselves, viz: to give us a guarantee for the better treatment of the Christians. The vast majority of the population in the Ottoman Empire was looking with eagerness to the success of that very policy which Russia was now prosecuting (as now exemplified in Moldo-Wallachia). From the Blue Books themselves he could show that the evils and oppressions under which that Christian population lived, could not be tolerated—referring principally to dispatches of Lord Clarendon, ostensibly written with the view to make out a case for the Czar. In one of these dispatches Lord Clarendon writes:

"The Porte must decide between the maintenance of an erroneous religious principle, and the loss of the sympathy and support of its allies."[a]

Mr. Cobden was therefore enabled to ask:

"Whether the House did think it possible that a population like the fanatical Mussulman population of Turkey would abandon its religion? And without total abandonment of the law of the *Koran*, it was absolutely impossible to put the Christians of Turkey upon an equality with the Turks."

We may as well ask Mr. Cobden whether with the existing State Church and laws of England, it is possible to put her working-men upon equality with the Cobdens and the Brights? Mr. Cobden proceeded then with a view to show from the letters of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and the British Consular agents, that there reigns a general dissatisfaction through the Christian population in Turkey threatening to end in a general insurrection. Now, let us again ask Mr. Cobden whether there does not exist a general dissatisfaction with their governments and their ruling classes, among all peoples of Europe, which discontent soon threatens to terminate with a general revolution? If Germany, Italy, France or even Great Britain had been invaded, like Turkey, by a foreign army, hostile to their governments and appealing to their insurrectionary passions, would any of these countries have as long remained quiet as the Christian population of Turkey have done?

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[a] The Earl of Clarendon to Stratford de Redcliffe, June 24, 1853, *The Times*, No. 21670, February 21, 1854.—*Ed.*

In entering upon a war in defense of Turkey, Mr. Cobden concludes, England would be fighting for the domination of the Ottoman population of Turkey and against the interest of the great body of the people of that country. This is merely a religious question between the Russian army on the one side and the Turkish on the other. The British interests were all on the side of Russia. The extent of their trade with Russia was enormous. If the export trade to Russia amounted to only £2,000,000, this was but the transitory result from Russia still laboring under the Protectionist delusion. However their imports from Russia amounted to £13,000,000. With the exception of the United States, there was no one foreign country with which their trade was so important as with Russia. If England was going to war, why were they sending land forces to Turkey, instead of exclusively using their navy? If the time had come for the contest between Cossackism and Republicanism, why were Prussia, Austria, the rest of the German States, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark remaining neutral, while France and England had to fight single-handed? If this were a question of European importance, was it not to be supposed that those who were nearest to the danger would be the first to fight? Mr. Cobden concluded by declaring that "he was opposed to the war with Russia." He thought "the best thing was to fall back upon the Vienna note."

Lord John Manners considered that the Government were to blame for their supineness and false security. The communications originally made by Lord Clarendon to the governments of Russia, France and Turkey, in which, instead of acting in accordance with France, Lord Clarendon persisted in refusing so to cooperate, and made known to the government of Russia that England would not cooperate with France, had induced the Emperor of Russia to give Prince Menchikoff the orders which led to the whole catastrophe.[a] It was no wonder that when England at last announced her intention to interfere actually at Constantinople, the government of France should entertain some doubt as to the sincerity of Her Majesty's Government. It was not England that advised the Porte to reject Prince Menchikoff's *ultimatum*, but, on the contrary, the Ministers of the Sultan[b] acted upon their own responsibility, and without any hope of the assistance of England. After the occupation of the Principalities by the Russians, the prolonged

[a] On Menshikov's mission see Marx's article "Affairs in Holland.—Denmark.—Conversion of the British Debt.—India, Turkey and Russia" (present edition, Vol. 12).—*Ed.*

[b] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*

diplomatic negotiations of the British government had been very prejudicial to the interests of Turkey, and very serviceable to those of Russia. Russia had taken possession of the Principalities without a declaration of war, in order to prevent those treaties which were her real instruments of oppression toward Turkey from falling to the ground. Consequently, after Turkey had declared war, it was not wise to insist upon the renewal of these treaties as a basis of negotiation. The main question really in hand now was, what were the objects which the Government contemplated in entering upon this tremendous struggle? It was generally announced that the honor and the independence of Turkey were to be maintained; but it was essential that there should be some understanding of a far more specific nature as to what was meant by this announcement.

Mr. Horsman endeavored to refute the fallacies propounded by Mr. Cobden. The real question was not what Turkey is, but what Russia would become with Turkey absorbed in her dominions—a question whether the Emperor was to be Emperor also of Turkey? With Russia there was but one object recognized, the advancement of the political power by war. Her aim was territorial aggrandizement. From the monstrous mendacity of the first step taken in this matter by the Russian Autocrat, down to the atrocious massacre of Sinope, his course had been one of ferocity and fraud, of crimes that would be conspicuous even in the annals of Russia, a country whose history was all crime, and which were rendered still more fearful by that blasphemy which dared to invoke the Christianity whose laws it so flagrantly violated. On the other hand, the conduct of the intended victim had been admirable. Mr. Horsman then took great pains to excuse the oscillating course of the government by the difficulties which they found their position surrounded with. Hence their diplomatic hesitation. If all the Cabinets of Europe, if the most experienced diplomatists had been engaged in opposition to the Autocrat, it would have been impossible to place him in a position of greater difficulty and embarrassment and from which he could not extricate himself without difficulty and loss, than that in which either by the blunders of our own Ministers or the adroitness of his own, he was now placed. Six months ago the Emperor Nicholas was the chief supporter of the order and legitimacy of Europe; now he stood forward, unmasked as the greatest revolutionist. Foiled in his political intrigues, unsuccessful in the war in Asia, and well thrashed by the Turks on the Danube, the Czar had really shown an alacrity in sinking which was quite refreshing. It was now the

duty of the government, if hostilities should commence, to take care not to secure peace except upon such terms as would involve ample and certain security against any future repetition of similar aggression. He trusted that one of the conditions for the restoration of peace would be that Russia should indemnify Turkey for the expenses to which she had been put, and that Turkey should receive, as a material guarantee, the restoration of territories of which she had been deprived.

Mr. Drummond believed that we are going to engage in a religious war, and are about to enter into another crusade for the tomb of Godfrey of Bouillon, which is already so broken that it cannot be sat upon. It appears that the author of the mischief from the very beginning has been the Pope.[a] England had not the least interest in the Turkish question, and a war between this country and Russia could not be brought to a successful termination, because they will fight each other for ever and never do each other any harm.

"All that you will gain in the present war will be hard knocks."

Mr. Cobden had some time ago offered to crumple Russia up, and if he would do so now it would save them a world of trouble. In fact, the present dispute was, whether the milliners should come from Paris or from St. Petersburg to dress the idols of the Holy Sepulchre. They had now found out that Turkey was their ancient ally, and quite necessary to the balance of power of Europe. How in the world did it happen that they never found that out before they took the whole kingdom of Greece from her, and before they fought the battle of Navarino,[15] which he remembered Lord St. Helens having described as a capital battle, only that they knocked down the wrong men. How came they not to think of this when the Russians passed the Balkans and when they might have given Turkey effectual aid by their fleet? But now, after they had reduced the Ottoman Empire to the last stage of decrepitude, they thought to be able to uphold this tottering power on the pretense of the balance of power. After some sarcastic remarks on the sudden enthusiasm for Bonaparte, Mr. Drummond asked who was to be Minister of War? All of them had seen enough to show them that there was a feeble hand at the helm. He did not believe that the character of any general or of any admiral was safe in the hands of the present Administration. They were capable of sacrificing either to please any faction in the

[a] Pius IX.—*Ed.*

House. If they were determined to go to war, they must strike their blow at the heart of Russia, and not go wasting their shots in the Black Sea. They must begin by proclaiming the reestablishment of the kingdom of Poland. Above all, he wanted to be informed what the government was about.

"The head of the government,"[a] said Mr. Drummond, "prides himself on his powers of concealment, and stated in another place that he should like to see any one extract information from him which he was not inclined to afford. That statement reminded him of a story which he heard once in Scotland—a Highlandman had gone to India, and on his return to England brought home a parrot as a present to his wife, which talked remarkably well. A neighbor, not wishing to be outdone, went to Edinburgh and brought his wife home a large owl. On its being remarked to him that the owl could never be taught to speak: 'Very true,' he replied; 'but consider the power o' thocht he has in him.'"

Mr. Butt stated that this was the first time since the revolution that a Ministry had come down to the House and asked for a war supply without stating distinctly and fully the grounds for such a proposition. In the legal sense of the word, they were not yet at war, and the House had a right to know, on voting these supplies, what was delaying the declaration of war against Russia? In what an equivocal position was their fleet at the Black Sea put! Admiral Dundas had orders to send back Russian vessels to a Russian port, and if, in the execution of these orders, he destroyed a Russian ship, while being at peace with Russia, were Ministers prepared to justify such a state of things? He hoped it would be explained whether assistance was to be given upon those humiliating terms—that Turkey was to place herself in the hands of England and France in making peace with Russia? If that was to be the policy of England, then Parliament was now called upon to vote an additional force, not for the independence of Turkey, but for her subjugation. Mr. Butt betrayed some doubt whether Ministers were not merely making a parade of those military preparations for the purpose of arriving at a dishonorable peace.

Mr. S. Herbert, the Minister of War, made the most vulgar and silly speech that could possibly be expected even from a Coalition[16] Minister at such a momentous crisis. The government was placed between two fires, and they could not find any means of ascertaining what opinion the House itself really entertained upon the question. The honorable gentlemen opposite had the advantage of coming to facts; they were criticising the past; but the Government had no facts to deal with—they had only to

[a] Lord Aberdeen.—*Ed.*

speculate as to the future. They were inclined to embark in this war not so much for the purpose of defending Turkey as of opposing Russia. This was all the information the House could get from poor Mr. Herbert, "as to the future." But no; he told them something very new.

"Mr. Cobden is," according to Mr. Herbert, "the representative of the feeling of the largest class of the people of this country."

This assertion being denied in all parts of the House, Mr. Herbert proceeds to state:

"If not the largest class, the honorable member was a representative, at any rate, of *a great portion of the working classes* of this country."

Poor Mr. Herbert. It was quite refreshing to see Mr. Disraeli rise after him, and thus to have the babbler supplanted by a real debater.

Mr. Disraeli, alluding to the theatrical declamations with which Lord John Russell had terminated his speech on Friday evening, commenced with this statement:

"I have always been of opinion that any nation, and this one in particular, would be much more prepared and much more willing to bear the burdens which a state of warfare must induce and occasion, if they really knew for what they were going to war; than if they should be hurried into a contest by inflammatory appeals to the passions, and be carried away by an excitement which at the first moment might be convenient to a Minister, but which in a few months after would be followed by the inevitable reaction of ignorance, or perhaps ignorance and disaster combined."

Thus it had been with the war of 1828-29, when they took part on the side of Russia and not on that of Turkey. The present perplexed position and the recent prostrate condition of Turkey, were entirely to be ascribed to the events of that war, in which England and France were united against Turkey. At that time there was not a member of the House who really had any idea why they went to war, or what was the object they intended to accomplish, when they leveled a blow at the power of Turkey. Therefore they must clearly comprehend the cause and the object of the present war. This knowledge was only to be obtained from the Blue Books. What had been the origin of the present state of affairs they must learn from the words written in these very dispatches lying on the table. The policy there developed was preparing that future which, according to Ministers, alone was to absorb their attention. He protested, therefore, against the doctrine of Sir James Graham. Mr. Herbert had just protested

against the reading of isolated pages from those dispatches. He however could not promise to read these Blue Books through to the House; yet if they admitted the validity of the right honorable gentleman's objection, this would seem to be the only course open to him. It was the received opinion of all that were well acquainted with the Eastern question, and his own opinion, that Russia had no intention whatever of forcibly conquering the Ottoman Empire; but that, by adroit policy and by improved means, she intended to obtain and to exercise such an influence over the Christian population of the Turkish Empire, that she would obtain all that authority which would have been the result of her possessing, perhaps, the seat of the Sultan's empire. At the outset of these negotiations Count Nesselrode himself, in his dispatches dated January, 1853, and June, 1853, distinctly and explicitly described the policy of Russia.[a] Ascendancy to be obtained over the Turkish Empire by exercising a peculiar influence over 12,000,000, who compose the large majority of the Sultan's subjects. By the Russian dispatches addressed to the British Government, not merely is that policy defined, but the British Government is no less candidly informed of the mode by which it is to be accomplished—not by conquest, but by maintaining treaties that exist, and by extending the spirit of those treaties. Thus, from the very beginning of this important controversy, the base of the diplomatic campaign was found in a treaty—the treaty of Kainardji.[17] By that treaty the Christian subjects of the Porte are placed under the especial protection of the Sultan; and Russia, in interpreting that treaty, states that the Christian subjects of the Sultan are placed specially under the protection of the Czar. Under the same treaty representations may be made by Russia in favor of her new church—a building in the street called Bey Oglu—the Russian interpretation of that article of the treaty is, that Russia has the power of interfering in favor of every church of the Greek denomination, and, of course, in favor of all the communities of that faith in the Sultan's dominions, who happen to be the large majority of his subjects. This was the avowed Russian interpretation of the treaty of Kainardji. On the other hand they might see, from a dispatch of the 8th of January, 1853,

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[a] The reference is to the dispatches of Count Nesselrode to the Russian envoy in England Baron Brunnow dated January 14 and June 1, 1853; they were communicated to the British Foreign Secretaries: Russell on January 24, and Clarendon, his successor, on June 8, 1853. The text of the dispatches was published in *Correspondence...*, Part I, pp. 61-65 and 238-45.—*Ed.*

from Sir Hamilton Seymour, that Count Nesselrode informed Sir Hamilton, who informed Lord Clarendon,

"that it was necessary that the diplomacy of Russia should be supported by a demonstration of force."[a]

According to this same dispatch, Count Nesselrode's belief that this question would be brought to a satisfactory conclusion, rested upon the

"exertions which were to be made by Her Majesty's Ministers at Paris and Constantinople."

Russia, then, at once declared that the demonstration of force was only a demonstration; but that the object was to be peaceably attained by the exertions of the English Ministers at Paris and Constantinople.[b]

"Now, Sir," continued Mr. Disraeli, "I want to know, with that object expressed, with those means detailed, and with that diplomacy to deal with, how the Ministers encountered such a combination?"

It was unnecessary to touch on the question of the Holy Places. That was, in fact, soon settled at Constantinople. Even Count Nesselrode, at a very early period of these negotiations, expressed his surprise and satisfaction, and stated his acknowledgment of the conciliatory spirit of France. But all that time the forces of Russia were accumulating on the Turkish frontiers, and all that time Count Nesselrode was telling Lord Clarendon that his Government would ask an equivalent for the privileges which the Greek Church had lost at Jerusalem, but in the settlement of which his Government had not been disturbed. Even the mission of Prince Menchikoff was mentioned at that time, as proved by various dispatches from Sir Hamilton Seymour. Lord John Russell had told them the other night that the conduct of Count Nesselrode was fraudulent. On the other hand Lord John Russell confessed himself that Count Nesselrode kept saying that his Imperial master would ask an equivalent for the Greek Church; but on the other he complained that Count Nesselrode never told them what he wanted.

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[a] Here and below Marx quotes from Sir Hamilton Seymour's dispatch of January 8, 1853 according to Disraeli's speech published in *The Times*, No. 21670, February 21, 1854 which greatly differs from the text in *Correspondence...*, Part I, p. 57.—*Ed.*

[b] Lord Cowley and Stratford de Redcliffe.—*Ed.*

"Wicked Count Nesselrode! (Laughter.) Fraudulent duplicity of Russian statesmen! (Laughter.) Why could the noble Lord not find the information he wanted? Why is Sir Hamilton Seymour at St. Petersburg, if he is not to ask for the information that is desired?"

If Count Nesselrode never told him what he wanted, it was because the noble Lord never dared to ask. At this stage of the proceedings it was the duty of the Ministers to put categorical questions to the Cabinet of St. Petersburg. If they could not define what they wanted, then it was time to declare that the friendly offices of the British Government at Paris and Constantinople were to cease. When Lord John Russell had relinquished the seals of office, and was followed by Lord Clarendon, there was a different character in the diplomatic proceedings—a bias in favor of Russia. When Lord Clarendon was made Minister of Foreign Affairs he had to draw up instructions for Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the Queen's Embassador, repairing to the seat of action. Now what were these instructions? At the moment of her utmost need and her utmost exigency, Turkey is lectured about internal reform and commercial reform. It is intimated to her that the conduct of the Porte must be distinguished by the utmost moderation and prudence, viz: that it must comply with the demands of Russia. Meanwhile the government continued not to demand an explicit explanation of what was meant on the part of Russia. Prince Menchikoff arrived at Constantinople. After having received most agitating missives from Col. Rose, and warning dispatches from Sir Hamilton Seymour, Lord Clarendon in a letter to Lord Cowley, the British Embassador at Paris, denounced Colonel Rose's order in calling up the British fleet, regretted the order given to the French Admiral[a] to sail to the Greek waters, favoring France with contemptuous dogma,

"that a policy of suspicion is neither wise nor safe,"

and declared he placed full reliance on the Emperor of Russia's solemn assurances that he would uphold the Turkish Empire.[b] Then Lord Clarendon writes to his Embassador at Constantinople,[c] that he feels quite sure that the objects of Prince Menchikoff's mission,

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[a] Hamelin.—*Ed.*

[b] The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Cowley. March 22, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] This is obviously a mistake; the reference is to the letter of Lord Clarendon to the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, Sir Hamilton Seymour, dated March 23, 1853.—*Ed.*

"whatever they may be, do not expose to danger the authority of the Sultan, or the integrity of his dominions."

Aye! Lord Clarendon went out of his way to accuse their solitary ally in Europe, and stated that their only grounds for now apprehending embarrassment in the East, was the position for some time occupied by France with respect to the Holy Places. Accordingly Count Nesselrode complimented Lord Aberdeen upon the *beau rôle*[a] (translated in the Blue Book "*important role,*")[b] that he had played, by having left France "*isolée.*" On the 1st of April, Colonel Rose informed this country of the *secret* convention which Russia demanded from Turkey.[18] Only ten days after Lord Stratford arrived at Constantinople and confirmed everything that Colonel Rose had stated. After all this, on the 16th of May, Lord Clarendon writes to Sir H. Seymour,

"that the explanations offered by the Emperor of Russia," explanations not contained in the Blue Books, "had enabled them to disregard, instead of sharing, in the apprehensions which the proceedings of Prince Menchikoff, coupled with the military preparations in the south of Russia, had not unnaturally produced throughout Europe."

After this Count Nesselrode felt free to announce to Lord Clarendon, on the 20th of June, that they had occupied the Principalities. In that document Count Nesselrode states

"that the Emperor will occupy the Provinces as a deposit until satisfaction; that in acting as he has done, he has remained faithful to his declarations to the English Government; that in communicating with the Cabinet of London as to the military preparations coincident with the opening of negotiations, he did not conceal from it that the time might yet come when he should be obliged to have recourse to them, complimenting the English Government on the friendly intentions it had shown; contrasting its conduct with that of France, and laying all the blame of Prince Menchikoff's subsequent failures on Lord Stratford."[19]

After all this, on the 4th of July, Lord Clarendon writes a circular, in which he still hopes in the justice and moderation of the Emperor, referring to the Emperor's repeated declaration that he would respect the integrity of the Turkish Empire. On the 18th of July he writes to Lord Stratford, that

"France and England, if they set to work in earnest, might certainly cripple Russia, but Turkey meanwhile might be irretrievably ruined, and peaceful negotiations are the only course to pursue."[20]

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[a] Honourable role.—*Ed.*

[b] Count Nesselrode's dispatch to Brunnow dated April 7, 1853; its content was communicated to Lord Clarendon on April 15, 1853.—*Ed.*

Why? If that was a good argument then, it is a good argument now. Either the Government were influenced by a degree of confidence which assumed a morbid character of credulity, or they were influenced by connivance. The cause of the war had been the conduct of the negotiations during the last seven months upon the part of her Majesty's Government. If they had been influenced by credulity, Russia, by her perfidious conduct, may have precipitated a struggle which, perhaps, will be inevitable, and a struggle which might secure the independence of Europe, the safety of England, and the safety of civilization. If their conduct had been suggested by connivance, a timorous war, a vacillating war, a war with no results, or rather with the exact results which were originally intended. On the 25th of April Lord Clarendon had made the false statement in the House of Lords that the Menchikoff mission was to arrange disputes with respect to the Holy Places, although he knew the contrary to be true. Mr. Disraeli next briefly traced the history of the Vienna note to show the utter imbecility of the Ministry or their connivance with the Court of St. Petersburg. He came then to the third period, the period of the interval that took place between the failure of the Vienna note and the battle of Sinope. At that time Mr. Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, spoke in a public assembly in the most depreciating tone with respect to Turkey. And so did the semi-official papers. What changed the aspect and fortunes of Turkey, and gave a new tone to the Cabinet, was the energies of the Turks themselves. But no sooner was the battle of Oltenitza[21] fought than the policy of credulity, or the policy of connivance, was at its dirty work again. However, the slaughter of Sinope operated again in the favor of the Turks. The fleets were ordered to enter the Black Sea. But what did they do? Return to the Bosphorus! As to the future, Lord John Russell had been very vague in the description of the conditions of their alliance with France. Mr. Disraeli disclaimed confounding the maintenance of the balance of power with the maintenance of the present territorial distribution of Europe. The future of Italy mainly depended upon the appreciation of that truth.

After Mr. Disraeli's splendid speech, of which I have, of course, only given the outlines, Lord Palmerston rose and made a complete failure. He repeated part of the speech he had made at the close of the last session,[a] defended in a very inconclusive

[a] Lord Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on August 20, 1853. *The Times*, No. 21513, August 22, 1853.—*Ed.*

manner the ministerial policy, and was anxiously cautious not to drop one word of new information.

On the motion of Sir J. Graham certain votes for the Navy estimates were then agreed to without discussion.

After all, the most curious feature of these agitated debates is, that the House completely failed in wresting from the Ministers either a formal declaration of war with Russia, or a description of the objects for which they are to plunge into war. The House and the public know no more than they knew already. They have got no new information at all.

Written on February 21, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## [PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES OF FEBRUARY 22.-- POZZO DI BORGO'S DISPATCH.— THE POLICY OF THE WESTERN POWERS][22]

London, Friday, Feb. 24, 1854

A good deal of idle talk about Kossuth's "warlike preparations" and probable "movements" has infested the public press. Now I happen to know from a Polish officer, who is setting out for Constantinople, and consulted the ex-Governor about the course he should take, that Kossuth dissuaded him from leaving London, and expressed himself by no means favorable to the participation of Hungarian and Polish officers in the present Turkish war, because they must either enlist themselves under the banner of Czartoryski or abjure their Christian faith, the one step being contradictory to his policy and the other to his principles.[23]

So deep was the impression produced by Mr. Disraeli's masterly exposure of the Ministerial policy[a] that the Cabinet of all the talents[24] thought fit to make a posthumous attempt to burke him in a little comedy arranged between themselves and Mr. Hume, and performed in Wednesday morning's sitting of the Commons.[b] Lord Palmerston had concluded his lame reply to Mr. Disraeli's epigrammatic alternative of a morbid "credulity" or a treacherous "connivance" by appealing from faction to the impartial judgment of the country, and Mr. Hume was the man chosen to answer in the name of the country, just as Snug, the joiner, was chosen to play the lion's part in "the most cruel death of Pyramus and Thisbe."[c] Mr. Hume's whole Parliamentary life has been spent in making opposition pleasant, moving amendments, in order to withdraw

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[a] See this volume, pp. 19-25.—*Ed.*

[b] February 22, 1854. Speeches in the House of Commons were reported in *The Times*, No. 21672, February 23, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act I, Scene 2.—*Ed.*

them afterward—constituting, in fact, the so-called independent opposition, the rear-guard of every Whig Ministry, sure of coming forward to rescue it from danger whenever its own registered partisans may show any signs of vacillation. He is the great Parliamentary "extinguisher" par excellence. He is not only the oldest member of Parliament, but an independent member; and not only an independent, but a radical; and not only a radical, but the pedantic and notorious Cerberus of the public purse, with the mission of making pounds slip unnoticed by while picking quarrels about the fractional part of a farthing.

For the first time in his Parliamentary life, as he himself emphatically stated, Mr. Hume rose not to condemn, but to express his approval of the "Estimates." This extraordinary event, as he did not fail to remark himself, was the most incontestable proof that the Ministry had not in vain appealed to the sound judgment of the country from the unmerited slanders of faction, but had received a solemn acquittal from the charge of credulity and connivance. His arguments were characteristic. In order to rescue the Ministers from the alternative of credulity or connivance, he proved the credulity of the Ministers in their transactions with Russia. He had, then, understood the true sense of Lord Palmerston's appeal. All the Ministry asked for was the discharge from intentional treason. As to credulity, had not that excellent Sir James Graham already declared that "a generous mind is slow to suspect"?[a] Because the impending war was brought about by the Ministry's own diplomatic mismanagement, certainly it was a war of their own, and they, therefore, were, of all men, as Mr. Hume thought, the very men to carry it cunningly. The relative littleness of the proposed war estimates was, in Mr. Hume's opinion the most convincing proof of the greatness of the war intended. Lord Palmerston, of course, thanked Mr. Hume for the sentence Mr. Hume had pronounced in the name of the country, and, in compensation, favored his audience with his own doctrine of state papers, which papers, according to him, must never be laid before the House and the country, until matters are sufficiently embroiled to deprive their publication of any use whatever. Such was all the after-wit the coalition had to dispose of after due deliberation. Lord Palmerston, their manager, had not only to weaken the impression of their antagonist's speech, but to annihilate also his own theatrical appeal from the House to the country.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 12-13.—*Ed.*

On Tuesday night,[a] Mr. Horsfall, the Member for Liverpool, asked the question:

"Whether the treaties with foreign nations or the steps which Her Majesty's Government were prepared to take in the event of war were such as would effectually prevent privateers being fitted out in neutral ports to interfere with British shipping?"

The answer given by Lord Palmerston was:

"That the honorable gentleman and the House must feel that this was a question to which, in the present state of things, no explanatory answer could be given."

In quoting this answer of its master, *The Morning Post*, Palmerston's private *Moniteur*,[b] remarks:

"The noble Lord could have given no other answer (whatever knowledge the Government may possess on the subject) without entering upon the discussion of a most delicate and difficult topic, which may, at the present moment, form the subject of negotiations, and which, to be brought to a satisfactory issue, should be left to the spontaneous sense of justice of those powers who have no desire to revive in this civilized age a system of legalized piracy."[c]

On the one hand, the Palmerston organ declares the "difficult topic" to form the subject of pending negotiations, and on the other, the necessity of leaving it to the "spontaneous sense of justice" of the interested powers. If the much boasted treaty of neutrality with Denmark and Sweden[25] was not dictated by the St. Petersburg Cabinet, it must, of course, have forbidden privateers being fitted out in their ports; but, in fact, the whole question can only be understood to refer to the United States of America, as the Baltic is to be occupied by English line-of-battle ships, and Holland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, and the Italian ports on the Mediterranean, are completely in the hands of England and France. Now, what is the opinion of the St. Petersburg Cabinet as to the part to be performed by the United States in the case the Turkish war should lead to a war between England and Russia? We may answer this question authentically from a dispatch addressed by Pozzo di Borgo to Count Nesselrode in the autumn of 1825.[26] At that time Russia had resolved upon invading Turkey. As now she proposed to begin by a pacific occupation of the Principalities.

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[a] February 21, 1854. Mr. Horsfall's question and Lord Palmerston's reply are quoted according to *The Times*, No. 21671, February 22, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Official organ.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Morning Post*, No. 25016, February 23, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

"In supposing the adoption of this plan," says Pozzo di Borgo, "it would be requisite to enter into explanations with the Porte in the most measured terms, and to assure it that if it did not wish to precipitate itself into a war, the Emperor was willing to terminate these differences by conciliation."

After having enumerated all the steps they would be obliged to take, Pozzo di Borgo continues as follows:

"*It would be advisable to communicate all these acts to the United States of America as an evidence of the regard of the Imperial Cabinet, and of the importance which it attaches to enlightening its opinion and even obtaining its suffrage.*"

In case of England's siding with Turkey and undertaking a war with Russia, Pozzo di Borgo remarks that

"in blockading our ports they (England) would exercise *their pretended maritime rights in respect to neutrals. This the United States would not suffer! thence would arise bitter dissensions and dangerous situations.*"

Now, as the Russian historian Karamzin justly remarks that "nothing changes in our (Russian) external policy",[27] we are justified in presuming that, at the present moment, and perhaps as long ago as February, 1853, Russia has "communicated all her acts to the United States," and done her best to cajole the Washington Cabinet into at least a neutral attitude. At the same time, in the case of a war with England, she bases her hopes upon eventual quarrels about the "maritime rights of the neutrals" producing "bitter dissensions and dangerous situations", and involving the United States in a more or less avowed alliance with St. Petersburg.

As I am quoting the most celebrated of Pozzo di Borgo's dispatches, I may as well cite the passage respecting Austria, the contents of which have certainly lost nothing of their actuality by the events that have passed since 1825, in Galicia, Italy, and Hungary.

"Our policy," says Pozzo, "commands that we shall show ourselves to this State under a terrible aspect, and by our preparations persuade it that, if it makes movements against us, *the fiercest of storms that it has yet to bear, will burst upon its head....* Either Prince Metternich will declare to the Turks that our entry into the Principalities is a resolution that they themselves have provoked, or he will throw himself *on other provinces of the Ottoman Empire* more to his convenience. In the first case we will be agreed, *in the second we will become so.* The only chance that we have to run is that of an open declaration against us.... If Prince Metternich is wise he will avoid war; if he is violent, *he will be punished.* With a ministry placed in a situation such as his, a cabinet such as ours, will find in events a thousand ways of terminating differences."

Lord John's stump-oratory, the beating of big drums about English honor, the show of great moral indignation at Russian perfidy, the vision of England's floating batteries defiling along the walls of Sevastopol and Kronstadt, the tumult of arms and the ostentatious embarkation of troops, all these dramatic incidents quite bewilder the public understanding, and raise a mist before its eyes, which allowed it to see nothing save its own delusions. Can there exist a greater delusion than believing this Ministry, after the revelations made by the Blue Books, to have been all at once transformed not only into a warlike Ministry, but into a Ministry that could undertake any war against Russia except a simulated one, or one carried on in the very interest of the enemy against whom it is ostensibly directed? Let us look at the circumstances under which the warlike preparations are made.

No formal declaration of war is made against Russia. The very object of the war the Ministry is not able to avow. Troops are embarked without the place of their destination being distinctly described. The estimates asked for are too small for a great war and too great for a small one. The coalition, who have grown notorious for ingenuity displayed in hatching pretexts for not keeping their most solemn promises and reasons for delaying the most urgent reforms, all at once feel themselves bound by overscrupulous adherence to pledges rashly given to complicate this momentous crisis by surprising the country with a new reform bill, deemed inopportune by the most ardent reformers, imposed by no pressure from without, and received on all sides with the utmost indifference and suspicion. What then can be their plan but to divert public attention from their external policy by getting up a subject of overwhelming domestic interest?

Transparent efforts are now made to misguide the public as to the situation of England in respect to foreign States. No binding treaty has yet been concluded with France, but a substitute has been provided by "notes exchanged." Now, such notes were exchanged in 1839, with the cabinet of Louis Philippe, by virtue of which the allied fleets were to enter the Dardanelles, and to arrest the intervention of Russia in the affairs of the East, either singly or collectively with other powers, and we all know what came out of the notes exchanged then—a Holy Alliance against France and the Treaty of the Dardanelles.[28] The sincerity and the earnestness of the Anglo-French alliance may be inferred from a Parliamentary incident in yesterday's sitting of the Commons. Bonaparte, as you have seen in the *Moniteur*, threatens the Greek insurrection-

ists,[a] and has sent a similar remonstrance to the Government of King Otto. Sir J. Walsh having interrogated the Ministry on this point, Lord John Russell declared that

"he was aware of no understanding between the French and English Governments in the matter alluded to, and had not been able to see the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the subject. His impression was, however, that no such remonstrance had been sent by the Government of France, and certainly not with the consent of, or in concert with, the Government of this country."[b]

If the British Government intend a real war with Russia why do they anxiously eschew the international forms of declaring war? If they intend a real alliance with France, why do they studiously shun the legalized forms of international alliances? As to the German powers, Sir James Graham declares that they have entered an alliance with England, and Lord John Russell on the same evening contradicts him, stating that the relations with those powers are in fact the same as at the beginning of the Eastern complication.[29] According to the very statement of the ministers, they are just now about coming to terms with Turkey and proposing a treaty with her. They are embarking troops, with a view to occupying Constantinople, without having beforehand concluded a treaty with Turkey. We are, then, not to be surprised at learning from a Constantinople letter that a secret agent of the Porte has been sent from Vienna to St. Petersburg to propose to the Czar a private settlement.

"It would be rational," says the correspondent, "that the Turks, after discovering the treachery and folly of their pretended friends, should seek to avenge themselves by contracting an alliance with a wise enemy. The terms of settlement, the former are endeavoring to settle on Turkey, are ten times more ruinous than the Menchikoff claims."[30]

The prospect of what the embarked troops are intended to do, at least in the opinion of the English Ministry, may be justly inferred from what the united squadrons have done and are doing at the present moment. Twenty days after having entered the Black Sea they return to the Bosphorus. A few days previous, we are informed,

"the Ministers of the Porte, out of deference for the remonstrances of the British Embassador, had to put in prison the editor of the Greek journal, *The Telegraph of the Bosphorus*,[c] for having said in his paper that both the English and

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[a] Review of Current Events. February 21. *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 53, February 22, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Lord John Russell's speech in the House of Commons of February 23, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21673, February 24, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] *Télégraphe du Bosphore.—Ed.*

French fleets would shortly return from the Euxine to the Bosphorus. The Editor of the *Journal de Constantinople* was authorized to declare that both fleets were to continue their stay in the Euxine."

In order to show his deference for the intimation received from the British and French Admirals,[a] the Russian Admiral on the 19th ult. sent out two steamers to bombard the Turks at Shefketil, and Russian steamers cruise in sight of Trebizond, while no vessels belonging to the united squadrons are in the Black Sea, except an English and a French steamer, off Sevastopol; Sinope, then, and the bombardment of Shefketil by Russian steamers, are the only feats the united squadrons have to boast of. The quarrel between the Embassadors and the Admirals all relations between whom have come to a dead stand—Lord Stratford de Redcliffe refusing to receive Admiral Dundas and Baraguay d'Hilliers excluding from a state ball the French Admiral and his officers—this quarrel is of minor importance, as the diplomatic triflers being compromised by the publication of their dispatches at London and Paris, may strive to rescue, at any risk of ships and crews, their lost reputation.

But the serious side of the question is, that the public instructions given to the Embassadors were countermanded by a set of secret instructions forwarded to the Admirals, and that the latter are really incapable of executing instructions which are self-contradictory—and how could they be otherwise, no declaration of war having preceded them? On the one hand they are ordered to attack Russian ships in order to enforce their withdrawal from the Euxine to Sevastopol, and on the other, not to swerve from the mere *defensive*. Lastly, if a serious war be intended, how could the British Embassador at Constantinople have regarded it as an important triumph to have got the leader of the war party in the Turkish ministry—Mehemet Ali Pasha—turned out of his office as war Minister, having him replaced by the peace-mongering Riza Pasha, while he intrusted Mehemet Pasha, a creature of Reshid Pasha, with the office of Grand Admiral?

Now look at another most important point. The embarkation of the British and French troops is only proceeded with after the news of a Greek insurrection having broken out in Albania, and being spread over Thessaly and Macedonia,[31] has reached London and Paris. This insurrection was from the first anxiously waited for on the part of the English Cabinet, as is proved by the

[a] Dundas and Hamelin.—*Ed.*

dispatches of Russell, Clarendon and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.[32] It gives them the best occasion to interfere between the Sultan and his own Christian subjects on the plea of interfering between the Russians and the Turks. From the moment that the Latins interfere with the Greeks (I use this word here only in the religious sense) you may be sure of a concert becoming established between 11,000,000 inhabitants of European Turkey and the Czar, who will then really appear as their religious protector. There exists no polemical schism between the Mussulmans and their Greek subjects, but the religious animosity against the Latins may be said to form the only common bond between the different races inhabiting Turkey and professing the Greek creed. In this respect things have not changed since the period when Mohammed II laid siege to Constantinople, when the Greek Admiral Lucas Notaras, the most influential man in the Byzantine Empire, publicly declared that he would prefer seeing the Turkish turban triumphant in the capital rather than the Latin hat, while on the other hand there was a Hungarian prophecy afloat that the Christians would never be fortunate till the damned heretical Greeks should be extirpated and Constantinople destroyed by the Turks. Any interference, then, on the part of the Western powers, between the Sultan and his Greek subjects, must favor the plans of the Czar. A similar result will be brought about should Austria, as she did in 1791,[33] undertake to occupy Servia on the pretext of thwarting the treasonable designs of the Russian party in that Principality. Let me add that it is rumored at London that the insurged Epirates were supported and joined by Greeks from the Ionian Islands, who had not been checked by the English authorities, and that the news of the Greek insurrection was announced by *The Times*, the coalition organ, in Saturday's number, as a most opportune event.[a]

I, for my part, have no doubt at all that treachery lurks behind the clamorous war preparations of the coalition. Bonaparte is of course in good earnest in embarking in the war. He has no alternative left but revolution at home or war abroad. He cannot any longer continue, as he does, to couple the cruel despotism of Napoleon I with the corrupt peace policy of Louis Philippe. He must stop sending new batches of prisoners to Cayenne, if he dare not simultaneously send French armies beyond the frontiers. But the conflict between the avowed intentions of Bonaparte and the secret plans of the coalition can only contribute to further

[a] *The Times*, No. 21668, February 18, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

embroil matters. What I conclude from all this is, not that there will be no war, but, on the contrary, that it will assume such terrible and revolutionary dimensions as are not even suspected by the little men of the coalition. Their very perfidy is the means of transforming a local conflict into a European conflagration.

Even if the British Ministry were as sincere as they are false, their intervention could not but accelerate the downfall of the Ottoman Empire. They cannot interfere without demanding pledges for the Christian subjects of the Porte, and these pledges they cannot wrest from it without dooming it to ruin. Even the Constantinople correspondent I quoted before, and who is an avowed Turkophile, cannot but own that

> "the proposal of the Western Powers to put all the subjects of the Porte on a perfect footing of civil and religious equality, will lead at once to anarchy, intestine warfare, and a final and speedy overthrow of the empire."

Written on February 24, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## [ENGLISH AND FRENCH WAR PLANS.— GREEK INSURRECTION.—SPAIN.—CHINA][34]

London, Friday, March 3, 1854

In my last letter I mentioned that Sir Charles Napier owed his appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the Baltic fleet to his public expression of mistrust in the French alliance; to his accusing France of having betrayed England in 1840, while in fact the English Government at that time conspired with Nicholas against Louis Philippe.[35] I ought to have added that the second Admiral in the Black Sea, Sir Edmund Lyons, during his stay in Greece as English Minister, showed himself the avowed enemy of France, and was removed from that office on the representations of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. Thus in the ministerial appointments the greatest possible care is taken to insure a crop of misintelligence, not only between the French and English commanders, but also between the Admirals and the English Embassador at Constantinople.

These facts are not denied and certainly not refuted by Bonaparte's congratulating himself, in the opening speech he addressed to his own representatives, upon his close alliance with England. The *entente cordiale* is certainly somewhat older than the restoration of the Imperial etiquette.[a] The most remarkable passage in Bonaparte's speech is neither this reminiscence from Louis Philippe's harangues, nor his denunciation of the Czar's ambitious plans, but rather his proclaiming himself the protector of Germany, and especially of Austria, against the foe from without and the enemy from within.[36]

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[a] The reference is to the restoration of the Empire in France on December 2, 1852.—*Ed.*

The ratifications of the treaty entered into by the Porte with the Western Powers, containing the clause that it was not to conclude peace with Russia without their concurrence,[37] had hardly been exchanged at Constantinople on the 5th inst., when negotiations relative to the future position of the Christians in Turkey were also opened between the representatives of the four Powers and the Porte. The real end aimed at in these negotiations is betrayed in the following passage from Wednesday's *Times*:

"The condition of several parts of the Turkish Empire which have already obtained by firmans and treaties the complete internal administration of their affairs, while they continue to recognize the sovereignty of the Porte, is a precedent which may be extended without prejudice to either side, and which would perhaps afford the best means of providing for the Provinces in their present state."[a]

In other words the Coalition Cabinet intends securing the integrity of the Turkish Empire in Europe by the transformation of Bosnia, Croatia, Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Albania, Rumelia and Thessaly into so many Danubian Principalities. The acceptance on the part of the Porte of these conditions must infallibly lead, if the Turkish armies prove victorious, to a civil war among the Turks themselves.

It is now ascertained that the discovery of the conspiracy at Vidin[38] only hastened the Greek explosion, which at Bucharest was considered as an accomplished fact before it had broken out. The Pasha of Scutari is concentrating all his troops with a view to prevent the Montenegrins from joining the insurgent Greeks.

The Anglo-French expedition may be set down, as far as the *present* intentions of the British Government go, as another piece of humbug. The landing places are fixed for the French at Rodosto, for the British at Enos. This latter town lies on a small peninsula at the entrance of a marshy bay, at the rear of which the extensive marshes of the valley of the Maritza, will no doubt greatly contribute to the salubrity of the camp. It lies *outside* not only of the Bosphorus, but of the Dardanelles also, and the troops, in order to get to the Black Sea, would have either to reembark and enjoy 250 miles round-about sail against the currents of the Straits, or to march through a roadless country for the distance of 160 miles, a march which no doubt could be completed in a fortnight. The French are at Rodosto, at least on the sea of Marmora, and only a week's march from Constantinople.

But what are the troops to do in this inexplicable position? Why, they are either to march upon Adrianople, there to cover

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21677, March 1, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

the capital, or in the worst case, to unite at the neck of the Thracian Chersonesus, to defend the Dardanelles. So says *The Times*, "by authority," and even quotes Marshal Marmont's strategic observations in support of the wisdom of the plan.[a]

One hundred thousand French and English troops to defend a capital which is not menaced, which cannot possibly be menaced for the next twelvemonth! Why, they might as well have stopped at home.

This plan, if it is to be carried out, is decidedly the worst that can be devised. It is based upon the very worst sort of defensive warfare, viz: that which seeks strength in absolute inactivity. Supposing the expedition was to be of a mainly defensive character, it is evident that this object would be best obtained by enabling the Turks, based upon such a reserve, to pass into the offensive, or else, by taking up a position in which a casual and partial offensive, where opportunities offer, could be taken. But at Enos and Rodosto the French and British troops are entirely useless.

The worst of it is, that an army of 100,000 men, with plenty of steam transports, and supported by a fleet of twenty sail of the line, is in itself a force competent to take the most decided offensive action in any part of the Black Sea. Such a force must either take the Crimea and Sevastopol, Odessa and Kherson, close the Sea of Azov, destroy the Russian forts on the Caucasian coasts, and bring the Russian fleet safe into the Bosphorus, or it has no idea of its strength and its duty as an active army. It is affirmed on the part of the Ministerial partisans that, when the 100,000 men are once concentrated in Turkey, such operations may be undertaken, and that the landing of the first divisions at Enos and Rodosto is merely contrived to deceive the enemy. But even in this case it is an unnecessary loss of time and expense not to land the troops at once on some point on the Black Sea. The enemy cannot be misled. As soon as the Emperor Nicholas hears of this pompously announced expedition of 100,000 men, he is bound to send every soldier he can spare to Sevastopol, Kaffa, Perekop and Yenicale. You cannot first frighten your enemy by enormous armaments, and then try to make him believe that they are not intended to do any harm. The trick would be too shallow; and if it is expected to mislead the Russians by such paltry pretexts, British diplomacy has made another egregious blunder.

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21673, February 24, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

I, therefore, believe that those who have planned the expedition intend betraying the Sultan[a] directly, and, on the plea of frightening Russia as much as possible, will take good care to do her by all means the least possible harm.

England and France occupying Constantinople and part of Rumelia; Austria occupying Servia, and perhaps Bosnia and Montenegro, and Russia being allowed to reenforce herself in Moldo-Wallachia,—this looks like an eventual partition of Turkey in Europe rather than anything else. Turkey is placed in worse circumstances than in 1772, when the King of Prussia,[b] in order to induce the Empress Catherine to retire from the Danubian Principalities, the occupation of which threatened to lead to a European conflict, proposed the first partition of Poland, which was to defray the expenses of the Russo-Turkish war. Be it remembered that, at that time, the Porte originally rushed into the war with Catherine with the view of defending Poland from Prussian aggression, and that, at the end, Poland was sacrificed at the shrine of the "independence and integrity" of the Ottoman Empire.

The treacherous policy of procrastination pursued by the Coalition Cabinet has given the Muscovite emissaries the opportunity for planning and maturing the Greek insurrection, so anxiously expected by Lord Clarendon. The insurrection had commenced on the 28th January and according to the last dispatches from Vienna assumed more threatening dimensions on the 13th inst. The districts of Acarnania and Aetolia, and circles of Ilussa and Delonia are said to be in a state of revolt. An insurrection is stated to have broken out at Egrippo, the capital of Euböa, equal in gravity to that in Albania. The fact of the towns of Arta and Yannina being quitted by the Turks and occupied by the Greeks is of smaller importance, as the domineering citadels remain in the hand of Ottoman troops and as we know, from the numerous wars carried on between the Christians and the Turks in Albania, the final possession of these towns depended always on the possession of the citadels. The Gulfs of Contessa and Salonica and the coasts of Albania will be declared in a state of siege. I stated in my last letter[c] that one of the results of the Greek insurrection the most to be apprehended on the part of the Porte,

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[a] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*
[b] Frederick II.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, p. 33.—*Ed.*

would be the opportunity it afforded the Western Powers for interfering between the Sultan and his subjects, instead of fighting the Russians, and thus driving the Greek Christians into alliance with the Czar. How eager these Powers are to grasp at this opportunity may be inferred from the fact of the same post bringing the news of the Porte having accepted the convention proposed by England and France, and of the French and English Embassadors having sent two steamers to the assistance of the Turks, while the British minister at Athens[a] had informed the Cabinet of King Otto that England would interfere in the insurged districts. The immediate result of the insurrection, from a military point of view, is clearly described by the Vienna correspondent[b] of to-day's *Times*, as follows:

"During the last few days a certain discouragement has been observable in headquarters at Vidin, the reenforcements which had been announced having received counter-orders, and being on their way to the south-western districts of Turkey. The news of the insurrection of the Christians in Epirus had produced an alarming effect on the Arnauts and Albanians on the Danube, who loudly demanded permission to return home. The Generals of Brigade, Hussein Bey and Soliman Pasha, had lost all their influence over their wild troops, and it was feared that if an attempt was made to detain them by force there would be an open mutiny; while if they were permitted to return, they would ravage the Christian districts on their way home. If the hostile movement of the Christian population in the West should assume more formidable dimensions, the west wing of the Turkish army would be obliged to make a retrograde movement, which would more than counterbalance the check which the Russians had received by the entry of the allied fleets into the Black Sea."[c]

These are some of the first results of that policy of procrastination so rhetorically praised by Graham, Russell, Clarendon and Palmerston in vindication of the ministerial management of Eastern affairs. As they were informed, late on last Friday night,[d] that the Czar, without having waited for the recall of Sir Hamilton Seymour, from England, had ordered him off, in the most abrupt and unceremonious manner, they held two Cabinet Councils, one on Saturday and the other on Sunday afternoon—the result of their consultations being to allow the Czar once more a delay of three or four weeks, which delay is to be granted under the form of a summons,

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[a] Thomas Wyse.—*Ed.*

[b] T. O'M. Bird.—*Ed.*

[c] Report from the Vienna correspondent of February 22. *The Times*, No. 21676, February 28, 1854.—*Ed.*

[d] February 24, 1854.—*Ed.*

"calling upon the Czar to give within six days from the receipt of that communication a solemn pledge and engagement that he will cause his troops to evacuate the Principalities of the Danube on or before the 30th of April."[a]

But mark that this summons is *not* followed with the menace of a *declaration of war* in case of a refusal on the part of the Czar. It may be said, and it is said, by *The Times*, that, notwithstanding this new delay granted, war preparations are actively pursued; but you will observe that on the one hand all decisive action of the Porte on the Danube is prevented by the prospect held out of the Western Powers being resolved upon directly participating in the war—and every day of delay in that quarter puts the Turks in a worse position, as it allows the Russians to reenforce themselves in the front, and the Greek rebels to grow more dangerous in the rear of the Danubian army; while, on the other hand, the embarkation of troops for Enos and Rodosto may embarrass the Sultan but will certainly not stop the Russians.

It has been settled that the British expeditionary force shall consist of about 30,000 and the French of about 80,000 men. Should it happen to appear, in the course of events, that Austria, while apparently joining the Western Powers, only proposed to mask her understanding with Russia, Bonaparte would have much to regret this most injudicious dispersion of his troops.

There is another insurrection which may be considered as a diversion made in favor of Russia—the insurrection in *Spain*. Any movement in Spain is sure to produce dissension between France and England. In 1823, the French intervention in Spain was, as we know from Chateaubriand's *Congress of Verona*,[b] instigated by Russia. That the Anglo-French intervention in 1834,[39] which finally broke up the *entente cordiale* between the two states, proceeded from the same source, we may infer from Palmerston having been its author. The "Spanish marriages"[40] prepared the way for the downfall of the Orleans dynasty. At the present moment, a dethronement of the "innocent" Isabella would allow a son of Louis Philippe, the Duke of Montpensier, to bring forward his claims on the throne of Spain; while, on the other hand, Bonaparte would be reminded of one of his uncles[c] having once resided at Madrid. The Orleans would be supported by the Coburgs, and resisted by the Bonapartes. A Spanish insurrection,

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21676, February 28, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

[b] Chateaubriand, *Congrès de Vérone. Guerre d'Espagne. Négociations. Colonies espagnoles.*—*Ed.*

[c] Joseph Bonaparte.—*Ed.*

then, which is far from meaning a popular revolution, must prove a most powerful agency in dissolving so superficial a combination as what is termed the Anglo-French alliance.

A treaty of alliance is said to have been concluded between Russia, Khiva, Bokhara and Cabul.[a]

As to Dost Mohammed, the Ameer of Cabul, it would be quite natural that after having proposed in 1838 to England to place forever a *feud of blood* between himself and Russia, if the English Government required it, by causing the agent dispatched to him by the Czar to be killed, and being renewed in 1839 on the part of England by the Afghan expedition, by his expulsion from the throne and by the most cruel and unscrupulous devastation of his country[41]—that Dost Mohammed should now endeavor to avenge himself upon his faithless ally. However, as the population of Khiva, Bokhara and Cabul, belong to the orthodox Mussulman faith of the Sunni, while the Persians adhere to the schismatic tenets of the Schii, it is not to be supposed that they will ally themselves with Russia, being the ally of the Persians, whom they detest and hate, against England, the ostensible ally of the Padishah[b], whom they regard as the supreme commander of the faithful.

There is some probability of Russia having an ally in Thibet and the Tartar[c] Emperor of China,[d] if the latter be forced to retire into Manchuria and to resign the sceptre of China proper. The Chinese rebels, as you know, have undertaken a regular crusade against Buddhism, destroying its temples and slaying its Banzes.[42] But the religion of the Tartars is Buddhism and Thibet, the seat of the great Lama, and recognizing the suzeraineté of China, is the sanctuary of the Buddhist faith. Tae-ping-wang,[e] if he succeed in driving the Mandshu dynasty out of China, will, therefore, have to enter a religious war with the Buddhist powers of Tartary. Now, as on both sides of the Himalayas Buddhism is confessed and as England cannot but support the new Chinese dynasty, the Czar is sure to side with the Tartar tribes, put them in motion against England and awake religious revolts in Nepal itself. By the last Oriental mails we are informed that

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[a] "India and China", *The Times*, No. 21676, February 28, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Here Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*

[c] Here Marx uses the term "Tartar", which in nineteenth-century West-European literature denoted Mongols, Manchurians and other Turkic tribes in Eastern Asia.—*Ed.*

[d] Hsien Fêng.—*Ed.*

[e] Hung Hsiu-ch'üan.—*Ed.*

"the Emperor of China, in anticipation of the loss of Pekin, had directed the governors of the various provinces to send the Imperial revenue to Getol, their old family seat and present summer residence in Manchuria, about 80 miles north-east of the Great Wall."[a]

The great religious war between the Chinese and the Tartars, which will spread over the Indian frontiers, may consequently be regarded as near at hand.

Written on February 28 and March 3, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

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[a] "India and China", *The Times*, No. 21676, February 28, 1854.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## AUSTRIAN BANKRUPTCY[43]

Notwithstanding the imminence of war and their pressing needs, the French and the Austrian Governments have not yet succeeded in strengthening the *nervus belli*,[a] namely, the money-power. Notwithstanding the Lucullian magnificence displayed in the dinners given by the French Minister of Finance[b] to the Receivers-General, the *Crédit Mobilier*,[44] and the principal bankers of Paris, those capitalists prove stubborn and cling to that discreet sort of patriotism, which, by exacting the greatest possible interest from the state, is wont to indemnify its private interests with the public ones. Thus the terms of the proposed French loan of two hundred million francs remain still unsettled.

As to Austria there can exist no doubt that one of principal motives which induce her to profess friendly feelings toward the Western Powers is the hope of thus reviving the confidence of moneyed men and getting out of her financial difficulties. Indeed, the official gazette at Vienna[c] had hardly uttered a few words about Austrian neutrality and good understanding with France, when it surprised the public with the announcement of an intended sale of a considerable portion of the six million acres of crown lands, and with a financial rescript, dated Feb. 23, 1854, to the effect that the whole of the State paper-money, 150,000,000 florins, now in circulation, and of compulsory currency, was to be transferred to the National Bank, and successively converted into

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[a] *Nervus belli*—the nerve of the war.—*Ed.*
[b] Bineau.—*Ed.*
[c] *Wiener Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

bank-notes,[a] at the expiration of which change all the paper issued by the treasury will be withdrawn from circulation, and no more State paper-money of a forced currency be issued. In making this change the Imperial Government is guarantee to the Bank for the paper-money transferred to it, and pledges itself to indemnify it for the expenses connected with that conversion; to pay, in extinction of the debt thus created, a yearly installment of at least 10,000,000 florins; to mortgage the customs' revenue as security for the regular payment of these installments, and to pay the Bank in specie in proportion as those duties are received. At the same time the Government is bound to do its best to enable the Bank to fulfill its obligations and resume specie payments. Meanwhile, in order to give the holders of bank-notes the means of changing their notes at pleasure into a debt bearing interest, payable in specie, the Bank undertakes to issue bonds bearing interest, to be in all respects on the same footing as State bonds or obligations. The Government will also call in what are known as Redemption notes and Anticipation notes, and put them entirely out of circulation.

The conversion of State paper of a forced course into inconvertible bank-notes will not reduce the amount nor ameliorate the quality, but only simplify the denominations of the paper-money issued. As the State is in the possession of the same means which it grants the Bank for the redemption of the paper-money, it would itself have made use of them if not fully aware that the want of confidence in itself was such as not to allow credit to be restored save by the help of a bank, which is not the property of the State. Thus the dependence of the Emperor[b] on the Jews of the Vienna Bank grows at the same pace as the military character of his Government. In January 1852, he mortgaged to them the salt-works of Gmünden, Aussee and Stallein. In February 1854, they obtain a lien on the customs' revenue of the whole monarchy. Step by step the Bank becomes the real and the Government merely the nominal owner of the Empire. The more Austria has resisted the demands of participation in political power on the part of the middle classes, the more she is forced to undergo the unmitigated despotism of one fraction of those classes—the money lenders.

The decree, of which we have above given the substance, disguises an attempt at a new loan under the form of aid tendered

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[a] Report from Vienna. *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 60, March 1, 1854.—*Ed.*
[b] Francis Joseph I.—*Ed.*

to the holders of bank-notes, in changing them into a debt bearing interest; the latter to be paid in specie. In 1852 the Government also pledged itself to meet in specie various minor payments and obligations, but as it received the taxes only in State paper-money or in bank-notes the Administration was forced to contract a loan of thirty-five million florins at London and Frankfort. The new loans, of course, augment the old deficits and the augmented deficits lead to new issues of paper-money, the superabundance and consequent depreciation of which they were intended to prevent. The broad distinction drawn on the part of the Government between payments in specie and payments in bank-notes is as good a means of rescuing the notes from their discredit as the augmentation of the circulating medium of the Bank by 150 millions is a means of enabling it to fulfill its engagements and resume cash payments. The Government will pay the Bank in specie in proportion as the customs duties are paid in the same, but it is well known that not only the Austrian peasants but even the citizens in the larger towns are as fond of hoarding as the Chinese and the Indians; that in 1850 sums were hoarded even in copper, and that in 1854 they are paying all taxes in paper, although it is only accepted with a discount of full seventeen per cent.

Those conversant with the past history of the Austrian Exchequer will fail in discovering any novelty either in respect to the promises held out in the new decree, or the financial devices resorted to. The first issue of Austrian paper-money took place under the Empress Maria Theresa, toward the end of the Seven Years' War. It consisted originally of Bank bills exchangeable by the State authorities for silver. In 1797, in consequence of the pecuniary difficulties of the Government in the wars against France, the convertibility into silver was abolished. The first issue under the Empress Maria Theresa having amounted to twelve million florins, the total sum of Bank bills issued in 1809 amounted to 1,060,793,653 florins, their reduction in value having at the same time reached its maximum. On the 20th of February, 1811, the Government published a patent[45] by which the Bank bills were altogether withdrawn from circulation and redeemed (hence the name Redemption notes) at the rate of 20 for 100 for a new paper called *Wiener Währung*.[a] The Government declared this to be the real money of the country, and promised that this new paper should never be increased beyond the amount necessary for

[a] Vienna currency.—*Ed.*

exchanging the Bank bills. In May 1811 the *Wiener Währung* was already at a discount of 8 per cent., and Anticipation notes were issued, so called because the proceeds of a part of the taxes for twelve years were anticipated by them. The first issue of Anticipation notes really amounted to only forty-five million florins, and for their redemption within twelve years an annual sum of 3,750,000 florins was destined to be taken from the land taxes.

But in consequence of the war, new issues of Anticipation notes quietly followed each other, each new issue being attended by a reduction of their value. In 1815 the premium for silver reached the hight of 400 per cent. against the *Wiener Währung*. On the first of June, 1816, an imperial patent appeared declaring that the State would in future never again have recourse to an inconvertible paper currency; that the paper-money in circulation should be gradually withdrawn and specie be restored as the standard medium of circulation. In order to fulfill these promises, the privileged National Bank was constituted definitively, January 18th, 1818, the State having made an arrangement with the Bank by which it pledged itself to redeem the inconvertible paper-money. As late as June, 1852, however, we find again the Finance Minister[a] announcing in the official gazette that, in future, compulsory loans, extraordinary taxation, depreciation of the value of money, would be absolutely excluded; if not exactly at present, yet in future, Austrian paper would be converted into coin without loss, and that the loan now contemplated would be applied to withdraw the State paper-money and for the payment of the State debts to the Bank. There can be no better proof of the hollowness of such promises than their periodical occurrence.

At the time of Maria Theresa the Austrian Government was powerful enough to issue its own Bank bills, exchangeable for specie, and even at a premium over silver. In 1818 the State, in order to redeem its paper-money, was obliged to recur to the establishment of a privileged bank, the property of private capitalists, who received advantages very burdensome to the State, but who were pledged to the issue of convertible notes. In 1854 the Government appeals to the help of a bank, whose own paper has become as depreciated and inconvertible as that of the State itself.

Although from 1815 to 1846 Austria enjoyed a period of almost uninterrupted peace and internal tranquility, the first shock after

[a] Baumgartner.—*Ed.*

that long period found her altogether unprepared. The insurrection at Cracow, and the disturbances in Galicia, at the end of February, 1846,[46] augmented the public expenditures by more than 10,000,000 compared with 1845. The army expenses were the principal cause of this increased outlay. They amounted to 50,624,120 florins, in 1845, but in 1846 rose 7,000,000 more, while the administrative expenses of the provinces rose 2,000,000. In 1847 the commercial crisis and the bad harvest produced a great diminution in the excise revenue, while the army [budget] rose to 64,000,000, chiefly in consequence of troubles in Italy. The deficit of that year was 7,000,000. In 1848-9 the revenue of whole provinces was lost, besides the war expenses in Italy and Hungary. In 1848 the deficit was 45,000,000 florins, and in 1849, 121,000,000. State paper of compulsory currency, to the sum of 76,000,000, Three-per-Cents, was issued in 1849. Long before this, the Bank had stopped specie payments, and its issues were declared by the Government to be inconvertible. In 1850 there was a deficit of 54,000,000, and the chances of a war with Prussia brought down the paper-money to a discount of 60 per cent. The total amount of State paper-money issued in the years 1849, '50 and '51 was 219,000,000. In 1852 the deficit was 8,000,000 more than in '49, and 46,000,000 more than in '47. In 1851 the war budget was 126,000,000, fully double what it was in '47. In '52 the police expenses were 9,000,000, fourfold greater than those of '48. Both police and war expenses also increased in 1853.

The real question, however, is not how Austria got into her financial *cul-de-sac,* but how, when thus immersed in bank paper and debt, she has avoided open bankruptcy. In 1850 her revenue amounted to one hundred and ninety-six millions more than in 1848; and to forty-two millions more than in 1849. In 1851 the receipts were two hundred and nineteen millions over those of 1850. In 1852 they reached two hundred and twenty-six millions, an increase of six millions over those of 1851. Thus there has been a continual increase of revenue although not in the same proportion in 1852 as in 1851, and in 1851 not in the same proportion as in 1850.

Whence this increase of revenue? Putting aside the extraordinary receipts from the Sardinian war indemnity and the Lombardo-Venetian confiscations, the transformation of the Austrian peasant into a landholder[47] has of course increased the tax-paying power of the country and the revenue derived from the land tax. At the same time the abolition of the patrimonial courts brought the income, which the aristocracy had formerly enjoyed from their

private administration of justice, into the coffers of the State, and this branch of revenue has been constantly increasing since 1849. Then a considerable increase arose from the income-tax, introduced by the patent of October 29, 1849. This tax has proved particularly productive in the Italian provinces of Austria. In 1852, for instance, the increase of the income-tax in the German and Slavonic provinces together amounted to six hundred and one million florins, while in the Italian provinces alone it was six hundred and thirty-nine. The principal cause, however, which has saved the Austrian Empire from a formal bankruptcy, is the subjugation of Hungary and her assimilation with the other provinces in respect to taxation.

The basis of the whole Austrian system of taxation may be said to be the land-tax. On the 23d Dec. 1817, appeared an imperial patent, in which the Emperor Francis announced his resolution to establish uniformity in the land-tax system all over his German, Slavonic and Italian provinces. In one paragraph of this patent it is ordered that no exemptions from the land-tax should in future "be made according to the personal quality of the possessors of estates or houses", and as a whole this view was acted upon. In the Archduchy of Austria, the new survey was introduced in 1834, and this was the first hereditary domain in which the new system was brought into operation. Austrian-Lombardy possessed an excellent survey from the time of Charles VI, the *Censimento Milanese.* Hungary and Transylvania, however, by no means contributed to the land-tax and other taxes, in the same degree with the other provinces of the Empire. According to the Hungarian Constitution, the Hungarian possessors of by far the greatest part of all the land were subject to no kind of direct tax, and even several of the indirect taxes imposed upon the other provinces pressed neither upon Hungary nor upon Transylvania. The population of Hungary, Transylvania and the Military Frontier[48] together amounted, in 1846, to 14,549,958; those of the other provinces of the Monarchy, to 24,901,675, so that the former should have contributed seven-eighteenths of the whole revenue. But Hungary and Transylvania in 1846 only contributed twenty-three millions, which, as the whole revenue in that year amounted to one hundred and sixty-four millions was only somewhat less than one-seventh of the revenue. The Hungarian provinces occupy 5,855 of the 12,123 German square miles, which form the area of the Austrian Monarchy; consequently one-half of its superficial extent.

The Emperor Joseph II, whose great aim was the centralization

and complete Germanization of the Austrian Monarchy, had arbitrarily introduced innovations in Hungary intended to place her on the same footing with the other provinces. But this produced such an effect on the public mind in that country that Joseph II, at the close of his life, feared that the Hungarians would rebel as the Netherlands had done.[49] The Emperors Leopold II, Francis I, and Ferdinand I did not dare to repeat the hazardous experiment. This cause—the impediments to an equalization of taxes existing in the Hungarian Constitution—ceased to work after the Hungarian revolution was quelled by Russian assistance. The Emperor Francis Joseph having never sworn to the Hungarian Constitution, and being made Emperor in the place of Ferdinand because he had never sworn to it, at once introduced the land-tax on the same footing with the other crown lands. Besides, by the abolition of the frontier of Hungary on the 1st of October, 1850, the Austrian Monarchy came to form one single territory with respect to customs as well as taxes. The Excise and the tobacco monopoly were also introduced there on March 1, 1851. The increase of the direct taxes alone in the Hungarian provinces amounted to 11,500,000 florins in 1851, and to about 8,000,000 florins in 1852.

We arrive then at the irrefragable conclusion that on the possession of Hungary and Lombardy depends not only the political but the economical existence of the Austrian Empire, and that with their loss the long-delayed bankruptcy of that State becomes inevitable.

Written on March 3, 1854

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## [OPENING OF THE LABOUR PARLIAMENT — ENGLISH WAR BUDGET][50]

London, Tuesday, March 7, 1854

The delegates to the Labor Parliament[51] met yesterday at the People's Institution, Manchester, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon. The first sitting was, of course, applied to preliminary business. It was moved by James Williams of Stockport, seconded by James Bligh of London, and supported by Ernest Jones, that Dr. Marx be invited to sit as honorary delegate at the Labor Parliament, which motion was carried unanimously. Similar resolutions were passed with respect to Messrs. Blanc and Nadaud. Whatever may be its immediate results, the mere assembling of such a Parliament marks a new epoch in the history of labor. The meeting at the Palais du Luxembourg at Paris, after the revolution of February,[52] might perhaps be considered a precedent in a similar direction, but at first sight there appears this great difference, that the Luxembourg was initiated by the Government, while the Labor Parliament is initiated by the people themselves; that the Luxembourg was invented with a view to removing the Socialist members of the Provisional Government from the center of action and any serious participation in the real business of the country; and lastly, that the delegates to the Luxembourg only consisted of members of the various so-called *corps d'états*, corporations more or less corresponding to the medieval guilds and the present trades-unions, while the Labor Parliament is a true representation of all branches and divisions of labor on a national scale. The success of the Labor Parliament will principally, if not exclusively, depend on its acting upon the principle that it is not the so-called organization of labor,[53] but the organization of the laboring classes they have at present to deal with.

The privileges of the now governing classes, and the slavery of the working classes, are equally based on the *existing* organization of labor, which, of course, will be defended and maintained on the part of the former by all means in their hands, one of these means being the present State machinery. To alter, then, the existing organization of labor, and to supplant it by a new one, you want power—social and political power—power not only of resisting, but also of attacking; and to acquire that power you want to organize yourselves as an army possessed of that moral and physical strength which will enable it to meet the fiendly hosts. If the Labor Parliament allows its time to be absorbed by mere theoretical propositions, instead of preparing the way for the actual formation of a national party, it will prove a failure as the Luxembourg did.

A new election of the Chartist Executive having taken place, according to the statutes of the National Charter Association,[54] Ernest Jones, James Finlen (London), and John Shaw (Leeds), were declared duly elected to serve on the Executive of the N.C.A. for the next six months.

As Bonaparte's intention of contracting a loan at the Bourse was frustrated by the passive resistance of the Paris capitalists, his Minister of Finance[a] has presented to the Senate a Budget containing the following article:

"The Minister of Finance is authorized to create, for the service of the Treasury and the negotiations with the Bank of France, Treasury bonds, bearing interest and payable at fixed periods. The Treasury bonds circulation shall not exceed 250,000,000 francs (£10,000,000); but the bonds delivered to the sinking fund are not included within this limit, by virtue of the law of June 10, 1833, nor are the bonds deposited as a guarantee at the Bank of France and the discount establishments."[55]

In an additional clause it is provided that

"the Emperor reserves to himself the right of issuing supplementary emissions by virtue of mere decrees,"

to be registered afterward by the Senate. I am informed by a Paris letter that this proposal has struck with horror the whole of the middle classes, as on the one hand the Treasury bonds shall not exceed the sum of 250,000,000 and on the other exceed that identical sum by whatever amount the Emperor may think fit to decree, the bonds thus issued being not even to be deposed as a guarantee at the Bank of France and the other discount

[a] Bineau.—*Ed.*

establishments. You know that on the like amount taken from the *Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations*[a] 60,000,000 have been already advanced by the bank on Treasury bonds. The mere appearance of war is eagerly grasped at by the Decembrists[56] to remove the last weak barriers yet standing between themselves and the national treasury. While this prospect of an imminent disorganization of the public credit, already much shaken, perplexes the middle classes, the bulk of the people will be exasperated at the proposed increase of the salt tax and similar most unpopular imposts. Thus, this war which is sure to gain for Bonaparte a sort of popularity in foreign countries, may, nevertheless, accelerate his downfall in France.

That I was right in presuming the present Spanish troubles as likely to afford the occasion for serious misunderstandings between France and England,[b] one may infer from the following intelligence of a London paper:

"The French Emperor has made inquiries of Lord Clarendon, through Mr. Walewski, whether the British Government would be disposed to aid him in placing the Carlist Pretender to the Crown of Spain[c] upon the throne, in the event of Queen Isabella being dethroned. Lord Clarendon is said to have declared that, happily, Queen Isabella was firmly seated on her throne, and that a revolution was but a remote contingency in a country so devoted to monarchical institutions; but that even if a revolution should break out in Spain and the Queen be dethroned, the British Cabinet must decline to enter into any engagements.

"The Emperor's proposal to place the Comte de Montemolin upon the throne is inspired by his very natural desire to prevent the Duchess of Montpensier[d] from inheriting her sister's diadem; for he thinks it would be inconvenient that he should have for a neighbor a son of Louis Philippe as husband of the Queen of Spain."

In Friday's sitting of the Commons Lord John Russell stated[e] that he was forced to withdraw his Reform bill for the moment, which, however, would be proceeded with on the 27th of April if, in the meantime, in consequence of the new proposal made to the Emperor of Russia[f] being accepted, the Eastern question was settled. It is true that after the publication of the Czar's manifesto to his subjects and his letter addressed to Bonaparte,[57] such a settlement has become more improbable than ever before, but, nevertheless, the ministerial declaration proves the Reform bill to

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[a] Deposit Bank.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 40.—*Ed.*

[c] Montemolin.—*Ed.*

[d] Maria Luisa Fernanda.—*Ed.*

[e] Lord John Russell's speech in the House of Commons on March 3. *The Times*, No. 21680, March 4, 1854.—*Ed.*

[f] See this volume, pp. 39-40.—*Ed.*

have been brought forward only with a view to absorb and appease public opinion in case the coalition diplomacy should succeed in reestablishing the Russian *status quo ante bellum.*[a] The eminent part taken by Lord Palmerston in his ministerial intrigue is thus described by *The Morning Advertiser,* one of his most ardent partisans:

"Lord Aberdeen is the nominal, but not the real Prime Minister. Lord Palmerston is practically the first Minister of the Crown. He is the master spirit of the Cabinet. Ever since his return to office, his colleagues have been in constant fear of his again flying off from them at a tangent, and are consequently afraid to thwart any of those views to which he is known to attach importance. He has consequently everything his own way. A striking instance of his Lordship's ascendency in her Majesty's Councils was afforded last week. The new Reform bill was then brought formally under the consideration of the Cabinet, and the question came to be whether it should be proceeded with this session or abandoned. Lord Aberdeen, Lord John Russell, Sir James Graham, and Sir William Molesworth, were for proceeding with the measure. Lord Palmerston proposed that it should be abandoned, and intimated, in plain terms—as we stated some days ago, that he would vote for its abandonment in the House should he be defeated in the Cabinet. The result of the discussion or conversation, which took place, was, that Lord Palmerston carried his point. Those opposed to him—among whom were the ministerial leader in the Lords and the ministerial leader in the Commons[b]—eventually succumbed. Another triumph of Lord Palmerston, within the last eight days, has been the appointment of Sir Charles Napier to the command of the Baltic fleet. It is no secret that both Lord John Russell and Sir James Graham were opposed to that appointment; but Lord Palmerston was for it and therefore it took place. Nothing, therefore, could be more appropriate than that the noble Lord should this evening occupy the chair at the banquet to be given in the Reform Club to the gallant Admiral."

Mr. Gladstone presented last night to the House a novelty unknown to the present generation—a war budget. It was evident from his speech[c] that the reason why the Government took this early opportunity of submitting his financial measures to the House was that of giving a preliminary record of the most disagreeable effects produced by war on private purses, thus to cool down the warlike energies of the country. Another main feature of his speech was his only asking for the sum which would be required to *bring back* the 25,000 men about to leave the British shores, should the war now be brought to a close.

He commenced by explaining the actual state of the income and expenditure of the last financial year. This not having yet closed, he observed that one month of the amount of the revenue could

[a] The situation previous to the war.—*Ed.*

[b] Lord John Russell and Sir James Graham.—*Ed.*

[c] Mr. Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on March 6, 1854. *The Times,* No. 21682, March 7, 1854.—*Ed.*

be only an estimate. The total estimate of the income of the year on the 18th of April last had been £52,990,000, while the actual receipts of the year. had reached to no less a sum than £54,025,000; thus showing an increase in the actual income over the presumed expenditure of £1,035,000. On the other hand there had been a saving in the expenditure beyond the estimate of £1,012,000. He therefore calculated, that but for the peculiar circumstances in which the country was at present placed, there would this year be a surplus over the expenditure amounting to £2,854,000.

Mr. Gladstone then adverted to the results of the *reductions of duty* introduced by him. The receipts of the Custom duties, notwithstanding these reductions, had been £20,600,000 in 1853-54, while in 1852-53 they had only realized £20,396,000, showing an increase in the Custom duties of £204,000. The reduction made in the duty upon tea had produced a loss of only £375,000. The reduction of the Stamp duties from threepence up to ten shillings to one uniform duty of onepence had increased their income, instead of the anticipated loss taking place, to the amount of £36,000.

Mr. Gladstone proceeded, then showing the result of the measures of last Session for the *augmentation of the taxes.* The collection of the Income tax in Ireland had been delayed by various circumstances, but it would yield £20,000 more than calculated upon. The extension of the tax upon incomes, from £150 to £100, in Great Britain would produce £100,000 beyond this estimate, viz., £250,000. The revenue from the additional duty of one shilling a gallon on spirits in Scotland had produced an increase of only £209,000, he having estimated it at £278,000.

On the other hand, the Spirit duty in Ireland had realized an increase of £213,000, while he had calculated upon an increase of £198,000 only. The operation of the Succession duty on the financial year would produce only half a million. So far the statement of Mr. Gladstone on the finances of Great Britain during the last twelve months, expiring on the 5th April.

The probable estimate of the revenue for the year 1854-55 will be:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Customs | £20,175,000 | Post-tax | 1,200,000 |
| Excise | 14,595,000 | Crown lands | 259,000 |
| Stamps | 7,090,000 | Old stores | 420,000 |
| Taxes | 3,015,000 | Miscellaneous | 320,000 |
| Income-tax | 6,275,000 | Total income | £53,349,000 |

The probable estimate of expenditure on the other hand is given as

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Funded debt | £27,000,000 | Commissariat | 645,000 |
| Unfunded debt | 546,000 | Miscellaneous estim's | 4,775,000 |
| Consolidated fund | 2,460,000 | Militia | 530,000 |
| Army | 6,857,000 | Picket service | 792,000 |
| Navy | 7,488,000 | Eastern service | 1,250,000 |
| Ordnance | 3,846,000 | | |

| | |
|---|---|
| Total expenditure | £56,189,000 |
| Causing a deficit of | 2,840,000 |

Before adverting to the means by which this deficiency was to be made up, Mr. Gladstone enumerated the measures which Government would not recommend the House to adopt. He should not return to the reimposition of any of those reductions of duties he had proposed last year, which had already acquired the force of law. He would not assent to the reimposition of these taxes unnecessarily which former Governments had released. If, however, the struggle they were now entering upon should be prolonged for a year, it would hardly be in their power to maintain a permanent continuance of those reductions. In general, he would not propose any addition to indirect taxation. He should not resort to state-loans, there being no country whose means were already so heavily mortgaged as those of England. At length, after all these preambles, Mr. Gladstone came to the announcement what the Government intended to propose. This was to double the Income tax for six months, and to abolish altogether the existing distinction between home-drawn and foreign-drawn bills. The average rate of duty on present bills of exchange, although unequally distributed, was 1/6 per cent.; he proposed to equalize it to 1/ per cent. This change, he calculated, would produce an increase of revenue of £60,000. With regard to the Income tax, the increase would be from /7 to /10$^1/_2$ in the pound on incomes of £150 and upward, and from /5 to /7$^1/_2$ on incomes between £100 and £150. Simultaneously he proposed that the House should make a proposition to enable him, before the tax was levied, to issue £1,750,000 Exchequer bills to be paid out of the accruing produce of the Income tax. In conclusion, Mr. Gladstone endeavored, not very successfully, to vindicate his late measures for the reduction of the public debt, measures which resulted, as you know, in a lamentable failure.

In the discussion following upon this statement several members partook, but the only speech worth mentioning was that of Mr.

Disraeli.[a] He declared that he should make no opposition to any vote which Government, on their own responsibility, thought necessary to submit to the House for the purpose of conducting the impending war with vigor, and he hoped with success. But he protested, in case of the war being prolonged, against direct taxation being exclusively had recourse to for carrying on the war. As to the second part of Mr. Gladstone's statement, that which related to the actual state of the finances of the country, and as to the money in hand, it seemed to him involved in an obscurity which did not become a financial statement, and certainly not one delivered under such circumstances as the present one. The present state of the balance in the Exchequer was not sufficient or satisfactory. When the present Government took office, there had been, on the 3d January, 1853, balances in the Exchequer amounting to £9,000,000, but a year after, in January, 1854, they were reduced by one-half. He estimated that the balances in the Exchequer on April 5th next would be £3,000,000, while the expenditure, consisting of the dividends for the payment of the public creditors and the execution of his conversion scheme would altogether require from £9,000,000 to £10,000,000. The right honorable gentlemen said there was no use of meeting this with balances in the Exchequer, but that he would make up the sum wanted by deficiency bills. He maintained that it was of great importance they should have had at this moment an ample balance but instead of its being a question whether they were to have a balance, or an excess of balances, it was now a question whether they were to have a balance at all, or a large deficiency, and in fact, instead of having any balance, they had an enormous deficiency, which had been caused in two ways by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. First, by having reduced the interest on Exchequer bills to $1^1/_2$ per cent. when the value of money was rising, and secondly by his ill-devised conversion of the South Sea stocks,[58] a measure which had not only eaten up his balances but left him in a present deficiency of £2,000,000.

Some further remarks of an indifferent character having been made by other members, the Report on Supply was brought up and the resolution agreed to.

Written on March 7, 1854

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4035, March 24; reprinted in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 921, March 24 and the *New-York Weekly Tribune*, No. 655, April 1, 1854

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Mr. Disraeli's speech in the House of Commons on March 6, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21682, March 7, 1854.—*Ed.*

The People's Paper
THE CHAMPION OF
POLITICAL JUSTICE AND UNIVERSAL RIGHT.
98 LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 18, 1854. [Price Fourpence

# Karl Marx

## [LETTER TO THE LABOUR PARLIAMENT][59]

28, Dean Street, Soho, London
9th March, 1854

I regret deeply to be unable, for the moment at least, to leave London, and thus to be prevented from expressing verbally my feelings of pride and gratitude on receiving the invitation to sit as Honorary Delegate at the Labour Parliament.[60] The mere assembling of such a Parliament marks a new epoch in the history of the world. The news of this great fact will arouse the hopes of the working classes throughout Europe and America.

Great Britain, of all other countries, has seen developed on the greatest scale the despotism of Capital and the slavery of Labour. In no other country have the intermediate stations between the millionaire commanding whole industrial armies and the wages-slave living only from hand to mouth so gradually been swept away from the soil. There exist here no longer, as in continental countries, large classes of peasants and artisans almost equally dependent on their own property and their own labour. A complete divorce of property from labour has been effected in Great Britain. In no other country, therefore, the war between the two classes that constitute modern society has assumed so colossal dimensions and features so distinct and palpable.

But it is precisely from these facts that the working classes of Great Britain, before all others, are competent and called for to act as leaders in the great movement that must finally result in the absolute emancipation of Labour. Such they are from the conscious clearness of their position, the vast superiority of their numbers, the disastrous struggles of their past, and the moral strength of their present.

It is the working millions of Great Britain who first have laid down the real basis of a new society—modern industry, which transformed the destructive agencies of nature into the productive power of man. The English working classes, with invincible energies, by the sweat of their brows and brains, have called to life the material means of ennobling labour itself, and of multiplying its fruits to such a degree as to make general abundance possible.

By creating the inexhaustible productive powers of modern industry they have fulfilled the first condition of the emancipation of Labour. They have now to realise its other condition. They have to free those wealth-producing powers from the infamous shackles of monopoly, and subject them to the joint control of the producers, who, till now, allowed the very products of their hands to turn against them and be transformed into as many instruments of their own subjugation.

The labouring classes have conquered nature; they have now to conquer man. To succeed in this attempt they do not want strength, but the organisation of their common strength, organisation of the labouring classes on a national scale—such, I suppose, is the great and glorious end aimed at by the Labour Parliament.

If the Labour Parliament proves true to the idea that called it to life, some future historian will have to record that there existed in the year 1854 two Parliaments in England, a Parliament at London, and a Parliament at Manchester—a Parliament of the rich, and a Parliament of the poor—but that men sat only in the Parliament of the men and not in the Parliament of the masters.

Yours truly,

*Karl Marx*

Written on March 9, 1854

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The People's Paper*, No. 98, March 18, 1854

## FRIDAY'S SITTING.

The house re-assembled at nine o'clock.

Mr. Clark Cropper in the chair.

The minutes having been read and confirmed, it was ordered that instead of 300 copies, 1,500 copies of the balance sheet should be printed.

Mr. E. Jones then read the following letter from Dr. Marx, of London:—

"28, Dean Street, Soho, London.
"9th March, 1854,

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Yours truly,
KARL MARX.

Part of the page from *The People's Paper* of March 18, 1854 with Marx's letter to the Labour Parliament

# Karl Marx

## THE LABOR PARLIAMENT[61]

London, Friday, March 10, 1854

Of all countries Great Britain has seen developed on the grandest scale the despotism of capital and the slavery of labor. In no other country have the intermediate degrees between the millionaire, commanding whole industrial armies, and the wages-slave living only from hand to mouth, so radically been swept away from the soil. There exist no longer, as in continental countries, large classes of peasants and artizans almost equally dependent on their own property and their own labor. A complete divorce of property from labor has been effected in Great Britain. In no other country, therefore, has the war between the two classes that constitute modern society assumed so colossal dimensions and features so distinct and palpable.

But it is precisely from these facts that the working classes of Britain, before all others, are competent and called upon to act as leaders in the great movement that must finally result in the absolute emancipation of labor. Such they are from the conscious clearness of their position, the vast superiority of their numbers, the disastrous struggles of their past and the moral strength of their present.

The London daily papers observe the "policy of abstention" with respect to the proceedings of the Labor Parliament. They hope to kill it by a vast "*conspiration de silence*". Having for whole months fatigued the public with interminable articles on the probable chances of realization for the scheme of such a Parliament, now they purposely avoid ever mentioning that it has actually sprung into life and already begun to work. This wisdom of the ostrich, that imagines it avoids dangers by feigning not to

see them, will not do now-a-days. They will be forced to notice the Labor Parliament, and, notwithstanding their simulated indifference, some future historian will record that there existed in the year 1854 two Parliaments in England, a Parliament in London and a Parliament in Manchester, a Parliament of the rich and a Parliament of the poor, but that men sat only in the Parliament of the men, and not in the Parliament of the masters.

The following is the report of the Committee appointed to draw up a plan of action for the Labor Parliament[62]:

Your Committee believe the duty of this Parliament to be the rendering of the existing turn outs and lock outs victorious for the operatives, and the adoption of means whereby both should be prevented for the future; the securing for the working classes fair treatment during work; the rescuing of women and children from the factory; the means of education, and the abolition of stoppages and underhand abatements of wages. Believing further that it is their duty to endeavor to secure to those who labor a fair participation in the profits of their work; and above all this, to obtain for them the means of independent self-employment, with a view to their *emancipation from wages-slavery altogether*; and, being convinced that the final step thereto is the obtaining the pecuniary leverage for action, recommend for your consideration.

1. The organization of a system for the collection of a national revenue for labor.
2. A plan for the security of the funds thus raised.
3. The application of the same and the securing of the rights of the working classes.
4. The constitution of the Mass Movement.

*I. The Raising of a National Labor Revenue.*

*a.* A weekly levy on the wages, graduated according to the price of labor, as follows:

Up to 4/ per week ... $^1/_2$d.
Up to 8/ per week ... $^3/_4$d.
Up to 12/ per week ... 1d.
Up to 15/ per week ..1$^1/_2$d.
Up to 20/ per week ... 2d.
Up to 30/ per week ... 3d.
Up to 40/ per week ... 4d.

*b.* That the officers of the several bodies of working men, who act in conjunction with the Mass Movement, forward the moneys thus raised to its directing head.

*II. Security of the Funds.*

*a.* That the local officers forward weekly all moneys they receive on behalf of the Mass Movement to the directing head of the same as shall be further specified below. The duly appointed officers for the reception thereof to return receipts immediately for the moneys thus received.

*b.* That the directing heads shall invest all moneys they receive on behalf of the Mass Movement (having powers to retain in hand a sum not exceeding £50) in a bank, in their collective names; no such sum or sums, nor any part of the same, to be drawn out of the bank except on presentation of the minute-books of the said

directing body, containing an order for the same to be drawn, signed by such a majority of the members of that body as shall hereafter be determined.

*c.* That the money thus drawn shall be paper money, (unless under £5); that the numbers of such notes shall be entered in a book, open to inspection and published in the papers; that the notes thus received shall be cut into parts, and each part intrusted to a separate member of the directing body; and where large sums are drawn, that they be held in equal portions by each member.

*d.* That each member, thus intrusted with a portion of the said money, shall give a promissory note amounting to his proportionate share of the money drawn, supposing the same divided into equal parts according to the number of the directing body; and that, should he refuse to apply for the purposes for which the money was drawn, such part of note held by him, the document thus held against him shall at once be put in force, but be cancelled on his paying over said part of note; that the promissory notes thus given shall be deposited in a chest or safe, which shall be placed in the custody of an independent and responsible party (not a member of the directing body), who shall not allow any document to be taken therefrom except in presence of all the directing body.

*e.* That the money thus drawn for any payment or purchase be paid by the directors only in the mutual presence of each member of their body.

*III.—Application of the Funds.*

*a.* The funds collected shall be applied as follows: To support all towns and places now on strike, and for liquidating all debts contracted during the late and present strikes and lockouts. That equal support shall be afforded to towns in proportion to the number out of employ. That on the same principle as when provisions run short on board of ship, each receives alike; thus the same relief shall be given without distinction of high or low paid trader. That, although all existing strikes and lockouts shall be supported, no future assistance will be given to any body of men who do not recognize and support the Mass Movement.

*b.* That the department be opened to regulate the price of labor. That for this purpose a monthly statement be issued for the price of the raw material employed in all the trades in connection with the Mass Movement; the price of labor in the same, and the selling price of the articles produced, and the other working charges. That on the evidence thus furnished, the directing body shall issue a statement of the profits of the employer; being open to receive from the latter a statement of any peculiar and additional charges which the employers may have to meet. That on the basis thus laid the price of labor shall be regulated, and the tariff of wages be fixed in accordance with the same. That a similar plan be applied to the agricultural interests of the country.

*c.* That, while workingman has an undoubted right to participate in the profits of the employer, he has a right higher still—that of employing himself; and that, for the purpose of the self-employment, as also for the purpose of more effectually regulating wages, by removing the power of surplus labor from the employer's hands, the funds of the Mass Movement be further employed in the purchase of land. That the estates be purchased in the names of individuals not being members of the directing body. That the estates be divided into farms, varying in size according to the nature of the soil and the purposes to which they are to be applied, viz: whether as individual tenancies or large cooperative undertakings. That the said lands be retained by and never alienated from the Mass Movement. That the land be let to tenants on short leases and at a fair and moderate rental. That the clause be inserted in the lease whereby any tenant making the fault in payment of rent shall immediately lose his right of tenancy. That a fourth clause be

inserted whereby the tenant binds himself to pay the rental to the parties appointed by the deed of assignment hereafter named. That the parties in whose names the estates are bought execute a deed of assignment, whereby the tenant shall pay the rent, not to them, but to the individuals then being directors of the Mass Movement. That the directors of the time being shall execute a deed, binding themselves in a penalty of £5,000 each, to two individuals, not being purchasers of any estate; such penalty to be enforced should they, on leaving office, not execute a deed of assignment of the said rental to their successors in office; those successors to be bound in the same way.

*d.* That independence of self-employment and relief of the labor market from its surplus be still more secure, your Committee recommend a further application of the available funds for the establishment of cooperative factories, workshops and stores, such to be the property of the Mass Movement. Those employed therein to receive that amount of wages regulated by the tariff for the price of labor previously named, and one-half of the net profits realized on the articles produced and sold, the other half of the profits to go to the revenue of the Mass Movement. That the chief manager of each cooperative undertaking be elected by the operatives engaged therein, subject to the approbation of the directing body. That the said manager of each respective undertaking regulate the purchases and sales connected therewith, and return monthly to the directing body a statement of the purchases, sales, payments, and loss or profit connected with the same. That, in case grounds of complaint at difference arise between the operatives and manager, the operatives shall have the power of dismissing the manager and electing another by the majority of not less than three-fourths of their number. That one-half of the net profits of each cooperative undertaking be sent by each respective manager to the directing body. That the property for cooperation purposes purchased by the Mass Movement be placed under a system of security similar to that applied to the landed estates.

After a long discussion, the report of the Committee up to end of the portion marked "II" was adopted on Wednesday's sitting of the Labor Parliament.[a] The Committee appointed for drawing up this programme of action for the Mass Movement consisted of Messrs. Ernest Jones, James Finlen, James Williams, Abraham Robinson and James Bligh.

Written on March 10, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] March 8, 1854.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## RETREAT OF THE RUSSIANS FROM KALAFAT[63]

The Russians have retreated from Kalafat, and have, it is stated, entirely remodelled their plan of campaign. This is the glorious end of the efforts and risks of a three months' campaign, during which the last resources of Wallachia have been completely exhausted. This is the fruit of that inconceivable march into Little Wallachia, which appeared to have been undertaken in utter contempt of the first rules of strategy. In order to take Kalafat, that only bridgehead held by the Turks on the left bank of the Danube, the mass of the army[a] was concentrated on the extreme right, in a position where the weakened centre and left appeared completely abandoned to any attack that the enemy might chance to undertake, and where an indifference was shown to the lines of communications and retreat which is without parallel in the history of warfare. That Omer Pasha has not profited by this blunder is only to be explained by the interference of our Ambassador at Constantinople.[b] How it is that, after all, the Russians have to retreat disgracefully without having effected their purpose, we shall have to show presently.

We say they have to retreat disgracefully, because an advance preceded by blustering, crowned by taking up a merely threatening position, and ending in a quiet and modest retreat, without even an attempt at serious fighting—because a move composed of an uninterrupted series of mistakes and errors, resulting in

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[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "the Russian army".—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "How it happened that Omer Pasha has not profited by this blunder, we have already had occasion to show." (See this volume, pp. 6-7).—*Ed.*

nothing but the General's[a] conviction that he has made a complete fool of himself—is the very height of disgrace.

Now to the state of the case.

The Russians had, by the end of 1853, the following troops in Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bessarabia:—

1. 4th corps of the army (Dannenberg) three divisions infantry, one division cavalry, four brigades artillery—total, after deducting losses, say 45,000 men.

2. Of the 5th corps (Lüders) one division infantry, one division cavalry, two brigades artillery—say 15,000 men.

3. 3rd corps (Osten-Sacken) three divisions infantry, one division cavalry, four brigades artillery—say 55,000 men.

Total about 115,000 men, besides non-combatants and one division of Lüders' corps in the neighbourhood of Odessa, which, being wanted for garrison duty, cannot be taken into account.

The troops under Dannenberg and Lüders were the only ones that had been in the Principalities up to the beginning of December. The approach of Osten-Sacken's corps was to be the signal for the grand concentration for the attack on Kalafat.[b] His place, on the Bug and the Pruth, was to be filled up by the 6th corps (Cheodayeff), then on the road from Moscow. After the junction of this latter corps, the Danubian army would have consisted of about 170,000 men, but might have turned out to be stronger, if the new levies of recruits from the South Western provinces were at once directed to the theatre of war.

However, 115,000 to 120,000 men appeared to the Russian Commander a sufficient force to defend the whole line of the Danube from Brailow to Nicopolis, and spare a sufficient number to be concentrated, from the extreme right, for an attack on Kalafat.

When this movement was commenced, towards the end of December, Kalafat could hardly harbour more than 10,000 to 12,000 defenders, with 8,000 more at Vidin, whose support might be considered dubious, as they had to cross an unruly river in a bad season. The slowness of the Russian movements, however, the indecision of Prince Gorchakoff, and above all the activity and boldness of Ismail Pasha, the commander at Kalafat, permitted the Turks to concentrate some 40,000 men on the menaced point, and to change Kalafat from a simple bridgehead stormable by a force double that of its defenders into a

[a] M. D. Gorchakov.—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "for the grand concentration and the attack on Kalafat."—*Ed.*

fortification which could shelter at least 30,000 men, and withstand any but a regular siege attack. It has been justly said that the highest triumph for the constructor of a field fortification is the necessity for the enemy to open his trenches against it; if the Russians did not actually open the trenches, it is merely because, even with that extreme means, they did see no way of taking Kalafat in the time they might set apart for the operation. Kalafat will henceforth rank with Frederick II's camp at Bunzelwitz, with the lines of Torres-Vedras, with the Archduke Charles' entrenchments behind Verona, as one of those efforts of field fortification that are named as classical applications of the art in warlike history.[64]

Now let us look to the Russian means of attack. That they meant in good earnest to take Kalafat, is shown by their parks of siege artillery having been brought forward as far as Crajova. That Omer Pasha, we may state by the way, allowed these guns to go and return freely, is one of the many military inconceivabilities of this war, to be explained merely through diplomatic influences. The only thing,[a] then, for the Russians, was a sufficient mass of troops to drive in the Turks, and to protect the trenches and batteries, and to storm the breaches as soon as they should have been opened. Here, again, Ismail Pasha acted like an energetic and clever commander. His sally towards Chetatea on the 6th of January—his vigorous attack ending in the defeat of a superior Russian force, and the continued attacks of a similar nature he executed, while the Russian concentration was still going on, and, until he was fairly blockaded on his small Danubian Peninsula by a superior force—in short, his system of defending himself by concentrated offensive blows against single points of the Russian line, and thereby destroying his enemy, as far as he could, *in detail*, was exactly what a commander under his circumstances should have done, and forms a cheering contrast with Omer Pasha's passive[b] defence at Oltenitza, or his lazy passivity, all this while, on the lower Danube. For the petty attacks carried on by him here and there, which appear never to have been broken off at the proper moment, but carried on for days and days on the same point with blind obstinacy, even when no result could be expected from them, these petty attacks do not count, when a movement across the Danube with 40,000 to 60,000 men was wanted.

After all, the Russians completed, by the end of January, their concentration around Kalafat. They were evidently superior in the

[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "The only thing necessary, then, for the Russians...".—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "previous".—*Ed.*

open field; they must therefore have had some 30,000 or 40,000 men. Now deduct these from 115,000, deduct then, say 20,000 or 25,000 men[a] more for the defence of the line from Brailow to the sea, and there remained for the whole of Greater Wallachia, inclusive of garrisons, from 50,000 to 65,000 men—an army far from sufficient to defend such a long line of attack, and a line of communication *running parallel with the line of attack*, at a short distance behind it. A vigorous attack on any point, even with a force inferior to the whole of these 65,000 men, could not but have ended in the utter defeat, in detail, of all these dispersed Russian troops, and with the capture of all the Russian magazines. Omer Pasha will have to explain, some time or other, his motives for neglecting such an opportunity.

With all their efforts, then, the Russians could merely concentrate before Kalafat a force barely sufficient to drive in the outposts, but not to attack the stronghold itself. They took nearly five weeks to effect even this momentary and illusory success. General Schilder, of the Engineers, was sent with positive orders to take Kalafat. He came, he saw, and he resolved to do nothing[b] until the arrival of Cheodayeff should allow fresh troops to come up from the centre and left.

Five weeks the Russians stood in this dangerous position, rear and flank exposed, as if provoking that attack which they could not have resisted a moment; and five weeks Omer Pasha stood menacing their flank and rear, in a position where he could see their weakness without spectacles or telescopes—and he did nothing. Verily, this system of modern warfare, under the patronage of the Allied Courts,[c] is above comprehension!

All at once the news reaches London—"The Russians are in full retreat from Kalafat." "Oh," says *The Times*, "that is the effect of our *allies*, the Austrians, having concentrated an army in Transylvania, in the rear of the Russians[d]; that is the effect of the glorious Austrian alliance, which is again the effect of our glorious Aberdeen policy." Three cheers for Aberdeen! But next day Austrian authentic manifestoes show that no Austrian alliance exists,[e] and that the Austrians as yet have not said, and do not appear to know themselves, for what purpose they have sent that army

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[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "20,000 or 30,000 men".—*Ed.*

[b] An ironical allusion to Julius Caesar's famous words: "Veni, vidi, vici."—*Ed.*

[c] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "Allied Powers".—*Ed.*

[d] *The Times*, No. 21686, March 11, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

[e] Report from the Vienna correspondent of March 8. *The Times*, No. 21688, March 14, 1854.—*Ed.*

where it is,—and, consequently, great uncertainty reigns as to the cause of the Russian retreat.

We are now told that the Russians will try to cross the Danube at the opposite point, between Brailow and Galatz, and thus proceed on the direct road to Adrianople, as in 1828-29. If there does not exist a perfect understanding between the Russians on the one side, and the Anglo-French squadron on the other, this march is strategically impossible. We have another cause to account for this retreat. Cheodayeff is said to have been stopped in this march, in order to form a camp of 30,000 or 40,000 men above Odessa. If this be true, he cannot relieve any troops on the Pruth and Sereth, nor reinforce Gorchakoff before Kalafat. Consequently, Prince Gorchakoff has to retreat in as good order as he came, and thus would end the grand tragi-comedy of the Russian march against Kalafat.[a]

Written on March 13, 1854

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Reproduced from *The People's Paper* checked with the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] The two concluding paragraphs in the *New-York Daily Tribune* are as follows: "All at once the news reaches us that the Russians are in full retreat from Kalafat. The English journals hereupon exclaim that it is the effect of their allies, the Austrians, having concentrated an army in Transylvania, in the rear of the Russians! That it is the effect of the glorious Austrian alliance which is again the effect of the glorious policy of Lord Aberdeen. But presently an authentic Austrian manifesto shows that no Austrian alliance exists and that the Austrians have not said and as yet do not appear to know themselves for what purpose they have sent that army where it is. And consequently our British contemporaries are in great uncertainty as to the cause of the Russian retreat. But what is the cause of it? Why, simply this: French and British troops are to go to Constantinople. Nothing more easy or more plain than to send them thence to Odessa or Bessarabia and cut off the communications of the Russians.

"However harmless the real intentions of the Coalition may be, pressure from without may force them to act seriously. Gorchakoff evidently does not trust in the merely diplomatic mission of the Western armies. If he were quite sure of England, he could not be so of France. If he were sure of all the Cabinets, he could not be so of the Generals. He might risk flank marches in the presence of the Turks, but he supposes the matter must become serious so soon as French and British troops arrive and threaten to fall on his flanks. Consequently, Cheodayeff is stopped in his march to form a camp of 30,000 or 40,000 men above Odessa. Consequently he cannot furnish any troops for the Pruth or Sereth. Consequently no troops can come to reenforce Gorchakoff before Kalafat. Consequently the attack upon that place becomes an impossibility. Consequently prince Gorchakoff has to retreat in as good order as he came. And thus ends the great tragic-comedy of the Russian march against Kalafat."—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE GREEK INSURRECTION[65]

The insurrection among the Greek subjects of the Sultan, which caused such alarm at Paris and London, has now been suppressed, but its revival is thought not impossible. With regard to this possibility we are able to say that after a careful investigation of the documents relating to the whole affair so far, we are convinced that the insurgents were found exclusively among the mountaineers inhabiting the southern slope of the Pindus, and that they met with no sympathy on the part of the other Christian races of Turkey, save the pious freebooters of Montenegro; and that the occupants of the plains of Thessaly, who form the only compact Greek community still living under Turkish supremacy, are more afraid of their compatriots than of the Turks themselves. It is not to be forgotten that this spiritless and cowardly body of population did not dare to rise even at the time of the Greek war of independence.[66] As to the remainder of the Greek race, numbering perhaps 300,000 souls, distributed throughout the cities of the Empire, they are so thoroughly detested by the other Christian tribes that, whenever a popular movement has been successful, as in Servia and Wallachia, it has resulted in driving away all the priests of Greek origin, and in supplying their places by native pastors.

But although the present Greek insurrection, considered with reference to its own merits, is altogether insignificant, it still derives importance from the occasion it affords to the western Powers for interfering between the Porte and the great majority of its subjects in Europe, among whom the Greeks count only one million against ten millions of the other races professing the Greek religion. The Greek inhabitants of the so-called kingdom as well as

those living in the Ionian Isles under British rule consider it, of course, to be their national mission to expel the Turks from wherever the Greek language is spoken, and to annex Thessaly and Epirus to a State of their own. They may even dream of a Byzantine restoration, although, on the whole, they are too astute a people to believe in such a fancy. But these plans of national aggrandizement and independence on the part of the Greeks, proclaimed at this moment in consequence of Russian intrigues, as is proved by the lately detected conspiracy of the priest Athanasius,[67] and proclaimed too by the robbers of the mountains without being reechoed by the agricultural population of the plain—all have nothing to do with the religious rights of the subjects of Turkey with which an attempt is made to mix them up.

As we learn from the English journals and from notice given in the House of Lords by Lord Shaftesbury, and in the Commons by Mr. Monckton Milnes,[a] the British Government is to be called upon in connection, partly at least, with these Greek movements to take measures to meliorate the condition of the Christian subjects of the Porte. Indeed, we are told explicitly that the great end aimed at by the western Powers is to put the Christian religion on a footing of equal rights with the Mahometan in Turkey. Now, either this means nothing at all, or it means the granting political and civil rights, both to Mussulmans and Christians, without any reference to either religion, and without considering religion at all. In other words, it means the complete separation of State and Church, of Religion and Politics. But the Turkish State, like all Oriental States, is founded upon the most intimate connection, we might almost say, the identity of State and Church, of Politics and Religion. The Koran is the double source of faith and law, for that Empire and its rulers. But how is it possible to equalize the faithful and the Giaour, the Mussulman and the Rajah before the Koran? To do that it is necessary, in fact, to supplant the Koran by a new civil code, in other words to break down the framework of Turkish society and create a new order of things out of its ruins.

On the other hand, the main feature that distinguishes the Greek confession from all other branches of the Christian faith, is the same identification of State and Church, of civil and ecclesiastical life. So intimately interwoven were State and Church

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[a] The Earl of Shaftesbury's speech in the House of Lords on March 10, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21686, March 11, 1854; M. Milnes' speech in the House of Commons on March 13, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21688, March 14, 1854.—*Ed.*

in the Byzantine Empire, that it is impossible to write the history of the one without writing the history of the other. In Russia the same identity prevails, although there, in contradistinction to the Byzantine Empire, the Church has been transformed into the mere tool of the State, the instrument of subjugation at home and of aggression abroad. In the Ottoman Empire in conformity with the Oriental notions of the Turks, the Byzantine theocracy has been allowed to develop itself to such a degree, that the parson of a parish is at the same time the judge, the mayor, the teacher, the executor of testaments, the assessor of taxes, the ubiquitous factotum of civil life, not the servant, but the master of all work. The main reproach to be cast upon the Turks in this regard is not that they have crippled the privileges of the Christian priesthood, but, on the contrary, that under their rule this all-embracing oppressive tutelage, control, and interference of the Church has been permitted to absorb the whole sphere of social existence. Mr. Fallmerayer very amusingly tells us, in his *Orientalische Briefe*,[a] how a Greek priest was quite astonished when he informed him that the Latin clergy enjoyed no civil authority at all, and had to perform no profane business. "How," exclaimed the priest, "do our Latin brethren contrive to kill time?"

It is plain then that to introduce a new civil code in Turkey, a code altogether abstracted from religion, and based on a complete separation of State and Church, would be not only to abolish Mahometanism, but also to break down the Greek Church as now established in that Empire. Can any one be credulous enough to believe in good earnest that the timid and reactionary valetudinarians of the present British Government have ever conceived the idea of undertaking such a gigantic task, involving a perfect social revolution, in a country like Turkey? The notion is absurd. They can only entertain it for the purpose of throwing dust in the eyes of the English people and of Europe.

Written on March 14, 1854

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[a] Fallmerayer, *Fragmente aus dem Orient*.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE DOCUMENTS ON THE PARTITION OF TURKEY[68]

London, Tuesday, March 21, 1854

A most important event is the compulsory publication by Ministers of their secret correspondence with the Emperor of Russia during the first three months of their administration, as also of the memorandum of the interview between the Czar and Lord Aberdeen in 1844, which the *Journal de St. Pétersbourg* challenged the latter to produce.[69]

I begin with an analysis of the "memorandum" by Count Nesselrode, delivered to Her Majesty's Government, and founded on communications from the Emperor of Russia, subsequent to his visit to England in June, 1844. The present *status quo* of the Ottoman Empire is "the most compatible with the general interest of the maintenance of peace." England and Russia agree on this principle, and therefore unite their efforts to keep up that *Status quo.*

> "With this object, the essential point is to suffer the Porte to live in repose, without needlessly disturbing it by diplomatic bickerings, and without interfering, without absolute necessity, in its internal affairs."

Now, how is this "system of forbearance" to be successfully carried out? Firstly, by Great Britain not interfering with the interpretation Russia may think fit to put upon her treaties with the Porte, but forcing it, on the contrary, to act in conformity with those treaties as interpreted by Russia; and, in the second place, by allowing Russia "constantly" to meddle between the Sultan and his Christian subjects. In a word, "the system of forbearance" toward the Porte means a system of complicity with Russia. This strange proposition is, however, far from being expressed in rude terms.

The memorandum affects to speak of "all the great Powers," but at the same time plainly intimates that there exist no great Powers at all besides Russia and England. France, it is said, will

"find herself *obliged* to act in conformity with the course agreed upon between St. Petersburg and London."

Austria is represented as a mere appendage to Russia, enjoying no life of her own, following no distinct policy, but one "closely united by the principle of *perfect identity*" with that of Russia. Prussia is treated as a nonentity, not worth mentioning, and consequently is not so much as mentioned. "All the great Powers," then, is only a rhetorical figure for the two Cabinets of St. Petersburg and London; and the line of conduct to be agreed upon by all the great Powers means the line of conduct drawn up at St. Petersburg and to be acted upon at London. The memorandum says:

"The Porte has a constant tendency to extricate itself from the engagements imposed upon it by the treaties which it has concluded with other powers. It hopes to do so with impunity, because it reckons on the mutual jealousy of the Cabinets. It thinks that if it fails in its engagements toward one of them, the rest will espouse its quarrel, and will screen it from all responsibility.

"It is essential not to confirm the Porte in this delusion. Every time that it fails in its obligations toward one of the great Powers, it is the interest of all the rest to make it sensible of its error, and seriously to exhort it to act rightly toward the Cabinet which demands just reparation.

"*As soon as the Porte shall perceive that it is not supported by the other Cabinets, it will give way,* and the differences which have arisen will be arranged in a conciliatory manner, without any conflict resulting from them."

This is the formula by which England is called upon to assist Russia in her policy of extorting new concessions from Turkey, on the ground of her ancient treaties.

"In the present state of feeling in Europe, the Cabinets cannot see with indifference the Christian populations in Turkey exposed to flagrant acts of oppression or religious intolerance. It is necessary constantly to make the Ottoman Ministers sensible of this truth, and to persuade them that they can only reckon on the friendship and on the support of the great Powers on the condition that they treat the Christian subjects of the Porte with toleration and with mildness....

"It will be the duty of the foreign representatives, guided by these principles, to act among themselves in a perfect spirit of agreement. If they address remonstrances to the Porte, those remonstrances must bear a real character of unanimity, though divested of one of exclusive dictation."

In this mild way England is taught how to back Russia's pretensions to a *religious Protectorate* over the Christians of Turkey.

Having thus laid down the premises of her "policy of forbearance," Russia cannot conceal from her confidante that this very

forbearance may prove more fatal than any policy of aggression, and fearfully contribute to develop all the "elements of dissolution" the Ottoman Empire contains: so that some fine morning

"*unforeseen circumstances* may hasten its *fall*, without its being in the power of the friendly Cabinets to prevent it."

The question is then raised: what would have to be done in the event of such unforeseen circumstances producing a final catastrophe in Turkey.

The only thing wanted, it is said, in the event of Turkey's fall becoming imminent, is *England and Russia's "coming to a previous understanding before having recourse to action."* "This notion," we are assured by the memorandum, "was in principle agreed upon during the Emperor's last residence in London" (in the long conferences held between the Autocrat on the one hand, and the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and the Earl of Aberdeen on the other hand). The result was

"the *eventual engagement* that, if *anything unforeseen* occurred in Turkey, *Russia and England should previously concert together as to the course which they should pursue in common.*"

Now, what means this *eventual engagement*? Firstly, that Russia and England should previously come to a common understanding as to the *partition of Turkey*; and secondly, that in such a case, England was to bind herself to form a Holy Alliance with Russia and Austria, described as Russia's *alter ego*, against France, who would be "*obliged*," i.e., forced to act in conformity with their views. The natural result of such a common understanding would be to involve England in a deadly war with France, and thus to give Russia full sway to carry out her own policy on Turkey.

Great stress is again and again laid upon the "unforeseen circumstances" that may accelerate the downfall of Turkey. At the conclusion of the memorandum the mysterious phrase, however, disappears, to be replaced by the more distinct formulation: "If we foresee that the Ottoman Empire must crumble to pieces, England and Russia have to enter into a previous concert, etc...." The only unforeseen circumstance, then, was the unforeseen declaration on the part of Russia that the Ottoman Empire must now crumble to pieces. The main point gained by the eventual engagement is the liberty granted to Russia to foresee, at a given moment, the sudden downfall of Turkey, and to oblige England to enter into negotiations, on the common understanding of such a catastrophe being at hand.

Accordingly, about ten years after the memorandum had been drawn up, due notice is given to England that the vitality of the Ottoman Empire is gone, and that they had now to enter upon their previously arranged concert to the exclusion of France, i.e. to conspire behind the backs of Turkey and France. This overture opens the series of secret and confidential papers exchanged between St. Petersburg and the Coalition Cabinet.

Sir G. H. Seymour, the British Embassador at St. Petersburg, sends his first secret and confidential dispatch to Lord J. Russell, the then Foreign Minister, on January 11, 1853. On the evening of the 9th January he had the "honor" to see the Emperor at the Palace of the Grand Duchess Helen,[a] who had condescended to invite Lady Seymour and himself to meet the Imperial family. The Emperor came up to him in his most gracious manner, expressing his great pleasure at the news of the formation of the Coalition Cabinet, to which he wished long life, desiring the Embassador to convey to old Aberdeen his congratulation on his part, and to beat into Lord John Russell's brains

"that it was very essential that the two Governments—the English Government and I, and I and the English Government—should be on the best terms; and that the necessity was never greater than at present."

Mark that these words were spoken in January, 1853, at the very time when Austria, "between whom and Russia"—according to the memorandum—"there exists an entire conformity of principles in regard to the affairs of Turkey," was openly engaged in troubling the waters at Montenegro.

"When *we* are agreed," said the Czar, "it is immaterial what the others may think or do. Turkey," he continued, in a hypocritical manner of condolence, "is in a very critical state, and may give us all a great deal of trouble."

Having said so much, the Czar proceeded to shake hands with Sir H. Seymour, very graciously, as if about to take leave of him; but Sir Hamilton, to whom it "instantly occurred that the conversation was incomplete," took "the great liberty" humbly to pray the Autocrat to "speak a little more explicitly with regard to the affairs of Turkey."

"The Emperor's words and manner," remarks this observer, "although still very kind, showed that His Majesty had no intention of speaking to me of the *demonstration which he is about to make in the South.*"

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[a] Yelena Pavlovna.—*Ed.*

Be it remarked that already in his dispatch of Jan. 7, 1853, Sir Hamilton had informed the British Government that

"orders had been dispatched to the 5th *corps d'armée* to advance to the frontiers of the Danubian provinces..., and that the 4th corps ... would be ordered to hold itself in readiness to march if necessary;"

and in a dispatch dated Jan. 8, 1853, that Nesselrode had expressed to him his opinion of the "necessity that the diplomacy of Russia should be supported by a demonstration of force."

"The Emperor," Sir Hamilton continues his dispatch,[a] "said, at first with a little hesitation, but, as he proceeded, in an open and unhesitating manner:

"'The affairs of Turkey are in a very disorganized condition; the country itself seems to be falling to pieces (*menace ruine*); the fall will be a great misfortune, and it is very important that England and Russia should come to a perfectly good understanding upon these affairs, and that neither should take any decisive step of which the other is not apprized.'

"'Stay,' he exclaimed, 'we have on our hands a sick man, a very sick man: it will be, I tell you frankly, a great misfortune if, one of these days, he should slip away from us, especially before all necessary arrangements were made. But, however, this is not the time to speak to you on that matter.'"

The patient, in this bear's eyes, is so weak that he *must* eat him. Sir Hamilton, somewhat frightened at this "unforeseen" diagnostic of the Muscovite physician, answers in the true spirit of courtesy:

"Your Majesty is so gracious that you will allow me one further observation. Your Majesty says the man is sick; it is very true; but Your Majesty will deign to excuse me if I remark, that it is the part of the generous and strong to treat with gentleness the sick and feeble man."

The British Embassador comforts himself by the consideration, that this concurrence on his part in the Czar's view of Turkey and sickness and his appeal to forbearance with the sick man did "at least not give offense." Thus ends Sir H. Seymour's report on his first confidential conversation with the Czar; but, although appearing a perfect courtier in this *vis-à-vis*, he has sufficient good sense to warn his Cabinet and to tell them what follows:

"Any overture of this kind only tends to establish a dilemma. The dilemma seems to be this: If Her Majesty's Government do not come to an understanding with Russia as to what is to happen in the event of the sudden downfall of Turkey, they will have the less reason for complaining if results displeasing to England should be prepared. If, on the contrary, Her Majesty's Government should enter into the consideration of such eventualities, they make themselves in some degree consenting parties to a catastrophe which they have so much interest in warding off as long as possible."

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[a] The reference is to the dispatch of Sir G. H. Seymour to Lord Russell dated January 11, 1853.—*Ed.*

Sir Hamilton winds up his dispatch with the following epigrammatic sentence:

"The sum is probably this, that England has to desire a close concert with Russia, with a view to preventing the downfall of Turkey—while Russia would be well pleased that the concert should apply to the events by which this downfall is to be followed."

On the 14th of January, as Sir G. H. Seymour informs Lord J. Russell, in his dispatch dated 22d January, 1853, he had another confidential interview with the Czar, whom "he found alone." The Autocrat condescended to give the English Embassador a lesson in Eastern affairs. The dreams and plans of the Empress Catherine II were known, but he did not indulge in them. On the contrary, in his opinion there existed, perhaps, only one danger for Russia, that of a further extension of his already too vast dominions. (Your readers will recollect that I alluded to this in extracting a passage from the dispatches of Count Pozzo di Borgo.[70]) The *status quo* of Turkey was the most consonant with Russian interests. On the one hand, the Turks had lost their spirit of military enterprise, and on the other,

"this country was strong enough, *or had hitherto been* strong enough, to preserve its independence and to ensure respectful treatment from other countries."

But in that empire there happened to be several millions of Christians he must take care of, hard and "inconvenient" as the task might be. To do this he was bound at once by his right, his duty and his religion. Then, all of a sudden, the Czar returned to his parable of the sick man, the very sick man, whom they must by no means allow "to suddenly die on their hands" (de leur échapper).[71]

"Chaos, confusion, and the certainty of a European war, must attend the catastrophe if it should occur unexpectedly, and *before some ulterior scheme had been sketched.*"

Having, thus, again given notice of the impending death of the Ottoman Empire, the summons to England followed in conformity with the "eventual engagement" to discount the heritage in common with Russia. "Still, he avoids sketching his own ulterior system," contenting himself by establishing, in a parliamentary way, the main point to be kept in view in the event of a partition.

"I desire to speak to you as a friend and a *gentleman.* If England and I arrive at an understanding of this matter, as regards the rest, it matters little to me; it is indifferent to me what others do or think. Frankly, then, I tell you plainly, that if England thinks of establishing herself one of these days at Constantinople, I will

not allow it. I do not attribute this intention to you, but it is better on these occasions to speak plainly; for my part, I am equally disposed to take the engagement not to establish myself there, as proprietor that is to say, for as occupier I do not say; it might happen that circumstances, if no previous provision were made, if everything should be left to chance, might place me in the position of occupying Constantinople."

England, therefore, will be forbidden to establish herself at Constantinople. The Czar will do so, if not as proprietor, at least in the quality of a temporary occupier. The British Embassador thanked His Majesty for the frankness of this declaration. Nicholas then alluded to his past conversation with the Duke of Wellington, of which the memorandum of 1844 is the record, and, as it were, the *résumé.* Passing to the question of the day—to his claims to the Holy Places—the British Embassador expressed his fears:

"Two consequences that might be anticipated from the appearance of a Russian army—the one being the counter-demonstration which might be provoked on the part of France; the other, and the more serious, the rising, on the part of the Christian population, against the Sultan's authority, already so much weakened by revolts, and by a severe financial crisis. The Emperor assured me that no movement of his forces had yet taken place (n'ont pas bougé), and expressed his hope that no advance would be required. *With regard to a French Expedition to the Sultan's dominions,* His Majesty intimated that such a step would bring affairs to an immediate crisis; that a sense of honor would compel him to send his forces into Turkey without delay or hesitation: that if the result of such an advance should prove to be the overthrow of the *Great Turk (le Grand Turc),* he should regret the event, but should feel that he had acted as he was compelled to do."

The Czar has now given England the theme she has to work out, viz: to sketch an "ulterior system" for superseding the Ottoman Empire, and "to enter into a previous concert as to everything relating to the establishment of a new order of things, intended to replace that which now exists." He encouraged his pupil by holding forth the prize he might gain from a successful solution of this problem, dismissing him with the paternal advice:

"A noble triumph would be obtained by the civilization of the Nineteenth century, if the void left by the extinction of Mohammedan rule in Europe could be filled up without an interruption of the general peace, in consequence of the precautions adopted by the two principal Governments the most interested in the destinies of Turkey."

England being thus summoned, Lord J. Russell appears and sends in his answer in a secret and confidential dispatch dated Feb. 9, 1853. If Lord John had been fully aware of the Czar's perfidious plan to press England into a false position by the mere fact of her entering into secret communications with him, as to the

future partition of an allied State, he would have acted like the Czar, and have contented himself with making a verbal reply to Baron Brunnow, instead of dispatching an official State paper to St. Petersburg. Before the secret papers were laid before the House, *The Times* had described Lord John's dispatch as a most powerful and "indignant refusal" of the Czar's proposals.[a] In its yesterday's number it withdraws its own eulogy of Lord John, declaring that "the document does not deserve the praise it had been led, on imperfect information, to apply to it."[b] Lord John incurred the wrath of *The Times* in consequence of his declaration, in Friday's sitting of the Commons,[c] that he certainly was not in the habit of making communications to *that* paper, and that he had not even read the article alluding to his answer to Sir G. H. Seymour until three days after its publication.

Any one acquainted with the humble and abject tone assumed by every English Minister since 1814, Canning not even excepted, in their communications with Russia, will be forced to own that Lord John's dispatch is to be regarded as a heroic performance on the part of that little earthman.

The document having the character of an important contribution to history, and being proper to illustrate the development of negotiations, your readers will be glad to be acquainted with it *in extenso.*

"LORD JOHN RUSSELL TO SIR G. H. SEYMOUR

("Secret and Confidential)

"Foreign Office, February 9, 1853

"Sir: I have received, and laid before the Queen, your secret and confidential dispatch of the 22d of January.

"Her Majesty, upon this as upon former occasions, is happy to acknowledge the moderation, the frankness, and the friendly disposition of His Imperial Majesty.

"Her Majesty has directed me to reply in the same spirit of temperate and amicable discussion.

"The question raised by His Imperial Majesty is a very serious one. It is, supposing the contingency of the dissolution of the Turkish Empire to be probable, or even imminent, whether it is not better to be provided beforehand for a contingency than to incur the chaos, confusion, and the certainty of a European war, all of which must attend the catastrophe if it should occur unexpectedly, and before some ulterior system has been sketched; this is the point, said His Imperial Majesty, to which I am desirous that you should call the attention of your Government.

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21686, March 11, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*
[b] *The Times*, No. 21693, March 20, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*
[c] March 17, 1854.—*Ed.*

"In considering this grave question, the first reflection that occurs to Her Majesty's Government is that no actual crisis has occurred which renders necessary a solution of this vast European problem. Disputes have arisen respecting the Holy Places, but these are without the sphere of the internal government of Turkey, and concern Russia, and France rather than the Sublime Porte. Some disturbance of the relations between Austria and the Porte has been caused by the Turkish attack on Montenegro; but this again relates rather to dangers affecting the frontier of Austria, than the authority and safety of the Sultan; so that there is no sufficient cause for intimating to the Sultan that he cannot keep peace at home, or preserve friendly relations with his neighbors.

"It occurs further to Her Majesty's Government to remark, that the event which is contemplated is not definitely fixed in point of time. When William III and Louis XIV disposed, by treaty, of the succession of Charles II, of Spain,[72] they were providing for an event which could not be far off. The infirmities of the sovereign of Spain, and the certain end of any human life, made the contingency in prospect both sure and near. The death of the Spanish king was in no way hastened by the treaty of partition. The same thing may be said of the provision made in the last century for the disposal of Tuscany[73] upon the decease of the last prince of the house of Medici.[a] But the contingency of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire is of another kind. It may happen twenty, fifty, or a hundred years hence.

"*In these circumstances it would hardly be consistent with the friendly feelings toward the Sultan which animate the Emperor of Russia, no less than the Queen of Great Britain, to dispose beforehand of the provinces under his dominion.* Besides this consideration, however, it must be observed, that an agreement made in such a case tends very surely to hasten the contingency for which it is intended to provide. Austria and France could not, in fairness, be kept in ignorance of the transaction, nor would such concealment be consistent with the end of preventing a European war. Indeed, such concealment cannot be intended by His Imperial Majesty. It is to be inferred that, as soon as Great Britain and Russia should have agreed on the course to be pursued, and have determined to enforce it, they should communicate their intentions to the Great Powers of Europe. An agreement thus made and thus communicated would not be very long a secret; and while it would alarm and alienate the Sultan, the knowledge of its existence would stimulate all his enemies to increased violence and more obstinate conflict. They would fight with the conviction that they must ultimately triumph; while the Sultan's generals and troops would feel that no immediate success could save their cause from final overthrow. Thus would be produced and strengthened that very anarchy which is now feared, and the foresight of the friends of the patient would prove the cause of his death.

"Her Majesty's Government need scarcely enlarge on the dangers attendant on the execution of any similar convention. The example of the Succession War[b] is enough to show how little such agreements are respected when a pressing temptation urges their violation. The position of the Emperor of Russia as depositary, but not proprietor, of Constantinople, would be exposed to numberless hazards, both from the long-cherished ambition of his own nation and the jealousies of Europe. The ultimate proprietor, whoever he might be, would hardly be satisfied with the inert, supine attitude of the heirs of Mohammed II. A great

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[a] Gian Gastone.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the war of the Spanish succession.—*Ed.*

influence on the affairs of Europe seems naturally to belong to the Sovereign of Constantinople, holding the gates of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea.

"That influence might be used in favor of Russia; it might be used to control and curb her power.

"His Imperial Majesty has justly and wisely said: My country is so vast, so happily circumstanced in every way, that it would be unreasonable in me to desire more territory or more power than I possess. On the contrary, he observed, our great, perhaps our only danger, is that which would arise from an extension given to an Empire already too large. A vigorous and ambitious State, replacing the Sublime Porte, might, however, render war on the part of Russia a necessity for the Emperor or his successors.

"Thus European conflict would arise from the very means taken to prevent it; for neither England nor France, nor probably Austria, would be content to see Constantinople permanently in the hands of Russia.

"On the part of Great Britain, Her Majesty's Government at once declare that they renounce all intention or wish to hold Constantinople. His Imperial Majesty may be quite secure upon this head. They are likewise ready to give an assurance that they will enter into no agreement to provide for the contingency of the fall of Turkey without previous communication with the Emperor of Russia.

"Upon the whole, then, Her Majesty's Government are persuaded that no course of policy can be adopted more wise, more disinterested, more beneficial to Europe than that which His Imperial Majesty has so long followed, and which will render his name more illustrious than that of the most famous sovereigns who have sought immortality by unprovoked conquest and ephemeral glory.

"With a view to the success of this policy, it is desirable that the utmost forbearance should be manifested toward Turkey; that any demands which the Great Powers of Europe may have to make should be made matter of friendly negotiation rather than of peremptory demand; that military and naval demonstrations to coerce the Sultan should as much as possible be avoided; that differences with respect to matters affecting Turkey, within the competence of the Sublime Porte, should be decided after mutual concert between the Great Powers, and not be forced upon the weakness of the Turkish Government.

"To these cautions Her Majesty's Government wish to add that, in their view, it is essential that the Sultan should be advised to treat his Christian subjects in conformity with the principles of equity and religious freedom which prevail generally among the enlightened nations of Europe. The more the Turkish Government adopts the rules of impartial law and equal administration, the less will the Emperor of Russia find it necessary to apply that exceptional protection which His Imperial Majesty has found so burdensome and inconvenient, though no doubt prescribed by duty and sanctioned by treaty.

"You may read this dispatch to Count Nesselrode, and, if it is desired, you may yourself place a copy of it in the hands of the Emperor. In that case you will accompany its presentation with those assurances of friendship and confidence on the part of Her Majesty the Queen, which the conduct of His Imperial Majesty was so sure to inspire.

"I am &c.
"J. Russell"

I am obliged to postpone the conclusion of this analysis to my next letter.[a] Before concluding, however, I will give you, in

[a] See this volume, pp. 84-99.—*Ed.*

addition to previous communications, the most recent news I have obtained, from a source not otherwise accessible to the public,[74] regarding the attitude and plans of Prussia.[a]

When the conflict between Russia on the one hand, and the Anglo-French Alliance on the other, already reached a certain climax, the Emperor Nicholas dispatched an autograph letter to his brother-in-law[b] at Berlin, in which he stated that though England and France might do him some damage at sea he feared nothing from them on land, having 600,000 soldiers ready to take the field at the end of April. Of these he would place 200,000 at the disposition of Frederick William, if the latter engaged himself to march on Paris and dethrone Louis Napoleon. The imbecile king was so much taken in by this proposition that *Manteuffel* required three days' discussion to dissuade him from taking the pledge. So much for the king.

As to *Herr von Manteuffel* himself, the "great character"[c] of whom the Prussian middle classes are so proud, the whole man lies open, as in a nutshell, in his secret instructions sent to Mr. Bunsen, his Embassador at London, at the same period as the above Russian letter was received, and which came into my possession through certainly a different manner than that by which Mr. Bunsen possessed himself of my private letters.[75] The contents of these instructions, betraying in the arrogant ambiguity of their style at once the schoolmaster and the drill-sergeant, are nearly as follows: "Look sharp whence the wind blows. If you observe that England is in earnest alliance with France, and determined to push on the war, take your stand on the 'integrity and independence' of Turkey. If you observe her wavering in policy and disinclined to war, out with your lance and break it cheerfully for the honor and character of the king, my master and yours."

Is the Autocrat wrong then in treating Prussia as a non-entity?

Written on March 21, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

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[a] See this volume, p. 8.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[c] Presumably an allusion to Heine's "Kein Talent doch ein Charakter" from *Atta Troll*, Kap. 24.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE SECRET DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE[76]

London, Friday, March 24, 1854

Although Lord J. Russell's dispatch[a] may, upon the whole, be described as a polite refusal of the Czar's proposition to enter into a previous concert on the eventual partition of Turkey, there occur some very strange passages, to which I call the attention of your readers. Lord John says:

"*There is no sufficient cause for intimating to the Sultan* that he cannot keep peace at home, or preserve friendly relations with his neighbors."[b]

Now, nowhere in the confidential communications of Sir H. Seymour do we meet an allusion to the Czar having proposed to intimate to the Sultan anything of the sort. We must, therefore, conclude either that Lord Russell, while simulating opposition to such a step, meant to insinuate it himself, or that some of Sir Hamilton's confidential communications are suppressed in the papers laid before the House. The matter looks the more suspicious as, only 16 days later, on Feb. 25, 1853, Lord Clarendon, on his accession to the Foreign Office, gave the following instructions to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe:

"Your Excellency will, with all the frankness and unreserve that may be consistent with prudence and the dignity of the Sultan, explain the reasons which lead Her Majesty's Government to fear that the Ottoman Empire is now in a position of peculiar danger. The *accumulated grievances of foreign nations* which the Porte is unable or unwilling to redress, the *mal-administration of its own affairs* and the *increasing weakness of executive power in Turkey*, have caused the allies of the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 80-82.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 81.—*Ed.*

Porte latterly to assume a tone alike novel and alarming and which, if persevered in, may lead to a general revolt of the Christian subjects of the Porte, and prove fatal to the independence and integrity of the Empire, a catastrophe that would be deeply deplored by Her Majesty's Government, but which it is their duty to represent to the Porte as considered probable and impending by *some* of the Great European Powers." (See the Blue Books on the Rights and Privileges of the Latin and Greek Churches, Vol. 1, pages 81 and 82.)

Was this not "*intimating*" to the Sultan, on the part of England, in plain words: "that he cannot keep peace at home or preserve friendly relations with his neighbors?" The Czar had told Sir Hamilton in a very off-hand way that he would not *allow* England to establish herself at Constantinople, but that he, on his part, intended to establish himself there, if not as *proprietor*, at least as depositary.[a] How does Lord John reply to this impertinent announcement? In the name of Great Britain he renounces "all intention or wish to hold Constantinople." He exacts no similar pledge from the Czar.

"The position of the Emperor of Russia," he says, "as *depositary*, but not proprietor, of Constantinople, would be exposed to numberless hazards, both from the long-cherished ambition of his own nation and the jealousies of Europe."[b]

The jealousies of Europe, but not the opposition of England! As to England, she would not allow—no—Lord John Russell dares not speak to Russia in the same tone in which Russia speaks to England—she would "*not be content* to see Constantinople *permanently* in the hands of Russia." She will, then, be content to see it *temporarily* so. In other words she fully concurs in the Czar's own proposal. She will not allow what he himself renounces, but is prepared to suffer what he intends doing.

Not "content" with installing the Czar as the eventual depositary of Constantinople, Lord John Russell declares in the name of the English Government that "they will enter into no agreement to provide for the contingency of the fall of Turkey without *previous* communication to Russia."[c] That is to say, although the Czar told Sir H. Seymour that he *had* entered into an agreement with Austria before making any previous communication to England, she on her part pledges herself to communicate with Russia previously to entering into an agreement with France.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 78-79.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 81.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., p. 82.—*Ed.*

"Upon the whole," says Lord John, "no course of policy can be adopted more wise, more disinterested, more beneficial to Europe than that which His Imperial Majesty has so long followed."

His Cossack Majesty happens to have followed, without ever swerving from it, the policy inaugurated at his accession to the throne, and which the liberal Lord John declares to have been so disinterested and so beneficial to Europe.

The ostensible and main point of dispute in the present Eastern complication is Russia's claim to a religious protectorate over the Greek Christians in the Ottoman Empire. The Czar, far from disguising his pretensions, told Sir Hamilton plainly that "by treaty he has a right to watch over those several millions," that he "made a moderate and sparing use of his right," and that it was "attended with obligations occasionally very inconvenient." Does Lord John Russell give him to understand that there exists no such treaty, and that the Czar had no such right? That he had no more right to meddle with the Greek subjects of Turkey than England with the Protestant subjects of Russia, or France with the Irishmen of Great Britain? Let him answer for himself.

"Her Majesty's Government wish to add, that in their view it is essential that the Sultan should be advised to treat his Christian subjects in conformity with the principles of equity and religious freedom: ...The more the Turkish Government adopts the rules of impartial law and equal administration, the less will the Emperor of Russia find it necessary to apply that *exceptional protection* which His Imperial Majesty has found so burdensome and inconvenient, though *no doubt prescribed by duty* and *sanctioned by treaty*."

Russia's *exceptional protectorate* over the subjects of the Porte *sanctioned by treaty*! *No doubt* about that, says Lord John, and Lord John is an honest man,[a] and Lord John speaks in the name of Her Majesty's Government, and Lord John addresses the Autocrat himself. What, then, is England quarrelling about with Russia, and why doubling the Income tax, and troubling the world with war-like preparation? What was Lord John's business when, some weeks ago, he arose in Parliament, with the aspects, and in the tone of a Cassandra, screaming and bouncing and gesticulating bombastic imprecations against the faithlessness and perfidy of the Czar?[b] Had [he] not himself declared to Caesar that Caesar's

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[a] Apparently an allusion to Antony's words

"But Brutus says, he was ambitious;
And Brutus is an honourable man"

from Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, Act III, Scene 2.—*Ed.*

[b] Lord John Russell's speech in the House of Commons on February 17, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21668, February 18, 1854.—*Ed.*

claims to the *exclusive protectorate* were "prescribed by duty and sanctioned by treaty?"

What the coalition had to complain of, was certainly no dissimulation or reserve of the Czar's but, on the contrary, the impudent familiarity with which he dared to unbosom himself before them and make them the vessels of his most secret designs, thus transforming the cabinet of Downing-st. into a private cabinet in the Alexander Newski.[a] A man confides to you his intention to murder your friend. He entreats you to enter with him upon a previous concert about the booty. If the man be Emperor of Russia and you an English Minister, you will not call him to the bar, but thank him in humble terms for the great confidence placed in you, and feel happy "to acknowledge his moderation, frankness and friendly disposition," as Lord John Russell did.

Let us return to St. Petersburg.

On the night of the 20th Feb.—only eight days before Prince Menchikoff's arrival at Constantinople—the Autocrat came up to Sir Hamilton Seymour at the *soirée* of the Grand Duchess Hereditary's,[b] when the following conversation took place between these two "gentlemen."

The Czar:

"Well, so you have got your answer, and you are to bring it to me to-morrow."

Sir Hamilton:

"I am to have that honor, Sire, but Your Majesty is aware that the nature of the reply is very exactly what I had led you to expect."

The Czar:

"So I was sorry to hear; but I think your Government does not well understand my object. I am not so eager *about what shall be done when the sick man dies*, as I am to determine with England *what shall not be done* upon that event taking place."

Sir Hamilton:

"But, Sire, allow me to observe that we have no reason to think that the sick man is dying; countries do not die in such a hurry. Turkey will remain for many a year, unless some unforeseen crisis should occur. It is precisely, Sire, for the avoidance of all circumstances likely to produce such a crisis that Her Majesty's Government reckons upon your generous assistance."

The Czar:

"I will tell you that if your Government has been led to believe *that Turkey retains any elements of existence*, your Government must have received incorrect information. *I repeat to you that the sick man is dying*; and we can never allow such an event to take us by surprise. We must come to some understanding.... And remember, I do not ask for a treaty or a protocol; *a general understanding* is all I

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[a] Nevsky Prospekt.—*Ed.*

[b] Maria Alexandrovna.—*Ed.*

require—that *between gentlemen* is sufficient.... So no more for the present; you will come to me to-morrow."[a]

Sir Hamilton "thanked His Majesty very cordially," but having hardly left the Imperial saloon and returned home, suspicion overcomes him, he sits down at his desk, reports to Lord John on the conversation, and sums up his letter with these striking marginal notes:

"It can hardly be otherwise but that the Sovereign who *insists with such pertinacity upon the impending fall of a neighboring State,* must have *settled* in his own mind that the hour, if not *of* its dissolution, at all events, *for* its dissolution, must be at hand.... This assumption would hardly be ventured upon *unless some, perhaps general, but at all events intimate understanding, existed between Russia and Austria.*

"Supposing my suspicion to be well founded, *the Emperor's object is to engage Her Majesty's Government, in conjunction with his own Cabinet, and that of Vienna, in some scheme for the ultimate partition of Turkey, and for the exclusion of France from the arrangement.*"

This dispatch arrived at London on the 6th of March, when Lord Russell was already supplanted in the Foreign office by Lord Clarendon.[b] The impression produced on the mind of this whining lover of Turkey by the Embassador's anxious warnings is quite surprising. Being fully aware of the Czar's treacherous design to partition Turkey to the exclusion of France, he tells Count Walewski, the French Embassador at London, that "they," in contradistinction to France, "were disposed to place reliance in the Emperor of Russia"—that "a policy of suspicion was neither wise nor safe"—and that "although he hoped the Governments of England and France would always act together, *when* their policy and their interests were identical, yet he must frankly say that *the recent proceedings of the French Government were not the best calculated to secure that desirable result.*" (See Blue Books, Vol. 1, pp. 93 and 98.)[c]

Be it also remarked, *en passant,* that at the same time when the Czar indoctrinated the British Embassador at St. Petersburg, *The Times* was repeating at London, day after day, that the state of Turkey was desperate, that the Ottoman Empire was crumbling to pieces and that there remained nothing of it except the phantom of "a Turk's head dressed up in a turban."[d]

The morning after the interview at the Imperial *soirée* Sir G. H. Seymour, according to the invitation received, waits upon the

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[a] Sir G. H. Seymour to Lord John Russell. February 21, 1853.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 84.—*Ed.*
[c] The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Cowley. March 22 and 29, 1853.—*Ed.*
[d] *The Times,* No. 21383, March 23, 1853, leader.—*Ed.*

Czar and a "*dialogue* lasting one hour and twelve minutes" takes place between them, on which he reports again in his dispatch to Lord J. Russell, dated Feb. 22, 1853.

The Emperor began by desiring Sir Hamilton to read to him aloud Lord John's secret and confidential dispatch of the 9th of February. The declarations contained in this dispatch he declared, of course, to be very satisfactory; he "could only desire that they should be a little amplified." He repeated that a Turkish catastrophe was constantly impending, and

> "that it might be brought about at any moment, either by an external war, or by a feud between the old Turkish party and that of the 'new superficial French reforms,' or again, by a rising of the Christians, already known to be very impatient of shaking off the Mussulman yoke."

He does not allow the opportunity to slip without bringing forth his worn-out bravado, that "if he had not stopped the victorious progress of Gen. Diebich, in 1829, the Sultan's authority would have been at an end"—while it is a notorious fact, that of the 200,000 men he had then marched into Turkey 50,000 only returned to their homes, and the rest of Diebich's army would have been annihilated on the plains of Adrianople but for the combined treason of Turkish Pashas and foreign Embassadors.

He insists on his not requiring a system altogether arranged between England and Russia, as to the previous disposal of the provinces ruled by the Sultan, and still less a formal agreement to be concluded between the two Cabinets, but only some general understanding or exchange of opinions, each party confidentially stating what it did not wish,

> "what would be contrary to English interests, what would be contrary to Russian interests, in order that, the case occurring, they might avoid acting in opposition to each other."[a]

By such a *negative* understanding the Czar would obtain all he cares for: 1st, the breaking up of the Ottoman Empire settled between England and Russia as a *fait accompli*, although in a negative and conditional form, while it would rest with him so to embroil matters as to be able to declare to England, with some show of reason, that the contingency foreseen *had* arrived. Secondly, a secret plan of action between England and Russia,

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[a] Quotation from the confidential memorandum of the Russian Cabinet to the British Government dated February 21 (March 4), 1853 which was communicated by Count Nesselrode to Sir Seymour on March 7, and sent by the latter to London on March 9, 1853 (see this volume, pp. 92-93).—*Ed.*

however vague and negative, brought about behind the back and to the exclusion of France, and thus necessarily setting England and France by the ears. Thirdly, England being restrained by her negative pledges as to what she would *not* do, he would have liberty to elaborate very tranquilly his own plan of positive action. Besides, it is evident that two parties agreeing as to what they will *not* allow each other to do, in a given case, are only settling in an evasive way what they *will.* This negative sort of understanding gives only the greater facilities to the more cunning of the two parties.

"Perhaps your Majesty," perplexed Sir Hamilton muttered, "would be good enough to explain your own ideas upon this *negative policy.*" The Czar, after some show of coy resistance, feigns to yield under the gentle pressure and made the following highly remarkable declaration:

> "I will not tolerate the *permanent* occupation of Constantinople by the Russians; having said this, I will say that it never shall be held by the English, or French, or any other great nation. Again, I never will permit an attempt at the reconstruction of a Byzantine Empire, or such an extension of Greece as would render her a powerful State; still less will I permit the breaking up of Turkey into little republics, asylums for the Kossuths and Mazzinis and other revolutionists of Europe; rather than submit to any of these arrangements I would go to war, and as long as I have a man and a musket left would carry it on."

No Byzantine Empire, no powerful extension of Greece, no confederation of little republics—nothing of the sort. What, then, does he want? There was no need for the British Embassador to guess. The Emperor himself, in the course of the dialogue, bursts upon his interlocutor with the following proposition:

> "The Principalities are in fact an independent state under my protection: this might so continue. Servia might receive the same form of government. So again with Bulgaria: there seems to be no reason why this province should not form an independent state. As to Egypt, I quite understand the importance to England of that territory. I can then only say, that if, in the event of a distribution of the Ottoman succession upon the fall of the Empire, you should take possession of Egypt, I shall have no objections to offer. I would say the same thing of Candia: that island might suit you, and I do not know why it should not become an English possession."

Thus he proves that "in the event of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, it might be less difficult to arrive at a satisfactory territorial arrangement than was commonly believed." He declares frankly what he wants—*the partition of Turkey*—and he gives the clearest possible outlines of that partition; clear as well from what he reveals as from what his silence conceals. Egypt and

Candia for England. The Principalities, Servia and Bulgaria to exist as vassal states of Russia. Turkish Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina he intentionally abstains from mentioning, to be incorporated with Austria. Greece to be extended in a "not powerful way"—say lower Thessaly and part of Albania. Constantinople to be temporarily occupied by the Czar, and then to become the capital of a state comprising Macedonia, Thracia, and what remains of Turkey in Europe. But who is to be the definitive possessor of that little empire, perhaps to be aggrandized by some portions of Anatolia? He keeps close upon that point, but it is no secret that he has some one in reserve for that post, viz: his younger son,[a] who longs for an empire of his own. And France—is she to receive nothing at all? Perhaps so. But no: she is to be put off with—who will believe it?—with *Tunis*. "One of her objects," he tells Sir Hamilton, "is the possession of Tunis," and perhaps, in the event of a partition of the Ottoman Empire, he might be so magnanimous as to indulge her appetite for Tunis.

The Czar speaks throughout in an affected tone of the most haughty disdain of France. "It looks very much," he says, "as if the French Government were endeavoring to embroil us all in the East." As for himself, he cares not a straw about it:

> "For his own part, he cared very little what line the French might think proper to take in Eastern affairs, and that little more than a month ago he had apprised the Sultan that if his assistance was required for resisting the menaces of the French, it was entirely at the service of the Sultan!
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> "In a word, the Emperor went on to observe, 'As I before told you, all I want is a good understanding with England, and this not as to what shall, but as to what shall not be done; this point arrived at, the English Government and I, I and the English Government, having entire confidence in one another's views, I care nothing about the rest.'"

"But Your Majesty has forgotten Austria!" exclaims Sir Hamilton.

> "Oh!" replied the Emperor, greatly to his surprise, "but you must understand that *when I speak of Russia, I speak of Austria as well; what suits the one suits the other*; our interests as regards Turkey are perfectly identical."

When he says Russia, he says Austria. As to Montenegro, he states explicitly "that he approved the attitude taken by the Austrian Cabinet."

Having treated in a former conversation the Sultan as the

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[a] Mikhail Nikolayevich.—*Ed.*

"Grand Turk"[a] of the *Vaudeville*, he designs him now, after the fashion of *Paul de Kock*, as "*Ce monsieur*." And how forbearing did he not behave toward *ce monsieur*? He has only dispatched a Menchikoff to Constantinople. "If he chose, he certainly could send an army there—there is nothing to stop them," as he proved afterward at Oltenitza and Chetatea, and by his own army's glorious retirement from Kalafat.

His Cossack Majesty dismissed Sir Hamilton with the words: "Well, induce your Government to write again on these subjects—to write more fully, and to do so without hesitation."

On the 7th of March, shortly after this curious dialogue, or, rather, monologue, the British Embassador is summoned to appear before Count Nesselrode, who places in his hands "a very confidential memorandum[b] which His Imperial Majesty had caused to be drawn up, and which was intended as an answer to, or a comment upon, the communication" of Lord John Russell.[c] Count Nesselrode invites him to read the paper, which, in fact, "was intended for his use." Sir Hamilton, accordingly, peruses the document, and he who had not found a single word of protest against the Muscovite's[d] elaborate insults against France, all of a sudden trembles at discovering that "the impression under which it has been framed is an incorrect one; that impression being evidently that, in the disputes carried on between Russia and France, Her Majesty's Government had leant partially to the latter power."[e] The very next morning he hastily sends a *billet doux* to Count Nesselrode, asserting that,

> "*far from having inclined*, as has been stated, to France in the course of the late critical transactions, it has been the desire of the Queen's advisers, *to the full extent permitted (!)* to a Government *compelled (!!)* to observe a *neutral* attitude, that ample satisfaction shall be given to the demands which His Imperial Majesty's Government were *justified* in making."[f]

In consequence of this begging letter, Sir Hamilton has, of course, another "very amicable and satisfactory conversation with the Chancellor," who comforts the British Embassador with the assurance that he had misunderstood one passage of the Emperor's memorandum which did not intend reproaching England with any partiality for France. "All," said Count

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[a] See this volume, p. 79.—*Ed.*
[b] Of February 21 (March 4), 1853.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, pp. 80-82.—*Ed.*
[d] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*
[e] Sir G. H. Seymour to the Earl of Clarendon. March 9, 1853.—*Ed.*
[f] Sir G. H. Seymour to Count Nesselrode. February 24 (March 8), 1853.—*Ed.*

Nesselrode, "what was desired here was that, *while appealing to the Emperor's magnanimity and feelings of justice,* the British Government should employ some efforts toward opening the eyes of the French Minister." There is nothing wanted "*here*" but England's creeping and cringing before the Kalmuk, and assuming a tone of dictatory severity against the Frenchman. To convince the Chancellor of the conscientious manner in which the British Government had executed the latter part of their service, Sir Hamilton reads him an extract from one of Lord John Russell's dispatches,[a] "as a specimen of the *language* held by an English Minister against the French Government." Count Nesselrode finds his boldest expectations surpassed. He only "regretted that he had not long ago been put in possession of *evidence so conclusive.*"[b]

The Russian memorandum in answer to Lord John's dispatch is described by Sir Hamilton, as "one of the most remarkable papers which have been issued, not from the Russian, 'Chancellery', but from the Emperor's secret Cabinet."[c] So it is. But it is superfluous to dwell on it, as it merely resumes the views of the Czar as developed in his "dialogue." It impresses upon the British Government that "the result, whatever it might be, of these communications, should remain a *secret* between the two Sovereigns." The Czar's system, it observes, has, "as *admitted* by the English Cabinet itself, been *always* one of forbearance" against the Porte. France had adopted another line of conduct, thus compelling Russia and Austria to act in their turn by intimidation. In the whole memorandum Russia and Austria are identified. One of the causes which might lead to the immediate downfall of Turkey is *expressly* stated to be the *Question of the Holy Shrines,* and "the religious sentiments of the orthodox Greeks offended by the concessions made to the Latins." At the close of the memorandum "no less precious" than the assurances contained in Russell's dispatch are declared to be "the *proofs of friendship and personal confidence on the part of Her Majesty the Queen,* which Sir Hamilton Seymour had been directed on this occasion to impart to the Emperor." These "*proofs*" of Queen Victoria's allegiance to the Czar have been wisely withheld from the British public, but may perhaps, one of these days, appear in the *Journal de St.-Pétersbourg.*

In commenting upon his dialogue with the Emperor and on the

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[a] Lord John Russell to Lord Cowley. January 28, 1853.—*Ed.*
[b] Sir G. H. Seymour to the Earl of Clarendon. March 10, 1853.—*Ed.*
[c] Sir G. H. Seymour to the Earl of Clarendon. March 9, 1853.—*Ed.*

Muscovite memorandum, Sir Hamilton again draws the attention of his Cabinet to the position of Austria:

"Assuming, as a certain and now acknowledged fact, the existence of an understanding or compact between the two Emperors as to Turkish affairs, it becomes of the deepest importance to know the extent of the engagements entered into between them. As to the manner in which it has been concluded, I conjecture that little doubt is to be entertained.

"Its basis was, no doubt, laid at some of the meetings between the Sovereigns which took place in the autumn; and the scheme has probably been worked out since under the management of Baron Meyendorf, the Russian Envoy at the Austrian Court, who has been passing the winter at St. Petersburg, and is still here."[a]

Does the British Government on receiving these revelations, call Austria to account? No, it finds fault with France only. After the Russian invasion of the Principalities, it appoints Austria as mediator, chooses Vienna, of all other towns, for the seat of the conference, hands over to Count Buol the direction of the negotiations, and to this very moment continues to stultify France into the belief that Austria is likely to be a sincere ally in a war against the Muscovite for the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire, although it knew for longer than a twelvemonth that Austria had agreed to the dismemberment of that Empire.

On March 19, Sir Hamilton's report on his dialogue with the Czar arrived at London. Lord Clarendon now fills the place of Lord John, and continues to improve upon his predecessor. Four days after the receipt of that startling communication, in which the Czar no longer deigns to dissimulate, but frankly reveals his conspiracy against Turkey and France, the noble Earl sends to Sir Hamilton the following dispatch:

"Her Majesty's Government regret that the alarm and irritation which prevail at Paris should have induced the French Government to order their fleet to sail for the waters of Greece; but the position in which the French Government stands, in many respects is different from that of Her Majesty's Government. They have not, to the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government, [received] assurances from the Emperor as to the policy he was determined to follow toward Turkey." (See Blue Books, Vol. 1, page 95.)[b]

If the Czar had communicated to France also that "the sick man was dying," and a complete plan for sharing his succession, France, of course, would have felt neither alarm nor hesitation as to the fate of Turkey, the real objects of Prince Menchikoff's mission, and the Emperor of Russia's immovable determination to maintain

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[a] Sir G. H. Seymour to the Earl of Clarendon. March 9, 1853.— *Ed.*

[b] The Earl of Clarendon to Sir G. H. Seymour. March 23, 1853.— *Ed.*

the integrity and independence of the Empire, which he averred contained "no elements of existence."

On the same 23d of March, the Earl of Clarendon sends another dispatch to Sir Hamilton Seymour, one not "cooked" for the Blue Books, but the secret answer to the secret communication from St. Petersburg.[a] Sir Hamilton had closed his report of the dialogue with the very judicious suggestion:

"I might venture to suggest that *some expression might be used in the dispatch to be addressed to me, which might have the effect of putting an end to the further consideration,* or, at all events, discussion of points which it is highly desirable should not be regarded as offering *subject for debate.*"[b]

The Earl of Clarendon, who feels himself the true man to handle hot coals, acts in strict compliance with the Czar's invitation, and in direct contravention to his own Embassador's warning. He commences his dispatch by declaring that "Her Majesty's Government gladly comply with the Emperor's wish that the subject should be further and frankly discussed." The Emperor is "*entitled*" to "the most cordial declaration of opinion" on their part, because of the "generous confidence" placed in them that they will help him dismembering Turkey, betraying France, and, in the contingency of the overthrow of the Ottoman rule, suppressing all possible efforts on the part of the Christian populations to form free and independent States.

"Her Majesty's Government," continues the freeborn Briton, "are fully aware that, in the event of any understanding with reference to future contingencies being expedient, or indeed possible, the *word of His Imperial Majesty* would be *preferable* to any Convention that could be framed."

At all events, his word must be as good as any Convention that could be framed with him, *the law advisers of the British Crown having long ago declared all treaties with Russia at an end, through violations on her part.*

"Her Majesty's Government persevere in the belief, that Turkey still preserves the elements of existence."

To prove the sincerity of that belief, the Earl gently adds:

"If the opinion of the Emperor, that the days of the Turkish Empire were numbered, became notorious its downfall must occur even sooner than His Imperial Majesty now appears to expect."

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[a] The Earl of Clarendon to Sir G. H. Seymour. March 23, 1853.—*Ed.*
[b] Sir G. H. Seymour to Lord John Russell. February 22, 1853.—*Ed.*

The Kalmuk, then, has only to divulge his opinion that the sick man is dying, and the man is dead. An enviable sort of vitality this! There is wanted no blast of the trumpets of Jericho. One breath from the Emperor's august mouth, and the Ottoman Empire falls to pieces.

"Her Majesty's Government *entirely* share the opinion of the Emperor, that the occupation of Constantinople by either of the great Powers would be incompatible with the present balance of power and the maintenance of peace in Europe, and must at once be regarded as impossible; that there are no elements for the reconstruction of a Byzantine Empire; that the systematic misgovernment of Greece offers no encouragement to extend its territorial dominion; and that, as *there are no materials for provincial or communal government,* anarchy would be the result of leaving the provinces of Turkey to themselves, or permitting them to form separate republics."

Observe that the British Minister, prostrate at the feet of his Tartar master and servilely reechoing his words, is not ashamed even to repeat the monstrous lie that in Turkey there are "no elements for provincial or communal government," while it is precisely the great development of communal and provincial life that has enabled Turkey to withstand till now the heaviest shocks both from without and from within. By indorsing all the Czar's premises the British Ministry justifies all the conclusions he intends to draw therefrom.

In the contingency of a dissolution of the Turkish Empire, says the gallant Earl, "the only mode by which a pacific solution could be attempted would be that of a European Congress." But he is afraid of the consequences of such a Congress—not because of Russian trickery, which cheated England at the Congress of Vienna to such a degree that Napoleon at St. Helena exclaimed: "Had he been victorious at Waterloo, he could not have imposed more humiliating conditions upon England"[a]—but from fear of France.

"The treaties of 1815 must then be open to revision, when France might be prepared to risk the chances of a European War to get rid of the obligations which she considers injurious to her national honor, and which, having been imposed by victorious enemies, are a constant source of irritation to her."

Her Majesty's Government "desire to uphold the Turkish Empire" not as a bulwark against Russia, and because its downfall would force England to fight out with Russia her *diametrically*

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[a] The quotation from the book: Las Cases, *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène,* T. VI, p. 186, is freely rendered.—*Ed.*

*opposed* interests in the East. Oh, no, says the Earl: *"The interests of Russia and England in the East are completely identical."*

They desire to uphold the Turkish Empire not from any Eastern consideration at all, but "from their conviction that no great question can be agitated in the East *without becoming a source of discord in the West.*" An Eastern question, therefore, will not bring about *a war of the Western Powers against Russia,* but a war of the Western Powers among themselves—*a war of England against France.* And the same Minister who wrote, and his colleagues who sanctioned these lines, would stultify us into the belief that they are about to carry on a serious war with France against Russia, and this "on a question agitated in the East," and although "the interests of England and Russia in the East are completely identical!"

The brave Earl goes further. Why does he fear *a war with France* which he declares must be the "necessary result" of the dissolution and dismemberment of the Turkish Empire? A war with France considered in itself would be a very pleasant thing. But there is this delicate circumstance connected with it,

— "that every great question in the West will assume a revolutionary character, and embrace a revision of the entire social system, for which the Continental Governments are certainly in no state of preparation.

"The Emperor is fully cognisant of the materials that are in constant fermentation beneath the surface of society, and their readiness to burst forth even in times of peace; and His Imperial Majesty will probably therefore not dissent from the opinion that the first cannon shot may be the signal for a state of things more disastrous even than those calamities which war inevitably brings in its train."

Hence, exclaims the sincere peacemonger, "hence the anxiety of Her Majesty's Government to *avert the catastrophe.*" If there lurked no war with France behind the partition of Turkey, and no revolution behind the war with France, Her Majesty's Government would be as ready to swallow the *Grand Turk* as his Cossack Majesty.

According to the instructions received from the Russian Chancellery, through the means of Sir H. Seymour, the gallant Clarendon winds up his dispatch with "appealing to the Emperor's magnanimity and feelings of justice."

In a second dispatch of our Earl, dated April 5, 1853, Sir Hamilton is directed to instruct the Russian Chancellor that

— "Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe was directed to return to his post, and a *special character* was given to his mission *by an autograph letter* from Her Majesty, under the impression that the Porte would be better disposed to listen to *moderate*

councils, when offered by one of Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe's high position and great knowledge and experience of Turkish affairs..., to advise the Porte to treat the Christian subjects with the utmost leniency."

The same Clarendon who gave his *particular* instructions had written in his secret dispatch dated 23d March, 1853:

"The treatment of Christians is not harsh, and the toleration exhibited by the Porte toward this portion of its subjects might serve as an example to some Governments who look with contempt upon Turkey as a barbarous Power."

In this secret dispatch it is avowed that Lord Stratford was sent to Constantinople as the most able and willing tool for intimidating the Sultan. In the Ministerial papers, at the time, his errand was represented as a strong demonstration against the Czar, that nobleman having long since played the part of Russia's personal antagonist.

The series of secret documents laid before the House concludes with the Russian memorandum wherein Nicholas congratulates himself on perceiving that his views and those of the English Cabinet entirely coincide on the subject of the political combinations which it would be chiefly necessary to avoid in the extreme case of the contingency occurring in the East.

The memorandum is dated the 15th April, 1853. It asserts "that the best means of upholding the duration of the Turkish Government is *not to harass it by overwhelming demands supported in a manner humiliating to its independence and its dignity.*" This was exactly the time of action of the Menchikoff comedy, who, on the 19th of April, sent in his impudent "verbal note," and used "language fortunately very rare in diplomacy"—as declared by the Earl of Clarendon in the House of Lords.[a] The more firmly was his lordship convinced of the Czar's determination to gently manage the sick man. His conviction grows yet stronger when the Principalities are invaded by the Cossack.

The Coalition Cabinet have discovered but one hole to slip through from these branding documents. The ostensible object of Prince Menchikoff's mission, they say, was the question of the Holy Shrines, while the communications about the partition of Turkey only related to an uncertain and distant epoch. But the Czar had plainly told them in his first memorandum[b] that the question of Turkey's downfall was "by no means an idle and imaginary question, a contingency too remote;" that the English

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[a] The Earl of Clarendon's speech in the House of Lords on August 12, 1853. *The Times*, No. 21506, August 13, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 92.—*Ed.*

Ministry were wrong "in perceiving in the two questions of Montenegro and the Holy Shrines mere disputes which would not differ in their bearing from difficulties which form the ordinary business of diplomacy," and that the question of the Holy Shrines might "take a most serious turn," and lead to the "catastrophe." They had admitted themselves, not only that he was wronged in the affair of the Holy Shrines, but that he had "a right, sanctioned by treaty, to the exceptional protection" of eleven millions of the Sultan's subjects. When therefore, they failed in pressing the Porte into the acceptance of the Menchikoff demands, the Czar acted according to the spirit of the memorandum of 1844,[a] to their own agreement with him, and to his verbal declaration to Sir G. Hamilton Seymour, that "he would not be trifled with," when he prepared to put *ce monsieur* to death. There is no question as to whether he is in the right against them; the only question is, whether they be not, even at this moment, "all right" with him. So much must be clear to whoever closely peruses those documents, that, if this scandalous Ministry remain in office, the English people may be driven, by the mere influence of external complications, into a terrible revolution, sweeping away, at once, Throne, Parliament and the governing classes, who have lost the faculty and the will to maintain England's position in the world.

In challenging, by the *St.-Petersburg Gazette*,[b] the Coalition to produce the secret proofs of their own infamy Nicholas proved true to his known dictum:

"Je hais ceux qui me résistent; je méprise ceux qui me servent."[c]

Written on March 24, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] See this volume, p. 73.—*Ed.*
[b] *Journal de St.-Pétersbourg.*—*Ed.*
[c] "I hate those who resist me, I despise those who serve me."—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## DECLARATION OF WAR.—ON THE HISTORY OF THE EASTERN QUESTION[77]

London, Tuesday, March 28, 1854

War has at length been declared. The Royal Message was read yesterday in both Houses of Parliament; by Lord Aberdeen in the Lords, and by Lord J. Russell in the Commons.[a] It describes the measures about to be taken as "active steps to oppose the encroachments of Russia upon Turkey." To-morrow *The London Gazette* will publish the official notification of war, and on Friday the address in reply to the message will become the subject of the Parliamentary debates.

Simultaneously with the English declaration, Louis Napoleon has communicated a similar message to his Senate and *Corps Législatif.*[b]

The declaration of war against Russia could no longer be delayed, after Captain Blackwood, the bearer of the Anglo-French *ultimatissimum* to the Czar, had returned, on Saturday last, with the answer that Russia would give to that paper no answer at all.[c] The mission of Capt. Blackwood, however, has not been altogether a gratuitous one. It has afforded to Russia the month of March, that most dangerous epoch of the year, to Russian arms.

The publication of the secret correspondence between the Czar and the English Government, instead of provoking a burst of public indignation against the latter, has—*incredibile dictu*[d]—been the signal for the press, both weekly and daily, for congratulating England on the possession of so truly national a Ministry. I

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[a] Victoria R., "The Royal Message". *The Times*, No. 21700, March 28, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 87, March 28, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Times*, No. 21699, March 27, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

[d] Incredible thing.—*Ed.*

understand, however, that a meeting will be called together for the purpose of opening the eyes of a blinded British public on the real conduct of the Government. It is to be held on Thursday next in the Music Hall, Store-st.; and Lord Ponsonby, Mr. Layard, Mr. Urquhart, etc., are expected to take part in the proceedings.

The *Hamburger Correspondent* has the following:

"According to advices from St. Petersburg, which arrived here on the 16th inst., the Russian Government proposes to publish various other documents on the Eastern question. Among the documents destined for publication are some letters written by Prince Albert."

It is a curious fact that the same evening on which the Royal Message was delivered in the Commons, the Government suffered their first *defeat* in the present session; the second reading of the Poor-Settlement and Removal bill[78] having, notwithstanding the efforts of the Government, been adjourned to the 28th of April, by a division of 209 to 183. The person to whom the Government is indebted for this defeat, is no other than my Lord Palmerston.

"His lordship," says *The Times* of this day, "has *managed* to put himself and his colleagues between two fires (the Tories and the Irish party) without much prospect of leaving them to settle it between themselves."[a]

We are informed that on the 12th inst. a treaty of triple alliance was signed between France, England and Turkey,[79] but that, notwithstanding the personal application of the Sultan to the Grand Mufti,[b] the latter supported by the *corps* of the Ulemas, refused to issue his *fetva*[80] sanctioning the stipulation about the changes in the situation of the Christians in Turkey,[81] as being in contradiction with the precepts of the Koran. This intelligence must be looked upon as being the more important, as it caused Lord Derby to make the following observation:

"I will only express my earnest anxiety that the Government will state whether there is any truth in the report that has been circulated during the last few days that in this convention entered into between England, France and Turkey, there are articles which will be of a nature to establish a protectorate on our part as objectionable at least, as that which, on the part of Russia, we have protested against."[c]

*The Times* of to-day, while declaring that the policy of the Government is directly opposed to that of Lord Derby adds:

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21700, March 28, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

[b] Arif Hikmet Bey.—*Ed.*

[c] The Earl of Derby's speech in the House of Lords on March 27, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21700, March 28, 1854.—*Ed.*

"We should deeply regret if the bigotry of the Mufti or the Ulemas succeeded in opposing any serious resistance to this policy."[a]

In order to understand both the nature of the relations between the Turkish Government and the spiritual authorities of Turkey, and the difficulties in which the former is at present involved, with respect to the question of a protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Porte, that question which ostensibly lies at the bottom of all the actual complications in the East, it is necessary to cast a retrospective glance at its past history and development.

The Koran and the Mussulman legislation emanating from it reduce the geography and ethnography of the various people to the simple and convenient distinction of two nations and of two countries; those of the Faithful and of the Infidels. The Infidel is "*harby*," i.e. the enemy. Islamism proscribes the nation of the Infidels, constituting a state of permanent hostility between the Mussulman and the unbeliever. In that sense the corsair-ships of the Berber States[82] were the holy fleet of Islam. How, then, is the existence of Christian subjects of the Porte to be reconciled with the Koran?

"If a town," says the Mussulman legislation, "surrenders by capitulation, and its habitants consent to become *rayahs*, that is, subjects of a Mussulman prince without abandoning their creed, they have to pay the *kharatch* (capitation tax), when they obtain a truce with the faithful, and it is not permitted any more to confiscate their estates than to take away their houses.... In this case their old churches form part of their property, with permission to worship therein. But they are not allowed to erect new ones. They have only authority for repairing them, and to reconstruct their decayed portions. At certain epochs commissaries delegated by the provincial governors are to visit the churches and sanctuaries of the Christians, in order to ascertain that no new buildings have been added under pretext of repairs. If a town is conquered by force, the inhabitants retain their churches, but only as places of abode or refuge, without permission to worship."[b]

Constantinople having surrendered by capitulation, as in like manner has the greater portion of European Turkey, the Christians there enjoy the privilege of living as *rayahs*, under the Turkish Government. This privilege they have exclusively by virtue of their agreeing to accept the Mussulman protection. It is, therefore, owing to this circumstance alone, that the Christians submit to be governed by the Mussulmans according to Mussul-

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21700, March 28, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx quotes documents on the situation of Christian subjects in the Ottoman Empire from César Famin, *Histoire de la rivalité et du protectorat des églises chrétiennes en Orient*, pp. 12, 13.—*Ed.*

man law, that the patriarch of Constantinople,[a] their spiritual chief, is at the same time their political representative and their Chief Justice. Wherever, in the Ottoman Empire, we find an agglomeration of Greek *rayahs*, the Archbishops and Bishops are by law members of the Municipal Councils, and, under the direction of the patriarch, [watch] over the repartition of the taxes imposed upon the Greeks. The patriarch is responsible to the Porte as to the conduct of his co-religionists. Invested with the right of judging the rayahs of his Church, he delegates this right to the metropolitans and bishops, in the limits of their dioceses, their sentences being obligatory for the executive officers, kadis, etc., of the Porte to carry out. The punishments which they have the right to pronounce are fines, imprisonment, the bastinade, and exile. Besides, their own church gives them the power of excommunication. Independent of the produce of the fines, they receive variable taxes on the civil and commercial law-suits. Every hierarchic scale among the clergy has its moneyed price. The patriarch pays to the Divan a heavy tribute in order to obtain his investiture, but he sells, in his turn, the archbishoprics and bishoprics to the clergy of his worship. The latter indemnify themselves by the sale of subaltern dignities and the tribute exacted from the popes. These, again, sell by retail the power they have bought from their superiors, and traffic in all acts of their ministry, such as baptisms, marriages, divorces, and testaments.

It is evident from this *exposé* that this fabric of theocracy over the Greek Christians of Turkey, and the whole structure of their society, has its keystone in the subjection of the rayah under the Koran, which, in its turn, by treating them as infidels—i.e., as a nation only in a religious sense—sanctioned the combined spiritual and temporal power of their priests. Then, if you abolish their subjection under the Koran by a civil emancipation, you cancel at the same time their subjection to the clergy, and provoke a revolution in their social, political and religious relations, which, in the first instance, must inevitably hand them over to Russia. If you supplant the Koran by a *code civil*, you must occidentalize the entire structure of Byzantine society.

Having described the relations between the Mussulman and his Christian subject, the question arises, what are the relations between the Mussulman and the unbelieving foreigner?

As the Koran treats all foreigners as foes, nobody will dare to present himself in a Mussulman country without having taken his

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[a] Anthinos.—*Ed.*

precautions. The first European merchants, therefore, who risked the chances of commerce with such a people, contrived to secure themselves an exceptional treatment and privileges originally personal, but afterward extended to their whole nation. Hence the origin of capitulations. Capitulations are imperial diplomas, letters of privilege, octroyed by the Porte to different European nations, and authorizing their subjects to freely enter Mohammedan countries, and there to pursue in tranquillity their affairs, and to practice their worship. They differ from treaties in this essential point that they are not reciprocal acts contradictorily debated between the contracting parties, and accepted by them on the condition of mutual advantages and concessions. On the contrary, the capitulations are one-sided concessions on the part of the Government granting them, in consequence of which they may be revoked at its pleasure. The Porte has, indeed, at several times nullified the privileges granted to one nation, by extending them to others; or repealed them altogether by refusing to continue their application. This precarious character of the capitulations made them an eternal source of disputes, of complaints on the part of Embassadors, and of a prodigious exchange of contradictory notes and firmans revived at the commencement of every new reign.

It was from these capitulations that arose the right of a *protectorate* of foreign powers, not over the Christian subjects of the Porte—the rayahs—but over their co-religionists visiting Turkey or residing there as foreigners. The first power that obtained such a protectorate was France. The capitulations between France and the Ottoman Porte made in 1535, under Soliman the Great[a] and Francis I; in 1604 under Ahmed I and Henry IV; and in 1673 under Mohammed IV and Louis XIV, were renewed, confirmed, recapitulated, and augmented in the compilation of 1740, called "ancient and recent capitulations and treaties between the Court of France and the Ottoman Porte, renewed and augmented in the year 1740, A.D., and 1153 of the Hegira, translated (the first official translation sanctioned by the Porte) at Constantinople by M. Deval, Secretary Interpreter of the King, and his first Dragoman at the Ottoman Porte." Art. 32 of this agreement constitutes the right of France to a protectorate over all monasteries professing the Frank religion to whatever nation they may belong, and of the Frank visitors of the Holy Places.

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[a] Soliman I the Magnificent.—*Ed.*

Russia was the first power that, in 1774, inserted the capitulation, imitated after the example of France, into a *treaty*—the treaty of Kainardji.[83] Thus, in 1802, Napoleon thought fit to make the existence and maintenance of the capitulation the subject of an article of treaty, and to give it the character of synallagmatic contract.

In what relation then does the question of the Holy Places stand with the protectorate?

The question of the Holy Shrines is the question of a protectorate over the religious Greek Christian communities settled at Jerusalem, and over the buildings possessed by them on the holy ground, and especially over the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. It is to be understood that possession here does not mean proprietorship, which is denied to the Christians by the Koran, but only the right of *usufruct*. This right of *usufruct* excludes by no means the other communities from worshipping in the same place; the possessors having no other privilege besides that of keeping the *keys*, of repairing and entering the edifices, of kindling the holy lamp, of cleaning the rooms with the broom, and of spreading the carpets, which is an Oriental symbol of possession. In the same manner now, in which Christianity culminates at the Holy Place, the question of the protectorate is there found to have its highest ascension.

Parts of the Holy Places and of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher are possessed by the Latins, the Greeks, the Armenians, the Abyssinians, the Syrians, and the Copts. Between all these diverse pretendents there originated a conflict. The sovereigns of Europe who saw, in this religious quarrel, a question of their respective influences in the Orient, addressed themselves in the first instance to the masters of the soil, to fanatic and greedy Pashas, who abused their position. The Ottoman Porte and its agents adopting a most troublesome *système de bascule*[a] gave judgment in turns favorable to the Latins, Greeks, and Armenians, asking and receiving gold from all hands, and laughing at each of them. Hardly had the Turks granted a firman, acknowledging the right of the Latins to the possession of a contested place, when the Armenians presented themselves with a heavier purse, and instantly obtained a contradictory firman. Same tactics with respect to the Greeks, who knew, besides, as officially recorded in different firmans of the Porte and "*hudjets*" (judgments) of its agents, how to procure false and apocryph titles. On other

[a] System of weights.—*Ed.*

occasions the decisions of the Sultan's Government were frustrated by the cupidity and ill-will of the Pashas and subaltern agents in Syria. Then it became necessary to resume negotiations, to appoint fresh commissaries, and to make new sacrifices of money. What the Porte formerly did from pecuniary considerations, in our days it has done from fear, with a view to obtain protection and favor. Having done justice to the reclamations of France and the Latins, it hastened to make the same conditions to Russia and the Greeks, thus attempting to escape from a storm which it felt powerless to encounter. There is no sanctuary, no chapel, no stone of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, that had been left unturned for the purpose of constituting a quarrel between the different Christian communities.

Around the Holy Sepulcher we find an assemblage of all the various sects of Christianity, behind the religious pretensions of whom are concealed as many political and national rivalries.

Jerusalem and the Holy Places are inhabited by nations professing religions: the Latins, the Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Abyssinians, and Syrians. There are 2,000 Greeks, 1,000 Latins, 350 Armenians, 100 Copts, 20 Syrians, and 20 Abyssinians—3,490. In the Ottoman Empire we find 13,730,000 Greeks, 2,400,000 Armenians, and 900,000 Latins. Each of these is again subdivided. The Greek Church, of which I treated above, the one acknowledging the Patriarch of Constantinople, essentially differs from the Greco-Russian, whose chief spiritual authority is the Czar; and from the Hellens, of whom the King and the Synod of Athens are the chief authorities. Similarly, the Latins are subdivided into the Roman Catholics, United Greeks, and Maronites; and the Armenians into Gregorian and Latin Armenians—the same distinctions holding good with the Copts and Abyssinians. The three prevailing religious nationalities at the Holy Places are the Greeks, the Latins, and the Armenians. The Latin Church may be said to represent principally Latin races, the Greek Church, Slav, Turko-Slav, and Hellenic races; and the other churches, Asiatic and African races.

Imagine all these conflicting peoples beleaguering the Holy Sepulcher, the battle conducted by the monks, and the ostensible object of their rivalry being a star from the grotto of Bethlehem, a tapestry, a key of a sanctuary, an altar, a shrine, a chair, a cushion—any ridiculous precedence!

In order to understand such a monastical crusade it is indispensable to consider firstly the manner of their living, and secondly, the mode of their habitation.

"All the religious rubbish of the different nations," says a recent traveler,[a] "live at Jerusalem separated from each other, hostile and jealous, a nomade population, incessantly recruited by pilgrimage or decimated by the plague and oppressions. The European dies or returns to Europe after some years; the pashas and their guards go to Damascus or Constantinople; and the Arabs fly to the desert. Jerusalem is but a place where every one arrives to pitch his tent and where nobody remains. Everybody in the holy city gets his livelihood from his religion—the Greeks or Armenians from the 12,000 or 13,000 pilgrims who yearly visit Jerusalem, and the Latins from the subsidies and alms of their co-religionists of France, Italy, etc."[b]

Besides their monasteries and sanctuaries, the Christian nations possess at Jerusalem small habitations or cells, annexed to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and occupied by the monks, who have to watch day and night that holy abode. At certain periods these monks are relieved in their duty by their brethren. These cells have but one door, opening into the interior of the Temple, while the monk guardians receive their food from without, through some wicket. The doors of the Church are closed, and guarded by Turks, who don't open them except for money, and close it according to their caprice or cupidity.

The quarrels between churchmen are the most venomous, said Mazarin. Now fancy these churchmen, who not only have to live upon, but live in, these sanctuaries together!

To finish the picture, be it remembered that the fathers of the Latin Church, almost exclusively composed of Romans, Sardinians, Neapolitans, Spaniards and Austrians, are all of them jealous of the French protectorate, and would like to substitute that of Austria, Sardinia or Naples, the Kings of the two latter countries both assuming the title of King of Jerusalem; and that the sedentary population of Jerusalem numbers about 15,500 souls, of whom 4,000 are Mussulmans and 8,000 Jews. The Mussulmans, forming about a fourth part of the whole, and consisting of Turks, Arabs and Moors, are, of course, the masters in every respect, as they are in no way affected with the weakness of their Government at Constantinople. Nothing equals the misery and the sufferings of the Jews at Jerusalem, inhabiting the most filthy quarter of the town, called *hareth-el-yahoud*, the quarter of dirt, between the Zion and the Moriah, where their synagogues are situated—the constant objects of Mussulman oppression and

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[a] J. Mislin.—*Ed.*

[b] C. Famin, *Histoire de la rivalité...*, pp. 49, 50; Famin cites the phrase "Everybody in the holy city ... Italy, etc." from J. Mislin, *Les Saints Lieux...*, T. II, p. 291.—*Ed.*

intolerance, insulted by the Greeks, persecuted by the Latins, and living only upon the scanty alms transmitted by their European brethren. The Jews, however, are not natives, but from different and distant countries, and are only attracted to Jerusalem by the desire of inhabiting the Valley of Jehosaphat, and to die in the very places where the redemptor is to be expected.

"Attending their death," says a French author, "they suffer and pray. Their regards turned to that mountain of Moriah, where once rose the temple of Solomon, and which they dare not approach, they shed tears on the misfortunes of Zion, and their dispersion over the world."[a]

To make these Jews more miserable, England and Prussia appointed, in 1840, an Anglican bishop at Jerusalem, whose avowed object is their conversion. He was dreadfully thrashed in 1845, and sneered at alike by Jews, Christians and Turks. He may, in fact, be stated to have been the first and only cause of a union between all the religions at Jerusalem.

It will now be understood why the common worship of the Christians at the Holy Places resolves itself into a continuance of desperate Irish rows between the diverse sections of the faithful; but that, on the other hand, these sacred rows merely conceal a profane battle, not only of nations but of races; and that the Protectorate of the Holy Places which appears ridiculous to the Occident but all important to the Orientals is one of the phases of the Oriental question incessantly reproduced, constantly stifled, but never solved.

Written on March 28, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] C. Famin, op. cit., pp. 54-55.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE FORTRESS OF KRONSTADT[84]

Ever since Sir Charles Napier set sail for the Baltic, with the First Lord of the Admiralty's "full permission to declare war", the more sanguine portion of the British public expect shortly to hear of Kronstadt bombarded, the approaches to St. Petersburg forced, and who knows? perhaps even the Union Jack hoisted on the glittering spire of the Russian Admiralty Palace.

There is a very correct idea at the bottom of these anticipations; it is this, that Kronstadt *is* the decisive point for any naval attack against Russia in the Baltic. Take Kronstadt, and St. Petersburg is at your feet, the Russian Navy exists no longer, and Russia is reduced to what she was before Peter the Great. If England *has* the forces in the Baltic required for such a feat, and if these forces should fritter away their strength in attacks against minor points, more than might be absolutely necessary, they would commit a blunder of the first magnitude, decisive in its effects perhaps for two or three campaigns to come. But if *we* know the vital importance of Kronstadt, the Russians know it also, and have acted up to their knowledge. That key of Russia has been surrounded by double and triple armour, bristling with something like a thousand guns.

It is well known that Kronstadt takes up the south-eastern angle of a small island,[a] about five miles in length, which closes up the narrowing portion of the Gulf of Finland, about 16 miles from the mouth of the Neva. The water on both sides of the island is generally very shallow, having only two channels navigable for

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[a] Kotlin.—*Ed.*

sea-going vessels. The one passing to the north of the island has a depth of not less than four fathoms[a] about two or three miles distant from its northern shore, bends round at four miles from its eastern extremity, approaching this latter to within 1,400 yards, but losing about a fathom in its depth of water. Thus the whole of the north-eastern coast of the island is out of cannon range for any men-of-war coming round by this channel, except the western and eastern extremities only. These alone are therefore fortified, the first by the forts *Katharine, Alexander* and *Michael*, the second by the walls of the town itself and by two batteries erected on the sands, about 1,000 yards in advance; the larger one of these batteries, however, is reported to be in ruins. Abreast of the north shore of the island, between its eastern and western defences, and fully a mile from the shore, another battery is constructed on the sands, which however is still out of gun-shot range from the four-fathom channel.

This northern passage, then, from its general distance from the defences, from the very intricate navigation it offers, and from the considerable shallowing of its south-eastern extremity, may be considered useless for a serious attack upon Kronstadt. Under circumstances where a dispersion of forces is to a certain extent not likely to bring on disastrous results, it may serve for sending a number of the lighter ships round the island, where, after silencing the not very formidable fire of the East Battery, they might take up a very convenient station for bombarding the town. Kronstadt, containing not only the chief naval magazines and dock-yards of Russia in the Baltic, but also plenty of timber in private hands, is full of combustible materials, and a few lucky hits with shell-guns might create a conflagration destroying in one night the naval stores amassed during years. Whether the taking up of such a position by a sufficient number of light men-of-war is actually possible, a close survey of the state of matters on the spot, combined with renewed soundings, must show; whether it is advisable, will depend upon the balance of forces; here we can only state what may, even at a distance, appear feasible from a comparison of the best evidence that can be collected.

The main line of attack, then, remains the South Channel, leading to the Great and Little Roads, otherwise called the Narrows. Here the four-fathom channel, several miles wide off the north-western point of the island, suddenly contracts to about a mile in width at two miles distance from the inner harbour, and

[a] 1 fathom=6 feet=1.82 metres.—*Ed.*

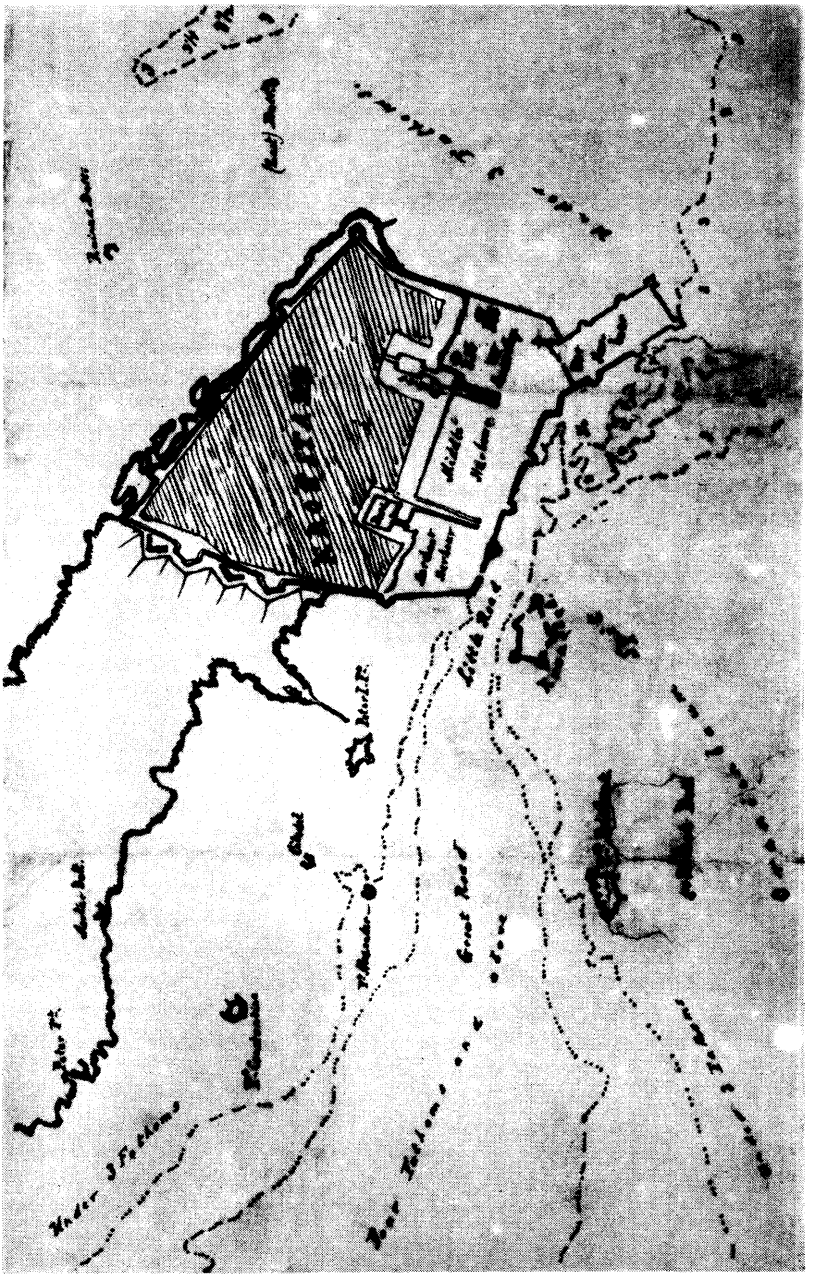

Plan of Kronstadt drawn by Engels while writing the article "The Fortress of Kronstadt"

thence forms an extremely acute angle, the apex of which is situated in front of the man-of-war harbour. Here a narrow bar, passing from the great sand-bank of Oranienbaum to the island, cuts the channel off and reduces its extreme depth to $3^1/_2$ fathoms. The Russians have taken good care to preserve this natural fortification for their man-of-war harbour, although a little dredging would remove it. This four-fathom channel, then, the central passage of which is nowhere less than $4^1/_2$ fathoms deep, and admits the largest men-of-war, is the line of approach to Kronstadt, and the decisive struggle must take place in its apex, which, for a mile and a half, is nowhere more than 400 yards wide.

The fortifications which defend this channel are of all sorts, from the antediluvian buildings of Peter the Great, to the most modern and formidable constructions with two or three tiers of guns one above the other. It is remarkable that the most important points are defended by fortifications of old and faulty construction: *this is the weak side of Kronstadt.* The old fortifications are small bastioned works, with guns firing from behind an open parapet, and with few or no casemated guns at all; with exceedingly small and narrow bastions, and therefore carrying a number of guns exceedingly small in proportion to their extent of frontage. It must, besides, be stated that one half of their guns is generally directed towards shallow water from which at the very utmost a gun-boat attack could be expected. But to such fortifications even gun-boats were formidable.

The modern constructions, on the contrary, are planned upon the system which *Montalembert* first introduced and which since, with more or less modification, has been generally adopted, especially for coast and harbour defences. Besides Kronstadt, Cherbourg and Sevastopol may be quoted as examples of its extensive application for this latter purpose. These constructions are distinguished by their two or three tiers of guns ranging one above the other, the lower tiers of guns standing in casemates, small vaulted rooms, as it were, where both guns and men are as much protected from the enemy's fire as it can be done. The upper tier of guns alone stands behind a parapet not covered in, but from their elevated station which commands the upper decks of the largest three-deckers, are well protected against the effects of shot. The trial of an attack will show, whether these forts have actually been constructed solidly enough to bear the concussion of their own and the effect of the enemy's fire; but if they are, they will prove the hardest nuts to crack.

We may distinguish three lines of fortifications around the Kronstadt channel.

The first, or outer, line embraces in a semi-circle the mouth of the Great Road, or that part of the four-fathom channel which is from one mile to half a mile in width. The right, or northern, wing of the position is formed by the *Peter Fort*, an insignificant lunette on the island, about 1,400 yards from the deep water channel; a *mortar battery*, also on the island, half a mile to the east, which may be considered as almost useless, and the *Fort Constantine*, a strong lunette closed to the rear, built on the sands, within 1,000 yards from the edge of deep water, exactly in front of the mortar battery. This fort is of modern construction and carries 50 guns in two tiers. It serves to defend the outer approaches, and may become troublesome to a fleet while forming; but if once passed, one half of its guns become useless. The centre of the first line is made up by *Fort Alexander* (not the one on the north end of the island, mentioned before); a semi-circular building erected in three fathoms water within four hundred yards of the deep channel where it narrows to half a mile. This fort therefore sweeps the channel from side to side, and small as it looks on plans and charts, it carries no less than seventy two guns in three tiers. If it be of sufficiently solid construction, and with well-ventilated casemates so as to draw off the smoke, this tower-like fort will give enough to do to a couple of three-deckers. Behind it lies the old *Citadel*, a lunette the insignificance of which is proved by the very existence of the new fort, which intercepts the fire of one half of its guns.

The left or southern wing, finally, is formed by the *Risbank Fort* and *Battery*, situated south of the entrance to the Great Road. This fort, constructed in the last century, has undergone a modernizing process, in consequence of which part of its guns are disposed in two tiers and their total number is increased to fifty. But for all that it occupies a far larger area than the modern forts, offering a frontage towards the roads of some 300 yards, which frontage, besides, is enfiladed, partially from the deep water channel, and entirely by a position which vessels of lighter draft may take up in $3^1/_2$ to 3 fathoms water within half a mile westwards. To obviate this, the *Risbank Battery* has been built 600 yards to the rear, but in a position little adapted for that purpose. The Risbank Fort lies exactly a mile south from *Fort Alexander*, and both sweep the entrance to the Great Road with cross fire.

This first line of defences would not in itself prove very formidable, if it were not materially supported by the more distant

fire of the second line. The second line protects the whole of the Great Road along with the entrance to the Little Road. It consists of the two flanking works of *Fort Peter the First* (old, badly constructed, a sort of crown-work situated half a mile east of Fort Alexander, and carrying on a frontage of 250 yards only 24 guns), *Kronslot* (bastioned old-fashioned work of five fronts, two of which look towards the shallow water and are therefore useless, carrying, although 400 yards in its longest diagonal, no more than 36 guns) and lastly, the fortified western wall of the *Merchant Harbour* in the centre. This wall, projecting from the island of Kronstadt itself, comes down to the very edge of the deep channel with which it forms a right angle, and which is here but 300 yards wide. It carries 70 guns and 12 mortars, part of which however appear so placed as to have little effect upon the shipping, and offers, in conjunction with both the main fronts of Peter I Fort and two fronts of Kronslot, a most effective cross fire over the inner half of the Great Road, where because of the obstacles created by the fire of the first line, and the narrowness of the channel, it must be extremely difficult for any ships but screw-steamers to take up a good position in sufficient force.

The third line, the direct defence of the Little or Inner Road, is formed, on the south side of the channel, by a third (the North East) front of Kronslot, and on the north and east side by the fortified walls of the Merchant, Middle, and Man-of-war harbours. The latter, projecting at an obtuse angle at the eastern end of the Middle Harbour, rakes the whole of the Little Road, while the south wall of the Merchant and Middle harbours protects it by a front fire. Both walls are flanked by several bastions, fortified gates and other projections. The width of the deep water channel, here, being nowhere greater than 250 yards, the fighting would be very murderous, but it is hardly to be doubted that before ships could penetrate so far, Kronstadt would have to capitulate. The central work of this third line, and the only one which may ever have any practical utility, is *Fort Menchikoff*, the first bastion, from the west, on the Merchant Harbour south wall. This bastion has been reconstructed into a tower of imposing proportions, carrying 44 guns in *four tiers* above one another one half of which enfilade the greater part of the Little and Great roads, the other half appearing, from the direction of their embrasures, almost useless. Whether the four tiers of guns will not prove too heavy for the narrow foundation of the building, remains to be seen.

We may add that on the land-side Kronstadt is fortified by regularly bastioned fronts, requiring a siege in due form to be

forced; and such a siege in the swampy ground of the little island, with only a fleet for base of operations, offers very great difficulties. If Kronstadt is to be taken, it must be done from the sea.

It is understood that we could only describe the permanent fortifications such as they existed according to the latest surveys and military reports. There may have been some alterations during the last few years, but it is not probable that they have been very important.

To recapitulate. The fate of any attack against Kronstadt must be decided in the Great Road, and here the only fortifications that can effectually play against the attacking fleet, are Forts Alexander, Peter I, Risbank, two fronts of Kronslot, the western Harbour Wall, and Fort Menchikoff. Altogether they may bring 350 guns at once to bear upon the attack, most of them well protected by walls and vaults, and firing through narrow embrasures. The other batteries are either directed towards other points of attack, or they are insignificant, or they are not within effective range. The question is: Can a sufficient naval force be brought up this narrow and intricate channel, to face both the northern and southern fronts of defence and to silence their fire, while that force is itself exposed to a raking fire from the Harbour Wall, Fort Menchikoff and Kronslot? Naval men may answer that question, unless they prefer to wait till the actual trial has been made. From what little we have had occasion to learn of naval tactics, we should say that here, if anywhere, is the point where the superiority of screw-ships of the line can produce results which to sailing-ships and paddle-steamers would appear equally unattainable.

The great weakness of Kronstadt, we repeat it, are the forts of old construction. They occupy the best positions and the largest portion of available space with the least possible effect of fire. If Risbank has been improved, Peter I and Kronslot remain inefficient. They might be silenced with comparative ease, perhaps even occupied, and in that case might be used to bombard the town. But from the moment ships have penetrated as far as between Alexander and Risbank, they have the town within shell-range, and can do immense mischief, unless sufficiently occupied by the forts.

Written at the end of March (not later than 30), 1854

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# Karl Marx

## BRITISH FINANCES.— THE TROUBLES AT PRESTON[85]

London, Friday, March 31, 1854

The Income Tax bill has been passed.[86] Sir G. Pakington spoke against it plainly and justly, although in a dull manner, observing that the recent publications of the Blue Books and of the secret and confidential correspondence had thrown quite a new light on the past financial policy of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Gladstone brought in a peace budget on the 18th April, 1853, when he [must] have been quite sure of war being imminent.[87] Three days before he made his statement the Coalition had received from Colonel Rose the information that

"Prince Menchikoff had tried to exact a promise from the Grand Vizier, before he made known to him the nature of his mission and of his demands, that he should make a formal promise that he would not reveal them to the British and French representatives."[a]

They were also aware, by the secret correspondence, of the Emperor's[b] intention to kill the dying man lest he should slip through his fingers.[c] With this information in his hands the unctuous Puseyite[88] comes forward and addresses the House:

"If you will adopt the income tax for seven years, I will only ask you for 7d. in the pound for the first two years; I will ask 6d. in the pound for the next two years; and for the last three years I will only ask 5d. in the pound, and then the income tax will expire."

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[a] G. Pakington's speech in the House of Commons on March 30, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21703, March 31, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 77.—*Ed.*

The income tax, as your readers will remember,[a] Mr. Gladstone described as a mighty engine of war that must be got rid of in these times of peace. This he said with the knowledge that war was almost inevitable, and that it would be necessary to double the tax of 7d. in the pound before twelve months had elapsed. It is now 1s. 2d. in the pound. If anybody should tell me that the overscrupulous Chancellor of the Exchequer deluded himself as to the position of affairs, I reply that only last Monday week[b] a fall in the funds occurred, because the stock jobbers said that the publication of the secret papers proved to demonstration that the Czar had determined to pursue his schemes, and that no trust could be placed in his most positive assertions. The members of the "Cabinet of all the Talents" must be supposed to possess at least equal perspicacity with the members of the Stock Exchange.

At the same time that the *Duns Scotus* of the Coalition, the Doctor Subtilissimus,[89] proposed his financial schemes for the conversion of the funds, and thus prepared, notwithstanding the warnings he received, an emptiness of the Treasury at the very moment of the "catastrophe". The balances in the Exchequer were as follows, in the years named:

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1844 ..... | £6,254,113 | 1847 ..... | £8,457,691 | 1850 ..... | £9,[245,676][c] |
| 1845 ..... | 8,452,090 | 1848 ..... | 8,105,561 | 1851 ..... | 8,[381,637] |
| 1846 ..... | 9,131,282 | 1849 ..... | 9,748,539 | 1852 ..... | 8,[841,822] |

By the commencement of 1853 Mr. Gladstone had contrived to reduce it to £4,485,230, and soon there will be no balance at all, as this ingenious *financier* has to take back the remainder of the South Sea stock[90] at £100, when it can hardly be sold on 'change at £85.

This financial policy of the Coalition perfectly t[akes up] with their diplomatic policy, which "thanks" the Czar for confiding to them his plans of partition; with their parliamentary policy, which always told the House the contrary of their information in hand; and with their military policy, which forced Omer Pasha to inaction till the Czar had completed his preparations for invasion, which dispatches the troops by steamers and the horses by sail

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[a] Marx, "Feargus O'Connor.—Ministerial Defeats.—The Budget" (present edition, Vol. 12).—*Ed.*

[b] March 20, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] The figures are taken from Pakington's speech published in *The Times*, No. 21703, March 31, 1854.—*Ed.*

vessels, retains the officers at London, and disembarks soldiers at Constantinople, and thinks fit to occupy neither Odessa nor the Crimea, nor Finland, nor the mouths of the Danube, nor any point threatening the Russians, but Constantinople, of all other places, in order not to crush the Cossack,[a] but to teach at this momentous crisis both the Mussulman and the Byzantine priest the occidental law and civil equality.

Notwithstanding the strong opposition of the Irish members, the House seems resolved to proceed with Mr. Chambers's motion, and to appoint a Committee of Inquiry for the practices and household arrangements of the nunneries. The principal plea on which Mr. Chambers's motion intends to be based is the seclusion of girls forcibly held from their natural and legitimate protectors. The middle classes of England shudder at the probability of girls being kidnapped for nunneries, but their justice, shown in a recent case, becomes impotent when girls are kidnapped for satisfying the lust of aristocrats or caprice of cotton lords. Last week a girl of sixteen had been lured away from her parents, enticed into a Lancashire factory, and kept there night and day, made to sleep there, and take her meals there, locked up as in a prison. When her father discovered what had become of his child, he was not allowed to see her, but was driven away from the factory by the police. In this case the Factory law was violated, the law of personal liberty, the law that gives the father the custody of his child under age, the very right of *habeas corpus* was set at nought. A gross and flagrant case of abduction had been committed. But how did the magistrates act in this case, when the disconsolate father appealed to them for redress? Their answer was: "They could do nothing in the matter."

Mr. Thom. Duncombe presented a petition, signed within 24 hours by above 7,600 inhabitants of the borough of Preston, complaining of the manner in which the laws for the maintenance of peace and order were administered by the local authorities in that borough. He gave notice that he should move for a committee of inquiry into the subject immediately after the Easter recess.

"The agitators of Preston, the great fomentors of the strike—the men who pretended to form a new estate of the realm, and to be the nursing fathers of the Labor Parliament, have at length received a check. Some dozen of them have been arrested and examined before the local magistrates on a charge of conspiracy, released on bail and sent before the Liverpool assizes".[b]

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[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Week", *The Morning Post*, No. 25033, March 27, 1854.—*Ed.*

Such are the words in which *The Morning Post* announces an event[91] which I was prevented from writing about earlier by the pressure of other matter. The charge against the leaders rests upon the fact that the masters had sent to Manchester and induced men to come down to Preston. They were mostly Irishmen. The people met them at the railway station, where they presented a scene of misery and wretchedness. About fifty-four of them were persuaded to go to the Farmer's Arms[a] where they were regaled all day, and, having consented to return, were escorted in the evening to the railway station amidst the exclamations of 15,000 persons. The employers got hold of seven of these people and brought them back to Preston to convict Mr. Cowell and his colleagues of conspiracy. Now, if we consider the [real facts] of the case, there remains no doubt on the question who are the real conspirators.[b]

In 1847 the Preston cotton lords reduced wages on a solemn promise to restore them as soon as trade should have become brisk. In 1853, the year of prosperity, they refused to keep their word. The working men of four mills struck, and were supported by the contributions of the remaining at work. The masters now conspired together that they would lock their mills, and entered each into a £5,000 bond to enforce their conspiracy.[92] The operatives then appealed for support to the other towns of Lancashire, and that support was given. The employers had sent emissaries to persuade and incite the cotton lords of other towns to lock out their hands, and succeeded in their endeavor. Not content with this, a vast subs[cription was] opened among them to counterbalance the [subscription] of the operatives. When they found that all these efforts were of no avail, they sent their agents far and near to induce laborers and their families, needlewomen, and paupers from the workhouses of England and Ir[eland to come] to Preston. Finding the surplus did not flow in fast enough for their wishes, they tried to provoke the people to a breach of the peace. They aggravated them by their insolence. They forbade meetings in the Marsh, but the people held meetings in Blackstone Edge and other interdicted localities. They introduced one hundred new police, they swore in special constables,[93] they turned out the fire-brigade, they kept troops under arms, and

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[a] The premises of the workers' committee during the Preston weavers' strike.— *Ed.*

[b] Below Marx uses data from E. Jones' article "The Cotton Law of Preston. Who Are the Real Conspirators?", *The People's Paper*, No. 99, March 25, 1854.— *Ed.*

went so far as to read the riot act[94] in order to provoke a riot. Such was the conspiracy of the masters [but] they were defeated in each of their attempts. Notwithstanding these facts, an indictment of conspiracy is charged, not against the masters, but against the men. Besides, there is a special case bringing the masters under the law of conspiracy. The men of a certain factory resumed the work. The masters' committee and the men's committee alike called for explanations. The men published a placard to the effect that they had gone to work on condition of payment at a certain rate. The masters' committee threatened proceedings against the master[a] of that mill to recover £5,000 as penalty on a bond given to support the masters' strike. The mill-owner thereupon said something which, being a flat contradiction of men's statement, occasioned them all to withdraw. If [making] of this bond of £5,000 was a conspiracy in the terms of the law, the menace to enforce it was still more so. But this is not all. The very indictment of the men's leaders was brought about by a conspiracy committed by the magisterial benches at Preston. According to *The Times*[b] itself, the magistrates got up evidence, sought for it, brought up their surplus slaves[c] in cabs to their council chamber, dreading the publicity of the town hall, there to arrange their evidence, and there, in the dead of night to pounce on their intended victims.

The expectations of these little Napoleons of Lancashire [were,] however, set at naught by the good sense of the working people, who neither allowed themselves to be provoked into a breach of peace, nor to be frightened into [submission] to the dictates of the Preston *parvenus*.

A public meeting was held in London on Wednesday night in St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, for the purpose of affording the working classes of the metropolis an opportunity of expressing their opinion on the conduct of the Preston masters. The following two resolutions were unanimously accepted:

"That the present Lord Chancellor of England, when Baron Rolfe[d], [and] in his capacity of judge, laid down the law thus:

"That if there were no other object than to persuade people that it was their interest not to work except for certain wages, and not to work under certain regulations, complied with in a peaceful manner, it was not illegal.

"That the operatives of Preston have for a period of thirty weeks been engaged

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[a] John Swainson.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Wages' Movement", *The Times*, No. 21694, March 21, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] Recruited workers.—*Ed.*

[d] Rolfe, Robert Monsey, Baron Cranworth.—*Ed.*

in a contest with their employers, and during the whole of that time have conducted themselves in the most peaceable and orderly manner.

"That, notwithstanding these facts, four[a] members of the Operatives' Committee have been committed to take their trial at the present Liverpool Assizes on a charge of conspiracy, although neither violence nor intimidation has been proved or even charged against them.

"This meeting is therefore of opinion that the conduct of the manufacturers and magistrates of Preston is reprehensible; that they have been guilty of an unwarrantable assumption of power; that they have destroyed at once the equality of the law and personal freedom; and that such proceedings ought to be condemned by the unanimous voice of the people.

"That the sympathy and help of the entire of the working classes of the United Kingdom should be devoted to the vindication of justice and the maintenance of right. This meeting, therefore, pledges itself to an extraordinary and continuous support of the Preston operatives in their present trying position, and earnestly exhorts all who have an interest in the elevation of labor to join with them in supporting its best interests."[b]

[The] London press generally condemn the proceedings [of the] Preston masters, not from any sense of justice but [from fear] of the probable results. They apprehend that [the] working classes will now understand that the indivi[dual] capitalist who oppresses them is backed by the whole machinery [of state], and that in order to hit the former they [must] deal with the latter.

Written on March 31, 1854 — Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 929, April 21, 1854

Signed: *Karl Marx*

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[a] *The People's Paper* has "eleven".—*Ed.*

[b] The resolution is given according to the article "Prosecution of the Lancashire Leaders" (*The People's Paper*, No. 100, April 1, 1854). *The People's Paper* for April 1, 1854 came out in the evening of March 31 as was then the custom and was used by Marx for this article.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE RUSSIAN ARMY

### TO THE EDITOR OF *THE DAILY NEWS*[95]

Sir,—It is getting high time that we should look our enemy straight in the face, to see what sort of an opponent he may turn out to be. The most contradictory opinions are afloat as to the real military strength and capabilities of Russia. Overrated by some, underrated by others, the reality appears still to be hidden by a veil, removable, not by any "Revelations of Russia,"[a] but by the actual events of war only.

Yet there exists a good deal of valuable matter in our western literatures which requires nothing but sifting and combining. Russia herself has contributed plenty of such matter. For Russian military literature makes as much, if not more, use of the French and German languages than of its own. Witness Major Smitt's valuable work on the Polish campaign of 1831, and Col. Tolstoi's account of the invasion of Hungary. The military works written in Russian are decidedly inferior to those written in foreign languages by officers of the Russian army. Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky's and Buturlin's Campaigns of 1812, Lukianovich's Campaign of 1828-29, and similar works, too much resemble the accounts of campaigns which we generally meet with in second-rate French historical works. The sobriety of facts is drowned in floods of inflated bombast, events are distorted according to the exigencies of national vanity, the victories achieved on the field of battle are put into the shade by greater victories achieved on paper by the authors, and detraction from the character of the enemy, whoever he be, predominates from beginning to end.

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[a] Ch. F. Hennigsen, *Revelations of Russia*, Vols. I-II, London, 1844.—*Ed.*

There is little of that soldierly feeling which knows that there is more merit in defeating a brave than a cowardly enemy, and which makes, for instance, Sir W. Napier's *Peninsular War* so pre-eminently the production, not only of an "officer," but of a "gentleman" also. The necessity of keeping up warlike ardour amongst the Russian population may explain the existence of such a style of writing history. But as soon as a western language is chosen, the thing is different. Europe, then, is to judge, and the publicity of the west would soon scatter to the winds assertions which, in Russia, pass off for gospel truth, because there the opponent has not the right of reply. The tendency to glorify Holy Russia and her Czar remains the same, but the choice of means becomes more limited. Accuracy of fact must be more strictly adhered to; a more sedate and businesslike diction is adopted; and in spite of attempts at distortion which generally betray themselves soon enough, there remains at least enough of positive information to make such a book in many cases an important historical document. If, besides, it should happen to have been written by a man in a relatively independent position, it may even be excellent as a military history, and this is actually the case with Smitt's *History of the Polish War.*

The composition and organisation of the Russian army is known well enough to military men all over Europe. The extreme simplicity of this organisation, as far at least as the "army of operation" is concerned, makes it easy to understand it. The actual difficulty is merely to know how far this organisation has been really carried out, how much of this army exists not merely on paper but can be brought forward against a foreign foe. It is on this point that these Russian military writings in western languages are principally important. National pride prevents their authors, wherever the enemy has been partially successful and offered a lively resistance, from overrating the numbers of combatants on the Russian side. In order to guard the honour of the Russian arms, they must unveil the differences between the real and nominal strength of Russian armies. Smitt's work, which gives the official muster-rolls, is particularly useful for this purpose. Tolstoi's *Hungarian Campaign,* on the contrary, quite in harmony with the proceedings of the Russians in that country, appears to be intended to show off not so much the valour as the formidable and overwhelming numbers of the Russian armies, ready to be launched upon the revolutionary west.

But if we can arrive at something like certainty regarding that part at least of the Russian army which more directly menaces

the rest of Europe, it is far more difficult to ascertain the real state of the fleet. We shall, later on, collect whatever information we have met with, but must wait for something more definite until "Charley"[a] gives a better account of it, or sends a few specimens over for home inspection.

The fortificatory system, the preliminary preparation of the theatre of war for defence and attack, is of course very difficult of access in a country like Russia. The coast defences are to a certain degree delineated in charts and plans, and cannot, from their very nature, be kept entirely hidden. Kronstadt and Sevastopol, although many details of military importance are not well known, are yet not half as mysterious places as they appear to some parties. But of the fortifications of Poland, of that very group of fortresses the very existence of which proclaims intentions of offensive war and of conquest, very little is known besides the spots upon which they have been built.[b] Some European war offices may have obtained, by dint of gold, plans of these fortresses from Russian *employés*; if so, they have kept the information for themselves. If the Polish Emigration could procure such plans, which to them should not be impossible, they might, by publishing them, do to Russia a great deal more harm than ever they did.

The Russian army is made up of four great divisions: the great army of operation, the reserves for it, the special and local corps, the Cossacks (amongst which are here comprised all irregular troops, whatever be their origin).[c]

The peculiar circumstances in which Russia is placed require a military organisation totally different from that of all other European countries. While on the south-east, from the Pacific to the Caspian Sea, her frontiers, guarded by deserts and steppes, are exposed to no other irruptions but those of nomadic robber tribes, who on such ground are best met by troops somewhat similar to themselves; while on the Caucasus she has to struggle against a hardy race of mountaineers, best combated by a judicious mixture of regular and irregular forces; her south-western and western frontiers require the immediate presence of a large army organised upon the most regular European footing and equipped with arms equal to those of the western armies it may have to fight. But as it is impossible to maintain permanently

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[a] Charles Napier.— *Ed.*
[b] For details see this volume, p. 502.— *Ed.*
[c] For details see this volume, pp. 498-501.— *Ed.*

upon the war footing such an army in a country the resources of which are only very partially developed, part of the soldiers have to be dismissed on furlough, to form a reserve for the war. Thus arise the four great divisions of the Russian army.

This organisation of the Russian army, the origin of which may be traced back as far as the first partition of Poland,[96] has been successively developed by the succeeding partitions of that country, the conquests on the Black Sea, the great wars with France; it has been brought to its present state of perfection after the Polish revolution of 1830.

The Great Army of Operation, which is almost exclusively stationed on the European frontier of Russia, is more especially a production of the partition of Poland, the wars with France, and the Polish revolution. Its object is twofold—to maintain in subjection the western, more civilised, and non-Russian portions of the empire, and to hang like a threatening cloud over the west of Europe, ready to come down upon it with thunder and lightning at a moment's notice. How far this object has been, or rather has not been, obtained during the past, is a matter of notoriety. How far it may in the present war be carried out, we shall have to consider by and by.

The grand army of operations or active army (deistvuyushtsheye voisko) consists of eleven corps d'armée, the corps of guards, the corps of grenadiers, six corps of infantry, and three corps of cavalry of reserve.

This whole organisation is imitated from the system introduced by Napoleon. The eight first named corps correspond exactly to the army corps of the French during the great war. The guards and grenadiers appear specially destined to form the general reserves of the army, while the cavalry corps are expected to produce those special decisive effects for which Napoleon always kept in reserve large masses of that arm and of artillery. Thus all the first named eight corps, although called infantry corps, are provided by their very organisation with cavalry and a numerous artillery. They have each a complete staff, engineers, pontoon and ammunition trains, parks of artillery, and every other requisite of an army destined to act independently. The guards and grenadiers are rather weaker in infantry than the other corps, their regiments having each three battalions only instead of four. The guards are, on the other hand, considerably stronger in cavalry and artillery; but it may be expected that in order of battle the greater part of this will be joined to the general cavalry and artillery reserve. The first and second cavalry corps

consist of heavy cavalry and horse artillery exclusively (the light regular cavalry is attached to the infantry corps); the third cavalry or dragoon corps has an especial organisation, as these dragoons are intended, same as was the fashion formerly, to fight both as infantry and cavalry, and thus to form a corps of reserve of all arms, having at the same time the mobility and rapidity of locomotion exclusively possessed by cavalry. Whether this will have been attained remains to be seen; the experience of all other armies, resulting in the almost complete and general conversion of dragoons into simple cavalry, is of no very favourable augury. This idea has even been carried to the extent of attaching both to the dragoon corps and to the guards battalions of mounted sappers, miners, and pontonniers—an institution highly lauded by the admirers of the Russian system, but equally wanting, as yet, the test of actual experience.

It may be added that this organisation in eleven corps, with their divisions, brigades, regiments composing each, does not merely exist on paper or for mere administrative purposes. On the contrary, the last Turkish war,[97] the Polish campaign, the Hungarian invasion, and the present Turkish war have shown the dispositions prevailing during peace to be so entirely calculated for war that no division, brigade, or regiment has to be separated from its corps, and to be attached to another whenever the movement towards the frontier begins. This is a great military advantage, resulting from the almost constant state of impending war in which Russia is accustomed to find herself. Other more peaceable states find, on a war approaching, every wheel and pulley of their war-machinery covered with rust, and the whole gearing out of trim; the organisation of army corps, divisions, brigades, complete as it may appear, has to be revolutionised in order to bring troops quick enough to the menaced frontiers; commanders, generals, and staffs are appointed afresh, regiments are shifted from brigade to brigade, from corps to corps, until, when the army is assembled for active operations, you have a motley reunion of commanders more or less unknown to each other, to their superiors, and to their troops; most of them, perhaps, big with a good deal of wounded vanity; and yet you must rely upon this brand-new machinery working well together. The disadvantage is undeniable, although in an army like those of the West it has far less importance than in a Russian one. It is a disadvantage not to be avoided except in an army on a permanent war footing (such as the Austrian army has been since 1848, in consequence of which its corps are also pretty firmly organised);

but for all that the higher degree of industrial perfection existing in western countries makes up, even in a merely military point of view, for this and any other disadvantage which the exigencies of their civilisation may impose upon them.

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## THE EUROPEAN WAR[98]

The most important feature of the news from Europe, brought by the *Arctic* which arrived yesterday morning, is the certainty that the Russians have crossed the Lower Danube, some 50,000 strong, in three corps under the immediate command of Prince Gorchakoff, Gen. Lüders and Gen. Oushakoff, and have occupied a part of the Turkish district of Dobrodja. This district belongs to the province of Bulgaria, and is a narrow plain inclosed on the west and north by the Danube,—which bends northwardly at Chernavoda, and makes a large detour before reaching its mouth,—and on the east by the Euxine. A large part of the district is marshy and liable to be overflowed; it contains several fortresses, such as those of Babadagh, Isaktsha, Matchin and Tultcha, which it is stated have been captured by the Russians, but this report our well-informed London correspondent pronounces a mere stock-jobbing invention. Between the plain of the Dobrodja and the interior of Turkey the Balkan stretches its protecting chain. The Russians are no nearer Constantinople than they were previous to this movement, and have gained by it no new advantage over the Turks. In fact, it seems perfectly clear that it is merely a defensive movement, indicating simply their intention to withdraw from the most western portions of Wallachia. Their entire force in Wallachia mustered seven divisions of infantry, one reserve division at Ismail, and further back the corps of Cheodayeff, numbering three divisions, which is now supposed to have reached Jassy. The eight divisions, together with the cavalry, are hardly above 110,000 strong. Considering the possibility of the landing of an Anglo-French corps on the north-western shores of the Black Sea, menacing the Russian rear, it is plain that the object

[of the] occupation of the Dobrodja is to secure the Russian flank with the smallest possible sacrifice of ground. There were but two means of securing a position which would guard them against the danger of being cut off,—either a direct retreat upon the Sereth, making the Lower Danube their line of defense, with Fokshani, Galatch and Ismail as supporting points; or to dash at the Dobrodja, with their front leaning upon Kustendje, Hirsova, Oltenitza and Bucharest; the wall of Trajan, the Danube and the Argish to be the first, Buseo the second and the Sereth the third line of defense. The latter plan was decidedly the best, as for the *terrain* abandoned on the one side a new one is gained on the opposite flank, which gives to the retreat the character of an advance, and saves the military *point d'honneur* of the Russians. The possession of the Dobrodja shortens the Russian front, allowing them, in the worst case, to retire upon Chotin on the Dniester, even if a landing should take place at Akerman or Odessa. For the details of the maneuvers by which this change in the Russian position has been effected, we have yet to wait.

Next in interest is the moral certainty that the Greek insurrection will be supported by what influence belongs to the monarchy of Greece, the King and Queen[a] both having gone to the frontier to encourage the insurgents. In this emergency, war between Greece and Turkey, backed by the allies, is nearly inevitable, adding to the complications if not seriously increasing the dangers of the general conflict. On the other hand we have the news of another proposal of peace from the Czar himself, communicated by way of Prussia.[99] Nicholas offers to settle the quarrel if the allies will obtain from Turkey an act of complete emancipation for all her Christian subjects. In that case he will evacuate the Principalities when the allied fleet passes the Dardanelles. Had these terms been openly proffered sooner they might have greatly diminished the chances of the war, as there is no doubt that the allies mean to procure just such an emancipation, and refusal to admit at least a part of it has already led to the dismissal by the Sultan[100] of two important members of his government.[b] But the offer cannot probably now prevent the war; for to the allied fleet a French and English army is now added, while Sir Charles Napier will have probably attacked and taken Aland before new orders could be sent out and reach him. Still this proposal may have a greater importance than we are inclined to attribute to it; on

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[a] Otto I and Amalie.—*Ed.*
[b] Rifaat Pasha and Arif Hikmet Bey.—*Ed.*

that head we shall doubtless have full information by the next steamer.

Amid all this confusion and uncertainty, one thing alone seems clear, and that is the extinction of the Moslem power as a distinct polity in Europe. The emancipation of the Christians of Turkey, whether effected by peaceful concession or by violence, degrades Islamism from a political authority to a religious sect, and utterly uproots the old foundations of the Ottoman Empire. It not only perfectly recognizes the truth of the Czar's statement that the Ottoman Porte is laboring under a dangerous malady, but cuts the patients' throat by way of medication. After that operation the Sultan may possibly be retained as a political fiction upon the throne of his fathers, but the real rulers of the country must be looked for elsewhere. It is clear why in such a case the Russian autocrat should be willing to settle quietly with his western antagonists. They will have effected in Turkey the most complete revolution conceivable, and effected it wholly in his interest. After such a dissolution of the present ruling authority, his relations to the Greek Church in the country, and to the Slavonians, will really endow him with the supreme power over it; he will then have the oyster while the western governments are obliged to content themselves with the shells. Such a consummation, though now improbable, is not impossible. But we may be sure there are plenty of elements, not yet developed, which will presently rush in to exercise a powerful influence on the progress of this great struggle. Among these how far the long-slumbering European Revolution is to play a leading part is a question which the statesmen of that hemisphere affect to ignore, but of which they may soon be unpleasantly reminded.

Written on April 3 and 4, 1854

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## THE WAR DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT[101]

London, Tuesday, April 4, 1854

A singularity of English tragedy, so repulsive to French feelings that Voltaire used to call Shakespeare a drunken savage,[a] is its peculiar mixture of the sublime and the base, the terrible and the ridiculous, the heroic and the burlesque. But nowhere does Shakespeare devolve upon the Clown the task of speaking the prologue of a heroic drama. This invention was reserved for the Coalition Ministry. Mylord Aberdeen has performed, if not the English Clown, at least the Italian Pantaloon. All great historical movements appear, to the superficial observer, finally to subside into the farce, or at least the common-place. But to commence with this is a feature peculiar alone to the tragedy entitled, *War with Russia*, the prologue of which was recited on Friday evening[b] in both Houses of Parliament, where the Ministry's address in answer to Her Majesty's message[c] was simultaneously discussed and unanimously adopted, to be handed over to the Queen yesterday afternoon, sitting upon her throne in Buckingham Palace. The proceedings in the House of Lords may be very briefly delineated. Lord Clarendon made the Ministerial, and Lord Derby the Opposition statement of the case. The one spoke as the man in office, and the other like the man out of it.[d]

Lord Aberdeen, the noble Earl at the head of the Government, the "acrimonious" confidant of the Czar, the "dear, good, and

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[a] Voltaire. *Dissertation sur la tragédie ancienne et moderne* (Preface to the tragedy *Sémiramis*).— *Ed.*

[b] March 31, 1854.— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 100.— *Ed.*

[d] Marx analyses the debate in Parliament according to the report published in *The Times*, No. 21704, April 1, 1854.— *Ed.*

excellent" Aberdeen of Louis Philippe, the "estimable gentleman" of Pius IX although concluding his sermon with his usual whinings for peace, caused, during the principal part of his performance, their lordships to be convulsed with laughter, by declaring war not on Russia, but on *The Press*,[a] a London weekly periodical. Lord Malmesbury retorted on the noble Earl; Lord Brougham, that "old, foolish woman," as he was styled by William Cobbett, discovered that the contest on which they were engaged was no "easy" one; Earl Grey, who, in his Christian spirit, had contrived to make the British Colonies the most miserable abodes of the world, reminded the British people that the tone and temper in which the war was referred to, the feeling of animosity evinced against the Czar and his Cossacks, was not the spirit in which a Christian nation ought to enter upon war. The Earl of Hardwicke was of opinion that England was weak in the means she possessed for dealing with the Russian navy; that they ought not to have a less force in the Baltic than 20 sail of the line, well armed and well manned, with disciplined crews, and not begin, as they had done, with a mob of newly raised men, a mob in a line of battle-ship during an action being the worst of all mobs. The Marquis of Lansdowne vindicated the Government, and expressed a hope as to the shortness and ultimate success of the war, because (and this is a characteristic mark of the noble lord's powers of conception) "it was no dynastic war, such a war involving the largest consequences, and which it was the most difficult to put an end to."

After this agreeable *conversazione* in which everybody had given his sentiment, the address was agreed to *nemine contradicente*.[b]

All the new information to be gathered from this *conversazione* is limited to some official declarations on the part of Lord Clarendon, and the history of the secret memorandum of 1844.

Lord Clarendon stated that "at present the *agreement with France* consists simply of an *exchange of notes* containing arrangements with respect to military operations."

Consequently there exists, at this moment, *no treaty* between England and France. In reference to Austria and Prussia he stated that the former would maintain an armed neutrality, and the other a neutral neutrality; but that "with such a war as is now about to be waged upon the frontiers of both countries, it would

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[a] The reference is to Lord Russell's polemic with the London *Press* on the history of the 1844 memorandum.— *Ed.*

[b] Without opposition.— *Ed.*

be impossible for either power to preserve a neutrality." Finally he declared that the peace to be brought about by the impending war, would only be a glorious peace "if they did secure equal rights and immunities for the Christian subjects of Turkey."

Now we know that the Sheik-ul-Islam[a] has already been deposed for having refused to sanction by a fetva the treaty granting this equalization of rights; that the greatest excitement exists on the part of the old Turkish population at Constantinople; and by a telegraphic dispatch received to-day we learn that the Czar has declared to Prussia that he is willing to withdraw his troops from the Principalities if the Western Powers should succeed in imposing such a treaty upon the Porte.[b] All he wants is to break the Osman rule. If the Western Powers propose to do it in his stead, he, of course, is not the madman to wage war with them.

Now to the history of the secret memorandum, which I collect from the speeches of Derby, Aberdeen, Malmesbury and Granville. The memorandum was

> "intended to be a provisional, conditional and secret arrangement between Russia, Austria and England, to make certain arrangements with respect to Turkey, which France, without any consent on her part, was to be obliged to concur in."

This memorandum, thus described in the words of Lord Malmesbury, was the result of private conferences between the Czar, the Earl of Aberdeen, the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel. It was by the advice of Aberdeen that the Czar addressed himself to the Duke and to Sir Robert Peel. It remains a matter of controversy between Lord Aberdeen and his opponents, whether the memorandum was drawn up by Count Nesselrode, on the return of the Czar to St. Petersburg subsequently to his visit to England in 1844, or whether it was drawn up by the English Ministers themselves as a record of the communications made by the Emperor.

The connection of the Earl of Aberdeen with this document was distinguished from that of a mere Minister with an official document as proved, according to the statement of Malmesbury, *by another paper not laid before the House.* The document was considered of the greatest importance, and such as might not be communicated to the other powers, notwithstanding Aberdeen's

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[a] Arif Hikmet Bey.— *Ed.*

[b] Telegraphic dispatch from Berlin of April 3. *The Times*, No. 21706, April 4, 1854.— *Ed.*

assurance that he had communicated the "substance" to France. The Czar, at all events, was not aware of such a communication having been made. The document was sanctioned and approved by the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel. It was not brought under the cognizance and consideration of the Peel Cabinet, of which Lord Derby was at that time a member. It remained not with the ordinary papers of the Foreign Office, but in the private custody of each successive Secretary of State, with no copy of it whatever in the Foreign Office. When Lord Derby acceded to office, he knew nothing of it, although himself a member of the Peel Cabinet in 1844. When the Earl of Aberdeen left office, he handed it over in a box to Lord Palmerston, who handed the box of Pandora over to his successor, Earl Granville, who, as he states himself, at the request of Baron Brunnow, the Russian Embassador, handed it over to the Earl of Malmesbury on his accession to the Foreign Office. But, in the meantime, there appears to have been an alteration, or rather a falsification in the original indorsement of the document, since the Earl of Granville sent it to the Earl of Malmesbury with a note stating that it was a memorandum drawn up by *Baron Brunnow*, as the result of the conferences between the Emperor of Russia, Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen, the name of the Duke of Wellington not being mentioned at all. No other motive can be supposed for this false allegation but the anxiety to conceal the importance of the memorandum by describing it as a mere annotation of the Embassador, instead of an official document issued from the Chancellory at St. Petersburg.

Such was the importance Russia attached to this document that 48 hours after Lord Malmesbury had been in office, Baron Brunnow came and asked him whether he had read it; but Malmesbury had not then done so, it being not forwarded to him till a few days after. Baron Brunnow urged on him the necessity of reading this document, which he stated *constituted the key of all conferences with Russia.* From that moment, however, he never mentioned the document again to the Derbyites, apparently judging the Tory Administration too powerless or too transitory for carrying out the Russian policy. In December, 1852, the Derby Government went out, and shortly after the intelligence of the formation of the Coalition[102] reaching St. Petersburg, on Jan. 11, the Czar again opened this question—a sufficient evidence this that he thought the cabinet of all the talents ready to act on the basis of this memorandum.

Here, then, we have the most compromising revelations made in

the House of Lords by the most irreversible witnesses, all of them having been Prime or Foreign Ministers of Great Britain. An "eventual engagement"—the expression used in the memorandum—is secretly entered into with Russia by an English Foreign Minister, not only without the sanction of Parliament, but behind the backs of his own colleagues, two of them only having been initiated into the mystery. The paper is for ten years withheld from the Foreign Office and kept in clandestine custody by each successive Foreign Minister. Whenever a ministry disappears from the scene, the Russian Embassador appears in Downing-st. and intimates to the new-comer that he had to look closely at the bond, the secret bond, entered into not between the nation as legally represented, but between some Cabinet-Minister and the Czar, and to act according to the line of conduct prescribed in a Russian memorandum drawn up in the Chancellory of St. Petersburg.

If this be not an open infraction of the Constitution, if not a conspiracy and high treason, if not collusion with Russia, we are at a loss to understand the meaning of these terms.

At the same time we understand from these revelations why the criminals, perfectly secure, are allowed to remain at the helm of the State, at the very epoch of an ostensible war with Russia, with whom they are convicted to have permanently conspired, and why the Parliamentary opposition is a mere sham, intended to annoy but not to impeach them. All Foreign Ministers, and consequently all the successive Administrations since 1844 are accomplices, each of them becoming so from the moment he neglected to accuse his predecessor and quietly accepted the mysterious box. By the mere affectation of secrecy each of them became guilty. Each of them became a party to the conspiracy by concealing it from Parliament. By law the concealer of stolen goods is as criminal as the thief. Any legal proceeding, therefore, would ruin not only the Coalition, but their rivals also, and not only these Ministers, but the Parliamentary parties they represent, and not only those parties, but the governing classes of England.

I may remark, *en passant*, that the only speech delivered in the House of Lords worth mentioning is that of the Earl of Derby; but his criticism of the memorandum and the secret correspondence—and I may say the same with respect to the debate in the Commons—contains nothing that I have not stated before in the full analysis I gave you of that fatal memorandum and that extraordinary correspondence.[a]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 73-83 and 84-99.— *Ed.*

"The power of declaring war is a prerogative of the Crown, a real prerogative; and if Her Majesty summons her Parliament, and informs them that she has found it necessary to engage herself in war, it is not an occasion when the Commons enter on the policy or impolicy of the war. It is their duty, under such circumstances, to rally round the throne, and to take a proper, subsequent and constitutional occasion of commenting on the policy which may have led to the war."

So said Mr. Disraeli in the sitting of the Commons, and so said all the Commoners, and yet *The Times* fills seventeen columns with their comments on that policy. Why was this? Even because it was not the "occasion," because their talk would remain resultless. But we must except Mr. Layard, who stated plainly:

"If it should be the feeling of the House, after what he should state to them, that the conduct of the Ministers should force the subject of a Parliamentary inquiry, he should not shrink from the duty thus imposed upon him, and would be ready to ask the Ministers to fix an early day on which the matter might be brought forward."

You will comprehend now the reason why *The Times* begins to doubt the justice of the Assyrian discoveries of Mr. Layard.[a]

Lord J. Russell, who introduced the address in the House of Commons, distinguished himself from Lord Clarendon only by his intonation of the words integrity, liberty, independence, civilization, whereby he secured the cheers of his more common audience.

Mr. Layard, who rose to reply to him, committed two great blunders, which disfigured his otherwise remarkable speech. In the first place, he sought to establish the existence of opposite elements in the Coalition, the Russian element and the English element, the Aberdeen fraction and the Palmerston fraction, these two fractions possessing no other distinction than their language and their modes of subserviency to Russia. The one is a partisan of Russia, because he does not understand her, and the other although he understands her. The former is, therefore, an open partisan, and the other a secret agent. The former, therefore, serves gratuitously, and the latter is paid. The former is less dangerous because placed in open antagonism to the feelings of the English people; the latter is fatal, because he makes himself pass for the incarnation of the national animosity against Russia. With Mr. Layard we must presume that it is ignorance of the man whom he places in opposition to Aberdeen. For Mr. Disraeli, who employed the same contrast, there is no such excuse. No man knows Lord Palmerston better than that chief of the Opposition,

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21705, April 3, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

who declared already in 1844, that no foreign policy of any Minister had ever been so fatal to British interests as that of the noble Lord. The second blunder committed by Mr. Layard was his argument that *The Times* was the direct organ of the Aberdeen party because the secret and confidential correspondence, two or three days after arrival, furnished materials for its leading articles, which endeavored to bring the country to consent to the nefarious transaction intended at St. Petersburg, especially its articles during February and March of last year. Layard would have done better to conclude with Lord Palmerston that those materials were furnished by the Russian Embassy at London, when he would have been able to charge both *The Times* and the Foreign Office with being the organs of the St. Petersburg Cabinet.

Holding the opinion that *The Times* is, in fact, a greater power than the Coalition not as to its opinions but as to the data which constitute the treasonable character of this secret correspondence, I subjoin the whole statement of Mr. Layard against that paper:

"The first of these secret dispatches was received in this country on the 23d of January, 1853, and on the 26th of the same month appeared in *The Times* the first of those articles to which he had referred. The next dispatch was received on the 6th of February, 1853, and on the 11th of the same month, four days afterward, there appeared an extraordinary article in *The Times*, from which he would now quote. In one part of the article it was stated:

"'We do not suppose that it is the intention or the policy of Russia to accelerate a catastrophe in the East, and the good offices of this country will again be employed to lessen the perils of a situation which is becoming critical. We cannot, however, forget that the attempt to prolong the brutal and decrepit authority of the Turks in Europe is purchased by the surrender of fine provinces and a large Christian population to barbarous misgovernment; and we shall rejoice when civilization and Christianity are able to repair the injuries of the Ottoman conquest.'

"Again, it was stated in *The Times* on the 23d of February, 1853, after various comments on the exhausted state of Turkey:

"'With the utmost political caducity, with a total want of ability and integrity in the men who are still its rulers, with a declining Mussulman population, and an exhausted treasury, the Porte unites as if by way of derisory contrast a dominion over some of the most fertile regions, the finest ports and the most enterprising and ingenious people of Southern Europe.... It is hard to comprehend how so great a positive evil can have been so long defended by politicians as a relative good; and, though we are not insensible to the difficulties attending any change in the territories of so huge an empire, we are disposed to view with satisfaction rather than with alarm the approach of a period'"

How did *The Times* know the period was approaching?

"'when it will be impossible to prolong the dominion of such a Government as that of the Porte over such a country as that which is now subject to its authority. Perhaps that period is less distant than is commonly supposed; and it may be the

part of wise statesmen to provide against such a conjuncture, which it is beyond their power indefinitely to postpone. We do not believe, and we do not mean to imply, that any combination of Austria and Russia, hostile to the territorial claims of the Ottoman Empire, is now in existence, or is likely to be formed without the knowledge of the other European powers. We have strong grounds to believe'"—

## When *The Times* says that we know what it means—

"'that Prince Menchikoff is sent from St. Petersburg to Constantinople upon a special embassy, for the express purpose of declaring, in the name of the Emperor Nicholas, that as head of the Greek Church he cannot submit, or allow the Eastern Church to submit, to the conditions of the firman recently obtained by the French Embassador with reference to the Holy Shrines in the Holy Land.'

"Now, the first intimation of Prince Menchikoff's mission was contained in Sir H. Seymour's dispatches, received February 14 and February 21. It was important to observe that on the 6th of March, 1853, arrived the dispatch giving the whole of the Emperor of Russia's plan for the partition of Turkey. The answer to it, as he had before said, was not returned before the 23d of March, and no Cabinet Council was held until the 13th of March, though certain members of the Government had seven days previously received the Emperor's proposal. That proposal was not submitted to their colleagues till the 13th of March, but it had been previously submitted to *The Times*, for on the 7th of March, the morning following the receipt of the dispatch, which then could not have been known to more than two or three members of the Cabinet, and which could not then have been seen by any clerk in the Foreign Office, there appeared a particular article in *The Times*. (Hear, hear.) The article said, among other things, that

"'The state of the Turkish Empire and the relations of the European Powers to the East are subjects on which it may be useful for reflecting politicians and the independent press to form and express opinions, though the consummation to which these opinions point be still unwelcome and remote. Statesmen, bound to transact the business of the day, and to recognize at every turn the obligations of what is called State necessity, are restrained within narrower limits, and would probably be unable to give effect to any novel or original conception if it had not previously been entertained by the mind and reason of the public.'

"He entreated the noble Lord to mark the words which followed, for they referred to the objection which he had offered.

"'We are therefore by no means surprised that, in adverting to the differences which have recently taken place in Turkey, and especially on its European frontiers, Lord John Russell should have expressed his dissent from the opinions which have been recently put forward on this subject, and should have repeated in his place in Parliament, speaking under the weight of official responsibility, the old story of the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire. We ourselves, however, are not affected by similar considerations.'

"How did the writer know that the noble Lord dissented? (Hear.) The article proceeded:

"'We do not, therefore, concur in the opinion of Lord J. Russell that no greater calamity could occur to Europe at the present time than the necessity of considering what ought to be done in such a case as the dismemberment of that empire.'

"Let the House mark the following words, for they were almost identical with those of the Emperor of Russia:

"'It would, we think, be a far greater calamity that the dismemberment commenced before any such consideration had taken place.'

"(Hear, hear.) They were the very words. The writer went on thus:

"'And here we must be allowed to express our surprise that any statesman should, for an instant, confound the policy which it might be proper to pursue in the event of a dissolution of the Turkish Empire with that which led to the partition of Poland. No doubt the argument of State necessity still remains to support the integrity and independence of the Turkish Empire; but that argument stands alone against a host of evils, and it means, in reality, no more than the fear of dealing with a momentous and uncertain question. Yet, so strange are the prepossessions on this subject which have been fostered, especially of late years, that an attempt to discuss this question on its own merits is viewed in some quarters as an act of political depravity, and a violation of all the laws which bind nations together.'

"The next article appeared on the 10th of March. The House might, perhaps, have been of opinion that hitherto he had not shown that the writer in *The Times* employed the exact words used in the dispatches; but the article he was about to read would remove all doubt upon that point. On the 10th of March an article appeared in *The Times* commencing with these words:

"'Prince Menchikoff arrives in a more strictly diplomatic capacity, and we have reason to believe that his instructions are more conciliatory than those of Count Leiningen.'

"A similarity of expression would be found in Sir H. Seymour's dispatch of the 21st of February:

"'His Excellency (Count Nesselrode) wished to assure me that the instructions with which Prince Menchikoff would be provided were of a conciliatory nature.'

"The article continued:

"'We must venture to say that it implies some penury of resources in modern statesmen that, when they have to deal with a question which involves the civilization of great provinces, the restoration of Christianity itself to that supremacy which it once enjoyed in all parts of Europe, and the progressive welfare of millions of human beings, the only expedient on which they can agree is to dress up a Turk's head in a turban, and agree to treat it as if it was still a symbol of force and empire.'

"A Cabinet Council was held on the 19th of March, at which the dispatch received on the 6th of that month was discussed, and an answer to it was returned on the 23d of March, containing this passage:

"'Although Her Majesty's Government feel compelled to adhere to the principles and the policy laid down in Lord John Russell's dispatch of the 9th of February, yet they gladly comply with the Emperor's wish, that the subject should be further and frankly discussed.'

"On the same day an article appeared in *The Times*, in which some of the phrases used in Lord Clarendon's dispatch might be found. The article commenced thus:

"'The opinions we have expressed on the present condition and future prospects of the Ottoman Empire do not coincide with the views entertained by Lord J. Russell, and communicated by him to the House of Commons; they differ from the course of policy which this country has pursued in former times and on several occasions; and they are entirely at variance with the system which a large numerical proportion of the London press is attempting, not very brilliantly or successfully, to defend.'

"Honor to the British press that, though wanting the brilliant epigrammatic pen which had shaken a Colonial Minister and almost upset a Cabinet, it did not support the views of *The Times*. *The Times* added near the end of its article:

"'He (the Emperor) has said that it is an object of his ambition to stand well with this country, and to deserve its confidence. His proceedings on this occasion will bring that assurance to the test, and he can give us no greater proof of moderation and good faith toward Turkey and the rest of Europe than a willingness to cooperate on these subjects, as he has before done, with the British Government.'"

"On the same day on which *The Times* announced that its endeavors to reconcile the British public to the partition of Turkey had failed, the answer to the dispatch which had been delayed for 16 days was sent to St. Petersburg. (Hear, hear.) He need not trouble the House with further extracts from *The Times*."

Mr. Bright supported the character of Mr. Cobden, in order to afford another opportunity to Lord Palmerston to gather popularity by abuse of Russia and sham-energetic defense of the war-policy. Among other things Palmerston stated:

"Now, it is known, I think, to those who have given their attention to the affairs of Europe for a considerable time past, that the views of Russia upon Turkey are not of yesterday, or indeed of any recent date. (Hear.) It is known that for a great length of time it has been the standing and established policy of Russia to endeavor to obtain possession of at least the European part of Turkey, and subsequently of Asiatic Turkey. This policy has been pursued with undeviating and systematic perseverance. It has been ever kept in view. When opportunities have offered, steps in advance have been made, and when checks have been experienced, those steps have been withdrawn; but only for the purpose of taking advantage of the next opportunity which offers. (Hear, hear.) Delay has been no element in mitigating or in inducing Russia to abandon its schemes. Its policy has been to keep one object in view—not to hurry, not to lose its object by prematurely grasping at its possession, but to watch the course of the other Governments of Europe, and to take advantage of every opportunity which might present itself, by which it could get even the slightest advance toward the ultimate object of its ambition."

Now compare this declaration of Lord Palmerston with those he made in 1829, '30, '31, '33, '36, '40, '41, '42, '43, '46, '48, '49, and you will find that the above is less a reply to Mr. Bright than to his own former policy.[103] But while this cunning foe, by such onslaughts upon Russia, conciliates the sympathies of the public, he on the other hand secures favor with the Czar, by the following observation:

"Now, Sir, do I blame the Russian Government for entertaining such a policy? A policy of aggrandizement pursued by legitimate means is a policy which you may condemn as dangerous to yourselves, which you may oppose as destructive of the independence and the liberties of other States, but which is not a reproach to the Government which pursues it, provided it be pursued by open, undisguised, and avowed means, without concealment, without subterfuge, and without fraud. Now, the course which, I am sorry to say, the Russian Government has pursued in all these recent transactions has not been that open and straightforward course which would justify it in avowing and in boldly declaring its policy."

But the only reproach to be made against the Russian Government was just, as Mr. Disraeli termed it, her *fatal frankness*. Palmerston, accordingly, by disapproving only of what Russia did not do, justifies entirely that which she really has done.

Mr. Disraeli's criticism of the secret papers was clever, as usual, but missed its effect by his declaration that it was out of place, and that his only intention in addressing the House was to support the address. It is painful to see a man of his genius cajoling a Palmerston, not only in the House, but also in his reputed organ, *The Press*, from so sordid a motive as the politics of place and party.

In yesterday's sitting of the House, Sir J. Graham stated that he had received intelligence that the fleet had entered the Black Sea, and was in the neighborhood of Varna.[a]

In the House of Lords, Lord Aberdeen gave notice that on Tuesday, the 11th, he should move the adjournment of the House till Thursday, 27th inst.

Written on April 4, 1854

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[a] Sir J. Graham's speech in the House of Commons on April 3, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21706, April 4, 1854.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [RUSSIA AND THE GERMAN POWERS.— CORN PRICES][104]

London, Friday, April 7, 1854

Lord Clarendon declared last night in the House of Lords that "he had reason to believe" that the news of the landing of 4,000 Russians in the Dobrodja by means of transports from Odessa was untrue. He was not aware that the Russian fleet had left Sevastopol which point had been watched, now and then, by English and French steamers. With regard to the alleged inactivity of the fleets, he begged to say that a blockade of Sevastopol and Odessa could only be undertaken by the whole of the combined squadron, which would have been a dangerous undertaking during the bad season. He believed, therefore, that it had been politic to retain them at Beikos. The Vienna correspondent of *The Times* concurs in this view of Lord Clarendon, and moreover, states the true motives of his policy.[a] The apprehension of riots at Constantinople has never been more justified than since the negotiations for "Christian emancipation" have become known, and it would have been highly "impolitic" to move the fleets from the Bosphorus before the arrival of a sufficient land force, i.e., sufficient to put down the Turks.

In the House of Commons Lord John Russell said the responsibility for the Greek insurrections rested with the Court of Athens, which had favored them at first secretly, and now openly.[b]

The debates of the week offer nothing of interest, except that on Mr. Moore's motion for a Select Committee to take into

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[a] Report from the Vienna correspondent of April 2. *The Times*, No. 21709, April 7, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Lord John Russell's speech in the House of Commons on April 6, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21709, April 7, 1854.—*Ed.*

consideration the case of the appointment of H. Stonor to the office of a Judge in the colony of Victoria,[a] the said Stonor having been reported by a Committee of the House to have been guilty of bribery at the elections in the borough of Sligo in 1853, the appointment of the Committee was granted. The prosecution of Mr. Stonor is, however, a mere pretext for renewing, on fresh ground, the battle between the two fractions of the broken Irish Brigade.[105] To what degree the sanctimonious *clique* of Mr. Gladstone and his co-Peelites are involved and comprised in these Irish scandals, may be judged from the following remark of *The Morning Post*:

"In the letters that have been produced, the gossip that has been retailed and the evidence which has been given before Parliamentary Committees within the last few weeks, there is much calculated to give strength to the suspicion that the Peelite section of the coalition have, for some time past, systematically employed agents to influence many of the Irish elections, and that they have supplied them largely with money for the purpose. The Duke of Newcastle is especially compromised.... There certainly appears to have been a conference of preferment upon individuals conducting election business, seemingly under his instruction."[b]

*The Daily News* of to-day publishes the treaty between France, England and Turkey, which, however, merely contains the arrangements for military action. The western powers are careful not to bring the real conditions of their "assistance to the Sultan" into the form of a treaty. These are imposed by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and his minatory apparatus *in loco*,[c] and made to appear as the voluntary act of the Turkish Government.

The peace mission of the Prince of Mecklenburg to Berlin had no other object in view but to furnish the King of Prussia[d] with a new pretext for keeping aloof from the Western Alliance. I am informed from Berlin that Russia would only acknowledge the Swedish declaration of neutrality after the King[e] had bound himself to re-issue to the commandants of the Swedish harbors the old regulations, according to which no more than four foreign men-of-war are allowed to anchor within the range of the guns of any port. As this order considerably departs from the stipulations of neutrality agreed upon between Sweden and Denmark, new

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[a] The debates in the House of Commons on Mr. Moore's motion are given according to *The Times*, No. 21709, April 7, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Morning Post*, No. 25043, April 7, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

[c] On the spot.—*Ed.*

[d] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[e] Oskar I.—*Ed.*

negotiations between the Scandinavian powers on the one hand, and the western powers on the other hand, are to be anticipated. It is generally believed at Stockholm that the Russians will abandon their occupation of Aland, and raze their fortifications on that island, carrying away the guns and other material of war. A telegraphic dispatch received to-day states that this step had already been carried out.[a]

The Austrian *corps d'observation* in the south-eastern portions of Hungary is now on a complete war footing, and drawn up in the different positions allotted to it. The concentration required from ten to twelve days. The German papers generally assume that this army would be destined to take the Turkish army in the flank, in case of Austria joining actively with Russia, and there would be no difficulty in doing so. But the Austrians can only enter Turkey either by Mehadia, when they would have the Turkish army in their front, or by Belgrade, when they would find themselves in a line with the extended left flank of the Turks. It is much more probable, therefore, that if the Austrians enter Turkey with hostile intentions, they will march from Belgrade upon Sofia by Kruschevatz and Nissa; but even in that case the Turks would have a shorter way to Sofia, by marching from Vidin in a direct line southward.

The report of the Prussian Loan-Committee in the Second Chamber contains an account of the policy pursued by Prussia in the Eastern Question, and publishes several diplomatic documents which have not yet found their way into the English press. I propose, therefore, to give you some important extracts from that report.[b]

At the end of January the Russian Embassador at Berlin[c] handed a proposition to the Prussian Government, simultaneously with the propositions made by Count Orloff to the Austrian Court, according to which the three Courts of Prussia, Austria and Russia were to sign a joint protocol. In the preamble to the draft of this protocol it is stated that the motive of this common engagement was the desire to draw closer the alliance of the three powers, in view of the dangers threatening the peace of Europe, and to regulate the relations both between them and with

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[a] This erroneous telegraphic dispatch from Berlin of April 5 was published in *The Times*, No. 21709, April 7, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to "Erster Bericht der Kommission zur Vorprüfung der Gesetz-Entwürfe, betreffend die Kredit-Bewilligung...."—*Ed.*

[c] A. F. Budberg.—*Ed.*

the western powers under the impending juncture. This draft contained the following three points:

1. The two German powers bind themselves formally, in the case of an active participation by England and France in the Russo-Turkish war, to observe the strictest neutrality; and declare if they should be again pressed or menaced by the western powers, that they are resolved to defend their neutrality, in case of need, with arms.

2. The three powers will consider any attack by France or England on the respective territories of Austria, Prussia, or any other German State, as a violation of their own territory, and will defend each other, as circumstances may require, and in accordance with a common military understanding (now arranged between General Hess and the Prussian Minister of War[a] at Berlin).

3. The Emperor of Russia repeats his assurance that he intends to bring the war to a close *as soon as compatible with his dignity and the well-understood interests of his empire.* Considering, however, that the ulterior development of events is likely to alter the existing state in Turkey, His Majesty obliges himself, if he should come to any understanding on that point with the naval powers, to take no definitive resolution without previous concert with *his German allies.*

This draft was accompanied by a dispatch from Count Nesselrode, in which the Chancellor reminds Prussia and Austria of the importance of that triple alliance which had so long been the shield of Europe. In sight of the impending war his imperial master considered himself obliged to earnestly appeal to his friends and allies. Their common interest made it necessary to define the position which they had now to occupy under these grave eventualities. Pointing out the one-sided advance of the western powers, he called attention to their want of consideration for the interests of the German powers. Russia acted differently. She was prepared to submit alone to the burdens of war, and would ask neither sacrifices nor aid from her friends and allies. The welfare of both powers and of Germany depended on their union. In this way they would succeed in preventing the crisis from extending, and perhaps shorten it. The Russian dispatch next proceeds to examine the three alternative positions open to the German powers: Common action with Russia against the naval

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[a] Ed. Bonin.— *Ed.*

powers; alliance with the latter against Russia, or lastly, a strict neutrality. As to an alliance with Russia, the Czar did not require it; and as to an action against him, it was impossible if the German powers would not submit to the menace of the western powers. This would be the acknowledgment of a disgraceful necessity to the end of bringing about a deplorable future. Russia, inattackable in her own territory, apprehended neither military invasions nor the more pernicious invasions of the revolutionary spirit. If her allies deserted her, she knew how to restrict herself to her own resources, and would arrange herself so as to dispense with them in future. (M. de Nesselrode writes his dispatches in German taking care that translation into another language becomes a matter of downright despair. As a specimen of his German exercises I give you the last sentence in the original words: *Wenn seine Alliierten es verließen, so würde es sich gesagt sein lassen, sich auf sich selbst zurückziehen und sich so einrichten, ihrer in Zukunft entbehren zu können.*) But the Czar had full confidence in the known sentiments of his friends and allies, and in their gallant armies, which had been connected long since with those of Russia by the baptism of blood (*Bluttaufe*), and by an identity of principles not to be denied. The third alternative only the Russian Cabinet thinks worthy of the German Courts, as corresponding with their interests, and appropriate; by continuing their parts as mediators, to realize the particular desires of Russia. It must, however, be understood that this neutrality could not be an indefinite one, or merely provisional, or an expectant one, because such an attitude would be construed as hostile by either belligerent, especially by Russia. That neutrality should rather be founded on the principles (of the Holy Alliance) which, during many trials, had secured the general tranquillity and the peace of the world. It was the duty of the German powers to give effect to this basis of their policy, if need be, by arms. If the one (France) of the two maritime powers should meditate or venture upon an attack of Germany, the other one (England) would instantly change her position. At all instances, if such an event should occur, Russia was ready to come forth and support them with all the forces at her command.

This proposition was declined at Berlin, and some days later at Vienna too. Manteuffel then still played the independent statesman, and declared in a dispatch to St. Petersburg that, by the desire of a renewed triple alliance, Russia, which pretended not to require the aid of Prussia, yet asked for it, though in an indirect form. "With regard to the revolutionary spirit, which Russia did not fear, he would observe that Prussia, too, had subjected it

without foreign aid." The independent minister, who "saved" Prussia by putting himself at the head of the counter-revolution, cannot suppress his irritation at seeing Prussia, which had no Hungary, placed in a line with Austria.

While Prussia thus boasts of her security, the other documents alluded to in the report prove that in the last days of February Austria submitted to Prussia the draft of a convention to be concluded between the four powers.[106] Prussia declined it in a dispatch dated the 5th of March. But it is characteristic of this power that it declares at the same time that the Government of Frederick William IV still considered the concert of the four powers as the best means to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the complication. Austria, consequently, was forced also to drop the convention which would have put an end to the equivocal position of both German powers.

A Prussian dispatch of March 16 contains the following important passage:

> "The Prussian Cabinet had noticed the measures taken by Austria with a view to maintain her interests on the south-eastern frontiers. It was true that Prussia, like all other German States, had to protect its own particular interests; but this should not exclude an understanding with Austria. On the contrary, Prussia was ready to enter into a concert, as far as the maintenance of German interests required. From this motive she looked forward to communications on the following points:
>
> "1. Whether Austria was prepared, in order to secure the tranquillity of her own frontier provinces, to occupy the contiguous Turkish provinces?
>
> "2. Whether she would take possession of the latter, and hold them as a pledge, till the restoration of peace?
>
> "3. Whether she intended to participate actively in the war?"

It would wholly depend on the answer to these several questions for Prussia to come to a conclusion as to what the maintenance of German interests would require, and whether she could do anything to mitigate the pressure applied to Austria by the *western powers* (not by Russia!).

On March 14, the Prussian Government addressed a circular Note to the German Courts in the one sense, and the Austrian Government in the opposite sense. The Prussian *circulaire* says the impending war will be of a purely local character. Austria, on the contrary, maintains that the struggle is likely to take a turn which would intimately affect her own relations. As long as circumstances should permit, she would not participate in the war; but she had to consider also the eventuality of a participation in it. The interests involved in this question were likewise those of the German States. The Imperial Cabinet, therefore, trusted that in

such a contingency Prussia and the other German Courts would join their forces with those of Austria. The German Confederation would then be called upon to show that, beyond its present defensive attitude, it knew also how to fill an active part in this question. Austria would make a further declaration as soon as the war between the western powers and Russia should have been actually declared. If there were yet any means to prevent the increase of those dangers which now threatened Europe, it would be found in the common action of Austria and Prussia, joined by their German confederates.

The last, but not least remarkable information contained in the report, is the melancholy answer given by M. de Manteuffel to a question of the Committee members, viz: That Russia had made no communication whatever of her partition schemes to the Prussian Government.

In conclusion, we learn from this document that the juggle of the Vienna Conferences has not at all come to an end. On the contrary, it states, on the authority of the Prussian *Premier*, that a new protocol was about to be drawn up, which would establish the *continued understanding between the four powers.*

The corn market is again rising. The cause of the late fall in France and England was the pressure acting upon speculators who, for want of sufficient capital and in a tight money market, were driven to forced sales which overstocked the markets. Another cause was the fact that the dealers, millers and bakers allowed their supplies to run out, in the belief that enormous cargoes were on the way to the European ports. I am, therefore, still of opinion that prices are yet far from having reached their maximum. It is certain that in no previous year were such erroneous and illusory speculations about the probable and possible supply of the corn market entertained as in the present year, illusions which are to a great extent encouraged by the cant of the free-trade papers.

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Frederick Engels

## POSITION OF THE ARMIES IN TURKEY[107]

When the intelligence of the Russian occupation of the Dobrodja was first received, and long before the real intentions of the Russians in passing the Danube could be developed by their acts, we stated our opinion that the leading idea of the movement could not be any other than the improvement of their defensive position.[a] That this was actually the case is shown by all their steps since, and by those of their opponents also. The Russians sent from 40,000 to 50,000 men into the Dobrodja, who have not, as far as reliable information goes, passed the line from Chernavoda to Kustendje. They appear to have sent an equal if not a superior number to Kalarash, opposite Silistria, with the intention of menacing, or under favorable circumstances, of attacking that fortress. They have withdrawn all their troops west of Bucharest with the exception of a rear guard, which, incapable of holding out any longer in front of Kalafat, has, it appears, made an excursion upon the opposite Servian shore of the Danube, for the purpose apparently of showing the contempt of the Russians for Servian neutrality, and trying what effect the presence of a few Russian uniforms would produce among the Servian peasantry—or even perhaps to furnish occasion for the occupation of the country by Austria.

There is no doubt that we shall very shortly hear of the whole of Lesser Wallachia being abandoned by the Russians, and what, then, will be their position? Their line will extend from Tirgovest by Oltenitza and Kalarash to Chernavoda and thence, crossing the Danube, to the Black Sea near Kustendje. It is, in fact, a position

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[a] See this volume, pp. 129-30.—*Ed.*

which sacrifices more ground than it gains. This is the case notwithstanding [that] this shortening of the Russian front is in itself an advantage. At the same time it is a movement toward their left, by which their line of retreat, formerly in the direction of the prolongation of that front, is now placed perpendicularly behind it. Two months ago Omer Pasha could have cut off their retreat by merely passing the Danube at any point between Silistria and Hirsova; but now that cannot be done, except, perhaps, by landing troops near the mouth of the Dniester. And it is in this that the great advantage of the movement lies—an advantage not even balanced by the risk encountered by placing the corps in the Dobrodja in an oblong rectangle, one side of which is closed by the strong position of the enemy, another by the sea, and the other two by the two bends of the Danube with no more than three bridges for communication, reenforcements or retreat.

But here ends the advantage gained by the Russians. They have obtained a position from which they can retreat, but not one from which they can advance. Before them, from Oltenitza to Chernavoda, is the Danube, passable at a few points only, and those points defended either by strong batteries on a commanding shore, or, as at Silistria by a regular fortress. Further on, from Chernavoda to the sea are the lakes and morasses of Karasu, the Wall of Trajan, (refitted for defense on the points of passage) the fortress of Kustendje, and the allied fleets on their flank in the Black Sea. Beyond the Danube, as well as beyond Trajan's Wall, stretches a comparatively barren country, generally of high ground, intersected in every direction by precipitous ravines formed by numerous rivers, none of which are bridged over. This country is certainly not impassable for an army, but can only be traversed by a force which may safely expect to find a good position, a weak enemy, and plenty of provisions and forage on the other side. But here just the reverse is the case. If the Russians advance from Trajan's Wall and from Oltenitza or Turtukai toward Bazardjik and Rasgrad, they must leave troops behind them to blockade Silistria and to observe Rustchuk. Thus weakened, they pass the difficult country to Rasgrad and Bazardjik, and where do they arrive? Why, before the first advanced range of the Balkans, which runs right across their line of operations, and which must be passed in detached corps on different and diverging roads. Supposing this to be attempted, their divided corps risk being beaten in detail by a concentrated force emerging from Shumla, the retreat of which they cannot in any case cut off. But supposing even that they should overcome all these difficulties, and should appear, say 100,000 men strong, in the neighborhood of

Shumla and Varna—what then? Shumla is a position which not only can be held by 40,000 men against 100,000, but in which the smaller force cannot be kept in check by the larger. At the same time, it covers Varna, which on the other flank is covered by the allied fleets. And Varna and Shumla form, combined, a line far stronger than Verona and Legnago formed, in 1848, upon the Adige for Field-Marshal Radetzky, when he was pressed on all sides by the Piedmontese and insurgent Italian troops.[a] Moreover, Shumla and Varna have as their complements Rustchuk and Silistria, both of which are situated in the direction of the enemy's flank, and which, weak as they may appear in themselves, cannot successfully be attacked as long as the main force of the Turkish army is capable of a sally from Shumla in either direction. Both fortresses are situated on the Danube, Silistria in front of the right center of the present Russian position, Rustchuk on its right flank. They must be blockaded on the right bank of the river; that is to say, the blockading force must take its station directly between the fortresses and Shumla, where, according to all appearances, Omer Pasha is concentrating the bulk of his troops. Any force, blockading Rustchuk and Silistria, must, therefore, be of sufficient strength to resist at least two-thirds of the Turkish army concentrated at Shumla, with the garrisons of these fortresses besides. On the other hand, if the Russian force advances by way of Bazardjik, it must also be strong enough to resist two-thirds of the army of Shumla in open battle. Besides, troops must be detached to blockade Varna at least on the north side, and if possible on the south side also; for unless Varna is blockaded it cannot be taken, and unless it is taken, the Russians cannot pass the Balkans. If, beside all these requirements, we take into consideration the detachments necessary to keep up the communication between the different corps on the long line from Rustchuk to Varna, and to secure the arrival of supplies, there is no doubt that in order to make a successful advance upon Shumla and Varna, the two decisive points of the defense of the eastern Balkans, the Russians must have more than double the force which the Turks can concentrate at Shumla.

From these facts we see that the Turks have acted very wisely. The abandonment of the Dobrodja is the first positive and undeniable proof of good generalship on the part of Omer Pasha. The country and its fortresses are not worth holding. Instead of incurring defeats and losses of men and material, the Turkish General at once ordered his troops to abandon all points as soon as it could be done with

[a] The reference is to the revolution of 1848.—*Ed.*

safety for the retreat of all, and to fall back on Trajan's Wall. Thus the Russians obtained an easy apparent triumph, while the Turks did them serious damage in the process, and gained their true position of defense before the enemy could retaliate. The Turks have no garrisons except in important places, and where the main army or the fleets in the Black Sea can support them. Thus they will be able to bring together at least 80,000 or 90,000 men in case of need, between Shumla and Varna, a force which might be increased by the speedy recall of some of the troops that a political panic, without any real reason, sent to Kalafat. And that the Russians should bring twice as many, or even more men, across the Danube is impossible, at least during this campaign. In saying this, we are supposing that they actually intend to carry forward a vigorous offensive, and we leave out of the account the arrival of the Anglo-French auxiliary troops, whose presence would make any passage of the Balkans an act of folly. We have considered the subject in this light, because it is quite as well to know the real state of the present combatants. The truth is, that if the Russians and the Turks alone had to fight the matter out, even after the superiority required for offensive action has been lost to the Turks by diplomatic delays, Constantinople is, for the present year at least, safe enough from a Russian invasion.

Written on April 13, 1854

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## [RESHID PASHA'S NOTE.—AN ITALIAN NEWSPAPER ON THE EASTERN QUESTION][108]

London, Tuesday, April 18, 1854

The Governments of England and France are said to have at last exchanged copies of an offensive and defensive treaty, comprising Five Articles. The contents are not yet known.

The treaty between Austria and Prussia is not yet concluded, the point of dissension being the occupation of the frontiers touching on Russian Poland, which the Prussian Court partly declines.

On the 6th April a *Te Deum* was celebrated at Athens in honor of the anniversary of Greek Independence. It was not attended by the Embassadors of the Western Powers. On the same day the *Observer* of Athens[a] registered sixteen royal *ordonnances* accepting the resignation of twenty-one generals, colonels, and other officers, all of whom were about to join the insurgents. On the day following the news reached Athens that the insurgents had been fearfully beaten near Arta. The very place where the battle was fought denotes that the insurrection had made not the slightest progress, and that its only victims until now have been the Greek peasants themselves who inhabit the frontier districts of the kingdom of Greece.

You will remember that in 1827 the Embassadors of Russia, England and France demanded that the Sublime Porte should recall every Turk from Greece, whether settled there or not. The Turks refusing to acquiesce, obedience was enforced by the battle of Navarino.[109] A similar order has now been issued against the Greeks, on the part of the Sublime Porte; and as neither the letter

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[a] *L'Observateur d'Athènes.* The report is given as reprinted in *L'Indépendance belge,* No. 108, April 18, 1854.—*Ed.*

of Reshid Pasha to Mr. Metaxas, the Greek Embassador, nor the circular of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe to the British Consuls, has yet been published in the London papers, I give you a translation of each from the *Journal de Constantinople* of April 5[a]:

*"Answer of Reshid Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the note of M. Metaxas*

"Constantinople, 3d Redjeb, 1270 (lst April, 1854)

"I have taken cognizance of the note which you addressed to me on March 26, with respect to your resolution to quit this capital. The Government of the Sublime Porte not having obtained from that of Greece due satisfaction in return for its just reclamations, with respect to the actual events, and the Chargé d'Affaires[b] of the Sublime Porte being obliged to quit Athens in conformity to his instructions, it is proper, Sir, that you also quit this city. I remit you, accordingly, in compliance with your demand, your passports. As from this day the diplomatic relations as well as the commercial ones are broken off between the two countries, we have come to the decision that the Hellenic Chancelleries established in the different provinces of our empire, as well as all the Greek Consuls, are to return immediately to their country. The merchants and other Hellenic subjects residing in Turkey must likewise withdraw from Constantinople; but in order to protect the interests of Greek commerce, we will grant them a delay of fifteen days. As to those who are established in the provinces, this delay will only be counted from the day of reception of the order for their departure. It is proved by positive statements that it is not in consequence of any neglect, but rather of the tolerance of the Greek Government, that our frontier provinces have been invaded. Although the Imperial Government has unquestionably the right to stop and confiscate all vessels found in our harbors, as pledges of the very considerable expenses incurred by us, my august master thinks it corresponds better with his sense of moderation not to inflict any losses on Greek subjects in a question only regarding the Greek Government. When that government shall have returned to more equitable sentiments, taking into its consideration international rights and the rules of the *jus gentium*,[c] then the occasion will have arrived for examining the question of the expenses caused by this insurrection. All Hellenic ships are, therefore, allowed to return without any hindrance, during the term fixed for them, to their own country. It has been enjoined on the proper authorities to facilitate the departure of those Greek subjects who are poor and destitute, and to use as much indulgence as possible toward the sick and infirm."

(The most Christian and civilized Government of Austria manages these things in a different style—witness the expulsion of the Ticinese.)[110]

"I think it expedient to repeat once more that the Hellenic Government alone has enforced upon us this decision, and that all the responsibility consequent upon it must entirely rest with Greece.

*"Reshid Pasha"*

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[a] These documents are given according to *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 108, April 18, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Nesset Bey.—*Ed.*

[c] International law.—*Ed.*

According to this order 3,000 Greeks embarked at Constantinople on the 5th of April, and we hear that the Pasha of Smyrna has already published the order for the Greeks inhabiting that city.[a]

The circular addressed by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe to the British Consuls in Turkey and Greece, runs as follows:

"Constantinople, Saturday, April 1, 1854

"Sir: It has come to my knowledge that the Hellenes who have invaded the frontier provinces of Turkey are exciting the Greek subjects of the Sultan to revolt, by declaring that the Governments of France and England are ready to support them in overthrowing the authority of the Sultan. I am also informed that similar maneuvers are employed with a view to persuading people that the French and English Embassadors will give protection to all the Hellenic subjects in Turkey, as soon as the Porte—in consequence of its diplomatic and commercial rupture with Greece—shall notify its intention to expel them from the States of the Sultan. Whereas such suppositions have a tendency to encourage false hopes, to mislead well-disposed men and to aggravate, criminally, the evils inseparable from a state of war, I hasten to give you the assurance that these assertions have no foundation at all. Those who for one moment rely on falsehoods so transparent and so incompatible with common sense and facts, must be very ignorant and credulous indeed. But such is unfortunately the case everywhere, in countries where the means of publicity are only imperfectly developed. You know as well as I do, that England and France are entirely with the Sultan in the noble resistance he opposes to a violent and unjust aggression. It necessarily follows that the two allied Governments cannot view, but with painful feelings of indignation and reprobation, a movement calculated only to benefit Russia, without even having the merit of being spontaneous, and which must ultimately embarrass the Porte and its allies, while it offers no other prospect but the ruin of those who thus expose their lives for so chimerical an illusion. We must pity the innocent families unfortunately implicated in the consequences of a brutal and unprincipled policy; but on our part there can exist no relations with the leaders, nor any dissimulation of the sentiments which the conduct of a senseless party cannot fail to inspire. I have to recommend to you not to neglect any opportunity of making known the contents of this circular to all those who may be disposed to allow themselves to be misled by the false assertions which it denounces.

*"Stratford de Redcliffe"*

The populations most immediately interested in the issue of the eastern complications are, besides the Germans, the Hungarians and Italians. It is of some consequence, therefore, to know the intentions of the diverse parties of these nations with regard to their relations toward one another. The following article from the Turin *Unione*, which I translate for this purpose, will show you the views of the constitutional party in Italy,[111] which seems to be quite prepared to sacrifice Hungary in order to recover Italian independence. The

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[a] Report from the Constantinople correspondent of April 3. *The Times*, No. 21718, April 18, 1854.—*Ed.*

secret of the duration of the Austrian Empire is no other than this provincial egotism which blinds each people with the illusion that they can conquer their liberty at the sacrifice of their fellow-people's independence.

"The English journals take great pains to give the impending war with Russia a character of liberty and European independence, while, in fact, they have nothing in view but their own commercial interests; in proof of which Lord John Russell recommends us Italians to remain quiet, and gives us to understand that Austria may one day or other become more humane. Thus he recognizes, at least, that at present she has nothing humane at all about her. Nevertheless, philanthropic England is trying to secure her alliance for the 'triumph of the *liberty and independence of Europe.*' As to the French press, it is not free, and under the dread of receiving warnings for the first time and being suspended for the second one, it cannot but make itself the echo of what is desired by the Government. Besides, the French papers are not accustomed to consider the questions of the day on a grand scale, and undergo too much the impulse of fashion. The German liberal papers write under the pressure of the immense fear which Russia causes them and justly so, if we consider the influence she has already acquired over the two principal powers of Germany. But what do we want? The independence of Italy. As long, however, as there is talk about the territorial integrity of Turkey and European *equilibrium* as based on the treaty of Vienna,[112] it is quite natural that we should continue to enjoy that identical *status quo* so contradictory to our wishes. What does Russia pretend to? To get rid of the Ottoman Empire and consequently of the equilibrium of the *status quo* and to revise the map of Europe. This is the very thing which we want. But it will be said that Russia wants to revise it in her own fashion. It is exactly this which may turn to our benefit, because neither France, nor England, nor Germany can tolerate this new aggrandizement of the territory or influence of an Empire that possesses already too much of both, and thus they will be forced to look out for a bulwark against her. This bulwark can be no other State but Austria, toward whom the occidental States are obliged to show generosity and to give her the whole Valley of the Danube, from Orsova to the Black Sea and below the Danube, the Dobrodja and the keys of the Balkans. Austria would then possess:

"1. A vast territory, with a population kindred to her own.

"2. The whole course of a great river, so necessary to the commerce of Germany.

"In such a case Austria would no longer want Italy, as far at least as her defense is concerned, and she would concentrate about six millions of South Slavonians and four millions of Daco-Romanians, in order to associate them with three other millions of the former and about as many of the latter, who are already subject to her dominion.

"Integrity and Independence of Turkey! Two solemn paradoxes. If you understand by independence the liberty enjoyed by a nation to govern itself according to its own principles, and without the right of any foreigner to intermeddle, that independence was already much compromised by the treaty of Kainardji,[113] and received its death-blow (colpo di grazia) from the recent treaty with the Occidental Powers.[114] Consequently it is no longer the Sultan who governs Turkey, but the European Powers; and from the moment that Mussulmans and Christians, conquerors and conquered, are subjected to an equality before law; from the moment that the rayahs—forming four-fifths of the population—are to have arms in their hands, Turkey no longer exists, but a transformation is set on foot that cannot realize itself without violence and the most serious disorders, and without the two sects who, during four centuries, have been accustomed to detest each other, coming to blows. Then let us hear no more of the independence of Turkey, except as a fable.

"And the territorial integrity! Was it then not France and England which, in agreement with Russia, wrested from Turkey the Greek Kingdom, viz: the Peloponnesus, Attica, Boeotia, Phocis, Acarnania, Aetolia, the Island of Negropont, etc., with a million of inhabitants? Was it not they? Is it not the French who took Algiers? Was it not France, England and Russia who gave to Egypt a half-independence? Was it not the Englishman who, fifteen years ago, seized upon Aden, on the Red Sea? Is it not also the Englishmen who covet Egypt?[115] And Austria that covets Bosnia and Servia? Why then speak of preserving a state of things against which all conspire, and which is unable to continue by its own force?

"We conclude, therefore, that Russia, while intending the overthrow of Turkey, is intending a good thing; that also the western Powers are justly inspired, if they intend to oppose the encroachments of Russia, but if the latter powers want to gain their object, they must dispense with the diplomatic hypocrisy in which they have enveloped themselves, and must be resolved to undo Turkey and revise the map of Europe. That is the point they must come to."[a]

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[a] *L'Unione*, No. 138, April 12, 1854.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [GREECE AND TURKEY.— TURKEY AND THE WESTERN POWERS.— FALLING OFF IN WHEAT SALES IN ENGLAND][116]

London, Friday, April 21, 1854

We are informed by the *Prussian Correspondence*[a] that the famous Chevalier Bunsen is not recalled, but has only obtained, on his own demand, a lengthened leave of absence. Count Bernstorff is designed as his temporary *locum tenens.*

The Commission of Constitution of the Swedish Diet has decided, by a majority of 12 to 11, that the ministers should be impeached before the High Court of the Kingdom, for their conduct in the affair of the simplification of the taxes which has lately been under consideration.

According to a report from Mr. Meroni, Consul at Belgrade, the Austrians must be prepared to meet the armed resistance of the Servians, in case they should march their armies into Servia.

On the 3d inst., Mr. Metaxas left Constantinople, to be followed, within a delay of less than fourteen days, by 40 to 50,000 of his compatriots. No embassy was willing to act as his temporary substitute for carrying on the current business. The Austrian Embassador declined, because, England and France being the protecting powers of Greece, it was the duty of their Chancelleries to represent Greece in the interim. Prussia would not accept, because Austria had declined. The Embassadors of England and France declared the time rather unseasonable for constituting themselves the representatives of Mr. Metaxas. The Charges d'Affaires of the smaller powers thought fit anxiously to avoid making any manifestation either of sympathy or antipathy. Thus Mr. Metaxas was obliged to leave behind an Attache of his own. But

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[a] *Preussische Lithographische Correspondenz.—Ed.*

it was soon discovered that his substitute, abusing the power granted to him by the Porte, busily engaged himself in distributing passports among the Greek Rayahs, in order to enable them to join the insurgents in Albania. Consequently, the functions of the Greek Chancellery have been altogether suspended, the issuing of passports being now devolved on a commission consisting of two Turks and two Rayahs.

Simultaneously, a notice was posted up that any subject of the Kingdom of Greece, who wished to become a subject of the Sultan, might be allowed to do so on finding two respectable persons to guarantee his good conduct. As the Hellenic inhabitants of Constantinople had uttered loud threats of setting Constantinople on fire and pillaging it before their marching off, extraordinary measures have been taken by the Government. The Turks patrol by day and night, and on the promenade of Pera[117] fifty cannons are mounted. From sunset to midnight every one walking or riding through the streets or the field must be provided with a lantern; after midnight all circulation is forbidden. Another edict prohibits the export of grain. Greeks confessing the Latin religion have been allowed to remain on the responsibility of the Latin Bishops of Pera. For the greater part, these natives from Tinos, Andros, and Syros, belong to the servant class. The inhabitants of the Isle of Hydra have addressed a petition to the Porte, sharply censuring the Greek insurrection, and entreating the Government to except them from the general measure. There has also arrived a deputation of the Greek subjects of the Porte from Trikala in Thessaly, requesting it to protect them energetically against the Hellenian robbers, as whole villages had been laid in ashes by them, and their inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age, dragged to the frontiers, there to be tormented in the most cruel manner.

A feeling of doubt, mistrust and hostility against their western allies is gaining possession of the Turks. They begin to look on France and England as more dangerous enemies than the Czar himself, and the general cry is—"they are going to dethrone the Sultan, and divide the land—they are going to make us slaves to the Christian population." Landing south of Constantinople instead of north of Varna, the allies are fortifying Gallipoli against the Turks themselves. The tract of land on which the village is situated is a long peninsula joined by a narrow isthmus to the continent and admirably adapted for a stronghold for invaders. It was there the Genoese of old defied the Greek Emperors of Constantinople.[118] Besides, the appointment of the new Sheik-ul-

Islam[a] fills the orthodox Moslems with indignation, since they regard him as little better than a tool of the Greek priesthood, and a strong feeling begins to pervade the Turks that it was better to yield the one demand of Nicholas than be made the plaything of a knot of greedy powers.

The opposition to the Coalition Ministry and the popular indignation at their manner of carrying on the war has grown so strong that even *The Times* is obliged to choose between damaging its own circulation and its subserviency to the Cabinet of all the Talents, and has thought fit to make a furious onslaught on them in its Wednesday's number.[b]

The Quebec correspondent of *The Morning Post* writes:

"Our fleet in the Pacific is quite strong enough to capture the whole of the Russian forts and posts along the coasts of Russian America (and they have none in the interior) and those which they possess here and there among the Fox, Aleutian and Kurile Islands, the whole forming a chain from the American coast to Japan. With the capture of these islands, which are also very valuable in furs, copper, in the mildness of their climate and in some of them containing excellent harbors near the Asiatic main shore, where no good harbors exist, and of Russian America, our influence in the Pacific would be materially increased, at a period when the countries of that ocean are likely to become of that importance which has long been their due. The greatest resistance which would be offered to our fleet would be at New-Archangel, in the Island of Sitka, which, besides being strong by nature, has been completely fortified, and has now some 60 or 70 guns mounted. There are about 1,500 persons there, the garrison being about 500, and there is a dockyard where many vessels of war have been built. At most of the other posts there are but from 50 to 300 persons and few of them have works of any importance. Should France desire to acquire territory as a set off to this conquest, should we make it, she might be allowed to possess herself of Kamchatka and the neighboring coast."[c]

*The Gazette*'s returns of wheat sold in the market towns of England and Wales exhibit a remarkable falling off as compared with those of the corresponding period of 1853, and this may be taken as a criterion of the quantity grown in each of the preceding harvests. The sales were, in

| | January | February | March |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1853 | qrs. 532,282 | 345,329 | 358,886 |
| 1854 | qrs. 266,477 | 256,061 | 227,556 |

The last weekly return is 36,628 quarters against 88,343 quarters in the corresponding week of 1853. These returns, then,

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[a] Arif Bey.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times*, No. 21719, April 19, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Morning Post*, No. 25055, April 21, 1854.—*Ed.*

show for the three months a falling off of about half a million of quarters, when compared with the corresponding months of 1853, afford the most striking proof of the deficiency in the last crop.

*The Mark Lane Express* says:

"The liberal character of the foreign supply has thus far prevented the shortness of the home deliveries being severely felt, and there are still considerable quantities of wheat and flour on passage from different quarters to this country; but can we expect that the importations during the time which must necessarily elapse before the next crop can be rendered available will be on an equally liberal scale? America has drained her ports on the seaboard to furnish what we have received from thence; and, though we do not doubt that she has still considerable stores in the far west, it will need high prices to cover the expenses of transporting the same to the east coast, and from thence to England. The northern ports of Europe have been nearly cleared of previous accumulations, and the war with Russia cuts off further supplies from the Black Sea and Azoff."[a]

We offer the foregoing for the consideration of our readers, without further comment.

Written on April 21, 1854

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4072, May 6; reprinted in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 934, May 9, 1854

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] This quotation is given as reprinted in *The Morning Post*, No. 25052, April 18, 1854.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE TURKISH WAR[119]

On the Danube there is nothing new except the complete evacuation of Lesser Wallachia by the Russians, and their preparations to storm the fortress of Silistria. With a view to this they had concentrated a large force of artillery on the opposite bank, and were, as it is reported, about to fling across some 30,000 men for the assault. It remains to be seen how far this report is true, but at any rate such a plan is not improbable. Its success is another question. It is certain that Silistria is the weakest of all the great Turkish fortresses, commanded within comfortable dismounting and breaching range by hights which have not, that we are aware, been fortified since the last war.[120] But this same Silistria, which fell in 1810 after four days' attack, sustained in 1828-29 two blockades of ten months' duration, and held out thirty-five days after the opening of a regular siege, and *nine days* after the completion of a practicable breach in the main wall. A fortress which has undergone such varying fates may well be said to be beyond any reasoning as to its strength and defensibility.[a]

But supposing Silistria to be carried by storm by an overwhelming superiority of force, it by no means follows that the road to Constantinople is clear for them. In order to advance on Shumla and Varna, they must leave at least 6,000 men behind at Silistria, which would then have to serve them as bridge-head for another and more conveniently situated bridge. Shumla they could hardly attack; for even if they took this famous intrenched camp, they would simply deprive the enemy of a good position

[a] For details see this volume, pp. 239-40.—*Ed.*

without gaining one for themselves. Shumla shuts against the Russians the passage of the Balkans, but if taken it does not open that passage to them.

The importance of Shumla consists in the fact that Varna is the key to the Lower Balkan, and Shumla is the key to Varna. Whatever may be the defects of the fortifications of Varna—and they are many—if fully garrisoned it requires a siege-corps of 20,000 to 30,000 men; and unless there remain troops enough, after deducting these, to cover the siege against any sallies from the intrenched camp of Shumla, where the Turks can concentrate all their forces, the siege cannot be carried on successfully. Varna held out, in 1828, *three weeks* after two practicable breaches had been made in its ramparts, and that at a time when the Russian fleet commanded the Black Sea, and the Turks had hardly the shadow of an army to attempt an attack upon the besiegers. Now, supposing Silistria taken, the various and very difficult river-lines before Varna and Shumla forced, and Varna blockaded, is there a chance that enough Russian troops would remain to neutralize Shumla? For the Turks at Shumla could act not only against the besiegers of Varna, but in the direction of the Danube, and at least one of the lines of communication of the Russians, so as to force them to detach more and more troops from their main body, which ultimately might be weakened to a dangerous extent.

And if Varna should fall what would Paskievich do if Omer Pasha sullenly remained in his stronghold of Shumla, ready to profit by the very first mistake the Russians made? Would he dare to push on toward Constantinople with but a single line of communication, which at the same time would be hemmed in and menaced by the Shumla army on one side, and by the allied fleets in the Black Sea on the other? Not he, indeed, if we are to judge from his exploits in Asia and Poland. He is an almost over-cautious general, a sort of military slow-coach, with nothing of the Radetzky in him. And if he had he would find that maneuver extremely hazardous, for he knows very well what a plight his predecessor Diebich was in when he arrived, in 1829, at Adrianople. Thus, even without taking into account the Anglo-French troops landing in Thrace, and making no more of the allied fleets than what they have justified us in, namely, supposing they will do next to nothing, we find that it is not such an easy thing for the Russians to march straight ahead to Constantinople with banners displayed and bands playing. That against Turkey unaided they were sure ultimately to get there no one ever denied except those new-fangled military writers who form their

judgment not from facts but from a conviction that "right against might" is necessarily victorious, and that in a "good cause" no blunders can possibly be committed.[a]

We may add that the British forces in the Baltic have done even less so far than those in the Black Sea.

Written on April 24, 1854

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4080, May 16; reprinted in the *New-York Weekly Tribune*, No. 662, May 20, 1854 as a leader

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Arnold, "The Coming War", *The Leader*, Vol. V, No. 200, January 21, 1854, pp. 59-60.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE GREEK INSURRECTION.— THE POLISH EMIGRATION.—THE AUSTRO-PRUSSIAN TREATY.—RUSSIAN DOCUMENTS][121]

London, Friday, April 28, 1854

The last authentic news from Turkey fully confirms the views of *The Tribune*, with respect to the retreat of the Russians from Kalafat, the occupation by the Russians of the Dobrodja, and the character of the Greek insurrection.[a]

The *Lloyd* confirms the report that the Russians have raised the investment of Kalafat, and that the evacuation of Lesser Wallachia is now complete. The latest news received at Constantinople states that the Russians do not advance, but, on the contrary, are fortifying the Dobrodja.[b]

With regard to the Greek insurrection, the following letter from Vienna, of the 21st April, appeared in yesterday's *Moniteur*:

"The Greek insurrection does not make any progress in Epirus, but begins to show itself in its true character. If anybody could have thought that the interests of Christianity and nationality were anything else than a vain pretext, the acts of the chiefs of the Hellenic bands from the kingdom of Greece must dissolve all such doubts. The altercations which, since the commencement of the struggle, have taken place between Grivas and Tsavellas, with respect to the chief command of the insurgents, are known. These two chiefs continue to act separately, and make no scruple of taking advantage of any opportunity to injure each other. Grivas, especially, has only carried pillage and incendiarism to the Christian Rayahs, of whom he pretends to be the liberator. The Suliotes,[c] who have come to the resolution to interdict the access to their territory to several Hellenic chiefs, particularly denounce Grivas. At the beginning of last month, this chief went to demand hospitality of the Greek Primate, Deventzista, and left the day after, but not until he had pillaged his house, and carried off his wife by force. The Primate has gone to Abdi Pasha and asked permission to serve under his orders with a view

[a] See this volume, pp. 65-69, 70-72 and 129-31.—*Ed.*

[b] *Der Lloyd*'s report is given as reprinted in *The Morning Post*, No. 25061, April 28, 1854: "Withdrawal of the Russians from Kalafat. Vienna, April 26", and in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 116, April 26, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] Population of Southern Ioannina (Yannina) (Ancient Epirus).—*Ed.*

to revenge himself for this savage act. It is, however, at Mezzovo where Grivas distinguished himself by his skill in plundering. That town, misled by the Russian propaganda, spontaneously opened its gates to 'generallissimus' Grivas. His first act was to impose upon the Christian population a 'patriotic' contribution of 200,000 piasters. The sum not being extravagant, it was paid. But Grivas did not stop there. He called by turns, individually, on all the principal inhabitants, and all those in comfortable circumstances residing in the town, asking them to deposit, likewise as an offering, all articles of luxury in gold or silver which might be at their disposal. This mode of extortion excited murmurs, and it appeared neither expeditious nor very productive. It was then that Grivas took it into his mind an idea which seems to us a masterpiece of brigandage. Taking as a pretext the approach of the Ottoman troops which were marching on Mezzovo, he announced that the defense of the place necessitated the almost general burning of the town, and, in consequence, he invited the inhabitants to assemble with their families in the principal church of Mezzovo, where nearly 4,000 persons soon after collected. Grivas had anticipated that they would bring their money with them, as also their jewels and their most valuable articles, and thus he would get into his power all the wealth of Mezzovo. He then let them out in small numbers, and handed them over to his followers, who robbed them without ceremonies. Such are the exploits of the Greek chief, who has, up to this moment, played the most prominent part in the insurrection of Epirus. Grivas then only opposed a feeble resistance to the Turks. After setting the town on fire, he retired toward Archelous, in the direction of Rodovizzi. Mezzovo, previously the most flourishing city of Epirus, next to Yannina and Buat, is now a mere heap of ruins, and the inhabitants are reduced to misery. Only about 100 houses remain standing."[a]

Reshid Pasha has declared, on the unfounded rumor that Kossuth and Mazzini proposed to come to Constantinople, that he would not permit them to enter the Turkish territory.

The formation of a Polish Legion is said to have found no opposition from the Embassadors of France and England, but to have met with obstacles of a different nature. General Wysocki submitted to the Porte and to Lord Redcliffe a document covered with several thousands of signatures, authorizing him to act in the name of a large portion of the Polish Emigration. On the other hand, Colonel Count Zamoiski, nephew of Prince Czartoryski, presented a similar document, also covered with many signatures, by which another fraction of the same Emigration authorize him to act on its behalf. In consideration of their divisions, in order to conciliate the alternative pretensions and rivalries, and in order to combine the services of both Wysocki and Zamoiski, the Ambassador of England advised the formation of two Polish Legions instead of one.[122]

Marshal Paskievich arrived on the 17th April at Jassy, and proceeded on the same day on his journey to Bucharest.

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[a] Report from Vienna of April 21, 1854. *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 116, April 26, 1854.—*Ed.*

According to the *Hannoversche Zeitung* the following are the main stipulations of the treaty of offensive and defensive alliance concluded between Austria and Prussia.[a]

"1. Austria and Prussia guarantee to each other their German dominions and others (in und ausserdeutschen Besitzungen) in such manner that an attack directed against either of the two powers shall be considered as an attack directed against itself.

"2. Austria and Prussia mutually oblige themselves to support each other, and if need be, to proceed to a common aggression, as soon as one or the other of the contracting parties shall consider the interests of Germany as compromised, in which view they will agree with each other. The particular cases in which support is to be given, are provided in a separate stipulation, forming an integral portion of the convention. In order to secure its efficacy, the adequate military resources shall be placed on the necessary footing at certain provided epochs. The time, the extent and the employment of the troops, are reserved for special arrangement.

"3. All the members of the German *Bund*[b] are invited to accede to this offensive and defensive alliance, and to support it in conformity with the obligations imposed upon them by the federal act."

On comparison, you will find that these stipulations closely resemble the terms in which Count Nesselrode made his propositions of neutrality to the Prussian Court.[c] It is to be observed also that, practically, the convention is only adapted to the exigencies of a defensive policy, while with regard to the eventuality of an offensive policy, everything is reserved to the several Courts.

The First Chamber of Prussia passed, on the 25th inst., a vote of credit for thirty millions of dollars, in conformity with the recommendations of its Committee. The ministerial explanations given on this occasion by Herr von Manteuffel are so characteristic of that Prussian diplomacy which affects to conceal its intrinsic impotency under patriotic flourishes and nonsensical sublimity, that I will give you the document *in extenso.* Herr von Manteuffel says:

"The complications which have occurred between Russia and Turkey, and then extended to the Occidental powers, are generally known. The Prussian Government thought it expedient, in view of its position and interest, to unravel these complications and to arrange this difference. All its efforts and labors have proved abortive. Some fatality seems to have controlled this affair. Many attempts, which were likely to contribute to the reestablishment of peace, have resulted in nothing—perhaps because they were not made at the opportune moment and in a suitable manner. Thus the difficulties have been pushed to the extremity of war. The efforts of Prussia and of Austria to insure the maintenance of peace afford, as it were, a leading-string to which to tie again negotiations. Such was the great end

[a] Signed on April 20, 1854. *Hannoversche Zeitung,* No. 187, April 22, 1854.—*Ed.*
[b] Confederation.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, pp. 145-47.—*Ed.*

aimed at by the Vienna Conference. In this Conference the Government has not ceased to make the utmost efforts for the maintenance of peace. It has acted in a spirit of conciliation"

as the "Angel of Peace" of the Emperor Nicholas

"but always in a firm and decided manner, and with the consciousness of its position as a great power"

in the same manner in which the Emperor of Russia expressed it in his secret correspondence.

"It is precisely because it is uninterested"

about its becoming a Russian province and changing decorations

"and because its disinterested (uninteressiert) position has been acknowledged by the other powers, that it was able to speak frankly and energetically. Its offers and its efforts have been received by the two parties alternately with gratitude and with regret. But the Government did not allow itself to be drawn from its career. The first condition for the existence of a great power is independence. This independence the Prussian Government has known to uphold, by taking steps in the interest of peace, without troubling itself by a doubt whether they would be agreeable to this or that power,"

altogether a fine definition of what is to be understood by the independence of a great power.

"When circumstances became more threatening, the Government thought that, besides its generous efforts for the preservation of peace, it was its duty to consider, above all, the Prussian and German interests. With this view, a Convention has been entered into with Austria. The other States of the German Confederation will adhere to this alliance. Consequently, we may be sure of cooperation with Austria and the whole of Germany. According to the Government, the most certain and efficient guarantee of the German powers, consists in this cooperation. Besides this intimate union, the anterior concert of Prussia and Austria with the Occidental powers on the basis of the Vienna Conference,[123] will continue. Prussia has not estranged itself from the Occidental powers, notwithstanding the assertions of the contrary in the English press. This concert with the Occidental powers still exists. The protocol manifesting this concert, has already been signed by the Embassador of Prussia; but this protocol cannot be laid before the Chamber. The respective positions of the four powers up to this day, and their efforts for the restoration of peace, will continue, although two of these powers have commenced operations of war—"

a proof that the war is a sham, and peace-negotiations the real business of the western Cabinets.

"As far as Russia is concerned, the Cabinet of St. Petersburg has recently made more favorable and more conciliatory overtures, and though they hold out only weak hopes of peace at present, they give, nevertheless, the point of issue for new negotiations of peace. The Prussian Government has shown its readiness to hope in peace until the last moment. As long as there will remain only a spark of hope for

peace, Prussia will continue its efforts and pains (Mühen). When the decisive moment shall arrive for Prussia",

Trema, Byzantium![a]

"*the Government will act* without delay, without hesitation, and with energy. Prussia must prepare for that moment. Its words will have the greater weight, because it will be ready to draw the sword. When the conflict between Russia and Turkey broke out, the Occidental powers exhibited firmness and strengthened the Ottoman Porte. Prussia had not then the mission to play the part of an umpire. It considered, besides the violated right of a third power, above all the welfare of its own subjects. Its own interest in the Oriental question is more remote than that of Austria, which has a more direct interest in it, and Austria has urgently begged of Prussia not to refuse her cooperation. Prussia and Austria have pursued the object of moderating, on both sides, the pretensions pushed too far, and rendering difficult the work of pacification. It was their efforts that led to the Vienna Conference, justly considered as a fortunate event. Our Government cannot abandon a situation which still permits it to exercise a salutary influence"

for Russia

"on the Occidental powers. It is the mediating link for those powers, and may serve as a support for the hopes of peace. As to the project of note communicated by the four powers to the Russian Government, you must not forget that Russia never acknowledged the conference, and also that this project, in consequence of new circumstances, ceased to be acceptable to Turkey. The new Vienna protocol"

and this is a very important revelation on the part of *Herr von* Manteuffel,

"affords new means toward a general peace, and at all events to keep the war aloof from Prussia and Germany. With regard to the anterior demand on the part of Austria to propose to the German Diet a strict neutrality, binding for Prussia, too, the government acting spontaneously was unable to consent to it. It was unable to compromise its position as a great independent power, and the liberty of its resolutions. Besides, by such a neutrality we should have afforded to the other powers a pretext for assuming a hostile attitude, if these powers should consider such an attitude consonant with their interests. To-day the situation of the Occidental powers is essentially altered by their engagement,"

Vienna Protocol.

"In the most unfavorable case peace will not be obtained, but in the most favorable case all the great calamities which are the consequences of war will be diverted from our fatherland; and this is an immense and inappreciable advantage."

If anybody can make anything out of this alternative, I congratulate him on his acuteness.

"The military events which may take place in the Baltic and Black Seas between Russia and the Occidental powers have forced Prussia, in consequence of her geographical position as a great power"

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[a] "Tremble, Byzantium!" G. Donizetti's opera *Belisario*, libretto by S. Cammarano, Act II, Scene 3.—*Ed.*

rather longer than great

"to prepare the means required for the defense, if need be, of its interests with arms in hand. At all events, the government has not shrunk before the past,"

meaning, perhaps, if anything, that it is not ashamed of its past,

"and is glad to have found an occasion for publicly explaining its views."[a]

The Committee, it is needless to say, found these explanations exceedingly gratifying.

The following new documents have been published by the *Journal de St.-Pétersbourg*:

"*Ordre du Jour of the Commissioner of Police*

April 15, 1854

"His Majesty, the Emperor, has been pleased to order the extension to the men retired from the Marine, and the train of the Guards who feel yet able-bodied and zealous to enter a second period of service the advantages granted to the pensioners of the Guards and of the army, etc.

"Aide-de-camp—General *Galakhoff*."

"*Ukase addressed to the Directing Senate*

"In order to increase the means of defense of the coasts of the Gulf of Finland, we have thought fit to form a reserve-fleet of oar-boats, and order:

"1. The organization of four new legions of rowers.

"2. These troops will be formed by an appeal for voluntary service, made in the Governments of Petersburg, Novgorod, Olonez and Tver.

"3. The measures to be taken for the organization of this corps are intrusted to a Committee composed of His Imperial Highness, the Grand Duke Constantine, Director of the Ministry of the Marine, and of the Ministers of the Imperial domains and apanages of the interior, etc.[b]

"April 14, 1854 "*Nicholas*"

"*A Regulation concerning the Maritime Armament*

"I. Object of the institution and composition of the maritime armament:

"1. The maritime armament is made with a view to complete the reserve flotilla of oar-boats destined to defend the coasts of the Gulf of Finland.

"2. This armament is composed of four legions, the formation and organization of which are left to the Minister of the Marine.

"3. Individuals of all conditions are allowed to enter the corps of this armament.

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[a] Manteuffel's speech at a sitting of the First Chamber of the Prussian Diet on April 22, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] P. D. Kiselyev, L. A. Perovsky, D. G. Bibikov.—*Ed.*

"II. Enlistment:

"4. Persons desirous of entering the maritime corps must be provided with legal passports, and serfs must have a special authorization from their proprietors.

"5. At St. Petersburg the volunteers have to present themselves to the department of inspection of the Ministry of the Marine, in government towns to the Governors, and in district towns to the police authorities.

"6. The passports will be deposited in exchange for a ticket of an appointed form. The passports will be transmitted to the department of inspection, where the bearers have to present themselves. At the same time they will receive, if they demand it, one month's pay, to be marked on the ticket.

"7. The police are to watch the departure of the volunteers for St. Petersburg, and to give them all aid and protection for facilitating their journey. In case of sickness of a volunteer, he is to be taken care of.

8 and 9 are without interest.

"III. Conditions of service:

"10. Those who wish to enter the oar-marine shall receive on the day of their inspection:

"A. Eight rubles silver per month.

"B. Ammunition and provisions like the regular soldiers of the marine.

"C. A peasant's suit of clothes. The volunteers may wear their beards and hair *à la paysanne.*[a]

"11. The term of expiration of the service is to be the 1st November, 1854.

"12. After this day no volunteer will be retained for service.

"13. Those who shall distinguish themselves will be rewarded like the regular troops.

"14. In case of 'prizes' being made with the assistance of the gun-boats the oar-volunteers are to have their shares according to the laws of distribution.

"15. In case of their being wounded the volunteers acquire the rights enjoyed by the soldiers.

"16. Their families are to be provided for by the local authorities and corporations.

"Constantine
"Count Kisseleff
"Count Perowski
"Dmitry Bibikoff"[b]

It would have been impossible to give a better bird's-eye view of Russia than is offered by the preceding documents: the Emperor, the bureaucracy, the serfs, the beards *à la paysanne,* the police, the oar-marine, the corporations, the lands and the seas—"all the Russias."

Written on April 27 and 28, 1854

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 4079, May 15, 1854

Signed: *Karl Marx*

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[a] In peasant style.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx cites these documents according to *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 117, April 27, 1854.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE BOMBARDMENT OF ODESSA.—GREECE.—PROCLAMATION OF PRINCE DANIEL OF MONTENEGRO.—MANTEUFFEL'S SPEECH][124]

London, Tuesday, May 2, 1854

The bombardment of Odessa, so many times performed by a boastful imagination, has at length been realized. But the telegraphic dispatches hitherto received are too meager and deficient in detail to deserve a commentary. According to the most trustworthy news, the bombardment began on the 22d, was suspended on the 23d (a summons to surrender being sent to the Governor of the place[125]), and recommenced on the 24th April. On one side, it is affirmed that a great portion of the town was laid in ruins; on the other, that only the forts were destroyed by rockets and shells. In some quarters it is even asserted that the bombardment had remained without any effect whatever. Several dispatches announce the destruction of eight Russian vessels—merchant vessels, of course, as there were no Russian men-of-war at Odessa. The latest dispatch—dated Odessa, 26th April—states that the whole of the combined fleet had taken its departure on that morning.[a]

In order to prepare the public mind for this event, the French Government had just published in the *Moniteur* an extract from Admiral Hamelin's latest report to the Minister of the Marine,[b] in which he states:

"The English steam-frigate *Furious* had gone on the 6th of April to Odessa, in order to claim and take on board the Consuls and such French and English subjects as might wish to quit that town on the approach of hostilities ... that, in spite of the flag of truce which she had hoisted, and which her landing-boat also

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[a] Telegraphic dispatch from Odessa of April 26. *The Times*, No. 21731, May 3, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Théodore Ducos.—*Ed.*

bore, the Russian batteries treacherously fired seven shots upon this boat a few moments after it had left the pier. ...Admiral Dundas and himself were deliberating on the measures of retribution required by such a barbarous proceeding."[a]

The Russians give a different version of the affair. They allege that the sending of a flag of truce was only a pretext for examining their works of defense. The fact of the ship *Retribution*, having entered the port of Sevastopol, some time ago, under pretext of remitting dispatches, but with the real object of making drawings of the interior batteries, had highly irritated the Czar—the more so, as the noise made about this achievement by the English press had confirmed this supposition. Orders had consequently been given to the effect that in future all vessels presenting themselves before a Russian port should be received with cannon-shots. The *Indépendance belge* publishes a letter illustrating these circumstances, apparently by a Russian officer at Odessa, but probably having no other author than M. de Kisseleff himself.

"On the 27th of March (8th of April) at 6 o'clock a.m., the *Furious*, a steamer of the English royal fleet, approached the pier of the quarantine-port of Odessa without hoisting the flag of truce. Although the captain of the port had orders to fire a rocket over any English man-of-war, he resolved nevertheless to abstain from executing his orders at once, admitting that the steamer might not yet be aware of the English declaration of war. The *Furious* cast anchor, lowered her boat, and sent it on shore with a flag of truce. The captain of the port immediately dispatched his aide-de-camp to meet the officer of the boat. This officer declared that he came with the mission to fetch the Consuls of France and England. He was answered that these gentlemen had quitted Odessa a long time since, and was consequently invited to remove instantly; whereupon the boat was taken on board the pyroscaphe, the flag of truce being removed. But instead of weighing anchor, the officers of the steamer set about taking drawings of the batteries. It was then that, in order to prevent the *Furious* from doing this, blind shots were fired over her. The *Furious* taking no notice of them, a ball was sent into one of her wheels. The *Furious* immediately withdrew."[b]

It is certainly ridiculous that the English and French fleets had to wait to be furnished with "reasons" by the Russians before entering upon the hostilities now directed against a Russian port, and not then even to take it but merely to launch a few broadsides into it.

About the same time when the *Furious* was dispatched on her mission, the letters received from Odessa at Constantinople

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[a] Hamelin's report to the Minister of the Marine of April 10, 1854. *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 120, April 30, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 121, May 1, 1854.—*Ed.*

affirmed that the Russian Government had seized all grain in bond, without any respect for the private property of foreign merchants. The quantity confiscated amounted to 800,000 chetverts.[a] [126] Besides, the Russian Government had enjoined the foreign merchants to supply 150,000 sacks and 15,000 waggons for transporting to the interior the confiscated grain. All reclamations were met by the Governor[b] with the declaration that the policy of the western powers reduced the Russian Government to such extremities, and that in seizing their property they only saved it from the plunder of an exasperated population. On the reclamations of the neutral consuls remaining at Odessa, the Governor at last consented—not to pay for the seized goods—but to issue simple receipts to the owners.

The following is an extract from a Stockholm paper:

"The whole town swarms with fugitives from Finland; many, too, come from Aland," (which seems to be still occupied by the Russians,) "in order to escape the Russian press-gangs. The Russian fleet is in great want of seamen, and the authorities lay violent hands on young and old. In the dead of the night fathers of families are hurried off without a moment's grace, and the result is that whole households fly to Sweden, with bag and baggage, in order to escape from such tyranny."[c]

The *Journal de St.-Pétersbourg* of the 23d ult. contains a proclamation from the Czar to his subjects, representing the war against the Occidental powers as a war of the orthodox church against the heretics, and aiming at the liberation of its suppressed brethren in the Ottoman Empire.[d]

The Paris *Presse* of to-day has the following article:

"One of our correspondents at Constantinople has sent us important details on the Russian complot which was discovered some time ago, and the inquiry into which has just terminated. This inquiry clearly proves that Russia has long been preparing the crisis which was to carry off the sick man under the very hands of his physicians. The inquiry proves that Baron Oelsner had feigned to place himself at the service of the Turkish Police in order the better to deceive his *surveillants*. He was in the receipt of 1,000 piasters per month. Notwithstanding his astuteness, his double game was detected in the following manner: He had entered into relations

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[a] An old Russian measure of liquid and dry substances. It equals 2.099 hectolitres.—*Ed.*

[b] N. N. Annenkov.—*Ed.*

[c] The name of the newspaper has not been established. Marx quotes from the item "Sweden" in *The Times*, No. 21723, April 24, 1854.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx took the report about the manifesto of April 23 (11), 1854 from the telegraphic dispatch "Turkey and Russia" in *The Times*, No. 21731, May 3, 1854.—*Ed.*

with Mr. Aska, a physician in the Turkish service, and believing that he could trust him, he avowed to him that, although paid by the Turkish Police, he had never ceased to serve Russia. According to Mr. Oelsner, Russia proposed to recruit among the Greeks and the Slavs in Turkey an army of 60,000 conspirators ready to rise at a given signal. The decisive blow was to be struck at Constantinople. The chief of the complot in that city was an Englishman, a certain Plantagenet Harrison. Mr. Aska feigned to enter into the views of Oelsner, and gave a hint to the Turkish Police. The police, having suspected Oelsner for a considerable time, caused him to be watched with increased care, and discovered that he was in the habit of sending regular reports to Prince Gorchakoff. Finally they succeeded in intercepting one of these reports. Oelsner, though very cautious on the whole, had the unlucky idea of showing the above report to Mr. Aska, who immediately informed Mr. Palamari, the secret agent of the Turkish Police, and contrived to give it in his presence to Radschiskz, an Austrian Slavonian who was in communication with Oelsner and his accomplices. The letter was seized upon this individual and forms one of the *pieces* of conviction. It was also averred that Oelsner had established a concert with Constantinos, captain of a Greek merchant ship, and that they had arranged for the affiliation of forty other captains of Greek ships who, at a given day, were to arrive at Constantinople, provided with ammunition and furnishing the materials for raising in rebellion the Greek population of the metropolis. Constantinos was in permanent relation not only with Oelsner, but also with Mr. Metaxas, the Greek Embassador at the Porte. Bodinaroff, a Russian Colonel, afforded the means of communication between Oelsner and Prince Gorchakoff."[127]

There has appeared in the *Augsburger Zeitung* a series of articles extremely hostile toward Russia, which have created a great sensation in Germany, as that journal was, until now, the most ardent partisan of Russian interests, and is known, at the same time, to receive its inspirations from the Austrian Cabinet. Austria is represented in these articles as released from her obligations toward Russia, in consequence of the revelations contained in the confidential correspondence of Sir H. Seymour. In one of these articles it is said:

"When the proceedings of Russia rendered it necessary to make representations at St. Petersburg, they were received in so peremptory a manner, and the Vienna Cabinet was treated so unceremoniously, that every new dispatch from Constantinople evoked painful presentiments. This want of respect, of consideration, engaged Count Mensdorff to ask for the command of a brigade, in order to be relieved from his post at St. Petersburg, although personally he had no cause for complaints."

Consequently he was replaced by Count Esterházy. In another article there occurs this passage:

"When the Emperor of Russia came to Olmütz,[128] his conduct toward Count Buol-Schauenstein was so improper, not to say offending, that it was remarked by everybody, and that Nesselrode and Meyendorf were embarrassed by it."

Let me remind your readers that it is a habit of Nesselrode to provoke such arrogant behavior of his august master in order to deplore it afterward.

"The young Emperor,[a] witnessing these proceedings against his minister, has not forgot[ten] them. The letters of Sir H. Seymour could only accelerate the fixed resolution of His Majesty"

to oppose the encroachments of Russia upon Austria herself.

"During his stay at Vienna, Count Orloff refused to engage himself, in the name of his sovereign, to respect under all circumstances the integrity of the Ottoman Empire."[b]

The Constantinople correspondent of *The Times* lays a special accent upon the statement that the Greek insurrection would infallibly lead to a revolution in Greece, that is, a struggle between the national party and the partisans of Russia. On the other hand, it appears that the cruelties of the Pasha's bayonets in Bulgaria are disposing the population in favor of Russia. Let me illustrate by a few facts the position of Greece toward the Occidental powers. We read in the *Nouvelliste de Marseille,* dated Constantinople, April 17:

"The European residents at Athens have to undergo all sorts of insults. They are even assailed with sticks, no obstacle being opposed by the Greek *gendarmerie.* On the 15th ult. Mr. Gaspari, a member of the French Embassy, and the son of an old French Consul at Athens, received blows and was knocked down in the presence of three *gendarmes,* who remained indifferent witnesses of this scene. On the same day other Frenchmen received warnings that a list of ninety-six *Franchi* destined for 'chastisement' had been drawn up. In consequence of these excesses a collective note of the French and English Representatives[c] was addressed to the Government of King Otto, informing him that any violence committed against the persons of French and English residents would immediately give occasion for an indemnity of 25,000 drachmas. On the 12th of April a new ultimatum was transmitted to the Greek Government, in which a delay of only five days was given, expiring on the 17th. This ultimatum calls upon King Otto to redress the wrongs suffered by the French, to pronounce in a categorical manner against the insurrection, and to retrieve the evils done and permitted. No satisfactory answer was expected on the part of the King. In case of a negative answer, the Embassadors had resolved to break off completely all relations with the Government, and at the same time to constitute themselves, in the collective name of France and England, as the *Administrators of Greece,* according to the provisions of the protocol establishing that kingdom.[129]"

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[a] Francis Joseph I.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx gives the material published in the *Augsburger Zeitung* according to *The Times,* No. 21731, May 3, 1854, except for the last sentence which is taken from *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 122, May 2, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] Rouen and Wyse.—*Ed.*

The Greek Government has addressed circulars to its foreign agents, in apology of its conduct during its recent quarrel with the Porte, the latest measures of which, against Greek subjects, says Mr. Paikos, arise from the resentment of Turkey at having no longer the privilege of considering Greece as a Turkish province, and which form merely the keystone of twenty years' intrigues against Greece, with the insurrections in Thessaly and Epirus as pretexts.

The *Wiener Presse*[a] of 28th April publishes the following proclamation of Prince Daniel[b] to the Montenegrin chiefs:

"I wish that you, too, Czernogoras (Montenegrins), now as before prove yourselves as heroic as the Greeks and other nations, after the example of our victorious ancestors who bequeathed us the liberty of which we are so proud in the eyes of the world. It is, therefore, that I desire to address the soldiers who have already entered their service, in order that I may know whether I can depend upon them, and I order the chiefs to assemble each his tribe. Each soldier is to declare spontaneously whether he is ready to march with me against the Turk, the common enemy of our faith and of our land. You, Captain, are to receive every volunteer, and report to me at Cettinie. But I conjure all those who are not ready to brave death, to stay at home. Whoever wishes to march with me must forget his wife and his children, and all he loves in this world. I tell you, my brave people, and you, my brethren, that whoever desires not to die with me, need not stir; because I know that whoever marches with me into war is worth more than fifty cowards. Thus I invite all gallant men whose hearts are not cold, and who do not hesitate to spill their blood for their country, the orthodox church and the holy cross, to share with me in the glory and the honor. We are, indeed, the sons of the old Montenegrins who vanquished three Turkish viziers, defeated French troops, and stormed the fortresses of the Sultan. Let us not betray our fatherland, nor disown the glory of our ancient friends, and let us meet to fight, in the holy name of God.

"Cettinie, March 16, 1854

"*Daniel*"

We read in the *Agramer Zeitung* that in consequence of this appeal to the pious freebooters of Montenegro, the chiefs called together, in each of the Montenegrin clans, the young warriors and communicated this proclamation, when 4,000 men swore, at the altar, to conquer or die under the flag "For Faith and Fatherland." It is impossible not to recognize the interesting affinity of this movement with the phrases and hopes of the Prussian war of independence, whose memory is so faithfully kept up by Gen. Dohna at Königsberg, and the Prussian *Treubund*[130] generally. The attack of the Montenegrins against Herzegovina,

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[a] *Die Presse.—Ed.*

[b] Danilo I Petrović Njegoš.—*Ed.*

by way of Nixitshy, will be commanded by Prince Daniel himself. The attack in the south (toward Albania), by way of Zabliak, will be led by the Woywode George Petrović.

"The mountaineers," says the *Agramer Zeitung*, "are well provided with ammunition, and each of the two corps will have twelve three-and-a-half-pounders at their disposal."[a]

The signal for opening the hostilities will be given by Col. Kovalevsky, who receives his instructions direct from St. Petersburg.

*Herr von Manteuffel*, having got his $30,000,000,[b] has sent the Chambers home with a speech from which I extract the following eminently characteristic passage:

"Gentlemen: By granting the credit you have given the Government the means to proceed on the way it has hitherto pursued, in entire union (*in voller Einigkeit*) with Austria and the whole of Germany, and in concert with the other great powers, and to preserve to Prussia the position due to her in the solution of the great European question of the day."[c]

Let me observe, that [in] the telegraphic report of this speech, given by the English papers, the "concert with all the other great powers" was falsely translated into a "concert with the Occidental powers." Prussia has chosen a higher aim. She wants, in concert with both parties apparently at war, to arrange measures of peace—with whom?

Herr von Manteuffel, on the same day on which he dismissed the Chambers, had the good fortune to deliver a second speech, in a *réunion* of his party, a speech far more precise and eloquent than the above official slang. That speech is the most eminently Prussian production of modern times. It is, as it were, Prussian statesmanship *in nuce*[d]:

"Gentlemen," said he, "there is a word which has been much abused—this word bears the name of liberty. I do not disown the word, but my motto is another one; my motto is the word *service*. (Dienst.) Gentlemen, all of us who meet here have the duty to serve God and the King, and it is my pride that I am able to serve that King. That word *service* holds together the Prussian State, scattered as it lies throughout German lands (*in deutschen Gauen*). This word must unite us all in the

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[a] Marx quotes the *Agramer Zeitung* according to *The Times*, No. 21731, May 3, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 168.—*Ed.*

[c] Manteuffel's speech at a sitting of the two Chambers of the Prussian Diet on April 29, 1854.—*Ed.*

[d] In a nutshell.—*Ed.*

different situations we hold. The word *service to the King* is my standard, it is the banner of all those who have met here, and in this lies the salvation of these times. Gentlemen, the service of the King shall live."

Manteuffel is right: there is no other Prussia than that which lives upon service of the King.

Written on May 2 and 3, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Frederick Engels

## NEWS FROM THE EUROPEAN CONTEST[131]

Our journals and letters by the *Europa* contain a positive confirmation of the reported bombardment of Odessa. The present advices on that subject are official and leave no possibility of doubt as to the event. The works of the harbor have been destroyed, two powder magazines blown up, twelve small Russian vessels-of-war sunk and thirteen transports captured, all with the loss of eight men killed and eighteen wounded in the allied fleet. This trifling loss of men proves that it was [by] no means a formidable achievement. After it was done the fleet sailed away for Sevastopol, the destruction of which we fancy they will find to be a different sort of work.

From the Danube there is a new report of a decisive victory gained by Omer Pasha over Gen. Lüders, but of this affair we have nothing beyond a telegraphic dispatch by way of Vienna,[a] the great manufactory of stock-jobbing hoaxes. The story runs that the Turks, 70,000 strong, overhauled Lüders somewhere between Silistria and Rassova, the latter being a place on the Danube some ten miles above Chernavoda, and that while Omer Pasha was pressing the Russians in front, another corps, sent around for the purpose, fell upon their flank, and so between the two fires they were used up. This is not an impossible thing, but we do not see how Omer Pasha could concentrate so large a force at any point below Silistria with such rapidity as to take Lüders unprepared.[132] According to the last previous advices, the gross of his army,—which altogether cannot be more than 120,000 strong, including

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[a] "Defeat of the Russians", *The Times*, No. 21732, May 4, 1854.—*Ed.*

the garrisons that must be provided for along his extended line,—was being collected at Shumla, some hundred miles from the scene of the reported battle, and it is not an easy thing to surprise an enemy at such a distance where 70,000 men have to be brought upon the field to do it. Still we repeat, it is possible; the next steamer will probably inform us whether it is true.[133]

The Greek insurrection has suffered another defeat, but that it is extinguished by the disaster it would be impossible to believe. Men and leaders will no doubt appear to renew the contest and carry on a harassing guerrilla war at least against the Turkish forces on the frontiers. Whether it will become anything more serious must depend upon circumstances; as our readers will see in another column[134] an extensive conspiracy of Greeks and Russians came near exploding in the midst of Turkey; accident put the whole into the hands of the Porte,[135] but other such conspiracies may occur without any interposing event to hinder their course. Meanwhile the allied powers ply the Greek Court with menaces, and land troops in Turkey as if to take final possession of the country for themselves. Most of these forces still remain near Constantinople, though at the instance of the French Embassador,[a] a detachment has gone north to Varna, where there is likely to be fighting any day. It is doubtful, however, whether the body of the allied forces will so soon engage in the active work of the campaign. This point cannot be determined till the commanding generals arrive at Constantinople.[b]

In the Baltic Sir Charles Napier still remains in the vicinity of Stockholm, attacking none of the Russian strongholds on the coast. It appears that he is anxious with respect to the gun-boat flotilla with which the Russians propose to operate against him in the shallow waters and among the islands of the Gulf of Finland, and has sent to England for small steamers of light draught, which can pursue these boats to their places of refuge. On the other hand, it is reported by the St. Petersburg correspondent of a journal of Berlin[c] that the Russian Court is fearful that Kronstadt cannot stand the onslaught which is expected from the British Rough and Ready,[d] that the men-of-war in the harbor do not succeed well in

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[a] Baraguay d'Hilliers.—*Ed.*

[b] Raglan and Saint-Arnaud.—*Ed.*

[c] The reference is to a report of the *National Zeitung* reprinted in *The Times*, No. 21732, May 4, 1854.—*Ed.*

[d] A nickname for British soldiers in the nineteenth century, which became common after the battle of Waterloo when Colonel Rough distinguished himself. The Duke of Wellington used to say to him "Rough and ready, Colonel".—*Ed.*

maneuvering and firing even for the purposes of a review; and that preparations are even [in] making to resist the debarkation of a hostile land force at that place.

It is not likely, however, that any attack will take place in the Baltic until the French fleet has also arrived, and then Kronstadt will very probably receive the honor of the first bombardment. Its capture or destruction is another question; but before such means of destruction as the allies will bring against it, its fall would not be surprising.

The western powers flatter themselves that Austria is coming over to their side, and derive encouragement from agreeable things said to the Duke of Cambridge at the festivities of the Emperor's[a] wedding. But from Prussia there is no such pleasing intelligence. Altogether, Germany stands just where she did before, and the allies have no prospect of drawing her into any engagement in their favor. There is no doubt that Austria will be ready to occupy Serbia and Montenegro,—where a positive rebellion has broken out against the Sultan,[b]—but such an occupation, as we have previously shown,[136] would only be another step toward the partition of Turkey, and would be, in fact, more favorable to Russia than to her antagonists.

Written on May 4, 1854

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4084, May 20, 1854 as a leader

[a] Francis Joseph I.—*Ed.*

[b] On the rebellion in Montenegro see this volume, pp. 178-79.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## BRITISH FINANCES[137]

London, Tuesday, May 9, 1854

Although the bombardment of Odessa, which appears, after all, to have been a very indifferent affair, highly excites the public mind, there is another bombardment which, at this very moment, works upon it still more powerfully—namely, the bombardment of the public purse. Before entering into an analysis of the financial statement made by Mr. Gladstone in yesterday's sitting of the Commons, we must cast a retrospective glance at his official transactions hitherto.

Mr. Disraeli, when in office, had reduced the interest of Exchequer Bills to $1^1/_4$d. a day, which was lower than it had ever been before; but Mr. Gladstone, anxious to improve upon his predecessor, went on further, reducing it to 1d., neglecting to notice the circumstance that when Mr. Disraeli reduced the interest of Exchequer Bills money was abundant and cheap, while it was scarce and dear when Mr. Gladstone undertook to surpass his rival. Consequently, the great man was called upon to pay three millions of money for Exchequer Bills, which, if left alone, would have floated at the rate of interest at which he found them. This was not all. Having hardly paid off the Exchequer Bills at great public inconvenience, they had to be reissued again at a higher rate of interest. This was the first proof of the transcendent genius of the Oxford casuist, who was supposed to unite, as it were, all the talents in his single person, the coalition of all the talents having ejected the Tory Government upon their financial

scheme, and thus proclaimed finances the strong point of their policy.

Mr. Gladstone, not content with dealing with the floating debt, made a still more curious experiment upon the funded debt. In April, 1853, he went down to the House of Commons with a very complicated scheme for the conversion of the South Sea stock and other funds, with an arrangement which might compel him to pay off nine and a half millions at the end of six months and twelve months. It has been very justly remarked that when he did so he had before him the secret dispatches of Sir Hamilton Seymour, and the warnings of Col. Rose and Consul Cunningham, communications which could leave no doubt of the hostile intention of the Russian Government and the proximity of a European war. But your readers will recollect that at the very period when Mr. Gladstone proposed his scheme I foretold its failure,[a] and the necessity in which it would place the Government of borrowing, at the end of the financial year, to the amount of five or six millions. I made this statement without any respect to the Eastern complication. Besides, the scholastic air of Mr. Gladstone's scheme not being likely to seduce the stock-jobbing mob of the Exchange, there was wanted no great sagacity to foretell that the harvest must prove a failure, because the extent sowed was far below the average on account of the very wet season; that a bad harvest would cause a drain of bullion; that a drain of bullion could certainly not counteract the already existing tendency to a rise of interest in the money market, and that, with the general money market rising, it was absurd to suppose that the public creditor would allow the interest of his stock to be reduced or not eagerly grasp at the opportunity afforded him by Mr. Gladstone's experiment to insist on the repayment of his stock at par in order to invest it the following day at a net profit. Indeed, at the close of the financial year, Mr. Gladstone was obliged to pay off at par six millions of South Sea annuities which, without his intermeddling, would at this moment only command £85 for every £100 of stock at the Exchange. Thus he not only made needlessly away with six millions of the public funds, but the public incurred by this brilliant operation an actual loss of at least one million,

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[a] Marx, "The New Financial Juggle; or Gladstone and the Pennies", "Achievements of the Ministry", "Feargus O'Connor.—Ministerial Defeats.—The Budget", "Riot at Constantinople.—German Table Moving.—The Budget", "Soap for the People, a Sop for *The Times*.—The Coalition Budget" (see present edition, Vol. 12).—*Ed.*

while the balance in the Exchequer, which was in April, 1853, £7,800,000, has been reduced in April, 1854, at a time of war, to only £2,778,000, being a loss of more than £5,000,000. The abortive conversion scheme of Mr. Gladstone is at the foundation of all the monetary difficulties against which the Government has now to contend. On the 6th of March, only 24 days before the declaration of war, Mr. Gladstone laid down[a] as the very basis of all his operations that the supplies should be provided within the year to pay the current expenses, and declared he had taken measures to cast the burdens of war only upon the present, and that a resort to the money market for a loan was out of question. He repeated his statement again on the 22d of March, and even on the 12th of April.[b] Yet on the 21st of April, when Parliament was not sitting, an official notice appeared that a loan would be required, and that Exchequer Bonds to the amount of six millions would consequently be issued.[c] The Exchequer Bonds, you will remember, are an invention of Mr. Gladstone, cotemporaneously introduced with his conversion scheme.

The ordinary Exchequer Bill is a security for 12 months, and is generally exchanged or paid off at the end of that time, and its rate of interest fluctuates with the market rate of interest. The Exchequer Bonds, on the contrary, bear a fixed rate of interest for years, and are a terminable annuity, transferable from hand to hand by a simple indorsement, without any cost whatever to either buyer or seller. Upon the whole, they may be described as imitations of railway debentures. When Mr. Gladstone first invented them in 1853, he took power to issue 30,000,000, and so proud he was of his invention that he thought the 30,000,000 would not be sufficient to answer the public demand, and that they would be at a high premium. However, "the public were glutted by very little more than £400,000, or about one-seventh of the amount he expected would be required." In order to raise his loan of 6,000,000, Mr. Gladstone brought out three sorts of Exchequer Bonds, such as have four years to run, such as have five years to run, and such as have six years to run. To make them

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[a] Mr. Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on March 6, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21682, March 7, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to Gladstone's speeches in the House of Commons on March 21 and April 11, 1854 published in *The Times*, No. 21695, March 22 and No. 21713, April 12, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] Notice of the Exchequer dated April 21, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21722, April 22, 1854.—*Ed.*

more acceptable to the Exchange, he decided that the interest would be allowed on installments not yet paid. He pretended to issue them at par, with an interest of three and one-half per cent., considering the extraordinary advantages belonging to the new form of securities as being equivalent to from 10 to 16 per cent., on the amount of the dividend. When the tenders were opened, it was found that the amount bid for was but £800,000 of bonds of the first series, to be paid off in 1858; while with respect to the other series of bonds of 1859 and 1860 no offers were made at all. This is not all. He was forced to issue his commodities at a discount, selling them at the minimum of ninety-eight and three-fourths, and throwing in a few months interest, so that he is simply borrowing at four per cent. in exchange for the South Sea Stocks, which were at three per cent. annuity, thus losing on the capital fifteen per cent., and on the interest twenty-five per cent. Notwithstanding all these concessions, his failure was complete, he being obliged to extend the period for receiving tenders to the 8th inst., and to come down from his demand of 6,000,000 to the "ridiculously small sum" of 2,000,000. The failure was necessary, because his commodity was neither well adapted for permanent investment nor for temporary use, because the repayment in 1858 and 1860 appears, under the present circumstances, to be very problematical, and, finally, because, with a rising market, bonds with a fixed rate of interest for years cannot be as acceptable as Exchequer Bills, of which the interest is sure to be raised if the value of money increases.

Mr. Gladstone, not content to throw upon the market three different sorts of Exchequer commodities, felt himself obliged to bring to the House of Commons not one but two, and perhaps three or four budgets. For contradistinction to the former Chancellors of [the] Exchequer he made his financial statement on March 6, before the termination of the financial year with the view, as he said, to make the country clearly understand its position. The House were then told that there was a surplus of £3,000,000, but that in consequence of the perilous position in which they were placed, they had to incur an increased expenditure of £6,000,000, so that they were to be prepared for a deficiency of three millions this year. Before eight weeks have passed, he comes down to the House and asks for about seven millions more, although certainly in March he ought to have formed more correct estimates of the demands to be made upon the public resources.

The new supplementary estimates he asks for are:

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|---|---|
| The Navy | £4,550,000 |
| Army | 300,000 |
| Ordnance | 650,000 |
| Supplementary militia vote | 500,000 |
| Unknown charges | 2,100,000 |
| Total | £8,100,000 |

The navy, army and ordnance estimates have already been voted without division on Friday evening,[a] and I shall give a short resumé of the different items on account of which they were asked for, viz: £300,000 were voted for addition of the army by 14,799 men of all ranks, which would raise the number of land forces to 40,493 above that voted last year, or 142,000 men. The supplementary ordnance estimates amount in the whole to £742,132. The supplementary navy estimates, amounting to £4,553,731 and including a part of the supplementary ordnance estimates, may be classed under the following heads:

I.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. On account of wages to seamen and marines, 11,000 of whom were added to the navy, 2,500 from the Coast Guard and 8,500 by voluntary enlistment | £461,760 |
| (*a.*) To defray the charges of wages which will come in course of payment in the year ending the 31st of March, 1854, for 5,000 seamen to be employed for 6 months additional | 110,000 |
| (*b.*) To meet the extra pay, beyond seamen's pay, of the 2,500 coast guard men and seamen riggers now employed afloat | 51,700 |
| (*c.*) For raising 5,000 reserve seamen | 220,000 |
| (*d.*) For provisions of 5,000 men, for an additional period of 6 months to the 31st of March, 1855 | 80,000 |
| (*e.*) For additional victualing, stores required for freight of provisions, and for increase in the prices of several species of stores and provisions | 50,000 |
| (*f.*) For provisions, victualing, stores, etc., for an additional sum of 5,000 men to be employed in the fleet for one year | 100,000 |
| (*g.*) To provide for an additional number of clerks necessary in consequence of the war at the establishments at Whitehall and Somerset House[138] | 5,000 |
| (*h.*) For the additional expense to be incurred for salaries in the several naval, victualing and medical establishments at home | 2,000 |
| (*i.*) For additional wages to artificers and others in the naval establishments abroad | 1,000 |

[a] May 5, 1854.—*Ed.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 2. £697,331 for naval stores: | |
| (*a.*) For the purchase of coal and other fuel for steam vessels | 160,000 |
| (*b.*) For the purchase of stores required to replace those issued to the fleet | 40,000 |
| (*c.*) For the purchase and repair of steam machinery, it having been decided that the reserve fleet should have the advantage of steam | 252,674 |
| (*d.*) For the purchase of steam vessels, gun boats, etc. | 244,657 |
| 3. For new works, improvements and repairs in the yards | 7,000 |
| 4. For medicines and medical stores | 30,000 |
| 5. For miscellaneous services | 6,000 |
| Sum total | £1,457,031 |

II.

Items which, although included in the navy estimate, refer rather to the army than the navy. Under this head demanded:

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|---|---|
| 1. For freight of transports on monthly pay including steam vessels, and for the purchase of the same, covering the hire of eight new steam vessels and 86 sailing transports, of which 75 were frigates with cavalry | £2,610,200 |
| 2. For the freight of ships hired for the conveyance of troops including rations, the Government having taken up 18 steam vessels and 86 sailing transports for the entire year | 108,000 |
| Sum total | £3,096,700 |
| Grand total | £4,553,731 |

Mr. Gladstone proposes to raise new taxes by continuing the double income tax to the end of the war, by increasing the malt duty from 2/9 to 4/-, by augmenting the duty on spirits 1/- per gallon in Scotland and 8d. per gallon in Ireland, and by putting off the fall upon the duty on sugar, which was to occur on the 5th of next July. The resolutions respecting spirits, malt and sugar were passed immediately.

The duty on spirits will cancel itself, because it will greatly reduce the consumption of spirits. The duty on malt is a punishment inflicted on the licensed victualers and their customers, because their official organ, *The Morning Advertiser*, signalised itself by sounding the trumpet of war. The duty on sugar is

calculated to embitter the pickles and preserves of the current year. As to the income tax, it is well-known that on the 18th of April, Mr. Gladstone proclaimed its death at the end of seven years,[a] only three days after having received the communications from Col. Rose and Consul Cunningham describing the Russian preparations for war. It is no less known that on the 6th of March he declared it sufficient to double the income tax for half a year only.[b] Mr. Gladstone is either the most improvident and short-sighted Chancellor of Exchequer that ever existed, or it was his deliberate plan to grope in the dark, to mislead, to bewilder and to mystify the public.

The British public has not only to pay for the war against Russia, and also for the quackery and the hair splitting ingenuity of Mr. Gladstone, but besides it has to furnish the Czar with the means of carrying on the war against itself, as Lord John Russell declared on Friday evening,[c] that the British Government would continue to pay the principal and the interest of the debt called the Russo-Dutch loan,[139] inserted in the treaty of Vienna, one of whose principal arrangements is that Poland should remain an Independent Constitutional Kingdom, that Cracow should be protected as a free town, and that the navigation of all European rivers, consequently of the Danube, should be free.

The distrust in Irish loyalty must be very great, as Lord Palmerston declared that during the present year Her Majesty's Government did not intend to enrol the Irish militia; the same Palmerston having broken up the Russell Cabinet on the pretext that Lord John exasperated Ireland by excluding it from his Militia bill.

Ministers have sustained a virtual defeat on their Railway bill, which contained only some enactments recommended by a Parliamentary Committee sitting on that subject.[d] As the railway interest is powerfully organized, the gallant Mr. Cardwell preferred, in the name of the Ministry, to withdraw his original bill and to substitute for it one framed by the railway directors themselves, which enforces nothing nor adds anything to the stringency of

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[a] See this volume, p. 117.—*Ed.*

[b] Mr. Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on March 6, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21682, March 7, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] Lord John Russell's speech in the House of Commons on May 5, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21734, May 6, 1854.—*Ed.*

[d] The debates on the Railway Bill are given according to parliamentary reports in *The Times*, No. 21733, May 5, 1854.—*Ed.*

already existing enactments. When the bill was discussed there was nobody present in the House except those railway directors who are M.P.s.

"It appears," says a weekly paper, "that Ministers and Parliament are not strong enough to protect the property of shareholders and the pockets of travellers, or the life and limb of the public, against the right which the railway companies claim to dispose of those valuables at pleasure."

Written on May 9, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

## Frederick Engels

### A FAMOUS VICTORY[140]

The English journals indulge in liberal bursts of derision at the fact that the Czar has rewarded Gen. Osten-Sacken for his share in the late fight between the allied fleets and the fortifications that defend the port of Odessa. This fight they claim as altogether a victory of their own, pronouncing the opposite exultations of their enemy as but a new specimen of Muscovite braggadocio and imperial lying. Now, while we have no special sympathy with the Czar or with Osten-Sacken, though the latter is no doubt a clever and resolute man (he is the brother of the General of the same name[141] commanding an army corps in the Principalities), it may perhaps be worth while to look a little more carefully into the merits of this victory at Odessa, and ascertain, if possible, on which side the braggadocio and humbug really figure, especially as this is the first and only battle between the allies and the Russians of which we have yet received any report.

As appears by the official documents on both sides, the object of the allied fleet in appearing before Odessa was to summon the Governor[142] to deliver up, as reparation for the round shot fired at a British flag of truce, all British, French and Russian vessels in the harbor. Now they must have known that he would not make any reply to such a summons, and must therefore have been prepared to take by force what they had asked for in vain, and if they failed in this object they suffered a genuine defeat, whatever damage they may have done to the enemy.

What, then, were the odds? The very decree of the Russian Government, which appointed Osten-Sacken to the command of the vast territory he governs, situated immediately in the rear of

the army of the Danube, and the fact of his selecting for his residence the town of Odessa, shows the importance naturally and justly attributed by the Russians to this point. Odessa is the place, of all others, where a hostile landing might do them the most harm. There the enemy would find not only all the resources of a large town, but those, too, of the granary of all Europe; and there they would be nearest to the line of communication and retreat of the Russian army in Turkey. Under these circumstances, the two Admirals[a] must have known that they would find the place defended by a numerous garrison, and that any attempt at landing, with what sailors and marines they might have to spare for that purpose, would at once be repelled. But without landing and taking possession of the harbor, if not the town, at least for a moment, they could not expect to liberate the British and French ships now confined there. Their only remaining chance for accomplishing their object would have been to bombard the town itself most furiously, so as to make it unsafe for any body of troops to remain in it, and then to attempt a rescue of the ships. But it is doubtful whether that purpose could have been effected by a bombardment upon a large town with very wide streets and extensive squares, where comparatively little room is occupied by combustible buildings. The Admirals, then, must have known that if their demand on Osten-Sacken was refused, they had no means of enforcing it. They thought, however, that after the firing on a flag of truce, something must be undertaken against Odessa, and so they went on their errand.

The approaches to Odessa, on the seaside, were defended by six batteries, which must have been armed with some forty or fifty guns of 24 and 48 pounds caliber. Of these batteries only two or three were engaged, the attacking force keeping out of range of the remainder. Against these batteries eight steam frigates carrying about 100 guns were brought to act; but as from the nature of the maneuver, the guns of only one side of the ships could be used, the superiority in the number of the guns on the part of the allies was considerably diminished. In respect of the caliber, they must have been about equal, for if a 24-pound gun is inferior to a long 32-pounder, a 48-pounder of heavy metal must certainly be equal to 56- or 68-pound shell guns, which cannot stand full charges of powder. Finally, the vulnerable nature of ships, as compared with breastworks, and the insecurity of aim produced by the ship's motion, are such that even a still greater

[a] Dundas and Hamelin.—*Ed.*

numerical superiority in the artillery of a fleet over that of strand-batteries will leave some odds in favor of the latter. Witness the affair at Eckernförde[143] in Schleswig (1849), where two batteries with 20 guns between them destroyed an 84-gun ship, disabled and captured a 44-gun frigate, and beat off two heavily armed steamers.

The fight, as long as it was confined to artillery and to the eight steamers, may therefore be considered a pretty equal one, even allowing for the superiority of range and accuracy which, during the struggle, the Anglo-French guns were found to possess. The consequence was that the work of destruction went on very slowly. Two Russian guns dismounted were the only result of several hours firing. At length the allies came up closer and changed their tactics. They abandoned the system of firing against the stone walls of the batteries in order to send shells and rockets into the Russian shipping and the military establishments in and around the harbor. This told. The object aimed at was large enough to make every shell hit some vulnerable part, and the whole was soon on fire. The powder-magazine behind that battery on the mole-head, which had offered the most effective resistance and had been principally attacked, blew up; this and the spreading of the fire all around forced its garrison at length to retire. The Russian artillerymen had shown on this point, as usual, very little skill but very great bravery. Their guns and shot must have been very defective and their powder extremely weak.

This was the only result of the whole action. Four Russian guns had been silenced in the battery on the mole-head; all the other batteries hardly received any damage at all. The explosion of the powder-magazine cannot have been very severe; from its situation close behind the battery, it is evident that it was the special magazine of this battery containing merely the ammunition for a single day, say 60 or 100 rounds for each of the four guns; now, if we deduct the probable number of rounds already used in the course of the day, there can hardly have remained more than 300 weight of powder. What the damage done to other establishments may amount to, we have no means of judging; the allies, of course, could not ascertain it, while the Russians put it down at the very lowest figure.[144] From the Russian report, however, it would appear that the vessels burnt were *not* men-of-war, as the Anglo-French reports state them to have been; probably they were, besides some merchantmen, transports and government passenger steamers. We have, besides, never received any previous information that any Russian men-of-war were at Odessa.

Two French and one or two English merchantmen succeeded during the action in escaping from the harbor; *seven British merchantmen* remain confined there to the present day. Thus the "gallant" Admirals have not succeeded in enforcing their demand, and as they had to retreat without obtaining any positive result, without even silencing more than one out of six batteries, they may consider themselves fairly beaten off. They lost very few men; but several ships' hulls were damaged and the French steamer *Vauban* was once set on fire by a red-hot ball, and had to retire for a while from the action.

This is the sum of what the British press calls "Glorious news from Odessa," and which in British eyes has wiped out all the former shortcomings of Admiral Dundas. Nay, this action has so much raised the public expectations in England that we are seriously told, the Admirals, having now ascertained the excessive superiority of the range of their guns over the Russian ones, have positively resolved to try a bombardment of Sevastopol; indeed, they did go there and fire a few shots. But this is the purest humbug, for whoever has once looked upon a plan of Sevastopol, knows that an attack, bombardment or not, upon that town and harbor, unless it be a mere sham-fight outside the bay, must take place in narrow waters and within range even of field guns.

We may properly add to this simple exposé, that the gasconade of our English friends about this action,—in which they suffered a complete repulse and totally failed of their object—does not vary much from the general tone of their previous discussions and statements concerning the war. Whatever be the result of the struggle, impartial history must, we think, place upon her record that its early stages were marked by quite as much humbug, prevarication, deception, diplomatic bad faith, military bragging and lying on the side of England as on that of Russia.

Written on May 15, 1854

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4098, June 6, 1854 as a leader

# Karl Marx

## [ATTACK UPON SEVASTOPOL.—CLEARING OF ESTATES IN SCOTLAND][145]

London, Friday, May 19, 1854

The "first attack upon Sevastopol," of which we have a telegraphic announcement in to-day's papers, seems to be about the same glorious exploit as the bombardment of Odessa, where both parties claimed the victory. The attack is described as having been made by means of shells projected from "long-ranging" guns, and directed against the outward fortifications. That you cannot attack the harbor of Sevastopol or the town itself by guns of any range without going up the bay and coming to close quarters with the protecting batteries, and that you cannot take it at all without the assistance of a considerable landing army, is evident from a glance at the map, and is, moreover, conceded by every military authority. The operation, if it has really taken place, is therefore to be considered as a sham exploit, for the edification of the same *gobe-mouches*[a] whose patriotism is elated by the laurels of Odessa.

The French Government has sent M. Bourrée on an extraordinary mission to Greece. He goes accompanied by a brigade under command of General Forey, and has orders to claim from King Otto immediate payment of the whole interest on the one hundred millions of francs advanced by France to the Greek Government in 1828. In case of refusal, the French are to occupy Athens and divers other points of the kingdom.

Your readers will remember my description of the process of clearing estates in Ireland and Scotland,[b] which within the first

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[a] Simpletons.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx, "Elections.—Financial Clouds.—The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery", "The Indian Question.—Irish Tenant Right" (see present edition, Vols. 11 and 12).—*Ed.*

half of this century swept away so many thousands of human beings from the soil of their fathers. The process still continues, and with a vigor quite worthy of that virtuous, refined, religious, philanthropic aristocracy of this model country. Houses are either fired or knocked to pieces over the heads of the helpless inmates. At Neagaat in Knoydart, the house of Donald Macdonald, a respectable, honest, hard-working man, was attacked last autumn by the landlord's order. His wife was confined to bed unfit to be removed, yet the factor and his ruffians turned out Macdonald's family of six children, all under 15 years of age, and demolished the house with the exception of one small bit of the roof over his wife's bed.

The man was so affected that his brain gave way. He has been declared insane by medical men, and he is now wandering about looking for his children among the ruins of the burnt and broken cottages. His starving children are crying around him, but he knows them not, and he is left roaming at large unaided and uncared for, because his insanity is harmless.

Two married females in an advanced stage of pregnancy had their houses pulled down about their ears. They had to sleep in the open air for many nights, and the consequence was that, amid excruciating sufferings, they had premature births, their reason became affected, and they are wandering about with large families, helpless and hopeless imbeciles, dreadful witnesses against that class of persons called the British aristocracy.

Even children are driven mad by terror and persecution. At Doune, in Knoydart, the cottagers were evicted and took refuge in an old storehouse. The agents of the landlord surrounded that storehouse in the dead of night and set fire to it as the poor outcasts were cowering beneath its shelter. Frantic, they rushed from the flames, and some were driven mad by terror. *The Northern Ensign* newspaper says:

> "That one boy is deranged; that he will require to be placed in confinement; he jumps out of bed crying, 'Fire! fire!' and assures those near him that there are men and children in the burning storehouse. Whenever night approaches, he is terrified at the sight of fire. The awful sight at Doune, when the storehouse was in flames, illuminating the district—when men, women, and children ran about half frantic with fear, gave such a shock to his reason."

Such is the conduct of the aristocracy to the able-bodied poor who make them rich. Listen now to their parochial mercies. I extract the following cases from the work of Mr. Donald Ross, of Glasgow, and from *The Northern Ensign*:

1. Widow Matherson, aged 96, has only 2s. 6d. per month from the parish of Strath, Skye.

2. Murdo Mackintosh, aged 36 years, is totally disabled, by reason of a cart falling on him fourteen months ago. He has a wife and seven children; the oldest 11 years, the youngest 1 year, and all that the parish of Strath allows him is 5s. per month.

3. Widow Samuel Campbell, aged 77, residing at Broadford, Skye, in a wretched house, had 1s. 6d. a month from the parish of Strath. She complained that it was inadequate, and the parochial authorities, after much grudging, increased it to 2s. per month.

4. Widow M'Kinnon, aged 72, parish of Strath, Skye, has 2s. 6d. per month.

5. Donald M'Dugald, aged 102 years, resides at Knoydart. His wife is aged 77 years, and both are very frail. They only receive 3s. 4d. each in the month from the parish of Glenelg.

6. Mary McDonald, a widow, aged 93 years, and confined to bed. Her husband was in the army, and there he lost an arm. He died 20 years ago. She has 4s. 4d. in the month from the parish of Glenelg.

7. Alexander M'Isaak, aged 53 years, totally disabled, has a wife aged 40 years; has a blind son aged 18 years; and four children under 14 years of age. The parish of Glenelg allows this wretched family only 6s. 6d. per month between them, just about 1s. each per month.

8. Angus M'Kinnon, aged 72, has a rupture; wife aged 66 years. They have 2s. 1d. each per month.

9. Mary M'Isaak, aged 80 years, frail and stone-blind, has 3s. 3d. a month from the parish of Glenelg. When she asked more, the Inspector said: "You should be ashamed to ask more when others have less;" and refused to listen to her.

10. Janet M'Donald, or M'Gillivray, aged 77 years, and totally disabled, has only 3s. 3d. per month.

11. Catherine Gillies, aged 78 years, and totally disabled, has only 3s. 3d. from the parish of Glenelg.

12. Mary Gillies, or Grant, aged 82 years, and for the last eight years confined to bed, gets twenty-eight pounds of meal and 8d. in the month from the parish of Ardnamurchan. The Inspector of poor did not visit her for the last two years; and she gets no medical aid, no clothing, no nutrition.

13. John M'Eachan, aged 86 years, and bed-ridden, resides at Auchachraig, parish of Ardnamurchan, has just one pound of meal a day, and 8d. of money in the month from said parish. He has no clothing nor anything else.

14. Ewen M'Callum, aged 93 years, and has sore eyes, I found begging on the banks of the Crinan Canal, parish [of] Knapdale, Argyllshire. He has just 4s. 8d. in the month; nothing whatever in the way of clothing, medical aid, fuel or lodgings. He is now a moving collection of rags, and a most wretched-looking pauper.

15. Kate Macarthur, aged 74, and bed-ridden, lives alone at Dunardy, parish of Knapdale. She has 4s. 8d. per month from the parish, but nothing else. No doctor visits her.

16. Janet Kerr, or M'Callum; a widow, aged 78 years, in bad health; has 6s. a month from the parish of Glassary. She has no house, and has no aid but the money allowance.

17. Archibald M'Laurin, aged 73, parish of Appin, totally disabled; wife also disabled; have 3s. 4d. each per month in the name of parish relief—no fuel, clothing or lodging. They live in a wretched hovel, unfit for human beings.

18. Widow Margaret M'Leod, aged 81 years; lives at Coigach, parish of Lochbroom; has 3s. a month.

19. Widow John Makenzie, 81 years, resides at Ullapool, parish of Lochbroom. She is stone-blind and in very bad health, and has just 2s. a month.

20. Widow Catherine M'Donald, aged 87 years, Island of Luing, parish of Kilbrandon; stone-blind and confined to bed, is allowed 7s. a month in name of aliment; out of which she has to pay a nurse! Her house fell to the ground, and yet the parish refused to provide a lodging for her, and she is lying in an open out-house on the earthen floor. The Inspector declines doing anything for her.

But the ruffianism ends not here. A slaughter has been perpetrated at Strathcarron. Excited to frenzy by the cruelty of the evictions and the further ones that were expected, a number of women gathered in the streets on hearing that a number of sheriff's officers were coming to clear out the tenantry. The latter, however, were Excisemen, and not sheriff's officers; but on hearing that their real character was mistaken, these men instead of correcting the mistake, enjoyed it—gave themselves out for sheriff's officers, and said they came to turn the people out and were determined to do so. On the group of women becoming excited, the officers presented a loaded pistol at them. What followed we extract from the letter of Mr. Donald Ross, who went over from Glasgow to Strathcarron, and spent two days in the district, collecting information and examining the wounded. His letter is dated Royal Hotel, Tain, April 15, 1854, and states as follows:

"My information goes to show a shameful course of conduct on the part of the sheriff. He did not warn the people of the intention on his part to let the police loose on them. He read no Riot Act.[146] He did not give them time to disperse; but, on the contrary, the moment he approached with his force, stick in hand, cried out: 'Clear the way,' and in the next breath said: 'Knock them down,' and immediately a scene ensued which baffles description. The policemen laid their heavy batons on the heads of the unfortunate females and leveled them to the ground, jumped and trampled upon them after they were down, and kicked them in every part of their bodies with savage brutality. The field was soon covered with blood. The cries of the women and of the boys and girls, lying weltering in their blood, was rending the very heavens. Some of the females, pursued by the policemen, jumped into the deep and rapid-rolling Carron, trusting to its mercies more than to that of the policeman or the sheriff. There were females who had parcels of their hair torn out by the batons of the policemen, and one girl had a piece of the flesh, about seven inches long by one and a quarter broad, and more than a quarter of an inch thick, torn off her shoulder by a violent blow with a baton. A young girl, who was only a mere spectator, was run after by three policemen. They struck her on the forehead, cut open her skull, and after she fell down they kicked her. The doctor abstracted from the wound a portion of the cap sunk into it by the baton of the savage police. The marks of their hobnails are still visible in her back shoulders. There are still in Strathcarron thirteen females in a state of great distress, owing to the brutal beating they received at the hands of the police. Three of these are so ill that their medical attendant has no hopes whatever

of their recovery. It is my own firm conviction, from the appearance of these females and the dangerous nature of their wounds, coupled with medical reports which I have procured, that not one-half of these injured persons will recover; and all of them, should they linger on for a time, will bear about on their persons sad proofs of the horrid brutality to which they had been subjected. Among the number seriously wounded is a woman advanced in pregnancy. She was not among the crowd who met the sheriff, but at a considerable distance, just looking on; but she was violently struck and kicked by the policemen, and she is in a very dangerous condition."

We may further add that the women who were assailed numbered only eighteen. The name of the sheriff is Taylor.

Such is a picture of the British aristocracy in the year 1854.

The authorities and Government have come to an arrangement that the prosecution against Cowell, Grimshaw and the other Preston leaders shall be withdrawn, if the investigation against the magistrates and cotton lords of Preston is withdrawn also. The latter was accordingly done, pursuant to this arrangement.

Mr. Duncombe's postponement for a fortnight of his motion for a Committee of Inquiry into the conduct of the Preston magistrates is said to be in pursuance of the above arrangement.[147]

Written on May 19, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Frederick Engels

## THE WAR[148]

At last, then, we have to report an exploit of the "British Tar." The fleet of Admiral Napier has destroyed, after eight hours' bombardment, the fort of Gustavsvaern (which translated from the Swedish means "Gustav's defence, or stronghold," "Gustav's Wehr") and taken the garrison prisoners of war, to the number of 1,500. This is the first serious attack upon Imperial Russian property, and compared with the drowsy and torpid affair at Odessa, shows at least that Charles Napier is not going to sacrifice his own renown and that of his family if he can help it. The fort of Gustavsvaern is situated on the extremity of a peninsula, forming the south-west corner of Finland, close to the lighthouse of Hango-Udd, well known as a landmark to all skippers going up the Finnish Gulf. Its military importance is not very great; it defends a very small area either of land or water, and might have been left in the rear by the attacking fleet without any risk whatever. The fort itself cannot have been large, as is evident from the numbers of its garrison. But in the present blessed ignorance existing even in the British Admiralty and War Office as to the real strength and importance of the Baltic Coast defences of Russia, we may be excused if we delay any comments upon the tactical merits of the affair until fuller particulars have arrived. We can, for the present, only say this much: the eight hours' duration of the cannonade proves a brave, if not over-skilful defence on the part of the Russians, and forebodes a greater obstinacy than may have been expected, in the defence of the first class fortresses in that same gulf. On the other hand, the fifteen hundred

prisoners of war are no appreciable loss at all to Russia (they make up about two average days' loss by sickness on the Danube), while they must prove a serious embarrassment to Napier. What in the world will he do with them? He cannot release them on parole; or without parole; and there is no place nearer to bring them to than England. For a safe transport of these 1,500 men he would require at least three ships of the line or twice that number of steam frigates. The very effects of his victory cripple him for a fortnight or three weeks. Lastly, as he has no landing troops, can he hold the ground he has conquered? I do not see how he could, without again crippling his thinly-manned fleets by a further weakening of each ship's contingent of sailors and marines. This circumstance brings us to a subject which is discussed with great vehemence in the British press, although far too late as usual.

The British press has, all at once, found out that a fleet, however powerful, is of very little avail unless it has troops on board, strong enough to go on shore and complete the victory which ships' guns, in the best case, can obtain only very incompletely against land defences. It appears there was not a man in the British official world directing the war, nor in the official world directing British public opinion—who was ever struck by this idea up to the end of last month. Now, all available troops and means of transport are engaged for the Black Sea, and the whole land force under orders for the Baltic, of which not a man has been sent off, the very staff of which has not yet been organised, consists of one brigade of 2,500 men!

As to the French, they are woefully limping[a] behind. Their Baltic fleet—you recollect the pompous report of secretary Ducos: "Your Majesty ordered the equipment of a third fleet; the orders of your Majesty are executed"[b]—this splendid armament which was to be ready for the sea by the middle of March to the tune of ten ships of the line, has never consisted of more than five ships of the line, which with frigates and small vessels, are at present creeping slowly along the mouth of the Great Belt, to reach which from Brest, it has taken them fully three weeks, westerly winds prevailing all the time. The grand Camp of Saint Omer,[c] to

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[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "lingering".—*Ed.*

[b] Ducos, Report of the Minister of the Marine of February 25, 1854. *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 57, February 26, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] Department of Pas-de-Calais.—*Ed.*

contain 150,000, in case of need, 200,000 troops pretended for a Baltic expedition, has been formed, on paper, three or four weeks ago, and not a brigade is, as yet, concentrated. The French, however, might easily spare some 10,000 to 15,000 infantry and field artillery from their coast garrisons, without the fuss and pomp of a large theatrical camp demonstration, but where are the means of transport? British merchantmen would have to be chartered; they would, according to the rate of sailing of the French fleet, require from four to six weeks to arrive, one by one, on the scene of action; and where should the troops be landed, the brigade and division concentrated, the staff and commissariats organised? That is the vicious circle in which the allies move; in order to have a land-army in the Baltic, they must first conquer an island or peninsula where to concentrate and organise it for attack; and in order to conquer this desideratum, they must first have a landing force on the spot. There is no difficulty in getting out of this scrape, as soon as you have a good admiral who knows as much of land-warfare as is necessary to enable him to command a land-force; and there is no doubt Charles Napier is quite up to that, as he has fought a great deal on shore. But with an Aberdeen[a] reigning supreme, with four different ministries meddling with the fighting force, with the eternal antagonism of army and navy, and with French and English forces combined, and jealous of each other's glory and comforts, how can you expect anything like unity of action?

Then there cannot now be brought up any effective land-force to the Baltic before the end of June; and unless the war is decided and peace concluded in four months, the whole of the conquests made will have to be given up, troops, guns, ships, provisions, all will have to be withdrawn, or abandoned, and for seven winter months the Russians will be again in possession of all their Baltic territory. This shows clear enough that all serious and decisive attacks upon Baltic Russia are out of the question for the present year; it is too late. Only when Sweden joins the Western Powers, have they a base of operations in the Baltic which will admit of their carrying on a winter campaign in Finland. But here again we have a vicious circle, though vicious only, as the former one, to the pusillanimous. How can you expect the Swedes to join you, unless you show them by sending a land-force, and taking part of Finland, that you are in earnest? And, on the other side, how can

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[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "with an Aberdeen and Palmerston".—*Ed.*

you send that force thither without having made sure of Sweden as a base of operations?

Verily, Napoleon the Great, the "butcher" of so many millions of men, was a model of humanity in his bold, decisive, home-striking way of warfare, compared to the hesitating "statesman-like" directors of this Russian war, who cannot but eventually sacrifice human life and hard cash to a far greater amount if they go on as they do.

Turning to the Black Sea, we find the combined fleets before Sevastopol amusing themselves with a little harmless long-range exercise against some paltry outworks of that fortress. This innocent game, we are informed, has been carried on for four days by the majority of the ships, and during all this time the Russians, having only twelve ships of the line ready for sea, did not show their faces outside the harbour, to the great astonishment of Admiral Hamelin (vide his report, May 1-5).[a] That heroic sailor is, however, old enough to recollect the time when French squadrons were not only blocked up, but even attacked in harbour by English squadrons of far inferior strength[149]; and certainly it is expecting a little too much, that the inferior Russian squadron should come out of Sevastopol to be shattered and sunk by twice their number of ships, and thus offer themselves up in expiation for the "hideous crime" of Sinope!

In the meantime, two ships of the line (screws) and seven steam-frigates are on their road to Circassia. They were to explore the coasts of the Crimea, and then to destroy the forts on the Circassian coast. But in this latter attack only three steam-frigates were to participate, the remaining four being instructed to return to the fleet as soon as the Crimea was duly reconnoitred. Now the three forts the Russians still occupy on the Circassian coast, viz: Anapa, Sukhum-Kaleh and Redut-Kaleh, are, as far as we know, of considerable strength, built upon heights which entirely command the offing (except Redut-Kaleh), and it may be doubted whether the force sent will be sufficient to effect their purposes, especially as it is not accompanied by landing troops. The squadron, which is commanded by Rear Admiral Lyons, is at the same time to communicate with the Circassians, and especially with their chief, Shamyl. What Rear Admiral Lyons is to communicate to him the report telleth not, but there is this certain that he

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[a] Review of current events, May 20. *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 141, May 21, 1854.—*Ed.*

cannot bring him what he wants most, viz: arms and ammunitions, for men-of-war on active service have no room to spare for goods shipped to order. Two paltry merchant brigs or schooners freighted with these valuable articles would be far more acceptable than all the moral but perfectly useless support of five men-of-war. At the same time we learn that the Turkish fleet has sailed for the same destination, this time carrying along with it the articles required for arming the Circassians. Thus two allied fleets are going on the same errand, the one not knowing of the other. This is unity of plan and of action with a vengeance. May be, each may take the other for Russians, and a famous sight it will be for the Circassians, these two squadrons firing one into the other!

The allied land-forces, in the meantime, fraternise at Gallipoli and Scutari in their own way, annihilating enormous quantities of the strong and sweet wine of the country. Those who happen to be sober are employed upon the construction of field-works, so situated and so constructed, that they will be either never attacked, or never defended. If a proof was wanted that neither the British nor the French Government have any intention of doing Friend Nicholas any serious harm, it is given to the very blindest in their way of spending the time of the troops. In order to have a pretext to keep their troops away from the field of action, the allied commanders set them to dig a continuous line of field-works across the neck of the Thracian Chersonesus. Everybody, and particularly every French engineer, knows that continuous lines of defence are under almost all circumstances to be rejected in field fortifications, but it was reserved to the Anglo-French army of Gallipoli to employ continuous lines upon a ground, two-thirds of which are commanded by heights, situated on the side where the enemy is expected from. However, as the slow-coach system cannot be carried on without making at least a snail-like sort of progress, we are informed that 15,000 French are to go to Varna, there to form what? The garrison of the place. And to do what? To die of fever and ague.

Now, if there is any sense in this warfare, the chiefs must know that what the Turks are deficient in, is the art of manoeuvring in the open field, in which again the Anglo-French troops are masters, and that, on the other hand, the Turks are fit for the defence of walls, ramparts, and even breaches, against stormers, in a degree which neither the British nor the French can lay any claim to. Therefore, and because Varna, with a Turkish garrison, did that which no fortress before it had ever done, that is, held

out for twenty-nine days after three practicable breaches had been laid in the rampart—therefore[a] the half-disciplined Turks are taken out of Varna and sent to meet the Russians in the open field, while the well-drilled French, brilliant in attack, but unsteady in lengthy defence, are sent to guard the ramparts of Varna.

Other reports inform us that all these movements are mere gammon. They say that great things are in preparation. The combined troops are not intended to act on the Balkans, but they are to execute, with the help of the fleets, tremendous exploits in the rear of the Russians. They are to land at Odessa, to cut off the retreat of the enemy, and to combine in his rear with the Austrians in Transylvania. They are, besides, to send detachments to Circassia; they are, finally, to furnish 15,000 to 20,000 men for the attack of Sevastopol on the land-side, while the fleets are to force the harbour. If you cast a glance at the whole past history of the war and the diplomatic transactions preceding it, you will no doubt very soon dispose of these rumours. They came from Constantinople, shortly after the arrival of Marshal Leroy, commonly called Saint-Arnaud. Whoever knows the past history of this worthy,[b] recognises in these bravadoes the man who blustered himself up to the rank he occupies, although three times cashiered as an officer of the army.

The long and the short of this war is this: England, and particularly France, are being dragged "unavoidably, though reluctantly," into engaging the greater part of their forces in the East and the Baltic, that is, upon two advanced wings of a military position which has no centre nearer than France. Russia sacrifices her coasts, her fleets, and part of her troops, to induce the Western Powers to engage themselves completely into this anti-strategical move. As soon as this is done, as soon as the necessary number of French troops are sent off to countries far from their own, Austria and Prussia will declare in favour of Russia, and at once march with superior numbers upon Paris. If this plan succeeds, there is no force at the disposal of Louis Napoleon to resist that shock. But there is a force which can "mobilise" itself upon any emergency, and which can also "mobilise" Louis Bonaparte and his minions as it has mobilised many a ruler before this. That force is able to resist all these

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[a] The words "Therefore and because", "three practicable breaches had been laid in the rampart—therefore" are italicised in the *New-York Daily Tribune.—Ed.*

[b] Here the *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "I shall send it you some of these days."[150]—*Ed.*

invasions, and it has shown it once before to combined Europe, and that force, the Revolution, be assured, will not be wanting the day its action is required.

Written on May 22, 1854

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Reproduced from *The People's Paper* checked with the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Frederick Engels

## THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE ENGLISH ARMY —TACTICS, UNIFORM, COMMISSARIAT, &c.[151]

London, Friday, May 26, 1854

If the war in the East is good for nothing else it will at least demolish a portion of the military renown of the late Duke of Wellington. Whoever knew England during the lifetime of this much over-estimated General, will recollect that it was considered an insult to the British nation to speak even of Napoleon as of a soldier approaching in any way the invincible Iron Duke. This glorious Duke is now dead and buried, after having had the command of the British army, at least virtually, for the last forty years. Never was a man more independent or irresponsible in the exercise of command. The "Duke" was an authority above all authorities, neither king nor queen[a] daring to contradict him in professional matters. Well, after enjoying many a year of those honors and comforts which usually fall to the lot of happy mediocrity, and which so strongly contrast with the tragic revulsions generally belonging to the career of genius—Napoleon for instance—the Iron Duke died, and the command of the British army fell into other hands. About eighteen months after his death, the British army is called upon to enter on a campaign against the Russians, and before the first regiment is ready to embark, it is found that the Iron Duke has left the army in a state entirely unfit for active service.

The "Duke," in spite of his generally sound English sense, had but a small and narrow mind in many respects. The unfairness with which he habitually alluded to the part his German allies bore in the decision of the struggle at Waterloo, taking to himself all the credit of a victory which would have been a defeat but for the timely appearance of Blücher, is well known. The pettishness with

[a] William IV and Victoria.—*Ed.*

which he stuck to all abuses and absurdities in the English army, replying to all criticism: "Those abuses and absurdities made us victorious in Spain and Portugal"—perfectly agrees with his conservative notion that a certain degree of traditional absurdity and corruption was essential to a proper working of the "demonstrably best" of Constitutions. But while in politics he knew how to give way upon important points in critical moments, in military matters he clung all the more stubbornly to antiquated notions and traditional Tory fooleries. There was not one single important improvement introduced into the British army during his lifetime, unless it was in the purely technical department of the artillery. Here it was simply impossible that the rapid progress of manufacturing industry and mechanical science should have been left entirely unnoticed. The consequence is, that though the British army has the best artillery material in existence, the organization of that artillery is as clumsy as that of the other arms; and that in the dress, general armament, and organization of the British forces there is not a single item in which it is not inferior to any civilized army in Europe.

I must again call the attention of your readers to the fact that the direction of military affairs is not confided, as in other countries, to a single branch of the administration.[a] There are four departments, each clashing with and independent of the other. There is the Secretary of War, a mere paymaster and accountant. There is the Commander-in-Chief at the Horse Guards,[152] who has the infantry and cavalry under him. There is the Master-General of the Ordnance, who commands the Artillery Engineers, and is supposed to have the general direction of the *materiel* of the army. Then there is the Colonial Secretary, who apportions the troops to the various foreign possessions, and regulates the distribution of war-material to each. Beside these, there is the Commissariat Department; and lastly, for the troops in India, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army in that empire. It is only since the death of Wellington that the absurdity of such an arrangement has been publicly alluded to, the report of the Parliamentary Committee of 1837 having been superseded by the Duke's authority. Now that war has begun, its inefficiency is felt everywhere; but change is deprecated as being liable to upset all possibility of order and regularity in the transaction of the business.

As an instance of the confusion created by this system, I mentioned, on a former occasion, that there are hardly two articles

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[a] See this volume, p. 203.—*Ed.*

for which a regiment is not obliged to apply to different and independent administrations. The clothing is supplied by the Colonel, but the great-coats by the Ordnance; the belts and knapsacks by the Horse Guards; but the fire-arms again by the Ordnance. On any foreign station, military officers, ordnance officers, storekeepers and commissariat employers are all more or less independent of each other, and responsible to distinct and independent boards at home. Then there is the nuisance of the "clothing colonels." Every regiment has a titular colonel, a general officer, whose duty it is to pocket a certain government allowance for clothing his regiment, and to spend a portion only for the purpose. The balance is considered as his wages for the trouble.

There is the sale of commissions, which puts all the higher posts in the army at the almost exclusive disposal of the aristocracy. After a few years' service in the capacity of lieutenant, captain, and major, an officer is entitled, on the first vacancy occurring, to buy up the next rank which becomes vacant, unless there should be an officer of the same rank, and of older standing, inclined to anticipate him. The consequence is, that a man with ready money can advance very rapidly, as many of his seniors have not the means to buy the vacancy as soon as it occurs. It is clear that such a system greatly narrows the class of useful men from which the corps of officers is recruited, and the advancement or active employment of general officers being subject almost exclusively to seniority or aristocratic connection, the circle from which these are drawn must necessarily exclude a large mass of talent and knowledge from the higher commands. It is, no doubt, attributable to this system chiefly that the mass of British officers are so lamentably deficient in the general and more theoretical branches of military science.

The number of officers is disproportionately large for that of the men. Gold lace and epaulettes abound in a British regiment to an extent unknown anywhere else. Consequently, the officers have nothing to do, and their *esprit de corps* hardly admitting of any degree of study, they pass their time in all sorts of extravagant amusements, trusting that if it comes to fight, native bravery and "Her Majesty's regulations" will be quite sufficient to carry them through all difficulties. Yet when the Chobham camp[153] was formed, the helplessness of very many of the officers was conspicuous enough to anybody who could judge a little better of the maneuvers than the poor enthusiastic penny-a-liners who, with true cockney spirit, admired everything in the strange spectacle which they saw for the first time of their lives.

The drill regulations and system of exercise are of the most old-fashioned character. The maneuvering is exceedingly clumsy, all the movements being complicated, slow, and pedantic. The old system of movements in line, which has been maintained in the British longer than in the Austrian army, as the grand form of all tactical maneuvers, has a few well-known advantages where the ground allows of its application; but there is more than one way to counterbalance this, and above all it is applicable under very exceptional circumstances only. The system of evolutions in column, especially in small columns of companies, as introduced into the best regulated continental armies, insures a far greater mobility and an equally rapid formation of lines when required.

The armament of the British soldier is of good material and capital workmanship, but disfigured in many cases by old-fashioned regulations. The old muskets of smooth bore are well made, of large caliber, but rather more heavy than is necessary. The old Brunswick rifle was good of its kind, but has been superseded by better arms. The recently introduced Pritchett rifle, considered an improvement upon the French Minié rifles, appears to be a capital weapon, but it has only been after a hard struggle that this arm has been forced upon the authorities. As it is, it is very irregularly and unsystematically introduced; one-half of a regiment carries muskets, and the other half rifles, thereby deranging the whole armament. The swords of the cavalry are good, of a better shape for thrust and sharp edge blows than those of Continental armies. The horses are also first-rate, but the men and equipments are too heavy. The *materiel* of the field artillery is the best in the world, admirably simplified in some respects, but indulging in too great a variety of calibers and guns of different weight, by which different charges of powder are necessitated.

The dress, on the contrary, and the general accoutrement of the British soldier is the greatest nuisance in existence. A high, tight, stiff stock round the neck; a shabby-looking, close-fitting coatee with swallow-tails, badly cut and uncomfortable; tight trousers; disgraceful looking great-coats; an ugly cap, or shako; a system of strapping and belting, of carrying ammunition and knapsack, the like of which even the Prussians cannot show—all this has been of late the theme of so many newspaper comments that a mere allusion to it is sufficient. Besides the almost intentional discomfort of the dress, it must not be forgotten that the British soldier carries a far heavier weight than any other in the world; and, as if to make mobility the ruling principle of the army, it has

a far more considerable train of *impediments* dragging along with it than any other. The clumsiness of the commissariat arrangements contributes a great deal to this, but even the regimental train, and particularly the great amount of officers' luggage, surpasses anything known out of Turkey and India.

Now see how this army managed when the troops reached Turkey. The French soldiers, having permanently incorporated into their army system all the arrangements found to be of practical utility in their Algerian campaigns, had no sooner landed than they made themselves comfortable. They carried everything with them which they wanted, little as it was, and whatever was deficient was soon supplied by the inborn ingenuity of the French soldier. Even under the joint-stock swindling Administration of Louis Bonaparte and Saint-Arnaud, the system was found to work smoothly enough. But the English! They came to Gallipoli before their commissariat stores had arrived; they came in numbers four times greater than could encamp; there were no preparations for disembarking, no portable ovens for baking, no properly responsible administration. Orders and counter-orders succeeded each other, clashing most fearfully, or rather ludicrously. There was many an old sergeant or corporal who had made himself comfortable in the Kaffir Bush, or in the burning plains of the Indus; but here he was helpless. The improved arrangements, which each foreign commander on a campaign might have introduced, were made for the duration of the campaign only; the different regiments once separated Her Majesty's old-fashioned regulations were again the only rule, and the administrative experience of the campaign was totally lost.

Such is the glorious system to which the Iron Duke stuck with iron tenacity, and which was necessarily the best, because with it he had beaten Napoleon's generals in the Peninsula. The British soldier, when strapped in his leather cuirasse, with 60 or 70 pounds weight to carry over the steppes of Bulgaria, creeping along under occasional attacks of ague, badly supplied by neglectful and unbusinesslike commissariat officers, may well be proud of his glorious Iron Duke, who has prepared all these benefits for him.

The mischievous results naturally flowing from the Duke's traditionary routine are still aggravated by the oligarchic character of the English Administration, which intrusts the most important offices to men who, although their parliamentary support may be needed by the set of place-hunters just in power, are altogether destitute even of elementary professional knowledge and fitness.

Take for instance Mr. Bernal Osborne, the Coalition Clerk of Ordnance.[154] Mr. Bernal Osborne's nomination was a concession made to the Mayfair Radicals,[155] represented in the ministry by Sir W. Molesworth, the "humble" editor of Hobbes. Mr. Bernal Osborne

> "Pecks up wit, as pigeons peas,
> And utters it again when Jove doth please:
> He is wit's pedlar; and retails his wares
> At wakes, and wassails, meetings, markets, fairs."[a]

But although a small trader in stale jokes, Mr. Bernal Osborne is hardly competent to distinguish a common musket from a Minié rifle, and, nevertheless, he is Her Majesty's Parliamentary Clerk of Ordnance.

Your readers will remember that some time ago he applied to Parliament for a grant of money to enable the Board of Ordnance to manufacture all the small arms required for the army and navy. He asserted that in the United States of America, Government manufactories supplied the arms at a cheaper rate than could be done by private industry, and that on several occasions serious difficulties had arisen from the contractors failing to deliver the arms at the time agreed upon.

The vote of the House was, however, postponed on the motion of M. Muntz, to appoint a Select Committee "to inquire as to the cheapest, the most expeditious, and the most sufficient mode of obtaining fire-arms for Her Majesty's service." The report of this Committee is now before the public,[b] and what are the conclusions it has come to? That the private manufacturers had failed to supply the arms at the time contracted for,

> "because of the vexatious manner of the *view* of their work, as required by the Board of Ordnance, and its habit of employing different contractors for each individual part of the numerous pieces which compose a musket."

The report states further that

> "the Board of Ordnance had scarcely any knowledge of either the price at which muskets were made in America, or the extent to which machinery was used in their manufacture, and had never seen any fire-arms which had been made at any of the Government manufactories of that country."

Finally, we learn from the report that

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[a] Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act V, Scene 2.—*Ed.*

[b] Report from the Select Committee on Small Arms; together with the proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix, [London,] 1854.—*Ed.*

"from the manufactory the Government intended to build, not a musket could be issued for eighteen months."

These extracts from the Parliamentary Report may suffice to characterize the professional abilities of Mr. Osborne, the Coalition's own Clerk of Ordnance. *Ex ungue leonem.*[a]

Written on May 25, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] By his claw one may recognise the lion.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE TREATY BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA.— PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES OF MAY 29][156]

London, Tuesday, May 30, 1854

*The Times* is highly indignant that the British general has issued an order prohibiting its "own correspondents" to accompany the British army.[a] If the war were a *bona fide*[b] war, it would be absurd to object to this measure, since the dispatches of the Duke of Wellington repeatedly complain of the information about his intended movements and dispositions which Napoleon was able to transmit to his peninsular generals through the columns of the English newspapers.[c] As it is, the object of the order can only be to keep the English public in the dark about the treacherous designs of their expeditionary troops, and receives a suitable complement in the order just enforced upon the Sultan by the heroes of the 2d of December[157] to forbid, by a decree read in all mosques, any political conversation to the Turks. But why should the Turks be better off in this respect than the English public itself?

In yesterday's sitting of the House of Commons[d] Mr. Blackett asked Lord J. Russell whether, by the last Vienna protocol,[158] Great Britain had given any recognition or sanction to the first article of the treaty of 20th April, 1854, between Austria and Prussia, whereby the contracting powers

> "reciprocally guarantee to each other the possession of their German and non-German territories, so that any attack made upon the territory of the one, no matter whence it may come, shall be regarded as a hostile attack on the territory of the other."[159]

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21753, May 29, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

[b] In good faith.—*Ed.*

[c] The Duke of Wellington to the Earl of Liverpool, November 21, 1809 in: Wellington, the Duke of, *Selections from the Dispatches and General Orders of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington.*—*Ed.*

[d] Parliamentary debates of May 29 are reported according to *The Times*, No. 21754, May 30, 1854.—*Ed.*

Lord John Russell answered that

"the protocol does not contain any *special* recognition or sanction of that first article of the treaty between Austria and Prussia."

Special, or not special, we read in the French *Moniteur* of yesterday that

"the last protocol of Vienna connects the Anglo-French Convention for the present war with the Austro-Prussian treaty for the eventual war,"[a]

i.e. connects the actual Anglo-French war against Russia with the eventual Austro-Prussian war for Russia, and is at all instances a guarantee given by the western powers to Prussia and Austria for their undisturbed possession of Posen, of Galicia, of Hungary, and of Italy. Lord John Russell further avows that this protocol

"has a tendency to confirm and maintain the principles which are constituted by the Vienna protocols—namely, the integrity of the Turkish Empire, and the evacuation of the Principalities by the Russian forces."

In fact, it is a fresh engagement to maintain the *status quo ante bellum.* The western powers cannot pretend to have gained any advantage over Russia by this protocol; for, the Austro-Prussian treaty expressly stipulates:

"An offensive and defensive action on the part of the two contracting powers would be occasioned, firstly, by the incorporation of the Principalities; and in the second place, by an attack on, or a passage of, the Balkans by the Russians."

These two conditions have manifestly been dictated by Russia herself. From the very first, she declared that it was not her intention to incorporate, but to keep the Principalities as a "material guaranty" for the satisfaction of her demands. To cross the Balkans in the face of some 89,000 French troops,[b] is an idea which never entered into the Russian plan of campaign, the only object of which is to secure some of the fortresses on the right bank of the Danube as têtes-de-pont[c] for her army, and as constant facilities for an inroad into Bulgaria. Be it remarked, *en passant,* that *The Times,* in noticing this new protocol, is content at the best to hope that Austria may have been gained over to the western powers, Prussia being "notoriously" now governed by "Russian agents;"[d] while *The Morning Chronicle* even despairs of any sincere adhesion of Austria. The great Napoleon would have

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[a] Report from Vienna, *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 149, May 29, 1854.—*Ed.*
[b] Presumably a mistake—should be 29,000 (see this volume, p. 223).—*Ed.*
[c] Bridgeheads.—*Ed.*
[d] *The Times,* No. 21753, May 29, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

forced Austria and Prussia into open alliance with Russia; the little one permits Russia to impose upon him an alliance with the German Powers which removes his army to the greatest possible distance from its basis of operations.

On the interpellation of Mr. Milnes, Lord John Russell declared that

"a force, consisting of about 6,000 men, had been sent from France with instructions to occupy the Piraeus. An English regiment of infantry which had left this country about a week ago should likewise be posted in occupation of the Piraeus."

The cause of this measure was the conspiracy of the Greek Government with Russia. The troops were to occupy Athens only in certain contingencies. We read in the French papers of to-day that

"King Otto has accepted the ultimatum, and promised the return of the Maurocordatos Ministry, in case the occupation were suspended. If not, he was decided to transfer his Government to the interior, and there to concentrate his troops."

That this alternative will not remain altogether a gratuitous offer, follows from a further declaration by Lord J. Russell:

"If the King of Greece disapproves of the attempts of his people to violate the duties of a neutral Power, he will find protection in the forces which have been sent, and the means of compelling his people to observe those duties. If, on the other hand, the protestations which we have received from the Greek Government should turn out not to be sincere, those forces might prove useful in another way."

Consequently, the Greek Government may do as it pleases, Greece will be occupied.

*The Times* mentions with a certain moroseness that

"French troops form at this moment the larger portion of the garrisons of Rome, Athens and Constantinople—the three great capitals of the ancient world."[a]

Old Napoleon was in the habit of occupying the capitals of the new world. Napoleon the Little, content with the theatrical show of greatness, disperses his armies over insignificant countries, and locks up the better portion of his troops in so many *culs de sac*.[b]

The withdrawal of the Bribery Prevention bill in last night's House gave occasion to a highly amusing tournament between Little Johnny, Disraeli, and Bright. Mr. Disraeli remarked that

"The Government had introduced, during the session, seven important bills. Out of the seven, they had been defeated on three; three had been withdrawn, and

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21754, May 30, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

[b] Blind alleys.—*Ed.*

on the seventh, they had suffered considerable, though partial, defeats. They had been defeated on a bill for the entire change of the law of settlement[160]—on a bill for public education for Scotland—and on a bill for the total reconstruction of parliamentary oaths. They had withdrawn the present Bribery Prevention bill; they had withdrawn a most important measure for the complete change of the civil service, and they had withdrawn a measure for Parliamentary reform. The Oxford University Reform bill would come out of the House in a very mutilated state."

If they had not had a fair prospect of carrying these measures they ought not to have been introduced.... They were told that the Government had no principles, but "all the talents," and one might have expected that, as every minister had made a sacrifice of his private opinions, some public advantage should at least have accrued from such heroism.

Lord John's answer was not rendered less weak by his great indignation. He exalts the merits of the bills defeated as well as of the bills withdrawn. At all events, he adds, the House was not for Mr. Disraeli and his friends. The latter had accused the Government of credulity or connivance in the conduct of their foreign policy, but he had never dared to take the opinion of the House on that point. He had pretended an unwillingness to disturb the Government in their arrangements for the war; nevertheless, he had brought forward a motion to deprive them of the means of carrying on the war. That motion had been defeated by a majority of more than 100 votes. With regard to the Jews,[161] whose emancipation he pretended to advocate, he gave or withheld his support to that measure according to the conveniences of the hour.

This answer drew upon the poor leader of the Commons a fresh onslaught of his antagonist, much fiercer than the first.

"The noble Lord," said Mr. Disraeli, "seems to think that I am surprised that he has not quitted office; on the contrary, I should have been immensely surprised if he had. [Loud laughter.] Many more defeats, if possible more humiliating, and, if possible, more complete, must occur before the noble Lord will feel the necessity of taking such a step as that. [Cheers.] I know the noble Lord too well; I have sat opposite to him too long; I have seen him too often in the same position. Many a time have I seen him experience the most signal defeats, and I have seen him adhere to office with a patriotism and a pertinacity which cannot be too much admired. [Cheers and laughter.] With regard to the war, they had announced to Parliament that they would lay on the table all the papers on the subject, while in fact they kept back the most important part, and the country would have remained in total ignorance of what was going on, except for the revelations in the *St. Petersburg Gazette*.[a] After these revelations he had to modify his opinion only so far as to dispense with any hypothesis, and to positively declare that the Government

[a] *Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg.—Ed.*

can only have been guilty of connivance or credulity. He was quite convinced that before long that would be the general opinion of the country."

Mr. Disraeli then proceeded to defend the Government of Lord Derby, and to show that Lord John's opposition to it had been "factious." Lord John had made great sacrifices:

"He parted from the colleagues of his life, who had been faithful to him, to take into his bosom the ancient foes who had passed their lives in depreciating his abilities and decrying his career. He gave up the confidence—I may say he almost broke up the being of that historic party, the confidence of which to a man like the noble Lord ought not to have been less precious than the favor of his Sovereign. [Cheers.] And for what did he do it? Because he was devoted to great principles and was resolved to carry great measures. But now that every one of his measures had foundered, he still remained in office. As to his conduct upon the Jewish question, Mr. Disraeli gave to the statement of the noble Lord a most unequivocal and most unqualified denial."

In fact, he left no other resource to Lord John Russell but to plead his "misfortune," and to represent the continuance of the coalition as an indispensable evil.

Mr. Bright thought that

"The noble Lord came out of the discussion with some scars. The elements of the Government were such, that, from the day of its formation, it was not very likely that it could act for the benefit of the country. He recollected an ingenious gentleman in the House, and a great friend of the noble Lord and of the Government, saying that the Cabinet would get on admirably if they could only avoid politics. That appeared to be about the course that the Government had pursued. Upon every other matter except free trade the Government appeared altogether unable to advise, to lead, or to control the House. It was quite clear that the noble Lord who was by courtesy called the Leader of the House did not lead the House, and that the House did not follow the noble Lord, and that their measures were kicked overboard in a very unceremonious manner. You have got us into a war, and you must get us out of it. We will not undertake the responsibility. This was the condition that they were now driven to by the Government. While they were undermining and destroying the constitution of Turkey, they were also doing something to undermine and destroy the Parliamentary system of this country."

It may be asked of what use this system is? Domestic questions must not be agitated because the country is at war. Because the country is at war, war must not be discussed. Then why remains Parliament? Old Cobbett has revealed the secret. As a safety-valve for the effervescing passions of the country.

Written on May 30, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## [THE FORMATION OF A SPECIAL MINISTRY OF WAR IN BRITAIN.—THE WAR ON THE DANUBE.—THE ECONOMIC SITUATION][162]

London, Friday, June 2, 1854

The formation of a special Ministry of War having now been determined upon, the great question of the moment is to know who may be selected to fill that office. The Duke of Newcastle, who has hitherto combined both the functions of Colonial and War Secretary, has long shown a great disinclination to relinquish either of his two posts, and seems disposed, if we may judge from the tone of *The Morning Chronicle*,[a] to stick at all events to the Administration of the War Department. *The Times* of to-day recommends for the third time the appointment of Lord Palmerston.

"Lord Palmerston would certainly seem more in his place as Minister of War, directing the forces of this country *against what we may call his old enemy, Russia*, than engaged in a series of squabbles with parochial vestries and sewers commissions."[b]

*The Daily News* likewise recommends Lord Palmerston. Yesterday's *Morning Herald* brought a denunciation of this intrigue from the pen of Mr. Urquhart. At all instances, these movements in Downing-st. are of greater importance for the "war" than all the military demonstrations at Gallipoli or Scutari.

Perhaps you will remember that great expectations were held out to the public of immediate and energetic measures as soon as the commanders of the expeditionary forces should have arrived at Constantinople. On the 18th May, Marshal St. Arnaud, Lord

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[a] *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 27282, June 2, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*
[b] *The Times*, No. 21757, June 2, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

Raglan and the Turkish Sereskier[a] proceeded to Varna where a council of war was to take place with Omer Pasha and the Admirals[b] on the 20th. Yesterday a telegraphic dispatch arrived in London stating that

"at the military council, held at Varna, it was decided that the allied troops should proceed from Gallipoli to Adrianople."[c]

Simultaneously *The Times* published a leading article in which the whole plan of the campaign as settled on at the Varna conference was revealed.

"This conference," says *The Times*, "must have taken place at the very time when the Russians, under Prince Paskievich, were directing their fiercest attacks against the fortress of Silistria, and consequently the principal officers of the allied army were in the best position to decide on the measures which might be taken for the relief of that place."[d]

And *consequently* they ordered their forces to come up from Gallipoli to Adrianople—for the relief of Silistria; and *consequently* they arrived at the following heroic determination:

"That it is not expedient to expose the Turkish army to the risk of a general action for the sake of repelling the attack of the Russians on the fortresses which cover the right bank of the Danube: ... nor to throw any considerable portion of the allied armies on the coast, so as to come into immediate collision with the present advanced posts of the Russians."

In other words, the allied generals have resolved not to oppose anything to the exertions of the Russians to carry the fortresses on the right bank of the Danube. *The Times* confesses that this plan of operations

"may disappoint the natural impatience of the public;"

but, on the other hand, it discovers that

"these fortified places are in reality the outworks of the Turkish position, and do not constitute its principal strength."

Formerly we were told that Moldavia and Wallachia were the *outworks* of Turkey, and that the latter could not be a great loser by surrendering them to Russian occupation. Now we learn that Turkey may, with the same tranquility, abandon Bulgaria to the Russians.

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[a] Riza Pasha.—*Ed.*
[b] Dundas and Hamelin.—*Ed.*
[c] Telegraphic dispatch from Paris. *The Times*, No. 21756, June 1, 1854.—*Ed.*
[d] *The Times*, No. 21756, June 1, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

"The Balkans is the real bulwark of the Ottoman Empire, and it can profit the Russians nothing to carry the outer line of circumvallation with heavy loss, if fresh obstacles of incalculably greater magnitude rise up before them as they proceed. The further they advance within this region north of the Balkans, the worse their position becomes.... The invading army exhausts its strength against the fortified places on the river and the scattered detachments of the enemy; but in the meantime the forces in defense of the main position remain comparatively fresh and unbroken."

There is no doubt that if the beef-eating allies[a] can only avoid encountering an enemy their forces will remain very fresh. But how will it be if the Russians do not further advance within the region north of the Balkans, contenting themselves with the possession of the fortresses, the keys of Bulgaria, and with the Principalities? How will their evacuation be effected?

"Behind the lines of the Balkans a European army is preparing to *advance*, at the proper time, with irresistible force, and the concluding months of the campaign *ought* to effect the annihilation of the enemy."

This irresistible advance will, of course, be greatly facilitated by the Russian possession of the Danube fortresses, and what may not be achieved by the allied armies, the *season* will have no difficulty to finish.

The *Moniteur*, it is true, announces that Omer Pasha was preparing to come to the relief of Silistria[b]; and *The Morning Chronicle* finds fault with the above article of *The Times*, observing:

"The author of this project probably hopes that Austrian diplomacy may induce, in the meanwhile, the Czar to withdraw his troops, with the satisfaction of having obtained uninterrupted and unresisted success; and on the other hand, it is, perhaps, imagined that, in the alternative of an advance on the Balkans, the remote contingency contemplated in the Austro-Prussian treaty would at once come into operation."[c]

The news of the *Moniteur*, however, is notoriously so arranged as to keep the Parisians in good humor; and the manner in which *The Chronicle* comments on the plan of *The Times* only increases the probability that it is the plan of the coalition. Other sources of information further confirm this assumption. The Constantinople correspondent of *The Chronicle*, under date of 18th May, observes:

"A campaign will scarcely be undertaken on the Danube in midsummer, as more men would be lost by fever and disease than otherwise."[d]

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[a] An allusion to the nickname of the Yeomen of the Tower of London (Beefeaters).—*Ed.*

[b] Report from Belgrade of May 29, 1854. *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 151, May 31, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 27282, June 2, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

[d] Ibid., No. 27281, June 1, 1854.—*Ed.*

Besides, the ministerial *Globe* of last evening publishes an article conceived entirely in the same spirit as that of *The Times.* It tells us, firstly, that there are at this moment "*only*" 45,000 allied troops in Turkey—29,000 French and 16,000 English, the same *Globe* stating, in another column, that the Russians have only 90,000 men before and around Silistria, and that the regular Turkish army in the field amounts to 104,000 men. But this aggregate of nearly 150,000 Turkish, French and English troops is not deemed sufficient by *The Globe* to prevent 90,000 Russians from taking the Bulgarian fortresses, not to mention the cooperation which might be given by three powerful fleets. *The Globe* thinks it sheer superfluity that either Turks or allies should fight against the Russians, as "time is fighting against them." In revealing the plan of campaign concocted by the allied commanders, *The Globe* even goes a step further than *The Times*, for it says:

> "Whatever becomes of the fortresses on the Danube, adequate force must be brought up to render hopeless the invader's *further* progress, and punish his audacious advance."

Here we have the clear proof that the Austro-Prussian treaty has been acceded to in the last Vienna Protocol, by England and France. The fortresses on the Danube and Bulgaria are to be given up to Russia, and a case of war will only be constituted by her *further* advance.

When the 15,000 Russians who first invaded Moldavia crossed the Pruth, Turkey was advised not to stir, as she would be unable to prevent such a formidable force of 15,000 men from occupying Wallachia also. The Russians then occupied Wallachia. When war had been declared by the Porte no operations could be undertaken against the Russians because it was winter. On the arrival of spring, Omer Pasha received orders to abstain from any offensive movement, because the allied forces had not arrived. When they arrived nothing could be done because it was now summer, and summer [is] an unwholesome season. Let autumn arrive, and it will be "too late to open a campaign". This proceeding *The Times* calls a combination in strategies with tactics, the essence of tactics, in its opinion, being the sacrifice of the army in order to keep "fresh" the reserves. Observe also that all the time since this juggle has been going on under the very noses and eyes of the opposition journals and the British public at large, *The Morning Advertiser* rivals with *The Times* in expressions of angry denunciation against Prussia, against Denmark and Sweden, for not

"joining" the western powers! That the motives which determine the tendencies of all the smaller Courts to side with Russia are not without a very good foundation, is seen from the tone, for instance, of the Danish Government journals. Thus the Copenhagen correspondent of *The Morning Chronicle* writes:

"The threat, by holding out which the Ministerial party manage to keep the National party quiet and discouraged, is that England has ever been perfidious toward Denmark, and that if the latter now joined with the western powers, 100,000 Prussians, perhaps with a corps of Austrians, would ravage Jutland down to the Eider, and occupy the whole Danish continent."[a]

It might be expected, and certainly was expected, by the coalition, that the delicate services—diplomatic, military and otherwise—rendered by them to the "good cause" of Russia would at least meet with a certain delicate gratitude from the Autocrat. So far from this, they receive a great deal of abuse from him beyond the understanding, and in excess of the exigencies of the case. In illustration of the manner of expressing this sovereign contempt of the Russian Court for their sham-adversaries, I will give you a translation of a fable lately published by the *Nordische Biene*,[b] by some anonymous Tyrtaeus of Russia. Its child-like simplicity of language and structure must be accounted for as an exigency of the semi-barbarian understanding to which the poet addresses himself, exactly as the ironical urbanity of criticism to which the late Odessa report of Admiral Hamelin has been subjected by the *St. Petersburg Gazette*, is to be explained by the circumstance of its being addressed to the diplomatists of Europe.[c] The fable is headed: The Eagle, the Bull-Dog, the Cock, and the Hare.

"A royal eagle, great and strong, sat on the summit of a rock, and from his lofty seat surveyed the whole world, far behind the Baltic, (*Weit hinter Belt die ganze Welt*); there he sat quietly and contently, satisfied by his modest meal, scorning to store up provisions from the valley beneath him, since he commands everything at every hour. A bull-dog viewed him with envious mien, and thus he spoke to the cock: Be my ally, we will combine, from vengeance thou, myself from envy, and put down yonder eagle. So said, so done. They marched on, and taking council on the road how they would best subdue the eagle, the cock said: Stop! look at his talons, his wings—may God assist him who would try them! More than once heard I the curses of my ancestors, lamenting their sad fate when beaten by his wings. 'Tis true,' said the bull-dog; but we will devise a plan to catch the eagle. Let's send

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[a] Report from Copenhagen of May 23. *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 27278, May 29, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] *Северная пчела.—Ed.*

[c] *Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg*, No. 402, May 11 (23), 1854.—*Ed.*

a hare near him; he will clutch the hare. Meanwhile do thou turn his attention by crowing and jumping, as thou always know'st how to do, affecting to begin a fight with him. When thus we shall have diverted his attention and his talons, I will attack him in the back, so that he cannot defend himself, and soon he will be torn to pieces by my sharp teeth. The scheme pleased the cock, and he took his stand at a near post. The bull-dog enters a wood and barks, driving a hare toward the eagle, who watches quietly. The hare, stupid and blind, falls quickly into the eagle's clutch. The cock, faithful to his agreement, leaves his post and jumps after the hare; but lo! what disgrace! The eagle without stirring from his seat, lifts but his wings and, disdaining to take hold of the hare, drives him away with one and with the other, just touches the cock, who neither stirs nor crows any more. One knows the tendency of hares to fly; behold him run, senseless and unconscious into the sea, and there expires. The eagle saw the fat bull-dog at a distance conducting the intrigue—for, what escapes the eagle's eyes? He has discovered the hero concealed behind a bush. The eagle spreads his large and sturdy wings, and rises up in majesty. The bull-dog barks and flies with hasty leaps. In vain, it is too late. The eagle rushes down upon him and plunges his talons into the traitor's back, and there he lies, torn in pieces."

In consequence of the favorable harvest prospects, and through the absence of speculative buyers, the prices of grain have experienced a small decline during the week. A reaction, however, is inevitable, because

"all the evidence which can be brought to bear on the subject tends to lead to the belief that the stocks in farmers' hands, are reduced to a much smaller compass than is usual at the corresponding period of the season."—(*Mark Lane Express.*)

The advices from Danzig, Stettin, Rostock, etc., concur in the statement that the stocks on hand are very small, that the surrounding farmers had little or nothing more to deliver, and that assistance from those quarters could not be expected but at very high prices. The deliveries from the grower in France appear, also, not to have increased, and the wheat brought forward at the markets of the interior is described as scarcely sufficient to meet the demand for consumption.

I have also learned from a private source of information[163] that *The Times* reports of the state of trade in the manufacturing districts around Manchester[a] are generally misrepresentations, and that trade is everywhere in a declining condition except at Birmingham. *The Manchester Guardian* confirms this, and adds that the resumption of work by so large a number of operatives on strike could not be expected to act otherwise than to depreciate prices.

For the measure announced by Sir J. Graham in last Monday's

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21753, May 29, 1854.—*Ed.*

House of Commons,[164] viz: The non-blockade of the port of Archangel, *The Morning Herald* accounts in the following laconic paragraph: "There is a house at Archangel which bears the name of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.[a]"

Written on June 2, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Gladstone.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [REORGANISATION OF THE BRITISH WAR ADMINISTRATION.— THE AUSTRIAN SUMMONS.— BRITAIN'S ECONOMIC SITUATION.—ST. ARNAUD][165]

London, Friday, June 9, 1854

The speech delivered by Kossuth, at Sheffield,[a] is the most substantial ever heard from him during his stay in England. Nevertheless one cannot help finding fault with it. Its historical expositions are partly incorrect. To date tne decline of Turkey from the support given by Sobieski to the Austrian capital,[166] is a proposition for which no grounds whatever exist. The researches of Hammer[b] prove beyond dispute that the organization of the Turkish Empire was at that period already in a state of dissolution, and that the epoch of Ottoman grandeur and strength had been rapidly disappearing for some time before. Similarly incorrect was the proposition that Napoleon discarded the idea of attacking Russia by sea for other reasons than those suggested by his having no fleet, and his being excluded from the command of the ocean by the British. The menace that if England entered into alliance with Austria, Hungary might ally herself with Russia, was an act of imprudence. In the first place it furnished a weapon to the ministerial journals, of which *The Times* has not failed to make ample use by "convicting" all revolutionists as agents of Russia.[c] Secondly, it came with a singular propriety from the lips of the man whose mir try already in 1849 had offered the Hungarian crown to a Cesarewitch. Lastly, how could he deny that if ever his threat should be carried into execution, either at his own or others' instigation, the national existence of the Magyar race would

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[a] L. Kossuth's speech at a meeting in Sheffield on June 5, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21761, June 7, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches.*—*Ed.*

[c] *The Times*, No. 21762, June 8, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

be doomed to annihilation, the major part of the population of Hungary being Slavonians? It was equally a mistake to describe the war against Russia as a war between liberty and despotism. Apart from the fact that if such be the case, liberty would be for the nonce represented by a Bonaparte, the whole avowed object of the war is the maintenance of the balance of power, and of the Vienna treaties—those very treaties which annul the liberty and independence of nations.

A more than usually vigorous speech has also been delivered by Mr. Urquhart at Birmingham, where he developed again his charge of treachery against the Coalition. However, as Mr. Urquhart is strictly opposed to the only party prepared to overthrow the rotten Parliamentary basis on which the Coalition Government of the Oligarchy rests, all his speeches are as much to the purpose as if they were addressed to the clouds.

In the House of Commons, last night, Lord John Russell announced the formation of a special Ministry of War, which ministry, however, is not to absorb the various departments at present constituting the administration of war, but only to have a nominal superintendence over all.[a] The only merit of the change is the erection of a new ministerial place. With regard to the appointment, *The Morning Post* of yesterday stated that the Peelite[167] section of the Cabinet had been victorious, and that the Duke of Newcastle would become the new Secretary for War, while the Colonies would be offered to Lord John Russell.[b] *The Globe* of last evening confirmed this statement, adding that, as Lord John was not likely to accept, Sir George Grey would be nominated Colonial Secretary. Although the Peelite journals affect still to be ignorant of a final decision, the Palmerstonian journal[c] of to-day announces in positive terms that the Duke of Newcastle and Sir George Grey have been appointed.

*The Morning Post* has the following in reference to the Austrian "peremptory summons:"[168]

"We have reason to believe that Russia will not treat the Austrian communication with silence, nor meet it by a refusal, and we shall not be surprised if we shortly learn that Russia is disposed to accept the Austrian proposal for the complete evacuation of the Turkish territory, on condition that Austria shall arrange an armistice with a view to negotiation."[d]

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21763, June 9, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] "The New Ministry of War", *The Morning Post*, No. 25095, June 8, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Morning Post*.—*Ed.*

[d] *The Morning Post*, No. 25095, June 8, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

*The Morning Chronicle* of to-day likewise grants that "the communication may be of the greatest importance". It adds, nevertheless, that it must not be considered as an ultimatum, that it is couched in the usual courteous language, and that a rupture was only held out in case Russia should ignore the communication altogether. If Russia gave an evasive answer, or made a partial concession, new suggestions and negotiations might follow.

Let us suppose, for a moment, that the assumption of *The Post* was just, and about to be realized; it will be seen that the service rendered by Austria would be only to procure another armistice in favor of Russia. It is highly probable that something like this may have been contemplated, founded on the supposition that Silistria, in the meantime, would fall, and the "character and honor of the Czar" be guaranteed. The whole scheme, however, must fall to the ground, if Silistria holds out, and the valor of the Turks should at last force the allied troops to enter into the campaign, much as it may be against the inclination of their commanders and Governments.

If there be anything fit to render the frequent gaps and omissions in this great war less unendurable, it is the amusing uncertainty of the English press and public about the value and the reality of the alliance between the western and the German powers. Scarcely is the "peremptory summons" of Austria started to the satisfaction of all the world, when all the world is distressed by the news of a meeting between the Austrian and Prussian monarchs, a meeting which, in the words of *The Times*, "forbodes no good to the western powers."

The Board of Trade tables for the last month have been published.[a] The results are less favorable than those of the preceding months. The declared value of exports has fallen off £747,527, as compared with the corresponding month of 1853.[b] The articles chiefly affected have been those connected with the Manchester markets; but linen, woolen and silk manufactures likewise exhibit a decline.

In the usual monthly circular of Messrs. Sturge of Birmingham, we read that the wheat-plant has not tillered nor stooled well, and this is accounted for in the following way:

"The high price of seed caused a smaller quantity to be used per acre than in ordinary years, and the inferiority of the wheat of last year's growth committed to

[a] "Accounts relating to Trade and Navigation. III. Exports of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures from the United Kingdom", *The Economist*, No. 562, June 3, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] "Our Trade", *The Economist*, No. 562, June 3, 1854.—*Ed.*

the soil may not have done so well as would have been the case if it had been better harvested."

In regard to this statement, *The Mark Lane Express* observes:

"This inference appears to us exceedingly probable and deserving of attention, as unsound seed can scarcely be expected to produce so healthy a plant as that gathered under more auspicious circumstances. The progress of the growing crop will be watched with more than ordinary interest, it being an admitted fact that stocks, not only in this country but almost in all parts of the world, have, owing to the extreme deficiency of the harvest of 1853, been reduced into a very narrow compass. The future range of prices will depend mainly on the character of the weather; the present value of wheat is too high to encourage speculation, and though it is more than probable that the supplies from abroad will, during the next three months, be on a much less liberal scale than they have hitherto been, still, if nothing should occur to give rise to uneasiness in respect to the probable result of the next harvest, those having anything to dispose of will naturally be anxious to clear out old stocks, while millers and others are likely to act on the hand-to-mouth system.... At the same time, it must be borne in mind that the country generally is bare of wheat."

You cannot at present pass through the streets of London without being stopped by crowds assembled before patriotic pictures exhibiting the interesting group of the Sultan, Bonaparte and Victoria—"the three saviors of civilization." To help you to a full appreciation of the characters of the personages who are now charged with saving civilization, after having "saved society," I resume my sketch of their generalissimo, Marshal St. Arnaud.[169]

The famous days of July[170] rescued Jacques Leroy, (old style), or Jacques Achille Leroy de St. Arnaud, (new style), from the grasp of his creditors. The grave question then arose how to improve the circumstance of French society being thrown into a general confusion by the sudden fall of the old regime. Achille had not participated in the battle of the three days, nor could he pretend to have done so, the fact being too notorious that at the memorable epoch he found himself carefully locked up in a cell at St. Pélagie. He was therefore unable to claim, like many other adventurers of the day, any remuneration under the false pretense of having been a *combattant* of July. On the other hand, the success of the *bourgeois regime* appeared by no means favorable for this notorious outcast of the Parisian Bohemia, who had always professed an implicit faith in Legitimacy, and never belonged to the Society of the "Aide-Toi,"[a] (a want of foresight which he has mended by becoming one of the first members of the Society of the "Dix-mille,")[171] nor played any part whatever in the great "comedy of fifteen years." Achille, however, had learned some-

[a] Help yourself.—*Ed.*

thing from his ancient master, M. E. de P.,[a] in the art of extemporization. He boldly presented himself at the War Office, pretending to be a non-commissioned officer who, from political motives, had tendered his resignation at the time of the Restoration. His banishment from the *Gardes du Corps*,[b] his expulsion from the Corsican Legion, his absence from the ranks of the 51st Regiment setting out for the colonies, were easily turned into as many proofs of his eccentric patriotism, and of the persecution he had suffered at the hands of the Bourbons. The conduct-list gave his assertions the lie, but the War Office feigned to believe in their truth. The withdrawal of numerous officers refusing to take the oath under Louis Philippe had caused a great void which must be filled up, and every public apostasy from Legitimacy, whatever might have been the motives of the conversion, was accepted as a valuable support to the usurper's government. Achille, consequently, was commissioned in the 64th Regiment of the Line, but not without undergoing the humiliation of being simply rehabilitated in his post of non-commissioned officer, instead of being promoted to a higher grade, like the others who had resigned under the Restoration.

Time and his brevet, advanced him at last to the rank of lieutenant. At the same time he was given an opportunity to make valid his special talents of servile apostasy. In 1832 his regiment was quartered at Parthenay, in the midst of the Legitimist insurrection of the Vendée. His former connection with some former *Gardes du Corps*, rallied around the Duchess of Berry, enabled him to combine the offices of soldier and of police-spy—a combination singularly agreeing with the genius matured in the gaming houses of London and the *cafés borgnes*[c] of Paris. The Duchess of Berry having been sold by the Jew Deutz to Mons. Thiers was arrested at Nantes, and Achille became intrusted with the mission of accompanying her to Blaye, where he was to act as one of her jailers under the orders of General Bugeaud.[173] Anxious not to let slip the occasion of exhibiting a conspicuous zeal for the dynastic interest, he over-shot the mark, and contrived to scandalize even Bugeaud himself by the abject services he allowed the police to impose upon him, and the brutal treatment to which he subjected the Duchess. Bugeaud, however, had not the power to dismiss an aide-de-camp whom the police had

[a] Eugène Courtray de Pradel.[172]—*Ed.*
[b] Royal Guard.—*Ed.*
[c] Low pubs.—*Ed.*

selected for the special duty of guarding the Duchess, who was under the particular superintendence of M. Joly, the Commissary of Police, and who, after all, depended more on the Ministry of the Interior than on that of War. The future generalissimo of the Anglo-French troops played the part of the mid-wife, it being his special mission to state and prove by witnesses the pregnancy of the Duchess, the discovery of which dealt the death-blow to the partisans of the old régime. It was in this same quality that the name of M. de St. Arnaud figured for the first time in the *Moniteur*, in whose columns of May 1833, we read that

"M. Achille de St. Arnaud, thirty-four years old, habitually residing at Paris, aide-de-camp to General Bugeaud, was summoned to sign, in his official capacity, the act of birth of the child of which the Duchess was delivered at her prison on May 10, 1833".[a]

The gallant St. Arnaud continuing to play his part of a jailer, accompanied the Duchess on board the corvette which disembarked her at Palermo.

Having returned to France, Achille became the laughing stock and the scapegoat of his regiment. Disliked by the other officers, excluded from their *réunions*, harassed by undisguised proofs of their utter contempt, put as it were in quarantine by the whole regiment, he was forced to take refuge in the Foreign Legion at Algiers, which was then organizing at Paris under the care of Colonel Bedeau. This Foreign Legion may be fairly characterized as the Society of the Tenth December of the European armies. Notorious desperadoes, adventurers of broken fortune, deserters from all countries, the general offal of the European armies, constituted the nucleus of this *corps d'élite*, which was properly called the *refugium peccatorum*.[b] There was no situation that could have better suited the genius of Achille than the fellowship of such a corps, the official mission of which preserved it from the fangs of the police, while the character of its constituting members removed all the checks weighing on the officers of the regular army. Notwithstanding Achille's habitual prodigality, he gave such slender proofs of military courage and capacity that he continued to vegetate during four years in the subaltern place of lieutenant in the 1st battalion of the Foreign Legion, until on the 15th August, 1837 when a new brevet conferred upon him the rank of captain. It is an unhappy circumstance that the company's chest is

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[a] Report of May 13, 1833. *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 134, May 14, 1833.—*Ed.*
[b] The sinners' refuge.—*Ed.*

placed under the control of the captains in the French army, who are accountable for the pay of the men and their provisions. Chests were exactly the spot in which the modern Achille was most vulnerable; and thus it happened that some months after his promotion a terrible deficit was discovered in his. The Inspector-General, M. de Rullière, having detected this embezzlement, insisted on the punishment of the captain. The report to the Ministry was ready, it was on the point of being committed to the post, and M. de St. Arnaud would have been lost forever, if M. Bedeau, his lieutenant-colonel, affected by the despair of his inferior, had not interfered and appeased the wrath of General Rullière.[a]

St. Arnaud has quite a manner of his own of showing his gratitude for past obligations. Appointed to the ministry of war, on the eve of the *coup d'état*,[b] he caused General Bedeau to be arrested, and struck the name of General Rullière from the lists. Rullière addressed to him the following letter, which he circulated among his friends at Paris, and published in the Belgian journals:

"In 1837, the General Rullière refused to break the sword of the Captain Leroy de St. Arnaud, unwilling to dishonor him; in 1851, the Minister of War, Leroy de St. Arnaud, unable to dishonor the General Rullière, has broken his sword."[c]

Written on June 9, 1854

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4114, June 24; reprinted in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 948, June 27, 1854

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

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[a] *Le trois maréchaux*, p. 9.— *Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the coup d'état of Louis Bonaparte on December 2, 1851.— *Ed.*

[c] Cited from the anonymous article: "Les Spoliateurs", *Le Bulletin français*, No. 5, January 29, 1852, p. 96.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE SIEGE OF SILISTRIA[174]

After an interval of time filled up by military movements below criticism, because they were made, not upon strategical and tactical, but upon diplomatic and parliamentary grounds, the investment and attack of Silistria affords at last an event of military interest.

This attack shows that the Russians still keep the initiative, and that, up to the present moment, the Turks, allied armies and allied fleets, are directed by an impulse received from the enemy. The allied fleets are instinctively, irresistibly attracted by the Russian fleet in its safe retreat at Sevastopol; being unable to attack that stronghold without a land force, they are thus held in check and paralyzed by a fleet far inferior in quality and number of ships. Even the evacuation of the forts on the Caucasian coast, carried out in proper time and under the nose of the British and French steamers, shows the determination of the Russians to hold the lead as long as possible. And in war this is a great thing. It is a proof of superiority—whether in numbers, in quality of troops, or in generalship. It keeps up the *morale* of the soldier under all checks and retreats short of the loss of a decisive battle. It was this initiative which held together Wellington's little army in the midst of hundreds of thousands of French troops in Spain, and which made it the center around which all the events of that five years' war grouped themselves. You may be forced to retreat, you may suffer a repulse, but as long as you are able to give the impulse to the enemy instead of receiving it from him, you are still to a degree his superior; and what is more, your soldiers will feel themselves, individually and collectively, superior to his men. The attack upon Silistria is, besides, the first real forward movement of the Russians since they completed the occupation of the Danube.

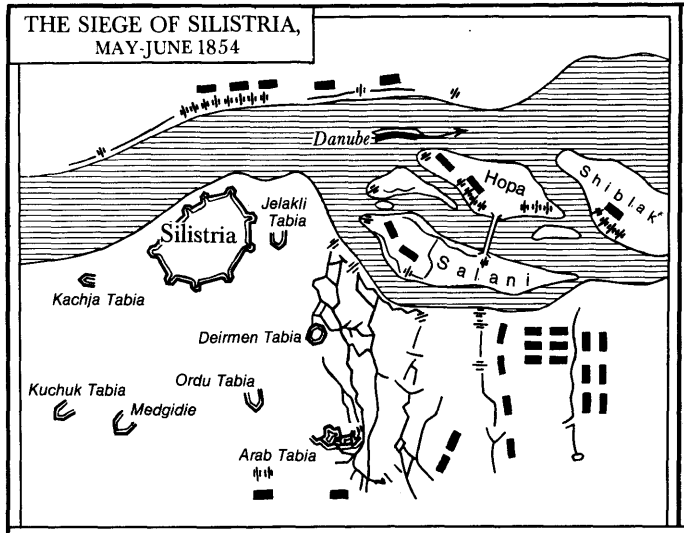


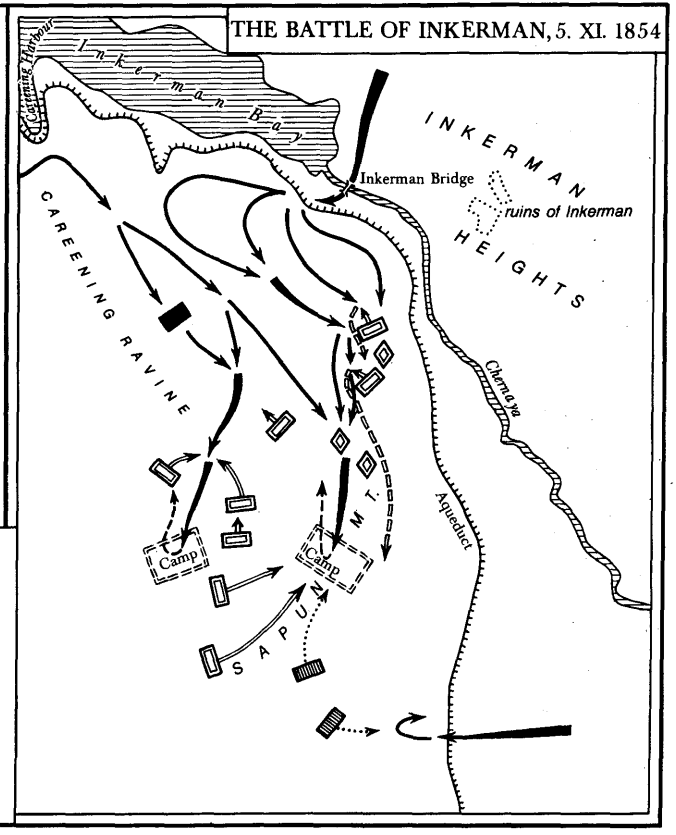


Russians

Troop positions

Troop movements

Trenches

Batteries

Allies

Troop positions

English

French

Troop movements

Fortifications and redoubts

The entrance into the Dobrodja was eminently defensive; a shortening of their front line, and a step to secure the mouths of the Danube. But the attack upon Silistria is not only a bold, but an extremely well calculated movement.

In 1828-29 the Russians, then masters of the Black Sea, very properly neglected Silistria in order to secure Varna first, because Varna opened a new line of sea-communication with their own country. Yet Silistria was important enough to induce them to take it before they crossed the Balkans. At present, when the allied fleets command the Black Sea, Varna loses most of its importance to the Russians, and Silistria and Shumla are the main points of attack. To them Varna can now have but a negative value; if they take it, they gain no improved base of operations, but merely deprive the enemy of what may be called a maritime bridge-head, under cover of which he can suddenly concentrate, by his ships, a number of troops for a special operation. Thus the Danes in 1849, after enticing the Prussian army into Jutland, suddenly transshipped a strong body of troops to their maritime bridge-head of Fredericia, and, in a sally, destroyed the fine, but far weaker Schleswig-Holstein corps left before it to conduct the siege.[175] If therefore the Russians, driven from the Black Sea, cannot under any circumstances pass the Balkans before they have secured Varna, they cannot advance against Varna before they are masters at least of Silistria.

But these are considerations of secondary importance for the present; Russia, unaided by Austria, cannot think of passing the Balkans in the face of her present enemies. The defensive importance of Silistria to the Russians is at this moment paramount; it is such that unless they take it, they may consider their campaign of the year as lost. Silistria is situated exactly in front of the center of the Russian position, extending from Giurgevo by Kalarash and Chernavoda to Kustendje. With a strong system of fortresses before this position, with Omer Pasha in Shumla, like a spider in the center of its web, watching every movement of its intended prey, with allied forces expected on the Kamtchik and Devna, there is very little chance that the force Russia can spare for the Danubian war, single-handed, will ever get a glimpse of those Thracian valleys whose verdure charmed the fatigued soldiers of Diebich from the hights of the Balkans. Russia must calculate, for this year at least, upon a simple defense of her present conquests, until either Austria joins her, or some circumstance disables or draws away her most formidable opponent, the Anglo-French army. A defensive war presupposes a

system of field, or, if possible, of permanent, fortifications. Now, Silistria being in the hands of the enemy, the Russians have no permanent fortifications at hand but the small forts of the Dobrodja, which will be entirely useless as soon as Wallachia is lost. They may have reconstructed some of the fortifications of Ibraila and Rustchuk and formed an entrenched camp at Bucharest, but as long as Silistria is not theirs, their first line of serious defense lies as far back as the Sereth, Fokshani, Galatch and Ismail.

But suppose Silistria in the hands of the Russians, the aspect of the war changes at once. Silistria is a splendid point for a Russian bridge-head on the Danube. It is situated in a reentering angle formed by a bend in the Danube, just the situation best fitted for the purpose. There is a large island to the north and west, which is crossed by the dyke to Kalarash, and which commands the plains west of the fortress, at a distance of 1,000 yards—quite near enough to enfilade trenches or to shell columns. There are two little islands to the east that sweep the eastern approach, and temporary batteries erected there at low water would annoy a besieger very materially. Thus part of the ground which the Turks, attacked from the north, cannot use in the defense and must therefore abandon to the enemy, would give the Russians excellent positions for batteries flanking an attack coming from the south. The front open to an attack would thus be confined to the base of the triangle, at the apex of which Silistria is situated, or in other words to its southern or land front; and a Turkish or allied army could not think of seriously attacking Silistria before Wallachia, at least, was taken from the Russians.

The main advantages, however, would be not so much of a tactical as of a strategical nature. With the Dobrodja and Silistria, Russia commands the Danube, and can, according to circumstances, debouch for momentary offensive action either from Trajan's Wall, or from Silistria. The enemy would not be able, unless he were twice as strong as the Russians, to cross at any point higher up without exposing Shumla. As to his crossing lower down than Silistria, it is out of the question; there is no crossing point nearer than Hirsova to reach which he must first take the position of Karasu and then Hirsova itself, which is as strong against an attack from the land side as it is weak against one from the river side. Thus by the possession of Silistria, the forts of the Dobrodja become of great importance to the Russians. Their army obtains a double pivot around which it can freely maneuver without exposing its communications, and even if a superiority of two to one should enable the enemy to cross at Oltenitza or

Giurgevo to take Bucharest and to repel the Russians behind the Jalomitza, the siege of Silistria would be an indispensable operation before any decisive advance into Bessarabia could be considered safe. Until Silistria had actually fallen, the Russians, therefore, might consider themselves as possessors of Wallachia even if they had not a soldier in that province. Silistria, in a word, would be equivalent, to Russia, to six months tenure of Wallachia and six months, bringing us to the winter when no sieges can be carried on at all in that country, would be equivalent to four months more. Silistria would be the winning, and a repulse from Silistria would almost be the loss, of the campaign.

For once, then, in spite of diplomacy, bribery, cowardice and irresolution, we are come, through the inherent necessities of the war, to a decisive turning point. Either Silistria is abandoned to its fate, and then its fall is a matter of more than mathematical certainty; or the allies advance to its relief, and then there will be a decisive battle; for without demoralizing their army and losing all their prestige, the Russians cannot retreat from before Silistria without fighting, nor do they appear willing to do so.

Silistria has undergone more varied fates than any other fortress. In 1810 the Russians took it after nine days' investment and five of serious attack. In 1828, the fortress being exactly in the same state as before, they invested it on the 21st of June with their land forces, and on the 10th of August with thirty-six gun-boats also. But their siege-artillery did not arrive till September, and then there was no ammunition with it, so that a regular attack could not be made. On the 10th of November they had to raise the siege, the winter having set in, and the Danube having begun to drift ice. The retreat of the disorganized and disheartened Russians was followed up most vigorously by the garrison; part of the Russian siege-artillery had been left in the batteries and the remainder was taken by the Turks in the pursuit toward Rassova. In the next year Diebich renewed the attack, invested the fortress on the 7th May by driving the Turks out of the lines and redoubts constructed by the Russians the year before, and opened fire from thirty-one heavy guns placed, it would seem without any preparation, on an elevation about 900 yards from the town. On the 26th dismounting batteries were opened at about 600 yards from the wall. At the same time the second parallel was opened; the third was opened on the 4th of June, and on the 12th the advance toward the crowning of the glacis was begun. The glacis was crowned at one point on the 17th, but this operation was completed on the 26th, only when

five batteries were opened at the very edge of the ditch, thirty yards from the main wall. At the same time General Schilder, the same who now directs the engineering part of the siege, had carried on his favorite extensive mining operations. Large mines laid under the counterscarp and the main wall had been sprung on the 21st (effecting at once a practicable breach), on the 25th, 27th, 28th and 29th, when at last the fortress surrendered. Even then there appears not to have been any urgent necessity for a surrender, save the terror produced by the subterranean explosions among a superstitious and irregular soldiery. Behind the whole attacked front and second rampart a *coupure* or new intrenchment had been made, which would of course have required fresh mining or artillery operations before it could have been taken. Thus this singular fortress, in no way improved upon its state in 1810, had yet held out thirty-five days after the opening of the trenches, and nine days after a practicable breach had been effected in the main wall; it had forced the Russians to expend 30,000 shot and shell in the artillery attack, and 336 hundredweight of powder in the mining attack.

Financial difficulties and the Egyptian wars compelled the Turks to neglect this important point after the peace of Adrianople [176] to such a degree that even in 1836 the breaches of 1829 were not only not completely repaired and the ditches cleared, but the traces of the attack of 1810 even were still visible. The Sultan [a] intended to construct detached forts then, but for some time this intention was not carried out. At the present day, Silistria is in a far different state, owing mostly to the exertions of a Prussian officer in the Turkish service, Col. Grach. The original faulty construction of the place perhaps hardly admits of much improvement, but the detached forts constructed on the hights have already proved their utility. The fortress forms a semi-circle, the diameter of which, about 1,800 yards long, runs along the shore of the Danube. It has ten bastioned fronts of an average length of 500 yards. The construction, as with all Turkish fortresses of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, teems with all the imperfections of the old Italian fortifications; long curtains, small and narrow bastions, short flanks offering hardly any defense of the ditch, the ditch itself shallow (not above eight feet deep), no covered way, but a mere glacis, the crete or highest part of which was hardly four feet above the top of the counterscarp. The rampart itself was eight feet high by twenty feet in thickness,

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[a] Mahmud II.—*Ed.*

and constructed of earth; scarp and counterscarp were rivetted to the hight of the ditch, viz., eight feet. The ditch itself is from the hight of its level necessarily dry. There were not even lunettes in front of the curtains. Such was Silistria up to 1836; and these weaknesses of its defenses were crowned by the fact that, within 600 yards from the wall, the fortress is commanded by a range of hights extending to the south of it. These hights are the abutment of the Bulgarian Plateau, which, perfectly flat at the top, extends within 1,500 yards of the town, and then slopes down toward the river, offering a splendid emplacement for terraced batteries for front or enfilading fire, with the narrow arm of the river on one side and the hights on the other. Major Moltke, who surveyed the place in 1836, and to whose work on the campaign of 1829 we are indebted for the above particulars, gives it as his opinion

> "that Silistria cannot be made capable of a serious defense without four detached forts on the hights, and a bridge-head on the large island opposite." [a]

The bridge-head was an impossibility, the island belonging to Wallachia, from which the Turks were excluded by treaty; but the forts are there, and if we are well informed, almost on the identical spots pointed out by Major Moltke.

What Col. Grach may have been able to do with the faulty main wall, we cannot tell. There is, however, hardly a doubt that he must have constructed at least a covered way and introduced loop-holes for enfilading the ditch at the middle of the curtain in each of the most menaced and least defended fronts. As to the four detached forts, we know nothing as yet respecting their mode of construction, but from Col. Grach's being a Prussian, and cheapness being a great object with the Porte, we should say they must most likely be constructed upon the system which is now almost generally adopted on the continent, and especially in Prussia, viz: plain square or octagonal redoubts with loop-holes on every alternate corner. Their situation is pointed out by the four promontories which form the final projections of the plateau toward the town, and which are separated by three ravines. Their distance from the main wall must be, on an average, 1,500 yards so that they cannot be very effectually protected by the fire from the fortress. But there is no absolute necessity for this; and there appear to be no spots nearer the town, on the slope, where a fort could be well defiladed against the commanding edge of the plateau.

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[a] Moltke, *Der russisch-turkische Feldzug in der europäischen Türkei 1828 und 1829*, S. 206.— *Ed.*

Beside these permanent works, Col. Grach has constructed on the plateau itself an earthwork, not of a permanent nature, called Arab Tabiassi, (Fort Arabia,) situated in front of the two central forts, at about 1,000 yards distance. Some reports would lead to the conclusion that other field-redoubts have been erected so as to form an outer line of forts, thus giving three lines of successive defense. Arab Tabiassi, however, remains the key of this position, and must be taken before the inner line of forts can be approached. This disposition of the works endows Silistria with great defensive and offensive strength. As the regular attack can lead to decisive results on its southern front only, a garrison from 15,000 to 18,000 strong can spare a great number of men for sallies. The sally troops find a splendidly covered position on the slope behind the detached forts, from which they can advance unseen up the ravines, until near the enemy. In a storm upon Arab Tabiassi, therefore, it would not be so much the garrison of that fort as the sallying troops from Silistria who would decide the battle. Now to the siege itself.

From the end of April the Russians had occasionally fired across the Danube into Silistria. In May they began to construct a regular approach on the large island opposite the town, close to the dyke leading to Kalarash, and by the 10th they had their batteries completed along the shore of the river. A violent bombardment against the town as well as horizontal firing against the northern front took place on the 11th. It was repeated on the 12th, when Lieut. Nasmyth, Bengal Artillery, who had just arrived, witnessed it, and gives his report in *The London Times*.[a] The main point of aim was the northeastern or Tshengel Bastion, from which the Turks replied most vigorously, and with great steadiness of aim. The practice of the Russians, on the contrary, is described as very indifferent. Numbers of shells were found in the town which had been fired without taking off the caps of the fuses, so that they could not take fire and explode. Such an oversight, though common in rapid field-practice in the beginning of a campaign, is unheard of in siege-firing, where the fire is always comparatively slow. It proves what a hurry the Russians must have been in to get rid of their ammunition. The Russians had, besides, erected batteries during the night on the island of Shiblak, to the east of Silistria. (They had two batteries on the same spot in 1829.) The four guns of this battery must have been intended to enfilade the whole of the northern front.

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[a] [Nasmyth,] "The Siege of Silistria". *The Times*, No. 21762, June 8, 1854.—*Ed.*

From the 13th to the 16th nothing much appears to have been done; the reports at least are entirely silent. It is not improbable that the Russian generals, finding, as they might well have expected, a bombardment of no avail against a Turkish fortress, prepared for an attack on the right bank of the river. Accordingly on the 16th a bridge was completed below Silistria; 20,000 men crossed on it, and were shortly afterward joined, it is said, by 20,000 more from the Dobrodja. A general movement of concentration toward Silistria and Turtukai took place among the Russians; for as soon as the attack was to be carried on upon the right bank, a force was necessary to cover it against Omer Pasha at Shumla, and any Anglo-French troops which might be landed at Varna.

On the 19th the first reconnoitering took place against Arab Tabiassi; large masses of troops were concentrated just out of gun-range, while a line of skirmishers advanced. After a short cannonade, Mussa Pasha sent some Bashi Buzouks[177] upon the plateau, who drove the skirmishers in. On the 20th, another Russian advance took place, which looks too serious for a mere reconnoitering—not serious enough for a real attack. On the 21st the first assault upon Arab Tabiassi was carried out; the details are wanting, but the Russians were repulsed with great loss. Two Russian officers passed over to the Turks, and reported the enemy to be 90,000 strong, combined from three army-corps (this is correct, the 3rd, 4th and 5th), and to be commanded by the Grand Duke Constantine. This latter statement is evidently a mistake, as Constantine is notoriously commanding the fleet, troops and coast defenses in Finland. The report of an intended renewal of the attack on the following day was not confirmed by the event. The Russians were under arms, but did not approach the fort. We are, then, again without news of what happened up to the 26th; but at daybreak on the 27th the Russians assaulted the Arab Tabiassi again with very considerable forces. Three times was the assault renewed, and three times the assailants were repulsed with immense loss. The Turkish reports speak of 1,500 killed, and 3,000 wounded Russians, which may be a little exaggerated, but is not much beyond probability. Determined to take the fort, *à la* Suvoroff, the next morning Paskievich had his columns again ready for the attack. The massacre appears to have been fearful; Gen. Selvan was killed. Col. Count Orloff, Jr., was shot in the eye and died afterward.[178] Another colonel was severely wounded. The Russians themselves admit a loss of 186 dead and 379 wounded; but this is evidently not one-third of what they must have lost;

with the masses they brought to the attack, a loss of 2,000 is the least they can have suffered.

In the night following the Turks made a sortie in mass, fell suddenly on the Russian lines and drove the Russians back with great loss (1,500 to 1,800, as the reports go). This successful sally, and the circumstance that on the last assault the troops could not be brought up too close, although the cavalry was employed in driving them up and cutting off their retreat, made Prince Paskievich resign the attempt to carry the place with the bayonet. There is no doubt that the defense of this redoubt is one of the most glorious feats of arms, not only in this, but even in all the Russo-Turkish campaigns. The ground admitted of an attack by very large numbers, and the Russians are not the men to omit sending as many thousands to a storm as they possibly can. The superiority of numbers on their part must, therefore, have been very great, and required not only brilliant gallantry, but also well planned and harmoniously executed sally operations on the part of the Turks to repulse it. There is hardly a doubt that against the Turks of 1829 the Russians would have carried the place. Their present repeated defeat shows that the Turks, at least part of them, have improved in tactical proficiency and military science, without losing any of their bravery. In this respect the defense of Arab Tabiassi and the engagement of Chetatea are the most remarkable affairs of the campaign.

As to the Russian attack, we cannot say much good of it. Paskievich appears to be in such a hurry to take Silistria that he has not even time for measures the most indispensable to effect his object. His irresolution is plainly betrayed. First he tried a bombardment, though he might have known how useless that is against a Turkish town. A bombardment can lead to nothing but a great loss of ammunition to the Russians, with perhaps a breach in the wall on the river front, where the vicinity of the Danube, a natural ditch of 1,000 yards wide, prevents all idea of a storm. Then the land front is attacked, but the fire of Arab Tabiassi appears never to have been silenced nor any serious attempt made to ruin its defenses. All that is too circumstantial for a successor of Suvoroff. As said that arch-Russian general, "The bullet is a foolish girl, the bayonet is a brave fellow," and if this is true with regard to the Russian bayonet, which, according to the same gallant authority, pierces through the Alps, it is certainly still more true with regard to Russian bullets, which have an invariable and irresistible tendency to deviation. So the storm is ordered, executed, repeated, and again repeated, in vain. It appears that the

earthen parapets of a small but strongly built Turkish fort are harder than the Alpine granite, against which Suvoroff fought, and that the balls and bullets of the Turks are not so foolish as those of the Russians. After all, Paskievich will have to return to the old maxim: Never storm a work before silencing its fire and ruining its defenses. Thus, about the 30th or 31st of May the regular siege begins, and Paskievich at last has recourse to the "foolish bullet."

But, no! this even is a mere show. Here is Gen. Schilder of 1829 notoriety, who promises to bring down the place with his eternal mines; and in a few days too. Mines against a field-work are the last expression of military despair, of ignorant rage brought to bay. If mines are to be employed, then, in order to be able to work them with effect, the primary condition is that the *glacis* be crowned. Before the glacis can be crowned, the enemy's fire must be silenced; that is, one, two, three parallels laid, with all their respective batteries. In fact, mines are the concluding operation of a siege, not its beginning. Unless Schilder proposes to undermine some twenty square miles of ground, or lay a tunnel under the Danube, he cannot escape the necessity of a regular siege. In spite of Suvoroff, the bullets are indispensable.

Now, a regular siege against Arab Tabiassi might be certainly concluded in a very few days, as the work has almost completely fulfilled its purpose and a prolonged defense would weaken the garrison too much. But this would be a regular siege against at least two forts, and then another against the town. Five weeks is certainly the *very shortest* time in which the Russians can complete this, slovenly as they are in siege operations. If, then, the Turks should have plenty of provisions and ammunition, and no unforeseen accidents should occur, the fortress may be considered as safe up to the beginning of July. We suppose, of course, that the forts are of an average strength and that the walls are not too much out of repair. But if Silistria stood 35 days of opened trenches in 1829, surely with the new additions, with a brave and intelligent commander, an experienced director of artillery, and a first-rate garrison, it will be able to stand at least as long in 1854. If it were possible to rely on the allies, we might safely say, therefore, that the campaign must prove a total failure for the Russians, if not a great deal worse.

Written on June 10, 1854

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## STATE OF THE RUSSIAN WAR[179]

Our European correspondence and files of journals received last evening by the arrival of the *America*'s mail, fully confirm the reported expulsion of the Russians from their trenches before Silistria and their subsequent withdrawal from Wallachia back to the line of the Sereth. We learn also that there is no doubt of the immediate entrance of the Austrians into the evacuated province of Wallachia, under the treaty concluded at Constantinople on the 14th ult.[180]—an event under the circumstances of no small value to the Czar, brought about too, as we learn, under the immediate direction of Prince Metternich, who, in fact, again controls the foreign policy of the Hapsburgs.

Besides the curious coincidence of the Russians evacuating and of the Austrians occupying Wallachia, the very manner in which the siege of Silistria was undertaken, carried on, and finally abandoned, indicates that agencies were at work altogether distinct from mere military considerations. From the official Russian report, which comes down to the night of May 28,[181] and which differs from the Turkish bulletins only with regard to the respective numbers of killed and wounded, it appears that the operations were of a strangely precipitate character; that the rudest efforts to dismount the outworks were not made until the impossibility of taking the place by storm was practically ascertained, and that the attack was more wild and unscientific than any known even in the annals of Russian sieges. As to the operations between the 28th of May and the 15th of June, the reports which we have received are yet too fragmentary to allow of a detailed description; the fact, however, that during the repeated

desperate assaults, nearly all the commanding officers were wounded and disabled—Paskievich, Schilder, whose leg has since been amputated, Gorchakoff, Lüders and Orloff who was shot through the eye, clearly proves that the Russians were under orders, not merely to take the place at any cost, but to take it within a certain fixed time. Indeed the whole was conducted on their part in a manner which reminds us more of the barbarian method of carrying the cities of Koordistan by Timur Tamerlane, than of the proceedings of regular modern warfare. On the other hand, it is evident that the heroic and able defense of Silistria created equal surprise with the allied powers and the Ottoman Divan. Our readers may remember that about six weeks ago the allied commanders met at Varna, that they discovered that the Balkan line formed the natural defense of Turkey,[a] and that now many of the British journals not only confess, but glory in the avowal, that Silistria was not relieved by a single French or English soldier. Lastly, it cannot be denied that Silistria was a point of great military importance, that the fate of this fortress decides the fate of the campaign, and that with the abandonment of its siege and the sudden retreat of the Russians upon the Sereth, the whole of the Russian conquests of territory made this year as well as the last are lost.

Still it must be said that our English cotemporaries, many of them, greatly exaggerate the extent of the present Muscovite reverses. It certainly requires a high degree of credulity to believe that the sortie made by the garrison of Silistria on June 13, and the succor of 2,000 men they are said to have received from Omer Pasha, resulted in the total defeat of the Russians, and forced 90,000 to 100,000 men to fly before 15,000. The sudden retreat of the Russians is, so far as we can judge, quite as mysterious as their sudden attack. It is only to be explained by a previous understanding with Austria, involving the occupation of Wallachia by Austrian troops. Under these circumstances, the following passage which we find in a letter of *The Morning Chronicle*'s Constantinople correspondent, revealing this plot on June 10, as early as four days before the conclusion of the Austro-Turkish treaty, is of a peculiarly interesting character:

"The Turks think that diplomacy is playing with them, and that it is their intention to allow Silistria to fall into the hands of Russia. These suspicions receive confirmation from the news that has been received here of the *preparation of a new protocol at Vienna*, in which the fall of Silistria is, I learn, spoken of *as if it were*

[a] See this volume, p. 222.—*Ed.*

*accomplished*; and, *the military honor of Russia being satisfied*, Austria would consider the time to have arrived for her armed intervention to bring about an arrangement by the means of her co-operation—*occupying the Danubian Principalities, which would be evacuated by the armies of Russia.*"

According to this, if the Russians had taken Silistria in due time, all would have been right. But though they did not succeed in satisfying the military honor of the Czar, they must, according to the compromise with Austria, beat back in a somewhat inglorious manner. The Russians receding behind the Sereth, the Austrians advance to the Sereth and Danube, and thus place themselves between the Muscovites and the Turks and their allies. In this position they are arbiters of the quarrel, preventing both parties from moving forward. The Russians remain in Moldavia, while the Vienna Conference will be more than ever busy itself with protocols, and thus the winter will be gained. If the Conferences end in nothing—a result which is sure since the Emperor of Russia has got the money on his new loan of $37,000,000 from Hope & Co. of Amsterdam[a]—the position of the Russian army behind the Danube and the Sereth will be twice as strong as was its line between Bucharest and Kustendje. Besides, if we look at the relative strength of the Russians before Silistria and in Bulgaria, now on their retreat behind the Sereth, and of the allied armies as far as they can, thanks to their ingenious arrangements, be thrown at all into the balance, it is plainly seen that, with even the best intentions, the latter would not be capable of baffling this combination of Austria with Russia.

The Russian forces employed against Turkey and the allies on the European shores of the Black Sea amount to thirteen divisions of infantry, three of the third, three of the fourth, one of the fifth, three of the sixth army corps, and three reserve divisions. Besides these, the third, fourth, fifth and sixth divisions of light cavalry, and the third, fourth and fifth divisions of artillery. These troops, making up nearly one-half of the grand army of operations, should amount, according to the official statements, to 16,000 men per division of infantry, 5,000 per division of cavalry, and 160 guns per division of artillery; altogether something like 250,000 to 260,000 men, inclusive of train and camp followers. But, if we measure the strength of a Russian army by what it actually was in the Hungarian war,[182] we cannot estimate a division of Russian infantry at more than 13,000 to 14,000 men, and the cavalry and artillery must be reduced in proportion. The actual

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[a] See this volume, pp. 267-68.—*Ed.*

forces, then, which the Russians have successively marched into the Principalities would be reduced to about 210,000 men, and even from this number must be deducted, on account of loss in battle and by sickness, at least 20,000 to 25,000 more. Recollecting the ravages made by the marsh-fever in the ranks of the Russian army during 1828-29, and comparing the letters of a Russian surgeon [183] in the Vienna *Medical Journal*,[a] we cannot consider a loss of from eight to ten per cent. upon the total of the army as exaggerated. Thus about 180,000 Russians are left as the disposable number of their army.

It is interesting to learn what portion of this force can have been employed in the operations against Silistria. A large body of troops was required to guard the communications and magazines established in the rear of the line of battle. Bucharest and the line of the Dobrodja had to be occupied. Detachments were indispensable to cover the flanks, and partly the front of the army; and if we deduct 60,000 men for these various duties we obtain a net result of 130,000 men available for the siege of Silistria and the covering of that operation. This is rather above than below the mark. Now the position of Silistria on a large river made it unavoidable that the besieging army should divide itself, with a view to inclose the fortress from all sides. It further necessitated the establishment of strong reserves on the northern bank, in order to receive the troops pushed forward from the southern bank in case of a defeat. Finally these troops occupying the southern or right bank had to divide themselves again into a double army, the one to carry on the siege and to repel any sallies of the besieged, the other to cover the siege and defeat any army marching to the relief of the fortress. About 35,000 to 40,000 men were required to occupy the left bank and carry on the siege on the right. Thus an army of 80,000 Russians would have remained available for active field-operations against a relieving army, and this was the utmost the Russians could bring to battle on Bulgarian ground within from ten to twenty miles of Silistria.

Now let us see what force the allies have to oppose to the 180,000 Russian total at this moment. The Turkish army at Shumla was stated, some time ago, to be about 80,000 strong, but short of everything required for action in the open field, and is, according to the latest report of Lord Raglan and French staff officers, badly officered, altogether in a condition which peremptorily forbids offensive operations. It is neither our purpose nor

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[a] *Wiener medizinische Wochenschrift.—Ed.*

within our present means to determine the accuracy of this report. Suffice it to say that such is the character of the Turkish main army in the official opinion of its allies. Since then the troops from Kalafat have been drawn to Rustchuk, where a camp of 40,000 men is said to be establishing. It would be difficult to conceive the policy of thus rendering idle a corps of such strength, which, if it had marched upon Bucharest instead of Rustchuk, might have compelled the Russians to raise immediately the investment of Silistria, but for the conduct of the war being entirely in the hands of diplomacy. Setting apart the present garrison at Rustchuk and the garrison and reserve at Shumla, it may well be doubted whether the Turks can muster 50,000 men in the open field in a condition fit for the work before them. An Anglo-French soldier being equal, in the estimation of western military authorities, to at least two Russians, there would still be required a force of 65,000 allies to balance the strength of the Russian army of occupation. Unless, therefore, they can muster that force at Varna they would hardly go to battle, the case of extreme necessity excepted.

They have however been most careful not to drop at once into the field in such force as would leave no further pretext for abstaining from active operations. The whole Anglo-French force now in Turkey does not amount to more than 80,000 men, besides from 15,000 to 20,000 more now on their way thither, including almost the entire cavalry and artillery. The amount of transports at hand in the Bosphorus is, whether intentionally or not, very limited, so that it would take many a journey there and back, if they were to be transported to Varna by sea alone. But,

> "according to the latest and most accurate accounts,"—says the correspondent we have already quoted—"there are at present but 12,000 British and French troops who have been transported by sea, while the bulk of the French army is slowly advancing from Gallipoli toward Constantinople and Adrianople."

The roads being notoriously bad and the difficulty of victualling extreme, an arrangement which allows their famous General—St. Arnaud—to be permanently under steam between Varna and Constantinople, where we may be sure he does not lose an opportunity for turning every intrigue in the Divan to a solid advantage for his unfathomable purse. As to the two British divisions still at Scutari, we are informed by the same correspondent that

> "they do not seem ready to start yet, though there is a whole fleet of transports and steamers at anchor, waiting to embark them."

From all these facts it is sufficiently clear to everybody that the allied powers have taken full care not to be in a state to frustrate directly the present arrangement between Russia and Austria. For, if it were intended to pursue that object, a very simple alternative for doing so offers itself either by an Anglo-Swedish alliance in the Baltic, which would give a basis of operations for auxiliary troops by facilitating an invasion of Finland and a turning on the land-side of the fortresses of Sweaborg and Kronstadt; or by a combined attack by sea and land on the Crimea and Sevastopol. With regard to the first supposition, it is amusing to see how *The London Times* which, not three weeks before, preached the necessity of sending the Black Sea squadron to the Baltic, now recommends a simple blockade of the harbors of the Baltic and an immediate return of the greater portion of the Baltic fleet to the Black Sea, where it suddenly advocates the occupation of the Crimea.[a] This is the same journal which affected to regret that nothing could be undertaken by Napier before the French fleet should have joined him.[b] Now that it has done so, it is supposed that nothing *will* be done, after all, and that both the French and English fleet had better take another excursion through the Kattegat, the Channel, and the straits of Gibraltar sound to the Euxine. Reflecting on the time which the juncture of these fleets has required, and again on the time which their junction with the forces under Admiral Dundas would require, it becomes plain that to do nothing either in the Baltic or in the Black Sea is the great object of these propositions.

The only point on which the Russians—apart from their unforeseen and unexpected defeat at Silistria—have undergone substantial losses and are surrounded with dangers, is the Caucasus—though this is not altogether certain. They had abandoned nearly all their fortresses on the eastern shore of the Black Sea, not from any fear of the allied fleets, but in order to strengthen their Georgian army. On their retreat across the Dariel Pass they are stated to have been suddenly attacked by a large force of mountaineers, in the van and rear, to have had their advanced guard cut to pieces, while their center and rear were compelled to retire with severe loss. At the same time the army of Selim Pasha advanced from St. Nicholas upon Ussurgheti, whence the Russians had frequently molested and menaced the Turks, and now forced

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21774, June 22, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times*, No. 21747, May 22, 1854, leader; report from Gothland, May 16, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21751, May 26, 1854.—*Ed.*

the Russians to evacuate that fortress, a result by which the communications between Selim Pasha and the main Turkish army at Kars have been secured. When it is recollected that even this army was throughout the winter and spring in the most deplorable state of inefficiency, the maneuver of the Russians indicates at least that they felt their position in Georgia to be no less precarious, and that they were sadly in want of reenforcements from the coast. If, now, this reported defeat at Dariel be true or even partially so, the consequence is that the army of Woronzoff is cut off, and must try either to procure a tenable basis at Tiflis with a view to hold out until next winter—a matter of no slight difficulty—or it must attempt to make its way at any loss through the pass. This operation would at all events be preferable to a retreat upon the Caspian Sea, the pass leading thither being of infinitely greater danger than that of Dariel. On this point, however, we shall be better able to speak positively on the receipt of more complete and authentic information from that quarter. So far we may set down Russia as having certainly gained two victories by the recent operations,—one in the loan from Hope & Co., and one in the Austrian treaty with the Porte; and as having suffered one defeat—that of Silistria. Whether the former will have permanent advantages enough to compensate for the disgrace of the latter, the future only can decide.

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## THE RUSSIAN RETREAT

The retrograde movement of the Russians in Turkey is much more complete than we had supposed it could be, and more than, even in the worst case, now seems necessary from a military point of view. It appears that the pledge of the Czar to the Emperor of Austria and his orders to his generals include the total evacuation of Moldavia as well as Wallachia, leaving not a Russian soldier on Turkish ground, while a powerful Austrian force will instantly come forward to take their place and enforce a separation between the recent combatants. But it would be an error to suppose that the Russians withdraw because of their defeat at Silistria or to accept for truth the blustering assertions of the English journals, which give to that defeat the character of a rout, and would fain make the world believe that 15,000 or at the utmost 17,000 men, sallying from the fortress, could drive away 100,000 or at the least 90,000. The Russians were repulsed beyond a doubt, bloodily and utterly repulsed again and again, as their precipitate, ill considered, unscientific, confused attacks deserved to be, bravely as they were executed; the Turks fought with heroic courage that never was surpassed, and with a degree of military skill that must make this siege memorable in all history; but we have yet to see any reason for believing that they compelled the enemy to raise the siege. Indeed, our best information is to the effect that the Russian batteries on the left bank were still held and employed against the fortress after that last murderous sortie, in which some exaggerated dispatches affirm that these batteries were captured by the garrison. The truth evidently is that the Russians finally

withdrew from before Silistria simply because the Czar had agreed with Austria that on a certain day his troops should all be out of the Principalities. He had ordered them to take Silistria beforehand, in order to leave Turkey with the prestige of at least one victory; in that they failed and had to march away under the disgrace of the failure; but their march was not a flight with a pursuing enemy in their rear. They might not, and probably would not, have been able to take Silistria even by a regular siege; they probably could not have gained anything from the campaign, and in that event might have retired upon the Sereth; but they were still stronger than the allies, Turks and all, and, for defensive purposes at least, far stronger. Besides, the allies had not yet been brought against them, and no decisive battle had been fought. It is, therefore, certain that this retreat to the Pruth is dictated by diplomatic considerations, and not by any military necessity growing out of the superior power or better strategy of Omer Pasha and the allies in Turkey.

But while it would be a mistake to suppose the Russians were actually driven from before Silistria, it would be equally a mistake not to see that the war generally is going against them, and that the Austrian intervention offers the best means of mending their fortunes. We do not here allude to their successive reverses at Oltenitza, Chetatea, Caracal, or Silistria, comparatively small affairs, in which the Turks beat them, and which they have nowhere matched with successes of equal brilliancy. All of these conflicts together had no decisive or desperate results; but in Asia their game has steadily been a losing one, and the loss now threatens to become final. Of their numerous forts on the Black Sea only two remain; while inland Shamyl and his mountaineers have not only freed their immediate hills and valleys from the hated Muscovite,[a] but have cut off the communications of Count Woronzoff with Russia, and, acting with the Turks on the south are marching upon Tiflis with a strength which may possibly compel the surrender of the Count with all the hard-got and painfully-held Transcaucasian possessions of Russia. To lose these provinces, which have cost such vast amounts of blood and treasure, would be, if possible, a greater mortification to the Czar than defeat in a pitched battle in Turkey; and there is no doubt that, so soon as his armies are back across the Pruth, he will at once devote all the forces he can spare from the defense of the

[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

Crimea and of Sevastopol, to the work of regaining the passes of the Caucasus and relieving Woronzoff. The success of Shamyl has in all probability contributed much toward the Russian compliance with the Austrian summons to evacuate the Principalities.

In this important transaction, which so changes and complicates the aspect of the war, Austria holds the post of honor and of advantage. It is a great triumph for her diplomacy, and testifies to the respect in which her military resources are held by all the contending parties. She intervenes as the friend of both sides; the Russians go quietly out to make room for her; and the Porte only follows the advice of France and England in signing the treaty which gives the Principalities to her occupation. She is there, then, as an armed arbitrator intervening between the combatants by their joint consent, because each believes the intervention to be for his benefit. The western powers openly proclaim that it is an act in their favor—and the concert with regard to it, which the facts prove to have existed between St. Petersburg and Vienna, before it was known to the world that such an event would take place, and before the army under Paskievich had met with the repulse at Silistria, renders it impossible to doubt that Russia also regards it as an act in her favor. Which, then, is the dupe? and to which party will Austria prove treacherous?

Of course, like every other power, Austria pursues her own interest alone. That interest requires on the one hand that Russia should not hold the Principalities and control the mouths of the Danube and the Black Sea, because a large and increasing part of Austrian commerce goes in that direction. Besides, for Russia to annex Turkey or any part of it might breed disturbance in the Slavonic tribes of the Austrian empire, among whose members Panslavism, or a union with Russia, already has numerous partisans. It is therefore plain that Austria never can consent to the absorption of Turkey by Russia, unless she receives at the same time an equivalent addition of territory and power elsewhere, which is impossible. But on the other hand, the sympathies of Austrian policy are all with the Czar and opposed to France and England, and her real leanings will always be against the western powers. That Russia should be humiliated as a punishment for making a needless war, cannot be regarded as a cause of mourning at Vienna; but that she should be seriously crippled Austria will never suffer, because in that case the Hapsburgs would be left without a friend to help them out of the next revolutionary slough. This brief statement appears to us to comprise the motives that must govern the Viennese Cabinet

throughout the further developments of the war. It will be treacherous to either of the belligerents or to both, just so far as the interest of Austria and the imperial dynasty shall seem to require, and no farther.

Now by the fact that Russia withdraws and ceases from her encroachments, and that the evacuated provinces are handed over to Austria, the latter is at once enlisted to prevent any further injury being done to the former. Austria may remain in nominal friendship with the allies, but it is for her interest that they should fail in any ulterior attacks on the Czar, and we may be sure that she will do everything to make them fail, short of an actual declaration of war, which in any case she dare not resort to. She must then be treacherous to the western powers; they are the dupes in the treaty which allows an Austrian army to occupy the Turkish provinces; and that they will in due time discover as the war goes on.

It was apparently the plan of Lord Aberdeen, the English Prime Minister, that it should not go on, but that the quarrel should now be settled according to the wish of Austria, on the basis of the *status quo,* with possibly a transfer of the protectorate of the Principalities from Russia to the house of Hapsburg. This plan we may, however, now set down as defeated through the self-exposures of Lord Aberdeen's notorious speech, and the subsequent debate in Parliament, of which we give a full report in this paper.[184] The British people, excited by these revelations, will not consent, at least not at present, to make peace without having, for the enormous sums the war costs them, some result more substantial than the mere restoration of things as they were. They hold the crippling of Russia to be indispensable, so that she cannot soon again thus upset the world; and they expect impatiently some brilliant feat of arms, such as the capture of Kronstadt or Sevastopol. Without such a tangible achievement to pay for going to war, they will not now agree to make peace. This disposition of theirs will probably lead at once to a change in the ministry and to a prolongation of the war. But it by no means follows that, because the war is prolonged, any harder blow will be struck at Russia than she has already suffered,—except it be the conquest of her Transcaucasian provinces by the Turks and Circassians without any Western help. And, judging the men who will probably remain in power at London after Lord Aberdeen has retired to private life, by their acts hitherto since the beginning of the war, it would be no occasion for surprise if at some future day we should see them signing a treaty of peace on the very basis for

favoring which Lord Aberdeen is now driven from office. So far Austrian diplomacy has carried the day, and it is very likely to win at last.

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# Karl Marx

## THE WAR.—DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT[185]

London, Tuesday, June 27, 1854

The Russian *Moniteur* of Bucharest[186] officially declares that, in obedience to orders sent from St. Petersburg, the siege of Silistria is raised, Giurgevo evacuated, and the whole Russian army about to recross the Pruth. *The Times*, in a third edition of yesterday, published a telegraphic dispatch from its Vienna correspondent to a similar effect, viz: that

> "the Emperor of Russia accepts the Austrian summons out of high consideration for his ancient ally, and has ordered his troops to recross the Pruth."[187]

Lord John Russell in last night's House of Commons confirmed the statement with regard to the abandonment of the siege of Silistria, but had received no official information about the answer given by Russia to the Austrian summons.[a]

The result of the Austrian intervention will be to interpose a barrier between the Turks and the Russians, to secure the retreat of the latter from all molestation, to enable them to reenforce the garrison of Sevastopol and the Crimea, and perhaps to reestablish their communications with the army of Woronzoff. Besides the reconstruction of the Holy Alliance between Russia, Austria and Prussia must be looked upon as certain the moment the allied powers refuse to acquiesce in the simple restoration of the *status quo ante bellum*, with perhaps some slight concessions made by the Czar in favor of Austria.

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[a] Lord John Russell's speech in the House of Commons on June 26, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21778, June 27, 1854.—*Ed.*

The whole fabric of this fine "solution," devised, it is said, by Metternich, is now, however, shattered to pieces by the indiscretion of old Aberdeen and the intrigues of Palmerston.

It will be remembered that in the late ministerial reconstruction[a] the endeavor to place Lord Palmerston in the War Office, the cry for the establishment of which was mainly raised by the Palmerstonian press, had failed, and the Peelite Duke of Newcastle supplanted the noble Lord in his contemplated new office. This failure seems to have reminded Lord Palmerston that it was high time to break up the whole Cabinet, and accordingly he has raised a perfect storm against its chief, the occasion for which was afforded by Lord Aberdeen's inconsiderate speech in reply to Lord Lyndhurst.[b] The whole English press immediately laid hold of that speech. It is, however, important to add, that *The Morning Herald* denounced the existence of a conspiracy against Lord Aberdeen before the speech was delivered. Mr. Layard rose in the House of Commons on Friday last, and gave notice that on Thursday next he should move a resolution that

"the language held by the first Minister of the Crown was calculated to raise grave doubts in the public mind as to the objects and ends of the war, and to lessen the prospects of an honorable and durable peace."[c]

There are two weak points in this resolution: firstly, its being unconstitutional and apt to be set aside for being in contradiction to the parliamentary rule which forbids the criticism of a speech delivered in the Lords by a member of the Commons; and, secondly, because it pretends to distinguish between the occasional language of the Premier and the whole acts of the coalition Cabinet. Nevertheless, its result was to give such serious apprehensions to Lord Aberdeen that, two hours after the announcement of the above resolution, he rose in his place and gave notice, in an unusually excited tone, that

"on Monday next (thus anticipating Mr. Layard by three days), he should move for a copy of the dispatch he had addressed to Russia, after the treaty of Adrianople, and that he would take the opportunity of alluding to the misconstructions which had been placed on the remarks he had recently addressed to their Lordships on the subject of the war."[d]

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[a] See this volume, p. 220.—*Ed.*

[b] Lord Aberdeen's speech in the House of Lords on June 19, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21772, June 20, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] Mr. Layard's speech in the House of Commons on June 23, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21776, June 24, 1854.—*Ed.*

[d] Lord Aberdeen's speech in the House of Lords on June 23, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21776, June 24, 1854.—*Ed.*

So strong was the belief that Mr. Layard's motion would result in the expulsion of Lord Aberdeen from the Cabinet, that *The Morning Advertiser*, for instance, has published already the list of the Ministry which is to succeed him; a list including the names of Lord John Russell as Premier, and of Lord Palmerston as Minister of War. It may be imagined, then, that the sitting of the Lords of last night attracted an unusual number of the curious and excited *intrigants* of the aristocracy, anxious to witness in what manner Lord Aberdeen would clear himself from his somewhat difficult and intricate position.

Before giving a *resumé* of the speech of Lord Aberdeen, and of the attack made upon him by the Marquis of Clanricarde, I must recur to the epoch and the circumstances, to which both speakers particularly referred, in the year 1829, when Lord Aberdeen found himself at the head of the British Foreign Office. At that time a Russian fleet under the command of Admiral Heiden was blockading the Dardanelles, the Gulfs of Saros and Enos, as well as those of Adramyti and Smyrna, notwithstanding an agreement concluded between the Cabinets of St. Petersburg and London in 1815, that Russia should not exercise any belligerent rights in the Mediterranean. These blockades, threatening to injure the British commerce in the Levant, aroused the otherwise dull opinion of the English of that time into vehement declamations against Russia and against the Ministry. Interviews, accordingly, took place between the Russian Embassadors Prince Lieven and Count Matusczewicz on the one side, and Wellington and Aberdeen on the other side. In a dispatch under date of London 1st (13th) June 1829, Prince Lieven reports as follows on the character of these interviews:

"The conversation with Lord Aberdeen which took place some hour later,"

than that with the Duke of Wellington, which had not been altogether very satisfactory to the Russian diplomatist

"was not less remarkable. As he was acquainted only imperfectly with our conversation with the first Minister, he labored, when he learned the details of it, to *soften* the disagreeable impressions that might have been left upon us by his language at the commencement of it, by the reiterated assurance *that at no period had it entered into the intentions of England to seek a quarrel with Russia*; that if the ministry had sought to induce us not to insist on the blockade of Enos, it was in the full desire to prevent importunate reclamations, and to cement the good intelligence between the two cabinets, *that we should have to congratulate ourselves more than perhaps we were aware on the benefits we received from that happy and constant concurrence.* He was flattered that he could place the maintenance of that harmony higher than the momentary advantages that the blockade of the Gulf of Enos

would have offered us; but he feared that the position of the English Ministry was not well understood at St. Petersburg. They attributed to malevolent intentions, and to hostile views, the difficulties that he sometimes raised, as in the matter that had just been terminated, while these intentions and these *arrières pensées*[a] were very far from his spirit and from his policy. But, on the other hand, he found himself in a delicate situation. Public opinion was always ready to burst forth against Russia. *The British Government could not constantly brave it,* and it would be dangerous to excite it on questions (of maritime law) that touched so nearly the *national prejudices.* On the other side we could reckon upon the well-disposed and friendly dispositions of the English Ministry *which struggled against them* (the national prejudices).

"I know, I replied, the weight of public opinion in England, and I have seen it change in a few days. It is against us in our war because it thinks us aggressors, while we have been attacked; because it imputes to us the idea of overthrowing the Ottoman Empire, while we *declare* that such is not our object; because, finally, it believes that we pursue an ambitious policy against which *we ourselves protest. To enlighten it on this point* would be the surest way to correct it.

"Lord Aberdeen replied to me, that the matter was not exactly as I represented; public opinion was pronounced against us, because generally in England it took with ardor the side of the Whigs—but *au reste,*[b] *the British Cabinet was far from not wishing us success;* on the contrary, *it wished us success, prompt and decisive,* because it knew that it was the only means of terminating the war, which could not be regarded except as a great misfortune, since it was impossible to foresee its results! In conclusion, the English Minister entered into long deductions to demonstrate that we lent to him intentions that he could not have, and ended by saying that the Cabinet of London desired that the war should be terminated *to the honor and advantage of Russia.*" [188]

It is strange that none of the opponents of Lord Aberdeen have thought proper to recur to this dispatch, so conclusive against his conduct at the time before the treaty of Adrianople, that it would have been impossible to attach any importance to anything contained in a secret dispatch of his Lordship, written *after* the conclusion of that treaty. The production of the above dispatch would have demolished at one stroke the only argument of defense which Lord Aberdeen could bring forward in his speech of yesterday. His true defense would have been an open recrimination against Lord Palmerston, since the whole "row" was exclusively between these two old rival servants of Russia.

Lord Aberdeen began by saying that he had nothing either to retract or to contradict, but only to "explain."[c] He had been falsely accused of having claimed the honor of having framed the treaty of Adrianople. Instead of having framed it, he had protested

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[a] Ulterior motives.—*Ed.*

[b] Nevertheless.—*Ed.*

[c] Lord Aberdeen's speech in the House of Lords on June 26, 1854. *The Times,* No. 21778, June 27, 1854.—*Ed.*

against it, as their lordships would see from the dispatch for the production of which he now made a motion. Such had been the alarm produced on his mind, and on his colleagues' mind, by that treaty, that the whole policy of the Government had been changed in a most material point in consequence of its existence. Which was this change of policy? Before the treaty of Adrianople was signed, he, Lord Aberdeen and the Duke of Wellington, therein following the policy of Canning, had never contemplated constituting Greece an independent kingdom, but only as a vassal state under the *suzerainetė* of the Porte, somewhat similar to Wallachia and Moldavia. After the treaty of Adrianople had been signed, the condition of the Turkish Empire appeared to them so perilous, and its existence so precarious, that they proposed to convert Greece from a vassal state into an independent kingdom. In other words, it was resolved, since the treaty of Adrianople did so much to weaken Turkey, to counteract its perilous consequences by *dismembering* whole provinces from it. This was the "change."

Although their alarm for the consequences of that treaty had been exaggerated, Lord Aberdeen was far from not considering it as in the highest degree disastrous and prejudicial. He had said that "Russia had not acquired great territorial acquisitions by that treaty," and even now he contended that the Russian empire had not greatly increased in Europe within the last fifty years, as Lord Lyndhurst had asserted. (Bessarabia, Finland, and the Kingdom of Poland, appear not to be any significant acquisitions in the view of the noble Lord.) But, as he had stated in his dispatch of December, 1829, if the territorial acquisitions of Russia had been small, they had been important in their character—the one giving Russia "exclusive authority over the navigation of the Danube, and the other ports in Asia which, though small in extent, yet had the character of high political importance." (The vast territory acquired in the Caucasus is again not present to Lord Aberdeen's mind.) Starting from this point of view, he asserts that the treaty of Adrianople was the commencement of a change of policy on the part of Russia, which, since the time of that treaty, had looked to an extension of political influence rather than to the acquisition of territory. This change of policy had not been a change of intention. "Satan had only grown wiser than in days of yore." The fact that Russia concerted a plan with Charles X for the acquisition of Turkey—not through alarming conquests, but through a series of treaties—is passed over in silence. Nor did Lord Aberdeen think fit to mention that even before the treaty of Adrianople and

the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi,[189] which he quotes in proof of the change in Russian policy, Russia had bound herself to France and England already, in 1827, not to seek to derive any further territory from the war against Turkey, and that, but for the permission of England, she would never have been able to advance an army upon Constantinople in 1833.

Lord Aberdeen next stated that his expression that "if we could obtain a peace which should last twenty-five years, as had been the case by the treaty of Adrianople, we should not have done amiss," had been falsely construed into the meaning that he would return to a treaty similar to that of Adrianople. He had only meant to say that

> "if by any treaty which the fortune of war might enable them to make, they could secure a peace for twenty-five years, considering the instability of human affairs they would not have done amiss. *He had never recommended a return to the status quo,* nor did he not object to the *status quo.* Before the declaration of war the *status quo* had been all they hoped for or desired, and all that they attempted to attain, and it was that which the Turkish Government consented to give, and it was much more than they had a right to expect. But, from the instant war had been declared, the whole question was changed entirely, and everything depended upon the war itself.... How far they might ultimately deviate from the *status quo* no man could say, as it depended on events not in their power absolutely to control. This he would say, that the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire must be secured, effectually secured."

How it is to be secured Lord Aberdeen could not say, as this, again, depended on the events of the war.

He had been understood to express some doubt or disbelief as to the danger of Russian aggression, but, in fact, he had the greatest alarm at Russian aggression on Turkey, although he did not feel great alarm with respect to the danger of Russian aggression on Europe, and "he was inclined to feel less so every day." He considered France more powerful than Russia and Austria put together. The noble Lord then complained of the "extraordinary absurdity and malignity of the personal imputations to which he had been exposed." It was true that there was no greater peacemonger in the country than himself, but his very love of peace peculiarly fitted him to carry on the war in the most vigorous manner.

> "His colleagues would admit that he personally had been more urgent than perhaps any other man in exhorting a speedy advance and concentration of the allied forces beyond the Balkans, in order to support the gallant army of Omer Pasha, and to extend a hand to Austria, in order to enable her to take a more active part in the operations of the war."

This was the course he invariably urged. On the interpellation of Lord Beaumont[a] he declared that

"intimate as he formerly was with Prince Metternich, since he had been in office, for the last eighteen months, he had not communicated with him, directly or indirectly, until a few days ago, when a friend told him she was about to write to Metternich, and asked him whether he had anything to say to the Prince; whereupon he said: 'Pray, make my best remembrances to him.'"

Aberdeen's speech was on the whole favorably received by the House; but it is a curious fact that the acrimonious answer that he met with from the Marquis of Clanricarde—a disappointed place-hunter, and Lord Palmerston's old Embassador at St. Petersburg—was not replied to by any member of the Cabinet, and that none of them came forward to certify to his having been the foremost in urging a vigorous war.

The Marquis of Clanricarde[b] principally dwelt upon Aberdeen's participation in the treaty of Adrianople; the general character of his political past, and on the shortcomings of his present administration. He said that Lord Aberdeen had produced now, for his own personal convenience and from a merely personal motive, a dispatch which he had some months ago refused to other members of either House. It was, however, quite different from what the noble lord had written to St. Petersburg in December, 1829, when the treaty of Adrianople had been signed in September. The real question was what instructions he had given to their Embassador[c] at that time, and what steps he had taken to *prevent* the signing of the treaty. The Russian general commanding at Adrianople[d] had not had above 15,000 men, and that amount had to be diminished by some 5,000 or 6,000 who, either from disease or wounds, were literally *hors de combat*[e]. The Turkish general[f] on the other hand, was within a short distance with 25,000 Albanians. The Russian general gave a very short respite to Turkey to sign or not to sign, for he knew that his real position might be discovered if he gave a long one. Consequently he did not give beyond five or eight days. At Constantinople the

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[a] Lord Beaumont's interpellation to the House of Commons on June 26, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21778, June 27, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] The Marquis of Clanricarde's speech in the House of Lords on June 26, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21778, June 27, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] Gordon.—*Ed.*

[d] General Diebich.—*Ed.*

[e] Out of action.—*Ed.*

[f] Apparently Mustapha Pasha.—*Ed.*

Minister of Turkey summoned to his council the French and English Embassadors and the Prussian Minister, and asked for their advice.[190] The English Embassador, under instructions from Lord Aberdeen, tendered the advice to sign as soon as possible that treaty which the noble lord now told them was so disastrous.

The noble Marquis did not like to allude to the circumstance, that it was exactly the vehement denunciation which his friend Palmerston, then in opposition, directed against Lord Aberdeen, when he charged him with being yet too anti-Russian, which induced the latter to give the order for the signing of the treaty.

The Marquis proceeded to reproach the Premier with having been always the most zealous, the most constant, and the most powerful supporter of the arbitrary governments of Europe, in proof of which he reviewed the history of Portugal, Belgium, and Spain, alluding to Aberdeen's opposition to the famous Quadruple Alliance of 1834.[191] It certainly wanted all the cool impudence of an old Whig Lord to exult, at this moment, in the glory of Belgium, the constitutionalism in Portugal and Spain, and the general blessings Europe derives from the Quadruple Alliance which Palmerston, in his defense, falsely stated to have been devised not by himself but by Talleyrand.

As to the operations of the present war, Clanricarde said that the plan of the campaign had been drawn up by the highest military authorities in Russia, in December last, and that the British Government had been informed of that plan, aiming not at the mere occupation of the Principalities, but at crossing the Danube, seizing Silistria, masking Shumla, and marching on the Balkans. The noble Lord, with such information in his possession, had come down to this House talking of peace, and neglecting to give those orders which were at the time given by the Cabinet to the Ministry of War until the end of February or the beginning of March.

If Lord Clanricarde had chosen to remember the answers given by Lord Palmerston[a] to Mr. Disraeli in the Commons and by Lord Clarendon[b] to himself in the Lords, he would have abstained from the ridicule of charging with those neglects of duty only Lord Aberdeen, and exempting his Whig friends from a blame equally attaching to the whole Cabinet.

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[a] Lord Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on February 20, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21670, February 21, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Lord Clarendon's speech in the House of Lords on February 6, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21658, February 7, 1854.—*Ed.*

"If," exclaimed the Marquis—"if a proper, he would almost say an honest, course had been taken by the Government fifteen months ago, there never would have been a war."

Now, these are the very same words which Mr. Disraeli addressed to Lord John Russell.

Finally, the Marquis has the absurdity to charge also Lord Aberdeen, individually and exclusively, with all the failures of the coalition, and their continuous defeat in Parliament on all important questions. It does not occur to his memory that at the very formation of the Cabinet it was declared by every judicious man, that it could not hold together for six weeks except it left all legislation an open question, and abstained from politics.

After a silly speech from Lord Brougham,[a] who expressed himself very much contented with Lord Aberdeen's first speech, but still more so with his second one, the subject dropped.

The serious result of this whole incident is the baffling of the secret protocol drawn up at Vienna, and consequently the continuance of hostilities, and of a war, the speedy cessation of which was so confidently anticipated that consols rose 3 per cent. notwithstanding heavy loans in the market, and that any bets were taken at the military clubs against the prolongation of war beyond four weeks.

Written on June 27, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Lord Brougham and Vaux's speech in the House of Lords on June 26, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21778, June 27, 1854.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE INSURRECTION AT MADRID.— THE AUSTRO-TURKISH TREATY.— MOLDAVIA AND WALLACHIA][192]

London, Tuesday, July 4, 1854

The long-expected militarv insurrection at Madrid has at length been accomplished under the leadership of Generals O'Donnell and Dulce.[193] The French Government journals hasten to inform us that, according to their dispatches, the Spanish Government has already overcome the danger and that the insurrection is suppressed.[a] But the Madrid correspondent of *The Morning Chronicle*, who gives a detailed account of the rising and communicates the proclamation of the insurgents, says that they have only withdrawn from the capital in order to join the garrison of Alcala, and that in case of Madrid remaining passive they would have no difficulty in reaching Saragossa.[b] Should the movement be more successful than the last rebellion in that town,[194] the consequences would be to cause a diversion in the military action of France, to afford a subject for dissent between France and England, and probably also to affect the pending complication between Spain and the United States Government.

It appears now that the new Russian loan has not been positively contracted for by the Messrs. Hope of Amsterdam, as I was led to believe[c] from announcements made at the London and Manchester Exchanges; and that these bankers have not advanced any portion of the money to the Russian treasury. They merely

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[a] Report from Bayonne of July 3, 1854. *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 185, July 4, 1854.— *Ed.*

[b] Report from Madrid of June 28. *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 27309, July 4, 1854.— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 248.— *Ed.*

undertook to bring it out at the different European Exchanges, but at no risk of their own. The success of the loan is reported to be very doubtful, and we have news that at Berlin and Frankfort it has met with very little favor. The Hamburg Senate has prohibited its official quotation, and the English diplomatic agents and Consuls, according to *The Morning Chronicle*, have issued warnings to British subjects not to become subscribers to a loan "intended for carrying on war against the Queen."

The intelligence of the movements of the Russian troops since the abandonment of the siege of Silistria is contradictory. The *Moniteur* having announced the retreat of the Russians behind the Pruth, the Vienna *Presse* states that there was not the slightest reason to believe in the fact of such a move.[a] It appears, on the contrary, that not even Wallachia is intended to be evacuated, General Liprandi having taken up a position at Plojesti and Kimpina, with his outposts stationed at the entrance of the *Rothenthurm Pass*, while the main army, retiring by Slobodzic and along the left bank of the Danube, is stated to have halted at Brailow. On the other hand, the corps of Lüders occupying the Dobrodja, has not yet abandoned the line of Trajan's Wall, and it is not likely that, even in case of further retreat, they will surrender Matchin and Isaktsha. Fresh troops are said to be pouring into Moldavia, where it seems to be the plan of the Russians to concentrate a large force. The corps of General Panyutin has entered from Podolia, and additional resources are being drawn in from Bessarabia. The entire force of the Russians in Upper Moldavia, between Jassy, Roman and Botushani, is said to amount to 60,000; and a division of 20,000 is encamped near Kamenicz. "Paskievich," says the *Ost-Deutsche Post*, "has declared that in no case will he abandon the mouths of the Danube."[b] The retreat is explained by the Russians to be only a consequence of the plague having broken out on the Higher Danube.

The movements of the Austrians are still quite undefined. The corps of Coronini is stated to have orders to embark on steamers at Orsova, and to go down the river to Giurgevo, thence to march upon Bucharest. The *Corriere Italiano*, an Austrian Government organ, announces that the object of this move is only to take up a

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[a] The report of *Die Presse* is given according to *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 184, July 3, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] The *Ost-Deutsche Post* is quoted according to the *Journal des Débats*, June 29, 1854.—*Ed.*

neutral position in Wallachia,[a] and yet at the same time we hear that the Austrian "ultimatum" has been declined by Russia.

"The Russian Emperor," says the dispatch published in *The Morning Chronicle*, "in his answer to the Austrian summons, expresses his readiness to negotiate with the four powers on all points, except on the privileges of the Christian subjects of the Sultan. On this subject he will only treat directly with the Porte, and he refuses to admit the interference of the four powers. He also refuses to give any guarantees for the evacuation of the Principalities."[b]

Now, it is quite possible that in consequence of this refusal, a sham war between Austria and Russia may occur, to end in some such famous *rencontre*[c] as the remarkable affair at Bronzell,[195] which ended the sham war between Austria and Prussia in 1850, while the newspapers were yet lost in conjectures on the terrible eventualities of that "middle European crisis." In lieu of similar speculations on the possible meaning of Austria's present policy, we shall betake ourselves to the fact of the Austro-Turkish treaty of June 14, which is now fully and officially made known.[d]

There are two points to be considered—the relations between Austria and Turkey and the relations of the Moldo-Wallachian people to Turkey and Austria or other foreign powers, the latter point being, strange to say, entirely neglected by the diplomacy-ridden opinion of Europe.

By the first article of the treaty,

"the Emperor of Austria undertakes to exhaust every means of negotiation and others, to obtain the evacuation of the Danubian Principalities by the foreign army now occupying them, and even to employ, in case of need, the number of troops necessary to attain that end."

The Emperor of Austria is thereby entitled to march any number of troops into Wallachia, without a previous declaration of war on his part against Russia. Thus a Turkish dependency is subjected to an operation converting it into a neutral possession under Austria against Turkey. By the second article it is agreed that

"it shall belong exclusively to the Imperial commander-in-chief to direct the operations of his army. He shall, however, be careful to inform in proper time the commander-in-chief of the Ottoman armies of his operations."

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[a] The *Corriere Italiano* statement is given as reprinted in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 184, July 3, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Telegraphic dispatch from Berlin. *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 27309, July 4, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] Duel.—*Ed.*

[d] The text of the treaty is given according to the report of *The Times* correspondent in Paris of June 30, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21783, July 3, 1854.—*Ed.*

By this agreement the Austrians escape not only from all control, on the part of Turkey, over any movement they may think fit, but obtain a perfect control of all the operations possibly intended on Wallachian ground by the Turkish commander, whom they have only to inform that they want to occupy such and such a point, when the Turks will be prevented from marching there. Considering, now, that the Principalities, besides the narrow territory of the Dobrodja, are the only possible battle-field between the Turks and the Russians, the Austrian intervention simply forbids Turkey to follow up her victories and punish the invader.

By virtue of Article 3,

"the Emperor of Austria engages to reestablish, in common accord with the Ottoman Government, in the Principalities, *as soon as possible,* the legal state of things such as results from the privileges secured by the Sublime Porte relative to the government of these countries. *The local authorities thus reconstituted* shall not, however, extend their action so far as to exercise any control over the Imperial army...."

Thus the Emperor of Austria reserves to himself full liberty of restoring the legal state when he shall think it *possible*; and even then, he may reconstitute the local authorities only in order to place them under Austrian martial law, quite after the fashion of the Russian General Budberg.

According to Article 4,

"the Imperial Court of Austria engages not to enter into any plan of accommodation with the Imperial Court of Russia which shall not have for its starting point the sovereign rights of the Sultan and the integrity of his empire."

Article 5 adds,

"that as soon as the object of the present convention shall have been attained by the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the Sublime Porte and the Court of Russia, the Emperor of Austria will make arrangements to withdraw his forces *as soon as possible.* The details connected with the withdrawal of the Austrian troops will form the object of a special arrangement with the Sublime Porte."

By the former of these articles Austria reserves to herself the right to an arrangement with Russia based simply on the *status quo,* as embodied in the Vienna note.[196] By the latter Austria promises not to withdraw her troops after an arrangement between herself and Russia, but only after the conclusion of a treaty between Russia and Turkey. The "material guaranty," no longer safe in the direct keeping of Russia, is transferred to Austria, and Austria empowered to hold it for her—with the consent of the Porte—until Turkey shall have adhered to the "accommodation between the two Imperial Courts."

Article 6 entitles the Austrians to feed, without even a semblance of payment, upon the remainder left by the Russians in the Principalities. The advantages of this arrangement can only be appreciated in Germany, where the people are wont to receive Austrian garrisons for the punishment of their revolutionary sins, and where they grazed off whole districts in 1849-50.

The treaty is a virtual surrender of the Principalities to Austria, and an abandonment of the Turkish suzerainty over them. The Turks have committed thereby as flagrant a violation of the rights of the Moldo-Wallachian people as any previously committed by the Russians. The Turks have as little right to surrender the Principalities to Austrian occupation as they have to declare them Russian provinces.

The claims of the Porte to the suzerainty of Moldo-Wallachia are founded on the treaties of 1393, 1460 and 1511. The treaty concluded in 1393 between Wallachia and Turkey[197] contains the following articles:

"Art. I. We, Bayazet, etc. determine, by our extreme condescendence toward Wallachia, which has made its submission to our invincible Empire, with its reigning Prince,[a] that this country is to continue to govern itself by its own laws, and that the Prince of Wallachia shall have the entire liberty of declaring war or making peace with his neighbors, how and when it may please him.

"Art. III. The Princes (Christians) will be elected by the Metropolitans and Boyards.

"Art. IV. The Prince of Wallachia will have to pay annually to our Imperial Treasury 500 piasters of our money."

The treaty concluded in 1460 between Vlad V, Prince of Wallachia, and Mohammed II stipulates:

"Art. I. The Sultan consents and engages, for himself and successors, to protect Wallachia and to defend it against every enemy, without exacting anything but the suzerainty over this sovereign Principality, of which the Voyvodes will be expected to pay to the Sublime Porte a tribute of 10,000 ducats.

"Art. II. The Sublime Porte will in no way interfere in the local administration of the said Principality, and no Turk will be allowed to come into Wallachia without an ostensible motive.

"Art. III. The Voyvodes will continue to be elected by the Metropolitan Archbishop, the Bishops and Boyards, and the election will be recognized by the Porte.

"Art. IV. The Wallachian nation will continue to enjoy the free exercise of its own laws, and the Voyvodes will have the right of life and death over their subjects, as also that of making peace or war, without being subjected for any of their acts to any kind of responsibility toward the Sublime Porte."[198]

The third treaty is that of 1511 in which Moldavia acknowl-

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[a] Mircea the Old.—*Ed.*

edged the suzerainty of the Porte, obtaining even better conditions in exchange than Wallachia had obtained.

The treaties which intervened between Russia and Turkey could not of course invalidate the treaties concluded by the Moldo-Wallachians themselves with the Porte, since this people never treated with the Russians nor gave the Porte power to treat for them. It may be stated, besides, that Russia herself recognized the above-mentioned capitulations in the treaty of Adrianople, Art. V of which says:

> "The Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, having placed themselves by capitulation under the suzerainty of the Sublime Porte, and Russia having warranted their prosperity(!), it is understood that they continue to enjoy all those privileges and immunities which have been granted to them in virtue of their capitulation." [199]

It follows, then, from the above-cited capitulations, which, not having been superseded by any subsequent treaty, still remain in vigor, that the Principalities form two sovereign States under the suzerainty of the Porte, to which they pay a tribute on the condition that the Porte shall defend them against every and any external enemy, and not interfere at all in their internal administration. So far from being entitled to surrender Wallachia to foreign occupation, the Turks themselves are forbidden from entering Wallachia without an ostensible motive. Nay, more: Since the Turks have thus violated their capitulations with the Wallachians and forfeited the claims of suzerainty, the Russians might even, when appealed to by the Wallachians, found their right of driving the Austrians out of the Principalities on the show of broken treaties. And this would be by no means surprising, as it has been the constant policy of Russia to encourage, and even oblige the Turks to violate the rights of the Wallachians, so as to produce hostilities between them, and create for herself a pretext for intervention. What happened, for instance in 1848? [200] Some Boyards in the spring of that year had presented a petition to the Hospodar of Moldavia,[a] demanding certain reforms, which request was, by the influence of the Russian Consul,[b] not only refused but caused its authors to be thrown into prison. The commotion produced by this act furnished the Russians with a pretext to cross the frontier, on June 25, and to march upon Jassy. Simultaneously the Hospodar of Wallachia,[c] like the other continental govern-

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[a] Sturdza.— *Ed.*
[b] Kotzebue.— *Ed.*
[c] George Bibesco.— *Ed.*

ments, granted a number of reforms demanded by the Liberal party of the Wallachian Boyards. This was on June 23. It is scarcely necessary to remark that these reforms infringed in no way upon the suzerainty of the Porte. But they happened to destroy entirely all the influence Russia had obtained through the fundamental law decreed during their occupation of 1829,[201] which the reforms abolished. The constitution replacing it suppressed serfdom, and a portion of the land occupied by the peasant was ceded to him as property, while the landlord was to be indemnified by the State for the land given up and for the loss of his peasant's labor.[202] The reigning hospodar was then induced by the Russians to remove, and a Provisional Government took up the management of the public affairs. The Porte which, as we have shown, had no right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Principalities, and had omitted to protest against the Russian entrance into Moldavia, dispatched Soliman Pasha with a Turkish army into Wallachia, and published a very threatening address of the Sultan to the inhabitants,[a] the measures of the Divan being taken of course under the influence of Russia. The Wallachians went out to meet the Pasha and the Turks, and fraternised with them. An agreement was made that the Provisional Government should be replaced by a *Lieutenance Princière*, composed at first of six, and afterward of three members. This Government was then recognized by the Pasha, and at the Pasha's desire, by the foreign Consuls. A modification was introduced into the new constitution after which that also was confirmed by the Sultan.

Meanwhile the Russian Government fulminated against the Wallachian people in manifestoes addressed to Europe, wherein they were charged to have established a republic, and proclaimed communism.[203] On the 1st August, 1848, a large Russian force crossed the Pruth on its march to Bucharest. Suddenly Soliman Pasha was recalled by the Porte; the Sultan refused to receive the Wallachian deputies who had gone to Constantinople in answer to his own invitation; and on September 25, Fuad Effendi, at the head of a Turkish army, presented himself before Bucharest, declaring that he had only come to deprive Russia of all pretext for entering the Principality. Confiding in the word of the Turks, more than 100,000 inhabitants went out from Bucharest and the surrounding country, unarmed, in festive garments, and with the clergy at their head to welcome them. Fuad Effendi then invited

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[a] This refers to Soliman Pasha's letter of July 31, 1848.—*Ed.*

them to send a deputation to his camp, so that he might communicate to them his instructions.

"No sooner," says M. Bratiano in his account of these events, "no sooner did the deputation present themselves before Fuad Effendi, than they were made prisoners, and at the same time the Turkish army precipitated itself in a forced march upon Bucharest, trampling down under the hoofs of his cavalry the peaceful inhabitants who had gone out to meet the Turks as friends, tearing down their banners, destroying their crosses, bombarding a military barrack which it found on its passage, as well as a whole quarter of the town, firing grape-shot at the Wallachian soldiers who occupied those barracks, inducing them to capitulate and lay down their arms, putting to death the sick, and after having reached the town giving themselves up to pillage, massacre and other horrible deeds!"[a]

It was here that Gen. Duhamel, the Russian Commissioner, accompanied, and in fact commanded the Turkish army. He was followed by the Russian army, and the result was the treaty of Balta Liman,[204] i.e. among other things the restoration of the Russian fundamental law, or *statato* which is nothing else than the *status quo* as to which Austria engages [to] reduce Wallachia.

It is clear that if Omer Pasha should now enter Wallachia with his victorious army, the Turks with all their late experience and at war with Russia would [have] reestablished the Constitution of 1848, with the "republic, communism," and the revival of all the creations of 1848 following in its wake. Nobody will believe that Austria would have been less displeased with that contingency than Russia. On the other hand, it is equally clear, that the Porte must have been subject to extraordinary pressure to allow itself to be dragged into another violation of its treaties with the Wallachians, the consequences of which it knows by experience. That pressure can have proceeded from no quarter but the English Embassador. It is, therefore, interesting to record how the same Lord Redcliffe and his superiors in Downing-st. behaved in 1848 and '49 with regard to the violations of the rights of Moldo-Wallachia by both Russians and Turks.

When the Russian Army first crossed the Moldavian frontier, in June 1848, Lord Palmerston declared in the House of Commons, in answer to the inevitable Dudley Stuart:

"that the Russian troops entered Moldavia without any orders from the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, that they only aimed at the maintenance or establishment of order, that they would be withdrawn when the occasion had ceased, that the entry

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[a] D. Bratiano, *Documents Concerning the Question of the Danubian Principalities*, pp. 10-11.—*Ed.*

was on the authority of the Hospodar, and there was no disposition for the acquisition of territory."[a]

In August 1848, when the Russian army again crossed the Pruth, on their march to Bucharest, and when the Moldo-Wallachians had sent a deputation to Constantinople, the Divan applied to the Embassadors of England and France for advice, and was recommended by Lord Redcliffe to adopt the line of policy enjoined by Russia.

In October, when the Turks and Russians in common occupied Wallachia, a Wallachian officer was pursued by the Russians into the dwelling of the commander of the Turkish troops at Bucharest, Omer Pasha, who in common with Fuad Effendi protested. The Porte, informed of this insult, declared it would have no more to do with the Russians and order its troops to recross the Danube, in order to cease to be the accomplice of the Russians in the Principalities, and threatened to address to the great powers a solemn protestation, accompanied by a detailed memorandum of all that had occurred in the Principalities. The same Embassador interfered again and baffled these intentions of the Porte.

Lastly, at the time when the combined Russo-Turkish occupation in 1848 had assumed the character of a reign of terror, and when Magheru, the commander of the Wallachian irregulars alone resisted, he was induced to withdraw beyond the Carpathian mountains "by the persuasion of the British Consul-General,[b] who represented to him that the presence of his army would paralyze the action of diplomacy, but that his country would soon be righted."[205]

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

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[a] Lord Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on September 1, 1848, is cited from the book: *The Russians in Moldavia and Wallachia*, p. 17.—*Ed.*

[b] Colquhoun.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE WAR ON THE DANUBE[206]

About eighty years ago, when the victorious armies of Catherine II were severing from Turkey province after province, prior to their transformation into what is now called South Russia, the poet Derzhavin, in one of the bursts of lyrical enthusiasm in which he was wont to celebrate the glories, if not the virtues of that Empress, and the destined grandeur of her empire, uttered a memorable couplet in which we may still find condensed the scornful boldness and self-reliance of the Czarian policy:

> "And what to thee O Russ, is any ally?
> Advance and the whole Universe is thine!"[a]

This may be true enough, even now, if the Russ only could advance, but on that process a pretty decided check has been put. Consequently he is constrained for the present moment at least, to postpone the possession of the Universe. But what is very bitter to his pride is that in retracing his steps he not only fails to carry with him the pledge of universal dominion, but is even obliged to leave behind the keys of the simple fortress of Silistria, on the Danube, which he had sworn to have. And still more painful, he leaves behind him also the remains of some fifty thousand of his brethren, who have perished by disease and battle in this single campaign.

There is no doubt that from a military point of view the siege of Silistria is the most important among all the military events since the beginning of the war. It is the failure to take that fortress which renders the campaign a failure for the Russians and adds

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[a] G. Derzhavin, "On the Capture of Warsaw".— *Ed.*

disgrace and the Czar's disfavor to the retreat behind the Sereth, in which they are now engaged. Of the earlier stages of the siege we have already laid before our readers a careful, and, we hope, a clear analysis[a]; and now, at last, having received by the *Pacific*[207] the official Russian reports, we are able to follow the whole affair to its conclusion without doing any injustice to either party. Besides the Russian reports, which are distinct, clear and business-like in what they state, but abound in faults of omission, we now have Lieutenant Nasmyth's (Bengal Artillery,) report to *The London Times*,[b] a complete journal of the siege, giving some interesting particulars, but made up in rather a slovenly way, and sometimes incorrect in the dates. It is only proper to say that the views and conclusions we have previously expressed concerning the siege, are altogether confirmed by these later and more detailed narratives, except in the particular that the Turks did not abandon the defense of the fort Arab Tabiassi, as in the latter part of the siege we supposed they would be constrained to do.[c] It appears too, that the Russians were still more extravagant in their operations than we suspected. First they made a regular attack on the fortress on its eastern side, on the low lands of the Danube, hoping to be able to turn the detached forts altogether and to make a breach in the main wall of Silistria at once. If this attempt had the merit of originality, it certainly had no other. It affords, perhaps the first instance of trenches, and approaches being thrown up against a fortress, on ground which was not only flanked, but actually commanded in the rear by hights fortified by the enemy. But then a second, an irregular attack was directed against these very hights, and so cleverly combined that after the loss of a fortnight on reconnoitering and storming, in which thousands of Russians were killed or disabled, a regular siege against them had also to be employed. So much for the skill displayed by the Russians. Let us now pass to the details of the period of the siege.

On the 1st of June the Russians got a fresh train of siege-artillery, brought over from the left bank of the Danube, which they arranged in battery against Arab Tabiassi. The Turks sunk shafts and pushed mines under the counterscarps and glacis of this fort. On June 2, Mussa Pasha, commander of Silistria was

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[a] See this volume, pp. 234-45.—*Ed.*

[b] [Nasmyth,] "The Siege of Silistria". *The Times*, No. 21783, July 3, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 245.—*Ed.*

killed by a shell. Toward evening the Russians exploded a mine under one of the bastions of Arab Tabiassi. As at that time they could not yet have arrived at the crest of the glacis, this mine could not have been very accurately laid. The distances, as well as the line of shortest resistance must have been wrongly calculated, and, accordingly, when the mine sprung, so far from injuring the Turkish defenses, it exploded backward and overwhelmed the Russian trenches with a hail of stones and earth. But here the storming columns were assembled ready for an assault, and the effect of this hail of stones among them may be readily imagined. How far the Russians succeeded in effectually blockading the fortress is shown by the fact that on this day 5,000 Turkish irregulars from Rasgrad west of Silistria made their way into the besieged town.

From the 4th to the 8th of June the trenches against the Arab Tabiassi were continued. The Russians arrived at the glacis, pushed a sap boldly forward toward its crest, which was very poorly supported however by the fire of their artillery. They commenced sinking a mine below the ditch and pushed it under the scarp of the bastion. While this was going on Marshal Paskievich on the 9th again made one of his inexplicable displays of armed force in a grand reconnaissance against the fortress, consisting of 31 battalions, 40 squadrons, and 144 field pieces. What he expected to gain by this exhibition nobody can tell. It looks like one of those displays volunteered only in the hope of some chance offering itself for doing something serious, or at least to impress your enemy with the notion that you are irresistible. But no such effect was produced upon the Turks. On the contrary, they sent forth 4,000 cavalry, who, according to the Russian *bulletin* were dreadfully beaten; Nasmyth, however, asserts that they brought in sixty Russian horses taken in the affray. At the same time, Paskievich instead of reconnoitering something to his advantage, was, according to the report, himself reconnoitered by a Turkish cannon-ball, which put him *hors de combat*[a] and necessitated his being transported to Jassy.

On the 10th the siege was at its crisis. The grand mine, Schilder's last hope, was sprung. It produced indeed a practicable breach in the front bastion of Arab Tabiassi. The Russian columns advanced to the assault; but, as they might have expected, the Turks had long since made a *coupure* or second parapet with a ditch, a little to the rear of the main wall, and the Russians on

[a] Out of action.—*Ed.*

coming up found themselves arrested and exposed to murderous fire. Now, when the advance of an assaulting column is once brought to a stand, that column is beaten; for the fire of the enemy covered behind ramparts and supported by artillery, at a distance where every shot tells, forces it to retreat in a very few minutes. The Russians, therefore, had to make the best of the way back across the breach, and were followed by the Turks, who pursued them as far as the Russian trenches and destroyed part of the siege works. This assault was the last serious enterprise of the Russians against Silistria. If the siege was apparently and nominally continued until orders for the raising of it arrived, it was merely to save appearances. On the 12th the blockade was so little sustained that European officers from Shumla had no difficulty in entering the fortress.

The Russians had opened their trenches in the low ground on the 19th of May. Their batteries against Arab Tabiassi, seven in number, commenced work on the 22d. Fifteen more guns were brought up against that fort on the following day. Still the regular attack against Arab Tabiassi did not take place, according to the Russian account, until the 31st of May. This appears to indicate that the batteries erected on the 21st and 22d merely did the office of a first parallel, and were armed with heavy field pieces, for the purpose of enfilading the fort. From May 31 to June 10 the Russian batteries advanced within one hundred yards of the fort, that is from the first to the third parallel, at the foot of the glacis. Neither was the glacis crowned, nor were trenching batteries erected; but, as before stated, a sap was pushed up the slope of the glacis, in order to sink the shaft of the mine at its top. As we learn from all reports that Arab Tabiassi was hardly more than a field fortification, of large proportions but little permanent strength, the conduct of its defenders, composed of four battalions and 500 irregulars under Hussein Pasha, certainly deserves the highest praise. Nine days of distant cannonading, eleven days of open trenches, two mines and four or five assaults, all ending in the discomfiture of the enemy, we remember no other instance in the history of war where a mere outwork, of such construction as Arab Tabiassi, has stood so much. The instances coming nearest to it are the defense of Colberg by the Prussians in 1807, and of Danzig by the French in 1813.

It has seemed very surprising that during the whole siege nothing was done by Omer Pasha to support or relieve so important a place. From his letter addressed to Sami Pasha, the Governor of Vidin, we learn, however, that he was actually

preparing to succor Silistria when the Russians withdrew to the left side of the Danube.

"You know," says this letter, "that I had collected all our forces in front of Shumla, and that I was preparing to march to the relief of the place. Six regiments of cavalry and three batteries had already left Shumla for this destination. The Russians, having gained information of this movement, have withdrawn precipitately over to the left bank, with the whole of their artillery. During the forty days they invested the place, the Russians lost 25,000 men killed."[a]

What the Russians are now about to do it is impossible to decide. According to some Vienna papers, they purpose to take up a position behind the Buseo, but the same papers pretend that it is the fear of Austria which drives them back, and the Buseo is equally outflanked by Austria. If the Russians try to hold Moldavia, they would be outflanked by Austria from Galicia and the Bukovina. But a timely junction of the Russian troops in Poland with the late Danubian army in Podolia and Volhynia would again outflank Austria and expose the north-eastern part of Galicia as far as the San and the Dniester.

Abstaining, for a moment, from political considerations, and supposing Austria to be ready to join with the allied forces in an attack upon Russia, matters would stand thus: Austria could bring into the field from 200,000 to 250,000 men to join the allies, who themselves dispose of about 100,000 to 120,000 Turks, and 60,000 Anglo-French troops. To these forces Russia could oppose the four corps of the Danubian army, with their reserves, amounting, after due deduction on account of losses, to about 200,000 men. The second corps, commanded by Panyutin, and the three cavalry reserve corps, with some further infantry reserves, and reenforcements by fresh levies, might together amount to 180,000 men: so that the entire military strength of Russia would be composed of 350,000 men, from which the garrisons necessary for guarding the Crimea and parts of Southern Russia would have to be deducted. This would still leave the guards, the grenadiers, and the first army corps disposable for the defense of Poland and the Baltic provinces—not to speak of the Finnish corps of about 15,000 men. Everything considered, the discrepancy between the relative belligerent forces would not be so great as to forbid Russia from calculating on moderate success, if she would restrict herself to a proper defense.

If Austria, as the latest diplomatic news and her total inactivity

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[a] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 190, July 9, 1854.—*Ed.*

on the Moldavian frontier appear to indicate, has no other intention but to interfere between the belligerents, then we may safely assume that there is no chance of anything occurring in the course of the year in either Moldavia or Bessarabia.

Written on July 6, 1854

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# Karl Marx

## [THE DETAILS OF THE INSURRECTION AT MADRID.— THE AUSTRO-PRUSSIAN SUMMONS.— THE NEW AUSTRIAN LOAN.—WALLACHIA][208]

London, Friday, July 7, 1854

The news we receive of the military insurrection at Madrid continues to be of a very contradictory and fragmentary character. All the Madrid telegraphic dispatches are, of course, government statements, and of the same questionable faith as the bulletins published in the *Gaceta*. A review of the scanty materials at hand is consequently all I can give you.

It will be recollected that O'Donnell was one of the generals banished by the Queen[a] in February; that he refused to obey, secreted himself in Madrid, and from his hiding place kept up secret correspondence with the garrison of Madrid, and particularly with General Dulce, the Inspector-General of the Cavalry. The Government were aware of his sojourn at Madrid, and on the 27th June, at night, General Blaser, the Minister of War, and General Lara, the Captain-General of New Castile, received warnings of an intended outbreak under the leadership of General Dulce. Nothing, however, was done to prevent or stifle the insurrection in its germ. On the 28th, therefore, General Dulce found no difficulty in assembling about 2,000 cavalry under pretext of a review, and marching with them out of the town, accompanied by O'Donnell, with the intention of kidnapping the Queen, then staying at the Escurial. The design failed, however, and the Queen arrived at Madrid on the 29th, attended by Count San Luis, the President of the Council, and held a review, while the insurgents took up quarters in the environs of the capital.

[a] Isabella II.—*Ed.*

They were joined by Colonel Echague and 400 men of the Regiment "Prince," who brought along the regimental cashbag containing 1,000,000 francs. A column composed of seven battalions of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, one detachment of mounted *gendarmerie*, and two batteries of artillery left Madrid on the evening of the 29th inst., under command of General Lara, in order to meet the rebels quartered at the *Venta del Espiritu Santo* and the village of Vicálvaro. A battle took place on the 30th between the two armies, of which we have received three accounts—the official one addressed by General Lara to the Minister of War, published in the *Gaceta*; the second published by the *Messager de Bayonne*, and the third a report from the Madrid correspondent of the *Indépendance belge*, an eye-witness of the affair. The first named report, which may be found in all the London papers,[a] is easily disposed of, General Lara stating at one time that he attacked the insurgents, and at another that they charged him, making prisoners in one place and losing them in another, claiming the victory and returning to Madrid—*enfin*, leaving the insurgents masters of the field, but covering it with the dead of the "enemy," while pretending himself to have only thirty wounded.

The following is the version of the *Messager de Bayonne*:

"On the 30th June, at 4 A.M., General Quesada left Madrid at the head of two brigades, in order to attack the rebel troops. The affair lasted but a short time, General Quesada being vigorously repulsed. General Blaser, the Minister of War, having assembled the whole garrison of Madrid"

which, by the way, consists of about 7,000 or 8,000 men

"made a *sortie*, in his turn at 7 o'clock in the evening. A combat immediately commenced, and lasted almost without interruption until evening. The infantry, threatened by the numerous cavalry of the insurgents, formed in squares. Colonel Garrigó, at the head of some *escadrons*, charged one of these squares so vigorously as to break through it, but was received by the fire of a masked battery of five guns, the grape-shot of which dispersed his *escadrons*. Colonel Garrigó fell into the hands of the Queen's troops, but General O'Donnell lost not a moment in rallying his squadrons, and threw himself so vehemently on the infantry that he shook their ranks, delivered Colonel Garrigó, and seized the five pieces of artillery. The Queen's troops having suffered this check, retired to Madrid, where they arrived at 8 o'clock in the evening. One of their generals, Messina, was slightly wounded. There was a great number of dead and wounded on both sides in their murderous engagements."

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[a] Marx used General Lara's account according to *The Times*, No. 21787, July 7, 1854.—*Ed.*

We come now to the report of the *Indépendance*, dated Madrid, lst July, which seems to be the most trustworthy:

"The Venta del Espiritu Santo and Vicálvaro were the theater of a murderous combat, in which the troops of the Queen were repulsed this side the *Fonda de la Alegría*. Three squares successively formed on different points, were spontaneously dissolved by order of the Minister of War. A fourth was formed beyond the *Retiro*.[209] Ten squadrons of insurgents commanded by Generals O'Donnell and Dulce in person, attacked it in the center (?) while guerrillas took it in the flank (?)."

It is difficult to conceive what this correspondent understands by *center*! and *flank*! attacks on a square.

"Twice the insurgents came to close fighting with the artillery but were repulsed by the grape-shot poured upon them. The insurrectionists evidently intended seizing some pieces of artillery placed in each of the corners of the square. Night having approached in the meantime, the governmental forces retired in echelons on the gate of Alcala, where a squadron of the cavalry that had remained faithful was suddenly surprised by a detachment of insurrectionist lancers who had concealed themselves behind the *Plaza de Toros*. In the midst of the confusion produced by this unexpected attack, the insurrectionists seized four pieces of artillery that had remained behind. The loss was nearly equal on both sides. The insurgent cavalry suffered much from the grape-shot, but their lances have almost exterminated the regiment de la Reina Gobernadora, and the mounted *gendarmerie*. Latest accounts inform us that the insurrectionists received reenforcements from Toledo and Valladolid. There is even a rumor afloat that General Narvaez is expected today at Vallecas where he is to be received by Generals Dulce, O'Donnell, Ros de Olano and Armero. Trenches have been opened at the gate of Atocha. Crowds of curious are thronging the railway station whence the advance posts of General O'Donnell may be perceived. All the gates of Madrid are, however, rigorously watched....

"*Three O'Clock P. M. same Day.*—The insurgents occupy the place of Vallecas, three English miles from Madrid, in considerable force. The Government expected today the troops from the provinces, especially the battalion *del Rey*. If we are to believe the most recent information, this force had joined the insurgents.

"*Four P. M.*—At this moment almost the whole garrison leaves Madrid, in the direction of Vallecas, in order to meet the insurgents who show the greatest confidence. The shops are closed. The Guard of the *Retiro* and generally of all Government offices have been armed in haste. I hear at this moment that some companies of the garrison yesterday joined the insurgents. The Madrid garrison is commanded by General Campuzano, who was falsely stated to have gone over to the insurgents, General Vista Hermosa, and Blaser, the Minister of War. Till now no reenforcements have come to the support of the Government; but the 4th Regiment of the line and the lst Cavalry are said to have left Valladolid and to be marching in all haste upon Madrid. The same is assured with respect to the garrison of Burgos, commanded by General Turon. Lastly, General Rivero has left Saragossa with imposing forces. More bloody encounters are, therefore, to be expected."[a]

Up to the 6th inst. no papers or letters had arrived from

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[a] *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 187, July 6, 1854.—*Ed.*

Madrid. The *Moniteur* alone has the following laconic dispatch, dated Madrid, the 4th of July:

"Tranquillity continues to reign at Madrid and in the provinces."[a]

A private dispatch states that the insurgents are at Aranjuez. If the battle anticipated for the lst inst. by the correspondent of the *Indépendance* had resulted in a victory of the Government, there would be wanting neither letters, nor papers, nor bulletins. Notwithstanding that the state of siege had been proclaimed at Madrid, the *Clamor Público*, the *Nación*, the *Diario*, the *España*, and the *Época* had reappeared without previous notice to the Government, whose *fiscal* informed them of this dismal fact. Among the persons arrested at Madrid are named Messrs. Antonio Guillermo Moreno and José Manuel Collado, bankers. A warrant was issued against Sijora Sevillano, Marquis de Fuentes de Duero, a particular friend of Marshal Narvaez. Messrs. Pidal and Mon are placed under *surveillance*.

It would be premature to form an opinion on the general character of this insurrection. I may say, however, that it does not seem to proceed from the Progresista party,[210] as General San Miguel, their soldier, remains quiet at Madrid. From all the reports it seems, on the contrary, that Narvaez is at the bottom of it, and that Queen Cristina,[b] whose influence had of late much decreased through the Queen's favorite Count San Luis, is not entirely a stranger to it.

There is perhaps no country, except Turkey, so little known to, and so falsely judged by Europe as Spain. The numberless local pronunciamentos and military rebellions have accustomed Europe to view it on a level with Imperial Rome at the era of the pretorians. This is quite as superficial an error as was committed in the case of Turkey, by those who fancied the life of the nation extinct because its official history for the last century consisted only of palace-revolutions and Janissary *émeutes*.[c] The secret of this fallacy lies in the simple fact that historians, instead of viewing the resources and strength of these peoples in their provincial and local organization, have drawn at the source of their Court almanacs. The movements of what we are used to call the State, have so little affected the Spanish people that they were quite content to leave that restricted domain to the alternative passions

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[a] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 187, July 6, 1854.—*Ed.*
[b] Maria Cristina.—*Ed.*
[c] Mutinies.—*Ed.*

and petty intrigues of Court minions, soldiers, adventurers, and a few so-called statesmen, and they have had little cause to repent themselves of their indifference. The character of modern Spanish history deserving to receive a very different appreciation than it has until now experienced, I will take an opportunity to treat this subject in one of my next letters.[a] This much I may yet remark in this place, that little surprise ought to be felt if a general movement should now arise in the Peninsula from a mere military rebellion, since the late financial decrees of the Government[211] have converted the tax-gatherer into a most efficient revolutionary propagandist.

Austria holds at this moment the balance of war. If she has not yet marched her troops into Wallachia, it is only because she awaited the reply of the Emperor of Russia. The electric telegraph reports that Gorchakoff has now arrived at Vienna, the bearer of a disagreeable answer.[b] For the first time the Austro-Prussian summons, dispatched on June 3d, has been published in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. The principal passages in the Austrian summons are the following:

"The Emperor of Russia weighing in his wisdom all these considerations, will appreciate the value which the Emperor of Austria must attach to a discontinuance of the advance of the Russian army in the Transdanubian countries, and to the obtaining from him positive indications as to the epoch, it is to be hoped not very distant, when the occupation of the Principalities shall come to an end. The Emperor Nicholas, we are far from doubting it, desires peace; he will therefore consider the means of bringing to an end a state of things tending every day more to become a source of internal trouble to Austria and Germany. We are sure that he will not drive the Emperor Francis Joseph to the necessity of considering for himself the means of saving his interests, so much compromised by the present situation, by prolonging indefinitely this occupation, or by attaching such conditions to the evacuation which it would be impossible for us to obtain."

The Prussian note[c] destined to support the Austrian "summons" terminates as follows:

"The King hopes that the Emperor will consent to place the question at dispute on a ground offering a practical issue, in order to facilitate a satisfactory solution, by abridging and circumscribing the general action of both parties. Our august master hopes, therefore, that the present step will meet, on the part of the Emperor of Russia, with a reception similar in spirit to that which inspired it, and

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[a] See this volume, pp. 389-446.—*Ed.*

[b] Telegraphic report from Vienna of July 6, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21787, July 7, 1854. The text of the Austro-Prussian summons is cited from *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 188, July 7, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] This refers to the Dispatch of Baron von Manteuffel to Baron von Werther, June 12, 1854.—*Ed.*

that the answer which we and the Cabinet of Vienna expect, with an interest corresponding to its importance, will be of a character to allow the King to withdraw from the painful necessities which would be imposed upon him by his duty and by his engagements."

Hess, the generalissimo of the Oriental army, will establish his headquarters at Czeraswitz. The *Soldatenfreund*[a] of Vienna gives the following biography of Gen. Hess:

"*Feldzeugmeister*[b] *von Hess* was born at Vienna in 1788; in 1805 he entered the regiment Gyulay as ensign, was lieutenant of the staff at the end of 1815, and appointed lieutenant-colonel and military commissary at Turin in 1822. Colonel since 1829, he became in 1831 quartermaster of the mobile corps of Upper Italy. In 1842 he obtained the rank of lieutenant-marshal, and was chief of the staff of Radetzky's army in 1848. To him must be ascribed the plan of the march upon Mantua, Curtatone and Vicenza in 1848, and that of the short campaign of 1849, terminating with the battle of Novara."[c]

With regard to the avowed intentions of Austria in the occupation of Wallachia, I will quote from Austrian journals.

The *Oberpostamts-Zeitung*[d] of Frankfort, organ of the Austrian embassy at the Bundestag remarks:

"By its geographical position, Austria is obliged to work in the most effective manner at the reestablishment of peace, by actually separating, through the occupation of the Principalities, the belligerent parties, and interposing between them at the most important place. If the Russians retire behind the Pruth, the Turks and their allies cannot then cross the Danube. If we take further into account that both parties have gained one experience and lost one illusion—the Russians having lost the delusion of their military predominance and the maritime powers that of the omnipotence of their fleets—it is clear that the actual situation renders the resumption of peace negotiations almost inevitable."

The *Lloyd*,[e] in its turn, observes:

"The disputed Territory, viz. the Principalities, would be left to the protection of a neutral power. A Turkish army could not take up a position on the banks of the Pruth. An armed mediator would stand between the forces of the western powers and those of Russia, and would prevent a collision in the Danubian Principalities. Thus there would be, in point of fact, an armistice on the most important theater of war. If, indeed, the possibility of peace still exists, this measure might promote it. There can be no doubt entertained either at St. Petersburg or elsewhere, but that the determination of Austria to occupy the

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[a] *Oesterreichischer Soldatenfreund.—Ed.*

[b] Master of Ordnance.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx cites Hess' biography from *Oesterreichischer Soldatenfreund* as it was reprinted in the *Journal des Débats*, July 6, 1854.—*Ed.*

[d] *Frankfurter Postzeitung.—Ed.*

[e] *Der Lloyd* is quoted according to *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 187, July 6, 1854.—*Ed.*

Principalities has been adopted with a view to peace, and that at the same time it is the last step which can be taken for the prevention of a general war."

The last and most curious article in this line occurs in the *Spenersche Zeitung*[a] published at Berlin:

"It is confirmed that the embassadors of the four great powers will hold a new conference at Vienna, firstly with a view to take cognizance of the convention of Austria with the Porte, and to declare it to be in conformance with the anterior protocols of the conference; and secondly to come to a mutual understanding as to the manner in which the principles established by the Vienna Protocol of 9th April may be so modified as to serve for the positive basis of the future preliminaries, not of war, but of peace."[b]

In the meantime Austria has profited by these contingencies to project a new loan, of which the following are the terms of its official announcement:

"1. The amount of the loan is provisionally fixed at from 350 to 500 millions of florins. If the subscriptions reach this sum, the payments are to be effected during three, four, or five years, according to the amount of the subscription.

"2. The rate of emission is fixed at 95 in bank paper.

"3. The interest to be at 5 per cent., paid in real coin.

"4. The subscription is no forced one, the Imperial Government being about to appeal, through the constituted authorities of all provinces, to the *patriotism* of the subjects of the State.

"5. The loan will be employed to pay the State debt to the Bank, to the amount of 80 millions, with a view of thus restoring the value of the Bank paper. The surplus"

it is very ingenious to call four-fifths of the whole a surplus

"will be employed as resource for the budgets of coming years."[c]

The *Lloyd*, of course, assures that this grand financial operation now contemplated (and almost for the first time!) must and will do away with the existing depreciation of the Austrian currency. Your readers will not have forgotten that it was this pretext which introduced almost every Austrian loan in this century.[d] There are some points, however, in this grand operation which they might not hit upon, as they are carefully omitted from the above announcement. On this score *The Globe* of last evening remarks:

"This loan will be national, i.e. every tax-payer will be called upon to subscribe in proportion of the amount of taxes he pays. For the present some moral

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[a] *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen.—Ed.*

[b] The quotation from the *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* is given according to the *Journal des Débats*, July 7, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] "Die österreichische Nationalanleihe." *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 183, July 2, 1854. Supplement.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 43-49.—*Ed.*

compulsion will be employed to precede positive compulsion. In point of fact, therefore, the measure amounts to the raising of an additional sum of taxes at once, with the promise that this particular sum shall be repaid."

It is curious what resemblance this grand operation bears in point of its pretexts as well as in point of execution, with the late Spanish decrees that now prelude to a revolution.

In my last letter I called your attention to the rights and position of the Wallachian people,[a] in opposition to the diplomatic quarrels pretending to originate in their violation. A report has just appeared in the Paris *Siècle*, of M. Barbu Bibesco, prefect of Mehedintzi, in Little Wallachia, addressed to the Foreign Minister of the Porte,[b] in which at length we hear a voice raised for the people of the Principalities treated with such shameful indifference by the "defenders of civilization." It commences with stating that

"the Russians, to avenge themselves of the passive resistance of a completely disarmed people, abandoned themselves to the most abominable acts of cruelty and dilapidation on their retreat from Little Wallachia. They have carried away the cash in the public chests, the seals and the archives of the Administration, and the sacred vessels of the churches. When retiring they slaughtered the cattle which the numberless requisitions had spared; and these cattle they took not away, but left to rot, merely to make the people feel their cruelty and hatred."

M. Bibesco remarks with respect to the then rumored entrance of the Austrians into Wallachia, that

"even a benevolent foreign army is always burdensome for the country it occupies."

He says that Wallachia does not want the Austrians; that it is able to furnish a contingent of 50,000 men, drilled in arms and disciplined. In each of the seventeen departments of Wallachia there are at this moment 3,000 *gendarmerie*, wood-keepers, game-keepers and ancient soldiers, who require only arms and to hear the drums beat, when they would burst upon the Russians. He concludes in the following words:

"It is arms we want; if there be not enough in your arsenals, the many factories in France, England and Belgium do not want them, and we are ready to pay for them. Arms! and again arms, Excellency, and before three months there will not remain one single Russian in the Principalities, and the Sublime Porte will find a force of 100,000 Roumans as eager as the Osmanlis to pursue and punish their common and implacable enemy."

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[a] See this volume, pp. 269-75.— *Ed.*

[b] Reshid Pasha.— *Ed.*

The poor Prefect of Mehedintzi does not understand that it is precisely for preventing them to have arms, and along with the Osmanlis to pursue and punish the Russians that Austria subjects the Wallachians to her occupation.

Sir Charles Napier, say the cockney papers, is trying to make the Czar's admirals come out from Kronstadt, and leave the protection of the granite-walls behind which they "tremble" before the Anglo-French fleet. But why don't the English sailors come out from their wooden walls and fight the Russians on their element, the land? Be it observed, that in spite of the English bravadoes, the Russians came out from Sevastopol, and "damaged" the *Fury*.

Baraguay d'Hilliers has been appointed commander of a division of troops to be embarked for the Baltic, the departure of which is fixed for the 14th inst.; England is to furnish the transports for 6,000 men. An equal number of troops with one field battery will be embarked on board the French ships. If we add to these numbers that of the marine-soldiers commanded by Col. Fieron, the effective of the whole Baltic division will amount to from 13,000 to 14,000 men, while at the same time the embarkation of troops for the Black Sea from Marseilles has not yet ceased; the process of disarming France having apparently not yet reached the desired point of "safety."

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## [EXCITEMENT IN ITALY.—THE EVENTS IN SPAIN.—THE POSITION OF THE GERMAN STATES.—BRITISH MAGISTRATES][212]

London, Friday, July 14, 1854

Sir Charley[a] has quietly returned from Kronstadt, with no other killed or wounded than some of his gallant tars carried off by the cholera. To keep the public in good humor, the same farce is now to be repeated before Sevastopol, fifty sail of the combined fleets having been seen at Odessa, "making direct" for that place.

The embarkation of the French troops from Calais, fixed for this day,[b] has been adjourned until the 20th inst., in order, it is said, to await the development of events in Spain.

General Budberg has forced upon the inhabitants of the Principalities an address expressing their thanks to the Emperor Nicholas, for the occupation of their country, and for its defense against the "cruel and barbarous Turk."[c] The *Euphrates*, which left Constantinople on the 5th and arrived at Marseilles on the 13th inst., brings the important news that the Dobrodja has not at all been evacuated by the Russians, and that the "illustrious" Reshid (wretched) Pasha has resumed the office of Foreign Minister.

It is stated from Cracow, July 8, that Prince Paskievich has arrived at Castle Homel, on his estates in Lithuania, and that he is not to take any more part in the present campaign. It is added that not only himself, but also his plan of campaign, has been given up, and this is the more probable as the Russian troops already in retreat to Moldavia have been ordered forward again by

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[a] Admiral Sir Charles Napier.—*Ed.*

[b] July 13.—*Ed.*

[c] Report from Bucharest of June 30, 1854. *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 195, July 14, 1854.—*Ed.*

Prince Gorchakoff, who is said to be collecting a strong force in front of Bucharest.[a] The present position of the Russian troops is, therefore, as follows: their right wing on the Upper Jalomnitza, leaning with its extreme on the Transylvanian Alps, where they occupy the Temesher Pass with twenty-four pieces of heavy artillery; their center extending from Fokshani to Bucharest; their left, under Lüders, at Brailow; and their extreme left, under Oushakoff, in the Dobrodja.

The latest news from the theater of war states that the Turks have crossed the Danube in force (40,000, including 12,000 allies), and that they have occupied Giurgevo. French journals report that the Russian establishment at the Sulina mouth has been bombarded and destroyed by the steamers detached from the combined fleet[b]; but this news is probably to be classed with the hoax about the second bombardment and destruction of Bomarsund in the Baltic. The operations of Marshal St. Arnaud in the East seem to have inspired the Tuileries with some dread, lest they might be on too grand a scale. At least, it is said that the French Government has dispatched a special superintendent—of course, a *financial one*—to control his excess of zeal (*son excès de zèle*).

In Italy, a strange excitement has taken hold both of the Governments and the people. Gen. La Marmora, the Piedmontese Minister of War, has ordered the formation of military camps in Savoy, at St. Maurice, at Alessandria, and even in the Island of Sardinia. A great number of soldiers on unlimited leave have been recalled under arms. Simultaneously the fortresses of Alessandria and Casale are being provisioned. Marshal Radetzky, on the other hand, has likewise ordered the formation of a camp between Verona and Volta, where more than 20,000 troops are daily exercised in the operations of war on a small scale (*petite guerre*). Troubles occasioned by the dearness of provisions have taken place at Codogno, Casalpusterlengo, and in some Lombardian towns. About two hundred persons have been arrested and conveyed to Mantua. According to letters from Naples, numerous arrests had been made there as well as in Sicily, where the son of Count Caraffa has been imprisoned. King Bomba[c] is taking extraordinary measures for armaments by land and sea. He has ordered the fortress of Gaeta to be put in readiness for all

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[a] Telegrams from Vienna of July 10 and 11. *The Times*, No. 21790, July 11 and No. 21791, July 12, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 194, July 13, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] Ferdinand II.—*Ed.*

eventualities. All Europe has been declared pestiferous by him, and a strict quarantine is established for all vessels arriving. All shipping from Portugal, Glasgow and the Sardinian States are subjected to a quarantine of ten days; that of Tuscany and the Roman States, seven days. Almost every other country being already subject to similar restrictions, the free arrival of any ship at all is a rare exception. Foreign correspondence by land is subjected to all the measures of precaution observed with regard to arrivals from pestiferous countries. Communication with the Papal States is still carried on by Monte Casino and Sora, and by the Abruzzi, but a sanitary cordon is about to be established along the whole frontier.

The last mail due from Madrid, via Bordeaux, had not arrived at Paris up to yesterday evening. The royal troops are stated to be still in pursuit of the rebels, to have reached them, and to be on the point of cutting them to pieces. We were told in the first instance that the rebels were on their flight to Estremadura, in order to gain the Portuguese frontier. Now we hear they are on the way to Andalusia, a circumstance which shows no very great determination on their part to expatriate themselves so soon. According to private letters Gen. Serrano has joined them with 300 cavalry, while the *Gaceta* pretends that he joined them single-handed.[a] At Madrid it was rumored that the King's regiment (*del Rey*) had gone over to the insurgents. The correspondent of *The Morning Chronicle* adds that they were joined besides by 200 officers of all arms, several companies of the regiments stationed at Toledo, and two battalions of volunteers from Madrid. The *Gaceta* announces that the division ordered to pursue the rebels left Madrid on the evening of the 5th, being composed of three brigades of infantry, one of cavalry, two batteries of artillery, one company of engineers, and one detachment of the workmen of the military administration.[b] It set out under command of Gen. Vista Hermosa, who was replaced, however, on the following day by Gen. Blaser, the Minister of War. A royal decree of 7th July intrusts the ministry of War to Gen. San Roman during the absence of Blaser. The *Gaceta* states that the division above mentioned was at Tembleque, and proceeding in the direction of Cuidad Real by the valley of the

[a] The *Gaceta* report is given according to *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 193, July 12, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] These data are taken from information report in *La España* of July 6 which was reprinted in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 192, July 11, 1854.—*Ed.*

Guadiana. On the same day, Blaser published a proclamation to the soldiers and non-commissioned officers in the rebel army, inviting them to return to their standards, and promising them full pardon in the name of the Queen. We read the following in the *Messager de Bayonne*:

"According to the latest news we have received, Gen. O'Donnell made a movement in the direction of Valdepeñes. The vanguard of the royal army was assembled at Tembleque. Gen. O'Donnell is employing his leisure in exercising his little army, composed of 2,000 horse, six pieces of artillery, and 800 infantry."[a]

The proclamations of O'Donnell and Dulce are of a different character, the one appealing to the Constitution of 1837, the other to the ancient Castilian right of insurrection against monarchs guilty of having broken the coronation-oath.[213] A new feature is the formation of republican guerrillas in Valencia. Under date of 6th inst., a communication has been received to the effect that some towns and villages have risen against the Government, among others Alcira, Xativa and Carlet. Orozko, a retired colonel, has entered the last-named town at the head of an armed band, confiscated all fire-arms, and invited the inhabitants by proclamation to join the movement. The Government sent off detachments of cavalry, infantry and civil guard, to suppress the insurrections in Valencia.

The *Indépendance belge* gives quite a new version of the Russian note addressed to Austria and Prussia.[214] According to this paper, which may be regarded as the private *Moniteur* of the retired Russian diplomatists at Brussels, the Russian note was not addressed directly to the Austrian Cabinet, but to Prince Gorchakoff, who left a copy with M. de Buol, expressing the belief that Austria, while demanding the evacuation of the Principalities by the Russians, only meant to propose an armistice, since it could not be her wish to expose the retreating Russian armies to an attack of the allied forces. The Austrian meaning, accordingly, must have been a suspension of arms. Turks, English and French would then have to abstain from all forward movements and from every act of fresh hostility to Russia. As to the evacuation of the Principalities by the Russian troops, the note dwells on the absolute necessity for Russia of maintaining certain strategical points in those provinces while attending the conclusion of peace, as she would otherwise be placed in too disadvantageous

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[a] This quotation is given according to a reprint in *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 194, July 13, 1854.—*Ed.*

a position with regard to the armies of the allies. On the other hand, the note protests against any supposed intention of threatening Austria by the said strategical occupation. Proceeding from these promises, the note expresses the disposition of Russia to enter upon new negotiations of peace, to be on the following basis: The integrity of the Ottoman empire, which the Russian Government has never intended to injure; the equality between the Christian and Mussulman subjects of the Porte, such as it is understood in the protocol of April 9[215]; finally, the revision of the conventions referring to the Straits. The note admits a common protectorate of the powers over the Christians of Turkey; but with regard to the Russian protectorate of the Greek Christians, the article in the *Indépendance* confesses that some vague phrases are attached to it which would give sufficient latitude for diverging interpretations. Prince Gorchakoff, it is said, speaks even in a more subdued tone than the note itself. His dispatch does not contain the *last word* of Russia; he may be authorized to go further, with a view of enabling Austria to enter into fresh negotiations. On the 9th inst., however, the Vienna Cabinet had not yet come to a decision.

"Now," says the *Indépendance*, or rather Baron Brunnow, "we must not conceal from ourselves that whatever the dispositions at St. Petersburg might be, a single incident, an actual act of war, an attack against Kronstadt, or what is more probable, against Sevastopol, and even the occupation of the Aland Isles by the Anglo-French, must necessarily modify those dispositions, and give more force to the party opposed to any concession."[a]

At all events, this Russian note has satisfied Prussia, which considers it as a sort of escape into new negotiations, and as a means of preventing the Austrians from entering Wallachia. The *Moniteur* itself admits that the objections raised by Prussia against this Austrian entrance have produced the fresh hesitation evinced by the Court of Vienna. On the other hand, we are told in the sanctimonious *Morning Chronicle* that

"it was urged from Berlin, that the contingent duty with which the Court of Berlin charged itself, of protecting the Austrian territory from invasion, entitled it to protest against any fresh provocation of Russia."[b]

It is known, besides, that the treaty between Austria and Prussia[c] was arranged in precisely such a manner as to allow

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[a] Review of current events. *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 193, July 12, 1854.—*Ed.*
[b] *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 27318, July 14, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, p. 168.—*Ed.*

either of the powers to stop its military operations as long as it should not be convinced of the necessity of the warlike steps contemplated by the other. Thus Austria may appear anxious to act with the western powers, while it finds itself stopped by the remonstrances of Prussia. I, for my part, am sure that all these eventualities were arranged for long ago by the three northern powers in common, and that even the new difficulties raised against Austria are only intended to give her occupation of Wallachia the appearance of a heroic opposition to Russia. A little sham war, after the fashion of the Austro-Prussian war of 1850,[216] may not be excluded from that arrangement, as it would only contribute to give Austria a more decisive vote at the conclusion of peace. Be it observed that the *Austrian Correspondence*[a] expressly announces that Austria consents in every point to the policy of the western powers, *except* as to any eventual infringement on the present territories of Russia.[b]

In judging the position of Austria, it is important to notice the "Protest of the Servian Government against Austrian occupation," dated June 22,[c] which has now been laid before the House of Commons. This protest is addressed by the Servian Government to the Sublime Porte. It begins with stating that

> "according as Austria believed the Servian Government to be more or less well disposed toward Russia or toward Turkey, she held to it a language corresponding to these sentiments, and constantly promised it her support for the defense of the frontiers of the Principality against all hostile aggression."

Then took place a very considerable concentration of troops on the frontiers of Servia. The Government of Servia asked for information "directly from the Cabinet of Vienna, and indirectly from the Sublime Porte, as to the object and meaning of this military movement of Austria." Austria gave evasive declarations, while the Porte and the representatives of the western powers at Constantinople professed to know nothing about the object of the Austrian demonstrations, and appeared even to participate in the anxieties and doubts of the Servian Government.

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[a] *Oesterreichische Correspondenz.—Ed.*

[b] Marx draws on an article from the *Oesterreichische Correspondenz* according to the Vienna correspondent's report of July 9, 1854, published in *The Times*, No. 21793, July 14, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] A misprint in the newspaper. The reference is to the "Memorandum of the Serbian Government to the Sublime Porte concerning the occupation of this Principality by the Austrian troops" of April 17 (5), 1854. The Memorandum was debated in the House of Commons on June 20 and 22, 1854.—*Ed.*

"The Pasha of Belgrade[a] remained without instructions, or, to speak more correctly, he remained provided with the old instructions that had formerly been given to him, and in virtue of which he was to consider any military intervention of Austria in Servia as a hostile attempt directed against the Ottoman Empire itself, and as such to repel it with all his power."

Austria appearing to lean more and more toward the western powers, their agents at Belgrade began to give satisfactory assurances as to the disposition of Austria. Simultaneously, the Cabinet of Vienna informed the Servian Government that the military measures in question had nothing in them hostile to Servia; that Austria only intended to protect her own frontiers; and would not interpose in Servia, unless the Russian troops entered it, or revolts against legitimate authority should break out there; that, consequently, even in that case, she would interpose as a friend, and with a view to lending assistance to the Government and legitimate authority. The Servian Government was not tranquillized with these assurances of Austria. It saw, on the one side, Austria pretending to an arbitral intervention, and on the other her isolated action under pretense of co-operating with the western powers in support of the Ottoman Empire. In conclusion, it suspected her intention to provoke those very disorders which she professed to be so anxious to prevent. As the military preparations of Austria assumed, day by day, a more threatening aspect, the Servian Government, in concert with Izzet Pasha, took active steps at Vienna and Constantinople for the prevention of any combination which should make Austria the arbiter of the present destinies of Servia. It is for this object that Azzis Pasha was first sent to Vienna, and is now at Constantinople. At the same time, every measure for the defense of the country was taken in concert with the Turkish representative. Austria holds out two reasons which might occasion her intervention in Servia: 1. The entrance of the Russians; 2. The breaking out of an insurrection in Servia. The first is absurd, as the theater of war is too distant from Servia, and should the Russians attempt to enter it, the Servian and Turkish troops would perfectly suffice to repel them. If auxiliary troops were required, others would be preferable to Austrian.

"The Servian nation has so decided a mistrust, if not a hatred of Austria, that the entrance of the Austrians into Servia would be immediately considered by every Servian as so imminent a danger, so great a misfortune, that all the proceedings of the Servians would be directed against the Austrian troops, all the energy of the

[a] Izzet Pasha.—*Ed.*

nation would be employed in resisting those enemies in whom is always supposed to be personified that cupidity which urges Austria to seek to exercise in Servia, no matter under what patronage, a selfish influence."

As to internal insurrections, they are only to be apprehended in consequence of Austrian intervention. Servia will always be loyal to the Porte.

"All that the Servian Government requires, is to be honored henceforth with the same confidence the Sublime Porte has hitherto shown it, and not to see its country given over to Austrian occupation, which would be the signal for, and the commencement of, incalculable misfortunes. On this condition, the Servian Government fully answers for the maintenance of public tranquillity, of order in Servia."

This protest of the Servians is at the same time a fair indication with what enthusiasm the Austrian entrance into Wallachia is looked forward to by the Wallachian people.

The neutral or rather hostile attitude of the minor powers toward England can surprise no one who has followed her present acts of war against Russia, who considers the marauding expeditions of the English fleet in the Baltic, and the measures that have been taken to disable the troops at Varna from doing anything in the field, so that even the medical ambulances of the British troops in Turkey have but just now been sent out by the *Himalaya* from Southampton.[a] Sweden, accordingly, has definitely declared her resolution to remain neutral, and to abstain from any steps in common with the western powers, while Denmark and Holland, as members of the German Confederation,[217] have only assented to the Austrian communication of May 24, on the express understanding that nothing but absolute neutrality and endeavors to restore peace are meant by it.

A police case has occurred before the magistrate of Bow-st., Mr. Jardine, which has caused infinitely greater excitement in London than either Bonaparte's harangue at Boulogne[b] or Charley's glorious retreat from Kronstadt. A German, named Dr. Peitman, having been locked up during four days, was brought up by warrant and charged with being a person of unsound mind and unfit to be at large. Mr. Reynolds, the Solicitor to the Treasury, desired the exclusion of the public and the press, and the proceedings were conducted accordingly; with the strictest secrecy, in the magistrate's private room. Mr. Otway, M.P., a friend of

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[a] "Naval and Military Intelligence". *The Times*, No. 21792, July 13, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Napoleon III's address to the soldiers in Boulogne on July 12, 1854. *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 194, July 13, 1854.—*Ed.*

defendant, indignantly protested against the attempt to exclude him from the inquiry, and was subsequently admitted, and Mr. Lewis, a lawyer, also demanded and obtained admission as the solicitor of the defendant. Mr. Lewis asked why Dr. Peitman had been confined in a felon's cell four whole days without having been taken before any magistrate. Mr. Jardine replied that two medical gentlemen had signed certificates as to the insanity of the defendant, upon which he must order him to a lunatic asylum. Mr. Lewis offered to produce contrary certificates, but Mr. Jardine refused to hear any proposal for adjourning the case, as he must act upon the certificates before him. Mr. Lewis then said he would appeal to a higher tribunal, where the case would not be prejudged and both parties would be heard. He should now advise his client to make no answer to the charge, although invited to do so by the magistrate. Mr. Otway protested against the *ex parte*[a] character of the entire proceedings and declared he would bring the whole matter before the House of Commons, by moving for the particulars of Dr. Peitman's former apprehension and committal to a lunatic asylum. The defendant was removed to Colney Hatch.

I now subjoin the statement of Mr. Percival, the physician who lately released Dr. Peitman from Bedlam, which is given in to-day's *Morning Advertiser*:

"Dr. Peitman, a German Professor, who has studied at Bonn, Berlin, and Halle, is the son of a Hanoverian officer, who fought for George III, and died in his service, and step-son of Baron Ripperta, a Prussian *Landrath*. He came to England about thirty years ago, and, having soon become acquainted with the disgracefully defective system of education pursued in our public schools and colleges, he went to Oxford and Cambridge to give lectures on the subject. In 1835 he was recommended to the Marquis of Normanby, and he went to Ireland under his protection. Lady Normanby having already a tutor for Lord Mulgrave, recommended Dr. P. to an Irish nobleman, to whose two sons he became tutor. After seven months, it was discovered that the eldest son was deeply attached to a Saxon maid, servant in the family, and in fact that she was *enceinte* by him. His mother applied to Dr. Peitman to assist her in getting the girl back to Germany, but the Doctor refused to interfere. He left the family and commenced a course of public lectures at Dublin, when about March 1836, the Saxon girl, delivered of a child on the nobleman's estate, came there in a state of great destitution, and soon after informed him that she would employ an attorney to commence an action for seduction against the nobleman's son, and that he would be subpoenaed as witness. Dr. Peitman then resolved to call on Col. Phipps, Chamberlain of the Marquis of Normanby, and very intimate with that nobleman's family. Having repeatedly called upon this Phipps, brother of Normanby, and present Secretary of Prince Albert, he got neither answer nor admittance, and was at length taken before Mr.

[a] One-sided.—*Ed.*

Studdert, a magistrate in Dublin, who on the evidence of the same Phipps, sent him to a lunatic asylum without any certificate for a breach of the peace, in May, 1836. Under Lord Normanby's Vice-Royalty, he was removed to Dean Swift's Hospital, on the certificate of a Dr. Lytton, which contained, in his opinion no ground of Peitman's insanity. He was released nine months after, through the interference of Dr. Dawson, Dean of St. Patrick's, by whose introduction he gave a course of lectures before the Royal Society of Dublin, and was engaged in Lord Fortescue's family. On the arrival of Prince Albert in England, he applied to the Prince for the office of a librarian, and permission to carry out his school reforms. The Duke of Sussex, after a long interview, ordered his librarian to give him free access to his library. Subsequently he sent in his application to Prince Albert, accompanied by his testimonials and by eleven volumes published by him. The Prince returned no answer to his application, and Dr. Peitman ultimately called to request an interview or to have his testimonials restored to him. About this time young Oxford fired at the Queen, *and a female came over from Germany with whom the Prince had been intimate at Bonn,* where he had studied under the same tutor with Peitman. The Court were nervous, and Dr. Peitman's pertinacity excited suspicion. Report was made to the Home Secretary, the Marquis of Normanby, against whom Peitman complained for having had him detained unjustly in a lunatic asylum in Dublin; and a policeman in plain clothes was sent one morning in June, 1840, to fetch the Doctor from his lodgings at Whitehall. Lord Normanby sent for his brother, Col. Phipps, on whose testimony the magistrate in attendance ordered the Doctor to be removed to Bedlam, where he remained confined fourteen years. His conduct there was always exemplary; he was never subject to restraint nor medicine, and he employed himself in attaining an improvement of the treatment of the patients, forming classes of such of them as were capable of receiving his instruction. When released he petitioned on the advice of his friends to the Queen, and on Saturday last, conceiving that he might now go anywhere without exciting apprehension, he went to the royal chapel in Buckingham Palace, where he attended divine service in order to come under the notice of the Queen. It was here that he was again arrested."

Your readers may see from this sample how dangerous it is in this free country to excite the nervousness of the Court, and to become initiated into the family scandals of the moral English aristocracy.

Written on July 13 and 14, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## [A CONGRESS AT VIENNA.—THE AUSTRIAN LOAN.—PROCLAMATIONS OF DULCE AND O'DONNELL.—THE MINISTERIAL CRISIS IN BRITAIN][218]

London, Tuesday, July 18, 1854

There was a Congress at Vienna on July 13, composed of rather different elements than the late famous Conferences.[219] Count Buol, the Austrian Premier, gave a dinner on that day, in honor of Prince Gorchakoff, the Russian Envoy, whose task it is to cover the position of Prince Gorchakoff, the General commanding in the Principalities. Besides the *personnel* of the Russian Legation, there were present Count Flemming, the representative of Prussia during the absence of Count Arnim; Gen. Mansbach, Embassador of Sweden; Count Bille-Brahe, Embassador of Denmark; M. de Heeckeren, Embassador of Holland; M. de Wendtland, the expelled Secretary of the King of Greece; lastly, Count O'Sullivan de Grass, Minister of Belgium and the senior of the *corps diplomatique.* Here you have the complete list of the persons openly sailing under the Russian flag. Bamberg,[220] of course, was strongly represented, but the names of its great men have not been given.

The official English press cannot suppress the uneasiness felt at the Austrian order for the suspension of Count Coronini's advance into Wallachia, and about the dispatches forwarded to Paris and London, according to which Russia proposes to accede to the terms of the Protocol of 9th April, as a basis for negotiations of peace,[221] but subject to conditions. The semi-official *Austrian Correspondence*[a] thinks that, although the Russian propositions are not quite satisfactory, there is really something in them which deserves to be taken into consideration by the western

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[a] *Oesterreichische Correspondenz.—Ed.*

powers.[a] *The Times, Morning Chronicle,* and *Observer* suggest as a sort of consolation, that it is all the fault of Prussia.[b] If anything were still wanting to reinforce the impression produced by the dinner, the altered position of the Russian troops would be sufficient to prove how much Russia relies on the intentions of Austria. We read in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung,* the Russian *Moniteur* at Berlin, with respect to the latest movements of the Russian troops in the Principalities:

"In consequence of an order of Prince Gorchakoff, all that had been ordered some days ago has been countermanded. The retreat of the garrison (of Bucharest), the evacuation of Bucharest had been ordered; General Dannenberg was to leave that town in a few days with the *gendarmerie,* and to establish the headquarters of the rear guard at Fokshani. Now, in conformity with the new orders, the line of Oltenitza, Bucharest, Buseo and Fokshani is to be maintained."[c]

From other sources we learn that the Russian cavalry are again pushing forward on Statira, to the left of the Aluta. How serious was the intention of evacuating Bucharest is evident from the severe measures taken for carrying off the archives in that town, which are said to contain some documents extremely compromising for the court of Peterhoff.[222]

All these apparently whimsical and contradictory movements of the Russians receive their explanation from the inopportune interference of the Turkish army with the diplomatic arrangements. As the successive settlements of the diplomatists at Vienna were blown up by the Turkish exploits at Oltenitza, Chetatea and Silistria, so also have their last shams been dispersed by the general advance of Omer Pasha's army.

"The policy of these crafty swearing rascals, that stale old mouse-eaten dry cheese, Nestor—and that same old dog-fox, Ulysses—is not proved worth a blackberry; ... whereupon the Grecians begin to proclaim barbarism, and policy grows into an ill opinion."[d]

If you had passed through the streets of London on Saturday,[e] you would have heard all the newsvenders shouting their

"great Anglo-Turko-Gallo victory over the Russians at Giurgevo, and capture of Bucharest by the allied troops."

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[a] Report from Vienna of July 17. *The Times,* No. 21799, July 21, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times,* No. 21796, July 18, 1854, leader; *The Morning Chronicle,* No. 27321, July 18, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

[c] Quoted according to a reprint in *L'Indépendance belge,* Nos. 197 and 198, July 16 and 17, 1854.—*Ed.*

[d] Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida,* Act V, Scene 4.—*Ed.*

[e] July 15, 1854.—*Ed.*

The reason of these pompous announcements you will learn by-and-by, when I come to speak of the new ministerial crisis. As to the cooperation of the Anglo-French forces in the battle of Giurgevo, we know by the regular post from Varna, with dates down to the 4th inst., that "no move" had taken place in the camps. According to the latest Vienna advices, on July 13,[a] the auxiliary troops were in full march upon Rustchuk by way of Shumla, and on the 8th a division of French troops had arrived at Rustchuk, and on the 9th only a division of English troops arrived there. Now the battle of Giurgevo ended at 4 a.m. on the 8th, having commenced at an early hour on the 7th, and after an interruption of some hours at noon, being resumed and continued until the morning of the 8th. Thus it is impossible that any French or English troops can have participated in it. The Turks found eight Russian guns spiked, and immediately threw up intrenchments around Giurgevo. The town did not suffer, notwithstanding the shells thrown by the Turks from Rustchuk and the islands. After the retreat of the Russians, Omer Pasha issued a proclamation calling upon the inhabitants to remain tranquil, as no further danger menaced their towns.[b] Giurgevo was only occupied by a feeble detachment of regulars, the principal force of the Turks being encamped around the town and on the three islands of the Danube. Omer Pasha remains at Giurgevo, Said Pasha at Rustchuk. The Turks are masters of the road communicating between Giurgevo and Oltenitza on the left bank of the Danube.

With regard to a second battle, which is asserted to have been followed by the capture of Bucharest, the French *Moniteur* itself limits it to a small defeat inflicted by the Turks on the Russian rear at Frateshti, on the road from Giurgevo to Bucharest. The *Moniteur* adds that an Anglo-French corps of 25,000 men has joined the Turks, that the allied forces concentrated amount to about 60,000 men, that Prince Gorchakoff is at the head of a force nearly equal in numbers, and that a great battle might be expected, decisive of the fate of Bucharest. Frateshti is a small fortified place, about twelve miles from Giurgevo and thirty miles from Bucharest. According to the *Moniteur*, the battle at this place was fought on the 11th,[c] but according to the *Journal des Débats*, on

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[a] Reprint from *Der Lloyd* of July 13, 1854 in the *Journal des Débats*, July 18, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid.—*Ed.*

[c] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 197, July 16, 1854.—*Ed.*

the 14th inst.[a] The Russians are said to have had 700 wounded in this affair, including two generals.[b]

The last Marseilles steamer from Constantinople reports the capture of the Sulina mouth of the Danube by the English steamer *Terrible*. It is said to have entered the Roads, to have destroyed the Russian fortifications, dispersed the garrison and captured its commander.[c] The news appears to me to require more positive confirmation.

A rumor circulated by English journals, which is, however, not repeated by any French paper, pretends that Admiral Lyons is cruising before Anapa with a view to support an expedition of Admiral Bruat, who is said to have on board 7,000 men for landing.

Letters from Constantinople state that the Porte shows a disposition, on the representations of the English and French Ministers,[d] to resume immediately commercial relations with Greece on the following conditions: 1. That Greece engage herself to pay at convenient terms the expenses of the war and an indemnity for the pillage organized by the late insurrectionists; and 2. That she sign, within two months, the commercial treaty hitherto declined. This treaty acknowledges the actual limits of the Turkish and Greek territories.

No news from the Baltic. The *Hamburger Correspondent* describes the result of the English marauding expedition on the Finnish coast, in its effects on the mind of the Finlanders, as follows:

"It is confirmed that the Russian Government, assured since the burning of Brahestad and Uleaborg, upon the sentiments of the Finnish population along the two gulfs, has ordered arms to be distributed among the able-bodied men, with a view of enabling them to resist all fresh attempts of disembarkment of the English squadrons. The immediate creation of two battalions of Finnish riflemen, of 1,000 men each, has been sanctioned, and the recruitment is to take place in the districts of Abo, Vasa, and Uleaborg. A greater number of these battalions is successively to be formed in the other provinces."

The Austrian loan turns out to be a forced contribution, as I predicted.[e] The whole is now to be distributed on the different crown lands of the empire; for instance, Upper Austria has to take 115,000,000 florins, Lower Austria 15,000,000, Vienna 2,500,000,

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[a] *Journal des Débats*, July 17, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Stepan Khrulev and David Bebutov. These data are given according to the report of the Vienna correspondent. *The Times*, No. 21798, July 20, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] Report of the Vienna correspondent. *The Times*, No. 21795, July 17, 1854.—*Ed.*

[d] Wyse and Rouen.—*Ed.*

[e] See this volume, pp. 288-89.—*Ed.*

Hungary 70,000,000, etc., in proportion. If the Emperor of Russia has not obtained anything for himself, he has at least contrived to plunge all the other governments into a serious quarrel with their subjects about the question of cash. The Prussians will have to pay an increased income tax on the lst of August. Bonaparte, too, is said to be projecting another loan of 500,000,000, the effect of which on France will not be diminished by the present prospects of the wine and corn harvest, and the stagnation of trade, especially at Lyons since the outbreak in Spain. An appeal to the English pockets is also contemplated by the Coalition Ministry, and expected for next week.

The Spanish insurrection appears to assume a new aspect, as is evident from the proclamations of Dulce and O'Donnell,[a] the former of whom is a partisan of Espartero, and the latter was a stout adherent of Narvaez and perhaps secretly of Queen Cristina. O'Donnell having convinced himself that the Spanish towns are not to be set in motion this time by a mere palace-revolution, suddenly exhibits liberal principles. His proclamation is dated from Manzanares, a borough of the Mancha, not far from Ciudad Real. It says that his aim is to preserve the throne, but to remove the camarilla; the rigorous observation of the fundamental laws; the amelioration of the election and press laws; the diminution of taxes; advancement in the civil service according to merit; decentralization, and establishment of a national militia on a broad basis. It proposes provincial juntas and a general assembly of Cortes at Madrid, to be charged with the revision of the laws. The proclamation of General Dulce is even more energetic. He says:

> "There are no longer Progresistas and Moderados; all of us are Spaniards, and imitators of the men of July 7th 1822. Return to the Constitution of 1837; maintenance of Isabella II; perpetual exile of the Queen Mother; destitution of the present Ministry; re-establishment of peace in our country; such is the end we pursue at every cost, as we shall show on the field of honor to the traitors whom we shall punish for their culpable folly."

According to the *Journal des Débats*, papers and correspondence have been seized at Madrid which are said to prove beyond doubt that it is the secret aim of the insurgents to declare the throne vacant, to reunite the Iberian Peninsula into one State, and to offer the crown to Don Pedro V, Prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.[b]

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[a] The proclamations of Dulce and O'Donnell were published in the *Journal des Débats* on July 17, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] S. de Sacy, Account of current events. *Journal des Débats*, July 16, 1854.—*Ed.*

The tender interest taken by *The Times* in the Spanish insurrection, and the simultaneous presence of the said Don Pedro in England, appears indeed to indicate that some new Coburg dodge is afloat. The Court is evidently very uneasy, as all possible Ministerial combinations have been tried, Isturiz and Martinez de la Rosa having been applied to in vain. The *Messager de Bayonne* asserts that the Count de Montemolin left Naples as soon as he received news of the insurrection.

O'Donnell has entered Andalusia, having crossed the Sierra Morena in three columns, one marching by Carolina, the other by Pozo Blanco, and the third by Despeñaperros. The *Gaceta* confesses that Colonel Buceta succeeded in surprising Cuenca, by the possession of which place the insurgents have secured their communications with Valencia. In the latter province the rising now comprises about four or five towns, besides Alcira where the Government troops received a severe check.

It is stated also that a movement had broken out at Reus in Catalonia, and the *Messager de Bayonne* adds that disturbances had taken place in Aragon.

"Aimes-tu le front, sevère,
Du sa(i)ge Napoléon?
Aimes-tu que l'Angleterre,
T'oppose Lord Palmerston?"[a]

With this apostrophic song, the embarkation of the French troops at Calais has been celebrated.

In order to really oppose Lord Palmerston to the Czar, immense movements have shaken the town from Saturday to Monday, with a view to put him in the place of the Duke of Newcastle. Great agitation has prevailed once more in the ministerial, as well as in the opposition camp. It was known that the estimates for the new ministry of war were to be laid before the House on Monday night,[b] and this occasion was to be seized to make a murderous onslaught on the Coalition, and to place the invincible Palmerston in the War Ministry.

"On Saturday a Cabinet Council was summoned before two o'clock. Ministers did not assemble until three. They then met with the exception of the Foreign Secretary, who was detained by an audience with the Queen. Lord Clarendon joined his colleagues at four. Their deliberations then lasted until half past six, and

[a] Are you fond of wise Napoleon's stern looks?
Are you glad that England opposed Lord Palmerston to you?—*Ed.*
[b] July 17, 1854.—*Ed.*

immediately upon the breaking up of the Council Lord Aberdeen proceeded to the palace of Her Majesty."[a]

You may see from this excited narrative of *The Morning Herald* how greatly the hopes of the Tories were raised by these "important" moves. Lord John Russell summoned his adherents to Whitehall for Monday, and Mr. Disraeli, in his turn, assembled the Opposition members. One hundred and seventy-nine gentlemen presented themselves at Whitehall, almost in hysterics with the anticipation of the great revelations intended for them by Russell. They were most deplorably deceived by the Parliamentary Squeers,[b] who drily told them that the vote of the war-estimate being a matter of course, he expected them to be quiet and behave:

"The Cabinet would shortly want more money for carrying on the war, and so the question of confidence or no confidence in the Coalition would be taken next week, when such money vote would be presented to the House."[c]

Not being initiated in the secrets of Lord Clarendon, he could not give them any information on the state of foreign affairs. Well, the result was that Russell saved the whole Coalition for the present session; for, if the vote of confidence had been taken on the estimates of the War Ministry, a defeat would have been a victory of Palmerston over Newcastle, while on the general war estimates a vote of non-confidence would be a victory of the Tories over the combined Whig Peelites—an eventuality, of course, out of the question.

Accordingly, the votes for the War Ministry were taken last night in a very quiet House, nothing occurring but a delivery by Russell and Pakington of all the stale common-places on the present military administration.

It is to be regretted that the obstinate resistance of the Queen keeps Lord Palmerston out of the War Office, as by his installation in that office the last false pretense under which the Radicals yet defend the foreign policy of England would fall to the ground.

On the announcement of Mr. Otway in last Friday's sitting of the Commons, that he would bring the case of Dr. Peitman before them,[d] Lord Palmerston rose and declared that he was ready to

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[a] *The Morning Herald*, No. 22174, July 17, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Ch. Dickens, *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby*.—*Ed.*

[c] Lord John Russell's speech on July 17, 1854 is cited from a report in *The Leader*, No. 226, July 22, 1854.—*Ed.*

[d] *The Times*, No. 21794, July 15, 1854. See also this volume, pp. 299-300.—*Ed.*

give every explanation, and that everything would be found to be "all right." Meanwhile, Dr. Peitman has published a letter in *The Morning Advertiser*, which proves that if he never was insane in other respects, he continues to believe in the generosity of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, whom he petitions to let him go back to Germany—the very thing which they want.

The mean servility of the so-called Radical press is exemplified by its absolute silence on this unexampled case, where a *lettre de cachet*[a] buried a man for eighteen years, just because he had the misfortune to know something of the royal and aristocratic relations with German maid-servants.

Written on July 18, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Royal warrant for arrest and imprisonment.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE SPANISH REVOLUTION.— GREECE AND TURKEY][223]

London, Friday, July 21, 1854

"*Ne touchez pas à la Reine*" (Touch not the Queen) is an old Castilian maxim, but the adventurous Madame Muñoz[a] and her daughter Isabella have too long overstepped the rights of even Castilian Queens not to have outworn the loyal prejudices of the Spanish people.

The pronunciamentos of 1843[224] lasted three months; those of 1854 have scarcely lasted as many weeks. The Ministry is dissolved, Count San Luis has fled, Queen Cristina is trying to reach the French frontier, and at Madrid both troops and citizens have declared against the Government.

The revolutionary movements of Spain since the commencement of the century offer a remarkably uniform aspect, with the exception of the movements in favor of provincial and local privileges which periodically agitate the northern provinces, every palace-plot being attended by military insurrections, and these invariably dragging municipal pronunciamentos in their train. There are two causes for this phenomenon. In the first place, we find that what we call the State in a modern sense has, from the exclusively provincial life of the people, no national embodiment in opposition to the Court, except in the army. In the second place, the peculiar position of Spain and the Peninsular war[225] created conditions under which it was only in the army that everything vital in the Spanish nationality was permitted to concentrate. Thus it happens that the only national demonstrations (those of 1812 and of 1822[226]) proceeded from the army;

[a] María Cristina.—*Ed.*

and thus the movable part of the nation has been accustomed to regard the army as the natural instrument of every national rising. During the troublesome epoch from 1830 to 1854, however, the cities of Spain came to know that the army, instead of continuing to uphold the cause of the nation, was changed into an instrument for the rivalries of the ambitious pretenders to the military guardianship of the Court. Consequently, we find the movement of 1854 very different even from that of 1843. The *émeute* of General O'Donnell was looked upon by the peoples as anything but a conspiracy against the leading influence at the Court, especially as it was supported by the ex-favorite Serrano. The towns and country accordingly demurred to giving any response to the appeal made by the cavalry of Madrid. It was thus that General O'Donnell was forced to alter entirely the character of his operations, in order not to remain isolated and exposed to failure. He was forced to insert in his proclamation three points[a] equally opposed to the supremacy of the army: the convocation of the Cortes, an economical Government, and the formation of a national militia—the last demand originating in the desire of the towns to recover their independence of the army. It is a fact, then, that the military insurrection has obtained the support of a popular insurrection only by submitting to the conditions of the latter. It remains to be seen whether it will be constrained to adhere to them and to execute these promises.

With the exception of the Carlists,[227] all parties have raised their cry—Progresistas, partisans of the Constitution of 1837,[228] partisans of the Constitution of 1812, Unionists (demanding the annexation of Portugal), and Republicans. The news concerning the latter party is to be received with caution, since it has to pass the censure of the Paris police. Beside these party struggles, the rival pretensions of the military leaders are in full development. Espartero had no sooner heard of the success of O'Donnell than he left his retreat at Leganes and declared himself the chief of the movement. But as soon as Caesar Narvaez learned of the appearance of his old Pompey in the field, he forthwith offered his services to the Queen, which were accepted, and he is to form a new Ministry. From the details I am about to give you, it will be seen that the military has by no means taken the initiative in all places, but that in some they have had to yield to the overpowering pressure of the population.

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[a] See this volume, p. 305.—*Ed.*

Besides the pronunciamentos in Valencia, reported in my last,[a] there has been one at Alicante. In Andalusia, pronunciamentos have taken place at Granada, Seville and Jaen. In Old Castile, there has been a pronunciamento at Burgos; in Leon, at Valladolid; in Biscay, at San Sebastian and Vitoria; in Navarre, at Tolosa, Pamplona and Guipuzcoa; in Aragon, at Saragossa; in Catalonia, at Barcelona, Tarragona, Lerida and Gerona; there is said, also, to have been a pronunciamento in the Islas Baleares. In Murcia, pronunciamentos were expected to take place, according to a letter from Cartagena, dated July 12, which says:

"In consequence of a *bando*[b] published by the Military Governor of the place, all the inhabitants of Cartagena possessed of muskets and other arms, have been ordered to depose them with the civil authorities within twenty-four hours. On the demand of the Consul of France,[c] the Government has allowed the French residents to depose their arms, as in 1848, at the Consulate."[d]

Of all these pronunciamentos, four only deserve particular mention, viz.: those of San Sebastian in Biscay, Barcelona the capital of Catalonia, Saragossa the capital of Aragon, and Madrid.

In Biscay the pronunciamentos originated with the Municipalities, in Aragon with the military. The Municipality of San Sebastian was pronouncing in favor of the insurrection, when the demand for the armament of the people was raised. The city was immediately covered with arms. Not till the 17th could the two battalions garrisoning the town be induced to join. The fusion between the citizens and the military having been completed, 1,000 armed citizens accompanied by some troops set out for Pamplona, and organized the insurrection in Navarre. It was only the appearance of the armed citizens from San Sebastian which facilitated the rising of the Navarrese capital. General Zabala joined the movement afterward and went to Bayonne, inviting the soldiers and officers of the Cordova regiment, who had fled there upon their late defeat at Saragossa, immediately to return to their country and to meet him at San Sebastian. According to some reports he subsequently marched upon Madrid to place himself under the orders of Espartero, while other reports state that he was on the march to Saragossa to join the Aragonese insurgents.[e]

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[a] See this volume, p. 306.—*Ed.*

[b] Order.—*Ed.*

[c] Ligier.—*Ed.*

[d] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 201, July 20, 1854.—*Ed.*

[e] Telegraphic dispatch from Paris of July 21, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21799, July 21, 1854.—*Ed.*

General Mazarredo, the commander of the Basque provinces, refusing to take part in the pronunciamento of Vitoria, was obliged to retire to France. The troops under orders of General Zabala are two battalions of the regiment of Bourbon, a battalion of carabiniers, and a detachment of cavalry. Before dismissing the subject of the Basque provinces I may state as something characteristic, that the Brigadier Barrastegui, who has been named Governor of Guipuzcoa, is one of Espartero's former aides-de-camp.

At Barcelona the initiative was apparently taken by the military, but the spontaneity of their act becomes very doubtful from the additional information we have received. On the 13th of July, at 7 o'clock P.M., the soldiers occupying the barracks of San Pablo, and of the Buen Suceso, yielded to the demonstrations of the populace and declared their pronunciamento, under the cry of *Vive la Reine; Vive la Constitution*; death to the Ministers; away with Cristina! After having fraternized with the mass, and marched along with them over the Rambla, they halted at the Plaza of the Constitution. The cavalry, kept indoors at the Barceloneta[a] for the previous six days, because of the distrust it inspired to the Captain-General, made a pronunciamento in its turn. From this moment the whole garrison passed over to the people, and all resistance on the part of the authorities became impossible. At 10 o'clock General Marchesi, the Military Governor, yielded to the general pressure, and at midnight the Captain-General of Catalonia[b] announced his resolution to side with the movement. He went to the place of the *Ayuntamiento* where he harangued the people, filling the place. On the 18th, a junta was formed composed of the Captain-General and other eminent persons, with the cry of the Constitution, the Queen and Morality. Further news from Barcelona states that some workmen had been shot on the order of the new authorities, because they had destroyed machinery and violated property; also, that a Republican Committee convened in a neighboring town, had been arrested[c]; but it should be recollected that this news passes through the hands of the Second of December[229] whose special vocation it is to calumniate republicans and workmen.

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[a] A suburb of Barcelona situated on the peninsula (partly artificial) which separates the port of Barcelona from the open sea.—*Ed.*

[b] La Rocha.—*Ed.*

[c] This information is given according to the official French Bonapartist newspapers *Le Moniteur universel*, Nos. 200 and 201, July 19 and 20 and the *Journal des Débats*, July 21, 1854.—*Ed.*

At Saragossa it is said that the initiative proceeded from the military—a statement which becomes invalidated, however, by the additional remark that the formation of a militia corps was immediately resolved upon. So much is certain, and is confirmed by the Madrid *Gaceta* itself,[a] that before the pronunciamento of Saragossa 150 soldiers of the Montesa regiment (cavalry) on the march to Madrid and quartered at Torrejon (five leagues[b] from Madrid) revolted and abandoned their chiefs, who arrived at Madrid on the evening of the 13th with the regimental chest. The soldiers, under command of Captain Baraiban, mounted horse and took the road to Huete, being supposed to intend joining the force under Colonel Buceta at Cuenca. As for Madrid, against which Espartero is said to be marching with the "army of the center," and General Zabala, with the army of the north, it was natural that a town which subsists upon the Court should be the last to join in the insurrectionary movement. The *Gaceta* of the 15th inst. still published a bulletin from the Minister of War[c] asserting the factions to be in flight, and the enthusiastic loyalty of the troops increasing. Count San Luis, who seems to have very correctly judged of the situation at Madrid, announced to the workmen that General O'Donnell and the anarchists would deprive them of all employment, while if the Government succeeded, it would employ all workingmen on the public works for six reals (75 cents) a day. By this stratagem San Luis hoped to enroll the most excitable portion of the Madrileños under his banner. His success, however, was like that of the party of the *National* at Paris in 1848.[230] The allies he had thus gained soon became his most dangerous enemies—the funds for their support being exhausted on the sixth day. How much the Government dreaded a pronunciamento in the capital is evident from General Lara's (the Governor's) proclamation forbidding the circulation of any news respecting the progress of the insurrection.[d] It appears, further, that the tactics of General Blaser were restricted to the care of avoiding any contact with the insurgents, lest his troops should catch the infection. It is said that the first plan of General O'Donnell was to meet the Ministerial troops on the plains of La

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[a] The data from the Madrid *Gaceta* given here and below have been taken from the reprint in *Le Moniteur universel*, Nos. 200 and 201, July 19 and 20, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] A league is equal to 4.83 kilometres.—*Ed.*

[c] Blaser y San Martin. Bulletin of July 15, 1854, *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 201, July 20, 1854.—*Ed.*

[d] General Lara's proclamation of June 28, 1854. *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 185, July 4, 1854.—*Ed.*

Mancha, so favorable to cavalry operations. This plan, however, was abandoned in consequence of the arrival of ex-favorite Serrano, who was in connection with several of the principal towns of Andalusia. The Constitutional army thereupon determined, instead of remaining in La Mancha, to march upon Jaen and Seville.

It may be observed, *en passant*, that the *boletines*[a] of General Blaser bear a wonderful resemblance to the orders of the day of the Spanish generals of the sixteenth century, which gave such occasion for hilarity to Francis I, and of the eighteenth century, which Frederick the Great turned into ridicule.

It is plain that this Spanish insurrection must become a source of dissension between the Governments of France and England, and the report given by a French paper that General O'Donnell was concealed previous to the outbreak, in the palace of the British Embassador,[b] is not likely to lessen the misgivings of Bonaparte on its account. There exists already some commencement of irritation between Bonaparte and Victoria; Bonaparte expected to meet the Queen at the embarkation of his troops from Calais, but Her Majesty answered his desire by a visit to the ex-Queen Amélie on the same day. Again, the English Ministers when interpellated about the non-blockade of the White Sea, the Black Sea, and the sea of Azov, alleged as their excuse the alliance with France. Bonaparte retorted by an announcement of those very blockades in the *Moniteur*, without waiting for the formal consent of England.[c] Lastly, a bad effect having been produced in France by the embarkation of French troops in British vessels only, Bonaparte published a list of French vessels destined for the same use and applied to it.

The Porte has communicated to the representatives of the four allied powers a note[d] concerning the authority given to the Greek merchant ships again to enter Turkish ports. This authorization is to be valid for two months, on condition that the Greek Government does not render itself guilty of any act justifying its suspension. If, at the expiration of this term, the Greek Government shall have failed to give satisfactory reparation to the

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[a] Bulletins.— *Ed.*

[b] Sir John Caradoc.— *Ed.*

[c] This information is taken from *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 196, July 15, 1854.— *Ed.*

[d] Marx, apparently, got this information through the Polish or Hungarian refugees in London. The text of the note was published later in the *Journal des Débats* on July 28, 1854.— *Ed.*

Porte, the latter reserves to itself the right of reestablishing the actual *status quo*. Greek ships in the Turkish ports will be subject to the local authorities, and deprived of any appeal to other protection. Within the two months the basis of an arrangement and of a commercial treaty will be negotiated. The indemnity claimed by the Porte for the immense damage done by the Greek insurrection is to be regulated by arbitration, on the report of a committee of inquiry, to be sent to the proper places, and composed of Frenchmen, Englishmen, Turks and Greeks.

Shamyl has been officially invested by the Porte with the title of Generalissimo of the army of Circassia and Georgia.

Three dragomans in the service of the French army have been shot at Varna, all of them having been found to correspond with the Russians. Two of them were Greeks and one Armenian. At the moment of his execution, one of them swallowed a paper of a compromising character.

We are informed from Hermannstadt, on the 16th inst., that no engagement has yet taken place in the vicinity of Frateshti.[a]

The arrival of the allied forces at Rustchuk was, of course, a lie,[b] and their whole aim, in the present instance, will be to keep under restraint—as *The Times* calls it—the barbarous fury of the victorious Turks.[c]

Written on July 21, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

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[a] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 202, July 21, 1854.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 303.—*Ed.*
[c] *The Times*, No. 21799, July 21, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE WAR DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT[231]

London, Tuesday, July 25, 1854

At last Thursday's evening sitting of the House of Commons, in reply to an inquiry of Mr. Disraeli, Lord J. Russell stated that her Majesty had been pleased to order that a message should be sent to the House, in pursuance of which he proposed to move on Monday a vote of credit for £3,000,000. There would be no necessity for a Committee of Ways and Means.[a] To Mr. Disraeli's question whether there would be an autumnal session this year, Lord John gave no reply. Accordingly the vote of credit was accomplished without a division, in the sitting of both Houses which took place yesterday.[b]

In the House of Lords, Lord Aberdeen, in moving the vote, delivered the shortest, dryest, and most common-place speech that ever he has favored us with since his accession to the Premiership. He had to ask for three millions, and he was sure their lordships would have no objection. They might entertain different opinions, but all of them must be unanimous as "to the necessity of adopting all such measures as were best calculated to lead to an early and successful termination of the war." This result was mainly to be produced "by the activity and energy of the efforts of England and France, with the concurrence of the other powers." He did not say whether he meant the efforts to be made by war, or negotiation; nor even exclude Russia from "the other powers" with whom England and France are to concur. Parliament being about to be prorogued, there was so much more reason to provide

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[a] See Debates in Parliament in *The Times*, No. 21799, July 21, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] The debate on the budget in Parliament on July 24, 1854 is given according to *The Times*, No. 21802, July 25, 1854.—*Ed.*

the Government with money. Possibly some noble lords might prefer to see the money intrusted to other hands than his, but such fanciful wishes ought not to interfere with business. Which business, the business on hand, was to vote three millions of pounds.

The Earl of Ellenborough, who has the particular gift of never speaking to the question, thought this the fittest occasion for recommending the Government "to carry the most searching economy into all those civil departments which have no connection with the war."

The Earl of Hardwicke saw a very great force in the Baltic ready for any emergency, a similar force in the Black Sea, and the greatest army sent out that ever left this country. He did not know what the Government intended to do with them, and, therefore, he appealed to every noble Lord to grant the credit demanded from them.

Earl Fitzwilliam, an out-of-place Whig, protested against "this country being described as being the highest taxed in Europe; it ought to be described as that in which the taxes fall more lightly on the people than in any other section of the European commonwealth." If the noble Lord had spoken of the lords instead of the people, he would have been right. "As to the speech of his noble friend at the head of the Government," there had never been made one on such an occasion "of which it might be more truly said that it conveyed scarcely a single idea to the House addressed," and the noble Lord ought to know better what the wants of the House are in respect to ideas. Earl Fitz-William desired to learn from Lord Aberdeen who were "the other powers," whose concurrence he was anxious to have? Perhaps Austria? He feared they might be induced by that power to consider certain minor objects, as the evacuation of the Principalities, and the free navigation of the Danube, as justifying them in concluding peace. (Ridiculous fear, since Lord Aberdeen will certainly not be induced by any one to demand so much.) He wanted also to know what was to be understood by the integrity of Turkey—whether it was that circumscribed by the treaty of Adrianople,[232] or something else? Finally, he considered that they found themselves in a very singular position, Parliament having no information whatever of the intentions of the Government. Accordingly he would vote for the credit.

The Marquis of Clanricarde, whose temper is getting sourer each day which separates him further from office, claimed at least some explanation as his due for the unexampled liberality with

which he had hitherto treated the ministry—an explanation respecting the progress which had been made and the course pursued since the former supplies were asked for; he wanted to know something of the conditions and prospects of the war, and of the state of the country with respect to its allies. There had been successes on the side of the Turks, but not on the side of the British government or the British arms, which should not prevent him, however, from passing a eulogium on the bravery of the sailors in the Baltic and Black Sea. As to the relations with their allies he would fix a day when he would move the production of the recent treaty entered into between Turkey and Austria,[a] as well as of other documents likely to throw a light on their present position.

"From general rumor it appeared that through the pressure and persuasion of the British government, the Divan, which was much averse to it, and the Turkish minister[b] recently concluded a convention with Austria, by which the Austrian troops were to enter the Danubian provinces, and occupy a portion of the Turkish empire."

How was it that, at the hour of danger, Austria, instead of hurrying into the field, held back and commenced fresh negotiations? He wanted also to know whether the Vienna Conferences went on,[233] and what they were consulting about? On the whole they depended too much on the German Powers.

In order to prove that Austria "ought" to be the best possible ally, Lord Clarendon showed how she was circumscribed and threatened by Russia in all parts of her dominions. The Austro-Turkish treaty could not have been laid before the House, no ratified copy of it having been received as yet. He thought he might assure them that the time was not far distant when they should have Austria cooperating with them; he "answered, however, for nothing." Still, from the general character of Austria, and from his own administration of the Foreign Office, their lordships were satisfied to draw the most cheering conclusions. Having twice been convicted of the most unblushing falsehoods, Lord Clarendon naturally expects implicit belief in his assurance

"that there is no intention of returning to the *status quo*, and that there is no intention of listening to a patched-up peace, which could only be a hollow truce, and which would render a return to war inevitable."

After this brilliant display of their own highly educated minds,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 269-71.—*Ed.*
[b] Reshid Pasha.—*Ed.*

the Lords naturally turned to the subject of national education, and we will leave them there.

During the discussion in the Lords the Commons were occupied upon several indifferent subjects, until the speech of Lord Aberdeen was communicated to them, which produced "a disagreeable sensation." Lord John Russell perceived at once that it was necessary to produce a counter sensation.

When the first extraordinary grant was about to be asked, the Government dispatched the "magnificent" Baltic fleet; on the occasion of the second one, the famous bombardment of Odessa had to serve as a catcher; now the watchword selected was Sevastopol.

Lord John began by certifying to the "patriotic" spirit of the House in having given its aid so liberally when asked for the first grants, and thanked the House for having hitherto so judiciously abstained from putting any embarrassing questions to the Government. Great, very great things had been achieved thereby, namely, a very great number of ships and men had been procured. Of first, second and third-rate steamers they had now 17, against only one on the 1st of January, 1853; of sailing line-of-battle ships 17 against 11; and a marine force of 57,200 against 33,910. They had also placed on the Turkish shores a force of above 30,000 soldiers, "a great part of which was lately at Varna." So much for the material of war. As to the operations of war, they had

> "but just commenced, and all he could say was, that the Turkish army had performed deeds of valor. Nobody would now say that it required only a fillip from the Emperor of Russia to overthrow the whole Ottoman Power. Beside the chivalrous deeds of the Turks, the glories of this war consisted in the perfect union and harmony between the French and English armies."

Now, with respect to the vote he asked for, he could not tell them what the money was exactly required for. Some two millions might be absorbed by the Commissariat, ordnance, and transports; besides, a large body of Turkish troops might be joined with the British army and receive pay from the British Government. On the whole, he asked the money not on the ground of detailed estimates, but for the use of the Government, "as it might have occasion for it."

Austria, said the noble Lord, had a greater interest in protecting Turkey than even France or England. The Czar would have the complete command of the Government of Austria as soon as he domineered over the Principalities, with a predominant influence in Turkey. However, to judge Austria justly, it should be borne in

mind with what difficulties she was beset. On more than one side Russian armies could approach to within no great distance of the Austrian capital, and on the other hand, some of the kingdoms submitted to her were so disturbed as to make it a perilous thing for her to enter into hostilities. It had, therefore, been her policy to attempt, as long as possible, to obtain the settlement of these questions by negotiation. But recently she had dispatched a message to the Emperor of Russia, whose answer could not be termed evasive.

"Firstly, Russia does not profess herself ready to fix any time for the evacuation of the Principalities. She states, now that war has been declared, and now that England and France are engaged in that war, and are superior to her in the Black Sea and the Baltic, while her fleets do not leave her ports, that there remains only the seat of war in the Principalities, and the navigation of the Danube, where she can hope to restore the balance, and by the successes of her arms to obtain a victory for herself. She therefore declines on those terms the evacuation of the Principalities."

Russia was ready to adopt the principles contained in the protocol of the 9th of April,[234] except the admission of Turkey into the European concert. With regard to the future conduct of Austria, Lord John considers on the one side that she is mistaken in her present policy, but on the other he cannot believe that she will forfeit the engagements into which she has entered. By those engagements with the western powers and with Turkey, she was bound to take part in the attempt to drive back Russia. It was possible that she might attempt again to obtain from St. Petersburg some better assurance. They, of course, had no control over the councils of Austria, and Austria had no control over the King of Prussia. All the powers were, accordingly, in the most favorable position for jointly counteracting Russia.

Lord John then came to a great and enthusiastic exposition of what they—England and France—proposed to do. The integrity of Turkey was not compatible with a return to the *status quo* in the Principalities. He said:

"But, Sir, there is another mode in which the position of Russia is menacing to the independence and integrity of Turkey. I mean the establishment of a great fortress, prepared with all the combinations of art, made as impregnable as it is possible for art to make it, and containing within its port a very large fleet of line-of-battle ships, ready at any time to come down with a favorable wind to the Bosphorus. I say that that is a position so menacing to Turkey, that no treaty of peace could be considered wise which left the Emperor of Russia in that same position of menace. (Enormous cheering.) We shall be ready, as we have been ready, to communicate with the Government of France upon that subject, and I have every reason to believe, that the views of the Government of the Emperor of the French coincide with our own in that respect." (Cheers.)

With respect to Mr. Disraeli's proposition of an autumnal session, Lord John "declined to accept at the hand of members of this House restrictions on freedom of ministers."

It would be as tedious as it is superfluous to report the saying of the Humes, Bankes, Knights, Alcoxes, and *tutti quanti,* on this occasion.

Mr. Cobden, believing in the words of Lord John, and thinking that he had turned the House into a council of war, very anxiously labored to show why Sevastopol and the Crimea should on no account be taken. A point of more interest was raised by him through means of the question whether this country was in alliance with the sovereignties against the nationalities. A great delusion prevailed with the people who fancied that the war had been undertaken in favor of any oppressed nationalities. It had, on the contrary, been conducted with a view of riveting still closer the chains by which Hungary and Italy were bound in the grasp of Austria. There were honorable and deluded gentlemen in the House who

> "had been crying out that the Government were not carrying on the war as they ought to do, that they ought to have some other man at the head of the War Department; nay, sometimes they had even said, at the head of the Government. They had called out for Lord Palmerston. And this was all done for the interest of Hungary and the Italians. He had heard it from the lips of two of the greatest chiefs of Hungary and of Italy[a] declared, that so far from their hopes and aspirations resting upon that noble Lord, they knew that when the noble Lord had an opportunity of giving them a moral support, he would not so much as lift up his finger in their favor. If there was any member in the present Government at this moment, upon whom these leaders would be less disposed to rely than upon another, it was that noble Lord. He did not believe that the noble Lord was aware of the great imposture practiced in his name, but the delusion had happily exploded."

Mr. Layard and Lord Dudley Stuart did nothing but repeat their old speeches, with this variation, that Lord Dudley's opinion of the magic force of the name "Palmerston" was "more exalted than ever."

It was reserved for Mr. Disraeli to blow up by one single breath the whole bubble speech of Lord John. Having briefly justified his proposition of an autumnal session by an allusion to Sinope[235] and other exploits that occurred during the last autumnal vacation, he confessed himself to be surprised, bewildered, alarmed at the announcement of the impending destruction of Sevastopol and the conquest of the Crimea. Lord John here expressed dissent, but did

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[a] Kossuth and Mazzini.—*Ed.*

not rise; Mr. Disraeli, however, sitting down on his part, forced Lord John to an explanation. In a voice of humility and confusion he came forward, at last:

"I may as well state that what I said was, that I thought Russia could not be allowed to maintain the menacing attitude she has done by keeping so large a fleet at Sevastopol."

Having elicited this confession from Lord John, Mr. Disraeli delivered one of his most savage and sarcastic speeches on record, which would well repay a perusal in extenso, (it is copied at length below among the news from Great Britain,[236]) and which ended with the following words:

"Really, after what we have heard there seems great unfairness in the painful distinction which is made at times between the policy of Lord Aberdeen and the policy of some of his colleagues. I am no admirer or supporter of Lord Aberdeen, but I am no admirer either of the parliamentary policy which would exonerate members of a Cabinet at the expense of their colleagues. It does not at all appear to me, after the statement which the noble Lord opposite has made of what it was he says he said, that his policy as to Russia, substantially differs from that of Lord Aberdeen, and this, after all, is some satisfaction to the people of England. We have not, then, a divided Cabinet; the session at last closes upon Ministers in unison upon this subject; and, so far as conducting the war with small purposes goes, so far as having from great objects of policy mean and insignificant results, the Coalition Government appear to be unanimous."

Lord Palmerston's jokes were of no use. After the speech of Mr. Disraeli, and a number of other members having risen to protest that they had been entirely deluded by Lord John's first speech, the motion for the supply was indeed voted, but only on the condition that the debates should be resumed to-night, Lord Dudley Stuart announcing at the same time his intention to move an address to the Queen,

"praying that she would be graciously pleased not to prorogue Parliament until she might be enabled to afford the House more full information with respect to the relations existing with foreign powers, and of her views and prospects in the contest in which her Majesty was engaged."

Written on July 25, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## [THE POLICY OF AUSTRIA.— THE WAR DEBATES IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS] [237]

London, Friday, July 28, 1854

In one of my former letters I gave you an analysis of the Austro-Turkish Treaty of the 14th of June,[a] and stated as the purposes aimed at by that curious diplomatic transaction: 1st. To give the allied armies a pretext for not crossing the Danube, and for not confronting the Russians; 2d. To prevent the Turks from reoccupying the whole of Wallachia, and forcing them out of that part which they had already conquered: 3d. To restore in the Principalities the old Reactionary Government, forced upon the Roumans by Russia in 1848. We are now actually informed from Constantinople, that Austria has protested against Omer Pasha's presumption in crossing the Danube; that she claims an exclusive occupation of the Principalities for herself, and the right of shutting them not only against the Anglo-French troops, but equally against the Turks. Upon this remonstrance, the Porte is said to have forwarded orders to Omer Pasha not to cross the Danube for the present, while refusing to admit, in principle, the exclusive occupation of the Principalities by Austria. Wretched Pasha[b] who has learned something from his master and contriver, Lord Palmerston, has of course little objection to admitting in fact what he refuses in principle. You may perhaps think that Austria has already violated as well as practically canceled the treaty of the 14th June, by not entering Wallachia at the moment when the Russian army was disorderly retreating in three different directions, and was exposed in the flank and the rear to an Austrian

[a] See this volume, pp. 269-71.—*Ed.*
[b] Reshid Pasha. See this volume, p. 291.—*Ed.*

attack, if it had failed to retire at once behind the Sereth. Only remember that by the very words of this famous treaty Austria is bound neither to enter the Principalities at once, nor to leave them at any exact epoch, nor even to force the Russians to evacuate them within any definite term. It is now stated that the Austrians are really entering Little Wallachia, and that the Russians are recalling their troops from the Carpathian passes and concentrating them at Fokshani. This, however, means nothing but that the Austrians, instead of expelling the Russians from Great Wallachia, have resolved to eject the Turks from Little Wallachia, thus preventing their operations on the banks of the Aluta. It is evident that no better contrivance could have been imagined to work up a military insurrection in Turkey than their exclusion from the territory conquered by the Turkish army, and by an occupation of Bulgaria through Anglo-French troops, who are fully avoiding the Russians, keep the Turks under a sort of state of siege—as you may see from the common proclamation of the Anglo-French commanders to the inhabitants of Bulgaria—a proclamation almost literally copied from a Budberg, a Gorchakoff and *tutti quanti.* I have told you long before this that the western powers would render one service to progress—the service of revolutionizing Turkey, that keystone of the antiquated European system.[a]

Besides the protest against the Turkish presumption of occupying Turkish territories, Austria demands the reinstallation of the two hospodars now residing at Vienna, whose return to Wallachia and Moldavia, along with the first Austrian troops, Herr von Bruck has announced to the Porte. Reshid Pasha replies that the Porte will take the propriety of their restoration into consideration—Herr von Bruck, on his part, insisting, however, on the fulfillment of Article III of the Convention, which stipulates the reestablishment of the late Government. It will be remembered that I called attention to the ambiguous construction liable to be put on this article.[b] Reshid Pasha retorts that this reestablishment could not take place before the Porte had made sure that the hospodars had not failed in their duty as loyal subjects. The Porte had no serious complaints against Prince Ghica of Moldavia, but the conduct of Stirbey, the hospodar of Wallachia, had been very compromising, having proved himself a partisan of Russia in the most scandalous manner, so that his expulsion had been imposed upon the Porte. Herr von Bruck then appealed to the Sultan, who

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[a] See this volume, pp. 70-72 and 129-31.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 270.—*Ed.*

assembled an extraordinary Council, in which the compromise was made that both hospodars should be recalled to their posts *provisionally*, while the Porte would appoint a High Commissioner to inquire into their conduct, and then come to a definitive resolution. Now it will be at once understood that Prince Ghica, against whom Reshid pretends to have no serious objections, is only nominally recalled, Moldavia remaining in the hands of the Russians. The recall of Prince Stirbey, expelled by the Porte itself, and stigmatized as a Russian agent, is, on the contrary, a real restoration, as a portion of Wallachia is already evacuated by the Russians, and the other likely to become so at no distant time.

But the action of Austrian diplomacy does not stop there. We read in yesterday's *Morning Post*, dated Belgrade, July 19[a]:

"An order arrived yesterday, from Constantinople, immediately to suspend all armaments and military exercises. It is confidently stated that there is another order for disarmament. The intelligence was forwarded at once to Prince Alexander."[b]

This, then, is the answer of the Porte to the Servian protest against an Austrian occupation. Thus that miserable Turkish Government is simultaneously prevented from thwarting its avowed enemy, and driven into hostile and usurpatory acts against its own loyal dependencies. By the treaty of the 14th June it broke its Conventions with the Principalities, and by the order for disarmament it breaks the fundamental laws of Servia.[238] By the same stroke of policy, the Turkish army is worked into a state of insurrection, and Servia and the Principalities are thrown into the arms of Russia. The Austrian summons for the evacuation of the Principalities turns out to be a prohibition to the Turks to enter them, and the boasted armaments of Austria to be the disarmament of Servia.

With all that stupid Austria, a mere tool in the hands of the Czar and his English confederates, is only preparing the elements of a general revolution, the first victim of which she herself will be, and of which nobody can complain except utopian reactionaries like David Urquhart.

You are already informed of the first movements in Italy. The public papers speak of riots at Genoa, Modena, Parma, &c.[c]; but,

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[a] Telegraphic dispatch from Belgrade of July 19. *The Morning Post*, No. 25137, July 27, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Alexander Karageorgević.—*Ed.*

[c] Telegraphic dispatch from Vienna of July 25. *The Times*, No. 21803, July 26, 1854.—*Ed.*

in my opinion, the scenes which have occurred at Ferrara remind us more of the general insurrection of 1848 than all the rest.

That I have justly characterized, from the first, the patriotic voluntary loan of the arrogant and bankrupt Austrian Government,[a] you will see from the notification Chevalier le Burger has lately addressed to the loyal subjects of Lombardy. He informs them that the quota the Lombardian territory has to pay to the voluntary loan will amount to 40,000,000 florins, equivalent to 104,400,000 francs, which, divided among the population, makes 40 francs per head.

"This voluntary loan," says the *Unione*, "resolves itself into a gigantic confiscation—every province, every commune and every individual being assigned a quota which it *must* pay *voluntarily*."

In order to leave no doubt as to the true meaning of this voluntary loan, the notification of Chevalier Burger ends in the following terms:

"It must be more than evident, that in case the voluntary loan should not succeed, an extraordinary and forced contribution must be levied upon the various elements of the produce of land, capital, commerce and industry in the most convenient proportions."

At Monday's sitting of the Commons,[b] for the first time in the annals of Parliament, the Lord President of the Ministry[c] and Leader of the House rose on the pretext of giving a deliberate exposition of the intentions of the Cabinet, which he completely recanted six hours later in the same place. At 7 P.M. Sevastopol was bombarded, dismantled, destroyed and dismembered from Russia. At 1.15 A.M. the Russian fleet at Sevastopol was to be reduced by one or two sail of the line, and "Russia by no means to be disturbed in her present rank and position." During six hours little Johnny brawled, swaggered, bullied, hectored, rodomontized,[d] cheered, congratulated, amplified to his Commoners[239]; during six hours he caused Parliament to revel in "a fool's paradise," when, by no more than one sting of Mr. Disraeli's tongue, this bubble speech suddenly shrunk together, and the false lion was forced to hang his usual calf-skin round his shoulders. This was a "day of humiliation" for the Ministry, but they carried their three millions of pounds.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 288-89.—*Ed.*

[b] July 24.—*Ed.*

[c] Lord John Russell.—*Ed.*

[d] Derived from the name of Rodomonte, a character from Ariosto's *L'Orlando furioso*.—*Ed.*

At Tuesday's sitting the debate on Lord Stuart's motion for the non-adjournment of Parliament took place.[a] They had voted away the money of the country; they could not but vote their confidence in the Ministry. This being generally understood by the honorable members, the House was but thinly attended, the debate dull, the Ministry more provoking than ever, and the motion of Dudley negatived without a division. The Ministry contrived to turn their very disgrace into a victory over the Commoners. This was the "day of humiliation" for Parliament. Nevertheless, the sitting became important from the defense of the warfare furnished by Mr. Herbert, the British Secretary at War, and Woronzoff's brother-in-law; from Berkeley, the Lord of the Admiralty's indiscretions; and from little Johnny's magisterial declarations on the internal state of the English Ministry.

In answer to the complaints about the deficient organization of the commissariat, Mr. Herbert, a thin-headed ex-young Tory, entered into an elaborate eulogy of Commissary-General Filder, who was certainly the fittest man for the place, because, some fifty years ago, he had enjoyed the confidence of the Iron Duke,[b] and held high offices under him. To the disagreeable letters of the newspaper correspondents, he opposed the high-colored reports of "the very best paymasters in the service", and the obligatory compliments of some French officers. He uttered not a word about the army being destitute of any means of transport, being supplied neither with mules nor horses to carry the baggage and the water necessary for an army marching from Varna and Devna toward the Danube, and the other necessaries required on a march. He uttered not a word about the deficient means of the army to supply itself with food. He did not refute the fact that no commissariat was appointed until several divisions of troops had been sent out, and the fleets were at Constantinople. He dared not contradict the assertion that Lord Raglan himself had stated that his troops had been stationed at one place nearly two months, but could not advance from the deficiency of the commissariat, although they were almost within cannonshots hearing of the half-starved enemy.

In a similar way the ingenious brother-in-law of Prince Woronzoff got rid of the complaints on the ordnance. He spent much breath upon an answer to a reproach made by nobody but

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[a] The parliamentary debates on July 25, 1854 are given according to *The Times*, No. 21803, July 26, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Wellington.—*Ed.*

himself, viz: that there were only six-pounders out with the army in Turkey, while he passed under obstinate silence the facts that there was no battering train with the army, that the infantry was almost unsupported by cavalry, the most essential arm for operations in the plains of Wallachia, and that the 40,000 men at Varna had not 40 pieces of artillery to oppose to the Russians where every corps of 40,000 men deploys 120 pieces.

To the attacks on the negligence of the Government in supplying the army with the necessary implements, the brother-in-law of Woronzoff answered by an indignant defense of the military commanders who were not at all to blame.

As to the fatal accidents and the British monopoly of fatal accidents, none of which happened to the French expedition, the Hon. Mr. Herbert replied, first, that it was true that a ship which carried out a portion of the 6th Dragoons was lost by fire, but that the commander,

> "a noble old man, faced the most terrible death which man can be subject to, and refused, at the solicitation of his own men, to leave the ship until, alas! it was too late, and he perished at his post."

The imbecile Commoners cheered this nonsensical answer. As to the loss of the *Tiger*,[240] he declared it to belong to the chapter of accidents. As to the "grievous casualty in the Baltic—why, it proved the foolhardiness of our seamen."[241]

The small-headed man then proceeded to answer the question whether "no practical results had been brought about by our fleets and armies?" and he glories in the "complete, effective, and irresistible blockade of the Russian ports." This blockade was so effective that, for instance, eight Russian war-steamers have reached Odessa from Sevastopol, notwithstanding bombardments, fights and obstruction. It was so effective that the Baltic trade is carried on through Russia to such an extent that Russian produce is selling at London at a price very little higher than that at which it sold before the war; that at Odessa commerce is carried on exactly as last year, and that even the nominal blockades of the Black and White Seas were only some days ago forced upon the English by Bonaparte.

But the English Government did more, exclaims the noble young man called Herbert. Had they not wrested from Russia the ability of communicating supplies by the Black Sea, and cut them off from all access by sea? He forgot that for four months they left the Russians in the command of the Danube, that they allowed them to appropriate with only 15,000 men the European

corn-houses of Moldavia and Wallachia, that they abandoned to them the rich flocks of the Dobrodja almost under their eyes, and that they prevented the Turkish fleet from annihilating the Russian squadron at Sinope.

They had an ample share in the military success of the Turks, because by forming their reserve they enabled them to use every man and every gun against the invading army. Need I repeat to your readers[a] that, as long as the Russians were unable to concentrate a superior force in the Principalities, the British Government interdicted Omer Pasha the use of his own numerical superiority and the fruits of his first victories?

Had their forces done anything else?

"How many pounds sterling had been expended by Russia in erecting a line of forts along the coast of Circassia? In one short campaign, all these strong places, which formed the chains with which Circassia was bound, had, with one exception, fallen into their hands or into those of their allies."

Woronzoff! Woronzoff! Do you not remember that, when advised, at the beginning of the session, to take those forts, you refused to do so, thus allowing the Russians to withdraw their garrisons to Sevastopol? You have only taken the forts which the Russians chose to abandon, and that single "exception," which you neither destroyed nor captured, nor attacked, is the only one worth taking, the only one thought worth holding by the Russians, and the only one by which you could communicate with the Circassians—Anapa.

Mr. Herbert reached the climax of his insipid diatribe when he pretended that in the glorious defense of Silistria, which they neither relieved, nor allowed Omer Pasha to relieve, England had a share, because of one dead young man, called Captain Butler. Lieutenant Nasmyth, as a living man, is of course not mentioned. Captain Butler, let me tell you, went to Silistria, only after the Government had refused to send him there, and the more ground for Marshal Herbert to claim credit for his conduct. As to Lieutenant Nasmyth, he belongs to the class who were shortly to be expelled from the British camp, and went to Silistria in the capacity of a newspaper correspondent.

Lord Dudley Stuart having assailed the Government for not procuring steamers drawing only three feet of water and carrying one or two heavy guns, Admiral Berkeley—who spoke after Gen. Herbert—begged the noble Lord "to teach the Surveyor of the

[a] See this volume, p. 223.—*Ed.*

Navy[a] how to build such steamboats." This was the answer given by the gallant Whig admiral to the question how the Admiralty could fit out a fleet for the Baltic without providing a large number of gun-boats. Brave Berkeley and his scientific Surveyor of the Navy would do well to apply for instruction at the Swedish and Russian Admiralties than to poor and deluded Dudley Stuart.

We have now done with the defense of British warfare as put forward by elegant Herbert and gallant Berkeley, and we come now to the indiscreet revelations of that same Berkeley. On the previous evening the Sevastopol bubble was blown up by little Johnny; on this evening the Kronstadt bubble exploded through the means of Berkeley. As the Austrians alone will fight out the case in the Principalities, there remains no field of action "for the most formidable armies and navies, with screw-propellers, paixhans, and other monster powers of destruction ever fitted and sent out by any country." From a letter written by the gallant commander of the Baltic fleet[b] the following quotation was made by gallant Berkeley:

"It has not been in my power to do anything with this powerful fleet; for attacking either Kronstadt or Sweaborg would have been certain destruction."

This was not all. Brave Berkeley exulting at what the most powerful fleet could not do, went on babbling:

"Admiral Chads, than whom no man possesses a greater amount of scientific knowledge, wrote also in these terms: 'After two days inspection from the lighthouse, and full views of the forts and ships, the former are too substantial for the fire of ships. They are large masses of granite. With respect to an attack on the ships where they are, it is not to be entertained.'"

As to Napier, brave Berkeley concludes with the words:

"There never was a British officer who had more completely *carte blanche* to undertake what he pleased. So far from his hands being tied up by the Government it has afforded him every encouragement to proceed"

from Bomarsund to Kronstadt, and from Kronstadt to Bomarsund.

On the remark of Mr. Hildyard, a Tory, that "in the whole course of his life he never heard such indiscretion," that Berkeley had spoken as a plain agent of Russia, and that all the rodomontades about Kronstadt had notwithstanding experienced his silent approval, brave Berkeley recanted his indiscretions so far

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[a] Sir Baldwin Wake Walker.—*Ed.*
[b] Sir Charles Napier.—*Ed.*

as to say that Napier had only spoken of his present position with ships alone, and without being backed by any land forces. That nothing could be done in the Baltic without land troops and without an alliance with Sweden, I have repeated to you all the time, since Napier left the English shores,[a] and my opinion was participated in by every scientific military man.

I come now to the last point of this memorable debate, the magisterial declarations of Lord John Russell. After having got his note for 3,000,000 he was as barefaced as he was shamefaced, 20 hours before, when quailing under the sarcasms of Disraeli.

"He certainly did not think it necessary to give any further explanation of the statements which he made last night."

As to the "painful distinctions" which certain parties had attempted to draw between Aberdeen and his colleagues, he would tell them that

"with regard to the general measures of the war, those measures had been considered, step by step, by those advisers of Her Majesty who are usually called the Cabinet, and for the decisions which had been adopted, all the colleagues of Lord Aberdeen are alike responsible to Parliament and the country with that noble Lord."

In fact, he dared—but at no risk—to tell the House:

"If we are fit to be ministers of the Crown, we are fit to have the discretion to call or not to call Parliament together; if we are not fit to have that discretion, on the other hand, we are no longer fit to remain the ministers of the Crown."

Being present at the sittings of the English Parliament on Monday and Tuesday, I confess to my error in having stigmatized, in 1848, in the *New-Rhenish Gazette*,[b] the Berlin and Frankfort assemblies as the lowest possible expressions of Parliamentary life.[c]

It will be amusing for your readers to see opposed to the declarations of Woronzoff's British brother-in-law,[d] the *fades*[e] bravadoes of a Russell, and the roaring leaders of *The Times*, the following extracts from the latest letter of *The Times* correspondent at the British camp near Varna, dated July 13.

"The night before this there was a general belief that peace would soon be proclaimed, inasmuch as an Austrian Envoy was reported to be dining with Gen.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 202-04 and 251.—*Ed.*

[b] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.*—*Ed.*

[c] See articles on the Frankfurt National Assembly published in Vols. 8 and 9 of the present edition.—*Ed.*

[d] S. Herbert.—*Ed.*

[e] Insipid.—*Ed.*

Brown, and this Austrian Envoy was on his way from Shumla, where he had held long interviews with Omer Pasha, to Varna, where he was to consult with Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud. It was reported that the Duke of Cambridge had said that the cavalry would be home by November, and the infantry by May. Surely it cannot be affirmed we are at war, or that the allied armies have taken a belligerent part, or exhibited warlike actions since they landed in Turkey. Our parades, reviews, drills, and inspections are as harmless, as innocent, as if they took place at Satory or at Chobham, and our whole operations of offence by land have been confined to, first, a reconnoitering excursion by Lord Cardigan; secondly, the dispatch of some engineer officers and sappers to Silistria and Rustchuk; thirdly, the march of a few French pontoniers in the same direction; and, fourthly, the further dispatch of a company of sappers and of 150 sailors to Rustchuk, to construct a bridge across from the bank to the islands and thence across to the other side."[a]

There exists no Bastille in England, but there exist lunatic asylums to which every individual obnoxious to the Court, or standing in the way of certain family arrangements, may simply be confined by a *lettre de cachet*. In Wednesday's debate on the case of Dr. Peitman,[b] this was fully proved by Mr. Otway, backed by Mr. Henley. There were wanted only some words of Lord Palmerston, the *civis Romanus*,[242] and the notorious advocate of "the rights and privileges of the British subject"—and the subject [was] dropped. Palmerston did not so much as pretend that Peitman was a real madman, but only that "he appeared to imagine to have some claim upon Government," and imagining to pursue that claim in a very troublesome way to the Queen, or rather that anonymous personage called Prince Albert. The Coburgs are everywhere; they pretend at this very moment to appropriate the Spanish nation.[c]

"It is," says the Ministerial *Globe*, "a question of the rights of the doctor and of the rights of the Queen, and we believe that there is no man in or out of Parliament who can hesitate in balancing these rights."

No wonder, then, that Thomas Paine's "Rights of Man" were publicly burned in this free and blessed country.[243]

Another little Parliamentary comedy was performed on the same Wednesday evening. At the sitting of last Friday,[d] Mr. Butt had moved the resolution that British subjects should be forbidden, under certain penalties, to trade in Russian Government securities; this bill relating only to loans contracted by the Russian

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[a] Report from Varna of July 13, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21805, July 28, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] The debate on Dr. Peitman's case on July 26 is given according to the parliamentary report published in *The Times*, No. 21804, July 27, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 305-06.—*Ed.*

[d] July 21.—*Ed.*

Government during the present war. The British Government had not proposed the bill, but it could hardly dare to oppose it, as Bonaparte had already falsely announced in the *Moniteur* that the British Government concurred with him in considering subscriptions to the Russian loan as illegal.[a] Palmerston, therefore, supported Mr. Butt's motion, but found himself opposed in no very courteous manner by Mr. Wilson, the sage editor of *The Economist*, and Secretary of the Treasury. Now, on Wednesday the same Palmerston, having defended the Coalition Cabinet on Monday, having abstained from speaking on Tuesday and thus secured the real success of the Coalition, could not but seize upon this opportunity to resume his position as the "unprotected female" of the Cabinet. He spoke with the aspect and in the tone of a male Sibyl, as if overpowered by the spontaneous explosion of his patriotic feelings, which he, poor man, was forced to suppress on the two preceding evenings, fettered as he was by the cold necessity of an official position. He elicited the inevitable cheers of the honorable and deluded gentlemen when he declared

> "the bill simply affirmed the principle that British subjects should not supply the Russians with funds to carry on the war. The arguments adduced by the Secretary of the Treasury went to show that we should abolish our laws of high treason. Such arguments were sheer nonsense."[b]

Note that this is the same man who, during twenty-four years, imposed the Russo-Dutch loan[244] upon England, and is at this very moment the most influential member of a Cabinet which continues to pay the capital and interest of that loan, thus supplying him with "funds to carry on the war."

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

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[a] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 189, July 8, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] The debates on the Russian government securities bill are given according to *The Times*, Nos. 21800 and 21804, July 22 and 27, 1854.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## THAT BORE OF A WAR [245]

It is now very near a twelvemonth since a small Turkish corps, two battalions, succeeded in crossing the Danube near Turtukai, opposite Oltenitza, threw up intrenchments there, and being attacked by the Russians, repulsed them in a very spirited little affair, which, being the first engagement in the war, took the style and title of the Battle of Oltenitza. There the Turks alone were opposed to the Russians; they had no British or French troops behind them as a reserve, and could not even expect any support from the allied fleets. And yet they held their ground on the Wallachian side of the river for a fortnight at Oltenitza, and for the whole winter at Kalafat.

Since then, England and France have declared war against Russia; sundry exploits, of a doubtful nature it is true, have been achieved. Black Sea fleets, Baltic fleets, and an army of now nearly a hundred thousand English and French soldiers are there to assist the Turks or to make diversions in their favor. And the upshot of all this is nothing but a repetition of the Oltenitza business on a larger scale, but rather less successfully than last year.

The Russians laid siege to Silistria. They went about it stupidly but bravely. They were defeated day after day, night after night; not by superior science, not by Captain Butler or Lieutenant Nasmyth, the two British officers present who, according to *The Times*, saved Silistria.[a] They were defeated by the ignorance of the Turks, an ignorance extending so far as not to know when a fort

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[a] See this volume, p. 329.—*Ed.*

or rampart ceases to be tenable, and sticking doggedly to every inch of ground, every molehill which the enemy appears to covet. They were defeated, besides, by the stolidity of their own Generals, by fever and cholera; finally by the moral effect of an allied army menacing their left, and an Austrian army menacing their right wing. When the war began, we stated that the Russian army had never been able to lay a regular siege, and the ill-managed operations before Silistria show that they have not improved since. Well, they were defeated; they had to decamp in the most discreditable way imaginable; they had to raise the siege of an incomplete fortress in the midst of a fine season, and without any troops coming to relieve the garrison. Such an event occurs not more than once in a century; and whatever the Russians may try to do in the autumn, the campaign is lost, disgracefully lost for them.

But now for the reverse of the medal. Silistria is free. The Russians retreat to the left bank of the Danube. They even prepare for, and gradually execute the evacuation of the Dobrodja. Hirsova and Matchin are dismantled. The Sereth seems to be the line to which the Russians trust for the defense, not of their conquests, but of their own territory. Omer Pasha, the wily old Croat, who can hold his tongue or tell a lie as well as anybody, "in the execution of his duty," at once sends a corps to the Dobrodja and another to Rustchuk, thus engaging the two wings of the Russians at once. There were far better maneuvers possible at the time, but poor old Omer appears to know the Turks and the allies better than we do. The correct military move to be made would have been to march through the Dobrodja or by Kalarash upon the communications of the enemy; but after what we have seen, we cannot even accuse Omer of having missed a good opportunity. We know that his army is very badly cared for —provided with almost nothing—and cannot, therefore, execute rapid movements which would remove it to a distance from its base, or open up fresh lines of operation. These movements, decisive as they are in their effect, when undertaken by a sufficient force, are not within the reach of an army which lives from hand to mouth, and has to pass through a barren country. We know that Omer Pasha went to Varna, imploring the aid of the allied generals, who at that time had 75,000 capital soldiers there, within four days' march of the Danube; but neither St. Arnaud nor Raglan thought proper to come up to where they could meet the enemy. Thus Omer could do no more than he has done. He sent 25,000 men toward the Dobrodja, and marched

with the rest of his army to Rustchuk. Here his troops passed from island to island until the Danube was crossed, and then, by a sudden march to the left, took Giurgevo in the rear, and forced the Russians to quit it. On the next day the Russians were drawn up on some hights to the north of Giurgevo, where the Turks attacked them. A sanguinary battle ensued, remarkable for the number of English officers who, with rare success, competed for the honor of being shot first. They all got their bullets, but with no benefit to anybody, for it would be preposterous to think that the sight of a British officer being shot could inflame a Turkish soldier to invincibility. However, the Russians having a mere advanced guard on the spot—a brigade, the two regiments of Kolyvan and Tomsk—got beaten, and the Turks made good their footing on the Wallachian bank of the Danube. They at once set about fortifying the place, and as they had British sappers, and as at Kalafat they did very well for themselves, there is no doubt that they were making a formidable position of it. But thus far they were allowed to go, and no further. That Emperor of Austria who now for eight months has been trying hard to act the part of an independent man, steps in at once. The Principalities have been promised to his troops as a feeding ground, and he intends to have them. What business have the Turks there? Let them go back to Bulgaria. So down comes the order from Constantinople to withdraw the Turkish troops from the left bank, and to leave "all that plot of land" to the tender mercies of the Austrian soldiers. Diplomacy is above strategy. Whatever may come of it, the Austrians will save their own frontiers by occupying a few yards of ground beyond; and to this important end even the necessities of the war must give way. Besides, is not Omer Pasha an Austrian deserter? And Austria never forgets. In Montenegro she interrupted his victorious career; and she repeats the process again, to make the renegade feel that he is not yet out of the allegiance of his lawful sovereign.

It is entirely useless to enter into the military details of this present stage of the campaign. The actions possess little tactical interest, being plain, straightforward front attacks; the movements of troops on either side are ruled more by diplomatical than strategical motives. Most likely we shall see the campaign closing without any great enterprise, for on the Danube there is nothing prepared for a grand offensive, and as to the taking of Sevastopol, of which we hear so much, the beginning will probably be delayed until the season is so far advanced that it must be postponed till next year.

It would seem that whoever may have had any conservative leanings in Europe must lose them when he looks at this everlasting Eastern Question. There is all Europe, incapable, convicted for the last sixty years of incapability to settle this puny little strife. There they are, France, England, Russia, going actually to war. They carry on their war for six months; and unless by mistake, or on a very shabby scale, they have not even come to blows. There they are, eighty or ninety thousand English and French soldiers at Varna, commanded by old Wellington's late military secretary,[a] and by a Marshal of France[b] (whose greatest exploits, it is true, were performed in London pawnshops)—there they are, the French doing nothing and the British helping them as fast as they can; and as they may think this sort of business not exactly honorable, the fleets are come up to Baltshik Roads to have a look at them and to see which of the two armies can enjoy the *dolce far niente*[c] with the greatest decorum. And yet, although the allies have hitherto only been eating up the provisions upon which the Turkish army had calculated, idling away day after day at Varna for the last two months, they are not yet fit for duty. They would have relieved Silistria if required by about the middle of May next year. The troops that have conquered Algeria and learned the theory and practice of war on one of the most difficult theaters in existence,[246] the soldiers who fought the Sikhs on the sands of the Indus, and the Kaffirs in the thorny bush of South Africa,[247] in countries far more savage than Bulgaria—there they are, helpless and useless, fit for nothing in a country which even exports corn!

But if the allies are miserable in their performances, so are the Russians. They have had plenty of time to prepare. They have done whatever they could, for they knew from the beginning what resistance they would find. And yet, what have they been able to do? Nothing. They could not take a yard of contested ground from the Turks; they could not take Kalafat; they could not beat the Turks in one single engagement. And yet they are the same Russians who, under Münnich and Suvoroff conquered the Black Sea coast from the Don to the Dniester. But Schilder is not Münnich, Paskievich is not Suvoroff, and though the Russian soldier can bear flogging with the cane beyond all others, yet when

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[a] Raglan.—*Ed.*

[b] On Saint-Arnaud see this volume, pp. 230-33.—*Ed.*

[c] Sweet doing-nothing.—*Ed.*

it comes to habitual retreating, he loses his steadiness as well as anybody else.

The fact is, that conservative Europe—the Europe of "order, property, family, religion"—the Europe of monarchs, feudal lords, moneyed men, however they may be differently assorted in different countries—is once more exhibiting its extreme impotency. Europe may be rotten, but a war should have roused the sound elements; a war should have brought forth some latent energies, and assuredly there should be that much pluck among two hundred and fifty millions of men that at least one decent struggle might be got up, wherein both parties could reap some honor, such as force and spirit can carry off even from the field of battle. But no. Not only is the England of the middle classes, the France of the Bonapartes, incapable of a decent, hearty, hard-fought war; but even Russia, the country of Europe least infected by infidel and unnerving civilization, cannot bring about anything of the kind. The Turks are fit for sudden starts of offensive action, and stubborn resistance on the defensive, but seem not to be made for large combined maneuvers with great armies. Thus everything is reduced to a degree of impuissance and a reciprocal confession of weakness, which appears to be as reciprocally expected by all parties. With governments such as they are at present, this Eastern war may be carried on for thirty years, and yet come to no conclusion.

But while official incompetency is thus displaying itself all over Europe, in the south-western corner of that continent a movement breaks out which at once shows that there are still other forces more active than the official ones. Whatever may be the real character and the end of the Spanish rising, so much at least may be affirmed, that it bears to a future revolution the same relation as the Swiss and Italian movements of 1847 to the revolution of 1848.[248] There are two grand facts in it: first, the military, the actual rulers of the continent since 1849, have got divided among themselves, and have given up their calling of preserving order, for the purpose of asserting their own opinion in opposition to the Government. Their discipline taught them their power, and this power has loosened their discipline. Secondly, we have had the spectacle of a successful barricade fight. Wherever barricades had been raised since June, 1848,[249] they had hitherto proved of no avail. Barricades, the resistance of the population of a large town against the military, seemed of no effect whatever. That prejudice has fallen. We have again seen victorious, unassailable barricades. The spell is broken. A new revolutionary era is rendered possible,

and it is significant that while the troops of official Europe are showing themselves useless in actual war, they are at the same time defeated by the insurgent inhabitants of a town.

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# Karl Marx

## ESPARTERO[250]

It is one of the peculiarities of revolutions that just as the people seem about to take a great start and to open a new era, they suffer themselves to be ruled by the delusions of the past and surrender all the power and influence they have so dearly won into the hands of men who represent, or are supposed to represent, the popular movement of a by-gone epoch. Espartero is one of those traditional men whom the people are wont to take upon their backs at moments of social crises, and whom, like the ill-natured old fellow that obstinately clasped his legs about the neck of Sindbad the sailor, they afterward find it difficult to get rid of. Ask a Spaniard of the so-called Progressist School[251] what is the political value of Espartero, and he will promptly reply that "Espartero represents the unity of the great liberal party; Espartero is popular because he came from the people; his popularity works exclusively for the cause of the Progresistas." It is true that he is the son of an artisan, who has climbed up to be the Regent of Spain; and that, having entered the army as a common soldier, he left it as a Field-Marshal. But if he be the symbol of the unity of the great liberal party, it can only be that indifferent point of unity in which all extremes are neutralized. And as to the popularity of the Progresistas, we do not exaggerate in saying that it was lost from the moment it became transferred from the bulk of that party to this single individual.

We need no other proof of the ambiguous and exceptional character of Espartero's greatness, beyond the simple fact that, so far, nobody has been able to account for it. While his friends take refuge in allegoric generalities, his enemies, alluding to a strange feature of his private life, declare him but a lucky gambler. Both,

then, friends and enemies, are at an equal loss to discover any logical connection between the man himself, and the fame and the name of the man.

Espartero's military merits are as much contested as his political shortcomings are incontestable. In a voluminous biography, published by Señor de Florez,[a] much fuss is made about his military prowess and generalship as shown in the provinces of Charcas, Paz, Arequipa, Potosi and Cochabamba, where he fought under the orders of General Morillo, then charged with the reduction of the South American States under the authority of the Spanish Crown. But the general impression produced by his South American feats of arms upon the excitable mind of his native country is sufficiently characterized by his being designated as the chief of the *Ayacuchismo*, and his partisans as *Ayacuchos*, in allusion to the unfortunate battle at Ayacucho, in which Peru and South America were definitively lost for Spain.[252] He is, at all events, a very extraordinary hero whose historical baptism dates from a defeat, instead of a success. In the seven years' war against the Carlists, he never signalized himself by one of those daring strokes by which Narvaez, his rival, became early known as an iron-nerved soldier. He had certainly the gift of making the best of small successes, while it was mere luck that Maroto betrayed to him the last forces of the Pretender,[b] Cabrera's rising in 1840 being only a posthumous attempt to galvanize the dry bones of Carlism.[253] Señor de Marliani, himself one of Espartero's admirers, and the historian of modern Spain, cannot but own that the seven years' war is to be compared with nothing but the feuds waged in the tenth century between the petty lords of Gaul, when success was not the result of victory.[254] It appears, by another mischance, that of all the Peninsular deeds of Espartero, that which made the liveliest impression upon the public memory was, if not exactly a defeat, at least a singularly strange performance in a hero of liberty. He became renowned as the bombarder of cities—of Barcelona and Seville. If the Spaniards, says a writer, should ever paint him as Mars, we should see the god figuring as a "wall-batterer."[c]

When Cristina was forced, in 1840, to resign her Regency and to fly from Spain, Espartero assumed, against the wishes of a very

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[a] José Segundo Florez. *Espartero. Historia de su vida militar y politica y de los grandes sucesos contemporáneos.—Ed.*

[b] Don Carlos (Charles V).—*Ed.*

[c] [Hughes,] *Revelations of Spain in 1845. By an English Resident*, p. 14.—*Ed.*

large section of the Progresistas, the supreme authority within the limits of parliamentary government. He surrounded himself with a sort of camarilla, and affected the airs of a military dictator, without really elevating himself above the mediocrity of a Constitutional King. His favor extended to Moderados[255] rather than to old Progresistas, who,with a few exceptions, were excluded from office. Without conciliating his enemies, he gradually estranged his friends. Without the courage to break through the shackles of the parliamentary regime, he did not know how to accept it, how to manage it, or how to transform it into an instrument of action. During his three years' dictatorship, the revolutionary spirit was broken step by step, through endless compromises, and the dissensions within the Progresista party were allowed to reach such a pitch as to enable the Moderados to regain exclusive power by a *coup de main.* Thus Espartero became so divested of authority that his own Embassador at Paris[a] conspired against him with Cristina and Narvaez; and so poor in resources, that he found no means to ward off their miserable intrigues, or the petty tricks of Louis Philippe. So little did he understand his own position that he made an inconsiderate stand against public opinion when it simply wanted a pretext to break him to pieces.

In May, 1843, his popularity having long since faded away, he retained Linage, Zurbano and the other members of his military camarilla, whose dismissal was loudly called for; he dismissed the Lopez Ministry, who commanded a large majority in the Chamber of Deputies, and he stubbornly refused an amnesty for the exiled Moderados, then claimed on all hands, by Parliament, by the people and by the army itself. This demand simply expressed the public disgust with his administration. Then, at once, a hurricane of pronunciamentos against the "tyrant Espartero" shook the Peninsula from one end to the other; a movement to be compared only, for the rapidity of its spreading, to the present one. Moderados and Progresistas combined for the one object of getting rid of the Regent. The crisis took him quite unawares—the fatal hour found him unprepared.

Narvaez, accompanied by O'Donnell, Concha and Pezuela, landed with a handful of men at Valencia. On their side all was rapidity and action, considerate audacity, energetic decision. On the side of Espartero all was helpless hesitation, deadly delay,

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[a] Olozaga.—*Ed.*

apathetic irresolution, indolent weakness. While Narvaez raised the siege of Teruel, and marched into Aragon, Espartero retired from Madrid, and consumed whole weeks in unaccountable inactivity at Albacete. When Narvaez had won over the corps of Seoane and Zurbano at Torrejon, and was marching on Madrid, Espartero at length effected a junction with Van Halen, for the useless and odious bombardment of Seville. He then fled from station to station, at every step of his retreat deserted by his troops, till at last he reached the coast. When he embarked at Cadiz, that town, the last where he retained a party, bade its hero farewell by also pronouncing against him. An Englishman who resided in Spain during the catastrophe, gives a graphic description of the sliding-scale of Espartero's greatness:

> "It was not the tremendous crash of an instant, after a well-fought field, but a little and bit by bit descent, after no fighting at all, from Madrid to Ciudad Real, from Ciudad Real to Albacete, from Albacete to Cordova, from Cordova to Seville, from Seville to Port St. Mary,[a] and thence to the wide ocean. He fell from idolatry to enthusiasm, from enthusiasm to attachment, from attachment to respect, from respect to indifference, from indifference to contempt, from contempt to hatred, and from hatred he fell into the sea."[b]

How could Espartero have now again become the savior of the country, and "Sword of the Revolution," as he is called? This event would be quite incomprehensible were it not for the ten years of reaction Spain has suffered under the brutal dictatorship of Narvaez, and the brooding yoke of the Queen's minions, who supplanted him. Extensive and violent epochs of reaction are wonderfully fitted for reestablishing the fallen men of revolutionary miscarriages. The greater the imaginative powers of a people—and where is imagination greater than in the south of Europe?—the more irresistible their impulse to oppose to individual incarnations of despotism individual incarnations of the revolution. As they cannot improvise them at once, they excavate the dead men of their previous movements. Was not Narvaez himself on the point of growing popular at the expense of Sartorius? The Espartero who, on the 29th of July, held his triumphant entrance into Madrid, was no real man; he was a ghost, a name, a reminiscence.

It is but due to justice to record that Espartero never professed to be anything but a constitutional monarchist; and if there had ever existed any doubt upon that point, it must have disappeared

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[a] Puerta de Santa María.—*Ed.*
[b] [Hughes,] op. cit., pp. 15-16.—*Ed.*

before the enthusiastic reception he met with during his exile, at Windsor Castle and from the governing classes of England. When he arrived in London the whole aristocracy flocked to his abode, the Duke of Wellington and Palmerston at their head. Aberdeen, in his quality of Foreign Minister, sent him an invitation to be presented to the Queen; the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen of the city entertained him with gastronomic homages at the Mansion House; and when it became known that the Spanish Cincinnatus passed his leisure hours in gardening, there was no Botanical, or Horticultural, or Agricultural Society which was not eager to present him with membership. He was quite the lion of that metropolis. At the end of 1847 an amnesty recalled the Spanish exiles, and the decree of Queen Isabella appointed him a Senator. He was, however, not allowed to leave England before Queen Victoria had invited him and his Duchess to her table, adding the extraordinary honor of offering them a night's lodging at Windsor Castle. It is true, we believe, that this halo thrown round his person was somewhat connected with the supposition that Espartero had been and still was the representative of British interests in Spain. It is no less true that the Espartero demonstration looked something like a demonstration against Louis Philippe.

On his return to Spain he received deputation upon deputation, gratulations upon gratulations, and the city of Barcelona dispatched an express messenger to apologize for its bad behavior in 1843. But has anybody ever heard his name mentioned during the fatal period from January, 1846, till the late events? Has he ever raised his voice during that dead silence of degraded Spain? Is there recorded one single act of patriotic resistance on his part? He quietly retires to his estate at Logroño, cultivating his cabbages and flowers, waiting his time. He did not go even to the revolution till the revolution came for him. He did more than Mahomet.[a] He expected the mountain to come to him, and the mountain came. Still there is one exception to be mentioned. When the revolution of February[b] burst out, followed by the general European earthquake, he caused to be published by Señor de Principe, and some other friends, a little pamphlet entitled *Espartero, his Past, his Present, his Future,*[256] to remind Spain that it still harbored the man of the past, the present, and the future. The revolutionary movement soon subsiding in France, the man of the past, of the present, and of the future once more sank into oblivion.

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[a] Mohammed.— *Ed.*
[b] 1848.— *Ed.*

Espartero was born at Granátula, in La Mancha, and like his famous fellow countryman,[a] he also has his fixed idea—the Constitution; and his Dulcinea del Toboso—Queen Isabella. On January 8, 1848, when he returned from his English exile to Madrid, he was received by the Queen and took leave of her with the following words:

"I pray your Majesty to call me whenever you want an arm to defend, or a heart to love you."[b]

Her Majesty has now called and her knight-errant appears, smoothing the revolutionary waves, enervating the masses by a delusive calm, allowing Cristina, San Luis and the rest to hide themselves in the palace, and loudly professing his unbroken faith in the words of the innocent Isabella.

It is known that this very trustworthy Queen, whose features are said to assume year after year a more striking resemblance to those of Ferdinand VII, of infamous memory, had her majority proclaimed on November 15, 1843. She was then only thirteen years old on November 21 of the same year. Olozaga, whom Lopez had constituted her tutor for three months, formed a Ministry obnoxious to the Camarilla and the Cortes newly elected under the impression of the first success of Narvaez. He wanted to dissolve the Cortes, and obtained a royal decree signed by the Queen giving him power to do so, but leaving the date of its promulgation blank. On the evening of the 28th, Olozaga had the decree delivered to him from the hands of the Queen. On the evening of the 29th he had another interview with her; but he had hardly left her when an Under-Secretary of State came to his house, and informed him that he was dismissed, and demanded back the decree which he had forced the Queen to sign. Olozaga, a lawyer by profession, was too sharp a man to be ensnared in this way. He did not return the document till the following day, after having shown it to at least one hundred deputies, in proof that the signature of the Queen was in her usual, regular handwriting. On December 13, Gonzalez Bravo, appointed as Premier, summoned the Presidents of the Chambers, the principal Madrid notables, Narvaez, the Marquis de la Santa Cruz, and others, to the Queen that she might make a declaration to them concerning what had passed between her and Olozaga on the evening of

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[a] Don Quixote of La Mancha.—*Ed.*

[b] [Principe, Giron, Satorres, Ribot,] *Espartero: su pasado, su presente, su porvenir*, p. 58.—*Ed.*

November 28. The innocent little Queen led them into the room where she had received Olozaga, and enacted in a very lively, but rather overdone manner, a little drama for their instruction. Thus had Olozaga bolted the door, thus seized her dress, thus obliged her to sit down, thus conducted her hand, thus forced her signature to the decree, in one word, thus had he violated her royal dignity. During this scene Gonzalez Bravo took note of these declarations, while the persons present saw the alleged decree which appeared to be signed in a blotted and tremulous hand. Thus, on the solemn declaration of the Queen, Olozaga was to be condemned for the crime of *laesa majestas*,[a] to be torn in pieces by four horses, or at the best, to be banished for life to the Philippines. But, as we have seen, he had taken his measures of precaution. Then followed seventeen days' debate in the Cortes, creating a sensation greater even than that produced by the famous trial of Queen Caroline in England.[257] Olozaga's defense in the Cortes contained among other things this passage:

"If they tell us that the word of the Queen is to be believed without question, I answer, No! There is either a charge, or there is none. If there be, that word is a testimony like any other, and to that testimony I oppose mine."[b]

In the balance of the Cortes the word of Olozaga was found to be heavier than that of the Queen. Afterward he fled to Portugal to escape the assassins sent against him. This was Isabella's first *entrechat* on the political stage of Spain, and the first proof of her honesty. And this is the same little Queen whose words Espartero now exhorts the people to trust in, and to whom is offered, after eleven years' *school for scandal*,[c] the "defending arm," and the "loving heart" of the "Sword of the Revolution."

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[a] Lese-majesty, high treason.— *Ed.*

[b] [Hughes,] op. cit., p. 80.— *Ed.*

[c] An allusion to Sheridan's famous comedy.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE ATTACK ON THE RUSSIAN FORTS[258]

At last it seems that the allied French and English are to make a genuine attack on Russia. The outmost fortifications of the Empire, on the Aland Isles and at Sevastopol in the Black Sea, are successively, if not simultaneously, to be assailed. Indeed, it is rumored in Western Europe that the former point has already been taken after a brief bombardment, but the report wants confirmation, and is probably premature. As for the attempt upon Sevastopol, we have no official information that it is to be made, but it is positively asserted by *The London Times*[a] and generally believed in that city. So far only a couple of divisions of French and English troops have been embarked at Varna, and though it is supposed they form part of the expedition to the Crimea, it is possible, on the other hand, that they are destined to besiege the Russian fortress of Anapa in Asia. On this point all doubt will probably be removed by the arrival of the next steamer.[259]

The attack upon Bomarsund will be an event of great military interest. It will be the first time that Montalembert's casemated town-fortifications are put to the proof. To judge from views and plans of the place, the forts there, although on a far smaller scale than those of Helsingfors, Kronstadt, or Sevastopol, are defended against a land attack as much as against a bombardment by ships, and are exclusively constructed upon Montalembert's principles. A long bomb-proof fort, with about one hundred guns flanked by temporary earth works, forms the main defense against ships, while it is commanded and protected in the rear by large towers,

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21814, August 8, 1854, leader.— *Ed.*

mounting one thirty, and one ten guns. While the main fort would chiefly engage the ships, the attack on the towers would occupy the land forces. According to our last accounts the garrison is very much weaker than we had supposed; it consists of but little more than three thousand men. It is not quite clear, from the information attainable, how far the sea-attack and the land-attack can, not merely coincide, but actually cooperate and support each other; for a sea-attack is necessarily an attack *de vive force*,[a] which must be decided in a very short time, while any land-attack against masonry presupposes preparatory operations, with at least one parallel and batteries, and therefore is a matter of some duration. This kind of questions, however, can only be decided on the spot. At all events the taking of Bomarsund will have, in a military point of view, a far higher interest than even the capture of Sevastopol, inasmuch as it contributes to the solution of a much-discussed question, while the latter feat would merely be the successful carrying out of old-established military rules.

The proposed attack upon Sevastopol is to be mainly executed by land forces; while the action of the fleets must be almost entirely confined to the close blockade of the harbor. It thus amounts to a land and sea blockade of a sea-port incompletely fortified on the land side. We have no means of knowing what fortifications may have been raised by the Russians on the south of the town and bay; but that they have established redoubts and lines which may necessitate a regular siege, unless great sacrifices are submitted to, there can hardly be a question. At all events, we know that a permanent and to all appearance well-constructed fort—a large square with ample ditch-defenses on each of its sides, and mortar-batteries in each of its salient angles—crowns the hill on the north of the bay, just opposite the town.[b] That hill is the only position near the town which appears not to be commanded within gun-range by other hights, and which itself commands the bay and its opposite slope. Here, then, at all events, will be the chief resistance; but it may be doubted if the possession of the town and harbor can be maintained, even if all the coast-forts on the southern shore are taken, unless this fort is reduced. There will be some regular siege work, there, at least. Now, the extent of the bay from Cape Constantine to its head is about eight miles; and allowing a moderate range to the town and

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[a] By sheer strength.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the fortification on the northern shore of the Big Bay.—*Ed.*

forts, the allied forces would have to extend on a semi-circle of twenty-two or twenty-four miles around them, in order to insure the blockade on land. They must be strong enough on all points to resist the sallies of the garrison, and the attacks of any troops which might be collected in their rear. Although we have no means of knowing the forces which Russia can bring directly or indirectly to the defense of her Black Sea stronghold, yet these details show that no inconsiderable body of troops is required for its capture. There is, besides, a dangerous enemy to be encountered in the deadly climate of the Lower Crimea. As in this attack the strand-batteries can be hardly of any utility to the Russians, the attempt must lose a great deal of its military interest, reducing itself to a siege of very large, but by no means unprecedented, proportions. The force destined for the movement is nowhere stated at above 100,000 men, including a detachment of Turks. Taking all the circumstances into account, this army does not seem sufficient for the purpose

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# Karl Marx

## [EVACUATION OF THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES.— THE EVENTS IN SPAIN.— A NEW DANISH CONSTITUTION.—THE CHARTISTS][260]

London, Tuesday, Aug. 8, 1854

On the 28th ult. Prince Gorchakoff passed with the center of his army through Shlawa, a village about six miles from Kalugereni; leaving it again on the 29th *en route* for Fokshani. The vanguard, commanded by Gen. Soimonoff, consists of eight battalions of the 10th division of infantry, of the regiments of *chasseurs* of Tomsk and Koliwan, and of the regiment of hussars of the Grand Duke, Heir of the Empire.[a] This vanguard was to pass the Jalomitza on the 1st inst. at Ureshti and Merescyani, where bridges had been constructed. It would be expected to arrive at Fokshani about the middle of the month.

The Turkish army advances in three columns. The center was, on July 29, at Kalugereni, on the 30th skirmishers of its vanguard were seen at Glina, two miles from Bucharest, where Omer Pasha's headquarters were expected to be established on the 1st. The right wing marched along the Argish, in the direction from Oltenitza on Bucharest. The left which, on the 28th, was at Mogina, is to take the road from Slatina to Bucharest.

"The retrograde movement of the Russian army," says the *Moniteur de l'Armée*, "seems to partake more of a strategic than of a political character. The Muscovite General finds in it the advantage of concentrating his troops in a good position where they can draw breath from the sufferings undergone in the Dobrodja, and inflicted upon them, on the left bank of the Danube by the Turks. He will be nearer to his basis of *approvisionnement*,[b] while continuing to occupy an important portion of the territory invaded last year. Finally he gets a position that is formidable, even in the presence of superior forces."

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[a] Alexander Nikolayevich (Alexander II).—*Ed.*
[b] Supply.—*Ed.*

On the 26th of July Baron Budberg addressed the following proclamation to the Wallachians:

"His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, King of Poland, and Protector of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, and Protector of all those who profess the orthodox Greek faith, has determined to withdraw the imperial troops for a very short period from the insalubrious countries of the Danube, in order to quarter them on the more healthy hills. The enemy, in the short-sightedness of his views, imagined that we retired from fear of him, and consequently he attempted to attack our troops during their retreat. But Prince Gorchakoff, the Commander-in-Chief, had hardly ordered his troops to repulse them when they fled ignominiously, abandoning their arms and ammunition, which our gallant soldiers carry away. When the season shall be more favorable we shall return to you in arms, to deliver you forever from the barbarous Turk. Our retreat will be effected with caution, and without hurry, so that the enemy may not imagine that we are flying before him."[a]

It is curious that in 1853, in the very same month of July, the Russians found the season not at all unfavorable to the occupation of Wallachia.

"The emigration of the Bulgarian families from the Dobrodja," says a letter from Galatch published in a German paper, "is constantly going on. About 1,000 families, with 150,000 head of cattle, have crossed near Reni."

This "voluntary emigration," to which the inhabitants were invited by the Russians, on the plea of the dangers from Turkish vengeance, is very similar in character to the "voluntary" Austrian loan.[b] The Vienna correspondent of *The Morning Chronicle* relates that the same families,

"on learning that they were to be employed on the fortifications in Moldavia, wished to return to their homes; but they were forced by the Cossacks to proceed to Fokshani, where they are now at work at the trenches."

The barricades were scarcely removed at Madrid, at the request of Espartero, before the counter-revolution was busy at work. The first counter-revolutionary step was the impunity allowed to Queen Cristina, Sartorius, and their associates. Then followed the formation of the Ministry, with the Moderado O'Donnell as Minister of War, and the whole army placed at the disposal of this old friend of Narvaez. There are in the list the names of Pacheco, Lujan, Don Francisco Santa Cruz, all of them notorious partisans of Narvaez, and the first a member of the infamous Ministry of 1847.[261] Another, Salazar, has been appointed on the sole merit of

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[a] Baron Budberg's address is given according to *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 219, August 7, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 288-89 and 304.—*Ed.*

being a playfellow of Espartero. In remuneration for the bloody sacrifices of the people, on the barricades and in the public place, numberless decorations have been showered upon the Espartero generals on the one hand, and on the Moderado friends of O'Donnell on the other hand. In order to pave the way for an ultimate silencing of the press, the press law of 1837 has been reestablished. Instead of convoking a general Constituent Cortes, Espartero is said to intend convoking only the Chambers after the Constitution of 1837, and, as some say, even as modified by Narvaez. To secure as far as possible the success of all these measures and others that are to follow, large masses of troops are being concentrated near Madrid. If any consideration press itself especially on our attention in this affair, it is the suddenness with which the reaction has set in.

On the first instant the chiefs of the barricades called upon Espartero, in order to make to him some observations on the choice of his Ministry. He entered into a long explanation on the difficulties with which he was beset, and endeavored to defend his nominations. But the Deputies of the people seem to have been little satisfied with his explanation. "Very alarming" news arrives at the same time, about the movements of the republicans in Valencia, Catalonia, and Andalusia. The embarrassment of Espartero is visible from his decree sanctioning the continued activity of the provincial juntas.[a] Nor has he yet dared to dissolve the junta of Madrid, though his Ministry is complete and installed in office.

On the demand of Napoleon the Little, Col. Charras has been expelled from Belgium. The Paris correspondent of the *Indépendance belge* speaks of a pamphlet, written and published by Prince Murat, which claims the crown of King Bomba[b] as the legitimate inheritance of the Murats.[c] The pamphlet had been translated into Italian.

The Danish Ministry obstinately persists in refusing to accord to the western powers the harbors and landing-places which would enable them to keep their forces in the Baltic during the winter. This is, however, not the only manner in which that Government manifests its contempt for the powers arrayed against its patron, the Emperor of Russia. It has not hesitated to make its long

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[a] Isabella II. The decree sanctioning the existence of the provincial juntas of August 1, 1854, countersigned by Espartero. *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 220, August 8, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Ferdinand II.—*Ed.*

[c] *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 219, August 7, 1854.—*Ed.*

meditated *coup d'état*, one entirely in the interest of Russia, in the very face of the fleets and armies of the occidental powers. On July 26 a state paper was published at Copenhagen, headed: "Constitution of the Danish Monarchy for its common affairs." Strange to say, the English press has scarcely taken any notice at all of this measure. I give you, therefore, the more important points of this new Danish Constitution:

*Section 1.* The succession of the Danish monarchy is settled by the law of 31st July, 1853.

*Sec. 5.* Common affairs of the monarchy are all those which are not expressly stated to refer to any particular part of it.

*Sec. 6.* The common expenses of the monarchy in excess of its receipts are to be borne in the following proportion, viz: Denmark 60 per cent.; Schleswig 17 per cent.; Holstein 23 per cent.

*Sec. 7.* The common affairs of the monarchy are to be in charge of a *Rigsrad.*

*Sec. 8.* The present Rigsrad will be composed only of members nominated by the King. Future Rigsrads are to be *partly* elected.

*Sec. 10.* The Rigsrad will then be composed of fifty members, the King nominating twenty, and the other thirty members will be elected in the following proportion, viz: The Diet of Denmark will elect 18, the Provincial States of Schleswig 5, those of Holstein 6, and the Ritterschaft of Lauenburg 1.

*Sec. 11.* The fundamental law of the Kingdom of Denmark of 5th June, 1849, is to be restricted to the affairs of that kingdom.

*Sec. 15.* The members of the Rigsrad receive an annual pay of 500 thalers.

*Sec. 16.* The Rigsrad is to be convoked at least once within every two years, for a term as shall be decreed by the King.

*Sec. 17.* Its sittings are to be at Copenhagen; but the King may remove them to any other place.

*Sec. 18.* Its deliberations will be guided by a President, nominated by the King. The debates may be either in the German or the Danish languages, but the resolutions must be put in the latter.

*Sec. 19.* The deliberations of the Rigsrad are secret.

*Sec. 21.* No tax common to the whole Monarchy can be levied, altered, or suppressed, nor any loan contracted for the whole Monarchy without the consent of the Rigsrad.

*Sec. 22.* The Rigsrad has only a consultative voice in all other except the money affairs of the common Monarchy.

A decree of the same date convokes the Rigsrad for Sept. 1st, 1854, and another decree publishes the nominations of the King, the nominees being all courtiers, high functionaries, and knights of the Danebrog.[a]

The principal points gained by this new *coup d'état* are the suppression of the fundamental law, of the representative institutions of Denmark, and the creation of an easy machine for

[a] All the decrees mentioned above are cited from the report of the Copenhagen correspondent of July 31. *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 216, August 4, 1854.—*Ed.*

the supply of as much money as the Court and the Government may want.

Ernest Jones has started on another tour through the manufacturing districts, in order to agitate them in favor of the Charter. At Halifax, Bacup, and the other localities he had already visited, the following petition to the Parliament was adopted:

*"To the Honorable, the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.—The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of Bacup, in public meeting assembled, on Sunday, the 30th of July, 1854,*
*Sheweth,—*

"That your Petitioners have long and closely observed the conduct of the present Ministers of the Crown, in their home and foreign policy, and are convinced from calm observation that in both they are utterly undeserving the confidence of the country.

"That your Petitioners feel convinced no domestic amelioration will take place, and no external vigor be displayed so long as such men remain at the helm of national affairs.

"Your Petitioners therefore pray your honorable House to present an address to the throne, to the effect that Her Majesty may be pleased to discard her present advisers, and call to her assistance men more in harmony with the progressive spirit of the age, and better suited to the requirements of the times.

"And your Petitioners will ever pray."[a]

On Sunday[b] a large meeting assembled at Dirpley Moor, Bacup; where the agitator[c] delivered one of the most powerful speeches ever made by him, some extracts from which deserve a place in your journal[262]:

"The time for action has at last arrived, and we are commencing now such a revival of Chartism in England as never yet succeeded on a pause of apathy. At last the hour is drawing nigh when we shall have the Charter....

"Against the fall of wages you have struggled—and struggled vainly; hunger led you to the breach; ...but poverty was your teacher, even as hunger was your drill-sergeant; and after every fresh fall you rose in intelligence and knowledge. At first combinations and strikes were your remedy. You sought to conquer by them—forgetting that, not having the means of working for yourselves, you had not the means of resisting the capitalist—whose purse sat very comfortably watching your belly—seeing which could stand out longest.... You thought short time would do it, and were told that if each man worked two hours less, there would be two hours' work for those who had not worked at all. But you forgot that while you shortened the hours of labor one per cent, monopoly increased machinery one hundred....

"You then flew to co-operation. You compassed a great truth—the salvation of labor must depend on co-operation—but you overlooked the means of insuring that salvation. If you manufacture, you require a market—if you have something

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[a] *The People's Paper*, No. 118, August 5, 1854.—*Ed.*
[b] July 30, 1854.—*Ed.*
[c] Ernest Jones.—*Ed.*

to sell, you require somebody who wants to buy it—and you forgot that that somebody was not at hand. Co-operative manufacture starts—but where's the market.... Where then are you to get the market? How can you make the poor rich, which alone can enable them to become purchasers of what co-operation manufactures? By those British Californians, whose gold is on the surface of the soil,and tints the waving wheatfield of the harvest. Look at your feet!—there, on the grassy banks whereon you sit—there, on the broad field whereon you stand—there lies liberty—there lies co-operation—there lies high wages—there lies prosperity and peace! In the fifteen millions of our public lands—the twenty-seven millions of our uncultivated British prairies[a] here at home. A Greek fable says Hercules wrestled with the giant Antæus, whose mother was the Earth, and threw him often—but every time he fell upon his mother's breast he gained fresh force, and bounded up more strong. Hercules discovering this, lifted him up, and held him in the air, till he had conquered him. Thus does the Hercules monopoly tear giant labor from its parent soil, and hold it by the grasp of competition, weak, powerless, and suspended, like Mahomet's tomb, 'twixt heaven and hell—only much nearer to the latter place!

"But how get to the land? There are some men who tell you that political power is not needed for the purpose. Who are they who tell you so? Is it the leaders of ten per cent. movements, and ten hours' movements, and short time movements, and restriction on machinery movements, and burial club movements, and partnership movements, and benefit society movements, and church separation movements, and education movements, and municipal movements, and all the other movements besides? What a lot of 'movements', and yet we have not *moved.* Not want political power? Why, these are the very men who go dancing around a political Tidd Pratt,[b]—or send whining deputations to a political Palmerston,—or petition a political parliament, or wheedle around a political throne! Why, then it is political power we must go to after all, by their own showing. Only those men tell you to go to the political power of your *enemies,* and I tell you to go to a political power of your *own....* I lay down this sovereign truth:—

*"The charter is the universal remedy.*

"What have we opposed to us? First, a coalition ministry. What does it mean? The leaders of factions, not one of which can stand alone. Some dozen men, too weak to stand on their own legs, and so they lean against each other, and the whole lot of them can't make one proper man at last. That is a coalition. What have we besides? A Tory opposition that would kick them out, but dare not; for it knows that it would be kicked out in turn; and then comes the Deluge, in which Noah himself could not save Class Government. What have we else? A landed aristocracy, three-fourths of whose estates are mortgaged for above two-thirds of their value—a glorious power that to crush a people! 38,000 bankrupt landlords, with 300,000 farmers, who groan beneath high rents, game laws and landlord tyranny. What have we more? A minocracy becoming bankrupt beneath the working of their own vile race of competition—who soon will not be able to keep their mills over their own heads. A precious power that to strike the pedestal of freedom from your feet! What remains? The working man and the shopkeeper. Often has it been endeavored to unite the two on the basis of a compromise. I for one have always

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[a] *Sic* in the original.—*Ed.*

[b] Apparently a misprint. The reference to a book by the well-known English lawyer W. Tidd, *Practice of the Court of King's Bench.—Ed.*

opposed it, because a compromise of the franchise would only have strengthened the moneyed interest, and perfected class legislation. But the time for that union has now come at last—and come without the need of compromise or treason. The retail shopkeepers are fast becoming democratic. It is said the way to a working man's brain is through his belly. Aye! and the way to a shopkeeper's heart is through his pocket? For every shilling less he takes he gets a new idea. Insolvency is teaching him the truth.... Thus the moral force of our enemies is annihilated—and new allies are joining us. Their physical force is gone as well. The Czar's done that! In Ireland there are scarce 1,000 men! In England there is now no standing army. But there's the militia! Ah, the militia! of which the desertions are so immensely numerous, says *The London Times*, that the 'Hue and cry' is no longer enough, but special circulars are sent to every parish, to every place where the deserter ever lived, if but a week, to see if force and terror can drag him back. I wish the Government joy of their new force. Thus the field is clear—the people's opportunity has come. Do not suppose from this I mean violence. No! Far from it! *We mean a great peaceable moral movement.* But because *we* mean moral force, it does not follow our *enemies* should mean it *too....*

"England has begun to think, and listening. As yet she is listening for the drums of Poland and the tramp of Hungary. As yet she is listening for the cries of Milan and the shouts of Paris! But amid the passing pause she is beginning to hear the beating of her own proud heart—and cries 'I also have a work to do—a foe to vanquish, and a field to conquer.'"[a]

The Chairman of the meeting[b] adverted to the presence of the Superintendent and other men of the police—trusting that no misrepresentations of what was said would be reported by those employed by Government.[c] Referring to this warning Ernest Jones said:

"For my part, I don't care what they say—they may say what they choose. I go into agitation like a soldier into battle—taking my chance amid the balls that fly—to fall and perish, or to live and conquer; for I'm a soldier of Democracy."[d]

Written on August 8, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

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[a] *The People's Paper*, No. 118, August 5, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Shoesmith.—*Ed.*

[c] This warning was not pronounced by the Chairman but by James Mooney who was the first to speak. *The People's Paper*, No. 118, August 5, 1854.—*Ed.*

[d] This is a quotation from Ernest Jones' speech extracts from which are given by Marx above.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [EVACUATION OF MOLDAVIA AND WALLACHIA.—POLAND.—DEMANDS OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE][263]

London, Friday, Aug. 11, 1854

Yesterday's *Moniteur* states that

"the Russian Envoy at Vienna[a] has announced to the Austrian Cabinet that the Emperor Nicholas has ordered the complete evacuation of Wallachia and Moldavia. Notwithstanding this declaration, Count Buol exchanged notes on the 8th inst. with Baron de Bourqueney and Lord Westmorland, from which it results that Austria, like France and England, is of opinion that *guarantees* must be exacted from Russia to prevent a return of complications which disturb the quiet of Europe, and engages itself until the reestablishment of general peace not to enter into any treaty with the Cabinet of St. Petersburg unless those *guarantees* are obtained."[b]

Of what sort these guarantees are to be, may be seen from *The Times* of this morning. Firstly, the evacuation of the Principalities; secondly, the substitution of a common European protectorate in *lieu* of the Russian protectorate; thirdly, the

"revision of the Convention of the Straits, and the adoption of such measures as are necessary to reduce the naval ascendancy of Russia within limits less formidable to the existence of Turkey and the independence of navigation both on the waters of the Euxine and at the mouths of the Danube."[c]

The statement of the *Moniteur* is on the whole confirmed by the declarations of Lord Clarendon in yesterday's sitting of the House of Lords.[d] We know also, from other sources, that the Russian headquarters are removed to Buseo; that four Russian regiments have crossed the Pruth, and that the Austrian Government, on its part, has countermanded the order given to several corps of

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[a] A. M. Gorchakov.—*Ed.*
[b] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 222, August 10, 1854.—*Ed.*
[c] *The Times*, No. 21817, August 11, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*
[d] *The Times*, No. 21817, August 11, 1854.—*Ed.*

troops to reenforce the armies drawn up *en échelon* on the frontiers of Galicia and Transylvania.

There was scarcely ever a more curious operation in the history of wars than this evacuation of the Principalities by the armies of Russia. The fact is that it cannot be accounted for from any strategical, but only from a diplomatic point of view. As has been explained in *The Tribune*,[a] a plan had been arranged between Austria and Russia, according to which the Austrians were to occupy the Principalities as soon as the honor of the Czar should be satisfied by the capture of Silistria; the chance of a Russian defeat being provided for by a clause, according to which the Austrian occupation was to take place in that case, too. Accordingly, one day before the Russians raised the siege of Silistria, a treaty was concluded between Turkey and Austria, giving the latter power the right to enter Wallachia.[264] The treaty aimed at three purposes—to withhold the Principalities from Turkey; to "raise a cordon against the plague of revolution around the Austrian frontiers;" lastly, to secure the safe retreat of the Russian army. This treaty, as we may safely infer from the confessions of Lord Clarendon, was forced upon the Porte by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the English Embassador at Constantinople—the Divan simultaneously issuing an order for allowing the Russians to retire without being molested by pursuit. The precipitate withdrawal of the Russians from the Danube is therefore without an explanation, unless it entered into Russia's agreements with Austria. The Austrians had fixed the 3d of July for the entrance of their troops into Wallachia. Whence their procrastination? They were securing concession upon concession from the Porte: firstly, in respect of the form of government to be established in Wallachia; secondly, in respect to the exclusion of the Turks from their own province. Subsequently they made known that their occupation of Wallachia would not include a declaration of war.

"The Austrian Government," says Lord Clarendon, "at the end of June, when the Russians were about to evacuate Wallachia, sent an officer from the staff of General Hess to inform the allied Commanders that the Austrian Government intended to occupy a portion of Wallachia, in the name of the Sultan, and for the purpose of restoring his authority there; but that they would not enter as belligerents, *because* they were not at war with Russia, and had not received an answer to the demands which they had addressed to her."

This imbecile sincerity of Austria caused embarrassment, and a new delay was necessitated. Then came the protest of Prussia,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 246-52.—*Ed.*

jealous of the aggrandizement of Austrian power on the Danube. The fact of both these powers being the tools of Russia does not exclude their remaining jealous of each other, as was sufficiently exemplified by the "potato-war" of 1850.[265] If Mr. Urquhart had perused the Warsaw protocol of that year,[266] he would not have tumbled into the Quixotic idea of suddenly propping up Prussia as the European bulwark against Russia.

Seeing Austria losing her opportunity, the Russians already in retreat turned round and advanced once more to the Danube, for, if the evacuation of Wallachia was complete before Austria had moved, their subsequent entrance into that Principality would have been deprived of any pretext. Meanwhile, however, the Turkish General at Rustchuk[a]—to use the phraseology of *The Times*—"imagining"[b] the Russians in full retreat, went over to Giurgevo, and beat them so soundly as to render impossible any attempt at retaking possession of the line of the Danube. In consequence of this defeat the Russians were obliged to think seriously of retreat, a resolution to which they were prompted by the discovery that the ostensible allies of Turkey would no longer be able to remain inactive, and that the English Government would be forced, in deference to their army as well as to the public, to undertake something against them. By retiring from the Principalities they increased their defensive force in Bessarabia and the Crimea. Thus we learn by a telegraphic dispatch that the Russian regiments in Bessarabia and Kherson are to move in all possible haste to the Crimea, while those in Moldavia march to occupy their places.[c]

It was to be presumed that the Turks would not be slow in improving their opportunity. Their vanguard, under Iskander Bey, entered Bucharest on the 6th inst., and their General received a deputation from the Wallachian Capital on the anniversary of the day in which, in 1853, their enemies had entered it.

Thus the Austrians have again lost their opportunity and are deprived of their false pretenses for entering Wallachia. An occupation at this moment would bring them infallibly into collision with the Turks. While, therefore, the Austrian papers denounce the advance of the Turks upon Bucharest as a breach of contract, the Austrians themselves are denounced by the English

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[a] Omer Pasha.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times*, No. 21807, July 31, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

[c] Telegraphic dispatch from Vienna of August 8. *The Times*, No. 21816, August 10, 1854.—*Ed.*

ministerial press for their slowness and stupidity, in having set at nought the fine spun plot. In *The Times* of Thursday we read for instance:

"The Austrians have lost by their procrastination the effect of the position they might have assumed in the Principalities. Omer Pasha has taken advantage of this opportunity and closed up on the heels of the retreating enemy. Wallachia is now in a great degree occupied by the troops of the Sultan. The Danube from Orsova to Galatch is in their possession and there is no reason to suppose that any claim can be urged by a foreign power to induce the Turkish commander to recede from a province which he holds by the right of the master and by the valor of his army."[a]

All that is left for the Austrians to do now is the occupation of Moldavia.

The dispatches from Constantinople dated July 30, almost exclusively allude to the projected expedition against the Crimea.[b] The division of twenty ships which started from Balchik on the 21st of July, accompanied by Generals Brown and Canrobert, and commanded by Admiral Bruat, in order to *reconnoitre* the coast from Anapa to Sevastopol, returned on the 27th. After their return Canrobert and Brown immediately proceeded to Varna to communicate the results of their mission to St. Arnaud and Lord Raglan.[c] The Anglo-French troops were drawn up from Varna to Kustendje, in order to facilitate their embarkation at the different ports. This embarkation must have taken place on the 29th or 30th of July. The Turkish fleet had entered the Black Sea, and all the Anglo-French naval forces must have been assembled in the latitude of Varna as on the 1st inst., numerous transports were accumulated there. On the destination of these forces the *Gazette du Midi* has the following:

"Some speak of Anapa, and the neighboring fortress which contain together about 20,000 men, and the capture of which would at once establish communications between Abkhazia, Circassia, and the Crimea, so that the Circassians could easily take part in any attack directed against the Crimea. According to others the attack is to be directed against Odessa, which, at this moment, musters a garrison of about 40,000 men, and which would be fortified by the allied troops, in order to stay there during the winter, and to threaten Bessarabia on one side and the Crimea on the other side. A third version points to Nikolayev as the point to be attacked, there being there the arsenals of the Russian army, and this place

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21816, August 10, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*
[b] *Journal des Débats*, August 10, 1854.—*Ed.*
[c] *The Times*, No. 21816, August 10, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

occupying the triangle formed by the Dnieper in the east, and the Bug in the west."[a]

The Dobrodja has been entirely abandoned by the Russians, and is now occupied by 36,000 Turks and French. The Turks are at Babadagh and are said to be under orders to attack Tultsha, while the French are to attack Galatch.

On the 16th of July, the little town established by the Russians at the Sulina mouth, which was already partly dismantled, is said to have been completely destroyed by the English steamers *Spitfire* and *Vesuvius*, no buildings having been spared except the lighthouse and the church.

In the White Sea the English have effected a landing on some point on the Coast of Onega and destroyed a village.

The *Vladimir* affair in the Black Sea[267] has called forth a violent attack from *The Times* against Admiral Dundas,[b] to which *The Herald* answers as follows:

"Sir Charles Napier in the Baltic could permit the Sweaborg fleet to pass unmolested to their anchorage—could allow Hango Udd to be well fortified, and then most ineffectively bombarded—could permit the buoys to be removed and the ships to run aground in consequence, and not one word of reflection would *The Times* cast upon him; but with Admiral Dundas the case is altogether different."[c]

By letters from Paris of the 9th inst. we learn that 50,000 French troops are to be added to the Oriental army.[d] If the war produce no other good, it has at least the merit of ridding France of her Decembrist army.

It may have occurred to your notice that the Emperor of Russia, since his discomfiture in Turkey, has recommenced using the title of King of Poland, which he had resigned as superfluous after his victory in Hungary, the absorption of that country being considered to have been effected. In a letter published by the *Vienna Presse*, dated Warsaw, 1st Aug., we read:

"The approaching arrival of the Czar at Warsaw will be marked, it is said, by certain concessions to the Poles in the point of view of their nationality. It is said that the assembly of notables mentioned in the organic statute for the Kingdom of Poland of 1832[268] is to be convoked. The establishments of public instruction are,

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[a] This quotation is given according to a reprint in *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 223, August 11, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times*, No. 21815, August 9, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Morning Herald*, No. 22194, August 10, 1854.—*Ed.*

[d] Report by the Paris correspondent of August 9. *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 222, August 10, 1854.—*Ed.*

it is said. to be reopened, and the employment of the Polish language in official acts, the publication of the annual expenses and receipts, and the right to consent to direct taxes ordered. The Polish army is also, as the report goes, to be reestablished, but under-command of Russian officers. The fourth recruitment is finished. Never had the population been subjected to contributions to such an extent."[a]

We read also in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* under date of 7th August:

"According to reports from Warsaw, Gen. Rüdiger, the stadtholder of the Kingdom of Poland, has summoned the marshals of the Polish nobility to petition the Crown for the restoration of an independent Polish Kingdom."

Many solutions of the Polish question have been offered by diverse parties, but never did any one imagine such a solution as that proposed and ordered by the Russian general.

I am informed from Copenhagen that the idiot king of Denmark,[b] accompanied by the Minister of the Interior, M. de Tillisch, has embarked to meet the king of Sweden[c] at Karlskrona. Tillisch is one of the most fanatical partisans of Russia, and it is generally supposed that the meeting of the two kings is destined to renew the bond of Russian partisanship called the Northern armed neutrality.[269] If Denmark and Sweden mean neutrality toward Russia, it does not follow that they mean the same toward England and France, as the following circumstance sets forth. Some days ago General Mesa, Commander-in-chief of the Danish Artillery, passed in review the Artillery of the National Guard and addressed to them an unusually ardent allocution, hinting that the day approached perhaps when the National Artillery, united to that of the army, would be appealed to by the king for the common defense of the Scandinavian fatherland.

Parliament will be prorogued to-morrow. The session is remarkable for its abandoned measures, as the campaign, for its postponement of warlike operations.

Some days ago the *Charivari* published a caricature exhibiting the Spanish people engaged in battle and the two sabers—Espartero and O'Donnell—embracing each other over their heads. The *Charivari* mistook for the end of the revolution, what is only its commencement. The struggle has already commenced

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[a] This letter is quoted from a reprint in *The Morning Post*, No. 25150, August 11, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick VII.—*Ed.*

[c] Oscar I; report by the Hamburg correspondent of August 8. *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 223, August 11, 1854.—*Ed.*

between O'Donnell and Espartero, and not only between them, but also between the military chiefs and the people. It has been of little avail to the Government to have appointed the toreador Pucheta as Superintendent of the slaughter-houses, to have nominated a committee for the reward of the barricade-combatants, and finally to have appointed two Frenchmen, Pujol and Delmas, as historiographers of the revolution. O'Donnell wants the Cortes to be elected according to the law of 1845, Espartero according to the Constitution of 1837,[270] and the people by universal suffrage. The people refuse to lay down their arms before the publication of a Government program, the program of Manzanares[a] no longer satisfying their views. The people demand the annulment of the Concordat of 1851,[271] confiscation of the estates of the counter-revolutionists, an *exposé* of the finances, cancelling of all contracts for railways and other swindling contracts for public works, and lastly the judgment of Cristina by a special Court. Two attempts at flight on the part of the latter have been foiled by the armed resistance of the people. *El Tribuno* makes the following account of restitutions to be made by Cristina to the National Exchequer: Twenty-four millions illegally received as Regent from 1834 to 1840; twelve millions received on her return from France after an absence of three years; and thirty-five millions received of the Treasury of Cuba.[b] This account even is a generous one. When Cristina left Spain in 1840, she carried off large sums and nearly all the jewels of the Spanish Crown.

Written on August 11, 1854

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4166, August 25; reprinted in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 966, August 29 and partly in the *New-York Weekly Tribune*, No. 677, September 2, 1854

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] See this volume, p. 305.—*Ed.*

[b] The account from *El Tribuno* is given according to *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 221, August 9, 1854.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE EASTERN QUESTION.—THE REVOLUTION IN SPAIN.—THE MADRID PRESS][272]

London, Tuesday, Aug. 15, 1854

It is stated in the *Cologne Gazette*[a] that

"after many years negotiations the American Government has declared its refusal to renew the existing treaty with Denmark, unless article V. be replaced by a stipulation according free passage through the Sound to all American vessels. At the same time the United States Government has declined to offer any compensation. Denmark, menaced by these American measures, has appealed to the other powers, and the Prussian Government is said to be willing to send 20,000 men for the protection of the Sound."

Since the Sound duties weigh on no one more oppressively than on Prussia herself, the measure attributed to her would marvellously suit the genius of Prussian policy. Altogether—*se non è vero, è ben trovato.*[b]

The Frankfort Diet has published the new law on the press and association which has occupied its deliberations for a long time. The law affecting public associations simply prohibits every sort of political meetings or reunions, and the law on the press imposes heavy sums of *cautionnement,*[c] makes the issue of all publications dependent on Government permission, and withdraws offenses of the press from the jurisdiction of the jury trial.

The long-pending affair of the Berlin revolutionist conspiracy[273] has been abandoned by the Prussian Government, the chief witness against the accused parties, Mr. Hentze, being declared "suspect" by the public prosecutor. This Hentze is the same

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[a] *Kölnische Zeitung.—Ed.*
[b] If it is not true, it's cleverly invented.—*Ed.*
[c] Caution money.—*Ed.*

person on whose evidence, at the Cologne trial, a number of my friends were condemned to imprisonment in 1852.[274] But we are no longer in 1852, and the Prussian Government perhaps did not like to run the risk of seeing all its police agents branded a second time, reviving the *souvenirs* of Cologne in the very Capital, and at a time when the *terreur* of counter-revolution no longer imposes on the people.

On the 1st of August the Servian Government sent a courier to Brestovac, where Prince Alexander is using the waters, with the answer proposed to be made to the injunctions of the Sublime Porte.[a] The answer was signed by the Prince and immediately forwarded to Constantinople. It alleges the impossibility of a disarmament, on account of the many dangers that would surround it, but states that in deference to the wishes of Austria and the orders of the Porte the military exercises had been suspended. Izzet Pasha, the Governor of Belgrade, has been recalled, at his own request. His successor is not yet known.

Ten thousand Turks are said to occupy Bucharest; but at the same time we read in today's *Moniteur* that Austria is only waiting for the reply of Omer Pasha to the last communication of Colonel Kalik, in order to command the entrance of an Austrian corps into the Principalities.[b] When Count Buol received the notification from Prince Gorchakoff, announcing the departure of the Russians from the Principalities, he answered that

> "the Austrian troops would occupy the Principalities, but that such occupation had nothing hostile to Russia."[c]

By the prorogation of Parliament in 1854 the Eastern Question is brought back to the stage it occupied at the prorogation of Parliament in 1853. The Vienna Conference[275] is once more to set to work, to paralyze active operations, to bewilder public opinion, and to offer a new occasion to Sir James Graham, at the reopening of Parliament, to say that a noble mind is slow to suspect.[d] It is worthy of observation that the dodge originates this time not with Austria, but with England itself, as you will see from *The Times* Vienna correspondence:

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[a] See this volume, p. 325.—*Ed.*

[b] Report from Vienna of August 10, 1854. *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 226, August 14, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] Report from Vienna of August 10, 1854, reprinted from the *Journal français de Francfort* in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 227, August 15, 1854.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 12-13 and 27.—*Ed.*

"The English and French Ministers have informed Count Buol that they have been instructed by their Governments to *propose* that the Vienna Conference should meet. The reply is said to have been that nothing could be more agreeable to the Imperial Court."[a]

The basis of the new deliberations of the Conference is a sort of revived Vienna note, furnished by the answer of M. Drouyn de Lhuys to the last communication of M. de Nesselrode, the cardinal points of which differ very little from what I expected they would be after the analysis I gave you in my last letter[b] of the terms named by *The Times*. There is not a word about an indemnity to the Turks, nor even to the allies. The usurped Russian protectorate over Moldavia, Wallachia and Servia, is to be transformed into European usurpation; the same is to be done with the "protectorate" over the Christians in Turkey; the fruits of the Turkish victories to be restricted to free navigation of the Danube for Austria, and a change of the treaty of 1841[276] in favor, not of the Porte, but of the Powers.

The speech of Lord Clarendon on Thursday, the main points of which I have already reported, contained a most important revelation on the policy observed by the English Ministry in the Oriental question. He stated in plain words:

"I beg you to remember, that it was on the 29th of March that war was declared —a little more than four months ago—and it was then universally believed—and, when I say universally believed I do not speak of her Majesty's Government, but of the most able and experienced officers both of England and France—that at that time Russia meditated a war of further aggression. Nobody believed that, with the great forces she had concentrated on the north of the Danube, with all the efforts she had made, and with all the vast supplies she had accumulated, she did not intend—on the contrary that she did intend—a march southward. Although we did not doubt the known bravery of the Turks, we could not bring ourselves to believe that they would be able to resist the well-disciplined and numerically superior Russian troops, under the most experienced generals, while the only Turkish general whom we know even by name was Omer Pasha, who had not then had the opportunity, which he has since so nobly profited by, to establish for himself a lasting fame and renown. So much were the French Government and we convinced of this that Sir J. Burgoyne and an experienced French officer of engineers were sent to Constantinople in order to devise means of defending that capital and the strait of the Dardanelles, and so much importance was attached to their mission, and so entirely was the whole plan of the campaign supposed to be connected with it, that the departure of Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud was delayed, in order that they might have personal communications with the officers sent out on that service. The united armies of the Allies then went to Gallipoli

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[a] Report from Vienna of August 10. *The Times*, No. 21820, August 15, 1854.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 357.—*Ed.*

where great works were thrown up. They went to Constantinople, always having the necessity of defending the Dardanelles in view."[a]

The whole plan, then, of the Allied Powers, was that Russia should advance into and occupy the provinces, and the allied forces the capital of the Ottoman Empire and the Dardanelles. Hence the delays and all the misunderstood movements of the Anglo-French forces. The bravery of the Turkish troops which baffled this Russo-Anglo-French trick was, of course, "unexpected."

Some months before the outbreak of the present Spanish revolution, I told your readers that Russian influences were at work in bringing about a Peninsular commotion.[b] For that Russia wanted no direct agents. There was *The Times*, the advocate and friend of King Bomba,[c] of the "young hope" of Austria,[d] of Nicholas, of George IV, suddenly turned indignant at the gross immoralities of Queen Isabella and the Spanish Court. There were, besides, the diplomatic agents of the English Ministry, whom the Russian Minister Palmerston had no difficulty in bamboozling with visions of a Peninsular Coburg kingdom.[277] It is now ascertained that it was the British Embassador[e] who concealed O'Donnell at his palace, and induced the banker Collado, the present Minister of Finance, to advance the money required by O'Donnell and Dulce, to start their pronunciamento. Should anybody doubt that Russia really had a hand in Peninsular affairs, let me remind him of the affair of the *Isla de Leon.* Considerable bodies of troops were assembled at Cadiz, in 1820, destined for the South American colonies. All at once the army stationed on the Isle declared for the Constitution of 1812, and its example was followed by troops elsewhere. Now, we know from Chateaubriand, the French Embassador at the Congress of Verona,[278] that Russia stimulated Spain to undertake the expedition into South America, and forced France to undertake the expedition into Spain. We know, on the other hand, from the message of the United States President,[f] that Russia promised him to prevent the expedition against South America.[g] It requires, then, but little judgment to

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[a] Lord Clarendon's speech in the House of Lords on August 10, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21817, August 11, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 40-41.—*Ed.*

[c] Ferdinand II.—*Ed.*

[d] Francis Joseph I.—*Ed.*

[e] John Caradoc, Baron Howden.—*Ed.*

[f] James Monroe.—*Ed.*

[g] All this information is taken from David Urquhart, *Progress of Russia in the West, North, and South*, pp. 31-35, 40-50.—*Ed.*

infer as to the authorship of the insurrection of the Isla de Leon. But I will give you another instance of the tender interest taken by Russia in the commotions of the Spanish Peninsula. In his *Historia politica de la España moderna*, Barcelona, 1849, Señor de Marliani, in order to prove that Russia had no reason to oppose the constitutional movement of Spain, makes the following statement:

"There were seen on the Neva Spanish soldiers swearing to the Constitution (of 1812) and receiving their banners from imperial hands. In his extraordinary expedition against Russia Napoleon formed from the Spanish prisoners in France a special legion, who, after the defeat of the French forces, deserted to the Russian camp. Alexander received them with marked condescension, and quartered them at Peterhoff, where the Empress[a] frequently went to visit them. On a given day Alexander ordered them to assemble on the frozen Neva, and made them take the oath for the Spanish Constitution, presenting them at the same time with banners embroidered by the Empress herself. This corps, thenceforth named 'Imperial Alexander,' embarked at Kronstadt, and was landed at Cadiz. It proved true to the oath taken on the Neva, by rising, in 1821, at Ocaña for the reestablishment of the Constitution."

While Russia is now intriguing in the Peninsula through the hands of England, it, at the same time, denounces England to France. Thus we read in the *New-Prussian Gazette*[b] that England has made the Spanish revolution behind the back of France.

What interest has Russia in fomenting commotions in Spain? To create a diversion in the West, to provoke dissensions between France and England, and lastly to seduce France into an intervention. Already we are told by the Anglo-Russian papers that French insurrectionists of June[279] constructed the barricades at Madrid. The same was said to Charles X at the Congress of Verona.

"The precedent set by the Spanish army had been followed by Portugal, spread to Naples, extended to Piedmont, and exhibited everywhere the dangerous example of armies meddling in measures of reform, and by force of arms dictating laws to their country. Immediately after the insurrection had taken place in Piedmont, movements had occurred in France, at Lyons and in other places, directed to the same end. There was Berton's conspiracy at Rochelle in which 25 soldiers of the 45th regiment had taken part. Revolutionary Spain retransfused its hideous elements of discord into France, and both leagued their democratic factions against the monarchical system."[c]

Do we say that the Spanish revolution has been made by the Anglo-Russians? By no means. Russia only supports factious

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[a] Yelizaveta Alexeyevna.—*Ed.*
[b] *Neue Preußische Zeitung.—Ed.*
[c] Marliani, *Historia politica de la España moderna*, p. 293.—*Ed.*

movements at moments when it knows revolutionary crises to be at hand. The real popular movement, however, which then begins, is always found to be as much opposed to the intrigues of Russia as to the oppressive agency of the Government. Such was the fact in Wallachia in 1848—such is the fact in Spain in 1854.

The perfidious conduct of England is exhibited at full length by the conduct of its Embassador at Madrid, Lord Howden. Before setting out from England to return to his post, he assembled the Spanish bondholders, calling upon them to press the payment of their claims on the Government, and in case of refusal, to declare that they would refuse all credit to Spanish merchants. Thus he prepared difficulties for the new Government. As soon as he arrived at Madrid, he subscribed for the victims fallen at the barricades. Thus he provokes ovations from the Spanish people.

*The Times* charges Mr. Soulé with having produced the Madrid insurrection in the interest of the present American Administration.[a] At all events, Mr. Soulé has not written *The Times's* articles against Isabella II, nor has the party inclined to Cuban annexation gained any benefit from the revolution. With regard to this question, the nomination of General de la Concha as Captain-General of the Island of Cuba is characteristic, he having been one of the seconds of the Duke of Alba in his duel with the son of Mr. Soulé. It would be a mistake to suppose that the Spanish Liberals in any way partake in the views of the English Liberal, Mr. Cobden, in reference to the abandonment of the colonies.[280] One great object of the Constitution of 1812 was to retain the empire over the Spanish colonies by the introduction of a united system of representation into the new code.[281] In 1811 the Spaniards even equipped a large armament, consisting of several regiments from Galicia, the only province in Spain then not occupied by the French, in order to combine coercion with their South American policy. It was almost the chief principle of that Constitution not to abandon any of the colonies belonging to Spain, and the revolutionists of today share the same opinion.

No revolution has ever exhibited a more scandalous spectacle in the conduct of its public men than this undertaken in the interest of "morality." The coalition of the old parties forming the present Government of Spain (the partisans of Espartero and the partisans of Narvaez) has been occupied with nothing so much as the division of the spoils of office, of places, of salaries, of titles, and of decorations. Dulce and Echague have arrived at Madrid, and

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21820, August 15, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

Serrano has solicited permission to come, in order to secure their shares in the plunder. There is a great quarrel between Moderados and Progresistas, the former being charged with having named all the generals, the latter with having appointed all the political chiefs. To appease the jealousies of the "rabble," Pucheta the toreador has been promoted from a director of the slaughter-houses to a director of police. Even the *Clamor Público*, a very moderate paper, gives vent to feelings of disappointment.

"The conduct of the generals and chiefs would have been more dignified if they had resigned promotion, giving a noble example of disinterestedness, and conforming themselves to the principles of morality proclaimed by the revolution."[a]

The shamelessness of the distribution of the spoils is marked by the division of the Embassadors' places. I do not speak of the appointment of Señor Olozaga for Paris, although being the Embassador of Espartero at the same Court in 1843, he conspired with Louis Philippe, Cristina and Narvaez; nor of the appointment for Vienna of Alejandro Mon, the Finance Minister of Narvaez in 1844; nor of that of Rios y Rosas for Lisbon, and Pastor Diaz for Turin, both Moderados of very indifferent capacity. I speak of the nomination of Gonzalez Bravo for the Embassy of Constantinople. He is the incarnation of Spanish corruption. In 1839 he published *El Guirigay* (*The Slang*), a sort of Madrid *Punch*, in which he made the most furious attacks against Cristina. Three years afterward his rage for office transformed him into a boisterous Moderado. Narvaez, who wanted a pliant tool, used him as Prime Minister of Spain, and then kicked him away as soon as he could dispense with him. Bravo, in the interval, appointed as his Minister of Finance one Carrasco, who plundered the Spanish treasury directly. He made his father Under-Secretary of the Treasury, a man who had been expelled from his place as a subaltern in the Exchequer because of his malversation; and he transformed his brother-in-law, a hanger-on at the Principe Theater, into a state-groom to the Queen. When reproached with his apostasy and corruption, he answered: "Is it not ridiculous to be always the same?" This man is the chosen Embassador of the revolution of morality.

It is somewhat refreshing to hear, in contrast with the official infamies branding the Spanish movement, that the people have forced these fellows at least to place Cristina at the disposal of the

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[a] The quotation from *El Clamor Público* is given according to *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 221, August 9, 1854.—*Ed.*

Cortes, and to consent to the convocation of a National Constituent Assembly, without a Senate, and consequently neither on the election law of 1837 nor that of 1845.[282] The Government has not yet dared to prescribe an election law of their own, while the people are unanimously in favor of universal suffrage. At Madrid the elections for the National Guard have returned nothing but *Exaltados*.[283]

In the provinces a wholesome anarchy prevails, juntas being constituted, and in action everywhere, and every junta issuing decrees in the interest of its locality—one abolishing the monopoly of tobacco, another the duty on salt. Contrabandists are operating on an enormous scale, and with the more efficiency, as they are the only force never disorganized in Spain. At Barcelona the soldiers are in collision, now among each other, and now with the workmen. This anarchical state of the provinces is of great advantage to the cause of the revolution, as it prevents its being confiscated at the capital.

The Madrid press is at this moment composed of the following papers: *España, Novedades, Nación, Época, Clamor Público, Diario Español, Tribuno, Esperanza, Iberia, Catolico, Miliciano, Independencia, Guarda Nacional, Esparterista, Union, Europa, Espectador, Liberal, Eco de la Revolución.* The *Heraldo, Boletin del Pueblo,* and the *Mensajero,* have ceased to exist.

Written on August 14 and 15, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## [REVOLUTION IN SPAIN.—BOMARSUND][284]

London, Friday, August 18, 1854

The "leaders" of the *Assemblée Nationale*, *Times*, and *Journal des Débats* prove that neither the pure Russian party, nor the Russo-Coburg party, nor the Constitutional party are satisfied with the course of the Spanish revolution.[a] From this it would appear that there is some chance for Spain, notwithstanding the contradiction of appearances.

On the 8th inst. a deputation from the Union Club[285] waited on Espartero to present an address calling for the adoption of universal suffrage. Numerous petitions to the same effect were pouring in. Consequently, a long and animated debate took place at the Council of Ministers. But the partisans of universal suffrage, as well as the partisans of the election law of 1845,[286] have been beaten. The Madrid *Gaceta* publishes a decree for the convocation of the Cortes on the 8th of November[b] preceded by an *exposé* addressed to the Queen. At the elections, the law of 1837 will be followed, with slight modifications. The Cortes are to be one Constituent Assembly, the legislative functions of the Senate being suppressed. Two paragraphs of the law of 1845 have been preserved, viz.: the mode of forming the electoral *mesas* (boards receiving the votes and publishing the returns), and the number of deputies; one deputy to be elected for every 5,000 souls. The

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[a] This refers to the article by A. de St.-Albin, "La révolution espagnole" published in the newspaper *L'Assemblée Nationale*, No. 674, August 14; S. de Sacy's article published in the *Journal des Débats*, August 15 and the leader in *The Times*, No. 21819, August 14, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] For his analysis of this decree Marx used the text of *La Gaceta* of August 12 as reprinted in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 230, August 18, 1854.—*Ed.*

Assembly will thus be composed of from 420 to 430 members. According to a circular of Santa Cruz, the Minister of the Interior, the electors must be registered by the 6th of September. After the verification of the lists by the provincial deputations, the electoral lists will be closed on the 12th of September. The elections will take place on the 3d of October, at the chief localities of the Electoral Districts. The scrutiny will be proceeded to on the 16th of October, in the capital of each province. In case of conflicting elections, the new proceedings which will thereby be necessitated, must be terminated by the 30th of October. The *exposé* states expressly that

"the Cortes of 1854, like those of 1837, will save the monarchy; they will be a new bond between the throne and the nation, objects which cannot be questioned or disputed."

In other words, the Government forbids the discussion of the dynastic question; hence, *The Times* concludes the contrary,[a] supposing that the question will now be between the present dynasty or no dynasty at all—an eventuality which, it is scarcely necessary to remark, infinitely displeases and disappoints the calculations of *The Times.*

The Electoral law of 1837 limits the franchise by the conditions of having a household, the payment of the *mayores cuotas* (the ship taxes levied by the State), and the age of twenty-five years. There are further entitled to a vote: the members of the Spanish Academies of History and of the Artes Nobles, doctors, licentiates in the faculties of Divinity, law, of medicine, members of ecclesiastical chapters, parochial curates and their assistant clergy, magistrates and advocates of two years' standing; officers of the army of a certain standing, whether on service or the retired list; physicians, surgeons, apothecaries of two years' standing; architects, painters and sculptors, honored with the membership of an academy; professors and masters in any educational establishment, supported by the public funds. Disqualified for the vote by the same law are defaulters to the common pueblo-fund, or to local taxation, bankrupts, persons interdicted by the courts of law for moral or civil incapacity; lastly, all persons under sentence.

It is true that this decree does not proclaim universal suffrage, and that it removes the dynastic question from the forum of the Cortes. Still it is doubtful that even this Assembly will do. If the Spanish Cortes forbore from interfering with the Crown in 1812,

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[a] *The Times,* No. 21823, August 18, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

it was because the Crown was only nominally represented—the King[a] having been absent for years from Spanish soil. If they forbore in 1837, it was because they had to settle with absolute monarchy before they could think of settling with the constitutional monarchy. With regard to the general situation, *The Times* has truly good reasons to deplore the absence of French centralization in Spain,[b] and that consequently even a victory over revolution in the capital decides nothing with respect to the provinces, so long as that state of "anarchy" survives there without which no revolution can succeed.

There are, of course, some incidents in the Spanish revolution peculiarly belonging to them. For instance, the combination of robbery with revolutionary transactions—a connection which sprung up in the guerrilla wars against the French invasions, and which was continued by the "royalists" in 1823, and the Carlists since 1835.[287] No surprise will therefore be felt at the information that great disorders have occurred at Tortosa, in Lower Catalonia. The *Junta Popular* of that city says, in its proclamation of 31st July:

> "A band of miserable assassins, availing themselves for pretext of the abolition of the indirect taxes, have seized the town, and trampled upon all laws of society. Plunder, assassination, incendiarism have marked their steps."[c]

Order, however, was soon restored by the Junta—the citizens arming themselves and coming to the rescue of the feeble garrison of the place. A military commission is sitting, charged with the pursuit and punishment of the authors of the catastrophe of July 30. This circumstance has, of course, given an occasion to the reactionary journals for virtuous declamation. How little they are warranted in this proceeding may be inferred from the remark of the *Messager de Bayonne*, that the Carlists have raised their banner in the provinces of Catalonia, Aragon and Valencia, and precisely in the same contiguous mountains where they had their chief nest in the old Carlist wars. It was the Carlists who gave origin to the *ladrones facciosos*, that combination of robbery and pretended allegiance to an oppressed party in the State. The Spanish guerrillero of all times has had something of the robber since the time of Viriathus; but it is a novelty of Carlist invention that a pure robber should invest himself with the name of guerrillero. The men of the Tortosa affair certainly belong to this class.

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[a] Ferdinand VII.—*Ed.*
[b] *The Times*, No. 21800, July 22, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*
[c] Quoted from *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 229, August 17, 1854.—*Ed.*

At Lerida, Saragossa and Barcelona matters are serious. The two former cities have refused to combine with Barcelona, because the military had the upper hand there. Still it appears that even there Concha is unable to master the storm, and General Dulce is to take his place, the recent popularity of that general being considered as offering more guarantees for a conciliation of the difficulties.

The secret societies have resumed their activity at Madrid, and govern the democratic party just as they did in 1823.[288] The first demand which they have urged the people to make is that all ministers since 1843 shall present their accounts.

The ministry are purchasing back the arms which the people seized on the day of the barricades. In this way they have got possession of 2,500 muskets, formerly in the hands of insurgents. Don Manuel Sagasti, the Ayacucho *Jefe Politico*[a] of Madrid of 1843, has been reinstated in his functions. He has addressed to the inhabitants and the national militia two proclamations, in which he announces his intention of energetically repressing all disorder.[b] The removal of the creatures of Sartorius from the different offices proceeds rapidly. It is, perhaps, the only thing rapidly done in Spain. All parties show themselves equally quick in that line.

Salamanca is not imprisoned, as was asserted. He had been arrested at Aranjuez, but was soon released, and is now at Malaga.

The control of the ministry by popular pressure is proved by the fact, that the Ministers of War, of the Interior, and of Public Works,[c] have effected large displacements and simplifications in their several departments, an event never known in Spanish history before.

The Unionist or Coburg-Braganza party is pitifully weak.[289] For what other reason would they make such a noise about one single address sent from Portugal to the National Guard of Madrid? If we look nearer at it, it is even discovered that the address (originating with the Lisbon *Journal de Progrès*) is not of a dynastic nature at all, but simply of the fraternal kind so well known in the movements of 1848.

The chief cause of the Spanish revolution was the state of the finances, and particularly the decree of Sartorius, ordering the

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[a] Governor.—*Ed.*

[b] The contents of Sagasti's addresses are given according to *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 229, August 17, 1854, which reprinted the material from the Madrid *Gaceta*.—*Ed.*

[c] O'Donnell, Santa Cruz, Lujan.—*Ed.*

payment of six months' taxes in advance upon the year.[290] All the public chests were empty when the revolution broke out, notwithstanding the circumstance that no branch of the public service had been paid; nor were the sums destined for any particular service applied to it during the whole of several months. Thus, for instance, the turnpike receipts were never appropriated to the use of keeping up the roads. The moneys set aside for public works shared the same destiny. When the chest of public works was subjected to revision, instead of receipts for executed works, receipts from court favorites were discovered. It is known that financiering has long been the most profitable business in Madrid. The Spanish budget for 1853 was as follows:

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| Civil List and Appanages | 47,350,000 reals. |
| Legislation | 1,331,685 reals. |
| Interest of Public Debt | 213,271,423 reals. |
| President of Council | 1,687,860 reals. |
| Foreign Office | 3,919,083 reals. |
| Justice | 39,001,233 reals. |
| War | 278,646,284 reals. |
| Marine | 85,165,000 reals. |
| Interior | 43,957,940 reals. |
| Police | 72,000,000 reals. |
| Finances | 142,279,000 reals. |
| Pensions | 143,400,586 reals. |
| *Cultus* | 119,050,508 reals. |
| Extras | 18,387,788 reals. |
| Total | 1,209,448,390 reals. |

Notwithstanding this budget, Spain is the least taxed country of Europe, and the economical question is nowhere so simple as there. The reduction and simplification of the bureaucratic machinery in Spain are the less difficult, as the municipalities traditionally administer their own affairs; so is reform of the tariff and conscientious application of the *bienes nacionales*[a] not yet alienated. The social question in the modern sense of the word has no foundation in a country with its resources yet undeveloped, and with such a scanty population as Spain—15,000,000 only.

[a] State lands.—*Ed.*

You will see from the English press the first exploits of the British army at Bomarsund. These poor journals, which had never anything brilliant to report, are in great enthusiasm about the successes of 10,000 French troops over 2,000 Russians. I shall pass over these glories, and occupy myself with the consideration of the result of this capture of an island—the *faubourg* of Stockholm, and not of St. Petersburg. The French *Siècle* had announced, and its announcement was echoed by many journals, that Sweden would presently join the western powers against Russia in active measures.[a] The probabilities of this announcement may be measured by the fact that Sweden concluded a treaty of armed neutrality[291] at the very time it might have operated with success against the swamps and woods of Finland. Will it alter its policy now that the time for operations is gone by? England and France have refused to King Oscar the required pecuniary and territorial guarantees for his adhesion. Moreover, how are we to explain the order of the Swedish Government for the disarmament of a whole squadron, on the supposition that Sweden is about to take the field? This disarmament extends to the ships of the line *Charles XII* and *Prince Oscar*, the frigate *Désiré*, and the corvettes *Gefle* and *Thor*.

The capture of Bomarsund, now that the waters in those latitudes will soon be covered with ice, can have no importance. At Hamburg an opinion prevails that it is to be followed by the capture of Riga, an opinion based upon a letter of Captain Heathcote, commander of the *Archer*, to the English Consul, Mr. Hartslet, at Memel, to the effect that all foreign vessels must have cleared from the harbor of Riga by the 10th inst.[b]

Prussia is said to be greatly encouraging smuggling articles contraband of war on its Russian frontier, and at the same time preparing for a rupture with the occidental powers. The commanders of the harbors of Königsberg, Danzig, Colberg, and Swinemunde, have received orders to arm these places.

The most influential papers of Norway and Sweden declare that "it would be worse than madness to join the allies and make enormous sacrifices, unless on the fixed and well-understood condition that Russia shall be broken up and Poland restored.

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[a] This information is taken from *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 230, August 18, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] The contents of Captain Heathcote's letter are given according to a report from Hamburg in *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 230, August 18, 1854.—*Ed.*

Otherwise even the transfer of Finland to Sweden would be a delusion and a snare."

It ought to be remembered that all these northern Governments are in conflict with their own people. At Copenhagen for instance, matters stand thus: the Schleswig-Holsteiners have determined to abstain from all elections for the Rigsråd; while at the same time the electors of Copenhagen have sent an address to Dr. Madvig, Deputy of the Landsthing, calling upon him not to accept a place in the Rigsråd, since the decree of the King was an infraction of the Danish Constitution and the rights of the Danish people.

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Frederick Engels

## THE CAPTURE OF BOMARSUND[292]

(ARTICLE I)

The allied armies have at length begun to act. They have taken Bomarsund. On the 3d or 4th ult., the French troops and British marines were landed on the island of Aland; on the 10th, the place was invested; on three succeeding days the batteries were erected and armed; on the 14th fire was opened; on the 15th the two round towers were taken by storm, one by the French, the other by the English; on the 16th, after a short engagement in which the allies lost very few men, the large casemated fort surrendered. This short way of proceeding certainly looks rather spirited. From all the information we possessed, it was to be expected that a regular siege, with at least one parallel and about a fortnight of open trenches, would be necessary to reduce the place. Even *The London Times*, which for a long time had talked in a way as if the allied infantry had but to charge the stone walls with the bayonet in order to make them crumble, had to admit, that after all a siege was inevitable, and that this tedious operation would probably last a fortnight.

If, then, the attack has been brought to a successful issue in about a week from the investment, and on the sixth day after breaking ground, the natural inference is that the besiegers must have found far less difficulty than they expected. What it was that facilitated the attack, we of course can merely guess until the detailed accounts of the siege arrive; but there are many circumstances which may have operated in their favor. A considerable number of the garrison were Finlanders, and in part even Alanders. They certainly were not very much inspired with Russian patriotism, and if the reports from deserters may be

trusted, they were even resolved not to fight if they could help it. The inhabitants of the island appear to have received the allies, as soon as they saw they were about to attack Bomarsund seriously, as deliverers from the Russian yoke, and must have given them all kinds of information and assistance. But the main point, after all, must have been something very defective in the construction of the fortress itself. As no ground plans of it are to be had, and all our knowledge of it is derived from views and sketches, and from non-professional (at least as far as engineering is concerned) descriptions, which are necessarily very vague, and as both views and descriptions are of a somewhat conflicting nature in the details, we cannot pretend to state where the defect lay.

To judge from the sketches, however, the two round towers flank each other by their fire in a certain degree; but as in every round fortification the guns must have a radiating position, and their fire must be exceedingly eccentric, the smaller the fort, and with it the number of guns, the greater becomes the eccentricity and the less effectual is the fire. Montalembert, therefore, took great care not to propose the employment of such towers unless this eccentricity was counteracted by the strong support which each tower would receive from its neighbors on the right and left and from the main fortress in the rear. If five or six such towers could concentrate their fire on one point, the fire would then become as concentric and effectual as it would be eccentric and weak before. Montalembert, besides, knew very well that in the last stages of a siege, whenever it comes to storming, infantry fire is the most effectual that can be brought to bear on the assailants. Therefore, beside the contrivances in his towers for admitting infantry defense, he generally connected the separate towers by a sort of covered way or trench, not for safe communication only, but also for infantry fire. What such a trench can do, we have just seen at Arab Tabiassi, where the whole flanking defense was confined to such a trench, and where the Russians were driven back, time after time, by a mere handful of Arnauts.[a] Finally, Montalembert tried to make his towers entirely safe against a *coup de main*.[b] He surrounded them with a ditch, with a covered way, and sometimes considered them merely as the *réduit*, or last reserved position in a large, strong redoubt. This was his maturest plan, and evidently the best. It has been adopted with more or less alteration in almost all recent fortifications where the smaller

[a] See this volume, p. 279.—*Ed.*
[b] Sudden attack.—*Ed.*

towers of Montalembert were adopted. Beside these difficulties of access he has the whole of the lower storey or cellar of the tower arranged for infantry defense in a very ingenious way.

Now, in every one of these respects the Russians appear to have omitted important features. The time occupied by the breaching fire, twenty to thirty hours, is evidently too short to enable even thirty-two pounders to effect a practicable breach, unless, indeed, the masonry was of a nature not usually seen in fortifications. It may, therefore, be presumed that the towers were taken by scaling, the soldiers entering through the embrasures, and by bursting open the gates. This presupposes a very ineffectual flanking fire, and as it appears that the large fort has no batteries in the rear to assist the towers, each tower was flanked by the fire of the other only. This fault is the greater, as from the sketches it would appear that the ground was very uneven, allowing storming parties to creep up, covered by accidents of ground, to a pretty close proximity. Then, to judge from the sketches and from the event, preparations against a *coup de main* must have been altogether neglected. There is no trace of a redoubt thrown up around the towers, and the redoubts which the Russians had constructed in front of them were abandoned almost without resistance. There was, it is said, a ditch around each tower; but it must have been very shallow with no contrivances for infantry defense within it. The towers once taken, the larger fort, which they command, was necessarily at the mercy of the Allies. It consequently fell, very likely with no more than a show of resistance.

Judging these fortifications from what this short siege makes them appear to be, it would almost seem that their constructors never calculated upon a serious attack on the land side. They must have built the towers with a view merely to resisting the attacks of parties of marines, which at the most could not exceed a couple of thousands, and not muster in sufficient strength either to attempt an assault or to conduct to its close a regular siege. Consequently the water-front was the strongest, and the land-front, formed by the towers, more show than reality. And yet the result would almost show that a party of 1,000 marines might have stormed the towers many months ago, and thereby reduced the main fort!

As to the storming itself, it must have been done very well by both French and English. The English are well-known stormers; it is their favorite maneuver, and hardly ever fails them. The French prefer to charge a body of troops in the open field; and in

sieges their mathematical turn of mind prefers the methodical march of that eminently French science which Vauban invented. But the ardor of a British veteran seems to have driven them on. There was at Bomarsund an old Colonel Jones—the man who improved upon Vauban, when, with hardly half-sufficient means, and against brave and determined garrisons, at Badajos, Ciudad Rodrigo and Saint Sebastian, he contrived to shorten a siege by about one-third of its prescribed duration. Colonel Jones is not a common engineer. He does not, like the rest of his profession, see in a siege a mere school-festival in which the chief engineer is under examination, and must prove before the eyes of the army how far all the rules and regulations of formal sieges and of Vauban's "*attaque des places fortes*" are retained and properly arranged in his memory. He does not think that the whole army is there for the sake of the engineers, to protect them while they exhibit their tricks. Instead of this, Colonel Jones is first a soldier, and then an engineer. He knows the British soldier well, and knows what he can trust him with. And the short, determined, and yet unpretending way in which Bomarsund was taken in half the prescribed time, is so much like the breaching and storming of the Spanish fortresses that nobody but old Jones can be at the bottom of it. As to the French, they could never have invented this way of taking a fortress. It goes against their grain; it is too blunt, too destitute of manners and politeness. But they could not contest the authority of the man who had tried his irregular way of taking fortresses upon themselves fifty years before, and found it to answer in every case. And when they came to the storming, they appear not to have been behind the English in resolution.

It is singular that the Russians, who have prided themselves so much upon their storming capacities, from Perekop and Ochakov down to Warsaw and Bistritz, these Russians have been repulsed in every assault upon field-works, and, indeed, were not able, before Silistria, to reduce a field-work by a regular siege, and had to decamp without the fortress being relieved; while on the other hand, the very first act of the war was the storming by the Turks of a permanent Russian fortification—St. Nikolai—while the celebrated fortress of Bomarsund has been taken by assault almost without the honor of an open trench. We must not forget to note that the fleets appear not to have in any way effectually contributed to this victory. They seem, after all, to shun the neighborhood of casemated batteries as much as ever.

This success of the allies, however, is of such a nature that it will very likely induce them to do nothing more in the ensuing

autumn. At all events, the grand expedition to Sevastopol has not yet sailed, and a few weeks more delay is already promised. Then it will be too late, and thus that repose and relaxation during the winter, which is so necessary after the fatigues of the camp at Varna, will be secured to the heroes of the allied forces.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE CAPTURE OF BOMARSUND [293]

(ARTICLE II)

The particulars of the capture of Bomarsund, so far as published, are still couched in vague and unbusiness-like language. We do not, in fact, learn at what distance from the forts the breaching batteries were erected or the ships anchored during the naval attack. We hear no further details, such as might be expected, on the construction of the forts, now that the allied troops have possession of them. Indeed, almost every point of importance is passed over in order to amuse the public with the more picturesque and less professional part of the business. In so slovenly a manner are concocted even the official reports, that nobody can make out distinctly whether Fort Tzee (as they spell it), when taken by the French, had to be stormed or not, as it seems that hardly any one but the commanding officer [a] resisted.

The little we can make out is that, as we suspected from the sketches, the two towers were erected upon ground of so broken a nature that ravines, slopes and rocks formed natural approaches even up to their very ditches. In these ravines the allies could comfortably establish themselves, safe from the Russian shot, which passed over their heads; and being thus enabled to construct their batteries close to the place, at once began the siege with those which are generally the last used in such cases, namely, breaching batteries. That the Russians built their forts upon such ground, without at once leveling it up to at least six or eight

[a] Teshe.—*Ed.*

hundred yards in front of them, proves that a serious land attack was never calculated upon by them. The breaching batteries must have been erected at no greater distance than five or six hundred yards from the forts, as the French battered them with sixteen-pounders, generally considered not heavy enough for breaching a wall even at one hundred or one hundred and fifty yards distance. Thirty-six hours' firing, however, so injured the tower that twelve hours' more would have brought down a whole front. The British battered Fort Nottich with sixty thirty-two-pounders of forty-five cwt. each.

These guns, according to Sir Howard Douglas's *Naval Gunnery,* are used with a regulation charge of seven lbs. powder, and would, at the distance of four to five hundred yards, make the ball penetrate from two to two and a half feet into solid oak. The French sixteen-pound guns, with a charge of five lbs., would have, at four to five hundred yards, a penetration into oak of from one and a half to two feet. If the British, as may be expected, increased the regulation charge to at least eight lbs., there is no wonder that with twice the number of guns and double the caliber, they laid one side of the fort open in less than twelve hours.

As to the sea attack, it was a mere diversion. Only Captain Pelham profited by the occasion to make a scientific experiment. He used his long eight-inch pivot gun with all the steadiness and regularity of breaching fire, invariably hitting, as nearly as possible, the same place. These long eight-inch guns are the finest in the British navy. Their great weight of metal (ninety-five cwt.) permits a charge of sixteen pounds of powder to a solid shot of sixty-eight pounds. The effect of this shot, even at a distance of five or six hundred yards, is inconceivably greater than that of the eighteen or twenty-four-pound balls hitherto generally used in breaching batteries; and when properly used, could not fail to produce a tremendous result. Accordingly, Captain Pelham's steady firing very speedily unraveled the mystery of Russian granite fortresses. A few shots detached what hitherto appeared a large block of solid granite, but turned out to be a mere facing slab, the thickness of which was in no wise proportionate to its hight and width. Some more shots, and the next adjoining slabs fell in, and then followed an avalanche of rubbish, rattling down the walls, and laying bare the very heart of the fortress. It then was clear that the "granite" was nothing but show; that as soon as the comparatively thin slabs which faced the escarpe were knocked down, there was no solid masonry inside to resist the inroads of

bullets. The walls, in fact, were mere casings, the interstices of which were filled up with all sorts of broken stones, sand, &c., having neither cohesion nor stability. If the main fortress was thus constructed, there is no doubt the masonry of the towers was equally bad, and the rapid breaching is fully explained. And these walls, of so little intrinsic strength, had by their imposing outside sufficed to keep the whole Anglo-French fleet at bay for nearly four months! The disappointment of Sir Charles Napier when he saw what they really were made of cannot, however, have been greater than that of the Czar, when he learned of what the "granite," for which he had so dearly paid, consisted. In the land attack, another feature is remarkable. We have already seen that broken ground surrounded the forts not only within gun-range, but even within musket-range. This was taken advantage of by the Chasseurs of Vincennes, who crept up very close, sheltering themselves behind stumps of trees, boulder stones, rocks, &c., and opened a murderous fire upon the embrasures of the casemates. As at a distance of four to five hundred yards their rifles have an unerring aim, and moreover, the sloping-side embrasures, like a tunnel, make every bullet which strikes them enter the central opening at the bottom, it may well be imagined how much the gunners in the fortress were annoyed while loading.

The Russians appear to have entirely neglected the commonest precautions against this rifle fire. They, too, had rifles. Why did they not post them behind the parapet of the roof of the tower, where they commanded the enemy's skirmishers? But the Finnish rifles at Bomarsund appear to have had no inclination to fight for the glory of Holy Russia. Finally, the French employed, besides the three breaching guns, some mortars and three howitzers. The mortars sent their shells at a high angle on the bomb-proof roof of the tower, trying to crush it by the combined force of the fall and the explosion. This, however, does not appear to have been of great effect. On the other hand, the French howitzers stuck to direct horizontal firing, and aimed at the embrasures. At the short distance of four or five hundred yards a long twenty-four-pound brass howitzer, throwing a shell of six inches diameter, might very well hit such an object as an embrasure once in three times; and every shell entering would disable the men at the gun, besides dismounting the gun itself. This fire, therefore, must have been very effective.

Thus we see that the granite walls of Bomarsund turned out mere Russian humbug—heaps of rubbish kept in shape by thin stone-facings, not fit to resist a good and steady fire for any time.

If Nicholas had been cheated by their constructors, he has succeeded for all that in cheating the allies out of a whole campaign by these sham fortresses. The defense on the part of the Russians was, upon the whole, indifferent; and this may be traced to the pretty plainly pronounced disaffection of the Finnish troops. The attack of the allies was characterized by a resolution unheard of hitherto in their proceedings, and due, evidently, to General Jones. The difficulties overcome in moving and placing the guns, though exaggerated by Sir Charles Napier, were certainly great. The French attacked with breaching guns of too weak caliber and with mortars that could be of little use under the circumstances, but their mode of horizontal shell-firing and rifle-firing at the embrasures deserves high eulogium. The English, as usual, came down with the heaviest caliber they could move, gave plain, straight-forward and effective fire, underwent difficulties and stood fire with their usual steadiness, and carried their point without fuss, but also without any special distinction.

Bomarsund being taken, the question next arises, what is to be done with it? According to the latest dispatches from Hamburg, at a council of war held by the Admirals,[a] the Generals-in-Chief of the expeditionary troops and the principal commanders resolved upon destroying all the fortifications and abandoning the island, if Sweden should not be inclined to occupy it and buy it at the price of a declaration of war against Russia. If this dispatch prove true, the expedition against the Aland Islands, so far from being a military move, as announced by the *Moniteur*,[b] would prove simply a diplomatic one, undertaken with a view to entangle Sweden in a dangerous alliance with the same powers whose friendship, to use the words of Mr. Bright, "has brought upon Turkey in a single year such calamities as Russia in her wildest dreams of ambition never imagined."[c] The Swedish Court hesitates, the Swedish press warns the people against the *Danaos et dona ferentes*,[d] but the Swedish peasants have already passed a motion that the Chamber should petition the King to take steps that Aland may never again

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[a] Napier and Parseval.—*Ed.*

[b] Review of current events. *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 232, August 20, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] Mr. Bright's speech in the House of Commons on March 31, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21704, April 1, 1854.—*Ed.*

[d] Greeks, even bearing gifts. Virgil, *Aeneid*, II, 49.—*Ed.*

become Russian. There is little probability that the petition of the peasants will be listened to, and we may expect soon to hear that the fortress has been blown up.

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# Karl Marx

## REVOLUTIONARY SPAIN[294]

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I

The revolution in Spain has now so far taken on the appearance of a permanent condition that, as our correspondent at London[a] has informed us, the wealthy and conservative classes have begun to emigrate and to seek security in France.[295] This is not surprising; Spain has never adopted the modern French fashion, so generally in vogue in 1848, of beginning and accomplishing a revolution in three days.[296] Her efforts in that line are complex and more prolonged. Three years seems to be the shortest limit to which she restricts herself, while her revolutionary cycle sometimes expands to nine. Thus her first revolution in the present century extended from 1808 to 1814; the second from 1820 to 1823; and the third from 1834 to 1843. How long the present one will continue, or in what it will result, it is impossible for the keenest politician to foretell; but it is not much to say that there is no other part of Europe, not even Turkey and the Russian war, which offers so profound an interest to the thoughtful observer, as does Spain at this instant.

Insurrectionary risings are as old in Spain as that sway of court favorites against which they are usually directed. Thus in the middle of the fifteenth century the aristocracy revolted against King Juan II[b] and his favorite, Don Alvaro de Luna. In the fifteenth century still more serious commotions took place against King Henry IV and the head of his camarilla, Don Juan de Pacheco, Marquis de Villena. In the seventeenth century the people at Lisbon tore to pieces Vasconcellos, the Sartorius of the

[a] F. A. Pulszky.— *Ed.*
[b] John II.—*Ed.*

Spanish Viceroy in Portugal,[297] as they did at Catalonia with Santa Coloma, the favorite of Philip IV. At the end of the same century, under the reign of Carlos II, the people of Madrid rose against the Queen's[a] camarilla, composed of the Countess de Berlepsch and the Counts Oropesa and Melgar, who had imposed on all provisions entering the capital an oppressive duty, which they shared among themselves. The people marched to the royal palace, forced the King to appear on the balcony, and himself to denounce the Queen's camarilla. They then marched to the palaces of the Counts Oropesa and Melgar, plundered them, destroyed them by fire, and tried to lay hold of their owners, who, however, had the good luck to escape, at the cost of perpetual exile. The event which occasioned the insurrectionary rising in the fifteenth century was the treacherous treaty which the favorite of Henry IV, the Marquis de Villena, had concluded with the King of France, according to which Catalonia was to be surrendered to Louis XI. Three centuries later, the treaty of Fontainebleau, concluded on October 27, 1807, by which the favorite of Carlos IV and the minion of his Queen,[b] Don Manuel Godoy, the Prince of Peace, contracted with Bonaparte for the partition of Portugal and the entrance of the French armies into Spain, caused a popular insurrection at Madrid against Godoy, the abdication of Carlos IV, the assumption of the throne by Ferdinand VII, his son, the entrance of the French army into Spain, and the following war of independence. Thus the Spanish war of independence commenced with a popular insurrection against the camarilla, then personified in Don Manuel Godoy, just as the civil war of the fifteenth century commenced with the rising against the camarilla, then personified in the Marquis de Villena. So, too, the revolution of 1854 commenced with the rising against the camarilla, personified in the Count San Luis.

Notwithstanding these ever-recurring insurrections, there has been in Spain, up to the present century, no serious revolution, except the war of the Holy League[298] in the times of Carlos I, or Charles V, as the Germans call him. The immediate pretext, as usual, was then furnished by the clique who, under the auspices of Cardinal Adrian, the Viceroy, himself a Fleming, exasperated the Castilians by their rapacious insolence, by selling the public offices to the highest bidder, and by open traffic in law-suits. The opposition against the Flemish camarilla was only at the surface of

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[a] María Anna of Neuburg.—*Ed.*
[b] María Luisa of Parma.—*Ed.*

the movement. At its bottom was the defense of the liberties of medieval Spain against the encroachments of modern absolutism.

The material basis of the Spanish monarchy having been laid by the union of Aragon, Castile and Granada, under Ferdinand the Catholic, and Isabella I, Charles I attempted to transform that still feudal monarchy into an absolute one. Simultaneously he attacked the two pillars of Spanish liberty, the Cortes and the *Ayuntamientos*[299]—the former a modification of the ancient Gothic *concilia*, and the latter transmitted almost without interruption from the Roman times, the *Ayuntamientos* exhibiting the mixture of the hereditary and elective character proper to the Roman municipalities. As to municipal self-government, the towns of Italy, of Provence, Northern Gaul, Great Britain, and part of Germany, offer a fair similitude to the then state of the Spanish towns; but neither the French States General,[300] nor the British Parliaments of the Middle Ages, are to be compared with the Spanish Cortes. There were circumstances in the formation of the Spanish kingdom peculiarly favorable to the limitation of royal power. On the one side, small parts of the Peninsula were recovered at a time, and formed into separate kingdoms, during the long struggles with the Arabs. Popular laws and customs were engendered in these struggles. The successive conquests, being principally effected by the nobles, rendered their power excessive, while they diminished the royal power. On the other hand, the inland towns and cities rose to great consequence, from the necessity people found themselves under of residing together in places of strength, as a security against the continual irruptions of the Moors; while the peninsular formation of the country, and constant intercourse with Provence and Italy, created first-rate commercial and maritime cities on the coast. As early as the fourteenth century, the cities formed the most powerful part in the Cortes, which were composed of their representatives, with those of the clergy and the nobility. It is also worthy of remark, that the slow recovery from Moorish dominion through an obstinate struggle of almost eight hundred years, gave the Peninsula, when wholly emancipated, a character altogether different from that of cotemporaneous Europe, Spain finding itself, at the epoch of European resurrection, with the manners of the Goths and the Vandals in the North, and with those of the Arabs in the South.

Charles I having returned from Germany, where the imperial dignity had been bestowed upon him, the Cortes assembled at Valladolid, in order to receive his oath to the ancient laws and to

invest him with the crown.[301] Charles, declining to appear, sent commissioners who, he pretended, were to receive the oath of allegiance on the part of the Cortes. The Cortes refused to admit these commissioners to their presence, notifying the monarch that, if he did not appear and swear to the laws of the country, he should never be acknowledged as King of Spain. Charles thereupon yielded; he appeared before the Cortes and took the oath—as historians say, with a very bad grace. The Cortes on this occasion told him: "You must know, Señor, that the King is but the paid servant of the nation." Such was the beginning of the hostilities between Charles I and the towns. In consequence of his intrigues, numerous insurrections broke out in Castile, the Holy League of Avila was formed, and the united towns convoked the assembly of the Cortes at Tordesillas, whence, on October 20, 1520, a "protest against the abuses" was addressed to the King, in return for which he deprived all the deputies assembled at Tordesillas of their personal rights. Thus civil war had become inevitable; the commoners appealed to arms; their soldiers under the command of Padilla seized the fortress of Torre Lobaton, but were ultimately defeated by superior forces at the battle of Villalar on April 23, 1521. The heads of the principal "conspirators" rolled on the scaffold, and the ancient liberties of Spain disappeared.

Several circumstances conspired in favor of the rising power of absolutism. The want of union between the different provinces deprived their efforts of the necessary strength; but it was, above all, the bitter antagonism between the classes of the nobles and the citizens of the towns which Charles employed for the degradation of both. We have already mentioned that since the fourteenth century the influence of the towns was prominent in the Cortes, and since Ferdinand the Catholic, the Holy Brotherhood (Santa Hermandad)[302] had proved a powerful instrument in the hands of the towns against the Castilian nobles, who accused them of encroachments on their ancient privileges and jurisdiction. The nobility, therefore, were eager to assist Carlos I in his project of suppressing the Holy League. Having crushed their armed resistance, Carlos occupied himself with the reduction of the municipal privileges of the towns, which, rapidly declining in population, wealth and importance, soon lost their influence in the Cortes. Carlos now turned round upon the nobles, who had assisted him in putting down the liberties of the towns, but who themselves retained a considerable political importance. Mutiny in his army for want of pay obliged him, in 1539, to assemble the

Cortes, in order to obtain a grant of money. Indignant at the misapplication of former subsidies to operations foreign to the interests of Spain, the Cortes refused all supplies. Carlos dismissed them in a rage; and, the nobles having insisted on a privilege of exemption from taxes, he declared that those who claimed such a right could have no claim to appear in the Cortes, and consequently excluded them from that assembly. This was the death-blow of the Cortes, and their meetings were henceforth reduced to the performance of a mere court ceremony. The third element in the ancient constitution of the Cortes, viz: the clergy, enlisted since Ferdinand the Catholic under the banner of the Inquisition, had long ceased to identify its interests with those of feudal Spain. On the contrary, by the Inquisition, the Church was transformed into the most formidable tool of absolutism.

If after the reign of Carlos I the decline of Spain, both in a political and social aspect, exhibited all those symptoms of inglorious and protracted putrefaction so repulsive in the worst times of the Turkish Empire, under the Emperor at least the ancient liberties were buried in a magnificent tomb. This was the time when Vasco Núñes de Balboa planted the banner of Castile upon the shores of Darien, Cortés in Mexico, and Pizarro in Peru; when Spanish influence reigned supreme in Europe, and the Southern imagination of the Iberians was bewildered with visions of Eldorados, chivalrous adventures, and universal monarchy. Then Spanish liberty disappeared under the clash of arms, showers of gold, and the terrible illuminations of the auto-da-fe.[303]

But how are we to account for the singular phenomenon that, after almost three centuries of a Habsburg dynasty, followed by a Bourbon dynasty—either of them quite sufficient to crush a people—the municipal liberties of Spain more or less survive? that in the very country where of all the feudal states absolute monarchy first arose in its most unmitigated form, centralization has never succeeded in taking root? The answer is not difficult. It was in the sixteenth century that were formed the great monarchies which established themselves everywhere on the downfall of the conflicting feudal classes—the aristocracy and the towns. But in the other great States of Europe absolute monarchy presents itself as a civilizing center, as the initiator of social unity. There it was the laboratory in which the various elements of society were so mixed and worked, as to allow the towns to change the local independence and sovereignty of the Middle Ages for the general rule of the middle classes, and the common sway of civil society.[304] In Spain, on the contrary, while the aristocracy sunk

into degradation without losing their worst privilege, the towns lost their medieval power without gaining modern importance.

Since the establishment of absolute monarchy they have vegetated in a state of continuous decay. We have not here to state the circumstances, political or economical, which destroyed Spanish commerce, industry, navigation and agriculture. For the present purpose it is sufficient to simply recall the fact. As the commercial and industrial life of the towns declined, internal exchanges became rare, the mingling of the inhabitants of different provinces less frequent, the means of communication neglected, and the great roads gradually deserted. Thus the local life of Spain, the independence of its provinces and communes, the diversified state of society originally based on the physical configuration of the country, and historically developed by the detached manner in which the several provinces emancipated themselves from the Moorish rule, and formed little independent commonwealths—was now finally strengthened and confirmed by the economical revolution which dried up the sources of national activity. And while the absolute monarchy found in Spain material in its very nature repulsive to centralization, it did all in its power to prevent the growth of common interests arising out of a national division of labor and the multiplicity of internal exchanges—the very basis on which alone a uniform system of administration and the rule of general laws can be created. Thus the absolute monarchy in Spain, bearing but a superficial resemblance to the absolute monarchies of Europe in general, is rather to be ranged in a class with Asiatic forms of government. Spain, like Turkey, remained an agglomeration of mismanaged republics with a nominal sovereign at their head. Despotism changed character in the different provinces with the arbitrary interpretation of the general laws by viceroys and governors; but despotic as was the government it did not prevent the provinces from subsisting with different laws and customs, different coins, military banners of different colors, and with their respective systems of taxation. The oriental despotism attacks municipal self-government only when opposed to its direct interests, but is very glad to allow those institutions to continue so long as they take off its shoulders the duty of doing something and spare it the trouble of regular administration.

Thus it happened that Napoleon, who, like all his cotemporaries, considered Spain as an inanimate corpse, was fatally surprised at the discovery that when the Spanish State was dead, Spanish society was full of life, and every part of it overflowing

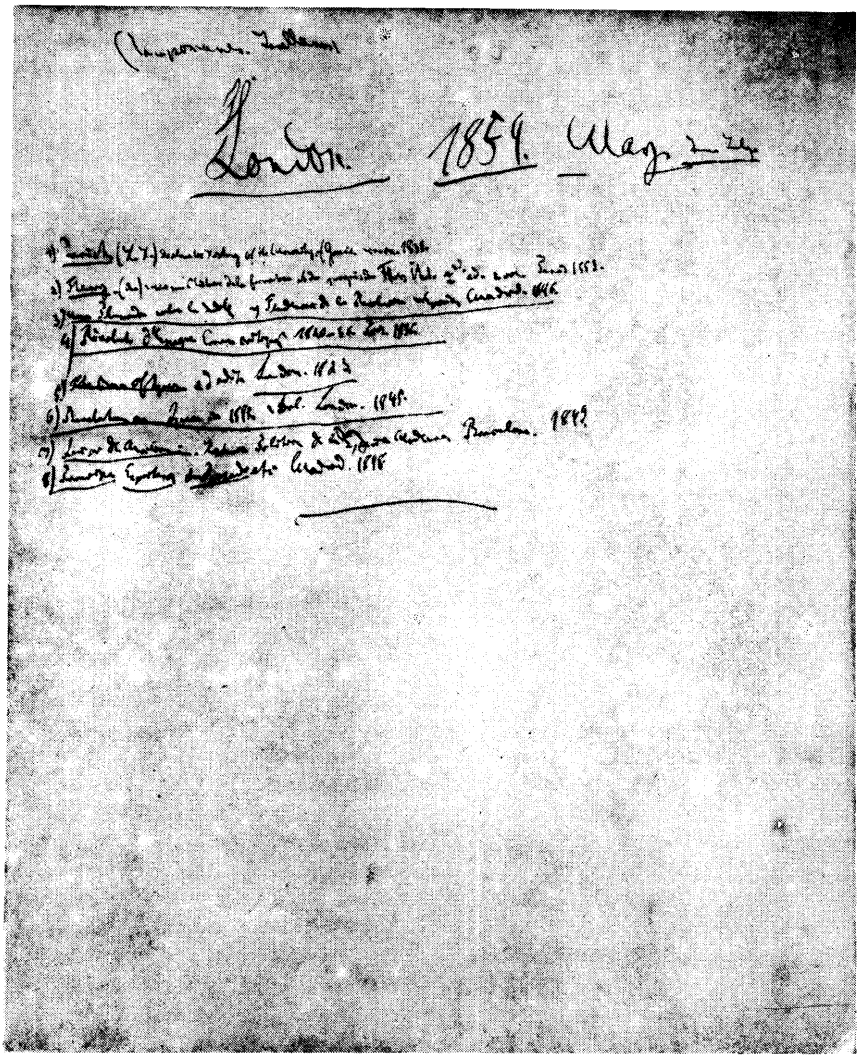

Title page of one of Marx's notebooks containing excerpts on the history of Spain

with powers of resistance. By the treaty of Fontainebleau he had got his troops to Madrid; by alluring the royal family into an interview at Bayonne he had forced Carlos IV to retract his abdication, and then to make over to him his dominions; and he had intimidated Ferdinand VII into a similar declaration. Carlos IV, his Queen and the Prince of Peace conveyed to Compiègne, Ferdinand VII and his brothers imprisoned in the castle of Valençay, Bonaparte conferred the throne of Spain on his brother Joseph, assembled a Spanish Junta at Bayonne, and provided them with one of his ready-made constitutions.[305] Seeing nothing alive in the Spanish monarchy except the miserable dynasty which he had safely locked up, he felt quite sure of this confiscation of Spain. But, only a few days after his *coup de main*, he received the news of an insurrection at Madrid. Murat, it is true, quelled that tumult by killing about 1,000 people; but when this massacre became known, an insurrection broke out in Asturias, and soon afterward embraced the whole monarchy. It is to be remarked that this first spontaneous rising originated with the people, while the "better" classes had quietly submitted to the foreign yoke.

Thus it is that Spain was prepared for her more recent revolutionary career, and launched into the struggles which have marked her development in the present century. The facts and influences we have thus succinctly detailed still act in forming her destinies and directing the impulses of her people. We have presented them as necessary not only to an appreciation of the present crisis, but of all she has done and suffered since the Napoleonic usurpation—a period now of nearly fifty years—not without tragic episodes and heroic efforts,—indeed, one of the most touching and instructive chapters in all modern history.[306]

II

We have already laid before our readers a survey of the earlier revolutionary history of Spain, as a means of understanding and appreciating the developments which that nation is now offering to the observation of the world. Still more interesting, and perhaps equally valuable as a source of present instruction, is the great national movement that attended the expulsion of the Bonapartes, and restored the Spanish Crown to the family in whose possession it yet remains. But to rightly estimate that movement, with its heroic episodes and memorable exhibition of vitality in a people supposed to be moribund, we must go back to the beginning of the Napoleonic assault on the nation. The efficient cause of the whole was perhaps first stated in the treaty of Tilsit, which was concluded on July 7, 1807, and is said to have received its complement through a secret convention, signed by Prince Kurakin and Talleyrand. It was published in the Madrid *Gaceta* on August 25, 1812, containing, among other things, the following stipulations:

"*Art. I.* Russia is to take possession of European Turkey, and to extend her possessions in Asia as far as she may think it convenient.

"*Art. II.* The Bourbon dynasty in Spain and the house of Braganza in Portugal will cease to reign. Princes of the Bonaparte family will succeed to both of these crowns."

Supposing this treaty to be authentic, and its authenticity is scarcely disputed, even in the recently published memoirs of King Joseph Bonaparte,[307] it formed the true reason for the French invasion of Spain in 1808, while the Spanish commotions of that

time would seem to be linked by secret threads with the destinies of Turkey.

When, consequent upon the Madrid massacre and the transactions at Bayonne, simultaneous insurrections broke out in Asturias, Galicia, Andalusia and Valencia, and a French army occupied Madrid, the four northern fortresses of Pamplona, San Sebastian, Figueras and Barcelona had been seized by Bonaparte under false pretenses; part of the Spanish army had been removed to the island of Fünen, destined for an attack upon Sweden; lastly, all the constituted authorities, military, ecclesiastic, judicial and administrative, as well as the aristocracy, exhorted the people to submit to the foreign intruder. But there was one circumstance to compensate for all the difficulties of the situation. Thanks to Napoleon, the country was rid of its King, its royal family, and its government. Thus the shackles were broken which might else have prevented the Spanish people from displaying their native energies. How little they were able to resist the French under the command of their Kings and under ordinary circumstances, had been proved by the disgraceful campaigns of 1794 and 1795.[308]

Napoleon had summoned the most distinguished persons in Spain to meet him at Bayonne, and to receive from his hands a King[a] and a Constitution. With very few exceptions, they appeared there. On June 7, 1808, King Joseph received at Bayonne a deputation of the grandees of Spain, in whose name the Duke of Infantado, Ferdinand VII's most intimate friend, addressed him as follows:

> "Sire, the grandees of Spain have at all times been celebrated for their loyalty to their Sovereign, and in them your Majesty will now find the same fidelity and adhesion."[b]

The royal Council of Castile assured poor Joseph that "he was the principal branch of a family destined by Heaven to reign." Not less abject was the congratulation of the Duke del Parque, at the head of a deputation representing the army. On the following day the same persons published a proclamation,[c] enjoining general submission to the Bonaparte dynasty. On July 7, 1808, the new Constitution was signed by 91 Spaniards of the highest distinction; among them Dukes, Counts and Marquises, as well as several

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[a] Joseph Bonaparte.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted from [Bonaparte, Joseph,] *Memoires et correspondance politique et militaire du roi Joseph,* T. IV, p. 290.—*Ed.*

[c] R. Southey, *History of the Peninsular War,* Vol. I, pp. 318-21.—*Ed.*

heads of the religious orders. During the discussions on that Constitution, all they found cause to remonstrate against was the repeal of their old privileges and exemptions. The first Ministry and the first royal household of Joseph were the same persons who had formed the ministry and the royal household of Ferdinand VII. Some of the upper classes considered Napoleon as the providential regenerator of Spain; others as the only bulwark against revolution; none believing in the chances of national resistance.

Thus from the very beginning of the Spanish War of Independence the high nobility and the old Administration lost all hold upon the middle classes and upon the people, because of their having deserted them at the commencement of the struggle. On the one side stood the *Afrancesados* (the Frenchified), and on the other the nation. At Valladolid, Cartagena, Granada, Jaen, San Lucar, Carolina, Ciudad Rodrigo, Cadiz and Valencia, the most prominent members of the old Administration—governors, generals, and other marked personages presumed to be French agents and obstacles to the national movement—fell victims to the infuriated people. Everywhere the existing authorities were displaced. Some months previous to the rising, on March 19, 1808, the popular commotions that had taken place at Madrid, intended to remove from their posts *El Choricero* (the sausage-maker, a nickname of Godoy) and his obnoxious satellites. This object was now gained on a national scale, and with it the internal revolution was accomplished so far as contemplated by the masses, and as not connected with resistance to the foreign intruder. On the whole, the movement appeared to be directed rather *against* revolution than *for* it. National by proclaiming the independence of Spain from France, it was at the same time dynastic by opposing the "beloved" Ferdinand VII to Joseph Bonaparte; reactionary by opposing the old institutions, customs, and laws to the rational innovations of Napoleon; superstitious and fanatical by opposing "holy religion," against what was called French Atheism, or the destruction of the special privileges of the Roman Church. The priests, terrified by the fate that had fallen upon their brethren in France, fostered the popular passions in the interest of self-preservation.

"The patriotic fire," says Southey, "flamed higher for this holy oil of superstition."[a]

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[a] R. Southey, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 301.—*Ed.*

All the wars of independence waged against France bear in common the stamp of regeneration, mixed up with reaction; but nowhere to such a degree as in Spain. The King appeared in the imagination of the people in the light of a romantic prince, forcibly abused and locked up by a giant robber. The most fascinating and popular epochs of their past were encircled with the holy and miraculous traditions of the war of the cross against the crescent; and a great portion of the lower classes were accustomed to wear the livery of mendicants and live upon the sanctified patrimony of the Church. A Spanish author, Don José Clemente Carnicero, published in the years 1814 and '16, the following series of works: *Napoleon, the True Don Quixote of Europe; Principal Events of the Glorious Revolution of Spain; The Inquisition Rightly Re-established*[a]; it is sufficient to note the titles of these books to understand this one aspect of the Spanish revolution which we meet with in the several manifestoes of the provincial juntas, all of them proclaiming the King, their holy religion, and the country, and some even telling the people that

"their hopes of a better world were at stake, and in very imminent danger."[b]

However, if the peasantry, the inhabitants of small inland cities, and the numerous army of the mendicants, frocked and unfrocked, all of them deeply imbued with religious and political prejudices, formed the great majority of the national party, it contained on the other hand an active and influential minority which considered the popular rising against the French invasion as the signal given for the political and social regeneration of Spain. This minority was composed of the inhabitants of the seaports, commercial towns, and part of the provincial capitals, where, under the reign of Charles V, the material conditions of modern society had developed themselves to a certain degree. They were strengthened by the more cultivated portion of the upper and middle classes, authors, physicians, lawyers, and even priests, for whom the Pyrenees had formed no sufficient barrier against the invasion of the philosophy of the XVIIIth century. As a true manifesto of this faction may be considered the famous memorandum of Jovellanos on the improvements of agriculture and the agrarian law, published in 1795, and drawn up by order of the

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[a] J. C. Carnicero, *Napoleon o El verdadero D. Quixote de la Europa; Historia razonada de los principales sucesos de la gloriosa revolución de España; La Inquisición justamente restablecida.—Ed.*

[b] Quoted from the anonymous book: *The Crisis of Spain*, pp. 21-22.—*Ed.*

royal Council of Castile.[a] There was, finally, the youth of the middle classes, such as the students of the University, who had eagerly adopted the aspirations and principles of the French Revolution, and who, for a moment, even expected to see their country regenerated by the assistance of France.

So long as the common defense of the country alone was concerned, the two great elements composing the national party remained in perfect union. Their antagonism did not appear till they met together in the Cortes, on the battleground of a new Constitution there to be drawn up. The revolutionary minority, in order to foment the patriotic spirit of the people, had not hesitated themselves to appeal to the national prejudices of the old popular faith. Favorable to the immediate objects of national resistance, as these tactics might have appeared, they could not fail to prove fatal to this minority when the time had arrived for the conservative interests of the old society to intrench themselves behind these very prejudices and popular passions, with a view of defending themselves against the proper and ulterior plans of the revolutionists.

When Ferdinand left Madrid upon the summons of Bonaparte, he had established a Supreme Junta of government under the Presidency of the Infante Don Antonio. But in May this Junta had already disappeared. There existed then no central government, and the insurgent towns formed juntas of their own, presided over by those of the provincial capitals. These provincial juntas constituted, as it were, so many independent governments, each of which set on foot an army of its own. The Junta of Representatives at Oviedo declared that the entire sovereignty had devolved into their hands, proclaimed war against Bonaparte, and sent deputies to England to conclude an armistice. The same was done afterward by the Junta of Seville. It is a curious fact that by the mere force of circumstances these exalted Catholics were driven to an alliance with England, a power which the Spaniards were accustomed to look upon as the incarnation of the most damnable heresy, and little better than the Grand Turk himself. Attacked by French Atheism, they were thrown into the arms of British Protestantism. No wonder that Ferdinand VII, on his return to Spain, declared, in a decree re-establishing the Holy Inquisition, that one of the causes

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[a] G. M. Jovellanos, *Informe de la Sociedad económica de esta corte al real y supremo consejo de Castilla, en el expediente de ley agraria.—Ed.*

"that had altered the purity of religion in Spain was the sojourn of foreign troops of different sects, all of them equally infected with hatred against the holy Roman Church."[a]

The provincial juntas which had so suddenly sprung into life, altogether independent of each other, conceded a certain, but very slight and undefined degree of ascendancy to the Supreme Junta of Seville, that city being regarded as the capital of Spain while Madrid was in the hands of the foreigner. Thus a very anarchical kind of federal government was established, which the shock of opposite interests, local jealousies, and rival influences made a rather bad instrument for bringing unity into the military command, and to combine the operations of a campaign.

The addresses to the people issued by these several juntas, while displaying all the heroic vigor of a people suddenly awakened from a long lethargy and roused by an electric shock into a feverish state of activity, are not free from that pompous exaggeration, that style of mingled buffoonery and bombast, and that redundant grandiloquence which caused Sismondi to put upon Spanish literature the epithet of Oriental.[b] They exhibit no less the childish vanity of the Spanish character, the members of the juntas for instance assuming the title of Highness and loading themselves with gaudy uniforms.

There are two circumstances connected with these juntas—the one showing the low standard of the people at the time of their rising, while the other was detrimental to the progress of the revolution. The juntas were named by general suffrage; but "the very zeal of the lower classes displayed itself in obedience." They generally elected only their natural superiors, the provincial nobility and gentry backed by clergymen and very few notabilities of the middle class. So conscious were the people of their own weakness that they limited their initiative to forcing the higher classes into resistance against the invader, without pretending to share in the direction of that resistance. At Seville, for instance, "the first thought of the people was that the parochial clergy and the heads of the Convents should assemble to choose the members of the junta." Thus the juntas were filled with persons chosen on account of their previous station, and very far from being revolutionary leaders. On the other hand, the people when

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[a] Decree of King Ferdinand VII of Spain of July 21, 1814. *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 214, August 2, 1814.—*Ed.*

[b] Sismondi, *De la Littérature du Midi de l'Europe*, T. IV, pp. 259-60.—*Ed.*

appointing these authorities did not think either of limiting their power or of fixing a term to their duration. The juntas, of course, thought only of extending the one and of perpetuating the other. Thus these first creations of the popular impulse at the commencement of the revolution remained during its whole course as so many dykes against the revolutionary current when threatening to overflow.

On July 20, 1808, when Joseph Bonaparte entered Madrid, 14,000 French, under Generals Dupont and Vedel, were forced by Castaños to lay down their arms at Bailén, and Joseph a few days afterward had to retire from Madrid to Burgos. There were two events besides which greatly encouraged the Spaniards; the one being the expulsion of Lefebvre from Saragossa by General Palafox, and the other the arrival of the army of the Marquis de la Romana, at Coruña, with 7,000 men, who had embarked from the island of Fünen in spite of the French, in order to come to the assistance of their country.

It was after the battle of Bailén that the revolution came to a head, and that part of the high nobility who had accepted the Bonaparte dynasty or wisely kept back, came forward to join the popular cause—an advantage to that cause of a very doubtful character.

III

The division of power among the provincial juntas had saved Spain from the first shock of the French invasion under Napoleon, not only by multiplying the resources of the country, but also by putting the invader at a loss for a mark whereat to strike; the French being quite amazed at the discovery that the center of Spanish resistance was nowhere and everywhere. Nevertheless, shortly after the capitulation of Bailén and the evacuation of Madrid by Joseph, the necessity of establishing some kind of central government became generally felt. After the first successes, the dissensions between the provincial juntas had grown so violent that Seville, for instance, was barely prevented by General Castaños from marching against Granada. The French army which, with the exception of the forces under Marshal Bessières, had withdrawn to the line of the Ebro in the greatest confusion, so that, if vigorously harassed, it would then have easily been dispersed, or at least compelled to repass the frontier, was thus allowed to recover and to take up a strong position. But it was, above all, the bloody suppression of the Bilbao insurrection by General Merlin,[309] which evoked a national cry against the jealousies of the juntas and the easy *laissez-faire* of the commanders. The urgency of combining military movements; the certainty that Napoleon would soon reappear at the head of a victorious army, collected from the banks of the Niemen, the Oder, and the shores of the Baltic; the want of a general authority for concluding treaties of alliance with Great Britain or other foreign powers, and for keeping up the connection with, and receiving

tribute from Spanish America; the existence at Burgos of a French central power, and the necessity of setting up altar against altar—all these circumstances conspired to force the Seville Junta to resign, however reluctantly, its ill-defined and rather nominal supremacy, and to propose to the several provincial juntas to select each from its own body two deputies, the assembling of whom was to constitute a *Central Junta*, while the provincial juntas were to remain invested with the internal management of their respective districts, "but under due subordination to the General Government."[a] Thus the *Central Junta*, composed of 35 deputies from provincial juntas (34 for the Spanish juntas, and one for the Canary Islands), met at Aranjuez on September 26, 1808, just one day before the potentates of Russia and Germany prostrated themselves before Napoleon at Erfurt.[310]

Under revolutionary, still more than under ordinary circumstances, the destinies of armies reflect the true nature of the civil government. The Central Junta, charged with the expulsion of the invaders from the Spanish soil, was driven by the success of the hostile arms from Madrid to Seville, and from Seville to Cadiz, there to expire ignominiously. Its reign was marked by a disgraceful succession of defeats, by the annihilation of the Spanish armies, and lastly by the dissolution of regular warfare into guerrilla exploits. As said Urquijo, a Spanish nobleman, to Cuesta, the Captain-General of Castile, on April 3, 1808:

> "Our Spain is a Gothic edifice, composed of heterogeneous morsels, with as many forces, privileges, legislations, and customs, as there are provinces. There exists in her nothing of what they call public spirit in Europe. These reasons will prevent the establishment of any central power of so solid a structure as to be able to unite our national forces."[b]

If, then, the actual state of Spain at the epoch of the French invasion threw the greatest possible difficulties in the way of creating a revolutionary center, the very composition of the Central Junta incapacitated it from proving a match for the terrible crisis in which the country found itself placed. Being too numerous and too fortuitously mixed for an executive government, they were too few to pretend to the authority of National Convention.[311] The mere fact of their power having been delegated from the provincial juntas rendered them unfit for

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[a] R. Southey, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 301-05.—*Ed.*

[b] Urquijo's letter is apparently quoted from D. Pradt, *Mémoires historiques sur la révolution d'Espagne*, p. 360.—*Ed.*

overcoming the ambitious propensities, the ill will, and the capricious egotism of those bodies. These juntas—the members of which, as we have shown in a former article, were elected on the whole in consideration of the situation they occupied in the old society, rather than of their capacity to inaugurate a new one—sent in their turn to the "Central" Spanish grandees, prelates, titularies of Castile, ancient ministers, high civil and military officials, instead of revolutionary upstarts. At the outset the Spanish revolution failed by its endeavor to remain legitimate and respectable.

The two most marked members of the Central Junta, under whose banners its two great parties ranged themselves, were Floridablanca and Jovellanos, both of them martyrs of Godoy's persecution, former ministers, valetudinarians, and grown old in the regular and pedantic habits of the procrastinating Spanish regime, the solemn and circumstantial slowness of which had become proverbial even at the time of Bacon, who once exclaimed, "May death reach me from Spain: it will then arrive at a late hour!" [a]

Floridablanca and Jovellanos represented an antagonism, but an antagonism belonging to that part of the eighteenth century which preceded the era of the French Revolution; the former a plebeian bureaucrat, the latter an aristocratic philanthropist; Floridablanca, a partisan and a practicer of the enlightened despotism represented by Pombal, Frederick II and Joseph II; Jovellanos, a "friend of the people", hoping to raise them to liberty by an anxiously wise succession of economic laws, and by the literary propaganda of generous doctrines; both opposed to the traditions of feudalism, the one by trying to disentangle the monarchical power, the other by seeking to rid civil society of its shackles. The part acted by either in the history of their country corresponded with the diversity of their opinions. Floridablanca ruled supreme as the Prime Minister of Charles III, and his rule grew despotic according to the measure in which he met with resistance. Jovellanos, whose ministerial career under Charles IV was but short-lived, gained his influence over the Spanish people, not as a minister, but as a scholar; not by decrees, but by essays. Floridablanca, when the storm of the times carried him to the

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[a] These words, ascribed to Bacon, are quoted from the book of the Spanish historian J. M. Toreno, ***Historia del levantamiento, guerra y revolución de España***, T. I, p. 278.—*Ed.*

head of a revolutionary Government, was an octogenarian, unshaken only in his belief in despotism, and his distrust of popular spontaneity. When delegated to Madrid he left with the Municipality of Murcia a secret protest, declaring that he had only ceded to force and to the fear of popular assassinations, and that he signed this protocol with the express view to prevent King Joseph from ever finding fault with his acceptance of the people's mandate. Not satisfied with returning to the traditions of his manhood, he retraced such steps of his ministerial past as he now judged to have been too rash. Thus, he who had expelled the Jesuits from Spain[312] was hardly installed in the Central Junta, when he caused it to grant leave for their return "in a private capacity." If he acknowledged any change to have occurred since his time, it was simply this: that Godoy, who had banished him, and had dispossessed the great Count of Floridablanca of his governmental omnipotence, was now again replaced by that same Count of Floridablanca, and driven out in his turn. This was the man whom the Central Junta chose as its President, and whom its majority recognized as an infallible leader.

Jovellanos, who commanded the influential minority of the Central Junta, had also grown old, and lost much of his energy in a long and painful imprisonment inflicted upon him by Godoy. But even in his best times he was not a man of revolutionary action, but rather a well-intentioned reformer, who, from over-niceness as to the means, would never have dared to accomplish an end. In France, he would perhaps have gone the length of Mounier or Lally-Tollendal, but not a step further. In England, he would have figured as a popular member of the House of Lords. In insurrectionized Spain, he was fit to supply the aspiring youth with ideas, but practically no match even for the servile tenacity of a Floridablanca. Not altogether free from aristocratic prejudices, and therefore with a strong leaning toward the Anglomania of Montesquieu, this fair character seemed to prove that if Spain had exceptionally begot a generalizing mind, she was unable to do it except at the cost of individual energy, which she could only possess for local affairs.

It is true that the Central Junta included a few men—headed by Don Lorenzo Calvo de Rosas, the delegate of Saragossa—who, while adopting the reform views of Jovellanos, spurred on at the same time to revolutionary action. But their numbers were too few and their names too unknown to allow them to push the slow State-coach of the Junta out of the beaten track of Spanish ceremonial.

This power, so clumsily composed, so nervelessly constituted, with such outlived reminiscences at its head, was called upon to accomplish a revolution and to beat Napoleon. If its proclamations were as vigorous as its deeds were weak, it was due to Don Manuel Quintana, a Spanish poet, whom the Junta had the taste to appoint as their secretary and to intrust with the writing of their manifestoes.

Like Calderón's pompous heroes[a] who, confounding conventional distinction with genuine greatness, used to announce themselves by a tedious enumeration of all their titles, the Junta occupied itself in the first place with decreeing the honors and decorations due to its exalted position. Their President received the predicate of "Highness," the other members that of "Excellency," while to the Junta *in corpore* was reserved the title of "Majesty." They adopted a species of fancy uniform resembling that of a general, adorned their breasts with badges representing the two worlds, and voted themselves a yearly salary of 120,000 reals. It was a true idea of the old Spanish school, that, in order to make a great and dignified entrance upon the historical stage of Europe, the chiefs of insurgent Spain ought to wrap themselves in theatrical costumes.

We should transgress the limits of these sketches by entering into the internal history of the Junta and the details of its administration. For our end it will suffice to answer two questions. What was its influence on the development of the Spanish revolutionary movement? What on the defense of the country? These two questions answered, much that until now has appeared mysterious and unaccountable in the Spanish revolutions of the nineteenth century will have found its explanation.

At the outset the majority of the Central Junta thought it their main duty to suppress the first revolutionary transports. Accordingly they tightened anew the old trammels of the press and appointed a new Grand Inquisitor, who was happily prevented by the French from resuming his functions. Although the greater part of the real property of Spain was then locked up in mortmain—in the entailed estates of the nobility, and the unalienable estates of the Church—the Junta ordered the selling of the mortmains, which had already begun, to be suspended, threatening even to amend the private contracts affecting the

[a] An allusion to the monologue of Floripes from Calderón's *La puente de Mantible* in which she extols the valour of her father Almirante (Act I). Marx and Engels made use of this monologue earlier in *The German Ideology* (see present edition, Vol. 5, p. 450).—*Ed.*

ecclesiastical estates that had already been sold. They acknowledged the national debt, but took no financial measure to free the civil list from a world of burdens, with which a secular succession of corrupt governments had encumbered it, to reform their proverbially unjust, absurd and vexatious fiscal system, or to open to the nation new productive resources, by breaking through the shackles of feudalism.

IV

Already at the time of Philip V, Francisco Benito la Soledad had said: "All the evils of Spain are derived from the *abogados*" (lawyers).[a] At the head of the mischievous magisterial hierarchy of Spain was placed the *Consejo Real*[b] of Castile. Sprung up in the turbulent times of the Don Juans and the Enriques,[313] strengthened by Philip II, who discovered in it a worthy complement of the *Santo Oficio*,[c] it had improved by the calamities of the times and the weakness of the later kings to usurp and accumulate in its hands the most heterogeneous attributes, and to add to its functions of Highest Tribunal those of a legislator and of an administrative superintendent of all the kingdoms of Spain. Thus it surpassed in power even the French Parliament which it resembled in many points, except that it was never to be found on the side of the people. Having been the most powerful authority in ancient Spain, the *Consejo Real* was, of course, the most implacable foe to a new Spain, and to all the recent popular authorities threatening to cripple its supreme influence. Being the great dignitary of the order of the lawyers and the incarnate guaranty of all its abuses and privileges, the *Consejo* naturally disposed of all the numerous and influential interests vested in Spanish jurisprudence. It was therefore a power with which the revolution could enter into no compromise, but which had to be swept away unless it should be allowed to sweep away the

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[a] The quotation is presumably from Francisco Benito la Soledad, *Memorial historico y politico.—Ed.*

[b] Royal Council.— *Ed.*

[c] The Holy Office (of the Inquisition).— *Ed.*

revolution in its turn. As we have seen in a former article,[a] the *Consejo* had prostituted itself before Napoleon, and by that act of treason had lost all hold upon the people. But on the day of their assumption of office the Central Junta were foolish enough to communicate to the *Consejo* their constitution, and to ask for its oath of fidelity, after having received which they declared they would dispatch the formula of the same oath to all the other authorities of the kingdom. By this inconsiderate step, loudly disapproved by all the revolutionary party, the *Consejo* became convinced that the Central Junta wanted its support; it thus recovered from its despondency, and, after an affected hesitation of some days, tendered a malevolent submission to the Junta, backing its oath by an expression of its own reactionary scruples exhibited in its advice to the Junta to dissolve, by reducing its number to three or five members, according to Ley 3, Partida 2, Titulo 15[314]; and to order the forcible extinction of the provincial juntas. After the French had returned to Madrid and dispersed the *Consejo Real*, the Central Junta, not contented with their first blunder, had the fatuity to resuscitate the *Consejo* by creating the *Consejo Reunido*—a reunion of the *Consejo Real* with all the other wrecks of the ancient royal councils. Thus the Junta spontaneously created for the counter-revolution a central power, which, rivaling their own power, never ceased to harass and counteract them with its intrigues and conspiracies, seeking to drive them to the most unpopular steps, and then, with a show of virtuous indignation to denounce them to the impassioned contempt of the people. It hardly need be mentioned that, having first acknowledged and then re-established the *Consejo Real*, the Central Junta was unable to reform anything, either in the organization of Spanish tribunals, or in their most vicious civil and criminal legislation.

That, notwithstanding the predominance in the Spanish rising of the national and religious elements, there existed, in the two first years, a most decided tendency to social and political reforms, is proved by all the manifestations of the provincial juntas of that time, which, though composed as they mostly were of the privileged classes, never neglected to denounce the ancient *régime* and to hold out promises of radical reform. The fact is further proved by the manifestoes of the Central Junta. In their first address to the nation, dated 26th October, 1808, they say:

"A tyranny of twenty years, exercised by the most incapable hands, had brought them to the very brink of perdition; the nation was alienated from its Government

[a] See this volume, p. 401.—*Ed.*

by hatred and contest. A little time only has passed since, oppressed and degraded, ignorant of their own strength, and finding no protection against the governmental evils, either in the institutions or in the laws, they had even regarded foreign dominion [as] less hateful than the wasting tyranny which consumed them. The dominion of a will always capricious, and most often unjust, had lasted too long; their patience, their love of order, their generous loyalty had too long been abused; it was time that law founded on general utility should commence its reign. Reform, therefore, was necessary throughout all branches. The Junta would form different committees, each entrusted with a particular department to whom all writings on matters of Government and Administration might be addressed."[a]

In their address dated Seville, 28th October, 1809, they say:

"An imbecile and decrepit despotism prepared the way for French tyranny. To leave the state sunk in old abuses would be a crime as enormous as to deliver you into the hands of Bonaparte."[b]

There seems to have existed in the Central Junta a most original division of labor—the Jovellanos party being allowed to proclaim and to protocol the revolutionary aspirations of the nation, and the Floridablanca party reserving to themselves the pleasure of giving them the lie direct, and of opposing to revolutionary fiction counter-revolutionary fact. For us, however, the important point is to prove from the very confessions of the provincial juntas deposited with the Central, the often-denied fact of the existence of revolutionary aspirations at the epoch of the first Spanish rising.

The manner in which the Central Junta made use of the opportunities for reforms afforded by the good will of the nation, the pressure of events, and the presence of immediate danger, may be inferred from the influence exercised by their Commissioners in the several provinces they were sent to. One Spanish author[c] candidly tells us that the Central Junta, not overflowing with capacities, took good care to retain the eminent members at the center, and to dispatch those who were good for nothing to the circumference. These Commissioners were invested with the power of presiding over the provincial juntas, and of representing the Central in the plenitude of its attributes. To quote only some instances of their doings: General Romana, whom the Spanish soldiers used to call Marquis de las Romerias,[d] from his perpetual

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[a] Proclamation issued by the Central Junta of Spain to the Spanish Nation. Aranjuez, October 26, 1808.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted from R. Southey, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 497-98.—*Ed.*

[c] J. M. Toreno, op. cit., T. I, p. 374.—*Ed.*

[d] Literally "Marquis of the pilgrimages" from the Spanish *romero* (pilgrim), *romeria* (pilgrimage).—*Ed.*

marches and counter-marches—fighting never taking place except when he happened to be out of the way—this Romana, when beaten by Soult out of Galicia, entered Asturias, and as a Commissioner of the Central. His first business was to pick a quarrel with the provincial junta of Oviedo, whose energetic and revolutionary measures had drawn down upon them the hatred of the privileged classes. He went the length of dissolving and replacing it by persons of his own invention. General Ney, informed of these dissensions, in a province where the resistance against the French had been general and unanimous, instantly marched his forces into Asturias, expelled the Marquis de las Romerias, entered Oviedo and sacked it during three days. The French having evacuated Galicia at the end of 1809, our Marquis and Commissioner of the Central Junta entered Coruña, united in his person all public authority, suppressed the district juntas, which had multiplied with the insurrection, and in their places appointed military governors, threatening the members of those juntas with persecution, actually persecuting the patriots, affecting a supreme benignity toward all who had embraced the cause of the invader, and proving in all other respects a mischievous, impotent, capricious blockhead. And what had been the shortcomings of the district and provincial juntas of Galicia? They had ordered a general recruitment without exemption of classes or persons; they had levied taxes upon the capitalists and proprietors; they had lowered the salaries of public functionaries; they had commanded the ecclesiastical corporations to keep at their disposition the revenues existing in their chests. In one word, they had taken revolutionary measures. From the time of the glorious Marquis de las Romerias, Asturias and Galicia, the two provinces most distinguished by their general resistance to the French, withheld from partaking in the war of independence, whenever released from immediate danger of invasion.

In Valencia, where new prospects appeared to open as long as the people were left to themselves and to chiefs of their own choosing, the revolutionary spirit was broken down by the influence of the Central Government. Not contented to place that province under the generalship of one Don José Caro, the Central Junta dispatched as "their own" Commissioner, the Baron Labazora. This Baron found fault with the provincial junta because it had resisted certain superior orders, and cancelled their decree by which the appointments to vacant canonship, ecclesiastical benefices, and commandries had been judiciously suspended and the revenues destined for the benefit of the military hospitals.

Hence bitter contests between the Central Junta and that of Valencia; hence, at a later epoch, the sleep of Valencia under the liberal administration of Marshal Suchet; hence its eagerness to proclaim Ferdinand VII on his return against the then revolutionary Government.

At Cadiz, the most revolutionary place in Spain at the epoch, the presence of a Commissioner of the Central Junta, the stupid and conceited Marquis de Villel, caused an insurrection to break out on the 22d and 23d of February, 1809, which, if not timely shifted to the war of independence, would have had the most disastrous consequences.

There exists no better sample of the discretion exhibited by the Central Junta in the appointment of their own Commissioners, than that of the delegate to Wellington, Señor Lozano de Torres, who, while humbling himself in servile adulation before the English General, secretly informed the Junta that the General's complaints on his want of provisions were altogether groundless. Wellington, having found out the double-tongued wretch, chased him ignominiously from his camp.

The Central Junta were placed in the most fortunate circumstances for realizing what they had proclaimed in one of their addresses to the Spanish nation.

> "It has seemed good to Providence that in this terrible crisis you should not be able to advance one step toward independence without advancing one likewise toward liberty." [a]

At the commencement of their reign the French had not yet obtained possession of one-third of Spain. The ancient authorities they found either absent or prostrated by their connivance with the intruder, or dispersed at his bidding. There was no measure of social reform, transferring property and influence from the Church and the aristocracy to the middle class and the peasants, which the cause of defending the common country could not have enabled them to carry. They had the same good luck as the French *Comité du salut public*[315]—that the convulsion within was backed by the necessities of defense against aggressions from without; moreover they had before them the example of the bold initiative which certain provinces had already been forced into by the pressure of circumstances. But not satisfied with hanging as a dead-weight on the Spanish revolution they actually worked in the sense of the counter-revolution, by re-establishing the ancient

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[a] R. Southey, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 497-98.—*Ed.*

authorities, by forging anew the chains which had been broken, by stifling the revolutionary fire wherever it broke out, by themselves doing nothing and by preventing others from doing anything. During their stay at Seville, on July 20, 1809, even the English Tory Government thought necessary to address them a note strongly protesting against their counter-revolutionary course "apprehending that they were likely to suffocate the public enthusiasm."[a] It has been remarked somewhere that Spain endured all the evils of revolution without acquiring revolutionary strength. If there be any truth in this remark, it is a sweeping condemnation passed upon the Central Junta.

We have thought it the more necessary to dwell upon this point, as its decisive importance has never been understood by any European historian. Exclusively under the reign of the Central Junta, it was possible to blend with the actualities and exigencies of national defense the transformation of Spanish society, and the emancipation of the native spirit, without which any political constitution must dissolve like a phantom at the slightest combat with real life. The Cortes were placed in quite opposite circumstances—they themselves driven back to an insulated spot of the Peninsula, cut off from the main body of the monarchy during two years by a besieging French army, and representing ideal Spain while real Spain was conquered or fighting. At the time of the Cortes Spain was divided into two parts. At the Isla de Leon, ideas without action—in the rest of Spain, action without ideas. At the time of the Central Junta, on the contrary, particular weakness, incapacity and ill will were required on the part of the Supreme Government to draw a line of distinction between the Spanish war and the Spanish revolution. The Cortes, therefore, failed, not, as French and English writers assert, because they were revolutionists, but because their predecessors had been reactionists and had missed the proper season of revolutionary action. Modern Spanish writers, offended by the Anglo-French critics, have nevertheless proved unable to refute them, and still wince under the *bon mot*[b] of the Abbé de Pradt[c]: "The Spanish people resemble the wife of Sganarelle who wanted to be beaten."[d]

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[a] J. M. Toreno, op. cit., T. II, p. 3.—*Ed.*

[b] Witticisms.—*Ed.*

[c] D. Pradt, op. cit., p. 224.—*Ed.*

[d] Allusion to the words of Martine, wife of Sganarelle, principal character in Molière's *Le Médecin malgré lui* (Act I, Scene 2).—*Ed.*

V

The Central Junta failed in the defense of their country, because they failed in their revolutionary mission. Conscious of their own weakness, of the unstable tenor of their power, and of their extreme unpopularity, how could they have attempted to answer the rivalries, jealousies, and overbearing pretensions of their generals common to all revolutionary epochs, but by unworthy tricks and petty intrigues? Kept, as they were, in constant fear and suspicion of their own military chiefs, we may give full credit to Wellington when writing to his brother, the Marquis of Wellesley, on September 1, 1809:

"I am much afraid, from what I have seen of the proceedings of the Central Junta, that in the distribution of their forces, they did not consider military defense and military operations so much as they do political intrigue and the attainment of trifling political objects."[a]

In revolutionary times, when all ties of subordination are loosened, military discipline can only be restored by civil discipline sternly weighing upon the generals. As the Central Junta, from its incongruous complexion, never succeeded in controlling the generals, the generals always failed in controlling the soldiers, and to the end of the war the Spanish army never reached an average degree of discipline and subordination. This insubordination was kept up by the want of food, clothing, and all the other material requisites of an army—for the morale of an army, as Napoleon called it, depends altogether on its material condition. The Central

[a] W. Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula and the South of France,* Vol. II, p. 437.—*Ed.*

Junta was unable regularly to provide for the army, because the poor poet Quintana's manifestoes would not do in this instance, and to add coercion to their decrees they must have recurred to the same revolutionary measures which they had condemned in the provinces. Even the general enlistment without respect to privilege and exemptions, and the facility granted to all Spaniards to obtain every grade in the army, was the work of the provincial juntas, and not of the Central Junta. If the defeats of the Spanish armies were thus produced by the counter-revolutionary incapacities of the Central Junta, these disasters in their turn still more depressed that Government, and by making it the object of popular contempt and suspicion, increased its dependence upon presumptuous but incapable military chiefs.

The Spanish standing army, if everywhere defeated, nevertheless presented itself at all points. More than twenty times dispersed, it was always ready again to show front to the enemy, and frequently reappeared with increased strength after a defeat. It was of no use to beat them, because, quick to flee, their loss in men was generally small, and as to the loss of the field, they did not care about it. Retiring disorderly to the sierras, they were sure to reassemble and reappear when least expected, strengthened by new reinforcements, and able, if not to resist the French armies, at least to keep them in continual movement, and to oblige them to scatter their forces. More fortunate than the Russians, they did not even need to die in order to rise from the dead.

The disastrous battle at Ocaña, November 19, 1809, was the last great pitched battle which the Spaniards fought; from that time they confined themselves to guerrilla warfare. The mere fact of the abandonment of regular warfare proves the disappearance of the national before the local centers of Government. When the disasters of the standing army became regular, the rising of the guerrillas became general, and the body of the people, hardly thinking of the national defeats, exulted in the local successes of their heroes. In this point at least the Central Junta shared the popular delusion. "Fuller accounts were given in the *Gaceta* of an affair of guerrillas than of the battle of Ocaña."

As Don Quixote had protested with his lance against gunpowder, so the guerrillas protested against Napoleon, only with different success.

"These guerrillas," says the *Austrian Military Journal*[a] (Vol. I, 1821), "carried

[a] *Oesterreichische militärische Zeitschrift.—Ed.*

their basis in themselves, as it were, and every operation against them terminated in the disappearance of its object."

There are three periods to be distinguished in the history of the guerrilla warfare. In the first period the population of whole provinces took up arms and made a partisan warfare, as in Galicia and Asturias. In the second period, guerrilla bands formed of the wrecks of the Spanish armies, of Spanish deserters from the French armies, of smugglers, etc., carried on the war as their own cause, independently of all foreign influence and agreeably to their immediate interest. Fortunate events and circumstances frequently brought whole districts under their colors. As long as the guerrillas were thus constituted, they made no formidable appearance as a body, but were nevertheless extremely dangerous to the French. They formed the basis of an actual armament of the people. As soon as an opportunity for a capture offered itself, or a combined enterprise was meditated, the most active and daring among the people came out and joined the guerrillas. They rushed with the utmost rapidity upon their booty, or placed themselves in order of battle, according to the object of their undertaking. It was not uncommon to see them standing out a whole day in sight of a vigilant enemy, in order to intercept a carrier or to capture supplies. It was in this way that the younger Mina captured the Viceroy of Navarra, appointed by Joseph Bonaparte, and that Julian made a prisoner of the Commandant of Ciudad Rodrigo. As soon as the enterprise was completed, everybody went his own way, and armed men were seen scattering in all directions; but the associated peasants quietly returned to their common occupation without "as much as their absence having been noticed." Thus the communication on all the roads was closed. Thousands of enemies were on the spot, though not one could be discovered. No courier could be dispatched without being taken; no supplies could set out without being intercepted; in short, no movement could be effected without being observed by a hundred eyes. At the same time, there existed no means of striking at the root of a combination of this kind. The French were obliged to be constantly armed against an enemy who, continually flying, always reappeared, and was everywhere without being actually seen, the mountains serving as so many curtains.

"It was," says the Abbé de Pradt, "neither battles nor engagements which exhausted the French forces, but the incessant molestations of an invisible enemy, who, if pursued, became lost among the people, out of which he reappeared

immediately afterward with renewed strength. The lion in the fable tormented to death by a gnat[a] gives a true picture of the French army."[b]

In their third period, the guerrillas aped the regularity of the standing army, swelled their corps to the number of from 3,000 to 6,000 men, ceased to be the concern of whole districts, and fell into the hands of a few leaders, who made such use of them as best suited their own purposes. This change in the system of the guerrillas gave the French, in their contests with them, considerable advantage. Rendered incapable by their great numbers to conceal themselves, and to suddenly disappear without being forced into battle, as they had formerly done, the guerrilleros were now frequently overtaken, defeated, dispersed, and disabled for a length of time from offering any further molestation.

By comparing the three periods of guerrilla warfare with the political history of Spain, it is found that they represent the respective degrees into which the counter-revolutionary spirit of the Government had succeeded in cooling the spirit of the people. Beginning with the rise of whole populations, the partisan war was next carried on by guerrilla bands, of which whole districts formed the reserve and terminated in *corps francs* continually on the point of dwindling into banditti, or sinking down to the level of standing regiments.

Estrangement from the Supreme Government, relaxed discipline, continual disasters, constant formation, decomposition, and recomposition during six years of the *cadrez* must have necessarily stamped upon the body of the Spanish army the character of praetorianism, making them equally ready to become the tools or the scourges of their chiefs. The generals themselves had necessarily participated in, quarrelled with, or conspired against the Central Government, and always thrown the weight of their sword into the political balance. Thus Cuesta, who afterwards seemed to win the confidence of the Central Junta at the same rate that he lost the battles of the country, had begun by conspiring with the *Consejo Real* and by arresting the Leonese deputies to the Central Junta. General Morla himself, a member of the Central Junta, went over into the Bonapartist camp, after he had surrendered Madrid to the French. The coxcombical Marquis de las Romerias, also a member of the Junta, conspired with the vainglorious Francisco Palafox, the wretched Montijo, and

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[a] Aesop, "The Lion and the Gnat".—*Ed.*
[b] D. Pradt, op. cit., pp. 202-03.—*Ed.*

the turbulent Junta of Seville against it. The Generals Castaños, Blake, La Bisbal (an O'Donnell) figured and intrigued successively at the times of the Cortes as regents, and the Captain-General of Valencia, Don Javier Elío, surrendered Spain finally to the mercies of Ferdinand VII. The praetorian element was certainly more developed with the generals than with their troops.

On the other hand, the army and guerrilleros—which received during the war part of their chiefs, like Porlier, Lacy, Eroles and Villacampa, from the ranks of distinguished officers of the line, while the line in its turn afterward received guerrilla chiefs, like Mina, Empecinado, etc.—were the most revolutionized portion of Spanish society, recruited as they were from all ranks, including the whole of the fiery, aspiring and patriotic youth, inaccessible to the soporific influence of the Central Government; emancipated from the shackles of the ancient regime; part of them, like Riego, ieturning after some years' captivity in France. We are, then, not to be surprised at the influence exercised by the Spanish army in subsequent commotions; neither when taking the revolutionary initiative, nor when spoiling the revolution by praetorianism.

As to the guerrillas, it is evident that, having for some years figured upon the theater of sanguinary contests, taken to roving habits, freely indulged all their passions of hatred, revenge, and love of plunder, they must, in times of peace, form a most dangerous mob, always ready at a nod, in the name of any party or principle, to step forward for him who is able to give them good pay or to afford them a pretext for plundering excursions.

## VI

On September 24, 1810, the Extraordinary Cortes assembled on the Island of Leon; on February 20, 1811, they removed their sittings thence to Cadiz; on March 19, 1812, they promulgated the new Constitution; and on September 20, 1813, they closed their sittings, three years from the period of their opening.

The circumstances under which this Congress met are without parallel in history. While no legislative body had ever before gathered its members from such various parts of the globe, or pretended to control such immense territories in Europe, America and Asia, such a diversity of races and such a complexity of interests—nearly the whole of Spain was occupied by the French, and the Congress itself, actually cut off from Spain by hostile armies, and relegated to a small neck of land, had to legislate in the sight of a surrounding and besieging army. From the remote angle of the *Isla Gaditana*[a] they undertook to lay the foundation of a new Spain, as their forefathers had done from the mountains of Covadonga and Sobrarbe.[316] How are we to account for the curious phenomenon of the Constitution of 1812, afterward branded by the crowned heads of Europe, assembled at Verona, as the most incendiary invention of Jacobinism, having sprung up from the head of old monastic and absolutionist Spain at the very epoch when she seemed totally absorbed in waging a holy war against the Revolution? How, on the other hand, are we to account for the sudden disappearance of this same Constitution, vanishing like a shadow—like "la sombra de un sueño,"[b] say the

[a] Cadiz.—*Ed.*
[b] The shadow of a dream.—*Ed.*

Spanish historians—when brought into contact with a living Bourbon[a]? If the birth of that Constitution is a riddle, its death is no less so. To solve the enigma, we propose to commence with a short review of this same Constitution of 1812, which the Spaniards tried again to realize at two subsequent epochs, first during the period from 1820-23, and then in 1836.

The Constitution of 1812[317] consists of 384 articles and comprehends the following 10 divisions: 1. On the Spanish nation and the Spaniards. 2. On the territory of Spain; its religion, government, and on Spanish citizens. 3. On the Cortes. 4. On the King. 5. On the tribunals and administration of justice in civil and criminal matters. 6. On the interior government of the provinces and communes. 7. On the taxes. 8. On the national military forces. 9. On public education. 10. On the observance of the Constitution, and mode of proceeding to make alterations therein.

Proceeding from the principle that

> "the sovereignty resides essentially in the nation, to which, therefore, alone belongs exclusively the right of establishing fundamental laws,"

the Constitution, nevertheless, proclaims a division of powers, according to which:

> "the legislative power is placed in the Cortes jointly with the King;" "the execution of the laws is confided to the King," "the application of the laws in civil and criminal affairs belongs exclusively to the tribunals, neither the Cortes nor the King being in any case empowered to exercise judicial authority, advocate pending cases, or command the revisal of concluded judgment."

The basis of the national representation is mere population, one deputy for every 70,000 souls. The Cortes consists of one house, viz: the commons, the election of the deputies being by universal suffrage. The elective franchise is enjoyed by all Spaniards, with the exception of menial servants, bankrupts and criminals. After the year 1830, no citizen can enjoy this right who cannot read and write. The election is, however, indirect, having to pass through the three degrees of parochial, district and provincial elections. There is no defined property qualification for a deputy. It is true that according to Art. 92, "it is necessary, in order to be eligible as a deputy to the Cortes, to possess a proportionate annual income, proceeding from real personal property," but Art. 93 suspends the preceding article, until the Cortes in their future meetings declare the period to have arrived in which it shall take effect. The King has neither the right to dissolve nor prorogue the

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[a] Ferdinand VII.—*Ed.*

Cortes, who annually meet at the capital on the first of March, without being convoked, and sit at least three months consecutively.

A new Cortes is elected every second year, and no deputy can sit in two Cortes consecutively; i.e., one can only be re-elected after an intervening Cortes of two years. No deputy can ask or accept rewards, pensions, or honors from the King. The secretaries of state, the councilors of state, and those fulfilling offices of the royal household, are ineligible as deputies to the Cortes. No public officer employed by Government shall be elected deputy to the Cortes from the province in which he discharges his trust. To indemnify the deputies for their expenses, the respective provinces shall contribute such daily allowances as the Cortes, in the second year of every general deputation, shall point out for the deputation that is to succeed it. The Cortes cannot deliberate in the presence of the King. In those cases where the ministers have any communication to make to the Cortes in the name of the King, they may attend the debates when, and in such manner as, the Cortes may think fit, and may speak therein, but they cannot be present at a vote. The King, the Prince of Asturias, and the Regents have to swear to the Constitution before the Cortes, who determine any question of fact or right that may occur in the order of the succession to the Crown, and elect a Regency if necessary. The Cortes are to approve, previous to ratification, all treaties of offensive alliances, or of subsidies and commerce, to permit or refuse the admission of foreign troops into the kingdom, to decree the creation and suppression of offices in the tribunals established by the Constitution, and also the creation or abolition of public offices; to determine every year, at the recommendation of the King, the land and sea forces in peace and in war, to issue ordinances to the army, the fleet, and the national militia, in all their branches; to fix the expenses of the public administration; to establish annually the taxes, to take property on loan, in cases of necessity, upon the credit of the public funds, to decide on all matters respecting money, weights and measures; to establish a general plan of public education, to protect the political liberty of the press, to render real and effective the responsibility of the ministers, etc. The King enjoys only a suspensive veto, which he may exercise during two consecutive sessions, but if the same project of new law should be proposed a third time, and approved by the Cortes of the following year, the King is understood to have given his assent, and has actually to give it. Before the Cortes terminate a session, they appoint a permanent

committee, consisting of seven of their members, sitting in the capital until the meeting of the next Cortes, endowed with powers to watch over the strict observance of the Constitution and administration of the laws; reporting to the next Cortes any infraction it may have observed, and empowered to convoke an extraordinary Cortes in critical times. The King cannot quit the kingdom without the consent of the Cortes. He requires the consent of the Cortes for contracting a marriage. The Cortes fix the annual revenue of the King's household.

The only Privy Council of the King is the Council of State, in which the ministers have no seat, and which consists of forty persons, four ecclesiastics, four grandees of Spain, and the rest formed by distinguished administrators, all of them chosen by the King from a list of one hundred and twenty persons[a] nominated by the Cortes; but no actual deputy can be a councilor, and no councilor can accept offices, honors, or employment from the King. The councilors of state cannot be removed without sufficient reasons, proved before the Supreme Court of Justice. The Cortes fix the salary of these councilors whose opinion the King will hear upon all important matters, and who nominate the candidates for ecclesiastical and judicial places. In the sections respecting the judicature, all the old *consejos*[b] are abolished, a new organization of tribunals is introduced, a Supreme Court of Justice is established to try the ministers when impeached, to take cognizance of all cases of dismissal and suspension from office of councilors of state, and the officers of courts of justice, etc. Without proof that reconciliation has been attempted, no law-suit can be commenced. Torture, compulsion, confiscation of property are suppressed. All exceptional tribunals are abolished but the military and ecclesiastic, against the decisions of which appeals to the Supreme Court are however permitted.

For the interior government of towns and communes (communes, where they do not exist, to be formed from districts with a population of 1,000 souls), *Ayuntamientos*[318] shall be formed of one or more magistrates, aldermen and public councilors, to be presided over by the political chief (*corregidor*) and to be chosen by general election. No public officer actually employed and appointed by the King can be eligible as a magistrate, alderman or public councilor. The municipal employments shall be public duty, from which no person can be exempt without lawful reason. The

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[a] The figure 120 is omitted in Article 234 of the Constitution.—*Ed.*
[b] Councils.—*Ed.*

municipal corporations shall discharge all their duties under the inspection of the provincial deputation.

The political government of the provinces shall be placed in the governor (*jefe politico*) appointed by the King. This governor is connected with a deputation, over which he presides, and which is elected by the districts when assembled for the general election of the members for a new Cortes. These provincial deputations consist of seven members, assisted by a secretary paid by the Cortes. These deputations shall hold sessions for ninety days at most in every year. From the powers and duties assigned to them, they may be considered as permanent committees of the Cortes. All members of the *Ayuntamientos* and provincial deputations, in entering office, swear fidelity to the Constitution. With regard to the taxes, all Spaniards are bound, without any distinction whatever, to contribute, in proportion to their means, to the expenses of the State. All custom-houses shall be suppressed, except in the seaports and on the frontier. All Spaniards are likewise bound to military service, and, beside the standing army, there shall be formed corps of national militia in each province, consisting of the inhabitants of the same, in proportion to its population and circumstances. Lastly, the Constitution of 1812 cannot be altered, augmented, or corrected in any of its details, until eight years have elapsed after its having been carried into practice.

When the Cortes drew up this new plan of the Spanish State, they were of course aware that such a modern political Constitution would be altogether incompatible with the old social system, and consequently, they promulgated a series of decrees, with a view to organic changes in civil society. Thus they abolished the Inquisition. They suppressed the seignorial jurisdictions; with their exclusive, prohibitive, and privative feudal privileges, i.e., those of the chase, fishery, forests, mills, etc., excepting such as had been acquired on an onerous title, and which were to be reimbursed. They abolished the tithes throughout the monarchy, suspended the nominations to all ecclesiastic prebends not necessary for the performance of divine service, and took steps for the suppression of the monasteries and the sequestration of their property.

They intended to transform the immense wastelands, royal domains and commons of Spain into private property, by selling one half of them for the extinction of the public debt, distributing another part by lot as a patriotic remuneration for the disbanded soldiers of the war of independence and granting a third part,

gratuitously, and also by lot, to the poor peasantry who should desire to possess but not be able to buy them. They allowed the inclosure of pastures and other real property, formerly forbidden. They repealed the absurd laws which prevented pastures from being converted into arable land or arable land converted into pasture, and generally freed agriculture from the old arbitrary and ridiculous rules. They revoked all feudal laws with respect to farming contracts, and the law according to which the successor of an entailed estate was not obliged to confirm the leases granted by his predecessor, the leases expiring with him who had granted them. They abolished the *voto de Santiago*, under which name was understood an ancient tribute of a certain measure of the best bread and the best wine to be paid by the laborers of certain provinces principally for the maintenance of the Archbishop and Chapter of Santiago.[a] They decreed the introduction of a large progressive tax, etc.

It being one of their principal aims to hold possession of the American colonies, which had already begun to revolt, they acknowledged the full political equality of the American and European Spaniards, proclaimed a general amnesty without any exception, issued decrees against the oppression weighing upon the original natives of America and Asia, cancelled the *mitas*, the *repartimientos*,[319] etc., abolished the monopoly of quicksilver, and took the lead of Europe in suppressing the slave-trade.

The Constitution of 1812 has been accused on the one hand—for instance, by Ferdinand VII himself (see his decree of May 4, 1814)—of being a mere imitation of the French Constitution of 1791,[320] transplanted on the Spanish soil by visionaries, regardless of the historical traditions of Spain. On the other hand, it has been contended—for instance, by the Abbé de Pradt (*De la Révolution actuelle de l'Espagne*)—that the Cortes unreasonably clung to antiquated formulas, borrowed from the ancient *fueros*,[321] and belonging to feudal times, when the royal authority was checked by the exorbitant privileges of the grandees.

The truth is that the Constitution of 1812 is a reproduction of the ancient Fueros, but read in the light of the French Revolution, and adapted to the wants of modern society. The right of insurrection, for instance, is generally regarded as one of the boldest innovations of the Jacobin Constitution of 1793,[322] but you meet this same right in the ancient Fueros of Sobrarbe, where it is

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[a] Santiago de Compastela—a city in north-west Spain, the seat of an archbishopric, a famous place of pilgrimage.—*Ed.*

called the *Privilegio de la Union.* You find it also in the ancient Constitution of Castile. According to the Fueros of Sobrarbe, the King cannot make peace nor declare war, nor conclude treaties, without the previous consent of the Cortes. The Permanent Committee, consisting of seven members of the Cortes, who are to watch over the strict observance of the Constitution during the prorogation of the legislative body, was of old established in Aragon, and was introduced into Castile at the time when the principal Cortes of the monarchy were united in one single body. To the period of the French invasion a similar institution still existed in the kingdom of Navarre. Touching the formation of a State Council from a list of 120 persons presented to the King by the Cortes and paid by them—this singular creation of the Constitution of 1812 was suggested by the remembrance of the fatal influence exercised by the camarillas at all epochs of the Spanish monarchy. The State Council was intended to supersede the camarilla. Besides, there existed analogous institutions in the past. At the time of Ferdinand IV, for instance, the King was always surrounded by twelve commoners, designated by the cities of Castile, to serve as his privy councilors; and, in 1419, the delegates of the cities complained that their commissioners were no longer admitted into the King's Council. The exclusion of the highest functionaries and the members of the King's household from the Cortes, as well as the prohibition to the deputies to accept honors or offices on the part of the King, seems, at first view, to be borrowed from the Constitution of 1791, and naturally to flow from the modern division of powers, sanctioned by the Constitution of 1812. But, in fact, we meet not only in the ancient Constitution of Castile with precedents, but we know that the people, at different times, rose and assassinated the deputies who had accepted honors or offices from the Crown. As to the right of the Cortes to appoint regencies in case of minority, it had continually been exercised by the ancient Cortes of Castile during the long minorities of the fourteenth century.

It is true that the Cadiz Cortes deprived the King of the power he had always exercised of convoking, dissolving, or proroguing the Cortes; but as the Cortes had fallen into disuse by the very manner in which the Kings improved their privileges, there was nothing more evident than the necessity of cancelling it. The alleged facts may suffice to show that the anxious limitation of the royal power—the most striking feature of the Constitution of 1812—otherwise fully explained by the recent and revolting *souvenirs* of Godoy's contemptible despotism, derived its origin

from the ancient Fueros of Spain. The Cadiz Cortes but transferred the control from the privileged *estates* to the national representation. How much the Spanish kings stood in awe of the ancient Fueros may be seen from the fact that when a new collection of the Spanish laws had become necessary, in 1805, a royal ordinance ordered the removal from it of all the remains of feudalism contained in the last collection of laws, and belonging to a time when the weakness of the monarchy forced the kings to enter with their vassals into compromises derogatory to the sovereign power.

If the election of the deputies by general suffrage was an innovation, it must not be forgotten that the Cortes of 1812 were themselves elected by general suffrage, that all the juntas had been elected by it; that a limitation of it would, therefore, have been an infraction of a right already conquered by the people; and, lastly, that a property qualification, at a time when almost all the real property of Spain was locked up in mortmain, would have excluded the greater part of the population.

The meeting of the representatives in one single house was by no means copied from the French Constitution of 1791, as the morose English Tories will have it. Our readers know already[a] that since Charles I (the Emperor Charles V) the aristocracy and the clergy had lost their seats in the Cortes of Castile. But even at the time when the Cortes were divided into *brazos* (arms, branches), representing the different estates, they assembled in one single hall, separated only by their seats, and voting in common. From the provinces, in which alone the Cortes still possessed real power at the epoch of the French invasion, Navarre continued the old custom of convoking the Cortes by *estates;* but in the Vascongadas the altogether democratic assemblies admitted not even the clergy. Besides, if the clergy and aristocracy had saved their obnoxious privileges, they had long since ceased to form independent political bodies, the existence of which constituted the basis of the composition of the ancient Cortes.

The separation of the judiciary from the executive power, decreed by the Cadiz Cortes, was demanded as early as the eighteenth century, by the most enlightened statesmen of Spain; and the general odium which the *Consejo Real,* from the beginning of the revolution, had concentrated upon itself, made the necessity of reducing the tribunals to their proper sphere of action universally felt.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 394-95.—*Ed.*

The section of the Constitution which refers to the municipal government of the communes, is a genuine Spanish offspring, as we have shown in a former article. The Cortes only re-established the old municipal system, while they stripped off its medieval character. As to the provincial deputations, invested with the same powers for the internal government of the provinces as the *ayuntamientos* for the administration of the communes, the Cortes modelled them in imitation of similar institutions still existing at the time of the invasion in Navarre, Biscay and Asturias. In abolishing the exemptions from the military service, the Cortes sanctioned only what had become the general practice during the war of independence. The abolition of the Inquisition was also but the sanction of a fact, as the Holy Office, although re-established by the Central Junta, had not dared to resume its functions, its holy members being content with pocketing their salaries, and prudently waiting for better times. As to the suppression of feudal abuses, the Cortes went not even the length of the reforms insisted upon in the famous memorial of Jovellanos, presented in 1795 to the *Consejo Real* in the name of the economical society of Madrid.[a]

The ministers of the enlightened despotism of the latter part of the eighteenth century, Floridablanca and Campomanes, had already begun to take steps in this direction. Besides, it must not be forgotten that simultaneously with the Cortes, there sat a French Government at Madrid, which, in all the provinces overrun by the armies of Napoleon, had swept away from the soil all monastic and feudal institutions, and introduced the modern system of administration. The Bonapartist papers denounced the insurrection as entirely produced by the artifices and bribes of England, assisted by the monks and the Inquisition. How far the rivalry with the intruding government must have exercised a salutary influence upon the decisions of the Cortes, may be inferred from the fact that the Central Junta itself, in its decree dated September, 1809, wherein the convocation of the Cortes is announced, addressed the Spaniards in the following terms:

"Our detractors say that we are fighting to defend old abuses and the inveterate vices of our corrupted government. Let them know that your struggle is for the happiness as well as the independence of your country; that you will not depend henceforward on the uncertain will or the various temper of a single man," etc.[b]

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[a] G. M. Jovellanos, op. cit.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the initial draft of the decree which was rejected at the insistence of the British envoy. R. Southey, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 482.—*Ed.*

On the other hand, we may trace in the Constitution of 1812 symptoms not to be mistaken of a compromise entered into between the liberal ideas of the eighteenth century and the dark traditions of priestcraft. It suffices to quote Art. 12, according to which

> "the religion of the Spanish nation is and shall be perpetually Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman, the only true religion. The nation protects it by wise and just laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other whatever";

or Art. 173, ordering the King to take, on his accession to the throne, the following oath before the Cortes:

> "N., by the grace of God and the Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy, King of Spain, I swear by the Almighty and the Holy Evangelists, that I will defend and preserve the Catholic, Roman, and Apostolic religion, without tolerating any other in the kingdom."

On a closer analysis, then, of the Constitution of 1812, we arrive at the conclusion that, so far from being a servile copy of the French Constitution of 1791, it was a genuine and original offspring of Spanish intellectual life, regenerating the ancient and national institutions, introducing the measures of reform loudly demanded by the most celebrated authors and statesmen of the eighteenth century, making inevitable concessions to popular prejudice.

VII

There were some circumstances favorable to the assembling at Cadiz of the most progressive men of Spain. When the elections took place, the movement had not yet subsided, and the very disfavor which the Central Junta had incurred recommended its antagonists, who, to a great extent, belonged to the revolutionary minority of the nation. At the first meeting of the Cortes, the most democratic provinces, Catalonia and Galicia, were almost exclusively represented; the deputies from Leon, Valencia, Murcia and the Islas Baleares, not arriving till three months later. The most reactionary provinces, those of the interior, were not allowed, except in some few localities, to proceed with the elections for the Cortes. For the different kingdoms, cities and towns of old Spain, which the French armies prevented from choosing deputies, as well as for the ultramarine provinces of New Spain, whose deputies could not arrive in due time, supplementary representatives were elected from the many individuals whom the troubles of the war had driven from the provinces to Cadiz, and the numerous South Americans, merchants, natives and others, whose curiosity or the state of affairs had likewise assembled at that place. Thus it happened that those provinces were represented by men more fond of innovation, and more impregnated with the ideas of the eighteenth century, than would have been the case if they had been enabled to choose for themselves. Lastly, the circumstance of the Cortes meeting at Cadiz was of decisive influence, that city being then known as the most radical of the kingdom, more resembling an American than a Spanish town. Its population filled the galleries in the Hall of the Cortes and domineered the reactionists, when their opposition grew too obnoxious, by a system of intimidation and pressure from without.

It would, however, be a great mistake to suppose that the majority of the Cortes consisted of reformers. The Cortes were divided into three parties—the *Serviles*, the *Liberales* (these party denominations spread from Spain through the whole of Europe), and the *Americanos*, the latter voting alternately with the one or the other party, according to their particular interests.[323] The Serviles, far superior in numbers, were carried away by the activity, zeal and enthusiasm of the Liberal minority. The ecclesiastic deputies, who formed the majority of the Servile party, were always ready to sacrifice the royal prerogative, partly from the remembrance of the antagonism of the Church to the State, partly with a view to courting popularity, in order thus to save the privileges and abuses of their caste. During the debates on the general suffrage, the one-chamber system, the no-property qualification and the suspensive veto the ecclesiastic party always combined with the more democratic part of the Liberals against the partisans of the English Constitution. One of them, the Canon Cañedo, afterward Archbishop of Burgos, and an implacable persecutor of the Liberals, addressed Señor Muñoz Torrero, also a Canon, but belonging to the Liberal party, in these terms:

"You suffer the King to remain excessively powerful, but as a priest you ought to plead the cause of the Church, rather than that of the King."[a]

Into these compromises with the Church party the Liberals were forced to enter, as we have already seen from some articles of the Constitution of 1812. When the liberty of the press was discussed, the parsons denounced it as "contrary to religion." After the most stormy debates, and after having declared that all persons were at liberty to publish their sentiments without special license, the Cortes unanimously admitted an amendment, which, by inserting the word *political*, curtailed this liberty of half its extent, and left all writings upon religious matters subject to the censure of the ecclesiastic authorities, according to the decrees of the Council of Trent.[324] On August 18, 1813, after a decree passed against all who should conspire against the Constitution, another decree was passed, declaring that whoever should conspire to make the Spanish nation cease to profess the Catholic Roman religion should be prosecuted as a traitor, and suffer death.[b] When the *Voto de Santiago* was abolished, a compensatory

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[a] Marliani, *Historia politica de la España moderna.—Ed.*

[b] The decree on the freedom of the press adopted by the Cortes on November 10, 1810, and also the decrees of August 18, 1813 on the protection of the

resolution was carried, declaring Saint Teresa de Jesus the patroness of Spain. The Liberals also took care not to propose and carry the decrees about the abolition of the Inquisition, the tithes, the monasteries, etc., till after the Constitution had been proclaimed. But from that very moment the opposition of the Serviles within the Cortes, and the clergy without, became inexorable.

Having now explained the circumstances which account for the origin and the characteristic features of the Constitution of 1812, there still remains the problem to be solved of its sudden and resistless disappearance at the return of Ferdinand VII. A more humiliating spectacle has seldom been witnessed by the world. When Ferdinand entered Valencia, on April 16, 1814,

> "the joyous people yoked themselves to his carriage, and testified by every possible expression of word and deed their desire of taking the old yoke upon themselves, shouting, 'Long live the absolute King!' 'Down with the Constitution!'"

In all the large towns, the Plaza Mayor, or Great Square, had been named Plaza de la Constitución, and a stone with these words engraved on it, erected there. In Valencia this stone was removed, and a "provisional" stone of wood set up in its place with the inscription: *Real Plaza de Fernando VII.* The populace of Seville deposed all the existing authorities, elected others in their stead to all the offices which had existed under the old regime, and then required those authorities to re-establish the Inquisition. From Aranjuez to Madrid Ferdinand's carriage was drawn by the people. When the King alighted, the mob took him up in their arms, triumphantly showed him to the immense concourse assembled in front of the palace, and in their arms conveyed him to his apartments. The word Liberty appeared in large bronze letters over the entrance of the Hall of the Cortes in Madrid; the rabble hurried thither to remove it; they set up ladders, forced out letter by letter from the stone, and as each was thrown into the street, the spectators renewed their shouts of exultation. They collected as many of the journals of the Cortes and of the papers and pamphlets of the Liberals as could be got together, formed a procession in which the religious fraternities and the clergy, regular and secular, took the lead, piled up these papers in one of the public squares, and sacrificed them there as a political auto-da-fe, after which high mass was performed and the Te

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Constitution and the Catholic religion are given according to R. Southey, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 899. The decrees mentioned below were published in *Colección de los decretos y órdenes que han expedido las Cortes generales y extraordinarias.—Ed.*

Deum sung as a thanksgiving for their triumph. More important perhaps—since these shameless demonstrations of the town mob, partly paid for their performances, and like the Lazzaroni of Naples,[325] preferring the wanton rule of kings and monks to the sober regime of the middle classes—is the fact that the second general elections resulted in a decisive victory of the Serviles; the Constituent Cortes being replaced by the ordinary Cortes on September 20, 1813, who transferred their sittings from Cadiz to Madrid on January 15, 1814.

We have shown in former articles how the revolutionary party itself had participated in rousing and strengthening the old popular prejudices, with a view to turn them into so many weapons against Napoleon.[a] We have then seen how the Central Junta, at the only period when social changes were to be blended with measures of national defense, did all in their power to prevent them, and to suppress the revolutionary aspirations of the provinces.[b] The Cadiz Cortes, on the contrary, cut off, during the greater part of their existence, from all connection with Spain, were not even enabled to make their Constitution and their organic decrees known, except as the French armies retired. The Cortes arrived, as it were, *post factum.* They found society fatigued, exhausted, suffering; the necessary product of so protracted a war, entirely carried on upon the Spanish soil; a war in which the armies, being always on the move, the Government of today was seldom that of tomorrow, while bloodshed did not cease one single day during almost six years throughout the whole surface of Spain, from Cadiz to Pamplona, and from Granada to Salamanca. It was not to be expected that such a society should be very sensible of the abstract beauties of any political constitution whatever. Nevertheless, when the Constitution was first proclaimed at Madrid, and the other provinces evacuated by the French, it was received with "exultant delight," the masses being generally expecting a sudden disappearance of their social sufferings from mere change of Government. When they discovered that the Constitution was not possessed of such miraculous powers, the very overstrained expectations which had welcomed it turned into disappointment, and with these passionate Southern peoples there is but one step from disappointment to hatred.

There were some particular circumstances which principally contributed to estrange the popular sympathies from the constitu-

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[a] See this volume, pp. 403-04.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 414-18.—*Ed.*

tional regime. The Cortes had published the severest decrees against the *Afrancesados* or the *Josephites*.[a] The Cortes were partly driven to these decrees by the vindictive clamor of the populace and the reactionists, who at once turned against the Cortes as soon as the decrees they had wrung from them were put to execution. Upwards of 10,000 families became thus exiled. A lot of petty tyrants let loose on the provinces evacuated by the French, established their proconsular authority, and began by inquiries, prosecution, prison, inquisitorial proceedings against those compromised through adherence to the French, by having accepted offices from them, bought national property from them, etc. The Regency, instead of trying to effect the transition from the French to the national regime in a conciliatory and discreet way, did all in their power to aggravate the evils and exasperate the passions, inseparable from such changes of dominion. But why did they do so? In order to be able to ask from the Cortes a suspension of the Constitution of 1812, which, they told them, worked so very offensively. Be it remarked, *en passant*, that all the Regencies, these supreme executive authorities appointed by the Cortes, were regularly composed of the most decided enemies of the Cortes and their Constitution. This curious fact is simply explained by the Americans always combining with the Serviles in the appointment of the executive power, the weakening of which they considered necessary for the attainment of American independence from the mother country, since they were sure that an executive simply at variance with the sovereign Cortes would prove insufficient. The introduction by the Cortes of a single direct tax upon the rental of land, as well as upon industrial and commercial produce, excited also great discontent among the people, and still more so the absurd decrees forbidding the circulation of all Spanish specie coined by Joseph Bonaparte, and ordering its possessors to exchange it for national coin,[b] simultaneously interdicting the circulation of French money, and proclaiming a tariff at which it was to be exchanged at the national mint. As this tariff greatly differed from that proclaimed by the French in 1808, for the relative value of French and Spanish coins, many private individuals were involved in great losses. This absurd measure also contributed to raise the price of the first necessaries, already highly above the average rates.

[a] Supporters of the French influence, or adherents of Joseph Bonaparte.—*Ed.*

[b] Orden para que se indemnice en la Casa de Moneda a los tenedores de la del Rey intruso (Cádiz 4 de Abril de 1811) in: *Colección de los decretos y órdenes que han expedido las Cortes generales y extraordinarias* ..., T. I, p. 123.—*Ed.*

The classes most interested in the overthrow of the Constitution of 1812 and the restoration of the old regime—the grandees, the clergy, the friars and the lawyers—did not fail to excite to the highest pitch the popular discontent created by the unfortunate circumstances which had marked the introduction on the Spanish soil of the constitutional regime. Hence the victory of the Serviles in the general elections of 1813.

Only on the part of the army could the King apprehend any serious resistance, but General Elío and his officers, breaking the oath they had sworn to the Constitution, proclaimed Ferdinand VII at Valencia, without mentioning the Constitution. Elío was soon followed by the other military chiefs.

In his decree, dated May 4, 1814, in which Ferdinand VII dissolved the Madrid Cortes and cancelled the Constitution of 1812, he simultaneously proclaimed his hatred of despotism, promised to convene the Cortes under the old legal forms, to establish a rational liberty of the press, etc. He redeemed his pledge in the only manner which the reception he had met on the part of the Spanish people deserved—by rescinding all the acts emanating from the Cortes, by restoring everything to its ancient footing, by re-establishing the Holy Inquisition, by recalling the Jesuits banished by his grandsire,[a] by consigning the most prominent members of the juntas, the Cortes and their adherents to the galleys, African prisons, or to exile; and, finally, by ordering the most illustrious guerrilla chiefs, Porlier and de Lacy, to be shot.

[a] Charles III.—*Ed.*

VIII

During the year 1819 an expeditionary army was assembled in the environs of Cadiz for the purpose of reconquering the revolted American colonies. Enrique O'Donnell, Count La Bisbal, the uncle of Leopoldo O'Donnell, the present Spanish Minister, was intrusted with the command. The former expeditions against Spanish America having swallowed up 14,000 men since 1814, and being carried out in the most disgusting and reckless manner, had grown most odious to the army, and were generally considered a malicious means of getting rid of the dissatisfied regiments. Several officers, among them Quiroga, López Baños, San Miguel (the present Spanish La Fayette), O'Daly, and Arco Agüero, determined to improve the discontent of the soldiers, to shake off the yoke, and to proclaim the Constitution of 1812. La Bisbal, when initiated into the plot, promised to put himself at the head of the movement. The chiefs of the conspiracy, in conjunction with him, fixed on July 9, 1819, as the day on which a general review of the expeditionary troops was to take place, in the midst of which act the grand blow was to be struck. At the hour of the review La Bisbal appeared, indeed, but instead of keeping his word, ordered the conspiring regiments to be disarmed, sent Quiroga and the other chiefs to prison, and dispatched a courier to Madrid, boasting that he had prevented the most alarming of catastrophes. He was rewarded with promotion and decorations, but the Court having obtained more accurate information, afterward deprived him of his command, and ordered him to withdraw to the capital. This is the same La Bisbal who, in 1814, at the time of the King's return to Spain, sent an officer of his staff with two letters to Ferdinand. Too great a distance from the

spot rendering it impossible for him to observe the King's movements, and to regulate his conduct according to that of the Monarch—in one letter La Bisbal made a pompous eulogy of the Constitution of 1812, on the supposition that the King would take the oath to support it. In the other, on the contrary, he represented the constitutional system as a scheme of anarchy and confusion, congratulated Ferdinand on his exterminating it, and offered himself and his army to oppose the rebels, demagogues, and enemies of the throne and altar. The officer delivered this second dispatch, which was cordially received by the Bourbon.

Notwithstanding the symptoms of rebellion which had shown themselves among the expeditionary army, the Madrid Government, at the head of which was placed the Duke of San Fernando, then Foreign Minister and President of the Cabinet, persisted in a state of inexplicable apathy and inactivity, and did nothing to accelerate the expedition, or to scatter the army in different seaport towns. Meanwhile a simultaneous movement was agreed upon between Don Rafael de Riego, commanding the second battalion of Asturias, then stationed at Las Cabezas de San Juan, and Quiroga, San Miguel, and other military chiefs of the Isla de Leon, who had contrived to get out of prison. Riego's position was far the most difficult. The commune of Las Cabezas was in the center of three of the headquarters of the expeditionary army—that of the cavalry at Utrera, the second division of infantry at Lebrija, and a battalion of guides at Arcos, where the commander-in-chief[a] and the staff were established. He nevertheless succeeded, on January 1, 1820, in surprising and capturing the commander and the staff, although the battalion cantoned at Arcos was double the strength of that of Asturias. On the same day he proclaimed in that very commune the Constitution of 1812, elected a provisional *alcalde*, and, not content with having executed the task devolved upon him, seduced the guides to his cause, surprised the battalion of Aragon lying at Bornos, marched from Bornos on Jerez, and from Jerez on Port St. Marie,[b] everywhere proclaiming the Constitution, till he reached the Isla de Leon, on the 7th January, where he deposited the military prisoners he had made in the fort of St. Petri.[c] Contrary to their previous agreement Quiroga and his followers had not possessed them-

[a] Calleja del Rey.—*Ed.*
[b] Puerto de Santa Maria.—*Ed.*
[c] San Pedro.—*Ed.*

selves by a *coup de main* of the bridge of Suazo, and then of the Isla de Leon, but remained tranquil to the 2d of January, after Oltra, Riego's messenger, had conveyed to them official intelligence of the surprise of Arcos and the capture of the staff.

The whole forces of the revolutionary army, the supreme command of which was given to Quiroga, did not exceed 5,000 men, and their attacks upon the gates of Cadiz having been repulsed, they were themselves shut up in the Isla de Leon.

"Our situation," says San Miguel, "was extraordinary; the revolution, stationary twenty-five days without losing or gaining an inch of ground, presented one of the most singular phenomena in politics."[326]

The provinces seemed rocked into lethargic slumber. During the whole month of January, at the end of which Riego, apprehending the flame of revolution might be extinguished in the Isla de Leon, formed, against the counsels of Quiroga and the other chiefs, a movable column of 1,500 men, and marched over a part of Andalusia, in presence of and pursued by a ten times stronger force than his own, proclaiming the Constitution at Algeciras, Ronda, Malaga, Cordova, etc., everywhere received by the inhabitants in a friendly way, but nowhere provoking a serious pronunciamento. Meanwhile his pursuers, consuming a whole month in fruitless marches and countermarches, seemed to desire nothing but to avoid, as much as possible, coming to close quarters with his little army. The conduct of the Government troops was altogether inexplicable. Riego's expedition, which began on January 27, 1820, terminated on March 11, he being then forced to disband the few men that still followed him. His small corps was not dispersed through a decisive battle, but disappeared from fatigue, from continual petty encounters with the enemy, from sickness and desertion. Meanwhile the situation of the insurrectionists in the Isla was by no means promising. They continued to be blocked up by sea and land, and within the town of Cadiz every declaration for their cause was suppressed by the garrison. How, then, did it happen that, Riego having disbanded in the Sierra Morena the constitutional troops on the 11th of March, Ferdinand VII was forced to swear to the Constitution, at Madrid, on the 9th of March, so that Riego really gained his end just two days before he finally despaired of his cause?

The march of Riego's column had riveted anew the general attention; the provinces were all expectation, and eagerly watched every movement. Men's minds, struck by the boldness of Riego's sally, the rapidity of his march, his vigorous repulses of the

enemy, imagined triumphs never gained, and aggregations and re-enforcements never obtained. When the tidings of Riego's enterprise reached the more distant provinces, they were magnified in no small degree, and those most remote from the spot were the first to declare themselves for the Constitution of 1812. So far was Spain matured for a revolution, that even false news sufficed to produce it. So, too, it was false news that produced the hurricane of 1848.

In Galicia, Valencia, Saragossa, Barcelona and Pamplona, successive insurrections broke out. Enrique O'Donnell, alias the Count La Bisbal, being summoned by the King to oppose the expedition of Riego, not only offered to take arms against him, but to annihilate his little army and seize on his person. He only demanded the command of the troops cantoned in the Province of La Mancha, and money for his personal necessities. The King himself gave him a purse of gold and the requisite orders for the troops of La Mancha. But on his arrival at Ocaña, La Bisbal put himself at the head of the troops and proclaimed the Constitution of 1812. The news of this defection roused the public spirit of Madrid where the revolution burst forth immediately on the intelligence of this event. The Government began then to negotiate with the revolution. In a decree, dated March 6,[327] the King offered to convoke the *ancient* Cortes, assembled in *Estamentos* (Estates), a decree suiting no party, neither that of the old monarchy nor that of the revolution. On his return from France, he had held out the same promise and failed to redeem his pledge. During the night of the 7th, revolutionary demonstrations having taken place in Madrid, the *Gaceta* of the 8th published a decree by which Ferdinand VII promised to swear to the Constitution of 1812.

"Let all of us," he said, in that decree, "and myself first, fairly enter upon the path of the Constitution."

The people having got possession of the palace on the 9th, he saved himself only by reestablishing the Madrid *Ayuntamiento* of 1814, before which he swore to the Constitution. He, for his part, did not care for false oaths, having always at hand a confessor ready to grant him full remission of all possible sins. Simultaneously a consultative junta was established, the first decree of which set free the political prisoners and recalled the political refugees. The prisons, now opened, sent the first constitutional Ministry to the royal palace. Castro, Herreros, and A. Argüelles—who formed the first Ministry—were martyrs of 1814, and deputies of 1812.[328]

The true source of the enthusiasm which had appeared on the accession of Ferdinand to the throne, was joy at the removal of Charles IV, his father. And thus the source of the general exultation at the proclamation of the Constitution of 1812, was joy at the removal of Ferdinand VII. As to the Constitution itself, we know that, when finished, there were no territories in which to proclaim it. For the majority of the Spanish people, it was like the unknown god worshipped by the ancient Athenians.

In our days it has been affirmed by English writers, with an express allusion to the present Spanish revolution, on the one hand that the movement of 1820 was but a military conspiracy, and on the other that it was but a Russian intrigue.[329] Both assertions are equally ridiculous. As to the military insurrection, we have seen that, notwithstanding its failure, the revolution proved victorious; and, besides, the riddle to be solved would not be conspiracy of 5,000 soldiers, but the sanction of that conspiracy by an army of 35,000 men, and by a most loyal nation of twelve millions. That the revolution first acted through the ranks of the army is easily explained by the fact that, of all the bodies of the Spanish monarchy, the army was the only one thoroughly transformed and revolutionized during the war of independence. As to Russian intrigue, it is not to be denied that Russia had her hands in the business of the Spanish revolution; that, of all the European powers, Russia first acknowledged the Constitution of 1812, by the treaty concluded in Veliki Luki, on July 20, 1812[330]; that she first kindled the revolution of 1820, first denounced it to Ferdinand VII, first lighted the torch of counter-revolution on several points of the Peninsula, first solemnly protested against it before Europe, and finally forced France into an armed intervention against it. Monsieur de Tatischeff, the Russian Embassador, was certainly the most prominent character at the Court of Madrid—the invisible head of the camarilla. He had succeeded in introducing Antonio Ugarte, a wretch of low station, at Court, and making him the head of the friars and footmen who, in their back-staircase council, swayed the scepter in the name of Ferdinand VII. By Tatischeff, Ugarte was made Director-General of the expeditions against South America, and by Ugarte the Duke of San Fernando was appointed Foreign Minister and President of the Cabinet. Ugarte effected from Russia the purchase of rotten ships, destined for the South American Expedition, for which the order of St. Ann was bestowed upon him. Ugarte prevented Ferdinand and his brother Don Carlos from presenting themselves to the army at the first moment of the crisis. He was the

mysterious author of the Duke of San Fernando's unaccountable apathy, and of the measures which led a Spanish Liberal to say at Paris in 1836:

"One can hardly resist the conviction that the Government was rendering itself the means for the overthrow of the existing order of things."[a]

If we add the curious fact that the President of the United States[b] praised Russia in his message for her having promised him not to suffer Spain to meddle with the South American colonies,[c] there can remain but little doubt as to the part acted by Russia in the Spanish revolution. But what does all this prove? That Russia produced the revolution of 1820? By no means, but only that she prevented the Spanish Government from resisting it. That the revolution would have earlier or later overturned the absolute and monastic monarchy of Ferdinand VII is proved: 1. By the series of conspiracies which since 1814 had followed each other; 2. By the testimony of M. de Martignac, the French Commissary who accompanied the Duke of Angoulême at the time of the Legitimist invasion of Spain; 3. By testimony not to be rejected—that of Ferdinand himself.

In 1814 Mina intended a rising in Navarre, gave the first signal for resistance by an appeal to arms, entered the fortress of Pamplona, but distrusting his own followers, fled to France. In 1815 General Porlier, one of the most renowned guerrilleros of the War of Independence, proclaimed the Constitution at Coruña. He was beheaded. In 1816, Richard intended capturing the King at Madrid. He was hanged. In 1817, Navarro, a lawyer, with four of his accomplices, expired on the scaffold at Valencia for having proclaimed the Constitution of 1812. In the same year the intrepid General Lacy was shot at Majorca for having committed the same crime. In 1818, Colonel Vidal, Captain Sola, and others, who had proclaimed the Constitution at Valencia, were defeated and put to the sword. The Isla de Leon conspiracy then was but the last link in a chain formed by the bloody heads of so many valiant men from 1808 to 1814.[331]

M. de Martignac who, in 1832, shortly before his death, published his work: *L'Espagne et ses Révolutions*, makes the following statement:

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[a] Miraflores, *Essais historiques et critiques pour servir à l'histoire d'Espagne de 1820 à 1823*, T. I, p. XII.—*Ed.*

[b] James Monroe.—*Ed.*

[c] This data is taken from D. Urquhart, *Progress of Russia*, p. 33.—*Ed.*

"Two years had passed away since Ferdinand VII had resumed his absolute power, and there continued still the proscriptions, proceeding from a camarilla recruited from the dregs of mankind. The whole State machinery was turned upside down; there reigned nothing but disorder, languor and confusion—taxes most unequally distributed—the state of the finances was abominable—there were loans without credit, impossibility of meeting the most urgent wants of the State, an army not paid, magistrates indemnifying themselves by bribery, a corrupt and do-nothing Administration, unable to ameliorate anything, or even to preserve anything. Hence the general discontent of the people. The new constitutional system was received with enthusiasm by the great towns, the commercial and industrial classes, liberal professions, army and proletariat. It was resisted by the monks, and it stupefied the country people."

Such are the confessions of a dying man who was mainly instrumental in subverting that new system. Ferdinand VII, in his decrees of June 1, 1817, March 1, 1817, April 11, 1817, November 24, 1819, etc., literally confirms the assertions of M. de Martignac, and resumes his lamentations in these words:

"The miseries that resound in the ears of our Majesty, on the part of the complaining people, overset one another."

This shows that no Tatischeff was needed to bring about a Spanish revolution.

# Karl Marx

## THE REACTION IN SPAIN[332]

London, Friday, September 1, 1854

The entrance into Madrid of the Vicálvaro regiments has encouraged the Government to greater counter-revolutionary activity. The revival of the restrictive press-law of 1837, adorned with all the rigors of the supplementary law of 1842,[333] has killed all the "incendiary" portion of the press which was unable to offer the required *cautionnement.*[a] On the 24th the last number was given out of *El Clamor de las Barricadas* with the title of *Ultimas Barricadas*, the two editors having been arrested. Its place was taken on the same day by a new reactionary paper called *Las Cortes.*

"His Excellency, the Captain-General, Don San Miguel," says the program of the last-mentioned paper, "who honors us with his friendship, has offered to this journal the favor of his collaboration. His articles will be signed with his initials. The men at the head of this enterprise will defend with energy that revolution which vanquished the abuses and excesses of a corrupt power, but it is in the *enceinte* of the Constituent Assembly that they will plant their banner. It is there that the great battle must be fought."[b]

The great battle is for Isabella II, and Espartero. You will remember that this same San Miguel, at the banquet of the press, declared that the press had no other corrective but itself, common sense and public education, that it was an institution which neither sword nor transportation, nor exile, nor any power in the world could crush. On the very day on which he offers himself as a

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[a] Caution money.—*Ed.*

[b] The quotation from *Las Cortes* is probably taken from *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 244, September 1, 1854.—*Ed.*

contributor to the press, he has not a word against the decree confiscating his beloved liberty of the press.

The suppression of the liberty of the press has been closely followed by the suppression of the right of meeting, also by royal decree. The clubs have been dissolved at Madrid, and in the provinces the juntas and committees of Public Safety, with the exception of those acknowledged by the Ministry as "deputations." The Club of the Union[334] was shut up in consequence of a decree of the whole Ministry, notwithstanding that Espartero had only a few days previously accepted its honorary Presidency, a fact which *The London Times* vainly labors to deny.[a] This club had sent a deputation to the Minister of the Interior,[b] insisting on the dismissal of Señor Sagasti, the *Jefe Politico* of Madrid, charging him with having violated the liberty of the press and the right of meeting. Señor Santa Cruz answered that he could not blame a public functionary for taking measures approved by the Council of Ministers. The consequence was that a serious trouble arose; but the *Plaza de la Constitución* was occupied by the National Guard, and nothing further occurred. The petty journals had scarcely been suppressed when the greater ones that had hitherto granted their protection to Sagasti, found occasion to quarrel with him. In order to silence *El Clamor Público*, its chief editor, Señor Corradi, was appointed Minister. But this step will not be sufficient, as all editors cannot be attached to the Ministry.

The boldest stroke of the counter-revolution, however, was the permission for Queen Cristina's departure for Lisbon, after the Council of Ministers had engaged to keep her at the disposal of the Constituent Cortes—a breach of faith which they have tried to cover by an anticipated confiscation of Cristina's estates in Spain, notoriously the least considerable portion of her wealth. Thus Cristina had a cheap escape, and now we hear that San Luis, too, has safely arrived at Bayonne. The most curious part of the transaction is the manner in which the decree alluded to was obtained. On the 26th some patriots and National Guards assembled to consider the safety of the public cause, blaming the Government on account of its vacillation and half and half measures, and agreeing to send a deputation to the Ministry calling upon them to remove Cristina from the Palace, where she was plotting liberticide projects. There was a very suspicious

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[a] Report of the Madrid correspondent of August 23, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21832, August 29, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Rios y Rosas.—*Ed.*

circumstance in the adhesion of two aides-de-camp of Espartero with Sagasti himself, to this proposition. The result was that the Ministry met in council, and the upshot of their meeting was the elopement of Cristina.

On the 25th the Queen appeared for the first time in public, on the promenade of the Prado,[a] attended by what is called her husband,[b] and by the Prince of Asturias.[335] But her reception appears to have been extremely cold.

The committee appointed to report on the state of the finances at the epoch of the fall of the Sartorius Ministry has published its report in the *Gaceta*, where it is preceded by an *exposé* by Señor Collado, the Minister of Finance.[c] According to this the floating debt of Spain now amounts to $33,000,000, and the total deficit to $50,000,000. It appears that even the extraordinary resources of the Government were anticipated for years and squandered. The revenues of Havana and the Philippines were anticipated for two years and a half. The yield of the forced loan had disappeared without leaving a trace. The Almadén quick-silver mines were engaged for years. The balance in hand due to the *Caja*[d] of deposits did not exist. Not did the fund for military substitution. 7,485,692 reals were due for the purchase of tobacco obtained, but not paid for. Ditto 5,505,000 reals for bills on account of public works. According to the statement of Señor Collado the amount of obligations of the most pressing nature is 252,980,253 reals. The measures proposed by him for the covering of this deficit are those of a true banker, viz: to return to quiet and order, to continue to levy all the old taxes, and to contract new loans. In compliance with this advice Espartero has obtained from the principal Madrid bankers $2,500,000 on a promise of a pure *Moderado* policy. How willing he is to keep this promise is proved by his last measures.

It must not be imagined that these reactionary measures have remained altogether unresisted by the people. When the departure of Cristina became known, on the 28th August, barricades were erected again; but, if we are to believe a telegraphic dispatch from Bayonne, published by the French *Moniteur*,

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[a] A boulevard in Madrid.—*Ed.*

[b] Francisco de Asis.—*Ed.*

[c] The committee's findings on the state of the finances in Spain and the account addressed by the Minister of Finance to the Crown (August 25, 1854) from the Spanish *Gaceta* are probably taken from a report from Madrid of August 26 published in *The Times*, No. 21836, September 2, 1854.—*Ed.*

[d] Bank.—*Ed.*

"the troops, united to the National Guard, carried the barricades and put down the movement."[a]

This is the *cercle vicieux*[b] in which abortive revolutionary governments are condemned to move. They recognize the debts contracted by their counter-revolutionary predecessors as national obligations. In order to be able to pay them they must continue their old taxes and contract new debts. To be able to contract new loans they must give guaranties of "*order,*" that is, take counter-revolutionary measures themselves. Thus the new popular Government is at once transformed into the handmaid of the great capitalists, and an oppressor of the people. In exactly the same manner was the Provisional Government of France in 1848 driven to the notorious measure of the 45 centimes,[336] and the confiscation of the savings banks' funds in order to pay their interest to the capitalists.

"The revolutionary governments of Spain," says the English author of the *Revelations on Spain,*[c] "are at least not sunk so deep as to adopt the infamous doctrine of repudiation as practiced in the United States."

The fact is that if any former Spanish revolution had once practiced repudiation, the infamous Government of San Luis would not have found any banker willing to oblige it with advances. But perhaps our author holds the view that it is the privilege of the counter-revolution to contract, as it is the privilege of revolution to pay debts.

It appears that Saragossa, Valencia and Algeciras do not concur in this view, as they have abrogated all taxes obnoxious to them.

Not content with sending Bravo Murillo as Embassador to Constantinople, the Government has dispatched González Bravo in the same capacity to Vienna.

On Sunday, 27th August, the electoral reunions of the District of Madrid assembled in order to appoint, by general suffrage, the Commissioners charged with the superintendence of the election at the capital. There exist two Electoral Committees at Madrid—the Liberal Union, and the Unión del Comercio.

The symptoms of reaction above collected appear less formidable to persons acquainted with the history of Spanish revolutions than they must to the superficial observer—since Spanish revolu-

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[a] Telegram from Paris of August 30, 1854. *L'Indépendance belge,* No. 243, August 31, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Vicious circle.—*Ed.*

[c] Probably [Hughes,] *Revelations of Spain in 1845.—Ed.*

tions generally only date from the meeting of the Cortes, usually the signal for the dissolution of Government. At Madrid, besides, there are only a few troops, and at the highest 20,000 National Guards. But of the latter only about one half are properly armed, while the people are known to have disobeyed the call to deliver up their arms.

Notwithstanding the tears of the Queen, O'Donnell has dissolved her bodyguard,[a] the regular army being jealous of the privileges of this *corps,* from whose ranks a Godoy, noticed as a good player upon the guitar and a singer of *seguidillas graciosas y picantes,* could raise himself to become the husband of the King's niece,[b] and a Muñoz, only known for his private advantages, become the husband of a Queen Mother.

At Madrid a portion of the republicans have circulated the following *Constitution of a Federal Iberian Republic:*

TITULO I. *Organization of the Federal Iberian Republic.*

Art. 1. Spain and its isles and Portugal will be united and form the Federal Iberian Republic. The colors of the banner will be a union of the two actual banners of Spain and Portugal. Its device will be Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

Art. 2. The sovereignty resides in the universality of the citizens. It is inalienable and imprescriptible. No individual, no fraction of the people can usurp its exercise.

Art. 3. The law is the expression of the national will. The judges are appointed by the people through universal suffrage.

Art. 4. All citizens of 21 years of age and enjoying their civil rights to be electors.

Art. 5. The punishment of death is abolished, both for political and common crimes. The jury is to judge in all cases.

Art. 6. Property is sacred. The estates taken from political emigrants are restored to them.

Art. 7. The contributions will be paid in proportion to incomes. There will be one tax only, direct and general. All indirect contributions, *octroi,* and on consumption are abolished. Likewise abolished are the Government monopolies of salt and tobacco, the stamps, the patent dues, and the conscription.[337]

Art. 8. The liberty of the press, of meeting, of association, of domicile, of education, of commerce, and of conscience, is granted. *Every religion will have to pay for its own ministers.*

Art. 13. The administration of the republic is to be federal, provincial and municipal.

TITULO II. *Federal Administration.*

Art. 14. It will be intrusted to an Executive Council appointed and revocable by the Central Federal Congress.

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[a] Isabella II. Royal decree of August 25, 1854, countersigned by Leopoldo O'Donnell, *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 245, September 2, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] María Teresa de Borbón.—*Ed.*

Art. 15. The international and commercial relations, the uniformity of measures, weights and coins, the Post-Office, and the armed force are the domain of the Federal Administration.

Art. 16. The Central Federal Congress will be composed of nine Deputies for every province, elected by universal suffrage and bound by their instructions.

Art. 17. The Central Federal Congress is in permanency.

Art. 20. Whenever a law is to be enacted, the Administration thinking it necessary will bring the project under the cognizance of the confederation six months before if it be for the Congress, and three months if it be for the Provincial Legislation.

Art. 21. Any Deputy of the people failing to adhere to his instructions is handed over to justice.

Titulo III refers to the Provincial and Municipal Administration, and confirms similar principles. The last article of this chapter says:

*There are to be no longer any colonies*; they will be changed into provinces and administered on provincial principles. *Slavery shall be abolished.*

TITULO IV. *The Army.*

Art. 34. The whole people will be armed and organized in a National Guard, one portion to be *mobile* and the other sedentary.

Art. 35. The mobile guard to consist of the *solteros* between the ages of 21 and 35; their officers to be chosen in the military schools by election.

Art. 36. The sedentary militia consists of all citizens between 35 and 56 years; officers to be appointed by election. Their service is the defense of the communities.

Art. 38. The corps of artillery and engineers are recruited by voluntary enlistment, permanent, and garrisoning the fortresses on the coast of the frontiers. No fortresses shall be suffered in the interior.

Art. 39, alluding to the marine, contains similar provisions.

Art. 40. The staffs of the provinces and captain-generalcies[338] are suppressed.

Art. 42. The Iberian Republic renounces all wars of conquest, and will submit its quarrels to the arbitration of Governments disinterested in the question.

Art. 43. There shall be no standing armies.

Written on September 1 and 2, 1854

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4185, September 16; reprinted in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 972, September 19 and the *New-York Weekly Tribune*, No. 680, September 23, 1854

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

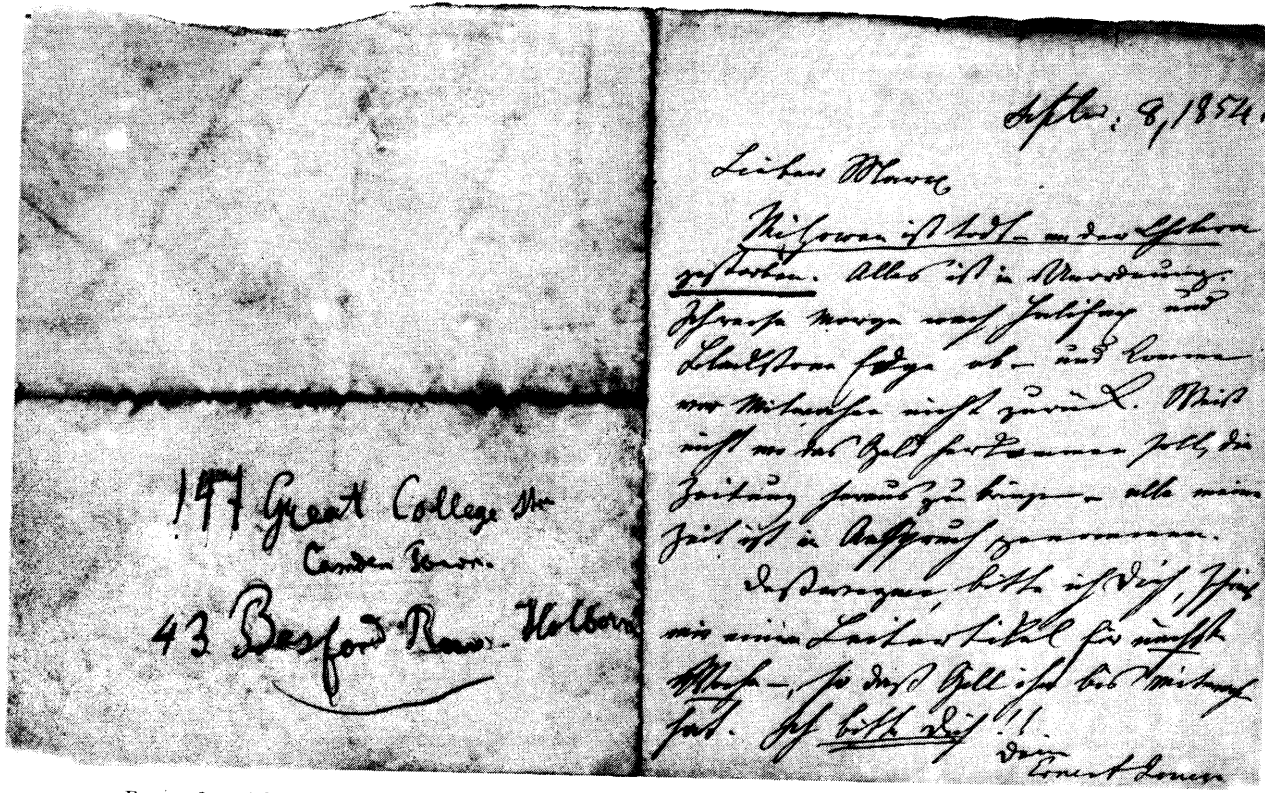

Sept. 8/1854.

Lieber Marx

Mitgroßen Stadt – an der Spitze gestorben. Alles ist in Verwirrung. Schreibe morgen nach Jubiläum und Chartistenfolge ab – aus Lauter Mitleidsche nicht zum L. Weiß nicht wo das Geld herkommen soll, die Zeitung fortzubringen – alle meine Zeit ist in Anspruch genommen.

Deswegen bitte ich Dich, schreib mir einen Leitartikel für nächste Nummer – so daß Geld ist bis Weihnachten fest. Ich bitte Dich!!!

Dein Ernest Jones

197 Great College Str.
Camden Town.

43 Bedford Row. Holborn.

Ernest Jones' letter of September 8, 1854 to Marx asking him to write a leader for *The People's Paper*. The address is in Marx's handwriting

# Karl Marx

## [THE RUMOURS ABOUT MAZZINI'S ARREST.— THE AUSTRIAN COMPULSORY LOAN.— SPAIN.—THE SITUATION IN WALLACHIA][339]

London, Tuesday, Sept. 12, 1854

The papers contain diverse rumors about Mazzini's arrest at Bâle. I have received the following information from a friend: Mazzini was really arrested by two gendarmes at Zurich, but only for a few hours, after which he escaped. This escape was facilitated by another Italian causing himself to be arrested simultaneously at another place by pretending to be Mazzini. By this *coup* the authorities were misled, and M. Druey himself telegraphed from Berne to Geneva, that no further investigations would be required, as Mazzini was in prison. It is supposed that the person arrested in Mazzini's stead is Saffi, while some say it is a Hungarian officer of the name of Türr.

The *Milan Gazette*[a] of the 31st August takes pleasure in announcing that the municipal council of Pavia have resolved in their sitting of the 28th August, to participate in the national loan by subscribing for 200,000 florins. In contrast to this statement a non-official paper publishes the following as the real resolution of the Council in question:

"The Municipality of Pavia subscribes for the quota *imposed on and fixed* for the town of Pavia; but it does so neither as Representative of the Commune, nor in their quality as contributors, but only as an organ of Government, and as dependent on the executive power to which it is bound by the circular of 1830 to absolute obedience, as well as in execution of the orders transmitted to it by the Lieutenant-General[b] on Aug. 7."

At Treviso also the voluntary loan has only been subscribed to in consequence of direct menace. From the statement of the

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[a] *Gazzetta Ufficiale di Milano.—Ed.*
[b] Radetzky.—*Ed.*

Trieste Council, it appears that even in that arch-Austrian loyal city the loan is neither voluntary nor so very generally taken as represented by the Austrian journals:

"Our commune has subscribed for another million of the national loan. The Magistrates hereby announce that this sum will be distributed among the contributors who have taken no part hitherto in the loan or not in proportion to their fortune. The 6th of September is, at the same time, fixed as the last term for voluntary subscriptions. The Council hope that everybody will hasten to profit by the advantages held out by the loan, the more so as, after the above term, the Council will be under the grievous necessity of proceeding by force."

The reactionary press is not yet satisfied with the late measures of the Spanish Government; they grumble at the fact that a new compromise had been entered into with the revolution. Thus we read in the *Journal des Débats*:

"It is only on the 7th August when Espartero declared 'that in conformity with the wishes of the people of Madrid, the Duchess of Riánsares[a] should not leave the capital, either by day or night, or in any furtive manner.' It is only on the 28th August that Queen Cristina, after a detention of twenty-one days, is allowed to depart in broad day, with a sort of ostentation. But the Government has been weak enough to order, simultaneously, the confiscation of her estates."[b]

The *Débats* now hopes that this order will be cancelled. But the hopes of the *Débats* are, perhaps, in this instance, even more doomed to disappointment than when it uttered faint hopes that confiscation of the Orleans estates[340] would not be carried out by Bonaparte. The *Jefe Politico* of Oviedo has already proceeded to sequestrate the coal mines possessed by Cristina in the Province of Asturias. The directors of the mines of Siero, Langreo, and Piero Corril have received orders to make a statement and to place their administration under the Government.

With regard to the "broad day" in which the *Débats* effects the departure of Cristina, they are very wrongly informed. Queen Cristina on leaving her apartments, crossed the corridors in dead silence—everybody being studiously kept out of the way. The National Guard occupying the barracks in the court of the Palace were not aware of her departure. So secretly was the whole plan arranged that even Garrigó, who was to have charge of her escort, only received his orders on the moment of starting. The escort only learned the mission with which they were intrusted at a distance of twelve miles from Madrid, when Garrigó had all sorts of difficulties in preventing his men from either insulting Cristina

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[a] María Cristina.—*Ed.*
[b] *Journal des Débats*, September 12, 1854.—*Ed.*

or returning direct to Madrid. The chiefs of the National Guard did not learn anything of the affair until two hours after the departure of Mme. Muñoz. According to the statement of the *España* she reached the Portuguese frontier on the morning of the 3d September. She is said to have been in very good spirits on the journey, but her Duke was somewhat *triste.*[a] The relations of Cristina and this same Muñoz can only be understood from the answer given by Don Quixote to Sancho Panza's question why he was in love with such a low country wench as his Dulcinea, when he could have princesses at his feet:

"A lady," answered the worthy knight, "surrounded by a host of high-bred, rich, and witty followers, was asked why she took for her lover a simple peasant. 'You must know,' said the lady, 'that for the office I use him he possesses more philosophy than Aristotle himself.'"[b]

The view taken by the reactionary press in general on Spanish affairs may be judged of by some extracts from the *Kölnische Zeitung* and the *Indépendance belge*:

"According to a well-informed and trustworthy correspondent, himself an adherent of O'Donnell and the Moderado party,—says the former,—the position of affairs is grievous, a deep conflict continuing to exist among parties. The working classes are in a state of permanent excitement, being worked upon by the agitators."

"The future of the Spanish monarchy," says the *Indépendance,* "is exposed to great dangers. All true Spanish patriots are unanimous on the necessity of putting down the revolutionary orgies. The rage of the libelers and of the constructors of barricades is let loose against Espartero and his Government with the same vehemence as against San Luis and the banker Salamanca. But, in truth, this chivalrous nation cannot be held responsible for such excesses. The people of Madrid must not be confounded with the mob that vociferated 'Death to Cristina,' nor for the infamous libels launched among the population, under the title of 'Robberies of San Luis, Cristina and the Acolytes.' The 1,800 barricades of Madrid and the ultra Communist manifestations of Barcelona bespeak the intermeddling of foreign Democracy with the Spanish Saturnalia. So much is certain, that a great number of the refugees of France, Germany and Italy have participated in the deplorable events now agitating the Peninsula. So much is certain, that Spain is on the brink of a social conflagration; the more immediate consequences will be the loss of the Pearl of the Antilles, the rich Island of Cuba, because it places Spain in the impossibility to combat American ambition, or the patriotism of a Soulé or Saunders. It is time that Spain should open her eyes, and that all honest men of civilized Europe should combine in giving the alarm."[c]

It certainly requires no intervention of foreign democracy to stir up the population of Madrid when they see their Government

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[a] Sad.—*Ed.*

[b] Cervantes, *Don Quixote,* T. I, Ch. 25.—*Ed.*

[c] Report of the Paris correspondent of September 3. *L'Indépendance belge,* No. 247, September 4, 1854.—*Ed.*

break on the 28th the word given on the 7th; suspend the right of freely assembling, and restore the press-law of 1837, requiring a *cautionnement*[a] of 40,000 reals and 300 reals of direct taxes on the part of every editor.[341] If the provinces remain agitated by uncertain and undecided movements, what other reason are we to find for this fact, but the absence of a center for revolutionary action? Not a single decree beneficent to the provinces has appeared since the so-called revolutionary government fell into the hands of Espartero. The provinces behold it surrounded by the same sycophancy, intrigues, and place hunting that had subsisted under San Luis. The same swarm hangs about the Government—the plague which has infested Spain since the age of the Philips.[342]

Let us just cast a glance at the last number of the Madrid *Gaceta* of the 6th September.[b] There is a report of O'Donnell announcing a superabundance of military places and honors to such a degree that out of every three generals only one can be employed on active service. It is the very evil which has cursed Spain since 1823—this superincumbrance of generals. One would fancy that a decree was to follow abating the nuisance. Nothing of the sort. The decree following the report convokes a consultative junta of war, composed of a certain number of generals, appointed by the Government from generals holding at present no commission in the army. Besides their ordinary pay these men are to receive: each Lieutenant-General 5,000 reals, and each Maréchal-de-Camp 6,000 reals. General Manuel de la Concha has been named President of this military sinecurist junta. The same number of the *Gaceta* presents another harvest of decorations, appointments, etc., as if the first great distribution had failed to do its work. San Miguel and Dulce have received the grand-cross of the order of Charles III; all the recompenses and provisional honors decreed by the junta of Saragossa are confirmed and enlarged. But the most remarkable portion of this number of the *Gaceta* is the announcement that the payment of the public creditors will be resumed on the 11th inst. Incredible folly of the Spanish people not to be satisfied with these achievements of their revolutionary government!

Travellers who have recently arrived from Wallachia give a very distressing account of the state of that Principality. It is known

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[a] Caution money.—*Ed.*

[b] The review of the Madrid *Gaceta* for September 6 is given according to a reprint in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 255, September 12, 1854.—*Ed.*

that Russia saddled the Principalities with a debt of 14,000,000 francs, on account of the occupation in 1848-49. This sum has been raised by the Russian generals during the late occupation. The Russians retreat after having emptied all the chests—the vestry chests, the central chests of the monasteries, the municipal chests—and it is with the contents of these that they have paid the supplies contracted for with the Wallachian proprietors and peasants. But the transports, which make a very important item in an agricultural country, wood, coals, straw, etc., were not paid at all, but simply foraged. The treasury of the Principalities accordingly is so much exhausted that the vestries are expected to become bankrupt. All this without taking into account the use of the houses transformed into hospitals, and the thousands of property intrusted to Russian hands from the fear of the boyards of Turkish robbery.

We read in a letter from Athens, dated 29th August:

"The King continues to refuse any indemnity to Turkey. The hatred against the Occidental troops increases, and already several French soldiers have been ill-treated by the people."

It would be a curious history to expose to your readers how the Greek communities have been dissolved by British influence—how Capo d'Istria was imposed upon them, and how the whole of this people has been demoralized by the agency of Lord Palmerston. The honest intentions of the British Government even at this moment of their intervention in Greece, are sufficiently betrayed by the support it gives to General Kalergis, a man, like Capo d'Istria, born, bred and domiciliated in Russia.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and the British Government have at length obtained what they have labored to bring about—a revolution in Turkey, if not in Europe, at least in Anatolia. We knew already by reports from Rhodes, that on the coast opposite this island, the Zeybeks, a warlike Ottoman mountain-tribe, had revolted. The *Journal de Constantinople* of 20th Aug. now announces that anarchy in those parts is daily increasing. The rebels, in the absence of the regular army, constantly descend from the mountains, invade the villages, raise the tithes, plunder the inhabitants and caravans, violate the women, and murder every one that resists. Their excesses are gravest in the province of Mestescak. From Aiden the Governor has been obliged to flee to Thira. Denissli is in their hands, and the mufti Sahib Effendi, who went to inform the Governor-General, has been seized and beheaded with his followers. Their strength amounts to thousands. The source of these disturbances are the Bashi-Bazouks return-

ing from Kars and Bayazid, who denounce the Porte for its oppression toward the Turks and its submission toward Russia.

If we cast a look at Europe, we meet with symptoms of revolution in Spain, Italy, Denmark, the Danubian Principalities, Greece, Asiatic Turkey; and even in the ranks of the French army at Varna, the cry has resounded, "À bas les singes!"[343]

Written on September 12, 1854

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## [THE ACTIONS OF THE ALLIED FLEET.— THE SITUATION IN THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES.—SPAIN.— BRITISH FOREIGN TRADE][344]

London, Friday, Sept. 15, 1854

We read in yesterday's *Moniteur* the following telegraphic dispatch:

"*Therapia*, Sept. 7.—The French and the Turks left Varna on the 5th. The English fleet was to join them at the Island of the Serpents. The weather is beautiful."[a]

The delay in the departure of this first portion of the expeditionary army was caused by the violent storms which visited the Bosphorus up to the 27th of August. The wind having come round from the north-east on the 27th, the fleet of transports was enabled to leave Constantinople for the Black Sea. The Isle of the Serpents (Ilade Adessi) is a little rocky islet at some distance from the Bessarabian coast, and nearly opposite the mouth of the Danube. Its circumference is not more than three English miles. The departure not having been effected until the 5th, the disembarkation of the troops cannot have taken place before the 9th of September.

A curious passage occurs in an article published by the *Moniteur*, in which the chances of the expedition are discussed.

"If," says the *Moniteur*, "*if* the number of the Russian troops stationed in the Crimea should be found to be more *considerable* than we are led to believe by the previous reports; if the force of Sevastopol should offer a *protracted defense*; if obstacles should be afforded by the *season*; if, finally, an important Russian army should succeed in reenforcing the Crimea, we should be quits for this time with a simple reembarkation, and the attack of Sevastopol would be resumed in the spring."[b]

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[a] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 257, September 14, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Report from Constantinople. *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 254, September 11, 1854.—*Ed.*

In one word, if any serious difficulties should be encountered by that "powerful armada, with its thousand of agencies of destruction," it will quickly return to the Bosphorus. At all events, it will not be their fault if such difficulties should not be met with, due notice of the expedition having been given to the Czar months ago, and it having been delayed up to the very last days of the season. The confidence felt by the French mariners in their commander may be judged of by the following extract of a letter from Constantinople, published by the *Augsburger Zeitung*:

"In the fleet St. Arnaud is generally called Florival, the name under which he made his début at the *Ambigu Comique* at Paris."[345]

According to the latest dispatches from Hamburg and Copenhagen, part of the French fleet, transports and soldiers, have passed through the Belt on their return to France. A Bonapartist paper, the *Constitutionnel*, makes a revelation on the Bomarsund affair:

"His majesty the Emperor Napoleon III did *not wish* that the devotion of the navy should be deprived of the *recompense* merited by it after such a prolonged and painful cruise in the Baltic."[a]

Bomarsund, then, was only bombarded for the amusement of the fleet, and as a concession to the impatience and ennui of the officers. Those two laconic allusions of the *Moniteur* and *Constitutionnel* contain more in qualification of the character of the war than all the swaggering leading articles of the ministerial English press.

The Czar has ordered the arrest of all the engineers who were engaged in the construction of the forts of Bomarsund. They are to be put on their trial. One of the charges raised against them is that the fortifications should have been constructed entirely of blocks of pure granite, while it has been proved since their fall that the interior of the walls was simply filled with sand and rough stones. All the commanders of the different fortresses along the Gulf of Finland have received orders from St. Petersburg to inquire into the most minute details of their construction, and to report on this subject without delay. It is now ascertained that Fort Gustavsvärn at Hango Head was blown up by the Russians themselves, at the moment when Baraguay d'Hilliers and General Jones appeared before it on their reconnoitering expedition. The Russians feared an attack on Abo, and in order to make the troops

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[a] Quoted from a reprint in *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 255, September 12, 1854.—*Ed.*

of Fort Gustavsvärn disposable for the defense of that town the fort was destroyed.

Being still in the Baltic I may as well give a place here to the following piece of news contained in the *Aftonbladet.*

"A correspondent from Copenhagen announces as certain that the Danish Government authorized on Aug. 16, Mr. T. P. Shaffner to establish a line of electric telegraph extending from North America through Greenland, Iceland, the Faroe Islands and Norway to Copenhagen. On the 26th a line was opened from Stockholm to Malmö. The extent of this line is 68,670 yards."

Some of the London papers to-day give telegraphic news of a victory gained by Shamyl somewhere in the neighborhood of Tiflis. The French and German papers contain no mention of this fact. On September 4 the Turks crossed the Danube near Matchin, and occupied the island situated between that fortress and Ibraila. A great portion of the Turkish flotilla of the Danube has also cast anchor off Matchin. The occupation of Ibraila by the Turks was to take place on the 5th inst. You will notice the proclamation of General Krusenstern, posted up on the walls of Odessa on the 30th August, in which the inhabitants are warned, under heavy penalties, not to oppose the setting fire to the city should this act be deemed necessary by the troops for the defense of the country. The Russians have also given orders in all the districts of Bessarabia to burn towns and villages at the approach of the enemy. The order is the more ludicrous as the Russians are well aware that the Roumans of Bessarabia would no more regret their withdrawal than the Roumans of Wallachia and Moldavia.

I have described the circumstances accompanying the enrolment in the Russian service of the Wallachian and Moldavian militia.[a] From the English papers of to-day you will learn the details of the scenes which took place on the 28th August, between M. de Budberg and the officers of the Rouman militia, scenes which ended in Captain Phillippescu telling the Russian general to his face that the Wallachians considered the Sultan as their only suzerain. He was, of course, placed under arrest, in company with two brother officers who had indulged in similar remonstrances. The following account of the events which occurred on the 29th, the day on which the Russian campaign in the Principalities was brought to such a glorious conclusion, is from the Paris *Presse* of to-day:

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[a] Marx probably refers to his article "Evacuation of the Danubian Principalities.—The Events in Spain.—A New Danish Constitution.—The Chartists" (see this volume, p. 351).—*Ed.*

"The arrest of Captain Phillippescu and two other officers, who dared to set at defiance the injunctions of General Budberg, had caused a great irritation in the ranks of the Moldavian militia, and augmented its reluctance to serve in the Russian army. On the 29th, shortly before the hour fixed for their review, the Hetman Maurocordatos repaired to the barracks of the cavalry, situated opposite the Administrative Palace. Great was his consternation at finding it completely deserted. The soldiers, instead of saddling their horses for the review, had contrived to make their escape from the stables, abandoning their arms and baggage. The unfortunate Hetman hastened to the barracks of the artillery to meet with a new surprise. The cannon were in their places in the Court, but the men had disappeared. Maurocordatos, in despair, fancied himself already on the road to Siberia. But he succeeded in reuniting about 30 men. Trembling with rage and fear, he ordered them to put the horses to the guns and to march out to the place of the review. 'Let us be carried away by force,' they shouted. 'We receive no orders from the Russians.' With these words they shut up the gates of the barracks. At that moment drums resounded in the place. It was the whole division of Osten-Sacken, composed of twelve battalions, one regiment of dragoons, and three battalions of artillery, which, after intercepting the communications, formed up on the place and completely blocked up both the Administrative Palace and the barracks of the Moldavian cavalry. Sixty Moldavian horsemen who had been brought back were drawn up before the barracks. Opposite to them were 12,000 Russians—infantry, cavalry and artillery. Osten-Sacken arrived, followed by General Budberg and a numerous staff. The Muscovite troops deployed in columns, and defiled before their generals, with bayonets fixed, shouting their hurrahs. They next formed in squares at a distance of 150 yards from the Moldavian horsemen. They received the command to load. The Russian soldiers after having made the sign of the cross, executed the order. Aim was taken at the sixty horsemen. This being done, Osten-Sacken advanced with his staff toward the little body of Moldavian militia-men, and summoned them to follow his army with the threat of having them all shot in case of refusal. A silence of several minutes followed his injunction. A terrible emotion seizes upon the crowd who had assembled on the place. Then one of the Moldavians steps from the ranks and in a calm voice addresses the Russian General. 'We are Moldavian soldiers, and our duty is to defend our country, not to fight for the foreigner. Do with us as you please. We shall not march with you.' 'You may murder us, but we shall not march with you,' repeat the sixty soldiers with one voice. On hearing this bold answer, Osten-Sacken ordered them to dismount from their horses and to lay down their arms, as though for immediate execution. They obey, prepared to die. In a moment thousands of soldiers surround them, rush upon them, and take them prisoners. This great feat of arms accomplished, the Muscovites advance to the Moldavian artillery barracks where the thirty men continue to keep the gates closed. The gates having been forced, they penetrate into the interior; a struggle takes place, and the artillerists also, overwhelmed by superior numbers, are taken prisoners. They are hurried away in the midst of insults and menaces of death. They remain impassible. Only one, a young cornet of 22 years, his eyes kindled with rage, advances toward General Wrangel, and uncovering his breast, exclaims: 'There is my breast, pierce it with your balls if you dare.' The General did not dare. The cornet and his comrades disarmed, were conducted between two rows of bayonets and brought to the camp of Osten-Sacken, outside the gates of Jassy. What has become of them, nobody knows. As to the three officers arrested on the evening before, it is generally feared that they will be shot. On the same evening the Russians surrounded the place where the regiment of Moldavian infantry was

encamped. But they found only 150 men, the rest having escaped. The population of Jassy uttered loud execrations against their protectors. Sixty horsemen, thirty artillerists, and one hundred and fifty infantry captured and disarmed by 12,000 Russians with three batteries. This is the only victory, the laurels of which the Russians carry home from their campaign in the Principalities."

In a former letter I mentioned the order given by Omer Pasha to suppress the publication of the Austrian manifesto of General Hess.[346] We are now informed on what grounds this order was given, viz.: because the said proclamation called upon the Wallachian authorities to apply exclusively to the Austrian commander in all affairs. Omer Pasha sent word to General Hess that he had better abstain from intermeddling with the civil Administration of Wallachia, which belonged to his (Omer Pasha's) province. Having only intended his proclamation as a feeler how far he might go, General Hess apologised for the objectionable passage, and in order to convince Omer Pasha that it was all a mistake, he communicated to him the original German text, where the Wallachian authorities are only invited to apply to his Aide-de-Camp in such matters as are connected with the Austrian troops. The Austrian General Popovitch, who had entered Bucharest with the Austrian vanguard on the 3d September, and immediately commenced to play the part of Haynau, was likewise checked by Omer Pasha. How welcome the Austrian occupation is to the Wallachians in general may be understood from an extract from to-day's *Daily News*:

"Many of the villages on the road by which the Austrians advanced, have been deserted by their inhabitants, carrying with them all their worldly goods, fearing that they would be obliged to supply provisions or means of transport in return for paper money, worth exactly half its nominal value. The consequence is, that bread for the Austrian troops must be forwarded from Bucharest, twenty and even thirty miles distant."

It is certainly with respect to the infamies committed in the Principalities—*the consequences of English diplomacy*—that the sober *Economist*, alluding to some comparatively very slight faults of American diplomacy in Europe, draws the following line of distinction between English and American diplomacy:

"Now, we have no doubt that men of gentlemanly feeling, of deep sense of decorum, of a clear perception of what is due to others, abound in America as well as here. The difference between us, and the misfortune of our cousins, are these: that such men do not at the other side of the Atlantic either elect a government or give the tone to the nation, *or guide the language of the press.* With us the educated and *the upper classes* have the power in their own hands. In the United States it is the mass who govern; it is the populace who usurp the name and title of the nation; it is they who dictate what shall be done or said; it is they who elect the government and whom the government must serve; it is they who support the

press and whom the press must please; in fact, it is they who have to be acted down to and written down to."[a]

Thus speaks the servant of the English stockjobbers, as if English diplomacy were not an identical term with infamy, and as if the "gentlemen" appointed by Mr. Wilson, the editor of *The Economist*, and Mr. Gladstone, his superior, had not been convicted before Parliament of swindling, gambling and larceny.

From Spain news is scarce. On the 8th inst. the Consultative Junta of Madrid definitively dissolved itself. The Junta of Seville only dissolved after a strong protest against the reactionary course of the Central Government. The Democrats of Catalonia have published a manifesto against General Prim, who had sent in his adhesion to the present Government from Turkey, in order not to be excluded from a share in the spoils. He contracted the hatred of the Catalonians by the investment of the Castle of Figueras in 1843, marked by the most shocking barbarities, committed from pure rage at the brave defense of the place by a comparatively small force under the command of Ametller. This Prim was characterized at that time as "a person of ridiculous vanity, whose head had been turned by fortuitous success and by being made a count and a lieutenant-general."

We read in the *Época* that on the 7th a small battle was fought at Aranjuez between the National Guard and a band of which it is not yet known whether it was composed of Carlists or Republicans. Quick and certain as the success of the reaction seems to be, the counter-revolutionary journals do not cease to give vent to their apprehensiveness that matters may not even yet be settled in Spain.

From the accounts of trade and navigation just issued I extract the following statement:

*Total declared Value of the Exports of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures in each of the following years*[b]:

| | FOREIGN | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1831 | 1842 | 1853 |
| Russia, northern ports and Black Sea | £1,195,565 | £1,885,953 | £1,228,400 |
| Sweden and Norway | 115,707 | 334,017 | 556,183 |
| Denmark | 92,294 | 194,304 | 569,733 |
| Prussia | 192,816 | 376,651 | 579,588 |

[a] "American Diplomatic Taste and Morality." *The Economist*, No. 576, September 9, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Economist*, No. 576, September 9, 1854.—*Ed.*

[Continued]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hanover & Hanseatic towns | 3,642,952 | 6,202,700 | 7,565,493 |
| Holland and | 2,082,536 | H. 3,573,362 | 4,482,955 |
| Belgium | | B. 1,099,490 | 1,371,867 |
| France | 602,688 | 3,193,939 | 2,636,330 |
| Portugal | 975,991 | 947,855 | 1,210,481 |
| Azores and Madeira | 80,698 | 64,909 | 124,971 |
| Spain and Balearic Isles | 597,848 | 322,614 | 1,360,719 |
| Canary Islands | 33,282 | 54,564 | 107,638 |
| Italy— | | | |
| Sardinian Territories | ..... | ..... | 1,112,447 |
| Duchy of Tuscany | ..... | ..... | 639,794 |
| Papal Territories | 2,490,376 | 2,494,197 | 207,491 |
| Naples and Sicily | ..... | ..... | 639,544 |
| Austrian Territories | ..... | ..... | 637,353 |
| Greece | ..... | ..... | 135,315 |
| Turkey | 899,100 | 1,489,826 | 2,029,305 |
| Wallachia and Moldavia | ..... | ..... | 179,510 |
| Syria and Palestine | ..... | 375,551 | 306,580 |
| Egypt | 122,832 | 221,003 | 787,111 |
| Morocco | 426 | 41,952 | 75,257 |
| French Possessions in Senegambia | ..... | ..... | 1,725 |
| West Coast of Africa | 234,768 | 459,685 | 617,764 |
| Java and Sumatra | 285,296 | 306,132 | 558,212 |
| Philippines | 39,513 | 47,019 | 386,552 |
| China | 519,443 | 969,381 | 1,373,689 |
| Cuba | 663,531 | 711,938 | 1,124,864 |
| Hayti | 376,103 | 141,896 | 133,804 |
| United States and California | 9,053,583 | 3,535,381 | 23,658,427 |
| Mexico | 728,858 | 374,969 | 791,940 |
| New-Granada | 248,250 | 231,711 | 450,804 |
| Venezuela | | | 248,190 |
| Brazile | 1,238,371 | 1,756,805 | 3,186,407 |
| Uruguay | 339,870 | 969,791 | 529,883 |
| Buenos Ayres | | | 551,035 |
| Chili | 654,617 | 950,466 | 1,264,942 |
| Peru | 409,003 | 684,013 | 1,246,730 |
| Other Countries | 215 | 7,223 | 912,662 |
| Total of foreign countries | £26,909,432 | £34,119,587 | £65,551,579 |

[Continued]

| BRITISH POSSESSIONS | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Channel Islands | £324,634 | £364,359 | £470,107 |
| Gibraltar | 367,285 | 937,719 | 670,840 |
| Malta | 134,519 | 289,304 | 297,906 |
| Ionian Islands | 50,883 | 83,600 | 116,567 |
| South Africa | 257,245 | 369,076 | 1,212,630 |
| Mauritius | 148,475 | 244,922 | 385,879 |
| East Indies | 3,857,969 | 5,169,888 | 8,185,695 |
| Hong Kong | ..... | ..... | 357,908 |
| Australia | 403,223 | 998,952 | 14,513,700 |
| North American Colonies | 2,089,327 | 2,333,525 | 4,898,544 |
| West Indies | 2,581,949 | 2,591,425 | 1,906,689 |
| Other Possessions | 39,431 | 18,675 | 347,787 |
| Total to British possessions | £10,254,940 | £13,261,436 | £33,382,202 |
| Total of British & Foreign | £37,164,372 | £47,381,023 | £98,933,781 |

*The Economist* selects the year of 1842, in order to exhibit the advantages of free trade since that period,[347] forgetting, with its usual candour, that 1842 was a year of commercial depression, and 1853 a year of the greatest prosperity. If the progress of English exports were produced by the magic of free trade, it would have been better proved by comparison of the relative exports to countries maintaining a strict protectionist system, Russia and France for instance; the former of these countries being moreover that from which imports have most increased, and which had been most subject to the influence of British free trade. Now we find that the exports to both these countries have declined.

| | |
|---|---|
| The export to Russia having been | £1,106,767 |
| While in 1831 it was | 1,195,565 |
| And the export to France having been in 1853 | 2,636,330 |
| While in 1842 it was | 3,193,939 |

The aggregate value of British exports in the seven months ending 5th August, 1854, compared with those during the corresponding months of 1853, shows an increase, in consequence of the metals having increased in value; but in the other ruling

products of British industry we find a marked decline, as shown by the following table:

| | 1853 | 1854 |
|---|---|---|
| Linen manufactures | £2,650,050 | £2,456,953 |
| Linen yarn | 646,578 | 581,752 |
| Silk manufactures | 965,345 | 834,275 |
| Silk, thrown | 132,689 | 120,890 |
| Wool manufactures | 3,741,261 | 3,731,453 |
| Cotton manufactures | 15,515,224 | 14,762,981 |
| Cotton yarn | 3,897,080 | 3,838,393 |

The decline in cotton appears still more striking since the quantity of exports has increased, while the value realised has decreased. In 1854 there were exported 981,994,130 yards of cotton manufactures, exclusive of lace and patent net, while in 1853 there were only exported 969,293,663 yards.

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Frederick Engels

## THE ATTACK ON SEVASTOPOL[348]

At last it seems possible that the French and English may strike a serious blow at the power and prestige of Russia, and we in this country are accordingly looking with renewed interest to the movement against Sevastopol, the latest intelligence from which is detailed in another column.[349] As a matter of course, the British and French journals make a great parade about this undertaking, and if we can believe them, nothing grander was ever heard of in military history; but those who look at the facts in the case—at the inexplicable delays and senseless apologies attending the setting out of the expedition, and all the circumstances preceding and attending it—will refuse to be imposed upon. The termination of the enterprise may be glorious, but its origin would rather seem to be disgraceful.

Look at the past history of the allied armies in Turkey. At first these very heroic, but also exceedingly cautious warriors intended to land at Enos, on this side of the Dardanelles, and to approach that peninsula[a] only after everything should have turned out to be quite safe. Before this daring feat, however, was accomplished, they stretched their courage to an unexpected extent, and risked a landing on the Thracian Chersonesus at Gallipoli. But this was merely done in order to have the defensive works across the peninsula completed in less time, thus securing to themselves that most essential of all requisites, a base of operations. All the while the Turks on the Danube were facing those formidable opponents

[a] Gallipoli.—*Ed.*

whose presence in Wallachia was the pretext for those learned maneuvers of the allies; and they were facing them, too, with considerable success. But as more ships and more troops arrived, it was found out that the Dardanelles and peninsula cannot harbor them all. Thus another hole is made in the scientific arrangements agreed upon between Paris and London. A portion of the troops had actually to endure the dangers and risks of a landing at that very exposed spot, Constantinople! To remedy this, the fortification of this town was at once taken in hand. Fortunately, a good deal of time was spent in all these operations, and thus the main object was secured—not to gain time, but to lose it. Then it was ascertained that a division might, with little risk, be sent to Varna, to garrison that important place, for surely the Turks, who so gloriously defended it in 1828, had since then made such progress in European discipline, that the defense of such a post could no longer be entrusted to them. The division was sent accordingly, and one or two divisions more. When finely every pretext for keeping the troops in the Bosphorus was fairly worn out, the grand combined army was very leisurely concentrated at Varna. This was done at the same time when an Austrian army appeared like a menacing thunder cloud on the flank and rear of the Russians, and when thus, by political combinations, the base of the allied operations was at once transferred, for the moment, from Constantinople to Transylvania and Galicia. Without this, there is every reason to believe there would never have been an allied army in Bulgaria. The proof of it is in their behavior during the siege of Silistria. Everybody knows that there was the turning point of the campaign, and that in such an emergency, when both parties have been straining their powers to the utmost, the smallest extra weight added on one side, will in nine cases out of ten, turn the balance in its favor. Yet, during this decisive siege, there were 20,000 English and 30,000 French soldiers, "the flower of the two armies," smoking their pipes, and very quietly getting themselves in trim for the cholera at a very few days' march from the fortress. And, but for the havoc made by disease among the Russians, and for the unaccountable bravery of a handful of Arnauts ensconced in a ditch plowed by shells in every direction, Silistria would have fallen into the hands of the enemy. There is no instance in the history of war of an army within easy reach, thus cowardly leaving its allies to shift for themselves. No expedition to the Crimea, and no victory will ever clear away that stain from the honor of the French and English commanders. Where would the British have been at Waterloo if old Blücher, after his defeat at Ligny, two days

before, had thus conscientiously acted in the manner of Raglan and St. Arnaud?[350]

The handful of Arnauts in the skirmishing ditch of Arab Tabiassi proved a match for the skill, intellect and military strength of Russia. No relieving army drove the Russians across the Danube; their own foolishness, the valor of the defenders, the marsh fever, the passive weight of the Austrians on the Dniester and of the allies on the Devna (for who could think they would act as they did?) made them finally abandon the siege, and give up both the campaign, the Principalities and the Dobrodja. After this great success, the allied generals of course thought of following it up—always according to the rules of that strategic system which they had hitherto applied with so much effect. Consequently, Lord Cardigan led the British cavalry to the Danube, on a reconnoitering expedition, in which they saw no Russians, lost many horses, and earned nothing but sickness and ridicule; while General Espinasse, mainly known by his betrayal of the National Assembly on December 2, 1851,[351] led his division into the Dobrodja for no other purpose than having a couple of fine regiments half destroyed by cholera, and bringing the germ of that epidemic into the allied camp. The great invasion of cholera which ensued among the allies at Varna was thus the well earned result of their fine strategic combinations. The soldiers fell off by thousands before they had even seen an enemy; they died like flies in a camp where, unattacked and undisturbed, they were enabled to live in comparative luxury. Discouragement, distrust in their commanders, disorganization ensued, not so much among the English, who suffered less and who have more power of endurance, as among the French, whose national character is more apt to give way to such influences, especially while their commanders hold them in a state of inactivity. But there was visible in the riots that actually broke out among the French troops, the natural effect of the abnormal state in which they have existed since 1849. The French soldier has been taught by the Bourgeoisie he rescued from the terrors of the revolution, to look upon himself as the savior of his country and of society at large. He has been petted by Louis Bonaparte as the instrument that restored the Empire. He was treated all the while in a way which taught him to command and made him forget to obey. Superior as he was instructed to consider himself to civilians, he very soon got a notion that he was at least equal to his commanders. Every effort was used to make him a pretorian, and all history shows that pretorians are but degenerate soldiers. They begin by commanding to the civilians,

they next proceed to dictating to their generals, and they end by being thoroughly thrashed.

Now look at what occurred at Varna. When whole battalions dropped down on the burning sands, writhing in the agonies of cholera, the old soldiers began to compare the adventurers who now are at their head, with the old commanders that led them successfully through those very African campaigns which the heroes of the modern Lower Empire affect so much to disdain.[352] Africa was a hotter country than Bulgaria, and the Sahara is a good deal less pleasant than even the Dobrodja; but no such mortalities ever marked the paths of African conquest as attended the repose of Devna, and the easy reconnoitering marches around Kustendje. Cavaignac, Bedeau, Changarnier, Lamoricière led them through greater dangers, with far less loss, at a time when Espinasse and Leroy St. Arnaud were still buried in the obscurity from which political infamies only could raise them. Accordingly the Zouaves, the men who had done most work and smelt most powder, the best representatives of the African army, rose in a body and shouted: "*À bas les singes! Il nous faut Lamoricière!*"[353] Down with the apes! give us Lamoricière! His Imperial Majesty, Napoleon III, the head and soul of this actual official apery of a great past, must have felt, when this came to his knowledge that the cry of the Zouaves was for him "the beginning of the end." At Varna, it had a magic effect. We may say it was the chief cause of the expedition to the Crimea.

After the experience of this summer's campaigning, or rather promenading, from Gallipoli to Scutari, from Scutari to Varna, from Varna to Devna, Aladyn and back again, nobody will expect us to treat seriously the pretexts put forth by the allied commanders, why the expedition, after being so long delayed, was finally so hurriedly undertaken. One instance will sufficiently show what their arguments are worth. The delay was owing, it was said, to the French siege artillery not having arrived. Well, when the cholera riots occurred, and Leroy St. Arnaud saw that he must now play his best card and that without delay, he sent to Constantinople for Turkish siege artillery and ammunition, and it was got ready and embarked in a very short time; and if the French siege train had not arrived in the meantime, they would have sailed without it. But the Turkish siege artillery was ready many a month before, and thus all the delays that had occurred are proved to have been needless.

Thus we see that this grandiloquent expedition to the Crimea, with six hundred ships and sixty thousand soldiers, with three

siege-trains and nobody knows how many field-pieces, instead of being the deliberate result of skilful movements, prepared scientifically long beforehand, is nothing but a hurried *coup de tête*,[a] undertaken to save Leroy St. Arnaud from being massacred by his own soldiers; poor old soft Lord Raglan not being the man to resist, especially as any longer delay would bring his army down to the same state of discipline and despondency which has already seized the French troops.

The *irony of events*, as a German writer has it, is still at work in contemporary as much as in past history, and poor Lord Raglan is its present victim. As to Leroy St. Arnaud, nobody ever treated him as a commander. He is a member of the swell mob of too long standing—this notorious old companion of female thieves and swindlers—this worthy acolyte of the man whom "Debt, not Destiny," hurried on to the expedition of Boulogne.[354] In spite of the censorship, his character and antecedents are known well enough in gossiping Paris. The twice cashiered Lieutenant—the Captain who robbed the regimental cash-box when Paymaster in Africa, is known well enough, and whatever he may accomplish in the Crimea, his successful expedition to a London pawn-shop with his landlady's blankets, followed up by his well-executed retreat to Paris, will still form his chief title to military glory. But poor Raglan, the Duke of Wellington's Adjutant-General, a man grown hoary among the theoretical labors and minute details of a staff-command, no doubt actually believes in the motives he gives for his actions. And upon him falls the full weight of the curious fact that the whole of the campaign has been so scientifically planned, so skilfully executed, that ten thousand men, or about one in seven, died before they saw an enemy, and that the whole of these elaborate proceedings have served only to bring about a helter skelter expedition into the Crimea at the close of the season. There is nothing so pungent as this very "irony of events."

For all that the expedition may be successful. The allies almost deserve it, for nothing would hold up to greater contempt the way in which they have previously carried on the campaign. So much fuss, such an expenditure of caution, such a profusion of science, against an enemy who succumbs to an undertaking which has for its end, not his destruction, but the preservation of their own army; this would be the greatest condemnation the allies could pass upon themselves. But then, they are not yet in Sevastopol.

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[a] Impulsive act.—*Ed.*

They have landed at Eupatoria and at Staroye Ukreplienie.[a] Thence they have respectively fifty and twenty miles march to Sevastopol. Their heavy artillery is to be landed close to the latter place, to save the trouble of land-carriage; the landing then is far from completed. The force of the Russians is not exactly known, but there is no doubt it is large enough to allow them to be stronger than the allies on most points in the immediate vicinity of Sevastopol. The hilly ground and the bay cutting into the land some ten miles deep, will force the allies to expand on a very long line as soon as they attempt to invest the fortress. To break their line cannot, with a determined commander, be a matter of great difficulty. We do not of course know what the land-defenses of the place are; but what we know of old Menchikoff, leads us to presume that he will not have lost his time.

The first attack, we are led to believe from statements in the British journals, and from the line of operations chosen by the allies, will be the fort commanding the town from a hill on the north side. This is called by the Russians Severnaya Krepost, the Northern Fort. If this fort is anything like solidly constructed, it is capable of lengthy resistance. It is a large square redoubt, constructed upon Montalembert's polygonal, or *caponnière,* system, the flanking defense being formed by a low casemated work lying at the bottom of the ditch in the middle of each side of the square, and sweeping the ditch both right and left. These works have the advantage of not being exposed to the direct fire of the enemy until he has come with his works to the very brink of the ditch. The proximity of this work to the main fortress allows it to be made use of offensively as a support and base for strong sorties, and altogether its presence must force the allies to confine their main operations to the northern shore of the bay.

But the experience of Bomarsund has taught us that nothing certain can be said about Russian fortifications until they are actually put to the test. The chances of success for the Crimean expedition cannot, therefore, now be ascertained with any probability. But this much is pretty certain, that if the operation should be of a protracted character, if the setting in of winter should cause a fresh irruption of sickness, if the troops should be wasted in hurried and unprepared attacks, like those of the Russians against Silistria, the French army, and most likely the Turkish army, will relapse into that state of dissolution which the former underwent at Varna, and the latter has more than once

[a] Stary Fort (Old Fort).— *Ed.*

exhibited in Asia. The English are sure to hold together longer; but there is a point at which even the best disciplined troops give way. This is the real danger for the allies, and if the Russian resistance brings this state of things about, it must make a reembarkation before a victorious enemy a very hazardous thing. The expedition may very likely prove successful; but on the other hand, it may turn out a second Walcheren.[355]

Written on September 25, 1854

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4209, October 14, 1854 as a leader

# Frederick Engels

## THE NEWS FROM THE CRIMEA[356]

Our columns this morning are filled with the stirring news of sanguinary battles in the Crimea, including the capture of Sevastopol, the destruction of its principal forts and of a great part of the Russian fleet, and the final surrender of Prince Menchikoff, and the remains of his defeated and more than decimated forces as prisoners of war. If these reports are strictly correct, for nearly forty years the world has witnessed no such gigantic bloodshed, nor any martial event pregnant with consequences so momentous. As to the correctness of the news, that is a point on which some light may perhaps be thrown by carefully separating what we know officially and positively from what we have only from vague and uncertain sources.

We must, then, distinguish the statements into two classes—those relating to the battle of the Alma, fought on Sept. 20, and those announcing the capture of Sevastopol itself. According to the dispatches of Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud, the allied armies on the 20th stormed the Russian intrenched camp on the hights to the south of the river Alma, and forced the Russians to retreat. The British took two guns. The French, in their dispatch, mention no trophies at all. The French loss was about 1,400; British the same. The Russians were estimated at 45,000 to 50,000 men; their loss at 4,000 to 6,000. These dispatches are evidently written in the full flush of a maiden victory. The 50,000 Russians present on the Alma contrast very strongly with the 45,000 troops which were said to be the maximum of what was spread over the length and breadth of the Crimea. The two guns taken in an intrenched camp, defended by a "numerous heavy artillery," look like very insignificant trophies when it is considered that it is

almost impossible to save guns out of field-fortifications when once carried. Still more ominous is Marshal St. Arnaud's silence about the taking of guns by the French.

Supposing Menchikoff had actually concentrated 45,000 to 50,000 men in the intrenched camp on the Alma, what would it prove? Either that he had far more troops than was expected, being able to bring so many to the open field, or that the fortifications of Sevastopol were so weak on the land side that he could not hold the place, except by defeating the allies in the open field; or, thirdly, that he made a tremendous mistake in exposing his troops to an open battle, and to the demoralisation consequent upon a decisive defeat.

If we are to trust the earlier reports the Russian camp on the Alma mustered not more than 10,000 men. These might have been reenforced, but to bring them up even to 25,000 or 30,000 men the Russians must have made considerable effort. With 50,000 men within easy reach of the Alma, or within fifteen miles of the place of landing, how are we to account for their not having pounced upon the allies in the very act of debarkation?

The country between the Old Fort, where the allies landed, and Sevastopol is intersected by three watercourses, forming, by their deep ravines, as many military positions. The one nearest to Sevastopol is the Chornaya, emptying itself into the eastern end of the bay of Sevastopol. While Fort Severnaya defends the northern shore of this bay, that rivulet, or rather its deeply-cut valley forms a sort of natural ditch on the east of the town. There, then, is naturally the last important position for the defense. The next river is the Kacha, running east and west a few miles to the north of Severnaya; and again about twelve miles to the northward runs the Alma. Of the three lines of defense, in spite of tactical advantages which may exist, and which cannot be judged at this distance, it is hardly to be supposed that the Russians should have chosen the first and the remotest for a pitched battle in which the fate of Sevastopol could have been decided. The absence of the main body of the allied cavalry, however, might have encouraged the Russians to send a strong corps into the intrenchments of the Alma, as their own momentary superiority in that arm would secure them against flank movements of the hostile horse. The impossibility of making use of this arm when once cooped up in Sevastopol may have acted as an inducement.

The Russian defeat on the Alma becomes still more reduced in its tactical extent when more closely examined. The Russians are not fond of intrenching themselves in open walls. They prefer,

wherever they have time and intend furious resistance, closed square redoubts. To save the artillery from such redoubts is impossible, as soon as the assault is actually carried through. But even from that class of works, technically known as lunettes, open at the gorge, there is almost no chance of saving artillery in the face of a storming enemy. For, if the guns be withdrawn at the very moment of the assault, the defense deprives itself of its own weapon; the ditch once crossed, who is to drag the guns from the embankments or the platform, who to re-limber them and drive off under the close fire of the enemy?

"Guns in intrenchments must be considered as lost when the intrenchments themselves can no longer be held; the only thing you can do is to sell them as dearly as possible,"

says General Dufour in his Manual of Field Fortifications.[a] The fact that the Russians lost but two guns is a proof that the camp was not defended to the last extremity, and that, perhaps, only one or two intrenchments were actually taken at the point of the bayonet. The remainder cannot have been defended with that arm, but must have been all but abandoned, before the storming column were in the ditch. The retreat of the Russians appears to have been executed in good order; their cavalry would protect them, and the impossibility of bodies of allied cavalry rapidly crossing the Alma and ravine would give them an advantage. But then, the saving of almost all their artillery is a sufficient proof that they broke off the battle before any great blow had thrown them into disorder.

This is all we know about the victory on the hights to the south of the Alma which was announced in England on the lst inst. by the thunder of cannon and the ringing of bells, proclaimed at the Royal Exchange on Saturday evening, Sept. 30, at 10 o'clock by the Lord Mayor, preceded by a trumpeter sounding his bugle; cheered at the theaters, and registered by *The London Times* as the anticipated effect of the Archbishop of Canterbury's[b] thanksgivings prayer.[c] Correspondents announce that Marshal St. Arnaud had been unable to mount on horseback. Historians relate the same of Napoleon at the battle of Waterloo. The victory of the Alma was perhaps due to the same circumstance as the defeat of Waterloo.

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[a] G. H. Dufour, *De la fortification permanente*, p. 309.—*Ed.*
[b] J. Sumner.—*Ed.*
[c] *The Times*, No. 21861, October 2, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

We come now to the class of more startling news referring to the capture of Sevastopol.[a] The first announcement of this event reached London from Bucharest by telegraph, is dated from the latter town Sept. 28. It stated that Sevastopol had fallen into the hands of the allies after a combined attack by sea and by land. It purported to be derived in the first place from a French steamer dispatched from Sevastopol to Constantinople with this intelligence, which steamer was fallen in with by another French steamer en route for Varna. If the capture of the fortresses took place on the 25th, as is asserted, the news could have reached Varna in the night from the 26th to the 27th, and could have been conveyed to Bucharest by noon on the 28th—the distance between Varna and Bucharest being somewhat more than 100 miles and generally traversed by couriers in 24 hours. This was the news on which Bonaparte founded his address to the camp of Boulogne, which will be found in another column.[357] But it turns out that no courier arrived at Bucharest before September 30. The second news of the fall of Sevastopol, which is at least within topographical probability, is only dated from Bucharest at the very day on which Bonaparte made his announcement. This telegraphic dispatch, received by the Austrian Government at 6 p.m. on Oct. 1, and communicated to *The Times* by the Austrian Minister at London[b] on the 3d, is published by the *Moniteur* of the same day, with the remark that

"it had been forwarded to the French Government by M. de Buol, who had commanded M. de Hübner to congratulate the French Emperor, in the name of the Emperor of Austria, on the glorious success which had attended the French arms in the Crimea."[c]

It should be observed that the value of this intelligence entirely rests upon the verbal statement of the courier sent from Constantinople to Omer Pasha, which courier, not finding Omer Pasha at Bucharest, started again for Silistria, where Omer Pasha then had his quarters. According to the statement of this courier, Sevastopol had been taken, 18,000 Russians killed, 22,000 made prisoners, Fort Constantine destroyed, the other forts with 800 guns captured, six Russian ships-of-war sunk, and Prince Menchikoff retired to the head of the bay, with the remainder of the

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[a] The telegrams here analysed were published in *The Times*, No. 21861, October 2, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Fr. Colloredo-Waldsee.—*Ed.*

[c] Telegram from Vienna of October 2, 1854. *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 276, October 3, 1854.—*Ed.*

squadron, declaring that he would blow them up rather than make an unconditional surrender. The allies had allowed him six hours for consideration. Constantinople was to be illuminated for ten days.

After what we have witnessed of Russian fortifications at Aland,[a] and after the success of the allies on the Alma, a surrender of Sevastopol within something like a fortnight offered strong probabilities. But who can think of an army of 50,000 men having had the good fortune to save almost all its artillery out of a lost battle, commanded by the most daring officer[b] who has yet appeared on the Russian side during this campaign, who can think of such an army laying down their arms after the first attack on the town? Nevertheless, this war has already offered such improbabilities and extraordinary features that we must not be reluctant to "march from surprise to surprise," as Napoleon did at the receipt of Sebastiani's dispatches from Constantinople in 1807.[358] The allies have done everything throughout the war to meet with an unprecedented disaster. Why should it not have pleased fortune to force upon them a triumph without comparison? History, never without a grain of irony, perhaps desired to reserve to the world the curious treat of lodging in a modest tower of the Bosphorus that old Muscovite Rodomonte who but a year ago left the capital of the dying man with the proud threat of swallowing up his empire. What a bitter punishment for the proud and arrogant Menchikoff, the fomenter and beginner of the war, to return to Constantinople a prisoner!

If this courier spoke truth, the history of the Crimean campaign may be resumed in a very few words: On the 14th and 16th the army landed at Old Fort without meeting resistance; on the 19th it marched; on the 20th it won the battle of the Alma, and on the 25th captured Sevastopol.

The next steamer due from Liverpool is the *Africa*, which comes directly to this port, and does not touch at Halifax. We can hardly expect her to arrive before Friday, till when we cannot hope for absolute certainty on this most interesting question.[359] Meanwhile it will probably be most fashionable to believe implicitly the whole story of this Turkish courier, and we hope that those who thus receive it may not be taken down as much as our friend Louis Bonaparte was at Boulogne on the same subject. That imperial gentleman, as our readers may see by referring to another part of

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[a] See this volume, pp. 384-88.—*Ed.*
[b] Presumably Liprandi.—*Ed.*

this paper, proclaimed the intelligence at a review the other morning, in a rather melodramatic style, in the clear and positive words *Sébastopol est pris*.[a] As he said this he, perhaps, appeared to himself a real Napoleon announcing a great victory to his troops. Unfortunately for the nephew, the uncle never stood in need of announcing a victory: he fought his own battles, and his soldiers, who saw the enemy fly, required no confirmation. More unfortunately, the announcement which Louis Bonaparte could not withhold had to be qualified in the evening by the sous-préfet[b] of Boulogne, who placarded a statement that some dispatch had arrived stating the capture of Sevastopol, but that its correctness could not be vouched for. The Emperor of the French was thus corrected by his own sous-préfet of Boulogne! It is a striking circumstance, also, that the official journal of the French Government[c] of October 3, the latest date, contains no confirmation of the reported great event. Still it may all prove true enough, and we wait with intense interest for positive intelligence.

Written on October 2 and 3, 1854

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

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[a] "Sevastopol is taken." This report of October 1 from Vienna was published together with the speech of Napoleon III made in Boulogne on September 30, 1854, in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 275, October 2, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Sub-prefect.—*Ed.*

[c] *Le Moniteur universel.—Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## THE SEVASTOPOL HOAX[360]

"Catch a Tartar," is an English proverb. It happens that not only the English, but the French and Austrians as well, have been caught by a Tartar.[a] We may, perhaps, be pardoned for expressing a little satisfaction that *The Tribune* and those of its readers who carefully follow the course of the present campaign in the Crimea were not caught with the rest.

When the extraordinary story of the capture of Sevastopol first reached us, we endeavored to show,[b] by an examination of the alleged channels of the intelligence, as well as on critical military grounds, that the victory of the Alma, however decisive it might have been, could scarcely have been followed in so close succession by the surrender of the object of the campaign. But we think we established, at the same time, the fact that no very decisive victory had been gained at all by the allies, the Russians having retired in good order with all their guns. Lastly, we took particular care to point out how the whole statement, in so far as it exceeded the limits of the official report on the battle of the Alma, rested exclusively on the verbal relation of a Tartar sent to Omer Pasha with sealed dispatches. Thus we were fully prepared for receiving the news that the tremendous "Fall of Sevastopol" was nothing

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[a] Here Marx and Engels pun on the word "Tartar". The Tartars were famous for their fast horses and were employed by the Turks as couriers. In the nineteenth century the word "Tartar" was used in the European languages as a synonym for *courier*, and it was so used in the news on the capture of Sevastopol printed in the European papers, *The Times* and *Le Moniteur universel* of October 3, 1854 in particular.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 477-82.— *Ed.*

but an imaginary exaggeration of the victory of the Alma, reported by a jocose Tartar at Bucharest, announced by the melodramatic Louis Napoleon at Boulogne, and implicitly believed by that excellent specimen of humanity, the English shopkeeper. The English press in general has proved a worthy representative of that class, and it would seem that the very name of Sevastopol need only be pronounced in England to put everybody in a fool's paradise. Perhaps our readers will recollect that at the close of the last Parliamentary session the destruction of Sevastopol was announced by Lord John Russell to be in the plans of the English Government, which announcement, though in the same sitting duly recanted, kept the honorable members five hours in a fool's paradise—to use the words of Mr. Disraeli, uttered on that occasion.[a] *The London Times* has now written no less than nine leaders, by actual count, all conceived, *bona fide* or *mala fide*,[b] in this identical fool's paradise; all, as it would appear, only with a view to entrap Sir Charles Napier into a headlong attack upon Kronstadt or Sveaborg. Affecting to be drunk with glory and flushed with success, that journal even proceeded to bombard—in imagination of course—the Prussian coasts on the Baltic, as well as King Bomba at Naples, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany,[c] at Leghorn. In fact it was ready to make war on all the world, not omitting "the rest of mankind,"[d] of course.

The actual state of the land fortifications of Sevastopol is too little known to admit of any positive prognostication as to how long that fortress may be able to hold out. The success on the Alma is an almost certain indication that the place will be taken, as it must have raised the courage and spirit of the allied troops, and will prove a powerful preventive against sickness—the most dangerous enemy they have to deal with in the Crimea, and one which is reported to be already at work. But it is foolish to expect that the allies should walk into Sevastopol as they would into a coffee-house.

After the great mystification of the conquest of the place, with its 30,000 killed and wounded and 22,000 prisoners—a mystification whose like was never known in all the history of hoaxes—it would be natural to expect that the real official documents would at least possess the merit of affording clear and positive

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[a] See this volume, p. 326.—*Ed.*
[b] In good or bad faith.—*Ed.*
[c] Ferdinand II and Leopold II.—*Ed.*
[d] *The Times*, No. 21864, October 5, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

information as far as they go. Still the report published in London on the 5th of October in an extraordinary number of *The Gazette*, and copied in our columns this morning,[361] is, after all, not free from ambiguous expressions. Indeed, it is most open to criticism—a circumstance which must be ascribed to its proceeding from Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, one of the Palmerston school of diplomacy. This dispatch, in the first place, purports to have been sent to England from Bucharest on the 30th of September at $3^1/_2$ p.m., while Lord Redcliffe dates it from Constantinople on the 30th at $9^1/_2$ p.m.; so that the dispatch purports to have been actually received at Bucharest six hours before it was sent off from Constantinople. In the second place, the dispatch omits all mention of what passed in the Crimea between the 20th and 28th of September, telling us that

"the allied armies established their basis of operations at Balaklava on the morning of the 28th, and were preparing to march without delay to Sevastopol. The *Agamemnon*"

(with Admiral Lyons)

"and other vessels of war were in the Bay of Balaklava. There were facilities there for disembarking the battering train."

Assuming this dispatch to be exact, the English press has naturally concluded that the allied armies had passed the Belbek and Severnaya, forced the hights at the back of the Bay of Sevastopol, and penetrated in a straight line to the Bay of Balaklava. We have here to observe that, on military grounds, it is inconceivable that an army in possession of the hights commanding Sevastopol should quietly descend from them on the other side, in order to march to a bay eleven miles distant, for no other purpose than to "establish a base of operations." On the other hand, it is quite conceivable that Admiral Lyons should go around Cape Chersonesus with a portion of the fleet for the purpose of securing a harbor of refuge, at once close to Sevastopol and adapted to the debarkation of the siege artillery, which, we have always contended,[a] had not before been landed. The guns, of course, would not be landed without a protecting force, which may have been either detached from the main body of the army after landing at Old Fort, or may consist of a portion of the reserve shipped from Constantinople and Varna.

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[a] See this volume, p. 475.—*Ed.*

The new dispatch further states that

"Prince Menchikoff was in the field at the head of 20,000 men, expecting reenforcements."

Hence the English papers conclude that the Russians must have lost 25,000 to 30,000 men in the combats between September 20 and 28, assuming with Lord Raglan that they were from 45,000 to 50,000 strong in the battle of the Alma. We have previously stated[a] our *prima facie*[b] disbelief in these numbers, and have never allowed more than about 25,000 men to Prince Menchikoff, disposable for field operations, and in this it turns out that we were within the mark of the Russian statements.[c]

The dispatch next proceeds to state that

"the fortified place of Anapa has been burned by the Russians. Its garrison was marching to the scene of action."

We cannot believe this news to be true. If Prince Menchikoff expects any reenforcements at all to reach him in time, they can do so much better from Perekop than from Anapa, which is nearly two hundred miles distant; if none could be expected by him from the former place, it would have been most foolish, by calling up the garrison of Anapa, on the other side of the Black Sea, to sacrifice in addition to Sevastopol the last stronghold upon the Caucasus. It will be seen, then, that with all the "information" of this official dispatch, we are still sent back to the battle of the Alma as the chief event whose authenticity must be admitted. Of this event, however, the details are also still wanting, and the Duke of Newcastle has now warned the British public that they must not expect to receive them before Monday, October 9. All that we have learned, in addition to the official report by telegraph from Lord Raglan, amounts to this: That the hero of the London pawnshop, Marshal St. Arnaud, was "indisposed" on the day of battle—(who ever heard the like of other heroes?)—that Lord Raglan had the chief command, that the English loss was not 1,400 but 2,000, including 96 officers, and that already six steamers with wounded had arrived at Constantinople.

The movements of Omer Pasha's army, which is directed from Bucharest and Wallachia, by way of Rustchuk, Silistria and Oltenitza, to the coast of the Black Sea, appear to confirm the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 477-78.—*Ed.*

[b] Based on the first impression.—*Ed.*

[c] These figures are given in a telegram from Vienna of October 4, published in *The Times*, No. 21864, October 5, 1854.—*Ed.*

report that the allied commanders in the Crimea have asked for reenforcements. But this retreat of the Turks from Wallachia may also be attributed to Austria's desire to keep them from every road in the direction of Bessarabia, except the impracticable one through the Dobrodja.

In the enormous credulity of which the English public have given us such imposing proofs, it deserves to be noted that the London Exchange was very little caught by the general enthusiasm, the rise in the funds having never exceeded $^5/_8$ per cent. At Paris, however, the rentes rose immediately $1^1/_2$ per cent., a rise which, after all, is insignificant when compared with the rise of 10 per cent. after the defeat of Waterloo. Thus the hoax, if, as is possible, it was invented for commercial purposes, has altogether failed to realize the great results its authors must have counted on.

Written on October 5 and 6, 1854

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4215, October 21, 1854 as a leader

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## THE SEVASTOPOL HOAX.—GENERAL NEWS

London, Friday, Oct. 6, 1854

It is impossible to describe the excitement and suspense of the English during the week. On Saturday last the dispatch about the victory of the Alma was proclaimed by the Lord Mayor[a] before the Exchange, with the sound of the trumpet; but the unauthenticated news of the fall of Sevastopol spread all over the country. All the world was taken in. Napoleon announced it to his army at Boulogne, the English and French papers contained leaders on the happy event, the Emperor of Austria congratulated the Emperor and the Queen upon their success, but cautiously did not mention Sevastopol; bonfires were lighted, and the cannon boomed. We soon obtained the dispatch which originated all this joy and exultation; and indeed it proved to proceed from a very suspicious source. A Tartar—that is to say, a Turkish postman—has arrived at Bucharest with dispatches from Constantinople for Omer Pasha, which, as the General was absent, had to be sent to him unopened—therefore we don't know their contents. But the postman related that at his departure from Constantinople the town was illuminated, and that orders were given to continue the illumination for ten days. He concluded, therefore, that Sevastopol was taken, and gave just such details as a Turkish or London postboy could give in a pothouse. He mentioned 18,000 Russians killed, but only 200 guns taken, though the forts contain above 500 guns; 22,000 Russians were of course prisoners, since it was known that the garrison amounted to about 40,000. The fleet was first taken; then again a portion of it was destroyed, and Prince

[a] Sidney.—*Ed.*

Menchikoff was on the point of blowing himself up with the remainder, &c., &c.

But it remained rather curious that such an important event had not been communicated by Lord Redcliffe to the Consul at Bucharest,[a] and that no dispatch had reached the French Government. Still, the news was too good not to be believed, and accordingly it was believed. Next day, it is true, there arrived a report from St. Petersburg mentioning a dispatch of Prince Menchikoff of the 26th, which showed that after the battle of the Alma he was retreating toward Simferopol. Still the papers believed that it was a misprint, and that the real date of the dispatch was the 20th, rather than to give up the agreeable delusion of the fall of Sevastopol at the first onset. To-day, however, has brought the English public to reason; the miraculous capture of a great fortress without a siege proves to have been a cruel hoax, which will make the papers more cautious in future.

In Spain disturbances have taken place not only in Malaga, where the Republican party, as I remarked in my last letter, is very strong,[362] but even in Logroño, where Espartero resided for many years; and in Jaen, the telegraph adds that a Republican conspiracy has been discovered, and that the Infant Don Enrique, the brother of the idiotic husband[b] of the Queen,[c] has been exiled to the Balearic Islands. Still the excitement about Sevastopol is so great that nobody pays attention to Spain.

In Denmark the Diet was opened on the 2d. The royal speech from the throne[d] breathes defiance to the Assembly. It was received by hisses and by hearty cheers for the Constitution. The *Frankfort Journal*[e] reiterates the statement that the allied powers have resolved to reconsider the famous treaty of the 8th of May, 1852,[363] by which the succession to the Danish throne was eventually made over to the Emperor of Russia. Urquhart has not ceased to bring this discreditable piece of European diplomacy before the public over and over again, and his endeavors seem now at last to have succeeded.[f] The object of this movement, if there be anything in the rumor, is simply by reopening the question to get Prussia, who dissented from that protocol, to ally

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[a] Colquhoun.—*Ed.*
[b] Francisco de Asis.—*Ed.*
[c] Isabella II.—*Ed.*
[d] Reference to the speech made by Frederick VII.—*Ed.*
[e] *Frankfurter Journal.—Ed.*
[f] The reference is to Chapter IV ("Treaty of the 8th of May, 1852") in: D. Urquhart, *Progress of Russia.—Ed.*

herself with the western powers. It is worthy of note that Palmerston called the protocol, like the treaty of 1840, measures against Russia, while its suspension is now to be considered as an act of hostility toward Russia.

Austria is reported to have sent a note to St. Petersburg, offering once more the four conditions as the basis of peace,[a] and declaring that the refusal of the Czar to accept them will be taken for a *casus belli* by Francis Joseph. This is one of the results of the victories in the Crimea.

The following observations on a recent article in *The Economist* are taken from the trade circular of Messrs. Smith & Charles:

"Of all the announcements or intimations that have appeared since the war began, that put forth on Saturday last by *The Economist* is by far the most important in a Russo-commercial point of view. *It must be borne in mind that this weekly journal is the property of one of the Secretaries to the Treasury* (Mr. Wilson) *and hence the remarks to which we are about to draw attention may be regarded as semi-official.* Having explained the course of exchange in Petersburg, and shown that, as a consequence of our trade with Prussia, British gold must necessarily be furnished by this country to Russia for its belligerent purposes; having stated that this was all foreseen by our Government, but that they considered such a state of things the lesser of two evils, *The Economist* proceeds to say, that after the fall of Sevastopol 'we shall be in undisturbed possession of the Black Sea and its shores, and masters of the Danube. But in the meantime Russia may take a posture which we can never by our arms reach, in the hope of wearying the patience of England, as in such a posture Russia can only be reached by her trade, and it may become a question whether our national interests will not dictate before long a different policy from that we have hitherto followed. We shall find that we blockade the ports in vain, so long as our produce finds a ready market through neighboring countries; so long as we permit Prussia to profit so much by being the medium through which our blockade of Russian shores can be so easily evaded, &c.... If, therefore, considerations of general policy shall render it needful again to consider the question of the extent to which the blockade shall be enforced and the trade restricted by land as well as by sea,' &c. *The Economist* concludes with a most solemn warning, saying: 'It will be well for those who are disposed to engage in such hazardous undertakings (as supplying the Russians with capital to purchase goods in the winter, to be forwarded to this country next year) to consider that it may be found needful to pursue a very different policy in the second year of a Russian campaign, from that which was wisest and best in the first.' We need hardly point out that the upshot of all this (and we strongly recommend our friends carefully to consider the entire article) is, that the Allied Powers have determined—as the only way of bringing the war to a close—to prohibit the overland traffic next year; and to prevent capitalists from embarking in a trade which will then be prohibited, the Government has very considerately allowed one of the Secretaries of the Treasury to make known their intentions in sufficient time to prevent the serious consequences to our merchants which would otherwise ensue. On Saturday the tallow market was quiet, at a shade under Friday's prices. It is probable that but for the article in *The Economist,* to which we have drawn attention, our market would

[a] See this volume, pp. 579-84.—*Ed.*

have declined to-day in consequence of the news from Sevastopol, there being an opinion that the fall of this important fortress is likely to bring the Emperor to terms. Our opinion is the very reverse, and that the catastrophe in question is calculated only to excite the exasperation of the Czar, and to lead him to seek revenge in some other direction. It is quite certain that until he is compelled to fly from his own great cities he may consider himself not utterly beaten, and he has too much at stake to give in until he is driven to the utmost extremity. We therefore look on this war as one which may be protracted through many years, unless the course intimated by *The Economist* as likely to be adopted by the allies is actually put in force."[a]

The *Moniteur* of the 5th October announces that *Barbès*, for the last three years a prisoner at Belle-île, has been set at liberty without condition by order of Bonaparte on account of a letter in which he expresses anxious feelings of hope for the success of Decembrist civilization against Muscovite civilization,[364] the former of which, by the way, has recently manifested itself at Athens by reproducing the days of June, 1849[365]—the French *Soldateska* there seizing an "obnoxious" newspaper editor, burning his books and letters, and throwing him into prison. From this moment Barbès has ceased to be one of the revolutionary chiefs of France. By declaring his sympathies for the French arms in whatever cause, and under whatever command they may be employed, he has irretrievably associated himself with the Muscovites themselves, sharing their indifference as to the object of their campaigns. Barbès and Blanqui have long shared the real supremacy of revolutionary France. Barbès never ceased to calumniate and throw suspicion upon Blanqui as in connivance with the Government. The fact of his letter and of Bonaparte's order decides the question as to who is the man of the Revolution and who not.

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[a] "Money Market and City News", *The Morning Post*, No. 25195, October 3, 1854.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE BATTLE OF THE ALMA[366]

The official accounts of the battle of the Alma have finally arrived, and the dispatches of the commanders, the reports of English journalists who were present, and of several naval officers, are given at great length in our columns this morning,[367] confirming in every important respect the conclusions we drew from the first telegraphic reports of the action.[a] The following are the facts as they appear to have occurred:

About three miles from the coast, the river Alma makes a bend so as to form a crescent, the two horns of which point toward the North. The southern side of the river, generally formed by cliffs about 300 feet high, here offers an amphitheater sloping down, more or less gently, toward the stream. This slope, supported on the right and left by abrupt high cliffs forming the edges of the plateau, was selected by the Russians as their position. If repulsed, their superior cavalry could always cover the retreat on the level ground of the plateau, which also offered almost everywhere facilities for carrying off the artillery. On a sort of terrace midway between the plateau and the valley of the river, the Russians had placed their main body of infantry, protected, on the left, by the steep cliffs, considered impracticable, and on the right by equally steep cliffs, by a redoubt on the terrace, and a heavy enfilading battery on the commanding hights. Admiral Hamelin maintains that this battery was mounted with twelve 32-pounders, but how such heavy ordnance could have been carried off during the retreat, as it most assuredly was, remains a secret to be explained

[a] See this volume, pp. 477-82.—*Ed.*

by that officer. The ground in front of the Russian position, intersected by vineyards and rocks, was favorable to the defense, and rendered still more difficult by *abattis* and other artificial obstacles, which, however, from the want of wood in the country, cannot have been very formidable. On the high plateau, behind and on both flanks of the Russians, were placed their reserves and cavalry. In front, their skirmishers extended beyond the river Alma, occupying the villages of Alma and Bourliouk.

Against this strong position the allies advanced on the 20th; the French had the right, the English the left wing. Early in the morning the French sent General Bosquet's division (the 2d) with eight Turkish battalions along the sea-shore to climb the cliffs on that side, under the protection of the guns of the steamers, and thus to turn the Russian left. The English were to execute a similar movement against the enemy's right. They, however, could not be protected by ships, and had the principal mass of the enemy's cavalry against them on the plateau, so that this part of the plan of attack was not executed. The French, under Bosquet, in the meantime succeeded in climbing the rocky edge of the plateau, and while the Russian troops on this elevation were shelled by the heavy guns of the steamers, the third French division under Prince Napoleon advanced in front against the Russian left. Further off, the Russian center and right were attacked by the English. Next to Prince Napoleon's came the second English division under Sir De Lacy Evans, the commander of the British Legion in Spain during the Carlist War.[368] He was supported by General England (3d division), while the extreme left wing of the allies was formed by the British light division under Sir G. Brown, supported by the division of Guards under the Duke of Cambridge. The reserve (4th division, Sir G. Cathcart, and cavalry division, Earl of Lucan) maneuvered in the rear of the left to prevent any outflanking attempts of the enemy.

The battle appears to have been distinguished by the feature, that its first phase—that of skirmishing along the whole line, while the real decisive maneuvers are carried on behind this covering curtain—was very much shortened. The position of the Russians was, indeed, so clearly defined, and their powerful artillery so placed, that any lengthened skirmishing would have not only been useless to the allies but positively damaging. The French appear to have had to expose themselves for a while to this galling fire, the English being the last in line; but, this once carried out, the French columns and the English extended line advanced steadily into the difficult ground before them, dislodged the Russians from

the villages of Alma and Bourliouk (the latter of which was burned by the retreating force, so as to prevent its being used as shelter by the allies); passed the river and pressed up the hights without any unnecessary formalities. Here the combat on many points of the ground, in the vineyards, among the rocks and abattis, partook of the character of the battles between Verona and Castiglione in 1848.[369] No regular advance was possible; a thick, irregular cloud of skirmishers, mostly acting independently, worked their way up to the first terrace, where the Russian lines awaited them. In the meantime, General Bosquet succeeded in establishing one of his brigades on the plateau, whence he menaced the Russian left; a brigade of the fourth division (Forey's) was sent to his assistance, while Forey's second brigade supported Napoleon's division. Thus the French made good a position by which the Russian left was seriously compromised. On the Russian right, Sir George Brown took the Russian redoubt—the key of that part of their position on the terrace; and though an advance of the Russian reserve from the hights for a moment dislodged him, an attack of the Highlanders (Cambridge's division) finally secured the possession of this work. Thus the left wing of the Russians was turned, and their right wing was broken. The center, completely engaged along its front, could only beat a retreat up the slope toward the plateau, which, once reached, they found themselves secure from any serious attack by the presence of their cavalry and horse-artillery, in a country eminently adapted for the employment of these two arms. Nevertheless, some disorder must have reigned for a while on their left when outflanked by Bosquet; the French reports are unanimous as to that point, and the fact that Menchikoff's carriage here fell into the hands of the French, fully proves it. On the other hand, the carrying off of all their artillery, even of the heavy siege-guns in the battery on the right (the French took no guns, the English but three, and those probably dismounted), proves the great order in which the retreat, generally speaking, was executed, as well as the wise resolution of Menchikoff, to break off the struggle as soon as the scales had turned against him.

The bravery of the allied troops appears to have been very great. There are few examples of a battle consisting, like this, of an almost uninterrupted, slow but steady advance, and offering none of the vicissitudes and incidents which give such a dramatic interest to most other great battles. This single fact is sufficient to prove at least a considerable numerical superiority on the part of the allies, and to show that the allied generals in their reports have

far overrated the strength of the Russians. We shall recur to this presently.

The generalship of the allies was good, but shows more confidence in the valor of their troops and the assistance of the fleet than in the inventive capacities of the generals themselves. It was, so to say, a plain, homely sort of battle, of a purely tactical nature, destitute in a rare degree of all strategical features. The flank maneuver of Bosquet was a very natural conception, and well executed by the African soldiers, who had been taught how to do such work in the defiles of the Atlas. The British broke the Russian right by unsophisticated hard fighting, facilitated, very likely, by good regimental and brigade maneuvering; but the monotony of the British advance in two successive long lines was broken by the obstacles of the ground alone, not by grand maneuvers intended to mislead or surprise the enemy.

Prince Menchikoff had well selected his position. He does not, however, appear to have made all the use of his cavalry he might have done. Why was there no cavalry on the left, to precipitate Bosquet's isolated brigade down the cliffs again as soon as it attempted to form? The breaking off of the battle, the disengaging [of] his troops from fire, the carrying off of his artillery, and the retreat in general, appear to have been carried out in a highly creditable style, and do more honor to his generalship than the victory does to that of the allied generals.

As to the forces engaged, the allies had under fire three French and four English divisions, besides their artillery, leaving one French and one English division, and all the cavalry, in reserve, besides eight Turkish battalions, which were sent to support Bosquet, but arrived after the close of the action. Now, the French having left stronger detachments and suffered greater losses at Varna than the British, the divisions may be considered almost equal on the day of the battle—the French about 6,000, the British about 5,500 strong, each. This would give an infantry force actually engaged of 40,000 infantry, with a reserve of about 16,000 men, including the Turks, which appears to agree with the statements as to the force of the expedition, deducting for the sick and for detachments. The Russians are stated by Marshal St. Arnaud to have mustered two divisions of the line, the 16th and 17th, with two brigades of reserve (soldiers on furlough, recalled to duty), the 14th and 15th, besides the 6th battalion of rifles. This force would comprise forty-nine battalions if the brigades had the full number of battalions. Every battalion counting 700 men (they have never mustered stronger in this war, although in

the Hungarian war they were fifty men stronger) would give a total of 34,300 men. But the above are about as many regular land troops as we knew to be in and about Sevastopol, and it is most likely that five or six battalions at least were left behind as a garrison in that fortress. This would bring the Russians to a strength of 30,000 infantry, which may have been about the correct number. Their cavalry is said to have mustered 6,000 sabres, but of course a good number of them were mere Cossacks. This marked superiority of the allies deprives the victory of that excessive glory which, as our readers will see in our extracts from the English papers,[370] it is attempted to attach to it. The bravery appears to have been equal on both sides; and certainly the allied generals, were they ever so flushed with victory, never thought of marching into Sevastopol after their success, without any further delay or opposition, banners flying and bands playing.

The result of the battle, though morally great for the allies, can hardly produce any profound dejection in the Russian army. It is a retreat like that of Lützen or Bautzen; and if Menchikoff, from his flanking position at Bakshiserai, understands as well how to draw the allies after him as Blücher did before the battle of the Katzbach,[371] they may yet learn that such fruitless victories are of no great use to the gainer. Menchikoff is yet in force at their rear, and till they have defeated him a second time and entirely driven him away, he will still be formidable. Almost everything now will depend upon the arrival of reenforcements of the allied reserve on one hand, and of the Russian troops from Perekop, Kerch and Anapa on the other. Whoever is *first* the stronger, may strike a great blow. But Menchikoff has this advantage that he can at any time elude an attack by falling back, while the allies are tied to the spot where their dépôts, camps and parks are.

For the moment, Sevastopol, though invested on one side, appears safe, the superiority of the allies not being marked enough to make front in two directions. But should their reserve of 20,000 men arrive sooner than Menchikoff's support,—as appears almost certain from our dispatch by the *Niagara*, received last night by telegraph from Halifax[372]—a few days may decide much. A place like Sevastopol, if once seriously and vigorously attacked, cannot be expected to hold out a fortnight against open trenches. The reserve had all sailed from Varna and should have arrived by the 4th or 5th, though our Halifax dispatch does not mention their arrival; at any rate before the 16th or 18th, therefore, Sevastopol can hardly be expected to fall. There are chances that an active campaign in the open field might prolong

its holding out for some time longer; but unless Menchikoff, with his moveable army in the rear of the allies, should gain some important advantage in the field, or unless sickness decimates the allied troops, it must certainly fall. But we may be sure, from the preparations and temper of the Russians that it will not be taken without desperate resistance, and terrible bloodshed; the sanguinary details of the battle on the Alma will certainly be exceeded in their kind by those of the storm and capture of Sevastopol.

Written on October 9, 1854

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# Frederick Engels

## THE MILITARY POWER OF RUSSIA[373]

We may safely leave John Bull and Jacques Bonhomme,[374] for a while, to their rejoicings at the "glorious victory" of the Alma and their anticipations of the fall of Sevastopol. The war on the Danube and in the Crimea, whatever importance it may have in the eyes of the allies and of the united Middle Class Liberalism of Europe, has very little weight, as far as Russia is concerned. The center of gravity of that country is in no wise affected by its possible results; while a defeat in the Crimea and forced retreat of the allies would cripple their land operations for a considerable time, and give them a moral check to recover from which would require their utmost exertions.

Some authentic reports of the distribution and late movements of the Russian forces have lately come to hand, and it may be well to sum them up in order to show how little, comparatively speaking, of the Russian force is as yet engaged, and what the remainder is expected to perform.

As is well known, the Russian army consists, as nearly as can be stated, of the following bodies:

I. THE GRAND ACTIVE ARMY—
2 corps of *élite*, Guards and Grenadiers, containing 76 battalions, 92 squadrons, 228 guns.
6 corps of the line, —"—, 300 battalions, 192 squadrons, 672 guns.
3 Cavalry corps, —"—, 176 squadrons, 96 guns.
Total, 376 battalions, 460 squadrons, 996 guns.

II. SPECIAL CORPS—
Finland corps, 12 battalions.
Orenburg corps, 10 battalions.
Siberian corps, 15 battalions.

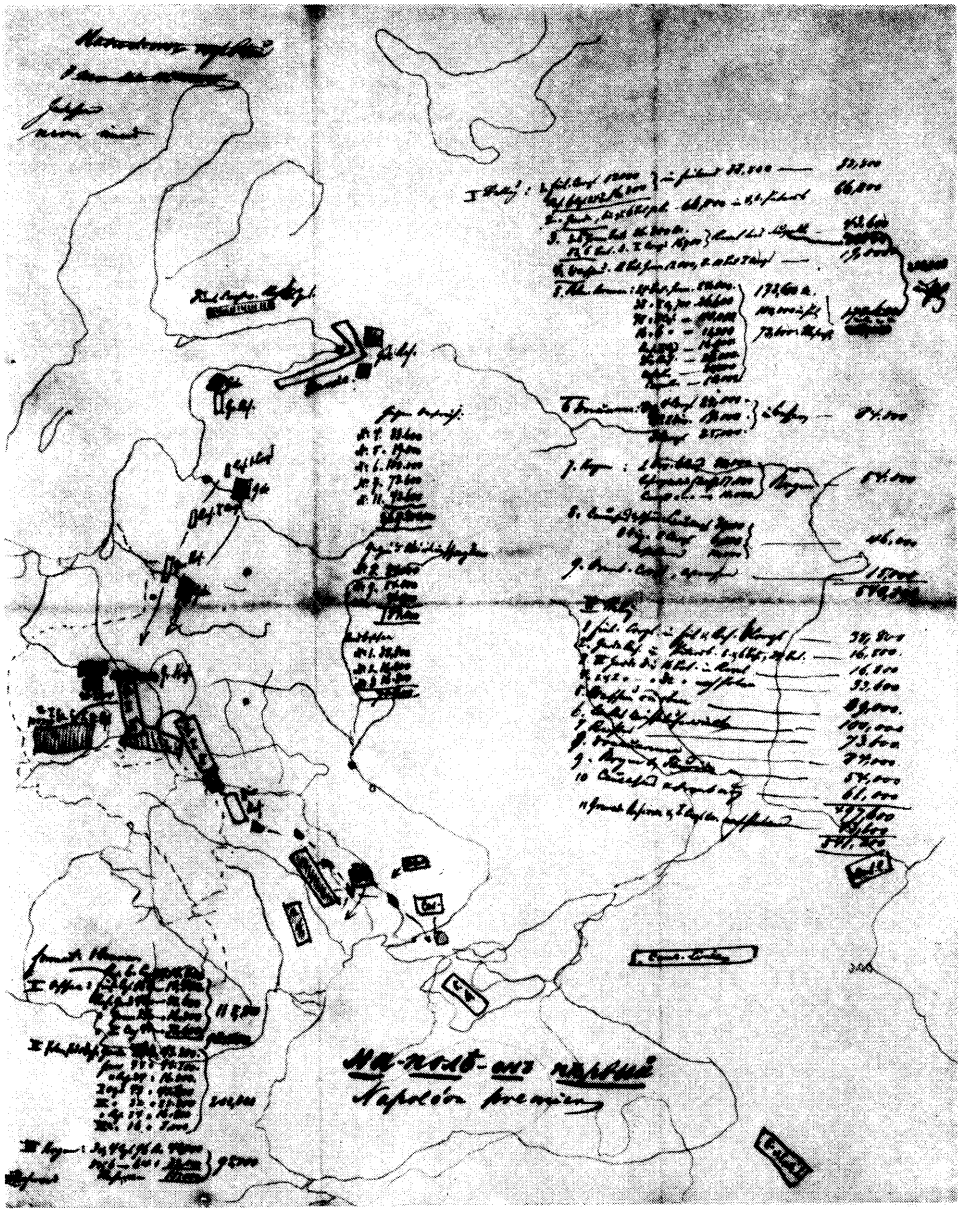

A page from Engels' preparatory material for the article "The Military Power of Russia"

Caucasian corps, 55 battalions, 10 squadrons, 180 guns.
Reserve Caucasian corps, 36 battalions, 2 squadrons,—guns.
Caucasian line, 47 battalions,—squadrons,—guns.
Total, 175 battalions, 12 squadrons, 180 guns.

III. COSSACKS AND OTHER IRREGULARS—
About 700 squadrons, 32 battalions, and 224 guns.

IV. RESERVES—

1. About 50 battalions of Interior Guards, besides invalids, penal companies, 77.
2. Reserve of the grand army, or 4th, 5th and 6th battalions of Guards and Grenadiers, 5th and 6th battalions of the line, viz: three battalions for 24 regiments, and two battalions each for 72 regiments, or in all, 216 battalions.

As all the reserves are called in and fully organized, so far that *the formation of the 7th and 8th battalions* of each regiment has been commenced out of the lately decreed levy of 300,000 men, the above 216 battalions may be comprised in the grand total, which would give 726 battalions, 472 squadrons of regular, 700 squadrons of irregular cavalry, and considerably above a thousand guns. The organization of the reserves for cavalry and artillery not being well known out of Russia, they are not included in the above.

This array, fortunately, looks more formidable than it really is. From it we must deduct, to arrive at the number of troops actually available for a European war, the Siberian corps, the Internal Guard, and at least one-half of the Cossacks; thus leaving available about 650 battalions, 472 squadrons of regular and 350 squadrons of irregular cavalry, with about 1,200 guns. These troops may be estimated, at a very low figure, at 520,000 infantry, 62,000 cavalry, and 30,000 Cossacks, or rather more than 600,000 together, spread on the long line from the Caspian along the Black Sea and Baltic to the White Sea.

Since the beginning of the war with Turkey, the following troops have been successively engaged against the allies on the southern frontier of the empire:

1. The 3d, 4th and 5th corps of the line, with some of their reserves, which are, however, mostly still on the march.
2. The whole of the three Caucasian corps.
3. The two divisions (two-thirds) of the first corps of the line, without reserves.
4. A portion of the third cavalry corps (dragoons) in the Crimea.

This makes a total of about 240,000 men, *before* entering on the campaign, but now reduced to 184,000 men at the outside, of

whom 84,000 may be taken as the strength of the army in Bessarabia, 54,000 in the Crimea, or marching toward it, and 46,000 in the Caucasus.

On the Baltic there were, up to the end of August:

| | Men |
|---|---|
| In Finland, the reserve of the 6th Corps | 16,800 |
| The Finnish Corps | 12,000 |
| The Guards and their reserves | 66,800 |
| Of the Grenadier Corps at Revel | 10,000 |
| Total | 105,600 |

There were in Poland, or marching for it:

| | Men |
|---|---|
| The remainder of the Grenadiers and their reserves | 55,000 |
| The 1st and 2d Corps and their reserves | 120,000 |
| Cossacks and cavalry of different corps | 30,000 |
| Various reserves | 25,000 |
| Total | 230,000 |

Making all together about 575,000 men, which, with the Orenburg Corps (at Astrakhan), the Reserve Cavalry Corps, and the detachments of the White Sea and others, comes up to the number stated before of the grand total. Of the troops in Poland, about 30,000 were on the march, about 20,000 garrisoned Warsaw, about 100,000 occupied the right bank of the Vistula, in the late Kingdom of Poland, and about 80,000 remained as a reserve in Volhynia and Podolia, on the Bug and Dniester. Thus the main bulk of the Russian army, and among them the crack regiments of Guards and Grenadiers, was concentrated on a line from St. Petersburg to Chotin, or along the western frontier of the Empire. But these positions did not appear significant enough. The Grenadiers left Revel, to be replaced by a division of Guards, and with the other two divisions of Guards marched off to Poland, the latter four battalions or regiments strong, leaving only the 5th and 6th battalions in Petersburg. Thus the army of the West was increased to above 270,000 men, and the greater portion of the three Reserve Cavalry Corps, *which have as yet not been engaged at all,* are marched off to join them; this will bring the army of the West to some 300,000 men.

Now the positions are changed. The 100,000 men, occupying the south-eastern portion of the Kingdom of Poland, have crossed the Vistula and taken up a position along the Austrian frontier. The 80,000 men have advanced from Volhynia into Poland, and continue the line along that frontier. Guards, Grenadiers—possibly the cavalry corps, when they arrive—take a central position to the rear. During the winter more troops can be spared from the ice-bound Baltic. By May the new levies, forming the 7th and 8th or new battalions of the different regiments, or 192 battalions in all (130,000 to 140,000 men), will be so far drilled as to replace them.

There is no doubt, then, that Nicholas cares comparatively little what happens to the south of his Empire, so long as he can concentrate above 300,000 men in the splendid strategical position of Poland. And a splendid position it is. Driven in like a wedge between Prussia and Austria, it outflanks both, while it is protected by the strongest means of resistance which art and nature combined can produce. Napoleon knew the military importance of the country inclosed by the Vistula and its affluents. He made it his base of operations for the campaign of 1807, until he took Danzig. But he neglected permanently to fortify it, and paid dearly for it after the retreat of 1812. The Russians, especially since 1831, have done what their predecessors in power omitted to do. Modlin, (Novo-Georgievsk), Warsaw, Ivangorod, Brzesc Litewski form a system of fortifications stronger, in its strategical combination, than any other in the world. This system offers a position in which a beaten army may defy double its numbers as long as it has plenty to eat; and to cut off a whole country from all communications is a thing that has not yet been attempted. This whole complex system of fortresses, says a German military writer who knows the country, indicates even more an aggressive than a defensive spirit. It is planned not so much to maintain the ground on which it stands as to serve as a base for offensive attacks toward the west.

And there are people who believe that Nicholas will sue for peace if Sevastopol be taken! Why, Russia has not played one-third of her trumps yet, and the momentary loss of Sevastopol and of the fleet is hardly felt at all by the giant to whom Sevastopol and the fleet were but a plaything. Russia knows full well that her decisive action does not lie along the sea shores or within reach of debarking troops; but on the contrary, on the broad interior of the Continent, where massive armies can be brought to act concentrated on one spot, without frittering away their forces in a

fruitless coast defense against evanescent enemies. Russia may lose the Crimea, the Caucasus, Finland, St. Petersburg and all such appendages; but as long as her body, with Moscow for its heart, and fortified Poland for its sword-arm, is untouched, she need not give in an iota.

The grand actions of 1854 are, we dare say, but the petty preludes of the battles of nations which will mark the annals of 1855. It is not until the great Russian army of the West, and the Austrian army come into play, no matter whether against each other or with each other, that we shall see real war on a large scale, something like the grand wars of Napoleon. And, perhaps, these battles may be the preludes merely of other battles far more fierce, far more decisive—the battles of the European peoples against the now victorious and secure European despots.

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Frederick Engels

## THE SIEGE OF SEVASTOPOL[375]

Next to the battle of the Alma, the principal achievement of the allies in the Crimea has been Lord Raglan's famous flank march from the Alma to Balaklava, by which he changed the apparent object of the campaign from the capture and occupation of Sevastopol to a *coup de main*[a] against a portion,—and the weaker portion, too,—of the fortifications, including, of course, the destruction of the Russian fleet, dockyards and arsenals, but involving the withdrawal of the allied forces as soon as this object should be attained. That such must be the case, was plain, from the entire movement in question. It was an abandonment of the idea of attacking the northern front of the fortress, which is the commanding front, where alone an attack could really be decisive; and thus it was a patent confession of incompetence on the part of the expedition to accomplish what was laid down in its program,—the complete capture and occupation of the place. Nevertheless, as we said,[b] this very march has been glorified as a most brilliant stroke of generalship through columns on columns of high-sounding phrases and rhetorical gibberish; and even the great journals of London, with their correspondents on the spot, did not discover the truth till a month afterward, when the Government seems to have given them a hint of it. Thus, *The London Times* of October 28, for the first time opening its eyes to the true state of the case, gently indicates that the minor object of the campaign may be the only one accomplished, and that the forts on the north

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[a] Sudden attack in force.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 485.—*Ed.*

side of the bay, if they do not voluntarily surrender, can hardly be taken. But *The Times* hopes they will behave respectably, and surrender, inasmuch as all dependent fortifications ought to give in when once the main body of the place is taken.[a] But the truth is that it is not the North Fort which depends upon the town of Sevastopol, but the town of Sevastopol which depends upon the North Fort, and we fear the argument of our cotemporary will hardly suffice to take so strong a fortress.

It is true that since the "glorious march" in question nothing has been done by the allies of which anybody could boast much, and, therefore, our transatlantic cotemporaries are not to blame for making the most of it.[376] As for the siege itself so far as it has proceeded, it is one of those things of which they may well think that the less said the better. But as we are bound to nothing but impartiality in the premises, we shall not be so delicate. The truth is that the war in general being an exceedingly curious war, this siege is one of its most curious points. The great feature of the war appears to be a belief that fieldworks are impregnable. First at Oltenitza, the old-fashioned way of cannonading was employed for a couple of hours and then the works were stormed but without success. At Kalafat the Russians did not even dare to make an attack. At Silistria a mere earthwork bore the brunt of the battle, and held out, even when almost leveled, against the frantic onslaught of the enemy. Now at Sevastopol a simple line of fieldworks is honored with more extensive breaching batteries, and with far heavier artillery, than were ever brought to bear against the most regular fortress. This siege is a striking proof of the fact that in the same proportion as the *materiel* of warfare has, by industrial progress, advanced during the long peace, in the same proportion has the *art* of war degenerated. A Napoleon, on seeing the batteries before Sevastopol, bristling with eight- and ten-inch guns, would burst out in a fit of irresistible laughter. But this is not the whole story by a great deal.

About the 1st of October, the allies were in position, but it was not till the 8th or 9th that the first ground was broken, and fire was not opened till the 17th. The reason of this delay was that the guns could not be brought up sooner. There were only four or five miles of ground to go over—all good, hard soil, with little undulation, and part of it a passable road. But they had no draught cattle. No draught cattle in the Crimea—the richest country for cattle in the whole world! Why, there were more

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21884, October 28, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

bullocks in the valley of Baidar, within sight from the hights off the Chernaya, than would have been required to drag all the united fleet across the hills. But the valley of Baidar was open to the Cossacks, and the allied cavalry, in protecting a razzia, might be exposed to these formidable opponents. Besides, the allies must keep on good terms with the inhabitants, and not seize their property. With such excuses, our English cotemporaries seek to hide the truth that Raglan and Canrobert, while blockading Sevastopol on the south, are themselves blockaded by Menchikoff's outposts on the Chernaya.[377] And yet, that they are so is proved by the simple fact that the allied soldiers, up to the latest report, were compelled to live upon salt meat, no fresh meat being at hand.

On the 3d of October five Russian battalions crossed the Chernaya near Inkerman, and were allowed to enter the fortress from the south, as "this could but be favorable to the allies." An original mode of making war! The enemy, represented as beaten, demoralized, dejected, sends 3,000 men into Sevastopol, under the very nose of the allies. He must have had a reason for doing so. But if he has reasons for sending them, Raglan has his reasons for bowing them in. He supposes the place to be overcrowded, though upon what grounds, is not clear. At all events, beside the four square miles inclosed within the Russian lines, there is the whole of the north shore and all the country lying behind it, to which any excess of troops may be sent in ten minutes. To represent a place as overcrowded, which is blockaded on one side only, is certainly the hight of absurdity.

When the landing was first reported, we said that disease would be the worst enemy of the allies if the campaign should be lengthened.[a] Disease is there in its worst forms, coupled, at least as far as the British are concerned, with the very worst sort of attendance. Indeed, to such an extent have the sick been neglected from this cause, that Lord Raglan has been obliged to issue a very peremptory reprimand to the medical staff. But this is not all. The doctors are at Constantinople, the medical stores at Varna, and the sick at Balaklava. Is not this a splendid illustration of the new military doctrine lately held forth by Louis Bonaparte at Boulogne, that every army, to have a good position, must be placed in a triangle?[b] The sickness increases with the roughness of the season, the regiments dwindle down—a British regiment, sent

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[a] See this volume, pp. 475-76.—*Ed.*

[b] Speech of Napoleon III before the troops at Boulogne on September 2, 1854. *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 248, September 5, 1854.—*Ed.*

out 1,000 strong, now cannot count more than 600 men under arms—and the slowness of operations goes on its even course. The routine of the Horse Guards,[378] the fruit of forty years' peaceful schooling, is not to be upset by trifles of that sort. Perish the army, but let Sevastopol be taken according to Her Majesty's regulations!

In common sieges the besiegers usually try to place their first batteries as near as possible to the enemy's works, and six or seven hundred yards is considered a great distance. But in a grand siege like this, particularly if against mere fieldworks, just the reverse should be done, according to Raglan. The enemy allows us to come within seven hundred yards, but we must never do what the enemy wants us to do. So says Raglan, and opens his batteries at 2,500 and 3,000 yards distance—a fact we could not believe did the reports leave it possible to doubt. Next he comes down to 1,500 and 1,200 yards, and then states, as a reason for not opening fire, that breaching batteries, to be effective, must be within three or four hundred yards from the works to be breached! The distant batteries are to have Lancaster[379] and long-range ten-inch guns, since it seems the British artillerists are of opinion that these guns are like telescopes, only good at a great distance. Indeed, this long-range question, which is perfectly in its place for naval armaments, has caused more confusion and humbug than real good when applied to land artillery; we have an example of it in these ridiculous batteries.

The landward fortifications of Sevastopol, which have provoked all these outbursts of genius and perspicacity, are as follows: On the western side (attacked by the French) one or two faces of the Quarantine Fort are exposed. Behind this is a loopholed wall running up toward the head of the Quarantine Bay, and ending on a hill, in a round tower which forms a *reduit* for an earthwork constructed around it. Thence a wall of three feet average thickness is continued to the upper end of the harbor, thus inclosing Sevastopol on the south-west. This wall is said to be incapable of any defense, although it might easily have been made so; it is, therefore, protected by small earthworks lying in front of it. From the end of the harbor eastward to the Careening Bay (the British front of attack) there are no regular defenses whatever, except two towers surrounded and sheltered by lunettes, in a similar manner with the one described above. There are besides some earthworks of irregular form, the whole forming an entrenched camp of no great pretensions, if we are to believe the published plans of Captain Biddulph, sketched on the spot. At all

events they show only one line of defenses, consisting of works open in the rear; there are no closed redoubts, of which as a general thing the Russians are so exceedingly fond. But we cannot believe that this is the case; if this was the only line to take, the British ought long since to have taken it with the bayonet. There must be a second line of redoubts behind it.

The whole of the Russian works have been armed with heavy guns from the fleet—the best use the Russians could make of them. Yet their practice with them is despicable. They fire away whole days and nights at the enemy, and make one hit for a hundred rounds. Perhaps it was this very bad practice which induced Lord Raglan to open his trenches at the safe distance of 3,000 yards. After three days' bombardment by the allied fleets and armies, it is stated that the British, on their side, had made one breach, while the French had not yet completed theirs.[a] As soon as this was completed, the assault was to take place. That it should take 200 guns of immense caliber three or four days to breach such defenses would be incredible, had we not very good authority for the respectful distance at which the allied batteries had been constructed. So much for the results already achieved; but whatever event may crown the operations, it is certain that the siege of Sevastopol will stand unparalleled in military history.

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[a] General Canrobert to Drouyn de Lhuys, October 13, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21885, October 30, 1854.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE CAMPAIGN IN THE CRIMEA[380]

Our readers cannot but be struck with the novel spirit breathing through the intelligence from the seat of war in the Crimea, received by the *Baltic* yesterday, and published in our columns this morning. Hitherto an overweening and arrogant confidence has distinguished the comments of the British press, and the reports of British and French correspondents concerning the movements and prospects of the war. But now this has given way to a feeling of anxiety and even of alarm. It is confessed on all hands that there is no such superiority as has been claimed on the part of the allied armies over their antagonists. That Sevastopol is stronger, Menchikoff an abler General, and his army far more formidable than was supposed; and that instead of certain and decisive victory, the French and English now stand exposed to possible failure and disgrace. Such is the feeling expressed by our correspondent at Liverpool, himself an Englishman, alive to all the patriotic impulses and prejudices of his country[a]; and this feeling is equally manifested by the very energetic action of both the French and English Governments. Desperate efforts are made to hurry reenforcements to Sevastopol; the United Kingdom is drained of its last soldier; many steamships are taken up as transports; and 50,000 French troops are sent forward, all in the hope of arriving at the scene of action before it shall be too late to take part in the final, decisive struggle.

We published on Saturday a copious quantity of documents, relating principally to the earlier stages of the siege, and the

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[a] Report of the Liverpool correspondent. *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4246, November 27, 1854.—*Ed.*

partially effective but yet disastrous cooperation of the fleets[a]; and we now add the official reports concerning Liprandi's murderous attack on the allies near Balaklava, with other accounts of the subsequent progress of operations, all of them, we must say, quite unfavorable to the allies.[b] From a careful examination of these documents we conclude that though the position is, as we have often stated,[c] a difficult and even precarious one, it is hardly so bad as is implied by our Liverpool correspondent. We do not think that they are in danger of any worse disaster than a compulsory retreat and embarkation. And, on the other hand, there is still the possibility of their carrying the town by a desperate and sanguinary assault. But however this may be, it must, we think, be decided long before the reenforcements leaving France and England can reach the Crimea. The campaign is evidently near its turning point; the movements, the errors and the omissions which have shaped its character and generated its results, are made; we are in possession of authentic and indisputable information as to the principal facts; and we accordingly propose succinctly and briefly to review the course of the contest.

It is now established that when the allies landed at Old Fort, Menchikoff had under his command in the field only forty-two battalions and two regiments of cavalry, besides some Cossacks, while Sevastopol was garrisoned by the marines and sailors of the fleet. These forty-two battalions were of the 12th, 16th and 17th divisions of infantry; and supposing each battalion to have had its full complement of 700 men, there were in all 29,400 men of infantry; with 2,000 Hussars, the Cossacks, artillery, sappers and miners; in all some 32,000 men in the field. With these he could not oppose the landing of the allies, as by so doing he would have exposed his troops, without a sufficient reserve, to the fire of the allied fleets. A powerful army, which could afford to have sacrificed a part of its strength, might have detached a force to open a petty war of surprises and night attacks against the invaders while landing; the Russians, in this instance, required every man for the great battle to come; besides, the Russian foot soldier is the clumsiest fellow alive for petty war operations; his forte is action in column by close order. As to the Cossacks, on the other

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[a] *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 4245, November 25, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] "Reported Battle on Fourth of November, etc.", *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 4246, November 27, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 496-97.—*Ed.*

hand, their mode of warfare is too petty, and is effective in proportion only as the chance of plunder increases. Besides, the campaign of the Crimea seems to prove that the regularization of the Cossacks, which has been gradually carried out for the last thirty years, has broken their individual spirit of enterprise, and reduced them to a subdued condition, in which they are spoiled for irregular and not yet fit for regular service. They seem incapable now either of outpost and detached duty, or of charging an enemy in line. The Russians, then, were quite right in reserving every sabre and bayonet for the battle of the Alma.

On the banks of this river, the 32,000 Russians were attacked by 55,000 allies. The proportion was almost one to two. When about 30,000 allies had been engaged, Menchikoff ordered the retreat. Of the Russians, up to then, not more than 20,000 were engaged; a further attempt to hold the position would have converted the Russian retreat into a complete rout, for it would have required the engaging of the whole Russian reserve in the battle. The success of the allies, with their tremendous numerical superiority, being established beyond doubt, Menchikoff broke off the battle, covered his retreat by his reserves, and after overcoming the first disorder created on his left by Bosquet's flank movement retired unpursued and unmolested, "in proud order," from the field. The allies say they had no cavalry for the pursuit; but since we know that the Russians had but two regiments of Hussars—less, if anything, than the allies—this excuse falls to the ground. As at Zorndorf, at Eylau, at Borodino,[381] the Russian infantry, though beaten, behaved up to the character given them by General Cathcart, who commanded a division against them, and who pronounced them "incapable of panic!"

But if the Russian infantry remained cool and unterrified, Menchikoff himself was panic-struck. The great numerical force of the allies, coupled with their unexpected decision and impetuosity in the attack, deranged, for a moment, his plans. He abandoned the idea of retreating into the interior of the Crimea, and marched to the south of Sevastopol, in order to hold the line of the Chernaya. This was a great and unpardonable mistake. Overlooking, from the hights of the Alma, the whole allied position, he must have been able to make out the strength of his opponents within 5,000 men. He must have known that, whatever was their relative superiority over his own forces, they were not strong enough to leave an army to observe Sevastopol while following him into the interior. He must have known that if the allies were two to one against him on the sea-shore, he could bring

two against their one at Simferopol. And yet he marched, as he himself confesses, to the south side of Sevastopol. But, after this retreat had been effected, without any molestation from the allies, and his troops had rested a day or two on the hills behind the Chernaya, then Menchikoff resolved to redress his mistake. He did this by a perilous flank movement from the Chernaya to Bakshiserai. It was contrary to one of the first rules of strategy; yet it promised great results. When a blunder is once committed in strategy, you can seldom get over its consequences. The question then merely is, whether it is less disadvantageous to abide by them or to get over them by a second, but intentional, erroneous movement. In this case we think Menchikoff was perfectly right in risking a flank-march within reach of the enemy, in order to get out of his absurdly "concentrated" position around Sevastopol.

But in this contest between strategical mediocrities and routine generals, the movements of hostile armies assumed forms hitherto unknown in warfare. The fancy for flank-marches, like the cholera, was epidemic in both camps. At the same time that Menchikoff resolved on a flank-march from Sevastopol to Bakshiserai, Saint Arnaud and Raglan took it into their heads to move from the Kacha to Balaklava. The rear of the Russians and the van of the British met at Mackenzie's farm (so called from a Scotchman, later an admiral in the Russian service), and, as a matter of course, the van beat the rear. The general strategical character of the flank-march of the allies having already been criticised in *The Tribune*,[a] we need not now revert to it.

On the 2d or 3d of October Sevastopol was invested, and the allies took up that very position from which Menchikoff had just extricated himself. From that moment the memorable siege of Sevastopol began, and at the same time a new era in the campaign. Hitherto the allies, by their uncontested superiority, had it all their own way. Their fleets, commanding the sea, insured their landing. Once landed, their superior numbers, and certainly also their superior storming qualities, insured the victory at the Alma. But now the equilibrium of forces, which sooner or later is sure to be brought about in operations distant from their base and in an enemy's country, began to develop itself. Menchikoff's army, it is true, did not show itself yet; but it made necessary the placing of a reserve on the Chernaya, fronting to the east. Thus the actual besieging army was seriously weakened, and

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[a] See this volume, pp. 505-06.—*Ed.*

reduced to numbers not much superior to those of the garrison.

Want of energy, want of system, especially in the cooperation of the different departments of the British land and sea forces, difficulties of ground, and, above all, an invincible spirit of routine, inherent, it appears, in the British administrative and scientific departments, delayed the commencement of actual siege operations to the 9th of October. At last the trenches were opened on that day, at the enormous distance of from 1,500 to 2,500 yards from the Russian works. Such a thing was never seen nor heard of in any previous siege. It proves that the Russians were still able to dispute the ground around the fortress, to the distance of at least a mile; and they actually held it up to the 17th. On the morning of that day the siege-works were far enough advanced to allow the allies to open their fire. Probably this would have been delayed a few days longer, as the allies were by no means in a fit position to do so with success on that day, had it not been for the arrival of the glorious news that all England and France were rejoicing at the capture of Sevastopol on the 25th of October. This news, of course, exasperated the armies, and, in order to tranquilize them, the fire had to be opened. But it turns out that the allies brought 126 guns against 200 or 250. Now, the great axiom of Vauban, which has been again and again used by the Anglo-French to keep public opinion quiet, viz:

> "that a siege is an operation of mathematical certainty and success, a mere matter of time, unless interrupted from without."

This great axiom is based upon that other axiom of the same engineer that

> "in a siege the fire of the attack can be made superior to that of the defense."

Now, here at Sevastopol, we have exactly the reverse; the fire of the attack, when opened, was decidedly inferior to that of the defense. The consequences were very soon made apparent. In a couple of hours the Russians silenced the fire of the French batteries and kept up an almost equal contest, throughout the day, with the English. To create a diversion, a naval attack was made. But it was neither better conducted nor more successful. The French ships, attacking the Quarantine Fort and Fort Alexander, supported the land attack upon these forts; and had it not been for their aid, there is no doubt the French would have been far more roughly handled. The English ships attacked the north side of the harbor, including Fort Constantine and the Telegraph Battery, as well as a temporary battery constructed to the

north-east of Constantine. That cautious man, Admiral Dundas, had ordered his ships to anchor at 1,200 yards from the forts—he is evidently a friend of the long-range system. Now it is an old established fact that in a combat between ships and batteries on shore, the ships are beat unless they can close up within 200 yards or less to the batteries, so that their shot is certain to tell, and with the greater effect. Consequently, Dundas got his ships knocked about in a terrible manner and would have suffered a glorious defeat, had it not been for Sir Edmund Lyons, who, it appears, almost in defiance of orders, got three ships-of-the-line as close as he could to Fort Constantine and did it some damage in exchange for what he received. As, however, the British and French Admirals' reports have not yet said a single word about the actual damage done to the forts, we must conclude that here, as well as [at] Bomarsund, Montalembert Coast—forts and casemated batteries—proved a match for twice their number of guns on board ship. This is the more remarkable, as it is now pretty certain that the exposed masonry of these forts, as was already partially proved at Bomarsund, cannot withstand the breaching fire of heavy ship guns, established on shore, for more than twenty-four hours.

The French were almost silent for a couple of days afterward. The English, having established their batteries at a greater distance from the Russian lines, and mounting heavier calibers than their allies, were enabled to maintain their fire and to silence the upper tier of guns in a masonry redoubt. The naval attack was not renewed—the best proof of the respect inspired by the casemated forts. The Russians made a defense which very much undeceived the conquerors of the Alma. For every dismounted gun a fresh one was brought up. Every embrasure destroyed during the day by the enemy's fire was restored during the night. Earthworks against earthworks, the contest was very nearly equal, until measures were taken to give the allies the superiority. Lord Raglan's ridiculous order "to spare the town" was revoked, and a bombardment opened which, by its concentric effect upon crowded masses of troops, and by its harassing nature, must have done the garrison great harm. Skirmishers were, besides, sent out in advance of the batteries, to pick off, from any covered position they could find, the Russian gunners. As at Bomarsund, the Minié rifle did its work well. In a few days, what with the heavy guns and the Minié rifles, the Russian artillerymen were mostly put *hors de combat*.[a] So were the sailors from the fleet, the portion of the

[a] Out of action.—*Ed.*

garrison best instructed in the use of heavy guns. The usual resource of besieged garrisons had then to be resorted to: the infantry were commanded to serve the guns, under the superintendence of the remaining artillerymen. But their fire, as may be imagined, was almost without effect, and thus the besiegers were enabled to push their trenches nearer and nearer the place. They have opened, it is stated, their third parallel at 300 yards from the outworks. We do not know yet what batteries they have erected in this third parallel; we can only say that a *third* parallel, in regular sieges, is always made at the foot of the glacis of the works attacked, that is, about 50 or 60 yards from the ditch. If this distance has been exceeded before Sevastopol, we can but see in this fact a confirmation of a report contained in several British papers, that the irregularity of the lines of defense, instead of giving the British engineers fresh scope for their inventive capacities, has but disconcerted these gentlemen who can demolish, upon the most approved principle, a regular bastioned front, but who seem to be badly off as soon as the enemy deviates from the rule prescribed by the best authorities on the subject.

The southern attack once decided upon, the parallel and its batteries should have been directed against one, or at most two well-defined fronts of the defenses. Two of the outer forts next to each other—or, at the very outside, three—should have been attacked with concentrated forces; and, once demolished, then all the other outworks would have been useless. In this way, the allies, by bringing all their artillery to bear upon one point, could have easily established at once a great superiority of fire, and shortened the siege considerably. As far as can be judged from plans and maps, the front, from the Quarantine Fort to the upper end of the inner harbor, or the front against which the French now direct their efforts, would have been the best to attack, as its demolition would lay the town itself completely open. The one hundred and thirty guns of the allies would have at once insured them a superiority of fire on this limited front. Instead of this, the desire to let each army act independently of the other produced this unprecedented mode of siege, in which the whole of the ramparts, extending over a length of three miles, is simultaneously cannonaded on its whole extent. Such a thing has never been seen before. Who ever heard of an attack which allowed the defense to bring into play at once, from plain bastioned works and lunettes the enormous mass of two hundred and fifty guns? A single bastioned front can hardly mount twenty guns; and in an ordinary siege no more than three or four fronts can contribute to the

defense. Unless the allied engineers can show, hereafter, very substantial reasons for their curious proceedings, we must conclude that they were unable to find out the weakest points of the defenses, and, therefore, in order not to miss them, fired upon every portion of the line.

In the meantime, reenforcements arrive to both parties. Liprandi's harassing and partially successful attacks on the allied outposts have shown the presence of a stronger Russian force than Menchikoff had led to Bakshiserai. As yet, he does not, however, appear strong enough for a relieving battle. Considering the progress made by the besiegers, considering that the damage done to the defense increases in a geometrical ratio as the besiegers approach the ramparts, considering that the outworks still hold out, but that the inner wall appears to be weak, we may expect that something decisive will have occurred from the 9th to the 15th of November; that either the south side of the town has fallen, or that the allies have suffered a decisive defeat and been obliged to raise the siege. But it must be recollected that all such predictions depend upon circumstances which cannot be fully known beforehand at such a distance from the spot.

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## Frederick Engels

# THE WAR IN THE EAST[382]

The arrival of the *Africa* has put us in possession of three days later dates from Europe, but nothing of additional interest from the seat of war beyond an infernal episode describing the roasting alive of a vast number of sick and wounded in hospital, and accounts of sufferings that render language a pauper in attempting to portray them. Of the bloody and undecisive battle of the 5th November, brief intelligence of which was brought by the *Baltic*, we have now Lord Raglan's curt dispatch,[a] but not yet the customary voluminous and exciting details by correspondents, whether actors or lookers-on. Much anxiety—much more than appears on the surface of things—exists in England as well as in France in regard to the increased and increasing difficulties of the war; and the stubborn refusal of Sevastopol to fall before the allies, those rivals in courage and sacrifices, is most ominously viewed. The extracts in another column of this journal,[383] from *The London Times*, exhibit an altered temper, and a spirit of doubt which may be mistaken by some for approaching despair. In the absence of details respecting the battle of the 5th sufficiently coherent to base remarks upon, we shall now offer some on the operations of the siege just previous to that time.

The 25th of October was the day on which the slow monotony of the siege of Sevastopol was first interrupted by a dramatic incident. The Russians, on that day, attacked the allied position covering the siege, and the advantages being more equally

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[a] Lord Raglan's telegraphic dispatch to the Duke of Newcastle of November 6, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21900, November 16, 1854.—*Ed.*

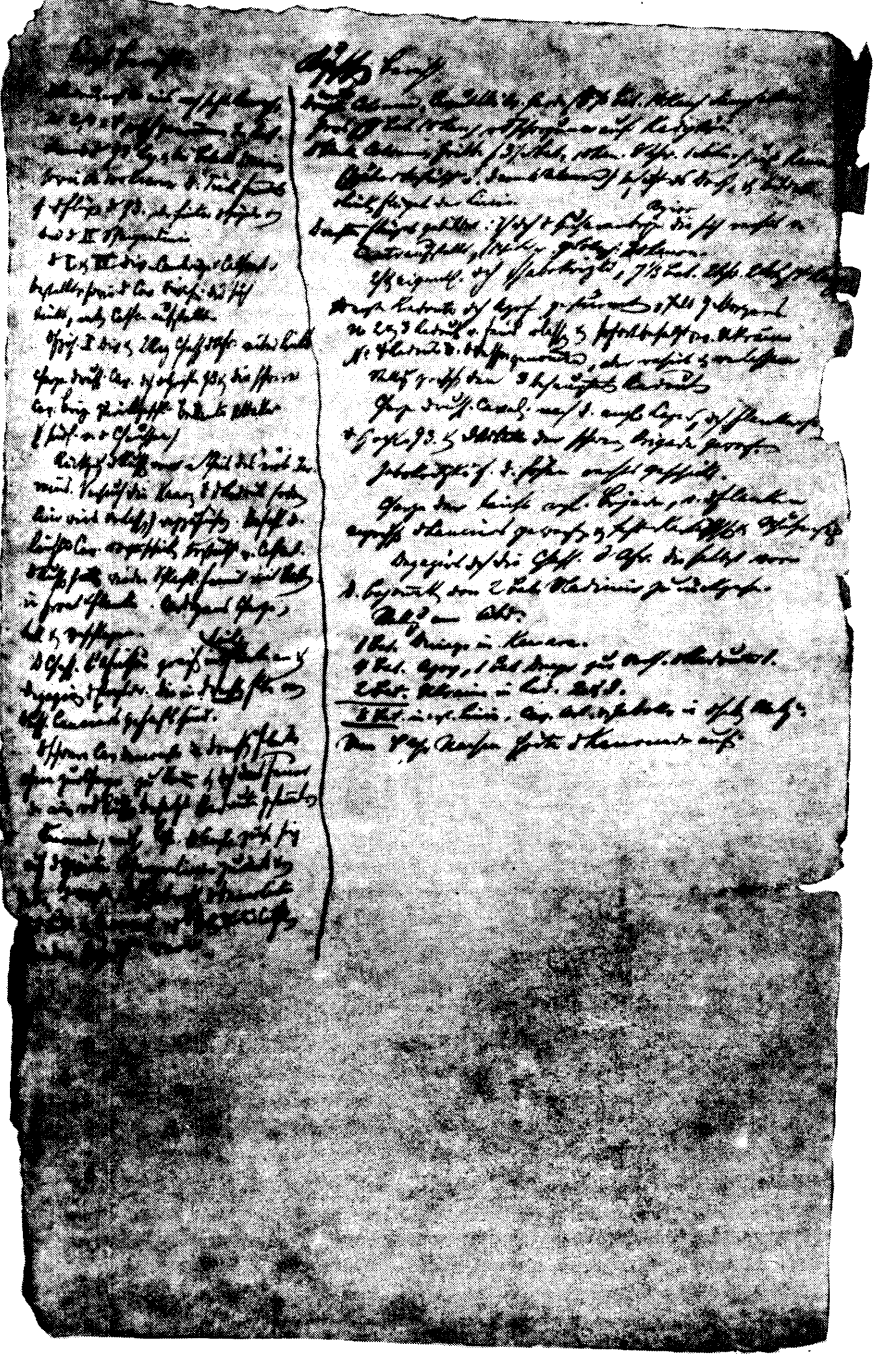

Engels' rough draft of the article "The War in the East" with a sketch of the battle

Kalaclava

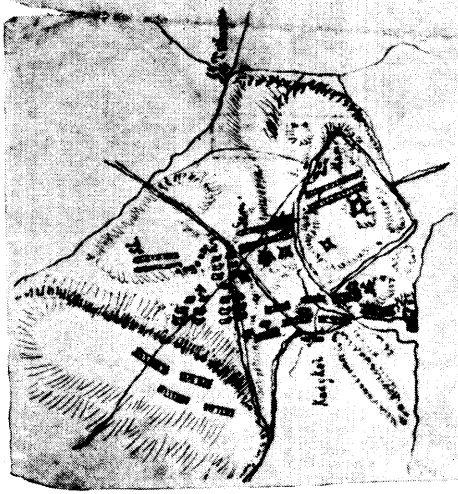

distributed, this time, to either side, the result was very different from that of the battle of the Alma. This action, in fact, was the very counterpart of that of the Alma: it was a cavalry fight almost exclusively, while at the Alma no cavalry was engaged; and instead of occupying a defensive position, the Russians were the assailants, while the advantages of strong positions were with the allies. It was, indeed, a drawn battle as nearly as that of the Alma, but this time the advantages remained to the Russians.

The Heracleatic Chersonese, the peninsula south of the Bay of Sevastopol, borders toward the main land of the Crimea by a range of hights running from the mouth of the Chernaya, or the head of the Bay of Sevastopol, to the south-west. This range slopes down gradually on its north-west side toward Sevastopol, while it is generally steep and bold toward the south-east, facing Balaklava. The allies occupying the Heracleatic Chersonese, this range was their natural defensive position against any Russian army trying to raise the siege. But unfortunately, Balaklava was the "base of operations" of the British, the chief harbor for their fleet, the grand dépôt for their stores; and Balaklava lay about three miles to the south-east of this range of hills. It was, therefore, necessary to include Balaklava in the system of defense. The country about Balaklava is formed by a group of very irregular hights, running from the southern extremity of the aforesaid range, nearly due east and west along the coast, and like all hills in the Crimea, sloping gently toward the north-west, but steep and craggy toward the south-east. Thus an angle formed between these two groups of hights is filled up by an undulating plain, rising gradually toward the east, until it ends in a steep descent toward the valley of the Chernaya.

The most remarkable feature of this plain is a range of hillocks and of slightly elevated ground running north-west and south-east, uniting what we call the Heracleatic range with the mountains on the south coast. It was on this elevation, about three miles east and north-east of Balaklava, that the allies had thrown up their first line of defenses, consisting of four redoubts, defending the roads from Bakshiserai and from the Upper Chernaya. These redoubts were garrisoned by Turks. A second line of fieldworks was erected immediately in front of Balaklava, and continued up to the apex of the angle formed by the coast hights and the Heracleatic range, which latter were fortified by the French division of General Bosquet, stationed there. Thus, while the second line, defended by English soldiers, marines and sailors, was continued and flanked by the French line of redoubts, the first or Turkish line, nearly

two miles in advance, not only was completely unsupported, but strange to say, instead of forming a line perpendicular to the road on which the enemy could come, it was constructed almost in the prolongation of that line, so that the Russians might first take one, then the second, then the third and finally the fourth redoubt, gaining ground each time, and without the possibility of one redoubt much supporting the other.

The allied position was occupied: toward Balaklava, by the Turks in the redoubts, or first line; by British marines, on the hights, in the immediate vicinity of Balaklava; by the 93d Highlanders, and some convalescents in the valley north of Balaklava. Further north was the camp of the British cavalry; and on the Heracleatic hights, that of the advance guard of Bosquet's division.

At 6 o'clock on the morning of the 25th, General Liprandi led the Russians to the attack of this position. He had under him a combined division consisting of six regiments of infantry (Dnieper, Azoff, Ukraine, Odessa, Vladimir, Suzdal, the 6th battalion Rifles, and one battalion Tchornomorski Cossacks, or 25 battalions in all); three regiments of cavalry (the 11th and 12th Hussars, and a combined regiment of Lancers, or 24 to 26 squadrons), about two regiments of Cossacks, and 70 guns, of which 30 were 12-pounders.

He sent General Gribbe by a defile on his left to occupy, with three battalions Dnieper Infantry, the village of Kamara, in front of which the first and strongest redoubt is situated. General Gribbe occupied the village, and his three battalions appear to have spent the day there very quietly, as they have never been named during the fight which followed.

The main column, following first the course of the Chernaya, and then a by-road, gained the high-road from Bakshiserai to Balaklava. Here they met the redoubts, manned by Turks. The first redoubt being pretty strong, Liprandi had a fire of artillery opened upon it, and then sent the storming parties forward. A line of skirmishers hid the first, second and third battalion. Azoff, advancing in columns of companies, which were again supported behind either wing, by the fourth battalion Azoff and one battalion Dnieper, in close attacking columns. The redoubt, after a lively resistance, was taken; the 170 dead and wounded the Turks *left* in it show that, in spite of the invidious assertions of the British press, this redoubt was valiantly defended. The second, third, and fourth redoubts, however, being hastily constructed, were taken by the Russians almost without resistance, and by seven o'clock in the

morning, the first line of defense of the allies was completely in their hands.

The abandonment of these redoubts by the Turks may have the good effect of dispelling the monstrous superstitions regarding Turkish bravery which have been commonly adopted since Oltenitza and Silistria, yet the British generals and press play a very shabby part in turning, all at once, upon the Turks on this occasion. It is not so much the Turks who should be blamed, but the engineers who contrived to shape their line of defense in such a faulty manner, and who neglected to finish it in time, as well as the commanders, who exposed the first line to an overwhelming shock of the enemy without any support being at hand.

The 93d Highlanders, steady and slow, as it behoves Scotchmen, got in line by-and-by, and then advanced up the hights toward the redoubts, but not before they were taken. The fugitive Turks, decimated by Russian cavalry, at last formed again on the flanks of the Highlanders. These, in order to shelter themselves from the Russian fire, laid down behind the crest of an undulation of ground, in advance of all the positions still held by the allies, and supported by the cavalry division only to their left. In the meantime the Russians had formed their line of battle on the hights where the redoubts were situated—on their left flank Azoff, next to the right the Ukraine, next the Odessa infantry. These three regiments filled up the space between the redoubts, and occupied what had been the first line of the allies. Further on, to the right of the Odessa regiment, the undulating plain formed a favorable theater for cavalry movements. Thither the two Hussar regiments were sent and they found themselves directly opposed to the British cavalry, which was drawn up about two miles distant. The regiments of Suzdal and Vladimir, part of the artillery and the Lancers, which were just coming up, remained in reserve.

When the 93d Highlanders, reenforced by the convalescent battalion and the Turks, made a stand against the Russians, the Hussars were launched against them. But before they could come up, the British heavy brigade of cavalry charged them. The seven or eight hundred British heavy dragoons dashed at the Russians and dispersed them in one of the most brilliant and successful charges on record, considering their far inferior numbers. The Russian Hussars, twice as numerous, were scattered in a moment. The few Russian squadrons which had charged the 93d Highlanders were received with a quiet Scotch volley at fifteen yards from the infantry, and reeled back as well as they could.

If the Turks had run away, the English, up to this time, had

earned nothing but glory. The daring of the Highlanders who received cavalry in line, without deigning to form squares, the dashing attack of the heavy cavalry, were certainly things to boast of, especially as they were performed before any reenforcements came up. But now the First (Duke of Cambridge's) and Fourth (Cathcart's) Divisions, as well as Bosquet's French Division and the brigade of Chasseurs d'Afrique (cavalry) came up. The line of battle was formed, and only now could it be said that there were two armies in presence. The French of Bosquet forming upon the Heracleatic hights, Liprandi sent the regiments of Vladimir and Suzdal to form the extreme right wing on the hights beyond the position of the cavalry.

Then, the fire having almost ceased, because the armies were out of range of each other, a misunderstanding, which is not cleared up, caused a charge of the British light cavalry—a charge which had no object and ended in defeat. An order arrived to advance, and, in a few moments, the Earl of Cardigan led his light brigade up a valley opposite his position—a valley flanked by covering hights, crowned by batteries, concentrating their fire on the lower ground below. The whole brigade amounted but to 700 sabres; when within range of grape, they were received by the fire of the artillery and of the rifles stationed on the slopes; they charged the battery at the upper end of the valley, received fire at twenty yards, rode down the gunners, dispersed the Russian Hussars, who made a second but wavering charge, and were on the point of turning back when the Russian Lancers took them in flank. They had just come up, and fell at once upon the panting horses of the British. This time, in spite of partial successes, the British had to turn back, and were fairly defeated by the Russians, but, it must be said, by far superior numbers, and by the aid of a mistake, which sent them, without an object, right against the cross-fire of a numerous artillery. Of the 700 men that advanced, not 200 came back in a fighting condition. The light cavalry brigade may be considered destroyed, until re-formed by fresh arrivals.

This disaster to the British would have been far greater, and hardly a man would have come back, had it not been for two movements made on either flank of the charging light horse. On their right, Lord Lucan ordered the heavy brigade to demonstrate against the Russian batteries in front of them. They maneuvered forward during a few minutes, lost about ten men by the Russian fire and galloped back. On the left, however, the French Chasseurs d'Afrique, two of the finest cavalry regiments in the

world, on seeing their allies broken, rushed forward to disengage them. They charged the battery which took the British light horse in flank, and which was placed higher up the hill, in front of the infantry regiments of Vladimir, were within the line of guns in a moment, sabred the gunners, and then retreated, having accomplished their object—which, too, they would have done, even without the advance the Vladimir infantry instantly made on them.

Here was another instance of the British system of warfare as manifested in this campaign, such as, more than once, we have had occasion to point out. They first made a blunder, and then recoiled from the untactical movement which could have alone averted its consequences. But the French Chasseurs instantly felt what was to be done. On *their* side of the cavalry action no flank attack of Russian horse took place, because their dash prevented it: while the cautious "heavies" of Brigadier Scarlett merely demonstrated, and that, of course, was not enough to prevent the Russian Lancers from falling on the flank of the Hussars. Had they charged, like the French, the Russian Lancers would have turned tail very soon. But while their fellow-brigade was ordered to be over-daring, they were ordered to be over-cautious, and the result was the ruin of the light brigade.

After this the action ceased. The Russians demolished the two redoubts nearest the allies, and kept the two others strongly occupied. They maintained the conquered ground, and Lord Raglan, not venturing to attack them, ordered the second line of redoubts to be strengthened, and confined himself to its defense. The first line was given up.

In this action the behavior of the 93d Highlanders is beyond all praise. To receive cavalry in line in the way they did, merely wheeling backward one company on their right flank *en potence*,[a] to hold back their fire to the decisive moment, and then deliver it with such deadly steadiness, is a feat which very few troops can perform, and which shows in them the highest qualities required in the infantry soldier. The Austrians and the British may be considered the only troops with whom such an experiment can be pretty safely tried; perhaps, also, with *some* Russian troops, for their length of service qualifies them for such a task, although we do not recollect them having ever been put to the test and stood it.

The superiority of the British and French cavalry over the Russian is incontestably proved by this action. The three brigades

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[a] T-shaped.—*Ed.*

of the allies were about the same strength as the three regiments of the Russians; and had they been sent to the charge simultaneously instead of one after the other, and supported by artillery driving up, and the whole line of infantry moving onward, Liprandi and his troops were in great danger of being thrown down the steep descent toward the Chernaya, and meeting with the fate Blücher prepared for the French at the Katzbach.[384]

The strength of the two armies may be thus computed: The Russians had 25 battalions, which mostly had been engaged at the Alma, cannot have counted more than 14,000 men at the very outside. Cavalry, 24 squadrons, having mostly marched all the way from Moscow and Kaluga, certainly not above 2,400 men; besides about 1,000 Cossacks. Artillery, 70 guns.

The allies had of infantry the greater part of the first and fourth British divisions, and of Bosquet's French division; besides them an uncertain number of Turks, which we can only come at by computing the number of Turkish battalions landed. There were ten Turkish battalions with the expedition from the first, and according to Lord Raglan's dispatch of 18th October, six more battalions were landed at Balaklava.[a] As they were not employed on the siege, nor moved far from Balaklava, all these Turks must have been present there; although, after their retreat from the redoubts, they were no longer mentioned in the dispatches and not considered worth mentioning. Thus we shall be pretty near the fact, if we take the British at about 6,500, the French at about 3,500, and the Turks at 6,000 at least. Besides, there were about 1,000 British marines and sailors in the redoubts around Balaklava. Total infantry, 17,000; or, if the Turks count for nothing, 11,000. Of cavalry, the two British brigades amounted to about 1,400 (in the British reports rank and file only are counted); the Chasseurs d'Afrique at least 800; total, 2,200. Artillery, unknown, but inferior to the Russian in number, though far superior in quality.

Take it all in all, we consider that on this occasion the allies were at least as strong as the Russians, had the advantage of strong positions to fall back upon, and might have, by a bold attack, cavalry and infantry combined, gained a decisive victory—not like the one of the Alma, which had no results, but a victory which would have saved them the trouble of fighting that murderous battle on the 5th of November. As it was, they did not even retrieve the disadvantages which they had suffered, and by that

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21897, November 13, 1854.—*Ed.*

curious mixture of over-daring and over-caution, of misplaced dash and misplaced timidity, of military fury not heeding the rules of the art, and of scientific disquisitions, letting slip the moment for action — by that singular way of doing always the wrong thing at the wrong moment, which has signalized all the doings of the allies, the battle of Balaklava was fairly lost to them.

From the battle of the 5th November, we can up to the present only draw the conclusion that it was the beginning of that crisis which we thought would occur from the 5th to the 10th. As we said long since,[a] as *The London Times* now says too[b]—it is merely a question of supplies and reenforcements.

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[a] See this volume, p. 496.—*Ed.*
[b] *The Times*, No. 21900, November 16, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE BATTLE OF INKERMAN[385]

This sanguinary battle took place on the 5th of November, and yet it was not till the 23d that the reports of the allied commanders and of the correspondents of the leading journals reached London. Very brief accounts of the affair were brought to this country by the two recent steamers, but nothing in sufficient detail to enable us to form any satisfactory judgment on the features of the struggle. To-day, however, the mails of the *Pacific* enable us to furnish the most complete accounts of the whole, including the dispatches of Raglan, Canrobert and Menchikoff, with the very excellent and spirited letters of the special correspondents of *The London Times*[a] and *The Morning Herald*, both of which journals are served on the spot by writers of distinguished ability. With all these, and other documents at hand, we proceed to analyze the story of the battle, with a view to enable our readers to arrive at an impartial and intelligent opinion concerning it.

Like the Prussians at Jena,[386] the British forces facing toward Inkerman were stationed on a range of hights accessible in front by a few defiles only. Like the Prussians, the British had altogether neglected to occupy an elevation on their extreme left, on which, like Napoleon at Jena, Menchikoff threw a portion of his army—there establishing himself upon the flank of the enemy before daybreak. The intention of the Russians was evidently to profit by this circumstance in order to bring the mass of their troops to bear upon the flank of the British, to deploy upon the

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[a] *The Times*, Nos. 21906 and 21907, November 23 and 24, 1854.—*Ed.*

# CRIMEAN THEATRE OF WAR, 1854

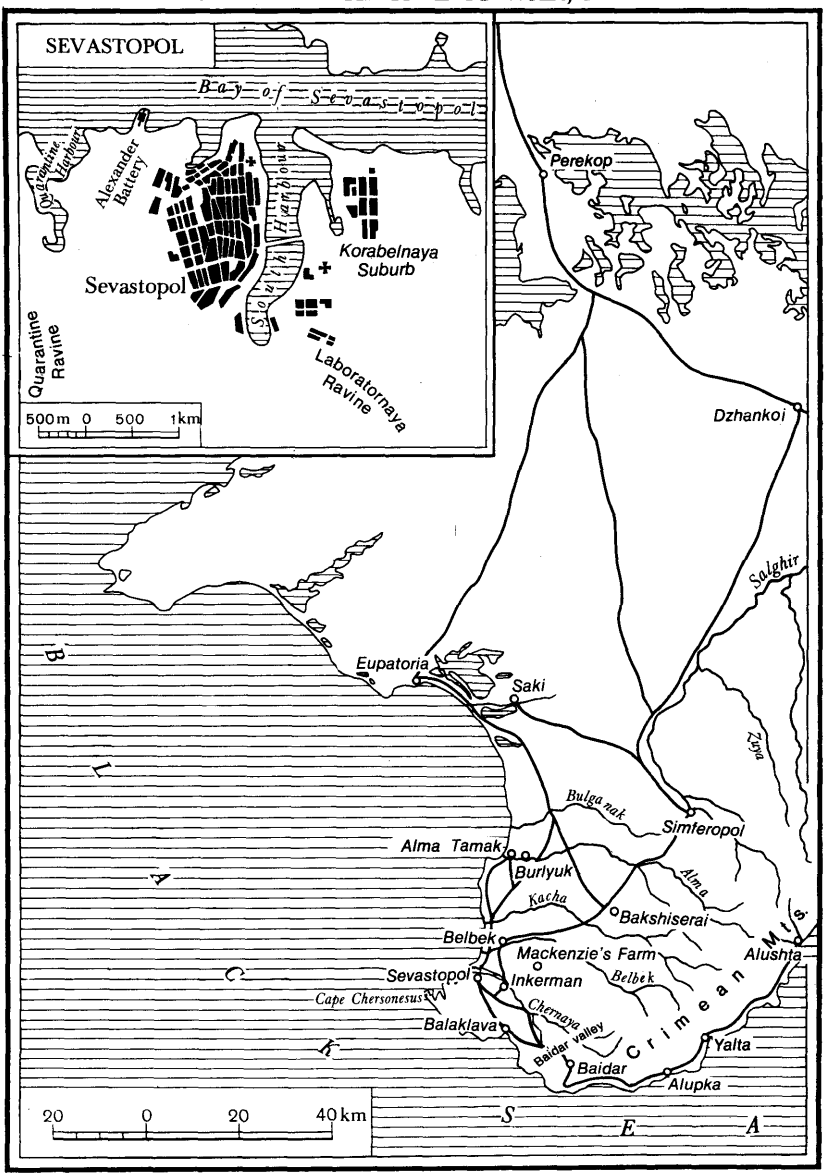

hights thus secured, and crush the British divisions as they came up singly during the fatal but inevitable maneuver of changing their front, or to "roll them up," as it is technically called. To this maneuver Napoleon owed his brilliant success over an army which, though clumsy, slow, and badly commanded, was yet at that time the best of the old continental armies. The rapidity of his movements, executed with troops versed in the new mode of warfare introduced by the American war of independence, by the French revolutionary wars, and by Napoleon himself, favored this bold stroke. Here, at Inkerman, it was with slow and clumsy troops that Menchikoff attempted this same surprise upon the active and quick-moving troops of the British and French; and the result was accordingly the opposite of that at Jena.

The negligence shown by the British in the manner of occupying their positions is utterly disgraceful to their commander. There is no excuse, either for the non-occupation of the knoll on the south side of [the] Chernaya, or for the absence of field-works in this important position, for the attack of which, as he well knew, many thousand Russians were concentrating. The Russians, as we have said, profited by this neglect at once, by occupying the knoll on the north end of the range, forcing the British position with heavy field artillery. The British papers say the Russians had 24- and 32-pounders in the field, but this only shows their utter ignorance of artillery matters. The transport of their own artillery from Balaklava to the trenches should have shown them that 24- and 32-pounders cannot be taken into the field, much less into a night surprise. The fact is, what they call 24- and 32-pounders were howitzers, having a caliber similar to that of the 24- and 32-pound gun, but in fact light field guns, not heavier than the British field-howitzers. The howitzer, throwing a hollow projectile with a small charge, and obtaining range by elevation chiefly, can be made of a larger bore than the cannon for solid shot. The 24-pound howitzer corresponds in weight and effect to the 6-pound gun, and the so-called 32-pound (about 6-inch) howitzers to 12-pounders; these howitzers are attached in the Russian service to the batteries of these calibers. This shows how ignorance and national vanity unite in manufacturing heroes and enhancing the glory of a nation's arms.

So far, everything went in favor of the Russians. Their generalship had proved far superior to that of Lord Raglan. Their plan was excellent, and in a fair way of execution. A pivot had been secured, and the enemy's flank was turned. Immense superiority of numbers, ready to attack the long and weak line of

the British at its weakest point, appeared to be a guarantee of final success. But the Russians did not yet fully know the soldiers they had to deal with. The British, surprised as they were, coolly changed their front from east to north, and met the assailing columns with a deadly fire. And now a fight began such as has not occurred in Europe since the day of Albuera,[387] as at Albuera the stubborn bravery of the British troops had to regain, with the blood of three-fourths of their number, a battle already lost by the presumptuous stupidity of their commander.[a] It is a fact that at Inkerman there was more actual bayonet-fighting than in the whole Peninsular war, where the two bravest armies of their time combated each other for six years. From half-past six to half-past nine about 8,000 British stood the shock of a Russian army, which, according to the Russians' own statement, had at least 30,000 men engaged. The firmness with which they again and again repulsed the Russian attacks, made often with fresh troops, is above all praise, and it is doubtful whether any other troops in Europe, except the best battalions of Radetzky's army, could have done the same. This bravery, it must be said, was aided by the nature of the position. The front, toward the east, was established on hights so abrupt that they could not be forced. The knoll to the north, occupied by the Russians, was also separated from these hights by a couple of ravines, forming so many defiles leading to the English position. Every advancing column of the Russians was, therefore, exposed to the full plowing fire of the British artillery, and had to advance in close order up to the top of the hights before it could deploy. Weakened by the fire of the artillery, and, when nearer, of the musketry, the Russian columns arrived on the crest, and, before they could deploy into line, a discharge and a rush with the bayonet threw them down again. It was found, in this fight, that, at close distances, the Minié bullet has an immense superiority over the common musket bullet, whose force of penetration is barely sufficient to kill one man, while a Minié bullet often killed four or five, and had a telling effect upon the deep Russian columns.

As the British divisions came up, the fight became general, and extended upon a longer front. The Russians, unable to make much headway, attacked the original front of the British position with their left, while their right tried to penetrate toward Sevastopol. They succeeded, partly, in establishing themselves on the British hights, without, however, being able to form a regular

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[a] Beresford.— *Ed.*

line of battle. They tried to surround, and cut up, one by one, the separate small bodies of British troops. Though the struggle was hard, and the British fought wonderfully, yet they would have been crushed in this unequal contest, had not the French division of Bosquet come up. The Zouaves and the Foreign Legion charged the Russian left flank, and completely rolled it up, while the Chasseurs d'Afrique found an occasion to charge, and the Russian infantry had to retire. Thus, fourteen thousand allies, with a loss of one-third of their number, defeated thirty thousand Russians, and yet it is acknowledged that the Russians, individually, fought very well, while we have seen that their generalship, as far as the plan of attack was concerned, was far superior to that of the allies.

How, then, were they beaten? It must be said that most of the troops engaged were the broken and dispirited remnants of the besiegers of Silistria, and it is certain that Dannenberg's corps, next to Osten-Sacken's late corps, is at present the worst in the Russian army. But this was not the decisive circumstance. The battle was lost, next to the bravery of the English, through the essentially Russian way in which it was conducted. It is Russian warfare which has succumbed to European warfare. And this is the characteristic feature of the battle.

The Russian commander[a] begins by drawing up a very good plan of attack, borrowed from one of Napoleon's most celebrated battles (for no Russian General ever had an original thought, not even Suvoroff, whose only originality was that of direct advance). He follows this up by setting about its execution in the very best manner possible. He establishes himself on the enemy's flank. The strategical movement is completed; the tactical performance begins. And here, all at once, the scientific and learned mode of warfare, the work of western civilization, is thrown away, and the pure barbarism breaks forth. This splendid army, with its old troops, many of whom had been twenty-five years under arms, this model of parade-drill, is so clumsy, so incapable of skirmishing and fighting in small bodies, that its officers can do nothing with it but throw its heavy bulk in a single mass upon the enemy. All idea of tactical maneuvering is abandoned; advance, advance, advance, is the only thing that can be done. This dense mass of living flesh was, of course, by its very compactness, the best mark an artilleryman could wish for; and while the thin British lines, lying down behind the crest of the hill, were protected from fire,

[a] Menshikov.— *Ed.*

they plowed up the deep columns with round shot, killing them by thirties and forties at a discharge, and rained a storm of Minié bullets upon them hardly one of which could miss a target of such extent. The mere brute pressure, the weight of this mass was to break the allied lines. But here they found an opponent accustomed to that style of warfare. The British, in their Indian wars, have learned to withstand the shock of dense masses, even if of superior numbers. And, if the Russians are far above the Sikhs or Beloodshis,[a] yet the troops which were accustomed to beat six or eight times their number of Sikhs or Beloodshis might well stand the attack of three times their number of Russians, as soon as the Russians adopted the tactics of the Sikhs. The Russian column, when they arrived on the top of the hill, were already broken and disordered by the fire, and another volley at fifty yards and a charge with the bayonet was sufficient to break them. Afterward, as the Russians came up more numerously, the British, like Napoleon's squares among the Mamelukes, at the Pyramids,[388] stood among the flood of Russians surrounding them. The steadiness of forces having that full confidence in themselves which only the men of a highly civilized nation can possess, and the superiority of the armament and fire of the British, did the rest. The Russians are the worst shots of all known troops, and they showed it here, else they must have laid low every Englishman present.

This was the character, and this is the significance of the battle of Inkerman. It shows that the glories of the Russian infantry are passing away. It shows that whatever progress Russia may make, the West advances at twice her rate, and that she can have no chance with western troops in an even fight, nor even with such odds as she had at Inkerman. But for the disastrous loss of the allied transports in the Black Sea we should say that this battle would be sufficient, without very gross blunders on the part of the English and French generals, to render their final success in the Crimea beyond a doubt. Of that heavy calamity we have as yet no details beyond those of a telegraphic dispatch, from London, received by our agent at Liverpool just before the *Pacific* sailed[389]; we do not know whether the last vessels carried troops or only victuals and munitions, and from the silence of the telegraph we infer that they did not carry troops; but, if the large bodies of troops destined for the Crimea were lost in this storm, then, indeed, the allies have suffered a harder blow from the elements

[a] Baluchis.—*Ed.*

than from the enemy, and their forces before Sevastopol may be destroyed, by disease and harassing attacks, before it can be possible to send them new reenforcements. Another and a no less serious danger menaces them in the very attitude of the German powers. Austria now for the first time seems really inclined to break with the western powers and join the Czar, and all Germany will go with her. At any rate, it cannot be doubted that the moment for the war to swell into more gigantic and terrible proportions, and to wrap all Europe in its flames, is now close at hand.

Written on November 27, 1854

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Frederick Engels

## THE CRIMEAN CAMPAIGN[390]

Since the desperate and sanguinary day of Inkerman, the campaign in the Crimea has been marked by no military event of any importance; but, the advent of winter without the capture of Sevastopol having given a new character to the enterprise, it becomes proper to review the course of events since the landing of the Expedition, in order to determine what are the circumstances and chances amid which it enters upon the new developments that now await it. First, however, we must add a few words to our former observations upon the last memorable battle.[a] With regard to this event, extraordinary confusion and want of perspicacity characterizes the official reports, all of which we have published.[391] Lord Raglan's dispatch was evidently written in a great hurry.[b] Confounding that front of his army toward the Chernaya with that toward Sevastopol, he calls the same flank of his position sometimes the right, sometimes the left, in the same dispatch, so that it is impossible to get a clear idea of the events from this source. Canrobert's dispatch[c] is as diffuse and indefinite as it is short, and therefore quite useless; and whoever compares the so-called Menchikoff dispatch of the *Russian Invalid*[d] with the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 528-35.—*Ed.*

[b] Lord Raglan's dispatch of November 8, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21906, November 23, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] Canrobert's dispatch of November 7, 1854. *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 326, November 22, 1854.—*Ed.*

[d] Menshikov's dispatch on the battle of Inkerman dated November 6, 1854 and published in the *Russian Invalid* (*Русский инвалид*) is given according to *The Times*, No. 21906, November 23, 1854.—*Ed.*

former reports of Prince Menchikoff, must see at a glance that this was not penned by the same man. Nicholas, evidently, has found that he has allowed quite enough of the liberty of the press, and since telling the truth like a gentleman does not prevent his troops from getting beaten, he considers it quite as well to return to the old system of lying. By his Imperial will, the ordinary course of events is altered after the fact, and a defeated attack from his relieving army against the besiegers is changed to a victorious sally from within the town. The reason is evident: The sallying force necessarily retires into its fortifications so soon as the object of the sally is obtained; the retreat thus is explained and made a matter of course; while, if the facts were stated as they actually occurred, the disgrace of the defeat could not be hidden.

And well might Nicholas do his best to hide the circumstances of this battle from his people. Never since the battle of Narva has such disgrace been heaped upon the Russian arms. And, considering the tremendous difference between the Russians of Narva and the Russians of Inkerman, the undrilled hordes of 1700, and the well-drilled army of 1854, the day of Narva must, in comparison, be considered a bright one in Russian military history. Narva was the first grand disaster of a rising nation, whose determined spirit learnt how to conquer by defeat itself. Inkerman almost appears a certain indication of the decay of that hot-house development which Russia has experienced since Peter the Great. The artificial growth and the mere effort to keep up, with a barbarian material, a splendid show of civilization, appears already to have exhausted the nation and inflicted a sort of pulmonary consumption upon it. In all the battles of the present century, from Austerlitz and Eylau[392] down to Silistria, the Russians had shown themselves excellent soldiers. Their defeats, wherever they occurred, could be explained; they left no stain upon the honor of the army, if they did upon the reputation of its generals. But now the matter is completely changed. If Balaklava showed the superiority of the allied cavalry, if the whole of the siege of Sevastopol shows the enormous superiority of the allied artillery over the Russian, still the Russian infantry remained in possession of its high reputation. *Inkerman has settled this point too.* Strange to say, the Russian infantry has forfeited its renown in a battle, in which, perhaps, the individual Russian foot-soldier fought more bravely than ever. The sovereign mediocrity which has been the chief characteristic of all military operations in this war, both on the Russian and the allied side, has never been made more apparent. Every movement, and every step taken, has produced a

result exactly the opposite of what was intended. A *coup de main*[a] is undertaken, and it turns out to involve a campaign—a winter campaign even. A battle is fought, but its gain is only momentary, vanishing in less than a week from the hands of the victors. An open town is assailed with heavy siege artillery; but, before the siege train is brought up, the open town is changed into a fortified camp of the first order. A siege is undertaken; and, when at the point of being successful, it has to be given up, because a relieving army comes up, and is—not victorious, but defeated. A strong position taken up against the relieving army becomes, by the very shortness of its front, the means in the hands of the relieving army to turn the besiegers into the besieged! Thus ten weeks are occupied with a series of efforts, combats, trench-works, plans and counter-plans; winter sets in, and finds both armies—but especially the allies—quite unprepared for the season; and all this with no result but a tremendous loss on both sides, leaving a decision of the campaign as remote and unlikely as ever.

The forces which the allies brought into the Crimea, from the first invasion to the 5th of November, did not exceed 25,000 British, 35,000 French, and 10,000 to 15,000 Turks, or from 70,000 to 75,000 altogether. When the expedition was undertaken, no more reenforcements from England or France were expected; a few battalions and squadrons were on the road, but they are comprised in the above estimate. All the additional forces they might have been able to bring up, at a short notice, must have been Turks; and, in spite of Chetatea and Silistria, neither the allied commanders nor the allied troops have ever shown any confidence in them. The 60,000 French and English were, then, the actually reliable portion of the expedition, and they alone can be counted as really effective. Now, this army was too small for a campaign, and too large for a *coup de main.* It could not be embarked with rapidity; the months employed in preparation were sufficient to put the Russians on their guard; and, if the presence of the Austrians guaranteed the Principalities and Bulgaria from Russian attacks, it also guaranteed Bessarabia and Odessa from *any* serious danger; for, the position of the Austrians being on the flank and rear of either line of operations, neither army could have marched forward without being at their mercy. Thus, the Russians must have been certain that all these preparations were directed against Sevastopol; beside which, the ports of Kherson and Nikolayev, the dock-yards of the Russian fleet, were the only

[a] Sudden attack in force.—*Ed.*

points in any way seriously menaced. Russian preparation in the Crimea was, therefore, sure to follow, step by step, the preparations of the allies. And so they did, until, at last, the contemplated *coup de main* was converted into a regular campaign, conducted, however—as was clear from the way it was commenced—in the most irregular manner.

When, at the Alma, the allies had to allow the Russians to withdraw in perfect order from the field of battle, although attacked by far superior numbers, the first glimpse of the truth burst upon them; the original plan was upset, the *coup* had failed, a new set of eventualities had to be provided for. Vacillation followed; days were lost; the march to Balaklava was at last resolved upon, and the advantages of a strong defensive position overruled the chance of soon obtaining possession of the north side of Sevastopol which commanded the town, and was, therefore, the decisive point. At the same time Menchikoff made similar mistakes by his hasty march to Sevastopol, and his equally hasty counter-march to Bakshiserai. Then followed the siege. Nineteen days elapsed before the batteries of the first parallel could open their fire, and then the advantages remained pretty equally divided. The siege went on with enormous slowness, but not very surely for all that. Hard work in the trenches, arduous outpost duty acting upon men weakened by a climate to which they were not bred, and by a fearful epidemic, thinned the ranks of the allies wonderfully. Their commanders had scarcely reckoned upon the common wear and tear of a campaign—they were taken quite unawares by such extraordinary losses. And the medical and commissariat departments, especially with the British, were totally out of order. Within sight lay the rich valley of Baidar, full of all the supplies most wanted; yet they could not venture into it! They had no hopes of early reenforcements; yet the Russians were coming up from all sides. Then came the affair of the 25th October.[a] The Russians gained the advantage, and one third of the allied cavalry was annihilated. Next followed the battle of the 5th November,[b] where the Russians suffered a repulse, but at a loss to the allies which they could not for a second time afford. Since then, both the Russian relieving army and the allied besiegers have been quiet. The siege of Sevastopol, if carried on at all, is carried on *pro forma*. Nobody will pretend that the lazy, desultory fire which the allies have kept up since the 5th of

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[a] The battle of Balaklava, see this volume, pp. 518-27.—*Ed.*
[b] The battle of Inkerman, see this volume, pp. 528-35.—*Ed.*

November can do any harm to the defenses of the place, or even prevent the Russians from repairing the damage done up to that time. There is no doubt that the siege, if taken up again, will have to be done over afresh, with the only difference that, perhaps, the attacking batteries are brought some hundred yards nearer the place than they were at the first beginning, unless the fire from the town, supported by continuous attacks from Inkerman, should prove superior to that of the allies, and destroy the more advanced batteries.

Here, then, are the allies, in the beginning of December, in a country with cold winters, badly provided with clothing and other materials to enable them to get through the bad season in a passable manner; weak in spite of all reenforcements, arrived or on the way; having lost a vast number of men; entangled in the pursuit of objects and in modes of action which they never intended nor prepared for, and having gained nothing, absolutely nothing, but a consciousness of their individual and tactical superiority over their opponents. Twenty thousand men, chiefly French, must by this time have reenforced them, and more are expected; but if we recollect the difficulties and delays which accompanied the first allied expedition to Turkey—if we recollect, moreover, that almost all the transports used for carrying the first army have been kept back, and that new ships must be found for the divisions now under orders for the East, we must conclude that the army of the Crimea will remain without material increase of strength, for some time after the arrival of the 20,000 men above alluded to. Thus their strength may now be something like 55,000 to 60,000 men, one-third of whom come fresh from comfortable garrison life, and will have to suffer heavily before being inured to the hardships of a winter bivouac under a Crimean sky. In truth, these very reenforcements may prove an incumbrance, instead of an increase of strength, after the disasters encountered by the French and English transports, in the furious tempest of November 13. These disasters, however, cannot be said to belong to that order of fatal and overwhelming accidents, which the best contrived plans are unable to foresee or prevent. The storm of November 13th was a seasonable storm, and seasonable were the disasters that befell the allied fleets. The very date on which the Crimean expedition started, after three months of tedious and inexplicable delays, foreboded storms and wrecks, with losses of ships, crews, men and supplies. The framers of this extraordinary campaign were, moreover, again and again forewarned as to the incidents inseparable from Black Sea

navigation at so advanced a period of the year. They, then, are responsible, even for the misfortunes of November 13, which threaten the allied forces with the fate of Napoleon's army during the Muscovite campaign. *The London Times* estimates the total loss of men, incurred on the 13th, at the various stations of the Crimea, at a thousand, "besides those that have fallen into the hands of the Cossacks."[a] The same journal also tells us that

"the *Prince*, a magnificent new screw steamer, of 2,700 tuns, carried out the other day to Balaklava the 46th Regiment, all the winter clothing for the troops engaged in the siege, including 40,000 great-coats, flannel suits, under-clothing, socks and gloves, beef, pork and other provisions; hospital stores for Scutari; and a vast quantity of shot and shell to carry on the siege. These are wholly lost. The *Resolute*, with 900 tuns of gunpowder, also went to the bottom. Thus, it seems, all the materials for carrying on the siege and providing against the severity of the winter, have been carried off at one fell swoop; and, even if we think to content ourselves with merely maintaining our position on the hights before Sevastopol, it is evident that we are not in condition to stand our worst foe—the coming winter."[b]

Though the Crimea is an almost insulated portion of the Russian Empire, and though the troops brought up against the allies have not been able to dislodge them when only 35,000 strong, yet nobody will venture to say that these 60,000 allies are strong enough to resist all the troops Russia may bring up. The Russians have six divisions of infantry and one reserved division in the Crimea, or about 100 battalions (besides marines and seamen, whom we have not counted on either side). These 100 battalions, one-half of which have made a murderous campaign of eighteen months on the Danube, cannot muster more than 50,000 to 60,000 men; including cavalry, field artillery and Cossacks, the whole Russian force in the field will exceed that of the allies by barely 10,000 to 15,000 men. But if it is true that Lüders's corps, or another 49 battalions of about 20,000 to 25,000 men (for they, too, have left one-third of their number on the Danube), is on the march to Perekop, if some more reserves of the new formations are concentrating in the same direction the opportunity may very soon present itself to the Russians to strike a grand blow; and as superiority, moral, physical, and tactical, only goes a certain way when opposed to superior numbers and about equal generalship, the result may well be considered doubtful. At the same time, if an extraordinarily severe winter should interrupt all operations, the allied armies are avowedly not in a condition to stand it.

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21916, December 5, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid.—*Ed.*

This view of the state of things in the Crimea only justifies the doubt and hesitation with which we have received the announcement that Austria has joined the western powers.[393] Certainly, the circumstances we have detailed are not such as would be likely to seduce the Cabinet of Vienna out of its wonted indecision, while the precarious position of the British Ministry, and the urgent necessity of covering this immense failure in the East by the show of something considerable gained elsewhere, affords an ample reason for exaggerating a small treaty into a grand offensive and defensive alliance. We may be quite wrong in this; but our readers know the reasons for our opinion,[a] and time will show whether this vaunted accession of Austria to the allies is a reality, or a trick specially designed for use at the meeting of Parliament.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 268-71 and 323-25.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## PROGRESS OF THE WAR[394]

The sun of Austerlitz[a] has melted in water. A great battle, as was confidentially announced and believed in Paris, was to be fought before Sevastopol in celebration of the Second of December[395]; but from a dispatch of General Canrobert, of the 3d of December, it appears that

> "rain was falling in torrents, the roads were cut up, the trenches filled with water, and the siege operations—as well as all the works—put in a state of suspense."[b]

The Russians hitherto had the offensive, the Allies the defensive, superiority on the Chernaya; at the walls of Sevastopol it was the reverse. In other words, the Russians were strong enough on the Chernaya to hold the field, but the Allies were not, though able to keep their position; while at Sevastopol the Allies, strong enough to carry on the siege, were so nearly equally matched by the garrison, that the operations, though not stopped from without, yet proceeded with hardly any visible effect. The proportions of force seem about to change, and the Allies appear on the point of becoming strong enough to repulse the Russians from the Chernaya. In that case the Russians can act in two ways, after having lost their position above Inkerman. Either they can go round and take up the intrenched camp about the North Fort, or they can with their main body retreat into the interior, where the Allies cannot follow them far. The Allies can hardly be strong enough before February either to invest the northern camp or

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[a] An allusion to Napoleon I's words before the battle of Borodino: "This is the sun of Austerlitz."—*Ed.*

[b] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 346, December 12, 1854.—*Ed.*

follow a retreating army much further than Bakshiserai. They could scarcely fight a second battle against an army intrenched somewhere about Simferopol. In either case, they would have to fall back on the Chernaya, and thus this game of alternate advance and retreat is likely to be played all the winter over, unless, indeed, Sevastopol, on the south side, succumbs to an assault. But as the news, which we receive by the *Atlantic*,[396] respecting the siege is very meager, we cannot say more on this point than that it is not at all likely. We are, indeed, aware that, according to a dispatch of December 7th, published in the Paris *Moniteur*, and reprinted in the London papers, the allied armies had all of a sudden got the upper hand, and only two days after the deluge, "almost completed the investment of the town."[a] This spurious dispatch was evidently concocted with a view to make amends for the baffled 2d of December prophecy.

A short time ago we gave a statement of the sum total of the Russian army, together with its disposal.[b] We then showed that of these nearly three-quarters of a million soldiers, up to the present time, hardly one-third had been engaged in active operations, and that the far greater portion of the remaining two-thirds were employed to menace Austria. In spite of the reenforcements sent to the Crimea, matters have not been much altered since then; for Dannenberg's corps, the 4th, which marched to the relief of Sevastopol, was withdrawn from the army of the Danube, where it had been previously reenforced. The only essential change in the position of the great Western Army of Russia, as we may call the corps of some 300,000 men concentrated on the Austrian frontier, is a slight extension of its left wing towards Bessarabia, and the Middle Dniester, in which position it is enabled, in case of need, to receive the remnants of the army of the Danube in case of their retreat from Bessarabia. The great Western Army may, besides, have detached a couple of divisions to the Crimea, and a few reenforcements to the Danube, but in the whole its strength is unimpaired, and the march of the 3d division of the Guards from Revel, and of some more reserves, will have made up for these detachments.

The Danubian army, however, may be considered as entirely broken up, and reduced to a mere corps of demonstration, placed in Bessarabia to keep up the appearance of a Russian occupation

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[a] Report from Bucharest of December 11, 1854. *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 347, December 13, 1854, reprinted in *The Times*, No. 21924, December 14, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 498-504.—*Ed.*

as long as possible. By Liprandi's and afterwards Dannenberg's departure, that army was deprived of the whole of the 4th corps (10th, 11th and 12th Divisions), deducting from the remaining five divisions, the 7th, 8th, 9th, 14th, and 15th, the troops necessary for the occupation of the coast, and the garrisons of the fortresses from Bender and Ismail, to Kherson and Nikolayev, and, considering the enormous losses of the two Danubian campaigns, these five divisions could not muster for field operations more than 15,000 men. They are placed near the coast, and wherever there is coast, the Russian defensive, so efficient in the heart of the continent, is lame in the extreme. It has to guard numerous fortresses and dépôts against the attacks of the hostile fleet, and thus it is explained, that of the 30,000 or 35,000 men composing these five divisions not one-half is disposable for the field.

The dissolution of the army of the Danube, like most of the great strategical measures taken by Russia (for the blunders generally commence with the *execution* of them), is a very well-chosen step. Since the Anglo-French have engaged themselves over head and ears in the Crimea, no enemy opposes the Russians on the Danube. Omer Pasha's army, hardly amounting to some 40,000 men after the wear and tear of two campaigns, never made up for, has, by the aid of western diplomacy, been so broken up, as to leave it scarcely sufficient to invest Ismail, much less to detach a corps to cover the siege, or to repel the Russians in the field. Besides, an attack upon Bessarabia, which would have afforded a powerful diversion some months ago, would now lack a definite military object, and, consequently, Omer Pasha's army is now sent to the Crimea. The only force, then, purporting to menace the Russians on the south-west, is now the Austrian army, which, in a force of some 270,000, occupies Galicia, Transylvania and Moldavia. This force must, above all things, be held in check. For, should it declare itself hostile to Russia, Bessarabia, and even the country up to the Bug, would have to be abandoned, and operations have to be conducted either from the offensive basis of the Polish fortresses, or from the defensive basis of Kiev and the Dnieper. In both cases a Danubian army would be cut off, and have to find a base of its own somewhere in the steppes of the South, which is no easy matter, in a country which feeds many horses and sheep, but very few men. On the other hand, should Austria declare for Russia, or turn the points of her neutral bayonets towards the Alps and the Rhine, then the Polish army might either march into Germany as a reserve to the Austrians, after sending a strong corps toward the Danube, or the Austrians

pour in a mass upon the Danube and risk a march to Constantinople. In either case, a separate army on the Danube, stronger than a demonstration corps, was superfluous.

As to the cooperation of Austria in this war, we can, of course, only speak in an altogether hypothetical way. The noisily trumpeted Treaty of Alliance said to have been concluded by her with France and England on the 2d of December, turns out to be but a snare laid for Parliament, as we warned our readers immediately on the announcement of the Treaty.[a]

In the Queen's speech the Treaty is alluded to in these words:

"It is with satisfaction I inform you that, together with the Emperor of the French, I have concluded a treaty with the Emperor of Austria, from which I anticipate important advantages to the common cause;"[b]

but, being hardly pressed by Lord Derby, Aberdeen went the length of declaring:

"We propose only that the House should learn with satisfaction that Her Majesty has made a treaty from which she (viz, old Aberdeen) anticipates important advantages."[c]

This is all the satisfaction he gave. Lord John Russell, in the Lower House, was forced by Mr. Disraeli to advance a step further, and plainly to confess that the boasted Treaty of Alliance means neither a treaty nor an alliance. He avows that it binds Austria to nothing at all, while it forces the Western Powers into an alliance offensive and defensive with Austria, *if* she should choose to declare war on Russia, and obliges them besides to propose to Russia, before the end of the year, conditions of peace on the basis of the famous four points.[d] After all, Austria might then, "without a breach of faith," release herself from the alliance by saying, "at the last moment," she did not concur in the interpretation put on the four points by the Western Powers. The result of Lord John Russell's explanation of the glorious treaty of December 2, was an immediate fall of the funds, both at London and at Paris.

A year ago, the coalition pretended to have allowed the massacre of Sinope to take place in order to obtain the alliance of

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[a] See this volume, p. 542.—*Ed.*

[b] Victoria R. Speech at the opening of Parliament on December 12, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21923, December 13, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] The Earl of Aberdeen's speech in the House of Lords on December 12, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21923, December 13, 1854.—*Ed.*

[d] Lord John Russell's speech in the House of Commons on December 12, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21923, December 13, 1854.—*Ed.*

the German powers. Now, a sham treaty with one of these powers is held out as the equivalent for the loss not of a Turkish fleet, but of a British army. We are even assured by the latest German papers that the opening of the British Parliament has given the signal for the reappearance of the specter of the Vienna Conference, which was about once more to set its cumbrous machinery at work.[397]

However, as Austria, according to Lord John Russell, declares it possible that she may be driven to war with Russia, and as the position taken by the Russian army on the Austrian frontier indicates the same thing, we may suppose, for a moment, that Austria and the rest of Germany, even including Prussia, are to join the Western Powers. How far would Russia be prepared to meet such an eventuality?

If in 1812 the Continental force launched against Russia was far weaker than that which she may perhaps see on her frontiers in April or May; if then England was her ally instead of her foe, Russia may console herself with the reflection that the more numerous the armies are which penetrate into her interior, the more chance is there of their speedy destruction, and that, on the other hand, she has now three times the troops under arms which she had then.

Not that we think "Holy Russia" unassailable. On the contrary, Austria alone we consider fully her equal as to military resources, while Austria and Prussia united, are quite able, if merely military chances are taken into account, to force her to an ignominious peace. Any forty millions of men, concentrated upon a country of the size of Germany proper, will be able to cope successfully with the scattered sixty millions of Russian subjects. The strategy of an attack upon Russia from the west has been clearly enough defined by Napoleon, and had he not been forced by circumstances of a non-strategic nature to deviate from his plan, Russia's supremacy and integrity were seriously menaced in 1812. That plan was to advance to the Dvina and the Dnieper, to organize a defensive position, both as to fortifications, dépôts and communications, to take her fortresses on the Dvina, and to delay the march to Moscow, until the spring of 1813. He was induced to abandon this plan, late in the season, from political reasons, from the outcry of his officers against winter quarters in Lithuania, and from a blind faith in his invincibility. He marched to Moscow, and the result is known. The disaster was immensely aggravated by the mal-administration of the French Commissariat, and by the want of warm clothing for the soldiers. Had these things been better

attended to, Napoleon, on his retreat, might have found himself at Wilna at the head of an army twice in numbers that which Russia could oppose to him. His errors are before us; they are none of them of a nature irremediable: the fact of his penetrating to Moscow, the march of Charles XII to Poltava, prove that the country is accessible, though difficult of access; and as to maintaining a victorious army in its heart, that all depends upon the length of the line of operations, on the distance and the security of the bases. Napoleon's line of operations from the Rhine to Aylau and Friedland, if we consider long lines of operations in their capacity of drawbacks upon the active force of an army, will be about equal to a line of operations from Brest Litovski (supposing the Polish fortresses to be taken in the first year) to Moscow. And in this supposition no account is taken of the circumstance that the immediate base of operations would have been advanced to Vitebsk, Mogilev and Smolensk, without which preparatory act a march on Moscow would certainly be hazardous.

Russia is certainly thinly populated; but we must not forget that the central provinces—the very heart of Russian nationality and strength—have a population equal to that of central Europe. In Poland—that is, the five governments constituting the Russian kingdom of Poland—the average is about the same. The most populous districts of Russia—Moscow, Tula, Riasan, Nijni-Novgorod, Kaluga, Yaroslaf, Smolensk, &c.—are the very heart of Great Russia, and form a compact body; they are continued, in the south, by the equally populous Little Russian Provinces of Kiev, Poltava, Chernigov, Voronezh, &c. There are, in all, 29 Provinces or Governments, in which the population is quite half as dense as that of Germany. It is only the eastern and northern Provinces, and the steppes of the south, where population is very thin; partly also the formerly Polish Provinces of the west—Minsk, Mogilev and Grodno—on account of extensive swamps between the (Polish) Bug and Dniester. But an advancing army, having in its rear the corn-producing plains of Poland, Volhynia and Podolia, and in front, and for its theater of operations, those of Central Russia, need not be afraid of its subsistence, if it manages the matter anything like well, and if it learns from the Russians themselves how to employ the means of transport of the country. As for a devastation of all resources by the retreating army, as in 1812, such a thing is only possible on one line of operations, and in its immediate vicinity; and if Napoleon had not, by his hurried advance from Smolensk, tied himself down to a very short time in which to complete his campaign, he would have found plenty of

resources around him. But being in a hurry, he could not forage out the country at a short distance from his line of march, and his foraging parties, at that time, appear actually to have been afraid of penetrating far into the immense pine forests which separate village from village. An army which can detach strong cavalry parties to hunt up provisions, and the numerous carts and wagons of the country, can easily provide itself with everything necessary in the shape of food; and it is not likely that Moscow will burn down a second time. But even in that case, a retreat to Smolensk cannot be prevented, and there the army would find its well-prepared base of operation provided with every necessary.

But not only military questions are to be decided. Such a war must be brought to a close by political action too. It is possible that the declaration of Germany against Russia would be the signal for the restoration of Poland by Russia herself. Nicholas would certainly not part with the Lithuanian and other West-Russian provinces; but the kingdom of Poland, Galicia, Posen, and perhaps West and East Prussia, would form a pretty good-sized kingdom. Whether such a revival of Poland would be durable, who can tell? One thing is certain: it would put an end to what is hollow in the enthusiasm for Poland, which, for the last forty years, has been affected by everybody and anybody calling himself liberal or progressive. A Russian appeal to Hungary would be sure to follow; and, if the Magyars should demur, we must not forget that two-thirds of the population of Hungary consists of Slavs, who consider the Magyars as a ruling and intruding aristocracy. On the other hand, Austria would, in such a case, not hesitate to restore the ancient Hungarian Constitution, thus aiming to blot Hungary out of the map of revolutionary Europe.

This suffices to show what a wide perspective of military and political interest would be opened by the accession of Austria to the western alliance, and a chance of a war of all Europe against Russia. On the contrary supposition, the spring is likely to see a million and a half of soldiers arrayed against the Western Powers, and an Austro-Prussian army marching on the French frontiers. And then the management of the war is sure to be taken out of the hands of its present leaders.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE MILITARY POWER OF AUSTRIA[398]

It is a curious fact that the English press, which, for the last six months, has busied itself with nothing but the position of Austria, should never have given us any positive information about the real military force which Austria can throw into the scale the moment she may choose to follow a definite line of policy. The London daily journals have been divided upon the question whether the Austrian alliance or an open rupture with Austria was the preferable thing. But these journals, which represent the public opinion of a nation priding itself upon being the most businesslike in the world, have never condescended to enter into those details and statistics which, not only in trade and political economy, but also in national policy, form the ground-work of every measure intelligently adopted. In truth, the British press would seem to be conducted by gentlemen who are as ignorant in their line of business as those British officers who think they are doing all their duty when they buy a commission.[a] One paper says the Austrian alliance must be cultivated at all hazards and under all circumstances, because Austria is an immense military power. Another says the Austrian alliance is worse than useless, because all her energies are required to keep in check Hungary, Poland and Italy. What the real military forces of Austria are, neither the one nor the other ever trouble themselves to know.

The Austrian army, though managed up to 1849 according to a cumbrous and old-fashioned system, was entirely remodeled in that year. The defeats in Hungary had as great a part in it as the victories in Italy. The Administration was freed from old traditional hindrances. The army, employed in a country where

[a] See this volume, p. 210.—*Ed.*

revolution in the capital and civil war in the provinces had only just been subdued, was organized on a regular war footing. The distribution of the army into permanent brigades, divisions, and corps, as it existed under Napoleon, and as it exists now in the Russian active army, was introduced with success. The 77 regiments of infantry, beside riflemen, and 40 regiments of cavalry, which had been split up during both the Italian and Hungarian campaigns, not only battalions of the same regiment, but even companies of the same battalions being employed partly in Hungary and partly in Italy at the same time—were now reunited and brigaded in such a manner as to prevent any similar disorder and to insure the regular course of regimental administration. According to this new plan, the Austrian force is divided into four armies, composed of twelve corps d'armée and two corps of cavalry. Every army is not only complete in the three arms, but provided with a perfectly independent administrative staff, and the material to insure its immediate readiness for action. The first army—lst, 2d, and 9th army corps—generally occupies the German provinces of the Empire; the second army—5th, 6th, 7th and 8th army corps, and 2d cavalry corps, and the third army—10th, 11th and 12th army-corps, and lst cavalry corps—generally occupy the Hungarian and Slavonic provinces; while the fourth army, consisting only of the 4th army corps, occupies Italy.

Every army corps consists of from two to three divisions of infantry, one or two brigades of cavalry, four batteries of reserve artillery, and the necessary detachments of pontoniers, train-commissariat, and medical officers. A cavalry corps consists of two divisions, equal to four brigades, or eight regiments of cavalry, with a corresponding number of light batteries. An infantry division consists of two brigades of five battalions, with one foot battery each, and from two to four squadrons of cavalry.

The whole force thus distributed consists, as we have stated above, of seventy-seven regiments of infantry, beside riflemen, forty regiments of cavalry, and fourteen regiments of field-artillery, beside garrison-artillery, engineers, sappers, etc. The infantry is composed of sixty-two regiments of the line, fourteen regiments of frontier infantry, and one regiment and twenty-five battalions of riflemen. A regiment of the line consists of five active and one dépôt battalions, or of twenty-eight active and four dépôt companies. The active company numbers two hundred and twenty men, the dépôt company one hundred and thirty. A regiment of the line, consequently, is expected to number, in its five active battalions, 5,964 men, or, for 62 regiments, inclusive of dépôts,

369,800 men. The frontier infantry, counting fourteen regiments, has two active and one reserve battalions to each regiment, equal to twelve active and four reserve companies. The active company has the strength of 242 men, inclusive of 22 riflemen. A frontier regiment, therefore, numbers 3,850 men, and the whole of the fourteen regiments numbers 55,200. The rifle-force, or Jägers, consists of one regiment of seven battalions—32 companies, inclusive of dépôt; and 25 battalions—125 companies, inclusive of dépôts; every company numbering 202 men, making the entire rifle-force 32,500. The total is thus 470,000 men.

The Austrian cavalry consists of 16 heavy regiments (8 cuirassiers and 8 dragoons) and 24 light regiments (12 hussars and 12 lancers). In the arm of cavalry, the different nationalities composing the Austrian Empire have each been used, very properly, according to their distinctive capabilities. The cuirassiers and dragoons are almost exclusively Germans and Bohemians; the hussars are all Hungarians, and the lancers are all Poles. In the infantry a similar distinction could hardly be kept up with any profit. As a general rule, the Germans and Hungarians form the élite battalions of grenadiers, while the Tyrolese (German and Italian) and the Styrians generally furnish the riflemen; and the great majority of the frontier infantry is composed of Croats and Servians, who are equally well adapted to the duties of light infantry.

The heavy cavalry counts six active squadrons and one dépôt squadron to each regiment—the squadron numbering 194 men. The light cavalry counts eight active and one dépôt squadron to each regiment, with 227 men to each squadron. The entire active cavalry force is 62,500, without dépôts, and 67,000 men, including dépôts.

The artillery consists of twelve field regiments, one coast regiment, and one rocket regiment. The Austrians have no horse-artillery. In what they call cavalry-artillery, the men serving the guns are transported on the carriages. Every field regiment has four cavalry batteries (six-pounders) and seven foot batteries (four six-pounders and three twelve-pounders), beside reserve companies. Every battery has eight guns. The coast regiment has no permanent batteries, but is only divided into battalions and companies, and employed for garrisoning the coast defenses. The rocket regiment has 18 batteries, of eight tubes each. The total of Austrian artillery is thus seen to be 1,056 guns and 144 rocket-tubes. The artillery has, besides, eight battalions of garrison artillery, of about 10,400 men, with technical detachments consisting of 4,500 men. The engineering troops number about 16,700 men.

Beside these active, reserve and garrison troops, Austria possesses separate corps organized for special service, who, although not available as active combatants, prevent a reduction of the active force by those drafts of men which very often reduce battalions to companies, and regiments of cavalry to squadrons. There are three sanitary battalions, train-troops, and with every army corps a detachment of cavalry to do duty as orderlies. The latter institution has just been introduced into the English army, by the formation of the Mounted Staff Corps. The whole Austrian army counts altogether something like 476,000 men, and 1,140 guns of active troops; including dépôts, technical troops, staff, garrison and police troops (gendarmes), they count about 620,000.

The Austrian soldier serves eight years, remaining for two years more in the reserve. By this arrangement a reserve is kept available, which, in the case of war, can be called out to the strength of about 120,000 men. In the military frontier every *Grenzer*[399] has to serve from his twentieth to his fiftieth year. Thus the active force of 55,000 frontier infantry can be increased up to 150,000 or 200,000 men. During the year of 1849 there were at least 150,000 of them under arms. But at that time the military frontier was so deserted that the women had to do all the work of husbandry.

The sum total of these details, for the correctness of which we can vouch, shows that the military organization of Austria allows her to take the field, at once, with a force of 600,000 men, of whom 300,000, at the utmost, may be made available on any given point; and, at the same time, a reserve of about 200,000 veteran soldiers may be called out, without the necessity of any extra recruiting, or extra strain upon the productive forces of the country.

The Russian army is organized upon a footing which allows of far greater numbers being admitted into its framework. The population of Russia is 60,000,000 to Austria's 40,000,000; yet, we have seen that Austria, by merely calling in the reserves, can increase her army beyond 800,000; while Russia, in order to attain the same number, has been obliged not only to call in the reserves, but also to recruit fresh troops, at a ratio equal to four years' regular conscription.

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# Karl Marx

## IN RETROSPECT[400]

### I

*London*, December 29.

"The meeting between Count Buol, M. de Bourqueney and Prince Gorchakov at the home of the Earl of Westmorland, the English Ambassador in Vienna, was solely intended to give the Emperor of Russia the *desired* information as to the meaning of the Triple Alliance of December 2,[401] and as to the conditions under which the three big powers would be ready to open peace negotiations on the basis of the Four Points.[a] Prince Gorchakov immediately reported to Petersburg on the information received. The Tsar must accept or reject the preliminary conditions within the next few days. A decisive turning-point will mark the beginning of the new year."

Thus *The Morning Post*, Lord Palmerston's private *moniteur*,

"The Viennese negotiations," says the Tory *Press*, "are designed to give Austria a new opportunity to postpone its definitive statement to the Western powers on the date fixed in the Agreement of December 2."

It may be a decisive fact that, while politicians are discussing the new Vienna Conference[402] with ponderous political wisdom in the leading articles of both daily and weekly press, businessmen are bluntly calling it a "farce" in the stock-exchange columns of the same papers. Thus, for instance, the businessman in the money article[b] of today's *Morning Post*. Indeed the event at Vienna seemed to be a matter of such indifference to the London Stock Exchange that its publication gave neither bears nor bulls,[403] neither pessimists nor optimists of the stock exchange[b] cause for any action of the least significance. Minor fluctuations in quotations of Government securities during the past three days

[a] See this volume, pp. 579-84.— *Ed.*
[b] Marx used the English term.— *Ed.*

were connected not with Vienna diplomacy but with the Paris budget. It is supposed that English capitalists will have a share in the new Paris loan of 500 million francs, and will thus bring about a contraction of the money market which, moreover, looks increasingly dubious, as a result of the repercussions of the North American crisis (*a crisis more important in dimension than that of 1837*), the latest unfavourable business news from East India, the rising prices of grain, and several unexpectedly heavy bankruptcies in London and Liverpool. Illusions of peace prevail, in any case, on the part of the English Ministry, if not of the Tsar of Russia. It was the oligarchy that led the English people into the great war with France which began in the last century. It was the people that forced the English oligarchy into the current war with Russia. The reluctance of the oligarchy to conduct this war, which was forced upon it, is clearly visible in all its diplomatic, military and financial operations. Even the latest measure of the Ministry—the law concerning the recruiting of a foreign legion[404]—was, above all, designed to make the English "*dislike*" the war. There can be no question of the recruiting pool being exhausted in a country from where more than 100,000 able-bodied men emigrate annually without that emigration having a more than temporary effect on the wage level. And there was just as little question of providing an exceptional and sudden supply of auxiliary troops, since the ministerial measure is not calculated to help either suddenly or by way of exception. The Militia Bill passed in May empowered the Ministry to call up 80,000 soldiers in England and Wales alone, and the result has shown that a full quarter of the volunteers in all regiments called up in the spring opted for active service, yet up to the beginning of this month the Government had mobilised only eighteen militia regiments (approximately 13,500 men). It is well known that Englishmen have always protested against the introduction of foreign mercenaries into Great Britain—they have done so at the time of Charles I, under William III, under the early Georges,[a] and finally, during the great anti-Jacobin war. But it is new and unheard-of in English history for the use of foreign mercenaries outside English territory to arouse a storm of indignation. This very fact proves how *wholly different the character* of the present war is from all former English wars, as far as they belong to modern times. The ruling aristocracy is therefore deliberately conjuring up the spectre of the past, the long-standing practice of its agents, whereby soldiers would be bought in the

[a] George I and George II.—*Ed.*

*cheapest* market. It does this—as Sidney Herbert *admitted* in the House of Commons—without being in any way convinced of the *success* of the proposed measure.[a] It does this therefore not to wage war, but to prepare for peace. Today, in order to create an adequate *English* army, the Government would be compelled to increase pay, abolish corporal punishment, hold out the prospect of advancement from the ranks, in brief, to democratise the army and to transform it from its own property into the property of the nation. Up to now, says today's *Times*,

"in war, and in peace, the army is only a Government organ for the advancement of the aristocracy and the support of the Ministry."[b]

And here we come to the crucial point. For the English aristocracy *war with Russia* is equivalent to the *loss of its monopoly of government*. Forced since 1830 to conduct its internal policy exclusively in the interests of the industrial and commercial middle classes, the English aristocracy has nevertheless retained possession of all government posts, because it has retained the monopoly of *foreign* policy and of the army.

This monopoly, however, has remained secure only as long as there was no people's war—and such a war was possible *only against Russia*—which would make foreign policy the concern of the people. The whole of English diplomacy from 1830 to 1854, therefore, can be reduced to the one principle: to avoid war with Russia at *all* costs. Hence the continual concessions which have been made to Russia in Turkey, in Persia, in Afghanistan, in Denmark, and, indeed, everywhere in the world, for the past twenty-four years. That the aristocracy has calculated correctly is proved by the actual facts. War with Russia has hardly broken out when even *The Times* declares:

"The aristocracy is incapable of conducting our wars. The oligarchic state machinery stands in the sharpest contradiction to our social machinery."

## II

*London*, January 1.

"Under the pressure of the present war our military departments [...] have completely broken down."[c]

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[a] Sidney Herbert's speech in the House of Commons on December 19, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21929, December 20, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times*, No. 21938, December 30, 1854, leader.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Times*, No. 21939, January 1, 1855, leader.—*Ed.*

Thus today's *Times*. Indeed, if one considers the organisation of the military administration, or any other official administration in this country, it would seem as though it had been intended to serve as a concrete example of the so-called principle of the constitutional balance of power. The different authorities have been co-ordinated in such a way that they keep each other completely in check, and the entire machinery is therefore bound to grind to a halt. That is why, during the present war, it was possible for the wounded soldiers to be at Balaklava, the military surgeons at Constantinople and medical supplies at Scutari. Hence the revolt of the Crimean army against a system which sacrifices it; for must we not call it a revolt when all ranks, from colonel down to private, commit breaches of discipline, writing thousands of letters to the London press every week and appealing to public opinion against their superiors? However, Lord Raglan is unjustly made responsible for a state of affairs which is conditioned by the system. What he is responsible for is military leadership.

Casting a retrospective glance at the Crimean campaign, we find that Lord Raglan made his first mistake during the battle of the Alma by ordering that the Russian army's left wing, which was covered by the sea, should be outflanked instead of its right. By the latter operation, one section of the Russians would have been pushed towards the sea and the other towards the North Fort, whereas now they have, in fact, been flung on Simferopol, i.e. on the line of retreat most favourable to them. While during the battle of the Alma the Allies took the bull by the horns to no purpose whatever, they shrank from taking that step when circumstances demanded it. The famous "outflanking march to Balaklava" was the abandonment of an attack on the northern front of the fortress; this front, however, is the commanding, and therefore the crucial, point; the North Fort is the key to Sevastopol. Thus the Allies gave up the bolder, and therefore in fact the safer, offensive in order to secure a strong defensive position.

The same mistake was made by Omer Pasha when he entrenched himself near Kalafat instead of marching from Oltenitza on Bucharest, breaking through the enemy's extended lines. Then came the siege of Sevastopol, proving, at any rate, that as a result of a long peace the art of war has deteriorated to the same degree as, thanks to industrial development, war materials have improved. Never before has there been a war where simple earthworks have played so important a role. It was at Oltenitza that the Russians first had recourse, albeit unsuccessfully, to the

old system of bombarding them for several hours before making an assault. At Kalafat, earthworks which they did not dare attack kept the Russians in check. At Silistria, a half-demolished earthwork frustrated all the efforts of the Russian army, and now, at Sevastopol, a line of earthworks was favoured by more extensive assault batteries and heavy artillery than had ever before been used against a regular fortress. However, even before the siege-train had been set up, the open city had been transformed into a first-rate fortified camp. It is known that in the battle of Balaklava, on October 25, the English cavalry had been sacrificed against all rhyme and reason and contrary to all accepted rules. Finally, we come to the battle of Inkerman, the most important military event of this campaign. Like the Prussians at Jena, British troops before Inkerman were drawn up on a number of hillocks which, at the front, were accessible only through a few defiles. Like the Prussians, the British had neglected to occupy a hillock on their extreme left wing, and it was there that, like Napoleon at Jena,[405] Menshikov at Inkerman flung a part of his army, thus establishing himself in the enemy flank before daybreak. The Russians, never given to original ideas, borrowed Napoleon's plan of operation, but, as soon as the strategic movement was completed and the tactical performance had to begin, the mask of Western civilisation was dropped and the Tartar emerged. This magnificent Russian army with its old soldiers—many of them of twenty-five years' standing—these models of parade-ground drill, shows itself so clumsy, so ponderous, so incapable of skirmishing and fighting in small units, that its officers can think of nothing better to do with it than to fling its heavy mass at the enemy in one fell swoop. The sheer brutal pressure of this mass was meant to break the thin ranks of the British, while on the one hand these deep columns of human flesh ensured the unfailing and devastating effect of the English rifles[a] and artillery, and on the other hand, where an overwhelming number of Russians made bayonet attacks, the British received them with the same superiority as Napoleon's squares received the Mamelukes in the battle of the Pyramids.[406] Fourteen thousand Allied soldiers, with a loss of one-third of their total strength, defeated 30,000 Russians, although it is acknowledged that individually the Russians fought valiantly, and that their plan of attack was superior to that of the Allies. Never since the battle of Narva has such a disaster befallen Russian arms. And if we consider the extraordinary difference

[a] Marx used the English word.—*Ed.*

between the Russians of Narva and the Russians of Inkerman, between the half-savage hordes of 1700 and the well-drilled army of 1854, the day of Narva seems brilliant compared to that of Inkerman. Narva was the first great disaster of a rising nation which knew how to turn even defeats into means of victory. Inkerman appears almost as the certain indication of a decline in that hot-house development which Russia had undergone since Peter the Great. The artificially accelerated growth, and the tremendous effort of maintaining with semi-barbaric means the semblance of a brilliant civilisation seem to have already exhausted the nation and to have inflicted upon it some kind of consumption. The battle of Inkerman is for the Russian infantry what the battle of Rocroi was for the Spanish infantry.[407]

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# Karl Marx

## THE PRESS AND THE MILITARY SYSTEM

*London*, January 3. A correspondent of *The Times* writes from the encampment at Sevastopol:

"It is said that the Emperor Nicholas engages to send all that are left of us in the spring away in a *single* line-of-battle ship."[a]

There follows a graphic description of the mortality, distress, disorder and disintegration prevailing in the English camp. Today this state of affairs provides almost the exclusive subject for the leading articles in London's daily press.

"The British army," says *The Times*, "is found to be no army at all in the general military sense of the word. It is a mob of brave men, not more than a mob, and rather less, inasmuch as it is evidently commanded by those who should not command it, and so deprived of its rude natural efficiency.... The command of the British army before Sevastopol is worse than a mere name... it is deliberately asserted by officers of distinction that the army might just as well be commanded by its sergeants as by the men who pretend to command it. We are aware that it is a painful act to supersede brave and loyal men, full of honours and years."[b]

However, *à la guerre comme à la guerre.*

"If there ever was a Ministry that had its path open for such a measure it is the present."

Why?

"Because it put off the war as long as it could," that is why the "Government surely has the game in its own hands, and is bound by no respect of persons."

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[a] Letter of a British army officer from the encampment at Sevastopol dated December 12, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21941, January 3, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times*, No. 21941, January 3, 1855, leader.—*Ed.*

Well roared, lion![a] It is because the present Ministry is conducting the war with Russia against its own will that mistakes in the conduct of the war cannot be ascribed to it, but must be blamed on the commanding general, and the public must understand that it is not the Ministry that stands in Lord Raglan's way, but Lord Raglan who stands in the way of the Ministry.

While *The Times* thus attacks Lord Raglan in order to shield the Ministry, *The Morning Chronicle*, the Peelite organ, attacks *The Times*, ostensibly to defend Lord Raglan, but really so as gratefully to accept *The Times* admission of the Ministry's innocence, to exploit it, and, at the same time, to create a diversion by a sham fight between two ministerial organs.

According to the worthy *Chronicle*:

"The despondency which has enveloped public opinion for the last few days, must, we regret to write it, be attributed to the sole influence of *The Times*. Events have been blackened, disasters exaggerated, the well-earned reputations of our general officers aspersed, and the Briton's proverbial generosity towards the absent disdained, with the sole view of causing a sensation—of creating an effect. It is, however, on the head of Field-Marshal Lord Raglan that the rancour and venom of these attacks have been accumulated.... The distress to which the army in the Crimea was reduced from the commencement of December until the last accounts, which are more favourable, must chiefly be attributed to the terrible hurricane of the 13th of November...."[b]

And the Ministry is magnanimous enough not to blame Lord Raglan for the hurricane of November 13. So all that is left is the claptrap of *The Times*.

Now we come to that section of the London press which represents certain *special* interests *within* the Ministry, that is, *The Daily News*, for some time *Palmerston*'s secret organ, and *The Morning Post* which, for years, has been his official organ.

"Our administrative systems," says *The Daily News*, "are nearly as unchangeable as if they had been contrived by the Medes and Persians. [...] let an unforeseen crisis impend—and they utterly and disastrously break down. Yet in face of the most appalling sacrifices of life and property they are seldom so changed or modified as to enable them to meet similar catastrophes in future.... It is nearly the same now with the War Department. It was hoped that, when a Minister of War[c] was appointed, all the active business of the army would be concentrated under his responsible management.... Up to this day not a single abuse has it reformed, not [...] a particle of improvement has it effected.... Shall we blame the Duke of Newcastle? or shall we not rather strike at a deeper root, and aim the axe of Reform at the paralysing system, [...] a system that confines the functions of the state to the [...] 'cold shade of aristocracy'? ... In truth, whatever the merits of the Duke of Newcastle may be, he is not the *official Hercules* to be able to extinguish

[a] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act V, Scene 1.—*Ed.*
[b] *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 27464, January 3, 1855, leader.—*Ed.*
[c] The Duke of Newcastle.—*Ed.*

the system... but what he cannot do, the [...] people of England will insist upon having done."[a]

*The Daily News* is still new in its ministerial role. Besides, it has to take into account its bourgeois public. Nevertheless, one realises at first sight that the point of the article is the "official Hercules" who is needed. And who is this official Hercules? And how is one to come by him? *The Morning Post* provides the answer. It says:

"To begin by attacking Lord Raglan is certainly commencing at the wrong end, [...] Lord Raglan is" *above* the attacks of *The Times*.... But, "there can be no doubt about the shortcomings of the Government at home.... Take simply the War Department, is it to be conducted throughout in the spirit and after the model of the last nine months?... Let it be remembered that the army abroad is entirely at the mercy of the Administration at home.... Of what terrible importance is it, then, that the head of this department have a master mind, and work like a master.... *The old system*, it is said, stands in the way. But the master mind would, ere this, have kicked the system to the winds on his own responsibility.... The secret is, that the head of the Government is a dead weight upon Departmental exertion. The slow movement of the *Aberdeen* pulse communicates itself to every member of the Administration and gives its tone and time to the whole system.... The whole be re-cast, and a real and vigorous head put upon its shoulders."[b]

In other words: make Palmerston Prime Minister. He is the *official Hercules* of whom *The Daily News* has been dreaming, the same Palmerston whom Lord Melbourne, at the suggestion of the Russian Princess Lieven, appointed Foreign Secretary in 1830; who, in the Afghan war,[408] had sacrificed a British army in so mysterious a manner that Sir Robert Peel, in a public session of the House of Commons, threatened him with "revelations"[c] if he [Lord Palmerston] continued to provoke him with his boasting: the same Palmerston who was able to steer the offensive alliance *against Russia* proposed by France in 1839 and apparently already operative so adroitly that one fine day in 1840 it had been transformed into an Anglo-Russian alliance *against France*.[409] Although Palmerston is the *most influential* member of the present Administration, who acts, and *must* act, as its champion in all parliamentary circles, he continually summons up all his diplomatic skill to appear in the press as the determined opponent of Aberdeen and thus to preserve his popularity should the Coalition be wrecked. At the same time, the opposition is kept *from* taking decisive steps and kept *in* a state of futile tension about the internal quarrels of the Ministry. For instance, today, for the

[a] *The Daily News*, No. 2691, January 3, 1855.—*Ed.*
[b] *The Morning Post*, No. 25274, January 3, 1855, leader.—*Ed.*
[c] Sir Peel's speech in the House of Commons on August 10, 1842. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, third series, Vol. 65, London, 1842, pp. 1268-90.—*Ed.*

hundredth time the Tory *Morning Herald* has fallen into the trap by declaring the breaking up of the Coalition to be final and talking at great length about the patriotic indignation of Palmerston and Russell against Aberdeen, Newcastle and Gladstone.[a] Ad vocem[b] *Gladstone*, it should be noted that, according to a leading article about the French loan in today's *Chronicle*,[c] Gladstone does not intend resorting to loans, but is determined to conduct the war through direct taxation, that is to say, in the most unpopular, oppressive and uneconomical form.

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[a] *The Morning Herald*, No. 22319, January 3, 1855, leader.—*Ed.*
[b] With regard to.—*Ed.*
[c] *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 27464, January 3, 1855, leader.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## BRITISH DISASTER IN THE CRIMEA[410]

The entire British public, starting from the recent vehement leaders of *The London Times*,[a] seems to be in a state of great anxiety and excitement respecting the condition of the forces in the Crimea. Indeed, it is impossible longer to deny or palliate the fact that, through unparalleled mismanagement in every branch of the service, the British army is rapidly approaching a state of dissolution. Exposed to the hardships of a winter campaign, suffering cold and wet, with the most harassing and uninterrupted field duty without clothing, food, tents, or housing, the veterans who braved the burning sun of India and the furious charges of the Beloodshis and Afghan, die away by hundreds daily, and as fast as reenforcements arrive, they are eaten up by the ravages of disease. To the question who is to blame for this state of things the reply just now most popular in England is that it is Lord Raglan, but this is not just. We are no admirers of his Lordship's military conduct, and have criticised his blunders with freedom,[b] but truth requires us to say that the terrible evils amid which the soldiers in the Crimea are perishing are not his fault, but that of the system on which the British war establishment is administered.

The British Army has a Commander-in-Chief, a personage dispensed with in almost all other civilized armies. But it would be a mistake to suppose that this commander-in-chief really com-

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21941, January 3, 1855, leader.— *Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 474 and 507-08.— *Ed.*

mands anything. If he has some control over the infantry and cavalry, the artillery, engineers, sappers and miners are entirely beyond his sphere. If he has any authority over trowsers, coatees, and socks, all great-coats are exempt from his influence. If he can make every foot-soldier carry two cartridge-pouches, he cannot find him a single musket. If he can have all his men tried by court-martial and well flogged, he cannot make them stir a single inch. Marching is beyond his competency, and as to feeding his troops, that is a thing which does not concern him at all.

Then there is the Master-General of the Ordnance. This person, a lamentable relic of the times when science was considered unsoldierlike, and when all scientific corps, artillery and engineers, were not soldiers, but a sort of nondescript body, half savants, half handicraftsmen, and united in a separate guild or corporation, under the command of such a Master-General. This Master-General of the Ordnance, beside artillery and engineers, has under him all the great-coats and small-arms of the army. To any military operation, of whatever nature, he must, therefore, be a party.

Next comes the Secretary at War. If the two preceding characters were already of comparative nullity, he is beyond nullity. The Secretary at War can give no order to any part of the army, but he can prevent any portion of the army from doing anything. As he is the chief of the military finances, and as every military act costs money, his refusal to grant funds is equivalent to an absolute veto upon all operations. But, willing as he may be to grant the funds, he is still a nullity, for he cannot feed the army; that is beyond his sphere. In addition to all this, the Commissariat, which really feeds the army, and, in case of any movement, is supposed to find it means of transport, is placed under the control of the Treasury. Thus, the Prime Minister, the first lord of the Treasury, has a direct hand in the getting up of every military operation, and can at his pleasure either push it, retard it, or stop it. Everybody knows that the Commissariat is almost a more important portion of the army than the soldiers themselves; and for this very reason, the collective wisdom of Great Britain has thought proper to make it quite independent of the army, and to place it under the control of an essentially different Department. Finally, the army, formerly put in motion by the Colonial Secretary, is now subject to the orders of the new War-Minister.[a]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 227-28.—*Ed.*

He dislocates the troops, from England to China, and from India to Canada. But, as we have seen, his authority, taken singly, is as ineffectual as that of any of the four preceding military powers; the cooperation of all the five being required, in order to bring about the least movement.

It was under the auspices of this wonderful system that the present war began. The British troops, well fed and well cared for at home, in consequence of a forty years' peace, went out in high condition, persuaded that whatever the enemy might do, England would not let her gallant lads want for anything. But scarcely had they landed at their first stage, at Gallipoli, when the comparison with the French army showed the ludicrous inferiority of all British arrangements, and the pitiable helplessness of every British official. Although it was here comparatively easy to provide for everything, although sufficient notice had been given, and a very small body of troops only was sent out, everything went wrong. Everybody made himself very busy, and yet nobody would perform duties that had not fallen to his lot at home in time of peace, so that not a man was to be found to do that business which was created by the very war itself. Thus shiploads of stores were left to rot on the shore where they were first landed, and troops had to be sent on to Scutari for want of room. Chaotic disorder announced itself in unmistakable signs, but as it was the beginning of the war, an improvement was expected from growing experience.

The troops went to Varna. Their distance from home increased, their number increased, the disorder in the administration increased. The independent working of the five departments composing that administration, each of them responsible to a different Minister at home, here first resulted in open and unmistakable clashing. Want reigned in the camp, while the garrison of Varna had the best of comforts. The Commissariat, lazily indeed, got together some means of transport from the country; but as the General-in-Chief[a] did not appoint any escort wagons, the Bulgarian drivers disappeared again as fast as they had been brought together. A central dépôt was formed at Constantinople—a sort of first base of operations; but it served no purpose except to create a fresh center of difficulties, delays, questions of competency, quarrels between the army, the Ordnance, the paying staff, the Commissariat, and the War Office.

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[a] Hardinge.—*Ed.*

Wherever anything was to be done, everybody tried to shove it off his own shoulders upon those of somebody else. The avoiding of all responsibility was the general aim. The consequence was that everything went wrong, and that nothing whatever was done. Disgust at these proceedings, and the certainty of seeing his army rot in inactivity, may have had some influence in determining Lord Raglan to risk the expedition to the Crimea.

This expedition crowned the success of John Bull's military organization. There, in the Crimea, came the "decided hit." So long as the army was, in point of fact, in a state of peace, as at Gallipoli, Scutari and Varna, the magnitude of the disorder, the complicity of the confusion, could hardly be expected fully to develop itself. But now, in the face of the enemy, during the course of an actual siege, the case was different. The resistance of the Russians gave full scope to the British officials for the exercise of their business-like habits. And it must be confessed, never was the business of destroying an army done more effectually than by these gentlemen. Of more than 60,000 men sent to the East since February last, not more than 17,000 are now fit for duty; and of these, some 60 or 80 die daily, and about 200 or 250 are every day disabled by sickness, while of those that fall sick, hardly any recover. And out of the 43,000 dead or sick, not 7,000 have been disabled by the direct action of the enemy!

When it first was reported in England that the army in the Crimea wanted food, clothing, housing, everything; that neither medical nor surgical stores were on the spot; that the sick and wounded had either to lie on the cold, wet ground, exposed to the weather, or to be crowded on board ships moored in an open roadstead, without attendance, or the simplest requisites for medical treatment; when it was reported that hundreds were dying for want of the first necessaries; everybody believed that the Government had neglected to send proper supplies to the scene of action. But soon enough, it became known, that if this had been partially the case in the beginning, it was not so now. Everything had been sent there even in profusion; but, unfortunately, nothing ever happened to be where it was wanted. The medical stores were at Varna, while the sick and wounded were either in the Crimea or at Scutari; the clothing and provisions arrived in sight of the Crimea, but there was nobody to land them. Whatever by chance got landed, was left to rot on the beach. The necessary cooperation of the naval force brought a fresh element of dissension to bear upon the already distracted councils of the Departments whose conflicts were to insure triumph to the British

army. Incapacity, sheltered by regulations made for peace, reigned supreme; in one of the richest countries of Europe, on the sheltered coast of which hundreds of transports laden with stores lay at anchor, the British army lived upon half-rations; surrounded by numberless herds of cattle, they had to suffer from scurvy, in consequence of being restricted to salt meat; with plenty of wood and coal on board ship, they had so little of it on shore that they had to eat their meat *raw*, and could never dry the clothes which the rain had drenched. Think of serving out the coffee, not only unground, but even unroasted. There were stores of food, of drink, of clothing, of tents, of ammunition, by tuns and hundreds of tuns, stowed away on board the ships, whose masts almost touched the tops of the cliffs, where the camp was placed; and yet, Tantalus-like, the British troops could not get at them. Everybody felt the evil, everybody ran about, cursing and blaming everybody else for neglect of duty, but nobody knew, to use the vernacular expression, "which was which;" for everybody had his own set of regulations carefully drawn up, sanctioned by the competent authority, and showing that the very thing wanted was no part of *his* duty, and that *he*, for one, had no power to set the matter right.

Now, add to this state of things the increasing inclemency of the season, the heavy rains setting in and transforming the whole Heracleatic Chersonese into one uninterrupted pool of mud and slush, knee-deep if not more; imagine the soldiers, two nights at least out of four in the trenches, the other two sleeping, drenched and dirty, in the slush, without boards under them, and with hardly any tents over them; the constant alarms completing the impossibility of anything like proper rest and adequate sleep; the cramps, diarrhea and other maladies arising from constant wet and cold; the dispersion of the medical staff, weak though it was from the beginning, over the camp; the hospital-tents, with 3,000 sick almost in the open air and lying on the wet earth, and it will be easily believed that the British army in the Crimea is in a state of complete disorganization—reduced to "a mob of brave men," as *The London Times* says,[a] and that the soldiers may well welcome the Russian bullet which frees them from all their miseries.

But what is to be done? Why, unless you prefer waiting till half a dozen acts of Parliament are, after due consideration by the

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21941, January 3, 1855, leader.—*Ed.*

Crown lawyers, discussed, amended, voted on and enacted—till, by this means, the whole business connected with the army is concentrated in the hands of a real War Minister—till this new Minister—supposing him to be the right man—has organized the service of his office, and issued fresh regulations—in other words, unless you wait till the last vestige of the Crimean army has disappeared, there is only one remedy. This is the assumption by the General-in-Chief of the expedition[a] upon his own authority, and his own responsibility, of that dictatorship over all the conflicting and contending departments of the military administration which every other General-in-Chief possesses, and without which he cannot bring the enterprise to any end but ruin. That would soon make matters smooth; but where is the British General who would be prepared to act in this Roman manner, and on his trial defend himself, like the Roman, with the words, "Yes, I plead guilty to having saved my country?"[b]

Finally, we must inquire who is the founder and preserver of this beautiful system of administration? Nobody but the old Duke of Wellington. He stuck to every detail of it as if he was personally interested in making it as difficult as possible to his successors to rival him in warlike glory. Wellington, a man of eminent common sense, but of no genius whatever, was the more sensible of his own deficiencies in this respect, from being the cotemporary and opponent of the eminent genius of Napoleon. Wellington, therefore, was full of envy for the success of others. His meanness in disparaging the merits of his auxiliaries and allies is well known; he never forgave Blücher for saving him at Waterloo. Wellington

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[a] Raglan.—*Ed.*

[b] In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* the next paragraph reads as follows: "The *origin* of this system lies apparently in constitutional precautions against a standing army. Instead of a *division of labour,* which would have given the army the greatest elasticity, a *division of authority,* which reduces its mobility to a minimum. Yet the system was by no means maintained for parliamentary or constitutional considerations, but because the influence of the oligarchy would be broken at least in this field, simultaneously with a timely reform of military administration. In the preceding session of Parliament, the Ministers had refused to allow any innovation except the separation of the Ministry of War from the Ministry of the Colonies. Wellington obstinately maintained the system from 1815 until his death, although he knew very well that *with* the system he would never have brought the Spanish war to a successful close had not his brother, the Marquis of Wellesley, by chance been the Minister. In 1832 and 1836, before the commissions instituted by Parliament for a reform of the old system, Wellington defended the old system to its full extent. Was he afraid to make it easier for his successors to gain fame?"—*Ed.*

knew full well that had not his brother[a] been Minister during the Spanish war, he never could have brought it to a successful close. Was Wellington afraid that future exploits would place him in the shade, and did he therefore preserve to its full extent this machinery so well adapted to fetter generals and to ruin armies?

Written on January 4, 1855

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[a] Richard Wellesley.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE CRISIS IN TRADE AND INDUSTRY][411]

### I

*London*, January 8. While clubs and newspapers here are fully occupied with self-important gossip about "ministerial crises", they have no time to realise the far more important fact that *once again one of the great British crises in trade and industry has broken out*, and in more calamitous dimensions than in 1847 and 1836. At long last this realisation—which had not been produced even by the bankruptcies which have been breaking out sporadically for the past three months and recently increased in number and intensity—has become unavoidable as a result of the publication of the annual trade reports and of the tables issued by the Board of Trade[a] which give the export and import figures for the past eleven months.[b] It follows from these figures that exports have decreased by £1,710,677, if compared with the corresponding eleven months of the year 1853, and by £1,856,988 when only the last month of both years—November 5 to December 5—is compared. From the export figures we have taken the following details which show a decline in some of the most important branches of industry:

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[a] Marx used the English term—*Ed.*

[b] "Accounts Relating to Trade and Navigation for the Eleven Months Ended 5th December 1854. III. Exports of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures from the United Kingdom", *The Economist*, No. 593, January 6, 1855.—*Ed.*

| | 1853 £ | 1854 £ |
|---|---|---|
| Cotton manufacture | 23,757,155 | 22,877,050 |
| Cotton yarn | 6,322,639 | 6,055,640 |
| Linen manufacture | 4,379,732 | 3,735,221 |
| Linen yarn | 1,069,812 | 852,763 |
| Wool manufacture | 9,470,413 | 8,566,723 |
| Silk manufacture | 1,492,785 | 1,144,506 |
| Export of machinery | 1,368,027 | 1,271,503 |

In the *trade reports* an attempt is of course made to blame the war for the crisis of 1854, just as the revolution of 1848 was blamed for a crisis which had already broken out in 1847. However, this time even the London *Economist*—which, as a matter of principle, tends to explain all crises as due to accidental circumstances, extraneous to trade and industry—has been forced to admit that the commercial misfortunes and losses of 1854 are the beginning of a natural reaction against the "convulsive prosperity" of 1853. In other words, the commercial cycle has again reached the point where overproduction and over-speculation turn into a crisis. Most effective proof: *the United States of North America*, which were affected by the oriental war[412] only insofar as it gave an unheard-of impetus to shipbuilding and shipping trade, and created markets for many American raw products formerly supplied exclusively by Russia. In the United States the crisis has already lasted more than four months and is still growing steadily, although already 109 of 4,208 banks, or about $2^1/_2$ per cent, have gone bankrupt; moreover, there has been such a stagnation of industry combined with such a depression of wages in the industrial states of the East that last month more than 4,000 European immigrants "*migrated back*" *to Europe*. The American crisis of 1837 *followed* on the British crisis of 1836. This time the course is reversed. America has taken the initiative in the matter of bankruptcies. The United States and Australia are equally flooded with British products. How important this is for British trade can be seen from the fact that out of approximately £100 million which Great Britain exported in the form of goods in 1853, £25 million went to the United States and £15 million to Australia. After the United States and Australia, the East Indies were the most important export market. However, even in 1852 the East Indies were so glutted that only by an entirely new expansion of trade across the Punjab and Sind to Bokhara, Afghanistan and Baluchistan and from there, on the one

hand, to Central Asia, and on the other hand to Persia, could exports with difficulty be kept at the old level of £8 million. Now even in those areas all outlets are so congested that, a short while ago, goods were shipped from Hindustan to Australia, thus "carrying coals to Newcastle". The only market which, due to the oriental war, was for a time supplied "cautiously", was the *Levantine* market. However, it is an open secret in the City that, since the crisis in the United States and stagnation in Australia forced the commercial world to look out anxiously for any markets not yet glutted, Constantinople has become the store-house for all goods requiring buyers, and it, too, must now be considered as "closed". Similarly, the most recent movement in Spain has been used to smuggle in as much British merchandise as the country can hold. The last attempt of this kind is now being made in South American countries whose very small consumer capacity requires no proof.

In view of the vital importance of the British crisis for the social and political state of the whole world, it will be necessary to return at greater length and in more detail to the history of British trade before 1854.

II

*London,* January 9. The increase of British trade and of British industry in the period 1849 to 1853 may be judged by the following figures. In 1846 the tonnage of ships carrying goods from and into British seaports amounted to 9,499,000, in 1850 this had increased to 12,020,000 tons, and in 1853 to no less than 15,381,000, exactly double the tonnage of 1843. In 1846 the value of exported British manufactured goods and raw materials was £57,786,000, in 1850 £71,367,000, and in 1853 more than £98,000,000, that is to say, more than double the total exports of 1842. What part is played by the United States of North America and by Australia in this increase in exports? In 1842, the value of British exports to Australia amounted to less than £1,000,000, in 1850 they reached almost three million, and in 1853 as much as £14,513,000. In 1842, exports to the United States amounted to £3,582,000, in 1850 to almost 15 million, and in 1853 to no less than £23,658,000.

From these figures it follows, first of all, that the year 1854 represents a turning-point in the history of modern trade, analogous to the years 1825, 1836 and 1847; secondly, that the crisis in the United States is only a factor of the British crisis, and

finally that the war of 1854—called, most aptly, *une guerre pacifique* by the *Pays, Journal de l'Empire*—has exercised no influence whatever on this social catastrophe, or, if any influence at all, it has been restricting and inhibiting. Individual branches of industry, e.g. the manufacture of leather, iron and woollen goods, as well as ship-building, have actually been helped by the demand created by the war. For a short time, the consternation caused by a declaration of war after forty years of peace, paralysed the flight of speculation. The loans of various European countries brought about by the war kept interest rates at a level which prevented rash industrial undertakings and thus retarded the crisis. However, says the Peace Society,[a] [413] has not the war raised corn prices? Is not the rising of corn prices tantamount to a decline in domestic trade,[a] i.e. in British consumption of industrial products? And is not this contraction of the *home* market the main element of the crisis?—To begin with, it must be remembered that the year of greatest British prosperity—1853—was a year of *high* corn prices, and that corn prices of 1854 range, on average, *below* those of 1853, so that neither the prosperity of 1853 nor the crisis symptoms of 1854 can be explained from the level of corn prices. However, leaving aside the influence of corn prices on industry for the time being: what influence has the war had on corn prices? In other words: have corn prices risen, because supplies from Russia have dropped? Of the total corn and flour which Great Britain imports, Russia's share is about 19 per cent, and as total imports satisfy only about 20 per cent of national consumption, Russia supplies some $2^1/_2$ per cent of national consumption.

The *latest official* report on the comparative corn and flour imports from different continents and countries to Great Britain was published at the beginning of November 1854,[b] giving a comparative table for the first nine months of 1853 and 1854. According to this, in 1853 the total imports of wheat amounted to 3,770,921 quarters, of which 773,507 came from Russia and 209,000 quarters from Moldavia and Wallachia. Total imports of flour amounted to 3,800,746 hundredweights, of which Russia supplied 64 and the Danubian Principalities none at all. In the war year 1854, Great Britain received 505,000 quarters of wheat from Russia and 118,000 quarters from Moldavia and Wallachia. No one would wish to claim that *this* reduction (which, moreover, was

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[a] Marx used the English phrase.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Supplies of Wheat, Home and Foreign", *The Economist*, No. 584, November 4, 1854.—*Ed.*

offset by larger imports of flour from other countries) has pushed up the prices of the *excellent* harvest of 1854 to approximately the level of the *bad* years, 1852 and 1853. On the contrary. Even a *total* cessation of Russian grain imports would not have had that effect. What remains enigmatic—although *unimportant* as far as the economic question is concerned—is the reduction of supplies from the *Danubian Principalities.* The solution of the riddle is simple. Though *nominally* the Coalition has blockaded the *Russian* Black Sea ports, *in fact,* however, it has blockaded first the Bosphorus and later the mouth of the Danube; instead of Russia, it blockaded Turkey and the Danubian Principalities. The Russian crusades against the Crescent—of 1812, 1828, 1848 (at that time reputedly against the *rebels* of Jassy and Bucharest) and 1854—were, as everyone knows, partly determined by trade competition of the southern Russian provinces against the Danubian Principalities and, incidentally, against the Danube trade of Bosnia, Serbia and Bulgaria. What a *stroke of genius,* therefore, on the part of an *English* Ministry to punish Russia by leaving her trade at Odessa and Taganrog free, but suppressing, blockading the trade of *Russia's competitors* on the Danube, thus cutting off their own [i.e. England's] supplies.

III

*London,* January 16. With reference to the present crisis in trade and industry, the London *Economist* remarks:

"Whatever may be the falling off in the export of other articles, there is none in machinery. The value in 1854 exceeds the value in 1853. Other countries, therefore, are now taking into use our machinery. We have no longer any advantage of this kind over them. France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and the United States are all now great manufacturing countries; and some of them have advantages over us. We have a race to run, and we cannot succeed if we tie our legs. [...] Experience has satisfied every person that the restrictions imposed for the benefit of the landlord injured him, that restrictions imposed for the benefit of the master manufacturers injured them; and by and by the factory workers will find out that the restriction imposed for their benefit will injure them. It is to be hoped, however, that they will find it out before the countries before mentioned have made such progress as to supersede England in their own and third markets, and have reduced the factory hands to destitution."[a]

Mr. *Wilson,* editor of *The Economist* and factotum in the Ministry of Finance of the anointed and unctuous Mr. Gladstone, apostle of freedom and place-hunter rolled into one, a man who in one

[a] "Exports.—The Factory Act", *The Economist,* No. 594, January 13, 1855.—*Ed.*

column of his paper denies the necessity of the state in general and in another proves the indispensability of the coalition government in particular—Mr. Wilson, then, begins his homily with a deliberately distorted fact. The export tables for 1854[a] contain two columns on the export of machinery. The first, relating to railway locomotives, shows that in 1853 exports amounted to £443,254, but in 1854 to £525,702 which is undoubtedly an increase of £82,448. The second column, however, which includes all machines used in factories, i.e. every kind of machinery except locomotives, shows £1,368,027 for 1853, as against £1,271,503 for 1854, or a decrease of £96,524. If both columns are taken together, they reveal a decrease of £14,076. This detail is characteristic of the gentlemen of the Manchester school. They consider the present moment opportune for the abolition of "restrictions" benefiting industrial workers, that is the legal limitation of the working hours of young people under 18, of women, and of children under 12. To achieve so lofty a purpose, the falsification of a few figures may surely be permitted. But, according to the *Manchester Examiner*, the special organ of the Quaker Bright, and to every trade circular in the factory districts, the foreign markets, those traditional outlets for our surplus manufactures, are groaning under the weight of our over-production and over-speculation.

If such glutting of the world market has been achieved in spite of the improvisation of two new golden markets—Australia and California, in spite of the electric telegraph which has transformed the whole of Europe into one big commodity exchange, in spite of railways and steamships which have improved communication, and therefore commerce, to an incredible degree,—how long would it have taken for the crisis to come if the factory owner had been at liberty to order his workers to work eighteen hours instead of eleven? The arithmetical problem is too simple to require a solution. However, the relative acceleration of the crisis would not have been the only difference. A whole generation of workers would have forfeited 50 per cent of their physical strength, spiritual development and vitality. The same Manchester school which will answer our misgivings with the words:

> [why] should this distress distress us,
> since it increases our pleasures?[b]

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[a] "Accounts Relating to Trade and Navigation...", *The Economist*, No. 593, January 6, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Goethe, "An Suleika", from *West-östlicher Divan*.—*Ed.*

deafens England with sentimental lamentations about the human sacrifice which is the price of her war with Russia, the price of any war! In a few days we shall hear Mr. Cobden at Leeds, protesting against the mutual slaughter of Christians. In a few weeks we shall hear him in Parliament, protesting against the "restrictions" which impede the too rapid consumption of human beings in the factories. Does he, of all heroic deeds, consider only one to be justified, that of Herod?

We agree with the Manchester school that compulsory legal restrictions of working hours do not exactly indicate a high level of social development. But we find the fault not in the laws, but in the conditions which make them necessary.

## IV

*London,* January 22. It is well known that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Robinson, opened the Parliament of 1825 with a dithyramb on the unprecedented boom in trade and industry.[a] Some weeks later, the Bank of England was on the point of suspending cash payments. Since then Mr. Robinson has kept the nickname of "Prosperity[b]-Robinson", given him by Cobbett. As the English are fond of historical precedents, it was inevitable that Prosperity-Robinson should have successors. The Queen's Speech which inaugurated the last extraordinary session of Parliament,[c] congratulated the country on the exceptional state of prosperity in agriculture, manufacture and trade. And yet, by then even the *semblance* of prosperity which might possibly have deceived Mr. Robinson had vanished. Ministerial congratulations seem to be part of the ceremonial with which, in England, disasters affecting the world market are suitably announced. Even stranger than the language of Ministers is the silence of the press at this moment. Does it believe it will be able to burke[b] the trade crisis, in the same way as in the literary coteries of Paris unpopular books are burked—by a conspiracy of silence? However, price lists talk, the lists of bankruptcies in the *Gazette* talk, and the letters of "business friends" talk. Soon, too, the newspapers will talk. Last week, very

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[a] F. Robinson's speech in the House of Commons on February 28, 1825. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates,* new series, Vol. 12, pp. 719-44.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx used the English word.—*Ed.*

[c] Queen Victoria's speech in Parliament on December 12, 1854. *The Times,* No. 21923, December 13, 1854.—*Ed.*

significant suspensions of payment occurred in the City, among the most important being that of Messrs Lonergan & Co., in the Spanish and West Indian trade; that of Messrs Rogers, Lowrey, trading with Manchester and the surrounding factory districts; that of Messrs Kotherington & Co., in the American trade; and finally that of the Auberten brothers, an old and respected firm. The liabilities of these various firms are said to amount to an average of £100,000 to £150,000. For the current week, new suspensions of payment by at least seven important City firms are expected.

From a business letter of January 20, from Birmingham, we have extracted the following details concerning the situation of industry in South Staffordshire:

"With the exception of firms in iron manufacture which are producing war materials for the Government, only very few have any orders at all, and those in hand are at extremely reduced prices. At present, £8 10s. will buy a ton of bar-iron, which in mid-summer was quoted at £12, but even at these reduced prices it is scarcely possible to make a sale, so that production has to be restricted. There are few of the important interests of the United States of North America which have suffered more on account of the trade crisis there than heavy industry. Nearly all the great iron works in the United States in which enormous sums have been invested, have turned their workers out into the street without any chance of early re-engagement. America's consumption of iron must therefore be regarded as almost completely suspended, and we may expect no further orders from there.

"Last Saturday many workers from the tin factories" (of Birmingham) "were sacked and many more will follow tonight" (January 20). "Ore and brass workers are no better off, since most of the big works here are on short time.

"Orders in hand for fashion articles are very scarce, and commercial travellers seeking spring orders in this branch are sending home very discouraging reports.

"The situation in the money market continues to have a disrupting effect on all branches of trade. The banks are raising their rate of interest in a most detrimental way, and at this moment only one business is doing well—that of the money-lender. Clients are flocking to the small pawnbrokers' shops, and discount houses are reaping a rich harvest."

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# Karl Marx

## [THE FOUR POINTS]

### I

*London*, January 9. The telegram from Vienna[a] concerning the acceptance of the Four Points[414] on the part of Russia produced, on the one hand, a rise in Consols on the London Stock Exchange—for one moment [they were] $2^1/_2$ per cent above Saturday's[b] rate; on the other hand, a veritable panic in the tallow, oil and seed markets, where an early conclusion of peace would be the signal for large-scale bankruptcies. Today the excitement among City men has subsided, and, with a fair amount of agreement, they regard negotiations on the Four Points as a second edition of negotiations on the "Vienna Note".[415] According to the thoroughly ministerial *Morning Chronicle*, it was *premature* to speak of an actual acceptance by Russia of the guarantees demanded.[c] Russia had merely declared herself ready to negotiate on their basis, as interpreted jointly by the three powers. *The Times* believes that a victory of Western policy may legitimately be celebrated and declares on this occasion:

"We cannot too strongly repudiate the assumption, [...] that this war is to bring about what is called a revision of the map of Europe, by means of conquests or revolutions in which this country, at least, has no sort of interest."[d]

"The Allies," says *The Morning Post*, "have done enough to be able to withdraw from the theatre of war with honour, if their terms are accepted."[e]

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[a] The telegram from Vienna of January 7, 1855. *The Times*, No. 21945, January 8, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] January 6, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 27469, January 9, 1855, leader.—*Ed.*

[d] *The Times*, No. 21946, January 9, 1855, leader.—*Ed.*

[e] *The Morning Post*, No. 25279, January 9, 1855, leader.—*Ed.*

According to *The Daily News*, by resuming negotiations Russia intends to strengthen Prussia's belief in her moderation, to sow discord between the German powers, and to loosen the relationship between the Western powers and Austria. The only important aspect of the Four Points was the extra clause, according to which the Dardanelles Agreement of July 13, 1841 was to be revised "in the sense of a limitation of Russian naval power in the Black Sea". It was rumoured in the City that the Ministry was prepared to drop this extra clause. Lastly, *The Morning Advertiser* declares that the final Russian step had been agreed upon with Austria so as to give the latter an opportunity of getting rid of her obligations towards the Western powers. According to a newly arrived dispatch it has been stipulated that the negotiations must not interrupt war operations.

## II

*London*, January 12. The unconditional acceptance of the "Four Points"—that is to say of the "Four" Points in the sense of the "three" powers—by Russia has turned out to be a hoax[a] of *The Morning Post* and *The Times*. We were the more inclined to believe in the hoax, as we know from Pozzo di Borgo's secret dispatches[416] (which, however, had become known following the Warsaw insurrection) that this master of diplomacy has laid down the principle that "in all cases of conflict Russia should induce the great European powers to *force her own conditions upon her*".

And in the "Four" Points we can see only "four" Russian *points*. If Russia, for the time being, does not accept them, we shall find the explanation once more with master Pozzo di Borgo. Russia, he declares, ought to make such apparent concessions to the West only from a victorious army camp.[417] This would be necessary to maintain the "prestige" on which her power was based. And so far, Russia, it is true, has got an "army camp", but she has not yet managed to gain the "victory". If Silistria had fallen, the "Four Points" would have been established long ago. According to *The Times* and *The Morning Post*,[b] the "Four Points" in the sense of the "three powers" had been adopted as basis for negotiations in order to start from them as a minimum. Now it

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[a] Marx used the English word.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times*, No. 21946, January 9, 1855, leader; *The Morning Post*, No. 25282, January 12, 1855, leader.—*Ed.*

turns out that Prince Gorchakov sees them as a problematical maximum from which to bargain down, or which are in effect intended only to furnish a pretext for another "Vienna Conference". Today, *The Morning Post*, in a self-important, diplomatically oracular leader,[a] confides that the provisional meetings of diplomats at Vienna are merely a preliminary to the actual conference which would not assemble until February 1 and which would not fail to surprise the world to a greater or lesser degree.

Yesterday the following announcement by the Admiralty was displayed at Lloyd's[b]:

"With reference to the last paragraph of my letter of the 8th November" (1854), "stating that the French and English Admirals in the Black Sea have received orders from their respective Governments to extend the blockade of the mouths of the Danube to all the ports in the Black Sea, and in the Sea of Azoff, which still remain in the possession of the enemy, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you, in order that the same may be made known to the mercantile community, that the Governments of England and France have further decided that the blockade in question shall take place on and after the 1st of February" (1855) "and that due notice will be given in the *London Gazette* of the blockade of the particular ports so soon as the same shall have been effected.

"I am etc.
"*W. A. B. Hamilton*"[c]

Here, then, it is openly admitted that up to now the allied fleets have blockaded only their own allies on the Danube estuary, but neither Russian ports in the Black Sea nor in the Sea of Azov. Nevertheless the Ministry has repeatedly declared in Parliament—in April, August and October—that it had issued the "strictest orders" for the blockade of Russian ports and coasts. As late as December 21, Lord Granville, in the name of the Ministry, announced to the House of Lords that

"Odessa was blockaded by five warships which have been constantly cruising in front of [Odessa]; reports have been constantly sent to [Her Majesty's] government...."[d]

In a letter addressed to a daily paper, a well-known English pamphleteer sums up the consequences of the blockade measures taken, or rather *not* taken, by the Coalition, as follows:

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[a] Marx used the English word.—*Ed.*

[b] Lloyd's offices located in the Royal Exchange, London.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Times*, No. 21948, January 11, 1855.—*Ed.*

[d] G. Granville's speech in the House of Lords on December 21, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21934, December 22, 1854.—*Ed.*

"(1) The English Government supplies England's enemy with money from England so that enemy may continue the war against her. (2) The Danube is blockaded in order to impoverish the Principalities and to cut off our own corn supplies. (3) Odessa, Taganrog, Kerch, etc., remain unmolested so that they may supply reinforcements, ammunition and provisions to the Russian troops in the Crimea. (4) The mock blockade is ruining our merchants while it enriches Greek, Russian and Austrian merchants."

*The Times* too takes the occasion of Mr. Hamilton's announcement to launch violent attacks on the Ministry's "blockade diplomacy".[a] It is characteristic of the Thunderer of Printing House Square that his thunderclaps have always been flung post festum. From March 26, 1854 till today *The Times* has defended "blockade diplomacy". Today when its rumblings obstruct no ministerial measures but may well gain it popularity, it suddenly turns into a clairvoyant.

The naval minister, or, as he is called here, the First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir *James Graham*, is sufficiently well known on the Continent on account of that magnificent achievement in black cabinet which led the Bandiera brothers to the scaffold.[418] It may be a less well known fact that in 1844, when Tsar Nicholas landed on the English coast, Sir James Graham did not dare to shake the proferred Imperial hand, but only to kiss it. (See *The Portfolio*, second series, 1844.[b])

III

*London*, January 15. As for the meaning of the Four Points:

"Nothing can be done in the way of further diplomacy till the first day of February." (Till February 5 or 6, says the Vienna correspondent of *The Times*.) "Meantime, the Czar has a clear month to move his forces where he will.[...] A month's time gained by acceptance of the four points may be lengthened to two months, by disputing the subsequent terms step by step, as the Envoy of Russia will probably be instructed to do; while it is far from improbable that strenuous efforts will be made to attract Austria into contentment with terms short of those which would be acceptable to England and France. To divide the three Powers would be the obvious thing to aim at...."[c]

Thus *The Morning Post*.

More important than the bandying of words in the English press

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21949, January 12, 1855, leader.—*Ed.*

[b] Presumably reference to the article "The Visit of the Emperor", *The Portfolio*, London [1844], Vol. III, No. XII.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Morning Post*, No. 25284, January 15, 1855, leader.—*Ed.*

about Russia's secret intentions is its open confession (with the exception, of course, of the ministerial organs) that the basis of negotiations, the Four Points, are not worth negotiating for.

"The World, when the struggle commenced, was artfully made to believe," wrote *The Sunday Times*, "that the object to be secured by it was the breaking up of the Russian empire, or, at least, the extorting from her of material guarantees for the preservation of the peace of Europe. Towards accomplishing either of these ends nothing has been done, and nothing will be done should peace be concluded upon the basis of what are called the '*Four Points*'. If there be any triumph in the matter, it will be a triumph achieved by Russia."[a]

"The Ministry of all the Incapacities," says *The Leader*, "cannot get beyond the Four Points: it may go down to posterity as the Ministry of the Four Points. No more of this dull comedy of war without a purpose." [...] Peace on the basis of the Four Points could only be concluded because "they fear that in the tumult of war, the peoples may become too important [...] and possibly to prevent Englishmen from regaining those rights which Cromwell won for them. [...] That might be the motive for patching up the conspiracy with Russia, and for restoring to her the permission of renewing her encroachments upon Europe under the cover of a flag of truce."[b]

*The Examiner* which incontestably commands the first position among middle-class weeklies carries a detailed account of the "basis" of peace negotiations, the essential points of which are summarised below.

"...if such concessions as even the most rigid construction of the Four Points can alone be held to involve, are to be considered equivalents for all the treasure that has been lavished and all the blood that has been shed by Englishmen in this contest,—then the Emperor of Russia" in starting this war has shown that he is a great statesman.... "She [Russia] is not even to be mulcted of the large sum she annually receives from us for not observing the treaty of Vienna. The mouth of the Danube, which, according to the correspondence recently published, she had laboured most earnestly to close against English commerce, is to be left in her hands. This latter point [...] would simply amount practically to the *status quo*, for Russia never denied that the provisions relating to the navigation of rivers which are contained in the treaty were applicable to the Danube." The abrogation of the treaties of Kainardji and Adrianople[419] is of little singificance, for it is that these treaties do not justify the claims Russia has made upon Turkey; "and when we consider that Russia is to be one of the five powers which are to exercise a joint protectorate over the Principalities and the Christian subjects of the Sultan ... we believe that the benefits expected from the change will prove altogether illusory, whilst it will be attended with the enormous disadvantage of giving a *legal* character to the machinations of Russia for the *dismemberment of Turkey*. [...] We shall of course be reminded that the Four Points include stipulations for a revision of the Treaty of 1841 in the interest of the balance of power. The expression is vague and mysterious enough, and we are not at all satisfied, from recent indications, that

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[a] *The Sunday Times*, No. 1684, January 14, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Coming Peace" and "Russia Winning the Game", *The Leader*, No. 251, January 13, 1855.—*Ed.*

the change contemplated under it may not be far more menacing to the independence of our ally" (Turkey) "than to the predominance of our enemy.... We should have rejected as utterly incredible any such possibility as we assume to be now under discussion at Vienna, but for that speech of Lord John's, in answer to Mr. Cobden, to the effect that the Government had no wish to deprive Russia of any of her territories."[a]

The last point is indeed crucial since, for instance, even the freedom of navigation on the Danube could only be secured if Russia were to lose the "territory" in the Danube estuaries which she seized, partly through the Treaty of Adrianople, in violation of the Treaty of London of 1827, and partly through a ukase of February 1836, in violation of the Treaty of Adrianople.[420] The point which *The Examiner* fails to emphasise refers to the Treaty of the Dardanelles of 1841. This treaty differs from the treaty concluded by Lord Palmerston in 1840[421] only insofar as *France* joined as a contracting party. The contents are identical. Only a few months ago, Lord Palmerston declared the Treaty of 1840, and thus also the Treaty of the Dardanelles of 1841, to be a victory by Britain over Russia, and himself the *originator* of that treaty. Why, then, should the *cancellation* of a treaty which was a victory by Britain over Russia, suddenly become a defeat of Russia by Britain? Or, if at the time, Britain had been deceived by her own Ministers, believing herself to be acting *against* Russia, while, in fact, she was acting *for* her, why not now? Disraeli, during the last extraordinary session of Parliament, cried: "No Four Points."[b] From the above extracts it can be seen that he has found an echo in the liberal press. Surprise at Russia's having accepted the Four Points, with or without reservations, is beginning to give way to surprise at Britain's having suggested them.

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[a] "Terms of Peace and Causes of War", *The Examiner*, No. 2450, January 13, 1855.— *Ed.*

[b] B. Disraeli's speech in the House of Commons on December 12, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21923, December 13, 1854.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE COMMERCIAL CRISIS IN BRITAIN[422]

The English commercial crisis, whose premonitory symptoms were long ago chronicled in our columns,[a] is a fact now loudly proclaimed by the highest authorities in this matter—the annual circulars issued from the British Chambers of Commerce, and the leading commercial firms of the kingdom, along with extensive bankruptcies, mills running short-time, and stinted export tables, which speak to the same effect. According to the latest official "accounts relating to trade and navigation," the declared value of enumerated articles of export in the month ending Dec. 5, was:

| | 1852 | 1853 | 1854 |
|---|---|---|---|
| | £6,033,030 | £7,628,760 | £5,771,772 |
| Decrease in 1854 ..... | £261,258 | £1,856,988 | |

One cannot be astonished at the endeavor of the professional free-traders of Great Britain to show that the present crisis, instead of flowing from the natural working of the modern English system, and being altogether akin to the crises experienced at periodical intervals almost since the end of the 18th century, must, on the contrary, proceed from accidental and exceptional circumstances. According to the tenets of their school, commercial crises were out of the question after the corn laws were abrogated,[423] and free-trade principles adopted by the British legislature. Now they not only have high prices of corn with an abundant harvest, but also a commercial crisis. California and Australia added to the markets of the world and pouring forth

[a] See present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 95-96, 249 and 304-05 and this volume, pp. 468-69.—*Ed.*

their golden streams, with electric telegraphs transforming the whole of Europe in one single Stock Exchange, and with railways and steamers centuplicating the means of communication and of exchange. If their panacea had to be put to the test, they could not have expected to do it under circumstances more favorable than those which signalize the period from 1849 to 1854 in the history of trade and commerce.

They have failed to realize their promises, and naturally enough the war is now to be made the scapegoat of free-trade, just as the revolution in 1848 was. They cannot deny, however, that to a certain extent, the Oriental complication has delayed the revulsion, by acting as a check on the spirit of reckless enterprise, and turning part of the surplus capital to the loans recently contracted by most of the European powers; that some trades, like the iron trade, the leather trade and wool trade, have received some support from the extraordinary demand the war has created for these products; and, lastly, that in other trades, like the shipping, the woad trade, etc., where exaggerated notions as to the effects of the war fostered over-speculation on both sides of the Atlantic, only a partial outlet has been furnished to the already ruling and universal tendency to over-trading. However, their principal argument amounts to this, that the war has produced high prices for all sorts of grain, which high prices have engendered the crisis.

Now, it will be recollected that the average prices of corn ruled higher in 1853 than in 1854. If, then, these high prices are not to account for the unprecedented prosperity of 1853, they can as little account for the revulsion of 1854. The year 1836 was marked by commercial revulsion, notwithstanding its low corn prices; 1824 as well as 1853 were years of exceptional prosperity, notwithstanding the high prices that ruled in all sorts of provisions. The truth is, that although high corn prices may cripple industrial and commercial prosperity by contracting the home market, the home market in a country like Great Britain will never turn the balance, unless all foreign markets be already hopelessly overstocked. High corn prices must, therefore, in such a country, aggravate and prolong the revulsion; which, however, they are unable to create. Besides, it must not be forgotten that, conforming to the true doctrine of the Manchester School, high corn prices, if produced by the regular course of nature, instead of by the working of protection, prohibitive laws and sliding scales, altogether lose their fatal influence, and may even work advantageously by benefiting the farmers. As the two very deficient harvests of 1852 and 1853 cannot be denied to have been natural events, the free-traders

turn around upon the year 1854, and affirm that the Oriental war, working like a protective duty, has produced high prices notwithstanding a plentiful harvest. Putting aside, then, the general influence of the prices of breadstuffs upon industry, the question arises as to the influence exerted by the present war upon these prices.

The Russian importation of wheat and flour constitutes about 19 per cent. of the entire importation of the United Kingdom, and its whole importations forming but about 20 per cent. of its aggregate consumption, Russia affords but little more than $2^1/_2$ per cent. of the whole. According to the latest official returns which do not extend over the first nine months of 1853, the entire imports of wheat into Great Britain were 3,770,921 qrs., of which 773,507 were from Russia, and 209,000 from Wallachia and Moldavia. Of flour, the entire imports amounted to 3,800,746 cwts., of which 64 were supplied from Russia, and none at all from the Principalities. Such was the case before the war broke out. During the corresponding months of 1854, the importation of wheat from Russian ports direct was 505,000 qrs., against 773,507 in 1853, and from the Danubian Principalities 118,000 against 209,000; being a deficiency of 359,507 qrs. If it be considered that the harvest of 1854 was a superior, and that of 1853 a very bad one, nobody will affirm that such a deficiency could have exerted any perceptible influence on prices. We see, on the contrary, from the official returns of the weekly sales in the English market of home-grown wheat—these returns representing but a small portion of the entire sales of the country—that in the months of October and November, 1854, 1,109,148 qrs. were sold, against 758,061 qrs. in the corresponding months of 1853—more than making up for the deficiency said to have been caused by the Russian war. We may remark, also, that had the English Cabinet not caused large stores of Turkish wheat to rot in the granaries of the Principalities by stupidly or treacherously blockading the Sulina, mouth of the Danube, and thus cutting off their own supplies, the war with Russia would not have stinted the importation of wheat even to the small amount it has done. Nearly two-thirds of the London imports of foreign flour being derived from the United States, it must be admitted that the failure of the American supply in the last quarter of 1854 was a much more important event for the provision trade than the Russian war.[421]

If we are asked how to explain the high prices of corn in Great Britain in the face of an abundant harvest, we shall state that more than once during the course of 1853, the fact was pointed at in

*The Tribune*,[a] that the free-trade delusions had caused the greatest possible irregularities and errors to take place in the operations of the British corn-trade, by depressing prices in the summer months below their natural level, when their advance alone should have secured the necessary supplies and sufficient orders for future purchases. Thus it happened that the imports in the months of July, August, September and October, 1854, reached but 750,000 qrs. against 2,132,000 qrs. in the corresponding months of 1853. Besides, it can hardly be doubted that consequent upon the repeal of the corn laws such large tracts of arable land were transformed into pasture in Britain, as to make even an abundant harvest, under the new regime, relatively defective.

"Consequently," to quote a circular of the Hull Chamber of Commerce, "the United Kingdom commences the year 1855 with very small stocks of foreign wheat, and with prices almost as high as in the beginning of 1854, while depending almost entirely on its own farmers' supplies until spring."

The reason of the English commercial revulsion of 1854, which is not likely to assume its true dimensions before the spring of the present year, is contained in the following few arithmetical characters: The exports of British produce and manufactures having amounted, in 1846, to £57,786,000, reached, in 1853, the enormous value of £98,000,000. Of those £98,000,000 of 1853, Australia, which, in 1842, had taken off less than one million, and in 1850, about three millions, absorbed near fifteen millions; while the United States, which, in 1842, had only consumed £3,582,000, and, in 1850, somewhat less than £15,000,000, now took the enormous amount of £24,000,000. The necessary reaction upon the English trade of the American crisis, and the hopelessly glutted Australian markets, need no further explanation. In 1837 the American crisis followed at the heels of the English crisis of 1836, while now the English crisis follows in the tracks of the American one; but, in both instances, the crisis may be traced to the same source—the fatal working of the English industrial system which leads to over-production in Great Britain, and to over-speculation in all other countries. The Australian and the United States markets, so far from forming exceptions, are only the highest expressions of the general condition of the markets of the world, both being about equally dependent upon England.

"We have the facts staring us in the face of glutted foreign markets and unprofitable returns, with few exceptions," exclaims a Manchester circular, relating to the cotton trade. "Most of the foreign markets," says another circular, relating

[a] See present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 306-07, 326 and 440.—*Ed.*

to the silk trade, "usual vents for our surplus manufactures, have been groaning under the effects of overtrading." "Production was enormously increased," we are told by an account of the Bradford Worsted trade, "and the goods, for a time, found an outlet in foreign markets. Much irregular business has been done in reckless consignments of goods abroad, and we need scarcely remark that the results generally have been of the most unsatisfactory character."[a]

And so we might quote from a score of leading commercial circulars that reached us by the *Pacific*.[425]

The Spanish Revolution and the consequent activity of smuggling in that quarter, has created an exceptional market for British produce. The Levant market, consequent upon the apprehensions arising from the Oriental war, seems to be the only one which had not been overdone, but some three months since, as we learn, Lancashire set about retrieving what had been neglected in that quarter, and at this very moment we are told that Constantinople is also groaning under the overwhelming masses of cottons, woolens, hardware, cutlery, and all sorts of British merchandise. China is the only country where it can be pretended that political events have exerted a perceptible influence on the development of the commercial revulsion.

"The hopes entertained about the gradual increase in our export trade with China," says a Manchester house, "have been almost entirely dispelled, and the rebellion spreading at present, in that country, at first considered as favorable to foreign intercourse, seems now to be organized for the depredation of the country and the total ruin of trade. The export trade with China, which once was expected to increase greatly, has almost entirely ceased."[b]

Our readers will perhaps remember that when the Chinese revolution[426] first assumed anything like serious dimensions, we predicted the disastrous consequences[c] now complained of by the English exporting houses.

While denying all connection between the war and the commercial crisis, the symptoms of which had become apparent before the war was ever thought of, we are of course aware that the latter may dangerously aggravate the severe ordeal Great Britain will now have to pass through. The continuance of the war is tantamount to an increase of taxation, and increased taxes are certainly no cure for diminished incomes.

Written on January 11, 1855

Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] "Trade of 1854", *The Economist*, No. 593, January 6, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid.—*Ed.*

[c] See present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 97-98.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## SUNDAY OBSERVANCE AND THE PUBLICANS.—CLANRICARDE

*London*, January 19. In *The Morning Advertiser*, a lively discussion is taking place at this moment as to whether the accusation of "stupidity" levelled against the Coalition Ministry is just. From his point of view which presupposes a secret agreement of the Ministry with Russia, Urquhart has successfully defended the Ministry against the accusation of incompetence.

*The Morning Advertiser* is a peculiar phenomenon of the London press. Owned by the "Society of Licensed Victuallers", founded for charitable purposes, namely for the support of orphans, veterans and bankrupt members of the trade, it unquestionably enjoys the widest circulation among London dailies, after *The Times*. This is certainly not because of its editorial board, which is directed by a certain *Grant*, formerly a shorthand writer. This Grant married the daughter of Homer, the most influential man in the Society of Licensed Victuallers, that is the great Homer, as the united publicans call him, and the great Homer has made his little son-in-law chief editor of *The Morning Advertiser*. Since the Society had it in its power to push the *Advertiser* into every pub and even into most parlours,[a] the material foundations for the prosperity of the paper were laid. However, it owes its influence to the fact that it is *not* edited, but rather offers a forum where any member of the public may join in the discussion. Not admitted to the meetings of "respectable" London journalists because it is considered inferior, it takes its revenge on the fraternity by

[a] Marx used the English word.—*Ed.*

opening its columns, not only to the general public, but from time to time also to important writers who have not sold themselves to any party.

It is but a short step from *The Morning Advertiser* to *beer* and the latest *Beer Acts* of Mr. Wilson-Patten. This latest *ecclesiastical coup d'état* has caused much mirth and has proved that Shakespearean prototypes, etc., still flourish in the second half of the nineteenth century. The serious aspect, though, is the *surprise* of the masses at the presumption of the Church in meddling in an interfering and regulating manner in the lives of the citizens. The masses have become alienated from the Church to such a degree that its attempted encroachments are looked upon merely as practical jokes[a] which are rebuffed when they become tedious. Last night at Nottingham the ecclesiastical party, unaware of its position, had the effrontery to hold a public meeting during which it proposed that Parliament be petitioned for the closing of all public houses, not only during the times of day recently laid down by Wilson-Patten, but during the whole of Sunday. There was a huge audience of workers, and after a stormy session the following amendment was proposed by a factory worker, called Halton, and passed by a large majority

"that Parliament be petitioned to close all churches and chapels on Sundays."

We are assured that shortly after the opening of Parliament, Lord Lyndhurst, in the House of Lords, is going to summarise all the points of accusation against the Ministry. Everyone knows that during the session of 1853/54 the Marquess of Clanricarde was the would-be[a] leader of the anti-Russian opposition among the Peers. Of course, the letters which he and his son, Lord Dunkellin, sent to Tsar Nicholas[b]—on the occasion of Lord Dunkellin's release from Russian imprisonment—make it impossible for him to play this role any longer. With reference to Dunkellin's letter, the well-known humorist, Douglas Jerrold, remarks in *Lloyd's Paper*:

According to Lord Dunkellin, "Nicholas is 'a really great man;' for this tremendous reason—he liberated Lord Dunkellin! 'Great let me call him, for he conquered me!' Says the giantess of Tom Thumb; but here it is the dwarf that glorifies the ogre!"[c]

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[a] Marx used the English words.—*Ed.*

[b] Clanricarde's letter to the Russian War Minister, Prince Dolgorukov, of November 18, 1854; and Dunkellin's letter to the Kaluga Governor, Count Tolstoi, of November 10, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21946, January 9, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, No. 634, January 14, 1855.—*Ed.*

Anyone who has studied the Blue Books[a] published in 1841 on Turko-Egyptian affairs,[b] and has gathered from their contents what position the Marquess of Clanricarde was accorded when British Ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg, will also have realised that the Marquess' anti-Russian tirades in the House of Lords belonged exclusively to the category of opposition which every true Whig practises as a matter of principle whenever God does not give him an office.

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[a] Marx used the English title.—*Ed.*

[b] *Correspondence, 1839-41, relative to the Affairs of the East, and the Conflict between Egypt and Turkey*, 4 parts.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE SIEGE OF SEVASTOPOL[427]

*London*, January 19. Sir Howard Douglas has added a critical appendix on the events of the recent war to a new edition of his famous work on *Naval Gunnery*.[a] Among other things, he proves, from most recent experience and on the basis of official material at his sole disposal, that fleets are inadequate against casemated forts if the latter are correctly constructed and properly defended; the uselessness of bombs against solid masonry; and finally, that it is possible to make a breach in towers and casemated forts, such as the ones at Bomarsund and Sevastopol, only with heavy siege-guns—32-pounders at least—and that, moreover, in the old manner, because the unsteady aim from a ship would never cause a breach without exposing the ship to certain destruction. As to the Crimean campaign in particular, Douglas, in spite of his partisanship for the commanders in the Crimea, and with all due semi-official consideration for his official position, comes to the conclusion that ultimately the Crimean expedition will prove a failure. But has not the Thunderer of *The Times* imparted the great news that Sevastopol was to be taken by *storm* after a forty-eight-hour cannonade! It had this, said *The Times*, from a reliable source, and it was solely to withhold its information from the Russians that it did not reveal all concerning an event which would definitely take place within the next few days (see *The Times* from December 26 to 31). There was no doubting it: Sevastopol was to be taken within the next few days.[b]

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[a] Engels gives the title in English.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times*, No. 21942, January 4, 1855, leader.—*Ed.*

This is what happened. As everyone knows, *The Times* displayed furious opposition to the Foreign Legion Bill, because it learned about this measure only when the rest of the general public did. Then it began to fret and fume and to grumble at the Ministry. To keep the paper quiet, the latter was cowardly enough to fling it a bit of news—the storming of Sevastopol, in doing which the Ministry transformed a design, considered by the generals for use in certain contingencies and under certain conditions, into a positive plan of campaign. That French papers—that is to say, semi-official organs—made similar reports is not surprising, for the loan of five hundred millions was near at hand.[428] That *The Times* was duped is equally obvious. It believes every news item which it receives twenty-four hours earlier than any other paper.

The situation in the Crimea has slightly improved. While the French suffer comparatively few losses from illness, their cavalry being well mounted and their infantry lively and active, the British continue daily to send 150 men into hospital and to bring out forty to fifty dead. Their artillery has no horses and their cavalry has to dismount, so that their horses may wear themselves out in hauling up the heavy cannon from Balaklava. Every two to three days the weather alternates between rain and light frost, so that there has been no decrease at all in the expanse of mud. Since almost all means of transport are occupied in supplying provisions for the army, the procuring of which remains the foremost necessity, neither cannon nor ammunition can be brought up. In the meantime, trenches have been dug close to the enemy positions, and a third parallel has been constructed which, although it cannot be provided with arms, must nevertheless be defended against sorties. It is impossible to say how close these trenches are to the nearest points under attack, since reports are contradictory and, of course, not published officially. Some say 140 or 150 yards, while, according to a French report, the nearest point is still 240 yards away. In the meantime, French batteries, now completed and mounted, must wait because the desultory and utterly ineffectual November cannonade has reduced supplies of ammunition, and a repetition of so desultory a fire would be inept. Thus the Russians have had, and still have, sufficient time, not only to repair any damage suffered through earlier attacks, but to raise new works, and they are doing this with so much enthusiasm that at present Sevastopol is stronger than ever before. Any decisive *storm* is quite outside the realm of possibility, as there are several lines of defence one behind another, and as the large stone buildings in the town behind the last circular wall have been

transformed into as many redoubts. Whenever the siege recommences, everything will have to start again from the beginning, but with the difference that the batteries have come considerably closer to the town and hence are more effective. But at what a price has this advantage been bought! It was precisely the task of guarding these extended communication trenches which caused most of the cases of sickness in the British army by depriving the soldiers of their sleep to an excessive degree. Besides, the Russians were active enough in making sorties which, although not always successful, served to exhaust an already overworked enemy.

In the meantime, the Turkish army has gradually arrived in Eupatoria whence it will have to operate against Simferopol and, simultaneously, watch the northern side of Sevastopol. This operation which completely divides the Turks from the Anglo-French army, thus forming two quite separate armies, is another strategic blunder which invites the Russians to defeat each one separately. However, it was unavoidable. It would have been an even greater mistake to accumulate yet more troops on the small Heracleatic Chersonese.

This is how the results of the famous Balaklava "flank march" are developing.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE CRIMEAN CAMPAIGN[429]

The reason for this appears to be the knocking up of the horses in dragging heavy guns and provisions from Balaklava, both the artillery and commissariat being destitute of draught animals. The mud, however, is so deep that the transportation of cannon and ammunition had ceased, and a supply of food, such as it was, was all that was being brought up. The average number of daily admissions to the hospitals was 150, and of deaths about 50. In the meantime the trenches have been brought up nearer the enemy's works, and a third parallel constructed, which cannot be armed yet, though it must be defended against sorties. How near the trenches are now to the nearest attacked points, it is impossible to say, as reports are so contradictory, while nothing official, of course, is published; some say 140 or 150 yards, but a French report states that the nearest point is as far distant as 240 yards. The French batteries, which are completed and armed, have to wait, because the desultory, and as now appears, perfectly useless cannonade of November has reduced the stores of ammunition, and a repetition of such desultory firing would be equally useless. Thus the Russians have had ample time not only to repair all the damage done by the former attack, but to construct new works, and they have done so with such application, that Sevastopol is now stronger than ever. A decisive assault is entirely out of the question, where several succeeding lines of defense have to be taken in succession, and where, behind the last enceinte, the large stone buildings of the scattered town have been turned into as many redoubts.

The siege, whenever it is recommenced, will have to be done over again, with the only difference that the batteries are

considerably more advanced toward the town, and consequently more efficient. But at the price of how many lives, lost by the hand of the enemy or by sickness, has this advantage been bought! It is the very work of guarding these extensive trenches which, by depriving the men of sleep, has produced many of the casualties by sickness in the British army. And the Russians have been active enough in sorties, which, if not always successful, have had their full effect as far as harassing an already overworked enemy is concerned.

It appears, too, that the reenforcements of the British and French have nearly all arrived, and unless fresh regiments are ordered for embarkation, very small additions will be made to the strength of either army in the Crimea. The Turkish army is getting very leisurely transported to Eupatoria, whence it is to operate toward Simferopol, observing, at the same time, the north side of Sevastopol. This operation, by entirely separating the Turks from their Allies, and forming two distinct armies, is another strategic blunder, inviting the Russians to defeat each army separately. But it could not be avoided; it would have been still worse to collect more troops on the little Heracleatic Chersonese. Thus, we see, the consequences of the celebrated flank march to Balaklava are developing themselves again and again in fresh false moves. That the Turks will get well beaten is very likely; they are no longer the army of Kalafat and Silistria. Disorganization, neglect, and want of everything have transformed that army, and Turkey has no second to replace it. Under these circumstances, nothing is so improbable as that the negotiations for peace should be disturbed by the fall of Sevastopol. There has been no time since the Allies landed when that event was not more likely than at present. It is not too much to say that in all military history there is no more signal failure than this Crimean campaign.

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# Karl Marx

## THE AIMS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.— POLEMIC AGAINST PRUSSIA.— A SNOWBALL RIOT

*London,* January 23. The Western powers have declared that negotiations at Vienna must not for one moment interrupt their military operations. What *immediate military advantage* could Russia therefore gain by sham negotiations? This question, raised by the *Sun,* permits of a very positive answer. The sixth and part of the fifth (Russian) army corps formed the original garrison of the Crimea. The fourth corps arrived a few days before the battle of Balaklava; at this moment, the third corps is in the peninsula; the eighth division arrived at Bakshiserai on December 18, and the seventh and eighth divisions, together with the first division of Dragoons and about 240 cannon and four Cossack regiments are drawn up at Perekop. The Light Cavalry division, part of the third army corps, has been thrown out towards Eupatoria, which it is observing. Thus about half of the *active* Russian army (not counting reserves) is either in the Crimea or in garrison at Odessa, Kherson and Nikolayev, and sections of the second corps (Panyutin) are to march up to support them. It cannot, of course, be determined how great is the actual strength of these twelve infantry and six cavalry divisions following on the losses of an unsuccessful campaign and enormous marches, since we do not know whether the losses have been made good by fresh reinforcements. But, in any case, they must number at least 100,000 troops fit for active service, not counting the soldiers, marines and sailors there may be at Sevastopol. This great troop concentration in the Crimea, which absorbs at least a quarter of the entire Russian striking force, shows how important it is for Tsar Nicholas to involve Austria in renewed negotiations until the gaps in his Volhynian and Podolian armies, caused by the latest movements, have again been filled.

On the eve of the regular parliamentary session, the publication of the latest Prussian, Austrian and French dispatches is being exploited just as the treaty of December 2[430] had been on the eve of special parliamentary session. It is very convenient for pro-government newspapers to reply to attacks on the English conduct of the war by attacks on Prussian diplomacy. The *Globe* and *The Morning Chronicle*, the two papers with the strongest pro-government bias, adopt the most violent tone in the polemic against Prussia.

A snowball riot which took place here last Sunday supplies new proof of how the importunate presumption of the ecclesiastical party and the Bill for the stricter observance of Sunday it smuggled through Parliament have only provoked the English people to hold somewhat rough, high-spirited and facetious demonstrations. Last Sunday, during morning service, a crowd of about 1,500 people assembled in Trafalgar Square near St. Martin's[in-the-Field], where they amused themselves by bombarding buses, cabs and pedestrians with snowballs. Because of the noise outside the church doors, the service had to be discontinued. As soon as the police intervened, they became the main object of attack, and within a few minutes, some constables were unable to look either left or right because of the piles of snow which had collected on their shoulders, helmets, etc. Soldiers who wanted to return to their barracks from church, were definitely forced to retreat, and their English phlegm was put to a severe test. About 100 special constables had to be sent to the scene of battle. Eventually the police made use of their truncheons, and fierce fighting ensued. Four ringleaders were captured and dragged to the police station in spite of several attempts in Chandos Street and Russell Street to free them from the arm of the law. Yesterday these gentlemen appeared before the police magistrate at Bow Street. The churchwardens of St. Martin's appeared also, to give evidence against them. Each hero was sentenced to forty shillings, or fourteen days' imprisonment, and here end the records of the snowball riot. At any rate it has served to refute the Prince de Ligne who, at the time of the revolt in the Netherlands[431] against Joseph II, refused his assistance because it was winter, snow and insurrection being mutually exclusive.

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# Karl Marx

## THE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT

*London*, January 24. The parliamentary session was opened yesterday. In the House of Lords, Lord Ellenborough gave notice that on Thursday, February 1, he would move for an official account of the number of troops—infantry, cavalry and sailors—sent out to the Crimea, and also the number of killed, wounded, sick and otherwise disabled.[a] The Duke of Richmond asked the Secretary *for* War why those who fought at Balaklava had been passed over in the awarding of medals. Not only those who fought at Balaklava would receive medals, but also all the sailors in the Black Sea area who had not been in combat, thus the Duke of Newcastle, the Secretary for War, trumped the Duke of Richmond. The Duke of Richmond, on the other hand, together with Lords Ellenborough and Hardwicke, asserted the truth of the proposition advanced long ago by Adam Smith that the value of fancy goods, hence of medals too, is in inverse proportion to their quantity.[b] After this important debate, which lasted about half an hour, the Lords adjourned.

The House of Commons was crowded. But the proceedings did not come up to expectations. Disraeli was not present, and Sir Benjamin Hall spoke. Having begun at a quarter to four, the sitting was over by 6 p.m. The Roman Senate has been admired for the dignified tranquility with which it received the news of the

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[a] The debates in the House of Lords and the House of Commons on January 23 are given according to *The Times*, No. 21959, January 24, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Adam Smith has: "All sorts of luxuries and curiosities" (*An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I, p. 354).—*Ed.*

defeat at Cannae.[432] The *patres conscripti*[a] of Rome have now been surpassed by the Commons of England. It was impossible to see these faces and to believe in the destruction of the British armies in the Crimea. The state of health of the Crimean army seems to have prompted Sir Benjamin Hall to introduce two Bills to improve the running of the health inspectorate in England. Sir Benjamin Hall is one of the so-called Radicals, of the same type as Sir William Molesworth, Osborne and Co. The radicalism of these gentlemen lies in their demanding ministerial posts even though they neither belong to the oligarchy nor possess plebeian talent. But their mere presence in the Ministry is a radical fact. So say their friends. Hence, when cholera was raging with great virulence in England in the summer of 1854 and the Board of Health, until then under the control of Palmerston, the Home Secretary, proved as incompetent as the medical department of the camp outside Sevastopol, the Coalition considered it a suitable time to create a new ministerial post, an independent President of the Board of Health, and to strengthen itself by making the "Radical" Sir Benjamin Hall a member of the Government. So Sir Benjamin Hall became Minister of Health. Cholera, it is true, did not disappear from London as soon as his appointment appeared in the *Gazette*, but a certain Taylor disappeared from *Punch*, where he had been poking fun at the Coalition and the Emperor of Russia. For Sir Benjamin Hall appointed him Secretary of the Board of Health at a salary of £1,000. As a Radical, Sir Benjamin Hall loves radical cures. As for the merits of his Bills, there will be time enough to discuss them when they are introduced. Yesterday they merely served to give him the opportunity of making his ministerial début in the House of Commons.

In answer to Layard's question,

> "whether the Ministry has any objection to lay on the table of the House the correspondence that has taken place with foreign Powers with regard to the treaty of the 2d of December, 1854, and especially any document communicated to the Russian Government containing the interpretation put by the British and French governments on the Four Points,[b] not for negotiation but for acceptance",

Lord John Russell stated that he could not say if it would be possible to lay on the table any of the documents in question. Such a thing was not parliamentary. With reference to the history of the Four Points, however, he was able to tell his honourable friend, quite in general, the following: At the end of November Russia, through Gorchakov, had declared her acceptance of what is

[a] Honorary title of the ancient Roman senator.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 579-84.—*Ed.*

known as the Four Points; then came the treaty of December 2; then on December 28 a meeting in Vienna between Gorchakov and the ambassadors of England, France and Austria. The French Ambassador had, in the name of the Allies, read out a document in which they gave their interpretation of the Four Points—an interpretation which was to be considered as the basis of negotiations. In the third point it was proposed to put an end to Russia's preponderance in the Black Sea. Gorchakov did not accept this interpretation, he said however that he wanted to contact his Government for instructions. Ten days later he informed Count Buol that he had received these instructions. On January 7 or 8 another meeting was held in the offices of the Austrian Foreign Minister. Gorchakov read out a memorandum containing the views of his Government. Count Buol, Lord Westmorland and Baron de Bourqueney declared that they had no authority to accept the memorandum. The basis of negotiations had to be acceptance of the interpretation of the Four Points. Gorchakov then withdrew his memorandum and accepted the interpretation as the basis of negotiations. Russell added that despite her acceptance of this "basis" Russia had the right to dispute "every point" of the same as soon as it was definitely formulated. (A preliminary draft existed already.) The British Government stated that it was ready to open negotiations on the aforementioned basis. "But hitherto it has not yet given its ambassador any authorisation to negotiate." The last sentence is the only new piece of information Russell conceded to the Commons. The most important moment of the sitting was Roebuck's announcement that

> "on Thursday next he should move for a select committee to inquire into the numbers and condition of our army before Sevastopol, and into the conduct of those departments of the Government whose duty it was to administer to the wants of that army".

*The Times* "implores" Roebuck to "cry aloud and spare not".[a] The imploring of *The Times* and the past of Mr. Roebuck are neither of them likely to remove entirely the suspicion that Roebuck will cry, or rather croak, to prevent others from speaking. Thersites, as far as we know, was never used by Ulysses, but Roebuck is certainly being used by the Whigs, who in their own way are as cunning as Ulysses.

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21959, January 24, 1855, leader.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## COMMENTS ON THE CABINET CRISIS

*London*, January 26. When an envoy of Sultan Malik-Shah came to Alamut and called on Hasan-i Sabbah to surrender, the "old man of the mountains", instead of answering, beckoned to one of his fidawis,[433] commanding him to kill himself. At once the youth plunged his dagger into his breast and fell to the floor, a lifeless corpse. In the same way the "old man" of the Coalition[a] had ordered his Lord John Russell to commit suicide on his behalf in the House of Commons. Russell, the old parliamentary philanthropist, who always interpreted the commandment "Love thy neighbour as thyself" to mean that every man is his own neighbour, has preferred to kill the "old man" instead. We were not mistaken about Roebuck. His motion was arranged with Russell in order to salvage the "better part"—the Whigs—from the shipwreck.

Indeed! This motion is not directed against the Ministry but against the "departments" that are directly responsible for the conduct of the war, i.e., against the *Peelites*. Furthermore, it was obvious that at the opening of Parliament he had good reasons for making the declaration that the basis for negotiations was no basis insofar as Russia reserved the right to dispute each of the Four Points—and, that the negotiations were likewise no negotiations insofar as the English Cabinet had still not appointed a negotiator. Scarcely had Roebuck proposed his motion—on Tuesday—when Russell writes the same evening to the "old man" that this motion amounts to a vote of censure against the War Office (the Peelites),

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[a] Aberdeen.—*Ed.*

and that *he* must therefore tender his resignation.[a] Aberdeen goes to the Queen at Windsor Castle and advises her to accept his [Russell's] resignation, which is what happens. The courage of the "old man" is understandable when one learns that Palmerston has *not* handed in his resignation.

At the Thursday sitting the House of Commons is informed of these important events. It adjourns its sitting (and Roebuck his motion) until this evening.[b] Now the whole of the House of Commons rushes into the House of Lords where clarification is expected of Aberdeen, but Aberdeen is clever enough to be absent—reportedly back in Windsor—and the Duke of Newcastle recounts the same tale in the Lords as Palmerston has told in the Commons. In the meanwhile the Whigs of the Commons are appalled to discover in the House of Lords that their plan has been seen through and their retreat cut off. The Tories, not at all eager to re-install the Whigs, at the expense of the Peelites, in their old privilege as "divinely-appointed tenants of the British Empire", have prevailed on Lord Lyndhurst to propose a motion which, in contrast to Roebuck's motion, does not merely censure—*à la* Roebuck—individual departments of the Government but puts the entire Government formally in the dock. Lord Lyndhurst's motion reads as follows:

"I shall move on Friday, February 2, that in the opinion of this House the expedition to the Crimea was undertaken by Her Majesty's Government with very inadequate means and without due caution or sufficient inquiry into the nature and extent of the resistance to be expected from the enemy: and that the neglect and mismanagement of the Government in the conduct of the enterprise have led to the most disastrous results."

There is no mistaking it: Lyndhurst's motion is aimed at the Whigs just as Roebuck's is aimed at the Aberdeenites. An incidental observation: Lord John Russell has informed the Commons through Hayter that he will explain the reasons for his resignation at the earliest opportunity, that is tonight. "He who expects nothing will not be disappointed."[434]

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21961, January 26, 1855, leader.—*Ed.*

[b] Speeches of Roebuck, Palmerston and Hayter in the House of Commons and of the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Lyndhurst in the House of Lords on January 25, 1855 were published in *The Times*, No. 21961, January 26, 1855.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## PARLIAMENTARY NEWS

*London*, January 27. The tone and physiognomy of yesterday's Commons sitting showed precisely to what level the British Parliament has sunk.[a]

At the opening of the sitting, at about 4 p.m., the House was packed because a scene was expected, a scandal: Lord Russell's explanation of his resignation. As soon as the personal debate was over and the proper parliamentary debate, of Roebuck's motion, began the indignant patriots hurried off to dinner; the House thinned out and several voices shouted, "Divide, divide!" A considerable pause ensued until the Secretary at War, Sidney Herbert, rose and directed a long and well-worded speech at empty benches. Then the sated Members gradually strolled back to their seats. When Layard began his speech at about 9.30 p.m. there were some 150 Members present. When he concluded about an hour before the House adjourned, it was full again. The rest of the sitting, however, strongly resembled a parliamentary siesta.

Lord John Russell—all of whose merits can be reduced to one: expertise in parliamentary tactics—did not make his speech from the Speaker's table, as is customary on such occasions, but from the third bench behind the ministerial seats, where the discontented Whigs are installed. He spoke in a low, hoarse voice, drawling, mistreating English pronunciation as always, and frequently at odds with the rules of syntax. (Nota bene: One must on no account confuse the speeches as they are presented in the

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[a] Parliamentary debates on January 26, 1855 were published in *The Times*, No. 21962, January 27, 1855.—*Ed.*

newspapers with the speeches as they are delivered.) While ordinary orators make up for poor content by good delivery, Russell sought to excuse poor content by means of even worse delivery. The way in which he spoke was, as it were, an apology for what he said.

And an apology was certainly necessary! The previous Monday he had still not thought of resigning, he said, but on Tuesday, as soon as Roebuck had tabled his motion,[a] he had found it unavoidable. This reminds one of the lackey who was by no means averse to telling a lie but whose conscience was troubled as soon as the lie was discovered. From what point of view should he oppose the request for a parliamentary inquiry, as his duty as ministerial Leader of the House required! Because the evils were not great enough to call for an inquiry! Nobody, he said, could deny the melancholy state of the army at Sevastopol. It was not only painful but shocking and heart-rending. Or ought he to have maintained before the House that its committee of inquiry was pointless as better arrangements to remedy the evils were in progress? Russell is on slippery ground when raising this question for he was directly responsible for adopting such arrangements, not only as a member of the Ministry but especially as Lord President of the Privy Council.[b] He admits that he consented to the appointment of the Duke of Newcastle as "supreme" War Minister. He cannot deny that precautionary measures to ensure provisions, clothing and medical care for the army should have been taken by August and September at the latest. What did he do, on his own admission, during this critical period? He was travelling about the country giving small talks to "literary institutions" and editing the correspondence of Charles James Fox. While he was travelling about in England, Aberdeen was travelling in Scotland, and there was no Cabinet meeting from August until October 17. At this meeting, Lord John, according to his own account, made no proposals worth informing Parliament of. Lord John then takes another whole month to think things over and then, on November 17, sends a letter to Aberdeen suggesting to him the amalgamation of the office of Secretary of State *for* War with that of Secretary *at* War and the appointment of Palmerston to fill them both—in other words, the dismissal of the Duke of Newcastle. Aberdeen rejects this. Russell writes to him again on November 28 in the same spirit. On November 30 Aberdeen replies to him quite

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[a] See this volume, p. 602.—*Ed.*
[b] Marx used the English term.—*Ed.*

correctly that his whole proposal amounts to the replacement of one man by another, of Newcastle by Palmerston.[a] But when the Colonial Office had been separated from the War Office, he said, Russell had readily consented to Newcastle taking over the latter, in order to bring one of his Whigs, Sir George Grey, into the Colonial Office.[b] Aberdeen then asked Russell himself whether he wanted to put his proposal to the Cabinet. Russell declined to do this, as he said, "so as *not* to cause the break-up of the Ministry". Hence, the Ministry first, then the army in the Crimea.

*No* measures had been taken to remedy the evils, confesses Russell. All reform of the management of the war was limited to the placing of the Commissariat under the Secretary of State *for* War. Nevertheless, although *no* remedial measures are taken, Russell calmly remains in the Government, making no further suggestions from November 30, 1854 until January 20, 1855. On this day—last Saturday—Aberdeen informs Russell of certain proposals for reforms in the management of the war; these are found unsatisfactory by the latter, who submits counter-proposals of his own in writing. Not until three days later does he deem it necessary to hand in his resignation, because Roebuck has tabled his motion and Russell is not inclined to share responsibility with a Cabinet with which he has shared office and actions. He had heard—declares Russell—that Aberdeen was never resolved to appoint Palmerston dictator in the War Office. If this were the case he—Curtius—congratulated himself on not having leapt in vain from the firm ground of the Ministry into the hollow tomb of the Opposition. After rolling thus far down his precipitous path our Lord John then destroys the last ostensible pretext for his resignation, declaring: 1. that the prospects for the war are by no means such as to give rise to the prevailing depression; 2. that Aberdeen is a great Minister, Clarendon a great diplomat, and Gladstone a great financier; 3. that the Whig Party does not consist of office-seekers but of fervent patriots, and finally that he, Russell, would abstain from voting on Roebuck's motion, although he is supposed to have resigned because a patriot can have *no* objection to Roebuck's motion. Russell's speech was received even more coldly than it was delivered.

Palmerston gets up on behalf of the Ministry. His situation is rather strange. Curtius Russell resigns because Aberdeen is

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[a] These facts are cited according to Lord Russell's speech in the House of Commons on January 26, 1855. *The Times*, No. 21962, January 27, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 228.—*Ed.*

unwilling to appoint Palmerston dictator over the war. Brutus Palmerston attacks Russell for leaving Aberdeen in the lurch in the moment of danger. Palmerston was quite pleased with this bizarre situation. It enabled him, as he usually does in critical moments, to laugh off the seriousness of the situation and transform it into a farce. When he rebuked Russell for not taking his heroic decision back in December, Disraeli—who at least does not conceal his joy at the demise of the Venetian Constitution—laughed out loud, and Gladstone, who makes seriousness his speciality, was evidently murmuring all the Puseyite[435] prayers he knew to stop himself from exploding. Palmerston declared that if the Roebuck motion were passed it would mean the fall of the Ministry. If it were defeated the Cabinet would meet to discuss its own reorganisation (including Palmerston's dictatorship).

A great magician this Palmerston! With one foot in the grave he can make England believe that he is a *homo novus*, and that his career is only just beginning. *Twenty years* Secretary at War, and as such known only for his systematic defence of flogging and of the purchase of commissions in the Army,[436] he ventures to pass himself off as the man whose mere name is enough to eliminate the faults in the system. Of all the English Ministers the only one to have been repeatedly denounced in Parliament, especially in 1848, as a *Russian agent*, he is able to make himself out to be the only man in a position to lead England in the war against Russia. A great man, this Palmerston!

About the debate on Roebuck's motion, which has been adjourned until Monday evening, next time. So cleverly is the latter formulated that the opponents of the Ministry declared that they would vote for it despite its insipidness, and the supporters of the Ministry declared that they would speak in favour of it, although they would vote against it. The Lords sitting contained nothing of interest. Aberdeen added nothing to Russell's explanation, except his surprise: Russell had surprised the whole Cabinet.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE EUROPEAN WAR[437]

As the term approaches for the opening of the new Conference at Vienna, the probability of any concessions on the part of Russia dwindles away into misty and most uncertain tenuity. The brilliant success of that great diplomatic *coup*,[a] the prompt acceptance by the Czar of the proposed basis of negotiations, puts him, for the moment at least, in a commanding position, and renders it certain that, under whatever appearances he may agree to proposals for peace, the only real basis on which he will now consent to arrange the quarrel is substantially that of the *status quo*. By accepting the Four Points[b] he has thrown Austria back into a doubtful position, while he retains Prussia in his leading strings, and gains time to bring all his reserves and new formations of troops to the frontier before hostilities can begin.

The very fact of negotiations having been agreed upon, sets free at once as many Russian soldiers of the army of observation on the Austrian frontier as can be replaced in two months or ten weeks—that is, at least sixty to eighty thousand men. As the whole of the late Danubian army has ceased to exist as such, the fourth corps having been in the Crimea since the end of October, the third corps having arrived there in the latter part of December, and the rest of the fifth corps, beside cavalry and reserves now being on the way thither, these troops must be replaced on the Bug and Dniester by fresh men, to be taken from the western army in Poland, Volhynia and Podolia. Accordingly, if the war is to be transferred to the center of the Continent, two or three

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[a] Move.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 579-84.—*Ed.*

months' time is of the utmost importance to Russia; for, at the present moment, the forces she has scattered on the long line from Kalish to Ismail are no longer sufficient, without reenforcements, to withstand the increasing number of Austrian troops opposed to them. That time she has now gained, and we proceed to show what is the present state of her military preparations.

We have, on former occasions, given an outline of the Russian military organization.[a] In the great active army, the one destined to act against the South and West of Europe, there were originally six army-corps, of forty-eight battalions each; two corps of selected troops, of thirty-six battalions each, beside a comparatively strong force of cavalry, regular and irregular, with artillery. As we have before stated, the Government has not only called in the reserves to form the fourth, fifth and sixth battalions of the selected troops, and the fifth and sixth of the other six army-corps; but even the seventh and eighth battalions of each regiment had been formed by new levies, so that the number of battalions has been doubled for the six corps of the line, and more then doubled for the selected troops (Guards and Grenadiers). These forces may now be approximately estimated as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Guards and Grenadiers—the first four battalions per regiment | 96 bats. at 900 men | 86,400 |
| Guards and Grenadiers—the last four battalions per regiment | 96 bats. at 700 men | 67,200 |
| First and Second Corps (not yet engaged)—the first, or active, four battalions per regiment | 96 bats. at 900 men | 86,400 |
| First and Second Corps—the last four battalions per regiment | 96 bats. at 700 men | 67,200 |
| Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth Corps—the active battalions | 192 bats. at 500 men | 96,000 |
| Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth Corps—the last four battalions per regiment | 192 bats. at 700 men | 134,400 |
| Corps of Finland | 16 bats. at 900 men | 14,400 |
| Total | 784 | 552,000 |
| Add: Cavalry, regular | | 80,000 |
| Cavalry, irregular | | 46,000 |
| Artillery | | 80,000 |
| Total | | 758,000 |

[a] See this volume, pp. 498-504.—*Ed.*

A part of these estimates may appear high, but in reality they are not so. The enormous recruiting which has taken place since the war began, should have swelled the ranks of the army higher than this, in spite of the losses sustained, which, all of them, fell upon the 96 active battalions of the third, fourth, fifth and sixth corps; but we have allowed amply for the many recruits who die before they reach their regiments. Besides, for cavalry our estimate is very low.

Of the above troops, 8,000 men (one division of the fifth corps) are in the Caucasus, and must, therefore, be deducted; for we leave unnoticed here the forces employed out of Europe. The remaining 750,000 troops are distributed nearly as follows: On the shores of the Baltic, the Baltic Army, under General Sievers, consisting of the Finland corps, and reserves of the Guards, Grenadiers, and sixth corps, amounting, with cavalry and artillery, to about 135,000 men, part of whom, however, may be considered as raw recruits and battalions hardly organized. In Poland and on the frontier of Galicia, from Kalish to Kamenicz, the Guards, the Grenadiers, the first corps, one division of the sixth corps, and some reserves of the Grenadiers and first corps, with cavalry and artillery, about 235,000 men. This army is the finest part of the Russian troops; it contains the select troops, and the best of the reserves. In Bessarabia, and between the Dniester and Bug, are two divisions of the second corps, and part of its reserves, about 60,000 men. These formed part of the army of the West, but upon the army of the Danube being sent to the Crimea, they were detached to take its place. They now oppose the Austrian troops in the Principalities, and are commanded by General Panyutin. For the defense of the Crimea are destined the third and fourth corps, one division of the fifth corps, two divisions of the 6th, and some reserves already there, beside one division each of the second and fifth corps on the march, the whole composing, with cavalry and artillery, a force which can hardly be estimated at less than 170,000 men, under Menchikoff. The remainder of the reserves and new formations, especially of the first, second, third, fourth and fifth corps, are now being organized into a grand army of reserve by General Cheodayeff. They are concentrating in the interior, and must count about 150,000 men. How many of them are on the march to Poland or the South, is, of course, impossible to tell.

Thus the Emperor Nicholas, who, last summer, had less than 500,000 troops on the western frontier of his Empire, from Finland to the Crimea, now has 600,000 men placed there, beside

a reserve forming in the interior to the number of 150,000. For all that, he is weaker now against Austria than he was then. In August or September there were in Poland and Podolia 270,000 Russians, and on the Pruth and Dniester the army of the Danube, counting about 80,000 men; for this latter was also kept there more for the sake of the Austrians than for anything else. This made a total of 350,000 men who might have operated against Austria. Now there are, as we have seen, only 295,000 men concentrated along the Austrian line of outposts, while Austria must by this time have 320,000 men directly opposed to them, and 70,000 to 80,000 men in Bohemia and Moravia to support these. This momentary inferiority of numbers on the Russian side, and the great uncertainty as to the time of arrival of fresh formations from the interior, in the present season, and in a country where the whole administration is corrupt, are quite sufficient causes to make the Russian Government try to gain as much time as possible. Such an inferiority of numbers disables the Russians for offensive operations; and in an open country like Poland, with no great river-lines between the two armies, this means the necessity of a retreat, on the first encounter, to a tenable position. In this especial case it means the cutting of the Russian army in two portions, one of which would have to retreat upon Warsaw, and the other upon Kiev; and between these two halves would there lie the impassable Polesian moors, extending from the Bug (tributary to the Vistula, not the Southern Bug), to the Dnieper. In fact, it would be better luck than the Russians generally have on such occasions, if large numbers escaped being driven into these morasses. Thus, even without a battle, the greater part of Southern Poland, Volhynia, Podolia, Bessarabia, the country from Warsaw to Kiev and Kherson would have to be evacuated. On the other hand, a superior Russian army could quite as easily drive the opposing Austrians, without their risking a decisive battle, out of Galicia and Moldavia, and force the passes into Hungary, and the consequences of such a result can easily be imagined. Indeed, in such a war between Austria and Russia, the first successful offensive movement is of the highest importance to either party; and either will do the utmost to establish itself first on the other's territory.

We have often said that this war would not have that military interest which properly attaches to European wars, until Austria should declare herself against Russia.[a] Even the efforts in the

[a] See this volume, pp. 543-49.—*Ed.*

Crimea are nothing but a great war upon a small scale. The enormous marches of the Russians, the sufferings of the Allies, have hitherto reduced the contending armies to such numbers that no really great battle has been fought. What are fights where but from fifteen to twenty-five thousand men on a side are engaged? What strategical operations of really scientific interest can occur within the small space from Cape Chersonesus to Bakshiserai? And even there, whatever occurs, there are never troops enough to occupy the whole line. The interest consists more in what is not done, than in what is done. For the rest, it is anecdote, instead of history, that is performed.

But it will be a different thing should the two grand armies, now facing each other on the Galician frontier, come into play. Whatever the intentions and capabilities of the commanders may be, the very magnitude of the armies and the nature of the ground admit of no sham war and of no indecision. Rapid concentrations, forced marches, stratagems and outflankings of the largest kind, changing bases and lines of operation—in fact, maneuvering and fighting on a grand scale, and according to real military principles, here become a necessity and a matter of course; and then the chief who is influenced by political considerations or who acts with a want of resolution must lose his army. War on such a scale and in such a country takes a serious and a business-like turn at once; and it is this which will make the Austro-Russian war, if it does break out, one of the most interesting events since 1815.

As to the prospect of peace, that is by no means so clear as it seemed a few weeks since. If the Allies are willing to put an end to the struggle on the terms, substantially, of the *status quo*, it may be done; but how little hope there is of that, our readers cannot require to be informed. Certainly, with half of Germany acting, morally at least, in her favor, and after having put on foot the enormous armies whose strength we have above exhibited, we cannot expect Russia to agree to any terms which France and England are likely to propose or consent to. The almost uninterrupted series of profitable treaties of peace, from Peter the Great to the peace of Adrianople, will hardly now be followed by a treaty surrendering the dominion of the Black Sea, before Sevastopol is taken, and when only one-third of the Russian forces have as yet been engaged. But if peace cannot be concluded before the fate of Sevastopol or of the allied expedition is fully developed, it will be less probable after this Crimean campaign is decided. If Sevastopol falls, the honor of Russia—if the Allies are

defeated and driven into the sea, their honor—will not admit of a settlement until more decisive results are obtained. Had the preparations for the Conference been attended by an armistice, as we intimated on hearing of the Czar's acceptance of the Four Points, there would have been reason for continuing to entertain hopes of peace; but, under present circumstances, we are compelled to admit that a great European war is much more probable.

Written about January 29, 1855

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## FROM PARLIAMENT.— FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

*London*, January 29. Our judgment of the English Parliament[a] has been corroborated today by the English press.

"The Parliament of England," says *The Morning Advertiser*, "has met, and ... separated on the first night, in laughter more unseemly than the jesting of an idiot over his father's burial."[b]

*The Times*, too, cannot help remarking:

"There are few, we apprehend, who will rise from the perusal of Friday night's debate without a melancholy feeling, which they may not perhaps be able at once to define or analyse, but which, when examined, resolves itself into a conviction that our legislature, called together on a most urgent occasion to a consideration of the gravest nature, postpones primary to secondary objects, and gives up to party and personal considerations those hours which ought now to be exclusively devoted to the desperate situation of our army in the Crimea."[c]

In this situation, *The Times* proceeds to recommend making Palmerston prime minister because he is "too old" to be Secretary for War. It was *The Times* that recommended undertaking the Crimean expedition at such a time of the year and with such forces that almost certainly ensured failure, according to the testimony of Sir Howard Douglas, the greatest military critic of England.

Let us add a brief postscript to the account of Friday's sitting. Although Roebuck was forced by his old chronic ailment to break

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[a] See this volume, pp. 600-01.— *Ed.*
[b] *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19846, January 29, 1855, leader.— *Ed.*
[c] *The Times*, No. 21963, January 29, 1855, leader.— *Ed.*

off his speech after ten minutes and abruptly propose his motion, he did have time to formulate the fatal question: We have sent out 54,000 well-equipped troops to the East. Of these 14,000 still exist. What has become of the 40,000 who *are missing*? And what was the answer of the Secretary at War, Sidney Herbert, the great patron of the English Pietists, the Tractarians[438]? He said the system was no good.[a] But when the separation of the War Office from the Colonial Office was carried out a few months ago, who resisted every thorough-going reform of the system?[b] Sidney Herbert and his colleagues. Sidney Herbert, not content with hiding behind "the system", accuses the commanders of the brigades and regiments of total incompetence. Anyone who knows the system also knows that these commanders have nothing to do with administration, nor, consequently, with the maladministration which it is admitted has now sacrificed a model army. But the pious Herbert is not satisfied with confessing the sins of *other people*. The English soldiers, he claims, are inept. They are unable to take care of themselves. They are indeed gallant but stupid.

> "At fighting they are respectable,
> When it comes to thinking—miserable."[c]

He, Sidney Herbert, and his colleagues are all misunderstood geniuses. Is it any wonder that Herbert's sermon appealed to that eccentric Drummond and put the question in his mouth whether it were not time to suspend the constitution and appoint a dictator for England.[d] Vernon Smith, the former Whig Minister, eventually gave the general confusion a classic expression, declaring that he knew not what the intention of the motion was, nor what he should do himself, nor whether a new ministry was in the making, nor if the old one had ever existed, and therefore he would not vote for the motion.[e] *The Times* believes, however, that the motion will be passed this evening.[f] On January 26, 1810, as we recall, resistance was mounted in the English Parliament against Lord Porchester's proposal to establish a committee of inquiry into the

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[a] S. Herbert's speech in the House of Commons on January 26, 1855. *The Times*, No. 21962, January 27, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 220 and 228.—*Ed.*

[c] Paraphrase of a couplet from Goethe's *Sprichwörtlich*.—*Ed.*

[d] H. Drummond's speech in the House of Commons on January 26, 1855. *The Times*, No. 21962, January 27, 1855.—*Ed.*

[e] V. Smith's speech in the House of Commons on January 26, 1855. *The Times*, No. 21962, January 27, 1855.—*Ed.*

[f] *The Times*, No. 21963, January 29, 1855, leader.—*Ed.*

Walcheren Expedition.[439] Similar resistance occurred on January 26, 1855. On January 29, 1810 the motion was passed, and England is a country of historical precedents.

The mere acceptance of peace negotiations allowed Russia to withdraw as many troops from the observation army on the Austrian border as can be replaced in two months or ten weeks, i.e. at least 60,000-80,000. We now know that the entire former (Russian) Danube army has ceased to exist as such, as the 4th Corps has been in the Crimea since the end of October, the 3rd arrived there in the final days of December and the rest of the 5th Corps, together with the cavalry and reserves, are at present marching thither. The new distribution of these troops, who have to be replaced on the Bug and Dniester by troops from the Western Army (stationed in Poland, Volhynia and Podolia), and the fact that in addition parts of the 2nd Corps and the reserve cavalry are likewise heading for the Crimea, are sufficient explanation, even disregarding all the other secondary diplomatic aims involved, why Russia did not hesitate a moment to resume negotiation on the so-called "basis". A period of two to three months is of decisive importance for her, because her army, spread out on the long line from Kalish to Ismail, is without reinforcements no longer capable of resisting the growing numbers of the Austrian army confronting it. In order to prove this in more detail we present here a survey, emanating from the best possible sources—and *over*estimating, rather than *under*-estimating, the strength of the Russian forces—of the strength and position of the large Russian army on active service, which is to operate against the South and West of Europe. Initially it consisted of six army corps, each of 48 battalions, two corps of picked troops (Guards and Grenadiers), each 36 battalions strong, together with a relatively large number of cavalry, regular and irregular, and artillery. The Russian Government then called up reserves in order to form the 4th, 5th and 6th battalions of picked troops, and the 5th and 6th battalions of the other army corps. By raising more new troops it soon afterwards added a 7th battalion and 8th to each regiment, thus doubling the number of battalions in the line corps and more than doubling them for the picked troops.

These forces may be approximately estimated as follows: *Guards and Grenadiers*—the first four battalions of each regiment=96 battalions of 900 men=86,400 men, ditto the last four battalions of each regiment, ditto of 700 men=67,200 men. The *1st* and *2nd Corps* (not yet engaged)—the first four battalions of each

regiment=96 battalions of 900 men=86,400 men. The last four battalions of each regiment=96 battalions of 700 men=67,200 men. The *3rd, 4th, 5th* and *6th Corps*—the first four battalions of each regiment=192 battalions of 500 men=96,000 men; the last four battalions of each regiment=192 battalions of 700 men=134,400 men. The *Finland Corps*—14,400 men. [Total]=784 battalions comprising 552,000 men. *Cavalry* (regular)—80,000 men. *Cavalry* (irregular)—46,000 men. *Artillery*—80,000 men. Total 758,000 men. Casualties have hitherto affected only the 96 active battalions of the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th Corps.

After deducting the 1st Division of the 5th Corps, which is at the Caucasus, there remain 750,000 men, that are now distributed as follows: On the shores of the Baltic Sea the Baltic Army under General Sievers, consisting of the Finnish Corps and the reserves of the Guards, Grenadiers and the 6th Corps, together with cavalry, etc., approximately 135,000 men, of which a proportion are raw recruits and recently organised battalions. In Poland and on the Galician border, from Kalish to Kamenez, the Guards, the Grenadiers, the 1st Corps, the 2nd Division of the 6th Corps, some of the reserves of the Grenadiers and of the 1st Corps, plus cavalry and artillery, approximately 235,000 men. The crack troops of the Russian Army are commanded by Gorchakov. In Bessarabia and between the Dniester and the Bug, there are two divisions of the 2nd Corps and a part of the reserves, approximately 60,000 men. These formed a part of the army of the West. But when the Danube army was sent to the Crimea they were detached from the Western army in order to take the place of the Danube army and, under the command of General Panyutin, they are now confronting the Austrian army in the Principalities. Intended for the defence of the Crimea: the 3rd and 4th Corps, two divisions of the 6th Corps and reserves, as well as one division of both the 2nd and 5th Army Corps on the march, together with cavalry they amount to some 170,000 men under Menshikov. The rest of the reserves and newly formed battalions, particularly of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th Corps, are being reorganised as the great reserve army under General Cheodayev. This reserve army, numbering about 150,000 is concentrated in the interior of Russia. How many of them are marching towards Poland or southward is unknown.

Thus while at the end of last summer Russia could muster less than 500,000 men on the western borders of her empire, from Finland to the Crimea, she now has 600,000 men, besides a reserve army of 150,000. Nevertheless she is weaker vis-à-vis

Austria than at that time. Then, in August and September, there were 270,000 Russians in Poland and Podolia, while the army on the Pruth, Dniester and Danube amounted to roughly 80,000 men, making a total of 350,000 men capable of operating together against Austria. Now—there remain only 295,000 men, while Austria has 320,000 directly confronting them and can support them with another 70,000-80,000 in Bohemia and Moravia. Therefore Russia cannot risk an offensive operation *at the present moment.* In an open country like Poland, without any big river lines between the two armies, this is synonymous with the necessity of retiring to a tenable position. If Austria attacked now the Russian army would have to split up into two halves, one withdrawing towards Warsaw, the other towards Kiev, separated by the inaccessible marshlands of Polesye, which extend from the Bug to the Dnieper. Therefore *at the present moment* it is essential for Russia to gain time. Hence her "diplomatic considerations".

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## THE LATE BRITISH GOVERNMENT[440]

In recording the advent of Lord Palmerston's Government to what we are confident must prove a brief and not very brilliant career, it seems not improper to cast a glance at the history of its predecessor, of which it is hard to say whether the splendor of its opening pretensions, the momentous nature of the events in which it participated, its unprecedented incapacity, or the ignominy of its downfall will the most distinguish the future record of its existence.

It will be remembered that Lord Aberdeen and his Coalition came into office through the vote which upset, on the 16th December, 1852, the Derby Administration. Disraeli, in a vote upon his budget, was left in a minority of nineteen, under the pretext that his extension of the house-tax and of the general area of direct taxation was not in harmony with Whig and Peelite principles of sound political economy. The vote, however, was in reality carried by the Irish Brigade,[441] whose motives, as is well known, are of a far less theoretical nature; and even the so-called Liberals and liberal Conservatives had to belie their words by their acts when they repeated in their own budget many of Disraeli's proposals and most of his arguments. At all events, the Tories were turned out, and, after some struggles and fruitless attempts, this Coalition was formed, by which, according to *The London Times*,[a] England had now arrived "at the commencement of the political millennium."[b] This millennium lasted exactly two years

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21316, January 4, 1853, leader.—*Ed.*

[b] The thousand years during which holiness is to be triumphant throughout the world. Some believe that during this period Christ will reign on earth in person with his saints.—*Ed.*

and one month; it ended in universal defeat and disaster, amid the general indignation of the British people. The very *Times* which inaugurated the reign of "All the Talents" as a millennium, was, of all journals, the one which contributed most toward its downfall.

The Talents met Parliament on the 10th of February, 1853. They recited over again the identical Whig programme which Lord John Russell had already once inaugurated in 1850 and which had then very soon led to a ministerial turn-out. As to the main question, Parliamentary Reform, that was a matter which could not be thought of before "next session." For the present the country was to be satisfied with minor, but more plentiful and more practical administrative reforms, such as law-reform, railway-regulations, and improvements in education. The retirement of Lord John Russell from the Foreign office, where he was replaced by Lord Clarendon, was the first of the changes which characterize this talented administration, and which all ended in the institution of new places, new sinecures, new salaries for its faithful supporters. Russell was for a time a member of the Cabinet, without any function but that of Leader of the House of Commons, and without salary; but he very soon applied for the latter commodity, and finally was elevated to the style and title of President of the Council, with a good round sum per annum.

On the 24th of February Lord John brought in his bill for removal of Jewish Disabilities, which ended in nothing, being burked by the House of Lords. On the 4th of April, he followed it up by his Educational Reform bill. Both bills were as tame and innocuous as could be expected from a Do-Nothing Ministry. Meanwhile, Palmerston, in his position as Home Secretary, discovered the new gunpowder-plot, the great Kossuth-Hale rocket affair.[442] Palmerston, it will be recollected, had Mr. Hale's rocket factory searched, and a quantity of rockets and composition seized; the matter was made a great deal of, and when discussed in Parliament, on April 15, Palmerston gave it still greater importance by his mysterious language. But about one point he used no mystery; he declared himself the general informer of the Continental police, with regard to refugees, quite as openly as Sir James Graham had done in 1844, on the occasion of the opening of Mazzini's letters. At last, however, the affair had to be virtually abandoned by the noble informer, in as much as Mr. Hale could only be charged with having carried on a manufacture of explosive matter at an unlawful proximity to the suburbs of

London; and the great plot for blowing up all Europe was reduced to a simple, fineable contravention of police regulations!

It was now Russell's turn again. On May 31, in a speech in the House, he offended the Roman Catholics—the men who had put him in office—in such a manner that the Irish members of the Administration at once resigned. This was more than the "strong Government" could stand. The support of the Irish Brigade was the first condition of its existence, and, consequently, Aberdeen, in a letter to one of the Irish members, had to disavow his colleague, and Russell had to retract in Parliament.[a]

The main feature of this session was the East India bill, by which the Ministry proposed, without any material improvement of Indian government, to renew the East India Company's charter for twenty years. This was too bad, even for such a Parliament, and had to be abandoned. The charter was to be revocable by Parliament at a year's notice. Sir Charles Wood, the late bungling Chancellor of the Exchequer of the Russell Cabinet, now proved his capabilities in the Board of Control, or Indian Board. The whole of the reforms proposed were confined to a few petty alterations of doubtful effect in the judicial system, and the throwing open of civil employments and the scientific military service to public competition. But these reforms were merely pretexts; the real gist of the bill was this: Sir Charles Wood got his salary as President of the Board of Control raised from £1,200 to £5,000; instead of 24 India Directors elected by the Company, there were to be only 18, six of whom were in the gift of Government, an accession of patronage which was the less despicable as the Directors' salaries were raised from £300 to £500, while the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman received £1,000. Not satisfied with this waste of public money, the Governor-General of India, formerly at the same time Governor of Bengal, was now to have a separate Governor of that Presidency under him, while a new Presidency, with a new Governor, was to be created on the Indus. Every one of these Governors must, of course, have his Council, and overpaid and luxurious sinecures the seats in these Councils are. How happy India should be, governed as it is, at last, according to unsophisticated Whig principles!

Then came the Budget. This splendid financial combination, along with Mr. Gladstone's scheme for doing away with the

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[a] Aberdeen to Monsell, June 3, 1853. *The Times*, No. 21447, June 6, 1853; Lord John Russell's speech in the House of Commons on June 6, 1853. *The Times*, No. 21448, June 7, 1853.—*Ed.*

national debt, has been so fully illustrated in *The Tribune*[a] that it is needless to recount its features. Many of them were taken from Disraeli's budget, which had so much roused the virtuous indignation of Gladstone; nevertheless the reduction of the tea duty, and the extension of direct taxation, were common to both budgets. Some of its most important measures were forced upon the great financier after his opposition against them had been repeatedly voted down in Parliament; thus the repeal of the Advertisement duty, and the extension of the Succession duty to landed property. The reform of the Licensing system, several times remodeled pending the discussion, had to be dropped. The budget, brought out with pretensions to a complete system, transformed itself during the debate into a confused *mixtum compositum*[b] of unconnected little items, hardly worth a hundredth part of the talk they occasioned.

As to the reduction of the national debt, Gladstone broke down still more completely. This scheme, brought forward with still greater pretensions than the budget, resulted in creating $2^1/_2$ per cent. Exchequer bonds, instead 1 per cent. Exchequer bills, the public thus losing $1^1/_2$ per cent. on the whole amount; in the necessity for the repayment, at the greatest public inconvenience, of the whole amount of the Exchequer bills, as well as of 8 millions of South Sea[443] stock; and in the total failure of his Exchequer bonds, which nobody would take. By this wonderful arrangement, Mr. Gladstone had the satisfaction of seeing the balance in the Exchequer diminished, on the 1st April 1854, from £7,800,000 which it was a year before, to £2,800,000, thus reducing, on the very eve of a war, the available funds of the public treasury by five millions. All this in the face of the secret correspondence of Sir H. Seymour, by which the Government must have known a year beforehand that a war with Russia was inevitable.

The new Irish Landlords and Tenants' bill,[444] brought in under Lord Derby, by the Tory Napier,[c] passed the Commons with at least some show of consent on the part of the Ministry; the Lords threw it out, and Aberdeen stated, on the 9th of August, his satisfaction at this result. The Transportation bill,[445] Navigation bill, and others which passed into law, had been inherited from the Derby Cabinet. The bills on Parliamentary Reform, National

[a] See present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 44 and 66 and this volume, pp. 117-18 and 184-88.— *Ed.*

[b] Mixture.— *Ed.*

[c] Joseph Napier.— *Ed.*

Education Reform, and almost all bills on Law Reform, had to be postponed. The British Whigs seem to consider it a misfortune that any of their measures should escape this fate. The only bill which passed, and which may be considered as the rightful property of this Ministry, is the Great Cab Act, which had to be reformed the day after its passage, in consequence of a general rebellion of the cabmen. Not even a set of regulations for cabs could All the Talents bring into successful existence.

On the 20th of August, 1853, Palmerston dismissed Parliament with the assurance that the people might be tranquil as to the Eastern difficulties; the evacuation of the Principalities was guaranteed by "his confidence in the honor and character of the Russian Emperor, which would move him to withdraw his troops from the Principalities!" On the 3d December, the Turkish fleet was destroyed by the Russians at Sinope. On the 12th, the Four Powers sent a note to Constantinople, in which, in reality, far more concessions were asked from the Porte than even in the preceding note of the Vienna Conference.[446] On the 14th, the British Ministry telegraphed to Vienna that the Sinope affair was not considered an obstacle to the continuation of the negotiations. Palmerston consented expressly to this; but on the next day he resigned—ostensibly for some difference respecting Russell's Reform bill, in reality, in order to make the public believe that he had resigned on grounds of foreign and war-policy. His purpose being obtained, he re-entered the Cabinet after a few days and thus avoided all unpleasant explanations in Parliament.

In 1854, the performance opened with the resignation of one of the junior Lords of the Treasury, Mr. Sadleir, who also was the Ministerial broker of the Irish brigade. Scandalous disclosures in an Irish Court of law, deprived the Administration of his talents. Afterward fresh scandalous matter came forward. Mr. Gladstone, the virtuous Gladstone, attempted to procure the governorship of Australia for one of his relations, his own secretary, a certain Lawley, known only as a betting-man and a jobber on the Stock Exchange; but, fortunately, the matter crept out too soon. In the same way, the same Gladstone was unpleasantly connected with vice by the absconding with a considerable amount of public money, of one O'Flaherty, a man employed under him and placed in his post by him. Another individual, of the name of Hayward, wrote a voluminous pamphlet of no literary or scientific value against Disraeli, and was rewarded by Gladstone with an office in the Poor-Law Board.

Parliament met in the beginning of February. On the 6th Palmerston gave notice of a bill for the organization of the militia in Ireland and Scotland; but, as war was actually declared on the 27th March, he considered it his duty not to bring it forward before the end of June. On the 13th Russell brought in his Reform bill, only to withdraw it ten weeks later, "with tears in his eyes," also because war had been declared.[a] In March, Gladstone comes forward with his budget, asking merely "for the sum which would be necessary to *bring back* the 25,000 men about to leave the British shores."[b] Thanks to his colleagues, he is now saved that trouble. In the meantime the Czar, by the publication of the secret correspondence, forced the French and English Cabinets to declare war. This secret correspondence, beginning with one of Russell's dispatches of the 11th January, 1853,[c] proved that at that time the British Ministers were fully aware of the aggressive intentions of Russia. All their assertions about the honor and character of Nicholas, and the pacific and moderate attitude of Russia, now looked like so many barefaced untruths, invented merely to humbug John Bull.

On the 7th of April, Lord Grey, feeling a strong vocation for the post of Minister of War, in order to ruin discipline in the army as he had ruined allegiance in almost every British Colony during his former Colonial administration—Lord Grey launched a philippic against the present organization of the War Department. He asked for a consolidation of all its offices under one War Minister. This speech gave Ministers an opportunity to create, in June, a new Secretaryship *for* War, by separating the War Department from the Colonial Department. Thus everything was left as defective as heretofore, while merely a new office with a new salary was created. The whole of that session of Parliament may be summed up thus: seven principal bills were brought in; of these, the bills for the change of the Law of Settlement,[447] for Public Education in Scotland, and for the reconstruction of Parliamentary oaths[448]—another shape of the Jews bill—were defeated; three others, the Bribery Prevention bill, the Civil Service Reorganization bill, and the Reform bill, were withdrawn; one bill, the Oxford University Reform bill, passed, but in a dreadfully mutilated state.

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[a] Lord John Russell's speech in the House of Commons on April 11, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21713, April 12, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Mr. Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on March 6, 1854. *The Times*, No. 21682, March 7, 1854.—*Ed.*

[c] Reference to Seymour's dispatch to Lord Russell of January 11, 1853.—*Ed.*

The conduct of the war, the diplomatic efforts of the Coalition need not here be alluded to. They are fresh in the memory of everybody. Parliament, prorogued on the 12th of August last, met again in December to pass hurriedly two measures of the utmost urgency; the Foreign Legion bill, and the bill permitting the Militia, as such, to volunteer for service abroad. Both of them have remained, to this day, a dead letter. In the mean time the news of the disastrous state of the British army in the Crimea arrived. The public indignation was roused; the facts were glaring and undeniable; Ministers had to think of retreat. Parliament met in January, Roebuck gave notice of his motion, Lord J. Russell at once disappeared, and a defeat unparalleled in Parliamentary history upset All the Talents after but a few days' debate.

Great Britain has had many a seedy administration to boast of, but a Cabinet so seedy, needy and greedy, and at the same time so presumptuous as All the Talents, never existed. They began with unbounded boasting, lived upon hair-splitting and defeat, and ended in disgrace as complete as it is possible for man to attain.

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# Karl Marx

## ON THE MINISTERIAL CRISIS

*London*, February 2. Yesterday evening the House of Commons again adjourned after Palmerston had made the official announcement of the resignation of the Ministry.

In the House of Lords, Aberdeen gave the funeral oration of the "Cabinet of all the Talents".[a] He said that he had opposed Roebuck's motion not because his Administration wished to avoid an inquiry but because the motion was unconstitutional. Aberdeen avoided, however, giving any historical illustration of this in the manner of his friend Sidney Herbert, who asked the Commons if it was of a mind to imitate the French Directory (founded 1795), which sent out commissars to arrest Dumouriez—commissars who, as everybody knows, were extradited to Austria by Dumouriez in 1793.[449] Such learning is shunned by our Scottish thane. His Cabinet, he assures us, would only stand to gain by a committee of inquiry. He goes even further. He anticipates the outcome of the inquiry in a panegyric over himself and his colleagues, firstly the Secretary for War, then the Chancellor of the Exchequer, then the First Lord of the Admiralty and finally the Foreign Secretary. Each is claimed to have been a great man in his job—a talent. As far as England's military situation is concerned, the position of the Crimean army is, he admits, vexatious, but Bonaparte has told Europe that the French army comprises 581,000 men; in addition he is said to have ordered a new levy of 140,000. Sardinia had placed 15,000 splendid troops at the disposal of Lord Raglan. If

[a] Speeches by Aberdeen, Derby and Newcastle in the House of Lords on February 1, 1855 were published in *The Times*, No. 21967, February 2, 1855.—*Ed.*

the peace negotiations in Vienna should break down then they were assured of the aid of a great military power with an army of 500,000 men.

At any rate our Scottish thane does not suffer from the same fault as the great economist and historian Sismondi, who, as he relates himself, saw everything in black with one eye. Aberdeen sees rosy colours with both eyes. Thus he now discovers thriving prosperity in all districts of England, while businessmen, manufacturers and workers allege that they are suffering from a major trade crisis. His antagonist Lord Derby is sprinkled by him with a measure of the Attic salt that Lord Byron long ago lauded in the Scottish thane.[a]

> My lords, the present need of the country is a strong Administration. How that is to be formed it was not for him to say. Rumour has asserted very confidently that Lord Derby has been commanded by Her Majesty to undertake the formation of an Administration. But seeing him in his place, he presumes that this was not the case and that public rumour errs.

In order to grasp the Attic subtlety of this statement it is necessary to compare it with Lord Derby's reply:

> "The noble earl Aberdeen has certainly underrated the source of his information, because not only may general rumour have informed him on the subject, but previously to entering into this House he (Derby) had, under his own hand, given the noble earl information as to the result of this command received from the Queen. Consequently, the general rumour which led the noble earl to believe it might be possible that he (Derby) had had some communication with Her Majesty are phrases which must have been employed by the noble earl in his usual care to guard against exaggeration and to avoid overstating any part of his case."

In this situation Derby then declared that the state of the parties at the moment and the present position in the House of Commons did not permit him to undertake the formation of an Administration.

For the audience in the House of Lords, and for the noble peers themselves, the elucidations of the War Secretary, the Duke of Newcastle, and the picture that he painted of the interior of the "harmonious family" not only supplanted all interest in the Crimean army but even in the ministerial crisis. Lord John Russell's declaration in the Commons obliged him—said the Duke of Newcastle—to make a statement about his personal position in the defeated Cabinet. Russell's version of the story had been neither complete nor faithful. In the matter of the separation of the War Office from the Colonial Office he had insinuated that he

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[a] Byron, *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers.—Ed.*

had only reluctantly given way to Newcastle's "strong wish" when he consented to the bestowal of the War Office on the Duke. Rather, when this separation was decided by the Cabinet he (Newcastle) had stated that "as far as he personally was concerned he was quite prepared to assume either or neither of the two departments". He could not, he said, remember Russell ever having expressed the desire to give the War Office to Palmerston, but recollected that Russell himself once wished to take it over. He (Newcastle) had never thought of putting obstacles in his path. He had accepted the War Office, he said, in the full awareness that in the eventuality of success he would not receive the credit for it, and, in the eventuality of failure, all blame would be thrust on him. But he had deemed it his duty not to desert in the face of the danger and difficulties of this thankless post. This was, he went on, what some people had called his "arrogance", and Lord John Russell in his nobly patronising fashion had termed his "commendable ambition". Lord Russell, he claimed, had deliberately withheld from the House of Commons the following passage from a letter from Aberdeen to the noble Lord:

> "I have shown your letter to the Duke of Newcastle. and Sidney Herbert. They both, as might have been expected, strongly urged me to adopt any such arrangement with respect to their offices as should be thought most conducive to the public service."

At this juncture he (Newcastle) had declared verbally to Aberdeen:

> "Do not give Lord Russell any pretext for quitting the Government. On no account resist his wishes to remove me from office. Do with me whatever is best for the public service."

Lord John Russell, he said, had referred mysteriously in the Commons to the errors which he had denounced in writing to Aberdeen. He had taken good care not to read out the relevant passages. The first concerned the failure to send the 97th Regiment from Athens to the Crimea, but the Foreign Secretary had declared the withdrawal of English troops from Athens to be impermissible and dangerous. As regards his second error, that he failed to send out 3,000 recruits, Lord Raglan had protested against the further supply of such young and undisciplined soldiers. Moreover, he said, at that time there had been no transport ships available. These two alleged errors were all that Russell had managed to concoct, relaxing with his colleagues in bathing resorts while he (Newcastle) had remained at his post toiling away throughout the year 1854. Incidentally, Russell

himself had finally written to him on October 8 regarding the "errors":

"You have done all that could be done and I am sanguine of success."

Moreover, he went on, Aberdeen had put Russell's proposal concerning changes in personnel before the whole Cabinet. It had been unanimously rejected. On December 13 he (Newcastle) had defended his management of affairs in a detailed speech in the House of Lords; on December 16 Russell told Aberdeen that he had changed his mind and had given up his wishes regarding the change in posts. Russell, he continued, had never taken any measures or made any proposals as to the reform of the War Administration, with two exceptions. Three days before his resignation and Roebuck's motion there had been a Cabinet meeting. Russell suggested giving the meetings of the heads of all the military departments, which had been taking place at the offices of the Secretary for War, a formal and official character. Russell's proposal was accepted. Shortly afterwards, Russell had sent in a written proposal, which, apart from the innovation already approved by the Cabinet, contained only two suggestions: 1. the creation of a supreme board headed by the Secretary of State for War to absorb the Board of Ordnance and control the entire civil administration of the army; 2. the appointment of two senior officers, apart from the heads of the war departments hitherto involved, to this supreme board. Russell declared in the Commons that he had had good reason to believe that his "written proposals" would be rejected. This was untrue. Suggestion No. 1 was accepted by Newcastle; suggestion No. 2 was rejected, among other reasons because the "Commissary General" whom Russell wished to call in had for many years been a mythical person and no longer existed in the British army. Thus, he said, Russell had never made a proposal that had not been accepted. Moreover, he (Newcastle) had already informed Lord Aberdeen on January 23 that however Parliament might decide, whether for or against the Ministry, he would resign from the Ministry. He simply did not want to give the appearance of running away before Parliament had passed judgment.

Lord John Russell, whose whole life, as old Cobbett says, was just a series of "false pretexts for living", has, as Newcastle's speech shows, now died on false pretexts too.

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# Karl Marx

## FALL OF THE ABERDEEN MINISTRY

London, Friday, Feb. 2, 1855

Never in the whole annals of representative government has an administration been turned out half as ignominiously as the celebrated Cabinet of "all the Talents" in England. To be in a minority is a thing which may happen to anybody, but to be defeated by 305 against 148, by more than two to one, in an assembly like the Commons' House of Great Britain, that was a distinction reserved for the galaxy of genius commanded by *ce cher Aberdeen.*

There is no doubt the Cabinet considered its days as numbered as soon as Parliament met. The scandalous proceedings in the Crimea, the utter ruin of the army, the helplessness of all and every one connected with the administration of the war, the outcry in the country, fed by the diatribes of *The Times*, the evident determination of John Bull to know for once who was to blame, or at least to wreak his wrath upon some one or another—all this must have proved to the Cabinet that the time had arrived when they must put their house in order.

Notices of threatening questions and motions were given in abundance and at once; above all, the notice of Mr. Roebuck's threatening motion, for a committee to inquire into the conduct of the war, and of all parties who had any responsibility in its administration. This brought matters to an issue at once. Lord John Russell's political scent made it at once clear to him that this motion would be adopted in spite of minorities[450]; and a statesman like him, who boasts of more minorities than years, could not well afford to be again outvoted. Accordingly, Lord John Russell, with that spirit of pusillanimity and pettifogging meanness, which is visible during his entire career, through a

cloak of important talkativity and constitutional precedentism, thought discretion the better part of valor,[a] and decamped from office without giving his colleagues even a moment's notice. Now, although he is a man who can hardly expect to be missed anywhere, yet it appears that "all the talents" were entirely upset by his sudden retreat. The press of Great Britain unanimously condemned the little statesman, but what of that? All the press and all its condemnations could not set the ministerial "higgledy piggledy" up again; and in this state of disorganization, with the Duke of Newcastle resigning the War Office, and Lord Palmerston not having taken possession of it, the Cabinet had to meet Mr. Roebuck's formidable motion.

Mr. Roebuck is a little lawyer, who would be just as funny a little Whig as Lord John Russell, and quite as inoffensive, had he only been more successful in his parliamentary career. But the *ci-devant*[b] briefless barrister, and present parliamentary spouter, has failed, with all his sharpness and activity, to amass any political capital worth speaking of. Though generally a sort of secret and confidential understrapper to any Whig Ministry, he never succeeded in reaching that position which insures Place, the great goal of all British Liberals. Our friend Roebuck, blighted in his blandest hopes, underestimated by his own party, ridiculed by his opponents, gradually felt the milk of human kindness turning sour within his bosom, and became, by and by, as invidious, unsociable, unpleasant, provoking a little cur as ever barked on the floor of a House of Parliament. In this capacity he has served, in turns, all men who knew how to handle him, without ever gaining claims upon the gratitude or consideration of any party; and nobody knew how to make a better use of him than our old friend Palmerston, whose game he again was made to play on the 26th ult.

Mr. Roebuck's motion, as it actually stood, could hardly have any sense in an assembly like the British House of Commons. Everybody knows what clumsy, lazy, time-killing things the Committees of the Commons are; an investigation of the conduct of this war by such a committee would be of no practical use whatever, for its results would come many a month too late to do any good—even if any good did result from the inquiry. It is only in a revolutionary, dictatorial assembly like the French National Convention of 1793 that such committees might do any good. But

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[a] Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, Part I, Act V, Scene 4.—*Ed.*
[b] Former.—*Ed.*

there the Government itself is nothing but such a committee—its agents are the commissioners of the assembly itself, and, therefore, in such an assembly similar motions would be superfluous. Yet, Mr. Sidney Herbert was not entirely wrong in pointing out that the motion (surely quite unintentionally on Mr. Roebuck's part) had a somewhat unconstitutional character, and in asking, with his usual historical accuracy, whether the House of Commons intended sending Commissioners to the Crimea, the same as the *Directory* (sic) did to General Dumouriez.[a] We may as well observe here that this same precious chronology which makes the Directory (instituted 1795) send Commissaries to Dumouriez, whom this latter General had arrested and delivered up to the Austrians as early as 1793—that this chronology is quite of a piece with the confusion of time and space reigning in all the operations of Mr. Sidney Herbert and colleagues. To return to Mr. Roebuck's motion, the informality alluded to served as a pretext to a great many candidates for place, not to vote for it, and thus to remain free to enter into any possible combination. And yet, the majority against Ministers was so crushing!

The debate itself was characterized particularly by the different departments of the Government quarreling among themselves. Each of them threw the blame upon the other. Sidney Herbert, Secretary at War, said it was all the fault of the transport service; Bernal Osborne,[b] Secretary of the Admiralty, said it was the viciously rotten system at the Horse Guards[451] which was at the bottom of all the mischief; Admiral Berkeley, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, pretty distinctly advised Mr. Herbert to pull his own nose, &c. Similar amenities passed in the House of Lords, at the same time, between the Duke of Newcastle, War Minister, and Viscount Hardinge, Commander-in-Chief.[c] Mr. Herbert's position, it is true, was rendered extremely difficult by Lord John Russell, who, in explanations respecting his resignation, confessed that all that the press had said on the state of the Crimean army was substantially correct, and that the condition of the troops was "horrid and heart-rending."[d] After this, Sidney Herbert could do

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[a] See this volume, p. 627.—*Ed.*

[b] The speeches of Bernal Osborne and Berkeley in the House of Commons on January 29, 1855 were published in *The Times*, No. 21964, January 30, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] The speeches of the Duke of Newcastle and Viscount Hardinge in the House of Lords on January 29, 1855 were published in *The Times*, No. 21964, January 30, 1855.—*Ed.*

[d] Lord John Russell's speech in the House of Commons on January 26, 1855. *The Times*, No. 21962, January 27, 1855.—*Ed.*

no better than to give in to the facts without a murmur, and to make a series of extremely lame and partly unfounded excuses. He had to confess, even more pointedly, the complete incapacity and disorganization of the War Administration. We have succeeded with comparative ease in bringing 240,000 tuns of stores of all descriptions, and a numerous army, after a 3,000 miles' journey, to Balaklava; and now follows a glowing account of all the clothing, the housing, the provisions, the luxuries even, sent in profusion to the army. But, alas! It was not at Balaklava they were wanted, but six miles higher up the country. Three thousand miles we can carry all the stores; but three thousand and six—impossible! The fact that they had to go six miles further has ruined everything!

For all that, his deprecating attitude might have aroused some pity for him, had it not been for the speeches of Layard, Stafford, and his own colleague, Gladstone.[a] The two former members had but lately returned from the East; they had been eye-witnesses to what they recounted. And far from merely repeating what the papers had already published, they gave instances of neglect, mismanagement and incapacity; they described scenes of horror far surpassing what had been known before. Horses, shipped on sailing transports from Varna to Balaklava without any provender to feed them; knapsacks made to journey five or six times from the Crimea to the Bosphorus, while the men were starving, and cold and wet for want of their clothes contained in them; "reconvalescents" sent back for active duty to the Crimea while too weak to stand on their legs; then the disgraceful state of neglect, of exposure, of filth, to which the sick and wounded were exposed in Scutari, as well as in Balaklava and on board the transports—all this formed a picture, compared to which the descriptions of "Our Own Correspondent," or of private letters from the East, were pale in the extreme.

To counteract the terrible effect of these descriptions, the sapient self-complacency of Mr. Gladstone had to take its stand on the breach; and, unfortunately for Sidney Herbert, he retracted all the confessions made by his colleagues on the first night of the debate. Herbert had been asked point-blank by Roebuck: You sent 54,000 men from this country; there are now only 14,000 under arms; what has become of the remaining 40,000? Herbert merely replied

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[a] The speeches of Herbert and Layard in the House of Commons on January 26 and of Stafford and Gladstone on January 29, 1855 were published in *The Times*, Nos. 21962 and 21964, January 27 and 30, 1855.—*Ed.*

by reminding Roebuck that some of them had died already at Gallipoli and Varna; he never questioned the general correctness of the numbers quoted as lost or disabled. But Gladstone now turns out to be better informed than the Secretary at War, and actually makes the army number, not 14,000, but 28,200 men, besides from 3,000 to 4,000 marines and sailors serving on shore, "at the dates of the last returns which have reached us!" Of course, Gladstone takes good care not to say what these "dates of the last returns" are. But in view of the exemplary idleness displayed in all departments, and most particularly in the Brigade, Divisional and General Staffs, as evinced by the slow returns of casualties, we may be allowed to suppose that Mr. Gladstone's wonderful returns bear a date somewhere about the first of December, 1854, and include a great many men who were definitively knocked up by the six weeks bad weather and overwork following that date. Gladstone appears actually to have that blind faith in official documents which he on former occasions expected the public to have in his financial statements.

I will not enter into a more lengthened analysis of the debate. Beside a host of *dii minorum gentium*,[a] Disraeli spoke, also Walpole, the late Tory Home Secretary, and finally Palmerston, who "nobly" stood up for his calumniated colleagues.[b] Not a word had he said in the whole course of the debate, until he had ascertained its drift clearly. Then, and then only, he got up. The rumors brought up to the Treasury Bench by their understrappers, the general disposition of the House, made a defeat certain—a defeat which ruined his colleagues, but could not injure him. Though ostensibly turned out along with the remainder, he was so safe of his position, he was so sure to profit by their retirement, that it devolved upon him, almost as a duty of courtesy, to bow them out. And of this he acquitted himself by his speech just before the division.

Palmerston, indeed, has managed his resources well. Voted to be, on the Pacifico question, the "truly English Minister,"[452] he has held that character ever since, to such an extent that in spite of all astounding revelations, John Bull always thought himself sold to some foreign power as soon as Palmerston left the Foreign Office. Ejected out of this office by Lord John Russell in a very

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[a] Lesser gods, figuratively—second-rate magnitudes.—*Ed.*

[b] The speeches of Walpole in the House of Commons on January 26, of Disraeli and Palmerston on January 29, 1855 were published in *The Times*, Nos. 21962 and 21964, January 27 and 30, 1855.—*Ed.*

unceremonious way, he frightened that little man into silence respecting the causes of this ejection, and from that moment the "truly English Minister" excited a fresh interest as the innocent victim of ambitious and incapable colleagues, as the man whom the Whigs had betrayed. After the downfall of the Derby Ministry, he was put into the Home Office, a position which again made him appear the victim. They could not do without the great man whom they all hated, and as they would not put him into that position which belonged to him, they put him off with a place far too low for such a genius. So thought John Bull, and was prouder still of his Palmerston, when he saw how the truly English Minister bustled about in his subordinate place, meddling with Justices of the Peace, interfering with cabmen, reprimanding Boards of Sewerage, trying his powers of eloquence upon the licensing system, grappling with the great Smoke Question, attempting police centralization, and putting a barrier in the way of intramural interments. The truly English Minister! His rule of conduct, his source of information, his treasury of new measures and reforms, were the interminable letters of "Paterfamilias"[a] in *The Times*. Of course, nobody was better pleased than Paterfamilias, whose like form the majority of the voting middle classes of England, and Palmerston became their idol. "See what a great man can make of a little place! what former Home Secretary ever thought of removing such nuisances!" For all that, neither were cabs reformed, nor smoke suppressed, nor intramural churchyards done away with, nor the police centralized, nor any of these great reforms carried—but that was the fault of Palmerston's envious and thick-headed colleagues! By and by, this bustling, meddling propensity was considered as the proof of great energy and activity; and this unsteadiest of all English statesmen, who never could bring either a negotiation or a bill in Parliament to a satisfactory issue, this politician who stirs about for the fun of the thing, and whose measures all end in being allowed to go quietly to sleep—this same Palmerston was puffed up as the only man whom his country could count upon in great emergencies. The truth is, he contributed a great deal to this puffing himself. Not content with being co-proprietor of *The Morning Post*, where he was advertised every day as the future savior of his country, he hired fellows like the Chevalier Wykoff to spread his praise in France and America; he bribed, a few months ago, *The Daily News*, by communication of telegraphic dispatches and other

[a] Presumably, Martin Farquhar Tupper.—*Ed.*

useful hints; he had a hand in the management of almost every paper in London. The mismanagement of the war brought on that emergency in which he intended to rise great, unattained and unattainable, upon the ruins of the Coalition. In this decisive moment he procured the unreserved support of *The Times*. How he managed to bring this about, what contract he made with Mr. Delane, of course we cannot tell. Thus, the day after the vote, the whole daily press of London, *The Herald* only excepted, with one voice cried out for Palmerston as Premier; and we suppose he thought he had obtained the object of his wishes. Unfortunately, the Queen has seen too much of the truly English Minister, and will not submit to him, if she can help it.

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

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# Karl Marx

## THE DEFEATED GOVERNMENT

*London*, February 3. On December 16, 1852 the first point of Disraeli's budget—extension of direct taxation, initially house duty, was defeated by a majority of 19 votes. The Tory Government resigned. After ten days of intrigues the Coalition Government was formed. It consisted of a section of the Whig oligarchy—the Grey clan was excluded this time—of the Peelite bureaucracy, an admixture of so-called Mayfair Radicals, such as Molesworth and Osborne, and finally the brokers of the Irish Brigade who had decided the issue on December 16—Sadleir, Keogh, Monsell—and were accommodated in subordinate ministerial posts. The Ministry described itself as the "Cabinet of All the Talents". And in fact it did include nearly *all* the talents that had been relieving one another in government for thirty years and more. *The Times* proclaimed the "Cabinet of All the Talents" with the words: We have "now arrived at the commencement of the *political millennium.*" The "political millennium" had in fact dawned for the ruling classes the moment they discovered that their party formations had dissolved, that their internal contradictions were only due to personal whims and vanities, and that their reciprocal frictions could no longer grip the nation's interest. The Coalition Government represented no particular faction. It represented "all the Talents" of the class that has hitherto ruled England. It is therefore important to cast a glance in retrospect at its achievements.

After the fall of the Derby ministry Parliament adjourned for the Christmas recess. It then adjourned again for the Easter recess. Not until then did the real session of 1853 commence,

almost completely taken up with the debates on Gladstone's budget, Sir Charles Wood's Bill on India and Young's Bill regulating the relations between landlords and tenant-farmers in Ireland.

Before introducing his budget Gladstone announced major operations to reduce the national debt—both floating and consolidated debts. The operation regarding the former consisted in a lowering of interest on Exchequer Bills from $1^1/_2$d. to 1d. per day, and that at a time when the market rate of interest was rising. The result was that first he had to redeem 3 million Exchequer Bills, and then he had to reissue them at a higher rate of interest. Even more significant was his experiment with that monster, the consolidated national debt. The ostensible aim was its reduction. He acted so skilfully that at the end of the financial year he had to buy back 8 million South Sea notes at par, though at the current stock exchange price they were only worth 85 per cent. At the same time he launched on to the stock exchange a new security invented by himself—Exchequer bonds. He had got Parliament to authorise him to issue £30 million worth of these securities. With some difficulty he got rid of £400,000 worth. In a word: his operations to reduce the national debt resulted in an increase of the capital of the consolidated debt, and an increase in the rate of interest of the floating debt.

His *budget*, the pride of the Coalition, consists of various heterogeneous elements. Parts of it, such as the reduction of tea tax, of excise duty (except that he reduced it on soap, and Disraeli on malt) and the increase in direct taxation, have been borrowed from the budget of his predecessor. The other and most important provisions such as imposition of death duty on land, the abolition of tax on newspaper advertisements, etc., were forced on him since he twice failed to get his counter-proposals approved by the House. Other constituents of his plan, such as the new regulation of the licensing system, he was obliged to withdraw entirely. What he brought to the House as an encyclopaedic system emerged as a mish-mash of heterogeneous and contradictory items. His only remaining original contribution is the passage in the budget in which *The Times* is exempted from paying £30,000-40,000 p.a. as a result of the abolition of stamp duty on the supplements that *The Times* is the only one of the newspapers to publish. He insisted all the more firmly—and thus gained the goodwill of *The Times* to that it will not want to miss him in a new Administration either—on the retention of stamp duty for the main part of the newspaper. Those were Gladstone's masterpieces

from which the Coalition derived its sustenance throughout the whole of the 1853 session.

The charter of the *East India* Company expired on April 30, 1854. England's relations with India thus had to be regulated anew. The Coalition intended renewing the charter of the East India Company for another 20 years. It failed. India is not to be "leased out" to the Company again for decades. It now exists only by "proclamation", which Parliament can send it any day. This, the only significant feature of the India Bill, was passed *despite* the Government. With the exception of a few marginal reforms in the Indian judiciary and the opening of civil posts and scientific military posts to all qualified applicants, the actual kernel of the India Bill may be summarised as follows: the salary of the minister governing India from London (President of the Board of Control[a]) has been raised from £1,200 to £5,000 p.a. Of the 18 directors the government will henceforth elect six, and the meeting of share-holders of the East India Company only twelve. The salary of these directors has been raised from £300 to £900 and that of their two managers from £400 to £1,000. Moreover, the office of Governor of Bengal (together with his board of control) is in future to be separate from that of Governor General of India; a new President, plus board, is likewise to be created for the Indus district itself. The Indian reform of the Cabinet of All the Talents is limited to this raising of salaries and creating of new sinecures.

The Bills concerning relations between landlords and tenants in Ireland had been taken over by the Coalition Government from its Tory predecessors. It was not to be outdone by them. It adopted the Bills and carried them through the House of Commons shortly before the end of the session after a ten-month debate, or to be more accurate, allowed them to pass. In the House of Lords, on the other hand, Aberdeen consented to the rejection of the very same Bills—on the pretext of scrutinising them more closely and taking them up again in the next session.

The ministerial Bills for parliamentary reform, education, legal and judicial reforms were postponed by request of the Cabinet until the next session. The great work of "all the Talents"—the Bill regulating the cab-drivers of London—actually became law, but had scarcely crossed the threshold of Parliament before it had to return again to be refashioned. It had proved to be impracticable.

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[a] Marx used the English term.—*Ed.*

Finally on August 20 Parliament adjourned. Palmerston summarised the foreign policy of the Ministry during this session when he dismissed Parliament with the words: It could adjourn without anxiety. He had full confidence in the honour and character of the Russian Emperor, who, he said, would evacuate the Danubian Principalities voluntarily.

Palmerston's public intervention in foreign policy was limited in the 1853 session to this declaration; to a parliamentary speech a few days before the adjournment of the House of Commons in which he treated the blocking of the Sulina estuary of the Danube by the Russians as a bad joke; and finally to the admission extracted from him in the sitting of April 15, 1853—on the occasion of the so-called Kossuth Powder Plot—that on behalf of continental courts he was employing the English police for the surveillance of political refugees.

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# Karl Marx

## THE PARTIES AND CLIQUES[453]

*London*, February 5. The duration of the present ministerial crisis is more or less normal, as such crises last on average nine to ten days in England. It is astonishing that in his famous work *The Abilities of Man*,[a] Quetelet manages to demonstrate that the annual total of accidents, crimes, etc., in civilised countries can be determined in advance with almost mathematical accuracy.[b] The normal duration of English ministerial crises in different periods of the nineteenth century is, on the other hand, nothing amazing, for—as is well known—there are always a given circle of combinations to be traversed, a given number of posts to be disposed of, and a given sum of intrigues have to paralyse one another. The only extraordinary thing is the character of the combinations which the dissolution of the old parties necessitates this time. The fact of this dissolution made the formation of the fallen Coalition Ministry possible and inevitable. The governing caste, which in England is by no means the same as the ruling class, will be driven from one coalition to another, until the proof is furnished exhaustively that it has lost its calling to govern. The Derbyites, it will be remembered, had objected most vehemently to the Coalition. The first step of Lord Derby, as soon as the Queen had charged him to form a new Cabinet, was to attempt a coalition, not only with Palmerston—to whom Disraeli had expressly declared during the Roebuck debate that the proposed vote of censure was no more directed against the Duke of

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[a] A. Quetelet, *Sur l'homme et le développement de ses facultés, ou Essai de physique sociale*.—*Ed.*

[b] For details see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 497.—*Ed.*

Newcastle or Aberdeen than against him—but also with Gladstone and Sidney Herbert, that is with the Peelites, who are persecuted by the Tories with especial hatred as the immediate instruments of the disintegration of their party. When Russell in his turn is requested to form a Cabinet he attempts a coalition with the very same Peelites whose presence in the old Ministry he had taken as the pretext for his resignation, and who had given the lie to him in all the solemnity of a parliamentary sitting. Finally Palmerston, if he manages to form his Ministry, will merely present a second, little changed edition of the old Coalition Ministry. The Grey clan of Whigs will perhaps replace the Russell clan of Whigs, etc. The old parliamentary parties that had been entrusted with a monopoly of government now exist merely in the form of coteries; but the same causes that deprived these coteries of the strength to form parties, to differ from one another, deprive them of the strength to unite. No epoch in English parliamentary history, therefore, shows such disintegration into a mass of insignificant and fortuitous cliques as precisely the epoch of the Coalition Ministry. Only two of these cliques are numerically significant, the Derbyites and Russellites. In their train follows a highly ramified group of powerful old families with a numerous clientele. But it is precisely this numerical strength that constitutes the weakness both of the Derbyites and the Russellites. Too small to command an independent parliamentary majority, they are too large and have too many place-hunters to sustain in their own ranks to be able to buy sufficient support from outside by giving away important posts. The numerically weaker cliques of the Peelites, Greyites, Palmerstonians, etc., are therefore more suitable for forming coalition ministries. But the factor that enables them to form ministries—the weakness of each of these cliques—turns their parliamentary majority into a matter of chance, liable to be lost any day of the week whether by a combination of Derbyites and Russellites, or by a combination of the Manchester school, etc., with the Derbyites.

From another point of view the recently attempted combinations of Ministers are just as interesting. All of them contained members of the old Cabinet. The last is headed by the most important member of that Cabinet.[a] And did not the House of Commons, in passing the Roebuck motion against all members of the old Coalition—as Palmerston himself declared in his reply to Disraeli—not only announce a vote of censure but also a committee

[a] Palmerston.—*Ed.*

of inquiry? The committee is not yet appointed, the inquiry not yet opened, and the accused are again taking over the helm of State. But if Parliament possesses the power to topple the Ministry, the Ministry possesses the power to *dissolve* Parliament. What effect the prospect of dissolving the present Parliament must have may be gathered from the statement made by Sir John Trollope in the House of Commons on March 1, 1853:

"There are," he observed, "already 14 committees sitting which the House has created out of its Members to investigate the cases of bribery which occurred at the last parliamentary elections. If we continue in the same fashion, the whole of Parliament will disintegrate into committees of inquiry. And furthermore, the number of Members accused is so overwhelming that the unsullied remainder will not suffice to try them, or even inquire into their misdemeanours."

It would be hard to lose the seats bought so dearly right at the beginning of the third legislature—out of patriotism.

Written on February 5, 1855

First published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 65, February 8, 1855

Printed according to the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## TWO CRISES

*London*, February 6. Public opinion is at present absorbed by two crises: the crisis of the Crimean army and the ministerial crisis. The former occupies the people; the latter, the clubs and drawing-rooms. According to the latest letters from the Crimea, which paint a gloomy picture, the English forces have shrunk from 14,000 to 12,000 men and the early relief of the siege of Sevastopol may be expected. In the meanwhile the drawing-room intrigue is being debated in the House of Commons. Lord [John] Russell and Mr. Gladstone[a] once more fill a whole sitting with lengthy discourses on, for and against the resignation of the great Russell from a Cabinet that has ceased to exist. No new facts are advanced by either side but the old ones are ventilated. Lord John is his own advocate, Gladstone the advocate of the Duke of Newcastle. The profound probings into the fitness of the latter as Secretary of State for War are endowed with new lustre[b] by the circumstance of there being no more army needing to be administered. Even the House of Commons, however, gave vent to its displeasure with its well-known, traditional grunting when at the end of his well-turned speech Gladstone let fall the words: "he wished that the whole misunderstanding (between Russell and Newcastle) could be revoked".

Hence it was not the vote of no confidence in the House, even less the destruction of an English army that caused the ministerial

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[a] The speeches of Lord John Russell and Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons on February 5, 1855 were published in *The Times*, No. 21970, February 6, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx used the English word.—*Ed.*

crisis, but it simply amounts to a "misunderstanding" between an old lord and a young duke. The Crimea is merely an excuse for the drawing-room intrigue. The misunderstanding between Ministry and Commons does not even merit the honour of a mention. That was too strong even for this House of Commons. Russell was a flop, Gladstone was a flop, the whole sitting was a flop.

Both Houses were notified that Lord Palmerston had been charged with the formation of a Ministry. But he encountered unexpected obstacles. Lord Grey refused to assume the management of a war of which he disapproved from the outset and still disapproved. A stroke of luck, this, for the army, whose discipline he most surely would have broken, just as he had broken the discipline of the colonies in his time. But Gladstone, Sidney Herbert and Graham also proved to be intractable. They demanded the restoration of the Peelites, lock, stock and barrel. These statesmen are aware that they form only a small clique commanding about 32 votes in the Commons. Only if its "great" talents keep together can this little clique hope to preserve its independence. A section of the leading Peelites in the Cabinet and another *outside* of it—this would be synonymous with the disappearance of this excellent club for statesmen. In the meantime Palmerston is trying his hardest to dictate to Parliament, in which he has no party, in the same way that he dictated to the Queen. His Cabinet is still not formed and he is already threatening in *The Morning Post* to appeal from the legislature to the people.[a] He threatens to dissolve the House should it dare "not to bestow on him the esteem which he enjoys outside the Palace of Westminster, amongst the public". This "public" is restricted to the journals half or wholly belonging to him. Wherever the people has recently made itself heard, e.g. at the meeting in Newcastle-upon-Tyne—whence petitions were addressed to Parliament to impeach the Ministry—Palmerston was denounced most vehemently as the secret leader of the late Coalition.

Now some additional information to complete the obituary of the "Cabinet of All the Talents". On November 30, 1853 occurred the incident at Sinope; on December 3 it became known in Constantinople; on December 12 the representatives [of the Four Powers] handed the Porte a note demanding greater concessions to Russia than the notorious Vienna note. On December 14 the British Government telegraphed to Vienna that Sinope should not

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[a] *The Morning Post*, No. 25303, February 6, 1855, leader.—*Ed.*

interrupt the Vienna peace conference. Lord Palmerston attended the Cabinet meeting at which this was decided. He approved this decision but resigned from the Cabinet the following day on the pretext that the Reform Bill proposed by Russell conflicted with his conservative views. The real point was to wash his hands of the Sinope incident in front of the public. As soon as he had achieved this end he readily rejoined the Cabinet.

At the beginning of February 1854 Parliament is re-opened. The diplomatic documents on the Eastern troubles are ostensibly submitted to it. The most important papers are missing. Instead of receiving them from the British Ministers Parliament receives them from Tsar Nicholas via Petersburg.[454] The "Secret and Confidential Correspondence" published there makes it as clear as day to an astonished Parliament that its Ministers have deliberately duped it over foreign policy throughout the entire sessions of 1853 and 1854. It [the Correspondence] compels the Ministers on March 27 to make a declaration of war. On February 6 Palmerston had announced that he would be introducing a Bill calling up the militia in Scotland and Ireland. But as soon as war is declared he postpones his Bill and does not introduce it until the end of June. On February 13 Russell introduces his Reform Bill, postpones the second reading until the end of April, withdraws it in March sobbing passionately and—hitherto having neither department nor salary—is rewarded for this sacrifice by his colleagues with a ministerial sinecure carrying a salary, being made Lord President of the Council, a minister extraordinary so to speak. On March 6 the great financier Gladstone presents his budget. He contents himself with doubling income tax for six months. He requests "only a sum which would be necessary to bring back the 25,000 men about to leave the British shores".

He has now been relieved of this worry by his colleague Newcastle. By May 8 he is already forced to present a second budget. On April 11 he declares himself opposed to any form of government loan; on April 21 he asks the House to sanction a loan of £6 million to meet the cost of his unfortunate conversion experiment with the national debt.[a] On April 7 Lord Grey makes his speech on the shortcomings of the English war administration. On June 2 the Ministry uses the proposed reform—just as it had used the Reform of India and the Cholera Reform—in order to create a new post. The War Office is separated from the Colonial Office. All else remains as before. The legislative achievements of

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21722, April 22, 1854.—*Ed.*

the Ministry in this session may be summarised in this way: it introduces seven important Bills. It fails with three of them: the Settlement Bill, and the Bills for education in Scotland and for the alteration of the parliamentary oath. It withdraws three of them: the Bills for the prevention of electoral bribes, for the complete re-organisation of the Civil Service, and for the reform of Parliament. One Bill is passed, that for the reform of the University of Oxford, but so plastered with amendments that its original shape is no longer recognisable. The great diplomatic and military feats are fresh in everyone's memory. That was the "Cabinet of All the Talents".

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# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

# Karl Marx

## A CENTRAL JUNTA[455]

September 26, 1808 (Aranjuez)-January 29, 1810[a]

Madrid having been evacuated by the French, it was to be expected that Napoleon would soon re-appear at the head of a more powerful army. Measures of common defence became then inevitable, and it was generally felt that the Polyarchy of the Provincial Juntas, whose dissensions grew even more clamorous after the success at Beylen, must give way to some sort of Central Government. The juntas, however, anxious to retain their hold upon Power, resolved, upon the proposal of the Junta of Sevilla, to select each from their own body two deputies the reunion of whom was to constitute the Central Government, while the Provincial Juntas remained invested with the internal government of their respective government. Thus a Central Junta, composed of 34 deputies from the Provincial Juntas, met on September 26, 1808, at Aranjuez and remained at the head of affairs till January 29, 1810. This Central Junta was driven by the Invader from Madrid to Sevilla and from Sevilla to Cadiz. While they waged a war of edicts from the Royal Palace of Aranjuez, the pass of Samosierra was forced by the French, and while they amused the people with vigorous proclamations from Sevilla, the passes of the Sierra Morena were lost and Soult's army inundated Andalusia.

During the reign of the Central Junta, the Spanish armies disappeared from the soil, ignominious defeats overset each other, and the disastrous battle at Ocaña (November 19, 1809) was the last pitched battle which the Spaniards fought, from that time confining themselves to a Guerrilla warfare.

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[a] Here Marx made a note in the manuscript "(January 1809, Florida Blanca)." — *Ed.*

When "His Majesty"—this was the title assumed by the Junta—fled from Sevilla, Cadiz offered the only asylum, and if the Duke of Albuquerque, instead of marching his corps upon Cadiz, had in obedience to their orders proceeded to Cordova, his own army would have been cut off, Cadiz must have surrendered to the French, and there would have been an end of any Central Power in Spain. Where heroic resistance is exceptionally met with, it is not the regular armies, in the open field, but only on the part of assieged towns as at Saragossa and Gerona.

These few reminiscences from the Spanish war of Independence suffice to characterise the Central Junta. The expulsion of the French army from the Spanish soil was the great object of their installation and in that object they signally failed. Under revolutionary still more than under ordinary circumstances the successes [of] armies reflect the character of the Central Government. The mere fact of the abandonment of the regular warfare for Guerrilla exploits proves the disappearance of the national centre before the local centres of resistance. Whence this failure of the National government?

The very composition of the Central Junta certainly not suited the task imposed upon them. Being for a dictatorial power too many and too fortuitously mixed together, they were too few to pretend to the authority of a National Convention. The mere fact of their power being delegated from the Provincial Juntas, incapacitated them to overcome the self-governing propensities, the bad will, and the capricious egotism of these Juntas. The two most marked members of the Central Junta: Florida Blanca—the octogenarian minister of the enlightened despotism of Charles III—and Jovellanos, a well-intentioned reformer who from overconscientious scruples as to the means never dared to accomplish an end—were certainly no match for the terrible crisis the country was placed in.

The sense of their own weakness and the unstable tenure of their power with respect to the people kept them in constant fear and suspicion of the generals to whom they were obliged to entrust the military commands. General Morla, himself a member of the Central Junta, went over into the Bonapartist Camp, after he had surrendered Madrid to Napoleon. Cuesta, [who] had begun with arresting the Leonese Deputies to the Central Junta and with forging plans for the restoration of the old authority of the Captains General[456] and the royal *audiencias*,[a] also seemed

[a] Supreme Courts of Appeal in Spain and Latin America.—*Ed.*

afterwards to win the confidence of the Government in the same measure as he lost the battles of the country. Their distrust in Generals la Romana and Castaños, the victor of Beylen, proved well founded by the open hostility the former shew them in his address to the nation, d[e] d[ato]: Sevilla, on October 4, 1809, and the other by his conduct towards them when he became a member of the Regency. The Duke of Albuquerque, who of all the Spanish generals of that epoch was perhaps the only man to conduct a great war, seemed to be singularly gifted with all the dangerous qualities of a military dictator, a reason quite sufficient to remove him from all important commands. We may then give full credit to the Duke of Wellington writing to his brother, the Marquis of Wellesley, on September 1, 1809:

"I am much afraid, from what I have seen of the proceedings of the Central Junta, that in the distribution of their forces they did not consider military defence, and military operations, so much, as they do political intrigue, and the attainment of trifling political objects."

The first popular government of Spain seemed overawed by a presentiment of the prominent part military men were destined to act in internal commotions. Devoid as they were of all truly revolutionary force by their very composition, the Central Junta could not but resort to petty intrigues in order to check the ascendancy of their own generals. On the other hand, incapable to resist the pressure of popular clamour, they often forced the generals into precipitate actions where the success could only be expected from most cautious and protracting stay upon the defensive.

Written between September 5 and 22, 1854

Reprinted from the manuscript

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# Karl Marx

## [UNPUBLISHED EXTRACT FROM A SERIES OF ARTICLES "REVOLUTIONARY SPAIN"][457]

... banner of revolution, the army of Ballesteros, which, since the capitulation of his chief [was] still concentrated at Priego, 10 leagues north of Malaga. On this his second Cadiz expedition[458] he[a] was made prisoner by one of General Molitor's corps, surrendered to the apostolical band, and sent to Madrid there to be executed, on the 7th November, four days before Ferdinand's return to the capital.

"Non por su culpa cajó Riego:
Por traición
De un vil Borbón."

("Not by his fault fell Riego but by the treason of a vile Bourbon.")

When Ferdinand on his arrival at Madrid was waited upon and congratulated by the officers of the bands of the Foi[459] they having withdrawn, he exclaimed in the midst of his court: "It is the same dogs but with different collars".

The number of friars who in 1822 had mustered 16,310, amounted in 1830 to 61,727, being an increase of 45,417[b] in the course of 8 years. From the Madrid *Gaceta* we see that in the single month from the 24th August to the 24th September 1824, 1,200 persons were shot, hanged, and quartered, and then the barbarous decree against Comuneros,[460] Freemasons, etc., had not

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[a] Riego.—*Ed.*

[b] Here the words "professional beggars" are crossed out in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

Original of unpublished extract from Marx's *Revolutionary Spain*

yet been divulgated.[a] The University of Sevilla was closed for years, but in its stead a governmental school of bullfighting was established.

Frederick the Great, conversing with his War Minister, asked him, which country in Europe he thought most difficult to ruin? Perceiving the minister to be rather embarrassed, he answered for him:

"It is Spain: as its own government has for many years endeavoured to ruin it—but all in vain."[b]

Frederick the Great seems to have prognosticated the reign of Ferdinand VII.

The failure of the Revolution of 1820-1823 is easily accounted for. It was a middle class revolution and, more especially, a town revolution, while the country, ignorant, lazy, wedded to the pompous ceremonies of the church, remained passive observers of the party strife they did hardly understand. In the few provinces where they exceptionally took an active share in the struggle, it was rather on the side of the counter-revolution,—a fact not to be wondered at in Spain, "that storehouse of ancient customs, that repository of all, elsewhere forgotten and past by", a country where, during the war of independence peasants were seen using spurs taken from the armoury of the Alhambra and armed with halberds and pikes of curious and ancient workmanship, which had been wielded in the wars of the 15th century. Besides it was a feature peculiar to Spain that every peasant who had a noble ensign cut in stone over the door of his miserable cabin, considered himself a nobleman and that thus the country people, generally, if poor and plundered, did never groan under that consciousness of abject degradation which exasperated them in the rest of feudal Europe. That the revolutionary party did not know how to link the interests of the peasantry to the town movement, is avowed by two men, both of whom acted a principal part in the Revolution, by General Morillo and by San Miguel. Morillo, who cannot be suspected of revolutionary sympathies, wrote from Galicia to the Duke of Angoulême:

"If the Cortes had sanctioned the bill on the seignorial rights, and thus despoiled the grandees of their properties in favour of the multitude, Your Highness would

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[a] *Examen critique des la révolutions d'Espagne.* The decree mentioned by Marx was adopted on October 12, 1824.—*Ed.*

[b] John Bramsen, *Remark of the North of Spain,* p. 52.—*Ed.*

have encountered numerous, patriotic and formidable armies, which would have organized themselves, as they did in France, under similar circumstances".

On the other hand San Miguel (see his *Civil War of Spain*, Madrid. 1836) tells us:

"The greatest error of the liberals consisted in their not considering that by far the majority of the nation were indifferent or hostile to the new laws. The numerous decrees published by the Cortes with a view to ameliorating the material condition of the people, were unable to produce so immediate results as were required by the circumstances. Neither the abolition of half the tithes, nor the sale of the monastic estates, contributed to ameliorating the material condition of the lower agricultural classes. The last measure, on the contrary, by throwing the land out of the hands of the indulgent monks into those of calculating capitalists, impaired the position of the old farmers by causing higher rents to be imposed upon them, so that the superstition of this numerous class, already wounded by the alienation of sanctified patrimony, became exaggerated by the suggestions of material interests".

The revolutionary town population thus estranged from the mass of the nation, were therefore forced, in their struggle with the Grandees, the rural clergy, the monastic power, and the crown which represented all these antiquated elements of society, to depend altogether on the army and its chiefs. The *very* position thus usurped by the army in the revolutionary camp, together with its isolation from the masses, made it an instrument dangerous for the hands that wielded it, but inoffensive to the enemy it was to strike. Finally, the upper rank of the middle-class, the so-called Moderados, became soon lukewarm and then traitors to the Cause of the Revolution, lulling themselves, as they did, into the hope of getting their reign established by means of a French intervention and thus enjoying the fruits of a new society without painstaking and without admitting the plebeians to participate in them.

The positive result of the Revolution of 1820-1823 was not limited to the great fermentation which expanded the minds and renewed the character of some large classes of the nation. The second restoration,[461] in which the antiquated elements of society assumed such shapes as to become insupportable to, and incompatible with the national existence of Spain, was itself a product of the Revolution. Its principal work was to whet the antagonism to such a point as to make all compromises impossible and a war to the knife inevitable. According to Lord Liverpool himself, there never was an extensive political change attended with less violence or bloodshed than the Spanish Revolution

during 1820-1823.[a] When we behold, therefore, the civil war of 1833-1843[462] exterminating the antiquated elements of Spanish society,[b] with fire and sword and disgracing itself by acts of cannibalism, we must not attribute the savage inexorableness of that epoch to the peculiar character of the Spanish race, but to the same force of circumstances that imposed upon France the reign of terrorism. While the French centralised and, therefore, abbreviated the reign of terrorism, the Spaniards, true to their traditions, decentralised and, consequently, procrastinated it. Conforming to Spanish tradition, the revolutionary party was not likely to prove victorious by subverting the throne. With them, to be successful, the Revolution itself needed to appear as a competitor for the throne. The struggle of the two societies ought to assume the form of a struggle of opposite dynastic interests. The Spain of the 19th century did her revolution with ease; when she was allowed to give it the form of the civil wars of the XIVth century. It was Ferdinand the Seventh who gave to the Revolution a royal name—that of Isabella, while he leagued to the counter-revolution the Don Quixote of the Auto-da-fé, Don Carlos. Ferdinand VII proved true to his character to the [end].[c] If, during his whole life, he had cheated the liberals by false promises, should he not indulge the sport [when ch]eating the serviles on his death-bed?[463] As to religious matters, he had always been a sceptic. He was unable to [con]vince himself that any one—even the Holy Ghost—should be so silly as to speak the truth.

Written between November 14 and 21, 1854

Reproduced from the manuscript

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[a] Lord Liverpool's speech in the House of Lords on February 4, 1823. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, new series [2], Vol. 8, London, 1823, pp. 29-34.—*Ed.*

[b] The words "the feudal and monastic power" are crossed out here.—*Ed.*

[c] Here and below the manuscript is damaged. The words in square brackets are restored by the editors.—*Ed.*

# APPENDIX

# THE ENGLISH MIDDLE CLASS[464]

And as regards the journeyman of all descriptions, in what relation does he stand to his employer? All know with what opposition the employers met the "Ten Hours" bill. The Tories, out of spite for the recent loss of the Corn Laws, helped the working class to get it; but when passed, the reports of the district supervisors show with what shameless cunning and petty underhand treacheries it was evaded. Every subsequent attempt in Parliament to subject Labor to more humane conditions has been met by the middle class representatives with the catch-cry of Communism! Mr. Cobden has acted thus a score of times. Within the workshops for years the aim of the employers has been to prolong the hours of labor beyond human endurance, and by an unprincipled use of the contract system, by pitting one man against another, to cut down the earning of the skilled to that of the unskilled laborer. It was this system that at last drove the Amalgamated Engineers to revolt, and the brutality of the expressions that passed current among the masters at that time showed how little of refined or humane feeling was to be looked for from them. Their boorish ignorance was further displayed in the employment by the Masters' Association of a certain third-rate litterateur, Sidney Smith, to undertake their defense in the public press and to carry on the war of words with their revolted hands. The style of their hired writer well fitted the task he had to perform, and when the battle was over, the Masters, having no more need of literature or the press, gave their hireling his congé. Although the middle class do not aim at the learning of the old school, they do not for that cultivate either modern science or literature. The ledger, the desk, business, that is education

sufficient. Their daughters, when expensively educated, are superficially endowed with a few "accomplishments;" but the real education of the mind and the storing it with knowledge is not even dreamed of.

The present splendid brotherhood of fiction-writers in England, whose graphic and eloquent pages have issued to the world more political and social truths than have been uttered by all the professional politicians, publicists and moralists put together, have described every section of the middle class from the "highly genteel" annuitant and Fundholder who looks upon all sorts of business as vulgar, to the little shopkeeper and lawyer's clerk. And how have Dickens and Thackeray, Miss Brontë and Mrs. Gaskell painted them? As full of presumption, affectation, petty tyranny and ignorance; and the civilized world has confirmed their verdict with the damning epigram that it has fixed to this class that "they are servile to those above, and tyrannical to those beneath them."

The cramped and narrow sphere in which they move is to a certain degree due to the social system of which they form a part. As the Russian nobility live uneasily betwixt the oppression of the Czar above them and the dread of the enslaved masses below them, so the English middle class are hemmed in by the aristocracy on the one hand and the working classes on the other. Since the peace of 1815, whenever the middle class have wished to take action against the aristocracy, they have told the working classes that their grievances were attributable to some aristocratic privilege and monopoly. By this means the middle class roused the working classes to help them in 1832 when they wanted the Reform Bill, and, having got a Reform Bill *for themselves*, have ever since refused one to the working classes—nay, in 1848, actually stood arrayed against them armed with special constable staves. Next, it was the repeal of the Corn Laws that would be the panacea for the working classes. Well, this was won from the aristocracy, but the "good time" was not yet come, and last year, as if to take away the last possibility of a similar policy for the future, the aristocracy were compelled to accede to a tax on the succession to real estate—a tax which the same aristocracy had selfishly exempted themselves from in 1793, while they imposed it on the succession to personal estate. With this rag of a grievance vanished the last chance of gulling the working classes into the belief that their hard lot was due solely to aristocratic legislation. The eyes of the working classes are now fully opened: they begin to cry: "Our St. Petersburg is at Preston!" Indeed, the last eight

months have seen a strange spectacle in the town—a standing army of 14,000 men and women subsidized by the trades unions and workshops of all parts of the United Kingdom, to fight out a grand social battle for mastery with the capitalists, and the capitalists of Preston, on their side, held up by the capitalists of Lancashire.

Whatever other shapes this social struggle may hereafter assume, we have seen only the beginning of it. It seems destined to nationalize itself and present phases never before seen in history; for it must be borne in mind that though temporary defeat may await the working classes, great social and economical laws are in operation which must eventually insure their triumph. The same industrial wave which has borne the middle class up against the aristocracy, is now assisted as it is and will be by emigration bearing the working classes up against the middle classes. Just as the middle class inflict blows upon the aristocracy, so will they receive them from the working classes. It is the instinctive perception of this fact that already fetters the action of that class against the aristocracy. The recent political agitations of the working classes have taught the middle class to hate and fear overt political movements. In their cant, "respectable men don't join them, Sir". The higher middle classes ape the aristocracy in their modes of life, and endeavor to connect themselves with it. The consequence is that the feudalism of England will not perish beneath the scarcely perceptible dissolving processes of the middle class; the honor of such a victory is reserved for the working classes. When the time shall be ripe for their recognized entry upon the stage of political action, there will be within the lists three powerful classes confronting each other—the first representing the land; the second, money; the third, labor. And as the second is triumphing over the first, so, in its turn, it must yield before its successor in the field of political and social conflict.

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4145, August 1, 1854 as a leader

Reproduced from the newspaper

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] When determining the authorship and the date of writing of the majority of the articles by Marx and Engels published in the *New-York Tribune* between February 13, 1854 and February 6, 1855 (which make up the bulk of this volume), great use was made of Marx's Notebook for 1850-54 and the letters of Marx and Engels to each other and to third persons. Important additional information was also obtained from the study of sources used by Marx and Engels for their reports, the schedules of transatlantic ships, and other indirect data.

Marx's wife, Jenny, and sometimes Marx himself entered in the Notebook the dates on which the articles were sent from London to New York—usually on Tuesdays and Fridays. This was necessary for the accounts with the *Tribune* and was done in the form of lists, each with its own numbering. There are eight lists in all for the period covered by this volume, and each includes eight to fourteen articles. Unfortunately, such entries were only made up to December 22, 1854 and there are none for the next two years (1855 and 1856). Apart from the dates, these entries often contained summaries of the articles. Usually Marx dictated his articles to his wife Jenny or to Wilhelm Pieper (a participant in the 1848-49 revolution and a Communist League member) on the day of their dispatch, and Engels used to write his the day before. Sometimes Marx added to the articles received from Engels the latest information from English and French morning newspapers on the day of their dispatch to America. From June 1854 Engels was too busy with office work and could write articles only on Saturday and Wednesday evenings. The study of the sources he used suggests that as early as September 1854 he resumed his previous custom of writing the articles on Mondays and Thursdays, on the eve of their dispatch to London.

The editors of the *Tribune* treated the articles at their discretion, dividing them and publishing the most important items as leaders in their own name. Marx repeatedly protested against such practice but his financial dependence on the newspaper compelled him in the end to comply with the editors' terms. From the middle of 1855 all Marx's and Engels' articles were published unsigned. As a rule, the editors reprinted these articles from the *New-York Daily Tribune* in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* and the *New-York Weekly Tribune*, generally using the same matrix. All such instances are indicated in this volume at the end of the articles.

Notes to some articles also indicate instances when they were reprinted in the collection: K. Marx, *The Eastern Question. A Reprint of Letters written 1853-1856 dealing with the events of the Crimean War,* edited by Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling, London, 1897.

The article "The War Question in Europe" was written by Engels at Marx's request and sent from Manchester to London on February 13. The article started with the words: "In the meantime, the armaments prepared..." (fourth paragraph). On February 14, Marx added to it an analysis of Napoleon III's letter to the Russian Tsar and also some information which he had probably received from Urquhart (see Note 4).

In the Notebook the dispatch of the article was entered as "Dienstag. 14. Februar. Rüstungen". The beginning of the first sentence, "Though the arrival of the *Nashville* puts us in possession of no decisive news from the seat of war" was inserted by the editors of the *Tribune.* p. 3

[2] Napoleon III's letter (January 29, 1854) was published by the editors in the same issue of the *New-York Daily Tribune.* They inserted the words "which we copy in another place". p. 3

[3] In 1853 and 1854 the Ambassadors of Britain, France and Prussia and the Austrian Foreign Minister Buol held a number of conferences in Vienna. The first, in July 1853, to which the Russian Ambassador was also invited but which he refused to attend, was officially aimed at mediation between Russia and Turkey in view of the worsening relations between them. The words "first Vienna Note" refer to the draft agreement between Russia and Turkey drawn up by Buol and concluded at the end of July 1853. It obliged the Sultan to abide by the Kuchuk-Kainardji (1774) (see Note 17) and the Adrianople (1829) (see Note 176) treaties on the rights and privileges of the Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish Sultan Abdul Mejid agreed to sign the Note but demanded a number of changes and reservations, which the Russian Government found unacceptable. p. 4

[4] Probably Marx heard about this letter from David Urquhart with whom he had a meeting at the time (see Marx's letter to Engels of February 9, 1854, present edition, Vol. 39). p. 4

[5] The phrase "by the steamer now due here, or at furthest within a few days" was inserted in Engels' text by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune.* They also added the following paragraph at the end of the article: "Our London correspondent in another column intimates his unwillingness to believe in such treachery, but facts are stubborn things, and the mind must at last be affected by their force. After having gone the desperate lengths they have avowedly done to avoid war, it is hard to think of anything they would shrink from." This is an allusion to an article by F. A. Pulszky, who was also a London correspondent of the newspaper at the time and signed his reports "A.P.C.". His article was published on p. 5 of the same issue of the *New-York Daily Tribune.* p. 7

[6] This article is entered in the Notebook as "Freitag. 17. Februar. Germany News". Eleanor Marx included it under the title "Count Orloff's Proposals" in *The Eastern Question,* in which the first paragraph was mistakenly ascribed to the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune.* p. 8

[7] The reference is to Ferdinand Lassalle's letter to Marx dated February 10, 1854. It is published in Ferdinand Lassalle, *Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften.* Herausgegeben von Gustav Mayer. 3. Band. Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922, S. 66-70. p. 8

[8] The *German Confederation*—a union of German states formed by the Vienna Congress (see Note 112) on June 8, 1815. It initially included 34 absolutist feudal states and 4 free cities. The Confederation sanctioned the political and economic dismemberment of Germany and hindered the country's development. p. 8

[9] The Kingdom of Sardinia, which existed from 1720 to 1861 and played a considerable role in the unification of Italy, consisted of Piedmont, Sardinia, Savoy, Nice and Liguria (including Genoa). p. 8

[10] The article "Debates in Parliament" is dated February 21, 1854, which coincides with the date of its dispatch from London to New York entered in the Notebook.

Eleanor Marx included this article in an abridged form in *The Eastern Question.* p. 11

[11] The *British East India Company* was founded at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It enjoyed a monopoly of trade with the East Indies and played a decisive part in the establishment of the British colonial empire. p. 11

[12] In accordance with the procedure adopted in the British Parliament, when certain important questions are to be discussed the House of Commons declares itself a Committee of the whole House, which is tantamount to a closed sitting. The Chairman of the Committee at such sittings is one of a list of chairmen, and is specially appointed by the Speaker for the given sitting; when discussing important questions covering state expenditures the House of Commons assembles as the Committee of Ways and Means. p. 11

[13] In 1844, on the order of Sir James Graham, the British Home Secretary, the letters of the Bandiera brothers to Mazzini containing the plan of their expedition to Calabria were opened. The participants in the expedition were arrested, and the Bandieras executed. p. 13

[14] In May 1851 the French Ambassador Lavalette arrived in Constantinople and delivered to the Sultan the demands of the French President Louis Napoleon that all the rights and privileges of the Catholic Church in Jerusalem be observed. By his firman (edict) of February 9, 1852 the Sultan recognised France's rights to protect the Catholic Church as defined in a number of previous Franco-Turkish treaties. p. 13

[15] The *battle of Navarino* took place on October 20, 1827 between the Turko-Egyptian fleet and the British, French and Russian squadrons, under the English Vice-Admiral Edward Codrington, which were sent to the Greek waters by the European powers for the purpose of armed mediation in the war between Turkey and the Greek insurgents. The battle began when the Turkish command refused to stop the massacre of the Greek population; it ended in the

defeat of the Turko-Egyptian fleet and hastened the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29, in which Russia was victorious. p. 17

[16] The reference is to John Aberdeen's Coalition Ministry of 1852-55 (the Cabinet of All the Talents), which consisted of Whigs, Peelites and representatives of a faction of Irish Members. p. 18

[17] The *treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardji* was concluded between Russia and Turkey on July 21, 1774. Russia got territories on the northern shore of the Black Sea between the South Bug and the Dnieper with the fortress of Kinburn, and also Azov, Kerch and Yenikale and secured recognition of the Crimea's independence. Russian merchantmen were granted the right of free passage through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. The treaty obliged the Sultan to grant a number of privileges to the Orthodox Church; Article 14 in particular provided for the building of an Orthodox Church in Constantinople. p. 20

[18] The reference is to the documents sent by Colonel Rose to London and published in *Correspondence respecting the Rights and Privileges of the Latin and Greek Churches in Turkey. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty*, London, 1854, Part I, pp. 112-15. p. 23

[19] Disraeli's speech contained several inaccuracies, viz.: Count Nesselrode's dispatch to Brunnow was dated June 1 (May 20) and not June 20, 1853, its contents were communicated to Lord Clarendon on June 8; the quotation only partly coincides with the dispatch, and the end of it was apparently taken by Disraeli from Clarendon's letter to the English Ambassador to Vienna, the Earl of Westmorland, of July 4, 1853 (see *Correspondence...*, Part I, pp. 321-22). p. 23

[20] The reference is to Lord Clarendon's letters to the Earl of Westmorland of July 4 and to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe of July 28 (*The Times* mistakenly gives July 18), 1853. This quotation, from Disraeli's speech, which *The Times* of February 21, 1854 gave as an extract from Lord Clarendon's letter to Stratford de Redcliffe, was Disraeli's own conclusion (*Correspondence...*, Part I, pp. 320-21, 399-400). p. 23

[21] This refers to the battle between the Russian and Turkish troops at Oltenitza on the left bank of the Danube on November 4, 1853 (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 516-22). p. 24

[22] This article is dated February 24, 1854 which coincides with the date of its dispatch from London to New York as entered in the Notebook ("Freitag, 24. Februar. Pozzo di Borgo"). It was included in abridged form by Eleanor Marx in *The Eastern Question* under the title "Kossuth.—Disraeli and Hume.—United States.—France and England.—Greece". p. 26

[23] The Crimean war aroused hopes among European emigrants for a new upsurge of revolutionary liberation activity in Poland, Italy and Hungary. Preparations for such action were made by Mazzini, Garibaldi and Kossuth. In the winter of 1853-54, Kossuth negotiated—unsuccessfully—with the USA and France for aid in arms and money for the Hungarian emigrants who wished to fight against Tsarist Russia on the side of Turkey. Kossuth hoped to organise a Hungarian Legion expecting that its arrival at the Danubian theatre of war

would spark off an uprising against Austrian rule in Hungary, where, on the basis of information received from his agents, he reckoned on the support of 130,000 Honveds. In the summer of 1853, Kossuth addressed a memorandum on the subject to the Turkish Government, but the latter, not wishing to enter into conflict with Austria, disapproved of all Kossuth's attempts to form a Hungarian Legion and only separate individuals got permission to enlist in the Turkish army on condition that they would embrace Islam. On January 7, 1854 Kossuth wrote to Gál, his agent in Constantinople, that Turkey had rejected the Hungarian proposal on the grounds that "as long as Turkey was on friendly terms with Austria contacts with the Hungarian emigrants were out of the question".

On the formation of the Polish Legion see Note 122. p. 26

[24] See Note 16. p. 26

[25] This refers to the secret agreement between Denmark and Sweden to observe neutrality in the event of a war in Europe. King Oskar of Sweden informed his Parliament of this on December 27, 1853. The text of the treaty was brought to the knowledge of the European governments by a special note. p. 28

[26] This refers to the dispatch of the Russian Ambassador in France Pozzo di Borgo to Chancellor Count Nesselrode dated October 16 (4), 1825 in reply to the latter's circular of August 18 (6), 1825 drawn up on instructions from Alexander I. The circular asked for the opinion of Russian Ambassadors abroad concerning the attitude of the Western powers to Russia in connection with the Eastern question and about the policy to be followed by Russia. Pozzo di Borgo recommended that Russia should resort to direct military action against Turkey. The dispatch was included in *Recueil des documents pour la plupart secrets et inédits et d'autres pièces historiques utiles à consulter dans la crise actuelle (juillet 1853)* published in Paris. Marx used the second edition of this book (1854). p. 28

[27] Карамзинъ, *Исторія Государства Россійскаго*, Т. XI, Спб., 1824, стр. 28 (Karamzin, *The History of the Russian State*, Vol. XI, St. Petersburg, 1824, p. 28). Where Marx took this quotation from is not established. p. 29

[28] In 1839 war broke out between Turkey and Egypt, aggravating the Eastern problem and the conflict between the Great Powers. The Western states were afraid that Russia would intervene separately in the Turko-Egyptian war and sent a collective note to the Sultan suggesting their collaboration. However, the struggle between Britain and France for spheres of influence in the Middle East, in Egypt in particular, led to the signing of the London Convention of July 15, 1840 on measures of military aid to the Sultan by Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia without France. The last-named, relying on Mehemet Ali, was soon compelled to yield and leave Egypt to its fate. On July 13, 1841 the London Convention on the Black Sea Straits was signed by Russia, Britain, France, Austria and Prussia, on the one hand, and Turkey, on the other. The convention laid down that in peacetime the Bosphorus and Dardanelles would be closed to warships of all powers. Marx called this convention the treaty of the Dardanelles. p. 30

[29] Marx has in mind the following passages from James Graham's speech in the House of Commons on February 17, 1854: "We have also succeeded in

combining Austria and Prussia with us in many most important transactions" and from Lord John Russell's speech on the same occasion: "My belief is, therefore, although we have no engagement with them,—and I state it plainly to the House, that they are not bound to us to resist in any manner the acts of aggression on the part of Russia..." (*The Times,* No. 21668, February 18, 1854). p. 31

[30] Apparently Marx got this information and the data given below from Urquhart or his associates (see Note 4). p. 31

[31] The insurrection of the Greek population of the Ottoman Empire which started in January 1854 with the support of the Greek troops was suppressed by the Turkish Government with the aid of Britain and France in June of the same year. p. 32

[32] When Marx wrote this article, he obtained his information on the contents of these dispatches from Cobden's speech in the House of Commons on February 20, 1854, published in *The Times* on February 21, 1854. In March 1854 Marx acquainted himself with the authentic documents relating to the origin of the Eastern conflict of 1853 and devoted two special articles to their analysis (see this volume, pp. 73-99). p. 33

[33] During the Austro-Turkish war of 1788-90 Austrian troops occupied Serbia (1789). In 1791, under pressure from Britain and Prussia, Austria concluded a peace treaty with Turkey on condition of restoring the *status quo ante bellum.* Austria got only Old Orsova without the right to fortify it. p. 33

[34] The article "English and French War Plans.—Greek Insurrection.—Spain.—China" was compiled by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* from two articles written by Marx on February 28 and March 3, 1854; the editors took the first six paragraphs, up to the words "The Anglo-French expedition may be set down...", from the article written by Marx on March 3 (the second half of this article was published as a leader, without Marx's signature, under the title "Austrian Bankruptcy", see Note 43). In the Notebook the second part of the article is entered: "Dienstag. 28. Februar. Etwas Militaria. Spain. Dost Mohammed etc., etc., etc.". It is probable that "Militaria" in this article was written by Engels, but there are no direct proofs of this.

The article "English and French War Plans.—Greek Insurrection.—Spain.—China" was included in abridged form by Eleanor Marx in *The Eastern Question* under the title "France and England.—The Greek Rising.—Asia". p. 35

[35] Here Marx has in mind his article written on February 28 (see Note 34), but the paragraph he mentions about Charles Napier was probably arbitrarily omitted by the editors of the *Tribune.*

On events of 1840, see Note 28. p. 35

[36] Marx used Bonaparte's opening speech at a joint sitting of the Corps Legislatif and the Senate on March 2, 1854 as published in *Le Moniteur universel,* March 3, 1854.

The term *Entente cordiale* was used in the nineteenth century to denote the rapprochement between France and Britain after the July revolution of 1830, which was formalised by the Quadruple Alliance in April 1834 (see Note 39). p. 35

[37] The reference is to Clause 2 of the treaty signed in Constantinople later, on March 12, and ratified on May 8, 1854 by Britain and France, on the one hand, and the Ottoman Empire, on the other. Marx's main source of information on this question were periodical publications. p. 36

[38] In January 1854 it was announced in Constantinople that the police had discovered a conspiracy of the Greeks, and a Greek priest named Athanasius had been arrested in Vidin. According to the Western press, the conspiracy was headed by Baron Oelsner, ex-adjutant of General Lüders, and its aim was to incite the Greeks and Slavs living in Turkey to revolt. p. 36

[39] The reference is to the Quadruple Alliance concluded in April 1834 between Britain, France, Spain and Portugal (see Note 36). Even at the time the treaty was concluded conflicts of interests appeared between Britain and France which later aggravated relations between the two countries. This treaty was formally directed against the absolutist "Northern powers" (Russia, Prussia and Austria), but in actual fact allowed Britain to strengthen her position in Spain and Portugal, under the pretext of rendering military assistance to both governments in their struggle against the pretenders to the throne, Don Carlos in Spain and Dom Miguel in Portugal (see notes 227 and 253). p. 40

[40] The reference is to the marriage of Queen Isabella II of Spain to Don Francisco de Asis in 1846 (contrary to the wishes of the British ruling circles—see Note 277), and that of Infanta Maria Luisa Fernanda to the Duke of Montpensier, son of King Louis Philippe of France. If Isabella had no direct heirs, the Duke of Montpensier would have become one of the first pretenders to the Spanish throne. This victory of French diplomacy caused great dissatisfaction in Britain. p. 40

[41] Here Marx refers to events of the first Anglo-Afghan war of 1838-42 in which the English army was defeated. p. 41

[42] In 1850 popular disturbances occurred in a number of southern provinces of China and developed into a big peasant war. The rebels established a state of their own over a considerable part of China's territory. Its leaders put forward a utopian programme of transforming the Chinese feudal social system into a militarised patriarchal one based on the egalitarian principle in production and consumption. The movement, which was also anti-colonial, was weakened by inner dissensions and the rise of a local aristocracy among the Taipings. The rebellion was suppressed in 1864, mainly due to intervention by Britain, the USA and France. p. 41

[43] In the Notebook the dispatch of this article under the title "Oesterreichs Finanzen" is dated March 3. The article dealt not only with the state of Austrian finances, but analysed Napoleon III's speech of March 2 and contained some other material which the *Tribune* editors arbitrarily combined with Marx's previous report (see Note 34). The article on Austrian finances was published as a leader. As the editors were wont to pass off his articles for their own, Marx wrote to Engels on April 22, 1854: "Of late the *Tribune* has again been appropriating all my articles for its leaders and putting *my* name to nothing but rubbish. It has appropriated, for example, a detailed account of Austrian finances, articles on the Greek insurrection, etc. Not to speak of their

'congenital' habit of making a splash with your military stuff" (see present edition, Vol. 39). p. 43

[44] The reference is to the *Société générale du Crédit Mobilier*—a big French joint-stock bank founded in 1852 by the Péreire brothers. The bank was closely connected with the Government of Napoleon III and, protected by it, engaged in speculation. It went bankrupt in 1867 and was liquidated in 1871. p. 43

[45] This patent, the instructions of the Austrian Government in the sphere of finances mentioned below as also the information on the Austrian budget are given by Marx according to *Der gegenwärtige Stand der Finanzen und des Geldumlaufs in Oesterreich. Von einem Unbetheiligten,* Leipzig, 1853. Marx was obviously also conversant with the books by Josef Ritter von Hauer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der österreichischen Finanzen,* Vienna, 1848 and *Ueber Oesterreichs Staatsausgaben und Verwaltung in Hauptumrissen dargestellt,* Vienna, 1849, and other sources. p. 45

[46] In February and March 1846, simultaneously with the national liberation insurrection in the free city of Cracow which had been under the joint control of Austria, Prussia and Russia since 1815, a big peasant uprising flared up in Galicia. Taking advantage of class contradictions, the Austrian authorities provoked clashes between insurgent Galician peasants and the Polish lesser nobility (szlachta) who strove to support Cracow. Having overwhelmed the insurgent szlachta, the Austrian Government also suppressed the peasant movement in Galicia. p. 47

[47] The peace treaty between Austria and the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont) (see Note 9) of August 6, 1849 obliged Piedmont to pay Austria an indemnity of 75 million florins.

In 1853 the Austrian Government confiscated in Lombardy and Venice the property of participants in the 1848-49 revolution who had subsequently emigrated.

The decree of the Austrian Imperial Diet dated August 31, 1848 abolished serfdom in Austria; after approval by the emperor on September 9 it acquired the force of law. p. 47

[48] *Military Frontier* (or *Border*)—in the sixteenth-nineteenth centuries the southern regions of the Austrian Empire bordering on Turkey and having a military administration; their inhabitants (borderers) were allotted land in return for military service in the border regiments. p. 48

[49] In 1789 a national rebellion, called the Brabant revolution, against Austrian rule took place in the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium). It was suppressed by Austrian troops in 1790 after the death of Joseph II. p. 49

[50] This article is entered in the Notebook as "Dienstag. 7. March. Labour Parliament. Gladstone". p. 50

[51] In 1853, with the growth of a massive strike movement of the English proletariat, a group of Chartists headed by Ernest Jones proposed to create a broad workers' organisation, The Mass Movement, which was to unite trade unions and unorganised workers with the primary aim of coordinating strikes in the various districts of the country. The organisation was to be headed by a regularly convened Labour Parliament consisting of delegates elected at

meetings of both unorganised workers and of the trade unions associated with The Mass Movement. The Labour Parliament assembled in Manchester on March 6, 1854 and was in session till March 18, 1854. It discussed and adopted the programme of The Mass Movement and set up an Executive of five members. Marx, elected honorary delegate to the Parliament, sent a letter to it (see this volume, pp. 57-59).

The attempt to found The Mass Movement failed, because the majority of the trade union leaders did not approve of associating the trade unions with the political struggle and did not support the idea of creating a single mass workers' organisation. By the summer of 1854 the strike movement had abated and this also cut short the participation of broad masses of workers in the movement. After March 1854 the Labour Parliament never met again. p. 50

52 The reference is to the Government Commission on the Workers' Question which met at the Palais du Luxembourg and was presided over by Louis Blanc. The Commission was set up on February 28, 1848 by the Provisional Government of the French Republic under pressure from workers who demanded a Ministry of Labour. The Commission consisted of workers and employers and acted as mediator in labour conflicts, often taking the side of the employers. On the very next day after the mass actions of May 15, 1848, the Government disbanded the Luxembourg Commission. p. 50

53 *Organisation of labour, organisers of labour*—an allusion to the utopian socialists (in particular Fourier and his followers) who put forward a plan for the peaceful transformation of society by means of association, that is by "organisation of labour", which they opposed to the anarchy of production under capitalism.

Some of these ideas were used by the French petty-bourgeois socialist Louis Blanc in his book *Organisation du travail* (Paris, 1839) in which he proposed that the bourgeois state should transform contemporary society into a socialist society. p. 50

54 The *National Charter Association* was founded in July 1840. It was the first mass workers' organisation in the history of the working-class movement and counted up to 50,000 members when Chartism was at its peak. Its Executive—the leading body—was elected at congresses and conferences of delegates. After the defeat of the Chartists in 1848 and the ensuing split in their ranks, the Association lost its mass character. Nevertheless, in 1851 and 1852, led by Ernest Jones and other revolutionary Chartists, it fought for the revival of Chartism on a revolutionary basis, for the implementation of the People's Charter and the socialist principles proclaimed by the Chartist Convention in 1851. The Association ceased its activities in 1858. p. 51

55 Marx quotes Article 14 of the law on the French Budget for 1854 passed in 1853 (Loi, portant fixation du budjet...). However, he changes the figure 150 million to 250 million in accordance with a special decree of 1854 (Décret imperial...), which he quotes below (see *Collection complète des lois, decrets, réglements et avis du Conseil d'Etat. Publiée sur les éditions officielles par J. B. Duvergier,* tome 53, Année 1853, p. 232; tome 54, Année 1854, p. 45). Marx probably obtained his information on the financial measures of the French Government from the Paris letter mentioned below and a report in *Le Moniteur universel* of March 7, 1854. p. 51

[56] An allusion to the participants in the Bonapartist coup d'état in France on December 2, 1851. p. 52

[57] This refers to the manifesto of Nicholas I of February 21 (9), 1854 breaking off diplomatic relations with France and Britain; in a letter to Napoleon III of February 9 (January 28), 1854 Nicholas I refused to compromise on the Eastern question. These documents were published in *The Times* of March 6, 1854 under the titles "Manifesto of the Emperor Nicholas" and "The Emperor of Russia and the Emperor Napoleon". p. 52

[58] The *South Sea Company* was founded in England about 1712, officially for trade with South America and the Pacific islands. The Company received from the Government a number of privileges and monopoly rights, in particular the right to issue securities, and plunged into large-scale speculation which led to its bankruptcy in 1720 and the growth of the national debt. In compliance with the draft financial reform of 1853 Gladstone proposed to reduce the interest on the Company's stocks from 3 to $2^3/_4$ per cent. p. 56

[59] Marx's letter to the Labour Parliament was read out by Jones at the evening sitting on March 10. Jones also declared that he was expecting Marx to come to Manchester the following week, obviously basing himself on Marx's promise given in a private letter to Jones (which has not been found). p. 57

[60] On Marx's election as an honorary delegate to the Labour Parliament, see Note 51. p. 57

[61] This article is entered in the Notebook as: "Freitag. 10 March. Labour Parliament". p. 61

[62] The plan of action for the Labour Parliament given below was published in *The People's Paper* only on March 11, 1854. When writing this article Marx presumably made use of a leaflet or a manuscript copy of the programme which had been sent to him together with an invitation to take part in the work of the Parliament (see Note 51). p. 62

[63] Engels wrote the article "Retreat of the Russians from Kalafat" on March 13 on Marx's request and it was mailed to New York on March 14, as is testified by the entry in the Notebook: "Dienstag. 14 March. Militaria. Kalafat." Before sending it off Marx added a review of Greek events (see Note 65) and other information taken from *The Times* of March 14, 1854. On March 18 Marx published this article in the Chartist *People's Paper*. The *New-York Daily Tribune* and the *New-York Weekly Tribune* carried it under the title "The Russian Retreat". It was included by Eleanor Marx in *The Eastern Question* under the same heading. In this edition the text is reproduced from *The People's Paper* and checked with that of the *New-York Daily Tribune*. Substantially different readings are given in footnotes. p. 65

[64] The camp at *Bunzelwitz* was fortified on the order of Frederick II of Prussia in 1761 during the Seven Years' War.

The *fortifications at Torres-Vedras* (in Portugal, between the Tagus River and the Atlantic coast) were built in 1810 on the order of Wellington to protect Lisbon from the French forces.

*Entrenchments behind Verona* were built not far from the town by the troops

of the Archduke Charles of Austria during the war of the third coalition (1805) against Napoleonic France.

In all three instances the fortifications were not captured by the enemy. p. 67

[65] The mailing of the article "The Greek Insurrection" to New York is not registered in the Notebook, but the fact that it is by Marx is established by his letters to Engels of April 22 (see Note 43) and May 3, 1854. This article, published by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* as a leader, was presumably a part of the article mailed by Marx to New York on March 14 (see Note 63). It could not have been written before March 14 because it expounded Milnes' speech delivered in the House of Commons on the 13th and published in *The Times* on March 14, 1854. p. 70

[66] In the spring of 1821 a national liberation movement started in Greece which ended after a long struggle in Greece winning independence. As a result of Russia's victory in the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29, Turkey recognised Greece as an independent state. Forced by public pressure to give military aid to Greece, the ruling circles of the European powers imposed, however, a monarchist form of government on the country after its liberation. The final status of the Kingdom of Greece and its territory were determined by the protocols of March 22, 1829, February 3, 1830 and May 7, 1832 of the London Conference (1827-32). Greece included Morea, the Cyclades and the southern part of Greek mainland, between the mouths of the Spercheios and the Aspropotamo rivers. p. 70

[67] See Note 38. p. 71

[68] This article, dated March 21, 1854, is entered in the Notebook under the same date. It was reprinted by Eleanor Marx in *The Eastern Question.* In this and the next article "The Secret Diplomatic Correspondence" (see this volume, pp. 84-99) Marx analyses the secret correspondence (and other documents) of the British Ambassador to St. Petersburg, Hamilton Seymour, and the British Foreign Secretary concerning the negotiations between Seymour and Nicholas I on the Turkish question at the beginning of 1853, according to *Correspondence...* (Parts V and VI). p. 73

[69] This refers to the article published in the *Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg* of February 18 (March 2), 1854 in connection with Lord Russell's speech in the House of Commons on February 17, 1854 (see this volume, pp. 13, 19 and 24). The article alluded to the existence of a conspiracy between the Russian and British governments on the Turkish question, and proved it from Hamilton Seymour's correspondence of 1853 and the memorandum of 1844. p. 73

[70] In the articles published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* ("Russian Policy Against Turkey.—Chartism", "War in Burma.—The Russian Question.—Curious Diplomatic Correspondence", "Financial Failure of Government.—Cabs.—Ireland.—The Russian Question"—present edition, Vol. 12; "Parliamentary Debates of February 22.—Pozzo di Borgo's Dispatch.—The Policy of the Western Powers"—this volume, pp. 28-29) Marx repeatedly quoted Pozzo di Borgo's dispatches, but did not mention this statement by Nicholas I. p. 78

[71] Marx takes the French expression "de leur échapper" (to escape from them) from Seymour's previous report of January 11, 1853 (*Correspondence...*, Part V,

p. 877) but in this document the expression "nous rester sur les bras" (remain on our hands) is used. p. 78

72 The treaty on the partition of the Spanish succession was signed by Louis XIV, King of the French, and William III, King of England, on March 3, 1700. It envisaged that, in the event of King of Spain Charles II of Habsburg dying childless, Spain, her colonies and the Spanish Netherlands would go to Archduke Charles, second son of Emperor Leopold I. For a number of reasons Charles II refused to accept the terms of this treaty and on October 2, 1700 made a will by which all the Spanish possessions went to the grandson of Louis XIV, Philip, Duke of Anjou. On November 1, 1700 Charles II died and Philip, Duke of Anjou, became King Philip V. By the will of Charles II, Philip V was independent of France, but Louis XIV violated this condition by making him his heir in 1701 and thus the danger arose that power in both Spain and France would be concentrated in the hands of one King. This led to the long war of the Spanish succession (1701-14) (referred to below) between France, on the one hand, and Britain, Holland and the Habsburg Empire, on the other. p. 81

73 The reference is to the family pact of 1731 concluded between King Philip V of Spain and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Gian Gastone. It provided for the Duchy to go to the Spanish heir, Prince Charles (future King Charles III of Spain), after the death of the childless Gian Gastone. p. 81

74 Marx uses as a source Lassalle's letter of March 7, 1854 (see Ferdinand Lassalle, *Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften.* Herausgegeben von Gustav Mayer. 3. Band, Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922, S. 74-76). p. 83

75 Here Marx has in mind the fact that he was constantly shadowed by the Prussian Government. Among the organisers of this surveillance in the 1850s was Bunsen, the Prussian Ambassador to London, who received a certain assistance from the British authorities. In their correspondence Marx and Engels repeatedly mentioned that their letters had been opened. p. 83

76 This article is the continuation of the previous one (see Note 68) and is entered in the Notebook as "24. März. Blue Books. Secret Correspondence. 2. Teil." The article was reprinted abridged in *The Eastern Question.* p. 84

77 In the *New-York Daily Tribune* this article is erroneously datelined "London, Friday, March 24, 1854", the correct date was established on the basis of Marx's Notebook: "28. März. Geschichte des Protektors" and the sources of information used in the article.

The article was included in abridged form by Eleanor Marx in *The Eastern Question* under the title "War Declared—Mussulman and Christian". p. 100

78 Under the legislation in force in England from 1662 paupers who changed their place of residence or applied to a parish for alms could be returned to their former place of residence by court decision. On February 10, 1854 a Settlement and Removal Bill was introduced in the House of Commons envisaging prohibition of forced settlement of paupers in England and Wales. It was rejected by Parliament. p. 101

[79] On March 12, 1854 a treaty was concluded in Constantinople between France, Britain and Turkey. The Allies pledged to help Turkey with their naval and land forces, and Turkey pledged not to enter into peace negotiations with Russia and to conclude no peace without the consent of Britain and France. p. 101

[80] *Ulemas*—the highest social estate of theologians and jurists in the Moslem countries who kept in their hands the administration of justice and the management of all religious establishments and schools; the ulemas exerted a great influence on the political life of the Ottoman Empire.

*Fetva*—decision of the supreme Moslem priest in Oriental countries on the conformity of a measure or action to the norms of Islam. p. 101

[81] This refers to the dissensions among the Turkish ruling circles caused by the treaty of March 12, 1854 (see Note 79). Sheik ul-Islam Arif Hikmet Bey and the President of the State Council of Justice, Rifaat Pasha, opposed any compromise on the status of Christians in Turkey and were dismissed from their posts. p. 101

[82] The *Berber States*—the name used in the nineteenth century for the Moslem states in North Africa on the shore of the Mediterranean (Algeria, Tunis and Morocco). p. 102

[83] On the *Kainardji treaty*, see Note 17. The treaty between France and Turkey, referred to in the text, ended the Egyptian expedition of the French army (1798-1801). It was concluded on October 8, 1801 and finally signed in Paris on June 25, 1802. p. 105

[84] The manuscript "The Fortress of Kronstadt" is one of Engels' military articles intended for the London *Daily News* (see Note 95), but it was not published in his lifetime.

Sometimes the figures which Engels gives for the artillery in Kronstadt differ from those of the Russian command. This is explained by the lack of information to which Engels himself pointed. p. 109

[85] The dispatch of this article to New York is entered in the Notebook as "Freitag. 31. März. Allerlei, Income tax, Mr. Baines, Wash. Wilks. Preston". The *Tribune* editors omitted the part of Marx's article which contained a critical analysis of the book by a radical English author, Washington Wilks, *Palmerston in Three Epochs: a Comparison of Facts with Opinions*, London, 1854. An idea of Marx's critical remarks on this book can be formed from his letter to Engels dated April 4, 1854 (see present edition, Vol. 39).

The only available photocopy of the newspaper is very poor. p. 117

[86] The reference is to Gladstone's proposal to double the rate of income tax for six months in view of Britain's forthcoming entry into the Crimean war. On March 27, 1854 Britain declared war on Russia, and on March 30, after the third reading, the Income Tax Bill was passed. p. 117

[87] For a detailed description of the budget proposed by Gladstone on April 18, 1853 see Marx's articles "Feargus O'Connor.—Ministerial Defeats.—The Budget", "L.S.D., or Class Budgets, and Who's Relieved by Them", "Riot at Constantinople.—German Table Moving.—The Budget", "Soap for the People, a Sop for *The Times*.—The Coalition Budget" (present edition, Vol. 12). p. 117

[88] Marx refers to Gladstone who adhered to *Puseyism*—a trend in the Anglican Church from the 1830s to the 1860s named after one of its founders, Edward Pusey, an Oxford University theologian. He advocated the restoration of Catholic rites and certain dogmas in the Anglican Church. Stressing Gladstone's sanctimoniousness and hypocrisy, Marx often called him "unctuous" (see, for instance, present edition, Vol. 12, p. 72). Below Marx quotes Gladstone according to Pakington (*The Times* of March 31, 1854). p. 117

[89] Marx plays on the name "Doctor Subtilis" given to the medieval scholastic philosopher Duns Scotus. p. 118

[90] See Note 58. p. 118

[91] This refers to an event during one of the biggest strikes of English workers at the time. In August 1853 the weavers and spinners at the cotton mills in Preston and its environs went on strike demanding a 10 per cent wage increase. They were supported by workers of other trades. The Associated Masters responded with a lock-out in September 1853. About 25,000 out of the 30,000 Preston workers were out of work, but assistance by workers of other towns allowed the Preston workers to hold out for more than 36 weeks. The lock-out ended in February 1854, but the strike continued. To frustrate it the Associated Masters brought in workers from Ireland and from English workhouses. On the course and importance of the strike see present edition, Vol. 12, and this volume, pp. 200 and 664-65.

The strike ended in May 1854. p. 120

[92] The *Associated Masters of Preston* binds each of its members by a bond to obey all orders passed by a majority of its members, failing in which an offending master is liable to a penalty of £5,000. p. 120

[93] *Special constables*—volunteers who perform police duties in their spare time. p. 120

[94] The *Riot Act*—an act for preventing tumults and riotous assemblies, and for the more speedy and effectual punishing of the rioters. If an unlawful assembly of twelve or more persons was ordered by a magistrate to disperse and did not do so within one hour, the magistrate could give the order to open fire. It was introduced in Parliament in 1714 and passed in 1715. p. 121

[95] With the outbreak of the Crimean war Engels offered his services as military commentator to the liberal London *Daily News* and sent to the editors his article "The Fortress of Kronstadt" (see Note 84) on March 30, and after April 3, 1854, on the request of the editors, the article "The Russian Army" which was to open a series of articles on the Russian land and naval forces. The article was set and Engels probably received the proofs on April 12, 1854 together with a letter by the editor H. J. Lincoln, who asked Engels about his terms. Engels pinned great hopes on this collaboration, believing that permanent work on the newspaper would enable him to give up his commercial activity and move to London. However, as can be judged from Engels' letter to Marx of April 20, 1854, Lincoln cancelled the previous contract when he found out about Engels' political views. Some of the propositions formulated in the article "The Russian Army" were elaborated in "The Military Power of Russia" (this volume, pp. 498-504) and "The Armies in Europe" (present edition, Vol. 14) published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and *Putnam's Monthly*. p. 123

[96] The proposal to partition Poland was made by Heinrich of Prussia in 1770 during a visit to St. Petersburg. Initially the tsarist government, wishing to retain its influence over the whole of Poland, opposed this plan, but when Prussia and Austria drew closer to each other, Catherine II was compelled in 1772 to conclude a convention with them on the partition of part of Polish territory between the three powers (the first partition of Poland). p. 126

[97] This refers to the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29. p. 127

[98] This article by Marx and Engels was initially a part of "The War Debate in Parliament" (see Note 101) sent by Marx to New York on April 4, 1854. The editors of the *Tribune* extracted three paragraphs of this article and published them separately as a leader. The editors' interference with the original text of Marx and Engels can be easily traced:

The beginning of the article, up to the words "but this report our well-informed London correspondent pronounces a mere stock-jobbing invention", belongs to the editors. The greater part of the first paragraph, from the words "In fact, it seems perfectly clear..." up to the end, was written by Engels; textually it coincides with Engels' letter to Marx of April 3, 1854 (present edition, Vol. 39). The rest of the paragraph was written by Marx.

The editors similarly dealt with Marx's *second paragraph* as can be seen by comparing it with the fourth and fifth paragraphs of "The War Debate in Parliament"; it is more difficult to establish the degree of their interference here, though it is almost beyond doubt in the sentence: "Had these terms been openly proffered sooner they might have greatly diminished the chances of the war, as there is no doubt that the allies mean to procure just such an emancipation." The last sentence "on that head we shall doubtless have full information by the next steamer" also belongs to the editors.

The contents of the *third paragraph* in the main coincide with Marx's articles "The Greek Insurrection", "Declaration of War.—On the History of the Eastern Question" and also "Greece and Turkey.—Turkey and the Western Powers.—Falling Off in Wheat Sales in England" written later (see this volume, pp. 70-72, 100-08 and 159-62). p. 129

[99] In March 1854 Frederick William IV of Prussia requested Nicholas I to withdraw his troops from the Danubian Principalities to avoid a conflict. Nicholas I consented on condition that the Western powers would guarantee emancipation of the Christians in Turkey and withdraw their fleets from the Black Sea. Marx got the information about these negotiations from material published in *The Times*, No. 21706, April 4, 1854. p. 130

[100] See Note 81. p. 130

[101] In Marx's Notebook the dispatch of this article is dated April 4, but its contents, in contrast to other entries, are not disclosed. The editors published a lesser part of this article as a leader (see Note 98) and the greater part as a separate article under the title "The War Debate in Parliament". The latter, like the rest of Marx's articles which the editors published over his signature, was preceded by "From Our Own Correspondent", but Marx's signature was omitted, presumably due to negligence.

"The War Debate in Parliament" was published in *Die Reform*, a German-language newspaper of American workers, between April 20 and 22, 1854 (the editors of this edition are not in possession of this text). Eleanor

Marx included it in abridged form in *The Eastern Question* under the title "The War with Russia". p. 132

[102] See Note 16. p. 135

[103] Marx made a detailed analysis of Lord Palmerston's foreign policy in his pamphlet *Lord Palmerston* written between October and early December 1853 (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 341-406). p. 141

[104] This article is entered in Marx's Notebook as "Freitag. 7. April. Notenwechsel, Oesterreich und Preussen. Kölnische Zeitung". In the abbreviated version of the article published by the *Tribune* the editors omitted the part on the *Kölnische Zeitung*. A fragment of the article was included in the leader published in the same issue of the newspaper. Here is this fragment: "Our correspondent at Vienna announces the conclusion of an alliance between the German powers, by which the entire Confederation, including Austria and Prussia of course, undertakes to maintain neutrality through the war. Whether they can succeed in keeping out of the quarrel for so long a time is a question on which a positive opinion cannot be formed at present. The new complications which may arise, and the new interests which may be developed in the course of the struggle, may very easily render nugatory the most exact calculations that can now be made. Certain it is that but for dread of revolution, against which Russia is supposed to offer a protection, the German powers, and especially the German people, must all desire the humiliation of the Czar, whose preponderant influence they hate, and whose aggrandizement they spontaneously incline to resist. But on the other side, such is their pecuniary weakness, and so entire is their doubt of the loyalty of their subjects, that they must regard the risk of permanent Russian supremacy as far less formidable than that of engaging in a universal war with the revolution lying in ambush behind the eventualities of the contest. So they will remain neutral as long as they can, and will hold themselves ready, when they finally decide to go into the fight, to embrace whichever side offers them the greater advantages. We do not believe they will be led either way by any other motives than regard for their own interest. All the gratitude Austria owes Russia will indeed only prove a reason for her to attack the Czar, should other causes seem to render it the more profitable course; and the same is true of all Germany as well."

The article was reprinted in the *New-York Weekly Tribune*, No. 659, April 29, 1854, but the first and last paragraphs and also Marx's signature were omitted. The article was published in *The Eastern Question* under the title "Russia and the German Powers". p. 143

[105] When forming his Coalition Ministry (see Note 16) in December 1852 the Prime Minister Lord Aberdeen gave ministerial posts to three members of the Irish Brigade (see Note 441), Keogh, Sadleir and Monsell, thus provoking a strong protest on the part of several Irish deputies which led to a split in the Brigade. The pro-Government Irish deputies were backed by the higher Catholic clergy, Irish bourgeoisie and landlords, who feared the growing national liberation movement in Ireland. The other part of the Brigade (the so-called Independent opposition) headed by Duffy relied on a section of rich Irish leaseholders who wanted the Government to pass a new lease law in Ireland. p. 144

[106] The reference is to one of the stages in the work of the Vienna conferences (see Note 3). The conferences dealt with in this article ended with the signing of a protocol between England, France, Austria and Prussia on April 9, 1854. It

demanded that Russia immediately evacuate the Danubian Principalities and guaranteed the preservation of the Ottoman Empire. p. 148

[107] The article "Position of the Armies in Turkey" was written and sent by Engels to Marx in London on April 13; in the Notebook it is entered as "Freitag. 14. April. Militaria". p. 150

[108] This article is entered in the Notebook as "Dienstag. 18. April. Note Reschid Pasches. Italienische Zeitung benutzt". The article was included in abridged form by Eleanor Marx in *The Eastern Question* under the title "Turkey and Greece.—Italy". p. 154

[109] See Note 15. p. 154

[110] At the beginning of 1853 the Austrian Government expelled from Lombardy over 5,000 natives of the Ticino Canton (Switzerland) on the ground that the uprising in Milan in February 1853 had been prepared by Italian revolutionary emigrants residing in Ticino. Only in March 1855, after long diplomatic negotiations, did the Austrian Government permit the expelled Ticinese to return. p. 155

[111] Here Marx has in mind the Liberal Party (the so-called *moderatti*) headed by Cavour; this party voiced the interests of liberal-monarchist big bourgeoisie and bourgeoisified nobility who strove to unite Italy from above, under the aegis of the Savoy dynasty; fearing the mass revolutionary movement, they based their tactics on use of the favourable international situation and assistance from other states. In 1853-54 this party tried to bring Piedmont into the Crimean war on the side of Britain and France, hoping in this way to secure the support of these powers for the unification of Italy. Piedmont entered the war in 1855. p. 156

[112] The reference is to a system of treaties concluded by the participants in the Vienna Congress of the European monarchs and their Ministers (September 1814-June 1815). It established the boundaries and status of the European states after the victory over Napoleonic France, sanctioned the reshaping of the political map of Europe and the restoration of the "legitimate" dynasties, overthrown as a result of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. p. 157

[113] See Note 17. p. 157

[114] This refers to the treaty of March 12, 1854 (see Note 79). p. 157

[115] On the formation of the *Kingdom of Greece* see Note 66.

The *conquest of Algeria*, which in the eighteenth century was already a military feudal state independent of the Ottoman Empire, began in 1830. It met fierce armed resistance on the part of the Algerian population. By 1842 most of Algeria was conquered, but the Algerian people continued their struggle for independence.

A *half-independence of Egypt*—the so-called Egyptian crises (1831-33 and 1839-41)—conflicts between Mehemet Ali of Egypt and the Ottoman Empire, with the European powers actively interfering. They ended with the introduction of a new statute for Egypt which remained dependent on the Turkish Sultan.

*Aden* was seized by England in 1839 and turned into a military naval base.

*The Englishmen who covet Egypt*—the reference is to the concession which the English obtained for the construction of the railway line from Alexandria to Suez and Cairo and to the plans for building the Suez canal (opened for navigation in 1869). p. 158

116 This article was entered in the Notebook as "Freitag. 21. April. Allerlei. Mark Lane".

It was included by Eleanor Marx in *The Eastern Question* abridged under the title "Austria and Servia.—Greece and Turkey.—Turkey and the Western Powers". p. 159

117 *Pera*—a district in Istanbul (Constantinople). p. 160

118 By the treaty of Ninfeo (1261) between the Nicaean Empire and Genoa, the latter obtained strongholds in Asia Minor, on the Straits and in the Crimea, thus establishing its domination on the shores of the Aegean and Black seas. p. 160

119 This article was written by Engels on April 24, 1854. The authorship is established on the basis of Engels' letter to Marx of April 21, 1854 (see present edition, Vol. 39 and the entry in the Notebook on its dispatch to New York: "Dienstag. 25. April. Militaria"). It was sent by the steamer *Washington* which left Southampton on April 26 and arrived in New York with considerable delay on May 14. The newspaper editors interested in Engels' military reviews published the material as a leader. At the same time they made it appear to have been written on the basis of later information received with the *Atlantic*, which left Europe a week later, on May 3, 1854. For this purpose they added the first paragraph with a survey of the news of the bombardment of Odessa by the allied fleet, published in the same issue of the *New-York Daily Tribune* in the section "The War". The ironical appraisal of Admiral Dundas' bravery may have been taken by the *Tribune* editors from Marx's article "The Bombardment of Odessa.—Greece.—Proclamation of Prince Daniel of Montenegro.—Manteuffel's Speech" published in the same issue (this volume, pp. 173-80). The first paragraph was as follows:

"The *Atlantic* arrived yesterday, bringing intelligence of the first actual attack on the Russians by the British and French fleet in the Black Sea. It seems that the British war-steamer *Furious* went to Odessa with a flag of truce to bring away the British and French Consuls, from that place, and that after having got them on board, she was fired at from the shore. The British represent this act as a wanton violation of the rights of the flag of truce, for which summary vengeance must be taken. The Russians on the other hand say that after the Consuls were embarked, the ship remained in the harbor to enable the officers to take sketches of the fortifications, and that she was fired at simply to put an end to such impropriety. However this may be, the British and French Admirals agreed that something must be done, and accordingly a large force was sent to bombard the place. This operation does not seem to have been accomplished in a very brilliant way, for though the official details have not yet reached us, there is a report that several British ships were badly damaged in process of silencing the shore batteries, burning a few merchant ships in port, and knocking to pieces a palace belonging to Prince Woronzoff, not far from the water's edge. The town of Odessa they did not harm, as it is situated on the top of a hill comparatively out of the way. Having thus taken vengeance, they sailed away again. Admiral Dundas has apparently adopted for his rule of action the advice of a letter from one of his officers, which has been

published at London, and means to take anything easy, but to leave difficult and dangerous enterprises alone." p. 163

[120] The reference is to the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29. p. 163

[121] The Notebook gives only the date when this article was mailed ("Freitag. 28. April") but does not disclose its contents. Judging by the reference to *Le Moniteur universel* of April 26, 1854, Marx started to write the article on April 27 and finished it on the day of its dispatch to New York, April 28, 1854. It was included in abridged form in *The Eastern Question* under the title "The Greek Insurrection.—Alliance Between Prussia and Austria.—Russian Armaments". p. 166

[122] General Zamoiski was permitted to form the Polish Legion at the beginning of 1854. It included supporters of Prince Czartoryski; General Wysocki, protected by Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte (1822-1891), tried to form a legion of Polish democratic emigrants. But by the summer of 1854 it became clear that his plan had failed and Wysocki left Istanbul. During the Crimean war the Polish emigrants also fought in the ranks of the Cossack formations of Sadyk Pasha (Chaikovsky). p. 167

[123] See notes 3 and 106. p. 169

[124] This article was entered in the Notebook as "2. Mai. Dienstag. Militaria". It was sent from Liverpool on May 3 by the steamer *Atlantic*. Before mailing it to Liverpool in the morning of May 3, Marx added information from the morning issue of *The Times* for May 3. It was included by Eleanor Marx in *The Eastern Question* abridged under the title "Bombardment of Odessa.—Austria and Russia.—The Greek Insurrection.—Montenegro.—Manteuffel". p. 173

[125] During the events described here the acting Governor-General of Novorossia and Bessarabia, P. I. Fyodorov, left for the Caucasus (in March), and N. N. Annenkov, appointed to replace him, arrived in Odessa only on the night of April 9 (21), 1854. During that time the defence of Odessa was led by D. Y. Osten-Sacken. p. 173

[126] Probably Marx drew this information from a number of papers, in particular *The Times* of April 26, 1854, which published all sorts of rumours about the Russian Government buying back grain from foreign merchants in Odessa. p. 175

[127] The editors of this edition are not in possession of this issue of *La Presse*. The passage quoted by Marx was obviously published in the newspaper on May 2, for Marx wrote to Engels on May 3: "*Metaxas*, who was Greek Ambassador in Constantinople where he engaged in plotting—the Paris *Presse* published a pretty account of this Russo-Greek Bangyanade—was the principal tool of the infamous Capodistria" (see present edition, Vol. 39). Probably Marx read about this in *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 123, May 3, 1854. p. 176

[128] Representatives of Prussia and Austria and the Russian Ambassador to Vienna, Meyendorff, acting as a mediator, met in Olmütz on November 29, 1850. The meeting ended with the signing of an agreement by which Prussia consented to restore the German Confederation (see Note 8) and to give Austrian troops passage to Hesse-Cassel and Holstein in order to suppress revolutionary movements there.

The Olmütz agreement was the last victory scored by Austrian diplomacy in the struggle against Prussia. p. 176

[129] The reference is to the decisions of the London Conference of 1827-32 (see Note 66). The material from the *Nouvelliste de Marseille* is given as published in *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 121, May 1, 1854. p. 177

[130] The reference is to the national liberation struggle of the German people against French domination which started after the defeat of Napoleon's army in Russia. The ruling circles and governing dynasties tried to use the popular struggle for consolidating the reactionary feudal system in Germany.

*Treubund* (the Union of the Loyal)—a Prussian monarchist society founded in Berlin at the end of 1848. Late in 1849 it split into ultra-royalists and constitutional monarchists. p. 178

[131] The authorship of this article was established on the basis of Engels' letters to Marx of May 1, 6 and 9, 1854, the entry in the Notebook ("5. Mai. Freitag. Militaria") and comparison of its text with the reports in *The Times* which Engels used as a source for describing military operations on the Danube front. There are signs of the *Tribune* editors' interference with Engels' text. p. 181

[132] Engels' doubts as to the authenticity of the information about "a decisive victory" gained by Omer Pasha at Chernavoda were fully confirmed. On May 9, 1854, *The Times* carried an article by its own Vienna correspondent who regarded this event as an ordinary encounter with enemy troops and the data on Russian casualties as highly exaggerated. p. 181

[133] This sentence was inserted in Engels' text by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune.* p. 182

[134] These words are added to Engels' text by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* and refer to the article "The Greek Insurrection" printed in the same issue of the newspaper. p. 182

[135] See Note 38. p. 182

[136] Engels refers to Marx's articles "Parliamentary Debates of February 22.—Pozzo di Borgo's Dispatch.—The Policy of the Western Powers", "English and French War Plans.—Greek Insurrection.—Spain.—China", "The Secret Diplomatic Correspondence" (this volume, pp. 26-34, 35-42 and 84-99) and in part to his own article "The Turkish Question" (present edition, Vol. 12). This reference corresponds to Engels' intention about which he wrote to Marx on May 1, 1854: "It is time we harked back to our first articles on the subject, including the political aspect. Here, too, we have been splendidly vindicated by circumstances" (present edition, Vol. 39). p. 183

[137] The article "British Finances" is entered in the Notebook as "9. Mai. Dienstag. *Financial*". The material was also used for a leader in the *New-York Times*, as is seen from a letter of Cluss to Marx, dated May 25, 1854. p. 184

[138] *Whitehall*—a street in London named after the Whitehall Palace where in the mid-nineteenth century the following government offices were located: the Admiralty, the Treasury, the Home Office, the Foreign Office, etc.

*Somerset House*—a palace near the Strand (London) built by the Duke of Somerset in 1549. After its reconstruction in 1776-86, it accommodated such

government offices as the Office of the Inspector General of Naval Hospitals and Fleets, the Office of the Registrar General of Births, Deaths and Marriages, and the Audit Office. p. 188

[139] The reference is to agreement signed by Russia, Britain and the Netherlands in London on May 19 (7), 1815 to defray Russia's war expenses incurred in driving out Napoleon's army from the Dutch and Belgian provinces. The governments of Britain and the Netherlands undertook to pay in compensation part of Russian debts to the Dutch bankers Hope and Co. (25 million Dutch guldens each). A special article of the agreement stipulated that payments would be suspended if the Belgian provinces separated from the Netherlands. After the revolution of 1830, when an independent Belgian state was formed, the Netherlands Government ceased payments. Palmerston signed, on behalf of the British Government, a new agreement with Russia on November 16 (4), 1831 confirming Britain's former financial obligations. p. 190

[140] This article was written by Engels on May 15, 1854 at Jenny Marx's request. Its dispatch was entered in the Notebook on May 16 under the title "Militaria". The appraisal of the Odessa events here is completely identical with that given by Engels in his letter to Marx of May 9, 1854 (see present edition, Vol. 39). p. 192

[141] Engels is inaccurate here. It was the same Russian general, Dmitry Yerofeyevich Osten-Sacken, who from December 1853 commanded the troops on the Black Sea coast from the Bug to the Danube, and his headquarters was in Odessa. p. 192

[142] See Note 125. p. 192

[143] The *battle at Eckernförde* on April 5, 1849—an operation during the Schleswig-Holstein war between Denmark and Prussia in 1848-50. p. 194

[144] Engels may have obtained the information about the battle from the Imperial ukase conferring the Order of St. Andrew on Osten-Sacken, which was reprinted by *The Times* on May 15, 1854 from the *Russky Invalid* of May 5, 1854. p. 194

[145] As a source for this article Marx used the article "Barbarians in Briton" by Ernest Jones published in *The People's Paper* on May 13, 1854. It is entered in the Notebook as "19. Mai. Freitag. Auszug aus Jones". The first paragraph, which bears signs of interference by the *Tribune* editors, was presumably either written entirely by Engels or drawn up by Marx on the basis of Engels' views expressed in "A Famous Victory" (this volume, p. 195). p. 196

[146] See Note 94. p. 199

[147] On the Preston strike see Note 91. Marx took the material on the attempt to close the case against the abuses on the part of the Preston magistrates from "Abandonment of the Preston Prosecution", published in *The People's Paper* on May 13, 1854. p. 200

[148] This article was written by Engels and published by Marx in *The People's Paper*, and also in the *New-York Daily Tribune* under the title "The Exploits in the Baltic and Black Seas.—Anglo-French System of Operations". In the Notebook the date of mailing to New York and the fact of its being printed in *The People's*

*Paper* are entered as "23. Mai. Dienstag. Militaria (abgedruckt in P[eople's] Paper)".

In *The People's Paper* the article was preceded by an editorial text: "In order to make room for the following able letter, written by a celebrated continental politician, now in England, we are compelled to withdraw our usual summary."

The article was included by Eleanor Marx in *The Eastern Question* under the title "The Exploits in the Baltic and Black Seas.—Anglo-French System of Operations".

In this volume the article is reproduced from *The People's Paper;* readings differing from the *New-York Daily Tribune* are given in footnotes. p. 201

149 Engels presumably alludes to the victory of the English squadron under Nelson over the Franco-Spanish squadron at Trafalgar on October 21, 1805. The battle was fought when a superior Franco-Spanish squadron attempted to break through the blockade by Nelson's ships in Cadiz harbour. p. 204

150 On the fulfilment of Marx's intention see notes 165 and 169. p. 206

151 This article was written by Engels on May 25, 1854 at the request of Marx and his wife in view of Marx's illness. The article was mailed to New York on May 26, 1854 as is testified by the entry in the Notebook: "26. Mai. Freitag. Abuses in the Army. Wellington." The *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* reprinted it without any title. p. 208

152 *Horse Guards*—an old building in London erected in the mid-eighteenth century in the district of government offices between St. James' Park and Whitehall; general headquarters of the English army at that time. p. 209

153 The reference is to the army camp and military manoeuvres at Chobham, near London, from June 21 to August 20, 1853 in connection with preparations for the war against Russia. p. 210

154 Inaccuracy in the text: from 1852 to 1858 Ralph Bernal Osborne was Secretary of the Admiralty first in the Aberdeen Coalition Ministry and then in the Palmerston Ministry. p. 213

155 *The Mayfair Radicals*, nickname given to a section of English aristocracy (Molesworth, Bernal Osborne, and others) who made advances to democratic circles. Mayfair is a former aristocratic district east of Hyde Park. p. 213

156 The mailing of this article to New York was registered in the Notebook in Marx's own hand as "30. Mai. Dienstag. Russische Seemacht in Baltic. Disraeli und Russell. Quadrprotokoll". p. 215

157 See Note 56. p. 215

158 The reference is to the protocol of the current Vienna conference (see notes 3 and 106) signed on May 23, 1854. p. 215

159 Here Marx cites the treaty of April 20, 1854 between Austria and Prussia according to Blackett's speech, which does not coincide with the authentic text of the treaty analysed by Marx in his article "The Greek Insurrection.—The Polish Emigration.—The Austro-Prussian Treaty.—Russian Documents" (this volume, p. 168). p. 215

160 See Note 78. p. 218

[161] The reference is to Russell's motion for "the removal of some disabilities of Her Majesty's Jewish subjects" made in the House of Commons in February 1853 with a view to admitting Jews to the Commons. Russell's Bill was adopted in the House of Commons, but was not passed by the House of Lords. Marx describes this Bill in the article "Parliamentary Debates.—The Clergy Against Socialism.—Starvation" (present edition, Vol. 11). p. 218

[162] The mailing of this article is entered in the Notebook as "*2. Juni.* Kriegsplan in Varna. (*Times*), Fabel aus der 'Biene'. Mark Lane. Gladstone and Archangel", which fits in with the following lines in Marx's letter to Engels dated June 3, 1854: "I wrote an article yesterday deriding the plan of campaign published in Thursday's *Times*" (see present edition, Vol. 39).

The article was published in abridged form by Eleanor Marx in *The Eastern Question* under the title "Delay on the Danube". p. 220

[163] Presumably Marx has in mind information contained in one of Engels' letters to him which is not available (Engels' letters to Marx written between May 9 and June 10, 1854 have not been found). p. 225

[164] Sir James Graham made this statement not on Monday, May 29, 1854 as erroneously stated in the text, but on Thursday, June 1. It was published in *The Times* on June 2, 1854. p. 226

[165] This article is entered in the Notebook as "9. *Juni.* Kriegsministerium Gover. Varna Powers. Handel. Getreide. St. Arnaud". The *New-York Weekly Tribune,* No. 668 of June 1, 1854 only published the first paragraph of the article. The article was printed in abridged form in *The Eastern Question* under the title "Speeches. St. Arnaud." p. 227

[166] The reference is to the rout of the Turkish army at Vienna on September 12, 1683 by Austrian, German and Polish troops, with the Polish army under Jan Sobieski playing the decisive role. This battle stopped the advance of the Turks into Central Europe. p. 227

[167] The *Peelites*—a group of moderate Tories who rallied around Sir Robert Peel and supported his policy of concessions to the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie in the economic sphere while preserving the political domination of the big landlords and financiers. In 1846, in the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie, Peel repealed the Corn Laws. This caused great dissatisfaction among the Tory protectionists, led to a split in the Tory party and the secession of the Peelites. After Peel's death in 1850, the Peelites formed a political group without any definite programme, they participated in the Aberdeen Coalition Ministry (1852-55) and merged with the Liberal Party in the late 1850s and early 1860s. p. 228

[168] The reference is to the demands for the immediate evacuation of the Danubian Principalities and other territories occupied by the Russian troops made by Austria and Prussia to Chancellor Nesselrode after the signing of the treaty on April 20, 1854 (on the treaty, see this volume, p. 168). p. 228

[169] The first half of the article about Saint-Arnaud was written by Marx on June 6, 1854 as entered in the Notebook: "*6. Juni.* St. Arnaud." The article has not been found in the issues of the *New-York Daily Tribune,* the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune,* and the *New-York Weekly Tribune* available to the editors of this edition. p. 230

[170] This refers to the July 1830 bourgeois revolution in France. p. 230

[171] *Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera* (Help yourself, heaven will help you)—a political society of a moderate liberal trend formed in France in 1827 with the help of a few future members of the July monarchy (Guizot, Barrot, Lafayette, etc.). It also included a group of bourgeois republicans (Flocon, Godefroy Cavaignac and others).

The society "*dix-mille*" ("ten thousand")—an ironical name given by Marx to the secret Bonapartist Society of December 10. It was formed in 1849 and included mainly declassed elements. Marx described this society in detail in his *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 148-51).

The words "ten thousand" (ten thousand Persian archers) belong to Agesilaus II, King of Sparta. In 394 B.C., during the Corinthian war (395-387 B.C.) between the Peloponnesian Alliance headed by Sparta and the coalition of Greek states headed by Athens, Agesilaus II had to interrupt his successful military operations against Persia in Asia Minor and return to Greece. He declared that he had been driven from Asia by "ten thousand Persian archers" thus hinting that Persia was subsidising Athens in this war (archers were depicted on Persian gold coins). p. 230

[172] In calling the famous improviser Eugène de Pradel the teacher of Saint-Arnaud, Marx alludes to an episode in the life of the Commander-in-Chief of the French army in the Crimea: during the Restoration Jacques Leroy (Saint-Arnaud) played in the Paris theatre Gaieté under the stage name of Florival. p. 231

[173] In 1832, when the royalist coup against Louis Philippe failed, the Duchess of Berry, mother of the Duke of Chambord who was a legitimist pretender to the French throne, was imprisoned in the castle of Blaye, and in 1833 sent to Italy to Duke Luccheri-Palli to whom she had been secretly married. p. 231

[174] The mailing of this article to New York written by Engels in the evening of June 10 is entered in the Notebook as "*13. Juni.* Belagerung von Silistria". p. 234

[175] The reference is to an episode in the Danish-Prussian war of 1848-50. p. 237

[176] The *peace treaty of Adrianople* was concluded by Turkey and Russia in September 1829, at the end of the war of 1828-29. Under it Russia obtained the islands in the mouth of the Danube and a considerable part of the eastern coast of the Black Sea south of the Kuban estuary. Turkey was obliged to recognise the autonomy of the Danubian Principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia and grant them the right to elect hospodars (rulers) independently. Russia was to guarantee this autonomy, which was tantamount to establishing a Russian protectorate over the Principalities. The Turkish Government also pledged to guarantee the autonomy of Greece and Serbia. p. 240

[177] *Bashi Buzouks*—irregular detachments of the Turkish army in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; the name was also given to troops noted for cruelty, plunder and lack of discipline. p. 243

[178] This information did not prove true. Count Nikolai Alexeyevich Orlov, who stormed Silistria, remained alive. p. 243

[179] The article "State of the Russian War" by Marx and Engels, and the one following it, "The Russian Retreat", were arbitrarily compiled by the *Tribune*

editors from two works: Marx's article dispatched to New York on June 16 (it is entered in Marx's Notebook as "16. *Juni.* St. Arnaud (Schluß). *Dänemark.* Einfluss der Verteidigung von Silistria auf den Kriegsplan v.d. *Times* (sieh. 9)") and Engels' and Marx's article written on June 19 and 23 respectively (this joint article is entered in the Notebook as "23. Juni. Freitag"). The first article was probably delivered to New York by the steamer *Washington* on July 5, and the second to Halifax by the *America* on July 5, 1854. The editors omitted from the first article the passage concerning Saint-Arnaud and Denmark and added from the second article some details about military operations at Silistria.

The article "State of the Russian War" was included by Eleanor Marx in *The Eastern Question.* The first paragraph was left out. p. 246

180 The reference is to the Austro-Turkish treaty signed in Constantinople on June 14, 1854. It provided for immediate occupation of the Danubian Principalities by Austria, after the withdrawal of the Russian troops. p. 246

181 Paskievich's official report on the siege of Silistria by the Russian troops was published in *The Times* on June 24, 1854; Marx may have used some other source. p. 246

182 An allusion to the participation of Tsarist troops in suppressing the Hungarian revolution of 1849. p. 248

183 Marx presumably refers to a number of reports from Wallachia and one from Dobrudja which were published anonymously in the *Wiener medizinische Wochenschrift* in the first half of 1854. p. 249

184 The words "of which we give a full report in this paper" were inserted in Marx's and Engels' text by the *Tribune* editors, and the words "a full report" refer to Marx's article "The War.—Debate in Parliament" (this volume, pp. 258-66). p. 256

185 The date on which this article was written is corroborated by the entry in the Notebook ("Dienstag, 27. Juni") and Marx's letter to Engels of June 27, 1854. Eleanor Marx published an abridged version of this article in *The Eastern Question.* p. 258

186 Presumably a misprint. Marx had in mind the following report in *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 177, June 26, 1854.

"Report from Belgrade, June 25, noon. According to a telegraphic dispatch of June 23 from Bucharest, the siege of Silistria has been lifted by order of superior command, the Russians have evacuated Giurgevo and the whole army of the Muscovites will withdraw beyond the Pruth." p. 258

187 The third edition of *The Times* is not available; the material from it was partly published on the next day in the morning issue of the newspaper (No. 21778, June 27, 1854). p. 258

188 Marx quotes this document according to a copy of a dispatch from Prince Lieven and Count Matusczewicz to Count Nesselrode, dated London 1st (13th) June, 1829, published by David Urquhart in: *The Portfolio. Diplomatic Review.* New Series, London, 1843, Vol. I, No. 1. p. 261

189 On the *Adrianople treaty,* see Note 176.

The *Unkiar-Skelessi treaty* of defensive alliance was concluded by Russia and Turkey on July 8 (June 26), 1833. It provided for mutual aid in the event of

war with a third power. A secret article of the treaty freed Turkey from the obligation to give military aid to Russia in return for an undertaking to close the Straits to all foreign warships on Russia's demand. p. 263

190 The reference is to the conference of the Turkish Foreign Minister Pertev Pasha, the English Ambassador Gordon, the French Ambassador Guilleminot and the Prussian envoy Royer on September 7, 1829. They discussed the Russian project of a treaty and drew up Turkish proposals. The Ambassadors promised Pertev Pasha to mediate in the negotiations with the Russians. p. 265

191 See Note 39. p. 265

192 This article is registered in the Notebook as "Dienstag. 4. Juli. *Moldau und Walachei*". It was published in abridged form by Eleanor Marx in *The Eastern Question* under the title "Russia, Austria, Turkey, Wallachia, and Redcliffe". p. 267

193 This refers to a military coup (*pronunciamento*) in Madrid on June 28, 1854. Since the spring of 1854 the Spanish people's dissatisfaction with their great economic hardships and with their reactionary government had been growing stronger; it intensified especially after the dissolution of the Cortes which tried to oppose the government decree that taxes must be paid six months in advance. The leaders of the *pronunciamento*, generals O'Donnell and Dulce, who pursued personal aims in the overthrow of the Sartorius dictatorship in Spain, were compelled to promise certain bourgeois tax reforms. They also promised to do away with the camarilla, to convene the Cortes, form a national militia and introduce other changes. Participation of the popular masses in the struggle led to the bourgeois revolution of 1854-56, which in 1854 again brought to power the Progresista Party headed by Espartero (see Note 210). Frightened by the activity of the broad masses, however, the bourgeoisie sided with the counter-revolution, and in 1856 extreme reactionaries returned to power. p. 267

194 Marx presumably has in mind the revolt of the Saragossa garrison in February 1854. p. 267

195 The *remarkable affair at Bronzell*—an ironical description of an insignificant clash between Prussian and Austrian detachments on November 8, 1850 in the electorate of Hesse-Cassel (Kurhessen). Prussia and Austria, contending for supremacy in Germany, claimed the right to interfere in the internal affairs of Hesse-Cassel to suppress the mounting constitutional movement against the elector Frederick William I and his reactionary ministers. In this conflict with Austria, which received diplomatic support from the Russian Emperor, Nicholas I, Prussia had to yield and allow Austria to carry out a punitive expedition in Hesse-Cassel (see also Note 266). p. 269

196 See Note 3. p. 270

197 Marx quotes the treaty of 1393 according to D. Bratiano's *Documents Concerning the Question of the Danubian Principalities*; the text of the treaty is also given by Marx in the synopsis of the anonymous book, *The Russians in Moldavia and Wallachia*, London, 1849, which he made in September 1853. Marx may have used this synopsis too when writing this article. Marx's notebook with excerpts, dated January-April and July 1854, contains an outline of part of this article on Moldavia and Wallachia. p. 271

198 Marx may here be quoting the treaty of 1460 between Wallachia and Turkey according to D. Bratiano's *Documents Concerning the Question of the Danubian Principalities.* p. 271

199 On the *Adrianople treaty*, see Note 176.

Article V of the treaty is given by Marx according to *The Russians in Moldavia and Wallachia.* p. 272

200 The revolutionary events of 1848 in Moldavia and Wallachia are described by Marx mainly on the basis of the books: *The Russians in Moldavia and Wallachia* (see Note 197) and J. Héliade Radulesco's *Mémoires sur l'Histoire de la Régénération roumaine ou sur les Événements de 1848 accomplis en Valachie*, Paris, 1851. The author of the second book, J. Héliade Radulesco, took part in the events, was a member of the provisional government known for his pro-Turkish leanings, and during the revolution pursued a compromise policy in respect of the Turkish Government and the Wallachian boyars. p. 272

201 Under Article V of the Adrianople treaty (see Note 199) Moldavia and Wallachia were to be occupied by the Russian troops until Turkey paid indemnities (the troops were withdrawn in 1834). Turkey pledged to recognise the autonomy of the Danubian Principalities and grant them the right to elect hospodars (rulers) independently. In 1831-32, on the basis of a project drafted by the Tsarist Government, the assemblies of boyars and clergy in Wallachia and Moldavia adopted "organic regulations" which granted legislative powers in each principality to an assembly elected by big landowners and executive powers to hospodars elected for life by representatives of the landowners, clergy and towns. The "regulations" planned a number of bourgeois reforms: annulled internal customs, introduced free trade, separated judiciary from administrative power, allowed the transfer of peasants to new owners, and prohibited torture. But the preservation of the former feudal order, including serfdom, and the concentration of political power in the Principalities in the hands of the big landowners and boyars, led the progressive sections to regard the "regulations" as a symbol of feudal stagnation. p. 273

202 In speaking about the Constitution, Marx had in mind the Izlaz programme, Point 13 of which provided for the abolition of feudal duties of the peasants. The programme was adopted in the village of Izlaz on June 9 (21), 1848. In the book by Radulesco it was entitled "Au nom du Peuple roumain". p. 273

203 Marx obtained this information from *The Russians in Moldavia and Wallachia*; the reference is presumably to "Circulaire adressée par le comte de Nesselrode, ministre des affaires étrangères de l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, aux Missions de Russie près les cours d'Europe. En date de St.-Pétersbourg 19 juillet/1 août 1848." p. 273

204 The *Balta Liman treaty* (convention) was concluded by Russia and Turkey on May 1 (April 19), 1849 in view of the presence of their troops in Moldavia and Wallachia where they had been sent to suppress the revolutionary movement. According to the Convention the occupying regime was to continue until the danger of revolution was completely removed (foreign troops were withdrawn from the Principalities in 1851); provisionally hospodars were to be appointed by the Sultan in concert with the Tsar, and a number of measures were envisaged in the event of a new revolution. "Organic regulations" were re-introduced (see Note 201). p. 274

[205] On September 28 (October 10), 1848, on the occasion of the Wallachian revolutionary troops being disbanded, their commander Georgiu Magheru (Maghiero) wrote three documents: *Réponse à la lettre du consul anglais; Protestation de Maghiero adressée aux représentants des puissances de l'Europe; La Lettre à Fuad-Effendi.* The texts of these documents are given in the book by Radulesco; the quotation cited by Marx partly conveys their contents. p. 275

[206] Marx received this article from Engels on July 7 and sent it off to New York on July 11, 1854, as is seen from his entry in the Notebook: *"Dienstag,* 11, Juli. *Belagerung von Silistria (Schluß).*" Before dispatching the article to New York he made several additions to it from the latest issues of newspapers. The article was published in *The Eastern Question* with some abbreviations, under the title "The Siege of Silistria". p. 276

[207] The words "having received by the *Pacific*" were inserted in Engels' text by the *Tribune* editors. p. 277

[208] This article is entered in the Notebook as *"Freitag.* 7. Juli (Spanische Revolution)"; part of the article under the title "Austria" was reproduced by Eleanor Marx in *The Eastern Question.* p. 282

[209] This refers to the old royal palace *Buen Retiro* built in the seventeenth century for Philip IV. It was turned into artillery barracks in the nineteenth century. The palace was situated in the Retiro Park, in which there were some other government buildings, palaces, an art gallery, observatory, etc. p. 284

[210] The liberal-bourgeois Progresista party was formed in the 1830s. The Progresistas found support among the urban middle and petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals and some officers. Their principal demand was restriction of the power of the monarchy (see also Note 193). p. 285

[211] The reference is to the Spanish government decree of May 19, 1854 on payment of land and industrial taxes six months in advance. p. 286

[212] This article was written by Marx on July 13-14, 1854; it is entered in the Notebook as "Freitag. 14 July. Rückzug von Cronstadt. Schiessen gegen Sebastopol. Geschichten in der Walachei. Angebliches Bombardement von Sulina. Gezwungene Verhältnisse von Bukarest, St. Arnaud. Vorschiebung in der Zahl der Truppen von Calais. Italien. Espagne. Russische Note aus der Indépendence. Oesterreich. Preussen. Protest der Serben. Schweden, Dänemark, Holland. Case of Peithman". The article was included in abridged form in *The Eastern Question* under the title "The Theatre of War.—The Russian Note to the German Powers.—Servia and Austria". p. 291

[213] There are inaccuracies in the appraisal of the proclamations of O'Donnell (the so-called Manzanares Manifesto adopted in Manzanares, La Mancha, on July 7, 1854) and of Dulce. This is presumably because Marx did not have the texts of the proclamations when he wrote the article. The proclamations were published in the *Journal des Débats* only on July 17, 1854 (see this volume, p. 305).

On June 18, 1837, during the Spanish revolution of 1834-43, a new Constitution was adopted. Being a compromise between some bourgeois liberals and the liberal nobility, the 1837 Constitution gave the Cortes the right of free convocation, the king retaining the right to veto and dissolve the Cortes. Qualifications for election to the Lower Chamber were reduced; its deputies were elected by direct vote, the Senate was appointed by the king from a list

submitted to him by special electoral collegiums. Catholicism was recognised as the state religion. The 1837 Constitution remained in force till 1845. p. 294

[214] This refers to Count Nesselrode's dispatch to Prince Gorchakov, the Russian representative in Vienna, of June 29 (17), 1854, which contained the Russian Government's reply to Austria's categorical demand for the Russian evacuation of the Danubian Principalities, which were to be occupied by Austrian troops under the treaty concluded by Austria and Turkey on June 14, 1854. Marx used a report on the dispatch (which had not yet been published) which appeared in *L'Indépendance belge* on July 11, 1854. p. 294

[215] See Note 106. p. 295

[216] See Note 195. p. 296

[217] On the *German Confederation*, see Note 8. Besides the German states the Confederation included the duchies of Holstein, which belonged to the Danish Crown, and of Luxemburg, a possession of the King of the Netherlands. The King of Denmark, as Duke of Holstein, and the King of the Netherlands, as the Grand Duke of Luxemburg, were members of the Federal Diet of the Confederation. p. 298

[218] This article is entered in the Notebook as "*Dienstag.* 18. Juli. Österreich. Türkei. Spanien. Ministerkrisis. Peithman". The analysis of the sources used in the article allows us to assume that it was heavily edited by the *Tribune* editors who presumably arbitrarily combined the material of this article and of the subsequent one: "The Spanish Revolution.—Greece and Turkey". Both articles, dispatched to America by the steamships *Alps* and *Canada* on July 19 and 22 respectively, arrived in New York almost at the same time and were published on August 3 and 4, 1854. The article "A Congress at Vienna" was included by Eleanor Marx in *The Eastern Question.* p. 301

[219] See notes 3, 106 and 158. p. 301

[220] Marx has in mind representatives of several German states (Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Württemberg, Baden, Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Darmstadt and Nassau) which met at a conference at Bamberg in May-June 1854 and decided to adhere to the Austro-Prussian treaty of April 20, 1854 (see this volume, pp. 167-68). p. 301

[221] See Note 106. p. 301

[222] *Peterhoff*—summer residence of the Russian emperors. p. 302

[223] This article is entered in the Notebook as "*Freitag.* 21 *July. Spain*". Presumably, part of the material of this article was included by the editors of the *Tribune* in the preceding one (see Note 218). p. 309

[224] The *pronunciamentos of 1843*—a counter-revolutionary military mutiny organised in May by generals Narváez, Concha and others against the dictatorship of Espartero, leader of the Progresistas (see Note 210). Some of the Progresistas, dissatisfied with the dictator's policy, supported the mutiny. On July 30, 1843, Espartero fled from the country, General Narváez, a leader of the Moderados, who found support among the big landowners, became the dictator. Thus the

third Spanish revolution (1834-43) came to an end and reaction set in till the fourth revolution (1854-56). p. 309

[225] The *Peninsular war* or *Spanish war* (1808-14)—a war fought by Britain against France on Spanish and Portuguese territory. Simultaneously with it, the Spanish and Portuguese peoples waged a war of independence against France (see this volume, pp. 400-23). p. 309

[226] Marx has in mind the 1812 Cadiz Constitution adopted during the first Spanish bourgeois revolution (see this volume, pp. 424-33) and events of the second Spanish bourgeois revolution (1820-23) which reached its peak in 1822. After the defeat of the monarchist conspiracy in the summer of 1822, representatives of the Left wing of the revolutionary movement—the *exaltados*, with Riego as one of their leaders, came to power. They were supported by democratic officers, urban middle and petty bourgeoisie, artisans and workers. p. 309

[227] The *Carlists*—a reactionary clerico-absolutist group in Spain consisting of adherents of the pretender to the Spanish throne Don Carlos, the brother of Ferdinand VII. Relying on the military and the Catholic clergy, and also making use of the support of the backward peasants in some regions of Spain, the Carlists launched in 1833 a civil war which in fact turned into a struggle between the feudal-Catholic and liberal-bourgeois elements and led to the third bourgeois revolution (1834-43). p. 310

[228] On the *Progresistas*, see Note 210.
On the *Constitution of 1837*, see Note 213. p. 310

[229] On December 2, 1851 Louis Bonaparte made a coup d'état by dissolving the Legislative Assembly; "the hands of the Second of December" means Napoleon III's Government. p. 312

[230] In March 1848 the Provisional Government of the French Republic, in which the party of moderate bourgeois republicans grouped around the newspaper *Le National* played the leading part, organised national workshops in Paris in the hope of using those employed there in their own struggle against the revolutionary proletariat. This attempt to split the working class was a failure; the workers of these workshops formed the core of the June 1848 insurrection. p. 313

[231] This article is entered in the Notebook as "*Dienstag. 25 July.* Debatte". It was reprinted by Eleanor Marx in *The Eastern Question* under the title "Another War Debate". p. 316

[232] See Note 176. p. 317

[233] See notes 3, 106 and 158. p. 318

[234] See Note 106. p. 320

[235] This refers to the battle of Sinope, between Russian and Turkish naval squadrons on November 30 (18), 1853, during the Crimean war. It ended in a defeat for the Turks. p. 321

[236] The words in parentheses were inserted by the *Tribune* editors. The text of Disraeli's speech was printed on p. 7 of the same issue of the *Tribune* in the section "Great Britain. The War Debate in the Commons". p. 322

[237] This article was entered in the Notebook as "Freitag. 28 July. Treaty vom 14. Juni. Oesterreich. Walachei. Serbien. Italien. Sitzung Parl. Montag, Dienstag, Mittwoch, Dr. Peithman". It was included in abridged form by Eleanor Marx in *The Eastern Question.* p. 323

[238] As a result of the uprisings of 1804-13 and 1815 and support by Russia, Serbia under the treaty of Akkerman of 1826, subsequently confirmed by the treaty of Adrianople in 1829 (see Note 176), was proclaimed an autonomous principality under Turkish supremacy. The Serbs were granted the right to maintain their own army, courts and schools. p. 325

[239] Marx, who was present at the debates on the war and the military budget in the House of Commons on July 24 and 25, gives an account of the speech by Lord John Russell on July 24, 1854. In the text of John Russell's speech published by *The Times*, No. 21802 on July 25, 1854 the most glaring contradictions and false assertions about the capture of Sevastopol by the Allies were omitted. p. 326

[240] The British steam frigate *Tiger* ran aground near Odessa on May 12, 1854; it was bombarded by an artillery battery and seriously damaged; the crew was compelled to surrender, and the frigate was burnt. p. 328

[241] The reference is to an unsuccessful attempt by the British to capture some Russian ships in the Baltic which ended in the loss of a British ship. p. 328

[242] An allusion to Palmerston's position in the Anglo-Greek conflict of 1850 concerning the Portuguese merchant Pacifico, who was a British subject. Using as a pretext the setting on fire of the latter's house in Athens, Palmerston, then Foreign Secretary, presented Greece with an ultimatum and sent ships there. In his speech in Parliament Palmerston justified his actions by the need to safeguard the prestige of British subjects and drew an analogy between them and Roman citizens (*The Times*, No. 20525, June 26, 1850). The Latin "civis romanus sum" (I am a Roman citizen) meant the high status and privileges of Roman citizenship. p. 332

[243] Thomas Paine's book: *Rights of Man, being an Answer to Mr. Burke's Attack on the French Revolution*, London, 1791-92, in which the author defended the French Revolution, was prohibited in Britain; Paine was persecuted and was compelled to emigrate to France. p. 332

[244] See Note 139. p. 333

[245] This article is entered in the Notebook as "*Dienstag.* 1. August. Krieg gegen Spain". It was reprinted by Eleanor Marx in *The Eastern Question.* Engels' authorship is also confirmed by Marx's letter to Engels of July 27, 1854. p. 334

[246] See Note 115. p. 337

[247] The *Sikhs*—a religious sect which appeared in the Punjab (North-West India) in the sixteenth century. Their teaching on equality of people was used by the peasants who fought against the Hindu feudal lords and the Afghan invaders at the end of the seventeenth century. Subsequently a local aristocracy emerged among the Sikhs and its representatives ruled the Sikh state, which in the early nineteenth century included the Punjab and some border regions. In 1845-46

and 1848-49 Britain waged aggressive wars against the Sikhs which ended with the subjugation of the Punjab. The conquest of the Punjab completed the British colonisation of India.

*The Kaffirs*—an obsolete name of the South-African people (Xhosas) against whom Britain waged wars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Kaffir wars). Under the 1853 treaty the Xhosas were compelled to cede part of their lands to Britain. p. 337

248 See Frederick Engels, "The Movements of 1847", present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 520-29. p. 338

249 The reference is to the uprising of the Paris proletariat of June 23-26, 1848, which was brutally suppressed by the French bourgeoisie. The defeat of the June uprising was a signal for a counter-revolutionary offensive in European countries. p. 338

250 This article is entered in the Notebook as "*Freitag.* 5. August. Espartero" (actually the first Friday of August 1854 was August 4). The article was heavily edited by the newspaper editors as is seen from Marx's letter to Engels of October 10, 1854: "By the by, they [the *Tribune* editors—*Ed.*] had deleted every one of my jokes about *constitutional* heroes *en général*, suspecting that, lurking behind the 'Monk-Lafayette-Espartero' trio, were certain sarcasms aimed at the noble 'Washington'" (see present edition, Vol. 39). Besides, the editors added the following sentence at the end: "Our readers can judge whether the Spanish Revolution is likely to have any useful result or not." Marx described this sentence as "silly". p. 340

251 See Note 210. p. 340

252 The *battle at Ayacucho* (Peru)—the last major battle in the war of the Spanish colonies in America for independence (1810-26) took place on December 9, 1824. p. 341

253 On the *Carlist war*, see Note 227.

On August 31, 1839 an agreement was signed in Vergara between the Carlist General Maroto and Espartero, the commander of the royal army, ending the civil war in Spain. The Carlist forces were disbanded and Don Carlos emigrated to France on September 14, 1839. General Cabrera's attempt to continue the struggle ended in the utter defeat of the Carlists in July 1840. p. 341

254 Marx has in mind Señor de Marliani's book: *Historia politica de la España moderna*, Barcelona, 1849. In the summer of 1854 (presumably in July) Marx started making notes from this edition of Marliani's book. Further excerpts from it were contained in three other notebooks for 1854. p. 341

255 *Moderados*—a party advocating a constitutional monarchy and representing the interests of the big bourgeoisie and liberal nobility, was organised at the beginning of the bourgeois revolution of 1820-23. In the 1840s and 1850s one of its leaders was General Narváez—an organiser of the counter-revolutionary mutiny in 1843 (see Note 224)—who later became virtual dictator over Spain. During the fourth bourgeois revolution (1854-56) the Moderados opposed all bourgeois reforms and entered into agreement with the most reactionary forces. p. 342

256 [M. A. Principe, R. Giron, R. Satorres, A. Ribot,] *Espartero: su pasado, su*

*presente, su porvenir*, Madrid, 1848. The synopsis of this book made by Marx in the summer of 1854 (presumably in July) is extant. p. 344

257 The reference is to the divorce case in 1820 between George IV of England and Queen Caroline. The king accused the queen of adultery. p. 346

258 This article by Engels was included by Marx, as is seen from his letter to Engels of August 8, 1854, in his own article: "Evacuation of the Danubian Principalities.—The Events in Spain.—A New Danish Constitution.—The Chartists" (see this volume, pp. 350-56). This composite article was entered in the Notebook as "*Dienstag*. 8. August. Sebastopol. Alandsinseln. Russian Retreat—Espartero Recit—Danish coup d'état—Jones Rede in Bacup". The *Tribune* editors cut up Engels' war review and published it as a leader. Marx's article was published in the same issue of the newspaper. The title of Engels' article, "The Attack on the Russian Forts", was presumablv given by the *Tribune* editors. p. 347

259 This sentence was added by the *Tribune* editors. p. 347

260 This article is part of Marx and Engels' joint article (see Note 258). The first section of the article, devoted to the movement of troops in the Danubian Principalities, was written by Marx with Engels' assistance, as can be seen from Marx's letter to Engels of July 22, 1854. Part of the article was included in *The Eastern Question* under the title "The Russian Retreat.—Denmark." p. 350

261 The reference is to the Pacheco Ministry (March-August 1847), one of the numerous ministries during the reactionary dictatorship of General Narváez (1843-54). p. 351

262 In the article cited by Marx below Ernest Jones developed the ideas on cooperation he had expounded earlier in his articles on cooperation written with the direct participation of Marx (see present edition, Vol. 11, Appendices). p. 354

263 This article is entered in the Notebook as "*Freitag*. 11. August. Oesterreich, Walachei. Russischer Rückzug. Weisser See. Sulina. Sebastopol Expedition. Polen. Dänemark—Wladimir—Vertagung des Parlaments—Spanien". The article was included in abridged form in *The Eastern Question* under the title "The Evacuation". p. 357

264 See Note 180. p. 358

265 The "*potato war*"—an ironical name given to the Austro-Prussian war of the Bavarian succession (1778-79). Here Marx alludes to a conflict which arose between Austria and Prussia in the autumn of 1850 (see notes 195 and 266). p. 359

266 In May and October 1850 conferences in which Austria, Prussia and Russia took part were held in Warsaw on the initiative of the Russian Emperor. They were called in connection with the growing tension in the struggle between Austria and Prussia over supremacy in Germany. Acting as arbiter, the Russian Emperor made Prussia renounce her intention of achieving political unification of the German states under her aegis. The protocol mentioned by Marx is: "Procès-verbal des conférences tenues à Varsovie entre les ministres présidents d'Autriche et de Prusse pour arriver à l'amiable à une solution de la question

de la constitution allemande. Signé à Varsovie, le 28 octobre 1850." In 1851 this protocol was published by the Prussian Government in the pamphlet *Von Warschau bis Olmütz.* p. 359

267 Early in August 1854 the Russian warship *Vladimir*, on its way from Sevastopol to the Bosphorus, attacked the British *Cyclops*, sank several Turkish ships, and returned unharmed to Sevastopol without meeting any resistance from the Anglo French fleet. p. 361

268 The *Kingdom of Poland*—the name given to the part of Poland which was ceded to Russia by decision of the 1815 Vienna Congress and given the status of a constitutional monarchy united to Russia in the person of the emperor. After the suppression of the 1830-31 insurrection the autonomy of the Kingdom of Poland was abolished. The "organic statute" of 1832 was not implemented. p. 361

269 Marx has in mind Russia's *Declaration of armed neutrality* of March 11 (February 28), 1780. It was directed against Britain, whose ships attacked ships of neutral states during the American War of Independence (1775-83). The declaration proclaimed the right of neutral states to trade with the belligerent powers; goods of the belligerent states carried by neutral ships were declared inviolable; a port was considered blockaded if its approaches were guarded by ships of the attacking power. This declaration provided a basis for agreements between Russia and Denmark (June 28, 1780) and between Russia and Sweden (July 21, 1780). In 1780-83 they were joined by Holland, Prussia, Austria, Portugal and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. p. 362

270 In 1845 the Cortes adopted a law revising the Constitution of 1837 (see Note 213). The new law raised the electoral qualifications, gave the king the exclusive right to appoint senators, abolished the right of the Cortes to convene without special permission of the monarch, and reserved to the Crown the right to define the range of questions for discussion by the Cortes. p. 363

271 The concordat between Pope Pius IX and Queen Isabella II of Spain was concluded on March 16, 1851 and approved by the Cortes in October 1851. Under it the Spanish Crown was obliged to pay the Catholic Church from the treasury, to stop confiscating church lands and to return to the monasteries the land confiscated during the third bourgeois revolution (1834-43) which had not yet been sold. p. 363

272 This article is entered in the Notebook as "Dienstag. 15. August. Dänemark und U.St.—Bundestags Gesetz-[gebung]—Serbische Antwort an die Pforte wegen der Entwaffnun [illegible] Österreichs [illegible] Frage der Wiener Konferenz—Clarendons Revelation in H[ouse] etc.—Spanien". The first part of the article under the title "Servia—England, France and Constantinople" was published in *The Eastern Question.* p. 364

273 The so-called "Berlin revolutionist conspiracy" was a police provocation (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 28-31). p. 364

274 The *Cologne Communist Trial* (October 4-November 12, 1852) was a trial of a group of Communist League members charged with "conspiracy bearing the character of high treason". The trial was rigged by the Prussian police on the basis of forged documents and fabricated evidence, which were used not only against the accused but also to discredit the whole proletarian organisation.

Such evidence included, for instance, the "Genuine Minute-book" of the Communist League Central Authority meetings and other documents forged by police agents, as well as genuine documents of the adventurist Willich-Schapper faction which was responsible for the split in the Communist League. Seven of the twelve accused were sentenced to imprisonment for terms of three to six years. Marx directed the defence from London, sending material revealing the provocative methods of the prosecution, and after the trial he exposed its organisers (see Marx's pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* and Engels' article "The Late Trial at Cologne", published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, present edition, Vol. 11). p. 365

275 See notes 3, 106 and 158. p. 365

276 The reference is to the London Convention on the Black Sea Straits of July 13, 1841 (see Note 28). The convention annulled the Unkiar-Skelessi treaty which had been very advantageous for Russia (see Note 189). p. 366

277 An allusion to the marriage planned in 1845 of Prince Leopold Saxe-Coburg-Gotha—a cousin of the English Queen's husband, Prince Albert, and Queen Isabella II of Spain which would have led to a strengthening of Britain's position in the Peninsula. Palmerston, who became Foreign Secretary in 1846, vigorously supported this plan. It was not put into effect (see Note 40). p. 367

278 The *Congress of Verona* of the Holy Alliance was held from October to December 1822. It adopted the decision on France's armed intervention against revolutionary Spain, and on continuance of Austria's occupation of the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, and condemned the national liberation uprising of the Greek people against the Turkish yoke. p. 367

279 Marx alludes to the editorial of *The Times* of August 14 which contained the following passage: "It is notorious that on the occurrence of this revolution—and, indeed, for some time before—the signal had been given throughout Europe for the disbanded soldiers of sedition to repair to Madrid, and that several hundred of the disciples of the French Red Republic are at present in that capital, assisting the insurrection, teaching the noble art of street fighting, and endeavouring to exasperate the Spanish people to the last extremities against the Court."

*Insurrectionists of June*—participants in the June 1848 uprising of the Paris proletariat. p. 368

280 The Manchester textile manufacturer Richard Cobden was one of the Free Trade leaders who demanded, in the interests of English industrial bourgeoisie, a reduction in expenses on the state administration. Among these they listed expenses connected with conquest of colonies and their administration. Cobden, Bright and others considered that Britain, being the most developed industrial power, could conquer any market, ousting her rivals by means of cheaper industrial goods. The centre of Free Trade agitation was Manchester, hence the name of the Manchester School, denoting the Free Trade trend in English economic thinking. p. 369

281 Under the Cadiz Constitution of 1812 (see this volume, pp. 424-33) the population of the Spanish colonies, excluding the Negroes, received Spanish citizenship and equal political rights with the population of Spain proper,

including the right to elect their representatives to the Cortes. By creating a semblance of equality between colonies and the mother country the Spanish liberals who drafted the Constitution tried to prevent the war for independence which was developing at the time in the Spanish colonies in America.
p. 369

282 See notes 213 and 270. p. 371

283 On the *exaltados*, see Note 226. Marx used this term to characterise the Spanish republicans during the fourth revolution in Spain (1854-56). p. 371

284 This article is entered in the Notebook as "*Freitag*. 18. August. Spanien—Aland.—Schweden—Preussen, Anatolien—Dänemark—[illegible] Omer Pasha. Refugees. Austria. Prussia". When it was published in the *Tribune* it was mistakenly dated August 21 (London, Friday, August 21, 1854). The last part of the article was included by Eleanor Marx in *The Eastern Question* under the title "The Capture of Bomarsund". p. 372

285 The *Union Club*—one of more democratic of the organisations which appeared at the beginning of the 1854-56 bourgeois revolution in Spain. Its members included republicans and also the utopian socialists Figueras, Pi y Margall, Orense and others. The organisation demanded universal suffrage, freedom of conscience, of the press, assembly and petition, abolition of indirect taxes and capital punishment, and also the arming of the people. At the same time it completely ignored the agrarian question. The club was closed at the end of 1854 (see this volume, p. 448). p. 372

286 See Note 213. p. 372

287 On April 7, 1823, in accordance with the decision of the Congress of Verona (see Note 278), the French army invaded Spain to suppress the Spanish revolution of 1820-23; the "royalists", who advocated restoration of the absolute monarchy, actively assisted the intervention.

In the course of the war the *Carlists* (see Note 227) resorted to guerrilla tactics. p. 374

288 During the 1820-23 bourgeois revolution, besides democratic clubs, numerous secret societies were formed in Spain. They were connected with Left-wing freemasons and included urban bourgeoisie, officers and representatives of the lower urban sections. Being organised with great secrecy and having branches in different regions of the country, these societies had a considerable influence on the policy of the government and of the Cortes. Most prominent among their leaders were Riego, San Miguel and Alpuente. p. 375

289 The *Coburg-Braganza* (more correctly *Braganza-Coburg*)—the junior branch of the Braganza royal dynasty in Portugal.

By the *Unionist party* are meant the adherents of a united monarchy in the Iberian Peninsula. p. 375

290 See Note 211. p. 376

291 This refers to the declaration of neutrality by Sweden and Denmark in 1853 which reflected their hostile attitude towards Russia. Simultaneously, Sweden started negotiations with Britain and France on entering the war on the Allies' side. The negotiations broke down and Sweden did not take part in the Crimean war. p. 377

[292] The two articles by Engels on the capture of Bomarsund which were published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* as leaders are directly connected with the previous one, "The Revolution in Spain.—Bomarsund" written by Marx. The first article is entered in the Notebook as "*Dienstag. 22. August. Bomarsund*". Both articles were published under the same title. Subtitles were provided by the editors of the present edition. p. 379

[293] This article is a continuation of Engels' first article on Bomarsund and only partly corresponds to the entry in the Notebook: "*Dienstag. 29. August.* Bomarsund. Einrücken der Oesterreicher in die Walachei. Zustand des Heeres zu Varna." The second part of the article dispatched to New York on August 29, 1854, was written by Marx. The article was heavily edited by the newspaper editors, who published the part concerning Bomarsund as a leader. From the rest of the article they took several sentences concerning the entry of the Austrian troops into Wallachia and included them in the review of the news brought by the steamboat *St. Louis*: "From the war there is nothing of great moment except it be the continued entry of the Austrians into the Principalities. We do not hear, however, that the Russians have ceased diplomatic relations at Vienna, though warlike preparations continue there on a large scale." It may also be assumed that material from the item "Zustand des Heeres zu Varna" was included as a separate paragraph in Pulszky's article published in the same number: "The news from the seat of war is very unsatisfactory. The cholera at the camp of Varna has demoralized the Anglo-French army, and though the sailing of the expedition to the Crimea or some other point was to have taken place on the 15th, it has been postponed—first to the 20th and then to the beginning of September. The French do not like the plan of the campaign, which was devised by the English, but still they have accepted it. As to the Turkish defeat at Kars, or according to other Petersburg dispatches at Bayazid we have now reliable information of a late date from the Turkish camp, and can positively assure you that no battle had taken place in July nor in the first days of August, and that, therefore, the defeat over and over reported in *The Times* is a fabrication in order to influence the exchange; indeed, the Turkish scrip, which was already at 7 per cent premium declined to six in consequence of the rumour, and even the English funds were heavy for a day. General Klapka is said to have been sent to the army of Kars; if such be the case, he will soon be in opposition with Guyon." It is not only the above-mentioned entry in the Notebook which gives ground to assume that this paragraph belonged to Marx, but also Marx's letter to Engels of September 2, 1854: "I am in a fix because in one of my latest articles I stated that the report of the Turkish defeat at Kars was an invention of Vienna." (The telegramme on the defeat of the Turkish army at Kars published in *The Times* on August 25, 1854 was dated from Vienna.) See also Marx's letter to Engels of August 26, 1854: "So far as I can gather from the papers, the Polish and Hungarian émigrés in the Turkish Asiatic army do nothing but engage in mischief, place-seeking and intrigues" (present edition, Vol. 39). It is impossible to ascertain to what extent the *Tribune* editors interfered with Marx's original text of these two paragraphs as the manuscript is not extant. p. 384

[294] The series of articles *Revolutionary Spain* was written by Marx for the *New-York Daily Tribune* between August and November 1854. Marx observed all the symptoms of the revolutionary movement in Europe and paid much attention to the revolutionary events in the summer of 1854 in Spain. He held that the

revolutionary struggle there could provide a stimulus for the development of the revolutionary movement in other European countries. In 1854 Marx made a thorough study of the events of the Spanish revolutions of the first half of the nineteenth century so as to improve his understanding of the specific character and features of the new Spanish revolution; Marx's five notebooks of excerpts from the English, French and Spanish authors are extant. We can judge from Marx's Notebook that he sent nine articles to the *New-York Daily Tribune* relating to the first (1808-14), second (1820-23) and partly third (1834-43) Spanish bourgeois revolutions, of which only the first six were published (the articles of September 29 and October 20 were printed in four issues of the newspaper)—thus eight articles in all. The remaining three were not published and the manuscripts have not been found (see Note 457). It is possible that the ninth article did not complete the series, because the extant extract of the manuscript on the causes of the second bourgeois revolution and the nature of the Carlist wars (see this volume, pp. 654-59) exceeds the range of the ninth article as outlined by Marx in his Notebook ("Freitag, 8. December, Spain—1833").

When the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* published Marx's articles they treated them arbitrarily.

The first article of the series was published in the newspaper under the title: "Spanish Revolutions", the rest under the title "Revolutionary Spain". Articles were published in part also in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, Nos. 970, 975, 984, 986, 996, September 12 and 29, October 31, November 7 and December 12 respectively and in the *New-York Weekly Tribune*, Nos. 679, 682, 685, 686, 687, September 16, October 7 and 28, November 4 and 11, 1854.

Marx's series of articles "Revolutionary Spain" was reproduced in English in 1939 by Lawrence & Wishart Ltd. and also by the International Publishers: Marx and Engels, *Revolution in Spain*. p. 389

295 This sentence was presumably written entirely by the *Tribune* editors who mention in it the article by their London correspondent Pulszky of August 25, 1854 published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4178, September 8, 1854 in the column "The State of Europe". p. 391

296 An allusion to the 1848 February revolution. p. 391

297 From 1581 to 1640 Portugal was ruled by the Spanish kings who appointed viceroys to administer it. The arbitrary rule of vice-queen Margaret of Savoy and her favourite Miguel de Vasconcellos led to an uprising in 1640 as a result of which Spanish rule was overthrown and the Braganza dynasty came to power (see Note 289). p. 392

298 The *war of the Holy League*—an insurrection of the Castilian towns (*comuneros*) in 1520-22 against the absolute power of Charles I. p. 392

299 *Ayuntamientos*—organs of local government in Spain which played a great political role in the period of the Reconquest, or struggle for Spain's liberation from the Arab yoke (eighth-fifteenth centuries). After the suppression of the *comunero* uprising in the sixteenth century which is described in this article, the *Ayuntamientos* were in the main liquidated. Re-establishment of the *Ayuntamientos* was one of the democratic demands made during the bourgeois revolutions at the beginning of the nineteenth century. p. 393

300 *States-General*—a body representing the estates in medieval France. It consisted of representatives of the clergy, nobles and burghers. It met in May 1789, after a 175-year interval, at the time of the maturing bourgeois revolution, and on June 17 was transformed by a decision of the deputies of the third estate into the National Assembly, which proclaimed itself the Constituent Assembly on July 9 and became the supreme organ of revolutionary France. p. 393

301 The reference is to the Castile Cortes which met in Valladolid in January-February 1518 with the purpose of taking the oath of allegiance to King Charles I and to receive his oath to observe the *fueros* (see Note 321).

There is a slip on Marx's part here; the Cortes met before Charles I of Spain was made Holy Roman Emperor (1519) and before he went to Germany for coronation (1520). p. 394

302 *The Holy Brotherhood*, or the *Santa Hermandad*, was a union of Spanish towns formed at the end of the fifteenth century with the approbation of the King, who sought to make use of the bourgeoisie in the struggle between absolutism and the big feudal lords. From the mid-sixteenth century the armed forces of the *Santa Hermandad* performed police functions. p. 394

303 *Auto-da-fé* (in Spanish and Portuguese, literally an act of faith)—the solemn announcement of sentences by the High Court of Inquisition in Spain, Portugal and their colonies, the name was also given to the burning of the victims at the stake. The last auto-da-fé took place in Valencia in 1826. p. 395

304 The term "*civil society*" (bürgerliche Gesellschaft) is used by Marx and Engels in two different senses: 1) to denote the economic system of class society irrespective of the historical stage of development, the sum total of material relations which determine the political institutions and ideological forms and 2) to denote the material relations of bourgeois society (or society as a whole) under capitalism. p. 395

305 The Constitution worked out by Napoleon I for Spain was adopted at the conference of the Spanish nobles in the French town of Bayonne (the Bayonne Cortes) in July 1808. It vested the King (Joseph Bonaparte) with almost unrestricted power. He appointed nobles to the Senate which was to be established and about half of the deputies to the Cortes. The Constitution introduced public legal proceedings, abolished torture and did away with inland customs. The Catholic religion became the only state religion. p. 399

306 There is one more sentence in the *New-York Daily Tribune* here ("Let us hope that the additions now being made to their annals by the Spanish people may prove neither unworthy nor fruitless of good to themselves and to the world") which was inserted by the newspaper editors judging from Marx's letter to Engels of October 10, 1854 (see present edition, Vol. 39). p. 399

307 *Mémoires et correspondance politique et militaire du roi Joseph*, T. I-X, Paris, 1853-54. The text of a secret treaty allegedly concluded between Alexander I and Napoleon I in Tilsit is given in the comments to the fourth volume of the memoirs (pp. 246-48), purportedly according to the Madrid *Gaceta* of August 25, 1812. The author of the comments was the publisher of the memoirs A. du Casse, aide-de-camp of Joseph Bonaparte. This text was reproduced by Marx in the summary of the memoirs he made in August 1854 during his work on the series of articles "Revolutionary Spain".

There is no mention of such points either in the Tilsit treaty signed by Russia and France on July 7 (June 25), 1807 or in the secret convention supplementing the treaty. p. 400

[308] An allusion to Spain's participation in the first coalition against republican France (1793-97). After temporary success in 1793 the Spanish troops were utterly defeated, and Spain was compelled to conclude a separate peace with France in Basle in July 1795. p. 401

[309] A popular insurrection in Bilbao against the French invaders took place in August 1808. It was brutally suppressed by General Merlin whose troops stormed the town. p. 407

[310] The negotiations between Napoleon I and Alexander I took place in Erfurt from September 27 to October 14, 1808. Festivities which accompanied the event were attended by the kings of Bavaria, Saxony and Württemberg and by a number of other German princes. p. 408

[311] Marx has in mind a representative assembly similar to the National Convention formed during the French revolution as a result of the popular uprising of August 10, 1792. p. 408

[312] The Jesuits were expelled from Spain in 1767; this was done at the suggestion of Floridablanca, then prosecutor of the Royal Council of Spain. p. 410

[313] Reference to the reign of the Castilian kings in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries: Enrique II (1369-79), Juan I (1379-90), Enrique III (1390-1406) and Juan II (1406-54). p. 413

[314] Marx has in mind a regulation in Las Siete Partidas—Spanish code of laws—drawn up in the kingdom of Castile and León in the thirteenth century but actually introduced only after 1348. The *Partidas* functioned parallel with the *fueros* (see Note 321) and gradually became predominant in the legal proceedings only in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. p. 414

[315] *Le Comité du salut public* (The Committee of Public Safety) established by the Convention on April 6, 1793 during the Jacobin dictatorship (June 2, 1793-July 27, 1794) was the leading revolutionary government body in France. It lasted till October 26, 1795. p. 417

[316] At Covadonga (in the Asturian mountains) the Spanish troops defeated the Arabs in 718. This victory promoted the establishment of a small independent state in the mountainous regions of Asturia which became a bulwark of struggle against the Arab invaders (the beginning of the Reconquest).

Another centre of resistance to the Arab invaders arose somewhat later in Sobrarbe, a small territory in Northern Aragon. p.424

[317] The summary of the Cadiz Constitution which Marx made in August 1854 from the book: *The Political Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy. Proclaimed in Cadix, 19 March 1812*, London, 1813 is extant. Below Marx quotes articles of the Constitution from this edition. p. 425

[318] See Note 299. p. 427

[319] *Mita*—here the compulsory assignment of Indians, by drawing lots, to work in the gold and silver mines, at manufactories and construction sites in Spanish colonies in America.

*Repartimiento*—here the right of a white person to employ as many aliens on his land as he is able to feed. p. 429

320 The *Constitution of 1791*, approved by the Constituent Assembly, established a constitutional monarchy in France, giving the king full executive powers and the right of veto. This Constitution was annulled as a result of the popular uprising of August 10, 1792, which brought about the fall of the monarchy. After the Girondist government (the Girondists were the party of the big bourgeoisie) had been overthrown by the uprising of May 31-June 2, 1793 and the revolutionary dictatorship of the Jacobins established, the National Convention adopted a new democratic Constitution of the French Republic. p. 429

321 *Fueros* here means the charters which, in medieval Spain, established the rights, privileges and duties of townspeople and members of village communities in matters of local government, jurisdiction, taxation, military service, etc. p. 429

322 This refers to one of the main principles of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (*Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*), a preamble to the Constitution adopted by the French Convention in 1793 during the revolutionary dictatorship of the Jacobins. The last article, the 35th, of the Declaration reads: "When the government violates the rights of the people, insurrection is the imprescriptible right and irremissible duty of the people as a whole and of each of its sections." p. 429

323 *Serviles*—the name given to a reactionary clerico-absolutist group during the first bourgeois revolution in Spain (1808-14); later the *serviles* formed the Court camarilla of Ferdinand VII, and during the last years of his life pinned their hopes on his brother Don Carlos.

*Liberales*, who expressed the interests of the bourgeoisie and liberal nobility, put forward as their programme the 1812 Constitution.

*Americanos*—the name given to small group in the Cortes representing the Spaniards living in the Spanish colonies in Latin America. They played no significant role. p. 435

324 The *Council of Trent* was a general council held by the Catholic Church in Tridentum (Trient) and Bologna from 1545 to 1563. It condemned Protestantism and adopted a number of decisions concerning the Catholic Church; in particular, it proclaimed the Pope's authority over the councils and strengthened the power of bishops. The main result of the Council of Trent was the persecution of heretics and free-thinkers, and intensification of Church censorship. From 1559 the *Index librorum prohibitorum* was published regularly and in 1571 the Congregation of the Index (an office in Vatican dealing with censorship) was set up; it remained till 1917. p. 435

325 *Lazzaroni*—the name of declassed, lumpenproletarian elements in Italy; they were repeatedly used by the reactionary monarchist circles in their struggle against the liberal and democratic movement. p. 437

326 Marx is presumably quoting from W. Walton, *The Revolutions of Spain, from 1808 to the end of 1836*, London, 1837 (Vol. I, p. 221), a summary of which he made during his work on the series of articles "Revolutionary Spain". During that time Marx also read San Miguel's *De la guerra civil en España*, Madrid, 1836 and *Memoria Sucinda sobre 10. Acaecido en la columna Movil de las Tropas Nacionales al Mando del comandante General de la Primera División Don Rafael del*

*Riejo, desde su Salida de la Ciudad de San Fernando el 20 de Enero de 1820, hasta su total Disolucion en Bienvenida el 11 de Marzo del mismo año.* Madrid, 1820; he made excerpts from the former in August, and from the latter in October 1854. p. 442

327 The decree of March 6, 1820 and the decrees mentioned by Marx below were published in Miraflores, *Essais historiques et critiques pour servir à l'histoire d'Espagne, de 1820 à 1823*, t. I, Paris, 1836, pp. 257, 261-62. It is probable that Marx's main source in describing these events were: Henry Davis, *The War of Ormuzd and Ahriman in the Nineteenth Century*, Baltimore, 1852; *La España. Bajo el Poder Arbitrario de la congregacion Apostólica o Apuntes Documentados para la Historia de este Pais desde 1820 a 1832.* Second edition, Paris, 1833 and M. de Chateaubriand, *Congrès de Vérone. Guerre d'Espagne. Negociations. Colonies espagnoles*, Brussels, 1838, t. 1, excerpts from which he made in October 1854. p. 443

328 After the return of Ferdinand VII, from May 1814 onwards reaction set in in Spain, destroying all the gains of the bourgeois revolution of 1808-14; the revolutionary leaders were imprisoned, some of them executed. p. 443

329 Marx polemises against the following works: *Last Days of Spain. By an Eye-Witness*, London, 1823; *The Holy Alliance versus Spain, etc. By a Constitutionalist*, London, 1823; Walton, *The Revolutions of Spain, from 1808 to the end of 1836*, and D. Urquhart, *Progress of Russia.* In the excerpts from these books he made in October 1854, Marx stressed the facts concerning Tatishchev's activity in Madrid. p. 444

330 On July 20 (8), 1812 the Russian Government and the representatives of the Cadiz Cortes concluded in Velikiye Luki a treaty establishing friendly relations between Russia and Spain in the war against Napoleonic France, and also reviving and developing trade between the two states. By signing this treaty Russia recognised the Cadiz Cortes and the Constitution drawn up by them. Marx cites this fact from Manuel de Marliani's *Historia politica de la España Moderna*, Barcelona, 1849, and also from *The Holy Alliance versus Spain; or, Notes and Declarations of the Allied Powers* published in the *Edinburgh Review* (v. XXXVIII for 1823, pp. 243-44), excerpts from which are in Marx's notebook of excerpts for November 1854. p. 444

331 Presumably a slip of the pen in the manuscript or a misprint in the newspaper; it should be 1814-20, the period between the first and the second Spanish bourgeois revolutions, and not 1808-14. p. 445

332 This article is entered in the Notebook as "*Freitag. 1. September.* Spanien Revolution. Constitutientwurf [?]". Marx seems to have finished the article in the morning of September 2, as he used information published in the September 2 morning issue of *The Times* and *Le Moniteur universel* of the same date. The title was probably supplied by the *Tribune* editors. p. 447

333 The press law promulgated in Spain on March 22, 1837 abolished preliminary censorship, but imposed high caution money and stipulated strict responsibility of authors and editors for the material published. Later several supplementary laws were passed making the prescriptions of the 1837 law more rigid; the most severe of them was the law of 1852, which reintroduced preliminary censorship. The reference is presumably to this law and not that of 1842. p. 447

[334] See Note 285. p. 448

[335] The *Prince of Asturias*—a title bestowed on the Crown prince in Spain since 1850. If there were no male heirs the title was conferred on the eldest princess who lost it if a male heir was born. Here the reference is to Isabel Francisca de Asis de Borbón, Isabella II's eldest daughter. p. 449

[336] The reference is to the 45-centime tax—an addition to the four direct taxes on landowners (land tax, real estate tax, window and door tax, patent dues) the burden of which fell mostly on the peasants. The decree introducing this addition was issued by the Provisional Government of the French Republic on March 16, 1848. p. 450

[337] *Octrois*—tolls levied by a city on imported consumer goods, existed in France from the thirteenth century. It was repealed in 1791 during the French Revolution, but later reintroduced on some foodstuffs (salt, wine, fish, etc.).

The *conscription*—here a military tax on persons freed from military service. p. 451

[338] The *captain-generalcies*—administrative areas established in Spain in the sixteenth century in which the supreme military and administrative authority belonged to captain-generals. p. 452

[339] This article was entered in the Notebook as "*Dienstag.* 12. *September.* Spain. [illegible]". p. 455

[340] The confiscation of the estates of the House of Orleans was decreed by Louis Bonaparte on January 22, 1852. p. 456

[341] See Note 333. p. 458

[342] By the age of the Philips, Marx means the reign of the Spanish kings Philip II (1556-98), Philip III (1598-1621) and Philip IV (1621-65). p. 458

[343] Here a derogatory nickname for generals who supported Napoleon III. Marx informed Engels about this evidence of the growth of anti-Bonapartist sentiment in the French army on September 13, 1854. He wrote in greater detail about this on September 25 of the same year in his article for the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see this volume, p. 473). p. 460

[344] This article is entered in the Notebook as "*Freitag.* 15. *September.* Sebastopol Bomarsund Expedition Moldau und [illegible] Oesterreicher in die Walachei. [illegible] Spain. Exports". p. 461

[345] See Note 172. p. 462

[346] This presumably refers to Marx's article, not yet found, which was entered in the Notebook as "*Freitag. 8 September.* Turkey. Russians Refusal. Prussia. Spain". Part of the material from Marx's article, particularly that concerning Spain, may have been included by the *Tribune* editors in Pulszky's report published in the newspaper on September 22, 1854. p. 465

[347] The tariff reform of 1842 lowered customs duties on corn and other imported goods, but introduced income tax as a compensation for the treasury. p. 468

[348] Engels wrote this article on September 25, drawing on the first reports of the allied landing at Eupatoria and at the Old Fort in the Crimea which were

published in *The Times* on September 21-25, 1854. The article was entered in Marx's Notebook as *"Dienstag. 26. September"*, then followed the word "Cars" which was changed to "Sev[astopol]". Marx presumably made this correction because he had mailed Engels' article on military actions in the Caucasus to New York on September 19. It was entered in Marx's Notebook as *"Dienstag. 19. September"*. Marx's letter to Engels of September 22 shows that Engels wrote such an article and that Marx had received it by Tuesday, September 19, 1854. In the entry in his Notebook Marx at first mistakenly wrote "Cars" in reference to a latter article and then changed it to Sev[astopol]. Engels' article on Cars written on September 19 has been lost, as the steamship *Arctic* which carried it sank in the Atlantic on September 27, 1854.

The article "The Attack on Sevastopol" was published by Eleanor Marx in *The Eastern Question*. p. 470

349 This sentence was changed by the *Tribune* editors. The reports on the movement of the allied troops to Sevastopol were printed on p. 6 of the same issue of the *New-York Daily Tribune*. p. 470

350 On June 16, 1815 a battle between Napoleon's army and the Prussian forces commanded by Field Marshal Blücher took place at Ligny. Despite the defeat of the Prussians, Blücher escaped with his army from pursuit by the French and joined the Anglo-Dutch armies at Waterloo, where they fought the main body of the French army. The French were defeated after the arrival of the Prussian troops. p. 472

351 On the night of December 1, 1851 a battalion from General Espinasse's regiment was ordered to guard the National Assembly; on December 2, General Espinasse, bribed by the Bonapartists, occupied with his troops the building where the Assembly was sitting, thus promoting the success of Louis Bonaparte's coup d'état. p. 472

352 *Lower Empire*—a term used in historical literature to denote the Byzantine Empire, and also the Roman Empire during its decline; it came to be used to describe a state at the period of its decline and disintegration. p. 473

353 See Note 343. p. 473

354 This refers to Louis Bonaparte's attempted coup d'état on August 6, 1840. Profiting by a certain revival of pro-Bonapartist sentiments in France, Louis Bonaparte landed with a handful of conspirators at Boulogne and tried to raise a mutiny among the local garrison. His attempt failed. He was sentenced to life imprisonment but escaped to England in 1846. p. 474

355 The reference is to the expedition of the English fleet to the Scheldt estuary in 1809 during the war of the fifth coalition against Napoleonic France. Though the English captured the isle of Walcheren, they did not develop military operations and were obliged to abandon the island after losing about ten thousand men out of the forty-thousand-strong force through famine and disease. p. 476

356 This article is entered in the Notebook as *"Dienstag. 3. Oktober. Sevastopol"*. When Marx prepared it for mailing to New York he added some facts from the reports published in the morning papers of October 3. The first sentence of the article bears signs of interference by the *Tribune* editors. p. 477

357 The words "which will be found in another column" were added by the *Tribune* editors and refer to the item entitled "The News of the Victory"

published in the same number. This item contained Napoleon III's address to the soldiers at the camp of Boulogne in connection with the news of the capture of Sevastopol by the allies, which later proved to be false. p. 480

358 In 1806-07, during the reign of Selim III, the French ambassador Sebastiani succeeded in gaining exceptional influence over the Turkish Government. Napoleon I hoped to use the Turkish army as an ally in the war against Russia. However, in May 1807, there was a mutiny in Constantinople of Janissaries opposing the reforms being carried out in Turkey at the time, and on May 29, 1807, Selim III was dethroned. p. 481

359 The first two sentences of this paragraph were added by the *Tribune* editors. There are signs of interference also in the fourth sentence. p. 481

360 The article "The Sevastopol Hoax" and the following one, "The Sevastopol Hoax.—General News", were sent by Marx to New York as one article which was entered in the Notebook as "*Freitag, 6. October.* Renommage über *Sebastopol*". The editors divided it in two, and published them both in the same issue on October 21, 1854, one as a leader, the other unsigned but with the note usual for signed items: "Correspondence of the *New-York Tribune*". The beginning of the article "The Sevastopol Hoax" was reprinted in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune,* No. 685, October 28, 1854. p. 483

361 The words "and copied in our columns this morning" were added by the *Tribune* editors. This refers to the reprint: "From the London *Gazette* Extraordinary. War Department, Oct. 5" published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on October 21, 1854. Reports on the events in the Crimea published in the same issue of the *Gazette* are analysed by Marx and Engels below. p. 485

362 Events in Malaga are not mentioned in Marx's article published in the *Tribune.* Marx presumably refers to his article written on September 8, 1854 which was not published by the *Tribune* editors (see Note 346). If this material was contained in some other article, the *Tribune* editors omitted it. p. 489

363 The reference is to the London Protocol of May 8, 1852 recognising the integrity of the Danish monarchy, signed by Austria, Britain, France, Denmark, Prussia, Russia and Sweden. It established the indivisibility of the lands belonging to the Danish Crown, including the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein. The Protocol mentioned the Russian Emperor among the lawful claimants to the Danish throne (as a descendant of Duke Charles Peter Ulrich of Holstein-Gottorp, who reigned in Russia as Peter III), who waived their rights in favour of Duke Christian of Glücksburg-Gottorp, who was proclaimed successor to King Frederick VII. p. 489

364 The reference is to Napoleon III's order of October 3, 1854, by which Armand Barbès, sentenced to life imprisonment for participation in revolutionary actions of the Paris workers on May 15, 1848, was released from prison unconditionally. This order followed the interception of a private letter written by Barbès on September 18, 1854, in which he welcomed the war with Russia and wished the French troops success in "the name of civilisation". The order and an excerpt from the letter were published in *Le Moniteur universel* on October 5, 1854. After his release, on October 11, Barbès wrote a letter to the editors of the *Moniteur* acknowledging the authenticity of the letter and stating that "the greatness of France had always been his religion" but that he had always been and remained an enemy of the Bonapartist regime. The letter was

published in the democratic press; on October 18, 1854 it appeared in the weekly *L'Homme. Journal de la démocratie universelle* published in 1853-55 in Jersey, and subsequently in London by the petty-bourgeois emigrants. p. 491

365 Marx has in mind the events of June 13, 1849 when a peaceful anti-government demonstration organised by the Montagnards was dispersed; the editorial offices of democratic and socialist papers were raided and the principal ones among them were banned. p. 491

366 This article is entered in the Notebook as "*Dienstag. 10. Oktober.* Schlacht bei Alma". On that day Marx wrote to Engels: "First my compliments on your most glorious and sound criticism. It is pity that this *fait d'armes* [feat of arms] could not appear in the London press. Your position in this field would have been assured through such a move" (present edition, Vol. 39). p. 492

367 The words: "and the dispatches of the commanders, the reports of English journalists who were present, and of several naval officers, are given at great length in our columns this morning" were added by the *Tribune* editors. p. 492

368 The *British Legion in Spain* was a force recruited in England to support the Government of Maria Cristina during the Carlist war (see Note 227). This force of 10,000 men commanded by General Evans took part in military operations in 1835-37. p. 493

369 This refers to a battle between the Piedmontese army and the Austrian troops in Northern Italy during the Austro-Italian war of 1848-49. p. 494

370 The words "as our readers will see in our extracts from the English papers" were added by the *Tribune* editors. p. 496

371 The *battle of Lützen* (Saxony) between Napoleon I's army and the Russian and Prussian forces took place on May 2, 1813; the battle between the allied army and the French at Bautzen (Saxony) took place on May 20-21 of the same year. In both cases Napoleon forced the allied troops to retreat though he sustained great losses; in both cases also the retreat was an orderly one.

The *battle of the Katzbach* between the French army and the allied troops took place on August 26, 1813. A successful manoeuvre allowed Blücher to inflict a serious defeat on the French. p. 496

372 The words "as appears almost certain from our dispatch by the *Niagara*, received last night by telegraph from Halifax", and lower: "though our Halifax dispatch does not mention their arrival" were added by the *Tribune* editors. p. 496

373 This article is entered in the Notebook as "*Dienstag. 17. Oktober.* Russische Kriegsmacht en général.—Belagerung von Sebastopol". Apparently, the *Tribune* editors omitted the part on the siege of Sevastopol. p. 498

374 John Bull and Jacques Bonhomme were nicknames given to the English and French. p. 498

375 This article is entered in the Notebook as "*Dienstag. 31. Oktober*, Belagerung von Sebastopol". Eleanor Marx included it in *The Eastern Question*. p. 505

376 This sentence shows signs of interference by the *Tribune* editors. p. 506

377 This sentence shows signs of interference by the *Tribune* editors. p. 507

[378] See Note 152. p. 508

[379] *Lancaster*—an eight-inch gun with an oval rifled bore named after its inventor and first used by the British during the Crimean war. p. 508

[380] Engels' article, which was entered in the Notebook as "*Freitag. 10. November.* Übersicht der Crimean Campaign", was mailed to New York on November 11, 1854 by the *Canada*. It arrived in New York with delay because the *Canada* collided with another ship off the American coast, so the *Tribune* editors changed two first paragraphs in it using the November European press later reports. p. 510

[381] Engels enumerates battles in which the Russian troops showed great courage and staunchness.

The *battle of Zorndorf*, which took place on August 25, 1758 between the Russian and the Prussian armies was one of the major battles in the Seven Years' War (1756-63). Repeated Prussian attacks were repulsed with great valour by the Russians who inflicted severe losses on the enemy by counter-attacks and artillery fire.

The *battle of Preussisch-Eylau* (Eastern Prussia) on February 7-8, 1807 between the French and Russian troops was one of the bloodiest during the war of the fourth coalition against France. Despite heavy losses Napoleon's army failed to achieve a decisive victory.

The *battle of Borodino* on September 7, 1812 was a major engagement in the Patriotic war against Napoleon in which the Russian troops displayed high fighting qualities and inflicted heavy losses on the French. The outcome of the battle changed the course of the war in Russia's favour and led to the defeat of Napoleon's army despite the forced but expedient evacuation of Moscow by the Russians. p. 512

[382] This article was entered in the Notebook as "*Freitag. 17. November.* Schlacht vom 25. Oktober (Liprandi)." The *Tribune* published it under the title "The War in the East". p. 518

[383] The first and second sentences and the reference to quotations from *The Times* were inserted by the *Tribune* editors. The material from *The Times* was printed in the *Tribune* under the heading "From *The London Times* of November 17". p. 518

[384] See Note 371. p. 526

[385] This article by Engels was entered in the Notebook as "*Dienstag. 28. November.* Schlacht von Inkerman". When he dispatched his article to London, Engels appears to have forgotten the first two pages of the article (see Marx's letter to Engels of November 30, 1854): "By some oversight the first two pages were omitted from your splendid article of Tuesday's date. However the substance was contained in the 5 following ones, so all that suffered was the style" (see present edition, Vol. 39). That is probably why the first introductory paragraph of the article was written by Marx; however, it was heavily edited by the *Tribune* editors. p. 528

[386] This refers to the battle of Jena and Auerstadt fought by the French against Prussia and Saxony on October 14, 1806 during the war between Russia and Prussia on the one hand and France on the other (1806-07). p. 528

387 The *battle of Albuera* took place on May 16, 1811 between the allied army of Britain, Spain and Portugal, commanded by Beresford, which laid siege to the fortress of Badojos occupied by the French, and the French army under Marshal Soult marching to relieve the fortress. p. 532

388 The reference is to an incident during the Egyptian expedition of the French army in 1798-1801. p. 534

389 This sentence was inserted by the *Tribune* editors. p. 534

390 This article is entered in the Notebook as "*Dienstag. 5. Dezember.* Schlacht bei Inkerman. Relative Position der aliierten Armeen und der russischen bei Sebastopol. Der Seesturm und das Untergehn des Transports vom 13. Novemb. Der s.g. Vertrag von Oesterreich vom 2. Dezember und die Eröffnung des Parlaments". The last part of the article may have been abridged by the *Tribune* editors, as only one paragraph of it was left. p. 536

391 The words "all of which we have published" were added by the *Tribune* editors. p. 536

392 The *battle of Narva*—the first major battle during the Northern war (1700-21) fought by the Russian army of Peter the Great and the Swedish forces of Charles XII on November 30, 1700.

The *battle of Austerlitz*, which took place on December 2, 1805 between the Russian and Austrian armies (third coalition) on the one hand and the French on the other, was won by Napoleon I.

The *battle of Preussisch-Eylau*—see Note 381. p. 537

393 The reference is to a treaty concluded by Britain, France and Austria on December 2, 1854 undertaking to abstain from separate negotiations with Russia and prevent occupation of the Danubian Principalities by the Russians. Negotiations with Russia were to be conducted on the basis of the famous Four Points (see this volume, pp. 579-84). p. 542

394 This article was entered in the Notebook as "*Freitag.* 15. December. Strategisch-politische Betrachtungen über European War against Russia". The article was included by Eleanor Marx in *The Eastern Question.* p. 543

395 December 2, 1854 was the third anniversary of Louis Bonaparte's coup d'état and the second anniversary of his proclamation as Emperor, and also the anniversary of Napoleon Bonaparte's proclamation as Emperor of the French (December 2, 1804) and the battle of Austerlitz (December 2, 1805). p. 543

396 The words "which we receive by the *Atlantic*" were added by the *Tribune* editors. p. 544

397 See notes 3, 106 and 158. p. 547

398 This article was entered in the Notebook as "*Freitag. 22. December.* Oesterreich. Militärkraft". p. 550

399 *Grenzers*—inhabitants of the Military Border area (see Note 48). p. 553

400 This article was Marx's first contribution to the German democratic daily newspaper *Neue Oder-Zeitung* published in Breslau (Wrocław) from 1849 to 1855.

The paper was founded in March 1849 as a result of the split in the editorial board of the Catholic oppositional *Allgemeine Oder-Zeitung* which had been published since 1846. In the 1850s the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* was considered the most radical German newspaper and was persecuted by the government.

At that time the bourgeois democrats Temme, Stein and Elsner headed the editorial board. Its publisher, the German journalist Max Friedländer, Ferdinand Lassalle's cousin, invited Marx to contribute at the end of 1854. In 1855 Marx was the paper's London correspondent. He sent two or three articles a week, which were published unsigned, but marked "×". As there was practically no workers' press during the years of reaction, Marx and Engels considered it extremely important to use the bourgeois-democratic press for the struggle against reactionary forces. Marx's contributing to the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* made it possible to maintain ties with Germany and keep the German readers informed on the vital problems of international and domestic politics, the working-class and democratic movement, and economic development in the capitalist countries, primarily Britain and France. Marx regularly sent articles on military operations in the Crimean war, and often made use of entire reports by Engels for the *New-York Daily Tribune,* translating them into German; he also sent to the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* abridged versions of Engels' articles, with occasional changes and additions.

This volume contains fifteen articles written by Marx and Engels for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung,* but most are published in Volume 14 of this edition.

The article "In Retrospect" published in two issues of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* presents a retrospective review of the events in the Crimean war in which Marx sums up his own views and those of Engels as set forth in their articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune.* p. 554

401 See Note 393. p. 554

402 After the Four Points (see Note 414) had been accepted by the tsarist government in November 1854, negotiations of the representatives of Britain, France, Austria and Russia (the so-called Vienna Conference, see notes 3, 106 and 158) were resumed in December that year. p. 554

403 The *bear*—a person who sells stocks and securities for future delivery in expectation of a fall in the market. The *bull*—a person who endeavours to raise the market price of stocks. The *bears* and *bulls* (the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* erroneously has bulldogs) of the Stock Exchange, whose interest it is, the one to depress, and the other to raise prices, are now said to be so called in allusion to the bear's habit of pulling down, and the bull's of tossing up. p. 554

404 The Enlistment of Foreigners Bill was introduced in Parliament by the War Secretary Newcastle with the aim of reinforcing the British army in the Crimea. The Bill was passed on December 22, 1854. However, a foreign legion was not formed because of the rising protest against the use of foreign mercenaries in the war. p. 555

405 See Note 386. p. 558

406 See Note 388. p. 558

407 In the *battle of Rocroi* (a French fortress near the Belgian frontier) during the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) the Spanish troops besieging the fortress were utterly defeated on May 19, 1643. The defeat of the Spanish infantry hitherto considered invincible marked a turn in the war. p. 559

408 The reference is to the Anglo-Afghan war of 1838-42 in which the British forces were utterly defeated. p. 562

409 The reference is to the London Convention of July 15, 1840 between Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia on supporting the Turkish Sultan against the Egyptian ruler Mehemet Ali (see Note 28). France, who supported Mehemet Ali, did not participate. The threat of an anti-French coalition made France give up her support of the Egyptian ruler. p. 562

410 The authorship of the article "British Disaster in the Crimea" has been established on the basis of the coincidence of its main points with those in other articles by Engels. It was also translated by Marx into German for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* and published in that newspaper as two separate articles on January 8 and 9, 1855 under the same title "Zum englischen Militärwesen". Marx rearranged the material in the article, abridged it and gave a new version of one paragraph which is given in this volume in the footnote.

The article "British Disaster in the Crimea" was published by Eleanor Marx in *The Eastern Question.* p. 564

411 The four articles of the series published below had the following titles in the original: 1—"Geschäfts-Krisis"; 2—"Die Zunahme des englischen Handels und der englischen Industrie in den Zeitraum von 1849 bis 1850"; 3 and 4—"Zur Handels-Krise". p. 571

412 The reference is to the Crimean war of 1853-56. p. 572

413 The *Peace Society*—a pacifist organisation founded in London in 1816 by the Quakers. It was actively supported by the Free Traders (see Note 280), who maintained that in peacetime Free Trade would allow England to make fuller use of her industrial supremacy and gain economic and political domination. p. 574

414 The reference is to demands presented by the Western powers to Russia in a Note of August 8, 1854 as preliminary conditions for peace negotiations. Russia was to give up her protectorate of Moldavia, Wallachia and Serbia, which was to be replaced by a European guarantee; to allow free passage of ships on the Danube; to consent to the revision of the 1841 London Convention on the Straits (see Note 28) and to give up protection of Christian subjects in Turkey. At first the tsarist government rejected these Four Points but in November 1854 it was compelled to accept them as the basis of future peace negotiations. p. 579

415 See Note 3. p. 579

416 During the 1830-31 insurrection Polish revolutionaries captured in Warsaw the archives of Grand Duke Constantine which contained secret diplomatic documents of the Tsarist Government. The reference here is presumably to a dispatch sent by Pozzo di Borgo on October 16 (4), 1825 and published in *Recueil de documents relatifs à la Russie pour la plupart secrets et inédits utiles à consulter dans la crise actuelle,* Paris, 1854. p. 580

417 This presumably refers to *Dispatch from Prince Lieven and Count Matusczewicz, addressed to Count Nesselrode,* dated London, 1st (13th) June, 1829 written on the occasion of the treaty of Adrianople (see Note 176): "It is in the midst of our camp that peace must be signed, and it is when it shall have been concluded

that Europe must know its conditions. Remonstrances will then be too late, and it will then patiently suffer what it can no longer prevent" (*Portfolio, Diplomatic Review (New Series)*, London, 1843, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 24). p. 580

[418] See Note 13. p. 582

[419] See notes 17 and 176. p. 583

[420] Under Article V of the London Convention signed by Britain, France and Russia on July 6, 1827 in connection with the Greek war of liberation against the Turkish yoke, the contracting parties agreed not to seek expansion of their territories, exclusive influence or advantage in trade unless the same was granted to the other two parties.

Under the treaty of Adrianople of 1829 (see Note 176) Russia got islands in the Danube estuary, and free navigation on the Danube was guaranteed.

On March 2 (February 19), 1836 by a Tsarist government decree a quarantine post was set up at the Sulina mouth of the Danube which actually performed customs functions. p. 584

[421] See Note 28. p. 584

[422] Marx's article "The Commercial Crisis in Britain" is a variant of the article written by him in January 1855 for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* (see this volume, pp. 571-78). The authorship and date of writing of the article "The Commercial Crisis in Britain" are also established on the basis of Marx's letter to Engels of January 12, 1855 and a rough draft of the article in one of Marx's notebooks of excerpts. p. 585

[423] The Corn Laws were repealed in June 1846. The Corn Laws, introduced in the interests of the landowners, imposed high duties on imported corn with the aim of maintaining high prices on it on the home market. The repeal of the Corn Laws marked the victory of the industrial bourgeoisie whose motto was Free Trade. p. 585

[424] A rough draft has here the following text which was not included in the final version: "It so happens that this time the greatest literary authority of English free-trade, the *London Economist*, quite untrue to his traditions, and in open contradiction to the Manchester school, not only avows that 'the war had little or no connection with the high price of grain', but also that the prosperity of 1853 was 'convulsive', that 'in 1853 there was a fever which has left to 1854 some of the debility consequent on disease', and that 'whether war had come or not, a commercial revulsion was at hand'." p. 587

[425] This phrase was changed by the *Tribune* editors. p. 589

[426] See Note 42. p. 589

[427] This article by Engels is a German version of the article originally written for the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see Note 429). The translation was probably made by Marx. p. 593

[428] The reference is to a decision adopted by the French Legislative Corps on December 30, 1854 to issue a loan of 500 million francs for the purpose of covering the cost of the war. p. 594

429 This article was written by Engels for the *New-York Daily Tribune* at Marx's request (see Marx's letters to Engels of January 12, 17 and 19, 1855).

The first paragraph and the first sentence of the second were added by the *New-York Daily Tribune.* They read as follows:

"A more gloomy picture of disaster and suffering, consequent on blundering and imbecile mismanagement, was never presented than in the letter of our correspondent at Constantinople, published in this morning's paper. It is true his account of the condition of the British army in the Crimea communicates no general facts with which we were not before acquainted, but some of his details are as new as they are painful, while he expresses the feelings of the army thus decimated, and of the English at Constantinople, with a freedom and vividness equaled by few English writers. The indignation at the Government and its agents, at the Field-Marshal commanding, the Commissariat, and the system under which affairs are thus frightfully misconducted, must, indeed, be deep and ardent. We are confident that it is not in the least exaggerated by our correspondent; as our readers will learn from one of our London letters, this feeling is shared by the people of England.

"We yesterday quoted *The London Times* to the effect that the British cavalry before Sevastopol had ceased to exist as a force." p. 596

430 See Note 393. p. 599

431 The reference is to the Brabant revolution of 1789-90 (see Note 49). p. 599

432 On August 2, 216 B.C. a major battle of the Second Punic War took place at Cannae (south-eastern Italy), in which forty-eight thousand Romans were killed and ten thousand taken prisoner. p. 601

433 *Fidawis*—literally a man who sacrifices himself for an idea; in Persia, Syria and Lebanon—members of a secret order of Assassins (late eleventh-thirteenth centuries) founded to fight the Seljuk Turks and the Crusaders. p. 603

434 On the basis of telegraphic dispatches from London the editors of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* added at the end of Marx's article the following paragraph omitted in the present edition:

"According to telegraphic dispatches from London dated January 26 and 27, Lord John Russell, in connection with the explanation given to Parliament on the causes of his resignation, submitted among other things correspondence exchanged between him and Lord Aberdeen in which he urges a change in the management of the affair. In his view the lamentable situation of the army before Sevastopol cannot be disputed and notwithstanding all his experience in the matter it is impossible for him to establish the causes of the misfortune. Lord Palmerston criticised the motives of John Russell's resignation, but nevertheless admitted that the war must be pursued with the greatest energy. He maintains that all the ships have been used as they should have been: to transport troops, clothing and provisions to the Crimea, and requested a formal vote of confidence or no confidence in the Government. Roebuck's speech was, despite the fact that the speaker was visibly suffering, repeatedly interrupted by applause from all parts of the House. In the Upper House the Earl of Aberdeen stated that the Ministers considered it their duty, despite the resignation of their influential colleague, to oppose the request for the appointment of a commission of inquiry." p. 604

435 See Note 88. p. 608

[436] The system of sale and purchase of officers' commissions in the British army originated at the end of the seventeenth century. Lasting till 1871 it secured predominance of the aristocracy in the army. For details see Marx's article: "The Buying of Commissions.—News from Australia" (present edition, Vol. 14). p. 608

[437] The authorship of this article was established on the basis of complete coincidence of a number of its propositions with those expounded in the article "From Parliament.—From the Theatre of War" (see this volume, pp. 615-19) published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* and marked with Marx's correspondent's sign. In the latter article the report on the parliamentary debate was written by Marx and "Militaria" was compiled and translated by Marx from this article written by Engels. p. 609

[438] *Tractarianism* (Puseyism)—a system of High Anglican principles set forth in a series of ninety pamphlets issued at Oxford between 1833 and 1841 and called *Tracts for the Times.* (See also Note 88.) p. 616

[439] See Note 355. p. 617

[440] This article was written by Engels on the basis of Marx's letter of January 31, 1855 and earlier articles by Marx on Gladstone's budget published in the *New-York Daily Tribune.* Marx received Engels' article in London not later than Friday, February 2. He also used the material of this article in writing two short articles for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*: "On the Ministerial Crisis" and "The Defeated Government" (see this volume, pp. 627-30 and 638-41). p. 620

[441] The *Irish Brigade*—the Irish faction in the British Parliament from the 1830s to the 1850s. It was led until 1847 by Daniel O'Connell, who used the tactics of parliamentary manoeuvring to obtain concessions from the British Government to the Irish top bourgeoisie. In the early 1850s some MPs belonging to this faction entered into an alliance with the radical Irish Tenant-Right League and formed in the House of Commons the so-called Independent Opposition. However, the leaders of the Irish Brigade soon entered into an agreement with the British ruling circles and refused to support the League's demands. This led to the demoralisation and final dissolution of the Independent Opposition in 1859. p. 620

[442] Marx describes as a Gunpowder plot (by analogy with the Gunpowder plot of the Catholics against James I in 1605) the accusation of conspiracy made by the British authorities in April 1853 against the owners of a rocket factory in Rotherhithe, with a view to start repressions against Kossuth and other political emigrants in England. On this see Marx's articles in Volume 12, pp. 82-84, 107. p. 621

[443] See Note 58. p. 623

[444] On Irish Landlords and Tenants' Bills introduced in Parliament in November 1852, see Marx's articles in Volume 12, pp. 157-62 and Volume 14, "From the Houses of Parliament.—Bulwer's Motion.—The Irish Question". p. 623

[445] The *Transportation Bill*, which abolished deportation of criminals to penal colonies, was passed on August 12, 1853. After the preliminary detention the accused were given release certificates granting them the right to reside in Britain under police surveillance and they were used as cheaper labour for

public works. Marx assessed this Bill in his article: "The War Question.—British Population and Trade Returns.—Doings of Parliament" (see Vol. 12). p. 623

446 See Note 3. p. 624

447 See Note 78. p. 625

448 Under the law in force in England since the early eighteenth century newly elected MPs were to take an "oath of abdication" denying the right of any heirs of James II to the throne; the oath contained expressions of loyalty to Christianity. Refusal to take the oath deprived an MP of the right of active participation in the work of Parliament. p. 625

449 Marx alludes here to the confusion of historical facts by Herbert, who ascribed to the Directory, which was established in 1795, the actions which took place in 1793. On April 2, 1793 while revolutionary France was at war with the European Coalition, commissars of the Convention and the War Minister were sent to the headquarters of the commander-in-chief of the Northern Army, General Dumouriez, with an order for him to present himself before the Convention for interrogation on a charge of treason to the revolution. General Dumouriez refused to obey, and instead arrested the commissars and the War Minister and handed them over to the Austrians. Soon after he openly deserted to the Austrians. The editors of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* apparently changed the text to tone down Marx's irony (cf. a similar passage in the article "Fall of the Aberdeen Ministry", this volume, p. 633). p. 627

450 By the *minorities* Marx understood various small factions and groups in the British Parliament. Marx characterised the parliamentary factions and groups in his article "The Parties and Cliques" (see this volume, pp. 642-44). p. 631

451 See Note 152. p. 633

452 See Note 242. p. 635

453 This article was first published in English in *Surveys from Exile Political Writings*, Vol. 2. Edited and Introduced by David Fernbach, Penguin Books Ltd., London, pp. 279-81. p. 642

454 See Note 69. p. 647

455 This draft is apparently the initial version of the third article in the *Revolutionary Spain* series (see this volume, pp. 407-12). It contains many deletions which are not reproduced in this publication. The title of the draft belongs to Marx. p. 651

456 See Note 338. p. 652

457 As can be judged from Marx's Notebook, he wrote and mailed to New York three articles more of the *Revolutionary Spain* series which were entered in the Notebook as "Dienstag. 14. November. Spain 1820-Juli 1822"; "Dienstag. 21. November. Spain. [illegible] Intervention"; "Freitag. 8. December. Spain—1833". None of the articles were printed in the newspaper; their manuscripts have not been discovered. The rough draft published in this volume is apparently part of the article mailed on November 21, 1854. The manuscript contains many deletions only some of which are reproduced in this publication. p. 654

[458] By the *second Cadiz expedition* Marx means Riego's campaign in 1823. In August 1823 Riego arrived in Malaga from Cadiz besieged by the French and tried to break through to Catalonia where General Mina was then engaged in fierce fighting with the interventionists. Riego's attempt to gain support from Ballesteros' army, which had ceased resistance, failed, and at the head of a small detachment he marched in the direction of Cartagena. At Jerez his detachment was defeated; on September 15, Riego was captured.

The *first Cadiz expedition* was Riego's campaign of 1820, which was the starting point of the revolution (see this volume, pp. 442-43). p. 654

[459] Reference to the *army of faith*—the name of detachments formed by the Catholic absolutist group. In 1822 these detachments staged a mutiny against the revolutionary government in Catalonia, Navarre and Biscay; in 1823 they fought on the side of the French interventionists. p. 654

[460] *Comuneros*—members of a secret political association, the Confederation of the Spanish *comuneros*, founded during the 1820-23 bourgeois revolution. The *comuneros* voiced the interests of the most democratic sections of the urban population: artisans, workers, sections of intellectuals and officers and the petty bourgeoisie. They numbered seventy thousand and most resolutely opposed the counter-revolution. After the suppression of the revolution the *comuneros* were severely persecuted and ceased their activities. p. 654

[461] The reference is to the restoration in Spain of the absolutist regime of Ferdinand VII as a result of suppression of the 1820-23 revolution. The first restoration of Ferdinand VII was in 1814, after Napoleon's defeat. p. 658

[462] The reference is to the Carlist war of 1833-40 and the bourgeois revolution in Spain (1834-43). See also notes 224, 227. p. 659

[463] In September 1832, Ferdinand VII, then gravely ill, annulled his decree of 1830, by which his daughter Isabella, an infant at the time, was made heiress to the throne; when he recovered Ferdinand reinstated her, thus disappointing the hopes of the *serviles* (see Note 323) who supported his brother Don Carlos. p. 659

[464] The material published in the Appendix to this volume contains the second part of the article published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* under the title "The English Middle Class". This part is based on Marx's text, the beginning of the article was written by the editors and is not reproduced in this volume. p. 663

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*Bugeaud de la Piconnerie, Thomas Robert* (1784-1849)—Marshal of France, Orleanist; participated in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s, commander-in-chief of the army in the Alps (1848-49); deputy to the Legislative Assembly.—231, 232

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*Capo d'Istria, Giovanni Antonio (Joannes), Count* (1776-1831)—Greek statesman; from 1809 to 1827 (actually till 1822) was in the Russian service, Second Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Russia (1815-22); President of Greece from 1827 to 1831.—459

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*Cincinnatus (Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus)* (5th cent. B.C.)—Roman patrician; politician and soldier, considered a model of valour and modesty.—344
*Clanricarde, Ulick John de Burgh, Marquis and Earl of* (1802-1874)—British politician and diplomat, Whig; ambassador to St. Petersburg (1838-41).—260, 264, 265, 317, 318, 591, 592
*Clarendon, George William Frederick Villiers, Earl of, Baron Hyde* (1800-1870)—British statesman, Whig, later Liberal; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1847-52), Foreign Secretary (February 1853 to 1858, 1865-66, 1868-70).—14, 15, 21-24, 33, 38, 39, 52, 84, 88, 94-98, 132, 133, 136, 137, 140, 143, 306, 318, 357, 358, 366, 607, 621, 627, 629
*Cobbett, William* (1763-1835)—English politician and radical writer.—133, 219, 577, 630
*Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865)—English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League, M.P.—13-17, 19, 141, 321, 369, 577, 584, 663
*Coburgs*—a family of German dukes, belonging to or connected with the royal dynasties of Belgium, Portugal, Britain and other European countries.—40, 332
*Coburg-Braganza*—see *Braganza-Coburg*
*Collado, José Manuel*—Spanish politi-

cian, banker, member of the Progresista Party, Minister of Finance in the Espartero Ministry (August 1854-January 1855).—285, 367, 449

*Colloredo-Waldsee (Wallsee), Franz, Count von* (1799-1859)—Austrian diplomat, ambassador to St. Petersburg in 1843-47, minister at London in 1852-56.—480

*Colquhoun, Robert Guilmour*—British consul general in Bucharest in the 1840s and 1850s.—275, 489

*Concha*—see *Gutiérrez de la Concha, José* and *Gutiérrez de la Concha, Manuel*

*Constantine Nikolayevich* (1827-1892)—Russian Grand Duke, Nicholas I's second son; was in charge of the defence of the Baltic coast in 1854-55; Naval Minister (1855-81); took part in the preparations for the abolition of serfdom; President of the Council of State (1865-81).—171, 172, 243

*Coronini-Cronberg, Johann Baptist Alexis, Count von* (1794-1880)—Austrian general, commanded the Austrian forces on the Danube during the Crimean war.—268, 301

*Corradi, Fernando* (1808-1885)—Spanish politician and journalist, editor-in-chief of *El Clamor Público*.—448

*Cortés, Hernán* (1485-1547)—Spanish conqueror of Mexico.—395

*Cowell, George*—English worker, Chartist, a leader of the Preston strike in 1853-54.—120, 200

*Cowley, Henry Wellesley, Earl* (1804-1884)—British diplomat, ambassador to Paris (1852-67).—21, 22

*Cranworth, Robert Monsey Rolfe, Baron* (1790-1868)—British statesman and lawyer, Whig; Lord Chancellor (1852-58, 1865-66).—121

*Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—leader of the English revolution; Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653.—583

*Cuesta*—see *García de la Cuesta*

*Cunningham, C.*—British consul in Galatz in 1853.—185, 190

*Czartoryski, Adam Jerzy, Prince* (1770-1861)—Polish magnate; friend of Alexander I; Russian Foreign Minister (1804-06); President of the Polish Government during the insurrection of 1830-31, later leader of Polish monarchist émigrés in Paris.—26, 167

D

*Danilo I Petrović Njegoš* (1826-1860)—Prince of Montenegro (1852-60).—178, 179

*Dannenberg, Pyotr Andreyevich* (1792-1872)—Russian general, commanded a corps on the Danube and in the Crimea in 1853-54.—66, 302, 533, 544, 545

*Delane, John Thaddeus* (1817-1879)—editor-in-chief of *The Times* (1841-77).—637

*Delmas*—French emigrant in Spain.—363

*Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Earl of* (1799-1869)—British statesman, Tory leader, Prime Minister (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68).—101, 132, 134-36, 219, 546, 620, 623, 628, 636, 638, 642

*Derzhavin, Gavrila Romanovich* (1743-1816)—Russian poet.—276

*Deval*—interpreter in the French Embassy at Constantinople in the mid-eighteenth century.—104

*Díaz Porlier, Juan* (1775-1815)—Spanish general, liberal, commander of a guerrilla detachment during the war of independence (1808-14); executed for attempting to raise a revolt against the absolute power of Ferdinand VII.—423, 439, 445

*Dickens, Charles John Huffam* (1812-1870)—English novelist.—664

*Diebich-Zabalkansky, Ivan Ivanovich (Diebitsch, Hans Karl Friedrich Anton), Count* (1785-1831)—Russian field marshal general, commander-in-chief (1829) during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29.—89, 164, 237, 239, 264

*Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British politician and

writer, a Tory leader; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68); Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80).—13, 19, 21, 24, 26, 56, 137, 138, 142, 184, 218, 219, 265, 316, 321, 322, 326, 331, 484, 546, 584, 600, 608, 620, 623, 624, 635, 638, 639, 642, 643

*Dohna-Schlobitten, Karl Friedrich Emil, Count zu* (1784-1859)—Prussian general, fought in the wars against Napoleon I, served in the Russian army in 1812-15, commanded a Prussian corps in Königsberg in 1842-54.—178

*Don Carlos*—see *Carlos María Isidro de Borbón*

*Donizetti, Gaetano* (1797-1848)—Italian composer.—170

*Dost Mohammed Khan* (1793-1863)—Afghan Emir (1826-39 and 1842-63).—41

*Douglas, Sir Howard, Baronet* (1776-1861)—English general and author of works on artillery and fortification.—385, 593, 615

*Drouyn de Lhuys, Edouard* (1805-1881)—French diplomat and politician; Orleanist in the 1840s, Bonapartist after 1851; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1848-49, 1851, 1852-55, 1862-66).—366

*Druey, Henri* (1799-1855)—Swiss radical statesman, lawyer; Minister of Justice and Police in 1848; member of the Federal Council (1848-55); President of the Swiss Confederation (1850).—455

*Drummond, Henry* (1786-1860)—English politician, Tory M.P., member of the Select Committee of Inquiry into the Condition of the British Army in the Crimea (1855).—17, 616

*Ducos, Théodore* (1801-1855)—French politician, moderate monarchist, sided with the Bonapartists during the Second Republic; Minister of the Marine (1851-55).—173, 202

*Dufour, Guillaume Henri* (1787-1875)—Swiss general and liberal politician; commander of the Federal army which defeated the Sonderbund troops (1847); author of a number of works on fortification, artillery and tactics.—479

*Duhamel, Alexander Osipovich* (1801-1880)—Russian general and diplomat; minister plenipotentiary at Teheran in 1838-41, was sent on a special mission to the Danubian Principalities in 1848.—274

*Dulce y Garay, Domingo, Marquis of Castellflorit* (1808-1869)—Spanish general, close to the Moderado Party; headed an uprising in Madrid in 1854 which sparked off the revolution of 1854-56.—267, 282, 294, 305, 367, 369, 375, 458

*Dumouriez, Charles François* (1739-1823)—French general, commanded the northern revolutionary army in 1792-93; was close to the Girondists, betrayed the revolution in March 1793.—627, 633

*Duncombe, Thomas Slingsby* (1796-1861)—English radical politician; Chartist in the 1840s, M.P.—119, 200

*Dundas, Sir James Whitley Deans* (1785-1862)—English admiral, commander-in-chief of the British Mediterranean fleet from 1852 to January 1855.—18, 32, 174, 193, 195, 221, 251, 361, 514, 581

*Dunkellin, Ulick Canning, Baron* (b. 1827)—English army officer, fought in the Crimean war; later M.P.—591

*Duns Scotus, John* (called *Doctor Subtilis*) (c. 1265-1308)—Scottish scholastic philosopher.—118

*Dupont de l'Étang, Pierre Antoine, comte* (1765-1840)—French general; capitulated with his division at Bailén during the war in Spain in 1808.—407

E

*Echagüe, Rafael, conde del Serrallo* (1815-1887)—Spanish general, participant in the revolution of 1854-56, belonged to the Moderado Party.—283, 369

*Elío, Francisco Javier* (1767-1822)—Spanish general, fought in the war of independence (1808-14); helped to establish the absolute power of Ferdinand VII in 1814; was executed during the revolution of 1820-23 for organising a counter-revolutionary coup.—423, 439

*Ellenborough, Edward Law, Earl of* (1790-1871)—British statesman, Tory, Governor-General of India (1842-44), First Lord of the Admiralty (1846), President of the Board of Control for India (1858).—317, 600

*Empecinado, Juan Martín Díaz, el* (1775-1825)—Spanish peasant, guerrilla leader during the war of independence (1808-14); promoted to the rank of general by the Cortes; active participant in the revolution of 1820-23; executed for an attempted revolt against the absolute power of Ferdinand VII.—423

*Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895).—202, 209, 210

*England, Sir Richard* (1793-1883)—English general, commanded a division in the Crimea in 1854-55.—493

*Enrique María Fernando de Borbón* (1823-1870)—Spanish infante, sided with the republicans in the revolution of 1854-56.—489

*Eroles, Joaquín Ibáñez, baron de* (1785-1825)—Spanish general, commander of guerrilla detachments during the war of independence (1808-14); royalist leader during the revolution of 1820-23.—423

*Espartero, Baldomero, duque de la Vittoria* (1793-1879)—Spanish general and politician, leader of the Progresista Party; Regent of Spain (1841-43), head of government (1854-56).—310, 312-13, 340-45, 351, 352, 362, 369, 370, 372, 447-49, 456-58, 489

*Espinasse, Charles Marie Esprit* (1815-1859)—French general, Bonapartist; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s, actively participated in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; fought in the Crimean war.—472, 473

*Espoz y Mina, Francisco* (1781-1836)—Spanish general, a guerrilla leader during the war of independence (1808-14); active participant in the revolution of 1820-23, fought against the Carlists in 1833-36.—423

*Esterházy von Galántha, Valentin Ladislaus (Bálint László), Count* (1814-1858)—Austrian diplomat, envoy to Russia in 1854-58.—176

*Evans, Sir George de Lacy* (1787-1870)—British general, liberal politician, M.P.; commanded a division in the Crimea in 1854.—493

F

*Fallmerayer, Jakob Philipp* (1790-1861)—German historian and traveller; author of works on the history of Greece and Byzantium.—72

*Famin, Stanislas Marie César* (1799-1853)—French writer and diplomat.—102, 107, 108

*Ferdinand I* (1793-1875)—Emperor of Austria (1835-48).—49

*Ferdinand II* (1810-1859)—King of the Two Sicilies (1830-59), nicknamed King Bomba for the bombardment of Messina in 1848.—292, 352, 367, 484

*Ferdinand IV* (1285-1312)—King of Castile and León (1295-1312).—430

*Ferdinand V (the Catholic)* (1452-1516)—King of Aragon under the name of Ferdinand II (1479-1516); his marriage to Isabella, future Queen of Castile, in 1469 completed the unification of Spain.—393-95

*Ferdinand VII* (1784-1833)—King of Spain (1808 and 1814-33).—345, 374, 392, 399, 401, 402, 404, 417, 423, 425, 429, 436, 439-46, 654, 657, 659

*Fiéron*—French army officer, fought in the Crimean war.—290

*Filder* (b. 1790)—English general, chief of the army commissariat in the Crimea in 1854-55.—327

*Finlen, James*—Chartist, member of the Executive of the National Charter

Association in 1852-58.—51, 64

*Fitzherbert, Alleyne, Baron St. Helens* (1753-1839)—British diplomat, envoy to St. Petersburg in 1783-87.—17

*Fitzwilliam, Charles William Wentworth, Earl of* (1786-1857)—English politician, Whig M.P.—317

*Flemming*—Count, Prussian diplomat, secretary of the Embassy in Vienna (1854-59).—301

*Flórez, José Segundo* (b. 1789)—Spanish historian and journalist, author of a book on Espartero.—341

*Floridablanca (Florida Blanca), José Moñino, conde de* (1728-1808)—Spanish statesman and diplomat, champion of enlightened absolutism; Prime Minister (1777-92), implemented a number of progressive reforms; opposed the French Revolution; President of the Central Junta in 1808, tried to prevent the development of revolution in Spain in 1808.—409, 410, 415, 432, 652

*Forey, Elie Frédéric* (1804-1872)—French general, later marshal; Bonapartist; took an active part in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; commanded a force in the Crimea in 1854-55.—196, 494

*Fortescue, Hugh, Earl of* (1783-1861)—English statesman, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1839-41.—300

*Fox, Charles James* (1749-1806)—British politician, Whig leader; Foreign Secretary (1782, 1783, 1806).—606

*Francis I* (1494-1547)—King of France (1515-47).—104, 416

*Francis I* (1768-1835)—Emperor of Austria (1804-35), the last emperor of the Holy Roman Empire under the name of Francis II (1792-1806).—48, 49

*Francis Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-1916).—44, 49, 94, 177, 183, 253, 269, 270, 286, 336, 367, 480, 488, 490

*Francisco de Asis, María Fernando* (1822-1902)—husband of Isabella II of Spain.—449, 489

*Frederick II (the Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—38, 67, 314, 409, 657

*Frederick VII* (1808-1863)—King of Denmark (1848-63).—362, 378, 489

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—9, 83, 144, 148, 286, 287

*Fuad Pasha, Mehemmed* (1814-1869)—Turkish statesman, commissioner in the Danubian Principalities in 1848; repeatedly held the posts of Grand Vizier and Foreign Minister in the 1850s and 1860s.—273, 274, 275

G

*Galakhoff (Galakhov), Alexander Pavlovich* (1802-1863)—Russian general, chief of the police in St. Petersburg (1852-56).—171

*García de la Cuesta, Gregorio* (1740-1812)—Spanish general, fought in the war of independence (1808-14), captain general of Castile from 1808.—408, 422, 652

*Garrigó, Antonio María*—Spanish army officer, took part in the revolution of 1854-56.—283, 456

*Gaskell, Elizabeth Cleghorn* (1810-1865)—English novelist.—664

*Gaspari*—official at the French Embassy in Athens.—177

*George I* (1660-1727)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1714-27).—555

*George II* (1683-1760)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1727-60).—555

*George III* (1738-1820)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1760-1820).—299

*George IV* (1762-1830)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1820-30).—367

*George Petrović Njegoš*—Montenegrin voivode, uncle of Danilo I Petrović Njegoš.—178

*Ghica, Grigore Alexandru, Prince* (1807-1857)—hospodar of Moldavia (1849-53, 1854-56).—324, 325

*Gian, Gastone* (1671-1737)—the last Grand Duke of Tuscany from the Medici family.—81

*Giron*—Spanish journalist.—345

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory, then Peelite, leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the nineteenth century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55, 1859-66); Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—24, 53-56, 117, 118, 144, 185-87, 190, 226, 466, 563, 575, 607, 608, 623, 625, 627, 634, 635, 639, 643, 645-47

*Godfrey of Bouillon* (*Godefroy de Bouillon*) (c. 1060-1100)—Duke of Lower Lorraine (1089-1100), a leader of the first crusade (1096-99).—17

*Godoy, Manuel de, Duke of Alcudia, Prince of Peace* (1767-1851) — First Minister of the Spanish King Charles IV, virtual ruler of Spain (1792-98, 1801-08); helped French occupation of Spain; was overthrown in 1808 as a result of a popular uprising.—392, 399, 402, 409, 410, 430, 451

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—576, 616

*González Bravo, Luis* (1811-1871)—Spanish statesman, a leader of the Moderado Party, head of government (1843-44, 1868).—345, 346, 370, 450

*Gorchakoff* (*Gorchakov*), *Alexander Mikhailovich, Prince* (1798-1883)—Russian statesman and diplomat; envoy to Vienna (1854-56); Foreign Minister (1856-82); State Chancellor (1867-82).—176, 286, 294, 295, 301, 357, 365, 554, 581, 582, 601, 602

*Gorchakoff* (*Gorchakov*), *Mikhail Dmitrievich, Prince* (1793-1861)—Russian general, commander-in-chief on the Danube (1853-54), of the Southern army (September 1854-February 1855), then of the army in the Crimea (from February to December 1855).—7, 66, 69, 129, 247, 292, 301-03, 324, 350, 351, 618

*Gordon, Sir Robert* (1791-1847)—British diplomat, brother of Lord Aberdeen; envoy to Turkey in 1828-31.—264

*Grach, Friedrich* (1812-1854)—Prussian colonel, served in the Turkish army from 1841, commanded the defence of Silistria in 1854.—240, 241

*Graham, Sir James Robert George* (1792-1861)—British statesman, Whig, then Peelite; Home Secretary (1841-46), First Lord of the Admiralty (1830-34, 1852-55).—12, 19, 25, 27, 31, 39, 53, 109, 142, 225, 365, 582, 621, 627, 646

*Grant, James* (1802-1879)—English radical journalist and writer, editor of *The Morning Advertiser* (1850-71).—590

*Granville, George Leveson-Gower, Earl of* (1815-1891)—British statesman, Whig, then Liberal; Foreign Secretary (1851-52, 1870-74, 1880-85), Lord President of the Council (1852-54).—134, 135, 581

*Grey, Sir George* (1799-1882)—British Whig statesman; Home Secretary (1846-52, 1855-58, 1861-66) and Colonial Secretary (1854-55).—133, 625, 646, 647

*Grey, Sir Henry George, Earl* (1802-1894)—British Whig statesman; Secretary at War (1835-39) and Colonial Secretary (1846-52).—228, 607, 638, 643

*Gribbe*—Russian general, fought in the Crimean war.—522

*Grimshaw, Mortimer* (born c. 1827)—Chartist, a leader of the Preston strike in 1853-54.—200

*Grivas, Theodorakis* (1796-1862)—Greek politician, a leader of the 1854 national uprising in Epirus against the Turkish rule.—166, 167

*Guilleminot, Armand Charles, comte de* (1774-1840)—French general and diplomat, ambassador to Constantinople in 1824-30.—264

*Gutiérrez de la Concha, José* (1809-1895)—Spanish general, governor of Cuba (1850-52 and 1854-59).—369

*Gutiérrez de la Concha, Manuel, marqués del Duero* (1808-1874)—Spanish general, belonged to the Moderado Party; follower of Narváez in 1843;

President of the military junta in 1854.—342, 375, 458

H

*Habsburgs* (or *Hapsburgs*)—a dynasty of emperors of the Holy Roman Empire from 1273 to 1806 (with intervals), Spanish kings (1516-1700), Austrian emperors (1804-67) and Austro-Hungarian emperors (1867-1918).—246, 255, 256, 395

*Hale, William*—owner of a rocket factory in the London suburbs in the early 1850s.—621

*Hall, Sir Benjamin* (1802-1867)—British liberal statesman (belonged to the Mayfair Radicals); President of the Board of Health (August 1854-July 1855), First Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings (1855-58).—600, 601

*Halton*—English worker.—591

*Hamelin, François Alphonse* (1796-1864)—French admiral, commander-in-chief of the French fleet in the Mediterranean and Black Sea (1853-54), Minister of the Marine (1855-60).—22, 32, 173, 193, 195, 204, 221, 224, 492, 515, 581

*Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph, Baron von* (1774-1856)—Austrian historian, Orientalist, author of works on the history of Turkey; a diplomat in the Middle East from 1796 to 1835.—227

*Hardinge, Sir Henry, Viscount* (1785-1856)—British general and statesman, Tory, field marshal from 1855, Secretary at War (1828-30 and 1841-44), Governor-General of India (1844-January 1848), commander-in-chief of the British army (1852-56).—566, 633

*Hardwicke, Charles Philip Yorke, Earl of* (1799-1873)—English admiral, Tory politician.—133, 317, 600

*Hartslet*—British consul at Memel.—377

*Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ* (1056-1124)—founder of a Mussulman sect of assassins who fought against the Seljuk Turks and crusaders in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries.—603

*Haynau, Julius Jakob, Baron von* (1786-1853)—Austrian general, brutally suppressed revolutionary movements in Italy and Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—465

*Hayter, Sir William Goodenough* (1792-1878)—British lawyer, Whig, then Liberal, M.P.—604

*Hayward, Abraham* (1801-1884)—British lawyer and journalist, Tory at the beginning of his career, later Peelite; appointed Secretary of the Poor Law Board in 1854.—624

*Heathcote*—British naval officer, captain of the corvette *Archer*.—377

*Heeckeren, Jakob, Baron van*—Dutch diplomat, envoy to St. Petersburg in the 1830s, envoy to Vienna from 1842 to 1876.—301

*Heiden, Loghin Petrovich* (*Lodewijk Sigismund Vincent Gustaaf*), *Count van* (1773-1850)—admiral of the Russian fleet, Dutch by birth; commander-in-chief of the Russian Mediterranean Fleet during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29.—260

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—83

*Henley, Joseph Warner* (1793-1884)—British statesman, Tory; President of the Board of Trade (1852, 1858-59).—332

*Henry IV* (1553-1610)—King of France (1589-1610).—104

*Henry* (*Enrique*) *IV* (1425-1474)—King of Castile (1454-65, 1468-74).—391, 392

*Hentze, A.*—German army officer, Communist League member; belonged to the Willich-Schapper sectarian group, witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—364

*Herbert, Sidney, Baron of Lea* (1810-1861)—British statesman, first Tory, subsequently Peelite; Secretary at War (1845-46 and 1852-55) and Secretary for War (1859-60).—18-20,

327-31, 556, 605, 616, 627, 629, 633-34, 643, 646

*Herod* (73-4 B.C.)—King of Judaea (40-4 B.C.).—577

*Herreros, Manuel García*—Spanish liberal politician, deputy to the Cadiz Cortes, Minister of Justice during the war of independence (1808-14) and in 1820.—443

*Hess, Heinrich Hermann Josef, Baron von* (1788-1870)—Austrian general, subsequently field marshal, took an active part in crushing the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; commander-in-chief in Hungary, Galicia and the Danubian Principalities in 1854 and 1855.—146, 287, 358, 465

*Hildyard, Robert Charles*—English Tory M.P.—330

*Hobbes, Thomas* (1588-1679)—English philosopher.—213

*Horsfall, Thomas Berry* (b. 1805)—English mine-owner, Tory M.P.—28

*Horsman, Edward* (1807-1876)—British politician, liberal M.P., Chief Secretary for Ireland (1855-57).—16

*Howden, Baron*—see *Caradoc, Sir John Hobart, Baron Howden*

*Hsien Fêng* (c. 1831-1861)—Emperor of China (1850-61).—41

*Hübner, Joseph Alexander, Baron von* (1811-1892)—Austrian diplomat, envoy (1849-56) and ambassador (1856-59) to Paris.—480

*Hughes, T. M.*—English writer in the first half of the nineteenth century, lived in Spain for several years.—341, 343, 346, 450

*Hume, Joseph* (1777-1855)—English politician, a radical leader, M.P.—26, 27, 321

*Hung Hsiu-ch'üan* (1814-1864)—leader and ideologist of the Taiping rebellion in China (1851-64), head of the Taiping state, proclaimed himself T'ien-wang (the Heavenly Prince).—41

*Hussein Bey*—Turkish general, crushed the Greek insurrection in 1854.—39

*Hussein Pasha*—Turkish general, commanded the defence of Silistria in 1854.—279

I

*Infantado, Pedro Alcántara de Toledo, duque del* (1773-1841)—Spanish general and politician, President of the Council of Regency (1823), head of government (1824).—400

*Isabel Francisca de Asis de Borbón, Princess of Asturias* (1851-1931)—Spanish infanta, eldest daughter of Isabella II.—449

*Isabella (the Catholic)* (1451-1504)—Queen of Castile (1474-1504), her marriage to Ferdinand V, future King of Aragon, in 1469 completed the unification of Spain.—393

*Isabella II* (1830-1904)—Queen of Spain (1833-68).—40, 52, 282, 285, 294, 305, 309, 310, 312, 343-46, 367, 369, 372, 447, 451, 489, 659

*Iskander Bey (Alexander Ilinski, Illinsky)* (1810-1861)—Polish-born Turkish general; participated in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; emigrated to Turkey after its defeat; commanded the Turkish forces on the Danube (1853-54), in the Crimea (1855) and the Caucasus (1855-56).—359

*Ismail Pasha* (1805-1861)—Turkish general, Circassian by birth; in 1853-54 commanded the forces on the Danube.—66, 67

*Istúriz, Francisco Javier de* (1790-1864)—Spanish liberal politician, head of government (1836, 1846, 1858).—306

*Izzet Pasha (Hadschi Izzet Pasha)*—Turkish military governor of Belgrade in 1854.—297, 365

J

*Jerrold, Douglas William* (1803-1857)—English author, playwright and humourist.—591

*Jocelyn, Robert, Viscount* (1816-1854)—English army officer, M.P., Secretary of the Board of Control for India in 1845-46.—13

*John (Juan) II* (1405-1454) — King of Castile and León (1406-54).—391

*Joly*—French police commissary.—232
*Jones, Ernest Charles* (1819-1869)—leading figure in the English labour movement, proletarian poet and journalist, Left Chartist leader; friend of Marx and Engels; editor of *The Northern Star, Notes to the People* and *The People's Paper*; initiator of the Labour Parliament convened in Manchester in 1854.—50, 51, 64, 354, 356
*Jones, Sir Harry David* (1791-1866)—English general, military engineer; fought in the Peninsular war against Napoleon in 1810-13; commander of an expeditionary force in the Baltic (1854) and of army engineers in the Crimea (1855).—382, 387, 462
*Joseph II* (1741-1790)—Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1765-90).—48, 49, 409, 599
*Jovellanos y Ramirez, Gaspar Melchor de* (1744-1811)—Spanish statesman, writer, lawyer and economist; follower of the French philosophers of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment; opposed the clerical and feudal regime in Spain; Minister of Justice (1797-98); leader of the Left minority in the Central Junta in 1808-10.—403, 409, 410, 415, 432, 652
*Julián*—see *Sánchez, Julián*

K

*Kalergis, Demetrios* (1803-1867)—Greek general and politician; took part in the liberation struggle of the Greek people against Turkish rule (1821-29); War Minister (1854-55).—459
*Kalik, Anton* (b. 1818)—Austrian army officer, was sent on a special mission to the Danubian Principalities in the summer of 1854.—365
*Karamzin, Nikolai Mikhailovich* (1766-1826)—Russian historian and writer.—29
*Keogh, William Nicholas* (1817-1878)—Irish lawyer and politician, a leader of the Irish Brigade in the British Parliament; repeatedly held high judicial posts in Ireland.—638
*Khrulev, Stepan Alexandrovich* (1807-1870)—Russian general, army commander on the Danube and in the Crimea during the Crimean war; took part in the defence of Sevastopol.—304
*Kisseleff (Kiselyev), Nikolai Dmitrievich* (1800-1869)—Russian diplomat, held high posts in the Russian embassy in Paris from 1841 onwards, envoy to Paris in 1853 and 1854.—3, 174
*Kisseleff (Kiselyev), Pavel Dmitrievich, Count* (1788-1872)—Russian statesman; fought in the Patriotic war against Napoleon in 1812; Minister of the Imperial Domains from 1837 to 1856; subsequently ambassador to Paris (1856-62).—171, 172
*Knight, Frederick Winn* (b. 1812)—English politician, M.P.—321
*Kock, Charles Paul de* (1793-1871)—French novelist and playwright.—92
*Kossuth, Lajos* (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement, head of the bourgeois democrats during the revolution of 1848-49 and of the Hungarian revolutionary government; emigrated to Turkey after the defeat of the revolution and later to England and America.—26, 90, 167, 227, 321, 621, 641
*Kotzebue*—Russian consul in Bucharest in 1848.—272
*Kovalevsky, Yegor Petrovich* (1811-1868)—Russian army officer, traveller, writer and diplomat; commissioner in Montenegro in 1853, then served at army headquarters on the Danube (1853-54) and in the Crimea (1854).—179
*Krusenstern, Nikolai Ivanovich*—Russian general, military governor of Odessa during the Crimean war.—463
*Kurakin, Alexander Borisovich, Prince* (1752-1818)—Russian diplomat, Vice-Chancellor (1796-98, 1801-02); took part in the signing of the Tilsit treaty between Russia and France in 1807; ambassador to Paris (1808-12).—400

L

*Labazora, baron de*—took part in the war of independence in Spain (1808-14); member of the Central Junta.—416

*La Bisbal, Enrique José O'Donnel, conde de* (1769-1834)—Spanish general, took part in the war of independence (1808-14); known for extreme lack of principles; sent to suppress the Riego uprising in 1820, sided with the revolutionaries and tried to use the uprising for his own aims.—423, 440, 441, 443

*Lacy, Luis de* (1775-1817)—Spanish general, took part in the war of independence (1808-14), was executed after attempting to incite a revolt in Catalonia against the absolute power of Ferdinand VII.—423, 439, 445

*La Fayette (Lafayette), Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier, marquis de* (1757-1834)—French general, prominent figure in the American War of Independence (1775-83) and the French Revolution; a leader of moderate constitutionalists (Feuillants); participated in the July revolution of 1830.—440

*Lally-Tollendal, Trophime Gérard, marquis de* (1751-1830)—French politician, moderate royalist during the French Revolution.—410

*La Marmora (Lamarmora), Alfonso Ferrero, marchese de* (1804-1878)—Italian general and politician, War Minister of Piedmont (1848, 1849-55, 1856-59); commanded a Sardinian corps in the Crimea in 1855; subsequently Prime Minister.—292

*Lamoricière, Christophe Léon Louis Juchault de* (1806-1865)—French general and politician, moderate republican; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s-40s and in the suppression of the uprising of Paris workers in June 1848; was banished after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—473

*Lancaster, Charles William* (1820-1878)—an English gunmaker, improver of rifles and cannon.—508

*Lansdowne, Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, Marquis of* (1780-1863)—English statesman, Whig; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1806-07), President of the Council (1830-41, 1846-52); in the cabinet without office (1852-63).—133

*Lara, Juan*—Spanish general, War Minister (1851-53); in 1854 captain general of New Castile.—282, 283, 313

*La Rocha, Ramon*—Spanish general, captain general of Catalonia.—312

*Las Cases, Emmanuel Augustin Dieudonné, comte de* (1766-1842)—French historian; accompanied Napoleon to St. Helena (1815-16), subsequently published *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène*.—96

*Lavalette (La Valette), Charles Jean Marie Félix, marquis de* (1806-1881)—French statesman, Bonapartist; ambassador to Constantinople (1851-53); Minister of the Interior (1865-67); Foreign Minister (1868-69).—13

*Lawley, Francis Charles* (1825-1901)—British journalist, Gladstone's personal secretary (1852-54); the *Times* correspondent in the USA (1854-65).—624

*Layard, Sir Austen Henry* (1817-1894)—English archaeologist and politician, radical, subsequently liberal, M.P., member of the Select Committee of Inquiry into the Condition of the British Army in the Crimea (1855).—11, 12, 101, 137, 138, 259, 321, 601, 605, 634

*Lefebvre-Desnouettes, Charles* (1773-1822)—French general, participated in Napoleon I's campaigns and the Peninsular war in 1808.—406

*Leiningen-Westerburg, Christian Franz Seraphin Vincenz, Count* (1812-1856)—Austrian general, was sent on an extraordinary mission to Constantinople in 1853.—140

*Leopold II* (1747-1792)—Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1790-92).—49

*Leopold II* (1797-1870)—Grand Duke of Tuscany (1824-59).—484

*Lieven, Darya (Dorothea) Khristoforovna, Princess* (1785-1857)—wife of the Russian diplomat K. A. Lieven; was hostess of political salons in London and Paris.—562

*Lieven, Khristofor Andreyevich, Prince* (1774-1839)—Russian diplomat, envoy to Berlin (1810-12), ambassador to London (1812-34).—260-61

*Ligier, Alphonse*—French consul at Cartagena (Spain) in 1854.—311

*Ligne, Charles Joseph, Prince de* (1735-1814)—Austrian general, diplomat and writer, participant in the Seven Years' War (1756-63).—599

*Linage, Francisco* (1795-1847)—Spanish general, member of the Progresista Party, close friend of Espartero and his secretary from 1835; inspector general of infantry and militia in 1843; when the dictatorship of Espartero was overthrown, emigrated together with the latter to Britain.—342

*Liprandi, Pavel Petrovich* (1796-1864)—Russian general, commanded a division on the Danube (1853-54) and in the Crimea (1854-55).—268, 481, 511, 517, 522, 524, 526, 545

*Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, Earl of* (1770-1828)—English statesman, a Tory leader, held a number of ministerial posts, Prime Minister (1812-27).—658

*López, Joaquín María* (1798-1855)—Spanish lawyer, man of letters and politician, a Progresista Party leader, head of government in 1843.—342, 345

*López Baños, Miguel*—Spanish army officer, participated in the war of independence (1808-14) and the revolution of 1820-23.—440

*Louis XI* (1423-1483)—King of France (1461-83).—392

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—81, 104

*Louis Napoleon*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Philippe* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orléans, King of the French (1830-48).—30, 33, 35, 40, 132, 231, 342, 344, 370

*Lozano de Torres, Juan Esteban*—Spanish politician, Minister of Justice (1817-19).—417

*Lucan, George Charles Bingham, Earl of* (1800-1888)—English general, Tory, commanded a cavalry division in the Crimea (1854-early 1855).—493, 524

*Lucullus (Lucius Licinius Lucullus)* (c. 117-c. 56 B.C.)—Roman soldier, famous for his wealth and sumptuous banquets.—43

*Lüders, Alexander Nikolayevich, Count* (1790-1874)—Russian general, commanded a corps on the Danube (1853-54) and the Southern army (1855).—66, 129, 181, 247, 268, 292, 541

*Luján, Francisco* (1798-1867)—Spanish general, writer and scientist, a founder of the Spanish Academy of Sciences; a Cortes deputy from 1836, sided with the Moderado Party; Minister of Public Works (1854).—351, 375

*Lukianovich, Nikolai Andreyevich* (c. 1806-d. after 1855)—Russian army officer and military historian, took part in the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29, and in suppressing the Decembrists' uprising (1825) and the Polish insurrection of 1830-31.—123

*Luna, Alvaro de* (1388-1453)—First Minister of Juan II, King of Castile and León.—391

*Lyndhurst, John Singleton Copley, Baron of* (1772-1863)—English statesman, lawyer, Tory; Lord Chancellor (1827-30, 1834-35 and 1841-46).—259, 262, 591, 604

*Lyons, Edmund, Baron* (1790-1858)—English admiral, minister at Athens (1835-49); second in command of the British fleet in the Black Sea under Admiral Dundas (1854).—35, 204, 304, 485, 515

M

*Mackenzie, Foma Fomich (Thomas)* (d. 1786)—Russian admiral, Scot by

birth; commanded a squadron of the Black Sea fleet from 1783 to 1786.—513

*Madvig, Johan Nicolai* (1804-1886)—Danish philologist and statesman, Minister of Public Worship (1848-51), President of the Rigsråd (1856-63).—378

*Magheru, Georgiu* (1804-1880)—member of the Provisional Government and commander of the revolutionary army in Wallachia in 1848.—275

*Mahmud II* (1785-1839)—Turkish sultan (1808-39).—240

*Malik-Shah* (1055-1092)—ruler (sultan) of the Seljuk state (1072-92).—603

*Malmesbury, James Howard Harris, Earl of* (1807-1889)—British statesman, Tory, subsequently Conservative; Foreign Secretary (1852, 1858-59).—133-35

*Manners, John James Robert, Duke of Rutland* (1818-1906)—British statesman, Tory, subsequently Conservative; member of the Young England group in the 1840s, M.P., held ministerial posts.—15

*Mansbach, Carl, von und zu* (1790-1867)—Swedish general and diplomat, envoy to Vienna (1852-55) and Berlin (1855-58).—301

*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von* (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1848-50), Prime Minister and Foreign Minister (1850-58).—9, 83, 147, 149, 168, 170, 179, 180, 286

*Marchesi y Oleaga, José María* (1801-1879)—Spanish general, member of the Moderado Party, military governor of Barcelona (1853-54), War Minister (1864).—312

*Margaret of Savoy, Duchess of Mantua* (1589-1655)—Vice-Queen of Portugal prior to the 1640 insurrection after which Portugal won independence and ceded from Spain.—392

*Maria Alexandrovna* (1824-1880)—wife of Alexander II of Russia (from 1841).—87

*María Anna of Neuburg* (1667-1740)—Queen of Charles II of Spain (from 1689).—392

*María Cristina de Borbón, senior* (1806-1878)—Queen of Ferdinand VII of Spain; regent for her daughter Isabella II (1833-40); after the death of Ferdinand VII she secretly married Muñoz, who later received the title of Duke of Riánsares.—285, 305, 309, 312, 341, 342, 345, 351, 363, 370, 448, 449, 451, 456, 457

*María Luisa Fernanda* (1832-1897)—infanta of Spain, Isabella II's sister, wife of Duke of Montpensier.—52

*María Luisa of Parma* (1751-1819)—Queen of Charles IV of Spain (from 1788).—392, 399

*María Teresa de Borbón, condessa de Chinchón*—wife of Manuel de Godoy and Charles IV's cousin.—451

*Maria Theresa* (1717-1780)—Archduchess of Austria (1740-80), wife of the Holy Roman Emperor Francis I (1745-80).—45, 46

*Marie Amélie Therese* (1782-1866)—Queen of Louis Philippe, King of the French, (from 1809).—314

*Marliani, Manuel de* (d. 1873)—Spanish politician and historian, adherent of Espartero; lived in Spain up to 1859, then emigrated to Italy.—341, 368, 435

*Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de* (1774-1852)—Marshal of France, took part in Napoleon I's campaigns; in April 1814 sided with the Bourbons, commanded Charles X's troops during the July 1830 revolution.—37

*Maroto, Rafael* (1783-1847)—Spanish general, appointed commander-in-chief of the Carlist army by Don Carlos in 1838.—341

*Martignac, Jean Baptiste Sylvère Gay, vicomte de* (1778-1832)—French lawyer and politician, royalist; in 1823 took part in suppressing the Spanish revolution; in 1828-29 Minister of the Interior, virtual head of the cabinet.—445, 446

*Martínez de la Rosa Berdejo Gómez y Arroyo, Francisco de Paula* (1787-1862)—Spanish writer and politician,

a leader of the Moderados, head of government (1834-35).—306

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883).—25, 33-35, 50, 59, 60, 78, 106, 118, 149, 177, 179, 185, 196, 197, 202, 226, 230, 267, 282, 286, 289, 295, 303, 304, 310, 311, 323-25, 329, 331, 365, 367, 377, 453, 462-64, 489, 635

*Matusczewicz, Andrzej (Adam Faddeyevich), Count* (1796-1842)—Russian diplomat, took part in the congresses of Troppau (1820) and Verona (1822) and in the London conference of 1830.—260

*Maurocordatos, Alexander, Prince* (1791-1865)—Greek statesman and diplomat; Prime Minister (1844, 1854-55).—217

*Maurocordatos, Nicolas*—hetman in Moldavia (1854).—464

*Mazarin, Jules (Mazarini, Giulio)* (1602-1661)—Italian-born French cardinal and statesman; Minister from 1643; virtual ruler of France till Louis XIV's maturity.—107

*Mazarredo, Manuel de* (1807-1857)—Spanish general, War Minister (1847), captain general of the Basque provinces (1852-54).—312

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, a leader of the national liberation movement in Italy; head of the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic in 1849; an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London in 1850; sought support among the Bonapartists in the early 1850s, but later opposed them.—90, 167, 321, 455, 621

*Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Georg, Duke of* (1824-1876)—German aristocrat, general in the service of Russia.—144

*Mehemet Ali Pasha* (1807-1868)—Turkish statesman; Grand Vizier from 1852 to May 1853; subsequently War Minister (1853-January 1854).—32

*Mehemet Kebresli Pasha* (c. 1810-1871)—Turkish soldier and statesman; Capudan-Pasha (Minister of Marine) from January to May 1854; Grand Vizier from May to November 1854.—32

*Melbourne, William Lamb, Viscount* (1779-1848)—British Whig statesman, Home Secretary (1830-34), Prime Minister (1834, 1835-41).—562

*Melgar, Juan Tomás Enríquez Cabrera, conde de* (1652-1705)—First Minister of King Charles II of Spain (1693-99); exiled from Spain after the 1699 popular uprising.—392

*Menchikoff (Menshikov), Alexander Sergeyevich, Prince* (1787-1869)—Russian general and statesman; was sent on an extraordinary mission to Constantinople (February to May 1853); commander-in-chief of the army and navy in the Crimea (1853-February 1855).—15, 21-23, 31, 87, 92, 94, 98, 99, 117, 139, 140, 475, 477, 478, 480, 481, 486, 489, 494-97, 507, 510-13, 517, 528, 531, 533, 536, 537, 539, 558, 611, 618

*Mensdorff-Pouilly, Alexander, Count* (1813-1871)—Austrian statesman, general; envoy to St. Petersburg (1852-54), minister of the Imperial Court and Foreign Minister (1864-66).—176

*Merlin, Christophe Antoine, comte* (1771-1839)—general of the French occupation army in Spain in 1808-14.—407

*Meroni*—Austrian consul in Belgrade in 1854.—159

*Messina, Felix María de*—Spanish general.—283

*Metaxas, Andreas, Count* (1786-1860)—Greek statesman and diplomat, Prime Minister (1843-44), ambassador to Constantinople (1850-54).—155, 159

*Metternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince von* (1773-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1809-21); Chancellor (1821-48); an organiser of the Holy Alliance.—29, 246, 259, 264

*Meyendorf(f), Pyotr Kazimirovich, Baron von* (1796-1863)—Russian diplomat,

envoy to Berlin (1839-50) and to Vienna (1850-54).—94, 176

*Meza, Christian Julius de* (1792-1865)—Danish general, commander-in-chief of the Danish artillery in 1849; inspector general for artillery (1856-58).—362

*Mikhail Nikolayevich* (1832-1909)—Russian Grand Duke, fourth son of Emperor Nicholas I of Russia.—91

*Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky, Alexander Ivanovich* (1790-1848)—Russian general, took part in the Patriotic war against Napoleon in 1812, military historian.—123.

*Milnes, Richard Monckton, Baron Houghton* (1809-1885)—English author and politician, at first Tory, in the second half of the nineteenth century Liberal, M.P.—71, 217

*Mina (senior)*—see *Espoz y Mina, Francisco*

*Mina, Francisco Javier* (1789-1817)—Spanish general, a guerrilla leader during the war of independence (1808-14); after an abortive attempt at an uprising against Ferdinand VII in 1814 he left for Mexico, where he fell fighting for its independence.—421, 423, 445

*Minié, Claude Étienne* (1804-1879)—French army officer, inventor of a new type of rifle used in the French army from 1852.—211, 213, 515, 532, 534

*Miraflores, Manuel de Pando, marqués de* (1792-1872)—Spanish diplomat and statesman, author of a number of works on Spanish history.—445

*Mircea the Old* (d. 1418)—hospodar of Wallachia (1386-1418); fought against the Turkish invasion.—271

*Mislin, Jacques* (d. 1847)—French abbot, traveller, author of several books on the Middle East.—107

*Mohammed (Muhammad, Mahomet)* (c. 570-632)—founder of Islam.—344, 355

*Mohammed II (the Conqueror)* (1432-1481)—Turkish sultan (1451-81); in 1453 captured Constantinople and made it capital of the Ottoman Empire.—33, 81, 271

*Mohammed IV* (1641-1691)—Turkish sultan (1648-87).—104

*Molesworth, Sir William, Baronet* (1810-1855)—British liberal statesman (belonged to the Mayfair Radicals), M.P.; First Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings (1853), Colonial Secretary (1855).—53, 213, 601, 638

*Molière* (real name *Jean Baptiste Poquelin*) (1622-1673)—French dramatist.—418

*Molitor, Gabriel Jean Joseph, comte* (1770-1849)—French general, commanded a corps during the intervention in Spain in 1823.—654

*Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard, Count von* (1800-1891)—Prussian army officer, subsequently field marshal general, author, an ideologist of Prussian militarism; served in the Turkish army in 1835-39.—241

*Mon, Alejandro* (1801-1882)—Spanish politician, liberal, Minister of Finance (1837, 1844-46); head of government (1864).—285, 370

*Monroe, James* (1758-1831)—US statesman, Republican, President of the USA (1817-25).—367, 445

*Monsell, William, Baron Emly* (1812-1894)—Irish liberal politician, a leader of the Irish Brigade in the British Parliament; clerk of the Ordnance from 1852 to 1857.—638

*Montalembert, Marc René, marquis de* (1714-1800)—French general, military engineer; elaborated a new fortification system largely used in the nineteenth century.—113, 347, 380, 381, 475, 515

*Montemolin, Carlos Luis María Fernando de Borbón, conde de* (1818-1861)—Spanish infante, eldest son of Don Carlos; pretender to the Spanish throne as Charles VI in the 1850s.—52, 306

*Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de* (1689-1755)—French philosopher, economist and writer of the Enlightenment.—410

*Montijo, Fernandez de Cordova, conde de* (d. 1839)—Spanish army officer, fought on the side of Napoleon's troops during the war of independence in Spain (1808-14).—422

*Montpensier, Antoine Marie Philippe Louis d'Orléans, duc de* (1824-1890)—son of King of the French Louis Philippe, husband of the Spanish infanta María Luisa Fernanda; from 1868 to 1869 pretender to the Spanish throne.—40, 52

*Mooney, James*—Chartist, participated in the labour movement.—356

*Moore, George Henry* (1811-1870)—Irish politician, a leader of the tenant-right movement, M.P.—143

*Moreno, Antonio Guillermo*—Spanish banker and politician.—285

*Morillo, Pablo, conde de Cartagena y marqués de la Puerta* (1778-1837)—Spanish general, took part in the war of independence (1808-14); from 1815 to 1820 commanded Spanish troops sent to put an end to the national liberation war of the Spanish colonies in South America; opponent of the 1820-23 revolution in Spain.—341, 657

*Morla, Tomás de* (1752-1820)—Spanish general, member of the Central Junta; in 1808 went over to the French occupation army, Minister of War and Navy in Joseph Bonaparte's Government.—422, 652

*Mounier, Jean Joseph* (1758-1806)—French politician; moderate royalist during the French Revolution.—410

*Münnich, Khristofor Antonovich (Burkhard Christoph), Count* (1683-1767)—Russian field marshal general, fortification engineer; during the Russo-Turkish war of 1735-39 commanded the army in the Crimea and Bessarabia.—337

*Muñoz, Agustín Fernando, duque de Riánsares* (c. 1808-1873)—sergeant of the royal guards, husband of Queen-Regent María Cristina of Spain.—451, 457

*Muñoz Benavente, José (Pucheta)* (1820-1856)—Spanish bullfighter; active participant in the 1854-56 revolution; a leader of popular masses in Madrid; was killed at the barricades.—363, 370

*Muñoz Torrero, Diego* (1761-1829)—Spanish priest, rector at Salamanca University; one of the most radical deputies to the Cadiz Cortes (1810-13); took part in the 1820-23 revolution.—435

*Muntz, George Frederick* (1794-1857)—British politician, armaments manufacturer, radical M.P.—213

*Murat, Joachim* (1767-1815)—Marshal of France; participated in Napoleon I's campaigns; commander-in-chief of the French troops in Spain in 1808; King of Naples (1808-15).—399

*Murat, Napoleon Lucien Charles, Prince* (1803-1878)—French politician, Bonapartist; son of Joachim Murat and cousin of Napoleon III.—352

*Mussa Pasha* (c. 1810-1854)—Turkish general, commanded the Turkish forces in Silistria in 1853-54.—243, 277

*Mustapha Pasha*—Pasha of Scutari, commanded the Albanian forces during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29.—264

## N

*Nadaud, Martin* (1815-1898)—French bricklayer, journalist, follower of Proudhon; from 1849 to 1851 deputy to the Legislative Assembly, adherent of the Mountain; after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851 was exiled from France, lived in England up to 1859.—50

*Napier, Sir Charles* (1786-1860)—English admiral, participant in the wars in Portugal (1810 and 1833-34) and Syria (1840); commanded the British fleet in the Baltic in 1854, M.P.—5, 35, 53, 109, 125, 130, 182, 201-03, 251, 290, 291, 330, 331, 361, 386, 387, 484

*Napier, Sir Joseph* (1804-1882)—English politician, Tory, M.P.; Attorney-

General for Ireland (1852); Lord Chancellor for Ireland (1858-59).—623

*Napier, Sir William Francis Patrick* (1785-1860)—English general and military historian; fought in the Peninsular war against Napoleon I from 1808 to 1814.—124, 419

*Napoleon the Little*—see *Napoleon III*

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—33, 95, 96, 105, 126, 204, 208, 215, 217, 227, 228, 368, 392, 396, 401, 402, 404, 407, 408, 414, 415, 419, 420, 432, 437, 479-82, 503, 504, 506, 528, 530, 533, 534, 541, 547-48, 551, 558, 569, 651, 652

*Napoleon III* (*Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte*) (1808-1873)—Napoleon I's nephew, President of the Second Republic (December 1848 to 1851); Emperor of the French (1852-70).—3, 8, 9, 13, 17, 30, 33, 35, 40, 51, 52, 83, 100, 202, 206, 212, 217, 230, 298, 305, 306, 314, 320, 328, 333, 352, 456, 462, 472, 473, 480-82, 484, 488, 491, 507, 627

*Napoleon, Prince*—see *Bonaparte, Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul*

*Narváez, Ramón María, duque de Valencia* (1800-1868)—Spanish general and statesman, leader of the Moderado Party; head of government (1844-46, 1847-51, 1856-57, 1864-65, 1866-68).—284, 285, 305, 310, 341-43, 345, 351, 352, 369, 370

*Nasmyth, Charles* (1826-1861)—English army officer; war correspondent of *The Times* at Omer Pasha's headquarters on the Danube (1854).—242, 277, 278, 329, 334

*Navarro* (d. 1817)—Spanish revolutionary, executed for an attempt to promulgate the Constitution of 1812 in Valencia.—445

*Nesselrode, Karl Vasilyevich, Count* (1780-1862)—Russian statesman and diplomat, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1816-56); from 1845 State Chancellor.—20-23, 28, 73, 77, 82, 92, 93, 134, 140, 146-47, 168, 176-77 366

*Nesset Bey*—Turkish statesman, chargé d'affaires in Athens (1853-54).—155

*Newcastle, Henry Pelham Fiennes Pelham Clinton, Duke of* (1811-1864)—British statesman, Peelite; Secretary for War and the Colonies (1852-54); Secretary for War (1854-55) and Colonial Secretary (1859-64).—144, 220, 228, 259, 306, 307, 486, 561, 563, 600, 604, 606, 607, 627-29, 632, 633, 642, 645, 647

*Ney, Michel, duc d'Elchingen* (1769-1815)—Marshal of France, participant in Napoleon I's campaigns; fought in the war in Spain from 1808 to 1811.—416

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—3, 4, 13-16, 20-23, 31, 33, 35, 37, 39-41, 52, 73, 75-100, 117-19, 131-33, 134-36, 141, 146, 147, 161, 169, 171, 174, 175, 176, 190, 192, 205, 224, 248, 253, 254, 258, 269, 277, 286, 291, 305, 306, 319, 320, 325, 351, 352, 357, 361, 367, 386, 387, 462, 489-91, 503, 537, 549, 554, 555, 560, 582, 583, 591, 598, 601, 609, 611, 625, 641, 647, 664

*Normanby, Constantine Henry Phipps, Earl of Mulgrave, Marquis of* (1797-1863)—British statesman, Whig; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1835-39); Secretary for War and the Colonies (1839); Home Secretary (1839-41); ambassador to Paris (1846-52).—299, 300

*Notaras, Lucas* (d. 1453)—Byzantine statesman; naval commander; opposed union with Roman Catholic Church; was killed on Mohammed II's order after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks.—33

## O

*O'Daly, Pedro*—Spanish army officer, participant in the war of independence (1808-14) and the 1820-23 revolution.—440

*O'Donnell y Jorris, Leopoldo, conde de Lucena y duque de Tetuán* (1809-

1867)—Spanish general and politician, a leader of the Moderado Party; made attempts to use revolutionary crisis in the country to establish military dictatorship in 1854; as War Minister directed the suppression of the 1854-56 revolution; head of government (1856, 1858-63, 1865-66).—267, 282-84, 294, 305, 306, 310, 313, 342, 351, 362, 367, 375, 440, 451, 457, 458

*O'Flaherty, Edmond*—British Treasury official in charge of collecting taxes in Ireland in 1854.—624

*Olózaga, Salustiano* (1805-1873)—Spanish statesman and diplomat, a leader of the Progresista Party; head of government (1843); minister to Paris (1840-43 and 1854); participant in the 1854-56 revolution.—342, 345, 346, 370

*Oltra*—Spanish army officer, participant in the 1820-23 revolution.—442

*Omer (Omar) Pasha (Michael Lattas)* (1806-1871)—Turkish general of Croatian origin, commander-in-chief on the Danube (1853-54), in the Crimea (1855) and in the Caucasus (1855-56).—6, 7, 65, 67, 68, 151, 152, 164, 181, 221, 222, 223, 237, 243, 247, 254, 263, 274, 279, 280, 302, 303, 323, 329, 332, 335, 336, 350, 359, 360, 365, 366, 465, 480, 483, 486, 545, 557

*Orléans*—royal dynasty in France (1830-48).—40, 456

*Orloff (Orlov), Alexei Fyodorovich, Count,* from 1856 *Prince* (1786-1861)—Russian general and statesman, diplomat; signed the treaties of Adrianople (1829) and Unkiar-Skelessi (1833) with Turkey; headed the Russian delegation at the Paris Congress (1856).—8, 145, 177

*Orloff (Orlov), Nikolai Alexeyevich, Count* (1827-1885)—Russian colonel; was heavily wounded during the storm of Silistria in 1854.—243, 247

*Oropesa, Emanuel Joaquín, conde de* (1642-c. 1707)—head of the Spanish Government under Charles II (1685-91 and 1698-99); banished from Spain after the popular uprising of 1699.—392

*Orozco*—Spanish army officer, participant in the 1854-56 revolution in Spain.—294

*Oscar I* (1799-1859)—King of Sweden and Norway (1844-59).—144, 362, 377, 387

*Osten-Sacken, Dmitry Yerofeyevich, Count* (1789-1881)—Russian general; during the Crimean war commander of a corps in the South of Russia (1853-54), and of the Sevastopol garrison (end of 1854 and 1855).—66, 192, 193, 464, 533

*O'Sullivan de Grass, Alphonse Albert Henri, comte* (1798-1866)—Belgian diplomat, envoy to Vienna from 1837 to 1866.—301

*Otto I* (1815-1867)—King of Greece (1832-62), member of the Bavarian ruling family of Wittelsbach.—31, 39, 130, 177, 196, 217, 459

*Otway, Sir Arthur John, Baronet* (1822-1912)—British M.P.; in the 1850s, Tory.—298, 307, 332

*Oushakoff (Ushakov), Alexander Kleonakovich* (1803-1877)—Russian general, commanded the Russian forces on the Danube in 1854 and in the Crimea in 1855.—129, 292

## P

*Pacheco, Juan, marqués de Villena* (1419-1474)—Spanish statesman, favourite of King Henry IV of Castile.—391, 392

*Pacheco y Gutiérrez Calderón, Joaquín Francisco* (1808-1865) — Spanish lawyer, writer and politician; belonged to the Moderado Party; participant in the 1854-56 revolution, Foreign Minister (1854).—351

*Pacifico, David* (1784-1854)—British trader of Portuguese origin in Athens.—635

*Padilla, Juan Lopez de* (c. 1490-1521)—Spanish nobleman, a leader of the uprising of Castilian towns (*Com-*

*uneros*) in 1520-22; executed after the defeat at Villalar.—394

*Paikos, A.*—Greek statesman, Foreign Minister (1851-54).—178

*Paine, Thomas* (1737-1809)—English-born American writer, Republican, participant in the American War of Independence (1775-83) and the French Revolution (1789-94).—332

*Paixhans, Henri Joseph* (1783-1854)—French general, military engineer and inventor, author of a number of works on artillery.—330

*Pakington, Sir John Somerset* (1799-1880)—British statesman, Tory, subsequently Conservative, M.P. from 1832; Secretary for War and the Colonies (1852), First Lord of the Admiralty (1858-59, 1866-67) and Secretary for War (1867-68).—117, 307

*Palafox y Melci, Francisco de* (b. 1774)—Spanish politician, member of the Central Junta (1808-09), was expelled from it for opposing the convocation of the Cortes.—422

*Palafox y Melci, José de Rebolledo, duque de Saragossa* (1776-1847)—Spanish general, participant in the war of independence (1808-14); directed the defence of Saragossa in 1808-09.—405

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman, Tory, from 1830 Whig; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-65).—24, 26-28, 39, 40, 53, 101, 135, 137, 138, 141, 142, 190, 203, 220, 228, 259, 261, 264, 265, 274, 306, 307, 321-23, 332, 333, 344, 355, 367, 459, 490, 554, 561-63, 584, 601, 604, 606-08, 615, 620-21, 624, 625, 627, 629, 632, 635-37, 641-43, 646, 647

*Panyutin, Fyodor Sergeyevich* (1790-1865)—Russian general, commanded a corps at the beginning of the Crimean war and a reserve army in the south-west of Russia in 1855 and 1856.—268, 280, 598, 611, 618

*Parque Castrillo, Diego de Cañas y Portocarrero, duque del* (1755-1832)—Spanish general, participant in the war of independence (1808-14) and the 1820-23 revolution; President of the Cortes in 1820.—401

*Parseval-Deschênes, Alexandre Ferdinand* (1790-1860)—French admiral, a squadron commander in the Baltic in 1854.—387

*Paskievich* (*Paskiewitsch*), *Ivan Fyodorovich, Prince* (1782-1856)—Russian field marshal general; commanded the Russian forces in the Caucasus during the 1826-27 Russo-Persian war; governor of the Caucasus from March 1827; directed the suppression of the Polish insurrection in 1831; Lieutenant of the Kingdom of Poland from 1832; commander-in-chief on the western and southern borders of Russia in April-June 1854.—164, 167, 221, 244, 245, 247, 255, 268, 278, 291, 337

*Pastor Díaz, Nicomedes* (1811-1863)—Spanish politician and writer, member of the Moderado Party, ambassador to Turin (1854).—370

*Pedro V* (1837-1861)—King of Portugal (1853-61).—305

*Peel, Sir Robert, Baronet* (1788-1850)—British statesman, moderate Tory; Home Secretary (1822-27, 1828-30), Prime Minister (1834-35, 1841-46); repealed the Corn Laws in 1846.—13, 75, 134, 135, 562

*Peitman*—German professor, resided in England for a long time.—298-300, 307, 332

*Pelham, Frederick Thomas* (1808-1861)—English naval officer; participated in the expedition to the Baltic in 1854, rear-admiral from 1858.—385

*Pérez de Castro, Evaristo* (1778-1848)—Spanish politician, liberal, deputy to the Cadiz Cortes (1812); participant in the 1820-23 revolution; Foreign Minister in the first constitutional government.—443

*Perowski* (*Perovsky*), *Lev Alexeyevich, Count* (1792-1856)—Russian statesman, general, participant in the Pa-

triotic war against Napoleon in 1812; Minister of the Interior (1841-52), Minister of Apanages (1852-56).—171, 172

*Pertev Pasha*—Turkish statesman, Foreign Minister during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29.—264

*Peter I (The Great)* (1672-1725)—Russian Tsar from 1682; Emperor of Russia from 1721.—109, 113, 537, 559, 613

*Pezuela y Ceballos, Juan, conde de Cheste* (1809-1906)—Spanish general and military writer, belonged to the Moderado Party, Naval Minister (1846), Senator from 1867.—342

*Philip II* (1527-1598)—King of Spain (1556-98).—413

*Philip IV* (1605-1665)—King of Spain (1621-65).—392

*Philip V* (1683-1746)—King of Spain (1700-46).—413

*Phillippescu*—officer of the Rouman militia.—463-64

*Phipps, Sir Charles Beaumont* (1801-1866)—British colonel, steward of the vice-regal household (1835-39), royal equerry (1846), private secretary of Prince Albert (from 1847).—299, 300

*Pidal, Pedro José, marqués de* (1800-1865)—Spanish politician, belonged to the Moderado Party, President of the Cortes (1843).—285

*Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti)* (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—17, 133

*Pizarro, Francisco* (between 1471 and 1475-1541)—Spanish conqueror of Peru.—395

*Pombal, Sebastián José Carvalho y Mello, marqués de* (1699-1782)—Portuguese statesman, adherent of enlightened absolutism, virtual ruler of Portugal (1756-77).—409

*Pompey (Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus)* (106-48 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman.—310

*Ponsonby, Sir John, Viscount* (c. 1770-1855)—British diplomat, envoy to Naples (1832), ambassador to Constantinople (1832-41) and to Vienna (1846-50).—101

*Popovitch (Popovič), Timotheus, von* (1795-1867)—Austrian general, military governor of Bucharest during the Austrian occupation of the Danubian Principalities in 1854.—465

*Porchester Henry Herbert, Baron* (1741-1811)—British M.P., Whig.—616

*Porlier*—see *Diaz Porlier*

*Pozzo di Borgo, Karl Osipovich, Count* (1764-1842)—Russian diplomat, Corsican by birth; envoy (1814-21) and ambassador (1821-35) to Paris, ambassador to London (1835-39).—29, 78, 580

*Pradel, Pierre Marie Michel Eugène Courtray de* (1790-1857)—French poet and improvisator.—230

*Pradt, Dominique Dufour de* (1759-1837)—French priest, diplomat, journalist and historian.—408, 418, 421, 429

*Prim y Prats, Juan, conde de Reus* (1814-1870)—Spanish general and politician; brutally suppressed an uprising of the republicans and Left-wing Progresistas in Catalonia (1843-44).—466

*Príncipe y Vidaud, Miguel Agustín* (1811-1866)—Spanish writer; author of a number of works on Spanish history and literature; Progresista Party member.—344, 345

*Pritchett, Robert Taylor* (1828-1907)—British gunsmith, perfected Minié's rifle.—211

*Pucheta*—see *Muñoz Benavente, José*

*Pujol, Louis* (1827-1861)—French journalist, Blanquist, participant in the June 1848 insurrection in France and in revolutionary events in Spain in 1854.—363

*Pulszky, Francis (Ferenc) Aurelius* (1814-1897)—Polish-born Hungarian politician, writer and archaeologist; participated in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; emigrated after its defeat; contributed to the *New-York Daily Tribune* in the 1850s, returned to Hungary in 1867 after the amnesty.—391

## Q

*Quesada y Matheus, Jenaro, marqués de Miravalles* (1818-1889)—Spanish general and statesman, military governor of Madrid in 1854.—283

*Quetelet, Lambert Adolphe Jacques* (1796-1874)—Belgian statistician, mathematician and astronomer.—642

*Quintana, Manuel José* (1772-1857)—Spanish poet and politician, follower of the French writers of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, participant in the revolutions of 1808-14 and 1820-23; member of the Central Junta (1808-10).—411, 420

*Quiroga, Antonio* (1784-1841)—Spanish army officer, liberal, participant in the revolutions of 1808-14 and 1820-23.—440-42

## R

*Radetzky, Josef, Count of Radetz* (1766-1858)—Austrian field marshal; commanded the Austrian forces in Northern Italy from 1831; suppressed the national liberation movement in Italy in 1848-49; governor-general of the Kingdom of Lombardy and Venice (1850-56).—152, 164, 287, 292, 455, 532

*Raglan, Lord Fitzroy James Henry Somerset, Baron* (1788-1855)—British general, field marshal from November 1854; Master-General of the Ordnance; commanded the British forces in the Crimea (1854-55).—182, 221, 247, 249, 327, 332, 335, 337, 360, 366, 472, 474, 477, 486, 505, 507-09, 513, 515, 518, 525, 526, 528, 531, 536, 557, 561, 562, 564, 569, 627, 629

*Reshid Pasha, Mustafa Mehemed* (1802-1858)—Turkish statesman, repeatedly held the post of Grand Vizier; Foreign Minister from May 1853 to May 1855 (with an interval).—32, 155, 167, 289, 291, 318, 323-25

*Ribot, A.*—Spanish journalist.—345

*Richard, Vicente* (d. 1816)—Spanish revolutionary, executed after an abortive attempt at an uprising against Ferdinand VII.—445

*Richmond, Charles Gordon-Lennox, Duke of* (1791-1860)—British Tory politician, protectionist.—600

*Riego y Núñez, Rafael del* (1785-1823)—Spanish army officer, participant in the war of independence (1808-14); prominent figure during the revolution of 1820-23; executed after its defeat.—423, 441-43, 657

*Rifaat Pasha, Sadik* (1798-1855)—Turkish statesman, Foreign Minister (from March to May 1853), President of the State Council of Justice (from May 1853 to March 1854).—130

*Rios y Rosas, Antonio de los* (1812-1873)—Spanish politician, belonged to the Moderado Party, deputy to the Cortes, Minister of the Interior (1854 and 1856).—370, 448

*Riza Pasha* (1809-1859)—Turkish general and statesman, Capudan Pasha (Naval Minister) from December 1853 to January 1854, Seraskier (War Minister) from January 1854 to June 1855.—32, 221

*Robinson, Abraham*—Chartist of the 1850s.—64

*Robinson, Frederick John, Viscount Goderich, Earl of Ripon* (1782-1859)—English statesman, Tory; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1823-27) and Prime Minister (1827-28).—577

*Roebuck, John Arthur* (1801-1879)—British politician and journalist, radical M.P.; in 1855 Chairman of the Select Committee of Inquiry into the Condition of the Army in the Crimea.—13, 602-08, 615, 626, 627, 630-33, 634, 635, 642

*Romana, Pedro Caro y Sureda, marqués de la* (1761-1811)—Spanish general, participant in the war of independence (1808-14); commissioner of the Central Junta in Asturia.—406, 415, 416, 422, 653

*Romerias*—see *Romana, Pedro Caro y Sureda*

*Ros de Olano, Antonio* (1808-1886)—Spanish general and politician, be-

longed to the Moderado Party, participant in the revolution of 1854-56.—284

*Rose, Hugh Henry, Baron Strathnairn* (1801-1885)—British army officer, from 1854 general, later field marshal; chargé d'affaires in Constantinople (1852-53); during the Crimean war British representative at the headquarters of the French army in the Crimea; an organiser of the suppression of an uprising for national liberation in India (1857-59).—22, 23, 117, 185, 190

*Rouen* (*Forth-Rouen*), *baron*—French diplomat, envoy to Athens (1851-55).—177, 304

*Royer, von*—Prussian diplomat, envoy to Constantinople in 1829.—565

*Rüdiger, Fyodor Vasilyevich, Count* (1784-1856)—Russian general, in 1854 acted as Lieutenant of the Kingdom of Poland and commanded the forces on the western border of Russia.—362

*Rullière, Joseph Marcellin de* (1787-1863)—French general and politician, took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s; member of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies and War Minister in 1848-49; resigned after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—233

*Russell, John Russell, Earl* (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader; Prime Minister (1846-52, 1865-66); Foreign Secretary (1852-53, 1859-65), President of the Council (1854-55).—13, 19, 21, 24, 30, 31, 33, 39, 52, 53, 76, 78, 80, 82, 84-89, 93, 94, 100, 137, 139, 140, 143, 157, 190, 215-19, 228, 258, 260, 266, 307, 316, 319-22, 326, 327, 330, 331, 484, 546, 547, 563, 584, 601-08, 621, 622, 624-26, 628-30, 631, 633, 635, 643, 645-47

S

*Sacy, S. de*—French journalist.—305, 372

*Sadleir, John* (1814-1856)—Irish banker and politician, a leader of the Irish Brigade in the British Parliament; Junior Lord of the Treasury in 1853.—624, 638

*Saffi, Aurelio* (1819-1890)—Italian writer and member of national liberation movement, Mazzini's companion-in-arms, participant in the revolution of 1848-49 in Italy; emigrated to England in 1851.—455

*Sagasti* (*Zagasti*), *Manuel*—Spanish general, supported Espartero's dictatorship, Governor of Madrid (1843, 1854-55).—375, 448

*Sahib Effendi* (d. 1854)—Turkish mufti.—459

*Said Pasha*—Turkish general, commanded the Turkish forces on the Danube in 1854.—303

*St.-Albin, A. de*—French journalist.—372

*Saint-Arnaud, Armand Jacques Achille Leroy de* (1801-1854)—Marshal of France, Bonapartist; an organiser of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; War Minister (1851-54); commander-in-chief of the French army in the Crimea (1854).—4, 182, 206, 212, 220, 230-33, 247, 250, 292, 332, 335, 337, 360, 366, 462, 472-74, 477, 478, 479, 486, 495, 513

*St. Helens*—see *Fitzherbert, Alleyne, Baron St. Helens*

*Salamanca y Mayol, José de* (1811-1883)—Spanish politician, banker, belonged to the Moderado Party, Minister of Finance (1847).—375, 457

*Salazar*—see *Allende Salazar, José*

*Sami Pasha*—Turkish statesman, Governor of Vidin (1852-54).—279

*Sánchez, Julián*—a guerrilla leader during the war of independence in Spain (1808-14).—421

*San Fernando, Joaquín José Melgarejo, duque de* (d. 1835)—Spanish politician, head of government on the eve of the 1820 revolution.—441, 444

*San Luis, Luis José Sartorius, conde de* (1820-1871)—Spanish statesman and journalist, a leader of the Moderado

Party; Minister of the Interior (1847-51); head of government (1853-54).—282, 285, 309, 313, 343, 345, 351, 375, 392, 448-50, 457, 458

*San Miguel y Valledor, Evaristo, duque de* (1785-1862)—Spanish general, writer and politician, participant in the war of independence (1808-14) and the 1820-23 revolution; head of the liberal ministry (1822); War Minister (1840-42, 1854); deputy to the Cortes (1854-57).—285, 440-42, 447, 458, 657, 658

*San Román*—Spanish general, Deputy War Minister in 1853-54.—293

*Santa Coloma, Dalmacio de Queralt, conde de* (d. 1640)—Spanish statesman, captain general of Catalonia; killed during the popular uprising in Barcelona.—392

*Santa Cruz y Pacheco, Francisco, marqués de* (1802-1883)—Spanish politician, Minister of the Interior (1854-55) and Minister of Finance (1856).—345, 351, 373, 375, 448

*Sartorius*—see *San Luis, Luis José Sartorius*

*Satorres*—Spanish journalist.—345

*Saunders, Romulus Mitchell* (1791-1867)—American politician and diplomat, ambassador to Spain (1846-49).—457

*Scarlett, Sir James Yorke* (1799-1871)—British general, commanded the cavalry brigade (1854-beginning of 1855), later the British cavalry in the Crimea (1855-56).—525

*Schilder, Karl Andreyevich* (1785-1854)—Russian general, military engineer and inventor; directed fortification works on the Danube during the wars against Turkey (1828-29, 1854).—5, 68, 240, 245, 247, 278, 337

*Sébastiani, Horace François Bastien, comte* (1772-1851)—Marshal of France, diplomat, Orleanist; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1830-32), ambassador to Constantinople (1806-07) and to London (1835-40).—481

*Selim Pasha*—Turkish general, commanded a corps in the Caucasus in 1853-54.—251

*Selvan* (d. 1854)—Russian general, commanded the Russian forces on the Danube in 1854.—243

*Seoane, Juan Antonio*—Spanish general, supported Espartero's dictatorship; sided with the Moderados after 1843.—343

*Serrano y Dominguez, Francisco, conde de San Antonio, duque de la Torre* (1810-1885)—Spanish general and statesman, Minister of War (1843); in 1854 sided with the insurgents, subsequently became a reactionary and in 1856 participated in the coup d'état.—293, 310, 314, 370

*Sevillano, Sijora Juan, marqués de Fuentes de Duero*—Spanish politician, follower of Narváez.—285

*Seymour, George Hamilton* (1797-1880)—British diplomat; envoy to St. Petersburg (1851-54).—3, 21-23, 39, 76-80, 84-95, 97, 99, 139, 140, 177, 185, 623

*Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of* (1801-1885)—British politician, head of parliamentary group of the Tory philanthropists in the 1840s; from 1847 a Whig.—71

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English dramatist and poet.—26, 86, 132, 213, 302, 561, 591, 632

*Shamyl* (c. 1798-1871)—leader of the mountaineers of Daghestan and Chechnya in the struggle against the Tsarist colonisers in the 1830s-50s.—204, 255, 315, 463

*Shaw, John*—a Chartist leader in the 1850s, member of the Executive of the National Charter Association.—51

*Shaw-Lefevre, Charles, Viscount Eversley* (1794-1888)—British politician, M.P., Speaker of the House of Commons (1839-57), supported the Whig government.—11

*Sheridan, Richard Brinsley Butler* (1751-1816)—English dramatist and politician.—346

*Shoesmith*—participant in the democratic movement in England in the 1850s.—356

*Sidney*—Lord Mayor of London in 1854.—479, 488

*Sievers, Vladimir Karlovich, Count* (1790-1862)—Russian general, commanded the Russian forces in the Baltic provinces in 1854-55.—611, 618

*Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de* (1773-1842)—Swiss economist, representative of economic romanticism.—405, 628

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—Scottish classical economist.—600

*Smith, Robert Vernon, Baron Lyveden* (1800-1885)—English statesman, Whig, Secretary at War (1852), President of the Board of Control (1855-58).—616

*Smitt, Fyodor Ivanovich* (c. 1787-1865)—Russian military historian.—123, 124

*Sobieski, John (Jan)* (1624-1696)—King of Poland (1674-96); in 1683 commanded the Polish and Austro-German forces and defeated the Turkish army at Vienna.—227

*Soimonoff (Soymonov), Fyodor Ivanovich* (1800-1854)—Russian general, commanded the Russian forces on the Danube and in the Crimea during the Crimean war; was killed in the battle of Inkerman.—350

*Sola, Juan María* (d. 1819)—Spanish army officer, revolutionary; executed for participation in the Valencia uprising against the absolute power of Ferdinand VII.—445

*Soledad, Francisco Benito de la*—Spanish monk and writer in the first half of the eighteenth century, supporter of enlightened absolutism.—413

*Soliman I (Suleiman) (the Magnificent)* (1494-1566)—Turkish sultan (1520-66).—104

*Soliman Pasha*—minister plenipotentiary of the Turkish Government in Wallachia from July to September 1848.—273

*Soliman Pasha*—Turkish general, commanded the irregular forces on the Danube in 1854.—39

*Soulé, Pierre* (1801-1870)—American lawyer and politician, minister to Madrid (1853-54); tried to get the Spanish Government to cede Cuba to the USA.—369, 457

*Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu, duc de Dalmatie* (1769-1851)—Marshal of France and statesman, commanded the French forces in Spain from 1808 to 1814; War Minister (1830-34, 1840-45) and Prime Minister (1832-34, 1839-40, 1840-47).—416, 651

*Southey, Robert* (1774-1843)—English poet and writer, Tory.—402, 408, 415, 417, 432

*Stafford, Augustus O'Brien* (1811-1857)—British M.P., Tory.—634

*Ştirbey, Barbu Demetrius Bibesco, Prince* (1799-1869)—hospodar of Wallachia (1849-53, 1854-56), brother of George Bibesco.—289, 290, 324, 325

*Stonor, Henry*—British official, judge in the State of Victoria (Australia).—144

*Stratford de Redcliffe, Stratford Canning, Viscount* (1786-1880)—British diplomat, envoy to Constantinople (1810-12, 1825-28, 1841-58).—14, 21-23, 32, 33, 35, 39, 65, 84, 97, 98, 144, 155, 156, 167, 274, 275, 358, 459, 485, 489

*Stuart, Lord Dudley Coutts* (1803-1854)—British politician, Whig M.P., had connections with Polish conservative-monarchist emigrant circles.—13, 274, 321, 322, 327, 329, 330

*Sturdza, Michael* (1795-1884)—hospodar of Moldavia (1834-49).—272

*Suchet, Louis Gabriel, duc d'Albufera da Valencia* (1770-1826)—Marshal of France, participant in the war in Spain (1808-14); French military governor of Valencia in 1812-13.—417

*Sumner, John Bird* (1780-1862)—English priest, bishop of Chester (1828-48), Archbishop of Canterbury (1848-62).—479

*Suvoroff (Suvorov), Alexander Vasilyevich, Count Suvorov Rimniksky, Prince Italyiski* (1729-1800)—Russian field marshal.—243-45, 337, 533

*Swainson, John*—factory owner in Preston (England).—121

T

*Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice, Prince de* (1754-1838)—French diplomat, Foreign Minister (1797-99, 1799-1807, 1814-15), represented France at the Vienna Congress (1814-15).—265, 400

*Tatischeff, Dmitry Pavlovich* (1767-1845)—Russian diplomat, envoy to Madrid (1815-21); represented Russia at the Verona Congress (1822); ambassador to Vienna (1826-41).—444, 446

*Teshe*—Russian naval officer, participant in the defence of Bomarsund.—384

*Thackeray, William Makepeace* (1811-1863)—English writer.—664

*Theresa, Saint (Santa Teresa de Jesús)* (1515-1582)—Spanish nun, known as a reformer of the Order of Carmelites and author of mystical religious writings, canonised in 1622.—436

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman; Prime Minister (1836, 1840); deputy to the Constituent Assembly in 1848; head of the Orleanists after 1848; suppressed the Paris Commune (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73).—231

*Tidd, William* (1760-1847)—English lawyer, author of *Practice of the Court of King's Bench*.—355

*Tillisch, Frederik Ferdinand* (1801-1889)—Danish statesman, Minister of the Interior (1851-52, 1854, 1864-65).—362

*Timur (Tamerlane)* (1336-1405)—Central Asian soldier and conqueror, founder of a large state in the East.—247

*Tolstoi, Yakov Nikolayevich* (1791-1867)—Russian man of letters; emigrated to Paris in 1823; from 1837 correspondent of the Ministry of Public Education and secret agent of the 3rd Department (a political police department set up under Nicholas I).—123, 124

*Tolstoi, Yegor Petrovich, Count*—Russian general, Governor of Kaluga in 1854.—591

*Toreno, José María Queipo de Llano, conde de* (1786-1843)—Spanish politician of liberal leanings and historian, participant in the revolutions of 1808-14 and 1820-23; deputy to the Cadiz Cortes, Minister of Finance (1834) and Prime Minister (1835); lived in emigration from 1814 to 1820, 1823 to 1833 and from 1835.—409, 415, 418

*Trollope, Sir John* (b. 1800)—British politician, M.P.—644

*Tsavellas*—a leader of the uprising in Epirus in 1854.—166

*Tupper, Martin Farquhar* (1810-1889)—English writer, author of *Proverbial Philosophy*.—636

*Turon, José Antonio*—Spanish general, captain general of Burgos.—284

*Türr, István* (1825-1908)—Hungarian army officer, participant in the Italian national liberation movement and the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; fought in the Turkish and British armies in the Crimean war.—455

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*The Morning Advertiser*—a daily published in London from 1794 to 1934; in the 1850s it was a newspaper of the radical bourgeoisie.—53, 189, 223, 260, 299, 308, 580, 590-91, 615

*The Morning Chronicle*—a daily published in London from 1770 to 1862; in the 1840s the newspaper of the Whigs, in the early 1850s of the Peelites and then of the Conservatives.—216, 220, 222, 224, 229, 247, 267, 268, 293, 295, 302, 351, 561, 563, 579, 599

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*Neue Preußische Zeitung*—a conservative daily published in Berlin from June 1848 to 1939; a newspaper of Prussian junkers and Court circles, it was also called *Kreuz-Zeitung* because the heading contained a cross and the slogan "Forward with God for King and Fatherland".—302, 368

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a daily newspaper of the German revolutionary-proletarian democrats during the 1848-49 German revolution; it was published in Cologne under Marx's editorship from June 1, 1848 to May 19,

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*Oesterreichische Correspondenz*—a semi-official Austrian government lithographed newspaper published in Vienna from 1850 to 1863.—296, 301

*Oesterreichische Militärische Zeitschrift*—a military journal published in Vienna once or twice monthly from 1808 to 1870 (with intervals).—420

*Oesterreichischer Soldatenfreund*—a military newspaper published in Vienna two or three times weekly from 1848 to 1854.—287

*Ost-Deutsche Post*—an Austrian moderate liberal daily published in Vienna from 1848 to 1866.—268

*Le Pays. Journal de L'Empire*—a daily founded in Paris in 1849; from 1852 to 1870 it was a semi-official newspaper of Napoleon III's Government.—574

*The People's Paper*—a Chartist weekly, founded in London in May 1852 by Ernest Jones and published from 1852 to 1858; from October 1852 to December 1856 Marx and Engels contributed to it and also helped to edit it. Apart from articles written by Marx and Engels specially for *The People's Paper* it also reprinted some of their articles published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—60, 69, 120, 122, 207, 354, 356

*The Press*—a Tory weekly published in London from 1853 to 1866.—133, 142, 554

*Die Presse*—a liberal daily published in Vienna from 1848 to 1896.—178, 268, 361

*La Presse*—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1866; in the 1850s it was in opposition to the regime of the Second Empire, later—a Bonapartist newspaper.—175, 463

*Preussische Lithographische Correspondenz*—a semi-official daily newspaper of the Prussian Cabinet published in Berlin from 1849 to 1865.—159

*Punch, or the London Charivari*—a humoristic liberal weekly founded in London in 1841.—370, 601

*Русский инвалид* (*Russian Invalid*)—a military newspaper published in St. Petersburg from 1813 to 1917. Initially the revenue from it was intended for the relief to war victims; from 1862 it was a War Ministry official newspaper.—536

*Северная пчела* (*Northern Bee*)—a semi-official government political and literary newspaper published in St. Petersburg from 1825 to 1864.—224

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# GLOSSARY OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES[a]

| | |
|---|---|
| Abo | Turku |
| Adramyti | Edremit |
| Adrianople | Edirne |
| Akkerman | Belgorod-Dnestrovsky |
| Aland | Ahvenanmaa |
| Aluta | Olt or Oltul |
| Argish | Argeş |
| Austerlitz | Slavkov |
| Aylau — see Preussisch Eylau | |
| Bazardjik | Tolbukhin |
| Botushani | Botoşani |
| Bourliouk | Burlyuk |
| Brailow (Ibraila) | Brăila |
| Brzesc Litewski | Brest |
| Buseo (Busau) | Buzău |
| Candia | Crete |
| Colberg | Kołobrzeg |
| Constantinople | Istanbul |
| Contessa, Gulf of | Rendina (Orfani) |
| Czeraswitz | Chernovtsy |
| Danzig | Gdansk |
| Egripo | Euboea, Negropont (Euboia) |
| Euxine, the | Black Sea |
| Fokshani | Focşani |
| Friedland | Pravdinsk |
| Fünen | Fyn |
| Galatch, Galatz | Galaţi |
| Gallipoli | Gelibolu |
| Giurgevo | Giurgiu |
| Hangö, Hango Udd | Hanko |
| Helsingfors | Helsinki |
| Hermannstadt | Sibiu |
| Isaktsha | Isaccea |
| Ivangorod | Deblin |
| Kaffa | Feodosia |
| Kalarash | Călăraşi |
| Kalugereni | Călugăreni |
| Kamenicz | Kamenets Podolski |
| Kamtchik | Kamčiya |
| Kara-su | Medgidia |
| Katzbach | Kocaba |
| Kimpina | Câmpina |
| Königsberg | Kaliningrad |
| Kruschevatz | Kruševac |
| Kustendje | Constanţa |
| Matchin | Maçin |
| Memel | Klaipeda |
| Mezzovo | Métsovon |
| Navarino | Pylos |
| New Archangel | Sitka (city) |
| Nissa | Niš |
| Nixitshy | Nikšič |
| Nizhni Novgorod | Gorky |
| Olmütz | Olomouc |
| Oltenitza | Olteniţa |
| Oranienbaum | Lomonosov |
| Petershoff | Petrodvorets |

[a] This glossary includes geographical names occurring in Marx's and Engels' articles in the form customary in the press of the time but differing from the national names or from those given on modern maps. The left column gives geographical names as used in the original (when they differ from the national names of the time, the latter are given in brackets); the right column gives corresponding names as used on modern maps and in modern literature.— *Ed.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Petersburg—see St. Petersburg | |
| Plojesti | Ploeşti |
| Posen | Poznán |
| Preussisch Eylau | Bagrationovsk |
| Rassova | Raşova |
| Redut-Kaleh | Kulevi |
| Revel | Tallinn |
| Rotherthurm | Turnu Roşu |
| Rustchuk | Ruse (Rusčuk) |
| St. Petersburg | Leningrad |
| Salonica | Thessaloniki (Salonika) |
| Scutari | Usküdar |
| Serpents, Isle of the (Ilade Adessi) | Serpent Island |
| Shumla | Shumen |
| Sitka (isl.) | Baranof |
| Slobodzic | Slobodzia |
| Smyrna | Izmir |
| Stettin | Szczecińi |
| Sukhum-Kaleh | Sukhumi |
| Sweaborg (Sveaborg) | Suomenlinna |
| Swinemunde | Swinoujscie |
| Tiflis | Tbilisi |
| Tilsit | Sovetsk |
| Tirgovest | Târgovişte |
| Tultsha | Tulcea |
| Tver | Kalinin |
| Uleaborg | Oulu |
| Vasa | Vaasa |
| Wilna | Vilnius |

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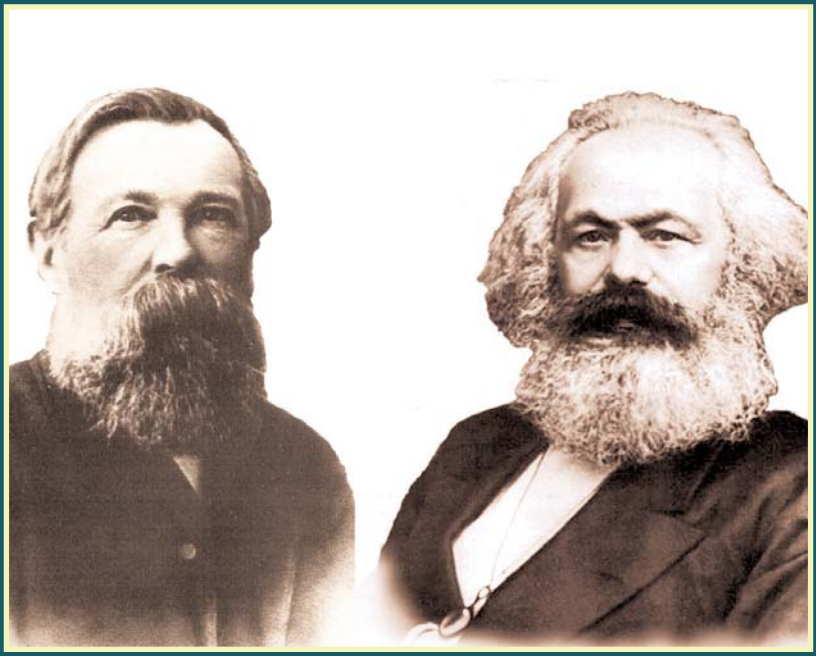

## VOLUME 14

### Marx and Engels 1855-56

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 14

## Marx and Engels 1855-56

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TRANSLATORS:

SUSANNE FLATAUER: 17, 18, 19, 20, 24, 25
HUGH RODWELL: 89, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 102, 106, 108, 109, 111, 114, 115
PETER and BETTY ROSS: 4, 55, 82, 98, 133
BARBARA RUHEMANN: 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33
SALO RYAZANSKAYA: 21, 80, 84, 90 (I, II), 100, 113, 116, 120
BARRIE SELMAN: 37, 41, 43, 45, 47, 48, 49, 52, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 63, 64, 67, 68, 69, 71, 90 (III, IV, V, VI), 99
CHRISTOPHER UPWARD: 2, 3, 5, 6, 7
JOAN and TREVOR WALMSLEY: 36, 50, 72, 73, 75, 77, 78, 81, 85, 86, 88

# Preface

Volume 14 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains articles and newspaper reports written between February 9, 1855 and April 25, 1856. Most of these items were published in the American newspaper the *New-York Daily Tribune* (and often reprinted in its special issues—the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* and the *New-York Weekly Tribune*), and also in the German democratic newspaper, the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*. As in previous years some items were published in the Chartist weekly *The People's Paper*. In the spring of 1856 Marx began to write occasionally for periodicals published by David Urquhart and his supporters—*The Free Press* (London) and *The Sheffield Free Press*.

Writing for the comparatively progressive bourgeois press was the only effective means available to Marx and Engels at that time to communicate with a mass readership, and to influence public opinion in favour of proletarian communist ideas. Since a properly working-class and revolutionary democratic press was still so weak, they attached great importance to this channel of communication. The possibility of addressing the German reader through the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, the most radical of all the newspapers that remained in Germany in the mid-1850s, was particularly important. Marx wrote for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* from December 1854 (the relevant section of his articles for this newspaper is published in Volume 13 of the present edition) until November 1855, when due to serious financial difficulties and pressure from the censorship the editorial board was compelled to reduce the number of foreign correspondents and later to cease publication of the newspaper entirely. He also sent to the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* military reviews written at his request by Engels for the *New-York Daily Tribune*, translating them

into German and often shortening them and adapting them to the requirements of the German reader. In a number of cases Marx included the texts of the military reviews in his own contributions, supplementing them with other material (reviews of international and domestic events, parliamentary debates, etc.).

The editorial board of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* printed the material Marx sent them in its authentic form. On the other hand, the interference of the *New-York Tribune* editors with the text of articles by Marx and Engels, including arbitrary cuts and insertion of passages which contradicted the original content, became particularly frequent during this period. Thus, Marx's pamphlet *Lord John Russell* was published in the *Tribune* in an abridged form, one of Engels' articles on Pan-Slavism was arbitrarily revised, and many articles were supplemented with introductory, and sometimes also concluding, paragraphs to give them the appearance of having been written in the United States of Northern America (all these cases of editorial interference are indicated in the notes). Eventually the editorial board of the *Tribune* ceased almost entirely publishing articles by Marx under his name, printing them instead in the form of its own editorials. Although angered by such cavalier treatment, Marx and Engels nevertheless continued to write for the *Tribune.* They could not renounce the opportunity of contributing to this widely circulated newspaper, read not only in America but also in Europe.

The present volume is largely a continuation of Volumes 12 and 13 of the present edition. Among the numerous events which attracted the attention of Marx and Engels in 1855 and early 1856, the central place was still held by the Crimean War, which had entered its final stage and was accompanied, as in the preceding stages, by a bitter diplomatic struggle. They continued to analyse in their articles the economic condition of the European countries—England in particular—the domestic and foreign policy of the ruling classes, the state of the working-class and democratic movements, and the prospects for their development.

Marx's and Engels' journalistic activity in this period was also closely intertwined with their theoretical researches, in particular, with Marx's studies in both political economy and foreign policy and diplomacy, and Engels' in military science, the history of the Slavonic peoples, and linguistics. At the same time, through their journalistic activities they accumulated new facts and observations which were then generalised in their scientific writings. Thus, the material Engels used in his regular reports on the Crimean War

was summarised by him in important works on military theory, like his series of articles, *The Armies of Europe* written for the American journal *Putnam's Monthly* and published in the present volume. Reports by factory inspectors and information on agrarian relations in Ireland, quoted in Marx's articles for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, were later incorporated by him in *Capital*.

Marx's and Engels' journalistic work played an important part in crystallising their sociological views. By analysing current events in their articles, they acquired an increasingly profound understanding of the interconnection between historical processes, the laws of social development and class struggle. This is well illustrated by the contents of the present volume. Its articles and reports present a broad panorama of European social and political life during the mid-1850s against the background of continuing political reaction. They give a clear idea of the class structure of society at that time, the domestic and international conflicts of the day, the characteristic features of the state and its various forms, the position of the political parties, of various organs of the press as their ideological mouthpieces, and the customs and morals of the ruling classes. Serious attention is devoted in these articles to the working-class and national liberation movements.

The main aim of Marx's and Engels' journalistic writings during this period, as in previous years, was to provide the theoretical basis for the strategy and tactics of proletarian revolutionaries on cardinal questions of domestic and international policy, taking into account that in a large part of Europe the transition from the feudal system to capitalism had by no means been completed. The over-riding task was to effect the abolition of the vestiges of feudalism, the unification of politically divided countries, the liberation of oppressed nationalities. And this meant the revolutionary overthrow of the counter-revolutionary regimes which stood in the way of these transformations, and principally the Austrian, Prussian and Russian monarchies, the Bonapartist Second Empire, and the British bourgeois-aristocratic oligarchy. This was the way, in the opinion of Marx and Engels, to prepare for the working class winning political power in the capitalist countries.

The revolutionary approach to current events is seen clearly in those articles by Marx and Engels in which they continued to analyse the causes of the outbreak and the true character of the Crimean War. The final stage of the war confirmed the conclusions of their previous articles and reports, during the period when the conflict between the European powers was

coming to a head, and in the early stages of the military operations against Russia by the Anglo-Franco-Turkish coalition, which was later joined by Piedmont. Marx and Engels became even more firmly convinced of the falseness of the official attitude of the West European governments and press, which was that the war of England and France against Russia was being waged in the "national interest" to defend "freedom" and "civilisation" against the encroachments of "despotism". They showed convincingly in their articles that the war was the result of a clash of economic and military interests of the ruling classes of the states engaged in it—the struggle for the partition of the Ottoman Empire and for dominion in the Balkans and the Black Sea straits. Marx and Engels came to the conclusion that the counter-revolutionary standpoint and class self-interest of the West European bourgeoisie made it increasingly incapable of expressing and defending any national interests. "As soon as the effects of the war should become taxable upon their pockets," Marx wrote in the article "Prospect in France and England", "mercantile sense was sure to overcome national pride, and the loss of immediate individual profits was sure to outweigh the certainty of losing, gradually, great national advantages" (see this volume, p. 143).

Marx and Engels concluded that bourgeois-aristocratic England and Bonapartist France, while striving to weaken Tsarist Russia as a rival in the Near East and the Balkans, to capture Sevastopol, to take the Crimea and the Caucasus away from Russia, and to destroy the Russian navy, had no interest whatever in the collapse of Tsarism. The conservative forces in Europe, headed by the governments of the West European states, needed the Tsarist autocracy as an instrument for repressing popular movements and so as one of the bulwarks of the system of capitalist exploitation. Above all, Western politicians feared the revolutionary consequences of the collapse of the Russian autocracy, which would lead to the destruction of the foundation of the political system in Europe laid down by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The Crimean War, Marx stressed in the article "Eccentricities of Politics", "is undertaken with a view not to supersede but rather to consolidate the Treaty of Vienna by the introduction, in a supplementary way, of Turkey into the protocols of 1815. Then it is expected the conservative millennium will dawn and the aggregate force of the Governments be allowed to direct itself exclusively to the 'tranquillization' of the European mind" (see this volume, p. 284).

In the articles "From Parliament", "Napoleon's War Plans", "The Debate on Layard's Motion.—The War in the Crimea", "The Local War.—Debate on Administrative Reform.—Report of the Roebuck Committee" and others Marx and Engels showed that these counter-revolutionary aspirations of the ruling circles in Britain and France had left a profound imprint on their diplomacy, military plans and methods of warfare. Seeking to avoid any revolutionary consequences, the Allied states had launched military operations in one of Russia's outlying areas, away from the possible centres of the revolutionary and national liberation struggle. Marx and Engels revealed the hidded purpose behind the plan of "local war for local objects" put forward by the French Government and supported by the British Government (see this volume, p. 272). They showed that this strategy was by no means prompted by the desire to reduce the number of casualties and scale of destruction. The "local" Crimean War had inflicted enormous losses and bitter tribulations on the armies and peoples of the belligerents. The Anglo-French strategic plan was aimed at preventing the Crimean War from turning into a war of the peoples against Tsarism, a war which would have threatened the very existence of the anti-democratic system of government in Western Europe.

To change the character of the war, and turn it into a war for the democratic reconstruction of Europe and the liberation of the oppressed nationalities, including the peoples of the Balkans who were under Turkish rule, depended on the level of activity of the proletarian and revolutionary-democratic masses. In place of anti-popular governments, Marx wrote, "other powers must step on to the stage" (see this volume, p. 289). In the articles "The Crisis in England", "Prospect in France and England" and others, Marx and Engels continued to show the working class and the revolutionary democrats how advantage could be taken of the military conflict to develop the movement against the existing counter-revolutionary regimes. Marx hoped that a revolutionary turn of events would "enable the proletarian class to resume that position which they lost, in France, by the battle of June, 1848, and that not only as far as France is concerned, but for all Central Europe, England included" (see this volume, p. 145).

Marx and Engels placed special hopes on the initiative of the French working class. In the article "Fate of the Great Adventurer" Engels wrote openly about the possibility of "the fourth and greatest French revolution" capable of producing an outbreak of powerful revolutionary and national liberation movements all

over the continent of Europe. "Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Italians, Croats are loosened from the forced bond which ties them together, and instead of the undetermined and haphazard alliances and antagonisms of today, Europe will again be divided into two great camps with distinct banners and new issues. Then the struggle will be only between the Democratic Revolution on one side and the Monarchical Counter-Revolution on the other" (see this volume, p. 89).

The idea that the way out of the war lay in a popular revolution was the theme running through many articles by Marx and Engels. They sought to show the real instability not only of the domestic, but also of the foreign-policy positions of the counter-revolutionary ruling circles, the contradictions between them in the international arena, and the vulnerability of their diplomacy.

In particular, Marx and Engels revealed deep splits in the coalition of the European powers opposing Tsarist Russia. They noted the constant friction between its main participants, Britain and France, both in the conduct of military operations and in diplomatic talks (see the articles "Some Observations on the History of the French Alliance", "A Critique of the Crimean Affair.—From Parliament", "From the Crimea", "Another British Revelation", "The Reports of Generals Simpson, Pélissier and Niel", "The American Difficulty.—Affairs of France" and others). The collapse of the Anglo-French Alliance predicted by them soon took place, during the Congress of Paris in 1856, at which Russian diplomacy skilfully exploited the differences between the Western powers.

Marx's article "Palmerston.—The Physiology of the Ruling Class of Great Britain", his pamphlet *The Fall of Kars* and Engels' military review "The War in Asia" revealed the colonialist aims underlying the policies of the Western powers, and their treachery in relation to their junior coalition partner—Turkey. Taking advantage of Turkey's backwardness, Marx noted, the governments of Britain and France, under the guise of defending the unity of the collapsing Ottoman Empire, had taken a new step towards its colonial subjection. They had set up effective control over its foreign policy, intervened in its internal affairs, and were laying a hand on Turkish finances (see this volume, p. 368). In *The Fall of Kars,* which has survived in several versions, Marx showed on the basis of facts and diplomatic material how frequently the Western statesmen—the British, in particular—took decisions concerning Turkey behind the back of the Turkish Government, using the weak Turkish army at

their discretion and exposing it to attack. The moves of Western diplomacy in relation to the Ottoman Empire, Marx noted, constituted a web of intrigue and provocation aimed at using Turkey as small change in the diplomatic game of the great powers and increasing even more its dependence on the West.

A number of articles in the present volume ("The European War" and others) were written by Marx and Engels when the outcome of the Crimean War was already predetermined. They could already sum it up to a certain extent: "The Anglo-French war against Russia will undoubtedly always figure in military history as 'the *incomprehensible* war'. Big talk combined with minimal action, vast preparations and insignificant results, caution bordering on timidity, followed by the foolhardiness that is born of ignorance, generals who are more than mediocre coupled with troops who are more than brave, almost deliberate reverses on the heels of victories won through mistakes, armies ruined by negligence, then saved by the strangest of accidents—a grand ensemble of contradictions and inconsistencies. And this is nearly as much the distinguishing mark of the Russians as of their enemies" (see this volume, p. 484).

Marx's and Engels' hopes that the Crimean War would be turned into a war for revolutionary change in Europe were not realised. Apart from its influence on the internal development of Russia, it brought about no significant changes in the social and political structure of the European states. The question of the national independence of the peoples subject to the Ottoman Empire also remained unsolved. Nor did the war resolve the contradictions which existed between the European powers on the Eastern and other questions. The Treaty of Paris in 1856 not only failed to settle the points of dispute, but engendered new, even more bitter conflicts. Marx called it a "sham peace" (see this volume, p. 623).

Many of the journalistic works of Marx and Engels dealt with the effect of the war on the economic and social life in the main European countries. Participation in this large-scale military conflict, they noted, had put the existing anti-popular regimes to a serious test, which revealed their defects and inability to meet the new social requirements. War "puts a nation to the test", wrote Marx in the article "Another British Revelation". "As exposure to the atmosphere reduces all mummies to instant dissolution, so war passes

supreme judgment upon social organisations that have outlived their vitality" (see this volume, p. 516).

Marx's main attention was devoted to capitalist Britain, where the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat were more developed than in any other country at the time. In the articles "Questions of Finance", "The Commercial and Financial Situation", "The Crisis in England" and others, Marx analysed the state of the British economy. It provided, he stressed, a striking example of the operation of the general economic laws of capitalist society, in particular, the cyclical nature of capitalist production, the inevitable alternation of phases of prosperity and crisis. Marx showed that even within the limits of a given cycle the capitalist economy develops unevenly, in fits and starts, and is subject to the emergence of crisis phenomena. Thus, the period of economic prosperity which began at the end of the 1840s was repeatedly interrupted by stagnation in certain branches of industry and commerce in England, particularly in the textile industry. Marx noted an economic decline in late 1853 and early 1854 and another one in 1855. Analysing the tendencies which he had discovered in the economic life of Britain, and also on the world market, Marx predicted that in the near future Britain would undergo a more serious economic crisis than it had ever experienced before. This prediction was fully borne out in 1857, when the first world economic crisis broke out.

Marx's articles "Palmerston", "The British Constitution", "*The Morning Post* versus Prussia.—The Character of the Whigs and Tories", "The House of Lords and the Duke of York's Monument" and a number of others contain an accurate description of Britain's traditional two-party system under which power was held in turn by the Whigs and Tories. "The British Constitution," Marx wrote, "is indeed nothing but an antiquated, obsolete, out-of-date compromise between the bourgeoisie, which *rules not officially* but in fact in all decisive spheres of civil society, and the landed aristocracy, which *governs officially*" (see this volume, p. 53).

One of the main supports of the regime of the bourgeois-aristocratic oligarchy, Marx pointed out, was the aristocracy's monopoly of the key state offices. In many of his articles Marx showed that the oligarchical political system was an obstacle to the country's progressive development. The debates held in both houses of Parliament on various questions, which Marx closely analysed, showed clearly enough what was the class essence of the British Parliament. He revealed the hypocrisy and cupidity of the representatives of both the main political groupings, the obstacles

they raised to the exposure of the scandalous abuses in the various departments of the state machine and to progressive reforms.

An important contribution to his vivid description of the ruling oligarchy was the pamphlet *Lord John Russell* (see this volume, pp. 371-93). It provided an addition to Marx's gallery of portraits of leading nineteenth-century British politicians. In this pamphlet Marx showed that Russell's false, ostentatious liberalism, his political wiliness and time-serving, were fully in keeping with the whole character of the Whigs, that party of careerists who, like the Tories, were striving to strengthen the oligarchical regime, but in doing so showed greater flexibility and a readiness to make certain concessions to the industrial bourgeoisie. The struggle between the Whigs and Tories, Marx pointed out, was merely a quarrel between the two ruling factions of the aristocratic upper crust of the exploiting classes; the differences in their policies were becoming less and less marked. Bitter attacks on the government by one or other party when it was in opposition were a means of removing the rival party from power. Once in power, however, each party continued to follow the political course of its predecessor.

Marx discovered more and more signs of the political disintegration of both the Whig and Tory parties, which he had noted when he first began to write for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* (see present edition, Vol. 13). It was manifest in the bankruptcy of the political doctrines of these old aristocratic parties, their division into separate groupings, the increasing need to resort to manoeuvres and parliamentary alliances. Political instability was giving rise to the tendency to strengthen the personal power of the head of the government, which Marx noted, in particular, in the policy of Palmerston during the formation of his ministry in 1855 and in following years. In the article "Palmerston" Marx drew attention to the way in which this leader of the Right wing of the Whigs had assured by skilful manoeuvring such a composition of his Cabinet as left all the most important threads of government in his own hands. "This time we have not a Cabinet at all, but Lord Palmerston in lieu of a Cabinet" (see this volume, p. 50).

The phenomena detected by Marx reflected a process that had begun under the influence of the drawing together of the interests of industrial capital and of the landed aristocracy and the commercial and financial magnates—the transformation of the Tories into the party of the big bourgeoisie, the Conservatives, and of the Whigs, around whom the middle and petty bourgeoisie were grouped, into the Liberal party. The latter were soon joined by representatives of the bourgeois opposition—the Free Traders.

In his articles of this period Marx continued his trenchant criticism of the ideology and political positions of the Free Traders, using them to expose the class limitations of bourgeois liberalism as a whole. He again showed the illusions of the Free Traders' argument that capitalism could develop without crises, and exposed their hypocritical protestations about love of peace which concealed the striving of the British bourgeoisie to dominate the world market. The Manchester School, Marx stressed, was striving for peace "in order to wage industrial war at home and abroad" (see this volume, p. 258). Cobden, Bright and the other leaders of the Free Traders, he pointed out, while proclaiming themselves "champions of liberty" and "defenders" of the interests of the masses, in fact supported the cruel exploitation of the working class. Evidence of this was their encroachments on the institution of factory inspectors, who to a certain extent restrained the arbitrariness of employers, and their attempts to repeal the laws which limited the working day for women and children.

In contrast to the false statements of the Free Traders about the "prosperity" of the English workers, Marx made use of reports by factory inspectors to show the terrible working conditions at capitalist factories and the constant growth in the number of industrial accidents, particularly among women and children. "The industrial bulletin of the factory inspectors," he wrote, "is more terrible and more appalling than any of the war bulletins from the Crimea. Women and children provide a regular and sizeable contingent in the list of the wounded and killed" (see this volume, p. 370).

Bourgeois-aristocratic Britain was confronted by the working masses, first and foremost, the English industrial proletariat. Marx followed carefully every manifestation of discontent and revolutionary ferment among the masses both in Britain itself and in its colonies. Thus, in the article "The Buying of Commissions.—News from Australia" he noted that in the Australian state of Victoria resistance had been "initiated by the workers against the monopolists linked with the colonial bureaucracy" (see this volume, p. 65).

Marx, who never ceased to take an interest in the fate of the oppressed Irish people, regarded Ireland, which was the arena of bitter social antagonism, as one of the permanent centres of popular discontent (see the article "Ireland's Revenge").

Opposition tendencies among the various social strata in Britain, including the working class, were also being promoted by David Urquhart and his supporters, who, despite their conservative world outlook, criticised the foreign policy of the ruling oligarchy. Marx

continued to attack Urquhart's views in the press. But nevertheless he thought it expedient to devote attention in his articles to the comparatively progressive activity of the committees on foreign affairs set up by Urquhart and his followers, which also included representatives of the workers ("The Late Birmingham Conference", "The Committee at Newcastle-upon-Tyne").

Marx's main attention was directed to the English working-class movement—first and foremost, to the continuing attempts, despite the general decline of Chartism, of the leaders of its revolutionary wing to revive mass political agitation under the banner of the People's Charter. In the articles "Anti-Church Movement.—Demonstration in Hyde Park", "Clashes between the Police and the People.—The Events in the Crimea" Marx noted that the Chartists had succeeded in reviving to a certain extent the political activity of the working class, which found expression in mass popular demonstrations in London in the summer of 1855 against the parliamentary ban on Sunday trading. Marx praised the refusal of Ernest Jones and other Chartists to follow the lead of the bourgeois radicals, instead of which they continued to defend the independent positions of the working class and retain its political progamme in full, in spite of the radicals' intentions to replace the latter with "moderate" demands for administrative and other reforms.

In the article "The Association for Administrative Reform.—People's Charter" Marx explained the historical significance of the Chartist programme, the central point of which was the demand for universal suffrage. Adopting a historical approach to political slogans, he showed that whereas in France and on the Continent in general the demand for universal suffrage did not extend beyond the framework of bourgeois democracy, it had a different significance in England. "There it is regarded as a political question and here, as a social one," Marx noted. In England, where the working class constituted the majority of the population, he pointed out that the implementation of this and other points of the People's Charter could lead to a radical democratic transformation of the whole parliamentary system and the country's political structure by the proletarian masses, which would mean "the assumption of political power as a means of satisfying their social needs" (see this volume, pp. 242, 243). From these arguments it is clear that Marx at that time admitted the possibility of the English proletariat coming to power by peaceful means, unlike the countries on the Continent where, in his opinion, the working class could triumph only as a result of the forcible destruction of a military-bureaucratic state machine.

The Chartists' attempts to instil revolutionary energy in the English proletarian masses could not, however, arrest the decline of the Chartist movement, which was increasingly on the wane. This was due to the peculiarities of the development of British capitalism. The British bourgeoisie had succeeded by means of colonial conquests and profits and monopolies on the world market in chaining a significant section of the higher-paid skilled workers to the capitalist system, thereby splitting the working class and strengthening reformist tendencies in the British working-class movement. Nevertheless right up to the end Marx never tired of encouraging his Chartist friends and urging them not to give way to difficulties and to keep faith in the coming proletarian revolution.

On April 14, 1856 at a banquet in honour of the fourth anniversary of the publication of *The People's Paper* Marx delivered a speech full of revolutionary optimism. He spoke of the inevitable collapse of capitalism and the world historic mission of the working class as the social force called upon to overthrow the exploiting system. "History is the judge—its executioner, the proletarian" (see this volume, p. 656).

Continuing to regard the struggle against Bonapartism as one of the most important tasks of the working class and revolutionary democracy, Marx and Engels sought to expose in their articles the close connection between the Bonapartist state's foreign and domestic policy. "It would be easy to demonstrate," we read in the article "Criticism of the French Conduct of the War" by Marx and Engels, "that the pretentious mediocrity with which the Second Empire is conducting this war is reflected in its internal administration, that here, too, semblance has taken the place of essence, and that the 'economic' campaigns were in no way any more successful than the military ones" (see this volume, p. 93). In this article, and also in the articles "Fate of the Great Adventurer", "Napoleon's Last Dodge", "The Local War.—Debate on Administrative Reform.—Report of the Roebuck Committee", "The American Difficulty.—Affairs of France" and others, Marx and Engels stressed that military adventurism was an intrinsic feature of Bonapartist policy, that conquest and aggression were one of the principles on which the political rule of the Bonapartist circles in France itself rested.

Marx's article "The France of Bonaparte the Little" revealed the glaring contrast between official France, which was recklessly squandering the nation's wealth, and the France of the people, to whom the Bonapartist regime had brought poverty and police

repression. In the heart of this France of the people, Marx emphasised, revolutionary ferment was maturing against the Bonapartist dictatorship, which betokened "the downfall of the Empire of Agio" (see this volume, p. 620). In the articles "The Reports of Generals Simpson, Pélissier and Niel" and "The Bank of France.—Reinforcements to the Crimea.—The New Field-Marshals", Marx and Engels noted the deterioration of the political situation in France, drawing attention to the signs of growth in the revolutionary mood of the working class, the students and other strata of the population, and to the discontent displayed by a certain section of the bourgeoisie and even of the army, which had up till then served as a bulwark of the Second Empire.

Marx and Engels continued to analyse in the press the events in Prussia, Austria and Tsarist Russia. The Crimean War had exposed the profound contradictions between these states and at the same time confirmed the common counter-revolutionary aims of their ruling circles, united by the attempt to preserve intact the reactionary systems within each of these countries and the corresponding pattern of international relations. Thus, as Marx repeatedly pointed out, the neutrality in the war proclaimed by the Prussian Government was dictated by fear of the revolutionary consequences of transferring the theatre of military operations to Central Europe. In the article "Prussia", Marx dealt with the political system of the Prussian monarchy, in which the formally proclaimed constitution served merely as a cover for the continuation of absolutism and its product—an all-powerful bureaucracy. He notes the lack of rights of the majority of the population, the oppression of the peasantry which remained, as before, "under the direct yoke of the nobility", both administratively and judicially (see this volume, p. 661). At the same time Marx pointed to the rapid growth of industry and commerce, and the unprecedented wealth of the Prussian propertied classes—the Junkers and the bourgeoisie. But the latter remained, as always, politically passive and servile, which confirmed the opinion expressed by Marx and Engels as early as 1848-49 that the German bourgeoisie was incapable of playing a leading role in the struggle for radical bourgeois-democratic demands.

As to the ruling circles in the Austrian Empire, they were striving to obtain Turkish possessions in Europe, and so adopted a hostile attitude towards Russia as their main rival in the Balkans. In his reports "On the Critique of Austrian Policy in the Crimean Campaign" and "Austria and the War" Marx quoted documents that revealed the duplicity of the Austrian government's foreign

policy. Marx and Engels saw the cause of this in the internal weakness of the reactionary Habsburg Empire, which stemmed not only from the backwardness of its social system, but also from profound national antagonisms. Reaping the fruits of the centuries-old oppression of the peoples who made up the Empire and fanning national enmity between them, the rulers of the Austrian Empire were in constant fear of an upsurge of the national liberation movements. It was these fears that held them back from open intervention in the military conflict.

Quoting information in their articles about the situation in Russia, Marx and Engels drew attention to the difficulties experienced by the Tsarist autocracy in the course of the war, the exhaustion of its material resources, which were in any case limited by the serf system and the economic backwardness it engendered (see Engels' article "The State of the War" and other items). As Marx and Engels soon realised, the consequences of the Crimean War had a serious effect on the internal development of the Russian Empire. The defeat sustained by Tsarism, which showed, in the words of Lenin "the rottenness and impotence of feudal Russia" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, p. 121), created the prerequisites for the maturing of a revolutionary situation in the country, which compelled the ruling classes to introduce reforms. "The Russian war of 1854-55," Marx remarked in a letter to Engels of October 8, 1858, "...has ... obviously hastened the present turn of events in Russia" (see present edition, Vol. 40). Later, in 1871, in a draft of *The Civil War in France* Marx again emphasised the connection between the abolition of serfdom in Russia in 1861 and other transformations. The Crimean War revealed the profound crisis of the whole social and political system of Tsarist Russia, even though it had "saved its honour by the defence of Sevastopol and dazzled foreign states by its diplomatic triumphs in Paris".

Marx and Engels continued throughout the final period of the war to point out that, despite numerous military defeats, Tsarist despotism still represented a serious threat to the European working-class and democratic movement. As one might have expected, they remarked, the changes on the Tsarist throne did not lead to any substantial changes in the foreign policy of the Russian autocracy. Nicholas I's successor Alexander II and his government did not renounce aggressive intentions—in particular, the attempts to exploit Pan-Slavist propaganda as an instrument of aggrandizement.

Engels' article "Germany and Pan-Slavism", together with its English versions, "The European Struggle" and "Austria's Weak-

ness", showed how reactionary were current Pan-Slavist ideas, and Alexander II's Pan-Slavist sentiments. The dissemination of these ideas by the monarchistic elements of certain Slavonic national movements, Engels noted, played into the hands of the Habsburg monarchy and Russian Tsarism in their struggle against the revolution in Germany and Hungary in 1848-49.

Marx and Engels resolutely attacked all nationalistic ideology, whatever form it took, whether Pan-Germanism, Pan-Slavism, or any other form. They stressed that this ideology fanned national differences, that it was deeply alien to the interests of democratic development and the national and social liberation of all peoples, including the Slav peoples.

In his polemic with Pan-Slavism, however, Engels repeated certain theses which have not been borne out by history, about the alleged loss by a number of Slav peoples who formed part of the Austrian Empire (Czechs, Slovaks, and others) of the ability to lead an independent national existence—theses which were expressed by him earlier in the works "Democratic Pan-Slavism" and *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* (on this see the prefaces to Volumes 8 and 11 of the present edition). The process of social development, which up to the 1860s was dominated by tendencies towards centralisation, the creation of large states, had not yet provided sufficient objective evidence for revising this mistaken view. It was only subsequently that another historical tendency manifested itself fully, namely, the striving of oppressed small peoples, including the Slav peoples of the Austrian Empire, for national independence, and their ability not only to create their own states but also to march in the van of social progress.

The present volume contains a large number of military articles by Engels, who regularly analysed the whole course of the Crimean War, and also his military survey *The Armies of Europe.* These works constitute an important part of his studies on military theory.

Although based on contemporary reports primarily in the English and French press, which contained many omissions and inaccuracies, Engels' military reviews show great insight and a profound understanding of the nature of the military operations in the various theatres of the war—the Caucasus, the Crimea and the Baltic—and of the decisive role of the siege and defence of Sevastopol in the overall course of the military operations, which by then had reached culmination point. Engels found increasing confirmation in the development of the military events of his basic propositions on the theory of warfare, the dependence of warfare on the social and

political system, the interconnection between military strategy and the policy of the ruling classes, and the influence of the general state of the organisation of the armed forces on the mode of waging war. He held that the organisation of the army was an integral part of the system of state administration and reflected its characteristic class features.

Thus in the articles "The Struggle in the Crimea", "The War that Looms on Europe", "The Punishment of the Ranks" and others Engels shows the connection between the crude blunders of the British military command, the wretched state of the British expeditionary forces and the conservatism of the British military system as such. He noted the routine nature of the organisation of the British army, the caste spirit and favouritism that prevailed in the War Office, the quartermaster service and the officer corps, the practice of selling commissions and other defects engendered by the oligarchical political regime. The article "The Reports of Generals Simpson, Pélissier and Niel" by Marx and Engels states openly that "the miserable leadership of the British Army is the inevitable result of rule by the antiquated oligarchy" (this volume, p. 542).

In many articles Engels points to the pernicious consequences for the French and Allied armed forces of interference by the ruling clique of the Second Empire and Emperor Napoleon III himself in the conduct of military operations, and also of the effect of the counter-revolutionary aims for which the Bonapartist circles sought to use the army. Under pressure from Paris the operations by the Allied troops were often determined not by military, but by totally unrelated political and dynastic considerations (see the article "From Sevastopol" and others).

Describing the armed forces of Tsarist Russia, in the article "The Russian Army", the relevant section of *The Armies of Europe* and in other works, Engels noted the weakness of the economic base and the archaic nature of the social base of the Tsarist military system. The technological backwardness of the Tsarist army, he emphasised, the almost total absence of modern means of transport, the old-fashioned methods of recruiting and training troops, the substitution of parade-ground drilling for proper military training, the length of military service, the corruption and embezzlement of public funds in the military and civilian administration—all this was the product of the social and political order of the Russia of autocracy and serfdom.

At the same time Engels constantly emphasised the military qualities of the rank and file participants in the armed struggle. He

paid tribute to the initiative and élan of the French officers and men, and the stamina and resolve of the English in battle. He invariably spoke with respect of the traditional courage of the Russian soldier. "The Russian soldier is one of the bravest men in Europe", he wrote in *The Armies of Europe* (see this volume, p. 444).

However, the description of the Russian army which Engels gave in these and other works, for all the aptness of his assessment of the state of the army in the Russia of serfdom, was influenced by his sources of information at that time, the anti-Russian bias of the West European press and the tendentious works of Western historians. This, and to a certain extent also the political slant of his articles against Russian Tsarism, explains the presence in his works at that time of certain exaggerations and one-sided opinions, which he revised to a large extent in his later works (*Po and Rhine*, see this edition, Volume 16, and others). Such opinions include, in particular, his statements on the passivity of Russian soldiers, the special role of foreigners in the Russian army due to a lack of native talent, and that Russia in the past had triumphed only over weak opponents and suffered defeat from those equal to it in strength.

It must be said, however, that even though he possessed biased information, Engels assessed the operations of the belligerent powers objectively in the overwhelming majority of cases. This is demonstrated most strikingly by his many articles on the heroic eleven-month defence of Sevastopol by Russian troops. In the articles "The Siege of Sevastopol", "A Battle at Sevastopol" and others, the brilliant operations of the defenders, the skill of the military engineers of the Sevastopol garrison, including the head of the engineering service Todtleben, and the excellent arrangement of the line of fire are contrasted by Engels with the Allied siege operations. He rates the latter very low, emphasising that "not a single siege can be shown in the annals of war, since that of Troy, carried on with such a degree of incoherence and stupidity" (see this volume, p. 155).

Noting the heroism and military fervour of the defenders of the Russian fortress, Engels praised their successful sorties in which they acted "with great skill combined with their usual tenacity" (see this volume, p. 116). He regarded as unprecedented in the history of warfare the creation by the besieged garrison during the defence of new fortifications which they set up in front of the first line, and commented most favourably on the Russians' use of a tiered arrangement of batteries which enabled them to make good use of the terrain.

In the article "Progress of the War" Engels sums up his assessments of the operations by the organisers of and participants in the defence of Sevastopol as follows. "The justness and rapidity of glance—the promptness, boldness, and faultlessness of execution, which the Russian engineers have shown in throwing up their lines around Sevastopol—the indefatigable attention with which every weak point was protected as soon as discovered by the enemy—the excellent arrangement of the line of fire, so as to concentrate a force, superior to that of the besiegers, upon any given point of the ground in front—the preparation of a second, third and fourth line of fortifications in rear of the first—in short, the whole conduct of this defense has been classic" (see this volume, pp. 134-35). Later Engels often returned to the analysis of the Sevastopol campaign (in his articles on the national liberation uprising in India of 1857-59 and in his "Notes on the War" in 1870-71), regarding it as an outstanding example of active defence.

The experience of the defence of Sevastopol enabled Engels to make important generalisations in his articles on the art of warfare, especially with respect to the significance of fortresses in nineteenth-century warfare and their use in conjunction with field armies. From his analysis of other battles of the Crimean War and its general lessons he drew conclusions concerning the advantages of an offensive strategy and the concentration of forces in inflicting the main blow on the enemy's principal groupings, and on the often ephemeral nature of the surprise factor in cases when the consolidation and development of successes achieved in such a way are not ensured by corresponding means, etc.

In short, Engels in his work *The Armies of Europe* gave a broad picture of the level of development of warfare and the state of the armed forces in the middle of the nineteenth century. He analysed the equipment, recruiting method and special tactics of the armies of the different states to show the operation in this sphere of the basic laws of social development. This was to apply the basic principles of historical materialism by showing how the fighting efficiency of an army is determined primarily by the economy and the social and political system of the given country. Thus Engels pointed out that in the Prussian army, for example, the promising principle of recruiting and training of troops by means of a comparatively short period of military service for all those capable of it was frustrated by the representatives of the reactionary political system in order to have a "disposable and reliable army to be used, in case of need, against disturbances at home" (see this volume, p. 433). Again, Engels stressed that the fanning of national strife characteristic of

the Habsburg monarchy was also reflected in the Austrian army and had an adverse effect on its fighting efficiency. Engels similarly noted the influence of the surviving feudal relations on the armies of Russia, Turkey and a number of other states. Stressing that the general laws of the evolution of the armed forces manifest themselves in each country in a specific form, Engels showed the importance of national characteristics and traditions in the development of each army. At the same time he pointed out that the general progress of military technology and improvements introduced into warfare induce each army to take into account and use the experience of all the others. An important place in his work is occupied by criticism of the nationalistic tendencies in the treatment of military history by the ruling classes, in particular, in the thesis about the invincibility of this or that army at all times.

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The present volume contains 135 works by Marx and Engels. Seventy-six of the articles are published in English for the first time (six of them have been published in English in part). These include the great majority of articles published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, among them versions of items in the *New-York Daily Tribune* which Marx adapted for the German newspaper, and also the rough draft of Engels' "Crimean War", which is included in the section "From the Preparatory Materials". Thirty-seven of the articles contained in the present volume have not been reproduced in English since their first publication in English and American newspapers. Previous English publications of individual articles by Marx and Engels, in particular in *The Eastern Question*, London, 1897, are indicated in the notes.

In the absence of Marx's notebook for this period with entries concerning the dispatching of items to New York, authorship of articles by Marx and Engels in the *New-York Tribune*, which were usually printed anonymously, has been established mainly on the basis of information contained in correspondence, simultaneous publication in the European and American press, and peculiarities of content and style. During preparation of the articles the date when they were written was checked and most of the sources used by the authors were established.

Discrepancies of substance between the versions of the articles published simultaneously in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and the

*Neue Oder-Zeitung* are indicated in the footnotes. The same applies to other parallel publications (in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and *The People's Paper*, Engels' work *The Armies of Europe* which was published in *Putnam's Monthly* and the extracts from it that were translated into German by Marx for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, and other items). When the versions differ considerably, their texts are given in full. In quoting, Marx sometimes gives a free rendering rather than the exact words of the source. In the present edition quotations are given in the form in which they occur in Marx's text.

Misprints in quotations, proper names, geographical names, figures, dates, etc., discovered during the preparation of the present volume have been corrected (usually silently) on the basis of the sources used by Marx and Engels.

In the case of newspaper articles without a title, or of a number of those which formed part of a series, a heading or number has been provided by the editors in square brackets.

The volume was compiled, the text prepared and the preface and notes written by Stanislav Nikonenko and edited by Lev Golman (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). The name index, the index of periodicals and the glossary of geographical names were compiled by Natalia Martynova, the subject index by Marlen Arzumanov, and the index of quoted and mentioned literature by Yevgenia Dakhina (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

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# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## WORKS

February 1855-April 1856

New-York Tribune.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE STRUGGLE IN THE CRIMEA[1]

Immediately after the battle of the Alma,[2] and the march of the Allies on Balaklava, we expressed the opinion that the ultimate result of the Crimean campaign must depend on which of the contending parties should first bring up new forces sufficient to render it superior to its antagonist in numbers and efficiency.[a] The aspect of affairs has, since then, greatly altered, and many illusions have been destroyed; but, throughout the whole time, both the Russians and the Allies have been engaged in a sort of steeple-chase at reenforcements, and, in this effort, we are compelled to say that the Russians have the advantage. In spite of all the boasted improvements in mechanical skill and the means of transport, three or five hundred miles of road are still far easier traversed by an army of Russian barbarians than two thousand miles of sea by an army of highly-civilized French and English—especially when the latter make it a point to neglect all the advantages which their high civilization places at their disposal, and when the Russian barbarians can afford to lose two men to the Allies' one, without impairing their ultimate superiority.

But what can be in store for the Allies when one of their armies—the British—despairing of being destroyed by the Russians, deliberately sets about destroying itself with a systematic consistency, an eagerness, and a success which beat all its former achievements in any line whatever? Yet such is the case. The British force, we are now informed, has ceased to exist as an army. There are a few thousand men left, under arms, out of 54,000,

[a] See Engels' article "The Battle of the Alma" (present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 492-97).—*Ed.*

but they themselves are reported "fit for duty" merely because there is no hospital-room for them to die in. Of the French, some 50,000 may be still under arms, out of twice that number; and, at all events, they have managed to keep in a serviceable state at least five times as many, in proportion, as the British. But what are fifty or sixty thousand men to hold the Heracleatic Chersonese the winter through; to keep Sevastopol blockaded on the south side; to defend the trenches, and—what may be left of them—to take the offensive in spring?

For the present, the British have ceased to send reenforcements. In fact Raglan, despairing of his army, does not appear to wish for any, not knowing how to feed, house and employ even what is left to him. The French may be preparing a fresh set of divisions for embarkation in March, but they have plenty to do to prepare against the eventuality of a great continental spring campaign, and there are ten chances to one that what they send will either be too weak or come too late. To remedy this state of things two steps have been taken, both of which denote the utter helplessness of the Allies to avert the fate which seems inevitably, though slowly, to approach their armies in the Crimea. First, in order to redress the colossal blunder of having attempted this expedition four months too late, they commit the incommensurably greater blunder of sending to the Crimea, four months after their own arrival, and in the depth of winter, the only remnant of a decent army which Turkey still possesses. That army which was already being ruined and dissolving itself at Shumla under the neglect, incapacity and corruption of the Turkish Government, once landed in the Crimea, will melt away, by cold and hunger, at a ratio which will put to the blush even the achievements of the English War-Office in this branch—that is, if the Russians have the sense to leave the Turks, for a time, to themselves, without attacking them. If the weather permits an attack they will be destroyed at once, though at a greater cost to the Russians, and with hardly any advantage, except a moral one.

Then the Allies have taken into their pay—for that is the only way to express it—fifteen to twenty thousand Piedmontese,[3] who are to fill up the thinned ranks of the British army, and to be fed by the British Commissariat. The Piedmontese showed themselves brave and good soldiers in 1848 and '49. Being mostly mountaineers, they possess an infantry which, for skirmishing and fighting in broken ground, is naturally adapted in even a higher degree than the French, while the plains of the Po furnish cavalry soldiers whose tall, well-proportioned stature reminds one of the

crack regiments of British horse. They have, besides, not passed through the severe campaigns of the revolution without profit. There is no doubt that these two Piedmontese divisions will turn out as good a "foreign legion" as will figure in this war. But what are these light-footed, agile, handy little fellows to do under the command of an old British martinet,[a] who has no idea of maneuvering, and who expects nothing from his soldiers but the dogged stubbornness which is the glory and at the same time the only military quality of the British soldier? They will be placed in positions unsuited to their mode of fighting; they will be prevented from doing what they are fit for, while they will be expected to do things which no sensible man would ever set them to. To lead a British army in that senseless, point-blank, stupid way to the slaughter-house, as was done at the Alma, may be the shortest way to make them settle the business before them. The old Duke[b] generally took matters quite as easy. German troops may be made to do the same thing, although the high military education of German officers will not stand such want of generalship in the long run. But to attempt such things with a French, Italian or Spanish army—with troops essentially fitted for light-infantry duty, for maneuvering, for taking advantage of the ground—with troops whose efficiency, in a great measure, is made up by the agility and quick glance of every individual soldier—such a clumsy system of warfare will never do. The poor Piedmontese, however, will probably be spared the trial of fighting in the English way. They are to be fed by that notorious body, the British Commissariat, which could never feed anybody but themselves. Thus they will share the fate of the fresh arrivals of British troops. Like them, they will die at the rate of a hundred a week, and furnish three times that number to the hospitals. If Lord Raglan thinks that the Piedmontese will stand his and his Commissaries' incapacity as quietly as the British troops, he will find himself sadly mistaken. There are none but British and Russians who would remain in submission under such circumstances; and, we must say, it is not to the credit of their national character.

The probable development of this melancholy campaign—as melancholy and bleak as the muddy plateau of Sevastopol—will be this: The Russians, when fully concentrated, and when the weather permits, will probably attack the Turks of Omer Pasha

[a] Raglan.—*Ed.*
[b] Wellington.—*Ed.*

first. This is expected by British, French and Turks, so well aware are they of the unenviable position assigned to the latter; it shows, at all events, that the Turks are sent to the North with open eyes; and no better proof of the desperate condition of the Allies can be conceived than is contained in this involuntary admission of their own Generals. That the Turks will be beaten may be taken for certain. Then what will be the fate of the allied and Piedmontese armies? The bluster about an assault on Sevastopol is now pretty much abandoned. On this head we find in the London *Times* of Feb. 6, a letter from Col. E. Napier, to the effect that if the Allies attack the south side of Sevastopol, they will most likely get into it; but they will be pounded into dust by the overwhelming fire of the north forts and batteries, and at the same time besieged by the Russian army in the field. That army, he says, should first have been defeated, and then both the north and south sides of the place invested. As an instance in point, he recalls the fact that the Duke of Wellington twice raised the siege of Badajoz, in order to march against a relieving army.[4] Col. Napier is quite right, and the *Tribune* said quite as much, at the time of the famous flank march to Balaklava.[a] As to the Allies getting into Sevastopol, however, he appears to overlook the peculiar nature of the Russian defenses, which make it impossible to carry the place at one single assault. There are first, outworks, then the main rampart, and behind this the buildings of the town converted into redoubts; streets barricaded, squares of houses loopholed; and, finally, the loopholed rear walls of the strand-forts, every one of which, in succession, will require a separate attack—perhaps a separate siege, and even mining operations. But beside all this, the successful sorties of the Russians of late have sufficiently proved that the town has been approached to a point where the forces of the opponents are fully balanced, and the attack deprived of any superiority except in point of artillery. As long as sorties cannot be made impossible, all idea of an assault is preposterous; the besieger who cannot confine the besieged to the space of the actual fortress, is much less able to take that fortress by a hand-to-hand encounter.

Thus, the besiegers will continue to vegetate in their camp. Confined to it by weakness and the Russian army in the field, they will continue to melt away, while the Russians are bringing up

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[a] Presumably a reference to Engels' article "The Siege of Sevastopol" published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on November 15, 1854 (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 505-09).—*Ed.*

fresh forces; and unless the new British Ministry brings into play some quite unexpected resources, the day must come when British, French, Piedmontese and Turks are swept from Crimean soil.

Written about February 9, 1855

Reproduced from the newspaper

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Neue Oder-Zeitung.

Mittagblatt. In Breslau bei der Expedition und den Commanditen pr. Quartal 1 Thaler 20 Sgr. Breslau, Montag, den 12. Februar 1855. In Preußen bei allen Königl. Preuß. Post-Anstalten pr. Quartal 2 Thaler. № 71.

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## PALMERSTON.—THE ARMY[5]

*London*, February 9. Following their acceptance of new ministerial posts, Palmerston and Sidney Herbert have to submit to the formality of re-election to their parliamentary seats. For this reason both Houses were yesterday adjourned for a week. The statements by Lord Derby and the Marquis of Lansdowne in the House of Lords concerning the secret history of the ministerial crisis merely retold an oft-told tale.[a] The sole item of importance was a remark by Derby which contained the key to Lord Palmerston's position. Palmerston is known to have no parliamentary party behind him, or any clique masquerading under that name. Whigs, Tories and Peelites[6] regard him with equal suspicion. The Manchester School[7] is in open conflict with him. His personal supporters among the Mayfair Radicals[8] (as distinct from the Manchester Radicals) number a dozen at the most. Who and what, then, enables him to impose himself on the Crown and on Parliament? His popularity? No more so than unpopularity prevented Gladstone, Herbert, Graham and Clarendon from again seizing the helm of state. Or is the man who never belonged to a party, served all of them alternately, deserted them all in turn and invariably held the balance between them, is he the natural leader of defunct parties which seek to stem the tide of history by forming a coalition? This fact proves nothing at the *present* moment, since it was insufficient to put Palmerston rather than Aberdeen at the head of the coalition in 1852.

Derby has supplied the answer to the riddle. Palmerston is evidently Bonaparte's friend. His premature recognition of the

[a] Derby's and Lansdowne's speeches in the House of Lords on February 8, 1855 were reported in *The Times*, No. 21973, February 9, 1855.—*Ed.*

*coup d'état* in December 1851 was then ostensibly the reason for his expulsion from the Whig Ministry.[9] Bonaparte therefore regards him as *persona grata*, and a trustworthy man. The alliance with Bonaparte is therefore decisive at the moment. Palmerston has thus used foreign affairs to tip the balance of ministerial groupings—and not for the first time, as closer examination of the history of British ministries between 1830 and 1852 would show.

Since at present the situation of the Crimean army can no longer be exploited for the purpose of cabinet intrigues, Lord John Russell went back on his pessimistic opinion in yesterday's sitting in the Commons, allowed the strength of the British army to grow by some 10,000 men and exchanged congratulations with the God-fearing Gladstone.[a] Despite this "parliamentary resurrection" of the British army, there can be no doubt that at the present moment it has ceased to exist as an army. Some few thousand are still listed as "fit for service" because there is no room in the hospitals to receive them. Out of 100,000 the French still number some 50,000, but what are 50,000 or 60,000 men to hold Heracleatic Chersonese through the winter, to blockade the south side of Sevastopol, to defend the trenches and to take the offensive in the spring with those who are left? The French may hold in readiness fresh divisions for embarkation in March, but they are busy preparing for a spring campaign on the continent, and there is every probability that their shipments will be too few or will arrive too late.

That the English and French governments are helpless, indeed have given up the army in the Crimea for lost, is apparent from the two measures to which they have resorted in order to remedy their misfortunes.

In order to make good the error of having undertaken the expedition four months too late, they are committing the incomparably greater error of sending to the Crimea, the only remnants of the Turkish army that are still serviceable, four months after their own arrival and in mid-winter. This army, already broken and in the process of disintegration at Shumla as a consequence of the neglect, incompetence and corruption of the Turkish government, will in the Crimea melt away with cold and hunger to an extent which will even surpass British achievements in this field.

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[a] Lord John Russell's speech in the House of Commons on February 8, 1855. *The Times*, No. 21973, February 9, 1855.—*Ed.*

As soon as the Russians have attained their full concentration and the weather permits field operations, they will probably first attack the Turks under Omer Pasha. This is expected by the British and French. Thus conscious are they of the unenviable position they have assigned to them. Thus clearly do they show that the strategic error of now throwing the Turks in on the northern side was committed with open eyes. The Turks would only be able to save themselves from ultimate destruction by the most incomprehensible errors on the part of the Russians.

Secondly, the Anglo-French have hired 15,000 Piedmontese for the purpose of swelling the sparse ranks of the British; they are to be fed by the British Commissariat. In 1848 and 1849 the Piedmontese showed themselves to be brave and good soldiers. For the most part mountain-dwellers, their infantry surpasses even the French in skirmishing, sniping and fighting on broken terrain. The plains of the Po on the other hand have produced a cavalry which bears comparison with the British Horse Guards. Finally, they have had a hard schooling in the most recent revolutionary campaigns. These fleet-footed, mobile, adroit little fellows are fit for anything, but not to be British soldiers, which is what they are to be turned into, nor for the direct, ponderous frontal attacks which are the only tactics Raglan knows. And on top of that, to be fed by a British Commissariat whose only previous experience was of feeding itself! The 15,000 Piedmontese will therefore probably prove to be a further blunder.

British reinforcements have been suspended for the present. Raglan himself appears to be refusing them, as he cannot even cope with the remnants he still has. It is hardly believable that the more the British camp is afflicted with disease, overwork and lack of rest, the more prevalent becomes the admirable practice of corporal punishment. Men who are fit only to be sent to hospital, who for weeks have slept and been on duty in wet clothes and on wet ground and have borne all this with almost superhuman tenacity—if these men are caught dozing in the trenches, they are treated to the cat-o'-nine-tails and the birch. "Fifty strokes for every vagabond!"—that is the only strategic order that Lord Raglan occasionally issues. Is it any wonder then that the soldiers of the perpetrator of the famous "flanking-march" to Balaklava follow suit and evade the birch with a "flanking-march" to the Russians? Desertions to the Russian camp are becoming more numerous every day, as *The Times* correspondent reported.[a]

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[a] Report by W. H. Russell in *The Times*, No. 21971, February 7, 1855.—*Ed.*

All the big talk about storming Sevastopol has of course ceased. The Russian army would first have to be beaten in the field. Thus Wellington twice raised the siege of Badajoz to march against a relief army. We have furthermore already seen that the newly-erected Russian defence works make it impossible for the place to be taken by storm.[a] Finally, the most recent Russian sorties prove that the allied army is at present superior to the Russians only in artillery. As long as sorties cannot be prevented, any idea of storming is absurd; besiegers who are incapable of confining the besieged to the area of the actual fortress are even less capable of seizing the fortress in hand-to-hand combat. Thus the besiegers will continue to vegetate, confined to their camp by their own weakness and by the Russian army in the field. They will continue to melt away, whilst the Russians bring up fresh forces. The prelude to the European war being enacted in the Crimea will end with the destruction of the allied troops unless some completely unexpected resources, which cannot be foreseen, are discovered.

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[a] A reference to Engels' article "Critical Observations on the Siege of Sevastopol" (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 593-95).—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## FROM PARLIAMENT.
## [—GLADSTONE AT THE DISPATCH-BOX]

*London*, February 10. Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer of dogmatism and Duns Scotus of finance, has provided a further demonstration of the old saying that faith moves mountains. By faith, Gladstone has resurrected the dead, and by faith increased the strength of the British army in the Crimea from 11,000 to 30,000 men.[a] He is demanding the same faith from Parliament. Unfortunately the report from Dr. Hall, head of the medical department in the camp at Sevastopol, has just arrived.[b] Not only has the 63rd Regiment entirely vanished, according to this report, and of the 46th, which left Britain last November 1,000 men strong, only 30 are still fit for service, but Dr. Hall declares that half of the troops still on active service should be in hospital and that there are at most 5,000-6,000 men really fit for service in camp. Anyone who is familiar with the tricks performed by pious apologists will not doubt that, like Falstaff, Gladstone will turn 6,000 rogues in buckram[c] into 30,000. Has he not already told us in last Thursday's sitting that the two estimates arose from different points of view, e.g. the minimisers of the army in the Crimea were not counting the cavalry as he was, as though there had been any cavalry worth mentioning since the battle of Balaklava.[10] For Gladstone it is a simple matter to count in those who are "not there". It would be hard to outdo the unction with which in last Thursday's sitting he concluded his "budget" on the

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[a] Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on February 8, 1855. *The Times*, No. 21973, February 9, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Published in *The Times*, No. 21972, February 8, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, Part I, Act II, Scene 4.—*Ed.*

strength of the army—in which every debit figures as credit and every deficit as surplus—saying that "he forgave the opponents of the government their exaggerations". It would be equally hard to outdo the tone and posture with which he exhorted the Members of Parliament not to let themselves be carried away by "emotions". To bear the woes of *others* with humility and equanimity—so runs the God-fearing Gladstone's motto.

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# Karl Marx

## LORD PALMERSTON[11]

[*Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 79, February 16, 1855]

*London*, February 12. Lord Palmerston is incontestably the most interesting phenomenon of official England. Although an old man, and almost uninterruptedly upon the public stage since 1807, he has contrived to remain news and to keep alive all the hopes commonly associated with promising and untried youth. With one foot in the grave, he is supposed to be still on the threshold of his true career. Were he to die tomorrow, all England would be surprised to learn that he had been a Minister for half a century. Though he is not a universal statesman, he is certainly a universal actor—equally successful in the heroic and the comic, the sublime and the vulgar style, in tragedy and in farce, although the last is, perhaps, better attuned to his nature. He is not a first-class orator, but is accomplished in debate. With a wonderful memory, great experience, consummate tact, never-failing presence of mind, refined flexibility and the most intimate knowledge of parliamentary artifices, intrigues, parties and personalities, he handles difficult cases with winsome ease, adapting himself to the prejudices of each audience in turn, shielded against all surprise by his nonchalance, against all self-betrayal by his egoistical facility, against impassioned ebullitions by his profound frivolity and aristocratic indifference. His happy wit enables him to insinuate himself with all and sundry. Because he always remains cool-headed, he impresses hot-headed opponents. If a general standpoint be wanting, he is ever prepared to spin a web of elegant generalities. If incapable of mastering a subject, he contrives to toy with it. If afraid to join issue with a powerful foe, he contrives to improvise a weak one.

Submitting to foreign influence in practice, he combats it in words. Since he has inherited from Canning—who, however, warned against him on his death-bed—England's mission of disseminating constitutional propaganda on the Continent, he never, of course, lacks a theme with which to flatter national prejudice while simultaneously keeping alive the jealous suspicions of foreign powers. Having thus conveniently become the *bête noire* of continental courts, he could hardly fail to figure at home as a "truly English Minister". Although originally a Tory, he has succeeded in introducing into his conduct of foreign affairs all those "shams"[a] and contradictions that constitute the essence of Whiggism. He contrives to reconcile democratic phraseology with oligarchic views; to offset the bourgeoisie and their advocacy of peace with the overbearing language of England's aristocratic past; to seem an aggressor when he assents and a defender when he betrays; to spare an ostensible enemy and embitter an alleged ally; to be at the decisive moment of the dispute on the side of the stronger against the weak, and to utter courageous words in the very act of turning tail.

Accused by one side of being in Russia's pay, he is suspected by the other of Carbonarism.[12] If, in 1848, he had to defend himself in Parliament against a motion calling for his impeachment for acting in collusion with Russia, he had the satisfaction in 1850 of being the object of a conspiracy between foreign embassies which succeeded in the House of Lords but came to grief in the House of Commons.[13] When he betrayed foreign nations, it was always done with extreme courtesy. While the oppressors could always count on his active support, the oppressed never wanted for the pageantry of his noble rhetoric. Poles, Italians, Hungarians, etc., invariably found him at the helm when they were vanquished, but their conquerors always suspected him of having conspired with the victims he had allowed them to make. Having him for a foe has, in every instance up till now, spelled a likelihood of success, having him for a friend, the certainty of ruin. But though the art of his diplomacy is not manifest in the actual results of his negotiations abroad, it shines forth all the more brightly in the manner in which he has succeeded in [inducing] the English people to accept phrase for fact, fantasy for reality and high-sounding pretexts for shabby motivation.

Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston, was appointed

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[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

Junior Lord[a] of the Admiralty in 1807, when the Duke of Portland formed his administration. In 1809 he became Secretary at War[a] and retained this post until May 1828 in the Ministries of Perceval, Liverpool, Canning, Goderich and Wellington. It is certainly strange to find the Don Quixote of "free institutions", the Pindar of the "glories of the constitutional system", as an eminent and permanent member of the Tory administration which promulgated the Corn Laws,[14] stationed foreign mercenaries on English soil, every now and then—to use an expression of Lord Sidmouth's—"let the people's blood", gagged the Press, suppressed meetings, disarmed the nation at large, suspended regular courts of justice along with individual freedom—in a word declared a state of siege in Great Britain and Ireland! In 1829 Palmerston went over to the Whigs who, in November 1830, appointed him Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Save for the intervals between November 1834 and April 1835 and between 1841 and 1846, when the Tories were at the helm, he was in sole charge of England's foreign policy from the time of the revolution of 1830 to the *coup d'état* of 1851. We shall survey his achievements during that period in another letter.

[*Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 83, February 19, 1855][b]

*London*, February 14. In recent weeks *Punch* has been wont to present Lord Palmerston in the guise of the clown of the puppet show. As everyone knows, that clown is a mischief-monger by profession, who loves noisy ructions, a concocter of pernicious misunderstandings, a virtuoso of rowdyism, at home only in the general hurly-burly he has created, in the course of which he throws wife, child and, at last, even the police out of the window, ending up, after much ado about nothing, by extricating himself from the scrape more or less intact and full of malicious glee at the turn the rumpus has taken. And, from a picturesque point of view, Lord Palmerston does indeed appear thus—a restless and untiring spirit who seeks out difficulties, imbroglios and confusion as the natural element of his activity and hence creates conflict where he does not find it ready-made. Never has an English Foreign Secretary shown himself so busy in every corner of the earth—blockades of the Scheldt, the Tagus, the Douro,[15]

[a] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*
[b] The second instalment was published under the heading "Palmerston".—*Ed.*

blockades of Mexico and Buenos Aires,[16] Naples expeditions, Pacifico expeditions, expeditions to the Persian Gulf,[17] wars in Spain for "liberty" and in China for the importation of opium,[18] North American border disputes,[19] Afghanistan campaigns, bombardment of Saint-Jean-d'Acre,[20] squabbles over the right to search shipping off West Africa,[21] discord even in the "Pacific", and all this to the accompaniment of and supplemented by innumerable minatory notes, stacks of minutes and diplomatic protests. On average, all this noise would seem to dissipate itself in heated parliamentary debates which provide as many ephemeral triumphs for the noble lord. He appears to handle foreign conflicts like an artist who is prepared to go so far and no further, withdrawing as soon as they threaten to become too serious, and have provided him with the dramatic stimulus he requires. In this way, world history itself takes on the air of a pastime expressly invented for the private satisfaction of the noble Viscount Palmerston of Palmerston. This is the first impression Palmerston's chequered diplomacy makes on the impartial observer. A closer examination reveals, however, that, strange to say, one country has invariably profited from his diplomatic zigzag course, and that country was not England but Russia. In 1841 [Joseph] Hume, a friend of Palmerston's, declared:

> "Were the Tsar of Russia[a] to have an agent in the British Cabinet, his interests could not be better represented than they are by the noble Lord."

In 1837 Lord Dudley Stuart, one of Palmerston's greatest admirers, apostrophised him as follows:

> "How much longer [...] did the noble lord propose to allow Russia thus to insult Great Britain, and thus to injure British commerce? [...] The noble lord was degrading England in the eyes of the world by holding her out in the character of a bully—haughty and tyrannical to the weak, humble and abject to the strong."[b]

At any rate it cannot be denied that all treaties favourable to Russia, from the Treaty of Adrianople to the Treaty of Balta-Liman[22] and the Treaty of the Danish Succession,[23] were concluded under Palmerston's auspices. True, the Treaty of Adrianople found Palmerston in opposition, not in office; but for one thing he was the first to give the treaty his blessing, though in an underhand way and, for another, being then the leader of the

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[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

[b] From Stuart's speech in the House of Commons on March 17, 1837. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, third series, Vol. XXXVII, London, 1837.—*Ed.*

Whig Opposition, he attacked Aberdeen for his Austro-Turkish bias and declared Russia to be the champion of civilization. (Cf., for instance, the sittings of the House of Commons of June 1, 1829, June 11, 1829,[a] February 16, 1830, etc ) On this occasion, Sir Robert Peel told him in the House of Commons that "he did not know whom Palmerston really represented".[b] In November 1830 Palmerston took over the Foreign Office. Not only did he reject France's offer of joint intervention on Poland's behalf because of "the relations between the Cabinet of St. James and the Cabinet of St. Petersburg"; he also forbade Sweden to arm and threatened Persia with war should she fail to withdraw the army she had already dispatched to the Russian frontier. He himself helped to defray the cost of Russia's campaign in as much as, without parliamentary authorisation, he continued to pay out principal and interest on the so-called Russian-Dutch loan after the Belgian revolution had invalidated the stipulations governing that loan.[24] In 1832 he allowed the mortgage on state demesnes which the National Assembly of Greece had guaranteed the English contracting party to the Anglo-Greek Loan of 1824, to be repudiated and transferred as security for a new loan effected under Russian auspices. His despatches to Mr. Dawkins, English representative in Greece, invariably read: "You are to act in concert with the agents of Russia."[c] On July 8, 1833, Russia extorted from the Porte the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi whereby the Dardanelles were closed to European warships, and Russia (cf. second article of the treaty) was assured of an eight years' dictatorship in Turkey.[25] The Sultan[d] was forced to sign the treaty by the presence of a Russian fleet in the Bosphorus and of a Russian army outside the gates of Constantinople—allegedly as a protection against Ibrahim Pasha. Palmerston had repeatedly refused Turkey's urgent plea that he intervene on her behalf, and had thus forced her into accepting the help of Russia. (He himself said as much in the House of Commons on July 11, August 24, etc., 1833 and March 17, 1834.) When Lord Palmerston entered the Foreign Office he found English influence clearly preponderant in Persia. His standing order to English agents was that they should "in all cases act in concert with

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[a] Presumably an error in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*. On June 11, 1829, Parliament did not sit. The reference is to Palmerston's speech on February 5, 1830 (see present edition, Vol. 12, p. 355).—*Ed.*

[b] From Peel's speech in the House of Commons on February 16, 1830.—*Ed.*

[c] P. I. Rickmann.—*Ed.*

[d] Mahmud II.—*Ed.*

the Russian Ambassador". With his support, Russia placed a Russian pretender on the Persian throne.[a] Lord Palmerston sanctioned the Russo-Persian expedition against Herat.[26] Only when this had failed did he order an Anglo-Indian expedition into the Persian Gulf, a stratagem that strengthened Russia's influence in Persia. In 1836, under the noble lord, Russia's usurpations in the Danubian Delta, her quarantines, her customs regulations,[27] etc., were recognized by England for the first time. In the same year the confiscation of a British merchant vessel, the *Vixen*—and the *Vixen* had been sent out at the instigation of the British government—by a Russian warship in the Circassian Bay of Soujouk-Kale was used by him as a pretext to accord official recognition to Russian claims to the Circassian littoral. It transpired on this occasion that, as much as six years previously, he had secretly recognized Russia's claims to the Caucasus. On this occasion the noble Viscount escaped a vote of censure in the House of Commons by a slender majority of sixteen. One of his most vehement accusers at the time was Sir Stratford Canning, now Lord Redcliffe, English Ambassador at Constantinople. In 1836 one of the English agents[b] in Constantinople concluded a trade agreement with Turkey which was advantageous to England. Palmerston delayed ratification and, in 1838, substituted another treaty so greatly to Russia's advantage and England's detriment that a number of English merchants in the Levant decided they would in future trade under the aegis of Russian firms. The death of King William IV gave rise to the notorious *Portfolio* scandal. At the time of the Warsaw revolution[28] a collection of secret letters, despatches, etc. by Russian diplomats and ministers had fallen into the hands of the Poles when they captured the palace of the Grand Duke Constantine. Count Zamoyski, Prince Czartoryski's nephew, took them to England. There, on the orders of the King and under Urquhart's editorship and Palmerston's supervision, they were published in *The Portfolio.* No sooner was the King dead than Palmerston denied all connection with *The Portfolio,* refused to pay the printer's[c] bills, etc. Urquhart published his correspondence with Backhouse, Palmerston's Under-Secretary of State.[d] Upon this *The Times* (26 January, 1839) comments:

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[a] Mohammed-Shah.—*Ed.*
[b] David Urquhart.—*Ed.*
[c] F. J. Shoberl.—*Ed.*
[d] *The Times,* No. 16948, January 25, 1839.—*Ed.*

"It is not for us to understand how Lord Palmerston may feel, but we are sure there is no misapprehending how any other person in the station of a gentleman, and in the position of a Minister, would feel, after the notoriety given to the correspondence...."

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# Karl Marx

## HERBERT'S RE-ELECTION.—THE FIRST MEASURES OF THE NEW MINISTRY.—NEWS FROM INDIA

*London*, February 16. The farce of Mr. Sidney Herbert's re-election as Member of Parliament for the southern division of Wiltshire took place yesterday in Salisbury Town Hall.[a] Even among the English counties Wilts is notorious for a concentration of land-ownership which has turned the whole area into the property of fewer than a dozen families. With the exception of some districts in Northern Scotland, the land has nowhere been so thoroughly "cleared" of inhabitants, nor the system of modern agriculture applied so consistently. Except when family feuds happen to break out among its few landlords, Wilts never sees an electoral campaign.

No rival candidate had been put up against Sidney Herbert. The High Sheriff,[b] who presided over the election, therefore declared him re-elected by all the forms of law at the very beginning of the meeting. Sidney Herbert then rose and addressed a number of very worn-out platitudes to his tenants and vassals. Meanwhile there had gradually gathered in the Town Hall an audience of townspeople who were not entitled to vote but whom the English Constitution fobs off with the privilege of boring the candidates at the hustings.[c] Scarcely had Sidney Herbert sat down than a barrage of questions volleyed about his venerable head. "What about the green coffee-beans served to our soldiers?", "Where is our army?", "What did *The Times* say of

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[a] A report on the re-election was published in *The Times*, No. 21979, February 16, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] E. L. Clutterbuck.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

you yesterday?",[29] "Why did you spare Odessa?", "Does your uncle, the Russian Prince Vorontsov, own palaces in Odessa?", etc. Naturally not the slightest notice was taken of these unparliamentary questioners. On the contrary, Sidney Herbert availed himself of the first lull to propose a vote of thanks to the Sheriff for his "impartial" conduct of the "proceedings". This was accepted amidst applause from the parliamentary audience, and hissing and groaning from the unparliamentary. There then followed a second volley of ejaculatory questions: "Who starved our soldiers? Let him go to war himself! etc." No more result than before. The Sheriff then declared the play, which had lasted little more than half an hour, to be over, and the curtain fell.

The first measures of the re-constituted ministry were by no means received with approval. As Lord Panmure, the new Secretary for War, is an invalid, the main burden of his administration falls to the Under-Secretary for War. The appointment of Frederick Peel, the younger son of the late Peel, to this important post arouses all the more displeasure since Frederick Peel is a notorious mediocrity. Despite his youth, he is the living incarnation of routine. Other men become bureaucrats. He came into the world as one. Frederick Peel owes his post to the influence of the Peelites. It was therefore necessary to balance the scales with a Whig in the other pan. Sir Francis Baring has therefore been appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He was Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Melbourne's Whig administration and at that time bore the well-deserved nickname of "Mr. Deficit". The most recent army appointments all remain true to the system of gerontocracy. Thus the octogenarian Lord Seaton has been appointed to the command of the army in Ireland. Lord Rokeby, old, gout-ridden, and deaf, has been dispatched to the Crimea as commander of the Brigade of Guards. Command of the Second Division there—formerly under Sir de Lacy Evans—has fallen to General Simpson, who is no Samson but on the contrary occupied a fitting retirement-post as veteran Lieutenant-Governor of Portsmouth. General Somerset, already a Brigadier in 1811, has been sent to India as commanding General. Finally Admiral Boxer, "that anarch old", as *The Times* calls him,[a] who threw the whole transport service into utter confusion in Constantinople, has now been ordered to Balaklava to put that harbour into "proper order".

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21979, February 16, 1855. The passage quoted below is from the same issue.—*Ed.*

"We fear," says *The Times*, "we must look elsewhere for Ministerial vigour. [...] It is vain for us to appeal to those who do these things against such cruel and wanton squandering of the best resources of the nation. Were they not infatuated by a long course of power, which only shifted from one portion of their own [...] class to another, they would scarcely have chosen this moment at least for the exhibition of such wanton and short-sighted selfishness. The instinct of self-preservation would have taught them better, but we solemnly ask the people of England whether they will suffer their countrymen to be thus sacrificed at the shrine of cruel apathy or helpless incapacity." *The Times* threatens: "It is not a Government, nor is it even a House of Commons. It is the British Constitution that is under trial."

The latest news from India is important because it describes the deplorable state of business in Calcutta and Bombay. In the manufacturing districts the crisis is slowly but surely advancing. The owners of spinning-mills of fine yarn in Manchester decided at a meeting held the day before yesterday only to open their factories four days a week from February 26 and in the meantime to call on the manufacturers in the surrounding area to follow their example. In the factories in Blackburn, Preston and Bolton notice has already been given to the workers that there will henceforth only be "short time". The fact that in the past year many manufacturers have tried to force the markets by circumventing the commission-houses and taking their export business into their own hands means that bankruptcies will be all the larger in number and in size. *The Manchester Guardian* admitted last Wednesday[a] that there was *overproduction* not only of manufactured goods but also of factories.

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[a] February 14, 1855.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## PARLIAMENT

*London*, February 17. Parliament re-assembled yesterday. The House of Commons was obviously displeased. It appeared to be distressed by the conviction that the transactions of the last three weeks had completely broken its authority. There sat the old ministry once more, only reburnished. Two elderly Lords[a] who could not abide each other had disappeared from it, but a third elderly Lord who had shared the vote of no-confidence with those two had not fallen down a rung, but simply up to the top rung. Lord Palmerston was received in solemn silence. No "cheers",[b] no enthusiasm. Contrary to custom, his speech was received with visible indifference and ill-tempered scepticism. For once, too, his memory played him false, and he hesitated, hunting through the notes he had before him, until Sir Charles Wood in a whisper restored the broken thread. His audience seemed not to believe that the change of firm would save the old house from bankruptcy. His whole manner recalled Cardinal Alberoni's verdict on William of Orange:

> "He was a strong man while he held the balance. He is weak now that he has used his own weight to tip the scales."

The most important fact however was undoubtedly the appearance of a new coalition in opposition to the new version of the old one—the coalition of the Tories under Disraeli and the most outspoken section of the Radicals, men like Layard, Duncombe, Horsman, etc. It was precisely amongst the latter, the Mayfair

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[a] Lord Aberdeen and Lord John Russell.—*Ed.*
[b] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

Radicals,[30] that Palmerston hitherto counted his loudest supporters. Layard had been disappointed in his hopes of receiving a junior post in the Ministry for War, so mutters one government paper. Let him have a post!—hisses another.

Lord Palmerston began the announcement of his new ministry with a brief account of the ministerial crisis. Then he praised his own creation. The ministry he had formed

> "contains sufficient administrative ability, sufficient political sagacity, sufficient liberal principle, sufficient patriotism and determination to [...] fulfil its duties".[a]

Lord Clarendon, Lord Panmure, Mr. Gladstone, Sir James Graham—each was duly complimented. Excellent though the ministry was, it had one great difficulty staring it in the face. Here was Mr. Roebuck, insisting on having his Committee of Inquiry nominated next Thursday. Why had the House need of a committee? He would remind them of an anecdote from the days of Richard II at the time of Wat Tyler's uprising. The young monarch is said to have encountered a troop of rebels, whose chief had just been slain before their eyes. Boldly going up to them, he is said to have exclaimed: "You have lost your leader; my friends, I will be your leader." "So I say" (the young (!) dictator Palmerston), "if you, the House of Commons, now forego this committee, the Government itself will be your committee."

This somewhat irreverent comparison of the House to a band of "rebels" and the unblushing demand of the cabinet to be appointed judge in its own cause, were received with ironical laughter. What do you want, cried Palmerston, raising his voice and tilting his head into that attitude of Irish audacity for which he is known. What is the purpose of a Committee of Inquiry? Administrative improvements? Very well! Hear all the things we intend to improve. Previously you had two Ministers of War, the Secretary at War[b] and the Minister for War. Henceforth you shall have but one, the latter. In the Department of Ordnance, the military command will be transferred to the Commander-in-Chief (Horse Guards[c]) and the civil administration to the Secretary for War. The Transport Board will be enlarged. Previously, under

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[a] Excerpts from the speeches by Palmerston and other participants in the House of Commons debate of February 16 are quoted from *The Times*, No. 21980, February 17, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*

[c] Horse Guards, the English term given by Marx, was used to denote the Commander-in-Chief of the British army, since he and his personnel were housed in what was originally the barracks of the Horse Guards.—*Ed.*

the Act of 1847, the term of service was 10 years. It will now be made optional for men to enlist for any number of years they wish, from 1 to 10. No man will be enlisted below the age of 24 nor over 32. Now to the theatre of war! In order to introduce uniformity, vigour and order into the conduct and management of the war, Palmerston has chosen the unusual device of providing each post with a controller with unspecified powers. Lord Raglan remains Commander-in-Chief but General Simpson becomes Chief of Staff, and Raglan "will feel it his duty to adopt his recommendations". Sir John Burgoyne is recalled to service, and Sir Harry Jones becomes Chief of the Commissariat, with unspecified dictatorial power. At the same time however a civilian, Sir John MacNeill (author of the famous pamphlet *Russia's Progress in the East*), is ordered to the Crimea to inquire into misappropriation, incompetence and dereliction of duty by the Commissariat. New hospital arrangements in Smyrna and Scutari; reform of the medical department in the Crimea and at home, transport vessels for sick and wounded plying every 10 days between the Crimea and Britain. At the same time however the Minister for War[a] will borrow three civilians from the Minister of Health[b] and send them to the Crimea to make the necessary sanitary arrangements for the prevention of pestilence when the spring weather comes and to organise inquiries into the staff and management of the medical department. As one can see, there is excellent opportunity for conflicts of authority. In order to compensate Lord Raglan for his "command hedged about by constitutional institutions", he receives full authorisation to negotiate in Constantinople for a corps of 300 Turkish street-sweepers and grave-diggers whose task will be to consign the army of dead, the decaying horses and other ordure into the sea when the warm season comes. A separate department of land transport will be set up in the theatre of war. Whilst thus on the one hand, preparations are made for waging the war, in Vienna peace will be prepared by Lord John Russell, if that is expedient.

*Disraeli*: When one has heard the noble Lord extolling his colleagues' "administrative ability and political sagacity", it is [hard] to believe that he is speaking of the same "unparalleled blunderers" whom the House condemned 19 days before[c]!

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[a] F. M. Panmure.—*Ed.*

[b] B. Hall.—*Ed.*

[c] A reference to the House of Commons debate of January 29, 1855. *The Times*, No. 21964, January 30, 1855.—*Ed.*

Supposing that the promised improvements are implemented and are what they are given out to be, what a satire they were on the ministry which alone had opposed them and which had declared a Commons inquiry into the previous mismanagement to be a vote of no-confidence in itself. Even Lord John Russell had declared he found the mysterious disappearance of the army inexplicable and an investigation of its secret causes to be unavoidable.[a] Was the House to delude itself into rescinding the decision it had reached only 10 days ago? By so doing, it would irrevocably forfeit its public influence for years. What was the argument of the noble Lord and his reburnished colleagues to induce the House of Commons to stultify itself? Promises which would never have been made, had it not been for the threat of a Committee of Inquiry. He would insist on a parliamentary inquiry. Palmerston was commencing his new post by threatening Parliament's freedom of movement. Never had a ministry met with such support and willingness from the opposition as had Lord Aberdeen's, the "late" ministry, or how should he call it! There were two Dromios[b] that confounded him; he would therefore say "the late Ministry and their present faithful representatives—their identical representatives on the government bench".

*Roebuck* declared that next Thursday he intended to table a list of names for the Committee, which the House had already adopted. The administration was the old one, only the cards had been shuffled but had fallen into the same hands again. Nothing short of the direct intervention of the House of Commons could break the shackles of routine and remove the obstacles which prevented the government from carrying out the necessary reforms, even if it wished to do so.

*T[homas] Duncombe*: The noble Lord had told them, he and the government would like to be their committee. They were mightily grateful! What the House wanted to do was to inquire into the conduct of the noble Lord and his colleagues! He had promised reforms, but who was to institute them? The very men whose administration had created the necessity for reforms. There had been no change in the administration. It was the *status quo ante*[c] Roebuck. Lord John Russell had deserted his post in cowardly fashion. Lord Palmerston himself might be said to be the "faded

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[a] John Russell's speech in the House of Commons on February 8, 1855. *The Times*, No. 21973, February 9, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Characters from Shakespeare's *The Comedy of Errors*.—*Ed.*

[c] The position as before [the motion by].—*Ed.*

gem" of 13 bygone administrations, from that of Lord Liverpool down to the present one. Therefore he must undoubtedly be possessed of "great experience as well as of high administrative talent". His Lord Panmure was not even the equal of the Duke of Newcastle. The appointment of the committee was not a censure. It was a question of inquiry. Censure would probably follow on its heels. Concerning the negotiations in Vienna, here too the government was in opposition to the people. The people was demanding a revision of the treaties of Vienna of 1815 in the interests of the Poles, Hungarians and Italians. By war against Russia however, it understood the literal destruction of Russian preponderance.

One can see that Palmerston's ministry is continuing from the point where Aberdeen's ministry ended—with the fight against Roebuck's motion. Between now and next Thursday every effort will be made to obtain by hook or by crook a ministerial majority against the Committee of Inquiry.

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# Karl Marx

## THE COALITION BETWEEN TORIES AND RADICALS

*London*, February 19. The coalition between Tories and Radicals, the first signs of which we reported in our last contribution,[a] is today being talked of as a *fait accompli* by the whole of the London daily press. The government *Morning Chronicle* observes on the subject:

"Yet there never yet was a *revolution* which was not accelerated from pique, wounded vanity, misplaced ambition, or sheer folly, by its predestined and unconscious victims; and the motley combination of Derbyites and Liberals who have coalesced with Mr. Roebuck are treading in the very footsteps of those members of the Chamber of Deputies who, when getting up the Reform banquets of 1848, sought only to displace a Ministry, and ended by upsetting a throne."[b]

Roebuck, it asserts, is ready to play the part of a Robespierre *or* (a most remarkable or!) of a Ledru-Rollin. His intention is to form a "committee of public safety". He had had no qualms about proposing the following names for the committee which he had requested: Roebuck, Drummond, Layard, Sir Joseph Paxton (who built the palace for the Great Exhibition[31]), Lord Stanley (Derby's son), Ellice, Whiteside, Disraeli, Butt, Lowe (a member of *The Times*' secret council) and Miles.

"It is useless," continues *The Morning Chronicle*, "to disguise that we are openly threatened with a revolutionary crusade against the aristocracy of this country. [...] The demagogues [...] are seeking the overthrow of Lord Palmerston's Administra-

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[a] See this volume, pp. 24-25.—*Ed.*

[b] "The prudence, fairness and consistency of nominating Mr. Roebuck's committee...", *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 27504, February 19, 1855. The item containing the passage "It is useless to disguise..." which is quoted below was published in the same issue.—*Ed.*

tion, by skilfully playing off against it the associated, though not combined, forces of Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Roebuck. Democracy is seeking to bring about a revolution by methodically overthrowing one cabinet after another."[a]

Finally, a government paper threatens the dissolution of Parliament, [an] "appeal to the people", as Bonaparte did a few months before the *coup d'état.*

*The Economist,* whose publisher *Wilson* is Secretary of the Treasury, declares "a representative Constitution" to be incompatible with the conduct of war.[b] The former hat-maker Wilson therefore proposes that Members of Parliament who accept offices of state should be released from the obligation of re-election and cabinet ministers should *ex officio* be granted a seat and voice in the House of Commons. Thus the ministry is to become independent of electors and the House of Commons, but the House would become dependent on the ministry. With regard to this, *The Daily News* warns:

"The people of England must be on their guard, and prepared to make a resolute stand in defence of their representative institutions. [...] An attempt is about to be made to render Government more independent of the House of Commons. [...] This [...] would bring the [...] Government into conflict with the House of Commons. The result would be a *revolution.*"[c]

And in fact in Marylebone—considered to be one of the most radical districts of London—a meeting has been called for next Wednesday,[d] to pass resolutions on "the government's attempt [...] to resist the parliamentary inquiry".[e]

Whilst *The Morning Chronicle* is thus prophesying revolution and *The Daily News* an attempt at counter-revolution, *The Times* also is making reference to the February Revolution, although with regard not to the reform-banquets but to Praslin's murder. For a few days ago, in the Irish Court of Chancery, an inheritance case was brought in which the Marquis of Clanricarde—an English peer, ambassador at the court of St. Petersburg during Melbourne's administration and Postmaster-General during Russell's—

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[a] The concluding sentence given by Marx is not a direct quotation from *The Morning Chronicle,* but rather summarises the gist of several paragraphs.—*Ed.*

[b] "Two Much Needed Reforms", *The Economist,* No. 599, February 17, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Daily News,* No. 2731, February 19, 1855.—*Ed.*

[d] February 21, 1855.—*Ed.*

[e] From a letter written by parishioners to the St. Marylebone churchwarden, and published in *The Times,* No. 21982, February 20, 1855.—*Ed.*

appeared as the principal actor in a truly Balzacian drama of murder, adultery, legacy hunting and fraud.[32]

"In the gloomy autumn of 1847," observes *The Times*, "when the mind of France was disturbed by the indefinable presage of approaching revolution [...] a great scandal in the very highest circles of Parisian life startled still further the already excited public and contributed most powerfully to accelerate the then impending catastrophe. Those who contemplate with attention the highly excited state of the public mind at this moment cannot contemplate without similar emotion the great scandal which has been disclosed to the public [...] in the Irish Court of Chancery."[a]

Crimes within the ranks of the ruling caste, revealed at the same time in their arrogant helplessness and impotence, the destruction of the flower of the British army, the dissolution of old parties, a House of Commons without a majority, ministerial coalitions based on outlived traditions, the expense of a European war coincident with the most fearful crisis in commerce and industry—here are symptoms enough of an imminent political and social upheaval in Great Britain. It is of particular significance that the wreck of political illusions is taking place at the same time as the wreck of free-trade illusions. Just as the former ensured the government monopoly of the aristocracy, so the latter ensured the legislative monopoly of the bourgeoisie.

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[a] *The Times*, No. 21981, February 19, 1855.—*Ed.*

New-York Tribune.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE WAR THAT LOOMS ON EUROPE[33]

A few weeks more, and unless peace is made at Vienna[34] with a promptitude that nobody in Europe now seems to expect, we shall witness the opening on that Continent of a war in comparison with whose events the Crimean campaign will sink into that insignificance which, in a war between three of the greatest nations on the face of the earth, it always ought to have worn. The hitherto independent operations in the Black Sea, and in the Baltic, will then be connected by a line of battle extending across the whole breadth of the Continent which separates those two colossal inland lakes; and armies whose magnitude is adequate to the almost boundless extent of the Sarmatian plain, will contend for its dominion. Then, and then only, can the war be said to have become truly a European one.

The Crimean campaign requires but a short additional notice at our hands. We have so often, and in such detail, described its character and its chances, that we have merely to record a few fresh facts in confirmation of our statements. A week ago we observed[a] that it had degenerated into a steeple-chase of reenforcements, and that the Russians were likely to get the best of this race. There is now hardly a doubt that by the time when the season admits of uninterrupted operations, followed up according to a preconcerted plan, the Russians will have from 120,000 to 150,000 men in the Peninsula, to whom the Allies can, with superhuman efforts, oppose, perhaps, 90,000. Supposing, even, that both France and England had troops sufficient to send there, where are the transports to be found, as long as out of

[a] See this volume, p. 3.—*Ed.*

every four steamers sent to the Black Sea, three are kept there under all possible pretexts? England has already completely disorganized her transatlantic mail steam service, and nothing is at present in greater demand there than ocean steamers; but the supply is exhausted. The only thing which could save the Allies, would be the arrival in the Crimea exactly at the time it is wanted, of an Austrian corps of some 30,000 men, to be embarked at the mouth of the Danube. Without such a reenforcement, neither the Piedmontese corps, nor the Neapolitan corps, nor the driblets of Anglo-French reenforcements, nor Omer Pasha's army, can do them any real good.

Now let us see what part of their respective forces England and France have already engaged in the Crimea. We shall speak of the infantry only, for the proportions in which cavalry and artillery are attached to such expeditions are so variable that no positive conclusions respecting them can be established. Besides, the whole active force of a country is always engaged in proportion as its infantry is engaged. Of Turkey we speak not, for with the army of Omer Pasha she engages her last, her only army, in this struggle. What is left to her in Asia is no army; it is but a rabble.

England[a] possesses, in all, 99 regiments, or 106 battalions of infantry. Of these, at least 35 battalions are on Colonial service. Of the remainder, the first five divisions sent to the Crimea took up about 40[b] battalions more; and at least eight battalions have been sent since as reenforcements. There remain about 23 battalions, hardly one of which could be spared. Accordingly, England fairly acknowledges, by her last military measures, the peace establishment of her army to be entirely exhausted. Various devices are brought forward in order to make up for what has been neglected. The militia, embodied to the number of some 50,000, are allowed to volunteer for foreign service. They are to occupy Gibraltar, Malta, Corfu, and thus to relieve about twelve battalions on Colonial service, which then may be sent to the Crimea. A foreign legion is decreed; but, unfortunately, no foreigners seem to come forward for enlistment under the rule of the cat-o'-nine-tails. Finally, on the 13th February, orders were issued to create second battalions for 93 regiments—43 of 1,000 men and 50 of 1,200 men each. This would give an addition of 103,000 men,

[a] The text of this paragraph was used by Marx in his report "Parliamentary and Military Affairs" (see this volume, pp. 41-42).—*Ed.*

[b] Here the *New-York Daily Tribune* has a misprint: 46. The correct figure is given in the German version of this article published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* of April 23, 1855.—*Ed.*

besides about 17,000 more men for the cavalry and artillery. But not one of these 120,000 men has as yet been enlisted; and then, how are they to be drilled and officered? The admirable organization and general management of the British army has contrived to engage, one way or another, between the Crimea and the colonies, almost the whole of the infantry, with the exception of depot companies and a few depot battalions—not only the men, but the *cadres* too. Now, there are plenty of half-pay generals, colonels and majors on the British army list [who] can be employed for this new force; but of captains on half-pay, as far as we know, there are none, or very few, while lieutenants, ensigns and non-commissioned officers are nowhere to be had in the manufactured state. Raw material there is in plenty; but raw officers to drill raw recruits would never do; and old, experienced, steady non-commissioned officers, as everybody knows, are the mainstay of every army. Besides this, we know from the best authority—Sir W. Napier—that it takes full three years to drill the tag-rag-and-bobtail of Old England into what John Bull calls "the first soldiers of the world" and "the best blood of England." If that is the case when the *cadres* are at hand waiting to be filled up, how long will it take, without subaltern or non-commissioned officers, to manufacture heroes out of the 120,000 men who are not yet found? We may consider the whole military force of England so far engaged in this war that, for the next twelvemonth, the utmost the British Government can do will be to keep up a "heroic little band" of forty or fifty thousand men before the enemy. That number could only be exceeded for very short periods, and with essential derangement of all preparation for future reenforcements.

France,[a] with her larger army and far more complete organization, has engaged a far inferior proportional part of her forces. France possesses 100 regiments of infantry of the line, 3 of Zouaves, and 2 foreign legions, at 3 battalions each; beside 20 battalions of rifles, and 6 African battalions—together 341 battalions. Of these, 100 battalions, or one to each regiment of the

[a] Here begins the text that was reproduced by Marx, with abridgements and alterations, in his report "Condition of the Armies" in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* of February 24, 1855. The passage beginning with the words "France, with her larger army..." is preceded by the following paragraph: "We have seen that in the next twelve months England can put up against the enemy no more than 50,000 of her own troops, a fighting force which despite its numerical weakness is not to be despised given good leadership and sound administration. One need only recall the battle of Inkerman."[35]—*Ed.*

line, are considered as dépôt-battalions, for the reception and drilling of recruits; the two first battalions only are sent out for active service, while the dépôt prepares the reenforcements destined to keep up their full strength. Thus, 100 battalions must be at once struck off the number. If subsequently these dépôt-battalions are made use of as the groundwork for a third field battalion, as was more than once done under Napoleon, they can do so by having an extraordinary number of recruits made over to them, and then it is some time before they are fit for the field. Thus, the available force of the French army, at the present time, does not exceed 241 battalions. Of these, 25 at least are required for Algeria. Four are at Rome. Nine divisions of infantry, or at least 80 battalions, have been sent to the Crimea, to Constantinople and to Athens. Altogether, say 110 battalions engaged, or very nearly one half of the available infantry of France, upon the peace establishment; minus the dépôts. Now, the arrangements in the French army, the dépôt-battalions organized beforehand, the calling in of the soldiers dismissed on furlough during their last year of service, the faculty of calling out the full number of every year's conscription, beside extraordinary recruitings, and finally the aptitude of the French for military duty, allow the Government to double the number of their infantry in about a twelvemonth. Considering the quiet but uninterrupted armaments made since the middle of 1853, the establishment of ten or twelve battalions of Imperial Guards, and the strength in which the French troops mustered in their respective camps last autumn, it may be supposed that their force of infantry at home is now fully as strong as it was before the nine divisions left the country, and that, as regards the capability of forming third field battalions out of the dépôt-battalions, without much impairing their efficiency as dépôts, it is even stronger. If we estimate, however, at 350,000 men, the infantry force which France will have on her own territory by the end of March, we shall be rather above than below the mark. With cavalry, artillery, &c., such an infantry force would, according to the French organization, represent an army of about 500,000 men. Of these, at least 200,000 would have to remain at home, as *cadres* for the dépôts, for the maintenance of tranquillity in the interior, in the military workshops, or hospitals. So that by the 1st of April, France might take the field with 300,000 men, comprising about 200 battalions of infantry. But these 200 battalions would, neither in organization nor in discipline and steadiness under fire, be upon a par with the troops sent to the Crimea. They would contain many young recruits, and

many battalions composed for the occasion. All corps where officers and men are strangers to each other, where a hasty organization upon the prescribed plan has but just been completed in time before they march out, are vastly inferior to those old established bodies in which the habit of long service, of dangers shared together, and of daily intercourse for years, has established that *esprit de corps* which absorbs very soon, by its powerful influence, even the youngest recruits. It must, then, be admitted that the eighty battalions sent to the Crimea represent a far more important portion of the French army than their mere number indicates. If England has engaged, almost to a man, the best part of her army, France, too, has sent to the East nearly one-half of her finest troops.

We need not here go into a recapitulation of the Russian forces, having very recently stated their numbers and distribution.[a] Suffice it to say that of the Russian active army, or that destined to act upon the western frontier of the Empire, only the third, fourth, fifth and sixth corps have as yet been engaged during the war. The Guards and Grenadiers corps are quite intact, as is the first corps also; the second corps appears to have detached about one division to the Crimea. Beside these troops, eight corps of reserve, equal in number of battalions, if not in numerical strength, to the eight corps of the active army, have been, or are still being formed. Thus, Russia brings up against the West a force of about 750 battalions, 250 of which, however, may be still forming, and will always be weak in numbers, while 200 more have suffered great losses during two campaigns. The Reserve, as far as the fifth and sixth battalions of the regiments are concerned, must principally consist of old soldiers, if the original plan of organization has been followed up; but the 7th and 8th battalions must have been formed of recruits, and be very inefficient, as the Russian, in spite of his docility, is very slow to learn military duties. The whole reserve, besides, is badly officered. Russia, therefore, has engaged at the present time about one-half of her regularly organized active army. But then, the Guards, Grenadiers, first and second corps, forming the other half, which has not yet been engaged, are the very flower of her army, the pet troops of the Emperor, the efficiency of which he watches over with especial care. And, moreover, by engaging

[a] See Engels' article "The European War" (present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 609-14).—*Ed.*

one-half of her active army, what has Russia obtained?[a] She has almost annihilated the offensive and defensive strength of Turkey; she has forced England to sacrifice an army of 50,000 men, and has disabled her for at least a twelvemonth; and she has, besides, forced France to engage a similar proportion of troops to those she herself engaged. And while the best African regiments of France are already before the enemy, Russia's own *élite* has not yet fired a shot.

So far, then, Russia has had the best of it, although her troops employed in Europe cannot boast of a single success, but have had, on the contrary, to give way in every action of moment, and to abandon every one of their enterprises. But the matter will change entirely as soon as Austria joins in the war. She has an army of some 500,000 men ready for the field, beside 100,000 more in the dépôts, and 120,000 more in reserve; an army, which, by very little extraordinary recruiting, may be brought to some 850,000 men. But we will take its number at 600,000, inclusive of dépôts, and omitting the reserve, which has not yet been called in. Of these 600,000 men, 100,000 are in the dépôts, about 70,000 more in Italy and other portions of the interior not menaced by Russia. The remaining 430,000[b] are assembled in several armies, from Bohemia through Galicia to the Lower Danube, and 150,000 men could be in a very short time concentrated upon any given point. This formidable army at once turns the balance against Russia, so soon as Austria begins to act against her; for since the whole of the late Russian army of the Danube has been drafted into the Crimea, the Austrians are superior to the Russians on every point, and can bring their reserves to the frontier quite as soon, in spite of the start the Russians have now got. There is only this to notice: that the Austrian reserve is far more limited in its number than that of the Russians, and that the 120,000 reserve soldiers once called in, all further increase must arise from fresh recruiting, and, therefore, be very slow. The longer, therefore, the Austrians hold back a declaration of war, the more advantage they give to Russia. To make up for this, we are told, a French auxiliary army is to march into Austria. But the road from Dijon or Lyons to Cracow is rather long, and unless matters are well

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[a] Instead of this sentence the German version published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "Only the effect of diplomacy on the Western Powers' conduct of the war explains the results already achieved by Russia."—*Ed.*

[b] Here the *New-York Daily Tribune* has a misprint: 330,000. The correct figure is given in the German version published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

arranged, the French army may arrive too late, unless the intrinsic value of the reorganized Austrian army should render it a match for even a moderately superior number of Russians.[a]

Austria, then, is the arbiter of the situation. Ever since she took up a military position on her Eastern frontiers, she has maintained her superiority over the Russians. If well-timed arrivals of Russian reserves should for a moment deprive her of it, she may trust to her experienced generals—the only ones, save a very few Hungarians, who of late years have shown military genius—and to her well-organized troops, most of whom have been under fire. A few skilful maneuvers, a very slight step backward, would force her opponent to such detachments as to assure her a fair field. Militarily speaking, Russia is thrown completely on the defensive the very moment Austria moves her armies.[b]

Another point must be mentioned. If France raises her domestic army to 500,000 men, and Austria increases her total forces to 800,000, either of these countries is capable of calling, within a twelvemonth, at least 250,000 men more under arms.[c] On the other hand, the Czar, if ever he completes the seventh and eighth battalions of his infantry regiments, thereby raising his total active force to say 900,000 men, has done almost everything in his power for defense. His late recruiting is said to have everywhere met with considerable difficulties; the standard of hight has had to be lowered, and other means resorted to, to get the requisite number of men. The decree of the Emperor, calling the whole of the male population of Southern Russia[36] under arms, far from being an actual increase of the army, is a plain confession of the impossibility of further regular recruiting. This means was resorted to on the French invasion of 1812, when the country was actually invaded; and then in seventeen provinces only. Moscow then furnished 80,000 volunteers, or one tenth of the population of the province; Smolensk sent 25,000 men, and so forth. But, during the war they were nowhere; and these hundreds of thousands of volunteers did not prevent the Russians from arriving on the Vistula in as bad a state, and in as total a

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[a] Instead of the passage beginning with the words "and unless matters are well arranged" and ending with the words "a moderately superior number of Russians", the version published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "The longer the diplomats procrastinate the less the likelihood that it will arrive on time."—*Ed.*

[b] The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* further has: "Even a short-lived successful offensive could not alter this result."—*Ed.*

[c] The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* further has: "while England's contingent would continually grow from the second year onwards."—*Ed.*

dissolution as the French themselves.[a] This new levy *en masse* means, besides, that Nicholas is resolved on war to the utmost.

But if Austria's participation in the war, throws Russia, militarily speaking, on the defensive, this is not necessarily the case, politically speaking. The Czar's great political means of offense—we have called attention to it more than once—is the raising of the Austrian and Turkish Slavons and the proclamation of Hungarian independence. How greatly these measures are dreaded by Austrian statesmen is known to our readers. No doubt, in case of necessity, the Czar will resort to this means; with what result, remains to be seen. We have not spoken of Prussia—she is likely to go, finally, with the West against Russia, though perhaps only after some storms which nobody can foresee. At all events, until some national movement takes place, her troops are not likely to play a very important part, and, therefore, we may for the present take very little account of her.

Written about February 20, 1855

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4332, March 8, 1855, reprinted in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 1022, March 13, 1855; an abridged German version was first published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 93, February 24, 1855

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Here ends the text reproduced by Marx in his report "Condition of the Armies" in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## PARLIAMENTARY AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

*London*, February 20. Although the House of Commons sat yesterday from 4 p. m. to 2 a. m. and voted away some £7.5 million sterling for the army, the debates lacked anything interesting enough to report. Therefore, we shall only note that Palmerston disconcerted his liberal opponents both by the deliberate triviality of his replies and by the provocatively confident insolence with which he delivered these trivialities.[a] Having declaimed about the battle of Balaklava[37] in the manner of Astley's Amphitheatre, he attacked Layard for "vulgar declamation against the aristocracy", for it was not the aristocracy that was dug-in in the Commissariat, in Transport and in the Medical department. He forgot that its lackeys are dug-in there. Layard rightly emphasised that the commissions invented by Palmerston are good for nothing but stirring up conflicts of competence in the expeditionary army. "What!" cried Palmerston (he saw himself again in the place of Richard II and Parliament in the role of Wat Tyler's mob). "You want to set up a parliamentary committee good for nothing but producing Blue Books,[38] and you take exception to my commissions, which 'have to work'!" Palmerston treated Parliament with such superciliousness that for once he even found it superfluous to make his own jokes. He borrowed them from the ministerial morning papers which the Members of Parliament had in front of them on the table. They were spared neither the "Committee of Public Safety" of *The Morning*

[a] An account of Palmerston's speech was published in *The Times*, No. 21982, February 20, 1855.—*Ed.*

*Chronicle*[a] nor the jibe of *The Morning Post* about transporting the inquisitorious Members to the Crimea—and leaving them there. Only a parliament constituted like this one could have stood for this.

So, while in Parliament Palmerston out-Aberdeens Old Aberdeen, he lets it be known—not directly, through his own papers, but through the gullible newspaper of the united victuallers,[b] that he is not a free agent but bound in chains by the Court, etc.

As a peace congress[39] is soon to meet in Vienna, it is time to speak of the war and to estimate the military forces at the disposal of the powers which have so far appeared—more or less—on the battlefield. This is not a question only of the numerical strength of the armies, but of that part of them which can be used in offensive operations. We shall give details only of the infantry, as the other arms must be proportionate.[c]

England possesses, in all, 99 regiments, or 106 battalions of infantry. Of these, at least 35 battalions are on Colonial service. Of the remainder, the first five divisions sent to the Crimea took up 40 battalions more; and at least eight battalions have been sent since as reinforcements. There remain about 23 battalions, hardly one of which could be spared for service abroad. The militia, embodied to the number of over 50,000, are allowed to volunteer for foreign service. They are to occupy Gibraltar, Malta, Corfu, and thus to relieve about twelve battalions, which then may be sent to the Crimea. A foreign legion, as Palmerston stated in the House of Commons yesterday, will not be set up. Finally, on the 13th February, orders were issued to create second battalions for 93 regiments—43 of 1,000 men and 50 of 1,200 men each. This would give an addition of 103,000 men, besides about 17,000 more men for the cavalry and artillery. But not one of these 120,000 men has as yet been enlisted, and afterwards they have to be drilled and officered.

The admirable organisation existing at present has contrived to employ almost the whole of the infantry—with the exception of depot companies and a few depot battalions—between the Crimea and the colonies, and moreover not only the men but, though this

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[a] *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 27504, February 19, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Morning Advertiser*, which had published the articles "A Minister must be ambitious..." (No. 19863, February 17, 1855) and "Faithful are the wounds of a friend...", No. 19864, February 19, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] The following paragraphs are largely based on Engels' article "The War That Looms on Europe", which was published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4332, March 8, 1855 (see this volume, pp. 32-39).—*Ed.*

seems incredible, the cadres as well. Now, there are plenty of half-pay generals, colonels and majors on the British army list and they can be employed for this new force. But there are hardly any captains on half-pay, and no lieutenants and non-commissioned officers at all. But it is well known that the non-commissioned officers form the cornerstone of every army. According to General Sir William Napier, the historian of the Peninsular war,[a] the best authority in this field, it takes fully three years to drill the "tag-rag" and "bobtail"[b] (the lumpenproletariat) of Old England into "the best blood of England", "the first soldiers of the world". If that is the case when the cadres are at hand and need only to be replenished, how long will it therefore take to manufacture heroes out of these 120,000 men? During the next twelvemonth, the utmost the British Government can do is to keep up a "heroic little band" of fifty thousand men before the enemy. That number could be exceeded for short periods, but only at the cost of considerably upsetting all preparation for future reinforcements.

The departure of the mail compels us to break off at this point.

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[a] This refers to W. F. P. Napier's *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France from the Year 1807 to the Year 1814*, Vols. I-VI.—*Ed.*

[b] The words in quotation marks are given in English in the original.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## ON THE NEW MINISTERIAL CRISIS

*London*, February 24. Yesterday, the House of Commons was packed, as ministerial statements on the breaking up of the *first* Palmerston administration had been announced.[40] The closely-crowded Members waited impatiently for the arrival of the noble Viscount, who at last appeared, an hour after the House had opened, received with laughter by one side, with cheers[a] by the other. The Ministers who had broken away—Graham, Gladstone and Herbert—took their seats on the benches of the so-called Radicals (the Manchester School[41]), where Mr. Bright seemed to welcome them. One bench in front of them Cardwell, who had also resigned, sat enthroned. Lord Palmerston rose to move that the Roebuck Committee should be considered immediately. Sir James Graham then opened the ministers' case[b] and was still on the threshold of his rhetorical phantasy building when Palmerston began to accompany him with unmistakable signs of healthy sleep.

Graham's polemic against the Committee of Inquiry was mainly confined to the claim that it represented an intrusion into the royal prerogatives by the House of Commons. As everyone knows, for a century and a half it has been the custom of English ministries to talk about the privileges of the House *vis-à-vis* the Crown and about the prerogatives of the Crown *vis-à-vis* the House. In fact Graham spoke threateningly about danger to the Anglo-French alliance in consequence of the Committee's investig-

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[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[b] The speeches of Graham and the others were reported in *The Times*, No. 21986, February 24, 1855.—*Ed.*

ations. What was this but an insinuation that the French ally would prove to have been the main cause of the deplorable mishaps! As to his own resignation from the Ministry, the Ministry had regarded Roebuck's motion from the beginning simply as a disguised vote of no confidence. Aberdeen and Newcastle had therefore been sacrificed and the old Ministry dissolved. The new Ministry consisted of the old personnel with the exception of Canning and Panmure; how then should Roebuck's motion suddenly be capable of a new interpretation? Not he, but Lord Palmerston had changed his views from Friday to Tuesday. Not he, but his noble friend, was a deserter. In addition—and this was a naive admission—Graham gave as reason for his resignation from the renewed Ministry that he had become convinced

"that the present Administration [...] does not [...] possess in a greater degree the confidence of the House than that Administration which only a few weeks since retired".

During his statement Graham said *inter alia:*

"When the new Administration was formed I wished to know from my noble Lord" (Palmerston), "whether there was to be any change in the foreign policy of Lord Aberdeen's Administration [...]; and also whether [...] there was any alteration with respect to the stipulated peace terms. Lord Palmerston gave me the fullest assurance that in these respects everything will remain as before."

(These words are quoted here as they were *spoken* in the House of Commons, not as they were *printed* in more circumscribed form in the newspapers.)[42]

*Bright* at once took up this pronouncement by Graham, stating that he did not wish the Palmerston Government to be overthrown, that he had no personal animosity against the noble Lord, that rather he was convinced Palmerston and Russell possessed everything the unjustly persecuted Aberdeen had lacked, namely sufficient popularity to make peace on the basis of the four points.[43]

*Sidney Herbert*: Roebuck's motion consisted of two quite different parts. First, he proposed to investigate the state of the army at Sevastopol; second, to investigate the conduct of the Government departments specifically in charge of the maintenance of the army. The House was entitled to do the second, but not the first. Presumably it was for that very reason that he, Herbert, had opposed the "second" on 26 January[a] as violently as he now,

[a] Herbert's speech in the House of Commons on January 26, 1855. *The Times*, No. 21962, January 27, 1855.—*Ed.*

on 23 February, opposed the "first"? When he (Herbert) took his position in the present Ministry, Lord Palmerston, in line with his speech of last Friday,[a] had declared the Committee unconstitutional, abolished with the resignation of Aberdeen and Newcastle. Palmerston had not even doubted that the House would now reject Roebuck's motion without a debate. The Committee, in so far as its object was not a charge against the Government but an investigation of the state of the army, would prove an immense sham. Lord Palmerston, since he did not have the courage of his repeatedly expressed conviction, was weakening the Government. What was the use of a strong man if he pursued a weak policy?

*Gladstone* in fact added nothing to the statements of his colleagues except the kind of argumentation which, on the occasion of Gladstone's resignation from Peel's administration—it was then a question of the Maynooth college[44]—moved the late Peel to declare that he believed he understood the reasons for his friend's resignation before his friend undertook to lay them before Parliament in a two-hour speech.

*Palmerston* considered it superfluous to enter into the explanations of his ex-colleagues. He regretted their resignations, but would be able to console himself. In his view the Committee did not intend any reproof but an investigation of the state of the army. He had opposed the setting up of the Committee but had become convinced that the decision of the House could not be rescinded. The country could not be without a government, hence he would remain the Government with or without the Committee. To Bright's question he replied that the peace negotiations were meant seriously and that Russell's instructions had been drafted on the basis of the four points. He told the House nothing of the position in his own Ministry.

It is incontestable, that in spite of the sudden breaking up of his first administration, Palmerston has already won some victories, if not in public opinion, then in the Ministry and in Parliament. By Russell's mission to Vienna he has got rid of a troublesome, temperamental rival. By his compromise with Roebuck he has transformed the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry into a Government Commission which counts only as the fourth after the three appointed by himself. As Sidney Herbert says, he has put "immense sham" in place of a real thing. The resignation of the Peelites has enabled him to form a ministry consisting of nothing

[a] February 16, 1855.—*Ed.*

but ciphers with himself as the only figure. It is beyond question, however, that the formation of such a real Palmerston Ministry will have to struggle with almost insuperable obstacles.

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# Karl Marx

## [JOSEPH] HUME

*London,* February 24. With Hume, the veteran of the House of Commons has died. His long parliamentary life was an accurate barometer of the radical bourgeois party which reached its highest point in 1831. In the initial period of the reformed House[45] a kind of parliamentary Warwick or Member-maker, eight years later he figured with Daniel O'Connell and Feargus O'Connor as one of the originators of the People's Charter,[46] which to this day forms the political programme of the Chartists and basically contains only the demand for a *universal franchise* together with the conditions which would make it a reality in England.

The break between the workers and the bourgeois agitators which soon followed found Hume on the side of the latter. At the time of the Russell Ministry he drafted the "Little Charter", which was adopted by the so-called "parliamentary and financial reformers"[47] as their programme. Instead of the six points of the People's Charter it contains three points and replaces the "universal" franchise by a more or less "enlarged" franchise.[a] Finally, in 1852, Hume proclaimed a new programme in which he even abandoned his "Little Charter" and demanded only *one* point: elections by ballot.[b] For the rest, Hume was the classical representative of the so-called "independent" opposition, which Cobbett aptly and exhaustively described as the "safety-valve" of the old system. In his last days the habit of proposing motions and

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[a] Hume's speech in the House of Commons on June 20, 1848. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates,* third series, Vol. XCIX, London, 1848.—*Ed.*

[b] Hume's speech in the House of Commons on March 25, 1852. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates,* third series, Vol. CXX, London, 1852.—*Ed.*

then, just before the closure, at the nod of a minister, withdrawing them again, became a veritable mania with him. His flirting with "economising public funds" had become proverbial. Each Ministry allowed him to fight and reduce minor items so as to get the big ones the more safely through the House.

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# Karl Marx

## PALMERSTON[48]

*London,* February 27. The outcry against the aristocracy has been answered ironically by Palmerston with a ministry of ten lords and four baronets—ten lords, moreover, of whom eight sit in the House of Lords. He has met the dissatisfaction occasioned by the compromise between the various factions of the oligarchy with a compromise between various families within the Whig group. For the Grey clan, the ducal Sutherland family and, finally, the Clarendon family have received indemnification in his ministry. Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, is a cousin of Earl Grey, whose brother-in-law is Sir Charles Wood, First Lord of the Admiralty. Earl Granville and the Duke of Argyll represent the Sutherland family. Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Chancellor of the Exchequer, is a brother-in-law of the Earl of Clarendon, the Foreign Secretary. India alone has been allotted to a man without a title, Vernon Smith; but at any rate he married into one of the Whig families. "A kingdom for a horse!" shouted Richard III.[a] "A horse for a kingdom!" shouts Palmerston, aping Caligula, and makes Vernon Smith Grand Mogul of India.[49]

"Lord Palmerston has given us not only the most aristocratic Administration of which we have any example in the history of the countrv", complains *The Morning Advertiser,* "but he has constructed his Government of the very worst aristocratic materials he could have selected."

The worthy *Advertiser,* however, finds comfort in the fact that

"Palmerston is not a free agent. [...] He is still in fetters and bonds".[b]

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[a] Shakespeare, *Richard III,* Act V, Scene 4.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Ministry of Titles", *The Morning Advertiser,* No. 19872, February 28, 1855.—*Ed.*

As we predicted,[a] Lord Palmerston has formed a cabinet of ciphers, he himself being the only figure in it. Lord John Russell, who in 1851 had tumbled him undiplomatically out of the Whig cabinet, has been sent by him diplomatically on a journey.[50] Palmerston has made use of the Peelites to enter upon Aberdeen's heritage. As soon as he was sure of the premiership he dropped the Aberdeenites[b] and filched from Russell, as Disraeli says, not only the clothes of the Whigs but the Whigs themselves.[c] Despite the great similarity, almost identity, of the present government and Russell's Whig administration of 1846-1852, nothing could be more erroneous than to confuse them. This time we have not a cabinet at all but Lord Palmerston in lieu of a cabinet. Although its members are largely the same as before, the posts have been distributed among them in such a way, its following in the House of Commons is so different and it is making its appearance under such completely changed circumstances that whereas before it was a weak Whig ministry it is now the strong dictatorship of a single man, provided Palmerston is not a spurious Pitt, Bonaparte not a spurious Napoleon, and Lord John Russell continues to travel. Though the English bourgeois has been annoyed by the unexpected turn of events he is at present amused by the unconscionable adroitness with which Palmerston has duped and cheated both friend and foe. Palmerston, says the merchant of the City, has once more proved himself "clever".[d] But "clever" is an untranslatable qualification, full of ambiguity and rich in connotations. It comprises all the attributes of a man who knows how to blow his own trumpet, and understands what profits him and what brings harm to others. Virtuous and respectable as the English bourgeois is, he nevertheless admires most the man who is "clever", who does not bother about morals, who is not disconcerted by respect, who regards principles as snares in which to catch his fellows. If Palmerston is so "clever" will he not outwit the Russians just as he outwitted Russell? Thus speaks the politician of the English upper middle-class.

As for the Tories, they believe the good old times are back again, the evil coalition spell has been broken and the traditional Whig and Tory governmental seesaw has been restored. A real change, not confined to mere passive dissolution, could in fact

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[a] See this volume, p. 45.—*Ed.*

[b] Graham, Gladstone and Herbert.—*Ed.*

[c] Disraeli's speech in the House of Commons on February 28, 1845. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, third series, Vol. LXXVIII, London, 1845.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

only come about under a Tory government. Only when the Tories are at the helm is tremendous pressure from without[a] exerted and the inevitable transformations are put into effect. For example, the emancipation of the Catholics during Wellington's ministry; the repeal of the Corn Laws during Peel's ministry; and the same was true if not of the Reform Bill then at least of the reform agitation, which was more important than its result.[51]

When the English asked a Dutchman to come specially across the sea to become their King[b] it was for the purpose of ushering in with the new dynasty a new epoch—the epoch of the association of the landed aristocracy with the financial aristocracy. Ever since then we find privilege bestowed by blood and privilege bestowed by gold in constitutional equilibrium. Blood, for instance, decides in the case of certain army posts, whose incumbents hold them by virtue of family connections, nepotism or favouritism; but gold gets its due since all army commissions can be bought and sold for cash. It has been calculated that the officers now serving in the various regiments have invested an amount of £6 million in their posts. In order not to forfeit the rights they have acquired during their service and not to be ousted from their jobs by some young money-bags, the poorer officers borrow money to secure their advancement and thus become encumbered with mortgages.

In the church as in the army, family connections and ready cash are the two factors that count. While part of the ecclesiastical offices is allotted to the younger sons of the aristocracy, the other part belongs to the highest bidder. Trade in the "souls" of the English people—in so far as they belong to the Established Church—is no less usual than the slave trade in Virginia. In this trade there exist not only buyers and sellers but also brokers. One such "clerical" broker, named Simpson, appeared yesterday before the Court of Queen's Bench[c] [52] to demand the fee due to him from a certain Lamb, who, he claimed, had contracted to procure him the right to have the rector Josiah Rodwell presented for the West-Hackney parish benefice. Simpson had stipulated 5 per cent from both buyer and seller, besides some minor charges. Lamb, he said, had not fulfilled his obligations. The circumstances were as follows: Lamb is the son of a seventy-year-old rector holding two benefices in Sussex whose market price is estimated at £16,000.

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[a] Marx uses the English words "pressure from without" and gives the German translation.—*Ed.*

[b] William of Orange.—*Ed.*

[c] "Court of Queen's Bench. Guildhall, Feb. 26", *The Times*, No. 21988, February 27, 1855. Marx gives the name of the court in English.—*Ed.*

The price is naturally in direct proportion to the income from the parish and in inverse proportion to the age of the incumbent. Lamb junior is the patron of the livings held by Lamb senior and is also the brother of a still younger Lamb, the owner of the living and rector of West-Hackney. Since West-Hackney's rector is still very young, the market price of the next presentation to his sinecure is relatively low. Though it provides an annual income of £550 as well as a rectory, its owner has agreed to sell the right to the next appointment for only £1,000. His brother has promised him the Sussex parishes upon the death of their father, but wants to sell his thus vacated living in West-Hackney through Simpson to Josiah Rodwell for £3,000, thus pocketing a net profit of £2,000, and his brother obtaining a better benefice. The broker would have received a commission of 5 per cent., i.e., £300. It did not transpire why the deal did not go through. The court awarded the broker Simpson £50 in compensation "for work done".

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# Karl Marx

## THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION[53]

*London,* March 2. While in every particular the British Constitution has failed at every point where the war has put it to the test, the coalition Ministry at home, the most constitutional of all ministries in the history of England, has broken up. Forty thousand British soldiers have died on the shores of the Black Sea—victims of the British Constitution! Officers, General Staff, Commissariat, Medical Department, Transport Service, Admiralty, Horse Guards,[a] Ordnance Office, Army and Navy, all have broken down and have discredited themselves in the esteem of the world; yet all have had the satisfaction of knowing that they have simply done their duty in the eyes of the British Constitution! *The Times* spoke more truly than it surmised when it exclaimed with reference to this universal bankruptcy: "It is the British Constitution that is under trial."[b] It has been tried and found guilty.

But what is the British Constitution? Does it essentially consist of a representative system and a limitation of the executive power? These features distinguish it neither from the Constitution of the United States of North America nor from the constitutions of the innumerable British joint-stock companies which understand "their business". The British Constitution is indeed nothing but an antiquated, obsolete, out-of-date compromise between the bourgeoisie, which *rules not officially* but in fact in all decisive spheres of civil society, and the landed aristocracy, which *governs officially.* Originally, after the "glorious" revolution of 1688, only a

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[a] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*

[b] "Among all the political changes...", *The Times*, No. 21979, February 16, 1855.—*Ed.*

section of the bourgeoisie, the *aristocracy of finance*,[54] was included in the compromise. The Reform Bill of 1831 admitted another section, the *millocracy*[a] as the English call it, i.e. the high dignitaries of the *industrial* bourgeoisie.[55] The history of legislation since 1831 is the history of the concessions which have been made to the industrial bourgeoisie, from the new Poor Law to the repeal of the Corn Laws[56] and from the repeal of the Corn Laws to the death duties on landed property.

Even if the bourgeoisie—which is only the highest stratum of the middle classes—was on the whole acknowledged also *politically* as the *ruling class*, this was only on condition that the entire system of government in all its detail, even the executive department of the legislative power, i.e. the actual making of laws in both Houses of Parliament, remained safely in the hands of the landed aristocracy. [About] 1830 the bourgeoisie preferred the renewal of the compromise with the landed aristocracy to a compromise with the mass of the English people. Now the aristocracy, which, subject to certain principles laid down by the bourgeoisie, rules supreme in the Cabinet, in Parliament, in the administration, in the army and the navy—this section of the British nation, relatively the most important section, has just now been compelled to sign its own death warrant and to admit under the eyes of all the world that it no longer has the calling to govern Britain. One need only observe the attempts to galvanise its corpse! Ministry upon ministry is formed merely to go into dissolution after a regime of a few weeks. The crisis is permanent, the government only provisional. All political action is suspended, and everybody admits that his only aim is to keep the political machinery oiled sufficiently to prevent it from seizing up completely. The House of Commons does not even recognise itself in ministries created in its own image.

In the midst of this general helplessness not only has war to be waged, but an enemy even more dangerous than the Emperor Nicholas has to be fought. This enemy is the *crisis in trade* and *industry* which since last September is growing more violent and universal every day. Its iron hand immediately closed the mouths of the superficial apostles of free trade who preached for years that glutted markets and social crises had been banished forever into the shadowy realm of the past since the repeal of the Corn Laws. The glutted markets are there, but now nobody cries more loudly about the lack of prudence which prevented the manufac-

[a] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*

turers from limiting production than the selfsame economists who five months ago still taught—with the infallibility of dogmatism—that too much could never be produced.

This disease had already revealed itself in chronic form at the time of the strike in Preston.[57] Shortly afterwards the glut in the American market led to the outbreak of the crisis in the United States. India and China, though overstocked, as well as California and Australia, continued to form outlet channels for overproduction. As the English manufacturers could no longer sell their commodities in the home market without depressing prices, they resorted to the dangerous expedient of sending their commodities abroad on consignment, particularly to India, China, Australia and California. This makeshift enabled trade to proceed for a while with less disturbance than if the goods had been thrown on the market all at once. But no sooner did these shipments arrive at their destinations, than they determined prices there, and by the end of September the effect was felt here in England.

The crisis then changed its chronic character for an acute one. The first houses to collapse were the cotton printers, among them old established firms in and around Manchester. Then came the turn of the shipowners and the Australia and California merchants, then the Chinese houses, and finally the Indian. All took their turn, most of them suffered heavily, many had to suspend business, and the danger is not over for any of these branches of trade. On the contrary, it is constantly growing. The silk manufacturers were also hit; their industry is at the moment reduced to almost nothing, and the localities where it is carried on are experiencing the greatest distress. Now it will be the turn of the cotton spinners and manufacturers. Some of them have already succumbed and many more will yet have to share their fate. As we have seen earlier,[a] the fine-yarn spinners are working only short-time, and the coarse-yarn spinners will soon have to resort to the same remedy. A section of them are already working a few days a week only. How long will they be able to stand it?

A few more months, and the crisis in the factory districts will reach the depth of 1842, if it does not exceed it. But no sooner will its effects be generally felt among the working classes, than the political movement which has more or less been dormant among these classes over the past six years, leaving behind only the cadres for a new agitation, will spring up again. The conflict

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[a] See this volume, p. 23.—*Ed.*

between the industrial proletariat and the bourgeoisie will flare up again at the same time that the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy reaches its climax. Then the mask which has so far hidden the real features of Britain's political physiognomy from foreigners, will drop. Nevertheless, only those unfamiliar with the wealth of this country in human and material resources will doubt that it will emerge victorious and freshly rejuvenated from the impending great crisis.

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# Karl Marx

## LAYARD

*London,* March 2. Layard, the great Nineveh scholar, in a speech to his constituents of Aylesbury the day before yesterday, made an interesting chapter public characterising the way in which the oligarchy distributes the most important state posts on the one hand, and the highly ambiguous attitude of the so-called liberal and independent Members of Parliament to this oligarchy on the other.

Layard told us that Lord Granville appointed him Under-Secretary of State in the Foreign Office, where he served for three months, when Russell's Ministry was overthrown and the Derby Cabinet was being formed. Derby proposed to him that he should stay in his post until the successor appointed for him, Lord Stanley (Derby's son), returned from India. Then he would entrust him (Layard) with a diplomatic mission abroad.

"All my political friends," Layard said, "thought I ought to have accepted that offer. Lord J. Russell alone expressed a contrary opinion, which I unhesitatingly accepted."[a]

So Layard rejected Derby's offer. Well! Lord Russell is Minister again and Layard is not forgotten. Russell now invites him to a ministerial banquet where he is to take his seat as Under-Secretary of the "Board of Control",[b] i. e. the Ministry for India. Layard agrees. Suddenly, however, Russell remembers that an elderly Whig gentleman, by the name of Sir Thomas Redington, who in the past had been in charge of Irish, though

[a] "Mr. Layard and His Constituents", *The Times,* No. 21990, March 1, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*

never of Asiatic affairs, "is still unprovided for" (literally). He therefore gives Layard to understand that he should not stand in the way of the accommodation of the elderly gentleman. Layard resigns again. Russell, encouraged by the self-sacrificing modesty of the scholar, conveys to him that he should get right out of the way and accept a consular post in Egypt. This time Layard is infuriated, he refuses and becomes conspicuous in Parliament by making important speeches against the oriental policy of the Ministry.

Palmerston has no sooner formed his Cabinet than he seeks to compensate him by offering him the post of Secretary in the Ordnance Office. Layard rejects this, as he knows nothing at all about artillery, etc. How naive! As though the retiring Secretary—Mr. Monsell, one of the brokers of the Irish Brigade[58]—had ever been able to tell an ordinary musket from a needle gun! Palmerston now offers him the Under-Secretaryship in the War Ministry. Layard accepts, but the next morning Palmerston has discovered that Frederick Peel—that bureaucratic nonentity—can at this moment not be spared from the War Ministry, of whose functions Peel notoriously understands nothing. As a substitute he finally offers Layard the Under-Secretaryship in the Colonial Office, in Russell's name. Layard considers that the present situation is too difficult to engage in the study of fifty colonies with which he has never before been concerned. He refuses, and there this edifying story ends.

The only moral which the ministerial papers draw from it is: that Layard is still very inexperienced in the way of the world and has iniquitously forfeited his Assyrian fame.

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# Karl Marx

## THE CRISIS IN ENGLAND

Of course, the most interesting feature of the news from Europe by the *Atlantic*[59] must be the death of the Czar[a] and the influence of that event on the pending complications. But important as may be the intelligence on this subject, or on other continental affairs, in its interest for the thoughtful observer it can hardly surpass the gradual indications and developments of that momentous political crisis in which, without any will of their own, the British nation are now involved at home. The last attempt to maintain that antiquated compromise called the British Constitution—a compromise between the class that rule officially and the class that rule non-officially—has signally failed. The coalition ministry, the most constitutional of all, has not only broken down in England but the constitution itself has broken down in detail at every point where it has been tested by the war. Forty thousand British soldiers have died on the shores of the Black Sea, victims to the British Constitution. Officers, Staff, Commissariat, Medical Department, Transport Service, Admiralty, Horse Guards, Ordnance, Army and Navy, all and every one have broken down, have ruined themselves in the estimation of the world; but all and every one have failed with the satisfaction of knowing that they had but done their duty in the eyes of the British Constitution. The London *Times* spoke more truly than it knew, when it said, with respect to this universal failure, that it was the British Constitution itself which was on its trial[b]!

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[a] Nicholas I died on March 2, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] "Among all the political changes...", *The Times*, No. 21979, February 16, 1855.—*Ed.*

It has been tried, and found guilty. This British constitution, what is it but a superannuated compromise, by which the general governing power is abandoned to some sections of the middle class, on condition that the whole of the real Government, the Executive in all its details, even to the executive department of the legislative power—or that is the actual law-making in the two Houses of Parliament—is secured to the landed aristocracy? This aristocracy which, subject to general principles laid down by the middle class, rules supreme in the Cabinet, the Parliament, the Administration, the Army and the Navy—this very important half of the British constitution has now been obliged to sign its own death-warrant. It has been compelled to confess its incapacity any longer to govern England. Ministry after Ministry is formed, only to dissolve itself after a few weeks' reign. The crisis is permanent; the Government is but provisional. All political action is suspended; nobody professes to do more than to keep the political machine greased well enough to prevent it from stopping. That pride of the constitutional Englishman, the House of Commons itself, is brought to a dead stand. It knows itself no longer, since it is split up in numberless fractions, attempting all the arithmetical combinations and variations, of which a given number of units is capable. It can no longer recognize itself in the various Cabinets, which it makes in its own image, for no other purpose than to unmake them again. The bankruptcy is complete.

And not only has the war had to be carried on in the midst of this national helplessness, which, breaking out like a pestilence in the Crimea, has gradually seized all the branches of the body politic, but there is an opponent to contend with far more dangerous than Russia—an opponent more than a match for all the Gladstones, Cardwells, Russells and Palmerstons of past, present and future Cabinets put together. That opponent is the commercial and industrial crisis which, since September last, has set in with a severity, a universality, and a violence, not to be mistaken. Its stern, iron hand at once shut up the mouths of those shallow Free Traders who for years had gone on preaching, that since the repeal of the Corn Laws glutted markets were impossible. There the glut is, with all its consequences, and in its most acute form; and in view of it nobody is more eager to accuse the improvidence of manufacturers, in not reducing production, than those very economists, who told them only a few months before that they never could produce too much. We long since called attention to the existence of this disease in a chronic form. It has been aggravated, of course, by the late difficulties in

America, and the crisis that depressed our trade. India and China, glutted though they were, continued to be used as outlets—as also California and Australia. When the English manufacturers could no longer sell their goods at home, or would not do so rather than depress prices, they resorted to the absurd expedient of consigning them abroad, especially to India, China, Australia and California. This expedient enabled trade to go on for a while with less embarrassment than if the goods had been thrown at once upon the home market; but when they arrived at their destinations they produced embarrassment at once, and about the end of September last the effect began to be felt in England.

Then the crisis exchanged its chronic form for an acute one. The first houses that felt it were the calico printers; a number of them, including very old established houses in Manchester and that vicinity, broke down. Then came the turn of the shipowners and the Australian and Californian merchants; next came the China traders, and finally the Indian houses. All of them have had their turn; most of them losing severely, while many had to suspend; and for none of them has the danger passed away. On the contrary it is still increasing. The silk manufacturers were equally affected; their trade has been reduced to almost nothing, and the localities where it is carried on have suffered, and still suffer, the greatest distress. Then came the turn of the cotton-spinners and manufacturers. Some of them had already succumbed at our last advices, and a great many more must do so. The spinners of fine yarns, as we also learn, had begun to work only four days a week, and the coarse spinners would shortly have to do the same. But how many of them will be able to stand this for any length of time?

A few months more and the crisis will be at a hight which it has not reached in England since 1846, perhaps not since 1842. When its effects begin to be fully felt among the working classes, then will that political movement begin again, which has been dormant for six years. Then will the working-men of England rise anew, menacing the middle classes at the very time that the middle classes are finally driving the aristocracy from power. Then will the mask be torn off which has hitherto hid the real political features of Great Britain. Then will the two real contending parties in that country stand face to face—the middle class and the working classes, the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat—and England will at last be compelled to share in the general social evolutions of European society. When England entered into the French Alliance she finally abandoned that isolated character

which her insular position had created for her, but which the commerce of the world, and the increasing facilities for intercourse, had long since undermined. Henceforth she can hardly help undergoing the great internal movements of the other European nations.

It is also a striking fact that the last moments of the British Constitution are as prolific in evidences of a corrupt social state as the last moments of Louis Philippe's monarchy. We have before referred to the Parliamentary and Government scandals, to the Stonor, the Sadleir, the Lawley[a] scandals; but, to crown all, came the Handcock and De Burgh revelations, with Lord Clanricarde, a peer of the realm, as a principal though indirect party to a most revolting deed.[60] No wonder that this should seem to complete the parallel, and that people, on reading the damning details, should involuntarily exclaim "The Duc de Praslin! The Duc de Praslin!" England has arrived at her 1847; who knows when and what will be her 1848?

Written on March 2, 1855

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] See the article "The Late British Government" by Marx and Engels (present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 620-26).—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE BUYING OF COMMISSIONS.— NEWS FROM AUSTRALIA

*London*, March 3. At the sitting the day before yesterday the House of Commons, as everybody knows, rejected Lord Goderich's motion allowing non-commissioned officers to reach the rank of captain. Palmerston used the old dilemma: a partial reform is impossible because one part of the old system depends upon the other.[a] Individual practical reforms are thus impossible because they are theoretically impossible. The total reform of the system is impossible because that is not reform but revolution. Theoretical reform therefore is impossible because it is not practical. This House of Commons—a House which takes to heart the principle *principiis obsta*[b] was eager to be convinced, or rather it did not need convincing as it had passed sentence before the trial.

Palmerston argued on this occasion that the system of selling officers' commissions was old, and he was right there. As we indicated earlier,[c] it began with the "glorious" revolution of 1688,[61] with the introduction of the National Debt, banknotes, and the Dutch succession. Already in the Mutiny Act of 1694[62] the necessity is stated of forestalling

> "the great mischief of buying and selling Military Employment in his Majesties Armies", and it is enacted that "every commissioned officer" (only non-commissioned officers have *no* commissions) should swear that he has not bought his commission.

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[a] Palmerston's speech was reported in *The Times*, No. 21991, March 2, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Resist temptation (Ovidius, *Remedia amoris*, 91).—*Ed.*

[c] See Marx's article "Parliamentary News" (present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 605-08).—*Ed.*

This restriction was, however, not carried into effect; on the contrary, in 1702 Sir Nathan Wright, the Lord Keeper,[a] decided in the opposite sense. On May 1, 1711, a statute of Queen Anne expressly recognised the system by decreeing

"that commissions shall no longer be sold without royal confirmation and that no officer may buy himself off unless he has served 20 years or has become incapacitated in the service, etc."

From this official recognition of the trade in military commissions it was but one step to officially regulating the market price of commissions. Accordingly, in 1719-20 market prices were fixed for the first time. The prices of officers' commissions were renewed in 1766, 1772, 1773, 1783, and finally in 1821, when the present prices were fixed. As early as 1766 War Minister Barrington published a letter which states:

"The consequence of this trade in officers' commissions frequently is that men who enter the army with the most ardent desire to serve, who have distinguished themselves at every opportunity, are kept for their whole lives in the lowest rank because they are poor. These deserving officers suffer the most cruel humiliation of being under the command of youths from wealthy families who entered the service much later but whose fortune enabled them to find entertainment outside the service, while the others, who are constantly at service quarters, carry out the duties of these gentlemen and have learnt their own."

It is true that England's common law declares it illegal to give a present or a "broker's fee" for any public office, just as the Rules of the Established Church place a ban on simony.[63] Historical development, however, shows that the law does not determine practice nor does practice remove a contradictory law.

The latest news from Australia adds a new element to the general discomfort, unrest and insecurity. We must distinguish between the riot in Ballarat (near Melbourne) and the general revolutionary movement in the State of Victoria.[64] The former will by this time have been suppressed; the latter can only be suppressed by far-reaching concessions. The former is merely a symptom and an incidental outbreak of the latter. Concerning the Ballarat riot, the facts are simply these: A certain Bentley, owner of the Eureka Hotel at the Ballarat goldfields, had got into all sorts of conflicts with the gold diggers. A murder which occurred at his house increased the hatred of him. At the coroner's inquest Bentley was discharged as innocent. Ten of the twelve jurymen, who functioned at the inquest, however, published a protest

[a] Marx uses the English expression.— *Ed.*

against the partiality of the coroner,[a] who had attempted to suppress witnesses' evidence disadvantageous to the prisoner. At the demand of the people a second inquest was held. Bentley was again discharged despite very suspicious evidence by some witnesses. It became known, however, that one of the judges had financial interests in the hotel. Many earlier and later complaints show the dubious character of the government officials of the Ballarat district. On the day Bentley was discharged for the second time, the gold diggers held a tremendous demonstration, set his hotel on fire and then withdrew. Three of the ringleaders were arrested on a warrant issued by Sir Charles Hotham, the Governor-General of Victoria State. On November 27 a deputation of gold diggers demanded their release. Hotham rejected the demand. The gold diggers held a monster meeting. The Governor sent police and troops from Melbourne. It came to a clash, several dead remained on the scene, and according to the latest news, up to December 1, the gold diggers have hoisted the flag of independence.

Even this story, which is in the main taken from a government paper, does not put the English judges and government officials in a favourable light. It shows the prevailing distrust. There are actually two big issues around which the revolutionary movement in Victoria State is revolving. The gold diggers are demanding the abolition of the gold digging licences, i.e. of a tax directly imposed on labour; secondly, they demand the abolition of the property qualification for Members of the Chamber of Representatives, in order themselves to obtain control over taxes and legislation. Here we see, in essence, motives similar to those which led to the Declaration of Independence of the United States,[65] except that in Australia the conflict is initiated by the workers against the monopolists linked with the colonial bureaucracy. In the Melbourne *Argus* we read of big reform meetings and, on the other hand, of large-scale military preparations on the part of the Government. It says among other things:

"At a meeting of 4,000 persons it was decided that the [...] license-fee is an imposition and an unjustifiable tax on free labour. This meeting therefore pledges itself to take immediate steps to abolish the same, by at once burning all their licenses. That in the event of any party being arrested for having no licenses, [...] the united people will [...] defend and protect them".[b]

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[a] Marx uses the English term, with the German equivalent in brackets.—*Ed.*

[b] "Ballaarat. Wednesday, November 29th, 1854", *The Argus* (Melbourne), No. 2359, December 1, 1854.—*Ed.*

On 30 November Commissioners Rede and Johnson appeared with cavalry and police at Ballarat and demanded with drawn swords and fixed bayonets that the gold diggers show their licences. These, mostly armed, held a mass meeting and resolved to resist the collection of the hated tax to the utmost. They refused to show their licences; they declared they had burnt them; the Riot Act[66] was read, and so the revolt was complete.

To describe the joint actions of the monopolists lording it in the local legislatures and the colonial bureaucracy in league with them, it is sufficient to mention that in 1854 government expenditures in Victoria amounted to £3,564,258 sterling, including a deficit of £1,085,896, that is of more than one-third of the total income. And in face of the present crisis, of the general bankruptcy, Sir Charles Hotham demands for the year 1855 a sum of £4,801,292 sterling. Victoria has barely 300,000 inhabitants, and of the above sum £1,860,830 sterling, that is £6 sterling per head, are intended for public works, namely roads, docks, quays, barracks, government buildings, customs offices, botanical gardens, government stables, etc. At this rate of £6 per head, the population of Great Britain would have to pay £168,000,000 sterling annually for public works alone, i.e. three times as much as their total tax. It is understandable that the working population is indignant at this supertaxation. It is likewise evident what good business the bureaucracy and the monopolists between them must make with such extensive public works defrayed at other people's expense.

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# Karl Marx

## THE ENGLISH PRESS ON THE LATE TSAR

[*Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 109, March 6, 1855]

*London*, March 3. Today's entire daily and weekly press carries, of course, leading articles on the death of the Emperor of Russia[a]—but all, without exception, commonplace and dull. *The Times* has at least attempted to inflate its style to the heights of Timur Tamburlaine[b] by exaggerated grandiloquence. We shall single out only two passages, both of them compliments for Lord Palmerston. The strain which had hastened the Emperor's death had been exacerbated by the appointment as Prime Minister of Palmerston, the "worst enemy of the Czar". Between 1830 and 1840 (the first decade of Palmerston's foreign policy), the Tsar had abandoned his policy of encroachment and world domination. The former assertion is as much worth as the latter.

*The Morning Advertiser*, on the other hand, distinguishes itself by the discovery that Michael is the Emperor's eldest son and thus the legitimate heir to the throne.[c] *The Morning Post*, Palmerston's private *Moniteur*, in its funeral oration, reveals to the English public that

"The Conference at Vienna will, of course, be delayed for a short time, and will be renewed under new auspices;" and that "this very afternoon [...] Lord Clarendon will have an interview with the Emperor Napoléon, at Boulogne, in which [...] the ideas of the two Governments, with reference to this sudden and momentous event, will be interchanged and discussed".[d]

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[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to the items "Scarcely had the intelligence..." and "The Emperor of Russia is dead...." in *The Times*, No. 21992, March 3, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] "No event of greater importance...", *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19875, March 3, 1855. Actually, the eldest son of Nicholas I was Alexander.—*Ed.*

[d] "Nicholas Paulovitch, Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias...", *The Morning Post*, No. 25325, March 3, 1855.—*Ed.*

*The Daily News* does not believe in the peaceful consequences of this "sudden event" for the Western powers could not withdraw *before* the fall of Sevastopol and Russia could not withdraw *after* it.[a]

[*Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 116, March 10, 1855][b]

*London*, March 6. The death of Emperor Nicholas has been the occasion for strange claims in the press here. Dr. Granville is surpassed by Mr. James Lee, who has made no medical observations.[67]

In today's *Morning Advertiser* he writes: "On the 6th of February I sent a letter [...] to you, in which I said, that the Emperor of Russia would be a corpse at the expiration of three weeks, dating the time from my letter."

In a postscript, the editor of *The Morning Advertiser* states that his paper had in fact received Lee's letter, but consigned it to the wastepaper basket as the figment of a sick brain. Lee goes even further. He offers to prophesy to the *Advertiser* the early demise of another potentate, on the one condition that his communication be published. Lee's predictions seem to be cheaper than the books of the Sibyl.

Similarly, the Emperor's death has led *Urquhart* who, as Highland Scot, possesses the gift of second sight, to make several Pythian utterances,[68] of which the following is the most characteristic and also the most intelligible:

"There was blood between him [Nicholas] and the Poles, who could not be left behind to be watched, and whose five hundred thousand warriors were required. And it was well understood that the restoration of the white double-headed eagle—the symbol of that reunion of the Slavonic races announced in the Cathedral of Moscow by his predecessor, Alexander, was not to take place in his day."[c]

Urquhart thinks that now the moment has come when Russia will be absorbed by Slavdom, as the Muscovite empire had earlier been absorbed by Russia.

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[a] "The Death of the Czar. (Communicated)", *The Daily News*, No. 2742, March 3, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] The second instalment was published without a heading.—*Ed.*

[c] D. Urquhart, "On the Death of the Emperor Nicholas. To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*", *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19877, March 6, 1855. Instead of "reunion of Slavonic races" "reunion of Slavonic faces" is printed in Urquhart's article.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## ON THE HISTORY OF THE FRENCH ALLIANCE

*London*, March 6. Today's *Morning Herald* has surprised London by the following announcement:

"We have excellent authority for stating that the French Emperor has remonstrated against the committee for inquiring into the conduct of the war, and that he has said, that, in the event of its continuing to sit, the armies of the two nations cannot act together, although they may act for the same object. In order [...] to satisfy Louis Napoleon, without affronting the English people, a dissolution of Parliament will [...] take place[a] as soon as possible."

Without attributing too much importance to this paragraph in the *Herald*, we record it as one of the many symptoms which indicate that *secret forces on both sides of the Channel are working to bring about a dissolution of the Anglo-French alliance.*

In this context the statements made by ex-minister *Sir James Graham* should be recalled[b]: under pressure from the Committee of Inquiry our Admiral[c] would be forced to reveal all the considerations which led to the postponement of the blockade, and the inquiry would include our relations with our great and powerful ally at a time when it is of the utmost importance that there should not be the least misunderstanding.

*Sidney Herbert*: He challenged the Committee to get to the bottom of the affair without taking the risk of insulting our army in the Crimea and possibly shaking the confidence of our allies. Unless one of its members were able to check the Committee when

[a] "England and France. Probable Dissolution of Parliament", *The Morning Herald*, No. 22372, March 6, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] The speeches of Graham, Herbert and Gladstone in the House of Commons on February 23 were reported in *The Times*, No. 21986, February 24, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] J. W. D. Dundas.—*Ed.*

it stepped on dangerous ground, great injustice would be done, and even the officers summoned by it might perhaps be sacrificed, since incriminating questions might be put to them, while they would not be permitted to answer because in so doing they might have to make dangerous and delicate revelations. He for one thought it his duty to prevent officers of the British army being placed in a position where they would be made the object of accusations while their hands were tied and they were unable to defend themselves.

*Gladstone*: Among other things, a committee would have to examine why a road from Balaklava had not been constructed earlier! If the Committee did not investigate this, it would achieve nothing. If however it investigated this question, the reply would be: shortage of labour. If it then asked what caused this shortage of labour, the reply would be that the men were digging trenches and that these *were extensive owing to the proportion in which the lines had been distributed between the French and the English.* I further declare that an investigation would be empty pretence unless you probed the question of the roads, and, if you probed that, the defence of the accused parties would directly disturb the most intimate relations between England and France.

Understandably these ministerial statements have forced the widely scattered seeds of distrust into abundant growth. National pride had already been severely wounded by the relegation of the British army in the Crimea to guard duty at Balaklava. Then came the semi-official article in the *Moniteur* with its "imperatorial" remarks on the British Constitution.[a] It called forth caustic replies in the weekly press here. Then came the publication of the Brussels *Mémoire,* in which Louis Bonaparte is represented as the originator of the Crimean expedition on the one hand, and of the concessions to Austria on the other.[b] By their ruthlessness, the comments on this *Mémoire*—as, for instance, that in *The Morning Advertiser*—remind one of the "Letters of an Englishman" on the *coup d'état* of December 2.[c] The following extract from the Chartist

[a] *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 48, February 17, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the anonymous pamphlet *De la conduite de la guerre d'Orient...*, published in Brussels in 1855, which criticised the conduct of the Crimean campaign. The pamphlet was attributed, among other writers, to Prince Napoleon (Jérôme Bonaparte, Jr.).—*Ed.*

[c] The comparison is between the article "Secret History of the Crimean Expedition" (*The Morning Advertiser,* No. 19875, March 3, 1855) and the anonymous "Letters of an Englishman" by A. Richards, which were published in *The Times* between December 1851 and November 1852 and appeared in book form in 1852.—*Ed.*

organ, *The People's Paper,* will illustrate the repercussions of all this in the true popular press[a]:

"He [Bonaparte] it was that lured England to the Crimea. [...] Our army, once in that snare, was placed by him in such a position, that it broke the edge of Russia's strength before that strength could reach his own. [...] At Alma, at Balaklava, at Inkermann, at Sebastopol, the British were played into the post of danger. They had to bear the brunt—they had to suffer the chief loss; [...] England engaged to send only one-third as many men as France. That one-third had to fight nearly the whole of the battles. That one-third had to take more than half the lines before Sebastopol. Our army was destroyed, because they could not get the food and clothes which lay rotting at Balaklava. They could not get them because there was no road from Balaklava to Sebastopol, and there was no road from Balaklava to Sebastopol because Napoleon insisted that the British with less than one-third of the force [...] should do more than half the work in the trenches; and, therefore, they had no men to spare to make the road.[...] This is the secret at which Graham, Sidney Herbert, and Gladstone hinted.... Thus he, Napoleon, has deliberately murdered 44,000 of our soldiers, etc."

All these signs of suspicious vexation with the French ally gain importance because Lord Palmerston is at the head of the government—a man who on each occasion has reached his position by climbing up the ladder of the French alliance, then suddenly turned this alliance into almost unavoidable war between France and England. Thus it was in the Turko-Syrian affair of 1840, and the treaty of July 15[69] with which he crowned his ten-year-old alliance with France. In reference to this, Sir Robert Peel remarked in 1842 that

"*he had never clearly understood* why the alliance with France of which the noble lord had always pretended to be so proud, had been broken."[b]

And thus, once again, in 1847, on the occasion of the Spanish marriages.[70] At the time, it was asserted by Palmerston—who, in 1846, was allowed to resume his post only after he had paid his respects to Louis Philippe, become reconciled to him with great ostentation, and flattered the Frenchman in a speech in the House of Commons—that it was Louis Philippe who had dissolved the alliance because the Treaty of Utrecht[71] had been violated (a treaty lapsed in 1793 and never renewed since that time) and because he had committed an "act of perfidy" against the English Crown. As to the "act of perfidy" it was really committed, but, as the documents

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[a] The extract is from the speech delivered by Ernest Jones at St Martin's Hall on February 27, 1855. Marx quotes from a report published in *The People's Paper,* No. 148, March 3, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] From Peel's speech in the House of Commons on August 10, 1842. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates,* third series, Vol. LXV, col. 1281-82, London, 1842.—*Ed.*

subsequently published proved, Palmerston had manoeuvred the French Court into this act of perfidy in the most cunning manner so as to obtain a *pretext* for the break. While the wily Louis Philippe thought he was outwitting him, he simply fell into the carefully laid trap of the "facetious" viscount. The February revolution alone prevented the outbreak of war between England and France at that time.

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## THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

*London*, March 7. The rumour of an impending dissolution of Parliament, on the pretext that the Committee of Inquiry was compromising the French alliance, seems to be correct. A correspondent of *The Morning Advertiser* remarks in this connection:

"But who made the committee an open one? Lord Palmerston, who, they say, will dissolve the House [...]. Mr. Roebuck had demanded and compelled an inquest, and he desired secrecy—Lord Palmerston had refused and had been driven to an inquest, and he was for publicity. [...] He compels the Committee to pursue the course most obnoxious to our French Ally. That obnoxiousness then is to enable the Minister to dissolve the House, extinguish the Inquiry, and laugh in his sleeve at both!"[a]

In a leading article on the same subject, *The Morning Herald* says, *inter alia*:

"When the allied armies took up their positions before Sebastopol the English contingent was the stronger of the two, and the subsequent destruction of our army was to be attributed entirely to the want of reserves in the Mediterranean and of an organised militia at home; from which causes it became impossible to supply the English army with those reinforcements [...]. The attempt to involve the name of our [...] allies in the discussion is an almost undisguised effort, on the part of desperate and unprincipled men, to screen themselves from that inquiry which they well know must be fatal to their future political existence. [...] Lord Clarendon has unconstitutionally sought an interview with the Emperor of the French, for the sole purpose of extracting from him some declaration of opinion which might be tortured and twisted into a disapproval of an inquiry [...]. Having obtained this, [...] it is the intention of these patriotic Ministers to attempt to intimidate

[a] "The Reported Dissolution", *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19878, March 7, 1855.— *Ed.*

the House of Commons [...] by a threat of dissolution, and an appeal to the country upon a cry that '*the French alliance is in danger!*'."[a]

It is obvious that, if this pretext of the English Government serves to get rid of the Committee of Inquiry, it serves no less to jeopardise the French alliance and so to prepare for the very thing which it pretends to be preventing. The conviction that the Committee was being abandoned because it would unearth "delicate and dangerous" mysteries, compromising to the French ally, effectively compromises that ally. The suppression of the Committee would speak more loudly against him than could the Committee itself. Besides, the slightest acquaintance with the tides of public opinion in England must convince anyone that consciousness of so great a concession to a foreign state as suppressing a parliamentary committee, or dissolving Parliament at Bonaparte's alleged request, would lead at the next opportunity to a terrible reaction against French influence in an attempt to redress the balance.

We have compiled General Sir de Lacy Evans'[b] statements from reports on the first two sittings of the Committee of Inquiry. At Malta, whither a commissary had been sent some time before the army, he was surprised that no purchase of mules was made. No adequate preparation was made at Scutari for killing cattle or baking. Some of the Treasury regulations at this time proved very inconvenient. He firmly believed the war was commenced under the delusion that matters would be settled without any explosion of gunpowder, and that there was no necessity for any magazines at all. Though the Commissariat was under the control of the commander, yet it was closely connected also with the Treasury (and therefore with the Prime Minister), and the officers of the Commissariat must have been given to understand that it was extravagant to make the disbursements necessary for a real war. At Varna, hardly any preparations had been made for looking after the wounded. Evidently the predominant impression had been that this would be a war without wounds. Arrangements were not made to enable the army to take the field at once. When the Russians crossed the Danube Omer Pasha applied for assistance, and the answer was that the army had not the means of transport, which ought to have been provided long before. He

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[a] "A more audacious and unconstitutional attempt...", *The Morning Herald*, No. 22373, March 7, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Published in *The Times*, No. 21994, March 6, and No. 21995, March 7, 1855.—*Ed.*

thought the Government was still waiting for notes and protocols from Vienna, and no great exertions were made to put the army in a condition to move; it was, of course, the Government, not the Commissariat, that was responsible for this sort of delay. The Russians were carrying on the siege of Silistria, and still the army was not in readiness to move. The two departments entrusted with the procurement of food supplies were the Commissariat and the Department of the Quartermaster General. Clashes with the Commissariat were the order of the day. Its officials might have been efficient clerks in the Treasury: in fact, they spent most of their time writing letters to the Treasury. In the field they proved useless. Even eighteen miles from Varna, there was the greatest difficulty in getting provisions. There the Commissariat proved to be so short of staff that he had to lend 100 non-commissioned officers for service in the department. Mortality among troops at Varna was due mainly to low morale, a consequence of their trying and prolonged inactivity.

As to the situation of the troops in the Crimea, de Lacy partly repeats what is already common knowledge—lack of food, of clothing, of wooden huts, etc., etc. As to detail, we merely quote the following statements:

"Filder, as old as the hills, in charge of the Commissariat as far back as the Pyrenean campaign and now Quartermaster General never consulted with him as to the wants of his [Evans'] division; it was his duty to do so; he [Evans] wanted him to do it, but Mr. Filder declined. Mr. Filder was under the direct orders of Lord Raglan, but, of course, he carried on a correspondence with the Treasury." "It was very inconvenient that the cavalry and artillery horses should have been employed for the transport of forage. The consequence was that his [Evans'] guns were latterly not more than half horsed." "The road from Balaklava harbour to the camp had been frightfully churned up and waterlogged. [...] The work of 1,000 men for ten days would have secured a road from Balaklava [...] but he believed that all the men who could be spared [...] were set to work in the trenches".

Finally, on the melting away of the British army before Sevastopol, Evans declares

"...his conviction that neither the deficiency in the supply of clothes, food, or fuel would have produced the shocking sickness and death in the army, had not the troops been overworked in the trenches. It was the fatigue of the men that was so injurious. From the first the work cut out for them was entirely beyond their numerical strength. The overwork during the nights was decidedly the main cause of the suffering of the army".

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# Karl Marx

## THE BRUSSELS *MEMOIRE*

*London*, March 7. Today *The Morning Post*, Palmerston's private *Moniteur*, prints the well-known Brussels *Mémoire*[a] in an English translation with a brief foreword according to which Prince Napoleon is supposed to be the pamphlet's author. Simultaneously the same paper prints a leading article full of vicious attacks on Napoleon Bonaparte, making the fulsomely often repeated point that "only a *Russian spy*" could be the author of the *Mémoire*.

Under the pretext of standing up for Louis Bonaparte against his cousin and of preserving the memory of the unsullied Achille Leroy, *alias* Florimond, *alias* de S[ain]t-Arnaud, the *Post* obviously only means to accumulate material for Anglo-French collisions. *Saint*-Arnaud was one of those *saints* who turn up in the calendar of French *chevaliers d'industrie* at any given period, e. g. Saint-Germain, Saint-Georges, etc. Credit is due to *The Morning Post* for having canonised them and transformed them into saints befitting their station. The assertion that the *Mémoire* made "military" revelations to the Russians is completely absurd. Neither in England nor in America or Germany have critics waited for the *Mémoire* to present the Crimean expedition as a failure. The *Mémoire* has added not one syllable to criticism made so far, although it does have the merit of supplying informal portraits of the mediocrities who were laying down the law at Sevastopol. It is

[a] The reference is to the anonymous pamphlet *De la conduite de la guerre d'Orient...* (see this volume, p. 70) which was published in English under the title "Memoir Addressed to the Government of H. M. the Emperor Napoleon III" in *The Morning Post*, No. 25328, March 7, 1855. The leading article mentioned below was printed in the same issue.—*Ed.*

only in the interest of the Russians to keep alive illusions about the Crimean expedition, and the grandiloquence with which the *Post* holds forth about Russian agents and Russian spies reminds one of Aeschines, who similarly boasted that he was the first to see through the king of Macedonia's plans, while reproaching Demosthenes with having been bribed by Philip. However, we are, of course, far from presenting Prince Napoleon Bonaparte as a Demosthenes.

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# Karl Marx

## IRELAND'S REVENGE[72]

*London*, March 13. Ireland has revenged herself upon England, *socially*—by bestowing an *Irish quarter* on every English industrial maritime or commercial town of any size, and *politically*—by presenting the English Parliament with an "Irish Brigade".[73] In 1833, Daniel O'Connell decried the Whigs as "base, bloody and brutal". In 1835, he became the most efficient tool of the Whigs; although the English majority was opposed to the Melbourne Administration, it remained in office from April 1835 to August 1841 because of the support it received from O'Connell and his Irish Brigade. What transformed the O'Connell of 1833 into the O'Connell of 1835? It was an agreement, known as the *Lichfield-House Contract*, according to which the Whig Cabinet granted government patronage in Ireland to O'Connell and O'Connell promised the Whig Cabinet the votes of the Irish Brigade in Parliament.[74] "King Dan's" Repeal[a] agitation[75] began immediately the Whigs were overthrown, but as soon as the Tories were defeated "King[b] Dan" sank again to the level of a common advocate. The influence of the Irish Brigade by no means came to an end with O'Connell's death. On the contrary, it became evident that this influence did not depend on the talent of one person, but was a result of the general state of affairs. The Tories and Whigs, the big traditional parties in the English Parliament, were more or less equally balanced. It is thus not surprising that the new, numerically small factions, the Manchester School[76] and the Irish Brigade, which took their seats in the reformed Parliament, should

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[a] Marx uses the English word "Repeal" here and below.—*Ed.*
[b] Marx uses the English word here.—*Ed.*

play a decisive role and be able to turn the scale. Hence the importance of the "Irish quarter" in the English Parliament. After O'Connell left the scene it was no longer possible to stir the Irish masses with the "Repeal" slogan. The "Catholic" problem,[77] too, could be used only occasionally. Since the Catholic Emancipation it could no longer serve as a permanent propaganda theme. Thus the Irish politicians were compelled to do what O'Connell had always avoided and refused to do, that is, to explore the real cause of the Irish malady and to make landed property relations and their reform the election slogan, that is to say a slogan that would help them to get into the House of Commons. But having taken their seats in the House, they used the rights of the tenants, etc.—just as formerly the Repeal—as a means to conclude a new Lichfield-House Contract.

The Irish Brigade had overthrown the Derby ministry and had obtained a seat, even though a minor one, in the coalition government. How did it use its position? It helped the coalition to burke measures designed to reform landed ownership in Ireland. The Tories themselves, having taken the patriotism of the Irish Brigade for granted, had decided to propose these measures in order to gain the support of the Irish M.P.s. Palmerston, who is an Irishman by birth and knows his "Irish quarter", has renewed the Lichfield-House Contract of 1835 and has broadened its scope. He has appointed Keogh, the chief of the Brigade, Attorney-General[a] of Ireland, Fitzgerald, also a liberal Catholic M P. for Ireland, has been made Solicitor-General, and a third member of the Brigade[b] has become legal counsel to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, so that the judicial general staff of the Irish government is now composed entirely of Catholics and Irishmen. Monsell, the Clerk of Ordnance in the coalition government, has been reappointed by Palmerston after some hesitation, although—as Muntz, deputy for Birmingham and an arms manufacturer, rightly observed—Monsell cannot distinguish a musket from a needle-gun. Palmerston has advised the lieutenants of the counties always to give preference to the protégés of Irish priests close to the Irish Brigade when nominating colonels and other high-ranking officers in the Irish militia. The fact that Sergeant *Shee* has gone over to the government side, and also that the Catholic Bishop of Athlone has pushed through the re-election of Keogh and that moreover

[a] Here and below Marx gives the titles in English: Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, Lord Lieutenant, Clerk of Ordnance, Sergeant.—*Ed.*

[b] G. W. F. Howard.—*Ed.*

the Catholic clergy has promoted the re-election of Fitzgerald shows that Palmerston's policy is already producing an effect. Wherever the lower ranks of the Catholic clergy have taken their "Irish patriotism" seriously and have stood up to those members of the Irish Brigade who deserted to the government, they have been rebuked by their bishops who are well aware of the diplomatic secret.

A protestant Tory newspaper[a] exclaims in distress: "It is perfectly understood between Lord Palmerston [...] and [...] the Irish priests, that if Lord Palmerston hands over Ireland to the priests, the priests will return members who will hand over England to Lord Palmerston".

The Whigs use the Irish Brigade to dominate the British Parliament and they toss posts and salaries to the Brigade; the Catholic clergy permits one side to buy and the other to sell on condition that both sides acknowledge the power of the clergy and help to extend and strengthen it. It is, however, a very remarkable phenomenon that in the same measure as the Irish influence in the *political* sphere grows in England, the Celtic influence in the *social* sphere decreases in Ireland. Both the "Irish quarter" in Parliament and the Irish clergy seem to be equally unaware of the fact that behind their back the Irish society is being radically transformed by an Anglo-Saxon revolution. In the course of this revolution the *Irish agricultural system is being replaced by the English system, the system of small tenures by big tenures,* and *the modern capitalist* is taking the place of the old landowner.

The chief factors which prepared the ground for this transformation are: 1847, the year of famine, which killed nearly one million Irishmen; emigration to America and Australia, which removed another million from the land and still carries off thousands; the unsuccessful insurrection of 1848, which finally destroyed Ireland's faith in herself; and lastly the Act of Parliament which exposed the estates of the debt-ridden old Irish aristocrats to the hammer of the auctioneer or bailiff, thus driving them from the land just as starvation swept away their small tenants, subtenants and cottagers.[78]

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[a] *The Morning Herald,* No. 22378, March 13, 1855.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE RESULTS IN THE CRIMEA[79]

The illusions with which official incapacity and national self-love have surrounded the military operations in the Crimea,[a] now begin to melt away, along with the sheet of snow which has covered the scene of action through the winter months. The recent pamphlet of Napoleon Bonaparte[b] says distinctly, that while in the Crimea everything went wrong, the generals-in-chief

> "must have been in possession of orders from their governments enjoining them to pass under silence and to dissimulate the obstacles which opposed themselves to the taking of Sevastopol".

This supposition is fully borne out by the reports of these generals,[c] and especially by the repeated reports which they caused to be sent, indirectly, from the camp,[d] as to the assault being fixed on such and such a day. Everybody recollects that from the 5th of November down to the beginning of March the European public was kept in constant expectation of this grand and final spectacle. Though continually postponed, every adjournment was to be for a short time only, and public curiosity was but increased by it. But

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[a] The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "with which official incapacity, English ministerial intrigues and self-interested Bonapartism have surrounded the military operations in the Crimea".—*Ed.*

[b] Thus in the *New-York Daily Tribune*—presumably a mistake; the version in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* reads: "The pamphlet of Jérôme Bonaparte (Jr.)", the reference being to the anonymous pamphlet *De la conduite de la guerre d'Orient....*—*Ed.*

[c] Raglan and Canrobert.—*Ed.*

[d] Instead of the passage "the repeated reports which they caused to be sent, indirectly, from the camp", the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "the rumours which they repeatedly spread".—*Ed.*

now matters begin to take a different turn,[a] and the length of the siege has at last called into existence a sort of public opinion in the camp, based upon the views publicly expressed by officers who know something about these matters, and the gentlemen of the staff are no longer able to whisper about the camp, with all the importance and oracularity inherent to their position, that on such and such a day the assault will take place and the town will be overwhelmed. Every private now knows better. The nature of the defenses, the superiority of the enemy's fire, the disproportion of the besieging forces to the task before them, and, above all, the decisive importance of the North Fort, are by this time too well understood to admit of such preposterous tales being successfully repeated.[b]

About the end of February, the Allies are said to have had before Sevastopol 58,000 French, 10,000 English, and 10,000 Turks—all together about 80,000 men, which agrees pretty nearly with our own computations at various epochs.[c] Supposing they had even 90,000 men, they would still be unable to maintain the siege with one portion, and to detach the other upon an offensive movement against the Russians at Bakshiserai; for this field army of the Allies could not arrive before Bakshiserai with more than 40,000 men, while the Russians could bring at least 60,000 against them in an open field, where the advantages of the position between Inkermann and Balaklava would not exist, and where, therefore, the moral superiority of the allied army would be considerably affected by maneuvers which could not be effectually employed by superior numbers of Russians either at Balaklava or at Inkermann.[d] Thus, the Allies must remain besieged on their Chersonese, until they are strong enough to advance beyond the Chernaya with something like 100,000 men. This shows the vicious circle in which they move: the more men they bring into this pestilential mouse-trap, the more they lose by sickness; and yet, the only way to get successfully out of it, is to send more men thither.

The other expedient they have hit upon to get out of the

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[a] Part of this sentence and the preceding sentence do not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.—Ed.*

[b] The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* further has: "We have even had reports of letters by English officers which permit no doubt on this point."—*Ed.*

[c] The end of the sentence beginning with the words "which agrees..." does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.—Ed.*

[d] The end of this sentence beginning with the words "and where, therefore the moral superiority..." does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.—Ed.*

scrape—the Turkish Expedition to Eupatoria[80]—now turns out to be a perfect repetition of the original Crimean blunder. The Turks landed at Eupatoria are far too weak to advance into the interior. The intrenchments around the place appear to be so extensive that an army of some 20,000 men is required for their defense. The reports of the "battle" of February 17, before Eupatoria, lead to the conclusion that at least one-half of the 40,000 men assembled there found active employment in the defense.[a] The extent of an intrenched camp intended to shelter 40,000 men must, besides, be such that about one-half of the men will be required for active service in case of an attack. Thus the town will require about 20,000 men for its defense, and 20,000 only remain disposable for field operations. But 20,000 men cannot venture more than a few miles out of Eupatoria without exposing themselves to all sorts of flank and rear attacks from the Russians, and to the risk of having their communications with the town intercepted. Now the Russians, having a double line of retreat either toward Perekop or toward Sympheropol, and being, besides, in their own country, can always avoid a decisive action with the 20,000 Turks who may emerge from Eupatoria.

Thus, 10,000 Russians, placed at a day's march from the town, will always be able to keep in check the 40,000 Turks concentrated in it; if they retreat for another ten or twelve miles they will be a match for any number of Turks who can venture to advance to that distance from their base of operations. In other words, Eupatoria is another Kalafat; but with this difference, that Kalafat had the Danube in its rear, and not the Black Sea, and that Kalafat was a defensive position, while Eupatoria is an offensive one. If 30,000 men at Kalafat could maintain a successful defense, with occasional and equally successful offensive sallies, extending to a limited distance, 40,000 men at Eupatoria are far too many to defend a place which about 1,000 English and French held for five months; while they are far too few for any offensive operations. The consequence is, that a Russian brigade, or at the outside a Russian division will be abundantly sufficient to check the whole Turkish force at Eupatoria.

The so-called battle of Eupatoria was a mere reconnaissance on the part of the Russians. They advanced, 25,000 to 30,000 strong, against the place from the north-west, the only available side, as the south is sheltered by the sea, and the east by a marshy lake, called Sasik. The country to the north-west of the town is formed

[a] This sentence does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.—Ed.*

by low, undulating ground, which, to judge from the maps and from the experience of this action, does not command the town within effective field-gun range. The Russians, with a force inferior by 10,000 men to the garrison, and exposed besides, on both flanks, and especially on the right one, to the fire from the men-of-war in the bay, could never have had any serious intention of taking the place by assault. They consequently confined themselves to an energetic reconnaissance, opening a cannonade on the whole of the line, at a distance which precluded the possibility of serious damage; they then advanced their batteries nearer and nearer, keeping their columns as much as possible out of range, and then moved up these columns as if for attack so as to force the Turks to show their strength, and made one attack at a point where the shelter afforded by the monuments and shrubbery of a burying-ground allowed of their approaching close to the defenses. Having ascertained the situation and strength of the intrenchments, as well as the approximative numbers of the garrison, they retired, as every other army, judiciously commanded, would have done. Their object was attained; that their losses would be greater than those of the Turks, they knew beforehand. This very simple affair has been magnified by the allied commanders into a glorious victory. People must be very much in want of something to boast of, if they attempt to impose upon the public in such a barefaced way.[a]

It certainly was a great mistake that the Russians allowed the Allies to maintain themselves in Eupatoria for five months, until the Turks came. A Russian brigade, with a sufficient number of twelve-pounders, might have driven them into the sea, and by a few slight earthworks on the shore, might even have kept the men-of-war at a respectful distance. If the allied fleets had detached an overwhelming force to Eupatoria, the place could have been burned down, and thus made valueless as a future base of operations for a landing force. But as it is, the Russians may be quite satisfied with having left Eupatoria in the possession of the Allies. Forty thousand Turks, the last remnant of the only respectable army Turkey ever possessed, blocked up in a narrow camp, where 10,000 Russians can keep them in check, and where they are exposed to all the diseases and sufferings of men crowded closely together—these forty thousand paralyzed Turks are a not inconsiderable deduction from the offensive forces of the Allies.

[a] Instead of this sentence the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "What does this prove but the great demand for and the small supply of real victories?"—*Ed.*

The French and English, after having lost 50,000 to 60,000 men, are still besieged on the Heracleatic Chersonese, and the Turks are besieged at Eupatoria, while the Russians are in full communication with both the North and South sides of Sevastopol, whose defenses are much stronger than ever.[a] Such is the glorious result of five months' experimenting in the Crimea![b]

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[a] In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* the words "after having lost 50,000 to 60,000 men" and "whose defenses are much stronger than ever" do not occur.—*Ed.*

[b] The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* further has: "There are also military and political questions to be taken into account, which we shall consider in our next letter."—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## FATE OF THE GREAT ADVENTURER[81]

We published the other day some interesting extracts from the pamphlet lately issued by Prince Napoleon, which, we doubt not, were duly considered by our readers. That pamphlet[a] reveals the striking and most important fact, that the Crimean Expedition was an original invention of Louis Bonaparte himself; that he elaborated it in all its details, without communicating with anybody; that he sent it in his own handwriting to Constantinople, in order to avoid the objections of Marshal Vaillant. Since all this is known, a great portion of the flagrant military blunders connected with this expedition is explained by the dynastic necessities of its author. In the council of war at Varna it had to be forced upon the Admirals and Generals present, by St. Arnaud, appealing, in the most direct manner, to the authority of the "Emperor," while that potentate, in return, publicly branded all opposing opinions as "timid counsels." Once in the Crimea, Raglan's really timid proposal to march to Balaklava was readily adopted by St. Arnaud, as it led directly, if not into, at least to somewhere near, the gates of Sevastopol. The frantic efforts to push the siege, though without sufficient means—the eagerness to open the fire, which made the French neglect the solidity of their works to such a degree that their batteries were silenced by the enemy in a couple of hours—the consequent overworking of the troops in the trenches, which is now proved to have done as much as anything else toward the destruction of the British army—the inconsiderate and useless cannonade from the 17th of October to the 5th of November—the neglect of all defensive works, and

[a] *De la conduite de la guerre d'Orient....—Ed.*

even of a sufficient occupation of the ridge toward the Chernaya, which ended in the losses of Balaklava and Inkermann[82]—all this is now as clearly explained as can be wished for. The Bonaparte dynasty was bound to take Sevastopol at any cost, and at the shortest notice; and the allied armies had to do it. Canrobert, if successful, would be made a Marshal of France, Count, Duke, Prince, whatever he liked, with unlimited powers to commit "irregularities" in financial matters; while if unlucky, he would be a traitor to the Emperor, and would have to go and join his former comrades, Lamoricière, Bedeau, and Changarnier, in their exile. And Raglan was just enough of an old woman to give way to his interested colleague.

All this, however, is but the least important feature of the consequences incumbent upon this Imperial plan of operations. Nine French divisions, equal to eighty-one battalions, have been engaged in this hopeless affair. The greatest efforts, the most lavish sacrifices have accomplished nothing; Sevastopol is stronger than ever; the French trenches are, as we now learn from authentic sources, still fully four hundred yards from the Russian works, while the British trenches are twice that distance; Gen. Niel, sent by Bonaparte to look into the siege works, declares that an assault is not to be thought of; he has changed the principal points of attack from the French to the British side, thereby not only causing delay in the siege, but directing the main attack toward a suburb which, even if taken, is still separated from the town by the Inner Harbor Creek. In short, device after device, dodge after dodge is resorted to, to keep up, not the hope, but the mere appearance of a hope of success. And when matters are come to this pitch, when a general war on the Continent is imminent, when a fresh expedition to the Baltic is preparing—an expedition which must do something this season, and therefore must be far stronger in land-troops than that of 1854—at this moment, obstinacy goads Louis Bonaparte to engage five more divisions of infantry in this Crimean slough, where men, and even whole regiments, vanish as by enchantment! And, as if that were not sufficient, he has made up his mind to go there himself, and to see the final assault carried out by his soldiers.

This is a situation to which the first strategic experiment of Louis Bonaparte has reduced France. The man who, with some sort of reason, thinks he is bound to be a great Captain, approaching, in some degree, the founder of his dynasty, turns out at the very beginning a mere presumptuous piece of incapacity. With very limited information, he forms the plan of the

expedition at some 3,000 miles from the spot, works it out in its details, and sends it off secretly and without consulting anybody, to his General-in-Chief,[a] who, though but a few hundred miles from the point of attack, is yet equally ignorant as to the nature of the obstacles and the force of resistance likely to be encountered. The Expedition once commenced, disaster follows disaster; even victory is worse than sterile, and the only result obtained is the destruction of the expeditionary army itself. Napoleon, in his best days, would never have persisted in such an undertaking. In such a case, he used to find some fresh device, to lead his troops on a sudden to a fresh point of attack, and by a brilliant maneuver, crowned with success, make even temporary defeat appear as but contributive to final victory. What if he had resisted to the last at Aspern[83]? It was only in the time of his decline, when the thunderstroke of 1812 had shaken his confidence in himself, that his energy of will turned into blind obstinacy, that, as at Leipsic,[84] he clung to the last to positions which his military judgment must have told him were completely false. But here is just the difference between the two Emperors; what Napoleon ended with, Louis Napoleon begins with.

That Louis Bonaparte has the firm intention to go to the Crimea, and to take Sevastopol himself, is very likely. He may delay his departure, but nothing short of peace will shake his resolution. Indeed, his personal fate is bound up with this expedition, which is his first military effort. But, from the day he actually sets out, the fourth and greatest French revolution may be said to date its beginning. Everybody in Europe feels this. Everybody dissuades him. A shudder runs through the ranks of the French middle-class when this departure to the Crimea is mentioned. But, the hero of Strassburg[85] is inflexible. A gambler all his life, a gambler accustomed of late to the very heaviest of stakes, he stakes his all upon the one card of his "star," against the most fearful odds. Besides, he knows well enough that the hopes of the bourgeoisie, to escape the crisis by retaining him in Paris, are entirely hollow. Whether he be there or not, it is the fate of the French Empire, the fate of the existing social order of things, which is still approaching its decision in the trenches before Sevastopol. If successful there against hope, by his presence he will overstep the barrier between a highwayman and a hero, at least in the opinion of Europe; unsuccessful, his Empire is gone under all circumstances. That he calculates upon the possibility of such an

[a] Saint-Arnaud.— *Ed.*

event, is shown by his taking with him his rival and heir presumptive, the young Jérôme Bonaparte, in the livery of a Lieutenant-General.

For the moment, this Crimean Expedition serves nobody better than Austria. This slough which drains off by army-corps after army-corps the strength of both France and Russia, must, if the struggle before Sevastopol lasts a few months longer, leave Austria the main arbiter of the Continent, where her 600,000 bayonets remain disposable, in a compact mass, to be cast as an overwhelming weight into the scale. But, fortunately, there is a counterpoise against this Austrian supremacy. The moment France is launched again in the revolutionary career, this Austrian force dissolves itself into its discordant elements. Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Italians, Croats are loosened from the forced bond which ties them together, and instead of the undetermined and hap-hazard alliances and antagonisms of today, Europe will again be divided into two great camps with distinct banners and new issues. Then the struggle will be only between the Democratic Revolution on one side and the Monarchical Counter-Revolution on the other.

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## CRITICISM OF THE FRENCH CONDUCT OF THE WAR

*London*, March 17. Now that the pamphlet of Jérôme Bonaparte (junior)[a] has revealed the fact that the Crimean expedition was an invention of Louis Napoleon himself, that he had worked it out in every detail without consulting others, that he had sent it to Constantinople in his own handwriting in order to avoid the objections of Marshal Vaillant—since all this has become known, a large proportion of the most flagrant military blunders of this expedition is explained by the dynastic needs of its author. In the war council at Varna it had to be forced upon the generals and admirals present by S[ain]t-Arnaud's direct appeal to the authority of the "Emperor", who, in turn, publicly branded the opposing views as "timid counsel". Once in the Crimea, Raglan's really "timid counsel"—to march to Balaklava—was eagerly adopted by St.-Arnaud, as it led, although not directly into Sevastopol, at least close to its gates. The frantic efforts to push the siege ahead, though without sufficient means; the eagerness to open fire which made the French neglect the solidity of their works to such a degree that their batteries were silenced by the enemy in a couple of hours; the over-exertion of the troops in the communication trenches which is now proved to have contributed as much towards the destruction of the British army as did the Commissariat, the Transport Service, the Medical Department, etc.; the rash and useless cannonade from October 17 to November 5; the neglect of all defensive works—all this has been sufficiently explained. The Bonaparte dynasty required the capture of Sevastopol, and in the shortest time; and the allied army was to

[a] *De la conduite de la guerre d'Orient....—Ed.*

carry it out. Canrobert, if successful, would be made Marshal of France, Count, Duke, Prince—whatever he desired, with unlimited powers in financial matters. If unsuccessful, his career was at an end. Raglan was enough of an old woman to give way to the self-interests of his colleague.

These, however, are not the most important consequences of the imperatorial plan of operation. Nine French divisions or 81 battalions have been engaged in this hopeless affair. It is recognised to be almost hopeless; the greatest efforts, the most lavish sacrifices have accomplished nothing; Sevastopol is stronger than ever; the French trenches, as we now know from an authentic source, are still fully four hundred yards from the Russian works, while the British trenches are twice as far away. General Niel, sent by Bonaparte to inspect the siege works, has declared that an assault is not to be thought of; he has shifted the principal point of attack from the French to the British side, thereby causing not only a delay in the siege, but directing the main attack toward a suburb which, even if taken, is still separated from the town by the inner harbour. In short, there is plan after plan, dodge after dodge, to keep up, not the hope of success, but the mere semblance of such a hope. And when things have come to this pass, when a general war on the continent is imminent, when a new expedition to the Baltic is being prepared—an expedition which, this time, must do something and therefore must dispose of far more landing troops than in 1854—at this moment Bonaparte is sending five fresh infantry divisions to the Crimean swamp where men vanish and regiments disappear as if by magic. Indeed, he is determined to go there himself, and go there he will, unless an improbable peace or significant events at the Polish border decide otherwise. That is the situation to which Bonaparte's first strategic experiment has reduced Bonaparte and "imperial" France. What drives him is not only obstinacy, but the fatalistic instinct that the destiny of the French empire will be decided in the trenches at Sevastopol. Up to now, there has been no Marengo to justify the second edition of the 18th Brumaire.[86]

It may be regarded as historical irony that, however meticulously the restored empire copies its model, it is forced everywhere to do the opposite of what Napoleon did. Napoleon attacked the very heart of the states on which he made war; present-day France has attacked Russia in a *cul-de-sac.* It did not aim at great military operations, but at a fortunate *coup de main,* a surprise attack, an adventure. In this change of purpose lies the whole difference between the first and the second French empire and their

respective representatives. Napoleon used to enter the capitals of *modern* Europe as conqueror. His successor moved French garrisons into the capitals of *ancient* Europe, Rome, Constantinople and Athens under various pretexts—the protection of the Pope, the protection of the Sultan, the protection of the King of the Hellenes[a]—in fact, there has been no increase in power, but merely a dispersal of strength. Napoleon's art consisted in concentration, that of his successor in dispersal. When Napoleon was obliged to conduct a war in two different theatres, as in his wars against Austria, he concentrated by far the greater part of his fighting force along the decisive line of operation (in the wars with Austria this was the line between Strasbourg and Vienna), while leaving a comparatively minor fighting force in the secondary theatre of war (Italy), confident that, even if his troops should be defeated here, his own successes along the principal line would hinder the progress of the enemy army more certainly than any direct resistance. His successor, however, scatters the fighting force of France over many areas, concentrating a part in the very place where the least significant results—if any—must be achieved with the greatest sacrifices. Besides the troops in Rome, Athens, Constantinople and the Crimea, an auxiliary force is to be despatched to the Polish border in Austria, and another to the Baltic Sea. Thus the French army must be active in at least three theatres of war, separated from each other by at least a thousand miles. By this plan, the entire French fighting force would be as good as disposed of even *before* the war had seriously begun in Europe. Napoleon, if he found that an undertaking he had begun was not feasible (as at Aspern), would rather than persist in it, find some new turn, lead his troops in a surprise move to a fresh point of attack, and, by a brilliant manoeuvre crowned with success, make even temporary defeat appear to be but a contribution to final victory. It was only at the time of his decline, after 1812 had shaken his self-confidence, that the energy of his will turned into blind obstinacy which made him hold on to positions (as at Leipzig) which his military judgment must have rejected. His successor, however, is *forced* to begin where his predecessor ended. What with one was the result of unaccountable defeats, was the result of unaccountable good fortune with the other. For one his own genius became the star in which he believed; for the other, his belief in his star has to serve as a substitute for his lack of genius. One defeated a real revolution, because he was the only

[a] Pope Pius IX, Sultan Abdul Mejid and King Otto I.—*Ed.*

man to carry it through; the other defeated the newly revived recollection of a past revolutionary epoch, because he bore that unique man's name, and hence was himself a recollection. It would be easy to demonstrate that the pretentious mediocrity with which the Second Empire is conducting this war is reflected in its internal administration, that here, too, semblance has taken the place of essence, and that the "economic" campaigns were in no way more successful than the military ones.

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# Karl Marx

## AGITATION AGAINST PRUSSIA.—A DAY OF FASTING

*London*, March 19. To show the attitude of the press here towards Prussia, we have chosen two extracts, one from *The Morning Herald*, the Tory organ, the other from *The Morning Post*, Palmerston's organ. Referring to the speech made by Sir Robert Peel, newly appointed Junior Lord of the Admiralty, to his constituents at Portsmouth, *The Morning Herald* remarks:

"Sir Robert Peel has most truthfully represented the people of England's sentiments when he demanded that Prussia should be urged to adopt an unequivocally stated policy, or our second expedition to the Baltic will be as futile as the first one. We have had enough of protocoling and 'points'; it is now high time to cut off Russia from her resources and to bring about repercussions within Russia."[a]

*The Morning Post* has received the following report about General Wedell's mission from Paris:

"General Wedell has [...] communicated his new instructions to the Cabinet of Napoleon. And what are they? [...] General Wedell tells the Government of France—First: His Majesty the King of Prussia[b] is deeply afflicted at the death of cousin Nicholas[c]; [...] Secondly: [...] Prussia quite agrees with the Western Powers about the protocol of Dec. 28,[87] and is ready to subscribe to the same in any and every imaginable form! *Ergo*, Prussia must have a place at the Council board of Vienna.[88] [...] But it happens that the protocol of December 28 does not bind any one to anything—it is only a diplomatic sketch for an historical work. And as [...] Prussia refuses to countersign the *real* alliance treaty between England, France and Austria, Mr. Wedell's mission is, I suppose, closed".[d]

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[a] "Portsmouth—Saturday", *The Morning Herald*, No. 22383, March 19, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[c] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

[d] "Paris, Friday Evening", *The Morning Post*, No. 25338, March 19, 1855.—*Ed.*

It is well known that the rulers of Tyre and Carthage assuaged the wrath of the gods, not by sacrificing themselves, but by buying children from the poor to fling them into the fiery arms of Moloch. Official England orders the people to humble themselves before the Lord, to do penance and fast for the disgrace the misrule of their former government brought upon them, the millions of pounds which it extorted from them to no purpose, and the thousands of lives of which it unscrupulously robbed them. For the Privy Council has ordered a Day of Fasting and Prayer for next Wednesday,[a]

"to obtain pardon of our sins, and in the most devout and solemn manner send up our prayers and supplications to the Divine Majesty, imploring His blessing and assistance on our arms, for the restoration of peace to her Majesty and her dominions".[b]

Just like the Lord Chamberlain at Court ceremonies, the Archbishop of Canterbury[c] has published a "set of rules" for these religious ceremonies, rules which prescribe how the divine Majesty is to be addressed. On the occasion of this extraordinary competition of the English State Church with that of Russia, which has also entreated God's blessing for their arms, the latter obviously has the advantage over the former.

"Read by the Czar's countrymen," *The Leader* remarks, "the prayer prescribed by Canterbury is the prayer of cowards; read by Englishmen [...], it is the prayer of hypocrites. [...] Read by Dissenters, it is the prayer of one sect dictating to the rest: and read by the working people, it is the prayer of the rich who belong to that one sect, and who keep up these mummeries [...] through a belief that the mummeries are an indirect means of sustaining the monopolies of rank and office. The Archbishop's unctuous verbiage has aroused the working classes in several parts of the country. A day of fast and humiliation is to them a reality. To the other 'persuasions', besides those of poverty, it only means the addition of fish and egg sauce to the usual dinner, with a closing of their place of business, as if it were Sunday. To the working men a '*fast*' means stopped wages and the want of dinner."

In a previous despatch we stated:

"The conflict between the industrial proletariat and the bourgeoisie will flare up again at the same time that the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy reaches its climax."[d]

At a large meeting which took place at the London Tavern last Friday,[e] this was manifestly demonstrated. We preface our report

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[a] March 21, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] "A Proclamation for a Day of Solemn Fast, Humiliation and Prayer. Victoria R.", *The Leader*, No. 260, March 17, 1855. Below Marx quotes another article from the same issue, headlined "Humiliation 'Ex-Officio'".—*Ed.*

[c] J. B. Sumner.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 55-56.—*Ed.*

[e] March 16, 1855.—*Ed.*

of this meeting with some particulars of the skirmishes which have recently taken place inside and outside Parliament between bourgeoisie and proletariat. A short time ago the manufacturers of Manchester held meetings where it was resolved to agitate for the removal of the official factory inspectors, since these inspectors not only presume to supervise the observance of working hours fixed by law, but even demand that the measures prescribed by Parliament to prevent damage to life and limb by machinery should actually be put into effect in the factories. The factory inspector for South Lancashire, the well-known Leonard Horner, has incurred their particular displeasure because, in his latest report,[a] he insisted on a legally prescribed appliance in spinning mills, the neglect of which, as one manufacturer—a member of the Peace Society,[89] of course—exclaimed naively, had "cost the lives of *only* five adult workers last year".

This was *extra parliamentary. Inside the House of Commons,* Sir Henry Halford's Bill, which declared the "stoppage of wages"[b] illegal, was thrown out during the second reading. "Stoppage of wages" means *deductions from the money wages,* partly as penalty for infringements of factory regulations framed by the employer, and partly, in branches of industry where the modern system has not yet been introduced, deduction of rents, etc., for looms, etc., lent to workers.

The latter system prevails particularly in the stocking factories of Nottingham, and Sir Henry Halford has proved[c] that, in many instances, instead of being paid by his employer, the worker has actually to pay his employer. For, under various pretexts, so many deductions are made from the money wages that the worker must give back an excess, which the capitalist notes down in the form of a debit. The worker is thus turned into his employer's debtor, and is forced by him to renew his contract under ever more unfavourable conditions until he has become a bondsman in the fullest sense, but unlike the bondsman, he does not receive even the guarantee of physical survival.

While the House of Commons rejected Sir Henry Halford's Bill, which was to put an end to this malpractice, at its second reading, it refused *even to consider* the Bill of Cobbett, son of the great

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[a] "Report of Leonard Horner, Esq., Inspector of Factories, for the Half Year ended the 31st of October, 1854."—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English phrase "stoppage of wages" here and below.—*Ed.*

[c] In his speech in the House of Commons on March 8, 1855. *The Times,* No. 21997, March 9, 1855.—*Ed.*

English pamphleteer. The aim of this Bill[a] was (1) to replace the ten-and-a-half hours law of 1850 by the "ten-hours law" of 1847[90]; (2) to make the legal restrictions of working hours in factories a "reality" by the compulsory shutting down of machinery at the end of each legal working day.

Tomorrow we shall revert to the meeting at the London Tavern.

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[a] Submitted on March 16, 1855.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## A MEETING[91]

*London*, March 20. For several months *The Morning Advertiser* has endeavoured to set up a propaganda society under the name of National and Constitutional Association for the purpose of overthrowing the oligarchic regime. After many preparations, appeals, subscriptions, etc., a public meeting was at last called for last Friday at the London Tavern.[a] It was to be the birthday of the new, much advertised Association. Long before the meeting opened the great hall was crowded with working men, and the self-appointed leaders of the new movement, when they appeared at last, had difficulty in finding room on the platform. Mr. James Taylor, made chairman, read letters from Layard, Sir George de Lacy Evans, Wakley, Sir James Duke, Sir John Shelley, and others, who gave assurances of their sympathy for the aims of the Association, but at the same time under various pretexts declined the invitation to appear in person. Then an "Address to the People" was read. In it, the conduct of the war in the East and the ministerial crisis were spotlighted and then followed the declaration that

> "there were 'practical men of every class, *and especially the middle class*, with all the attributes for governing the country'".

This clumsy allusion to the special claims of the middle class was received with loud hisses.

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[a] A detailed account of this meeting, held on March 16, 1855, was published in *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19887, March 17, 1855. Reports based on it appeared in other newspapers. Below Marx quotes from a report printed in *The Morning Post*, No. 25338, March 19, 1855.—*Ed.*

"The chief object of this Association," continues the address, "will be to destroy the aristocratical monopoly of power and place, which has proved fatal to the best interests of the country. Among its collateral objects will be included *the abolition of the system of secret diplomacy* [...]. It will be the peculiar mission of this Association to address itself to the constituencies of the United Kingdom, warning and exhorting them to be careful into whose hands they entrust the liberties and resources of the country and to shrink from bestowing their votes any longer on the mere nonentities of Aristocracy and Wealth, and their nominees...."

Thereupon Mr. *Beale* rose and seconded the first motion in a lengthy speech:

"...The perilous state of public affairs, and the manifest hopelessness of improvement under the present oligarchical system, which has usurped the functions of Government, monopolised place and privilege, and brought disgrace and disaster upon the country, makes it incumbent on the people to unite, in order to prevent a continuation of the existing [...] system.... That an Association be therefore now formed; and be called '*The National and Constitutional Association*'."

Mr. *Nicolay*, one of the Marylebone luminaries, supported the motion. So did *Apsley Pellatt*, M.P., saying the people would

"go about their work of reforming the Government with determination, temperance, steadiness, and the resolution of *the Ironsides*[a] *of Cromwell.* [...] The electors of England had it in their own hands to rectify every abuse, if they determined to send honest men to Parliament *free of expense*; but they could never expect to be honestly represented whilst a man like Lord Ebrington only got returned to Parliament for Marylebone at an expense of £5,000, and the unsuccessful candidate[b] had to spend upwards of £3,000".

Mr. *Murrough*, M.P., now rose, but after considerable opposition was forced to give way to George Harrison (a worker and Chartist from Nottingham).

"This movement," Harrison said, "was an attempt of the middle classes to get the government into their own hands, to divide amongst themselves the places and the pensions, and establish a worse oligarchy than that now in existence."

He then read an *amendement*[c] in which he denounced equally the landed aristocracy and monied aristocracy as enemies of the people and declared that the only way to regenerate the nation was to introduce the *People's Charter*[92] with its five points: universal suffrage, vote by ballot, equal constituencies, annual parliaments and abolition of the property qualification.

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[a] Marx uses the English word. Ironsides was the name given to Oliver Cromwell's soldiers in the English bourgeois revolution after Cromwell was referred to as "Old Ironsides" following the Battle of Marston Moor in 1644.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Bell.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the French spelling.—*Ed.*

*Ernest Jones* (the Chartist leader, member of an aristocratic family) speaking in support of the *amendement* said among other things:

"The people would be destroying their own position were they to support this movement of the middle classes to get into their own hands place and power. There were no doubt many hungry prime ministers on the platform"—cheers[a]—"many expectant placemen." (Cheers.) "The people must not, however, ally themselves to the Cobdens, the Brights, and the moneyed interests. It was not the landed aristocracy, [...] it was the moneyed interest that opposed a humane Factory Act and turned down the Bill against the stoppage of wages,[b] that had prevented the passing of a good partnership law—and it was the moneyed and manufacturing interest that always endeavoured to keep down and degrade the people. He had no objection to join at any moment in an endeavour to upset the influence of the Duke of Devonshire, et al., but he would not do so to establish in its stead that of the Duke of Devil's Dust or a Lord of Shoddy" (cheers and laughter). "It had been said the workers' movement, the Chartist movement, was dead. He declared to the reforming gentlemen of the middle class that the working class was sufficiently alive to kill any movement. It would not allow the middle class to move unless it decided to include the People's Charter and its five points in its programme. It had better not deceive itself. A repetition of the old deception was out of the question."

After some further discussion, amid considerable commotion, the chairman attempted to get rid of the *amendement*, by declaring that it was not an *amendement*, but he found himself compelled to change his mind. The *amendement* was put to the vote and passed with a majority of at least ten to one, with loud acclamation and waving of hats. After declaring the *amendement* passed, the chairman stated amid loud laughter that he still believed the majority of the people present was in favour of founding the Constitutional and National Association. They would therefore proceed with its organisation and later address another appeal to the public; he intimated, though covertly, that only persons with membership cards would be admitted in future to avoid opposition. The Chartists in high spirits complimented the chairman with a vote of thanks, and the meeting broke up.

It cannot be denied that logic was on the side of the Chartists, even from the standpoint of the publicly proclaimed principles of the Association. It wants to overthrow the oligarchy by an appeal from the Ministry to Parliament. But what is the Ministry? The creation of the parliamentary majority. Or it wants to overthrow Parliament by appealing to the electors. But what is Parliament? The freely elected representation of the electors. Hence there

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[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*
[b] Marx uses the English phrase "stoppage of wages".—*Ed.*

remains only: extension of the franchise. Those who refuse to broaden the franchise to cover the whole of the people by adopting the People's Charter are admitting that they wish to replace the old aristocracy by a new one. *Vis-à-vis* the existing oligarchy they wish to speak *in the name of the people*, but at the same time they would like to prevent the people from appearing in person when they call it.

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# Karl Marx

## REPORTS FROM THE ENGLISH PRESS

*London*, March 20. The Duke of Newcastle has ordered the recall of Lord Lucan; Lord Panmure has published Raglan's letter attacking him, and Lord Hardinge, the fabulous Lord High Constable of the British Army, has refused him an investigation and a military tribunal. In spite of the opposition of two ministries, of the Commander-in-Chief in the Crimea and of the Commander of the Horse Guards[a] in London, Lord Lucan proved in a detailed speech in the House of Lords yesterday that not he, but Raglan alone was responsible for the sacrifice of the Light Brigade at Balaklava[93] and that the Aberdeen and Palmerston Ministries had sacrificed Lord Lucan to the displeased public in order to save the obedient, feeble-minded and tractable Commander in the Crimea. The public monster had to be satisfied. A half-completed letter found on the body of General Cathcart addressed to his wife and dated November 2, three days before the battle of Inkerman[94] and a week after the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava, is decisive on this question. This letter says word for word:

"Neither Lord Lucan nor Lord Cardigan was to blame, but on the contrary, for they obeyed orders."[b]

In an article on the Vienna Conference,[95] *The Times* today makes the characteristic comment that should the Congress become a reality, the main difficulties were [to be] expected from the Turkish side.[c] Within the framework of the four points the main

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[a] Marx uses the English expression "Horse Guards". The designation "Commander of the Horse Guards" referred to the Commander-in-Chief of the British army (see footnote on p. 24 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[b] Cathcart's letter was quoted by Lucan in the House of Lords on March 19, 1855. *The Times*, No. 22006, March 20, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] "The Conferences at Vienna were opened in due form...", *The Times*, No. 22006, March 20, 1855.—*Ed.*

concessions would have to be extorted from the Sultan, not from the Tsar.[a]

Yesterday *The Times* mystified its public yet again with the "authentic" announcement that the great bombardment and final storming of Sevastopol had undoubtedly taken place before March 19.[b] Whence this sudden turn from desperate hopelessness to sanguine superstition? *The Times* began its Crimean campaign against the overthrown coalition and its "*ceterum censeo*"[c] that a Committee of Inquiry was necessary at the very moment that Gladstone threatened its monopoly by the proposal to abolish the stamp duty and to limit the weight of newspapers that can be sent for one penny by post to four ounces—less than the weight of one copy of *The Times*. No sooner was Gladstone overthrown, than his successor, Sir George Cornewall Lewis withdrew the Bill, and *The Times*, hoping that everything would remain as before, suddenly transformed its bilious view of the Crimea into a mobile panorama, radiant with hope of success, in which even the army, whose obituary it published three months ago, has become active again. Today its view is again darkened, because yesterday Sir George Cornewall Lewis, against all expectations, himself brought in a Bill to abolish the newspaper stamp duty. The animosity of a writer of retrospective reviews to fresh news! *The Times* ejaculates. Lewis as everybody knows was editor of *The Edinburgh Review*.

We shall return to the Bill as soon as the details are laid before the House of Commons, but meanwhile note that it is a concession to the *Manchester School*[96] which retains the merit of having untiringly agitated for the introduction of free competition in the field of the press. The concession of the Palmerston Ministry to the *Manchester School* is a *captatio benevolentiae*[d] in case of the dissolution of the Lower House and new elections.

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[a] Abdul Mejid, Alexander II.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times*, No. 22005, March 19, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] Something constantly repeated. The phrase derives from the famous dictum with which, after 157 B.C., Cato the Elder concluded every speech: "Ceterum censeo Carthaginem esse delendam" (For the rest I take the view that Carthage must be destroyed).—*Ed.*

[d] An attempt to curry favour.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## FROM PARLIAMENT

*London*, March 21. At yesterday's sitting of the House of Lords, Lord Lyndhurst, the old colleague of Liverpool and Castlereagh, brought in his long-expected motion "on the position of Prussia with reference to the Vienna Conference". Two circumstances, he said, had lately imparted new interest to this question: The message of the dying Emperor of Russia[a] to the Prussian Court, and the manifesto of Alexander II, in which he promises to consummate the policies of Peter, Catherine, Alexander, and his father. How Russia herself regarded Prussian policies can be seen from the following excerpt from a secret despatch which Pozzo di Borgo sent to Nesselrode shortly before the outbreak of the war of 1828-29. It reads in part:

"Suppose then that Russia should undertake alone to put in execution those coersive means against Turkey, there is every reason to believe that Prussia would not in any manner oppose Russia. But, on the contrary, her attitude at once unfettered and friendly, would operate as a powerful check on other States and bring them to submit to results suited to the dignity and interests of Russia. It will be necessary to let the Cabinet of Berlin, to a certain extent, into our confidence, and to convince it that the part we assign to Prussia will contribute to increase the happy intimacy between the two Sovereigns and the two Courts."[b]

Was it possible, Lord Lyndhurst exclaimed, to anticipate in a more prophetic spirit the line which the Prussian Court has taken in the past six or twelve months? It was true that Prussia had joined in signing the protocols of December 5, January 13 and April 9.[97] The purpose of these protocols had been to bring about

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[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

[b] The despatch was quoted by Lyndhurst in the House of Lords on March 20, 1855. The speeches by Lyndhurst and Clarendon quoted in this article were reported in *The Times*, No. 22007, March 21, 1855.—*Ed.*

the evacuation of the Danubian principalities and to obtain guarantees for the protection of the Sultan's independence and the integrity of Turkey. Had the Prussian Court acted in this spirit? On the occasion of the loan of 30 million taler for military operations Baron Manteuffel had declared that in these protocols Prussia had expressed her view on Russia's policy, namely that a great injustice had been committed; but she did not consider herself obliged to go further and take an active part. Was this the language of a great nation? And was Prussia not expressly committed to the protection of Turkey by the Agreements of 1840 and 1841[98]? Baron Manteuffel had added that Germany's independence and German interests were not involved in the dispute and Prussia was therefore not obliged to make any sacrifices.[a] Baron Manteuffel himself had, however, stated the opposite in another document.[b] Besides, once the Tsar seized Constantinople, it would be superfluous to talk any more of German independence and German interests. They would then succumb to an overwhelming power. After Lord Lyndhurst had alluded to the dismissal of War Minister Bonin, to the recall of Ambassador Bunsen from London and to the rejection of an address of the Prussian Chambers in reply to a speech from the throne,[c] he came to the "second act of this political drama". After a considerable time had elapsed Austria had deemed it proper to demand of Russia that she evacuate the Danubian principalities. This demand was drafted and sent to Berlin for signature. Counter-proposals were sent from Berlin to Vienna, which were completely inadequate but caused delay in as much as they had to be communicated to the Allies for examination. In the meantime Russia had evacuated the principalities, but retained one part under occupation for military reasons, declaring that she wished to keep entirely on the defensive. Prussia had thereupon withdrawn from the confederation, because Russia had satisfied all reasonable claims. From this moment on Prussia had made every effort to thwart Austria's plans. For this purpose she had, to a great extent with success, made proposals to the Federal Diet and to the individual German states. At the same time Russia had publicly thanked two German states for their refusal to join the Allies. He (Lyndhurst) was now coming to the third and last act of the drama. The Allies had arranged for a conference to be

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[a] This refers to Manteuffel's speech in the Credit Committee of the First Chamber on April 22, 1854.— *Ed.*

[b] In his speech in the First Chamber on April 25, 1854, Manteuffel said: "Si vis pacem, para bellum..." (If you desire to maintain peace, be prepared for war).— *Ed.*

[c] Frederick William IV's speech of November 30, 1854.— *Ed.*

held on August 8 in Vienna to decide what should be demanded of Russia as a basis for any provisional negotiations. Prussia had been informed of the meeting in the usual manner and repeatedly. Prussia had not expressly refused to attend, but in fact did not appear at the conference. In consequence of her absence the Allies, instead of drafting a Protocol, had signed a Note laying down the four points[99] as a basis for future negotiations. The four points had then been submitted to Russia for her acceptance, but she had refused to accept them. Prussia for her part published and circulated a document in which she raised objections to the four points. She also continued to hinder, both at the Federal Diet and at the individual German courts, the adhesion of the small German states to the Allies. After the conclusion of the Agreement of December 2[100] Prussia was informed that room had been left for her accession. She refused to accede but declared that she was ready to conclude similar agreements with France and England separately. From the moment that these latter accepted this proposal, Prussia had in various negotiations and divers proposals demanded innumerable modifications, which France and England would certainly have to reject. When he (Lyndhurst) was speaking of Prussia, he was referring to the *official* Prussia. He knew that the vast majority of the Prussian nation was anti-Russian. It was incomprehensible that Prussia, after refusing to accede to the Agreement of December 2, could demand to be invited to the Vienna negotiations. He hoped the Allied Powers would not admit a Prussian envoy on any pretext: for if they did, Russia would have two votes at the Vienna Congress instead of one. Prussian diplomacy had not changed since Frederick the Great. He recalled 1794, the time just before and after the battle of Austerlitz, etc.

Lord *Clarendon*: He would confine himself to filling in a few gaps in respect of the communications which had taken place between England and Prussia. After the Russian Government had rejected the conditions of the Allies a conference of the respective plenipotentiaries had been called, which, however, could not be held since the representative of the Prussian Government would not attend. It was true that later the Prussian Ambassador in London[a] had informed him [Clarendon] that his Government would give the requested permission to its plenipotentiary in Vienna.[b] He (Clarendon) had declared, however: "It was too late."

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[a] A. Bernstorff.—*Ed.*
[b] H. F. Arnim-Heinrichsdorf-Werbelow.—*Ed.*

The correspondence between Prussia and Austria had helped Russia. Before the signing of the Agreement of December 2 Prussia had already been invited to accede, but in vain. Prussia had demanded to be admitted unconditionally to the new conference because it was a continuation of the earlier conference, which had not yet been concluded and from which she had by no means withdrawn. With respect to the latter, the British Government referred to the fact that at an earlier occasion no conference could be held because Prussia would not attend, although repeatedly asked. Moreover, the new conference was not at all a continuation of the old one, for, when in October and November Austria requested France and England to resume it, she received the reply that the time for protocols and conferences had passed, but that if Austria would enter into a military commitment with them, they would see whether peace was realisable. This had led to the Agreement of December 2. Later, they had been prepared to enter into special treaties with Prussia.

"But, to admit Prussia to claim all the privileges without incurring any of the risks—to admit her unconditionally to a conference that might end in peace, but which might lead to war on a more extended sphere—without her telling us what were her intentions or her policy—without entering into any engagement with us, either immediate or prospective—without knowing whether she entered on the conference as a neutral, as a foe, or as a friend—was utterly impossible."

The special missions sent later by Prussia had been received with equal friendliness in London and Paris, but so far had not led to anything. He did not, however, regard the negotiations as broken off. Only three days ago new proposals had been made. Unfortunately, the Vienna conferences had opened, however, while Prussia remained excluded by her own action. A great power like Prussia should not restrict itself to the narrow German confines. They had repeatedly remonstrated against this attitude. The constant reply was that Prussia's policy was peace. In fact her policy was neither "European nor German nor Russian", more likely to thwart Austria than to keep Russia in check. In spite of all this Prussia could not long remain in isolation when important European interests were at stake. She could not side with Russia in opposition to national feeling in Prussia and Germany. She knew well that on Russia's side against Austria she would become dependent on the former. She did not want to take Austria's side. On the contrary, she had taken an unfriendly attitude to Austria.

"I say, therefore, that Prussia is in an insular and in a false position [...]. This may be satisfactory to her enemies, but it is deeply regretted by her allies, and by the noble-minded and patriotic of her own population."

He declared finally that every effort would be made to win Prussia's co-operation.

In the Lower House *Lord William Graham* asked the Prime Minister

"whether the Austrian Ambassador[a] had called upon Lord Clarendon for any explanation of the words [...] used by Sir Robert Peel, when he was re-elected that no settlement of the Eastern question would be satisfactory unless Hungary and Poland were restored?"[b]

*Lord Palmerston*, instead of giving some reply to this question, began by congratulating himself on Sir Robert Peel's having accepted a post in his administration. Concerning Hungary, Austria had long known that England would regard its separation from the imperial state as a great calamity for Europe, since the imperial state as a totality in the centre of Europe was an essential element in the balance of powers. Concerning Poland (considerable laughter was here caused by a little pause in Palmerston's reply and the peculiar manner in which he resumed his speech) it was his opinion that the Kingdom of Poland, as now constituted and as now possessed, was a constant threat to Germany. Nevertheless, stipulations concerning a re-organisation of Poland formed no part of the points now being negotiated in Vienna. England and France had, however, reserved the right, according to circumstances and the events of war, to add to the four points, on the basis of which the negotiations were now being conducted, further stipulations which appeared to them essential for the future security of Europe.

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[a] F. de Paula Colloredo-Wallsee.— *Ed.*

[b] Graham's question in the House of Commons on March 20, 1855, and Palmerston's reply were reported in *The Times*, No. 22007, March 21, 1855.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## NAPOLEON'S LAST DODGE[101]

"If Croesus does pass the Halys, he will destroy a great empire." This answer, given to the Lydian King by the oracle of Delphi,[a] might, with equal aptness, now be sent to Louis Bonaparte on his Crimean excursion. It is not the Russian Empire which this journey is calculated to destroy, but his own.

An extraordinary, anomalous position creates anomalous necessities. Every other man, in his place, would be considered a fool if he undertook this trip, whose unfavorable chances are to the favorable as ten to one. Louis Bonaparte must be quite aware of that fact, and nevertheless he must go. He is the originator of the whole expedition; he has got the allied armies into their present unenviable position, and is bound, before all Europe, to get them out of it again. It is his first military feat, and upon its issue will depend, for some time at least, his reputation as a general. He answers for its success with no less a pledge than his crown.

There are, besides, minor reasons, which equally contribute to make this hazardous journey a matter of State necessity. The soldiers in the East have shown, on more than one occasion, that their expectations of the military glories of the new Empire have been sadly disappointed. At Varna and Bazardshik, the paladins of the mock Charlemagne were saluted by their own troops with the title of "apes." "*A bas les singes!*[102] *Vive Lamoricière!*" was the cry of the Zouaves when St. Arnaud and Espinasse had sent them into the Bulgarian desert, to die of cholera and fever. Now it is no longer the banished generals alone whose fame and popularity are opposed to the commanders of doubtful reputation, now leading the French army. The singular conduct of Napoleon Jérôme junior, while in the East,[103] has recalled to the mind of the old

[a] Herodotus, *History*, I, 53.—*Ed.*

Algerian soldiers the far different behavior of the Orleans Princes in Africa, who, whatever else may be said against them, were always at the head of the troops and did their duty as soldiers. The contrast between young Aumale and young Napoleon was certainly strong enough to make the soldiers say: If the Orleans were still in power, the Princes would be with us in the trenches, sharing our dangers and fatigues; and yet, their name was not Napoleon! Thus the soldiers *do* speak, and what is to be done to stop them? The man who "is permitted to wear the uniform of a General of Division," has managed to throw a stain upon the military traditions of the name of Napoleon; the remainder of the family are all very quiet civilians, naturalists, priests, or else unmitigated adventurers; old Jérôme cannot go on account of his age, and because his warlike feats of old throw no great halo of glory around his head; so Louis Napoleon cannot but go himself. Then the rumor of the Crimean journey has been made known in the remotest hamlets of France, and has been hailed with enthusiasm by the peasantry; and the peasantry it was that made Louis Napoleon Emperor. The peasantry are convinced that an Emperor of their own make, and who bears the name of Napoleon, must actually be a *Napoleon redivivus*[a]; his place is, in their eyes, at the head of the troops, who, led by him, will rival the legions of the great Army.[b] If Sevastopol is not taken, it is only because the Emperor has not yet gone there; let him but once be on the spot, and the ramparts of the Russian fortress will crumble into dust like the walls of Jericho. Thus, if ever he wished to retract his promise to go, he cannot now do so, since the report has once gone forth.

Accordingly, everything is being prepared.[c] The ten divisions now in the Crimea are to be followed by four new ones, two of which are to form, in the beginning of the campaign, an army of reserve at Constantinople. One of these divisions is to consist of the Imperial Guard, another of the combined élite companies, or the Grenadiers and Voltigeurs of the army of Paris; the two other divisions (11th and 12th) are already getting embarked or concentrated at Toulon and Algiers. This fresh reenforcement

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[a] Napoleon risen from the dead.—*Ed.*

[b] The army of Napoleon I which invaded Russia in 1812.—*Ed.*

[c] Here begins the text of the German version of Engels' articles "Napoleon's Last Dodge" and "A Battle at Sevastopol", which was published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 143, March 26, 1855 under the title "On the Latest Events in the Crimea". The opening sentence in it reads as follows: "While the peace talks continue in Vienna, the war preparations are being stepped up in France."—*Ed.*

would bring the French troops in the Crimea to some 100,000 or 110,000 men, while, by the end of April, the 15,000 Piedmontese troops, and numerous British reenforcements will be arriving.[a] But yet, it can hardly be expected that the Allies can well be in a position to open the campaign in May, with an army of 150,000 men. The state of the Heracleatic Chersonese, which has been turned into one great and wretchedly managed burial-ground, is such that with the return of hot and damp weather, the whole must form one hotbed of pestilence of all kinds; and whatever portion of the troops will have to stop in it, will be exposed to losses by sickness and death far more terrific than at any previous time. There is no chance for the Allies to break forth with an active army from their present position, before all their reenforcements are up; and that will be somewhere about the middle of May, when the sickness must have already broken out.

In the best event the Allies must leave 40,000 men before the south side of Sevastopol, and will have from 90,000 to 100,000 men at liberty for an expedition against the Russian army in the field. Unless they maneuver very well and the Russians commit great blunders, this army, on debouching from the Chersonese, will have first to defeat the Russians, and drive them back from Sympheropol, before it can effect its junction with the Turks at Eupatoria. We will, however, suppose the junction to be effected without difficulty; the utmost reenforcement which the Turks will bring to this motley body of French, English and Piedmontese, will be 20,000 men not very well adapted for a battle in the open field. Altogether this would make an army of some 120,000 men. How such an army is expected to live in a country exhausted by the Russians themselves, poor in corn, and whose main resource, the cattle, the Russians will take very good care to drive off toward Perekop, it is not very easy to see. The least advance would

[a] The further text in the version of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* up to the end of the article is abridged and changed: "Apart from all difficulties of a purely local character, there remains the principal objection to this mode of campaigning in the Crimea, viz., that it consigns a whole quarter of France's disposable forces to a secondary theatre of war, where even the greatest success decides nothing. The fictitious value that has been attributed to the successes and defeats in the Crimea rebounds with redoubled force upon the originator of the scheme. Sevastopol is far from being Russia for Alexander II, but it has become France for Bonaparte.—As for the local difficulties, it is clear that Chersonese, at present the burial-ground of thousands of people and animals, will with the first ray of sun turn into a hothouse of pestilential diseases. Assuming that the Allies will bring up their army to 150,000 men, keeping them supplied with provisions in a Crimea already grazed down by the Russians and poor in corn will be the harder for the fact that the Russians will not fail to drive off the cattle in good time before their own retreat."—*Ed.*

necessitate extensive foraging and numerous detachments to secure the flanks and the communications with the sea. The Russian irregular cavalry, which has hitherto had no chance to act, will then commence its harassing operations. In the meantime, the Russians will also have received their reenforcements; the publicity with which the French armaments have been carried on for the last six weeks, has enabled them to take their measures in time. There can be no doubt that at this present moment two or three Russian divisions, either from the army of Volhynia and Bessarabia, or from the new-formed reserves, will be on the march so as to maintain the balance of power there.

The greatest detachment to be made from the allied army, must, however, be the force which has to inclose Sevastopol on the north side. For this purpose, 20,000 men will have to be set aside, and whether the remainder of their forces will then be sufficient, fettered as they must be by difficulties of sustenance, embarrassed with trains of carriages for stores and provisions, to drive the Russian field army out of the Crimea, is very doubtful.

So much is certain, that the laurels by which Louis Bonaparte intends to earn the name of a Napoleon in the Crimea are hung up rather high, and will not be so very easily plucked. All the difficulties, however, which have been hitherto mentioned, are of a merely local character. The great objection to this mode of campaigning in the Crimea is, after all, that it transfers one-fourth of the disposable forces of France to a minor theater of war, where even the greatest success decides nothing. It is this absurd obstinacy about Sevastopol, degenerating into a sort of superstition, and giving to successes, but also to reverses, fictitious values, which forms the great fundamental mistake of the whole plan. And it is this fictitious value given to events in the Crimea which rebounds with redoubled force upon the unfortunate originator of the scheme. For Alexander, Sevastopol is not Russia, far from it; but for Louis Bonaparte, the impossibility of taking Sevastopol is the loss of France.

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Frederick Engels

## A BATTLE AT SEVASTOPOL[104]

Our columns, this morning, contain the official French, English, and Russian reports of a contest between the antagonists at Sevastopol. It was sufficiently important to require, in addition to the official documents, some words of explanation and comment from us.

About a month ago, from the generally-successful sorties of the Russians, we came to the conclusion that the trenches had been pushed forward to a point at which the force of the besieged was equal to that of the besiegers[a]; in other words, that the proximity of the trenches was such as to enable the Russians to bring, in a sally, to any portion of the trenches, a force at least equal to what the Allies could bring up during the first hour or two hours. As an hour or two are quite sufficient to destroy the rivetings, and to spike the guns of a battery, the natural consequence was, that beyond this point the Allies could not push their approaches. Since then the siege came to a stand, until the arrival[b] of three French brigades (one of the Eighth, and two of the Ninth Division) allowed them to relieve part of the English infantry, and to establish stronger trench-guards. At the same time, the arrival

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[a] See this volume, pp. 5-7.—*Ed.*

[b] Here follows the continuation of the German version of Engels' articles "Napoleon's Last Dodge" and "A Battle at Sevastopol", published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 143, March 26, 1855 under the title "On the Latest Events in the Crimea". Instead of the preceding text this paragraph has: "As regards the obstacles created to the siege of Sevastopol, in particular by Russian engineers (partly Frenchmen), *the affair of Malakhov* provides an instructive illustration. As is generally known, about a month ago the siege came to a stand, but the arrival...".—*Ed.*

of Generals Niel and Jones, of the Engineers, gave fresh activity to the siege operations, and remedied mistakes caused, principally, by the obstinacy of the French General Bizot, and by the numeric weakness of the British infantry. New approaches were now pushed forward, especially on the English side, where a parallel was opened at about 300 yards from the Russian works on the hill of Malakoff. Some of the batteries now erected were so far toward the Inkermann side that they would have taken part of the Russian batteries in the rear, or enfiladed them, as soon as their fire could be opened. Against these new lines the Russians have just taken a step which has been carried out with uncommon skill and boldness.[a]

The Russian lines, as every plan shows, extend in a semicircular arch round the town, from the head of the Quarantine Bay to that of the inner war harbor, and thence to the head of the Careening Bay. This latter bay is a small creek, formed by the extremity of a deep ravine, extending from the great harbor or Bay of Sevastopol far up the plateau on which the Allies are encamped.[a] On the western side of this ravine extends a range of hights forming the Russian lines; the most considerable of these elevations is the hill of Malakoff, forming, by its commanding position, the key of the whole Russian right. On the eastern side of the ravine and the Careening Bay, another elevation is situated, which, being completely under the fire both of the Russian batteries and of their men-of-war, remained out of the reach of the Allies as long as they could not completely interrupt the communication of Sevastopol with Inkermann, which was protected by the fire of the forts and batteries on the north side of the harbor. But since the Allies had found positions to the east and south-east of Malakoff, for batteries to take in the Russian lines, flank and rear, this neutral hill had become important. Accordingly, on the night of February 21, the Russians sent a party of workmen to erect on it a redoubt, planned beforehand by their engineers.[b] In the morning the long trench and a beginning of parapets behind it, were visible to the Allies. They appear to have been entirely unable to understand the meaning of this; accordingly, they were content to let well alone. Next morning, however, the redoubt was all but complete, at least in its outline, for the sequel showed that the profile, that is, the depth of the ditch and strength of the parapet, was still very weak. By this time

[a] This sentence does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

[b] The Selenghinsk redoubt; in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* the end of this sentence beginning with the words "planned beforehand" does not occur.—*Ed.*

the Allies began to find out that this work was admirably situated to enfilade their own enfilading batteries, and thus to make them all but useless. The engineers protested that this work must be taken at any cost. Accordingly, Canrobert organized with the greatest secrecy, a storming column, consisting of about 1,600 Zouaves and 3,000 Marines. The orders having to be given at a late hour, and all on a sudden, some delay occurred in collecting the troops at the rendezvous, and it was 2 o'clock on the morning of the 24th before they could start for the assault, the Zouaves leading. A short march brought them up to twenty yards from the ditch. As usual in assaults, not a shot was to be fired; the soldiers were made to take off the percussion-caps from their guns to prevent their being entangled in useless and dilatory firing. All at once, a few Russian words of command were heard; a strong body of Russians in the interior of the redoubt, rose from the ground, leveled their guns over the top of the parapet, and poured a volley into the advancing column. From the darkness and the well known inveterate habit of soldiers in intrenchments to fire always straight across the parapet, this volley can have had but little effect upon the narrow head of the column.[a] The Zouaves, hardly detained by the sloping sides of the incomplete ditch and rampart, in a moment were in the redoubt, and rushed at their opponents with the bayonet. A terrible hand-to-hand struggle took place. After some time the Zouaves possessed themselves of one-half of the redoubt, and, at a later period, the Russians entirely abandoned it to them. In the mean time, the marines, following the Zouaves at a short distance, either lost their way, or from some other reason, stopped on the brink of the hill. Here they were assailed in each flank by a Russian column, which, after a desperate resistance, drove them down the hill. During or shortly after this struggle, daylight must have dawned, for the Russians speedily retired from the hill—leaving the redoubt in the possession of the Zouaves—upon whom now opened all the Russian artillery which could be brought to bear on the spot. The Zouaves lay down for a moment, while some rifle volunteers, who had accompanied them, crept up to the Malakoff works, trying to fire at the Russian gunners through the embrasures. But the fire was too heavy; and, before long, the Zouaves had to retreat on the side toward Inkermann, which sheltered them against most of the batteries. They profess to have carried all their wounded with them.

This little affair was carried out with great bravery by the

[a] This sentence does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.—Ed.*

Zouaves and a Gen. Monet, and with great skill combined with their usual tenacity by the Russians. They consisted of the two regiments of Selenghinsk and Volhynia, the strength of which, after several campaigns, cannot have exceeded 500 men per battalion, or 4,000 men in all. Gen. Kroushoff commanded them.[a] Their arrangements were so admirable that the French declare that the whole plan of attack must have been known to them. The attack upon the marines was completely and almost instantaneously successful, while their retreat out of the incomplete redoubt had the effect of exposing the unfortunate and unsupported Zouaves to an overwhelming fire, which must have remained silent as long as the struggle within the redoubt was going on.

Gen. Canrobert found that this defeat had a very great effect on his troops. Their impatience which had made itself remarkable on various occasions, now broke out with full force. The assault upon the town was demanded by the soldiers. The word of treason, that everlasting excuse for a defeat suffered by the French, was loudly pronounced, and Gen. Forey, without any apparent reason, was even nominally pointed out as the party who betrayed to the enemy the secret resolutions of the French Council of War. So confused was Canrobert, that in one breath he wrote an order of the day representing the whole affair as a brilliant though relative success, and a note to Lord Raglan proposing an immediate assault, a proposal which Lord Raglan, of course, declined.[b]

The Russians, on their part, maintained their new redoubt, and have since been busy completing it. This position is of great importance. It secures the communication with Inkermann and the arrival of supplies from that direction. It menaces the whole right of the allied siege-works,[c] by taking them in flank, and necessitating fresh approaches to paralyze it. Above all, it shows the capability, in the Russians, not only to hold their ground, but even to advance beyond it. In the latter part of February they pushed trenches of counter-approach toward the allied works from their new redoubt. The reports do not, however, state the exact direction of these works. At all events, the presence of the two regiments of the line in Sevastopol proves that the garrison,

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[a] The last two sentences do not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

[b] Instead of this paragraph the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "General Forey was loudly accused in the French camp of having communicated the secret decisions of the Council of War to the enemy."—*Ed.*

[c] The identical text of the English and German versions ends here. In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* the article closes as follows: "Lastly, with its capture the Russians have taken the offensive."—*Ed.*

hitherto consisting of marines and sailors only, has been considerably reenforced, and is strong enough for any eventuality.

It is now reported that by the 10th or 11th of March, the Allies would be in a position to open their batteries upon the Russian defenses, but, with the resources of the Russians and the difficulties of the Allies, how is it to be expected that the first condition will be fulfilled, namely: That the besiegers' fire will be superior to that of the besieged, and so far superior, too, as to silence the Russian batteries before the English and French have exhausted their stores of ammunition? But let us suppose even this result is obtained. Suppose even that at this decisive moment the Russians in the field should neglect attacking the positions of Inkermann and Balaklava. Suppose the assaults attempted upon the first Russian line, and suppose that line even carried: What then? Fresh defenses, fresh batteries, strong buildings converted into small citadels requiring a new set of batteries to bring them down, are before the storming columns; a hail of grape and musketry drives them back, and it is as much as they can do if they hold the first Russian line.

Then follows the siege of the second, then that of the third line—not to mention the numerous minor obstacles which the Russian engineers, as we now have learned to know them, cannot have failed to accumulate in the interior of the space intrusted to their care. And during this time, wet and heat, and heat and wet alternately, on a ground impregnated with the animal decay of thousands of men and horses, will create diseases unknown and unheard of. The pestilence, it is true, will reign within the town as well as without; but which party will have to give in to it first?

Spring will carry along with it terrible things on this little peninsula of five miles by ten, where three of the greatest nations of Europe are fighting an obstinate struggle; and Louis Bonaparte will have plenty of reason to congratulate himself when his great expedition comes to develop its full fruit.

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# Karl Marx

## SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISTORY OF THE FRENCH ALLIANCE

*London*, March 24. *The Press*, the organ of Disraeli, last week raised a storm in a teacup by maintaining that "Emperor Louis" was the only obstacle to the conclusion of peace and had tied Austria to himself by a secret "agreement" of which Austria was endeavouring to rid itself. Until now the Tories had maintained that the Anglo-French alliance was their own handiwork. Had not their Lord Malmesbury sealed the union with Bonaparte[105]? Had not Disraeli in Parliament showered sarcasms on Graham and Wood, who had wickedly calumniated the coup of December 2 before their electors? Had not the Tories for two years, in speeches and in the press, been the loudest heralds of war? And now, suddenly, without transition, entirely without any mitigating circumstances, insinuations are made against the French Alliance, and caustic remarks about "Emperor Louis" and the homily on peace? *The Morning Herald*, the senile organ of the High Tories, uninitiated into the secret of the Party leaders, shook its head doubtfully, and murmured violent protests against the, to it, incomprehensible hallucinations of *The Press*.[a] The latter nevertheless returns today to the fateful subject. The following announcement appears in bold letters at its top:

"Important circumstances have transpired. When we last wrote there was a prospect of the Congress breaking up '*re infecta*',[b] and of Lord John Russell returning abruptly to England. [...] The altered tone adopted to Russia by Austria since the death of the Emperor Nicholas [...] and especially the declaration of the

[a] This refers to an item published in *The Morning Herald*, No. 22385, March 21, 1855, in reply to the statement of *The Press* cited above.—*Ed.*

[b] Without achieving its purpose.—*Ed.*

Austrian Emperor[a] to Alexander II, have doubtless mainly contributed to this result. We have reason to believe that the Emperor of the French has removed the obstacles which existed to a general pacification, and that France will consent to the complete evacuation of the Crimea without any conditions as to the demolition or diminution of any of the fortresses of that province."[b]

To elucidate the meaning of the oracle *The Press* refers to the "authentic details of its leading article". Oddly enough, these very details refute the conclusion allegedly based on them and stated beforehand.

According to the leading article "...the situation of affairs in Vienna is becoming every hour less rational and satisfactory; and it is of importance that enlightened opinion on both sides of the Channel should exercise its influence to prevent results which may become alike mortifying and deplorable. [...] Had the Anglo-French alliance been sincere on the part of our Ministers in 1853, we should, probably, never have had occasion to embark in war; but, had such an appeal proved necessary, its conduct, in all probability, would have been triumphant and effective. Instead of acting cordially with France [...] a year was wasted by the British Government in obtaining what they styled '*the adhesion of the great German Powers*' [...]. Nothing could justify a war with Russia but a determination, on the part of the Western Powers, materially to reduce its empire in the South. This is the only solution of the Eastern question. The occasion in 1853 was favourable, it has been lost. Time, treasure, armies, reputation, have been alike squandered. Had we acted cordially with France in 1853 the German Powers must have followed in our wake. What has now happened? The Emperor of Austria has assured the Emperor Alexander of Russia, 'That Austria seeks neither to diminish the limit of his empire, nor to inflict on his territory any dishonor'. There is only one meaning which can be attributed to these words. With reference to an allusion, which we made earlier, to the secret engagements entered into between France and Austria, we are assured, on high authority, that 'while those engagements [...] indicate a [...] probably permanent union between the two empires there is nothing in those engagements that would necessarily lead to an invasion of Russia on the part of Austria'. [...] The Emperor of Russia is prepared to submit to terms of peace, which, though they offer no solution of 'the Eastern question', are, unquestionably, an admission of baffled aggression, and, in some degree, an atonement for the outrage. We believe that the opportunity for the higher policy has been lost, and that the combination of circumstances which [...] might have secured the independence of Europe, will not speedily recur; but a peace, on the whole, advantageous to Europe, beneficial to Turkey, and not discreditable to the Western Powers, may still be obtained. [...] We have reason to fear that such a peace will not be negotiated. What is the obstacle? The Emperor of the French. If the Emperor of the French, notwithstanding the [...] adverse circumstances [...], were still of opinion that the solution of the Eastern question ought to be attempted, we are not prepared to say that England should falter, but it reaches us that the views of his Imperial Majesty are of a very different order [...]. Between the reduction of the Russian limits and the negotiation of the projected peace, the Emperor of the French has devised a *mezzo termine*,[c] which is perilous, and may be fatal. There is to be a campaign of brilliant achievement,

[a] Francis Joseph I.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted from *The Press*, No. 99, March 24, 1855. The long quotation below is from the leading article in the same issue.—*Ed.*

[c] Middle road.—*Ed.*

which is to restore the *prestige*, and then conclude with a peace, which will not affect the present territorial arrangement of Europe or Asia one whit more than the Austro-Russian propositions to which [...] her Majesty's Plenipotentiary Extraordinary at Vienna[a] was prepared to accede. We will not dwell on that part of this scheme which would sacrifice many thousands of human lives to the mere restoration of *prestige*.... We hold that the impolicy of this project is as flagrant as its immorality. Suppose the campaign of *prestige* do not succeed? In addition to the obstacles presented by the Russian army in the Crimea pestilence is as likely to be at hand as war. [...] If the campaign of *prestige* fail, where will be France and England? On whose side will then be arrayed the great German Powers? The vista is no less than the decline and fall of Europe. Even if the odds were not against us, are we justified in running such a chance—not even in favour of a policy, but of a demonstration? It may be mortifying to the ruler of France that a great opportunity has been lost: [...] it is not less mortifying to the people of England. But statesmen must deal with the circumstances before them. Neither France, nor England, nor Russia, in 1855, are in the position they respectively occupied in the year 1853. Woe to the men who have betrayed the highest interests of Europe! May they meet the doom they deserve! The ruler of France and the Queen of England[b] are guiltless; but they must not, like bewildered gamesters, persist in backing their ill luck in a frenzy of disappointment, or in a paroxysm of despair".

The same paper refers to Girardin's pamphlet *La Paix*, in which the simultaneous disarming of Sevastopol and Gibraltar is extolled as the true solution for peace.

"Remember," *The Press* exclaims, "this pamphlet, or rather its sale, is authorised by the French Government, and its author is the dear and intimate friend, adviser and companion, of the heir presumptive to the Throne Imperial."[c]

Here we shall only allude to the fact that the Derbyites, whose organ *The Press* is, are working for a coalition with the (peaceable) Manchester School and that the Ministry for its part is also trying to win round the Manchester School by the newspaper stamp Bill (to which we shall return[d]). The idea of a campaign designed to be a mere display of force, of a European war not to endanger the hostile power but to save one's own *prestige*, of a war resembling a spectacular show, must certainly disconcert every sober Englishman. Query: is this not one of the *idées napoléoniennes*[e] as understood and bound to be understood by the restored empire?

Written on March 24, 1855

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[a] Lord John Russell.—*Ed.*
[b] Victoria.—*Ed.*
[c] Prince Jérôme Bonaparte, Jr.—*Ed.*
[d] See this volume, 121-23.—*Ed.*
[e] An allusion to Louis Bonaparte's book *Des idées napoléoniennes* published in 1839.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## NAPOLEON AND BARBÈS.—THE NEWSPAPER STAMP

*London*, March 27. We learn from the best source that Bonaparte's visit to St. James's Palace[106]—expected on April 16—will occasion a great *counter-demonstration.* For the Chartists have invited the French refugee *Armand Barbès* also to visit London on April 16, when he is to be received with a public procession and a big meeting. There is, however, some question whether his state of health will permit a sea voyage.

The Bill to abolish the newspaper stamp passed its second reading in the House of Commons yesterday. The main articles of this Bill are as follows: 1. The compulsory newspaper stamp is abolished; 2. Periodicals printed on stamped paper will continue to enjoy the privilege of free distribution through the post. A third clause concerns the size of printed matter distributed through the post, and another decrees that stamped newspapers will have to furnish security in case of any action for libel. The old newspaper duty system is sufficiently characterised by two facts. The publication of a daily paper in London requires a capital of at least £50,000 to £60,000. The whole English press, with very few exceptions, raises a shameless and disgraceful opposition to the new Bill. Is further proof needed that the old system was a protective tariff system for the established press and a system prohibiting free mental production? Press freedom in England up to now has been the exclusive privilege of capital. The few weekly journals which represent the interests of the working class—daily papers were, of course, out of the question—manage to survive thanks to the weekly contributions of the workers, who in England are making very different sacrifices for public purposes

than those on the Continent. The tragicomic, blustering rhetoric with which the Leviathan of the English press—*The Times*—fights *pro aris et focis*,[a] i. e., for the newspaper monopoly, now modestly comparing itself with the Delphic oracle, now affirming that England possesses only one single institution worth preserving, namely *The Times*; now claiming absolute rule over world journalism, and, without any Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardji,[107] a protectorate over all European journalists.

All this cant[b] by *The Times* was properly disposed of in yesterday's sitting of the Lower House by the whimsical *Drummond*:

"Nowadays the press was a mercantile speculation, and nothing else.... Why Messrs. Walter", the principal shareholders of *The Times*, "should not set up a manufactory of gossip just as well as Mr. Bright should set up a manufactory of calico?... *The Times* seemed to him to carry on their business [...] better than their rivals [...]. The Walter family have always found a convenient man [...]—a seven years' barrister or some one of that stamp, who was ready to take up anything. [...] There was Barnes, Alsager, Sterling, Delane, Morris, Lowe and Dasent. [...] These gentlemen were all of different opinions. Now, the foolish papers who did not understand the matter, like *The Morning Chronicle*, for instance, took up with some particular party. One was a Peelite[108]; another a Derbyite, etc. When the Peelite party was thriving the paper throve too, but when the Peelites went down, down went the paper. It was quite clear these were not men of business. The thing was to get a set of gentlemen of different opinions"—and *The Times* is a master of this—"and to set them writing. Of course, you could accuse no one man of inconsistency; he might always have held the same opinions; and so individually these were most consistent, while, collectively, nothing in the world could be more inconsistent. It seemed to him that the very perfection of journalism was—individual honesty, and collective profligacy, political and literary. There was [...] a great advantage in this, and *The Times* newspaper always put him very much in mind of one of his farmers. When he suggested draining a bit of bog the farmer [...] replied, 'No, no! don't drain it. In wet weather there's something for the cow, and if there's nothing for the cow there's something for the pig, and if there's nothing for the pig, there's something for the goose.' [...] As to the bribery of newspapers there was positive proof respecting *The Times* of which Napoleon said, 'You have sent me *The Times*,—that infamous *Times*, the journal of the Bourbons'—and it was stated in a work by Mr. O'Meara[c] that the Bourbons paid *The Times* 6,000 f. [...] a month. He had found the receipt for the money, signed by the editor. Mr. O'Meara also stated that before he was exiled to Elba Napoleon received several offers [...] from the editors of newspapers, and among them offers from *The Times*, to write for them. Napoleon declined to accept the offers made to him, but afterwards regretted the course he took."[d]

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[a] For hearth and home. The reference is to an article on the Bill to lift stamp duty, published in *The Times*, No. 22011, March 26, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[c] O'Meara's diary *Napoleon in Exile, or A Voice from St. Helena*, published in 1822.—*Ed.*

[d] Drummond made this speech in the House of Commons on March 26, 1855. *The Times*, No. 22012, March 27, 1855.—*Ed.*

In this context we merely observe that in 1815 *The Times* urged that Napoleon, whom it presented as the centre of European demagogy[109] should be shot under martial law. In 1816 this same paper wanted to bring the United States of North America, "this disastrous example of successful insurrection", back under English despotism.

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# Karl Marx

## THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

*London*, March 28. The Committee of Inquiry of the Commons has now held more than a dozen meetings, and the results of its findings are in great part available to the public. Witnesses from the most divers walks of life have been heard, from the Duke of Cambridge to Mr. Macdonald of *The Times*, and rarely has a hearing of witnesses been distinguished by so much agreement of the testimony. The various branches of the administration have been reviewed and all have been found to be not only deficient but in an appallingly shocking state. The Army Staff, the Medical Department, the Board of Ordnance, the Commissariat, the Transport Service, the Hospital Administration, the Health Inspection, and the Harbour Police of Balaklava and Constantinople have all been condemned without any opposition. But bad as every department was shown to be on its own, the full glory of the system was displayed only in their contact and collaboration with each other. The regulations were so beautifully arranged that as soon as they came into force nobody knew where his authority began and ended, or to whom to turn. Read the descriptions of the condition of the hospitals, of the infamous brutalities committed through neglect or indolence on the sick and wounded in the transport ships and on arrival at their destination. Nothing more horrible occurred on the retreat from Moscow.[a] And these things happened in Scutari, opposite Constantinople, a big city with multifarious resources, not during a hasty retreat with Cossacks on the heels of the fleeing soldiers, cutting off their supplies but as a result of an up-till-then successful campaign, in a place secure from all hostile attack, in the big central depot where

[a] The retreat of Napoleon's army in 1812.—*Ed.*

Great Britain stores its supplies for the army. And those who caused all these horrors were no barbarians but gentlemen belonging to the "Upper Ten Thousand", mild men in their way. *Fiat* the regulations, *pereat* the army[a]! "Turn to another department, the matter is not our responsibility." "But to whom should we turn?" "It is no part of our responsibility to know which department is responsible, and even if it was, we would not be authorised to tell you." "But the sick need shirts, soap, bedding, housing, medicines, arrowroot,[b] port. They are dying in their hundreds." "I am indeed very sorry to hear that the best blood of England is so rapidly ebbing away, but we are unable to help. We cannot provide anything, even if we have it, without the necessary requisitions, signed by half a dozen persons, of whom two-thirds are absent in the Crimea or elsewhere." And like Tantalus, the soldiers had to die in the face, even within smelling distance of the comforts which could have saved their lives. Not a single man there possessed the energy to break through the network of routine, to act on his own responsibility, as the needs of the moment demanded, and in defiance of the regulations. Only one person dared to do that, and that was a *woman*, Miss *Nightingale*. Once she had made sure that the things required were there, she chose a number of sturdy fellows and committed what amounted to burglary of Her Majesty's stores. She told the horror-stricken suppliers:

"Now I have got what I needed. Now go and report at home what you have seen. I take it all upon myself."

The old wives in authority in Constantinople and Scutari, far from being capable of such a bold enterprise, were cowards to a degree which would seem incredible if we did not have their own candid admissions. One of them, a certain *Dr. Andrew Smith*, for example, for a time chief of the hospitals, was asked by the Committee of Inquiry whether there were no funds available in Constantinople for purchases and no markets where the necessary commodities could be procured?

"Oh yes," he replied. "But after forty years of routine and drudgery at home I assure you that it was months before I could convince myself that such a power to spend money was vested in me."[c]

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[a] Let there be regulations, though the army perish—a paraphrase of the Latin saying, *Fiat justitia—pereat mundus* (Let justice be done though the world perish).—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[c] "The State of the Army before Sebastopol", *The Times*, No 22007, March 21, 1855.—*Ed.*

And it was to such old wives that the British Army was entrusted! Indeed, the most eloquent descriptions in the press and in Parliament seem colourless compared with the reality as it unfolds in the witnesses' evidence. And what shall we say of the Herberts, the Gladstones, the Newcastles and *tutti quanti*,[a] of Peel's fashionable clerks[b] who in Parliament repeatedly denied all the facts that have now been proved, rejecting them with a passionate bitterness with which these "eminent" gentlemen had not hitherto been credited! These dandies of Exeter Hall, the elegant Puseyites, for whom the difference between "*transubstantiation*" and "*real presence*" is a life-and-death question,[110] with their characteristically modest arrogance, undertook the conduct of the war and were so successful with the "transubstantiation" of the British Army that its "real presence" was nowhere. "Yes, it is somewhere," Gladstone replied. "On January 1 the British Army in the Crimea amounted to 32,000 men." Unfortunately, we have the evidence of the Duke of Cambridge that on November 6, after the battle of Inkerman,[111] the British Army did not number 13,000 bayonets, and we know that since November and December it has lost about 3,000 men.

In the meantime the news of the uproar in the Commons against the Ministers, of Roebuck's Committee and of the popular indignation in England, has reached the Crimea. Welcomed by the soldiers with jubilation, it struck the generals and department heads with horror. A week later the news arrived that commissioners were on their way with authority to investigate and to negotiate. This had the effect of a galvanic battery on paralytics. Meanwhile the railway workers set to work unfettered by precedence, regulations or office habits. They secured a landing place, set shovels in motion, erected wharves, huts, dams, and before the quaint old gentlemen had any idea the first rail had been laid. Insignificant as the railway probably is for the siege—all its advantages could be obtained more cheaply and simply—it proved of the greatest use by the mere example, by the live contrast of modern industrial England to the helpless England of routine. The "Forward" operations of the railwaymen broke the spell which had held the whole British Army paralysed, the spell generated by an illusion of phantastic impossibilities which had brought British officers and men close to the stolid fatalism of the Turks, and induced them calmly to watch certain ruin as if it were

[a] The whole lot.—*Ed.*
[b] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

an inescapable fate. With the railway workers the adage *Aide-toi et le ciel t'aidera*[a] revived in the army. Within six weeks everything took on a new look. Raglan and his staff, divisional and brigade generals are daily in the trenches, inspecting and giving orders. The Commissariat has discovered horses, carts and drivers, and the troops have found means of bringing their sick under cover, and some of the troops as well. The medical staff has removed the most flagrant horrors from the hospital tents and barracks. Ammunition, clothing, even fresh meat and vegetables are beginning to be available. A certain degree of order has begun to prevail, and though a great deal of the old trouble still remains, the improvement in the conditions is indisputable and amazing.

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[a] "God helps those who help themselves."—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE BRITISH ARMY[112]

We have now before us the report of some dozen sittings of the famous Committee appointed by the House of Commons to investigate the condition of the British army in the Crimea. Witnesses have been examined of every rank and station, from the Duke of Cambridge down, and their testimony is surprisingly unanimous. All departments of the administration have been passed in review, and all have been found to be not only deficient, but scandalously so. The staff, the medical department, the purveyor's department, the commissariat, the transport service, the hospital administration, the sanitary and disciplinary police, the harbor police of Balaklava, have one and all been condemned without an opposing voice.

Bad as every department was in itself, the full glories of the system were, however, developed only by the contact and cooperation of all. The regulations were so beautifully arranged that as soon as they came to be put in force, when the troops first landed in Turkey, nobody knew where his authority began nor where it ended, nor to whom to apply for anything; and thus, from a wholesome fear of responsibility, everybody shifted everything from his own shoulders to those of somebody else. Under this system, the hospitals were scenes of infamous brutality. Indolent neglect did its worst upon the sick and wounded on board the transports and after their arrival. The facts revealed are incredible; indeed, there was nothing more horrible in the retreat from Moscow.[a] And yet, they actually happened at Scutari, within sight of Constantinople, a large city, with all its resources in labor and material comforts. They happened, not on a hasty retreat,

[a] Of Napoleon's army in 1812.—*Ed.*

with the Cossacks at the heels of the fugitives and cutting off their supplies, but in the course of a partially successful campaign, at a place sheltered from all hostile attack, at the great central depot where Great Britain had heaped up her stores for the army. And the authors of all these horrors and abominations are no hard-hearted barbarians. They are, every one of them, British gentlemen of good extraction, well-educated, and of mild, philanthropic and religious dispositions. In their individual capacity, they no doubt were ready and willing to do anything; in their official capacity, their duty was to look coolly and with folded arms upon all these infamies, conscious that the case was not provided for in any part of her Majesty's regulations affecting themselves. Perish a thousand armies sooner than infringe upon her Majesty's regulations! And Tantalus-like, the soldiers had to die within sight, almost within reach of the comforts which would have saved their lives.

Not a man on the spot had the energy to break through the net-work of routine, to act upon his own responsibility as the necessities of the case demanded, and in the teeth of the regulations. The only party who has dared to do this is a woman, Miss Nightingale. Having once ascertained that the things wanted were in store, she is reported to have taken a handful of stout fellows and to have actually committed a burglary upon the Queen's store-houses! The old women in authority at Constantinople and Scutari, far from being capable of such daring, were cowards to a degree we could scarcely credit, were it not openly admitted by themselves. One of them, Dr. Andrew Smith, for a time chief of the hospitals, was asked if there were in Constantinople no funds to buy, and no market to supply, many of the things wanted?

"Oh, yes," he replied, "*but after forty years' routine and drudgery at home, I assure you I could hardly for some months realize the idea that I actually had funds placed at my command!*"[a]

The very blackest descriptions of the state of matters which had been given in both newspapers and Parliamentary speeches, are far outdone by the reality, as it now is brought before us. Some of the most glaring features had been broached, but even these now receive a gloomier coloring. Although the picture is as yet far from complete, we can see enough of it to judge of the whole. Excepting the female nurses sent out, there is not one redeeming feature in it. One group is as bad and as stupid as the other, and

[a] "The State of the Army before Sebastopol", *The Times*, No. 22007, March 21, 1855.—*Ed.*

if the Committee, in their report, have the courage to speak out according to evidence, they will be embarrassed to find in the English language words strong enough to express their condemnation.

In view of these disclosures it is impossible to repress a strong glow of indignation and contempt not only for the immediate actors, but above all for the Government which arranged the expedition, and which, with the facts staring it in the face, had the impudence to declare they were mere fictions. Where, now, is that great Coalition of All the Talents,[113] that galaxy of statesmen with whose advent the Golden Age was to dawn upon England? Between Whigs and Peelites, Russellites and Palmerstonians, Irishmen and Englishmen, Liberal Conservatives and Conservative Liberals, they have been huckstering and bargaining among themselves, and every man they have put into place turns out to be an old woman or an unmitigated fool. These statesmen were so sure the machine they had been managing for thirty years would work admirably, that they did not even send out a person invested with extraordinary powers for unforeseen circumstances; unforeseen circumstances, of course, could never occur under a well-regulated Government! Subalterns by nature and by habit, these British ministers, suddenly placed in a position of command, have achieved the utter disgrace of England. There is old Raglan, all his life a head-office-clerk to Wellington; a man that never was permitted to act upon his own responsibility; a man bred to do just as he was bid, up to his 65th year; and this man is all of a sudden appointed to lead an army against the enemy, and to decide everything at once and for himself! And a pretty mess he has made of it. Vacillation, timidity, total absence of self-confidence, firmness and the initiative, mark every one of his steps. We know now how feebly he behaved in the council of war where the Crimean expedition was resolved upon. To be taken in tow by a blustering blackguard like St. Arnaud, whom old Wellington would have silenced forever with one dry, ironical word! Then his timid march to Balaklava, his helplessness at the siege[a] and during the sufferings of the winter, when he found nothing better to do than to hide himself. Then there is Lord Hardinge, equally subaltern in character, who commands the army at home. An old campaigner as he is, one would judge from his administration, and the way he defends it in the Lords, that he had never been out of his barracks or his office. To say he is

[a] Of Sevastopol.—*Ed.*

totally ignorant of the very first requisites of an army in the field, or too lazy to recollect them, is the most favorable aspect that can be given to his case. Then come Peel's clerks—Cardwell, Gladstone, Newcastle, Herbert, and *tutti quanti.* They are well-bred, good-looking young gentlemen, whose elegance of manners and refinement of feeling do not permit them to handle a thing roughly, or to act with even a show of decision in the matters of this world. "Consideration" is their word. They take everything into consideration; they keep everything under consideration; they hold everybody in consideration; in consideration of which they expect to be held in consideration by everybody. Everything with them must be round and smooth. Nothing is so objectionable as the angular forms which mark strength and energy.

Whatever reports came from the army as to its being ruined by mismanagement were impudently denied by these mild, veracious and pious gentlemen, who being *a priori* convinced of the perfection of their Government, had the best authority for such denials; and when the subject was persevered in, and even the official reports from the seat of war compelled them to admit part of these statements, their denials were still made with a degree of acrimony and passion. Their opposition to Roebuck's motion for an inquiry is the most scandalous instance on record of public perseverance in untruth. The London *Times,* Layard, Stafford, and even their own colleague, Russell, gave them the lie,[a] but they persevered. The whole House of Commons, by a majority of two out of three, gave them the lie, and they still persevered. Now they stand convicted before Roebuck's Committee; but, for aught we know, they are persevering still. But their perseverance has now become a matter of small account. With the truth disclosed to the world in all its horrible reality, it is impossible that there should not be a reform in the system and administration of the British Army.

Written on March 28, 1855

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[a] This refers to the speeches made by Layard, Stafford and Russell in the House of Commons on January 26 and 29, 1855 during the discussion of Roebuck's motion for setting up a committee to inquire into the condition of the army at Sevastopol. *The Times,* Nos. 21962 and 21964, January 27 and 30, 1855.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## PROGRESS OF THE WAR

While the diplomats assembled at Vienna are discussing the fate of Sevastopol, and the Allies are trying to make peace on the best terms they can, the Russians in the Crimea, profiting by the blunders of their opponents, as well as by their own central position in the country, are again taking the offensive on every point. It is a curious state of things, considering the boasts with which the Allies began their invasion, and looks like a vast satire on human presumption and folly. But though it thus has its comic side, the drama is deeply tragic, after all; and we once more invite our readers to a serious examination of the facts, as they are disclosed by our latest advices received here on Sunday morning by the *America*'s mails.[114]

At Eupatoria, Omer Pasha is now actually hemmed in on the land side. Their superiority in cavalry permits the Russians to place their picquets and videttes close to the town, to scour the country by patrols, intercepting supplies, and in case of a serious sally, to fall back upon their infantry. Thus they are doing what we predicted they would do—holding the superior force of Turks in check by a body perhaps not more than one-fourth or one-third their number.[a] Accordingly Omer Pasha is waiting for additional cavalry to come up, and in the meantime has been to the Anglo-French camp to inform his allies that for the present he can do nothing, and that a reenforcement of some 10,000 French troops would be very desirable. No doubt it would; but no less desirable to Canrobert himself, who, by this time, must have found out that he has both too many troops, and too few—too many for the mere carrying on of the siege, such as it is, and for the

[a] See this volume, pp. 82-85.—*Ed.*

defense of the Chernaya; but not enough to debouch from the Chernaya, drive the Russians into the interior, and invest the North Fort. To send 10,000 men to Eupatoria, would not enable the Turks to take the field with success; while their absence would cripple the French army at the time when, with the reenforcements arriving in spring, it is expected to take the field.

The siege is now becoming a very sorry affair, indeed. The night attack of the Zouaves on Feb. 24, was even more disastrous in its results than we stated a week ago.[a] It appears from Canrobert's own dispatch that he did not know what he was about when he ordered this attack. He says:

"The purpose of the attack being now attained, our troops retired, as nobody ever could think of our establishing ourselves on a point so completely commanded by the fire of the enemy."[b]

But what was the purpose thus attained? What was there to do if the point could not be held? Nothing whatever. The destruction of the redoubt was not accomplished, and could not have been accomplished under the enemy's fire, even if the Zouaves, as the first report pretended, had for a moment exclusive possession of the work. But that they never had; the Russian report denies it most positively, and Canrobert does not pretend to anything of the kind. What, then, was meant by this attack? Why, plainly this: that Canrobert, seeing the Russians establishing themselves in a position very embarrassing and equally humiliating to the besiegers, without any reflection, without giving himself the trouble of examining the probable issue of the affair, sent his troops to the charge. It was a downright, useless butchery, and will leave a serious stain upon Canrobert's military reputation. If any excuse can be found, it is only in the supposition that the French troops having become impatient for the assault, the General intended giving them a slight foretaste of what the assault would be. But this excuse is quite as discreditable to Canrobert as the charge itself.

By the affair of Malakoff the Russians ascertained their superiority on the ground immediately in front of their defenses. The work situated on the crest of the hill, and vainly attacked by the Zouaves, is called by them the Selenghinsk redoubt, from the regiment which defended it. They at once proceeded to follow up their advantage and act upon the certitude thus obtained. Selenghinsk was enlarged and strengthened, guns were brought

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[a] See this volume, pp. 115-16.—*Ed.*

[b] Canrobert's dispatch of February 27, 1855 was published in *The Times*, No. 22008, March 22, 1855.—*Ed.*

up to it, though they must have passed under the heaviest fire of the besiegers, and counter-approaches were made from it, probably with a view to erect one or two minor works in its front. On another spot, too, in front of the Korniloff bastion, a series of new redoubts was also thrown up 300 yards in advance of the old Russian works. From former British reports, the possibility of such a step seems astonishing, for we were always told the Allies had thrown up their own trenches at less than that distance from the Russian lines. But as we were enabled to state, upon first-rate professional authority about a month since, the French lines were still some 400 yards from the Russian outworks, and the British even twice that distance. Now, at last, *The Times*' correspondent's[a] letter of March 16 confesses that even up to that date the British trenches were still 600 to 800 yards off, and that, in fact, *the batteries about to open upon the enemy were but the same which opened their fire on the 17th of October last!*[b] This, then, is that great progress in the siege—that pushing forward the trenches, which cost two-thirds of the British army their lives!

Under such circumstances, there was plenty of room for erecting these new Russian works in the intermediate space between the two lines of batteries; but it nevertheless remains a most unparalleled act, the boldest and most skilful thing that was ever undertaken by a besieged garrison. It amounts to nothing less than opening a fresh parallel against the Allies, at from 300 to 400 yards from their works; to a counter-approach on the grandest scale against the besiegers, who thereby are at once thrown back into a defensive state, while the very first essential condition of a siege is that the besiegers shall hold the besieged in the defensive. Thus the tables are completely turned, and the Russians are strongly in the ascendant.

Whatever blunders and fantastical experiments the Russian engineers may have made under Schilder, at Silistria,[115] the Allies have, here at Sevastopol, evidently a different set of men to deal with. The justness and rapidity of glance—the promptness, boldness, and faultlessness of execution, which the Russian engineers have shown in throwing up their lines around Sevastopol—the indefatigable attention with which every weak point was protected as soon as discovered by the enemy—the excellent arrangement of the line of fire, so as to concentrate a force, superior to that of the besiegers, upon any given point of the ground in front—the preparation of a second, third and fourth

[a] W. H. Russell.—*Ed.*
[b] *The Times*, No. 22014, March 29, 1855.—*Ed.*

line of fortifications in rear of the first—in short, the whole conduct of this defense has been classic. The late offensive advances on Malakoff hill and to the front of the Korniloff bastion are unparalleled in the history of sieges, and stamp their originators as first-rate men in their line. It is but just to add that the Chief Engineer at Sevastopol is Col. Totleben, a comparatively obscure man in the Russian service. But we must not take the defense of Sevastopol as a fair specimen of Russian engineering. The average between Silistria and Sevastopol is nearer the reality.

People in the Crimea, as well as in England and France, now begin to discover, though very gradually, that there is no chance of Sevastopol being taken by assault. In this perplexity the London *Times* has applied to "high professional authority," and has been informed that the proper thing to do is to act on the offensive, either by passing the Chernaya, and effecting a junction with Omer Pasha's Turks, before or after a battle against the Russian Army of Observation, or by a diversion against Kaffa, which would force the Russians to divide themselves.[a] As the allied army is now supposed to number from 110,000 to 120,000 men, such movements should be in their power. Now, nobody knows better than Canrobert and Raglan that an advance beyond the Chernaya and a union with Omer Pasha's army would be most desirable; but, unfortunately, as we have proved over and over again,[b] the 110,000 to 120,000 Allies on the hights before Sevastopol do not exist, and have never existed. On the 1st of March they did not number above 90,000 men fit for duty. As to an expedition to Kaffa, the Russians could wish for nothing better than to see the allied troops dispersed over three different points, from 60 to 150 miles distant from the center one, while at neither of the two points which they now hold have they sufficient strength to perform the task before them! Surely, the "high professional authority" must have been hoaxing *The Times* in seriously advising it to advocate a repetition of the Eupatoria expedition!

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[a] See "The last accounts from the Crimea...", *The Times*, No. 22012, March 27, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] See, e.g., this volume, pp. 32-33.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE SITUATION IN THE CRIMEA[116]

*London*, March 30. The reports on the progress of the peace negotiations fluctuate wildly from one day to the next. Today peace is certain, tomorrow war. Palmerston's article in the *Post* bristles with swords and cannon—evidence that he would like to make peace as soon as possible.[a] Napoleon orders his press to write hymns of peace—the surest proof that he intends to continue the war. The course of events in the Crimea by no means indicates that the fall of Sevastopol is imminent. Omer Pasha is now in fact firmly trapped at Eupatoria, on the land-side. The superiority of their cavalry allows the Russians to station their pickets and mounted sentinels quite close to the town, to despatch patrols into the surrounding territory to cut off supplies and, in the event of a serious attack, to fall back on the infantry stationed further off. As we assumed earlier,[b] they are succeeding in keeping a superior Turkish force in check with a quarter or a third of their number. The attack made by the Turkish cavalry under Iskander Bey (the Pole Iliński, who earned himself such a glorious reputation at Kalafat[117]) was repulsed by a simultaneous charge by three Russian detachments which attacked from three different points. Like all cavalry which is badly trained and lacking in confidence the Turks, instead of charging headlong at the Russians with sabres drawn, halted at a respectful distance and began firing their carbines. This clear sign of indecision drove the Russians onto the offensive. Iskander Bey attempted an attack with one squadron but was left in the lurch by everybody except the *bashi-bazouks*[118] and had to force his retreat right through the

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[a] "The discussion upon the Third Point...", *The Morning Post*, No. 25348, March 30, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] A reference to the German version of Engels' article "The Results in the Crimea" (see the English version in this volume, pp. 81-85).—*Ed.*

ranks of the Russians. Omer Pasha awaits the arrival of cavalry reinforcements and has been in the meantime to the Anglo-French camp to inform the allies that for the moment he can do nothing, and that reinforcements of some 10,000 French troops would be very desirable. No doubt, but it is no less desirable for Canrobert himself, who has already discovered that he has at one and the same time too many and too few troops at his disposal. Too many to besiege Sevastopol in the old way and to defend the Chernaya; not enough to sally forth from the Chernaya, to drive the Russians into the interior and surround the northern fortress.[a] Detaching 10,000 men to Eupatoria would not enable the Turks to enter the battle successfully, but would weaken the French army for operations in open country. The *siege* is daily becoming a more critical affair for the besiegers.

We have seen that, on February 24 the Russians held the redoubt on the Sapun hill (in front of the Malakhov fortifications).[b] They have now extended and strengthened this redoubt, mounted cannon on it, and have made counter-approaches from it. Similarly a series of new redoubts have been constructed in front of the Kornilov bastion, 300 yards beyond the old Russian fortifications. The reader of *The Times* must find this inexplicable, for according to that newspaper the allies had long since thrown up their own trenches at less than that distance from the Russian lines. Now at last, e. g. in his letter of March 16, the *Times* correspondent[c] admits that even at the time of his latest reports the British trenches were still 600-800 yards away, and that the *batteries on the point of firing on the enemy are the same ones that opened fire on October 17 last year.*[d] This then is the great progress, made in the siege, these are the advances made with the building of trenches, which cost two-thirds of the English army their lives or their health. Under these circumstances there was sufficient space between the two lines of batteries to construct the new Russian fortifications. This can be regarded as the opening-up of a new parallel against the besiegers at a distance of 300-400 yards from their fortifications, as a counter-approach on the largest scale against the besieging army. Thus the besiegers are forced onto the defensive, whereas the first and most essential condition for a siege is that the besiegers should force the besieged onto the defensive.

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[a] In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*: the "town side".—*Ed.*

[b] A reference to the German version of Engels' article "A Battle at Sevastopol" (see the English version in this volume, pp. 113-17).—*Ed.*

[c] W. H. Russell.—*Ed.*

[d] *The Times,* No. 22014, March 29, 1855.—*Ed.*

Just as in the camp at Sevastopol people in England are now beginning to discover that there is no likelihood of taking Sevastopol by storm. In this awkward situation *The Times* has sought the aid of a "high military authority" and learned that it is necessary to take the offensive, either by crossing the Chernaya and effecting a link-up with the Turks under Omer Pasha, whether it be before or after a battle with the Russian observation army, or by means of a diversion towards Kaffa which would force the Russians to split up. As the allied army now numbers 110,000-120,000 men movements of this kind must be within its capabilities. Thus says *The Times*.[a]

Now no one knows better than Raglan and Canrobert that a link-up with Omer Pasha's army is highly desirable, but unfortunately the allies do [not] as yet have 110,000-120,000 men at their disposal on the heights above Sevastopol, but at the outside 80,000-90,000 men fit for service. As for an expedition to Kaffa the Russians could not wish for anything better: the allied troops dispersed in three different locations, 60-150 miles from the central point, whilst not being strong enough at either of the two positions they are holding to carry out the task before them! It would appear that *The Times* has taken its advice from "Russian" military experts.

Since at least some of the men of the 11th and 12th French divisions are on their way and the rest as well as the 13th and 14th divisions and the two Piedmontese divisions are about to follow, the allied army will by the end of May be brought up to a strength which will both enable it and force it to advance from its defensive position on the Chernaya. The troops will be concentrated at Constantinople and probably shipped together, so that they will have to spend as little time as possible on the ill-starred Chersonese. This measure will cause some delay but will bring great advantages. The reinforcements, which up to now were sent to the Crimea in small detachments—although when taken together they form a whole army—never strengthened the expeditionary forces sufficiently to enable them to launch offensive operations.

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[a] "The last accounts from the Crimea...", *The Times*, No. 22012, March 27, 1855.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## A SCANDAL IN THE FRENCH LEGISLATURE.— DROUYN DE LHUYS' INFLUENCE.— THE STATE OF THE MILITIA

*London*, April 3. We are informed by a correspondent in Paris:

"In the Bonapartist *corps legislatif* there occurred a *scene*, which has failed to get into the English press. During the debate on the *Replacement* Law[119] *Granier de Cassagnac* jumped up—after *Montalembert*'s speech—and in his fury he let the cat out of the bag. Only when this law comes into force, he said, will the army become what it ought to be, dedicated to law and order and the Emperor, and we shall never again witness the shameful sight of soldiers turning their muskets round" (*soldats à baionnettes renversées*). "The conclusion of this speech, in which the janissary system was openly preached as an ideal for the army, provoked loud protests even in *this* assembly, and Granier was obliged to sit down. Another member of the legislature jumped to his feet and made a scathing attack on Granier. The scandal was so great that even Morny had to challenge Cassagnac" (it is well known that he was called *le roi des drôles*[a] by Guizot when he was still editing his little rag, the *Globe*) "to explain himself. Granier made a *formal apology* with the greatest meekness, and personally moved that the incident be passed over in silence in the *Moniteur*. The sitting was as stormy as in the finest days of Louis Philippe's Chamber of Deputies."

"The British public," writes *The Morning Chronicle* today,[b] "have come to the conclusion that M. Drouyn de Lhuys is gone to Vienna to act as a kind of prompter or fly-flapper to Lord John Russell whose proceedings hitherto have not given satisfaction either to his own compatriots or to our Allies. [...] The noble lord is famous for his fits and starts of patriotism and liberalism; for his extreme public spirit while in Opposition, or when in need of political capital, and his sudden collapses when the immediate necessity is over. Something of this kind seems to have happened to him on the present occasion; and the people are beginning to grumble. Since M. Drouyn de Lhuys has come to London a more decided tone is perceptible in high quarters. It has even transpired that his mission has so far been successful, that the peaceful aspirations of Lord John Russell have been officially frustrated, and that *our 'man of vigour'*" (Palmerston) "has

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[a] King of the rascals.—*Ed.*
[b] April 3, 1855.—*Ed.*

reluctantly assented to an ultimatum which Russia [...] is likely to reject with disdain."

The English Army has vanished, and the English militia is in the process of vanishing. The militia, which was created by Act of Parliament in 1852 under Lord Derby, should by law not be called up for more than 28 days each year under normal circumstances. In the case of a war of invasion, however, or for any other important and urgent reason, it could be incorporated into the army for permanent service. But by an Act of Parliament of 1854 all men recruited after May 12, 1854 were obliged to serve for the duration of the war. The question has now been raised what the obligations were of those recruited under the Act of 1852. The Crown lawyers declared that they considered this category also to be liable for permanent service during the war. But a few weeks ago Lord Panmure in contradiction with this juridical decision, issued an order permitting all those recruited before the Act of 1854 to leave but granting them a cash-payment of £1 if they re-enlist for a further five years. As at present the cash-payment for recruits enlisting for two years in the regular army is £7 for the infantry and £10 for the cavalry, a payment of £1 for five years' service in the militia was the most infallible means of dissolving it. Lord Palmerston, who hesitated to call up the militia for almost a year, seems to want to be rid of it again as soon as possible. Accordingly we learn that in the last fortnight one militia regiment after the other has lost from $^{2}/_{3}$ to $^{5}/_{8}$ of its strength. Thus in the First Regiment of the Somerset Militia 414 men out of 500 have left, in the North Durham Militia 770 out of 800, in the Leicester Militia 340 out of 460, in the Suffolk Artillery 90 out of 130, etc.

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# Karl Marx

## PROSPECT IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND[120]

London, Tuesday, April 10, 1855

Allow me once more to resume my long-interrupted correspondence with the *Tribune*. Yesterday and to-day will most likely be the first two decisive days in the Vienna Conferences,[121] as they were to open on the 9th in the presence of Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys, and as, at the same time, the Russian Embassador[a] was expected to have received his instructions relative to the Third and Fourth Points. The journey of Drouyn de Lhuys was at first puffed up on every Stock Exchange as a certain symptom of peace; for such an eminent diplomatist, it was said, surely would not go to take personal part in these debates unless he were sure of success. As to the "eminence" of this diplomatist, it is of a very mythical cast, and exists principally in the paid newspaper articles by which he magnifies himself into a second Talleyrand, as though his long career under Louis Philippe had not long since established his "eminent" mediocrity. But the real reason of his journey is this: Lord John Russell has managed within a few weeks, through his notorious ignorance of the French language, to embroil the Allies in concessions which he never intended to make, and which it will take extraordinary efforts to retrieve. Lord John's French is of the real John Bull species, such as "Milord" speaks in *Fra Diavolo,*[b] and other theatrical pieces formerly popular in France; it begins with "Monsieur l'Aubergiste,"[c] and ends with "Très bien;" and if he understands but one-half of what is said to him, he is revenged in the consciousness that other people understand still less of what

[a] A. M. Gorchakov.—*Ed.*
[b] Lord Cokbourg, a character in a comic opera by the French composer D. F. E. Auber (libretto by A. E. Scribe).—*Ed.*
[c] "Mr. Innkeeper".—*Ed.*

he utters. It was for this very reason that his friend and rival, Lord Palmerston, sent him to Vienna, considering that a couple of blunders on that stage would be sufficient finally to demolish poor little John. And so it has turned out. Half the time he could not make out what was going on, and a quick and unexpected interpolation from Gorchakoff or Buol was sure to draw an embarrassed "Très bien" from the unfortunate diplomatic débutant. In this way Russia, and to some degree Austria, lay claim that several points are settled, at least so far as England is concerned, which poor Lord John never intended to concede. Palmerston, of course, would have no objection to this, as long as the blame falls exclusively upon his hapless colleague. But Louis Bonaparte cannot afford to be cheated into peace that way. To put a stop to this sort of diplomacy, the French Government at once resolved to bring matters to an issue. They fixed upon an ultimatum, with which Drouyn de Lhuys went to London, got the adhesion of the British Government, and then took it with him to Vienna. Thus, at present, he may be considered the joint representative of France and England, and there is no doubt that he will use his position to the best interest of his master. And as the only, the exclusive interest of Louis Bonaparte is *not* to conclude peace until he has reaped fresh glory and fresh advantages for France, and until the war has served to the full its purpose, as a "moyen de gouvernement,"[a] Drouyn's mission, far from being peaceful, will turn out, on the contrary, to have for its object to secure a continuance of the war under the most decent pretext available.

With the middle-classes both of France and England this war is decidedly unpopular. With the French bourgeoisie it was so from the beginning, because this class was ever since the 2d of December[b] in full opposition against the government of the "savior of society." In England, the middle-class was divided. The great bulk had transferred their national hatred from the French to the Russians; and although John Bull can do a little annexation business himself now and then in India, he has no idea of allowing other people to do the same in other neighborhoods in an uncomfortable proximity to himself or his possessions. Russia was the country which in this respect had long since attracted his anxious notice. The enormously increasing British trade to the Levant, and through Trebizond to Inner Asia, makes the free navigation of the Dardanelles a point of the highest importance to

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[a] "Means of government".—*Ed.*

[b] December 2, 1851, the date of Louis Bonaparte's *coup d'état* in France.—*Ed.*

England. The growing value of the Danubian countries as granaries forbids England to allow their gradual absorption into Russia, and the closing of the navigation of the Danube by the same power. Russian grain forms already a too important item in British consumption, and an annexation of the corn-producing frontier-countries by Russia would make Great Britain entirely dependent upon her and the United States, while it would establish these two countries as the regulators of the corn-market of the world. Besides, there are always some vague and alarming rumors afloat about Russian progress in Central Asia, got up by interested Indian politicians or terrified visionaries, and credited by the general geographical ignorance of the British public. Thus, when Russia began her aggression upon Turkey, the national hatred broke forth in a blaze, and never, perhaps, was a war as popular as this. The peace-party was for a moment interdicted from speaking; even the mass of its own members went along with the popular current. Whoever knew the character of the English must have felt certain that this warlike enthusiasm could be but of short duration, at least so far as the middle-class was concerned; as soon as the effects of the war should become taxable upon their pockets, mercantile sense was sure to overcome national pride, and the loss of immediate individual profits was sure to outweigh the certainty of losing, gradually, great national advantages. The Peelites,[122] adverse to the war, not so much out of a real love of peace, as from a narrowness and timidity of mind which holds in horror all great crises and all decisive action, did their best to hasten the great moment when every British merchant and manufacturer could calculate to a farthing what the war would cost him, individually, per annum. Mr. Gladstone, scorning the vulgar idea of a loan, at once doubled the income-tax and stopped financial reform. The result came to light at once. The peace-party raised their heads again. John Bright dared popular feeling with his own well-known spirit and tenacity, until he succeeded in bringing the manufacturing districts round to him. In London the feeling is still more in favor of the war, but the progress of the peace-party is visible, even here; besides, it must be recollected that the peace-society[123] never, at any time, commanded any mentionable influence in the capital. Its agitation, however, is increasing in all parts of the country, and another year of doubled taxation, with a loan—for this is now considered to be unavoidable—will break down whatever is left of warlike spirit among the manufacturing and trading classes.

With the mass of the people in both countries, the case is

entirely different. The peasantry in France have, ever since 1789, been the great supporters of war and warlike glory. They are sure, this time, not to feel much of the pressure of the war; for the conscription, in a country where the land is infinitesimally subdivided among small proprietors, not only frees the agricultural districts from surplus labor, but also gives to some 20,000 young men, every year, the opportunity of earning a round sum of money, by engaging to serve as substitutes. A protracted war only would be severely felt. As to war-taxes, the Emperor cannot impose them upon the peasantry, without risking his crown and his life. His only means of maintaining Bonapartism among them, is to buy them up by freedom from war-taxation; and thus, for some years to come, they may be exempted from this sort of pressure. In England, the case is similar. Agricultural labor is generally over-supplied, and furnishes the mass of the soldiery, which only at a later period of the war receives a strong admixture of the rowdy-class from the towns. Trade being tolerably good, and a good many agricultural improvements being carried out, when the war began, the quota of agricultural recruits was, in this instance, supplied more sparingly than before, and the town-element is decidedly preponderant in the present militia. But even what has been withdrawn has kept wages up, and the sympathy of the villagers is always accompanying soldiers who came from among them, and who are now transformed into heroes. Taxation, in its direct shape, does not touch the small farmers and laborers, and until an increase of indirect imposts can reach them, sensibly, several years of war must have passed. Among these people, the war-enthusiasm is as strong as ever, and there is not a village where is not to be found some new beer-shop with the sign of "The Heroes of the Alma," or some such motto, and where are not, in almost every house, wonderful prints of Alma, Inkermann, the charge at Balaklava,[124] portraits of Lord Raglan and others, to adorn the walls. But if in France, the great preponderance of the small farmers (four-fifths of the population), and their peculiar relation to Louis Napoleon, give to their opinions a great deal of importance, in England the one-third of the population forming the countrypeople has scarcely any influence, except as a tail and chorus to the aristocratic landed proprietors.

The industrial working population has, in both countries, almost the same peculiar position with regard to this war. Both British and French proletarians are filled with an honorable national spirit, though they are more or less free from the antiquated national prejudices common, in either country, to the peasantry.

They have little immediate interest in the war, save that if the victories of their countrymen flatter their national pride, the conduct of the war, foolhardy and presumptuous as regards France, timid and stupid as regards England, offers them a fair opportunity of agitating against the existing governments and governing classes. But the main point, with them, is this: that this war, coinciding with a commercial crisis, only the first developments of which have, as yet, been seen, conducted by hands and heads unequal to the task, gaining at the same time European dimensions, will and must bring about events which will enable the proletarian class to resume that position which they lost, in France, by the battle of June, 1848,[125] and that not only as far as France is concerned, but for all Central Europe, England included.

In France, indeed, there can be no doubt that every fresh revolutionary storm must bring, sooner or later, the working-class to power; in England, things are fast approaching a similar state. There is an aristocracy willing to carry on the war, but unfit to do so, and completely put to the blush by last winter's mismanagement. There is a middle class, unwilling to carry on that war which cannot be put a stop to, sacrificing everything to peace, and thereby proclaiming their own incapacity to govern England. If events turn out the one, with its different fractions, and do not admit the other, there remain but two classes on which power can devolve: the petty Bourgeoisie, the small trading class, whose want of energy and decision has shown itself on every occasion when it was called upon to come from words to deeds—and the working-class, which has been constantly reproached with showing far too much energy and decision when proceeding to action as a class.

Which of these classes will be the one to carry England through the present struggle, and the complications about to arise from it?

Written on April 10, 1855

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Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Frederick Engels

## NAPOLEON'S APOLOGY [126]

Napoleon III, in his quality as chief editor of the *Moniteur*, has published a long leading article on the Crimean Expedition,[a] the important portions of which we have duly published. The purpose of this manifesto is evidently to console the French nation for the failure of the enterprise, to shift the responsibility of it from the Imperial shoulders, and at the same time to reply to the famous pamphlet lately issued by Prince Napoleon.[b] In that half familiar, half dignified style, characteristic of the man who writes at the same time for French peasants and for European Cabinets, a sort of history of the campaign is given, with the alleged reasons for each step. Some of these reasons merit a special examination.[c]

The Imperial adventurer informs us[d] that the allied troops were brought up to Gallipoli, because otherwise the Russians might have crossed the Danube at Rustchuk, and turning the lines of Varna and Shumla, passed the Balkan and marched upon Constantinople. This reason is the worst ever given for the landing

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[a] See "Paris, le 10 avril. Expédition d'Orient", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 101, April 11, 1855. In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* this passage is preceded by the following words: "The public, even in France, seems to have uncovered the mysteries surrounding the siege of Sevastopol. Therefore Louis Bonaparte...".—*Ed.*

[b] *De la conduite de la guerre d'Orient....* (see this volume, pp. 76-77).—*Ed.*

[c] Instead of this sentence the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "The document is in the highest degree unpolitical because it is exceedingly feeble and inadequate. Yet the 'pressure from without' must have been dangerously strong if Bonaparte has had to come forward in this way and defend himself." The phrase "pressure from without" is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

[d] In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* this sentence begins as follows: "After a ponderous introduction he recounts part of the instructions received by St. Arnaud at the beginning of the campaign and explains...".—*Ed.*

at Gallipoli. In the first place Rustchuk is a *fortress*, and not an open town, as the illustrious editor of the *Moniteur* seems to fancy.[a] As to the danger of such a flank march of the Russians, it is well to recollect that an army of 60,000 Turks, firmly established between four strong fortresses, could not safely be passed without leaving a strong corps to observe them; that such a flank march would have exposed the Russians, in the ravines of the Balkan, to the fate of Dupont at Baylen, and of Vandamme at Culm [128]; that in the most favorable case they could not bring more than 25,000 men to Adrianople; and that whoever thinks such an army dangerous to the Turkish metropolis, may have his opinions corrected by reading Major Moltke's well-known observations on the campaign of 1829 lately republished in English at London.[b]

In case there should be no danger to Constantinople, the Allies were, as we learn from the *Moniteur*, to push some divisions to Varna, and to end any attempt at besieging Silistria. This done, two other operations would offer themselves—a landing near Odessa, or the seizure of the Crimea. Both were to be discussed by the allied Generals on the spot. Such were the instructions to St. Arnaud, which wound up with some sound military advice in the form of maxims and apothegms:—

> Always know what your enemy is doing; keep your troops together, divide them on no account; or if you must divide them, manage so that you can reunite them on a given point in twenty-four hours—and so forth.

Very valuable rules of conduct, no doubt, but so trite and common-place, that the reader must at once conclude St. Arnaud to have been, in the eyes of his master, the greatest dunce and ignoramus in the world. After this, the instructions wind up with:

> "You have my entire confidence, Marshal. Go, for I am certain that, under your experienced leadership, the French eagles will earn new glory!"

As to the main point, the Crimean Expedition, Mr. Bonaparte confesses that it was certainly a favorite idea with him, and that at a later period he sent another batch of instructions to St. Arnaud

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[a] The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* further has the following sentence, which does not occur in the *New-York Daily Tribune*: "This recalls the historical howler made by the *Moniteur* in its obituary for Emperor Nicholas [*Le Moniteur universel*, No. 86, March 27, 1855] in which, in particular, the Treaty of Adrianople was confounded with the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardji." [127]—*Ed.*

[b] H. K. B. Moltke, *Der russisch-türkische Feldzug in der europäischen Türkei 1828 und 1829.* The English translation appeared in London in 1854 under the title *The Russians in Bulgaria and Rumelia....* There is no reference to it in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.*— *Ed.*

respecting it. But he denies having elaborated the plan in its details, and sent it to headquarters; according to him the Generals still had the choice of landing near Odessa. As a proof of this, a passage from his fresh instructions is given. In it he proposes a landing at Theodosia (Kaffa), on account of its offering a safe and capacious anchorage to the fleets, which must form the base of operations of the army. What a base of operations is he had explained to St. Arnaud in his first instructions, in terms which leave no doubt that the illustrious Marshal was supposed never to have read any standard work whatever upon his profession. From this point—Kaffa—the army was to march upon Sympheropol, drive the Russians into Sevastopol, before the walls of which a battle would probably be fought, and, finally, to besiege Sevastopol. "Unfortunately" this "plan was not followed up by the allied generals"—a circumstance very fortunate for the Emperor, as it allows of his shuffling off the responsibility of the whole affair, and leaving it on the shoulders of the generals.

The plan of landing 60,000 men at Kaffa and marching thence upon Sevastopol is indeed original. Taking as a general rule that the offensive strength of an army in an enemy's country decreases in the same ratio as its distance from its base of operations increases, how many men would the Allies have brought to Sevastopol after a march of more than 120 miles? How many men were to be left at Kaffa? How many to hold and fortify intermediate points? How many to protect convoys, and to scour the country? Not 20,000 men could have been collected under the walls of a fortress requiring three times that number barely to invest it. If Louis Napoleon ever goes to the war himself, and conducts it upon this principle, he may as well order quarters at Mivart's Hotel,[129] London, at once, for he will never see Paris again.[a]

As to the safety of the anchorage at Kaffa, every mariner in the Black Sea knows, and every chart shows that it is an open roadstead, with shelter against northerly and westerly winds alone, while the most dangerous storms in the Black Sea are from the south and south-west. Of this the storm of the 14th of November is an instance. Had the fleets then been at Kaffa they would have been driven upon a lee-shore.[b] In this way our hero clears himself

[a] In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* the end of this sentence reads as follows: "and conducts it upon this principle, then one and the same family will certainly represent the most astounding contrast in the history of wars."—*Ed.*

[b] The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* further has a sentence which does not occur in the *New-York Daily Tribune*: "Now comes the most ticklish part of the article."—*Ed.*

from the responsibility thrown upon him by his cousin[a]; but it would never do to sacrifice Raglan and Canrobert. Accordingly, to show the cleverness of the said Generals, a very decent sketch is given of siege-operations according to Vauban—a sketch which, from the total ignorance of the subject it supposes in the reader, might have been written for the benefit of Marshal St. Arnaud.[b] This sketch, however, but serves to show how Sevastopol was *not* to be taken, for it winds up with the assertion that all these rules were inapplicable to Sevastopol. For instance,

> "in a common siege where one front is attacked, the length of the last parallel would be about 300 yards, and the whole length of trenches would not exceed 8,000 yards; here the extent of parallel is 3,000 yards, and the whole linear length of all the trenches is 41,000 yards."

This is all true enough, but the question here is why has this enormous extent of attack been adopted, when every circumstance called for the greatest possible concentration of fire upon one or two determined points? The answer is:

> "Sevastopol is not like any other fortress. It has but a shallow ditch, no masonry scarps, and these defenses are replaced by abattis and palisades; thus our fire could make but little impression on the earth breastwork."

If this was not written for St. Arnaud, it is surely written for the French peasantry alone. Every sub-lieutenant in the French army must laugh at such nonsense. Palisades, unless at the bottom of a ditch, or at least out of the sight of the enemy, are very soon knocked over by shot and shell. Abattis may be set on fire, and must be at the foot of the glacis, about 60 or 80 yards from the breastwork, else they would obstruct the fire of the guns. Moreover, these abattis must be large trees laid on the ground, the pointed branches toward the enemy, and the whole firmly connected together; but where such trees could have come from, in a woodless country like the Crimea, the *Moniteur* does not say. The absence of masonry scarps has nothing to do with the protracted siege, for according to the description in the *Moniteur* itself, they only come into play when the breaching batteries have been established on the top of the glacis—a position from which the Allies are yet far distant.[c] That palisades are an improvement upon masonry scarps, is certainly new; for these wooden ramparts

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[a] Prince Napoleon (Jérôme Bonaparte, Jr.), the presumed author of the pamphlet *De la conduite de la guerre d'Orient....—Ed.*

[b] In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* the end of this sentence beginning with the words "according to Vauban" does not occur.—*Ed.*

[c] This sentence does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.—Ed.*

can be very easily destroyed by enfilading fire, even at the bottom of the ditch; and thus they allow of an assault as soon as the defending guns are silenced.

In conclusion, we are told by this new military authority, that all the facts show that the allied generals have done what they could—have done more than, under the circumstances, could have been expected from them—and have, indeed, covered themselves with glory.[a] If they could not properly invest Sevastopol—if they could not drive away the Russian army of observation—if they are not yet in the place—why, it is because they are not strong enough. This is also true: but who is responsible for this greatest of all faults? Who but Louis Bonaparte! Such is the final conclusion which the whole French public must inevitably draw from this wordy, round-about, shuffling, and ridiculous explanation of their Emperor.[b]

Written about April 14, 1855

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[a] The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* further has: "Dubious glory if it needs to be *proved*, and is proved in *this* manner!"—*Ed.*

[b] Instead of this last sentence the article in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has the following concluding passage: "That is the inevitable conclusion following from the leading article in the *Moniteur*. What impression it produced in Paris is shown by the following passage from the letter of the otherwise servile Paris correspondent of *The Times*: 'There are persons [...] who [...] consider it as [...] preliminary to the abandonment of the Crimea altogether [...] and in some Legitimist circles [...] these words have been made use of:—"We were led to expect a *war à la Napoleon*; but it seems we are now to have a *peace à la Louis Philippe*." On the other hand [...] an impression of a similar kind'" prevails "'in the minds of the working classes of the Faubourg St. Antoine.'" They "'interpret it as an avowal of weakness [...]'." (*The Times*, No. 22028, April 14, 1855.)—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE SIEGE OF SEVASTOPOL[130]

The siege of Sevastopol continues to drag on its weary course, barren of events and decisions, scarcely enlivened, now and then, by some resultless encounter or desultory attack, every one of which looks exactly like all its predecessors and successors. Always excepting the superiority evinced by the defense in the engineering department, it is certain that very few campaigns have been carried on for an equal length of time with such a degree of mediocrity in the commanding officers as has now been developed. The whole affair is becoming a public nuisance to the world in general, and to those, in particular, who have to expose, in the Press, the different phases assumed by this eminently stationary operation.[a]

The French and English reports of the affair of March 23 we published some days ago; a Russian detailed report we have not yet received. As usual, the dispatches of the Allied Generals are conceived in so obscure a style that we cannot learn anything distinct from them. With the help of private letters published in Europe and the reports of newspaper-correspondents, of which we now have several at hand, we are enabled to make out the following summary view of the facts.

The "right attack" of the Allies, directed against the south-eastern fronts of Sevastopol, from the head of the inner harbor to that of the Careening Bay, has been carried forward to the distance of some 600 yards from the first Russian line, by three lines of approaches or zig-zags, connected with each other at their

[a] This sentence does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

ends by what is called the second parallel. Beyond this, the three zig-zags are still being pushed forward, though irregularly and slowly, and it is intended to unite them by a third parallel, and to form, on the central approach, a *place d'armes*, or covered rallying-ground, spacious enough to hold a reserve force. Of these three approaches, the middle one is in the hands of the English, and the right and left are occupied by the French. These two flank approaches have been pushed on rather quicker than the central one, so that the French trenches here are, perhaps, fifty yards nearer to the place than the position occupied by the English.

Before daybreak of the 23d of March, a considerable Russian force, amounting to about twelve battalions, advanced from the town upon the siege-works. Well aware that the trenches had been constructed with an utter neglect of the habitual and prescribed precautions, that their flanks were neither thrown back sufficiently nor defended by redoubts, that consequently a bold dash upon the extreme flanks of the parallel must lead the assailants into the trenches, the Russians began their attack by a sudden and rapid movement, by which the eastern and western extremities of the parallel were turned. A front attack occupied the trench-guard and their reserves, while the outflanking columns, gallantly but vainly resisted by the French, descended into the works and swept the trench until they came upon the central position defended by the British. The British lines being secure from serious annoyance in front, were not molested until the fusillade going on to the right and left had brought up part of their reserves; and even then, the front attack was of no great vehemence, as the strength of the sortie was concentrated in the turning columns. But these too, from the great extent of trench they had overrun, had already spent their first ardor, and when they came upon the British, their officers had to bear constantly in mind the chance of ultimate retreat. Accordingly, the struggle very soon came to a point where each party held its ground, and that is the moment when a sallying detachment should look out for a safe retreat. This the Russians did. Without attempting seriously to dislodge the British, they maintained the fight until most of their troops had got a fair start homeward, and then the rearguard, heavily pressed, by this time, by the French and British reserves, made the best of its way toward Sevastopol.

The Russians must have expected to find many guns and a deal of ammunition and other material in the second parallel, for to destroy such could have been the only purpose of this sortie. But

there was very little of the sort, and thus the only advantage they gained by the attack was the certainty that at this distance from their own lines they might still, in the first hour or two of a sortie, and before the enemies' reserves could come up, show the strongest front. This is worth something, but hardly worth the losses of such an attempt. The material damage done to the siege-works was repaired in a day or two, and the moral effect gained by this sortie was null. For, as every sortie must necessarily end in a retreat, the besiegers will always believe that they have been the victors; and unless the losses of the besieged are disproportionately small compared with those of the besiegers, the moral effect is generally more encouraging to the latter than otherwise. In this instance, when Raglan and Canrobert were more than ever in want of an apparent success, this sally, with its comparatively worthless fruits, and its final precipitate retreat, was a real godsend for them. The French troops give themselves enormous credit for having followed up the enemy to the very lines of Sevastopol—which in such a case is not so difficult, as the guns of the place cannot play for fear of hitting their own troops; while the British, passing over in silence their exceptional retired position, which gave them the character of a reserve more than that of a body of troops in the front line of battle, are again, with less cause than ever, blustering about their own invincibility and that unflinching courage which forbids the British soldier ever to give way a single inch. The few British officers in the hands of the Russians, taken in the midst of these unflinching soldiers and carried off safely into Sevastopol,[a] must know what all these big words mean.

In the meantime, the great strategists of the British press have gone on declaring, with considerable emphasis, that before the storming of Sevastopol could be thought of, the new outworks erected by the Russians must needs be taken; and that they hoped they would be taken shortly. This assertion is certainly as true as it is common-place; but the question is, How are they to be taken, if the Allies could not prevent their being completed under their very batteries? The attack upon the Selenghinsk redoubt[b] showed clearly enough that, with great sacrifice of life, such a work can be taken for a moment; but of what use that is to be, when it cannot even be held for the time necessary to destroy it, it is not easy to

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[a] The words "Colonel Kelley and others" are added in commas in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

[b] The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* further has: "(on Mount Sapun)".—*Ed.*

see. The fact is, that these new Russian works,[a] being flanked and commanded in the rear by their main line, cannot be taken unless the same means are put into operation against them as against the main line. Approaches will have to be made up to a convenient distance, covered parallels with *places d'armes* will have to be completed, and batteries to engage the Russian main line will have to be erected and armed, before an assault of, and lodgment in, these outworks can be seriously thought of. The London *Times,* which was foremost in its outcry for the capture of these works, has not attempted to specify the new method by which this very desirable but very difficult object was to be accomplished "within the very few hours" within which it expected, the other day, to hear of the feat having been performed. But unfortunately, hardly had that journal uttered this fond hope,[b] when a letter arrived from its Crimean correspondent stating that the new Russian outworks not only appeared quite untakable, but that they were evidently the first landmarks only of an intended further advance of Russian counter-approaches.[c] The rifle-pits in front of the Mamelon redoubt[d] have been connected with each other by a regular trench, thus forming a new line of defense. Between the Mamelon redoubt and Mount Sapun, or the Selenghinsk redoubt, a rather curiously-shaped trench has been dug out, forming three sides of a square and enfilading part of the French approaches, by which, in part, it is said again to be enfiladed. The situation and line of this new work are, however, so incompletely described that neither its exact position nor its intended use can be as yet clearly made out.[e] Thus much is certain, that a complete system of advanced works is contemplated by the Russians, covering Malakoff on both sides and in front, and aiming, perhaps, even at an ultimate attempt at a lodgment in the allied trenches, which, if obtained, would of course be tantamount to a breaking through of the siege lines on that side. If during six months the Allies have barely held their ground, and rather strengthened than advanced their batteries, the Russians have in one single month advanced

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[a] The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* further has: "which form an integral part of the Russian defences".—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times,* No. 22028, April 14, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] This refers to a report by W. H. Russell published anonymously in *The Times,* No. 22028 (second edition), April 14, 1855.—*Ed.*

[d] The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* further has: "(called Kamchatka by the Russians)".—*Ed.*

[e] This sentence and the end of the preceding one beginning with the words "by which, in part" do not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.*—*Ed.*

considerably upon them and are still advancing. Surely, if many a defense has been quite as glorious as that of Sevastopol, not a single siege can be shown in the annals of war, since that of Troy, carried on with such a degree of incoherence and stupidity.

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Frederick Engels

## GERMANY AND PAN-SLAVISM [131]

### I

[*Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 185, April 21, 1855]

We are assured by the best of sources that the *present* Tsar of Russia has sent certain courts a dispatch saying, among other things:

"The moment Austria irrevocably allies itself with the West, or commits any openly hostile act against Russia, *Alexander II will place himself at the head of the Pan-Slav movement* and transform his present title, *Tsar of all the Russians*, into that of *Tsar of all the Slavs*." (?)

This declaration by Alexander, if authentic, is the first straight word since the outbreak of war. It is the first step towards giving the war the European character which until now has been lurking behind all manner of pretexts and allegations, protocols and treaties, sections from Vattel and citations from Pufendorf.[a] The independence, even the existence of Turkey has thereby been pushed into the background. The question is no longer who is to govern in Constantinople, but who is to rule the whole of Europe. The Slav race, long divided by internal disputes, pushed back towards the East by the Germans, subjugated, partly, by Germans, Turks and Hungarians, quietly reuniting its branches after 1815, by the gradual growth of Pan-Slavism, now for the first time asserts its unity and thus declares war to the death on the Roman-Celtic and German races, which have hitherto dominated Europe. Pan-Slavism is not merely a movement for national independence, it is a movement that strives to undo what the history of a thousand years has created, which cannot attain its ends without sweeping Turkey, Hungary and half Germany off

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[a] E. Vattel, *Le Droit des gens...* and S. Pufendorf, *De jure naturae et gentium.—Ed.*

the map of Europe, a movement which—should it achieve this result—cannot ensure its future existence except by subjugating Europe. Pan-Slavism has now developed from a creed into a political programme, with 800,000 bayonets at its service. It leaves Europe with only one alternative: subjugation by the Slavs, or the permanent destruction of the centre of their offensive force—Russia.

The next question we have to answer is: how is Austria affected by Pan-Slavism which has been uniformed by Russia? Of the 70 million Slavs who live east of the Bohemian forest and the Carinthian Alps, approximately 15 million are subject to the Austrian sceptre, including representatives of almost every variety of the Slavonic language. The Bohemian or Czech branch (6 million) falls entirely under Austrian sovereignty, the Polish is represented by about 3 million Galicians; the Russian by 3 million Malorussians (Red Russians, Ruthenians)[132] in Galicia and North-East Hungary—the only Russian branch outside the borders of the Russian Empire; the South Slav branch by approximately 3 million Slovenians (Carinthians and Croats)[133] and Serbs, including scattered Bulgars. The Austrian Slavs thus fall into two categories: one part consists of the remnants of nationalities whose own history belongs to the past and whose present historical development is bound up with that of nations of different race and language. To crown their sorry national plight these sad remains of former grandeur do not even possess a national organisation within Austria, but rather they are divided between different provinces. The Slovenians, although scarcely 1,500,000 in number, are scattered through the various provinces of Carniola, Carinthia, Styria, Croatia and Southwest Hungary. The Bohemians, although the most numerous branch of the Austrian Slavs, are partly settled in Bohemia, partly in Moravia and partly (the Slovak line) in Northwest Hungary. Therefore these nationalities, though living exclusively on Austrian territory, are in no way recognised as constituting distinct nations. They are regarded as appendages of either the German or the Hungarian nation, and in fact they are no more than that. The second group of the Austrian Slavs consists of fragments of different tribes which in the course of history have been separated from the main body of their nation, with their focal points therefore lying outside Austria. Thus the Austrian Poles have their natural centre of gravity in Russian Poland, the Ruthenians in the other Malorussian provinces united with Russia, and the Serbs in Turkish Serbia. It goes without saying that these fragments detached from their respective

nationalities gravitate towards their natural centres, and this tendency becomes more conspicuous as civilisation and hence the need for national-historical activity becomes increasingly widespread amongst them. In both cases the Austrian Slavs are merely *disjecta membra*,[a] striving for re-unification, either amongst themselves or with the main body of their particular nationalities. This is the reason why *Pan-Slavism is not a Russian invention but an Austrian one.* In order to achieve the restoration of each particular Slav nationality the various Slavonic tribes in Austria are beginning to work for a link-up of all the Slavonic tribes in Europe. Russia, strong in itself, Poland, conscious of the indomitable tenacity of its national life and furthermore openly hostile to Slavonic Russia—clearly neither of these two nations were apt to invent Pan-Slavism. The Serbs and Bulgars of Turkey, on the other hand, were too barbaric to grasp such an idea; the Bulgars quietly submitted to the Turks, while the Serbs had enough on their hands with the struggle for their own independence.

## II

[*Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 189, April 24, 1855]

The first form of Pan-Slavism was purely literary. *Dobrovský*, a Bohemian, the founder of the scientific philology of the Slavonic dialects, and *Kollár*, a Slovak poet from the Hungarian Carpathians, were its inventors. Dobrovský was motivated by the enthusiasm of the scientific discoverer, in Kollár political ideas soon predominated. But Pan-Slavism was still finding its satisfaction in elegies; the splendour of the past, the ignominy, the misfortune and the foreign oppression of the present were the main themes of its poetry. "Is there then, O God, no man on earth who will give the Slavs justice?" The dreams of a Pan-Slav empire, dictating laws to Europe, were as yet hardly even alluded to. But the period of lamenting soon passed, and with it the call for mere "justice for the Slavs". Historical research, embracing the political, literary and linguistic development of the Slav race, made huge progress in Austria. *Šafařík, Kopitar* and *Miklosich* as linguists, *Palacký* as an historian placed themselves at the head, followed by a swarm of others with less scientific talent, or none whatsoever, such as *Hanka, Gaj,* etc. The glorious epochs of Bohemian and Serbian history were depicted in glowing colours,

[a] Separated members. Paraphrase of Horace's expression, *disjecti membra poetae*—"the limbs of the dismembered poet" (*Satirae*, liber I, IV, 62).—*Ed.*

in contrast to the downtrodden and broken-spirited present of these nationalities; and just as politics and theology were subjected to criticism under the cloak of "philosophy" in the rest of Germany, so in Austria, before the very eyes of Metternich, philology was employed by the Pan-Slavists to preach the doctrine of Slav unity and to create a political party whose unmistakable goal was to transform the conditions of all the nationalities in Austria and to turn it into a great Slavonic empire.

The linguistic confusion prevailing east of Bohemia and Carinthia to the Black Sea is truly astonishing. The process of de-nationalisation among the Slavs bordering on Germany, the slow but continuous advance of the Germans, the invasion of the Hungarians, which separated the North and South Slavs with a compact mass of 7 million people of Finnish race, the interposition of Turks, Tartars and Wallachians in the midst of the Slavonic tribes, have produced a linguistic Babel. The language varies from village to village, almost from farm to farm. Bohemia itself counts among its 5 million inhabitants 2 million Germans alongside 3 million Slavs, and is furthermore surrounded on three sides by Germans. This is also the case with the Austrian Slavonic tribes. The restitution of all originally Slavonic territory to the Slavs, the transformation of Austria except for the Tyrol and Lombardy into a Slavonic empire, which was the goal of the Pan-Slavists, amounted to declaring the historical development of the last thousand years null and void, cutting off a third of Germany and all Hungary and turning Vienna and Budapest into Slav cities—a procedure with which the Germans and Hungarians in possession of these districts could hardly be expected to sympathise. In addition, the differences between the Slavonic dialects are so great that with few exceptions they are mutually incomprehensible. This was amusingly demonstrated at the Slav Congress at Prague in 1848,[134] where after various fruitless attempts to find a language intelligible to all the delegates, they finally had to speak the tongue most hated by them all—*German.*

So we see that Austrian Pan-Slavism lacked the most vital elements of success: mass and unity. *Mass,* because the Pan-Slavist party, limited to a section of the educated classes, exerted no influence on the people and therefore did not have the power to offer resistance simultaneously to the Austrian government and to the German and Hungarian nationalities which it was challenging. *Unity,* because its principle of unity was purely an ideal which collapsed on its first attempt at realisation on account of the fact of linguistic diversity. As long as Pan-Slavism remained a purely

Austrian movement it constituted no great danger, but the centre of mass and unity which it needed was very soon found for it.

The national movement of the Turkish Serbs at the beginning of the century[135] soon drew the attention of the *Russian government* to the fact that in Turkey some 7 million Slavs were living whose language resembled Russian more than any other Slavonic dialect, whose religion and *holy* language—Old or Church Slavonic—was completely identical to that of the Russians. It was among these Serbs and Bulgars that Russia first began a Pan-Slavist agitation, helped by its position as head and protector of the Greek Church. When the Pan-Slavist movement had gained some ground in Austria, Russia soon extended the ramifications of its agencies into the area of its ally. Where it encountered Roman Catholic Slavs, the religious aspect of the issue was dropped and Russia simply depicted as the centre of gravity of the Slav race, as the kernel around which the regenerated Slavonic tribes were to crystallise, as the strong and united people, destined to make a reality of the great Slavonic empire from the Elbe to China, from the Adriatic Sea to the Arctic Ocean. Here, then, they had found the unity and mass that had been lacking! Pan-Slavism immediately fell into the trap. It thus pronounced its own sentence. In order to re-assert imaginary nationalities the Pan-Slavists declared their readiness to sacrifice 800 years of actual participation in civilisation to Russian-Mongolian barbarism. Was not this the natural result of a movement that began with a determined reaction against the course of European civilisation and sought to turn back world history?

Metternich, in the best years of his power, recognised the danger and saw through the Russian intrigues. He suppressed the movement with all the means at his disposal. All his means, however, could be summarised in *one* word: *repression.* The only appropriate means, free development of the German and Hungarian spirit, more than sufficient to scare off the Slavonic spectre, had no place in the system of his petty politics. Consequently, after Metternich's fall in 1848, the Slav movement broke out stronger than ever and embracing wider strata of the population than ever before. But at this point its thoroughly reactionary character straightway emerged into the open. While the German and Hungarian movements in Austria were decidedly progressive, it was the Slavs who saved the old system from destruction, and enabled Radetzky to march on the Mincio and Windischgrätz to conquer Vienna. In order to complete the dependence of Aus-

tria on the Slav race, the great *Slav reserve,* the Russian Army, had to descend on Hungary in 1849 and there dictate peace to her.

But if the adhesion of the Pan-Slav movement to Russia was its self-condemnation, Austria likewise acknowledged its lack of viability by accepting, indeed by asking for this Slav aid against the only three nations among its possessions which have and demonstrate historical vitality: Germans, Italians and Hungarians. After 1848 this debt to Pan-Slavism constantly weighed on Austria, and her awareness of it was the mainspring of Austrian policies.

The first thing Austria did was to act against the Slavs on its own ground, and that was only possible with a policy that was at least partly progressive. The privileges of all the provinces were abolished, a centralised administration supplanted a federal one; and instead of the different nationalities an *artificial* one, the *Austrian,* was to be the only one recognised. Although these innovations were partly aimed at the German, Italian and Hungarian elements too, their greatest weight fell on the less compact Slavonic tribes, giving the German element a position of considerable ascendancy. If the dependence on the Slavs inside Austria had thus been eliminated, there remained the dependence on Russia, and the necessity of breaking this direct and humiliating dependence, at least temporarily and to some extent. This was the real reason for Austria's anti-Russian policy in the Eastern question, a policy which although vacillating was at least publicly proclaimed. On the other hand Pan-Slavism has not disappeared; it is deeply offended, resentful, silent and, since the Hungarian intervention, regards the Tsar of Russia as its predestined Messiah. It is not our purpose here to inquire whether Austria—should Russia emerge openly as the head of Pan-Slavism—can reply with concessions to Hungary and Poland, without jeopardising its existence. This much is certain: it is no longer Russia alone, it is the Pan-Slavist conspiracy that threatens to found its empire on the ruins of Europe. The union of all Slavs, because of the undeniable strength which it possesses and may yet acquire, will soon force the side confronting it to appear in an entirely new form. In this context we have not spoken of the Poles—most of whom are to their credit definitely hostile to Pan-Slavism—nor of the allegedly democratic and socialist form of Pan-Slavism, which ultimately differs from the common, honest Russian Pan-Slavism solely in its phraseology and its hypocrisy. Neither have we discussed the German speculation, which from

lofty ignorance has sunk to being an organ of Russian conspiracy.[a] We shall deal in detail with these and other questions relating to Pan-Slavism later.

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[a] An allusion to Bruno Bauer, who propounded Pan-Slavist ideas in his pamphlets *Russland und das Germanenthum* (1853), *Deutschland und das Russenthum* (1854), *Die jetzige Stellung Russlands* (1854), *Russland und England* (1854) and others.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE EUROPEAN STRUGGLE[136]

The all-absorbing facts in the news brought by the *Atlantic,* are the breaking off of the Vienna Conferences,[137] and the partial if not total separation of Austria from the Allies. For both of these events we were not unprepared. The rejection by Russia of any plan of settlement which should not substantially admit all she claimed before the war, was, in the present state of that war, a matter of course. The return of Austria to her old expectant, wavery policy was also the result of certain circumstances of great importance, which we proceed to explain.

The French Government discovered some time since, and the fact could not be denied by the British Cabinet, that Lord John Russell had committed a great blunder at Vienna[a] in allowing those of the points before the Conference in which Austria was directly interested to be first disposed of. These points were the freedom of the Danube and the question of the Principalities. From this moment Austria appeared satisfied. Expecting, as she does, to share sooner or later in the partition of Turkey—Servia, Bosnia, and Albania are provinces which she cannot allow to fall into any other hands than her own. It is her interest to keep the question respecting the Christians in Turkey an open one. And as she can never expect to cope with Russia's naval power in the Black Sea, she has but little interest in humiliating her in that quarter. From this point of view, then, Austria has every reason to be satisfied with what she has obtained, and to turn the weight of her seemingly impartial arbitration against England and France. But this diplomatic success has very little to do with her present

[a] On Russell's role at the Conference of Vienna see this volume, pp. 141-45.— *Ed.*

wavering. The cause of this is of a far more overpowering nature.

Some six months ago we alluded to the private and confidential dispatch by which Nicholas informed both Austria and Prussia, that in case they allied themselves with the West against him he would reply to such a treaty of alliance by a proclamation of Hungarian independence and Polish restoration.[a] At that time, and whenever we have considered the chances of a war in Poland and Volhynia, we have always taken into consideration the great military advantage which such a proclamation might give to Russia, if put forth after the conquest of Galicia and from the hights of the Carpathians, with Hungary open to her victorious armies. On that account, especially, we have always pointed out the fact that Austria could not undertake a war against Russia unless she was in a state at once to take the offensive and to parry, by successful battles and an advance upon Russia, the effects of such a proclamation.[b] So long, therefore, as the Austrian army in Galicia and the Principalities was strong enough to march upon Warsaw or Kiev there was little immediate danger from such a step.

This dispatch of Nicholas has, however, as we now learn, lately been followed up by another from his successor, which contains quite different and far more serious menaces. The moment Austria shall irrevocably ally herself to the West, it says, or commit any overt act of hostility against Russia, Alexander II *will place himself at the head of the Panslavist movement*, and change his title of Emperor of all the Russians into that of *Emperor of all the Slavonians.*

At last! Let Alexander take such a step, and the struggle concerning the Christians in Turkey, the independence of the Porte, Sevastopol, the Principalities, and other such local trifles, may now be considered at an end. This declaration of Alexander's is the first plain-spoken word since the war began; it is the first step toward placing the war upon the continental theater, and giving it, frankly and openly, that European character which has hitherto been lurking behind all sorts of pretexts and pretenses, protocols and treaties, Vattel phrases and Pufendorf quotations.[c] Turkey—her independence and existence—is thrown into the back-ground. Who is to rule in Constantinople? would then no

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[a] The reference is presumably to the article "Progress of the War" by Marx and Engels (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 546-52).—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 37-39.—*Ed.*

[c] E. Vattel, *Le Droit des gens...* and S. Pufendorf, *De jure naturae et gentium.*—*Ed.*

longer be the question—but who is to command all Europe? The Slavonic race, long divided by internal contests; repelled toward the East by Germans; subjugated, in part, by Turks, Germans, Hungarians; quickly reuniting its branches, after 1815, by the gradual rise of Panslavism, would then for the first time assert its unity, and, in doing so, declare war to the knife against the Romano-Celtic and Germanic races which have hitherto ruled the Continent. Panslavism is not a movement which merely strives after national independence; it is a movement which, thus acting upon Europe, would tend to undo what a thousand years of history have created; which could not realize itself without sweeping from the map Hungary, Turkey and a large part of Germany. Moreover, it must subjugate Europe in order to secure the stability of these results, if they are ever obtained. Panslavism is now, from a creed, turned into a political programme, or rather a vast political menace, with 800,000 bayonets to support it.

Nor are these 800,000 soldiers all the forces it could command. A word from the Russian Emperor at the head of an army, marching upon the Carpathians, and nine or ten millions of Slavonians in Austria would be agitated as in 1848; a victory over the Austrians, and they would be in full insurrection; while Hungary and Italy would be hardly less plowed by revolutionary agitation. Here is a danger which might well make Francis Joseph pause; for unless he could at once defeat the great Slavonian army on his frontiers and carry the war into the enemy's country, he might as well give up the contest before entering the lists.

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# Karl Marx

## ON THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL AGITATION

*London,* May 7. In times of major political agitation in England the City of London has never been able to put itself in the vanguard. Up to now the fact that it joined a campaign merely indicated that the purpose of the agitation had been achieved and become a *fait accompli.* So it was with the *Reform Movement,* in which Birmingham took the initiative. So it was with the *Anti-Corn Law Movement,* which was led from Manchester. The Bank Restriction Act of 1797 [138] was an exception. The meetings of the bankers and merchants of the City of London made it easier for Pitt at that time to *prohibit* the Bank of England from continuing cash-payments—*after* the directors of the Bank had informed him a few weeks earlier that the Bank was tottering on the brink of bankruptcy and could only be saved by a *coup d'état,* by a fixed rate of exchange for bank-notes. Circumstances at the time required just as much resignation on the part of the Bank of England to letting itself be *prohibited* from making cash-payments, as on the part of the city merchants, whose credit stood or fell with the Bank, to supporting Pitt's prohibition and recommending it to the country man.* The salvation of the Bank of England was the

* It is incredible that even in the most recent histories of political economy the conduct of the City at that time is cited as evidence of English patriotism. It is even more incredible that in his work on Russia (3rd vol., 1852) Herr von Haxthausen is gullible enough to maintain that by suspending the cash-payments of the Bank, Pitt was preventing the money from going abroad.[a] What may a man who is so credulous have swallowed in Russia? And what indeed are we to think of the Berlin criticism who believe implicitly in Herr von Haxthausen, and by way of proof *plagiarize* him?

[a] A. Haxthausen, *Studien über die innern Zustände, das Volksleben und insbesondere die ländlichen Einrichtungen Russlands,* Dritter Theil.—*Ed.*

salvation of the City. Hence their "patriotic" meetings and their "agitational" initiative. The initiative taken by the City at present with the meetings held last Saturday[a] in the London Tavern and the Guildhall, and the founding of an *"Association for Administrative Reform"*,[139] has the merit of novelty, the merit, rare in England, of having no precedent. Moreover, there was no eating or drinking at these meetings, which is also a new feature in the annals of the City, whose "turtle-soup patriotism" has been immortalised by Cobbett. Finally another novelty was the fact that the meetings of the City merchants in the London Tavern and the Guildhall were held in business hours, in broad daylight. The current stagnation in business may have something to do with this phenomenon, as indeed it may altogether form a leaven in the fermentation of the City mind, and a considerable leaven too. For all that, the importance of this City movement cannot be denied, however hard the West End may try to laugh it off. The bourgeois reform papers—*The Daily News, The Morning Advertiser,* and *The Morning Chronicle* (the last having belonged to this category for some time now)—seek to demonstrate to their adversaries the "great future" of the City Association. They overlook the more obvious aspects. They have failed to realise that very vital, very decisive points have already been decided by the mere fact of these meetings: 1. The breach between the ruling class *outside* Parliament and the governing class *within* it; 2. a dislocation of those elements of the bourgeoisie that have hitherto set the tone in politics; 3. the disenchantment with Palmerston.

As we know, *Layard* has announced that he intends to table his reform proposals in the House of Commons tonight. As we know, about a week ago he was shouted down, hissed and booed in the House of Commons. The princes of the English merchant world in the City replied at their meetings with frantic cheers for Layard. He was the hero of the day at the London Tavern and the Guildhall. The *cheers* of the City are a provocative retort to the *groans*[b] of the Commons. If the House of Commons proves tonight to have been intimidated, its authority is lost, it abdicates. If it repeats its groans, the cheers of its opponents will resound all the more loudly. And from the tale of the *Abderiten*[c] we know to what happenings the rivalry between cheers and groans may lead.[140] The City meetings were a blatant challenge to the House of Commons,

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[a] May 5, 1855.—*Ed.*
[b] Here and below Marx uses the English words "cheers" and "groans".—*Ed.*
[c] Ch. M. Wieland, *Die Abderiten, eine sehr wahrscheinliche Geschichte.*—*Ed.*

similar to Westminster's election of Sir Francis Burdett in the first decade of this century.[141]

Until now, of course, the *Manchester School* with its Brights and Cobdens has stood at the head of the movement of the English bourgeoisie. The manufacturers of Manchester have now been ousted by the merchants of the City. Their orthodox opposition to the war convinced the bourgeoisie, which in England can never remain static for a moment, that they have at least temporarily lost their vocation to lead it. At present the Manchester gentry can only maintain their "hegemony" by outbidding the City gentlemen. This rivalry between the two most important factions of the bourgeoisie actually demonstrated by the City meetings, from which the Brights and Cobdens were excluded and from which they excluded themselves, augurs well for the popular movement. In evidence of this we can already cite the fact that the secretary of the City committee[a] has addressed a letter to the Chartists in London requesting them to appoint a member to its standing committee. Ernest Jones has been delegated by the Chartists to this committee. The merchants do not, of course, stand in such *direct* opposition to the workers as do the manufacturers, the millocracy,[b] and thus they are able, at least initially, to take *joint* action, which the Chartists and the Manchester men could not do.

*Palmerston*—this is the last major fact emerging from the City meetings—has, for the first time, been booed and hissed by the most important constituency in the country. The magic of his name has been dispelled forever. What brought him into discredit in the City was not his Russian policy, which is older than the Thirty Years' War.[142] It was the careless disdain, the pretentious cynicism, and above all the "bad jokes" with which he affected to cure the most terrible crisis England has ever known. This outraged the bourgeois conscience, however well it may go down in the corrupt House of "Commons".[c]

Administrative reform *with* a Parliament such as now constituted: everyone recognises the illogical nature of these pious wishes at first glance. But our century has seen reforming popes.[143] We have seen reform banquets headed by Odilon Barrot.[144] No wonder,

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[a] J. Acland. His letter to the Chartists mentioned below and their reply to it are quoted in the article "London Organisation Committee" published in *The People's Paper*, No. 157, May 5, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English term. For its meaning see Note 55.—*Ed.*

[c] A pun in the original: *Haus der Gemeinen* can mean both "House of Commons" and "House of base, or vulgar fellows".—*Ed.*

then, that the avalanche that will sweep away Olde England appears at the outset as a snowball in the hand of the reforming City merchants.

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# Frederick Engels

## FROM SEVASTOPOL[145]

The mails of the *America*, received here on Saturday evening, once more enable us to lay before our readers some clear account of the state of the war in the Crimea, though still the contradictory and indefinite nature of the official reports as well as of the newspaper letters renders our task no easy one. It is manifest that the failure of Vienna was attended by greater alertness and activity in the allied camp at Sevastopol, and that though the bombardment may be said to have been given up on April 24, yet the fortnight succeeding was not wholly unimproved. Still it is very difficult to say what advantages have been gained; indeed one writer pretends that the Russian advanced works, Selenghinsk, Volhynsk and Kamtchatka, as well as the rifle trenches in front of the whole line, have been abandoned by the defense.[146] As this is certainly the very utmost advantage obtained by the Allies we will for the present assume it to be true. Some correspondents report that the Flagstaff bastion itself had been stormed by the French and a lodgment effected therein,[a] but this deserves no credit. It is a mere ignorant exaggeration of the affair of April 21, when the French, by blowing up mines, formed an advanced trench in front of that bastion.[b]

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[a] Reports on the bombardment of the Flagstaff bastion by the Allies appeared in *The Times*, Nos. 22043-22045, May 2-4, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Instead of this opening paragraph the version published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "As far as the public is concerned, the opening of telegraphic communication from Balaklava to London and Paris has so far only served to make the information offered to it more confused.

"The British Government publishes nothing at all or at most vague assurances about successes achieved; the French Government publishes dispatches under the

We will then assume it to be correct that the Russians are thrown back upon their original line of defense, although it is very remarkable that no reports of the occupation of Mount Sapun and the Mamelon by the Allies have yet been received. But even if the redoubts on these hills are no longer in the hands of the Russians, nobody can dispute the great advantages they have drawn from them. They have held Sapun from Feb. 23, and the Mamelon Kamtschatka redoubt from March 12 to the end of April, during which time the allied trenches were either enfiladed or taken under close front fire by them, while the key of the whole position—Malakoff—was completely sheltered by them during the fifteen days' cannonade. After having turned them to such good use, the Russians could afford to lose them.

The various night attacks by which the Allies made themselves masters of the Russian rifle-trenches and counter-approaches, need not be described here, no more than the sally undertaken by the Russians to recover them. Such operations possess no tactical interest except for such as know the ground from personal inspection, being mainly decided by the intelligence, the dash and tenacity of the subaltern officers and soldiers. In these qualities the Anglo-French are superior to the Russians, and consequently they have made good their footing in some places close to the Russian works.[a] The distance between the combatants has been reduced, here and there, to the range of hand-grenades, that is to some twenty or thirty yards from the Russian covered way, or from forty to sixty yards from the main rampart. The Russians say

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name of Canrobert, but cut and distorted to such an extent that it is almost impossible to glean anything from them. For example, the bastion against which the main French attack is directed was hitherto invariably called the *Flagstaff Bastion* or *Bastion du Mât*. Now we learn that great advantages have been gained in action against the Central Bastion, and then against Bastion No. 4. A careful collation of these dispatches with earlier reports, particularly Russian ones, has shown that what is meant is still our old acquaintance, the Bastion du Mât, but it is given different names and appellations. This kind of mystification is thoroughly tendentious and therefore, to a certain extent, also 'providential'.

"But if the telegraph holds no benefits for the public, it has indisputably brought some life to the allied camp. Beyond doubt the first dispatches received by Canrobert contained strict orders to act more resolutely and achieve some sort of success at any cost. An unofficial report asserts that the Russians have evacuated *all* advanced works, Selenghinsk, Volhynsk and Kamchatka, as well as the rifle trenches in front of their whole line."—*Ed.*

[a] In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* the passage beginning with the words "After having turned them to such good use" and ending with the words "close to the Russian works" does not occur. The next sentence begins: "Through the Allies' latest successes the distance between the combatants...:"—*Ed.*

the besiegers are at thirty sagenes[a] or sixty yards from it.[b] This is the case especially in front of the Flagstaff bastion, the Middle bastion and the Redan, where the ground forms dead angles, with hollows so situated that the Russian guns cannot be sufficiently depressed to plunge their shot into them. As the Russian artillery is anything but silenced, the communications with these hollows and the turning them into a complete system of trenches is a matter of great difficulty, and the flanking fire of the Russians will be very sorely felt by the Allies.[c] Indeed, so long as the allied batteries are about four or five hundred yards to the rear of the advanced trenches, it is not to be explained how they expect to hold such exposed positions against sallies undertaken on a sudden and with a sufficient force; and after the acknowledged failure of the bombardment it will be some time before new and more advanced batteries can be brought into play.

This sudden advance of the Allies to the very foot of the Russian ramparts, different as it looks from their previous sloth and indecision, is yet quite of a piece with it. There never was either system or steady consistency in the conduct of this siege; and as a siege is essentially a systematic operation in which every step gained must be at once turned to some fresh advantage, under penalty of proving fruitless, it is plain that the Allies have conducted this upon the worst possible plan. Notwithstanding the disappointment in the minds of the allied generals when they first beheld the place, notwithstanding the errors committed last Autumn, during what we may call the first siege, they might yet have made greater progress. We leave the north side of the town entirely out of the question, as the allied generals did so themselves. They had once for all made up their minds to attack the south side separately and to run the risk of getting into a place commanded by a fortress to them inaccessible. But here an alternative arises: either the allied generals felt themselves strong enough to take the south side, and then they must now admit that they were unpardonably mistaken; or they felt themselves too weak, and then why did they not procure reenforcements? The fact is now beyond denial that blunder has succeeded blunder in this "memorable and unparalleled" siege. The hardships of the Winter-quarters appear to have imparted a spirit of unconquera-

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[a] An old Russian unit of length equal to 2.1336 metres.—*Ed.*

[b] This sentence does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.—Ed.*

[c] This sentence and the end of the preceding one beginning with the words "where the ground forms dead angles" do not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.—Ed.*

ble drowsiness, apathy and languor to both army and generals. When the Russians, in February, boldly came out of their lines and formed fresh ones in advance, it should have been a sufficient incentive to them to muster up their energies; yet Canrobert could use this very serious admonition to no other purpose than to cool the zeal of the Zouaves by an attack which he knew beforehand could lead to no good. The work in the trenches was resumed, but more in order to form covered roads for storming columns than to push the batteries nearer to the enemy. Even after six months spent before the place, every act shows that no definite plan had been settled, no point of chief attack singled out, nay, that the old fixed idea of taking Sevastopol by a *coup de main*[a] still reigned supreme in the heads of the Allies, crossing every sensible proposal, frustrating every attempt at systematic progress. And what little was done was executed with three times the slowness of regular siege operations, while the inconsistency and want of plan characterizing the whole, did not even impart to it the certainty of success inherent in such regular operations.[b]

But everything was expected from the late opening of the fire. That was the great excuse for all delays and do-nothingisms. Though it is difficult to say what was expected from this grand event—from batteries at from 600 to 1,000 yards from their object, at last the fire did open. About 150 rounds per gun the first two or three days, then 120 rounds, then 80, then 50, finally 30 were fired; after which the cannonade was suspended. The effect was hardly visible, except in the used-up guns and emptied magazines of the Allies. Five days cannonading with full force would have done more harm to the Russians and opened more chances of advantage to the Allies than fifteen days of a fire beginning with great fury and slackening down as fast as it was

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[a] Sudden attack.—*Ed.*

[b] Instead of this paragraph the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "Even this sudden advance of the Allies is only another in the series of desultory moves characteristic of this siege, in which systematic blockade, assault in force and wishful *coups de main* go together in utter confusion. The very first bombardment of October 17 to November 5 was preceded by the Allies' decision to leave the north side of the town entirely out of account and attack the south side separately, thus running the risk of getting into a position commanded by a fortress impregnable to them. Moreover, in that first bombardment the fire, instead of being concentrated upon one or two points, was dispersed over an enormous front. The five months between the first and the second bombardment were not used to single out main points of attack, but merely to work out in detail, and with maximum sluggishness, the plan for a simultaneous attack on all points of a huge semicircle, which meant a repetition of the original error."—*Ed.*

begun. But with their ammunition spent and their guns rendered unserviceable, would the Allies have been in a position to seize these favorable chances? Quite as much as now, while the Russians, from witnessing the slackening of the fire and from being spared the infliction of a hail of 50,000 projectiles per day during five successive days, are in a far better position than they would have been.[a] This prolongation of the cannonade, by reducing its intensity is so great and unaccountable a deviation from all military rules, that political reasons must be at the bottom of it. When the first and second days' fire had disappointed the expectations of the Allies, the necessity of keeping up a semblance of a cannonade during the Vienna Conferences must have led to this useless waste of ammunition.

The cannonade ends, the Vienna Conferences are suspended, the telegraph is completed. At once the scene changes. Orders arrive from Paris to act promptly and decisively. The old system of attack is given up; partial assaults, lodgments by mining explosions, a struggle of rifles and bayonets, succeed the resultless roar of artillery. Advanced points are gained and even maintained against a first sally of the besieged. But unless it is found practicable to construct batteries within short distances from the Russian lines, and to make these lines too hot for the besieged, nothing is gained. The advanced points cannot be held without great and daily repeated losses, and without regularly recurring combats of doubtful and wavering issue. And supposing even that these batteries of the second and third parallel are to be constructed, and that it was necessary for their opening first to dislodge the Russians from their rifle-trenches—how long will it be before these fresh batteries will have guns enough to reply successfully to that Russian fire which in two cannonades has proved equal to that of the Allies? The nearer the batteries are placed to the enemy's works, the more destructive a crossfire can be concentrated upon them, and the more confined becomes the space for placing guns; in other words, the more equal becomes the fire of the attack to that of the defense, unless the latter has been previously subdued by the more distant batteries, which here is not the case.[b]

How, then, has it been possible for the Russians so successfully to withstand the attacks of the Allies? First, by the mistakes and vacillations of the Allies themselves; secondly, by the bravery of

[a] The last two sentences do not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.—Ed.*

[b] The German version of this article, published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, ends here.—*Ed.*

the garrison and the skill of the directing engineer, Col. Todtleben; thirdly, by the natural strength of the position. For it must be admitted that the position is a strong one. The bad maps which up to a very recent period have alone been accessible represented Sevastopol as situated at the lower end of a slope and commanded by the hights in the rear; but the latest and best maps prove that the town stands on several rounded, isolated hills, separated by ravines from the slope of the plateau, and actually commanding quite as much of it as has any command over the town. This disposition of the ground seems fully to justify the hesitation to assault the place in September last; though it has appeared much too imposing to the allied generals, who did not even attempt to make the enemy show what strength he could muster for the defense. The Russian engineer has turned these natural advantages to the greatest possible use. Wherever Sevastopol presents a slope toward the plateau, two and even three rows of batteries have been constructed on its sides, one above the other, doubling and trebling the strength of the defense. Such batteries have been constructed in other fortifications (for instance on the slope of Mont Valérien at Paris), but they are not generally approved of by engineers, who call them shell-traps. It is true that they offer a larger object of aim to the besieger, whose shot may hit the battery above or below, if they miss the one they are fired at, and they will always cause greater losses to the defense on this account; but where a fortress is not even invested, like Sevastopol, such a drawback counts for nothing against the enormous strength they impart to the defending fire. After this siege of Sevastopol, we fancy we shall have very few complaints about these shell-traps. For fortresses of the first order, containing plenty of material and difficult to invest, they can be most advantageously used where the ground favors them. Beside these shell-traps, the Russians have deviated in another point from the usual engineering routine. According to the old-fashioned systems of bastioned fortifications, fifteen or seventeen bastions would have been insufficient to encircle the place and would have defended it very badly. Instead of this, there are only six bastions on projecting hights, while the curtains connecting them are broken in such angular lines as to give a flanking fire independent of that of the bastions, and heavy guns from these salient points sweep the ground in front. These curtains are armed with guns for nearly their whole extent, which again is an innovation, as the curtains in regular bastioned fortresses are generally armed with one or two guns only for special purposes, and the whole of the defense by fire is intrusted

to the bastions and demi-lunes. Without entering into further technical details, it will be seen from the above that the Russians have made the most of their means, and that if ever the Allies should come into possession of the Flagstaff or Malakoff bastions, they may be sure to find a second and a third line of defense before them which they will have to put all their wits together to reduce.

Written about May 8, 1855

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## PIANORI.—DISSATISFACTION WITH AUSTRIA

*London*, May 9. *The Morning Chronicle, Advertiser, The Daily News*, etc., all end their philippics against the assassin Pianori [147] with more or less timid criticisms of the issue of the *Moniteur*,[a] which published the indictment of Pianori at the same time as the decree ordering to pay the Napoleonic legacy of 10,000 francs to the former French N.C.O. Cantillon, now on the shelf in Brussels, as the reward for his attempted assassination of Wellington. Especially amusing are the twists and turns of the *Chronicle*, a paper that is serious by profession. Napoleon III, it says, must be ignorant of this strange, and at the present moment so tactless tribute to Napoleon I. The name "Cantillon" must have strayed into the morally spotless columns of the *Moniteur* by a *lapsus pennae*.[b] Or some officious junior civil servant must have endowed Cantillon with the 10,000 francs off his own bat, etc.[c] The worthy *Chronicle* seems to imagine that the French bureaucracy is formed on the English pattern, where it is indeed possible, as we have seen from the last hearing of the parliamentary Committee of Inquiry, for a junior civil servant of the *Board of Ordnance*[d] to place an order for a certain type of rocket, involving thousands of pounds, of his own accord and without informing his superiors or, as Palmerston has told the House of Commons, for diplomatic documents to be withheld from Parliament for weeks because the "person" in the Foreign Office entrusted with the translation of

[a] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 126, May 6, 1855.—*Ed.*
[b] Slip of the pen.—*Ed.*
[c] "The trial of the assassin...", *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 27571, May 9, 1855.—*Ed.*
[d] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*

the said documents happens to be suffering from a cold or from rheumatism.

For the last few days the London press has been trying to edge away from its admiration for Austria and prepare its readership for an abrupt transition into an opposite key. As usual it is left to "our own correspondents"[a] to break the ice. Thus *The Morning Chronicle* carries the following report from Berlin:

"No positive act of deception or formal breach of promise can be laid to the charge of the Prussian Cabinet [...].

"If Western Cabinets have been deceived, it has been their own fault, or those whose business it is to open their eyes. But can the same be said of Austria? Has her conduct been as undisguised [...] as that of Prussia? The latter has done all the mischief in her power to the West openly and undisguisedly. She defies and laughs at us without mask or restraint. The former has dallied with England and France during twenty months; laughed at us [...] in her sleeve; held out hopes officially as well as privately; lured us on from concession to concession[b]; given assurances of the most formal character; and, as long since predicted by those who were not blinded by overweening confidence, is now on the eve, it appears, of leaving us in the lurch if we do not assent to conditions of peace, [...] upon terms the most advantageous to Russia, and utterly [...] detrimental to France and England [...]. So, in fact, Austria after having served as a shield to Russia on the Pruth, and enabled Gorchakoff to detach nearly the whole of his force from Bessarabia to the Crimea, is to step forward and insist on a peace, which shall 'leave things as they are' [...]. If this be all we have to expect from Austrian friendship, then the sooner the mask is thrown aside the better."[c]

On the other hand, *The Times* carries this report from Vienna[d]:

"...Baron Hess, the Commander-in-Chief of the 3rd and 4th armies, has recently drawn up and presented to his Imperial master[e] a memorial, in which it is demonstrated that it would not, under present circumstances, be advisable for Austria to declare war against Russia. A cry will probably be raised against me for thus publicly touching on such a delicate matter, but in my opinion it is a service rendered to the British and French nations to tell them that they must depend on their own resources, and that Austria is not likely to come to their assistance. If she could have persuaded Prussia and the Bund to cover her left flank with an army of 100,000 men, she would probably, in spite of numerous impediments [...] long since have pledged herself to assume the offensive against Russia. It is not positively known what arguments Baron Hess employed in his memorial, but the Austro-Russians, who [...] are always best informed on such matters, say that it contained matter something like the following: The Western Powers, having proved to demonstration that they require all their own resources and those of Turkey in order to make head against the Russians in

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[a] Marx uses the English words "our own correspondents".—*Ed.*

[b] The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has "from commission to commission". Presumably a misprint.—*Ed.*

[c] "Banks of the Spree, May 6", *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 27571, May 9, 1855.—*Ed.*

[d] From its own correspondent Bird T. O'M. The report was dated May 4 and published in *The Times*, No. 22049, May 9, 1855.—*Ed.*

[e] Francis Joseph I.—*Ed.*

the Crimea, it would be highly imprudent for Austria, unless she can induce her federal allies to support her, to engage in a war with Russia. It is acknowledged [...] that the latter has an army of 250,000 men, including the Guard and Grenadier Corps, in Poland; and, as it is posted within the rayon of seven of the strongest fortresses in the empire, no force that was not at least twice as large could hope to obtain any advantage over it. It is also said that mention is made of the disordered state of the finances, of the inability of France to place a hundred thousand men at Austria's disposal, of the helplessness displayed by the British Government, and of the little reliance that can be placed on Prussia. Since Sunday last another argument has been added to the foregoing, [...] on the mutability of things in general, [...] the uncertainty of the life of man, and [...] the dilemma Austria would be in should anything happen to Louis Napoleon while she was engaged in a war with Russia."

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# Frederick Engels

## THE NEW MOVE IN THE CRIMEA[148]

The letter of our Paris correspondent published yesterday gave the outlines of the plan which, according to the best sources of information at Paris, the Allies propose to follow in the Summer campaign in the Crimea; and a scheme substantially the same having been divulged by Gen. Canrobert in the camp, we may fairly conclude that in this respect at least the truth is now known. It is simply that 25,000 men of the French reserves now distributed at Maslak, Gallipoli and Adrianople, are to be brought to the Crimea, to be followed by from 30,000 to 40,000 additional troops—Piedmontese and French. As soon as the reserves arrive, and without waiting for the additional reenforcements, the French army will proceed to cross the Chernaya, flog the Russians on the field if it can penetrate to Sympheropol and then with the coming reenforcements to help out the operation, go on to clear the peninsula of Russians, and to occupy and fortify Perekop; after which the main army will return and finish the siege of Sevastopol at leisure.[a] In the mean time the steamers of the fleets are to attack Kaffa and Kertch, and if they succeed in reducing those

[a] Instead of the preceding text, the version published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "*London*, May 11. The impatience of the French army has forced Canrobert to divulge the Allies' plan of operations. The 25,000 men of the reserve army are to be brought to the Crimea, to be followed by another 30,000 to 40,000 men—French and Piedmontese. As soon as the reserve army arrives the French

places, to occupy them as possible pivots or points of retreat for the active army in the field.

This is certainly the only thing to be done by the Allies if they expect ever to bring the operations in the Crimea to a satisfactory conclusion. But thus to act in the field requires that the balance of forces should be considerably in their favor; otherwise they cannot expect to obtain any important advantage over the Russian army of observation. How, then, does the balance of strength stand at present?

The French have in the Crimea nine divisions of infantry and one brigade of cavalry (Chasseurs d'Afrique[a]). At 7,000 men to a division, this gives a force of 63,000 infantry and 1,500 cavalry. The English have five divisions of infantry amounting at a very high estimate to 6,000 men each, and a division of say 2,000 horse. Then there are the remains of the Turkish force originally sent to the Crimea, which cannot possibly exceed 6,000 infantry. Add to these the troops which Omer Pasha can withdraw from Eupatoria, where he must leave at least 15,000 men to garrison the extensive works erected there, and we shall increase the number of the allied army by say 20,000 infantry and perhaps 3,000 or 4,000 cavalry. These troops, as we learn from our correspondent at London, have already been transported to the Chersonese and are encamped at Kadikoi, back of Balaklava, ready for the expected field movements. This is a much more judicious disposition than to attempt to effect a junction by a separate inland movement of both the Anglo-French and Turkish armies, exposing them to be separately attacked by a superior Russian force. Our correspondent states the number of men Omer has brought to Kadikoi at a higher figure than we have estimated it, but he allots a corresponding English force to make up the garrison at Eupatoria, so that on the whole his estimates do not vary from ours.[b] With these forces we must take into our account 20,000 men of the French army of reserve who may be expected to arrive by the time Canrobert intends to take the field, and the 4,000 Piedmontese landed on the 9th of May. The allied strength in the Chersonese will then be as follows:

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will take the field, cross the Chernaya, attack the Russians wherever they encounter them, try to link up with Omer Pasha's troops somewhere near the Alma and Kacha and then act according to circumstances."—*Ed.*

[a] African riflemen.—*Ed.*

[b] In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* the text beginning with the words "Add to these the troops" and ending with the words "do not vary from ours" does not occur.—*Ed.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| French Infantry and Artillery | 83,000 | Cavalry | 1,500 |
| English " " | 30,000 | " | 2,000 |
| Turks " " | 26,000 | " | 4,000 |
| Piedmontese " " | 4,000 | | |
| Totals | 143,000 | | 7,500[a] |

Whether the French reserves have any cavalry with them we do not know, or if they have, whether it will arrive in season for the commencement of operations is uncertain; however, to make as liberal a calculation as possible for the Allies, let us add 2,000 horse to the above figures, which would give a total cavalry force of 9,500.[b]

A part of the plan is to continue to carry on the siege, and for this at least as many troops will be required as are now engaged in that service—that is to say:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Four French divisions at | 7,000 | each | 28,000 men |
| Three English divisions at | 6,000 | each | 18,000 men |
| | | Total | 46,000 men |

To this number must be added the sailors and the troops intrusted with guarding Balaklava and the line of intrenchments to Inkermann, and who at the same time serve as an army of reserve to the besieging corps. We put these down at a low estimate at 12,000. Estimating the sailors and marines at 4,000, we shall therefore have to deduct 56,000 men from the above 143,000, leaving available for field operations 87,000 infantry and artillery and 9,500 cavalry, or altogether about 96,500 men.[c] And this, as we have said, is a very liberal computation.

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[a] The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* gives the following figures:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| "French infantry | 83,000 | Cavalry | 1,500 |
| English " | 30,000 | " | 2,000 |
| Turkish " | 6,000 | " | |
| Total: Infantry | 119,000 | cavalry | 3,500."— *Ed.* |

[b] In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*: "5,500".— *Ed.*

[c] The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* gives the following calculation: "Estimating the sailors and marines at 4,000, we shall have to deduct 54,000 from the total of 119,000, leaving available for field operations 65,000 infantry and 5,500 cavalry, altogether somewhat more than 70,000."

The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* further has: "One should also take into account Omer Pasha's corps at Eupatoria, roughly 35,000 infantry and 3,000 or 4,000 cavalry. Of these, 15,000 must stay back for garrison duty, so that Omer Pasha will probably take the field with 20,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry, 24,000 all told.

Now, according to a Russian military correspondent of the *Augsburg Gazette*, who has always put down the Russian forces at very low estimates, the Russians have now in the Crimea, of

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Regular Infantry | 93,000 | Regular and irregular Cavalry | 20,000 |
| Sailors, Marines, &c. | 8,000 | | |
| Chornomorski[a] Cossacks | 6,000 | | |
| Artillery, Engineers, &c. | 13,000 | | |
| Total Infantry | 120,000 | Total Cavalry | 20,000[b] |

The distribution of this force may be approximatively stated as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| For the defense of the south side of Sevastopol (infantry, artillery, &c.), men | 26,000 |
| As Garrison to the North Fort and Intrenched Camp | 24,000 |
| Total | 50,000[c] |

This leaves as available for the field, 70,000 infantry and artillery and 20,000 cavalry.

In point of infantry the Allies will thus have a striking superiority, their numbers exceeding those of their antagonists by 26,500 men.[d] As to the relative strength in artillery we are in the dark; but from the difficulty the Allies have always found in procuring horses, and from the large proportion of guns accompanying every Russian army, it is probable that the Russians will be superior to their opponents. In cavalry they will certainly have the advantage. Even if from their 20,000 horse we must subtract 8,000 Cossacks, who would at all events come in for patrolling, outpost and orderly duties, they still retain 12,000 cavalry intact from detachment service, against 9,500 of the Allies,

"Hence we have the following sum total of allied troops for *field operations* in two separate corps:

| | Infantry | Cavalry | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Army at Sevastopol | 65,000 | 5,500 | 70,500 |
| Army at Eupatoria | 20,000 | 4,000 | 24,000 |
| | 85,000 | 9,500 | 94,500."—*Ed.* |

[a] Black Sea.—*Ed.*

[b] The source in question—the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 125 (supplement), May 5, 1855—gives the following figures: infantry, 90,000; artillery, 15,000.—*Ed.*

[c] Instead of the two preceding paragraphs the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "At the lowest estimate, the one the *Russians* themselves give of their present forces in the Crimea, we get 120,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry. One must deduct 50,000 of these for the defence of Sevastopol—26,000 for the south side and 24,000 as garrison for the North Fort and the entrenched camp."—*Ed.*

[d] This sentence does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

of which number, on a day of battle, no more than 7,000 can be brought forward in line.[a]

The advance of the Allies toward the interior can hardly be made otherwise than on the road toward Mackenzie's farm and the space between this road and the head of Sevastopol Bay or Inkermann; because east of Mackenzie's farm the steep ridge encircling the Baidar Valley extends south-eastward until it joins the southern ridge of the Crimea near Yalta, forming a rocky barrier impassable for cavalry and artillery, and practicable for infantry by a few footpaths only. From Yalta there is indeed a road crossing the hills, but this can be defended by a very few troops, and has no doubt been fortified by the Russians long since, as well as the footpath passes. Besides, the direction of this road, the distance of Yalta from Balaklava, and the chance it offers to the Russians to cut off any corps operating on this line, will hardly admit of its being used by the Allies as their main line of operations.[b]

The road by Mackenzie's farm to the Alma and Sympheropol is defended by a double row of intrenchments; first on the ridge overhanging the Chernaya, and secondly on the north side of a ravine running down from the edge of the rocky range, near Mackenzie's farm, to the head of Sevastopol Bay. This second and main line of defense, which is not more than two English miles in extent, is said to be very strongly intrenched, and here the first decisive action will have to be fought—an action deciding whether the Allies are to continue imprisoned on the Heracleatic Chersonese or to gain the interior of the country. This position will cost a harder struggle to carry than the Alma, for the forces will be more equally balanced, unless the Russians commit the mistake of dispersing their troops. They can easily concentrate 75,000 men

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[a] Instead of the last sentence the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "As regards infantry, the Allies' *joint* forces are superior to the Russians', but separately each of their two fighting corps is weaker. The Russians' greatest advantage, however, is their position. Deployed over the triangle between the Alma, Sevastopol and Simferopol, they hold a consolidated position against Omer Pasha along that river in the North, which can be maintained with 15,000 infantry along the front, while a flanking movement of the Russian cavalry threatens to cut off the Turks from Eupatoria. If therefore Omer Pasha himself advanced up to the Alma, he would never be able to cross it until the English and the French had thrown the Russians back to Simferopol and thus forced them to give up the Alma. In this case the two corps could link up. An advance of the Anglo-French army is therefore the basic condition of any success."—*Ed.*

[b] The text beginning with the words "and the space between this road" to the end of the paragraph does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.—Ed.*

for the defense of these intrenchments, and if the Allies attack with from 80,000 to 90,000 men, this superiority will in a great measure be made up by the intrenchments, and by the narrow front on which the Allies must necessarily act. If the Russians behave as they should, they must here check the advance of the Allies at once and force them back into their stronghold on the Chersonese.[a] But if the Russians are defeated and the position carried, there remains nothing for them but to retire upon the Belbek and attempt to hold that line.[b] In this case the garrison of the north side of Sevastopol would have to be observed by the Allies, whose army in the field would thereby be weakened by some 8,000 or 10,000 men; and if even then the Russians suffered a second defeat, their superiority in cavalry would secure them a safe retreat, although their line of retreat would lie in the prolongation of their left wing—a very unfavorable position unless made up for by some countervailing advantage.

These are a few of the considerations offering themselves on this new turn of affairs in the Crimea. They are far from exhausting the subject, to which we shall therefore soon return.[c]

Written about May 11, 1855

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

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[a] Instead of the text beginning with the words "This position will cost" and ending with the words "their stronghold on the Chersonese", the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "The narrow front on which the Allies must act here is to the Russians' advantage."—*Ed.*

[b] The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* further has: "while a detached corps keeps the Turks in check on the Alma".—*Ed.*

[c] In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* the article ends as follows: "Even if the Russians were defeated here, their superiority in cavalry and the Allies' inadequate transport facilities making it impossible for the latter to take up positions far from the coast, would enable the Russians to retreat from the area controlled by the Allies. Their line of retreat would lie in the prolongation of their left wing, which is of course a very unfavourable route. However, it is probable that the Russians will *try* from the beginning to keep the Allies busy on the Chernaya and throw the bulk of their forces against Omer Pasha in order to encircle and crush him with their cavalry and then turn their total forces against the Anglo-French troops."—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## *THE MORNING POST* VERSUS PRUSSIA. —THE CHARACTER OF THE WHIGS AND TORIES[149]

*London*, May 14. Palmerston's private organ, *The Morning Post*, today carries a threatening article against *Prussia*,[a] which includes the following:

"It was in the month of April, 1854, that permission was given, by an Order in Council, to import Russian produce into the United Kingdom in neutral bottoms, and of this permission we find that Prussia availed herself with astonishing rapidity. The following returns" (taken from official tables presented to Parliament) "will show the comparative amount of our imports of tallow, hemp, and flax, from the last-named country, during the years 1853 and 1854; the difference clearly indicating the quantity of Russian produce which has found its way through Memel and Danzig to the British market, notwithstanding our strict blockade of the Russian ports[b] in the Baltic:

"Imported from Prussia into the United Kingdom

| | 1853 | 1854 |
|---|---|---|
| Tallow | 54 cwts | 253,955 cwts |
| Hemp | 3,447 " | 366,220 " |
| Flax | 242,383 " | 667,879 " |
| Flax- and linseed | 57,848 qrs | 116,267 qrs |

"These figures sufficiently indicate the value of this new traffic to Prussia [...]. The result is that in spite of our blockade Russia is enabled to sell her produce as freely as in time of peace, while we have to pay some 50 per cent more for it, in the shape of dues and profits to the Prussian trader [...].We admit that our present policy is grossly inconsistent, but the remedy is to be sought not by raising the blockade of the enemy's ports, but by stopping to the utmost of our power the overland traffic through the Prussian dominions."

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[a] *The Morning Post*, No. 25386, May 14, 1855.—*Ed.*
[b] *The Morning Post* has: "the enemy's ports".—*Ed.*

The *anti-aristocratic* movement in England can only have one *immediate* result: *to bring* the *Tories*, i. e. the *specifically aristocratic party, to the helm.* If not, it must necessarily subside at first into a few Whig platitudes, a few administrative mock-reforms not worth mentioning. Layard's announcement of his motion on the "state of the nation"[a] and the reception that announcement received in the House of Commons, produced the City meetings. But close on the heels of the City meetings followed Ellenborough's motion[150] in the House of Lords,[b] whereby the Tories appropriate the new reform agitation, and transform it into a ladder to office. Layard himself has altered the words "*aristocratic influence*" in his motion to "*family influence*"—a concession to the Tories. Every movement outside the House assumes, *inside* the House, the form of the squabble between the two factions of the governing class. In the hands of the Whigs the Anti-Corn Law League became a means of bringing down the Tories.[151] In the hands of the Tories, the Administrative Reform Association[152] became a means of bringing down the Whigs. Only one must not forget that in this way one base of the old regime after another was sacrificed alternately by the two factions—and the regime itself remained intact, we may add. We have already stated our view that only the Tories are forced to make major concessions, because only under them does the pressure from without assume a threatening, indeed revolutionising character.[c] The Whigs represent the real oligarchy in England, the domination of a few great families such as the Sutherlands, Bedfords, Carlisles, Devonshires, etc.; the Tories represent the squireocracy,[d] they are the *Junker* party, if you will, although broad demarcation lines must be drawn between the English squire and the North German *Junker.* The Tories are therefore the receptacles of all the old English prejudices regarding Church and State, protection and anti-Catholicism. The Whigs, the oligarchs, are *enlightened*, and have never hesitated to discard prejudices standing in the way of their hereditary tenancy of the offices of state. By their friendship the Whigs have constantly prevented the middle classes from moving; by their friendship the Tories have always thrown the masses into the arms of the middle classes, who put them at the disposal of the Whigs...

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[a] A. H. Layard's speech in the House of Commons on April 27, 1855. *The Times*, No. 22040, April 28, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] E. L. Ellenborough's speech in the House of Lords on May 14, 1855. *The Times*, No. 22054, May 15, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 50-51.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

At the present moment there is no longer any difference between Whigs and Tories except that the latter represent the plebs of the aristocracy and the former its *haute-volée*.[a] The old aristocratic phrase is on the side of the aristocratic plebs; the liberal phrase on the side of the aristocratic *haute-volée*. In fact, however, since the High Tories (Lord Bolingbroke, etc.) quit the scene the Tory Party has always been ruled by parvenus such as Pitt, Addington, Perceval, Canning, Peel and Disraeli. The *homines novi*[b] were always to be found in the ranks of the Tories. When Derby (himself a renegade Whig) formed his ministry, it contained, apart from himself, perhaps two other old names. All the others were plain squires plus one man of letters. On the other hand, the Whigs, who never hesitated for a moment to trim their sails and their views to the wind and who apparently forever renewed and metamorphosed themselves, needed no new men. They were able to perpetuate the family names. If one surveys English history since the "glorious" revolution of 1688, one finds that all the laws directed against the mass of the people have been initiated by the Whigs, from the Act for a Seven-Year Parliament to the latest Workhouse[153] and Factory legislation. But the Whig reaction has always taken place in agreement with the middle classes. The Tory reaction has been directed even more against the middle class than against the masses. Hence the Whigs' reputation for liberality.

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[a] Upper crust.—*Ed.*
[b] New men.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## A SITTING OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS

*London*, May 15. The galleries of the House of Lords were packed full yesterday afternoon before the sitting even commenced. A sensational show had been announced—Lord Ellenborough's motion, and a regular battle between the *Ins* and *Outs*.[a] In addition to this, it was piquant to see with one's own eyes the hereditary legislators playing the part of crusaders *against* the aristocracy. The performance was a poor one. The actors kept forgetting what parts they were playing. The play began as drama and ended in farce. During the mock-battle not even the illusion, the artistic illusion, was maintained. It was evident at first glance that the noble warriors were trying reciprocally to preserve not only themselves but even their weapons unscathed.

Insofar as the debate revolved around the criticism of the conduct of the war up to now it failed to rise to the level of any run-of-the mill *debating club*[b] in London, and it would be sheer waste of time to dwell on it for a moment. We will attempt, however, to indicate in a few strokes how the noble lords conducted themselves as the champions of administrative reform, as the opponents of the aristocratic monopoly of government and as an echo of the City meetings. The right man in the right place, cried Lord Ellenborough.[c] And as proof that honour falls to merit, and merit alone, he cited the fact that *he* (Ellenborough) and Lord

[a] Marx uses the English words "Ins" and "Outs" (referring to the party in the government and the opposition).—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx uses the English words "debating club".—*Ed.*

[c] The debate in the House of Lords on May 14, 1855 was reported in *The Times*, No. 22054, May 15, 1855.—*Ed.*

Hardwicke sat in the Lords because *their fathers* had worked their way into the House of Lords by their own merit. This seems, on the contrary, to be precisely an instance of how men can benefit from the merits of *others*, namely their fathers, to secure not merely a post for life but the dignity of a legislator of England. And what were the *merits* by which the *Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench*,[a] Ellenborough senior, and Mr. Charles Yorke, Lord Hardwicke's father, made their way into the House of Lords? The story is an instructive one. The late Ellenborough, an English lawyer and subsequently judge, managed to earn himself the reputation of a *Jeffreys en miniature* in the press trials, conspiracy trials and police-spy trials that were constantly taking place under Pitt and his successors. Under Ellenborough's leadership the special jury[b] attained a reputation in England that even the "*jurés probes et libres*"[c] of Louis Philippe never possessed. That was the *merit* of Ellenborough senior, and that paved his way into the House of Lords. As for Mr. *Charles Yorke*, the ancestor of Lord Hardwicke, he has even outdone old Ellenborough in the matter of *merit*. This Charles Yorke, the Member for Cambridge for twenty years, was one of the chosen band entrusted by Pitt, Perceval and Liverpool "to do the dirty work for them".[d] Each of the "loyal" terror measures of that time found its Pindar in him. In every petition against the openly practised sale of seats in the House of Commons, he discerned "Jacobin machinations". Every motion opposing the shameless system of sinecures, at a time when pauperism was coming into being in England, was denounced by Charles Yorke as an attack on the "blessed comforts of our sacred religion". And on what occasion did this Charles Yorke celebrate his Ascension to the House of Lords? In 1810 the Walcheren expedition [154] had produced similar effects in England as the Crimean expedition did in 1855. Lord Porchester tabled a motion in the House of Commons to set up a committee of investigation. Charles Yorke opposed it violently, he spoke of plots, the stirring up of discontent, etc. Nevertheless, Porchester's motion was carried. But then Yorke decided to withhold the inquiry findings from the public, insisting, on the basis of an old and absurd parliamentary privilege, that the public galleries be cleared of listeners and reporters. This was done. A Mr. Gale Jones, the

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[a] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*
[b] Marx uses the English words "special jury".—*Ed.*
[c] "Honest and free juries."—*Ed.*
[d] Marx uses the English phrase.—*Ed.*

chairman of a London debating club, then published an advertisement announcing that the subject to be discussed at the next meeting of the club would be the infringement of the freedom of the press and Charles Yorke's gross insult to public opinion. Charles Yorke promptly had Gale Jones summoned before the House of Commons for libel of a Member and breach of "parliamentary privilege", whence, in contravention of all English laws, he was immediately dispatched to Newgate Prison, without inquiry or reference to a judge, "to be confined there *as long as* it should please the Commons". While performing these heroic deeds, Charles Yorke assumed great airs of independence. He claimed to be acting only as an upright "country squire", as a "friend of the King", as a "loyal anti-Jacobin". Not three weeks had elapsed since his closing of the gallery before it became known that meanwhile he had presented his account to the Perceval ministry and obtained a lifetime sinecure as *Teller of the Exchequer*[a] (similar to "The Guardian of the Green Wax"), i. e. a life emolument of £2,700 per annum. On accepting this sinecure Charles Yorke had to submit himself to his constituents in Cambridge for re-election. At the election meeting he was greeted by booes and hisses, rotten apples and eggs, and was forced to run for it. As compensation for this indignity Perceval elevated him to the peerage. Thus it was that Charles Yorke was transformed into a lord, and thus, Lord Ellenborough informs Lord Palmerston, merit must be able to make its way in a well-ordered economy. Discounting this extremely naive and characteristic *lapsus linguae*,[b] Ellenborough—who bears an unmistakable likeness to the Knight of the Doleful Countenance[c]—adhered more to the phraseology of the City meetings.

His friend Derby strove to restrict even the purely rhetorical concession. He rejected the rumour that he had allied himself with Layard. He whose entire talent consists of discretion, accused Layard of indiscretion. There was, he said, a lot of truth in the views of the City men, but they had proceeded to draw extravagant (!!) conclusions. A minister had to seek his colleagues in Parliament, and not merely in Parliament but in the party to which he belongs, and not merely in this party but within the circle of men in his party possessing parliamentary influence.

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[a] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*
[b] Slip of the tongue.—*Ed.*
[c] Don Quixote.—*Ed.*

Within this circle ability should, of course, be decisive, and this had hitherto often been neglected. The fault, Derby claimed, lay in the parliamentary reform of 1831. The "rotten places", "the rotten boroughs",[a] had been expunged, and it was precisely these rotten boroughs[155] that had furnished the sound statesmen of England. They had enabled influential men to introduce talented but impecunious young people into Parliament and thence into the service of the state. Thus even according to Lord Derby no administrative reform is possible without parliamentary reform—but, a parliamentary reform in the opposite sense, restoration of the "rotten boroughs". Derby's complaint does not seem entirely justified if one considers that 85 seats in the House of Commons still belong to some 60 little "rotten boroughs" (in England alone), none of which have more than 500 inhabitants, with some electing two members.

Lord Panmure, on behalf of the ministry, brought the Lords debate back to the real point. You want, he stuttered, to exploit the cry outside the walls of Parliament in order to declaim us out of office and put yourselves in. Why did Derby not form a ministry three months ago when charged to do so by the Queen? Ah, replied Derby with a smirk, three months ago! Things have changed in the last three months. Three months ago Lord Palmerston was *l'homme à la mode*,[b] the great and indispensable statesman. Palmerston has discredited himself, and now it's our turn.

The debate in the House of Lords has shown that neither side possesses the stuff that men are made of. As to the House of Commons, Ellenborough rightly observed that it has become insipid, that it has lost its credit and that political influence is no longer to be sought *within* the House, but *outside* it.

The debates in the Lords clearly showed the *mala fides*[c] of the aristocratic opposition, which intends to conjure away the bourgeois movement and simultaneously to use it as a battering-ram against the ministry. In a subsequent letter we shall have the opportunity of similarly demonstrating the *mala fides* of the City reformers towards the working class, with whom they intend to play just as the aristocratic opposition does with them. From this one may draw the conclusion that the present movement in

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[a] Here and below Marx uses the English phrase.—*Ed.*
[b] A popular man.—*Ed.*
[c] Insincerity.—*Ed.*

England is extremely complex and, as we have indicated earlier,[a] simultaneously contains two antithetical and hostile movements.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 186-88.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE AGITATION OUTSIDE PARLIAMENT

*London*, May 16. The resentment of the bourgeois opposition caused by the vote in the House of Lords on the occasion of Ellenborough's motion is a symptom of weakness. On the contrary, they ought to celebrate the rejection of the motion as a victory. To force the House of Lords, the supreme council of the aristocracy, in solemn public debate to declare its satisfaction with the way the war has hitherto been conducted, loudly to acknowledge Palmerston as their champion and representative, and definitely to reject mere pious wishes for administrative reform, for any kind of reform—what more favourable results could the *enemies of the aristocracy* expect from Ellenborough's motion? Above all they had to seek to discredit the House of Lords, the last bastion of the English aristocracy. But they complain that the House of Lords disdains fleeting popularity at the cost not of its privileges but of the existing cabinet. It is in the order of things for *The Morning Herald* to complain, being the Tory organ, the organ of all the prejudices of "our incomparable constitution".[a] For *The Morning Herald* it was a comforting prospect, after the Whig oligarchy performing as the friends of the bourgeoisie and of "liberal progress" for a century and a half, to see the roles change and the *Tories* now entrusted for another century and a half with the role of "aristocratic" representatives of the bourgeoisie and of "liberal progress". *The Morning Herald* has a right to complain, a good, solid right. But the bourgeois opposition? Did it perhaps imagine that a moderate demonstration of City merchants would be

[a] This refers to an article on the debate in the House of Lords on May 14, 1855, published by *The Morning Herald*, No. 22432, May 16, 1855.—*Ed.*

enough to force the aristocracy into committing suicide, into abdicating? The truth, however, is that the bourgeoisie desires a compromise, that it expects flexibility from the other side to enable it too to be flexible; that it would like, if possible, to avoid a real struggle. As soon as the struggle becomes a real one, the "million", as they call the "lower" classes, too, will rush into the arena, not just as spectators, not just as referees, but as a party. And the bourgeoisie would like to avoid this at all costs. It was a similar reason that kept the Whigs out of the Cabinet from 1808-1830. They wanted to throw out their opponents at any price except the price of real concessions to the bourgeoisie, without whose aid the Tories could not be thrown out, except the price of a parliamentary reform. We have seen the ambiguous, off-hand way and the aloof, ironically non-committal manner in which Ellenborough and Derby set themselves up as supporters of the bourgeois administrative reform, while doing everything to ward off their supposed allies. We now see, on the other hand, how timidly and perfidiously the reforming businessmen of the City first tried to forestall any opposition from the Chartists and temporarily secure their silence, so as to juggle them out of the positions they had voluntarily granted them. In the case of the City merchants no less than in that of the Tories, fear and dislike of the supposed ally outweighs hostility towards the supposed enemy. The course of events was briefly this.

The "Administrative Reform Association" feared opposition from the Chartists, who, as the reader will remember, had got the better of the "National and Constitutional Association" at two large meetings in St. Martins Hall and Southwark, forcing it to retreat from the territory it had chosen itself.[a] On April 26 they sent Mr. James Acland (a former Anti-Corn Law lecturer[b]) to the rooms of Ernest Jones, where he announced himself as an "envoy" of the Administrative Reform Association, which was counting on the support of the Chartists, it being its wish to abolish the "class legislation" and install a popular government. He invited Ernest Jones to a meeting the next day with the *committee* of the said administration.[c] Jones declared that he was not entitled to reply in the name of the Chartist party. He had to decline to attend the meeting until he had consulted the London

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[a] Probably a reference to Marx's article "A Meeting" (see this volume, pp. 98-100).— *Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English words "Anti-Corn Law lecturer".— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 166-69.— *Ed.*

executive committee of the Chartists,[156] which was to meet the following Sunday.

On Sunday evening, April 29, Jones informed the Chartist committee of the whole affair. He was authorised to proceed with the negotiations. The following morning Jones had a meeting with Mr. Ingraham Travers, the leader of the City movement, who personally accredited Mr. James Acland as the authorised agent and representative of his party. Mr. I. Travers assured Jones that their intention was to form a popular government. The resolutions as printed in *The Times*[a] were only *provisional*; the means of achieving their goal had to be decided first by the executive committee to be elected at the London Tavern meeting. As evidence of their sympathy for the cause of administrative reform the Chartists should appoint a speaker to represent them at the meeting. He would be called upon by the chairman to support one of the resolutions. Further, the Chartists should appoint a representative who, at the suggestion of the provisional committee of the City merchants, would be appointed a permanent member of the executive committee of the Reform Association at the Tavern meeting. Finally it was agreed that, admittance being by ticket only, the Chartists would receive their due share of these tickets. Jones declined to let the matter be left to a purely verbal agreement and informed Mr. Ingraham [Travers] that he would have to put forward all the points mentioned in a letter to the Chartists' executive committee.

This was done. The letter arrived, overflowing with assurances. However, when the time came for the delivery of the admission tickets, only 12 tickets arrived. When the Chartist committee complained about this breach of promise, the others apologised saying there were no more tickets left. However, if the Chartist committee would station two of its members at the door of the Tavern, they would be authorised to admit whoever they pleased, even without a ticket. Messrs. Slocombe and Workman were elected by the Chartists for this purpose and received Mr. Travers's authorisation. To eliminate all suspicion the Administrative Reform Association sent a special messenger with a letter for Jones on the day of the meeting,[b] a few hours before its commencement, to remind him that the chairman would request him to speak in favour of resolution 4, and that he would be proposed to the meeting as a member of the executive committee, in his status as representative of the Chartists.

[a] "Administrative Reform", *The Times*, No. 22040, April 28, 1855.—*Ed.*
[b] May 5, 1855.—*Ed.*

About an hour before the meeting large numbers of Chartists assembled outside the Tavern. As soon as the doors were opened, Messrs. Slocombe and Workman were forbidden to admit anyone without a ticket. Eight tickets were reluctantly distributed in order *to gain time* at a moment when the pressure from outside seemed to be getting serious. This time was used to bring along a unit of police waiting in readiness in a sidestreet. From this moment on nobody else was admitted except "well-known merchants and bankers". Indeed, people in *working-class dress*, in the familiar corduroy jackets, were turned away even if they had entrance tickets. To deceive the crowd of workers waiting in the street, the doors were suddenly locked and notices put up saying, "The hall is full. Nobody else will be admitted". At the time, however, the hall was not even half full, and "gentlemen" arriving in their carriages were admitted through the windows and by way of a back-door through the kitchen. The crowd of workers dispersed calmly, since they did not suspect any treachery. Although Ernest Jones showed his "platform ticket" at the meeting, he was not allowed up on the platform, much less permitted to speak of course. The Association had achieved two aims—to prevent any opposition from the Chartists, and to be able to point to the crowd in the street as *their supporters*. But these were only supposed to appear as extras in the street.

Ernest Jones, in an appeal to the workers of England, relates this comedy of intrigues and on behalf of the Chartists throws down the gauntlet to the Administrative Reform Association.[a]

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[a] E. Jones, "Political Felony. Infamous Chicanery and Fraud of Administrative Reform Association", *The People's Paper*, No. 158, May 12, 1855.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## QUESTIONS OF FINANCE

*London*, May 19. According to the optimists of the press here the economic crisis in England has now ended, and commerce and industry are once again taking an upward course. They draw this consoling conclusion from the fact that there has been an *easing of the money market.* For on the one hand there has been an increase in the *gold reserve* in the vaults of the Bank of England, and on the other the bank has lowered its *rate of interest.* Whilst on January 20, 1855, the value of the gold holdings was only £12,162,000, on May 12, 1855, it had risen to £16,045,000—an increase of £3,883,000. The rate of interest, which stood at 5 per cent on January 20, 1855, was lowered by the Bank to $4^1/_2$ per cent on March 31, and to 4 per cent on April 28. However, those gentlemen have overlooked the fact that an accumulation of gold in the vaults of the Bank and a fall in its rate of interest can be caused by something other than an economic boom—namely the very *opposite*: stagnation of business and, linked with that, a *falling-off in the demand for capital.* That the latter is really the cause on this occasion is shown by the tables published every week by the Bank of England. Only one should not, like those optimists, look exclusively at two columns contained in the tables, gold holdings and rate of interest. One has to compare two other columns—those showing *reserve bank-notes* and *discounted bills.* As is generally known, the Bank of England is split into two different departments, the Issue Department[a] and the Banking Department. We can describe the former as the *mint* of the Bank of England. It is engaged solely in manufacturing bank-notes. Robert Peel's Act

[a] Here and below Marx uses the English terms.—*Ed.*

of 1844 laid down legal limitations on the issue of bank-notes. That is to say, above the sum of £14 million, which is the amount of capital it is owed by the state, the Bank can issue no more bank-notes than there is gold in its vaults. If then, for example, the Bank issues bank-notes to the value of £20 million there has to be gold worth £6 million in its vaults. The Issue Department of the Bank is engaged solely in manufacturing and issuing bank-notes in accordance with the restrictions described. It transfers all the bank-notes it manufactures in this way to the Banking Department, the actual Bank, which does business with the public like any other deposit and discount bank, and which puts bank-notes into circulation by discounting bills, advancing money on interest-bearing papers, paying dividends to state creditors, paying off deposits it holds, etc. Robert Peel cleverly devised both this division of the Bank of England into two self-contained departments and this method of regulating the amount of notes to be issued, because he fancied this would make it possible to guard against any future monetary crisis arising, and to adjust the amount of paper currency to that of metallic currency by means of an automatic and mechanical law. What the celebrated statesman overlooked was the not insignificant fact that his restriction only regulated circulation between the Issue Department and the Banking Department, between two offices of the Bank of England, but by no means determined circulation between the Banking Department and the outside world. The Issue Department of the Bank transfers to the Banking Department as many bank-notes as it is allowed by law to manufacture, for example £20 million if there are £6 million gold in its coffers. However, what proportion of these £20 million actually goes into circulation depends on the state of business, and on the requirements and demand in the world of commerce. The remainder, which the Bank cannot dispose of and which is thus left in the coffers of the Banking Department, appears in the accounts rendered by the Bank under the heading of *reserve bank-notes.*

Seeing, as we have, that, from January 20, 1855, to May 12, 1855, the gold holdings of the Bank increased by £3,883,000, we also find that during the same period the quantity of bank-notes held in reserve rose from £5,463,000 to £9,417,000, i. e. by £3,954,000. The greater the quantity of reserve bank-notes, i. e. the notes left in the coffers of the Banking Department, the smaller is the quantity of notes actually circulating amongst the public. However, from the figure just quoted it follows that the

accumulation of gold in the vaults of the Bank has been accompanied by a decline in the quantity of bank-notes circulating amongst the public. What is the reason for this contraction in circulation? Simply a decline in trade and a fall in business transactions. Any doubt as to the accuracy of this view will be dispelled when one sees from the same accounts rendered by the Bank that the value of bills discounted by the Bank was £25,282,000 on January 20, 1855, whereas on May 12, 1855 it had fallen to £23,007,000—a decrease of £2,275,000. But the value of bills discounted by the Bank is the most reliable gauge of the quantity of business transacted between the Bank and the world of commerce. The evidence is even more conclusive if one considers that the Bank lowered its rate of interest to 4 per cent on April 28, and thus offered its commodity—capital—20 per cent cheaper than in the previous January. And from April 28, when the Bank lowered its rate of interest, to May 12 the quantity of bank-notes spent on discounting bills fell instead of rising—proof that under the present state of the economy capital is still too expensive at 4 per cent to find even the demand it found at the beginning of January at 5 per cent; proof that the fall in the rate of interest cannot be ascribed to a greater influx of capital but rather to a reduced demand on the part of commercial and industrial enterprises; proof, finally, that the increase in the metal held in the vaults of the Bank is only an increase in idle capital which, at this moment, cannot be utilised.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE CRIMEAN WAR

As we write, the field operations in the Crimea, to which we alluded some days since as in preparation,[a] must have commenced. With these operations, the war, so far as it is confined to the peninsula, enters into a new and probably decisive stage of development. The rapid arrival of the Piedmontese and French reserves, and particularly the sudden change by which Canrobert left his command for that of a single corps, while Pélissier takes the command in chief, are sure indications that the time for a change in the tactics of the Allies is at hand.

For a general description of the ground to which the theater of operations is to be transferred and a general statement of the forces about to be engaged we refer to our former article. It will be recollected that the Russian army of observation in communication with the north side of Sevastopol has its main position on the plateau between Inkermann and the point where the road from Balaklava to Sympheropol crosses the mountain-ridge, separating the valleys of the Chernaya and the Belbek. This position, of great natural strength, has been completely intrenched by the Russians. It extends for about four miles between the head of the bay of Sevastopol and the impassable range of mountains, and the Russians will be able to concentrate there at least 50,000 or 60,000 men, of infantry and artillery, which number is fully sufficient for the defense.

To attack this position in front would require a great numerical superiority and involve terrible sacrifices, while the Allies cannot

[a] Here and below Engels refers to his article "The New Move in the Crimea" (see this volume, pp. 180-85).—*Ed.*

afford either. Even if they succeeded in carrying the intrenchments, their losses would be so severe as to disable them from an energetic continuance of the campaign. They must therefore attempt to draw a number of Russians away from it and to find means to turn it. For this purpose the mysterious expedition to Kertch was sent out. About 15,000 allied troops embarked, were seen by the Russians to pass Yalta, sailed to Kertch, and returned again. Why they did not attempt a landing is sought to be explained by a telegraphic order from Paris. At all events, this mere apology for a demonstration must be pronounced an utter failure; no General in his senses would be induced to divide his troops by an expedition which does not venture to show even a semblance of fight. An attempt on Kaffa, if even it was under contemplation at headquarters, seems also to have been finally abandoned. To transport troops to Eupatoria and sally forth from that place cannot be under consideration, else the Piedmontese and French reserves would have been sent thither at once. And, as there is no other harbor or good roadstead on the coast between Balaklava and Kaffa, nor between Sevastopol and Eupatoria, the idea of turning the Russians by sea seems to have been finally given up, and nothing remains but to turn them by land, which, as we have already stated, must prove an exceedingly difficult operation.

There is, beside the road occupied by the Russians above Inkermann, but one other high road leading from Balaklava to Sympheropol. It runs along the south coast as far as Alushta, where it turns to the interior, passes the mountains east of Chatyr Dagh or Tent Mountain, the highest in the Crimea, at a point 2,800 feet above the sea and descends to Sympheropol by the valley of the Salghir, the main river of the Crimea. From Balaklava to Alushta there are four marches, from Alushta to Sympheropol three—together about 95 English miles. But as no side-roads exist allowing the troops to march in several parallel columns, the whole army would have to advance on this one road in one enormously extended column, requiring them to march at least for four or five days in one continuous defile. Near Alushta and on the pass there are some old fortifications, and we may be sure that the pass itself will be found strongly intrenched. Instead of seven days the army would perhaps require twelve before even the pass of Chatyr Dagh could be crossed—time enough for the Russians to make an attempt on the corps remaining to protect the siege, or to march with the greater part of their forces against the enemy and meet him with superior numbers on debouching from

the hills, while light, movable columns sent along the foot-paths of the Upper Katsha and Alma would fall upon his flank and rear. The greatest fault of a flank movement by way of Alushta would, however, be its utter want of a base of operations. The open roadstead of Alushta forbids the idea of turning that place even into a temporary base; so that even before Alushta is passed, Russian light infantry descending by the foot-paths across the hills, may interrupt the communication with Balaklava quite effectually.

The march by Alushta, therefore, can hardly be undertaken. Its risks far outweigh its possible advantages. There is, however, another way of turning the Russians. If in the march by Alushta all the advantages offered to the Allies by the high road are far outweighed by the means of attack given to the Russians by the foot-paths, cannot these same foot-paths be turned to the same advantage by the Allies? This would imply an entirely different operation. In this case the Allies would place the main body of their field-troops, including the corps destined to invest the north side of Sevastopol, directly opposite the Russian camp above Inkermann, forcing their opponents thereby to keep the great body of their troops concentrated in the intrenchments. Meantime, Zouaves, Chasseurs, Light Infantry, British Rifles, and even the mounted Chasseurs d'Afrique, and what can be got together of mountain-artillery, would be formed into as many columns as there are foot-paths leading from the valley of Baidar and from the South Coast near Alupka, 30 miles from Balaklava, into the valleys of the Belbek and Katsha. A night march would conveniently bring the troops destined to turn the extreme Russian left across the valley of Baidar to the South Coast, where the enemy could no longer perceive them. Another march would bring them to Alupka. Above Alupka is the steep range of the Yaila mountains, forming on their northern slope an elevated plain about 2,000 feet above the sea, affording good pasturage for sheep, and descending by rocky precipices into the glens of the rivulets Biuk Uzen and Uzen Bash, which by their junction form the Belbek river. Three foot-paths lead up to this plain near Alupka, and pass into the glens of the two Uzens. All this ground is perfectly practicable for infantry such as the Zouaves and Chasseurs, who in Africa have got accustomed to mountain warfare of a far more difficult character. Then, from the valley of the Upper Chernaya, better known as the Baidar Valley, at least two foot-paths lead to the valley of the Upper Belbek, and finally one branches off from the Balaklava and Sympheropol road just

before the mountain pass, and traverses the ridge three miles south-east of Mackenzie's farm, leading immediately to the left of the Russian intrenched position. Now if these paths be ever so difficult they must be practicable for the French light troops from Africa. "Where a goat passes, a man can pass; where a man, a whole battalion; where a battalion, a horse or so may get through with a little trouble; and finally, you will perhaps manage even to pass a field-gun."[a] In fact we should not be at all astonished if these sheep-tracks and foot-paths marked on the maps, should even turn out to be country roads, bad enough, but quite practicable for a flanking movement, in which even artillery might accompany the columns. In that case the turning should be carried out with as large a force as possible, and then the Russians will soon have to give up their intrenchments, even without a serious front attack. But if these paths should be impracticable for field-guns (rockets and mountain howitzers can go anywhere), the turning parties will take the character of mere movable columns, drive back the Russian troops as far as they can from the upper valleys of the Belbek, pass into that of the Katsha, menace the Russian rear, intercept their communications, destroy their convoys, collect trustworthy information, reconnoiter the country, draw upon themselves as many Russian detachments as possible, until that road which offers the least difficulties is made so far practicable as to admit of the passage of artillery. Then a strong force may be sent after them, and the Russian rear be so seriously menaced as to force an evacuation of the intrenchments. That an advance of mere infantry and light cavalry across these mountains on the left flank and rear of the Russians can have that effect we do not believe, as they could not seriously menace the Russian communications without descending into a country where artillery regains its full effect, and thereby secures the advantage to the party possessed of it. But there is no doubt that with a little ingenuity artillery can be made to follow the turning columns. At Jena,[157] Napoleon exhibited what can be done with a simple foot-path winding up a steep hill; in five hours the road was wide enough for guns, the Prussians were taken in flank, and the next day's victory secured. And where a Crimean araba can pass, a field-gun can pass too; some of the pathways in question, particularly those from the Chernaya to the Belbek, appear to be such old araba country roads.

But to carry out such a movement the possession of sufficient

[a] A free rendering of one of Napoleon I's principles of mountain warfare.— *Ed.*

forces is the first condition. The Russians will certainly have the advantage of numbers and of the better knowledge of the ground. The first may be done away with by a bold advance of Omer Pasha from Eupatoria to the Alma. Though the Russian superiority in cavalry will not allow him to move fast or far, yet by good maneuvering and well-secured communications he may force Prince Gorchakoff to detach more infantry against him. But for the Allies to depend upon any such collateral operation would be a matter of great uncertainty. In order to carry out, therefore, the advance from Balaklava, the best thing for them would be to transfer (as they were some time since reported to have done[a]), a day or two before the actual attack, some 20,000 Turks to the Chersonese, where they would be worth twice their number in Eupatoria. This would allow them to attack the Russians with nearly 110,000 men, including about 6,000 cavalry, to which force the Russians could oppose about 65,000 or 75,000 infantry (including 15,000 to 20,000 men from the garrison of the north side) and 10,000 cavalry. But as soon as the turning corps should begin to tell upon the left flank and rear of the Russians, the force to be opposed to it would be comparatively weak, as the drafts from the north side could not expose themselves to be cut off from their intrenched camp around the citadel; and therefore the Allies, being enabled to employ the whole of their available field-army wherever they like, would have a great superiority. In this case then they might with certainty count upon success; but if they attack the Russians single-handed, and the numerical proportions of both armies as stated by the most trustworthy authorities be correct, they stand but little chance. Their flanking corps would be too weak, and might be entirely neglected by the Russians, who by a bold sally from their lines could drive the weakened Allies down the precipices into the Chernaya.

Another movement on the part of the Allies has been suggested—an immediate assault on the south side of Sevastopol. We are even told that a peremptory order to undertake this assault had been telegraphed from Paris, and that Canrobert resigned because he did not feel warranted in executing a movement which in his opinion would imply a loss of 40,000 men. Now, from what we have seen of the military notions of Louis Bonaparte as displayed in his interference with the present campaign, it is not at all incredible that such an order should have

[a] The words in parenthesis were probably added by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune.—Ed.*

been given. But what is less probable is that even a reckless *sabreur*[a] like Pélissier should lend himself to execute such an order. The last month must have given the French soldiers a pretty good idea of what the resistance is like which they are to meet with on storming. And an operation which cannot be carried out without the loss of some 40,000 men—above one-third of the whole army available for the assault—has certainly very few favorable chances of success. Pélissier may eagerly wish to pick up the Marshal's baton which has slipped from the hands of Canrobert, but we very much doubt whether he is enough of a Bonapartist to stake his fortune and reputation against such odds. For supposing even that the assault was successful; that not only the first line of defense but also the second line was taken; that even the barricades, crenellated houses and defensive barracks forbidding the approach to the shore forts—that these shore forts too were carried and the whole of the south side in the hands of the Allies, at a loss we will say of only 30,000 to a Russian loss of 20,000—what then? The Allies would have lost 10,000 men more than the Russians, the place would instantly have to be abandoned; and the campaign in the field would become even more difficult than before.

But there is one fact which at once precludes the idea of an immediate general assault. From some half-official reports we were induced in a former article on the siege[b] to admit, merely for argument's sake, that the Russians had been driven out of their new outworks in front of the place. We stated at the same time that we had every reason to doubt the correctness of such reports, as any such advantage gained would have been loudly and distinctly announced by the Allies. Now we are indeed positively informed by the Russians that the Kamtschatka (the Mamelon), Selenghinsk and Volhynsk redoubts are still in their possession, while evidence from the allied camp not only goes to confirm this, but also acknowledges that further outworks have been thrown up by the besieged. Thus the advantage gained by the Allies in pushing their advanced approaches nearer to the fortress has been fully made up for by the counter-approaches of the Russians, and the line where both parties can meet each other in equal strength is very distant yet from the main ditch. Now, an assault becomes advisable only when the line, where the force of the attack for common siege operations is equal to that of the defense, lies in the main ditch itself; otherwise it is clear that the

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[a] War-horse.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 170.—*Ed.*

storming columns would be broken down and shattered before they could reach the top of the breastwork. Thus as long as the Russians cannot be driven back across the main ditch, it will be impossible to assault the main rampart situated behind this main ditch. As to carrying the second line constructed behind that ditch, it is entirely out of the question at the present time.

There may be a chance for partial assaults on the left or town side from the Quarantine to the Flagstaff Bastion where the main French attack is carried on. But here the policy of the French Government keeps us in utter darkness as to the extent and strength of the Russian outworks, and the recent Russian dispatches, of late being all telegraphic, contain no definite and detailed description. On the Flagstaff Bastion, however, it is acknowledged by the Russians themselves that the French works are close to the main rampart and that a mine has been sprung under it, though without any considerable results. Here, then, a local assault might be successful but from the salient position of this bastion and the commanding ground behind (the Russian Jasonovsky Redoubt[a]) it is very doubtful whether anything would be gained by the conquest of the bastion, which must have been isolated from the remainder of the works by one or two cross-ramparts in its rear, thereby preventing the storming columns from establishing themselves in it or at least from penetrating any further.

Thus whether the assault is attempted, or field operations are undertaken, the Allies will have to struggle with considorable difficulties. But at any rate the drowsy style of warfare pursued since the arrival of the Allies before Sevastopol is drawing to a close; and more stirring events and operations of real military interest may now be looked for.

Written about May 21, 1855

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "the Russian Garden Battery".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## ON THE REFORM MOVEMENT[158]

*London*, May 21. Today all the London newspapers publish an address from the City reformers, or rather their executive committee, to the "People of England".[a] The style of the document is dry, businesslike, not quite as lofty as that of the trade circulars that periodically emanate from the same source, offering for sale coffee, tea, sugar, spices and other products of the tropical countries in a more or less tastefully arranged fabric of phrases. The Association[b] promises to provide the material for a veritable physiology of the various government departments and to disclose all the mysteries of Downing Street,[c] Downing Street which is full of hereditary wisdom. This is what it promises. For its own part, it demands that the electoral districts of England send to Parliament candidates freely chosen according to their hearts' desire and recommended solely by merit, instead of, as hitherto, imposed on them by the aristocratic clubs. It thus recognises the existing privileged electoral districts as normal, the selfsame districts which, in their corruptibility, their reliance on a few clubs, their lack of independence, it admits to being the birthplace of the present House of Commons, and thus of the present government. It does not want to dissolve these exclusive districts, nor to extend them, but simply to moralise. Why not then appeal directly to the conscience of the oligarchy itself, instead of threatening it with the abolition of its privileges? It should at any rate be an easier job to convert the oligarchical heads than the oligarchical electoral

[a] Excerpts from this address were later published in *The People's Paper*, No. 160, May 26, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] The Administrative Reform Association (see this volume, pp. 166-69).—*Ed.*

[c] 10 Downing Street is the British Prime Minister's official residence.—*Ed.*

districts. The City Association would obviously like to bring into existence an anti-aristocratic movement, but a movement *within* the limits of the *legal* (as Guizot called it), the official England. And how do they intend to rouse the stagnant bog of electoral districts? How to drive them into emancipating themselves from interests and customs which make them the vassals of a few select clubs and the pillars of the governing oligarchy? With a physiology of Downing Street? Not entirely. Also by means of *pressure from without*, by mass meetings and the like. And how are they going to set the non-official, non-enfranchised masses in motion so as to influence the privileged circle of electoral districts? By inviting them to renounce the People's Charter (which basically contains nothing but the demand for *universal suffrage* and the conditions under which alone it can become a reality in England), and to acknowledge the privileges of these electoral districts which, by the admission of the City reformers themselves, are in the process of decay. The City Association must be aware of the example of the "financial and parliamentary reformers". It knows that this movement, headed by Hume, Bright, Cobden, Walmsley and Thompson, failed because it sought to replace the People's Charter by the so-called Little Charter,[159] because it merely wanted to make concessions to the masses, merely to reach a compromise with them. Do they imagine that *without* concessions they can achieve what the others could not achieve *despite* their concessions? Or do they deduce from the Anti-Corn Law movement that it is possible to set the English people in motion for partial reforms? But the object of that movement was very general, very popular, very tangible. The symbol of the Anti-Corn Law League was, as is well known, a big thick loaf of bread in contrast to the diminutive loaf of the Protectionists. A loaf of bread, particularly in the famine year 1846, naturally speaks quite a different popular dialect from a "physiology of Downing Street". We need not recall a well-known booklet, *The Physiology of the City*.[a] There it is demonstrated with the greatest precision that however well the gentlemen may run their own businesses, in the management of *common* enterprises, for example the various *insurance companies*, they more or less faithfully follow the official pattern of Downing Street. Their management of the *railways*, with the glaring frauds, swindles and total neglect of safety

[a] The reference is to D. M. Evans' pamphlet *The City; or, the Physiology of London Business*, published anonymously. Marx quotes a passage from it in Volume III of *Capital*.— *Ed.*

precautions, is so notorious that the question has been raised more than once in the press, in Parliament and outside Parliament whether the railways should not be placed under direct state control and taken out of the hands of the private capitalists! The physiology of Downing Street, then, will accomplish nothing—as the English say, "This will not do, sir!"[a]

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[a] Marx uses the English phrase.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## A CRITIQUE OF THE CRIMEAN AFFAIR.— FROM PARLIAMENT

*London*, May 23. The menacing discontent in the allied Army and Navy outside Sevastopol caused by the recall of the Kerch expedition has found an echo, if only a weak, faint one, in the London press. People are beginning to fear that the unity and artistic course of the war drama in the Crimea are threatened less by the Russians than by the presumptuous and capricious intervention of a *deus ex machina*,[a] the military genius of Napoleon III. The exhibition of this genius in the well-known strategic didactical "essay" in the *Moniteur*[b] is in fact anything but soothing and reassuring. Until now, however, the distance between the theatre of war and the Tuileries has provided a kind of guarantee against actual interference by the military dilettantism of Paris. Now submarine telegraph has eliminated the distances, and with the distances the guarantee, and John Bull, who is wont to call himself "the most thinking people of the world",[c] is beginning to reflect, to grumble and complain that the British Army and Navy are expected to furnish the *corpus vile*[d] for the inherited and providentially existing "military genius", to perform his experiments on.

[a] Literally "a god from a machine" (in the ancient Greek and Roman theatre, actors playing gods appeared on the stage with the help of machinery); in a figurative sense, a person or event that appears suddenly and solves a difficult situation.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to the leading article "Paris, le 10 avril. Expédition d'Orient", published in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 101, April 11, 1855. The article contained Napoleon III's instructions to Marshal Saint-Arnaud. For a critique of it see this volume, pp. 146-50.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English words.—*Ed.*

[d] Literally "worthless body".—*Ed.*

Today's *Morning Herald*[a] asserts positively that the expedition has been recalled because Bonaparte has revived his dangerous idea of storming Sevastopol from the south side. We do not doubt for a moment that the military genius of the Tuileries is obsessed by this *idée fixe*, but we cannot persuade ourselves that even a simple *sabreur*[b] such as Pélissier is capable of carrying out such a senselessly ruinous plan. Hence we believe that it has been decided to attempt a mass crossing of the Chernaya and that it was deemed inadvisable to split the main force by detaching a corps of 12,000 men. In fact, instead of detaching these 12,000 men, just before the army sets out, 15,000-20,000 Turks ought to be embarked in Eupatoria and incorporated into the main army, only leaving behind a garrison of sufficient size to hold the place. As stated in an earlier letter,[c] the entire success of the campaign depends on the strength of the army that crosses the Chernaya. However that may be, the recall of the Kerch expedition is fresh evidence of the uncertainty and vacillation and the shilly-shallying bungling that are nowadays passed off as "idées napoléoniennes".[d]

Meanwhile the heroes improvised for the purpose of the *coup d'état* wear out with incredible rapidity. The array was headed by Espinasse, who after his ignominious campaign in the Dobrudja[160] was forced by the Zouaves to retreat head over heels to Paris. This *Espinasse* is the same man who, after being entrusted with guarding the building of the National Assembly, handed it over to its enemies.[161] The second in the line of descent was *Leroy*, alias *Saint-Arnaud*, the War Minister of December 2. He was followed by *Forey*, so bold in the persecution of the unfortunate peasants of south-east France, and so considerately humane towards the Muscovites. The army's suspicion that he was revealing the secrets of the French Council of War to the Russians made it necessary to remove him from the Crimea to Africa. Finally *Canrobert* was demoted on account of notorious incompetence. The irony of history has appointed *Pélissier* as his successor, and thus more or less commander-in-chief of the Anglo-French army—the same Pélissier of whom in 1841 it was asserted over and over again in Parliament, in London officers' clubs and at country-meetings,[e] in *The Times* and in *Punch*, that *no* honourable English officer could

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[a] "Siege of Sebastopol", *The Morning Herald*, No. 22438, May 23, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] War-horse.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 137.—*Ed.*

[d] An allusion to Louis Bonaparte's book *Des idées napoléoniennes* published in Paris in 1839.—*Ed.*

[e] Marx uses the English words "country-meetings".—*Ed.*

*ever* serve alongside "that ferocious *monster*".[a] And now the British Army is not only serving *alongside* him, but *under* him—the entire British Army! Just after the Whigs and their Foreign Secretary Palmerston had been defeated by the Tories, Palmerston called a meeting of his constituents in Tiverton and proved his right to break the Anglo-French alliance and unite with Russia by the fact that the French government, that Louis Philippe was employing such a "*monster*" as Pélissier in his service. It must be admitted that while the French Army is paying dearly for its revolt in December, things are not all "roses" for England either, in its alliance with the restored empire.

The Ministry suffered a defeat in the Commons yesterday, which proves nothing except that Parliament occasionally avenges itself on the Ministers for the scorn it enjoys "out of doors".[b] A certain Mr. *Wise* tabled the motion, that

> "it is the opinion of this House that complete revision of our diplomatic establishments recommended in the report of the Select Committee of 1850 on Official Salaries should be carried into effect".[c]

Mr. Wise is a friend of Palmerston. His motion has been drifting about on the agenda of the House for about two years without coming up for discussion. Chance yesterday cast it before the discontented Commons. Wise made his speech, thinking that, after a few remarks by Palmerston, he would be able to play the usual game and withdraw his motion. But in contravention of the agreement Mr. Baillie picked up the motion that Wise had dropped and it was carried, despite Wise and Palmerston, by a majority of 112 to 57. This defeat did not in the least worry an old experienced tactician like Palmerston for he knows that in order to preserve an appearance of independence the House must occasionally condemn a ministerial motion to death and promote an anti-ministerial motion to life. Disraeli's motion, on the other hand, had the effect of an electric shock on the ministerial benches.[162] Palmerston himself, a master at parliamentary play-acting, congratulated "the writers and actors of this unforgettable scene". This was not irony. It was the involuntary tribute of an artist to his rival when the latter beats him at his own game. In the Monday sitting[d] Palmerston had toyed so skilfully with Milner

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[a] Marx uses the English phrase.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English words.—*Ed.*

[c] Wise's motion in the House of Commons and the following debate were reported in *The Times*, No. 22061, May 23, 1855.—*Ed.*

[d] May 21, 1855.—*Ed.*

Gibson and Gladstone and Herbert and Bright and Lord Vane that it seemed certain that all debates on foreign policy would be postponed until after Whitsun, the Ministry and House being obliged to proceed in a particular manner, and that the noble Viscount could be sure of a dictatorship of several weeks' duration. The only day still available for debate, Thursday,[a] was reserved for Layard's reform motion. So no one could prevent Palmerston from concluding peace over Whitsun and, as he has done more than once, surprising the House when it re-assembled with one of his notorious treaties. The House, for its own part, might not have been unwilling to submit to this fate of surprise. Peace made *behind its back*, even peace *à tout prix*, was acceptable with a few *post festum* gestures of protest for decency's sake. But the moment the House and the Ministry were obliged to declare their views *before* the adjournment, the latter could no longer spring any surprises, nor the former let itself be taken unawares. Hence the consternation when Disraeli got up and tabled his motion and Layard relinquished *his* day to Disraeli. This "conspiracy between Layard and Disraeli", as the *Post* called the affair, thus brought to naught all the skilful manoeuvring since the "end" of the Vienna Conference, which has not yet been concluded.[163]

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[a] May 24, 1855.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE NEW FRENCH COMMANDER[164]

It is certain that Gen. Canrobert's resignation of the command of the French army in the Crimea did not take place a moment too soon. The *morale* of the army was already in a very unsatisfactory and doubtful state. After they had been made to undergo the hardships and dangers of an unparalleled Winter campaign, the soldiers had been kept in something like order and good spirits by the return of Spring and by ever-repeated promises of a speedy and glorious termination of the siege. But day after day passed away without making any progress, while the Russians actually advanced out of their lines and constructed redoubts on the disputed ground between the two parties. This roused the spirit of the French soldiers, the Zouaves mutinied, and the consequence was that on February 23 they were led to the butchery on Mount Sapun. A little more bustling—it can hardly be called activity—was then shown on the part of the allied commanders; but there was evidently no distinct aim, and no definite plan was followed up consistently.

Again, the spirit of mutiny among the French was kept down by the continued sallies of the Russians and by the opening of the second bombardment which was—positively for the last time—to end in the grand spectacle of the assault. But the fire went on, slackened, and slackened still more, and at last ceased without any attempt at an assault. Then came engineering operations, slow, difficult and barren of those results which keep up the spirits of soldiers. Soon they got tired again of nightly trench-fighting, where hundreds fell to no visible purpose. Again the assault was demanded, and again Canrobert had to make promises which he knew he could not fulfill. Then Pélissier saved him from a renewal

of disorderly scenes by the night attack of the lst of May; it is stated that not only did Pélissier plan this attack, but even execute it in spite of a counter-order from Canrobert arriving the moment the troops were put in motion. This affair is said to have revived the courage of the soldiers.

Meantime the reserve and the Piedmontese arrived. The Chersonese became crowded. The soldiers considered that these reenforcements enabled them to do anything. Why was nothing done? The expedition to Kertch was resolved upon, and sailed. But before it had reached the offing of that town a dispatch from Paris induced Canrobert to recall it. Raglan of course gave in at once. Brown and Lyons, the commanders of the British land and sea forces on this expedition, besought their French colleagues to attack the place in disobedience to the order; in vain—the expedition had to sail back, and it is even stated that Canrobert had in his hurry misread the order, which was merely conditional. Now the exasperation of the troops was no longer to be mastered. Even the English spoke in unmistakable terms; the French were in a state bordering on mutiny. Accordingly there was nothing left for Canrobert but to resign the command of an army over which he had lost all control and influence. The only possible successor was Pélissier. The soldiers were sick of these young generals, advanced to the highest honors in the quick hotbed of Bonapartism. They had all the while been clamoring for a leader of long standing of the old African school—a man who had held a responsible command in the Algerian wars, and held it with credit. Pélissier was almost the only man of the sort at the command of the Emperor; he had been sent there with the evident intention of being, sooner or later, made the successor of Canrobert. Whatever else his qualifications might be, he had the confidence of the troops, and that is a great deal.

But he takes his command under difficult circumstances. He must act, and speedily too, before the men lose the freshness of the enthusiasm which the certainty of immediate action must have inspired them with. The assault being impossible, nothing remains but to take the field, and that can be done only by turning the Russian position in the manner we have previously described.[a] Indeed, we find our views on this subject confirmed by a British officer in the London *Morning Herald*, who says that it is the general opinion among competent men that there is no other way to take the field with success.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 201-07.—*Ed.*

There is however one very serious difficulty in carrying out this plan. The French with all their army have no more means of transport than will supply 30,000 men for a very short distance from the coast. As to the English, their means of transport would be exhausted if they had to supply one single division no further off than Chorgun on the Chernaya. How then is the field to be taken, in case of success the north side of Sevastopol invested, the enemy pursued to Bakshiserai and a junction effected with Omer Pasha? Of course the Russians will take very good care to leave nothing but ruins behind them, and a supply of carts, horses or camels can only be obtained after the Allies have completely routed their enemy. We shall see how Pélissier will extricate himself from this difficulty.

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## PROLOGUE AT LORD PALMERSTON'S.—COURSE OF THE LATEST EVENTS IN THE CRIMEA[165]

*London*, May 24. No sooner had Disraeli's motion[166] presented the prospect of a regular battle between the *Ins* and *Outs*[a] in the House of Commons than Palmerston sounded the alarm and, a few hours before the commencement of the sitting, he asked his ministerial retinue along with Peelites, Manchester School and so-called Independents to come to his official residence in Downing Street.[b] Two hundred and three M.P.s turned up, including Mr. *Layard* who felt incapable of resisting the ministerial siren-call. Palmerston played the diplomat, the penitent, the apologist, the appeaser, the wheedler. Smilingly he bore with the censorious rebukes of Messrs Bright, Lowe and Layard. He left it to Lord Robert Grosvenor and Sir James Graham to mediate with the "agitated". From the moment he saw the malcontents clustering about him in his official residence, mingling with his faithful followers, he knew he had them in his pocket. They were disgruntled but anxious for reconciliation. Thus the result of the sitting in the Commons was anticipated; nothing more remained but the parliamentary performance of the comedy before the public. The crisis was over. We shall be sending a brief account of this comedy as soon as the final act has been played out.

The types of illness peculiar to the spring and summer season in the Crimea have been reactivated by the return of warm, humid weather. Cholera and ague have again made their appearance in

[a] Marx uses the English words "Ins" and "Outs" (the reference is to the supporters and opponents of the government).—*Ed.*

[b] 10 Downing Street is the official residence of the British Prime Minister. These details are contained in "The Ministry and Its Supporters" published in *The Times*, No. 22063, May 25, 1855.—*Ed.*

the allied camp, not as yet in particularly virulent form but sufficiently so to provide a warning for the future. Also in evidence is the miasma given off by the mass of putrefying animal matter that is buried only a few inches below ground throughout the entire extent of the Chersonese. The *morale* of the besieging army is also in a very unsatisfactory state. After they had undergone the hardships and dangers of an unparalleled Winter campaign, the soldiers had been kept in something like order and good spirits by the return of Spring and by ever-repeated promises of a speedy and glorious termination of the siege. But day after day passed away without making any progress, while the Russians actually advanced out of their lines and constructed redoubts on the disputed ground between the two parties. The Zouaves became unruly and were consequently led to the slaughter on Mount Sapun on February 23. A little more bustling—it can hardly be called activity—was then shown on the part of the allied commanders; but there was evidently no distinct aim, and no definite plan was followed up consistently.

Again, the spirit of mutiny among the French was kept down by the continued sallies of the Russians which kept them occupied and by the opening of the second bombardment which was this time definitely to end in the grand spectacle of the assault. A deplorable fiasco ensued. Then came engineering operations, slow, difficult and barren of those results which keep up the spirits of soldiers. Soon they got tired again of nightly trench-fighting, where hundreds fell to no visible purpose. Again the assault was demanded, and again Canrobert was compelled to make promises which he knew he could not fulfil. Then Pélissier saved him from a renewal of disorderly scenes by the night attack of the 1st of May; it is stated that Pélissier executed it in spite of a counter-order from Canrobert arriving the moment the troops were put in motion. The success of this affair is said to have revived the courage of the soldiers. Meantime the Piedmontese reserve arrived; the Chersonese became crowded. The soldiers considered that these reinforcements enabled them to go into action immediately. Something *had* to be done. The expedition to Kerch was resolved upon, and sailed. But before it had reached the offing of that town a dispatch from *Paris* induced Canrobert to *recall* it. Raglan of course gave in at once. Brown, and Lyons, the commanders of the British land and sea forces on this expedition, besought their French colleagues to attack the place *in spite* of the countermand; in vain—the expedition had to sail back. Now the exasperation of the troops was no longer to be mastered. Even the

English spoke in unmistakable terms; the French were in a state bordering on mutiny. Accordingly there was nothing left for Canrobert but to resign the command of an army over which he had lost all control and influence.

Pélissier was the only possible successor, since the soldiers, long sick of generals who had shot up in the forcing-house of Bonapartism, *had been repeatedly calling for a leader of the old African school.* Pélissier enjoys the confidence of the soldiers but he is taking command under difficult circumstances. He must act, and act quickly. Since an assault is impossible, there is no other choice than to move into the field against the Russians, not, however, in the manner we have previously described when the entire army would have to march along *one single* road that had, moreover, been heavily barricaded by the Russians, but by distributing the army over the numerous small upland paths and tracks mostly used only by shepherds and their flocks, which would make it possible to outflank the Russian position. One difficulty arises here. The French have only sufficient means of transport to supply about 30,000 men for a very short distance from the coast. The means of transport of the English would be exhausted if they had to convey a single division no further than Chorgun on the Chernaya. Given this lack of transport it is difficult to see how then is the field to be taken, in case of success the north side of Sevastopol invested, the enemy pursued to Bakshiserai and a junction effected with *Omer Pasha*? Especially since the Russians in accordance with their custom will take good care to leave nothing but ruins behind them, so that a supply of carts, horses, camels, etc., can only be obtained after the Allies have completely routed their enemy. We shall see how Pélissier will extricate himself from this difficulty.

We have previously drawn attention to a number of peculiar circumstances connected with Pélissier's appointment.[a] However there is a further aspect to be considered here. When the war began, that Bonapartist general *par excellence,* S[ain]t-Arnaud, was entrusted with the supreme command. He did his emperor the service of promptly dying. Not one of the Bonapartists of the first rank was appointed in his place, neither Magnan, nor Castellane, nor Roguet, nor Baraguay d'Hilliers. Recourse was had to Canrobert, a man tarred neither so heavily nor so long with the Bonapartist brush, but having greater African experience. Now, with another change of command, the Bonapartists *du lendemain*[b]

[a] See this volume, pp. 212-13.—*Ed.*
[b] Of tomorrow.—*Ed.*

have been passed over in the same way as those *de la veille*,[a] and the post awarded to a simple African general of no pronounced political complexion, but with many years of service and a name in the army. Must not this descending line inevitably lead to *Changarnier, Lamoricière* or *Cavaignac*, i.e. away from Bonapartism?

"Unfitness for peace no less than for war—such is our situation!" observed a day or two ago a French statesman for whom everything is at stake with the imperial régime. Every action of the restored empire, right up to the appointment of *Pélissier*, proves that he was right.

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[a] Of the day before.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.—THE BREAK-OFF AND CONTINUATION OF THE VIENNA CONFERENCE. —THE SO-CALLED WAR OF ANNIHILATION

*London*, May 26. Further details have become known regarding the *Comité du Salut Ministériel*[a] called by Lord Palmerston the day before yesterday before the opening of the House of Commons, characteristic of the parliamentary mechanism and the position of the various factions which have provided the Ministry with a majority of 100 votes. Right at the outset Palmerston threatened *resignation* if Disraeli's motion [167] were carried. He threatened the prospect of a *Tory Ministry*.[b] The so-called radical parliamentarians, poor fellows,[c] have enjoyed the privilege of having this great and ultimate threat suspended over them since 1830, whenever they break out in mutiny. It never fails to recall them to a sense of discipline. And why? Because they fear the mass movement that is inevitable under a Tory Ministry. How literally correct this view is may be gathered from the confession of a radical who is himself a minister at the moment, if only Minister responsible for the Crown Forests, Sir William Molesworth. This job is well suited for a man who has all along possessed the talent of not being able to see the wood for the trees. M.P. for Southwark, a part of London, he received an invitation from his constituents to attend a public meeting for Southwark held last Wednesday.[d] (N.B. At this meeting, as at the majority of those hitherto held in the provinces, a resolution was passed that administrative

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[a] Committee of Ministerial Safety. (See this volume, p. 218).—*Ed.*

[b] In his speech in the House of Commons on May 25, 1855, a report on which was published in *The Times*, No. 22064, May 26, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English words "poor fellows".—*Ed.*

[d] May 23, 1855.—*Ed.*

reform without prior parliamentary reform is *sham* and *humbug*.[a] Molesworth did not appear but sent a letter and in this letter the radical and Cabinet minister declared: "If Mr. Disraeli's motion is carried the need for administrative reform will become more evident." Which "evidently" means: If the Tories take over the government the reform movement will become serious. The threat of resignation, though, was not the biggest gun that Palmerston fired off. He alluded to the *dissolution of Parliament* and to the fate of the many unfortunates who scarcely three years ago had bought their way into the "honourable House" at tremendous sacrifice. This argument was irresistible. It was no longer just a question of *his* resignation. It was a question of *their* resignation.

Although Palmerston thus secured a majority of 100 votes against Disraeli's motion, by threatening some with *his* resignation, and others with *their* ejection from the House of Commons, presenting some with the prospect of peace and others with the prospect of war—the newly founded coalition immediately collapsed again, this happening during the public performance of the agreed farce. The statements which the ministers were induced to make during the debate neutralised the statements they had made *en petit comité*.[b] The mortar which loosely held together the reluctant groupings crumbled away, not in a hurricane but in the parliamentary wind. For in yesterday's sitting Roebuck put a question to the Prime Minister about the rumoured re-opening of the Vienna Conferences. He demanded to know whether the British ambassador in Vienna[c] was instructed to take part in these conferences. Ever since the return of Russell, that hapless diplomat, from Vienna, Palmerston, as is common knowledge, had rejected all debates on war or diplomacy on the pretext of not jeopardising the "admittedly interrupted but by no means concluded Vienna Conferences". Milner Gibson had withdrawn or postponed his motion[168] last Monday[d] because according to a statement by the noble Lord "the conferences were still pending". On that occasion Palmerston had expressly emphasised that the British government was leaving it to *Austria*, "our ally within certain limits", to devise new starting-points for peace negotiations. The continued existence of the Vienna Conference was, he said, beyond all doubt. Though Russell had left Vienna, Westmorland was continuing to reside in Vienna, where, moreover,

[a] Marx uses the English words "sham" and "humbug".—*Ed.*
[b] In a small circle.—*Ed.*
[c] J. F. Westmorland.—*Ed.*
[d] May 21, 1855.—*Ed.*

the plenipotentiaries of all the great powers were engaged in consultations; in other words, all the elements of a permanent conference were present.[a]

Since Monday, the day Palmerston favoured Parliament with these revelations, a major change had occurred in the situation. Disraeli's motion and a day spent debating it[b] separated the Palmerston of Monday from the Palmerston of Friday, and Disraeli had motivated his motion with the misgiving that the government might "drift into a shameful peace" during the recess, just as it had "drifted" into a shameful war under Aberdeen's auspices. Thus the outcome of the vote hung on Palmerston's answer to Roebuck's question. This time he could not call up the ghost of the Vienna Conference and inform the House that in Vienna they were deciding, while in the Halls of St. Stephen's[c] they were debating: that here they were proposing but there they were disposing. This was all the more impossible as only the previous evening Russell had disowned Austria and the peace projects and the Vienna Conference. Accordingly he replied to Roebuck: the Vienna Conference had *not* been resumed, and the British envoy had *no* permission to attend a new conference without special instructions from Downing Street. Then Milner Gibson got up in a state of moral indignation. A few days ago, he said, the noble Lord had declared that the Conference was merely *suspended*, and that Westmorland possessed *absolute authority* to negotiate at it. Had he been deprived of this authority, if so, when?—Authority! replied Palmerston, his authority is as complete as ever, but he has not the power to use it. To possess authority and to be permitted to use it are two different things. This answer to Roebuck's question broke the ties between the Ministry and the peace-at-any-price party augmented by the Peelites. But this was neither the only nor the most important "misunderstanding". The day before yesterday Russell was stretched on the rack by Disraeli and tortured and pricked with red-hot pins for hours. With one hand Disraeli displayed the rhetorical lionskin in which the Whig Aztec likes to parade; with the other, the diminutive gutta-percha manikin hiding beneath the

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[a] Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on May 21, 1855. *The Times*, No. 22060, May 22, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] May 24, 1855. Below Marx quotes a passage from Disraeli's speech and mentions the speeches of Gladstone and Russell at that sitting. *The Times*, No. 22063, May 25, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] The House of Commons met in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster Palace, since 1547.—*Ed.*

skin. Although Russell is armed against harsh words by his long parliamentary experience and adventures like the invulnerable Siegfried against wounds, he was unable to remain composed in the face of this ruthless, naked exposure of his true self. He pulled faces while Disraeli spoke. He twisted and turned in his seat uneasily and incessantly while Gladstone followed with his sermon. When Gladstone made a rhetorical pause Russell got up and was only reminded by the laughter of the House that his turn had not yet come. At last Gladstone fell silent for good. At last Russell could unburden his oppressed heart. He now told the House everything that he had wisely concealed from Prince Gorchakov and Herr von Titov. Russia, whose "*honour and dignity*" he supported at the Vienna Conference, now seemed to him to be a power unscrupulously striving for mastery of the world, making treaties as pretexts for wars of conquest, making wars so as to spread poison with treaties. Not only England but all Europe seemed to him to be threatened, nothing short of a war of annihilation would do. He alluded to Poland too. In short, the Vienna diplomat was suddenly transformed into a "street demagogue" (one of his favourite expressions). In a cunningly calculating way Disraeli had launched him into this odic style.

But immediately *after the division* Sir James Graham, the Peelite, rose to speak.[a] Was he to believe his ears? Russell had declared a "new war" on Russia, a crusade, a war to the death, a war of the nationalities. The matter was too serious for the debate to be concluded now. The House was even more in the dark about the intentions of the ministers than before. Russell thought that *after* the vote he could cast off the lionskin in his usual way. He therefore did not beat about the bush. Graham had "*misunderstood*" him. He only sought "security for Turkey". There you are! cried Disraeli, you who have acquitted the Ministry of the charge of "ambiguous language" by rejecting my motion, you now hear how honest he is! This Russell retracts *after* the vote the whole of the speech that he made *before* the vote! I congratulate you on your voting!

The House could not resist this *demonstratio ad oculos*[b]; the debate was adjourned until after the Whitsun recess; the victory won by the Ministry had been lost again in a moment. The comedy was only supposed to consist of two acts, and to end with the division. Now it has had an epilogue added to it that threatens

[a] Graham's speech in the House of Commons on May 25, 1855.—*Ed.*
[b] Visual proof.—*Ed.*

to be more serious than the grand historical drama. In the meanwhile the parliamentary recess will enable us to analyse the first two acts more closely. It remains unprecedented in the annals of Parliament that the debate should only start in earnest *after* the vote. Hitherto, parliamentary battles have usually ended with the vote just as romantic novels end with the wedding.

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# Karl Marx

## DISRAELI'S MOTION

*London*, May 28. The Commons were offered a "rich menu", as the elegant Gladstone put it, in the choice between Disraeli's motion and Baring's amendment to Disraeli's motion, between Sir William Heathcote's sub-amendment to Baring's amendment and Mr. Lowe's counter-sub-amendment against Disraeli, Baring and Sir William Heathcote.[a] Disraeli's motion contains a censure of the ministers and an address on the war to the Crown, the former definite and the latter flexible, both connected by a link accessible to the parliamentary thought process. The feeble form in which the war address was wrapped was soon explained. Disraeli had to apprehend mutiny in his own camp. One Tory, the Marquis of Granby, spoke *against* it, another, Lord Stanley, spoke *for* it, but both in a spirit of peace. Baring's amendment was a *ministerial* one. It suppresses the vote of censure against the Cabinet, and adopts the bellicose part of the motion with Disraeli's own terminology, only prefacing it with the words that the House "has seen with regret that the Conferences of Vienna have not led to a termination of hostilities". He is blowing hot and cold in the same breath. The "regret" for the peace lobby, the "continuation of the war" for the war lobby, no definite obligation on the part of the Cabinet to either lobby—a *shell-trap*[b] for votes, black and white, a part for the flute and a part for the trumpet. Heathcote's sub-amendment rounds off Baring's two-tongued amendment in a thoroughly idyllic turn of phrase by adding the words: "that the

[a] Disraeli's motion and the amendments to it, and his speech in the House of Commons on May 24, 1855, were reported in *The Times*, No. 22063, May 25, 1855; the amendments and the speech by Lowe in the Commons on May 25, 1855 were published in *The Times*, No. 22064, May 26, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English expression.—*Ed.*

House is still cherishing the hope" ("cherishing"[a] is a thoroughly cosy expression) "that the communications in progress may arrive at a successful issue". Lowe's amendment, on the other hand, declares the peace negotiations closed with the rejection of the Third Point[169] by Russia and thus motivates the war address to the Crown. It can be seen that the eclectic amendment of the Ministry has both sides, which it sought to hush up and neutralise, independently and peacefully confronting each other. Continuation of the Vienna Conferences! cries Heathcote. No Vienna Conference! retorts Lowe. Vienna Conference and warfare! whispers Baring. We shall hear the themes of this terzetto performed in a week's time, and for the moment return to the debate on Disraeli's motion, on whose first night[b] only three principal political personages appeared, *Disraeli*, *Gladstone* and *Russell*, the first pungent and drastic, the second smooth and casuistic, the third banal and blustering.

We do not agree with the objection that in his personal attack on Russell, Disraeli lost sight of the "actual issue". The secrets of the Anglo-Russian war are not to be found on the battlefield but in Downing Street.[c] Russell, Foreign Secretary at the time of the Petersburg Cabinet's secret communications, Russell, envoy extraordinary at the time of the last Vienna Conference, Russell, at the same time Leader[a] of the House of Commons; he is Downing Street personified, he is its secret *revealed*. Not because he is the soul of the Ministry but because he is its mouth-piece.

Towards the end of 1854, relates Disraeli, Russell gave a blast on the trumpet of war, and among loud cheers[a] told a full House:

> "England could not lay down arms until *material guarantees* are obtained, which, reducing Russia's power to *proportions* innocuous for Europe, will afford perfect security for the future."

This man was a member of a Cabinet that approved the Vienna Protocol of December 5, 1853, in which the English and French plenipotentiaries stipulated that the war should not lead to a reduction or alteration of the "material conditions" of the Russian Empire.[170] Clarendon, questioned by Lyndhurst about this protocol, declared on behalf of the Ministry:

> "It might be the will of Austria and of Prussia, but it was not the will of England and France that a reduction of Russian power in Europe should be brought about."

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[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*
[b] May 24, 1855.—*Ed.*
[c] The Prime Minister's official residence.—*Ed.*

To the House Russell denounced the conduct of Emperor Nicholas as "false and fraudulent". In July 1854 he flippantly announced the invasion of the Crimea, declaring that the destruction of Sevastopol was a matter of European necessity. He finally brought about the fall of Aberdeen for, in his opinion, conducting the war too feebly. So much for the lionskin, now for the lion. Russell was Foreign Secretary for two or three months in 1853, at the time when England received the "*secret and confidential correspondence*" from Petersburg in which Nicholas openly demanded the partition of Turkey, to be attained chiefly through his pretended protection of the Christian subjects of Turkey, a protection which, as Nesselrode admits in his last despatch, has never existed. What did Russell do? He addressed a despatch to the British ambassador in Petersburg,[a] which literally says:

"The more the Turkish Government adopts the rules of impartial law and equal administration, the less will the Emperor of Russia find it necessary to apply that exceptional '*protection*' which he has found so burdensome and inconvenient, though, no doubt, prescribed by duty and sanctified by treaty."

Thus Russell concedes the point at issue from the start. He not only declares the protection legal but obligatory. He traces it back to the Treaty of Kainardji.[171] And what does the "Fourth Point" of the Vienna Conference[b] state? That "the erroneous interpretation of the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardji was the principal cause of the present war". If we see Russell at the outbreak of war as the advocate of Russian *rights*—now renounced even by Nesselrode—at the end of the first stage of the war, at the Vienna Conference, we observe him as the champion of Russia's *honour*. As soon as the real business, the discussion of the Third Point,[172] began on March 26, the Russian-eater Russell rose and solemnly declared:

"In the eyes of England and of her allies, the best and *only admissible* conditions of peace would be those which, being the most in harmony with the honour and dignity of Russia, should at the same time be sufficient for the security of Europe, etc."

On April 17 the Russian envoys therefore refused to take the initiative in making proposals for the Third Point, being convinced after Russell's statement that the conditions offered by the allied envoys would be conceived more in the Russian spirit than any that Russia herself could devise. But was the limitation of Russian naval forces "most in harmony with Russia's honour"? In his latest

[a] G. H. Seymour.—*Ed.*

[b] In this paragraph the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has "Vienna Congress" instead of "Vienna Conference".—*Ed.*

circular Nesselrode therefore adhered firmly to Russell's concessions of March 26. He quotes Russell. He asks him whether the proposals of April 19 are "the best and only admissible ones". Russell appears as the patron of Russia on the threshold of war. He appears as her patron at the end of the first stage of the war, at the green table in Count Buol's palace.

Thus far Disraeli against Russell. He then traced both the disasters at the front and the discord in the country itself back to the contradictory actions of the Ministry, which is working for war in the Crimea and peace in Vienna, combining warlike diplomacy with diplomatic warfare.

Disraeli exclaimed:

"I deny that all you have to do to make war is to levy taxes and to fit out expeditions. [...] You must keep up the spirit of the people. You cannot do this if you are perpetually impressing on the country that peace is impending and [...] that the point of difference between ourselves and our opponents is, [...] after all, [...] comparatively speaking, of a very petty character. Men will endure great sacrifices if they think they are encountering an enemy of colossal power [...]. A nation will not count the sacrifices which it makes if it supposes that it is engaged in a struggle for its fame, its existence, and its power; but when you come to a doubled and tripled income tax, when you come to draw men away from their homes for military service, when you darken the hearts[a] of England with ensanguined calamities—when you do all this, men must not be told that this is merely a question of whether [...] Russia shall have four frigates or eight in the Black Sea.... If you would carry on war, it is necessary not merely to keep up the spirit of the nation, but also to keep up the spirit of foreign Powers; but you may rest assured that so long as you appeal to a foreign Power as a mediator that foreign Power will never be your ally.... Lord Palmerston told us that he was not going to make an ignominious peace [...]. The noble lord is witness for himself, but who will be witness for the noble lord?...

"...You cannot, however, extricate yourselves from these difficulties by conferences at Vienna. You will only increase your difficulties and augment your dangers if you trust to diplomacy. Your position is one that is entirely deceptive; and you never can carry on war with success unless [...] you are supported by an enthusiastic people, and unless [...] you can count upon allies [...] who know that you are determined to support them.

"...I want this House by its decision tonight to put an end to that vicious double system by which we have so long carried on [...] war and diplomacy. I want it to say openly and in distinct language that the time for negotiations has passed. No man, I think, will be inclined to deny that proposition who has read Nesselrode's circular."

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[a] In Disraeli's speech: "hearths".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## FROM PARLIAMENT

*London*, May 29. *Gladstone*'s kind of eloquence has never been given more complete and exhaustive expression than in his "speech"[a] on Thursday evening.[b] Polished blandness, empty profundity, unction not without poisonous ingredients, the velvet paw not without the claws, scholastic distinctions both grandiose and petty, *quaestiones* and *quaestiuniculae*,[c] the entire arsenal of probabilism [173] with its casuistic scruples and unscrupulous reservations, its unhesitating motives and motivated hesitation, its humble pretensions of superiority, virtuous intrigue, intricate simplicity, Byzantium and Liverpool. Gladstone's speech revolved not so much around the question of war or peace between England and Russia as the examination of why Gladstone, who until a short while ago had been a member of a Ministry engaged in war, had now become the Gladstone of the peace-at-any-price party. He analysed, he scrutinised the limits of his own conscience in all directions with all manner of subtleties, and with characteristic modesty demanded that the British Empire move within the limits of the Gladstonian conscience. His speech thus had a diplomatic-cum-psychological colouring which may have brought conscience into diplomacy, but even more definitely brought diplomacy into conscience.

The war against Russia was originally a just one, but we have now reached the point where its continuation would be sinful.

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[a] Marx uses the English word.— *Ed.*

[b] The speeches of Gladstone and Russell in the debate on Disraeli's motion in the House of Commons on May 24, 1855 were published in *The Times*, No. 22063, May 25, 1855.— *Ed.*

[c] Minor questions.— *Ed.*

Since the start of the Eastern troubles we have gradually raised our demands. We have followed an ascending line with our conditions, while Russia has been moving down from the heights of her intransigence. At first Russia claimed not only a spiritual, but also a temporal protection over the Greek Christians of Turkey. She was unwilling to give up any of the old treaties, and would agree to evacuate the Danubian provinces only under certain conditions. She refused to attend any congress of the powers at Vienna, and summoned the Turkish ambassador to St. Petersburg or to the Russian headquarters. That was Russia's language up to February 2, 1854. What a distance between the demands of the Western powers at that time, and the Four Points[174]! And as late as August 26, 1854, Russia declared that she would never accept the Four Points except after a long, desperate and calamitous struggle. Again, what a distance between Russia's language in August 1854 and her language of December 1854, when she promised to accept the Four Points "unreservedly"! These Four Points are the nodal point to which our demands can rise, and Russia's concessions descend. Whatever lies beyond the Four Points lies outside the pale of Christian morality. Well! Russia has accepted the 1st point; she has accepted the 2nd point, and has not rejected the 4th point, for it has not been discussed. That only leaves the 3rd point, i.e. only a quarter, and not even the whole of the 3rd point but only a half of it, thus a difference of only one-eighth. For the 3rd point consists of two parts: No. 1, the guarantee of Turkish territory; No. 2, the reduction of Russian power in the Black Sea. Russia has stated that she is more or less willing to accept No. 1. So that only leaves the second half of the 3rd point. And even here Russia has not said that she objects to the limitation of her superiority at sea; she has merely declared her opposition to *our methods* of carrying it out. The Western powers have suggested one method, while Russia suggests not merely one but two alternative methods, thus here again she is ahead of the Western powers. As regards the method proposed by the Western powers, it is an affront to the honour of the Russian Empire. But one must not affront the honour of an empire without reducing its power. On the other hand, one must not reduce its power because one is thereby affronting its honour. These are different views on "method", a difference of one-eighth of a point, and as it is a matter of "method" it can be regarded as 1/32 of a point—and for that another half a million men is to be sacrificed? On the contrary, it must be stated that we have attained the aims of the war. Should we therefore continue it for pure

*prestige*, for military glory? Our soldiers have covered themselves with glory. If England has nevertheless fallen into discredit on the Continent,

> "For God's sake," cried the honourable gentleman, "don't let us seek to avenge that discredit—don't let us wipe it out by human blood, but rather by sending abroad more correct information".

And, indeed, why not "correct" the foreign newspapers? Further successes on the part of the allied forces—where do they lead to? They force Russia to resist more stubbornly. Allied defeats? They make the Londoners and Parisians excited and force them to make bolder attacks. What is the result of waging war for war's sake? Originally Prussia, Austria, France and England were *united* in their demands on Russia. Prussia has already withdrawn. If we go on, Austria, too, will withdraw. England would be isolated except for France.

If England continues the war for reasons shared by no other power but France, "the moral authority of its position is greatly weakened and undermined". But on the other hand a peace with Russia, if it forfeits the *prestige* that is of this world, will strengthen its "moral authority", which neither moth nor rust doth corrupt.[a] Moreover, what do the people want who do not accept Russia's method of carrying out the second half of the 3rd point? Do they intend to dismember the Russian Empire? Impossible without provoking a "war of the nationalities". *Will* Austria, *can* France support a war of the nationalities? If England undertakes a "war of nationalities" it must undertake it *alone*, i.e. "it will not undertake it at all". So nothing is possible except to demand nothing that Russia has not already conceded.

That was Gladstone's speech in spirit, if not in letter. Russia has changed her *language*: proof that she has backed down in *substance*. For the honourable Puseyite[175] the language is the only issue. He too has changed his language. He is now uttering jeremiads over the war; he is overwhelmed by the suffering of all mankind. He uttered apologias when he inveighed against the Committee of Inquiry and found it quite in order to abandon an English army to all the sufferings of death from starvation and the plague. Of course! Then the army was being sacrificed for *peace*. The sin begins when it is sacrificed for *war*. He is, however, fortunate in demonstrating that the British government was never in earnest in the war against Russia, fortunate in demonstrating that neither the present British government nor the present

[a] Matthew 6:20.—*Ed.*

French government would be able or willing to wage serious war on Russia, fortunate in demonstrating that the *pretexts* for the war are not worth a single bullet. But he forgets that these "pretexts" belong to him and his former colleagues, the "war" itself however was forced on them by the British people. The leadership of the war was for them simply a pretext for paralysing it and maintaining their positions. And from the history and metamorphoses of the false pretexts under which they waged war he successfully concludes that they could make peace under equally false pretexts. He finds himself at variance with his old colleagues only on one point. He is Out, they are In.[a] A false pretext good enough for the ex-minister is not a false pretext good enough for the minister, although what's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

Gladstone's terrible confusion of ideas gave *Russell* the long-awaited signal. He got up and painted Russia black where Gladstone had painted her white. But Gladstone was "Out" and Russell was "In". After blustering forth all the familiar, and despite their triviality, true platitudes about Russia's plans for world conquest, he came to the point, to Russell's point. Never, he declared, had such a great national issue been so totally degraded as this had been by Disraeli. True enough: can one degrade a national issue, indeed a matter of world history, further than by identifying it with little[b] *Johnny,* with *Johnny Russell*? But it was in fact not Disraeli's fault that *Europe* versus *Russia* at the beginning and end of this first stage of the war appeared as *Russell* versus *Nesselrode.* The little man performed some odd contortions when he came to the Four Points. On the one hand, he had to show that his peace terms were related to the Russian horrors he had just exposed. On the other hand, he had to show that true to his voluntary, unprovoked promise to Titov and Gorchakov, he had proposed terms "which harmonised best with the honour of Russia". Hence he proved, on the one hand, that Russia exists only *nominally* as a naval power, and so can well afford a limitation of this merely imaginary power. On the other hand, he proved that the navy, scuttled by Russia herself, is a terrible thing for Turkey and hence for European equilibrium, i.e. "the second half of the 3rd point" formed one great whole. Many a man is caught by his opponent between the two horns of a dilemma. Russell impaled himself on

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[a] Marx uses the English words "Out" and "In" (the reference is to the opposition and the government).—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

both horns. He gave new samples of his *diplomatic talent.* Nothing could be expected of Austria's active alliance *because* a battle lost would bring the Russians to Vienna. *This* is the way he encourages an ally.

"We say," he continued, "that Russia intends to get possession of Constantinople, and to rule there, as *Turkey is obviously in a state of decay;* and I do not doubt that Russia harbours the same opinion of the intentions of England and France in the case of the break-up of that country."

All that was lacking was for him to add: "She is wrong, however. Not England and France, but England alone must take possession of Constantinople." In this way the great diplomat encouraged Austria to take sides; thus he betrayed to Turkey the "obvious" opinion of her *saviours* and supporters. He has, however, improved as a parliamentary tactician on one count. In July 1854, when he was bragging about the seizure of the Crimea, he let himself be so startled by Disraeli that he ate his heroic words *before* the House divided. *This time* he postponed this process of self-consumption—the retraction of his proclaimed world struggle against Russia—until *after* the vote had been taken. A great improvement!

His speech also contained two historical illustrations, his extremely comical account of the negotiations with Emperor Nicholas over the Treaty of Kainardji,[176] and a sketch of *German* conditions. Both deserve a mention in extract. As the reader will remember, *Russell* had conceded Russia's protection at the outset, based on the Treaty of Kainardji. The British ambassador in Petersburg, Sir Hamilton Seymour, turned out to be more awkward and more sceptical. He made inquiries of the Russian government, the story of which Russell is naive enough to recount as follows:

"Sir Hamilton Seymour asked the late Emperor of Russia to have the goodness to point out the part of the Treaty [...] upon which the right he claimed was founded. His Imperial Majesty said [...] 'I would not point out to you the particular article in the treaty on which my claim " (to protection) "is based. You may go to Count Nesselrode and he will show you the article.' Hamilton Seymour did go to Count Nesselrode [...]. Count Nesselrode replied he was not very conversant with the articles of the treaty and told Hamilton to go to Baron Brunnow or refer his government to him and the Baron would tell him what part of the treaty it is which gives the Emperor the right he claims.' I believe Baron Brunnow never attempted to point out any such article in the treaty."

About Germany the noble Lord related:

"In Germany she [Russia] is connected with many of the smaller Princes by marriage. Many of the Princes of Germany, I am sorry to say, live in great fear of

what they think the revolutionary disposition of their subjects, and rely on their armed forces for protection. But what are those armed forces? The officers of those forces are seduced and corrupted by the Russian Court. That Court distributes rewards, orders and distinctions among them, and in some cases Russia regularly supplies them with money to pay their debts so that Germany which ought to be in a state of independence—Germany which should stand forward for the protection of Europe against Russian domination—has for years been corrupted, and has been undermined in its vital strength and independence, by Russian arts and Russian means."

And in order to precede Germany like a column of fire and rouse it to the "categorical imperative",[177] *duty*, Russell declared himself at the Vienna Conference the champion of the "honour and dignity of Russia" and let Germany hear the proud language of the free and independent Englishman.

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# Karl Marx

## A CRITIQUE OF PALMERSTON'S LATEST SPEECH

*London*, June 1. If Gladstone deceives by his air of profundity, Palmerston deceives by his air of superficiality. He knows how to conceal his real intention with true artistry beneath loosely connected phrases meant for effect and commonplace concessions to the opinion of the day. His Cabinet speech has now lain before the public for a week.[a] The daily and weekly press has ventilated, scrutinised and criticised it. His enemies say that after keeping to the language of old Aberdeen for many months he has now found it appropriate to speak the language of old Palmerston again for an evening. They say: the noble lord is witness for himself, but who will be witness for the noble lord[b]? They regard his speech as a clever feat since he manages to avoid giving any definite account of his policies, and adopts such an elastic, airy form that it is impossible to pin him down anywhere. His friends, on the other hand, do not hesitate to hail the wind he expended on his rhetorical organ-playing as the music itself. From the beginning he correctly grasped the situation in which he had to present himself to the House and to the country. Who confronts me?

"...There are those who think, on the one hand, that we have not been sufficiently vigorous in the prosecution of the war while there are those who wish, on the other hand, to drive the country to a peace upon ignominious terms; on the one hand, there are those who reproach us for having opened negotiations with Austria that are pointless and only paralyse the war, but, on the other, those

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[a] A report on Palmerston's, Disraeli's, and Layard's speeches in the House of Commons on May 25, 1855 was published in *The Times*, No. 22064, May 26, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] A quotation from Disraeli's speech in the House of Commons on May 24, 1855 (see this volume, p. 230).—*Ed.*

who think that we have not gone far enough in these negotiations and have wrecked them by making extravagant demands."

Thus he took up the stance of a man of the true centre. He repulsed the attacks of the war men by referring them to the peace men and the attacks of the peace men by referring them back to the war men. The about-turn against the committed peace men then gave him the opportunity to indulge in well-calculated outbursts of patriotic fervour, loud protestation of energy and all the brave words which he has so often used to bamboozle the *ninnies*. He flattered national pride by listing the great resources that England has at its disposal—his sole reply to the accusation that he is incapable of handling large resources.

"The noble lord," said Disraeli, "reminds me [...] of that *parvenu* who used to recommend himself to his mistress's good graces by enumerating his possessions. 'I have a house in the country, a house in town, a gallery of pictures, a fine cellar of wines.'"

Thus England has a Baltic fleet and a fleet in the Black Sea, and an annual national income of £80 million, etc. However, among all the rhetorical trivialities in which Palmerston's speech petered out, he succeeded in throwing in one *definite statement*, to which he can return later at a suitable opportunity and which he can proclaim as the principle of his policy, sanctioned by the House. No English newspaper has *emphasised* it, but the art of Palmerstonian oratory has always consisted of concealing its own point and sweeping it away from the memory of his listeners in the smooth, shallow flow of his phraseology. But as it is not simply a question of momentary success for Palmerston, as it is for Russell, because he plans ahead, he does not merely content himself with the oratorical expedients of the moment but carefully lays the foundation for his subsequent operations. The statement mentioned above says literally:

"We are engaged in a great operation in the Black Sea. We trust and hope that we shall be *successful* in that operation. We *think success in that operation will lead to the obtaining those conditions which* [...] *we have thought, in the present state of the conflict, Britain, France and Austria have a right to demand.*"

In other words, however protracted the operations in the Black Sea may be, the diplomatic basis of the war remains the same. However great the military success may be, final success is determined in adyance, and limited to what are called the Four Points.[178] And Palmerston makes this declaration when only a few hours earlier Layard had stripped the Four Points of their Russophile mask. But Palmerston diverted attention from Layard's

criticism, he avoided dealing with the real question, the value of the ostensible aims and objectives of the war, by defending the second half of the 3rd point[a] against Gladstone and advancing this *half* of the point as the *entire thing*.

Palmerston's speech was interrupted by an incident that is worthy of mention. An English bigot by the name of Lord Robert Grosvenor preached a penitential sermon at him because he had discussed military successes and the chances of war without taking into account the grace and favour of the Almighty, without even "mentioning the name of God". So he called down divine judgment on his nation. Palmerston immediately did penance, beating his breast and proving that if necessary he, too, can preach and roll his eyes just as well as Lord Robert Grosvenor. But the parliamentary episode received a popular sequel. The citizens of Marylebone (a part of London) had called a large meeting in the School Room, Cowper Street, to protest against the "Bill for the Suppression of Trade on Sundays". As their constituents were involved here, Lord Ebrington and Lord Robert Grosvenor appeared to defend the Bill, which they themselves had tabled in Parliament. Instead of relying on the protection and grace of God, however, they had taken pains to place a dozen paid clappers and trouble-makers at various spots in the meeting. The secret was soon discovered, and the hired agents of bigotry were immediately seized by the good citizens and thrown out into the street. Incapable of facing the hissing, booing and whistling that now broke out, the "noble lords" resumed their seats in a state of embarrassment. As soon as they left the meeting, an "unpaid" mob followed their carriage with unmistakable manifestations of sinful scorn and hardness of heart.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 232-33.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE ASSOCIATION FOR ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM. [—PEOPLE'S CHARTER][179]

*London*, June 5. The Association for Administrative Reform[180] has gained a victory in Bath. Its candidate, Mr. Tite, has been elected a Member of Parliament by a large majority against the Tory candidate.[a] This victory, gained on the territory of its "legal" country, is being celebrated as a great event by today's Liberal papers. Bulletins about the poll[b] are being published with no less ostentation than those about the bloodless successes on the Sea of Azov. Bath and Kerch! is the motto of the day. But the press—pro-reform and anti-reform, Ministerial, Opposition, Tory, Whig and Radical papers alike—says nothing about the defeats and disappointments which the Association for Administrative Reform has suffered in the last few days in London, Birmingham and Worcester. To be sure, this time the battle was not fought on the well defined territory of a privileged electoral body. Nor were its results such as to draw cries of triumph from the opponents of the City reformers.

The first truly *public* meeting (i.e., one *without* admission tickets) which the Reform Association held in *London* took place in Marylebone last Wednesday.[c] One of the Chartists[d] countered the resolutions of the City reformers by moving the amendment

"that the money aristocracy represented by the City men is as bad as the landed aristocracy; that, under the pretext of reform, it merely wants to climb, on the shoulders of the people, into Downing Street, and there to share offices, salaries

[a] Q. C. Whateley.—*Ed.*
[b] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*
[c] May 30, 1855. A report on the meeting was published in *The People's Paper*, No. 161, June 2, 1855.—*Ed.*
[d] M'Dickey.—*Ed.*

and ranks with the oligarchs; that the Charter with its five points is the only programme of the people's movement".

The chairman of the meeting,[a] one of the City illuminati, voiced a number of misgivings, first, whether he should put the amendment to the vote at all, then, whether he should first take a vote on the resolution or on the amendment, and lastly, *how* he should take the vote. The audience, being tired of his indecision, tactical considerations and troublesome manoeuvres, declared him incapable of presiding further, called on Ernest Jones to replace him in the chair, and voted by a vast majority against the resolution and for the amendment. In *Birmingham*, the City Association called a public meeting in the Town Hall with the Mayor in the chair.[b] The resolution proposed by the Association was countered by an amendment similar to that moved in London. The Mayor, however, flatly refused to put the amendment to the vote unless the word "Charter" was replaced by a less objectionable one. If not, he would withdraw from the chair, he said. The word "*Charter*" was therefore replaced by "*universal suffrage* and voting by ballot". Thus edited, the amendment was passed by a majority of 10 votes. In *Worcester*, where the City reformers held a public meeting, the victory of the Chartists and the defeat of the Administrative Reformers were even more complete. There the *Charter* was proclaimed without more ado.[c]

The extremely embarrassing success of these large meetings in London, Birmingham and Worcester decided the Administrative Reformers to circulate in all the bigger and more populous towns petitions to be signed by people holding similar views, rather than to make public appeals to the *vox populi*. The City notables' manifold links with businessmen in the United Kingdom, and the influence these gentlemen exert upon their clerks, warehousemen[d] and "minor" commercial friends will no doubt enable them to fill the petitions with names very quietly, behind the back of the public, and then to send them to the "Honourable House" with the label, *Voice of the People of England*. But they are mistaken if they think they can intimidate the Government with signatures collected by cadging, intrigue and stealth. The Government observed with ironical self-satisfaction that the Administrative

[a] H. Farrer.—*Ed.*

[b] The meeting was held on May 21, 1855. A report on it was published in *The People's Paper*, No. 160, May 26, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] The meeting was held at the end of May. A report on it appeared in *The People's Paper*, No. 161, June 2, 1855.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

Reformers were hissed out of the *theatrum mundi.* Its organs are silent for the time being, partly because they would otherwise have to register the successes of Chartism, and partly because the ruling class is already toying with the idea of putting itself at the head of the Administrative Reformers should the people's movement become importunate. They keep a "misunderstanding" in reserve should this danger set in: a misunderstanding allowing them sometime in the future to regard the Administrative Reformers as the spokesmen of the masses. Such misunderstandings are an essential element of England's "historical" development, and no one is more familiar with handling them than the free-thinking Whigs.

The *Charter* is a very laconic document; besides the demand for *universal suffrage,* it contains only the following five points, which are all prerequisites for exercising it: 1) vote by ballot; 2) *no* property qualifications for Members of Parliament; 3) payment of Members of Parliament; 4) annual Parliaments; 5) equal electoral districts. After the experiments which undermined *universal suffrage* in France in 1848,[181] the continentals are prone to underrate the importance and meaning of the English *Charter.* They overlook the fact that two-thirds of the population of France are peasants and over one-third townspeople, whereas in England more than two-thirds live in towns and less than one-third in the countryside. Hence the results of universal suffrage in England must likewise be in *inverse* proportion to the results in France, just as town and country are in the two states. This explains the diametrically opposite character which the demand for universal suffrage has assumed in France and England. In France the political ideologists put forward this demand, which every "educated" person could support to a greater or lesser extent, depending on his convictions. In England it is a distinguishing feature roughly separating the aristocracy and bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the people, on the other. There it is regarded as a political question and here, as a social one. In England agitation for universal suffrage had gone through a period of historical development before it became the slogan of the masses. In France, it was *first* introduced and *then* started on its historical path. In France it was the practice of universal suffrage that failed, whereas in England it was its ideology. In the early decades of this century, universal suffrage as propounded by Sir Francis Burdett, Major Cartwright and Cobbett was still a very vague and idealistic concept, so that it could become the pious wish of all sections of the population that did not belong directly to the ruling classes.

For the bourgeoisie, it was in fact simply an eccentric, generalised expression of what it had attained through the parliamentary reform of 1831. In England the demand for universal suffrage did not assume its concrete, specific character even after 1838. Proof: Hume and O'Connell were among those who signed the Charter. The last illusions disappeared in 1842. At that time Lovett made a last but futile attempt to formulate universal suffrage as a *common* demand of what are known as Radicals and the masses of the people.[182] Since that day there has no longer been any doubt about the meaning of universal suffrage. Nor about its name. It is the *Charter* of the people and implies the assumption of political power as a means of satisfying their social needs. Universal suffrage, which was regarded as the motto of universal brotherhood in the France of 1848, has become a battle cry in England. There universal suffrage was the direct content of the revolution; here, revolution is the direct content of universal suffrage. An examination of the history of universal suffrage in England will show that it casts off its idealistic features at the same rate as modern society with its immense contradictions develops in this country, contradictions that are produced by industrial progress.

Alongside the official and semi-official parties, as well as alongside the Chartists, there is another clique of "wise men" emerging in England, who are discontented with the Government and the ruling classes as much as with the Chartists. What do the Chartists want? they exclaim. They want to increase and extend the omnipotence of Parliament by elevating it to democratic power. They are not breaking up parliamentarism but are raising it to a higher power. The right thing to do is to break up the representative system! A wise man from the East, *David Urquhart*, heads that clique. He wants to revert to England's Common Law. He wants to squeeze Statute Law[a] back into its bounds. He wants to localise rather than centralise. He wants to unearth "the true old legal sources of Anglo-Saxon times" from the rubbish. Then they will gush forth of themselves and will water and fertilise the surrounding country. But David is at least consistent. He also wants to reduce modern division of labour and concentration of capital to the old Anglo-Saxon level or, preferably, to that of the Orient. A Highlander by birth, an adoptive Circassian and a Turk by free choice, he is able to condemn civilisation with all its evils,

[a] Marx uses the English terms "Common Law" and "Statute Law" and explains their meaning in German in brackets.—*Ed.*

and even to evaluate it from time to time. But he is not trite like the men with lofty ideas who separate the modern political forms from modern society, and who prattle about local autonomy combined with concentration of capital, and about the uniqueness of the individual combined with the anti-individualising division of labour. David is a prophet who looks backwards, and is in an old-fashioned way enraptured by old England. He must therefore consider it quite all right that new England passes him by and leaves him behind, however urgent and persuasive he may be exclaiming: "David Urquhart is the only man who can save you!" As he did only a few days ago, at a meeting in Stafford.

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# Karl Marx

## PARLIAMENTARY

*London*, June 6. Palmerston has again given proof of his old mastery at handling diplomacy by means of Parliament and Parliament by means of diplomacy. The policy of the ministry was to be discussed on the basis of the amendments of Baring, Heathcote and Lowe.[a] The amendments were all based on the Vienna Conference.[183] During Whitsun week Palmerston conjured away the Vienna Conference, by referring in his dealings with Austria to the past parliamentary debate; and in his dealings with the newly re-opened Parliament[b] he conjured away the debate, by referring to the *past* Conference, which, allegedly, now existed only as a myth. With the Vienna Conference are thrown overboard the amendments which presuppose it; with the amendments, the discussion of the ministry's policy ceases, and with this discussion, disappears the need for the ministry to make any statement about the *tendency, aim and object of the "new" war.* We are assured by *David Urquhart*, alias *David Bey*, that this aim is nothing less than to acquaint the allied troops with the summer diseases of the Crimea, now that they have sampled the winter diseases of the Crimea. And though Urquhart does not know everything, he knows his Palmerston. But he is mistaken about the power that secret design has over public history. Thus Palmerston informs the reassembled Parliament that there is no longer any subject for debate, and that the House could now do nothing better than send a war address to the Crown, i.e. give the ministry

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[a] Amendments to Disraeli's motion of May 24, 1855 (see this volume, pp. 227-28).—*Ed.*

[b] Parliament re-opened on June 4, 1855.—*Ed.*

a *vote of confidence.* For the time being he is thwarted by the stubbornness of the parliamentarians, who have prepared long speeches on the amendments and are resolved to dispose of their goods. By the mere act of disbanding the Conference he has broken the point off these speeches and the *horror vacui,* boredom, will drive Parliament into accepting his address. To save itself from the speeches it will seize on the address.

With the change in the situation, Lowe's amendment has changed its meaning. Originally it meant the break-up of the Vienna Conference. Now it means sanctioning the Vienna Conference and ministerial diplomacy, insofar as it raises Russell's formula for the reduction of Russian maritime power in the Euxinus[a] to the *ultimate aim,* to the real *object* of the war. It is a stumbling block for the peace party insofar as it demands too much, for the war party insofar as it demands too little, and a stumbling block for the ministry insofar as it demands any object, that is any admitted object, for the war. Hence the phenomenon of pro-peace men and Tories being *for* the continuation of the *debate* on Lowe's amendment and the ministry *against* it; hence Palmerston's attempt to jettison it. The attempt failed. He therefore adjourned the debate until Thursday evening. A day's respite gained. In the meantime the final protocol of the Vienna Conference is printed. It is presented to the House. A new and secondary question is raised, and with his "dissolving views"[b] Palmerston can hope to remove the real issue from the focus of the debate.

The two-day parliamentary discussion[c] was as boring, tedious and confused as can only be expected of speeches whose point has been broken off in advance. It offered, however, a characteristic spectacle: whereas before the vote on Disraeli's motion the peace men flirted with the ministry, they now flirted with the Opposition, by which we mean the professional Opposition. Further, it revealed the *entente cordiale* between the Peelites and the Manchester School.[184] The Peelites obviously flatter themselves that they will rule England *after* the war, at the head of the industrial bourgeoisie. Thus, after their long wanderings, the Peelites would at last have a real party behind them, and the industrialists at last have found professional statesmen. If the peace men have thus won Gladstone, Graham and Co., they have lost the "radical" *Sir William Molesworth,* a friend of more than twenty years' standing.

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[a] Ancient Greek name for the Black Sea.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English expression.—*Ed.*

[c] An account of the debate in the House of Commons on June 4 and 5 was published in *The Times,* Nos. 22072 and 22073, June 5 and 6, 1855.—*Ed.*

Molesworth must have read in Hobbes, whom he published,[185] that "intelligence comes through the ears". He therefore appealed not to the intelligence but to the ears. He did what Hamlet forbids the actors to do.[a] He out-tyrannised the tyrant and was more Russell than Russell himself. He had also read in his Hobbes that all men are equal, because each can take the life of the other. As he is now concerned with prolonging his ministerial life he spoke in the spirit of the men who can take it from him. It was indeed a curious thing to see this adding-machine indulging in dithyrambs. Not even *Babbage* in his "Philosophy of Machines"[b] would have imagined it. *Milner Gibson*, the baronet from the Manchester area, was monotonous, soporific, desiccated and desiccating. He has obviously learnt from the nearby metropolis of British industry how to deliver as much as possible while keeping production costs as low as possible. He is a man whose whole appearance proclaims that he is bored. Why should he seek to amuse his fellow-men? Do as you would be done by! Moreover, he clearly counts spirit, wit and life among the *faux frais de production*,[c] and it is the first law of the economic school to which he belongs to avoid "false costs". *Bulwer* hovered between the heroic mood of his "king-maker" and the contemplative one of his "Eugene Aram".[d] In the former he threw down the gauntlet to Russia, in the latter he wove a myrtle wreath around Metternich's brow.

Milner Gibson, Molesworth and Bulwer were the *coryphaei* of the first evening, *Cobden, Graham and Russell* of the second. Cobden's speech alone deserves an analysis which space and time do not permit at present. Let us only remark that he claims Bonaparte was prepared to accept the last Austrian proposals. The late Sir Robert Peel's dirty boy, who has recently taken to "sentiments",[e] "broken hearts" and "love of truth", gave a self-apology on behalf of his neighbour, namely Sir James Graham. He had forbidden Napier to act in the Baltic Sea until the time of year when any action is ruinous for the British Navy. He had forbidden Dundas to shell Odessa. He had thus neutralised the British Navy both in

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[a] The reference is to Hamlet's warning against overacting (Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act III, Scene 2).—*Ed.*

[b] Ch. Babbage, *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures*.—*Ed.*

[c] False costs of production.—*Ed.*

[d] "King-maker" was the nickname of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, described in Bulwer-Lytton's novel *The Last of the Barons*, the action of which takes place during the Wars of the Roses; Eugene Aram is the title character of another of Lytton's novels.—*Ed.*

[e] Marx uses the English words "dirty boy" and "sentiments".—*Ed.*

the Baltic and in the Black Sea. He justifies himself with the size of the fleets which he had equipped. The mere existence of these fleets was proof of British power. Their action was therefore superfluous. A few days ago Napier addressed a laconic letter to a friend of Urquhart, which Urquhart read out at the Stafford meeting. This letter says literally:

"Sir! I hold Sir James Graham capable of any base act. *Charles Napier.*"

*Russell* has finally excelled himself. At the beginning of his speech he declared that the big question confronting the House was the following:

"If you are determined to have peace, upon what conditions can you obtain it? If you mean to carry on the war, for what objects is that war to be carried on?"

As to the first question, his answer could be found in the Vienna protocols. As to the second, the object of the war, his answer had to be a *very general* one, in other words, no answer at all. If one were to accept the phrase "security for Turkey" as an answer, he would not mind. One interpretation of this "security" was given in the *Vienna Note*; another in the *Four Points*[186]; finding a third was not Russell's business but the *war's*. It was Napoleon's principle that war must cover its own costs; it is Russell's principle that war must find its own *object*.

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# Frederick Engels

## FROM THE CRIMEA[187]

The arrival of the *Asia*'s mail at a late hour on Thursday night enabled us yesterday to publish the dispatch of Gen. Pélissier concerning the fight which took place before Sevastopol on the night of May 22, as well as an authentic account of the allied advance upon Chorgun, which was accomplished on the 25th of that month. Some 25,000 men under Canrobert crossed the Chernaya and occupied the line of that streamlet, expelling the Russian outposts from their positions on the hights immediately overhanging the right bank. The Russians fell back as a matter of course, this not being their proper field of battle, in order to concentrate all their forces on the strong line between Inkermann and the range of cliffs to the east of that place. By this advance the Allies have nearly doubled the extent of ground occupied by them—giving them room of which their increased forces stood greatly in need—and managed an opening into the valley of Baidar which may prove very useful. The first step toward a resumption of field operations has been accomplished with success, and should be followed by actions of greater importance.

As for the affair of May 22, the scene of the struggle was between the Quarantine Bay and the Central Bastion—No. 5 of the Russians. It was a very hard-contested and sanguinary conflict. The Russians, as we now learn from Pélissier's report, have occupied all the ground from the head of the Quarantine Bay to the Cemetery, and thence to the Central Bastion by detached works and rifle trenches, though the official British Admiralty plan of the siege-works shows that there are trench-works all over this important ground. But the truth now appears to be that as soon as the Flagstaff and Central Bastions were seriously menaced

and the outworks protecting them taken by the French, this piece of ground was turned by the Russians into one vast works. In a couple of nights long lines of connecting breastworks were thrown up inclosing the whole ground, and thus forming a large *place d'armes* or protected space where troops could safely be concentrated in order to act upon the flanks of any French attack, or even to attempt strong sorties on the flanks of the advanced French works. Pélissier knew by experience the rapidity with which the Russians proceed in structures of the sort, and the tenacity with which they defend their works when once completed. He fell upon them at once. On the night of May 22 an attack in two columns was made. The left column established itself in the Russian trenches at the head of Quarantine Bay, and effected a lodgment; the right column also got possession of the advanced trenches, but being unable to work under the heavy fire of the enemy, had to withdraw at daybreak. On the following night the attempt was renewed with stronger columns and with complete success. The entire work was carried and turned against the Russians by transplanting the gabions from one side of the trench to the opposite one. In this action the French appear to have fought with the greatest gallantry—with some sort of revival of that old *furia francese* which made them so celebrated in former times, although it must be confessed that the statements of Gen. Pélissier as to the odds they had to contend against have some little show of brag about them.

With regard to the third bombardment of the city, which our Halifax dispatch reported as having commenced on the 6th, followed by the storm and capture of the Mamelon and White Tower[a] on the 7th, the *Asia*'s mail furnishes no new information, and enables us to add nothing to our remarks of Wednesday last. We learn however that 25,000 men had been transported to the Chersonese from Omer Pasha's army at Eupatoria, with a view evidently to operations in the field, since if another bombardment and an assault were contemplated, these Turks had better have been left in their former quarters. But it also appears that the allied army was very insufficiently furnished with means of transport and supplies for a campaign in the interior; and the probability is that while waiting for them to be provided, Pélissier has occupied the troops with this active renewal of the siege operations, not with the intention of really undertaking to storm the place at present, but to keep up the *morale* of the men.

[a] The Selenghinsk and Volhynsk redoubts.—*Ed.*

From the conduct of Pélissier since taking the command, it seems certain that he is determined to be guided by his own judgment only and to take no notice of whatever plans and projects the imagination of Louis Bonaparte may be inclined to hatch. Plan-making for Crimean campaigns seems now to be a fashionable occupation at Paris; even old Marshal Vaillant has sent one or two; but Pélissier at once telegraphed that if Vaillant thought his plans so good he had better come to the Crimea to carry them out himself. How this energetic but obstinate and brutal Commander will go on we shall see very shortly; at all events, if it be true, as we see it intimated, that he has ventured to forward "orders" to the British, Turkish and Sardinian Chiefs of the Staff without even taking the trouble to inform the respective Commanders of their contents, he will very soon get up a pretty squabble in the allied camp, where hitherto no single General, but the Council of War, composed of all the Commanders, has been considered supreme. Imagine old Field Marshal Lord Raglan under the command of a single French Lieutenant-General!

Meantime the Russians are not idle. The "expectant" position into which Austria has relapsed and the arrival of reserves and new levies from the interior have enabled Russia to send fresh troops to the Crimea. The 3d, 4th, 5th and 6th Infantry Corps are there already, beside several Cavalry Divisions. Now the 2d Infantry Corps, which was said to be in the Crimea six weeks ago, has actually left Volhynia for the seat of war, followed by the 7th Light Cavalry Division, attached to the Grenadier Corps. This is a pretty sure sign that the infantry and artillery of the Grenadier Corps are next on the list to march to the Crimea; and indeed they are already moving to Volhynia and Podolia to take the place of the 2d Corps. This latter body, commanded by Gen. Paniutin, who in Hungary[a] commanded the Russian Division attached to Haynau's army, will bring to the Crimea 49 battalions of Infantry, beside Artillery and Light Cavalry—in all, about 50,000 or 60,000 men—for there can be no doubt that these corps, which have not yet been engaged, have been raised to the full war-complement. The troops of the 2d Corps will successively arrive on the seat of war from June 15 to July 15, at a time when decisive operations will very likely be taking place, and thus they may take a very important part in the coming Crimean campaign.

The month of June must bring some decision into this Crimean

[a] In 1849.—*Ed.*

warfare. Before June, or at the outside July, has elapsed, either the Russian field-army will have had to leave the Crimea, or the Allies will have to prepare for their own retreat.

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# Frederick Engels

## A CRITIQUE OF THE EVENTS IN THE CRIMEA[188]

*London*, June 8. The arrival of three French reserve divisions in addition to the two Sardinian divisions makes it impossible for the allies to remain spellbound within the narrow confines of the Heracleatic Chersonese. So, on May 25, shortly after General Pélissier assumed command, they sent 20,000-25,000 men to the Chernaya, occupied the line of this river and expelled the Russian outposts from their positions on the heights overhanging the river's right bank. It will be remembered that more than a month ago we pointed out[a] that this, the Russians' advanced line of defence, was not their true battlefield and that consequently, instead of holding their ground and accepting battle along this line, they would probably give it up at the first serious assault so as to concentrate all their forces on the strong line between Inkerman and the range of hills to the east of that place. This has now happened. By this advance the allies have nearly doubled the extent of the area occupied by them, and opened a gateway to the fertile valley of Baidar, which may become very useful in the future. Up to now, however, the advantage gained has not been swiftly and vigorously followed up. The first movement was immediately followed again by stagnation. Lack of transport facilities may have made this inevitable. Disunity between the allied commanders is cited as one cause. The shelling of Sevastopol, resumed on June 6, shelling No. 3, arouses the suspicion that it may be intended to return after an interlude to the old routine. The shelling may, however, be combined with operations in the field. At any rate, one necessary measure (cf. No. 241 of the *N.O-Z.*)[b] has at last been taken—the transportation of

[a] See this volume, pp. 184-85.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 212.—*Ed.*

some 20,000 Turks under the personal command of Omer Pasha from Eupatoria to Chersonese. The allied army has thus increased to a full 200,000 men. With a fighting force of this size active operations can certainly be begun as soon as the organisation of supplies and transport facilities permits the army to take the field. But here there seem to be great difficulties to be overcome.

The second affair to be mentioned in the story of the main army is the battle between the Quarantine Harbour and the Central Bastion (No. 5 of the Russians). It was stubborn and bloody. As we can now see from General Pélissier's report, the Russians held all the ground from the head of the Quarantine Harbour to the churchyard, and from there to the Central Bastion by means of detached earthworks and trenches, although even the official British Admiralty map of the siege-works indulges in the fantasy of placing French fortifications over the whole of this important area. As soon as the Flagstaff and Central bastions were seriously threatened, and the outer works protecting them were taken by the French, the Russians turned this extensive stretch into one great fortification. In a few nights long lines were connected with one another, ramparts thrown up intended to enclose the whole area and form a spacious *place d'armes*, i.e. a fortified place where the troops could be gathered in safety in order to act against the flanks of any French attack or to undertake strong assaults on the flanks of the advanced French fortifications. To deprive the Russians of the time to carry out their plan, Pélissier decided to fall on them immediately, while their earthworks were still incomplete. On the evening of May 22 an attack was made in two columns. The left column established itself in the Russian trenches at the head of the Quarantine Harbour and managed to dig itself in; the right column also captured the advance trenches but was forced to retire again at daybreak by the heavy fire of the enemy. On the following evening the attempt was renewed with stronger columns and complete success. The entire fortification was captured and turned against the Russians by removing the gabions from one side of the trench to the opposite side. In this action the French seem to have fought again with the famous *furia francese,* although it has to be admitted that the manner in which Pélissier describes the difficulties to be overcome is not free from a tinge of boasting.

It is generally known that the expedition to the Sea of Azov was rewarded with total success. A flotilla consisting chiefly of the light warships of the two fleets, manned by 15,000 British, French and

Turks, seized Kerch, Yenikale and the straits leading to the Sea of Azov without encountering resistance. Advancing into this lake, the ships appeared off Berdyansk, Genichesk and Arabat, destroying or compelling the Russians to destroy large supplies of corn and munitions, a number of steamships and nearly 200 transport boats. At Kerch they succeeded in capturing Gorchakov's letters to the commander of the place. The Russian commander-in-chief complains about the lack of provisions in Sevastopol and urges the rapid despatch of fresh supplies. Now it turns out that throughout the campaign the Sea of Azov was the main channel along which the Russians in the Crimea had been receiving their supplies and that 500 *sailing-boats* had been used to transport them. As the allies have up to now only found and destroyed 200 such boats, the remaining 300 must be further up near Taganrog or Azov. A squadron of steamships has therefore been sent out in search of them. The success of the allies is all the more important as it forces the Russians to send all supplies along a slow and less safe land-route via Perekop or via the interior of the Sivash Sea[a] and to set up their main depots at Kherson or Berislav on the Dnieper, in positions far more exposed than those at the head of the Sea of Azov. The almost uncontested success of this expedition is the greatest reproach to the allies' conduct of the war. If such results can now be achieved in four days, why was the expedition not sent out in September or October last year, at a time when similar breaches in the Russians' line of communication might have entailed the retreat of their army and the surrender of Sevastopol?

The land forces accompanying this expedition are intended to protect the steamers if necessary, to supply the captured places with garrisons and to go into action against the Russian communications. Their main corps seems intended to act in the field as a simple flying corps, making sorties whenever there is a chance of dealing a swift blow, retiring behind its fortifications under cover of the ships' guns, and, if the worst comes to the worst, embarking again when threatened by a greatly superior enemy force. If this is its purpose it can perform important duties, and 15,000 are not too many for this. If on the other hand it is intended to act as an independent corps with its own base of operations, undertaking a serious flanking movement against the Russians and attempting to pose a serious threat to the interior of the Crimea, then 15,000 men, weakened by detachments, are far too few for such an operation and run a considerable risk of being

[a] Most western part of the Sea of Azov.—*Ed.*

cut off, surrounded by superior forces and annihilated. At present we only know that they have landed at Kerch and are engaged in preparing it for defence against the interior. The Russians having voluntarily evacuated Sudjouk Kale, Anapa remains the only fortress in their hands on the Circassian coast. It is a natural stronghold that is now moreover well fortified. We doubt that the allies will attack it at the moment. Should they do so they will be making a big mistake, if not positive of rapid success. They would be dispersing troops that need the utmost concentration and wasting their energies by attacking new targets before the old ones are secured.

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# Karl Marx

## THE GREAT PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE

*London*, June 9. The great parliamentary debate has ended, or rather perished because of hypersalivation. Baring's motion[a] was carried without opposition "*amidst the general laughter of the House*". The motion, insipid as it is, concludes with a war address to the Crown. Did the House declare the war "une guerre pour rire"[b]? Or did it declare itself "une parlement pour rire"[c]? At any rate, the real conclusion of the two-week debate did not lie in the acceptance of Baring's motion—a mere formality—but in the general laughter, the spontaneous muscular spasm contravening the regulations, the indiscreet cry of nature beneath which the "honourable House" buried motions and counter-motions, amendments and sub-amendments, ministry and opposition, speeches, counter-speeches, sermons, deductions, shrill sarcasm and pathetic entreaty, prayers for peace and war-cries, tactics and tactlessness, itself and its vote. The House saved itself from the laughable situation by laughing at itself. Thus it confessed that world-historical seriousness in this parliamentary medium first becomes contorted into conventional seriousness, and this contrived seriousness then turns into natural jesting.

Every attempt to get Palmerston to formulate ministerial policy, to make any statement about the object, tendency or purpose of the war failed completely. He flatly declared that

"*it was impossible* to question a minister, or indeed any friend, about the object of the war."[d]

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[a] Baring's amendment to Disraeli's motion of May 24, 1855 (see this volume, pp. 227-28). The amendment was passed by the House of Commons on June 8, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] A war for laughter.—*Ed.*

[c] A parliament for laughter.—*Ed.*

[d] Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on June 8, 1855, published in *The Times*, No. 22076, June 9, 1855.—*Ed.*

It was the peace men that helped him most of all. Do you wish to know why we are waging war? There is Richard Cobden who wants peace at any price. Do you not prefer war without any price to peace at any price? Aim your blows at Richard Cobden! In this way he continually thrust Cobden or Bright or Graham or Gladstone between himself and his antagonists.

The cotton heroes did not merely serve him as padding to line his battle-dress with. More than that. He manufactured gunpowder out of their cotton. It also appeared during the debate that in Russell, just as formerly in Aberdeen, Palmerston possesses a lightning-conductor for his sacrosanct person, a lightning-conductor belonging to the Cabinet itself. It was for this purpose that he sent Russell to Vienna, for the purpose of turning him into his lightning-conductor. And Roebuck is now declaring Russell responsible for the "shortcomings" [a] of the heroic Palmerston just as Layard and Co. formerly did with Aberdeen. The "wingbeats" of his "free soul" [b] are now impeded by the Russellites just as they used to be by the Peelites. He has these weights hanging from him not in order to work, like Black Forest clocks, but so as to strike the hour wrongly.

All the cliques of the House of Commons have emerged the worse for wear from the conventional mock battle. The *Peelites* have at last admitted that they have hitherto been officers without armies. They have given up the pretension of forming a grouping of their own and have openly joined the Manchester School. As they were entrusted with the leadership of the army and navy during the first year of the war they have, by professing their belief in eternal peace, foolishly denounced themselves as the *traitors* within the coalition, to the happy surprise of Palmerston-Russell. They have made themselves impossible.

The *Manchester School* actually want peace in order to wage industrial war at home and abroad. They want to establish the mastery of the English bourgeoisie on the world market, where fighting is only to be permitted with their weapons—cotton-bales—and in England itself, where the aristocrat is to be pushed aside as superfluous in modern production, and the proletarian, as the mere instrument of this production, is to be subjugated, while they themselves, as the leaders of production, are to head the state and take over the offices of government. And now Cobden denounces a clergyman, Dr. Griffiths, for declaring at a public

[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[b] From Georg Herwegh's poem "Aus den Bergen" (*Gedichte eines Lebendigen*).—*Ed.*

meeting that the House of Lords is superfluous. And Bright weeps over the fate of the *royal* children, who will be obliged by the ruin consequent on the war to wash their own shirts. Both denounce popular agitation.[a] Are these the heroes of the Anti-Corn Law League,[189] who, carried to the top on the waves of popular agitation, used to denounce the "barbaric splendour of the Crown", Lords, landed aristocracy, etc., as "false production costs"? Their whole point consisted of the struggle against the aristocracy, not excepting the peace homily. And now they are denouncing the masses to the aristocracy! *Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.*[b] In this debate the Manchester School have renounced their *raison d'être.*

As for the Tories, they have discovered a peace party in their own bosom and proved that they have preserved their tradition as the representatives of English nationalism as little as their hatred for the "Bonapartes".

Finally, the ministerial side? Nothing characterises them better than their frantic efforts to cling to a motion which Palmerston himself had to turn down only a week before, which the proposer wished to drop, but which was accepted by Walpole in the name of the Tories, by Gladstone in the name of the peace men, and by the House in the name of "general merriment".

*The Morning Herald* has received the following communication from the Gulf of Finland:

"16 miles off Cronstadt, May 28. The *Orion* has been in to reconnoiter, and reports that the Russian fleet in Cronstadt consists of six line-of-battle ships, ready for sea; six nearly dismantled ones, thirteen apparently fitted as floating-batteries, and eight steamers of a large size, besides gun-boats, which could not be counted."

"Visited Bomarsund [...] found things exactly the same as they were left, the Russians had done nothing to repair the fortifications, we saw neither man, woman, or child ... the inhabitants fight rather shy of us, in consequence of the Russians having punished a number of them for having traded with the allied squadrons last year...".[c]

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[a] The reference is to the speeches delivered in the House of Commons by Cobden on June 5, 1855, and by Bright on June 7, 1855. *The Times,* Nos. 22073 and 22075, June 6 and 8.—*Ed.*

[b] And for the sake of life to sacrifice life's only end (Juvenalis, *Satirae,* VIII, 85).—*Ed.*

[c] Quoted from two reports published in *The Morning Herald,* No. 22450, June 6, 1855—"Gulf of Finland, 16 Miles off Cronstadt" and "Visit to Bomarsund".—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## SEVASTOPOL [190]

The mails of the *Baltic* have put us in possession of the official documents in regard to the late events at Sevastopol. The dispatches of Gen. Pélissier and Lord Raglan we published yesterday; and we now proceed to set forth the facts as they are established by this and other testimony:

On the 6th of June, the allied batteries on the right attack again opened their fire upon the town. This time, however, it was no general bombardment; it was a cannonade concentrated upon certain points with a view to reduce them at once.[a] The outworks constructed by the Russians on the 23d February and 12th March on this front of defense, the Selenghinsk, Volhynsk and Kamtschatka redoubts, had hitherto kept the besiegers and their batteries at a distance. On the Western front, the allied left attack, there were no such outworks, and the French being by this time established almost on the brink of the ditch or of the covered way (if there is one) of the defenses, the progress made on that side had by far left behind the slower advance of the right attack. As in the siege-plan of the Allies the two great divisions of the lines—the town west of the inner harbor[b] and the suburb of Karabelnaya, on its eastern side—are considered as two separate

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[a] Instead of the preceding text the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* version begins: "The telegraphic dispatch announcing that the bombardment of Sevastopol had been resumed on June 6 was inaccurate. There was only a cannonade concentrated upon certain points which were to be captured at once."—*Ed.*

[b] The southern harbour.—*Ed.*

fortresses which must be attacked at the same time, the right attack had to be pushed with greater energy and the outworks to be forced so as to bring the Allies on this side up into line with their advanced parallels on the left attack. In order to accomplish this, the above redoubts and some minor intrenchments in a quarry flanking the Mamelon (Kamtchatka[a]) on its right, had to be taken. Accordingly, after 36 hours' cannonading, on the evening of the 7th of June the French advanced upon the two redoubts Selenghinsk and Volhynsk over the Careening Bay and upon the Mamelon, while the British assaulted the quarry. After an hour's sharp struggle the Allies were in possession of the works. A number of guns were taken as well as 400 prisoners, among them 13 officers. The loss on both sides was very heavy.[b]

Thus affairs on that side are nearly in the same state now as they were before the 22d February. Of the redoubts carried by the Allies, that of the Mamelon (called by the Russians the Kamtschatka redoubt) was the most important. It was constructed on the 12th of March and the following days. At that time we at once pointed out the great importance of this work and the considerable part it would play in the struggle.[c] The event has fully justified our views. This hastily constructed fieldwork has arrested the progress of the besiegers on one-half of the whole line of attack for eighty-eight days, or for a period which in ordinary sieges is considered more than sufficient to take a good-sized fortress twice over. We will now explain this astonishing phenomenon, which has but two parallels in the history of sieges: one in the defense of Colberg, 1807, by the Prussians; the other in the defense of Dantzic by the French in 1813-14.[191]

With the increase of armies in the field, the old and generally small fortifications of the time of Vauban lost their significance. They were safely passed by the hosts of the victor and scarcely observed by his flying corps, until the reserves of his army came up and found time to take them. But when these considerable armies on their march fell in with large fortresses they were

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[a] The Kamchatka demi-lune.—*Ed.*

[b] The end of this paragraph beginning with the words "After an hour's sharp struggle" does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.—Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 151-55. This and the following sentence do not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.—Ed.*

invariably arrested. This was the case with Napoleon at Mantua in 1797, and at Dantzic in 1807.[192] The reason is evident.[a] When an army of 150,000 men advanced into a hostile country the small fry of fortresses offered no danger in the rear: all their garrisons put together were not strong enough to meet the reenforcements and reserves which were dispatched from the depots to keep up the active army to its full strength. Such small garrisons, besides, could not detach any strong bodies of troops to scour the field and to interrupt the communications of the hostile army. But when a fortress of considerable extent was met with, garrisoned by 15,000 to 25,000 men, the case was different. Such a fortress was the nucleus of defense for a whole province; it could detach in any direction, and to a considerable distance, a strong body of troops capable of acting in the field and always sure, in case of superior attack, of a safe retreat to the stronghold. To observe such a fortress was nearly as troublesome as to take it; therefore, it had to be taken at once.

Now the old fortresses of the Vauban and Cormontaigne sort concentrated all their means of defense around the main rampart and in the main ditch. All their tenailles, demi-lunes, counter-guards, tower-reduits were accumulated so as to form with all but one line of defense, which, when once broken into, was pierced altogether in a few days; and a breach once made through these defenses, the place was taken. It is evident that such a system was totally unadapted to the large fortresses which alone could check the advance of large invading armies; it would have amounted to sacrificing the garrison; the breach once effected the fort became defenseless.[b] Another system had to be resorted to—that of advanced works. The French General Montalembert, the teacher of Carnot, was the first who boldly stood up, in spite of the prejudices of his profession, for detached forts; but the method of constructing large fortresses with detached forts so as to form a complete system of defense was elaborated to its present perfection in Germany, particularly by the Prussian General Aster. The splendid defenses of Cologne, Coblentz, Posen, Königsberg, and partly of Mayence are his work, and they mark a new era in the history of fortifications. The French at last acknowledged the necessity of coming round to this system and constructed the

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[a] The following two sentences do not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.—Ed.*

[b] The end of this sentence beginning with the words "it would have amounted to" does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.—Ed.*

defenses of Paris with detached works planned and executed in first-rate style.[a]

The system of detached forts at once necessitated a new mode of defense. The garrisons of large fortresses had to be increased to such numbers that there was no necessity of keeping up a merely passive defense, until the enemy, advancing to the glacis, came within reach of sallies. A garrison of 20,000 or 25,000 men was strong enough to attack the enemy on his own ground. The fortress and the space around it, so far as it was protected by the detached forts, took the nature of an intrenched camp, or of a base for the field operations of the garrison, which itself was converted into a small army. The hitherto passive defense became active; it took on an offensive character. So necessary was this that when the French in 1807 besieged Dantzic, the Prussian garrison, which numbered about 20,000, constructed those very detached forts which were not in existence, but which were immediately found to be required in order to apply the resources of this large garrison to a proper defense of the place. When the French defended Dantzic in 1813-14 against the Allies they carried out the same principle with still greater success.[b]

A siege, which since Vauban had ever been an operation of short duration, and the end of which could almost with certainty be attained in a given number of days, unless the proceedings were interrupted from without—a siege now becomes an operation subject to as many chances as a war in the open field. The artillery on the ramparts at once became of secondary importance; field artillery almost took precedence over it even in the defense of a place. The skill of the engineer was no longer applied merely to the repairs of the damage done during the siege; it had, as in the field, to choose and to fortify positions situated in advance of the forts themselves; to meet trench by trench; to take in flank the enemy's works by counter-works; to change suddenly the front of defense, and thus to force the enemy to change his front of attack.

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[a] The end of this paragraph beginning with the words "The splendid defenses of Cologne" does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

[b] The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* gives this paragraph in abridged form: "The system of detached forts changed the mode of defence of fortresses. The garrisons of big fortresses swelled to the size of small armies; the fortress and the space around it, so far as it was controlled by the detached forts, assumed the nature of an entrenched camp or of a base for the field operations of the garrison; the hitherto passive defense became active and took on an offensive character."—*Ed.*

Infantry became the main stay in the war of sieges as in the field, and cavalry was made a very necessary ingredient of almost every garrison. There was no longer any means to fix the probable duration of a siege, and the rules of Vauban for the attack of a place, retaining most of their correctness as far as the details of the artillery attack were concerned, became utterly inapplicable to the *ensemble* of a siege.

The Russians at Sevastopol had no time[a] to construct detached works. They were compelled to act upon the old method of fortifying a place. They erected a main rampart as a first defense; it was indeed the thing most required for the moment. Behind this they made a second and a third line of defense, and all the while went on strengthening the first. Then gradually feeling their superiority, even at a certain distance from the main wall, they advanced, constructed the Selenghinsk and Volhynsk redoubts, and finally the work on the Mamelon, and a long line of rifle pits, while on the western front, where the main body of the French was placed, they could merely construct a few lunettes close to the main ditch, and a series of rifle trenches not much further in advance. Thus from the moment the Mamelon was fortified by the Russians, the eastern front was comparatively safe; while on the western front, where such protecting outworks did not exist, the besiegers gradually advanced to the very brink of the main ditch.[b] To approach on the right attack the commanding and decisive position of Malakoff bastion the besiegers had therefore first to take the Mamelon; but the Mamelon while it defended the Malakoff was again defended by all the works in its own rear; and how they defended it, was shown in the second bombardment, when Canrobert dared not seriously assault it. Even now there can be no doubt that the loss of the French in carrying this work must have been very great.[b]

The reopening of the fire by the Allies and the energy with which General Pélissier, heedless of the lives of his soldiers, follows up every favorable chance to gain on the defense, are accompanied by a complete stagnation of operations on the Chernaya. This mode of proceeding at once gives us an insight into the character of Pélissier confirmatory of his former reputation for tenacity, obstinacy and recklessness. There were two ways open to him; to take the field, inclose Sevastopol on the north side also,

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[a] The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has here: "after the notorious flanking march".—*Ed.*
[b] This sentence does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

and then take up the siege again with redoubled energy and a quadrupled chance of a speedy success,[a] or else to go on in the faulty way of the last eight months; to cling doggedly to the south side, destroy every stone of it and drive the Russians out of a place which after all, if reduced, could not be occupied by his own troops on account of the batteries on the north side.

There is not a military man of sense in either hemisphere who, on the news of Pélissier's nomination to the command, and of the great reenforcements received by the Allies, did not expect that he would at once take the first course. Most particularly when Omer Pasha with 25,000 Turks came round to Balaklava, there was no doubt that the Allies were strong enough to carry on the siege, to send 15,000 men to Kertch and still to advance into the field with more men than the Russians could spare to oppose them. Why have they not done so? Are they still in want of means of transport? Have they no confidence in their ability to carry on a campaign in the Crimea? We do not know. But this is certain: unless Pélissier has *very cogent* reasons to abstain from taking the field, he is pursuing, out of sheer obstinacy and self-will, an extremely faulty course; for with a loss equal to that he is now continually subjecting his army to, in assaults, he might obtain results in the field of far greater magnitude, and of a far more decisive effect. To take the south side without having even invested the north side, which completely commands it, is to proceed in utter defiance of all rules of warfare, and if Pélissier is bent upon that, he may yet ruin the great army he commands.

We will, however, give the new commander the benefit of every doubtful circumstance. It may be that the struggles on the left attack were inevitable and provoked by the counter-approaches of the Russians. It may be that it was necessary to confine the Russians to the limits of their original lines—to convince them, by a few hard, irresistible blows, of the superiority of the besiegers—before a separation of the army into a siege-corps and a field-corps could be ventured on. But allowing even this, we now must say that the utmost limit has been reached, and that any further serious attempt upon the body of the place will be a downright blunder, unless the strength of the Russian army in the

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[a] The following text is added here in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*: "This was all the more to be expected after not only the reinforcements but also Omer Pasha had arrived in Balaklava with 25,000 Turks."—*Ed.*

field has been first tried with all the forces that can be made available for the purpose.[a]

Written about June 12, 1855

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Instead of the last two paragraphs the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has the following concluding passage: "With the same losses, to which Pélissier now continuously exposes his army with his assaults, he could obtain results of far greater magnitude, and of a far more decisive nature in the field. To try to take the south side without having even invested the north side which commands it, is an incomprehensible procedure. Pélissier may still be lacking means of transport for field operations. Or the counter-approaches of the Russians may have made it necessary to push them back to their original lines and show them the superiority of the besiegers *before* proceeding to field operations. However that may be, with the seizure of Malakhov no excuses are left. Should Pélissier be stubborn enough to *persist* in serious attempts upon the main body of the enemy instead of trying to break the strength of the Russians in the field with all the forces that can be made available, the *destruction of the army he commands is not at all improbable*, especially since the area in which such vast numbers of people are confined is one big graveyard whose deadly miasmas will be let loose by the first heat of the summer."—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## NAPOLEON'S WAR PLANS[193]

The French Government has thought proper again to give to the world through the columns of the Paris *Constitutionnel* another intimation respecting the manner in which the war is to be carried on for the next couple of months.[a] These exposés are now becoming not only fashionable but periodical, and although they are apt to be inconsistent with each other, they afford for the time a pretty good idea of what favorable chances are open to the French Government. Take them all in all, they form a collection of all Louis Bonaparte's possible plans of campaign against Russia. As such they deserve some attention, for they involve the destiny of the second Empire and the possibility of French national resurrection.

It seems then that there is to be no "*grande guerre*" with 500,000 Austrians and 100,000 French on the Vistula and Dnieper. Nor is there to be a general rising of those "oppressed nationalities" which are constantly looking toward the West. No Hungarian, Italian, Polish armies are to appear at the magic call of the man who put down the Roman Republic.[194] All that belongs to the past. Austria has done her duty to the West. So has Prussia. So has all the world. Everybody is satisfied with everybody. This war is no grand war at all. It is not destined to renew the glory of the old struggles of the French with the Russians, though Pélissier accidentally says as much in one of his dispatches. The French troops are not sent to the Crimea to reap a harvest of glory; they are simply there to do police duty. The question pending is a

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[a] This refers to A. de Cesena's article on the aims and prospects of the Crimean war published in the semi-official *Constitutionnel*, No. 169, June 18, 1855.—*Ed.*

mere local one: the supremacy of the Black Sea—and it will be settled on the very locality concerned. To give the war any larger dimensions would be folly. "Respectfully but firmly" will the Allies knock down every attempt at resistance by the Russians in the Black Sea and on its coasts; and when they have done that—why then of course they or Russia, or both of them will make peace.

Thus another of the Bonapartist self-delusions has been put aside. The dreams of the Rhine as the boundary of France, of the acquisition of Belgium and Savoy, have vanished, and a sober modesty of no common degree has taken their place. We are not fighting to restore France to the position which is due to her in Europe. Far from it. Not even are we fighting for civilization, as we used to say a short time ago. We are too modest to pretend to anything of such magnitude. What we are fighting for is—why, nothing more than the interpretation of the Third Point[195] of the Vienna protocol! Such is the language now held by his Imperial Majesty Napoleon III, by the grace of the army and the toleration of Europe, Emperor of the French.

And what does this all amount to? We are told the war is being carried on for a purely local object, and can be brought to a successful termination by purely local means. Take the actual supremacy of the Black Sea out of the hands of Russia, and the end will be accomplished. Once masters of the Black Sea and its shores, hold what you have got, and Russia will very soon give in. Such is the most recent of all the many plans of campaign issued from headquarters at Paris. We proceed to look at it a little more closely.

We will take matters as they stand at present. From Constantinople to the Danube on the one side, and round by the Circassian coast, Anapa, Kertch, Balaklava, to Eupatoria, the whole coast is taken out of the hands of the Russians. Kaffa and Sevastopol are the only points that hold out, the one hard pressed, the other so situated that it must be abandoned as soon as it is seriously menaced. More than that, the allied fleets sweep the inland sea of Azoff; their light vessels have been up as far as Taganrog, and every place of importance has been assailed by them. No portion of the coast can be said to remain in the hands of the Russians, except the tract from Perekop to the Danube, or about one-fifteenth part of their possessions on that coast. Now we will even suppose that Kaffa and Sevastopol have fallen, and that the Crimea is in the hands of the Allies. What then? That Russia will not make peace in that situation, she has already loudly proclaimed. She would be mad if she did. It would be giving up

the battle after your advanced guard has been thrown back, at the very moment your main body is coming up. What then can the Allies do, after having secured these advantages at an immense cost?

They can, we are told, destroy Odessa, Cherson, Nikolaieff; they can even land a strong army at Odessa, fortify themselves there so as to hold out against any number of Russians, and then act according to circumstances. They can, besides, detach troops to the Caucasus and all but destroy the Russian army which, under General Muravieff, now holds Georgia and the other trans-Caucasian countries. But suppose all these things to be accomplished: and again we ask, what then, if Russia, as she certainly will do, refuse to make peace under these circumstances? Let it not be forgotten that Russia is not placed in the same position as France or England. England can afford to conclude a shabby peace. In fact, as soon as John Bull has had enough of excitement and war-taxes, he will be but too eager to creep out of the mess and leave his dear allies to shift for themselves. England's real power and source of strength do not exactly lie in that direction. Louis Bonaparte may, too, find himself placed in a position where an unseemly peace will be preferable, for him, to a war to the knife; for it must not be forgotten that with such an adventurer, in a desperate case, the chance of prolonging his dominion for another six months outweighs every other consideration. Turkey and Sardinia are sure to be left to their own puny resources in the decisive moment. So much, at least, is certain. But Russia *cannot* make peace, any more than ancient Rome could, while the enemy is on her territory. Russia, for a hundred and fifty years past, has never made a peace by which she lost ground. Even Tilsit[196] gave her an increase of territory, and Tilsit was concluded before a single Frenchman had put his foot on Russian soil. To make peace while a large and advancing army is on Russian soil, a peace involving a sacrifice of territory, or at least a restriction of the Czar's sovereignty in his own dominions, would be to break at once with the traditions of a century and a half. Such a step could not be thought of by a Czar new to the throne,[a] new to the people, and anxiously watched by a powerful national party. Such a peace could not be concluded until all the resources offensive and (above all) *defensive* of Russia had been brought into play and found wanting. That day will doubtless come, and the necessity of minding her own business will be imposed upon Russia, but by

[a] Alexander II.—*Ed.*

other enemies than Louis Bonaparte and Palmerston, and after struggles far more decisive than the "local" execution put in force on her Black Sea dominions. But let us suppose the Crimea conquered and garrisoned by 50,000 Allies—the Caucasus and everything to the South of it cleared of Russian troops, and an allied army checking the Russians on the Kuban and Terek—Odessa taken, and converted into an intrenched camp, holding say 100,000 Anglo-French troops; Nikolaieff, Cherson, Ismail, destroyed or occupied by the Allies. We will even suppose that beside these "local" exploits, something of some importance may have been accomplished in the Baltic, although with the information at our command it is hard to say what that may be. What then?

Will the Allies confine themselves to holding their positions and tiring out the Russians? Their men in the Crimea and the Caucasus will vanish faster under the effects of disease than they can be replaced. Their main army, say at Odessa, will have to be fed by the fleets, for the country for hundreds of miles around Odessa produces nothing. The Russian army, surrounded by Cossack scouts—nowhere more useful than in these steppes—will harass them whenever they show themselves out of their intrenchments, if it cannot take up a permanent position somewhere in the neighborhood of the town. It is impossible under such circumstances to force the Russians to give battle; their great advantage will always be to draw the Allies into the interior of the country. To every advance of the Allies, they will respond by a slow retreat. Yet a large army cannot be confined for any length of time in an intrenched camp without giving it something to do. The gradual progress of disorder and demoralization would force the Allies to some decided movement. Sickness, too, would make the place too hot for them. In a word, to occupy the principal points on the coast and there to await the moment when Russia finds it necessary to give in is a game that will never do at all. There are three chances to one that the Allies would be tired of it first, and that the graves of their soldiers on the shores of the Black Sea would soon be counted by hundreds of thousands.

It would be a military blunder, too. To command a coast, it is not sufficient to possess its principal points. It is the possession of the inner country which alone gives the possession of the coast. As we have seen, the very circumstances arising from an establishment on the coast of South Russia would all but force the Allies to march into the interior. And here it is that the difficulties begin. Up to the frontiers of the Governments of Podolia, Kieff, Poltava, Charkoff, the country is an almost uncultivated plain, very scantily

watered, furnishing nothing but grass, and not even that after the heats of Summer. Supposing Odessa, Nikolaieff, Cherson to be taken for a base of operations, where would be the object against which the Allies could direct their efforts? The towns are few and far between, and there are none of sufficient importance to give, if occupied, a decisive character to the operation. There is no decisive point nearer than Moscow, and that is 700 miles off! Five hundred thousand men would be required for a march on Moscow, and where are they to come from? Surely, the case is such that in this way the "local" war can never lead to any decisive result; and we defy Louis Bonaparte with all his exuberance of strategic imagination to find another.

All this, however, presupposes not only the strict neutrality but even the moral support of Austria. And where is that power at the present moment? Austria and Prussia have declared they would consider an advance of the Russian army towards the Balkan, in 1854, as a *casus belli* against Russia.[197] Where is the guarantee that in 1856 they will not consider a French advance on Moscow or even Charkoff as a cause of war against the Western Powers? We need not forget that every army advancing from the Black Sea toward the interior of Russia as much offers its flank to Austria as a Russian army advancing into Turkey from the Danube; and at a given distance, therefore, its communication with its base of operations, that is to say its very existence, is at the mercy of Austria. To keep Austria quiet, even for a time, she will have to be bought off by the surrender of Bessarabia to her troops. Once on the Dniester, her army commands Odessa as completely as if that town were garrisoned by Austrians. And under such circumstances could an allied army venture on a wild-goose chase after the Russians into the interior of the country? Nonsense! But this nonsense, let us remember, is the logical consequence of Louis Bonaparte's latest plan of "local warfare."

The first plan for the campaign was the "grande guerre," by means of the Austrian alliance. It would have placed the French army in the same numerical inferiority and virtual dependence with respect to the Austrian army as the English army is now with regard to the French. It would have given the revolutionary initiative to Russia. Louis Bonaparte could do neither. Austria refused to act; the subject dropped. The second was the "war of nationalities." This would have roused a storm between the Germans, Italians, Hungarians on one hand, and the Slavonian insurrection on the other, which must have reacted upon France at once and overturned Louis Bonaparte's Lower Empire[198] in less

time than it took to set it up. The counterfeit "iron man," passing himself off as a Napoleon, shrunk back. The third and most modest of all is the "local war for local objects." It reduces itself at once to an absurdity. We are again obliged to ask: What next? After all, it is far easier to be made Emperor of the French, with every circumstance to favor the design, than to act as such, even when long study before the looking-glass has made his Majesty perfectly familiar with all the theatrical portion of the business.

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## NAPIER'S LETTERS.—ROEBUCK'S COMMITTEE

*London,* June 15. Sir *Charles Napier* has published a series of letters about the Baltic Fleet,[a] the following being No. 1:

"People ask why our squadron in the Baltic, which did nothing to signify last year, is likely to do nothing this? The question is easily answered, viz., *because* Sir James Graham did not attend to the plans I sent him last June, and which he pretended to know nothing about; and because the Admiralty did not attend to the plans I sent them last September. Had Admiral Dundas been furnished with the appliances I pointed out, Sweaborg might have been bombarded, and probably destroyed. Instead of doing that, they spent about [...] a million of money in building iron floating batteries, which will hardly swim, and if sent to the Baltic will probably never return; and this, after it was proved, at Portsmouth, that 68-pounders would destroy them at 400 yards; and at 800 yards everybody knows they could do no harm to granite walls. Had the same money been spent in mortar vessels, something might have been expected, or had half the money been laid out in putting Lord Dundonald's plans (which he communicated to me) in execution, I have no doubt they would have been successfully employed, both in the Baltic and Black Sea. My time will come, and before long, when I shall be able to expose all Sir James Graham's conduct to me. He has been shown to have opened private letters" (in the Bandiera affair [199]) "by Mr. Duncombe. He endeavoured to throw the blame of poor Captain Christie's death on Mr. Layard, and I have accused him of perverting my letters, which I am prevented from proving, by the pretence that the publication would afford information to the enemy. That pretence will soon cease, and the country shall know what means the Right Hon. Baronet used to induce Admiral Berkeley and Admiral Richards to sign instructions, which, if carried out, would have lost the Queen's fleet. The country shall know whether the First Lord of the Admiralty has the power to turn an officer's private letters into public ones, and prevent him doing the same with the First Lord's.

Sir *Charles Napier.*"[b]

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[a] Published in *The Morning Advertiser.—Ed.*

[b] *The Morning Advertiser,* No. 19964, June 15, 1855.—*Ed.*

*Roebuck's Committee* met again yesterday, for the 49th time, to reach a decision about the report to be submitted to the House of Commons. After a four hours' debate its members were just as incapable of reconciling their views as in earlier sessions. They adjourned again until Monday in the "hope" that they will finally be able to announce the conclusion of their proceedings.

The "Administrative Reform Association"[200] held a large meeting yesterday in the Drury Lane Theatre; not, be it noted, a *public* meeting but a *ticket-meeting*,[a] a meeting to which only those favoured with tickets were admitted. The gentlemen were thus completely at their ease, *au sein de leur famille*.[b] They were avowedly meeting to give "public opinion" an airing. But to shield public opinion from draughts from outside half a company of constables were posted at the doors of the Drury Lane. What a fragile public opinion that only dares to be made public with the protection of constables and tickets of admission! The meeting was, above all, a demonstration in support of Layard, who is at last due to present his reform bill to the House tonight.

At a public meeting held in Newcastle-upon-Tyne the day before yesterday David Urquhart denounced "the treacherous Ministry and the feeble-minded Parliament".

About the meetings now being prepared by the Chartists in the provinces, another time.[201]

While thus the status quo is coming in for criticism from various quarters and different points of view, *Prince Albert*, at a dinner in *Trinity House*,[c] has seized the opportunity of stating the position of the *Court* with regard to the general ferment.[d] He too has a panacea for the crisis. It is: *"patriotic,* [...] *self-denying confidence in the Cabinet!"* According to Prince Albert only the despotism of the Cabinet can enable constitutional England to stand up to Russia and wage war against the despotism of the North. The comparison he made between England and Russia was neither striking nor felicitous. For example: The Queen[e] had no power to levy troops nor had she any troops at her command but such as offered their

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[a] Marx uses the English expression. The meeting was held on June 13, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] In the bosom of the family.—*Ed.*

[c] The headquarters of the British mariners' corporation, which received its first charter from Henry VIII in 1514. Trinity House is at Tower Hill.—*Ed.*

[d] Prince Albert's address at Trinity House on June 9, 1855, and Palmerston's reply were reported in *The Times*, No. 22080, June 14, 1855 ("Prince Albert on Public Affairs").—*Ed.*

[e] Victoria.—*Ed.*

services voluntarily! Prince Albert forgets that the Queen has approximately £30 million at her disposal to *buy* troops with. Since when has *forced labour* been more productive than *wage-labour*? What would be said of a Manchester manufacturer who deplored the competition of the Muscovite manufacturers on the grounds that he only had at his disposal workers "offering their services voluntarily"? Instead of emphasising that the Emperor of Russia[a] has had the purpose of his "holy" war clearly and firmly proclaimed to his people from the pulpit, whereas for two years England has been waging a war of which the Prime Minister[b] has said in Parliament that "nobody can state its *object*", Prince Albert deplores the fact that

> "Her Majesty's Government can take *no measure* for the prosecution of the war which it has not beforehand to explain in Parliament"!

As though Roebuck's committee had not been set up only *after* two-thirds of the British army had been sacrificed! As though the debate on the Vienna Conferences had not been held *after* they were over! In actual fact there was not a single explanation of any war measure in Parliament apart from Russell's blustering, unprovoked announcement of the Sevastopol expedition, whose only aim evidently was to give the Petersburg Cabinet timely warning! And if the blockade was debated it was not because the Ministry took this step but because it proclaimed it without taking it. Instead of deploring that in a war against Russia the Crown was compelled by parliamentary intrigues to submit to the dictatorship of an avowedly Russophile and notoriously peaceful Cabinet, Prince Albert complains, on the contrary, that an unfavourable vote in Parliament "forced the Queen to dismiss her confidential servants". Instead of rightly complaining that blunders, foibles and acts of villainy which, in Russia, would render generals, ministers and diplomats liable for Siberia, in England are followed at most by a little half-hearted gossip in the press and in Parliament, Prince Albert complains, on the contrary, that

> "no mistake, however trifling, can occur, no want or weakness exist, which is not at once denounced, and even sometimes exaggerated, with morbid satisfaction".

Prince Albert inserted these morbidly irritated expectorations in a toast to his long-standing enemy Lord Palmerston. But Palmerston is not given to magnanimity. He at once used the false

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[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*
[b] Palmerston.—*Ed.*

position taken by the Prince in order to beat his own breast in front of him, protesting loudly:

"I am bound to say that the English people have given us the most generous support."

He went further. He declared outright that he possessed "the confidence" of the English people. He spurned the Prince's obtrusive exhortations to the people. He paid court to the people after the Prince had paid court to him. He did not even think it worth the trouble to reply with a compliment to the Crown. Prince Albert had sought to set himself up as the protector of the Ministry, hence proclaiming the Cabinet's "*independence*" of Parliament and the people; Palmerston replied by pointing out the Crown's "*dependence*" on the Cabinet.

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## THE DEBATE ON LAYARD'S MOTION.— THE WAR IN THE CRIMEA[202]

*London*, June 16. The debate on Layard's motion[203] was not concluded yesterday but adjourned until Monday evening. So we shall also adjourn our account of it for the time being.

One incident in the Commons sitting deserves mention.[a] During the talks about the Vienna Conference Palmerston had intimated that the Peelites had made the stipulation of certain peace terms a condition for their entry into his Cabinet. Russell defended these same terms in Vienna. Yesterday *Otway* called on Palmerston to state whether he was adhering to peace terms that had originated from the Peelites, in other words from a party confessedly acting in the interests of Russia. Gladstone rose and demanded that the speaker accusing him and his friends of *treason* should be called to order. The call to order was made. Otway, however, repeated his description of the Peelites and his question to Palmerston. As is his custom, Palmerston refused to reply. The peace terms were naturally dependent on the events of the war. As regards the Peelites, they had in particular stipulated that a "certain" condition, which he could not name, would not be made a *conditio sine qua non* of peace. In his reply to Palmerston, Gladstone for his part denied ever having had talks with Palmerston about the peace terms. It might be otherwise with his friend Graham. Moreover, he protested against Palmerston's system of affected official reserve on the one side, and the concealed hint, ambiguous

[a] The debate in the House of Commons on June 15, 1855 was reported in *The Times*, No. 22082, June 16, 1855.—*Ed.*

allusion and quasi-statement on the other. Let the ministry speak out frankly or be silent. Gladstone administered this lesson to Palmerston with sanctimonious bitterness.

The French government has issued in the *Constitutionnel* a new *exposé* of the conduct of the war in the coming months.[a] These *exposés* have now become not only fashionable but also regular. Although in profound contradiction with themselves, they are valuable as revelations of "various" plans of campaign devised against Russia by Louis Bonaparte. They are valuable insofar as they document the disappearance of one Bonapartist illusion after the other. The first plan was that of "*grand war*" by means of the Austrian alliance, with 500,000 Austrians and 100,000 Frenchmen on the Vistula and the Dnieper. The plan would have assigned to the French Army the same numerically subordinate relationship to the Austrians as the English have to the French in the Crimea. It would have conceded the revolutionary initiative to Russia. Austria refused to act. The plan was dropped. The second plan was the "war of nationalities", a general rising of the "oppressed, who are constantly looking to the West". It would have provoked a storm between the Germans, Italians and Hungarians on the one side, and the Slav insurrection on the other. Recoiling on France, it would have threatened the "second" Empire with its end. The imitation "man of iron" shrank back from it. The plan was dropped. All this is now over and done with. Austria has done its duty, Prussia has done its duty, the whole world has done its duty, and Bonaparte has come to the third and most modest plan. "*Local war for local aims.*" The French troops in the Crimea are not fighting for glory, they are merely there on police duty. The question to be settled is a purely local one: *predominance in the Black Sea,* and it must be cleared up there, on the spot. It would be foolishness to give the war wider dimensions. "Respectfully but firmly" the allies will crush any Russian attempt to resist them in the Black Sea, and then they or the Russians or both will make peace. Nothing is left of the high-sounding phrases, not even the phrase about civilisation, nothing but the fight for the 3rd point[204] of the Vienna Protocol. *War with a purely local aim,* remarks the imperial oracle, *can only be waged with local means.* Deprive the Russians simply of their predominance in the Black Sea! In our next letter we shall show[b] that Bonaparte has descended from

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[a] A. de Cesena's article on the aims and prospects of the Crimean war published in the semi-official *Constitutionnel,* No. 169, June 18, 1855.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 287-89.— *Ed.*

"grand war" to the "war of the nationalities", and from the "war of nationalities" to "local war serving local purposes and waged with local means", and this final war becomes "*preposterous*".

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# Karl Marx

## PRINCE ALBERT'S TOAST.— THE STAMP DUTY ON NEWSPAPERS

*London,* June 18. There were several curious circumstances connected with the publication of Prince Albert's speech and Palmerston's reply. The speeches were made at Trinity House[a] on Saturday, June 9. The following Monday the daily newspapers only mentioned the annual dinner of the Trinity Brotherhood in passing, without dwelling on Prince Albert's toast. Not until Wednesday, June 13, did *The Daily News* print the toast and the speech of thanks, followed by *The Times* on Thursday, June 14. It has turned out that their publication was a trick of Lord Palmerston's to restore his own popularity at the expense of his royal wellwisher. Prince Albert has now discovered at his own expense where "self-sacrificing confidence" in the noble viscount leads, the sort of confidence that he recommended so eagerly to the country. The following extract from *Reynolds' Weekly* will show how Prince Albert's toast was received by the majority of the weekly press. *Reynolds' Weekly,*[b] it should be noted, has a circulation of 2,496,256 copies. After detailed criticism it goes on to say:

"The royal censor maintains that no want or weakness exist, which is not at once denounced, and even sometimes exaggerated with a kind of *morbid satisfaction.* The patience of the English people is proverbial; [...] like Issachar, they may be compared to an ass crouched down between two burdens—usury and land monopoly; but this taunt of the Prince-Consort is the most insolent and deadly insult with which even Englishmen have borne. "Morbid satisfaction!" That is, the English people have a

[a] The headquarters of the British mariners' corporation in London (for the speeches of Prince Albert and Palmerston see this volume, pp. 273-76).— *Ed.*
[b] *Reynolds' Weekly Newspaper.—Ed.*

'morbid satisfaction' in contemplating the horrible sufferings to which [...] treason and aristocratic imbecility have exposed our heroic soldiers—morbid satisfaction at having been made the dupes of Austria—morbid satisfaction at having squandered 40,000,000*l.* of treasure and lost 40,000 of the bravest human lives—morbid satisfaction at having excited the distrust of the ally whom we profess to help, and the contempt of the foe whom we wish to chastise. But the charge is not only insolent and insulting, it is also false and calumnious in the highest degree. Whatever may be the faults of the English people—and heaven knows they are many—they have no *satisfaction* in the miseries and disasters of their soldiers and sailors, nor in the disgrace that have been entailed on the national character [...] with the exception of royal Germans, aristocratic traitors and their abominable and disgusting parasites.... At the same time, we are prepared to admit that it is very difficult for an obese and lazy Sybarite and feather-bed soldier to conceive of the sufferings and trials of real soldiers and sailors.... There is one thing in which we agree with the royal warrior. Constitutionalism is an enormous sham—a most clumsy, bungling, incongruous, and mischievous form of government. But the Prince is silly in supposing that there is no other alternative than despotism. We beg to remind him that there is such a thing as republicanism—an alternative to which it is possible for this nation to have recourse, and in the direction of which, we think, the current of public opinion is tending, rather than to the unlimited despotism which the martial Prince covets."

Thus writes *Reynolds' [Weekly Newspaper].*[a]

The new Act for the *abolition of stamp duty on newspapers* received the royal assent last Sunday and will come into force on June 30. Thereafter, stamp duty is only required on copies to be sent *free* by post. Of the London dailies, *The Morning Herald* is the only one to announce that it will reduce its price from 5d. to 4d. A large number of weeklies, on the other hand, such as *Lloyd's,*[b] *Reynolds', The People's Paper,* etc., have already announced a reduction from 3d. to 2d. A new London daily, the *Courier and Telegraph,* in the same format as *The Times,* is announced, price 2d. As for *new* weekly papers at 2d., the following have appeared in London to date: *The Pilot* (Catholic magazine); the *Illustrated Times* and Mr. *Charles Knight's Town and Country Paper.* Finally Messrs. Willet and Ledger have given notice of a new weekly London penny paper.[c] What is more significant, though, is the revolution in the provincial press caused by the abolition of stamp duty. In Glasgow alone four new daily penny papers are to appear. In Liverpool and Manchester the papers that have hitherto only appeared weekly or twice weekly are to turn into dailies at 3d., 2d., and 1d. The emancipation from London of the provincial press, the

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[a] *Reynolds' Newspaper,* No. 253, June 17, 1815.—*Ed.*

[b] *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper.*—*Ed.*

[c] *The Penny Times.* Marx uses the English expression "penny paper" here and below.—*Ed.*

decentralisation of journalism was, in fact, the main aim of the Manchester School in their fierce and protracted campaign against stamp duty.

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# Karl Marx

## ECCENTRICITIES OF POLITICS

In his book on the *Congrès de Vienne* the Abbé de Pradt justly accuses that dancing Congress, as it was called by the Prince de Ligne, of having laid the foundation of Russian supremacy in Europe and given its sanction thereto.[205]

"Thus," he exclaims, "it happens that the European war of independence against France terminates with the subjection of Europe to Russia. It was not worth while to fatigue oneself so much for such a result."[a]

The war against France being at the same time a war against the Revolution, an Anti-Jacobin war, naturally led to a transfer of influence from the West to the East, from France to Russia. The Vienna Congress was the natural offspring of the Anti-Jacobin War, the Treaty of Vienna the legitimate product of the Vienna Congress, and Russian supremacy the natural child of the Treaty of Vienna. The crowd of English, French and German writers cannot therefore be allowed to throw all the blame upon Prussia, because Frederick William III, by his blind devotion to the Emperor Alexander and the categorical orders he gave his Embassadors to side with Russia in all important questions, thwarted that infamous triumvirate, Castlereagh, Metternich and Talleyrand, in their deep-laid schemes to erect safe territorial barriers against Russian encroachments[206] and thus ward off the unpleasant but inevitable consequences of the system they had so zealously imposed upon the Continent. Even to such an unscrupulous conclave it was not given to falsify the logic of events.

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[a] Dominique Dufour de Pradt, *Du Congrès de Vienne*, t. I, p. 262.—*Ed.*

Russia's preponderance in Europe being inseparable from the Treaty of Vienna, any war against that power not proclaiming at the outset the abolition of the Treaty, cannot but prove a mere tissue of shams, delusions and collusions. Now, the present war is undertaken with a view not to supersede but rather to consolidate the Treaty of Vienna by the introduction, in a supplementary way, of Turkey into the protocols of 1815. Then it is expected the conservative millennium will dawn and the aggregate force of the Governments be allowed to direct itself exclusively to the "tranquilization" of the European mind. From the following remarkable passages translated from the Prussian Marshal Knesebeck's pamphlet "relating to the equilibrium of Europe, composed at the meeting of the Vienna Congress,"[a] it will be seen that even at the epoch of that Congress, the principal actors were fully aware of the maintenance of Turkey being as much interwoven with "the system" as the partition of Poland.[207]

"The Turks in Europe! What harm have the Turks done to you? They are a powerful and honest people; quiet for centuries among themselves, if you leave them undisturbed, confidence may be placed in them. Have they ever deceived you? Are they not sincere and frank in their policy? Brave and warlike indeed; but this is wholesome and good for more reasons than one. They are the best bulwark against the encroachment of the Asiatic surplus population, and just because they have a footing in Europe they ward off every encroachment. If they were driven away, they themselves would encroach. Just imagine them away. What would happen? Either Russia or Austria would get possession of those entire countries, or a separate Greek State would be founded there. Do you wish to make Russia still more powerful? to draw down on this side also the colossus on your own heads? Are you not yet content that it has advanced its stride from the Volga to the Niemen, from the Niemen to the Vistula, and will now probably extend it as far as the Wartha? And if this be not the case, do you wish to turn the power of Austria in the direction of Asia, and to make it by that means weak or indifferent to the maintenance of its central position to the encroachments from the West? Recall to yourselves the position of the past times of John Sobieski, of Eugène of Savoy, and of Montecucculi. In what way did France at first gain dominion in Germany, but because the power of Austria was of necessity constantly engaged in opposing the encroachments of Asia? Do you wish to restore this state of things, and to increase it still more by bringing it nearer Asia?

"A separate Grecian" or Byzantine "State is, therefore, to be founded! Would this ameliorate the condition of Europe? In the state of torpidity into which that people" (the Greeks) "have sunk, would not Europe, on the contrary, be obliged to be continually under arms to protect itself against the returning Turks? Would not Greece become merely a Russian colony, in consequence of the influence which Russia would possess over this State through religion, commerce and interest? Rather let the Turks alone where they are, and do not arouse the restless power

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[a] K. F. Knesebeck, *Denkschrift, betreffend die Gleichgewichts-Lage Europa's, beim Zusammentritte des Wiener Congresses verfasst.* The excerpts quoted below (with omissions and explanatory addenda) are from pp. 11-14.—*Ed.*

while it reposes. 'But,' exclaims a well-meaning philanthropist, 'men are maltreated there. The most beautiful part of the world, including the ancient Athens and Sparta, is inhabited by barbarians!'

"It may be all true, my friend: men there are at present, or until lately were, strangled; but they are bastinadoed, beaten, scourged, and sold in other parts. Before you change anything, think whether you could also better at the same moment; whether the bastinado and the rod, with Greek perfidy, would be easier to bear than the silk cord and a firman" with the Turks. "Do away first with those things, and with the slave trade in Europe, and console yourself about the uncivilization of the Turk; his uncivilization has power, his faith gives courage, and we require strength and courage to be able to watch tranquilly the Muscovite pushing himself on as far as the Wartha.

"The Turks are then to be maintained, but the Poles as a nation are to sink! Yes, it cannot be otherwise.

"Whatever has strength to stand, endures; where all is rotten, it must perish. And so it is. Let any one ask himself what would be the result if the Polish nation were maintained independent in its natural character. Drunkenness, gluttony, servility, contempt for all that is better and for every other people, contemptuous derision of all order and custom, extravagance, dissoluteness, venality, cunning, treachery, immorality from the palace to the cottage; that is the element in which the Pole exists. For this he sings his songs, plays on his fiddle and guitar, kisses his mistress and drinks out of her shoe, draws his sword, strokes his moustaches, mounts his horse, marches to battle with Dumouriez and Bonaparte or anybody else on earth, delights in excessive brandy and punch, fights with friend and foe, ill-treats his wife and his serf, sells his property, goes abroad, disturbs half the world, and swears by Kościuszko and Poniatowski Poland shall not die as sure as he is a Pole.

"Here you behold what you would support when you say Poland shall be restored.

"Is such a nation worthy to exist? Is such a people fit for a Constitution? A Constitution presupposes an idea of order, [...] for it does nothing but regulate, and points out to each member of the community the place to which he belongs, for which reason it determines the ranks of which the State is to be composed, and to each rank its place, condition, order, rights and duties, as well as the course of the State machine and the principal traits of its government. What! Rule a people when no one will have order? A Polish King (Stefan Batory) once exclaimed: 'Poles—not order—you know none; not government—you respect none; to a mere chance you owe your continued existence!'

"And thus it is still. Disorder, immorality, is the Poles' element. No; let this people undergo the bastinado. Providence wills it. Heaven knows what is profitable for mankind.

"For the present, therefore, no more Poles!"

Old Marshal Knesebeck's views are then to be realized by the present war—a war undertaken for the extension and consolidation of the Vienna Treaty of 1815. During the whole period of the Restoration and the Monarchy of July there was the delusion afloat in France that Napoleonism meant the abolition of the Treaty of Vienna, which had placed Europe under the official tutelage of Russia, and France under the *"surveillance publique"* of Europe. Now the present imitator of his uncle, haunted by the

inexorable irony of his fatal position, is proving to the world that Napoleonism means war, not to emancipate France *from*, but to subject Turkey *to*, the Treaty of Vienna. War in the interest of the Treaty of Vienna and under the pretext of checking the power of Russia!

This is the true "Idée Napoléonienne,"[a] as interpreted by the resurrection-man at Paris. The English being the proud allies of the second Napoleon, feel themselves, of course, authorized to deal with the sayings of the old Napoleon as his nephew does with his ideas. We are then not to be astonished at reading in a recent English author (Dunlop)[b] that Napoleon foretold that the next struggle with Russia would involve the great question of whether Europe should be "Constitutional or Cossack." Before the days of the Lower Empire[208] Napoleon was supposed to have said "Republican or Cossack."[c] However, the world lives and learns.

—And it is for failing to appreciate the glories of the Treaty of Vienna and of the European "system" based upon it, that the *Tribune* is charged with infidelity to the cause of human rights and of Freedom![209]

Written on June 19, 1855

Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] An allusion to Louis Bonaparte's book *Des idées napoléoniennes*, published in Paris in 1839.—*Ed.*

[b] This presumably refers to A. G. Dunlop's book *Cossack Rule, and Russian Influence in Europe, and over Germany.*—*Ed.*

[c] A reference to Napoleon's statement on St. Helena that Europe was bound to become "Republican or Cossack" (quoted by E. Las Cases in his *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène...*, t. 3, p. 111).—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## THE LOCAL WAR.— DEBATE ON ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM.— REPORT OF THE ROEBUCK COMMITTEE, ETC.[210]

*London*, June 20. The *local war* proclaimed by Bonaparte in the *Constitutionnel*[a] is a war in the Black Sea, and its purpose is the destruction of the alleged Russian supremacy in the Black Sea—a supremacy, moreover, that has never stood the test at sea, not even against the Turks. What is the state of affairs at the moment? The whole coast, from Constantinople to the Danube on one side and right round the Circassian shores to Balaklava and Eupatoria, has been snatched out of the hands of the Russians. Only Kaffa and Sevastopol are still holding out, with the former hard-pressed and the latter so situated that it will have to surrender as soon as it is seriously threatened. And more. The fleets are carrying out mopping-up operations in the inland sea of Azov, their light ships penetrate as far as Taganrog and every important place is bombarded by them. No part of the coast remains in Russian hands except the stretch from Perekop to the Danube, approximately $^1/_{15}$ of their possessions on this coast. Supposing Kaffa and Sevastopol also fall, and the Crimea is under the control of the allies, then what? Russia will not conclude peace, as it has already proclaimed. It would be madness. It would be tantamount to giving up a battle after the vanguard has been repulsed, at the very moment that the main force is entering the battlefield. What remains for the allies to do? We are told they can destroy Odessa, Kherson, Nikolayev. They can go ahead and land a strong army at Odessa, fortifying it against any number of Russians and then

[a] A reference to A. de Cesena's article on the aims and prospects of the Crimean war published in the semi-official *Constitutionnel*, No. 169, June 18, 1855.—*Ed.*

acting according to circumstances. In addition, they can send a detachment of troops to the Caucasus, wiping out the Russian army in Georgia and the other trans-Caucasian possessions (under General Muraviev) and cutting off the Russian Empire from its south Asian possessions. And if Russia still refuses to make peace? Russia cannot make peace as long as the enemy remains on its soil. It has not lost through any peace it has concluded in the last 150 years. Even at Tilsit[211] it acquired additional territory, and that peace was made before a single Frenchman had set foot on Russian soil. Having only recently succeeded to the throne, Alexander II dare not even attempt something that would have been perilous even for Nicholas. He cannot suddenly break with the imperial tradition. Supposing the Crimea has been captured and garrisoned with 50,000 allied troops; that the Caucasus and all the possessions in the south have been cleared of Russians; that an allied army is holding the Russians in check at the Kuban and the Terek; that Odessa has been taken and turned into a fortified camp with an army of 100,000 men; that Nikolayev, Kherson and Ismail have been destroyed or occupied by the allies—will the allies then limit themselves to maintaining their positions and count on wearing out the Russians? Their troops in the Crimea and the Caucasus will dwindle from disease faster than they can be replaced. Their main army at Odessa would have to be supplied by the fleets, as the land produces nothing for hundreds of miles around Odessa. Wherever they dared emerge from the camp they would be exposed to the harassment of the Russians, particularly the Cossacks. To force the latter to stand and fight would be impossible. It would always be to their advantage to entice the allies into the interior of the country. They would respond to all allied advances with a slow retreat. Moreover, large armies cannot be kept idle in a fortified camp for long. Disease and the gradual breakdown of discipline and morale would compel the allies to take a decisive step. It is therefore not feasible to occupy the main points of the coast and wait until the Russians find themselves constrained to give in. It would also be a military blunder. To control a coast it is not sufficient to hold the main points. Only possession of the country's interior guarantees possession of the coast. With the allied forces established on the south coast of Russia, conditions would arise which would compel them to advance into the interior. But this is where the difficulties begin. All the way to the borders of the gubernias of Podolia, Kiev, Poltava and Kharkov the terrain is mostly uncultivated steppe, very poorly watered and yielding nothing but grass, and not even

that when the heat of the sun has dried it out. Taking Odessa, Nikolayev and Kherson as their base of operations, where is the *object* at which the allies are supposed to direct their efforts? There appears to be none except Moscow, 700 miles away and requiring 500,000 men to march on it. But all this presupposes not merely the strict neutrality of Austria but even her moral support. And where is it? In 1854 Prussia and Austria declared the advance of the Russians across the Balkans to be a *casus belli.* Why not, then, a French advance on Moscow or even Kharkov in 1856? One must never for a moment forget that any army marching from the Black Sea towards the interior of Russia exposes its flank to Austria just as much as a Russian army advancing from the Danube into Turkey, and therefore, at a given distance, renders its lines of communication and its base of operations, i.e. its very existence, dependent on Austria. Should the allied armies pursue the Russians on a wild goose chase into the interior under these circumstances? It is nonsense, sheer nonsense, but it is the inevitable consequence of Bonaparte's latest plan of "local warfare". On all counts an inexorable dialectic drives the "local war" beyond the appointed local boundaries, turning it into a "grand" war, but without the prerequisites, conditions and resources of a grand war. Nevertheless, Bonaparte's latest "plan" remains important. It constitutes an admission that other powers must step on to the stage to continue the war against Russia, and that the restored Empire finds itself condemned to the impotence of waging war on Russia on a local scale when it can only be done on a European scale. All the grotesque metamorphoses undergone by the *"idées napoléoniennes"*[a] under the restored Empire have been surpassed by the transformation of the Napoleonic war against Russia into a "local war".

In the *debate on administrative reform,* to be resumed this evening, the amendment moved by Bulwer on behalf of the Tories gave the government the opportunity of defeating the "administratives" by a majority of 7 to 1.[212] What characterised the whole debate was its *junior civil-servant nature,* which it failed to transcend for a moment. Details of favouritism and nepotism, investigations as to the "best type of examination", resentment at merit neglected—everything was petty and pusillanimous. One seemed to be listening to a written complaint from an assistant gamekeeper to a

[a] An allusion to Louis Bonaparte's book *Des idées napoléoniennes,* which was published in Paris in 1839.—*Ed.*

government board. Aberdeen, too, had a reform of the bureaucracy *in petto*,[a] Gladstone asserted. Derby too, asserted Disraeli. Not less my Ministry, asserted Palmerston.[b] So the city gentlemen need not swing into action to reform, inform and re-organise our Departments. Too kind!

In their earlier agitation the English bourgeoisie took the ruling caste by surprise and drew the masses behind them as a chorus, by vastly overstating their real purpose in their programme. This time the programme does not even venture to rise to the height of the real purpose. One after the other you assure us that you do not seek the fall of the aristocracy but simply want to patch up the government machine in friendship with us! Very well![c] Friendship for friendship! We are willing to reform the administration for you—within its traditional limits, of course. "Administrative reform" is not a matter of conflict between the classes as you assert. It is simply a question of the "issue", of "well-intentioned" reforms. As initial evidence of your good intentions we ask you to leave the details to us, and it is only a matter of details. We ourselves must know best how far we can go without jeopardising our class, without administrative reform inadvertently becoming a matter of conflict between the classes and forfeiting its philanthropic character. The reforming bourgeoisie are obliged to acquiesce in this ironic language of aristocratic *bonhomie* because they themselves speak a fraudulent language to the masses. The aristocracy, ministry and opposition, Whigs and Tories were never mistaken about the relationship of the Administrative Reformers to the masses. They knew that the agitation had failed before it had even had a chance to be produced in Parliament. And how could they have been mistaken? Although the Reform Association admitted selected guests only to its Drury Lane meeting, although its audience was sifted twice and thrice, their fear of a popular motion, or even simply an unorthodox speech, was so excessive that the chairman[d] declared at the opening of the meeting that the audience was only there to "listen to the addresses of the speakers announced in the programme", no "resolutions" would be put to the vote, therefore "no amendments could be moved", and "no addition could be made to the list of set speakers". Agitation

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[a] Up his sleeve.—*Ed.*

[b] Gladstone's speech was made on June 15, 1855 and the speeches by Disraeli and Palmerston on June 18. *The Times*, Nos. 22082 and 22084, June 16 and 19, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English phrase.—*Ed.*

[d] S. Morley. For a description of the meeting see this volume, p. 274.—*Ed.*

*like this* is definitely not suitable to impress the tough English oligarchy and wring concessions from it.

The *report of the Roebuck committee* which was read out in the Commons the day before yesterday envelops its points in a broad, feeble gush of words.[a] It contains timidly formulated criticism of the various departments, such as Ordnance, the Commissariat, the Medical Department, etc. It condemns Palmerston for his management of the militia, and the entire coalition ministry for the heedless frivolity with which it undertook the Sevastopol expedition. As during the examination of witnesses the committee scrupulously avoided inquiring into the fundamental reasons for the stupendous calamities, it is only natural that in the report, too, it is obliged to keep the balance between quite general criticism of the political heads and petty, detailed faulting of the administrative machinery. On the whole the committee has fulfilled its purpose of acting as a safety-valve for the pressure of public passions.

The daily papers have let out a cry of indignation at the "dastardly murders" by the Russians at Hangö.[213] The fact that ships sailing under flags of truce have been misused by the British for taking soundings with a plummet and spying out Russian positions, e.g. at Sevastopol and Odessa, is, however, admitted by *The Morning Chronicle*.[b]

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[a] "State of the Army before Sebastopol", *The Times*, No. 22084, June 19, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to a Letter to the Editor signed R.G.A. published in *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 27607, June 20, 1855.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING THE TAKING OF SEVASTOPOL.—FROM THE PARIS BOURSE.—ON THE MASSACRE AT HANGÖ IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS[214]

[*Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 289, June 25, 1855]

*London*, June 22. The second act of *La Sonnambula*[a] had just finished, and the curtain of the Drury Lane Theatre was coming down when suddenly a mighty drum-roll summoned the audience back into the auditorium just as they were thronging out for refreshments. The curtain went up again, the manager stepped forward and, with great melodramatic effect, made the following announcement:

"Ladies and gentlemen! I am very happy to be able to announce a great event to you. *The allies have taken Sevastopol.*"

There were enthusiastic shouts of triumph, people cheered and applauded, bouquets were flying everywhere. The orchestra played and the audience sang "God save the Queen", "Rule Britannia" and "Partant pour la Syrie".[b] A voice from the upper regions shouted "La Marseillaise!", but it died away without an echo. The manager's improvised speech was based on a telegraphic message which did not, however, report the taking of Sevastopol, but on the contrary that the French in their storming of the Malakhov, and the English in their storming of the Redan, on June 18, had been *repulsed, suffering considerable losses.*[215] That play actor yesterday evening on the stage at Drury Lane copied another manager who almost a year ago, in the middle of a military spectacular,[216] improvised the following unexpected and unforgettable words: "Messieurs, Sevastopol est pris!"[c]

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[a] Opera by the Italian composer Vincenzo Bellini.—*Ed.*

[b] "Leaving for Syria", a song frequently performed at official festivities during the Second Empire in France. The titles of the English songs are given in English in the original.—*Ed.*

[c] "Gentlemen, Sevastopol has been taken!"—*Ed.*

[*Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 290, June 26, 1855]

The reason for the incomprehensible obduracy with which Pélissier continues to exhaust the forces of the allied army in one-sided assaults on the southern flank is said to be not *military* but *financial*. It is well known that Bonaparte has already drawn bills of exchange for thousands of millions on the prospect of taking Sevastopol and had them discounted by the French nation. He is on the point of drawing bills for another 800 millions or thereabouts.[217] It therefore seemed essential to make an advance payment on the bills already circulating, and if crossing the Chernaya brings *real results* an assault on the southern flank of Sevastopol promises to produce a *dazzling illusion of success*. "The fall of Sevastopol" would look well in the prospectus for the new loan, and if a loan can be made for the war, why not a war for the loan? Confronted with that point of view, all the criticism based on military science will have to be silent. There is anyway quite a mysterious link between the war in the Crimea and the Bourse at Paris. It is well known that, just as all roads lead to Rome, so all electric wires converge in the Tuileries, where they end in a "secret closet". It has been noticed that the most important telegrams are published in Paris hours later than in London. During those hours a certain Corsican by the name of *Orsi* is said to be extremely busy at the Paris Bourse. It is generally known in London that this fellow Orsi was previously the "providential" agent on the London Stock Exchange[a] of the man in exile at the time.[b]

If the dispatches from Admiral Dundas, which have been published by the English Cabinet, did not already prove that there was no abuse of a flag of truce on the part of the officers and crew of the boat dispatched by the *Cossack*, which could serve as a pretext for the Russian *massacre at Hangö*,[218] then the story told by the *Invalide Russe* would dispel any doubt on this point.[c] Evidently the Russians did not suspect that a sailor, John Brown, had escaped with his life and would testify against them. The *Invalide* therefore considered it superfluous to accuse the English boat of espionage, or of taking soundings, etc., and concocted its tale on the spur of the moment, following Abbé Sieyès in the conviction that "dead men tell no tales".[d] The matter was raised in the

[a] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*

[b] Louis Bonaparte.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx refers to the reports on the Hangö events published in *Russky Invalid*, No. 118, June 1, 1855, and *The Times*, No. 22086, June 21, 1855.—*Ed.*

[d] "La mort sans phrase"—words allegedly uttered by Sieyès when voting in the French Convention on January 17, 1793 for Louis XVI's execution.—*Ed.*

House of Lords yesterday. We cannot, however, agree with *The Times* that this assembly, otherwise "cold and unimpassioned by habit and by policy", was on this occasion trembling with the unadulterated expression of true passion.[a] We find affected indignation in the choice of phrase, but in fact affectionate concern for "Russian honour" and an anxious warding off of national revenge. The Tories' spokesman for Foreign Affairs, the Earl of Malmesbury, rose yesterday, set forth the facts briefly and then exclaimed:

> "I have ransacked English history, and I cannot find an instance of a similar atrocious act [...]. What course does the Government mean to take under the circumstances? [...] It is a matter of the greatest importance to every officer and every army in Europe that the matter should be noticed and that condign punishment should be meted out to the perpetrators [...]."

*Clarendon*, the Whigs' Foreign Secretary, declared that he shared the "indignation" of his colleague. It is an outrage so horrible and unparalleled, so utterly at variance with the usages and the customs of civilised nations, that we are compelled to believe that the perpetrators of it cannot have acted upon the instructions or with the permission of their superiors. It was possible that the person in command of the 500 Russians had not been a commissioned officer[b] (every English officer down to the rank of lieutenant has a commission, not sergeants and other non-commissioned officers, however). It is therefore quite plausible that the Russian Government disapproved of this act. He had therefore instructed the English Envoy at Copenhagen[c] to request the Danish Envoy at St. Petersburg[d] to state to the Russian Government that the British Cabinet waited with extreme anxiety to learn what steps the Russian Government had taken or intended to take to establish their attitude to an act which might possibly have happened in some one of the savage islands of the South Sea without exciting any degree of surprise, but which was not to be expected in civilised Europe, and which, if not severely and appropriately punished by the Russian Government, would deserve the severest of reprisals. Clarendon closed by saying that the British Government was awaiting the Russian statement before determining what course to adopt.

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[a] *The Times*, No. 22087, June 22, 1855. The debate in the House of Lords on June 21, 1855, was reported in the same issue of *The Times*.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English words "commissioned officer" and, below, "commission".—*Ed.*

[c] A. Buchanan.—*Ed.*

[d] O. Plessen.—*Ed.*

Lord *Colchester* believes that

"in any such case as this it was the duty of the officer commanding [...] immediately to communicate by a flag of truce with the highest Russian authority he could find, mentioning the circumstances, and demanding that the atrocity should be disclaimed".

The Earl of *Malmesbury* rises again and declares that on the whole he has no fault to find with the course taken by the Government, but shudders to have heard Clarendon use the word "reprisal". England must not sink to the level of the Russians in this matter. She must take *moral* revenge on the Tsar,[a] have every Court in Europe protest at the St. Petersburg court and thus pronounce an international judgment on Russia. Anything like "revenge" would only serve to increase public "disgust". The nominal president of the English Cabinet,[b] Earl *Granville,* avidly seizes upon the Tory's words and recites like a good Christian: "No retaliation!"

Now, what does this outburst of passion in the Lords, as *The Times* calls it, show us? Full of moral indignation the Tory asks a question. The Whig outdoes him in indignation, but himself surreptitiously provides the Russian Government with an excuse and shows them the way to get out of the situation, by repudiating and sacrificing a subaltern. He covers his retreat by muttering something about reprisals "as a possibility". Lord Colchester seeks to chastise the Russians for having murderously attacked intermediaries bearing a flag of truce by sending another intermediary under a flag of truce. The Tory rises again and invokes a moral solution rather than reprisals. The Whig, glad to be rid of reprisals, even only as a possibility, joins in the call for "No retaliation!"[c] Pure farce. The House of Lords places itself between the passions of the people and Russia in order to protect Russia. The only peer who did not act the part was *Brougham.* "If ever the land called for blood," he said, "it is now." As far as English sensitivity to "reprisals" and "jus talionis"[d] is concerned, the Earl of Malmesbury has ransacked English history without finding an Irish page, or an Indian or North American. When was the English oligarchy ever squeamish except in the case of Russia!

In the report of the Roebuck committee, which was read to the House, oddly enough the final paragraph has been suppressed, a

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[a] Alexander II.—*Ed.*
[b] Marx refers here to the Lord President of the Council.—*Ed.*
[c] Marx uses the English phrase.—*Ed.*
[d] Right of retaliation.—*Ed.*

paragraph which Roebuck proposed and which was accepted by the committee after a vote. It runs as follows:

"What was planned and undertaken without sufficient information, was conducted without sufficient care or forethought. This conduct on the part of the Administration was the first and chief cause of the calamities which befell our army in the Crimea."[a]

Written on June 22, 1855

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[a] The report, headlined "State of the Army before Sebastopol", was published in *The Times*, No. 22084, June 19, 1855; the omitted paragraph is quoted here from the article "The Sebastopol Committee", *The Times*, No. 22087, June 22, 1855.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE MISHAP OF JUNE 18.—REINFORCEMENTS

*London*, June 23. June 18, the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo,[219] was of course not celebrated in London this year. It was to be celebrated in the Crimea with a victory, not *over* the French but *alongside* the French. The event seemed all the more piquant since Raglan, Wellington's famulus, was carrying out his command more or less under the orders of a General of Napoleon III.[a] The inscription was ready, only the event that it was to immortalise failed to happen. It will not escape people's notice that in the history of the restored Empire there is a fatalistic predilection for resurrecting its great dates, affirming successes and disavowing misfortunes, in a second and improved edition. This glorious resurrection of Napoleonic dates, successful so far with respect to blows against the Republic, is failing with respect to blows against the enemy abroad. And the Empire without the victories of the Empire reminds one of the adaptation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* which not only lacks the melancholy of the Prince of Denmark but also the Prince himself.[b] Paris had arranged for a great feat of arms in the Crimea on December 2, 1854.[c] It came to grief thanks to a surplus of rain and a shortage of ammunition. On June 18, 1855 an improved version of the battle, with a different result, was to be performed at Sevastopol. Instead, the Franco-English army suffered *its first serious defeat.*

London is in sombre mood; the stocks have fallen, and in one day Palmerston has forfeited what it took him months of the most

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[a] Pélissier.—*Ed.*

[b] An allusion to the English saying: "It's *Hamlet* without the Prince."—*Ed.*

[c] The third anniversary of the Bonapartist coup in France.—*Ed.*

subtle tactical manoeuvrings to secure. The defeats occurred on June 18; the telegraphed dispatch was not published until June 22. Last Thursday the official *Globe*[a] announced on Palmerston's behest that "nothing serious had happened". In the Commons' night sitting of the same date Palmerston solemnly repeated the same statement.[b] And now it has been established that he received the telegram as early as 4 p.m. on Wednesday, June 20. *The Leader* asserts that this happened at the urgent request of Paris, where the misfortune in the field had been turned into good fortune at the stock exchange.[c] However that may be, the cockneys[d] are seriously annoyed with Palmerston. Being beaten is bad enough. But to let oneself be carried away at Drury Lane and Covent Garden by the Ministers' tricks into ludicrous ovations at the capture of Sevastopol—this is too bad, Sir[e]!

We prepared our readers sufficiently for the fact that Pélissier's stubborn persistence in attacking the southern flank heralded disaster for the allied armies. Immediately he assumed command we drew attention to the mitigating circumstance that lack of transport would place great obstacles in his way when it came to operations in the open field.[f] Both points have now been confirmed by the English press. For instance, today's *Morning Herald* says:

> "The army *cannot* take the field—as, according to all rules of strategy, it ought to do, beat the relieving army at Simpheropol [...]. That it cannot do because the 'Government grave-diggers', Neglect and Delay, have been at their murderous work again, and of 20,000 baggage cattle, which we ought to have, we have not above 4,000 or 5,000; and this while disease is once more becoming rampant in a camp which contains every possible incitement to fever, cholera, and plague. This incapacity of moving them, the same as it was at Varna and in the Valley of Death, is the cause why, day after day, our generals are compelled to waste the lives of our soldiers in desperate attacks upon almost impregnable earthworks, while the noble army that should take the field is lying on the Chernaya, without cavalry or means of transport."[g]

The ingenious negligence with which, from the outset of the war, the Cabinet administered the resources at its disposal has

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[a] *The Globe and Traveller.* Marx refers to the issue of June 21, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Palmerston made that statement on Friday, June 22. *The Times*, No. 22088, June 23, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Leader*, No. 274, June 23, 1855.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[e] Marx uses the English words "this is too bad, Sir!"—*Ed.*

[f] This refers to the German version of the article "Sevastopol" (see this volume, pp. 260-66) and to other articles in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.*—*Ed.*

[g] *The Morning Herald*, No. 22465, June 23, 1855.—*Ed.*

been shown anew by financial reports which have just been published. According to this official report the balance in hand on January 1, 1854 of the money allocated for the army was £1,835,882 and the amount expended on the army on April 1, 1854 was only £2,270,000, so that less than three-quarters of the money voted by Parliament for raising troops was used. And what was it that, according to the report of the Roebuck Committee,[a] ruined the army? Overwork. And what is the reason of this overwork? Lack of numbers. But this lack of numbers, as the financial report shows, was the result of a Cabinet intrigue. And Prince Albert complains that the Queen[b] has no troops at her disposal! And that the Cabinet's hands are tied! The Layard debate revealed that the self-same Cabinet, whilst complaining about lack of transport, sent troopships to Portsmouth via Newcastle-upon-Tyne to collect coal, or from the Clyde to Liverpool and from Deptford to Woolwich to be inspected by the Surveyor.[c]

The misfortunes of June 18 have made immediate *reinforcements* necessary. Accordingly orders were issued yesterday for immediate embarkation: the 15th Infantry Regiment, which has recently returned from Ceylon; the King's 51st Light Infantry Regiment, the 80th and 94th Infantry Regiments, all the India detachments from the various depot companies, and 1,200 men of the cavalry are to leave immediately for the theatre of war. Orders have been telegraphed to Marseilles for special steamships to be sent from there to the Governors of Malta and Gibraltar and to the Lord High Commissioner[c] of the Ionian Islands with the task of transporting all the men who are fit for service not only from the garrisons but also from the reserve of the Household Brigade and all the reserve battalions that can be spared *before* the arrival of the relieving regiments and militia. Sailing at once are: the 13th Light Infantry Regiment of Gibraltar, the 31st Infantry Regiment from the Ionian Islands, the 48th from Corfu, the 54th from Gibraltar, the 66th from Gibraltar, and the 92nd Scottish Highland Regiment from Gibraltar. British forces in the Crimea will thus be increased by more than 13,000 men. To this must be added four field batteries, a troop of mounted artillery and reinforcements for the siege train, all of which are ready and are

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[a] "State of the Army before Sebastopol", *The Times*, No. 22084, June 19, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Victoria. For an account of Prince Albert's speech see this volume, pp. 273-76.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*

only waiting for ships. Incidentally, England is in the same position as in 1854. No reserve army. And even worse. In 1854, as the Roebuck report admits, Palmerston prevented and delayed the formation of the militia; but in 1855 he succeeded in practically dissolving the militia which was already formed. As one can see from the above list, the reinforcements absorb not only the bulk of the army, but they also swallow up the depot battalions and break up the cadres. Thus England resembles Montesquieu's savage who fells the tree in order to get hold of the fruit.[a] The economical country *par excellence* is spending its military capital instead of the interest. This is the result of the manoeuvrings of the Cabinet in which Prince Albert demands that one have implicit confidence! Nothing could be less accurate than the view held on the Continent that England has too small a population to be able to raise armies. In 1815, after 22 years of war, England had more than 350,000 men mobilised! But the Cabinet purposely ignores both remedies: raising the bounty for the standing army, and balloting for the militia. What else can one expect from the Prime Minister, whose debts Princess Lieven paid in 1827, and whom she appointed Foreign Secretary in 1830, a man who procured for Russia eight years of dictatorship over Turkey by means of the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, and eight days before the treaty expired, renewed it in the Dardanelles treaty[220]?

Yesterday in the Commons Roebuck gave notice that on July 3 (Tuesday week) he would table the following motion:

> "That this House, deeply lamenting the sufferings of our army during the winter campaign in the Crimea, and coinciding with the resolution of their committee that the conduct of the Administration was the first and chief cause of these misfortunes, hereby visits with its severe reprehension *every member of the Cabinet* whose counsels led to such disastrous results."[b]

Roebuck's motion therefore deliberately includes: Palmerston, Russell, Clarendon, Granville and Lansdowne, at one and the same time members of the present Cabinet and the previous one. The small, venomous, Thersites-like but crafty barrister, the perfect master of parliamentary tactics, saw himself forced into tabling this motion, as his constituents at Sheffield threatened to subject him to a vote of no confidence at a public meeting, because he had denounced Palmerston on Tuesday and expressed his confidence in the same Palmerston on Thursday. Prince Albert's unfortunate interference in matters between the Cabinet

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[a] Ch. Montesquieu, *L'Esprit des Lois*, V, XIII.—*Ed.*
[b] *The Times*, No. 22088, June 23, 1855.—*Ed.*

and Parliament, and his challenging of the authority of Parliament was a further reason for this motion, which threatens to rob the Queen once more of "her confidential servants".

We shall report on the latest activities and fortunes of the *Administrative Reformers*, and the machinations of the clerics next time.

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# Karl Marx

## ANTI-CHURCH MOVEMENT.[—DEMONSTRATION IN HYDE PARK][221]

*London*, June 25. It is an old and historically established maxim that obsolete social forces which are still nominally in possession of all the attributes of power and continue to vegetate long after the basis of their existence has rotted away, because the heirs are quarrelling among themselves over the inheritance even before the obituary notice has been printed and the testament read, such forces, when they face their final death struggle, will once more muster all their strength, pass from the defensive to the offensive, become defiant instead of evasive and seek to draw extreme conclusions from premises which have not only been put in question but already found wanting. This is the case today with the English oligarchy and the *Church*, its twin sister. Countless attempts at reorganisation have been made within the Established Church, both the High and the Low Church, attempts to come to an understanding with the Dissenters[222] and thus to set up a compact force to oppose the impious mass of the nation. There has been a rapid succession of religious coercive measures. The pious Earl of Shaftesbury, formerly known as Lord Ashley, mournfully announced in the House of Lords that in England alone five million had become wholly alienated not only from the Church but from Christianity.[a] *"Compelle intrare"*,[b] is the reply of the Established Church. It leaves it to Lord Ashley and similar dissenting, sectarian and overwrought pietists to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for it.

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[a] Shaftesbury's speech on June 12, 1855. *The Times*, No. 22079, June 13, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] "Compel them to come in, that my house may be filled" (Luke, 14:23).—*Ed.*

The first measure of religious coercion was the Beer Bill,[a] which shut down all places of public entertainment on Sundays, except between 6 and 10 p.m. This Bill was smuggled through the House at the end of a sparsely attended sitting, after the pious men had bought the support of the big public-house owners of London by assuring them that the licensing system would continue, that is, that big capital would retain its monopoly. Then came the Sunday Trading Bill, the third reading of which has now taken place in the Commons and separate clauses of which have just been debated in the Committee of the Whole House.[223] This new coercive measure too was sure to receive the votes of big capital, because only small shopkeepers keep open on Sunday and the proprietors of the big stores are quite willing to do away with the Sunday competition of the small fry by parliamentary means. In both cases there is a conspiracy of the Church with the monopoly of capital, but in both cases religious penal laws are to be imposed on the lower classes to set the conscience of the privileged classes at rest. Just as the *Beer Bill* did not hurt the aristocratic clubs so the *Sunday Trading Bill* does not interfere with the Sunday occupations of genteel society. The workers get their wages late on Saturday: it is for them alone that trade is carried on on Sundays. They are the only ones compelled to make their purchases, small as they are, on Sundays. The new bill is therefore directed against them alone. The French aristocracy said in the eighteenth century: For us, Voltaire; for the people, the mass and the tithes. The English aristocracy says in the nineteenth century: For us, sanctimonious phrases; for the people, Christian practice. The classical saints of Christianity mortified *their* body for the salvation of the souls of the masses; the modern, educated saints mortify *the bodies of the masses* for the salvation of their own souls.

This alliance between a dissipated, degenerating and pleasure-seeking aristocracy and the Church, an alliance based on squalid profiteering on the part of beer magnates and monopolistic wholesalers, occasioned yesterday a *mass demonstration* in Hyde Park, the like of which London has not seen since the death of George IV, "the first gentleman of Europe". We saw it from beginning to end and do not think it is an exaggeration to say that the *English Revolution began in Hyde Park yesterday.* The latest news from the Crimea acted as an effective ferment upon this *"unparliamentary"*, *"extraparliamentary"*, and *"anti-parliamentary"* demonstration.

[a] Marx uses the English terms "Beer Bill" and, below, "Sunday Trading Bill".—*Ed.*

When someone objected that the Sunday Trading Bill was directed exclusively against the poor and not at all against the rich, Lord *Robert Grosvenor*, who initiated the Bill, retorted that

"the aristocracy was largely refraining from employing its servants and horses on Sundays".[a]

The following wall poster, issued *by the Chartists*, which could be seen throughout London at the end of last week announced in huge letters:

"*New Sunday Bill* prohibiting newspapers, shaving, smoking, eating and drinking and all kinds of recreation and nourishment, both corporal and spiritual, which the *poor people* still enjoy at the present time. *An open-air meeting* of artisans, workers and '*the lower orders*' generally of the capital will take place in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon to see how religiously the aristocracy is observing the Sabbath and how anxious it is not to employ its servants and horses on that day, as Lord Robert Grosvenor said in his speech. The meeting is called for three o'clock on the right bank of the Serpentine (a small river in Hyde Park) on the side towards Kensington Gardens. Come and bring your wives and children in order that they may profit by the example their '*betters*' set them!"

It should be borne in mind, of course, that what *Longchamps*[b] means to the Parisians, the riding track along the Serpentine in Hyde Park means to the English *haute volée*[c]—the place where in the afternoon, particularly on Sunday, they parade their magnificent carriages and their finery and exercise their horses, followed by swarms of lackeys. It will be realised from the above poster that the struggle against clericalism assumes the same character as every serious struggle in England—that of a *class struggle* waged by the poor against the rich, the people against the aristocracy, the "lower orders" against their "betters".

Approximately 50,000 people had gathered at the place announced on the immense lawn on the right bank of the Serpentine in Hyde Park at about 3 o'clock. Gradually the assembled multitude swelled to a total of at least 200,000 due to additions from the other bank. One could see that small groups of people were made to move from one spot to another. The police, who were present in force, were obviously endeavouring to deprive the organisers of the meeting of what Archimedes had asked for to move the earth, namely, one firm spot to stand upon. Finally a fairly large crowd made a firm stand and *Bligh* the Chartist constituted himself chairman on a small eminence in the midst of the throng. No sooner had he begun his harangue than

[a] From Grosvenor's speech in the House of Commons on June 13, 1855. *The Times*, No. 22080, June 14, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] A hippodrome on the outskirts of Paris.—*Ed.*

[c] The upper crust.—*Ed.*

Police Inspector Banks at the head of 40 truncheon-swinging constables explained to him that the Park was the private property of the *Crown* and that meetings could not be held there. After some *negotiations* in which Bligh sought to demonstrate to him that parks were public property and in which Banks rejoined he had strict orders to arrest him if he should insist on carrying out his intention. Bligh shouted amidst the bellowing of the masses surrounding him:

"Her Majesty's police declare that Hyde Park is private property of the Crown and that Her Majesty[a] is unwilling to let her land be used by the people for their meetings. So let's move to Oxford Market."

With the ironical cry: "God save the Queen!"[b] the throng broke up to walk to Oxford Market. But meanwhile *Finlen*, a member of the Chartist Executive,[224] rushed to a tree some distance away followed by a crowd who in a twinkle formed so close and compact a circle around him that the police abandoned their attempt to get at him.

"Six days a week," he said, "we are treated like slaves and now Parliament wants to rob us of the bit of freedom we still have on the seventh. These oligarchs and capitalists allied with sanctimonious parsons wish to do *penance* by mortifying us instead of themselves for the unconscionable murder in the Crimea of the sons of the people."

We left this group to approach another where a speaker stretched out on the ground addressed his audience from this horizontal position. Suddenly, shouts could be heard on all sides: "Let's go to the Row, to the carriages!" The heaping of insults upon riders and occupants of carriages had already begun. The constables, who constantly received reinforcements from the city, drove the promenading pedestrians off the road. They thus helped to form a thick throng of people on either side of Rotten-Row, from Apsley House along the Serpentine as far as Kensington Gardens—a distance of more than a quarter of an hour walk. The spectators consisted of about two-thirds workers and one-third members of the middle class, all with women and children. The involuntary actors comprising elegant ladies and gentlemen, "commoners and lords", in their high coaches-and-four with liveried lackeys in front and behind, joined by a few elderly gentlemen on horseback slightly under the weather from the effects of wine—were not showing off this time but were made to run the gauntlet. A babel of jeering, taunting, discordant ejaculations, in which no language is as rich as English, enveloped

[a] Victoria.—*Ed.*
[b] Marx uses the English words.—*Ed.*

them from both sides. As it was an improvised concert, instruments were lacking. The chorus therefore had to use its own organs and was compelled to confine itself to vocal music. And what a diabolical concert it was: a cacophony of grunting, hissing, whistling, squeaking, snarling, growling, croaking, shrieking, groaning, rattling, howling, gnashing sounds! A music that could drive men mad and move a stone. To this must be added outbursts of genuine old-English humour peculiarly mixed with long-contained seething wrath. "Go to church!"[a] were the only articulate sounds that could be distinguished. One lady soothingly offered a prayer book in conventional binding from her carriage. "Give it to read to your horses!"[b] came the thunderous reply, shouted by a thousand voices. When the horses started to take fright and began to rear, buck and finally run away, jeopardising the lives of their genteel burdens, the derisive shouting grew louder, more menacing and more ruthless. Some of the noble lords and ladies, among them Lady Granville, the wife of a minister and President of the Privy Council, were forced to alight and use their own legs. When some elderly gentlemen rode past whose apparel and especially their broad-brimmed hats betrayed their special claim to perfectitude in matters of belief, the cries of fury as if by command were drowned by irrepressible laughter. One of these gentlemen lost his patience. Like Mephistopheles he made an impolite gesture, sticking out his tongue at the enemy.[c] "He is a word-catcher, a parliamentary man! He fights with his own weapons!"[d] someone shouted on one side of the road. "He is a saint! He is psalm singing!" was the antistrophe from the opposite side. Meanwhile the metropolitan electric telegraph had informed all police stations that a riot was about to break out in Hyde Park and the police were ordered to the theatre of military operations. Soon one detachment after another marched at short intervals through the double file of people, from Apsley House to Kensington Gardens, each received with the popular ditty:

> *"Where are gone the geese?*
> *Ask the police!"*[e]

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[a] Marx uses the English words "Go to church!" followed by a German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English words "prayer book" and "Give it to read to your horses!" followed by a German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

[c] Cf. Goethe, *Faust*, Der Tragödie erster Teil. Hexenküche.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx gives these and the following exclamations in English and translates them in brackets.—*Ed.*

[e] Marx quotes in English and gives the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

This was an allusion to a notorious theft of geese which a constable had perpetrated in Clerkenwell a short time ago. The spectacle lasted three hours. Only English lungs could perform such a feat. During the performance opinions such as "This is only the beginning!" "That is the first step!" "We hate them!" and the like were voiced by various groups. While rage was inscribed on the faces of the workers, such smiles of blissful self-satisfaction covered the physiognomies of the middle classes as we had never seen there before. Shortly before the end the demonstration increased in violence. Canes were menacingly raised at the carriages and the cry of "you rascals!" could be heard through the welter of discordant noises.[a] During the three hours zealous Chartists, men and women, made their way through the throng distributing leaflets which stated in big type:

"*Reorganisation of Chartism!*

"A big public meeting will take place next Tuesday, June 26th, in the Literary and Scientific Institute in Friar Street, Doctors' Commons, to elect delegates to a conference for the reorganisation of Chartism in the capital. Admission free."

Most of the London papers carry today only a brief account of the events in Hyde Park. No leading articles have appeared as yet, except in Lord Palmerston's *Morning Post.* It writes that

"a scene in the highest degree disgraceful and dangerous was enacted yesterday in Hyde Park", an "outrage on law and decency. [...] It was distinctly illegal to interfere, by physical force, with the free action of the Legislature [...]. We must have no repetition of violence on Sunday next, as has been threatened".[b]

At the same time, however, it declares that the "fanatical" Lord Grosvenor is solely "responsible" for this mischief, and that he has provoked the "just indignation of the people"! As though Parliament had not passed Lord Grosvenor's Bill in three readings! Or perhaps he too brought his influence to bear "by physical force on the free action of the Legislature"?

Written on June 25, 1855

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[a] Marx uses the English words followed by a German translation in parenthesis.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Morning Post,* No. 25422, June 25, 1855.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## MISCELLANEOUS REPORTS

*London*, June 26. During yesterday's sitting in the Commons[a] Mr. Otway rose and asked whether Lord Palmerston

"intended to take any measures to induce Lord Grosvenor to withdraw the *Sunday Trading Bill*." (*General cheering*.[b])

Lord Palmerston replied:

"If my noble friend" (Grosvenor) "hears that cheer I think he will be disposed to attend to it." (*Cheers*.)

As one can see the mass demonstration in Hyde Park has intimidated the Commons. They are dropping the Bill and make *bonne mine à mauvais jeu*.[c] *The Times* describes the scene on Sunday in Hyde Park as a "great act of retributive justice", and calls the Bill a product of "class legislation", "a measure of organised hypocrisy" and pokes fun at this display of "parliamentary theology".[d]

On the question of the *Hangö massacre*[225] the First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Charles *Wood*, announces that today he has received dispatches from Admiral Dundas. According to them five seamen and the Finnish captain had been killed by the fire of the Russians, four seamen and two Finns had been wounded and

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[a] The speeches by Otway, Palmerston, Wood, Duncombe and Malins were published in *The Times*, No. 22090, June 26, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English terms "Sunday Trading Bill" and "cheers".—*Ed.*

[c] Make the best of a bad job.—*Ed.*

[d] *The Times*, No. 22090, June 26, 1855.—*Ed.*

taken prisoner, and three officers, four seamen and two Finns had been taken prisoner without being wounded. Admiral Dundas had written a letter to the Governor of Helsingfors[a] stating what had happened and remonstrating most strongly against the atrocious act of firing on a boat under a flag of truce. He had received an answer in which the Governor excused and to a certain extent *justified* the act. He declared that the officers and soldiers said they had *not seen* the flag of truce. They had been irritated because on some *other occasions* vessels had hoisted the Russian flag and it had been reported in the newspapers that English vessels had *elsewhere* hoisted the flag of truce to take soundings. The whole justification can be reduced to the short-sightedness of the Russian soldiers and officers. At any rate it is a sign of civilisation that Russian soldiers should read newspapers and be "irritated" by newspaper reports.

The *Administrative Reformers*[226] have announced another meeting for tomorrow in the Drury Lane [Theatre]. As before: a meeting with tickets of admission and speakers by previous arrangement. Pontius Pilate asked: What is truth? Palmerston asked: What is *worthiness*? The Administrative Reformers have replied: worthiness is equivalent to a man's annual earnings.[b] Accordingly those reformers have undertaken a change in their internal organisation. Previously the members of the general committee—in reality electing themselves—had to go through the motions of an election in the form of a general vote taken within the association. Now anyone who pays £50 and above in annual subscriptions becomes a member of the general committee as a matter of course. Previously the ten-guinea and the one-guinea rule were considered sufficient for protecting the "movement" from plebeian importunity. Now the ten-guinea gentlemen are no longer considered sufficiently "respectable" and the one-guinea people are actually regarded as the mob. The posters advertising the meeting say literally:

> "Admission only by ticket, which can be obtained by members. Anyone subscribing £50 and above is a member of the general committee, anyone subscribing ten guineas or one guinea is a member of the association."

The rights of members within the association are therefore calculated according to a sliding scale of guineas. The naked,

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[a] J. M. Nordenstam.—*Ed.*

[b] In the original a pun on the word "Verdienst" which can mean either "merit", "deserts", "worthiness" or "earnings", "income".—*Ed.*

undisguised dominion of guineas is brutally proclaimed. The City reformers have let their secret out. What agitators! Moreover, circumstances were not very favourable for them lately. Drummond openly accused them in Parliament of "systematic immorality" and "corruption".[a] And what fine examples of the purity of their class have followed each other in rapid succession, as if on command! Firstly *The Lancet* (medical journal) furnishes proof that the adulteration and contamination of all goods and foodstuffs is a practice by no means confined to the retail traders, but is done in the wholesale trade as a matter of principle. Then it transpires that "respectable" City firms have been circulating false dock warrants.[b] Finally, the great fraudulent bankruptcy, directly connected with the theft of deposited securities, of the private bank of Strahan, Sir Jones Paul and Bates. In this last instance the aristocracy has learned to do homage to the "administrative" talent of the City gentlemen, for the bank "administered" mainly aristocratic guineas. Palmerston is amongst those to suffer, as is the Marquess of Clanricarde, and Admiral Napier has lost almost all his wealth. The *Church* has also been deprived of a good deal of worldly goods, since Messrs Strahan, Paul and Bates enjoyed a particular odour of sanctity, occasionally chaired meetings for the "conversion of heathens" at Exeter Hall, were amongst the first subscribers to the society for "the Dissemination of the Bible" and were on the committee of the "Association for the Reform of Criminals". Their faith had secured them credit. They were the favourite bank of clerical gentlemen and independent foundations. But their "administrative" talent spared nothing and no one from widows' and orphans' allowances down to the small savings of sailors. Why not let them administer the "public funds" which they are now reaching out for?

"There are symptoms at this moment among ourselves," ruefully exclaims *The Daily News*, the organ *par excellence* of the City reformers, "which indicate that no time is to be lost in averting a dangerous lapse from a high and severe tone of morality among our industrial classes."

The crisis of Messrs Strahan and Co. has of course given rise to a run[c] by the public on the counters of the City's private banks,

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[a] Marx refers to Drummond's speech in the House of Commons on June 18, 1855. *The Times*, No. 22084, June 19, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English words "dock warrants".—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

which up to then had been regarded as far more respectable than the joint stock banks. Already the big private bankers are obliged "publicly" to invite each other periodically to examine their holdings of securities deposited with them, and also to request their customers through *The Times* to inspect for themselves the effects entrusted to them. Another circumstance which arises at a very inopportune moment for the reforming City gentlemen is the following: As is well known, one of their kings, *Rothschild*, is standing as their elected representative at the threshold of the Commons, but is not being allowed to enter that Holy of Holies because *he* will not swear "on the true oath of a Christian" and because Lord *John Russell*, his colleague, will not "realise" the Jewish Bill.[227] And yesterday *Duncombe* rose to his feet having found out that, under an Act of Parliament of 1782, any member entering into a delivery contract with the government *after* he has been elected loses his seat in the House of Commons, and that Rothschild had stood security for the most recent loan of £16,000,000. Having discovered this he gave notice that tomorrow evening he would move that a writ be issued for a by-election in the City of London. And there is more. Malins followed in Duncombe's wake and gave notice of a similar motion against *Lindsay*, who had been directly charged by Sir Charles Wood in the reform debate with having negotiated contracts with the government for the supplying of ships, while he was and still is a member of Parliament. The incident is not only important because of the people who have been compromised, a City magnate and a City reform magnate! It is important because it reminds the public that it was amongst the high dignitaries of the City, those people entering into contracts for loans and supplies with the government both inside and outside Parliament, that Pitt, Perceval and Liverpool, who ignored the act of 1782, found their main support. The financial aristocracy—at that time more corrupt than under Louis Philippe—was the moving-force of the anti-Jacobin war. Whilst they plucked the golden apples of the Hesperides, they demonstrated to the nation in notorious City meetings that

> "it must sacrifice money and blood in order to preserve the blessed comforts of our holy religion from the desecrating French, and to preserve itself from the mournful desperation of atheism".

Thus the nation is reminded, at the most inopportune time, that the City, which is rebelling against the oligarchy, was the forcing

house in which that same oligarchy grew and put forth its most luxuriant blooms.

Written on June 26, 1855

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# Frederick Engels

## FROM SEVASTOPOL[228]

Contrary to public expectation the mail of the *Pacific*, which arrived yesterday morning, brings no detailed account of the repulse of the Allies at Sevastopol on the 18th of June. We have, it is true, some bare statements respecting the number of killed and wounded in that affair, on which we briefly comment below. But instead of the expected dispatches, we have at last Gen. Pélissier's detailed account of the capture of the Mamelon and Quarries. Even this however is not of a nature to distinctly show the drift of the military policy of the man who now virtually commands the 200,000 allied troops in the Crimea. We have to trust to negative rather than positive evidence if we desire to come to a conclusion on that subject. To guess what Pélissier intends to do, we must look not so much at what he does as at what he refrains from doing. But let us look again at the capture of the Mamelon; it has some features that repay examination.[a]

The 6th and 7th of June were devoted to a cannonade on the whole line of the allied batteries. But while on the left attack (the Flagstaff to the Quarantine Bastion) this cannonade was a mere demonstration, on the right attack (Redan to Mount Sapun) it was in good earnest. Here the Russian outworks were particularly subjected to a heavy fire. Their fire appearing to be sufficiently silenced and their defenders sufficiently weakened, on the evening of the 7th the assault was ordered. The French had two distinct positions to carry, forming two plateaux, separated from each other by a ravine; the English one plateau, with a ravine on either

[a] Instead of this paragraph the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "Detailed and official dispatches about the events of June 6, 7 and 8 arrived only a few days ago."—*Ed.*

side. The mode in which the two armies prepared for the assault was characteristic of their peculiar qualities and traditions. The French set apart four divisions, two for each separate attack. Thus, against the Mamelon Vert (Kamtchatka redoubt) two divisions were collected, and two more against Mount Sapun; each attack having two brigades, in distinct columns, in front for the charge, and two brigades in reserve. Thus eighteen battalions were to charge and eighteen to support—in all at least 28,000 to 30,000 men. This disposition was perfectly in accordance with the regulations and traditions of the French army, which in grand charges always attacks in columns, and sometimes in rather too unwieldy ones. The English, if formed in the same way, would have required two divisions for their part of the business; two brigades for the attack and two for the reserve. True to their own system, however, they told off for the charge about 1,000 men, or about two battalions—hardly equal to half a French brigade. They had strong reserves no doubt; but, nevertheless, where the French would have employed three men they employed only one. This is a consequence partly of the British system of attacking in line instead of in column, and partly of the great tenacity of the British soldier in defensive positions. These 1,000 British soldiers were not even let loose all at once; at first 200 charged and carried the Russian works; then 200 more were sent as a reenforcement; the remainder followed in the same way; and then 1,000 British soldiers, once established in the Russian position, held it against six successive attacks, and under the continuous front and enfilading fire of the Russian works.[a] When the morning dawned, of their number above one-half were dead or wounded; but the place was theirs, and some of them had even now and then followed the Russians into the Redan. This was an exploit which no 1,000 Frenchmen could have achieved. But the passive endurance of the British soldier under fire knows hardly any bounds; and when, as in that night, the hand-to-hand combat takes the form of his favorite amusement, the street-row, then he is in his own element, and will fight six to one with all the reckless delight in the world.

As to the French attack, Gen. Pélissier gives us a long account of the brigades and regiments engaged, and has a complimentary

[a] Instead of this sentence the German version has: "These 1,000 British soldiers were not even let loose all at once; at first 200 charged and carried the Russian works; the remainder followed in the same way, and these British soldiers, once established in the Russian position, held it against successive attacks, and under the continuous front and enfilading fire of the Russian works."—*Ed.*

word for each of them; but his statements as to the respective positions and lines of attack of each column are very indistinct, while his narrative of the development of the action is almost incomprehensible, and an indication of the losses is entirely wanting. By comparing this official bulletin with other accounts, we are enabled to make out that the French took the Mamelon in the first onset, followed the retiring Russians up to the Malakoff bastion, entered it here and there, were repulsed by the Russians, again lost the Mamelon, drew up in a semi-circle behind it, and by another advance finally took possession of it. On the other side of the Careening Bay ravine the Volhynsk redoubt was taken with little loss; the struggle at the Selenghinsk redoubt, which is situated to its rear, was more severe, but nothing like that at the Mamelon. Owing to the exaggerated number of troops which Pélissier brought to bear upon the points attacked, and to the unwieldy columns they must have formed, the French loss must have been very great. The fact that no official statement of it has been made, is sufficient to prove this. We should say from 1,500 to 2,000 would not be exaggerated.[a]

As to the Russians, they were placed in peculiar circumstances. They could not garrison these outworks with great numbers of men, as this would have been to expose them to certain destruction by the enemy's artillery, even before the assault was attempted. Thus, they could only keep a minimum of defenders in these redoubts, and had to trust to the commanding fire of their artillery in the Malakoff and the Redan, as well as to the action of their reserves in the place. They had two battalions—about 800 men—in the Mamelon. But the redoubts once taken, they never got into them again so as to establish themselves properly. They discovered that a besieged army may very quickly lose a position, but cannot easily regain it.[b] Beside this, the Mamelon redoubt was so complicated in its construction, by traverses and blindages, forming a sort of impromptu casemates, that although exceedingly well covered against artillery, its garrison was almost helpless against an assault—each compartment being scarcely capable of holding a gun and the men to serve it. As soon, therefore, as the guns were dismounted, the infantry who had to defend the work against an assault, had no space for a position from which they could act upon the assaulting columns by simultaneous fire in masses. Broken up into small detachments they succumbed to the

[a] This sentence does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.—Ed.*

[b] The last two sentences do not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.—Ed.*

impetuosity of the assailants, and again proved that where they cannot fight in large masses, the Russian infantry neither equals the intelligence and quickness of glance of the French, nor the desperate bull-dog valor of the English.

The engagement of the 7th was followed by a ten days' repose, during which trenches were finished and connected, batteries traced, and guns and ammunition brought up. At the same time two reconnaissances were pushed into the interior of the country. The first, to Baidar, 12 miles from Balaklava, on the road which leads down to the south coast, was merely preliminary; the second, toward Aïtodor, six miles beyond Chorgun, on the Chernaya, was made in the right direction. Aïtodor is situated on the high ground leading toward the valley of the Upper Belbek, by which alone, as we have stated long ago,[a] the Russian position at Inkermann can be effectually turned. But then, to send a reconnoitering column thither, and not to follow it up by occupying the ground in force and commencing operations at once, is nothing but putting the enemy on his guard by pointing out to him from which side he is menaced. Now, it may be that the country about Aïtodor was found impracticable, but we doubt it; and even in that case, the intention of a flank march to turn the enemy is too plainly indicated in this maneuver.[b] If this flank march could be used as a mere feint, well and good; but we are convinced that it must be made the chief movement, and therefore it should not be hinted at before the Allies really mean to undertake it.

Instead, however, of following up these weak demonstrations in the field, General Pélissier attempted something very different. The 18th of June, Waterloo day,[229] saw the English and French troops marching abreast to storm the Russian lines on the right attack. The English attacked the Redan, the French Malakoff. Waterloo was to be thus avenged; but unfortunately the affair went wrong. They were both repulsed with terrific slaughter. The official lists state their loss at about 5,000, but from the known want of veracity in the French accounts we are induced to calculate it about 50 per cent higher. As no particulars have been received, the tactical features of this battle must be left entirely

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[a] See this volume, pp. 201-04.— *Ed.*

[b] Instead of this sentence the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "The intention of a flanking march to bypass the enemy was too plainly indicated in this manoeuvre to be misunderstood by the Russians." The rest of this paragraph does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.*—*Ed.*

aside for the present. What we can take into consideration now is its strategical and political nature.

Pélissier is held up by the entire press of Europe as a man who will not be commanded by telegraph from Paris, but who acts unflinchingly by his own judgment. We have had reasons to doubt this peculiar sort of obstinacy, and the fact of his attempt to avenge Waterloo "nobly," that is by a common victory of the French and English, fully confirms our doubt. The idea of such a feat could only come from his Majesty, the Emperor of the French—the great believer in anniversaries, the man who cannot let the 2d of December[a] pass by in any year without attempting some extraordinary trick; the man who, before the Chamber of Peers,[b] said that his special vocation was to avenge Waterloo. That Pélissier had the strictest orders to celebrate the Battle of Waterloo by a splendid anniversary there can be no doubt. The way in which he did it is the only part of the business for which he is responsible.[c]

The assault upon the lines of the redoubt of Karabelnaya must, as we are more than ever convinced, be considered a blunder. But until we know the man thoroughly, we will continue to give Pélissier the benefit of every circumstance which at this distance from the spot may appear to involve a doubt. Now, it may be that the sanitary state of the Heracleatic Chersonese—a subject to which we long since called attention[d]—is such that a speedy termination of the operations in that small space of ground is highly desirable. The exhalations from the decomposing bodies of 25,000 men and 10,000 horses are such as to seriously affect the health of the army during Summer. Of the other abominations accumulated there we will not speak. Pélissier may think that it is

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[a] I.e., the anniversary of the Bonapartist coup in France, which took place on December 2, 1851.—*Ed.*

[b] The Senate.—*Ed.*

[c] Instead of the preceding two paragraphs the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "Instead of following up these weak demonstrations in the field Pélissier undertook the abortive assault of June 18. He did this on the orders of the man who had declared before the Chamber of Peers that 'his special vocation was to avenge Waterloo'. Pélissier is only responsible for the way he carried out his instructions. As no detailed reports have been forthcoming so far, the tactical features of this battle cannot be judged for the present. As regards strategy, every child realises now that the nearest road to Sevastopol leads through Inkerman and the Russian army defending it." The passage that follows, up to the words "The necessity of reenforcing her force in the Crimea...", does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 109-12, 113-17, 215-17.—*Ed.*

possible in a short time to drive the Russians from the south side, to destroy the place completely, to leave but a few men to guard it, and then to take the field with a strong army. We make this supposition because we prefer to see at least some rational motive in the actions of an old soldier. But if this is the case he mistook the strength of the place. We said at the time, that any attempt to follow up the successes of the 7th against the town itself would be defeated[a]; our opinion is confirmed by events. We said the key to Sevastopol lay north of Inkermann[b]; the engagement of the 18th seems to prove it.

Thus we are ready to admit that Gen. Pélissier was led by perfectly logical considerations to prefer an assault on Karabelnaya to an advance into the field; but at the same time we must equally admit that people on the spot are very apt to take minor facts for the premises of their conclusions, and that Pélissier, by the repulse of the 18th, appears to be convicted of having given in to this weakness; for if it shows strength of character to stick obstinately to the business in hand, it equally shows weakness of intellect to follow up that business in a roundabout way, because it has once been entered upon. Pélissier would be right in attempting to take Sevastopol at all hazards; but he is evidently wrong in not seeing that the nearest road into Sevastopol leads through Inkermann and the Russian army defending that position.

Unless the allied armies take good care to profit without delay by their superiority, they will before long find themselves in a very awkward position. The necessity of reenforcing her force in the Crimea has long been recognized by Russia. The completion of the reserve battalions of the regular army, and the levy and organization of the militia in 200 battalions, ‚‚but more especially the reduction of the Austrian army of observation to 180,000 men—the rest being either dismissed on furlough or stationed in the interior of the empire—now offer an opportunity to do this.[c] In consequence a reserve army has been formed at Odessa, about 25,000 men of which are said to be stationed at Nikolaieff, some twelve to fifteen days' march from Sevastopol. Two divisions of grenadiers are also said to be on the march from Volhynia. By the middle of July therefore, and perhaps sooner, the Russians may again have recovered the superiority of numbers, unless decisive

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[a] See this volume, pp. 264-66.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 249.—*Ed.*
[c] In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* the words between the dashes do not occur.—*Ed.*

defeats of the troops now opposing the Allies occur in the mean time. We are, indeed, informed that 50,000 more Frenchmen are marching to Toulon and Marseilles for embarkation; but they will certainly be too late, and can hardly do more than fill up the gaps which battle and sickness (now reappearing in the allied camp) have made in the ranks.[a]

The operations in the Sea of Azoff have destroyed one source of supply for the Russians; but as the Dnieper is far more than the Don the natural outlet of the Russian corn districts, there is no doubt that great quantities of it are at Kherson—more than the Russians in the Crimea require to feed them. Thence the transport to Sympheropol is so not very difficult. Whoever expects from the Azoff expedition a serious and immediate effect on the provisioning of Sevastopol, labors under a great error.

The scales, though for some time past turned in favor of the Allies, may yet be balanced again, or even be turned against them. The Crimean campaign is far from being decided, if the Russians act promptly.

Written about June 29, 1855

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

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[a] The German version ends here.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## MISCELLANEOUS REPORTS

*London*, June 30. As Lord Grosvenor refuses to withdraw his *Sunday Trading Bill*[a] voluntarily, posters have appeared in London's busiest streets today inviting people to attend another monster demonstration in Hyde Park tomorrow afternoon. When Grosvenor asked whether the sudden change in opinion of the majority was inspired by the mob in Hyde Park, the House was childish enough to reply with a vigorous No! No![b]

In passing, replying to the question of a Tory peer, Panmure mentioned that the Ministers had issued a proclamation to the army in the *name of the Queen*, according to which certain corps and certain regiments, those at present in the theatre of war, are to receive (not only for the duration of their present service but also back-dated for several months) a significant increase in pay and an increase in their pensions.[c] This announcement has, for the time being, been made in the name of the Queen,[d] while the House of Commons was in session and without the Ministers giving the House any information. Thus the Ministers are arrogating to themselves a right which constitutionally is the exclusive prerogative of the House of Commons, that *of fixing the pay of the army*. However, they have to go before the House in a few weeks' or days' time to have their promised increases passed.

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[a] Marx uses the English name.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English words "No! No!". It was on June 26, 1855 that Grosvenor asked a question in the House of Commons about the demonstration in Hyde Park on June 24 (see this volume, pp. 303-04).—*Ed.*

[c] Panmure's speech in the House of Lords on June 28, 1855, in reply to a question by Richmond. *The Times*, No. 22093, June 29, 1855.—*Ed.*

[d] Victoria.—*Ed.*

But the proclamation anticipated the vote of the House. If the House were to reject the demand it would come into conflict with the army. This is the answer to the finding of the Roebuck Committee to the effect that the Ministry was responsible for the misfortunes endured by the army. A step in the direction pointed by Prince Albert.[a]

*Bouverie*'s Bill, which had its second reading in the House of Commons yesterday,[b] is significant as far as English commercial law is concerned. In England up to now anyone receiving a definite share of the profits of a business was regarded as a partner and as such was liable with the *whole of his possessions* for the commercial commitments of that business. Bouverie's Bill, tabled in the name of the Ministry, aims to abolish this legal obligation. Even more important is his Bill concerning *joint-stock companies.* Up to now every member of a company of this kind was *liable not only for the sum of his own share* but also *to the full extent of his possessions for all the obligations of the company.* According to one of the Bills the liability of the individual shareholder is to be limited to the amount of the shares he holds but this applies only to companies whose total capital amounts to at least £20,000, the articles of association of which are signed by shareholders whose shares total at least £15,000, and where at least 20 per cent of the total capital has been paid up. The mere necessity of a law of this kind proves how much the legislature has been in the hands of high finance until now, which has succeeded, in this the first trading nation in the world, in subjecting commercial contracts to the most absurd and arbitrary legal restrictions. The new Bill claims that it is its principle "to place labour and small capitalists on an equal footing (in terms of commercial law) with big capital." And how is this to be done? By excluding share-capital amounting to *less* than £20,000 from the benefits of this law and allowing it to remain subject to the old restrictions. Nothing proves more conclusively than the English legislation on joint-stock companies and commercial companies in general that big capital, not content with the superior economic weapons with which it fights the competition from the small capitalists, in England also resorts to legal privileges and exceptional laws. Until a few years ago, for example, a bank was not allowed to comprise more than six partners. It was a long time before joint-stock companies acquired the right to take legal action in the name of their boards

[a] For an account of Prince Albert's speech see this volume, pp. 273-76.—*Ed.*
[b] June 29, 1855. *The Times*, No. 22094, June 30, 1855.—*Ed.*

of directors or have actions brought against them. In order, however, to enjoy this privilege they must be registered or incorporated, and a law dating from 1837 declares that the Crown has the right to incorporate only on the basis of a report from the Board of Trade,[a] so that whether a company is incorporated or not depends on the grace and favour of the Board of Trade. Banks, benevolent and mutual aid societies, etc., are completely excluded from the effects of the new Bill.

One of the newspapers today publishes the following *parliamentary statistics*: there are 327 constituencies.[b] A number of these constituencies are controlled by electoral magnates. One magnate controls 9 constituencies, 4 magnates control each 8, 1 magnate controls 7, 3 magnates control 6, 8 magnates control 5, 26 magnates control 4, 29 control 3, so that 72 magnates control 297 constituencies. There remain 30 so-called "independent" constituencies. The House of Commons comprises 654 members, 594 of whom are elected by the 297 dependent constituencies. These 594 include 274 people who are directly related to peers or belong to the aristocracy.

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[a] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*
[b] This figure does not include the 72 constituencies in Ireland.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## AGITATION OVER THE TIGHTENING-UP OF SUNDAY OBSERVANCE[230]

*London*, July 2. Yesterday there was a repeat of the demonstration against the Sunday Bill in Hyde Park,[a] but this time on a larger scale, under more ominous auspices and with more serious consequences. The general mood of gloomy agitation in London today is witness to that.

The posters which called on people to hold a second meeting also invited them to assemble in front of the house of the pious Lord Grosvenor on Sunday at 10 a.m., and to accompany him on his way to church. But the pious gentleman had already left London on Saturday in a private carriage—in order to travel incognito. That he is more inclined by nature to make martyrs of other people rather than become a martyr himself has already been proved by his circular letter which appeared in all the London newspapers, in which on the one hand he sticks to his bill whilst on the other hand he is at pains to show that it is meaningless, pointless and insignificant.[b] His house was occupied all Sunday, not by psalm-singers but by constables, 200 in number. Also the house of his brother, the Marquis of Westminster, famous for his wealth.

On Saturday Sir Richard Mayne, chief of the London police, had pasted notices on the walls of London not only "*forbidding*" a meeting in Hyde Park but also "*forbidding*" people to assemble there in "large numbers" and to exhibit any signs of approval or

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[a] For an account of the first demonstration, held on June 24, see this volume, pp. 302-07.—*Ed.*

[b] R. Grosvenor, "The Sunday Trading Bill. To the Editor of *The Times*", *The Times*, No. 22093, June 28, 1855.—*Ed.*

disapproval. The result of these ukases was, even according to the report in the police circular, that as early as 2.30 p.m. 150,000 people from *all* classes and of all ages, were surging to and fro, and that gradually the crowd in the park swelled to dimensions which were immensely large and astonishing even by London standards. Not only did London appear *en masse*; people again lined both sides of the road along the Serpentine, only this time the crowds were more closely packed and deeper than on the previous Sunday. The people who did not, however, appear were the upper crust. All in all perhaps 20 carriages appeared, the majority of which were small gigs and phaetons which were allowed to pass unmolested, whereas their more portly, larger bellied, and taller brothers, trimmed with more braid, were greeted with the same calls as previously and with the same babel of sounds, the waves of which made the air vibrate for about a mile around. The police ukases were rebutted by the mass meeting and the exercising of thousands of pairs of lungs. The upper crust had avoided the scene of action and by its absence recognised the sovereignty of the *vox populi.*

It was 4 o'clock and the demonstration seemed to be fizzling out into a harmless Sunday diversion from lack of anything to keep it going. But that did not suit the police. Were they to retire a general laughing-stock, casting melancholy parting glances at their own notices, which people could read at the main gate of the park in huge letters? What is more, their high dignitaries were present, Sir Richard Mayne and superintendents Gibbs and Walker on horseback, and inspectors Banks, Darkin and Brennan on foot. Eight hundred constables were strategically positioned, mainly hidden in buildings and ambuscades. Stronger detachments had been positioned at intervals nearby as reinforcements. The home of the chief park attendant, the powder magazine and the premises of the rescue services, all situated at a point where the road along the Serpentine turns into a path leading to Kensington Gardens, had been converted into improvised block houses manned by large forces of police and prepared for the accommodation of prisoners and casualties. Hackney cabs were put in position outside Vine Street police station at Piccadilly ready to go to the scene of action and to escort the vanquished safely back. In short, the police had planned a far more "vigorous" campaign, as *The Times* puts it, "than any of which we have yet had notice in the Crimea".[a] The police needed bloody heads

[a] *The Times*, No. 22095, July 2, 1855.—*Ed.*

and arrests so as not to go plunging directly from the sublime to the ridiculous. As soon as the two lines of people had begun to thin out more and the crowds had dispersed in various groups over the huge area of the park further away from the road, the police chiefs took up positions in the middle of the road between the two lines of people, and from their horses began issuing pompous-sounding orders right and left. Supposedly for the protection of passing carriages and riders. As, however, neither carriages nor riders appeared and there was thus nothing for them to protect, they began to pick individuals out of the crowd "under false pretences" and to have them arrested, the pretext being that they were *pickpockets*.[a] When these experiments became more numerous and the pretext no longer held good, a single cry ran through the crowds, and the hidden corps of constables rushed out of their ambuscades, quickly drew their truncheons, rained blows upon people's heads until they bled, here and there pulled an individual out of the crowd (a total of 104 people were arrested in this manner), and dragged them off to the improvised block houses. The left-hand side of the road is only separated from the water of the Serpentine by a narrow strip of land. By a manoeuvre a police officer and his troop managed to drive the onlookers up to the very edge of the liquid element and were threatening to give them a cold bath. In an attempt to escape the police truncheons, one individual swam across the Serpentine to the opposite bank; however, a policeman set off after him in a boat, caught him and brought him back in triumph.

How greatly had the character of the scene changed since last Sunday! Instead of the state carriages, dirty hackney cabs which drove to and fro from the police station at Vine Street to the improvised prisons in Hyde Park and from there to the police station. Instead of footmen up on the box a constable seated next to the drunken cab-driver. Instead of the elegant ladies and gentlemen inside the coaches there were prisoners with bloody heads, tousled hair, hatless, their clothes torn, guarded by shifty-looking characters recruited from among the Irish lumpen-proletariat and pressed into the London police. Instead of the swishing of fans the whizzing of the constables' leather truncheons.[b] Last Sunday the ruling classes had shown their fashionable physiognomy, now they showed their political physiognomy.

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[a] Marx uses the English word and gives the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

Behind the kindly grinning old gentlemen, the fashionable dandies, the genteel and frail widows, the fragrant beauties in cashmere and ostrich feathers, adorned with garlands of diamonds and flowers—was the constable with his water-proof coat, greasy oilskin hat and *truncheon.* It was the reverse side of the coin. Last Sunday the crowd was confronted with the ruling class in its individual form. This time it appeared as political power, the law, the truncheon. This time to resist was to commit insurrection, and the English have to be heated up slowly and for a long time before they are prepared for insurrection. Thus the counter-demonstration was on the whole limited to cat-calling and hooting and whistling at the police vehicles, to isolated and weak attempts at freeing the prisoners, and above all to passive resistance and a phlegmatic determination to remain at the scene of action.

Characteristic was the role played in this drama by the soldiers—partly from the Guards and partly from the 66th Regiment. They were present in large numbers. Twelve of them, Guards, some decorated with medals from the Crimea, were in the middle of a group of men, women and children who were the targets for police truncheons. One old man fell to the ground after receiving a blow. "The London *stiffstaffs*[a]" (name of abuse for the police) "are worse than the Russians were at Inkerman,"[231] cried one of the heroes from the Crimea. The police grabbed him. He was immediately released to loud shouts from the crowd of "Three cheers[b] for the army!" The police considered it advisable to retire. In the meantime a number of grenadiers had joined the crowd, the soldiers formed a troop and, surrounded by the crowd and accompanied by the cry of "Long live the army, down with the police, down with the Sunday Bill!", they strutted up and down the park. The police were standing there not knowing quite what to do, when a sergeant from the guards appeared who loudly took them to task for their brutality, attempted to calm the soldiers and persuaded some of them to follow him to their barracks so as to avoid more serious collisions. The majority of the soldiers, however, stayed behind and, amongst the crowd, gave vent to their indignation against the police in impassioned terms. The antagonism between the police and the army in England goes back a long way. The present moment, when the army is the *pet child*[c] of the masses, is certainly not suited to diminish that in any way.

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[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*
[b] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*
[c] Marx uses the English expression.—*Ed.*

An old man by the name of Russell is reported to have died today as a result of the injuries he received; half a dozen injured people are in St. George's Hospital. During the demonstration various attempts were again made to hold separate meetings. At one such meeting, at Albert Gate, outside that part of the park originally occupied by the police, one anonymous speaker harangued his public in roughly the following manner:

"Men of Old England! Awake, rise from your slumbers, or be for ever fallen! Oppose the Government, the 'send-us-to-Church' Bill, every succeeding Sunday, as you have done today. [...] Don't fear to demand your just rights [...] but throw off the shackles of oligarchical oppression and misrule. If you do not [...] you will be irretrievably oppressed and ruined. Is it not a pity that the inhabitants of this great metropolis — the greatest in the civilised world — should have their liberties placed in the hands of my Lord Robert Grosvenor or such a man as Lord Ebrington? His Lordship wants to drive us to church and make us religious by act of Parliament; but it won't do [...]. What are we, and what are they! Look at the present war; is it not carried on at the expense and the sacrifice of blood of the productive classes? And what are the unproductive classes doing? They are bungling it."[a]

The speaker and the meeting were of course interrupted by the police.

At Greenwich, near the observatory, Londoners held a similar meeting attended by 10,000-15,000 people. It was also cut short by the police.

Written on July 2, 1855

First published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 307, July 5, 1855

Marked with the sign ×

Printed according to the newspaper

[a] The text of this speech was given in the report on the demonstration published in *The Times*, No. 22095, July 2, 1855.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE LATE REPULSE OF THE ALLIES[232]

The mail of the *Canada* reached us last evening from Boston, with Gen. Pélissier's report on the repulse of the Allies on the 18th of June (which will be found in our columns today) and with other documents which complete the history of that disastrous affair. Having thus before us all necessary sources of information, we proceed to give our readers an exact and impartial analysis of the entire operation. With regard to its general character it is enough to say that of the many blundering affairs we have had to notice in this Eastern war, this is by far the most perfect piece of bungling.

The French advanced trenches were from 400 to 500, and the English from 500 to 700 yards from the Russian batteries.[a] These distances mark the lengths of road which the respective columns of attack had to pass over without cover from the Russian fire, and unsupported by the fire of their own artillery; with sharp running, then, such as would destroy every vestige of order, they would be exposed to a fire of grape and musketry during from three to five minutes, a time quite sufficient to completely disorganize them. This single fact is characteristic of the whole plan. Unless the enemy's fire were completely silenced, and the accumulation of large masses of troops in the hostile works effectively prevented by incessant vertical shell firing, there was not the slightest chance of success.

The Russians appear to have judged well of the plans of the Allies, if they were not, as Pélissier supposes, fully acquainted with

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[a] Marx included this and the following two paragraphs in his report "Clashes between the Police and the People.—The Events in the Crimea" published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* (see this volume, pp. 333-36).— *Ed.*

them. They but feebly replied to the besieging fire on the 17th, withdrew their guns behind the parapets during the day, and blinded the embrasures, so that scarcely any were disabled for the next day's work. This was decidedly the best plan, as their object could not be to extinguish the enemy's fire at that time. During the night the guns were brought back into their positions, the columns and reserves told off for the defense were stationed, and thus they were in a condition to meet any assault that could be made upon their position.

The plan agreed upon between Pélissier and Raglan was to reopen their fire at daybreak on the 18th with all the vigor they could give to it for a couple of hours, and then on a sudden to launch simultaneously seven storming columns—one French against the bastion close to the Careening Bay, two French against the Malakoff bastion, three English against the Redan bastion and one English against the cluster of houses and the cemetery situated between the Redan and the head of the inner harbor. This plan was sensible enough if there was to be an assault at all; its execution would subdue the Russian fire and disperse the Russian masses concentrated for the defense before the actual attack took place. On the other hand, the allied troops would have to suffer from the Russian fire while crowding the trenches, and the defenders would very probably soon perceive the presence of columns destined to attack their position with the bayonet. But this was by far the lesser evil. The original plan therefore was the best that could be devised under the circumstances.

However, we are informed that[a] very late in the evening Pélissier learned that the Russians intended again to attack the Mamelon in force on the 18th. This should have been considered a godsend, for the defense of the Mamelon against any force the Russians could bring against it must have been safe, or else how could the Mamelon[b] serve as a base of operations for the assault upon the Malakoff? Thus the Russians, defeated in their assault upon the Mamelon, would have been in a sad plight to fight a second battle for the Malakoff, and it would almost appear that under these circumstances the success of the operation against the latter position must have been

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[a] The German version of this article, published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* under the title "The Assault of the 18th [June]", begins here. It is introduced as follows: "London, July 7. Yesterday we examined the Allies' original plan for the assault on June 18."—*Ed.*

[b] The version published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has here: "(now christened the *Brancion* redoubt)".—*Ed.*

certain. Pélissier appears to have thought differently. He countermanded, late at night, the cannonade, and ordered the assault for 3 o'clock in the morning, the signal to be given by three rockets. The English were informed of this change of disposition.

This proceeding ended, as it was sure to do, in the way Napoleon used to say of bungling Generals: *Ordre, contre-ordre, désordre.*[a] Half an hour before the appointed time, the extreme right French column somehow or other got engaged with the enemy. Whether the Russians drew them out by a false sally, or whether, as Pélissier says, the General[b] mistook a French shell for the signal rockets, is not quite clear. At all events, Pélissier had to hurry his signal, and the columns, still engaged in finding their proper places in the trenches, had to start in half confusion, and in part from different starting points from those assigned to them. The middle French column, intended to turn the flank of the Malakoff, effected its purpose and got into the Russian works; but the other two columns could make no headway in the hail-storm of case-shot and musketry which assailed them. Each column consisted of a brigade of four battalions; the second brigade of each division was in second line, while the Guard formed the general reserve. Thus nearly four divisions, or 20,000 men, were at hand for the purpose. The second line was brought up to the support of the first attack, but in vain; the Guards were sent forward, and they were arrested and then thrown back as well. Two battalions only remained disposable. It was now half-past eight. The brigade of the middle column, which had penetrated into the works, was ejected; on every point the French had been repulsed with great loss and no fresh troops were at hand. The English had not succeeded either. Pélissier gave the order for the retreat, which he says was effected with "dignity."

On the English side the columns of attack were told off with that parsimoniousness characteristic of the British Army. The leading columns counted but 1,800 men each, or 1,000 men less than the French columns.[c] Of these 1,800, but 1,000 were intended

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[a] In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* this passage reads as follows: "The operation ended as it was bound to end, in the manner in which Napoleon, the real Napoleon, describes the fate of wavering and bungling generals: 'Ordre, contre-ordre, désordre'."—*Ed.*

[b] J. D. N. Mayran.—*Ed.*

[c] Instead of the preceding two sentences the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "On the *English* side each of the leading columns comprised only 1,800 men, 1,000 men less than the French."—*Ed.*

for fighting—the rest for working parties. In second line, the remainder of the brigade from which the force was taken, say 1,200 to 1,400 men, were behind each column. In third line, the second brigade of each division was behind its first brigade. Finally, the Guards and Highlanders (first division) formed the general reserve. Thus, of the whole English infantry assembled on the ground, but 7,200 men were to be launched in the first onset, and of these but 4,000 were actual combatants. This weakness in the first columns was caused, first, by the traditions of the British service, and, secondly, by their habit of attacking in line; for all reports lead to the conclusion that even in this instance they attacked in line, and thus offered a gratuitously large aim to the grape of the enemy. The complication caused by the arrangement of four different lines one behind another, in narrow and irregular trenches, created great disorder and mischief from the beginning, and would have created utter confusion had the struggle become anything like serious.

The first and third columns (from right to left) were to turn the flanks of the Redan, while the second was to attack its salient angle as soon as they had succeeded. The fourth or extreme left column, as stated, had to attack the head of the inner harbor. When the signal was given, as was the case with the French, the columns were still in movement toward their respective positions. The first column, however, jumped over the parapet of the trenches and was instantly saluted with a murderous fire of case-shot. The troops, disordered by the climbing, could not form. Col. Yea, who commanded, was already shouting for a bugler to sound the retreat; no bugler was found, and on they went in great disorder. Some penetrated to the abattis surrounding the Redan, but in vain. The mass of the column fell back at once and sought the shelter of the trenches. The third column advanced a minute or two later. It missed its road, and assailed the face of the Redan near the apex, instead of the flank. It staggered forward under a tremendous hail of projectiles, but was broken and retreated in complete disorder in a very few minutes. The whole affair lasted less than fifteen minutes.[a] Thus ended the attack upon the Redan, before any of the complicated reserves of Lord Raglan had time to come up to its support. The second column was so startled by this sudden breakdown of its flanking bodies that it did not even stir out of the trenches.

[a] This sentence does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.—Ed.*

The fourth column, commanded by Maj. Gen. Eyre, whose report we publish,[a] alone succeeded in establishing itself in the cemetery and the houses surrounding. Here about 1,800 men held out during the day. They could not retreat, for the ground behind them was open and under the cross fire of the Russians. Thus they fought as well as they could till 9 o'clock at night, when they effected their retreat during the darkness. Their losses amounted to more than one-third of their number.

Thus ended Pélissier's grand attack upon the Karabelnaya suburb. It was hastily determined upon, more hastily changed in its main features at a late period, and carried out with extreme blundering. The Russian was right who said to an English officer during the armistice of the 19th "Your Generals must have been drunk yesterday when they ordered the assault."

A newspaper correspondent writing from the scene describes it as "an infantry Balaklava."[233] This is perfectly just, and sums up in the briefest manner the criticisms which all intelligent military men must make upon this calamitous repulse.[b]

Written about July 6, 1855

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] The German version makes no mention of Eyre or his report.—*Ed.*
[b] The last paragraph does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## CLASHES BETWEEN THE POLICE AND THE PEOPLE.—THE EVENTS IN THE CRIMEA[234]

*London,* July 6. London witnessed a continuous series of clashes, lasting from Monday to yesterday evening, between the police and the "mob"; the former with their truncheons behaved provocatively, the latter reciprocated by throwing stones. We saw scenes in Marlborough Street and the nearby streets which were strongly reminiscent of Paris. Duncombe asked Parliament yesterday evening to investigate the "base and brutal" conduct of the police last Sunday.[a] The masses intend to visit the clubs in Pall Mall[b] the day after tomorrow. The Chartists are planning an *armed* procession—armed not with sabres and muskets but with tools and sticks—to move from Blackfriars Bridge to Hyde Park carrying banners with the inscription "No Mayne Law".[c] (This is deliberately ambiguous. *Maine* Law, as everybody knows, is the name of the puritanical American law prohibiting alcoholic drinks.[235] *Mayne* is the name of the chief of the London police.) It will have been obvious from our previous reports[d] that the demonstrations in Hyde Park were improvised events brought about by the instinct of the masses. The unrest was afterwards increased and heightened by the provocative brutality of the police, whose chief, Sir Richard Mayne, proved worthy of the decoration he had received from Paris. It is however even now possible to discern several distinct parties which seek to accelerate, guide and utilise the mass movement for their own more far-reaching ends. These parties are:

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[a] July 1, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Street in London.—*Ed.*

[c] "No Mayne Law" and "Maine Law" are given in English in the article together with a German translation.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 297-307, 323-27.—*Ed.*

*First the Government itself.* During Bonaparte's stay in London,[236] all wall posters directed against him disappeared as if by magic. Now even the most virulent posters are not removed by the police. Everything indicates a hidden purpose: the constables' *enjoined* brutality, the provocative language of government counsel at the Court[a] in Marlborough Street, the *unlawful* employment of the arrested persons on the treadmill,[a] the insulting manner of the official newspapers, and the Cabinet's vacillating behaviour in Parliament. Does Palmerston need a small *coup d'état* to maintain his Government, or does he require widespread internal disturbances to divert attention from the Crimea? If we understand correctly this reckless statesman, who hides his profound and ruthless calculations under the cloak of frivolous superficiality, we can say of him, as Voltaire says of Habakuk, that he is "*capable de tout*".[b] [237]

*Secondly the advocates of Administrative Reform.*[238] They try to use the mass movement to intimidate the aristocracy on the one hand, and as a means of winning popularity for themselves on the other hand. It is for this reason that in *their* name and for *their* account, the case of those arrested last Sunday was conducted by *Ballantine* before the police-court[a] in Marlborough Street. This is why they ransomed all those sentenced yesterday by depositing their fines. This is why *their* newspapers defend the "mob" (as the ministerial *Globe* calls the people) and attack the police and the Ministry.

*Thirdly* the *Chartists*, whose aims are self-evident.

Official and private reports on the unfortunate attack of June 18 have at last appeared. The publication of the official dispatches was put off for several days, and there was certainly good reason for the delay. This is undoubtedly a most perfect example of the blunders made in the Eastern affair.

The French advanced trenches were from 400 to 500, and the English from 500 to 700 yards from the Russian batteries.[c] These distances mark the lengths of road which the respective columns of attack had to pass over without cover from the Russian fire, and unsupported by the fire of their own artillery; with sharp running, then, such as would destroy every vestige of order, would expose them defencelessly to musket fire during three to five

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[a] Marx and Engels use the English term.—*Ed.*

[b] Capable of anything.—*Ed.*

[c] This and the following two paragraphs largely correspond to the second, third and fourth paragraphs of Engels' article "The Late Repulse of the Allies" (see this volume, pp. 328-32).—*Ed.*

minutes, a time quite sufficient to completely disorganise them. This single fact is characteristic of the whole plan. Unless the enemy's fire were *completely* silenced, and the accumulation of large masses of troops in the hostile works *effectively* prevented by incessant vertical shell firing, there was not the slightest chance of success.

The Russians appear to have judged well of the plans of the Allies, if they were not, as Pélissier supposes, fully acquainted with them. They but feebly replied to the fire of the Allies on the 17th, withdrew their guns behind the parapets during the day, and in general made such arrangements that scarcely any other preparations were required for the next day's work. During the night the guns were brought back into their positions, the columns and reserves told off for the defence were stationed.

The plan originally agreed upon between Pélissier and Raglan was to reopen their fire at daybreak on the 18th with all the vigour they could give to it for a couple of hours, and then on a sudden to launch simultaneously seven storming columns—one French against the bastion close to the Careening Bay, two French against the Malakoff bastion, three English against the Redan bastion and one English against the cluster of houses and the cemetery situated between the Redan and the head of the inner harbour. This plan was sensible enough if there was to be an assault at all; its execution would subdue the Russian fire and disperse the Russian masses concentrated for the defence before the actual attack took place. On the other hand, the Allied troops would have to suffer from the Russian fire while crowding the trenches, and the defenders would very probably soon perceive the presence of columns destined to attack their position with the bayonet. But this was by far the lesser evil. The original plan with all its shortcomings was still the best that could be devised under the circumstances. How the plan was failed, how Pélissier's premature laurel wreath withered away and how under the protective eagles of the restored Empire, the Allied armies suffered an "*infantry Balaklava*"[239]—all this we shall discuss tomorrow.

This summer seems to have severe tribulations in store for the "*saints*". The foremost bill broker of London, and apparently the chief of the Quakers,[240] *Gurney* (one of whose daughters is married to Bunsen's son), Gurney, who is as rich as he is pious, seems to be badly compromised by the fraudulent Strand bankruptcy. He discounted bills of exchange amounting to £37,000 for Strahan and Co. though he knew that they were

bankrupt, thus enabling them to defraud the public for a few months longer. He himself managed to extricate himself without incurring any loss. The mundane press delights in making malicious remarks about the iniquities committed even by the select.

Written about July 6, 1855

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Marked with the sign ×

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Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English in full for the first time

# Karl Marx

## FROM PARLIAMENT.
## [—ROEBUCK'S AND BULWER'S MOTIONS]

*London*, July 11. As is generally known, Roebuck's motion censuring *all* the members of the old Coalition Cabinet[a] has been put down for next Tuesday. Whilst numerous meetings supporting his motion are being held at Birmingham, Sheffield, Newcastle, etc., and at the same time public petitions are being signed in support of it in every corner of London, members of Parliament are decamping to Paris, Naples and their country homes, in order to avoid the division. In an attempt to prevent this exodus, supported by Palmerston in every respect, Roebuck yesterday moved for power to call over the Commons next Tuesday. The "Call"[b] is an old parliamentary practice which had sunk into oblivion since the time of the debate on Catholic Emancipation.[241] At the opening of the sitting the name of every single Member of Parliament is called out. Those who are absent are subject to arrest by the parliamentary serjeant-at-arms,[c] a public apology before the assembled House and the payment of certain fines. By a majority of 133 to 108, however, the Commons refused Roebuck the right to coerce members by means of a Call. Nothing could be more characteristic of the British Parliament and its press organs than their attitude towards Roebuck's motion. The motion does not emanate from any member of the "official" opposition. That is its first blemish. It is directed not only against members of the present Cabinet but also against members of the dissolved Cabinet.

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[a] Roebuck first gave notice of his motion in the House of Commons on June 22, 1855. See this volume, pp. 297-301.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*

It is not, therefore, a purely party manoeuvre. It declares that the sins of the old Ministry are not expiated by the forming of a new Ministry. It opens the way for a motion calling for impeachment. That is the other great blemish of this motion. For the official opposition is of course only willing to wage the parliamentary war "*within the limits of a change of Ministers*". It is far removed from waging war against ministerial responsibility. The clique of *Outs* is no less anxious about maintaining ministerial omnipotence than the clique of *Ins*.[a] The skill in conducting parliamentary battles consists of course precisely in ensuring that during the fight it is never the office that is hit but always the person holding the office at a given time, and even he only to an extent that will permit him after being brought down as a *Minister* immediately to come forward as a *candidate for the Ministry*. The oligarchy does not perpetuate itself by retaining power permanently *in the same* hand, but by dropping it with one hand in order to catch it again with the other, and so on. The Tories are therefore just as dissatisfied with Roebuck's motion as the Whigs are.

As to the *press*, the reaction of *The Times* is crucial. Was there a newspaper that clamoured louder for the Roebuck Committee to be set up, as long as its purpose was, on the one hand, to bring about a change of Ministers and, on the other, to provide an outlet for the public passion? However, from the moment that Roebuck comes forward and, supported by the findings of his Committee, threatens to lay *all* the members of the coalition open to explicit censure by Parliament, is there a newspaper which observes a more stubborn silence than *The Times*? As far as *The Times* is concerned, Roebuck's motion does not exist; yesterday's incident in Parliament concerning the "Call" does not exist; the meetings at Birmingham, Sheffield, etc., do not exist in its columns. Roebuck himself is, of course, no Brutus. On the one hand, he has seen how miserably the Whigs have rewarded him for the services he has rendered over many years. On the other hand, he has his constituents behind him. He represents a large body of constituents whom he has to pay in popularity as he cannot pay them in cash. And finally, the role of a modern Warwick, the parliamentary King-Maker, can hardly be displeasing to this ambitious but so far scarcely successful barrister. The Tories who form the opposition cannot, of course, oppose Roebuck's motion in the same way as the Whigs can. They are therefore seeking to forestall it. This is the

[a] Marx uses the English words "Outs" and "Ins" (i.e. members of the opposition on the one hand and the ruling party on the other).—*Ed.*

secret behind *Bulwer*'s motion calling for a *vote of no confidence* in the Ministry,[a] based on Lord John Russell's strange revelations about the Vienna conferences.[b] Bulwer's motion remains entirely "within" the limits of a government reshuffle. It takes the fate of the Ministry out of Roebuck's hands. If it succeeds then it will be the Tories who have toppled the Whigs, and once holding the Ministry, conventional "*magnanimity*" would forbid them to pursue their victory and to continue supporting Roebuck. But the artfulness of the Tories at the same time enables Palmerston to employ old parliamentary tricks. The dismissal of *Russell,* whether voluntary or imposed, will serve to parry Bulwer's motion just as Bulwer has parried Roebuck's motion. Russell's departure would be certain to bring Palmerston's Cabinet down were it not to occur shortly before the end of the session. Now, however, it may on the contrary prolong the life of his Cabinet. If so, then no English Minister before Palmerston has managed with such skill and good fortune to use the people's clamouring in order to force himself upon the parliamentary parties on the one hand, and, on the other, to use the petty parliamentary interests, groupings and formalities that exist to force himself upon the people. He is like the old man of the sea whom Sindbad the Sailor found impossible to shake off once he had allowed him to climb onto his shoulders.

Written on July 11, 1855

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Marked with the sign ×

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[a] The motion was tabled in the House of Commons on July 10, 1855. *The Times,* No. 22103, July 11, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 222-26.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## FROM THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT. [—BULWER'S MOTION.—THE IRISH QUESTION][242]

*London*, July 13. It is difficult for those not initiated into the mysteries of jurisprudence to understand why it should be that, in the most straightforward lawsuits, unexpected legal problems arise which owe their existence, not to the nature of the lawsuit, but to the rules and formalities of legal procedure. It is the handling of these legal ceremonies that makes your lawyer, just as it is the handling of ecclesiastical ceremonies that makes your Brahmin. Just as in the course of development of religion, so in the course of development of law too, form becomes content. But what legal procedure is to courts of law, the agenda and standing orders are to legislative bodies. The history of agrarian law proves that the old Roman oligarchs, the originators of chicanery in legal proceedings, were also the first to introduce procedural chicanery into legislation. In both respects they have been outdone by England. The technical difficulties involved in tabling a motion, the various metamorphoses that a bill has to go through before it can become law; the formalities which permit the opponent of a motion or a bill to prevent the former from entering the House and the latter from leaving it—all this provides an inexhaustible arsenal of parliamentary chicanery, pettifogging and tactics. But no English Minister before Palmerston has so thoroughly lent the House of Commons[243] the appearance, tone and character of a *Court of Chancery*.[a] Where diplomacy does not suffice, he has recourse to chicanery. Under his guidance every debate on an objectionable motion is turned into a preliminary debate about the day when the debate shall actually take place and the case be put.

[a] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*

So it was with Milner Gibson's motion, so it was with Layard's motion and so it is now with Bulwer's motion.[a] So overloaded were the orders of the day at the close of the session that Bulwer was only able to bring in his motion on a day when the House went into a *Committee of Supply*,[b] i.e. when the Government puts its financial requirements before the House of Commons.[244] Friday is generally set aside for this business. However, it depends, of course, on the Government *when* it asks the Commons for supplies and hence when the House goes into a Committee of Supply. Palmerston promptly told Bulwer that he would not, to use the technical term, go into Supply that Friday, but proceed with the Bill on the limited liability of trading companies, and that Bulwer might "fix a day for himself".[c] Last Tuesday, therefore, Disraeli gave notice that he would appeal to the House the following Thursday (yesterday) to set aside this piece of chicanery. Palmerston forestalled him. He rose during yesterday's sitting and declared amidst the general laughter of the House that it was certainly not his intention either to delay the debate on Bulwer's vote of no-confidence or, by placing technical difficulties in the way, to prevent the honourable House from forming an opinion. But, he went on, despite every effort, the supplementary documents relating to the Vienna Conference could not have been laid upon the table of the House of Commons before the following day, and how could the House form an opinion without having seen the documents of the case? He was, he said, prepared to set aside Monday for a discussion of Bulwer's motion.[d] Disraeli pointed out that "the supplementary documents" bore no relation whatever to Bulwer's motion; the Bill on the limited liability of trading companies was quite important in its own way, but what the nation presently wanted to know was:

"whether the Cabinet is collectively liable for its actions or whether the principle of limited liability is also applicable here. Above all, it wanted to know the conditions under which the partners of the firm in Downing Street[e] conducted their business."

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[a] For the motions of Layard (tabled April 27), Gibson (May 11) and Bulwer (July 10) see this volume, pp. 167, 187, 223, 338-39.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English name here and below.—*Ed.*

[c] Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on July 10, 1855. *The Times*, No. 22103, July 11, 1855.—*Ed.*

[d] The speeches by Palmerston, Disraeli, Bulwer, Russell and Shee in the House of Commons on July 12, 1855, were published in *The Times*, No. 22104, July 13, 1855.—*Ed.*

[e] 10 Downing Street is the residence of the British Prime Minister. Here the reference is to the government as a whole.—*Ed.*

Bulwer said he would accept Monday as the day for the debate. Russell, for his part, took advantage of this incident to attempt to tone down and distort the meaning of the statement he made last Friday.[a] But in vain; the second, amended version arrived too late, as is patently evident from today's *Times*. Indeed, for several days *The Times* has been using every artifice to save Palmerston's Cabinet at Russell's expense, wherein it is steadfastly supported by the simple-minded *Morning Advertiser*, which regains its whole-hearted faith in Palmerston each time Parliament shows signs of losing it. Meanwhile Palmerston has gained a few days' respite in which to do some manoeuvring. How he exploited each of those days is evident from the Irish *row*[b] which occurred yesterday in the House of Commons.

For two years, as everyone knows, three bills have been drifting through Parliament, their purpose being to regulate the relations between Irish landlords and tenants. One of these bills lays down how much compensation the tenant is entitled to claim on improvements effected on the land, in the event of his landlord giving him notice to quit. Hitherto the improvements effected by Irish tenants (virtually all of whom hold a one-year lease) only served to enable the landlord to demand a higher rent on expiration of the lease. Thus the tenant, should he not wish to renew the agreement on less favourable terms, either loses the farm and, with the farm, the capital he has laid out on improvements, or he is compelled to pay the landlord interest, over and above the original rent, for improvements effected with *his* (the tenant's) capital. Support for the above-mentioned bills was one of the conditions with which the coalition Cabinet bought the vote of the Irish Brigade.[245] Hence, in 1854, they were passed by the Commons, but deferred by the Lords, with the connivance of the Ministers, until the following session (1855), when they suffered such drastic revision that all their teeth were drawn, and in this mutilated form were returned to the Commons. There, last Thursday, the main clause of the Compensation Bill was sacrificed on the altar of landed property and the Irish were astonished to discover that the scales had been tipped against them, partly by the votes of members of the Government, partly by the votes of its immediate allies. Serjeant Shee's furious onslaught upon Palmerston portended a riot[c] in Parliament's

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[a] July 6, 1855.—*Ed.*
[b] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*
[c] Marx uses the English words "serjeant" and "riot".—*Ed.*

"Irish Quarter", something which might, at this particular juncture, have serious consequences. Palmerston therefore, through the medium of Sadleir, ex-member of the coalition and broker to the Irish Brigade, arranged for a deputation of eighteen Irish Members of Parliament to wait upon him the day before yesterday with the request that he use his influence to have the parliamentary vote rescinded and to carry the clause through the House in another division. He, of course, declared that he was ready to do anything so as to secure the Irish votes against the motion of no-confidence. The premature exploding of this intrigue in the House of Commons gave rise to one of the rowdy scenes typical of the decline of an oligarchic Parliament. The Irish dispose of 105 votes. However, it transpired that the majority had not given a mandate to the eighteen-strong deputation. For that matter, Palmerston can no longer make quite the same use of the Irish in Ministerial crises as he was wont to do in O'Connell's day. With the disintegration of all the old parliamentary factions, the Irish Quarter too has split up and become fragmented. At all events, the incident demonstrates how Palmerston is exploiting the respite he gained to manipulate the various coteries. At the same time he is awaiting favourable news of some kind from the theatre of war, a minor event of some kind capable of parliamentary—if not military—exploitation. The submarine telegraph has taken the conduct of the war out of the hands of the generals and subjected it to the amateurish astrological whims of Bonaparte and to parliamentary and diplomatic intrigue. Hence the inexplicable and completely unprecedented character of the second Crimean campaign.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE GREAT CRIMEAN BLUNDER[246]

If "time is money" in trade, time is victory in war. To let the favorable moment slip away, to miss the opportunity when your own superior strength should be brought to bear upon your opponent, is as great a fault as can be committed before an enemy. The fault is doubled if you commit it when acting on the offensive; for while merely defending a position the consequences of your neglect may be remedied, but when you are in an enemy's country, on an errand of invasion, then such inattention may involve the ruin of your army. All this is very trite, and there is not a lieutenant or cornet in the world but would treat it as a matter of course. Yet there is no rule of strategy or tactics sinned against oftener than this; and it would appear as if Gen. Pélissier, the impetuous man of action, the "Marshal Forward"[247] of the Crimean army, were the very man doomed to exemplify in his own person this common neglect of commonplace things.

The road into Sevastopol leads round by Inkermann to the north side of the fortress, as we have said over and over again.[a] It is not to be supposed that Pélissier and his staff do not know this as well as we do. But to go to the north side the allied army must take the field with its main strength and defeat the Russians, afterward investing the north side, and detaching a corps to keep the Russian field-army at a distance. The moment to do this was when the Sardinian corps had arrived, and the Turks, under Omer Pasha, were at Kamiesh. At that time the Allies must have been considerably stronger than the Russians. But nothing of the sort was done. The expedition to Kertch and the Sea of Azoff was

[a] See this volume, pp. 203, 318.—*Ed.*

undertaken, and assault after assault was attempted. The field operations were confined to reconnaissances and to an extension of the camping ground to the entrance of Baidar Valley. Now, at last, we learn what is the professed reason for this inactivity: the means of transport are not forthcoming, and after fifteen months campaigning the Allies are as much tied to the sea, to Kamiesh and Balaklava harbors, as ever!

This is really intolerable. The Crimea is not a desert island somewhere about the North Pole. It is a country the resources of which may certainly be exhausted as to food, but which is still able to furnish plenty of provender, draught animals, carts and beasts of burden, to anybody who has the boldness to take them. Cautious and slow movements, forward and backward within a few miles of the Chernaya, are of course not the means to get hold of these useful articles; but even if we leave the camels, ponies and arbas of the Crimea entirely out of the question, there is plenty of means of transport to be had on the Asiatic and European shores of the Black Sea, within two days' steaming from Balaklava. Why are they not impressed into the allied service? We say impressed, for impressment, commonly called requisition, is the proper way to make them available. To employ Spanish muleteers and Bulgarian laborers at a high price will never do; and in a country like Turkey even less than anywhere else. A regiment of cavalry scouring the shores of Anatolia would very soon bring hundreds of conveyances and thousands of animals together, along with the forage required. The war is prosecuted on behalf of the Turks, and to furnish means of transport is the least that can be expected of them. In every continental war the country in which armies operate is expected to do the same. To be more delicate with Turks is doubly absurd; if the Turks have not to work for their Allies, they will have to work for their Pashas, who will treat them much worse. They may not like it, but neither do they like to toil for their Pashas; and if they will not yield to discipline and order, a little application of martial law will soon break them in, as the Pashas always keep them under a similar sort of law. It is perfectly ridiculous that, with such resources within reach, the allied Generals should still complain of inability to move for want of transports.

The Russians, indeed, have given them lessons enough how they should act. The 3d, 4th, and 5th army-corps, beside several divisions of the reserves, were transported into the Crimea at a time when the Allies could not bring up food from Balaklava to the trenches. The troops were partly carried across the steppes in

wagons, and they always had plenty of food. And yet the country within a semicircle of 200 miles around Perekop is but very thinly inhabited. But the resources of the more distant provinces were put under contribution; and surely, to bring the wagons of Ekaterinoslav, Poltava and Charkoff, to assist the Russians in the Crimea, is more difficult than to get the conveyances of Anatolia and Roumelia to work there for the Allies.

Nevertheless, under the pretext of want of transports, the opportunity to conquer the Crimea as far as Sympheropol has been allowed to slip by. Now the situation is different. The Russians have formed a reserve army for the Crimea between Odessa and Cherson. What this army consists of we can judge by the simple fact that from the Western army the whole of the second army-corps and two divisions of grenadiers have been detached toward the formation of this new force. The advanced guard of this reenforcement must already have passed Cherson. These troops consist in all of five divisions or eighty-two battalions of infantry; one division or thirty-two squadrons of cavalry; and from fifty to eighty guns. To these we must add a number of reserves, and also a division at least of the reserve cavalry; and as the above eighty-eight battalions belong to the troops which have been chiefly under the eye of the Emperor,[a] they must have their full war numbers. Allowing, therefore, for the loss on the march, the whole force assembled between Odessa and Perekop, and intended for the Crimea, may safely be estimated at something like 70,000 to 80,000 men. The heads of their columns must be past Cherson, perhaps past Perekop, by this time; and before July is out they will begin to tell upon the Allies.

Now, what have the Allies to oppose to these reenforcements? Their ranks are again thinned by cholera and fever, no less than by the slaughter of the different assaults. The British reenforcements are slow in arriving, and very few regiments indeed are being sent off. The French Government state that they do not intend to send out fresh divisions, but merely detachments from the depots to fill up the gaps made in the ranks of the various regiments at the seat of war. If these reenforcements arrive in time they will hardly suffice to bring up the allied army to the strength it had in the beginning of June; that is to say, 210,000 men at the outside, including Turks and Sardinians. The probability is it will never exceed 180,000 men at any time; to which force the Russians, by the beginning of August, will be able

[a] Alexander II.—*Ed.*

to oppose at least 200,000 men in good positions, in command of the country at their rear, and in possession of the south side of Sevastopol as a bridgehead.

Then the chances are that the Allies will be driven back upon the plateau behind the Chernaya, unable to move forward or backward, and with an army now so numerous that it must change this narrow piece of ground into one hotbed of disease. And then Pélissier will repent his want of energy and resolution as regards the advance into the field, and his excess of energy as regards the storming of the place. Still, there is yet time for a move in the field. The best moment has passed, but for all that, a bold advance might secure even now a wider range of ground to the Allies. But it does not look as if they were going to avail themselves of this chance.

It must, however, be stated, in fairness to Pélissier, that public opinion in Paris, and in Europe generally, lays the principal fault at the door of Louis Bonaparte. That unfortunate would-be general is said to meddle in everything. The matter is not quite clear yet, but in a short time the nature of the interference of this ambitious adventurer in the Crimean military operations must be cleared up, and we shall then know where the blame of these enormous blunders is to be placed.

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## RUSSELL'S RESIGNATION.—THE EVENTS IN THE CRIMEA[248]

*London*, July 14. Our last report but one[a] treated *Lord John Russell's resignation*, whether voluntary or under duress, as a *fait accompli*. It took place yesterday afternoon, and it is in fact a *composite* resignation, both voluntary and under duress. For the section of the Whigs most eager to obtain posts, headed by Bouverie, were driven by Palmerston into a minor revolt. They stated that they would be obliged to vote for Bulwer's motion[b] unless Lord John resigned. No resistance could be offered to this. Not satisfied with their grand deed, the disloyal Whig mob collected signatures in the lobby of the House of Commons for a petition requesting Palmerston to induce the Queen to accept Russell's resignation which had already been submitted. At any rate Russell may have gained one satisfaction from these base manoeuvres, namely that of having created a party in his own image.

The resignation of a man who, as Urquhart says, is in the habit of clasping his hands behind his back to give himself moral support, would hardly have affected the continued existence of the Cabinet had not the majority of the House of Commons been eager to use any pretext allowing it to postpone the fateful dissolution. And dissolution of the House is the inevitable consequence of passing Bulwer's motion. If Palmerston were to retain his post despite the vote of no-confidence, he would have to

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[a] See this volume, p. 339.—*Ed.*

[b] For further details of Bulwer's motion, tabled on July 10, 1855, see this volume, pp. 337-43.—*Ed.*

dissolve the House, and if he were succeeded by Derby, the latter would likewise have to dissolve it. The House seems hardly inclined to sacrifice itself on the altar of patriotism.

Sir George Grey has set up a commission to investigate the police brutalities. It consists of the Recorders[a] of London, Liverpool and Manchester and will meet next Tuesday.

If in commerce time is money, in warfare time is victory. The greatest blunder that can be committed in warfare is to miss the favourable moment, the moment when superior forces can be hurled against the enemy. The blunder is magnified if it is committed not during defensive operations, when the consequences of neglect can be repaired, but during offensive operations, in a war of invasion, where such carelessness can cause the loss of an army. These are truisms which, as every cadet knows, are self-evident. And yet no other rule of strategy or tactics is transgressed as frequently as this one, and General Pélissier, the impetuous man of action, the "Marshal Forward"[249] of the Crimean army, seems to be destined by his action to illustrate the common disregard of these commonplace rules.

The road to Sevastopol leads through Inkerman to the northern side of the fortress. No one knows this better than Pélissier and his staff. But in order to conquer the northern side, the Allied armies have to take the field with their main forces, beat the Russians, encircle the north side and detach a corps to keep the Russian field army at a distance. The favourable moment to do this came when the Sardinian corps and the Turks under Omer Pasha arrived. The Allies were then considerably stronger than the Russians. But nothing of the sort was undertaken. The expedition to Kerch and the Sea of Azov was launched and one assault after another attempted. Field operations were restricted to reconnoitring and extending the camp up to the entrance to the valley of Baidar. The alleged reason for this inactivity is now at last revealed. *Means of transport are said to be lacking*, and after a campaign of fifteen months the Allies are just as much confined to the Sea, Kamysh and Balaklava as ever. This is indeed unsurpassable. The Crimea is not a desolate island somewhere near the South pole. It is a country whose food supplies are undoubtedly not inexhaustible, but which is capable of providing large quantities of fodder, draught-animals and carts if one has sufficient skill and daring to take them. Timorous and slow forward and backward movements within a circle of a few English miles around the

[a] Marx and Engels use the English term.—*Ed.*

Chernaya are of course not a suitable means to get hold of them. But even if we leave the camels, ponies and arbas of the Crimea completely out of account, there still remain ample means of transport on the European and Asian shores of the Black Sea which steamers can reach within two days. Why are they not commandeered for use by the Allies? The Russians have certainly given them enough lessons demonstrating how they ought to act. The 3rd, 4th and 5th army corps and several reserve divisions were transported to the Crimea at a time when the Allies had despaired of bringing provisions from Balaklava to the trenches. Some of the troops were moved in carts across the steppe, and they seem to have suffered acutely from lack of food. And yet the country within a radius of 200 miles from Perekop is only thinly populated. But the resources of the more distant provinces were requisitioned, and it is certainly more difficult for the Russians to send carts from Yekaterinoslav, Poltava, Kharkov, etc., to the Crimea, than for the Allies in the Crimea to procure means of transport in Anatolia and Rumelia. In any case, under the pretext of lack of transport, the Allies let the chance to conquer the Crimea up to Simferopol slip. Now the position has changed. The Russians have formed a reserve army for the Crimea located between Odessa and Cherson. The strength of this army can only be estimated by us on the basis of the detachments made from the western army; these consist of the entire 2nd army corps and two infantry divisions. Together this amounts to five infantry divisions (82 battalions), one cavalry division (32 squadrons) and 80 cannon. Infantry and cavalry reserves have to be added to this. Taking into account the losses it suffered during the march, the army destined for the Crimea and assembled between Odessa and Perekop can therefore be assessed at approximately 70,000 to 80,000 men. The vanguard of their columns must by now have already passed through Perekop, and their weight will be felt by the Allies before the end of July.

What can the Allies set against these reinforcements? Their ranks are being thinned again by cholera and fever just as much as by the various attempted assaults. British reinforcements are rather slow in arriving—very few regiments have in fact sailed. The 13,000 men reported by us[a] to have left some time ago have proved to be a government bluff. The French government for its part declares that it does not intend to send fresh divisions but merely detachments from the depots to make good the losses

[a] See this volume, p. 299.—*Ed.*

incurred at the theatre of war. These reinforcements, provided they arrive in time, will hardly be sufficient to bring the Allied army up to the strength it had in June, i.e. 200,000 men, including Turks and Sardinians. It will probably amount to no more than 180,000 men, who at the beginning of August will be opposed by at least 200,000 Russians in good positions, in command of the country in their rear and holding the south side of Sevastopol as a bridgehead. If under these circumstances the allied army were again squeezed into the narrow plateau behind the Chernaya, these human masses would by their momentum turn the restricted space into a graveyard.

There is still time to take the offensive. True the most favourable moment has been missed, but nevertheless a bold advance by the allied army would even now ensure an extension of their living space. But there is no indication that they intend to use this opportunity.

Finally, in justification of Pélissier one might mention that public opinion here and in Paris has sought and found the cause of the wretched state of the second Crimean campaign in the intervention of Louis Bonaparte, the general from afar.

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# Karl Marx

## RUSSELL'S DISMISSAL

*London,* July 17. Whether voluntary or under duress, Russell's dismissal has served to parry Bulwer's motion[a] just as Bulwer parried Roebuck's motion. This view, which we expressed in our report of July 11,[a] was confirmed beyond any shadow of doubt by yesterday's sitting in the Commons.[b] It is an old Whig axiom that "parties are like snails—the tails move the heads". The present Whig Cabinet, however, seems to be polypoid; it appears to thrive on amputation. It survives the loss of its limbs, its head, anything except its tail. Although Russell was not the head of the Cabinet, he was the brains of the party which forms the Cabinet and which is represented by it. Bouverie, the Vice-President of the Board of Trade,[c] represents the tail of the Whig polyp. He discovered that the Whig body would have to be decapitated to keep the Whig rump alive, and he made this discovery known to Palmerston in the name of and on behalf of the Whig tail. Russell yesterday assured that tail of his "contempt". Disraeli tormented Bouverie with a "physiology of friendship" and a biological description of the various types in which the species being known as *"friend"* is distinguishable. Finally, Bouverie's attempt to justify the action by saying that he and the tail had discarded Russell in order to save him, completes the genre picture of this party of office-hunters.

The natural head of the Whig party being amputated in this way, its usurped head, Lord Palmerston, has become all the more

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[a] See this volume, pp. 337-39.—*Ed.*

[b] A report of the House of Commons debate of July 16, 1855 was published in *The Times,* No. 22108, July 17, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*

firmly attached to the rump. After the fall of Aberdeen and Newcastle he used Gladstone, Graham and Herbert to take possession of the inheritance of the Coalition Cabinet. After the departure of Gladstone, Graham and Herbert he used Lord John Russell to help him form a purely Whig Cabinet. Finally he used the Whig tail to whisk Russell away and thus to become sole ruler in the Cabinet. All those metamorphoses were just so many steps on the way to the formation of a purely Palmerston Cabinet. Russell's statements show that he repeatedly tendered Palmerston his resignation, but was persuaded each time by him to withdraw it. In exactly the same way Palmerston persuaded Aberdeen's Cabinet to resist Roebuck's Committee of Inquiry to the utmost. On both occasions with the same degree of success and to the same end.

He linked Bulwer's motion so closely to Russell that it fell through of its own accord as soon as the *corpus delicti*, Russell, vanished from the Cabinet. Bulwer was therefore obliged to declare that he was withdrawing his motion. However, he could not resist the temptation of actually delivering the speech which was to have supported his motion. He forgot that the motion on which his speech was based no longer existed. Palmerston exploited this unfortunate situation. He immediately assumed the pose of a gladiator after the battle had been called off. He was rude, blustering and boastful, but in this way he incurred chastisement at the hands of Disraeli, which, as the expression on his face revealed, caused even this accomplished play-actor to lose his usual cynical composure. However, the most important part of Disraeli's reply was the following statement:

"I have reason to believe that the views which Lord Russell brought from Vienna[250] were favourably received, not merely by a majority, but by the *whole of his colleagues*, and that nothing but *circumstances which they did not anticipate* [...] prevented the plan of the noble Lord being cordially and unanimously accepted. I do not make that statement without due authority. I make it with the same conviction that I spoke six weeks ago of the ambiguous language and uncertain conduct of the Government, the truth of which subsequent events have already justified. I make it with the conviction that, even before this Session of Parliament terminates, evidence confirming that statement will be in the possession of the House."

The "circumstances" to which Disraeli refers were, as he explains in the course of his speech, "the difficulties presented by the French". Disraeli indicates that Clarendon's correspondence, which was intended for use in Parliament, contradicts the secret instructions issued by the Ministry. He concluded his speech with the following words:

"A belief exists in the land that there is guilt in the management of our affairs. A foreign document appears" (Buol's circular), "the people are agitated, they think, they talk, their representatives in this House ask questions. What happens? The foremost of our statesmen dare not meet the controversy which such questions bring forward. He mysteriously disappears. [...] But who dares meet with it? The First Minister of the Crown, who has addressed this House tonight in accents and in language utterly unworthy of his position, and utterly unworthy of the occasion, which have convinced me that if the honour and interests of the country be any longer intrusted to his care, the first will be degraded, and the latter, [...] will be *betrayed.*"

*Roebuck* surpassed Disraeli in the intensity of his language. "*I want to know who are the traitors who are now in the Cabinet?*" First Aberdeen and Newcastle. Then Graham and Gladstone and Herbert. Then Russell. Who is next?

In the meantime the position of the man who secretly ruled over the coalition, as he now officially rules the Ministry, is quite secure. If another vote of no-confidence were to take place before the end of the session, which is not likely, he will dissolve Parliament. At all events he has six months before him in which to conduct Britain's foreign policy without restriction, not even disturbed by the noise and mock battles of the Commons.

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# Karl Marx

## FROM PARLIAMENT

*London*, July 18. The turbulent, uproarious and noisy night sitting of the Commons of July 16 was inevitably followed by a reaction of languor, fatigue, and enervation. The Ministry, well versed in the secrets of parliamentary pathology, was counting on this general mood of dejection as a means of preventing any division on Roebuck's motion,[a] and not only the division but the debate itself. Not a single member of the Ministry spoke before midnight, shortly before the close of the sitting, although for a moment there was a lull in the proceedings in the House which invited statements from Ministers, and despite repeated demands from all sides of the House. The Cabinet persisted in stoic silence and left it to the representatives of the Marquess of Exeter, the representative of Lord Ward, and similar peers' representatives in the Commons to bury the honourable House in that tedious mire which Dante, in his "Inferno", makes the eternal residence of the indolent.[b] Two amendments to Roebuck's motion had been tabled, one from General Peel and the other from Colonel Adair, both proposed by military men and both lapsing into flanking marches.[c] Peel's amendment demands that the House vote on the "previous question",[251] i.e. neither for nor against the main motion, declining to answer Roebuck's question. Colonel Adair demands approval of the "policy which decided upon the expedition to Sevastopol" and that "this policy be persevered in". Roebuck's censure in respect of the bad execution of the Crimean expedition

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[a] For Marx's discussion of Roebuck's motion see this volume, pp. 337-38.—*Ed.*
[b] Dante, *Divina commedia*. Part I, "Inferno", Canto III.—*Ed.*
[c] The debate was reported in *The Times*, No. 22109, July 18, 1855.—*Ed.*

is thus countered by him with praise for its good origin.

The Cabinet refrained from making any statement as to which of the amendments it intended to adopt as the Ministerial amendment. It seemed to want to feel the pulse of the House, in order to seek refuge either in General Peel's question without an answer or in Colonel Adair's answer without a question. At last the House seemed to have sunk into that semi-sleep that Palmerston was waiting for. Then he sent forward the most insignificant member of the Cabinet, Sir Charles Wood, to declare that the Ministry was backing Peel's amendment. Supported by cries of "Divide! Divide!" from the benches of his allies, Palmerston rose and "hoped the House would come to a decision tonight". He thought he had managed to burke[a] Roebuck and even to rob him of the honour of a "great debate", a parliamentary tournament. But Disraeli was not the only one to oppose the division. *Bright*, with his characteristic massive earnestness, rose to his feet:

> "The Government had evidently wished to shirk this question, and had abstained until midnight from declaring what course they intended to take. The question was the most important one ever to come before the House. The debate, he thought, might last a whole week to the advantage of the country."

Thus obliged to accept the *adjournment* of the debate Palmerston had to abandon his original plan of campaign. He suffered a defeat.

Roebuck's speech possessed the great merit of brevity. With simplicity and clarity he summed up the reasons for his verdict, not as a barrister but as a judge, a manner befitting him as chairman of the Committee of Inquiry. He evidently had to contend with the same obstacles which are preventing the allied fleet from entering the harbour of Sevastopol—namely the *sunken ships*, the Aberdeens, Herberts, Gladstones, Grahams, etc. It was only by manoeuvring his way past them that he could reach Palmerston and the other *surviving* members of the Coalition Cabinet. They were barring the way to the present Cabinet. Roebuck tried to dispose of them by means of compliments. Newcastle and Herbert had to be praised for the conscientious way they had discharged their official duties, and Graham too. The other sins which they had committed from lack of insight had been punished with their exclusion from Downing Street.[b] All that

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[a] Marx uses the English verb "to burke" in the corresponding German grammatical form (*geburkt*).—*Ed.*

[b] 10 Downing Street is the British Prime Minister's residence. Here the reference is to the government as a whole.—*Ed.*

remains is to deal with the wrongdoers who have not yet been punished. This, he said, was the real purpose of his motion. He attacked Palmerston especially not only as an accomplice, but in particular as the person in charge of the militia. In order to keep his motion within the traditional limits set by Parliament Roebuck evidently took the point out of it. The arguments produced by the ministerial seconds were so feeble that the soporific form in which they were developed actually had a soothing effect. The evidence given by the witnesses is incomplete, called some. You are threatening to ostracise us, cried others. The whole affair happened so long ago, said Lord Cecil. Why not condemn Sir Robert Peel belatedly for what he did? Every member of the Cabinet is in a general manner responsible for the acts of the Cabinet, but no one in particular. That was the view of the "liberal" Phillimore. You are endangering the French alliance and setting yourselves up as a jury over the Emperor of the French.[a] That was the view expressed by Lowe (of *The Times*) followed by Sir James Graham. Graham, the man of clear conscience, states that he himself is dissatisfied with General Peel's pure negative. He insists that the House should decide "Guilty" or "Not guilty". He will not be satisfied with a verdict of "not proven"[b] such as the Scottish courts use to dismiss doubtful criminal cases. Do you really want to reintroduce the antiquated and unparliamentary procedure of impeachment[c] [252]? The press, public opinion is to blame for everything. It forced the Ministers to undertake the expedition, at an inopportune time and with inadequate means. If you condemn the Ministry then you ought to condemn the House of Commons, which gave its backing! And finally Sir Charles Wood's attempt at a justification. If Roebuck exonerates even Newcastle and Herbert and Graham, how can he accuse *us*? We were *nothing*, and we are responsible for *nothing*. Thus Wood with his "feeling which penetrates nothing".[d]

Written on July 18, 1855

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[a] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English term and gives the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx gives the English term in brackets.—*Ed.*

[d] An expression used by the Duke of Alba in Schiller's *Don Carlos* (Act II, Scene 5).—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## WAR PROSPECTS[253]

At our last advices there was a lull in the warlike operations in the Crimea. No more assaults had taken place; the guns were all but silent; and but for the rifle-firing carried on constantly between the two lines of intrenchments, for the sapping and mining by which the Allies were pushing on toward the Malakoff hill, and for an occasional sortie by the Russians, we might suppose that hostilities had been suspended. But this can be nothing but the calm that precedes the storm; and ere this, that storm must have burst. There is every probability that a struggle more savage than Inkermann, the Mamelon Vert, or the assault of June 18,[254] has already been consummated at Sevastopol.

In fact the month of August must to a certain degree decide the result of the campaign. By this time the great part, if not all of the Russian reenforcements must have arrived, while the ranks of the Allies cannot but be thinned by sickness. If they hold their ground on the plateau of the Chersonesus it will be as much as they can do. That they will not take the south side of Sevastopol this year is a notion abandoned now even by the British press. They are reduced to the hope of knocking the place to pieces bit by bit, and if they manage to proceed at the speed they have hitherto exhibited, the siege will equal in duration that of Troy. There is no reason to expect that they will do their work with increased rapidity, for we are now all but officially informed that the vicious system hitherto followed is to be obstinately continued. The Crimean correspondent of the *Constitutionnel* of Paris, a man of high rank in the French army, and believed to be Gen. Regnault

de St. Jean d'Angély, Commander of the Guards, has announced the fact, that the public may spare themselves the trouble of making speculations as to a field campaign and eventual investment of the north side of Sevastopol. Under present circumstances, he says, this could not be done without raising the siege and abandoning to the Russians the entire plateau; and therefore it has been decided to knock away as hard as possible at the position already attacked, until it is completely destroyed.[a] Now, the announcements of this letter may be relied on, as there is every reason to believe that the French Emperor[b] not only approves, but even revises every letter from this source before it is printed, and as Regnault is one of his special pets.

What is to be the consequence of all this we can easily discover. The Russian army at and about Sevastopol now consists of the third and fourth corps, two divisions of the fifth and one of the sixth corps, beside marines, sailors, local troops, Cossacks and cavalry—presenting a force under arms of 180 battalions, or 90,000 infantry, with 30,000 artillery and cavalry, beside about 40,000 sick and wounded. Even the French *Moniteur* estimates their effective strength under arms at 110,000 men.[c] Now the whole of the second corps (50 battalions, 32 squadrons, 96 guns) and two divisions of grenadiers, with one division of cavalry (24 battalions, 32 squadrons, 72 guns), are on the march or already at Sevastopol, representing an additional force of 55,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry and Cossacks, and 5,000 artillery. The Russians thus will shortly have concentrated a force of at least 175,000 men or considerably more than the Allies can have left after their recent losses by combats and disease. That with these the Russians should be able at least to hold their own, particularly as they can constantly relieve the garrison by fresh troops after the old ones are exhausted by fatigue, is certainly the least that is to be expected from them.

The Allies, on the other hand, have no chance of receiving similar reenforcements. They now number 21 divisions of infantry (12 French, 4 English, 3 Turkish, 2 Piedmontese), or about 190 battalions; 3 divisions of cavalry (1 French, 1 English, 1 Turkish), or about 60 squadrons; and a corresponding number of guns. But as their battalions, and especially their squadrons, are very much thinned by the losses of the campaign, the whole force will not

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[a] "Devant Sébastopol, 26 juin", *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 192, July 11, 1855.—*Ed.*
[b] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*
[c] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 198, July 17, 1855.—*Ed.*

exceed 110,000 infantry, 7,500 cavalry, and 20,000 to 25,000[a] artillery, train, and non-combatants fit for duty. Now if the forces of the two contending parties were so nicely balanced before the arrival of the Russian reenforcements, the scale must evidently turn against the Allies as soon as they arrive. All the allied reenforcements arrived and now being sent out are merely detachments from the depots to keep up the battalions and squadrons engaged; and they are not very strong if we are to believe the statements of the Press. However, three divisions are said to be on the march to Marseilles and Toulon, where steamers are concentrating; while, in England, the regiments intended for the Crimea are ordered to be ready for immediate embarkation. They will perhaps amount to another division of infantry and one of cavalry. Thus about 33,000 infantry, with perhaps 2,500 cavalry and artillery may be gradually arriving in the Crimea during August and September; but all this depends very much upon the celerity with which they are got off. At all events, the Allies will find themselves once more in a numerical inferiority, and may again be locked up on the plateau where they spent the last dreary Winter. Whether the Russians can now succeed in driving them off that stronghold we will not undertake to say. But to hold their own is evidently the only thing the Allies can expect, until they receive reenforcements on a gigantic scale. Thus the war promises to be reduced to a series of resultless and bloody encounters, in which each party will send forth fresh bodies of troops, day after day, to meet the enemy in hand-to-hand struggles, whether on the ramparts of the town, on the parapets of the trenches, or on the escarped hights around Inkermann and Balaklava. No position of hostile armies can be imagined in which the shedding of more blood can lead to results less important than we must expect from such fights.

There is, however, one chance of something decisive occurring. If the Russians, beside the troops they have sent, can afford to send another 50,000 men, so as to insure to their army an incontestable superiority, serious defeats may be incurred by the Allies, so as to force them to reembark. To judge of this possibility we must look at the force the Russians have under arms on the whole extent of their frontier. The Crimean army, including the reenforcements mentioned above, we set down at about 175,000 men. In the Caucasus, where, beside the local troops and Cossacks,

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[a] Marx and Engels give other figures—30,000 to 35,000—in their article "From Parliament.—From the Theatre of War" (see this volume, pp. 363-66).—*Ed.*

the 16th and 17th divisions are engaged, they may have about 60,000 men. In Bessarabia they are said to have 60,000 men under Lüders—mostly combined battalions and reserves, as we should say, since only one division of the infantry of the fifth corps is there, and nothing has ever been stated about troops of the first or second corps having marched in that direction. In Poland and Volhynia there would remain two divisions of guards, one of grenadiers, three of the first army-corps, and various reserves—amounting to about 160,000 men. The greater portion of the reserves and part of the guards are concentrated on the Baltic in the following manner: 50,000 men under Sievers in the German Baltic Provinces, 30,000 in Finland under Berg, and 50,000 men in and about St. Petersburg, as an army of reserve under Rüdiger; in all about 585,000 men. The remainder of the Russian forces, about 65,000 men, are in the interior; and thus the total armed force would make up 650,000 men. Considering the enormous levies made by Russia, this number does not appear at all exaggerated.

Now, it is clear that at this advanced season of the year no serious danger of a landing on the Baltic coast is to be apprehended, and a general shifting toward the south of the various detachments placed there might be effected so as to liberate say 30,000 men, to be replaced by the militia or other troops from the interior. These 30,000 men marching toward Poland, would liberate in that country an equal number, and by the time the Austrians have reduced their army on the frontier to the harmless number of 70,000 or 80,000 men, which must soon be the case, another 30,000 to 40,000 men from the Polish army might be spared. Thus the troops might be found for such a reenforcement as would preclude all possibility of the Allies ever mastering the Crimea singlehanded, and they might be brought to the scene of war by the middle of October. But the question arises whether it will be possible for the Government to feed such a large number of troops during the Winter, especially since the Sea of Azoff has been cleared of Russian vessels. As to this we have not sufficient data to venture an opinion; but if that can be done, and the measure be adopted, the Allies might as well batter away at the rocks that surround Balaklava harbor as at the ramparts of Sevastopol defended directly and indirectly by a force of 250,000 men.

Russia has hitherto been held in check by 300,000 Austrians on the flank of her line of communication with the Crimea. Let her once get rid of that trammel, and the Allies will soon see what a

power they have to deal with. They have allowed the time to slip away when, aided indirectly by Austria, they might have taken Sevastopol. Now, that Russia begins to be safe on that side, and has only the Allies to deal with, it is too late.

Written about July 20, 1855

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## FROM PARLIAMENT.—FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR[255]

*London*, July 20. The debate on Roebuck's motion[a] did not turn out in the way the Ministry was fond of thinking. Even yesterday morning it was prophesying in its semi-official organs that Roebuck's motion would be defeated by five votes to one. Last night it considered itself fortunate in obtaining 289 votes to 182 for the previous question,[b][256] i.e. the refusal of the House to decide on the motion at all. The same House that forced Aberdeen to resign because he refused to set up a Committee of Inquiry, saved Palmerston by refusing to come to a conclusion on the verdict of its own Committee. The adjournment of Parliament adjourns the fate of Palmerston's Cabinet until the new session. That is when its lease of life will end. We shall return later to the sitting itself.

At present there is a lull in the war operations in the Crimea. No more attempted assaults, the cannon are almost silenced; and if it were not for the constant exchange of rifle fire between the two lines of trenches, if the allies were not advancing their position up the Malakhov hill by mining and sapping, and if the Russians did not make the occasional sorties, one might think that all hostilities had been suspended.

That is the calm before the storm. In two or three weeks a battle will begin, man against man, much fiercer than at Inkerman, the Green Mamelon or the assault of June 18.[257] The month of August ought to be decisive up to a certain point: the Russian forces which are now on their way will have arrived,and the allied

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[a] See this volume, pp. 337-38, 356-57.—*Ed.*

[b] The authors use the English words "previous question".—*Ed.*

forces will have been reduced by sickness. The life-and-death battle will then begin, and the allies will have enough to do maintaining their ground on the plateau.

Even the English press has now given up the idea of the south side of Sevastopol being taken this year. They are now reduced to the hope of subduing Sevastopol bit by bit; and if they manage to proceed with the same speed as they have up to now the siege will last as long as that of Troy. There is absolutely no reason to believe that they will speed up their task, for we have been as good as told officially that the deficient system adopted so far will be stubbornly continued. The Crimea correspondent of the *Constitutionnel*, a man of high rank in the French army (it is said to be General Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angély, commander of the guards), has announced to the public that it can spare itself the effort of indulging in speculation about a campaign in the open and the possible blockade of the northside of Sevastopol. He maintains that under the present circumstances this could not happen without first abandoning the siege and surrendering the whole of the plateau to the Russians. It has therefore been decided to hammer away as fiercely as possible at the position which has already been attacked until it has been completely destroyed.[a] The announcements contained in this letter can be regarded as semi-official, as there is every reason to believe that Bonaparte not only approves of them but that he also checks every report from this source before it goes to print. Regnault is one of his special favourites—the Minister of War who, at the time of the Legislative Assembly, gave his signature to the dismissal of Changarnier.[258]

The consequences of all this are not hard to predict. The Russian army in and around Sevastopol consisted of the 3rd and 4th Corps, two divisions of the 5th and one of the 6th Corps, apart from marines, sailors, local troops, Cossacks and cavalry, all in all an army of 180 battalions or 90,000 infantry with 30,000 men of the artillery, cavalry, etc., plus about 40,000 sick and wounded. Even the French *Moniteur* estimates their effective force under arms to be 110,000 men.[b] Now, the whole of the 2nd Corps (50 battalions, 32 squadrons and 96 cannon) and two divisions of infantry with a division of cavalry (24 battalions, 32 squadrons, 72 cannon) are marching towards or are already near Sevastopol. They represent an additional force of 55,000 infant-

[a] "Devant Sébastopol, 26 juin", *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 192, July 11, 1855.—*Ed.*
[b] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 198, July 17, 1855.—*Ed.*

ry, 10,000 cavalry and Cossacks and 5,000 artillery. Thus the Russians will soon have concentrated an army of at least 175,000 men, considerably more than the allies can have after their most recent losses in the sorties and from sickness. It is all the more to be expected that the Russians will be capable of at least holding the territory they have held so far, since they are able constantly to relieve with fresh forces the garrison troops exhausted by their efforts.

The allies on the other hand have no chance of receiving similar reinforcements. They now number 21 divisions of infantry (12 French, 4 English, 3 Turkish, 2 Piedmontese), or approximately 190 battalions, 3 divisions of cavalry (1 French, 1 English, 1 Turkish), or approximately 60 squadrons and a corresponding number of cannon but, since their battalions and particularly their squadrons have been substantially thinned by the losses in the campaign, their total strength will not exceed 110,000 infantry, 7,500 cavalry and 30,000-35,000 artillery, vehicle train and those unfit for active service. If the forces of the two opposing parties were thus almost equally balanced before the arrival of the Russian reinforcements, the scale must clearly tip to the disadvantage of the allies as soon as those reinforcements arrive. What has been sent so far have merely been detachments from the depots, who were to make up the losses suffered by the battalions and squadrons engaged in combat, and they cannot be many in number, if the press reports are reliable. In the meantime it is reported that 3 divisions are marching to Marseilles and Toulon where steamships are being concentrated, whilst in England regiments intended for the Crimea have received orders to be ready for immediate embarkation. They will comprise approximately one division of infantry and one division of cavalry. Thus approximately 33,000 infantry with perhaps 2,500 cavalry and artillery might arrive little by little in the Crimea in August and September. This, however, depends entirely on how quickly they embark. At all events the allies will again find themselves numerically inferior and can be wedged in on the plateau once more, where they were brought to ruin during last year's sad winter.

Whether the Russians will succeed this time in driving them from that fortified hiding-place we dare not say. But it is clear that all the allies can expect to do is to maintain their own ground, unless they were to receive reinforcements on a gigantic scale. Thus the war could be reduced to a series of encounters and hand-to-hand fights, as fruitless as they are bloody, with each side

sending forward fresh troops daily to meet the enemy in hand-to-hand fighting, whether it be on the ramparts of the city, on the parapets of the trenches, or on the escarpments round Inkerman and Balaklava. Of all the possibilities it is most likely that matters will take that course. No situation involving two enemy armies could be devised where greater spilling of blood will lead to results of less significance than can be expected from engagements of this kind. And this has been brought about by the mediocrity of the commanders-in-chief on both sides, by impotent dilettantism at Paris and deliberate treachery in London.

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# Karl Marx

## PALMERSTON.—THE PHYSIOLOGY OF THE RULING CLASS OF GREAT BRITAIN

*London,* July 23. If the guarantee of the Turkish loan[259] should run into the same opposition this evening as it did last Friday, then Palmerston will immediately *dissolve* the House of Commons. To the adroit all circumstances are favourable. Dissolving the Commons as a result of Bulwer's motion, or dissolving it on account of Roebuck's motion[a]—both methods are equally risky. The diplomatic activity at the Vienna conferences,[260] the administration organising the winter campaign—neither position is suitable for appealing to the electorate from Parliament. But the "*guarantee of the Turkish loan*"! Scenery, situation and motive are transformed as if by a stroke of magic. It is no longer Parliament that condemns the Cabinet on the grounds of treachery or incompetence. It is the Cabinet which accuses Parliament of hindering the conduct of the war, of jeopardising the French alliance and of abandoning Turkey. The Cabinet no longer appeals to the country to absolve it from Parliament's condemnation. It appeals to the country to condemn Parliament. In fact the loan is so formulated that Turkey receives no money directly, but, under the most humiliating conditions for a nation, she is put under guardianship and has to allow the sum allegedly loaned to her to be administered and dispensed by English commissioners. The English administration has stood the test so brilliantly during the Eastern war that it must indeed be tempted to extend its blessings to foreign realms. The Western Powers have taken possession of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Constantinople, and not just the Ministry of Foreign Affairs but the Ministry

[a] For a description of the Bulwer-Lytton and Roebuck motions and their discussion in the House of Commons see this volume, pp. 337-43, 353-57.—*Ed.*

of Home Affairs too. Since Omer Pasha was transplanted from Bulgaria to the Crimea, Turkey has ceased to exercise authority over her own army. The Western Powers are now trying to seize the Turkish finances. For the first time the Ottoman Empire is contracting public debts without receiving a loan. It finds itself in the position of an estate owner who does not only raise an advance on a mortgage but also binds himself to relinquish to his creditor the administration of the sum advanced. The one remaining step is to relinquish the estate itself. Palmerston has demoralised Greece and paralysed Spain by means of a similar system of loans. But *appearances* are on his side. The participation of the peace party in the opposition to the loan adds strength to these appearances. Thanks to a nimble somersault he again stands as the representative of war against the whole opposition as the representatives of peace. We know *which* war he intends to conduct. Chaining Finland more securely to Russia in the Baltic by means of useless and unproductive acts of murder and arson. Perpetuating in the Crimea a series of butcheries in which defeat alone, not victory, can produce a decision. Following his old habit he casts foreign alliances into the parliamentary scales. Bonaparte has already had the loan sanctioned by his so-called "legislative corps". The English Parliament must condescend to becoming the echo of the "legislative corps"—the echo of an echo, or the alliance will be jeopardised. Using the French alliance as a shield to ward off all blows from himself, Palmerston at the same time has the satisfaction of seeing it receive a pummelling. As a proof that he can send "the right man to fill the right place"[a] Palmerston has promoted Sir W[illiam] Molesworth to Colonial Secretary, and Sir B[enjamin] Hall to Commissioner of Forests and Land Revenues[b] in place of Molesworth. Molesworth belongs to *Wakefield*'s school of colonisation.[261] Its principle is to make land in the colonies artificially dear and labour artificially cheap in order to engender the "necessary combination of productive forces". The experimental use of this theory in Canada drove immigrants away from that country to the United States and Australia.

In London there are three committees of inquiry in session at the moment, one appointed by the Cabinet, the other two by

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[a] From Layard's speech in the House of Commons on June 15, 1855. *The Times*, No. 22082, June 16, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx calls it *Minister der Waldungen und Domänen*. The actual title was up to 1857 Commissioner of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues and in that year was changed to Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings.—*Ed.*

Parliament. The first, composed of the Recorders[a] of London, Manchester and Liverpool, investigating the *events in Hyde Park*,[b] finds itself flooded daily with evidence not only that the constables used unprecedented brutality, but also that this brutality was intentional and used *on orders*. If it were uncompromising the inquiry would have to begin with Sir George Grey and the Cabinet as the principal offenders. The second committee, under *Berkeley*'s chairmanship, dealing with the effects of the Act on the "sale of spirits on Sundays", shows the sanctimonious superficiality of sabbatarian experiments for the improvement of society. Instead of decreasing, the number of excesses from drunkenness has increased. The only difference is their partial displacement from Sundays to Mondays. The third committee, chaired by *Scholefield*, is concerned with the adulteration of food and drink and of all commodities contributing to the maintenance of life.[262] Adulteration seems to be the *rule*, purity the *exception*. For the most part the substances added to impart colour, odour and taste to worthless materials are poisonous, and all of them are detrimental to health. Trade appears here as a vast laboratory of fraud, the list of commodities as a diabolical catalogue of phantoms, free competition as the freedom to poison and be poisoned.

The *Report of the Inspectors of Factories* for the half-year ending April 30[c] has been laid before both Houses of Parliament—an invaluable contribution to the characterisation of the *Manchester* men of peace and the class disputing the aristocracy's monopoly of government. In the report the "accidents arising from machinery" are classified under the headings:

> 1. "Causing death", 2. "Loss[d] of right hand or arm. Loss of part of right hand. Loss of left hand or arm. Loss of part of left hand. [...] Fracture of hand or foot. Injuries to head and face" and 3. "Lacerations, contusions and other injuries not enumerated above."[e]

We read of a young woman "who lost her right hand", of a child who "had the nasal bones crushed in and the sight of both eyes destroyed by this machine", of a man whose "left leg was cut off, [...] right arm broken in three or four places", whose head

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[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 323-27.—*Ed.*

[c] *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, for the Half Year Ending 30th April 1855.*—*Ed.*

[d] Here and in the rest of this passage the *Report* has "Amputation of" where Marx writes "Loss of".—*Ed.*

[e] Marx paraphrased the extract.—*Ed.*

was cut and "mutilated in a shocking manner"; of a youth who had his "left arm torn out at the shoulder joint", among other injuries, and of another man who had "both arms torn out of the shoulder joints, his abdomen lacerated, the intestines protruded, both legs broken, head contused", etc., etc. The industrial bulletin of the factory inspectors is more terrible and more appalling than any of the war bulletins from the Crimea. Women and children provide a regular and sizeable contingent in the list of the wounded and killed. Deaths and injuries are no more praiseworthy than the colours marked on the body of a Negro by the plantation owner's whip. They are almost exclusively caused by the absence of the legally prescribed *protective guards* around the machines. It will be recalled that the manufacturers of Manchester—this metropolis of the party of peace at any price—assailed the Cabinet with deputations and protests against the Act ordering certain safety precautions in the use of machinery. Since they were unable to change the law at present, they attempted by intrigues to get rid of the Factory Inspector L[eonard] Horner, and to manoeuvre a more pliant guardian of the law into his place. So far without success. They claimed that the introduction of the safety equipment would eat up their profit. Horner has now proved that there are few factories in his district which could not be made safe for £10. The total number of accidents arising from machinery during the six months covered by the report is 1,788, among these 18 *fatal* accidents. The sum total of money fines imposed on the manufacturers, of compensation for injuries paid by them, etc., is £298 for the same period. To make up this sum fines for "permitting work during illegal hours", for "employing children under 8 years of age", etc., are included in it, so that the fines imposed for the 18 deaths and the 1,770 mutilations fall far short of £298. £298! This is less than the cost of a third-class racehorse! [263]

The Roebuck committee and the British oligarchy! Scholefield's committee and the British commercial class! The report of the Factory Inspectors and the British factory owners—these three headings provide a graphic idea of the physiology of the classes now ruling in Great Britain.

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Karl Marx

# LORD JOHN RUSSELL[264]

Written July 25-August 12, 1855

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Published in English in full for the first time

## [I]

[*Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 347, July 28, 1855]

*London*, July 25. Lord *John Russell* was fond of quoting an old Whig axiom that "parties were like snails, for with them it is the tail that moves the head". He hardly could have surmised that to save itself the tail will strike off the head. If not the head of the "*last Whig cabinets*", he was indisputably the head of the *Whig Party*. Burke said once that

> "the number of estates, country-houses, castles, forest lands and the like which the *Russells* had wrested away from the English people was *quite incredible*".[a]

The great repute in which Lord John Russell has been held and the prominent role which he has dared to play for over a quarter of a century would be even more incredible if the "number of estates" which his family has usurped did not furnish the clue to the puzzle.

Lord John seems to have spent his whole life simply chasing after *posts* and holding on so stubbornly to the posts he captured that he forfeited all claim to *power*. So it was in 1836-1841 when he was given the post of leader of the House of Commons. So in 1846-1852 when he could call himself Prime Minister. The semblance of power that enveloped him as the leader of an opposition assaulting the exchequer always disappeared the day he came to power. As soon as he changed from an Out to an In[b] he

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[a] "A Letter from the Right Honourable Edmund Burke to a Noble Lord, on the Attacks Made upon him and his Pension, in the House of Lords, by the Duke of Bedford...", p. 37. Marx gives the English words "quite incredible" in brackets after the corresponding German words.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English words "Out" (member of the opposition) and "In" (member of the Government).—*Ed.*

was *done for.* With no other English statesman did power so abruptly change into powerlessness. But, on the other hand, no other knew so well as he how to transform powerlessness into power.

The sham power Lord John Russell periodically wielded was not only sustained by the influence exerted by the family of the Duke of Bedford, whose younger son he was, but also by the absence of all the qualities which generally fit a person to rule over others. His Lilliputian views on everything spread to others like a contagion and contributed more to confuse the judgment of his hearers than the most ingenious misrepresentation could have done. His real talent consists in his capacity to reduce everything that he touches to his own dwarfish dimensions, to diminish the external world to an infinitesimal size and to transform it into a vulgar microcosm of his own invention. His instinct to belittle the magnificent is excelled only by the skill with which he can make the petty appear great.

Lord John Russell's entire life has been lived on false pretences: the false pretences of parliamentary reform, the false pretences of religious freedom, the false pretences of Free Trade. So sincere was his belief in the sufficiency of false pretences that he considered it quite feasible to become, not only a British statesman on the basis of false pretences, but also a poet, thinker and historian. Only this can account for the existence of such balderdash as his tragedy *Don Carlos, or, Persecution,* or his *Essay on the History of the English Government and Constitution, from the Reign of Henry VII to the Present Time,* or his *Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe from the Peace of Utrecht.*[265] To his egoistic narrow-mindedness every object is nothing but a *tabula rasa* on which he is at liberty to write his own name. His opinions have never depended upon the actual facts; on the contrary, he regards facts as dependent on the way he arranges them in his rhetorical efforts. As a speaker he has not produced a single idea worth mentioning, not one profound maxim, no penetrating observation, no impressive description, no beautiful thought, no poignant allusion, no humorous portrait, no true emotion. Russell's "*most docile mediocrity*", as Roebuck admits in his history of the reform ministry,[a] surprised his audience even when performing the greatest deed of his public life: when he tabled his so-called Reform Bill[266] in the House of Commons. He has a peculiar

[a] J. A. Roebuck, *History of the Whig Ministry of 1830, to the Passing of the Reform Bill,* Vol. II, p. 67.—*Ed.*

manner of combining his dry, drawling and monotonous delivery resembling that of an auctioneer with schoolboy illustrations from history and a certain solemn gibberish on "the beauty of the constitution", the "universal liberties of this country", "civilisation" and "progress". He gets really heated only when personally provoked or goaded by his opponents into abandoning his pose of affected arrogance and self-satisfaction and displaying all the symptoms of extreme helplessness. In England it is generally agreed that his numerous failures are due to a certain natural rashness. This rashness, too, is really merely a false pretence. It is brought about by the subterfuges and expedients intended only for the given moment necessarily coming into conflict with the adverse circumstances of the next moment. Russell does not act instinctively but calculatingly; but his calculations are petty like the man himself—they are always merely makeshifts intended for the next hour. Hence his constant wavering and dodging, his rapid advances and disgraceful retreats, his insolent words prudently retracted, pledges proudly made and wretchedly redeemed, and, if nothing else was of any avail, there were sobs and tears to move the world to pity. His whole life can be viewed, therefore, either as a systematic sham[a] or as an uninterrupted blunder.

It may seem astonishing that a public figure should have survived such a host of stillborn measures, crushed projects and abortive schemes. But just as a polyp thrives on amputation, so Lord John Russell on abortion. Most of his plans were advanced solely for the purpose of placating his discontented allies, the so-called Radicals, while an understanding with his adversaries, the Conservatives, ensured the "*burking*" of these plans. Who can say that since the days of the reformed Parliament he ever staked the fate of his Cabinet on a single one of his "comprehensive and liberal measures", or of his "great reforms presented by instalments". On the contrary. The proposal of measures to satisfy the Liberals and their withdrawal to satisfy the Conservatives contributed more than anything else to maintain and prolong his Ministry. There were times when Peel deliberately kept him at the helm in order not to be compelled to *do* things which he knew Russell would only *prattle* about. In such periods of secret understanding with the official opponent Russell exhibited impudence *vis-à-vis* his official allies. He became bold—on false pretences.

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[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

We shall cast a retrospective glance on his performance from 1830 until the present day. This *commonplace genius* has deserved it.

## [II]

[*Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 359, August 4, 1855]

*London*, August 1.[267]

"If I was a painter," said Cobbett, "there would I place the old oak (the British Constitution), corroded at the root, his top dead, his trunk hollow, loosened at his base, rocking with every blast, and there would I place Lord John Russell, in the person of a tom-tit, endeavoring to put all right by picking at a nest of animalculae seated in the half-rotten bark of one of the meanest branches. There are some who even think that he is eating the buds while he pretends to clear the tree of injurious insects."

So minute were Lord John Russell's reform efforts during his antediluvian career from 1813 to 1830; but minute as they were, they were not even sincere, and he never hesitated to repudiate them as soon as he perceived merely the scent of a ministerial post.

Since 1807 the Whigs had pined in vain for a share in the proceeds of taxation, when in 1827 the formation of Canning's cabinet, with whom they pretended to agree on the subject of commerce and of foreign policy, seemed to afford them the long-sought-for opportunity. Russell, at that time, had given notice of one of his tom-tit Parliamentary reform motions. But upon Canning's stern declaration that he should oppose Parliamentary reform to the end of his life, up rose Lord John and withdrew his motion. He said

"Parliamentary reform was a question on which there was a great diversity of opinion among those who advocated it, and to which the leaders of the Whigs were always unwilling to be pledged as to a party question. It was now for *the last time* that he brought forward this question."[a]

He concluded his speech with the insolent statement that "the people no longer wished for Parliamentary reform". He, who had always made a show of his noisy opposition to Castlereagh's six infamous gagging acts of 1819,[268] now refrained from voting on

[a] Russell's speech in the House of Commons on May 3, 1827. Quotations from and references to Parliamentary speeches are as a rule based on *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*.—*Ed.*

Mr. Hume's motion[a] for the repeal of one of those acts which made a man liable to transportation for life for uttering in print anything which had even a *tendency* to bring either house of Parliament into contempt.

Thus, at the conclusion of the first period of his Parliamentary life, we find Lord John Russell disavowing his support of Reform, to which he paid lip service for more than ten years, and fully concurring with the opinion of that Whig prototype, Horace Walpole, who remarked to Conway that[b]

"popular Bills are never really proposed but as an engine of party, and not as a pledge for the realisation of any such extravagant ideas".

It was, then, by no means Russell's fault that instead of bringing forward the motion for reform for the *last time* in 1827, he had to table it again four years later, on March 1, 1831, in the shape of the famous Reform Bill. He was not even the author of this Bill, which he still exhibits as his great claim to the admiration of the world in general, and England in particular.[c] In its principal features—the breaking up of the greater part of the nomination boroughs, the addition of county members, the enfranchisement of copyholders, lease-holders,[d] [269] and twenty four of the chief commercial and industrial towns of England—it was copied from the Bill which Lord Grey (the chief of the Reform Ministry in 1830) had moved in the House of Commons in 1797, when heading the Opposition, and which he had wisely forgotten about when he was a member of the Cabinet in 1806. It was the identical Bill, slightly modified. The ejection of Wellington from the Cabinet, because he had declared against Parliamentary Reform; the July Revolution in France; the threatening great political unions formed by the middle and working classes at Birmingham, Manchester, London, and elsewhere; the rural war in the agricultural counties[270]; the "bonfires" in the most fertile regions of England[e]—all these circumstances compelled the Whigs to propose some measure of Reform. They gave way grudgingly,

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[a] Tabled in the House of Commons on May 31, 1827.—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "we find him fully concurring with the opinion of that Whig prototype, Horace Walpole, that".—*Ed.*

[c] Instead of the words "and England in particular" the *New-York Daily Tribune* has "and the gratitude of the English nation in particular".—*Ed.*

[d] Marx uses the English words "boroughs", "copyholders", "lease-holders" and, below, "freeholders".—*Ed.*

[e] The *New-York Daily Tribune* further has: "('Out of the fires came the Reform,' says a celebrated writer)".—*Ed.*

slowly, and after vainly reiterated efforts to keep their places by a compromise with the Tories.[a] They were prevented by the formidable attitude of the people, and also by the uncompromising intransigence of the Tories. Hardly, however, had the Reform Bill become law, and begun to work, when, to quote Mr. Bright's words (spoken on June 5, 1849), the people "began to feel that they had been cheated".[b]

Never, perhaps, had a mighty, and, to all appearances, successful popular movement been turned into such a mock result. Not only were the working classes altogether excluded from any political influence, but the middle classes themselves soon discovered that Lord Althorp, the soul of the Reform cabinet, had not used a rhetorical figure when telling his Tory adversaries that

"the Reform Bill was the most aristocratic act ever offered to the nation".

The new country representation was far larger than the increase in votes granted to the towns. The franchise given to the tenants-at-will rendered[c] the counties, still more efficiently than before, the tools of the aristocracy. The substitution of the £10 householders for the payers of scot and lot, actually disfranchised a great number of former town voters. The granting or withdrawal of the franchise was, on the whole, calculated not to increase middle-class influence, but to exclude Tory patronage and promote Whig patronage. By a series of the most extraordinary tricks, frauds, and juggles, the inequality of the electoral districts was maintained, the monstrous disproportion between the number of representatives, on the one hand, and the size of the population and the importance of the constituencies, on the other, restored. If some fifty-six rotten boroughs, each with a handful of inhabitants, were extinguished, whole counties and populous towns were transformed into rotten boroughs. John Russell himself confesses, in a letter to his electors in Stroud, on the principles of the Reform Act (1839), that

"the £10 franchise was fettered by regulation, and the annual registration was made a source of vexation and expense".

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[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "It was their only means of rushing into office. They gave way grudgingly, slowly, and after vainly reiterated efforts at one time to shuffle out of the only liberal clauses of their own measure, and again to abandon it altogether, and to keep their places by a compromise with the Tories."—*Ed.*

[b] John Bright's speech in the House of Commons.—*Ed.*

[c] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "tenants-at-will[271] occupying at an annual value of £50, rendered".—*Ed.*

Intimidation and patronage, where they could not be perpetuated, were replaced by bribery, which, from the passage of the Reform Bill, became the main prop of the British Constitution. Such was the Reform Bill of which Russell was the mouthpiece, but not the author. The only clauses since proved to be due to his invention are that which compels all *freeholders*,[272] except parsons, to have had a year of possession, and the other clause preserving the privileges of Tavistock, the family "rotten borough" of the Russells.

Russell was but a subordinate member of the Reform Ministry, without a vote in the Cabinet, *viz.*: Paymaster of the Forces, from 1830 to November 1834. He was, perhaps, the most insignificant man among his colleagues, but he was nevertheless the youngest son of the influential Duke of Bedford. Hence it was decided to grant him the privilege of introducing the Reform Bill in the House of Commons. One obstacle stood in the way of this family arrangement. During the Reform movement, before 1830, Russell had always figured as "Henry Brougham's little man".[a] Russell could not be entrusted with bringing in the Reform Bill as long as Brougham sat beside him in the Lower House. The obstacle was removed by throwing the conceited plebeian on the woolsack in the House of Lords.[273] Because very soon the more prominent members of the original Reform cabinet either became members of the House of Lords (e.g. Althorp in 1834), died, or went over to the Tories, not only the entire inheritance of the Reform Ministry devolved upon Russell but soon he was regarded as the father of the child whose godfather he had been. He thrived on the false pretence of being the author of a Reform Bill which was itself a falsification and a piece of juggling. Apart from this he distinguished himself in the years 1830 to 1834 only by the irritable acrimony with which he opposed all inquiry into the pension-list.[b]

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[a] Marx uses the English words "little man" and gives the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

[b] Instead of the passage beginning with the words "One obstacle stood in the way of this family arrangement" and ending with the words "inquiry into the pension-list" the *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "Beside the Reform-Bill discussion, Lord John distinguished himself by the acrimony and virulence with which he opposed all inquiry into the pension-list. Some years later, when all the prominent members of the original Reform cabinet, having been removed to the Lords, died out, or separated from the Whigs, Lord John not only entered upon their inheritance, but soon passed in the eyes of the country as the natural father of the bill of which he had been but the godfather by courtesy."—*Ed.*

## [III]

[*Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 363, August 7, 1855]

*London*, August 3. Let us return to our *character sketch of Russell.* He is worth dealing with at greater length, first because he is *the classical representative of modern Whiggery*, and second because his story, at least from one aspect, comprises *the history of the reformed Parliament* up to the present day.

In introducing the Reform Bill Russell made the following statement with regard to the *ballot*[a] and *short parliaments* (the Whigs, of course, had prolonged the annual parliaments of England to three years in 1694 and to seven years in 1717)[b]:

"There can be no doubt that the *ballot* has much to recommend it; the arguments which I have heard advanced in its favour are as ingenious as any that I ever heard on any subject. But the House must beware of arriving at a hasty decision.... The question of *short parliaments*, is one of the utmost importance, which I shall leave to be brought before the House by some other member at a future time, in order not to embarrass the great subject with details."

On June 6, 1833 he claimed to have

"refrained from bringing forward those two *measures* in order to avoid a collision with the Lords, although *opinions* (!) deeply seated in his heart. He was convinced of their being most essential to the happiness, prosperity and welfare of this country."

(At the same time we have here an example of his species of rhetoric.)[c]

On account of this "deeply seated conviction" he proved to be a constant and relentless enemy of the ballot and short parliaments throughout his entire ministerial career. At the time these statements were made they served as a twofold expedient. They mollified the distrustful democrats of the House of Commons, and they intimidated the intractable aristocrats of the House of Lords. Yet as soon as Russell had secured the support of the new court of Queen Victoria (see *Brougham*'s reply to Russell's letter to the electors of Stroud, 1839)[d], thus imagining himself to

[a] Marx uses the English word here and below.—*Ed.*

[b] The preceding two paragraphs do not occur in the *New-York Daily Tribune.* The quotation from Russell's speech in the House of Commons on March 1, 1831, which follows immediately is shorter and is introduced with the words: "On bringing in the Reform Bill, he said:".—*Ed.*

[c] The sentence in brackets does not occur in the *New-York Daily Tribune.*—*Ed.*

[d] "Lord Brougham's Reply to Lord John Russell's Letter to the Electors of Stroud...", *The Times*, No. 17041, May 14, 1839. The words in brackets do not occur in the *New-York Daily Tribune.*—*Ed.*

be an immortal office-holder, out he comes with his statement of November 1837, justifying "the extreme length to which the Reform Bill had gone" by the fact that it ruled out the possibility of ever proceeding any further.

"The object of the Reform Bill," he stated, "was *to increase the preponderance of the landed interest*, and it was intended as a *permanent settlement* of a great constitutional question."

In short, he made the finality statement that earned him the title of "Finality John".[a] But this finality, this standing still, was no more seriously meant than the talk of proceeding further.[b] It is true, he opposed Hume's parliamentary reform motion in 1848. With the combined might of the Whigs, Tories and Peelites[274] he again defeated Hume over a similar motion in 1849 by a majority of 268 to 82. Emboldened by his conservative reserves he spoke out provocatively:

"In framing and proposing the Reform Bill, what we wished was to *adapt* the representation of this House to the other powers of the State, and keep it in harmony with the Constitution. Mr. Bright and those who agree with him are so *exceedingly narrow-minded*, they have intellect and understanding bound up in such a narrow round that it is quite impossible to get them to understand the great principles on which our ancestors founded the Constitution of the country, and which we, their successors, humbly admire and endeavour to follow. The House of Commons, in the 17 years that have elapsed since the Reform Bill, has satisfied all reasonable expectations. The existing system, although somewhat anomalous, works well: the better for its anomalies."[c]

However, as in 1851 Russell was defeated over Locke King's motion for extending the county franchise to £10 occupiers—and as he was even compelled to resign for a few days—his "broad" mind suddenly grasped the necessity for a *new reform bill*. He gave the House his pledge that he would introduce it. He did not say what his "measure" was but he drew a bill of exchange on it, *payable during the next session of Parliament*.

The *Westminster Review*, the organ of the so-called Radicals allied to Russell, wrote at the time,

"the pretence of the present ministry to office had become a byword of scorn and reproach; and at length, when its exclusion and party annihilation seemed imminent, forth comes Lord John with the promise of a new Reform Bill for 1852. Keep me in

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[a] Russell's speeches in the House of Commons on November 20 and 21, 1837. Marx gives the nickname in English, and also "finality" in the next sentence.—*Ed.*

[b] Instead of this sentence the *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "But this finality was as false a pretence as his reform itself."—*Ed.*

[c] Russell's speech in the House of Commons on June 5, 1849. The last sentence but one is omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

office, he says, till that time, and I will satisfy your longings for a large and liberal measure of reform."[a]

In 1852 he indeed proposed a Reform Bill, this time of his very own invention, but of such astonishingly Lilliputian proportions that neither the Conservatives considered it worth attacking, nor the Liberals worth defending. Still, the aborted reform afforded the little man the pretext, when he was eventually forced out of the Ministry, for hurling a Scythian arrow as he fled at the victorious Lord Derby, who succeeded him. He made his exit with the pompous threat that he "would *insist on the extension of the suffrage*".[b] The extension of the suffrage had now become a "matter of the heart" for him.[c] Scarcely had he been thrown out of the Cabinet when this child of expediency, now called by his own supporters Foul-Weather Jack,[d] invited to his private residence at Chesham Place the various factions whose marriage brought into being the sickly monster of the coalition. He did not forget to send for the "exceedingly narrow-minded" Brights and Cobdens, begging their forgiveness at this solemn meeting for his own broad-mindedness and giving them a new promissory note for a "larger" amount of reform. As a member of the coalition Cabinet in 1854 he amused the Commons with yet another reform project, which he knew was destined to become another Iphigenia to be sacrificed by himself, another Agamemnon, for the sake of another Trojan War. He performed the sacrifice in the melodramatic style of Metastasio, his eyes filled with tears, which however dried up as soon as the "unpaid" seat which he occupied in the Cabinet was exchanged for the Presidency of the Cabinet at a salary of £2,000 as a result of a miserable intrigue against Mr. Strutt, a member of his own party.[e]

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[a] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* one more sentence of this passage is quoted: "The Reformers of the House of Commons yielded to that reasoning."—*Ed.*

[b] From Russell's speech in the House of Commons on February 23, 1852.—*Ed.*

[c] This sentence does not occur in the *New-York Daily Tribune.*—*Ed.*

[d] Marx uses the English nickname and gives a German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

[e] The next paragraph is omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and the end of this paragraph reads as follows: "Hardly out of office, this child of expediency, now emphatically called by his own followers Foul-Weather Jack, summoned to his private residence at Chesham-place the different sections of the Liberal party to make solemn asseverations of his own large-mindedness, and to hand to them another promissory bill of a larger amount of reform. When a member of the Coalition cabinet, he amused the House with a Reform bill which he knew would prove another Iphigenia, to be sacrificed by himself, another Agamemnon, for the benefit of another Trojan war. He performed the sacrifice indeed in true melodramatic style, his eyes filled with tears, but these soon passed away."—*Ed.*

The second reform plan was supposed to shore up his falling Cabinet, the third to bring down the Tory Cabinet. The second was a subterfuge, the third a piece of chicanery. He arranged the second so that no one would accept it; he presented the third at a moment when no one could accept it. With both he demonstrated that if fate had made him a Minister, nature had made him a tinker, just like Christopher Sly.[a] Even of the first Reform Bill, the only one put into effect, he grasped only the oligarchical knack and not the historical tack.

## [IV]

[*Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 365, August 8, 1855]

*London*, August 4.[b] On the outbreak of the Anti-Jacobin War the influence of the Whigs in *England* entered a period of decline, and continued to sink lower and lower. On account of this they turned their eyes on *Ireland*, resolving to use it to tip the balance, and inscribed on their party banners *Irish Emancipation*. When they came into office for an instant in 1806 they did, in fact, bring a minor Irish Emancipation Bill before the House of Commons, carrying it through its second reading, only to withdraw it voluntarily in order to flatter the bigot idiocy of George III. In 1812 they attempted to foist themselves on the Prince Regent (later George IV) as the only possible instruments of reconciliation with Ireland, albeit in vain.[c] Before and during the reform agitation they fawned on O'Connell, and the "hopes of Ireland" served as powerful engines of war on their behalf. Yet the first act of the Reform Ministry at the first sitting of the first reformed Parliament was a declaration of war against Ireland with the "brutal and bloody" measure of the "Coercion Bill",[275] subjecting Ireland to martial law.[d] The Whigs fulfilled their old pledges "with

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[a] Character in Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*.—*Ed.*

[b] The date is omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and the article begins with the following sentence: "Another of the false pretenses on which he sought a niche in the temple of fame was his efforts on behalf of Ireland."—*Ed.*

[c] This sentence does not occur in the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

[d] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* this sentence reads: "...a declaration of civil war against Ireland, a 'brutal and bloody measure', the Irish Coercion 'Red-Coat Tribunal bill', according to which men were to be tried in Ireland by military officers, instead of by Judges and Juries". (The phrase "brutal and bloody measure" was used by Daniel O'Connell in the House of Commons on February 5, 1833.)—*Ed.*

fire, imprisonment, transportation and even death". O'Connell was persecuted and convicted of sedition. The Whigs, however, had only introduced and carried the Coercion Bill against Ireland by expressly committing themselves to present another bill, a bill concerning the *Church of England in Ireland.* Furthermore, they had also promised that this bill should contain a clause placing certain *surplus funds* from the revenues of the Established Church in Ireland at the disposal of Parliament. Parliament, in its turn, was to employ them in the interests of Ireland. The importance of this clause lay in the recognition of the principle that Parliament possessed the power to expropriate the Established Church—a principle of which Lord John Russell ought to have been convinced all the more firmly as the entire immense fortune of his family consists of former Church estates. The Whigs promised to stand or fall by the Church Bill. But as soon as the Coercion Bill had been passed they withdrew the above clause, the only one of any value in the Church Bill, on the pretext of avoiding a collision with the House of Lords. They voted against and defeated their own motion. This occurred in 1834. Towards the end of that year, however, an electric shock seemed to have revived the Irish sympathies of the Whigs. The fact of the matter is that they had to relinquish the Cabinet in the autumn of 1834 to Sir Robert Peel. They had been hurled back into the Opposition benches. And straightaway we find our John Russell eagerly engaged in his work of reconciliation with Ireland.[a] He was the main agent in negotiating the *Lichfield House compact,*[276] which was concluded in January 1835. The Whigs hereby left patronage (the allocation of offices, etc.) in Ireland to O'Connell, while O'Connell secured them the Irish vote both inside and outside Parliament. But a *pretext* was needed to drive the Tories out of Downing Street.[b] With characteristic "impudence", Russell chose the *Church revenues* of Ireland as his battlefield, and as his battlecry the very same *clause*—notorious under the name of the *Appropriation Clause*—which he and his colleagues in the Reform Ministry had *themselves* withdrawn and abandoned shortly before. Peel was indeed beaten with the slogan of the "Appropriation Clause". The Melbourne Cabinet was formed and Lord John Russell installed himself as Home Secretary and Leader of the House of Commons.[c] Now he

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[a] The last two sentences do not occur in the *New-York Daily Tribune.—Ed.*

[b] 10 Downing Street is the official residence of the British Prime Minister.—*Ed.*

[c] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "... and Lord Russell became leader in the House of Commons."—*Ed.*

began to sing his own praises: on the one hand for his intellectual constancy, because although now in office he continued to adhere to his *opinions* about the Appropriation Clause; on the other hand for his moral moderation in refraining to *act* on these opinions. He never translated them from words into action. When he was Prime Minister, in 1846, his moral moderation triumphed so emphatically over his intellectual constancy that he even repudiated his "opinion". He knew of no measures more fatal, he exclaimed, than those threatening the Established Church in its fundamental root, its revenues.[a]

In February 1833 John Russell, in the name of the Reform Ministry, denounced the Irish *Repeal agitation.*[277]

"Its real object," he exclaimed to the Commons, "is to overturn at once the United Parliament, and to establish, in place of King, Lords and Commons of the United Kingdom, some parliament of which Mr O'Connell was to be the leader and the chief."[b]

In February 1834 the Repeal agitation was again denounced in the Speech from the Throne, and the Reform Ministry proposed an address

"to record in the most solemn manner the fixed determination of Parliament to maintain unimpaired and undisturbed the legislative union of the three realms".[c]

But hardly had John Russell been cast up on the Opposition sandbanks when he declared:

"with respect to the *repeal of the union*, the subject was open to amendment or question, just as any other act of the Legislature",

that is no more and no less than any beer Bill.[d]

In March 1846 John Russell brought down Peel's administration by means of a coalition with the Tories, who were burning with desire to punish their leader for his disloyalty over the Corn Laws. Peel's Irish "*Arms Bill*"[278] served as a pretext, and Russell, full of moral outrage, lodged an unconditional protest against it. He becomes Prime Minister. His first act is to move the very same "Arms

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[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "he could not conceive a more fatal measure than the disestablishment of the Church, and he declined to take any further notice of the project of 1835".—*Ed.*

[b] Russell's speech in the House of Commons on February 6, 1833.—*Ed.*

[c] "Address in Answer to the King's Speech", House of Commons, February 4, 1834.—*Ed.*

[d] The words "i.e. no more and no less than any beer Bill" do not occur in the *New-York Daily Tribune.*—*Ed.*

Bill".[a] However, he made a fool of himself to no avail. O'Connell had just been calling monster meetings against Peel's Bill, he had organised petitions with 50,000 signatures; he was in Dublin, whence he was manipulating all the springs of agitation. King Dan (the popular nickname of Daniel O'Connell)[b] would have lost all if he had appeared to be Russell's accomplice at this juncture. He therefore served notice on the little man in threatening terms to withdraw his Arms Bill at once. Russell withdrew it. O'Connell, despite his secret dealings with the Whigs, then heaped humiliation on top of defeat, an art he has brought to perfection. So as to leave no doubt *at whose behest* the retreat had been sounded, he announced the withdrawal of the Arms Bill to the repealers in Conciliation Hall in Dublin on August 17, the *same* day John Russell announced it to the Commons. In 1844 Russell charged Sir Robert Peel with "having filled Ireland with troops, and with not governing but militarily occupying that country".[c] In 1848 Russell occupied Ireland militarily, imposed the felony acts, proclaimed the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Acts[279] and boasted of the "energetic measures" of Clarendon.[d] This energy, too, was a false pretence. In Ireland there were on the one hand the O'Connellites and the priests, in secret agreement with the Whigs; on the other, Smith O'Brien and his supporters. The latter were simply dupes[e] who took the repeal game seriously and thus came to a comical end. The "energetic measures" taken by the Russell government and the brutalities they committed were thus not called for by circumstances. Their object was not the maintenance of English supremacy in Ireland, but rather the prolongation of the Whig regime in England.

## [V]

[*Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 369, August 10, 1855]

*London*, August 6. The *Corn Laws*[280] were introduced in England in 1815, the Tories and the Whigs having agreed to raise their

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[a] The following text up to the words "In 1844 Russell charged Sir Robert Peel..." does not occur in the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English nickname and gives a German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

[c] Russell's speech in the House of Commons on February 13, 1844.—*Ed.*

[d] The rest of the paragraph does not occur in the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

[e] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

rent of land by means of a tax on the nation. This object was attained not only because the Corn Laws—laws against the import of corn from abroad—artificially raised the price of grain in some years. Taking the period 1815-1846 as a whole, what was perhaps even more important was the illusion of the tenant-farmers that the Corn Laws were able to maintain the price of corn at an *a priori* determined level in all circumstances. This illusion had an effect on leases. We find that in order to revive this illusion time and again, Parliament was constantly occupied with new, improved versions of the Corn Laws of 1815. If corn prices proved unruly, and fell despite the dictates of the Corn Laws, parliamentary committees were appointed to investigate the reasons for "agricultural distress".[a] In so far as it was the object of these parliamentary investigations, "agricultural distress" was in reality limited to the disproportion between the prices paid by the tenant to the landowner for his land and the prices at which he sold the products of his land to the public—*the disproportion between rent of land and grain prices.* The problem therefore could be solved by simply reducing rent, the landed aristocracy's source of income. Instead of this, the latter naturally preferred to "reduce" corn prices by legislative means; one Corn Law was succeeded by another, slightly modified; failure was blamed on insignificant details which could be corrected by a new Act of Parliament. Though the price of corn was thus kept above the natural level under certain conditions, *rent* was kept above its natural level under all conditions. As this was a matter of the "holiest interests" of the landed aristocracy, of their cash income, both their factions, Tories and Whigs, were equally ready to revere the Corn Laws as a lodestar elevated *above* their party struggles. The Whigs even withstood the temptation of entertaining liberal "views" on this matter—especially as at that time there seemed little prospect of covering any losses on land tenure by winning back their hereditary tenure of government posts. In order to secure the vote of the finance aristocracy both factions voted for the Bank Act of 1819, whereby the interest on national debts contracted in depreciated money should be paid at full value. Having borrowed, say, £50, the nation had to repay £100. In this way the assent of the finance aristocracy to the Corn Laws was obtained. A fraudulent increase of the national interest rates in return for a fraudulent increase of rent—this was the gist of the agreement between finance

[a] Here and below Marx uses the English expression In the first case he gives a German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

aristocracy and landed aristocracy.[a] It is not then surprising that Lord *John Russell* branded any *Corn Law reform* as mischievous, absurd, impracticable and unnecessary in the parliamentary elections of 1835 and 1837. From the start of his ministerial career he rejected every such proposal, at first politely, then passionately. In his defence of high corn duties he was a long way ahead of Sir Robert Peel. The prospect of famine in 1838 and 1839 did not succeed in shaking either him, or the other members of the Melbourne Cabinet. What the distress of the nation could not do, the distress of the Cabinet could.[b] A deficit in the exchequer of £7,500,000 and Palmerston's foreign policy, which threatened to cause a war with France, led the House of Commons to pass a vote of no confidence in the Melbourne Cabinet proposed by Peel. This occurred on June 4, 1841. The Whigs, always as eager to chase posts as unable to fill them and reluctant to give them up, attempted in vain to sidestep fate by dissolving Parliament. Then there awoke in John Russell's profound soul the idea of conjuring away the Anti-Corn-Law agitation just as he had helped to conjure away the reform movement. So he suddenly advocated a "moderate fixed duty" instead of the sliding tariff[c] [281]—friend that he is of "moderate" political chastity and "moderate" reforms. He had the audacity to parade through the streets of London in a procession of government candidates accompanied by banner-bearers with two loaves impaled on their poles in blatant contrast to each other, one being a two-penny loaf with the inscription "*Peel loaf*", the other a shilling loaf inscribed "*Russell loaf*". The nation, however, refused to be misled this time. It knew from experience that the Whigs promised bread and paid out stones. Despite Russell's ridiculous carnival capers the general election left the Whigs with a minority of 76. They were at last forced to decamp. Russell avenged himself for the disservice which the moderate fixed duty of 1841 had done him by calmly letting Peel's "sliding scale" crystallise into law in 1842. He now despised the "moderate fixed duty"; he turned his back on it; he dropped it without expending a single word on it.[d]

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[a] Instead of the preceding text of instalment [V] the *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "Let us now look at his Free-trade pretenses. The Corn Laws had been enacted in 1815, by the concurrence of Tories and Whigs."—*Ed.*

[b] Instead of the preceding two sentences the *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "During the prospect of dearth (1838-1839) he and Melbourne did not contemplate any alteration in the existing duties."—*Ed.*

[c] Russell's speech in the House of Commons on June 7, 1841.—*Ed.*

[d] The last two sentences do not occur in the *New-York Daily Tribune.*—*Ed.*

During the years 1841-45 the *Anti-Corn-Law League*[282] grew to colossal dimensions. The old alliance between landed aristocracy and finance aristocracy could no longer safeguard the Corn Laws, for the industrial bourgeoisie had increasingly supplanted the finance aristocracy as the chief element of the middle class. For the industrial bourgeoisie, however, the abolition of the Corn Laws was a matter of survival. Repeal of the Corn Laws meant for the industrial bourgeoisie reduced production costs, expansion of foreign trade, increase in profits, a reduction of the main source of revenue, and hence of the power, of the landed aristocracy, and the enhancement of their own political power. In the autumn of 1845 they found fearsome allies in the potato blight in Ireland, the high corn prices in England and the failure of the harvest in most of Europe.[a] Intimidated by the menacing economic outlook, Sir Robert Peel therefore held a series of Cabinet meetings at the end of October and the first weeks of November 1845 at which he proposed the suspension of the Corn Laws and even hinted at the necessity of a definitive repeal. There was a delay in the decisions of the Cabinet owing to the stubborn resistance of his colleague Stanley (now Lord Derby).

At that time, during the Parliamentary recess, John Russell was on holiday in Edinburgh, where he got wind of the proceedings in Peel's Cabinet. He decided to exploit the delay caused by Stanley and forestall Peel in this popular position, giving himself the appearance of having forced Peel's hand[b] and thus robbing any prospective moves by him of their moral weight. Accordingly, on November 22, 1845 he addressed a letter from Edinburgh to his City voters full of angry and malicious references to Peel, on the pretext that the ministers were delaying too long coming to a decision about the emergency in Ireland. The periodical famines in Ireland in 1831, '35, '37 and '39 had never been able to shake the faith of Russell and his colleagues in the Corn Laws. But now he was all fire. Even such an appalling disaster as the famine of two nations conjured up before the eyes of the little man nothing but visions of mousetraps for his rival "in office". In his letter he

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[a] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* the preceding part of this paragraph is condensed as follows: "During the years 1841-45, the Anti-Corn-Law League became formidable. In the autumn of 1845, it found new and terrible allies in the famine in Ireland, the corn-dearth in England, and the failure of the harvest all over Europe."—*Ed.*

[b] Instead of the words "the appearance of having forced Peel's hand" the *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "the appearance of having forced Free trade upon Peel".—*Ed.*

tried to conceal the real motive for his sudden conversion to Free Trade with the following wretched confession:

"I confess that on the general subject my views have, in the course of twenty years, undergone a great alteration. I used to be of opinion that corn was an exception to the general rules of political economy; but observation and experience have convinced me that we ought to abstain from *all interference* with the supply of food."[a]

In the *same* letter he reproached Peel for *not* yet having interfered with the supply of food to Ireland.[b] Peel caught the little man in his own trap. He resigned, leaving a note with the Queen[c] pledging Russell his support should he undertake to carry out the abolition of the Corn Laws. The Queen summoned Russell and asked him to form a new Cabinet. He came, saw—and declared that he was *unable* to do so, even *with* the support of his rival. That was not what he had intended. For him it was merely a *false pretence,* and they were threatening to take him at his word! Peel stepped in again and repealed the Corn Laws. As a result of his act the Tory party collapsed and disintegrated. Russell allied himself with it in order to defeat Peel. So much for his claim to the title of "Free Trade Minister" of which he was still boasting in Parliament only a few days ago.

## [VI]

[*Neue Oder-Zeitung,* No. 377, August 15, 1855]

*London,* August 12. Let us return once again to *Lord John Russell* so as to conclude his character sketch.[d] At the outset of his career he acquired a sort of reputation on the plea of his tolerance and at the end of his career on the plea of his bigotry, on the first occasion by his motion for the *repeal of the "Test and Corporation Acts"*,[283] on the second occasion by his "Ecclesiastical Titles Bill".[e] The Test and Corporation Acts prevented dissenters from holding

[a] "Lord John Russell to the Electors of the City of London. Edinburgh, Nov. 22", *The Times,* No. 19092, November 27, 1845.—*Ed.*

[b] The rest of this paragraph does not occur in the *New-York Daily Tribune.*—*Ed.*

[c] Victoria.—*Ed.*

[d] This sentence does not occur in the *New-York Daily Tribune.*—*Ed.*

[e] Here and below Marx uses the English word "repeal" and gives the names of the acts in English or in a Germanised English form. He gives the German translation of the name of the second act in brackets.—*Ed.*

civil service posts. They had long been a dead letter when Russell moved his famous repeal motion in 1827. He defended it on the ground that he was convinced that "the repeal will enhance the security of the Church of England".[a] A contemporary writer informs us: "No one was more astonished that the motion was carried than the mover himself." The solution to the riddle is obvious if one notes that the *Tory Ministry* itself moved the Catholic Emancipation Bill[284] the following year (1829), and hence must have been only too glad to get rid of the "Test and Corporation Acts" in the meantime. Apart from this the dissenters have never received anything from Lord John except promises whenever he was in opposition. While in office he even opposed the abolition of church rates.[b]

His *anti-Popery cry*[c] is, however, even more characteristic of the shallowness of the man and the pettiness of his motives. We have seen that in 1848 and 1849 he defeated the reform motions of his own allies by an alliance of the Whigs with the Peelites and Tories. Being so dependent on the conservative opposition his Ministry had grown very weak and shaky by 1850 when the Papal Bull establishing a Roman Catholic hierarchy in England and the appointment of Cardinal Wiseman Archbishop of Westminster provoked some surface agitation amongst the most hypocritical and fatuous sections of the English people. Russell, at any rate, was not caught unawares by the Pope's measures. His father-in-law, Lord Minto, was in Rome when the *Roman Gazette*[d] announced the appointment of Wiseman in 1848. In fact, we know from Cardinal Wiseman's Letter to the English People that the Pope had informed Lord Minto of the Bull establishing the hierarchy in England as early as 1848.[e] Russell himself took some preparatory steps by having the titles of the Catholic clergy in Ireland and the colonies officially recognised by Clarendon and Grey. But now, in view of the weakness of his Cabinet, perturbed by the historical recollection that the anti-Popery cry threw the Whigs out of the government in 1807, fearing that Stanley might imitate Perceval and forestall him, Russell, during the Parliamen-

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[a] Russell's speech in the House of Commons on June 7, 1827. The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* gives 1828 as the date of Russell's motion—probably a misprint.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx gives the English term "church rates" in brackets after the German equivalent.—*Ed.*

[c] Russell's attacks on Pius IX.—*Ed.*

[d] *Gazzetta di Roma.*—*Ed.*

[e] "Cardinal Wiseman's Manifesto", *The Times*, No. 20651, November 20, 1855.—*Ed.*

tary recess, as he had tried to forestall Sir Robert Peel over the repeal of the Corn Laws—pursued by all these forebodings and phantoms, the little man turned a complete somersault into an unrestrained Protestant frenzy. On November 4, 1850[a] he published the notorious "Letter to the Bishop of Durham", in which he assured the Bishop:

"I agree with you in considering the late aggression of the Pope upon our Protestantism as insolent and insidious, and I therefore feel as indignant as you can do upon this subject."

He speaks of "the laborious endeavours which are now making to confine the intellect and enslave the soul". He calls the Catholic ceremonies "mummeries of superstition, upon which the great mass of the nation looks with contempt", and he finally promises the Bishop to see to it that new laws are passed against the Papal usurpation should the old ones be inadequate. The same Lord John had declared in 1845, though then admittedly out of office:

"I believe that we may repeal those disallowing clauses which prevent a Roman Catholic Bishop from assuming a title held by a Bishop of the Established Church. Nothing can be more absurd and puerile than to keep such distinctions."[b]

In 1851 he presented his Ecclesiastical Titles Bill[286] in order to maintain these "absurd and puerile" distinctions. But having been defeated during the year by a combination of the Irish Brigade with the Peelites, Manchester Men,[287] etc.—on the occasion of Locke King's motion for the extension of the suffrage—his Protestant zeal evaporated and he promised an alteration of the Bill, which in fact came into the world stillborn.[c]

As his anti-Popery zeal was a false pretence, so was his Jewish Emancipation zeal. All the world knows that his Jewish Disabilities Bill[d] is an annual farce—bait to catch the votes which the Austrian Baron Rothschild commands in the City. A false pretence, too, were his anti-slavery declarations.

"Your [...] opposition," Lord Brougham writes to him, "to all the motions in favour of the Negroes, and your resistance even to the attempts for stopping the newly established slave trade, widened the breach between you and the country [...]. The fancy that you, the opposers of all the motions against the slave trade in 1838, the

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[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "just the day before the anniversary of Guy Fawkes"[285].—*Ed.*

[b] Russell's speech in the House of Commons on July 9, 1845.—*Ed.*

[c] This paragraph continues thus in the *New-York Daily Tribune*: "Some months later, being ejected from office, he fawned again on what he had called the Pope's minions."—*Ed.*

[d] Marx gives the name of the bill in English.—*Ed.*

enemies of every interference with the colonial Assemblies, which are composed of slave traders, should all of a sudden have become so enamoured of the Negro cause as almost to risk your tenure of place upon a bill for its furtherance in 1839, would argue a strange aptitude for being gulled [...]."[a]

False pretences, too, were his *legal reforms*. When Parliament passed a vote of no confidence on the Whig Cabinet in 1841, and with the imminent dissolution of the Commons boding little success, Russell attempted to rush a *Chancery Bill* through the House, in order to

"remedy one of the most urgent evils of our legal system, the delays in the Courts of Equity, by the creation of two new judges of equity" (judges whose guiding principle is not the letter of the law but equity, or fairness).[b]

Russell called this Bill of his "a large instalment of legal reform". His real intention was to smuggle two Whig sympathisers into the newly created posts, *before* the formation of a Tory Cabinet which was to be expected. Seeing through his game, Sir Edward Sugden (now Lord St. Leonards) moved an amendment that the Bill should not take effect until October 10 (that is *after* the opening of the newly elected Parliament).[c] Although not the slightest alteration had been made to the content of the Bill, regarded by Russell as so "urgent", he immediately withdrew it after the passing of the amendment. It had become a "farce" and had lost its point.[d]

Colonial reforms, educational schemes, the "liberties of the subject", public press and public meetings, enthusiasm for war and yearning for peace—all of them were but false pretences for Lord John Russell. The whole man is one false pretence, his whole life a lie, all his activity a continuous chain of petty intrigues for the achievement of shabby ends—the devouring of public money and the usurpation of the mere semblance of power. No one has ever illustrated more strikingly the truth of the biblical words that no man can add one cubit unto his stature.[e] Placed by birth, connections, and social accidents on a colossal pedestal, he always remained the same homunculus—a dwarf dancing on the tip of a pyramid. History has, perhaps, never exhibited any other man—so great in pettiness.

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[a] "Lord Brougham's Reply to Lord John Russell's Letter to the Electors of Stroud...", *The Times*, No. 17041, May 14, 1839.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English terms "Chancery Bill", "Courts of Equity", "judges of equity".—*Ed.*

[c] The words in brackets do not occur in the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

[d] The last sentence does not occur in the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

[e] Matthew, 6:27.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE LATE BIRMINGHAM CONFERENCE[288]

It is a great mistake to judge of the movement in England by the reports in the London press. Take, for instance, the late Birmingham Conference. The majority of the London newspapers did not even notice it, while the remainder contained only the meager intelligence of its having taken place. Yet what was this Conference? It was a public Congress composed of delegates from Birmingham, London, Huddersfield, Newcastle, Halifax, Sheffield, Leeds, Derby, Bradford, Nottingham and other places, convened to take the task of discussing the most important subject of the day—the foreign policy of England—out of the hands of an incapable and collapsing Parliament.

The movement, undoubtedly, had been instigated by the meetings addressed by Mr. Urquhart throughout the factory districts, and the distinguishing feature of the Conference just held at Birmingham was the harmonious working together of men from the middle and the laboring classes. The Conference divided itself into various Committees charged to report on the most prominent questions of British foreign policy. I have been favored with a detailed account of the proceedings and the documents connected therewith, of which I proceed to place the most characteristic before the readers of the *Tribune.* The first is a correspondence between the Secretary of the Conference and Lord Malmesbury, the Foreign Minister of Lord Derby, concerning the treaty on the Danish succession[289] of May 8, 1852. Lord Malmesbury writes[a]:

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[a] Instead of the preceding text the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "*London,* July 27. In contrast to the Administrative Reform Association, a *State Reform Association*[290] has been set up in London. It has included Ernest Jones and several other Chartist

"Sir: I have had the honor of receiving your invitation to attend the Birmingham Conference on the 17th, 18th and 19th July. It will not be in my power to do so. As you request me to furnish you with any useful information on the subject of the proposed subjects of inquiry, I do not hesitate to observe that your resolution passed on July 6, respecting the Danish treaty of 8th May, 1852, is founded on a totally erroneous view of the cases and facts. It is not true that the succession to Denmark, the Sound and Schleswig-Holstein, is secured to Russia by that treaty. Russia has obtained no right, present or prospective, that she did not possess before the treaty. There are now four male heirs to the crown of Denmark alive. The treaty prescribes that if their extinction should become universal, the high contracting parties—namely, Austria, Prussia, Russia, England, France and Sweden—shall engage to take into consideration any further proposition made to them by the King of Denmark[a] for securing the succession on the principle of the integrity of the Danish monarchy. Should this remote contingency occur, the contracting powers would therefore meet again to settle the Danish succession, and I leave you to judge whether the Five Powers who signed the treaty of 8th May with Russia are likely in such a case to determine that, as head of the house of Holstein-Gottorp, she should annex to her dominions the whole of the present Danish monarchy.

"I have the honor etc.

*Malmesbury.*"[b]

## The following is the answer of the Secretary to Lord Malmesbury's letter:

"My Lord: I am instructed by the Birmingham Conference to thank your lordship for your very important communication on the subject of the Danish Treaty. We gather from it that in the case of the expected failure of the four heirs

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leaders in its Committee. At a public meeting which it held the day before yesterday it declared its principal aim to be a reform of Parliament on the basis of universal suffrage.

"The *Birmingham Conference* closed its deliberations on July 23. It was attended by delegates from Huddersfield, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, London, Halifax, Sheffield, Leeds, Derby, Bradford, Nottingham and Birmingham, who convened in Birmingham to form a *judgment* on the *foreign policy* of the ruling class and its representatives in Cabinet and Parliament. As the *Birmingham Daily Press* notes, the *Chartists* 'had refrained from involvement in any organised movement for years, but not in this. They took part in it heart and soul because they felt that it pursued no interest hostile or alien to them, indeed no class interest at all'.

"Urquhart's presence in the factory districts undoubtedly gave the impulse to this remarkable conference, whose sittings he attended to the very end. As lack of time prevented us from making use of the invitation to attend the conference, we are now presenting in extracts some interesting documents from the printed report of the Conference, which has been sent to us. The venal London press suppresses or distorts the facts. The following correspondence took place between the Earl of *Malmesbury* and the Secretary of the Committee appointed by the Conference:".—*Ed.*

[a] Frederick VII.—*Ed.*

[b] This and the following document are quoted from *Birmingham Conference. Report of Committee on the Danish Treaty.—Ed.*

to the United Monarchy of Denmark, England and Russia are pledged to interfere between the King of Denmark on the one hand, and the several States of Denmark, Schleswig and Holstein on the other. We are at a loss to know by what right such an interference can be justified, and we cannot but think the fact of war with Russia ought to be taken advantage of in order to enable us to abstain from so immoral and illegal action. You give us to understand that you think the character of the six Powers is a security against the admission of Russia to the whole succession in right, first, of Holstein-Gottorp, and secondly, of the principle of the integrity of the monarchy. We are most anxious to learn from your lordship who will come in for the whole if Russia does not, and, if England did not mean Russia to come in for the whole, why did she not make Russia's renunciation of Holstein-Gottorp a condition of the treaty? As your lordship signed the treaty in question, it is to be presumed either that these questions are unanswerable, or that your lordship will be the person of all others, best able to give to them a satisfactory answer. I am, therefore, instructed to request that your lordship will be so kind as to answer these questions, and thus relieve us from a source of great uneasiness. I have the honor to be, etc.,

"*Langford.*"

The correspondence stops here—Lord Malmesbury not having felt inclined to go on. His Lordship's inability to answer those questions is, however, not without an excuse—the noble lord having found all points concerning the Danish Succession so well settled by Lord Palmerston's Protocol of July 4, 1850,[a] that the Treaty required indeed his mere signature.

The second document is the report of the committee appointed by the Conference, on the famous *Four Points.*[b] [291] I quote as follows[c]:

"In endeavoring to ascertain the character of the Four Points as the basis of peace, your Committee have considered the development given to them by the Conference at Vienna, the amount of support or opposition that each proposal for such development has received from the respective Powers, the time and the manner in which the Points were first laid down by the Cabinets of England and France, the source from which they originally sprang, and their relevance to the avowed object of the War—viz., the Independence and Integrity of the Ottoman Empire. We find their *source* in the following proposition, laid down in the

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[a] The final text of this Protocol was signed on August 2, 1850.—*Ed.*

[b] *Birmingham Conference. Report of Committee on the Proposed Bases of Pacification known as "The Four Points".* The quotations that follow are taken from that publication.—*Ed.*

[c] Instead of the last two paragraphs the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "The correspondence naturally stops here although his Lordship could have pointed out that his participation in this business was purely formal. Palmerston and Baron Brunnow had already signed the *Protocol* that laid down the clauses and principles of the future treaty.

"The Conference had formed various committees to inquire into and report on different matters. Most important of all is indisputably the *Memoir of the Committee on the Four Points*, from which we quote the most important passages:".—*Ed.*

dispatch of Count Nesselrode, of June 29, 1854, and headed, 'Consolidation of the Rights of the Christians in Turkey': 'Setting out from the idea that the civil rights to be obtained for all the Christian subjects of the Porte are inseparable from religious rights, as is stipulated by the Protocol—and would in fact become valueless to our co-religionists if, in acquiring new rights, they should lose their old ones—we have already declared, that, if this were the case, the demands made by the Emperor[a] on the Porte would be fulfilled, the cause of the dispute done away with, and his Majesty would be ready to give his concurrence to *a European guaranty for this privilege*.'

"This proposal, which is a proposal for the perpetual interference, not of one, but of five Powers, in the internal affairs of Turkey, was accepted on the part of England and France, in the shape of what is now known as the Fourth Point, couched in the following terms by Drouyn de Lhuys, in his dispatch of 22d of July, 1854, which was the reply to Count Nesselrode: 'That no Power shall claim the right to exercise any official protectorate over the subjects of the Sublime Porte, to whatever rights they may belong, but that France, Austria, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia, shall lend their mutual cooperation in order to obtain from the initiative of the Ottoman Government the consecration and observance of the religious privileges of the various Christian communities, and turn the generous intentions manifested by the Sultan[b] to the account of their various co-religionists, so that there shall not result therefrom any infringement of the dignity and independence of his crown.'

"The effect of the Fourth Point is to destroy the independence of the Ottoman Empire, which it is the avowed object of the war to defend, but its illegality consists in the fact that this proposed surrender has been made by England and France without the consent of Turkey, and persisted in by them in spite of Turkey's refusal to discuss the point at the Conference of Vienna. To use the words of Sidney Herbert, 'the matter is complicated by the fact that we are agreed with our enemy but not with our ally.'

"Had we been beaten in war by Russia and compelled to sue for peace we could not legally have made such a proposal on the part of another Power. In order to remove this illegality it would be necessary first for England and France to go over openly to Russia and to declare war against Turkey. As the Fourth Point is the surrender of the independence of Turkey, so the First Point is the surrender of her integrity; and, as in the Fourth Point, that surrender is made without the consent of the party concerned; such consent to the development of the First Point having been expressly reserved by the Turkish Plenipotentiary.

"We find that the separation of Wallachia, Moldavia and Servia from Turkey is concealed under the statement that they are still to be subject to the Porte.[...] The phrase, 'no exclusive protection shall in future be exercised over those provinces,' is developed in five succeeding articles, which put the Five Powers in the same condition with the Porte as Joint Suzerain, and receives its finishing stroke from the proposal made by France and England at the sixth meeting of the Conference, that Wallachia and Moldavia should be united in a single State, under a hereditary Prince chosen from one of the reigning families of Europe. But the infamy of this surrender, alike of the avowed purposes of England, and of the rights of our ally—Turkey—is enhanced by the fact that it was made at a time when the armies of Russia were compelled to evacuate the Turkish territory, without the smallest assistance from the forces of England and France. As the surrender of the integrity

[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

[b] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*

and independence of the Ottoman Empire was thus made before the expedition to Sevastopol, it follows that this expedition must have been intended for the purpose of enforcing that surrender—enforcing it upon Turkey by exhausting her resources, enforcing it upon England by representing it as a triumph over Russia. We find this last view of the matter supported by Mr. Gladstone when he pointed out that Russia refused the Four Points before the expedition to Sevastopol, and accepted them afterward. [...]

"We cannot for a moment suppose that the English Cabinet was not aware that by substituting Austrian for Turkish soldiers in Wallachia and Moldavia they were setting free the Russian army to support Sevastopol, nor is the supposition that this was a concession to Austria, made for the purpose of obtaining her adherence to the Turkish cause, a tenable proposition in the face of the two facts that the nominal objects of our interference [...] were already on the one hand secured by the Turkish victories over the Russians, and on the other hand surrendered by the terms of peace already offered to Russia in the fourth and first points.[a]

"The second point was the free navigation of the Danube. The interruption of the navigation of the Danube dates from the cession by Turkey to Russia, at the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829, of the delta of the Danube—a cession which was contrary to the Treaty of London of July 6, 1827, which bound Russia to acquire no Turkish territory.[292] The acquiescence of England in this violation of public law was defended by her desire for peace—a pretense which is at all instances inconsistent with the existing state of war. The cession of the Danubian delta to Turkey was an indispensable demand in any real war of England against Russia. [...] It has, on the contrary, been made a means of injury to Austria. At the fourth meeting of the Vienna Conference, held March 21, 1855, Baron Prokesch, the Austrian Plenipotentiary, having proposed that Russia should admit the neutrality of the Danubian delta, the Russian Plenipotentiary[b] said 'that they would not consent to an arrangement which had the appearance of an indirect expropriation'. Lord J. Russell did not support the very moderate proposal of Austria, and the question was settled on the 23d of March in favor of the continued possession by Russia of the Danubian delta. [...][c]

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[a] The passage beginning with the words "We find this last view" and ending with the words "in the fourth and first points" does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*. The rest of the German version of this article was published in the next issue of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, on July 31, 1855. It was introduced by the following words: "With reference to the second point the *Birmingham document* goes on to say:".—*Ed.*

[b] A. M. Gorchakov.—*Ed.*

[c] In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* there follows a passage from the same document which was omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune*: "After fully conceding this point to Russia, Lord John writes on the 12th April to Lord Clarendon:—'Count Buol told us he had not pressed the neutrality of the islands at the mouth of the Danube, as he was sure if he had done so, the Russian Minister would have broken up the conference...' On the 16th April, Lord John Russell telegraphed to Lord Clarendon that 'Austria will not support any demand for cession of territory;' and having first neglected to support Austria in the half measure of neutrality of the Delta, having then ascertained that she will not support the whole measure, namely, the cession of the Delta to Turkey, which had been put out of court by Lord John Russell's submission to Russia on the 23rd March, he then proposes to Lord Clarendon to demand 'The cession to Turkey of the islands at the mouth of the Danube surrendered by the treaty of Adrianople.'"—*Ed.*

"The Third Point is as follows: That the treaty of 1841[293] shall be revised by the high contracting powers in the interest of the European equilibrium, and in the sense of a limitation of Russian power in the Black Sea.

"To give sincerity and reality to the Third Point, it is necessary to divide it into two, and then correct the false terms of the Second Point. These two Points should be: First,the limitation of the power of Russia; second, the restoration of the rights of Turkey in the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus. Russia has not a natural preponderance in the Black Sea: she is not able to descend from Sevastopol and take possession of Constantinople and of Turkey; had she possessed this power she would have used it.[...] She must, therefore, have been withheld in the past, and can only continue to be withheld for the future by the impracticability of the undertaking. As a preparation for such an undertaking, she has robbed Turkey by treaty, not of her fair share of power in the Black Sea, but of the exclusive control of the Straits which command her capital in the Bosphorus, and which secure it at the Dardanelles. [...][a] For the restoration of the Sultan's exclusive control of the Straits, no stipulation was necessary; it reverts to him on the abrogation by the fact of war of the treaties by which it has been temporarily placed in abeyance. This simple view of the case has, however, not even been suggested at the Conference of Vienna. If we read the dispatch of 14th June, 1853, of Lord Clarendon to the Austrian Government, we shall find the reason in the words: *the just claims of Russia.* If the claims of Russia were just, and if England intended to support them, England should have declared war against Turkey. [...]"[b]

"With regard to the limitation of the power of Russia, your Committee would direct attention to the following memorable words of the Austrian plenipotentiary, Count Buol, in his letter of 20th May, 1855: 'In our opinion the joint efforts of the Allies should be directed to limiting the political power of Russia to such a point as to render the abuse of its material resources if not impossible, at least in the highest degree difficult. The diminution, nay, even the total destruction of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, would not of itself suffice to deprive Russia of the advantage which she derives from her geographical position with regard to Turkey.'

"Of all the delusions attempted by the English Government upon Parliament, the only one which has failed has been the proposal for limiting the naval power of Russia in the Black Sea.[...] Had the war been intended as announced—to protect the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire—the terms of peace offered to Russia would have been: 1. Cession to Turkey of the Danubian Delta, which *de jure* it still has; 2. indemnification by Russia of the expenses of the war. [...]"

The Committee wind up their report as follows:

"Your committee find it impossible to reconcile these facts with the innocence of the British Cabinet.[c] It would be a want of discernment to suppose that all the members of the Cabinet have been thoroughly cognizant of the nature of their conduct. One cannot however overlook the preeminence of the four Foreign Ministers, Lord Clarendon, Lord Aberdeen, Lord John Russell, and above all Lord Palmerston, whose aid in securing the recognition of the Treaty of Adrianople, the

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[a] The passage beginning with the words "Russia has not a natural preponderance" and ending with the words "secure it at the Dardanelles" does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.—Ed.*

[b] The last two sentences do not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.—Ed.*

[c] This sentence does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.—Ed.*

payment to Russia, even in time of war, of the Russo-Dutch loan, the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi and of the Dardanelles, and the Treaty of Balta-Liman,[294] and whose perfidy toward Poland, Hungary, Sicily and Italy, no less than his treachery toward France, Persia, Spain, and Denmark, point him out as the implacable enemy—not only of Turkey, but of every nation of Europe, the willing tool of Russia, and the master in the English Cabinet of those whom he has reduced to the condition of accomplices, and compelled previously to assist in the crimes which at first they wanted the intellect to detect, the honesty to resist, the courage to punish. In such punishment dealt out by the highest tribunal in the land, and with all the solemnities with which the ancient law and custom surrounded those impeached of high treason, your committee place their only hope of rescuing the people from the conspirators who have betrayed them to a foreign power."

Written on July 27 and 28, 1855

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Frederick Engels

## THE ARMIES OF EUROPE[295]

Written between late June and September 1855

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# PUTNAM'S MONTHLY.

## A Magazine of Literature, Science, and Art.

[FIRST ARTICLE]

[*Putnam's Monthly*, No. XXXII, August 1855]

The war raging on the shores of the Black Sea for the last two years, has called particular attention to the two millions of armed men kept in pay by Europe, even in the midst of peace, and destined, perhaps, to be very soon increased to twice that number; and if, as is all but certain, the war should continue, we may expect to see these four millions engaged in active operations, on a theater of war occupying, from sea to sea, the whole breadth of the European Continent.

For this reason, an account not only of the armies hitherto engaged in the Eastern conflict, but of the more important remaining armies of Europe as well, cannot be uninteresting to our readers, especially as, on this side of the Atlantic, nothing has fortunately ever been seen approaching, in any degree, the magnitude of even the second-rate armies of Europe; wherefore the organization of such bodies is but vaguely known to the non-professional public among us.

The jealousy which formerly surrounded the army of every power with mysterious secrecy, no longer exists.—Strange to say, even in countries the most adverse to publicity, where all departments of the civil administration remain, to the present day, enveloped in the darkness required by absolutism, the organization of the army is perfectly known to the public. Army lists are published, stating, not only the subdivision of the armed force in corps, divisions, brigades, regiments, battalions, and squadrons, but also the dislocations of these bodies, with the numbers and the names of the officers commanding them. Whenever great reviews take place, the presence of foreign officers is not only tolerated, but even courted, criticism is solicited, observations are exchanged,

the distinctive institutions and contrivances of each army are sagely discussed, and a publicity is established, which but too strangely contrasts with many other features in the same government. The actual secrets which a European war-ministry can contrive to keep to itself, are a few recipes for chemical compositions, such as rockets or fuses; and even these are found out very soon, or are superseded by the progress of invention; as, for instance, the British congreve-rocket composition, by Mr. Hale's war-rockets, adopted in the U.S. army, and now in the British army also.

This publicity causes, in time of peace, the various war-ministries of the civilized world to form, as it were, one large military committee, for the purpose of discussing the merit of all proposed innovations, and allowing each member to profit by the experience of all the remainder. Thus it has been brought about that the arrangements, organization and general economy of almost all European armies are nearly the same, and in this sense it may be said that one army is about as good as any other. But national character, historical tradition, and, above all things, different degrees of civilization, create as many diversities, and give to each army its peculiar points of excellence and weakness. The Frenchman and the Hungarian, the Englishman and the Italian, the Russian and the German, under certain circumstances, may be equally good and efficient soldiers; but, in spite of a uniform system of drill, which appears to level all distinctions, every one will be good in his own way, by virtue of qualities different from those possessed by his rivals.

This brings us to a question but too often mooted between the military patriots of different nationalities: Which are the best soldiers? Of course, every people is jealous of its own fame; and, in the opinion of the general public, fed by narratives which, whatever they may lack in critical exactness, are amply adorned with high patriotic coloring,—one regiment of its own can "lick" any two or three of any other nation. Military history, as a science in which a correct appreciation of facts is the only paramount consideration, is but of very recent date, and boasts as yet of a very limited literature. It is, however, an established branch of science, and more and more every day scatters to the winds, like chaff, the unblushing and stupid bluster which too long has characterized works calling themselves historical because they made a trade of distorting every fact they recounted. The time is past when, in writing the history of a war, people can continue that war, so to say, on their own account, and safely cannonade

the late enemy with dirt, after the conclusion of peace forbids them from cannonading him with iron.[296] And although many a minor point in military history remains still to be settled, yet thus much is certain, that there are none of the civilized nations which cannot boast of having, at some time or other, produced the best soldiers of their time. The German *Landsknechte* of the later middle ages, the Swiss soldiers of the sixteenth century, were for a period as invincible as the splendid Spanish soldiers, who succeeded them to the rank of "the first infantry of the world;" the French of Louis the Fourteenth, and the Austrians of Eugene disputed, for a while, with each other this post of honor, until the Prussians of Frederick the Great settled the question by defeating both of them; these, again, were hurled down into utter disrepute by a single blow at Jena,[297] and once more the French were universally acknowledged the first soldiers of Europe; at the same time, however, they could not prevent the English, in Spain, from proving themselves their superiors under certain circumstances and in certain moments of a battle.[298] No doubt, the legions which Napoleon led, in 1805, from the camp of Boulogne to Austerlitz,[299] were the finest troops of their time; no doubt Wellington knew what he said, when he called his soldiers at the conclusion of the Peninsular war "an army with which he could go any where, and do any thing;" and yet the flower of this Peninsular British army was defeated at New Orleans, by mere militia men and volunteers, without either drill or organization.[300]

The experience of all past campaigns, then, leads us to the same result; and every sensible old soldier, unbiassed by prejudice, will confirm it: that military qualities, both as regards bravery and aptitude for the work, are, upon the whole, pretty impartially distributed among the different nations of the world; that it is not so much the degree, as the special nature of the qualification, which distinguishes the soldiers of different nationalities; and that with the publicity established now-a-days in military matters, it is the assiduous application of thought, improvement, invention, to the military institutions and resources of a State, and the development of the military qualities specially distinguishing a nation, by which alone an army can be made, for a time, to rank foremost among its rivals. Thus we see, at once, what an advantage, in a military sense, a higher development of civilization gives to a country over its less advanced neighbors. As an example, we may mention that the Russian army, though distinguished by many soldier-like qualities of the first order, has never been able to establish a superiority over any army of civilized Europe. At

even chances, the Russians would fight desperately; but up to the present war, at least, they were sure to be beat, whether their opponents were French, Prussians, Poles, or English.

Before we consider the different armies separately, a few general remarks respecting them all are requisite.

An army, especially a large one of from three hundred thousand to five hundred thousand and more men, with all its necessary subdivisions, its different arms, and its requirements in men, material, and organization, is itself so complicated a body that the highest possible simplification becomes indispensable. There are so many inevitable varieties, that it might be expected they would not be increased by factitious and unmeaning variegations. Nevertheless, habit and that spirit of show and parade which is the bane of old armies, has complicated matters in almost every European army to an incredible degree.

The differences in size, strength, and temperament which are found, both in men and horses, in every country, necessitate a separation of light infantry and cavalry from heavy infantry and cavalry. To attempt to completely obliterate this separation, would be to mix up in one body individuals whose military qualifications are opposite by nature, and would, therefore, to a certain degree neutralize each other; thereby lessening the efficiency of the whole. Thus, either arm is naturally divided into two separate bodies—the one comprising the heavier and clumsier men (and horses respectively), destined principally for the great decisive charges, and the fight in closed ranks; the other forming the lighter, more active men, specially adapted for skirmishing, outpost and advanced guard duty, rapid maneuvers, and the like. So far, the subdivision is perfectly legitimate. But, in addition to this natural distribution, in almost every army, each subdivision is again subdivided into branches distinguished by nothing but fanciful distinctions of dress and by theoretical quibbles which are constantly contradicted by practice and experience.

Thus, in every European army there exists a corps called Guards, pretending to be the *élite* of the army, but which in reality merely consists of the biggest monsters of men that can be got hold of. The Russian and the English Guards are most distinguished in this respect; though no proof exists that they exceed in bravery and effectiveness the other regiments in either service. Napoleon's Old Guard was a far different institution; it was the actual *élite* of the army; and bodily size had nothing to do with its formation. But even this guard weakened the rest of the army, by absorbing its best elements, and consideration for such an

unrivaled corps led Napoleon, sometimes, into mistakes—as at Borodino,[301] where he did not bring the Guards forward at the decisive moment, and thereby missed the chance of preventing the Russian force from effecting their retreat in good order. The French have, beside their Imperial Guard, a sort of *élite* in every battalion, forming two companies—one of grenadiers, and the other of voltigeurs; thereby complicating the tactical evolutions of the battalion to an unnecessary degree. Other nations have similar corps. All these choice troops, beside their distinctive formation and dress, receive higher pay. It is said that such a system spurs the ambition of the private soldier, especially amongst excitable nations like the French and Italians; but the same object would be obtained, and perhaps more perfectly, if the men who had earned such distinctive marks should remain in the ranks of their respective companies, and were not made use of as a pretext for disturbing the tactical unity and symmetry of the battalion.

A still more striking humbug is practiced with regard to the cavalry. Here the distinction between light and heavy horse forms a pretext for subdivisions of all sorts—cuirassiers, dragoons, carabineers, lancers, chasseurs, hussars, and so on. All such subdivisions are not only useless, they are actually preposterous by the complications they cause. Hussars and lancers are imitated from the Hungarians and Poles; but in Hungary and Poland these arms have their sense—they were the national arms, and the dress of the troops carrying them was the national dress of the country. To imitate such peculiarities in other countries, where the national spirit is wanting that gave them life, is, to say the least of it, ridiculous; and well might, in 1814, the Hungarian hussar, when greeted with the title of "comrade" by a Russian hussar, reply, "No comrade—I hussar, you harlequin!" (*Nix camerad—ich husar, du hanswurst!*) Another such ridiculous institution, in almost all armies, is formed by the cuirassiers—men actually disabled, and disabling their horses, too, by the weight of their breast-plates (a French cuirass weighs twenty-two pounds), and, for all that, not protected by them from the effects of a rifle-ball fired at a hundred and fifty yards distance! The cuirass had been got rid of in almost all European armies, when Napoleon's love of show and of monarchical tradition re-introduced it among the French, and his example was soon followed by all the nations of Europe.

Beside our own little army, the Sardinian is the only one, among civilized nations, in which cavalry consists of plain light and heavy horse, without any further subdivision, and where the cuirass is completely done away with.

In the field artillery, a great complication of different calibers is found in every army. The English have the greatest diversity in theory, carrying eight calibers and twelve different models of guns; but in practice their enormous material allows them to reduce their artillery to great simplicity. In the Crimea, for instance, the nine-pounder and the twenty-four pound howitzer are almost the only calibers in use. The French have introduced, during the last few years, the greatest possible simplicity, by replacing their four different calibers by one, the light twelve-pound howitzer-gun, of which we shall speak in its place. In most other armies, from three to four calibers are still in existence, not counting the varieties of carriages, tumbrils, wheels, and the like.

The technical corps of the different armies, the engineers, and so on, to which we may add the staff, are organized in all armies upon a pretty similar footing, except that with the British, and to their great detriment, the staff does not form a separate corps at all. Other minor differences will be mentioned in their respective places.

We begin with that army which, from the organization it received during the revolution and under Napoleon, has served as a sort of model to all European armies since the beginning of this century.

## I. THE FRENCH ARMY

France had, when the present war broke out, one hundred regiments of infantry of the line (the 76th to 100th were, up to a recent date, called "light infantry," but their drill and organization was in no way distinguished from the line regiments). Each regiment counts three battalions, two field-battalions, and the third as a reserve. In time of war, however, the third battalion can be very soon organized for field duty, and a fourth battalion, formed by the extra dépôt company of each of the three battalions, undertakes the duties of the dépôt. This was done during the wars of Napoleon, who even formed fifth, and, in some instances, sixth battalions. For the present, however, we can only count three battalions per regiment. Each battalion has eight service-companies (one of grenadiers, one of voltigeurs, and six center-companies); and each company, on the war footing, counts three officers and one hundred and fifteen non-commissioned officers and soldiers. A French battalion of the line, therefore, amounts, on the war footing, to about nine hundred and sixty men, one-eighth of whom (the voltigeur company) are especially set apart for light infantry duty.

The special corps destined for light infantry service consist of the *chasseurs-à-pied* and of the African corps. The chasseurs, before the war, only ten battalions, were, in 1853, raised to twenty battalions, so that nearly every infantry division of the army (four regiments) can, on its formation, receive one chasseur battalion. These battalions count ten companies, or nearly 1,300 men. The troops specially destined for African service consist of: three regiments, containing nine battalions of Zouaves; two regiments, or six battalions, of the Foreign Legion; six battalions of light infantry (of which, three battalions native chasseurs), together twenty-one battalions, or about 22,000 men.

The cavalry is divided into four distinct portions:—

1. Heavy or Reserve Cavalry, 12 regiments—2 of carabineers (cuirassier rifles), 10 of cuirassiers=72 squadrons.
2. Cavalry of the line, 20 regiments—12 of dragoons, 8 of lancers=120 squadrons.
3. Light Cavalry, 21 regiments—12 chasseurs-à-cheval, 9 hussars=126 squadrons.
4. African light cavalry, 7 regiments—4 *Chasseurs d'Afrique,* 3 spahis=42 squadrons.

The squadrons are of 190 men for the reserve and line cavalry, and 200 men for the light cavalry—on the war footing. In time of peace, there are scarcely four squadrons of 120 men fully equipped, so that, on every mobilization of the army, a great number of men on furlough have to be called in, and the horses for them to be found, which, in a country as poor in horses as France, can never be done without a large importation from abroad.

The artillery, as recently reorganized, is formed in seventeen regiments: five of foot-artillery, for garrison and siege duty; seven of the line (for service with the infantry divisions); four of horse-artillery, and one of pontoniers. The foot-artillery appear to be destined to act in the field on emergencies only. The artillery of the line have their gun-carriages and limbers constructed so that the gunners can ride on them during quick movements. The horse-artillery is organized as in other services. The line and horse-artillery count one hundred and thirty-seven batteries, of six guns each, to which sixty batteries of the foot-artillery may be added as a reserve, altogether, 1,182 guns.

Beside the above, the artillery comprises thirteen companies of workmen.

The special services of the army comprise:—A general staff of 560 officers; staffs for the fortresses, the artillery, and the engineers, of about 1,200 officers; three regiments of sappers and miners; five pack squadrons; five train squadrons; 1,187 medical officers, and so on. The total numbers are as follows:

*Infantry*

| | |
|---|---|
| Line, 300 bat's and 300 dépôt comp's, | 335,000 |
| Chasseurs, 20 battalions, | 26,000 |
| African troops, 21 battalions, | 22,000 |
| | 383,000 |

*Cavalry*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Reserve, | 72 sq. and | 12 dépôts, | 16,300 | |
| Line, | 120 " | 20 " | 28,400 | |
| Light, | 126 " | 21 " | 31,300 | |
| African, | 42 " | | 10,000 | 86,000 |
| *Artil'y and special corps* | | | 1,200 guns and | 70,000 |
| | | | 1,200 guns and | 539,000 |

To these are to be added the newly formed Guard[302] in the strength of one division of infantry (two regiments of grenadiers, two of voltigeurs), one brigade of cavalry (one regiment of cuirassiers, one of guides), one battalion of chasseurs, and four or five batteries of artillery; as well as 25,000 men of the gendarmerie, 14,000 of whom are horse gendarmes. Two more regiments of infantry, the 101st and 102d, have recently been formed, and a new brigade of the foreign legion (Swiss) is in course of formation. Altogether, therefore, the French army, in its present organization, contains the cadres for about 600,000 men, and this will be a pretty correct estimate of its present strength.

The army is recruited by ballot, among all young men who have reached their twentieth year. It is presumed that about 140,000 men are annually available, of which number, however, in time of peace, from 60,000 to 80,000 only are taken for service. The remainder may be called in at any time during the eight years following their ballot. A great number of soldiers, besides, are dismissed on long furloughs during peace, so that the actual time of service, even of those called in, does not exceed from four to

five years. This system, while it gives the troops actually serving a high degree of efficiency, does not prepare any drilled reserves for a case of emergency. A great continental war, in which France would have to act with two or three large armies, would force her, even in the second campaign, to bring into the field many raw levies, and would show, in the third campaign, a very sensible deterioration of the army. The French are, indeed, very handy at learning the trade of a soldier, but, in that case, why keep up the long period of service, which excludes the greater portion of the available young men from the benefit of a school of military instruction?

Wherever military service is both compulsory and of long duration, the necessity of European society has introduced the privilege, for the wealthier classes, of buying off by a money-payment, in some shape or other, the obligation to serve personally. Thus, in France, the system of finding substitutes is legally recognized,[303] and about eighty thousand of these are constantly serving in the French army. They are mostly recruited from what are called the "dangerous classes;" they are rather difficult to handle, but, when once broken in, form capital soldiers. They require a very strict discipline to keep them in good behavior; and their notions of order and subordination are sometimes rather extravagant. Wherever there are large numbers of them in a regiment, they are sure to cause difficulties in a garrison. For this reason, it is thought that the best place for them is before the enemy, and, thus, the light troops of Africa are especially recruited from them; for instance, the Zouaves, who almost all entered the army as "remplaçants." The Crimean campaign has fully shown that the Zouaves carry their African habits everywhere—their love of plunder, as well as their unruly conduct in adversity, and it is, perhaps, in this sense that a kindred genius, the late Marshal St. Arnaud, said, in his bulletin on the battle of the Alma,[304] "The Zouaves are, indeed, the first soldiers of the world!"[a]

The equipment of the French army is, upon the whole, first-rate. The arms are well constructed, and, especially the cavalry saber, of a very good model, though, perhaps, it is a little too long. The infantry are accoutred according to the new system which was introduced, at the same time, in France and Prussia; by

[a] A. de Saint-Arnaud, "Au quartier général à Alma. Champ de bataille d'Alma, le 21 septembre 1854", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 280, October 7, 1854.—*Ed.*

it, the cross-belts, for pouch and sword, or bayonet, are done away with; both are worn on a belt round the waist, supported by two leather braces over the shoulders, while the knapsack is loosely worn over the shoulders by two straps, without the old-fashioned connecting strap across the chest. Thus, the chest is left entirely free, and the soldier becomes a different man altogether from the unfortunate being strapped and buckled up in the sort of leather cuirass in which the old system confined him. The dress is plain, but tasteful; it must, indeed, be admitted that, in military, as well as in civilian fashions, the French have showed more taste than any other nation. A blue tunic, or frock-coat, covering the thighs to the knees, with a low standing collar cut out in front, scarlet trowsers, moderately wide, a light *képi*, the most soldier-like headgear yet invented, shoes and gaiters, and a comfortable gray capote, form an outfit as simple and efficient as any known in European armies. In Africa, the head is protected from the rays of the sun by a white flannel capote, and flannel under-clothing is also served out to the troops. In the Crimea, heavy cloth capotes were worn during the last winter, covering the head, neck and shoulders. The *chasseurs-à-pied* are clothed all in gray, with green facings; the Zouaves have a sort of Turkish fancy costume, which appears well adapted to the climate and the duty they have to do. The Chasseurs, and some other African battalions, are armed with the Minié rifle, the remainder of the infantry, with plain percussion muskets. There appears to be, however, an intention to increase the proportion of the troops armed with rifled muskets.

The cavalry are a fine-looking class of men, lighter in weight than in many other armies, but none the worse for that. In the peace establishment, they are, upon the whole, passably well horsed by animals procured abroad, or from the horse-breeding establishments of the government, and the districts where they have succeeded in improving the native breed, which, until lately, was very poor. But, in case of war, when the number of horses has to be suddenly doubled, the resources of the country are altogether insufficient, and thousands of horses have to be bought abroad, many of which are scarcely fit for cavalry service. Thus, in any long war, the French cavalry will soon be deteriorated, unless the government can lay its hands on the resources of countries rich in horses, as it did in 1805, '6, and '7.

The artillery are now armed exclusively with the new light twelve-pound gun, the so-called invention of Louis Napoleon. But, as the light twelve pounder, adapted for a charge one quarter the

weight of the ball, already existed in the English and Dutch armies, as the Belgians had already done away with the chamber in their howitzers, and as both Prussians and Austrians are in the habit, in certain cases, of firing shells from common twelve and twenty-four-pound guns, the pretended invention reduces itself to the adaptation of this light twelve pounder to the common French eight pounder carriage. However, the French artillery has evidently gained in simplicity and efficiency by the change; whether its mobility has not suffered, remains to be seen; as also, whether the twelve pounder will be found efficient enough for hollow shot. We have, at least, seen it stated that it has already been found necessary to forward howitzers of a heavier caliber to the army in the East.

The tactical regulations of the French army are a strange compound of soldierly sense and old-fashioned traditions. There is, perhaps, no language better adapted for the short, distinct, dictatorial military word of command, than the French; yet the command is generally given with an excessive prolixity of words—where two or three words would be sufficient, the officer has to shout out a whole sentence, or even two. The maneuvers are complicated, and the drill contains a good deal of old-fashioned nonsense, quite inapplicable to the present state of tactics. In skirmishing, that very function which appears innate to the Frenchman, the men are drilled with a pedantry hardly surpassed in Russia. The same is true in some of the cavalry and artillery maneuvers. But whenever the French have to go to war, the necessity of the case very soon dispenses with these antiquated and pedantic maneuvers; and new tactical methods, suited to new situations, are arranged and introduced by nobody so quickly as by the French.

Upon the whole, light troop duty is the *forte* of the French. They are literally the lightest troops in Europe. Nowhere is the average bodily size of the army so low as in France. In 1836, of about 80,000 men in the French army, only 743 were five feet eight inches or above; and only *seven* measured six feet; while full 38,000 measured from four feet ten and a half inches to five feet two inches! And yet these little men not only fight exceedingly well, but they also stand the heaviest fatigues, and beat, in agility, almost every other army. General Napier maintains that the British soldier is the heaviest laden fighting animal in the world; but he had never seen these French African campaigners carry, beside their arms and personal baggage, tents, firewood, provisions, heaped up on their backs to a hight far overtowering their

shakos, and thus march thirty or forty miles in a day, under a tropical sun. And then compare the big, clumsy British soldier, who, in time of peace, measures five feet six inches, at least, with the puny, short-legged, tailor-like Frenchman, of four feet ten! And still, the little Frenchman, under all his load, remains a capital light-infantry-man; skirmishes, trots, gallops, lies down, jumps up, all the while loading, firing, advancing, retiring, dispersing, rallying, re-forming, and displays not only twice as much agility, but also twice as much intelligence as his bony competitor from the island of "rosbif." This light-infantry service has been brought to perfection in the twenty battalions of *chasseurs-à-pied.* These incomparable troops, incomparable for their peculiar service, are drilled to make every movement, when within range of the enemy, in a sort of easy trot, called *pas gymnastique,* in which they make between one hundred and sixty and one hundred and eighty paces per minute. But not only can they run, with short intervals, for half an hour and more, but creeping, jumping, climbing, swimming, every movement that can possibly be required, are equally familiar to them, while they are first-rate riflemen. Who, at even odds, can hold out, in skirmishing fights, against these dead shots, finding shelter behind the least inequality of ground?

As to the action of the French infantry in masses, their passionate character gives them great advantages with great disadvantages. Generally, their first charge will be business-like, rapid, determined, if not furious. If successful, nothing can resist them. If defeated, they will soon rally, and be in a position to be again brought forward; but, in an unfortunate or even chequered campaign, French infantry will soon lose its solidity. Success is a necessary element to all armies, but especially to those of the Romano-Celtic race. The Teutonic race has, in this respect, a decided superiority over them. The French, when Napoleon had once put them on the track, could, for fifteen years, overthrow everything before them, until reverses broke them down; but a seven years' war,[305] such as Frederick the Great carried through, a war where often enough he was on the brink of ruin, often defeated, and yet finally victorious—such a war could never be won with French troops. The war in Spain, 1809-14, affords a conclusive example on this head.

Under Napoleon, the French cavalry were, in contrast to the infantry, far more renowned for their action in masses than for their duty as light troops. They were deemed irresistible, and even Napier admits their superiority over the English cavalry of that

day.[a] Wellington, to a certain degree, did the same. And strange to say, this irresistible cavalry consisted of such inferior horsemen, that all their charges were made in a trot, or, at the very outside, an easy canter! But they rode close together, and they were never launched except when the artillery, by a heavy fire, had prepared the way for them; and then in large masses only. Bravery and the flush of victory did the rest. The present French cavalry, especially the Algerian regiments, are very fine troops, good riders in general, and still better fencers; though, in horsemanship, they are still inferior to the British, Prussians, and, especially, the Austrians. But as the army, when placed on a war-footing, must double its cavalry, there is no doubt the quality will be deteriorated; it is, however, a fact, that the French possess, in a high degree, that essential quality of a horse-soldier which we call *dash,* and which makes up for a great many deficiencies. On the other hand, no soldiers are so careless of their horses as the French.

The French artillery has always ranked very high. Almost all improvements made in gunnery, during the last three or four centuries, have originated with the French. During the Napoleonic wars, the French artillery were especially formidable by their great skill in selecting positions for their guns, an art then but imperfectly understood in other armies. All testimony agrees that none equaled the French in placing their guns so that the ground in front, while covering them from the enemy's fire, was favorable to the effect of their own. The theoretical branch of artillery has also been constantly a favorite science with the French; their mathematical turn of mind favors this; and the precision of language, the scientific method, the soundness of views, which characterize their artilleristic literature, show how much this branch of science is adapted to the national genius.

Of the special corps, the engineers, staff, sanitary and transport corps, we can merely say that they are highly efficient. The military schools are models of their kind. The French officer is not required to have that general education which is expected in Prussia; but the schools he has to pass through furnish him with a first rate professional training, including a thorough knowledge of the auxiliary sciences, and a certain proficiency in at least one living language. There is, however, another class of officers in the French army, viz., that selected from old non-commissioned officers. These latter seldom advance higher than to a captaincy,

[a] W. F. P. Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula...,* Vol. III, p. 272.—*Ed.*

so that the French often have young generals and old captains; and this system answers exceedingly well.

Upon the whole, the French army shows, in all its features, that it belongs to a warlike and spirited nation, that feels a pride in its defenders. That the discipline and the efficiency of this army have overcome the seductions laid out for it by Louis Bonaparte, and that the Pretorians of December, 1851,[a] could so soon be turned into the heroes of the Crimea, certainly speaks highly to their credit. Never was an army more flattered, more courted by a government, more openly solicited to all sorts of excesses than the French in the autumn of 1851; never were they allowed such license as during the civil war of December; yet they have returned to discipline and do their duty very well. The Pretorian element, it is true, has, several times, risen to the surface in the Crimea, but Canrobert always succeeded in quelling it.

## II. THE ENGLISH ARMY[306]

The British army forms a complete contrast to the French. There are not two points of similarity between them. Where the French are strong, there the British are weak, and *vice versa.* Like old England herself, a mass of rampant abuses, the organization of the English army is rotten to the core. Everything seems to be arranged so as to prevent all possibility of the end aimed at ever being attained. By an inexplicable haphazard, the boldest improvements—though few, indeed—take their stand in the midst of a heap of superannuated imbecility; and yet, whenever the clumsy, creaking machine is set to work, it somehow or other manages to do its duty.

The organization of the British army is soon described. Of infantry there are three regiments of guards, eighty-five regiments of the line, thirteen regiments of light infantry, two regiments of rifles. During the present war, the guards, the rifles, and a few other regiments have three battalions, the remainder have two—a dépôt being formed by one company in each. The recruiting, however, is hardly sufficient to fill up the vacancies caused by the war, and so the second battalions can scarcely be said to be in existence. The present effective total of the infantry does certainly not exceed 120,000 men.

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[a] I.e., the troops that took part in the Bonapartist *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851.—*Ed.*

Beside the regular troops, the militia form part of the infantry as a sort of reserve or nursery for the army. Their number, according to act of Parliament,[a] may come up to 80,000, but they cannot now number more than 60,000, although, in Lancashire alone, there are six battalions called out. As the law stands at present, the militia may volunteer to serve in the Colonies, but cannot be conducted to foreign theaters of war. They can, therefore, only serve to set free the line-soldiers who garrison Corfu, Malta and Gibraltar, or, perhaps, hereafter, some of the more distant settlements.

Of cavalry there are three regiments of guards (cuirassiers), six of dragoon guards (heavies), four of heavy dragoons, four of light dragoons, five of hussars, and four of lancers. Each regiment is to be raised, on the war-footing, to 1,000 sabers (four squadrons of two hundred and fifty men, beside a dépôt). Some regiments did go out with this strength, but the disasters of the Crimea in winter, the senseless charge at Balaklava,[307] and the dearth of recruits have re-established, on the whole, the old peace-footing. We do not think that the whole of the twenty-six regiments amount, at this moment, to 10,000 sabers, or 400 sabers per regiment, on an average.

The artillery consists of the regiment of foot-artillery (twelve battalions, with ninety-six batteries), and the brigade of horse artillery (seven batteries and one rocket-battery). Each battery has five guns and one howitzer; the calibers of the guns are three, six, nine, twelve, and eighteen pounders, those of the howitzers four and two-fifth inches, four and a half inches, five and a half inches, and eight inches. Each battery, also, has two models of guns, of almost every caliber, heavy and light ones. In reality, however, the light nine pounder and twelve pounder, with four and a half inch and five and a half inch howitzer, form the field-calibers, and, upon the whole, the nine pounder may now be said to be the universally adopted gun of the British artillery, with the four and a half inch (twelve pounder) howitzer as an auxiliary. Beside these, six pounder and twelve pounder rockets are in use.

As the English army, on its peace establishment, forms but a cadre for the war-footing, and as it is recruited entirely by voluntary enlistment, its real force, at a given moment, can never be precisely stated. We believe, however, we may estimate its present strength at about 120,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 12,000 artillery, with about 600 guns (of which, not one-fifth part

[a] The 1852 act of Parliament on the militia.— *Ed.*

are horsed). Of these 142,000 men, about 32,000 are in the Crimea, about 50,000 in India and the Colonies, and the remaining 60,000 (of whom one-half are raw recruits, the other half drilling them) at home. To these are to be added about 60,000 militia men. The pensioners, yeomanry cavalry, and other useless corps, not available for service abroad, we do not count at all.

The system of recruiting by voluntary enlistment, makes it very difficult, in time of war, to keep up the efficiency of the army, and this the English are now, again, experiencing. We see again, as under Wellington, that 30,000 or 40,000 men is the very outside of what they can concentrate and keep up on a given theater of war; and as, now, they have not Spaniards for their allies but French, the "heroic little band" of Britishers almost disappears in the midst of the allied army.

There is one institution in the British army which is perfectly sufficient to characterize the class from which the British soldier is recruited. It is the punishment of flogging. Corporal punishment does not exist in the French, the Prussian, and several of the minor armies. Even in Austria, where the greater part of the recruits consist of semi-barbarians, there is an evident desire to do away with it; thus the punishment of running the gauntlet has recently been struck out from the Austrian military code. In England, on the contrary, the cat-o'-nine-tails is maintained in its full efficiency—an instrument of torture fully equal to the Russian knout in its most palmy time. Strange to say, whenever a reform of the military code has been mooted in Parliament, the old martinets have stuck up for the cat, and nobody more zealously than old Wellington himself. To them, an unflogged soldier was a monstrously misplaced being. Bravery, discipline, and invincibility, in their eyes, were the exclusive qualities of men bearing the scars of at least fifty lashes on their backs.

The cat-o'-nine-tails, it must not be forgotten, is not only an instrument calculated to inflict pain; it leaves indelible scars, it marks a man for life, it brands him. Now, even in the British army, such corporal punishment, such branding, really amounts to an everlasting disgrace. The flogged man loses caste with his fellow soldiers. But, according to the British military code, punishment, before the enemy, consists almost exclusively in flogging; and thus, the very punishment which is said, by its advocates, to be the only means of keeping up discipline in cases of great urgency, is the means of ruining discipline by destroying the *morale* and the *point d'honneur* of the soldier.

This explains two very curious facts: first, the great number of English deserters before Sebastopol. In winter, when the British soldiers had to make superhuman exertions to guard the trenches, those who could not keep awake for forty-eight or sixty hours together, were flogged! The idea of flogging such heroes as the British soldiers had proved themselves in the trenches before Sebastopol, and in winning the day of Inkermann[308] in spite of their generals! But the articles of war left no choice. The best men in the army, when overpowered by fatigue, got flogged, and, dishonored as they were, they deserted to the Russians. Surely there can be no more powerful condemnation of the flogging system than this. In no former war have troops of any nation deserted in numbers to the Russians; they knew that they would be treated worse than at home. It was reserved to the British army to furnish the first strong contingent of such deserters, and, according to the testimony of the English themselves, it was flogging that made the men desert. The other fact is, the signal failure of the attempt to raise a foreign legion under the British military code. The Continentals are rather particular about their backs. The prospect of getting flogged has overcome the temptation of the high bounty, and good pay. Up to the end of June, not more than one thousand men had enlisted, where fifteen thousand were wanted; and this much is certain, if the authorities attempt to introduce flogging even among these one thousand reprobates, they will have to encounter a storm which will force them either to give way, or to dissolve the foreign legion at once.

The dress and equipments of the British soldiers are a model of what they should not be. Up to the present time, the dress in common wear is the same as armies used to wear as long ago as 1815. No improvement has been admitted. The old swallow-tail coatee, disfigured by ugly facings, still distinguishes the British from every other soldier. The trowsers are tight, and uncomfortable. The old cross-belt system for fixing bayonet-scabbard, pouch and knapsack, reigns supreme in almost all regiments. The cavalry wear a better fitting dress than the infantry, and far superior; but, for all that, it is much too tight and inconvenient. Besides, the English are the only nation who have maintained in their army the red coat, the "proud red coat" as Napier calls it. This coat, which makes their soldiers look like dressed-up monkeys, is supposed by its brilliancy to strike terror into the enemy. But alas, whoever has seen any of the brick-colored British infantry must confess that their coats, after four weeks' wear, inspire every looker-on with an

incontrovertible idea, not of frightfulness, but of shabbiness, and that any other color would be far more terror-inspiring, if it only could stand dust, dirt, and wet. The Danes and Hanoverians used to wear the red coat, but they dropped it very soon. The first campaign in Schleswig proved to the Danes what a capital mark to the enemy is offered by a red coat and white cross-belts.

The new dress-regulation has brought forward a red coat of the cut of the Prussian coat. The infantry wear the Austrian shako, or the képi; the cavalry the Prussian helmet. The cross-belt accoutrements, the red color, the tight trowsers, are more or less maintained. Thus, the improvement amounts to nothing; and the British soldier will only look as strange as ever in the midst of the other European armies, dressed and accoutred, as they are, a little more in accordance with common sense.

Nevertheless, one improvement has been carried out in the British army, which far surpasses anything that has been done in other countries. This is, the arming of the whole of the infantry with the Minié rifle, as improved by Pritchett. How the old men, at the head of the army, men generally so obstinate in their prejudices, could come to so bold a resolution, it is difficult to imagine; but they did it, and thus doubled the efficiency of their infantry. At Inkermann, there is no doubt that the Minié rifle, by its deadly certainty of aim and great power, decided the day in favor of the English. Whenever an English line of infantry delivers its fire, the effect must be overpowering to any enemy armed with the common musket, for the English Minié rifle loads as quickly as any smoothbored gun.

The cavalry are fine men, well horsed, armed with swords of a very good model; and what they can do, they have shown at Balaklava. But, on the whole, the men are too heavy for their horses, and, therefore, a few months of active campaigning must reduce the British cavalry to nothing. The Crimea has given us a fresh example of this. If the standard for heavy cavalry was reduced to five feet six inches, and for light cavalry to five feet four or, even, two inches, as, we believe, it is now for the infantry, a body of men might be formed far more suitable for their actual field duties. But, as it is, the horses are too heavily loaded, and must break down before they can be used, with effect, against the enemy.

The artillery, too, is composed of taller men than it should be. The natural standard of size for an artilleryman is, that he should be big enough to unlimber a twelve pound gun, and five feet two to five feet six inches are ample for this purpose, as we know from

abundant personal experience[309] and observation. In fact, men of about five feet five, or six, inches, if stoutly made, are, generally, the best handlers of guns. But the British want a crack corps, and their men, therefore, though tall and elegant to look at, lack that compactness of body which is so necessary to a really useful artilleryman. Their artillery material is first-rate. The guns are the best in Europe, the powder is acknowledged to be the strongest in the world, the shot and shell are of a smoothness of surface unknown anywhere else. But, for all that, no guns in the world have as much windage, and this shows by what sort of men they are commanded. There is hardly an artillery in Europe officered by men of so deficient professional education as the British. Their information very seldom goes beyond the mere elements of the science of artillery, and, in practice, the handling of field-guns is as much as they understand, and that but imperfectly. Two qualities, in both officers and men, distinguish the British artillery: uncommonly good eye-sight, and great calmness in action.[a]

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[a] In the German version of this section, published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* of September 1, 1855 under the title "Dress and Equipments of the British Soldier", the text of the last five paragraphs is given in a condensed and altered form: "The dress and equipments of the British soldiers are a model of what they should not be. Up to the present time, the dress in common wear is the same as the army used to wear up to 1815, altered but superficially by a new dress-regulation which gave the red coat a Prussian cut, the infantry the Austrian shako, or the képi, and the cavalry the Prussian helmet. Britain alone has maintained in her army the red coat, the 'proud red coat' as Napier calls it. The Danes and Hanoverians used to wear the red coat. The first campaign in Schleswig proved to the Danes what a capital mark it offered to the enemy.

"Nevertheless, one improvement has been carried out in the British army, which far surpasses anything that has been done in other countries. This is, the arming of the whole of the infantry with the Minié rifle, as improved by Pritchett. There is no doubt that at Inkerman the Minié rifle, by its deadly certainty of aim, decided the day in favour of the English.

"The cavalry are fine men, well horsed, armed with swords of a very good model; and what they can do, they have shown at Balaklava. But, on the whole, the men are too heavy for their horses, and, therefore, a few months of active campaigning must reduce the British cavalry to nothing. As the horses are too heavily loaded, they must break down before they can be used, with effect, against the enemy. The Crimea has given us a fresh example of this.

"The artillery, too, is composed of taller men than it should be. The artillery material is first-rate. The guns are the best in Europe, the powder is acknowledged to be the strongest in the world, the shot and shell are of a smoothness of surface not to be found anywhere else. The artillery material is the product of modern, industrial England, whereas the artillery officers are the product of old England. The former, therefore, is just as much above the level of the European armies as the latter are below it. Their education in most cases does not go beyond the mere elements of the science of artillery, and, in practice, the handling of field-guns is as

Upon the whole, the efficiency of the British army is sorely impaired, by the ignorance, both theoretical and practical, of the officers. The examination which they are now expected to undergo, is actually ridiculous—a captain examined on the first three books of Euclid[a]! But the British army is mainly instituted for the stowing away, in respectable situations, of the younger sons of the aristocracy and gentry, and the standard of education for its officers must, therefore, be regulated, not by the requirements of the service, but by what little information is commonly expected in an English "gentleman." As to the practical military knowledge of the officer, it is equally insufficient. The British officer believes he has only one duty to perform: to lead his men, on the day of battle, straight against the enemy, and to give them an example of bravery. Skill in handling troops, seizing favorable opportunities, and the like, is not expected from him; and as to looking after his men and their wants, why, such a thing hardly ever enters his head. One half of the disasters of the British in the Crimea arose from this universal incapacity of the officers. They have, however, one quality which fits them for their functions: being, most of them, passionate huntsmen, they possess that instinctive and rapid appreciation of advantages of ground, which the practice of hunting is sure to impart.

The incompetence of the officers nowhere creates greater mischief than on the staff. As no regularly educated staff-corps exists, every general forms his own staff from regimental officers, ignorant of every part of their duty.[b] Such a staff is worse than none. Reconnoitering, especially, is always done in a slovenly manner, as it must be, when done by men who know little of what is expected from them.

The education of the other special corps is rather better, but far below the standard in other nations; and, in general, an English officer would pass as an ignoramus amongst men of his class in any other country. Witness the military literature of the British. Not a work hardly, but is full of blunders which would not be

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much as they understand, and that but imperfectly. Two qualities, in both officers and men, distinguish the British artillery: uncommonly good eye-sight, and great calmness in action."—*Ed.*

[a] The reference is to Euclid's *Elements,* a work in 13 books which sets forth the fundamentals of ancient mathematics.—*Ed.*

[b] The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "...every general forms his own staff from his relations and protégés among the regimental officers without the least regard for special knowledge".—*Ed.*

forgiven anywhere else, to a candidate for a lieutenancy. Every statement of facts is given in a slovenly, unbusiness-like, and unsoldier-like manner, leaving out the most important points, and showing, at once, that the writer does not know his business.[a] The consequence is, that the most ridiculous statements of foreign books are credited at once.* We must, however, not forget to state that there are some honorable exceptions, amongst which W. Napier's "Peninsular War," and Howard Douglas's "Naval Gunnery," rank foremost.[c]

The administrative, medical, commissariat, transport, and other accessory departments are in a deplorable state, and have experienced a thorough breakdown when put to the test in the Crimea.[d] Efforts are made to improve them, as, also, to centralize the administration, but little good can be expected while the civil administration, and, in fact, the entire governing power, remains altogether the same.

With all these enormous drawbacks, the British army manages to hobble through every campaign, if not with success, yet without disgrace. There is a loss of life, a deal of mismanagement, a compound of blunders which astonish us when compared with the state of other armies under the same circumstances; yet there is no loss of military honor, there is seldom a repulse, almost never a complete defeat. It is the great personal bravery and tenacity of the troops, their discipline and implicit obedience, which bring this about. Clumsy, unintelligent, and helpless as the British soldier is when thrown upon his own resources, or when called upon to do the duty of light troops, nobody surpasses him in a pitched battle where he acts in masses. His *forte* is the action in line. An English line of battle will do what has scarcely ever been done by other infantry: receive cavalry *in line*, keep their muskets charged to the last moment, and fire a volley when the enemy is at thirty yards,

* As an instance, we refer to the work on fire-arms by Col. Chesney,[b] who is considered one of the best artillery officers in Great Britain.

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[a] This sentence does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

[b] F. R. Chesney, *Observations on the Past and Present State of Fire-Arms*.... In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* the words "now General" are added in brackets after "Col."—*Ed.*

[c] W. F. P. Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula*...; H. Douglas, *A Treatise on Naval Gunnery*....—*Ed.*

[d] Instead of this sentence the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "Earlier we repeatedly pointed to the lamentable state of the commissariat, transport and other accessory departments. They experienced a thorough breakdown during the Crimean campaign."—*Ed.*

and in almost every instance with perfect success. The fire of British infantry is delivered with such a coolness, even in the most critical position, that it surpasses, in effect, that of any other troops. Thus, the Highlanders, *in line,* repulsed the Russian cavalry at Balaklava. The indomitable tenacity of this infantry was never shown to greater advantage than at Inkermann, where the French, under the same circumstances, would certainly have been overwhelmed; but, on the other hand, the French would never have allowed themselves to be surprised, unguarded, in such a position. This solidity and tenacity in attack and defense, form the great redeeming quality of the British army, and have alone saved it from many a defeat, well-merited and all but intentionally prepared by the incapacity of its officers, the absurdity of its administration, and the clumsiness of its movements.

## III. THE AUSTRIAN ARMY

Austria profited by the first moments of repose after her severe trials in 1848 and 1849, to reorganize her army upon a modern footing. Almost every department has been completely reformed, and the army is now far more efficient than ever.

First comes the infantry. The line consists of sixty-two regiments, beside which there are one regiment and twenty-five battalions of rifles, and fourteen regiments and one battalion of frontier-infantry. The latter, with the rifles, make up the light infantry.

An infantry regiment of the line consists of five field and one dépôt battalion—together thirty-two companies—of which the field companies count 220 men, and the dépôt companies 130 men. Thus, the field battalion numbers about 1,300 men, and the whole regiment nearly 6,000 men, or as many as a British division. The whole line, therefore, on the war-footing, is about 370,000 strong.

The frontier infantry have per regiment, two field and one dépôt battalion, together sixteen companies; in all, 3,850 men: the whole frontier infantry comprises 55,000 men.

The chasseurs, or rifles, count in all thirty-two battalions, of about 1,000 men each: total, 32,000 men.

In cavalry, the army has, of heavies: eight regiments of cuirassiers, and eight of dragoons; of light horse: twelve of hussars, and twelve of lancers (seven of which were formerly light dragoons, or *chevau-légers,* but have been, latterly, turned into lancers).

The heavy regiments count six squadrons, beside one dépôt—the light ones eight squadrons, and one dépôt squadron. The heavy regiments have 1,200 men, the light ones 1,600 men. The whole cavalry numbers about 67,000 men, on the war-footing.

Of artillery, there are twelve field regiments, each consisting of four six pounders, three twelve pounder foot batteries, six cavalry batteries, and one howitzer battery, on the war-footing: total, 1,344 guns; one coast regiment, and one rocket regiment, of twenty batteries, with one hundred and sixty tubes. Total, 1,500 guns and rocket tubes, and 53,000 men.

This gives a total effective number, on the war-footing, of 522,000 fighting men.

To these are to be added about 16,000 sappers, miners and pontoniers, 20,000 gens d'armes, the transport corps, and the like, raising the total to about 590,000 men.

By calling in the reserve, the army can be increased by from 100,000 to 120,000 men; and by draining the resources of the military frontier[310] to their utmost limit, another 100,000 to 120,000 men may be made available. But, as these forces could not be collected at a given moment, they would drop in gradually, and thus serve mainly to fill up the vacancies in the ranks. More than 650,000 men Austria could hardly bring together, at a time, under arms.

The army is divided into two quite distinct corps, the regular army and the frontier troops. For the first, the time of service is of eight years' duration—after which the men remain two more years in the reserve. Long furloughs, however, are granted—as in France—and five years may be nearer the actual time the men are kept with the colors.

The frontier troops are got together upon a quite different principle. They are the descendants of South-Slavonian (Croat or Serbian), Wallachian, and partly of German, settlers who hold their lands by military tenure under the crown, and were formerly employed to protect the frontier, from Dalmatia to Transylvania, against the inroads of the Turks. This service is now reduced to a mere formality, but the Austrian government, nevertheless, has shown no inclination to sacrifice this capital nursery of soldiers. It was the existence of the frontier organization, which in 1848 saved Radetzky's army in Italy, and which in 1849 made possible the first invasion of Hungary under Windischgrätz. Next to Russia, it is to the South-Slavonian frontier regiments that Francis Joseph owes his throne. In the long stretch of country occupied by them, every crown-tenant (that is almost every inhabitant), is obliged to

serve from his twentieth to his fiftieth year, when called upon. The younger men, of course, make up the strength of the regiments; the older men, generally, only take their turns at the frontier guard-houses, until called upon to serve in time of war. This explains how a population of about 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 can furnish a contingent, in case of need, of 150,000 to 170,000 men, or from ten to twelve per cent, of the whole number.

The Austrian army has many points of resemblance to the British army. In both there are many nationalities mixed together, though each regiment, generally, belongs to one nation only. The Highland Gael, the Welshman, the Irishman, and the Englishman, scarcely vary more than the German, the Italian, the Croat, and the Magyar. In either, officers of all races, and even a great many foreigners, are to be found. In either, the theoretical instruction of the officers is extremely defective. In either, the tactical forms have retained a deal of the ancient line-formations, and adopted, in a limited degree only, the use of columns and skirmishing. In either, the dress is of an unusual color: with the English, red, with the Austrians, white. But in the efficiency of their arrangements, in the practical experience and competence of the officers, and in tactical mobility, the Austrians by far surpass the British.

The dress of the soldier, leaving apart the absurd white color of the infantry coat, has been adapted in its cut to the modern system. A short tunic, like the Prussians' sky-blue trowsers, a gray capote, a light képi, similar to the French, make a very good and serviceable dress, excepting, always, the tight trowsers of the Hungarian and Croat regiments, which form part of the national dress, but are, for all that, very inconvenient. The accoutrements are not what they should be; the cross-belt system has been maintained. The frontier troops and artillery are dressed in brown coats; the cavalry, either white, brown or blue. The muskets are rather clumsy, and the rifles, with which both the chasseurs and a certain portion of each company are armed, are of a rather antiquated model, and far inferior to the Minié rifle. The common musket is the old flint gun changed, in an imperfect manner, into a percussion musket, and very often misses fire.

The infantry, and in this respect it is similar to the English, is more distinguished by its action in masses, than by its agility in light infantry service. We must, however, except the frontier troops and the chasseurs. The first are, for the most part, very efficient in skirmishing, especially the Serbians, whose favorite warfare is one of ambuscades. The chasseurs are mainly Tyrolians, and first-rate marksmen. But the German and Hungarian infantry

generally impose by their solidity, and, during Napoleon's wars, they often showed that in this respect they deserve to be placed along with the British. They, too, have more than once received cavalry, in line, without deigning to form square, and wherever they have formed squares, the enemy's cavalry could seldom break them up—witness Aspern.[311]

The cavalry is excellent. The heavy or "German" cavalry, consisting of Germans and Bohemians,[a] is well horsed, well armed, and always efficient. The light cavalry has, perhaps, lost by mixing up the German chevau-légers with the Polish lancers, but its Hungarian hussars will always remain the models of all light cavalry.

The artillery, recruited mostly from the German provinces, has always stood high; not so much by early and judicious adoption of improvements, as by the practical efficiency of the men. The non-commissioned officers, especially, are educated with great care, and are superior to those of any other army. With the officers, theoretical proficiency is left too much an optional matter, but yet Austria has produced some of the best writers on the subject. In Austria, study is the rule, at least with subalterns, while in England, an officer who studies his profession is considered a disgrace to his regiment. The special corps, staff, and engineers, are excellent, as is proved by the beautiful maps they have made from their surveys, especially of Lombardy. The British ordnance map, though good, is nothing in comparison.

The great confusion of nationalities is a serious evil. In the British army, every man can at least speak English, but with the Austrians, even the non-commissioned officers of the non-German regiments can scarcely speak German. This creates, of course, a deal of confusion, difficulty, and interpreting, even between the officer and the soldier. It is partly remedied by the necessity in which frequent change of quarters places the officers of learning at least something of every language spoken in Austria. But yet, the inconvenience is not obviated.

The severity of the discipline, which is whacked into the men by frequent applications of a hazel stick to their posteriors, and the long time of service, prevent the outbreak of serious quarrels between the various nationalities of the army, at least in time of peace. But 1848 showed how little internal consistency this body of troops possesses. At Vienna, the German troops refused to fight the revolution. In Italy and Hungary, the national troops passed

[a] Czechs.—*Ed.*

over to the side of the insurgents, without as much as a struggle. Here it is that the weak point of this army lies. Nobody can tell how far or how long it will hold together, or how many regiments will leave it in any peculiar case, to fight their former comrades. There are six different nations, and two or three different creeds, represented in this one army; and, as to the sympathies pervading it, they must necessarily clash in a time like the present, when nations are panting for the free use of their forces. In a war with Russia, would the Greek Catholic Serbian, influenced by Panslavist agitation, fight the Russians, his cousins by race, and holding the same creed as he? In a revolutionary war, would the Italian and Hungarian forsake his country, to battle for an emperor foreign to him in language and nationality? It is not to be expected; and therefore, whatever the strength of the Austrian army may be, very particular circumstances are required to bring its full power into play.

## [SECOND ARTICLE]

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### I. THE PRUSSIAN ARMY

The Prussian army deserves special notice, on account of its peculiar organization. While, in every other army, the peace-footing is the groundwork of the entire establishment, and no cadres are provided for the new formations which a great war at once necessitates, in Prussia, we are told, everything, to the minutest detail, is prepared for the war-footing. Thus, the peace establishment simply forms a school, in which the population are instructed in arms and maneuvers. This system, including, as it professes to do, the whole able-bodied male population in the ranks of the army on the war-footing, would appear to render the country which adopts it safe from every attack; yet this is by no means the case. What is attained is, that the country is stronger by about 50 per cent. than under the French or Austrian system of recruiting; by which means it is possible for an agricultural state of some seventeen millions of inhabitants, on a small territory, without a fleet or direct maritime commerce, and with comparatively little manufacturing industry, to maintain, in some respects, the position of a great European power.

The Prussian army consists of two great divisions: of those soldiers who are still being trained—the line; and of those trained men who may be said to have been sent home on indefinite furlough—the landwehr.

The service in the line lasts five years, from the twentieth to the twenty-fifth year of each man's age; but three years of active service are thought sufficient; after which, the soldier is dismissed to his home, and placed for the remaining two years in what is called the war-reserve. During this time he continues to figure on

the reserve-lists of his battalion or squadron, and is liable to be called in at any time.

After having been, for two years, in the war-reserve, he passes into the first levy of the landwehr (*erstes Aufgebot der Landwehr*), where he remains up to his thirty-second year. During this period he is liable to be called in, every other year, for the exercises of this corps, which generally take place upon a pretty extensive scale, and in connection with those of the line. The maneuvers generally last a month, and very often from 50,000 to 60,000 troops are concentrated for this purpose. The landwehr of the first levy are destined to act in the field along with the line. They form separate regiments, battalions, and squadrons, the same as the line, and carry the same regimental numbers. The artillery, however, remain attached to the respective regiments of the line.

From the thirty-second to the thirty-ninth year, inclusive, the soldier remains in the second levy (*zweites Aufgebot*) of the landwehr, during which time he is no longer called upon for active duty, unless a war breaks out, in which case the second levy has to do garrison duty in the fortresses, thus leaving available the whole of the line and first levy for field operations. After the fortieth year, he is free from all liability to be called out, unless, indeed, that mysterious body called the *Landsturm*, or levy *en masse*, be required to arm itself. The landsturm includes every man not comprised in the former categories, with all those too small or too weakly, or otherwise liberated from service, between the sixteenth and sixtieth year of age. But this landsturm cannot even be said to exist on paper, for there is not any organization prepared for it, no arms or accoutrements provided; and if it should ever have to assemble, it would not be found fit for anything but police duty at home, and for a tremendous consumption of strong drink.

As in Prussia every citizen is, according to law, a soldier, from his twentieth to his fortieth year, a population of seventeen millions might be expected to furnish a total contingent of at least a million and a half of men. But, in reality, not one half of this number can be got together. The fact is, that the training of such a mass of men would presuppose, at three years' service with the regiments, a peace establishment of at least 300,000 men, while Prussia merely maintains something like 130,000. Thus various devices are employed to liberate a number of men otherwise liable to serve: men fit enough for duty are declared too weak, the medical inspection either selecting the best candidates only, or allowing itself to be moved by bribes in the selection of those

considered fit for duty, and so on. Formerly, the reduction of the time of actual service, for the infantry, to two years only, was the means of bringing down the peace establishment to some 100,000 or 110,000 men; but since the revolution,[a] the government, having found out how much an additional year of service will do in making the men obedient to their officers, and reliable in case of insurrection, the three years' service has been generally introduced again.

The standing army, or the line, is composed of nine army-corps—one of guards and eight of the line. Their peculiar organization will be explained presently. They comprise, in all, thirty-six regiments of infantry (guards and line), of three battalions each[b]; eight regiments of reserve, of two battalions each; eight combined reserve battalions, and ten battalions of chasseurs (*Jäger*); in all, 144 battalions of infantry, or 150,000 men.

The cavalry is composed of ten cuirassier, five dragoon, ten lancer, and thirteen hussar regiments, of four squadrons, or 800 men each; in all, 30,000 men.

The artillery consists of nine regiments, each composed, when on the war-footing, of four six-pounder, three twelve-pounder, and one howitzer, foot batteries, and three batteries of horse artillery, with one reserve company to be turned into a twelfth battery; beside four garrison companies, and one company of workmen. But as the whole of the war reserve and landwehr of the first levy (of the artillery) are required to man these guns, and to complete the companies, the line-artillery may be described as consisting of nine regiments, of about 2,500 men each, with about thirty guns in each regiment, fully horsed and equipped.

Thus, the grand total of the Prussian line would amount to about 200,000 men; but from 60,000 to 70,000 men may safely be deducted for the war reserves, dismissed to their homes after three years' service.

The first levy of the landwehr counts, for every regiment of the guards and line, one of landwehr, except for the eight reserve regiments; beside, it has eight reserve battalions, forming a total of 116 battalions, and about 100,000 men. The cavalry has two regiments of guards, and thirty-two of the line, with eight reserve squadrons; in all, 136 squadrons, or about 20,000 men. The artillery is attached to the line regiments, as before stated.

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[a] The revolution of 1848-49.—*Ed.*

[b] Not all regiments in the guards corps consisted of three battalions.—*Ed.*

The second levy also counts 116 battalions, 167 squadrons (comprising sundry reserve and dépôt squadrons, whose duties are assimilated to those of the second levy), and some garrison artillery; altogether, about 150,000 men.

With the nine battalions of sappers, several minor corps, about 30,000 pensioners, and an army train amounting, on the war-footing, to no less than 45,000 men, the whole of the Prussian force is stated to amount to 580,000 men; of which, 300,000 are for the field, 54,000 for the dépôts, 170,000 for the garrisons and as a reserve, with about 60,000 non-combatants. The number of field-guns attached to this army should be between 800 and 850, divided into batteries of eight guns (six cannon and two howitzers) each.

For all these troops, not only the complete organization of the cadres, but also the arms and equipments, are provided; so that, in case of a *mobilization* of the army, nothing has to be found but the horses; and as Prussia is rich in horses, and as animals as well as men are liable to instant requisition, no great difficulty is presented by this necessity. So says the regulation; but how the matter stands, in point of fact, was shown when, in 1850, the army was mobilized. The first levy of the landwehr was equipped, though not without great difficulty; but the second levy found nothing provided, neither clothing, nor shoes, nor arms, and thus it offered the most ridiculous spectacle imaginable. Long before this occurred, competent judges, who had themselves served in the Prussian army, had predicted that such would be the case; and that, in point of fact, Prussia could, on an emergency, count upon nothing but the line and a portion of the first levy. Their opinion was fully borne out by the event. No doubt, the equipments for the second levy have since been provided; and this body, if called out now, would, in a month or six weeks, form a very respectable corps for garrison, and even field duty. But then, in time of war, three months' drill is considered quite sufficient to prepare a recruit for the field; and thus, the cumbrous organization adopted by Prussia does not at all insure such enormous advantages as is generally believed. Beside, in a couple of years, the material reserved for the second levy will again have disappeared in the same way as that which had certainly once existed, but was not to be found when needed in 1850.

Prussia, when adopting the principle that each citizen was to be a soldier, stopped half-way, and falsified that principle, thereby falsifying all her military organization. Once the system of conscription abandoned for that of universal compulsory service,

the standing army, as such, ought to have been abolished. Mere cadres of officers and non-commissioned officers should have been maintained, through whose hands the young men should have passed for instruction, and the period of instruction should not have lasted longer than was necessary for the purpose. If such had been the case, the time of service, during peace, must have been brought down to a year, for all the infantry, at least. But that would not suit either the government or the military martinets of the old school. The government wanted a disposable and reliable army, to be used, in case of need, against disturbances at home; the martinets wanted an army which, in precision of drill, in general appearance, and in solidity, could rival the remaining armies of Europe, composed of comparatively older soldiers. A body of young troops, serving no more than a single year, would not do for either purpose. Consequently, the middle course of three years' service was adopted, and hence arise all the faults and weaknesses of the Prussian army.

As we have seen, at least one half of the available men are excluded from the army. They are at once inscribed on the rolls of the second levy, which body, swelled thereby nominally to enormous numbers, is completely swamped, in whatever efficiency it might possess, by a mass of men who never handled a musket, and are no better than raw recruits. This reduction of the actual military strength of the country by at least one half, is the first bad effect produced by the protracted time of service.

But the line itself, and the first levy of the landwehr, suffer under this system. Of every regiment, one third has served less than three, one third less than two years, and the remaining third less than one year. Now it is not to be expected that an army composed like this can have those military qualities, that strict subordination, that steadiness in the ranks, that *esprit de corps*, which distinguish the old soldiers of the English, Austrian, Russian, and even the French armies. The English, who are competent judges in this matter, from the long period their soldiers serve, consider that it takes three years completely to break in a recruit.* Now, as, in time of peace, the Prussian army is composed of men none of whom have ever served three years, the natural consequence is that these military qualities of the old soldier, or at least the semblance of them, have to be drummed into the young Prussian recruit by an intolerable martinetism. The Prussian subaltern and sergeant, from the impossibility of the task

* See Sir W. Napier's *Peninsular War*.

imposed upon them, come to treat their subordinates with a roughness and brutality doubly repulsive from the spirit of pedantry with which it is coupled; and this pedantry is the more ridiculous because it is in complete contrast with the plain and sensible system of drill prescribed, and because it constantly appeals to the traditions of Frederick the Great, who had to drill a quite different set of men in a quite different system of tactics. Thus, real efficiency in the field is sacrificed to precision on the parade-ground, and the Prussian line, upon the whole, may be considered inferior to the old battalions and squadrons which, in the first onset, any of the great European powers can bring forward against it.

This is the case, in spite of advantages of which no other army is possessed. The Prussian, as well as the German in general, makes capital stuff for a soldier. A country, composed of extensive plains varied by large groups of mountains, furnishes material in abundance for every different arm. The general bodily aptitude for both light infantry and line infantry duty, possessed equally by the majority of the Germans, is scarcely equaled by other nations. The country, possessing horses in plenty, furnishes numerous men for the cavalry, who, from their childhood, have been at home in the saddle. The deliberate steadiness of the Germans adapts them especially for the artillery service. They are, withal, among the most pugnacious people in the world, enjoying war for its own sake, and often enough going to look for it abroad, when they cannot have it at home. From the *Landsknechte* of the middle age to the present foreign legions of France and England, the Germans have always furnished the great mass of those mercenaries who fight for the sake of fighting. If the French excel them in agility and vivacity of onslaught, if the English are their superiors in toughness of resistance, the Germans certainly excel all other European nations in that general fitness for military duty which makes them good soldiers under all circumstances.

The Prussian officers form by far the best educated body of their class in the world. The general educational tests to which they are subjected are of a far higher standard than those of any other army. Brigade and divisional schools are maintained to complete their theoretical education; higher or more special military knowledge is provided for by numerous establishments. Prussian military literature holds a very high rank; the works it has furnished for the last twenty-five years sufficiently prove that their authors not only perfectly understood their own business, but could challenge, for general scientific information, the officers

of any army. In fact, there is almost too much of a smattering of metaphysics in some of them, and this is explained by the fact that, in Berlin, Breslau, or Königsberg, you may see officers taking their seats amongst the students at the university lectures. Clausewitz is as much a standard author in his line, all over the world, as Jomini; and the works of the engineer Aster mark a new epoch in the science of fortification. Yet, the name of a "Prussian lieutenant" is a by-word all over Germany, and, indeed, the caricatured *esprit de corps*, pedantry and impertinent manners inculcated by the general tone of the army, fully justify the fact; while nowhere are there so many old, stiff-necked martinets among the field-officers and generals as in Prussia—most of them, however, relics of 1813 and '15. After all, it must be acknowledged that the absurd attempt to force the Prussian line into what it can never be made to be—an army of old soldiers—deteriorates the quality of the officer as much as it does that of the soldier, and even more.

The drill-regulations in the Prussian army[a] are, undoubtedly, much the best in the world. Simple, consistent, based upon a few common sense principles, they leave very little to be desired. They are owing to the genius of Scharnhorst, who was, perhaps, the greatest military organizer since Maurice of Nassau. The regulations for handling large bodies of troops are equally good. The scientific manuals, however, for the artillery service, which are officially recommended to the officers, are old-fashioned and by no means up to the requirements of the present time; but this blame is confined to works bearing a more or less official stamp, and does not at all bear upon Prussian artilleristic literature in general.

The engineering body enjoy, and deservedly, a very high character. From them proceeded Aster, the first military engineer since Montalembert. They have constructed a series of fortresses, from Königsberg and Posen to Cologne and Coblentz, which has obtained the admiration of Europe.

The equipment of the Prussian army, since the changes effected in 1843 and '44, is not very handsome, but very convenient for the soldiers. The helmet is a very efficient protection against sun and rain, the clothing is loose and comfortable, the adiustment of the accoutrements still better than that adopted in France. The guards and light battalions (one to each regiment) are armed with the rifled needle-gun; the remainder of the line are having their

[a] [G.J.D. von Scharnhorst,] *Kriegs-Artikel für das Preussische Heer.—Ed.*

muskets transformed, by a very simple process, into good Minié rifles; as to the landwehr, they, too, will, in two or three years, receive the Minié gun, but as yet they carry percussion muskets. The saber of the cavalry is too broad and crooked—most of the cuts fall flat. The material of the artillery, both in cannon, carriages, and harness, leave much to be desired.

On the whole, the Prussian army, that is, the line and first levy, forms a respectable body of men, but nothing like what Prussian patriotic authors boast. The line, once in the field, will very soon throw off the fetters of the parade-ground, and, after a few engagements, be equal to their opponents. The landwehr of the first levy, as soon as the old soldier-like spirit has been re-awakened, and if the war be popular, will equal the best old troops in Europe. What Prussia has to fear, is an active enemy during the first period of a war, when troops of superior organization, and of older standing, are brought against her; but in a protracted struggle she will have a greater proportion of old soldiers in her armies than any other European state. In the beginning of a campaign, the line will form the nucleus of the army, but the first levy will very soon push it into the shade, by the greater bodily strength and the higher military qualities of its men. They are the real old soldiers of Prussia—not the beardless youths of the line. Of the second levy we do not speak; it has yet to show what it is.

## II. THE RUSSIAN ARMY

In Russia, too, a certain provision has been made for establishing cadres for the war-footing, by a scheme of reserves, similar, in some points, to the Prussian landwehr system. But, on the whole, the Russian reserve comprises such a limited number of men, and the difficulty of bringing them together from all the points of that vast empire is so great, that, as early as six months after the Anglo-French declaration of war,[a] and before a single shot had been fired in the Crimea, the abolition of the system and the formation of new bodies, followed up since by other new formations, at once became necessary. Thus, in Russia, we must distinguish between the army as it was on the breaking out of the war, and the army as it is now.

[a] Britain and France officially declared war on Russia on March 27 and 28, 1854, respectively.—*Ed.*

The Russian army, in time of peace, is divided as follows:—1. The active army—six corps of the line, Nos. 1 to 6; 2. The reserve army—one corps of guards, one corps of grenadiers, two corps of cavalry of the reserve; 3. The special corps—that of the Caucasus, that of Finland, that of Orenburg, that of Siberia; 4. The troops for inland duty—veterans, inland guards, invalids, and so forth; 5. The irregular troops. To these must be added the reserves, consisting of soldiers dismissed on furlough.

The composition of each of the six corps of the line is as follows:—it includes three divisions of infantry, consisting each of a brigade of the line and one of light infantry, each brigade consisting of two regiments, each regiment of four service-battalions; in all, six brigades or twelve regiments, comprising forty-eight battalions, with one battalion of rifles, and one of sappers; total, fifty battalions. There is also one division of light cavalry, containing one brigade of lancers, and one brigade of hussars, each of two regiments, or sixteen squadrons; total, thirty-two squadrons. The artillery consists of one division [of artillery] of three foot brigades, and one horse brigade; total, fourteen batteries or 112 guns; total, per corps, fifty battalions, thirty-two squadrons, 112 guns; grand total, 300 battalions, 192 squadrons, 672 guns.

The guards contain three divisions, or six brigades, comprising twelve regiments (nine of grenadiers, and three of carabineers, or light infantry); in all, thirty-six battalions, for the regiments of guards and grenadiers count three service-battalions only. There is also one battalion of rifles and one of sappers and miners, beside three divisions of cavalry (one cuirassiers, one lancers, one hussars), comprising six brigades or twelve regiments, and making in all seventy-two squadrons of cavalry. There is one division of five brigades and fifteen batteries (nine foot, five horse, one rockets); in all, 135 guns. The grenadier corps consists of three divisions or six brigades, comprising twelve regiments or thirty-six battalions of infantry, one battalion of rifles, and one of sappers and miners. This corps also counts one division of cavalry, including two brigades (lancers and hussars), made up of four regiments or thirty-two squadrons. The artillery consists of three foot and one horse brigade, with fourteen batteries; in all, 112 guns.

The reserve cavalry is organized as follows:—1st corps: three divisions (two of cuirassiers, one of lancers), comprising six brigades or twelve regiments; in all, eighty squadrons (forty-eight of cuirassiers, thirty-two of lancers). There is also one division of

horse artillery, containing three brigades, with six batteries; in all, forty-eight guns.—2d corps: three divisions (one lancers, two dragoons) or six brigades; including twelve regiments or 112 squadrons (thirty-two of lancers, eighty of dragoons). There are also two squadrons of mounted sappers and pontoniers, and six batteries of horse artillery, comprising forty-eight guns.

The Caucasian corps is composed of one reserve grenadier brigade, containing two regiments or six battalions; three divisions of infantry, containing twelve regiments or forty-eight battalions; one battalion of rifles, one of sappers; forty-seven battalions of the Caucasian line (militia); total, 103 battalions. The cavalry consists of one regiment of dragoons, of ten squadrons. Of artillery there is one division, with ten common and six mountain batteries, of 180 guns in all.

The Finland corps consists of one division, comprising two brigades or twelve battalions of infantry; that of Orenburg, of one division, likewise of two brigades, but of only ten battalions; that of Siberia, of one division, comprising three brigades; making fifteen battalions. Finally, the grand total of the regular troops, actually under arms in time of peace, may be stated as follows:—

| | Battal. | Squad. | Guns. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6 corps of the line | 300 | 192 | 672 |
| Guards | 38 | 72 | 135 |
| Grenadiers | 38 | 32 | 112 |
| Reserve cavalry | — | 194 | 96 |
| Caucasian corps | 103 | 10 | 180 |
| Finland corps | 12 | — | — |
| Orenburg do. | 10 | — | — |
| Siberia do. | 15 | — | — |
| Total | 516 | 500 | 1,195 |

The troops for inland service consist of fifty-two battalions of inland guards, 800 companies of veterans and invalids, eleven and a half squadrons of gens d'armes, and ninety-eight companies of artillery. These troops can hardly be counted in an estimate of the available force of the country.

The irregular troops, mostly cavalry, form the following divisions:—

1. The Don Cossacks:—fifty-six regiments, each of six sotnias; in all, 336 sotnias, thirteen batteries.

2. The Tshornomor (Black Sea Cossacks):—seventy-two sotnias, nine battalions, three batteries.
3. The Caucasian line Cossacks (on the Kuban and Terek):—120 sotnias and three batteries.
4. The Astrachan Cossacks:—eighteen sotnias, one battery.
5. The Orenburg Cossacks:—sixty sotnias, three batteries.
6. The Ural Cossacks:—sixty sotnias.
7. The Bashkir levy:—eighty-five sotnias, almost all Bashkirs and Kalmyks.
8. The Siberian Cossacks:—twenty-four battalions, eighty-four sotnias, three batteries, composed partly of Tungusians, Buriates, &c.
9. The Azov Cossacks, engaged in naval service.
10. The Danubian Cossacks in Bessarabia: twelve sotnias.
11. The Baikal Lake Cossacks, but recently formed, of unknown organization and strength.

The total would amount to 847 sotnias (squadrons of 100 men each, from *sto,* hundred), thirty-three battalions, twenty-six batteries. This would make about 90,000 men of cavalry, and 30,000 infantry. But, for actual war purposes on the western frontier, perhaps 40,000 to 50,000 cavalry, a few batteries, and none of the infantry are available.

Thus, in time of peace, the Russian army (exclusive of the inland service troops) should consist of 360,000 infantry, 70,000 cavalry, and 90,000 artillery; in all, 500,000 men; beside a number of Cossacks, varying according to circumstances. But of these 500,000 men, the local corps of the Caucasus, of Orenburg, and Siberia cannot be made available for any war on the western frontier of the empire; so that, against western Europe, not more than 260,000 infantry, 70,000 cavalry, and 50,000 artillery, with about 1,000 guns, can be used, beside some 30,000 Cossacks.

So far for the peace establishment. For the event of a war, the following provisions were made: the full time of service was twenty, twenty-two, or twenty-five years, according to circumstances. But after either ten or fifteen years, according to circumstances, the soldiers were dismissed on furlough, after which they belonged to the reserve. The organization of this reserve has varied very much, but it appears, now, that the men on furlough belonged, during the first five years, to a reserve battalion (the fourth of each regiment in the guards and grenadiers, the fifth in the line), a reserve squadron, or a reserve battery, according to their respective arms. After the lapse of five years they passed to the dépôt (fifth or respectively sixth) battalion of their regiment, or to the dépôt squadron or battery. Thus, the calling-in of the reserve would raise the effective strength of the infantry and artillery about fifty per cent., of the cavalry about

twenty per cent. These reserves were to be commanded by retired officers, and their cadres, if not in full organization, were nevertheless, to a certain degree, prepared.

But when the war broke out, all this was altered. The active army had to send two divisions to the Caucasus, though it was destined to fight on the western frontier. Before the Anglo-French troops embarked for the east, three corps of the active army (the third, fourth, and fifth) were engaged in the campaign against the Turks. At that period, indeed, the reserves were concentrating, but it took an enormous length of time before the men could be brought up to their respective headquarters from all points of the empire. The allied armies and fleets in the Baltic and Black Seas, as well as the wavering policy of Austria, necessitated more vigorous measures; the levies were doubled and tripled, and the motley mass of recruits, thus got together, were formed, along with the reserves, into fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth battalions for all the infantry regiments, while a similar increase was made in the cavalry. Thus, the eight corps of guards, grenadiers, and line, instead of 376 battalions, now muster about 800, while, for every two squadrons or batteries of the peace establishment, at least one of reserve has been added. All these figures, however, look more formidable on paper than in reality; for, what with the corruption of the Russian officials, the mal-administration of the army, and the enormous length of the marches from the homes of the men to the dépôts, from the dépôts to the points of concentration of the corps, and from thence to the seat of war, a great proportion of the men are lost or invalided before they come to meet the enemy. Besides, the ravages of disease, and the losses in battle, during the two last campaigns, have been very serious, and, altogether, we do not think that the 1,000 battalions, 800 squadrons, and 200 batteries of the Russian army, can much exceed, at present, 600,000 men.

But the government was not satisfied with this. With a promptitude which shows how fully it is aware of the difficulty of bringing together large masses of men from the various portions of this vast empire, it decreed the levy of the militia as soon as the organization of the seventh and eighth battalions was completed. The militia, or *opoltshenie*, was to be organized in *druginas* (battalions) of 1,000 each, in proportion to the population of each province; twenty-three men out of every 1,000 males, or nearly one-quarter per cent. of the population were to serve. For the time being, the opoltshenie was called out in the western provinces only. This levy, made upon a population of 18,000,000, compris-

ing about 9,000,000 males, must have produced about 120,000 men, and this agrees with what the reports from Russia state. There is no doubt that the militia will prove, in every respect, inferior even to the newly formed reserve, but, at all events, it is a valuable addition to the forces of Russia, and, if employed to do garrison duty in Poland, it can set free a good many regiments of the line.

On the other hand, not only many Cossacks, but even considerable numbers of Bashkirs, Kalmyks, Kirghiz, Tungusians, and other Mongol levies have arrived on the western frontier. This shows how early they were ordered westwards, for many of them had above a twelve-month's march to make before they could arrive at St. Petersburg, or on the Vistula.

Thus, Russia has taxed her military resources almost to the utmost; and, after two years' campaigning, during which time she has lost no decisive battle, she cannot muster more than 600,000 to 650,000 regular troops, with 100,000 militia, and perhaps 50,000 irregular cavalry. We do not mean to say that she is exhausted; but, there is no doubt, that now, after two years' war, she could not do what France did after twenty years' war, and after the total loss of her finest army in 1812: pour forth a fresh body of 300,000 men and arrest, for a time, at least, the onslaught of the enemy. So enormous is the difference, in military strength, between a densely and a thinly populated country. If France bordered on Russia, the 66,000,000 inhabitants of Russia would be weaker than the 38,000,000 French. That the 44,000,000 Germans are more than a match for the 66,000,000 subjects of the orthodox Czar, there is not the slightest doubt.

The Russian army is recruited in various ways. The great body of the men is raised by the regular levy, which takes place one year in the western, and the next in the eastern provinces of Russia in Europe. The general percentage is four or five men levied out of every 1,000 (male) "souls;" for in the Russian census the males only are counted, as, according to the orthodox belief of the east, the women do not constitute "souls." Those from the western half of the empire serve twenty, those from the eastern half twenty-five years. The guards serve twenty-two years; young men from the military colonies twenty years. Beside these levies, the soldiers' sons are a fertile source of recruits. Every son born to a soldier while in service is obliged to serve; and this principle is carried so far that children borne by soldiers' wives are claimed by the state, though the husband may have been at the other end of the empire for five or ten years. These soldiers' children are called

*cantonists*, and most of them are educated at the expense of the government; from them most of the non-commissioned officers are taken. Finally, criminals, vagabonds, and other good-for-nothing individuals, are sentenced, by the courts of law, to serve in the army. A nobleman has the right of sending a serf, if otherwise able-bodied, into the army; and every father, when dissatisfied with his son, can do the same. "*S'bogom idi pod Krasnuyu shapkoo.*" Begone, then, with God, and put the red cap on—that is to say, go into the army—is a common saying of the Russian peasant to a disobedient son.

The non-commissioned officers, as we have said, are mostly recruited from the soldiers' sons, educated in government establishments. From early boyhood subject to military discipline, these lads have nothing whatever in common with the men whom they are, subsequently, to instruct and direct. They form a class separate from the people. They belong to the state—they cannot exist without it: once thrown upon their own resources, they are fit for nothing. To get on, then, under the government, is their only object. What the lower class of employés, recruited from the sons of employés, are in the Russian civil service, these men are in the army: a set of cunning, low-minded, narrowly-egotistical subordinates, endowed with a smattering of elementary education, which almost renders them more despicable; ambitious from vanity and love of gain; sold, life and soul, to the state, and yet trying, daily and hourly, to sell the state, in detail, whenever they can make a profit by it. A fine specimen of this class is the feldjäger or courier who accompanied M. de Custine during his travels in Russia, and who is admirably portrayed in that gentleman's account of Russia.[a] It is this class of men, both in the civil and military branches, which principally foments the immense corruption pervading all branches of the public service in that country. But as it is, there is no doubt that, if this system of total appropriation of the children, by the state, were done away with, Russia would not be able to find a sufficient number of civil subaltern employés and military non-commissioned officers.

With the class of officers it is, perhaps, still worse. The education given to a future corporal or sergeant-major is a comparatively cheap article; but to educate officers for an army of one million (and that is the number for which the Russian cadres, officially speaking, should be prepared) is a costly affair. Private

[a] A. de Custine, *La Russie en 1839*, T. IV, pp. 283-85.—*Ed.*

establishments do nothing or little for the purpose. The state, again, must do everything. But it evidently cannot educate such a mass of young men as are required for this use. Consequently, the sons of the nobility are, by a direct moral compulsion, induced to serve for at least five or ten years in the army or the civil service; for every family in which three consecutive generations have not "served," loses its privilege of nobility, and especially the right to own serfs—a right without which, in Russia, extensive landed property is worse than valueless. Thus, vast numbers of young men are brought into the army with the rank of ensign or lieutenant, whose entire education consists, at the best, in a certain fluency in French conversation on the most ordinary topics, and some little smattering of elementary mathematics, geography and history—the whole drummed into them for mere show. To them, to serve is an ugly necessity, to be gone through, like a prolonged medical treatment, with unfeigned disgust; and as soon as the prescribed time of service has elapsed, or the grade of major is attained, they retire, and are inscribed on the rolls of the dépôt battalions. As to the pupils of the military schools, they, too, have almost all been crammed so as to pass the examinations; and they are, even in mere professional knowledge, far behind the young men from the Austrian, the Prussian, or French military schools. On the other hand, young men of talent, application, and passion for their special branch, are so rare in Russia that they are seized upon wherever they show themselves, be they foreigners or natives. With the greatest liberality, the state provides them with all the means for completing their studies, and gives them rapid promotion. Such men are used to show off Russian civilization before Europe. If they are inclined to literary pursuits, they meet with every encouragement so long as they do not overstep the bounds of Russian government requirements, and it is they who have furnished what little there is of value in Russian military literature. But up to the present time, the Russians of all classes are too fundamentally barbarous to find any enjoyment in scientific pursuits or head-work of any kind (except intrigues), and, therefore, almost all their distinguished men in the military service are either foreigners, or, what nearly amounts to the same, "ostzeïski," Germans from the Baltic provinces. So was the last and most distinguished specimen of this class, General Todtleben, the chief engineer at Sebastopol, who died in July from the effects of a wound.[312] He was certainly the cleverest man at his trade in the whole siege, either in the Russian or the Allied camp; but he was a Baltic German, of Prussian extraction.

In this manner the Russian army has among its officers the very best and the very worst men, only that the former are present in an infinitesimally small proportion. What the Russian government thinks of its officers it has plainly and unmistakably shown in its own tactical regulations. These regulations do not merely prescribe a general mode of placing a brigade, division, or army-corps in action, a so-called "normal disposition," which the commander is expected to vary according to the ground and other circumstances, but they prescribe different normal dispositions for all the different cases possible, leaving the general no choice whatever, and tying him down in a manner which, as much as possible, takes all responsibility from his shoulders. An army-corps, for instance, can be arranged, in battle, in five different ways, according to the regulations; and, at the Alma, the Russians were actually arrayed according to one of them—the third disposition—and, of course, they were beaten. This mania of prescribing abstract rules for all possible cases, leaves so little liberty of action to the commander, and even forbids him to use advantages of ground to such an extent, that a Prussian general in criticising it says:

> "Such a system of regulations can be tolerated in an army, only, the majority of whose generals are so imbecile, that the government cannot safely intrust them with an unconditional command, or leave them to their own judgment."

The Russian soldier is one of the bravest men in Europe. His tenacity almost equals that of the English and of certain Austrian battalions. As John Bull boasts of himself, he does not know when he is beaten. Russian squares of infantry have resisted, and fought hand to hand, a long while after the cavalry had broken them; and it has always been found easier to shoot them down than to drive them back. Sir George Cathcart, who saw them in 1813 and '14,[a] as allies, and in 1854 in the Crimea, as enemies, gives them the honorable testimonial that they are "incapable of panic." Beside this, the Russian soldier is well made, healthy, a good marcher, a man of few wants, who can eat and drink almost anything, and more obedient to his officers than any other soldier in the world. And yet the Russian army is not much to boast of. Never, since Russia was Russia, have the Russians won a single battle against either Germans, French, Poles, or English, without being vastly superior in numbers. At even odds, they have always been beaten by any army, except Turks or Prussians; and at Citate

[a] G. Cathcart, *Commentaries on the War in Russia and Germany in 1812 and 1813.—Ed.*

and Silistria,[313] the Turks, though inferior in numbers, defeated them.

The Russians are, above all things, the clumsiest soldiers in the world. They are not fit either for light infantry or for light cavalry duty. The Cossacks, capital light cavalry as they are in some respects, are so unreliable generally, that before the enemy a second line of out-posts is always placed in the rear of the line of Cossack out-posts. Beside, the Cossacks are totally unfit for a charge. As to the regular troops, infantry and cavalry, they are not fit to act in skirmishing order. The Russian, imitator as he is in everything, will do anything if ordered or compelled, but will do nothing if he has to act upon his own responsibility; in fact, this term can hardly be applied to a being who never knew what responsibility was, and who will go to be shot at with the same passive obedience as if he were ordered to pump water, or to whip a comrade. To expect from the Russian soldier, when acting on out-post duty or in skirmishing order, the rapid glance of the Frenchman, or the plain common sense of the German, would be an insult to him. What he requires is command—clear, distinct command—and if he does not get it, he will perhaps not go backwards, but he will certainly not go forwards, nor use his own senses.

The cavalry, though a deal of expense and care has been bestowed upon it, has never been excellent. Neither in the wars against the French, nor in that against Poland, did the cavalry distinguish itself. The passive, patient, enduring obedience of the Russians is not what is wanted in cavalry. The first quality of the horseman is just what the Russian lacks most: "*dash.*" Thus, when the 600 English dragoons, with all the daring and pluck of real horsemen, dashed at the numerically far superior Russians at Balaklava, they rode down before them Russian artillery, Cossacks, hussars, lancers, until they came to the solid columns of the infantry; then they had to turn back; yet, in that cavalry action, it is still doubtful who deserves to be called the victor. If such a senseless charge had been made against any other army, not a man would have returned; the enemy would have taken them in flank and rear, and cut them down singly. But the Russian horsemen actually awaited them standing, and were ridden down before they thought of moving their horses! Surely, if anything should condemn the Russian regular cavalry, it is such a fact as this.

The artillery is provided with a material of unequal quality, but where it has good guns, it will do its duty well. It will display great

bravery in the field, but it will always be found wanting in intelligence. A Russian battery which has lost its officers is good for nothing; and while the officers live, it can only take the positions, often absurd, prescribed by the regulations. When besieged in a fortress where patient endurance and constant exposure to danger are required, the Russian artillery will distinguish itself, not so much by precision of aim, as by devotion to duty and steadiness under fire. The whole of the siege of Sebastopol proves this.

In the artillery and engineers, however, are to be found those well-educated officers whom Russia shows off before Europe, and who are really encouraged to use their talents freely. While in Prussia, for instance, the best men, when subalterns, have usually been so thwarted by their superiors, and while all their proposed improvements have been snubbed as presumptuous attempts at innovation, so that many of them have had to seek employment in Turkey, where they have made the regular artillery one of the best in Europe—in Russia, all such men are encouraged, and, if they distinguish themselves, make a rapid and brilliant career. Diebitsch and Paskiewitsch were generals at twenty-nine and thirty years of age, and Todtleben, at Sebastopol, in less than eight months was advanced from a captain to a major-general.

The great boast of the Russians is their infantry. It is of very great solidity, and, used in line or column, or behind breastworks, will always be awkward to deal with. But here its good qualities end. Almost totally unfit for light infantry duty (the so-called chasseurs are light infantry in name only, and the eight battalions of rifles attached to the line corps are the only real light infantry in the service), usually bad marksmen, good but slow marchers, their columns are generally so badly placed that it will always be possible to pound them well with artillery before they are charged. The "normal dispositions," from which the generals dare not deviate, contribute a great deal toward this. At the Alma, for instance, the British artillery made terrible havoc amongst the Russian columns long before the equally clumsy British line had formed, defiled across the river and re-formed for the charge. But even the boast of solid tenacity must be taken with a considerable grain of salt, since at Inkermann 8,000 British infantry, surprised in a position but incompletely and slovenly occupied, resisted, in hand to hand fight, the 15,000 Russians brought against them for more than four hours, and actually repelled every renewed attack. This battle must have shown the Russians that, upon their own favorite ground, they had found their masters. It was the bravery

of the British soldiers and the intelligence and presence of mind of both non-commissioned officers and soldiers which defeated all the attempts of the Russians; and from this battle we must consider as justified, the claim of the British to the title of the first infantry *of the line* in the world.

The clothing of the Russian army is a pretty close imitation of that of the Prussians. Their accoutrements are very badly adjusted; not only the belts for bayonets and cartridge pouch are crossed over the chest, but also the straps which hold the knapsack. There are, however, some alterations being made just now, but whether they affect this point, we do not know. The small arms are very clumsy, and have only been lately provided with percussion caps; a Russian musket is the heaviest and most unwieldy thing of its kind. The cavalry swords are of a bad model and badly tempered. Of the guns, the new ones taken in the Crimea, are described as very good and of excellent workmanship; but whether that is uniformly the case is very doubtful.

Finally, the Russian army still bears the stamp of an institution in advance of the general state of civilization of the country, and has all the disadvantages and drawbacks of such hot-house creations. In petty warfare, the Cossacks are the only troops to be feared, from their activity and indefatigability; but their love of drink and plunder makes them very unreliable for their commander. In grand war, the slowness with which the Russians move will make their strategic maneuvers little to be feared, unless they have to deal with such negligent opponents as the English were last autumn. In a pitched battle, they will be obstinate opponents to the soldiers, but not very troublesome to the generals who attack them. Their dispositions are generally very simple, founded upon their prescribed normal rules, and easy to be guessed at; while the want of intelligence in both general and field officers, and the clumsiness of the troops, make it a matter of great risk for them to undertake important maneuvers on a battle field.

## III. THE SMALLER ARMIES OF GERMANY

Bavaria has two army-corps, of two divisions each. Each division contains two brigades of infantry (four regiments of infantry and one battalion of rifles), one brigade of cavalry, containing two regiments, and three foot and one horse batteries. Each army-corps has, beside, a general reserve of artillery, of six foot batteries, and a detachment of sappers and miners. Thus, the

whole army forms sixteen regiments of three battalions each, with six battalions of rifles, in all, fifty-four battalions; two regiments of cuirassiers, and six of light dragoons, in all, forty-eight squadrons; two regiments of foot artillery (of six six-pounder and six twelve-pounder batteries each), and one of horse artillery (four six-pounder batteries), in all, twenty-eight batteries of eight guns each, making 224 guns, beside six companies of garrison artillery, and twelve train companies; there are also one regiment of engineers, of eight companies, and two sanitary companies. The whole strength, on the war-footing, is 72,000 men, beside a reserve and landwehr, the cadres of which, however, do not exist.

Of the army of the Germanic Confederation,[314] Austria furnishes the 1st, 2d, and 3d corps; Prussia the 4th, 5th, and 6th; Bavaria the 7th. The 8th corps is furnished by Württemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt.

Württemberg has eight regiments (sixteen battalions) of infantry, four of cavalry (sixteen squadrons), one regiment of artillery (four foot and three horse-batteries, with forty-eight guns). Total, about 19,000 men on the war-footing.

Baden keeps four regiments (eight battalions), two fusileer battalions, one rifle battalion; in all, ten battalions of infantry, with three regiments, or twelve squadrons of cavalry, and four foot and five horse-batteries, containing together forty guns. Total, on the war-footing, 15,000 men.

Hesse-Darmstadt has four regiments or eight battalions of infantry, one regiment or six squadrons of light horse, and three batteries of artillery (one mounted) of eighteen guns. Total, 10,000 men.

The only peculiarity of the 7th and 8th army-corps is, that they have adopted the French gun-carriage for the artillery. The 9th federal army corps is formed by the kingdom of Saxony, which furnishes one division, and Electoral Hesse and Nassau, which furnish the second.

The quota of Saxony is four brigades of infantry, of four battalions each, and one of rifles, of four battalions; beside four battalions of the line, and one battalion of rifles as a reserve, still unorganized; four regiments of light horse, of five squadrons each; one artillery regiment, six foot and two horse-batteries. Total, twenty battalions of infantry, twenty squadrons and fifty guns; or 24,500 men on the war-footing. In Electoral Hesse there are four regiments or eight battalions, with one battalion of fusileers and one of rifles; two squadrons of cuirassiers, seven

squadrons of hussars; three batteries, of which one of horse artillery. Total, ten battalions, nine squadrons, nineteen guns, and 12,000 men on the war-footing. Nassau affords seven battalions, 2 batteries, or 7,000 men, and twelve guns, on the war-footing.

The 10th army-corps consists of Hanover and Brunswick, which maintain the first division; and of Mecklenburg, Holstein, Oldenburg, and the Hanse towns,[a] which furnish the second division. Hanover furnishes eight regiments or sixteen battalions, and four battalions of light infantry; six regiments or twenty-four squadrons of cavalry, and four foot and two horse-batteries. Total, 22,000 men, and thirty-six guns. The artillery is on the English model. Brunswick furnishes five battalions, four squadrons, and twelve guns, in all, 5,300 men. The small States of the second division are not worth mentioning.

Finally, the smallest of the small fry of German States form a reserve division, with which the entire army of the German Confederation, on the war-footing, may be summed up in a table, as follows:—

| | I. CONTINGENTS. | | | | II. RESERVE CONTINGENTS. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Inf. | Cav. | G'ns | Total. | Inf. | Cav. | G'ns | Total. |
| Austria, ..... | 73,501 | 13,546 | 192 | 94,822 | 36,750 | 6,773 | 96 | 47,411 |
| Prussia, ..... | 61,629 | 11,355 | 160 | 79,484 | 30,834 | 5,660 | 80 | 39,742 |
| Bavaria, ..... | 27,566 | 5,086 | 72 | 35,600 | 13,793 | 2,543 | 36 | 17,800 |
| Eighth Corps, ..... | 23,369 | 4,308 | 60 | 30,150 | 11,685 | 2,154 | 32 | 15,075 |
| Ninth Corps, ..... | 19,294 | 2,887 | 50 | 24,254 | 9,702 | 1,446 | 25 | 12,136 |
| Tenth Corps, ..... | 22,246 | 3,572 | 58 | 28,067 | 11,107 | 1,788 | 29 | 14,019 |
| Reserve Division, ..... | 11,116 | | | 11,116 | 5,584 | | | 5,584 |
| Total, ..... | 238,721 | 40,754 | 592 | 303,493 | 119,455 | 20,364 | 298 | 151,767 |

This of course does not represent the real armed force of the Confederation, as, in case of need, Prussia, Austria, and Bavaria would furnish far more than the above contingents. The troops of the 10th corps and reserve division, perhaps, also, those of the 9th corps, would form the garrisons, so as not to interfere, by their

[a] The free cities of Bremen, Hamburg and Lübeck.—*Ed.*

multifarious organizations and peculiarities, with the rapidity of field operations. The military qualities of these armies are more or less the same as those of the Austrian and Prussian soldiers; but, of course, these small bodies furnish no occasion for developing military talents, and many old-fashioned arrangements exist among them.

In a third and concluding article, we shall consider the Spanish, Sardinian, Turkish and other armies of Europe.

## [THIRD ARTICLE]

[*Putnam's Monthly*, No. XXXVI, December 1855]

### I. THE TURKISH ARMY

The Turkish army, at the beginning of the present war, was in a higher state of efficiency than it had ever reached before. The various attempts at reorganization and reform made since the accession of Mahmud, since the massacre of the Janissaries, and especially since the peace of Adrianople, had been consolidated and systematized.[315] The first and greatest obstacle—the independent position of the pashas in command of distant provinces—had been removed, to a great extent, and, upon the whole, the pashas were reduced to a discipline somewhat approaching that of European district commanders. But their ignorance, insolence, and rapacity remained in as full vigor as in the best days of Asiatic satrap rule; and if, for the last twenty years, we had heard little of revolts of pashas, we have heard enough of provinces in revolt against their greedy governors, who, originally the lowest domestic slaves and "men of all work," profited by their new position to heap up fortunes by exactions, bribes, and wholesale embezzlement of the public money. That, under such a state of things, the organization of the army must, to a great extent, exist on paper only, is evident.

The Turkish army consists of the regular active army (Nizam), the reserve (Redif), the irregular troops, and the auxiliary corps of the vassal states.

The Nizam is composed of six corps (Orders), each of which is raised in the district it occupies, similar to the army-corps in Prussia, each of which is located in the province from which it recruits itself. Altogether the organization of the Turkish Nizam

and Redif is, as we shall see, copied from the Prussian model. The six Orders have their head-quarters in Constantinople, Shumla, Toli-Monatzir, Erzeroum, Bagdad, and Aleppo. Each of them should be commanded by a Mushir (field marshal), and should consist of two divisions or six brigades, formed by six regiments of infantry, four of cavalry, and one of artillery.

The infantry and cavalry are organized upon the French, the artillery upon the Prussian system.

A regiment of infantry is composed of four battalions of eight companies each, and should count, when on its full complement, 3,250 men, inclusive of officers and staff, or 800 men per battalion; the general strength, however, before the war, seldom exceeded 700 men, and in Asia was almost always much less.

A cavalry regiment consists of four squadrons of lancers, and two squadrons of chasseurs, each squadron to contain 151 men; in general, the effective strength was here even more below the standard than in the infantry.

Each artillery regiment consists of six horse and nine foot batteries, of four guns each, thus representing a total of sixty guns.

Every order was thus expected to number 19,500 infantry, 3,700 cavalry, and sixty guns. In reality, however, from 20,000 to 21,000 men in all is the utmost ever reached.

Beside the six Orders, there are four artillery regiments (one of reserve, and three of garrison artillery), two regiments of sappers and miners, and three special detachments of infantry sent to Candia, to Tunis, and Tripoli, of a total strength of 16,000 men.

The total strength of the Nizam, or regular standing army, before the war, should, therefore, have been as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 36 reg. of | infant. | averaging | 2,500—90,000 |
| 24 " | cavalry | " | 660-670—16,000 |
| 7 " | field artillery | | 9,000 |
| 3 " | garrison | " | 3,400 |
| 2 " | sappers and miners | | 1,600 |
| Detached corps | | | 16,000 |
| | | | 136,000 |

The soldiers, after having served five years in the Nizam, are dismissed to their homes, and form, for the seven following years,

part of the Redif or reserve. This reserve counts as many orders, divisions, brigades, regiments, etc., as the standing army; in fact, it is to the Nizam what in Prussia the first levy of the landwehr is to the line, with the sole exception, that in Prussia, in larger masses than brigades, line and landwehr are always mixed, while in the Turkish organization they are to be kept separate. The officers and non-commissioned officers of the Redif are constantly assembled at the dépôts, and once a year the Redif are called in for exercise, during which time, they receive the same pay and rations as the line. But such an organization, presupposing a well-regulated civil administration, and a civilized state of society, far from having been reached in Turkey, must in a great degree exist on paper only, and if we count, therefore, the Redif as equal in numbers to the Nizam, we shall certainly put it down at its highest possible figure.

The auxiliary contingents consist of troops from:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. The Danubian Principalities, | 6,000 men. |
| 2. Servia, | 20,000 " |
| 3. Bosnia and Herzegovina, | 30,000 " |
| 4. Upper Albania, | 10,000 " |
| 5. Egypt, | 40,000 " |
| 6. Tunis and Tripoli, | 10,000 " |
| Total, about | 116,000 " |

To these troops must be added the volunteer Bashi Bazouks, whom Asia Minor, Kurdistan, and Syria can furnish in great numbers. They are the last remnant of that host of irregular troops which, in past centuries, flooded Hungary, and twice appeared before Vienna.[316] Mostly cavalry, their inferiority, even to the worst-equipped European horseman, has been proved by two centuries of all but constant defeats. Their self-confidence has disappeared, and now they serve no other purpose than to swarm around the army, eating up and wasting the resources upon which the regular body should subsist. Their love of plunder and unreliable temper make them even unfit for that active outpost duty which the Russians expect from their Cossacks; for the Bashi Bazouks, when most wanted, are least to be found. In this present war, it has, therefore, been found desirable to keep their numbers

down, and we do not think that there were ever collected more than 50,000 of them.

Thus the numerical strength of the Turkish army, at the beginning of the war, may be estimated as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Nizam, | 136,000 |
| Redif, | 136,000 |
| Auxiliaries, regulars from Egypt and Tunis, | 50,000 |
| Do. irregulars, Bosnia and Albania, | 40,000 |
| Bashi Bazouks, | 50,000 |
| Total, | 412,000 |

But again, from this sum total several deductions have to be made. That the Orders stationed in Europe were in pretty good condition, and as near their full complement as can be expected in Turkey, seems pretty certain; but in Asia, in the distant provinces where the Mussulman population predominates, the men might be ready, while neither arms, nor equipments, nor stores of ammunition were forthcoming. The Danubian army was formed from the three European Orders principally. They were the nucleus around which the European Redifs, the Order of Syria, or, at least, a good part of it, and a number of Arnauts,[a] Bosnians, and Bashi Bazouks were collected. Yet the excessive caution of Omer Pasha—his constant unwillingness up to the present time to expose his troops in the field—is the best proof that he has but a limited confidence in the capabilities of this, the only good regular army Turkey ever possessed. But in Asia, where the old Turkish system of embezzlement and laziness was still in full blossom, the two Orders of the Nizam, the whole of the Redifs, and the mass of the irregulars were unable to withstand a Russian army vastly inferior in numbers; in every battle they were beaten, and, at the end of the campaign of 1854, the Asiatic army of Turkey had all but ceased to exist. There, then, it is clear that not only the details of the organization, but a great proportion of the troops themselves had no real existence. The want of arms, equipments, ammunition, and provisions, was the constant complaint of the foreign officers and newspaper correspondents in Kars and Erzeroum; and they plainly stated that nothing but the indolence, incapacity, and rapacity of the Pashas was the cause of it. The money was duly sent to them, but they always appropriated it to their own uses.

[a] Turkish name for Albanians.—*Ed.*

The equipment of the Turkish regular soldier is on the whole imitated from the western armies, the only distinction being the red fez or skull-cap, which is about the worst head-gear possible in that climate, where, during the heats of summer, it causes frequent sun-strokes. The quality of the articles furnished is bad, and the clothing has to stand longer than can be expected, in consequence of the officers generally pocketing the money destined for its renewal. The arms are of an inferior description, both for the infantry and cavalry; the artillery alone has very good field-guns, cast at Constantinople, under the direction of European officers and civil engineers.

The Turk, in himself, is not a bad soldier. He is naturally brave, extremely hardy and patient, and, under certain circumstances, docile. European officers who have once gained his confidence, can rely upon him, as witness Grach and Butler at Silistria, and Iskender Bey (Ilinski) in Wallachia. But these are exceptions. On the whole, the innate hatred of the Turk for the "Giaour" is so indelible, and his habits and ideas are so different from those of a European, that, so long as his remains the ruling race in the country, he will not submit to men whom he inwardly despises as incommensurably his inferiors. This repugnance is extended to the very organization of the army, ever since it has been put upon a European footing. The common Turk hates Giaour institutions as much as the Giaours themselves. Then the strict discipline, the regulated activity, the constant attention required in a modern army are things utterly hateful to the lazy, contemplative, fatalist Turk. The officers, even, will rather allow the army to be beaten than exert themselves, and use their own senses. This is one of the worst features in the Turkish army, and alone would suffice to make it unfit for any offensive campaign.

The private and non-commissioned soldiers are recruited by volunteers and the ballot; the lower grades of officers are sometimes filled by men promoted from the ranks, but generally by the camp-followers and domestic servants, the tshibukdjis and kafeidjis of the higher officers. The military schools at Constantinople not very good in themselves, cannot furnish young men enough for the vacancies. As to the higher ranks, a system of favoritism exists, of which the western nations have no idea. Most of the generals were originally Circassian slaves, the *mignons* of some great man in the days of their youth. Utter ignorance, incapacity, and self-sufficiency rule supreme, and court-intrigue is the principal means of advancement. Even the few European generals (renegades) in the service would not have been accepted,

if they had not been absolutely necessary to prevent the whole machine from falling to pieces. As it is, they have been indiscriminately taken, both from men of real merit and mere adventurers.

At present, after three campaigns, no Turkish army can be said to exist, except the 80,000 men of Omer Pasha's original army, part of which is stationed on the Danube, and part in the Crimea. The Asiatic army consists of about 25,000 rabble, unfit for the field, and demoralized by defeat. The remainder of the 400,000 men are gone nobody knows where; killed in the field or by sickness, invalided, disbanded, or turned into robbers. Very likely this will be the last Turkish army of all; for, to recover from the shock received by her alliance with England and France, is more than can be expected from Turkey.

The time is gone by when the contests of Oltenitza[317] and Citate created an exaggerated enthusiasm for Turkish bravery. The stubborn inactivity of Omer Pasha sufficed to raise doubts as to their other military qualifications, which not even the brilliant defense of Silistria could entirely dispel; the defeats in Asia, the flight of Balaklava, the strictly defensive attitude of the Turks in Eupatoria, and their complete inactivity in the camp before Sebastopol have reduced the general estimate of their military capabilities to a proper level. The Turkish army was so constituted that a judgment on its general value was hitherto completely impossible. There were, no doubt, some very brave and well-managed regiments, capable of any duty, but they were greatly in the minority. The great mass of the infantry lacked cohesion, and was, therefore, unfit for field-duty, though good behind intrenchments. The regular cavalry was decidedly inferior to that of any European power. The artillery was by far the best portion of the service, and the field-regiments in a high state of efficiency; the men were as if born for their work, though no doubt the officers left much to desire. The Redifs appear to have suffered from a general want of organization, though the men no doubt were willing to do their best. Of the irregulars, the Arnauts and Bosnians were capital guerrillas, but nothing more, best used in defending fortifications; while the Bashi Bazouks were all but worthless, and even worse than that. The Egyptian contingent appears to have been about on a level with the Turkish Nizam, the Tunisian nearly unfit for anything. With such a motley army, so badly officered and subject to such maladministration, no wonder it is all but ruined in three campaigns.

## II. THE SARDINIAN ARMY

This army is composed of ten brigades of infantry, ten battalions of rifles, four brigades of cavalry, three regiments of artillery, one regiment of sappers and miners, a corps of carabineers (police troops), and the light horse in the island of Sardinia.

The ten brigades of infantry consist of one brigade of guards, four battalions of grenadiers, two battalions of chasseurs, and nine brigades of the line, equal to eighteen regiments of three battalions each. To these are added ten battalions of rifles (bersaglieri), one for every brigade, thus constituting a proportion of light infantry, actually trained, far stronger than in any other army.

There is, besides, a dépôt battalion for every regiment.

Since 1849, the strength of the battalions has been very much reduced, from financial motives. On the war-footing, a battalion should number about 1,000, but on the peace-footing there are no more than about 400 men. The remainder have been dismissed on indefinite furlough.

The cavalry counts four regiments of heavy, and five of light cavalry. Every regiment has four field and one dépôt-squadron. On the war-footing, a regiment should count about 800 men in the four field-squadrons, but on the peace-footing there are scarcely 600.

The three regiments of artillery consist of one regiment of workmen and artificers, one of garrison artillery (twelve companies), and one of field-artillery (six foot, two horse, two heavy batteries of eight guns each). The light batteries have eight lb. guns and twenty-four lb. howitzers, the heavy batteries sixteen lb. guns; in all eighty guns.

The regiment of sappers and miners has ten companies, or about 1,100 men. The carbineers (horse and foot) are very numerous for such a small kingdom, and number about 3,200 men. The light horse, doing duty as police troops in the island of Sardinia, figure about 1,100 strong.

The Sardinian army, in the first campaign against Austria, in 1848, certainly reached the strength of 70,000 men. In 1849, it was very near 130,000.[318] Afterwards it was reduced to about 45,000 men. What it is now it is impossible to say, but there is no doubt that, since the conclusion of the treaty with England and France,[319] it has been again increased.

This great elasticity of the Piedmontese army, which allows it to

increase or diminish the numbers present under arms at any time, arises from a system of recruiting very nearly akin to that of Prussia; and, indeed, Sardinia may be called, in many respects, the Prussia of Italy. There is in the Sardinian states a similar obligation for every citizen to serve in the army, though, unlike Prussia, substitutes are allowed; and the time over which this obligation extends, consists, as in Prussia, of a period of actual service and another period, during which the soldier dismissed from the ranks remains in the reserve, and is liable to be called in again in time of war. The system is something between the Prussian method and that of Belgium and the minor German states. Thus, by calling in the reserves, the infantry, from about 30,000 men, may be raised to 80,000, and even more. The cavalry and field artillery would undergo but a small augmentation, as in these arms the soldiers generally have to remain with the regiments during the whole period of their service.

The Piedmontese army is as fine and soldier-like a body of men as any in Europe. Like the French, they are small in size, especially the infantry; their guards do not average even five feet four inches; but what with their tasteful dress, military bearing, well-knit but agile frames, and fine Italian features, they look better than many a body of bigger men. The dress and equipments are, with the infantry of the line and guards, upon the French principle, with a few details adopted from the Austrians. The bersaglieri have a costume of their own, a little sailor's hat with a long hanging plume of cock-feathers and a brown tunic. The cavalry wear short brown jackets, just covering the hip-bone. The percussion-musket is the general arm of the infantry; the bersaglieri have short Tyrolese rifles, good and useful weapons, but inferior to the Minié in every respect. The first rank of the cavalry used to be armed with lances; whether this is still the case with the light-horse we cannot say. The eight lb. calibre for the horse and light-foot batteries gave them the same advantage over the other continental armies which the French had while they preserved this calibre; but their heavy batteries, carrying sixteen pounders, rendered them the heaviest field artillery of the continent. That these guns, when once in position, can do excellent service, they have shown on the Chernaya,[320] where their accurate firing contributed a great deal to the success of the Allies, and was universally admired.

Of all the Italian states, Piedmont is the best situated for creating a good army. The plains of the Po and its tributaries produce capital horses, and a fine, tall race of men, the tallest of

all Italians, exceedingly well-adapted for cavalry and heavy artillery service. The mountains, which surround these plains on three sides, north, west, and south, are inhabited by a hardy people, less in size, but strong and active, industrious and sharp-witted, like all mountaineers. It is these that form the staple of the infantry, and especially of the bersaglieri, a body of troops nearly equaling the Chasseurs de Vincennes in training, but certainly surpassing them in bodily strength and endurance.

The military institutions of Piedmont are, upon the whole, very good, and, in consequence, the officers bear a high character. So late as 1846, however, the influence of the aristocracy and the clergy had a great deal to do with their appointment. Up to that period, Charles Albert knew but two means of governing—the clergy and the army; in fact, it was a general saying in other parts of Italy, that in Piedmont, out of three men you met in the street, one was a soldier, the second a monk, and only every third man a civilian. At present, of course, this has been done away with; the priests have less than no influence, and, though the nobility preserve many officers' commissions, the wars of 1848 and '49 have stamped a certain democratic character upon the army which it will not be easy to destroy. Some British Crimean newspaper correspondents have stated that the Piedmontese officers were almost all "gentlemen by birth," but so far from this being the case, we know, personally, more than one Piedmontese officer who rose from the ranks, and can safely assert that the mass of the captains and lieutenants are now composed of men who either gained their epaulettes by bravery against the Austrians, or who at least are not connected with the aristocracy.

We think that the greatest compliment that can be paid to the Piedmontese army is contained in the opinion expressed by one of its late opponents, General Schönhals, quarter-master-general of the Austrian army in 1848 and '49. In his "Recollections of the Italian Campaigns", this general, one of the best officers of the Austrian army, and a man violently opposed in every way to anything smacking of Italian independence, treats the Piedmontese army throughout with the highest respect.

"Their artillery [...]," he says, "consists of picked men, under good and well-informed officers; the matériel is good, and the calibre is superior to ours [...]." "The cavalry is no contemptible arm; the first rank carry lances, but as a very adroit rider only can well manage this arm, we should not like to say that this innovation was exactly an improvement. Their school of equitation, however, [...] is very good." "At Santa Lucia, both parties fought with astonishing bravery. The Piedmontese attacked with great vivacity and impetuosity—both Piedmontese and Austrians performed

many feats of great personal valor." "The Piedmontese army [...] has a right to mention the day of Novara without a blush,"—and so on.[a]

In the same way, the Prussian General Willisen, who assisted in part in the campaign of 1848, and who is no friend of Italian independence, speaks highly of the Piedmontese army.[b]

Ever since 1848, a certain party in Italy has looked upon the king of Sardinia as the future chief of the whole peninsula. Though far from participating in that opinion, we still believe that whenever Italy shall reconquer her freedom, the Piedmontese forces will be the principal military instrument in attaining that object, and will, at the same time, form the nucleus of the future Italian army. It may undergo, before that happens, more than one revolution in its own bosom, but the excellent military elements it contains will survive all this and will even gain by being merged in a really national army.

### III. THE SMALLER ITALIAN ARMIES

The papal army hardly exists except on paper. The battalions and squadrons are never complete, and form but a weak division. There is, besides, a regiment of Swiss guards, the only body on which the government can place any reliance. The Tuscan, Parmesan and Modenese armies are too insignificant to be mentioned here; suffice it to say that they are organized, upon the whole, on the Austrian model. There is, besides, the Neapolitan army, of which, too, the least said the sooner mended. It has never shone conspicuously before the enemy, and, whether fighting for the king, as in 1799, or for a constitution, as in 1821, it always distinguished itself by running away.[321] Even in 1848 and '49, the native Neapolitan army was everywhere beaten by the insurgents, and, had it not been for the Swiss, King Bomba[c] would not now be on his throne. During the siege of Rome, Garibaldi advanced with a handful of men against the Neapolitan division and beat it twice.[322] The army of Naples, on the peace-footing, is estimated at 26,000 or 27,000 men, but in 1848 it is stated to have numbered nearly 49,000 men, and the full footing should raise it to 64,000. Of all these troops, the Swiss are alone worth mentioning.

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[a] Engels is quoting from the anonymously published book by C. Schönhals, *Erinnerungen eines österreichischen Veteranen aus dem italienischen Kriege der Jahre 1848 und 1849*, Bd. I, S. 166, 167 and 223; Bd. II, S. 239.—*Ed.*

[b] A reference to W. Willisen's book *Der Italienische Feldzug des Jahres 1848*.—*Ed.*

[c] Ferdinand II. He was nicknamed King Bomba after the bombardment of Messina by Neapolitan troops in 1848.—*Ed.*

They consist of four regiments, of two battalions each, and should number, when complete, 600 men per battalion, or 4,800 men. But the cadres are now overfilled, so that each battalion is about 1,000 strong (the fourth, or Bernese regiment, alone mustering 2,150), and the whole number may be estimated at nearly 9,000. These are really first-rate troops, commanded by officers of their own country, and independent, in their internal organization and administration, from the government of Naples. They were first taken into pay in 1824 or '25, when the king,[a] no longer trusting the army that so shortly before had revolted, found it necessary to surround himself with a strong body-guard. The treaties or "capitulations," as they were called, were concluded with the different cantons for thirty years; the Swiss articles of war and the Swiss military organization were secured to the troops; the pay was three-fold that of the native Neapolitan soldiers; the troops were recruited by volunteers from each canton, where recruiting offices were established. Pensions were secured to retiring officers, veterans, and the wounded. If, at the expiration of the thirty years, the capitulation was not renewed, the regiments were to be broken up. The present Swiss constitution[323] forbids recruiting for foreign service, and the capitulations, therefore, were canceled after 1848; recruiting was stopped, at least ostensibly, in Switzerland, but at Chiasso and other points of Lombardy, dépôts were established, and many a recruiting agent secretly continued his business on Swiss soil. So eager was the Neapolitan government for recruits, that it did not refuse to accept the refuse of the political refugees then in Switzerland. The King of Naples, under these circumstances, confirmed the privileges granted to the Swiss soldiers by the capitulations, and in August last, when the thirty years had elapsed, by a special decree again prolonged these privileges for so long a time as the Swiss should remain in his service.

## IV. THE SWISS ARMY

In Switzerland no national standing army exists. Every Swiss is compelled to serve in the militia, if able-bodied; and this mass is divided into three levies (*Auszug, erstes* and *zweites Aufgebot*[b]), according to age. The young men, during the first years of service, are called out separately for drill, and collected from time

[a] Ferdinand I.—*Ed.*
[b] Men under arms, first levy and second levy.—*Ed.*

to time in camps; but whoever has seen the awkward gait and uncomfortable appearance of a Swiss squad, or heard the jokes they crack with the drill-sergeant while under drill, must at once see that the military qualities of the men are but very poorly developed. Of the soldierly capabilities of this militia we can only judge by the one example of the Sonderbund war, in 1847,[324] which campaign is distinguished by the extremely small number of casualties in proportion to the forces engaged. The organization of the militia is almost entirely in the hands of the various cantonal governments; and, though its general form is fixed by federal laws, and a federal staff is at the head of the whole, this system cannot fail to create confusion and want of uniformity, while it must almost necessarily prevent a proper accumulation of stores, the introduction of improvements, and the permanent fortification of important points, especially on the side where Switzerland is weak, toward Germany.

The Swiss, like all mountaineers, make capital soldiers when drilled; and, wherever they have served as regular troops under foreign banners, they have fought exceedingly well. But being rather slow-headed, they need drilling much more, indeed, than either French or North Germans, to give them confidence in themselves, and cohesion. It is possible that national feeling might possibly replace this in the case of a foreign attack upon Switzerland, but even this is very doubtful. An army of 80,000 regular troops, and less, would certainly be a match for all the 160,000 and more men which the Swiss say they can congregate. In 1798, the French finished the business with a few regiments.[325]

The Swiss boast a great deal of the rifles of their sharp-shooters. There are, certainly, in Switzerland, comparatively more good shots than in any other European country, the Austrian Alpine possessions excepted. But when one sees how these dead shots, when called in, are almost all armed with clumsy common percussion muskets, the respect for the Swiss sharp-shooters is considerably lessened. The few battalions of rifles may be good shots, but their short, heavy pieces (*Stutzen*) are antiquated and worthless compared with the Minié, and their awkward, slow method of loading, with loose powder from a horn, would give them but a poor chance when opposed to troops armed with less superannuated weapons.

Altogether, arms, accoutrements, organization, drill, everything is old-fashioned with the Swiss, and very likely will remain so as long as the cantonal governments have anything to say on the subject.

## V. THE SCANDINAVIAN ARMIES

The Swedish and Norwegian armies, though united under one crown, are as separate as the two countries to which they belong.[326] In contrast to Switzerland, both give us the example of an Alpine country with a standing army; but the Scandinavian peninsula is altogether, by the nature of the soil, and the consequent poverty, and thin population of the country, so much akin to Switzerland, that even in the military organization of both, one system, and that the militia system, predominates.

Sweden has three sorts of troops,—regiments raised by voluntary enlistment (*Värfvade truppar*), provincial regiments (*Indelta truppar*), and Reserve troops. The Värfvade consist of three regiments of infantry, containing six battalions, two of cavalry and three of artillery, with thirteen foot and four horse batteries, altogether 96 six lb., 24 twelve lb., and 16 twenty-four lb. guns. This makes a total of 7,700 men, and 136 guns. These troops contain all the artillery for the whole army.

The Indelta form twenty provincial regiments of two battalions, with five separate battalions of infantry, and six regiments of a strength varying from one to eight squadrons. They are estimated at 33,000 men.

The Reserve troops form the mass of the army. When called in they are expected to reach 95,000 men.

There is, besides, in the province of Götaland, a sort of militia constantly under arms, numbering 7,850 men, in twenty-one companies and sixteen guns. Altogether, therefore, the Swedish army comprises about 140,000 men with 150 field guns.

The volunteers for the enlisted regiments are generally engaged for fourteen years, but the law allows engagements of three years. The Indelta are a sort of militia, living, when once trained, in farms apportioned to them and their families, and called in only once a year for four weeks' drill. They have the revenues of their farms for pay, but when assembled they receive a special compensation. The officers also receive crown-lands on tenure in their respective districts. The Reserve consists of all able-bodied Swedes from twenty to twenty-five years of age; they are drilled a short time, and afterwards called in a fortnight in every year. Thus, with the exception of the few Värfvade and the Gothland troops, the great body of the army—Indelta and Reserve—are, to all intents and purposes, militia.

The Swedes play a part in military history which is beyond all proportion to the scanty population which furnished their

renowned armies. Gustavus Adolphus, in the thirty years' war,[327] marked a new era in tactics by his improvements; and Charles XII, with his adventurous foolhardiness which spoiled his great military talent, actually made them do wonders—such as to take entrenchments with cavalry. In the later wars against Russia, they behaved very well; in 1813, Bernadotte kept them as much as possible out of harm's way, and they were scarcely under fire, unless by mistake, except at Leipsic,[328] where they formed but an infinitesimal part of the allies. The Värfvade, and even the Indelta, will, no doubt, always sustain the character of the Swedish name; but the Reserve, unless assembled and drilled a long time before brought into action, can only figure as an army of recruits.

Norway has five brigades of infantry containing twenty-two battalions and 12,000 men; one brigade of cavalry, of three divisions of chasseurs, containing 1,070 men; and one regiment of artillery of about 1,300 men; beside a reserve of militia, of 9,000 men; altogether about 24,000 men. The character of this army does not vary much from that of Sweden; its only distinguishing feature is a few companies of chasseurs, provided with flat snow-shoes, on which, with the assistance of a long pole, they run, Lapland fashion, very rapidly over the snow.

The Danish army is composed of twenty-three battalions of infantry (one of guards, twelve line, five light, five chasseurs) in four brigades, each battalion numbering about 700 men on the peace-footing; three brigades of cavalry (three squadrons of guards, six regiments of dragoons, of four squadrons each, the squadron containing 140 men in time of peace), and one brigade of artillery (two regiments and twelve batteries with 80 six lb. and 16 twelve lb. guns), and three companies of sappers. Total, 16,630 infantry, 2,900 cavalry, 2,900 artillery and sappers with ninety-six guns.

For the war-footing, each company is raised to 200, or the battalion to 800 men, and each squadron to 180 men, raising the line in all to 25,500 men. Besides, thirty-two battalions, twenty-four squadrons, and six batteries of the reserve can be called in, representing a force of 31,500 men and raising the total of the force to about 56,000 or 57,000 men. Even these, however, can be increased in case of need, as during the late war Denmark proper alone, without either Holstein or Schleswig, could muster from 50,000 to 60,000 men,[329] and the Duchies are now again subject to the Danish conscription.

The army is recruited by ballot, out of the young men of from twenty-two years and upwards. The time of service is eight years,

but actually the artillery remain six years, the line four years only with the regiments, while for the remainder of the time they belong to the reserve. From the thirtieth to the thirty-eighth year the men remain in the first, and then up to the forty-fifth year in the second levy of the militia. This is all very nicely arranged, but, in any war against Germany, nearly one-half of the troops—those from the Duchies—would disband and take up arms against their present comrades. It is this strong admixture of Schleswig-Holsteiners which forms the great weakness of the Danish army, and, in reality, almost nullifies it in any complications with its most powerful neighbor.

The Danish army, since its reorganization in 1848-'49, has been well equipped, well armed, and brought altogether to a very respectable footing. The Dane, from Denmark proper, is a good soldier and behaved very well in almost every action of the three years' war; but the Schleswig-Holsteiner proved himself decidedly his superior. The corps of officers is good upon the whole, but there is too much aristocracy and too little scientific education in it. Their reports are slovenly made, and similar to those of the British, to which army the Danish troops likewise appear related in their want of mobility; but they have not shown of late that they possess such immovable steadiness as the victors of Inkermann. The Schleswig-Holsteiners are, without any dispute, among the best soldiers in Europe. They are excellent artillery men, and as cool in action as the English, their cousins. Though inhabitants of a level country, they make very good light infantry; their first rifle-battalion in 1850 might have vied with any troop of its class.

## VI. THE ARMY OF HOLLAND

The Dutch army numbers thirty-six battalions of infantry in nine regiments, containing 44,000 men in all; four regiments of dragoons composed of twenty squadrons; two squadrons of mounted chasseurs; and two squadrons of gens d'armes; in all, twenty-four squadrons, comprising 4,400 cavalry, with two regiments of field artillery (five six lb. and six twelve lb. foot, two six lb. and two twelve lb. horse batteries, of 120 guns in all), and one battalion of sappers, making a total of 58,000 men, beside several regiments in the colonies. But this army does not always exist in time of peace. There is a nucleus remaining under arms, consisting of officers, subalterns, and a few voluntarily enlisted men. The great mass, though obliged to serve for five years, are drilled during a couple of months, and then dismissed so as to be

called in for a few weeks in each year only. Besides, there is a sort of reserve in three levies, comprising all the able-bodied men from twenty to thirty-five years of age. The first levy forms about fifty-three, and the second twenty-nine battalions of infantry and artillery. But this body is not at all organized, and can hardly be accounted even as militia.

## VII. THE BELGIAN ARMY

The Belgian army has sixteen regiments of infantry, containing forty-nine battalions, beside a reserve battalion for each regiment; comprising in all 46,000 men. The cavalry consists of two regiments of chasseurs, two of lancers, one of guides, two of cuirassiers, making thirty-eight squadrons, beside seven reserve squadrons, in all 5,800 men. There are four regiments of artillery (four horse, fifteen foot batteries, four dépôt batteries, twenty-four garrison companies), with 152 guns, six and twelve pounders; and one regiment of sappers and miners, numbering 1,700 men. The total, without the reserve, is 62,000 men; with the reserve, according to a late levy, it may be raised to 100,000. The army is recruited by ballot, and the term of service is eight years, but about one half of that time is passed on furlough. On the peace-establishment, therefore, the actual force will scarcely reach 30,000 men.

## VIII. THE PORTUGUESE ARMY

The Portuguese army consisted, in 1850, of the following troops:—

| | Peace footing. | War footing. |
|---|---|---|
| Infantry, ..... | 18,738 | 40,401 |
| Cavalry, ..... | 3,508 | 4,676 |
| Artillery, ..... | 2,707 | 4,098 |
| Engineers and Staff | | 495 |
| | 25,681 | 49,670 |

The artillery consists of one field-regiment, of one horse and seven foot batteries; three regiments of position and garrison artillery, and three detached battalions in the islands. The calibre is six and twelve pounds.

## IX. THE SPANISH ARMY

Of all European armies, that of Spain is, from peculiar circumstances, most a matter of interest to the United States. We give, therefore, in concluding this survey of the military establishments of Europe, a more detailed account of this army than its importance, compared with that of its neighbors on the other side of the Atlantic, might seem to warrant.

The Spanish military force consists of the army of the interior, and of the colonial armies.

That of the interior counts one regiment of grenadiers, forty-five regiments of the line, of three battalions each, two regiments of two battalions each in Ceuta, and eighteen battalions of cazadores or rifles. The whole of these 160 battalions formed, in 1852, an effective force of 72,670 men, costing the state 82,692,651 reals, or $10,336,581, a year. The cavalry comprises sixteen regiments of carabineers, or dragoons and lancers, of four squadrons each, with eleven squadrons of cazadores, or light horse, in 1851; in all 12,000 men, costing 17,549,562 reals, or $2,193,695.

The artillery numbers five regiments of foot artillery, of three brigades each, one for each division of the monarchy; beside five brigades of heavy, three of horse, and three of mountain artillery, making a total of twenty-six brigades, or, as they are now called, battalions. The battalion has in the horse artillery two, in the mountain and foot artillery four batteries; in all ninety-two foot and six horse batteries, or 588 field guns.

The sappers and miners form one regiment of 1,240 men.

The reserve consists of one battalion (No. 4) for every infantry regiment, and a dépôt-squadron for each cavalry regiment.

The total force—on paper—in 1851 was 103,000 men; in 1843, when Espartero was upset, it amounted to 50,000 only; but at one time Narváez raised it to above 100,000. On an average 90,000 men under arms will be the utmost.

The colonial armies are as follows:

1. The army of Cuba; sixteen regiments of veteran infantry, four companies of volunteers, two regiments of cavalry, two battalions of four batteries foot, and one battalion of four batteries of mountain artillery, one battalion of horse artillery with two batteries, and one battalion of sappers and miners. Beside these troops of the line, there is a *milicia disciplinada*[a] of four battalions and four squadrons, and a *milicia urbana* of eight squadrons,

[a] Disciplined militia.—*Ed.*

making a total of thirty-seven battalions, twenty squadrons and eighty-four guns. During the last few years this standing Cuban army has been reinforced by numerous troops from Spain; and if we take its original strength at 16,000 or 18,000 men, there will now be, perhaps, 25,000 or 28,000 men in Cuba. But this is a mere approximation.

2. The army of Porto Rico; three battalions of veteran infantry, seven battalions of disciplined militia, two battalions of native volunteers, one squadron of the same, and four batteries of foot artillery. The neglected state of most of the Spanish colonies does not allow any estimate of the strength of this corps.

3. The Philippine Islands have five regiments of infantry, of eight companies each; one regiment of chasseurs of Luzon; nine foot, one horse, one mountain battery. Nine corps of five battalions of native infantry, and other provincial corps, previously existing, were dissolved in 1851.

The army is recruited by ballot, and substitutes are allowed. Every year a contingent of 25,000 men is levied; but, in 1848, three contingents, or 75,000 men, were called out.

The Spanish army owes its present organization principally to Narváez, though the regulations of Charles III, of 1768,[a] still form the groundwork of it. Narváez had actually to take away from the regiments their old provincial colors, different in each, and to introduce the Spanish flag into the army! In the same manner he had to destroy the old provincial organization, and to centralize and restore unity. Too well aware, by experience, that money was the principal moving lever in an army which had almost never been paid and seldom even clad or fed, he also tried to introduce a greater regularity in the payments and the financial administration of the army. Whether he succeeded to the full extent of his wishes, is unknown; but any amelioration introduced by him, in this respect, speedily disappeared during the administration of Sartorius and his successors. The normal state of "no pay, no food, no clothing," was reestablished in its full glory; and while the superior and general officers strut about in coats resplendent with gold and silver lace, or even don fancy uniforms, unknown to any regulations, the soldiers are ragged and without shoes. What the state of this army was ten or twelve years ago, an English author thus describes:—

"The appearance of the Spanish troops is, to the last degree, unsoldierly. The sentry strolls to and fro [...] on his beat, his shako almost falling off the back of his

[a] *Ordenanzas de S. M. para el regimen, disciplina, subordinacion, y servico de sus ejercitos,* T. I-II.—*Ed.*

head, his gun slouched on his shoulders, singing outright [...] a lively seguidilla with the most *sans façon* air in the world. He is, not unfrequently, destitute of portions of his uniform; or his regimental coat and lower continuations are in such hopeless rags, that, even in the sultry summer, the slate-colored great-coat is worn as a slut-cover [...]; the shoes [...], in one case out of three, are broken to pieces, disclosing the naked toes of the men—such in Spain are the glories of the *vida militar.*"[a]

A regulation, issued by Serrano, on Sept. 9, 1843, prescribes that:—

"All officers and chiefs of the army have in future to present themselves in public in the uniform of their regiment, and with the regulation sword, whenever they do not appear in plain clothes; and all officers are also to wear the exact distinctive marks of their rank, and no other, as prescribed, without displaying any more of those arbitrary ornaments and ridiculous trimmings by which some of them have thought proper to distinguish themselves."

So much for the officers. Now for the soldiers:—

"Brigadier General Cordoba has opened a subscription in Cadiz, heading it with his name, in order to procure funds for presenting one pair of cloth trousers to each of the valiant soldiers of the regiment of Asturias!"

This financial disorder explains how it has been possible for the Spanish army to continue, ever since 1808, in a state of almost uninterrupted rebellion. But the real causes lie deeper. The long continued war with Napoleon, in which the different armies and their chiefs gained real political influence, first gave it a pretorian turn. Many energetic men, from the revolutionary times, remained in the army; the incorporation of the guerrillas in the regular force even increased this element. Thus, while the chiefs retained their pretorian pretensions, the soldiers and lower ranks altogether remained inspired with revolutionary traditions. In this way the insurrection of 1819-23 was regularly prepared, and later on, in 1833-43,[330] the civil war again thrust the army and its chiefs into the foreground. Having been used by all parties as an instrument, no wonder that the Spanish army should, for a time, take the government into its own hands.

"The Spaniards are a warlike but not a soldier-like people," said the Abbé de Pradt.[b] They certainly have, of all European nations, the greatest antipathy to military discipline. Nevertheless, it is possible that the nation, which for more than a hundred years was celebrated for its infantry, may yet again have an army of which it can be proud. But, to attain this end, not only the military system, but civil life, still more, requires to be reformed.

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[a] Here and below Engels quotes from the anonymously published book by T. M. Hughes, *Revelations of Spain in 1845*, Vol. I, pp. 326 and 329.—*Ed.*

[b] Dominique de Pradt, *Mémoires historiques sur la révolution d'Espagne*, p. 189.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## GENERAL SIMPSON'S RESIGNATION. —FROM PARLIAMENT

*London*, August 3. The day before yesterday *The Morning Post*, in obviously embarrassed phraseology, informed the British public that General Simpson will soon resign his command under the pretext of weakened health and will have *no* successor.[a] In other words: *the English army is to be placed under French general command.* In this way the Government would shift the responsibility for the conduct of the war from itself onto "our great and glorious ally". Parliament forfeits the last semblance of control. At the same time an infallible means for transforming the alliance between England and France into the most acrimonious dissension between the two nations has been discovered. We see the same master hand at work in whose all too robust grasp the Entente Cordiale[331] broke into pieces in 1839.

Parliament concludes its present session in a fitting manner—with scandals.[b] *First scandal*: the withdrawal of the Bill for limited liability in *private* (not joint-stock) commercial companies at the bidding of the *big* capitalists before whose frowns even the Olympian Palmerston trembles. *Second scandal*: the adjournment *in infinitum* of the Bills regulating lease-hold tenure in Ireland, which have been moving to and fro in both Houses of Parliament for 4 years—a cowardly compromise in which the House of Commons has consented to take back its own work, the Cabinet to break its word and the Irish Brigade[332] to hold the question open

[a] "The Command of the Army in the East", *The Morning Post*, No. 25455, August 2, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the sittings of the House of Commons of July 24, July 30 and August 2. *The Times*, No. 22115, July 25; No. 22120, July 31 and No. 22123, August 3, 1855.—*Ed.*

for exploitation on the hustings.[a] *Final scandal*: Major Reed's motion obliging the Cabinet to recall Parliament in the event of peace being concluded during the recess. Reed is a buffoon, notoriously in Palmerston's pay. His aim was to deceive the House into passing a *vote of confidence* as a result of his "distrustful motion". But the House laughed his motion down, laughed Palmerston down and laughed itself down. It has reached the stage where "laughter" remains the last recourse for depravity to repudiate itself.

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[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## COMMENTARY ON THE PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS

*London*, August 8. The financial report on the British Empire in Asia presented by Vernon Smith (at present Great Mogul and Manu in one person) and Bright's motion to bring this important subject before the Commons at a "debatable" time in the future prompted yesterday's Commons debate on *India*,[a] which we shall leave to one side for the time being since we intend to provide a detailed sketch of conditions in India[333] during the parliamentary recess.

Lord *John Russell* will hardly allow the impending conclusion of this Parliamentary session to pass off without an attempt to make political capital out of his awkward situation. He is *no longer* in the Government, and *not yet* a member of the opposition—this constitutes his awkward situation. The position of leader in the Tory opposition is already occupied, and Russell has nothing to gain from this side. In the liberal opposition Gladstone is pressing to the fore. In his latest and, from his point of view, exemplary speech—on the occasion of the Turkish loan—Gladstone skilfully advocated peace with Russia, by showing the war to be a war at the expense of Turkey and the fighting nationalities, especially Italy.[b] Russell senses that dreadful misfortunes will occur during

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[a] The speeches of Smith, Bright, Russell and Palmerston in the House of Commons on August 7, 1855, were published in *The Times*, No. 22127, August 8, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on July 20, 1855. *The Times*, No. 22112, July 21, 1855.—*Ed.*

the recess, implying a great clamour for peace when Parliament reassembles. He senses that this peace must be demanded on liberal pretexts, all the more so since the Tories have run themselves into the position of the war party *par excellence*. Italy—the pretext for making peace with Russia! Russell envies Gladstone this brainwave and since he is unable to *anticipate* him with this plausible position, he has decided to *absorb* him by translating Gladstone's speech from the sublime style into the trivial. The circumstance that he is no longer in the Government as Palmerston is, and not yet, like Gladstone, in the opposition, promises to make the plagiarism profitable. Thus Russell rose yesterday evening and began by assuring the House that he did "not wish either to diminish or to aggravate the responsibility [...] of the Government". This responsibility was great, however. This year alone £49,000,000 had been voted for war expenses, and it would soon be time to account for this enormous sum. In the Baltic the fleet had done nothing and would probably do still less. The prospects in the Black Sea were no more promising. Austria's change of policy permitted Russia to send its armies from Poland, etc., to the Crimea. On the Asiatic coast catastrophes were impending for the Turkish army. The prospect of sending a foreign legion of twenty to thirty thousand men there as a replacement had disappeared. He regretted that his Viennese despatches had not been laid before Parliament. The Turkish ambassador[a] had completely agreed with him concerning the acceptability of a peace on the basis of the latest Austrian proposals. Should the war be pursued any further against the will of Turkey then in future it would no longer be a question of underwriting loans but of subsidies. Piedmont had joined the Western Powers, but for this it was demanding, and rightly so, a change in the conditions of Italy. Rome was occupied by the French, the Papal States by the Austrians, an occupation which maintained despotism there and in the two Sicilies and prevented the people of Italy from following the example of Spain. Russia's occupation of the Danubian principalities was the excuse for the present war. How to square with this the Franco-Austrian occupation of Italy? The independence of the Pope[b] and thus the balance of Europe was endangered. Could an understanding not be reached with Austria and France concerning changes in the Papal form of government which would permit the evacuation of

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[a] Arif Bey.—*Ed.*
[b] Pius IX.—*Ed.*

the Papal States? Finally the hackneyed advice: the Ministers should not conclude a dishonourable peace, but should also let no opportunity for peace negotiations slip through their hands.

Palmerston replied that "he was not like other people who took upon themselves the responsibility of declaring a war and then shrank back before the responsibility of conducting it. He was not such a man as that". (He indeed knows what "responsibility" involves.) Conditions for peace depended upon the results of war, and the results of war depended upon all sorts of circumstances, i.e., upon chance. (Thus chance is responsible for the results of war and the results of war are responsible for the conditions of peace.) As far as he (Palmerston) knew, Turkey was in complete agreement with the views of France and England. Even if this were not so, Turkey was *merely a means*, not an end in the struggle against Russia. The "enlightened" Western Powers must know better what was advantageous than the decaying Eastern Power. (This is a splendid commentary on the declaration of war against Russia, in which the war is described as a purely "defensive war" on Turkey's behalf; on the notorious Vienna Note which the "enlightened" Western Powers wished to force upon Turkey, etc.) As for Italy, that was a ticklish question. A dreadful state of affairs reigned in Naples, but why? Because it was the ally of Russia, a *despotic* state. As for the condition of Italy occupied by Austria and France (not despotic states?), "the governments there are not, to be sure, in accordance with the feelings of the people", but the occupation was necessary to maintain "order". Besides, France had reduced the number of troops in Rome and Austria had evacuated Tuscany completely. Finally Palmerston congratulated England upon the alliance with France, which was now so intimate that actually only "*one Cabinet*" was governing on both sides of the Channel. And he had just been denouncing Naples for its alliance with a despotic state! And now he congratulated England on the same thing! The point of Palmerston's speech was that he used military tirades to conclude a session he had been able to keep so free of military deeds.

Using Italy as a false pretext for peace, in the same way as he had used Poland and Hungary as a false pretext for war after his return from Vienna, was naturally a matter of no consequence to Russell. It did not embarrass him to forget that as premier in 1847-1852 he had allowed Palmerston, first to help stir up Italy with false promises, only to abandon it later on to Bonaparte and King Ferdinand, to the Pope and the Emperor.[a] [334] That did not

[a] Francis Joseph I.—*Ed.*

matter to him. What mattered to him was snatching the "Italian pretext" from Gladstone and making it his own.

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# Karl Marx

## THE MILITARY FORCES AGAINST RUSSIA

*London*, August 11. At the moment the armies mustered by the allies against Russia are limited, apart from their own troops, to:

1. a small Piedmontese auxiliary corps of 15,000 men—a corps extorted from Piedmont by the concerted threats of England, France and Austria. This bloodletting of Piedmont was one of the conditions Austria made for selling its adhesion to the "Treaty of 2 December"[335];
2. the *Foreign Legion*, amounting to a few thousand troops—an *olla podrida*[a] of occidental mercenaries enticed bit by bit surreptitiously and illegally away from their respective countries;
3. an *Italian Legion* of 4,000 to 5,000 men, still in the process of formation;
4. a *Polish Legion*, existing in the form of a project;
5. finally, in the distant future, a *Spanish* auxiliary corps, to represent "dire financial necessity".

This motley sample card of volunteer corps and diminutive armies provides a map of the Europe England and France have in their retinue at this moment. Can one conceive of a more consummate caricature of the army of nations which the first Napoleon rolled into motion against Russia?

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[a] Hotchpotch (literally: rotten stew).—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE POLAND MEETING[336]

*London*, August 13. The repeated angry sallies of the Government newspapers against the great Poland meeting which took place last Wednesday in St. Martin's Hall[a] necessitate some marginal notes. The initiative for the meeting evidently originated with the Government itself. The "Literary Association of the Friends of Poland",[337] an association composed of Czartoryski's supporters on the one hand and English aristocrats with a friendly disposition towards Poland on the other, was pushed forward as a front. From its inception this association has been a blind tool in the hands of Palmerston, who manipulated and controlled it through the mediation of the recently deceased Lord Dudley Stuart. The addresses concerning Poland and deputations which it sent to Palmerston each year were one of the most significant aids he had in keeping his "anti-Russian" reputation alive. For their part Czartoryski's supporters gained important advantages from this connection: they figured as the only respectable, so to say "official" representatives of the Polish emigration, they could keep down the democratic party among the emigrants and they had the association's significant material means of relief at their disposal as recruiting funds for their own party. The controversy between the Literary Association and the "Centralisation"[338] of the Democratic Polish Association has been fierce and long-lived. In 1839 the latter held a great public meeting in London, exposing the intrigues of the "Literary" Association, unfurling the past history of the Czartoryskis (this was done by Ostrowski, the author of a

[a] The meeting was held on August 8, 1855. Reports on it were published in *The Times*, No. 22128, August 9, 1855, and in *The People's Paper*, No 70, August 11, 1855.—*Ed.*

history of Poland written in English[a]) and openly declaring its opposition to the diplomatic-aristocratic "restorers" of Poland. From this moment the position which the "Literary" Association had usurped was undermined. In passing, it should be noted that the events of 1846 and of 1848-49[339] added a third element to the Polish emigration, a socialist group, but this, together with the democrats, opposes the Czartoryski party.

The purpose of the meeting held at the instigation of the Government was threefold: to form a Polish legion and thus get rid of part of the "Polish foreigners" by sending them to the Crimea; to refurbish Palmerston's popularity; and finally to deliver any potential Polish movement into his own hands and those of Bonaparte. The government press claims that a deeply laid conspiracy inspired by Russian agents thwarted the purpose of the meeting. Nothing could be more ridiculous than this assertion. The majority of the audience in St. Martin's Hall was made up of London Chartists. The anti-Government amendment* was moved by an Urquhartist and seconded by an Urquhartist—Collet and Hart. Leaflets distributed in the hall said that

> "the meeting had been called by English aristocrats simply trying to maintain the old British system of government, etc.". "Poland, which condemned every alliance with the present rulers of Europe, did not wish to be restored by any of the existing governments, nor sink to being a tool of diplomatic intrigue, etc."

These leaflets were signed by the president and the secretary of the "Polish Democratic Committee". Now considering that in London all three factions, Chartists, Urquhartists and the really "democratic" Polish emigration are on anything but friendly terms with one another, every suspicion of a "conspiracy" vanishes. The noisy interruptions of the meeting were provoked exclusively by the unparliamentary refusal by the chairman, Lord Harrington, to read out Collet's amendment and put it to the vote. They were aggravated by the secretary of the "Literary

* The following is the wording of Collet's amendment, which was adopted by the meeting: "That this meeting, cordially desiring the restoration of Polish nationality, cannot forget that the destruction of that nationality was mainly owing to the perfidious conduct of Lord Palmerston from 1830 to 1846; that so long as Lord Palmerston is a servant of the Crown, no proposal for the restoration of Poland can be anything but a sham and a delusion, and that the truth of this proposition is shown by the fact that Lord Palmerston has carried on the war in such a way as to avoid, as far as possible, injuring Russia, while he has proposed terms of peace which utterly destroy the integrity and independence of Turkey."

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[a] J. B. Ostrowski, *The History of Poland,* Vols. I-II.—*Ed.*

Association of the Friends of Poland" Colonel *Szulszewski's* notion of shouting for a constable to have Collet arrested. The tumult naturally reached its climax when Lord Harrington, Sir Robert Peel and their friends fled the platform and quit the premises. With the appointment of George Thompson as president in place of Harrington tranquillity was instantly restored.

The specimens of England's ruling class prominent at this Poland meeting were by no means calculated to instil any special respect for the patriciate. The Earl of *Harrington* may perhaps be a very good man, but he is indubitably a very bad speaker. It would be impossible to witness a more embarrassing performance. Only by means of supreme exertion could his lordship stammer forth two connected words. To this moment he failed to conclude a single sentence of his speech. In the meantime this was done for him—by the stenographers. His lordship is a military man and undoubtedly brave, but judging from the way he conducted the Poland meeting, he is better fitted for any other vocation than for that of being a leader. As a speaker Lord *Ebrington*, the midwife of the Sunday Bill, is only a little better than the Earl of Harrington. His physiognomy betrays obstinacy, his skull has the form of a battering ram. He has one undeniable merit. Arguments cannot defeat him. Napoleon once declared that Englishmen did not know when they were beaten. In this respect Ebrington is a model Englishman.

After the lords came the baronets. Lord Ebrington proposed the government motion on the restoration of Poland; Sir Robert Peel followed him and spoke as his seconder. In many respects no greater contrast can be imagined than exists between the "Member for Tamworth" (Peel) and the "Member for Marylebone" (Ebrington). The former is a roguish and natural humbug, the latter an affected and puritanical chicken heart. The one amuses, the other disgusts. Sir Robert Peel gives the impression of a traveller in wines who has been raised to the nobility, Lord Ebrington of an inquisitor converted to Protestantism. Tony Lumpkin and Beau Brummell rolled into one would, more or less, produce the incongruity exhibiting itself in Peel's person, dress and manner. An extraordinary mixture of clown and dandy. Palmerston is extremely partial to this oddity from Tamworth. He finds it serviceable. Whenever he wants to know which way the popular wind is blowing, he hoists aloft Sir Robert Peel to act as his weather-vane. When he desired to know if public opinion in England would sanction the expulsion of Victor Hugo, etc., he let Sir Robert Peel deliver a denunciation of the refugees and an

apology for Bonaparte.[340] So once again in relation to Poland. He exploits him as a "feeler". Peel is extraordinarily fitted for this not particularly dignified role. He is what the English call "a chartered libertine",[a] a dashing madcap, a privileged eccentric, for whose impulses and outbursts, erratic manoeuvrings, words and deeds no Government is held responsible, nor any party. Sir Robert came to the Poland meeting padded out and, it is said, made up in the artistic fashion. He appeared to be girdled, wore a crimson rose in his buttonhole, was as perfumed as a milliner and in his right hand he flourished a huge umbrella with which he beat time as he spoke. By a highly ironic coincidence the ex-vicepresident of the Association for Administrative Reform,[341] Mr. *Tite*, followed hard on the heels of the lords and the baronets. Since the influence of this association gained him the designation of the Solon of Bath he has begun his parliamentary career, as is well known, by voting *against* Scully's motion for a piece of administrative reform and *for* Palmerston's Turkish loan, while *abstaining*, with great moderation, from voting on Roebuck's motion.[b] The lords and the baronets seemed to be pointing at him and snickering: There you have our substitute! It is unnecessary to describe Mr. Tite in detail. Shakespeare did so when he invented the immortal Shallow, compared by Falstaff to one of the little men made out of cheese-parings after supper.[c]

In contrast to all these gentlemen the very first words of an unknown young plebeian named *Hart* gave the impression that he was a man able to inspire and to govern great masses. Now we can understand the Government's vexation at the Poland meeting. It was not only a defeat for Palmerston, but even more so for the class he represents.

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[a] Shakespeare, *Henry V*, Act I, Scene 1, quoted by Marx in English.—*Ed.*

[b] Scully submitted his motion to the Commons on July 10, 1855; Palmerston's motion on the Turkish loan was submitted on July 20; for Roebuck's motion, submitted on July 17, see this volume, pp. 337-38, 355-57 and 363.—*Ed.*

[c] Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, Second Part, Act III, Scene 2.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## ON THE CRITIQUE OF AUSTRIAN POLICY IN THE CRIMEAN CAMPAIGN[342]

*London*, August 15. Bratiano recently addressed a letter to *The Daily News* in which he depicts the suffering of the inhabitants of the Danubian principalities under the Austrian army of occupation, alludes to the equivocal attitude of the French and English consuls and then puts this question:

"Is Austria acting as an ally or even as a *neutral party* when she maintains an army of 80,000 in the principalities thereby, as the official despatches prove, preventing the Turks entering Bessarabia and also the formation of a Romanian army which could have taken an active part in the war, while withdrawing 200,000 men from Galicia thus enabling Russia to send a similar number to the Crimea?"

Austria's ambiguous position arose the moment when neither neutral nor an ally, she set herself up as a *mediator*. The following extract from a despatch of Lord Clarendon to the Viennese Cabinet, dated June 14, 1853, seems to prove that *England* in part forced her into this role:

"If the Russian army proceeded beyond the Principalities, and other provinces of Turkey were invaded, a general rising of the Christian population would ensue, not in favour of Russia, nor in support of the Sultan,[a] but for their own independence; and it would be needless to add that such a revolt would not be long in extending itself to the Danubian Provinces of Austria but it would be for the Austrian Government to judge of the effect it might produce in Hungary and in Italy, and the encouragement it must give to the promoters of disorder throughout Europe whom Austria has reason to fear, and who even now would appear to think that the moment is at hand for the realisation of their projects. It was these considerations, I said, that rendered Her Majesty's[b] Government most anxious to unite with Austria for an object so essential to the best interests of society, and to endeavour with her to discover some mode by which the just claims of Russia may be reconciled with the sovereign rights of the Sultan."

[a] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*
[b] Queen Victoria's.—*Ed.*

Another question concerning Austrian policy remains as unanswered at the conclusion of the parliamentary session as at the start. What was Austria's position with regard to the *Crimean expedition*? On July 23 this year Disraeli asked Lord John Russell on what authority he had declared that "*one of the principal causes of the Crimean expedition was the refusal of Austria to cross the river Pruth*".[a]

Lord John Russell could not remember—i.e., he said "his authority was a vague recollection, a general recollection". Disraeli then addressed the same question to Palmerston, who said

"he would not answer questions taken piecemeal from a long course of negotiations between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of one of the Sovereigns[b] who was *to a certain degree* in alliance with Her Majesty."

With this apparently evasive answer Palmerston was evidently only indirectly confirming Russell's claim, pleading delicacy with regard to the "ally to a certain degree". Let us now move from the House of Commons to the House of Lords. On June 26 this year Lord Lyndhurst delivered his philippic against Austria:

"Early in June" (1854) "Austria resolved on making a demand upon Russia to evacuate the principalities. That demand was made in very strong terms with something like an intimation that if it were not complied with Austria would resort to forcible means to secure this object."

After some historical remarks Lyndhurst continues:

"Well, did Austria then immediately carry into effect any attack upon Russia? Did she attempt to enter the principalities? Far from it. She abstained from doing anything for a period of several weeks, and it was only when the siege of Silistria had been raised and the Russian army was in retreat, and when Russia herself had served a notice that she would within a certain time leave the principalities and retire behind the Pruth [...]—that Austria again remembered her engagements."[c]

In reply to this speech Lord *Clarendon* declared:

"When Austria entered into these successive engagements with England and France and when she made those extensive and costly preparations for war, when, moreover she urgently proposed that military commissioners should be sent by France and England to the head-quarters of General Hess, I have no doubt she intended and expected war. But she also expected that long before the season for military operations began the allied armies would have obtained decisive victories in the Crimea, that they would be free, and would be able to undertake other

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[a] Disraeli's questions and the replies by Russell and Palmerston were published in *The Times*, No. 22114, July 24, 1855. Disraeli quotes from Russell's speech in the House of Commons on July 19, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Presumably Francis Joseph.—*Ed.*

[c] The speeches of Lyndhurst and others who took part in the debate in the House of Lords on June 26, 1855, were published in *The Times*, No. 22091, June 27, 1855.—*Ed.*

operations in concert with her own forces. That, unfortunately, was not the case; and if Austria had at our invitation declared war, she would in all probability have had to wage that war *single-handed.*"

Still more astonishing is *Ellenborough*'s later statement in the House of Lords, which to this moment has not been challenged by any minister:

"*Before* the expedition to the Crimea was despatched, Austria proposed to communicate with the allied Powers on the subject of future military operations; acting, however, upon preconceived opinions, the allies sent that expedition, and *then* Austria at once said that she could not meet the Russians single-handed, and that *the expedition to the Crimea rendered it necessary for her to adopt a different course of action.* At a subsequent period, just at the commencement of the conference at Vienna, when it was of the greatest possible importance that Austria should act with us—at that time, still looking to nothing but the success of your operations in the Crimea, you withdrew from the immediate vicinity of Austria 50,000 good Turkish troops, thus depriving Austria of the only assistance on which she could rely in the event of a military expedition against Russia. It is clear, therefore, my lords, and also from the recent statements of the noble earl, Clarendon, that it is our ill-advised expedition to the Crimea which has paralysed the policy of Austria, and which has reduced her to her present difficult position. *Before* that expedition sailed to the Crimea I warned the Government. [...] I warned them of the effect which that expedition would produce upon the policy of Austria."

Here then we have a direct contradiction between the statement of Clarendon, the Foreign Secretary, between his statement and the statement of Lord John Russell and the statement of Lord Ellenborough. Russell says: the Crimean expedition sailed because Austria refused to cross the Pruth, i.e., to take sides against Russia with arms in hand. No, says Clarendon. Austria could not take sides against Russia because the Crimean expedition did not have the desired result. Finally, Lord Ellenborough: the Crimean expedition was undertaken against the will of Austria, and forced her to abstain from the war with Russia. These contradictions—however one may interpret them—prove in any case that the ambiguity was not merely to be found on the side of the Austrians.

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## THE ANGLO-FRENCH WAR AGAINST RUSSIA[343]

[*Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 385, August 20, 1855]

*London*, August 17. The Anglo-French war against Russia will undoubtedly always figure in military history as "the *incomprehensible* war". Big talk combined with minimal action, vast preparations and insignificant results, caution bordering on timidity, followed by the foolhardiness that is born of ignorance, generals who are more than mediocre coupled with troops who are more than brave, almost deliberate reverses on the heels of victories won through mistakes, armies ruined by negligence, then saved by the strangest of accidents—a grand ensemble of contradictions and inconsistencies. And this is nearly as much the distinguishing mark of the Russians as of their enemies. If the British have destroyed an exemplary army through the maladministration of the civil servants and the slothful incompetence of the officers; if the French have had to run useless risks and suffer enormous losses simply because Louis Napoleon affected to run the war from Paris, the Russians for their part have suffered similar losses as a result of maladministration and foolish but peremptory orders from Petersburg. Ever since the Turkish wars of 1828-29 Tsar Nicholas's military talents have been "passed over in silence" even by his most servile eulogists. If the Russians have Todtleben, who is *not a Russian*, they have on the other hand Gorchakov and [other]... *ovs* who in no respect yield to the S[ain]t-Arnauds and Raglans in the matter of incompetence.

One would have supposed that now, at any rate, when so many minds are occupied in drawing up plausible plans for attack and defence, and given this ever increasing mass of men and material, some breath-taking idea must needs be born. Not a bit of it, however. The war drags on and its prolongation serves only to

enlarge the area over which it is being fought. The greater the proliferation of new theatres of war, the less the activity in each of them. We now have six: *the White Sea, the Baltic, the Danube, the Crimea, the Caucasus* and *Armenia*. What has been happening throughout this stupendous area can be told in the space of one column.

Of the *White Sea*, the Anglo-French wisely say nothing at all. Here they have only two practicable military aims: to prevent the coastal and other trade of the Russians in these waters and, if possible, to capture Archangel. The former has been attempted, but only up to a point; this year as well as last the Allied squadrons always arrived too late and sailed away too soon. The second object, the seizure of Archangel, has never been embarked upon. Instead of carrying out this, its real task, the blockading squadron has scattered to carry out slovenly attacks on Russian and Lapp villages and the destruction of what little the needy fishermen possess. The excuse proffered by English correspondents for these ignominious goings-on is the morose irritability of a squadron that feels itself incapable of getting down to serious work! Some defence!

On the *Danube* nothing is happening. The delta of this river is not even being cleared of the brigands who infest it. Austria holds the key to the door that leads into Russia from this side and seems determined to hang on to it.

In the *Caucasus* all is quiet. The formidable Circassians, like all barbarian and independent mountain-dwellers, seem to be perfectly content with the withdrawal of the Russian mobile column from their valleys and to have no desire to descend into the plain save on looting forays. They know how to fight only on their own territory and seem, furthermore, far from delighted at the prospect of annexation by Turkey.

In *Asia* Turkey may be seen as she reall is—her army there fully reflects the decayed state of the empire. It was deemed necessary to call on the Frankish *giaour* for assistance; but the Franks[a] could do nothing there save throw up field-works. All their attempts at making the troops adopt civilised methods of warfare failed utterly. The Russians have invested Kars and are apparently prepared to attack it systematically. It is difficult to see how the town can be relieved, unless Omer Pasha lands at Batum with 20,000 men and attacks the Russians in the flank. It is incomprehensible, and by no means a feather in the Russians' cap,

[a] A name frequently applied to West Europeans in the Middle East.—*Ed.*

that they should have acted so cautiously and hesitantly in the face of such an ill-disciplined adversary, when they had 20,000-30,000 good troops at their disposal. Whatever successes they may score in this theatre of war, the most they can achieve is the capture of Kars and Erzerum, for a march on Constantinople through Asia Minor is quite out of the question. For the time being, therefore, the war in Asia is of no more than local interest and, since it is hardly possible, given the inaccuracy of existing maps, to express from afar an accurate tactical and strategical opinion, we shall not pursue the matter further. There remain the two principal theatres of war, the Crimea and the Baltic.

[*Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 387, August 21, 1855]

*London*, August 18. In the Crimea the siege drags on lethargically.[a] The French and British were at work throughout the whole month of July on the new *approaches* to the Redan and the Malakhov and, though we were repeatedly given to understand that they had moved "quite close" to the Russians, we now learn that on August 4 the head of the sap was no closer than 115 metres to the Russian main ditch, and perhaps not even as close as that. It is certainly satisfactory to see Hotspur Pélissier[b] brought down to the acknowledgement that his "system of assault" has failed, and that regular siege works must pave the way for his columns; but for all that, to leave 200,000 men quiet in their tents to wait for the completion of these trenches, and to die in the

[a] Instead of this sentence the *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "Our files of English, French and German journals, received yesterday morning by the mail of the *Canada*, shed no additional light on the battle of August 16, on the Chernaya, where Liprandi was repulsed by the Allied forces and a number of Russian prisoners taken. With regard to this affair, we must wait for the next steamer before we can receive any satisfactory details. It is rather suspicious, however, that so little was known about it at Paris and London previous to the sailing of the *Canada*. Had it been really as decisive as the English journals represent, something more than the very incomplete statements now in our possession would naturally have been made public.

"It appears that the assault on the Malakoff, which was expected to have taken place on the 15th, had to be postponed, and that the preliminary bombardment did not commence till the 17th. Indeed, there is reason to suspect that the siege works are not in so forward a state as the journals of Paris and London have reported."—*Ed.*

[b] Pélissier is ironically compared to Sir Henry Percy (1364-1403) called Hotspur, the eldest son of the first earl of Northumberland, as portrayed in Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, Part 1.—*Ed.*

meantime of cholera and fever, is singular management. If—as the Paris papers maintain—the Chernaya cannot be crossed in view of the impregnable Russian position on the far side, something useful might at least be achieved by a sea-borne expedition to Eupatoria and an attempt to force the Russians on this side into the open field and to find out their real strength and the state of their resources. As matters now stand the Turkish, Sardinian and half the French and British armies have been reduced to the role of passive onlookers. Hence a large part of them could be used for diversions. But the only diversions we have heard of are those created every evening at Astley's Amphitheatre, in Surrey Gardens and Cremorne Gardens where, amidst a storm of applause from the patriotic cockneys,[a] the Russians suffer frightful defeats.

The Russians must by now have received all their reinforcements and will be at maximum strength during the period that lies immediately ahead. The British are sending out a few more regiments, the French have despatched 10,000-15,000 men with more to follow and all in all 50,000-60,000 fresh troops are to be added to the allied forces in the Crimea. On top of that the French Government has registered or bought a large number of river steamers (variously put at between 50 and 100), all of which are to be used for an expedition in the Black Sea. Whether they are intended for the Sea of Azov or the entry to the Dnieper and the Bug, where Ochakov, Kinburn, Kherson and Nikolayev would constitute objects of attack, remains to be seen. We mentioned on a previous occasion that some bloody affrays might be expected towards the middle of August, for at that time the Russians, after receiving reinforcements, would again seize the *initiative*.[b] Under General Liprandi they have in fact carried out a sortie directed against the French and Sardinians on the Chernaya and been beaten off with heavy loss.[344] Allied losses have *not* been stated and must therefore have been very considerable. Something more than telegraphic reports will be needed if this affair is to be discussed in greater detail.[c]

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[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 363-64.—*Ed.*

[c] Instead of this paragraph and the greater part of the preceding one, beginning with the words "If—as the Paris papers maintain—the Chernaya cannot be crossed", the *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "It must be confessed that from first to last, this has been a war of incapacities on both sides. Todtleben is the only man in either camp who has shown a spark of genius."—*Ed.*

Finally, in the *Baltic,* "a great blow has been struck"[a]! *Vide* the English press. Bombardment of Sweaborg[345]! Destruction of Sweaborg! Earthworks and all other installations lie in ruins! Sweaborg has actually ceased to exist! Glorious triumph for the Allies! The Navy is in an indescribable state of enthusiasm! And now let us consider the facts as they are.[b] The Allied fleets, six liners, four or five large frigates (blockships[c]), and about thirty mortar-vessels and gunboats, crossed over from the Revel to Sweaborg on August 7. On the 8th they took up their positions. The vessels of light draft passed through the shoals and rocks west of the fortress, where no large ship can pass, and apparently drew up at long range from the islands on which Sweaborg is situated. The large vessels remained outside, and as far as we can judge out of range of the forts. Then the gunboats and mortar-vessels opened fire. No direct firing appears to have been attempted. It was all shelling from mortars or shell guns at the highest elevation practicable. The bombardment lasted forty-five hours. As to the amount of damage inflicted it is not possible to estimate without detailed accounts from both parties. The arsenal and various magazines of powder (apparently small ones) were destroyed. The "*town*" of Sweaborg (so far as we know, only a few houses inhabited by people connected with the fleet or the works) was burnt. As to the fortifications themselves, the damage done to them cannot but be insignificant, for the fleets, as both Admirals state, had *not a man killed,* only a few wounded, and no loss whatever in *matériel.*[d] No better proof could be given that they kept out of harm's way. In that case they might bombard, but could not act by direct fire, by which alone fortifications can be destroyed. Dundas, who is far more honest and collected in his report than the French Admiral, according to the *Moniteur's* rendering of the text which may have been coloured in Paris, avers that the damage inflicted was confined to the three islands (out of the seven constituting Sweaborg) which are situated west of the main entrance to the bay of Helsingfors. An attack on the

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[a] The words in quotation marks are given both in German and in English in the original.—*Ed.*

[b] Instead of the preceding part of this paragraph the *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "With regard to the attack on Sweaborg, we are also still without full official reports or newspaper correspondence. The facts, however, appear on a careful examination of all the information at hand to be as follows."—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*

[d] The reference is to the report of Admiral Dundas, which was published in *The Times,* No. 22134, August 16, 1855, and that of the French Admiral Penaud, published in *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 227, August 15, 1855.—*Ed.*

main entrance does not even seem to have been attempted. It seems that the large vessels looked on and did nothing, and the decisive act in such an attack—the landing of troops to possess themselves of the works and destroy them—was entirely out of the question. Thus the damage inflicted falls upon stores and storehouses exclusively—that is, upon matters easily replaced; and if the Russians avail themselves of their time and means, Sweaborg may in three weeks be in as good a condition as ever. Militarily speaking, it has not suffered at all; the material results of the whole affair are hardly worth its cost; and it seems to have been undertaken merely because the Baltic fleet must do something before it comes home for the season, partly because Palmerston wanted to conclude the parliamentary session with a firework. Unfortunately the event occurred 24 hours too late for this purpose. Such was the glorious destruction of Sweaborg by the Allied fleets. We shall revert to the matter as soon as detailed reports are to hand.[a]

Written on August 17 and 18, 1855

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Marked with the sign ×

An abridged English version of the second part of the article was published as a leading article in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4483, September 1, 1855, and reprinted in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 1072, September 4, 1855

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[a] The end of this paragraph from the words "partly because Palmerston wanted..." is omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## EVENTS AT THE THEATRES OF WAR

*London*, August 22. The reports of Admirals Penaud and Dundas[a] confirm the assessment which we have made of the "glorious destruction of Sweaborg, the Gibraltar of the North" (*Times* terminology). Thus we read today in one of the London newspapers:

> "The great bombardment of Sweaborg was such that one can only say that it has perhaps inflicted considerable damage on the enemy owing to the spread of fire. We do not, however, seem to have gained much by it. The success was neither brilliant nor substantial. As much remains undone in the Baltic as before."[b]

Of course *The Times*, needing fair weather and good tidings during the Queen's trip to France,[346] having painted nothing but *couleur de rose* for the last few days and pretending to be suffering from a fit of optimism—*The Times* stubbornly insists on dreaming of the destruction of the "town" of Sweaborg.

As far as the Chernaya affair[347] is concerned, further reports, above all, are required for its proper evaluation. For everything depends on how far the battle was centred on the narrow passes of the Chernaya and to what extent the depth of the water made the river a real obstacle. If the battle took place in front of the French lines without such an obstacle then this would cast great discredit on the Russians. If, on the other hand, it was a case of forcing narrow passes which could not be circumvented, this would explain the large Russian losses, and both sides may have

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[a] The report of Penaud was published in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 230, August 18, 1855, and that of Dundas in *The Times*, No. 22138, August 21, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] In a report from Paris of August 15 published in *The Times*, No. 22135, August 17, 1855.—*Ed.*

acquitted themselves honourably. But in any case it is not clear why the Russians failed to attempt a detour through the Baidar Valley. It is, however, certain that if the allies do not voluntarily move out, the Russians have now proved their inability to expel them from the plateau and the Chernaya line. And so the old dilemma has cropped up again.

The storming of Malakhov may be expected any day now. If it fails, the Allies are in a difficult position. If it succeeds, which is after all possible, though only with tremendous losses, this still does not mean that the south side is lost, unless evacuation should be necessary due to lack of provisions. But at any rate the Allies would have achieved the prospect of driving out the Russians before winter. The reports about the state of health of the English army in the Crimea are contradictory. According to one account every month 1,000 English soldiers in the trenches become unfit for duty. It is certain that out of a single regiment, the 10th Hussars, with a force of 676 men, 161 are sick. Dr. Sutherland, head of the health commission despatched to the Crimea by the government, writes in a letter to Lord Shaftesbury inter alia:

"Week ending July 7. Strength of the British army 41,593, total deaths 150, deaths from cholera 71, deaths from fever 17, deaths from diarrhoea 19, deaths from dysentery 2. Week ending July 14. Strength of the army 42,513, total deaths 123, deaths from cholera 55, deaths from fever 18, deaths from diarrhoea 10, deaths from dysentery 5. The deaths from wounds for these two weeks were 44 and 30, making a total of 74." [a]

The ratio of deaths due to disease to deaths due to injuries during the first two weeks of July is thus almost 4:1. Dr. Sutherland makes the following contrast between the Army's state of health last winter and this summer:

"The winter mortality was a far different thing from the summer mortality. Hardly any of the causes—namely, bad food, want of rest, overwork, want of clothing and shelter, and exposure to the elements, which caused scorbutis over the whole army—exist now. [...] All the cases then were scorbutic, and hence the awful mortality in the hospitals at Scutari; it was exactly like the Irish famine fever" (1847); "now we have [...] fever and cholera, the intensity of which in our camp has been, no doubt, most materially lessened by the great care bestowed on the men."

The besieged army's state of health is at present indisputably worse than that of the besiegers. Dr. Sutherland's letter can, however, by no means command full confidence since, as a recent

[a] The letter was printed in *The Times*, No. 22139, August 22, 1855.—*Ed.*

incident has shown, criticism within the English camp is *punished*. Approximately six weeks ago *The Times* published an anonymous letter denouncing the unforgivable treatment of the wounded after the bloody carnage of June 18.[a] The War Office demanded the name of the correspondent from *The Times*. The demand was rejected, unless Mr. Frederick Peel expressly promised that the correspondent would not suffer any reprisals because of his revelations. Peel would not accept this condition but denounced the refusal of *The Times* in Parliament. Mr. Bakewell (assistant surgeon[b]), the author of the letter in question, had in the meantime been sent on sick-leave to Scutari. This occurred in the middle of July. The authorities in the camp discovered somehow or other that he had written the letter. Behind his back, and *during his absence*, a court of inquiry was set up consisting of superior medical officials, for the most part personally compromised by Bakewell's letter. This court condemned him, without giving him the chance to defend himself or submit evidence to substantiate his charges. On August 3 his dismissal[c] was announced in the general *ordre du jour* of the army. One should gauge the credibility of the official or semi-official English reports on the state of health of the army, care of the injured, etc., with this incident in mind.

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[a] [R. H. Bakewell,] "The Wounded before Sebastopol. To the Editor of *The Times*", *The Times*, No. 22098, July 5, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Times*, No. 22139, August 22, 1855.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## NAPIER'S LETTER

*London*, August 24. Today's newspapers have published a letter from Sir *Charles Napier*, in which our view of the Sweaborg affair[a] is substantially confirmed. We give the following excerpt from it.

"It will be seen by what I have written and by Admiral Dundas's despatch,[b] had my plan been followed up to the letter, Sweaborg would have been annihilated. It appears that the allies had only 43 gun and mortar boats, and many mortars have been disabled; they ought at least to have had 100—Sir James Graham in a letter to me" (1854) "said 200. Had that number been there the bombardment would have been continued by means of reliefs, as men are relieved in the trenches. The mortars would have had time to cool, and the bombardment continued till not one stone was left on another, and an opening made for the ships to go in and finish the work. Instead of that, the Admiralty do not seem to have foreseen that mortars could not stand for ever, though they must have had reports from Sebastopol; and thus an operation which appears to have been managed with great judgment has only met with partial success, for Admiral Dundas, in his report, admits the sea defences were little injured. [...] Had Admiral Dundas's means been greater he might have continued the bombardment as long as the weather remained fine, and the fleets, instead of returning to Nargen, might have been at anchor in Sweaborg.

"The first year there might have been some excuse for the Admiralty not having means, but none the second.[...] Instead of building gun and mortar boats they built a parcel of *iron* floating batteries which could hardly swim and, if they could, they would have been useless, for, had they been placed within 400 yards of Sweaborg they would have been annihilated, and at 400 yards[c] they would have done no harm.

"The first experiment on iron cost the country a million, and where are they? The second experiment not much less than half a million, and they have not yet left our ports, and probably never will. This is because incapable men are at the head.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 485-87. Napier's letter was published in *The Times*, No. 22141, August 24, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Published in *The Times*, No. 22138, August 21, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] In *The Times:* "at 800 yards".—*Ed.*

The Ministers have been driven to reform the War Department—when will they think of reforming the Admiralty? Till they do the people's money will be thrown away. The Admiralty do not seem to have contemplated the effect of a bombardment, though I told them upwards of a year ago what would happen and if they had read history they would have known that Martinique was taken by mortars; there were not casemates for all the garrison, nor were there at Sweaborg. Admiral Dundas says it formed no part of his plan to attempt a general attack by the ships on the defences, and his operations were confined to such destruction of the fortress and arsenals as could be accomplished by mortars.

"Had Admiral Dundas been furnished with sufficient means he would have contemplated an attack on the defences, and assembled the whole of his fleet, ready to take advantage of the terror and confusion occasioned by the gun and mortar boats. The heat of the conflagration alone would have kept the garrison from the guns, and the fleet would have been in Sweaborg, and the whole of the fortifications, islands, and all blown to the Devil; instead of that, the wooden buildings and magazines are destroyed, and the work will have to be begun again next year."

Napier concludes his letter thus:

"Sir James Graham was one of the Ministers who sent a British army to Sebastopol in the middle of last September, without means of moving, without food, proper tents, or clothing, and without hospitals, to pass a dreary winter and perish; and he was the Minister who wanted me to take a British fleet, in the end of October, to perish among the rocks of Sweaborg, and, to their shame, got two naval officers to put their names to the insulting letter he wrote me; and these men still remain in the Admiralty, and that is the way the navy of this country is managed. The two summers in the Baltic will be a lesson to them. They are in possession of my plans of attacking Kronstadt, and I dare say are in possession of Admiral Dundas's; and Sir James Graham and his two coadjutors had better go next summer and carry them into execution."

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# Karl Marx

## AUSTRIA AND THE WAR[348]

We communicate to our readers on another page an account by an Austrian officer of a tour of inspection of the Galician Army recently made by the Emperor Francis Joseph. The writer, in narrating the events of this tour, and in stating the dislocation of the Imperial forces, confirms the opinion we have on former occasions taken care to explain, that in the preparations she last year made for war Austria was by no means engaged in a comedy for the delusion of the Western Powers. Certainly she could never have made such sacrifices merely to throw dust in the eyes of the world.

It is true that the utmost necessity alone induced her to arm against Russia; and indeed, as long as it was possible to procrastinate, Austria clung to the cobweb thread of a prospective peace which Russian diplomacy held out for a bait. At last, however, her patience was exhausted, and St. Petersburg learned with surprise, not unmingled with terror, that the Austrian columns were drawn up along the Galician frontier. This was before the bare possibility of such an armament had been admitted; and to concentrate an army of equal strength on the Russian side, within an equally short time, was altogether out of the question. The arts of diplomacy had therefore again to be resorted to. In what manner, and with what success this was done, need not be repeated. The whole of the immense army lately gathered on the Galician frontiers was dissolved at once, and the apprehensions of Russia in that quarter were partly allayed.[349] We say partly, because two important elements have risen with that

army which are not dissolved along with it. These are the fortifications and railways erected, renewed, or completed, during the stay of the army in Galicia.

While in all other parts of the Empire the Government was guided by the principle of abandoning railway enterprise to private speculators, while the Western Railway, intended to connect Vienna with Munich, was even strikingly neglected, Baron Hess, the commander-in-chief in Galicia, was employing thousands of soldiers in the construction of a line of which however great the strategical value the commercial advantages are questionable, at least for the present—a line, too, which otherwise might have remained in the desks of private engineers for thirty years to come. To Russia nothing could have been more disagreeable than the construction of these railways, by which Austria is now able to reconcentrate the army just dissolved within less than a fifth part of the time required by Russia to bring up a similar army. Whoever will take the pains to inquire into the statistics of Austrian railway enterprise, and compare what has been done in the east to meet purely political views with the little attention paid to the interests of commerce in the west, he cannot fail to disbelieve that these Galician railways were thus hurried into premature existence for the mere deception of the world. Indeed, it is plain that such a purpose would have been much better answered by the speedy completion of the western lines connecting Austria with Bavaria.

Our opinion is also confirmed in a still higher degree by the recent extensive improvements and additions in the fortifications of the eastern provinces of Austria. If railways may or may not be constructed from strategical considerations, the erection and completion of a system of fortifications, and the unproductive outlay occasioned by such works, certainly admit of no explanation beyond the immediate necessities of the case. What we have said about the comparative extent of railway-works in the east and west of Austria applies with much greater force to these fortifications. Of the thirty-six fortresses of the Austrian Empire seven belong directly, and nine indirectly, to the eastern line of defense, most of them having only recently been raised to a high perfection—as for instance Cracow, Przemysl and Zaleszczyki. The two former, together with Lemberg, which on account of its situation cannot be made of great strength, command the road to Warsaw; the latter is at the easternmost extremity of Galicia, opposite the important Russian fortress of Chotin. Cracow has been made a fortress of the first order, and all the works of this, as well as of the other

Galician fortifications, have been put in complete readiness for war. It was once the custom in the Austrian army to give the command of fortresses to old worn-out generals, as a sort of honorable retirement; and such places were looked upon as a sort of exile for officers in disgrace at the Court; but we now find in the whole east and north-east really efficient men, generals of merit and distinguished staff-officers in command of fortresses. Cracow is commanded by Field-Marshal Wolter; Przemysl by Major-General Ebner; Zaleszczyki by Major-General Gläser; Carlsburg, in Transylvania, by Field-Marshal Sedlmayer; and Olmütz, on the north-western flank, by General von Böhm. At the same time the state of things in the west is the very reverse—men and things all but ruins tranquilly made over to further decay. How different would be the aspect there if the Western Powers could even pretend to call Austria's policy ambiguous! How the Austrian authorities would hasten to restore Linz with its forty Maximilian towers, now scarcely treated as a fortress—and Salzburg, once a stronghold of the first order! Instead of this, what do we behold?—dead quiet and perfect absence of all military preparations. The very soldiers returning from the East, where they expected to reap their laurels, are invalided as fast as they approach the Bavarian frontier.

These being facts which speak for themselves, there remains only one question to be settled: namely, through whose fault was the policy of Austria baffled and that country saddled with an enormous additional debt, without any immediate advantage either to itself or to its ostensible allies? We know it to be an opinion current at Vienna and reechoed throughout Germany, that Austria shrank back for fear of creating a second adversary in Prussia, and because a war undertaken without the aid of Germany, offered no guaranty of as speedy a termination as the exceptional position of the empire requires. We must however insist upon the contrary view. It is our judgment that if Austria had boldly attacked the Russian army, Prussia and the rest of Germany would have been compelled to follow, more or less slowly and reluctantly, in her track.

Who, then, is to be held responsible for the present Austrian policy?—England, under the guidance of that brilliant boggler and loquacious humbug, Lord Palmerston. To prove this proposition it is necessary to leave the military camp and to enter the diplomatic labyrinth. On the 23d of July Mr. Disraeli asked Lord John Russell the authority for his statement that "one of the principal causes of the expedition to the Crimea was the refusal of

Austria to cross the River Pruth."[a] Lord John could not recollect—that is he said his "authority was his general recollection." Mr. Disraeli then put the question to Lord Palmerston, who

"would not answer questions like these, picked out piecemeal from a long course of negotiations between her Majesty's Government and the Government of one of the Sovereigns[b] in alliance to a certain degree with her Majesty. All he could say with regard to himself was, that he had always thought the Crimea was the place where the most effective blow could be struck at the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea; and if there had been no other reason [...] that would, in his mind, be amply sufficient for the expedition." "My opinion," he declared, "was that the expedition to the Crimea was the best step to take."

Thus we learn from Lord Palmerston that the Crimean campaign originated not with Austria, not with Bonaparte, but with himself. On June 26 Lord Lyndhurst, making a fierce onslaught on Austria, stated that

"early in June [1854] she resolved on making a demand upon Russia to evacuate the Principalities. That demand was made in very strong terms, with something like an intimation that if it were not complied with Austria would resort to forcible means to secure this object."

After some historical observations, the learned lord went on to say:

"Did Austria then immediately carry into effect any attack upon Russia? Did she attempt to enter the Principalities?—Far from it. She abstained from doing anything for a period of several weeks, till the moment when the siege of Silistria had been raised and the Russian army was in retreat, and when Russia herself had served a notice that she would within a certain time leave the Principalities and retire behind the Pruth."[c]

Lord Lyndhurst thus reproaches Austria for saying one thing and doing another. He was followed in the debate by Lord Clarendon, and from him we may get some idea of the genius which transformed the Austria of May and June into the Austria of July and August. He says that

"when Austria entered into those successive engagements with England and France, and when she made those extensive and costly preparations for

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[a] The House of Commons debate (Disraeli's questions and the replies by Russell and Palmerston) was reported in *The Times*, No. 22114, July 24, 1855. Russell's statement quoted by Disraeli is from the former's speech in the House of Commons on July 19, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Presumably Francis Joseph.—*Ed.*

[c] The House of Lords debate of June 26, 1855 was reported in *The Times*, No. 22091, June 27, 1855.—*Ed.*

war—when, moreover, she urgently proposed that military commissions should be sent by France and England to the headquarters of Gen. Hess, I have no doubt she intended and expected war. But she also expected that long before the season for military operations began the allied armies would have obtained decisive victories in the Crimea—that they would be free, and would be able to undertake other operations in concert with her own forces. That unfortunately was not the case; and if Austria had at our invitation declared war, she would in all probability have had to wage that war single-handed."

The explanation of Lord John Russell is thus in direct opposition to the statement of Lord Clarendon. Lord John stated that the Crimean expedition sailed because Austria refused to cross the Pruth—that is, to take part against Russia. Lord Clarendon tells us that Austria could not take part against Russia because of the expedition to the Crimea.

Next, we may consult with profit an uncontradicted statement of Lord Ellenborough:

"Before the expedition to the Crimea was dispatched, Austria proposed to communicate with the allied Powers on the subject of future military operations; acting, however, upon preconceived opinions, the Allies sent that expedition, and then Austria at once said that she could not meet the Russians single-handed, and that the expedition to the Crimea rendered it necessary for her to adopt a different course of action. At a subsequent period, just at the commencement of the Conferences at Vienna, when it was of the greatest possible importance that Austria should act with us—at that time, still looking to nothing but the success of your operations in the Crimea, you withdrew from the immediate vicinity of Austria 50,000 good Turkish troops, thus depriving Austria of the only assistance on which she could rely in the event of a military expedition against Russia. It is clear, therefore, my lords, and also from the statements of the noble earl [Clarendon], that it is our ill-advised expedition to the Crimea which has paralyzed the policy of Austria, and which has reduced her to a position of such difficulty as to prevent her at once adopting a course which is essential for her honor, her dignity, and her interest. Before that expedition sailed to the Crimea I ventured to counsel the Government as to what the necessary consequences of it would be. I counseled them as to the effect which that expedition would produce upon the policy of Austria."

The advice of Lord Ellenborough was not heeded. Palmerston sent off the Sevastopol expedition at the very moment when its sailing was best calculated to prevent and avert Austrian hostilities against Russia. It almost looks as if he had meant to render aid to the great enemy of England, and as if he had purposely entrapped Austria into her present ambiguous position in the Principalities, delivered her over to Russian diplomacy, and crowded her still nearer to the brink of that abyss into which she must ultimately sink. In this matter, as in so many others during his long and inglorious career, Palmerston has brilliantly suc-

ceeded, whatever may have been his real purpose, in serving the interest of Russia alone.

Written in the second half of August 1855

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## THE PUNISHMENT OF THE RANKS[350]

*London,* August 28. A single institution of the British army is sufficient to characterise the class the British soldier is recruited from. We refer to the *punishment of flogging.* Corporal punishment no longer exists in the French, the Prussian or several smaller armies. Even in Austria, where the recruits for the most part are semi-barbarians, its abolition is evidently being striven for; for instance, the punishment of running the gauntlet was recently expunged from the military law of Austria. In England, on the other hand, the "cat-o'-nine-tails"[a] has remained in full operation—an instrument of torture quite on a par with the Russian knout. Whenever a reform of military legislation has been mooted in Parliament all the old plumed hats have waxed passionate on behalf of the "cat", and none more zealously than old Wellington. For these men an unflogged soldier was an incomprehensible creature. In their eyes bravery, discipline and invincibility were the exclusive attributes of men bearing the scars of at least 50 lashes on their backsides like liegemen of old bearing a coat of arms.

The only reform has been the limitation of the number of strokes of the lash to 50. The efficacy of this reform may be judged from the fact that in Aldershot about a week ago a private expired shortly after receiving 30 strokes of the lash. On this occasion the favourite method of soaking the "cat-o'-nine-tails" in urine was employed. The application of urine on raw and bleeding flesh is an infallible recipe for tormenting the patient beyond the bounds of sanity. The nine-tailed cat is not only an instrument of torture, it leaves behind ineradicable scars, it brands

[a] Here and below Marx and Engels use the English term.—*Ed.*

a man for life. Even in the English army such a branding entails a constant oppressive burden of shame. The flogged soldier falls below the level of his comrades! But under the British military code punishment before the enemy consists almost exclusively of flogging, and thus the punishment lauded by its defenders as the only means of maintaining discipline in decisive moments becomes the surest means of destroying discipline, by breaking the moral composure and the *point d'honneur* of the soldier. This explains two strange facts. Firstly: *the great number of British deserters before Sevastopol.* During the winter when the British soldiers had to make superhuman efforts in guarding the trenches, those unable to keep awake for 48-60 hours at a stretch were flogged. Just imagine it! Floggings for heroes like the British soldiers, who had proved themselves in the trenches before Sevastopol and in the open before Inkerman[351]! But the articles of war left no choice. Floggings were meted out to the best men in the army if they were overcome by fatigue, and dishonoured as they were they deserted to the Russians. It is impossible to conceive of a better motivated condemnation of this system than is provided by these facts. In no previous war have the troops of any nation deserted to the Russians in any numbers worth mentioning. They knew they would receive worse treatment than in their own national ranks. It was left to the British army to provide the first strong contingent of such deserters, and according to the evidence of the Englishmen themselves it was the "cat-o'-nine-tails" which recruited these deserters to Russia.

The second fact is the difficulty England encounters in all its attempts at forming foreign legions. As early as the anti-Jacobin war, even though the British articles of war nominally apply to the foreign corps, corporal punishment had to be abandoned in fact. At the beginning of this century some heterodox British generals, Sir Robert Wilson among others, published pamphlets criticising the corporal punishment of soldiers. For more than ten years Sir Francis Burdett thundered against the "cat-o'-nine-tails" in Parliament and called the British "a flogged nation".[a] In the Commons he found energetic seconds in Lord Folkestone and the famous Lord Cochrane (now Admiral Earl of Dundonald). In the press Cobbett conducted a strenuous campaign against the "cat", atoning for it with two years' imprisonment. At one point, during the last years of war against Napoleon, exasperation in the nation

[a] The English phrase is used in the original and the German translation is given in brackets.— *Ed.*

and in the army reached such heights that the Duke of York, equally notorious for his bigoted attachment to square-bashing, his bolting from the French and his amours with Madame Clarke, was forced to issue an order of the day in which all officers received notice that were flogging a frequent occurrence in their respective commands it would hinder their promotion.

How then can we explain the fact that the "cat-o'-nine-tails" has victoriously survived all these storms of half-a-century? Very simply. It is the instrument by which the aristocratic character of the British army is preserved, by which all higher positions, starting with ensign, remain secure as the apanage of the younger sons of the aristocracy and the gentry. With the disappearance of the "cat-o'-nine-tails" the extraordinary distance between the soldiers and the officers, which splits the army into two virtually separate races, would also disappear. At the same time the army's ranks would be opened to sections of the population higher than those from which they have hitherto been recruited. And that would seal the fate of the old constitution of the British army. It would be revolutionised through and through. The nine-tailed cat is the Cerberus guarding the treasure of the aristocracy.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE BATTLE OF THE CHERNAYA[352]

Contrary to our expectation the mail of the *Africa*, which we received late on Wednesday night, failed to bring the report of Prince Gorchakoff concerning the battle of the Chernaya, fought on the 16th ult. However, the French and English accounts which we printed yesterday afford sufficient information for a tolerably correct judgment of the affair.[a] In the French report one is struck by the absence of that tendency to bluster which but too often is innate in a French *sabreur*, and which was so prominent in Pélissier's first Bulletins. The old General is now uncommonly clear, business-like, and to the point[b]; he even gives the Russians full credit for the bravery they displayed on that occasion; and his report very favorably contrasts with General Simpson's amusing calculations as to the numbers engaged, by which it would appear that without any great effort some 15,000 French and Sardinians defeated 60,000 Russians. The facts of the case appear to have been as follows:

On the morning of Aug. 16, before daybreak, the Russians descended from the Mackenzie hights and took up a position on

[a] Instead of these two sentences the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* and *New-York Weekly Tribune* have: "At last we have received the reports of the several commanding Generals in the Crimea concerning the battle of the Chernaya, fought on the 16th ult."—*Ed.*

[b] In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* of September 3, 1855 the beginning of the article reads as follows: "Although we still have no detailed Russian report on the battle of the Chernaya (fought on August 16), the French and English reports this time allow a fairly accurate judgment of the affair. The defeat of June 18 seems to a certain degree to have held in check the tendency to bluster which was so prominent in Pélissier's first Bulletins. His report on the Chernaya affair is uncommonly clear, business-like, and to the point."—*Ed.*

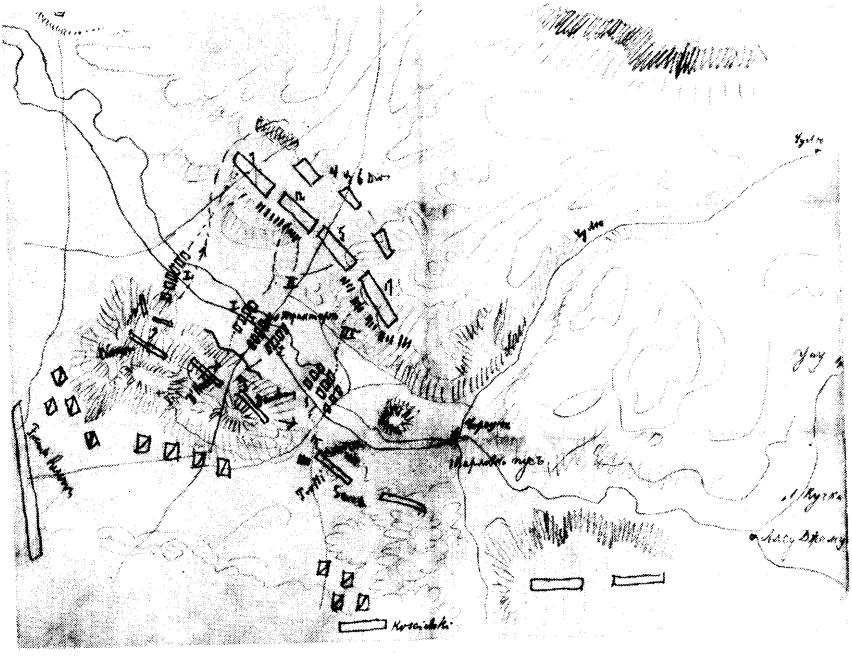

Chart of the Battle of the Chernaya
(August 16, 1855) made by Engels

the edge of the hills descending toward the Chernaya. They were commanded by Prince Gorchakoff in person, under whom Gen. Read commanded the right wing (7th and 12th divisions), while Liprandi with the 5th division appears to have occupied the center, while the 17th division formed the Russian left. Portions of the 4th and 6th divisions were also present, and seem to have acted as reserves. The 5th division, along with the troops belonging to the 4th and 6th, form part of the second (Paniutin's) corps, which had but just arrived in the Crimea; the remainder were old Crimean troops, and must have figured with effective numbers very much reduced.

The ground on the opposite side of the Chernaya is mostly level, a continuation of the plain of Balaklava toward the river; but close to its banks this plain is interrupted by two groups of hillocks, rising gradually from the Balaklava side, but falling off toward the Chernaya, thus offering a good defensible position against an enemy crossing the river. Between these two groups of hillocks lies the valley into which the British Light Cavalry charged in the battle of Balaklava.[353] The eastern group of hillocks, forming the right wing of the position, was occupied by La Marmora with his two Sardinian divisions; the other, toward the northwest, by three French divisions, which thus formed the center and left of the position. The French were commanded by General d'Herbillon, who had disposed Camou's division to the left, his own in the center, and Faucheux's division to the right, where it joined the Sardinian division of Trotti. The position gained additional strength from the two obstacles in its immediate front: first, the Chernaya, which river at the time was certainly fordable, but still obliged the Russians to cross at certain places only, and with a small front; and secondly, the aqueduct, cut in most places into the rock, and thus offering, even after its passage, a steep wall of scarped rock to be climbed. On the brink of the hills the French and Piedmontese had thrown up some light breast-works just sufficient to shelter their cannon. The two groups of hillocks formed, so to speak, several bastions flanking each other with their artillery. Beyond the Chernaya, which was crossed by bridges at Chorgun, on the Sardinian extreme right, and at an inn (in Russian Traktir) in front of the French center, the Piedmontese had two companies as outposts, while the bridge of Traktir was covered by a slight bridge-head occupied by the French. The French outposts were still beyond this.

On the morning of the 16th the Russians having got their artillery in position on the hights east of the Chernaya, sent their

advanced troops down into the valley. Day had not yet broken and a dense fog facilitated a surprise, as at Inkerman. The allied outposts were driven in in a moment, and by daybreak the bridge-head and the whole eastern side of the river were in their hands, while they were fighting for the passage of the bridges with two French regiments. Then the 7th and 12th Russian divisions, placed exactly opposite the French divisions of Camou and d'Herbillon, descended in two close columns into the valley; and here they formed their columns of attack and advanced in two distinct masses—the 7th division, passing river and aqueduct, partly by fords, partly by flying-bridges constructed in all haste, against Camou; while the 12th division, part of which remained in reserve, advanced against d'Herbillon by the bridge of Traktir, the defenders of which were in an instant thrown back by the overwhelming masses of the Russians. They advanced with greater rapidity and spirit than were ever shown by Russians through the aqueduct and up the hill-side. The 7th Russian division came up nearly to the brink of the hill, when Camou's troops, deployed in line, gave them a volley and charged them in flank and rear with such vehemence that the Russians instantly turned, recrossed the river under a murderous fire, and, if we may believe Pélissier, that 7th division never showed itself again during the battle. In the center, the 12th division succeeded in scaling the hights and driving in several French regiments. The fate of the battle appeared uncertain for a moment, when d'Herbillon ordered a brigade from Faucheux's division to attack the left flank of the Russian columns, and after a short struggle, the Russians were driven down the declivity, followed by the French, who for a moment retook the bridge.

Gorchakoff, however, had prepared a fresh attack. The remainder of the 12th division and the 5th division had descended into the valley, where they sheltered the fugitives who re-formed; and now the whole of the 12th and 5th divisions moved forward for a second charge. They passed by the bridge, and close to the right and left of it, and advanced with great vivacity against the allied center (d'Herbillon's and Faucheux's divisions). But by this time the French had got all their artillery into position; it fired in front against the Russian columns, while the Sardinian artillery took them in flank. In spite of this murderous fire they advanced steadily and rapidly, and again reached the hights. There they found the French collected, deployed in line a little behind the edge of the hill. As soon as the heads of the columns were fairly on the edge, the French gave them a volley, and charged them

with the bayonet in front and flank. The struggle was as short as before. The Russians gave way and fled in disorder across the river, pursued by the musketry and artillery-fire of the Allies. This second defeat of the Russians virtually decided the battle. They had three-fifths of their infantry engaged, and could not hope to see any fresh reenforcements arrive on the field; the Allies, too, had three divisions out of five engaged, but fresh troops were hurrying to support them from the camp before Sevastopol. Pélissier had sent for two more divisions of the line and one of the Guards, and they were coming up. It was now about 8 o'clock in the morning.

Gorchakoff, in spite of these odds, resolved upon another attack. The 17th division now had to come forward and to form a nucleus for such part of the beaten troops as were still fit to be brought against the enemy. The line of attack was again shifted to the left; it was Faucheux's division upon which the Russians fell this time. But in vain. The cross-fire of the French and Sardinian artillery decimated them before they could reach the summit of the hills, and again the French lines broke their columns and drove them back to the other side of the river, while the Piedmontese (Trotti's division) took them in flank and completed the victory. There remained but the troops of the 4th and 6th divisions intact, amounting to the effective strength of about one division. To launch these would have served no purpose whatever. The defeat was unmistakable; and accordingly the Russians, bringing forward their artillery, commenced the retreat. Their own position was so strong that Pélissier deemed an attack upon it out of the question; and therefore they were molested by the artillery and rifles only.[a] The loss of the Russians in this affair was enormous in comparison with that of the Allies. The former lost about 5,000 in killed, wounded and prisoners; the latter about 1,500 only. The reason of this was, that the Russians had to make all their charges under the most effective fire of the allied artillery, especially the Piedmontese, whose 16-pounders, though slow to move, are of the highest effect when once in position.

The Russian attack was here made exclusively in front. To turn the French left by Inkerman, appeared impossible from the command exercised by the French batteries on the spur of the

[a] Instead of the last two sentences the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* of September 4, 1855, where the end of this article is published, has: "Yesterday we described the mere progress of the battle of the Chernaya. For an accurate assessment of the number of troops engaged on both sides we shall have to wait for the Russian reports."—*Ed.*

ridge opposite that place. To turn the Allies by their right would have necessitated that the main body of the Russians should descend into the valley of Baidar, where the ground is evidently too intricate for such clumsy troops. Thus the front attack was chosen, and very properly a surprise attempted. The surprise partially succeeded, but was not carried out with the necessary energy. When the Russians were once masters of the passages of the Chernaya, they should have pushed forward their masses just as they happened to be at hand, in order to follow up their advantage before the French could recover from the first blow.[a] Instead of that, they allowed their opponents the time necessary to bring their troops and artillery into position, and the effect of the surprise which might have brought into their hands the hights occupied by the French ceased almost as soon as the Russians had reached the Chernaya. This is another proof of the difficulty of moving Russian troops under circumstances where they should be expected to act rapidly and where inferior commanders must use their own judgment.

The French have always been notorious for a certain contempt of outpost duty. Even in their best estate an active enemy could any night surprise their outposts and alarm their camps without any great risk. On this occasion they showed that even the slowly-moving Russians might do it. Their main position was so close on the Chernaya that their advanced troops should have been either pushed much further forward, or, if the ground did not allow this, that they should have been reenforced so strongly as to be able to hold out until the camp could be got under arms. As it was, the French were encamped without any proportionate advanced guard, and in consequence the Russians were able to advance on their main position before they had time to bring their full powers of resistance into play. More active opponents than the Russians would have brought forward superior numbers so rapidly that the hights occupied by the French must have been carried before any regular and systematic resistance could have been made.[b] But the Russians themselves were afraid of risking a

[a] This sentence does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

[b] Instead of the passage beginning with the words "On this occasion they showed..." the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "That omission was all the more striking this time as Pélissier had repeatedly been informed of the plans of the Russians, even on the eve of the battle, by Russian deserters. As it was, the French were encamped on the hills without any proportionate advanced guard, so that the enemy could have advanced before they had had time to bring their full powers of resistance into play. This could have decided the outcome had the French been confronted by an active opponent."—*Ed.*

division or two of their troops in twilight-fighting, and thus they lost every advantage the surprise had gained for them.

The decisive and easily-bought successes of the French in repelling the Russian columns when they had already scaled the hights, were due to a system of tactics hitherto not often followed by them. They have evidently learnt this mode of fighting from the English, who are masters in it. In defending a range of hills, the great advantage consists in concealing your troops just behind the crest, where they are fully sheltered, deploying them in line, and awaiting the appearance of the hostile columns. As soon as the heads of the columns appear on the crest, your line pours a volley into them, to which but a few muskets can reply, and then you rush upon them, in front and flank, with the bayonet. The English fought thus at Busaco, Pampeluna, Waterloo,[354] and other battles, with constant success. Yet the continental troops of Europe appear to have lost all trace of this all but infallible mode of defending a range of hights. In the manuals of tactics it figured, but in practice it had almost disappeared before the universal predilection for columns covered by skirmishers. The French deserve great credit for having adopted from their old opponents this plain and effective maneuver. Had they been disposed in columns there is little doubt the Russians would have had greater advantages over them and perhaps even carried the day. But as it was, the fire of a deployed line of infantry, acting upon an enemy disorganized by a telling artillery fire and the fatigue of mounting a steep hill, proved overwhelming; and a hearty advance with the bayonet was quite sufficient to hurl back the masses that had already spent their spirits before the glittering steel was close upon them.[a]

This is the third pitched battle of this war, fought in the open field, and like Alma and Inkerman,[355] it is distinguished by its comparatively short duration. In Napoleon's wars a great deal of preliminary skirmishing characterized a battle; each party sought to feel the enemy before engaging him on decisive points and with decisive masses; and it was after each party had engaged the greater number of its troops only that the decisive blow was attempted. Here we see, on the contrary, no time lost, no fencing to tire out the enemy; the blow is struck at once, and upon the result of one or two attacks the fate of the battle depends. This looks a great deal braver than Napoleon's mode of fighting; yet, if

[a] The concluding part of this paragraph beginning with the words "but in practice it had almost disappeared" does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

a superiority of two to one, as the Allies possessed on the Alma, or if the known clumsiness of the Russians in maneuvering may seem to justify such straightforward action, the fact is that it shows in both parties a great want of generalship; and whenever the *sabreurs* who act upon this principle happen to be opposed to a general who properly understands how to occupy their troops, how to lay snares for them and invite them to run into them, they will very soon find themselves in a very unenviable position.

Finally, we repeat what we have often said; bravery in the soldiers and mediocrity in the generals are the chief characteristics, on both sides, of the present war.[a]

Written about August 31, 1855

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Instead of the last two paragraphs the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "The battle of the Chernaya is the third 'great' battle of the Crimean campaign alongside the battles of the Alma and Inkerman. Characteristic of all these battles is their extraordinary simplicity, we would almost say primitiveness. No long manoeuvring, several strong blows, rapid decision. In Napoleon's battles we find, on the contrary, a great deal of skirmishing, all sorts of manoeuvres, and the decisive blow dealt unexpectedly only after the greater part of the troops has temporarily been engaged. The Crimean mode of procedure looks braver but in fact only shows the mediocrity of the generals on both sides and bears out our view that in modern times the art of war has been developing in reverse proportion to war material. If the battle of the Chernaya by no means provides as strong evidence of the Russians' inability as the battle of Inkerman, it undoubtedly proves anew the superiority of the Western armies. It shows to those prophets who on the pretext of having discovered a 'new' element in history are merely giving modern colour and shape to their school recollections of the decline of the Roman Empire that the substitutes for the Goths should be looked for not among the Muscovites but elsewhere.

"In *The Morning Advertiser* Sir Charles Napier is publishing his correspondence with Sir James Graham, something he has threatened to do for a long time."—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## ANOTHER BRITISH REVELATION[356]

With the single exception of the posthumous papers of Sir A. Burnes, published by his father in order to clear his memory from the false imputation, cast upon him by Lord Palmerston, of having initiated the infamous and unfortunate Afghan war, and proving to evidence that the so-called dispatches of Sir A. Burnes, as laid before Parliament by Lord Palmerston, were not only mutilated to the entire perversion of their original sense, but actually falsified and interpolated with passages forged for the express purpose of misleading public opinion[357]—with this single exception, there has, perhaps, never appeared a series of documents more damaging to the reputation of the British Government and of the caste which enjoys a hereditary tenure of office in that country, than the correspondence between Sir James Graham and Sir Charles Napier, just published[a] by the old Admiral with a view to vindicate his own character.

In this controversy Sir James Graham possesses one great advantage over his adversary—no revelation whatever is likely to lower his character in the world's judgment. The man who loudly boasted of having been an accomplice in the murder of the Bandieras; who stands convicted of having regularly opened, and tampered with, private letters at the London Post-Office for the mere benefit of the Holy Alliance; who spaniel-like licked the hands of the Emperor Nicholas, when he landed on the English shore; who even exaggerated the atrocious cruelty of the new English Poor Laws by his peculiar method of administering them;

[a] *The Times*, Nos. 22149, 22150, 22152 and 22154, September 3, 4, 6 and 8, 1855.—*Ed.*

and who, but a few months ago, vainly attempted in a full House to throw upon Mr. Layard the odium of the injuries he had himself inflicted upon poor Captain Christie[a][358]—such a man may be fairly considered character-proof. There is something mysterious in his public career. Possessed neither of the uncommon talents which allow Lord Palmerston to belong to no party, nor of the hereditary party influence which enables Lord John Russell to dispense with uncommon talents, he has nevertheless succeeded in acting a prominent part among British statesmen. The clue to this riddle is to be found, not in the annals of the history of the world, but in the annals of *Punch*. In that instructive periodical there occurs, year after year, a picture drawn from the life, and adorned with the laconic inscription: "Sir Robert Peel's Dirty Boy." Sir Robert Peel was an honest man, though no great man; but above all, he was a British statesman, a party leader, forced by the very exigencies of his position to do much dirty work, which he was rather averse to doing. Thus, Sir James proved a true godsend to him, and thus Sir James happened to become an inevitable man, and a great man too.

Sir Charles Napier belongs to a family alike distinguished by their gifts and their eccentricities. The Napiers, amid the present tame race of men, impress one with the notion of some primitive tribe, enabled by their natural genius to acquire the arts of civilization; but not to bow before its conventionalities, to respect its etiquette, or to submit to its discipline. If the Napiers have always done good service to the English people, they have always quarreled with and revolted against their government. If they possess the value of Homeric heroes, they are also somewhat given to their swaggering mood. There was the late General Sir Charles Napier—undoubtedly the most ingenious soldier England has possessed since the times of Marlborough, but not more noted for his conquest of Scinde[359] than for his quarrels with the East India Company, which were prolonged beyond the grave on the part of his family. There is General Sir W. Napier, the first writer in the military literature of England, but not less famous for his eternal feuds with the British War-Office—whose regard for the narrow prejudices of his countrymen is so small that, at first, his celebrated history of the Peninsular War was unanimously denounced by the British reviews as "the best French account ever given of that War." There is also the antagonist of Sir James

[a] This refers to Graham's speech in the House of Commons on May 18, 1855. *The Times*, No. 22058, May 19, 1855.—*Ed.*

Graham, old Admiral Napier, who made his renown by unmaking the orders of his superiors. As for this last burly scion of the Napiers, Sir James fancied he had wrapped him in boa-constrictor folds, but they finally prove to be mere conventional cobwebs.

Sir James Graham, as First Lord of the Admiralty, deprived Sir Charles Napier, on his return to England, of his command; in the House of Commons he pointed to him as the responsible author of the Baltic failure, in proof of which he quoted some passages from his private letters[a]; he accused him of having shrunk from the execution of the bold orders he had received from the Admiralty Board; he expressed a hope that no other Lord of the Admiralty would at any future time be inconsiderate enough to hoist Sir Charles Napier's flag; and he ridiculed him in the papers at his disposal as "Fighting Charley," who, like the mythological King of France, "marched up the hill with twenty thousand men, and then marched down again." Sir Charles, to use his own words,

> "demanded inquiry on his conduct, which was refused; he appealed to the Cabinet, but received no reply, and finally to the House of Commons. The papers were refused, under the plea that it would be injurious to her Majesty's service."[b]

After the bombardment of Sweaborg that plea was of course at an end.

Sir James thought his game the more sure, as he had taken the precaution of marking all his letters "private" which were likely to expose himself and to vindicate his intended victim. As to the meaning of that sacramental word "private," Sir James himself, when giving his evidence before the Sevastopol Committee, stated that a British First Lord of the Admiralty is wont to mark public instructions "private" whenever he has good reason to withhold them not only from the public, but even from Parliament.[c]

With a man like Sir James, who thinks himself entitled to turn private letters into public ones, it is quite natural to convert public documents into private property. But this time he reckoned without his host. Sir Charles Napier, by boldly breaking through the shackles of "private instructions," is perhaps exposed to the chance of being struck from the British Navy list, and has probably disabled himself from ever again hoisting his flag; but, at

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[a] Graham's speech in the House of Commons on March 8, 1855. *The Times*, No. 21997, March 9, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] "Sir Charles Napier on the Bombardment of Sweaborg. To the Editor of *The Times*", *The Times*, No. 22141, August 24, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] "State of the Army before Sebastopol", *The Times*, No. 22054, May 15, 1855.—*Ed.*

the same time, he has not only barred the entrance of the Admiralty Board to Sir James, but also shown to the English people that their navy is as rotten as their army. When the Crimean campaign stripped from the British army its time-honored reputation, the defenders of the ancient régime pleaded not guilty on the plausible ground that England had never pretended to be a first-rate military power. However, they will not dare to assert that Great Britain has laid no claim to be the first naval power of the world. Such is the redeeming feature of war; it puts a nation to the test. As exposure to the atmosphere reduces all mummies to instant dissolution, so war passes supreme judgment upon social organizations that have outlived their vitality.

This correspondence between Sir James Graham and Admiral Napier, extending from the 24th of February to the 6th of November, 1854, and denied a place in full in our columns only from its great length, may be summed up very briefly. Up to the end of August, when the Baltic season, as is generally known, has reached its close, all went very smoothly—although Sir Charles Napier, on the very outset of the expedition, had told Sir James his opinion that

> "the means which the Admiralty had provided for fitting out and manning the North Sea fleet [...] were insufficient for the occasion and unequal to an encounter with the Russians on fair terms."

During all this time Sir James in his letters does nothing but smile upon his "Dear Sir Charles." On March 12 he "congratulates" him on the "order " in which the fleet had left the English shores; on April 5 he is "satisfied with his movements;" on April 10 he is "entirely satisfied with his proceedings;" on June 20 he calls him "a consummate Commander-in-Chief;" on July 4 he is "sure that whatever man can do will be done by Sir Charles;" on August 22 he "congratulates him sincerely on the success of his operations before Bomarsund;" and on August 25, seized with a sort of poetical rapture, he breaks forth:

> "I am more than satisfied with your proceedings; I am delighted with the prudence and sound judgment you have evinced."

During the whole time Sir James feels only anxious lest Sir Charles,

> "in the eager desire to achieve a great exploit and to satisfy the wild wishes of an impatient multitude, should yield to some rash impulse, and fail in the discharge of one of the noblest of duties—which is the moral courage to do what you know to be right, at the risk of being accused of having done wrong."

As early as May 1, 1854, he tells Sir Charles:

"I believe both Sweaborg and Kronstadt to be all but impregnable from the sea—Sweaborg more especially—and none but a very large army could operate by land efficiently in the presence of such a force as Russia could readily concentrate for the immediate approaches to her capital."

If Sir Charles tells him on June 12 that

"the only successful manner of attacking Sweaborg that he could see after the most mature consideration, assisted by Admiral Chads [...], was by fitting out a great number of gun-boats [...]"[a]—

Sir James answers him on July 11:

"With 50,000 troops and 200 gun-boats you might still do something great and decisive before the end of September."

But hardly had the Winter set in, the French army and navy sailed away, and the heavy equinoctial gales begun to furrow the Baltic waves—hardly had Sir Charles reported

"that our ships have already been parting their cables; the *Dragon* was reduced to one anchor, and the *Impérieuse* and *Basilisk* lost one each the other night; and the *Magicienne* was obliged to anchor in a fog, and when she weighed in the night from off Nargen found herself obliged to anchor off Renskar Lighthouse, having drifted among the rocks; and that the *Euryalus* had been ashore on the rocks, and that it was a mercy she was not lost"—

when Sir James all at once discovered that "war is not conducted without risks and dangers," and Sweaborg, therefore, must be taken without a single soldier or a single gun or mortar-boat! Indeed, we can only repeat with the old Admiral: "Had the Emperor of Russia been First Lord of the Admiralty he would have written just such letters."

At the Admiralty Board, as is clearly shown by this correspondence, anarchy reigned as supreme as at the War-Office. Sir James approved of Napier's movement inside the Belt, while the Board disapproved of it. In August, Sir James writes him to prepare for an early retreat from the Baltic, while the Board sends dispatches in a contrary sense. Sir James takes one view of Gen. Niel's report, and the Board an opposite one. But the most interesting point presented by the correspondence is, perhaps, the new light it throws upon the Anglo-French Alliance. The French admiral[b] showed Sir Charles his orders of recall on the 30th of August. The

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[a] "Sir Charles Napier on the Bombardment of Sweaborg. To the Editor of *The Times*", *The Times*, No. 22141, August 24, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] A. F. Parseval-Deschênes.—*Ed.*

French army sailed on the 4th of September, and the rest of the French fleet left on the 19th; while Sir James Graham informs Sir Charles that he only knew of their withdrawal on the 25th September. Sir James, therefore, erroneously supposed "the decisions to have been taken on the spot, with Napier's consent," but, as he emphatically adds: "without any reference to the English Government." On the other hand, it seems that Niel, the French General of Engineers, and Louis Bonaparte's intimate friend, gave the advice to "destroy Sweaborg in two hours, by sail-of-the-line." This would seem to show clearly that he intended goading the English fleet into a desperate attack, in which they would uselessly knock their heads on the forts and sunken rocks of the Russian defenses.

Written about September 8, 1855

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 4502, September 24, 1855 as a leading article

# Frederick Engels

## THE FALL OF SEVASTOPOL[360]

After a year of varying fortunes and terrible suffering, the Crimean campaign has at last reached its turning-point.[a] From the lst inst. to the 8th the Russian telegraphic dispatches admit that considerable damage had been done to the lines of Sevastopol by the allied fire, and that the damage had been repaired "as much as possible," and no more. Finally, on the 8th about noon the Allies stormed four of the bastions—were defeated at one, carried two, but were again compelled to leave them, though they finally maintained themselves in the fourth, and what was most important, on the Malakoff Hill. The loss of this point forced the Russians on the 9th to march their troops from the southern to the northern side, and thus to abandon the town of Sevastopol, after having exploded their magazines, blown up the buildings, ruined the defensive works by springing mines under them, and converted, to use Gen. Pélissier's words, the whole place into an immense blazing furnace[b]; they also burnt their steamers, sunk their last ships-of-war, and finally broke up the bridge near Fort Paul.[c]

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[a] In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* the article begins as follows: "*London*, September 11. At 9 o'clock last night the guns of James's Park and the *Tower* announced the fall of the southern side of Sevastopol. At the Lyceum, Haymarket and Adelphi theatres the managers at last had the satisfaction of soliciting the hurrahs, the 'God save the Queen' and the 'Partant pour la Syrie' on the strength of official dispatches rather than, as hitherto, of false rumours.

"The Crimean campaign has at last reached its turning-point."—*Ed.*

[b] A. Pélissier, "Crimée, 9 septembre, huit heures du soir", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 254, September 11, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] Instead of the last sentence the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "the loss of which forced the Russians to lay waste to and abandon the southern side".—*Ed.*

The arrival of considerable reenforcements after the battle of the Chernaya, must have relieved the allied Generals from any apprehension on the score of the Russian army at Inkerman; for, though even the remainder of the 4th and 6th Russian divisions, beside the two divisions of grenadiers, had joined that army, the Allies were now in a position to oppose successfully any number of men the Russians could throw across the Chernaya; while enough of allied troops would remain to carry on the siege, and even to attempt an assault. It must be confessed that the French Government has now been exceedingly prompt in sending to the Crimea a number of troops fully adequate to the Russian reenforcements already there, or on the march from Poland and Volhynia; for the number of the French forces dispatched to the East since the beginning of July, must amount to at least 50,000.

Under these circumstances, the English and French advanced mortar batteries being in good working condition, the trenches were pushed up to the ditch, under the protection of a vigorous fire. How near the advanced trenches were established, and whether a complete crowning of the glacis, *secundum artem,*[a] was accomplished, we do not yet know. The firing more and more assumed the character of a regular bombardment and vertical fire was successfully made use of to render the place untenable for large bodies of troops, till finally the assault was ordered.

On the Mamelon, the Russians had last Spring constructed a number of fireproof and shellproof compartments with the aid of traverses and blindages. These contrivances gave capital protection against the enemy's fire, but when the assault was made, it was found that no room had been left for concentrating a sufficient number of troops for the defense of the work. Compartment after compartment, defended by a few men only, was carried by the French, and at once formed a ready-made lodgement for them. The same mistake appears to have been made in the completion of the defenses of the Malakoff. The thing was overdone, and when the French once got hold of the commanding point of the hill, the Russian works themselves must have afforded them protection against the Russian fire.

The Redan (Bastion No. 3) and the Redan of the Careening Bay (Bastion No. 1 of the Russians) being situated on more level ground, did not admit of the terraced batteries and complicated defenses applicable to the Malakoff. Here, therefore, a simple coupure appears to have been made in the interior of the bastion,

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[a] According to the rules of art.—*Ed.*

cutting off the salient angle and exposing its interior to an overwhelming fire. The troops for its defense could thus be placed further to the rear, and the interior of the work protected by sallies from the coupure. In consequence of this arrangement, which was of the kind generally adopted in such cases, the English lines and the French columns ordered to the assault of these positions could indeed penetrate beyond the all but abandoned outer wall; but when there, face to face with the coupure, they were crushed by its grape and musketry, and had to give up the assault.

As soon as the Malakoff was carried, Gen. de Salles, on the French left attack, made an attempt to establish himself in the Central bastion (No. 5, between the Flagstaff and Quarantine bastions). He was repulsed. We are not informed whether this assault was undertaken on his own responsibility or whether it formed part of the original plan. Nor do we know how far the proximity of the French trenches to the bastion justified such a detached and hazardous attempt.

The fact of the Malakoff hill being taken, at once formed the turning point of the struggle. From all the preceding events of this remarkable siege, it was to be anticipated that the French, if properly alive to their business, were not in the remotest danger of being driven out of their new position.[a] The Malakoff completely commands the Karabelnaya and the eastern slope of the hill on which the town of Sevastopol was built. Taking in the rear the sea forts on the southern side of the harbor, it made the whole of the inner harbor and the greater part of the outer harbor untenable to the Russian ships of war. By the fall of the Malakoff the continuity of the defensive lines of Sevastopol became interrupted at that very point upon which the security of the whole was dependant. The possession of the Malakoff, therefore, meant the possession of Karabelnaya, the destruction of the town by bombardment, the taking in flank and rear of the Flagstaff bastion, and the disappearance of the last chance of the town's holding out. Sevastopol had hitherto been a fortified camp for a large army, as indeed are all modern fortresses. By the capture of the Malakoff it had sunk to the rank of a mere bridge-head to the Russian garrison of the north side, and more than this, of a bridge-head without a bridge. It was therefore wise to abandon it. It is true we had heard a good deal of new works constructed on the inner slope of the Malakoff, with a view to maintain the

[a] In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* this sentence does not occur.—*Ed.*

defense of the Karabelnaya, after the loss of that fortification; but they do not seem to have been of value enough to induce Prince Gorchakoff to continue the defense. However, we shall now soon know what was their real nature.[a]

Some Russian ships had already been burned in the harbor by shells from the allied batteries. The Malakoff once armed with French guns would have made it difficult for the remaining Russian vessels to find a safe anchorage, except just at the foot of Forts Nicholas and Alexander, and there is not room for a great many; hence the burning and sinking of the remainder of the fleet.

The Karabelnaya side being completely in the hands of the Allies, they are in a position to undertake operations in the field. Though they will not be able to establish many batteries or many troops in that suburb, on account of the fire from the northern shore of the harbor, they have succeeded in reducing the Russian portion of Sevastopol to less than one-half its extent before the 8th inst., and to a fortress capable of holding but a limited number of defenders. Not only is the offensive power of the garrison completely crushed, but its defensive strength is greatly reduced. A far smaller number of men will suffice to carry on the siege, and the troops thus set free, with the reenforcements now on the road or at the camp of Maslak, will be available for an expedition to Eupatoria. The more we examine the relative position of both Russians and Allies on the Chernaya, the more evident it becomes that neither party can drive the other away hence without great superiority and enormous sacrifices. The opinion in the allied camp would seem to be that from 60,000 to 70,000 men should be sent to Eupatoria, in order to march upon the communications of the Russians at Sympheropol. Suppose the Russians to have 200,000 men in the Crimea (which they certainly have not), 80,000 men would be required for the defense of the North Forts, 60,000 for the position on the Chernaya, and 60,000 to meet the allied army of Eupatoria. In the present spirit of the allied forces, it is certain that with equal numbers and in an equally divided field, they will beat the Russians; and as by taking up a position on the Russian line of communications they can force them to give battle, there does not seem to be any risk in such an undertaking. On the contrary, it is probable that the Russians would be able to oppose this expeditionary army with but 60,000 men at the very outside.

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[a] The passage beginning with the words "It was therefore wise to abandon it" does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.—Ed.*

The sooner, however, such a movement is undertaken the better for the Allies, and if they act vigorously they may expect great results. They now have both moral and numerical superiority, and we doubt not they will profit by it before another winter on the plateau has reduced their numbers and damped their spirits. Indeed the latest report is that by the 13th 25,000 men had already sailed for Eupatoria, and we shall doubtless hear of a still greater force following.

Of these important events we have as yet only the meagre information conveyed by telegraphic dispatches. When more complete details reach us we shall return to the subject again.[a]

Written about September 11, 1855

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Instead of the passage beginning with the words "Suppose the Russians to have 200,000 men" the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "This would force the Russians to fight a battle in the open field in which, under the present circumstances, success would seem to be guaranteed to the Allies. But everything depends on the latter's taking advantage of the present situation with dispatch and energy."—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## O'CONNOR'S FUNERAL

*London*, September 11. Yesterday afternoon the funeral of O'Connor, the late Chartist leader, took place. A procession of 20,000 people, practically all of them from the working class, moved from Finsbury Square and Smithfield to Notting Hill, from where the coffin was taken to Kensal Green Cemetery (one of the most magnificent burial-grounds in London).

Four-horse hearses, decorated with enormous plumes in the English fashion, took their place at the head of the procession. Hard on their heels followed flag-bearers and standard-bearers. In letters of white the black flags bore the inscription "He lived and died for us".[a] A gigantic red flag magnificently displayed the inscription "Alliance des peuples". A red liberty cap was swaying at the top of the main standard.[361] When the service in the beautiful, cloistered cemetery chapel was over, William Jones made a funeral oration at the grave of the deceased. The singing of a hymn concluded the ceremony. All the requirements for a great demonstration were at hand, but the finishing touch was missing because Ernest Jones was prevented from appearing and speaking by the fatal illness of his wife. As the procession moved back into the city at about half past five in the afternoon it had the ironic satisfaction of meeting five detachments of constables marching out, and greeted them each in turn with a "too late".[b] Since O'Connor died as a pauper in the true sense of the word, the burial expenses were met by the working class of London.

Written on September 11, 1855

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Marked with the sign ×

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] Marx quotes the English text of the inscription and gives the German translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English words and gives the German translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## CRIMEAN PROSPECTS[362]

Beyond an imperfect list of the British officers killed and wounded, the journals brought by the steamer *America*—and we have examined them with care—add scarcely anything to our previous knowledge of the circumstances attending the capture of the southern side of Sevastopol. It is true that there is a plenty of speculation as to both the causes and the consequences of Gorchakoff's sudden abandonment of a place so long and so desperately defended; and among such speculations those of our correspondents at London and Paris are eminently worthy of attention. But there are some points of view and some considerations which neither of these writers, opposite as are their views, seems to have dwelt upon with the necessary care, or to have given the due amount of importance.

Precisely what turn matters now will take in the Crimea depends to a great extent on the causes which induced the Russians to give up the south side. That purely tactical and strategical motives were completely foreign to this sudden resolution, is evident. Had Gorchakoff considered the south side, and even the Karabelnaya, untenable as soon as the Malakoff should have fallen, he would not have thrown up so many internal defenses in that suburb. Though the ultimate success of the siege might be considered assured by the taking of that commanding point, yet from four to six weeks breathing time might have been gained by a stubborn defense, first of the inner rocks of the suburb, and then of the town proper. To judge from the best maps, plans and models,

there was no necessity whatever in a mere tactical or strategical light to abandon so hastily what had been fended with such tenacity. Military science alone cannot account for a step which can yet scarcely be attributed to the confusion and fright caused by an unexpected and decisive defeat. Necessities of a different nature must have been active to force Gorchakoff to a step which compromises his military position and career so seriously as this.

There are two possibilities only. Either the *morale* of the Russian soldiers was so completely broken up that it would have been impossible to rally them in anything like order behind the inner lines of defense, so as to continue the struggle, or else they had begun to run short of provisions, not only within Sevastopol but in the camp without. The all but uninterrupted series of defeats to which the Russian army had been exposed, from Oltenitza and Chetatea to the Chernaya, and the assault of Sept. 8, must certainly have completely destroyed the spirit of the defenders of Sevastopol; and all the more, as they consisted principally of the same troops who were beaten on the Danube and later at Inkerman.[363] The Russians have rather dull moral feelings, and can stand defeats longer than most troops; but no army in the world can hold together forever when it is beaten by every enemy it meets, and when to a long list of defeats it can oppose nothing except the negative satisfaction of its tenacious and lengthened resistance, and a solitary example of successful, active defense, like that of the 18th June.[364] But such a resistance in a besieged place is of itself demoralizing in the long run. It implies hardships, want of rest, sickness, and the presence, not of that acute danger which braces, but of that chronic danger which must ultimately relax the mind. The rapidly succeeding defeats on the Chernaya and at the Malakoff must have completed the demoralization, and it is more than likely that Gorchakoff's troops in the town were no longer fit to be led against the enemy. And as the Malakoff commanded the bridge to the other side, and the French guns might any day have destroyed it, relief became impossible, while retreat might at least save the troops. It is not astonishing that this demoralization should at last seize the garrison; it is astonishing that it had not done so long before.

There are also some very strong symptoms that want of provisions for the army generally had a great deal to do with Prince Gorchakoff's sudden retreat. The interruption of Russian navigation in the Sea of Azoff, though it had not that immediate effect which the British and French Press, then so much in want

of some success, expected it to have, must nevertheless in the long run prove troublesome to the Russians, as it confined them to one single line of operations, and thereby limited their supplies. The immense difficulty of transporting victualing stores, ammunition and forage from Kherson through a thinly-populated steppe country must have been greatly increased when this road became the only one by which the army could be provided. The means of transport, brought together by requisition from the Ukraine and Don Provinces, must finally have been used up; horses and draft-oxen must have been sacrificed in great numbers, both by overwork and scantiness of provender; and the nearest provinces once being exhausted, it became more and more difficult to replace the necessary stock. This shortness of supplies would show itself at first, not so much in Sevastopol (where reserve stores must have been kept up for the event of the place being invested on the north side too), as in the camp above Inkerman, at Bakshiserai, and on the line of march of the reenforcements. The reports of the allied commanders had more than once adverted to this being the case; but other circumstances too indicate that such must have been the fact. By this impossibility of feeding even the troops now in the Crimea, we can alone explain why the two divisions of grenadiers so long on the march, and now said to be about Perekop, were not allowed to advance and to partake in the battle on the Chernaya, and why, notwithstanding the better half of the troops advancing to relieve Sevastopol was thus kept back, that battle was yet ventured, though with a force ridiculously small in proportion to the task expected from it.

Thus all indications point to this, that both demoralization of the greater portion of the Russian troops, and want of supplies for the army in the field, induced Gorchakoff not to stake too much on delaying, for a few days, the fall of a fortress which had become untenable. He profited by the last chance of saving the garrison, and he would seem to have done right; for according to all appearances he would have had to leave it to its fate, to collect his field-army, and to retire into the interior of the Crimea, if not to Perekop. In this case, the garrison of the south side would soon have been compelled either to cross stealthily to the north side or to capitulate; and the north side, too, once cut off from all chance of ever being relieved, and garrisoned by demoralized troops, would have been starved into submission.

So long as the Russians had a chance not only of keeping their army in the Crimea up to something like a force equaling that of

the Allies but were even expecting reenforcements which would make it far outnumber its opponents, the north side of Sevastopol was a position of immense importance.[365] To hold the north side by a garrison while the field army stood where it did up to the latest news we have received, was to bring the allied army on the plateau of the Heracleatic Chersonese. It was to exclude their ships from Sevastopol Bay, and to deprive them of a proper naval base of operations nearer than the Bosphorus, for neither Kamiesh nor Balaklava can pass for such a thing. So long as the Russians were able to keep the field in the Crimea the north side was as much the key to the whole of the Crimea and to what gives the whole country any military and naval importance as the Malakoff was to the south side. But from the moment the Russians are unable to hold the field, the north side has no longer any great importance. It is a fortified position of a certain strength, but which if regularly besieged by sufficient forces is doomed to fall, for relief there can then be none.

This may seem astonishing after the great importance ascribed, and rightly too, to the north side. And yet it is quite correct. The whole of this war has been, in appearance, a war of fortifications and sieges, and has in the eyes of superficial observers completely annihilated the progress made by Napoleon's rapid maneuver, thus carrying back the art of warfare to the days of the Seven Years' War.[366] But in reality nothing is more contrary to fact. Fortresses and groups of fortresses have no other importance now-a-days than as the fixed points on which an army in the field supports itself in its movements. Thus the camp at Kalafat was a bridge-head allowing Omer Pasha to menace the Russians in flank; thus Silistria, Rustchuk, Varna, Shumla, were the four salient angles, so to say, of a large fortified camp into which he could always retreat, and where he could not be followed unless two at least of those salient angles were taken or neutralized. Thus Sevastopol formed the pivot of the Russian army in the Crimea, and whenever that army was outnumbered or otherwise checked, Sevastopol allowed it breathing time until fresh reenforcements had come up. To the Allies Sevastopol was a Russian naval center to be destroyed, a naval base of operations to be gained; to the Russians it was the possession of the Crimea, because it was the only position to be held against far superior numbers until relieved. Thus the ultimate decision always rested with the armies in the field, and the importance of fortresses depended, not on their natural or artificial strength or intrinsic value, but on the protection and support (*appui*) they could give to the field army.

Their value has become relative. They are no longer independent factors in the game of war, but merely valuable positions which it may or may not be expedient to defend by every means and to the last extremity. This the Sevastopol affair proves more than any previous occurrence. Sevastopol, like all really modern fortresses, takes the place of a permanently-fortified camp. As long as the disposable force is sufficient to defend that camp, as long as supplies are plentiful, the communications with the main base of operations secure, especially as long as that camp held by a strong army prevents the enemy from going past it without exposing his own safety—so long that camp is of first-rate importance and may baffle the enemy for a whole campaign. But if such is no longer the case; if the defending force suffers check after check, runs short of provisions, risks having its communications cut off and being reduced to the fate of the Austrians at Ulm in 1805[367]—then it is high time to prefer the safety of the army to the abstract value of the position and to retreat at once to another place offering greater advantages.

This seems to be now the situation of the Russians. The greater part of their original active army—fourteen divisions out of twenty-four—is engaged, and has been partly destroyed in the Crimea, and what they have of reserves and militia, or other new formations, can stand no comparison with the troops they have lost. They will certainly do well not to send any more men to that dangerous peninsula, and indeed to abandon it as soon as they can. The Allies are far superior to them in numbers and especially in spirit. With Gorchakoff's present army to risk a battle in the field would be to solicit defeat. He may be turned either by the south coast and the valley of the Salghir, or by Eupatoria. Either operation would force him to give up his communication with the north side, never to regain it, for the numerical superiority of the Allies is increasing every day. It would seem that the best he can do is to make as bold a front as possible, while he prepares everything for blowing up the northern forts, and to steal a march or two on his opponents. The sooner he gets to Perekop the better. This is especially the case if the report we have from Paris be true that the Allies began sending an army to Eupatoria immediately after getting possession of Sevastopol. If they act with vigor, either in that direction or along the south coast and the passes of the Chatyr Dagh, the campaign must speedily close, leaving them in possession of the Crimea. So far as we can see the only mistakes now in their power are a serious front attack on the Russian position above Inkerman, or a week's inaction. The next

steamer, due here to-morrow night, can hardly fail to settle the question as to what they mean to do.

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## EVENTS IN THE CRIMEA[368]

*London,* September 14. "The ringing of bells and the thunder of cannon" is the slogan of the day in England at the moment. The world seems full of happiness and every building of the slightest importance, public or private, is full of Anglo-French flags. The same scene in Manchester as in London, despite the "Manchester School"; in Edinburgh as in Manchester, despite the Scottish philosophy. At the moment, nothing is able to dampen the general enthusiasm, not even the extraordinary list of fatalities flashed to London by the telegraph. The defeat of the British before the Redan bastion and the capture of the decisive point, fort Malakhov, by the French—this *contrast* alone muffles the clamour of victory and sets some bounds to the boastfulness. Anyone sharing the old prejudice—one owed like so many others to the uncritical confusion of modern and ancient conditions of society—the prejudice that industry and commerce destroy the martial character of a people may now inform himself of the contrary in England, and even in Manchester, its industrial metropolis. It is a very simple matter. In modern society the wealth of a nation, though not the wealth of the individual, increases with increased *labour*; in ancient society it increased with the increased *laziness* of the nation. *Steuart,* the Scottish economist, who published his important work ten years *before* Adam Smith, had already discovered and developed this point.[a]

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[a] The reference is to Sir James Steuart's *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Œconomy,* published in London in 1767 (the point in question is discussed in Volume I, Book I, Chapter VII) and Adam Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* published in London in 1776.—*Ed.*

But public enthusiasm is vainly seeking nourishment in the latest telegraphic despatches. They are as meagre as the first was rich. Pélissier writes that a *"matériel immense"* has fallen into the hands of the Allies at Sevastopol.[a] We suspect—a heap of old iron whose price is bound to fall.

The turn that will be taken by events now depends mainly on the motives which induced the Russians to abandon the South Side so suddenly. This much is clear. Purely tactical and strategic reasons played no part in this decision. If Gorchakov had considered the surrender of Karabelnaya and the town to be inseparable from the fall of fort Malakhov, then why the huge mass of defence works within the suburb? In spite of the commanding position of the Malakhov 5-6 weeks could have been won by a stubborn defence, first of the inner defence works of the suburb and then of the town itself. Judging from the best maps, plans and models there are no purely strategic or tactical reasons for the sudden surrender of what has so far been held so tenaciously. There remain only two feasible explanations: the moral self-confidence of the Russian army was broken to a point which made it inadvisable to take a new stand behind the inner defence works of the town. Or the lack of provisions was beginning to make itself felt, not only in the town but also in the camp, or, finally, both these reasons.

The almost unbroken series of defeats suffered by the Russian army from Oltenitza and Chetatea to the battle on the Chernaya and the assault of September 8 can only have had a demoralising effect on the besieged troops, all the more so as a great number of them had witnessed the defeats on the Danube and at Inkerman.[369] Certainly, the Russians possess an obtuse sense of morale and as a result they can endure defeats better than other troops. However, even this is bound to have its limits. Resistance stretched over an unusually long period of time in a besieged location has in itself a demoralising effect. It comprises suffering, exertion, lack of rest, disease and the constant presence, not of acute danger, which steels, but of that chronic danger which breaks men down. The defeat on the Chernaya, where half the reserve army was engaged, precisely those reinforcements which were to rescue the South Side, and the seizure of the Malakhov, the key to the whole position, these two defeats must have consummated the demoralisation. Since the Malakhov commanded the bridge to the

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[a] Pélissier's report of September 10, 1855, *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 256, September 13, 1855.— *Ed.*

other side and the French could destroy it at any moment, all access became problematic and retreat became the last resort of the troops. As for the lack of provisions, there are signs that it was beginning to make itself felt. The interruption of Russian shipping in the Sea of Azov restricted the Russians to a single line of operations and thus shortened their supplies. The enormous difficulty of transporting food, munitions, etc., over a thinly-populated steppe naturally grew as soon as the road from Kherson alone remained open. The means of transport requisitioned and collected from the Ukraine and the Don provinces had to become used up sooner or later, and for the adjacent provinces, since they were exhausted, it became more and more difficult to replace them. This lack of supplies must first of all have revealed itself, not in Sevastopol, where great stocks were heaped up, but in the camp at Inkerman, at Bakhchisarai and along the reinforcements' line of march. This is the only possible explanation why the two infantry divisions which have been on the march for so long and are now said to be at Perekop, did not advance and take part in the battle on the Chernaya, and also, on the other hand, why in spite of the absence of this, the better, half of the replacement troops the battle was risked with a fighting force which was entirely disproportionate to its task. If these points of view are correct then Gorchakov had indeed no alternative but to use the capture of fort Malakhov as a respectable pretext for saving his garrison.

Written on September 14, 1855

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Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx

## THE COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL SITUATION

*London,* September 24. Public opinion at the moment is occupied almost as much with the commercial and financial situation, not only in Great Britain but especially in *France,* as with the war in the Crimea. As we know, the Bank of France has raised its discount on government bonds and similar securities to 5 per cent, while it discounts commercial bills of exchange at 4 per cent. The directors of the French bank, worried by the flow of precious metal from its vaults, had already decided to increase the discount for commercial bills of exchange to 5 per cent as well when the Minister of Finance[a] intervened directly and forbade them to carry out this operation. The concern of the government is naturally to maintain the appearance of an easy money market and overflowing credit for as long as possible and to keep the shopkeeping world in a good mood.

The *Manchester Examiner* has stated that

"The drain during the last two years on the wealth of France has been enormous. [...] But, in two years, the Government of Louis Napoleon has spent £200,000,000—the municipality of Paris has lavished vast sums of borrowed money on the adornment of his capital—projects requiring great wealth have been formed, at the instigation and under the patronage of the Government—the *Crédit Mobilier*[370] alone has been the parent of no less than half a dozen great companies, each of which has had its shares puffed up to an enormous premium—the capital of these companies has yet to be paid up, and an immense mass of every sort of share paper is passing from hand to hand without any reference to the reckoning day. The financial state of the Government, the purely speculative character of much of that enterprise, the present position of the French money market, and the burden of another indifferent harvest both on the people and

[a] P. Magne.—*Ed.*

the Bourse, all points to chances of disaster which may prove as embarrassing to the war in the East[a] as to the internal peace and prosperity of France herself."[b]

With regard to the *grain market* the above-quoted newspaper comments in particular:

"There can be no doubt that both France and England will be large importers of grain; and the orders which have already been sent out to the Danube from this country will [...] cause extensive shipments of grain to be made from the United States in place of gold to Europe. Last year's was the best harvest ever known in this country, and yet we imported, from August, 1854, to August, 1855, 2,335,000 quarters of wheat, and 1,588,892 cwts. of flour, and the average price, nevertheless, of the whole year was above 70s. [...] During the coming year [...] we shall require much larger imports [...] to prevent prices rising very considerably. Where supplies are to be obtained if not from North America? [...] The crops in Northern Germany also are a failure, [...] and the United States even are shipping flour to the Baltic, whence we have been accustomed to import no inconsiderable portion of wheat in times of need. Austria, it has been announced by the Government, has average crops, but it is doubtful whether she will have any surplus for export, and throughout Southern Italy a serious scarcity is felt, which cannot, as heretofore, be relieved by imports from the [...] ports in the Black Sea."

Thus in demand for grain France will not only have to compete with England but also with a large part of the European continent. Nothing shows how distasteful this situation is for its Government better than the half consolatory, half didactic article in the *Moniteur*.[c]

As for the numerous new joint-stock companies in France which are mentioned by the *Manchester Examiner*, a work recently published in Paris, *Opérations de Bourse*,[d] shows that in one branch alone—that of the *joint-stock banks*—their numbers have increased six-fold in Paris alone since the February Revolution. Before 1848 only two were in existence; now there are twelve of these banks in Paris, namely the *Banque de France*, the *Caisse Commerciale*, the *Comptoir d'Escompte*, a commandite bank under the firm of Lediheur and Co., the *Crédit Foncier de France*, the Martinique Bank, the *Banque de Guadeloupe*, the *Banque de l'île de la Réunion*, the Bank of Algiers, the *Crédit mobilier*, the *Société Générale du crédit maritime*, the *Caisse et journal des chemins de fer*, the *Comptoir central*,

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[a] The *Manchester Daily Examiner and Times* has "our policy in the East".—*Ed.*

[b] "The condition of the money market...", *Manchester Daily Examiner and Times*, No. 193, September 24, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] The article, dated September 19, was published in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 263, September 20, 1855.—*Ed.*

[d] A. Courtois fils; *Des opérations de Bourse ou Manuel des fonds publics français et étrangers et des actions et obligations de sociétés françaises et étrangères négociés à Paris*, Paris, 1855.—*Ed.*

the *Crédit industriel* and the *Banque de Sénégal.* The *paid-up* capital of these banks amounts only to 151,230,000 francs and their total bank capital only to 252,480,000 francs, or about £10,000,000, which does not equal the capital of the Bank of England alone.

"...The large superstructure which is built by the credit system on this small foundation", writes the London *Economist*, a journal which supports the Government, "is anything but satisfactory. Against the capital of the *Bank of France*, 91,250,000f, are issued notes to the amount of 542,589,300f, or six times the amount. [...] The *Crédit mobilier* [...] is empowered to issue bonds to ten times the amount of its capital. The *Crédit Foncier de France* [...] whose nominal capital is 30,000,000f has issued bonds to the amount of 200,000,000f. We may anticipate, therefore, that a panic, or a depreciation of this mass of obligations, would cause in Paris and France very considerable distress...."[a]

Written on September 24, 1855

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[a] "Paris Banks", *The Economist*, No. 630, September 22, 1855.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE STATE OF THE WAR[371]

It is plain from the advices of the last Liverpool steamer that the Czar[a] has no intention of making peace under the circumstances now existing. His sudden departure for Odessa instead of going to Warsaw, where he had arranged to meet the King of Prussia[b]; the transfer of the residence of the Empress[c] from St. Petersburg to Moscow,[d] the heart and center of Holy Russia; the leaving the administration of affairs in the hands of the Grand Duke Constantine, the most warlike of his brothers; and the taking of the other brothers with him to the seat of war—all this indicates a determination to prosecute the contest to some other end than can now be realized. At the same time extensive preparations are making for the defense of South Russia.[e] Nikolaieff and Kherson, the two most important fortified points, form the centers for an army of reserve now collecting in the government of Kherson, and that portion of Taurida situated north of Perekop. Beside a number of army reserves (Fifth, Sixth, Seventh and Eighth battalions of the line-regiments), whose number it is impossible to fix even approximately, forty thousand men of the militia are reported to be collected at Nikolaieff. About twenty-five thousand men are said to be at Odessa. Whether these rumors are exact or not, the fact of the Emperor's departure shows that a considerable force must be concentrating there.

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[a] Alexander II.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[c] Maria Alexandrovna.—*Ed.*

[d] In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* the article begins as follows: "The Emperor's departure from Russia to Odessa; the transfer of the residence of the Empress from St. Petersburg to Moscow...."—*Ed.*

[e] In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* this sentence does not occur.—*Ed.*

The plan of operations of the Russians seems to be elaborated with the same foresight for which all their grand strategic schemes are generally distinguished. Not only is the complete loss of the Crimea taken into account as a possible event, but even a campaign in South Russia. For this purpose the line of the Dnieper is chosen, very naturally, as the main line of defense; and Kherson and Nikolaieff as the first, and Ekaterinoslav as the ulterior base of operations. Nikolaieff is within reach of an attack by water; therefore, against an enemy in possession of the Black Sea, an inland base is absolutely necessary. Now, Ekaterinoslav is a position of great strategical importance.[a] Situated on the very point where, by a bend in its course, the Dnieper forms an angle of about seventy-five degrees, it is a capital center for an army which, in its retreat toward the interior, intends to cover itself first behind the southern course (N. E. to S. W.) and later on behind the middle course (N. W. to S. E.) of that river. An army advancing from Perekop into the interior of Russia would first have to force the passage of the Dnieper somewhere about Kherson, and then, advancing toward Ekaterinoslav, to pass the same river again at that place. Any detachments advancing on the left bank of the Dnieper could easily be stopped a few leagues south of Ekaterinoslav, on the line of the Voltschya, a river which there empties into the main stream. Beside these advantages, the whole country to the south of Ekaterinoslav is one vast steppe, two hundred miles in width, through which it is extremely difficult to convey and to feed an army; while that town itself, situated on the northern range of the steppe, and in close proximity to the rich and comparatively densely populated provinces of Kieff and Poltava, can receive any amount of provisions without difficulty. And lastly, Ekaterinoslav maintains the communication with the army of the center at Kieff and covers the road to Moscow.

Ekaterinoslav, as we learn from trustworthy sources, is now being fortified and provided with the reserve magazines for the southern army.[b] Stores of food, equipments, ammunition are

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[a] Instead of the last two sentences the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "As Kherson and Nikolayev lie within the range of operation not only of gun-boats but even of sloops of war, an inland base is needed. This is provided by Ekaterinoslav."—*Ed.*

[b] Instead of the text following this sentence the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "If on the one hand this testifies to the Russians' strategic foresight—and it is certainly not in vain that the old general and deserter Jomini has schooled them for such a long time—it just as much shows, on the other hand, that they expect no successes for a considerable time to come. If the Allies ventured to advance into Russia's interior (via

collected there; and if ever the Allies should venture to advance into the interior, they would have to force this point before they could proceed any further. But even under circumstances very unfavorable to the Russians, the chances are that the forces of either party would be at least pretty equally matched at Ekaterinoslav. Such an advance, however, is out of the question in this campaign, and nearly so in that of 1856. Indeed, any movement of the Allies into the interior of Russia would be a blunder, unless the Crimea and all the countries south of the Caucasus, nay, even of the Kuban and Terek, were freed from Russian dominion, all the Russian coasts devastated, Ismail taken, the mouths of the Danube up to Galatch opened to trade, and, in short, everything done which could be attempted against the extremities of Russia on that side. Then even it would be a mistake to advance into the interior of the steppe, until the passive resistance of Russia, successfully maintained, left no other choice. It is evident that the probability of such an event occurring is not very great; but if the Russians are already preparing against it, we have another proof of that comprehensive foresight which has of late distinguished the chief strategical management of their forces, and which is apparently due to the commanding influence of General Jomini.

For the present, the conquest of the Crimea is still the great task

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Perekop) they would of course have to force Ekaterinoslav. That, however, is out of the question in this campaign, and nearly so in that of 1856. First the Russians would have to evacuate the Crimea, the whole of Trans-Caucasia and the Caucasus up to the Terek and Kuban, Odessa would have to be burnt down, the port of Nikolayev destroyed and the Danube cleared up to Galatz. All these extremities of Russia would have to be amputated before the Allies could so much as think of undertaking a campaign into Russia's interior. So the long-range strategic plan of the Russians seems to bode nothing good.

"The allied troops are moving towards the valley of the Upper Chernaya in order to turn the Russians' extreme right wing at Aitodor or the upper Belbek. Both Gorchakov and Pélissier say so in their dispatches. It seems to us the Allies are executing this manoeuvre with too much show really to pursue that end.

"Clearly the object of the Allies is to drive the Russians from their entrenched position on Mackenzie's heights. Once they have succeeded in this, the Russians will have to abandon the northern fort and therefore evacuate the Crimea. For there is not a single position between Mackenzie's heights and Simferopol which cannot be turned, and beyond Simferopol the steppe, being untenable for large armies, offers no positions whatever. Whether the Russians will be able to maintain the Crimea therefore depends on their ability to maintain, in particular, their present position on Mackenzie's heights."—*Ed.*

of the Allies. On that head our latest intelligence[a] was that they had sent a strong column of infantry and cavalry into the valley of the upper Chernaya, threatening to turn, by Aitodor or the upper Belbek, the Russian extreme right. Gorchakoff had telegraphed, besides, that the Allies were daily concentrating additional troops on the Chernaya. Now, this movement of the Allies toward the Russian right has evidently been made with such a degree of show, the Russians themselves having noticed it at once, that it cannot prelude a serious attempt at turning the Russians on that side. It may serve either to draw away from the camp at Mackenzie's farm a portion of the troops defending that intrenched position, or else to mask a great expedition to Eupatoria. The first supposition hardly seems likely, from the concentration of the allied troops on the Chernaya, noticed at the same time by Gorchakoff; the second supposition is more likely; and though, as we have before stated, a flank movement by the south coast would seem preferable,[b] such an expedition, suddenly transporting a large force on the flank and rear of the Russians, cannot but be of great effect, and must decide the campaign.

As to the actual position of the Russians in the Crimea we have no clear information. They are doing their best to maintain a bold front, and if the state of their stores allows, it is certainly the best they can do. Still we remain of opinion that they must soon leave the Crimea unless the Allies make great mistakes and they, themselves, receive provisions more plentifully than they have a right to expect. The great object of the Allies is to drive them away from the position of Mackenzie's hights, for that position once lost, the north side of Sevastopol, defended by a small garrison, must be abandoned to its fate, and the Crimea must be evacuated; because between Mackenzie's farm and Sympheropol there is not a single tolerable position which cannot be turned with the greatest ease, and beyond Sympheropol the steppe, being untenable for large armies, offers no positions whatever.

One thing however is certain, namely, that there can be little delay in the decision of this question. The *Atlantic,* due here to-day, will most probably bring us intelligence of a battle in the field, which, if

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[a] As can be seen from the version published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung,* the reference is to Pélissier's dispatch of September 11, published in *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 268, September 25, 1855, and Gorchakov's dispatch of September 17, published in *The Times,* No. 22169, September 26, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 529.—*Ed.*

unfavorable to the Russians, must be followed by their prompt retreat from the peninsula.

Written on September 26, 1855

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## THE REPORTS OF GENERALS SIMPSON, PÉLISSIER AND NIEL

*London,* September 27. The reports of Generals Simpson, Pélissier and Niel,[a] and especially the despatches from British newspaper correspondents in the Crimea, form a vast and complex documentary material, and it is a time-consuming process to sift it judiciously. For this reason we shall be able to examine the events of September 7 and 8 in detail only in our next report.[b] We may note, however, that the British press is almost unanimous, and rightly so, in its condemnation of General Simpson and the higher English commanders acting under him. The joke making the rounds of the Russian army, that "*L'armée anglaise est une armée des lions, commandée par des ânes*" (The English army is an army of lions led by asses) has been thoroughly vindicated by the assault on the Redan. A London newspaper is demanding a new Sevastopol committee, forgetting that the miserable leadership of the British army is the inevitable result of rule by an antiquated oligarchy. All preparations miscarried from the very start. The English trenches were still so far (250 yards) from the Redan ditch that the troops had to run the gauntlet of enemy fire without cover for a quarter of an hour and were out of breath when they arrived. French engineers had drawn attention to this defect

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[a] Simpson's report of September 9 (*The Times,* No. 22166, September 22, 1855), Pélissier's of September 11 and 14 and Niel's of September 11 (*The Times,* No. 22170, September 27, 1855).—*Ed.*

[b] The assault on the southern side of Sevastopol was analysed by Engels in the article promised here. There are two versions of this article, one was published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see this volume, pp. 546-52) and another in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* (wherever the latter differs from the English version this is pointed out in footnotes to the English text).—*Ed.*

beforehand; however, the answer they received from the English was:

"If we were to advance another couple of yards then we should come to an angle which would expose us to enfilading fire by the Flagstaff bastion and thus great losses."

In the first place this risk of losses was undeniably smaller than that incurred by the exposure of the troops during the assault. Furthermore the enfilading fire could have been countered partly by traverses and bends in the trenches and partly by setting up counter-batteries. All the remonstrations of the French foundered against Simpson's thick-skinned obstinacy, however. What is more, whereas the French trenches were broad, spacious and capable not only of absorbing vast military forces but also of concealing them, the British trenches were narrow and so constructed that every Briton with a touch of corpulence immediately attracted the attention of the Russian commanders to himself. The wide stretch of ground the British troops had to run across meant that, instead of directly throwing themselves upon the enemy after reaching the object of their attack, they first of all sought cover and engaged in musket fire, which gave the Russians time to rally. The miserable inadequacy of the British preparations is also revealed by the fact that once their troops had gained control of the rampart, no one thought of spiking the Russian cannon positioned there. They had with them neither workers with the necessary instruments nor artillery troops who could have done the job with no extra instruments. General Simpson's tactical arrangements before and during the assault take the cake, however. (During the assault, as we learn from the [report] of a *Daily News* correspondent, Simpson, who suffered from a cold in the head, sat wrapped in a wide cape, in an easy chair in the Greenhill[a] battery.) He had detailed an assault party of 200 men, a covering party of 320 men and a total operational force of not more than 1,000 men against the fearsome Redan, against which the English attacks had broken for six months. When the English had broken through the salient of the Redan they were exposed to murderous fire from the redoubt, which had been transformed into a stronghold, and from the casemates positioned behind it on the flanks. With sufficient numbers they could have by-passed the redoubt, which would have put a speedy end to the battle. No reinforcements arrived on the scene, however, even though Colonel Windham sent for them urgently three times and eventually had to go

[a] The reference is to the Mamelon.— *Ed.*

himself to search for them. Thus the troops remained on the parapet for three fatal hours, twice forcing their way inside only to be slaughtered uselessly one by one, and finally had to retreat in great disorder. The inadequate number of troops with which Simpson, disposing of masses which would have sufficed twenty-fold, originally undertook the assault, the holding back of the necessary reserves during the action, the useless and wanton sacrifice of the brave assault troops—all this amounts to one of the greatest scandals known to modern military history. Simpson would inevitably have faced a court martial under the first Napoleon.

On the Continent the evil of *patrimonial jurisdiction* has been attacked, and rightly. However, the *unpaid English magistracy*[372] is nothing but a modernised, constitutionally flavoured version of patrimonial jurisdiction. Read the following literal extract from an English provincial newspaper·

"Last Tuesday[a] Nathaniel Williams, an elderly labourer, [...] was brought before a bench of magistrates, at Worcester and fined 5s., with 13s. costs, for cutting a small amount of wheat, belonging to himself, on Sunday, the 26th of August. He pleaded that it was a work of necessity—that the wheat would have been spoilt if he had not cut it—that he was employed from morning till night in farm labour. Nothing helped. The magistrates liberally interlarded with Reverends[b] were inexorable".[c]

Just as here the priests judge their own case, so do the factory-owners, the squires[d] and the other privileged estates which compose the unpaid magistracy.

We have taken the following extract from the private letter of an Englishman (a Whig) at present in Paris:

"Today's warlike article (dated September 24) in the *Constitutionnel*[e] seems to have discouraged the Paris bourgeoisie a great deal; and in three different districts, all of great commercial importance, however, I heard the same comments, almost in the same words: There you have it! For almost a year they told us that once Sevastopol were taken it would be possible to open peace negotiations. Now that Sevastopol has been taken we are told that this is a purely military matter and that peace cannot be contemplated before the whole Crimea has fallen. Things will carry on in this way and heaven knows when peace will come. All this is expressed

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[a] September 18, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx and Engels use the English word and give the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

[c] This quotation coincides almost word for word with a passage in a letter to the editor from Worcester, signed "No Bitter Observer" (published in *The Times*, No. 22165, September 21, 1855). The letter was probably also published in a local newspaper.—*Ed.*

[d] The English word is used in the original.—*Ed.*

[e] Signed by the editor A. de Céséna.—*Ed.*

in the most dejected manner. To be just, one has to admit that apart from the question of national glory, the present war has come at an inopportune time for France for many reasons. Every week the autumn reports turn out to be worse than was assumed the preceding week. At the moment for instance the price of bread in Rouen is 26 sous the four-pound loaf, which is the same as 3 francs or 60 sous in Paris. In Bordeaux the municipal council has already been forced to approve a large sum for subsidies should the price of a four-pound loaf rise to 1 franc, considered a famine price in the Gironde. This situation is gradually spreading over the whole area of the country. The internal situation in France is thus extremely delicate, the partisans of the revolution are scattered over the country in terrifying numbers, and if the emergency becomes unbearable they may well gather thousands around their banners. The new organisation of the departmental and municipal councils was an enormous blunder. The system has fatal effects.[373] In many departments at this moment no departmental council exists; and the mayors appointed by the Government are now constantly forced to dissolve their municipal councils. Almost every day you can read an official announcement that the mayor of this or that town has dissolved the municipal council; or that Prefect N.N. has dissolved the general council. The reasons are not made public; but, although all comments in public are prohibited, the fact itself nevertheless agitates the department in which it takes place. In many respects this would make the presence of older and more experienced soldiers desirable."[a]

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[a] Retranslated from the German.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE GREAT EVENT OF THE WAR[374]

The details of the successful general assault at Sevastopol, on the 8th ult., are now fully known to us, through the official reports of the allied commanders, and the correspondence of the European journals, the most important of which have already occupied a place in our paper. Of course these interesting statements have been read quite universally, and it is not necessary that we should recapitulate the facts they contain. What we desire to do is to give our readers a clear idea of the conditions under which the assault took place, and to explain why, on that occasion, the Allies met with such opposite results at different points of the attack.[a]

According to Gen. Niel,[b] the French had pushed their trenches at all points quite close to the Russian works. Opposite the Little Redan of the Careening bay (Bastion No. 1), and the Malakoff (Bastion No. 2), the head of the sap was no more than twenty-five yards distant from the Russian ditch. At the Flagstaff (Bastion No. 4), the distance was thirty; at the Central (Bastion No. 5), forty yards. On all these points, therefore, the storming columns were close to the works to be stormed. The English, on the other hand, had given up sapping as soon as they had arrived at 240 yards from the Great Redan (Bastion No. 3).[c] This was due to the spirit

[a] Instead of this paragraph the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "Five French divisions and units of two English divisions were engaged on September 8. According to their own admission, the Allies lost 10,000 men out of about 45,000, i.e. almost one man in four. The Russian losses cannot be estimated."—*Ed.*

[b] General Niel's report of September 11, 1855, published in *The Times*, No. 22170, September 27, 1855.—*Ed.*

[c] In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung:* "Despite remonstrations by French engineers, the English had given up sapping 240 yards from the Great Redan (Bastion No. 3). The stupidity of this has already been discussed."—*Ed.*

of routine still predominant in the English army. As soon as they had pushed their trenches to that distance, they found that on going any further they would be enfiladed from the Flagstaff bastion, which projects a good deal beyond the other Russian works. Now, there is a general rule in the theory of sieges not to trace any portion of the trenches so that its prolongation will meet any point occupied by the enemy, as this would lay it open to enfilading fire.

This is of course right enough when one can do without such faulty tracing. But here, where this enfilading fire could not be avoided (the general plan of the siege and the nature of the ground precluding the idea of taking the Flagstaff bastion separately beforehand), it was evidently better to make faulty trenches than none at all. The theoretical rules in fact provide plenty of remedies for such an unavoidable evil. Traverses and the compound sorts of sap are prescribed in such a case. The French engineer officers, it seems, remonstrated with their English comrades, telling them that, although they might lose many men in pushing their trenches under such adverse circumstances, yet it was better to lose them now in completing a work which would all but secure the success of an assault, than to lose them during an assault, the result of which might be very doubtful from the want of covered approaches. But the British engineers knew better. The result shows them to have been grossly in the wrong.[a]

The French general distributed his forces as follows: Against the key of the whole position, the Malakoff, M'Mahon's division; to its right, against the curtain connecting it with Bastion No. 1, the division of La Motterouge; on the extreme right, against Bastion No. 1 itself, Dulac's division. The Malakoff being the only point which, in case of serious resistance, it was necessary to force at all risks, M'Mahon had for his reserve a division of Guards under Mellinet.[b] So much for the French attack on the Karabelnaya side. On the town-side, the Flagstaff bastion forming a sort of advanced citadel on very strong ground, and having interior works of considerable strength, was not to be immediately attacked in front; but the Central bastion was to be assaulted by Levaillant's division, which, in case of success, was to be followed up by d'Autemarre's division, ordered to turn the gorge of the Flagstaff

[a] This paragraph and part of the preceding one beginning with the words "This was due to the spirit of routine" do not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*.— *Ed.*

[b] The beginning of this sentence up to and including the words "at all risks" does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*.— *Ed.*

bastion, to assail which in front, at that moment, Cialdini's Piedmontese brigade was concentrated in the trenches. The position between the Malakoff and the Flagstaff bastion was held by the English. They were to attack the Redan.

The Malakoff was to be assailed first, and after its capture, the remaining columns were to advance on their respective objects of attack. The Malakoff was a large redoubt on the top of the commanding hill of that name, closed on all sides, but having wide apertures to the rear for admitting reenforcements. It was connected by a curtain with the Great and Little Redans to its right and left; they, too, were closed redoubts, containing smaller works, intended for reduits; while the rear faces, the embrasures of which looked into the interior of the redoubts, formed a coupure. The gorges of these coupures were again connected with the Malakoff by a second or interior curtain, forming a second line of defense. The interior of the Great and Little Redans was pretty free from obstructions, and therefore completely commanded by the artillery of the coupures and reduits. But the Malakoff redoubt, on which the fire of the enemy had been concentrated ever since the Mamelon was taken, was crammed, alongside the ramparts, with hollow traverses. affording bomb-proof shelter to the gunners and troops on duty, while the interior was filled with large blockhouses, roofed bomb-proof, serving as barracks, and completely unfit for defense. When first the news of the taking of the Malakoff arrived, we stated that undoubtedly the Russians had committed the same error as in the construction of the Kamtchatka redoubt on the Mamelon, viz.: that in order to save themselves from the enemy's fire, they evidently had made the interior of the fort unfit for defense against an assault, by cutting it up into small compartments.[a] Our opinion is now fully borne out.[b] The labyrinth of the Malakoff, like that of the Mamelon, proved quite indefensible; in ten minutes it was taken, never to be recaptured.

The arrangements of the French for this assault on the Malakoff were admirable. Everything was foreseen and provided for. A new sort of bridges, the description of which is not forthcoming, was used to cross the ditch; they were laid down in less than a minute. No sooner had the assault commenced than the sappers constructed a flying sap from the trenches to the ditch, cut large passages through the Russian breastworks, filled

[a] See this volume, pp. 519-23.— *Ed.*

[b] In the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*: "This view has now been fully borne out by General Niel's report."— *Ed.*

up the ditch opposite, and formed a practicable road into the interior of the Malakoff redoubt by which supports, reserves and even field-guns could move up. As soon as the whole of the redoubt was taken, the passages in the gorge were rapidly closed, embrasures cut, field-guns brought up, and in a couple of hours, before the Russians could seriously attempt to reconquer the work, it was completely turned against them, and they came too late. Gunners were ready to spike the guns if necessary, and the detachments of infantry carried short-handled trenching-tools in their waist-belts.

This attack was under the immediate superintendence of Marshal Pélissier and Gen. Niel. Whether the other attacks were equally well organized we are not told; but they were generally unsuccessful, and that of the Central bastion especially. This assault seems to have been undertaken by Gen. de Salles with quite insufficient forces, for as soon as the French arrived at the Russian parapet they were compelled to seek shelter behind it; the assault degenerated into a skirmishing fire, and was necessarily repulsed. What this means Gen. Simpson has taken good care to show us in his assault on the Redan.[a] The attack on the Little Redan was most bloody, and the position well defended by the Russians, who here alone defeated five French brigades.

We have on former occasions noticed the absurd system prevalent in the British army, of forming their storming columns so weak that they can but count as forlorn hopes in case they meet with anything like serious resistance.[b] That blunder was conspicuous in Lord Raglan's plan of attack on the 18th of June[375]; and it seems Gen. Simpson was determined even to outdo his late chief.[c] The salient angle of the Redan had suffered from the English fire, and it was determined to direct the assault against this portion as soon as the Malakoff should be fully secured by the French. Accordingly, Gen. Simpson had storming parties told off from the second and light divisions, amounting, all in all, to about 1,800

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[a] This sentence does not occur in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 313-19 and 328-32.—*Ed.*

[c] Instead of this sentence the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "That method of procedure stems from the fact that most of the fortresses the English had to deal with, including Wellington in Spain, were built according to the Italo-Spanish system and therefore could seldom accommodate more than 500 men. Everything is traditional with the English and so is their method of assault, even though the conditions for it disappeared long ago. Thus Lord Raglan emulated the old Wellington method on June 18, we know with what success. Instead of drawing a lesson from his misfortune Simpson deemed it his duty not only to emulate Raglan but even to outdo him."—*Ed.*

men—or the half of two brigades! The other two brigades of these divisions were to act as supports, and the third and fourth divisions were to form the reserves; and beside these, the Guards and Highland divisions were on the spot—altogether a force of 25,000 men; and out of these the actual assault was confided to about 1,800, supported later on by about 2,000 more! Now, these 1,800 men, unlike the French, who could jump out of their trenches into the Russian ditch, had to perform a journey of 250 yards across open ground, exposed to the flanking fire from the curtains of the Redan. They fell in heaps, but they advanced, passed the ditch by escalade, penetrated into the salient angle, and here they found themselves at once opposed to a tremendous fire of grape and musketry from the coupure and reduits in the rear of the Redan. The consequence was that they dispersed, seeking shelter behind the traverses, and commenced firing on the Russians exactly as the French did at the Central bastion. This would not have done any harm, had the supports and reserves only advanced and followed up, in close attack, the advantages already gained. But hardly a man came, and those who came, came in driblets and irregularly. Three times Brigadier Windham, who commanded, sent officers to ask for the advance of troops in regular formation, but none were brought. All the three officers were wounded in crossing the plain. At last he went himself, and prevailed upon Gen. Codrington to send another regiment; when all at once the British troops gave way, and abandoned the Redan. The Russian supports had come up, and swept the place clean out. Then Father Simpson, who still had 20,000 men intact, resolved to attempt another assault next morning!

This feeble attack of the English on the Redan stamps their Crimean generals with the indelible mark of incapacity. They appear to have an innate tendency to surpass each other in blundering. Balaklava and Inkerman[376] were great feats in that respect; but the 18th of June and the 8th of September, outstrip them by far. So carelessly was the assault arranged that while the English held the salient of the Redan, not even the guns found in it were spiked, and therefore these very guns plied the English on their retreat as lustily with grape and case-shot as they had done during their advance. As to attempts at forcing a proper lodgment, neither Simpson nor the newspaper correspondents mention any such thing. In fact the first precautions appear to have been neglected.[a]

[a] Instead of the passage beginning with the words "The salient angle of the Redan had suffered from the English fire" (third sentence of the preceding

The attacks on the Redan, Central bastion and Little Redan were, it is true, mere demonstrations to a certain degree. But the attack on the Redan still had an importance of its own. That was a position by which the conquest of the Malakoff became immediately decisive, because if the Malakoff commands the Redan by its hight, the Redan commands the access to the Malakoff, and when once taken, would have taken in flank all Russian columns marching to recapture that hill. The conquest of the Malakoff induced the Russians to quit the whole of the south side; the conquest of the Redan would have obliged them to evacuate at least the Karabelnaya in haste, and before they could organize that well-arranged system of destruction by fire and explosion under shelter of which they made good their retreat. The English, then, have actually failed to do what their allies had a right to expect from them, and on a very important point, too.[a] And not only have the generals failed, but the soldiers, too, were not what they had formerly been. Mostly young lads recently arrived in the Crimea, they were too eager to look out for shelter, and to fire instead of attacking with the bayonet. They lacked discipline and order; the different regiments got mixed, the officers lost all control, and thus the machine was out of train in a few minutes. Yet it must be acknowledged that, for all that, they held out in the Redan for nearly two hours in dogged, passive resistance while no support was coming up; but then we are not accustomed to see the British infantry sink down to the level of the Russians, and seek their only glory in passive bravery.

The palm of the day belongs to Generals Bosquet and M'Mahon. Bosquet commanded the whole of the French assault on the right, and M'Mahon had the division which took and held the Malakoff. This was one of those rare days in which the French really out-did the English in the point of bravery. In every other point they had shown their superiority over them long before. Are we, then, to conclude that the English army has degenerated, and that its infantry cannot boast any longer of being, in close order, the first infantry of the world? It would be premature to say so; but certainly, of all men in the world, the British generals in the Crimea are the best fitted to ruin the physical and moral character

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paragraph) the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "On September 8, Simpson had 25,000 men on the spot. Out of these he confided the actual assault to 1,800."— *Ed.*

[a] Instead of this sentence the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "Through the blunders of its general the English army made a full victory impossible." The rest of this paragraph is omitted.— *Ed.*

of the army; and on the other hand, the raw material for soldiers which has now been for some time introduced into the ranks, is far inferior to what it used to be. The British people had better look to this; two defeats in three months form a novel feature in British military history.

Of the Russians we can only say that they fought with their accustomed passive bravery, and in the assault made to retake the Malakoff even displayed great active courage. What their tactical arrangements were, we have no means of judging until their report is published. One thing is certain, namely, that the Malakoff was completely taken by surprise. The garrison were enjoying their dinner, and not any portion of them, except the artillery at the guns, appear to have been under arms and ready to meet an attack.

If we now look at what has been done since the taking of the south side, we find from Gorchakoff's reports[a] that 20,000 allied troops (of what nation is not said) have gone to Eupatoria, and that at the same time strong reconnoitering parties are pushed against the Russian left in the valley of Baidar, where the Russian advanced troops were compelled to retire towards Urkusta, in the direction of the valley of the upper Chulin, another tributary to the Chernaya. The corps of 30,000 men, now at Eupatoria, are rather weak, and could not venture to any great distance from the place. But others may follow. At all events, field operations have commenced, and another fortnight must decide whether the Russians can hold their ground, or whether they must leave the whole of the Crimea a prey to the Allies.[b]

Written on September 28, 1855

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

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[a] Report of September 11, 1855 in *Russky Invalid,* No. 211, September 16, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Instead of the last three paragraphs the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* has: "The palm of the day belongs to generals Bosquet and Mac-Mahon. Bosquet commanded the whole of the French assault on the right, and Mac-Mahon was in charge of the division that held the Malakhov.—The Russians fought with their usual passive bravery. The Malakhov was obviously taken by surprise. The garrison were having dinner, and only the artillery were at their guns, ready to meet an attack."—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## A DIPLOMATIC IMPROPRIETY

*London*, October 2. Considerable surprise has been caused here by a speech of Sir Alexander Malet, the British envoy accredited to the German Federal Diet.[377] For in the speech,[a] which was made at a dinner in Homburg given on the occasion of the capture of Sevastopol, he launched into a strong attack on the King of Prussia[b] and his Ministers. The British envoy said bluntly that the British people were entitled to expect a different policy from Prussia, especially since the majority of the Prussian people had never concealed their sympathies for the Western Powers. Sir Alexander is of the opinion that if Prussia had sided with the Western Powers, Austria would have acted energetically and it would have been impossible for Russia to oppose the Prussian coalition. Prussia is thus, as it were, made directly responsible for the war. As the King of Prussia is a member of the German Confederation, at which Sir Alexander is accredited as British envoy, it is widely believed that this attack will in any case give rise to serious representations. If he is defended by his government, it will be a pointer to Britain's future policy; if the contrary is the case one can certainly expect the recall of the envoy.

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[a] An account of it was published in *The Times*, No. 22172, September 29, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE OFFICIAL FINANCIAL REPORT

*London,* October 2. We now have before us the official report on the national revenues for the past year, half-year and quarter (according to Gladstone's innovations the English financial year ends for both expenditure and revenue on September 30).[a] On the one hand it demonstrates the elasticity of English resources, on the other that the probabilities calculus is not the forte of English financiers. With regard to the past financial year the net surplus amounts to £8,344,781, with regard to the past half-year to £2,929,699, and to the past quarter £1,924,124. The significance of these figures is transformed at once if one takes into consideration on the one hand the increase in taxation which has taken place under Gladstone and Lewis and on the other the disproportion between the tax increases as calculated and as realised. This is incontrovertibly revealed as soon as we look into details. In the customs we find an increase of £1,290,787 for the year, of £608,444 for the half-year, and of £364,423 for the quarter. This is due entirely to the new taxes on tea, sugar and coffee. It needs the bourgeois optimism of *The Daily News* to use this statistical premise to deduce that prosperity within the working classes has increased. As we know, Gladstone suspended the tax reductions on tea and sugar which the House of Commons had decreed at his suggestion in 1854. His successor Lewis added 3 shillings per cwt. on sugar, which according to his estimate was to bring in £1,200,000 in taxes; 3d. per pound of tea, which according to his calculations was to add £750,000 to the customs; and finally 1d. per pound of coffee, which should be equivalent to

[a] The report was published in *The Times,* No. 22173, October 1, 1855.—*Ed.*

a financial surplus of £150,000. The total surplus revenue from the customs for the last quarter, however, only amounts to £364,423, that is far less than even half of the additional return expected from the increased tax on sugar alone. From the taxation lists we see that the consumption of coffee has fallen by almost 2 per cent as against 1853. The customs revenue from wine and tobacco has fallen significantly.

In England the excise is regarded as the barometer of the "comforts"[a] the lower classes of the people enjoy. Here we find a reduction of £266,006 in the best quarter, although Sir George Cornewall Lewis' new tax on distilled liquors was in full operation in Scotland and Ireland. He counted on receiving an increase of £1,000,000 from his additional tax. Instead of this he has lost £266,006 over the quarter. As for the stamp-duty, there is an increase over the year of £100,472 but a loss over the half-year of £48,402 and for the last quarter a loss of £103,344. This is all the more striking when one considers that Gladstone's newly introduced inheritance tax is in full operation. In the postal revenue, which belongs to this category (of stamp revenues), we find a deficit of £206,819 over the year, of £175,976 over the half-year and of £81,243 for the last quarter. The landed property tax shows an increase of £6,484,147 for the year, £2,195,124 for the half-year and £1,993,590 for the quarter. But we must not forget that Gladstone doubled the former rate of taxation and expected this to yield an increase of £6½ million, while Sir George Cornewall Lewis moreover passed a new additional tax of twopence in the pound, from which he anticipated another tax increase of £4,000,000. Thus with regard to the revenue from landed property the increase in revenue has in no way corresponded to the increase in taxation, either.

The swindles and the probable future of the Crédit Foncier and the Crédit mobilier[378] and other Bonapartist creations in banking and in bankruptcy constantly occupy the public here. In this connection one may recall that Émile Péreire and other directors of these institutions were originally *Saint Simonists*. These gentlemen always expected the salvation of the world from the *banks*, perhaps also from *bankruptcy*. In any case they have found their *own salvation* therein. In so far as one abstracts from the great general ideas of the master, St. Simonism has been realised under Bonaparte in the only form in which it was possible. What more could one want! Péreire is Bonaparte's chief financial humbug and

[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

M. Michel Chevalier is one of his editors-in-chief, he is the principal economist of the *Journal des Débats. Habent sua fata libelli*[a]. But great ideas too have their "*fata*".

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[a] Books have their fate—a saying by the Roman grammarian and poet Terence, from his work *De litteris, syllabis et metris* (*Carmen heroicum*, verse 258).— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE BANK OF FRANCE.—REINFORCEMENTS TO THE CRIMEA.— THE NEW FIELD MARSHALS

*London,* October 4. The Bank of England has once again raised the rate of interest, from 5 per cent to $5^1/_2$ per cent. In the first instance this measure is directed against the *Banque de France,* which—by way of bills of exchange drawn on London and discounted there—has shipped gold to the value of £4,600,000 from England to France in the course of the last six weeks. The most disturbing rumours are circulating on the stock exchange here concerning the financial state of the *Banque de France.* According to some of them a suspension of cash payments is imminent, according to others the notes of the *Banque de France* will receive a guarantee of increase "for additional security". This latter measure would then infallibly lead to a "run"[a] on the bank and to the immediate depreciation of its paper currency. Finally, it is claimed that the *Banque de France* will attempt to increase its capital to double the present amount by means of a subscription. However protean these rumours may appear as far as their details are concerned, they all indicate that the *Banque de France* is heading towards a crisis and that this institution, which has always been regarded as unshakeably solid since its foundation during the reign of Napoleon I, has become under Napoleon III just one more of the *inverted* credit pyramids which must be regarded as the most characteristic monuments of his reign. That section of French society which demanded more than anything else the *appearance* of abundant credit and of a "*prospérité toujours croissante*"[b] cannot complain when it is time to pay the price for

[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*
[b] Constantly growing prosperity.—*Ed.*

this pleasant deception. In any case the financial operations, stock exchange manoeuvres and bank speculations which caused such a tremendous sensation in the last years of Louis Philippe's reign and gave rise to a whole polemical literature of the type of *Juifs rois de l'époque,*[a] *La dynastie Rothschild,*[b] etc., appear as mere child's play when they are compared with what has been achieved in this line from 1852 to the present time.

At this moment there are approximately 6,000 men under orders for shipment to the Crimea, among them 800 artillerymen, 900 cavalrymen and the rest infantry. In addition to these about 4,000 infantrymen are supposed to be despatched from Gibraltar, Malta, the Ionian Islands and Piraeus to the theatre of war. These reinforcements—even taking the Foreign Legion into account—are far from sufficient to restore the active English army even to its original strength. This brought the following comment from *Bright* at a meeting in Rochdale yesterday:

"Were I an advocate of the war I should adopt a quite different policy with regard to our internal military establishment. I should introduce a proper system of conscription, such as exists in Russia, Austria and France, and thus compel people from all classes to play their due part in what is called the task of the nation."[c]

The appointment of the superannuated lords and earls Combermere, Strafford and Hardinge as field marshals as a reward for General Simpson's defeat before the Redan bastion (he is to be recalled, incidentally) is one of the many poor jokes and frivolous jests with which Palmerston is wont to brighten the evening of his life. The first two generals may fittingly be considered *deceased,* so their promotion has rather the character of a retroactive canonisation. Their earthly career long since finished, they have been raised to military sainthood. Lord Hardinge holds the antediluvian rank of *Commander in Chief* of the English army and has amply earned his field marshal's baton for his determined and indefatigable sycophancy and fawning upon field marshal Prince Albert. What makes the business still more piquant is the circumstance that a victory gained with the French over the Russians is celebrated by the promotion of forgotten officers who

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[a] Written by Alphonse Toussenel.— *Ed.*

[b] A reference to Georges-Marie Dairnvaell's pamphlets *Grand procès entre Rothschild I^er^, Roi des Juifs, et Satan Dernier, Roi des Imposteurs, Histoire édifiante et curieuse de Rothschild I-er, Roi des Juifs...* and *Rothschild I-er, ses valets et son peuple,* all published in Paris in 1846 (the first one anonymously).— *Ed.*

[c] Marx gives a free rendering of Bright's speech made on October 3, 1855. Cf. the report published in *The Times,* No. 22177, October 5, 1855.— *Ed.*

have fought against the French with the Russians. Thus for instance Lord Strafford's merit consists in having led a brigade of Guards at Waterloo,[379] commanded the first army corps in the march on Paris and taken possession of Paris by occupying the heights of Belleville and Montmartre.

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# Karl Marx

## THE COMMITTEE AT NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE

*London*, October 6. The Committee set up at Newcastle-upon-Tyne for the purpose of investigating the "Action of Diplomacy", has just published a very remarkable report.[380] We quote the most important passages from it and for the present we shall merely mention that Mr. *Porter*, who is a prominent figure in the following documents, was Vice-President of the British Board of Trade[a] and has a place in English literature as the author of *The Progress of the Nation.*

No. 1. *Report of the Committee at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.* The committee [...] have to report—1. That Mr. Porter, whilst in office at the Board of Trade, during the administration of Lord Melbourne, and whilst Lord Palmerston was Foreign Minister, formed and expressed the conviction, as the result of his own observation, and of facts within his own knowledge, that Lord Palmerston systematically sacrificed the interests of England to those of Russia, in matters relating to commercial treaties. 2. That Mr. Porter did not conceal this conviction from his official chief, the President of the Board of Trade,[b] Lord Palmerston's colleague; but that, on the contrary, when, in 1840, he was offered a mission to Paris, for the purpose of negotiating a commercial treaty with France, he declined to accept that mission, except on the express condition that he should have no communication to make to the Foreign Office; assigning as a reason for this demand, his conviction that his endeavours to conclude such a treaty would be treacherously thwarted by the chief of that department. 3. That this condition was submitted to; and Mr. Porter, in consequence, [...] undertook the mission to Paris. 4. That whilst in office, under Mr. Gladstone, during Sir R. Peel's administration, Mr. Porter adhered to his former convictions, and in addition charged Lord Palmerston with having received Russian money; alleging that the agent in this transaction was a Jew, by name Jacob James Hart, who formerly kept a gambling-house, in St. James's street, and who was

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[a] Here and below Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*
[b] Labouchere.—*Ed.*

subsequently appointed British Consul at Leipsic, by Lord Palmerston; and that he had ascertained this in consequence of enquiries made by the government, with a view of getting rid of Hart. 5. That, independently of Mr. Porter's evidence, it is an indubitable fact, to be ascertained by any who will take the trouble to enquire, as we have done, that Jacob James Hart did keep a gambling-house, and was appointed by Lord Palmerston to be British Consul at Leipsic, where he was universally shunned as a most disreputable character.

The committee subjoin evidence which they have taken.

*Newcastle,* September 20th, 1855 *G. Crawshay* and others

## We publish the following *extracts* from that evidence:

No. 2. Mr. Porter heard of the transaction concerning the gambling-house only later, under Sir Robert Peel's Administration.

The circumstances, as related by Mr. Porter to me, are as follows:

There was a Jew, a British Consul at Leipsic, who was considered, both by natives and British merchants, as a most discreditable representative of England, particularly as it was ascertained that he had been the keeper of a gambling-house somewhere about St. James's street. An attempt was made to get him removed, and the matter was brought before Sir R. Peel's government. But that government experienced such fierce and violent opposition from Lord Palmerston, who had made the appointment originally, that they gave way. The secret of Lord Palmerston's adherence to such a disreputable character came then to be inquired into, and it was found that Lord Palmerston, at a time when he was in great pecuniary embarrassment, I think about 1825, was told by Princess Lieven to go to the gambling-house kept by this Jew, where a foreigner was [...] to lose to him £20,000 in two nights.

Mr. Porter spoke of this openly to many persons, amongst others to Mr. Bright.

April 7th, 1855 *D. Ross,* of Bladensburg

No. 3. Hart's appointment was made in 1841, when Palmerston was just about to leave the Cabinet. A letter of Palmerston's which expressed regret that at the moment he did not have a more advantageous post for Hart at his disposal was flaunted by Hart before several people in Leipsic.

*Worthling,* April 28, 1855 *D. Urquhart*

No. 4. It would be as impossible for me, as it is unnecessary, to recall all private conversations with Mr. Porter. I shall confine myself to one incident. An important treaty had been concluded with a European state (Naples) under which, if it had been ratified, this country would in an amicable way have obtained considerable commercial advantages. Those in official positions who knew about the Russian action in the Cabinet and opposed it, feared that the treaty would be wrecked, if there remained any pretexts for discussion, formalities or preliminaries. Accordingly to avoid this danger, the treaty was entirely completed and only presented to the Government after having been approved of and signed by Naples. It was received in silence in Britain. No government organ was permitted to welcome this event. The Foreign Office ignored it completely. Those who had brought about the treaty induced a Member of Parliament to ask whether Naples had given its approval to such a treaty. Palmerston replied that this was a complete misunderstanding, no such treaty existed, there existed merely a few

rough notes for a treaty. I recollect that Porter, after referring to this reply of the Minister, opened a depository of public documents in my presence, laid hold of one, handed it to me and exclaimed, "*Here is the treaty*". It is probably still where it was. This treaty had been negotiated by MacGregor, now M.P. for Glasgow. Even more astonishing was Porter's assertion about the sacrifice of a commercial treaty which he had himself negotiated with France, and whose conclusion was baulked by Palmerston.

May 4, 1855 *R. Monteith*

No. 5. I remember having heard of the appointment of Mitchely (or some similar name), a Jew or a former Jew, who was joint owner and also joint editor of *The Morning Post.* Palmerston secured him the consulate at St. Petersburg, a position which he retained until the outbreak of the war, and which yielded £4,000 to £5,000 per annum. It was just after the general election, in 1847, that *The Morning Post*, then strictly Derbyite and Conservative, published an article about the Ministry, which with regard to Palmerston said that Urquhart could make charges against Palmerston which made one's hair stand on end. *Shortly afterwards* Mitchely received this appointment. It is true that the management of the newspaper passed into different hands, but from that moment *Palmerston was not included* in its general attacks on the Government but was on the contrary praised and assisted by the newspaper, even while it continued to support Derby and the Corn Laws. During the last twelve months it openly deserted the Conservative camp and became not only a Palmerstonian paper but also a pro-Government one.

*Charles Attwood*[381]

Written on October 6, 1855

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# Frederick Engels

## PROGRESS OF THE WAR[382]

The news from the war is abundant. In addition to the report of Gorchakoff, on which we comment elsewhere, we have by the steamer of Saturday, the official accounts of the cavalry action at Kurulu near Eupatoria, before reported; the intelligence of an unsuccessful assault of the Russians on Kars, of the destruction by the Allies of Taman and Phanagoria, and of the landing of a body of allied troops in the peninsula of Kinburn.

The cavalry action near Eupatoria was fought by twelve French squadrons (fourth hussars, sixth and seventh dragoons). According to Gen. d'Allonville's report,[a] which is plain and intelligible, the French and Turks made an extensive reconnoissance toward the interior on three different roads—one to the south and two to the north of Lake Sasik. The two latter columns met at a village called Dolshak, where they discovered the approach of the Russian cavalry. Here the reports begin to disagree. Gen. d'Allonville maintains that eighteen squadrons of Russians—while the French were dismounted, baiting their horses—tried to turn them by the south and cut off their retreat to Eupatoria; that he then ordered his men to mount, fell upon the flank of the Russians, routed and pursued them for two leagues. Gorchakoff says that the Russians were only one regiment (eighteenth lancers) or eight squadrons; that they were surprised by the French after having dismounted in

[a] A. Pélissier, "Grand quartier général, à Sébastopol, le 1er octobre 1855", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 289, October 16, 1855.—*Ed.*

order to unlimber a battery of artillery, and that under these circumstances they had to run for their lives. He makes Gen. Korff responsible for this mistake. Now what business a whole regiment of lancers had to dismount and assist in unlimbering a battery of eight guns, and how it was that the gunners, whose business it was to do this work, were not at hand, we are left to guess for ourselves. The whole report of Gorchakoff is so confused, so unmilitary, so impregnated with the desire to palliate this first cavalry disaster, that it is impossible to treat it as a serious statement of facts. At the same time we see Gen. Korff made responsible for this defeat, as Selvan was made responsible for Silistria, Soimonoff for Inkerman, Read for the Chernaya.[383] Gorchakoff, though defeated in every action, is still invincible. It is not he who is beaten, far from it; it is some unlucky subaltern who upsets the general's wise plans by some clumsy mistake, and who generally gets killed in action in punishment for this crime. In this instance, however, the blunderer is unfortunate enough to preserve his life. Perhaps he may, later on, have something to say to Gorchakoff's dispatch. In the mean time he has the satisfaction that his opponent represents him in a far better light than his infallible commander-in-chief does. Since then, the British light cavalry division has been sent to Eupatoria to reenforce the French.

Two other expeditions have been undertaken on the extreme flanks of the Crimean theater of war. One of these was from Kertch and Yenikale to the opposite side of the straits. The small fortresses of Taman and Phanagoria have been destroyed, about one hundred guns captured, and thus the entrance to the Sea of Azoff has been completely secured by the Allies. This operation was merely one of precaution; its immediate results are of no great consequence.

The second expedition is of greater importance. The allied fleets, with about ten thousand troops, first made a demonstration off Odessa, where, however, not a shot was fired, and then sailed to Kinburn. This place is situated near the extremity of a tongue of land which on the south encloses the estuary of the Dnieper and Bug. At this point, the estuary is about three miles wide; a bar with fifteen feet of water (according to the best charts) closes its entrance. On the north side of this entrance is situated Otshakoff, on the south side Kinburn. Both these places first came into notoriety during the Russo-Turkish campaign of 1787, when the Bug formed the frontier of the two empires, and consequently Otshakoff belonged to the Turks and Kinburn to the Russians.[384]

At that time, Suvaroff commanded the left wing of the Russian army (under Potemkin), and was stationed at Kinburn. The Turks, then masters of the Black Sea, crossed over from Otshakoff. They first made a diversion by landing behind the town of Kinburn, to the south-east; but when they saw that Suvaroff was not to be led astray by this false maneuver, they landed with their main body at the north-western extremity of the spit, exactly opposite Otshakoff. Here they entrenched themselves, and attacked the fortress; but Suvaroff sallied forth with a far inferior number of men, engaged them, and, with the help of reenforcements coming up, drove them into the sea. Their loss was enormous. Suvaroff himself, however, was wounded during this action, which was followed up in the following year, 1788, by the storming of Otshakoff.

This time the Allies landed, not below, but about four miles above the town of Kinburn, so as to intercept its communications by land with Kherson and the interior of Russia. Their gun-boats will very likely soon intercept the communications by water also. The spit of Kinburn, for six miles above the town, is extremely narrow, like that of Arabat, and so low and sandy that on digging a few feet below the surface water is found. Thus, strong fortifications with deep ditches cannot be constructed there in a hurry; and the works thrown up by the Turks in 1787 were either stockades or sand-bag batteries. The fortifications of Kinburn themselves cannot, for the same reason, be very formidable, no good foundation for masonry scarps being possible, though since that time broad wet ditches have no doubt been constructed. Nevertheless, we think that Kinburn cannot long hold out against the Allies if energetically attacked; and once in their hands, it opens to them a perspective of important operations in the direction of Cherson and Nikolaieff—that is, the direction of the base of operations of the Russian army in the Crimea. This descent, then, may prove very important if properly followed up. But up to the departure of the steamer no news of anything decisive had arrived, and thus we are led to conclude that this expedition is also to be conducted in the habitual, easy, jog-trot style of the Allies.

The defeat of the Russians before Kars will very probably prove to be the crowning event of the campaign in Armenia. The Turks, badly organized and short of every requisite for war, had played but a poor part in this portion of the seat of war. Unable to hold the field, they confined themselves to the occupation of Kars, Erzeroum and the country immediately under the command of

these fortresses. Gen. Williams, who had entered the Turkish service, commanded at Kars and superintended the construction of proper defensive works. For the greater part of the Summer the whole campaign on either side was confined to skirmishes, forays and foraging expeditions in the hill country; the general and first result of which was that the Russians, gradually gaining ground, succeeded in blockading Kars and even in cutting off its communications with Erzeroum. Kars is situated in a lateral valley of the Upper Araxes; Erzeroum at the sources of the Euphrates; Batoum, on the mouth of the Churuk Su (Bathys), the upper course of which passes near, both to Kars and to Erzeroum, so that one of the roads between these two places follows the basin of the Churuk Su as far as Olti, whence it strikes off across the hills toward Kars. Olti was, therefore, the central point for the Turks, as a road from Batoum there joins the one mentioned above, and Batoum was the place from which the nearest and strongest reenforcements were to be expected. Had the Russians succeeded in taking Kars, their first step would have been to establish themselves at Olti thereby cutting off Erzeroum from its nearest and best communication with the Black Sea and Constantinople. The Turks, however, were so dispirited that they retired as far as Erzeroum, merely occupying the mountain pass between the Upper Euphrates and the sources of the Araxes, while Olti was all but completely neglected.

At last, when Kars was more closely hemmed in, they attempted to form a convoy of provisions at Olti, and with a strong escort to force an entrance into Kars. Part of the cavalry from Kars having been sent away, as it was useless there, actually fought its way through the Russians as far as Olti, and the convoy started shortly afterward; but this time the Russians were better on the alert—the Turks were completely defeated, and the convoy was captured by the Russians. Kars, in the mean time, began to run short of provisions; Omer Pasha was, indeed, sent to take the command in Asia and to organize at Batoum an army fit to act in the field; but this creation of a new army takes a deal of time, and a march direct to the relief of Kars by Olti would not have been the best course he could take, as Kars might any day be compelled to surrender from want of provisions before relief could arrive.

In this difficult position the Turks stood at the end of September; Kars was considered as good as lost, and the Russians were sure, by merely blockading the town, to starve it out. But the Russians themselves appear not to have been willing to wait until

the last flour was baked and the last horse cooked in Kars. Whether from the fear of approaching Winter, the state of the roads, shortness of provisions, superior orders, or the fear of Omer Pasha's relieving corps, they at once made up their minds to act vigorously. Siege-guns arrived from Alexandropol, a fortress on the frontier but a few leagues from Kars, and after a few days of open trenches and cannonading, Kars was assaulted by the concentrated main body of the Russian army under Muravieff. The combat was desperate, and lasted eight hours. The Bashi-Bazouks and foot irregulars, who had so often run before the Russians in the field, here fought on more congenial ground. Though the attacking forces must have been from four to six times more numerous than the garrison, yet all attempts to get into the place were in vain. The Turks had here at last recovered their courage and intelligence. Though the Russians, more than once, succeeded in entering the Turkish batteries (very likely lunettes open at the gorge, so as to be commanded by the fire of the second line of defense), they could nowhere establish themselves. Their loss is said to have been immense; four thousand killed are stated to have been buried by the Turks; but before crediting this, we must have more detailed and precise information.

As to Omer Pasha's operations, he had a double choice. Either to march up the Churuk Su, by Olti, to the relief of Kars, where he would run the risk of arriving too late for this object, while he would have led his army to the Armenian plateau, where the Russians are secure from effective front attack by a strong line of fortresses, and where Omer Pasha could have no opportunity to fall on their flanks; or he would have to march up the Rion to Kutais, and thence across the hills into the valley of the Kura toward Tiflis. There he would meet with no fortified posts of any consequence, and menace at once the center of Russian power in the South Caucasian country. A more effective means for recalling Muravieff from Armenia could not be found, and our readers may recollect that we have over and over again referred to this line of operations as the only one fit to deal a great blow at the strength of the Russians in Asia.[a] The proper basis of operations for this march would be Redout Kaleh; but as there is no safe harbor, Omer Pasha has chosen Sukum Kaleh, where there is a good harbor and a better road along the coast. Whether the

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[a] See this volume, p. 269.— *Ed.*

season is not too far advanced for any serious operations there we shall soon learn.[a]

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[a] For a description of the further fighting in the Kars area after the abortive Russian assault of September 29, 1855, and of the fall of Kars see this volume, pp. 588-94 and 595-98.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## ASPECTS OF THE WAR[385]

"Of what use are allies to thee, O Russian?
Stride forth, and thine is the whole world!"[a]

Times appear to be changed since Derjavin, the poet-laureate of Catherine II, could venture this proud appeal to his people. At that period, indeed, the Russians had made giant strides. The whole of South, or New Russia, from the Don to the Dniester, and the whole of West Russia, from the Dniester to the Niemen, were added to the Empire. Odessa, Cherson, Kharkov, Ekaterinoslav, and Sevastopol were founded; and indeed so long as the "great nation" of the East had no more dangerous opponents to fight than Turkish janissaries and Polish volunteers, every march appeared to imply a conquest and every declaration of war to be a sure guarantee of a speedy and glorious treaty of peace. It is true the Russian legions, on venturing beyond their favorite and favorable ground received a terrible lesson at Zorndorf, and were saved from even a severer one at Kunersdorf by the intervention of the Austrian Loudon only.[386] It is true that in 1798-99 even Suvaroff found his match in Masséna, and had to pay dearly for his Italian victories with the defeat of Zurich and the disastrous retreat across the Saint Gothard.[387] But for all that, the time of Catherine and Suvaroff was the great and glorious epoch of the Russian arms, and never since then has a similar splendor surrounded them. At Austerlitz, at Friedland, the inferiority of the Russian army, as compared with the French, was signally manifested; and if at Eylau they were saved from similar disgrace, it was because Lestocq, with the remnants of the Prussian army, rendered them the same service Loudon had done at Kunersdorf.[388] At Borodino an inferior number of Frenchmen defeated

[a] G. R. Derzhavin, *On the Capture of Warsaw.—Ed.*

them[389]; and had not Napoleon kept his guards in reserve, the defeat would have been decisive. The battles fought by the Russians during the French retreat from Moscow were far more glorious to the latter than to the former. And in the campaigns of 1813 and 1814, it was the Germans who had not only to supply the numerical force, and to bear the brunt of every battle, but to find the generals who could plan them.

Of the campaigns against Napoleon, however, it might be said that there was no disgrace in being beaten by a man who was in himself a host; but when the campaign of 1828-29, against the Turks, and of 1831, against the Poles,[390] showed again what superiority of numbers and what great efforts and waste of time it cost the Russians to overcome opponents far less formidable than Napoleon and his well-seasoned troops, the decline of Russian military glory was evident. It cannot be denied that at the very time when Russian influence in European politics was stronger than ever, the actual feats of the Russian army justified anything but such a political position. And though Russia, in consequence of the events of 1848-50, was actually raised to the position of arbiter and protector of all Europe east of the Rhine, the campaign which seemingly elevated her to such omnipotence, the Hungarian campaign, was positively disgraceful to Russian generalship, and did not add a single laurel leaf to the crown of victory of the "invincible" Russian army.

This "young, powerful, irresistible nation," this "people of the future," as the Russians modestly called themselves, in a military sense at least culminated long ago, and was even declining when the present war began. The Russian army was ranked as a respectable force from the tenacity and solidity of its infantry, though with many shortcomings which more than made up for these advantages. It appeared imposing by its numbers, professedly ready for war at any moment, and by the implicit obedience which held this vast machine together. But alas! what has become of this mighty army, this "stern fact" which so frightened Western Europe! Three of its eight corps, on the Danube, were checked by what Turkey could find to oppose to them; and when the Crimean campaign began, division after division, corps after corps was drawn into the insatiable whirlpool, never to disentangle themselves again. Indeed the army was drained to its very reserves and *élite* troops. The innate bravery as well as the innate clumsiness of the Russian soldiers was aided by the engineering skill of a truly gifted man, Todtleben; it was favored by the sins of omission and commission of the allied generals; it achieved a

passive defense, glorious and even unparalleled of its kind, kept up full eleven months; but with all that, there was not a single actual success, not a single victory, and, indeed, invariable and inglorious defeat wherever the Russians attempted to take the initiative, no matter against what sort of enemies.

Except the truly incredible bravery displayed by the French and English soldiers, and in some instances by the Turks, also, the whole of this war does not afford to the Allies much matter for bragging; from the Alma[391] to the present day, their generalship has been worse than indifferent, and in no single instance have they ever seized time by the forelock. But such days as Inkerman and the Chernaya prove irretrievably the superiority of western armies over the Russians, while the repelled assaults on Silistria and Kars prove that under certain circumstances even the Turks are more than a match for them.[392] This war has been distinguished by more hand to hand encounters than all the wars of Napoleon together. Not an action but the troops have actually closed, even in the open field. Everywhere the bayonet has decided in the last instance. Now the bayonet—*Russki styk*—always was the great boast of the Russians. And precisely with the bayonet have the Russians been beaten in every instance, and by inferior numbers too. *Russki styk* belongs to bygone days, and the men who had to shrink back at Silistria, Kars, and even from the small bridge-head of Oltenitza, are no longer the same as those who took Akaltzik, Erzeroum and Warsaw, much less the same whom Suvaroff made to storm Ismail and Praga.[393] "Stride forth a Russian" is bitter irony when applied to the step of the soldiers retiring over the bridge from South to North Sevastopol.

That the position of the Russians in the Crimea is not very enviable is proved by the Emperor Alexander's return to the north without having gone to see the army before the enemy. Had there been any improvement in its position, any possibility of encouraging it by prospects of speedy reenforcements, of increased supplies, and of changes in the fortune of war, surely Alexander would not have lost the opportunity to visit that army which at all events has exhibited more patience and more passive resisting force than any previous army, even in Russia. As he has not done so, there is an increased probability that the rumors are true according to which the Russians are resolved to retire by small detachments from Sympheropol toward Perekop, leaving a rear-guard only to make a bold front against the enemy as long as may be necessary. There are, indeed, other circumstances tending to confirm these rumors. The fire of the north forts against

Sevastopol, though not very effective, is on the increase, as if they intended to expend all their ammunition before leaving. The troops about Inkerman are daily diminishing; and at the same time, as if to make up for this, fresh batteries are daily erected on the north shore. The camp about Mackenzie's even is reported to be peopled by diminished numbers. On the other hand, it is true, stronger columns have appeared on the Upper Belbek as soon as the French showed themselves there, and no progress of any note has been made by the Allies on that side.

It is, however, not to be forgotten that the road through the steppe from Sympheropol by Perekop to Cherson, offers no means of subsistence whatever to a marching army, and very often not even water. Thus small detachments only can pass at a time, as everything for their consumption has to be brought from a distance; consequently the slower Gorchakoff effects his retreat, the more regularly supplied will be his columns and the fewer men will he lose on the long march. On the other hand, the allied generals will commit an unpardonable military sin if they allow this gradual retreat of the Russians, without even ascertaining, by strong reconnaissances, whether it is actually taking place or not. As far as we can judge, Pélissier is noways satisfied on this point, but it is his own fault exclusively. Should he go on with his offensive movements at the present slow rate, he may have finished his preliminary operations for an attack upon the Russian position by the time the last Russian passes the lines of Perekop. But the "conqueror of Sevastopol" has now a reputation to lose, and this has made him even more cautious than the defeat of the 18th of June did.[394] Napoleon finished his campaign of 1796 in the maritime Alps, in six days and four battles, and that was ground far more difficult than the Crimean chalk-hills; but then he was not an understrapper to his own nephew.[a] One attempt has, indeed, been made on the part of the Allies which displays a little more energy. The corps at Eupatoria, reenforced by Gen. de Failly's French division, consisting of nine battalions, and Paget's British light dragoon brigade, which counts four regiments, has now extended its feelers as far as half way to Sympheropol, but very soon retreated again. Gorchakoff, who sends this piece of news,[b] states the strength of the Allies at from thirty thousand to forty thousand men. We shall be nearer the mark if we take the first number. But with thirty thousand men disposable in the field,

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[a] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

[b] "Paris, Wednesday Evening", *The Times*, No. 22200, November 1, 1855.—*Ed.*

the Eupatoria corps might attempt far bolder movements, especially as its line of retreat to Eupatoria, either north or south of Lake Sasik, cannot be cut off. Thus, after all, we find the same languor at Eupatoria as on the Chernaya; and that this languor, instead of being lashed up into action, will rather become more languid, there can be no doubt, if it be certain, as the whole British press asserts, that Gen. Codrington is to succeed old Father Simpson in the command of the British forces. Codrington distinguished himself at the Redan on the 8th of September, where he commanded the assaulting divisions, by his magnificent imperturbability. So imperturbable was he that he could afford to look with the marble placidity of Horace's honest man—*si fractus illabatur orbis*[a]—on the defeat of his vanguard, without so much as even suspecting that it might not be amiss to send the reserves to their support! Codrington, no doubt, is the man for the moment—the great general who has been looked for so long in vain—and if he gets the command the British are safe from defeat, as he never would allow more than his outpost troops to be beaten in a single day.

That the Russians are actually retreating from the Crimea is also indicated by another fact. When Alexander was at Nikolaieff, he inspected the 31st, 32d, 33d, 34th, 35th and 36th marine equipages recently arrived from Sevastopol. These marine equipages are battalions of sailors and marines, each of which serves at sea to man a ship-of-the-line, and one or more smaller vessels. That these troops left the Crimea when they could neither be missed nor replaced if any lengthened resistance was intended, clearly shows what is to be expected. The mission of Generals Benkendorf and Stackelberg to headquarters in the Crimea, in order to inquire into and report on the state of the army there is also significant, and from what we know of the doings of the allied generals, it may be expected that the Russian retreat, on the whole, will be effected unmolested and without any great loss.

The London *Times* of course knows better than this.[b] If Pélissier does not act now, it is merely to induce the Russians to *stop* in the Crimea. If they were to retreat now, while the season is tolerable, what could he do to prevent them? what great injury could he inflict on them? No; Pélissier's plan is far deeper.

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[a] Part of Horace's dictum "si fractus illabatur orbis, impavidum ferient ruinae" (if the world were to crumble into atoms, the ruins would strike him undismayed). Horatius Flaccus Quintus, *Carmina*, Lib. III, III.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to the leading article in *The Times*, No. 22195, October 26, 1855.—*Ed.*

Pélissier not only intends to conquer the Crimea, but also to make the Russians perform a counterpart to the French retreat from Moscow. He is waiting for Winter to set in, and then he will pounce upon them, expel them from their position, drive them in heedless flight across the frozen steppe, or, as the Russians say of 1812, turn against them "His Excellency Gen. Hunger, and his Excellency Gen. Frost;" and then have them stopped in their march by the flanking corps falling upon them from Eupatoria, from Kertch, from Kinburn, so that what cold and hunger have left, will have to surrender at discretion, and not a man escape to tell the tale of the Crimean catastrophe to his countrymen.

Such is the strategy of the London *Times.*

Written in late October 1855

Reproduced from the newspaper

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# Frederick Engels

## THE RUSSIAN ARMY

At the time the war between the Western Powers and Russia was declared, the Anglo-French press was of opinion that Russia would have no lack of men to fight, but that she would soon be short of money. Financial difficulties were counted on to counteract the strength and to impede the movements of those millions of soldiers which Russia could, it was said, send forth at any time against her enemies. But what has been the actual fact? Russia, though ostensibly banished from all the great European Stock exchanges, has found no difficulty in contracting a loan[395]; her paper money, in spite of repeated fresh issues, maintains its credit; and her troops on their marches are fed, and the means of transport are furnished by the population in a manner impossible in any other less exclusively agricultural country. Blockaded as her ports are, she has managed hitherto to weather all those financial shoals upon which the London wiseacres were sure she would founder. As to the inexhaustible supply of men, however, matters look far different. While England with voluntary enlistment at home and abroad has managed gradually to increase her Crimean army to some forty thousand men, while France has only called in for the present year one hundred and forty thousand men instead of eighty thousand, and yet could send to the East an army numerous enough for more work than Pélissier could cut out for it, what has Russia had to do? Two general levies have been ordered on the whole extent of territory subject to the conscription, each averaging ten men to every one thousand male souls; then a general levy for the militia of twenty-three men to each one thousand souls, and now a fresh general levy for the line of ten men to each one thousand souls is again decreed. The average

levy, in time of peace, is about five per one thousand for one-half of the empire, the other half furnishing recruits the year following. Thus two-and-a-half per one thousand male souls on the whole empire (except, of course, in the provinces not subject to conscription) is the yearly average. The two years of war, however, have now already caused levies to be made amounting in the whole to fifty-three to each one thousand souls, or about two-and-a-half per cent of the entire population, male and female—that is, in each of the two years, ten times the amount of the regular peace recruiting. If we suppose France to have, during the two years of the war, recruited for her army altogether three hundred thousand men, which is certainly beyond the mark, that would make, for a population of thirty-six millions, five-sixth per cent in two years, or five-twelfths per cent per annum—that is, just one-sixth of the numbers which Russia has had to incorporate in her army. It is true that in Russia about one-ninth per cent, and in France two-ninths per cent, of the entire population are taken annually in time of peace, for military service; but then, as the time of actual service in Russia is more than twice as long as in France, that circumstance is more than balanced.

That this continuous drain upon the able-bodied male population begins to tell in Russia, while its counterpart is hardly felt in France, we learn from all quarters. In Poland particularly we are informed that hands are wanted for the tillage of the soil; and the great discontent of the nobles at the general abstraction of their most valuable serf-property is another proof of the fact. The appointment of an out-and-out aristocrat, Lanskoy, to the ministry of the Interior, and his circular to the nobility,[a] stating that the Emperor Alexander, by a ukase, has guaranteed to them all their rights and privileges, shows how seriously alarmed the Court is at these symptoms of discontent among the owners of serfs.

The most remarkable feature, however, in these quickly-renewed recruitings, is the insignificance of the actual numerical increase gained, through them, for the army. Reckoning the total number of male souls subject to conscription at twenty-two millions, which is certainly low, in two years no less than six hundred and sixty thousand men have been enrolled in the ranks of the line, and five hundred and six thousand in those of the militia. Of the latter, indeed, a portion only have been mobilized, amounting perhaps to two hundred thousand men; so that the actual drain on the able-bodied male population has been about

[a] Issued on August 28, 1855.—*Ed.*

eight hundred and sixty thousand men. Beside these should be counted the soldiers of the reserve, dismissed on furlough for the last five or ten years of their term of service, and called in before the war broke out; but as most of these were called in as far back as 1853, we will not take them into account here.

In spite of these reserves, forming the fifth and sixth battalions of each infantry regiment—in spite of the six hundred and sixty thousand recruits incorporated partly in the first four line-battalions of each regiment, partly in the newly-formed second reserve (seventh and eighth) battalions of these regiments, the various bodies of the line are still far short of their full complement of men. The most curious proof of this is afforded by a proclamation issued at Nikolaieff, by the commander of the army of the south, Gen. Lüders.[a] He declares that by imperial order, twenty-three *druginas*[b] of the militia (twenty-three thousand men) attached to the army of the south, are to be incorporated with the line, and that they are to join the third and fourth battalions of each regiment. Now this measure cannot possibly have any other signification than that the regiments forming the army of the south are so reduced in numbers, that the mass of the soldiers of the third and fourth battalions are to be transferred to the first and second battalions while their places are to be filled by the militia. In other words, before the incorporation of the militia with them, the four battalions of these regiments were scarcely as strong as two battalions of the full complement. If such losses have taken place in an army the greater portion of which has never been before the enemy, and no portion of which has been engaged since Silistria, what must have been the losses in the Crimea and in Asia! We gain at once an insight into the actual state of the Russian army, and the conjecture which this insight allows us to make as to its wear and tear, explains the possibility of two-thirds of a million of men being absorbed into it without visibly increasing its numbers.

But how is this immense and disproportionate wear and tear brought about? First, by the enormous marches the recruits have to make from their respective homes to the chief towns of the provinces, thence to their depots, and finally to their regiments—not to count the marches these regiments have to make afterward. It is no trifle for a recruit to march from Perm to Moscow, from

[a] Lüders' proclamation was reported in *The Times*, No. 22200, November 1, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 440.—*Ed.*

Moscow to Wilna, and finally from Wilna to Odessa or Nikolaieff. And if such interminable marches are hurried on by the supreme will of a man like Nicholas, who fixes the hour of arrival as well as the hour of departure, and punishes every deviation from his order; if brigades, divisions, army-corps, are precipitated in hot haste from one end of the empire to the other, regardless of the numbers left behind on account of sickness and fatigue; if a march from Moscow to Perekop has to be made at the rate of an ordinary forced march, which elsewhere is never continued beyond two days—a great deal of this wear and tear is explained. But to this overstraining of the physical powers of the soldier must be added the confusion necessarily arising from the notorious mal-administration of every department in the Russian service, especially in the army commissariat. Then comes the method of having the soldiers fed on the march as far as possible by the inhabitants of the country on the line of march—a method quite practicable if well managed, in an exclusively agricultural country, but illusory and open to the greatest inconvenience wherever, as in Russia, the commissariat and the commanding officers make good their embezzlements out of the stores stolen from the peasantry. And finally come the formidable miscalculations which necessarily must occur wherever armies disseminated over such a vast extent of ground are made to move by orders from one center, and are expected to execute them with the regularity of clockwork, while all the premises upon which these orders are based are false and unreliable. It is not the sword and the shot of the enemy, it is not the sickness inevitable in many parts of Southern Russia, it is not even the necessity of long marches which so decimates the Russian army; it is the special circumstances under which the Russian soldier is enlisted, drilled, marched, treated, fed, clad, lodged, commanded and fought, which can account for the terrible fact that very nearly the whole of the Russian army, as it existed in 1853, has already disappeared from the face of the earth without having made its opponents suffer more than one third of such a loss.

The order of the day of General Lüders is remarkable for another circumstance. It confesses openly that the militiamen are anything but fit to be led against the enemy. It implores the old soldiers not to laugh at or despise these young troops for their awkwardness under arms; it admits that they hardly know anything about drill, and introduces an alteration in the drill-regulations which must have been expressly sanctioned by the Emperor. The men are not to be "disgusted" by useless

parade-drill; the most indispensable movements only are to be practiced with them; handling, loading, firing their muskets, firing at the target, movements in column, and skirmishing—everything else is declared to be useless parade-drill. Thus a Russian general, under the express sanction of the Emperor, condemns two-thirds of the whole Russian drill-regulations as useless stuff, fit for nothing but to disgust the soldier with his duties; and these regulations were the very work of which the late Emperor Nicholas was most proud!

The "young soldiers", whose very gesture and step are thus described as provoking the laughter of their comrades, would not in any other country be called recruits. They have been under arms from six to ten months, and yet they are as clumsy as if they came straight from the plow. It cannot be said that the long marches they have had to make have left them no time for drill. Napoleon in his latter campaigns incorporated his recruits in their respective battalions after a fortnight's drill, and then dispatched them to Spain, to Italy, to Poland; they were drilled during the march, both while marching and when arrived in quarters; and when they joined the army, after six or eight weeks' marching, they were expected to be fit for active service. Never did Napoleon allow his recruits more than three months' drill to become soldiers; and even in 1813, when he had to create a fresh army, fresh cadres, and everything, he brought his conscripts down to the battlefields of Saxony in three months from the time they had joined their depots; and his opponents soon learned what he could do with these "raw recruits." What a difference between this quickness of adaptation with the French and this clown-like clumsiness of the Russian! What a certificate of incapacity in the officers of this Russian militia! And yet, Lüders says, these officers have nearly all served in the line, and many of them have smelt powder.

The restriction of the drill to the most indispensable movements, too, shows what Lüders expects from his new reenforcements. Skirmishing and movements in column alone are to be practiced; no deployments into line, no formations of columns out of the line. The Russian soldier, indeed, is of all the least fit for line movements, but he is quite as unfit for skirmishing. Close column-fighting is his forte, that formation in which blunders of commanding officers are followed by the least possible disorder and derangement of the general order of battle, and where the cohesive instinct of the brave but inanimate mass may make up for these blunders. The Russian soldiers, like the wild horses of the

steppe when persecuted by wolves, throng together in a shapeless mass, immovable, unmanageable, but which will hold its ground until a supreme effort of the enemy forces it asunder. But, anyhow, line formations are necessary in many circumstances, and even the Russians have recourse to them, though in a moderate degree. What then is to become of an army which cannot form in line at all, or which when got into line with a deal of trouble, cannot reform in column without throwing everything into confusion?

Written about November 2, 1855

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## BIG MEETING IN SUPPORT OF POLITICAL REFUGEES[396]

*London*, November 13. An exceptionally well attended meeting was held in St. Martin's Hall last night. The notices announcing the meeting spoke of "a joint demonstration against the recent expulsions from Jersey, the proposed Alien Bill[397] and the present war policy".[a] The last point, however, was dropped to ensure concord on the other two points. The chairman, Mr. *Edward Miall*, M.P., gave a survey of the events which led to the expulsion and then continued:

"The simple object of this meeting is to protest both against the past and against the future. We claim on behalf of political exiles here the right of asylum (cheers) on the simple ground that they are *political* exiles (cheers), whose misfortunes suffice to secure our sympathy and protection (cheers). We do not ask what politics they profess or what might be the party in their own country to which they belong. We make no distinction between prince and plebeian in this respect. (Cheers.) We want the right of sanctuary to be accorded equally to all who come to these shores. Hitherto we have done this impartially. We have extended our hand to Prince Louis Napoleon, just as we sheltered a forgotten monarch under the name of John Smith.[b] (Cheers and laughter.) We have granted the protection of our laws to Orleanists, Fusionists,[398] Royalists and Republicans not according to the policy of the rulers of the country from which they fled, but according to the laws of this country. (Cheers.) Our national hospitality has bid them all a cordial welcome. Among others we have held in high esteem *Kossuth* (prolonged applause) whom *The Times* recently called the noble Magyar, we have likewise afforded *Mazzini* the protection he sought. (Loud applause.) We had not thought it necessary to inquire whether the political views of these men were in accordance with our own; it sufficed that they were exiles from their own country for political causes, and their misfortunes were a sufficient passport

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[a] Below follows a summary of a report of this meeting published in *The Times*, No. 22210, November 13, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Louis Philippe.—*Ed.*

to our sympathies. (Cheers.) This is what we claim for the Jersey [...] refugees. (Hear, hear!) This is what we claim for all who come to these shores and we will not bate one jot of our national hospitality at the bidding of any one. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) It is therefore fitting that those who come here should be welcomed to the full enjoyment of British liberty and not merely to a prison. (Hear, hear!) There must be no registration of political refugees, no police surveillance. (Hear, hear!) The freedom of these persons, just as our own, must not be placed in the hands of any minister or the Crown", etc.

After *Miall*'s fairly long speech, which was greeted with tremendous applause and did not pass off without fierce attacks on Louis Napoleon and Austria, Mr. *Washington Wilks* read the following letter from *Cobden*:

"My dear Sir,—I cannot, I am sorry to say, take a part in your demonstration against the arbitrary treatment of M. *Victor Hugo* and his brethren in exile. But although distance from town and other engagements prevent me from being present, I sympathize very cordially with the promoters of the meeting. Surely such proceedings as those which you are meeting to protest against ought to open the eyes, of at least that part of the public which is supporting the war (cries of oh, oh) from a sympathy with liberalism abroad, as to the gross delusion that has been practised on their credulity (cries of oh, oh) by those who have told them that in the hands of our present Government the war in which we are engaged is a struggle for liberty. (Hisses and cheers.) Depend on it, the tendency, both at home and abroad, ever since the peace of Europe was broken, has been the very reverse; and give us but a few years more of war, and we shall find ourselves retrograding to the dark political doings of Sidmouth's evil days.[399] (Cries of no, no, hissing and cheering.)"

*R. Cobden*

The meeting then passed the following resolution:

"That this meeting utters its indignant protest against the recent expulsion of refugees from Jersey, and affirms that foreigners landing in the dominion of the British Crown become at once entitled to the natural and legal right of Englishmen—a public examination and trial by jury before exposure to any penal consequences. That this meeting pledges itself and calls upon the country to resist by all lawful means the apprehended attempt to carry through Parliament an act invalidating or restricting the right of sanctuary."

This demonstration will be followed by quite a number of similar ones. Incidentally I cannot refrain from observing that the whole refugee question consists of much smoke and little fire. Public opinion has definitely turned against the government, but I also believe that this uproar was allowed for in the government's calculations. The government responded to Louis Napoleon's first demands so clumsily, tragi-comically and blusteringly merely to demonstrate the fact to him that *further* concessions were beyond the power of a British government. Had it been in earnest, the government would have proceeded more skilfully and would not

have struck in such a grotesque way and so long before the opening of Parliament. Palmerston does not love the refugees, but he regards them as a means which he must keep at hand so as to be able to threaten the Continent with them when the occasion arises. I am convinced that just now the refugees have less reason for anxiety than ever before.

Written on November 13, 1855

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# Karl Marx

## TRADITIONAL ENGLISH POLICY[400]

Concerning the foreign policy of English Whigs a most erroneous impression prevails; it is supposed that they have been ever the sworn foes of Russia. History clearly establishes the contrary. In the diary and correspondence of James Harris, first Earl of Malmesbury—for several years, under both Whig and Tory administrations, English Minister at the Court of St. Petersburg—and in the Memoirs and Correspondence of Charles James Fox, edited by Lord John Russell, we find astounding revelations of Whig policy as inspired and inaugurated by Fox, who is still the political hierophant of the Whigs, being in fact as much revered by them as Mohammed is by the Osmanlis. To understand, therefore, how England has been ever[a] subservient to Russia, we will revert for a moment to facts antecedent to the accession of Fox to the Cabinet.

In the diary of the Earl of Malmesbury we perceive the anxious, impatient haste with which England pressed her diplomacy on Russia during our War of Independence.[401] Her Embassador was instructed to conclude by any means an alliance offensive and defensive. The reply of the Czarina in the first instance was evasive: the very word "offensive" was odious to Catherine; and it was necessary first to wait the course of events. Finally the English diplomat discerned that the obstacle was Russia's desire of English support for her Turkish policy; and Harris advised his Government of the necessity of nourishing the Russian appetite, if her aid against the American Colonies was to be secured.

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[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has "even".— *Ed.*

The following year the proposition of Sir James Harris assumes a milder form; he does not ask for an alliance. A Russian protest to hold France and Spain in check, if backed by a naval armament, will be acceptable to England. The Empress replies that she can perceive no occasion for such a measure. The Embassador, with servile flattery, remonstrates that

"A Russian Sovereign of the seventeenth century [...] might well have spoken so, but since that epoch Russia has become a leading power in Europe, [...] and the concerns of Europe are hers also. [...] If Peter the Great could behold the Russian navy [...] allied to that of England [...] he would confess himself no longer the first of Russian rulers"

—and so on in the same strain.

The Empress accepted this flattery, but rejected the Embassador's proposals. Two months later, on November 5, 1779, King George wrote to his "lady sister," the Czarina, an autograph letter in old-fashioned French. He no longer insisted on a formal protest, but would be satisfied with a simple demonstration.

"The apparition merely"—such were his royal words—"of a portion of the Imperial fleet will suffice to restore and confirm the peace of Europe, and the league joined against England will at once vanish."

Has ever another power of the first order so abjectly supplicated?

But all this wheedling on the part of England failed of its object, and in 1780 the armed neutrality was proclaimed.[402] England patiently swallowed the pill. To sweeten the dose her Government had previously proclaimed that the merchant-vessels of Russia should not be stopped or hindered by English cruisers. Thus, without compulsion England at that time surrendered the right of search. Soon afterward the English diplomat assured the Cabinet at St. Petersburg that British vessels of war should not molest the subjects of the Empress in their commercial pursuits; and in 1781 Sir James Harris claimed as a merit for the English Board of Admiralty that it overlooked the frequent case of Russian vessels conveying naval stores to the enemies of England, and that wherever such vessels had been by mistake arrested or hindered, liberal indemnity for the detention had been awarded by the Board. Every inducement was employed by the English Cabinet to detach Russia from the neutrality. Thus, Lord Stormont writes to the Embassador at St. Petersburg:

"Is there no dear object with which to tempt the ambition of the Empress—no concession advantageous to her navy and her commerce, which may move her to help us against our rebellious colonies?"

Harris replies that the cession of Minorca will be such a bait. In 1781 Minorca was proffered to Catherine—but not accepted.

In March, 1782, Fox entered the Cabinet, and immediately the Russian Minister at London[a] was advised that England was ready to treat with Holland, with whom the previous Ministry had declared war on the strength of the treaty of 1674[403]— wherein it was conceded that Free ships make Free goods—and would at once conclude an armistice. Harris is instructed by Fox to represent these advances as an evidence of the deference which the King desires to pay to the wishes and opinions of the Empress. But Fox does not stop here. A Cabinet Council advises the King to make known to the Russian Minister residing near his Court that his Majesty is desirous of sharing the views of the Empress, and of forming the most intimate relations with the Court of St. Petersburg, making the declaration of neutrality the basis of stipulations between the two countries.

Soon after this Fox resigned. His successor, Lord Grantham, certified that the rather favorable disposition of St. Petersburg toward London was the fruit of Fox's policy; and when Fox reentered the Cabinet, the idea was proclaimed by him that an alliance with the Northern Powers was the policy for an enlightened Englishman, and should continue to be so forever. In one of his letters to Harris he admonishes him to regard the Court of St. Petersburg as the one whose friendship is of the first importance to Great Britain, and avers that the proudest aim of his first brief administration was to make plain to the Empress how sincerely the English Ministry desired to follow her counsels and win her confidence. The partiality of Fox to a Russian alliance was extreme. He advised the King to write to the Empress and invite her to lend her condescending attention to the affairs of England.

In 1791, Fox, being then in the Opposition, said in Parliament[b] that

"it was something new for a British house to hear the growing greatness of Russia presented as matter for anxiety. [...] Twenty years before, England had introduced Russian vessels into the Mediterranean. He (Fox) had advised the King not to impede the annexation of the Crimea to Russia. England had confirmed Russia in her scheme to found her own aggrandizement on the ruin of Turkey. It were madness to betray jealousy of Russia's increased power in the Black Sea."

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[a] I. M. Simolin.—*Ed.*

[b] Fox's speech in the House of Commons on March 29, 1791.—*Ed.*

In the course of the same debate, Burke, then a Whig, observed:

"It is something new to consider the Turkish Empire as a part of the European equilibrium;"

and these views were urged in still stronger language, again and again by Burke—who is held by every party in England as the paragon of British statesmen—down to the close of his political life; and they were caught up by the great leader of the Whigs,[a] who succeeded in command of that party.

During Lord Grey's administration in 1831 and 1832, he took occasion in a discussion on foreign policy to state his conviction that it would be for the advantage of Turkey herself and the happiness of Europe if that Power were merged in the Russian Empire. Was Russia less barbarous then than she is pictured now? Was she less then that hideous despotism which modern Whigs in such terrible color portray her? And yet not alone was her alliance coveted with fawning servility, but she was encouraged by English liberal statesmen to that very design for which she is now so vehemently denounced.

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[a] Fox.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE WAR IN ASIA

Little by little we are getting at the details of the fall of Kars[404]; and so far they fully confirm what we have habitually asserted to be the case with respect to the Turkish army in Asia Minor.[a] It is now beyond the possibility of denial that that army has been systematically ruined by the neglect of the Turkish Government, and by the unchecked sway of Turkish indolence, fatalism and stupidity. Indeed, the facts now disclosed go a great way to prove that even direct treason, as is commonly the case in Turkey, has had much to do with the fall of Kars.

As far back as the beginning of last year's campaign, we had occasion to show to our readers the wretched condition of the Turkish army at Erzeroum and Kars, and the flagrant peculation from which that state of things proceeded.[b] There were concentrated for the defense of the Armenian highlands the two army-corps of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, beside part of the corps of Syria. These corps had been reenforced by their redifs or reserve battalions, and formed the nucleus of a numerous host of Kurdish and Bedouin irregulars. But the four or five unfortunate battles of 1853 and 1854, from Akaltzik to Bayazid, had destroyed the cohesion and spirit of this army, while the want of clothing and provisions during the Winter completely ruined it. A motley assemblage of Hungarian and Polish refugees, adventurers as well as men of decided merit, had been collected at its headquarters,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 484-89.— *Ed.*

[b] See the section "The Turkish Army" in Engels' series of articles *The Armies of Europe* (this volume, pp. 451-56).— *Ed.*

without any officially-recognized position. Before the ignorant, jealous and intriguing Pashas the adventurers could pass themselves off as first-rate men, while the really useful men among these refugees were treated as adventurers; in the end it was a race of vanity and intrigue, discreditable to the refugees as a mass, and destroying almost every vestige of their influence. Then came the British officers, who were received with great respect, backed as they were by the consideration due to an allied Government, and by the utter helplessness of the Turkish commanders. But they, too, failed in their attempts to infuse anything like military spirit into the Armenian army. Their efforts might now and then rouse a Pasha from his stolid apathy for a moment, secure the construction of the most indispensable defensive works at Kars, and prevent, from time to time, some of the grossest instances of peculation and even connivance with the enemy; but this was all. When Gen. Williams, last Spring, strained every nerve to procure the most indispensable stores of provisions at Kars, he was constantly checked. The Turkish commissariat thought a siege out of the question; it had no horses to move stores with. When asses were found to be abundant, they thought it derogatory to the Sultan's[a] stores to be transported by asses, and so forth; so that in the end Kars, the bulwark of Armenia, at only two marches from the Russian stronghold of Gumri, was, in fact, left without any provisions at all, and had to forage for itself in the environs. It was the same with regard to ammunition. After the Russian attack of Sept. 29, there remained but three days' ammunition for the artillery, though it is to be remembered that no actual siege took place—the 29th September being the only real fighting-day during the blockade. The medicine-chests sent to the army contained all sorts of rubbish, and the surgeons were provided from Constantinople with obstetrical instruments to probe wounds and amputate limbs with!

This was the state of things in Kars. That with such scanty resources a garrison composed of the demoralized troops of Anatolia should have made such a desperate resistance on the 29th of September, and held out so long afterward against hunger, is one of those redeeming facts in Turkish history which abound in the present war. The same fatalism which leads to apathetic indolence in the superiors produces this stubborn resistance in the masses. It is the last remnant of the spirit that bore the banner of Islam from Mecca to Spain and was only

[a] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*

checked at Poitiers.[405] Its offensive strength is gone, but a trace of its defensive power has remained. This stubbornness of resistance behind walls and ramparts is essentially Turkish; it would be a great mistake to attribute the credit of it to the presence of European officers. If such were present at Kars and Silistria in 1855 and 1854, they were not so at Varna, at Braila, at Silistria in 1829, when the same feats of heroism were exhibited.[406] What European officers could do in such instances was to correct mistakes, to strengthen redoubts, to give unity to the system of defense, and to prevent direct treachery. But the individual bravery of the soldiers has always been the same, whether they were present or not; nor was it wanting at Kars, even among the disorganized troops of the all but destroyed army of Anatolia.

This leads us to the merits of the British officers who played a conspicuous part in the defense of Kars, and who are now prisoners of war at Tiflis. That they did a great deal toward preparing the means of resistance, that to them is due all the credit for having fortified the place, provisioned it as well as possible, lashed the Turkish Pashas out of their dreamy indolence, and conducted the defense on the 29th of September, cannot be doubted. But it is preposterous to ascribe to them, as the British press now does, all the credit of the 29th September, and of the defense generally, and to set them down as a parcel of heroes, abandoned in the hour of danger by the cowardly Turks, for whose sake they sacrificed themselves. That during the assault they were foremost in the ranks of the defenders, we do not intend to deny; the Englishman is of so pugnacious a nature that the greatest and most common fault of the British officer, in a battle, is to forget his duty as an officer and to fight as a private soldier. Indeed, when he does this he is sure of the applause of his countrymen, although in any other army he would risk being cashiered for loss of presence of mind. But on the other hand, the Turkish soldier is so accustomed to see his own officers run away that when once his spirit is up, he cares nothing at all for officers or command, but fights where he happens to stand, and is not at all the man to notice or much less to be inspired by the fact of half a dozen Englishmen beside him, attempting to display their bravery. That the fortifications of Kars were planned in an exceedingly faulty manner we fully demonstrated immediately after the assault of September 29[a] was known here, and the

[a] See this volume, pp. 563-68, 694-702.— *Ed.*

judgment we then passed upon them has since been completely confirmed by the official map of these fortifications published by the British Government. Finally, then, the merits of these British officers at Kars must be measured by the French proverb: "In the kingdom of the blind, the one-eyed is a king." Many a man who cannot muster the knowledge necessary to pass the examination for Sub-Lieutenant in France, would make a great General among the Cochin-Chinese; and if British officers are notorious in their own country for professional incompetence, it must not be expected that they will be illuminated by sudden floods of knowledge or genius on taking service in Turkey. For our part, we believe that Kmety deserves as much credit as any man who partook in the defense of Kars.

While this was the state of things at Kars, what was going on at Erzeroum? A dozen old Pashas passed their days in smoking their chibouks, quite unconscious that any responsibility rested upon them, that Kars was hard pressed, or that the enemy was within a few marches, on the other side of the Dewe Boyun hills. A few thousand regular troops, accompanied by some irregulars, marched to and fro, never risking an attack on the enemy, and returning as soon as they had descried his outposts. There was neither the force nor the spirit to relieve Kars, and consequently Kars was starved out while the army of Erzeroum scarcely dared to demonstrate in its favor. General Williams must have known that he could not expect any assistance from that quarter. But what reports, what promises he received respecting the effect of Omer Pasha's movements, we have no means of guessing. It has been said that Williams intended, at the last extremity, to force his way with the garrison through the Russian army; but we doubt whether such a plan was seriously entertained. The hilly ground, offering but very few passes by which Erzeroum could be gained, was all in favor of the Russians; if a few defiles were well occupied by them, this plan was not feasible. On the other hand, movements of troops become almost impossible toward the latter end of October in a country elevated from 5,000 to 8,000 feet above the sea, where Winter sets in very early and lasts from six to nine months. If Kars could hold out till Winter, the loss of a garrison of 6,000 regular troops would be nothing in comparison to the time gained by the prolonged defense. Erzeroum, the great center of all the Turkish stores in Armenia, was almost without fortifications, and would thereby be made safe till May, 1856; while the actual advantage gained by the Russians would be confined to the virtual possession of the villages of the Kars Chai

and the Upper Araxes, neither of which could have been disputed to them, even if the garrison of Kars had succeeded in reaching Erzeroum. This town was scarcely fortified at all; if the garrison of Kars had actually found its way thither toward the middle of October, there would not have been a sufficient force to defend it. As an open town only can Dewe Boyun be defended, by a battle in front of it, in the Pass.[a] Thus the patience of the garrison of Kars saved Erzeroum.

Again, the question is asked, whether Omer Pasha could not have saved Kars, and almost every European correspondent in the East has an answer of his own to it. It is even now attempted to lay all the blame of the fall of Kars on Omer Pasha, and that by the very parties who formerly were full of his praise. The fact is, that in the first instance, Omer Pasha was retained in the Crimea, against his own will, until it was almost too late to undertake anything on a grand scale before Winter. When finally he went to Constantinople to settle his plan of operations, he had to spend his time in counteracting intrigues of all kinds. When at last everything was ready, the promised British transports were not forthcoming; and when the army was concentrated near Batoum, and later on at Sukum Kaleh, no stores, ammunition and means of transport were provided. How, under such circumstances, Omer Pasha was expected to march to the direct relief of Kars, it is not easy to make out. We find that during his Mingrelian expedition, he could never venture to go more than two or three days' march from the coast, and yet there he had good Russian military roads to march on. But in going to Kars, either by Erzeroum or Ardahan, he would have had to march either twenty or twelve days from the coast, using for his roads the beds of rivers and paths across the hills, where nothing more clumsy than a pack-horse can pass. The caravans from Trebizond to Erzeroum have no other roads to travel over, and the fact that they never use vehicles is the best proof of what ground they have to traverse. And this is the only track which is at all beaten; as to the so-called roads from Batoum into the interior, their existence is still more problematical, as no great traffic passes over them. The wise military critics who reproach Omer Pasha with not having marched straight upon Kars should first study the accounts of men who have traveled over the ground—such as Curzon and

[a] The *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* and *New-York Weekly Tribune* have: "As an open town only can be defended by a battle in front of it, in the Dewe Boyun Pass." — *Ed.*

Bodenstedt.[a] As to the allegation of the London *Times,* that Gen. Williams had pointed out to Omer Pasha Batoum as a starting point for a direct march on Kars,[b] we can only say that Williams knows Armenia, where he has lived many years, far too well to propose such a thing.

All things considered, Omer Pasha could not do better than menace the communications of the Russians before Kars. How far he might be enabled to do this effectively depended upon the mobility of his own army and on the Russian forces opposed to him. Leaving out of the question the first consideration, as a matter to be judged of after the fact, we concluded from the beginning, that in all probability the Russians would prove too strong for the invading army. Our very first statement of the forces at the disposal of Bebutoff, and which has turned out quite exact, showed that even at Kutais, the Russians, with a little management, might oppose a superior force to the Turks. And so they did. Had Omer Pasha been ever so free in his movements, he could not have forced, with the army at his command, the passage of the Rioni. But beside this, the slowness and uncertainty with which his supplies were brought up, hampered his operations from the start. After every two or three marches he had to halt nearly a week in order to form the most indispensable depots of provisions; and when at last he had advanced three days' march from Redout Kaleh into the interior, he was completely paralyzed. Finding at the same time a superior army before him, he could but retreat to the coast, where the Russians followed him, harassing his rear very severely. The Turkish army now bivouacs on the coast and is being transported to Batoum, Trebizond, and other places, having suffered severely both from the enemy and from sickness. Mingrelia, with the exception of the coast forts, is again in the hands of the Russians.

This concludes the third lucky campaign of the Russians in Asia: Kars and its Pashalik conquered; Mingrelia freed from invasion; and the last body of Turkish troops remaining in the field, Omer Pasha's army, considerably weakened numerically and morally—these results are not to be despised in a country like that south-west of the Caucasus, where all operations are necessarily slow in consequence of the ground and of the want of roads. And

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[a] The reference is to F. Bodenstedt's book *Die Völker des Kaukasus und ihre Freiheitskämpfe gegen die Russen,* published in Frankfurt am Main in 1848, and R. Curzon's book *Armenia: A Year at Erzeroom, and on the Frontiers of Russia, Turkey and Persia.*—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times,* No. 22254, January 3, 1856.—*Ed.*

if these successes and positive conquests are placed as a set-off against the occupation of the south side of Sevastopol, of Kertch, Kinburn, Eupatoria, and a few Caucasian forts by the Allies, it will be seen that the advantages actually gained by the latter are not so overwhelming as to justify the rhodomontade of the British press. It is a very significant fact that the Paris *Constitutionnel*, in an article inspired by the French Court, directly charges Lord Redcliffe with being the principal cause of the Asiatic disasters, by his not only withholding from the Porte the subsidies granted to it on the part of the Allies, but also inducing it to keep back, as long as possible, the reenforcements intended for the theater of war.[a]

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[a] L. Boniface, "D'après les nouvelles qui viennent de Constantinople...", *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 8, January 8, 1856.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE EUROPEAN WAR

The system of warfare carried on hitherto by the Western Powers against Russia, has completely broken down. It will not do to carry on this year's campaign, if campaign there is to be, upon the plan which has, so far, been followed up. To concentrate the whole forces of France, England, Turkey and Sardinia, against one particular point in the Crimea, a point which, by using indirect means, might have been gained as an accessory; to fight for that point eleven long months, and then to obtain only one half of it; to neglect all other opportunities for dealing effective blows at the enemy to such an extent that Russia could obtain by the conquest of Kars, a counterpart to the loss of the south side of Sevastopol—all that might do for a campaign or two, in a war where the most vulnerable points of the opposing parties were covered by the neutrality of Central Europe. But it will do no longer. The Council of War which has just been sitting in Paris, is the best proof that now we shall have something like war in earnest if the war is to continue at all.[407]

The war, as hitherto carried on, has been a state of official hostilities, mitigated by extreme politeness. We do not here allude to civilities marking the unavoidable intercourse of flags of truce, but to the civilities which the very councils of war of the contending parties displayed to their opponents. That the war arose at all, is the fault of a miscalculation on the part of the Emperor Nicholas. He never expected that France and England would join to oppose his designs upon Turkey; he looked out for a quiet little war of his own with the Sultan,[a] which might lead his troops for a second time to the walls of Constantinople,[408] arouse European diplomacy when it would be too late, and finally give his

[a] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*

own diplomatists a chance of gaining, as usual, twice as much in conferences and congresses as his troops could have gained by the sword. Unfortunately, unexpectedly, unwillingly, Russia and the Western Powers were entangled into war over this business before they were aware of it, and to war they had to go, though none of them liked it. Now, either party had a last means of warfare in perspective which it thought would frighten the other from resorting to extremities. It was expected to be a war of principles, and of a more or less revolutionary character in which Germany and her dependencies, Hungary, Poland, Italy would have to partake. The *ultima ratio*[a] of the West was to be the setting loose of the oppressed nationalities of Hungary, Poland, Italy, and more or less of Germany also. The *ultima ratio* of Russia, on the other hand, was the appeal to Panslavism, the realization of the dreams fostered by enthusiasts for the last fifty years, among the Slavonic population of Europe.

But neither the Russian Government, nor that of Louis Bonaparte (not to speak of Palmerston) chose to appeal to such means of action before the last extremity had arrived; and in consequence the war has been carried on with a mutual forbearance and urbanity scarcely habitual between legitimate monarchs of ancient lineage, much less between such upstarts and usurpers as the Romanoffs, the Hanoverians, and the Pseudo-Bonapartes. The Baltic coast of Russia was scarcely touched; no attempts at permanent lodgment were made there. There, as in the White Sea, private property was much more assailed than Government property; and on the coast of Finland, especially, the British fleets seemed to have no other end in view than to reconcile the Fins to the Russian rule. In the Black Sea similar principles were acted upon. The Allied troops sent there appeared to have come for the purpose of making the Turks long for a Russian invasion; for that is the only conclusion to be drawn from their conduct, ever since 1854 till now. The most innocent portion of the time they spent in Turkey was during their stay at Varna, when, incapable of doing good, they did at least no considerable harm except to themselves. When at last they started for the Crimea. They managed to carry on the war in such a way that the Russian Government had every reason to be highly satisfied with them. The Duke of Cambridge has been, lately, distributing plenty of medals to the French troops returned from the Crimea; but no medals, crosses, grand-crosses, stars and ribbons the Russian

[a] Final argument or last resort.— *Ed.*

Government can bestow will adequately express the gratitude it owes to the directors of the campaign of 1854 and '55. Indeed, when the south side of Sevastopol was abandoned by its Russian garrison, it had cost the Allies in dead and invalid 250,000 men, beside millions on millions of money. The Russians, always worsted in battle, had regularly defeated their enemies in resolution, activity, and the skill of their commanding engineer.[a] If Inkermann was an indelible disgrace to the Russians, the building up of the redoubts on Sapun and the Mamelon by the Russians, under the very nose of their opponents, was an indelible disgrace to both English and French. And, after all, it appears that Sevastopol did not so much exhaust the forces of Russia as those of the Allies, for it did not prevent the Russians from taking Kars.

This taking of Kars is, in fact, the most disgraceful thing which could have happened to the Allies. With the enormous naval armaments at their disposal, with a number of troops superior, ever since June, 1855, to the Russians in the field, they never attacked the weakest points of Russia, the Transcaucasian provinces. Nay, they even allowed the Russians to organize in that part an independent base of operations, a sort of vice-royalty, capable of holding out some time against a superior attack, though the communications with the mother country might be interrupted. Not satisfied with that, not forewarned by the continuous defeats the Asiatic-Turkish army had suffered in 1853 and '54, they prevented the Turkish army of Omer Pasha from doing any good in Asia, by keeping it in the Crimea, and in the Crimea they gave it nothing to do except hewing wood and drawing water for its Allies. Thus, after the whole coast from the straits of Kertch to Batoum had been carefully cleared of all Russian settlements, after thereby a line had been gained on which ten or fifteen points could be chosen as capital bases for any operations against Caucasia or Transcaucasia—the weakest part of Russia as we have often shown[b]—nothing was done, until at last Kars being hard pushed, and the army at Erzeroum being fit for nothing, Omer Pasha was allowed to undertake his unfortunate expedition to Mingrelia—too late to do any good.

This obstinacy in concentrating the pith of the war in a Peninsula about the size of Long Island, has certainly served to keep aside all unpleasant questions. No nationalities, no Panslav-

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[a] Todtleben.—*Ed.*

[b] See Engels' article "The Progress of the Turkish War" (present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 450-56) and the article by Marx and Engels, "State of the Russian War" (present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 246-52).—*Ed.*

ism, no trouble with Central Europe, no necessities for conquest, no great decisive results which might embarrass ulterior negotiations by implying the necessity of imposing real sacrifices on any party, have appeared upon the scene. But to the men engaged in the actual campaign this is not agreeable. To them, at least from the Sergeant-Major downward, the war has been a matter of stern, stubborn fact. Never, as long as there have been wars, has such brilliant bravery been thrown away for such inadequate results as in this Crimean campaign. Never have such numbers of first-rate soldiers been sacrificed, and in such a short time, too, to produce such indecisive successes. It is evident that such sufferings cannot be imposed again upon the armies. There must be some more palpable gain than barren "glory." You cannot go on fighting at the rate of two great battles and four or five general assaults per annum, and yet remain always on the same spot. No army stands that in the long run. No fleet will stand a third campaign of the modest nature of the two last, in the Baltic and Black Seas. If the war is to continue, we hear, accordingly, of the invasion of Finland, of Esthonia, of Bessarabia; we are promised Swedish auxiliaries, and Austrian demonstrations. But at the same time we are informed that Russia has accepted the Austrian proposals as a basis for negotiation,[409] and while this is far from settling the question of peace, it opens a possibility of that consummation.

There is, then, a chance that there may not be another campaign; but if one does come, we may presume that it must be much more extensive and fruitful than those that have preceded it.

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# Karl Marx

## THE AMERICAN DIFFICULTY.—AFFAIRS OF FRANCE[410]

London, Friday, Feb. 8, 1856

Except the venal gentry of the Ministerial press, nobody in England seems to believe much in our Anglo-American difficulty.[411] Some people consider it a trick to withdraw attention from the peace negotiations. Others pretend that Palmerston will push on to a mutual recall of Ambassadors, when he will go out, as Pitt did before the peace of Amiens,[412] to return when a truly English Minister is again wanted. From the manner in which the dispute is maintained very clever people look upon the whole as a simple election dodge of the President.[a] The Democratic press beholds Bonaparte behind the scenes, delighted in fanning internecine war between the Anglo-Saxons on either side of the Atlantic. Everybody else is quietly convinced that there is not the least chance of hostilities, however high official language may run. This view, we observed, is entertained also by the French Government paper, the *Constitutionnel*, which offers its master as pacificator for the New as well as for the Old World.[b] .

The principal circumstance not to be lost sight of in estimating this affair is the almost virtual extinction of the *entente cordiale* between England and France,[413] more or less openly confessed by the English press. Take, for instance, the London *Times*, the paper which not long ago proclaimed this Bonaparte a much greater man than the real Napoleon, and proposed to expel all the vicious people who would not bow to that creed. In a leading article it now suggests that the only obstacle to peace is Bonaparte's

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[a] Pierce.— *Ed.*

[b] L. Boniface, "Une question intéressante...", *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 37, February 6, 1856.— *Ed.*

over-eagerness for it. This is followed up by another article hinting that the "chosen instrument of Providence" is, after all, a mere *pis-aller* of French society, accepted "because there was not to be found one single man in whom the nation could place its confidence and esteem." In a third article it denounces his whole staff of generals, ministers, functionaries, &c., as a motley band of stockjobbing desperadoes.[a] The language of the provincial press of England is even less reserved. Observe, on the other hand, the altered tone of the French journals—their fulsome adulation and flattery to Russia; so singularly contrasting with their moderate antipathy for England. Further, observe the very confident menaces of a general Continental coalition held out by the Austrian, Belgian and Prussian papers. Lastly, take the Russian press which in its peace homilies ostentatiously addresses itself to France alone, without as much as mentioning England.

"A rainbow of peace," says the *Nordische Biene*, "has appeared in the horizon, and has been joyfully hailed by all friends of civilization.... In these two years of war with Four Powers, the Russian people has given a striking proof of its great and noble character, and has earned the respect of its enemies. [...] As regards France, it may be positively affirmed that the French nation loves and respects the Russians, admires their courage and self-denial, and takes every opportunity of expressing its sympathy, as it did when there was a short suspension of hostilities in the Crimea, as also when Russian prisoners passed through France. The French prisoners, on their part, have been treated by the Russians like brothers."[b]

*Le Nord* of Brussels bluntly intimates that Bonaparte cultivated the Austrian mediation from the beginning with the view to throw off the English alliance at the first opportunity.[c]

The alliance with France then being about to be supplanted by a rupture with that country, England, still at war with Russia, evidently cannot mean to embark in a war with America, and it is plain that no importance, beyond what has been pointed out, can attach to the present difficulty between the two Governments.

Peace in Europe itself is by no means certain. With regard to the conditions presented by the Allies to Russia[414]: the fact is there is hardly the appearance of a concession in their acceptance. The cession of a problematic strip of land in Bessarabia, marked out by a mysterious chain of mountains not to be discovered on any map, is more than counterbalanced by the obdurate silence on the Russian acquisition of Kars, suspiciously mentioned since in a

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[a] The articles in question were published in *The Times*, Nos. 22277, 22278 and 22275, January 30, 31 and 28, 1856. *Pis-aller* means "last resort".— *Ed.*

[b] *Severnaya Pchela*, No. 11, January 14, 1856.— *Ed.*

[c] *Le Nord*, No. 19, January 19, 1856.— *Ed.*

Petersburg paper as a Russian province. Meanwhile, the advantages of an armistice, together with the other opportunities in the course of turning up, do not make it improbable that Russia, having had the time to concentrate her forces on all the decisive points, may wish to continue the war. The great pledge of peace, however, is the absolute necessity for Bonaparte to conclude it at any price. On the one hand the means for carrying on the war are failing him; on the other hand there is growing up a necessity of repeating the Crimean expedition, as Montalembert said of the expedition against Rome, in the interior of France.[415]

Shortly before the acceptance of the preliminaries of peace by Russia, it was generally current at Paris that Bonaparte contemplated a forced loan, to be borne proportionately to the amount of direct taxes. The *vacuum* in his exchequer is forcibly demonstrated by the condition of his army in the Crimea. For some time past the lamentable state of the troops under Pélissier has been alluded to by correspondents. The plain statement which follows is given by a British non-commissioned officer writing to *The Birmingham Journal*, under date of Sevastopol, January 5:

"To-day was very fine. About 3 o'clock a strong north wind blew, and it froze very hard, which soon made us button up. Our men do not feel the cold; but you would pity the poor French. They are eternally dragging fuel from Sevastopol. They are miserably clad and, I think, are worse fed. Every hour of the day there are some of them looking for biscuit. Our men pity them, and are very kind. Our sentries have orders not to allow them in the camp, because some were in the habit of selling *cognac*, which caused some of our men to get drunk. But the poor French manage to elude the sentries occasionally, and introduce themselves with *bono Inglis*. Of course, our men know what they want, and never send them away empty-handed. The poor fellows have not so much as a glove to put on their hands. The only article I see they have got more than they had in Summer is a hood to their great-coat, and a pair of common, coarse cloth gaiters, which reach the knee, and are buckled round the knee with a few straps. They do not wear socks, and they generally *have had* boots. The fact is, they are the picture of misery, and indeed they feel it when they see the British soldier with his fine seal-skin cap, tweed coat, lined with fur, a fine, large comforter round his neck and one round his waist, and a fine, strong pair of ox-hide boots which come to the knee."

The state of Napoleon's finances must be wretched enough, when he leaves his army, his one and all, in the condition just described; at the same time, an inference as to their administration may be drawn from the fact that these two years of war have cost already more than all his uncle's[a] campaigns, from 1800 to 1815, together. Even Bonapartist generals, returned from the Crimea, are said to have commented indignantly on the impudent robberies of Morny & Co., at the expense of the army. These

[a] Napoleon I.—*Ed.*

remonstrances have found publicity in a semi-official paper, which has the following:

"If peace be concluded, the emperor will turn his whole attention to the finances, and especially to certain abuses too inherent to great movements of speculation, such as certain accumulations of incompatible offices, and certain fortunes a little too rapidly acquired."

Meanwhile revolutionary symptoms manifest themselves in the youth of the universities, in the working-classes, in a portion of the middle class, and what is the worst for Bonaparte, in the army.

On the affair of the *Ecole Polytechnique*, we are informed that Bonaparte, although sufficiently exasperated at their taciturn attitude on the 29th of December when he played the Roman Senate with this army (as he likes to play the Roman Imperator with his Senate),[416] at first meditated a compromise with the *Ecole*. The students were given to understand that the Emperor was inclined to maintain that institution, if they consented, as an opportunity would be given them to manifest sympathy for the dynasty. To this the *Ecole* replied by their delegates that not only they would not cry *vive l'Empereur*, but would drive any of their comrades from school who should utter that cry. It was upon this reply that the dissolution of the anarchical establishment was determined. One-half, composed of the pupils destined for military service, will be transferred to Vincennes, there to form a simple school of artillery. The other half, destined to the civil service, will be in the *Ecole Normale*.[a] The building itself is to be converted into barracks. Such is the end of the pet institute of Napoleon the Great.

The prison of Mazas is filled with pupils of the University of Paris, and with other young men who, at the funeral of David, the sculptor, had raised the cry of *Vive la liberté*. There was a circumstance connected with the demonstration against Nisard peculiarly annoying to Bonaparte. The police having made their razzia among the students for having hissed Nisard's apotheosis of Tiberius as the savior of Roman society, the rest formed in a body, and, traversing all Paris, went to Nisard's residence, *Rue Courcelles*, and summoned him to put their comrades at liberty. A detachment of soldiers of the line dispatched after them arrived there almost at the same time. Received with cries of *Vive la ligne*,[b] they immediately stood at ease, and refused to act. To prevent a further fraternization, they were at once withdrawn, and sup-

[a] Pedagogical higher school in Paris.—*Ed.*
[b] Long live the Army!—*Ed.*

planted by *sergents de ville.*[a] The students removed in a body to the Odéon, where they invaded the pit, and kept singing the "*Sire de Franc Boissy,*"[417] shouting the more offensive verses right into the ears of Bonaparte and Eugénie, who were present in their box.

The Bonapartist press confess that the number of arrests effected in the departments amount to 5,000; the figure given elsewhere of 15,000 is therefore probably the whole truth. This conspiracy of the laborers,[418] it now appears, had its ramifications in the midst of the army. It became necessary to break up the whole school for non-commissioned officers at La Flèche, and to change all the garrisons of the center of France. In order to suppress this dangerous spirit in the army, Bonaparte is having recourse to that most dangerous experiment of the Restoration, setting up a complete system of espionage through all ranks of the army. This new legion of honor has led to some very lively altercations between Marshal Magnan and certain superior officers who do not think it much to the taste of the troops.

The movement of the working classes of Paris, as in all times preceding a crisis, is betokened by *quod libets,*[b] the greatest favorite of which is the

> "Voilà qu'il part, voilà qu'il part,
> Le petit marchand de moutarde,
> Voilà qu'il part pour son pays
> Avec tous ses outils," etc.[c]

To leave no doubt as to who is meant by the little mustard-vendor, the police has prohibited the song.

The esteem in which Bonapartist institutions are held, is illustrated by an anecdote related in the *Nord.* Some Senators did not hesitate to approve of the act of M. Drouyn de Lhuys in resigning his senatorship, but took good care not to imitate him. Morny being asked if any of them were likely to follow the example, replied that he had excellent reasons to believe the contrary. "But what reasons have you?" asked his interlocutor. "I have thirty thousand very good reasons, *one franc* a piece," coolly answered Morny.[d]

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[a] Police.— *Ed.*

[b] Medleys.— *Ed.*

[c] "He is leaving, he is leaving,
The little mustard-vendor.
He is leaving for his country
With all his belongings," etc.— *Ed.*

[d] *Le Nord,* No. 37, February 6, 1856.— *Ed.*

One more circumstance may be mentioned of immense meaning in the present condition of the French people. I don't revert to the stock-jobbers, for whom peace and war are equally convenient. The first time in their history the mass of the French people have shown themselves indifferent to their old hobby "la gloire." This ominous fruit of the revolution of 1848 proves in a manner not to be mistaken, that the epoch of Bonapartism has passed its climax.

Written on February 8, 1856

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## THE FALL OF KARS[419]

The papers relating to the fall of Kars, as laid before the British House of Commons, have been described by our London correspondent as arranged with a view to conceal, rather than disclose the truth; and a careful examination of the Blue Book in which they are contained[a] evinces the correctness of that judgment. Hardly less remarkable and significant than the papers themselves, are the comments they have elicited from the leading press of London. *The Times*, for instance, has devoted three consecutive articles to the subject,[b] selecting, however, as the special marks of its flourishes, invectives and arguments, the dispatches covering the interval from August 2, 1854, the day of General Williams's appointment as British Commissioner at the head-quarters of the Turkish army in Asia, to the latter part of January, 1855, when his personal quarrels with Lord Stratford de Redcliffe had, at last, died away. The real aim of *The Times*, in giving this exaggerated importance to that portion of the documents which do not even touch on the epoch of actual warfare, is transparent. On the one hand, public attention was to be diverted from the darkest pages in this most melancholy Blue Book; and on the other, Lord Redcliffe is to be made the scapegoat of the Government at home. The rest of the daily

[a] *Papers Relative to Military Affairs in Asiatic Turkey, and the Defence and Capitulation of Kars.* London, 1856. Below Marx quotes documents included in this collection.— *Ed.*

[b] This refers to the series of articles published under the heading "The Capitulation of Kars" in *The Times*, Nos. 22320, 22322 and 22323 on March 20, 22 and 24, 1856. The last, fourth, instalment in this series appeared in *The Times*, No. 22325 on March 26, after Marx had written this article.— *Ed.*

London press, with the exception of *The Morning Herald*, are but too happy to follow in the track beaten by *The Times*.

To become initiated in the mysteries of that disastrous Asiatic campaign, we must start from a quite different point, and commence by inquiring into the action of the Allied Governments during the decisive epoch, beginning with the first advance of the Russians from Gumri, in May, and ending with the capitulation of Kars, on November 24, 1855.[420] Carefully concocted as it is, mutilated by omissions, falsified by extracts, beautified by patches and plasters, even this Government publication, if put to the critical rack, may be forced to speak truth.

Toward the end of May, 1855, Gen. Williams reports to Lord Redcliffe, who reports to Lord Clarendon, that a large Russian force, consisting of 28,000 infantry, 7,500 cavalry, and 64 pieces of artillery was assembled around Gumri; that the Mushir[a] had received information of their intention to attack Kars, and that their own (Turkish) force concentrated in the intrenched camp consisted of 13,900 infantry, 1,500 cavalry, 1,500 artillerymen, and 42 field-pieces. When Redcliffe received this letter from Williams, and Clarendon from Redcliffe, both already held in their hands another letter from Williams, in which he makes the following statement:

> "I left Erzeroum yesterday (2d June) en route for Kars, which place the enemy has announced, in an order of the day, his intention to attack.... I have now *four months' provision in that garrison*" (viz.: at Kars), "and [...] trust the central Government and the Allies will soon prove to this remnant of an army that it is not absolutely forgotten by them."

The English Government, then, was informed that if Kars should be cut off from Erzeroum, and a blockade be established by the Russians, the fortress could not hold out much longer than Oct. 3, 1855. If it did fall rather more than a month after, it was because the garrison were Turks, and not beef-eaters.

On the receipt of the dispatches from General Williams, Redcliffe makes urgent recommendations to the Porte that reenforcements with fresh supplies and money should be sent forthwith to the army of Kars. He even invites the Seraskier,[b] now that Circassia is cleared of the Russians, to unite the army of Batoum with that of Kars. Why the Porte objected to this proposal, the following dispatch from Gen. Williams explains:

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[a] Vassif Pasha.—*Ed.*

[b] The Turkish War Minister, Rushdi Pasha (Mehemet).—*Ed.*

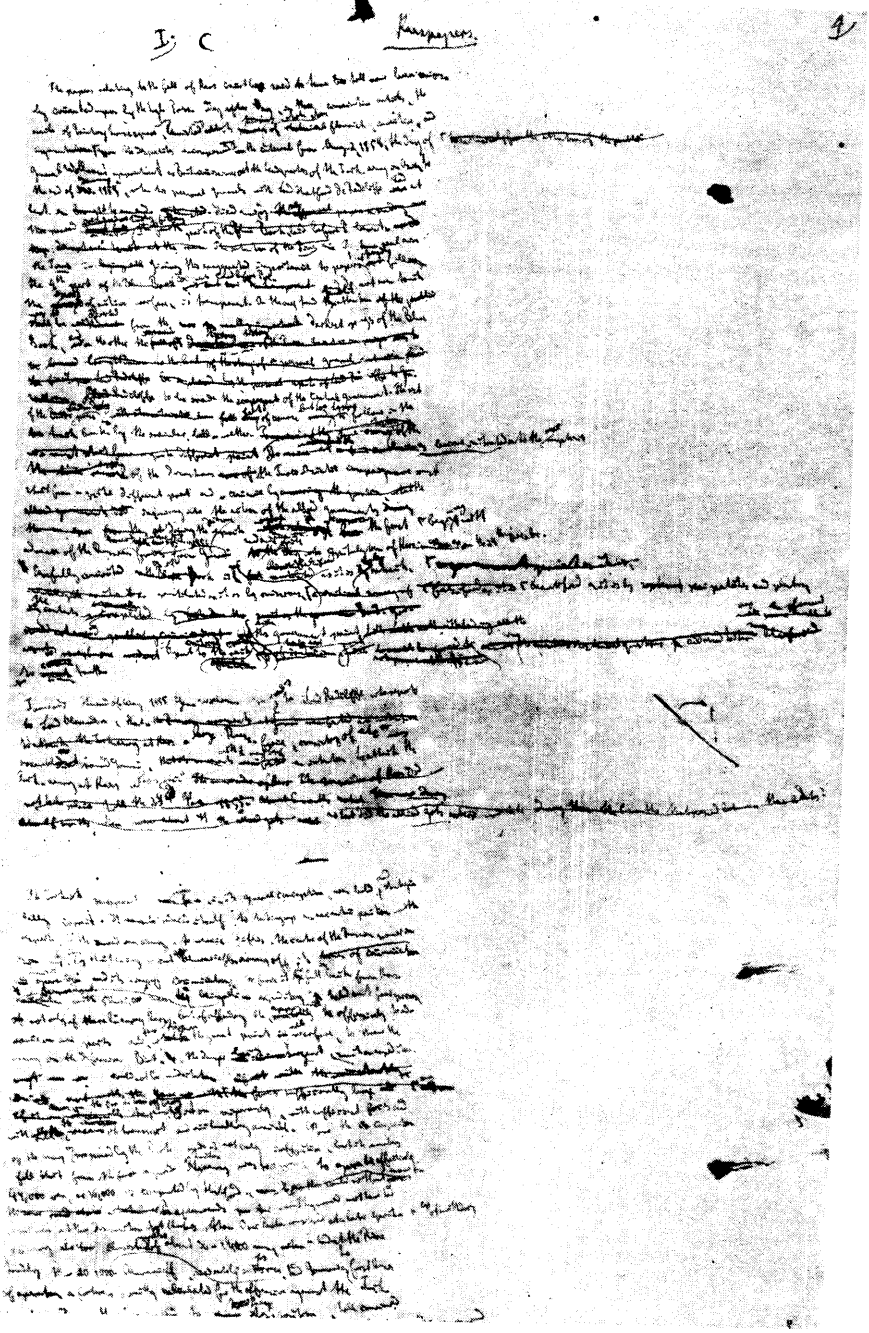

Fragment of the first page of Marx's notes
for his articles on the fall of Kars

"*Kars,* June 28, 1855.—Mustapha Pasha of Batoum has [...] recently written to me to say that he had only 3,772 regular troops, and was pressed by the enemy."

On June 28, Lord Redcliffe reports to Lord Clarendon that:

"It is some consolation to him [...] that even at this eleventh hour the Porte has recognized the necessity of listening to his advice, and sending out reenforcements without further delay."

The only difficulty avowed by Redcliffe himself was to decide where those reenforcements were to come from.

"How are they to be provided with the necessary supplies? [...] Nothing can with prudence or consistency be detached from the army under Omer Pasha in the Crimea. At Batoum, Sukum Kaleh, and other neighboring stations on the coast, it would be extremely difficult to muster more than 11,000 men. [...] The other parts of the Empire afford no additional reserves, with the exception of Bosnia, where it is still possible that a few thousand men might be detached. I speak of regulars. Bashi-Bazouks may be procured, but your lordship knows what little dependence is to be placed on such undisciplined hordes. There remains the half-formed corps of Gen. Vivian, and the irregular cavalry collected by Gen. Beatson and his officers. [...] In Bulgaria I question the existence of more than 50,000 men, including garrisons.... Austria, it is true, has declared her intention of considering the passage of the Danube by Russia a *casus belli,* and she also stands pledged to the exclusion of that power from the Danubian Principalities; but the resolution which in such an emergency would enable the Porte to take its line upon those assurances, and to overlook the awkwardness of leaving an important position inadequately defended, is more fit to be admired than to be embraced."

According, then, to the avowal of Redcliffe himself, he urges the Porte to send to Kars "reenforcements of every description," while he is quite aware that there exist none of any description whatever.

On June 30 there took place at the Grand-Vizier's[a] house, on the Bosphorus, a meeting between the Grand-Vizier, the Seraskier, and Fuad Pasha on the one side, and Redcliffe, attended by Brigadier Mansfield, on the other. The Turkish Ministers proposed, as they had done before, to collect an army at Redout Kaleh, which was to advance to Kutais, and to make from there an excursion into Georgia. They proposed that the expeditionary force should be composed as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Vivian's Contingent | 20,000 | To be drawn fm Bulgaria | 5,000 |
| Beatson's | 3,000 | Egyptian Cavalry | 800 |
| Batoum garrison | 12,000 | Tunis Horse | 600 |
| Albanians | 2,000 | | |
| Total | | | 43,400 |

[a] Ali Mehemet Pasha.—*Ed.*

The Turkish Ministers expressed their readiness to intrust the direction of the expedition to a British commander, and to accept General Vivian in that capacity. Gen. Vivian at once raised difficulties as to the means disposable for this plan, and considered the employment of his contingent as premature and interfering with the arrangements for its organization. Two weeks later Redcliffe communicated to his Government that—

"Preparations for the said expedition are in progress, and that it might save much valuable time if he was informed at once by telegraph whether Government was prepared to sanction a powerful diversion, by Redout Kaleh and Kutais into Georgia."

On July 13th, 1855, Lord Clarendon sends a dispatch wherein he first repeats the objections raised by General Vivian, and then adds his own:

"Her Majesty's government are of opinion that the wiser course would be to send reenforcements to the rear of the Turkish army, instead of sending an expedition to the rear of the Russian army. The reenforcements might go to Trebizond, and be directed from thence upon Erzeroum. The distance from Trebizond to Erzeroum is less than from Redout Kaleh to Tiflis, and the march is through a friendly instead of through a hostile country; and at Erzeroum the army would meet supporting friends instead of opposing enemies, and supplies instead of famine.

"If the army of Kars cannot maintain that position against the Russians, *it should fall back upon Erzeroum*, and the whole Turkish force should be concentrated there. If the Russians are to be defeated" (are they?), "it will be easier to defeat them by the whole force collected than by divided portions of that force: and *a defeat would be the more decisive the further it took place within the Turkish frontier.*"

On the following day, July 14, Clarendon also addresses the following telegraphic answer to Lord Redcliffe's telegraphic question:

"The plan for reenforcing the army at Kars, contained in your dispatches of the 30th June and 1st inst., is disapproved. The reasons will be sent by the messenger to-day against employing the Turkish contingent until it is fit for service. Trebizond ought to be the base of operations, and if the Turkish army of Kars and Erzeroum cannot hold out *at the latter place* against the Russians, it might *fall back on Trebizond*, where it would easily be reenforced."

It is very curious that this telegraphic dispatch, dated London, July 14, had not arrived at Constantinople on July 19, on which day we find Redcliffe writing again to Clarendon:

"An appeal has [...] been made by means of the electric telegraph to her Majesty's Government, who were entreated to lose no time in making known their pleasure as to the proposed diversion."

In fact, this answer from London only reached Constantinople on the 30th of July, six days after the arrival there of the London mail of the 14th of July. On July 15 the Seraskier informs Lord Redcliffe, through Gen. Mansfield, that:

"The 15,000 men in Bulgaria destined to form part of the expedition were in readiness to march to the coast with sufficient means of transport, and that, in general, *his preparations were so advanced as only to require the assent of Her Majesty's Government to carry them into effect.*"

Meanwhile, appeals from Gen. Williams for assistance followed upon appeals. On June 23 he announces that—

"The enemy [...] has pushed forward large bodies of cavalry, [...] and urgently recommends the immediate landing of troops at Trebizond, and if the season admit of it, strong demonstrations from Redout Kaleh."

On June 26, he writes that the Turkish army in Kars was surrounded by the Russians, who had established themselves on the high road between that fortress and Erzeroum, and cut off a portion of the provisions collected for the army. On June 27, he states that the Russian army was master of the surrounding country. On June 28, that the enemy was master of all beyond the reach of their guns, and that the troops at Kars were twenty-three, twenty-seven and twenty-eight months respectively in arrear of their pay; and on July 7, that the united forces of the Russians were ready either to assault or to more closely invest Kars, by cutting off their only remaining communication with Erzeroum via Olti. It is true that these latter dispatches did not arrive in London till July 26; still the use of the telegraph occurred to the British Government only on August 9—not indeed to advise what should be done in consequence of this news, but only to raise fresh difficulties against what the Porte was preparing to do. On the same day on which Lord Clarendon addressed Lord Redcliffe by telegraph, Lord Panmure addressed General Vivian as follows:

"*War Department,* July 14, 1855.

"Sir: I transmit herewith, for your information, a copy of a dispatch which the Earl of Clarendon has addressed to her Majesty's Embassador at Constantinople, on the subject of the plan proposed by the Porte for the relief of the Turkish army at Kars, and I have to acquaint you that I entirely concur in all that is said in that dispatch as to the objectionable character of the plan proposed by the Porte. I place such full reliance on your professional ability that I feel no anxiety lest you should undertake any expedition of a nature so wild and indigested as that contemplated by the Porte. While it is your duty to give every aid in your power, not simply as commanding the Contingent, but as a British officer enjoying the confidence of her Majesty's Government, to our allies, the Turks, it is at the same time necessary that you should be cautious in not risking the honor of the British

name and your own reputation by undertaking military operations for which proper bases have not been laid down, communications opened, supplies arranged, and transport provided. A *coup de main* by means of suddenly throwing an army on the coast to threaten, or even to attack an enemy's stronghold, is one thing; but a deliberate expedition to invade an enemy's country, and on his own territory to make war against him, is quite another. In the first case something may be hazarded; but in the other every preparation must precede action. Moreover, from all the information which has reached me, I have every reason to believe the army of Batoum to be in a deplorable state. I know the Contingent to be scarcely organized; of the Bulgarian troops you can have no knowledge; and I presume that Beatson's troops are as little reduced to control and discipline as your own troops. In short, I am assured that it would be madness to attempt to succor Brigadier-General Williams in this way. It is too late to regret the policy which has left that gallant officer and his army exposed to such straits; but it would only be opening the way to fresh failure to follow out such schemes as have been proposed for the purpose of relieving him. You must, as I have no doubt you feel, lose no time in getting your force into order for service, which will be sure to await you somewhere as soon as you are ready for it; but organization is as necessary for an army as endurance and valor, and without the former the latter qualities are utterly unavailing.

"*Panmure.*"

The plan proposed by the Porte was, in its general conception, bold and strategically correct; it amounted, in fact, to the adoption of an eccentric position with respect to the invading army, menacing Tiflis, the center of the Russian power in Asia, and thus, by threatening to cut off Muravieff's basis and line of operations, forcing him to retreat from before Kars. A Mingrelian expedition held out fair prospects not only of relieving Kars, but of affording ample opportunity to gain the great point in all warfare, viz.: throwing the enemy on the defensive. But, the urgency of the danger being admitted, such an expedition could hardly be undertaken save on the condition of its being pushed on with rapidity, with a numerically sufficient force, and with an abundance of supplies and means of transport. Now, the army proposed by the Porte for this service, apart from its motley composition and the unfinished drill of certain portions, was to muster 43,000, or, as Redcliffe computes them, only 36,000 men. It was with about the same force that Omer Pasha afterward undertook the expedition; still, when he arrived at the Rioni (Phasis), his army had dwindled down to 18,000 or 20,000 men. Muravieff had, in his immediate rear, Gumri, as his nearest support, a fortress expressly calculated for the offensive against the Turkish territory; he was therefore enabled to keep his position till informed of the advance on Tiflis being near its accomplishment. However, for the expedition to assume this dangerous turn, there was required the descent of at least 55,000

to 60,000 men on the Circassian coast, the capture of Kutais, and the forcing of the pass of Gori. The Turks not having that force at their disposition, there remained but the alternative of marching via Trebizond on Erzeroum, thence to relieve, reenforce and provision Kars and limit themselves to the defensive. An army of 20,000 men was, at all events, more useful at Erzeroum than one of only 40,000 in Mingrelia. There were also difficulties in the way of that operation; the roads being extremely bad, a considerable force with its artillery and ammunition could hardly reach Erzeroum in less than three months, and thus the crisis might have been over long before the army could arrive on the scene of action. If, on the other hand, a small force were sent, it might succeed in reestablishing the communication between Erzeroum and Kars, but would be insufficient to guard Erzeroum if Kars had fallen. It is clear, then, that the Turks had hit on the best plan for the relief of Kars; but that the Allies, by locking up in the Crimea the only Turkish army capable of carrying it out, prevented its execution.

Let us now come to the objections raised by the British Government. Lord Clarendon commences his attack, not upon the weak points, but on the strategically correct points of the Turkish plan. He thinks it wiser for an army to strengthen its defensive basis in its own rear than to undertake offensive operations in the rear of the enemy. We will leave him to settle this point with old Napoleon or Jomini, while we can quite understand his anxiety for a safe retreat. He thinks it better for an army to march through a friendly country than through a hostile one, if march it must. In his first dispatch he says that if the Turkish army could not maintain its position at Kars, it should fall back on Erzeroum. Did he not know Kars was the key of Erzeroum, and that but for the prolonged defense of Kars, Erzeroum in its then state of defense would have fallen in the same year? But, as his Lordship entertains peculiar views as to the offensive and the marching of armies, so he holds opinions of his own with regard to defensive warfare. A defeat of the Russians, he says, would be the more decisive, the nearer it took place to the gates of Constantinople. In his telegraphic dispatch of July 14, he goes a step further, and coolly recommends the Porte to withdraw its army not only from Kars, but also from Erzeroum, falling back on Trebizond, "where it could easily be reenforced." He would have the Turkish army come to its reenforcements, if the reenforcements would not come to it. Not choosing to recollect, before the fall of Kars, the importance of Erzeroum as the center not only of the commercial

but also of the military resources of Anatolia, he discovers, after the fall of Kars (when writing to Lord Cowley in December, 1855), that that alone was sufficient

"to bring about the worst consequences, if prompt and decisive measures are not taken. Masters of that strong fortress, threatening Erzeroum, and commanding all the mountain passes, the Russians might be able to force the whole of Kurdistan and the Armenian population to assist them against the Sultan[a]; and the Allies might in a few months learn that far greater dangers threatened the Ottoman Empire on the side of Asia than on that of Europe."

From the same telegraphic dispatch (14th July) we also see that the Turkish contingent was formed for no other purpose than to remove from the control of the Porte the only reenforcements of its armies.

This much would seem to result from the dispatches of Clarendon, namely: that it was a settled point with the British Government as early as July, 1855, that Kars and Erzeroum should fall into the hands of the Russians. This strange and indeed almost impossible view of the case is further confirmed by the dispatch of Lord Panmure to General Vivian. Nothing could be more curious than the distinction drawn by this English Minister between his own Crimean expedition and the Mingrelian expedition intended by the Porte. Because the civilized Governments of the West had ventured upon a headlong *coup de main* against Sevastopol, the barbarians of the East must not undertake a "deliberate" expedition against Georgia. The forces enumerated in the Turkish plan he scatters to the winds, and laughs at the notion that Turkey possessed any army fit for operations, except the one pent up in the Crimea. What, then, after all, was the meaning of the hectoring and bullying instructions as to reenforcements with which the British Government worried the poor Porte? Was it to read well in a Blue Book on "The fall of Kars?"

Written about March 25, 1856

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4671, April 8, 1856 as a leading article

[a] Abdul Mejid.— *Ed.*

The People's Paper.

IT ALWAYS BE FOLDED TO EXPOSE THE STAMP. | LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 5, 1856. | STAMPED COPY TRANSMISSIBLE UNSTAMPED COPY TRANSMISSIBLE BY

# Karl Marx

## THE FRANCE OF BONAPARTE THE LITTLE[421]

The France of Bonaparte the Little, revelling at the birth of a son[a] of a Montijo, lavishing the treasures of a nation on a ludicrous pageantry, "all clinquant, all in gold, like heathen gods,"[b] that France is terribly contrasting with the France tortured at Cayenne, smarting at Lambessa, lingering at Belle-Île,[422] and rotting in the Bagne—with the France starving in the Crimea and the France in France reeling on the brink of bankruptcy.

In the letter of Citizen Tassilier, literally translated from the original,[c] the reader will find the genuine and soul-stirring story of the French citizens transported to Cayenne. The press of true-born British flunkeyism, it is true, trumpets into the ears of the drowsy world in most hyperbolical flourish the great news of the boundless magnanimity and rather superhuman clemency of the sausage-hero of the camp of Satory[423] proclaiming a general amnesty[d] and deafening the first screams of his testy baby by the shouts of thousands of Frenchmen given back to their families and to liberty.

But turning away from the paid exaltation of the sycophant, let us harken to the unbribed language of facts. Boustrapa[e] offers the men he has tortured during four years, to tear asunder their chains, on the condition of their consenting to brand themselves

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[a] Prince Eugène, titled King of Algeria (born March 16, 1856).—*Ed.*

[b] Shakespeare, *Henry VIII*, Act I, Scene 1.—*Ed.*

[c] *The People's Paper* has the following editorial note here: "M. Tassilier's letter we are forced to postpone till next week, from want of space. We direct the particular attention of all our readers to it." Marx's translation of the letter was published in *The People's Paper*, No. 206, April 12, 1856.—*Ed.*

[d] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "superhuman clemency of Louis Bonaparte, proclaiming a general amnesty".—*Ed.*

[e] A nickname of Louis Bonaparte, formed of the first syllables of Boulogne, Strasbourg and Paris, the cities where Bonapartist coups were staged in August 1840, October 1836 and December 1851, respectively. The *New-York Daily Tribune* everywhere has "Bonaparte" instead of "Boustrapa".—*Ed.*

with indelible infamy, and to pass through the *furcae Caudinae* of the lower empire.[424] If they will declare *loyal submission* to the empire, that is, sanctify the *coup d'état*, and abnegate the Republic—if they will sell their souls, Boustrapa is ready to sell them their lives.

"Already," says the *Moniteur*,[a] "at the inauguration of the empire, this generous appeal has been made."

Thus, the *Moniteur* itself[b] avows that the general amnesty, now puffed as a stupendous novelty, is but a repetition of a stale farce played off four years ago. The genius of corruption flatters himself that his victims are now brought down to his own level, that they are sufficiently broken in to accept[c] as a grace in 1856 what they indignantly resented as an affront in 1852.

The *Moniteur* decks its "generous appeal" to meanness with wisely calculated forgeries and falsifications. It pretends that after the events of June 1848, 11,000 persons having been condemned to transportation to Algiers, the clemency of the President left only 306 in Africa. Now, with the same *Moniteur* in our hand, we assert that from the 11,000 prisoners made in June 1848, there remained in November 1848, at the time when the *Assemblée Constituante* discussed the execution of the decree of transportation, only 1,700; that 1,500 of them were sent to Belle-Île, and on the 8th March, 1849, under the ministry of O. Barrot, 700 out of these 1,500 were directed to Bona, in Africa. It is then this last figure of 700 that the grace of Boustrapa has reduced to 306, and not as his lying *Moniteur* has it, the enormous number of 11,000, and that small grace itself was only a trick played off against the assembly. However, we are obliged to thank the *Moniteur* for having reminded France of the atrocious infamies committed by Cavaignac and the Bourgeois Republic.[d]

As to the transported and exiled of December, the same *Moniteur* computes their number at 11,201, and affirms that this is now reduced to 1,058. Now, the *coup d'état* made more than 11,000 victims in the sole departments of the Lower Alps, Hérault, Var and Nièvre, and at this very moment there remain at least 12,000 victims doomed to exile or deportation. It is notorious that the *coup d'état* has affected more than 50,000 persons. It should be further remarked that the "generous appeal" of the *Moniteur* is exclusively addressed to those deported to Algiers and other

[a] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 80, March 20, 1856.—*Ed.*
[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "the official journal itself".—*Ed.*
[c] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "to humbly accept".—*Ed.*
[d] This sentence does not occur in the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

foreign possessions, the slightest allusion being avoided to the condemned of Angers, the incarcerated for participation in secret societies, to those thrown into the Bagne by the ambulant war councils of 1851, to the prisoners of Belle-Île, to the students locked up for hissing the paid white-washers of Boustrapa, etc. By way of compensation, the *Moniteur* announces an unsophisticated and unconditional amnesty for poachers, smugglers, forgers, thieves, deserters, convicts, and *id genus omne.*[a] It is quite in keeping with the character of the Lower Empire and the precedents of the Brummagem[b] Bonaparte, that the birth of a son should prove a holiday for all the lower relations of the father.

From the victims of the *coup d'état* we pass now to its tools, from the men who opposed it to the slaves that executed it, from the soldiers of liberty to the army of the Crimea. If it is a great historical sign that Bonaparte, in midst of the fresh delusions of a new fangled dynasty, and the supreme triumph of his admittance into the embalmed air of rancid legitimacy, still wants to be acknowledged by his wretched victims, and, therefore, hypocritically bids for their adhesion to the empire,[c] it is a trait of historical irony, not less notable that at the very time the head and the members of the society of the 10th December[425] are feasting the success of the *coup d'état* in pompous profusion at Paris, the army that imposed this disgusting rule upon France is expiating its crime in the Crimea by denudation, starvation, agony and death in their most dismal and hideous forms.

In the first period of the Oriental campaign, from November 1854, to March 1855, the upstart of December was extolled as a second providence and in every tune was sung the admirable military administration of the empire of all the glories, in contrast to the scandalous sufferings that befell the English army from intentional treason at home and[d] the natural working of a superannuated system. But, as in every other feat of the Lower Empire, what was taken for a substance, was but a theatrical phantasmagoria calculated for immediate stage effect. During two years Bonaparte had been exclusively bent on preparing for war. He had strained every nerve of the immense power of centralised

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[a] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 81, March 21, 1856. *Id genus omne* means "all persons of that sort".—*Ed.*

[b] This word does not occur in the *New-York Daily Tribune.*—*Ed.*

[c] Instead of the words "for their adhesion to the empire" the *New-York Daily Tribune* has "the acknowledgement".—*Ed.*

[d] The words "intentional treason at home and" do not occur in the *New-York Daily Tribune.*—*Ed.*

France to provide for the first movement of his army.[a] Indeed, it is not to be wondered at, that even the wretched adventurer of Strassburg and Boulogne should not succeed, during the first two years of his misrule, in breaking down the admirable organisation of the French army, bequeathed by the first revolution. It is a miracle that he has contrived that point in the first two years of actual warfare. Having lavished more wealth on a Batrachomyomachia[426] of his own, than the Great Napoleon in fifteen years of his Iliad,[b] he finds at the beginning of the third year the resources of France drained, her military administration broken up, and her very army dwindling away from misery. The cancer that eats up the French army is the organic principle of the Lower Empire—theft and embezzlement; and but two years were needed to make its work appear on the surface.

The wretched state of the French army was for a long time carefully concealed not only in the French but also in the English press.[427] Now-a-days it has become a secret running the streets and encumbering the thoroughfares. It has become a truth no longer controverted after Bonaparte's own *Moniteur* has given it the lie direct.[c] For the present purpose it will suffice to quote from the last letter of the *Times'* Sebastopol correspondent:—

"The French army, however, numerous as they may show it to be on paper, is dwindling sadly; scurvy and fever are playing havoc in its ranks: I recently stated its daily loss at 170 men ... now the French admit the daily mortality in their army to be 120 men, and in some days considerably more. The right wing of the army, in the Baidar valley, suffers the most.... When the mild weather sets in, a great increase of disease is to be anticipated.... The sick returns of the French will be terrible.... The French army is being expended at least as rapidly as it was by shell and shot during the severest part of the siege."[d]

Insufficiency of shelter, want of covering, and the scarcity of food[e] are pointed at as the principal causes of their trials. Having described the rigour of the weather, "tubs of water in the huts having frozen to a depth of 3 inches," and the prevalence of

[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "He had strained every nerve of the centralized power of France to provide for the first movements of his army—then the main prop of his usurpation and which had not yet served his turn."—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "Having lavished more wealth in that short struggle than the great Napoleon in the fifteen years of his warfare...."—*Ed.*

[c] This refers to reports published in *Le Moniteur universel,* Nos. 84 and 85, March 24 and 25, 1856. In the *New-York Daily Tribune* this sentence does not occur.—*Ed.*

[d] Here and below Marx quotes from a report by W. H. Russell published in *The Times,* No. 22324, March 25, 1856.—*Ed.*

[e] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* the words "principally of wine and vegetables" are added here.—*Ed.*

snow-storms which "allowed few huts to remain in which the snow did not make its appearance in great quantities," the correspondent puts the question what the French army must have suffered in tents not huts carefully fitted out, not double tents well dug out, but single and unprotected tents. He concludes by stating that "it is really painful to meet the French convoys of sick," and that Marshal Pélissier is more anxious to hide them from the English army than to mitigate their sufferings.

We add another quotation from *The Morning Advertiser,* the very paper that shared with *The Morning Post* the infamous privilege of hailing Bonaparte's advent in 1851 and of still trumpeting Lord Palmerston as the truly English minister:—

"There are 3,000 sick in the French camp of the Chernaya—the ambulances are choked and the medical staff decimated by disease and exhaustion—the commissariat has broken down, and is unable to feed the troops—the men are actually begging biscuits from the soldiers at the outposts—scurvy from the want of vegetables, and typhus from the want of meat, rage with indomitable virulence—and the contrast between the two armies is the source of open discontent on the part of the French soldiery. The transports are insufficient to convey the sick to Constantinople—the hospitals there have more than 12,000 patients in them—the epidemic is a positive pestilence—and the mortality frightful—the troop-ships arriving from the east at Marseilles are loaded with the dregs of fever, and the vessels and the typhoid patients are consigned to the lazaretto at Frioul." [a]

What is to be done with this withering army? [b] are they to be soothed by recitals of the Arabian tale of the King of Algiers' "nativity"? or by the description of the embroidered and gold-laced uniforms of the cautious hero's pampered guards? It should be recollected that French soldiers have no stomach for undergoing injuries like English privates. Proof, if proof be wanted, the several attempts made in the French army to shoot General Pélissier, a fact recorded by the *Gazette de Milan,* [c] Radetzky's *Moniteur.* Nor must it be imagined that the army of the line in France remains a dull spectator of the Crimean tragedy. The razzias of the Paris police are beginning to affect the barracks. [d] The Zouaves ordered to Paris to chafe public en-

[a] The quotation from *The Morning Advertiser* and the preceding paragraph do not occur in the *New-York Daily Tribune.—Ed.*

[b] Instead of this sentence the *New-York Daily Tribune* and *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* have: "What is to be done with these discontented legions, dying from a wretched commissariat, scandalous neglect, and notoriously organized plunder?"—*Ed.*

[c] *Gazzetta Ufficiale di Milano.—Ed.*

[d] Instead of this sentence the *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "The razzias of the Paris police have lately been directed at two barracks situated on the right bank of the Seine."—*Ed.*

thusiasm by their exhibition are already removed from the capital, they having become suspicious. Two other regiments returned from the Crimea have also been banished into the provinces. The antagonism between the guard and the line is daily growing more embittered, Bonaparte being about to create at this very moment new guard regiments in sufficient numbers to enable this privileged corps to keep the garrison of Paris, exclusive of the regiments of the line. Having bribed the army into antagonism to the country, he is now trying to bribe an army within the army—a rather dangerous experiment this.

*The Finances*—we would not call them the heels of this strange Achilles, he being rather tall at his heels—require a separate article for a full exposition. For the present it may suffice to state[a] that the funds falling somewhile hence, it was consequently expected the announced conclusion of peace, and the birth of another Bonaparte could not fail to send them up. Such an issue was not quite left to chance. Not only the Government gave orders to freely use the public chests at its disposal for the purchase of public funds, but the *crédit mobilier*, and similar mushrooms of Bonapartist credit were, during two consecutive days, largely employed in buying stock. All these manoeuvres notwithstanding, on the very news of the "nativity," instead of rising, the funds went down, and continue to go down. Bonaparte, in great rage now, prohibited the sale on Change of any but governmental quoted papers, and had then the principal stockjobber summoned to the *Préfecture de Police*.

When the statuary of Pallas Athene tumbled down in the Parthenon, such an accident told fatal tidings to the Republic of Athens. Bonaparte's bust, tottering on its pedestal in the Synagogue,[b] where the marketable value of governments is settled, and the peoples' history discounted, presages the downfall of the Empire of Agio.

Written about April 1, 1856

First published in *The People's Paper*, No. 205, April 5, 1856 (signed: K. M.) and simultaneously in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4676, April 14, 1856, reprinted in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 1136, April 15, 1856 as a leading article

Reproduced from *The People's Paper*

[a] The preceding sentence does not occur in the *New-York Daily Tribune*. The paragraph begins as follows: "As for the finances of France, it may suffice to state...." — *Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has: "in the temple".— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE FALL OF KARS [428]

Written in late March and April 1856

First published in *The People's Paper*, Nos. 205, 206, 207 and 208, April 5, 12, 19 and 26, 1856

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Reproduced from the newspaper

[I]

[*The People's Paper*, No. 205, April 5, 1856]

The fall of Kars is the turning-point in the history of the sham-war against Russia. Without the fall of Kars no Five Points, no Conferences, no treaty of Paris, in one word: no sham peace.[429] Then if we can prove from the Government's own Blue Book[a]—carefully cooked, as it is mutilated by extracts, deformed by omissions, plastered and patched up by falsifications—that Lord Palmerston's cabinet has planned from the beginning, and systematically carried out to the end, the fall of Kars, the veil is lifted and the drama of the Oriental War with all its startling incidents emerges from the mist diplomatically wrapt around it.

Towards the end of May, 1855, General Williams reports to Lord Redcliffe, who reports to Lord Clarendon, that

"a large force, consisting of 28,000 infantry, 7,500 cavalry, and 64 pieces of artillery, was assembled round Gumri, and that the Mushir[b] had received information of the intention of the enemy to attack Kars. We have in that entrenched camp 13,900 infantry, 1,500 cavalry, 1,500 artillerymen and 42 field pieces."

Seven days later, on June 3rd, Williams informed Clarendon:

"I have now four months provisions in the garrison of Kars, and I trust the central government, and the allies, will soon prove to this remnant of an army that it is not absolutely forgotten by them."

This despatch (see Kars papers, No. 231) was received in Downing-street,[c] on June 25th. On that day, consequently, the

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[a] *Papers Relative to Military Affairs in Asiatic Turkey, and the Defence and Capitulation of Kars*, London, 1856. Documents from this book are quoted below.—*Ed.*

[b] Vassif Pasha.—*Ed.*

[c] 10 Downing Street is the official residence of the British Prime Minister.—*Ed.*

British government knew that on Oct. 3rd, Kars must fall if not relieved; and this knowledge became the basis of its operations.

On July 11th, Lord Clarendon receives three despatches from General Williams, dated June 15th, 17th, and 19th, stating severally that a skirmish of the advanced posts had taken place; that on the 16th of June a regular attack of the entrenched camp by the Russians had been gallantly repulsed by the Turks, and lastly that the enemy had made a flank march upon the entrenched camp, and established himself in force (30,000) within an hour's march of the weakest point of the Turkish position. Williams concludes the last of these despatches with the following words:

"Unfortunately we have no irregular cavalry. ... The enemy has already partially interrupted our communications with Erzeroum."

When the same news reached Constantinople, Lord Redcliffe was invited to a Conference at the Grand Vizier's[a] house on the Bosphorus. It was proposed by the Turkish ministers to relieve Kars by an expedition from Redout Kaleh by Kutais into Georgia, the force to consist of—

| | |
|---|---|
| Vivian's Contingent | 20,000 |
| Beatson's | 3,000 |
| Batoum Garrison | 12,000 |
| Albanians | 2,000 |
| From Bulgaria | 5,000 |
| Egyptian Regular Cavalry | 800 |
| Tunis Horse | 600 |
| Total | 43,400 |

The Porte expressed its readiness to entrust the direction of this expedition to a British commander, and to accept General Vivian in that capacity. This proposition reached Lord Clarendon on July 11th. On July 12th, Lord Redcliffe further informed him by telegraph that

"Preparations for an eventual expedition [...] are in progress. It might save much valuable time if you would inform me at once by telegraph whether government is prepared to sanction a powerful diversion by Redout Kaleh and Kutais into Georgia."

From June 25th to July 12th the British government, apprised of the danger of Kars, moved not a finger to come to the rescue,

[a] Ali Mehemet Pasha.— *Ed.*

not once was the telegraph set in motion; from the very day, however, when there is some Turkish plan for the relief of Kars to be thwarted, they suddenly are all activity. On July 13th (see No. 248 of Kars papers) Clarendon addresses a despatch to Redcliffe to this effect:

"Her Majesty's government are of opinion that the wiser course would be to send reinforcements to the rear of the Turkish army, instead of sending an expedition to the rear of the Russian army. The reinforcements might go to Trebizond, and be directed from thence upon Erzeroum. The distance from Trebizond to Erzeroum is less than from Redout Kaleh to Tiflis, and the march is through a friendly instead of through a hostile country; and at Erzeroum the army would meet supporting friends instead of opposing enemies, and supplies instead of famine. If the army at Kars cannot maintain that position against the Russians, it should fall back upon Erzeroum, and the whole Turkish force should be concentrated there. If the Russians are to be defeated, it will be easier to defeat them by the whole force collected than by divided portions of that force; and a defeat would be the more decisive, the further it took place within the Turkish frontier."

On the day following the receipt of Redcliffe's telegraphic despatch, Clarendon becomes still more liberal, adding Erzeroum also to the list of places to be fallen back from.

(Telegraphic.)

"The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe,

Foreign Office, July 14th, 1855.

"The plan for reinforcing the army at Kars contained in your despatches of 30th June, and lst instant (should be the 12th inst.) is disapproved. The reasons will be sent by the messenger to-day against employing the Turkish Contingent until it is fit for service. Trebizond ought to be the base of operations, and if the Turkish army of Kars and Erzeroum cannot hold out at the latter place against the Russians, it might fall back upon Trebizond where it would easily be reinforced."

If Kars is the key to Erzeroum, Erzeroum is the key to Constantinople, and the central point of the strategical and commercial lines of Anatolia. Kars and Erzeroum once in the hands of Russia, the British land-trade, *via* Trebizond to Persia, is cut off. The British Government, aware of all these circumstances, coolly advises the Porte to surrender the keys of its house in Asia, when scarcely one of the two was in danger, and invites the besieged army of Kars to come to the reinforcements forbidden to come to the besieged army. "If," says his lordship, "the Russians are to be defeated" (where is the necessity? he seems to ask) he thinks a defeat would be the more decisive and easy the further it took place within the Turkish frontier, i.e., the more strong places and territory are surrendered to the Russians, and, in fact, the nearer behind Constantinople.

These despatches of Lord Clarendon are worthily backed by the following despatch from my lord "Take care of Dowb" Panmure,[430] the English Carnot, to Lieutenant-General Vivian:—

"Lord Panmure, to Lieut.-General Vivian,
"War-Department, July 14, 1855.

"Sir,—I transmit, herewith, for your information, a copy of a despatch which the Earl of Clarendon has addressed by the present opportunity to her Majesty's embassy at Constantinople, on the subject of the plan proposed by the Porte for the relief of the Turkish army at Kars, and I have to acquaint you that I entirely concur in all that is said in that despatch as to the objectionable character of the plan proposed by the Porte. I place such full reliance on your professional ability, that I feel no anxiety lest you should undertake any expedition of a nature so wild and undigested as that contemplated by the Porte. Whilst it is your duty to give every aid in your power, not simply as commanding the Contingent, but, as a British officer enjoying the confidence of her Majesty's Government, to our allies the Turks, it is at the same time necessary that you should be cautious in not risking the honour of the British name and your own reputation, by undertaking military operations for which proper basis has not been laid down, communications opened, supplies arranged, and transportation provided. A *coup de main* by means of suddenly throwing an army on the coast to threaten, or even to attack, an enemy's stronghold is one thing; but a deliberate expedition to invade an enemy's country, and on his own territory, to make war upon him, is quite another. In the first case something may be hazarded; but in the other every preparation must precede action. Moreover, from all the information which has reached me, I have every reason to believe the army of Batoum to be in a deplorable state. I know the Contingent to be scarcely organised; of the Bulgarian troops you have no knowledge, and I presume that Beatson horse are as little reduced to control and discipline as your own troops. In short I am assured that it would be madness to attempt to succour Brigadier-General Williams in this way. It is too late to regret the policy which has left that gallant officer and his army exposed to such straits; but it would only be opening the way to fresh failures to follow out such schemes as have been proposed for the purpose of relieving him. You must, as I have no doubt you feel, lose no time in getting your force into order for service which will be sure to await you somewhere, as soon as you are ready for it; but organisation is as necessary for an army as endurance and valour, and without the former, the latter qualities are utterly unavailing."

This despatch puts down Lord Palmerston's war minister a regular clown, useful only for the amusement of his master. To threaten, "or even" to attack, the stronghold of Sebastopol, where Russia had accumulated the defensive labour of twenty years, appears to him one thing very sensible, because it was a needless *coup de main* on the part of the allies; but a "deliberate invasion" on the part of the Porte, of an enemy's country with the purpose of beating him—"Dowb" never heard of such a thing. He entirely concurs with Clarendon in opinion that, to strengthen the rear of one's own army, instead of acting in the rear of the enemy, is the true essence of strategy—a point we may leave him to settle with

Napoleon I, Jomini, and all other great strategists. He also concurs with his friend in thinking, that in warfare an army must never march through hostile, but always through friendly countries—"with supplies instead of famine"—the true philosophy of the trencher-knife. But through the complacent silliness of the clown we catch a glimpse of the mind that moves him! or could it be given to poor Dowb, to make the discovery that Georgia was a hostile, instead of a friendly country—Georgia, Russia's Poland in the Caucasus.

The Turkish proposal which Dowb styles wild and ill-digested, was, in its general conception, bold, correct, we may say the only strategical idea given birth to in the whole war. It reduced itself to taking up an eccentric position with respect to the besieging army, to menace Tiflis, the centre of the Russian power in Asia, and to force Muravieff to retreat from Kars by the threat of becoming cut off from his basis of operations and line of communications. Such a Mingrelian expedition bade fair not only to relieve Kars, but to afford the opportunity of advancing offensively on all parts, and thus to gain the greatest point in all warfare—viz., to throw the enemy on the defensive. But the danger being urgent, such a plan, to result in success, required to be pushed on vigorously, with a sufficient force, and abundant means of supply and transport. Having in his immediate rear Gumri, as his first base of operations, a fortress directly calculated for the defensive against the Turkish territory, Muravieff was enabled to keep his position, till convinced of an advance upon Tiflis really becoming dangerous. To assume that character there was required a descent on the Circassian Coast of at least 55,000, the capture of Kutais, and the forcing of the pass of Gori. Omer Pasha, who, at a later period, undertook the same expedition at the head of 36,000 men, mustered on the Rioni hardly 18,000 to 20,000.

There can exist no doubt that an army of 20,000 men at Erzeroum would have been more useful than one of only 40,000 in Mingrelia. On the other hand it should not be forgotten that at the time when the Porte made its proposal, the Russians at Tiflis, according to the Blue Book itself, amounted to only 15,000 men, and Bebutoff with his reinforcements had not yet arrived. Besides, the movement of an army sufficiently large for its purposes from Trebizond to Erzeroum, and thence to Kars, with supplies, ammunition, and guns, would have cost, on Omer Pasha's assurance, exactly four months. Lastly, if the Porte proposed a right plan, with insufficient means, it was the part of

its ally to provide the right means, and not to suggest a false plan. Sixty-thousand Turks were at that time pent up in the Crimea, in inactivity—and those the only effective troops of Turkey.

"At Batoum, Sukum Kaleh, and other neighbouring stations on the coast," writes Lord Redcliffe, under date 28th June, "it would be extremely difficult to muster more than 11,000 men.... The other parts of the empire (Bulgaria excepted), afford no additional reserves, with the exception of Bosnia, where it is still possible that a few thousand men might be detached; I speak of regulars, Bashi-bazouks may be procured, but your lordship knows what little dependency is to be placed on such undisciplined hordes....In Bulgaria I question the existence of more than 50,000 men, including garrisons.[...] Austria, it is true, has declared her intention of considering the passage of the Danube by Russia a *casus belli*—and she also stands pledged to the exclusion of that power from the Danubian Principalities; but the resolution which in such an emergency would enable the Porte to take its line upon those assurances, and to overlook the awkwardness of leaving an important position inadequately defended is more fit to be admired than likely to be embraced."

What troops, then, remained at the disposal of the Porte, save the Anglo-Turkish Contingent? and this, as results from the despatches of Clarendon and Panmure, was only a contrivance to withhold from the Porte its last available force.

But did the British Government oppose any plan of theirs to the Turkish one? Was it in any way bent on sending the Anglo-Turkish Contingent to Trebizond, and thence to Erzeroum or Kars? In his despatch dated July 14th, Clarendon declares himself "against employing the Turkish Contingent until it is fit for service." If unfit for service, it was as unfit for the Erzeroum expedition as for the Mingrelian one. Clown Panmure, in his despatch of the same day, writes to Vivian, the commander of the Contingent:—"You must lose no time in getting your force into order for service, which will be sure to await you *somewhere*, as soon as you are ready for it"—thus summoning him to be ready not for an immediate service, not for Erzeroum, but *somewhere*—that is, *nowhere*. Still, on Sept. 7th (see No. 302 of Papers), Clarendon considers the Anglo-Turkish Contingent so little organised as to be unfit to encamp in the entrenched lines before Sebastopol. It is thus evident that the British Government brings forth the Erzeroum plan, not to execute it, but to thwart the Mingrelian expedition of the Porte. It was not opposed to a certain plan for the relief of Kars, but to any plan. "It would be madness to attempt to succour the army of Brigadier-General Williams.... It is too late to regret the policy"(Palmerston's policy) "which has left that gallant officer and his army exposed to such straits," said Panmure to Vivian. It is too late to do anything but

surrender Kars to Russia, and Erzeroum into the bargain, says Clarendon to Redcliffe. Not only was this plan settled by the Palmerstonian Government as early as July 13th, but it is confessed in the Blue Book, and not a moment shall we see them swerving from it.

From No. 254 to 277 of the Kars Papers every despatch of Redcliffe during July exhibits the Porte busily engaged in the preparations for Vivian's Mingrelian expedition. How came this to pass?

On the 12th July, 1855, as will be remembered, Lord Redcliffe telegraphed to the Earl of Clarendon that the preparations for the Mingrelian expedition, under General Vivian were in progress, and "to save much valuable time," he applied for Government instructions to be sent by telegraph. Consequently, by telegraph, Clarendon despatches his protest against the Turkish plan, but, although this message bears the inscription of July 14th on its front, it does not reach Constantinople till July 30th, when we find Lord Redcliffe writing again to Clarendon:—

> The unfavourable judgment passed by Her Majesty's Government on the plans which have lately been under discussion, with a view to the relief of the Sultan's[a] army at Kars, has naturally increased the Porte's embarrassment. It was my duty to make it known to the Turkish Ministers, not only as an opinion, but, with respect to General Vivian's Contingent, as a veto. A most serious dilemma is the immediate result. Her Majesty's Government not only withhold the Contingent, but express a decided preference for the alternative of sending reinforcements to Erzeroum by way of Trebizond. This opinion is not adopted by the Porte, or indeed by any official or personal authority here. The Seraskier,[b] Omer Pasha, General Guyon, and our own officers,[...] agree with the Porte, and the French Embassy, in preferring a diversion on the side of Redout Kaleh, as offering better chances of success, supposing, of course, the necessary means of transport, supply, and other indispensable wants, can be sufficiently provided.... Meanwhile, the advices from Kars are not encouraging, and time of precious value is unavoidably wasted in doubt and uncertainty.

The way from Constantinople to London being not a whit longer than the way from London to Constantinople, it is a very curious fact indeed that Redcliffe's telegraphic despatch, leaving Constantinople on July 12th, should reach London on the 14th of that month, while Lord Clarendon's despatch, leaving London on July 14th, should reach Constantinople only on the 30th, or about that date. Redcliffe, in his despatch of July 19th, complains of the silence of the Government whom he had entreated "to lose no time in making known its pleasure." From a later despatch, dated

[a] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*
[b] Rushdi Pasha. "Seraskier" means "War Minister".—*Ed.*

July 23rd, we learn that he had received no answer even then. In fact, the receipt of the answer is not acknowledged, as we have said, before the 30th. There can exist, then, no doubt that the London date of the Clarendon despatch is *false*, and that it was not sent until weeks after the date given in the Blue Book. This falsification betrays the aim of the delay. Time of precious value was to be wasted, doubt and uncertainty were to be engendered, and above all, the Porte was to kill the whole of the month of July with preparations for Vivian's expedition, which the British Government was determined should not take place.

## [II]

[*The People's Paper*, No. 206, April 12, 1856]

The strategical scruples of the British Government not allowing it to settle, during the interval of three months, its views of the great operations to be undertaken by the Porte, nothing would seem more fair and urgent than that it should have sent in the meantime, on its own responsibility, a small detachment *via* Erzeroum, to re-open the communications between that town and Kars. The allies were masters of the Black Sea, and the British Government had at its uncontrolled disposition General Beatson's 4,000 Bashi-bazouks, the only effective corps of Turkish irregular horse. Once landed at Trebizond they might have reached Erzeroum in ten days, escorting provisions to Kars, and thus enabling that fortress to prolong its resistance to from four to six weeks, when the severe Armenian winter setting in, all offensive movements on the part of the besiegers would have been stopped. General Beatson wrote to Redcliffe on the 7th July, applying to be sent on active service.

No notice was taken of his memorial. On the 14th of August petitions were presented by the troops themselves, praying that they might not be inactive, but be despatched to Asia. They received no answer whatever. Beatson ventured upon a third remonstrance on September 12. The forbearance of the British Government being now exhausted by the harassing importunities of the indiscreet petitioner, some diplomatic-military intrigues were set on foot, crowned by Beatson's dismissal from the service. As Beatson himself was dismissed from the service, so all his communications with the Government are dismissed from the Blue Book.

We have seen how stubbornly the British Government was bent on an expedition to Erzeroum *via* Trebizond. On the news of the Russians having established themselves on the high-road between Erzeroum and Kars, and cut off a portion of the provisions collected for the Kars army, some spontaneous efforts at immediate relief were risked from Trebizond, behind the back of the British Embassy. In Redcliffe's despatch, dated July 16th, 1855, is enclosed a report from Vice-Consul Stevens, to this effect:

"Trebizond, July 9, 1855. My Lord,—I have the honour to report that [...] Hafiz Pasha left for Erzeroum yesterday with 300 artillerymen and 20 field-pieces. A large force of irregulars, which may reach the number of 10,000, is now assembling, and will march to-day for the same place. (signed, Stevens.)"

Redcliffe, as in duty bound, forthwith asks for explanations, on the Seraskier's silence with regard to the collection of 10,000 irregulars at Trebizond, and the advance of Hafiz Pasha for Erzeroum.

"All that I had heard on the subject from his Excellency," he complains, "is that Toussoum Pasha was directed to go to Trebizond, and thence perhaps to Sivas, where he would assemble 4,000 irregulars, and proceed with them to the theatre of war."

By drawing lines between Trebizond, Sivas and Erzeroum, it will be seen that they form an isosceles triangle—the basis of which, viz., the line from Trebizond to Erzeroum, is about one-third shorter than either of the sides. To send, then, reinforcements direct from Trebizond to Erzeroum instead of sending Toussoum Pasha from Constantinople to Trebizond, from Trebizond, "perhaps," to Sivas, there to waste time in collecting an irregular force, with the view of advancing perhaps upon Erzeroum, was too rash a course not to be rebuked by the British Ambassador. Not daring to tell the Seraskier that the relief of a besieged town depends on a well calculated dilatoriness, he puts him the question:

"May it not be doubtful whether so large a body of Bashi-bazouks suddenly and loosely brought together, may be of any use to any party but the enemy?"

The Seraskier very properly replying,

"that he had insisted on having the necessary funds wherewith to pay them, which was the main instrument of control, and that he had threatened to retire from office, if his demand was not complied with."

Lord Redcliffe turns at once hard of hearing.

In entering upon the second plan of operations proposed by the Porte, and baffled by its Allies, we tread a maze, where all is meander and no forth-right.

From a despatch of Lieut.-Colonel Simmons's, the British commissioner in Omer Pasha's camp, dated July 15th, addressed to Lord Clarendon, and from Omer's memoranda enclosed in it, the following facts may be collected. On June 23rd Omer Pasha received a letter from General Williams, stating that the communication with Erzeroum was cut off, and requiring in the most pressing terms that reinforcements might be sent to Kars with the least possible delay, or that a powerful diversion might be made on the side of Redout Kaleh. Under date of July 7, Omer Pasha addressed a memorandum to the allied commanders—Simpson and Pélissier—requesting them to assemble a council of the allied generals and admirals commanding-in-chief, in order to come to an immediate resolution. In his memorandum he proposes that,

"he should throw himself, with the part of his army which is here"(at Balaklava) "and at Kertch—25,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry from Eupatoria, and a proportional artillery—upon some point of the Coast of Circassia, and by menacing from thence the communications of the Russians, oblige them to abandon the siege of Kars."

In support of this proposal, Omer argues that the Ottoman army in Asia, to the number of 10,000 men blockaded in the entrenched camp of Kars by a superior Russian force, is in a position in which it is probable that from want of food it may be obliged to capitulate; that the garrison in Kars is in fact the Ottoman army in Asia; that if the garrison of Kars should yield, Erzeroum, a town, from its situation, difficult to fortify, will fall into the hands of the enemy, by which means he would become master of the communications with Persia, and of a great part of Asia Minor; that by accepting his proposal the Allies will make use of the chief advantages which they possess, viz., the facility of sea transport, and of the only Turkish army that is effective and capable of marching, viz., his own. In answer to that memorandum, Marshal Pélissier and General Simpson write that, "in absence of further information, they consider a conference would be premature." Omer Pasha, however, on July 12th, addresses them again, to inform them that,

"in the meanwhile he had received from his Government a despatch, according to which, the whole of Turkey in Asia, up to the gates of Constantinople itself, is undefended, and entreating him, as every hour is of the greatest value, immediately to find the means, and put in execution the resources necessary to avert the great danger in which the Government of Turkey, and in consequence the cause of the Allies, are placed." "Under these circumstances," he adds, "since I have in the Crimea 60,000 Turks, of whom the greater part are Asiatics, and whose families and property are exposed to the ravage of the enemy, and since I find that that army is inactive in the Crimea, without prospects of any immediate service that

I can discover, I consider it my duty to my sovereign and the common cause to repeat my former proposal."

Accordingly he invites them to a conference at the English head-quarters. Simultaneously with this common note to the allied generals he caused [Lieut.-]Colonel Simmons to address a confidential letter to General Simpson and Admiral Lyons, of which we give the following extract:—

The Porte have proposed to General Vivian to take the Turkish Contingent to Redoût Kaleh.... Omer Pasha, however, thinks there will be great risk in sending them there, as the men are not yet acquainted with their officers, the officers do not speak their language, and consequently cannot command them in the field, and the Contingent, although it might form a garrison, cannot yet be in a condition to march into the interior. The force of the Contingent also is small to make the contemplated operation. Omer Pasha also thinks that possessing, as he does, the confidence of the Turks, and being well-known in Asia, where he has had several campaigns, he is more likely to gain the sympathies and assistance of the inhabitants in provisioning and gaining information, [...] than strangers who do not know the language or country.

On July 14th the Conference took place, attended by Omer Pasha, [Lieut.-]Colonel Simmons, Generals Simpson, Pélissier, and Martimprey, and Admirals Lyons, Bruat, and Stewart. Omer Pasha went into a detailed statement of the Russian forces in Asia, and their operations in the vicinity of Kars. He amply developed the arguments above quoted, and forcibly stuck to the opinion that

"no time was to be lost in preparing a movement to check the progress of the Russians in Asia."

However, as [Lieut.-]Col. Simmons reports to Clarendon,

"the generals and admirals having received no information from their respective ambassadors at Constantinople, which should lead them to believe that the affairs of Asia were in that precarious state in which Omer Pasha, from the information received from his Government, believed them to be," decided that "in the absence of such information they would give no opinion on the subject."

In this instance, then, the allied generals declined giving any opinion on the subject, because they had received no information from their respective Governments. Afterwards, the allied Governments declined giving their orders because their generals had not given their opinion. Rather startled at the cool behaviour of the allied commanders, at their curious tactics of making their incredulity in facts a reason for giving no opinion on them, and at the incivility of giving the lie to his Government, the only one immediately interested in the matter, Omer Pasha, rose at once, and peremptorily declared that,

"under the circumstances, he felt it his duty to proceed to Constantinople for a few days to confer with his Government."

Accordingly, two days later, July 16th, he proceeded to Constantinople, taking with him [Lieut.-]Colonel Simmons, but being accompanied also by one [Lieut.-]Colonel Suleau, "ostensibly travelling for the purpose of restoring his health" (see enclosure 1 in No. 270 of the Kars papers), but really charged by Pélissier and Simpson with the mission of thwarting Omer Pasha's project. This Suleau, attached to the staff of Simpson, conveyed a letter to Redcliffe from poor General Simpson—the most unlucky warrior ever heard of, as General Evans has it[a]—in which that general tells his ambassador not that he and his colleagues did not believe in Omer Pasha's statements, but that "they entertained the strongest objection to the withdrawal of any troops from the Crimea at this moment"—not that they had thought fit to withhold their opinion from Omer Pasha, but that he

"earnestly begs his Excellency to use his powerful influence with the Porte to cause their opinion to prevail over that of his Highness,[b]" for "great public interests were at stake," and "serious consequences might result from his success."

Success indeed! It was Omer Pasha's success that troubled Pélissier's sleep, who, up to that period, had nothing to boast of but the disgraceful battle of the 18th of June.[431] Poor Simpson, the unlucky warrior, naturally obtuse, as General Evans affirms his mind to be, was clever enough to catch the uneasiness of his co-commander, and to manage an intrigue in the rear of Omer Pasha, the only manoeuvre he can be said to have executed during the whole Crimean campaign.

In a despatch, dated July 19th, Redcliffe writes to Clarendon that

"the night before last (July 17th) he was surprised to hear that Omer Pasha had arrived suddenly from the Crimea [...] and went straight to the Seraskier."

He chuckles at the rumour reported by the fanariot[432] Pisani, that

"the generalissimo's arrival without the orders of his Government had created some feelings of dissatisfaction," and is under "a strong impression that Omer will best consult the interests of the alliance by returning without unnecessary delay to the command of his forces in the Crimea."

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[a] Evans' speech in the House of Commons on February 29, 1856. *The Times*, No. 22304, March 1, 1856.—*Ed.*

[b] Omer Pasha.—*Ed.*

Notwithstanding Redcliffe's strong impression, Omer Pasha's stay at Constantinople was prolonged from the 17th of July to the beginning of September. It will be seen, by and by, how this waste of time was occasioned.

On July the 23rd, Redcliffe informs Clarendon that

"Omer Pasha [...] had proposed [...] to the Porte to make himself an incursion towards Georgia, starting from Redout Kaleh, and turning Kutais to good account."

This idea had been debated the night before (July 22) in a council at the Grand Vizier's,[a] and the result of the deliberations had been

"that the troops to be employed in the above-mentioned manner, under the command of Omer, should be taken from Eupatoria, to the amount of 20,000, and from Bulgaria to the amount of 5,000, and that the Contingent, with its numbers completed, should occupy the vacant space at Eupatoria. By way of alternative, it is proposed, that if the above-mentioned plan be objectionable, it might be so far modified as to take only 10,000 men from the Crimea, and 15,000 from Bulgaria, including those destined to form part of the Contingent."

Now, this despatch, which Clarendon is said to have received on August lst, on the arrival of which he immediately took occasion to address a despatch to Lord Cowley, the British Ambassador at Paris, is evidently and wilfully misconstrued in its main passage—viz., the passage in which the Porte is stated to have proposed the withdrawal from Eupatoria of 20,000 men, to be placed under the command of Omer Pasha, and their replacement at Eupatoria by the Turkish Contingent. It is this very passage to which Clarendon points in his despatch to Lord Cowley, stating "Her Majesty's Government to be favourably disposed to it," and expressing "his hope that the Government of the Emperor will concur in it." In this passage Eupatoria is interpolated for Balaklava. From the despatch of [Lieut.-]Colonel Simmons, dated 15th July, received by Clarendon on the 30th July, it will have been seen that Omer Pasha, in his memoranda to the allied generals, and in the war council, insisted upon taking with him that part of his army which is here (Balaklava), which he had brought from Eupatoria, and which he declared the only one fit for the Asiatic campaign. Did Omer Pasha alter his opinion, after arriving at Constantinople? The contrary is shown from a despatch dated August 2nd, in which Simmons states:—

"His Highness Omer Pasha informed me that he should be happy to give over to complete the contingent any of the Turkish troops under his command, except

[a] Ali Mehemet Pasha.—*Ed.*

the division which is now at the camp before Sebastopol, which being composed of his best troops, he is naturally desirous to have with him, if he make the proposed movement to Asia."

Will it be asserted that the Porte in the council of the night of July 22nd, arrived at a resolution contrary to Omer's proposal? In the very despatch of 23rd July in which Redcliffe reports the Porte's resolution, he tells Clarendon that,

"Omer Pasha has been most graciously received and most generously rewarded by the Sultan," and adds, "I need not add that he is on excellent terms with his Majesty's ministers, and particularly with the Seraskier Pasha."

Any discrepancy, therefore, between the Porte and its commander-in-chief, is out of the question; both of them appear equally startled on receiving from London the injunction of placing the troops at Eupatoria under Omer's command, and withdrawing from it the troops at Sebastopol and Kertch. What, then, was the intention of the British Government in forging the above passage? To conceal from the public that while exhibiting themselves as the patrons of Omer's project before the French Government, by a mere shuffling of words they substituted for the Porte's own proposal, one directly hostile to it. Thus a new subject of dispute was provided. Matters were embroiled still further, and the occasion was afforded to waste August and September with orders and counter-orders. The false play of the British Government is apparent even in the arrangement of the Blue Book. To confound the reader, Clarendon's despatch to Cowley figures on page 248, followed up from page 248 to 252 by an extract from Redcliffe's despatch of July 19th, Simpson's letter to Redcliffe of July 16th, Omer Pasha's letters and memoranda, and only in the last place by Redcliffe's despatch of July 23rd, of which Clarendon's instruction to Cowley pretends to be the sequel.

We must now stay for a moment in the Foreign-office, Downing-street, there beholding the Earl of Clarendon busily engaged in acting the head clerk of great Palmerston. Two days after the despatch of his message to Redcliffe on July the 16th, he is forwarding to Redcliffe another despatch concluding with the following words:

"Her Majesty's Government would still recommend that whatever force is sent for the relief of the army of Kars should proceed to Trebizond. If, indeed, Omer Pasha, who, we understand, is about to proceed to Constantinople, should determine to take any part of his own army with Tunisians and Albanians, to Redout Kaleh, her Majesty's Government would have nothing to say to that proceeding."

Redcliffe's despatch dated Constantinople, 23rd July, having reached London on August lst, in exactly nine days, the despatch of Clarendon dated 16th July, again wants more than half a month to reach Constantinople. It had not arrived on July 30th, when Redcliffe wrote that

> "her Majesty's Government insisting upon having the reinforcements sent via Trebizond placed the Porte in the most serious dilemma."

Redcliffe, then, was not in possession of Clarendon's despatch, according to which her Majesty's Government have nothing to say to the Redout Kaleh expedition, if undertaken by Omer Pasha himself. It is a feature peculiar to the chronology of this strange diplomatic-military drama that all despatches sure to create delay arrive with the most admirable speed, while all those pretending to recommend speed arrive with the most inexplicable delay. But there is another point quite as startling in Clarendon's last-quoted despatch. While Lord Redcliffe writes from Constantinople, dated July 19th, that he was surprised to learn of Omer Pasha's sudden arrival at Constantinople, on the 16th of July, on the very day Omer Pasha left the Crimea, Clarendon informs Redcliffe, from London, that "he understands Omer to be about to proceed to Constantinople." Omer Pasha himself, we know, adopted this resolution only on July 14th, after the breaking up of the war-council. In the interval from July 14th to the 16th no vessel left Sebastopol for Constantinople, so that Omer was obliged to request Admiral Lyons to place at his disposition her Majesty's ship *Valorous*. Are we then to understand that while the despatches, the Foreign-office telegraph, from London, require seventeen days to arrive at Constantinople, the despatches it receives from the Crimea convey intelligence of events even before they do happen? Not quite so. There was the submarine telegraph from Sebastopol to Varna, and the telegraph from Varna to London; so that Clarendon may have had direct intelligence the very day of the war-council's sitting. But where is this telegraphic despatch dated Sebastopol? Certainly not in the Blue Book. It is simply suppressed. And why? The same electric wire which informed Clarendon of Omer Pasha's intended departure must have informed him of the resistance he met with on the part of Pélissier, that is on the part of the French Government. Thus the question would naturally arise why Clarendon quietly waited from 16th July to the lst of August to break the matter to the French Government, and to commence negotiations with it on the point on which the whole campaign depended? To prevent this question

the telegraphic despatch has disappeared. But having suppressed that despatch from the Crimea, why did he insert his own despatch, from London, dated the 16th July? As no trace can be discovered of the latter ever having reached Constantinople, its omission would have caused no palpable blank in the Blue Book. A double-edged end was aimed at. On the one hand the readiness of the English Government to relieve Kars was to be paraded in contrast to the difficulties raised by Bonaparte, and the whole odium of the delay to be shifted to his shoulders. On the other hand, Clarendon's belief in the spurious despatch of the 23rd July, was to be proved by his willingness to leave to Omer Pasha any part of his army, before he was aware of the resolution of the Porte to clog him with the Eupatoria army; having once become aware of this resolution, Clarendon, it is true, did stand upon it, Omer Pasha's and the Porte's protests notwithstanding. All the proceedings of Clarendon, his encouraging the Porte to occupy July with Vivian's expedition, his deferring the negotiations with Bonaparte to August, his substitution in the despatch to Paris a spurious proposition of the Porte, the very acceptance of which by Bonaparte was sure to become a source of further imbroglio in this comedy of errors—all these proceedings tended to the same end—to kill time.

## [III]

[*The People's Paper*, No. 207, April 19, 1856]

On August 2nd, 1855, Lord Cowley telegraphs from Paris that "Count Walewski foresees objections to the proposal" made by Clarendon in the name of the Porte. Thus the occasion is afforded to the clever Earl of displaying, in a despatch dated August 3rd, his patriotic zeal, and of pressing on the French Government the enormous consequences likely to arise from Kars and Erzeroum falling into the hands of Russia. The following day, Aug. 4th, he receives a despatch from Paris to this effect:

"Telegraphic—Lord Cowley to the Earl of Clarendon.

"Paris, August 4, 1855.—The French Government will not oppose the projected expedition to Asia Minor under Omer Pasha, provided that the numbers of the Turkish contingent before Sebastopol are not diminished."

Notwithstanding its conditional form this is the unconditional acceptance of the proposal made by Clarendon on August lst in the name of the Porte according to which the troops stationed at Eupatoria were to be given over to Omer Pasha, and General Vivian's contingent to replace them there. On the same day Clarendon despatched the following to Redcliffe:

"August 4th.—Omer Pasha can go to relieve Kars, provided he does not diminish his Turkish troops before Sebastopol or disturb the garrison at Yenikale."

The French government had only protested against the diminution of the Turkish troops before Sebastopol. The English government add another clog by sequestrating the Turkish troops at Yenikale too. On August 8th, Clarendon received a letter from General Williams dated Kars, July 14th, stating that General

Muravieff had made close reconnaissances on the 11th and 12th July, and that on the 13th

"he appeared with his whole army on the southern heights above Kars which form the key of our defences, and by the crowning of which Kars was taken in 1828."[433]

The letter concludes with the words,

"I have just heard that the Russian general expects reinforcements from Bayazid via Gumri, and that those troops recently expelled from the garrisons of the coast of Circassia are also marching into the interior of Georgia, and may take part in the future operations of Asia Minor." (No. 276)

Having become aware of the reinforcement of the Russians, the zeal of Clarendon for the diminution of the Turkish forces receives a fresh impulse. He immediately sits down to complete his *index militum prohibitorum*[a]:

"Telegraphic—The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Redcliffe.

"Foreign-office, Aug. 9, 1855.—General Vivian's contingent to go immediately to Eupatoria. The Turkish troops there 10,000 or 12,000 to go with Omer Pasha to Redout Kaleh. The Turkish troops at Balaklava and Kertch not to be diminished in number. The Turkish force to go to Redout Kaleh under Omer Pasha, to be completed to its proper number by troops from Bulgaria or elsewhere, not from the Crimea."

Here, then, we behold Clarendon again extending the circle of interdiction. Recollecting, from [Lieut.-]Colonel Simmons's despatch of July 15th, that Omer Pasha intended taking with him "the part of his army which is here (Balaklava) and at Kertch—25,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry from Eupatoria and artillery," he now forbids the Porte to touch the garrison at Kertch, and extends Bonaparte's objection to the removal of Turkish troops from Sebastopol to the whole Crimea—save Eupatoria; and even the number of troops at the latter place dwindles down to 10,000 or 12,000, instead of the 20,000 mentioned in his despatch to the French Government, dated August 1. With a sort of clownish humour he leaves the Porte at liberty to look out for troops "elsewhere." Having filled the bomb at London, he may now quietly await its bursting at Constantinople.

In Clarendon's despatch to Redcliffe of July 16th, we were struck by this passage: "If, indeed, Omer Pasha, who, we understand, is about to proceed to Constantinople, should

[a] List of withheld troops.—*Ed.*

determine to take any part of his own army to Redout Kaleh, Her Majesty's Government have nothing to say to that proceeding." Now, from a letter of Fuad Effendi to Redcliffe, dated July 31, from Redcliffe's answer of August 4, and from Redcliffe's letter of August 8 (see No. 282 and enclosures), it results that Clarendon's despatch, dated July 16th, had not yet reached Constantinople on August 8. Fuad Pasha states in his letter that what has been begun of the measures (relating to the Mingrelian expedition) had been suspended, in consequence of "the official and categorical answer expected (from London) having not yet been received," and defends the Turkish plan of a Mingrelian expedition against "the substance of the English despatches," according to which "the succours *must* be sent through Erzeroum by way of Trebizond." Redcliffe, in his answer, dated Aug. 4, tells us that

"when latterly called upon to declare the opinions of his Government, he performed that duty with a painful sense of the embarrassments which surrounded the Porte,"

increased as they would be by the opinion "he was called upon to declare," and adds:

"Though Her Majesty's Government have declared their decided preference for a more direct operation by Trebizond and Erzeroum, their objections to a diversion on the side of Circassia would in all likelihood be modified if the force employed were of a compact or reliable character."

In his despatch to Clarendon, dated August 8, he complains that the Government

"still leans with all its weight on Trebizond as the only true chance of relief.... The military authorities are decidedly in favour of it"(the Mingrelian expedition).... "Amidst so many motives to vigorous support of the only practicable scheme of relief, [...] I made no reserve in communicating the adverse opinions of Her Majesty's Government to the Porte."

Clarendon's answer to this latter despatch of Redcliffe's (August 20) must be considered from a double point of view—with respect to Redcliffe's assertion that in his opinion the English Government had resisted the Mingrelian expedition up to August 8, and with respect to the plan which Clarendon forwarded to Paris on August 1 as the Porte's own plan. As to the first point, Clarendon declares (see No. 283):—

"My various messages by telegraph, and my despatch of the 4th inst., which you will have received since the date of your despatch, will have shown you that Her Majesty's Government, in conjunction with that of the Emperor of the French, were willing that Omer Pasha should proceed to Asia to effect a diversion for the relief of Kars, and Her Majesty's Government in that case no longer insists upon

the view they had entertained at first, that the relief should be given by way of Trebizond."

With the exception of the despatch of July 14, in which Clarendon protested against the Mingrelian expedition, and summoned the Turks to fall back from Erzeroum and Kars, and his despatch, dated August 9, which Redcliffe, of course, could not have received on August 8, Clarendon had, according to the Blue Book, sent no telegraphic despatch at all. It is therefore a palpable falsehood when he speaks of his "various messages by telegraph" withdrawing the veto of the British Government against the Mingrelian expedition. Why does he not refer to his despatch dated July 16? Because it figures only in the Blue Book, was written only for the Blue Book, and has never left the Foreign-office at Downing-street. Redcliffe, as if aware of the trap laid for him, writes to Clarendon, dated August 13 (No. 286):—

"I have just learnt the contents of your lordship's telegraphic message dated the 9th inst. The sanction given by Her Majesty's Government to the experiment of a diversion on the side of Redout Kaleh will, I doubt not, afford the highest satisfaction as well to the Turkish Ministry as to Omer Pasha. The disappointment occasioned by the terms of the preceding message, which appeared to favour exclusively an advance upon Kars by Trebizond, was evident [...]."

Redcliffe knows nothing of Clarendon's various "despatches by telegraph;" he knows only of the preceding message being "exclusively" in favour of a Trebizond expedition. He means the message of the 13th, backed by the telegraphic message of the 14th of July. He ignores altogether the existence of the message of the 16th of July. We insist upon this point for a simple reason. One glance at the Kars papers will satisfy everybody as to the constant efforts made by the British Government to thwart the projects of the Porte. But the falsifications, forgeries, and lies which we reveal, prove the British Government to have been conscious of foul play, and betray on its part a preconcerted plan, which it dares not openly confess.

Let us now consider Clarendon's despatch of Aug. 20, from another point of view:—

"Omer Pasha," he says, "as commander of the Sultan's troops, will be free to direct his movements in a manner most beneficial to the common cause; and the only limitation placed by the two governments on his proceedings is the condition that the movement in Asia shall not lead to any diminution of the Turkish force employed before Sebastopol and Yenikale, while the Turkish Contingent, under General Vivian, may be made available for filling up the room of the Turkish troops whom Omer Pasha may take with him from Eupatoria."

According to Clarendon's despatch to Paris, dated August 1, the Porte had proposed to place the Eupatoria troops under Omer Pasha while not meddling with the Turkish army before Sebastopol. How can he call the simple acceptance of the Porte's own proposal, "putting a limitation on Omer Pasha's proceedings?" But, on the other hand, could he do otherwise? Since the very despatch of Redcliffe he is answering, reminds him that the Pasha reckons on "17,000 men from Balaklava," 3,000 from Kertch, etc. Thus, what figured in his despatch to Paris as the Porte's own proposal, is now enjoined to the Porte, as the advice of its Western allies.

Up to the 13th of August—just a month after Omer Pasha had proposed to the Allied commanders his Mingrelian expedition—the Porte was labouring under the painful conviction that the British Government objected to it, and all its preparations for the relief of Kars were consequently kept in deadly suspense. On the 13th, at last, it is delivered from that nightmare, and has the satisfaction to understand that its Western allies have accepted the resolution it had come to on July 22nd. It would now, at last, be free to turn its energies against Muravieff, instead of against Clarendon. On the 15th of August, the Ottoman Council was assembled for deliberation as to the most effectual means of succouring Kars. The result of their deliberations is quite as startling as it is unexpected.

"Omer Pasha," Redcliffe says in his despatch to Clarendon, dated August 16th (No. 294), "objects most positively to the plan transmitted from London by telegraph, of stationing the contingent at Eupatoria, and he is not prepared to assume the responsibility of commanding the expedition, unless the Turkish troops before Sebastopol be allowed to form part of it."

Thus we see the Eupatoria plan, pretended to have been sent on the 23rd July to London, is now asserted to have been transmitted on August 9 from London to Constantinople.

On the 16th of August, [Lieut.-]Colonel Simmons also addressed a despatch to Clarendon (No. 297):

"I have to inform your Lordship that the Seraskier having received [...] a communication from Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, to the effect that her Majesty's Government had ordered the Turkish contingent to Eupatoria, placed the communication into the hands of his Highness Omer Pasha, who conceiving that this movement would not enable the Porte to provide the necessary force to make any operation in Asia to save the army of Kars, has drawn up a report for the Seraskier.... Omer Pasha, while insisting upon taking with him his troops [...] from Sebastopol, will hand over part of them and the Turkish troops at Kertch to the Anglo-Turkish contingent, such as are required to complete its full complement.... The proposal of the Pasha appears to me the only one which holds out any hope of

saving the army of Kars, subject to the condition which His Highness understands has been imposed by the English and French Governments—that there is to be no material reduction of force in the Crimea, and therefore that the first proposal made by Omer to the Generals, reported in my despatch of July 15th, cannot be put in execution.[...] The Pasha doubts if the expedition will now be in time to save the garrison of Kars, but if not, it will at any rate prevent the enemy from establishing himself in the government of Erzeroum, and there organizing measures for another advance into the interior in the next campaign."

Omer Pasha's memorandum to the Seraskier, alluded to in the above despatch of [Lieut.-]Colonel Simmons, is enclosed in Redcliffe's letter to Clarendon, dated August 16th. We extract from it the following considerations made by Omer Pasha:

"The troops now at Eupatoria, are composed of different materials, Tunisians and Egyptians,[a] and are deficient of the means of land transport.... They are not capable of taking the field or of manoeuvring.... If the Egyptians were to go to Asia, as it will be necessary to keep the field during the commencement of the winter, coming as they do from a hot climate [...], they could not perform the necessary manoeuvres, and the army being composed of different materials there would be but little chance of success. By the execution of this project the unity of the Ottoman as well as of the English army will be destroyed, and it is to be observed that much of the energy, if not the existence, of an army in warfare depends upon its unity.... The Pasha observes, that every general in warfare ought to consider beforehand the most difficult circumstances in which he may be placed by the events of war, and to provide as far as possible against misfortune. He supposes the case, that the army of Kars is destroyed before his arrival in Asia, and that the Russians had advanced beyond that place, and states that in such a case, being with an army composed of different materials, in which he could not place entire confidence, he would find himself in similar difficulties in which the army of Asia is now placed ....

"Every general to whom an operation is confided, ought to consent to the operation, and its mode of execution, in order that he may be made responsible for its conduct [...]. The Anglo-Turkish contingent, if supplied with its full complement from the detachments about to be drafted from Bulgaria and from Kertch, will be almost equal in numbers to the divisions under his command. [...] As far as the numbers of the Allied armies are concerned, there need be no diminution, if his views were acceded to. On the contrary, if the plan, sent from London, were acted upon, the permanent arrangements made by the Seraskier for the supply of the garrison of Eupatoria [...] would be broken up, unavoidable delay must ensue, absolutely new establishments would have to be organized."

The destruction of the last effective Turkish army, the loss of the unity of the English as well as the Ottoman army, the wilful sacrifice of the Egyptians and Tunisians, the breaking up of the permanent arrangements made for the supply of the Turkish troops at Eupatoria, the creation of unavoidable delay, the ruin of his own military representation, the exposure of the Mingrelian

[a] In *Kars Papers*: "Turks and Egyptians".—*Ed.*

army to the fate of the garrison of Kars—these are, according to Omer Pasha, the natural consequences of the plan sent from London. While communicating to Clarendon this strong protest, Lord Redcliffe evinces not the least suspicion of having himself been the channel through which the Porte is made to have transmitted the identical project to Lord Clarendon.

We have, thus, new and irrefutable proof that the proposal of the Porte, as figuring in the despatch dated July 23rd, is a London forgery, and that Clarendon in submitting it to the acceptance of the French Government in his despatch of August lst was fully aware of committing an atrocious fraud.

His scheme worked exactly up to his intention, the Porte, at last informed that the British Government consents to the Turkish expedition in general, learns simultaneously, that it objects to all the details required for carrying it out. Having been compelled to waste one month with struggling against Clarendon's Erzeroum plan, it has now to waste the still more precious month of August with resisting his Eupatoria scheme.

In a despatch dated August 20, addressed by Redcliffe to Clarendon, he encloses another memorandum of Omer Pasha, similar in substance to the former one, but with the addition (see No. 296):

"any general undertaking such an operation against all military rules, would sacrifice his military reputation, and he would, moreover, imperil the general alliance. I intend doing neither.

"If I were even to accept this service, it would not serve the object in view."

He represents the troops at Eupatoria "as undisciplined, mixed, and inexperienced soldiers."

On the 26th of August (see No. 298, Simmons to Clarendon) Omer Pasha informs Simmons of the state of things at Kars as reported by an aide-de-camp of the Seraskier, who left Kars on the 5th, and arrived at Constantinople on August 19th,

"At the time of his departure the stores within the town of Kars did not contain more than sufficient provisions for the garrison for one month or five weeks at the outside, and they were not well provided with ammunition. This, however, does not appear of much consequence, as General Muravieff had proclaimed to his army, which, by the reinforcement it has received, is stated now to number about 50,000 men, to reduce the town of Kars by starvation, and to capture the town without firing a shot.... The Russians have caused the inhabitants to remove everything in the shape of provisions throughout a district within a radius of 8 hours (28 miles) round Kars as a centre.... The forts at Erzeroum consist of 6,000 regular troops, and 12,000 irregulars; but many of the latter are leaving and dispersing." "From Omer Pasha's conversations [...]," says Simmons, "it is evident that the Porte is deeply impressed with the deplorable state of affairs in Asia, and

is almost in despair at the apparent certainty of losing, towards the end of this month or early in September, the garrison of Kars, sixteen thousand men with nearly two hundred pieces of artillery, of which about seventy are field guns.... They are very much grieved and disappointed at the time which has been lost [...]—and that the cabinets of Paris and London, as well as the military authorities in the Crimea, have not considered the subject in that serious aspect in which it presents itself to the Porte, but have objected to the propositions which have hitherto been made with a view to retrieving their position and their preventing the disaster."

On August 21st, at a meeting of the Porte's council (No. 299—Simmons to Clarendon, dated August 23),

"a decision was arrived at to proceed with the utmost vigour and all the means at the disposal of the Porte to carry into execution the plan proposed by Omer Pasha.... A note was agreed upon, to be addressed to the ambassadors of France and England,[a] informing them of the decision of the Porte, and inviting them to obtain the assistance of the fleets of their respective Government to transport the Ottoman troops, with their artillery, baggage, and means of land-transport, to the coast of Asia.... Having done all in their power to effect a movement for the relief of the army of Kars, to recover their position in Asia, they" (the Porte) "considered themselves relieved from the responsibility of any disaster which might happen from the non-execution of any of the plans proposed with that view. The Turkish Government, in order to commence the movement, are now sending their ships to Sizopolis, to begin the embarkation of the troops, etc., but they evidently have entertained some doubt as to taking this decided course, in consequence of the Anglo-Turkish Contingent having received orders from London to proceed to Eupatoria."

Thus the end of August was approaching, the Porte still finds itself clogged in its movements by Clarendon's Eupatoria plan, and its anxiety waxing with the dismal news from Kars, it extorts at last from Redcliffe, who in the meantime had made a trip to Sebastopol, the following telegraphic despatch (No. 290):—

"Lord Redcliffe to the Earl of Clarendon.

"Before Sebastopol, Aug. 26.—I request to be informed definitively and immediately here, whether Omer Pasha may take Turkish troops in whole or in part from Balaklava, provided they be replaced by others of the same numerical force, and whether General Vivian's Contingent is in that case at liberty to take position before Sebastopol, instead of going to Eupatoria. Omer Pasha is expected from day to day. He makes his expedition conditional on the power of acting as above. He has stated plausible reasons for this. If transport can be spared by us the troops may land, it would seem, at Redout Kaleh in about a month. The Russians who threatened Erzeroum have retired by the road to Kars; the Turkish army there is stated to have nearly two months provisions early in August."

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[a] É. A. Thouvenel and Stratford de Redcliffe.—*Ed.*

## [IV]

[*The People's Paper,* No. 208, April 26, 1856]

Clarendon had now succeeded in thwarting, by his Eupatoria plan, all action on the part of the Porte during the whole month of August. Redcliffe's despatch confirmed the statement of General Williams, that "the provisions of Kars will hardly last to the beginning of September." By what extraordinary devotion the Turkish garrison at Kars contrived to prolong its existence beyond the term assigned by Williams, will be seen from the following memorandum:—

(Enclosure in No. 315.)

Kars, September 1st, 1855.—"The most is made of our provisions; the soldiers are reduced to half-allowances of bread and meat, or rice-butter. Sometimes 100 drachmas of biscuit instead of bread; nothing besides. No money. Mussulman population, 3,000 rifles, will soon be reduced to starvation. Armenians are ordered to quit the town to-morrow. No barley, scarcely any forage. Cavalry reduced to walking skeletons, and sent out of garrison; artillery horses soon the same. How will the field pieces be moved after that?... What is being done for the relief of this army?

(Signed) *Williams.*

Clarendon having made sure that the provisions of Kars could not last beyond the first days of October, and being on the other hand assured by Redcliffe that even with the succour of the allied transports Omer Pasha's troops would not arrive at Redout Kaleh before the first days of October, thinks it no longer dangerous to press on the French Government the acceptance of the Turkish plan. He was informed besides that at the very moment he addressed that Government the assault of Sebastopol was imminent, and Pélissier, therefore, had good reasons not to allow any

change in the composition of the troops before Sebastopol. To hide this knowledge, the despatch of Redcliffe is given in the mutilated shape of an extract. The following is Clarendon's despatch to Lord Cowley:—

Foreign Office, Aug. 28, 1855.—"Her Majesty's Government trusts that the Government of the Emperor will agree to the following answer to the despatch from Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, dated Balaklava, Aug. 26th, in which case your excellency will send it on immediately from Lord Panmure to General Simpson, who will inform Viscount de Redcliffe, if he is still at Balaklava:

"'Omer Pasha is to be at liberty to take such of his own troops as he pleases, from Balaklava to Asia. They must be replaced in equal numbers by General Vivian's Contingent, or by troops from Eupatoria, as the allied generals may decide; and instructions accordingly must be given in conjunction with the admirals as to transporting them.'"

(Signed *Clarendon.*)

Even in this despatch, Clarendon cannot abstain from playing a trick on the Porte. Informed as he was by Omer Pasha's various memoranda that the replacement of his troops before Sebastopol by troops from Eupatoria, would go a great length to spoil his whole plan, he proposes to the French Government, quite *en passant,* to replace the troops before Sebastopol by Vivian's contingent, or by troops from Eupatoria. The answer from Paris was this:—

"Telegraphic.—Lord Cowley to the Earl of Clarendon.

"Paris, Aug. 29, 1855.—The Emperor has no objection to the removal of the Turkish troops from Balaklava, and to their being replaced by others, provided that the allied commanders-in-chief have no objection; but he will not take the responsibility upon himself of saying more under these circumstances. I send the telegraphic despatch to General Simpson, inserting, after the word 'Asia,' 'provided that General Pélissier and you have no objection'."

Lord Clarendon's sincere anxiety to hasten the Mingrelian expedition at this supreme moment, shines in overpowering brightness in his despatch of September 7th, sent by ordinary mail to [Lieut.-]Colonel Simmons, so that it did not arrive till September 23rd. On September 5th he had received the following despatch from [Lieut.-]Colonel Simmons. (No. 301.)

"I have to inform your lordship that Omer Pasha has stated to me that he will not be able to leave Constantinople for five or six days, as he is occupied in making the necessary arrangements for the expedition to Asia, and his presence here is absolutely required to complete them." According to the arrangements accepted by the Porte "Omer Pasha hoped to land 50,000 men[a] and 3,400 horses in Asia, in

[a] In *Kars Papers*: "15,000 men".—*Ed.*

two trips of the Turkish fleet alone, the operation occupying from three weeks to one month, or for each voyage from ten days to a fortnight.... Omer Pasha is most desirous that assistance should be given by the allies in conveying the troops and their material from before Sebastopol, and baggage-horses from Sizopolis, and he considers the most practicable way in which this could be done, would be by allowing the English fleet to convey the troops from before Sebastopol to Asia, after having conveyed the Contingent to Balaklava to replace them."

To this despatch, Clarendon answers in the following strain:—

"The Earl of Clarendon to Lieutenant-Colonel Simmons.

"Foreign Office, Sept. 7, 1855.

"Sir,—The account of the arrangements proposed by Omer Pasha for the relief of the army in Asia, which is contained in your despatch of the 26th ult., is inconsistent with subsequent statements which have reached her Majesty's Government. In your despatch you report that Omer Pasha reckons upon taking a portion of the Turkish troops from before Sebastopol, and replacing them by General Vivian's Contingent. But it appears, by a despatch of a later date from General Simpson, that Omer Pasha has given it as his opinion that General Vivian's Contingent would not be fit to take up a position before Sebastopol until next spring; and, in consequence of that opinion, and by reason of General Simpson's protest against having the Contingent sent to him, which protest was founded upon that opinion, her Majesty's Government have determined that the Contingent shall not go to join the army before Sebastopol."

*Clarendon.*

Let it be remarked that Simpson's, the poor warrior's despatch, is omitted from the Blue Book, that Omer Pasha's "opinion" is a changeling, and that the "later date" when Omer expressed his new opinion contradicting his opinion of the 26th of August, happens to be the beginning of July—as will be seen from the following extract from [Lieut.-]Colonel Simmons's despatch, dated, camp of Kamara, Sep. 23rd, 1855:—

"On this subject I beg to inform your lordship that this opinion was given by Omer Pasha in a letter to General Simpson early in the month of July ... and before he was aware of the critical position of the army in Asia. He then stated that he was strongly of opinion that General Simpson could not contemplate making use of the Contingent in the open field (en rase campagne) in front of the enemy.... Lord Raglan had, on several occasions, asked whether I thought it would be possible to make use of the Contingent to hold the lines of Balaklava, and upon consulting Omer Pasha upon the subject, he told me that he saw no objection to it, if his lordship considered it absolutely necessary."

In excavating an opinion of Omer Pasha, given before the Mingrelian expedition was mooted, in falsifying that opinion and in founding upon this falsification a protest, Simpson's "obtuse mind" followed, of course, the secret instructions received from London. Poor Simpson was an invention of Palmerston, one of his

golems. Golems, as the German poet Arnim has it,[a] are earth clods, shaped in the human form and infused with a factitious life by the spell of capricious wizards. Supposing Simpson to have written exactly as he is represented to have done in Clarendon's despatch—a point that becomes questionable from the suppression of his despatch in the Blue Book, Clarendon could not be for a moment in doubt either as to the date or as to the substance of Omer Pasha's opinion. As early as July 15, Simmons had informed him that in Omer's opinion "the Contingent, although it might form a garrison, cannot yet be in a condition to march into the interior;" and in a later despatch that "in Balaklava and Kertch the troops of the Contingent will be within fortified lines" and, therefore, not "in the open field."

The history of Omer Pasha's Mingrelian campaign is not given in the Blue Book, but enough transpires to denounce the obstacles thrown in its way by the allied governments even at the too late epoch, when they had reluctantly given their consent and captured the south side of Sebastopol.

Simmons writes to Clarendon from the camp at Kamara on Sept. 21, 1855.

"On the 18th inst. General Pélissier consented to the departure of three battalions of Turkish chasseurs hence for Asia. [...] They will be embarked in a day or two for Batoum. Up to the present time General Pélissier has not signified his assent to the departure for Asia of any more of the Ottoman troops now stationed here."

"In answer to my inquiries at the Porte," says Redcliffe on Sept. 26th, "I am assured [...] that the passage of troops and the conveyance of provisions are in progress, though slowly, in consequence of the limited command of transport for those purposes. It is impossible not to apprehend that the many changes of plan, the exigencies of our operations at Sebastopol, and heavy demands on the transport-service, concur to diminish the hope of relieving Kars."

Now the many changes of plan were the work of the British ministry; the exigencies of the operations before Sebastopol a mere pretext, as the allies, after the capture of the town, confined themselves to guarding its ruins; and lastly the want of sufficient transport was produced by the orders issued from Downing-street for the useless transmissions of the Contingent from Varna to Yenikale, Kertch, Eupatoria, and back to the Bosphorus.

The gloom of these forebodings was dispelled for a moment by the meteorlike flash of the victory gained by the Turks over the Russian assaulting columns before Kars on September 29th. In

[a] L. A. Arnim, *Isabella von Ägypten. Kaiser Karl des Fünften erste Jugendliebe.—Ed.*

his despatch of the same date General Williams calls it "a day glorious for the Turkish arms." In his despatch of October 3rd (No. 342), he tells Clarendon,

"During the combat, which lasted nearly seven hours, the Turkish infantry, as well as artillery, fought with the most determined courage; and when it is recollected that they had worked on their entrenchments, and guarded them by night, throughout a period extending to nearly four months—when it is borne in mind that they were ill-clothed and received less than half a ration of bread—that they have remained without pay for 29 months, I think your lordship will admit that they have proved themselves worthy of the admiration of Europe, and established an undoubted claim to be placed among the most distinguished of its troops."

On the receipt of these glad tidings the Porte issued an address to the defenders of Kars (No. 345), in which the following words occur:

"We were conscious of the zeal and intrepidity which animated your excellency, and of the infinite mercy of God, and found consolation in this reflection. On the other hand, we worked day and night in devising means to oblige the enemy to raise the siege, and the joyful tidings of this victory have infused new life into us."

And what an exuberance of life will they not infuse into Clarendon's breast? He who worked day and night in devising means to thwart the means devised by the Porte, how will he not at least profusedly scatter the cheap flowers of his rhetorical sympathy! Nothing of the sort. Rather disappointed in his calculations he vents his spleen upon the Porte, in the following short and provokingly ironical despatch (see No. 346)[a]:

"...The neglected garrison of Kars will at least have the satisfaction of knowing that their sufferings troubled the ... repose of the Turkish ministers, who, in default of all ordinary means of relief, never ceased to pray for their safety and success."

Clarendon, formerly the silent friend of Aberdeen, figures here as Palmerston's twanging mouthpiece.

From the repulse of the Russians before Kars, on September 29th, to the day of its capitulation, on November 24th,[434] there elapsed again nearly two months. How was this time improved by the British Government? First, by withholding from Omer Pasha the necessary transports. On October 6th Mr. Oliphant, the correspondent of the *Times,* writes from Omer Pasha's camp:

"The Turkish army is gradually assuming a more imposing aspect, and the assent which the allied generals have at length reluctantly given to the despatch of

[a] The quotation that follows is from Clarendon's dispatch to Stratford de Redcliffe of November 21, 1855.—*Ed.*

10,000 Turks from Balaklava, will swell it to about 50,000 strong. The principal delay is caused by the slackness of our authorities in the Crimea, who do not provide transport for the conveyance of the troops here, nor seem to care in the least whether they ever get here or not. It is certainly unfortunate that the only serious cause of annoyance which Omer Pasha has felt with respect to this expedition [...], is to be attributed to the same source which has already been so fruitful of disaster."[a]

But this was not all. As early as July, Lord Palmerston had stated in the Parliamentary debates on the Turkish loan, that the Porte was lamentably deficient in money, and that all its operations depended upon receiving a supply of it at once. The Parliament having consented to the loan, the British Government advertised it in August, 1855, but from a paper laid before Parliament it appears that out of the five millions sterling granted something short of two millions was but paid to the Porte on January 29th, 1856, and that even this sum had been sent in dribblets of one hundred thousand pounds. Still, on Nov. 24, 1855, the Porte declares (see No. 353, inclosure 4):—

"In conclusion, his Excellency"(the Seraskier[b])"turned round to me, and said that I was as well aware as he of the continuous exertion, made by him to help the garrison of Kars[...]. That Omer Pasha had been delayed by causes over which he, unfortunately, could not exercise any control. It was an affair of the alliance. It had all along been understood that such measures as it was in their power to take without the army which had been retained in the Crimea, would not suffice for the object in view.... His Excellency then proceeded to tell me with much force that the Turks were absolutely debarred from executing what was necessary for the prosecution of the campaign by the delay in giving them the advantage of the loan. The grain to the amount of one million of kilos bought by them for the service of the army, was not forwarded, because they could not pay for it.... He had written to the Grand Vizier,[c] that if money was not forthcoming from that source (the loan) in a week from this date, he would resign his office." (Letter of General Mansfield to Lord de Redcliffe.)

It is a rather curious coincidence that on the very day on which Kars surrendered, the Seraskier was forcibly stating to the British military commissioner the true reasons of that disaster—the delay of Omer Pasha's expedition by the Allies retaining from the Porte its own troops, and then the stoppage of all operations during October and November by the British Government retaining from the Porte its own money.

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[a] Report from Sukum Kaleh published in *The Times*, No. 22195, October 26, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Rushdi Pasha (Mehemet).—*Ed.*

[c] Ali Mehemet Pasha.—*Ed.*

When the capitulation was resolved upon at Kars, on Nov. 24th,

"the soldiers were dying by hundreds a day, of famine. They were mere skeletons, and were incapable of fighting or flying. The women brought their children to the general's[a] house for food, and there they left them, and the city was strewed with dead and dying." (No. 366.)[b]

During the whole epoch that Clarendon systematically thwarts the plans of the Porte, paralyses its forces, and retains its own money, we behold him dinning the ears of the manacled man with the counsel to move on vigorously, and abusing him for his slackness. History exhibits, perhaps, no parallel more bitterly ludicrous than that between the British Government making England the laughing-stock of Europe by its adventures in the Crimea, the Baltic, and the Pacific, and the rewards lavished on the tools of its miscarriages—and the same Government upbraiding the Porte in the severest tones of antique Catonism for the blunders of its military officers and administrators. The Government of Sadleirism, morally indignant at pasha-corruption; the patrons of a Codrington and an Elliot, insisting on the punishment of a Selim Pasha and a Tahir Pasha; the *improvisatori* of a Simpson sullenly frowning on the promoters of an Omer Pasha; "Take-care-of-Dowb" Panmure doctoring the Seraskier; Downing-street with its doctors Smiths, its Filders, its Aireys, and its Gordons, during the very sittings of the Sebastopol Committee, censuring a pasha at Trebizond for a load of sponges and rammers not having been packed in bundles and covered with matting:—this is the true picture of the Oriental war. And, above all, the brave Clarendon's soul-stirring complaints of the Porte's apathy!—think of an official Thersites tasking the Danaides for not filling the sieve.

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[a] W. F. Williams.—*Ed.*

[b] Message of J. Brant, British Consul in Erzeroum, to Clarendon of November 27, 1855.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## SPEECH AT THE ANNIVERSARY OF *THE PEOPLE'S PAPER*

DELIVERED IN LONDON, APRIL 14, 1856[435]

The so-called revolutions of 1848 were but poor incidents—small fractures and fissures in the dry crust of European society. However, they denounced the abyss. Beneath the apparently solid surface, they betrayed oceans of liquid matter, only needing expansion to rend into fragments continents of hard rock. Noisily and confusedly they proclaimed the emancipation of the Proletarian, *i.e.* the secret of the 19th century, and of the revolution of that century. That social revolution, it is true, was no novelty invented in 1848. Steam, electricity, and the self-acting mule were revolutionists of a rather more dangerous character than even citizens Barbès, Raspail and Blanqui. But, although the atmosphere in which we live, weighs upon every one with a 20,000 lb. force, do you feel it? No more than European society before 1848 felt the revolutionary atmosphere enveloping and pressing it from all sides. There is one great fact, characteristic of this our 19th century, a fact which no party dares deny. On the one hand, there have started into life industrial and scientific forces, which no epoch of the former human history had ever suspected. On the other hand, there exist symptoms of decay, far surpassing the horrors recorded of the latter times of the Roman Empire. In our days, everything seems pregnant with its contrary. Machinery, gifted with the wonderful power of shortening and fructifying human labour, we behold starving and overworking it. The new-fangled sources of wealth, by some strange weird spell, are turned into sources of want. The victories of art seem bought by the loss of character. At the same pace that mankind masters nature, man seems to become enslaved to other men or to his own infamy. Even the pure light of science seems unable to

shine but on the dark background of ignorance. All our invention and progress seem to result in endowing material forces with intellectual life, and in stultifying human life into a material force. This antagonism between modern industry and science on the one hand, modern misery and dissolution on the other hand; this antagonism between the productive powers and the social relations of our epoch is a fact, palpable, overwhelming, and not to be controverted. Some parties may wail over it; others may wish to get rid of modern arts, in order to get rid of modern conflicts. Or they may imagine that so signal a progress in industry wants to be completed by as signal a regress in politics. On our part, we do not mistake the shape of the shrewd spirit that continues to mark all these contradictions. We know that to work well the new-fangled forces of society, they only want to be mastered by new-fangled men—and such are the working men. They are as much the invention of modern time as machinery itself. In the signs that bewilder the middle class, the aristocracy and the poor prophets of regression, we do recognise our brave friend, Robin Goodfellow,[a] the old mole that can work in the earth so fast, that worthy pioneer—the Revolution. The English working men are the first-born sons of modern industry. They will then, certainly, not be the last in aiding the social revolution produced by that industry, a revolution, which means the emancipation of their own class all over the world, which is as universal as capital-rule and wages-slavery. I know the heroic struggles the English working class have gone through since the middle of the last century—struggles less glorious, because they are shrouded in obscurity, and burked by the middle-class historian. To revenge the misdeeds of the ruling class, there existed in the middle ages, in Germany, a secret tribunal, called the "Vehmgericht."[b] If a red cross was seen marked on a house, people knew that its owner was doomed by the "Vehm." All the houses of Europe are now marked with the mysterious red cross. History is the judge—its executioner, the proletarian.

First published in *The People's Paper*, No. 207, April 19, 1856

Reproduced from the newspaper

[a] A character in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.—*Ed.*

[b] The *Vehmgericht*, derived from *Vehme* (judgment, punishment) and *Gericht* (court), was a secret tribunal which exercised great power in Westphalia from the end of the twelfth to the middle of the sixteenth century.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## PRUSSIA[436]

The strange frenzy which has converted France into a gambling-house, and identified the Napoleonic Empire with the Bourse, has by no means been confined within Gallic boundaries. That plague, unrestrained by political frontiers, has crossed the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Rhine, and, wonderful to say, has seized upon solid Germany, where speculation in ideas has given way to speculation in stocks, the *summum bonum*[a] to the bonus, the mysterious jargon of dialectics to the no less mysterious jargon of the Exchange, and the aspiration for unity to the passion for dividends. Rhenish Prussia, from its proximity to France, as well as from the high development of its industry and commerce, was the first to catch the disease. Not only did the Cologne bankers enter into a formal alliance with the great swindlers at Paris, by purchasing with them the *Indépendance belge* as their common organ, and establishing an international bank at Luxemburg; not only did they drag into the whirlpool of the Crédit Mobilier[437] all South-Western Germany, but in the limits of Rhenish Prussia and in the Duchy of Westphalia they succeeded so well that at this moment every layer of society, except that formed by the working classes and smaller peasantry, is permeated by the gold mania, so that even the capital of the small middle class, diverted from its customary channels, seeks for wild adventure, and every shopkeeper is turned into an alchemist. That the rest of Prussia has not escaped the contagion will be seen by the following extract from the *Preussische Correspondenz*, a ministerial paper.

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[a] Supreme good.—*Ed.*

"Observations recently made on the money market justify the assumption that there is again approaching one of those frightful commercial crises which return periodically. The feverish movement of an immoderate spirit of speculation, first prompted abroad, has, since last year, pervaded Germany to a great extent, and not only the Berlin Bourse and the Prussian capitalists have been dragged into this whirlpool, but also whole classes of society, which, at every former time, endeavored to shun any immediate participation in the hazards of the stock market."

On this apprehension of an imminent financial crisis, the Prussian Government grounded its refusal to allow the establishment of a Crédit Mobilier, the dazzling colors of which were suspected to conceal a swindling purpose. But what is not permitted under one form may be allowed in another; and what is not permitted at Berlin will be tolerated at Leipsic and Hanover. The latest phase of the speculative mania has set in at the close of the war,[a] which, apart from the commercial excitement inseparable from any conclusion of peace—as witnessed in 1802 and 1815—is this time marked by the peculiar feature that Prussia has formally expressed her wish to throw open her markets to the importation of western capital and speculation. We shall, accordingly, soon hear of the grand Irkutsk trunk-line with branches to Pekin, and other not less monstrous schemes, the question being not what is really designed for execution, but what fresh material may be offered for the spirit of speculation to feed upon. There was nothing wanting but the peace to hurry the great crash apprehended by the Prussian Government.

This uncommon participation by Prussia in the speculative movement of Europe would have been impossible but for the great strides made by its industry of late years. The capital invested in railways alone has been increased from 19,000,000 to 154,000,000 Prussian thalers, in the interval from 1840 to 1854-55. Other railroads at an estimated cost of 54,000,000, are in progress; and the Government have further authorized the construction of new lines at a cost of 57,000,000. Eighty-seven joint-stock companies, with a capital of 83,000,000, have sprung into life since 1849. From 1854-56, nine insurance companies, with a capital of 22,000,000, have been registered. In these last two years, likewise, six joint-stock companies, with a capital of 10,500,000, have commenced to run spinning-mills. From the Cotton Report it will be seen that the quantity of cotton received by the different ports of Europe, has, from 1853-56, varied in the

[a] The Crimean war (1853-56).—*Ed.*

following proportions, according to the return of the first seven months of the year the export of bales being as follows:

| | 1853 | 1854 | 1855 | 1856 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| To England | 1,100,000 | 840,000 | 963,000 | 1,131,000 |
| France | 255,000 | 229,000 | 249,000 | 354,000 |
| Other European ports | 204,000 | 179,000 | 167,000 | 346,000 |

Hence it follows that the Continent, which in 1853 received only about one third of the cotton exported to England, received in 1856 as much as five eighths of it. To this must be added the cotton reshipped by England to the Continent. The great export to France is only so in appearance, considerable quantities being transported from Havre to Switzerland, Baden, Frankfort and Antwerp. The development of Continental industry as exhibited by the above figures denotes therefore, above all, the increase of German, and chiefly of Prussian industry. The wealth accumulated by the industrial middle classes of late years, is nearly rivaled by the appreciation of land-owners' profits during the war period of dearth and high price. Horses, cattle, live-stock in general, and not least corn, have kept so high in Germany itself, that the influence of foreign markets has hardly been needed to enable the great landholders to roll in gold. It is wealth—the rapid increase of wealth never before experienced by these two classes—which has furnished the basis for the present speculative murrain in Prussia.

The bursting of the bubble will put the Prussian State to a severe test. The different counter-revolutions it has undergone since 1849 have ended in placing the Government in the power of the narrow class of noble landowners, with respect to whom the King, who has done everything to create their supremacy, now finds himself in the same situation as did Louis XVIII toward the *Chambre introuvable.*[438] Frederick William had never the sense to put up with the dry bureaucratic machinery of Government bequeathed him by his father. He has all his life been dreaming of beautifying the Prussian State edifice by some romantico-gothic decoration. The short experience which he has had of his *Herrenhaus,*[a] however, must have satisfied him that in reality the landocracy or *Krautjunkers,* as they are called in Prussia, so far from deeming themselves happy in serving as a mediaeval ornament to the bureaucracy, are striving with all their might to degrade the bureaucracy and make it the simple executor of their class-interests. Hence the split between the Junkers and the

[a] The First Chamber of the Prussian Diet.—*Ed.*

Administration; between the King and the Prince of Prussia.[a] To show the Government how much they are in earnest, they have just refused to renew the grant of an additional tax which had been levied during the war—a thing unheard of in constitutional Prussia. They have coolly and deliberately proclaimed the doctrine that they are as much kings over their little estates as the King himself is over the country at large. They insist that the Constitution, while it is to remain a sham for all other classes, must be a reality for themselves. Emancipating themselves from all control of the bureaucracy, they wish to see it weigh with double force on the classes below.

The middle class, who betrayed the revolution of 1848, have now the satisfaction, even while they are accomplishing their social triumph by the unrestrained accumulation of capital, of seeing themselves politically annihilated. Moreover, the *Krautjunkers* delight in every day finding fresh occasions to make them feel their humiliation, even setting aside the common laws of etiquette. When the middle-class spokesmen get up in the House of Deputies, the Junkers leave their benches *en masse*, and when requested at least to listen to opinions contrary to their own, they laugh in the faces of the gentlemen of the Left. When the latter complain of the obstructions put in the way of elections, they are informed that it is simply the duty of the Government to protect the masses from seduction. When they contrast the licentiousness of the aristocratic, with the shackled condition of the liberal press, they are reminded that liberty in a Christian State is not to do as one pleases, but as pleases God and the authorities. One day they are given to understand that "honor" is the monopoly of an aristocracy; the next day they are stung to the quick by a practical illustration of the exploded theories of a Haller, a de Bonald and a de Maistre. Proud of his philosophical enlightenment, the Prussian citizen has the mortification of seeing the first scientific men driven from the universities, education handed over to a gang of obscurants, ecclesiastical courts meddling with his family concerns, and the police taking him to church on a Sunday. Not content with exempting themselves from taxes so far as they could, the Junkers have packed the middle class in guilds and corporations, adulterated their municipal institutions, abolished the independence and immovability of their Judges, cancelled the religious equality of the different sects, and so forth. If at times their choking anger breaks through their fears, if they occasionally muster enough

[a] William.—*Ed.*

courage to threaten, from their seats in the Chamber, the Junkers with a coming revolution, they are sneeringly answered that the revolution has as heavy an account to settle with them as with the nobility.

Indeed, the higher middle class is not likely to find itself again, as in 1848, at the head of a Prussian revolution. The peasantry in Eastern Prussia have lost not only all that the revolution of 1848 had brought them in the shape of emancipation, but have been reduced once more, both administratively and judicially, under the direct yoke of the nobility. In Rhenish Prussia, by the attraction of capital toward industrial enterprise, they have sunk deeper into the bondage of the mortgagee, at the same rate at which the interest on loans has risen. While in Austria something, at least, has been done to conciliate the peasantry, in Prussia nothing has been left undone to exasperate them. As to the working classes, the Government has prevented them from participating in the profits of their masters by punishing them for strikes, and has systematically excluded them from taking part in political affairs. A disunited dynasty, a Government broken up into hostile camps, the bureaucracy quarreling with the aristocracy, the aristocracy with the middle class—a general commercial crisis, and the disinherited classes brooding in the spirit of rebellion against all the upper layers of society: such is the aspect of Prussia at this hour.

Written on April 15, 1856

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# Karl Marx

## THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND THE DUKE OF YORK'S MONUMENT[439]

At the very time that Lord John *Russell*

"The minimus of hind'ring knot-grass made,"[a]

amused the House of Commons with one of his dwarfish mock-schemes for the education of that giant called the people, his fellows in the House of Lords were exhibiting a practical specimen of the education enjoyed by the heaven-born rulers of Great Britain. The subject of their debates was a report of the Committee of the House of Commons, recommending for local purposes, the removal of the Duke of York's monument from Waterloo Place.[b] On that occasion the Marquis of *Clanricarde* said,

"The Duke of *York* was not only eminent from his illustrious birth, but he had performed great professional services to the Crown and the country.... The regret for his death was not confined merely to the circle of his friends, but was universally felt. All parties concurred in bearing testimony to the zeal which he had displayed in the discharge of the duties committed to him."[c]

According to the Marquis of Lansdowne

"a memorial erected some years ago to the memory of an illustrious individual whom they all respected, should not be lightly disposed of or set away."

Aberdeen, the travelled Thane, called the monument "in a certain manner *sanctified*." The Earl of Malmesbury

"concurred entirely in what had fallen from the noble earl with respect to what might be called the sentimental view of the case."

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[a] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act III, Scene 2.—*Ed.*

[b] A road was to be built across St. James's Park.—*Ed.*

[c] The speeches of Clanricarde, Lansdowne, Aberdeen and Malmesbury in the House of Lords on April 10, 1856 were reported in *The Times*, No. 22339, April 11, 1856.—*Ed.*

Let us cast a retrospective view at the life of the royal hero thus canonized by the Lords.

The most memorable event in the Duke of York's lifetime—his birth—happened to occur in 1763. Twenty-six years later he contrived to draw the attention of the world to his person by renouncing the state of single blessedness, and getting a married man. The Anti-Jacobin war afforded the royal prince an opportunity of becoming a royal captain. If, during his ever-famed campaign of Flanders, and his no less famed campaign of the Helder, the English army was regularly beaten, it had the constant satisfaction of beholding its royal commander returning to his home again in a whole skin. It is known how cleverly he ran away before Houchard at Hondscho, and how his siege of Dunkirk in some sort outjested the siege of Troy.[440] Such was the distinguished celebrity he won in his Flanders campaigning that Pitt, growing jealous of his renown, caused the war-minister Dundas, to send despatches to his Royal Highness with the urgent intimation to come home, to reserve the display of his personal bravery to times of greater hazard, and to remember the old Fabian maxim: *famae etiam jactura facienda est pro patria.*[a] An officer of the name of Cochrane Johnstone, to whom by and by we shall return, was the person selected to be the bearer of these despatches and—says an author of those bygone times—

"Johnstone performed this service with a degree of celerity and resolution that entitled him to the admiration of the army."[b]

Greater still than the Duke's military exploits during this same campaign, turned out his financial ones, a convenient fire at every depot, settling for ever the accounts of all his commissaries, contractors, and in-supers. These successes notwithstanding, we find his Royal Highness again in 1799 at the head of the Helder expedition which, in the British papers under Pitt's avowed patronage, was represented as a mere holiday march, it being thought a rather preposterous idea that an army of 45,000 men, with the squadron commanding the Zuyder Zee at its back, with an offspring of the royal house of Brunswick at its head, was not by its mere appearance to scatter to the winds a rabble of about 20,000 Frenchmen,

"commanded by a printer's boy of Limousin, one Brune, who had received his military and political education in the Tennis Courts of the French Revolution."

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[a] Even glory should be sacrificed for the Fatherland.—*Ed.*

[b] [W. Cobbett,] "Mr. Cochrane Johnstone" [I], *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*, Vol. X, No. 1, July 5, 1806.—*Ed.*

However, with that blunt cynicism peculiar to those Jacobin generals, the printer's boy of Limousin had the impudence to beat his Royal Highness hollow, whenever he happened to board him, and when his Royal Highness, considering it still more meritorious to live for one's country than to die for it, strove to get back to the Helder, Brune was so discourteous as not to let him before he had signed the famous capitulation of Alkmaar,[441] stipulating the surrender of eight thousand French and Dutch seamen then prisoners of war in England.

The Duke of York had now had enough in the shape of campaigns, and wisely condescended for a while to shroud his name in the obscurity naturally enveloping the commander-in-chief at the Horse-Guards.[a] Yet in that position he found himself placed over a department costing the nation £23,000,000 a year, and entrusting to him, under the King's sole control, the absolute power of promoting or cashiering any number of about 12,000 commissioned and staff officers.

His Royal Highness did not fail to engross a very large portion of public gratitude by his enlightened general orders regarding the cashiering the *queues* of all the privates and non-commissioned officers; the addition of a sponge to their appointments, for the purpose of keeping their heads clean, the dressing right and left, the quick and slow step; the locking up and the opening of ranks, the wheeling and facing, the tossing of the firelock, the hair-cutting and the black-legging, and the polishing of arms and accoutrements; the screwing up of John Bull's broad chest in tight jerkins, and the crowning his blockhead with an Austrian cap, and the covering his large back with a faceless coat—and all that sort of important affairs, making up the drill-serjeant's science. At the same time he exhibited the higher qualities of a strategist and a tactician in his domestic campaign against Colonel Cochrane Johnstone, the officer who had been commissioned by Pitt to cut short his victorious campaigns in Flanders. Johnstone, in the year 1801, Colonel of the 8th West India regiment (blacks) and Governor of the island of Dominica, was called home in consequence of a mutiny that had broken out in the regiment. He preferred charges against John Gordon, the major of his regiment, who was in immediate command of it at the time of the mutiny. This Major Gordon, as well as a Colonel Gordon, the Duke's secretary, belonged to that distinguished family that has stocked the world with great men—such as Gordon, the Ad-

[a] I.e., the headquarters of the British army.—*Ed.*

rianople treaty-monger,[442] the travelled Thane Aberdeen, and his no less illustrious son, Colonel Gordon, of Crimean memory. The Duke of York, then, had to wreak his vengeance, not only on a slanderer of the Gordons, but above all on the bearer of the delicate despatch. Notwithstanding Colonel Johnstone's importunities, John Gordon was not brought to a court-martial till the month of January 1804. Although the court pronounced his conduct to have been irregular, culpably negligent, and highly censurable, the Duke of York maintained him in full possession of his rank and pay, while he omitted from a promotion of brevet-major-generals in Oct. 1803, the name of Colonel Johnstone, who saw the names of officers, his juniors, preferred to him. On his complaints to the Duke, Johnstone, at the end of nine weeks, on Dec. 10, 1803, received the answer from his Royal Highness that he was not included in the general brevet-promotion because

"there existed charges against him, the merit of which had not been decided."[a]

He failed to obtain any further satisfaction until 28th of May, 1804, when he became informed that Major Gordon was his accuser. His trial was put off from one term to the other; the court-martial which was to try him being ordered now to Canterbury, now to Chelsea, and it only took place in March 1805. Johnstone being fully and honourably acquitted by the court, applied for restoration to his rank, but met with a refusal from his Royal Highness on May 16, 1805. On June 28th General Fitzpatrick, one of the Fox *coterie*,[443] announced in Parliament that in the interest of Johnstone, the injuries inflicted upon whom "had spread the greatest alarm throughout the whole army," he should propose a specific proceeding at the commencement of the next session of parliament.[b] The next session came, but having in the meantime been transformed into a war-minister, Fitzpatrick stated from the Treasury-bench that he should not bring forward the threatened motion. Some time afterwards this Secretary of war—a carpet-knight who had never seen an enemy, who had sold his company in the guards twenty years before, and never served a single day since—had a regiment given to him by the Duke of York; Fitzpatrick, the war-minister, having thus to audit the account of Fitzpatrick the Colonel. By dint of such stratagems

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[a] [W. Cobbett,] "Mr. Cochrane Johnstone" [I], *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*, Vol. X, No. 1, July 5, 1806.—*Ed.*

[b] Fitzpatrick's speech in the House of Commons, June 28, 1805. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* [First Series], Vol. V, London, 1812.—*Ed.*

the Duke of York succeeded in crushing Colonel Johnstone and thus asserted his strategical talents.

That notwithstanding a certain dullness, hereditary in the illustrious house of Brunswick, the Duke was a sharp fellow in his own way, is sufficiently shown by the fact that he figured as the chief of George III's "domestic cabinet," the closet and family-council, and as the head of the court-party, called the King's friends.[444] It is not less shown by the fact that, with an annual income of £61,000 he contrived to squeeze £54,000 as a loan out of the ministry, and in spite of this public credit not to pay his private debts. To perform such feats, a man must needs be of nimble spirits. As it is generally known how "upon place and greatness many eyes are stuck,"[a] it will be easily understood that the Grenville Administration was not ashamed to propose to his Royal Highness to relieve him from some subordinate duties of his office—which relief, as is complained in a pamphlet paid by the duke,[b] would have reduced the commander-in-chief to a mere cipher. Lansdowne, be it remarked, served in the same cabinet, under the name of Lord Henry Petty. That same administration threatened to clog the illustrious warrior with a military council, falsely pretending that "the nation" would be lost, unless the inexperience of the commander-in-chief was assisted by a body of officers. Thus far was the duke pressed by this unworthy cabal as to demand an inquiry into his conduct at the Horse Guards. Happily this intrigue of the Grenville party was defeated by the immediate interposition, or rather command, of George III who, although a notorious idiot, had wit enough to understand the genius of his son.

In the year 1808 the brave and patriotic sentiments of the royal captain induced him to solicit the command of the British armies in Spain and Portugal, but then the general dread of the masses to behold England bereft of such a home-commander, at so critical a moment, burst out in most noisy, indiscreet, and almost indecent demonstrations. He was warned to remember his former ill-fortune abroad, to keep him in reserve for the enemy at home, and to beware of public execration. Nothing daunted, the magnanimous duke had a pamphlet published, to prove his hereditary claim to be beaten in Portugal and Spain, as he had

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[a] Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, Act IV, Scene 2 (paraphrased).—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to the anonymous pamphlet, *A Plain Statement of the Conduct of the Ministry and the Opposition, towards His Royal Highness the Duke of York*, London, 1808.—*Ed.*

been in Flanders and Holland. But, alas! the *Morning Chronicle* of that period states that,

"in the present instance it is notorious that ministers and people, ins and outs, are fully agreed in opinion."

Yea, the talked-of appointment of the duke seemed to threaten England with a regular row. Thus, one may read in a London weekly paper of that time:—

"Not to the inns, the coffee-houses, the marts, the malls, and the settled gossiping-shops, has the conversation upon the subject been confined. It has entered into all private circles; it has been a standing dish at the dinner and tea-table; men stop each other to talk about the Duke of York's going to Spain; the eager Londoner stops even on his way to Change, to ask whether it be really true that the Duke of York is going to Spain; nay, in the very church porches of the country, among the smock-frocked politicians, whose conversation as to the public matters seldom went beyond the assessed taxes, you see half a score faces thrust almost to the point of contact, in order to know for 'zarten if the Duke of York be a gooen to be zent to Spain.'"[a]

It is evident, then, in spite of the numerous efforts of his envious deprecators, that it was impossible to keep the past deeds of the Duke hidden from the world. What a satisfaction for one single man, this unanimous anxiety of a whole people to keep him at home. The Duke, of course, could not but give his gallant mind the extreme pain of chilling his martial ardour, and quietly staying at the Horse Guards.

Before passing to the brightest period of this monumental life, we must stop a moment and show that as early as 1806, the Duke was fully and publicly appraised by his father's loyal subjects. In his *Political Register* of that year, Cobbett says:

"He rendered himself famous for nothing but running away, and bringing infamy upon the arms of England [...]; [...] at once half an idiot, and yet master of the utmost degree of low cunning; [...] equally conspicuous for feminine weakness and fiendlike cruelty, for pride and for abjection, for prodigality and rapaciousness. [...] While he had the command of the soldiers, he made a vile job of his trust, and, through the means thereof, shamefully robbed the people whom he was amply paid to defend. [...] Having previously bribed or intimidated every one, from whom he might apprehend exposure, he gave way to his numerous and conflicting vices, and rendered himself the object of universal, though whispering, execration."[b]

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[a] [W. Cobbett,] "Duke of York", *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*, Vol. XIV, No. 8, August 20, 1808.—*Ed.*

[b] [W. Cobbett,] "Mr. Cochrane Johnstone" [II], *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*, Vol. X, No. 8, August 23, 1806.—*Ed.*

On the 27th January, 1809, Colonel Wardle rose in the House of Commons, to make a motion "for the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the conduct of the Commander-in-chief, with regard to promotions and exchanges in the army."[a] In a speech lacking all sense of delicacy, detailing all the cases he had to bring forward in support of his motion, and giving the names of all the witnesses he was to call upon for substantiating his cases, he accused the pet hero of the present House of Lords that his concubine, a certain Mrs. Clarke, possessed the power of military promotion, that the military exchanges also were at her disposal, that her influence extended to appointments in the staff of the army, that she was endowed with the privilege of augmenting the military force of the country, that she received pecuniary consideration from all these sources, that the Commander-in-chief was not only a secret party to all her transactions, did not only save his own purse by her supplies, but had even endeavoured to derive himself, through her means, pecuniary accommodations, independently of Mrs. Clarke's advantages. In one word, he contended that the royal captain not only kept his mistress at the expense of the British army, but allowed himself to be kept by her in return. Upon this motion the house resolved[b] to have an examination of the witnesses at the bar. The examination having lasted to the 22nd Feb., confirmed point for point the ungracious slander of Colonel Wardle. It was proved that the real office of the Horse Guards did not exist at Whitehall[c] but at Mrs. Clarke's establishment in Gloucester Street, consisting of a splendid house, with a variety of carriages, and a long retinue of footmen, musicians, singers, players, dancers, parasites, pimps, and bawds. This Horse Guard of his own, the Royal captain had mounted in 1803. Although such a house could not be maintained for £20,000 a year—and there was besides a country establishment at Wybridge—it was proved from the witnesses' evidence that Mrs. Clarke never got from the duke's own pocket, more than £12,000 a year, a sum scarcely sufficient to pay wages and purchase liveries. The rest was procured from the wholesale traffic in petticoat commissions. There was produced before the House a

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[a] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* [First Series], Vol. XII, London, 1812. This volume also contains material of the House of Commons inquiry proposed by Wardle and held in February 1809. Excerpts from it are quoted below in this article.—*Ed.*

[b] On January 31, 1809.—*Ed.*

[c] The seat of a number of government offices in London, including the army headquarters, the Admiralty and various ministries.—*Ed.*

written scale of Mrs. Clarke's prices. The regular price for a majority being £2,600, Mrs. Clarke sold it at 900; a company for £700, instead of the regulation price of £1,500, etc. Nay there existed actually in the city, a public office for the sale of Commissions at the same reduced prices, and the managing agents of that office stated to be the commissioners of the favourite mistress. Whenever she complained of pecuniary embarrassments, the duke told her "she had greater interest than the queen, and she ought to use it." In one case the zealous commander-in-chief punished an individual by reducing him to half-pay for non-performance of a nefarious contract with his mistress; in another he reserved to himself a bonus of £5,000; in another case, he appointed on her interference boys actually at school to lieutenancies, and surgeons who were never called upon to leave their shops to join their companies. One Colonel French obtained from Mrs. Clarke a letter of service, *i.e.* an authority for raising 5,000 men for the army. On this occasion the following dialogue between the Duke and his mistress was stated before the house to have taken place.

> *The Duke.*—I am continually worried by Mr. French about this levy. He is always wanting something more to be done in his favour. [...] How does he behave to you darling?
>
> *Mrs. Clarke.*—Middling, not very well.
>
> *The Duke.*—Master French must mind what he is about, else I will soon cut up him and his levy too.

There were also produced some love letters of the illustrious duke mixed up with mercantile-military transactions. One of them dated Aug. 4, 1803 commences thus.

> "How can I sufficiently express to my sweetest, my darling love, the delight which her dear, her pretty letter gave me, or how much I feel all the kind things she says to me in it; millions and millions of thanks for it my angel."

After this sample of the Duke's style it is not to be wondered at that the learned gentlemen of St. John's College, Oxford, presented his Royal Highness with the diploma of an L.L.D. Not content with military commission, the lovers also hit upon trafficking in bishoprics and deaneries.

Other points turned up not less honourable to the illustrious scion of the House of Brunswick; for instance that an officer, named Dowler, had for years been Mrs. Clarke's paramour, and that in his company she sought for a compensation for the grudgery, the disgust, and loathing experienced in the duke's society.

The Duke's friends scolding his angel "an infamous woman, an impudent baggage,"[a] pleaded for their tender juvenile of about 50, for the husband of twenty years' standing, the paramount power of passion. Which passion, by the by, did not prevent the duke, 7 months after his separation from Mrs. Clarke, withholding from her the annuity convened between them, and on her demands becoming urgent, threatening her with the pillory and the bastile. This very threat became the next cause of Mrs. Clarke's disclosures to Colonel Wardle.

It would be tedious to wade through the whole proceedings of the Commons, with all its sordid incidents, or to expostulate on the gallant duke's begging letter dated 23rd February (1809) in which he solemnly declared, to the House of Commons "on the honour of a prince," that he knew of nothing, even of what was proved by letters in his own handwriting. It may suffice to say that General Ferguson declared in the House "that it was not for the honour of the army that the duke should remain in command;" that the Chancellor of Exchequer, Mr. Perceval, announced on March 20th, the Duke's resignation of his office, and that upon this announcement the House accepted Lord Althorp's motion that "his Royal Highness the Duke of York, having resigned the command of the army, the House did not now think it necessary to proceed any further," etc. Lord Althorp grounded his motion on his wish

> "to place the duke's resignation on the journal of the House, in order to record that the Duke had forfeited the confidence of the country for ever, and in consequence he must abandon all hopes of ever returning again to that situation."

As a tribute for his bold proceedings against the duke, Colonel Wardle was deluged with thanks—addresses transmitted from every county, city, town and borough of Great Britain.

One of the first acts of the Regency of the Prince of Wales—afterwards George the Fourth—in 1811, was York's restoration to his position as commander-in-chief—an initiatory step quite in keeping with the whole reign of that royal Caliban[b] who, because the last of mankind, was called the first gentleman of Europe.

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[a] From Beresford's speech in the House of Commons on February 3, 1809. Excerpts from it and also from the speeches of Ferguson on March 17, 1809 and Perceval and Althorp on March 20, 1809 are quoted according to *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* [First Series], Vols. XII and XIII, London, 1812.—*Ed.*

[b] A character in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*.—*Ed.*

This Duke of York, then, whose monument would grace a dung-hill, is the Marquis of Clanricarde's "eminent commander-in-chief," Lord Lansdowne's "illustrious and all-respected individual;" and the very same personage represented by the Earl of Aberdeen's "sanctified monument"—in one word the guardian angel of the House of Lords. The worshippers are worthy of the saint.

Written about April 25, 1856 Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The People's Paper*, No. 208, April 26, 1856

# The Free Press.

## Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR[a] OF *THE FREE PRESS*

Sir,—I have the honour to enclose a copy of a paper[b] which you may perhaps think proper to communicate to your readers.

Your obedient Servant,

*Dr. Karl Marx*

London, 26th April,
28, Dean street, Soho

Written on April 26, 1856

Reproduced from *The Free Press*

First published in *The Free Press* and *The Sheffield Free Press*, May 3, 1856

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[a] G. Crawshay.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 673-80.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## KARS PAPERS CURIOSITIES[445]

1. *Falsification.*—In a telegraphic despatch dated Constantinople, July 12, 1855, Lord Redcliffe summons the Foreign Office, "in order to save much valuable time," to send "by telegraph" its decision as to the Mingrelian expedition which the Porte had proposed to undertake with the Anglo-Turkish contingent, under General Vivian's command. In No. 249 of the Blue Book,[a] we find Lord Clarendon's answer, a despatch dated "London, July 14, 1855," bearing on its frontispiece the sacramental word "telegraphic," rejecting the Porte's proposal, and inviting the Turkish army to fall back from Kars and Erzeroum on Trebizond. Lord Redcliffe's telegraphic question being dated Constantinople, July 12th, and Lord Clarendon's telegraphic answer, London, July 14th, it appears that to run between Constantinople and London a telegraphic message wants at the most, two days. Accordingly, Lord Clarendon's telegraphic despatch, dated London, July 14th, should have reached Constantinople on July 16. However, in a despatch dated July 19th, Lord Redcliffe complains of the silence of his Government which he had entreated "to lose no time in making known his pleasure." From Lord Redcliffe's later despatch dated July 23rd, it results that he had received no answer even then. In fact, the receipt of any answer from the Foreign Office, is not acknowledged before July 30th. (See No. 277.) One is thus reduced to the dilemma either that the way from London to Constantinople is about seven times longer than the way from Constantinople to London, or that

[a] *Papers Relative to Military Affairs in Asiatic Turkey, and the Defence and Capitulation of Kars,* London, 1856.—*Ed.*

the London date of Lord Clarendon's despatch, as given in the Blue Book, is *false.* The delay in Lord Clarendon's answer caused time of precious value to be wasted. The falsification of the Blue Book date of that answer would denote, that delay was intended. To conceal that intention, a spurious date had to be prefixed to the despatch, instead of the true one.

2. *Suppression.*—I do not allude to the numerous mutilations pointed at in the Blue Book under the convenient term of "Extract"; nor to the total suppression of the whole correspondence between General Beatson and the British Government, but rather to a telegraphic despatch sent from Sebastopol, on July 14, 1855, and received in London on July 16, 1855. On July 14th, in a conference held at the English head-quarters with the Allied Commanders-in-Chief and the Admirals, Omer Pasha proposed to make an incursion from Redout Kaleh, *via* Kutais, into Georgia, at the head of that part of the Turkish army then

> "at Balaklava or at Kertch—25,000 infantry, 3000 cavalry from Eupatoria, and a proportional artillery."

The allied commanders, refusing to give any opinion on the subject—(see [Lieut.-]Colonel Simmons' despatch to Clarendon, dated July 15)—Omer Pasha broke up the conference by declaring that "under these circumstances, he felt it his duty to proceed to Constantinople;" and so he did. *On the very same day* when Omer Pasha left the Crimea—on July 16th—Lord Clarendon, according to the Blue Book, wrote a despatch to Lord Redcliffe, stating that

> "we" (the Government) "understand that Omer Pasha *is about to proceed to Constantinople.*"

This intelligence Lord Clarendon could only have derived from a telegraphic despatch dated Balaklava, July 14. Where is this despatch? Certainly, not in the Blue Book. The same electric wire which informed Lord Clarendon of Omer Pasha's intended departure, must have informed him of the cause of that departure, viz., the resistance he met with on the part of Pélissier, *i.e.*, on the part of the French Government. Thus the question would naturally arise why Lord Clarendon quietly waited from July 16th to August 1st, a fact shown by the Blue Book, to break the matter to the French Government, and to commence negotiations with it, on a point on which the whole campaign depended. To prevent this question, the telegraphic despatch has disappeared.

3. *Fraud.*—In Lord Clarendon's above-mentioned despatch to Lord Redcliffe, dated July 16th, the following passage occurs:

"Her Majesty's[a] Government would still recommend that whatever force is sent for the relief of the army of Kars, should proceed to Trebizond. If, indeed, *Omer Pasha* [...] should determine to take *any part of his own army*, with Tunisians and Albanians, to Redout Kaleh, her Majesty's Government would have *nothing to say to that proceeding.*"

Now, Omer Pasha having just determined to take a certain part of his own army to Redout Kaleh, the unconditional sanction given to such a plan, in Lord Clarendon's despatch, must have removed all difficulties; or, if new ones arose, at all events prove them to have not originated with the British Government. Unfortunately, this despatch, dated London, July 16th, figures only in the Blue Book, was written only for the Blue Book, and has never left the shelves of the Foreign Office. No trace of its ever having reached Constantinople is to be discovered. On the contrary, it results from Lord Redcliffe's despatch, dated Constantinople, July 30th, that he had not received it on that date, when he complained of "the most serious dilemma" in which "the unfavourable judgment passed by her Majesty's Government" on the Turkish plans had placed the Porte. Nor had Lord Clarendon's despatch, dated July 16th, arrived on July 31st, when Fuad Effendi, in a letter to Lord Redcliffe, defended the plan of a Mingrelian expedition against "the substance of the English despatches," according to which "the succours *must* be sent through Erzeroum by way of Trebizond." Nor had it arrived on August 4th, when Lord Redcliffe, in answer to Fuad Effendi, told him that

"when latterly called upon to declare the opinions of his Government, he performed that duty with the painful sense of the embarrassments which surrounded the Porte,"

increased as they would be by the opinion "he was called upon to declare;" and added,

"though her Majesty's Government have declared their decided preference for a more distinct operation by Trebizond and Erzeroum, their objections to a diversion on the side of Circassia, would in all likelihood be modified, if the force employed were of a compact or reliable character."

Lord Redcliffe was, then, on Aug. 4th, not possessed of Lord Clarendon's despatch dated July 16th, in which her Majesty's Government *had* already *modified* its objections to a diversion on the side of Circassia, "*if*" Omer Pasha himself should undertake it

[a] Queen Victoria's.—*Ed.*

with "any part of his own army." On August 8th, Lord Redcliffe was *not yet* blessed with the mysterious despatch, as we find him again complaining to Lord Clarendon—(see No. 282 and enclosures)—that the British Government "still *leans* with all its weight to Trebizond, as the *only* true channel of relief;" and bewailing his own ambiguous position.

"Amidst so many motives," says he, "to vigorous support of *the only practicable scheme of relief,* I made no reserve in communicating the *adverse* opinions of her Majesty's Government to the Porte."

Yea, still, on *August 13th,* Lord Redcliffe did not even suspect the existence of the London despatch, dated July 16th, as he informs Lord Clarendon that "the disappointment occasioned by the terms of *the preceding despatch*"—according to the Blue Book, the despatch dated July 16th, should have been *the preceding* despatch—"which appeared to favour *exclusively* an advance upon Kars by Trebizond, was evident." Now, however Blue Book time and space may be allowed to differ from common time and space, nobody will venture to believe that the despatch leaving London on July 16th, should not have reached Constantinople on August 13th. But that Lord Clarendon's despatch, dated London, July 16th, has actually *never left London,* and was *never* intended to do so, results from a despatch of his own, dated London, 20th August. In this despatch (No. 283), purporting to answer Lord Redcliffe's complaints, dated August 8th, Lord Clarendon endeavours to show that her Majesty's Government, in *different* previous despatches had renounced its resistance to the Porte's proposal, and

"were willing that Omer Pasha should proceed to Asia to effect a diversion for the relief of Kars."

But, strange to say, while the various messages which the noble lord refers to, in proof of his assertion, have left no trace whatever in the Kars papers, his despatch, dated July 16th, so ostentatiously paraded in the Blue Book, is most discreetly ignored in his justification to Lord Redcliffe. Thus, while baffling every Turkish attempt for the relief of Kars, the British Foreign Office was carefully preparing its *pièces justificatives* for the fall of Kars.

4. *Forgery and Shuffle.*—According to Lord Redcliffe's despatch, addressed to the Foreign Office, and dated Constantinople, July 23rd,

"Omer Pasha [...] had proposed [...] to the Porte to make himself an incursion towards Georgia, starting from Redout Kaleh, and turning Kutais to good account."

This idea had been debated on the night of July 22nd, in a council at the Grand Vizier's[a] [...], and the result of the deliberation had been,

"that the troops to be employed in the above-mentioned manner, under the command of Omer, should be taken from *Eupatoria*, to the amount of 20,000, and from Bulgaria to the amount of 5500, and that the (Anglo-Turkish) contingent, with its numbers completed, should occupy the vacant place at Eupatoria."

Lord Clarendon having received this despatch on August lst, instantly forwarded it to Lord Cowley. Pointing at the just quoted "passage," he states "Her Majesty's Government to be favourably disposed to it," and expresses "his hope that the Government of the Emperor will concur in it." Here, at last, one is forced to acknowledge *bonne foi*[b] zeal and expedition on the part of Lord Palmerston's Cabinet. But, alas! while exhibiting itself as the patron of Omer Pasha's project before the French Government, by a mere shuffling of words, it substituted for the Porte's own proposal one directly hostile to it. This *tour de passe-passe*[c] was played off by the simple substitution in Lord Redcliffe's despatch, dated July 23rd, of the word *Eupatoria*, in the place of the word *Balaklava*.

From the despatch of [Lieut.-]Colonel Simmons, dated July 15th, it will be seen that Omer Pasha, in his *memoranda* to the allied generals, and in the war council at the English head-quarters, insisted upon taking with him that part of the Turkish infantry which was then stationed at Balaklava, which he had brought from Eupatoria, and which he declared the only fit one for the Asiatic campaign. Did Omer Pasha, after his arrival at Constantinople, alter his opinion? The contrary is shown by a despatch, dated Constantinople, August 2nd, in which [Lieut.-] Colonel Simmons states:

"His Highness, Omer Pasha, informed me that he should be happy to give over, to complete the contingent, *any* of the Turkish troops under his command, *except* the division which is now at the camp before Sebastopol, which being composed of his best troops, he is naturally desirous to have with him if he make the proposed movement to Asia."

Will it be asserted that the Porte, at the council of the night of July 22nd, arrived at a resolution contrary to Omer Pasha's proposal? In the very despatch of July 23rd, in which Lord

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[a] Ali Mehemet Pasha.—*Ed.*
[b] Honest.—*Ed.*
[c] Trick.—*Ed.*

Redcliffe reports the Porte's resolution, he tells Lord Clarendon that

"Omer Pasha has been most graciously received and most generously rewarded by the Sultan[a];" and adds: "I need not add that he is on excellent terms with His Majesty's ministers, and particularly with the Seraskier Pasha."

Any discrepancy, therefore, between the Porte and its commander-in-chief is out of the question. The false play of Lord Palmerston's cabinet is apparent even from the arrangement of the Blue Book. To confound the reader, Lord Clarendon's despatch to Lord Cowley, dated August lst, figures on page 248, followed up, from 248 to 252, by an extract from Lord Redcliffe's despatch of July 19th, General Simpson's letter to Lord Redcliffe of July 16th, Omer Pasha's letters and memoranda, and only in the last place by Lord Redcliffe's despatch of July 23rd, of which the instruction to Lord Cowley pretends to be the sequel. On August 4th, Lord Clarendon received the acceptance by the French Government of the proposal he had made on August lst, in the name of the Porte, according to which 20,000 men were to be withdrawn from Eupatoria, to be placed under the command of Omer Pasha, and to be replaced at Eupatoria by General Vivian's contingent. On August 13th the Porte is at last informed of the acceptance of its own proposal by its Western Allies. Accordingly, on August 15th the Ottoman council is assembled for deliberation, and what was the result of that deliberation?

"Omer Pasha," writes Lord Redcliffe to Lord Clarendon, dated August 16th (No. 294), "*objects most positively to the plan transmitted from London by telegraph*, of stationing the contingent at *Eupatoria*, and *he is not prepared to assume the responsibility of commanding the expedition*, unless the Turkish troops before Sebastopol be allowed to form part of it."

Thus, then, it oozes out that the Eupatoria plan, pretended to have been forwarded on July 23rd from Constantinople to London, has, on the contrary, been transmitted on August 9th from London to Constantinople.

In the same despatch of Lord Redcliffe is enclosed a memorandum of Omer Pasha. The destruction of the last effective Turkish army, the loss of the unity of the English as well as the Ottoman army, the wilful sacrifice of the Egyptians and Tunisians, the breaking up of the permanent arrangements made for the supply of the Turkish troops at Eupatoria, the creation of unavoidable delay, the ruin of his own military reputation, and the exposure of

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[a] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*

his Mingrelian army to the fate of the garrison of Kars—such were, according to Omer Pasha, the natural consequences of "the plan trasmitted from London." While communicating to Lord Clarendon this strange protest, Lord Redcliffe evinces not the slightest suspicion of having ever been himself the channel through which the Porte had transmitted that identical plan to Lord Clarendon; a sufficient proof this that the forgery, the interpolation of Eupatoria for Balaklava, was committed at London and not at Constantinople. During the whole month of August and part of September, we behold the Porte struggling against the *spurious* proposition Lord Clarendon had pressed in its own name on the French Government.

5. *Falsehoods.*—Under this head we can, of course, only give a few examples, as the whole Blue Book is sprinkled with them. In answer to Lord Redcliffe's despatch, dated August 8th, Lord Clarendon addressed him a despatch, dated August 20th (No. 283); in which he declares

> "*my various messages by telegraph,* and my despatch of the 4th inst. ... will have shown you that her Majesty's Government ... were willing that Omer Pasha should proceed to Asia," &c.

With the exception of his despatch of July 14th, in which Lord Clarendon protested against the Mingrelian expedition, and summoned the Turks to fall back from Kars and Erzeroum on Trebizond, and of his despatch dated August 9th, which Lord Redcliffe could, of course, not have received on August 8th, Lord Clarendon had, according to the Blue Book, sent no telegraphic despatch at all to Constantinople. He would be sure not to put his own light under a bushel. His *various* messages by telegraph, withdrawing the *veto* of the British Government against the Mingrelian expedition, are only so many lying phantoms.

In a despatch dated August 26th, [Lieut.-]Colonel Simmons informs Lord Clarendon that Omer Pasha reckoned upon taking a portion of the Turkish troops from before Sebastopol, and replacing them by General Vivian's contingent. In his answer to [Lieut.-] Col. Simmons, dated September 7th (No. 302), Lord Clarendon writes:—

> "It appears by a despatch, of a *later date,* from General Simpson, that Omer Pasha had given it as *his opinion* that Gen. Vivian's contingent would not be fit to take a position before Sebastopol, until next spring; and, *in consequence of that opinion,* and by reason of Gen. Simpson's protest against having the contingent sent to him, *which protest was founded upon Omer Pasha's opinion,* her Majesty's Government have determined that the contingent shall not go to join the army before Sebastopol."

Now, from a despatch of [Lieut.-]Col. Simmons, dated September 23rd (No. 307), it may be seen that Omer Pasha's opinion "*of a later date,*" refers to an opinion given by him

"in a letter to Gen. Simpson, early in the month of July, [...] before he was aware of the critical position of the army in Asia;" and that he had not declared Gen. Vivian's contingent to be unfit "to take up a position before Sebastopol," but only "to make use of it *in the open field* (*en rase campagne*) *in front of the enemy.*"

In excavating at the beginning of September an opinion tendered by Omer Pasha at the beginning of July, in perverting the substance of that opinion, and in founding on this perversion, and that anachronism a protest against Omer Pasha's project, Gen. Simpson, the lucky warrior, would, of course, only have acted up to secret instructions received from London. Supposing Gen. Simpson's despatch to have been exactly, such as it is represented by Lord Clarendon—a fact that becomes rather doubtful from the *suppression* of that despatch in the Blue Book—the noble lord could not have one moment hesitated as to the true date or substance of Omer Pasha's "*opinion.*" He was fully informed of it on July 30, the day when he received [Lieut.-]Col. Simmons's despatch, dated Balaklava, July 15. His quibble then, about Omer Pasha's "inconsistency;" his making Omer Pasha's "own opinion" the reason for rejecting his proposal, were ludicrously false pretences. In point of fact, Lord Palmerston and his subordinates carried to the last their system of bullying the Porte for its want of activity, and baffling all its attempts at action. From the very beginning, we behold them devising—not means for the relief of Kars, but objections to the means devised by the Porte, carefully preparing subjects of dispute, anxiously bent on embroiling matters, huddling imbroglio upon imbroglio in this tragic comedy of errors—all their proceedings tending to one and the same end—to kill time, and thus to ensure the fall of Kars.

Written about April 26, 1856

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First published in *The Free Press* and *The Sheffield Free Press*, May 3, 1856

Signed: *Karl Marx*

# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

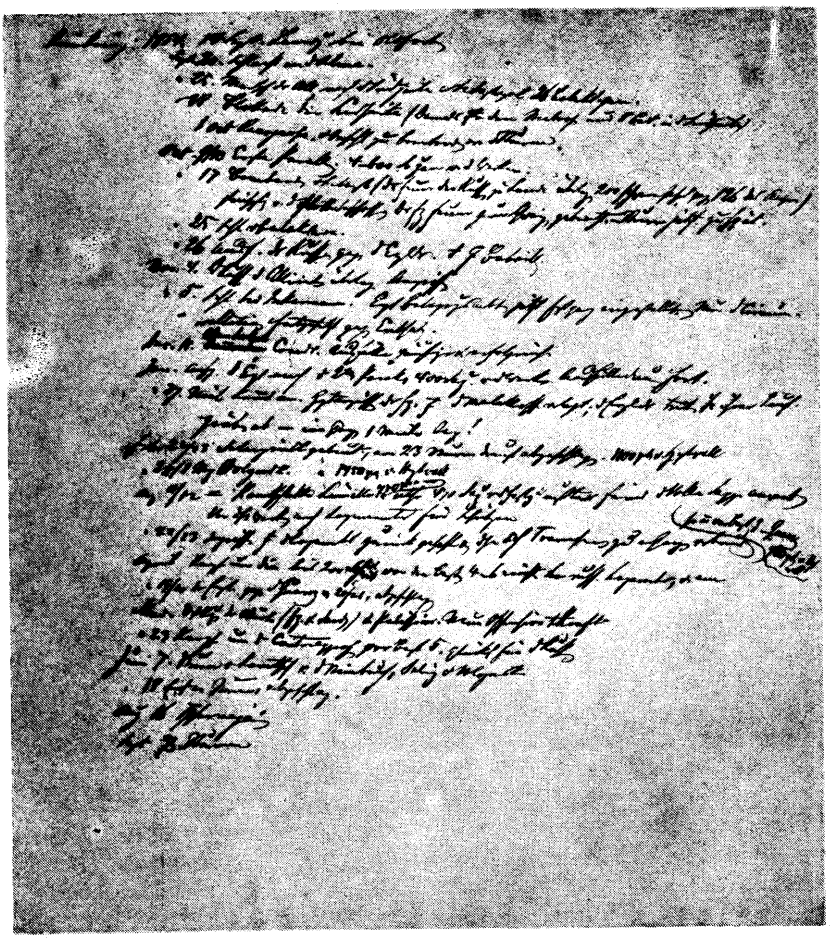

Engels' summary "Crimean War"

# Frederick Engels

## CRIMEAN WAR[446]

### 1854

| | |
|---|---|
| September 14. | Landing at Old Fort [near Eupatoria]. |
| " 20. | Battle of the Alma. |
| " 25. | Allies march on Sevastopol (south side). |
| " 26. | Balaklava taken. |
| " 28. | South side blockaded. (Apart from bluejackets only 8 battalions on the south side at that time.) |
| October 1. | Reconnaissance; decision taken to bombard prior to the assault. |
| " 9-10. | First parallel 4-600 *sagenes* in front of the fortifications. |
| " 17. | Bombardment of Sevastopol (the shelling of the Russians on land is superior, 200 heavy guns against the attackers' 126), simultaneously bombarded by the fleet. French guns silenced.—Now too late for assault. |
| " 25. | Battle of Balaklava. |
| " 26. | Russian sortie against British with 9 battalions. |
| November 4. | Russians superior in strength to Allies. Attack. |
| " 5. | Battle of Inkerman. Construction of British siege-works now virtually at a standstill. The circumvallation against a relieving force alone going ahead. |
| December 11. | Osten-Sacken in command. Successful and more frequent sorties. |

[1855]

| | |
|---|---|
| January. Beginning | British construct 2nd parallel 400 *sagenes* in front of the works. Sorties continue. |
| " 27. | Niel arrives. Main French attack switched to the Malakhov; British abandon half their approach trenches—one mile in all! |
| February 22-23. | Selenghinsk constructed; assault on it on the 23rd beaten off. 1,100 yards from main rampart. |
| 28 [Feb.]-1 March | Volhynsk constructed, 1,450 yards from main rampart. |
| March 11-12. | Kamchatka lunette 770 yards, i.e. 470 *sagenes* in front of the fortress the enemy had to use the zigzag sap. Further entrenchments for riflemen in front of this work. |
| " 22-23. | Attacks on the entrenchments repulsed; these linked by trenches to form a whole; similarly before Bastion 3—Quarry[a] 430 yards from the main rampart. |
| April | Assault on the entrenchments established by the Russians up to 200 paces before Bastions 4-6, and |
| " 19-20. | [attack] by the British on the Quarry; |
| " 20-21. | [both] repulsed. |
| May | Reinforcement for the Allies (French and Sardinians) and Pélissier. New offensive in strength. |
| " 23. | Battle for the counterapproaches in front of Bastion 5; fortune favoured Russians. |
| June 7. | Assault before Kamchatka and the Quarry, Selenghinsk and Volhynsk. |
| " 18. | First assault, repulsed. |
| August 16. | Chernaya. |
| September 8. | Assault. |

Written after September 8, 1855

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Published in English for the first time

[a] Here and below the English word is used. Towards the end Engels uses the German equivalent: "Steinbruch".—*Ed.*

# APPENDICES

# AUSTRIA'S WEAKNESS[447]

The great points of weakness in Austria are usually supposed to be her bankrupt treasury and the revolutionary elements of Italy and Hungary. It is true that in a war with France and England those elements might be employed with great effect against her; but in a war with Russia her vulnerable point lies in another quarter. Though this point was always plain to be seen, and, indeed, has been indicated by Austrian statesmen themselves, we had, during the life of the Emperor Nicholas, no menace to show that he had firmly resolved, in any contingency, to take advantage of it. His successor,[a] however, appears to be less scrupulous, or at any rate less reserved. He has clearly announced to Austria that in the event of her finally joining the Allies he shall put himself officially at the head of the great Slavonic brotherhood, and call to his aid all the slumbering sympathies of race or religion which naturally impel the Slavonians of Austria and Turkey to Russia, as well as all the deep-seated animosities they cherish against the nations and governments that now hold them in more or less complete subjugation.

Panslavism as a political theory has had its most lucid and philosophic expression in the writings of Count Gurowski. But that learned and distinguished publicist, while regarding Russia as the natural pivot around which the destinies of this numerous and vigorous branch of the human family can alone find a large historical development, did not conceive of Panslavism as a league against Europe and European civilization. In his view the legitimate outlet for the expansive force of Slavonic energies was Asia. As compared with the stagnant desolation of that old continent, Russia is a civilizing power, and her contact could not be

[a] Alexander II.—*Ed.*

other than beneficial. This manly and imposing generalization has, however, not been accepted by all the inferior minds which have adopted its fundamental idea. Panslavism has assumed a variety of aspects; and now, at last, we find it employed in a new form, and with great apparent effect, as a warlike threat. As such, its use certainly does credit to the boldness and decision of the new Czar. And how just the fear with which the threat has inspired Austria, we now propose to show.

Of the seventy millions of Slavonians living east of the Bohemian forest and the Karnic Alps, about fifteen millions are subject to the Austrian Emperor, comprising representatives of almost every variety of Slavonic speech. The Bohemian, or Tshekh branch (six millions), falls exclusively in the Austrian dominions; the Polish branch is represented by about three millions of Galicians; the Russian by three millions of Malo-Russians (Red Russians, Ruthenes[448]) in Galicia and the north-east of Hungary—the only Russian tribe out of the pale of the Russian Empire; the South Slavonic branch by about three millions of Slovenes (Carinthians and Croats)[449] and Serbians, including some stray Bulgarians. These Austrian Slavonians are of two different kinds. One part of them consists of the remnants of tribes whose history belongs to the past, and whose present historical development is attached to that of nations of different race and speech; and to complete their unfortunate position, these hapless relics of former greatness have not even a national organization within Austria, but are divided among different provinces. Thus the Slovenes, although scarcely 1,500,000 in number, are spread over the different provinces of Krain, Carinthia, Styria, Croatia, and South-western Hungary. The Bohemians (Tshekhs), though the most numerous tribe of Austrian Slavonians, reside partly in Bohemia, partly in Moravia, and partly (the Slovak branch) in North-western Hungary. These tribes, therefore, though living exclusively on Austrian soil, are far from being recognized as constituting separate nations. They are considered as appendages, either to the German or the Hungarian nation, and in reality they are nothing else.

The second portion of Austrian Slavonians is composed of fragments of different tribes, which, in the course of history, have become separated from the great body of their nation, and which, therefore, have their center of gravity out of Austria. Thus the Poles have their natural center of gravity in Russian-Poland; the Ruthenes in the other Malo-Russian provinces united with Russia; the Serbians in the Serbian principality. That these fragments,

torn from their respective nationalities, will continue to gravitate, each toward its natural center, is a matter of course, and becomes more and more evident as civilization, and with it the want of historical, national activity, is spread among them. In either case, the Austrian Slavonians are *disjecta membra*,[a] seeking their reunion either among each other, or with the main body of their separate nationalities.

This is the cause which formerly rendered Panslavism so active in Austria. In order to secure the restoration of each Slavonian nationality, the different tribes of Slavonians in Austria long since began to work for a union of all the Slavonic tribes. The first appearance of Austrian Panslavism was merely literary. Dobrowsky, a Bohemian, the founder of the scientific philology of the Slavonic dialects, and Kollár, a Slovak poet from the Hungarian Carpathians, were its originators. With Dobrowsky it was the enthusiasm of a scientific discoverer; with Kollár, political ideas soon became predominant; but still he ventured to complain only; the greatness of the past, the disgrace, the misfortune and foreign oppression of the present, were the themes of his poetry. The dream of the Panslavic Empire dictating laws to Europe was at that time hardly hinted at.

But the lamenting period soon passed away, and historical research upon the political, literary and linguistic development of the Slavonic race, made great progress. Šafařík, Kopitar and Miklosich as linguists, Palacký as a historian, took the lead, followed by a host of lesser men like Hanka and Gaj. The glorious epochs of Bohemian and Serbian history were glowingly depicted in their contrast to the present degraded and broken state of those nations. While in Germany philosophy formed the pretext under the protection of which the most revolutionary doctrines in politics or theology were propounded, in Austria, and under the very nose of Metternich, historical and philological science was used by the Panslavists as a cloak to teach the doctrine of Slavonic unity, and to create a political party with the unmistakable aim of upsetting Austria, and instituting a vast Slavonian empire in its place.

Austrian Panslavism was destitute of the most essential elements of success. It wanted both force and unity; force, because the Panslavic party consisted of a portion of the educated classes only, had no hold upon the masses, and withal no strength capable of

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[a] Scattered limbs, dismembered parts—paraphrase of Horace's expression "disjecti membra poetae".—*Ed.*

resisting both the Austrian Government and the German and Hungarian nationalities against which it entered the list; unity, because its uniting principle was a mere ideal one, which, at the very first attempt at realization, was broken up by the fact of diversity of language. Of this diversity, a ludicrous illustration was afforded by the famous Slavonian Congress at Prague, in 1848.[450] There, after various attempts to make out a Slavonic language that should be intelligible to all the members, they were obliged to resort to the tongue most hated by them all—the German.

In fact, so long as the movement was limited to Austria it offered no great danger, but that very center of unity and strength which it wanted, was very soon found for it. The national uprising of the Turkish Serbians, in the beginning of this century,[451] had called the attention of the Russian Government to the fact that there were some seven millions of Slavonians in Turkey, whose speech, of all other Slavonic dialects, most resembled the Russian. Their religion too, and their ecclesiastic language—old Slavonic or Church-Slavonic—were exactly the same as in Russia. It was among these Serbians and Bulgarians that the Czar for the first time began an agitation supported by appeals to his position as the protector of the Eastern Church. It was therefore only natural that as soon as this Panslavist movement in Austria had gained consistency, Russia should extend thither the ramifications of her agencies. Where Roman Catholic Slavonians were met with the religious side of the question was dropped; Russia was merely held up as the proper head of the Slavonic race, and the strong and united people which was to realize the great Slavonic Empire from the Elbe to China, and from the Adriatic to the frozen ocean.

Metternich, in the latter years of his power, very well appreciated the danger and saw through the Russian intrigues. He opposed the movement with all the means in his power. But the only proper means—general freedom of expansion—did not belong to his system of policy. Accordingly, on Metternich's downfall in 1848, the Slavonic movement broke out stronger than ever, and embraced a large proportion of the population. But here its reactionary character at once came to light. While the German, Hungarian and Italian movements were decidedly progressive and revolutionary, the Slavonic party turned to the conservative side. It was the Slavonians that saved Austria from destruction, and enabled Radetzky to advance on the Mincio, and Windischgrätz to conquer Vienna. And to complete the drama, in

1849 the Russian army had to descend into Hungary and settle the war for Austria there.

While thus driven by her own want of vitality to depend on Slavonic aid for her very existence, Austria seized the first moment of security to react against the Slavonians in her own territory. For this purpose she had to adopt a policy at least partially progressive. The special privileges of the Provinces were broken down; a centralized empire took the place of a federal one; and instead of all the different nationalities a fictitious Austrian nationality was created. Though these changes were in some degree against the German, Italian and Hungarian nationalities, they yet fell with far greater weight on the less compact Slavonian tribes, and more especially gave the German element a considerable preponderance.

But the sentiment of race and of attachment to Russia has been strengthened rather than weakened by this process. Austrian Panslavism possesses, perhaps, at this moment a greater latent force than ever. It represents the only element in Austria which was not broken down in the late revolutionary struggle. The Italians, the Hungarians, the Germans even, all came debilitated and discouraged out of that vehement convulsion. The Slavonians alone felt themselves unconquered and unreduced. Is it surprising that Francis Joseph should hesitate before setting on foot a war in which Russia would find millions of devoted and fanatical allies within his own Empire?

Written about April 17, 1855

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# PROGRESS OF THE WAR[452]

The news from the war is abundant. We have the official accounts of the cavalry action at Kurulu, near Eupatoria, before reported—the intelligence of an unsuccessful assault of the Russians on Kars, of the destruction by the Allies of Taman and Phanagoria, and of the capture of Kinburn at the mouth of the Dnieper.

The cavalry action near Eupatoria was fought by twelve French squadrons (fourth hussars, sixth and seventh dragoons). According to Gen. d'Allonville's report,[a] which is plain and intelligible, the French and Turks made an extensive reconnaissance toward the interior on three different roads—one to the south and two to the north of Lake Sasik. The two latter columns met at a village called Dolshak, where they discovered the approach of the Russian cavalry. Here the reports begin to disagree. Gen. d'Allonville maintains that eighteen squadrons of Russians—while the French were dismounted, baiting their horses—tried to turn them by the south and cut off their retreat to Eupatoria; that he then ordered his men to mount, fell upon the flank of the Russians, routed and pursued them for two leagues. Gorchakoff says that the Russians were only one regiment (eighteenth lancers) or eight squadrons; that they were surprised by the French after having dismounted in order to unlimber a battery of artillery, and that under these circumstances they had to run for their lives. He makes Gen. Korff responsible for this mistake. Now what business a whole regiment of lancers had to dismount and assist in unlimbering a

[a] A. Pélissier, "Grand quartier général à Sébastopol, le 1er octobre 1855", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 289, October 16, 1855.—*Ed.*

battery of eight guns, and how it was that the gunners, whose business it was to do this work, were not at hand, we are left to guess for ourselves. The whole report of Gorchakoff is so confused, so unmilitary, so impregnated with the desire to palliate this first cavalry disaster, that it is impossible to treat it as a serious statement of facts. At the same time we see Gen. Korff made responsible for this defeat, as Selvan was made responsible for Silistria, Soimonoff for Inkermann, Read for the Chernaya.[453] Gorchakoff, though defeated in every action, is still invincible. It is not he who is beaten, far from it; it is some unlucky subaltern who upsets the general's wise plans by some clumsy mistake, and who generally gets killed in action in punishment for this crime. In this instance, however, the blunderer is unfortunate enough to preserve his life. Perhaps he may, hereafter, have something to say to Gorchakoff's dispatch. In the mean time he has the satisfaction that his opponent represents him in a far better light than his infallible commander-in-chief does. Since then, the British light cavalry division has been sent to Eupatoria to reenforce the French.

The defeat of the Russians before Kars will very probably prove to be the crowning event of the campaign in Armenia. The Turks, badly organized and short of every requisite, had played but a poor part in this portion of the seat of war. Unable to hold the field, they confined themselves to the occupation of Kars, Erzeroum and the country immediately under the command of these fortresses. Gen. Williams, who had entered the Turkish service, commanded at Kars and superintended the construction of proper defensive works. For the greater part of the Summer the whole campaign on either side was confined to skirmishes, forays and foraging expeditions in the hill country; the general and first result of which was that the Russians, gradually gaining ground, succeeded in blockading Kars and even in cutting off its communications with Erzeroum. Kars is situated in a lateral valley of the Upper Araxes; Erzeroum at the sources of the Euphrates; Batoum on the mouth of the Churuk Su (Bathys), the upper course of which passes near both to Kars and to Erzeroum, so that one of the roads between these two places follows the basin of the Churuk Su as far as Olti, whence it strikes off across the hills toward Kars. Olti was, therefore, the central point for the Turks, as a road from Batoum there joins the one mentioned above; and Batoum was the place from which the nearest and strongest reenforcements were to be expected. Had the Russians succeeded in taking Kars, their first step would have been to establish

themselves at Olti, thereby cutting off Erzeroum from its nearest and best communication with the Black Sea and Constantinople. The Turks, however, were so dispirited that they retired as far as Erzeroum, merely occupying the mountain pass between the Upper Euphrates and the sources of the Araxes, while Olti was all but completely neglected.

At last, when Kars was more closely hemmed in, they attempted to form a convoy of provisions at Olti, and with a strong escort to force an entrance into Kars. Part of the cavalry from Kars, having been sent away, as it was useless there, actually fought its way through the Russians as far as Olti, and the convoy started shortly afterward; but this time the Russians were better on the alert—the Turks were completely defeated, and the convoy was captured by the Russians. Kars, in the mean time, began to run short of provisions; Omer Pasha was, indeed, sent to take the command in Asia and to organize at Batoum an army fit to act in the field; but this creation of a new army takes a deal of time, and a march direct to the relief of Kars by Olti would not have been the best course he could take, as Kars might any day be compelled to surrender from want of provisions before relief could arrive.

In this difficult position the Turks stood at the end of September; Kars was considered as good as lost, and the Russians were sure, by merely blockading the town, to starve it out. But the Russians themselves appear not to have been willing to wait until the last flour was baked and the last horse cooked in Kars. Whether from the fear of approaching Winter, the state of the roads, shortness of provisions, superior orders, or the fear of Omer Pasha's relieving corps, they at once made up their minds to act vigorously. Siege-guns arrived from Alexandropol, a fortress on the frontier but a few leagues from Kars, and after a few days of open trenches and cannonading, Kars was assaulted by the concentrated main body of the Russian army under Muravieff. The combat was desperate, and lasted eight hours. The Bashi-bazouks and foot irregulars, who had so often run before the Russians in the field, here fought on more congenial ground. Though the attacking forces must have been from four to six times more numerous than the garrison, yet all attempts to get into the place were in vain. The Turks had here at last recovered their courage and intelligence. Though the Russians more than once succeeded in entering the Turkish batteries (very likely lunettes open at the gorge, so as to be commanded by the fire of the second line of defense), they could no where establish themselves. Their loss is said to have been immense; four

thousand killed are stated to have been buried by the Turks; but before crediting this we must have more detailed and precise information.[a]

The capture of Kinburn was effected by the same fleet which made a demonstration before Odessa, whence, however, they sailed away without firing a shot, on their real errand, which was the reduction of Kinburn. This place is situated near the extremity of a tongue of land which on the south incloses the estuary of the Dnieper and Bug. At this point, the estuary is about three miles wide; a bar with fifteen feet of water (according to the Russian charts) hinders its entrance. On the north side of this entrance is situated Otshakoff, on the south side of Kinburn. Both these places first came into notoriety during the Russo-Turkish campaign of 1787, when the Bug formed the frontier of the two empires, and consequently Otshakoff belonged to the Turks and Kinburn to the Russians. At that time, Suvaroff commanded the left wing of the Russian army (under Potemkin), and was stationed at Kinburn. The Turks, then masters of the Black Sea, crossed over from Otshakoff. They first made a diversion by landing behind the town of Kinburn, to the south-east; but when they saw that Suvaroff was not to be led astray by this false maneuver, they landed with their main body at the north-western extremity of the spit, exactly opposite Otshakoff. Here they intrenched themselves, and attacked the fortress; but Suvaroff sallied forth with a far inferior number of men, engaged them, and, with the help of reenforcements, drove them into the sea. Their loss was enormous. Suvaroff himself, however, was wounded during this action, which was followed up in the following year, 1788, by the storming of Otshakoff.

The few details yet known respecting the taking of Kinburn confirm the experience of former episodes in this war, while they again tend to prove the intentional incorrectness of the Russian charts. On all their best charts there is no water of sufficient depth for ships-of-the-line or heavy frigates to be found anywhere within some miles of Kinburn. Yet when the allied fleets sent out gun-boats to take soundings within easy range of Kinburn, they found fully four and a half fathoms at sixteen hundred yards from the walls—at least, so it appears—on the north side within the estuary. Nine heavy steam-frigates could approach to that distance and shell the place; and while the mortar-boats did the

[a] For an account of the further fighting in the Kars area after the abortive Russian assault on the fortress on September 29, 1855, and of the fall of Kars see this volume, pp. 588-94 and 595-98.—*Ed.*

same from much nearer stations, the gun-boats enfiladed the faces of the bastions, and the floating batteries—which must have approached to some six hundred or seven hundred yards, if not closer—succeeded in making several breaches in the sea-walls.

What the precise nature of the defenses of Kinburn was, we cannot as yet make out very distinctly. The small town stretching right across the narrow spit was defended by a sort of continuous rampart of masonry, something like a bastioned pentagon or square, with guns firing on barbette, or through masonry embrasures. The guns for the most part stood uncovered, but on the points where their fire was to act with the greatest force there were two tiers, the lower one casemated, the upper one firing through masonry embrasures in a wall erected on the flat roof of the casemates. As at Bomarsund,[454] the masonry, as soon as it was acted upon by a vastly superior fire from the ships, crumbled away, and three breaches, it appears, were formed by the floating batteries in from six to eight hours. This is explained by the very small number of guns in the fortress, of which there were only seventy; and, as the attack could be expected from any side, every front of the fortress had to be armed, so that against the main attack no more than from sixteen to twenty guns could be brought to bear. That their fire should soon have been silenced by the vertical fire of the mortar-boats, the enfilading shots of the gun-boats, the shell-storm of the steam-frigates, and the breaching front fire of the floating batteries, bringing into action at least eight to tenfold their number of guns, is not to be wondered at. And as the day was exceedingly calm, the fire from the floating batteries was as steady as it would have been from any shore battery; it therefore could really act as breaching fire. These unwieldy, floating masses, helpless and useless as soon as the least amount of swell destroys their steadiness, must necessarily be able to do great execution in perfectly calm weather, and in situations where the large vessels can approach within range and thereby draw upon themselves the principal fire of the enemy. Such favorable circumstances, however, occur but seldom; and where fortresses like Kronstadt, Sweaborg, or the sea-forts of Sevastopol, were the objects of their attack, the floating batteries would prove more cumbersome than useful. Thus on the whole, the affair at Kinburn cannot be said to have proved anything in favor of these clumsy sea-monsters.

The allied troops who landed to the south-east of Kinburn must have amounted to a couple of thousand: for of the English alone there were six battalions on board the fleet numbering, with

artillery, nearly four thousand men, of which but a portion, however, was landed; while the French had another brigade on board their ships. The part taken by the troops in this action was very inconsiderable; they sent skirmishers and field guns against the place, but as there was a broad wet ditch in front of it, the Russians appear to have treated this impotent demonstration with sovereign contempt, not even opening a heavy fire on them, for we do not hear that the allied troops lost anything to speak of. It was the overwhelming fire of the fleets alone which forced the place to surrender, and as soon as its guns had been silenced, the fleets offered a capitulation, which was accepted. The garrison marched out with the honors of war and surrendered themselves prisoners. Then it was found that the whole force in the fortress consisted of thirteen hundred or fourteen hundred men; and this at once proves what sort of a fortress Kinburn was. In bastioned fortresses, especially small ones, it is generally considered that one weak battalion, or from five hundred to six hundred men, is required for every bastion; a bastioned square, the smallest fortification possible in the bastioned system, requiring from two thousand to two thousand five hundred men for its defense. Here a little over one-half of that number only were present, and yet they had to defend not only plain ramparts, but also to serve the guns in the casemates. Thus, either the fortifications, then, must have been very insignificant indeed, or else very weakly defended; and in either case, the success of the allied fleets before Kinburn does not in any way affect the generally adopted opinion that one gun ashore, well sheltered behind earth ramparts, is worth more than six on board ship coming to attack it.

The entrance to the estuary of the Dnieper once having been forced by the Allies, and the pretended existence of a bar of great shallowness at that point having been proved to be a mere Russian stratagem, the whole estuary is opened to the action of the French and English fleets. The interior of the estuary is known to have a great depth of water, at least in the central channel, though nearer to the shores it abounds in sand-banks, none of which, however, are formidable to gun-boats and other light vessels. Thus Otshakoff, Glubokoye and other points on the shores of the estuary are exposed to the attacks of the Allies and very likely will have to suffer from them.

That the entrance to the estuary is not the shallow channel indicated on the charts, the allied admirals might have inferred from the history of the campaign of 1788. And here we may be allowed to refer again to that campaign, not only because it gives

us a clear insight into what the nature of this estuary is with reference to naval warfare, but also because it was then the scene of some of the exploits of our Revolutionary hero, Paul Jones.

At that time, Kinburn and the south shore were held by the Russians, and Otshakoff and the north shore, by the Turks. The Russians had a fleet at Glubokoye, between the mouths of the Dnieper and the Bug; its sailing vessels of deep draught were commanded by Rear-Admiral Paul Jones, and consisted of five ships of the line of eighty guns, and eight frigates, while the rowing flotilla of sixty-five light vessels was under the orders of the Prince of Nassau-Siegen. The Turks had about Otshakoff, under Hassan-Pasha, ten ships of the line, six frigates and fifty-three vessels of light draught. A second Turkish fleet of eight sail of the line, eight frigates, and twenty-four smaller sail was cruising in the offing. After a few preliminary engagements, Hassan-Pasha, on the 27th of June, entered the estuary with the whole of his first fleet, sailed up as far as Glubokoye (thus proving that ships of the line, with their full armament on board, could come up so far), and formed in order of battle, the large vessels in the first line. The Russians, on the contrary, covered their liners and frigates with the row-boats. On the morning of the 28th the battle began. The Turkish line advanced, and soon came up within range of the Russian liners. Within an hour a Turkish ship of seventy guns was aground; the admiral's flag-ship, carrying eighty guns, was ashore a few moments after. Two frigates of forty guns went to succor them, but one of them struck on a shoal almost immediately; while Paul Jones's large vessels kept the remainder of the Turkish vessels engaged, the row-boats closed up with the stranded vessels, boarded and set fire to them. The remainder of the Turkish fleet soon retired in no enviable state; but still their large ships made such a bold front that their retreat was pretty nearly unmolested by the Russian gun-boats and galleys.

But the measure of their disaster was not yet filled. Hassan-Pasha, having collected the remains of his fleet at Otshakoff, resolved to join the fleet cruising in the Black Sea, and to effect this, he had to pass round the point of the Kinburn spit. Here Suvaroff, who commanded in the peninsula, had constructed a masked battery of twenty-four guns; and when the Turks, on the night of the 30th of June, 1788, attempted to double that cape, the battery opened upon them with great effect. Before daybreak, the fire of the Russians, favored by a bright moonlight, had brought the Turkish fleet into great distress, whose ships had to

pass one after the other through the narrow channel, and were all the while within easy range of the battery. Several vessels got ashore, others showed signals of distress, some went down or were in flames; and as day broke the Russian fleet bore down upon them. Paul Jones very wisely kept his large ships back, as there was no room for them to maneuver; and indeed the liner *Vladimir*, venturing too much forward, was lost on a shoal. But the rowing flotilla closed with the Turks, and destroyed a great many of their ships, so that before noon the whole action was at an end. Three sail of the line, five frigates, and seventeen smaller sail were destroyed, and one liner and two frigates were taken by the Russians. Of the two sail of the line which were saved by the Turks, one went down before it could reach Constantinople, and a frigate sank as soon as she had reached the island of Poresan. A portion of the Turkish fleet sought shelter under the guns of Otshakoff, but even here Prince Nassau-Siegen attacked and destroyed them on the 1st and 2d August.

This campaign shows clearly what sort of a naval battle-field the Dnieper estuary is. The smaller sort of ships of the line, or at least the large fifty and sixty gun frigates, can enter it; but whether they will be able to maneuver in it with any degree of safety, though they be propelled by steam, remains doubtful. But that corvettes, sloops and vessels of lighter draught, especially steamers, can easily maneuver in these waters, while the larger vessels may serve, when once moored, as stationary batteries, there is not the slightest doubt whatever. And with the means of naval warfare now in the possession of the Allies, with due activity they should be able to scour the estuary from Otshakoff to the mouth of the Dnieper and the Bug.

But it is not only with a view to naval operations alone that the possession of this place is of great importance to the Allies. It gives them an unassailable position on the peninsula between the Dnieper and the Crimea; a position commanding the entrance of the estuary of that river and menacing at the same time the communications between Perekop and Kherson. There is a rumor mentioned in the Vienna papers that the Allies had landed thirty thousand men on the spit of Tendra, a long, narrow island stretching within a few miles distance along the southern shore of the peninsula of Kinburn. If the fact of the landing be true, the numbers are evidently exaggerated. But if even a small body only of the allied troops had occupied this spit, it would show their intention of establishing themselves on the peninsula, and of seriously menacing the Russian lines of communications. They

might from this position prove as troublesome to Russian convoys as the corps of Gens. d'Allonville and Paget, from Eupatoria, might to the convoys coming down from Perekop to Sympheropol. They might even, by rapidly concentrating a strong force on this peninsula, make a dash at Kherson, and burn everything with the exception of the small citadel—unless, indeed, the Russians have fortified that town too, and can spare a strong garrison to defend it. Anyhow, Kinburn and the long, flat sandy islands along the shore of the gulf leading to Perekop, form a series of positions which the Allies can easily hold with small bodies of troops, and each of which they can turn at any moment into a base for ulterior and rapid operation. The Russians may thus be obliged, by a few battalions, to disseminate a great number of their troops in order to secure most important points from sudden irruptions; and so long as the allied fleets hold command of the sea, these newly gained possessions cannot be attacked by any Russian land force.

Written in the second half of October 1855

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# NOTES
# AND
# INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] "The Struggle in the Crimea" is one of the many articles on the Crimean War written by Engels at Marx's request for the *New-York Daily Tribune.*

Marx contributed to this newspaper from August 1851 to March 1862, but not until August 1852 did he begin sending articles of his own. His first were written in German and translated into English by his friends, mostly Engels. By late January 1853, his knowledge of English had improved sufficiently for him to begin writing them in English.

Marx's and Engels' articles in the *New-York Daily Tribune* dealt with key issues of foreign and domestic policy, the working-class movement, the economic development of European countries, colonial expansion and the national liberation movement in colonial and dependent countries. They immediately attracted attention by their profundity, political insight and literary merits. The *New-York Daily Tribune* editors publicly acknowledged their high quality. For instance, in a leading article on April 7, 1853, they saw fit to "pay a tribute to the remarkable ability of the correspondent... Mr. Marx has very decided opinions of his own, with some of which we are far from agreeing; but those who do not read his letters neglect one of the most instructive sources of information on the great questions of current European politics." In a letter to Jenny Marx of July 1, 1853, Charles Dana, one of the editors, wrote that the owners of the *Tribune* and the reading public had a high opinion of her husband's articles.

Many articles by Marx and Engels were reprinted in the *Tribune*'s special issues—the *New-York Weekly Tribune* and *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune,* and some were reproduced in the Chartist *People's Paper.* Other newspapers, including the *New-York Times,* quoted from them. Their articles reached Europe too. For example, in his speech in the House of Commons on July 1, 1853, John Bright, leader of the Free Traders, specially noted Marx's article on Gladstone's budget published in the *Tribune* (see present edition, Volume 12, p. 176).

The *Tribune* editors sometimes took liberties with the articles, printing them unsigned, in the form of editorials, especially from September 1854 onwards. In some cases they tampered with the text, making insertions, some of which were in direct contradiction to the content of the articles. Marx repeatedly protested against these practices. In the autumn of 1857 he was forced to

reduce the number of his contributions in view of the *Tribune's* weak financial position, the result of the economic crisis in the U.S.A. He ceased contributing to the paper altogether after the outbreak of the American Civil War, mainly because the *Tribune* had come under the sway of people advocating a compromise with the slave-owning states.

"The Struggle in the Crimea" is one of the series of reviews of the Crimean War of 1853-56 which Engels began to write for the *New-York Daily Tribune* in the autumn of 1853 and the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* in January 1855 (in the latter case the reviews were either German versions of articles written for the *Tribune* or special reports included by Marx in his articles for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*). The *New-York Daily Tribune* published these reviews as leading articles without giving the name of the author (see present edition, Vols. 12 and 13). p. 3

[2] The *battle of the Alma* took place on September 20, 1854. The Russian forces were commanded by A. S. Menshikov, and the numerically superior forces of the French, British and Turks by Saint-Arnaud and Raglan. It was the first battle after the Allies' landing in the Crimea (at Eupatoria) on September 14. The defeat and withdrawal of the Russian troops opened up the way to Sevastopol for the Allies. Later Engels also described this battle in his article "Alma" written for the *New Americana* (see present edition, Vol. 18). p. 3

[3] Piedmont (the Kingdom of Sardinia) joined the anti-Russian coalition at Napoleon III's insistence in January 1855 and sent a corps of 15,000 troops to the Crimea. Count Camillo Cavour, the head of the Piedmontese government, who wanted to unite Italy under the aegis of the Savoy dynasty that ruled Piedmont, hoped thus to win France's support in the future struggle of the Kingdom of Sardinia for the North Italian provinces of Lombardy and Venice, which had been captured by Austria. This support was to help him avenge Piedmont's defeat in the war against Austria in 1848-49. p. 4

[4] On May 4, 1811, in the course of the Peninsular War (1808-14) British, Spanish and Portuguese forces commanded by Wellington laid siege to the French-held fortress of Badajoz (south-western Spain). However, on May 14 Wellington was forced to lift the siege in order to engage the French army sent to relieve the besieged garrison. The siege was resumed on May 25, but lifted again for the same reason on June 17. The fortress was captured by Wellington's troops on April 6, 1812, after a new siege which began on March 16. p. 6

[5] This article belongs to the series written by Marx for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, which gave a systematic coverage of the home- and foreign-policy debates in the British Parliament in 1855. It includes material from Engels' review "The Struggle in the Crimea" written for the *New-York Daily Tribune*. The series began with the article "The Opening of Parliament" (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 600-02).

The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* was a democratic daily published in Breslau (Wrocław) from 1849 to 1855. In the autumn of 1854 Marx was invited to contribute to it by Ferdinand Lassalle, whose cousin, Max Friedländer, published the newspaper. Originally Marx was very critical of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*. During the revolution of 1848-49 he criticised the Breslau democrats grouped round it for their vacillations and conciliatory policy, and the "Address of the Central Authority to the League" (March 1850) stressed the hostility of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* towards the working-class movement (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 277-87). However, Marx's attitude to the

newspaper changed in later years, when it became the most radical opposition organ in Germany and was persecuted by the censorship and the Prussian government. At that time, the editorial board was headed by the bourgeois democrats Temme, Stein and Elsner. In September 1855 Elsner became Editor-in-Chief.

In a letter to Elsner of November 8, 1855, Marx noted that the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* was publishing "the maximum of what is possible under the present condition of the press". In these circumstances he considered it necessary to give the newspaper every possible support. When its financial position deteriorated in the autumn of 1855, he offered to write for it without payment.

Marx began to contribute to the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* as its London correspondent at the end of December 1854, sending two or three reports a week. His articles were marked with the sign ×. Given the almost total absence of a working-class press in Germany during the years of reaction Marx and Engels thought it important to use the bourgeois-democratic press for the struggle against reaction. Marx's work for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* enabled him to keep in touch with Germany and familiarise German readers with key issues of foreign and domestic policy, the working-class and democratic movement and the economic development of capitalist countries, above all Britain and France. He regularly sent reports on the progress of the Crimean War. Sometimes he used for this purpose Engels' military reviews written for the *New-York Daily Tribune,* translating them into German (in the present edition both Marx and Engels are given as their authors). Sometimes Marx abridged Engels' articles or introduced changes and additions. In October 1855 the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* found itself almost without means to pay its correspondents. At the end of the year the paper closed down. The last article definitely known to have been written by Marx appeared in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* on November 16, 1855. p. 8

6 The *Peelites* were a group of moderate Tories supporting Robert Peel, who advocated economic concessions to the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie as a means of maintaining the political rule of the big landowners and financiers. In 1846, he secured the repeal of the Corn Laws (see Note 14). This move, favouring the industrial bourgeoisie, was bitterly resented by the Protectionist Tories and led to a split in the Tory party and the emergence of the Peelites as an independent group. The Peelites were represented in Aberdeen's coalition government (1852-55) and joined the Liberal party in the late 1850s and early 1860s. p. 8

7 The *Manchester School*—a trend in political economy reflecting the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. It favoured free trade and non-interference by the state in the economy. The Free Traders' stronghold was Manchester, where the movement was led by Cobden and Bright, two textile manufacturers who founded the Anti-Corn Law League in 1838. In the 1840s and 1850s the Free Traders were an independent political group which later formed the Left wing of the Liberal Party. p. 8

8 The *Mayfair Radicals* were a group of aristocratic politicians (Molesworth, Bernal Osborne and others) who flirted with democratic circles. The name derives from Mayfair, an aristocratic district on the edge of Hyde Park in London. p. 8

[9] Palmerston's resignation from the post of Foreign Secretary in Russell's Whig Cabinet occurred on December 19, 1851, and was caused by his approving, in a conversation with the French Ambassador, of the Bonapartist *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851, without consulting other Cabinet members. On the whole, however, the British government shared Palmerston's attitude and was the first in Europe to recognise the Bonapartist regime. p. 9

[10] The *battle of Balaklava* took place on October 25, 1854. Units of the Russian army tried to cut off the British and Turkish troops taking part in the siege of Sevastopol from their base in Balaklava. They succeeded in inflicting serious losses on the enemy, especially on the British cavalry, but failed to achieve their main objective. For a description of this battle see Engels' article "The War in the East" (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 518-27). p. 12

[11] The articles "Lord Palmerston" were written by Marx for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* in connection with the formation of the Palmerston government on February 6, 1855, and are essentially a résumé of Marx's well-known pamphlet *Lord Palmerston* written for the *New-York Daily Tribune* in the autumn of 1853 and also published, in fuller form, in the Chartist *People's Paper* (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 341-406). p. 14

[12] *Carbonari*—members of secret political societies in Italy and France in the first half of the nineteenth century. In Italy they fought for national independence, the unification of the country and liberal constitutional reforms. In France the movement was above all directed against the restored monarchy of the Bourbons (1815-30). In the first half of the nineteenth century the word "carbonari" was synonymous with "revolutionary". p. 15

[13] In 1847 in Athens the house of the merchant Pacifico, a Portuguese Jew and British citizen, was burnt down. Palmerston used this as a pretext for sending units of the British Navy to Greece and presenting the Greek government with an ultimatum. The actual purpose of this move was to force Greece to cede several strategic islands in the Aegean. During the discussion of the Anglo-Greek conflict in the British Parliament in June 1850 the government's foreign policy was approved by the House of Commons. The House of Lords, on the contrary, rejected Palmerston's policy by a majority of 37. France and Russia indicated their displeasure through their ambassadors in London: the French Ambassador left the British capital, the Russian Ambassador failed to attend a dinner given by Palmerston. p. 15

[14] The *Corn Laws,* the first of which were passed as early as the fifteenth century, imposed high import duties on agricultural products in order to maintain high prices for these products on the domestic market. The Corn Laws served the interests of the big landowners. The struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the Corn Laws ended in their repeal in June 1846. p. 16

[15] The *blockade of the River Scheldt* and the Dutch coast by the British and French navies was undertaken in 1832 with a view to forcing Holland to cease hostilities it had resumed in 1831 against Belgium, which had overthrown Dutch rule. As a result, both Holland and Belgium were compelled to agree to a compromise peace treaty (1833) drawn up by Britain, France, Russia, Prussia and Austria.

The *blockade of the mouths of the rivers Tagus and Douro* was undertaken by Britain during the civil war in Portugal (1828-34). In this war the feudal-clerical party led by the pretender to the Portuguese throne, Dom Miguel, fought against the liberal bourgeois party of Constitutionalists. In an attempt to strengthen its influence in the Iberian Peninsula, the British government sent its navy to the Portuguese coast and thereby tipped the scales in favour of the Constitutionalists. p. 16

[16] The *blockade of Mexico*—under the pretext of protecting French citizens in Mexico a French squadron blockaded several Mexican ports on April 16, 1838. The blockade affected British commercial interests. Despite numerous petitions from the commercial bourgeoisie urging the British government to intervene and ensure the free passage of British ships, in the Parliamentary debate of March 19, 1839, Palmerston defended the position of the government, which did not want a conflict with France.

The *blockade of Buenos Aires* and the Argentine coast by the British and French navies (1845-50) aimed at forcing the Argentine government to open the rivers Paraná and Uruguay to foreign ships (they had been closed to foreign shipping in 1841 in connection with the war between Argentina and Uruguay) and recognise Uruguay's independence. These demands were granted in 1850 and 1851. p. 17

[17] In 1838 the King of Naples granted a French company a monopoly to mine sulphur in Sicily. This move evoked a sharp protest from the British government, which regarded it as an infringement of Britain's commercial interests, guaranteed by the Anglo-Neapolitan treaty of 1816. In 1840 the British Navy in the Mediterranean was ordered to open hostilities. Naples was forced to comply with Britain's demands.

For details of the *Pacifico* affair see Note 13.

In 1837 Mohammed Shah of Persia laid siege to the Afghan fortress of Herat, a junction of important trade routes. In 1838 the British government declared his actions to be hostile to Britain and demanded an end to the siege. Later it dispatched a naval squadron to the Persian Gulf, threatening war. The Shah was compelled to lift the siege and conclude an unequal trade agreement with Britain (1841). p. 17

[18] A reference to Britain's intervention in the Carlist War in Spain (1833-40) in which the feudal Catholic forces, led by pretender to the throne Don Carlos, fought against the bourgeois liberals who supported the government of Regent María Cristina. Britain sent its navy and a legion of volunteers to Spain. The latter took part in the fighting on María Cristina's side in 1835-37. These moves were designed to consolidate Britain's influence in the Iberian Peninsula.

The *war with China for the importation of opium*—a reference to the so-called First Opium War (1839-42), Britain's war against China which marked the beginning of the latter's transformation into a semi-colony. Britain used as a pretext for this war the confiscation by the Chinese authorities in Canton of opium stocks owned by foreign merchants. As a result of this war the Treaty of Nanking was imposed on China (August 29, 1842) which obliged it to open five ports (Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai) to British trade, cede the island of Hongkong to Britain "in perpetuity" and pay Britain a huge indemnity. Under a supplementary treaty signed in 1843 China was forced to grant extraterritoriality to foreigners. In 1844 unequal treaties were imposed on China by the USA and France. p. 17

[19] This refers to Anglo-American clashes on the US-Canadian border over disputed territories, one to the north of the American State of Maine, the other—Oregon—on the Pacific coast. These clashes became especially sharp in the late 1830s and early 1840s. p. 17

[20] The *Afghanistan campaigns*—during the first Anglo-Afghan war (1838-42) in which Britain strove to establish colonial rule in Afghanistan, British troops invaded Afghan territory twice (in 1838 and 1842). Both invasions failed to achieve their purpose.

At the insistence of the British government, Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia signed a convention in London on July 15, 1840, on military assistance to Turkey in its war against Egypt (1839-41). In the autumn of 1840 British and Austrian warships bombarded Beirut, Saint-Jean-d'Acre and other fortresses on the Syrian coast, which had been captured by Mehemet Ali, the ruler of Egypt, between 1831 and 1833. Eventually Mehemet Ali was forced to relinquish his possessions outside Egypt and submit to the supreme authority of the Sultan. p. 17

[21] Evidently a reference to the inspection of ships by the British in connection with the slave trade. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Britain, in its drive against the slave trade, claimed the right to inspect all suspect ships even in peacetime. This was strongly opposed by the U.S. government because many ships carrying slaves from West Africa sailed under the U.S. flag.

Britain's right to inspect Portuguese ships was recognised by the Anglo-Portuguese treaties of 1810, 1815 and 1817. In return for Britain's waiving of Portugal's debts the latter undertook to allow her own ships to carry only a limited number of African slaves and only to Brazil, then a Portuguese colony, and to ban the use of her flag by slavers of other countries. This agreement was often violated, especially after Brazil won independence in 1822. In 1839 the British Parliament passed a law allowing British ships to detain ships engaged in the slave traffic. p. 17

[22] The *Treaty of Adrianople* was concluded by Turkey and Russia in September 1829 following the war of 1828-29. Under the treaty Russia obtained the Danube delta including the islands, and a considerable part of the eastern Black Sea coast south of the Kuban estuary. Turkey was to recognise the autonomy of Moldavia and Wallachia, granting them the right to elect their own hospodars (rulers). Their autonomy was to be guaranteed by Russia. The Turkish government also undertook to recognise the independence of Greece, whose only obligation to Turkey was to pay an annual tribute to the Sultan, and abide by all the previous treaties relating to the autonomy of Serbia, which was to be formalised by a special firman.

The *Balta-Liman Treaty,* concluded by Russia and Turkey on May 1, 1849, laid down conditions for the continued presence of their troops in Moldavia and Wallachia, which had been occupied to suppress the revolutionary movement. Under the treaty, the occupation was to continue until the threat of revolution had been fully eliminated (the foreign troops were not withdrawn until 1851); for a certain period the hospodars were to be appointed by the Sultan in agreement with the Tsar. A series of measures by Russia and Turkey, including another occupation, were envisaged to provide for the eventuality of another revolution. p. 17

[23] On May 8, 1852, Russia, Austria, Britain, France, Prussia, Sweden and Denmark signed the London Protocol on the integrity of the Kingdom of

Denmark. It was based on the protocol adopted by the same states (except Prussia) at a conference in London on July 4, 1850 and signed on August 2, 1850, which established the principle of the indivisibility of the Danish Crown possessions, including the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The London Protocol mentioned the Russian Emperor among the lawful claimants to the Danish Crown who had renounced their rights in favour of Duke Christian of Glücksburg, proclaimed successor to King Frederick VII (the Russian Emperor descended from Duke Charles Peter Ulrich of Holstein-Gottorp, who was Russian Tsar as Peter III). This created a precedent for Russian claims to the Danish Crown in the event of the Glücksburg dynasty dying out. p. 17

[24] Under an agreement signed by Russia, Britain and the Netherlands in London on May 19, 1815, Britain and the Netherlands had undertaken to compensate Russia's military expenses connected with the expulsion of Napoleonic troops from the Dutch and Belgian provinces by gradually repaying part of Russia's debt to the Dutch bankers Hope & Co. and the interest on that debt. A special clause stipulated that the payments would be discontinued in the event of a secession of the Belgian provinces from the Netherlands. After the 1830 revolution and the establishment of an independent Belgian state, the Netherlands stopped its payments. However, Palmerston signed a new agreement with Russia on November 16, 1831, confirming Britain's financial commitments. p. 18

[25] The *Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi* was signed by Russia and Turkey on July 8, 1833. Prior to that, in the spring of the same year, Russian troops had landed in Unkiar-Skelessi, on the Bosphorus, to help protect the Turkish capital from the army of Ibrahim Pasha, son of Mehemet Ali, the ruler of Egypt who had rebelled against the Turkish Sultan. In May 1833, the Porte concluded peace with Mehemet Ali through the mediation of Britain and France, ceding Syria and Palestine to Egypt. However, the Tsarist government, taking advantage of the tense situation and the presence of Russian troops in Turkey, induced the Porte to conclude a defence treaty with Russia which contained a secret clause obliging Turkey to close the Straits to all foreign warships except Russian vessels. This clause remained in force until the Turko-Egyptian war of 1839-41, when Nicholas I reached agreement with Britain and other Powers on joint action against Mehemet Ali, but was compelled to agree to the closure of the Straits to the warships of all states in peacetime. p. 18

[26] A reference to the attempt by Mohammed Shah of Persia to gain possession of Herat in 1837-38 (see Note 17). Russia gave him diplomatic support in that campaign. p. 19

[27] The Treaty of Adrianople (1829) (see Note 22) gave Russia control of the islands in the Danube delta but guaranteed freedom of navigation on the Danube to the merchant ships of all countries. However, in the spring of 1836 a Russian quarantine post was set up in the Sulina arm of the Danube which in effect acted as a customs office controlling passing vessels. When the question was discussed in the British Parliament in April 1836, Palmerston declared that Russia's actions were not prejudicial to Anglo-Turkish trade and therefore he saw no grounds for diplomatic intervention by Britain. p. 19

[28] A reference to the national liberation insurrection in Poland in 1830-31. It started on November 29, 1830, when Polish patriots occupied the Belvedere Palace in Warsaw, the residence of Grand Duke Constantine, the Tsarist Commander-in-

Chief (virtually vice-regent) in the Kingdom of Poland. By November 30 the whole of Warsaw was in the hands of the insurgents. p. 19

[29] On February 14, 1855, *The Times* (No. 21977) published a letter signed "A Colonial Reformer" which asked why Sidney Herbert was not being allowed to continue as Secretary of War if he really possessed the merits attributed to him by his supporters, and was, instead, being offered a high post in the Colonial Office if he really was responsible for the plight of the British wounded in the Crimea, as claimed by his opponents. p. 22

[30] See Note 8. p. 25

[31] This refers to the Great Exhibition held in London in 1851. A special building of metal and glass, known as the Crystal Palace, was erected for it in Hyde Park. p. 29

[32] A reference to the lawsuit over the inheritance of Eliza Josephine Handcock, the mistress of the Earl of Clanricarde, that took place in the Irish Court of Chancery in January 1855. The action had been brought by John Stratford Handcock, the rightful heir of Josephine's daughter Honoria who died on December 12, 1853. His rights were contested by John de Burgh, son of Josephine and the Earl of Clanricarde. In the course of the proceedings public attention was drawn to the mysterious circumstances attending the death of Josephine's husband, William Handcock, and of their three daughters, none of whom had come of age. Some witnesses hinted that the Earl of Clanricarde was implicated in these events.

Marx draws a parallel between this case and that of Altarice-Rosalba-Fanny, the Duchess of Praslin, who was found murdered in her home in August 1847. Suspicion fell on her husband, the Duke of Praslin, who was arrested and poisoned himself during the investigation. p. 31

[33] This article was written by Engels for the *New-York Daily Tribune*. The section relating to the British army was included by Marx, in free translation and with a number of alterations, in his report "Parliamentary and Military Affairs" (February 20, 1855) written for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* (see this volume, pp. 40-42; the corresponding passage is indicated in Engels' article by a footnote). Both Marx and Engels are therefore given as the authors of this report in the present edition. A considerable part of Engels' article was reproduced by Marx, with cuts and minor alterations, in another report for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* entitled "Zustand der Armeen" ("The State of the Armies"), dated by him February 21 and published on February 24, 1855. As it entirely consists of material taken from the article "The War That Looms on Europe", this report has not been included in the present edition. The most significant alterations made by Marx have been indicated in footnotes. p. 32

[34] A reference to the talks between the British, French and Russian Ambassadors and Austrian Foreign Minister Buol sponsored by Emperor Francis Joseph, which opened in December 1854. Their official purpose was to work out a basis for peace negotiations between the belligerents in the Crimean War. They were a sequel to an earlier round of talks between diplomats of the Western Powers, the Prussian Ambassador and the Austrian Minister (the Russian Ambassador refused to participate) held in Vienna in 1853-54 by way of mediation in the Russo-Turkish conflict. The second round failed to resolve the differences between the belligerents in the Crimean War. In mid-March 1855 representatives of Austria, Britain, France, Turkey and Russia met at a higher level at the

Vienna Conference (Britain was represented by Special Envoy Lord John Russell, France by Foreign Minister Drouyn de Lhuys). That conference also produced no results (see Note 88). p. 32

[35] In the *battle of Inkerman* in the Crimea (November 5, 1854) the Anglo-French forces defeated the Russian army, but the Russians' vigorous action compelled the enemy to refrain from storming Sevastopol and instead lay siege to the city. Engels described the battle in detail in his article "The Battle of Inkerman" (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 528-35). p. 34

[36] On January 29, 1855, Nicholas I issued a manifesto calling for the formation of a people's militia. It was to be recruited in 18 gubernias of Central Russia (not Southern Russia, as the article says) after the regular levy. p. 38

[37] See Note 10. p. 40

[38] *Blue Books*—periodically published collections of documents of the British Parliament and Foreign Office. Their publication began in the seventeenth century. p. 40

[39] See Note 88. p. 41

[40] At the end of January 1855, John Roebuck submitted a motion in the House of Commons calling for the establishment of a committee to inquire into the condition of the British army in the Crimea and the work of the government departments responsible for its maintenance. Discussion of the motion led to a government crisis and the resignation of Aberdeen's Cabinet (see Marx's article "Comments on the Cabinet Crisis", present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 603-04). After forming a new ministry in February 1855 Palmerston approved Roebuck's motion, but the Peelites Graham, Gladstone and Herbert, who had belonged to the former coalition government, resigned their posts in the new cabinet. As a result, Palmerston's government in its final form consisted mainly of Whigs. p. 43

[41] See Note 7. p. 43

[42] This remark shows that Marx may have attended the sitting of the House of Commons on February 23, 1855. This would have enabled him to compare the speeches made there with the reports on the sitting published in *The Times*, No. 21986, February 24, 1855, and in other newspapers. p. 44

[43] The *Four Points*—demands made by the Western Powers on Russia as preliminary conditions for peace talks in their Note of August 8, 1854. Russia was required to renounce her protectorate over Moldavia, Wallachia and Serbia, which was to be replaced by an all-European guarantee; to grant freedom of navigation on the Danube; to agree to a revision of the London Convention of 1841 on the closure of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles to the warships of all nations in peacetime, and to renounce its protection of Christians in Turkey. The Tsarist government at first rejected the Four Points but in November 1854 was forced to accept them as the basis for future peace talks. The Four Points were discussed at the Vienna conferences of Ambassadors (see Note 34) but the attempts of the Western Powers to link the question of the Straits with demands for a reduction of the Russian Navy in the Black Sea caused the Russian Ambassador in Vienna, A. M. Gorchakov, to walk out of the talks. p. 44

[44] This refers to the debates in the British Parliament in 1845 on proposals to raise subsidies to the Catholic College in Maynooth (Ireland) which was

founded in 1795 with the assistance of Pitt the Younger. By supporting this college the British government sought to ingratiate itself with the Irish landlords, certain sections of the bourgeoisie and the clergy and thus split the Irish national movement. p. 45

[45] This refers to the Reform Bill passed by the British House of Commons in 1831 and finally approved by the House of Lords in June 1832. It gave the vote to owners and tenants of houses rated at £10 or over. The working class and the petty bourgeoisie—the main force in the struggle for reform—were denied suffrage. p. 47

[46] The *People's Charter,* which contained the demands of the Chartists, was published in the form of a Parliamentary Bill on May 8, 1838. It contained six points: universal suffrage (for men of 21 and over), annual parliaments, vote by ballot, equal electoral districts, abolition of the property qualification of MPs and payment of MPs. Petitions urging the adoption of the People's Charter were turned down by Parliament in 1839, 1842 and 1848. p. 47

[47] A reference to a radical political trend among the Free Traders which in 1849 founded the National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association. Its purpose was to agitate for the "Little Charter", a reform bill repeatedly submitted to Parliament by Joseph Hume between 1849 and 1851. In contrast to the People's Charter, it contained three points: voting rights for every tenant of a house or part of a house (Household Suffrage), triennial parliaments, and vote by ballot. By counterposing this programme to the demands of the Chartists while at the same time adopting, in an extremely curtailed form, some of these demands, the bourgeois radicals hoped to gain control of the working masses at a time when the Chartist movement was declining. However, most of the politically active workers, except for the reformist elements in the Chartist movement, including O'Connor's supporters, refused to support the Little Charter. In 1855 the National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association disintegrated. p. 47

[48] This article was first published in English in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *On Britain,* Moscow, 1953 under the title "Palmerston and the English Oligarchy". The title was provided by the editors. p. 49

[49] The Roman Emperor Caligula (A.D. 12-41) bestowed the consulship on his favourite horse.

The *Grand Moguls* was the name given by Europeans to the rulers of an empire founded in Northern India in 1526 by Turkic conquerors then considered to be descendants of Genghis Khan's Mongolian warriors (hence the name "Moguls"). Although the empire fell into decline in the eighteenth century and came under British domination, its rulers retained nominal sovereignty until 1858. p. 49

[50] This refers to Russell's appointment as Britain's representative at the Vienna Conference, which was to open in March 1855 (see Note 88). p. 50

[51] *Emancipation of the Catholics*—in 1829 the British Parliament, under pressure of a mass movement in Ireland, lifted some of the restrictions curtailing the political rights of the Catholic population. Catholics were granted the right to be elected to Parliament and hold certain government posts. Simultaneously the property qualification for electors was increased fivefold. With the aid of this manoeuvre the British ruling classes hoped to win over to their side the upper

crust of the Irish bourgeoisie and Catholic landowners and thus split the Irish national movement.

*Repeal of the Corn Laws*—see Note 14.

The mass movement for *Parliamentary reform* in Britain (see Note. 45) developed in the late 1820s and early 1830s during Wellington's Tory Ministry. The reform was carried out by Grey's Whig Government (November 1830 to July 1834). p. 51

52 *Court of Queen's (King's) Bench*—Britain's oldest judicial institution. In the nineteenth century (up to 1873) it was an independent high court for criminal and civil cases and also supervised the lower courts. Subsequently its competence was limited to civil disputes. p. 51

53 This version of the article first appeared in English translation in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles on Britain,* Moscow, 1971. The other version entitled "The Crisis in England" was written by Marx for the *New-York Daily Tribune* in English. It is reproduced in this volume in its original form. p. 53

54 A reference to the overthrow of the Stuart dynasty and the enthronement, together with his wife Mary, daughter of the deposed Stuart King James II, of William III of Orange, after which constitutional monarchy was consolidated in Britain on the basis of a compromise between the landed aristocracy and the finance bourgeoisie. p. 54

55 The term "millocracy" (*mill*+the Greek *kratia*) was first used by Thomas Carlyle in his work *Past and Present,* published in 1843.

*Reform Bill of 1831*—see Note 45. p. 54

56 The 1834 Poor Law (an Act for the amendment and better administration of the laws relating to the poor in England and Wales) permitted only one form of aid to needy able-bodied persons—their enrolment in prison-type workhouses where they were engaged in monotonous and exhausting unproductive labour. The people nicknamed them Bastilles for the Poor. The law aimed at making the poor accept hard working conditions in industry, thus increasing the supply of cheap labour.

*Repeal of the Corn Laws*—see Note 14. p. 54

57 A reference to one of the biggest strikes by British workers in the 1850s. In August 1853, the weavers and spinners at the cotton mills of Preston and its environs walked out demanding a 10 per cent increase in wages. They were supported by workers in other trades. In September the Associated Masters retaliated by organising a lockout. About 25,000 of Preston's 30,000 workers stayed away from work. Thanks to the relief given them by workers in other cities, they were able to hold out for more than 36 weeks. In February 1854, the lockout was lifted but the strike continued. To bring it to an end the Associated Masters began importing workers from Ireland and the English workhouses. In March, the leaders of the strike were arrested. As their funds ran out, workers were forced to return to the mills. The strike ended in May. p. 55

58 The *Irish Brigade* was the name given to the Irish faction in the British Parliament from the 1830s to 1850s. Up to 1847, the Irish Brigade was led by Daniel O'Connell. As neither the Tories nor the Whigs had a decisive majority the Brigade was able to tip the balance in Parliament and sometimes even decide the fate of the government.

In the early fifties, a number of MPs belonging to this faction formed an alliance with the radical Irish Tenant-Right League and set up what they called an Independent Opposition in the House of Commons. However, the leaders of the Irish Brigade soon made a deal with the British ruling circles, securing some secondary posts in Aberdeen's Coalition Government and refusing to support the League's demands. This demoralised the Independent Opposition and ultimately led to its collapse (1859). p. 58

[59] By altering the beginning of this article the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* gave the impression that it had been written in America. Some other contributions by Marx and Engels published as leading articles in this newspaper were also edited in this way. p. 59

[60] See Note 32. p. 62

[61] The sale of commissions in the English army dated back to the late seventeenth century and was maintained up to 1871. It ensured that members of the English aristocracy held a dominant position in the army. p. 63

[62] The *Mutiny Act* was passed by Parliament annually from 1689 to 1881, empowering the Crown to maintain a standing army and navy of a fixed size, prescribe manuals and regulations for the army and navy, set up courts martial and establish a system of punishment for mutiny, refusal to obey orders, infringements of discipline, etc. The first Mutiny Act was passed in connection with riots in the British Army. p. 63

[63] *Simony* (from Simon Magus, an allusion to his offer of money to the Apostles, Acts 8, 9:24)—the practice of selling or buying ecclesiastical preferments, etc. in the Middle Ages. Advocates of ecclesiastical reform challenged it as early as the twelfth century. p. 64

[64] Revolutionary action by gold-diggers took place in Victoria in November and December 1854. On November 29, licences were burnt at a gold-diggers' meeting. On December 2, an armed clash occurred between the insurgents and troops. Also in December the Ballarat Reform League was set up which formulated the insurgents' demands: abolition of gold-digging licences, release of the gold-diggers arrested for setting fire to the hotel, and political reforms including four of the six Chartist points. Although the uprising was suppressed and martial law introduced, some of the insurgents' demands had to be granted. p. 64

[65] An allusion to the system of extortionate taxes levied by the British Parliament and Government on the North American colonies—the high tariff on sugar imports (introduced in 1764), the stamp duty (1765), the exorbitant customs duties on imports from England, etc. It was bitterly resented by the local bourgeoisie and the masses in the colonies and was one of the factors that led to the War of Independence (1775-83) in the course of which the United States of America was formed. p. 65

[66] The *Riot Act*—an Act passed in 1715 on the maintenance of public peace and order. It empowered the local authorities to disperse assemblages of "trouble-makers" by force and charge them with felony. The Act obliged the authorities to read part of it to those assembled and to open fire if the latter refused to disperse within an hour. p. 66

[67] On March 5, 1855, *The Times* published a letter by the English doctor Augustus Bozzi Granville (later reprinted by other London newspapers) in

which he maintained that he had predicted the imminent death of the Tsar in a conversation with Palmerston as early as July 6, 1853. The letter was reported in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* on March 9, 1855. p. 68

68 The Pythia—a priestess and prophetess of Apollo at Delphi. p. 68

69 A reference to the aggravation of Anglo-French differences in the Middle East during the Turko-Egyptian war of 1839-41. The conclusion, without French participation, of the London Convention of July 15, 1840 (see Note 20) on aid by the Western Powers to the Sultan in his struggle against the Egyptian ruler Mehemet Ali created the danger of war breaking out between Britain and France. Fearing the formation of an anti-French coalition, France was forced to discontinue its support for Egypt. p. 71

70 In 1846 the Guizot Government managed to arrange the marriage of the Spanish infanta María Luisa Fernanda to Louis Philippe's youngest son, the Duke of Montpensier, and thwart Britain's plans to marry Leopold of Coburg to Queen Isabella II of Spain. The tension between the British and French governments over these marriage projects became very acute and after the failure of British diplomacy Palmerston sought a pretext to take revenge. p. 71

71 The *Treaty of Utrecht of 1713* was one of a series of peace treaties concluding the war of the Spanish succession, which had been waged from 1701 between France and Spain, on the one hand, and the countries of the anti-French coalition (Britain, the Netherlands, Portugal, Prussia, Savoy and Habsburg Austria), on the other. Austria did not sign the treaty and made peace with France at Rastatt in 1714. Under the terms of the treaty, Philip V, the Bourbon King of Spain and Louis XIV's grandson, retained the Spanish crown. The King of France was to renounce his right and that of his successors from the Bourbon dynasty to the Spanish crown. Several French and Spanish possessions in the West Indies and North America, as well as Gibraltar, passed into Britain's hands.

When he accused France in 1846 of violating the treaty of Utrecht, Palmerston had in mind Louis Philippe's plans for uniting the two monarchies through the marriage of his youngest son and the Spanish infanta. p. 71

72 This article was first published in English in Marx, Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Moscow, 1971. p. 78

73 See Note 58. p. 78

74 A reference to the agreement concluded in February 1835 by Daniel O'Connell, leader of the liberal wing of the Irish national movement, with the leaders of the Whig party. The negotiations had been held in the house of Lord Lichfield in London. Under the agreement, Irish liberals were to get certain administrative posts. O'Connell, for his part, promised to call off the mass campaign for the repeal of the Anglo-Irish Union of 1801 which abolished the autonomy of the Irish Parliament, and to support the Whigs in the British Parliament. p. 78

75 The repeal of the Anglo-Irish Union of 1801. In the 1820s repeal became the most popular slogan in Ireland. In 1840 the Repeal Association was set up. Its leader, Daniel O'Connell, sought a compromise with the British ruling circles. In January 1847 a group of radicals broke away from the Association and

formed the Irish Confederation. Its left, revolutionary wing led the national liberation movement and became the target of severe reprisals in 1848. Eventually, the Repeal Association broke up completely. p. 78

[76] See Note 7. p. 78

[77] See Note 51. p. 79

[78] Between 1845 and 1847 potato blight was the occasion of widespread famine in Ireland. The poverty of the small tenants ruthlessly exploited by the big landowners made the mass of the population almost entirely dependent on a diet of potatoes grown on their own little patches. Meanwhile the British Government not only withheld any effective form of relief, but exported large quantities of grain and other agricultural products from Ireland to England. About one million people starved to death, and the wave of emigration caused by the famine swept away another million. Large areas of Ireland were depopulated. The abandoned land was turned by English and Irish landlords into pasture.

In 1848 a popular national liberation uprising was being prepared in Ireland by the revolutionary wing of the Irish Confederation (Mitchel, Lalor, Reilly and others). In May 1848 the British authorities took severe reprisals against the movement, leaving it virtually leaderless. The vacillating Confederation leaders (Smith O'Brien and others) missed the right moment for action. Instead of a country-wide insurrection, isolated and often unprepared uprisings occurred in a number of towns and agricultural areas in late July 1848, which were quickly put down by troops.

In 1849 Parliament passed the Encumbered Estates Act for Ireland, which was supplemented by a series of other Acts in 1852 and 1853. The 1849 Act provided for the sale of mortgaged estates by auction if their owners were proved to be insolvent. As a result, the lands of many ruined landlords passed into the hands of usurers, middlemen and rich tenants. p. 80

[79] A version of this article headlined "Krimsche Angelegenheiten" ("Crimean Affairs") and dated March 16, 1855 appeared in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 131, on March 19, 1855. It was marked with the sign ×. In translating Engels' article into German Marx abridged it slightly and made a few changes (the more important ones are indicated in the footnotes). p. 81

[80] This refers to the landing in Eupatoria on February 9, 1855 of Turkish troops transferred from Bulgaria and commanded by Omer Pasha. They comprised two Turkish and one Egyptian divisions, two squadrons and two field batteries with a total strength of 21,600. p. 83

[81] The text of this article, written by Engels for the *New-York Daily Tribune*, was included by Marx, in his own translation and with a number of alterations and additions, in his report "Criticism of the French Conduct of the War" published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* on March 20, 1855. Marx's version is published in this volume on pages 90-93.

The *New-York Daily Tribune* version was reproduced in full by Marx's daughter, Eleanor Marx-Aveling, and Edward Aveling in the collection *The Eastern Question. A Reprint of Letters written 1853-1856 dealing with the events of the Crimean War*, London, 1897. Marx was given as the author of all the articles in the collection as they were published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* either with his signature or unsigned. The publication of the Marx-Engels correspondence in 1913 (*Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Stuttgart,

1913) revealed that a considerable number of the articles sent by Marx to the *Tribune* had been written by Engels.

The first sentence in this article was supplied by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune.* The reference is to the extracts from the pamphlet *De la conduite de la guerre d'Orient* which were reprinted in English translation in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 4350, on March 29, 1855 under the heading "Secret History of the Crimean Expedition. Its Origin and Blunders. Revelations of Prince Napoleon". p. 86

82 Engels is referring to the battles of Balaklava and Inkerman (see notes 10 and 35). p. 87

83 On May 21 and 22, 1809 at *Aspern,* on the left bank of the Danube near Vienna, Napoleon I's troops lost a battle to the Austrian army commanded by Archduke Charles. However, Napoleon succeeded in saving his troops from destruction by withdrawing from the left bank. On July 5 and 6 he defeated the Austrians at Wagram. Napoleonic France won the war against the Fifth Coalition (Austria, Britain, Spain and Portugal). p. 88

84 In a full-scale battle fought at *Leipzig* from October 16 to 19, 1813, the forces of the coalition of European Powers formed after Napoleon's expulsion from Russia in 1812 (Russia, Austria, Prussia, Britain, Sweden and others) inflicted a decisive defeat on the army of Napoleonic France and her allies. p. 88

85 An allusion to Louis Bonaparte's abortive putsch in Strasbourg on October 30, 1836. Aided by several Bonapartist officers he succeeded in persuading two artillery regiments of the Strasbourg garrison to mutiny. The mutineers were disarmed in a matter of hours. p. 88

86 On the *Eighteenth Brumaire* (November 9) 1799 a coup d'état was staged in France which resulted in the establishment of Napoleon Bonaparte's military dictatorship. On June 14, 1800 Napoleon's troops defeated an Austrian army at *Marengo* (Northern Italy). This first major victory by Napoleon after the coup consolidated his power.

The second edition of the Eighteenth Brumaire—Louis Bonaparte's counter-revolutionary coup d'état of December 2, 1851—led to the establishment of the Bonapartist Second Empire in France. p. 91

87 The memorandum handed by Britain, France and Austria to Russia's Ambassador in Vienna, Prince Alexander Gorchakov, during the Vienna Conference on the terms for peace negotiations (see Note 34). p. 94

88 The Vienna Conference was to work out the terms for peace between the participants in the Crimean War. It was attended by Russia, Britain, France, Austria and Turkey and lasted, with intervals, from March 15 to June 4, 1855. The negotiations centred on the Four Points (see Note 43). While agreeing, with certain reservations, to Points 1, 2 and 4, Russia emphatically rejected Point 3 which, as interpreted by the Western Powers, called for a reduction of the Russian Navy in the Black Sea. Britain and France insisted on its acceptance and turned down Austria's compromise proposal that Russia and Turkey should be allowed to agree between themselves on the size of their naval forces in the Black Sea. The Conference ended without adopting any decisions. p. 94

89 The *Peace Society* (the Society for Promoting Permanent and Universal Peace)—an organisation founded by the Quakers in London in 1816. It was

strongly supported by the Free Traders, who believed that, given peace, free trade would enable Britain to make full use of her industrial superiority and thus gain economic and political supremacy. p. 96

[90] The *Ten Hours Bill,* passed by the British Parliament on June 8, 1847, applied only to adolescents and women and was ignored by many manufacturers.

In February 1850 the Court of Chancery (one of Britain's high courts) acquitted a number of manufacturers accused of infringing the Ten Hours Bill. This ruling caused protests from the workers. On August 5, 1850 Parliament passed a new Bill which stipulated a ten-and-a-half-hour working day for women and adolescents and fixed the beginning and end of the working day. p. 97

[91] This article was first published in English in the collection Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles on Britain,* Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1971, pp. 229-32. p. 98

[92] For details on the *People's Charter* see Note 46. Echoing the Chartist speakers at the meeting, Marx further mentions the Charter's five basic demands, omitting the sixth—payment of MPs. p. 99

[93] See Note 10. p. 102

[94] See Note 35. p. 102

[95] See Note 88. p. 102

[96] See Note 7. p. 103

[97] A reference to the protocols signed by Britain, France, Austria and Prussia at the Vienna Conferences.

The protocol of December 5, 1853 proposed that Turkey enter into peace talks with Russia through the mediation of the four Powers (for details see Note 170).

The protocol of January 13, 1854 urged Russia to settle its military conflict with Turkey and informed the Russian government of the Porte's readiness for peace talks.

The protocol of April 9, 1854 demanded from Russia the immediate evacuation of its troops from the Danubian Principalities and a guarantee of the continued existence of the Ottoman Empire. p. 104

[98] This refers to the London conventions of 1840 (see Note 20) and 1841. The latter was signed, on July 13, 1841, by Britain, Russia, Austria, Prussia and Turkey, and also by France which, faced with the prospect of an anti-French coalition, was forced to withdraw its support for the Egyptian ruler Mehemet Ali, who had attacked the Sultan, and join the Powers in backing the latter. The convention also stipulated that the Bosphorus and Dardanelles were to be closed to the warships of all Powers in peacetime. p. 105

[99] See Note 43. p. 106

[100] The treaty of alliance between Britain, France and Austria signed in Vienna on December 2, 1854. The signatories undertook not to enter into any agreements with Russia without preliminary consent between themselves and not to allow the occupation of the Danubian Principalities by Russian troops. Negotiations with Russia were to be based on the Four Points. By means of this treaty Britain and France sought to draw Austria into the war against Russia. Austria,

for its part, hoped to use the alliance to strengthen its influence in the Balkans and subjugate the Danubian Principalities. p. 106

101 An extract from this article by Engels, and his next article, "The Battle at Sevastopol", were included by Marx, in abridged form, in the report "Ueber die letzten Vorgänge in der Krim" ("On the Latest Events in the Crimea"), which was dated March 23, 1855 and published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 143, on March 26. The more important different readings in the English and German versions are indicated in the footnotes.

The present article was included in *The Eastern Question*.

p. 109

102 "Les singes", which means "monkeys" and also "buffoons" and "superiors", was the name given to pro-Napoleonic generals. Marx mentioned the fact in a letter to Engels of September 13, 1854 and in several articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see present edition, Vols. 13 and 39). p. 109

103 Prince Jerome Bonaparte, Junior, commanded a division in the Crimea in 1854. Disapproving of the Crimean expedition, lacking military talent and unpopular with the army, he feigned sickness to stay away from directing military operations and later returned to Paris without permission. p. 109

104 On the German version of this article see Note 101. The first paragraph was presumably supplied by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune*. p. 113

105 Marx is presumably referring to the visit of Lord Malmesbury, the former Foreign Secretary in Derby's Tory Cabinet, to Paris in March 1853 during which he was invited to dinner by Napoleon III and had a confidential talk with him on strengthening Anglo-French relations. p. 118

106 *St. James's Palace*—royal residence in London since the late seventeenth century. Festive ceremonies and receptions were frequently held there.

p. 121

107 The *Kuchuk-Kainarji peace treaty* was concluded by Russia and Turkey on July 21, 1774, following the former's victories in the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-74. Russia obtained part of the Northern shore of the Black Sea between the South Bug and the Dnieper with the fortress of Kinburn; she also got Azov, Kerch and Yenikale and compelled Turkey to recognise the independence of the Crimea, which facilitated its eventual incorporation into Russia. The Sultan undertook to grant a number of privileges to the Greek Orthodox Church. Article 14, in particular, provided for the building of an Orthodox church in Constantinople. p. 122

108 See Note 6. p. 122

109 The *Demagogues* were members of an opposition movement of German intellectuals. The word gained wide currency following the Carlsbad conference of Ministers of German states in August 1849, which adopted a special resolution against the intrigues of "demagogues". Here the reference is to the opponents of the counter-revolutionary monarchies restored in Europe after Napoleon's fall. p. 123

110 *Exeter Hall*—a building in London, meeting place of religious and philanthropic societies.

*Puseyism*—a trend within the Anglican Church between the 1830s and 1860s. It was named after the Oxford theologian E. B. Pusey, who called for

the restoration of certain Catholic rites and dogmas. The Puseyites represented the interests of the aristocracy, which strove to retain its influence in opposition to the industrial bourgeoisie, which was on the whole Protestant. In particular, the Puseyites upheld the Catholic view of the Eucharist as the "transubstantiation" of bread and wine into the true body and blood of Christ. In contrast to this, the other Anglican and Protestant trends regarded the bread and wine merely as symbols of the "true presence" of Christ's body and blood. p. 126

[111] See Note 35. p. 126

[112] This is an altered English version of Marx's article "The Committee of Inquiry" written for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* (see this volume, pp. 124-27). p. 128

[113] A reference to Aberdeen's coalition ministry of 1852-55. This "Cabinet of All the Talents" included Whigs, Peelites (see Note 6) and representatives of the Irish faction in the British Parliament. p. 130

[114] This paragraph, especially its concluding part, shows signs of interference by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune.* p. 132

[115] The *siege of Silistria* (Silistra)—a fortress on the south bank of the Danube in Bulgaria—by Russian troops was one of the major operations in the Danubian theatre during the Crimean War. The siege began in the first half of May 1854, but in the fourth week of June the Russian troops withdrew beyond the Danube in view of the hostile attitude of Austria, which had concentrated considerable forces behind the Russian lines. A description of the fighting in this area was given in the articles "The Russian Retreat" by Marx and Engels and "The Siege of Silistria" by Engels (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 253-57 and 234-45). p. 134

[116] This is an altered German version of Engels' article "Progress of the War". The text was translated and edited by Marx. p. 136

[117] This would seem to refer to the fighting between the Turkish and Russian forces that took place at Kalafat, in the Danubian theatre of war, in mid-January 1854. p. 136

[118] *Bashi-bazouks*—irregular detachments of the Turkish army in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; the name was also given to troops noted for their lack of discipline and for their cruelty and looting. p. 136

[119] The system of recruitment in force in France until 1872 (abolished by the French Revolution but reintroduced by Napoleon I) enabled members of the propertied classes called up for the army to hire substitutes. In an attempt to tighten its control over the armed forces the Bonapartist government in April 1855 introduced the law of "dotation", under which substitutes, unless close relations of the draftee, were to be provided by the state. In return the person exempted from service was to contribute a fixed sum to the "army dotation" fund p. 139

[120] Under the heading "Prospect in France and England" this article (minus the first sentence) was included in *The Eastern Question.*

The opening sentence was presumably contributed by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* in an attempt to provide some sort of explanation for the long absence of articles signed by Marx. At the time, most of Marx's articles

were published as editorials. It may be assumed that in this particular case the editors printed the article under Marx's name as they did not want to be identified with the revolutionary proletarian attitude clearly expressed in the article. p. 141

[121] See Note 88. p. 141

[122] See Note 6. p. 143

[123] The *Peace Society*—see Note 89. By "peace party" Marx means the Free Traders or the Manchester School (see Note 7). p. 143

[124] See Notes 2, 35 and 10. p. 144

[125] A reference to the heroic uprising of Paris workers in June 1848. It was the first civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in history. The defeat of the uprising was followed by a counter-revolutionary offensive in many European countries, including France itself. p. 145

[126] A German version of this article dated April 14, 1855 was published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 177, on April 17 under the heading "Kritik des napoleonischen 'Moniteur'-Artikels" ("A Critique of Napoleon's Article in *Le Moniteur*"). The article was translated into German and edited by Marx. The more important changes are indicated in the footnotes.

Under the heading "Napoleon's Apology" the English version was included in *The Eastern Question.*

The first sentence of the article in the *New-York Daily Tribune* shows editorial interference. It was evidently the editors who added the lines concerning the reprinting in the *Tribune* of passages from the *Moniteur* leading article (actually there was only a brief summary of the article in the "Letters from Europe" column of the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune,* No. 1035, April 27, 1855). p. 146

[127] See Notes 22 and 107. p. 147

[128] In the battle of *Baylen* on July 20, 1808, during the Spanish war of independence (1808-14), the French troops commanded by General Dupont were encircled by the Spaniards and laid down their arms.

At Culm (Bohemia) on August 29 and 30, 1813, during the war of the coalition of European Powers against Napoleonic France, the Austrian troops encircled and captured the French forces commanded by General Vandamme. p. 147

[129] A reference to Mivart's (Claridge's) Hotel, 42 Brook Street, London, where Louis Napoleon stayed from 1838 to 1840, during his banishment from France after the abortive coup in Strasbourg on October 30, 1836. p. 148

[130] A German version of this article dated April 15, 1855 appeared in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 179, on April 18 under the heading "Die Affäre vom 23. März" ("The March 23 Affair"). The text was translated and edited by Marx. Footnotes indicate the passages where the German version differs from the English.

The reference to the publication of the French and English reports on the events of March 23, 1855 (second paragraph of the English version) was added by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune.* p. 151

[131] This article was written by Engels at Marx's request for simultaneous publication in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* and *New-York Daily Tribune.* It was based

on Engels' studies of the language, literature and history of many Slav peoples, which he began after moving to Manchester in 1850. He read Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin* and *Bronze Horseman* and Griboyedov's *Wit Works Woe* in the original. His notes on the vocabulary of these works are extant, together with the passages he copied from a reader in Russian literature, and his notes on the history of Russia and Serbia. These preparatory materials and the references in Engels' articles to the works of many noted Slavists—Dobrowsky, Kollár, Mikloszić, Palacký, Šafařík and others—bear witness to the intensity and fruitfulness of his studies, which enabled him to draw on numerous sources, including some in Slavic languages, in his analysis of the history, culture and national movements of the Slavs.

As can be seen from the closing sentence of the second instalment of this article, Engels intended to continue his discussion of the subject, laying special emphasis on exposing the reactionary character of the Pan-Slavist ideas. He regarded them as an instrument of the great-power policies of the Habsburgs (Austro-Slavism) and a means of vindicating the aggressive tendencies of Russian Tsarism. In sending Engels' article to Elsner, the editor of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung,* Marx wrote on April 17, 1855 that it was "the *beginning* of a polemic against *Pan-Slavism*" (see present edition, Vol. 39). However, no further articles on this subject appeared in the newspaper.

Marx attached particular importance to publishing a critique of Pan-Slavist ideas in the *New-York Daily Tribune* because he considered it vital to counteract the influence of A. Gurowski, a propagandist of Pan-Slavism and apologist for Tsarist Russia, who contributed to the *Tribune* and had published several pamphlets on the subject, including the brochure *Russia as It Is* (1854). The two instalments of the present article were published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on May 5 and 7 as separate articles under the headings "The European Struggle" (for this version, which differs considerably from that of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung,* see pp. 163-65 of this volume) and "Austria's Weakness". In the second English article several unwarranted changes were made by the *Tribune* editors who, among other things, inserted a whole paragraph extolling Gurowski's ideas. This version is therefore published in the Appendices, with the necessary explanations given in the notes (see pp. 689-93 and Note 447).

Between January and April 1856 Engels wrote fifteen articles on Pan-Slavism for the *New-York Daily Tribune,* but the editorial board turned them down and in September sent them back to Marx. The manuscripts have not been preserved. Engels' plan for a pamphlet on Pan-Slavism, to be published in Germany, was not realised. p. 156

[132] The *Ruthenians*—the name given in nineteenth-century Western ethnographical and historical literature to the Ukrainians of Galicia, the Eastern Carpathians and Bukovina, who were cut off at the time from the rest of the Ukrainian people. p. 157

[133] In listing the Carinthians and Croats with the Slovenes, Engels was basing himself on the then current system of classification of the South Slav peoples, which singled out an "Illyrian branch", comprising the Slavs who inhabited the north-western part of the Adriatic coast of the Balkan Peninsula and the adjoining areas captured in the Middle Ages by the Austrian Habsburgs (Styria, Carinthia, Carniola and others). A considerable section of the Slav population of these areas, including the Carinthians, does belong to the Slovenes, but the Croats are a Slav people in their own right. p. 157

[134] The *Slav Congress* met in Prague on June 2, 1848. It was attended by representatives of the Slav countries forming part of the Austrian Empire. The Right, moderately liberal wing, to which Palacký and Šafařík, the leaders of the Congress, belonged, sought to solve the national problem through autonomy of the Slav lands within the framework of the Habsburg monarchy. The Left, radical wing (Sabina, Frič, Libelt and others) wanted to act in alliance with the revolutionary-democratic movement in Germany and Hungary. Radical delegates took an active part in the popular uprising in Prague (June 12-17, 1848), directed against the arbitrary rule of the Austrian authorities, and were subjected to cruel reprisals. On June 16, the moderate liberal delegates declared the Congress adjourned indefinitely. p. 159

[135] The Serbian insurrection against the arbitrary rule and brutal reprisals of the Turkish janissaries, which flared up in February 1804, developed into an armed struggle for Serbia's independence from Turkey. In the course of the insurrection a national government was set up and in 1808 Georgi Petrovič (Karageorge), the leader of the insurgents, was proclaimed hereditary supreme ruler of the Serbian people. The Serbian movement was greatly advanced by the successful operations of the Russian army in the Balkans during the Russo-Turkish war of 1806-12. Under the Bucharest peace treaty of 1812 Turkey was to grant Serbia autonomy in domestic affairs, but taking advantage of Napoleon's invasion of Russia, the Sultan sent a punitive expedition to Serbia in 1813 and restored Turkish rule there. It was overthrown in 1815 as a result of a new Serbian insurrection and diplomatic support from Russia. After the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29, which ended in the signing of the Adrianople peace treaty of 1829, Turkey recognised the autonomy, i.e. virtual independence, of the Serbian Principality by a special firman of the Sultan issued in 1830. p. 160

[136] This article is an altered version of part of the article "Germany and Pan-Slavism". The latter was written for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*. Under the heading "Panslavism" the English version was printed in *The Eastern Question*. See Note 131. p. 163

[137] A reference to the adjournment of the Vienna Conference caused by disagreement between the participants on the Third Point of the terms presented to Russia (see Note 88). It was adjourned on April 26, 1855, following Russia's rejection of the Western Powers' demand that it should limit its naval forces in the Black Sea. It met for the last time on June 4, 1855. p. 163

[138] The *Reform Movement*—see Note 51.

The *Anti-Corn Law movement*—see Note 14.

The *Bank Restriction Act*, passed in 1797, introduced a compulsory rate for notes and abolished their convertibility into gold. These measures were re-introduced virtually in full in 1821 on the basis of an Act passed in 1819. p. 166

[139] The *Association for Administrative Reform* was set up in London in May 1855 on the initiative of liberal circles in the City. Taking advantage of the outcry caused in the country by press reports and the findings of the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry on the plight of the British army in the Crimea, the Association hoped by means of mass rallies to bring pressure to bear on Parliament and win broader access for members of the commercial and finance bourgeoisie to government posts, monopolised by the aristocracy. In their

campaign the Association's leaders sought to obtain the support of the Chartists. However, at rallies organised by the Association and at their own rallies the Chartists refused to back the moderate bourgeois demands for administrative reform and instead urged a Parliamentary reform based on the People's Charter (see Note 46). The administrative reform campaign was a failure, and the Association soon ceased to exist. In his subsequent reports Marx frequently touched on the Association's activities and relations with the Chartists. p. 167

140 In Christoph Martin Wieland's *Die Abderiten, eine sehr wahrscheinliche Geschichte* a trifling dispute causes the population of the ancient Thracian city of Abdera to divide into two parties, the struggle between which nearly leads to the city's destruction. The first edition of the novel appeared in Weimar in 1774, the second, enlarged one, in 1781. p. 167

141 In the 1806 general election the Radical James Paull, a friend of William Cobbett's, was put forward as a candidate for Westminster. However, the authorities refused to endorse his nomination because of his denunciations of the Viceroy of India, Richard Wellesley. The Westminster electorate retaliated by returning to Parliament another Radical, Francis Burdett, who had actively defended Paull. p. 168

142 The *Thirty Years' War* (1618-48)—a war in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the Catholic German princes fought against the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands and a number of German states. The rulers of Catholic France—rivals of the Habsburgs—supported the Protestants. Germany was the main arena of this struggle, the object of pillage and territorial claims. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) sealed her political dismemberment. p. 168

143 Marx is referring to Pius IX, who between 1846 and early 1848 introduced a number of moderate liberal reforms in the Papal States in the interests of the nobility and the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie. In this way he sought to counteract the mounting revolutionary movement in Italy. p. 168

144 A group of French deputies (called the Dynastic Opposition) headed by Odilon Barrot took part in the campaign of banquets for electoral reform conducted by the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois opposition in France on the eve of the February 1848 revolution. The group had joined the movement in an attempt to render it innocuous to the July monarchy. The Dynastic Opposition favoured moderate electoral reform as a means of preventing revolution and preserving the Orleans dynasty. p. 168

145 An abridged and altered version of this article by Engels was published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung,* No. 217, on May 11, 1855, under the heading "Die Belagerung von Sebastopol" ("The Siege of Sevastopol"). It was marked with the sign × and dated May 8. The translation and editing were done by Marx. Footnotes indicate the passages where the German version differs from the English. p. 170

146 The report turned out to be false. Engels stated this on the basis of verified data in his article "The Crimean War" (see this volume, pp. 201-07). The Russian fortifications mentioned were taken by the Allies on June 7, 1855. p. 170

147 On April 28, 1855, Giovanni Pianori, an Italian revolutionary and associate of Garibaldi, shot at Napoleon III when the French Emperor was riding on

horseback in the Champs Elysées. The abortive attempt was provoked, among other things, by the part Louis Bonaparte played in 1849, when still President, in sending an expeditionary corps against the Roman Republic and crushing the Italian revolution. Pianori was executed in May 1855. p. 177

148 A German version of Engels' article "The New Move in the Crimea" appeared in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* under the heading "Der Feldzug in der Krim" ("The Campaign in the Crimea"), dated May 11. The translation and editing were done by Marx.

The opening lines and further passages in the English version show alterations made by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune*. A comparison of the two versions reveals changes in the estimate of the strength of the Allied forces in the Crimea and a somewhat different presentation of figures, which was probably based on the reports of other *Tribune* correspondents, including A. Pulszky. However, the overall conclusions in the two versions are identical. p. 180

149 The second half of this article beginning with the words "The *anti-aristocratic* movement" was first published in English under the heading "The Character of the Whigs and Tories" in Karl Marx, *Surveys From Exile, Political Writings*, Vol. 2, Harmondsworth, 1973. p. 186

150 On May 14, 1855, Ellenborough moved in the House of Lords that a message be sent to the Queen informing her that the House was dissatisfied with the conduct of the Crimean War and that the success of the campaign could only be ensured by appointing deserving people to government posts. The proposal was discussed and rejected on the same day. p. 187

151 The *Anti-Corn Law League* was founded by the Manchester factory owners Cobden and Bright in 1838. By demanding complete freedom of trade, the League fought for the abolition of the Corn Laws (see Note 14). In this way it sought to weaken the economic and political position of the landed aristocracy and lower the cost of living thus making possible a lowering of the workers' wages. The repeal of the Corn Laws under Peel's Tory government led to a split in the ranks of the Tories and facilitated the coming to power of the Whigs (1846). Having achieved its end, the League ceased to exist. p. 187

152 See Note 139. p. 187

153 The Act for a Seven-Year Parliament (the *Septennial Act*), passed by Parliament in the interests of the Whig oligarchy in 1716, extended the term of Parliament from three to seven years.

By the latest Workhouse and Factory legislation the 1834 Poor Law is meant (see Note 56). p. 188

154 A reference to the British naval expedition to the mouth of the Scheldt in 1809, during the war waged by the Fifth Coalition (Austria, Britain, Portugal and Spain) against Napoleonic France. The British captured Walcheren Island, but were unable to launch further operations and had to evacuate the island after about 10,000 of their landing party of 40,000 had died of hunger and disease. p. 190

155 The *rotten boroughs* were sparsely populated constituencies which had retained the right to a seat in Parliament from the Middle Ages. In practice the election of MPs from the rotten boroughs depended on the landlords who controlled them. The 1832 Reform Act (see Note 45) deprived most of the rotten

boroughs of Parliamentary representation, but the old system of demarcating electoral districts, which favoured the landed aristocracy, was largely preserved. p. 192

156 A reference to the *London Chartist Organising Committee* set up in February 1855 as a successor to the Welcome and Protest Committee. The latter had been formed by Ernest Jones in October 1854 to arrange a festive welcome to London for Armand Barbès, a participant in the 1848 revolution in France who had been released from prison, and to organise a demonstration of protest against the proposed visit to London of Napoleon III, who was expected to come at about the same time. Together with the Executive of the National Charter Association the London Organising Committee worked for the revival of the Chartist movement in London and for closer international co-operation of democratic forces. The Committee included Ernest Jones, George Harrison, James Taylor and other noted Chartists. It set up a seven-man commission charged with the task of establishing international ties. Together with representatives of French, German and other refugees in London the commission formed an International Committee. At the end of 1855 the London Organising Committee was disbanded, and the International Committee was set up as an independent organisation. Renamed the International Association in 1856, it operated until 1859. p. 196

157 In the *battle of Jena* (October 14, 1806) the French army, commanded by Napoleon, routed the Prussian army, thus forcing Prussia to surrender. p. 204

158 This article was first published in English under the heading "On the Reform Movement" in Karl Marx, *Surveys from Exile, Political Writings*, Vol. 2, Harmondsworth, 1973. p. 208

159 See Note 47. p. 209

160 In July 1854, a French force commanded by Espinasse invaded the Dobruja. The expedition was a total failure. Many French soldiers died of cholera and other diseases. p. 212

161 On the night of December 1, 1851, a battalion of the regiment commanded by Espinasse was on guard duty at the National Assembly. On December 2 Espinasse, bribed by the Bonapartists, ordered his troops to occupy the Assembly building, thereby contributing to the success of Louis Bonaparte's coup d'état. p. 212

162 A reference to Disraeli's statement in the House of Commons on May 22, 1855, that he would shortly submit for discussion a draft message to the Queen censuring the Palmerston government's vacillating policy on the issue of war and peace. A motion to this effect was in fact tabled on May 24 and evoked a lively debate in Parliament. Marx described this debate in a number of his articles (see this volume, pp. 227-36, 245-48 and 257-59). p. 213

163 See Notes 88 and 137. p. 214

164 Marx included this article in an abridged and somewhat revised form in his report for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* headlined "Prologue at Lord Palmerston's.—Course of the Latest Events in the Crimea", which is published in this volume as a joint article by Marx and Engels (see pp. 218-21). p. 215

165 The section of this article dealing with the latest events in the Crimea (up to

the last but one paragraph, which describes the circumstances of Pélissier's appointment) is an abridged German version of Engels' article "The New French Commander", published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 4414, on June 12, 1855 (see this volume, pp. 215-17). The editing and translation were done by Marx. p. 218

166 See Note 162. p. 218

167 See Note 162. p. 222

168 On May 11, 1855, T. M. Gibson stated in the House of Commons that he was going to submit for discussion a draft message to the Queen expressing the desire for a successful conclusion of the Vienna Conference and for an honourable peace. p. 223

169 A reference to the third of the Four Points put forward by the Allies as terms for peace talks with Russia (see Note 43). It was interpreted by Western diplomats as calling for a limitation of the Russian naval forces in the Black Sea and was rejected by Russia's representatives at the Vienna Conference (see Notes 88 and 137). p. 228

170 On December 5, 1853, the British, French and Prussian representatives at the Vienna Conference and the Austrian Foreign Minister Buol signed a protocol under which Notes were sent to Turkey and Russia offering Western mediation in settling the Russo-Turkish dispute. The following terms were stipulated as a basis for negotiations: evacuation by Russia of Moldavia and Wallachia, renewal of the former Russo-Turkish treaties, a guarantee of the rights of Christians by all European powers, and reform of Turkey's administrative system. p. 228

171 See Note 107. p. 229

172 See Note 43. p. 229

173 *Probabilism*—a theory that, truth being unattainable, all knowledge can only be probable. According to it, any action is permissible since some kind of plausible justification can always be found for it. p. 231

174 See Note 43. p. 232

175 See Note 110. p. 233

176 See Note 107. p. 235

177 *Categorical imperative*—the basic concept of the ethics of the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). It denotes the moral obligation of the individual to act according to rules that could serve as principles of universal legislation. p. 236

178 See Note 43. p. 238

179 This article was first published in English under the heading "The Association for Administrative Reform.—People's Charter" in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *On Britain,* Moscow, 1962. p. 240

180 See Note 139. p. 240

181 The alignment of class forces in France after the defeat of the uprising of Paris workers in June 1848 enabled the Bonapartist circles to take advantage of universal suffrage in order to get Louis Napoleon elected President (December 10, 1848). On May 31, 1850, the French Legislative Assembly abolished

universal suffrage. Louis Napoleon demagogically used the slogan of its restoration in staging his coup d'état on December 2, 1851. An analysis of these events is given in Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (see present edition, Vol. 10) and *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (Vol. 11).
p. 242

182 In 1842 the radical and liberal Free-Trade circles made several attempts to enlist the working-class movement in the campaign for the repeal of the Corn Laws and for moderate reforms. To distract the workers from the struggle for the implementation of the Chartists' social and political programme, they put forward the vague demand for "full suffrage". With the aid of some conciliatory Chartist leaders (Lovett, Vincent and others) the radicals succeeded in convening in Birmingham two conferences of representatives of the bourgeoisie and Chartists (in April and December 1842) which discussed joint campaigns for electoral reform. However, on December 27 the Chartist majority at the conferences rejected the proposal to replace the People's Charter with a new "Bill of Rights" and the demand for "full suffrage". From then onwards the Charter was the exclusive demand of the proletarian masses.
p. 243

183 See Note 88. p. 245

184 On the *Peelites* see Note 6.
On the *Manchester School* see Note 7. p. 246

185 The works of Thomas Hobbes were published in 1839-45, eleven volumes in English and five in Latin, by Molesworth. p. 247

186 A reference to the Protocol of December 5, 1853 (see Note 97).
On the *Four Points* see Note 43. p. 248

187 The opening lines of the first and third paragraphs (the references to the reports brought by the *Asia* and to those received from Halifax, as well as to the publication in the preceding issue—No. 4424, June 22, 1855—of reports on the fighting in the Crimea) were added by the *Tribune* editors. The article was reproduced by Marx in German translation and with some alterations in his report published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* on June 11, 1855, under the heading "Zur Kritik der Vorgänge in der Krim" ("A Critique of the Events in the Crimea"). p. 249

188 This article is, in part, a German version of Engels' report "From the Crimea" written for the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see this volume, pp. 249-52). The translation and editing were done by Marx. The description of the Allies' expedition to the Sea of Azov, their landing of May 25, 1855, and the capture of Kerch and Yenikale may have been taken from the same report, the relevant passage of which might have been left out by the *Tribune* editors because reports on this expedition had been published in the paper earlier (see the leading articles "From the Crimea" and "The Crimean War" in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, Nos. 4415 and 4422, June 14 and 21, 1855). p. 253

189 See Note 151. p. 259

190 The first paragraph of this article (the reference to the publication of the dispatches by General Pélissier and Lord Raglan under the common heading "The Recent Successes Before Sevastopol" in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4428, June 28, 1855) was added by the *Tribune* editors.

An abridged version of this article with a few editorial changes by Marx (dated June 12, 1855 and marked with the sign ×) was published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* on June 15 under the heading "Kritik der Krimschen Unternehmungen" ("Criticism of the Operations in the Crimea"). p. 260

191 After the defeat of the Prussian troops by Napoleon's army at Jena and Auerstadt in the autumn of 1806, many Prussian fortresses surrendered to the advancing French without a fight. However, the garrison of Colberg (Polish name: Kolobrzeg) on the Baltic coast offered staunch resistance. The siege began in mid-March 1807 and lasted for three and a half months. The defence, directed by Gneisenau, was supported by Schill's guerrilla detachment, operating behind the French lines.

The fortress of Danzig (Gdansk), occupied by the French after their defeat in Russia in 1812, was besieged by the Russians and Prussians from land and sea in early 1813. The garrison withstood three regular sieges, but was ultimately forced to surrender. On January 2, 1814, the Allied troops entered the city. p. 261

192 After the successful start of the North Italian campaign by General Bonaparte's army in the spring of 1796—a series of victories over the Austrians, the defeat of their allies, the Piedmontese, and the capture of Lombardy's capital, Milan—its advance was arrested by the resistance of Mantua. In June the French beleaguered the fortress. At the same time, Napoleon had to use some of his men for active operations against the Austrian troops attempting to relieve the city. It was only after a nine-month siege and the defeat of the Austrian relief army that the Mantua garrison surrendered (February 2, 1797).

*Danzig* (Gdansk) was besieged by the French in March 1807, in the course of Napoleonic France's war against the Fourth European coalition (Prussia, Russia, Britain and Sweden). The garrison, consisting of Prussian troops and a Russian detachment, offered stiff resistance, supported by the attempts of another Russian detachment to break the siege from without. The fortress surrendered to the superior French forces at the end of May 1807. p. 262

193 The text of this article by Engels was translated by Marx into German and included, with a certain amount of editing, in two reports for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung:* "The Debate on Layard's Motion.—The War in the Crimea", dated June 16 and published June 19, 1855 and "The Local War.—Debate on Administrative Reform.—Report of the Roebuck Committee, etc.", dated June 20 and published June 23, 1855. The two reports are therefore published here as written jointly by Marx and Engels (see this volume, pp. 277-79 and 287-91). p. 267

194 A reference to the French intervention against the Roman Republic which led to the latter's fall (July 1849) and the restoration of the temporal power of the Pope. Louis Napoleon, as President of the French Republic, was one of the organisers of the intervention. p. 267

195 See Note 43. p. 268

196 The *Treaties of Tilsit*—the peace treaties concluded on July 7 and 9, 1807 by Napoleonic France with Russia and Prussia, members of the Fourth anti-French coalition which was defeated in the campaigns of 1806 and 1807. In an attempt to divide the defeated powers, Napoleon made no territorial claims on Russia and even managed to have part of Prussia's Eastern possessions (the Bialystok region) transferred to it. At the same time, harsh terms were imposed on

Prussia, who lost nearly half its territory to the German states dependent on France, was obliged to pay an indemnity, had its army limited, etc. However, Russia, as well as Prussia, had to sever its alliance with Britain and, to its own disadvantage, join the Continental System. Napoleon formed the vassal Duchy of Warsaw on Polish territory seized by Prussia during the partitions of Poland in the late eighteenth century, and planned to use the duchy as a bridgehead in the event of war with Russia. The further aggravation of Russo-French differences led to Napoleon's campaign against Russia in 1812. p. 269

197 A reference to the Austro-Prussian treaty of April 20, 1854, obliging the two states to take joint action against Russia in the event of her refusing to evacuate the Danubian Principalities or of the Russian troops' advancing further in the Balkans. p. 271

198 *Lower Empire* (Bas Empire)—the name given in historical literature to the Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantine Empire); also used with reference to states at the stage of decline or disintegration. Here an allusion to the Second Empire in France. p. 271

199 Acting on instructions from the Home Secretary James Graham, the British authorities in 1844 opened the correspondence of a number of Italian revolutionary refugees, including letters from the Bandiera brothers to Mazzini in which they set forth their plan for an expedition to Calabria to organise an uprising against the Neapolitan Bourbons and Austrian rule in Italy. In June 1844 the members of the expedition, betrayed by one of their number, were arrested. The Bandiera brothers were shot. p. 273

200 See Note 139. p. 274

201 This article has not been found. p. 274

202 In this report Marx drew on Engels' article "Napoleon's War Plans" written for the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see this volume, pp. 267-72). p. 277

203 In his House of Commons speech on June 15, 1855, Layard tabled a resolution stating that the traditional practice of appointing members of influential families to government posts had caused incalculable harm to the country and was discrediting the nation. Layard's motion, discussed on June 15 and 18, was rejected. p. 277

204 See Note 43. p. 278

205 The *Vienna Congress* of European monarchs and their Ministers (September 1814 to June 1815) concluded the wars of the European coalition against Napoleonic France. It was attended by representatives of all European states, except Turkey. The congress revealed sharp differences between the principal participants: Russia and Prussia, on the one hand, and Austria, Britain and France, on the other. The extremely protracted negotiations were accompanied by endless balls, masquerades and theatrical events. The decisions of the congress (further in the text Marx calls them the Vienna treaty, meaning the sum total of international acts, including the Final Act of June 9, 1815) helped re-install several royal dynasties overthrown during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, sealed the political disunity of Germany and Italy, sanctioned the annexation of Belgium by Holland and the partition of Poland, and outlined measures to combat the revolutionary and national liberation movement, thereby preparing the ground for the Holy Alliance, a counter-revolutionary union of European monarchs. p. 283

[206] Marx is referring to the secret treaty of alliance against Russia and Prussia signed by France, Austria and Britain in the Austrian capital on January 3, 1815, during the Congress of Vienna. Along with Chancellor Metternich of Austria and British Foreign Secretary Castlereagh, an important part in preparing the treaty was played by Talleyrand-Périgord, the French representative at the Congress, who sought to exploit the differences between the members of the former anti-Napoleonic coalition. The formation of the Anglo-Austro-French alliance forced Prussia to reduce her claims on the Kingdom of Saxony and with regard to the Polish lands. p. 283

[207] The treaties signed by Russia, Prussia and Austria in Vienna on May 3, 1815, and the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna, signed on June 9, 1815, sanctioned the abolition of the Duchy of Warsaw, set up by Napoleon in 1807, and a new partition of the Polish lands between Austria, Prussia and Russia. p. 284

[208] See Note 198. p. 286

[209] The last paragraph of this article was presumably added by the *New-York Daily Tribune* editors. p. 286

[210] In this report Marx drew on Engels' article "Napoleon's War Plans", which was written for the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see this volume, pp. 267-72). p. 287

[211] See Note 196. p. 288

[212] Speaking in the House of Commons on June 15, 1855, Edward George Bulwer-Lytton tabled a proposal (in the form of an amendment to a proposal by Layard) urging stricter regulations for the filling of government posts and a number of other administrative reforms. The proposal, largely aimed at depriving the Administrative Reform Association (see Note 139) of its *raison d'être*, was discussed by the House on June 15 and 18 and adopted on June 20. p. 289

[213] On May 26, 1855, the British frigate *Cossack* stopped off Gange (Hangö) in the Gulf of Finland and sent a boat under a flag of truce to treat with the Russians. Mistaking the envoys for an intelligence party, the Russian commanding officer, an ensign, laid an ambush. In the ensuing clash half the British sailors were killed and the others wounded and taken prisoner. The incident was discussed by the British Parliament. Marx describes the debate in question in his next report for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* (see this volume, pp. 292-96). p. 291

[214] The beginning of Marx's article (the part concerning the false report about the seizure of Sevastopol) appeared in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* on June 25 with an editorial note saying that the conclusion would be published in the next morning issue of the paper. p. 292

[215] On June 18, 1855, one of the major battles of the Crimean War was fought at Sevastopol, ending in defeat for the Allies. The nearly nine-month-long siege of the city, the destruction caused by the bombardment, and the capture by French and British troops on June 7, 1855 of the outlying fortifications, the Selenghinsk and Volhynsk redoubts and the Kamchatka lunette (which had been erected by the defenders in the course of the siege) induced the Allied command to undertake a full-scale assault on the Southern (Korabelnaya) part

of the city. It was launched on the fortieth anniversary of the battle of Waterloo, fought on June 18, 1815. The assault was preceded by massive bombardment of the city from land and sea. Despite the Allies' substantial superiority in numbers, their attack, launched along the whole line of Russian fortifications at dawn on June 18, 1855, was repulsed at every point. The attackers suffered heavy losses. The fighting on June 18 showed the strength of Sevastopol's defences and the staunchness of the Russian troops. Marx gave a detailed account of the battle in his report "The Mishap of June 18.—Reinforcements"; Engels described it in his articles "From Sevastopol" and "The Late Repulse of the Allies" (see this volume, pp. 297-301, 313-19 and 328-32). p. 292

216 During an inspection of troops in Boulogne at the end of September 1854 Napoleon III declared that the Allies had taken Sevastopol. This statement was based on false reports. p. 292

217 A reference to the law on a new internal loan passed by the Legislative Corps on June 20, 1855. The loan was to total 750 to 800 million francs. p. 293

218 See Note 213. p. 293

219 In the battle of Waterloo fought on June 18, 1815, the Anglo-Dutch and Prussian forces commanded by the Duke of Wellington and Blücher defeated Napoleon's army. p. 297

220 The *Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi*—see Note 25.

The *Dardanelles Treaty*—a reference to the London Straits Convention signed on July 13, 1841 (see Note 98). p. 300

221 Marx's description of the mass demonstration held in Hyde Park on June 24, 1855, in protest against a series of anti-popular measures adopted by Parliament (in particular, the prohibition of Sunday trading) is based mainly on his own observations. Wilhelm Liebknecht writes in his memoirs that Marx and other German revolutionary democrats took part both in this demonstration and in one organised by the Chartists at Hyde Park on the following Sunday, July 1, 1855. According to Liebknecht, in the course of the latter demonstration, which was dispersed by the police, Marx was very nearly arrested. Two days after the events of June 24, Marx wrote to Engels: "The demonstration held at Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon looked very revolutionary." The present article was first published in English in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *On Britain*, Moscow, 1953. It was printed together with another article by Marx, describing the demonstration on July 1 (see this volume, pp. 302-07 and 323-27) under the joint editorial heading: "Anti-Church Movement. [—Demonstration in Hyde Park"]. p. 302

222 The *High Church*—a trend in the Anglican Church which stressed the latter's derivation from Catholicism, maintained the traditional rituals and originally drew its following mainly from the aristocracy.

The *Low Church*—a trend in the Anglican Church which laid special emphasis on Christian morality; its following originally consisted predominantly of members of the bourgeoisie and the lower clergy.

*Dissidents* or *dissenters* were members of various Protestant sects and trends in England who to some degree or other rejected the dogmas of the Established Church. p. 302

223 According to British Parliamentary procedure the House of Commons, when discussing certain important questions, may declare itself a Committee of the

Whole House. Each of its sittings is presided over by one of a list of chairmen who is appointed by the Speaker. p. 303

224 A reference to the Executive Committee of the National Charter Association. Founded in July 1840 and numbering nearly 50,000 members in its heyday, the Association was the first mass working-class party in the history of the labour movement. In 1848, the defeat of the Chartists and division in their ranks drastically reduced the Association's following. Nevertheless, in the 1850s the Association, headed by Ernest Jones and other revolutionary leaders, launched a campaign for the revival of Chartism on a revolutionary basis. It urged the implementation of the People's Charter and the socialist principles proclaimed by the Chartist Convention in 1851.

In 1855 widespread discontent with the policy of the ruling oligarchy induced the revolutionary Chartists to make another attempt to reorganise Chartism. In the summer of that year a number of local Chartist committees were elected, and in August the Executive Committee of the National Charter Association was formed. It included Ernest Jones, Abraham Robinson and James Finlen. The Association ceased its activities in 1858. p. 305

225 See Note 213. p. 308

226 See Note 139. p. 309

227 An Act passed in Britain in the early eighteenth century obliged newly elected Members of Parliament to swear what was known as the Oath of Abjuration, which was a solemn denial of the right of James II's descendants to the Crown. The Oath included a statement of devotion to Christianity. Refusal by an MP to take the Oath virtually debarred him from participation in Parliamentary proceedings. Despite repeated motions for amending the text of the Oath, it was not until 1866 that the passage on devotion to Christianity was omitted.

Lord John Russell's Jewish Disabilities Bill (1853) to allow elected Jews to swear a non-Christian oath had been carried in the Commons but rejected by the Lords. p. 311

228 An abridged German version of this article dated June 29, 1855 was published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* on July 2, 1855 under the title "Über die Ereignisse in der Krim" ("On the Events in the Crimea"). The translation and editing were done by Marx. The first paragraph in the *New-York Daily Tribune* version shows signs of editorial interference. p. 313

229 See Note 219. p. 316

230 On Marx's participation in the second mass demonstration against the Anti-Sunday Trading Bill, held in Hyde Park on Sunday, July 1, 1855, see Note 221. On July 3, 1855 Marx wrote to Engels about this demonstration: "The scenes in Hyde Park last Sunday were disgusting, firstly because of the constables' brutality and secondly because of the purely passive resistance put up by the huge crowds. Meanwhile things are clearly seething and fermenting and we can only hope that great disasters in the Crimea will bring them to a head."

The article was first published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *On Britain*, Moscow, 1953, pp. 420-25, as Part II, together with Marx's article on the demonstration of June 24, 1855 (see this volume, pp. 302-07) under the common editorial heading "Anti-Church Movement—Demonstration in Hyde Park". p. 323

[231] A reference to the battle of Inkerman (November 5, 1854) in which the British suffered heavy losses (see Note 35). p. 326

[232] The text of this article by Engels was used by Marx in two reports for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*: "Clashes between the Police and the People.—The Events in the Crimea" (published in this volume as a joint work by Marx and Engels, see pp. 333-36) and "Über den Sturm vom 18. Juni" ("On the Assault of June 18"). The latter has not been included in this volume as it is an almost word for word translation of part of Engels' article "The Late Repulse of the Allies".

The first paragraph of the *New-York Daily Tribune* version of this article shows signs of editorial interference. p. 328

[233] A reference to the defeat of the British and Turkish forces in the battle of Balaklava (see Note 10). Particularly heavy losses were suffered by the British cavalry. p. 332

[234] The section of this article dealing with military events is part of Engels' article "The Late Repulse of the Allies" which was written for the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see this volume, pp. 328-32). p. 333

[235] *Maine Law*—the first law passed in the US banning the production and sale of alcoholic beverages. It was first adopted in the State of Maine in 1841 and renewed in amended form in 1851. p. 333

[236] Napoleon III and Empress Eugénie visited London in April 1855. p. 334

[237] Marx and Engels used this phrase with reference to Max Stirner in *The German Ideology* (see present edition, Vol. 5, p. 355). p. 334

[238] See Note 139. p. 334

[239] "Infantry Balaklava"—see Note 233.

Marx continued his analysis of the military events of June 18, 1855 in a report dated July 7 and headlined "Über den Sturm vom 18. Juni" ("On the Assault of June 18"). It was published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* on July 11. The report reproduced in German a large section of Engels' article "The Late Repulse of the Allies" (see this volume, pp. 328-32). p. 335

[240] *Quakers* (or *Society of Friends*)—a religious sect founded in England during the seventeenth-century revolution and later widespread in North America. The Quakers rejected the Established Church with its rites and preached pacifist ideas. The "wet" Quakers, so called in opposition to the orthodox or "dry" Quakers, were a trend which emerged in the 1820s and sought to renew the Quaker doctrines. p. 335

[241] See Note 51. p. 337

[242] Part of this article, beginning with the words "For two years..." and up to the end, was first published in English in Marx, Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Moscow, 1971. p. 340

[243] *Court of Chancery*—one of England's highest courts, a division of the High Court of Justice following the Judicature Act of 1873. It was presided over by the Lord Chancellor and dealt with matters relating to inheritance, observance of contracts, joint-stock companies and similar legal problems. It was notorious for red tape and procrastination. p. 340

244 *Committee of Supply* (or *Committee of Ways and Means*)—in accordance with parliamentary procedure, the House of Commons, when discussing major questions concerning the national budget, declares itself a Committee of Ways and Means. This is one of the cases when the House sits as a Committee of the Whole House (see Note 223). p. 341

245 For the *Irish Brigade* see Note 58.

The Bills in question were submitted by Aberdeen's coalition Government in June 1853 to reduce the class struggle in the Irish countryside by granting the tenants certain rights and protecting them from landlord arbitrariness. Marx discussed the Bills in his article "The Indian Question.—Irish Tenant Right" (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 157-62). As Marx had foreseen, the British Parliament, reluctant to impinge on the interests of the landed aristocracy, refused to grant even minor concessions to the tenants. Even in curtailed form, the Bills were virtually quashed. p. 342

246 The text of this article was reproduced by Marx in an abridged and altered German version (dated July 14) which was published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* on July 17 under the heading "Russell's Resignation.—The Events in the Crimea". In the present edition the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* version is given as a joint article by Marx and Engels (see this volume, pp. 348-51). p. 344

247 The nickname of Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher, the Prussian field marshal, who advocated active offensive tactics during the 1813 campaign against Napoleon. For more on this see the article "Blücher" by Marx and Engels in Volume 18 of the present edition. p. 344

248 The section of this article relating to the events in the Crimea is a somewhat abridged and altered version of Engels' article "The Great Crimean Blunder" (see this volume, pp. 344-47). p. 348

249 See Note 247. p. 349

250 I. e. from the sittings of the Vienna Conference (see Note 88). p. 353

251 *Previous question*—(in British parliamentary procedure) the question as to whether a vote shall be taken on a question or issue, debated before the main question is put. A vote on the previous question—whether it was expedient "that this question be now put"—was often taken to avoid a division on some important matter. If the vote was negative the question was postponed, if positive it was put without further debate. p. 355

252 According to custom, Ministers and Members of Parliament accused of illegal actions may be tried before the House of Lords at the instance of the House of Commons, a judicial process known as impeachment. This custom, which enabled the House of Commons to supervise the activities of Ministers, was frequently resorted to in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but was practically abandoned in the nineteenth. p. 357

253 Marx included the text of this article, in an abridged German translation, in his report of July 20 for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*. It appeared on July 23 under the heading "From Parliament.—From the Theatre of War" (see this volume, pp. 363-66). In the present edition this report is given as a joint item by Marx and Engels. p. 358

254 For the *battle of Inkerman* (November 5, 1854) see Note 35.

On the fighting for the Mamelon (the Kamchatka lunette) and other

outlying Russian fortifications at Sevastopol in June 1853 see Engels' article "From Sevastopol" (this volume, pp. 313-19).

On the assault of June 18, 1855 see Engels' article "The Late Repulse of the Allies" (this volume, pp. 328-32) and Note 215. p. 358

255 Marx's report reproduces in an abridged and altered form Engels' article "War Prospects" written for the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see this volume, pp. 358-62). p. 363

256 See Note 251. p. 363

257 See Note 254. p. 363

258 A reference to the dismissal on January 3, 1851 by President Louis Bonaparte of General Changarnier from the posts of commander of the Paris garrison and chief of the Paris National Guard. The General was a placeman of the Party of Order, which comprised the two monarchist factions—the Legitimists and the Orleanists—in the Legislative Assembly, whose conflict with the Bonapartists was growing increasingly acute. As a pretender to dictatorial power Changarnier was also a personal rival of Louis Bonaparte. p. 364

259 On June 27, 1855 Britain, France and Turkey concluded an agreement by which the British and French governments undertook to grant Turkey a loan of £5 million. In July the British Government tabled a Bill in the House of Commons calling for a guarantee of the loan. It encountered strong opposition and was only passed by an insignificant majority. In August the Bill was sanctioned by Queen Victoria. p. 367

260 See Note 88. p. 367

261 By the *Wakefield School* Marx means the supporters of the plan for "systematic colonisation" advanced by the British economist and statesman Edward Gibbon Wakefield in his work *England and America* (Vols. 1 & 2; London, 1833) and in other writings. Wakefield advocated colonisation through emigration, but held that there should be restrictions on the purchase of land by resettlers. This was to ensure the colonies an ample supply of wage labour and reduce social conflicts in the home country by providing an outlet for redundant labour.

Wakefield's theory of colonisation attracted Marx's attention as early as the beginning of the 1850s, when he made a number of notes from Wakefield's book *A View of the Art of Colonisation* (London, 1849). Later he gave a detailed critique of this theory in the last chapter of the first volume of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 31). p. 368

262 Marx later used the findings of the parliamentary committee in question ("First Report from the Select Committee on Adulteration of Food. Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 27 July, 1855) in a number of notes to the first volume of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 31, Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature). p. 369

263 Marx subsequently discussed the problem of industrial accidents stemming from employers' neglect of safety precautions in the first volume of *Capital*, notably the chapter "Machinery and Modern Industry" (see the section "The Factory"). As in the present article, he compared industrial accident reports to military bulletins, pointing out that the development of capitalist machine industry "with the regularity of the seasons, issues its list of the killed and wounded in the industrial battle". Characteristically, there too Marx corrobo-

rated his conclusions with quotations from reports of factory inspectors, notably that of Leonard Horner for the second half of 1855 ("Reports of the Inspectors of Factories for the Half Year Ending 31st October, 1855." London. 1856). The "Reports of the Inspectors of Factories for the Half Year Ending 30th April, 1855", which he analyses in the present article, were also used by him, but in a different context, in the chapter in *Capital* on the rate of surplus value (see present edition, Vol. 31. Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature). p. 370

264 The satirical pamphlet *Lord John Russell*, which Marx wrote in connection with the crisis of Lord Palmerston's Cabinet and John Russell's resignation, was intended as a series of articles for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* and the *New-York Daily Tribune*. It was to be a portrait of this Whig leader, presenting all the major aspects of his activity. While he was collecting the relevant material for the pamphlet—Parliamentary reports, political brochures, articles in periodicals and Russell's own writings—Marx wrote to Engels (July 17, 1855): "Do you know of any book about the *êtres* of little Johnny Russell?" By the beginning of August 1855 a considerable part of the pamphlet had been written, and its publication began in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*. On August 7 Marx wrote to Engels: "In the last few weeks I have sent the *Tribune* a series of articles—to be precise, three—reviewing the career of this little man from the outset."

However, the pamphlet was published in full only in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, as a series of six articles under the common heading "Russell". The *New-York Daily Tribune* published one big article (August 28) under the heading "Lord John Russell", which was an abridged English version of instalments II to VI of the series that appeared in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*. The cuts may have been by the *Tribune* editors, who condensed the series into a single article. It appeared unsigned.

Instalment I of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* series was first published in English in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *On Britain*, Moscow, 1953. It was followed by the condensed version of articles II to VI reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*.

In the present edition the pamphlet is published in full, according to the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, but under the heading given in the *New-York Daily Tribune*. Where the German version differs substantially from the English the relevant passages are given in the footnotes. p. 371

265 On the *Utrecht Peace* (1713) see Note 71.

Marx knew some of Russell's historical works earlier. For instance, in July 1843 he familiarised himself with the German edition of his constitutional history of Britain (*Geschichte der englischen Regierung und Verfassung von Heinrichs VII bis auf die neueste Zeit*, Leipzig, 1825). Excerpts from it are contained in one of his Kreuznach notebooks on world history (Notebook III). p. 374

266 On the Reform Bill (submitted by Russell in the House of Commons on March 1, 1831) see Note 45. p. 374

267 The English version, which was published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and reproduced in abridged form instalments II to VI of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* series, has no date at the beginning and starts with the following paragraph, in all probability added by the editors: "We have recently had occasion to notice the funeral obsequies of this politically departed statesman, and to utter a few farewell words above his grave. The part which his birth, and his position as

the only presentable member of the great revolutionary family and old Whig house of Bedford enables him to play in the drama of European Affairs, and the connection of his name with some of the great progressive measures of the day, seem to us to entitle him to a somewhat more lengthened and analytic obituary." p. 376

268 Following the massacre of workers at a mass meeting in support of electoral reform on St. Peter's Field near Manchester on August 16, 1819, the British Parliament passed the Six Acts, proposed by Lord Castlereagh, which virtually abolished Habeas Corpus and the freedom of the press and assembly. They became known as the "gagging acts", and Marx uses the phrase in the English version of the article where he speaks of "Castlereagh's six gagging acts". p. 376

269 *Boroughs* (in the English version: "nomination boroughs")—a reference to the rotten boroughs (see Note 155).

*Copyholders, leaseholders*—types of tenant farmers in England whose legal status was formalised as early as the Middle Ages. The former held land by copy of the manorial court roll and were liable to the payment of a fixed rent. The latter held land under a lease, the terms of which were agreed upon by the landlord and the tenant. p. 377

270 This refers to the widespread movement of farm labourers throughout the south of England in late 1830 and early 1831. The movement, which began apparently spontaneously in the south-east, was largely directed against the use of threshing machines, which the labourers held responsible for growing impoverishment and unemployment. As it spread rapidly from county to county to embrace the whole of southern England there were definite signs of some sort of collective plan behind it, and the participants claimed to represent a legendary "Captain Swing"—whence the name of the "Swing" movement. Large gangs went out at night systematically destroying all the threshing machines in the neighbourhood, and also burning down ricks and sometimes the houses of landlords and of parsons, whom they held to be in league with the landlords. The majority of tenant farmers, however, appear to have had a certain sympathy with the labourers, since they preferred the old methods and felt themselves obliged to purchase threshing machines only under pressure from landlords and of competition from other farmers who had been persuaded to buy one. Thus the farmers put up little resistance to the destruction of the machines, and on occasion even encouraged it. The Swing uprisings were crushed by the authorities. Nevertheless, they succeeded in their aims in as much as the destroyed machines were not restored and the threshing machine virtually disappeared from British agriculture for twenty years, until the 1850s. p. 377

271 *Tenants-at-will*—tenants holding land on conditions dictated by the landlord at the given moment and dependent on his arbitrary will. p. 378

272 *Freeholders*—a category of small landowners in England dating back to the Middle Ages. p. 379

273 In keeping with English parliamentary tradition, the speaker of the House of Lords, the Lord Chancellor, sits on a *woolsack*, symbolising what once used to be the main source of England's national wealth. p. 379

274 See Note 6. p. 381

[275] In April 1833 the British Parliament adopted a police law for Ireland. This was caused by the spread of peasant unrest, in particular, the refusal of Irish peasants, the vast majority of whom were Catholics, to pay tithes to the Anglican Church in Ireland. The British Government was also forced to resort to other measures to control the profound social conflict in Ireland and safeguard the position of the Established Church. Marx discusses them further on in the text. Despite the mass movement, it was not until 1838 that tithes were abolished (by the Commutation Act). However, under the new regulations too the peasants continued to pay for the maintenance of the Anglican Church, now indirectly in the form of an increase in rents which the landlords were obliged to transfer to the church funds. p. 383

[276] See Note 74. p. 384

[277] See Note 75. p. 385

[278] The Bill introduced by Peel into the House of Commons in the spring of 1846 to legalise the arbitrary police regime in Ireland under the guise of prohibiting the bearing of arms. The bill was lost because of the opposition of the Whigs, who took advantage of the situation to overthrow the Peel ministry. When they came to power the Whigs themselves tried to take police measures against the Irish national liberation movement. In 1847 they passed on emergency law for Ireland which ushered in a new regime of atrocious repression of the Irish people. p. 385

[279] A writ of *Habeas Corpus*—the name given in English judicial procedure to a document enjoining the appropriate authorities to present an arrested person before a court on the demand of the persons interested to check the legitimacy of the arrest. Having considered the reasons for the arrest, the court either frees the arrested person, sends him back to prison or releases him on bail or guarantee. The procedure, laid down by an Act of Parliament of 1679, does not apply to persons accused of high treason and can be suspended by decision of Parliament. The British authorities frequently made use of this exception in Ireland. p. 386

[280] See Note 14. p. 386

[281] The sliding scale, so called, was adopted by the British Parliament at the proposal of the Tory Government in 1828. According to it import tariffs on grain were raised when grain prices on the home market fell and lowered when they went up. p. 388

[282] See Note 151. p. 389

[283] The *Corporation Act*, adopted by the British Parliament in 1661, required that persons holding elective posts (mainly members of municipal bodies) should take the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England.

The *Test Act* of 1673 required the same of all persons holding government posts.

Originally directed against the Catholic reaction, these Acts later became instruments for fighting every form of opposition to the Established Church, including the various sectarian movements (the dissidents or dissenters), and protecting its privileges. p. 390

[284] See Note 51. p. 391

[285] I. e. the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, a Catholic conspiracy to blow up

Parliament. It was uncovered on November 5, 1605. Guy Fawkes was one of the plotters. Their aim was to restore Catholicism in England. p. 392

286 The *Ecclesiastical Titles Bill*, which became law in August 1851, declared invalid the Pope's edict of 1850 on the nomination of Catholic bishops and archbishops in Britain. p. 392

287 *Irish Brigade*—see Note 58.
*Manchester men, Manchester school*—see Note 7. p. 392

288 A German version of the article, dated July 27 and 28, 1855, was published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* under the heading "Birmingamer Konferenz.—Die dänische Erbfolge.—Die vier Garantien" ("The Birmingham Conference.—The Danish Succession.—The Four Guarantees") on July 30 and 31. It differs slightly from the English version in content and the way of quoting (as a rule, the quotations are more condensed and treated more freely). Where the German differs substantially from the English this is indicated in the footnotes. Marx's main sources were the reports of the committees of the Birmingham Conference, which were published soon after it ended on June 23, 1855.
Under the heading "The Birmingham Conference" the article was included in *The Eastern Question*. p. 394

289 A reference to the London Protocol of May 8, 1852 on the integrity of the Danish monarchy (see Note 23). p. 394

290 The *State Reform Association* was set up by the Left, radical wing of the bourgeois opposition in July 1855. In contrast to the Administrative Reform Association, it urged Parliamentary reform based on universal suffrage. The Radicals leading the Association sought an agreement with the Chartists, hoping to bring the working-class movement under their ideological and political influence. Jones, Finlen and other Chartist leaders became members of the Association's Executive Committee, but soon resigned under pressure from the Chartist rank and file, who realised the danger of the Radicals' gaining control of the Chartist organisation. p. 394

291 See Note 43. p. 396

292 *London Treaty of July 6, 1827*—a reference to the convention signed by Britain, Russia and France confirming the St. Petersburg Russo-British protocol of April 4, 1826 which recognised Greece's right to autonomy. Like the protocol, the convention included an agreement on the diplomatic recognition of Greece and on armed mediation in the Greco-Turkish conflict. The contracting parties confirmed the commitment recorded in the protocol to seek no territorial or commercial benefits for themselves in pacifying Greece except such as were common to all European states.
The *Treaty of Adrianople*—see Note 22. p. 398

293 The *London convention of 1841*—see Note 98. p. 399

294 *Russo-Dutch loan*—see Note 24.
The *Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi*—see Note 25.
The *Treaty of the Dardanelles*—presumably the London convention on the Straits of 1841 (see Note 98).
On the *Balta-Liman Treaty* see Note 22. p. 400

295 Engels wrote this survey at the request of Marx, who received an order for it from the US journal *Putnam's Monthly* through Charles Dana, editor of the

*New-York Daily Tribune.* In forwarding Dana's letter to Engels on June 15, 1855, Marx asked him to write "one printed sheet on all the European armies for *Putnam's Monthly*". However, Engels' survey turned out much longer and took a considerable time to write. Marx helped Engels by collecting data on various European armies, the Spanish and the Neapolitan, in particular, at the British Museum library. After receiving the first article of the series for forwarding to New York, Marx wrote to Engels (August 7, 1855): "The article on the 'Armies' is excellent." On September 1 he informed Engels of the *New York Times*' review—on the whole, favourable—of this article, which had been published in the August issue of *Putnam's Monthly*, and of the reviewer's awkward attempts to dispute the instances of corporal punishment of the lower ranks in the British Army cited by Engels. The continuation and conclusion of the series were published in the September and December issues of the journal. They were numbered articles two and three (the first article appeared without a number). By printing the survey unsigned, the editors tried to suggest that the author was an American. This may also have been the reason for the minor editorial changes in the text, in particular the use of the pronoun "our" with reference to the US army (see p. 407). p. 401

296 *Putnam's Monthly* has the following note here, in all probability supplied by the editors: "We must not omit to state that our own country has produced a military history of the first class for impartiality, becoming language, and even handed justice to friend and foe: we refer to *The War with Mexico*, by Major Ripley." R. S. Ripley's book, published in New York in 1849, was known to Marx and Engels. Marx describes it in letters to Engels of November 30 and December 2 and 15, 1854. No statements by Engels on it have come to light. p. 405

297 See Note 157. p. 405

298 A reference to the operations of the British forces, commanded by Wellington, in the Peninsular War, which was waged by Britain against Napoleonic France on the territory of Spain and Portugal from 1808 to 1814. Simultaneously, throughout the Iberian Peninsula, the Spanish and Portuguese peoples were fighting for independence against the French occupation. In the course of the war Wellington won the battles of Oporto in 1809, Busano in 1810, and Fuentes de Oñoro in 1811. He also took Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz in 1812. p. 405

299 *Boulogne Camp*—the bridgehead set up by Napoleon I at Boulogne-sur-Mer on the English Channel between 1803 and 1805 for invading England. The threat of an attack by the forces of the third anti-French coalition (Russia, Austria, Britain and Sweden) formed in 1805 prevented him from carrying out his plan.

At *Austerlitz* on December 2, 1805 Napoleon's troops defeated the Russians and Austrians. p. 405

300 The battle of New Orleans (USA) between the British and American forces coincided with the receipt of a dispatch on the signing of the Ghent Treaty (December 24, 1814) which ended the British-American war of 1812-14 (the Second War of Independence) by restoring the pre-war position. p. 405

301 At *Borodino,* near Moscow, a full-scale battle was fought by the French and Russian forces on September 7, 1812. It turned the tide in the war of 1812 in favour of Russia, even though the Russian army was forced to leave Moscow. p. 407

[302] The French Imperial Guards, disbanded after the fall of Napoleon I, were restored by a special decree of Napoleon III on May 1, 1854. p. 410

[303] See Note 119. p. 411

[304] See Note 2. p. 411

[305] The *Seven Years' War*—the war of 1756-63 between Britain and Prussia, on the one hand, and France, Russia and Austria, on the other. It was caused mainly by colonial and commercial rivalry between Britain and France and the clash between Prussia's policy of aggrandizement and the interests of Austria, France and Russia. In the course of the war the Prussian army of Frederick II won a series of victories over the French and Austrians, but suffered a number of serious defeats in battles against the Russian forces. As a result of the war, Britain expanded her colonial empire at the expense of France. Austria and Prussia retained, by and large, their former frontiers. p. 414

[306] This section was used by Marx as material for several articles for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*. The text from the beginning up to the words "a small heroic detachment of Britons was almost lost in the mass of Allied troops" was reproduced in almost literal translation with a few insignificant cuts in the report "Die britische Armee", dated by Marx August 25, 1855 and published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 399, August 28. The continuation up to the paragraph beginning with the words "The uniform and equipment of the British soldiers", edited and enlarged by Marx, provided the basis for the article "The Punishment of the Ranks", dated August 28, 1855 and published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 405, August 31, 1855. In this volume it is given as a joint work by Marx and Engels (see pp. 501-03). The rest of the section beginning with the words "The uniform and equipment of the British soldiers" and up to the end was used by Marx with a few cuts and additions in his article "Uniformirung und Equipirung des britischen Soldaten" ("Uniform and Equipment of the British Soldier"), dated August 23, 1855 and published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 407, September 1, 1855. All these articles in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* are marked with the sign ×. Where the article "Uniform and Equipment of the British Soldier" differs substantially from the corresponding English text, this is pointed out in the footnotes. p. 416

[307] See Note 10. p. 417

[308] See Note 35. p. 419

[309] Speaking of his personal experience, Engels may have had in mind his service as a volunteer in a brigade of the Guards' Artillery in Berlin in 1841-42. p. 421

[310] The *Military frontier* or the *Military Border Area*—the southern border regions of the Austrian Empire where military settlements began to be set up in the sixteenth century for protection against Turkish invasions. The inhabitants of these regions—Serbs, Croats, Romanians, Szeklers, Saxons, and others—were allotted plots of land by the state, for which they had to serve in the army, pay taxes and perform certain public duties. In 1848-49 the *granichary*, as the soldiers from these regions were called, formed part of the Austrian armies deployed against the revolutionary movement in Northern Italy and Hungary. p. 425

[311] See Note 83. p. 427

[312] Todtleben was actually alive at the time. The statement in the text is based on inaccurate information then circulated by the European press. Wounded on June 20, 1855, Todtleben was forced to leave Sevastopol and was undergoing treatment when Engels wrote his survey. p. 443

[313] The *battle of Chetatea*, in the Danubian theatre, between the Turkish and Russian armies, took place in the early period of the Crimean War, on January 6, 1854. It resulted from the Turks' attempts to take the offensive in the Kalafat area, at the juncture of Wallachia, Serbia and Bulgaria. After a stiff fight the Russian detachment was compelled to retreat under pressure from considerable Turkish forces (about 18,000 men), but following the arrival of Russian reinforcements the Turks were forced to go over to the defensive and eventually retreated to Kalafat. For a description of these events see Engels' article "The Last Battle in Europe" (present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 579-82).

On the Russians' siege of Silistria in May-June 1854 see Note 115. p. 445

[314] *German Confederation* was an association of German states set up by the Congress of Vienna on June 8, 1815. Initially it included 34 states, mostly with a feudal-absolutist system of government, and four free cities. For all practical purposes the Confederation sealed Germany's political and economic fragmentation and retarded her development. After the defeat of the revolution of 1848-49 and the failure of the attempts to establish a more stable political union, the German Confederation was restored in its old decentralised and amorphous form. p. 448

[315] In 1826 Sultan Mahmud II brutally suppressed a mutiny of the Janissaries, who rebelled against a reform of the Turkish army aimed at replacing the feudal Janissary forces with regular units. After the mutiny was crushed, the Janissary corps was disbanded.

On the *Treaty of Adrianople* see Note 22. p. 451

[316] The Turks besieged Vienna twice, in 1529 and 1683, both times unsuccessfully. In 1683 the Austrian capital was relieved by the troops of Polish King John III. p. 453

[317] At *Oltenitza* (south-east Wallachia) in the Danubian theatre, the Russian and Turkish forces fought one of the first battles of the Crimean War (November 4, 1853). A Russian detachment attacked the Turkish forces which had crossed to the left bank of the Danube. The attack failed, but the Turkish troops were soon compelled to withdraw to the right bank. Engels described the battle in his article "The War on the Danube" (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 516-22). p. 456

[318] Engels is referring to the strength of the Sardinian army at the time of the Austro-Italian war of 1848-49. Sparked off in March 1848 by the national liberation uprising in Lombardy and Venice, then under Austrian rule, the war was fought in two stages. Following the entry into the war of the King of Sardinia (Piedmont), the main fighting took place between the Sardinian and Austrian forces, the latter commanded by Field Marshal Count Josef von Radetzky. On July 25, 1848 the Austrians beat the Italians at Custozza, and on August 9 Sardinia signed an armistice obliging her to withdraw her troops from Lombardy and Venice. The mounting revolutionary movement in Italy forced the King of Sardinia to resume hostilities (March 20, 1849), and the second stage of the war began. However, on March 21-23 the Sardinian army

was defeated at Mortara and Novara. The rout of Sardinia also enabled the Austrians to crush the other centres of resistance in Northern Italy. p. 457

319 This refers to the military convention concluded on January 26, 1855 by Britain and France, on the one hand, and the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont), on the other. Sardinia undertook to send a corps of 15,000 to fight against Russia in the Crimean War, while Britain and France guaranteed the integrity of the Kingdom of Sardinia. By entering the war Sardinia's ruling quarters sought to secure Napoleon III's support for their future struggle for the North Italian territories held by Austria. p. 457

320 On August 16, 1855 Russian troops attacked the French and Sardinians on the river Chernaya about twelve kilometres southeast of Sevastopol in an attempt to weaken the Allies' siege of the city. However, the Russians were repulsed and suffered heavy losses due to inadequate preparation of the attack and errors on the part of the Russian command. Engels analysed this important episode of the Crimean War in his article "The Battle of the Chernaya" (see this volume, pp. 504-12). p. 458

321 In 1796, during France's war against the Second Coalition, which included Naples (the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies), the French defeated the army of the Neapolitan King Ferdinand I and seized Naples.

In July 1820 the carbonari, aristocratic and bourgeois revolutionaries, rose in revolt against the absolutist regime in the Kingdom of Naples and succeeded in having a moderate liberal constitution introduced. However, in 1821 Austria, acting in accordance with a decision of the Laibach congress of the Holy Alliance, invaded Naples. The Austrian troops defeated the Neapolitan army and occupied Naples. The absolutist regime was restored. p. 460

322 This refers to the participation of the Kingdom of Naples in the French and Austrian invasion of the Roman republic in May-July 1849. The republican forces, commanded by Garibaldi, launched two vigorous offensives, putting the Neapolitans to flight. p. 460

323 A reference to the Constitution of the Swiss Confederation adopted on September 12, 1848. It ensured a measure of centralisation for the country, which from a loose union of cantons with an extremely weak central administration was turned into a federative state. In place of the former Diet a central legislative body, the Federal Assembly, consisting of a National Council and a Council of States, was set up. Executive power was vested in the Federal Council, whose chairman acted as President of the republic. p. 461

324 The *Sonderbund*—a separatist union of the seven economically backward Catholic cantons of Switzerland, formed in 1843 to resist progressive bourgeois reforms and to defend the privileges of the church and the Jesuits. The decree of the Swiss Diet of July 1847 dissolving the Sonderbund served as a pretext for the latter to start hostilities against the other cantons early in November. On November 23, 1847 the Sonderbund forces, consisting largely of militia detachments, were defeated by the federal army. p. 462

325 In the spring of 1798 the forces of the French Directory defeated the Swiss army and occupied Switzerland. As a result, Swiss territory became one of the main theatres of operations between France and the Second Coalition (Austria, Britain, Russia, the Kingdom of Naples and Turkey). p. 462

326 Norway was a Danish possession from the late fourteenth century. Under the Treaty of Kiel (1814) Denmark ceded it to Sweden. Early in the same year

Norway made an abortive bid for independence, but was forced to accept union with Sweden. The union had been backed by a number of European powers who wanted Sweden to join the anti-French coalition of 1813-14. The annexation of Norway to Sweden was sanctioned by the Congress of Vienna (1814-15). Under the terms of the union Norway retained its parliament (Storting) and administration and also its officer corps in the army, the King of the united kingdom of Sweden and Norway acting as Commander-in-Chief. In 1905 the union was dissolved and Norway regained its independence.

p. 463

327 See Note 142. p. 464

328 See Note 84. p. 464

329 This refers to the Kingdom of Denmark's war against the secessionist duchies of Schleswig and Holstein (1848-50). Prussia entered the war on the side of the duchies, seeking to exploit the national liberation movement there for its own ends. However, the need to combat the revolutionary movement in their own country, and diplomatic pressure from the European powers, compelled Prussia's ruling circles to conclude an armistice with Denmark on August 26, 1848 at Malmö. Hostilities were resumed in the spring of 1849, followed by another armistice on July 10. The Schleswig-Holstein forces, now fighting the Danes single-handed, were defeated. The war ended in the restoration of Danish rule in Schleswig-Holstein. p. 464

330 Engels is referring to the second and third bourgeois revolutions in Spain. The former began with the mutiny of a unit of the Spanish army at Cadiz on January 1, 1820. Preparations for the mutiny started in the previous year. The revolution was suppressed in 1823 by the French occupation army sent to Spain in accordance with the decision of the Verona congress of the Holy Alliance. The third revolution (1834-43) was touched off by the first Carlist war of 1833-40 (see Note 18). p. 469

331 *"Entente cordiale"*—the relations established between Britain and France after the July 1830 revolution by an agreement signed in April 1834, when Britain, France, Spain and Portugal formed an alliance. However, already at that stage differences between Britain and France emerged, which intensified as time went on. Marx is referring here to the strongly anti-French attitude taken by the British Government, in particular Palmerston, during the Turko-Egyptian conflict of 1839-41 (see Note 69). p. 470

332 *Bill regulating lease-hold tenure in Ireland*—see Note 245.
*The Irish Brigade*—see Note 58. p. 470

333 No articles on India by Marx appeared in any subsequent issues of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*.
The Parliamentary recess lasted from August 14, 1855 to January 31, 1856.

p. 472

334 A reference to Palmerston's flirting with the Italian liberal movement on the eve of and during the revolution of 1848-49. In an attempt to avert a revolutionary crisis in Italy he sent Lord Minto to Rome and Naples in the autumn of 1847 to try and persuade Italy's rulers to make certain concessions to the Liberals and introduce some moderate reforms. During the revolution Palmerston's ambiguous attitude gave the Italian Liberals, and even Republi-

cans, grounds to expect diplomatic and military support from Britain. Actually, however, Britain supported the Austro-French invasion of the Roman Republic, thereby greatly contributing to the victory of the counter-revolutionary forces in Italy. p. 474

335 Marx is referring to the treaty concluded by Britain, France and Austria in Vienna on December 2, 1854 (see Note 100). p. 476

336 Some details in Marx's account of the meeting, in particular his description of the speakers, show that his article was based either on his own impressions or those of eyewitnesses. It is possible therefore that he attended the meeting. He may also have used the report on the meeting published in *The People's Paper,* No. 171, August 11, 1855, which gave the text of the amendment tabled by the Urquhartist Collet and adopted by the meeting (Marx quotes it). Marx also had at his disposal copies of leaflets distributed in the hall, from which he quotes, though their contents were not included in newspaper reports. p. 477

337 The *Literary Association of the Friends of Poland* was set up in London in 1832 and was modelled on the Literary Society established in Paris by the conservative, aristocratic-monarchist wing of the Polish refugee community (Adam Czartoryski's followers) in the same year. p. 477

338 The *Democratic Polish Association* was formed by radical nationalist or democratic Polish refugees—noblemen and bourgeois—in France in 1832. In 1836 the *Centralisation,* the Association's executive committee, was established. The Association worked for a popular revolution involving the peasant masses. It aimed at national independence, the abolition of feudal services and inequality stemming from the existence of social estates, the transfer of plots to the peasants without redemption, and a number of other progressive measures. The Democratic Association took an active part in preparing the 1846 Cracow uprising and in the 1848-49 revolution. In the summer of 1849, after the Association was banned in France, the Centralisation's headquarters were transferred to London. The 1850s were marked by dissent within the Association. After the establishment in Poland of the Central National Committee for the Preparation of a National Liberation Uprising, the Association dissolved (1862). p. 477

339 In 1846 a national liberation uprising took place in the Cracow republic, which by decision of the Congress of Vienna was controlled jointly by Austria, Prussia and Russia, who had partitioned Poland at the end of the eighteenth century. The seizure of power in Cracow by the insurgents on February 22, 1846 and the establishment of a National Government of the Polish republic, which issued a manifesto abolishing feudal services, were part of the plan for a general uprising in the Polish lands, which was inspired mainly by the revolutionary democrats. In March the Cracow uprising, lacking active support in other parts of Poland, was crushed by the forces of Austria and Tsarist Russia. In November 1846, Austria, Prussia and Russia signed a treaty incorporating the "free town of Cracow" into the Austrian Empire.

In 1848 a revolutionary movement again spread in many regions of Poland, in particular, Posen and Silesia, and also among the Ukrainian peasants in Galicia. In 1848-49 Polish revolutionaries were active in the revolutionary struggle in Germany, Austria, Hungary, France and Italy. p. 478

340 Addressing the House of Commons on December 12, 1854, Peel urged the British Government to take repressive measures against the political refugees

and put an end to public criticism by refugees, above all Victor Hugo and Lajos Kossuth, of the governments of their countries. p. 480

[341] See Note 139. p. 480

[342] Later Marx sent an enlarged English version of this article to the *New-York Daily Tribune*. It appeared as a leading article under the heading "Austria and the War" on September 13, 1855 (see this volume, pp. 495-500). p. 481

[343] An English version of the second instalment of this article, written by Engels, appeared in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on September 1, 1855 as a leading article headlined "The War". It is considerably shorter than the German version and in some passages, particularly at the beginning, contains editorial changes. In all probability it was the *Tribune* editors who shortened the text considerably. Where the German differs substantially from the English, this has been indicated in the footnotes in the present volume. p. 484

[344] See Note 320. p. 487

[345] Sveaborg was a fortress situated on a group of islands at the entrance to the Helsinki harbour in the Gulf of Finland (modern Finnish name: Suomenlinna). The bombardment of Sveaborg by British and French ships described in the article took place on August 9 and 10, 1855. p. 488

[346] In August 1855 Queen Victoria visited France. According to the official British press, the visit was meant to strengthen the "Holy Alliance of England and France". p. 490

[347] See Note 320. p. 490

[348] In the second half of this article Marx included a large section of his report "On the Critique of Austrian Policy in the Crimean Campaign" published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* on August 18 (see this volume, pp. 481-83). The first paragraph of the article contains changes made by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune*, who may, in particular, have added the reference to the report on Emperor Francis Joseph's inspection tour.

The article was published in *The Eastern Question* under the heading "Austria and England". In a footnote to the first sentence the compilers—Eleanor Marx and Edward Aveling—suggest that the report of the Austrian officer mentioned in it was sent to the *Tribune* by Marx in his own translation. However, no evidence to support this has come to light. p. 495

[349] The concentration of Austrian troops on the Austro-Russian border began in May 1854 and was accompanied by large-scale conscription. Prior to this, on April 20, 1854, Austria concluded a defensive and offensive treaty with Prussia. Austria's military preparations were a major factor behind Russia's decision to withdraw its troops from the Danubian Principalities. However, on June 24, 1855 a reduction of the Austrian troops concentrated along the Galician frontier began on the orders of the Austrian Emperor. This was tantamount to an open refusal by Austria to enter the war on the side of the Allies. p. 495

[350] This article is a fragment of the section "The English Army" from Engels' survey *The Armies of Europe*, published in *Putnam's Monthly* in August-December 1855 (see this volume, pp. 401-69 and Note 295). Marx translated this fragment into German and made a number of additions and other changes. p. 501

[351] See Note 35. p. 502

[352] A somewhat altered German version of this article was prepared by Marx for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*. It was dated August 31 and September 1 and published on September 3 and 4 under the heading "Über die Schlacht an der Tschernaja" ("On the Battle of the Chernaya").

The first paragraph in the *New-York Daily Tribune* version contains changes made by the editors who, in particular, added the reference to the publication of the Pélissier and Simpson reports in the *Tribune* (No. 4493, September 13, 1855). p. 504

[353] See Note 10. p. 507

[354] The battles mentioned were fought by the British and their allies against the armies of Napoleonic France. The battle of *Bussaco* (Portugal) was on September 27, 1810; the battle of *Pamplona* was during the siege of that Spanish fortress in 1813, and the battle of *Waterloo* was on June 18, 1815 (see Note 219). p. 511

[355] See Notes 2 and 35. p. 511

[356] This article was published in *The Eastern Question* under the heading "Napier and Graham". p. 513

[357] In 1839 the British Parliament issued a Blue Book on Persia and Afghanistan containing, among other documents, a number of letters by A. Burnes, the British representative in Kabul, on the Anglo-Afghan war (see Note 20). The letters had been selected and presented by the Foreign Office in such a way as to conceal Britain's provocative role in unleashing the war. Shortly before his death Burnes sent duplicates of his letters to London. Those not included in the Blue Book were published by his family. p. 513

[358] A reference to the following facts connected with James Graham's activities as Home Secretary and First Lord of the Admiralty: the opening, on his instructions, of the letters of Italian revolutionary refugees (see Note 199); his part in the welcome given to Russian Emperor Nicholas I during the latter's visit to Britain in June 1844; his administration of the 1834 Poor Law and especially his responsibility for the notorious scandal at the Andover workhouse in 1845; and the attempt to put Captain Christie, head of port and transport facilities in Balaklava, on trial for neglect of duty, an attempt which caused Christie's premature death. p. 514

[359] The Sind, an area in Northwest India bordering on Afghanistan, was seized in 1843. During the Anglo-Afghan war of 1838-42, the East India Company by threats and violence forced the feudal rulers of the Sind to agree to the transit of its troops through their territory. In 1843 the British demanded that the local feudal lords become vassals of the Company. This caused an uprising of the Baluch tribes (the Sind's indigenous population) after whose suppression by British troops under Sir Charles Napier the whole area was annexed to British India. p. 514

[360] A German version of this article prepared by Marx and dated September 11, 1855 was published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* under the heading "Zur Einnahme von Sebastopol" ("On the Capture of Sevastopol"). In a letter to Engels dated September 11, 1855 Marx wrote that he had made a number of changes on the basis of the latest telegraphic dispatches.

The last two paragraphs in the English version were presumably added by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune*. p. 519

361 The *Red Cap* was the headgear of the ancient Phrygians. During the French Revolution it was adopted by the Jacobins and came to symbolise freedom. p. 524

362 Part of this article was reproduced by Marx in his report for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* published on September 18, 1855 under the heading "Events in the Crimea". In the present edition this version is given as an item by Marx and Engels (see this volume, pp. 531-33).

The first and last paragraphs of the English version contain insertions made by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune.* The London correspondent mentioned in them was probably A. Pulszky. p. 525

363 The *battles of Oltenitza and Chetatea*—see Notes 317 and 313.

The *battle of the Chernaya*—see Note 320.

The *battle of Inkerman*—see Note 35. p. 526

364 On the Allies' abortive assault on Sevastopol of June 18, 1855 see Note 215. p. 526

365 Engels discussed the significance of the Northern side of Sevastopol in an earlier article, "The Siege of Sevastopol", published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 4236, November 15, 1854 (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 505-09). p. 528

366 See Note 305. p. 528

367 In October 1805, during the war of the Third Coalition (Austria, Britain, Russia and Sweden) against Napoleonic France, the Austrian army of General Mack was encircled by the French at Ulm and forced to surrender. p. 529

368 This article is Marx's adaptation for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* of part of Engels' article "Crimean Prospects" published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 4508, October 1, 1855 (see this volume, pp. 525-29). p. 531

369 On the *battles of Oltenitza and Chetatea* see Notes 317 and 313.

On the *battle of the Chernaya* see Note 320.

On the *battle of Inkerman* see Note 35. p. 532

370 The *Société générale du Crédit mobilier* was a big French joint-stock bank founded by the Péreire brothers in 1852. It was closely associated with Napoleon III's government and under the latter's protection engaged in large-scale speculation. It went bankrupt in 1867 and was liquidated in 1871. p. 534

371 An abridged German version of this article was published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* on September 29, 1855 under the heading "Die Widerstandskraft Rußlands" ("Russia's Power of Resistance"). The translation and changes were made by Marx.

The first and last paragraphs of the English version contain changes made by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune.* p. 537

372 The *patrimonial court* was a feudal court whose jurisdiction was based on the right of the landowners to try and punish their peasants.

The *unsalaried magistrates* were justices of the peace appointed from among members of the propertied classes. p. 544

373 Under the laws on local administration adopted on July 7, 1852 and May 5, 1855 the general councils of the French departments were deprived of the right to elect their presidents, vice-presidents and secretaries. These were

appointed by the head of state; the general councils were to meet in closed session; the prefects and the head of state had the right to dissolve the municipal councils, whose officials were appointed by the local prefects.

p. 545

[374] An abridged German version of this article was prepared for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* by Marx. It was dated September 29, 1855 and appeared under the heading "Zur Erstürmung Sebastopols" ("The Assault on Sevastopol") on October 4, 1855. The first paragraph in the *New-York Daily Tribune* version contains changes made by the editors.

The English version was included, under the same heading, in *The Eastern Question.* p. 546

[375] See Note 215. p. 549

[376] See Notes 10 and 35. p. 550

[377] The *Federal Diet* (Bundestag) was the central representative body of the German Confederation (see Note 314). The Diet consisted of representatives of the German states and met in Frankfurt am Main. Though virtually powerless, it was nevertheless an instrument of feudal and monarchist reaction. The Diet ceased its activities during the revolution of 1848-49 in connection with the drafting of the German Imperial Constitution by the Frankfurt National Assembly and the attempts to unite Germany on this basis. Its powers were restored in March 1851. The formation of the North German Union in 1867 under Prussia's hegemony put an end to the German Confederation and the Federal Diet. p. 553

[378] See Note 370. p. 555

[379] See Note 219. p. 559

[380] The Committee in Newcastle-upon-Tyne was one of the Foreign Affairs Committees set up by Urquhart and his supporters between the 1840s and 1860s with the prime purpose of counteracting the foreign policy of Palmerston. Marx was highly critical of the Urquhartists' conservative views, as can be seen from his articles "David Urquhart" (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 477-78) and "The Association for Administrative Reform. [—People's Charter"] (see this volume, pp. 240-44) and other newspaper items, also from his letters to Engels of March 9, 1853, February 9 and April 22, 1854, and others. At the same time he held that their foreign-policy statements could be used by Britain's working-class spokesmen in the struggle against the bourgeois-aristocratic oligarchy.

The report of the Committee in Newcastle-upon-Tyne quoted by Marx was published in *The Sheffield Free Press.* A summary of the documents included in the report was issued by this Urquhartist newspaper in the form of a leaflet entitled "The Case of the Alleged Bribery against Lord Palmerston. (Reprinted from the *Free Press*). Sheffield". Marx probably used *The Sheffield Free Press,* though he may have obtained the report from other sources. p. 560

[381] No sequel to this report was published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.* This is most probably due to the fact that on October 7, 1855 its editor, M. Elsner, asked Marx by letter to stop sending articles for the time being in view of the newspaper's financial straits and obstacles raised by the censors. That is presumably why Marx left this article unfinished. Available material gives no

indication as to whether Marx resumed his regular contributions to the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* later. Although articles and reports marked with the sign × used by Marx continued to appear in the newspaper until it ceased publication in late 1855, only one of them was definitely written by Marx, the article "Big Meeting in Support of Political Refugees" (published on November 16, 1855; see this volume, pp. 581-82), as is indicated by the fact that its basic propositions coincide with those of Marx's letter to Elsner of November 8, 1855 (see present edition, Vol. 39). p. 562

382 The first paragraph of this article was probably added by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune.* This is suggested, among other things, by the reference to the publication in the same issue of comments on Gorchakov's report.

Like many other articles by Marx and Engels, this one was reprinted in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* and the *New-York Weekly Tribune.* The first reprint reproduced the text unchanged, while in the second, which appeared five days later, the section dealing with the operations of the Anglo-French fleet and landing troops against Kinburn (in the Dnieper estuary) was substantially altered and enlarged. The new information may have been drawn from another report by Engels, received in the meantime and not published in the *Daily Tribune,* containing details of the fall of Kinburn (October 17, 1855) which were not yet available to him when he was writing the present report. At the same time, the new text contained additions clearly made by the *Tribune* editors, who may have drawn on the reports of other correspondents. In view of this the *Weekly Tribune* version of the article is given in this volume in the Appendices and not in the main text (see pp. 694-702).

The *Daily Tribune* version was reprinted in *The Eastern Question* under the heading "Alarums and Excursions". The article was attributed to Marx, as also a number of other articles by Engels included in the collection. p. 563

383 On the battle of *Silistria* see Note 115, on that of *Inkerman*—Note 35, and on that of the *Chernaya*—Note 320. p. 564

384 A reference to the first campaign of the Russo-Turkish war of 1787-91. Austria took part in it on the side of Russia, but concluded a separate peace with Turkey in 1790. In the course of the war the Russian forces inflicted a number of serious defeats on the Turkish army and navy. The war ended in the signing of the Treaty of Jassy, which confirmed the incorporation of the Crimea into Russia (1783) and fixed Russia's Western frontier along the river Dniester. p. 564

385 This article and the next ("The Russian Army") belong to the series of works in which Engels reveals the causes of Tsarist Russia's defeat in the Crimean War, the negative effect of serfdom and economic backwardness on the state of armed forces, and the inadequacy of its military potential to satisfy tsarism's foreign-policy ambitions which increased particularly after its participation in suppressing the revolution of 1848-49 (notably the Tsarist intervention in Hungary in 1849). It is from that angle that Engels considers Russia's military history, and this in great measure explains why he gives a rather one-sided account of some of its episodes. It will be noted that in his later writings, based on more objective sources, including works by Russian authors, Engels modified his views on this subject. For instance, he pointed out that in the eighteenth century Turkey was not Russia's strongest opponent, Sweden being more powerful, that even the Ottoman Empire, though in a state of decline,

still possessed a considerable defence potential, and that Frederick II, the Prussian king, had been placed in a critical position by the advance of Russian troops in Prussia during the Seven Years' War (see Engels' article "The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsarism", 1890, present edition, Vol. 28). He had a high opinion of Suvorov's crossing of the Alps in 1799 ("Po and Rhine", 1859, Vol. 16), the operations of the Russian army and partisans during Napoleon's retreat from Moscow in 1812, and the part played by Russian forces in the campaigns against Napoleonic France in 1813 and 1814 (see his articles "Barclay de Tolly" and "Blücher", 1857, Vol. 18, and "The Position in the American Theatre of War", 1862, Vol. 19). The defence of Sevastopol in the Crimean War was later characterised by Engels as active, not passive (see his article "Saragossa-Paris", and instalment XXXIII of his series "Notes on the War", 1870, Vol. 22).

The article was reprinted in *The Eastern Question* under the heading "The Russians as Fighters". p. 569

386 A reference to two major battles in the Seven Years' War (1856-63), waged by Prussia and Britain against Austria, France and Russia.

At *Zorndorf* (Eastern Prussia) on August 25, 1758 the Russian army suffered heavy losses in a battle with the Prussian forces commanded by Frederick II. However, there was no victor in the battle, nor did it prevent a fresh Russian offensive the following year.

At *Kunersdorf* (east of Frankfurt an der Oder) on August 12, 1759 the Russian and Austrian forces under the joint command of P. Saltykov inflicted a heavy defeat on Frederick II's army. The Russian forces, in particular the infantry, played a decisive part in securing the victory. At the same time, the successful operations of the Austrian cavalry corps under Gideon Ernst von Loudon contributed to the rout of the Prussian cavalry. p. 569

387 During the war of the Second Coalition (it was formed in 1798 and included Austria, Britain, Naples, Russia, Turkey and other states) against France, the Russian and Austrian forces under the command of Alexander Suvorov freed almost the whole of Northern Italy from the French in the spring and summer of 1799. At the insistence of the Austrian government Suvorov's army was then sent to Switzerland to link up with the Russian corps of Rimsky-Korsakov, which was being pressed by the forces of the French General Masséna. After the Russian army had heroically fought its way across the Saint Gotthard and several other mountain passes it was encircled by superior French forces, which had defeated Korsakov's corps at Zurich on September 25. Under extremely hard conditions Suvorov's troops succeeded in making their way through a number of Alpine mountain passes and on October 12 reached the upper Rhine. In his work "Po and Rhine" (see present edition, Vol. 16) Engels wrote: "This passage was the most impressive of all Alpine crossings in modern times." p. 569

388 On the *battle of Austerlitz* see Note 299.

At *Friedland* (Eastern Prussia) the closing battle of the war of the Fourth Coalition (Britain, Prussia, Russia and Sweden) against Napoleonic France was fought on June 14, 1807. After the rout of the Prussian Army by Napoleon in 1806, the main theatre of operations in the war shifted to Eastern Prussia, where the French encountered stiff resistance from the allied armies of Russia and Prussia. In the battle of Friedland Napoleon won a victory over the Russian forces. It was preceded by a bloody battle at Preussisch-Eylau (February 7 and 8, 1807) which ended indecisively. The Prussian General Lestocq distinguished himself in

that battle as well as the Russian General Pyotr Bagration, who commanded the rearguard. p. 569

389 On the *battle of Borodino* see Note 301. Engels' judgment of it was based on information drawn from a number of West-European military writers who represented the outcome of the battle as a victory for Napoleon and ignored the fateful consequences it had for the French army even though the Russians did leave Moscow temporarily. Later research produced a substantially different picture of the battle. It was established, in particular, that the French rather than the Russian army was superior in numbers and suffered heavier losses. p. 570

390 A reference to the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29, which ended in the Treaty of Adrianople (see Note 22) and the suppression by the Tsarist forces of the Polish national insurrection in 1830-31. p. 570

391 See Note 2. p. 571

392 On the battles of *Inkerman* and the *Chernaya* and on the siege of *Silistria* see Notes 35, 320 and 115.

On the Russians' abortive assault on Kars (September 29, 1855) see this volume, pp. 563-68. p. 571

393 On the battle of *Oltenitza* see Note 317.

The Russian troops took the fortresses of Akhaltsikh and Erzeroum in Transcaucasia during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29. Under the Treaty of Adrianople (1829) Erzeroum was returned to Turkey.

By capturing Warsaw in September 1831 Tsarist forces dealt the final blow to the Polish national insurrection of 1830-31.

The Turkish fortress of Ismail on the Danube was taken by Russian troops by storm under Alexander Suvorov on December 22, 1790, during the Russo-Turkish war of 1787-91.

On November 4, 1794 Russian troops under Suvorov sent by the Tsarist Government to suppress the Polish national insurrection led by Tadeusz Kościuszko (which started in March 1794) captured Praga, a suburb of Warsaw, thus compelling the Polish capital to surrender. The suppression of the insurrection was followed, in 1795, by the third partition of Poland between Austria, Prussia and Russia, and the final abolition of the Polish state. (The first two partitions took place in 1772 and 1793.) p. 571

394 See Note 215. p. 572

395 In June 1854 Russia contracted a 50 million silver rubles loan at 5 per cent interest through the St. Petersburg bank of Stieglitz & Co. It was mainly intended to finance the Crimean War. p. 575

396 On October 10, 1855 the French petty-bourgeois democrat Félix Pyat addressed an open letter to Queen Victoria in connection with her visit to France in August of that year. It was printed in *L'Homme*, a refugee newspaper published in Jersey. Anti-Bonapartist in content, the letter, like all public statements by Pyat, was adventurist in character and provided Bonapartist circles and the conservative British press with a pretext for launching a sustained attack on the refugees. It was rumoured that the British Government was contemplating repressive measures against the refugees. The Governor of Jersey ordered the publisher of *L'Homme*, Sventoslawski, and some other refugees to leave the island. Victor Hugo too was threatened with expulsion.

This in turn gave rise to an angry protest campaign by the progressive public in Britain.

Concerning Marx's authorship of this article see Note 381. p. 581

397 The *Alien Bill* (Marx uses the English term) was passed by the British Parliament in 1793 and renewed in 1802, 1803, 1816, 1818 and, finally, in 1848, this time in connection with revolutionary developments on the Continent and Chartist demonstrations in Britain. The Bill authorised the Government to expel any foreigner from the Realm at any moment. It remained in force for one year. Subsequently conservative circles repeatedly urged its renewal.

In connection with the developments in Jersey, the proposed expulsion of revolutionary refugees was discussed for several months and finally rejected at the beginning of 1856. On February 1 of that year Palmerston told the House of Commons that the Government would not seek a renewal of the Alien Bill. p. 581

398 The *Fusionists* advocated a merger (fusion) of the Legitimists (supporters of the elder branch of the French house of Bourbons) with the Orleanists (supporters of the younger branch). p. 581

399 The name of Viscount Henry Addington Sidmouth, Home Secretary in Liverpool's Tory Cabinet from 1812 to 1821, was associated with a number of anti-popular laws and reactionary measures: the introduction of the Corn Laws in the interests of the landowners in 1815, the restriction of the right of assembly and the virtual introduction of censorship in 1817, the bloody dispersal of a workers' meeting near Manchester in 1819 (the Peterloo massacre), the passage of the "gagging acts" (see Note 268) and others. p. 582

400 This article was reprinted under the same heading in *The Eastern Question.* p. 584

401 The attitude of the European powers during the American War of Independence (1774-83) was determined by their commercial and colonial rivalry with Britain. France entered the war against Britain in 1778, Spain in 1779, and Holland in 1780. Despite the British Government's attempts to secure the support of Russia, the latter maintained an attitude of benevolent neutrality towards the United States and thereby contributed to the victory of the American republic. p. 584

402 The principle of armed neutrality (the armed protection of the merchantmen of neutral countries trading with Britain's opponents) was proclaimed by Catherine II in 1780 and recognised by a number of states. It stipulated the right of neutral countries to trade with the belligerents, a ban on privateering, refusal to recognise the blockade of ports access to which was not actually prevented by armed force, and a number of other rules. The declaration of armed neutrality objectively favoured the struggle of the North Americans for independence. p. 585

403 Britain declared war on Holland in December 1780 on the pretext that the latter was violating the Westminster peace treaty of 1674, which ended the Anglo-Dutch war of 1672-74. Holland was accused, in particular, of infringing a secret clause under which the two parties undertook not to aid any powers hostile to either side. Britain objected to Holland's trade with France, Spain and the United States of North America, against which Britain was waging war.

In taking this attitude Britain ignored another clause of the treaty, one guaranteeing freedom of trade and navigation.

The Anglo-Dutch war ended in 1784 in a victory for Britain. Holland was forced to cede the port of Negapatam (Southern India) to it and grant it freedom of navigation in the waterways of the Dutch East India Company. p. 586

404 The capture of Kars on November 28, 1855 concluded the successful operations by the Russian forces against the Turks in the Caucasian theatre of the Crimean War. Assisted by the British, the Turks had turned Kars into a bridgehead for the invasion of Transcaucasia. In the course of the fighting the Russian forces inflicted a series of defeats on the Turks (at Akhaltsikh on November 26, 1853, at Bash-Kadyklar on December 1, 1853, at Cholok on June 15, 1854, at Bayazid on July 20, 1854 and at Kuruk-Dar on August 5, 1854), thus thwarting their attempts to force their way into Armenia and Georgia. In October 1855 Omer Pasha's army was transferred from the Crimea to the Caucasus and marched from Sukhum-Kaleh to Mingrelia in an unsuccessful attempt to relieve the Turkish garrison. The capture of Kars, the last important event of the war, accelerated the conclusion of peace. p. 588

405 A reference to the campaigns of the Arab tribes of the Arabian Peninsula in the course of which the Arabian Caliphate subjugated and annexed the countries of the Middle East, Northern Africa and Southwest Europe. The Arabs' advance in Europe was stopped in 732 as a result of the battle of Poitiers, in which the Franks under Charles Martel, the virtual ruler of the Merovingian state, defeated the Arabs who had invaded France from Spain. p. 590

406 Engels is referring to the sieges of the Balkan fortresses of Varna, Brăila and Silistria during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29. Despite stiff resistance from the Turks, these fortresses were taken by the Russian troops. p. 590

407 A reference to the secret meetings of the military representatives and diplomats of Britain, France and Sardinia held under Louis Bonaparte's chairmanship in Paris in January 1856. According to press reports, they discussed co-ordinated action by the Allies in the event of another military campaign against Russia. p. 595

408 An allusion to an episode in the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29: the march of advance units of the Russian army towards Constantinople in the summer of 1829. p. 595

409 A reference to the Five Points, the terms for peace talks presented to Russia by Austria on behalf of the Allied Powers in December 1855. An elaboration of the earlier Four Points (see Note 43), they called for replacement of the Russian protectorate over the Danubian Principalities by a protectorate of all the contracting parties, a revision of the Bessarabian border involving the relinquishing by Russia of the territory along the Danube, the neutralisation of the Black Sea, the closure of the Straits to warships, a ban on the maintenance of arsenals and navies in the Black Sea by Russia and Turkey; and collective protection of the Christian subjects of Turkey by the Great Powers. Presented in the form of an ultimatum, these terms were accepted by the Tsarist Government and provided the basis for the Paris peace talks. p. 598

410 In the second half of this article Marx drew on a letter from Engels of February 7, 1856 describing the position in France. p. 599

411 A reference to the struggle between Britain and the United States for domination in Central America. It found reflection in the sharp differences over the interpretation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, under which Britain and the United States guaranteed the neutrality of the projected Isthmian canal and undertook to refrain from occupying Nicaragua, the Mosquito Coast and certain other areas. However, Britain, in violation of the Treaty, continued to hold the Mosquito Coast and the territories she captured in the 1840s. The United States supported the adventurer William Walker, who had seized power in Nicaragua in 1855. Relations were further aggravated by Britain's attempts to recruit mercenaries in the United States for her Crimean army. The governments of the two countries each threatened to break off diplomatic relations with the other. In October 1855 Britain sent warships to the American coast. The conflict was settled in October 1856 by the signing of a convention neutralising the Mosquito Coast and the adjacent sea zone. p. 599

412 The *peace of Amiens*—the peace treaty concluded by Napoleonic France and its allies (Spain and Holland) with Britain on March 27, 1802. It was actually a brief truce in these states' armed struggle for supremacy, which was resumed in May 1803. p. 599

413 Marx is ironically comparing the Franco-British alliance of the Crimean War period with the rapprochement between Britain and France in the early years of the July monarchy, which went down in history as the "Entente cordiale" (see Note 331). p. 599

414 This refers to the Five Points (see Note 409). p. 600

415 Speaking in the French Legislative Assembly on May 22, 1850, Montalembert urged the Government to launch a military expedition against the revolutionary and democratic forces in France similar to that undertaken against the Roman Republic in 1849 (see Note 194). p. 601

416 On December 29, 1855, during the ceremony held in Paris to welcome the French army returning from the Crimea, students of the École Polytechnique refused to greet the troops and the Emperor. The Government retaliated by repressive measures.

In his speech to the troops Louis Bonaparte compared himself to the Roman Senate, which usually went out in a body to welcome the victorious legions at the gates of Rome. p. 602

417 *Sire de Franc Boissy*—a French song containing satirical allusions to royalty and the government. p. 603

418 At the end of August 1855 several hundred workers in Angers (north-west France) rose in revolt in an attempt to set up a republic. Their leaders were associated with Marianne, a secret republican society established in 1850. Numerous arrests were made and trials held in late 1855 and early 1856 in connection with unrest in different parts of the country. p. 603

419 This article, written for the *New-York Daily Tribune* in connection with the publication of a number of documents relating to the fall of Kars, was Marx's first public reaction to this event. Soon after that he wrote a serialised pamphlet under the same heading for the Chartist *People's Paper* (see this volume, pp. 621-54). In it he used some of the formulations and developed the content of the present article, virtually the first version of the exposé. As the text of

the article differs substantially from that of the pamphlet, the article is reproduced in full in the present edition.

The first paragraph contains insertions made by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune.* p. 605

420 The decision to enter into negotiations with the Russians on the terms of capitulation was taken by the commanding officers of the Kars garrison on November 24, 1855. The fortress surrendered on November 28. p. 606

421 Besides *The People's Paper,* Marx also sent this article to the *New-York Daily Tribune,* which published it as a leading article under the heading "Bonapartean Victims and Tools" on April 14, 1856. It was reprinted under that heading in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* on April 15. The *Tribune* version differs somewhat from *The People's Paper* one. Certain passages were omitted and a number of—presumably editorial—insertions made. One such insertion, referring to Tassilier's letter, is the phrase "which will be found in another column" at the beginning of the article (the letter, possibly translated by Marx, was published in the same issue of the *New-York Daily Tribune*). Both versions contain numerous misprints in figures, which have been corrected on the basis of the sources used by Marx.

*The People's Paper,* founded in May 1852, was a weekly published by the revolutionary Chartists. Marx contributed to it without claiming remuneration and helped Ernest Jones, the chief editor, with the editing and organisational matters, especially in the weekly's early years. He also enlisted as regular contributors his associates Adolf Cluss (who lived in the USA), Georg Eccarius and Wilhelm Pieper. In the period between October 1852 and December 1856 *The People's Paper,* in addition to publishing Marx's articles written specially for it, reprinted the most important articles by Marx and Engels from the *New-York Daily Tribune.* At the beginning of 1856 Marx's contributions to *The People's Paper* became especially frequent. However towards the end of the year Marx and Engels temporarily broke off relations with Jones and ceased to contribute to his weekly because of Jones' increasing association with bourgeois radicals. In June 1858 the paper was taken over by J. Baxter Langley, a follower of Richard Cobden, with the proviso that Jones should have two columns in each issue for Chartist news. However, the paper met with no success and ceased publication in September 1858. p. 615

422 The reference is to French Guiana where political prisoners were sent for penal servitude. The high mortality caused by the harsh prison regulations and the unhealthy tropical climate earned Cayenne the nickname of the "Dry Guillotine".

*Lambessa* (Lambèse) was a French penal colony in North Africa set up on the ruins of the ancient Roman town of Lambaesis. From 1851 to 1860 it was a place of deportation for political prisoners.

*Belle-Île* is an island in the Bay of Biscay. From 1849 to 1857 political prisoners, including participants in the June 1848 uprising of Paris workers, were confined there. p. 615

423 An allusion to the methods Louis Bonaparte employed to win supporters while preparing the coup d'état of December 2, 1851. At the receptions and military reviews he held as President of the Republic at Satory and elsewhere army officers and men were served sausage, cold meat and champagne (see Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 99-197). p. 615

424 *Furcae Caudinae* (Caudine Forks)—a gorge near the Roman town of Caudium, where in 321 B.C., during the second Samnite war, the Samnites defeated the Roman legions and made them "pass under the yoke", which was considered a terrible disgrace to a defeated army. Hence the expression to "pass under Furcae Caudinae"—to be subjected to extreme humiliation.

On the *Lower Empire* (the *New-York Daily Tribune* has *New Lower Empire* everywhere) see Note 198. p. 616

425 The *Society of December 10* was a secret Bonapartist society set up in 1849 consisting mainly of *déclassé* elements. Marx gives a detailed description of it in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 99-197). p. 617

426 The *Batrachomyomachia* (The Battle of the Frogs and Mice) was an Ancient Greek anonymous mock-heroic poem parodying Homer's *Iliad*. p. 618

427 Instead of this sentence the *New-York Daily Tribune* has the following one partly or wholly added by the editors: "The wretched state of the French army in the Crimea was broadly asserted in our columns before the London press dared hint at it." p. 618

428 Marx wrote the pamphlet *The Fall of Kars* for the Chartist *People's Paper* as a series of four articles which were published in four consecutive issues of the weekly in April 1856. The individual instalments appeared under Marx's name, unnumbered (for convenience they have been numbered by the editors of this volume). The second, third and fourth instalments were preceded by a note saying that they were continuations of the instalment published in the previous issue. After the first and third instalments there were notes to the effect that they were to be continued in the next issue. The pamphlet was based on Marx's article on the same subject written for the *New-York Daily Tribune* and likewise entitled "The Fall of Kars" (see this volume, pp. 605-14). The text of this article was thoroughly revised and considerably enlarged. In a letter to Engels of April 16, 1856 (see present edition, Vol. 40) Marx wrote that in the absence of the original he was compelled, in preparing the pamphlet, to restore the *Tribune* article from memory as well as he could. His main source in writing both the article and the pamphlet was a Blue Book on the defence of Kars published soon after the surrender of the fortress on November 28, 1855. In late April and early May 1856 Marx compiled a summary of his pamphlet for *The Free Press* and *The Sheffield Free Press*, two periodicals published by David Urquhart and his supporters (see this volume, pp. 673-80).

*The People's Paper* version of "The Fall of Kars" was reprinted in *The Eastern Question*. p. 621

429 The *Five Points*—see Note 409.

*The Paris Treaty*—the peace treaty that concluded the Crimean War (1853-56). It was signed by the representatives of Austria, Britain, France, Prussia, Sardinia and Turkey, on the one hand, and of Russia on the other, at the Congress of Paris on March 30, 1856. Under the treaty, Russia ceded the mouth of the Danube and part of Bessarabia, renounced its protectorate over the Danubian Principalities and its protection of Christians in Turkey, agreed to the neutralisation of the Black Sea (involving the closure of the Straits to foreign warships and a ban on Russia and Turkey maintaining navies and naval arsenals on the Black Sea) and returned the fortress of Kars to Turkey in

exchange for Sevastopol and other Russian towns held by the Allies. By skilfully exploiting the differences between Britain and France the Russian diplomats at the congress succeeded in foiling the attempts to impose still more onerous peace terms on Russia.

The Paris Treaty failed to settle the Eastern Question. In the 1870s relations between the European Powers in the Balkans and the Near East became tense again. p. 623

430 *"Take care of Dowb" Panmure*—a nickname for the British Secretary at War Panmure who, in an official dispatch informing General Simpson of his appointment to the post of commander-in-chief in the Crimea, asked him to look after Panmure's nephew, the young officer Dowbiggin. p. 626

431 See Note 215. p. 635

432 The *Fanariots* were inhabitants of the Fanar, the main Greek quarter in Constantinople, mostly descendants of aristocratic Byzantine families. Due to their wealth and political connections many of them held high administrative posts in the Ottoman Empire. p. 635

433 A reference to the capture of Kars by the Russians during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29. Under the Treaty of Adrianople of 1829 the fortress was returned to the Turks. p. 641

434 See Note 420. p. 652

435 On April 14, 1856 Marx was invited as an official representative of the revolutionary refugees in London to a banquet commemorating the fourth anniversary of the Chartist *People's Paper*. He used the occasion to demonstrate the internationalist solidarity that united the proletarian revolutionaries, among whom he had established himself as the outstanding leader, with the revolutionary wing of the Chartist movement, and show that in contrast to the French and German petty-bourgeois democrats, who were merely flirting with the Chartist leaders, the German Communists were true allies of the Chartists, sharing with them the aim of achieving the rule of the working class in all countries (for more on this see Marx's letter to Engels of April 16, 1856 in Vol. 40 of the present edition). In his address (he was the first speaker) Marx concentrated on the historic role of the proletariat. The banquet was also addressed by another representative of the German Communists, Wilhelm Pieper. The other speakers were mostly Chartists (James Finlen, Ernest Jones and others).

Marx did not intend to publish his speech. It was, however, included in the newspaper report under the heading "Fourth Anniversary Banquet of *The People's Paper*". The following text preceded the speech:

"On Monday last at the Bell Hotel, Strand, Ernest Jones entertained the compositors of *The People's Paper* and the other gentlemen connected with its office, at a supper, which was joined by a large number of the leading Democrats of England, France and Germany now in London. The entertainment was of the choicest description, and reflected the greatest credit on the enterprising proprietor of the Hotel, Mr. Hunter; the choicest viands and condiments of the season being supplied in profusion. The tables were well filled with a numerous company of both sexes, Ernest Jones occupying the chair, and Mr. Fawley, manager of *The People's Paper* office, the vice-chair. The banquet commenced at seven, and at nine o'clock the cloth was cleared, when a series of sentiments was given from the chair.

"The Chairman then proposed the toast: 'The proletarians of Europe', which was responded to by Dr. Marx as follows:"
Then follows the text of the speech. p. 655

436 In this article Marx used information on the economic position of Prussia and other European countries which he had received from Engels in a letter of April 14, 1856. p. 657

437 See Note 370. p. 657

438 *Chambre introuvable* was the name given by King Louis XVIII to the Chamber of Deputies in France, which in 1815-16 consisted of extreme conservatives. It attacked the Government from the right and was eventually disbanded by the King because of its arch-reactionary views. p. 659

439 Marx's authorship of this article, published in *The People's Paper* anonymously, is evident from his letter to Engels of April 26, 1856 (see present edition, Vol. 40) where the article is mentioned in the list of items enclosed. "In it I imitate, *tant bien que mal*, the style of old Cobbett," he writes. p. 662

440 A reference to the Duke of York's part in the wars of the First and Second European coalitions (1792-97 and 1799-1800) against the French republic. In 1793 the British army commanded by the Duke unsuccessfully besieged Dunkirk and, following the defeat of the coalition forces at Hondschoote on September 6-8 of that year, narrowly escaped annihilation by hastily retreating without a fight. Later the Duke of York commanded the British corps of the Anglo-Russian army that landed at Helder (Northern Holland) at the end of August 1799. In October the allied troops were defeated by a Franco-Dutch army commanded by Brune. p. 663

441 The *convention of Alkmaar* was signed on October 18, 1799 after the defeat in Holland (then the Batavian Republic) of the Anglo-Russian forces commanded by the Duke of York. It provided for the withdrawal from Holland of the forces of the anti-French coalition and the release of the French and Dutch prisoners. p. 664

442 See Note 22. p. 665

443 A reference to the group of Whig radicals headed by Charles James Fox. They opposed the war against the French republic and advocated a reform of Parliament favouring the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie. p. 665

444 *"Friends of the King"*—a group of close associates of George III, mostly extreme Tories. They supported George III's attempts to extend the Royal prerogative at the expense of Parliament and establish his personal rule. Members of the group repeatedly headed the government and held ministerial posts between 1760 and the early 1780s. p. 666

445 This article is Marx's summary of his pamphlet *The Fall of Kars*, which was published in April as a series of articles in *The People's Paper* (see Note 428). He substantially abridged and rearranged the text of the pamphlet in preparing the summary. The editors of *The Free Press* published it together with the covering letter (see this volume, p. 672), adding the following note in brackets below the heading: "The subjoined paper has been supplied to us by Dr. Karl Marx". p. 673

446 Engels' summary "Crimean War", written in German, listed in chronological order the major military events in the Crimea beginning with the landing of the

Allied troops in Eupatoria on September 14, 1854 and ending with their capture of the Southern side of Sevastopol by storm on September 8, 1855. We do not know for what particular purpose it was compiled. One may assume, however, that Engels, who continued to cover the war after the capture of Sevastopol, was intending to write a retrospective review of the hostilities in the Crimea and drew up this outline of the fighting for that purpose. The review evidently never materialised.

Engels described the main episodes of the war—the battles of the Alma, Balaklava, Inkerman and the Chernaya, the construction of the Selenghinsk redoubt and the Kamchatka lunette, the abortive assault of June 18, 1855, the assault of September 8, 1855, and others—in a series of articles which will be found in Volume 13 (pp. 492-97, 518-27 and 528-35) and in the present volume (pp. 113-17, 132-35, 151-55, 328-32 and 504-12, 546-52). See also Notes 2, 10, 35, 215 and 320. p. 685

447 This article is the English version of part of Engels' article "Germany and Pan-Slavism", published in full in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* in April 1855, and—in content—a sequel to the article "The European Struggle", which was the English version of another part of "Germany and Pan-Slavism", published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on May 5 of the same year (see this volume, pp. 156-62 and Note 131). The *Tribune* editors altered Engels' text considerably. In particular, they added the second paragraph, setting forth the views on Pan-Slavism of the *Tribune* correspondent, A. Gurowski, which were at variance with those of Marx and Engels. The closing paragraph too contains editorial changes. Marx was incensed by this treatment and even considered ceasing to work for the newspaper. On receipt of the issue containing the article he wrote to Engels (May 18, 1855): "The devil take the *Tribune*. It is absolutely essential now that it should come out *against Pan-Slavism*" (see present edition, Vol. 39).

The article was published under the same heading in *The Eastern Question*. p. 689

448 See Note 132. p. 690

449 See Note 133. p. 690

450 See Note 134. p. 692

451 See Note 135. p. 692

452 This is an enlarged version of an article published under the same heading in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* (see this volume, pp. 563-67, and Note 382). It shows clear signs of editorial interference. This applies especially to the passages which do not occur in the *Daily* or *Semi-Weekly Tribune* (the details of the capture of Kinburn by the Allies on October 17, 1855). In all probability, the editors added the second passage on the fighting at Kinburn during the Russo-Turkish war of 1787-91 (on which see Note 384) and the part played in it by Rear-Admiral Paul Jones, a veteran of the American War of Independence (1774-83). p. 694

453 On the battle of *Silistria* see Note 115, the battle of *Inkerman*, Note 35, and the battle of the *Chernaya*, Note 320. p. 695

454 A reference to the destruction of the fortifications of Bomarsund, a fortress on one of the Åland islands in the Gulf of Bothnia, by the Anglo-French navy and a French landing party in August 1854. p. 698

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*Brummell, George Bryan* (1778-1840)—English aristocrat nick-named Buck Brummell for his dandyism.—479

*Brune, Guillaume Marie Anne* (1763-1815)—French general, Marshal of France from 1804; took part in the wars of the French Republic and Napoleonic France; commanded the French forces in Holland (1799).—663-64

*Brunnow, Filipp Ivanovich, Baron von, Count* (1797-1875)—Russian diplomat; envoy (1840-54, 1858-60) and ambassador (1860-70, 1870-74) to London; took part in the Paris Peace Congress (1856).—235, 396

*Brunswick (Braunschweig), House of*—dynasty of German dukes (1203-1884).—663, 666, 669

*Brutus (Marcus Junius Brutus)* (c. 85-42 B. C.)—Roman republican politician; an organiser of a conspiracy against Julius Caesar.—338

*Buchanan, Sir Andrew, Baronet* (1807-1882)—British diplomat, envoy to Denmark (1853-58).—294

*Bulwer*—see *Lytton, Edward George*

*Bunsen, Christian Karl Josias, Baron von* (1791-1860) — Prussian diplomat, writer and theologian; envoy to London (1842-54).—105,335

*Bunsen*—son of *Baron Christian Karl Josias Bunsen*.—335

*Buol-Schauenstein, Karl Ferdinand, Count von* (1797-1865)—Austrian statesman and diplomat; envoy to St. Petersburg (1848-50) and to London (1851-52), Prime Minister and Foreign Minister (1852-59).—142, 230, 354, 398, 399

*Burdett, Sir Francis* (1770-1844)—British Radical and later Tory politician, member of the House of Commons.—168, 242, 502

*Burgh, John de* (b. 1841)—son of Eliza Josephine Handcock and the Earl of Clanricarde.—62

*Burgh, Ulick de*—see *Clanricarde, Ulick John, de Burgh, Marquis and Earl of, Baron Somerhill*

*Burgoyne, Sir John Fox, Baronet* (1782-1871)—British field marshal, military engineer; military adviser and colonel-commandant of engineers in the Crimea (1854-55).—26

*Burke, Edmund* (1729-1797)—British statesman and political writer, Whig M. P.; supported the Tories from 1791 onwards; at the beginning of his career advocated liberal principles, subsequently opponent of the French Revolution.—373, 587

*Burnes, Sir Alexander* (1805-1841)—British lieutenant-colonel; was sent on a mission to Kabul (1836-38); adviser at the British headquarters during the Anglo-Afghan war (1839-41).—513

*Burnes, James*—writer to the signet and provost of Montrose; father of Sir Alexander Burnes.—513

*Butler, James Armar* (1827-1854)—British army officer, an organiser of the defence of Silistria (1854).—455

*Butt, Isaac* (1813-1879)—Irish lawyer and Liberal politician, member of the House of Commons; an organiser of the Home Rule movement in the 1870s.—29

C

*Caligula, Gaius Caesar* (12-41)—Roman Emperor (37-41).—49

*Cambridge, George William Frederick Charles, Duke of* (1819-1904)—British general; commanded a division in the Crimea (1854); commander-in-chief of the British army (1856-95).—124, 126, 128, 596

*Camou, Jacques* (1792-1868)—French general, Senator; commanded a division (1855) and a corps (1855-56) in the Crimea.—507, 508

*Canning, George* (1770-1827)—British Tory statesman and diplomat; Foreign Secretary (1807-09, 1822-27) and Prime Minister (1827).—15, 16, 44, 188, 376

*Canrobert, François Certain* (1809-1895)—French general, Marshal of France from 1856, Senator, Bonapartist; division commander (1854), commander-in-chief of the French army (September 1854-May 1855) and corps commander in the Crimea.—81, 87, 91, 115, 116, 132-33, 135, 137, 138, 149, 153, 171, 173, 180, 181, 201, 205, 212, 215-16, 219-20, 249, 264, 416

*Cantillon*—French non-commissioned officer; brought to trial in 1818 for an attempt on the life of the Duke of Wellington, commander-in-chief of the British occupation army in France, but acquitted.—177

*Cardigan, James Thomas Brudenell, Earl of* (1797-1868)—British general; commanded a light cavalry brigade in the Crimea (1854).—102

*Cardwell, Edward Cardwell, Viscount* (1813-1886)—British statesman, Peel-

ite, later Liberal; President of the Board of Trade (1852-55), Secretary for Ireland (1859-61), Secretary for the Colonies (1864-66) and Secretary of State for War (1868-74).—43, 60, 131

*Carlisles*—English aristocratic family.—187

*Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite* (1753-1823)—French mathematician; political and military leader of the French Revolution, Jacobin; took part in the coup d'état of Thermidor 9th, 1794.—262, 626

*Cartwright, John* (1740-1824)—English Radical; championed parliamentary reform.—242

*Castellane, Esprit Victor Elisabeth Boniface, comte de* (1788-1862)—Marshal of France, Bonapartist; took part in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—220

*Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Marquis of Londonderry, Viscount Castlereagh* (1769-1822)—British statesman, Tory; Secretary for War and for the Colonies (1805-06, 1807-09) and Foreign Secretary (1812-22).—104, 283, 376

*Cathcart, Sir George* (1794-1854)—British general; commanded the Fourth Division in the Crimea (1854).—102, 444

*Cathcart, Lady Georgina*—wife of Sir George Cathcart.—102

*Catherine II* (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-96).—104, 569, 584-86

*Cato, Marcus Porcius, the Elder* (234-149 B. C.)—Roman statesman notable for his severity in exposing the opponents of the Roman Republic.—103, 654

*Cavaignac, Louis Eugène* (1802-1857)—French general and moderate republican politician; took part in the conquest of Algeria; War Minister from May 1848; suppressed the June 1848 uprising of the Paris proletariat; head of the Executive (June-December 1848).—221, 616

*Cavendish, William, Duke of Devonshire, Marquis of Hartington, Earl of Devonshire and of Burlington* (1808-1891)—British politician, member of the House of Lords.—100

*Cecil, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne, Viscount Cranborne, Marquis of Salisbury* (1830-1903)—British statesman, M. P., Tory, later Conservative; held the posts of Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary several times.—357

*Cesena, Amédée Barthélemy Gayet de* (1810-1889)—French journalist, Bonapartist during the Second Empire, editor-in-chief of *Le Constitutionnel* (1852-57).—267, 278, 287, 544

*Chads, Sir Henry Ducie* (1788-1868)—British admiral; took part in the operations of the British fleet in the Baltic (1854-55).—517

*Changarnier, Nicolas Anne Théodule* (1793-1877)—French general and politician, monarchist; took part in the conquest of Algeria (1830s-1840s); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848-51); expelled from France after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—87, 221, 364

*Charles III* (1716-1788)—King of Spain (1759-88).—466, 468

*Charles XII* (1682-1718)—King of Sweden (1697-1718).—464

*Charles Albert (Carlo Alberto)* (1798-1849)—King of Sardinia (1831-49).—459

*Charles the Great (Charlemagne)* (c. 742-814).—Frankish King (768-814) and Emperor of the West (800-814).—109

*Chesney, Francis Rawdon* (1789-1872)—British colonel, general from 1855.—423

*Chevalier, Michel* (1806-1879)—French engineer, economist and writer; follower of Saint-Simon; supported Napoleon III's economic policy; contributed to the *Journal des Débats*.—556

*Christie, P.* (d. 1855)—British captain; Principal Agent of the Transport Service (Army of the East) up to March 31, 1855.—273, 514

*Cialdini, Enrico, duca di Gaeta* (1811-1892)—Italian general; commanded the Third Brigade of the Sardinian corps in the Crimea (1855).—548

*Clanricarde, Ulick John, de Burgh, Marquis and Earl of, Baron Somerhill* (1802-1874)—British politician and diplomat, Whig; ambassador to St. Petersburg (1838-41) and Postmaster-General (1846-52).—30, 62, 310, 662, 671

*Clarendon, Earls of*—English aristocratic family.—45

*Clarendon, George William Frederick Villiers, Earl of, Baron Hyde* (1800-1870)—British statesman, Whig, later Liberal; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1847-52), Foreign Secretary (February 1853-1858).—8, 25, 49, 67, 73, 106-08, 228, 294-95, 300, 353, 386, 391, 398, 399, 481, 482, 499, 606, 609, 610, 611, 613, 614, 623-29, 633-52, 654, 673-76, 677-80

*Clarke, Mary Anne* (1776-1852)—mistress of the Duke of York.—503, 668-70

*Clausewitz, Karl von* (1780-1831)—Prussian general and strategist.—435

*Clutterbuck, Edmund Lewis* (b. 1824)—sheriff of the county of Wiltshire (1854-55).—21, 22

*Cobbett, John Morgan* (1800-1877)—English lawyer and politician, member of the House of Commons; son of William Cobbett.—96

*Cobbett, William* (1763-1835)—British politician and radical writer; published *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register* from 1802.—47, 96-97, 167, 242, 376, 502, 663, 665, 667

*Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865)—English manufacturer and politician; a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; member of the House of Commons.—100, 168, 209, 247, 258, 382, 582

*Cochrane, Thomas, Earl of Dundonald* (1775-1860)—British admiral; took part in the wars against Napoleon I; member of the House of Commons.—273, 502

*Codrington, Sir William John* (1804-1884)—British general, member of the House of Commons; division commander (1854-55) and commander-in-chief of the British army (November 1855-July 1856) in the Crimea; Governor of Gibraltar (1859-65).—550, 573, 654

*Colchester, Charles Abbot, Baron* (1798-1867)—British admiral, Tory, member of the House of Lords.—295

*Collet, Collet Dobson*—English radical journalist and public figure.—478, 479

*Colloredo-Waldsee (Wallsee), Franz de Paula, Count von* (1799-1859)—Austrian diplomat, ambassador to St. Petersburg (1843-47), minister to London (1852-56).—108

*Combermere, Sir Stapleton-Cotton, Baronet, Viscount of* (1773-1865)—British general, field marshal from 1855; took part in the wars against Napoleon I.—558

*Congreve, Sir William* (1772-1828)—English officer and military inventor; invented a rocket which was named after him (1808).—404

*Constantine (Konstantin Nikolayevich)* (1827-1892)—Russian Grand Duke, second son of Nicholas I; admiral-general; was in charge of the defence of the Baltic coast (1854-55); Naval Minister (1855-81), President of the Council of State (1865-81).—537

*Constantine (Konstantin Pavlovich)* (1779-1831)—Russian Grand Duke, brother of Nicholas I; virtual vicegerent of Poland (1814-31).—19

*Conway, Henry Seymour* (1721-1795)—British statesman and general, field marshal from 1793; Whig, member of the House of Commons.—377

*Cordoba (Córdova)*—Spanish brigadier-general.—469

*Cormontaigne, Louis de* (c. 1696-1752)—French general, military engineer.—262

*Courtois, A.*—French writer.—535

*Cowley, Henry Wellesley, Baron of, Earl of* (1804-1884)—British diplomat,

ambassador to Paris (1852-67).—614, 636, 637, 640, 649, 677, 678

*Crawshay, George*—English journalist, supporter of David Urquhart, editor of *The Free Press* (1856-60).—561, 672

*Croesus* (d. 546 B. C.)—last king of Lydia (560-46 B. C.); according to the legend, he misinterpreted the ambiguous prophesy of the oracle of Delphi and was defeated by the Persians under Cyrus.—109

*Curzon, Robert, Baron Zouche of Harringworth* (1810-1873)—English traveller and writer; took part in the demarcation of the border between Turkey and Persia in Transcaucasia (1843-44).—592

*Custine, Astolphe, Marquis de* (1790-1857)—French traveller and writer.—442

*Czartoryskis*—Polish princely family.—476

*Czartoryski, Adam Jerzy, Prince* (1770-1861)—Polish magnate; Foreign Minister of Russia (1804-06); head of the Provisional Government during the Polish insurrection of 1830-31; leader of Polish monarchist émigrés in France.—20, 477

D

*Dairnvaell, Georges Marie*—French writer.—558

*Dante Alighieri* (1265-1321)—Italian poet.—355

*Darkin*—police inspector in London (1855).—324

*Dasent, Sir George Webbe* (1817-1896)—English philologist and journalist; assistant editor of *The Times* (1845-70); had connections in diplomatic circles.—122

*David d'Angers, Pierre Jean* (1788-1856)—French sculptor, Left republican; expelled from France after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, but soon returned.—602

*Dawkins, Edward*—English diplomat, resident in Greece (1827-34).—18

*Delane, John Thaddeus* (1817-1879)—editor-in-chief of *The Times* (1841-77).—122

*Demosthenes* (c. 384-322 B. C.)—Greek orator and politician, leader of the anti-Macedonian party in Athens.—77

*Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Earl of* (1799-1869)—British statesman, Tory leader; Prime Minister (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68).—29, 57, 79, 140, 188, 191, 192, 195, 290, 349, 382, 389, 391, 394, 562

*Derjavin (Derzhavin), Gavrila Romanovich* (1743-1816)—Russian poet.—569

*Devonshire, Duke of*—see *Cavendish, William, Duke of Devonshire*

*Devonshire, Dukes of*—English noble family.—187

*Diebich-Zabalkansky, Ivan Ivanovich (Diebitsch, Hans Karl Friedrich Anton), Count* (1785-1831)—Russian field marshal-general, commander-in-chief of the Russian army during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29; crushed the Polish insurrection of 1830-31.—446

*Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and writer, a Tory leader; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68), Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80).—24, 26, 27, 29, 30, 50, 118, 188, 213-14, 218, 222-25, 227-31, 234, 235, 237, 238, 245, 246, 290, 341, 352-54, 356, 482, 497-98

*Dobrovský (Dobrowsky), Josef* (1753-1829)—Czech scholar and public figure; founder of the scientific philology of the Slavonic languages.—158, 691

*Douglas, Sir Howard, Baronet* (1776-1861)—British general and author of works on artillery and fortification.—423

*Dowler, William*—British officer.—669

*Drouyn de Lhuys, Edouard* (1805-1881)—French diplomat and politician; Orleanist in the 1840s, Bonapartist after 1851; Foreign Minister (1848-49, 1851, 1852-55, 1862-66); ambassador to England (1849-50); represented

France at the Vienna Conference (1855).—139, 141-42, 397, 603

*Drummond, Henry* (1786-1860)—British politician, Tory, member of the House of Commons; member of the Select Committee of Inquiry into the Condition of the British Army in the Crimea (1855).—29, 122, 310

*Duke, Sir James, Baronet* (b. 1792)—member of the House of Commons, Free Trader.—98

*Dulac*—French general; commanded a division in the Crimea (1855).—547

*Dumouriez, Charles François* (1739-1823)—French general, prominent figure in the French Revolution, was close to the Girondists; betrayed the revolution in March 1793.—285

*Duncombe, Thomas Slingsby* (1796-1861)—British radical politician; Chartist in the 1840s; member of the House of Commons.—24, 27, 273, 308, 311, 333

*Dundas, Henry, Viscount Melville* (1742-1811)—British statesman; Home Secretary (1791-94), President of the Board of Control for India (1793-1801), Secretary of State for War (1794-1801), First Lord of the Admiralty (1804-05).—663

*Dundas, Sir James Whitley Deans* (1785-1862)—British admiral, commander-in-chief of the British fleet in the Mediterranean (1852-January 1855).—69, 247

*Dundas, Richard Saunders* (1802-1861)—British vice-admiral, commander-in-chief of the British fleet in the Baltic (1855).—273, 293, 308-09, 488, 490, 493, 494

*Dundonald*—see *Cochrane, Thomas, Earl of Dundonald*

*Dunlop, Alexander Graham*—English writer.—286

*Duns Scotus, John* (c. 1265-1308)—Scottish scholastic philosopher and theologian.—12

*Dupont de l'Étang, Pierre Antoine, comte* (1765-1840)—French general; capitulated with his division at Bailen during the war in Spain (1808).—147

E

*Ebner*—Austrian general, commandant of the Przemyśl fortress during the Crimean war.—497

*Ebrington, Hugh, Viscount of, Earl Fortescue* (1818-1905)—British politician, Whig, member of the House of Commons.—99, 239, 327, 479

*Ellenborough, Edward Law, Baron* (1750-1818)—British statesman and lawyer, Whig, later Tory; member of the House of Lords; Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench (1802-1818).—190

*Ellenborough, Edward Law, Earl of* (1790-1871)—British statesman, Tory, member of the House of Lords; Governor-General of India (1842-44), First Lord of the Admiralty (1846), President of the Board of Control for India (1858); son of Baron Ellenborough.—187, 189, 191, 192, 194, 195, 483, 499

*Ellice, Edward* (1781-1863)—British statesman, Whig, member of the House of Commons; member of the Select Committee of Inquiry into the Condition of the British Army in the Crimea (1855).—29

*Elliot, Sir George Augustus* (1813-1901)—British naval officer, admiral from 1870; commanded a battleship in the Baltic (1854-55).—654

*Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895)—3, 6, 11, 32, 35, 62, 113, 132, 135, 137, 151, 164, 180, 201, 216, 328, 334, 344, 359, 504, 519, 521, 523, 538, 542, 588, 597, 683

*Espartero, Baldomero, duque de la Vittoria* (1793-1879)—Spanish general and politician; leader of the Progresista Party; Regent of Spain (1841-43), head of government (1854-56).—467

*Espinasse, Charles Marie Esprit* (1815-1859)—French general, Bonapartist; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s and in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; commanded a division in Dobruja (1854) and a brigade in the Crimea (1854-55).—109, 212

*Euclid* (late 4th-early 3rd cent. B. C.)—Greek mathematician.—422
*Eugène Louis Jean Joseph, Prince Imperial* (1856-1879)—son of Napoleon III, killed in the war against the Zulus.—615, 617, 619, 620
*Eugène, Prince of Savoy (François Eugène de Savoie-Carignan)* (1663-1736)—Austrian general and statesman.—284, 405
*Eugénie Marie Ignace Augustine de Montijo de Guzmán, comtesse de Teba* (1826-1920)—French Empress, wife of Napoleon III.—603
*Evans, David Morier* (1819-1874)—British economist.—209
*Evans, Sir George de Lacy* (1787-1870)—British general and Liberal politician, member of the House of Commons; commanded a division in the Crimea (1854).—22, 74, 75, 98, 635
*Exeter, Brownlow Cecil, Marquess of* (1795-1867)—English aristocrat, Tory, member of the House of Lords.—353
*Eyre, Sir William* (1805-1859)—British general; fought in the Crimean War.—332

F

*Fabius (Quintus Fabius Maximus Verrucosus Cunctator)* (c. 275-203 B. C.)—Roman general who defeated Hannibal by avoiding a full-scale battle; for his delaying tactics he was nicknamed Cunctator.—663
*Failly, Pierre Louis Charles Achille de* (1810-1892)—French general, Senator; commanded a division in the Crimea (1855).—572
*Farrer, Mr. Henry*—churchwarden of St. Pancras, member of the Administrative Reform Association.—241
*Faucheux*—French general; commanded a division in the Crimea (1855).—507-09
*Fawkes, Guy* (1570-1606)—British officer, organiser of the Catholic Gunpowder plot of November 5, 1605.—392
*Ferdinand I* (1751-1825)—King of the Two Sicilies (1816-25).—461
*Ferdinand II* (1810-1859)—King of the Two Sicilies (1830-59), nicknamed King Bomba for the bombardment of Messina in 1848.—460, 461, 474
*Ferguson, Ronald Croford* (1773-1841)—British general, member of the House of Commons; opposed the Duke of York's abuse of his position.—670
*Filder* (b. 1790)—British Commissary-General; head of the army Commissariat in the Crimea (1854-55)—75, 654
*Finlen, James*—a Chartist leader; member of the Executive of the National Charter Association (1852-58).—305
*Fitzgerald, John David, Lord Fitzgerald* (1816-1889)—Irish Liberal politician and lawyer, member of the House of Commons.—79, 80
*Fitzpatrick, Richard* (1747-1813)—British general and politician, Whig M. P.; Chief Secretary for Ireland (1782), Secretary for War (1783, 1806-07).—665
*Folkestone*—British Radical M. P.—502
*Forey, Elie Frédéric* (1804-1872)—French general, later Marshal of France, Senator, Bonapartist; took part in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; commanded a reserve force in the Crimea (1854-early 1855); appointed Governor of the Oran province (North Africa) in April 1855.—116, 212
*Fox, Charles James* (1749-1806)—British statesman, Whig leader; Foreign Secretary (1782, 1783, 1806).—584, 586, 587, 665
*Francis Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-1916).—119, 165, 178, 425, 474, 482, 495, 498, 690, 693
*Frederick II (the Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—106, 405, 414, 434
*Frederick VII* (1808-1863)—King of Denmark (1848-63).—395-96
*Frederick William III* (1770-1840)—

King of Prussia (1797-1840).—283, 659

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—94, 105, 537, 553, 659, 660

*French*—British colonel.—669

*Fuad Pasha, Mehemmed* (1814-1869)—Turkish statesman; commissioner in the Danubian Principalities (1848); repeatedly held the posts of Grand Vizier and Foreign Minister in the 1850s and 1860s.—609, 642, 675

G

*Gaj, Ljudevit* (1809-1872)—Croatian journalist, philologist and politician; adhered to the programme of Austro-Slavism.—158, 691

*Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary and democrat; headed a unit of volunteers in Lombardy fighting against the Austrians (1848); organised the defence of the Roman Republic between April and June 1849; led the struggle for Italy's national liberation in the 1850s and 1860s.—460

*Gazee-Hassan (Gazi-Hassan)* (d. 1790)—Turkish admiral; fought in the Russo-Turkish wars; Grand Vizier (1789-90).—700

*George III* (1738-1820)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1760-1820).—383, 585-86, 666, 667

*George IV* (1762-1830)—Prince Regent (1811-20), King of Great Britain and Ireland (1820-30).—303, 383, 670

*Gibbs*—London police superintendent (1855).—324

*Gibson, Thomas Milner* (1806-1884)—British statesman, Free Trader.—213-14, 223, 224, 247, 341

*Girardin, Émile de* (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician; republican during the 1848-49 revolution and later Bonapartist; editor of *La Presse* in the 1830s-1860s (with intervals); lacked principles in politics.—120

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory and later Peelite; leader of the Liberal Party in the second half of the nineteenth century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55, 1859-66), Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—8, 9, 12, 13, 25, 43, 45, 50, 70, 71, 103, 126, 131, 143, 214, 225, 227, 228, 231, 233, 234, 237, 239, 246, 258, 259, 277, 278, 290, 353, 354, 356, 398, 472-73, 475, 554, 555, 560

*Gläser*—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal; commandant of the Zaleszczyki fortress during the Crimean war.—497

*Goderich*—see *Robinson, Frederick John*

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—306

*Gorchakoff (Gorchakov), Alexander Mikhailovich, Prince* (1798-1883)—Russian statesman and diplomat; envoy in Vienna (1854-56), Foreign Minister (1856-82), State Chancellor (1867-82).—141, 142, 225, 234, 398

*Gorchakoff (Gorchakov), Mikhail Dmitrievich, Prince* (1793-1861)—Russian general; commanded the Russian troops on the Danube (1853-54); commander-in-chief of the Southern army (September 1854—February 1855) and of the army in the Crimea (February-December 1855); Governor-General of the Kingdom of Poland (1856-61).—178, 205, 255, 484, 504, 508, 509, 522, 525-27, 529, 532, 533, 539, 541, 552, 563, 564, 572, 694, 695

*Gordons*—English aristocratic family.—664

*Gordon, Alexander*—British colonel, son of Lord Aberdeen.—664-65

*Gordon, Sir James Willoughby, Baronet* (1773-1851)—British general, the Duke of York's secretary (1804-09).—664

*Gordon, John*—British major; served on Dominica (1801).—664

*Gordon, Sir John William* (1814-1870)—British officer, later general, military engineer; commander of the engineering troops in the Crimea (1854-55).—654

*Gordon, Sir Robert* (1791-1847)—British diplomat, brother of Lord Aberdeen; envoy extraordinary at Constantinople (1828-31) and at Vienna (1841-46).—664

*Grach, Friedrich* (1812-1854)—Prussian colonel; served in the Turkish army from 1841; a leader of the defence of Silistria (1854).—455

*Graham, Sir James Robert George* (1792-1861)—British statesman, Whig and later Peelite; Home Secretary in the Peel Government (1841-46); First Lord of the Admiralty (1830-34, 1852-55).—8, 25, 43, 44, 50, 69, 71, 118, 218, 225, 246-48, 258, 273, 277, 353, 354, 356, 357, 493, 494, 512-18

*Graham, Lord Montagu William* (b. 1807)—British politician, member of the House of Commons (1852-57).—108

*Granby, Charles Cecil John Manners, Marquis of, Duke of Rutland* (1815-1888)—English politician, Tory, member of the House of Commons.—227

*Granier de Cassagnac, Bernard Adolphe* (1806-1880)—French journalist, Orleanist until the 1848 revolution and later Bonapartist; deputy to the Corps législatif; editor-in-chief of *Le Pays* in the 1850s.—139

*Grantham, Thomas Robinson, Baron* (1738-1786)—British statesman and diplomat, Whig; ambassador to Madrid (1771-79), Foreign Secretary (1782-83).—586

*Granville, Augustus Bozzi* (1783-1872)—English physician of Italian descent.—68

*Granville, George Leveson-Gower, Earl of* (1815-1891)—British statesman, Whig and later Liberal; Foreign Secretary (1851-52, 1870-74, 1880-85), President of the Council (1852-54, 1855-58).—49, 57, 295, 300

*Granville, Marie Louisa Pellini de Dalberg* (d. 1860)—first wife of the Earl of Granville.—306

*Grenville, William Wyndham, Baron* (1759-1834)—British statesman, Tory and later Whig; Foreign Secretary (1791-1801), Prime Minister (1806-07).—666

*Grey, Earls of*—English noble family.—49

*Grey, Charles, Earl of, Viscount Howick, Baron Grey* (1764-1845)—British statesman, a Whig leader; First Lord of the Admiralty (1806), Prime Minister (1830-34).—377, 587

*Grey, Sir George* (1799-1882)—British statesman, Whig; Home Secretary (1846-52, 1855-58, 1861-66), Colonial Secretary (1854-55).—49, 349, 369

*Grey, Sir Henry George, Viscount Howick, Earl of* (1802-1894)—British statesman, Whig; Secretary at War (1835-39), Colonial Secretary (1846-52); son of Charles Grey.—49, 391

*Griffiths, W.*—English clergyman.—258

*Grosvenor, Richard, Marquis of Westminster* (1795-1869)—English aristocrat, Whig.—323

*Grosvenor, Lord Robert, Baron Ebury* (1801-1893) — British politician, Whig, member of the House of Commons.—218, 239, 304, 307, 308, 320, 323, 327

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman; virtually directed the home and foreign policy of France from 1840 to the February 1848 revolution; expressed the interests of the financial bourgeoisie.—139, 209

*Gurney, Samuel* (1786-1856)—English banker, head of the big London discount bank of Overend, Gurney and Co. (1825-56).—335, 336

*Gurowski, Adam, Count von* (1805-1866)—Polish journalist; lived in emigration in the USA from 1849 onwards; contributed to the *New-York Daily Tribune* in the 1850s.—689

*Gustavus II Adolphus* (1594-1632)—King of Sweden (1611-32).—464

*Guyon, Richard Debaufre* (Khourschid Pasha) (1803-1856)—Turkish general of British descent; took part in the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49; commanded Turkish troops in the Caucasus (1853).—629

## H

*Hafiz Pasha*—Turkish general; commanded Turkish troops in the Caucasus (1855).—632

*Hale, William*—owner of a rocket factory in the suburbs of London in the early 1850s.—404

*Halford, Sir Henry, Baronet* (b. 1798)—member of the House of Commons (1832-57).—96

*Hall, Sir Benjamin, Baron Llanover* (1802-1867)—British statesman, member of the House of Commons; Mayfair Radical; President of the Board of Health (August 1854-July 1855), First Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings (1855-58).—26, 368

*Hall, Sir John* (1795-1866)—British army doctor; principal medical officer and inspector-general of hospitals in the Crimea (1854-56).—12

*Haller, Karl Ludwig von* (1768-1854)—Swiss lawyer and historian, absolutist.—660

*Handcock, John Stratford*—plaintiff in the case of the inheritance of Eliza Josephine Handcock, mistress of the Earl of Clanricarde.—62

*Hanka, Wenceslaus (Václav)* (1791-1861)—Czech philologist and historian; held conservative pan-Slavist views.—158, 691

*Hanover, House of*—English royal dynasty (1714-1901)—596

*Hardinge, Sir Henry, Viscount Hardinge of Lahore* (1785-1856)—British general, field marshal from 1855, statesman, Tory; Secretary at War (1828-30, 1841-44), Governor-General of India (1844-January 1848), commander-in-chief of the British army (1852-56).—102, 130, 558

*Hardwicke, Charles Philip Yorke, Earl of* (1799-1873)—British admiral and politician, Tory, member of the House of Lords.—190

*Harrington, Leicester Fitzgerald Charles, Stanhope, Earl of* (1784-1862)—British colonel and politician, Whig.—478, 479

*Harris*—see *Malmesbury, James Harris, Earl of and Viscount Fitzharris*

*Harrison, George*—English worker, Chartist.—99

*Hart, Jakob James*—British consul in Leipzig.—561

*Hart, Richard*—English lawyer, supporter of David Urquhart.—478, 480

*Hassan-Pasha*—see *Gazee-Hassan*

*Haxthausen, August Franz Ludwig Maria, Baron von* (1792-1866)—Prussian conservative official and writer; author of works on the agrarian system and the peasant commune in Russia.—166

*Haynau, Julius Jakob, Baron von* (1786-1853)—Austrian general; took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolutionary movements in Italy and Hungary.—251

*Heathcote, Sir William* (1801-1881)—member of the House of Commons.—227, 228, 245

*Henry IV* (1367-1413)—King of England (1399-1413).—12, 480, 486

*Henry VII* (1457-1509)—King of England (1485-1509).—374

*Henry VIII* (1491-1547)—King of England (1509-47).—274, 615

*Herbert, Sidney, Baron Herbert of Lea* (1810-1861)—British statesman, Tory and later Peelite; Secretary to the Admiralty (1841-45), Secretary at War (1845-46, 1852-55).—8, 21, 22, 43-45, 50, 69, 126, 131, 214, 353, 354, 356, 357, 397

*Herbillon, Émile* (1794-1866)—French general; commanded a division in the Crimea (1855).—507, 508

*Herwegh, Georg Friedrich* (1817-1875)—German democratic poet.—258

*Hess, Heinrich Hermann Josef, Baron von* (1788-1870)—Austrian general, later field marshal; took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; commander-in-chief of the Austrian troops in Hungary, Galicia and the Danubian Principalities (1854-55).—178, 482, 496, 498

*Hobbes, Thomas* (1588-1679)—English materialist philosopher.—247

*Holstein-Gottorp, House of*—ducal dynasty (1544-1918)—396
*Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus)* (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—158, 571, 691
*Horner, Leonard* (1785-1864)—English geologist and public figure; factory inspector (1833-56), championed the workers' interests.—96, 370
*Horsman, Edward* (1807-1876)—British statesman, Liberal, member of the House of Commons; Chief Secretary for Ireland (1855-57).—24
*Hotham, Sir Charles* (1806-1855)—British naval officer; Governor of Victoria (Australia) in 1854-55.—65, 66
*Houchard, Jean Nicolas* (1740-1793)—French general; commanded the Northern army which defeated the Duke of York's troops (1793).—663
*Howard, George William Frederick, Earl of Carlisle* (1802-1864)—British statesman, Whig, member of the House of Lords; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1855-58, 1859-64).—79
*Hughes, T. M.*—English writer; lived in Spain for several years; Lisbon correspondent of *The Times*.—469
*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885)—French writer, republican; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848-51); lived in emigration on Jersey (one of the Channel Islands) after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; expelled by the local authorities at the end of 1855.—479, 582
*Hume, Joseph* (1777-1855)—British politician, a Radical leader, member of the House of Commons.—17, 47, 48, 209, 243, 377, 381

I

*Ibrahim Pasha* (1789-1848)—foster-son of the Viceroy of Egypt Mehemet Ali; Egyptian commander-in-chief during the wars against Turkey (1831-33, 1839-41); virtual ruler of Egypt from 1847.—18
*Iskender (Iskander) Bey (Alexander Iliński)* (1810-1861)—Turkish general of Polish descent; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; commanded Turkish troops on the Danube (1853-54), in the Crimea (1855) and in the Caucasus (1855-56).—136, 455
*Ismail Pasha (György Kmety)* (1810-1865)—Turkish general of Magyar descent; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; commanded Turkish troops on the Danube (1853-54) and in the Caucasus (1854-55).—591

J

*Jeffreys, George, Baron Jeffreys of Wem* (1648-1689)—English lawyer, Tory; Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench (1683-85), known for his extremely harsh sentences.—190
*Johnson*—police commissioner in Ballarat, Victoria (Australia).—66
*Johnstone, Andrew James Cochrane* (b. 1767)—British colonel, member of the House of Commons, Governor of Dominica (1797-1803).—663, 666
*Jomini, Henri, Baron* (1779-1869)—Swiss-born general in the French and later in the Russian army; author of works on strategy and military history.—435, 539, 540, 613, 627
*Jones, Ernest Charles* (1819-1869)—prominent figure in the English labour movement, proletarian poet and journalist, Left-wing Chartist leader; editor of the *Notes to the People* and *The People's Paper;* friend of Marx and Engels.—71, 100, 168, 195-97, 241, 394, 524
*Jones, Sir Harry David* (1791-1866)—British general, military engineer; commander of the engineering troops in the Crimea (1855).—26, 114
*Jones, Mrs. Jane Ernest* (d. 1857)—wife of Ernest Jones.—524
*Jones, John Gale* (1769-1838)—British Radical politician, surgeon.—190-91

*Jones, John Paul* (1747-1792)—Scottish-born American naval officer, previously a contrabandist and slave-trader; fought in the American War of Independence (1775-83) and, as a rear-admiral, in the Russo-Turkish war on the side of the Russians (1788).—700, 701

*Jones, William*—Chartist, secretary of the committee appointed to organise Feargus O'Connor's funeral (September 1855).—524

*Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis)* (c. 60-d. after 127)—Roman satirical poet.—259

K

*Kelly*—British lieutenant-colonel; commanded a regiment in the Crimea (1855).—153

*Keogh, William Nicholas* (1817-1878)—Irish lawyer and politician, a leader of the Irish Brigade in Parliament; held several high judicial posts in Ireland.—79

*King, Peter John Locke* (1811-1885)—British politician, Radical, member of the House of Commons.—381, 392

*Kmety*—see *Ismail Pasha*

*Knesebeck, Karl Friedrich, Baron von* (1768-1848)—Prussian field marshal-general; took part in the wars against Napoleon I.—284, 285

*Knight, Charles* (1791-1873)—English liberal journalist and publisher.—281

*Kollár (Kolar), Ján* (1793-1852)—Slovak poet and philologist, representative of the Slovak and Czech Enlightenment; supported the programme of Austro-Slavism.—158, 691

*Kopitar, Bartholamäus (Bartlomiej)* (1780-1844)—Slovenian scholar, author of works on the language, literature and history of the Slavs.—158, 691

*Korff, Fyodor Khristoforovich, Baron von*—Russian general; commanded a cavalry division in the Crimea (1855).—564, 694, 695

*Korniloff (Kornilov), Vladimir Alexeyevich* (1806-1854)—Russian admiral, chief of staff of the Black Sea fleet (1849-53); an organiser of the defence of Sevastopol.—134, 135, 137

*Kosciusko, Thaddeus (Kościuszko, Tadeusz Andrzej Bonawentura)* (1746-1817)—prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement; took part in the American War of Independence in 1776-83; leader of the Polish uprising of 1784.—285

*Kossuth, Lajos* (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement; head of the Hungarian revolutionary government (1848-49); emigrated to Turkey after the defeat of the revolution and later to England and the USA.—581

*Kroushoff (Khrushchov), Alexander Petrovich* (1806-1875)—Russian general; commanded troops in the Crimea (1853-56); took part in the defence of Sevastopol.—116

L

*Labouchere, Henry, Baron Taunton* (1798-1869)—British statesman, Whig; President of the Board of Trade (1839-41, 1847-52); Secretary of State for the Colonies (1855-58).—560

*La Marmora (Lamarmora), Alfonso Ferrero, marchese de* (1804-1878)—Italian general and politician; War Minister of Piedmont (1848, 1849-55, 1856-59); commanded a Sardinian corps in the Crimea (1855); Prime Minister of Piedmont and of the Italian Kingdom (1859, 1860, 1864-66).—507

*Lamb* (born c. 1785)—rector, held two benefices in Sussex.—51, 52

*Lamb, Edward Augustus*—patron of the livings in Sussex, son of the above.—52

*Lamb*—rector and owner of the living in West Hackney, brother of Edward Augustus Lamb.—52

*Lamoricière, Christophe Léon Louis Juchault de* (1806-1865)—French general and politician, moderate republican; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s; suppressed the uprising of Paris

workers in June 1848; War Minister in the Cavaignac Government (June-December 1848); banished after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—87, 109, 221

*La Motterouge (La Motte Rouge), Joseph Édouard de* (1804-1883)—French general; commanded a division in the Crimea (1855).—547

*Langford, John Alfred* (1823-1903)—English journalist, Liberal; co-editor of *The Birmingham Daily Press* (1855).—394-96

*Lansdowne, Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, Marquis of* (1780-1863)—British statesman, Whig; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1806-07); President of the Council (1830-41, 1846-52); Minister without portfolio (1852-63).—8, 300, 662, 666, 671

*Lanskoi, Sergei Stepanovich, Count* from 1861 (1787-1862)—Russian statesman; Minister of the Interior (1855-61).—576

*Las Cases, Emmanuel Augustin Dieudonné, comte de* (1766-1842)—French historian, author of *Memorial de Sainte-Hélène*, a book about Napoleon I.—286

*Lawley, Francis Charles* (1825-1901)—British journalist, Gladstone's private secretary (1852-54); correspondent of *The Times* in the USA (1854-65).—62

*Layard, Sir Austen Henry* (1817-1894)—British archaeologist and politician, Radical, subsequently Liberal, member of the House of Commons; member of the Select Committee of Inquiry into the Condition of the British Army in the Crimea (1855).—24-25, 29, 40, 57, 58, 98, 131, 167, 187, 191, 214, 218, 237, 238, 258, 272, 274, 277, 299, 340, 341, 368, 514

*Ledger*—publisher of the weekly *Penny Times*.—281

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician, a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats, editor of *La Réforme;* Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848), where he headed the Montagne party; emigrated to England after the demonstration of June 13, 1849.—29

*Lee, James*—English physician.—68

*Leroy*—see *Saint-Arnaud, Armand Jacques Achille Leroy de*

*Lestocq (L'Estocq), Anton Wilhelm* (1738-1815)—Prussian general, commanded a corps in the war of 1806-07.—569

*Le Vaillant (Levaillant)*—French general; commanded an infantry division in the Crimea (1854-55).—547

*Lewis, Sir George Cornewall, Baronet* (1806-1863) — British statesman, Whig; Financial Secretary to the Treasury (1850-52); editor of *The Edinburgh Review* (1852-55); Chancellor of the Exchequer (1855-58), Home Secretary (1859-61), Secretary of State for War (1861-63).—49, 103, 554, 555

*Lieven, Darya (Dorothea) Khristoforovna, Princess* (1785-1857)—wife of the Russian diplomat Khristofor Andreyevich Lieven; hostess of political salons in London and Paris.—300, 561

*Ligne, Charles Joseph, Prince de* (1735-1814)—Austrian general, diplomat and writer; fought in the Seven Years' War (1756-63).—283

*Lindsay, William Schaw* (1816-1877)—English shipowner and merchant, Free Trader, member of the House of Commons.—311

*Liprandi, Pavel Petrovich* (1796-1864)—Russian general; commanded a division on the Danube (1853-54) and a corps in the Crimea (1854-55).—486, 487, 507

*Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, Earl of* (1770-1828)—British statesman, a Tory leader; held a number of ministerial posts; Prime Minister (1812-27).—16, 28, 104, 190, 311

*Loudon, Gideon Ernst, Baron von* (1716-1790)—Austrian field marshal-general; commanded a cavalry corps in the Seven Years' War (1756-63); took part in the campaign against Turkey (1788-89).—569

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—405
*Louis XVI* (1754-1793)—King of France (1774-92); guillotined during the French Revolution.—293
*Louis XVIII* (1755-1824)—King of France (1814-15, 1815-24).—659
*Louis Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*
*Louis Napoleon*—see *Napoleon III*
*Louis Philippe* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—62, 71, 139, 141, 150, 190, 213, 311, 558, 581
*Lovett, William* (1800-1877)—English artisan, petty-bourgeois democrat; a Chartist leader in the 1830s.—243
*Lowe, Robert, Viscount Sherbrooke* (1811-1892)—British statesman and journalist, contributor to *The Times;* Whig and later Liberal, member of the House of Commons; Vice-President of the Board of Trade (1855-58).—29, 122, 218, 227, 228, 245, 246, 357
*Lucan, George Charles Bingham, Earl of* (1800-1888)—British general, later field marshal, Tory; commanded a cavalry division in the Crimea (1854-early 1855).—102
*Lüders, Alexander Nikolayevich, Count* (1790-1874)—Russian general; commanded a corps on the Danube (1853-54) and the Southern army (1855); commander-in-chief of the army in the Crimea (early 1856).—361, 577, 578, 579
*Lyndhurst, John Singleton Copley, Baron of* (1772-1863)—British statesman and lawyer, Tory; Lord Chancellor (1827-30, 1834-35, 1841-46).—104-06, 228, 482, 498
*Lyons, Edmund, Baron Lyons* (1790-1858)—British admiral; commander-in-chief of the British fleet in the Black Sea (1855).—216, 219, 634, 638
*Lytton, Edward George Earle Lytton, Bulwer-Lytton* (1803-1873)—British writer and politician, Whig, Tory from 1852; member of the House of Commons.—247, 289, 337-42, 348, 352, 353, 367

M

*Macdonald, John Cameron*—contributor to *The Times.*—124
*MacGregor, John* (1797-1857)—Scottish statistician and historian, Free Trader; Vice-President of the Board of Trade (1840-47); member of the House of Commons from 1847.—562
*MacMahon, Marie Edme Patrice Maurice, comte de, duc de Magenta* (1808-1893)—French general and subsequently marshal, Senator, Bonapartist; took part in the wars waged by the Second Empire; commanded a division in the Crimea (1855); President of the Third Republic (1873-79).—547, 551, 552
*McNeill, Sir John* (1795-1883)—British diplomat, envoy to Teheran (1836-39, 1841-42); member of the Commission of Inquiry into the Commissariat Department and General Organisation of Troops in the Crimea (1855).—26
*Magnan, Bernard Pierre* (1791-1865)—Marshal of France and Senator, Bonapartist; one of the leaders of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—220, 603
*Magne, Pierre* (1806-1879)—French statesman, Bonapartist; Minister of Finance (1855-60, 1867-69, 1870, 1873-74).—534
*Mahmud II* (1785-1839)—Sultan of Turkey (1808-39).—18, 451
*Maistre, Joseph Marie, comte de* (1753-1821)—French writer, monarchist, an ideologist of the aristocratic and clerical reaction.—660
*Malet, Alexander, Baronet* (1800-1886)—British diplomat, envoy to Frankfurt am Main (German Confederation) (1849-66).—553
*Malins, Sir Richard* (1805-1882)—English lawyer, Tory, member of the House of Commons.—311
*Malmesbury, James Harris, Earl of and Viscount Fitzharris* (1746-1820)—British diplomat and statesman, Whig; ambassador to St. Petersburg (1777-82).—584-86

*Malmesbury, James Howard Harris, Earl of* (1807-1889)—British statesman, Tory; Foreign Secretary (1852, 1858-59).—118, 294-95, 394-97, 662

*Mansfield, Sir William Rose, Baron Sandhurst* (1819-1876)—British general, military adviser to the British Embassy at Constantinople (1855-56).—609, 611, 653

*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von* (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman; Minister of the Interior (1848-50); Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1850-58).—105

*Maria Alexandrovna* (1824-1880)—Princess of Hesse-Darmstadt; Empress of Russia, wife of Alexander II (from 1841).—537

*Marlborough, John Churchill, Duke of* (1650-1722)—British general; commander-in-chief of the British troops in the war of the Spanish Succession (1702-11).—514

*Martimprey, Edouard Charles, comte de* (1808-1883)—French general, Senator; chief of the General Staff of the French army in the Crimea (1854-55).—634

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883).—11, 33, 34, 39, 62, 63, 195, 209, 297, 328, 359, 394, 605, 615, 672

*Masséna, André, duc de Rivoli, prince d' Essling* (1756-1817)—Marshal of France; fought in the Napoleonic wars.—569

*Maurice (Moritz) of Nassau, Prince of Orange and Count of Nassau* (1567-1625)—Stadtholder of the Netherlands (1585-1625); military leader in the war of independence.—435

*Mayne, Sir Richard* (1796-1868)—Chief Police Commissioner in London (from 1850).—323, 324, 333

*Mayran, Joseph Decius Nicolas* (1801-1855)—French general; took part in the siege of Sevastopol.—330

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, democrat, a leader of the national liberation movement in Italy; head of the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849).—581

*M'Dickey*—Chartist.—240

*Melbourne, William Lamb, Viscount* (1779-1848)—British statesman, Whig; Home Secretary (1830-34), Prime Minister (1834, 1835-41).—22, 30-31, 78, 384, 388, 560

*Mellinet, Émile* (1798-1894)—French general, Senator; commanded a guards division in the Crimea (1855)—547

*Metastasio, Pietro Antonio Domenico Bonaventure Trapassi* (1698-1782)—Italian poet, author of librettos.—382

*Metternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince von* (1773-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1809-21), Chancellor (1821-48); an organiser of the Holy Alliance.—159-60, 247, 283, 691, 692

*Miall, Edward* (1809-1881)—British Radical politician and writer; preacher of non-conformism; member of the House of Commons.—581, 582

*Michael (Mikhail Nikolayevich)* (1832-1909)—Russian Grand Duke, fourth son of Nicholas I of Russia.—67

*Michele, C. E., de*—owner and an editor of *The Morning Post*.—562

*Miklosich, Franz (Mikloszić, Franciszek) von* (1813-1891)—professor of Slavic philology at Vienna University (1849-86); founder of the comparative grammar of Slavic languages; Slovenian by birth.—158, 691

*Miles, William* (1797-1878)—English financier, Tory, member of the House of Commons.—29

*Milner Gibson*—see *Gibson, Thomas Milner*

*Minié, Claude Étienne* (1804-1879)—French colonel, inventor of a new type of rifle adopted by the French army in 1852.—412, 420, 421, 426, 436, 458, 462

*Minto, Gilbert Elliot, Earl of* (1782-1859)—British statesman and diplomat, Whig; First Lord of the Admiralty (1835-41), Lord Privy Seal (1846-52); was on a diplomatic mission in Italy (1847-48).—391

*Mitchely*—see *Michele, C. E., de*

*M'Mahon*—see *MacMahon, Marie Edme Patrice Maurice, comte de, duc de Magenta*

*Mohammed (Muhammad, Mahomet)* (c. 570-632)—founder of Islam.—584

*Mohammed-Shah* (1810-1848)—Shah of Persia (1834-48).—19

*Molesworth, Sir William, Baronet* (1810-1855)—British statesman, Mayfair Radical, member of the House of Commons; First Commissioner of the Board of Works and Public Buildings (1853-55), Secretary of State for the Colonies (1855).—222, 223, 246-47, 368

*Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard, Count von* (1800-1891)—Prussian army officer, subsequently field marshal-general, military writer and strategist; served in the Turkish army (1835-39).—147

*Monet, de*—French general; commanded a brigade in the Crimea (1854-early 1855).—116

*Monsell, William, Baron Emly* (1812-1894)—Irish politician; a leader of the Irish Brigade in Parliament; Clerk of the Ordnance (1852-57).—58, 79

*Montalembert, Charles Forbes René de Tryon, comte de* (1810-1870)—French politician and writer, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848-51); Orleanist, leader of the Catholic party; supported Louis Bonaparte during the coup d'état of December 2, 1851 but soon afterwards joined the opposition.—139, 601

*Montalembert, Marc René, marquis de* (1714-1800)—French general, military engineer, fortification specialist.—262, 435

*Montecucculi (Montecuccoli), Raimund, Count, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, Duke of Melfi* (1609-1680)—Austrian general and strategist of Italian descent, field marshal from 1658; took part in the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) and the wars against Turkey and France.—284

*Monteith, R.*—British official.—562

*Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de* (1689-1755)—French philosopher, an ideologist of the Enlightenment.—300

*Montijo*—see *Eugénie Marie Ignace Augustine de Montijo de Guzmán, comtesse de Teba*

*Morley, S.*—chairman of the meeting organised by the Association of Administrative Reform in London on June 13, 1855.—290

*Morny, Charles Auguste Louis Joseph, duc de* (1811-1865)—French politician, Bonapartist; an organiser of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; Minister of the Interior (December 1851-January 1852); President of the *Corps législatif* (1854-56, 1857-65).—139, 601, 603

*Morris, Mowbray* (1818-1874)—manager of *The Times* (1847-73).—122

*Muntz, George Frederick* (1794-1857)—British arms manufacturer and Radical politician, member of the House of Commons.—79

*Muravieff (Muravyev), Nikolai Nikolayevich (Karski)* (1794-1866)—Russian general, commander-in-chief of the Russian Caucasian army and Governor-General of the Caucasus (1854-56).—269, 288, 567, 612, 627, 640, 641, 644, 646, 696

*Murrough, John Patrick* (b. 1822)—British Liberal politician, member of the House of Commons.—99

*Mustapha Pasha*—Turkish general.—609

N

*Napiers*—English aristocratic family.—514

*Napier, Sir Charles, Count Cape St. Vincent* (1786-1860)—British admiral, member of the House of Commons; commanded the British fleet in the Baltic (1854).—247, 248, 273, 310, 493, 494, 513-18

*Napier, Sir Charles James* (1782-1853)—British general; fought in the Peninsular war (1808-14); commanded the British troops that conquered the

Sind (1842-43); ruler of the Sind (1843-47).—514

*Napier, Edward Delaval Hungerford Elers* (1808-1870)—British colonel, lieutenant-general from 1864; organised the maintenance of the British army in the Crimea (1854-55).—6

*Napier, Sir William Francis Patrick* (1785-1860)—British general and military historian; fought in the Peninsular war (1808-14).—34, 42, 413, 414, 419, 421, 423, 433, 514

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—35, 50, 88, 91-93, 110, 111, 122-23, 150, 177, 204, 248, 262, 272, 285, 286, 330, 405, 406-08, 414, 469, 476, 479, 502, 528, 544, 557, 570, 571, 572, 579, 599, 601, 618, 627

*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—Napoleon I's nephew, President of the Second Republic (December 1848-1851), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—8, 30, 50, 67-74, 76, 86-88, 90-94, 109, 110, 111, 112, 117-21, 136, 139, 142, 144, 146-49, 150, 177, 179, 205, 211, 212, 220, 247, 251, 267-72, 278, 286, 287, 289, 292, 293, 297, 317, 334, 343, 347, 351, 357, 359, 364, 368, 412, 416, 474, 478, 480, 484, 498, 518, 534, 555, 557, 572, 581-82, 596, 599-604, 613, 615-20, 639, 641, 649, 677

*Narváez, Ramón María, duque de Valencia* (1800-1868)—Spanish general and statesman, leader of the Moderado party; head of government (1844-46, 1847-51, 1856-57, 1864-65, 1866-68).—467, 468

*Nassau-Siegen, Karl Heinrich Nikolaus Otto, Prince von* (1745-1808)—Russian admiral; commanded a Russian rowing-boat flotilla during the Russo-Turkish war of 1787-91.—700, 701

*Nesselrode, Karl Vasilyevich, Count* (1780-1862)—Russian statesman and diplomat; Foreign Minister (1816-56); State Chancellor from 1845.—104, 229, 230, 234, 235, 397

*Newcastle, Henry Pelham Fiennes Pelham Clinton, Duke of* (1811-1864)—British statesman, Peelite, Secretary at War (1852-54), Secretary for War (1854-55).—28, 44-45, 102, 126, 131, 353, 354, 356, 357

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—17, 36-38, 54, 59, 67, 68, 94, 104, 118, 147, 164, 229, 235, 275, 288, 397, 484, 513, 578, 579, 595, 689

*Nicolay, J. A.*—British politician, Radical, champion of parliamentary reform; member of the Executive of the Reform League in the 1860s.—99

*Niel, Adolphe* (1802-1869)—French general and later marshal; commander of the engineering troops in the French expeditionary force in the Baltic (1854) and in the French army in the Crimea (1855).—87, 91, 98, 114, 517, 542, 546-49, 686

*Nightingale, Florence* (1820-1910)—an organiser of the medical service in the British army during the Crimean war.—125, 129

*Nisard, Jean Marie Napoléon Désiré* (1806-1888)—French journalist and literary historian, professor at the Sorbonne in the 1850s; justified the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—602

*Nordenstam, Johann Moritz, Baron*—lieutenant-general, Governor of Helsingfors (1845).—309

## O

*O'Brien, William Smith* (1803-1864)—Right-wing leader of the Young Ireland society; sentenced to death in 1848 after an unsuccessful attempt to organise an uprising, commuted to life deportation; amnestied in 1856.—386

*O'Connell, Daniel* (1775-1847)—Irish lawyer and politician, leader of the Liberal wing of the national liberation movement.—47, 78, 79, 243, 343, 383-84, 386

*O'Connor, Feargus Edward* (1794-1855)—Left-wing Chartist leader,

editor-in-chief of *The Northern Star*; reformist after 1848.—47, 524

*Oliphant, Laurence* (1829-1888)—English traveller and journalist; the *Times* correspondent attached to Omer Pasha's expeditionary corps in the Caucasus (1855).—652

*O'Meara, Barry Edward* (1786-1836)—Irish physician and writer; Napoleon I's doctor during his exile on Saint Helena (1815-18).—122

*Omer Pasha (Michael Lattas)* (1806-1871)—Turkish general of Croatian descent; commanded the forces on the Danube (1853-54), in the Crimea (1855) and in the Caucasus (1855-56).—5, 10, 33, 74, 132, 135, 136-38, 180-82, 184, 185, 205, 217, 220, 250, 265, 344, 349, 368, 454, 456, 485, 528, 566-67, 591-93, 597, 609, 612, 627, 629, 633-54, 674-80, 696

*Orleans*—royal dynasty in France (1830-48).—110

*Orsi, Count* (d. 1899)—stockbroker, Napoleon III's agent, of Corsican descent.—293

*Osten-Sacken, Dmitry Yerofeyevich, Count* (c. 1789-1881)—Russian general, commander of a corps in the south of Russia during the Crimean war (1853-54) and of the Sevastopol garrison (late 1854-1855).—685

*Ostrowski, Josaphat Boleslas (Józefat Boleslaw)* (1805-1871)—Polish historian and writer, author of works on Polish history.—477

*Otto I* (1815-1867)—King of Greece (1832-62), member of the Bavarian ruling family of Wittelsbach.—92

*Otway, Sir Arthur John, Baronet* (1822-1912)—British politician, Tory, member of the House of Commons in the 1850s.—277, 308

P

*Pacifico, David* (1784-1854)—British trader of Portuguese origin in Athens.—17

*Paget, Lord George Augustus Frederick* (1818-1880)—British general, Whig, member of the House of Commons; commanded a light cavalry brigade in the Crimea (1855).—572, 702

*Palacký (Palatzky), František* (1798-1876)—Czech historian and liberal politician; supported Austro-Slavism, a federation of autonomous Slav areas within the framework of the Habsburg monarchy.—158, 691

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman, Tory, Whig from 1830; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55), Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-65).—8, 14-20, 24-28, 29, 40, 41, 43-46, 49, 50, 58, 63, 67, 71-74, 76, 79, 80, 94, 102, 103, 108, 130, 136, 139, 142, 167, 168, 177, 186, 191, 192, 194, 213, 214, 218, 222-24, 230, 237-39, 245, 246, 257-59, 270, 275-78, 280, 290, 291, 297-98, 300, 307-10, 334, 337, 339-43, 348, 352-54, 356, 357, 363, 367, 388, 396, 399, 470-74, 477-80, 482, 489, 497-99, 513, 514, 558, 560-62, 596, 599, 619, 623, 626, 628, 637, 650, 652-53, 677, 678

*Paniutin, Fyodor Sergeyevich* (1790-1865)—Russian general, commanded a corps at the beginning of the Crimean war and a reserve army in the south-west of Russia (1855-56).—251, 507

*Panmure, Fox Maule, Baron Panmure, Earl of Dalhousie* (1801-1874)—British statesman, Whig; Secretary at War (1846-52, 1855-58).—22, 25, 26, 28, 44, 102, 140, 192, 320, 611, 612, 614, 626-28, 649, 654

*Parseval-Deschênes, Alexandre Ferdinand* (1790-1860)—French admiral, a squadron commander in the Baltic in 1854.—517

*Paskiewitsch (Paskievich), Ivan Fyodorovich, Prince* (1782-1856)—Russian field marshal-general; commander-in-chief on the western and southern borders of Russia (1854) and on the Danube (April to June 1854).—446

*Paul, Sir John Dean, Baronet* (1802-1868)—English banker, head of the banking house Strahan, Paul and Co.—310

*Paxton, Sir Joseph* (1801-1865)—English architect, designer of the building for the 1851 Exhibition in London, member of the House of Commons.—29

*Peel, Sir Frederick* (1823-1906)—British politician, Peelite; Under-Secretary for War (1855-57).—22, 58, 492

*Peel, Jonathan* (1799-1879)—British general, member of the House of Commons; member of the Select Committee of Inquiry into the Condition of the British Army in the Crimea (1855).—355-57

*Peel, Sir Robert, Baronet* (1788-1850)—British statesman, moderate Tory; Home Secretary (1822-27, 1828-30), Prime Minister (1834-35, 1841-46).—18, 22, 45, 50, 71, 126, 131, 188, 198, 199, 247, 357, 384-86, 388-90, 392, 514, 560, 561

*Peel, Sir Robert, Baronet* (1822-1895)—British politician and diplomat, son of Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel; Peelite, member of the House of Commons; Junior Lord of the Admiralty (1855-57).—94, 108, 479, 480

*Pélissier, Aimable Jean Jacques, duc de Malakoff* (1794-1864)—French general, marshal from September 1855; participated in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s-1850s; commander of a corps (early 1855) and commander-in-chief of the French army in the Crimea (May 1855-July 1856).—201, 206, 212, 213, 215-17, 219-21, 249-51, 253-54, 260, 262-63, 267, 293, 297, 298, 313, 315-18, 328-30, 332, 335, 344, 347, 349, 351, 486, 504, 508-10, 519, 532, 539, 541, 542, 549, 563, 572, 573-75, 601, 619, 633-35, 638, 648, 649, 651, 674, 686, 694

*Pellatt, Apsley* (1791-1863)—English businessman, Radical, member of the House of Commons.—99

*Pénaud, Charles* (1800-1864)—French admiral; commanded the French squadron in the Baltic (1855).—488, 490

*Perceval, Spencer* (1762-1812)—British statesman, Tory; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1807-09), Prime Minister (1809-12).—16, 188, 190, 191, 311, 670

*Péreire, Jacob Émile* (1800-1875)—French banker, a founder and director of the Crédit Mobilier; adhered to the Saint-Simonists (1825-31), later a Bonapartist.—555

*Peter I (the Great)* (1672-1725)—Russian Tsar from 1682, Emperor of Russia from 1721.—104, 585

*Philip II of Macedon* (c. 382-336 B.C.)—King of Macedon (359-36 B.C.).—77

*Phillimore, John George* (1808-1865)—English lawyer and politician, Liberal, member of the House of Commons.—357

*Pianori, Giovanni* (1827-1855)—Italian revolutionary; took part in the revolution of 1848-49 and in the defence of the Roman Republic; executed in May 1855 for his attempt to assassinate Napoleon III.—177

*Pierce, Franklin* (1804-1869)—President of the USA (1853-57).—599

*Pindar* (c. 522-c. 442 B.C.)—Greek lyric poet, famous for his odes.—16, 190

*Pisani, Étienne*—interpreter at the British Embassy in Constantinople (1854-55).—635

*Pitt, William* (1759-1806)—British statesman, a Tory leader; Prime Minister (1783-1801, 1804-06).—50, 166, 188, 190, 311, 599, 663

*Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti)* (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—92, 391-92, 473, 474

*Plessen, Othon, Baron von*—Danish envoy to St. Petersburg (1849-67).—294

*Poniatowski, Joseph Anthony* (1763-1813)—Polish general and politician; took part in the Polish insurrection of 1794 and Napoleon I's military campaigns of 1809-13.—285

*Porchester, Henry Herbert, Baron* (1741-1811)—Whig, member of the House of Commons.—190

*Porter, George Richardson* (1792-1852)—English economist and statistician, Free Trader; joint secretary to the

Board of Trade from 1841.—560, 562

*Portland, William Henry Cavendish Bentinck, Duke of* (1738-1809)—British statesman, a Whig leader; Home Secretary (1794-1801), Prime Minister (1783, 1807-09).—16

*Potemkin, Grigory Alexandrovich, Prince Tavrichesky* (1739-1791)—Russian statesman, field marshal-general, commander-in-chief of the Russian army in the Russo-Turkish war of 1787-91.—565, 697

*Pozzo di Borgo, Karl Osipovich, Count* (1764-1842)—Russian diplomat of Corsican descent; envoy to Paris (1814-21), ambassador to Paris (1821-35) and to London (1835-39).—104

*Pradt, Dominique Dufour de* (1759-1837)—French clergyman, diplomat, historian and writer.—283, 469

*Praslin, Altarice Rosalba Fanny, Duchess de* (1807-1847)—wife of duc de Choiseul.—30

*Praslin, Charles Laure Hugues Théobald, duc de Choiseul* (1805-1847)—Peer of France; committed suicide in consequence of a trial in which he was accused of murdering his wife.—62

*Pritchett, Robert Taylor* (1828-1907)—British gunsmith, perfected Minié's rifle.—420, 421

*Prokesch-Osten, Anton, Count von* (1795-1876)—Austrian general and diplomat; Austrian representative at the Vienna Conference (1855).—398

*Pufendorf, Samuel, Baron von* (1632-1694)—German historian and lawyer, a theoretician of "natural law".—156, 164

R

*Radetzky, Josef, Count of Radetz* (1766-1858)—Austrian field marshal; suppressed the national liberation movement in Italy (1848-49); Governor-General of the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia (1850-56).—160, 425, 619, 692

*Raglan, Lord Fitzroy James Henry Somerset, Baron* (1788-1855)—British field marshal, commander-in-chief of the British forces in the Crimea (1854-55).—4-5, 10, 26, 75, 81, 86, 87, 90, 91, 102, 116, 127, 130, 135, 138, 144, 149, 153, 216, 219, 251, 260, 297, 329, 331, 335, 484, 549, 650

*Raspail, François Vincent* (1794-1878)—French naturalist and writer; socialist close to the revolutionary proletariat; took part in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848.—655

*Read, Nikolai Andreyevich* (c. 1793-1855)—Russian general, commanded a corps in the Crimea (1855).—507, 564, 695

*Rede*—Ballarat police commissioner, Victoria (Australia).—66

*Redington, Sir Thomas Nicholas* (1815-1862)—British politician, Whig; Under-Secretary for Ireland (1846). Secretary to the Board of Control for India (1852-56).—57

*Reed, Joseph Haythorne*—British major, member of the House of Commons.—471

*Regnault (Regnaud) de Saint-Jean d'Angély, Auguste Michel Étienne, comte* (1794-1870)—French general, later marshal, Bonapartist; War Minister (1851), commander of the guards (1854-69) and of a reserve corps in the Crimea (1855).—358-59, 364

*Richard II* (1367-1400)—King of England (1377-99).—25, 40

*Richard III* (1452-1485)—King of England (1483-85).—49

*Richards, Alfred Bate* (penname: *An Englishman*) (1820-1876) — English playwright and journalist.—70

*Richards, George Henry*—British admiral, Lord of the Admiralty (1854-55).—273

*Richmond, Charles Gordon-Lennox, Duke of* (1791-1860)—British Tory politician, protectionist.—320

*Rickmann, Pyotr Ivanovich* (1790-1845)—Russian Privy Councillor, chargé d'affaires in Greece (1830-33).—18

*Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de* (1758-1794)—leader of the

Jacobins in the French Revolution, head of the revolutionary government (1793-94).—29

*Robinson, Frederick John, Viscount Goderich, Earl of Ripon* (1782-1859)—British statesman, Tory; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1823-27), Prime Minister (1827-28).—16, 63

*Rodwell, Josiah*—English clergyman.—51, 52

*Roebuck, John Arthur* (1801-1879)—British politician and journalist, Radical, member of the House of Commons; Chairman of the Select Committee of Inquiry into the Condition of the British Army in the Crimea (1855).—25, 27-30, 43-45, 73, 126, 131, 223, 224, 258, 273-75, 291, 295, 299, 300, 321, 337-39, 352-57, 363, 367, 370, 374, 480

*Roguet, Christophe Michel, comte de* (1800-1877)—French general, Bonapartist, took part in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—220

*Rokeby, Henry Robinson-Montagu, Baron* (1798-1883)—British general; commanded a division in the Crimea (1855).—22

*Romanoffs (Romanovs)*—Russian royal dynasty (1613-1917).—596

*Ross, D.*—witness called before the Urquhartist Committee in Newcastle-upon-Tyne on the issue investigating the "Action of Diplomacy".—561

*Rothschilds*—a family of bankers.—558

*Rothschild, Lionel Nathan, Baron* (1808-1879)—head of the Rothschild banking house in London, Whig, member of the House of Commons (from 1858).—331, 392

*Rüdiger, Fyodor Vasilyevich, Count* (1784-1856)—Russian general, acted as Governor-General of the Kingdom of Poland (1854); commanded the forces on the western border of Russia (1855).—361

*Rushdi Pasha (Mehemet)* (1809-1879)—Turkish statesman; held the post of War Minister (Seraskier) several times in the 1850s and 1860s.—606, 609, 611, 629, 632, 635, 637, 644, 646, 653, 654, 678

*Russell*—participant in the demonstration against the bill on banning Sunday trade, held in London on July 1, 1855.—327

*Russells*—English aristocratic family.—373, 379

*Russell, John Russell, Earl* (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader; Prime Minister (1846-52, 1865-66), Foreign Secretary (1852-53, 1859-65), President of the Council (1854-55); British representative at the Vienna Conference (1855).—9, 24, 26, 27, 31, 44-45, 47, 50, 57, 58, 118, 120, 130, 131, 139, 141, 142, 163, 223-25, 228-31, 234-36, 238, 246-48, 258, 275, 277, 300, 311, 339, 341, 342, 348, 352-54, 371, 373-82, 384-86, 388-93, 398, 399, 472-74, 482, 483, 497, 499, 514, 584, 662

*Russell, Sir William Howard* (1820-1907)—the *Times* correspondent attached to the British army in the Crimea (1854-55).—10, 134, 137, 154, 584

## S

*Sadleir, John* (1814-1856)—Irish banker and politician, a leader of the Irish Brigade in Parliament; Junior Lord of the Treasury (1853).—62, 343, 654

*Šafařik (Schafarik), Pavel Josef* (1795-1861)—Slovak philologist, historian and archaeologist; a Liberal-Wing leader in the movement for national independence; supported the programme of Austro-Slavism.—156, 689

*Saint-Arnaud, Armand Jacques Achille Leroy de* (1801-1854)—Marshal of France, Bonapartist; took part in the conquest of Algeria (1830s-1840s); one of the organisers of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; War Minister (1851-54); commander-in-chief of the French army in the Crimea (1854).—76, 86, 88, 90, 109, 130, 146-49, 211, 212, 220, 411, 484

*Saint-Georges* — eighteenth-century French adventurer.—76

*Saint-Germain, comte*—a celebrated adventurer who enjoyed influence at

the court of Louis XV and of other European monarchs in the eighteenth century.—76

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—555

*Salles, Charles Marie, comte de* (1803-1858)—French general and Senator; commanded a division in the Crimea (1855).—521, 549

*San Luis, Luis José Sartorius, conde de* (1820-1871)—Spanish statesman and writer; a leader of the Moderado party; Minister of the Interior (1847-51); head of government (1853-54).—468

*Sartorius*—see *San Luis, Luis José Sartorius, conde de.*

*Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von* (1755-1813)—Prussian general and politician; War Minister (1807-10) and Chief of the General Staff (1807-13); engaged in reorganising the Prussian army.—435

*Schilder, Karl Andreyevich* (1785-1854)—Russian general, military engineer and inventor; directed siege-works on the Danube during the wars against Turkey (1828-29, 1854).—134

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, playwright, historian and philosopher.—357

*Scholefield, William* (1809-1867)—British politician, Radical, member of the House of Commons.—369, 370

*Schönhals, Karl, Baron von* (1788 1857)—Austrian field marshal and military writer; took part in suppressing the revolution of 1848-49 in Italy.—459

*Scribe, Augustin Eugène* (1791-1861)—French playwright and librettist.—141

*Scully, Vincent* (1810-1871)—Irish lawyer and politician, M.P.—480

*Seaton, Sir John Colborne, Baron* (1778-1863)—British general, later field marshal; fought in the wars against Napoleon I (1808-14, 1815); commanded the British troops in Ireland (1855-60).—22

*Sedlmayer*—Austrian general, commandant of the Karlsburg fortress during the Crimean war.—497

*Selim Pasha* (c. 1797-1855)—Turkish general; commanded Turkish forces in the Caucasus (1855).—654

*Selvan* (d. 1854)—Russian general; commanded Russian forces on the Danube (1854).—564, 695

*Serrano y Dominguez, Francisco, conde de San Antonio, duque de la Torre* (1810-1885)—Spanish general and statesman; Minister of War (1843); took part in the coup d'état in 1856; Foreign Minister (1862-63), head of government (1868-69, 1871, 1874) and Regent (1869-71).—469

*Seymour, George Hamilton* (1797-1880)—British diplomat, envoy to St. Petersburg (1851-54).—229, 235

*Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of* (1801-1885)—British politician; head of the parliamentary faction of Tory philanthropists (1840s); Whig from 1847; Chairman of the Sanitary Commission in the Crimea (1855).—302, 491

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English playwright and poet.—12, 49, 247, 383, 480, 486, 615, 656, 662, 666, 670

*Shee, Sir William* (1804-1868)—Irish lawyer and Liberal politician; member of the House of Commons.—79, 341, 342

*Shelley, John Villiers, Baronet* (1808-1867)—British politician, Free Trader, member of the House of Commons.—98

*Shoberl, Frederick, Junior* (1804-1852)—owner of a printshop in London.—20

*Sidmouth, Henry Addington, Viscount* (1757-1844)—British statesman, Tory, Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer (1801-04); Home Secretary (1812-21).—16, 188, 582

*Sievers, Vladimir Karlovich, Count* (1790-1862)—Russian general; commanded the Russian forces in the Baltic provinces (1854-55).—361

*Sieyès, Emmanuel Joseph, comte de* (1748-1836)—abbot, prominent figure in the French Revolution; deputy of the Convention, moderate constitutionalist (Feuillant).—293

*Simmons, Sir John Lintorn Arabin* (1821-1903)—British lieutenant-colonel, subsequently field marshal; British military commissioner attached to the Turkish Headquarters during the Crimean war.—633-36, 641, 644, 646-47, 649-51, 674, 677, 679, 680

*Simolin, Ivan Matveyevich, Baron* (1720-1790)—Russian diplomat, ambassador to London (1779-85).—586

*Simpson, Sir James* (1792-1868)—British general, chief of staff (February to June 1855), commander-in-chief (June to November 1855) of the British army in the Crimea.—22, 26, 470, 504, 542-44, 549-50, 558, 573, 633-35, 637, 649-51, 654, 678, 679, 680

*Simpson, John*—stockbroker.—51, 52

*Slocombe, William*—Chartist, took part in the movement in the 1850s.—194

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—531

*Smith, Sir Andrew* (1797-1872)—British medical officer, director-general of the army and ordnance medical departments (1846-58).—125, 129, 654

*Smith, Robert Vernon, Baron Lyveden* (1800-1873)—British statesman, Whig; Secretary at War (1852); President of the Board of Control for India (1855-58).—49, 472

*Sobieski, John (Jan)* (1624-1696)—King of Poland (1674-96); commanded the Polish and Austro-German forces which defeated the Turkish army at Vienna (1683).—284

*Soimonoff (Soymonov). Fyodor Ivanovich* (1800-1854)—Russian general; commanded an infantry division on the Danube and in the Crimea during the Crimean war; killed at the battle of Inkerman.—564, 695

*Solon* (c. 638-c. 558 B.C.)—Athenian politician and legislator.—480

*Somerset, Sir Henry* (1794-1862)—British general; appointed commander-in-chief of the forces of the East India Company in Bombay in 1855.—22

*Stackelberg, Ernest, Count* (1813-1870)—Russian diplomat and general.—571

*Stafford, Augustus O'Brien* (1811-1857)—Tory, member of the House of Commons.—131

*Stanley*—see *Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Earl of*

*Stanley, Edward Henry, Earl of Derby* (1826-1893)—British statesman, son of Edward Derby; Tory, subsequently Liberal; Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (1852), Secretary of State for India (1858-59).—29, 57, 227

*Sterling, Edward* (1773-1847)—correspondent (1811-15) and an editor (1815-40) of *The Times*.—122

*Steuart, Sir James, afterwards Denham* (1712-1780)—Scottish economist, one of the last representatives of mercantilism.—531

*Stevens, Francis I.*—British vice-consul in Trebizond during the Crimean war.—632

*Stewart, Sir Houston* (1791-1875)—British admiral, Whig; Lord of the Admiralty (1850-52); second in command in the Black Sea (1855).—634

*Stonor, Henry*—British official, judge in the State of Victoria (Australia).—62

*Stormont, David Murray, Viscount Stormont, Earl of Mansfield* (1727-1796)—British statesman and diplomat, Tory; secretary of state for the southern departments (1779-82).—585

*Strafford, Sir John Byng, Viscount Enfield, Earl of* (1772-1860)—British general, field marshal from 1855; fought in the wars against Napoleon I (1808-14, 1815).—558, 559

*Strahan, William* (born c. 1808)—English banker, head of the banking house Strahan, Paul and Co.—310, 335

*Stratford de Redcliffe, Stratford Canning, Viscount* (1786-1880)—British diplomat, envoy to Constantinople (1810-12, 1825-28, 1841-58).—19,

594, 605, 606, 609-12, 623-25, 628-29, 635-38, 640-44, 646-49, 651-53, 673-74, 675-79

*Strutt, Edward, Baron Belper* (1801-1880)—British politician, Whig, member of the House of Commons.—382

*Stuart, Lord Dudley Coutts* (1803-1854)—British politician, Whig, member of the House of Commons; was connected with conservative-monarchist Polish emigrants.—17, 477

*Sugden, Edward Burtenshaw, Baron St. Leonards* (1781-1875)—British lawyer and statesman, Tory; Lord Chancellor (1852).—393

*Suleau*—French lieutenant-colonel; representative at the British headquarters in the Crimea (1855).—635

*Sumner, John Bird* (1780-1862)—English priest, bishop of Chester (1828-48), Archbishop of Canterbury (1848-62).—95

*Sutherland, Dukes of*—English aristocratic family.—47, 187

*Sutherland, John* (1808-1891)—English physician, in charge of the Select Committee of Inquiry into the Condition of the British Army in the Crimea (1855).—491

*Suvaroff (Suvorov), Alexander Vasilyevich (Count Suvorov Rimniksky, Prince Italiisky)* (1729 or 1730-1800)—Russian general.—565, 569, 571, 697, 700

*Szulszewski*—Polish colonel, émigré; Secretary of the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland in London (1855).—479

T

*Tahir Pasha*—Turkish general; commanded Turkish forces in the Caucasus (1855).—654

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*The Free Press. Journal of the Foreign Affairs Committees*—a journal opposed to the Palmerston Government, published by David Urquhart and his followers in London from 1855 to 1865, weekly till April 1858, and later monthly; it was renamed Diplomatic Review in 1866; it carried a number of works by Marx.—672

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*Gazzetta Ufficiale di Milano*—a daily published from 1816 to 1875 under different titles; official organ of the Austrian authorities in Northern Italy till 1859.—619

*Globe*—see *The Globe and Traveller*

*Le Globe. Journal Politique, Philosophique et Littéraire*—a daily published in Paris from 1824 to 1832; organ of the Saint-Simon school from January 18, 1831.—139

*The Globe and Traveller*—a daily published in London from 1803 to 1921; organ of the Whigs till 1866, and later of the Conservatives.—298, 334

*Herald*—see *The Morning Herald*

*Illustrated Times Weekly Newspaper*—a newspaper published in London from 1855 to 1862 and from 1862 to 1872 (a new series).—281

*L'Indépendance belge. Journal mondial d'informations politiques et littéraires*—a daily founded in Brussels in 1831, organ of the liberals.—657

*Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*—a daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1944; organ of the moderate Orleanist opposition after the 1851 coup d'état.—556

*The Lancet*—a medical journal published in London from 1823 onwards.—310

*The Leader*—a liberal weekly founded in London in 1850.—95, 298

*Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*—a liberal newspaper founded in 1842; it came out under this title from 1843 to 1918.—291

*Manchester Daily Examiner and Times*—a liberal newspaper founded in 1848 by the merger of the *Manchester Times* and *Manchester Examiner*; supported the Free Traders in the 1840s and in 1850s; published till 1894 under different titles.—534, 535

*The Manchester Guardian*—a daily founded in 1821; organ of the Free Traders, and, from the mid-nineteenth century, of the Liberal Party.—23

*Melbourne Argus*—see *The Argus*

*Le Moniteur universel*—a daily founded in Paris in 1789; published under this title

from 1811; official government organ from 1799 to 1869.—70, 146, 147, 149, 150, 177, 211, 359, 364, 411, 488, 490, 519, 532, 535, 539, 563, 616-20, 694

*The Morning Advertiser*—a daily published in London from 1794 to 1934; organ of the radical bourgeoisie in the 1850s.—41, 49, 67, 68, 70, 73, 98, 167, 177, 342, 512, 619

*The Morning Chronicle*—a daily published in London from 1770 to 1862; organ of the Whigs in the 1840s, of the Peelites in the early 1850s, and later of the Conservatives.—29, 30, 122, 139, 167, 177, 178, 291, 667

*The Morning Herald*—a conservative daily published in London from 1780 to 1869.—69, 73, 80, 94, 118, 194, 212, 216, 259, 281, 298, 606

*The Morning Post*—a conservative daily published in London from 1772 to 1937; organ of the Right-wing Whig supporters of Palmerston in the mid-nineteenth century.—41, 67, 76, 77, 94, 98, 136, 186, 214, 307, 470, 619

*Neue Oder-Zeitung*—a democratic daily published in Breslau (Wrocław) from March 1849 to 1855; founded as a result of the split in the editorial board of the opposition Catholic *Allgemeine Oder-Zeitung* established in 1846; came out twice a day, morning and afternoon; the most radical German newspaper in the 1850s. Marx was its correspondent in 1855.—18, 33, 34, 37-39, 81, 83, 84, 85, 110, 111, 113-16, 137, 146, 147, 148-51, 153, 154, 170-74, 180, 181-85, 254, 264-65, 298, 313, 315-18, 328-32, 380, 394, 396, 398-99, 421, 422, 504, 509-12, 519, 521-23, 537, 538, 539-40, 542, 546-49, 550-52

*New-York Daily Tribune*—a daily published from 1841 to 1924; organ of the Left-wing American Whigs till the mid-1850s, and later of the Republican Party; expressed progressive views, and denounced slavery; Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862.—6, 33, 37, 41, 81, 141, 147, 205, 207, 286, 377-82, 383-86, 388-90, 392-93, 398, 486-88, 489, 542, 615-20

*New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*—a special issue of the *New-York Daily Tribune* whose most important articles it reprinted; it came out on Tuesdays and Fridays.—504, 592, 619

*New-York Weekly Tribune*—a special issue of the *New-York Daily Tribune,* whose most important articles it reprinted; it came out on Saturdays.—504, 592

*Le Nord. Journal International*—a daily published in Paris and Brussels from 1855 to 1892 and from 1894 to 1899.—600, 603

*The People's Paper*—a Chartist weekly founded by Ernest Jones in London in May 1852 and appearing till 1858; Marx and Engels contributed to it from October 1852 to December 1856; Marx and Engels helped in its editing.—71, 168, 197, 208, 240, 241, 281, 477, 615, 655, 668

*The Pilot*—a Catholic weekly published in London.—281

*Political Register*—see *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*

*The Portfolio*—a collection of diplomatic documents and papers published by David Urquhart in London; the series *The Portfolio; or a Collection of State Papers* came out from 1835 to 1837, and a new series, *The Portfolio. Diplomatic Review,* from 1843 to 1845.—19

*Post*—see *The Morning Post*

*The Press*—a weekly, organ of the Tories published in London from 1853 to 1866.—118-20

*Preussische Lithographische Correspondenz*—a semi-official daily of the Prussian Ministry of Foreign Affairs published in Berlin from 1849 to 1865.—657

*Punch, or the London Charivari*—a comic weekly paper voicing liberal views, founded in London in 1841.—16, 212, 514

*Putnam's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science and Art*—a Republican magazine published in New York from 1853 to 1857; it carried Engels' series of articles *The Armies of Europe* in 1855.—402

*Reynolds' Newspaper. A Weekly Journal of Politics, History, Literature and General Intelligence*—a radical newspaper published by George Reynolds in London from 1850; it was closely connected with the labour movement, and supported the Chartists in the early 1850s.—280, 281

*Russky Invalid* («Русский Инвалидъ»)—organ of the War Ministry published in St. Petersburg from 1813 to 1917, daily from 1816.—293, 552

*Severnaya Pchela* («Сѣверная пчела»)—a political and literary newspaper, semi-official organ of the Tsarist Government, published in St. Petersburg from 1825 to 1864.—600

*The Times*—a conservative daily founded in London in 1785.—6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 21-23, 25-27, 29-31, 40, 43, 44, 51, 53, 57, 59, 63, 67, 69, 70, 74, 96, 102-03, 108, 122, 123, 125, 129, 131, 133-35, 137, 138, 150, 154, 170, 178, 187, 189, 196, 212, 213, 218, 222, 224, 231, 237, 246, 257, 259, 274, 277, 280, 281, 290, 291, 294, 295, 298-300, 302, 304, 308-10, 320, 321, 323, 324, 327, 338, 342, 352, 355, 357, 368, 380, 390, 391, 393, 470, 472, 477, 482, 488, 490-92, 498, 513-15, 517, 539, 542, 544, 546, 553, 554, 558, 572, 573, 577, 581, 592, 599, 600, 605, 606, 618-19, 635, 653, 662

*Town and Country Paper*—a weekly published in London from May 1855 to June 1856.—281

*Tribune*—see *New-York Daily Tribune*

*The Westminster Review*—a radical quarterly published in London from 1824 to 1914.—381

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# GLOSSARY OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES[a]

| | |
|---|---|
| Adrianople | Edirne |
| Aitodor | Goristoye |
| Akaltzik | Akhaltsikh |
| Aleppo (Haleb) | Aleppo or Haleb-es-Shabba |
| Alexandropol (Gumri) | Leninakan |
| Arabat | Rybatskoye |
| Araxes (river) | Aras |
| Astrachan | Astrakhan |
| Austerlitz | Slavkov |
| Baidar | Orlinoye |
| Bakshiserai | Bakhchisarai |
| Batum (Batoum) | Batumi |
| Bayazid | Doğubayazit |
| Bazardshik (Bazargic) | Tolbukhin |
| Berdiansk | Osipenko |
| Braila (Ibraila, Brailow) | Brăila |
| Breslau | Wrocław |
| Busaco | Bussaco |
| Candia | Crete |
| Careening Bay | Kilen Bay |
| Carlsburg | Alba Julia |
| Ceylon | Sri Lanka |
| Charkoff | Kharkov |
| Cherson | Kherson |
| Chotin | Hotin or Khotin |
| Coblentz | Coblenz or Koblenz |
| Colberg | Kolobrzeg |
| Constantinople | Istanbul |
| Culm | Chlumec |
| Dantzic (Danzig) | Gdańsk |
| Ekaterinoslav (Yekaterinoslav) | Dnepropetrovsk |
| Erzeroum | Erzerum or Erzurum |
| Galatch (Galatz) | Galaţi |
| Gallipoli | Gelibolu |
| Gumri—see Alexandropol | |
| Halys (river) | Kizil Irmak |
| Helsingfors | Helsinki |
| Inkermann | Inkerman |
| Kaffa | Theodosia |
| Kalafat | Calafat |
| Kars Chai (river) | Kars |
| Kamtchatka | Kamchatka |
| Katsha | Kacha |
| Kamiesh | Kamysh |
| Kertch | Kerch |
| Kieff | Kiev |
| Königsberg | Kaliningrad |
| Krain | Carniola |
| Kurulu | Stolbovoye |
| Kutais | Kutaisi |
| Lemberg | Lvov |
| Malakoff | Malakhov |
| Memel | Klaipeda |
| Nasgen (Nargö) | Naisar |
| Nikolaieff | Nikolayev |

[a] The glossary includes geographical names occurring in Marx's and Engels' articles in the form customary in the European and American press of the time but differing from the national names or from those given on modern maps. The left column gives geographical names as used in the original (when they differ from the national names of the time, the latter are given in brackets); the right column gives corresponding names as used on modern maps and in modern literature.—*Ed.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Olmütz | Olomouc |
| Oltenitza | Oltenița |
| Olti | Oltu |
| Otshakoff | Ochakov |
| Pampeluna | Pamplona |
| Pekin | Peking |
| Persia | Iran |
| Porto Rico (isl) | Puerto Rico |
| Posen | Poznań |
| Preussisch Eylau | Bagrationovsk |
| Redout Kaleh | Kulevi |
| Reval (Revel) | Tallinn |
| Rioni | Rion |
| Rustchuk | Ruse or Rusčuk |
| Saint-Jean-d'Acre | Akka |
| Scinde | Sind or Sindh |
| Scutari | Usküdar |
| Shumla | Shumen (Kolarovgrad) |
| Sizopolis | Sizeboli or Sozopol |
| St. Petersburg | Leningrad |
| Sukhum Kaleh | Sukhumi |
| Sveaborg (Sweaborg) | Suomenlinna |
| Tiflis | Tbilisi |
| Tilsit | Sovetsk |
| Toli-Monatzir | Bitolya or Bitolj |
| Trebizonde | Trebizond |
| Tripoli | Tripolitsa |
| Tunis | Tunisia |
| Urkusta | Peredovoye |
| Wartha (river) | Warta |
| Wilna | Vilnius |

# MARX & ENGELS
# COLLECTED WORKS

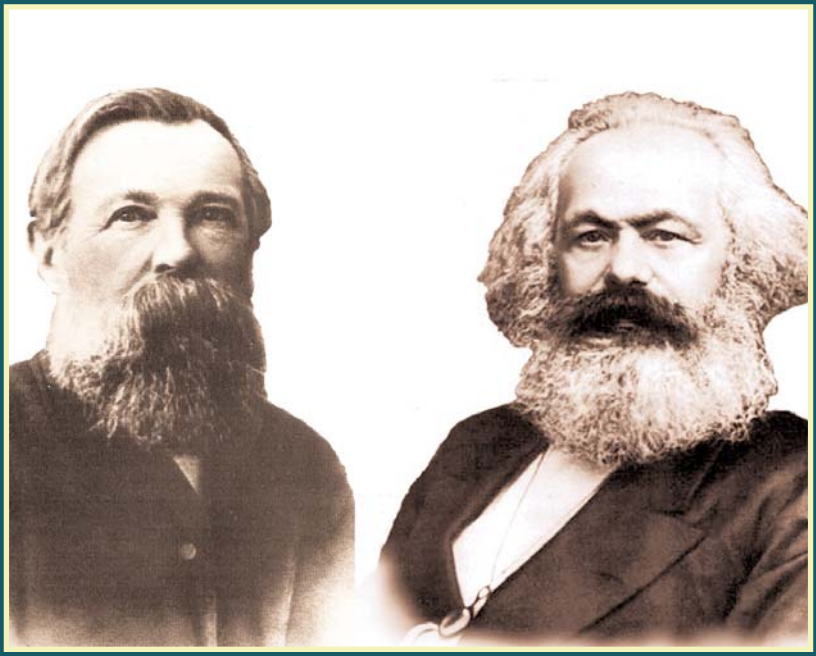

## VOLUME 15

### Marx and Engels 1856-58

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 15

## Marx and Engels 1856-58

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Translated by

PETER and BETTY ROSS:

K. Marx, "B. Bauer's Pamphlets on the Collision with Russia"

Marx to the Editor of the *Neue Zeit*

From the Preparatory Materials

# Preface

Volume 15 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains their writings between May 1856 and September 1858. Most of them are articles and reports published in the progressive American newspaper, the *New-York Daily Tribune,* in its special issues, the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* and the *New-York Weekly Tribune,* and also in the Chartist weekly, *The People's Paper,* and other newspapers.

In these years, besides his strenuous activities as a journalist, Marx was intensively engaged in the study of political economy. Between August 1857 and May 1858 he wrote the first draft of what was to become *Capital*—the Economic Manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, vols. 28 and 29). At that time Marx and Engels also wrote a number of articles, mainly on military and military-historical subjects for *The New American Cyclopaedia* (present edition, Vol. 18).

Their contributions to the *New-York Daily Tribune* in this period were almost the only opportunity Marx and Engels had to express their attitude on the vital international issues and on the internal politics of the European countries, to reveal the class essence of world events, and appraise them from the standpoint of the fundamental interests of the proletariat. The most notable of those events were: the economic crisis of 1857-58, the first to grip the whole capitalist world, the colonial wars, and the armed struggle of the peoples of India to liberate themselves from British rule.

Writing for the *New-York Daily Tribune* became even more important for Marx and Engels because in December 1856, in view of the changed position taken by Ernest Jones, the editor of *The People's Paper,* who had agreed to a compromise with the

bourgeois radicals, they were obliged to stop contributing to that paper. This meant that in Europe there was no other press organ where they could expound their views.

A considerable portion of Marx's articles included in this volume are devoted to the economic crisis of 1857-58, and also to the specific economic problems of the major European countries.

On the basis of his analysis of European economic development since the revolutions of 1848-49 Marx had, by the autumn of 1856, already come to the conclusion that an economic crisis was approaching. He predicted that it would hit many countries and inevitably affect not only industrial production but also trade and fiscal relations. When the crisis broke in 1857, it provided vivid confirmation of the conclusion Marx had reached earlier on the cyclical nature of the development of capitalist production, and the inevitable succession of phases within each cycle. He identified the cause of the crisis in the internal contradictions inherent in the capitalist mode of production, and convincingly refuted the attempts of bourgeois economists to find an explanation for it in mere secondary causes, particularly in the wave of speculation. "The political economists who pretend to explain the regular spasms of industry and commerce by speculation," he wrote, "resemble the now extinct school of natural philosophers who considered fever as the true cause of all maladies" (see this volume, p. 401).

Marx devoted much attention to the symptoms of financial crisis, analysing their influence throughout the European economy. Step by step he traced every change on the world money market and investigated the positions of the major British and French banks. Of considerable interest in this respect are his articles on the French joint-stock company Crédit Mobilier, one of the main centres of the stock exchange speculation that exacerbated the world economic crisis. Marx described this company as "one of the most economical phenomena of our epoch" (p. 10). The activities of the Crédit Mobilier, which enjoyed the special patronage of Napoleon III, ranged far beyond the realm of credit. The company invested its capital in industrial enterprises and construction, including the building of railways.

Marx's articles on the Crédit Mobilier contain important theoretical propositions and conclusions concerning the laws of capitalist development. The enhanced role of joint-stock capital marked the appearance of trends that heralded the onset of capitalism's imperialist stage at the turn of the century. As Marx wrote, this opened "a new epoch in the economical life of modern

nations" (p. 21), creating opportunities for setting up industrial enterprises that would have been beyond the means of individual capitalists. Taking the Crédit Mobilier as an example, Marx noted the appearance of "a sort of industrial kings" (p. 21), who could manipulate in their own interests capital that was far in excess of their own and which allowed them to indulge in unlimited speculation. On the other hand, Marx pointed out, this accelerated concentration of production and capital, strengthened the rule of the financial and industrial oligarchy and spelled bankruptcy for the middle and small capitalist.

In the development of large-scale bank and industrial capital Marx accurately foresaw the prospect of the capitalism of free competition becoming monopoly capitalism. As Lenin was to write later, "Imperialism is the epoch of finance capital and of monopolies, which introduce everywhere the striving for domination, not for freedom" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 22, Moscow, 1974, p. 297). The consequent increase in the number of wage workers along with the decrease in the number of capitalists further polarised capitalist society, sharpening the endemic class struggle.

In his articles on the economic crisis of 1857 Marx gave a profound analysis of the industrial, financial and trading positions of the major European countries, studied in detail the dynamics of world exports and imports, and investigated the fluctuations of British and French bank rates and the value of securities on the European stock exchanges.

In his articles "The Economic Crisis in France", "The Trade Crisis in England", "The French Crisis", "The British Revulsion", and others, Marx accurately discerned the specific features of the crisis in each country. The worst hit country was Britain, where the crisis bore "the character of an industrial crisis" and struck "at the very roots of the national prosperity" (p. 390).

The articles on the crisis contain a huge amount of factual material, which Marx gleaned from British, French and German newspapers, magazines and statistical reports. His articles reflected both his own observations and researches, and information he received from Engels. The specific factual material, and his resulting generalisations and conclusions, were later used to work out his theory of economic crises.

Marx noted in particular that the crisis-ridden economies of the European countries were impoverishing the rural and urban workers and, above all, the industrial working class. "Through the whole of Europe the palsy of industrial activity and the consequent

distress of the laboring classes are rapidly spreading," Marx wrote in his article "The Financial Crisis in Europe" (p. 404). Of undoubted interest in this respect are the articles "Condition of Factory Laborers" and "The English Factory System", and also "Important British Documents".

Harsh exploitation of the workers, Marx pointed out, was the other side of the thriving capitalist industry in the pre-crisis period. Circumventing the factory acts that Parliament had passed under the pressure of the proletariat's stubborn class struggle, British manufacturers lengthened the working day, reduced wages and showed a preference for employing women and children instead of adult workmen. "The infamies of the British factory system are growing with its growth," he wrote, "...the laws enacted for checking the cruel greediness of the mill-lords are a sham and a delusion, being so worded as to baffle their own ostensible end and to disarm the men entrusted with their execution" (pp. 253-54). In his article "The Economic Crisis in France" Marx observes that in that country the very first symptoms of crisis aggravated the sufferings of the workers and stimulated the growth of discontent among them (p. 133).

Regarding the period after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolutions as "a mere respite given by history to Old European Society" (p. 115) Marx and Engels believed in the inevitability of a new revolutionary upsurgence and thought that it would be triggered by the economic crisis. This was what Marx had in mind when he wrote that in 1857 material conditions were provided "for the ideal tendencies of 1848" (p. 114). This was the main reason for the great interest Marx and Engels showed in the domestic policies of the European countries, in all the facts and phenomena testifying, on the one hand, to the increasing crisis among the ruling classes themselves and, on the other, to the growing revolutionary and democratic movement.

In a number of articles Marx analysed the internal situation in the European countries, particularly Britain and France, singling out political tension as a symptom of a possible revolutionary explosion. In his view Bonapartist France offered the greatest hope in this respect. The hardships caused by the economic crisis "must tend to bring the French people into that state of mind in which they are wont to embark in fresh political ventures," Marx wrote in his article "The Economic Crisis in France". "With the disappearance of material prosperity and its regular appendage of

political indifference, every pretext for the prolongation of the second Empire ... disappears" (p. 463).

Marx noted the signs of mounting political crisis in the Second Empire: workers' strikes in various industries, peasant discontent, severer measures against democratic elements (pp. 135, 302). "The time of the sullen acquiescence of the nation in the rule of the Society of the perjured usurper has definitely passed away," he wrote (pp. 456-57), alluding to the Bonapartist Society of December 10, which had played an important role in the preparation of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.

In the articles "The Attempt upon the Life of Bonaparte", "The Rule of the Pretorians", "Bonaparte's Present Position", and also in the articles on the Crédit Mobilier, Marx develops and clarifies the definition of Bonapartism which he gave in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and other earlier works, for example, "The France of Bonaparte the Little" (see present edition, vols. 11 and 14). Basing himself on hard facts, he reveals such characteristic features of the Bonapartist monarchy as the undisguised dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, relying on the force of bayonets and police terror, the wildfire spread of speculation, corruption and bribery, the embezzlement of state funds, foreign policy adventurism, the manoeuvring between various classes and sections of the population, and Napoleon III's attempts to play the role of protector of the peasantry, and in various ways "to purchase the conscience of the French working classes" (p. 478). Marx reveals the direct connections between the Bonapartist monarchy and the stock exchange speculators, a monarchy which, as Lenin put it, "is obliged to walk the tightrope in order not to fall, make advances in order to govern, bribe in order to gain affections, fraternise with the dregs of society, with plain thieves and swindlers, in order not to rely only on bayonets" (V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol. 15, p. 269).

One of the most important themes in Marx's journalism continued to be Britain's domestic and foreign policy, including the evolution of her parliamentary system. In his newspaper reports, "Defeat of the Palmerston Ministry", "The Coming Election in England", "The English Election", "The Defeat of Cobden, Bright and Gibson", "Political Parties in England.—Situation in Europe", and others, Marx put his finger on a characteristic phenomenon of English political life in the 1850s, the decay of the traditional political parties. Detecting in this process a manifestation of the bankruptcy of the existing

oligarchic system of government, Marx notes the English bourgeoisie's "longing for compromises with the oligarchs, in order to escape concessions to the proletarians" (p. 203).

Marx emphasised that the bourgeois-oligarchic regime in England retarded the country's development. Anti-popular and counter-revolutionary in character, this regime, which was most vividly expressed in the administration of Palmerston, whom Marx ironically called a "truly British Minister", stood in the way of democratic reforms. Parliamentary legislation served the interests of the ruling clique, as was plainly demonstrated by the budgets and financial reforms of those years (see the articles "The New English Budget", "The Bank Act of 1844 and the Monetary Crisis in England", and "Mr. Disraeli's Budget"). Marx showed that, in effect, Palmerston expressed the interests of the sections of the English capitalist class that sought to expand markets, to consolidate Britain's industrial monopoly, and achieve further colonial expansion.

Analysis of the internal situation in Britain and the consequences of her colonial wars, which had diverted considerable manpower and material resources, brought Marx to the conclusion that "in case of a serious revolutionary explosion on the continent of Europe, England ... would prove unable to reassume the proud position she occupied in 1848 and 1849". Marx expressed confidence that England "will be disabled from clogging, as she did in 1848, the European Revolution that draws visibly nearer" (pp. 301-02, 567-68).

Well before the crisis broke, Marx and Engels kept a close watch for any sign of revolutionary activity among the masses in Europe, and regarded such signs as proof of the instability and impermanence of the period of political reaction that had set in during the 1850s.

In the summer of 1856 Marx's attention was once again drawn to events on the Iberian peninsula. This volume includes two articles by Marx on the revolution in Spain (pp. 97-108). Written in July-August 1856, they round off, as it were, the series of articles entitled "Revolutionary Spain", published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* in 1854, and his other articles on this subject (see present edition, Vol. 13). The articles sum up the results of the fourth Spanish bourgeois revolution, which began in June 1854 and brought the liberal Progresista party to power.

In assessing the significance and peculiarities of this revolution, Marx observes that what distinguished it from the revolutions in

Spain in the first half of the 19th century was that it had discarded its dynastic and military character. The development of industry had altered the line-up of class forces. For the first time the workers—"the product of the modern organization of labor"—were taking part in the revolution "to claim their due share of the result of victory" (this volume, p. 102). Another important new factor was the warm support given by the peasantry which, Marx points out, "would have proved a most formidable element of resistance" (p. 104). However, the bourgeois leaders of the revolution were unable and unwilling to use the peasantry's determination and energy, while the army had become a counter-revolutionary force. Both the course of the revolution itself, and its defeat, confirmed the conclusion Marx had reached on the basis of the experience of 1848-49 concerning the counter-revolutionary degeneration of the liberal bourgeoisie and its betrayal of the revolutionary cause as soon as the masses and, above all, the working class, began to put forward their own demands. "Frightened by the consequences of an alliance thus imposed on their unwilling shoulders," Marx wrote, "the middle classes shrink back again under the protecting batteries of the hated despotism." Their conduct "furnishes a new illustration of the character of most of the European struggles of 1848-49, and of those hereafter to take place in the Western portion of that continent" (p. 102).

Analysis of the revolutionary events in one of the most backward countries of Western Europe led Marx to conclude that "the next European revolution will find Spain matured for co-operation with it. The years 1854 and 1856 were phases of transition she had to pass through to arrive at that maturity" (p. 108).

Several of the works published in this volume (the never completed work consisting to a considerable extent of extracts from documents and quotations, *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* and the unfinished work "B. Bauer's Pamphlets on the Collision with Russia", never published in Marx's lifetime, the article "The Right Divine of the Hohenzollerns", and a few others) reflect Marx's interest in the history of diplomacy and international relations. The special need to investigate this subject sprang from the events of those years—the growing rivalry between the European powers in the Near and the Middle East, the Crimean War, and other international conflicts. Analysis of the foreign policies of the European countries contributed a great deal to the theory of the class struggle and to the

determination of the strategic and tactical objectives of the proletariat.

Marx and Engels assessed international events and international politics from the perspective of Europe's revolutionary, democratic development, an essential condition for which was the overthrow of the reactionary regimes that had established themselves after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolutions. In the 1850s, the critical study of the foreign policy of bourgeois-aristocratic England, Bonapartist France, Tsarist Russia, and the reactionary governments of Austria and Prussia became one of the main subjects of Marx's and Engels's writing for the press. To these five powers, whose governments were pursuing a reactionary political course, Marx contrasted the "sixth and greatest European power". That power was the Revolution (present edition, Vol. 12, p. 557).

The works in this volume reveal the essence and distinctive features of the diplomacy of the exploiting classes: Marx assigns diplomacy and foreign policy to the sphere of the political superstructure as something determined in the final analysis by the economic base (pp. 185-86, 188-89).

His work "B. Bauer's Pamphlets on the Collision with Russia" shows how diplomatic relations develop under capitalism, and notes the persistence of reactionary traditions in foreign policy inherited from the feudal monarchies. Marx emphasises that "the society of modern production calls for international conditions different from those of feudal society..." (p. 190). In *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* he dwells on certain features of the diplomatic practice of bourgeois states. In its pursuit of profit, capital is prepared to embark on any betrayal of national interests. For the bourgeoisie, Marx wrote, its fatherland was "where the best interest for its capital was paid" (p. 64).

Dealing with some of the general principles of historical research, Marx poses the question of the relation between fact and generalisation in the analysis of this or that event, and the role and relevance of historical analogies. With biting sarcasm he criticises Bauer for drawing superficial parallels between the events that sparked off the revolution of 1789 in France and the events that took place in mid-19th century Britain, which sprang from entirely different socio-economic conditions. It would be impossible, Marx points out, "to coax into an analogy any two things of a more disparate kind" (p. 185, see also p. 186).

The *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* is, in Marx's own words, only an introduction to a projected but never written work on Anglo-Russian relations. This introduction (five

printers' sheets of twenty sheets for the whole work) is unfinished and breaks off with a quotation. It consists to a great extent of lengthy quotations from pamphlets and diplomatic reports. The general aim of the project was to prove that the reactionary aspirations of the English ruling oligarchy and the Tsarist autocracy had much in common, which in the mid-19th century showed itself mainly in the suppression of revolutionary and national liberation movements. Before this, Marx and Engels had exposed the counter-revolutionary nature of the foreign policy of Britain's ruling circles (see the pamphlet *Lord Palmerston* and a number of other articles, present edition, vols. 12, 13 and 14). They repeatedly stressed that these circles, unless it contradicted their own immediate interests, supported the foreign policy of Russian Tsarism, which they saw as one of the main forces of European reaction. Marx believed that the roots of this policy should be traced to the 18th century.

The *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* is more a political pamphlet than a piece of historical research. Moreover, in writing it Marx deliberately concentrated attention on certain features of Anglo-Russian relations while ignoring others. In several instances this led him to make one-sided assessments and judgments, particularly in characterising British policy towards Russia, which, so he alleged, had ever since the 18th century traditionally supported the foreign-policy aims of the Tsarist autocracy.

Such one-sidedness was determined to an even greater degree by the extremely tendentious nature of the 18th-century sources Marx used, which reflected the rivalry between the two oligarchic cliques of the English ruling élite—Whigs and Tories. A large part of Marx's sources are anti-Russian pamphlets dating from the days of the Northern War (1700-21), which were often directly inspired by Sweden, Russia's main adversary in that war (see chapters II, III and V), and individual reports and letters written by diplomats and other English representatives in St. Petersburg between the mid-1730s and mid-1790s (see Chapter I). The documents relate to the period of the Russo-Turkish war of 1735-39, to the diplomatic activities of the European powers after the Seven Years' War, 1756-63, to England's war against the North American colonies, 1775-83, and to the first years of the reign of Paul I in Russia. The documents testify to the great displeasure evoked in Tory circles by the efforts of the ruling Whigs to develop a close relationship with the Imperial Russian court for the purpose of gaining its diplomatic support.

The *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* also gives a brief outline of events in the history of Russia from the days of Kiev Rus to the time of Peter I (chapters IV and V). In these, to use Marx's own words, "preliminary remarks on the general history of Russian politics" (p. 74) attention is concentrated only on certain stages and some external political aspects of Russia's history, without due consideration for her internal socio-economic relations, and without analysis of the alignment of class and political forces. The whole emphasis is on external factors. The 16th and 17th centuries are totally omitted. The literature used by Marx (his basic source was a book by the French aristocrat Ph. Ségur, which had appeared in 1829) was even in those days outdated, and scarcely touched upon the socio-economic aspects of the history of ancient Russia and the state of Muscovy, the study of which had only just begun. So in this work Marx's interpretation of Russia's historical development was one-sided and far from complete. Some of his appraisals (of the activities of Ivan I Kalita and Ivan III, of the history of the founding of the centralised Russian state, the assertion that the Mongol yoke left an indelible impression on the methods of Russian diplomacy, and so on) do not correspond to the historical facts.

Following the view accepted in 19th-century historiography, Marx believed that the decisive factor in the formation of Kiev Rus was the Norman (Varangian) conquest. At that time he regarded the Norman conquests as a stage in the development of all Europe and noted that "warfare and organisation of conquest on the part of the first Ruriks differ in no point from those of the Normans in the rest of Europe" (p. 76).

The idea that for any people to acquire statehood there must be internal preconditions—the development of socio-economic relations, crisis of the communal system and formation of a class society—and that the Normans did not play a decisive role in forming the statehood of the Russian and other peoples, was clearly formulated some time later by Engels. The raids of the Normans, he wrote in his *History of Ireland*, "... came too late and emanated from nations too small for them to culminate in conquest, colonisation and the formation of states on any large scale, as had been the case with the earlier incursions of the Germanic tribes. As far as historical development is concerned, the advantages they bequeathed are quite imperceptible compared with the immense and—even for Scandinavia—fruitless disturbances they caused" (present edition, Vol. 21, 179).

Recent research, particularly the work of Soviet scholars in the 1950s-70s, the excavations in Novgorod, Kiev and other ancient Russian cities, the comparison of the archaeologists' discoveries with written sources, and anthropological, ethnographical and other data, has exploded the Norman theory of the origin of the ancient Russian state.

The *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* does not reflect the struggle of the great mass of the people of Russia against the Tartar-Mongol yoke and puts no emphasis on the decisive role the Russian people played in its overthrow. In the early 1880s, however, in his "Chronological Notes" on world history Marx stressed as an important fact the victory in 1380 of Russian troops led by the Muscovite prince Dmitry Donskoi over the Tartar hordes on the "broad field of Kulikovo" (see *Marx-Engels Archives,* Russian edition, Vol. VIII, Moscow, 1946, p. 151).

Marx rightly notes the daring nature of Peter I's reforming zeal, his persistence in converting "Muscovy into Russia". But in discussing the wars waged by Peter I, and his desire to strengthen Russia's might and increase her weight in international affairs, Marx did not take into consideration the direct threat to the national interests and integrity of the Russian state from its north-western neighbours.

On the other hand in the *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* Marx did make several perceptive statements. Considering Russia's past in the general context of European history, he stressed that the epoch of early feudalism, the expansion of Russian territory and feudal strife were determined in the final analysis by the same laws that characterised the early feudal states of Western Europe: "As the empire of Charlemagne precedes the foundation of modern France, Germany, and Italy, so the empire of the Ruriks precedes the foundation of Poland, Lithuania, the Baltic Settlements, Turkey and Muscovy itself" (pp. 75-76). Taking Kiev Rus as an example, Marx shows the causes and inevitability of the disintegration of the large state formations characteristic of the early Middle Ages: "The incongruous, unwieldy, and precocious Empire heaped together by the Ruriks, like the other empires of similar growth, is broken up into appanages, divided and sub-divided among the descendants of the conquerors, dilacerated by feudal wars, rent to pieces by the intervention of foreign peoples" (p. 77).

Marx showed the grave consequences of the Tartar-Mongol invasion for the Russian people. The Tartar yoke, he writes, was

"a yoke not only crushing, but dishonouring and withering the very soul of the people that fell its prey" (p. 77). Referring to the "rule of systematic terror" which the Tartar-Mongols imposed in the 13th and 14th centuries, and the "wholesale slaughter" of the population, Marx compares their policy with that of the ruling classes of England at a later time, which had "depopulated the Highlands of Scotland", and also with the onslaught of the barbarians in the Campagna di Roma (p. 77-78). He draws attention to materials referring to Russia as a shield against the Tartar-Mongol invasions, "a kind of stay or stop-gap to the infidels" (p. 46).

Neither Marx, nor Engels ever attempted to have the *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* republished, and as we have already noted, the one-sided approach and occasional inaccuracies that found their way into it were to a great extent overcome in their later works.

Thus, in June 1858 we find Marx already noting that Russia's internal development, the widespread peasant disturbances, point to the birth of a revolutionary movement in that country which openly opposes the official, reactionary Russia of the serf-owning landlords. Whereas in the period of European revolutions, 1848-49, Tsarist Russia had been one of the main reactionary forces blocking the advance of the revolution, now, in 1858, as Marx wrote, "combustible matter has accumulated under her own feet, which a strong blast from the West may suddenly set on fire" (p. 568). In the late 1850s and particularly after the abolition of serfdom in Russia in 1861, which accelerated the development of capitalist relations there, Marx and Engels devoted increasing attention to the study of the socio-economic processes at work there and to the Russian revolutionary movement.

In the awakening masses of Russia that were entering the struggle Marx and Engels saw a force capable of changing the situation within the country and ending the reactionary policies of Tsarist autocracy in the international field. On April 29, 1858 Marx wrote to Engels: "The movement for the emancipation of the serfs in Russia strikes me as important in so far as it indicates the beginning of an internal development that might run counter to the country's traditional foreign policy" (present edition, Vol. 40, p. 310).

Prominently represented in the volume are the articles by Marx and Engels exposing the colonial policies of the European capitalist powers, particularly Britain, and considering the national

liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia against colonial oppression and enslavement.

The articles on the Anglo-Persian war of 1856-57, the second "opium" war waged by England against China in 1856-60, and particularly the popular uprising against British rule in India, 1857-59, develop ideas and propositions expressed by Marx and Engels in the first half of the 1850s (present edition, Vol. 13). These events, which they reported in detail in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* gave them enormous factual material for further generalisation, for interpreting the processes of development of the oriental states, and the colonial and dependent countries, for tracing the mutual influence of the national liberation struggle in Asia and the revolutionary movement in the European capitalist countries.

Writing of Britain's wars against Persia and China, Marx and Engels expose the methods of British colonial policy in Asia and show that Britain acquired territory either by means of direct seizure and blatant coercion or through deceit and bribery.

In several articles ("The War Against Persia", "The Prospects of the Anglo-Persian War", and others) Marx and Engels reveal such provocative methods of British diplomacy as accusing the government of this or that country of failing to observe previous treaties or agreements, of allegedly violating the rights of British citizens, and the use of other pretexts.

One example of such unceremonious action in defiance of the elementary rules of international law was the war unleashed by the British government and military against China on the pretext of protecting the lives and property of British citizens living there. Marx examines the history of the conflict and angrily condemns "this mode of invading a peaceful country, without previous declaration of war, for an alleged infringement of the fanciful code of diplomatic etiquette" (p. 163). Reminding their readers of the atrocities committed against civilians by the British aggressors during the first "opium" war (1840-42), Marx and Engels observe that this new war provoked by the British themselves was being waged by the same ruthless means (see the articles "Defeat of the Palmerston Ministry", "English Atrocities in China", "A New English Expedition to China", and others). Marx and Engels write with great sympathy of the Chinese people's resistance to the forces of the aggressor, and stress the active participation of the masses in this struggle. In his article "Persia—China" Engels cites facts showing that various sections of the population were joining in the struggle. He describes it as a people's war for the

preservation of Chinese nationality and stresses that "the piratical policy of the British Government has caused this universal outbreak of all Chinese against all foreigners" (p. 281). Replying to the hypocritical comments of the British bourgeois press concerning the "horrible atrocities of the Chinese", Engels writes that the means used by a nation defending its independence cannot be measured by abstract standards, but "by the degree of civilization only attained by that insurgent nation" (p. 282).

Engels regarded the popular character of the war against the British aggressors as a symptom of the awakening of the masses, as a sign of the approaching death agony of the ancient empire.

Marx and Engels watched with particular interest the course taken by the Indian national uprising of 1857-59. Their numerous articles and reports contain a profound analysis of the causes of the uprising, its driving forces, and the circumstances that led to its defeat; the course of the military actions, the major battles and operations are considered in detail.

Countering the attempts of the authorities and the British capitalist press to belittle the significance and scale of the uprising and to portray it merely as a mutiny of the native Sepoy units in the Anglo-Indian army, Marx and Engels from the outset stressed the national character of the uprising and recognised it as a revolution of the Indian people against British rule (see articles "The Revolt in the Indian Army", "The Revolt in India" [July 17, 1857], "Indian News", and "The Relief of Lucknow"). Although the uprising did not embrace the whole territory of the country, and some groups of the population took no part in it, it was outstandingly important that "Mussulmans and Hindoos, renouncing their mutual antipathies, have combined against their common masters" (p. 298), that the insurgents included people of various castes—Brahmans, Rajputs, and others, that the uprising was supported by various sections of the population. The ramification of conspiracy in the Bengal army, the enormous scale the uprising immediately assumed, testified, as Marx noted in his article "The Indian Insurrection", to secret sympathy and support for the insurgents among the local population, while the difficulties experienced by the British in transporting and supplying their troops indicated peasant hostility towards them. "The unarmed population," Engels states in his article "The Revolt in India" [end of May 1858], "fail to afford the English either assistance or information" (p. 555).

Marx and Engels attached special importance to the fact that the

native troops the British had come to rely on were the crucial force behind the uprising. In the process of conquering more and more Indian territory, the British authorities had exploited the enmity between various tribes, castes, religions, and principalities, to create a native army, which served as an instrument of their policy of conquest. When the conquest had been completed, Marx points out, this army was virtually charged with police functions. On the other hand, in the shape of this army the British without knowing it "organized the first general center of resistance which the Indian people was ever possessed of" (pp. 297-98). It was this that from the beginning endowed the uprising with unprecedented strength and extent.

The causes of the uprising lay not only in the discontent among the Sepoy troops evoked by British flouting of their religious traditions. This only triggered the indignation. The Indian peasants, the overwhelming majority of the population, were crushed by taxes, the collection of which involved the foulest methods, including violence and torture, as Marx writes in his article "Investigation of Tortures in India". He noted that of the revenues collected "no part ... is returned to the people in works of public utility, more indispensable in Asiatic countries than anywhere else" (p. 579).

Marx also placed among the causes of the uprising the British authorities' policy of annexing any as yet independent Indian principalities, as well as confiscating land, which evoked fierce opposition from the feudal landowners (see the articles "The Annexation of Oude", "Lord Canning's Proclamation and Land Tenure in India", etc.). When they defined the uprising as something national, Marx and Engels had in mind not only its territorial scale and its unifying effect on different sections and groups of the population, but also the insurgents' basic intent—to throw off the colonial oppression that had lasted almost a hundred and fifty years.

Marx and Engels write with anger and indignation about the atrocities and plunder perpetrated by the British forces in the towns and villages they captured (see the articles "The Revolt in India" [September 4, 1857], "Details of the Attack on Lucknow", etc.). Such actions as the sacking of Lucknow "will remain an everlasting disgrace to the British military service" (p. 531). Without denying the facts of brutality on the part of the insurgent Sepoys, which were exaggerated in every possible way by the British capitalist press, Marx stressed that "it is only the reflex, in a concentrated form, of England's own conduct in India, not only

during the epoch of the foundation of her Eastern Empire, but even during the last ten years of a long-settled rule" (p. 353).

In many articles, particularly Engels' military reviews, the methods and means used by the insurgents are subjected to analysis. In his article "The Relief of Lucknow" Engels reaches the following conclusion: "The strength of a national insurrection does not lie in pitched battles, but in petty warfare, in the defense of towns, and in the interruption of the enemy's communications" (p. 441).

Assessing the causes of the military failures of the uprising that led to its eventual defeat, Marx and Engels in their articles "The Capture of Delhi", "The Siege and Storming of Lucknow", "The Relief of Lucknow", etc., point to the insurgents' lack of unified central command, resulting in a lack of coordinated action between their separate forces, and their lack of effective discipline. "A motley crew of mutineering soldiers who have murdered their officers, torn asunder the ties of discipline, and not succeeded in discovering a man upon whom to bestow the supreme command, are certainly the body least likely to organize a serious and protracted resistance" (p. 305).

The insurgents' military actions were much hampered by their leaders' inability to conduct large-scale military operations, and their lack of strategic or tactical experience and knowledge. "They entirely lacked," Engels writes, "the scientific element without which an army is now-a-days helpless" (p. 392).

Besides these purely military causes of the defeat, Marx and Engels note the dissension and discord among the insurgents, the renewed religious enmity between Moslems and Hindus, the ethnic diversity of the Indian population, and the treachery of the majority of the local feudal princes who found themselves at the head of the uprising.

Defining the historical importance of the Indian uprising, Marx gives priority to its internal connection with such events of the 1850s as the Chinese people's resistance to Britain's penetration of China and the Anglo-Persian war. "The revolt in the Anglo-Indian army," he writes, "has coincided with a general disaffection exhibited against English supremacy on the part of the great Asiatic nations" (p. 298). He goes on to stress that the Indian people's war of national liberation exacerbated the economic crisis in Britain and could—had there been a new revolutionary explosion in Europe—have weakened her counter-revolutionary role. "In view of the DRAIN OF MEN and BULLION which she will cost the

English, India is now our best ally," Marx wrote to Engels on January 16, 1858 (present edition, Vol. 40, p. 249).

Marx points to the fact that, although the insurrection did not bring India liberation from national oppression, it forced England to change her methods of rule and put a final end to the East India Company. The uprising revealed the deep hatred felt by the great mass of the people for the colonialists and demonstrated their ability to resist.

The ideas expressed by Marx in the articles on the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia were further developed by Lenin. In the new historical epoch Lenin worked out and substantiated the theory of the national-colonial problem and showed that the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries oppressed by imperialist powers are the natural allies of the proletariat in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, and in building the new society.

* * *

This volume contains 105 works by Marx and Engels. Only three of them were written in German and appear in English for the first time. Of the other works written in English 56 were never reprinted after their first publication.

The Supplement contains Article IX from Marx's series of articles *Revolutionary Spain,* which came to light after the appearance of Volume 13 of the present edition, where the first eight articles had been published.

In the present edition all known cases of editorial intervention in the Marx and Engels text have been indicated in the notes.

When studying the specific historical material cited in the articles, it must be remembered that Marx's and Engels' sources for their pieces on current events were newspaper reports, which were sometimes inaccurate; this too is commented on in the notes.

In the event of an article having no title, the editors have supplied a heading in square brackets.

The asterisks indicate footnotes by the author, the editors' footnotes are indicated by index letters. The spelling of proper and geographical names corresponds to that in the publications from which the texts are reproduced.

The selection of material for the volume, preparation of the text and writing of the notes was done by Valentina Smirnova (for *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* and

"B. Bauer's Pamphlets on the Collision with Russia"); by Tatyana Andrushchenko (for works written between May 1856 and May 1857), Yelena Vashchenko (for works written between June and November 1857) and Natalia Martynova (for works written between November 1857 and September 1858). The Preface was prepared by Valentina Smirnova and Tatyana Andrushchenko under the editorship of Boris Tartakovsky. The editors of the volume are Tatyana Yeremeyeva and Boris Tartakovsky. Name index, index of periodicals and glossary were compiled by Yelena Vashchenko, and index of quoted and mentioned literature by Tatyana Andrushchenko, Yelena Vashchenko, and Natalia Martynova, with the participation of Felix Ryabov. Nadezhda Borodina took part in the general work of preparing the notes and indexes (CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism).

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# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## WORKS

May 1856-September 1858

# Karl Marx

## SARDINIA[1]

The history of the house of Savoy may be divided into three epochs—the first, in which it rises and aggrandises itself by taking up an equivocal position between Guelphs and Ghibellines,[2] between the Italian republics and the German empire; the second, in which it thrives upon shifting sides in the wars between France and Austria[3]; and the last, in which it endeavoured to improve the world-wide strife between revolution and counter-revolution as it had done with the antagonism of races and dynasties.[a] In the three epochs equivocation is the constant axis on which its policy revolves, and results diminutive in dimension and ambiguous in character, appear as the natural offspring of that policy. At the end of the first epoch, simultaneously with the formation of the grand monarchies in Europe, we behold the house of Savoy form a small monarchy. At the end of the second epoch the Vienna Congress condescended to surrender to it the republic of Genoa, while Austria swallowed Venice and Lombardy,[4] and the Holy Alliance[5] put its extinguisher upon all second-rate powers of whatever denomination. During the third epoch, lastly,[b] Piedmont is allowed to appear at the Conferences of Paris, drawing up a memorandum against Austria and Naples,[6] giving sage advice to the Pope,[c] clapped upon the shoulders by an Orloff, cheered on in its constitutional aspirations by the *coup d'état*,[7] and goaded in its dreams of Italian supremacy by the same Palmerston who so successfully betrayed it in 1848 and 1849.[8]

[a] The end of the sentence from the words "as it had done ..." is omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

[b] This word is omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

[c] Pius IX.—*Ed.*

It is a rather preposterous idea on the part of the Sardinian spokesmen that constitutionalism, the agony of which they may at this moment witness in Great Britain, and[a] with the bankruptcy of which the revolutions of 1848-49 made the European continent ring—it proving equally powerless against the bayonets of the crowns, and the barricades of the people—that this same constitutionalism is now about not only to celebrate its *restitutio in integrum*[b] on the Piedmontese stage, but even to become a conquering power. Such an idea could but originate with the great men of a little state. For any impartial observer it is an unquestionable fact that with the great monarchy in France Piedmont must remain a small one; that with an imperial despotism in France, Piedmont exists at the best but on sufferance, and that with a real republic in France, the Piedmont monarchy will disappear and melt into an Italian republic. The very conditions on which the existence of the Sardinian monarchy depends debar it from attaining its ambitious ends. It can but play the part of an Italian liberator in an epoch of revolution suspended in Europe, and of counter-revolution ruling supreme in France. Under such conditions it may imagine to take upon itself the leadership of Italy, as the only Italian state with progressive tendencies, with native rulers, and with a national army. But these very conditions place it between the pressure of imperial France on the one, and imperial Austria on the other hand. In case of serious friction between these neighbouring empires, it must become the satellite of one and the battlefield of both. In case of an *entente cordiale* between them, it must be content with an asthmatical existence, with a mere respite of life. To throw itself on the revolutionary party in Italy would be simple suicide, the events of 1848-49 having dispelled the last delusions as to its revolutionary mission. The hopes of the house of Savoy thus are bound up with the *status quo* in Europe, and the *status quo* in Europe shutting it out from extension in the Appenine Peninsula assigns it the modest part of an Italian Belgium.

In their attempt to resume at the Paris Congress the game of 1847, the Piedmontese plenipotentiaries could, therefore, exhibit but a rather lamentable spectacle. Each move they drew on the diplomatic chessboard cried *check* to themselves. While violently protesting against the Austrian occupation of central Italy, they were obliged to touch but tenderly on the occupation of Rome by

[a] Part of this sentence from the words "the agony" up to "Britain, and" is omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

[b] Full rehabilitation.—*Ed.*

France[9]; and while grumbling against the theocracy of the Pontiff,[a] to stoop before the sanctimonious grimaces of the first-born son of the church.[b] To Clarendon, who had shown such tender mercies to Ireland in 1848,[10] they had to appeal for giving the King of Naples[c] lessons of humanity, and to the gaoler of Cayenne, Lambessa, and Belle Isle,[11] for opening the prisons of Milan, Naples, and Rome. Establishing themselves the champions of liberty in Italy, they bowed servilely to Walewski's onslaught on the liberty of the press in Belgium, and gave it as their deliberate opinion that

> "it is difficult for good relations to continue between two nations when, in one of them, journals with exaggerated doctrines, and waging war on the neighbouring governments, exist."

Bottomed on this their own foolish adhesion to Buonapartist doctrines, Austria at once turned round upon them with the imperious demand of stopping and punishing the war waged against her by the Piedmontese press.

At the same moment that they feign to oppose the international policy of the peoples to the international policy of the countries,[d] they congratulate themselves upon the treaty again, knitting together those ties of friendship which for centuries have existed between the house of Savoy and the family of Romanoff. Encouraged to display their eloquence before the Plenipotentiaries of Old Europe, they must suffer to be snubbed by Austria as a second-rate power, not with the power to discuss first-rate questions. While they enjoy the immense satisfaction of drawing up a memorandum, Austria is allowed to draw up an army the whole length of the Sardinian frontier, from the Po to the summit of the Apennines, to occupy Parma, to fortify Piacenza, notwithstanding the treaty of Vienna, and on the shore of the Adriatic to deploy her forces from Ferrara and Bologna as far as Ancona. Seven days after these complaints had been promulgated before the Congress, on the 15th of April, a special treaty was signed between France and England on the one, and Austria on the other side, proving to evidence the damage the memorandum had inflicted on Austria.

Such was the position at the Paris Congress of the worthy representatives of that Victor Emmanuel who, after his abdication, and the loss of the battle of Novara[12] went before the eyes of an

[a] Pius IX.—*Ed.*
[b] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*
[c] Ferdinand II.—*Ed.*
[d] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has "dynasties" instead of "countries".—*Ed.*

exasperated army to embrace Radetzky, Carlo Albert's spiteful foe. If Piedmont is not blind on purpose, it must now see that it is duped by the peace as it was duped by the war. Bonaparte may use it to trouble waters in Italy, with a view to fish crowns in the mud.[13] Russia may clap the shoulder of little Sardinia, with the intention of alarming Austria in the South, in order to weaken her in the North. Palmerston may, for purposes best known to himself, rehearse the comedy of 1847, without giving himself so much as the pains of playing the old song to a new tune. For all that Piedmont serves only as the catspaw of foreign powers. As to the speeches in the British Parliament Mr. Brofferio has told the Sardinian Chamber of Deputies, of which he is a member, that "they had never been Delphian oracles, but always Trophonian ones." He is only mistaken in taking echoes for oracles.[14]

The Piedmontese intermezzo considered in itself, is void of any interest but that of seeing the house of Savoy baffled again in its hereditary policy of shifts and its renewed attempts at making the Italian question the prop of its own dynastical intrigues. But there is another more important point of view, intentionally overlooked by the English and French press, but especially[a] hinted at by the Sardinian plenipotentiaries in their notorious memorandum.[b] The hostile attitude of Austria, justified by the course pursued at Paris on the part of the Sardinian plenipotentiaries, "obliges Sardinia to remain armed, and to adopt measures[c] extremely hazardous[d] to her finances, already dilapidated by the events of 1848 and 1849, and by the war in which she has taken part." But this is not all.

"The popular agitation," says the Sardinian memorandum, "has appeared to subside of late. The Italians, seeing one of their national princes allied with the great Western powers ... conceived a hope that peace would not be made before some solace had been applied to their woes. This hope rendered them calm and resigned; but when they shall learn the negative results of the Congress of Paris—when they shall know that Austria notwithstanding the good office and benevolent intervention of France and England, has opposed even discussion ... then there can be no doubt that the irritation which has been lulled for the moment will reawaken more fiercely than ever. The Italians, convinced that they have nothing more to hope from diplomacy,—will throw themselves back with Southern vehemence into the ranks of the subversive and revolutionary party,[e] and

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[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has "anxiously".—*Ed.*

[b] Marx has in mind C. Cavour's "Note adressée au comte Walewski à lord Clarendon, le 16 avril 1856", which he quotes below.—*Ed.*

[c] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has "defensive measures".—*Ed.*

[d] The *NYDT* has "burdensome".—*Ed.*

[e] The text beginning with the words "the Italians" is italicised in the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

Italy will become in turn a focus[a] of conspiracies and disorders, which may indeed be suppressed by redoubled severity, but which the most trifling European commotion will cause to break out again with the utmost violence. The awakening of revolutionary passions in all countries which surround Piedmont, by causes of a nature to excite popular sympathy, exposes the Sardinian Government to dangers of excessive gravity."

This is to the point. During the war, the wealthy middle-class of Lombardy had, so to say, expended their breath in the vain hope of winning at its conclusion by their action of diplomacy, and under the auspices of the House of Savoy, national emancipation or[b] civil liberty without a necessity of wading through the red sea of revolution, and without making to the peasantry and the proletarians those concessions which, after the experience of 1848-49, they knew to have become inseparable from any popular movement. However, their Epicurean hopes have now vanished. The only tangible results of the war, at least the only ones to be caught by an Italian eye, are material and political advantages possessed[c] by Austria—a new consolidation of that odious power secured by the co-operation of a so-called independent Italian state. The constitution also of Piedmont had again the game in their hands; they have again lost it; and stand again convicted of wanting the vocation[d] so loudly claimed of heading Italy. They will be called to account by their own army. The middle-classes are again found to throw themselves upon the bias of the people,[e] and to identify national emancipation with social regeneration. The Piedmontese nightmare is thrown off, the diplomatic spell is broken—and the volcanic heart of revolutionary Italy begins again to pant.

Written on about May 16, 1856

First published in *The People's Paper*, No. 211, May 17, 1856, signed K. M., and also in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4717, May 31, 1856, unsigned

Reproduced from *The People's Paper*

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[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has "burning center".—*Ed.*

[b] The *NYDT* has "and".—*Ed.*

[c] The *NYDT* has "pocketed".—*Ed.*

[d] The *NYDT* has "as failing in the office" instead of "of wanting the vocation".—*Ed.*

[e] The *NYDT* has "mass".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE FRENCH CRÉDIT MOBILIER[15]

[I]

The London *Times* of the 30th of May is much surprised at the discovery that Socialism in France had never disappeared, but had rather been forgotten for some years. Whereof it takes occasion to congratulate England for not being pestered with that plague but free from that antagonism of classes on which soil the poisonous plant is produced. A rather bold assertion this, coming from the principal journal of a country whose leading economist, Mr. Ricardo, commences his celebrated work on the principles of political economy[a] with the principle that the three fundamental classes of society, *i.e.,* of English society, viz.: the owners of the land, the capitalists, and the wages labourers, are forming a deadly and fatal antagonism; rents rising and falling in inverse ratio to the rise and fall of industrial profits, and wages rising and falling in inverse ratio to profits. If, according to English lawyers, the counterpoise of the three contesting powers is the keystone of the constitution of England, that eighth marvel of the world; according to Mr. Ricardo, who may be presumed to know something more about it than *The Times,* the deadly antagonism of the three classes representing the principal agents of production is the framework of English society.

While *The Times* contemptuously sneers at revolutionary Socialism in France, it cannot help casting a covetous glance at imperial Socialism in France, and would fain hold it up as an example for imitation to John Bull, the chief agents of that Socialism, the "Credit Mobilier", having just sent *The Times* in an advertisement of about three close columns; the Report of the Board of

[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation.—Ed.*

Administration at the ordinary general meeting of shareholders on April 23rd, 1856, Mr. Pereire in the chair.[a]

The following is the account that has enlisted the envious admiration of the *Times* shareholders, and dazzled the judgment of the *Times* editor:—

*Liabilities.*

| On 31st December, 1855. | francs. | centimes. |
|---|---|---|
| Capital of the Society | 60,000,000 | |
| The balance of accounts current in December 31st, 1854, from a total of 64,924,379 to that of | 103,179,308 | 64 |
| Amount of bills payable of the creditors and for sundries | 864,414 | 81 |
| Total of reserve | 1,696,083 | 59 |
| Total of profits realised in 1855, after the deduction of the sum to be carried in the reserve | 26,827,901 | 32 |
| | 192,567,708 | 36 |

*Assets.*

| In hand. | f. | c. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Rents | 40,069,264 | 40 |
| 2. Debentures | 32,844,600 | 20 |
| 3. Railway & other shares | 59,431,593 | 66 |
| | 132,345,458 | 26 |
| From which is to be deducted for calls not made up 31st Dec. last | 31,166,718 | 62 |
| Balance asset | 101,178,739 | 64 |
| Investments for a fixed period in treasury bonds, continuations, advances on shares etc. | 84,325,390 | 9 |
| Value of premises and furniture | 1,082,219 | 37 |
| Disposable balance in hand and at the bank, and the amount of dividends to be received 31st of December last | 5,981,359 | 26 |
| Total assets | 192,567,708 | 36 |
| The total amount of rents, shares, and debentures in hand on December 31, 1854 | 57,460,092 | 94 |
| Has been augmented by subscriptions and purchases made in 1855 | 265,820,907 | -3 |
| Total | 323,280,999 | 97 |

[a] I. Péreire, "Rapport présenté par le conseil d'administration dans l'assemblée générale ordinaire des actionnaires du 23 avril 1856", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 117, April 26, 1856.—*Ed.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Amount of realisation being | 217,002,431 | 34 |
| To which must be added the amount of securities remaining in hand | 132,345,458 | 26 |
| | 349,347,889 | 60 |
| These results show a profit of | 26,066,889 | 63 |

A profit of 26 millions on a capital of 60 millions—a profit at the rate of 43 $^1/_3$% these are indeed fascinating figures. And what has not this stirring[a] mobilier effected with its grand capital of something like two and a half millions of pounds sterling? With sixty million francs in hand they have subscribed to the French loans first 250 millions, and afterwards 375 millions more; they have acquired an interest in the principal railways of France—they have undertaken the issue of the loan contracted by the Austrian Association for the Railways of the State—they have participated in the Western and Central railways of Switzerland—they have taken an interest in a considerable operation, professing for its object the canalisation of the Ebro from Saragossa to the Mediterranean—they had their hands in the amalgamation of the omnibuses at Paris, and in the constitution of the General Maritime Company—they have brought about by their intervention the amalgamation of all the old gas companies of Paris into one enterprise—they have, as they say, made a present of 300,000 francs to the people by selling them corn below the market price—they have decided on peace and war by their loans, erected new and propped up old lines of railways—illuminated cities, given an impulse to the creations of manufacture and the speculations of commerce, and lastly extended their swindling propaganda over[b] France and scattered the fruitful seeds of their institution over the whole continent of Europe.

The "Credit Mobilier" thus presents itself as one of the most economical phenomena of our epoch wanting a thorough sifting. Without such a research it is impossible either to compute the chances of the French Empire or to understand the symptoms of the general convulsion of society manifesting themselves throughout Europe. We shall investigate first into what the board calls its theoretic principles and then test their practical execution which, possibly, as the report informs us, have been until now but partially realised, and attend as immensely greater development in the future.

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[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has "wonderful".—*Ed.*

[b] The *NYDT* has "influence beyond the frontiers of France".—*Ed.*

The principles of the society are set forth in its statutes, and in the different, but principally in the first, reports made to the shareholders. According to the preamble of the statutes, and

"considering the important services which might be rendered by the establishment of a society having for its aim to favour the development of the industry of the public works, and to realise the conversion of the different titles of various enterprises through the means of consolidating them in one common fund, the founders of the 'Credit Mobilier' have resolved to carry into effect so useful a work, and consequently they have combined to lay down the basis of an anonymous society, under the denomination of the General Society of the 'Credit Mobilier'".[a]

Our readers will understand by the word "anonymous society,"[b] a joint-stock company with limited responsibility of the shareholders, and that the formation of such a society depends on a privilege arbitrarily granted by the Government.

The "Credit Mobilier" then proposes to itself firstly to "favour the development of the industry of the public works," which means to make industry of public works in general dependent on the favour of the "Credit Mobilier", and therefore on the individual favour of Bonaparte, on whose breath the existence of the society is suspended. The Board does not fail to indicate by what means it intends to bring about this its patronage, and that of its imperial patron,[c] over the whole French industry. The various industrial enterprises carried on by joint stock companies, are represented by different titles, shares, obligations, bonds, debentures, etc. Those different titles are of course rated at different prices in the money market, according to the capital they trade upon, the profits they yield, the different bearing of demand and offer upon them, and other economical conditions. Now what intends the "Credit Mobilier"?

To substitute for all these different titles carried on by different joint stock companies, one common title issued by the "Credit Mobilier" itself. But how can it effect this? By buying up with its own titles the titles of the various industrial concerns. Buying up all the bonds, shares, debentures, etc.; in one word the titles of a concern, is buying up the concern itself. Hence the "Credit Mobilier" avows the intention of making itself the proprietor, and Napoleon the Little[16] the supreme director of the whole great French industry. This is what we call Imperial Socialism.

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[a] "Décret portant autorisation de la société anonyme formée à Paris sous la denomination de Société générale de Crédit Mobilier. 18 novembre-11 décembre 1852."—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has "Our readers will bear in mind that the French understand by the word..."—*Ed.*

[c] The *NYDT* has "creator".—*Ed.*

In order to realise this programme, there are needed, of course, some financial operations, and M. Isaac Péreire in tracing their operations of the "Credit Mobilier," naturally feels himself on delicate ground, is obliged to put limits to the society considered purely accidental and intended to disappear in its development, and rather throws out a feeler than to divulge at once his ultimate scheme to the world.[a]

The social fund of the society has been fixed at 60,000,000 francs divided into 120,000 shares of 500 francs each, payable to the bearer.[b]

The operations of the society, such as they are defined in the statutes, may be ranged under three heads. Firstly, operations for the support of the great industry, secondly, creation of a value issued by the society for replacing, or amalgamating the titles of different industrial enterprises, thirdly, the ordinary operations of banking, bearing upon public funds, commercial bills, etc.

The operations of the first category, intended to obtain for the society the patronage of industry, are enumerated in art. V of the statutes, which says:

> "To subscribe for, or acquire public funds, shares, or obligations in the different industrial or credit enterprises, constituted as anonymous societies, and especially those of railways, canals, mines, and other public works already established, or about to be established. To undertake all loans, to transfer and realise them, as well as all enterprises of public works."[c]

We see how this article already goes beyond the pretensions of the preamble, by proposing to make the "Credit Mobilier" not only the proprietor of the great industry, but the slave of the Treasury, and the despot of commercial credit.

The operations of the second category, relating to the substitution of the titles of the "Credit Mobilier" for the titles of all other industrial enterprises, embraces the following:

> "To issue in equal amounts for the sums employed for subscriptions of loans and acquisitions of industrial titles the society's own obligations."

Articles 7 and 8 indicate the limits and the nature of the obligations the society has power to issue. These obligations, or bonds

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[a] The end of the sentence from the words "and rather throws..." is omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune.—Ed.*

[b] The words "payable to the bearer" are omitted in the *New-York Daily Tribune.—Ed.*

[c] "Décret portant autorisation de la société anonyme formée à Paris..."— *Ed.*

"are allowed to reach a sum equal to ten times the amount of the capital. They must always be represented for their total amount by public funds, shares, and obligations in the society's hands. They cannot be made payable at less than 45 days notice. The total amount of the sums received in account-current and of the obligations created at less than a year's run shall not exceed twice the capital realised."

The third category, lastly, embraces the operations necessitated by the exchange of commercial values. The society "receives money at call." It is authorised "to sell or give in payment for loans all sorts of funds, papers, shares, and obligations held by it, and to exchange them for other values." It lends on "public funds, deposits of shares and obligations, and it opens account-currents on their different values." It offers to anonymous societies "all the ordinary services rendered by private bankers, such as receiving all payments on account of the societies, paying their dividends, interest, etc." It keeps a deposit of all titles of those enterprises, but in the operations relating to the trade in commercial values, bills, warrants, etc., "it is expressly understood that the society shall not make clandestine sales nor purchases for the sake of premium."

Written on about June 6, 1856

First published in *The People's Paper*, No. 214, June 7, 1856, signed K. M. and also in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4735, June 21, 1856, unsigned

Reproduced from *The People's Paper*

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# Karl Marx

## THE FRENCH CRÉDIT MOBILIER

[II]

It should be recollected that Bonaparte made his *coup d'état* on two diametrically opposite pretenses: on the one hand proclaiming it was his mission to save the *bourgeoisie* and "material order" from the Red anarchy to be let loose in May, 1852 [17]; and on the other hand, to save the working people from the middle-class despotism concentrated in the National Assembly. Besides, there was the personal necessity of paying his own debts and those of the respectable mob of the Society of the *Dix Décembre,*[18] and of enriching himself and them at the joint expense of bourgeoisie and workmen. The mission of the man, it must be avowed, was beset by conflicting difficulties; forced as he was to appear simultaneously as the robber and as the patriarchal benefactor of all classes. He could not give to the one class without taking from the other, and he could not satisfy his own wants and those of his followers without robbing both. In the time of the Fronde [19] the Duc de Guise was said to be the most obliging man of France. because he had transformed all his estates into obligations held by his partisans. Thus Bonaparte also proposed to become the most obliging man of France, by converting all the property and all the industry of France into a personal obligation toward Louis Bonaparte. To steal France in order to buy France—that was the great problem the man had to solve, and in this transaction of taking from France what was to be given back to France, not the least important side to him was the percentage to be skimmed off by himself and the Society of December Tenth. How were these contradictory pretenses to be reconciled? how was this nice economical problem to be solved? how this knotty point to be untwined? All the varied past experience of Bonaparte pointed to

the one great resource that had carried him over the most difficult economical situations—Credit. And there happened to be in France the school of St. Simon, which in its beginning and in its decay deluded itself with the dream that all the antagonism of classes must disappear before the creation of universal wealth by some new-fangled scheme of public credit. And St. Simonism in this form had not yet died out at the epoch of the *coup d'état.* There was Michel Chevalier, the economist of the *Journal des Débats;* there was Proudhon, who tried to disguise the worst portion of the St. Simonist doctrine under the appearance of eccentric originality; and there were two Portuguese Jews, practically connected with stockjobbing and Rothschild, who had sat at the feet of the Père Enfantin, and who with their practical experience had the boldness to suspect stockjobbing behind Socialism, Law behind St. Simon. These men—Emile and Isaac Péreire—are the founders of the *Crédit Mobilier,* and the initiators of Bonapartist Socialism.

It is an old proverb, *"Habent sua fata libelli."*[a] Doctrines have also their *fate* as well as books. St. Simon to become the guardian angel of the Paris Bourse, the prophet of swindling, the Messiah of general bribery and corruption! History exhibits no example of a more cruel irony, save, perhaps, St. Just realized by the *juste milieu*[b] of Guizot, and Napoleon by Louis Bonaparte.

Events march swifter than man's consideration. While we, from an investigation of its principles and economical conditions, are pointing at the unavoidable crash foreboded by the very constitution of the *Crédit Mobilier,* history is already at work realizing our predictions. On the last of May, one of the Directors of the *Crédit Mobilier,* M. Place, failed for the sum of ten millions of francs, having only a few days before been "presented to the Emperor by M. de Morny" as one of the *dieux de la finance. Les dieux s'en vont!*[c] Almost on the same day the *Moniteur* published the new law on the *Sociétés en commandite,*[d] which, on pretense of putting a check on the speculative fever, places those societies at the mercy of the *Crédit Mobilier* by making their formation dependent on the will of the government or of the *Crédit Mobilier.* And the English

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[a] A quotation from *De litteris, syllabis et metris* (*Carmen heroicum,* verse 258) by the Roman grammarian and poet Terentianus Maurus.—*Ed.*

[b] Golden mean.—*Ed.*

[c] Gods of finance. The Gods are passing away (cf. F. Chateaubriand, *Les Martyrs ou le Triomphe de la religion chrétienne*).—*Ed.*

[d] Joint-stock companies with limited liability; see also "Projet de loi sur les sociétés en commandite par actions", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 153, June 1, 1856.—*Ed.*

press, ignorant of even the existence of a difference, between *Sociétés en commandite* and *Sociétés anonymes,*[a] to which latter the former are thus sacrificed, goes into ecstacies at this great "prudential act" of Bonapartist wisdom, imagining that French speculators will soon be speedily brought round to the solidity of the English Sadleirs, Spaders and Palmers. At the same time the law of drainage just passed by the famous *Corps Législatif,*[20] and which is a direct infraction of all former legislation and the Code Napoleon, sanctions the expropriation of the mortgagors of the land, in favor of the government of Bonaparte, who by this machinery proposes to seize on the land, as by the *Crédit Mobilier* he is seizing on the industry, and by the Bank of France on the commerce of France; and all this to save property from the dangers of Socialism!

Meanwhile we do not think it superfluous to continue our examination of the *Crédit Mobilier,* an institution which, we think, is destined yet to enact achievements of which the above are but small beginnings.

We have seen that the first function of the *Crédit Mobilier* consists in affording capital to such industrial concerns as are carried on by anonymous societies. We quote from the report of M. Isaac Péreire:

> "The *Crédit Mobilier* acts, with regard to the values representing industrial capital, a part analogous to the functions discharged by discount banks with regard to the values representing commercial capital. The first duty of this society is to support the development of national industry, to facilitate the formation of great enterprises which, abandoned to themselves, meet with great obstacles. Its mission in this respect will be more easily fulfilled, as it disposes of various means of information and research that escape the grasp of private individual for soundly appreciating the real value or prospects of undertakings appealing to its aid. In prosperous times our society will be a guide for capital anxious to find profitable employment; in difficult movements it is destined to offer precious resources for the maintenance of labor, and the moderation of the crises which result from a rash contraction of capitals. The pains which our society will take to invest its capital in all affairs only in such proportions and for such limited terms as will permit of a safe withdrawal, will enable it to multiply its action, to fructify in a small space of time a great number of enterprises, and to diminish the risks of its concurrence by the multiplicity of partial *commandités*" (investments in shares).[b]

Having seen in what manner Isaac develops the ideas of Bonaparte, it becomes important also to see the manner in which

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[a] Joint-stock companies.—*Ed.*

[b] I. Péreire, "Rapport présenté par le conseil d'administration dans l'assemblée générale ordinaire et extraordinaire des actionnaires du 29 avril 1854", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 121, May 1, 1854.—*Ed.*

Bonaparte comments upon the ideas of Isaac, a comment which may be found in the Report addressed to him by the Minister of the Interior[a] on June 21, 1854, with respect to the principles and the administration of the *Crédit Mobilier:*

"Among all the establishments of credit existing in the world, the *Banque de France* is justly considered that which boasts of the most solid constitution;"

so solid that the slight storm of February, 1848, had borne it down in a day, but for the prop afforded it by Ledru-Rollin and Co.; for not only did the Provisional Government suspend the obligation of the *Banque de France* to pay its notes in cash, and thus roll back the tide of note and bondholders blocking up its avenues, but empowered it to issue notes of 50 francs, while it had never been permitted under Louis Philippe to issue less than 500 franc notes; and not only did they thus cover the insolvent Banque by their credit, but in addition they pledged the State forests to the Banque for the privilege of obtaining credit for the State.

"The *Banque de France* is at the same time a support and a guide for our commerce, and its material and moral influence gives to our market a very precious stability."

This stability is such that the French have a regular industrial crisis each time when America and England condescend only to a little smash in their commerce.

"By the reserve and prudence which direct all its operations, this admirable institution fulfills, therefore, the part of a regulator; but the commercial genius, to generate all the wonders it carries in its womb, wants, above all things, to be stimulated; and precisely because speculation is restrained in France in the strictest limits, there existed no inconvenience, but on the contrary a great advantage, in putting alongside of the *Banque de France* an establishment conceived in quite a different order of ideas, and which should represent in the sphere of industry and commerce the spirit of initiative.

"The model for this establishment happily existed already; it is derived from a country celebrated by its severe loyalty, the prudence and solidity presiding over all its commercial operations. By placing at the disposition of all sound ideas and useful enterprises its capital, its credit, and its moral authority, the General Society of the Netherlands has multiplied in Holland canals, drainage, and a thousand other improvements which have raised the value of property a hundred fold. Why should not France likewise profit by an institution the advantages of which have been demonstrated by so dazzling an experience? This is the thought which determined the creation of the Credit Mobilier, authorized by the decree of 18th Nov., 1852.

"According to the terms of its statutes this Society can, among other operations, buy and sell public effects or industrial shares, lend and borrow on them as securities, contract for public loans, and in a word, issue its paper at long dates, to the account of the values thus acquired.

[a] F. Persigny.—*Ed.*

"It has thus the means in hand of summoning and combining at any moment, under advantageous conditions, considerable wealth. In the good use it may make of these capitals the fertility of the institution resides. Indeed, the Society may arbitrarily invest in *(commanditer)* industry, take an interest in enterprises, participate in operations of a long term, which the constitution of the Banque de France and of the Discount Office forbids these establishments to do; in one word, it is free in its movements, and may change its action just as the wants of commercial credit require it. If it knows how, among the enterprises constantly brought forth, to distinguish the fruitful; if by the timely intervention of the immense funds which it has the disposition of, it enables works to be carried out highly productive in themselves, but absorbing an unusual duration, and otherwise languishing; if its concurrence be the sure index of a useful idea or a well-conceived project, the Society of the *Crédit Mobilier* will deserve and win the public approbation; floating capital will seek its channels and direct itself in mass whithersoever the patronage of the Society indicates a guarantied employ. Thus, by the power of example, and by authority which will become attached to its support, more even than by any material aid, this Society will be the cooperator of all ideas of general utility. Thus it will powerfully encourage the efforts of industry, and stimulate everywhere the spirit of invention."[a]

We shall take an early occasion to show how all these high-flowing phrases conceal but feebly the plain scheme of dragging all the industry of France into the whirlpool of the Paris Bourse, and to make it the tennis-ball of the gentlemen of the *Crédit Mobilier,* and of their patron Bonaparte.

Written on about June 12, 1856 — Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 4737, June 24, 1856

[a] F. Persigny, "Rapport à l'Empereur", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 172, June 21, 1854.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE FRENCH CRÉDIT MOBILIER

[III]

The approaching crash in Bonapartist finance continues to announce itself in a variety of ways. On May 31 Count Montalembert, in opposing a project of law to raise the postage on all printed papers, books, and the like, sounded the note of alarm in the following strain:

"The suppression of all political life, by what has it been replaced? By the whirl of speculation. The great French nation could not resign itself to slumber, to inactivity. Political life was replaced by the fever of speculation, by the thirst for lucre, by the infatuation of gambling. On all sides, even in our small towns, even in our villages, men are carried away by the mania of making those rapid fortunes of which there are so many examples—those fortunes achieved without trouble, without labor, and often without honor. I seek for no other proof than the bill which has just been laid before you, against the *sociétés en commandite*.[a] Copies have just been distributed to us; I have not had time to examine it; I feel, however, inclined to support it, despite the somewhat Draconian regulations which I fancy I discovered there. If the remedy is so urgent and so considerable, the evil must be so likewise. The real source of that evil is the sleep of all political spirit in France.... And the evil which I point to is not the only one resulting from the same source. While the higher and middle classes—those ancient political classes—give themselves up to speculation, another labor presents itself among the lower classes of society, whence nearly all the revolutions emanated which France has suffered. At the sight of this fearful mania of gambling which has made a vast gambling booth of nearly all France, a portion of the masses, invaded by Socialists, has been more corrupted than ever, by the avidity of gain. Hence an unquestionable progress of secret societies, a greater and deeper development of those savage passions which almost calumniate Socialism by adopting its name, and which have been recently well shown up, in all their intensity, in the trials at Paris, Angers and elsewhere."[b]

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[a] Joint-stock companies with limited liability. See also p. 15.—*Ed.*

[b] Count de Montalembert's speech at the sitting of the Corps Législatif on May 31, 1856, *The Times*, No. 22386, June 5, 1856.—*Ed.*

Thus speaks Montalembert—himself one of the original shareholders in the Bonapartist enterprise for saving order, religion, property and family!

We have heard, from Isaac Péreire, that one of the mysteries of the *Crédit Mobilier* was the principle of multiplying its action and diminishing its risks by embarking in the greatest possible variety of enterprises, and withdrawing from them in the shortest possible time. Now, what does this mean when divested of the flowery language of St. Simonism? Subscribing for shares to the greatest extent, in the greatest number of speculations, realizing the premiums, and getting rid of them as fast as it can be done. Stockjobbing, then, is to be the base of the industrial development, or rather all industrial enterprise is to become the mere pretext of stockjobbing. And, by the aid of what instrument is this object of the *Crédit Mobilier* to be attained? What are the means proposed to enable it thus to "multiply its action" and "diminish its risks?" The very means employed by Law. The *Crédit Mobilier* being a privileged company, backed by Government influence, and disposing of a large capital and credit, comparatively speaking, it is certain that the shares of any new enterprise started by it will, on the first emission, fetch a premium in the market. It has learned thus much from Law, to allot to its own shareholders the new shares at par, in proportion to the number of shares they hold in the mother society. The profit thus insured to them acts, in the first place, on the value of the shares of the *Crédit Mobilier* itself, while their high range, in the second place, insures a high value to the new shares to be emitted. In this manner the *Crédit Mobilier* obtains command over a large portion of the loanable capital intended for investment in industrial enterprises.

Now, apart from the fact that the premium is thus the real pivot on which the activity of the *Crédit Mobilier* turns, its object is apparently to affect capital in a manner which is the very reverse of the action of commercial banks. A commercial bank, by its discounts, loans, and emission of notes, sets free temporarily fixed capital, while the *Crédit Mobilier* fixes actually floating capital. Railway shares, for instance, may be very floating, but the capital they represent, i. e., the capital employed in the construction of the railway, is fixed. A mill-owner who would sink in buildings and machinery a part of his capital out of proportion with the part reserved for the payment of wages and the purchase of raw material, would very soon find his mill stopped. The same holds good with a nation. Almost every commercial crisis in modern times has been connected with a derangement in the due

proportion between floating and fixed capital. What, then, must be the result of the working of an institution like the *Crédit Mobilier*, the direct purpose of which is to fix as much as possible of the loanable capital of the country in railways, canals, mines, docks, steamships, forges, and other industrial undertakings, without any regard to the productive capacities of the country?

According to its statutes, the *Crédit Mobilier* can patronize only such industrial concerns as are carried on by anonymous societies, or joint-stock companies with limited responsibility. Consequently there must arise a tendency to start as many such societies as possible, and, further, to bring all industrial undertakings under the form of these societies. Now, it cannot be denied that the application of joint-stock companies to industry marks a new epoch in the economical life of modern nations. On the one hand it has revealed the productive powers of association, not suspected before, and called into life industrial creations, on a scale unattainable by the efforts of individual capitalists; on the other hand, it must not be forgotten, that in joint-stock companies it is not the individuals that are associated, but the capitals. By this contrivance, proprietors have been converted into shareholders, i.e., speculators. The concentration of capital has been accelerated, and, as its natural corollary, the downfall of the small middle class. A sort of industrial kings have been created, whose power stands in inverse ratio to their responsibility—they being responsible only to the amount of their shares, while disposing of the whole capital of the society—forming a more or less permanent body, while the mass of shareholders is undergoing a constant process of decomposition and renewal, and enabled, by the very disposal of the joint influence and wealth of the society, to bribe its single rebellious members. Beneath this oligarchic Board of Directors is placed a bureaucratic body of the practical managers and agents of the society, and beneath them, without any transition, an enormous and daily swelling mass of mere wages laborers—whose dependence and helplessness increase with the dimensions of the capital that employs them, but who also become more dangerous in direct ratio to the decreasing number of its representatives. It is the immoral merit of Fourier to have predicted this form of modern industry, under the name of *Industrial Feudalism.*[a] Certainly neither Mr. Isaac, nor Mr. Émile Péreire, nor Mr. Morny, nor Mr. Bonaparte could have invented this. There existed, also, before their epoch, banks lending their credit to

[a] Cf. Ch. Fourier, *Théorie des quatre mouvements et des destinées générales.—Ed.*

industrial joint-stock companies. What they invented was a joint-stock bank aiming at the monopoly of the formerly divided and multiform action of the private money-lenders, and whose leading principle should be the creation of a vast number of industrial companies, not with the view of productive investments, but simply for the object of stockjobbing profits. The new idea they have started is to render the industrial feudalism tributary to stockjobbing.

According to the statutes, the capital of the *Crédit Mobilier* is fixed at 60,000,000 of francs. The same statutes allow it to receive deposits in accounts-current for twice that sum, i. e., for 120,000,000. The sum at the disposal of the society thus amounts altogether to 180,000,000 of francs. Measured by the bold scheme of obtaining the patronage of the whole industry of France, this is certainly a very small sum. But two-thirds of this sum can hardly be applied to the purchase of industrial shares, or such values as do not command the certainty of immediate realization, precisely because they are received on call. For this reason the statutes open another resource to the *Crédit Mobilier.* It is authorized to issue debentures amounting to ten times its original capital, i. e., to the amount of 600,000,000 francs; or, in other words, the institution intended for the accommodation of all the world is authorized to come into the market as a borrower for a sum ten times larger than its own capital.

"Our debentures," says M. Péreire, "will be of two kinds. The first, issued for a short period, must correspond with our various temporary investments."[a]

With this sort of debentures we have nothing to do here, as, by article VIII of the statutes, they are to be issued only to make up the supposed balance short of the 120,000,000 to be received in current account, which have been entirely received in that way. With respect to the other class of debentures,

"they are issued with remote dates of payment, reimbursable by redemption, and will correspond with the investments of like nature, which we shall have made either in public funds or in shares and debentures of manufacturing companies. According to the economy of the system which serves as the basis of our Association, these securities will not only be secured by a corresponding amount of funds purchased under the control of Government, and the united total of which will afford, by the application of the principle of mutuality, the advantages of a compensation and division of the risks, but they will have, besides, the guarantee of a capital which, for that object, we have increased to a considerable amount."

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[a] Here and below see I. Péreire, "Rapport présenté par le conseil d'administration dans l'assemblée générale ordinaire des actionnaires du 23 avril 1856." *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 117, April 26, 1856.—*Ed.*

Now, these debentures of the *Crédit Mobilier* are simply imitations of railway bonds—obligations redeemable at certain epochs and under certain conditions, and bearing a fixed interest. But there is a difference. While railway bonds are often secured by a mortgage of the railway itself, what is the security for the *Crédit Mobilier* debentures? The *rentes,*[a] shares, debentures and the like, of industrial companies, which the *Crédit Mobilier* buys with its own debentures. Then, what is gained by their emission? The difference between the interest payable on the debentures of the *Crédit Mobilier* and the interest receivable on the shares and the like, in which it has invested its loan. To make this operation sufficiently profitable, the *Crédit Mobilier* is obliged to place the capital realized by the issue of its debentures in such investments as promise the most remunerative returns, i. e., in shares subject to great fluctuations and alterations of price. The main security for its debentures, therefore, will consist of the shares of the very industrial companies started by the Association itself.

Thus, while railway bonds are secured by a capital at least twice in amount, these *Crédit Mobilier* debentures are secured by a capital only nominally of the same amount, but which must fall below, with every downward movement of the stock-market. The holders of these debentures, accordingly, share in all the risks of the shareholders, without participating in their profits.

"But," says the last Annual Report, "the holders of the debentures have not only the guaranty of the investments in which it [the *Crédit Mobilier*] has placed its loans, but also that of its original capital."[b]

The original capital, 60,000,000, responsible for the 120,000,000 of deposits, offers to serve as guaranty to 600,000,000 of debentures, beside the guaranties it may be required to furnish for the unlimited number of enterprises which the *Crédit Mobilier* is authorized to start. If the Association were to succeed in exchanging the shares of all industrial companies against its own debentures, it would indeed become the supreme director and proprietor of the whole industry of France, while the mass of ancient proprietors would find themselves pensioned with a fixed revenue equal to the interest on the debentures. But, on the road to this consummation, the bankruptcy which follows from the economical conditions we have above illustrated, will stop the bold adventurers. This little accident, however, has not been over-

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[a] Here: state securities.—*Ed.*

[b] I. Péreire, "Rapport présenté par le conseil d'administration...", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 117, April 26, 1856.—*Ed.*

looked; on the contrary, the real founders of the *Crédit Mobilier* have included it in their calculations. When that crash comes, after an immensity of French interests has been involved, the Government of Bonaparte will seem justified in interfering with the *Crédit Mobilier*, as the English Government did in 1797 with the Bank of England.[21] The Regent of France,[a] that worthy sire of Louis Philippe, tried to get rid of the public debt by converting the State obligations into obligations of Law's Bank; Louis Bonaparte, the imperial Socialist, will try to seize upon French industry by converting the debentures of the *Crédit Mobilier* into State obligations. Will he prove more solvent than the *Crédit Mobilier*? That is the question.

Written in late June 1856

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4751, July 11, 1856

[a] Philip II, Duke of Orleans.—*Ed.*

# KARL MARX

## REVELATIONS OF THE DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF THE 18th CENTURY[22]

Written in June 1856-March 1857

First published in full in the newspaper *The Free Press*, Vols. III-IV, Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 13, 16, 17, 19, 26, 28, 29 and 34, August 16 and 23, September 13 and 20, October 4, November 8 and 29, December 6 and 20, 1856; February 4, 18 and 25 and April 1, 1857

Reproduced from the newspaper

# Chapter I[23]

## No. 1.—MR. RONDEAU TO HORACE WALPOLE[24]

Petersburg, 17th August, 1736*

"... I heartily wish ... that the Turks could be brought to condescend to make the first step, for this Court seems resolved to hearken to nothing till that is done, to mortify the Porte, that has on all occasions spoken of the Russians with the greatest contempt, which the Czarina and her present Ministers cannot bear. Instead of being obliged to Sir Everard Fawkner and Mr. Calkoen[a] (the former the British, the latter the Dutch Ambassador at Constantinople)[b] for informing them of the good dispositions of the Turks, Count Ostermann will not be persuaded that the Porte is sincere, and seemed very much surprised that they had written to them (the Russian Cabinet) without order of the King[c] and the States-General, or without being desired by the Grand Vizier,[d] and that their letter had not been concerted with the Emperor's[e] Minister[f] at Constantinople.... I have shown Count Biron and Count Ostermann the two letters the Grand Vizier has written to the King, and at the same time told these gentlemen that as there were in them several hard reflections on this Court, I should not have communicated them, if they had not been so desirous to see them. Count Biron said that was nothing, for they were used to be treated in this manner by the Turks. I desired their Excellencies not to let the Porte know that they had seen these letters, which would sooner aggravate matters than contribute to make them up...."

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* This letter relates to the war against Turkey, commenced by the Empress Ann, in 1735; the British diplomatist at St. Petersburg, reporting about his endeavours to induce Russia to conclude peace with the Turks.[25] The passages omitted are irrelevant.

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[a] The newspaper has mistakenly "Mr. Thalman"; correction has been made according to the publication of this letter in *Sbornik imperatorskogo russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva* [Records of Imperial Russian Historical Society], St. Petersburg, 1892, Vol. 80, p. 14.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below words in parentheses are Marx's.—*Ed.*

[c] George II.—*Ed.*

[d] Esseid-Mohammed Silihdar.—*Ed.*

[e] Charles VI.—*Ed.*

[f] Thalman.—*Ed.*

## No. 2.—SIR GEORGE MACARTNEY TO THE EARL OF SANDWICH

"St. Petersburgh, 1st-12th March, 1765

"*Most Secret.**

"... Yesterday, M. Panin** and the Vice-Chancellor,[a] together with M. Osten, the Danish Minister, signed a treaty of alliance between this Court and that of Copenhagen. By one of the articles, a war with Turkey is made a *casus foederis*, and whenever that event happens Denmark binds herself to pay Russia a subsidy of 500,000 rubles per annum, by quarterly payments; Denmark also, by a most secret article, promises to disengage herself from all French connections, demanding only a limited time to endeavour to obtain the arrears due to her by the Court of France. At all events, she is immediately to enter into all the views of Russia in Sweden, and to act entirely, though not openly, with her in that kingdom. Either I am deceived, or M. Gross*** has misunderstood his instructions, when he told your lordship that Russia intended to stop short, and leave all the burden of Sweden upon England; however desirous this Court may be that we should pay a large proportion of every pecuniary engagement, yet, I am assured, she will always CHOOSE to take the lead at Stockholm. Her design, her ardent wish, is to make a common cause with England and Denmark, for the total annihilation of the French interest there. This certainly cannot be done without a considerable expense, but Russia, at present, does not seem unreasonable enough to expect that WE SHOULD PAY THE WHOLE. It has been hinted to me that £1,500 per annum, on our part, would be sufficient to support our interest, and absolutely prevent the French from ever getting at Stockholm again.

"The Swedes, highly sensible of, and very much mortified at, the dependent situation they have been in for many years,[26] are extremely jealous of every power that intermeddles in their affairs, and particularly so of their neighbours the Russians. This is the reason assigned to me for this Court's desiring that we and they should act upon SEPARATE bottoms, still preserving between our respective ministers a confidence without reserve. That our first care should be, not to establish a faction under the name of a Russian or of an English faction; but, as even the wisest men are imposed upon by a mere name, to endeavour to have OUR friends distinguished as the friends of liberty and independence; at present we have a superiority, and the generality of the nation is persuaded how very ruinous their French connections have been, and, if continued, how very destructive they will be of their true interests. M. Panin does by no means desire that the smallest

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* England was at that time negotiating a commercial treaty with Russia.

** To this time it has remained among historians a point of controverse, whether or not *Panin* was in the pay of Frederick II. of Prussia, and whether he was so behind the back of Catherine, or at her bidding. There can exist no doubt that Catherine II., in order to identify foreign courts with Russian ministers, allowed Russian ministers ostensibly to identify themselves with foreign courts. As to Panin in particular, the question is, however, decided by an authentic document which we believe has never been published. It proves that, having once become the man of Frederick II., he was forced to remain so at the risk of his honour, fortune, and life.

*** The Russian Minister at London.

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[a] A. M. Golitsin.—*Ed.*

change should be made in the constitution of Sweden.* He wishes that the royal authority might be preserved without being augmented, and that the privileges of the people should be continued without violation. He was not, however, without his fears of the ambitious and intriguing spirit of the Queen,[a] but the great ministerial vigilances of Count Ostermann have now entirely quieted his apprehensions on that head.

"By this new alliance with Denmark and by the success in Sweden, which this Court has no doubt of, if properly seconded, M. Panin will, in some measure, have brought to bear his grand scheme of uniting the Powers of the North.** Nothing then will be wanted to render it entirely perfect, but the conclusion of a treaty alliance with Great Britain. I am persuaded this Court desires it most ardently. The Empress has expressed herself more than once, in terms that marked it strongly; her ambition is to form, by such an union, a certain counterpoise to the family compact,*** and to disappoint, as much as possible, all the views of the Courts of Vienna and Versailles, against which she is irritated with uncommon resentment. I am not, however, to conceal from your lordship that we can have no hope of any such alliance, unless we agree, by some secret article, to pay a subsidy in case of a Turkish war, for no money will be desired from us, except upon an emergency of that nature. I flatter myself I have persuaded this Court of the unreasonableness of expecting any subsidy in time of peace, and that an alliance upon an equal footing will be more safe and more honourable for both nations. I can assure your lordship that a Turkish war's being a *casus foederis*, inserted either in the body of the treaty or in a secret article, will be a *sine qua non* in every negotiation we may have to open with this Court. The obstinacy of M. Panin upon that point is owing to the accident I am going to mention. When the treaty between the Emperor[b] and the King of Prussia[c] was in agitation,[28] the Count Bestoucheff, who is a mortal enemy to the latter, proposed the Turkish clause, persuaded that the King of Prussia would never submit to it, and flattering himself with the hopes of blowing up that negotiation by his refusal. But this old politician, it seemed, was mistaken in his conjecture, for his Majesty immediately consented to the proposal on condition that Russia should make no alliance with any other power but on the same terms.**** This is the real fact, and to confirm it, a few days since, Count Solms, the Prussian Minister, came to visit me, and told me, that if this Court had any intention of concluding an alliance with ours, without such a clause, he had orders to oppose

* The oligarchic constitution set up by the Senate after the death of Charles XII.

** Thus we learn, from Sir George Macartney, that what is commonly known as Lord Chatham's "grand-conception of the Northern Alliance," was, in fact, Panin's "grand scheme of uniting the Powers of the North."[27] Chatham was *duped* into fathering the Muscovite plan.

*** The compact between the Bourbons of France and Spain, concluded at Paris on August 15th, 1761.

**** This was a subterfuge on the part of Frederick II. The manner in which Frederick was forced into the arms of the Russian Alliance, is plainly told by M. Koch, the French professor of diplomacy and teacher of Talleyrand. "Frederick II.," he says, "having been abandoned by the Cabinet of London, could not but attach himself to Russia." (See his *History of the Revolutions in Europe.*)

[a] Louisa Ulrica.—*Ed.*
[b] Peter III.—*Ed.*
[c] Frederick II.—*Ed.*

against it in the strongest manner. Hints have been given me, that if Great Britain were less inflexible in that article, Russia will be less inflexible in the article of export duties in the Treaty of Commerce, which M. Gross told your lordship this Court would never depart from. I was assured at the same time, by a person in the highest degree of confidence with M. Panin, that if we entered upon the Treaty of Alliance the Treaty of Commerce would go on with it *passibus aequis*[a]; that then the latter would be entirely taken out of the hands of the College of Trade, where so many cavils and altercations had been made, and would be settled only between the Minister and myself, and that he was sure it would be concluded to our satisfaction, provided the Turkish clause was admitted into the Treaty of Alliance. I was told also that in case the Spaniards attacked Portugal we might have 15,000 Russians in our pay to send upon that service. I must intreat your lordship on no account to mention to M. Gross the secret article of the Danish Treaty.... That gentleman, I am afraid, is no well-wisher to England." *

* Horace Walpole characterises his epoch by the words—"*It was the mode of the times to be paid by one favour for receiving another.*" [29] At all events, it will be seen from the text, that such was the mode of Russia in transacting business with England. The *Earl of Sandwich*, to whom *Sir George Macartney could dare* to address the above dispatch, distinguished himself, ten years later, in 1775, as First Lord of the Admiralty, in the North Administration, by the vehement opposition he made to Lord Chatham's motion for an equitable *adjustment of the American difficulties.* "He could not believe it (Chatham's motion) *the production of a British Peer:* it appeared to him rather *the work of some American.*" In 1777, we find Sandwich again blustering; "he would hazard every drop of blood, as well as the last shilling of the national treasure, rather than allow Great Britain to be defied, bullied, and dictated to, by her disobedient and rebellious subjects". Foremost as the Earl of Sandwich was in entangling England into war with her North American colonies, with France, Spain, and Holland, we behold him constantly accused in Parliament by Fox, Burke, Pitt, &c.; of keeping the naval force inadequate to the defence of the country; of intentionally opposing small English forces where he knew the enemy to have concentrated large ones; of utter mismanagement of the service in all its departments, &c. (See debates of the House of Commons of 11th March, 1778; 31st March, 1778; February, 1779, Fox's motion of censure on Lord Sandwich; 19th April, 1779, address to the King[b] for the dismissal of Lord Sandwich from his service, on account of misconduct in service; 7th February, 1782, Fox's motion that there had been gross mismanagement in the administration of naval affairs during the year 1781.) On this occasion Pitt imputed to Lord Sandwich "all our naval disasters and disgraces". The ministerial majority against the motion amounted to only 22, in a House of 388. On the 22nd February, 1782, a similar motion against Lord Sandwich was only negatived by a majority of 19 in a House of 453. Such, indeed, was the character of the Earl of Sandwich's Administration that more than thirty distinguished officers quitted the naval service, or declared they could not act under the existing system. In point of fact, during his whole tenure of office, serious apprehensions were entertained of the consequences of the dissensions then prevalent in the navy. Besides, the Earl of Sandwich was openly accused, and, as far as circumstantial evidence goes, convicted of PECULIATION. (See debates of the House of Lords, 31st March, 1778; 19th April 1779, and sqq.) When the motion for his removal from office was negatived on April 19th 1779, thirty-nine peers entered their protest.

[a] Literally: by equal steps; fig.—smoothly.—*Ed.*

[b] George III.—*Ed.*

## No. 3.—SIR JAMES HARRIS TO LORD GRANTHAM[30]

"Petersburg, 16-27 August, 1782

"(*Private.*)

"... On my arrival here I found the Court very different from what it had been described to me. So, far from any partiality to England, its bearings were entirely French.[31] The King of Prussia[a] (then in possession of the Empress'[b] ear) was exerting his influence against us. Count Panin assisted him powerfully; Lacy and Corberon, the Bourbon Ministers, were artful and intriguing; Prince Potemkin had been wrought upon by them; and the whole tribe which surrounded the Empress—the Schuwaloffs, Stroganoffs and Chernicheffs—were what they still are, *garçons perruquiers de Paris.*[c] Events seconded their endeavours. The assistance the French affected to afford Russia in settling its disputes with the Porte, and the two Courts being immediately after united as mediators at the Peace of Teshen,[32] contributed not a little to reconcile them to each other. I was, therefore, not surprised that all my negotiations with Count Panin *from February,* 1778, *to July,* 1779, should be unsuccessful, as he meant to prevent, not to promote, an alliance. It was in vain we made concessions to obtain it. He ever started fresh difficulties; had ever fresh obstacles ready. A very serious evil resulted, in the meanwhile, from my apparent confidence in him. He availed himself of it to convey in his reports to the Empress, not the language I employed, and the sentiments I actually expressed, but the language and sentiments he wished I should employ and express. He was equally careful to conceal her opinions and feelings from me; and while he described England to her as obstinate, and overbearing, and reserved, he described the Empress to me as displeased, disgusted, and indifferent to our concerns;and he was so convinced that, by this double misrepresentation, he had shut up every avenue of success that, at the time when I presented to him the Spanish declaration,[33] he ventured to say to me, ministerially, *'That Great Britain had, by its own haughty conduct, brought down all its misfortunes on itself; that they were now at their height; that we must consent to any concession to obtain peace; and that we could expect neither assistance from our friends nor forbearance from our enemies.'* I had temper enough not to give way to my feelings on this occasion... I applied, without loss of time, to Prince Potemkin, and, by his means, the Empress *condescended* to see me alone at Peterhoff. I was so fortunate in this interview, as not only to efface all bad impressions she had against us, but by stating, in its true light, our situation, and THE INSEPARABLE INTERESTS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA, to raise in her mind a decided resolution to assist us. *This resolution she declared to me in express words.* When this transpired—and Count Panin was the first who knew it—he became my implacable and inveterate enemy. He not only thwarted, by falsehoods and by a most undue exertion of his influence, my public negotiations, but employed every means the lowest and most vindictive malice could suggest to depreciate and injure me personally; and, from the very infamous accusations with which he charged me, had I been prone to fear, I might have apprehended the most infamous attacks at his hands. This relentless persecution still continues; it has outlived his Ministry. *Notwithstanding the positive assurances I had received from the Empress herself,* he found means, first to stagger, and afterwards to alter her resolutions. He was, indeed, very officiously assisted by his Prussian Majesty, who, at the time, was as much bent on oversetting our interest

[a] Frederick II.—*Ed.*

[b] Catherine II.—*Ed.*

[c] Wigmaker's apprentices of Paris.—*Ed.*

as he now seems eager to restore it. I was not, however, disheartened by this first disappointment, and, by redoubling my efforts, *I have twice more, during the course of my mission, brought the Empress to the verge* (!) *of standing forth our professed friend,* and, each time, my *expectations were grounded on assurances from* her own *mouth.* The first was when *our enemies conjured up the armed neutrality;** the other WHEN MINORCA WAS OFFERED HER.[35] Although, on the first of these occasions, I found the same opposition from the same quarter I had experienced before, yet I am compelled to say that the principal cause of my failure was attributable to the very awkward manner in which we replied to the famous neutral declaration of February, 1780. As I well knew from what quarter the blow would come, I was prepared to parry it. *My opinion was: 'If England feels itself strong enough to do without Russia, let it reject at once these new-fangled doctrines; but if its situation is such as to want assistance, let it yield to the necessity of the hour, recognise them as far as they relate to* RUSSIA ALONE, *and by a well-timed act of complaisance insure itself a powerful friend.*** My opinion was *not* received; an ambiguous and trimming answer was given; *we seemed equally afraid to accept or dismiss them. I was instructed secretly to oppose, but avowedly to acquiesce in them,* and some unguarded expressions of one of its then confidential servants, made use of in speaking to Mr. Simolin, in direct contradiction to the temperate and cordial language that Minister had heard from Lord Stormont, *irritated* the Empress to the last degree, and completed the *dislike* and *bad opinion* she entertained of that Administration.*** Our enemies took advantage of these *circumstances....* I SUGGESTED THE IDEA OF GIVING UP MINORCA TO THE EMPRESS, *because, as it was evident to me we should at the peace be compelled to make sacrifices, it seemed to me wiser to make them to our friends than to our enemies.* THE IDEA

* Sir James Harris affects to believe that Catherine II. was not the author of, but a convert to, the armed neutrality of 1780.[34] It is one of the grand stratagems of the Court of St. Petersburg to give to its own schemes the form of proposals suggested to and pressed on itself by foreign courts. Russian diplomacy delights in those *quae pro quo.* Thus the Count of Florida Blanca was made the responsible editor of the armed neutrality, and, from a report that vainglorious Spaniard addressed to Carlos III., one may see how immensely he felt flattered at the idea of having not only hatched the armed neutrality but allured Russia into abetting it.

** This same Sir James Harris, perhaps more familiar to the reader under the name of the Earl of Malmesbury, is extolled by English historians as the man who prevented England from surrendering the right of search in the Peace Negotiations of 1782-83.[36]

*** It might be inferred from this passage and similar ones occurring in the text, that Catherine II. had caught a real Tartar in *Lord North,* whose Administration Sir James Harris is pointing at. Any such delusion will disappear before the simple statement that the first partition of Poland[37] took place under Lord North's Administration, without any protest on his part. In 1773, Catherine's war against Turkey still continuing, and her conflicts with Sweden growing serious,[38] France made preparations to send a powerful fleet into the Baltic. D'Aiguillon, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, communicated this plan to *Lord Stormont,* the then English Ambassador at Paris. In a long conversation, D'Aiguillon dwelt largely on the ambitious designs of Russia, and the common interest that ought to blend France and England into a joint resistance against them. In answer to this confidential communication, he was informed by the English Ambassador, that, "if France sent her ships into the Baltic, they would instantly be followed by a British fleet; that the presence of two fleets would have no more effect than a neutrality; and, however, the British Court might desire to preserve the harmony now subsisting between England and France, it was impossible to foresee the

WAS ADOPTED AT HOME IN ITS WHOLE EXTENT,* *and nothing could be more perfectly calculated to the meridian of this Court than the judicious instructions I received on this occasion from Lord Stormont. Why* this project failed I am still at a loss to learn. *I never knew the Empress incline so strongly to any one measure as she did to this, before I had my full powers to treat, nor was I ever more astonished than when I found her shrink from her purpose when they arrived.* I imputed it at the same time, in my own mind, to the *rooted aversion she had for our Ministry,* and her *total want of confidence in them;* but I since am more strongly disposed to believe that she consulted the Emperor"

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contingencies that might arise from accidental collision." In consequence of these representations, D'Aiguillon countermanded the squadron at Brest, but gave new orders for the equipment of an armament at Toulon. "On receiving intelligence of these renewed preparations, the British Cabinet made instant and vigorous demonstrations of resistance; Lord Stormont was ordered to declare that every argument used respecting the Baltic applied equally to the Mediterranean. A memorial also was presented to the French Minister, accompanied by a demand that it should be laid before the King[a] and Council. This produced the desired effect; the armament was countermanded, the sailors disbanded, and the chances of an extensive warfare avoided." *"Lord North,"* says the complacent writer from whom we have borrowed the last lines,[b] "*thus effectually served the cause of his ally* (Catherine II.), *and facilitated the treaty of peace* (of Kutchuk-Kainardji)[39] *between Russia and the Porte.*" Catherine II. rewarded Lord North's good services, first by withholding the aid she had promised him in case of a war between England and the North American Colonies, and in the second place, by conjuring up and leading the armed neutrality against England. Lord North DARED NOT *repay, as he was advised by Sir James Harris,* this treacherous breach of faith by giving up to Russia, and to *Russia alone,* the maritime rights of Great Britain. Hence the irritation in the nervous system of the Czarina; the hysterical fancy she caught all at once of "entertaining a bad opinion" of Lord North, of "disliking" him, of feeling a "rooted aversion" against him, of being afflicted with "a total want of confidence," etc. In order to give the Shelburne Administration a warning example, Sir James Harris draws up a minute psychological picture of the feelings of the Czarina, and the disgrace incurred by the North Administration, for having wounded these same feelings. His prescription is very simple: surrender to Russia, as our friend, everything for asking which we would consider every other power our enemy.

* It is then a fact that the English Government, not satisfied with having made Russia a Baltic power, strove hard to make her a Mediterranean power too. The offer of the surrender of Minorca appears to have been made to Catherine II. at the end of 1779, or the beginning of 1780, shortly after Lord Stormont's entrance into the North Cabinet—the same Lord Stormont we have seen thwarting the French attempts at resistance against Russia, and whom even Sir James Harris cannot deny the merit of having written "instructions perfectly calculated to the meridian of the Court of St. Petersburg." While Lord North's Cabinet, at the suggestion of Sir James Harris, offered Minorca to the *Muscovites,* the English Commoners and people were still trembling for fear lest the *Hanoverians*[40] (!) should wrest out of their hands "one of the keys of the Mediterranean." On the 26th of October, 1775, the King,[c] in his opening speech, had informed Parliament,

[a] Louis XV.—*Ed.*
[b] Th. Hughes.—*Ed.*
[c] George III.—*Ed.*

of Austria[a] "on the subject, and that he not only prevailed on her to decline the offer, but betrayed the secret to France, and that it thus became public. I cannot otherwise account for this rapid *change of sentiment in the Empress,* particularly as *Prince Potemkin* (whatever he might be in other transactions) was certainly in this *cordial and sincere* in his support, and both from what I saw at the time and from what has since come to my knowledge, *had its success at heart as much as myself.* You will observe, my lord, that *the idea of bringing the Empress forward as a friendly mediatrix went hand-in-hand with the proposed cession of Minorca.* As this idea has given rise to what has since followed, and involved us in all the dilemmas of the present mediation, it will be necessary for me to explain what my views then were, and to exculpate myself from the blame of having placed my Court in so embarrassing a situation, *my wish and intention was that she should be sole mediatrix without an adjoint;* if you have perused what passed between her and me, in December, 1780, your lordship will perceive how very potent reasons I had to suppose she would be a friendly and even a partial one.* I knew, indeed, she was unequal to the task; but I knew, too, how greatly *her vanity* would be flattered by this distinction, and was well aware that when once engaged she would persist, and be inevitably involved in our quarrel, particularly when it should appear (and appear it would),

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amongst other things, that he had Sir James Graham's own words, when asked why they should not have kept up some blockade pending the settlement of the "plan," "*They did not take that responsibility upon themselves.*" The responsibility of executing their orders! The despatch we have quoted is the only despatch read, except one of a later date. The despatch, said to be sent on the 5th of April, in which "the Admiral is ordered to use the *largest discretionary power* in blockading the Russian ports in the Black Sea," is not read, nor any replies from Admiral Dundas.[41] The Admiralty sent *Hanoverian* troops to Gibraltar and Port Mahon (Minorca), to replace such British regiments as should be drawn from those garrisons for service in America. An amendment to the address was proposed by Lord John Cavendish, strongly condemning "the confiding *such important fortresses as Gibraltar and Port Mahon to foreigners.*"[42] After very stormy debates, in which the measure of entrusting Gibraltar and Minorca, "*the keys of the Mediterranean,*" as they were called, to *foreigners,* was furiously attacked, Lord North, acknowledging himself the adviser of the measure, felt obliged to bring in a *bill of indemnity.* However, these foreigners, these Hanoverians, were the English King's own subjects. Having virtually surrendered Minorca to Russia in 1780, Lord North was, of course, quite justified in treating, on November 27, 1781, in the House of Commons, "with utter scorn the insinuation that *Ministers were in the pay of France.*"

Let us remark, *en passant,* that Lord North, one of the most base and mischievous Ministers England can boast of, perfectly mastered the art of keeping the House in perpetual laughter. So did Lord Sunderland. So does Lord Palmerston.

* Lord North having been supplanted by the *Rockingham* Administration, on March 27th, 1782, the celebrated Fox forwarded peace proposals to Holland through the mediation of the *Russian* Minister.[b] Now what were the consequences of the *Russian mediation* so much vaunted by this Sir James Harris, the servile account-keeper of the Czarina's sentiments, humours, and feelings? While preliminary articles of peace had been convened with France, Spain, and the American States, it was found impossible to arrive at any such preliminary

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[a] Joseph II.—*Ed.*

[b] I. M. Simolin.—*Ed.*

that we had *gratified* her with Minorca. The annexing to the mediation the other (Austrian) Imperial Court, entirely overthrew this plan. It not only afforded her a pretence for not keeping her word, but piqued and mortified her; and it was under this impression that she made over the whole business to the colleague we had given her, and ordered her Minister at Vienna[a] to subscribe implicitly to whatever the Court proposed. Hence all the evils which have since arisen, and hence those we at this moment experience. I myself could never be brought to believe that the Court of Vienne, as long as Prince Kaunitz directs its measures, can mean England any good, or France any harm. It was not with that view that I endeavoured to promote its influence here, but because *I found that of Prussia in constant opposition to me;* and because I thought that if I could by any means smite this, I should get rid of my greatest obstacle. I was mistaken, and, by a singular fatality, the Courts of Vienna and Berlin seem never to have agreed in anything but in the disposition to prejudice us here by turns.* The proposal relative to Minorca was the last attempt I made to induce the Empress to stand forth. I had exhausted my strength and resources; the freedom with which I had spoken in my last interview with her, though respectful, had *displeased;* and *from this period to the removal of the late Administration,*[44] I have been reduced to act on the defensive.... I have had more difficulty in preventing the Empress from doing harm than I ever had in attempting to engage her to do us good. It was to prevent evil, that I inclined strongly for the acceptation of *her single mediation between us and Holland, when her Imperial Majesty first offered it.* The *extreme dissatisfaction* she expressed *at our refusal* justified my opinion; and I TOOK UPON ME, when it was proposed a second time, *to urge the necessity of its being agreed to* (ALTHOUGH I KNEW IT TO BE IN CONTRADICTION OF THE SENTIMENTS OF MY PRINCIPAL), since I firmly believed, had we again declined it, the Empress would, in a *moment of anger,* have joined the Dutch against us. As it is, *all has gone on well;* our *judicious* conduct has transferred to them the *ill-humour* she originally was in with us, and she now is as partial to our cause as she was before partial to theirs. *Since the new Ministry in England, my road has been made smoother;* the great and new path struck out by *your predecessor,*** *and which you, my lord, pursue,* has operated a most advantageous change in our favour upon the Continent. Nothing, indeed, but events which come home to her,

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agreement with Holland. Nothing but a simple cessation of hostilities was to be obtained from it. So powerful proved the *Russian mediation,* that on the 2nd September, 1783, just one day before conclusion of *definitive treaties* with America, France, and Spain,[43] Holland condescended to accede to *preliminaries of peace,* and this not in consequence of the *Russian mediation,* but through the influence of *France.*

* How much was England not prejudiced by the Courts of Vienna and Paris, thwarting the plan of the British Cabinet of ceding Minorca to Russia and by Frederick of Prussia's resistance against the great *Chatham*'s scheme of a Northern Alliance under Muscovite auspices?

** The predecessor is Fox.

Sir James Harris establishes a complete scale of British Administration, according to the degree in which they enjoyed the favour of his almighty Czarina. In spite of Lord Stormont, the Earl of Sandwich, Lord North, and Sir James Harris himself; in spite of the partition of Poland, the bullying of D'Aiguillon, the treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, and the intended cession of Minorca—Lord North's Administration is relegated to the bottom of the heavenly ladder; far above it has

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[a] D. M. Golitsin.—*Ed.*

will, I believe, ever induce her Imperial Majesty to take an active part; but there is now a *strong glow of friendship* in our favour; she approves our measures; she *trusts* our Ministry,[46] and *she gives way to that predilection she certainly has for our nation.* Our enemies know and feel this; it keeps them in awe. This is a succinct, but accurate sketch of what has passed at this Court from the day of my arrival at Petersburg to the present hour. Several inferences may be deduced from it.* That the Empress is led by her passions, not by reason and argument; that her prejudices are very strong, easily acquired, and, when once fixed, irremovable; while, on the contrary, there is no sure road to her good opinion; that even when obtained, it is subject to perpetual fluctuation, and liable to be biassed by the most trifling incidents; that till she is fairly embarked in a plan, no assurances can be depended on; but that when once fairly embarked, she never retracts, and may be carried any length, that with very bright parts, an elevated mind, an uncommon sagacity, she wants *judgment, precision of idea, reflection,* and L'ESPRIT DE COMBINAISON[a] (!!) That her Ministers are either ignorant of, or indifferent to, the welfare of the State, and act from a passive submission to her will, or from motives of party and private interests." **

## 4.—(MANUSCRIPT)

## ACCOUNT OF RUSSIA DURING THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR PAUL, DRAWN UP BY THE REV. L. K. PITT, CHAPLAIN TO THE FACTORY OF ST. PETERSBURG, AND A NEAR RELATIVE OF WILLIAM PITT ***

### *EXTRACT.*

"There can scarcely exist a doubt concerning the real sentiments of the late Empress of Russia on the great points which have, within the last few years, convulsed the whole system of European politics.[48] She certainly felt from the beginning the fatal tendency of the new principles, but was not, perhaps, displeased to see every European power exhausting itself in a struggle, which raised in proportion to its violence her own importance. It is more than probable

climbed the Rockingham Administration, whose soul was Fox, notorious for his subsequent intrigues with Catherine; but at the top we behold the Shelburne Administration, whose Chancellor of the Exchequer was the celebrated William Pitt. As to Lord Shelburne himself, Burke exclaimed in the House of Commons, that "if he was not a Catilina or Borgia in morals, it must not be ascribed to anything but his understanding." [45]

* Sir James Harris forgets deducing the main inference, that the Ambassador of England is the agent of Russia.

** In the eighteenth century, English diplomatists' despatches, bearing on their front the sacramental inscription, "Private," are despatches to be withheld from the King, by the Minister to whom they are addressed. That such was the case may be seen from Lord Mahon's *History of England.*[47]

*** *"To be burnt after my death."* Such are the words prefixed to the manuscript by the gentleman [William Coxe] whom it was addressed to.

[a] Ability for device.—*Ed.*

that the state of the newly acquired provinces in Poland was likewise a point which had considerable influence over the political conduct of Catherine. The fatal effects resulting from an apprehension of revolt in the late seat of conquest, seem to have been felt in a very great degree by the combined powers, who in the early period of the Revolution were so near reinstating the regular Government in France. The same dread of revolt in Poland, which divided the attention of the combined powers and hastened their retreat, deterred likewise the late Empress of Russia from entering on the great theatre of war, until a combination of circumstances rendered the progress of the French armies a more dangerous evil than any which could possibly result to the Russian Empire from active operations.... The last words which the Empress was known to utter were addressed to her Secretary when she dismissed him on the morning on which she was seized: 'Tell Prince' (Zuboff), she said, 'to come to me at twelve, and to remind me of signing the Treaty of Alliance with England.'"

Having entered into ample considerations on the Emperor Paul's acts and extravagances, the Rev. Mr. Pitt continues as follows:

"When these considerations are impressed on the mind, the nature of the late secession from the coalition,[49] and of the incalculable indignities offered to the Government of Great Britain, can alone be fairly estimated.... BUT THE TIES WHICH BIND HER (GREAT BRITAIN) TO THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE ARE FORMED BY NATURE, AND INVIOLABLE. United, these nations might almost brave the united world; divided, the strength and importance of each is FUNDAMENTALLY impaired. England has reason to regret with Russia that the imperial sceptre should be thus inconsistently wielded,[a] but it is the sovereign of Russia alone who divides the Empires."

The Reverend Gentleman concludes his account by the words:

"As far as human foresight can at this moment penetrate, the despair of an enraged individual seems a more probable means to terminate the present scene of oppression, than any more systematic combination of measures to restore the throne of Russia to its dignity and importance."

[a] The reference is to Paul I.—*Ed.*

## Chapter II

The documents published in the first chapter extend from the reign of the Empress Ann to the commencement of the reign of the Emperor Paul, thus encompassing the greater part of the 18th century. At the end of that century it had become, as stated by the Rev. Mr. Pitt, the openly-professed and orthodox dogma of English diplomacy,

*"that the ties which bind Great Britain to the Russian Empire are formed by nature, and inviolable."*

In perusing these documents, there is something that startles us even more than their contents—viz., their form. All these letters are "confidential," "private," "secret," "most secret"; but in spite of secrecy, privacy, and confidence, the English statesmen converse among each other about Russia and her rulers in a tone of awful reserve, abject servility, and cynical submission, which would strike us even in the public despatches of Russian statesmen. To conceal intrigues against foreign nations secrecy is recurred to by Russian diplomatists. The same method is adopted by English diplomatists freely to express their devotion to a foreign court. The secret despatches of Russian diplomatists are fumigated with some equivocal perfume. It is one part the *fumée de fausseté,*[a] as the Duke of St. Simon has it, and the other part that coquet display of one's own superiority and cunning which stamps upon the reports of the French Secret Police their indelible character. Even the master despatches of Pozzo di Borgo[50] are tainted with this

[a] Veil of falsehood.— *Ed.*

common blot of the *littérature de mauvais lieu.*[a] In this point the English secret despatches prove much superior. They do not affect superiority but silliness. For instance, can there be anything more silly than Mr. Rondeau informing Horace Walpole that he has betrayed to the Russian minister the letters addressed by the Turkish Grand Vizier[b] to the King of England,[c] but that he had told

"at the same time those gentlemen that as there were several hard reflections on the Russian Court he should not have communicated them, *if they had not been so anxious to see them,*"[d]

and then told their excellencies not to tell the Porte that they had seen them (those letters)! At first view the infamy of the act is drowned in the silliness of the man. Or, take Sir George Macartney. Can there be anything more silly than his happiness that Russia seemed "reasonable" enough not to expect that England "should pay the WHOLE EXPENSES" for Russia's "choosing to take the lead at Stockholm;" or his "flattering himself" that he had "persuaded the Russian Court" not to be so "unreasonable" as to ask from England, in a time of peace, subsidies for a time of war against Turkey (then the ally of England); or his warning the Earl of Sandwich "not to mention" to the Russian Ambassador[e] at London the secrets mentioned to himself by the Russian Chancellor[f] at St. Petersburg? Or can there be anything more silly than Sir James Harris confidentially whispering into the ear of Lord Grantham that Catherine II. was devoid of "judgment, precision of idea, reflection, and *l'esprit de combinaison*"? *

On the other hand, take the cool impudence with which Sir George Macartney informs his minister that because the Swedes were extremely jealous of, and mortified at, their dependence on Russia, England was directed by the Court of St. Petersburg to do its work at Stockholm, under the British colours of liberty and

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* Or, to follow this affectation of silliness into more recent times, is there anything in diplomatic history that could match Lord Palmerston's proposal made to Marshal Soult (in 1839), to storm the Dardanelles, in order to afford the Sultan[g] the support of the Anglo-French fleet against Russia?

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[a] Gutter literature.— *Ed.*
[b] Esseid-Mohammed Silihdar.— *Ed.*
[c] George II.— *Ed.*
[d] See this volume, p. 27.— *Ed.*
[e] H. Gross.— *Ed.*
[f] N. I. Panin.— *Ed.*
[g] Mahmud II.— *Ed.*

independence! Or Sir James Harris advising England to surrender to Russia Minorca and the right of search, and the monopoly of mediation in the affairs of the world—not in order to gain any material advantage, or even a formal engagement on the part of Russia, but only "a strong glow of friendship" from the Empress, and the transfer to France of her "ill humour."

The secret Russian despatches proceed on the very plain line that Russia knows herself to have no common interests whatever with other nations, but that every nation must be persuaded separately to have common interests with Russia to the exclusion of every other nation. The English despatches, on the contrary, never dare so much as hint that Russia has common interests with England, but only endeavour to convince England that she has Russian interests. The English diplomatists themselves tell us that this was the single argument they pleaded, when placed face to face with Russian potentates.

If the English despatches we have laid before the public were addressed to private friends, they would only brand with infamy the ambassadors who wrote them. Secretly addressed as they are to the British Government itself, they nail it for ever to the pillory of history; and, instinctively, this seems to have been felt, even by Whig writers, because none has dared to publish them.

The question naturally arises from which epoch this Russian character of English diplomacy, become traditionary in the course of the 18th century, does date its origin? To clear up this point, we must go back to the time of Peter the Great,[a] which, consequently, will form the principal subject of our researches. We propose to enter upon this task by reprinting some English pamphlets, written at the time of Peter I., and which have either escaped the attention of modern historians, or appeared to them to merit none. However, they will suffice for refuting the prejudice common to Continental and English writers, that the designs of Russia were not understood or suspected in England until at a later, and too late, epoch; that the diplomatic relations between England and Russia were but the natural offspring of the mutual material interests of the two countries; and that, therefore, in accusing the British statesmen of the 18th century of Russianism, we should commit an unpardonable hysteron proteron.[b] If we have shown by the English despatches that, at the time of the Empress Ann, England already betrayed her own allies to

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[a] See this volume, p. 56.—*Ed.*

[b] Figure of speech in which what should come last is put first.—*Ed.*

Russia, it will be seen from the pamphlets we are now about to reprint that, even before the epoch of Ann, at the very epoch of Russian ascendency in Europe, springing up at the time of Peter I., the plans of Russia were understood, and the connivance of British statesmen at these plans was denounced by English writers.

The first pamphlet we lay before the public is called *The Northern Crisis.*[a] It was printed at London, in 1716, and relates to the intended Dano-Anglo-Russian *invasion of Scania* (Schonen).

During the year 1715 a northern alliance for the *partition,* not of Sweden proper, but of what we may call the Swedish Empire, had been concluded between Russia, Denmark, Poland, Prussia, and Hanover. That partition forms the first grand act of modern diplomacy—the logical premiss to the partition of Poland. The partition treaties relating to Spain have engrossed the interest of posterity because they were the forerunners of the War of Succession,[51] and the partition of Poland drew even a larger audience because its last act was played upon a contemporary stage.[52] However, it cannot be denied that it was the partition of the Swedish Empire which inaugurated the modern era of international policy. The partition treaty not even pretended to have a pretext, save the misfortune of its intended victim. For the first time in Europe the violation of all treaties was not only made, but proclaimed the common basis of a new treaty. Poland herself, in the drag of Russia, and personated by that commonplace of immorality, Augustus II., Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, was pushed into the foreground of the conspiracy, thus signing her own death-warrant, and not even enjoying the privilege reserved by Polyphemus to Odysseus—to be last eaten. Charles XII. predicted her fate in the manifesto flung against King Augustus and the Czar, from his voluntary exile at Bender. The manifesto is dated January 28, 1711.[53]

The participation in this partition treaty threw England within the orbit of Russia, towards whom, since the days of the "Glorious Revolution,"[54] she had more and more gravitated. George I., as King of England, was bound to a defensive alliance with Sweden by the treaty of 1700.[b] Not only as King of England, but as Elector of Hanover, he was one of the guarantees, and even of the direct parties to the treaty of Travendahl,[55] which secured to Sweden what

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[a] See this volume, pp. 43-55.— *Ed.*

[b] The abridged text of the treaty is printed in Chapter III of this work for which see pp. 65-73.— *Ed.*

the partition treaty intended stripping her of. Even his German electoral dignity he partly owed to that treaty. However, as Elector of Hanover he declared war against Sweden, which he waged as King of England.

In 1715 the confederates had divested Sweden of her German provinces, and to effect that end introduced the Muscovite on the German soil. In 1716 they agreed to invade Sweden proper—to attempt an armed descent upon Schonen—the southern extremity of Sweden now constituting the districts of Malmoe and Christianstadt. Consequently, Peter of Russia brought with him from Germany a Muscovite army, which was scattered over Zealand, thence to be conveyed to Schonen, under the protection of the English and Dutch fleets sent into the Baltic, on the false pretext of protecting trade and navigation. Already in 1715, when Charles XII. was besieged in Stralsund, eight English men-of-war, lent by England to Hanover, and by Hanover to Denmark, had openly reinforced the Danish navy, and even hoisted the Danish flag. In 1716, the British navy was commanded by his Czarish Majesty in person.[56]

Everything being ready for the invasion of Schonen, there arose a difficulty from a side where it was least expected. Although the treaty stipulated only for 30,000 Muscovites, Peter, in his magnanimity, had landed 40,000 on Zealand; but now that he was to send them on the errand to Schonen, he all at once discovered that out of the 40,000 he could spare but 15,000. This declaration not only paralysed the military plan of the confederates, it seemed to threaten the security of Denmark and of Frederick IV., its king, as great part of the Muscovite army, supported by the Russian fleet, occupied Copenhagen. One of the generals of Frederick[a] proposed suddenly to fall with the Danish cavalry upon the Muscovites and to exterminate them while the English men-of-war should burn the Russian fleet. Averse to any perfidy which required some greatness of will, some force of character, and some contempt of personal danger, Frederick IV. rejected the bold proposal and limited himself to assuming an attitude of defence. He then wrote a begging letter to the Czar, intimating that he had yielded up ' is Schonen fancy, and requested the Czar to do the same and find his way home: a request the latter could not but comply with. When Peter at last left Denmark with his army, the Danish Court thought fit to communicate to the Courts of Europe a public account of the incidents and transactions which had

[a] Von Holstein.— *Ed.*

frustrated the intended descent upon Schonen—and this document forms the starting point of *The Northern Crisis.*

In a letter addressed to Baron Görtz, dated from London, January 23, 1717, by Count Gyllenborg, there occur some passages in which the latter, the then Swedish ambassador at the Court of St. James's, seems to profess himself the author of *The Northern Crisis,*[57] the title of which he does not, however, quote. Yet any idea of his having written that powerful pamphlet will disappear before the slightest perusal of the Count's authenticated writings, such as his letters to Görtz.

"THE NORTHERN CRISIS; OR, IMPARTIAL REFLECTIONS ON THE POLICIES OF THE CZAR; OCCASIONED BY MYNHEER VON STOCKEN'S REASONS FOR DELAYING THE DESCENT UPON SCHONEN. A TRUE COPY OF WHICH IS PREFIXED, VERBALLY TRANSLATED AFTER THE TENOR OF THAT IN THE GERMAN SECRETARY'S OFFICE IN COPENHAGEN, OCTOBER 10, 1716.

*Parvo motu primo mox se attollit in auras.*[a] *Virg.*

*London,* 1716.

1.—*Preface*—"... 'Tis (the present pamphlet) not fit for lawyers' clerks, but it is highly convenient to be read by those who are proper students in the laws of nations; 'twill be but lost time for any stock-jobbing, trifling dealer in Exchange-alley to look beyond the preface on't, but every merchant in England (more especially those who trade to the Baltic) will find his account in it. The Dutch (as the courants and postboys have more than once told us) are about to mend their hands, if they can, in several articles of trade with the Czar, and they have been a long time about it to little purpose. Inasmuch as they are such a frugal people, they are good examples for the imitation of our traders; but if we can outdo them for once, in the means of projecting a better and more expeditious footing to go upon, for the emolument of us both, let us, for once, be wise enough to set the example, and let them, for once, be our imitators. This little treatise will show a pretty plain way how we may do it, as to our trade in the Baltic, at this juncture. I desire no little *coffee-house politician* to meddle with it; but to give him even a disrelish for my company. I must let him know that he is not fit for mine. Those who are even proficients in state science, will find in it matter highly fit to employ all their powers of speculation, which they ever before past negligently by, and thought (too cursorily) were not worth the regarding. No outrageous party-man will find it all for his purpose; but every *honest Whig* and every *honest Tory* may each of them read it, not only without either of their disgust, but with the satisfaction of them both.... 'Tis not fit, in fine, for a mad, hectoring, Presbyterian Whig, or a raving, fretful, dissatisfied, Jacobite Tory."

[a] "Having at first little impulsion, he presently rose into the air" (Virgil, *Aeneid,* IV, 176), this epigraph is omitted in Eleanor Marx-Aveling's publication.—*Ed.*

## 2.—THE REASONS HANDED ABOUT BY MYNHEER VON STOCKEN FOR DELAYING THE DESCENT UPON SCHONEN.

"There being no doubt, but most courts will be surprised that the descent upon Schonen has not been put into execution, notwithstanding the great preparations made for that purpose; and that all his Czarish Majesty's troops, who were in Germany, were transported to Zealand, not without great trouble and danger, partly by his own gallies, and partly by his Danish Majesty's and other vessels; and that the said descent is deferred till another time. His Danish Majesty[a] hath therefore, in order to clear himself of all imputation and reproach, thought fit to order, that the following true account of this affair should be given to all impartial persons. Since the Swedes were entirely driven out of their *German* dominions, there was, according to all the rules of policy, and reasons of war, no other way left, than vigorously to attack the still obstinate King of Sweden,[b] in the very heart of his country; thereby, with God's assistance, to force him to a lasting, good and advantageous peace for the allies. The King of Denmark and his Czarish Majesty[c] were both of this opinion, and did, in order to put so good a design in execution, agree upon an interview, which at last (notwithstanding his Danish Majesty's presence, upon the account of Norway's being invaded, was most necessary in his own capital, and that the Muscovite Ambassador, Mr. Dolgorouki, had given quite other assurances) was held at Ham and Horn, near Hamburgh, after his Danish Majesty had stayed there six weeks for the Czar. In this conference it was, on the 3rd of June, agreed between both their Majesties, after several debates, that the descent upon Schonen should positively be undertaken this year, and everything relating to the forwarding the same was entirely consented to. Hereupon his Danish Majesty made all haste for his return to his dominions, and gave orders to work day and night to get his fleet ready to put to sea. The transport ships were also gathered from all parts of his dominions, both with inexpressible charges and great prejudice to his subjects' trade. Thus, his Majesty (as the Czar himself upon his arrival at Copenhagen owned) did his utmost to provide all necessaries, and to forward the descent, upon whose success everything depended. It happened, however, in the meanwhile, and before the descent was agreed upon in the conference at Ham and Horn, that his Danish Majesty was obliged to secure his invaded and much oppressed kingdom of Norway, by sending thither a considerable squadron out of his fleet, under the command of Vice-Admiral Gabel, which squadron could not be recalled before the enemy had left that kingdom, without endangering a great part thereof; so that out of necessity the said Vice-Admiral was forced to tarry there till the 12th of July, when his Danish Majesty sent him express orders to return with all possible speed, wind and weather permitting; but this blowing for some time contrary, he was detained.... The Swedes were all the while powerful at sea, and his Czarish Majesty himself did not think it advisable that the remainder of the Danish, in conjunction with the men-of-war then at Copenhagen, should go to convoy the Russian troops from Rostock, before the above-mentioned squadron under Vice-Admiral Gabel was arrived. This happening at last in the month of August, the confederate fleet put to sea; and the transporting of the said troops hither to Zealand was put in execution, though with a great deal of trouble and danger; but it took up so much time that the descent could not be ready till September following. Now, when all

[a] Frederick IV.—*Ed.*
[b] Charles XII.—*Ed.*
[c] Peter I.—*Ed.*

these preparations, as well for the descent as the embarking the armies, were entirely ready, his Danish Majesty assured himself that the descent should be made within a few days, at farthest by the 21st of September. The Russian Generals and Ministers first raised some difficulties to those of Denmark, and afterwards, on the 17th September, declared in an appointed conference, that his Czarish Majesty, considering the present situation of affairs, was of opinion that neither forage nor provision could be had in Schonen, and that consequently the descent was not advisable to be attempted this year, but ought to be put off till next spring. It may be easily imagined how much his Danish Majesty was surprised at this; especially seeing the Czar, if he had altered his opinion, as to this design so solemnly concerted, might have declared it sooner, and thereby saved his Danish Majesty several tons of gold, spent upon the necessary preparations. His Danish Majesty did, however, in a letter dated the 20th of September, amply represent to the Czar, that although the season was very much advanced, the descent might, nevertheless, easily be undertaken with such a superior force, as to get a footing in Schonen, where, being assured there had been a very plentiful harvest, he did not doubt but subsistence might be found; besides, that having an open communication with his own countries, it might easily be transported from thence. His Danish Majesty alleged also several weighty reasons why the descent was either to be made this year, or the thoughts of making it next spring entirely be laid aside. *Nor did he alone make these moving remonstrances to the Czar;* BUT HIS BRITISH MAJESTY'S[a] MINISTER[b] RESIDING HERE, AS WELL AS ADMIRAL NORRIS, *seconded the same also in a very pressing manner;* AND BY EXPRESS ORDER OF THE KING, THEIR MASTER, *endeavoured to bring the Czar into their opinion, and to persuade him to go with the descent;* but his Czarish Majesty declared by his answer, that he would adhere to the resolution he had once taken concerning this delay of making the descent; but if his Danish Majesty was resolved to venture on the descent, that he then, according to the treaty made near Stralsund,[58] would assist him only with the 15 battalions and 1,000 horse therein stipulated; that next spring he would comply with everything else, and neither could or would declare himself further in this affair. Since then, his Danish Majesty could not, without running so great a hazard, undertake so great a work alone with his own army and the said 15 battalions; he desired, in another letter of the 23rd September, his Czarish Majesty would be pleased to add 13 battalions of his troops, in which case his Danish Majesty would still this year attempt the descent; but even this could not be obtained from his Czarish Majesty, who absolutely refused it by his ambassador[c] on the 24th ditto: whereupon his Danish Majesty, in his letter of the 26th, declared to the Czar, that since things stood thus, he desired none of his troops, but that they might be all speedily transported out of his dominions; that so the transport, whose freight stood him in 40,000 Rix dollars[59] per month, might be discharged, and his subjects eased of the intolerable contributions they now underwent. This he could not do less than agree to; and accordingly, all the Russian troops are already embarked, and intend for certain to go from here with the first favourable wind. It must be left to Providence and time, to discover what may have induced the Czar to a resolution so prejudicial to the Northern Alliance, and most advantageous to the common enemy.

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[a] George I.— *Ed.*
[b] Alexander Campbell.— *Ed.*
[c] V. L. Dolgoruki.— *Ed.*

## 3. IMPARTIAL REFLECTIONS BY WAY OF ESSAY ON THE FOREGOING INSTRUMENT.[60]

"If we would take a true survey of men, and lay them open in a proper light to the eye of our intellects, *we must* first *consider their natures* and then *their ends;* and by this method of examination, though their conduct is, seemingly, full of intricate mazes and perplexities, and winding round with infinite meanders of state-craft, we shall be able to dive into the deepest recesses, make our way through the most puzzling labyrinths, and at length come to the most abstruse means of bringing about the master-secrets of their minds, and to unriddle their utmost mysteries....

"The Czar ... is, by *nature,* of a great and enterprising spirit, and of a genius thoroughly politic; and as for his *ends,* the manner of his own Government, where he sways arbitrary lord over the estates and honours of his people, must make him, if all the policies in the world could by far-distant aims promise him accession and accumulation of empire and wealth, be everlastingly laying schemes for the achieving of both with the extremest cupidity and ambition. Whatever ends an insatiate desire of opulency, and a boundless thirst for dominion, can ever put him upon, to satisfy their craving and voracious appetites, those must, most undoubtedly, be his.

"The next questions we are to put to ourselves are these three:

"1. By what means can he gain these ends?

"2. How far from him, and in what place, can these ends be best obtained?

"3. And by what time, using all proper methods, and succeeding in them, may he obtain these ends?

"The possessions of the Czar were prodigious, vast in extent; the people all at his nod, all his downright arrant slaves, and all the wealth of the country his own at a word's command. But then the country, though large in ground, was not quite so in produce. Every vassal had his gun, and was to be a soldier upon call; but there was never a soldier among them, nor a man that understood the calling; and though he had all their wealth, they had no commerce of consequence, and little ready money; and consequently his treasury, when he had amassed all he could, very bare and empty. He was then but in an indifferent condition to satisfy those two natural appetites, when he had neither wealth to support a soldiery, nor a soldiery trained in the art of war. The first token this Prince gave of an aspiring genius, and of an ambition that is noble and necessary in a monarch, who has a mind to flourish, was to believe none of his subjects more wise than himself, or more fit to govern. He did so, and looked upon his own proper person as the most fit to travel out among the other realms of the world and study politics for the advancing of his dominions. He then seldom pretended to any warlike dispositions against those who were instructed in the science of arms; his military dealings lay mostly with the Turks and Tartars, who, as they had numbers as well as he, had them likewise composed, as well as his, of a rude, uncultivated mob, and they appeared in the field like a raw undisciplined militia. In this his Christian neighbours liked him well, insomuch as he was a kind of stay or stop-gap to the infidels. But when he came to look into the more polished parts of the Christian world, he set out towards it, from the very threshold, like a natural-born politician. He was not for learning the game by trying chances and venturing losses in the field so soon; no, he went upon the maxim, *that it was, at that time of day, expedient and necessary for him to carry, like Samson, his strength in his head and not in his arms.* He had then, he knew, but very few commodious places for commerce of his own, and those all situated in the *White Sea,* too remote, frozen up the most part of the year, and not at all fit for a fleet of men-of-war; but he knew of many more

commodious ones of his neighbours in the Baltic, and within his reach, whenever he could strengthen his hands to lay hold of them. He had a longing eye towards them; but with prudence seemingly turned his head another way, and secretly entertained the pleasant thought that he should come at them all in good time. Not to give any jealousy, he endeavours for no help from his neighbours to instruct his men in arms. That was like asking a skilful person, one intended to fight a duel with, to teach him first how to fence. *He went over to Great Britain,* where he knew that potent kingdom could, as yet, have no jealousies of his growth of power, and in the eye of which his vast extent of nation lay neglected and unconsidered and overlooked, as I am afraid it is to this very day. He was present at all our exercises, looked into all our laws, inspected our military, civil, and ecclesiastical regimen of affairs; yet all this was the least he then wanted; this was the slightest part of his errand. But by degrees, when he grew familiar with our people, he visited our docks, pretending not to have any prospect of profit, but only to take a huge delight (the effect of curiosity only) to see our manner of building ships. He kept his court, as one may say, in our shipyard, so industrious was he in affording them his continual Czarish presence, and to his immortal glory for art and industry be it spoken, that the great Czar, by stooping often to the employ, could handle an axe with the best artificer of them all; and the monarch having a good mathematical head of his own, grew in some time a very expert royal shipwright. A ship or two for his diversion, made and sent him, and then two or three more, and after that two or three more, would signify just nothing at all, if they were granted to be sold to him by the *Maritime Powers,*[a] that could, at will, lord it over the sea. It would be a puny, inconsiderable matter, and not worth the regarding. Well, but then, over and above this, he had artificially insinuated himself into the good-will of many of our best workmen, and won their hearts by his good-natured familiarities and condescension among them. To turn this to his service, he offered many very large premiums and advantages to go and settle in his country, which they gladly accepted of. A little after he sends over some private ministers and officers to negotiate for more workmen, for land officers, and likewise for picked and chosen good seamen, who might be advanced and promoted to offices by going there. Nay, even to this day, any expert seaman, that is upon our traffic to the port of Archangel, if he has the least spark of ambition, and any ardent desire to be in office, he need but offer himself to the sea-service of the Czar, and he is a lieutenant immediately. Over and above this, that Prince has even found the way to take by force into his service, out of our merchant ships, as many of their ablest seamen as he pleased, giving the masters the same number of raw Muscovites in their place, whom they afterwards were forced, in their own defence, to make fit for their own use. Neither is this all; he had, during the last war,[61] many hundreds of his subjects, both noblemen and common sailors, on board *ours, the French and the Dutch fleets;* and he has all along maintained, and still maintains numbers of them in *ours and the Dutch yards.*

"But seeing he looked all along upon all these endeavours towards improving himself and his subjects as superfluous, whilst a seaport was wanting, where he might build a fleet of his own, and from whence he might himself export the products of his country, and import those of others; and finding the King of Sweden possessed of the most convenient ones, I mean *Narva* and *Revel,* which he knew that Prince[b] never could nor would amicably part with; he at last resolved to wrest them out of his hands by force. His *Swedish* Majesty's tender youth seemed

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[a] England and Holland.—*Ed.*
[b] Charles XII.—*Ed.*

the fittest time for this enterprise, but even then he would not run the hazard alone. He drew in other princes to divide the spoil with him. And the *Kings of Denmark and Poland*[a] were weak enough to serve as instruments to forward the great and ambitious views of the Czar. It is true, he met with a mighty hard rub at his very first setting out; his whole army being entirely defeated by a handful of Swedes at Narva.[62] But it was his good luck that his Swedish Majesty, instead of improving so great a victory against him, turned immediately his arms against the King of Poland, against whom he was personally piqued, and that so much the more, inasmuch as he had taken that Prince for one of his best friends, and was just upon the point of concluding with him the strictest alliance, when he unexpectedly invaded the *Swedish Livonia,* and besieged *Riga.* This was, in all respects, what the Czar could most have wished for; and foreseeing that the longer the war in Poland lasted, the more time should he have both to retrieve his first loss, and to gain Narva, he took care it should be spun out to as great a length as possible; for which end, he never sent the King of Poland succour enough to make him too strong for the King of Sweden; who, on the other hand, though he gained one signal victory after the other, yet never could subdue his enemy as long as he received continual reinforcements from his hereditary country. And had not his Swedish Majesty, contrary to most people's expectations, marched directly into Saxony itself, and thereby forced the King of Poland to peace,[63] the Czar would have had leisure enough in all conscience to bring his designs to greater maturity. This peace was one of the greatest disappointments the Czar ever met with, whereby he became singly engaged in the war. He had, however, the comfort of having beforehand taken *Narva,* and laid a foundation to his favourite town *Petersburg,* and to the seaport, the docks, and the vast magazines there; all which works, to what perfection they are now brought, let them tell who, with surprise, have seen them.

"He (Peter) used all endeavours to bring matters to an accommodation. He proffered very advantageous conditions; *Petersburg* only, a trifle as he pretended, which he had set his heart upon, he would retain; and even for that he was willing some other way to give satisfaction. But the King of Sweden was too well acquainted with the importance of that place to leave it in the hands of an ambitious Prince, and thereby to give him an inlet into the Baltic. This was the only time since the defeat at Narva, that the Czar's arms had no other end than that of self-defence. They might, perhaps, even have fallen short therein, had not the King of Sweden (through whose persuasion is still a mystery), instead of marching the shortest way to Novogorod and to Moscow, turned towards Ukraine, where his army, after great losses and sufferings, was at last entirely defeated at Pultawa. As this was a fatal period to the Swedish successes, so how great a deliverance it was to the Muscovites, may be gathered from the Czar's celebrating, every year, with great solemnity, the anniversary of that day, from which his ambitious thoughts began to soar still higher. The whole of *Livonia, Estland,* and the best and greatest part of *Finland,* was now what he demanded, after which, though he might for the present condescend to give peace to the remaining part of Sweden, he knew he could easily even add that to his conquests whenever he pleased. The only obstacle he had to fear in these his projects, was from his northern neighbours; but as the *Maritime Powers,* and even the neighbouring princes in Germany, were then so intent upon their war against France, that they seemed entirely neglectful of that of the North, so there remained only Denmark and Poland to be jealous of. The former of these

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[a] Frederick IV. and Augustus II.—*Ed.*

kingdoms had, ever since King William,[a] of glorious memory, compelled it to make peace with Holstein[64] and, consequently, with Sweden, enjoyed an uninterrupted tranquillity, during which it had time, by a free trade and considerable subsidies from the maritime powers, to enrich itself, and was in a condition, by joining itself to Sweden, as it was its interest to do, to stop the Czar's progresses, and timely to prevent its own danger from them. The other, I mean Poland, was now quietly under the Government of King Stanislaus, who, owing in a manner his crown to the King of Sweden, could not, out of gratitude, as well as real concern for the interest of his country, fail opposing the designs of a too aspiring neighbour. The Czar was too cunning not to find out a remedy for all this; he represented to the King of Denmark how low the King of Sweden was now brought, and how fair an opportunity he had, during that Prince's long absence, to clip entirely his wings, and to aggrandise himself at his expense. In King Augustus he raised the long-hid resentment for the loss of the Polish Crown, which he told him he might now recover without the least difficulty. Thus, both these Princes were immediately caught. The Danes declared war against Sweden without so much as a tolerable pretence, and made a descent upon Schonen, where they were soundly beaten for their pains. King Augustus re-entered Poland, where everything has ever since continued in the greatest disorder, and *that in a great measure owing to Muscovite intrigues.* It happened, indeed, that these new confederates, whom the Czar had only drawn in to serve his ambition, became at first more necessary to his preservation than he had thought; for the Turks, having declared a war against him, they hindered the Swedish arms from joining with them to attack him; but that storm being soon over, through the Czar's wise behaviour, and the avarice and folly of the Grand Vizier,[b] he then made the intended use both of these his friends, as well as of them he afterwards, through hopes of gain, persuaded into his alliance, which was to lay all the burthen and hazard of the war upon them, in order entirely to weaken them, together with Sweden, whilst *he was preparing to swallow the one after the other.* He has put them on one difficult attempt after the other; their armies have been considerably lessened by battles and long sieges, whilst his own were either employed in easier conquests, and more profitable to him, or kept at the vast expense of neutral princes—near enough at hand to come up to demand a share of the booty without having struck a blow in getting it. His behaviour has been as cunning at sea, where his fleet has always kept out of harm's way and at a great distance, whenever there was any likelihood of an engagement between the Danes and the Swedes. He hoped, that when these two nations had ruined one another's fleets, his might then ride master in the Baltic. All this while he had taken care to make his men improve, by the example of foreigners, and under their command, in the art of war.... His fleets will soon considerably outnumber the Swedish and the Danish ones joined together. He need not fear their being a hindrance from his giving a finishing stroke to this great and glorious undertaking. Which done, *let us look to ourselves; he will then most certainly become our rival, and as dangerous to us as he is now neglected.* We then may, perhaps, though too late, call to mind what our own ministers and merchants have told us of his designs of carrying on, alone, all the northern trade, and of getting all that from Turkey and Persia into his hands, through the rivers which he is joining and making navigable, from the Caspian, or the Black Sea, to his Petersburg. *We shall then wonder at our blindness that we did not suspect his designs* when we heard the prodigious works he has done at Petersburg and Revel; of which last place, the *Daily Courant,* dated November 23, says:

[a] William III.—*Ed.*

[b] Baltaji Mohammed.—*Ed.*

"'HAGUE, *Nov.* 17.

"'The captains of the men-of-war of the States, who have been at Revel, advise that the Czar has put that port, and the fortifications of the place, into such a condition of defence, that it may pass for one of the most considerable fortresses, not only of the Baltic, but even of Europe.'

"Leave we him now, as to his sea affairs, commerce and manufactures, and other works both of his policy and power; and let us view him in regard to his proceedings in this last campaign, especially as to that so much talked of descent, he, in conjunction with his allies, was to make upon Schonen, and we shall find, that even therein he has acted with his usual cunning.[65] There is no doubt but the King of Denmark was the first that proposed this descent. He found that nothing but a speedy end to a war he had so rashly and unjustly begun, could save his country from ruin and from the bold attempts of the King of Sweden, either against Norway, or against Zealand and Copenhagen. To treat separately with that prince was a thing he could not do, as foreseeing that he would not part with an inch of ground to so unfair an enemy; and he was afraid that a Congress for a general peace, supposing the King of Sweden would consent to it upon the terms proposed by his enemies, would draw the negotiations out beyond what the situation of his affairs could bear. He invites, therefore, all his confederates to make a home thrust at the King of Sweden, by a descent into his country, where, having defeated him, as by the superiority of the forces to be employed in that design he hoped they should, they might force him to an immediate peace on such terms as they themselves pleased. I[a] don't know how far the rest of his confederates came into that project; but neither the *Prussian* nor the *Hanoverian* Court appeared *openly* in that project, *and how far our English fleet, under Sir John Norris, was to have forwarded it, I have nothing to say, but leave others to judge out of the King of Denmark's own declaration:* but the Czar came readily into it. He got thereby a new pretence to carry the war one campaign more at other people's expense; to march his troops into the Empire again, and to have them quartered and maintained, first in Mecklenburg[66] and then in Zealand. In the meantime he had his eyes upon *Wismar*, and upon a Swedish island, called *Gothland*. If, by surprise, he could get the first out of the hands of his confederates, he then had a good seaport, whither to transport his troops when he pleased into *Germany*, without asking the King of *Prussia*'s leave for a free passage through his territories; and if, by a sudden descent, he could dislodge the *Swedes* out of the other, he then became master of the best port in the Baltic. He miscarried, however, in both these projects; for Wismar was too well guarded to be surprised; and he found his confederates would not give him a helping hand towards conquering Gothland. After this he began to look with another eye upon the descent to be made upon Schonen. He found it equally contrary to his interest, whether it succeeded or not. For if it did, and the King was thereby forced to a general peace, he knew his interests therein would be least regarded; having already notice enough of his confederates being ready to sacrifice them, provided they got their own terms. If he did not succeed, then, besides the loss of the flower of an army he had trained and disciplined with so much care, as he very well foresaw that the English fleet would hinder the King of Sweden from attempting anything against Denmark; so he justly feared the whole shock would fall upon him, and he be thereby forced to surrender all he had taken from Sweden. These considerations made him entirely resolved not to make one of the descent; but he did not care to declare it till as late as possible: first, that he might the longer have his troops maintained at the Danish

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[a] The author of the pamphlet, Carl Gyllenborg.—*Ed.*

expense; secondly, that it might be too late for the King of Denmark to demand the necessary troops from his other confederates, and to make the descent without him; and, lastly, that by putting the Dane to a vast expense in making necessary preparations, he might still weaken him more, and, therefore, make him now the more dependent on him, and hereafter a more easy prey.

"Thus he very carefully dissembles his real thoughts, till just when the descent was to be made, and then he, all of a sudden, refuses joining it, and defers it till next spring, with this averment, *that he will then be as good as his word.* But mark him, as some of our newspapers tell us, under this restriction, *unless he can get an advantageous peace of Sweden.* This passage, together with the common report we now have of his treating a separate peace with the King of Sweden, is a new instance of his cunning and policy. He has there two strings to his bow, of which one must serve his turn. There is no doubt but the Czar knows that an accommodation between him and the King of Sweden must be very difficult to bring about. For as he, on the one side, should never consent to part with those seaports, for the getting of which he began this war, and which are absolutely necessary towards carrying on his great and vast designs; so the King of Sweden would look upon it as directly contrary to his interest to yield up these same seaports, if possibly he could hinder it. But then again: the Czar is so well acquainted with the great and heroic spirit of his Swedish Majesty, that he does not question his yielding, rather in point of interest, than nicety of honour. From hence it is, he rightly judges, that his Swedish Majesty must be less exasperated against him who, though he began an unjust war, has very often paid *dearly* for it, and carried it on all along through various successes than against some confederates; that taking an opportunity of his Swedish Majesty's misfortunes, fell upon him in an ungenerous manner, and made a partition treaty of his provinces. The Czar, still more to accommodate himself to the genius of his great enemy, unlike his confederates, who, upon all occasions, spared no reflections and even very unbecoming ones (bullying memorials and hectoring manifestoes), spoke all along with the utmost civility of his *brother* Charles, as he calls him, maintains him to be the *greatest general in Europe,* and even publicly avers, he will more trust a word from him than the greatest assurances, oaths, nay, even treaties with his confederates. These kind of civilities may, perhaps, make a deeper impression upon the noble mind of the King of Sweden, and he be persuaded rather to sacrifice a real interest to a generous enemy, than to gratify, in things of less moment, those by whom he has been ill, and even inhumanly used. But if this should not succeed, the Czar is still a gainer by having made his confederates uneasy at these his separate negotiations; and as we find by the newspapers, the more solicitous to keep him ready to their confederacy, which must cost them very large proffers and promises. In the meantime he leaves the Dane and the Swede securely bound up together in war, and weakening one another as fast as they can, and he turns towards the Empire,[67] and views the Protestant Princes there; and, under many specious pretences, not only marches and counter-marches about their several territories his troops that came back from Denmark, but makes also slowly advance towards Germany those whom he has kept this great while in Poland, under pretence to help the King[a] against his dissatisfied subjects, whose commotions all the while he was the greatest fomenter of. He considers the Emperor[b] is in war with the Turks,[68] and therefore has found, by too successful experience, how little his Imperial Majesty is able to show his authority in

[a] Augustus II.—*Ed.*
[b] Charles VI.—*Ed.*

protecting the members of the Empire. His troops remain in Mecklenburg, notwithstanding their departure is highly insisted upon. His replies to all the demands on that subject are filled with such reasons is if he would give new laws to the Empire.

"Now let us suppose that the King of Sweden should think it more honourable to make a peace with the Czar, and to carry the force of his resentment against his less generous enemies, what a stand will then the princes of the empire, even those that unadvisedly drew in 40,000 Muscovites, to secure the tranquillity of that empire against 10,000 or 12,000 Swedes, I say what stand will they be able to make against him while the Emperor is already engaged in war with the Turks; and the Poles, when they are once in peace among themselves (if after the miseries of so long a war they are in a condition to undertake anything), are by treaty obliged to join their aids against that common enemy of Christianity.

"Some will say I make great and sudden rises from very small beginnings. My answer is, that I would have such an objector look back and reflect why I show him, from such a speck of entity, at his first origin, growing, through more improbable and almost insuperable difficulties, to such a bulk as he has already attained to, and *whereby, as his advocates, the Dutch themselves own, he is grown too formidable for the repose, not only of his neighbours, but of Europe in general.*

"But then, again, they will say he has no pretence either to make a peace with the Swede separately from the Dane, or to make war upon other princes, some of whom he is bound in alliance with. Whoever thinks these objections not answered must have considered the Czar neither as to his nature nor to his ends. The Dutch own further, *that he made war against Sweden without any specious pretence.* He that made war without any specious pretence may make a peace without any specious pretence, and make a new war without any specious pretence for it too. His Imperial Majesty (of Austria), like a wise Prince, when he was obliged to make war with the Ottomans, made it, as in policy he should, powerfully. But, in the meantime, may not the Czar, who is a wise and potent Prince too, follow the example upon the neighbouring Princes round him that are Protestants? If he should, I tremble to speak it, it is not impossible but in this age of Christianity *the Protestant religion should, in a great measure, be abolished;* and that among the Christians, the *Greeks* and *Romans* may once more come to be the only pretenders for Universal Empire. The pure possibility carries with it warning enough for the *Maritime Powers,* and all the other Protestant Princes, to mediate a peace for Sweden, and strengthen her arms again, without which no preparations can put them sufficiently upon their guard; and this must be done early and betimes, *before the King of Sweden, either out of despair or revenge, throws himself into the Czar's hands.* For 'tis a certain maxim (which all Princes ought, and the Czar seems at this time to observe too much for the repose of Christendom) that the wise man must not stand for ceremony, and only *turn* with opportunities. No, he must even *run* with them. For the Czar's part, I will venture to say so much in his commendation, that he will hardly suffer himself to be overtaken that way. He seems to act just as the tide serves. There is nothing which contributes more to the making our undertakings prosperous than the taking of times and opportunities; for time carrieth with it the seasons of opportunities of business. If you let them slip, all your designs are rendered unsuccessful.

"In short, things seem now come to that *crisis* that peace should as soon as possible, be procured to the Swede, with such advantageous articles as are consistent with the nicety of his honour to accept, and with the safety of the Protestant interest, that he should have offered to him, which can be scarce less than all the possessions which he formerly had in the Empire. As in all other

things, so in politics, a long-tried certainty must be preferred before an uncertainty, tho' grounded upon ever so probable suppositions. Now can there be anything more certain, than that the provinces Sweden has had in the Empire, were given to it to make it the nearer at hand and the better able to secure the Protestant interest, which, together with the liberties of the Empire it just then had saved? Can there be anything more certain than that that kingdom has, by those means, upon all occasions, secured that said interest now near four-score years? Can there be anything more certain than, as to his present Swedish Majesty, that I may use the words of a letter her late Majesty, Queen Anne, wrote to him (Charles XII.), and *in the time of a Whig Ministry too,* viz.: 'That, as a true Prince, hero and Christian, the chief end of his endeavours has been the promotion of the fear of God among men; and that without insisting on his own particular interest.'

"On the other hand, is it not very uncertain whether those princes, who, by sharing among them the Swedish provinces in the Empire, are now going to set up as protectors of the Protestant interests there, exclusive of the Swedes, will be able to do it? *Denmark* is already so low, and will in all appearance be so much lower still before the end of the war, that very little assistance can be expected from it in a great many years. In *Saxony,* the prospect is but too dismal under a popish prince,[69] so that there remain only the two illustrious houses of Hanover and Brandenburg of all the Protestant princes, powerful enough to lead the rest. Let us therefore only make a parallel between what now happens in the Duchy of Mecklenburg, and what may happen to the Protestant interest, and we shall soon find how we may be mistaken in our reckoning. That said poor Duchy has been most miserably ruined by the Muscovite troops, and it is still so; the Electors of Brandenburg[a] and Hanover[b] are obliged, both as directors of the circle of Lower Saxony, as neighbours, and Protestant Princes, to rescue a fellow state of the Empire, and a Protestant country, from so cruel an oppression of a foreign power. But pray what have they done? The Elector of Brandenburg, cautious lest the Muscovites might on one side invade his electorate, and on the other side from Livonia and Poland, his kingdom of Prussia; and the Elector of Hanover having *the same wise caution* as to his hereditary countries, have not upon this, though very pressing occasion, thought it for their interest, to use any other means than representations. But pray with what success? The Muscovites are still in Mecklenburg, and if at last they march out of it, it will be when the country is so ruined that they cannot there subsist any longer.

"It seems the King of Sweden should be restored to all that he has lost on the side of the Czar; and this appears the *joint interest of both the Maritime Powers.* This may they please to undertake: *Holland,* because it is a maxim there that the Czar grows too great, and must not be suffered to settle in the Baltic, and that Sweden must not be abandoned; *Great Britain,* because, if the Czar compasses his vast and prodigious views, he will, by the ruin and conquest of Sweden, become our nearer and more dreadful neighbour. Besides, we are bound to it by a treaty concluded in the year 1700,[c] between King William[d] and the present King of Sweden, by virtue of which King William assisted the King of Sweden, when in more powerful circumstances, with all that he desired, with great sums of money, several hundred pieces of cloth, and considerable quantities of gunpowder.

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[a] Frederick William I., King of Prussia.—*Ed.*

[b] Georg-Ludwig, King of Great Britain from 1714 under the name of George I.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 65-73.—*Ed.*

[d] William III.—*Ed.*

"But *some Politicians (whom nothing can make jealous of the growing strength and abilities of the Czar, though they are even foxes and vulpones*[a] *in the art)* either *will not see,* or *pretend they cannot see* how the Czar can ever be able to make so great a progress in power as to hurt us here in our island. To them it is easy to repeat the same answer a hundred times over, if they would be so kind as to take it at last, viz., *that what has been may be again;* and that they did not see how he could reach the height of power, which he has already arrived at, after, I must confess, a very incredible manner. Let those *incredulous* people look narrowly into the *nature* and the *ends* and the *designs* of this great monarch; they will find that they are laid very deep, and that his plans carry in them a prodigious deal of prudence and foresight, and his ends are at the long run brought about by a kind of magic in policy; and will they not after that own that we ought to fear everything from him? As he desires that the designs with which he labours may not prove abortive, so he does not assign them a certain day of their birth, but leaves them to the natural productions of fit times and occasions, like those curious artists in China, who temper the mould this day, of which a vessel may be made a hundred years hence.

"There is another sort of short-sighted politicians among us, who have more of cunning court intrigue and immediate state-craft in them, than of true policy and concern for their country's interest. These gentlemen pin entirely their faith upon other people's sleeves; ask as to everything that is proposed to them, how it is liked at Court?—what the opinion of their party is concerning it?—and if the contrary party is for or against it? Hereby they rule their judgment, and it is enough for their cunning leaders to brand anything with *Whiggism* or *Jacobitism,* for to make these people, without any further inquiry into the matter, blindly espouse it or oppose it. This, it seems, is at present the case of the subject we are upon. Anything said or written in favour of Sweden and the King thereof, is immediately said to come from a *Jacobite* pen, and thus reviled and rejected, without being read or considered. Nay, I[b] have heard gentlemen go so far as to maintain publicly, and with all the vehemence in the world, that *the King of Sweden was a Roman Catholic,* and that *the Czar was a good Protestant.* This, indeed, is one of the greatest misfortunes our country labours under, and till we begin to see with our own eyes, and inquire ourselves into the truth of things, we shall be led away, God knows whither, at last. The serving of Sweden according to our treaties and real interest has nothing to do with our party causes. Instead of seeking for and taking hold of any pretence to undo Sweden, we ought openly to assist it. Could our Protestant succession have a better friend or a bolder champion?

"I shall conclude this discourse by thus shortly recapitulating what I have said. That since the Czar has not only replied to the King of Denmark entreating the contrary, but also answered our Admiral Norris, that he would persist in his resolution to delay the descent upon Schonen, and is said by other newspapers to resolve not to make it then, if he can have peace with Sweden; every Prince, and we more particularly, ought to be jealous of his having some such design as I mention in view, and consult how to prevent them, and to clip, in time, his too aspiring wings, which cannot be effectually done, first, without the Maritime Powers please to begin to keep him in some check and awe, and 'tis to be hoped a certain potent nation, that has helped him forward, can, in some measure, bring him back; and may then speak to this great enterpriser in the language of a countryman in Spain, who coming to an image enshrined, the first making whereof he could well remember, and not finding all the respectful usage he expected,—'You need not,' quoth he, 'be so proud, for we have known you from a plum-tree.'

[a] An allusion to Ben Jonson's comedy *Volpone, or the Fox.—Ed.*

[b] Carl Gyllenborg.—*Ed.*

The next only way is to restore, by a peace, to the King of Sweden what he has lost: that checks his (the Czar's) power immediately, and on that side nothing else can. I wish it may not at last be found true, that those who have been fighting against that King, have, in the main, been fighting against themselves. If the Swede ever has his dominions again, and lowers the high spirit of the Czar, still he may say by his neighbours, as an old Greek hero[a] did, whom his countrymen constantly sent into exile whenever he had done them a service, but were forced to call him back to their aid, whenever they wanted success. 'These people,' quoth he, 'are always using me like the palm-tree. They will be breaking my branches continually, and yet, if there comes a storm, they run to me, and can't find a better place for shelter.' But if he has them not, I shall only exclaim a phrase out of Terence's *Andria:*

> *"Hoccine credibile est aut memorabile*
> *"Tanta vecordia innata cuiquam ut siet,*
> *"Ut malis gaudeant?*[b]

4. POSTSCRIPT.—"I flatter myself that this little history is of that curious nature, and on matters hitherto so unobserved, that I consider it, with pride, as a valuable New Year's gift to the present world; and that posterity will accept it, as the like, for many years after, and read it over on that anniversary, and call it their *Warning Piece.* I must have my *Exegi-Monumentum*[c] as well as others."

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[a] Themistocles.—*Ed.*

[b] "How can you believe it, can you understand it, that anyone should be born with so much stupidity in him that he would take pleasure in wickedness?" (Terence, *Andria,* Act IV, Scene 1).—*Ed.*

[c] *Exegi monumentum* (aere perennius)—"I have completed a monument more lasting than brass" (Horace, *Odes,* III, XXX).—*Ed.*

## Chapter III

To understand a limited historical epoch, we must step beyond its limits and compare it with other historical epochs. To judge Governments and their acts, we must measure them by their own times and the conscience of their contemporaries. Nobody will condemn a British statesman of the 17th century for acting on a belief in witchcraft, if he find Bacon himself ranging demonology in the catalogue of science. On the other hand, if the Stanhopes, the Walpoles, the Townshends, etc., were suspected, opposed, and denounced in their own country, by their own contemporaries, as tools or accomplices of Russia, it will no longer do to shelter their policy behind the convenient screen of prejudice and ignorance common to their time. At the head of the historical evidence we have to sift, we place, therefore, long-forgotten English pamphlets printed at the very time of Peter I. These preliminary *pièces des procès*[a] we shall, however, limit to three pamphlets, which, from three different points of view, illustrate the conduct of England towards Sweden: the first, the *Northern Crisis* (given in Chapter II.), revealing the general system of Russia, and the dangers accruing to England from the Russification of Sweden; the second, called *The Defensive Treaty*,[b] judging the acts of England by the treaty of 1700; and the third, entitled *Truth is but Truth, however it is Timed*,[70] proving that the new-fangled schemes which magnified Russia into the paramount Power of the Baltic were in flagrant opposition to the traditionary policy England had pursued during the course of a whole century.

The pamphlet called *The Defensive Treaty* bears no date of publication. Yet, in one passage it states that, for reinforcing the Danish fleet, eight English men-of-war were left at Copenhagen *"the year before last,"* and in another passage alludes to the assembling of the confederate fleet for the Schonen expedition as

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[a] Relevant documents.— *Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 65-73.— *Ed.*

having occurred *"last summer."* As the former event took place in 1715, and the latter towards the end of the summer of 1716, it is evident that the pamphlet was written and published in the earlier part of the year 1717. The Defensive Treaty between England and Sweden, the single articles of which the pamphlet comments upon in the form of queries, was concluded in 1700 between William III and Charles XII, and was not to expire before 1719. Yet, during almost the whole of this period, we find England continually assisting Russia and waging war against Sweden, either by secret intrigue or open force, although the treaty was never rescinded nor war ever declared. This fact is, perhaps, even less strange than the *conspiration de silence* under which modern historians have succeeded in burying it, and among them historians by no means sparing of censure against the British Government of that time, for having, without any previous declaration of war, destroyed the Spanish fleet in the Sicilian waters.[71] But then, at least, England was not bound to Spain by a defensive treaty. How, then, are we to explain this contrary treatment of similar cases? The piracy committed against Spain was one of the weapons which the Whig Ministers, seceding from the Cabinet in 1717, caught hold of to harass their remaining colleagues. When the latter stepped forward in 1718, and urged Parliament to declare war against Spain, Sir Robert Walpole rose from his seat in the Commons, and in a most virulent speech, denounced the late ministerial acts

> "as contrary to the laws of nations, and a breach of solemn treaties." "Giving sanction to them in the manner proposed," he said, "could have no other view than to screen ministers, who were conscious of having done something amiss, and who, having begun a war against Spain, would now make it the Parliament's war."[a]

The treachery against Sweden and the connivance at the plans of Russia, never happening to afford the ostensible pretext for a family quarrel amongst the Whig rulers (they being rather unanimous on these points), never obtained the honours of historical criticism so lavishly spent upon the Spanish incident.

How apt modern historians generally are to receive their cue from the official tricksters themselves, is best shown by their reflections on the commercial interests of England with respect to Russia and Sweden. Nothing has been more exaggerated than the dimensions of the trade opened to Great Britain by the huge market of the Russia of Peter the Great, and his immediate successors. Statements bearing not the slightest touch of criticism,

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[a] Marx is quoting from [Ph. H.] Mahon's book *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle,* Vol. I, p. 487.—*Ed.*

have been allowed to creep from one book-shelf to another, till they became at last historical household furniture, to be inherited by every successive historian, without even the *beneficium inventarii.*[a] Some incontrovertible statistical figures[72] will suffice to blot out these hoary common-places.

*British Commerce from 1697-1700.*

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Export to Russia | 58,884 |
| Import from Russia | 112,252 |
| Total | 171,136 |

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Export to Sweden | 57,555 |
| Import from Sweden | 212,094 |
| Total | 269,649 |

*During the same period the total*

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Export of England amounted to | 3,525,906 |
| Import | 3,482,586 |
| Total | 7,008,492 |

In 1716, after all the Swedish provinces in the Baltic, and on the Gulfs of Finland and Bothnia, had fallen into the hands of Peter I., the

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Export to Russia was | 113,154 |
| Import from Russia | 197,270 |
| Total | 310,424 |
| Export to Sweden | 24,101 |
| Import from Sweden | 136,959 |
| Total | 161,060 |

At the same time, the total of English exports and imports together reached about £10,000,000. It will be seen from these figures, when compared with those of 1697-1700, that the increase in the Russian trade is balanced by the decrease in the Swedish trade, and that what was added to the one was abstracted from the other. In 1730, the

[a] Benefit of inventory—an heir's privilege of securing himself against unlimited liability for his ancestor by giving up within a year an inventory of his heritage or real estate, to the extent of which alone he was liable.—*Ed.*

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Export to Russia was | 46,275 |
| Import from Russia | 258,802 |
| Total | 305,077 |

Fifteen years, then, after the consolidation in the meanwhile of the Muscovite settlement on the Baltic, the British trade with Russia had fallen off by £5,347. The general trade of England reaching in 1730 the sum of £16,329,001; the Russian trade amounted not yet to $\frac{1}{53}$rd of its total value. Again, thirty years later, in 1760, the account between Great Britain and Russia stands thus:

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Import from Russia (in 1760) | 536,504 |
| Export to Russia | 39,761 [a] |
| Total | 576,265 |

while the general trade of England amounted to £26,361,760. Comparing these figures with those of 1716, we find that the total of the Russian commerce, after nearly half a century, has increased by the trifling sum of only £265,841. That England suffered positive loss by her new commercial relations with Russia under Peter I. and Catherine I., becomes evident on comparing, on the one side, the export and import figures, and on the other, the sums expended on the frequent naval expeditions to the Baltic which England undertook during the lifetime of Charles XII., in order to break down his resistance to Russia, and, after his death, on the professed necessity of checking the maritime encroachments of Russia.

Another glance at the statistical data given for the years 1697, 1700, 1716, 1730, and 1760, will show that the British *export* trade to Russia, was continually falling off, save in 1716, when Russia engrossed the whole Swedish trade on the eastern coast of the Baltic, and the Gulf of Bothnia, and had not yet found the opportunity of subjecting it to her own regulations. From £58,884, at which the British exports to Russia stood during 1697-1700, when Russia was still precluded from the Baltic, they had sunk to £46,275 in 1730, and to £39,761 in 1760, showing a decrease of £19,123, or about $^1/_3$rd of their original amount in 1700. If, then,

[a] A. Anderson has: import—£474,680, export—£38,710 (Vol. IV, p. 42).—*Ed.*

since the absorption of the Swedish provinces by Russia, the British market proved expanding for Russian raw produce, the Russian market, on its side, proved straitening for British manufactures, a feature of that trade which could hardly recommend it at a time when the Balance of Trade doctrine[73] ruled supreme. To trace the circumstances which produced the increase of the Anglo-Russian trade under Catherine II., would lead us too far from the period we are considering.

On the whole, then, we arrive at the following conclusions: during the first sixty years of the eighteenth century the total Anglo-Russian trade formed but a very diminutive fraction of the general trade of England, say less than $^1/_{45}$th; its sudden increase during the earliest years of Peter's sway over the Baltic did not at all affect the general balance of British trade, as it was a simple transfer from its Swedish account to its Russian account. In the later times of Peter I., as well as under his immediate successors, Catherine I. and Anne, the Anglo-Russian trade was positively declining; during the whole epoch, dating from the final settlement of Russia in the Baltic provinces, the export of British manufactures to Russia was continually falling off, so that at its end it stood one-third lower than at its beginning, when that trade was still confined to the port of Archangel; neither the contemporaries of Peter I, nor the next British generation reaped any benefit from the advancement of Russia to the Baltic. In general the Baltic trade of Great Britain was at that time trifling in regard of the capital involved, but important in regard of its character. It afforded England the raw produce for its maritime stores. That from the latter point of view the Baltic was in safer keeping in the hands of Sweden than in those of Russia, was not only proved by the pamphlets we are reprinting, but fully understood by the British Ministers themselves. Stanhope writing, fo. instance, to Townshend on October 16th, 1716[a]:

"It is certain that if the Czar[b] be let alone three years, he will be absolute master in those seas." *

* In the year 1657, when the Courts of Denmark and Brandenburg intended engaging the Muscovites to fall upon Sweden, they instructed their Minister so to manage the affair that the Czar might by no means get any footing in the Baltic, because "they did not know what to do with so troublesome a neighbour." (See Puffendorf's *History of Brandenburg*.[74])

[a] Marx is quoting from [Ph. H.] Mahon's book *History of England...*, Vol. I, p. 342.— *Ed.*

[b] Alexei Mikhailovich.— *Ed.*

If, then, neither the navigation nor the general commerce of England was interested in the treacherous support given to Russia against Sweden, there existed, indeed, one small fraction of British merchants whose interests were identical with the Russian ones—the Russian Trade Company.[75] It was this gentry that raised a cry against Sweden. See, for instance: "Several grievances of the English merchants in their trade into the dominions of the King of Sweden, whereby it does appear how dangerous it may be for the English nation to depend on Sweden only for the supply of the naval stores, when they might be amply furnished with the like stores from the dominions of the Emperor of Russia." "The case of the merchants trading to Russia" (a petition to Parliament[76]), etc. It was they who in the years 1714, 1715, and 1716, regularly assembled twice a week before the opening of Parliament, to draw up in public meetings the complaints of the British merchantmen against Sweden. On this small fraction the ministers relied; they were even busy in getting up its demonstrations, as may be seen from the letters addressed by Count Gyllenborg to Baron Görtz, dated 4th of November and 4th of December, 1716,[a] wanting, as they did, but the shadow of a pretext to drive their "mercenary *Parliament,*" as Gyllenborg calls it, where they liked. The influence of these British merchants trading to Russia was again exhibited in the year 1765, and our own times have witnessed the working for his interest, of a Russian merchant[b] at the head of the Board of Trade, and of a Chancellor of the Exchequer[c] in the interest of a cousin engaged in the Archangel trade.[77]

The oligarchy which, after the "glorious revolution,"[78] usurped wealth and power at the cost of the mass of the British people, was, of course, forced to look out for allies, not only abroad, but also at home. The latter they found in what the French would call *la haute bourgeoisie,*[d] as represented by the Bank of England, the money-lenders, state creditors, East India and other trading corporations, the great manufacturers, etc. How tenderly they managed the material interests of that class, may be learned from the whole of their domestic legislation—Bank Acts, Protectionist enactments, Poor Regulations, etc. As to their *foreign policy,* they wanted to give it the appearance at least of being altogether

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[a] [C. Gyllenborg,] *Letters which passed between Count Gyllenborg, the barons Görtz, Sparre and others...,* pp. 6-8, 17.—*Ed.*

[b] Edward Cardwell.—*Ed.*

[c] William Ewart Gladstone.—*Ed.*

[d] Big bourgeoisie.—*Ed.*

regulated by the mercantile interest, an appearance the more easily to be produced, as the exclusive interest of one or the other small fraction of that class would, of course, be always easily identified with this or that ministerial measure. The interested fraction then raised the commerce and navigation cry, which the nation stupidly re-echoed.

At that time, then, there devolved on the Cabinet, at least, the *onus* of inventing *mercantile pretexts,* however futile, for their measures of foreign policy. In our own epoch, British Ministers have thrown this burden on foreign nations, leaving to the French, the Germans, etc., the irksome task of discovering the *secret* and *hidden* mercantile springs of their actions. Lord Palmerston, for instance, takes a step apparently the most damaging to the material interests of Great Britain. Up starts a State philosopher, on the other side of the Atlantic, or of the Channel, or in the heart of Germany,[79] who puts his head to the rack to dig out the mysteries of the mercantile Machiavellism of "perfide Albion," of which Palmerston is supposed the unscrupulous and unflinching executor. We will, *en passant,* show, by a few modern instances, what desperate shifts those foreigners have been driven to, who feel themselves obliged to interpret Palmerston's acts by what they imagine to be the English commercial policy. In his valuable *Histoire Politique et Sociale des Principautés Danubiennes,* M. Elias Regnault, startled by the Russian conduct, before and during the years 1848-49, of Mr. Colqhoun, the British Consul at Bucharest, suspects that England had some secret material interest in keeping down the trade of the Principalities. The late Dr. Cunibert, private physician of old Milosh, in his most interesting account of the Russian intrigues in Servia, gives a curious relation of the manner in which Lord Palmerston, through the instrumentality of Colonel Hodges, betrayed Milosh to Russia by feigning to support him against her.[a] Fully believing in the personal integrity of Hodges, and the patriotic zeal of Palmerston, Dr. Cunibert is found to go a step further than M. Elias Regnault. He suspects England of being interested in putting down Turkish commerce generally. General Mieroslawski, in his last work on Poland,[b] is not very far from intimating that mercantile Machiavellism instigated England to sacrifice her own *prestige* in Asia Minor, by the surrender of

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[a] B. S. Cunibert, *Essai historique sur les révolutions et l'indépendance de la Servie depuis 1804 jusqu'à 1850,* t. II, pp. 303-523.—*Ed.*

[b] Presumably this refers to L. Mieroslawski's book: *De la Nationalité polonaise dans l'équilibre européen.*—*Ed.*

Kars.[80] As a last instance may serve the present lucubrations of the Paris papers, hunting after the secret springs of commercial jealousy, which induce Palmerston to oppose the cutting of the Isthmus of Suez canal.[81]

To return to our subject. The mercantile pretext hit upon by the Townshends, Stanhopes, etc., for the hostile demonstrations against Sweden, was the following. Towards the end of 1713, Peter I. had ordered all the hemp and other produce of his dominions, destined for export, to be carried to St. Petersburg instead of Archangel. Then the Swedish Regency, during the absence of Charles XII., and Charles XII. himself, after his return from Bender, declared all the Baltic ports, occupied by the Russians, to be blockaded. Consequently, English ships, breaking through the blockade, were confiscated. The English Ministry then asserted that British merchantmen had the right of trading to those ports, according to Article XVII. of the Defensive Treaty of 1700,[a] by which English commerce, with the exception of contraband of war, was allowed to go on with ports of the enemy. The absurdity and falsehood of this pretext being fully exposed in the pamphlet we are about to reprint, we will only remark that the case had been more than once decided against commercial nations, not bound, like England, by treaty to defend the integrity of the Swedish Empire. In the year 1561, when the Russians took Narva,[82] and laboured hard to establish their commerce there, the Hanse towns, chiefly Lübeck, tried to possess themselves of this traffic. Eric XIV., then King of Sweden, resisted their pretensions. The city of Lübeck represented this resistance as altogether new, as they had carried on their commerce with the Russians time out of mind, and pleaded the common right of nations to navigate in the Baltic, provided their vessels carried no contraband of war. The King replied that he did not dispute the Hanse towns the liberty of trading with Russia, but only with Narva, which was no Russian port. In the year 1579 again, the Russians having broken the suspension of arms with Sweden, the Danes likewise claimed the navigation to Narva, by virtue of their treaty, but King John was as firm, in maintaining the contrary, as was his brother Eric.

In her open demonstrations of hostility against the King of Sweden, as well as in the false pretence on which they were founded, England seemed only to follow in the track of Holland, which declaring the confiscation of its ships to be piracy, had issued two proclamations against Sweden in 1714.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 65-73.—*Ed.*

In one respect, the case of the States-General was the same as that of England. King William had concluded the Defensive Treaty as well for Holland as for England. Besides, Article XVI., in the Treaty of Commerce, concluded between Holland and Sweden, in 1703, expressly stipulated that no navigation ought to be allowed to the ports blocked up by either of the confederates. The then common Dutch cant that "there was no hindering traders from carrying their merchandise where they will," was the more impudent as, during the war, ending with the Peace of Ryswick,[83] the Dutch Republic had declared all France to be blocked up, forbidden the neutral powers all trade with that kingdom, and caused all their ships that went there or came thence to be brought up without any regard to the nature of their cargoes.

In another respect, the situation of Holland was different from that of England. Fallen from its commercial and maritime grandeur, Holland had then already entered upon its epoch of decline. Like Genoa and Venice, when new roads of commerce had dispossessed them of their old mercantile supremacy, it was forced to lend out to other nations its capital, grown too large for the vessels of its own commerce. Its fatherland had begun to lie there where the best interest for its capital was paid. Russia, therefore, proved an immense market, less for the commerce, than for the outlay of capital and men. To this moment Holland has remained the banker of Russia. At the time of Peter, they supplied Russia with ships, officers, arms and money, so that his fleet, as a contemporary writer remarks, ought to have been called a Dutch, rather than a Muscovite one.[84] They gloried in having sent the first European merchant ship to St. Petersburg, and returned the commercial privileges they had obtained from Peter, or hoped to obtain from him, by that fawning meanness which characterises their intercourse with Japan. Here, then, was quite another solid foundation than in England for the Russianism of statesmen, whom Peter I. had entrapped during his stay at Amsterdam and the Hague in 1697, whom he afterwards directed by his ambassadors, and with whom he renewed his personal influence during his renewed stay at Amsterdam in 1716-17. Yet, if the paramount influence England exercised over Holland during the first *decennia* of the eighteenth century be considered, there can remain no doubt that the proclamations against Sweden by the States-General would never have been issued, if not with the previous consent and at the instigation of England. The intimate connection between the English and Dutch Governments

served more than once the former to put up precedents in the name of Holland, which they were resolved to act upon in the name of England. On the other hand, it is no less certain that the Dutch statesmen were employed by the Czar to influence the British ones. Thus Horace Walpole, the brother of the "Father of Corruption,"[85] the brother-in-law of the Minister, Townshend, and the British Ambassador at the Hague during 1715-16, was evidently inveigled into the Russian interest by his Dutch friends. Thus, as we shall see by-and-by, Theyls, the Secretary to the Dutch Embassy at Constantinople, at the most critical period of the deadly struggle between Charles XII. and Peter I., managed affairs at the same time for the Embassies of England and Holland at the Sublime Porte. This Theyls, in a print of his[a], openly claims it as a merit with his nation to have been the devoted and rewarded agent of Russian intrigue.

"THE DEFENSIVE TREATY CONCLUDED IN THE YEAR 1700, BETWEEN HIS LATE MAJESTY, KING WILLIAM, OF EVER-GLORIOUS MEMORY, AND HIS PRESENT SWEDISH MAJESTY, KING CHARLES XII. PUBLISHED AT THE EARNEST DESIRE OF SEVERAL MEMBERS OF BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.[86]

'Nec rumpite foedera pacis,
Nec regnis praeferte fidem.'

Silius, Lib. II[b]

*London*

"*Article* I. Establishes between the Kings of Sweden and England 'a sincere and constant friendship for ever, a league and good correspondence, so that they shall never mutually or separately molest one another's kingdoms, provinces, colonies, or subjects, wheresoever situated, *nor shall they suffer or agree that this should be done by others, etc.*'

"*Article* II. 'Moreover, each of the Allies, his heirs and successors, shall be obliged to take care of, and promote, as much as in him lies, the profit and honour of the other, to detect and give notice to his other ally (as soon as it shall come to his own knowledge) of all imminent dangers, conspiracies, and hostile designs formed against him, to withstand them as much as possible, and to prevent them both by advice and assistance; and therefore *it shall not be lawful for either of the Allies, either by themselves or any other whatsoever, to act, treat, or endeavour anything to the prejudice or loss of the other,* his lands or dominions whatsoever or wheresoever, whether by land or sea; that one shall in no wise favour the other's foes, either rebels or enemies, to the prejudice of his Ally,' etc.

"*Query* I. How the words marked in italics agree with our present conduct, when our fleet acts in conjuction with the enemies of Sweden, *the Czar commands*

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[a] W. Theyls, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Charles XII, roi de Suède.—Ed.*

[b] "Neither break peace treaties, nor prefer allegiance to kingdoms" (Silius Italicus, *De secundo bello punico,* Lib. II).—*Ed.*

*our fleet, our Admiral*[a] *enters into Councils of War, and is not only privy to all their designs, but together with our own Minister at Copenhagen*[b] (as the King of Denmark[c] has himself owned it in a public declaration), *pushed on the Northern Confederates to an enterprise entirely destructive to our Ally Sweden, I mean the descent designed last summer upon Schonen?*

"*Query* II. In what manner we also must explain that passage in the first article by which it is stipulated that one Ally shall not either by themselves or any other whatsoever, act, treat, or endeavour anything to the loss of the other's lands and dominions; to justify in particular our leaving in the year 1715, even when the season was so far advanced as no longer to admit of our usual pretence of convoying and protecting our trade, which was then got already safe home, eight men-of-war in the Baltic, with orders to join in one line of battle with the Danes, whereby we made them so much superior in number to the Swedish fleet, that it could not come to the relief of Stralsund, and whereby *we chiefly occasioned Sweden's entirely losing its German Provinces,* and even the *extreme danger his Swedish Majesty ran, in his own person,* in crossing the sea, before the surrender of the town.

"*Article* III. By a special defensive treaty, the Kings of Sweden and England mutually oblige themselves, 'in a strict alliance, to defend one another mutually, as well as their kingdoms, territories, provinces, states, subjects, possessions, as their rights and liberties of navigation and commerce, as well in the Northern, Deucalidonian, Western, and Britannic Sea, commonly called the Channel, the Baltic, the Sound; as also of the privileges and prerogatives of each of the Allies belonging to them, by virtue of treaties and agreements, as well as by received customs, the laws of nations, hereditary right, against any aggressors or invaders and molesters in Europe by sea or land, etc.'

"*Query.* It being by the law of nations an indisputable right and prerogative of any king or people, in case of a great necessity, or threatening ruin, to use all such means they themselves shall judge most necessary for their preservation; it having moreover been a constant prerogative and practice of the Swedes, for these several hundred years, in case of a war with their most dreadful enemies the Muscovites, to hinder all trade with them in the Baltic; and since it is also stipulated in this article that amongst other things, *one Ally ought to defend the prerogatives belonging to the other, even by received customs, and the law of nations:* how come we now, the King of Sweden stands more than ever in need of using that prerogative, not only to dispute it, but also to take thereof a pretence for an open hostility against him?

"*Articles* IV., V., VI., *and* VII., fix the strength of the auxiliary forces, England and Sweden are to send each other in case the territory of either of these powers should be invaded, or its navigation 'molested or hindered' in one of the seas enumerated in Article III. The invasion of the *German* provinces of Sweden is expressly included as a *casus foederis.*

"*Article* VIII. Stipulates that that Ally who is not attacked shall first act the part of a pacific mediator; but, the mediation having proved a failure, 'the aforesaid forces shall be sent without delay; nor shall the confederates desist before the injured party shall be satisfied in all things.'

"*Article* IX. That Ally that requires the stipulated 'help, has to choose whether he will have the above-named army either all or any [part of it], either in soldiers, ships, ammunition, or money.'

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[a] John Norris.— *Ed.*

[b] Alexander Campbell.— *Ed.*

[c] Frederick IV.— *Ed.*

"*Article* X. Ships and armies serve under 'the command of him that required them.'

"*Article* XI. 'But if it should happen that the above-mentioned forces should not be proportionable to the danger, as supposing that perhaps the aggressor should be assisted by the forces of some other confederates of his, then one of the Allies, after previous request, shall be obliged to help the other that is injured, with greater forces, such as he shall be able to raise with safety and convenience, both by sea and land....'

"*Article* XII. 'It shall be lawful for either of the Allies and their subjects to bring their men-of-war into one another's harbours, and to winter there.' Peculiar negotiations about this point shall take place at Stockholm, but 'in the meanwhile, the articles of treaty concluded at London, 1661, relating to the navigation and commerce shall remain, in their full force, as much as if they were inserted here word for word.'

"*Article* XIII. '... The subjects of either of the Allies ... shall no way, either by sea or land, serve them (the enemies of either of the Allies), either as mariners or soldiers, and therefore it shall be forbid them upon severe penalty.'

"*Article* XVI.[a] 'If it happens that either of the confederate kings ... should be engaged in a war against a common enemy, or be molested by any other neighbouring king ... in his own kingdoms or provinces ... to the hindering of which, he that requires help, may by the force of this treaty, himself be obliged to send help: then that Ally so molested, shall not be obliged to send the promised help....'

"*Query* I. Whether in our conscience we don't think the King of Sweden most unjustly attacked by all his enemies; whether consequently we are not convinced that we owe him the assistance stipulated in these Articles; whether he has not demanded the same from us, and why it has hitherto been refused him?

"*Query* II. These articles, setting forth in the most expressing terms, in what manner Great Britain and Sweden ought to assist one another, can either of these two Allies take upon him to prescribe to the other who requires his assistance, a way of lending him it, not expressed in the treaty; and if that other Ally does not think it for his interest to accept of the same, but still insists upon the performance of the treaty, can he from thence take a pretence, not only to withhold the stipulated assistance, but also to use his Ally in a hostile way, and to join with his enemies against him? If this is not justifiable, as even common sense tells us it is not, how can the reason stand good, which we allege amongst others, for using the King of Sweden as we do, *id est,* that demanding a literal performance of his alliance with us, *he would not accept the treaty of neutrality for his German provinces,* which we proposed to him some years ago, a treaty which, not to mention its partiality in favour of the enemies of Sweden, and that it was calculated only for our own interest, and for to prevent all disturbance in the empire, whilst we were engaged in a war against France,[87] the King of Sweden had so much less reason to rely upon, as he was to conclude it with those very enemies, that had every one of them broken several treaties in beginning the present war against him, and as it was to be guaranteed by those powers, who were also every one of them guarantees of the broken treaties, without having performed their guarantee?

"*Query* III. How can we make the words in the 8th Article,[b] *that in assisting our injured Ally we shall not desist before he shall be satisfied in all things,* agree with our endeavouring, to the contrary, to help the enemies of that Prince, though all unjust

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[a] The newspaper has mistakenly XIV.— *Ed.*

[b] The newspaper has mistakenly 7th.— *Ed.*

aggressors, not only to take one province after the other from him, but also to remain undisturbed possessors thereof, blaming all along the King of Sweden for not tamely submitting thereunto?

"*Query* IV. The treaty concluded in the year 1661, between Great Britain and Sweden, being in the 12th[a] Article confirmed, and the said treaty forbidding expressly one of the confederates *either himself or his subjects to lend or to sell to the other's enemies, men-of-war or ships of defence;* the 13th Article of this present treaty forbidding also expressly the subjects of either of the Allies *to help any ways the enemies of the other, to the inconvenience and loss of such an Ally;* should we not have accused the Swedes of the most notorious breach of this treaty, had they, during our late war with the French, lent them their own fleet, the better to execute any design of theirs against us, or had they, notwithstanding our representations to the contrary, suffered their subjects to furnish the French with ships of 50, 60, and 70 guns! Now, if we turn the tables, and remember upon how many occasions our fleet has of late been entirely subservient to the designs of the enemies of Sweden, even in most critical times, and that *the Czar of Muscovy has actually above a dozen English-built ships* in his fleet, will it not be very difficult for us to excuse in ourselves what we should most certainly have blamed, if done by others?

"*Article* XVII. The obligation shall not be so far extended, as that all friendship and mutual commerce with the enemies of that Ally (that requires the help) shall be taken away; for supposing that one of the confederates should send his auxiliaries, and should not be engaged in the war himself, it shall then be lawful for the subjects to trade and commerce with that enemy of that Ally that is engaged in the war, also directly and safely to merchandise with such enemies, for all goods not expressly forbid and called contraband, as in a special treaty of commerce hereafter shall be appointed.

"*Query* I. This Article being the only one out of twenty-two whose performance we have now occasion to insist upon from the Swedes, the question will be whether we ourselves, in regard to Sweden, have performed all the other articles as it was our part to do, and whether in demanding of the King of Sweden the executing of this Article, we have promised that we would also do our duty as to all the rest; if not, may not the Swedes say that we complain unjustly of the breach of one single Article, when we ourselves may perhaps be found guilty of having in the most material points, either not executed, or even acted against the whole treaty?

"*Query* II. Whether the liberty of commerce one Ally is, by virtue of this Article, to enjoy with the other's enemies, ought to have no limitation at all, neither as to time nor place; in short, whether it ought even to be extended so far as to destroy the very end of this Treaty, which is the promoting the safety and security of one another's kingdoms?

"*Query* III. Whether in case the French had in the late wars made themselves masters of Ireland or Scotland, and either in new-made seaports, or the old ones, endeavoured by trade still more firmly to establish themselves in their new conquests, we, in such a case, should have thought the Swedes our true allies and friends, had they insisted upon this Article to trade with the French in the said seaports taken from us, and to furnish them there with several necessaries of war, nay, even with armed ships, whereby the French might the easier have annoyed us here in England?

"*Query* IV. Whether, if we had gone about to hinder a trade, so prejudicial to us, and in order thereunto, brought up all Swedish ships going to the said seaports, we should not highly have exclaimed against the Swedes, had they taken from

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[a] The newspaper has mistakenly 11th.—*Ed.*

thence a pretence to join their fleet with the French, to occasion the losing of any of our dominions and even to encourage the invasion upon us, have their fleet at hand to promote the same?

"*Query* V. Whether upon an impartial examination, this would not have been a case exactly parallel to that we insist upon, as to a Free Trade to the seaports the Czar has taken from Sweden, and to our present behaviour, upon the King of Sweden's hindering the same?

"*Query* VI. Whether we have not ever since Oliver Cromwell's time, till 1710, in all our wars with France and Holland, without any urgent necessity at all, brought up and confiscated Swedish ships, though not going to any prohibited ports, and that to a far greater number and value, than all those the Swedes have now taken from us, and whether the Swedes have ever taken a pretence from thence, to join with our enemies, and to send whole squadrons of ships to their assistance?

"*Query* VII. Whether, if we inquire narrowly into the state of commerce, as it has been carried on for these many years, we shall not find that the trade of the above-mentioned places was not so very necessary to us, at least not so far as to be put into the balance with the preservation of a Protestant confederate nation, much less to give us a just reason *to make war against that nation, which, though not declared, has done it more harm than the united efforts of all its enemies?*

"*Query* VIII. Whether, if it happened two years ago, that this trade became something more necessary to us than formerly, it is not easily proved, that it was occasioned only by the Czar's forcing us out of our old channel of trade to Archangel, and bringing us to Petersburg, and our complying therewith. So that all the inconveniences we laboured under upon that account, ought to have been laid to the Czar's door, and not to the King of Sweden's?

"*Query* IX. Whether the Czar did not in the very beginning of 1715 again permit us to trade our old way to Archangel, and whether our ministers had not notice thereof a great while before our fleet was sent that year to protect our *trade to Petersburg,* which by this alteration in the Czar's resolution was become as unnecessary for us as before?

"*Query* X. Whether the King of Sweden had not declared, that if we would forbear trading to *Petersburg,* etc., which he looked upon as ruinous to his kingdom, he would in no manner disturb our trade, neither in the Baltic nor anywhere else; but that in case we would not give him this slight proof of our friendship, he should be excused if the innocent came to suffer with the guilty?

"*Query* XI. Whether, by our insisting upon the trade to the ports prohibited by the King of Sweden, which besides its being unnecessary to us, hardly makes one part in ten of that we carry on in the Baltic, we have not drawn upon us the hazards that our trade has run all this while, been ourselves the occasion of our great expenses in fitting out fleets for its protection, and by our joining with the enemies of Sweden, fully justified his Swedish Majesty's resentment; had it ever gone so far as to seize and confiscate without distinction all our ships and effects, wheresoever he found them, either within or without his kingdoms?

"*Query* XII. If we were so tender of our trade to the northern ports in general, ought we not in policy rather to have considered the hazard that trade runs by the approaching ruin of Sweden, and *by the Czar's becoming the whole and sole master of the Baltic, and all the naval stores we want from thence?* Have we not also suffered greater hardships and losses in the said trade from the Czar, than that amounting only to sixty odd thousand pounds (whereof, by the way, two parts in three may perhaps be disputable), which provoked us first to send twenty men-of-war in the Baltic with order to attack the Swedes wherever they met them? And yet, did not this very Czar, this very aspiring and dangerous prince, *last summer command the*

*whole confederate fleet,* as it was called, *of which our men-of-war made the most considerable part? The first instance that ever was of a Foreign Potentate having the command given him of the English fleet, the bulwark of our nation;* and did not our said men-of-war afterwards convey his" (the Czar's) "transport ships and troops on board of them, in their return from Zealand, *protecting them from the Swedish fleet,* which else would have made a considerable havoc amongst them?

"*Query* XIII. Suppose now, we had on the contrary taken hold of the great and many complaints our merchants have made, of the ill-usage they meet from the Czar, to have sent our fleet to show our resentment against that prince, to prevent his great and pernicious designs even to us, *to assist Sweden pursuant to this Treaty,* and effectually to restore the peace in the North, would not that have been more for our interest, more necessary, more honourable and just, and more according to our Treaty; and would not the several 100,000 pounds these our Northern expeditions have cost the nation, have been thus better employed?

"*Query* XIV. If the preserving and securing our trade against the Swedes, had been the only and real object of all our measures, as to the Northern affairs, how came we the year before the last to leave eight men-of-war in the Baltic and at Copenhagen, when we had no more trade there to protect, and how came Admiral Norris last summer, although he and the Dutch together made up the number of twenty-six men-of-war, and consequently were too strong for the Swedes, to attempt anything against our trade under their convoy; yet to lay above two whole months of the best season in the Sound, without convoying our and the Dutch merchantmen to the several ports they were bound for, whereby they were kept in the Baltic so late that their return could not but be very hazardous, as it even proved, both to them and our men-of-war themselves? Will not the world be apt to think that the hopes of forcing the King of Sweden to an inglorious and disadvantageous peace, by which the Duchies of Bremen and Verden ought to be added to the Hanover dominions, or that some other such view, foreign, if not contrary, to the true and old interest of Great Britain, had then a greater influence upon all these our proceedings than *the pretended care of our trade?*

"Article XVIII. 'For as much as it seems convenient for the preservation of the liberty of navigation and commerce in the Baltic Sea, that a firm and exact friendship should be kept between the Kings of Sweden and Denmark and whereas the former Kings of Sweden and Denmark[a] did oblige themselves mutually, not only by the public Articles of Peace made in the camp of Copenhagen, on the 27th of May, 1660[b] and by the ratifications of the agreement interchanged on both sides, sacredly and inviolably to observe all and every one of the clauses comprehended in the said agreement, but also declared together to ... Charles II., King of Great Britain ... a little before the treaty concluded between England and Sweden in the year 1665, that they would stand sincerely ... to all ... of the Articles of the said peace ... whereupon Charles II., with the approbation and consent of both the forementioned Kings of Sweden and Denmark, took upon himself a little after the Treaty concluded between England and Sweden, lst March, 1665, to wit 9th October, 1665, guarantee of the same agreements... Whereas an instrument of peace between ... the Kings of Sweden and Denmark[c] happened to be soon after these concluded at Lunden in Schonen, in 1679, which contains an express transaction, and repetition, and confirmation of the Treaties concluded at Roskild, Copenhagen, and Westphalia[88]; therefore ... the King of Great Britain binds

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[a] Charles XI and Frederick III.—*Ed.*

[b] The newspaper has mistakenly 1610.—*Ed.*

[c] Charles XI and Christian V.—*Ed.*

himself by the force of this Treaty... that if either of the Kings of Sweden and Denmark shall consent to the violation, either of all the agreements, or of one or more articles comprehended in them, and consequently if either of the Kings shall to the prejudice of the person, provinces, territories, islands, goods, dominions and rights of the other, which by the force of the agreements so often repeated, and made in the camp of Copenhagen, on the 27th of May, 1660, as also of those made in the ... peace at Lunden in Schonen, in 1679, were attributed to every one that was interested and comprehended in the words of the peace, should either by himself or by others, presume, or secretly design or attempt, or by open molestations, or by any injury, or by any violence of arms, attempt anything; that then the ... King of Great Britain ... shall first of all, by his interposition, perform all the offices of a friend and princely ally, which may serve towards the keeping inviolable all the frequently mentioned agreements, and of every article comprehended in them, and consequently towards the preservation of peace between both kings; that afterwards if the King who is the beginner of such prejudice, or any molestation or injury, contrary to all agreements, and contrary to any Article comprehended in them, shall refuse after being admonished ... then the King of Great Britain ... shall ... assist him that is injured, as by the present agreements between the Kings of Great Britain and Sweden, in such cases is determined and agreed.'

"*Query.* Does not this article expressly tell us, how to remedy the disturbances our trade in the Baltic might suffer, in case of a misunderstanding betwixt the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, by obliging both these Princes to keep all the Treaties of Peace, that have been concluded between them from 1660-79,[a] and in case either of them in an hostile manner act against the said Treaties, by assisting the other, against the aggressor? How comes it then, that we don't make use of so just a remedy against an evil we are so great sufferers by? Can anybody though ever so partial deny, but the King of Denmark,[b] though seemingly a sincere friend to the King of Sweden,[c] from the peace of Travendahl,[89] till he went out of Saxony against the Muscovites, fell very unjustly upon him immediately after, taking ungenerously advantage of the fatal battle of Pultava[90]? Is not then the King of Denmark the violator of all the above-mentioned Treaties, and consequently the true author of the disturbances our trade meets with in the Baltic? Why in God's name don't we according to this article assist Sweden against him, and why do we on the contrary declare openly against the injured King of Sweden, send hectoring and threatening memorials to him, upon the least advantage he has over his enemies, as we did last summer upon his entering Norway, and even order our fleets to act openly against him in conjunction with the Danes?

"*Article* XIX. There shall be 'stricter confederacy and union between the above-mentioned kings of Great Britain and Sweden, for the future, *for the defence and preservation of the Protestant, Evangelic, and reformed religion.*'

"*Query* I. How do we, according to this article, join with Sweden, to *assert, protect, and preserve the Protestant religion?* Don't we suffer that nation, which has always been a bulwark to the said religion, most unmercifully to be torn to pieces? ...*Don't we ourselves give a helping hand towards its destruction?* And why all this? Because our merchants have lost their ships to the value of sixty odd thousand pounds. *For this loss and nothing else was the pretended reason why in the year 1715 we sent our fleet in the Baltic, at the expense of* £200,000, and as to what our merchants

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[a] The newspaper has mistakenly 1670.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick IV.—*Ed.*

[c] Charles XII.—*Ed.*

have suffered since, suppose we attribute it to our threatening memorials as well as open hostilities against the King of Sweden, must we not even then own that that Prince's resentment has been very moderate?

"*Query* II. How can other Princes, and especially our fellow Protestants, think us sincere, in what we have made them believe as to our zeal in spending millions of lives and money for to secure the Protestant interest only in one single branch of it, *I mean the Protestant succession here*,[91] when they see that that succession has hardly taken place, before we only for sixty odd thousand pounds (for let us always remember, that this paltry sum was the first pretence for our quarrelling with Sweden), go about to undermine the very foundation of that interest in general, by helping as we do entirely to sacrifice Sweden, the old and sincere protector of the Protestants, to its neighbours, of which some are professed Papists, some worse, and some at best but lukewarm Protestants?

"*Article* XX. 'Therefore that a reciprocal faith of the Allies and their perseverance in this agreement may appear ... both the fore-mentioned kings mutually oblige themselves and declare that ... they will not depart a tittle from the genuine and common sense of all and every article of this treaty under any pretences of friendship, profit, former treaty, agreement and promise, or upon any colour whatsoever: but that they will most fully and readily either by themselves or Ministers, or subjects, put in execution whatsoever they have promised in this treaty ... without any hesitation, exception, or excuse....'

"*Query* I. In as much as this article sets forth that at the time of concluding of the treaty, we were under no engagement contrary to it, and that it were highly unjust, should we afterwards, and while this treaty is in force, which is eighteen years after the day it was signed, have entered into any such engagements, how can we justify to the world our late proceedings against the King of Sweden, which naturally seem the consequences of a treaty either of our own making with the enemies of that Prince, *or of some Court or other that at present influences our measures?*

"*Query* II. The words in this article... how in the name of honour, faith, and justice, do they agree with the *little and pitiful pretences* we now make use of, not only for not assisting Sweden, pursuant to this treaty, *but even for going about so heartily as we do to destroy it?*

"*Article* XXI. 'This defensive treaty shall last for eighteen years, before the end of which the confederate kings may ... again treat.'

"*Ratification of the abovesaid treaty.*—We having seen and considered this treaty have approved and confirmed the same in all and every particular article and clause as by the present. We do approve the same for us, our heirs, and successors; assuring and promising, on our princely word, that we shall perform and observe sincerely and in good earnest all those things that are therein contained, for the better confirmation whereof we have ordered our grand seal of England to be put to these presents, which were given at our palace at Kensington, 25th of February, in the year of our Lord 1700, and in the 11th year of our reign (Gulielmus Rex).*

"*Query.* How can anyone of us that declares himself for the late happy revolution,[92] and that is a true and grateful lover of King William's for ever-glorious memory ... yet bear with the least patience, that the said treaty should (that I may again use the words of the 20th article), be *departed from, under any*

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* The treaty was concluded at The Hague on the 6th and 16th January, 1700, and ratified by William III, on February 5th, 1700.

*pretence of profit, or upon any colour whatsoever,* especially so insignificant and trifl ng a one, as that which has been made use of for two years together to employ our ships, our men, and our money, *to accomplish the ruin of Sweden,* that same Sweden whose defence and preservation this great and wise monarch of ours, has so solemnly promised, and which he always looked upon to be of the utmost necessity for to secure the *Protestant interest* in Europe?"

## Chapter IV[93]

Before entering upon an analysis of the pamphlet headed, *Truth is but truth, as it is timed,*[a] with which we shall conclude the *Introduction* to the Diplomatic Revelations, some preliminary remarks on the general history of Russian politics appear opportune.

The overwhelming influence of Russia has taken Europe at different epochs by surprise, startled the peoples of the West, and been submitted to as a fatality, or resisted only by convulsions. But alongside the fascination exercised by Russia, there runs an ever-reviving scepticism, dogging her like a shadow, growing with her growth, mingling shrill notes of irony with the cries of agonising peoples, and mocking her very grandeur as a histrionic attitude taken up to dazzle and to cheat. Other empires have met with similar doubts in their infancy; Russia has become a colossus without outliving them. She affords the only instance in history of an immense empire, the very existence of whose power, even after world-wide achievements, has never ceased to be treated like a matter of faith rather than like a matter of fact. From the outset of the eighteenth century to our days, no author, whether he intended to exalt or to check Russia, thought it possible to dispense with first proving her existence.

But whether we be spiritualists or materialists with respect to Russia—whether we consider her power as a palpable fact, or as the mere vision of the guilt-stricken consciences of the European peoples—the question remains the same: "How did this power, or this phantom of a power, contrive to assume such dimensions as to

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[a] See this volume, pp. 92-96.—*Ed.*

rouse on the one side the passionate assertion, and on the other the angry denial of its threatening the world with a rehearsal of Universal Monarchy?" At the beginning of the eighteenth century Russia was regarded as a mushroom creation extemporised by the genius of Peter the Great. Schloezer thought it a discovery to have found out that she possessed a past; and in modern times, writers, like Fallmerayer, unconsciously following in the track beaten by Russian historians, have deliberately asserted that the northern spectre which frightens the Europe of the nineteenth century already overshadowed the Europe of the ninth century. With them the policy of Russia begins with the first Ruriks, and has, with some interruptions indeed, been systematically continued to the present hour.

Ancient maps of Russia are unfolded before us, displaying even larger European dimensions than she can boast of now: her perpetual movement of aggrandisement from the ninth to the eleventh century is anxiously pointed out; we are shown Oleg launching 88,000 men against Byzantium, fixing his shield as a trophy on the gate of that capital, and dictating an ignominious treaty to the Lower Empire; Igor making it tributary[94]; Svyataslav glorying,

> "the Greeks supply me with gold, costly stuffs, rice, fruits and wine; Hungary furnishes cattle and horses; from Russia I draw honey, wax, furs, and men"[a];

Vladimir conquering the Crimea and Livonia, extorting a daughter[b] from the Greek Emperor,[c] as Napoleon did from the German Emperor,[d] blending the military sway of a northern conqueror with the theocratic despotism of the Porphyrogeniti,[95] and becoming at once the master of his subjects on earth, and their protector in heaven.

Yet, in spite of the plausible parallelism suggested by these reminiscences, the policy of the first Ruriks differs fundamentally from that of modern Russia.[96] It was nothing more nor less than the policy of the German barbarians inundating Europe—the history of the modern nations beginning only after the deluge has passed away. The Gothic period of Russia in particular forms but a chapter of the Norman conquests. As the empire of Charlemagne precedes the foundation of modern France, Germany,

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[a] Ph. Segur, *History of Russia and of Peter the Great,* London, 1829, p. 37.—*Ed.*
[b] Anna.—*Ed.*
[c] Romanus II.—*Ed.*
[d] Francis II.—*Ed.*

and Italy, so the empire of the Ruriks precedes the foundation of Poland, Lithuania, the Baltic Settlements, Turkey and Muscovy itself. The rapid movement of aggrandisement was not the result of deep-laid schemes, but the natural offspring of the primitive organisation of Norman conquest—vassalship without fiefs, or fiefs consisting only in tributes—the necessity of fresh conquests being kept alive by the uninterrupted influx of new Varangian adventurers, panting for glory and plunder. The chiefs, becoming anxious for repose, were compelled by the Faithful Band to move on, and in Russian, as in French Normandy, there arrived the moment when the chiefs despatched on new predatory excursions their uncontrollable and insatiable companions-in-arms with the single view to get rid of them. Warfare and organisation of conquest on the part of the first Ruriks differ in no point from those of the Normans in the rest of Europe. If Slavonian tribes were subjected not only by the sword, but also by mutual convention, this singularity is due to the exceptional position of those tribes, placed between a northern and eastern invasion, and embracing the former as a protection from the latter. The same magic charm which attracted other northern barbarians to the Rome of the West, attracted the Varangians to the Rome of the East.[a] The very migration of the Russian capital—Rurik fixing it at Novgorod, Oleg removing it to Kiev, and Svyataslav attempting to establish it in Bulgaria—proves beyond doubt that the invader was only feeling his way, and considered Russia as a mere halting-place from which to wander on in search of an empire in the South. If modern Russia covets the possession of Constantinople to establish her dominion over the world, the Ruriks were, on the contrary, forced by the resistance of Byzantium, under Zimiskes,[b] definitively to establish their dominion in Russia.

It may be objected that victors and vanquished amalgamated more quickly in Russia than in any other conquest of the northern barbarians, that the chiefs soon commingled themselves with the Slavonians—as shown by their marriages and their names. But then, it should be recollected that the Faithful Band, which formed at once their guard and their privy council, remained exclusively composed of Varangians; that Vladimir, who marks the summit, and Yaroslav, who marks the commencing decline of Gothic Russia, were seated on her throne by the arms of the Varangians. If any Slavonian influence is to be acknowledged in

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[a] Constantinople.—*Ed.*
[b] John I Tzimisces.—*Ed.*

this epoch, it is that of Novgorod, a Slavonian State, the traditions, policy and tendencies of which were so antagonistic to those of modern Russia that the one could found her existence only on the ruins of the other. Under Yaroslav the supremacy of the Varangians is broken, but simultaneously with it disappears the conquering tendency of the first period, and the decline of Gothic Russia begins. The history of that decline, more still than that of the conquest and formation, proves the exclusively Gothic character of the Empire of the Ruriks.

The incongruous, unwieldy, and precocious Empire heaped together by the Ruriks, like the other empires of similar growth, is broken up into appanages, divided and sub-divided among the descendants of the conquerors, dilacerated by feudal wars, rent to pieces by the intervention of foreign peoples. The paramount authority of the Grand Prince vanishes before the rival claims of seventy princes of the blood. The attempt of Andrew of Susdal[a] at recomposing some large limbs of the empire by the removal of the capital from Kiev to Vladimir proves successful only in propagating the decomposition from the South to the centre. Andrew's third successor[b] resigns even the last shadow of supremacy, the title of Grand Prince, and the merely nominal homage still offered him.[97] The appanages to the South and to the West become by turns Lithuanian, Polish, Hungarian, Livonian, Swedish. Kiev itself, the ancient capital, follows destinies of its own, after having dwindled down from a seat of the Grand Princedom to the territory of a city. Thus, the Russia of the Normans completely disappears from the stage, and the few weak reminiscences in which it still outlived itself, dissolve before the terrible apparition of Genghis Khan. The bloody mire of Mongolian slavery, not the rude glory of the Norman epoch, forms the cradle of Muscovy, and modern Russia is but a metamorphosis of Muscovy.

The Tartar yoke lasted from 1237 to 1462—more than two centuries[98]; a yoke not only crushing, but dishonouring and withering the very soul of the people that fell its prey. The Mongol Tartars established a rule of systematic terror, devastation and wholesale massacre forming its institutions. Their numbers being scanty in proportion to their enormous conquests, they wanted to magnify them by a halo of consternation, and to thin, by wholesale slaughter, the populations which might rise in their rear. In their creations of desert they were, besides, led by the

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[a] Andrei Bogolubski.—*Ed.*

[b] Vsevolod Bolshoye Gnezdo (Vsevolod of the Great Nest).—*Ed.*

same economical principle which has depopulated the Highlands of Scotland and the Campagna di Roma—the conversion of men into sheep, and of fertile lands and populous abodes into pasturage.

The Tartar yoke had already lasted a hundred years before Muscovy emerged from its obscurity.[99] To entertain discord among the Russian princes, and secure their servile submission, the Mongols had restored the dignity of the Grand Princedom. The strife among the Russian princes for this dignity was, as a modern author has it,

"an abject strife, the strife of slaves, whose chief weapon was calumny, and who were always ready to denounce each other to their cruel rulers; wrangling for a degraded throne, whence they could not move but with plundering, parricidal hands, hands filled with gold, and stained with gore; which they dared not ascend without grovelling, nor retain but on their knees, prostrate and trembling beneath the scimitar of a Tartar, always ready to roll under his feet those servile crowns, and the heads by which they were worn."[a]

It was in this infamous strife that the Moscow branch won at last the race. In 1328 the crown of the Grand Princedom,[100] wrested from the branch of Tver[101] by dint of denunciation and assassination, was picked up at the feet of Usbeck Khan by Yury, the elder brother of Ivan Kalita. Ivan I Kalita, and Ivan III surnamed the Great, personate Muscovy rising by means of the Tartar yoke, and Muscovy getting an independent power by the disappearance of the Tartar rule. The whole policy of Muscovy, from its first entrance into the historical arena, is resumed in the history of these two individuals.

The policy of Ivan Kalita was simply this: to play the abject tool of the Khan, thus to borrow his power, and then to turn it round upon his princely rivals and his own subjects. To attain this end, he had to insinuate himself with the Tartars by dint of cynical adulation, by frequent journeys to the Golden Horde, by humble prayers for the hand of Mongol princesses, by a display of unabounded zeal for the Khan's interest, by the unscrupulous execution of his orders, by atrocious calumnies against his own kinsfolk, by blending in himself the characters of the Tartar's hangman, sycophant, and slave-in-chief. He perplexed the Khan by continuous revelations of secret plots. Whenever the branch of Tver betrayed a velleity of national independence, he hurried to the Horde to denounce it. Wherever he met with resistance, he introduced the Tartar to trample it down. But it was not sufficient

[a] Ph. Segur, *History of Russia and of Peter the Great*, pp. 213-14.—*Ed.*

to act a character; to make it acceptable, gold was required. Perpetual bribery of the Khan and his grandees was the only sure foundation upon which to raise his fabric of deception and usurpation. But how was the slave to get the money wherewith to bribe the master? He persuaded the Khan to instal him his tax-gatherer throughout all the Russian appanages. Once invested with this function, he extorted money under false pretences. The wealth accumulated by the dread held out of the Tartar name, he used to corrupt the Tartars themselves. By a bribe he induced the primate to transfer his episcopal seat from Vladimir to Moscow,[102] thus making the latter the capital of the empire, because the religious capital, and coupling the power of the Church with that of his throne. By a bribe he allured the boyards of the rival princes into treason against their chiefs, and attracted them to himself as their centre. By the joint influence of the Mahometan Tartar, the Greek Church, and the boyards, he unites the princes holding appanages into a crusade against the most dangerous of them, the prince of Tver[a]; and then having driven his recent allies by bold attempts at usurpation into resistance against himself, into a war for the public good, he draws not the sword but hurries to the Khan. By bribes and delusion again, he seduces him into assassinating his kindred rivals under the most cruel torments. It was the traditional policy of the Tartar to check the Russian princes the one by the other, to feed their dissensions, to cause their forces to equiponderate and to allow none to consolidate himself. Ivan Kalita converts the Khan into the tool by which he rids himself of his most dangerous competitors, and weighs down every obstacle to his own usurping march. He does not conquer the appanages, but surreptitiously turns the rights of the Tartar conquest to his exclusive profit. He secures the succession of his son[b] through the same means by which he had raised the Grand Princedom of Muscovy, that strange compound of princedom and serfdom. During his whole reign he swerves not once from the line of policy he had traced to himself; clinging to it with a tenacious firmness, and executing it with methodical boldness. Thus he becomes the founder of the Muscovite power, and characteristically his people call him Kalita—that is, the purse, because it was the purse and not the sword with which he cut his way. The very period of his reign witnesses the sudden growth of the Lithuanian power which dismembers the Russian appanages

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[a] Alexander Mikhailovich.—*Ed.*

[b] Semyon Ivanovich the Proud.—*Ed.*

from the West, while the Tartar squeezes them into one mass from the East. Ivan, while he dared not repulse the one disgrace, seemed anxious to exaggerate the other. He was not to be seduced from following up his ends by the allurements of glory, the pangs of conscience, or the lassitude of humiliation. His whole system may be expressed in a few words: the Machiavellism of the usurping slave. His own weakness—his slavery—he turned into the mainspring of his strength.

The policy traced by Ivan I Kalita is that of his successors; they had only to enlarge the circle of its application. They followed it up laboriously, gradually, inflexibly. From Ivan I Kalita, we may, therefore, pass at once to Ivan III, surnamed the Great.

At the commencement of his reign (1462-1505) Ivan III was still a tributary to the Tartars; his authority was still contested by the princes holding appanages; Novgorod, the head of the Russian republics, reigned over the north of Russia; Poland-Lithuania was striving for the conquest of Muscovy; lastly, the Livonian knights were not yet disarmed. At the end of his reign we behold Ivan III seated on an independent throne, at his side the daughter of the last emperor of Byzantium,[a] at his feet Kasan, and the remnant of the Golden Horde flocking to his court; Novgorod and the other Russian republics enslaved—Lithuania diminished, and its king a tool in Ivan's hands—the Livonian knights vanquished. Astonished Europe, at the commencement of Ivan's reign, hardly aware of the existence of Muscovy, hemmed in between the Tartar and the Lithuanian, was dazzled by the sudden appearance of an immense empire on its eastern confines, and Sultan Bajazet himself, before whom Europe trembled, heard for the first time the haughty language of the Muscovite.[103] How, then, did Ivan accomplish these high deeds? Was he a hero? The Russian historians themselves show him up a confessed coward.

Let us shortly survey his principal contests, in the sequence in which he undertook and concluded them—his contests with the Tartars, with Novgorod, with the princes holding appanages, and lastly with Lithuania-Poland.

Ivan rescued Muscovy from the Tartar yoke, not by one bold stroke, but by the patient labour of about twenty years. He did not break the yoke, but disengaged himself by stealth. Its overthrow, accordingly, has more the look of the work of nature than the deed of man. When the Tartar monster expired at last, Ivan appeared at its deathbed like a physician, who prognosticated and

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[a] Sophia (Zöe) Palaeologus.—*Ed.*

speculated on death rather than like a warrior who imparted it. The character of every people enlarges with its enfranchisement from a foreign yoke; that of Muscovy in the hands of Ivan seems to diminish. Compare only Spain in its struggles against the Arabs with Muscovy in its struggles against the Tartars.

At the period of Ivan's accession to the throne, the Golden Horde had long since been weakened, internally by fierce feuds, externally by the separation from them of the Nogay Tartars,[104] the eruption of Timour Tamerlane,[105] the rise of the Cossacks,[106] and the hostility of the Crimean Tartars.[107] Muscovy, on the contrary, by steadily pursuing the policy traced by Ivan Kalita, had grown to a mighty mass, crushed, but at the same time compactly united by the Tartar chain. The Khans, as if struck by a charm, had continued to remain instruments of Muscovite aggrandisement and concentration. By calculation they had added to the power of the Greek Church, which, in the hand of the Muscovite grand princes, proved the deadliest weapon against them.

In rising against the Horde, the Muscovite had not to invent but only to imitate the Tartars themselves. But Ivan did not rise. He humbly acknowledged himself a slave of the Golden Horde. By bribing a Tartar woman he seduced the Khan[a] into commanding the withdrawal from Muscovy of the Mongol residents. By similar imperceptible and surreptitious steps he duped the Khan into successive concessions, all ruinous to his sway. He thus did not conquer, but filch strength. He does not drive, but manoeuvre his enemy out of his strongholds. Still continuing to prostrate himself before the Khan's envoys, and to proclaim himself his tributary, he eludes the payment of the tribute under false pretences,[108] employing all the stratagems of a fugitive slave who dare not front his owner, but only steal out of his reach. At last the Mongol awakes from his torpor, and the hour of battle sounds. Ivan, trembling at the mere semblance of an armed encounter, attempts to hide himself behind his own fear, and to disarm the fury of his enemy by withdrawing the object upon which to wreak his vengeance. He is only saved by the intervention of the Crimean Tartars, his allies. Against a second invasion of the Horde, he ostentatiously gathers together such disproportionate forces that the mere rumour of their number parries the attack. At the third invasion, from the midst of 200,000 men, he absconds a disgraced deserter. Reluctantly dragged back, he attempts to haggle for conditions of slavery, and at last pouring into his army his own

[a] Ahmad.— *Ed.*

servile fear, he involves it in a general and disorderly flight. Muscovy was then anxiously awaiting its irretrievable doom, when it suddenly hears that by an attack on their capital made by the Crimean Khan,[a] the Golden Horde has been forced to withdraw, and has, on its retreat, been destroyed by the Cossacks and Nogay Tartars.[109] Thus defeat was turned into success, and Ivan had overthrown the Golden Horde, not by fighting it himself, but by challenging it through a feigned desire of combat into offensive movements, which exhausted its remnants of vitality and exposed it to the fatal blows of the tribes of its own race whom he had managed to turn into his allies. He caught one Tartar with another Tartar. As the immense danger he had himself summoned proved unable to betray him into one single trait of manhood, so his miraculous triumph did not infatuate him even for one moment. With cautious circumspection he dared not incorporate Kasan with Muscovy, but made it over to sovereigns belonging to the family of Menghi-Ghirei, his Crimean ally, to hold it, as it were, in trust for Muscovy. With the spoils of the vanquished Tartar, he enchained the victorious Tartar. But if too prudent to assume, with the eye-witnesses of his disgrace, the airs of a conqueror, this imposter did fully understand how the downfall of the Tartar empire must dazzle at a distance—with what halo of glory it would encircle him, and how it would facilitate a magnificent entry among the European powers. Accordingly he assumed abroad the theatrical attitude of the conqueror, and, indeed, succeeded in hiding under a mask of proud susceptibility and irritable haughtiness the obtrusiveness of the Mongol serf, who still remembered kissing the stirrup of the Khan's meanest envoy. He aped in more subdued tone the voice of his old masters, which terrified his soul. Some standing phrases of modern Russian diplomacy, such as the magnanimity, the wounded dignity of the master, are borrowed from the diplomatic instructions of Ivan III.

After the surrender of Kasan, he set out on a long-planned expedition against Novgorod, the head of the Russian republics. If the overthrow of the Tartar yoke was, in his eyes, the first condition of Muscovite greatness, the overthrow of Russian freedom was the second. As the republic of Vyatka had declared itself neutral between Muscovy and the Horde,[110] and the republic of Pskov, with its twelve cities, had shown symptoms of disaffection,[111] Ivan flattered the latter and affected to forget the former,

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[a] Mengli-Ghirai.— *Ed.*

meanwhile concentrating all his forces against Novgorod the Great, with the doom of which he knew the fate of the rest of the Russian republics to be sealed. By the prospect of sharing in this rich booty, he drew after him the princes holding appanages, while he inveigled the boyards by working upon their blind hatred of Novgorodian democracy. Thus he contrived to march three armies upon Novgorod and to overwhelm it by disproportionate force.[112] But then, in order not to keep his word to the princes, not to forfeit his immutable *"Vos non vobis,"*[a] at the same time apprehensive, lest Novgorod should not yet have become digestible from the want of preparatory treatment, he thought fit to exhibit a sudden moderation; to content himself with a ransom and the acknowledgement of his suzerainty; but into the act of submission of the republic he smuggled some ambiguous words which made him its supreme judge and legislator. Then he fomented the dissensions between the patricians and plebeians raging as well in Novgorod as at Florence. Of some complaints of the plebeians he took occasion to introduce himself again into the city, to have its nobles, whom he knew to be hostile to himself, sent to Moscow loaded with chains, and to break the ancient law of the republic that

> "none of its citizens should ever be tried or punished out of the limits of its own territory."[b]

From that moment he became supreme arbiter.

> "Never," say the annalists, "never since Rurik had such an event happened; never had the grand princes of Kiev and Vladimir seen the Novgorodians come and submit to them as their judges. Ivan alone could reduce Novgorod to that degree of humiliation."[c]

Seven years were employed by Ivan to corrupt the republic by the exercise of his judicial authority.[113] Then, when he found its strength worn out, he thought the moment ripe for declaring himself. To doff his own mask of moderation, he wanted, on the part of Novgorod, a breach of the peace. As he had simulated calm endurance, so he simulated now a sudden burst of passion. Having bribed an envoy of the republic[d] to address him during a public audience with the name of sovereign, he claimed, at once,

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[a] To have the use of you not to your advantage.— *Ed.*

[b] Ph. Segur, *History of Russia and of Peter the Great,* p. 132.— *Ed.*

[c] Ibid.— *Ed.*

[d] The envoys of the Republic were Nazar and Zakhar.— *Ed.*

all the rights of a despot—the self-annihilation of the republic.[a] As he had foreseen, Novgorod answered his usurpation with an insurrection, with a massacre of the nobles, and the surrender to Lithuania. Then this Muscovite contemporary of Machiavelli complained with the accent and the gesture of moral indignation.

"It was the Novgorodians who sought him for their sovereign; and when, yielding to their wishes, he had at last assumed that title, they disavowed him, they had the impudence to give him the lie formally in the face of all Russia; they had dared to shed the blood of their compatriots who remained faithful, and to betray heaven and the holy land of the Russians by calling into its limits a foreign religion and domination."[b]

As he had, after his first attack on Novgorod, openly allied himself with the plebeians against the patricians, so he now entered into a secret conspiracy with the patricians against the plebeians. He marched the united forces of Muscovy and its feudatories against the republic. On its refusal of unconditional submission, he recurred to the Tartar reminiscence of vanquishing by consternation. During a whole month he drew straighter and straighter around Novgorod a circle of fire and devastation, holding the sword all the while in suspense, and quietly watching till the republic, torn by factions, had run through all the phases of wild despair, sullen despondency, and resigned impotence. Novgorod was enslaved.[114] So were the other Russian republics. It is curious to see how Ivan caught the very moment of victory to forge weapons against the instruments of that victory. By the union of the domains of the Novgorod clergy with the crown, he secured himself the means of buying off the boyards, henceforth to be played off against the princes, and of endowing the followers of the boyards, henceforth to be played off against the boyards. It is still worthy of notice what exquisite pains were always taken by Muscovy as well as by modern Russia to execute republics. Novgorod and its colonies lead the dance; the republic of the Cossacks[115] follows; Poland closes it. To understand the Russian mastication of Poland, one must study the execution of Novgorod, lasting from 1478 till 1528.

Ivan seemed to have snatched the chain with which the Mongols crushed Muscovy only to bind with it the Russian republics. He seemed to enslave these republics only to republicanise the Russian princes. During twenty-three years he had recognised their

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[a] The rest of this chapter was omitted in the edition of *Revelations...* prepared for publication by Eleanor Marx-Aveling.—*Ed.*

[b] Ph. Segur, *History of Russia and of Peter the Great,* p. 134.—*Ed.*

independence, borne with their petulance, and stooped even to their outrages. Now, by the overthrow of the Golden Horde, and by the downfall of the republics, he had grown so strong, and the princes, on the other hand, had grown so weak by the influence which the Muscovite wielded over their boyards, that the mere display of force on the part of Ivan sufficed to decide the contest. Still, at the outset, he did not depart from his method of circumspection. He singled out the prince of Tver,[a] the mightiest of the Russian feudatories, to be the first object of his operations. He began by driving him to the offensive and into an alliance with Lithuania, then denounced him as a traitor, then terrified him into successive concessions destructive of the prince's means of defence, then played upon the false position in which these concessions placed him with respect to his own subjects, and then left this system to work out its consequences. It ended in the abandonment of the contest by the prince of Tver and his flight into Lithuania. Tver united with Muscovy[116]—Ivan pushed forward with terrible vigour in the execution of his long-meditated plan. The other princes underwent their degradation into simple governors almost without resistance. There remained still two brothers of Ivan. The one was persuaded to renounce his appanage; the other, enticed to the Court and put off his guard by hypocritical demonstrations of fraternal love, was assassinated.[117]

We have now arrived at Ivan's last great contest—that with Lithuania. Beginning with his accession to the throne, it ended only some years before his death. During thirty years he confined this contest to a war of diplomacy, fomenting and improving the internal dissensions between Lithuania and Poland, drawing over disaffected Russian feudatories of Lithuania, and paralysing his foe by stirring up foes against him; Maximilian of Austria,[b] Mathias Corvinus of Hungary; and above all, Stephen,[c] the hospodar of Moldavia, whom he had attached to himself by marriage; lastly, Menghi-Ghirei, who proved as powerful a tool against Lithuania as against the Golden Horde. On the death of king Casimir,[d] however, and the accession of the weak Alexander,[e] when the thrones of Lithuania and Poland became temporarily disjoined;[118] when those two countries had crippled each other's

[a] Mikhail Borisovich.—*Ed.*
[b] Maximilian I.—*Ed.*
[c] Stephen III the Great.—*Ed.*
[d] Casimir IV Jagiello.—*Ed.*
[e] Alexander Jagiello.—*Ed.*

forces in mutual strife; when the Polish nobility, lost in its efforts to weaken the royal power on the one hand, and to degrade the kmetons[a] and citizens on the other, deserted Lithuania, and suffered it to recede before the simultaneous incursions of Stephen of Moldavia and of Menghi-Ghirei; when thus the weakness of Lithuania had become palpable; then Ivan understood the opportunity had ripened for putting out his strength, and that conditions exuberated for a successful explosion on his part. Still he did not go beyond a theatrical demonstration of war—the assemblage of overwhelming forces. As he had completely foreseen, the feigned desire of combat did now suffice to make Lithuania capitulate. He extorted the acknowledgement by treaty of the encroachments, surreptitiously made in king Casimir's time, and plagued Alexander at the same time with his alliance and with his daughter.[119] The alliance he employed to forbid Alexander the defence against attacks instigated by the father-in-law, and the daughter to kindle a religious war between the intolerant Catholic king and his persecuted subjects of the Greek confession. Amidst this turmoil he ventured at last to draw the sword, and seized the Russian appanages under Lithuanian sway as far as Kiev and Smolensk.[120]

The Greek religion generally proved one of his most powerful means of action. But to lay claim to the inheritance of Byzantium, to hide the stigma of Mongolian serfdom under the mantle of the Porphyrogeniti, to link the upstart throne of Muscovy to the glorious empire of St. Vladimir,[b] to give in his own person a new temporal head to the Greek Church, whom of all the world should Ivan single out? The Roman Pope. At the Pope's court there dwelt the last princess of Byzantium.[c] From the Pope Ivan embezzled her by taking an oath to apostatise—an oath which he ordered his own primate[d] to release him from.[121]

A simple substitution of names and dates will prove to evidence that between the policy of Ivan III, and that of modern Russia, there exists not similarity but sameness. Ivan III, on his part, did but perfect the traditionary policy of Muscovy, bequeathed by Ivan I, Kalita. Ivan Kalita, the Mongolian slave, acquired greatness by wielding the power of his greatest foe, the Tartar, against his minor foes, the Russian princes. He could not wield the power of the Tartar but under false pretences. Forced to dissemble before

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[a] Peasants.— *Ed.*
[b] Vladimir Svyatoslavich.— *Ed.*
[c] Sophia (Zöe) Palaeologus.— *Ed.*
[d] Philipp I.— *Ed.*

his masters the strength he really gathered, he had to dazzle his fellow-serfs with a power he did not own. To solve his problem he had to elaborate all the *ruses* of the most abject slavery into a system, and to execute that system with the patient labour of the slave. Open force itself could enter as an intrigue only into a system of intrigues, corruption and underground usurpation. He could not strike before he had poisoned. Singleness of purpose became with him duplicity of action. To encroach by the fraudulent use of a hostile power, to weaken that power by the very act of using it, and to overthrow it at last by the effects produced through its own instrumentality—this policy was inspired to Ivan Kalita by the peculiar character both of the ruling and the serving race. His policy remained still the policy of Ivan III. It is yet the policy of Peter the Great, and of modern Russia, whatever changes of name, seat, and character the hostile power used may have undergone. Peter the Great is indeed the inventor of modern Russian policy, but he became so only by divesting the old Muscovite method of encroachment of its merely local character and its accidental admixtures, by distilling it into an abstract formula, by generalising its purpose, and exalting its object from the overthrow of certain given limits of power to the aspiration of unlimited power. He metamorphosed Muscovy into modern Russia by the generalisation of its system, not by the mere addition of some provinces.

To resume. It is in the terrible and abject school of Mongolian slavery that Muscovy was nursed and grew up. It gathered strength only by becoming a *virtuoso* in the craft of serfdom. Even when emancipated, Muscovy continued to perform its traditional part of the slave as master. At length Peter the Great coupled the political craft of the Mongol slave with the proud aspiration of the Mongol master, to whom Genghis Khan had, by will, bequeathed his conquest of the earth.

## Chapter V[122]

One feature characteristic of the Slavonic race must strike every observer. Almost everywhere it confined itself to an inland country, leaving the sea-borders to non-Slavonic tribes. Finno-Tartaric tribes held the shores of the Black Sea, Lithuanians and Fins those of the Baltic and White Sea. Wherever they touched the sea-board, as in the Adriatic and part of the Baltic, the Slavonians had soon to submit to foreign rule. The Russian people shared this common fate of the Slavonian race. Their home, at the time they first appear in history, was the country about the sources and upper course of the Volga and its tributaries, the Dnieper, Don and Northern Dvina. Nowhere did their territory touch the sea except at the extremity of the Gulf of Finland. Nor had they, before Peter the Great, proved able to conquer any maritime outlet beside that of the White Sea, which, during three-fourths of the year, is itself enchained and immovable. The spot where Petersburg now stands had been for a thousand years past contested ground between Fins, Swedes, and Russians. All the remaining extent of coast from Polangen, near Memel, to Tornea, the whole coast of the Black Sea, from Akerman to Redout Kaleh, has been conquered later on. And, as if to witness the anti-maritime peculiarity of the Slavonic race, of all this line of coast, no portion of the Baltic coast has really adopted Russian nationality. Nor has the Circassian and Mingrelian east coast of the Black Sea. It is only the coast of the White Sea, as far as it was worth cultivating, some portion of the northern coast of the Black Sea, and part of the coast of the Sea of Azof, that have really been peopled with Russian inhabitants, who, however, despite the new circumstances in which they are placed, still refrain from taking to

the sea, and obstinately stick to the land-lopers' traditions of their ancestors.

From the very outset, Peter the Great broke through all the traditions of the Slavonic race. "It is water that Russia wants."[a] These words he addressed as a rebuke to Prince Cantemir are inscribed on the title-page of his life. The conquest of the Sea of Azof was aimed at in his first war with Turkey, the conquest of the Baltic in his war against Sweden, the conquest of the Black Sea in his second war against the Porte, and the conquest of the Caspian Sea in his fraudulent intervention in Persia.[123] For a system of local encroachment, land was sufficient, for a system of universal aggression, water had become indispensable. It was but by the conversion of Muscovy from a country wholly of land into a sea-bordering empire, that the traditional limits of the Muscovite policy could be superseded and merged into that bold synthesis which, blending the encroaching method of the Mongol slave with the world-conquering tendencies of the Mongol master, forms the life-spring of modern Russian diplomacy.

It has been said that no great nation has ever existed, or been able to exist, in such an inland position as that of the original empire of Peter the Great; that none has ever submitted thus to see its coasts and the mouths of its rivers torn away from it; that Russia could no more leave the mouth of the Neva, the natural outlet for the produce of Northern Russia, in the hands of the Swedes, than the mouths of the Don, Dnieper, and Bug, and the Straits of Kertch, in the hands of nomadic and plundering Tartars; that the Baltic provinces, from their very geographical configuration, are naturally a corollary to whichever nation holds the country behind them; that, in one word, Peter, in this quarter, at least, but took hold of what was absolutely necessary for the natural development of his country. From this point of view, Peter the Great intended, by his war against Sweden, only rearing a Russian Liverpool, and endowing it with its indispensable strip of coast.

But then, one great fact is slighted over, the *tour de force* by which he transferred the capital of the Empire from the inland centre to the maritime extremity, the characteristic boldness with which he erected the new capital on the first strip of Baltic coast he conquered, almost within gunshot of the frontier, thus deliberately giving his dominions an *eccentric centre.* To transfer the throne of the Czars from Moscow to Petersburg was to place it in

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[a] Ph. Segur, *History of Russia and of Peter the Great,* p. 312.—*Ed.*

a position where it could not be safe, even from insult, until the whole coast from Libau to Tornea was subdued—a work not completed till 1809, by the conquest of Finland.

"St. Petersburg is the window from which Russia can overlook Europe," said Algarotti.[a]

It was from the first a defiance to the Europeans, an incentive to further conquest to the Russians. The fortifications in our own days of Russian Poland are only a further step in the execution of the same idea. Modlin, Warsaw, Ivangorod, are more than citadels to keep a rebellious country in check. They are the same menace to the west which Petersburg, in its immediate bearing, was a hundred years ago to the north. They are to transform Russia into Panslavonia, as the Baltic provinces were to transform Muscovy into Russia.

Petersburg, the *eccentric centre* of the empire, pointed at once at a periphery still to be drawn.

It is, then, not the mere conquest of the Baltic provinces which separates the policy of Peter the Great from that of his ancestors, but it is the transfer of the capital which reveals the true meaning of his Baltic conquests. Petersburg was not like Muscovy, the centre of a race, but the seat of a government; not the slow work of a people, but the instantaneous creation of a man; not the medium from which the peculiarities of an inland people radiate, but the maritime extremity where they are lost; not the traditionary nucleus of a national development, but the deliberately chosen abode of a cosmopolitan intrigue. By the transfer of the capital, Peter cut off the natural ligaments which bound up the encroaching system of the old Muscovite Czars with the natural abilities and aspirations of the great Russian race. By planting his capital on the margin of a sea, he put to open defiance the anti-maritime instincts of that race, and degraded it to a mere weight in his political mechanism. Since the 16th century, Muscovy had made no important acquisitions but on the side of Siberia, and to the 16th century the dubious conquests made towards the West and the South were only brought about by direct agency of the East. By the transfer of the capital, Peter proclaimed that he, on the contrary, intended working on the East and the immediately neighbouring countries through the agency of the West. If the agency through the East was narrowly circumscribed by the stationary character and the limited relations of Asiatic peoples,

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[a] *Lettres du comte Algarotti sur la Russie,* London, 1769, p. 64.—*Ed.*

the agency through the West became at once illimited and universal from the movable character and the all-sided relations of Western Europe. The transfer of the capital denoted this intended change of agency, which the conquest of the Baltic provinces afforded the means of achieving, by securing at once to Russia the supremacy among the neighbouring Northern States; by putting it into immediate and constant contact with all points of Europe; by laying the basis of a material bond with the Maritime Powers, which by this conquest became dependent on Russia for their naval stores; a dependence not existing as long as Muscovy, the country that produced the great bulk of the naval stores, had got no outlets of its own, while Sweden, the power that held these outlets, had not got the country lying behind them.

If the Muscovite Czars, who worked their encroachments by the agency principally of the Tartar Khans, were obliged to *tartarise* Muscovy, Peter the Great, who resolved upon working through the agency of the West, was obliged to *civilise* Russia. In grasping upon the Baltic provinces, he seized at once the tools necessary for this process. They afforded him not only the diplomatists and the generals, the brains with which to execute his system of political and military action on the West. They yielded him, at the same time, a crop of bureaucrats, schoolmasters, and drill-sergeants, who were to drill Russians into that varnish of civilisation that adapts them to the technical appliances of the Western peoples, without imbuing them with their ideas.

Neither the Sea of Azof, nor the Black Sea, nor the Caspian Sea, could open to Peter this direct passage to Europe. Besides, during his lifetime still Taganrog, Azof, the Black Sea, with its new-formed Russian fleets, ports, and dockyards, were again abandoned or given up to the Turk. The Persian conquest, too, proved a premature enterprise. Of the four wars which fill the military life of Peter the Great, his first war, that against Turkey, the fruits of which were lost in a second Turkish war, continued in one respect the traditionary struggle with the Tartars. In another respect, it was but the prelude to the war against Sweden, of which the second Turkish war forms an episode and the Persian war an epilogue. Thus the war against Sweden lasting during 21 years, almost absorbs the military life of Peter the Great. Whether we consider its purpose, its results, or its endurance, we may justly call it *the* war of Peter the Great. His whole creation hinges upon the conquest of the Baltic coast.

Now, suppose we were altogether ignorant of the details of his operations, military and diplomatic. The mere fact that the

conversion of Muscovy into Russia was brought about by its transformation from a half-Asiatic inland country into the paramount maritime power of the Baltic, would it not enforce upon us the conclusion that England, the greatest maritime power of that epoch, a maritime power lying, too, at the very gates of the Baltic, where, since the middle of the 17th century, she had maintained the attitude of supreme arbiter; that England must have had her hand in this great change, that she must have proved the main prop, or the main impediment of the plans of Peter the Great, that during the long protracted and deadly struggle between Sweden and Russia, she must have turned the balance, that if we do not find her straining every nerve in order to save the Swede, we may be sure of her having employed all the means at her disposal for furthering the Muscovite? And yet, in what is commonly called history, England does hardly appear on the plan of this grand drama, and is represented as a spectator rather than as an actor. Real history will show that the Khans of the Golden Horde were no more instrumental in realising the plans of Ivan III. and his predecessors than the rulers of England were in realising the plans of Peter I. and his successors.

The pamphlets which we have reprinted, written as they were by English contemporaries of Peter the Great, are far from concurring in the common delusions of later historians. They emphatically denounce England as the mightiest tool of Russia. The same position is taken up by the pamphlet, of which we shall now give a short analysis, and with which we shall conclude the introduction to the diplomatic revelations. It is entitled, "*Truth is but Truth as it is timed,* or our *Ministry's present measures against the Muscovite vindicated, etc., etc.* Humbly dedicated to the House of C., London, 1719."

The former pamphlets we have reprinted,[a] were written at, or shortly after, the time when, to use the words of a modern admirer of Russia,[b]

> "Peter traversed the Baltic Sea as master at the head of the combined squadrons of all the northern Powers," England included, "which gloried in sailing under his orders."[c]

In 1719, however, when *Truth is but Truth* was published, the face of affairs seemed altogether changed. Charles XII was dead, and the English Government now pretended to side with Sweden,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 43-55, 65-73.—*Ed.*
[b] Ph. Segur.—*Ed.*
[c] Ph. Segur, *History of Russia...*, p. 304.—*Ed.*

and to wage war against Russia. There are other circumstances connected with this anonymous pamphlet, which claim particular notice. It purports to be an extract from a relation, which, on his return from Muscovy, in August 1715, its author,[a] by order of George I., drew up and handed over to Viscount Townshend, then Secretary of State.

"It happens," says he, "to be an advantage that at present I may own to have been the first so happy to foresee, or honest to forewarn our Court here, of the absolute necessity of our then breaking with the Czar, and shutting him out again of the Baltic." "My relation discovered his aim as to other states, and even to the German empire, to which, although an inland power, he had offered to annex Livonia as an Electorate, so that he could but be admitted as an elector. It drew attention to the Czar's then contemplated assumption of the title of Autocrator.[124] Being head of the Greek Church he would be owned by the other potentates as head of the Greek Empire. I am not to say how reluctant we would be to acknowledge that title, since we have already made an ambassador[b] treat him with the title of Imperial Majesty, which the Swede has never yet condescended to."

For some time attached to the British Embassy in Muscovy, our author, as he states, was later on

"*dismissed the service, because the Czar desired it,*" having made sure that "I had given our Court such light into his affairs as is contained in this paper; for which I beg leave to appeal to the King, and to vouch the Viscount Townshend, who heard His Majesty give that vindication." And yet, notwithstanding all this, "I have been for these five years past kept soliciting for a very long arrear still due, and whereof I contracted the greatest part in executing a commission from Her late Majesty.[c]"

The anti-Muscovite attitude, suddenly assumed by the Stanhope Cabinet, our author looks to in rather a sceptic mood.

"I do not pretend to foreclose, by this paper, the Ministry of that applause due to them from the public, when they shall satisfy us as to what the motives were, which made them, till but yesterday, straiten the Swede in everything, although then our ally as much as now. Or strengthen by all the ways they could, the Czar, although under no tie, but barely that of amity with Great Britain.... At the minute I write this I learn that the gentleman, who brought the Muscovites, not yet three years ago, as a royal navy, not under our protection, on their first appearance in the Baltic, is again authorised by the persons now in power, to give the Czar a second meeting in these seas. For what reason, or to what good end?"

The gentleman hinted at is Admiral Norris, whose Baltic campaign against Peter I. seems, indeed, to be the original pattern

[a] G. Mackenzie.— *Ed.*
[b] M. Withworth.— *Ed.*
[c] Anne.— *Ed.*

upon which the recent naval campaigns of Admirals Napier and Dundas were cut out.[125]

The restoration to Sweden of the Baltic provinces is required by the commercial as well as the political interest of Great Britain. Such is the pith of our author's argument:

"Trade is become the very life of our State; and what food is to life naval stores are to a fleet. The whole trade we drive with all the other nations of the earth, at best, is but lucrative; this, of the north, is indispensably needful, and may not be improperly termed the *sacra embole*[a] of Great Britain, as being its chiefest foreign vent, for the support of all our trade, and our safety at home. As woollen manufactures and minerals are the staple commodities of Great Britain, so are likewise naval stores those of Muscovy, as also of all those very provinces in the Baltic, which the Czar has so lately wrested from the crown of Sweden. Since those provinces have been in the Czar's possession, Pernau is entirely waste. At Revel we have not one British merchant left, and all the trade which was formerly at Narva, is now brought to Petersburg.... The Swede could never possibly engross the trade of our subjects, because those seaports in his hands were but so many thoroughfares from whence these commodities were uttered, the places of their produce or manufacture lying behind those ports, in the dominions of the Czar. But, if left to the Czar, these Baltic ports are no more thoroughfares, but peculiar magazines from the inland countries of the Czar's own dominions. Having already Archangel in the White Sea, to leave him but any seaport in the Baltic were to put no less in his hands than the *two keys of the general magazines of all the naval stores of Europe:* it being known, that Danes, Swedes, Poles and Prussians have but single and distinct branches of those commodities in their several dominions." If the Czar should thus engross "the supply of what we cannot do without, where then is our fleet? Or, indeed, where is the security for all our trade to any part of the earth besides?"

If then, the interest of British commerce requires to exclude the Czar from the Baltic, "the interest of our State ought to be no less a spur to quicken us to that attempt. By the interest of our State I would be understood to mean neither the party measures of a Ministry, nor any foreign motives of a court, but precisely what is, and ever must be, the immediate concern, either for the safety, ease, dignity, or emolument of the Crown, as well as the common weal of Great Britain." With respect to the Baltic, it has "from the earliest period of our naval power" always been considered a fundamental interest of our State; first, to prevent the rise there of any new maritime Power; and, secondly, to maintain the balance of power between Denmark and Sweden.

"One instance of the wisdom and foresight of our *then truly British statesmen* is the peace at Stolbowa, in the year 1617.[126] James the First was the mediator of that treaty, by which the Muscovite was obliged to give up all the provinces which he then was possessed of in the Baltic, and to be barely an inland power on this side of Europe."

The same policy of preventing a new maritime power from starting in the Baltic was acted upon by Sweden and Denmark.

"Who knows not that the Emperor's[b] attempt to get a seaport in Pomerania

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[a] Sacred key.—*Ed.*

[b] Ferdinand II.—*Ed.*

weighed no less with the great Gustavus,[a] than any other motive for carrying his arms even into the bowels of the house of Austria? What befell, at the times of Charles Gustavus,[b] the crown of Poland itself, who, besides it being in those days by far the mightiest of any of the Northern powers, had then a long stretch of coast on, and some ports in the Baltic? The Danes, though then in alliance with Poland, would never allow them, even for their assistance against the Swedes, to have a fleet in the Baltic, but destroyed the Polish ships wherever they could meet them."

As to the maintenance of the balance of power between the established Maritime States of the Baltic, the tradition of British policy is no less clear.

When the Swedish power gave us some uneasiness there by threatening to crush Denmark, the honour of our country was kept up by retrieving the then inequality of the balance of power.

"The Commonwealth of England sent in a squadron to the Baltic, which brought on the treaty of Roskild (1658), afterwards confirmed at Copenhagen (1660).[127] The fire of straw kindled by the Danes in the times of King William III. was as speedily quenched by George Rooke in the treaty of Travendahl." [128]

Such was the hereditary British policy.

"It never entered into the mind of the politicians of those times, in order to bring the scale again to rights, to find out the happy *expedient of raising a third naval Power* for framing a juster balance in the Baltic.... Who has taken this counsel against Tyre, the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourables of the earth?[c] *Ego autem neminem nomino, quare irasci mihi nemo poterit, nisi qui ante de se voluerit confiteri.*[d] Posterity will be under some difficulty to believe that this could be the *work of any of the persons now in power* ... that *we* have opened *St. Petersburg to the Czar solely at our own expense, and without any risk to him....*"

The safest line of policy would be to return to the treaty of Stolbowa, and to suffer the Muscovite no longer "to nestle in the Baltic." Yet, it may be said, that in "the present state of affairs" it would be "difficult to retrieve the advantage we have lost by not curbing, when it was more easy, the growth of the Muscovite power."

A middle course may be thought more convenient.

"If we should find it consistent with the welfare of our State, that the Muscovite have an inlet into the Baltic, as having, of all the princes of Europe, a country that can be made most beneficial to its prince, by uttering its produce to foreign markets. In this case, it were but reasonable to expect on the other hand, that in return for our complying so far with his interest, for the improvement of his country, His Czarish Majesty, on his part, should demand nothing that may tend to the disturbance of another; and, therefore, contenting himself with ships of trade, should demand none of war."

"We should thus preclude his hopes of being ever more than an inland power," but "obviate every objection of using the Czar worse than any Sovereign Prince may expect. I shall not for this give an instance of a Republic of Genoa, or another

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[a] Gustavus II Adolphus.—*Ed.*

[b] Charles X (Gustavus).—*Ed.*

[c] Isaiah 23:8.—*Ed.*

[d] "But I name no one, so that no one will be angry with me, other than he who might refuse to express himself openly before the event." Cicero, *Pro lege Manilia,* ch. XIII.—*Ed.*

in the Baltic itself, of the Duke of Courland; but will assign Poland and Prussia, who, though both now crowned heads, have ever contented themselves with the freedom of an open traffic, without insisting on a fleet. Or the treaty of Falczin, between the Turk[a] and Muscovite, by which Peter was forced not only to restore Asof, and to part with all his men-of-war in those parts, but also to content himself with the bare freedom of traffic in the Black Sea.[129] Even an inlet in the Baltic for trade is much beyond what he could morally have promised himself not yet so long ago on the issue of his war with Sweden."

If the Czar refuse to agree to such "a healing temperament," we shall have "nothing to regret, but the time we lost to exert all the means that Heaven has made us master of, to reduce him to a peace advantageous to Great Britain."

War would become inevitable. In that case, "it ought no less to animate our Ministry to pursue their present measures, than fire with indignation the breast of every honest Briton, that a Czar of Muscovy, who owes his naval skill to our instructions, and his grandeur to our forbearance, should so soon deny to Great Britain the terms which so few years ago he was fain to take up with from the Sublime Porte."

"'Tis every way our interest to have the Swede restored to those provinces which the Muscovite has wrested from that crown in the Baltic. *Great Britain can no longer hold the balance in that sea,*" since she "*has raised the Muscovite to be a maritime Power there....* Had we performed the articles of our alliance made by King William with the crown of Sweden, that gallant nation would ever have been a bar strong enough against the Czar coming into the Baltic.... Time must confirm us, that the Muscovite's *expulsion from the Baltic* is *now* the principal end of our Ministry."

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[a] Sultan Ahmed III.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [REVOLUTION IN SPAIN]

The news brought by the *Asia* yesterday, though later by three days than our previous advices, contains nothing to indicate a speedy conclusion of the civil war in Spain. O'Donnell's coup d'état, although victorious at Madrid,[130] cannot yet be said to have finally succeeded. The French *Moniteur*, which at first put down the insurrection at Barcelona as a mere riot,[a] is now obliged to confess that

> "the conflict there was very keen, but that the success of the Queen's[b] troops may be considered as secured."[c]

According to the version of that official journal the combat at Barcelona lasted from 5 o'clock in the afternoon of July 18 till the same hour on the 21st—exactly three days—when the "insurgents" are said to have been dislodged from their quarters, and fled into the country, pursued by cavalry. It is, however, averred that the insurgents still hold several towns in Catalonia, including Gerona, Junquera, and some smaller places. It also appears that Murcia, Valencia and Seville have made their *pronunciamientos*[d] against the coup d'état; that a battalion of the garrison of Pampeluna, directed by the Governor of that town on Soria, had pronounced against the Government on the road, and marched to join the insurrection at Saragossa; and lastly that at Saragossa,

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[a] *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 203, July 21, 1856, "Partie non officielle".—*Ed.*
[b] Isabella II.—*Ed.*
[c] *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 206, July 24, 1856, "Partie non officielle".—*Ed.*
[d] Mutinies.—*Ed.*

from the beginning the acknowledged center of resistance, Gen. Falcon had passed in review 16,000 soldiers of the line, reinforced by 15,000 militia and peasants from the environs.

At all events, the French Government considers the "insurrection" in Spain as not quelled, and Bonaparte, far from contenting himself with the sending of a batch of battalions to line the frontier, has ordered one brigade to advance to the Bidassoa, which brigade is being completed to a division by reinforcements from Montpellier and Toulouse. It seems, also, that a second division has been detached immediately from the army of Lyons, according to orders sent direct from Plombières on the 23d ult., and is now marching toward the Pyrenees, where, by this time, there is assembled a full *corps d'observation* of 25,000 men. Should the resistance to the O'Donnell government be able to hold its ground; should it prove formidable enough to inveigle Bonaparte into an armed invasion of the Peninsula, then the coup d'état of Madrid may have given the signal for the downfall of the coup d'état of Paris.[131]

If we consider the general plot and the *dramatis personae,* this Spanish conspiracy of 1856 appears as the simple revival of the similar attempt of 1843,[132] with some slight alterations of course. Then, as now, Isabella at Madrid and Christina at Paris; Louis Philippe, instead of Louis Bonaparte, directing the movement from the Tuileries; on the one side, Espartero and his *Ayacuchos*[133]; on the other, O'Donnell, Serrano, Concha, with Narvaez then in the proscenium, now in the background. In 1843, Louis Philippe sent two millions of gold by land and Narvaez and his friends by sea, the compact of the Spanish marriages being settled between himself and Madame Muñoz.[134] The complicity of Bonaparte in the Spanish coup d'état—who has, perhaps, settled the marriage of his cousin Prince Napoleon with a Mdlle. Muñoz, or who, at all events, must continue his mission of mimicking his uncle[a]—that complicity is not only indicated by the denunciations hurled by the *Moniteur* for the last two months at the communist conspiracies in Castile and Navarre, by the behavior before, during and after the coup d'état of M. de Turgot, the French Embassador at Madrid, the same man who was the Foreign Minister of Bonaparte during his own coup d'état; by the Duke of Alba, Bonaparte's brother-in-law, turning up as the President of the new *ayuntamiento*[b] at Madrid, immediately after the victory of

[a] Napoleon I.—*Ed.*
[b] Municipal Council.—*Ed.*

O'Donnell; by Ros de Olano, an old member of the French party, being the first man offered a place in O'Donnell's Ministry; and by Narvaez being dispatched to Bayonne by Bonaparte as soon as the first news of the affair reached Paris. That complicity was suggested beforehand by the forwarding of large quantities of ammunition from Bordeaux to Bayonne a fortnight in advance of the actual crisis at Madrid. Above all, it is suggested by the plan of operations followed by O'Donnell in his razzia against the people of that city. At the very outset he announced that he would not shrink from blowing up Madrid, and during the fighting he acted up to his word. Now, although a daring fellow, O'Donnell has never ventured upon a bold step without securing a safe retreat. Like his notorious uncle,[a] the hero of treason, he never burnt the bridge when he passed the Rubicon. The organ of combativeness is singularly checked in the O'Donnells by the organs of cautiousness and secretiveness. It is plain that any general who should hold forth the threat of laying the capital in ashes, and fail in his attempt, would forfeit his head. How then did O'Donnell venture upon such delicate ground? The secret is betrayed by the *Journal des Débats,* the special organ of Queen Christina.

"O'Donnell expected a great battle, and at the most a victory hotly disputed. Into his provisions there entered the possibility of defeat. If such a misfortune had happened, the Marshal would have abandoned Madrid with the rest of his army, escorting the Queen, and turning toward the northern provinces, with a view to approach the French frontier."[b]

Does not all this look as if he had laid his plan with Bonaparte? Exactly the same plan had been settled between Louis Philippe and Narvaez in 1843, which, again, was copied from the secret convention between Louis XVIII and Ferdinand VII, in 1823.[135]

This plausible parallel between the Spanish conspiracies of 1843 and 1856 once admitted, there are still sufficiently distinct features in the two movements to indicate the immense strides made by the Spanish people within so brief an epoch. These features are: the political character of the last struggle at Madrid; its military importance; and finally, the respective position of Espartero and O'Donnell in 1856 compared with those of Espartero and Narvaez in 1843. In 1843 all parties had become tired of Espartero. To get rid of him a powerful coalition was formed between the *Moderados* and *Progresistas.*[136] Revolutionary juntas springing up like mush-

[a] Enrique Jose O'Donnell.— *Ed.*
[b] *Journal des Débats,* July 22, 1856, "France".— *Ed.*

rooms in all the towns, paved the way for Narvaez and his retainers. In 1856 we have not only the court and army on the one side against the people on the other, but within the ranks of the people we have the same divisions as in the rest of Western Europe. On the 13th of July the Ministry of Espartero offered its forced resignation; in the night of the 13th and 14th the Cabinet of O'Donnell was constituted; on the morning of the 14th the rumor spread that O'Donnell, charged with the formation of a cabinet, had invited Ryos y Rosas, the ill-omened Minister of the bloody days of July, 1854,[137] to join him. At 11 a.m. the *Gaceta* confirmed the rumor. Then the Cortes assembled, 93 deputies being present. According to the rules of that body, 20 members suffice to call a meeting, and 50 to form a quorum. Besides, the Cortes had not been formally prorogued. Gen. Infante, the President, could not but comply with the universal wish to hold a regular sitting. A proposition was submitted to the effect that the new Cabinet did not enjoy the confidence of the Cortes, and that her Majesty[a] should be informed of this resolution. At the same time, the Cortes summoned the National Guard to be ready for action. Their Committee, bearing the resolution of want of confidence, went to the Queen, escorted by a detachment of National Militia. While endeavoring to enter the palace they were driven back by the troops of the line, who fired upon them and their escort. This incident gave the signal for the insurrection. The order to commence the building of barricades was given at 7 in the evening by the Cortes, whose meeting was dispersed immediately afterward by the troops of O'Donnell. The battle commenced the same night, only one battalion of the National Militia joining the Royal troops. It should be noted that as early as the morning of the 13th, Señor Escosura, the Esparterist Minister of the Interior, had telegraphed to Barcelona and Saragossa that a coup d'état was at hand, and that they must prepare to resist it. At the head of the Madrid insurgents were Señor Madoz and Gen. Valdez, the brother of Escosura. In short, there can be no doubt that the resistance to the coup d'état originated with the Esparterists, the citizens and Liberals in general. While they, with the militia, engaged the line across Madrid from east to west, the workmen under Pucheta occupied the south and part of the north side of the town.

On the morning of the 15th, O'Donnell took the initiative. Even

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[a] Isabella II.— *Ed.*

by the partial testimony of the *Débats*,[a] O'Donnell obtained no marked advantage during the first half of the day. Suddenly, at about 1 o'clock, without any perceptible reason, the ranks of the National Militia were broken; at 2 o'clock they were still more thinned, and at 6 o'clock they had completely disappeared from the scene of action, leaving the whole brunt of the battle to be borne by the workmen, who fought it out till 4 in the afternoon of the 16th. Thus there were, in these three days of carnage, two distinct battles—the one of the Liberal Militia of the middle class, supported by the workmen against the army, and the other of the army against the workmen deserted by the militia. As Heine has it:

"It is an old story, but is always new."[b]

Espartero deserts the Cortes; the Cortes desert the leaders of the National Guard; the leaders desert their men, and the men desert the people. On the 15th, however, the Cortes assembled again, when Espartero appeared for a moment. He was reminded by Señor Assensio and other members of his reiterated protestations to draw his grand sword of Luchana[138] on the first day when the liberty of the country should be endangered. Espartero called Heaven to witness his unswerving patriotism, and when he left, it was fully expected that he would soon be seen at the head of the insurrection. Instead of this, he went to the house of Gen. Gurrea, where he buried himself in a bomb-proof cellar, à la Palafox, and was heard of no more. The commandants of the militia, who, on the evening before, had employed every means to excite the militiamen to take up arms, now proved as eager to retire to their private houses. At $2\,^1/_2$ p.m. Gen. Valdez, who for some hours had usurped the command of the militia, convoked the soldiers under his direct command on the Plaza Mayor, and told them that the man who naturally ought to be at their head would not come forward, and that consequently everybody was at liberty to withdraw. Hereupon the National Guards rushed to their homes and hastened to get rid of their uniforms and hide their arms. Such is the substance of the account furnished by one well-informed authority. Another gives as the reason for this sudden act of submission to the conspiracy, that it was considered that the triumph of the National Guard was likely to entail the ruin of the throne and the absolute preponderance of the Republican

[a] *Journal des Débats*, July 22, 1856, "France".—*Ed.*
[b] H. Heine, "Lyrisches Intermezzo".—*Ed.*

Democracy. The *Presse* of Paris also gives us to understand that Marshal Espartero, seeing the turn given to things in the Congress by the Democrats, did not wish to sacrifice the throne, or launch into the hazards of anarchy and civil war, and in consequence did all he could to produce submission to O'Donnell.

It is true that the details as to the time, circumstances, and break-down of the resistance to the coup d'état, are given differently by different writers; but all agree on the one principal point, that Espartero deserted the Cortes, the Cortes the leaders, the leaders the middle class, and that class the people. This furnishes a new illustration of the character of most of the European struggles of 1848-49, and of those hereafter to take place in the Western portion of that continent. On the one hand there are modern industry and trade, the natural chiefs of which, the middle classes, are averse to the military despotism; on the other hand, when they begin the battle against this same despotism, in step the workmen themselves, the product of the modern organization of labor, to claim their due share of the result of victory. Frightened by the consequences of an alliance thus imposed on their unwilling shoulders, the middle classes shrink back again under the protecting batteries of the hated despotism. This is the secret of the standing armies of Europe, which otherwise will be incomprehensible to the future historian. The middle classes of Europe are thus made to understand that they must either surrender to a political power which they detest, and renounce the advantages of modern industry and trade, and the social relations based upon them, or forego the privileges which the modern organization of the productive powers of society, in its primary phase, has vested in an exclusive class. That this lesson should be taught even from Spain is something equally striking and unexpected.

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# Karl Marx

## [REVOLUTION IN SPAIN]

Saragossa surrendered on August 1, at 1:30 p.m., and thus vanished the last center of resistance to the Spanish counter-revolution. There was, in a military point of view, little chance of success after the defeats at Madrid and Barcelona, the feebleness of the insurrectionary diversion in Andalusia, and the converging advance of overwhelming forces from the Basque provinces, Navarre, Catalonia, Valencia and Castile. Whatever chance there might be was paralyzed by the circumstance that it was Espartero's old aide-de-camp, General Falcon, who directed the forces of resistance; that "Espartero and Liberty" was given as the battlecry; and that the population of Saragossa had become aware of Espartero's incommensurably ridiculous fiasco at Madrid.[139] Besides, there were direct orders from Espartero's headquarters to his bottle-holders at Saragossa, that they were to put an end to all resistance, as will be seen from the following extract from the *Journal de Madrid* of July 29:

> "One of the Esparterist ex-Ministers took part in the negotiations going on between General Dulce and the authorities of Saragossa, and the Esparterist member of the Cortes, Juan Martinez Alonso, accepted the mission of informing the insurgent leaders that the Queen,[a] her Ministers and her generals, were animated by a most conciliatory spirit."[b]

The revolutionary movement was pretty generally spread over the whole of Spain. Madrid and La Mancha in Castile; Granada, Seville, Malaga, Cadiz, Jaen, etc., in Andalusia; Murcia and

[a] Isabella II.—*Ed.*
[b] Quoted from *The Leader*, No. 333, August 9, 1856.—*Ed.*

Cartagena in Murcia; Valencia, Alicante, Alzira, etc., in Valencia; Barcelona, Reus, Figueras, Gerona, in Catalonia; Saragossa, Teruel, Huesca, Jaca, etc., in Aragon; Oviedo in Asturias; and Coruña in Galicia. There were no moves in Estremadura, Leon and old Castile, where the revolutionary party had been put down two months ago, under the joint auspices of Espartero and O'Donnell—the Basque provinces and Navarre also remaining quiet. The sympathies of the latter provinces, however, were with the revolutionary cause, although they might not manifest themselves in sight of the French army of observation. This is the more remarkable if it be considered that twenty years ago these very provinces formed the stronghold of Carlism[140]—then backed by the peasantry of Aragon and Catalonia, but who, this time, were most passionately siding with the revolution; and who would have proved a most formidable element of resistance, had not the imbecility of the leaders at Barcelona and Saragossa prevented their energies from being turned to account. Even *The London Morning Herald*, the orthodox champion of Protestantism, which broke lances for the Quixote of the auto-da-fe, Don Carlos, some twenty years ago, has stumbled over that fact, which it is fair enough to acknowledge. This is one of the many symptoms of progress revealed by the last revolution in Spain, a progress the slowness of which will astonish only those not acquainted with the peculiar customs and manners of a country, where "a la mañana"[a] is the watchword of every day's life, and where everybody is ready to tell you that "our forefathers needed eight hundred years to drive out the Moors."

Notwithstanding the general spread of *pronunciamientos*,[b] the revolution in Spain was limited only to Madrid and Barcelona. In the south it was broken by the *cholera morbus*,[c] in the north by the Espartero murrain. From a military point of view, the insurrections at Madrid and Barcelona offer few interesting and scarcely any novel features. On the one side—the army—everything was prepared beforehand; on the other everything was extemporized; the offensive never for a moment changed sides. On the one hand, a well-equipped army, moving easily in the strings of its commanding generals; on the other, leaders reluctantly pushed forward by the impetus of an imperfectly-armed people. At Madrid the revolutionists from the outset committed the mistake

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[a] Let's do it tomorrow.—*Ed.*
[b] Mutinies.—*Ed.*
[c] Epidemic of cholera.—*Ed.*

of blocking themselves up in the internal parts of the town, on the line connecting the eastern and western extremities—extremities commanded by O'Donnell and Concha, who communicated with each other and the cavalry of Dulce through the external boulevards. Thus the people were cutting off and exposing themselves to the concentric attack preconcerted by O'Donnell and his accomplices. O'Donnell and Concha had only to effect their junction and the revolutionary forces were dispersed into the north and south quarters of the town, and deprived of all further cohesion. It was a distinct feature of the Madrid insurrection that barricades were used sparingly and only at prominent street corners, while the houses were made the centers of resistance; and—what is unheard of in street warfare—bayonet attacks met the assailing columns of the army. But, if the insurgents profited by the experience of the Paris and Dresden insurrections,[141] the soldiers had learned no less by them. The walls of the houses were broken through one by one, and the insurgents were taken in the flank and rear, while the exits into the streets were swept by cannon-shot. Another distinguished feature in this battle of Madrid was that Pucheta, after the junction of Concha and O'Donnell, when he was pushed into the southern (Toledo) quarter of the town, transplanted the guerrilla warfare from the mountains of Spain into the streets of Madrid. The insurrection, dispersed, faced about under some arch of a church, in some narrow lane, on the staircase of a house, and there defended itself to the death.

At Barcelona the fighting was still more intense, there being no leadership at all. Militarily, this insurrection, like all previous risings in Barcelona, perished by the fact of the citadel, Fort Montjuick, remaining in the hands of the army. The violence of the struggle is characterized by the burning of 150 soldiers in their barracks at Gracia, a suburb which the insurgents hotly contested, after being already dislodged from Barcelona. It deserves mention that, while at Madrid, as we have shown in a previous article,[a] the proletarians were betrayed and deserted by the bourgeoisie, the weavers of Barcelona declared at the very outset that they would have nothing to do with a movement set on foot by Esparterists, and insisted on the declaration of the Republic. This being refused, they, with the exception of some who could not resist the smell of powder, remained passive spectators of the battle, which

[a] See this volume, pp. 100-02.—*Ed.*

was thus lost—all insurrections at Barcelona being decided by its 20,000 weavers.

The Spanish revolution of 1856 is distinguished from all its predecessors by the loss of all dynastic character. It is known that the movement from 1808 to 1814[a] was national and dynastic.[142] Although the Cortes in 1812[b] proclaimed an almost republican Constitution, they did it in the name of Ferdinand VII. The movement of 1820-23,[143] timidly republican, was altogether premature and had against it the masses to whose support it appealed, those masses being bound altogether to the Church and the Crown. So deeply rooted was royalty in Spain, that the struggle between old and modern society, to become serious, needed a testament of Ferdinand VII, and the incarnation of the antagonistic principles in two dynastic branches, the Carlist and Cristina ones. Even to combat for a new principle the Spaniard wanted a time-honored standard. Under these banners the struggle was fought out, from 1833[c] to 1843. Then there was an end of revolution, and the new dynasty was allowed its trial from 1843 to 1854. In the revolution of July, 1854, there was thus necessarily implied an attack on the new dynasty; but innocent Isabel was covered by the hatred concentrated on her mother,[d] and the people reveled not only in their own emancipation but also in that of Isabel from her mother and the *camarilla*.

In 1856 the cloak had fallen and Isabel herself confronted the people by the coup d'état that fomented the revolution. She proved the worthy, coolly cruel, and cowardly hypocrite daughter of Ferdinand VII, who was so much given to lying that notwithstanding his bigotry he could never convince himself, even with the aid of the Holy Inquisition, that such exalted personages as Jesus Christ and his Apostles had spoken truth. Even Murat's massacre of the *Madrileños* in 1808[144] dwindles into an insignificant riot by the side of the butcheries of the 14-16th July, smiled upon by the innocent Isabel.[e] Those days sounded the death-knell of royalty in Spain. There are only the imbecile legitimists of Europe imagining that Isabel having fallen, Don Carlos may rise. They are forever thinking that when the last manifestation of a principle dies away, it is only to give its primitive manifestation another turn.

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[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has mistakenly "from 1804 to 1815".—*Ed.*
[b] The *NYDT* has mistakenly "1824".—*Ed.*
[c] The *NYDT* has mistakenly "1831".—*Ed.*
[d] Maria Cristina.—*Ed.*
[e] See this volume, pp. 97-102.—*Ed.*

In 1856, the Spanish revolution has lost not only its dynastic, but also its military character. Why the army played such a prominent part in Spanish revolutions, may be told in a very few words. The old institution of the Captain-Generalships, which made the captains the pashas of their respective provinces[145]; the war of independence against France, which not only made the army the principal instrument of national defense, but also the first revolutionary organization and the center of revolutionary action in Spain; the conspiracies of 1814-19,[a] all emanating from the army; the dynastic war of 1833-40,[b] depending on the armies of both sides[146]; the isolation of the liberal bourgeoisie forcing them to employ the bayonets of the army against clergy and peasantry in the country; the necessity for Cristina and the camarilla to employ bayonets against the Liberals, as the Liberals had employed bayonets against the peasants; the tradition growing out of all these precedents; these were the causes which impressed on revolution in Spain a military, and on the army a pretorian character. Till 1854, revolution always originated with the army, and its different manifestations up to that time offered no external sign of difference beyond the grade in the army whence they originated. Even in 1854 the first impulse still proceeded from the army, but there is the Manzanares manifesto[c] of O'Donnell[147] to attest how slender the base of the military preponderance in the Spanish revolution had become. Under what conditions was O'Donnell finally allowed to stay his scarcely equivocal promenade from Vicálvaro to the Portuguese frontiers, and to bring back the army to Madrid? Only on the promise to immediately reduce it, to replace it by the National Guard, and not to allow the fruits of the revolution to be shared by the generals. If the revolution of 1854 confined itself thus to the expression of its distrust, only two years later, it finds itself openly and directly attacked by that army—an army that has now worthily entered the lists by the side of the Croats of Radetzky, the Africans of Bonaparte, and the Pomeranians of Wrangel.[148] How far the glories of its new position are appreciated by the Spanish army, is proved by the rebellion of a regiment at Madrid, on the 29th of July, which, not being satisfied with the mere *cigarros* of Isabel, struck for the five franc pieces, and sausages of Bonaparte,[149] and got them, too.

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[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has mistakenly "1815-18".—*Ed.*
[b] The *NYDT* has mistakenly "1831-41".—*Ed.*
[c] Published in the *Journal des Débats*, July 17, 1854.—*Ed.*

This time, then, the army has been all against the people, or, indeed, it has only fought against them, and the National Guards. In short, there is an end of the revolutionary mission of the Spanish army. The man in whom centered the military, the dynastic, and the bourgeois liberal character of the Spanish revolution—Espartero—has now sunk even lower than the common law of fate would have enabled his most intimate *connoisseurs* to anticipate. If, as is generally rumored, and is very probable, the Esparterists are about to rally under O'Donnell, they will have confirmed their suicide by an official act of their own. They will not save him.

The next European revolution will find Spain matured for cooperation with it. The years 1854 and 1856 were phases of transition she had to pass through to arrive at that maturity.

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# Karl Marx

## [THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IN EUROPE]

What distinguishes the present period of speculation in Europe is the universality of the rage. There have been gambling manias before—corn manias, railway manias, mining manias, banking manias, cotton-spinning manias—in short, manias of every possible description; but at the epochs of the great commercial crises of 1817, 1825, 1836, 1846-'47, although every branch of industrial and commercial enterprise was affected, one leading mania gave to each epoch its distinct tone and character. Every department being invaded by the spirit of speculation, every speculator still confined himself within his department. On the contrary, the ruling principle of the Crédit Mobilier, the representative of the present mania, is not to speculate in a given line, but to speculate in speculation, and to universalize swindling at the same rate that it centralizes it. There is, besides, this further difference in the origin and growth of the present mania, that it did not begin in England, but in France. The present race of French speculators stand in the same relation to the English speculators of the above-mentioned epochs as the French Deists of the Eighteenth to the English Deists of the Seventeenth Century.[150] The one furnished the materials, while the other produced the generalizing form which enabled deism to be propagated over the whole civilized world of the eighteenth century. The British are prone to congratulate themselves upon the removal of the focus of speculation from their free and sober island to the muddled and despot-ridden Continent; but then they forget the intense anxiety with which they watch the monthly statement of the Bank of France as influencing the heap of bullion in the sanctum of the Bank of England; they forget that it is English capital, to a great extent, which supplies the great arteries of the European Crédits Mobiliers with the heavenly moisture; they forget that the "sound"

over-trading and over-production in England, which they are now extolling as having reached the figure of nearly £110,000,000 of exports, is the direct offspring of the "unsound" speculation they denounce on the Continent, as much as their liberal policy of 1854 and 1856 is the offspring of the coup d'état of Bonaparte. Yet it cannot be denied that they are innocent of the breeding of that curious mixture of Imperial Socialism, St. Simonistic stock-jobbing and philosophical swindling which makes up what is called the Crédit Mobilier. In strong contradistinction to this continental refinement, English speculation has gone back to its coarsest and most primitive form of fraud, plain, unvarnished and unmitigated. Fraud was the mystery of Paul, Strahan & Bates; of the Tipperary Bank of Sadleir memory; of the great City operations of Cole, Davidson & Gordon; and fraud is the sad but simple tale of the Royal British Bank of London.[151]

For a set of directors to eat up a company's capital, while cheering on its shareholders by high dividends, and inveigling depositors and fresh shareholders by fraudulent accounts, no high degree of refinement is necessary. Nothing is wanted but English law. The case of the Royal British Bank has caused a sensation, not so much on account of the capital as on account of the number of small people involved, both among the shareholders and depositors. The division of labor in this concern appears to have been very simple, indeed. There were two sets of directors, the one content to pocket their salary of $10,000 a year for knowing nothing of the affairs of the Bank and keeping their consciences clear, the other intent upon the real direction of the Bank, only to be its first customers or rather plunderers. The latter class being dependent for accommodation upon the manager, at once begin with letting the manager accommodate himself. Beside the manager they must take into the secret the auditor and solicitor of the Company, who consequently receive bribes in the shape of advances. In addition to advances made to themselves and relatives in their own names, the directors and manager proceed to set up a number of men of straw, in whose names they pocket further advances. The whole paid-up capital amounts now to £150,000, of which £121,840 were swallowed directly and indirectly by the directors. The founder of the Company, Mr. McGregor, M.P. for Glasgow, the celebrated statistical writer,[a] saddled the Company with £7,362; ano-

[a] Main works: *The Resources and Statistics of Nations* and *The Commercial and Financial Legislation of Europe and America.—Ed.*

ther director and Member of Parliament, Mr. Humphrey Brown of Tewkesbury, who used the bank to pay his electioneering expenses, incurred at one time a liability to it of £70,000, and appears to be still in its debt to the tune of £50,000. Mr. Cameron, the manager, had advances to the amount of £30,000.

Every year since the bank went in operation, it had been losing £50,000, and yet the directors came forward every year to congratulate the shareholders upon their prosperity. Dividends of six per cent. were paid quarterly, although by the declaration of the official accountant, Mr. Coleman, the shareholders ought never to have had a dividend at all. Only last Summer, fallacious accounts to the extent of over £370,000 were presented to the shareholders, the advances made to McGregor, Humphrey Brown, Cameron & Co., figuring under the abstract head of Convertible Securities. When the bank was completely insolvent, new shares were issued, amid glowing reports of its progress and a vote of confidence in the directors. This issue of new shares was by no means contemplated as a desperate means of relieving the position of the bank, but simply to furnish fresh material for directorial fraud. Although it was one of the rules of the charter that the bank was not to traffic in its own shares, it appears to have been the constant practice to saddle it, by way of security, with its own shares whenever they had become depreciated in the directors' hands. The way in which the "honest portion" of the directors pretend to have been duped, was told by one of them, Mr. Owen, at a meeting of shareholders, as follows:

"When all arrangements for starting this concern had been made, Mr. Cameron was appointed our manager, and we soon found out the evil of having a manager who had never previously been connected with any bank in London. By reason of that circumstance arose a number of difficulties. I will state what occurred two years and some months ago when I left the bank. Why, shortly before that time, I did not know that there was a single shareholder indebted to the bank to the amount of £10,000, either for discount or advances. I at one time heard a whisper of some complaints that there was a large sum due by one of them on account of discounts, and I asked one of the bookkeepers as to the matter. I was told that when I shut the parlor door I had nothing to do with the bank. Mr. Cameron said that no director must bring his own bills to be discounted before the Board. He said that such bills should go to the general manager, for if they were brought before the Board we should never get mercantile men of high character to bank with us. In this ignorance was I until one occasion, when Mr. Cameron was taken so dangerously ill that he was not expected to recover. In consequence of his illness, the Chairman and some of the other Directors made some inquiries which disclosed to us that Mr. Cameron had a book with a private key which we had

never seen. When the Chairman opened that book we were all indeed astonished."[a]

It is due to Mr. Cameron to say that, without waiting for the consequences of these discoveries, he, with great prudence and promptitude, expatriated himself from England.

One of the most extraordinary and characteristic transactions of the Royal British Bank was its connection with some Welsh Iron Works. At a time when the paid-up capital of the Company amounted to but £50,000, the advances made to these Iron Works alone reached the sum of £70,000 to £80,000. When the Company first got possession of this iron establishment it was an unworkable concern. Having become workable after an investment of something like £50,000, we find the property in the hands of a Mr. Clarke, who, after having worked it "for some time," threw it back upon the bank, while "expressing his conviction that he was throwing up a large fortune," leaving the bank, however, to bear an additional debt of £20,000 upon the "property." Thus, this concern kept going out of the hands of the bank whenever profits seemed likely to come in, and kept coming back to the bank when fresh advances were required to go out. This practical joke the Directors were endeavoring to continue even at the last moment of their confession, still holding up the profitable capacities of the works, which they say might yield £16,000 per annum, forgetting that they have cost the shareholders £17,742 during every year of the Company's existence. The affairs of the Company are now to be wound up in the Court of Chancery.[152] Long before that can be done, however, the whole adventures of the Royal British Bank will have been drowned amid the deluge of the general European crisis.

Written on about September 26, 1856

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4828, October 9, 1856 as a leading article

[a] *The Times*, No. 22479, September 22, 1856, "The Royal British Bank".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE MONETARY CRISIS IN EUROPE

London, Oct. 3, 1856

The general commercial crisis which occurred in Europe about the Autumn of 1847, and lasted till the Spring of 1848, was ushered in by a panic in the London money market, beginning in the last days of April and reaching its climax on the 4th of May, 1847. During these latter days all monetary transactions were brought to a complete stand-still; but from the 4th of May the pressure subsided, and merchants and journalists congratulated one another on the merely accidental and transitory character of the panic. A few months later the commercial and industrial crisis burst forth, of which the monetary panic had been but the symptom and the forerunner.

There is now a movement in the European money markets analogous to the panic of 1847. The analogy, however, is not complete. Instead of moving from west to east—from London via Paris to Berlin and Vienna—as did the panic of 1847, the present panic is moving from east to west, with Germany for its starting point, thence spreading to Paris, and last reaching London. Then the panic assumed a local aspect from the slowness of its progress; now it appears at once in its universal character, from the rapidity of its extension. Then it lasted about a week or so; now it has lasted already three weeks. Then there were few who suspected it to be the forerunner of a general crisis; now nobody doubts it save those Englishmen who imagine themselves to make history by reading *The Times* newspaper. What the most far-sighted politicians feared then, was a repetition of the crisis of 1825 and 1836; what they now are sure of is an enlarged edition not only of the crisis of 1847 but also of the revolutions of 1848.

The anxiety of the upper classes in Europe is as intense as their disappointment. Having had it all their own way since the middle of 1849, the war,[a] as yet, was the only cloud in their view of the social horizon. Now, after the war is over, or supposed to be over, they make the same discovery everywhere as was made by the English after the battle of Waterloo, and the peace of 1815, when the *bulletins* of battles were replaced by the reports on agricultural and industrial distress. With a view to save their property they did everything in their power to put down the Revolution, and to crush the masses. They are now discovering that they were themselves the instruments of a revolution in property greater than any contemplated by the revolutionists of 1848. A general bankruptcy is staring them in the face, which they know to be coincidental with the settlement-day of the great pawning shop at Paris; and as the English found, to their surprise, after 1815, when Castlereagh, "the man of the stern path of duty," cut off his own head, that he had been a madman, so the stock-jobbing public of Europe already begin to ask themselves, even before his head is cut off, whether Bonaparte has ever been sane. They know that every market is over-imported; that every fraction of the proprietary classes, even those never before infected, has been drawn into the vortex of the speculative mania; that no European country has escaped from it; and that the demands of Governments on their tax-paying people have been stretched to the last point. In 1848 the movements which more immediately produced the Revolution were of a merely political character, such as the reform banquets in France, the war of the Sonderbund in Switzerland, the debates of the United Diet at Berlin, the Spanish marriages, the Schleswig-Holstein quarrels,[153] &c.; and when its soldiers, the workingmen of Paris, proclaimed the social character of the Revolution of 1848, its generals were as much taken by surprise as the rest of the world. Now, on the contrary, a social revolution is generally understood, even before the political revolution is proclaimed; and a social revolution brought about by no underground plots of the secret societies among the working classes, but by the public contrivances of the Crédits Mobiliers of the ruling classes. Thus the anxiety of the upper classes in Europe is embittered by the conviction that their very victories over revolution have been but instrumental in providing the material conditions in 1857 for the ideal tendencies of 1848. The whole epoch from the middle of 1849 down to the present appears,

[a] The Crimean war, 1853-56.—*Ed.*

then, as a mere respite given by history to Old European Society, in order to allow it a last condensed display of all its tendencies. In politics, adoration of the sword; in morals, general corruption and hypocritical return to exploded superstitions; in political economy, the mania of getting rich without the pains of producing—such have been the tendencies manifested by that Society during its counter-revolutionary orgies of 1849-56.

On the other hand, if we place side by side the effect of this short monetary panic and the effect of Mazzinian and other proclamations, the whole history since 1849 of the delusions of the official revolutionists is at once deprived of its mysteries. They know nothing of the economical life of peoples, they know nothing of the real conditions of historical movement, and when the new revolution shall break out they will have a better right than Pilate to wash their hands[a] and protest that they are innocent of the blood shed.

We have said that the present monetary panic in Europe made its appearance first in Germany, and this circumstance has been hit upon by the journals of Bonaparte to exculpate his régime from the suspicion of having had the least share in precipitating it.

"Government," says the Paris *Constitutionnel*, "has endeavored to moderate the spirit of enterprise even after the conclusion of peace, by adjourning several new concessions and by forbidding the introduction of new schemes on the Bourse. Unfortunately it could do no more; it could not prevent all excesses. Now, whence did they proceed? If a part was generated in the French market, it was certainly the smaller portion. Our railway companies, from a spirit of rivalry, were, perhaps, too hasty in issuing bonds, the proceeds of which were destined to extend the branch lines. But this would not have created embarrassment but for the mass of foreign enterprise suddenly sprung into life. Germany, above all, which had taken no part in the war, threw itself recklessly into schemes of all kinds. Not possessing sufficient resources itself, it appealed to ours, and as the official market was closed to it, our speculators opened to it the Coulisse. France, therefore, became the center of cosmopolitan projects which might enrich foreign countries at the expense of national interests. Capital became, in consequence, rare on our market, and our securities, meeting with fewer buyers, suffered that depreciation which, in the presence of so many elements of wealth and prosperity, astonishes the public."[b]

Having given this specimen of imperial official nonsense on the causes of the European panic, we cannot withhold an example also of the sort of opposition tolerated under Bonaparte.

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[a] Matthew 27:24.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Burât, "Paris, 29 septembre", *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 274, September 30, 1856.—*Ed.*

"The existence of a crisis," says the *Assemblée Nationale*, "may be denied, but we cannot help thinking that prosperity is somewhat on the wane, when we consider the recent falling off in the receipts of our railways, in the amount of Bank advances on commercial bills, and in the duties on exportation levied during the first seven months of the year, which exhibit a decline of twenty-five millions of francs."

In Germany, then, all the active part of the middle classes have ever since the counter-revolution of 1849 devoted their energies to commercial and industrial enterprise, as the thinking part of the nation have abandoned philosophy for the natural sciences. The Germans, neutral in the war, have accumulated as much more capital as their French neighbors sank in the war. Finding them in this position, with a rapidly progressing industry and an accumulation of capital, the French Crédit Mobilier condescended to notice them as being fit subjects for its operations—the passive alliance between Bonaparte and Austria having already drawn its attention to the unexplored regions of Austria, Hungary and Italy. However, having set the example and taken the initiative of speculation in Germany, the Crédit Mobilier itself was startled at the unexpected crop of stock-jobbing and credit institutions generated by its impulse. The Germans of 1855-56 received the swindle-constitutions of the French Crédits Mobiliers as dry-cut as the Germans of 1831 had received the political constitutions of France.[154] Thus, a Frenchman of the seventeenth century would behold with astonishment the Court of Louis XIV. reproduced a hundred-fold grander on the other side of the Rhine; and thus the Frenchmen of the last decennium were surprised to behold in Germany sixty-two national assemblies where they had with so much trouble produced one. Germany is not a land of decentralization after all; only centralization itself is decentralized, so that instead of one there exist a great many centers. Such a country, then, was quite fit to develop in the shortest time and in every direction the contrivances taught it by the Crédit Mobilier, just as Paris fashions are sooner circulated in Germany than in France. This is the immediate cause of the panic having made its first and most widely-spread appearance in Germany. We shall give the history of the panic itself, as well as its immediate causes, in a future article.

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# Karl Marx

## [THE CAUSES OF THE MONETARY CRISIS IN EUROPE]

The monetary crisis in Germany, which began about the middle of September last, reached its climax on the 26th of that month, when it gradually subsided; like the monetary panic in England in 1847, which first manifested itself in the last [days] of April and gradually disappeared after the 4th of May, the day of its culmination. Then, the sacrifices made by several leading houses in London, for the sake of a respite during the panic, laid the immediate foundation of the complete ruin in which they were involved a few months later. Similar results will, ere long, be experienced in Germany, since at the bottom of the panic there was no scarcity of currency, but a disproportion between the disposable capital and the vastness of the industrial, commercial and speculative enterprises then in hand. The means by which the panic was temporarily subdued was the enhancement of the rate of discount by the different Government, joint-stock and private banks; some of them raising their rate to 6, some as high as 9 per cent. Consequent upon this enhancement of the rate of discount, the efflux of bullion was checked, the importation of foreign produce paralyzed, foreign capital attracted by the bait of high interest, outstanding debts were called in, the French *Crédit Mobilier,* which in the month before had paid by bills of accommodation its installments on the German railways contracted for by it, was forced to pay in cash, and France, in general, obliged to discharge in specie the balance then due on account of corn and provisions. The monetary panic in Germany thus rebounded on France, where it at once assumed a more threatening aspect. The Bank of France, following in the track of the German banks, raised its rate of discount to 6 per cent, an

advance which on the 30th of September led to an application to the Bank of England for a loan of more than a million of pounds sterling. On the first of October, consequently, the Bank of England raised its rate of discount to 5 per cent, without even waiting for the usual Thursday "parlor,"[a] a step without precedent since the monetary panic of 1847. Notwithstanding this rise of interest, bullion continued to flow from the vaults of Threadneedle street[b] at the rate of £40,000 a day, while the Bank of France was obliged to part with about 6,000,000 francs in coin daily, the Mint issuing only 3,000,000, of which only about 120,000 francs was in silver. To counteract the action of the Bank of France on the bullion reserve of the Bank of England, the latter again raised its discount about a week afterward to 6 per cent for bills of 60 days, and 7 per cent for bills of longer date; and the Bank of France, in return for this civility, issued on the 6th of October a new ukase,[c] by which it refused to discount any bills of more than 60 days' date, and declared that it would not advance more than 40 per cent on funded property, and 20 per cent on railway shares, and that it would make such advances for one month only. In spite, however, of these measures, the Bank of England was quite as unable to check the efflux of bullion to France, as the Bank of France to lessen the panic at Paris, or the drain of specie to other parts of the continent. The intensity of the panic in France is attested by a fall from 1,680 francs (quotation of Sept. 29) to 1,465 francs (Oct. 6) in the shares of the Crédit Mobilier, a fall of 215 francs within eight days, from which the utmost efforts had been unable to procure a recovery of more than 15 francs up to the 9th of October. It is needless to say that the public funds fell in proportion. There is hardly anything more ludicrous than the French lamentations on the elopement of their capital into Germany, after the magniloquent assurances we had from Mr. Isaac Péreire, the great founder of the Crédit Mobilier, that French capital was gifted with a peculiar cosmopolitan character. In the midst of all this trouble, the great wizard of France, Napoleon III., prepared his panacea. He interdicted the press from talking of the financial crisis; he suggested by gendarmes to the money-dealers the expediency of withdrawing from their windows the offer of premiums on silver; and finally, he inserted in his *Moniteur,* on the 7th of October, a report

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[a] Here: a meeting of the Board of Directors.—*Ed.*

[b] The Bank of England is located in this street.—*Ed.*

[c] See *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 280, October 6, 1856.—*Ed.*

addressed to himself, by his own Minister of Finance, asserting that everything was right, and that only the appreciation of things by the people was wrong.[a] Unhappily, two days later, out pops the Governor of the Bank of France with the following feature in his monthly account:

| | Oct.[b] | Sept.[c] |
|---|---|---|
| Cash in hand | 77,062,910 | 113,126,401 |
| Cash in branches | 89,407,036 | 122,676,090 |
| Bills discounted | 271,955,426 | 221,308,498 |
| Bills at branch banks | 239,623,602 | 217,829,320 |
| Prem. on gold and silver | 2,128,594 | 1,496,313 |

In other words, during one month the cash on hand had diminished by 69,332,545 francs, discounts of bills had increased by 72,441,210 francs; while the premium on the purchase of gold and silver exceeds the figures for September by 632,281 francs. Unhappily, also, it is the fact that hoarding of the precious metals is now going on to an unprecedented degree among the French; and that the rumors of a suspension of cash payments at the Bank are daily gaining ground. The intervention of Napoleon proves to be about as efficient on the money market as his intervention in the inundated districts on the waters of the Loire.[155]

The present crisis in Europe is complicated by the fact that a drain of bullion—the common harbinger of commercial disasters—is interwoven with a depreciation of gold, as compared with silver. Independently of every other commercial and industrial agency, this depreciation could not but induce those countries, where there exists a double standard of value, and where both gold and silver must be received in payment according to proportions prescribed by law, but declared to be false by economical facts, to export their silver to those markets where gold is the standard of value, and where the official price of silver does not swerve from its market price. This being the relative position of England and France, silver must naturally flow from France to England, and gold from England to France, till the silver currency of the latter is replaced by a gold currency. On the

[a] P. Magne, "Rapport à l'Empereur", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 281, October 7, 1856.—*Ed.*

[b] "Situation de la Banque de France et de ses succursales au jeudi 9 octobre 1856", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 284, October 10, 1856.—*Ed.*

[c] "Situation de la Banque de France et de ses succursales au jeudi 11 septembre 1856", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 256, September 12, 1856.—*Ed.*

one hand, it is clear that such a substitution for the usual medium of exchange must be attended by temporary difficulties, but that these difficulties can be met, either by making gold the standard, and putting silver out of circulation, as has been done, or by demonetizing gold and making silver the only standard, as was done in Holland in 1851, and more recently in Belgium. On the other hand, it is evident that if there were no other agency at work except a depreciation of gold compared with silver, the general drain of silver from all Europe and America would have counteracted and paralyzed itself, because the suddenly setting free and taking out of circulation of such a mass of silver without any particular reservoir to supply it, must have lowered its price in comparison with gold, the market price of any commodity being determined temporarily by the proportion between supply and demand, and only in an average of years by the cost of production. The demonetization of gold in the Dutch and Belgian banks could exercise but a very slight influence on the value of silver, as it had been the principal means of exchange in those countries, and therefore the change was of a legal rather than an economical character. It may be admitted, however, that these changes have opened a small market for the supply of silver, and thus in a slight degree alleviated the embarrassment.

Within the last four or five months the specie in the Austrian National Bank has, it is true, increased from $20,000,000 to $43,000,000, the whole of which, Austria not having yet returned to cash payments, is hoarded in the Bank vaults. The principal part of this increase of $23,000,000 has been drawn from Paris and Germany for railways bought by the Crédit Mobilier. This is certainly one of the causes which explain the recent drain of silver, but it would be erroneous to look upon this circumstance as in any large degree accounting for the late phenomena in the money market. It must not be forgotten that from 1848 to 1855, one hundred and five millions of gold have been thrown into the money markets of the world by the production of California and Australia,[156] exclusive of the yield of Russia and the other old established sources of supply. Of these one hundred and five millions the more sanguine free-traders suppose that fifty-two millions have been required for the modern increase of commerce, whether as currency, as bank reserves, as bullion for the settling of balances and the correction of exchanges between different countries, or as articles of luxury. Of the other fifty-three millions they suppose, and we think them rather below the mark, that they have merely replaced a similar amount of silver formerly in use in

America and France—ten millions in America, and forty-three millions in France. The manner in which this displacement has worked itself out, may be seen from the Official Customs Returns of the movement of gold and silver in France during the year 1855[a]:

| *Gold Imported in* 1855. | | *Silver Imported in* 1855. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ingots | £11,045,268 | Ingots | £1,717,459 |
| Coin | 4,306,887 | Coin | 3,121,250 |
| Total | £15,352,155 | Total | £4,838,709 |
| *Gold Exported in* 1855. | | *Silver Exported in* 1855. | |
| Ingots | £203,544 | Ingots | £3,067,229 |
| Coin | 6,306,060 | Coin | 9,783,345 |
| Total | £6,509,604 | Total | £12,850,574 |
| Balance gold imp'ed | £8,842,551 | Balance silver exp'd | £8,011,865 |

Nobody, then, can pretend that the setting free of so large an amount of silver (fifty-three millions sterling) is accounted for either by the displacement in the currency of France and America, or by the hoarding of the Bank of Austria, or both together. It has been justly asserted that silver, not being threatened, like gold, with a diminution in value, the Italian and Levant traders were giving it a marked preference over other coin; that the Arabs have received and hoarded large quantities of it; and lastly, that the French corn-dealers, in payment for their purchases in the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof, preferred to abstract silver from France, where it maintains its antiquated relation to gold, instead of gold, which has changed its relation to silver in the south of Russia. Taking all these causes of the drain of silver together, we cannot estimate the amount abstracted by them at more than fifteen or sixteen millions sterling. The abstraction of silver by the Oriental war[b] is most absurdly alleged by the economical writers in the English Press as another special reason of this drain, though they have included it in the general estimate of the fifty-two millions of gold absorbed by the increased requirements of modern commerce. They cannot, of course, put on the shoulders of silver what they have already put on the shoulders of gold. There is, then,

[a] *The Economist*, No. 683, September 27, 1856, "Foreign Correspondence".—*Ed.*

[b] The Crimean war, 1853-56.—*Ed.*

besides all these special influences, some greater agency at work by which the drain of silver is accounted for, and this is the trade to China and India, which, curiously enough, also formed the leading feature in the great crisis of 1847. We shall return to this subject, as it is important to study the economical forerunners of the impending crisis in Europe.

This much our readers will understand, that whatever may be the temporary cause of the monetary panic, and the drain of bullion which appears as its immediate occasion, all the elements of commercial and industrial revulsion were ripe in Europe, and aggravated in France by the failure of the silk crop, by the shortcomings of the vintage, by the enormous imports of grain necessitated by the partial failure of the harvest of 1855 and the inundations of 1856, and lastly by the scarcity of dwelling houses produced in Paris by the economical contrivances of Mr. Bonaparte. For us, the mere perusal of the financial manifesto of M. Magne, which we published on Saturday,[a] seems sufficient to justify the suspicion that in spite of the second Congress of Paris[157] now assembling, and in spite of the Naples question,[158] the third Napoleon would have good reason to congratulate himself if the year 1857 came upon France with no worse auspices than, a decade earlier, attended the year 1847.

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] P. Magne, "Rapport à l'Empereur", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 281, October 7, 1856. Published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4842, October 25, 1856. This part of the sentence belongs to the *NYDT* editors.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE MONETARY CRISIS IN EUROPE. —FROM THE HISTORY OF MONEY CIRCULATION]

We have seen from the last report of the Bank of France[a] that its bullion reserve had reached the low point of about thirty millions of dollars, having diminished twenty-five per cent within the previous month alone.[b] If this drain were to go on, the Bank would be run dry by the end of the year, and cash payments would cease. To prevent this extreme danger, two measures have been employed. On the one hand, the melting of silver for export is to be hindered by the Police, and on the other, the Bank of France has determined to double, at an enormous sacrifice, its bullion reserve by contracting for a supply of six millions sterling with the Messrs. Rothschild. That is to say, that in order to make up its deficiency of gold, the Bank augments still further the disproportion between the prices at which it buys gold on the one hand, and sells it on the other. On account of this contract £50,000 in gold were taken out of the Bank of England on the 11th, and £40,000 on the 13th of October, and the *Asia,* which arrived here yesterday, brings advices of a still further draught of above half a million. Consequently, a general apprehension prevailed at London that the Bank of England would again put on the screw by raising its rate of discount in order to protect its own stock from emigrating to France. Preparatory to this the Bank has now refused to make advances on all descriptions of Government securities except Exchequer bills.

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[a] "Situation de la Banque de France et de ses succursales au jeudi 9 octobre 1856", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 284, October 10, 1856.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 119.— *Ed.*

Now, all the gold the Bank of France may succeed in drawing into its coffers will escape from them quite as fast as it flows in—partly in payment of foreign debts, for settling the balance of trade—partly by being abstracted into the interior of France, to supply the place of silver disappearing from circulation, the hoarding of which naturally keeps pace with the increasing violence of the crisis; and lastly, for the supply of the enormous industrial enterprises started in the last three or four years. For instance, the great railway companies, which reckoned, for the continuation of their works and the payment of their dividends and bonuses, on the emission of new loans, which have now become impossible, are making the most desperate attempts to fill the vacuum in their exchequers. Thus the Western Railway of France is in need of sixty millions of francs; the Eastern wants twenty-four; the Northern thirty; the Mediterranean twenty; the Orleans forty, and so on. It is estimated that the total sum wanted by all the different railway companies amounts to three hundred millions. Bonaparte, who had flattered himself that he had put down politics by setting up gambling, is now eager to withdraw attention from the money-market by all sorts of political questions: Neapolitan questions, Danubian questions, Bessarabian questions, new Congress of Paris questions,[159] but all in vain. Not only France, but all Europe, is fully convinced that the fate of what is called the Bonaparte dynasty, as well as the present state of European society, is suspended on the issue of the commercial crisis of which Paris seems now to be witnessing the beginning.

As we have already stated,[a] the first occasion for the outbreak of the crisis was afforded by the sudden enhancement of the price of silver as compared with gold. This enhancement—notwithstanding the immense production of gold in California and Australia[160]—can only be accounted for by the still increasing drain of silver from the Western World to Asia, and especially to India and China. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century, Asia, and especially China and India, have never ceased to exercise an important influence on the bullion markets of Europe and America. Silver serving as the only medium of exchange in those Eastern countries, the treasure with which Spanish America inundated Europe, was partially drained through the channel of the Oriental trade, and the import of silver from America into Europe was checked by its export from Europe to Asia. Simultaneously, indeed, there took place an export of gold from

[a] See this volume, pp. 119-22.— *Ed.*

Asia to Europe; but, setting aside the supplies furnished by the Ural Mountains from 1840 to 1850, it was on too small a scale to produce sensible results.

The circulation of silver between Asia and the West had, of course, its alternate periods of ebb and flow, depending on the fluctuations of the balance of trade. On the whole, however, three broadly-marked epochs may be distinguished in the history of this world-wide movement—the first epoch beginning with the seventeenth century, and ending about 1830; the second extending from 1831 to 1848; and the last from 1849 to the present time. In the first epoch, the silver exportation to Asia was generally increasing; in the second epoch the stream was abating, till at last an opposite current set in, and, for the first time, Asia poured back into Europe part of the treasures it had absorbed for almost two centuries and a half; in the third epoch, still in its ascending phase, the screw is again turned, and the absorption of silver by Asia is proceeding on a scale hitherto without precedent.

In earlier times, after the discovery of the silver of America,[a] and even after the foundation of the Portuguese dominion in India, the export of silver from Europe to Asia was hardly perceptible. Larger masses of that metal were wanted when, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Dutch, and in its later period the British, extended their trade with Eastern Asia, but especially since the rapid growth of the consumption of tea in England during the eighteenth century—the English remittances for Chinese tea consisting almost exclusively of silver. In the latter part of the eighteenth century the efflux of silver from Europe to Eastern Asia had already assumed such ample proportions as to absorb an important part of the silver imported from America. There had also already begun a direct export from America to Asia, although, on the whole, limited to the amount shipped by the Mexican Acapulco fleets to the Philippine Islands. This absorption of silver by Asia became, in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, the more sensible in Europe, as, on account of the revolutions that had broken out in the Spanish colonies,[161] the American supply decreased from upward of forty millions of dollars in 1800, to less than twenty millions in 1829. On the other hand, the silver shipped to Asia from the United States quadrupled from 1796 to 1825, while, after the year 1809, not only Mexico but also Brazil, Chili and Peru began, although on a

[a] The afflux of silver from Peru and Mexico began in the sixteenth century.—*Ed.*

smaller scale, to export silver directly to the east of Asia. The excess of silver imported from Europe into India and China over the gold thence exported amounted to more than thirty millions sterling from 1811 till 1822.

A great change took place during the epoch which begins with the year 1831. The East India Company had been forced not only to resign its monopoly of the trade between Europe and its Oriental empire, but also, with the exception of its Indo-Chinese monopolies, had been completely broken up as a commercial concern.[162] The East Indian trade being thus abandoned to private enterprise, the export of British manufactures to India began by far to surpass the import of Indian raw produce into Great Britain. The balance of trade thus turned more and more decidedly in favor of Europe, and consequently the export of silver to Asia rapidly fell off. Every check that British trade encountered in the other markets of the world began now to be compensated by its new expansion in Asia. If the commercial convulsion of 1825 had already led to an increase of British exports to India, a far mightier impulse was given to them by the Anglo-American crisis of 1836, while in 1847 the British crisis even derived its characteristic features from over-trading to India and other parts of Asia.

The exports to Asia, which in 1697 had hardly reached one fifty-second part of the total of British exports, amounted in 1822 to about one-fourteenth; in 1830 to about one-ninth, and in 1842 to more than one-fifth. As long as only India and the Western portion of Asia were affected by this economical change, the efflux of silver from Europe to Asia slackened, but did not cease, and still less give place to a reflux from Asia to Europe. Such a decisive turn was not imparted to the metallic circulation until English philanthropy had imposed a regular opium trade upon China, blown down by the cannon's mouth the Chinese wall, and forcibly thrown open the Celestial Empire to intercourse with the profane world. Thus drained of its silver on its Indian frontier, China was inundated on its Pacific coast by the manufactures of England and America. Hence it happened that in 1842, for the first time in the annals of modern commerce, great shipments of silver were actually effected from Asia to Europe.

This total revulsion in the circulation between Asia and the West proved, however, of short duration. A powerful and progressive reaction set in with 1849. As China had turned the tide in the first and second epoch, so China again turned it in the third. The Chinese rebellion[163] not only checked the opium trade with India,

but also put a stop to the purchase of foreign manufactures, the Chinese insisting upon payment in silver, and betaking themselves to that popular contrivance of Oriental economists in times of political and social convulsion—hoarding. The excess of Chinese exports over imports has been greatly augmented by the late failure of the European silk crops. According to the reports of Mr. Robertson,[a] the British Consul at Shanghae, the export of tea from China within the last ten years has increased some sixty-three per cent, and that of silk two hundred and eighteen per cent, while the import of manufactures has decreased sixty-six per cent. He estimates the average annual balance of silver imported from all parts of the world at £5,580,000 more than it was ten years ago. The following are the precise figures of the movement of Chinese exports and imports during the period dating from 1849 to 1856, each year concluding with the 30th of June[b]:

*Exports of tea.*

| To Gt. Br'n and Ireland. | lbs. | To the United States. | lbs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1849 | 47,242,000 | | 18,072,000 |
| 1855 | 86,509,000 | | 31,515,000 |
| 1856 | 91,035,000 | | 40,246,000 |

*Silk.*

| To Gt. Br'n and Ireland. | lbs. | To France. | Bales. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1849 | 17,228 | | |
| 1855 | 51,486 | | |
| 1856 | 50,489 | 1856 | 6,458 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Real value of exports from China to Great Britain in 1855 | £8,746,000 |
| Real value of exports from China to the United States in 1855 | 2,500,000 |
| Total | £11,246,000 |
| Deduct 20 per cent for freight and charges | 2,249,200 |
| Total due to China | £8,996,800 |

[a] See "Exports from China", *The Economist*, No. 683, September 27, 1856.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Trade of India and China and the Drain of Silver", *The Economist*, No. 685, October 11, 1856.—*Ed.*

*Imports.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Manufactures from England in 1852 | £2,503,000 |
| Manufactures from England in 1855 | 1,000,000 |
| Manufactures from England in 1856 | 1,277,000 |
| Opium and Cotton from India in 1853 | 3,830,000 |
| Opium and Cotton from India in 1855 | 3,306,000 |
| Opium and Cotton from India in 1856 | 3,284,000 |
| Total value of imports in 1855 | £4,306,000 |
| Balance due to China in 1855 | 4,690,000 |
| Value of Chinese exports to India in 1855 | 1,000,000 |
| Total balance due to China from all parts of the world (1855) | £5,690,000 |

This drain of silver from Europe to Asia on account of China is increased by the special drain to India, produced of late years by the balance of trade having turned against Europe, as will be seen from the following table:

| | |
|---|---|
| British imports from India in 1856 | £14,578,000 |
| Deduct £3,000,000 for remittances of the East India Company | 3,000,000 |
| Total imports | £11,578,000 |
| Indian imports from Britain | 8,927,000 |
| Balance in favor of India | £2,651,000 |

Now, up to the year 1825 gold was a legal tender in India, when a measure was passed for an exclusively silver standard. As some years later, gold commanded a premium over silver in the commercial markets, the East India Company declared its readiness to receive it in payments to the Government. After the discoveries of gold in Australia, however, the Company, as apprehensive of a depreciation of gold as the Dutch Government, and not at all pleased with the prospect of receiving in gold and paying in silver, suddenly returned to the exclusive silver standard of 1825. Thus the necessity of paying the balance due to India in silver was rendered paramount, and an enormous demand for that metal was created in that country. The price of silver, compared with gold, increasing henceforth more rapidly in India than in Europe, British merchants found it profitable to export silver to India as a speculation, taking in return Indian raw produce, and thus giving another stimulus to Indian exports. Altogether, silver to the amount of twenty-one millions sterling

was exported from Southampton alone, from 1848 to 1855, beside a very large amount from the Mediterranean ports; and it is calculated that in the present year ten millions have been taken from Southampton to the East.

To judge from these changes in the Indian trade and the character of the Chinese revolution, it cannot be expected that the drain of silver to Asia will come to a speedy conclusion. It is, then, no rash opinion that this Chinese revolution is destined to exercise a far greater influence upon Europe than all the Russian wars, Italian manifestoes[164] and secret societies of that Continent.

Written on about October 17, 1856

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## [THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IN FRANCE]

There is no sign of any alleviation in the financial world of Europe. We learn by the *Niagara* that the flow of bullion from London to the Continent is more oppressive than ever, and that a proposition to raise yet higher the rate of interest had been voted down at a meeting of the Directors of the Bank of England by only one majority. It is not necessary to say that the cause of the crisis is still to be found in France, and the last number of *The Economist* which has reached us depicts the state of things in colors of unmixed gloom.

"The absence of any amelioration," says that journal, "is virtually an aggravation, and unfortunately, moreover, no permanent improvement is foreseen. The contrast between the present month and the corresponding one of last year is very painful in nearly every respect, and yet last October the country was engaged in a terrible war,[a] the close of which appeared very distant."[b]

Led by this lament, we have taken the pains to contrast the condition of the Paris Stock Market for October with that of the preceding month, and the result of our inquiries may be seen in the following table[c]:

| | 30th Sept. | 31st Oct. | Rise. | Fall. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Three Per Cents Rente ..... | 67f. 50c. | 66f. 70c. | .. | 80c. |
| Four and a Half Per Cents. ..... | 90f. | 91f. | 1f. | .. |

[a] The Crimean war, 1853-56.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Economist*, No. 688, November 1, 1856, "Foreign Correspondence".—*Ed.*

[c] See "Bourse du Mardi 30 septembre 1856" and "Bourse du Vendredi 31 octobre 1856", *Le Moniteur universel*, Nos. 275 and 306, October 1 and November 1, 1856.—*Ed.*

| | 30th Sept. | 31st Oct. | Rise. | Fall. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bank of France | 4,010f. | 3,850f. | .. | 160f. |
| Crédit Foncier | 600f. | 585f. | .. | 15f. |
| Crédit Mobilier | 1,552f. | 1,372f. | .. | 180f. |
| Orleans Railroad | 1,267f. | 1,241f. | .. | 26f. |
| Northern Railroad | 950f. | 941f. | .. | 9f. |
| Eastern Railroad | 877f. | 865f. | .. | 12f. |
| Paris-Lyons Railroad | 1,265f. | 1,267f. | 2f. | |
| Mediterranean Railroad | 1,750f. | 1,652f. | .. | 98f. |
| Great Central Railroad | 610f. | 603f. | .. | 7f. |

During the period from Sept. to Oct. 31, the shares of various companies fell as follows[a]:

| | |
|---|---|
| Gas Paris Company | 30 f. |
| Union des Gaz | 35 f. |
| Lits Militaires | $27^1/_2$f. |
| Docks Napoléoniens | $8^1/_2$f. |
| Compagnie Maritime | 40 f. |
| Palais d'Industrie | 5 f. |
| Omnibus Company | 35 f. |
| Messageries Impériales | 50 f. |

Nothing could be more ingenious than the manner in which the Bonapartist journals of Paris endeavor to account for this perpetual fall at the Bourse. Take, for instance, the paper of M. de Girardin, the *Presse.*

"Speculation," says this journal, "is still unwilling to *renounce its ideas* of fall. The continual variations of the Crédit Mobilier cause its shares to be regarded as so dangerous that many speculators dare not touch them, and confine themselves to operating on 'primes,' in order to be able to limit beforehand their chances of loss."

The stringent measures taken by the Bank of France, with a view to prevent, or at least to delay, the suspension of cash payments, have begun to tell severely on the industrial and commercial classes. Indeed, there is now raging a regular war between the *bona fide* commerce and industry, the speculative joint-stock companies already at work and the newly-hatched schemes about to be established, all of them struggling to carry off

[a] See ibid.—*Ed.*

the floating capital of the country. The inevitable result of such a struggle must be the rise of interest, the fall of profits in all departments of industry, and the depreciation of all sorts of securities, even if there existed no Bank of France, nor any drain of bullion. That, apart from all foreign influences, this pressure on the disposable capital of France must go on increasing, a glance at the development of the French railway system sufficiently demonstrates. The facts we are about to lay before our readers are given by the *Journal des Chemins de Fer,* which, like the rest of the press in that country, can publish nothing but what is admitted by the Bonapartist Government itself. On the whole, charters have been granted for an aggregate of 5,584 miles of railroad, of which only 2,884 miles are completed and in working order. Consequently there remain still 2,700 miles now being, or about to be, constructed. Nor is this all. The Government is constructing the Pyrenean lines, and has ordered the construction of new lines between Toulouse and Bayonne, Agen and Tarbès, and Mont de Marsan and Trabestans, lines amounting to more than 900 miles. France is in fact now constructing even a greater extent of railroads than she already possesses. The amount of money disbursed on her old railroad system is calculated at $300,000,000; but then its construction extended over a protracted period—a period which saw the rise and fall of three Governments—while the lines now chartered are all to be completed within six years at the farthest, and to begin their operations in the most critical phase of the commercial cycle. The embarrassed companies harass the Government for leave to raise money by new emissions of shares and bonds. The Government, comprehending that this would simply amount to giving leave to further depreciation of the old securities in the market, attended by increased disturbance at the Bourse, dares not yield. On the other hand, the money must be found; the suspension of the works would not only be bankruptcy but revolution.

While the demand for capital to start and sustain new enterprises at home is thus kept on the increase, the absorption of French capital by foreign schemes is by no means abated. It is no novelty that French capitalists have vast obligations to fulfill in Spain, Italy, Austria and Germany, and that the Crédit Mobilier is busy involving them in new ones at this very moment. Spain particularly is now adding to the embarrassments of France, as the scarcity of silver there has reached such a pitch that manufacturers at Barcelona feel the greatest difficulty in paying the wages of their workmen.

With regard to the Crédit Mobilier, we have already observed[a] that the tendency of that institution by no means corresponds with its name. Its tendency is to fix capital, not to *mobilize* it. What it mobilizes is only the titles of property. The shares of the companies started by it are, indeed, of a purely floating nature, but the capital which they represent is sunk. The whole mystery of the Crédit Mobilier is to allure capital into industrial enterprises, where it is sunk, in order to speculate on the sale of the shares created to represent that capital. As long as the managers of the Crédit Mobilier are able to realize premiums on the first emission of new shares, they can, of course, afford to look with stoical indifference on the general pressure of the money market, the ultimate fate of the shareholders, and the difficulties of the working companies. This explains the curious phenomenon that while the shares of the Crédit Mobilier are continually falling at the Bourse, its action is as continually extending over Europe.

Beside the general pressure in the money market, there are other causes affecting French manufactures. A great number of mills at Lyons are stopped in consequence of the scarcity and high price of raw silk. Similar causes are paralyzing affairs at Mulhouse and at Rouen. There the high price of cotton has forcibly enhanced the price of yarns, while fabrics are difficult of sale, and manufacturers unable to obtain their old terms. The consequences are, increased suffering and discontent among the workmen—especially at Lyons and in the south of France—where a degree of exasperation prevails, only to be compared with that which attended the crisis of 1847.

From the Bourse, railways, commerce and manufactures, let us now turn to French agriculture. The newly published Customs Returns of France reveal the fact that the failure of the last harvest was far more severe than avowed by the *Moniteur*.[b] Against 270,146 quintals of corn imported in September, 1855, 963,616 quintals were imported in September, 1856, being a difference of 693,470 quintals above the quantity imported in September, 1855, a year of notorious scarcity. It would, however, be a mistake to limit to the inundations, bad seasons, and other natural events, the causes which are evidently at work in transforming France from a corn-exporting to a corn-importing country. Agriculture, never

[a] See this volume, pp. 20-21.— *Ed.*

[b] "Direction générale des douanes et des contributions indirectes. Tableau comparatif des principales marchandises, importées pendant le mois de septembre des années 1856, 1855 et 1854", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 302, October 28, 1856.— *Ed.*

highly developed in France, has positively retrograded under the present régime. On the one hand we see taxes constantly increasing; on the other decreasing labor—great masses of laborers being drafted from the land temporarily by war,[a] and permanently by the railway and other public works—with the progressive withdrawal of capital from agricultural to speculative pursuits. What was called Napoleon's democratization of credit, was in fact but the generalization of stockjobbing. What the Crédit Mobilier offered to the middle and higher classes, the Imperial subscription loans did for the peasantry. They brought the Bourse home to their cottages, emptied them of their private hoardings, and carried off the small capitals formerly invested in the improvement of agriculture.

The agricultural distress in France is thus as much the effect of the present political system as the offspring of natural disasters. If the small peasantry suffer less from low prices than the large farmers of England, they suffer, on the other hand, from the dearth of provisions which to the latter often proves a source of profit. Hence their disaffection illustrated by incendiary fires, which are lamentably frequent, although, by virtue of Imperial orders, they are not recorded in the French papers. If the peasants, after the Revolution of February,[b] were exasperated at the notion that the new tax of 45 centimes[165] was thrust on them to keep up the National Workshops at Paris,[166] the present peasantry are much more so by the certainty of being charged with taxes on their exhausted resources to enable the Parisians to obtain bread under cost price. If, now, it be remembered that Napoleon, after all, was but the choice of the peasantry, the present revolutionary disposition of this class throws quite a new light on the chances of the Bonapartist dynasty. To what miserable shifts it is already driven, in order to allay and stave off the threatening claims of agricultural misery, may be seen from the language of the Prefects in their circulars for the "encouragement" of charity. The Prefect of the Sarthe, for instance, addresses his Sub-Prefects as follows:

"You will please to take up, with all zeal and confidence, the task, which is one of the finest attributes of administration, viz: to find means of support and employment for those citizens who are in want of either, whereby you will concur in maintaining public tranquillity. You need not fear that you may find the sources of charity dried up, or the private purses exhausted by the sacrifices, however enormous they may have been, of preceding years. Proprietors and farmers have realized considerable profits for some time past, and being more especially

[a] The Crimean war, 1853-56.—*Ed.*
[b] 1848.—*Ed.*

interested in the security of the country, they will understand that for them to give is an advantage as well as a duty."

If to all the preceding causes of disaffection we add the dearth of lodgings and provisions at Paris, the pressure on the retail trade of the capital, the strikes in different branches of Parisian industry, it will be understood why the suppressed freedom of the press suddenly breaks forth from the walls of buildings in insurrectionary placards. In a private letter we have received from a trustworthy correspondent at Paris, it is stated that from the 1st to the 12th of October no less than nine hundred arrests took place. Some of the causes of these arrests are worth noticing, as they offer a striking mark of the uneasiness and anxieties of the Government. In one case a man who "does business on the Bourse," as it is called, was arrested for having said that "he saw in the Crimean war nothing but many people killed and much money wasted;" another, a tradesman, for having pretended that "business was as sick as the Government;" a third, because there was found on him a song on David d'Angers and the students[167]; a fourth, a Government official, for having published a fly-sheet on the financial crisis; a tailor, for having inquired if certain of his friends had been arrested, as he was told so; lastly, a workman, for conversing with a countryman of his, a gendarme, on the high price of provisions, the gendarme interpreting the workman's remarks as hostile to the Government.

In view of all these facts, it seems hardly possible that French commerce and industry should avoid a collapse, attended by political events more or less serious, and affecting to a most disastrous extent the stability of credit and of business, not only in Europe, but in America as well. The rushing movement toward this abyss cannot but be accelerated by the gigantic speculation in Russian railroads in which the Crédit Mobilier, in conjunction with many of the leading banking firms of Europe, have now embarked.

Written on about November 7, 1856

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# Karl Marx

## [THE EUROPEAN CRISIS]

The indications brought from Europe by the two steamers which have arrived this week, certainly seem to postpone to a future day the final collapse of speculation and stock-jobbing, which men on both sides of the sea instinctively anticipate as with a fearful looking forward to some inevitable doom. That collapse is none the less sure from this postponement; indeed, the chronic character assumed by the existing financial crisis only forebodes for it a more violent and destructive end. The longer the crisis lasts the worse the ultimate reckoning. Europe is now like a man on the verge of bankruptcy, forced to continue at once all the enterprises which have ruined him, and all the desperate expedients by which he hopes to put off and to prevent the last dread crash. New calls are made for payments on the stock of companies most of which exist only on paper; great sums of ready money are invested in speculations from which they can never be withdrawn; while the high rate of interest—now seven per cent at the counter of the Bank of England—stands like a stern monitor of the judgment to come.

With the utmost success of the financial devices now to be attempted, it is impossible that the countless stock-jobbing speculations of the continent should be carried much further. In Rhenish Prussia alone there are seventy-two new companies for the working of mines, with a subscription capital of 79,797,333 thalers. At this very moment the Austrian Crédit Mobilier, or rather the French Crédit Mobilier in Austria, meets with the greatest difficulties in obtaining the payment of its second call, paralyzed as it is by the measures taken by the Austrian Government for the resumption of cash payments. The purchase-

money to be paid into the Imperial treasury for railroads and mines has, according to contract, to be handed over in specie, causing a drain on the resources of the Crédit Mobilier of above $1,000,000 every month till February, 1858. On the other hand, the monetary pressure is so severely felt by railroad contractors in France, that the Grand Central has been compelled to dismiss five hundred employés and fifteen thousand workmen on the Mulhouse section, and the Lyons and Geneva Company has been obliged to curtail or suspend its operations. For divulging these facts, the *Indépendance belge* has been twice seized in France. With this irritability of the French Government at any disclosure of the real situation of French commerce and industry, it is curious to note the following passage, escaped from the lips of M. Petit, the substitute of the Procureur General, upon the recent reopening of the courts at Paris.

"Consult statistics and you will find some interesting information upon the present tendencies of trade. Bankruptcies increase every year. In 1851 there were 2,305; in 1852, 2,478; in 1853, 2,671; and in 1854, 3,691. The same increase is to be noted for fraudulent as for simple bankruptcies. The increase of the former has been, since 1851, at the rate of 66 per cent, and that of the latter 100 per cent. As to the frauds committed upon the nature, the quality, and the quantity of things sold, and the employment of false measures and weights, these have augmented in a frightful proportion. In 1851, 1,717 such cases were furnished; in 1852, 3,763; in 1853, 7,074; and in 1854, 7,831."

It is true that, in the face of these phenomena on the continent, we are assured by the British press that the worst of the crisis is over, but we seek in vain for conclusive evidence of such a fact. We do not find it in the raising of discount to seven per cent by the Bank of England; nor in the last report of the Bank of France, which not only exhibits internal proofs of having been cooked, but even formally shows that in spite of the severest restriction upon loans, advances, discounts, and emission of notes, the Bank has been unable to check the efflux of bullion or to dispense with the premium on gold. But however that may be, it is certain that the French Government is far from partaking in the comfortable views which it takes care to spread both at home and abroad. At Paris it is known that the Emperor[a] has not recoiled from the most stupendous monetary sacrifices to keep, during the last six weeks, the Rente above 66, it being not a mere conviction, but a settled superstition with him, that the fall below 66 will ring the death knell of the empire. It is evident that the French differs in this

[a] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

respect from the Roman Empire—since the one feared death from the advance of the barbarians while the other fears it from the retreat of the stockjobbers.[168]

Written on about November 21, 1856

Reproduced from the newspaper

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# Karl Marx

## THE MARITIME COMMERCE OF AUSTRIA[169]

The maritime commerce of Austria may be said to date from the incorporation into the Empire of Venice and its dependencies on the Adriatic shores, made over first by the peace of Campo-Formio, and confirmed to Austria by the peace of Luneville.[170] Napoleon, then, is the true founder of this branch of Austrian commerce. It is true that, on becoming aware of the advantages thus bestowed on Austria, he rescinded those cessions, first by the treaty of Presburg, and again by the peace of Vienna, in 1809.[171] But Austria, having been once put on the right track, used her opportunity to recover by the treaty of 1815[172] her ascendancy over the Adriatic. Trieste is the center of this commerce, and the superiority of that place over all the other Austrian ports, even at an earlier period, may be seen by the following table:

| | Ports: | Fiume. Florins. | Trieste. Flor. | Venice. Flor. | Oth. Ports. Flor. | Total. Flor. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1838 ..... | Imports. | 200,000 | 32,200,000 | 9,000,000 | 8,000,000 | 49,400,000 |
| | Exports | 1,700,000 | 14,400,000 | 5,300,000 | 2,000,000 | 23,400,000 |
| 1841 ..... | Imports. | 200,000 | 22,300,000 | 8,500,000 | 5,300,000 | 36,300,000 |
| | Exports | 1,600,000 | 11,200,000 | 3,100,000 | 1,900,000 | 17,800,000 |
| 1842 ..... | Imports. | 200,000 | 24,900,000 | 11,500,000 | 5,100,000 | 41,700,000 |
| | Exports | 1,300,000 | 11,900,000 | 3,400,000 | 2,600,000 | 19,200,000 |

In 1839 the imports of Venice were to the imports of Trieste as 1 to 2.84, and their exports respectively as 1 to 3.8. In the same year the number of ships entering each harbor were in the

proportion of 1 to 4. At present the preponderance of Trieste has assumed such dimensions as to eclipse all the rest of the Austrian ports, Venice included. But if Trieste has supplanted Venice in the Adriatic, the fact is to be accounted for neither by the special favor of the Austrian Government, nor by the unceasing exertions of the Austrian Lloyd.[173] An obscure creek on an iron-bound coast, inhabited only by a few fishermen at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Trieste had grown into a commercial port numbering 23,000 souls by the time the French forces evacuated Istria in 1814, with a trade amounting to three times that of Venice in 1815. In 1835, the year before the establishment of the Austrian Lloyd, its population was above 50,000, and at a time when the Lloyd cannot yet be supposed to have attained any considerable influence, Trieste occupied the second rank after England in the Turkish, and the first rank in the Egyptian trade, as will be seen from the following tables of imports and exports from Smyrna from 1835 to 1839:

| | Piasters. | Piasters. |
|---|---|---|
| England | 126,313,146 | 44,618,032 |
| Trieste | 93,500,456 | 52,477,756 |
| United States | 57,329,165 | 46,608,320 |

The following figures, giving the imports and exports of Egypt for 1837, are also instructive on this head:

| | Francs. | Francs. |
|---|---|---|
| Trieste | 13,858,000 | 14,532,000 |
| Turkey | 12,661,000 | 12,150,000 |
| France | 10,702,000 | 11,703,000 |
| England and Malta | 15,158,000 | 5,404,000 |

How, then, came it to pass that Trieste, and not Venice, became the cradle of revived navigation in the Adriatic? Venice was a town of reminiscences; Trieste shared the privilege of the United States of having no past at all. Formed by a motley crew of Italian, German, English, French, Greek, Armenian and Jewish merchant-adventurers, it was not fettered by traditions like the City of the Lagunes. Thus, for instance, while the Venetian grain trade still clung during the eighteenth century to its old connections, Trieste at once attached itself to the rising fortunes of Odessa, and thus succeeded, by the commencement of the nineteenth century, in driving its rival entirely from the Mediterranean corn trade. The fatal blow sustained by the old Italian trade-republics at the end of

the fifteenth century, in consequence of the circumnavigation of Africa was repeated on a small scale by the Continental customs decrees of Napoleon.[174] The last remnants of Venetian commerce were then annihilated. Despairing of all chances of profitable investment in that expiring maritime commerce, Venetian capitalists naturally transferred their capital to the opposite shore of the Adriatic, where the land-trade of Trieste promised to double its activity at that very epoch. Thus Venice itself nursed the greatness of Trieste—a fate common to all maritime despots. Thus Holland laid the foundation of the greatness of England; thus England built up the power of the United States.

Once incorporated with the Austrian Empire, Trieste commanded a natural position very different from what had ever been occupied by Venice. Trieste formed the natural outlet of the vast and inexhaustible dominions lying at its back, while Venice never had been anything but an isolated, outlying port of the Adriatic, usurping the carrying-trade of the world, and resting that usurpation on the barbarism of a world unconscious of its resources. The prosperity of Trieste, therefore, has no limits but the development of the productive forces and means of communication of the enormous complex of countries now under Austrian rule. Another advantage of Trieste is its contiguity with the eastern shore of the Adriatic, furnishing at once the basis of a coast trade almost unknown to the Venetians, and the nursery of that hardy race of seamen whom Venice never succeeded in fully turning to account. As the decline of Venice kept pace with the rise of the Ottoman power, so the opportunities of Trieste grow with the ascendancy of Austria over Turkey. Even in its best times, the trade of Venice was stunted by a division of Eastern commerce altogether dependent on political causes. On the one hand, there was the Danubian road of trade, hardly ever connected with Venetian shipping; on the other hand, while Venice, under the protection of the Catholic kings, monopolized the commerce of Morea, Cyprus, Egypt, Asia Minor, etc., the Genoese, under the protection of the Greek Emperors, almost monopolized the trade of Constantinople and the Black Sea. Trieste for the first time has united these two great channels of the Levant together with the Danubian trade. At the end of the fifteenth century Venice found itself, so to say, geographically displaced. The privileges of its neighborhood to Constantinople and Alexandria, then the centers of Asiatic trade, were forfeited by the circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope, transferring the center of that trade first to Lisbon, then to Holland, and afterward to England. The privilege lost to Venice is

likely to be recovered in our own times by Trieste, by the cutting of the Isthmus of Suez Canal. The Trieste Chamber of Commerce has not only associated itself with the French Company for the Suez Canal, but also sent agents to explore the Red Sea and coasts of the Indian Ocean, in furtherance of the commercial operations contemplated in those parts. The Isthmus once cut, Trieste will necessarily supply all Eastern Europe with Indian goods; it will be as near to the Tropic of Cancer as it is to Gibraltar, and a navigation of 5,600 miles will bring its ships to the Sunda Straits. Having thus placed the outlines and prospects of Trieste commerce, we will now add a tabular statement of the commercial movement of that port during the period of the last ten years:

| Years. | Ships. | Tunnage. | Years. | Ships. | Tunnage. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1846 | 16,782 | 985,514 | 1851 | 24,101 | 1,408,802 |
| 1847 | 17,321 | 1,007,330 | 1852 | 27,931 | 1,556,652 |
| 1848 | 17,812 | 926,815 | 1853 | 29,317 | 1,675,886 |
| 1849 | 20,553 | 1,269,258 | 1854 | 26,556 | 1,730,910 |
| 1850 | 21,124 | 1,323,796 | 1855 | 21,081 | 1,489,197 |

On comparing the average of the first three years of this period with the average of the last three years (973,220 against 1,631,664), the increase within so short a space is found to be in the proportion of 68 to 100. Marseilles is far from exhibiting the same rapidity of progress. The basis of the prosperity of Trieste, besides, is all the more solid, as it is owing to the increased intercourse both with purely Austrian and foreign ports. The national trade, for instance, from 1846 to 1848 amounted to 416,709 tuns average per annum; from 1853 to 1855 it had increased to 854,753 tuns average per year, or more than double. During the years 1850 and 1855, inclusive, the Austrian tunnage entered in and out at Trieste was 6,206,316; foreign, 2,981,928 tuns. The trade with Greece, Egypt, the Levant and Black Sea, had risen from 257,741 tuns to 496,394 tuns average per year during the same period.

With all this the actual commerce and navigation of Trieste are still far from having attained that point where traffic becomes a matter of regular routine, and the mechanical effect of fully developed resources. Let one only cast a glance at the economical situation of the Austrian States, the imperfect development of internal communications, at the great part of their populations still clad in sheep-skins, and strangers to all civilized wants. In the same measure in which Austria shall put its communications on a level say only with the German States, the commerce of Trieste will make rapid and

powerful strides into the heart of the Empire. The completion of the railway from Trieste to Vienna, with a branch from Cilly to Pesth, will create a revolution in Austrian commerce from which no one will derive greater advantages than Trieste. This railway is sure to begin with a traffic greater than that of Marseilles, but the dimensions it may attain one can only realize by bearing in mind that the countries whose only outlet is the Adriatic possess a population of 30,966,000 inhabitants, equal to that of France in 1821, and that the port of Trieste will drain a territory of 60,398,000 hectares, i.e. by seven millions of hectares larger than France. Trieste, therefore, is destined to become, in its immediate future, what Marseilles, Bordeaux, Nantes and Havre united are to France.

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# Karl Marx

## THE MARITIME COMMERCE OF AUSTRIA

(Second article)

In a former article[a] we traced the natural circumstances which have brought about the resurrection of Adriatic commerce at Trieste. The development of that commerce is, in a great measure, due to the efforts of the Austrian Lloyd—a Company founded by Englishmen, but, since 1836, in the hands of Triestine capitalists. At first, the Lloyd had only one steamer running once a week between Trieste and Venice. This communication soon became a daily one. By and by the steamers of the Lloyd engrossed the commerce of Rovigno, Fiume, Pirano, Zara and Ragusa, on the Istrian and Dalmatian coast. The Romagna was the next to be enveloped in this intercourse; then came Albania, Epirus and Greece. The steamers had not left the Adriatic, before the Archipelago, Salonica, Smyrna, Beyrout, Ptolemais and Alexandria already solicited admission into the network projected by the Lloyd. Lastly, its vessels penetrated into the Black Sea, taking possession, under the very eyes of Turkey and Russia, of the lines connecting Constantinople with Sinope, Trebizond, Varna, Ibraila and Galatz. Thus a company, organized for the mere coast service of Austria in the Adriatic, gradually pushes out into the Mediterranean, and having made sure of the Black Sea, appears to wait only for the cutting of the Isthmus of Suez to push on into the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean.

The capital of the Lloyd Company, originally fixed at 1,000,000 florins, has been increased by successive emissions of new shares, and by loans, to 13,000,000 florins. Its movement and operations

[a] See this volume, pp. 139-43.— *Ed.*

since the year 1836 are set forth in the last report of the Directors as follows:

| | 1836-7. | 1853-4. |
|---|---|---|
| Capital | 1,000,000 fl. | 8,000,000 fl. |
| Number of steamers | 7 | 47 |
| Horse-power | 630 | 7,990 |
| Tunnage | 1,944 | 23,665 |
| Value of ships | 798,824 fl. | 8,010,000 fl. |
| Number of trips | 87 | 1,465 |
| Miles traversed | 43,652 | 776,415 |
| Passengers | 7,967 | 331,688 |
| Bullion | 3,934,269 fl. | 59,523,125 fl. |
| Letters and dispatches | 35,205 | 748,930 |
| Parcels | 5,752 | 565,508 |
| Total expenses | 232,267 fl. | 3,611,156 fl. |
| In a period of seventeen years the Company had a total of expenses (including dividends) of | | 25,147,403 fl. |
| And a total of receipts of | | 26,032,452 fl. |
| Hence there is a reserve of | | 885,049 fl. |

The Lloyd, being itself a commercial enterprise of great importance, as may be judged from the above table, has rendered immense service to the growth of industry and commerce wherever its ships have penetrated. It is calculated that, on valuing the Austrian *quintal* at 300 fl., and each passenger's parcels at 10 fl., the Lloyd has transported between 1836 and 1853:

| | |
|---|---|
| In merchandise | 1,255,219,200 florins |
| In baggage | 84,847,930 florins |
| In coins and bullion | 461,113,767 florins |
| Total | 1,801,180,897 florins |

"It is certain," says a French author, "that the modest but sustained action of this company of merchants on the affairs of the Levant has been for years, to say the least, quite as efficient, and much more honorable than that of Austrian diplomacy."

The revival of commerce and the development of steam navigation in the Adriatic cannot fail to call into life, in a more or less remote future, an Adriatic navy, extinct since the downfall of Venice. Napoleon, with his peculiar turn of mind,. thought to create this navy without waiting for the reestablishment of maritime commerce—an experiment he made simultaneously at Antwerp and at Venice. Having succeeded in raising armies

without a people to back them, he did not doubt his power to organize navies without a marine to rely upon. But apart from the inherent impossibilities of such a scheme, Napoleon stumbled on difficulties of a local character altogether unforeseen. Having dispatched his ablest engineers to Venice, completed the fortifications of that city, repaired the floating *matériel,* restored the ancient activity of the ship-building yards, it was all at once discovered that the technical progress in maritime war and navigation had struck with the same impotence the harbor of Venice to which the new roads of commerce had condemned its commerce and shipping. It was ascertained that, however excellent for the accommodation of the ancient galleys, the harbor of Venice lacked the depth required for modern ships of the line, and that even frigates were unable to enter the port without disembarking their guns, save with a concurrence of southern winds and spring tides. Now, for modern naval ports, it is a vital condition that they admit ships to enter at all times, and that they be deep and capacious enough to harbor a whole fleet, both for attack and defense. Bonaparte found, too, that he had committed another mistake. By the treaties of Campo Formio and Luneville,[175] he had cut off Venice from the eastern shores of the Adriatic, and thus deprived it of the crews for manning its fleets. From the mouth of the Isonzo down to Ravenna, he searched in vain for a maritime population, the gondoliers of Venice and the fishermen of the Lagunes (a timid and scanty race) being wholly unable to supply any valuable maritime force. Napoleon saw now, what the Venetians had discovered already in the tenth century, that the rule of the Adriatic can belong only to the possessor of its eastern shores. He perceived that his treaties of Campo Formio and Luneville were enormous mistakes—surrendering to Austria the maritime populations of the Adriatic, and reserving for himself the name of an obsolete harbor (*magni nominis umbram*[a]). To make good his earlier blunders, he appropriated Istria and Dalmatia by the subsequent treaties of Presburg and Vienna.[176]

Strabo long ago observed[b] that while the Adriatic coast of Italy is totally deficient in creeks and harbors, the Illyrian coast on the opposite side abounds in excellent ports; and, during the civil wars of Rome,[177] we see Pompey easily forming large fleets on the coasts of Epirus and Illyria, while Caesar, on the Italian shores, was able only after unexampled efforts to collect small force of

[a] "There stands the shadow of glorious name" (Lucan, *Pharsalia,* I, 135).— *Ed.*
[b] *Strabonis rerum geographicarum libri 17, Libr. 7, cap. 5.—Ed.*

boats for the conveyance of his troops in divisions. With its deep incisions, with the wild rocks of its islands, with the sandbanks strewed about everywhere, and with its admirable harbors of refuge, the coast of Istria and Dalmatia is a first-rate nursery of good seamen—sailors with vigorous limbs and intrepid hearts, seasoned in the storms which almost daily agitate the Adriatic. The *bora*,[a] which is the great disturber of that sea, always arises without the least warning; it attacks seamen with all the violence of a tornado, and permits none but the hardiest to keep the deck. Sometimes it rages for weeks together, and the domain of its greatest fury is comprised exactly within the mouths of Cattaro and the south point of Istria. The Dalmatian, however, accustomed to brave it from childhood, hardens under its breath, and despises the vulgar gales of other seas. Thus, air, land and sea combine to breed the robust and sober mariner of this coast.

Sismondi has remarked that silk-manufacture is as natural to the peasant of Lombardy as the spinning of silk is to the silk-worm. Thus, to take to the sea is as natural to the Dalmatian as it is to the sea-fowl. Piracy is as much the theme of their popular songs as robbery by land is the theme of the old Teutonic poetry. The Dalmatian still cherishes the memory of the wild exploits of the Uskoks, who for a century and a half kept in check the regular forces of Venice and Turkey,[178] and whose career was not stopped before the treaty concluded between Turkey and Austria in 1617, till which time the Uskoks had enjoyed the convenient protection of the Emperor. The history of the Uskoks has no parallel except in the history of the Cossacks of the Dnieper[179]—the one being exiles from Turkey and the other from Poland; the one carrying terror over the Adriatic, the other over the Black Sea; the former being at first secretly supported and then extinguished by Austria, and the latter by Russia. The Dalmatian sailors in the Mediterranean squadron of Admiral Emeriau were the admiration of Napoleon. There can be no doubt, then, that the eastern shores of the Adriatic possess all the materials for manning a first-rate navy. The only thing they want is discipline. By a census taken in 1813, Napoleon ascertained the existence of 43,500 sailors on this coast.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| At Trieste | 12,000 | At Spalato | 5,000 |
| At Fiume | 6,000 | At Ragusa | 8,500 |
| At Zara | 9,500 | At Cattaro | 2,500 |
| Total | | | 43,500 |

Their number must now be at least 55,000.

[a] Strong north-easterly wind.—*Ed.*

Having found the crews, Napoleon looked out for the harbors of an Adriatic navy. The Illyrian provinces were acquired definitely by the treaty of Vienna in 1809,[180] but they had been occupied by French troops since the battle of Austerlitz,[181] and Napoleon improved the opportunity of a state of war to prepare the great works intended to be executed during peace. In 1806 M. Beautemps-Beaupré, assisted by several engineers and hydrographers of the French Navy, was sent to survey the coasts of Istria and Dalmatia, with a view of discovering the most suitable focus for the naval foundation contemplated in the Adriatic. The whole coast was explored, and the attention of the engineers finally stuck to the harbor of Pola, situated at the southern extremity of the Istrian Peninsula. The Venetians, unwilling to fix the seat of their naval power anywhere but at Venice itself, had not only neglected Pola, but had anxiously propagated the opinion that Pola was inaccessible to ships of war on account of a pretended bar. However, M. Beaupré ascertained that no such bar existed, and that Pola answered all the conditions of a modern naval port. At different times it had been the seat of the naval forces of the Adriatic. It was the center of the naval operations of the Romans during their Illyrian and Pannonian expeditions, and it became a permanent naval station under the Roman Empire. At different times it has been in the occupation of the Genoese, the Venetians, and lastly of the Uskoks. Deep and capacious in every part, the harbor of Pola is defended in front by islands, and in the rear by rocks which command the position. Its only disadvantage is the unhealthiness and the fevers which, as M. Beautemps-Beaupré affirms,[a] will yield to a system of drainage that has hitherto not been applied.

The Austrians have been very slow in familiarizing themselves with the notion of becoming a naval power. Up to a very recent period their naval administration was, in their own eyes, merely a branch of their land service. A colonel in the army had the rank of a naval captain; a lieutenant-colonel, that of a captain of a frigate; a major, that of a captain of a corvette; and the equivalence in the rank list seemed to guarantee to the Austrians an equivalence in the services. To make a midshipman, they considered to have hit on the best expedient by making him previously a cornet of hussars. The recruits of the navy were levied in the same manner as the recruits for the army—with the

[a] C. F. Beautemps-Beaupré, *Rapports sur les rades, ports et mouillages de la côte orientale du golfe de Venise, visités en 1806, 1808 et 1809, par ordre de l'empereur.—Ed.*

only difference that the provinces of Istria and Dalmatia were allotted exclusively to the sea service. The time of service was equal, viz: Eight years, either by land or sea.

The separation of the two services, like all modern progress in Austria, is the result of the revolution of 1848. In spite of the Napoleonian precedent, Venice had remained up to 1848 the only arsenal of Austria. The defects of the Venetian harbor had failed to strike the Austrians, because they had, in fact, no modern navy at all. Their naval force consisted of but 6 frigates, 5 corvettes, 7 brigs, 6 sloops, 16 steamers, and 36 armed boats—in all 850 guns. By way of punishing the Italian revolution, the Austrians transferred from Venice to Trieste the naval school, the observatory, the hydrographic office, the floating *matériel* and the artillery park. The building-yards and the stores remained behind; and thus, by a bureaucratic vengeance, the naval service was cut in two. Instead of Venice being punished, both branches were deprived of their efficiency. Slowly the Austrian Government discovered that, however excellent Trieste might be for a commercial harbor, it was unfit for a naval station. At last they had to fall back on the lesson Napoleon had set up in the Adriatic, and to make Pola the center of their naval administration. Quite in keeping with Austrian usage, the first few years after this removal of their Admiralty to Pola have been employed in building barracks instead of ship-yards. The system of defense reposes on the establishment of a cross-fire from the islands at the entrance of the harbor, with a chain of Maximilian towers[a] to prevent ships from throwing bombs into the harbor. Beside its strategical advantages, Pola answers the indispensable condition of a good port, viz: of being able to provision a good fleet. Istria has oaks equal to Naples; Carniola, Carinthia and Styria are inexhaustible in pines, which already form the staple tunnage of Trieste exportation; Styria is rich in iron; the hemp of Ancona has no more commodious outlet than Pola; coal is hitherto received from England, but the Dalmatian works at Sebenico begin to yield a better quality; and when the Trieste-Vienna Railway opens, the best quality may be had from Semmering. All Istrian produce, being grown on a chalky soil, endures long voyages. Oil is abundant, Hungarian grain at hand, and pork in immense quantities to be had from the Danubian valley. That pork goes now to Galatz and Hamburg, but the railway will bring it to Trieste and Pola.

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[a] Named after Maximilian Este.—*Ed.*

To all these excellent bases for the revival of the naval power in the Adriatic, there is only one drawback—Austria itself. If, with its present organization and under its present Government, Austria were able to found a commercial and naval power in the Adriatic, it would upset all the traditions of history, which has ever coupled maritime greatness with Freedom. On the other hand, it would upset Austria to upset tradition.

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# Karl Marx

## THE RIGHT DIVINE OF THE HOHENZOLLERNS[182]

At the present moment there is only one great question afloat in Europe—the Neuchatel question.[183] This, at least, is the tenet of the Prussian newspapers. The principality of Neuchatel, it is true, together with the county of Valengin, may be mathematically circumscribed by the somewhat diminutive figure of fourteen square miles.[a] But then, say the royalist philosophers of Berlin, it is not quantity but quality, that generally invests things with grandeur or pettiness, and stamps them as sublime or ridiculous. To them the Neuchatel question is the eternal question between revolution and right divine, an antagonism as little affected by geographical dimensions as the law of gravitation by the difference between the sun and a tennis-ball.

Let us try to get at an understanding of what the Hohenzollern dynasty call their divine right. In the case now before us, they appeal to a protocol dated London, May 24th, 1852, by which the plenipotentiaries of France, Great Britain and Russia,

> "recognised the rights which belong to the King of Prussia over the principality of Neuchatel and the county of Valengin, according to the tenor of articles twenty-three and seventy-five of the treaty of Vienna, and which have coexisted from 1815 to 1848 with those which article seventy-three of the same treaty conferred on Switzerland."[b]

By this "diplomatic intervention" the right divine of the King of Prussia over Neuchatel is only acknowledged as far as established by the treaty of Vienna. The treaty of Vienna, in its turn, refers us

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[a] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* "seventeen miles square".—*Ed.*

[b] "Protocole de Londres, du 24 mai 1852".—*Ed.*

to a title which Prussia acquired in the year 1707. Now how did the case stand in 1707?

The principality of Neuchatel and the county of Valengin, appertaining in mediaeval times to the kingdom of Burgundy, became, after the defeat of Charles le Téméraire,[a] an ally of the Swiss Confederation,[184] and such it remained under the immediate protection of Berne, during all the subsequent displacements of its feudal "suzerains," till the treaty of Vienna transformed the ally into a member of the Swiss Confederation. The suzerainty over Neuchatel was first transferred to the house of Châlons-Orange—next, by the intervention of Switzerland, to the house of Longueville, and finally, after the extinction of the magnates of that house, to the sister of the prince,[b] the dowager Duchess of Nemours. When the latter acceded to these dominions, William III., King of England and Duke of Nassau-Orange, issued a protest and made over his claims on Neuchatel and Valengin to his cousin Frederick I. of Prussia, a settlement which, however, produced no effect whatever during the lifetime of William III. On the death of Mary, Duchess of Nemours, Frederick I. stepped forward with his pretensions, but fourteen other candidates appearing in the field, he wisely abandoned the decision over the rival claims to the supreme judgement of the States of Neuchatel and Valengin, having made sure before of their sentence by bribing the judges. By dint of bribery, then, the King of Prussia became Prince of Neuchatel and Count of Valengin. As such he was unmade by the French revolution, remade by the treaty of Vienna, and unmade again by the revolution of 1848. Against the revolutionary right of the people he appeals to the right divine of the Hohenzollerns, which would seem to resolve itself into the divine right of bribery.[c]

Littleness is a characteristic feature of all feudal conflicts. Yet there is a large line of distinction to be drawn. The numberless small fights, intrigues, treasons, by which the Kings of France succeeded in supplanting their feudal vassals, are sure to remain a favourite subject with the historian, because they trace the origin of a great nation. On the other hand, the story how a vassal contrived to carve out the German Empire, a more or less extensive slice of sovereignty for his private use, is a theme altogether barren and dull, unless enlivened by a concurrence of

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[a] In the *NYDT* "Charles the Bold".—*Ed.*

[b] Charles Longueville; in the *NYDT* "sister of the last prince".—*Ed.*

[c] In the *NYDT* "in the last analysis to lose itself in the divine right of bribery".—*Ed.*

extraordinary circumstances, such as distinguish the history of Austria. There we observe one and the same prince as the elective head of an empire and as the hereditary vassal of a province of that empire; conspiring in the interest of his province against the empire; proving successful in that conspiracy, because his encroachments on the south appear to revive the traditionary conflicts between the German empire and Italy, and his encroachments on the east to continue the deadly struggle between the German and Sclavonic races, and the resistance of Christian Europe against the Mahometan Orient; lastly, exalting, by artful family connections,[a] his domestic power to such a pitch that at one moment it threatened not only to absorb the empire while shedding a factitious lustre upon it, but to bury the world in the tomb of a universal monarchy. Than such colossal outlines, nothing can be stranger to the annals of the margravate of Brandenburg. Where the history of its rival reads like a diabolical epic, it only reads like an immoral family tale. There exists a striking difference, even where one expects to find likeness, if not identity of interest. The two Marches of Brandenburg and of Austria,[b] both derived their original importance from forming advanced posts for the defence as well as the attack of Germany against the neighbouring Sclavonian race. But even from this point of view the history of Brandenburg lacks colour, life, and dramatic movement, lost as it is in petty strifes with obscure Sclavonic tribes scattered over a relatively small tract of land between the Elbe and the Oder, none of which tribes ever ripened into anything like an historical existence. No Sclavonic tribe of historical mark was ever conquered or Germanised by the margravate of Brandenburg, nor did it even succeed to stretch out its arms to the bordering Wendish sea.[c] Pomerania, coveted by the margraves of Brandenburg since the 12th century, was not entirely incorporated with the kingdom of Prussia in the year 1815 [185]; and when the Brandenburg electors began to appropriate it piecemeal, it had long ago ceased to be a Sclavonic state. The transformation of the southern and south-eastern shores of the Baltic, partly by the commercial enterprise of German burghers, partly by the sword of the German knights, belongs to the history of Germany and Poland, not to that of Brandenburg, which only came to gather the harvest it had not sown.

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[a] In the *NYDT* "exalting by dint of artful family combinations".—*Ed.*

[b] Previously called Ostmark.—*Ed.*

[c] Slavonic name of the Baltic Sea.—*Ed.*

Without much risk one may go so far as to say that of the innumerable readers who have contrived to get some clue to the classical names of Achilles, Cicero, Nestor, and Hector, there exists only a very indifferent per centage who ever suspected the sandy soil of Brandenburg of not only producing potatoes and sheep at our own time, but of having once[a] exuberated in no less than four electors, going respectively under the names of Albrecht Achilles, Johann Cicero, Joachim I. Nestor, and Joachim II. Hector. The same golden mediocrity that favoured the slow growth of the electorate of Brandenburg into what is by courtesy called an European power, has screened[b] its home-spun history from too indiscreet an intimacy with the public eye. Relying on this fact Prussian statesmen and writers have exerted themselves to the utmost to impregnate the world with the notion that Prussia is the military monarchy par excellence, whence it might be induced that the right divine of the Hohenzollerns must mean the right of the sword—the right of conquest. Nothing could be more off the mark. It may be affirmed, on the contrary, that, properly speaking, of all the provinces the Hohenzollerns now possess, they have conquered only one—Silesia, a fact, so unique in the annals of their house that it earned for Frederick II. the title of the Unique. Now, the Prussian monarchy stretches over 5,062 geographical square miles,[c] of which the province of Brandenburg, even in its present extent, does not occupy more than 730, and Silesia no more than 741. How, then, did they get at Prussia with 1,178, at Posen with 536, at Pomerania with 567, at Saxony with 460, at Westphalia with 366, and at Rhenish Prussia with 479 square miles? By the divine right of bribery, open purchase, petty larceny, legacy-hunting, and treacherous partition treaties.

In the beginning of the fifteenth century the margravate of Brandenburg belonged to the house of Luxemburg, whose chief, Sigismund, simultaneously swayed the Imperial sceptre of Germany. Being very short of cash, and hard pressed by his creditors, he found a facile and accommodating friend in Frederick, burgrave of Nurnberg, a prince tracing his origin to the house of Hohenzollern. In 1411, Frederick was installed as General Administrator of Brandenburg, made over to him as a sort of mortgage for the divers sums of money he had advanced to the

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[a] In the *NYDT* "some centuries ago".—*Ed.*

[b] In the *NYDT* "has safely screened".—*Ed.*

[c] *Geographical mile*—a German unit of distance equal to 7.42 km.—The *New-York Daily Tribune* uses data in statute miles.—*Ed.*

Emperor. Like a prudent money-lender who finds himself once put in preliminary possession of the premises of a spendthrift, Frederick continued to involve Sigismund in fresh debts by new advances, till 1415, when the debtor and creditor accounts were settled by the investiture of Frederick with the hereditary electorate of Brandenburg. To leave no doubt as to the nature of this act, it was encumbered with two clauses, the one reserving to the house of Luxemburg the right of redeeming the electorate on payment of 400,000 gold florins, and the other binding Frederick and his heirs to give on every new election for the empire their vote to the house of Luxemburg—the former clause stamping the contract as a barter, and the latter as a bribery. To become full proprietor of the electorate, there remained for the grasping friend of Sigismund but one further operation, the dropping of the redemption clause. Accordingly, he watched the opportune moment when Sigismund, at the council of Constance,[186] had again got at loggerheads with the costs of Imperial representation[a]; and hurrying from the March to the confines of Switzerland, he emptied his purse, and the fatal clause was struck off. Such were the ways and means of the right divine on which the still reigning dynasty of Hohenzollern founds its possession of the electorate of Brandenburg. Such was the origin of the Prussian monarchy.

Frederick's next successor,[b] a very weak man, called the "Iron," because of his fancy for always appearing in public in an iron harness, bought for 100,000 gold florins the New March from the order of the Teutonic knights,[187] as his father had bought the Old March and his dignity from the Emperor. Thence the method of buying encumbered parcels of sovereignty grew into as settled a thing with the Hohenzollern electors as intervention had once been with the Roman senate. Leaving alone the tedious details of this sordid traffic, we pass on to the times of the Reformation.

It must not be imagined that because the Reformation turned out to be the main prop of the Hohenzollern dynasty, the Hohenzollern dynasty proved themselves the main prop of the Reformation. Quite the reverse. The founder of that dynasty, Frederick I., inaugurated his reign by leading the armies of Sigismund against the Hussites,[188] who thrashed him soundly for his pains. Joachim I. Nestor, 1499-1535, treated the Reformation as though it were a Taborite.[189] He persecuted it to his death.

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[a] In the *NYDT* "was again out of money".—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick II.—*Ed.*

Joachim II. Hector, although a convert to Lutheranism, refused to draw the sword in defence of the new faith, at the very moment when it appeared to succumb under the overwhelming forces of Charles-Quint. Not only declining to share in the armed resistance of the Schmalkalden Bund,[190] he tendered his secret support to the Emperor. On the part of the Hohenzollerns, the German Reformation then met with open hostility at its rise, at the time of its earlier struggles with a false neutrality, and during its terrible concluding scene of the thirty years' war[191] with fainthearted vacillation, cowardly inaction, and base faithlessness. It is known that the elector, George Wilhelm, tried to bar the passage of the liberating armies of Gustavus Adolphus, who was forced to drive him by kicks and blows into the Protestant camp, from which he afterwards attempted to skulk out by concluding a separate peace with Austria.[192] But if the Hohenzollerns were not the knights, they certainly were the cashiers of the German Reformation. Their reluctance to fight in its cause was equalled only by their eagerness to plunder in its name. Reformation, with them, was but the religious title for secularisation, so that the best part of their acquisitions during the 16th and 17th centuries, may be traced to one large source—church robbery—a rather queer way this for the divine right to manifest itself in.

Three events stand foremost in the history of the formation of the Hohenzollern monarchy—the acquisition of the Brandenburg electorate, the adjunction to the electorate of the duchy of Prussia, and lastly the elevation of the duchy into a kingdom. We have seen how the electorate was acquired. The duchy of Prussia was got by three steps. First: secularisation; next, marriage transactions of rather an equivocal character—the elector Joachim Frederick espousing the younger,[a] and his son, Johann Sigismund, the elder daughter[b] of the mad and sonless Duke Albrecht of Prussia—and, lastly: by bribing with the right hand the Court of the Polish King,[c] and with the left hand the Diet of the Polish Republic. So complicated were these bribery transactions as to extend over a whole series of years.[193] A similar method was adopted for the transformation of the duchy of Prussia into a kingdom. To get the royal title, the elector, Frederick III., afterwards King Frederick I., wanted the consent of the German Emperor. To get this consent, against which the Catholic conscience of the Emperor

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[a] Eleonore.— *Ed.*
[b] Anne.— *Ed.*
[c] Sigismund.— *Ed.*

revolted, he bribed the Jesuit Wolf, the confessor of Leopold I., and threw into the bargain 30,000 Brandenburghers, to be slaughtered in the Austro-Spanish succession-war.[194] The Hohenzollern elector returned to the Old German Institution of life-money, only that the ancient Germans paid with cattle and that he paid with men. Such was the foundation of the Hohenzollern royalty, by the grace of God.

With their improving fortunes, since the commencement of the eighteenth century, the Hohenzollerns improved their method of aggrandisement by adding to bribery and barter partition treaties with Russia against states which they had not felled, but surprised when fallen. Thus we find them concurring with Peter the Great in the partition of the Swedish possessions, with Catherine II. in the partition of Poland, and with Alexander I. in the partition of Germany.[195]

Those, then, who object to the Prussian claims on Neuchatel that the Hohenzollerns got it by bribery, commit a woeful mistake in forgetting that it was by bribery that they acquired Brandenburg, that they acquired Prussia, that they acquired the royal dignity. There can exist no doubt they possess Neuchatel by the same right divine as their other states, and they cannot resign the one without exposing the others.

Written on about December 2, 1856

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Reproduced from *The People's Paper*

# Karl Marx

## [THE ANGLO-CHINESE CONFLICT]

The mails of the *America* which reached us yesterday morning bring a variety of documents concerning the British quarrel with the Chinese authorities at Canton, and the warlike operations of Admiral Seymour.[196] The result which a careful study of the official correspondence between the British and Chinese authorities at Hong-Kong and Canton must, we think, produce upon every impartial mind, is that the British are in the wrong in the whole proceeding. The alleged cause of the quarrel, as stated by the latter, is that instead of appealing to the British Consul, certain Chinese officers had violently removed some Chinese criminals from a lorcha[a] lying in Canton river, and hauled down the British flag which was flying from its mast. But, as says *The London Times,*

> "there are, indeed, matters in dispute such as whether the lorcha was carrying British colors, and whether the Consul was entirely justified in the steps that he took."[b]

The doubt thus admitted is confirmed when we remember that the provision of the treaty,[c][197] which the Consul insists should be applied to this lorcha, relates to British ships alone; while the lorcha, as it abundantly appears, was not in any just sense British. But in order that our readers may have the whole case before them, we proceed to give what is important in the official correspondence. First, we have a communication dated Oct. 21,

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[a] Coastal sailer.— *Ed.*

[b] *The Times*, No. 22567, January 2, 1857, leading article.— *Ed.*

[c] *Traité supplémentaire entre S. M. la reine du Royaume-Uni de la Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande et l'empereur de Chine, signé à Houmon-Schai, le 8 octobre 1843.—Ed.*

from Mr. Parkes, the British Consul at Canton, to Governor-General Yeh, as follows:

"On the morning of the 8th inst. the British lorcha *Arrow*, when lying among the shipping anchored before the city, was boarded, without any previous reference being made to the British Consul, by a large force of Chinese officers and soldiers in uniform, who, in the face of the remonstrance of the master, an Englishman, seized, bound and carried away twelve Chinese out of her crew of fourteen, and hauled down her colors. I reported all the particulars of this public insult to the British flag, and grave violation of the ninth article of the Supplementary Treaty, to your Excellency the same day, and appealed to you to afford satisfaction for the insult, and cause the provision of the treaty to be in this case faithfully observed. But your Excellency, with a strange disregard both to justice and treaty engagement, has offered no reparation or apology for the injury, and, by retaining the men you have seized in your custody, signify your approval of this violation of the treaty, and leave her Majesty's Government without assurance that a similar event shall not again occur."[a]

It seems that the Chinese on board the lorcha were seized by the Chinese officers, because the latter had been informed that some of the crew had participated in a piracy committed against a Chinese merchantman. The British Consul accuses the Chinese Governor-General of seizing the crew, of hauling down the British flag, of declining to offer any apology, and of retaining the men seized in his custody. The Chinese Governor, in a letter addressed to Admiral Seymour, affirms that, having ascertained that nine of the captives were innocent, he directed, on Oct. 10, an officer to put them on board of their vessel again, but that Consul Parkes refused to receive them. As to the lorcha itself, he states that when the Chinese on board were seized, she was supposed to be a Chinese vessel, and rightly so, because she was built by a Chinese, and belonged to a Chinese, who had fraudulently obtained possession of a British ensign, by entering his vessel on the colonial British register—a method, it seems, habitual with Chinese smugglers. As to the question of the insult to the flag, the Governor remarks:

"It has been the invariable rule with lorchas of your Excellency's nation, to haul down the flag when they drop anchor, and to hoist it again when they get under way. When the lorcha was boarded, in order that the prisoners might be seized, it has been satisfactorily proved that no flag was flying. How then could a flag have been hauled down? Yet Consul Parkes, in one dispatch after another, pretends that satisfaction is required for the insult offered to the flag."[b]

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[a] .H. Parkes' letter to Yeh, Governor-General of the two Kwang Provinces, October 21, 1856, *The Times*, No. 22571, January 7, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below see Yeh's letter to the Naval Commander-in-Chief M. Seymour, October 31, 1856, *The Times*, No. 22567, January 2, 1857.—*Ed.*

From these premises the Chinese Governor concludes that no breach of any treaty has been committed. On Oct. 12, nevertheless, the British Plenipotentiary[a] demanded not only the surrender of the whole of the arrested crew, but also an apology. The Governor thus replies:

"Early in the morning of Oct. 22, I wrote to Consul Parkes, and at the same time forwarded to him twelve men, namely, Leong Mingtai and Leong Kee-foo, convicted on the inquiry I had instituted, and the witness, Woo Ayu, together with nine previously tendered. But Consul Parkes would neither receive the twelve prisoners nor my letter."

Parkes might, therefore, have now got back the whole of his twelve men, together with what was most probably an apology, contained in a letter which he did not open. In the evening of the same day, Governor Yeh again made inquiry why the prisoners tendered by him were not received, and why he received no answer to his letter. No notice was taken of this step, but on the 24th fire was opened on the forts, and several of them were taken; and it was not until Nov. 1 that Admiral Seymour explained the apparently incomprehensible conduct of Consul Parkes in a message to the Governor. The men, he says, has been restored to the Consul, but "not *publicly* restored to their vessel, nor had the required apology been made for the violation of the Consular jurisdiction."[b] To this quibble, then, of not restoring in state a set of men numbering three convicted criminals, the whole case is reduced. To this the Governor of Canton answers, first, that the twelve men had been actually handed over to the Consul, and that there had not been "any refusal to return them to their vessel." What was still the matter with this British Consul, the Chinese Governor only learned after the city had been bombarded for six days. As to an apology, Governor Yeh insists that none could be given, as no fault had been committed. We quote his words:

"No foreign flag was seen by my executive at the time of the capture, and as, in addition to this, it was ascertained on examination of the prisoners by the officer deputed to conduct it, that the lorcha was in no respect a foreign vessel, I maintain that there was no mistake committed."[c]

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[a] John Bowring.—*Ed.*

[b] M. Seymour's letter to Yeh, November 2, 1856, *The Times*, No. 22567, January 2, 1857.—*Ed.*

[c] Yeh's letter to M. Seymour, November 3, 1856, *The Times*, No. 22571, January 7, 1857.—*Ed.*

Indeed, the force of this Chinaman's dialectics disposes so effectually of the whole question—and there is no other apparent case—that Admiral Seymour at last has no resource left him but a declaration like the following:

"I must positively decline any further argument on the merits of the case of the lorcha *Arrow*. I am perfectly satisfied of the facts as represented to your Excellency by Mr. Consul Parkes." [a]

But after having taken the forts, breached the walls of the city, and bombarded Canton for six days, the Admiral suddenly discovers quite a new object for his measures, as we find him writing to the Chinese Governor on Oct. 30:

"It is now for your Excellency, by immediate consultation with me, to terminate a condition of things of which the present evil is not slight, but which, if not amended, can scarcely fail to be productive of the most serious calamities." [b]

The Chinese Governor answers, that according to the Convention of 1849,[198] he had no right to ask for such a consultation. He further says:

"In reference to the admission into the city, I must observe that, in April, 1849, his Excellency the Plenipotentiary Bonham issued a public notice at the factories here, to the effect that he thereby prohibited foreigners from entering the city. The notice was inserted in the newspapers of the time, and will, I presume, have been read by your Excellency. Add to this that the exclusion of foreigners from the city is by the unanimous vote of the whole population of Kwang-Tung. It may be supposed how little to their liking has been this storming of the forts and this destruction of their dwellings; and, apprehensive as I am of the evil that may hence befall the officials and citizens of your Excellency's nation, I can suggest nothing better than a continued adherence to the policy of the Plenipotentiary Bonham, as to the correct course to be pursued. As to the consultation proposed by your Excellency, I have already, some days ago, deputed Tseang, Prefect of Luy-chow-foo." [c]

Admiral Seymour now makes a clean breast of it, declaring that he does not care for the convention of Mr. Bonham:

"Your Excellency's reply refers me to the notification of the British Plenipotentiary of 1849, prohibiting foreigners from entering Canton. Now, I must

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[a] M. Seymour's letter to Yeh, November 2, 1856, *The Times*, No. 22567, January 2, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] M. Seymour's letter to Yeh, October 30, 1856, *The Times*, No. 22567, January 2, 1857.—*Ed.*

[c] Yeh's letter to M. Seymour, October 31, 1856, *The Times*, No. 22567, January 2, 1857.—*Ed.*

remind you that, although we have indeed serious matter of complaint against the Chinese Government for breach of the promise given in 1847 to admit foreigners into Canton at the end of two years, my demand now made is in no way connected with former negotiations on the same subject, neither am I demanding admission of any but the foreign officials, and this only for the simple and sufficient reasons above assigned. On my proposal to treat personally with your Excellency, you do me the honor to remark that you sent a Prefect some days ago. I am compelled therefore to regard your Excellency's whole letter as unsatisfactory in the extreme, and have only to add that, unless I immediately receive an explicit assurance of your assent to what I have proposed, I shall at once resume offensive operations."[a]

Governor Yeh retorts by again entering into the details of the Convention of 1849:

"In 1848 there was a long controversial correspondence on the subject between my predecessor Seu and the British Plenipotentiary, Mr. Bonham, and Mr. Bonham, being satisfied that an interview within the city was utterly out of the question, addressed a letter to Seu in the April of 1849, in which he said, 'At the present time I can have no more discussion with your Excellency on this subject.' He further issued a notice from the factories to the effect that no foreigner was to enter the city, which was inserted in the papers, and he communicated this to the British Government. There was not a Chinese or foreigner of any nation who did not know that the question was never to be discussed again."[b]

Impatient of argument, the British Admiral hereupon forces his way into the City of Canton to the residence of the Governor, at the same time destroying the Imperial fleet in the river. Thus there are two distinct acts in this diplomatic and military drama—the first introducing the bombardment of Canton on the pretext of a breach of the Treaty of 1842[199] committed by the Chinese Governor, and the second, continuing that bombardment on an enlarged scale, on the pretext that the Governor clung stubbornly to the Convention of 1849. First Canton is bombarded for breaking a treaty, and next it is bombarded for observing a treaty. Besides, it is not even pretended that redress was not given in the first instance, but only that redress was not given in the orthodox manner.

The view of the case put forth by *The London Times* would do no discredit even to General William Walker of Nicaragua.[200]

"By this outbreak of hostilities," says that journal, "existing treaties are annulled, and we are left free to change our relations with the Chinese Empire as we please. The recent proceedings at Canton warn us that we ought to enforce that

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[a] M. Seymour's letter to Yeh, November 2, 1856, *The Times*, No. 22567, January 2, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] Yeh's letter to M. Seymour, November 3, 1856, *The Times*, No. 22571, January 7, 1857.—*Ed.*

right of free entrance into the country and into the ports open to us, which was stipulated for in the Treaty of 1842. We must not again be told that our representatives must be excluded from the presence of the Chinese Governor-General, because *we have waived* the performance of the article which enabled foreigners to penetrate beyond the precincts of our factories."[a]

In other words, "we" have commenced hostilities in order to break an existing treaty and to enforce a claim which "we" have waived by an express convention! We are happy to say, however, that another prominent organ of British opinion expresses itself in a more humane and becoming tone.

"It is," says *The Daily News*, "a monstrous fact, that in order to avenge the irritated pride of a British official, and punish the folly of an Asiatic governor, we prostitute our strength to the wicked work of carrying fire and sword, and desolation and death, into the peaceful homes of unoffending men, on whose shores we were originally intruders. Whatever may be the issue of this Canton bombardment, the deed itself is a bad and a base one—a reckless and wanton waste of human life at the shrine of a false etiquette and a mistaken policy."

It is, perhaps, a question whether the civilized nations of the world will approve this mode of invading a peaceful country, without previous declaration of war, for an alleged infringement of the fanciful code of diplomatic etiquette. If the first Chinese war, in spite of its infamous pretext,[201] was patiently looked upon by other powers, because it held out the prospect of opening the trade with China, is not this second war likely to obstruct that trade for an indefinite period? Its first result must be the cutting off of Canton from the tea-growing districts, as yet, for the most part, in the hands of the imperialists[202]—a circumstance which cannot profit anybody but the Russian overland tea traders.[203]

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[a] *The Times*, No. 22567, January 2, 1857, leading article.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [MOUNTAIN WARFARE IN THE PAST AND PRESENT][204]

The recent possibility, not yet entirely removed, of an invasion of Switzerland, has naturally revived the public interest not only concerning the defensive resources of the mountain Republic, but with regard to mountain warfare in general. People generally incline to regard Switzerland as impregnable, and think of an invading force as of those Roman gladiators whose "*Ave Caesar, morituri te salutant*"[a] has become so famous.[b] We are reminded of Sempach and Morgarten, Murten and Granson,[205] and we are told that it may be easy enough for a foreign army to get into Switzerland, but that, as the fool of Albert of Austria said, it will be difficult to get out again. Even military men will recite the names of a dozen mountain passes and defiles, where a handful of men might easily and successfully oppose a couple of thousands of the best soldiers.[c]

This traditional impregnability of the so-called mountain-fortress of Switzerland dates from the time of the wars with

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[a] "Hail Caesar; those who are about to die salute you." (The expression is used by Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus in Claudius' biography in *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*).— *Ed.*

[b] In the rough manuscript the beginning of the article reads: "Whenever there is a chance of Switzerland being involved in a war, the general public look upon that country with a certain degree of awe, and are inclined to give up the invading army for quite as lost as the Roman gladiators whose '*Ave Caesar, morituri te salutant*' has become so celebrated."— *Ed.*

[c] The manuscript further reads: "And to complete your conviction they will put a map of Switzerland before you, black with mountain-ridges and slopes, and ask you how an army is to find its road and to act in concert in this labyrinth of rocks, ravines, glaciers, torrents and impassable mountain crests."— *Ed.*

Whenever there is a chance of Switzerland being involved in a war, the general public look upon the country with a certain degree of awe, and are inclined to pity the invading army, forgetting that the Roman gladiators whose: Rue, Caesar, morituri: te salutant has become so celebrated. We are reminded of Murten and Morgarten, Morat and Grandson, and we are told that it may be very difficult for an foreign army to get into Switzerland, but that it will be found very difficult indeed to get out again. Even military men will recite the names of a dozen mountain passes & defiles, by experience & tradition, perfectly impregnable, and where a handful of men, may with ease, successfully oppose a corps of thousand of the bravest & best soldiers. And to complete your conviction, they will pull a map of Switzerland before you, black with mountain-ridges & slopes, & ask you how an army is to find its road & to act in concert in this labyrinth of rocks, ravines, glaciers, torrents & impassable mountain crests.

This traditional impregnability of the so-called mountain-fortress of Switzerland dates from the time of the wars with Austria and Burgundy in the 14th & 15th centuries. At the former period, the armour-clad cavalry of the knighthood was the chief arm of the invaders; its strength lay in the irresistibility of the charge against armies undisturbed by fire arms, & in a country like Switzerland, cavalry, even of the lightest kind, is even now useless, & much more so were the knights of the 14th century, encumbered with nearly a hundred weight of iron? They had to dismount & fight on foot; thereby their last remnant of mobility was lost; they, the invaders, were reduced to an almost absolute defensive, & caught in a defile, and pounded to pieces with clubs & big sticks. During the long middle ages, infantry armed with pikes, had become a more important portion of an army, & when fire-arms had been introduced, but the infantry was still cramped by the weight of defensive armour, the cannon were heavy, & small arms, in their infancy, The whole equipments of the troops was still so cumbersome

The first page of Engels' rough manuscript
"Mountain Warfare in the Past and Present"

Austria and Burgundy, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[206] In the former the armor-clad cavalry of the chivalry was the chief arm of the invaders; its strength lay in the irresistible charge against armies undefended by firearms. Now, this charge was impossible in a country like Switzerland, where cavalry, except of the lightest kind, and in small numbers, is even now useless. How much more so were the knights of the fourteenth century, encumbered with nearly a hundred weight of iron. They had to dismount and fight on foot; thus, their last remnant of mobility was lost; and the invaders were reduced to the defensive, and when caught in a defile were defenseless even against clubs and sticks. During the Burgundian wars, infantry, armed with pikes, had become a more important portion of an army, and firearms had been introduced, but the infantry was still cramped by the weight of defensive armor, the cannon were heavy, and small arms clumsy and comparatively useless.[a] The whole equipment of the troops was still so cumbersome as to unfit them completely for mountain warfare, and especially at a time when roads can scarcely be said to have existed. The consequence was that, as soon as these slow-moving armies were once entangled in difficult ground, they stuck fast, while the lightly-armed Swiss peasants were enabled to act on the offensive, to out-maneuver, to surround, and finally to defeat their opponents.

For three centuries after the Burgundian wars, Switzerland was never seriously invaded. The tradition of Swiss invincibility grew venerable, until the French Revolution, an event which tore into shreds so many venerable traditions, destroyed this one too, at least for those acquainted with military history. Times had changed. The iron-clad cavalry and the heavy pikemen had passed away; tactics had been revolutionized a dozen times over; mobility was becoming the chief quality of armies; the line tactics of Marlborough, Eugene[b] and Frederick the Great were being upset by the columns and skirmishers of the revolutionary armies; and from the day that General Bonaparte passed, in 1796, the Col di Cadibone, threw himself between the scattered Austrian and Sardinian columns, defeated them in front, while at the same time intercepting their retreat in the narrow valleys of the Maritime Alps, making the most of his opponents prisoners—from that day

[a] Instead of the words "clumsy and comparatively useless" the manuscript has: "were in their infancy".—*Ed.*

[b] Of Savoy.—*Ed.*

dates the new science of mountain warfare which has put an end to the impregnability of Switzerland.

During the period of line tactics, which immediately preceded that of modern warfare, all difficult ground was studiously avoided by either adversary.[a] The more level the plain, the better it was deemed for a battle-field, if it only afforded some obstacle to support one or both wings. But with the French revolutionary armies, a different system began. An obstacle before the front, covering ground for skirmishers, as well as for the reserves, was anxiously sought for in any defensive position. Difficult ground, upon the whole, was preferred by them; their troops were far lighter in their movements; and their formations, extended order and columns, admitted not only[b] of rapid movements in all directions, but even made it advantageous to them to profit by the shelter afforded by broken ground, at the same time that their opponents were quite lost in it. In fact, the term "impracticable ground" was all but erased from the military terminology.

The Swiss were made to feel this in 1798, when four French divisions, in spite of the obstinate resistance of part of the inhabitants, and of a three times repeated insurrection of the old forest cantons, made themselves masters of the country which, for the next three years, became one of the most important theaters of the war between the French Republic and the Coalition.[207] How little the French were afraid of the inaccessible mountains and narrow gorges of Switzerland, they showed as early as March, 1798, when Masséna at once marched upon the roughest and most mountainous canton, the Grisons, then occupied by the Austrians. The latter held the upper valley of the Rhine. In concentric columns Masséna's troops marched into that valley through mountain passes hardly passable to horses, occupied all the outlets, and after a short resistance forced the Austrians to lay down their arms. The Austrians very soon profited by this lesson; under Hotze, a General who gained considerable proficiency in mountain warfare, they returned to the charge, repeated the same maneuver, and drove out the French. Then came the retreat of Masséna to the defensive position of Zurich, where he defeated Korsakoff's Russians, the invasion of Switzerland over the St. Gotthard by Souwaroff, his disastrous retreat, and finally another advance of the French through the Grisons into Tyrol, where

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[a] Instead of the words "by either adversary" the manuscript has: "by both opposing armies in the war".—*Ed.*

[b] Here the manuscript ends.—*Ed.*

Macdonald in the depth of winter passed over three mountain ridges then scarcely thought passable in single file.[208] The great Napoleonic campaigns which then followed were fought out in the great river-basins of the Danube and the Po; the grand strategical conceptions on which they were based, all tending to cut off the hostile army from the center of its resources, to destroy that army, and then to occupy the center itself, implied a less intercepted ground and the concentration of masses for decisive battles not to be obtained in Alpine countries. But from the first Alpine campaign of Napoleon in 1796, and his march across the Julian Alps to Vienna in 1797, up to 1801, the whole history of warfare proves that Alpine ridges and valleys have completely lost their terror for modern troops; nor have the Alps ever since, up to 1815, offered any defensive positions worth speaking of to either France or the Coalition.

When you pass through one of these deep ravines which wind up the roads that lead from the northern slope of the Alps to their southern declivity, you find the most formidable defensive positions at every turn of the road. Take the well-known Via Mala, for instance. There is not an officer but will tell you he might hold that defile with a battalion against an enemy, *if* he was sure of not being turned. But that is precisely the point. There is no mountain pass, even in the highest ridge of the Alps, but can be turned. Napoleon's maxim for mountain warfare was: "Where a goat can pass, a man can pass; where a man, a battalion; where a battalion, an army." And Souwaroff had to do it, when he was closely shut up in the valley of the Reuss, and had to march his army along shepherds' tracks, where but one man could pass at a time, while Lecourbe, the best French General for mountain warfare, was at his heels.

It is this facility of turning an enemy which makes up and more for the strength of defensive positions, to attack which in front would often be perfect madness. To guard all roads by which a position can be turned would imply, in the defending party, such a dissemination of forces as must insure immediate defeat. They can, at best, be observed only, and the repulse of the turning movement must depend upon the judicious use of reserves and on the judgment and rapidity of the commanders of single detachments; and yet, if of three or four turning columns one only is successful, the defending party is placed in as bad a condition as if they had all succeeded. Thus, strategically speaking, the attack in mountain warfare is decidedly superior to the defense.

It is the same when we come to look at the subject in a purely tactical light. The defensive positions will always be narrow mountain-gorges, occupied by strong columns in the valley and protected by skirmishers on the hights. These positions may be turned either from the front, by skirmishing parties climbing up the sides of the valley and outflanking the sharp-shooters of the defense, or by parties marching along the top of the ridge where this is practicable, or by a parallel valley—the turning body profiting by a pass to fall on flank or rear of the defending post. In all these cases the turning parties have the advantage of *command;* they occupy the higher ground and overlook the valley occupied by their opponents. They may roll rocks and trees down upon them; for now-a-days no column is so foolish as to enter into a deep gorge before its sides are cleared; so that this late favorite mode of defense is now turned against the defenders. Another disadvantage of the defense is that the effect of firearms, on which it mainly rests, is very much reduced on mountainous ground. Artillery is either all but useless, or, where it is seriously used, is generally lost on a retreat. The so-called mountain artillery, consisting of light howitzers carried on the backs of mules, is of scarcely any effect, as the experience of the French in Algeria amply proves.[209] As to musketry and rifles, the cover offering itself everywhere in such ground deprives the defense of a very great advantage—that of having in front of the position open ground which the enemy must pass under fire. Tactically, then, as well as strategically, we arrive at the conclusion of the Archduke Charles of Austria, one of the best generals in mountain warfare and one of the most classical writers on that subject, that in this kind of war the attack is vastly superior to the defense.

Is it then perfectly useless to defend a mountainous country? Certainly not. It only follows that the defense must not be a merely passive one, that it must seek its strength in mobility, and act, wherever opportunity offers, on the offensive. In alpine countries battles can hardly occur; the whole war is one continuous series of small actions, of attempts, by the attacking party, to drive the thin end of the wedge in one point or the other of the enemy's position, and then to press forward. Both armies are necessarily scattered; both must expose themselves at every step to an advantageous attack; both must trust to the chapter of accidents. Now, the only advantage the defending army can take is to seek out these feeble points of the enemy and to throw itself between his divided columns. In that case the strong defensive positions on which a merely passive defense would alone rely,

become so many traps for the enemy where he may be allured into taking the bull by the horns, while the main efforts of the defense are directed against the turning columns, each of which may in its turn be turned and brought into the same helpless condition into which it intended to bring the defending party. It is, however, at once evident that such an active defense presupposes active, experienced and skillful generals, highly disciplined and mobile troops, and above all very skillful and reliable leaders of brigades, battalions, and even companies; for, on the prompt, judicious action of detachments, everything depends in this case.

There is still another form of defensive mountain warfare which has become celebrated in modern times; it is that of national insurrection and the war of partisans, for which a mountainous country, at least in Europe, is absolutely required. We have four examples of it: the Tyrolese insurrection, the Spanish guerrilla war against Napoleon, the Carlist Basque insurrection,[210] and the war of the Caucasian tribes against Russia.[211] Though they have caused great trouble to the invaders, none of them, considered by itself, has proved successful. The Tyrolese insurrection was formidable only as long as it was supported, in 1809, by Austrian regular troops. The Spanish guerrillas, though they had the immense advantage of a very extensive country, owed the long continuance of their resistance chiefly to the Anglo-Portuguese army, against which the principal efforts of the French had always to be directed. The long duration of the Carlist war is explained by the degraded state to which the Spanish regular army had then been reduced, and by the constant negotiations between the Carlist and the Christina[a] generals; and it cannot be taken as a fair specimen. Finally, in the Caucasian struggle, the most glorious of all to the mountaineers, their relative success has been due to the offensive tactics predominant in the defense of their ground. Wherever the Russians—they and the British being of all troops the least fit for mountain warfare—attacked the Caucasians, the latter have generally been defeated, their villages destroyed, and their mountain-passes secured by Russian fortified posts. But their strength lay in continued sallies from their hills into the plains, in surprises of Russian stations or outposts, in rapid excursions far to the rear of the Russian advanced line, in ambushes laid for Russian columns on the march. In other words, they were lighter and more movable than the Russians, and profited by this

[a] Maria Cristina.—*Ed.*

advantage. In fact, in every instance, then, of even temporarily successful insurrections of mountaineers, this success has been owing to offensive operations. In this they totally differ from the Swiss insurrections of 1798 and 1799, where we find the insurgents taking up some apparently strong defensive position and there awaiting the French, who in every instance cut them to pieces.

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# Frederick Engels

## [MOUNTAIN WARFARE IN THE PAST AND PRESENT]

(Second article)

The history of modern mountain warfare, of which we gave a short abstract in a previous article, most clearly proves that the mobility of the armies of our day is perfectly capable to overcome or to turn all the natural obstacle which an alpine country like Switzerland may oppose to their manoeuvres. Suppose, then, a war actually to break out between the king of Prussia[a] and Switzerland, the Swiss must certainly look to other defences beside their much vaunted "mountain-fortresses" for the security of their country.

In the case supposed above, the line on which Switzerland could be attacked, would extend from Constance along the Rhine to Basel: for we must consider both Austria and France as neutrals, as the active interference of either of them would secure such a crushing force to the attack that any strategical combinations against it would be useless. The northern frontier, therefore, is alone supposed to be open to invasion. It is protected in the first line by the Rhine, an obstacle of no great importance. This river runs along the attacked frontier for some 70 miles, and though deep and rapid, offers many favourable places for a passage. In the French revolutionary wars[212] its possession has never been seriously contested, and indeed, a strong attacking army may always force the passage of any river on a portion of its course 70 miles long. False alarms, feigned attacks, followed up by sudden concentration of troops on the real points of passage are sure to succeed in each case. There are, besides, several stone bridges

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

across it which the Swiss would scarcely attempt to destroy so seriously as to make them useless for the period of a campaign; and lastly, Constance being a German town situated on the southern bank of the Rhine, offers a convenient bridge-head for the Prussians to turn the whole of the line.

But there is another obstacle at a short distance behind the Rhine, which heightens its indirect defensibility in a similar way as the Balkans, in Bulgaria, heighten the defensibility of the Danube. Three affluents of the Rhine, the Aare from the Southwest, the Reuss and Limmat from the Southeast, unite near Brugg, the two latter forming a right angle to the Aare, and then run due north towards the Rhine which they join at Coblenz (this Coblenz on the Aare and Rhine is of course not to be confounded with the fortress of that name on the Moselle and Rhine) about 10 miles from their junction. Thus the Aare from Brugg to the Rhine cuts in two the country covered by this latter stream, so that an invading army, having passed the Rhine, either above or below Coblenz, has before its front either the Limmat or the Aare, and is therefore stopped again by a defensible river. The salient angle, formed by the junction of the Aare and the Limmat (the Reuss forming but a strong second line to that of the Limmat) thus offers an important second position for defence. Its flanks are covered, to the left (west) by the lakes[a] of Zurich, Wallenstadt, Zug and of the Four Cantons; neither of which a Prussian army, under the above-supposed circumstances, *darest venture* to turn. The position of the Aare and Limmat, with the Rhine in the rear of any *army that came to attack* it, therefore forms the principal strategical defence of Switzerland against an invasion from the North. Suppose the Swiss repulsed an attack on it, and followed up the victory by a countercharge and active pursuit, the beaten army would be lost, broken up, cut off, and ruined before it could retreat over the few bridges it might have on the Rhine.

On the other hand, if the line of the lower Aare and Limmat were once forced, what would remain for the Swiss? Here again we must consult the configuration of the ground. Large armies cannot live in the high mountains, nor can they establish their chief bases of operations or magazines there. That some of the reasons why campaigns in alpine countries, if entered upon with considerable forces, have always been of very short duration. The Swiss could not, therefore, think of retreating in force into the

[a] An inaccuracy in the text. The lakes mentioned are situated on the right (east) flank of the position in question.— *Ed.*

high mountains; they must keep as long as possible to the more level territory where they find towns with all their resources and roads to facilitate transport. Now if a line is drawn from the point where the Rhône enters the lake of Geneva at Villeneuve, to the point where the Rhine enters the Lake of Constance near Rheineck, this line will cut Switzerland in two portions the northwestern of which (leaving the Jura out of consideration) will comprise the Swiss Lowlands, while the South Eastern comprises the Highlands or Alpine country. The strategy of the Swiss is thereby clearly defined. Their main body will have to retreat on the line Zurich — Berne — Lausanne — Geneva, defending the open country inch by inch, and leaving the Southeastern mountains to the protection of such portions of the army as may have been cut off, and to the irregular warfare fire of the mountaineer *Landsturm*[213] and free corps. The main body would be supported in this line of retreat by all the Southern affluents of the Aare, all of which run parallel to the Reuss and Limmat, and at Berne by the Aare itself which in its upper course also runs from the East to the Northwest. The upper Aare once forced and Berne taken, there would remain but little chance to the Swiss to bring the war to a successful issue, unless the mountaineers and the new formed bodies from the South East succeeded in again occupying part of the plain and menacing the Prussian rear so seriously that a general retreat had to follow. But that chance may well be left out of consideration altogether.

Thus the Swiss would have several good lines of defence: first, the Aare and Limmat, then the Aare and Reuss, third the Aare and Emme (not to mention the intervening smaller affluents of the Aare) and fourthly the upper Aare, the left wing behind the morass extending from the lake of Neuchâtel to that river.

The attack has its strategy equally as well prescribed by the configuration of the country as the defence. If the Prussians were to send their main body across the Rhine above Coblenz, and attack the position of the Limmat, they would take the bull by the horns; they would not only have to storm the position which Masséna in 1799 so successfully defended against the Austrians and Russians, but after taking it, find 5 miles further on the position of the Reuss, fully as strong; and then, from 2, 3, or 5 miles, another mountain-current would bar their path, until at last, after a succession of delays, combats, and losses, they would again find the Swiss posted behind the Emme, which river forms as serious an obstacle nearly as the Limmat. Unless political reasons, which we leave entirely beside, induced the Prussians to remain at

a respectful distance from the French frontier, this way of attack would, therefore, be absolutely faulty. The real road into Switzerland crosses the Rhine between Basel and Coblenz; or, if part of the army should cross above Coblenz, a communication across the Aare between Brugg and Coblenz would have to be established at once so as to concentrate the main body on the left bank of the latter river. The direct attack on the line of the Aare turns the lines both of the Limmat and the Reuss, and may be made to turn the lines, too, of all the minor southern affluents of the Aare, almost as far as the Emme river. The line of the Limmat, too, is short, extending on its attackable front, from Zurich to Brugg, not more than 20 miles while the line of the Aare, from Brugg to Solothurn, offers to the attack an extent of 36 miles, and is not even absolutely secure from front attack above Solothurn. The left of the position, between Solothurn and Aarberg, is its weak point; once forced there, the line is not only lost to the Swiss, but they are cut off from Berne, Lausanne and Geneva, and have no retreat left but to the Southeastern highlands.

The defence, however, is here supported by tactical obstacles. The more you ascend the Aare towards Solothurn, the more the higher ridges of the Jura approach the river, and obstruct military operations by their peculiar longitudinal valleys running all parallel to the Aare. The intervening ridges are far from being impassable, but yet the concentration of a large corps in such ground would presuppose very complicated manoeuvres always unpleasant in the face of the enemy and not easily undertaken by a general unless he has plenty of confidence in himself and his troops. The latter quality not being very common in the old Prussian generals who scarcely can be said to have seen active service since 1815, it is not likely that they would risk such a manoeuvre, but rather stick to halfmeasures on the flanks and concentrate their chief efforts on the lower.

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# Karl Marx

## THE WAR AGAINST PERSIA[214]

To understand the policy and object of the war lately undertaken by the British against Persia, and which, according to the most recent accounts, has been so energetically pushed as to lead to submission on the part of the Shah, it is necessary to take a slight retrospect of Persian affairs. The Persian dynasty, founded in 1502 by Ismael, who claimed to be descended from the ancient Persian kings, after maintaining for more than two centuries the power and dignity of a great State, received, about 1720, a severe shock in the rebellion of the Afghans inhabiting its eastern provinces. Western Persia was invaded by them, and two Afghan princes[a] succeeded in keeping themselves for a few years on the Persian throne. They were, however, speedily expelled by the famous Nadir, acting at first in the capacity of General to the Persian claimant.[b] Afterward he assumed the crown himself, and not only reduced the rebellious Afghans, but by his famous invasion of India contributed much to that disorganization of the declining Mogul empire, which opened the way for the rise of the British power in India.

Amid the anarchy that ensued in Persia after the death of Nadir Shah in 1747, there sprang up, under the rule of Ahmed Duranee, an independent Afghan kingdom comprising the Principalities of Herat, Cabul, Candahar, Pechawur, and the whole of the territories afterward owned by the Sikhs.[215] This kingdom, only superficially cemented, collapsed at the death of its founder, and was again broken up into its constituent parts, the indepen-

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[a] Mahmud and Ashraf.— *Ed.*

[b] Tahmasp II.— *Ed.*

dent Afghan tribes with separate chiefs, divided by interminable feuds and only exceptionally rallied under the common pressure of a collision with Persia. This political antagonism between the Afghans and Persians, founded on diversity of race, blended with historical reminiscences, kept alive by frontier quarrels and rival claims, is also, as it were, sanctioned by religious antagonism, the Afghans being Mohammedans of the Suni sect, that is to say, of the orthodox Mahometan faith, while Persia forms the stronghold of the heretical Shiites.[216]

In spite of this intense and universal antagonism, there existed one point of contact between the Persians and Afghans—their common hostility to Russia. Russia invaded Persia for the first time under Peter the Great, but without much advantage. Alexander I, more successful, deprived Persia, by the treaty of Ghulistan,[217] of twelve provinces—the greater part of them south of the Caucasus. Nicholas, by the war of 1826-27, ending in the treaty of Turkmanchai,[218] stripped Persia of several additional districts, and interdicted her from the navigation on her own shores along the Caspian Sea. The memory of past spoliations, the endurance of present restrictions, and the fear of future encroachments, alike concurred to spur Persia into deadly opposition to Russia. The Afghans, on their part, although never involved in actual quarrels with Russia, were used to consider her as the eternal foe of their religion, and a giant which was to swallow Asia. From considering Russia as their natural foe, both races—Persians and Afghans—were induced to consider England as their natural ally. Thus, to maintain her supremacy, England had but to play the benevolent mediator between Persia and Afghanistan, and to prove the decided adversary of Russian encroachment. A show of amity on the one hand, and an earnest of resistance on the other—nothing else was required.

It cannot be said, however, that the advantages of this position have been very successfully improved. In 1834, in the matter of the selection of an heir to the Shah of Persia, the English were induced to co-operate in favour of the prince[a] proposed by Russia, and the next year to aid that prince with money and the active assistance of British military officers in maintaining his claim by arms against his rival.[b][219] The English Ambassadors dispatched to Persia were charged to warn the Persian Government against

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[a] Mohammed Mirza.—*Ed.*

[b] Mohammed Mirza's rivals were the three sons of his grandfather, Fath Ali Shah.—*Ed.*

allowing itself to be pushed on to make war against the Afghans, which could only result in a waste of resources; but when these Ambassadors earnestly called for authority to prevent a threatened war of this sort, they were put in mind by the Ministry at home of an article in an old treaty of 1814, by which, in case of war between Persia and the Afghans, the English were not to interfere unless their mediation should be solicited.[220] The idea of the British envoys and of the British Indian authorities was that this war was planned by Russia, which power desired to employ the extension of Persian authority eastward as the means of opening a road by which at some time or other a Russian army might enter India. These representations seem, however, to have made little or no impression on Lord Palmerston, then at the head of the Department of Foreign Affairs, and in September, 1837, a Persian army invaded Afghanistan. Various small successes carried it to Herat, before which town it encamped and began siege operations under the personal direction of Count Simonich, the Russian Ambassador at the Persian Court. During the progress of these warlike acts, McNeill, the British Ambassador, found himself paralyzed by contradictory instructions. On the one hand, Lord Palmerston enjoined him "to refrain from making the relations of Persia" with Herat a "subject of discussion," as England had nothing to say between Persia and Herat. On the other hand, Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of India, wanted him to dissuade the Shah from pushing on his operations. At the very outset of the expedition Mr. Ellis had recalled the British officers serving in the Persian army, but Palmerston had them reinstated. So, again, the Indian Governor-General instructing McNeill to withdraw the British officers, Palmerston again reversed that decision. On March 8, 1838, McNeill proceeded to the Persian camp and offered his mediation, not in the name of England, but of India.

Toward the end of May 1838, the siege having now lasted about nine months, Palmerston sent a menacing dispatch to the Persian Court, for the first time making the affair of Herat a subject of remonstrance, and for the first time inveighing against "Persia's connection with Russia".[a] Simultaneously, a hostile expedition was ordered by the Indian Government to sail to the Persian Gulf and seize upon the Island of Karak—the same lately occupied by the

[a] See Palmerston-McNeill correspondence from May 21, 1838, especially Palmerston's letter to McNeill of July 27, 1838, *Correspondence Relating to Persia and Affghanistan*, pp. 81-89.—*Ed.*

English. At a still later epoch the English Envoy withdrew from Teheran to Erzeroum, and the Persian Ambassador[a] sent to England was refused admission. In the mean time, in spite of a very protracted blockade, Herat had held out, the Persian assaults were beaten back, and on Aug. 15, 1838, the Shah[b] was forced to raise the siege and to retreat in hurried marches from Afghanistan. Here one would have supposed the operations of the English might have ended; but so far from that, matters took a most extraordinary turn. Not content with repelling the attempts of Persia, made, it was alleged, at the instigation and in the interest of Russia, to seize a part of Afghanistan, the English undertook to occupy the whole of it for themselves. Hence the famous Afghan war,[221] the ultimate result of which was so disastrous to the English, and the real responsibility for which still remains so much a mystery.

The present war against Persia has been undertaken on grounds very similar to that which preceded the Afghan war, namely, an attack upon Herat by the Persians, resulting, on the present occasion, in the capture of that city. A striking circumstance, however, is that the English have now been acting as the allies and defenders of the same Dost Mohammed, whom, in the Afghan struggle, they so unsuccessfully undertook to dethrone. It remains to be seen whether this war is to have sequences as extraordinary and unexpected as those which attended the former one.

Written on about January 27, 1857

Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] Husayn Khan.— *Ed.*
[b] Mohammed Shah.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## B. BAUER'S PAMPHLETS ON THE COLLISION WITH RUSSIA[222]

### a) *La Russie et l'Angleterre.* 1854

Prediction, the penetration of destiny, through the medium of a critical assessment of conditions in the states of Europe, their mutual relations and, deriving from them, contemporary history—is one of the claims made by these pamphlets. The method used in tackling this problem commends itself by a measure of cunning. Since the knowledge and foreknowledge displayed by Criticism[223] is to be tested in the light of contemporary history nothing would seem simpler than to compare the conclusions of Criticism and the facts of contemporary history, measuring the first against the second and thus convincing oneself of the justification or presumption of Criticism's claims. E.g., in the above-named pamphlet we read:

"La *pratique constitutionnelle* a gagné infiniment du terrain, et la *résistance passive* des assemblées nationales, issues de la révolution de l'année 1848, a pris de plus grandes proportions. Toute l'Europe s'est partagé, en ce moment, les différents rôles du drame constitutionnel: l'Occident s'est chargé du rôle de l'opposition honnête; la Russie représente le gouvernement, armé de la force et usant de son autorité."[a]

("Europe has apportioned itself roles in the constitutional drama; the West has assumed the role of stalwart opposition; to Russia has

[a] "*Constitutional practice* has gained an enormous amount of ground, and *passive resistance* on the part of the national assemblies which emerged from the revolution of the year 1848 has assumed larger dimensions. The whole of Europe has apportioned itself at this moment the various roles in the constitutional drama: the West has assumed the role of stalwart opposition; Russia plays that of government armed with might and wielding its authority" (B. Bauer, *La Russie et l'Angleterre,* p. 19).—*Ed.*

fallen the role of an *energetic* government *armed with might.*")

We shall not linger over the ill-turned phrase which, by means of an *"and"*, lumps together *"constitutional practice"* and *"the passive resistance"* of the "non-constitutional" assemblies of 1848, etc. Of all those assemblies, this might apply only to the *"assemblée législative"*.[a] But let us take the proposition as it stands. Western Europe, the *assemblée législative,* confines itself to passive resistance, and Russia, the "government armed with might", *"asserts her authority"* by means of a coup d'état, as did Bonaparte, Francis Joseph and Frederick William IV respectively.[224] Such was Criticism's assessment of the position in the month of April—an interpretation of the immediate past which at the same time purports to be a prediction of the immediate future. The weeks that immediately ensued controverted both the interpretation and prediction and demonstrated that, in its superficial precipitation, Criticism has transformed the physiognomy of a moment into a[b] permanent feature. Not only do the western powers abandon "passive resistance" and turn to aggressive acts but, before they have so done, Russia's Danubian campaigns reveal that she is *not* "armed" with might; rather, her arms are powerless and, instead of "asserting her authority", she withdraws—beats a retreat.[225] The analogy he draws with the dictatorial, coup d'état-perpetrating governments and the assemblies of 1848 falls to the ground. Was Criticism's prediction wrong, therefore? Its interpretation of the circumstances delusory? By no means. After the occurrence of the disagreeable facts which at a stroke demolished the findings of Critical pamphlet *a),* B.B., unabashed, opens brochure *b)* (*Die jetzige Stellung Russlands,* 1854) with the following diplomatic pronouncement:

"This proposition (quoted above)[226] which we advanced *as late as* (!) April, was *fully realised* by the turn things took beneath the walls of Silistria: the drama being performed by Europe is *truly* and *in every respect* a constitutional one; the government has come to resemble the opposition, it *too* has shown itself *constitutional* and has made no use of force, or, if it has, it has not been with intent to effect a decision."

The ambiguous nature of the satisfaction derived by Criticism from the "turn things took" finds expression in the peculiar "turn" of speech, "advanced *as late as* April". Does Criticism

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[a] Crossed out in the manuscript: "and why it does not apply to the latter is something that requires no explanation here".— *Ed.*

[b] Crossed out in the manuscript: "general category".— *Ed.*

retract the proposition it advanced in April, the Russians having retreated from Silistria in March? By no means. The *as late as* should therefore read *as early as*. Our proposition, advanced "as early as" April, before the occurrence of the event, was corroborated during March. Rather, one should say, it was not corroborated. So not "as early as"—rather, "as late as", but "as late as" with a corollary which turns it into a grammatical impossibility. "The view I held *as late as* April was fulfilled in March." But Criticism does not say that its "proposition advanced as late as April" was "corroborated" as early as March. Indeed no. Rather, the new "turn things took" gave Criticism's proposition a new "turn" of which there had been no suspicion "as late as" April. That proposition was not *"corroborated"* but, it would appear, *"fully realised"* by ensuing events. VERY WELL.[a] This casts a new light on the relation of events to Criticism. Even if they do not provide proof of Criticism's assertion, they do at least help towards the further "realisation" of that assertion and reveal a content in it hitherto concealed and not suspected even by Criticism itself. Not only does Criticism stand in theoretical relation to events, but events stand in practical relation to Criticism. And what is now the position as regards the *"full realisation"* "conferred" by events in March on the proposition advanced in April?

"The drama being performed by Europe is *truly* **and** *in every respect* a constitutional one!"

Truly and in every respect! Does the "in every respect" add anything new to the "truly"? It vitiates and trivialises. That is all. But the floridity of the style, the "truly and in every respect", simply betray the same perplexed ineptitude as previously the unfortunate *"as late as"*. In the proposition advanced in April, firstly, the "passive resistance" of the national assemblies of 1848 and after was erroneously equated with "constitutional practice" and, secondly, the clash in the East was transformed into a "constitutional" drama in which, because of their "passive resistance", the western powers are compared with the national assemblies of 1848 and after and Russia with the coup d'état-perpetrating governments. This was not, in fact, a constitutional drama, since constitutionalism was confined solely to the national assemblies, whereas the governments were concerned solely with overthrowing constitutions. Now, however, when Russia has

[a] Here and below words in small caps are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

received a drubbing, her armed aggression having been repelled by force of arms, and has adopted a "parliamentary" tack, now the drama, formerly constitutional only in an "unreal" sense, has become "truly" and "in every respect constitutional". But the moment the government becomes "constitutional", as in England or Belgium or the France of Louis Philippe, it ceases to resemble the national assemblies of 1848 and after or the governments opposing them. Nor is that all. While Russia has begun to dally with "parliamentarianism" and hence, according to B.B., to assume the role of a "constitutional government", the western powers have, for their part, ceased to offer "passive resistance" and turned to active hostility, to an invasion. If, prior to this, the term "constitutional" was [not] applicable to Russia, it is no longer applicable to the western powers. And this Criticism describes as the "full realisation" of its proposition advanced in April! Nevertheless, there still remains the matter of the "realisation" of the term "constitutional" contained in the proposition advanced in April. Criticism's predictions, it is clear, are as ambiguous as those of the ancient oracles. If its propositions seem to have been controverted by events,[a] then it merely seems so. As soon as the opposite happens, it transpires that, in point of fact, the original critical dictum meant the "opposite" of what it said and that events have simply revealed its dialectical nature. Thanks to this sort of dialectics which proves a prognostication to have been fulfilled by the occurrence of its opposite, Criticism's prophecies are, in all circumstances, proof against attack. Urquhart adopts a different method. If his prophecies come to pass, their truth is confirmed by their having come to pass. If they do not come to pass, this is because the mere statement of what was bound to happen has prevented their fulfilment. In the first case the theoretical truth, and in the second the practical purpose, of the prediction has been fulfilled.

Criticism reproaches the daily press for its total addiction to the present instant. As for itself, it sees the instant as a moment in the context of the whole, i.e. takes a general view. What in fact transpires is that, if the daily press is, in practice, dominated by day-to-day events, Criticism experiences the same defeat in the realm of theory. The isolated event is immobilised by it and turned into the incarnation of a general proposition, which every

[a] Crossed out in the manuscript: "those propositions have been confirmed in as much as a wholly different meaning and interpretation is thereupon assigned to them".—*Ed.*

turn of events strips of even a semblance of verisimilitude. (Similarly *Proudhon.* When, in 1850 (?) the bank's bullion reserve increased more than £20 million sterling and the bank rate fell to 2 1/2 (?) per cent, that event instantly denoted the realisation of a new phase in the history of civil society, the time of the Banque du Peuple had come.[227] To him, in Paris, the event was a *new* one, absolutely mint-new, because his views were bounded by the southern shore of the Channel). While, therefore, the "era" of Russia was, as late as *April,* seen as the immediate expression of a new phase in world history (in pamphlet *a*), Russia's actions of as early as March prompted Criticism to ask (in pamphlet *b*) this pusillanimous question:

"Has the era of the West dawned in Russia, too? Does she already belong to the West, etc.?" (*Die jetzige Stellung Russlands,* p. 18).

In fact, since the proposition, advanced by Criticism "as late as" April concerning the constitutional drama, in which Russia assumes the role of power-wielding government and the western powers that of passive resistance, of stalwart opposition, constitutes the whole point of brochure *a),* and since events deprived it of that point as early as March, this effectively and "in every respect" brings our criticism of it to a close. However, let us consider some individual details.

In the first place, the alleged *historical illustrations.* Inter alia, a parallel is drawn between the events that paved the way for the French Revolution of 1789 and the events now supposedly paving the way for revolution in England. Turgot imagined that everything would be put right by "free corn trade" (p. 72). Likewise England at the time of the Anti-Corn Law League.[228] Would it be possible to coax into an analogy any two things of a more disparate kind? France was above all an agricultural and England an industrial country. Free trade in corn meant something altogether different in either country. In France the[a] *"fait précis* and *positif"*[b]—"financial deficit and bankruptcy" (72). In England? Well, in England there was war,[229] the government perplexed by a financial surplus and a twofold increase in imports and exports! Is that the analogy? Not so:

"in England likewise a moral and political deficit".

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[a] Crossed out in the manuscript: "positive fact preceding the French Revolution".—*Ed.*

[b] "Precise and positive fact".—*Ed.*

What an analogy! On the one hand a "precise and positive fact", on the other the merely subjective assessment of a situation by the Criticism. The analogy lies *in* the word deficit. X died because he broke his leg. *Prophetic analogy:* Y will die because he breaks his word. The precise and positive fact of financial deficit and public bankruptcy preceded the French Revolution. In Louis XV's reign, if not before, a moral and political deficit had preceded financial deficit and public bankruptcy. In France, the reforms proposed by the government to the notables and the *Parlements* proved insignificant as compared with the presentiment of revolution. Similarly in England, no one took any interest in Russell's Reform Bill (p. 73). What an analogy! In the proposals of the French government the issue at stake was a break with the past of French monarchy, in Russell's proposals of 1831 it was a ministerial intrigue; on the one hand, a break with a centuries' old past, on the other the consequences of a measure not three decades old; on the one hand, the government's proposals were of no interest to the bourgeoisie because incommensurable with the revolution which they [the bourgeoisie] needed; on the other, *despite their own interest* in the petty manoeuvrings of the Whigs, they did not succeed in arousing the interest of the popular masses, whose disillusionment with Whig reforms was not born yesterday but goes back to the morrow of the Reform Bill.[230] And now Necker and Palmerston constitute an analogy! To please Criticism, Palmerston loses "boldness and vigour", he is "imbued with his mission" and "regards himself as his country's last saviour".[a] Not even an analogy between Robespierre and Russell could be more consummately absurd. Accordingly it need no longer surprise us when Queen Victoria turns into *reine* Antoinette[b].

In no sense do we deny that major clashes are impending in England; all we deny is that the "historical illustrations" presented show the remotest understanding of them. The most common pothouse politics is infinitely superior to this empty profundity.

In order to prove that the English are mistaken in their view of an *"influence étrangère"*[c 231] in their Cabinet, Br. B. turns his attention to *Fox* who he says, *discovered* in Russia a protector and guarantor of peace in Europe. In support he quotes a passage

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[a] B. Bauer, *La Russie et l'Angleterre*, p. 73.—*Ed.*
[b] Queen Antoinette (Marie Antoinette).—*Ed.*
[c] Foreign influence.—*Ed.*

from Fox's speech of May 24, 1803.[a] He should have gone further, and mentioned the *"secret"* despatch of Adair by Fox in 1790[232] on the occasion of the impending 2nd partition of Poland. And what is proved by Fox's "secret" and illicit liaison with Catherine II?[233] That Palmerston is *not* in secret and illicit liaison with Nicholas.[b] Come to that, there was no discovery for Fox to make in regard to Russia. It had already been made under William III by the Marquis of Carmarthen[234] and under George I by the ruling Whigs. Diplomatic documents show that, since that time, Russian influence has been a tradition in Whig Cabinets.[235] Good reason, perhaps, to suggest that Palmerston should have broken with the Whig tradition? Why should he not rather have "realised" it in all its implications and sold himself to Russia lock, stock and barrel? No less false than this "defence" of Palmerston is the assertion that it was Fox who discovered the Anglo-French alliance. Stanhope had already done so immediately after the Peace of Utrecht.[236]

As proof of Russia's positive effect we find the allegation that, by adopting the attitude she did, she created "the *décadence de l'antagonisme anglo-français*"[c] or, alternatively, the "alliance anglo-française". In 1717 there already existed an Anglo-French alliance which, a few years later, George I endeavoured to turn into a European alliance against Russia. The Quadruple Alliance of 1834[237] was England's second alliance with France and it was directed, albeit *vainly,* also against Russia. Hence there was nothing new or unprecedented for Russia to create in this direction. But if the mere fact of an alliance between France and England is to be regarded as an enormous success on Russia's part, what was the alliance between England, Russia, Prussia and Austria against the France of Louis Philippe, the coalition of 1840[238]? Proof, according to the construction put upon it by B.B., that the France of Louis Philippe was even more dangerous than the Russia of Nicholas.

England, or so Criticism goes on to discover, having, by her war with revolutionary France, delivered the Continent into the hands of Russia—a discovery which at least has the merit of not being new—felt impelled

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[a] B. Bauer, *La Russie et l'Angleterre,* pp. II-III.—*Ed.*

[b] Crossed out in the manuscript: "Here, where an historical analogy does exist".—*Ed.*

[c] "Decline of Anglo-French antagonism", the heading of a section in B. Bauer's *La Russie et l'Angleterre* (p. 5).—*Ed.*

"de se charger elle-même de la tâche révolutionnaire de la France. C'est *Canning* qui a rempli ce vide. Il leva en Angleterre l'étendard de la révolution, pour en faire le véritable adversaire de la Russie".[a]

By way of proof, Criticism cites the rhetorical flourish which Canning borrowed from Virgil (the *dieu Eole's "Quos ego"*)[b], as though a dictum by the "CAPTAIN of Eton"[239] were any proof. It accords absolute credence and validity to the dictum concerning the "policy" of "principles"[240], which was even more false than the earlier dicta concerning the "policy of interests". For that matter, Pitt's war[241] was also blazoned abroad as a "war of principles" and "believed" to be such by a large part of the English population. And so indeed it was, in part, since the power of the oligarchy shortly before and during the outbreak of the French Revolution was threatened by movements inside the country. Canning's dictum, by the by, was not, to begin with, directed against Russia but against France. The intervention in Portugal was a riposte to France's intervention in Spain, and this "policy of principles" in its execution—recognition of the independence of what was previously Spanish America[242]—accorded singularly well with British commercial interests. Because Palmerston uses Canning's dictum as a mask for a policy determined by altogether different motives, B. B. is convinced that Canning's dictum concerning the "intervention révolutionnaire"[c] has become Britain's real policy and brought down every kind of misfortune on her head. In this connection we are told that the Reform Bill has so greatly altered the nature of the British Constitution

"que les Anglais mêmes ne reconnaissent plus en quoi se distingue leur constitution de celles du continent"[d] (p. 9).

Since George I's time, the British Constitution has altered only in so far as 1) the distribution of the ROTTEN BOROUGHS[243] has been modified in favour of the Whigs, a faction of the aristocracy, 2) the industrial bourgeoisie increased their parliamentary influ-

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[a] "To assume herself France's revolutionary task. It was *Canning* who filled the gap. He raised the flag of revolution in England, to make her the true adversary of Russia" (B. Bauer, *La Russie et l'Angleterre*, p. 7).—*Ed.*

[b] Eolus the god's: Whoever I... (Virgil, *Aeneid*, I, 135). See *The Speeches of the Right Honorable George Canning with a Memoir of His Life* by R. Therry in six volumes, Vol. VI, London, 1830, p. 91.—*Ed.*

[c] B. Bauer, op. cit., p. 8.—*Ed.*

[d] "That even the English can no longer see what distinguishes their constitution from those of the Continent".—*Ed.*

ence in 1831 to the same degree as did the financial bourgeoisie by means of the "GLORIOUS REVOLUTION" of 1689.[244] Another thing B.B. discovers is that

"l'abrogation des lois des céréales, comme la proclamation du principe de la liberté du commerce renferment l'aveu que sa suprématie (of l'industrie anglaise) est perdue".[a]

What, on the contrary, they proved was 1) that the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie triumphed over those of the landed aristocracy; 2) that English industry needs no other monopoly than that of its own capital as such; it means that English industry believes it can only at present rely on its real supremacy. When war broke out, he says, England was not yet

"assez dégradée pour supporter l'idée offensante d'une alliance avec sa rivale"[b] (p. 10).

Needless to say, the England of the modern industrial bourgeoisie cannot, without degrading herself, enter into any alliances that run counter to the interests and prejudices of what was once the ruling class. England is always *"the same"* moral personage. The depths of degradation to which England has descended in this respect is demonstrated in the sentence:

"Les peuples ne sauraient oublier leur passé qu'en renonçant à l'avenir."[c]

As if the constant "unmaking" of the past were not the "making" of the future.

Thus the future of Pitt's England and the future of England are seen as identical. As soon as a "people" overcomes what was once the ruling class and thus breaks with the political past created by that class,[d] it demolishes its future.

England's nationality consists, according to B. B., in hating France and vice versa. This, England's "nationality",—the earlier feudal wars between France and England having, of course, quite a different import—was first brought into existence by the

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[a] "The repeal of the Corn Laws, like the proclamation of the free trade principle, is a tacit admission that it (English industry) has lost its supremacy" (op. cit., p. 9).— *Ed.*

[b] "Debased enough to tolerate the objectionable idea of allying herself with her rival".— *Ed.*

[c] "The peoples could only forget their past at the cost of forfeiting their future" (p. 11).— *Ed.*

[d] Crossed out in the manuscript: "it must, of course, cease to exist as a people and".— *Ed.*

"GLORIOUS REVOLUTION" and hence "cannot be abolished". What profundity!

Russia's nationality consists in allying herself, now with France against England, now with England against France... But England and France cannot form an alliance against Russia without renouncing their "future". What Bruno is actually trying to say is this: With the exception of Russia, the national peculiarities of the European states are disappearing. France and England fight as "the West" against Russia. In this way their nationality is dissipated. But did not Russia, England, Austria, Prussia, Naples and Spain fight as Europe against France? And did this not serve to reconstruct their nationality? Criticism, needless to say, is not concerned with civil society. English and French society pass through stages of political pupation. If one of these pupae is cast off, Criticism sees this as a clear sign of decadence on the part of those societies. What, for instance, does the politically jejune CHAPTER on the *"calculs"* and *"arrière-pensées des alliés"*[a] prove, save that those societies are still battling with political traditions which belong wholly to their preceding phases, and that they have not yet acquired the political form suited to the needs of the new phase. And this he takes as proof that the alliance, being so wretched, cannot be a means towards the attainment of that higher form? To say that the society of modern production calls for international conditions different from those of feudal society is a tautology.

What makes him think that Russia

> "a formé le plan de consolider son influence sur la Turquie, sans l'aide d'un allié?"[b]

Did she not successively seek an alliance with France, England and Austria for the late war, and consistently conserve that with Prussia? And whatever the views and intentions of the French and English peoples may have been, how can he tell that Russia was not all the time certain of effecting a secret alliance with the English government? and saw therein a warranty for her insolence?

The worthy B. B. believes Russia's pretext,

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[a] "The calculations and mental reservations of the allies", the heading of one of the chapters in B. Bauer's *La Russie et l'Angleterre* (p. 13).— *Ed.*

[b] "Has settled on the plan of consolidating her influence in Turkey without the help of an ally" (ibid., p. 12).— *Ed.*

"the *cause des populations gréco-slaves de la Turquie*"[a] (p. 11),

to have been her true motive. So great faith is not found, no, not in Israel.[b]

A large part of the pamphlet is devoted to a portrayal of the prevarications of the British government (likewise of the French) and its concessions to Russia. It was not, in fact, the British government's fault if Russia failed to carry out her designs in Turkey. And what does this prove? That the governments of England and France, in particular the former, were constrained by the masses? No. That England is aware of "her weakness" and that the government and society, while factually divided, must in theory be identified.

*Russia's demandes*![c] The Russian government's real aim was to replace the autonomy of the Greco-Slav populations,[245] such as it was, with government by her consuls. In its gullibility, Criticism must needs mistake Russia's empty phrases for her true motives, only to note with chagrin in a subsequent pamphlet that the Russian government is now dropping its FALSE PRETENCES[d]. He reproaches the newspapers with ignorance of the late Turkish affair. He proves his own ignorance by overlooking the repeated attempts of the Russians—e.g. in Serbia and Greece—to undermine the autonomous administration of the communes. What Russia is seeking to conserve is the theocracy of Greek priests under Turkish suzerainty which shackles and smothers any independent civic development of the Greco-Slav communes. Criticism's erudition finds particularly brilliant expression in the

"gages que la Russie possède dans sa participation à l'oeuvre de l'organisation en Servie"[e] and in her "règlement organique"

she has conferred through Kisseleff upon the Danubian principalities![246] *C'est par trop fort.*[f] The southern Slavs must, according to B. B., become Russians 1) en vertu *"de la nature des choses"*[g] — a most profound demonstration, the reference to this abstraction; and then, alongside the *"nature des choses"*, by virtue of *"l'histoire"*[h]

[a] "Cause of the Greco-Slav populations of Turkey".—*Ed.*

[b] Matthew 8:10.—*Ed.*

[c] "Les demandes de la Russie", the heading of one of the sections in B. Bauer's *La Russie et l'Angleterre* (p. 28).—*Ed.*

[d] B. Bauer, *De la Dictature occidentale,* Charlottenburg, 1854, pp. 37-38.—*Ed.*

[e] "Pledges possessed by Russia in the shape of her participation in the work of organisation in Serbia" (B. Bauer, *La Russie et l'Angleterre,* p. 33).—*Ed.*

[f] It really is the limit.—*Ed.*

[g] By virtue *"of the nature of things"* (ibid., p. 34).—*Ed.*

[h] Ibid.—*Ed.*

which, in Serbia, demonstrates precisely the reverse; finally, by virtue of the *"position géographique"*[a] whereby they are cut off from Russia by the Magyars and Romanians. And what bathos! From the *"nature des choses"* he descends to *"l'histoire"*, and from that abstraction to the particular of the *"position géographique"*.

*Austria* must, or so he maintains, confine herself to the role of *médiateur*. This proposition, which was correct "as late as" April, had already become "incorrect" by June, despite Criticism's absolute proof deriving from the nature of things. He maintains that Austria will not *"pourra se ranger du côté des alliés"*.[b] Additional proof of the assertion. In his lucubrations on past relations between Austria and England, he falsifies history in true Russian fashion. As regards the Treaty of Adrianople he takes very good care not to give us the real story. Namely, that the Russian army had been destroyed and would never have returned from Adrianople—not even the minute proportion of it that did so—if England had not, under false pretences, extorted the treaty from the Porte. His account of the matter of Lieven's despatch is equally false. It was not, as he says, the *"traité de paix"*[c] which was the main cause of Aberdeen's and Wellington's *perplexité*, but the blockade of Enos,[247] which was, in fact, relinquished by the Russians for fear of forcing Wellington into opposition. Incidentally Lieven remarks

> "that the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen have put everything in motion to extort from us *confidences* as to the conditions of our future peace with the Turks".[d]

Lieven's answer to this was far from being the boastful remark which B. quotes from his despatch[248]; rather he went on:

> "It appeared to us useful to *repeat* the assurances which on this point all the declarations of the Emperor contained, and even to add some developments to them. We shall confine ourselves to these generalities, for every circumstantial communication on a subject so delicate *would draw down real dangers*, and if once we discuss with our allies the articles of a treaty with the Porte, we shall only content them, when they would have believed that they had imposed upon us irreparable sacrifices."[e]

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[a] Ibid.—*Ed.*

[b] "Be able to range herself alongside the allies" (ibid., p. 36).—*Ed.*

[c] "Peace treaty" (p. 39).—*Ed.*

[d] [Lieven,] Copy of a Despatch from Prince Lieven, and Count Matuszevich, addressed to Count Nesselrode, dated London, 1st (13th) June, 1829, *The Portfolio. Diplomatic Review* (New Series), London, 1843, p. 24. Here and below the despatch is quoted in English.—*Ed.*

[e] Ibid.—*Ed.*

Only then does there occur the boastful passage which, seen in the context of this nasty piece of equivocation, would have forfeited its heroism, which was not at all what Criticism intended. All Pam's knaveries are then adduced to prove his sense of "England's weakness" and the latter, too. They betray, rather, the secret of Russia's "strength" vis-à-vis England. At the same time he distorts the facts, as in the story of the *Vixen*.[249] According to him, it was enough for Russia

*"à lui rappeler que ce forfait inoui avait été commis dans la mer Noire, près de la côte de la Circassie".*[a]

I have shown elsewhere what complicated manoeuvres Pam and Nesselrode resorted to on that occasion.[b]

In the chapter on Austria we also learn that in 1848-49,

*"toute l'Allemagne, réduite à la passivité par les illusions du principe national, aurait taxé de crime politique chaque tentative d'intervenir dans cette lutte des nationalités".*[c]

"As though" the Frankfurt National Assembly had not taken a stand against Italy? Likewise against Poland![250] It would be otiose to say anything further about this pamphlet, save that Criticism considers Omar Pasha's Danubian campaigns to be a figment on the part of the Press.

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[a] "To remind him [Palmerston] that this grave offence had been committed in the Black Sea, off the coast of Circassia" (B. Bauer, ibid., p. 42).—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Lord Palmerston* (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 398-406).—*Ed.*

[c] "The whole of Germany, reduced to passivity by the illusions of the nationalities principle, would have denounced as a political crime every attempt to intervene in this struggle of nationalities" (ibid., p. 43).—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [THE PROSPECTS OF THE ANGLO-PERSIAN WAR][251]

It is the question of the possession of Herat, an Affghan principality, but lately occupied by the Persians,[252] that has given occasion to the occupation by the English, acting in the name of the East India Company, of Bushire, the principal Persian port on the Persian Gulf. The existing political importance of Herat is derived from the fact of its being the strategical center of all the country intervening between the Persian Gulf, the Caspian Sea and the Jaxartes on the west and north, and the Indus on the east; so that in the event of a great struggle between England and Russia for supremacy in Asia—a struggle which the English invasion of Persia may tend to precipitate—Herat will form the chief object of contention, and probably the theater of the first great military operations.

That the importance ascribed to Herat is not unfounded, must be apparent to all who understand its geographical position. The interior of Persia is formed by an elevated plain, surrounded on all sides by mountain chains, allowing no egress to the waters flowing down into it. These waters are not of sufficient importance to form one or more central lakes; they either lose themselves in vast morasses, or gradually vanish in the arid sand of the great desert which fills up by far the greater portion of the Persian plateau, and forms an almost impassable barrier between Western and Northeastern Persia. The northern boundary of this desert is formed by the hills of Khorassan, stretching along from the south-eastern corner of the Caspian almost due east, the connecting link between the Elburz and the Hindoo-koosh Mountains; and it is just where these hills send a branch to the south dividing the Persian desert from the better watered regions

of Affghanistan that Herat is situated, surrounded and supported by a valley of considerable extent and exuberant fertility. To the north of the Khorassan hills we find a desert similar to that at their southern foot. Here, too, mighty rivers like the Murghab are lost in the sand. But the Oxus and Jaxartes are powerful enough to traverse it, and in their lower course form valleys capable of cultivation and of large extent. Beyond the Jaxartes the desert gradually takes the character of the steppes of Southern Russia, in which it is finally lost altogether. Thus we have three distinct seats of comparative civilization intervening between the Caspian Sea and British India. First, the towns of Western Persia: Shiraz, Shuster, Teheran, Ispahan; secondly, the Affghan towns: Caboul, Ghazna, Candahar; thirdly, the towns of Turan: Khiva, Bokhara, Balkh, Samarcand. Between all these there is a considerable intercourse, and the center of all this intercourse is necessarily Herat. The roads leading from the Caspian to the Indus, from the Persian Gulf to the Oxus, all meet at that city. Between Caboul and Teheran, between Shiraz and Balkh, Herat is the half-way house. The line of oases marking the great caravan route across the Persian desert by Yezd and Shehustan, debouches in a straight line on Herat; and, on the other hand, the only road leading from Western to Eastern and Central Asia, avoiding the desert, is that through the Khorassan hills and Herat.

Thus Herat is a point which, in the hands of a strong power, can be used to command both Iran and Turan—both Persia and Transoxiana. It gives to its possessor, in the very highest degree, all the advantages of a central position, from which radiating attacks in all directions can be made with greater facility and chance of success than from any other town in either Iran or Turan. At the same time, the difficulties of intercommunication between any two of the towns of Astrabad, Khiva, Bokhara, Balkh, Caboul and Candahar are so great that a combined attack upon Herat, even from all of them, would have but little chance of success. The various columns, once marching upon Herat, would have scarcely any chance of communication with each other, and could, by an active general at Herat, be fallen upon and defeated one after the other. Still, in such a case, columns coming from Candahar, Caboul and Balkh, would certainly have a better chance than an attack concentrating from the starting points of Astrabad, Khiva and Bokhara; for the attack from the side of Affghanistan would descend from the mountains into the plain, and completely avoid the desert, while the attack from the side of the Caspian and Araxes would have only one column (that from Astrabad) avoiding

the desert, while all the remainder would have to pass it, and thereby altogether lose their communications one with the others.

The three centers of civilization which have their common center in Herat, form three distinct groups of States. On the west is Persia, which the Treaty of Turkmantchai[253] has converted into a vassal of Russia. On the East are the States of Affghanistan and Beloochistan, the most important of which, Caboul and Candahar, we may class for the present with the vassal States of the Anglo-Indian Empire. On the north are the Khanats of Turan, Khiva and Bokhara, States nominally neutral, but almost sure, in the case of a conflict, to go with the conquering party. The actual dependence of Persia on Russia, and of Affghanistan on the English, is proved by the fact that the Russians have already sent troops into Persia, and the English into Caboul.

The Russians hold the whole of the western and northern shores of the Caspian. Baku, 350 miles, and Astrakhan, 750 miles from Astrabad, offer two capital points for the establishment of magazines and the concentration of reserves. With the Russian fleet on the Caspian in command of that lake, the necessary stores and re-enforcements can, with great facility, be brought down to Astrabad. The points on the eastern shore of the Caspian, whence start the roads to Lake Aral, are occupied by Russian forts. Further north and east, the line of Russian forts marking the line of the Ural Cossacks had been advanced, as far back as 1847, from the river Ural to the rivers Emba and Ulu Turgai, some 150 or 200 miles into the territory of the tributary Kirghiz hordes, and in the direction of the Lake Aral. Since then, forts have actually been established on the shores of that lake, which, as well as the river Jaxartes, is at this moment plowed by Russian steamers. There have been rumors even of an occupation of Khiva[254] by Russian troops, but they are at least premature.

The line of operations the Russians have to follow, in any serious attack on Central or Southern Asia, is pointed out by nature. A land march from the Caucasus around the south-western corner of the Caspian would find great natural obstacles in the hills of Northern Persia, and would take the invading army over 1,100 miles of ground before the chief object, Herat, was reached. A land march from Orenburg toward Herat would have to pass not only the desert in which Perowski's army, on its expedition to Khiva,[255] was lost, but two more deserts quite as inhospitable. The distance from Orenburg to Herat is 1,500 miles as the crow flies, and Orenburg is the nearest place which the Russians, advancing from that direction, could take as a base of

operations. Now, both Russian Armenia and Orenburg are places all but cut off from the center of Russian power—the first by the Caucasus, the second by the steppes. To concentrate in either of them the material and men necessary for the conquest of Central Asia, is entirely out of the question. There is but one line remaining—that by the Caspian, with Astrakhan and Baku for bases, with Astrabad, on the south-eastern border of the Caspian for the point of observation, and with a march to Herat of but 500 miles. And this line combines all the advantages that Russia can wish for. Astrakhan is to the Volga what New-Orleans is to the Mississippi. Situated at the mouth of the greatest river of Russia, the upper basin of which actually forms Great Russia, the center of the Empire, Astrakhan possesses every facility for the transmission of men and stores to organize a grand expedition. In four days by steam, in eight days by sailing vessels, the opposite extremity of the Caspian at Astrabad can be reached. The Caspian itself is undisputably a Russian lake; and Astrabad, now placed by the Persian Shah at the disposal of Russia, is situated at the starting point of that only road from the west to Herat which, by passing through the Khorassan hills, totally avoids the desert.

The Russian Government acts accordingly. The main column, destined in the case of further complications to act against Herat, is concentrating at Astrabad. Then there are two flank columns, the co-operation of which with the main body is at best but problematical, and each of which has, therefore, a definite object of its own. The right column concentrating at Tabreez is destined to cover the western frontier of Persia against any hostile movements of the Turks, and eventually to march toward Hamadan and Shuster, where it covers the capital, Teheran, both against Turkey and the English troops landing in the Persian Gulf at Bushire. The left column, starting from Orenburg and very likely intended to receive reinforcements sent from Astrakhan to the western shore[a] of the Caspian, will have to secure the Aral country, to march on Khiva, Bokhara and Samarcand, to secure either the passivity or the assistance of these States, and if possible, by a march up the Oxus to Balkh, menace the flank and rear of the English at Caboul or near Herat. We know that all these columns are already on the road, and that the central and right columns are already at Astrabad and Tabreez. Of the progress of

[a] Most probably a misprint in the original. Should read "the eastern shore".— *Ed.*

the right[a] column we shall probably not hear anything for some time.

For the English, the country of the upper Indus is the base of operations; and their magazines must be fixed at Peshawur. Thence they have already moved a column on Caboul, which town is distant four hundred miles from Herat as the crow flies. But in a serious war they must occupy, beside Caboul, Ghazna and Candahar, as well as the mountain forts guarding the Affghan passes. In this they will scarcely find any more difficulty than the Russians have done in occupying Astrabad, for ostensibly they are supporting the Affghans against Persian invasion.

The march from Caboul to Herat will offer no insuperable difficulties. There will be no need of any detached flank columns, for neither of the Russian flank columns will be able to come up; and if, after a couple of campaigns, the Orenburg column should debouch from Bokhara toward Balkh, a strong reserve at Caboul would soon give a good account of it. The English have this advantage, that their line of operations is comparatively short; for, though Herat lies exactly half-way between Calcutta and Moscow, yet the English base, at the confluence of the Caboul and Indus rivers, is but 600 miles from Herat, while the Russian base at Astrakhan is 1,250 miles off. The English, at Caboul, have got the start of the Russians at Astrabad, by a hundred miles, as far as Herat is concerned; and so far as the country is known, they pass through a better cultivated and more populous district, and by better roads than the Russians would find in Khorassan. As to the two armies, that of the English is undoubtedly the better so far as standing the climate is concerned. Its European regiments would undoubtedly act with the same unflinching steadiness as their comrades at Inkermann and the sepoy infantry[256] is by no means to be lightly spoken of. Sir Charles Napier, who saw them in many a battle, had the highest opinion of them, and he was a soldier and a general, every inch of him. The regular Indian cavalry is worth very little, but the irregulars are excellent, and under their European officers decidedly preferable to the Cossacks.

It is, of course, quite useless to speculate any further on the chances of such a war. There is no possibility of guessing at the forces that may be put in motion on one side or the other. There is no way of anticipating all the accidents which may happen if such important events come to pass as now seem to be drawing nigh. One thing only is certain, from the tremendous distances

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[a] Must be "left".— *Ed.*

either party has to traverse, that the armies which will decide the contest at Herat, the decisive point, will be comparatively small. A great deal will also depend upon diplomatic intrigues and bribery at the courts of the various potentates grouped around Herat. In these matters the Russians are almost sure to have the best of it. Their diplomacy is better and more Oriental; they know how to lavish money when it is required, and above all, they have a friend in the enemy's camp.[a] The British expedition into the Persian Gulf is but a diversion which may draw upon it an important portion of the Persian army, but which, in its direct results, can accomplish but little. Even if the 5,000 men now at Bushire be tripled, they could at the utmost march only to Shiraz, and there halt. But this expedition is not meant to do more. If it gives the Persian Government an idea of the vulnerability of the country on the seaside, it will have attained its object. To expect more, would be absurd. The line on which the fate of all Iran and Turan must really be decided, leads from Astrabad to Peshawur, and on this line the decisive point is Herat.

Written late in January-early in February 1857

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Reproduced from the newspaper

[a] An allusion to Palmerston.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE NEW ENGLISH BUDGET[257]

London. Feb. 20, 1857.

Financial theatricals have suffered a severe shock at the hands of Sir George Lewis, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. With Sir Robert Peel, the delivery of the financial statement had become a sort of religious act, to be performed with all the solemnities of State etiquette, magnified by great efforts of rhetorical plausibility, and never to be done under five hours' time. Mr. Disraeli imitated, and Mr. Gladstone almost exaggerated, Sir Robert's ceremonious behavior toward the national purse. Sir George Lewis dared not infringe upon the tradition. So he made a four hours' speech; crawling, drawling, bobbing around, till he was all at once interrupted by peals of laughter, caused by scores of honorables seizing their hats and rushing out of the House.

"I am sorry," exclaimed the dismal actor, "to continue my speech to an audience of reduced numbers; but I must state to those who remain, what would be the effect of the proposed alterations."[a]

When still one of *The Edinburgh Review* sages, Sir George Lewis was renowned for ponderousness of argumentation rather than for solidity of argument or sprightliness of diction. His personal shortcomings account certainly, to a great extent, for his Parliamentary failure. Yet there were other circumstances, altogether beyond his control, which might have discomfited even a regular Parliamentary prize-fighter. According to Sir William Clay's indiscreet statement before his Hull constituents, Lord Palmerston

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[a] G. C. Lewis's speech in the House of Commons on February 13, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22604, February 14, 1857.— *Ed.*

had originally made up his mind for a continuance of war-taxation during a time of peace, when the threatening income-tax motion which, at the meeting of the Commons, was announced by Mr. Disraeli and seconded by Mr. Gladstone, compelled him at once to beat a retreat, and to change his financial tactics all of a sudden. At shortest notice, therefore, poor Sir George Lewis had to alter all his estimates, all his figures, his whole scheme, while his speech, prepared for a war budget, had to be served up for a quasi peace budget—a *quid pro quo*[a] that might have been entertaining if it had not been drowsy. But this is not all. The budgets of Sir Robert Peel, during his administration from 1841 to 1846, derived an extraordinary interest from the fierce struggle then raging between Free Traders[258] and Protectionists,[b] profit and rent, land and town. The budget of Mr. Disraeli was looked for as a curiosity, involving as it did the revival or final abdication of Protectionism, and Mr. Gladstone's budget was unduly exaggerated as the financial settlement, for a septennial period at least, of triumphant Free Trade. The social conflicts reflected in those budgets endowed them with a positive interest, while the budget of Sir George Lewis could at the outset only claim the negative interest of forming the common point of assaults for the enemies of the Cabinet.

The Budget of Sir G. Lewis, so far as his original ways and means are concerned, may be resumed in very few words. He strikes off the nine additional pence of the income-tax imposed for the war; reducing it thus from 1s. 4d. in the pound to 7d., at which rate it is to continue till 1860. On the other hand, the whole war-tax on spirits, and part of the war-tax on sugar and tea, are to be retained. This is all.

The income-tax of the present financial year, including the additional 9d. of the war-taxation, produces a revenue of more than £16,000,000, raised from the different classes of society in about the following manner:

| | |
|---|---|
| Schedule A—Real Property | 8,000,000 |
| Schedule B—Farmers | 1,000,000 |
| Schedule C—Public Funds | 2,000,000 |
| Schedule D—Trades and Professions | 4,000,000 |
| Schedule E—Salaries | 1,000,000 |
| Total | 16,000,000 |

[a] A substitute.—*Ed.*

[b] The manuscript has here: "between the industrial capitalist and the landed proprietor".—*Ed.*

From this tabular statement it is evident that the income-tax weighs exclusively upon the upper and middle classes; indeed, more than two-thirds of it is made up from the incomes of the aristocracy and the higher ranks of the middle class. But, what with the other war-taxes—what with the high prices of provisions and the rising rate of discount, the lower layers of the English middle class have been severely pinched by the income-tax, and are therefore most impatient to throw it off. Nevertheless, the cries they raised would hardly have been re-echoed in the press, and certainly not in the House of Commons, if the aristocracy and upper middle class had not taken the lead of the agitation, eagerly seizing the opportunity to hide their narrow-minded selfishness under the broad mask of philanthropy, and getting rid of an impost, the burden of which they are unable to shift on the shoulders of the multitude. While in France, during the time of the *République honnête et modérée,* the establishment of an income-tax was warded off by branding it as surreptitious socialism, in England the abolition of the same tax is now attempted by pleading sympathy with popular sufferings. The game has been played very cleverly. On the return of peace,[259] the spokesmen of the petty middle class turned their attack not upon the income-tax itself, but only on its war-surplus and its unequal distribution. The upper classes feigned to embrace the popular grievance, only to sophisticate its original meaning, and to convert a cry for diminished taxation of small incomes, into a cry for the exemption from taxation of large ones. In the heat of combat, and the impatience of immediate alleviation, the lower middle class were neither aware of the shuffle played upon them, nor did they care about terms which secured the support of powerful allies. As to the working-classes, without organs in the press, and without votes in the electoral bodies, their claims were quite out of the question.

Sir Robert Peel's Free-Trade measures rested notoriously on the income-tax as their basis. It will be easily understood that direct taxation is the financial expression of Free Trade. If Free Trade means anything, it means the removal of customs, excise duties, and all imposts directly interfering with production and exchange.

Now, if taxes are not to be raised by customs and excise duties, they must be directly derived from property and income. With a certain amount of taxes, no abatement can take place in the one mode of assessment without a corresponding increase of the other. They must rise and fall in inverse ratio. If, then, the English public want to do away with the greater part of direct taxation, they must be prepared to lay heavier duties on commodities and

materials of manufactures—in one word, to renounce the Free-Trade system. Thus, indeed, the present movement has been interpreted on the Continent of Europe. A Belgian paper says that

"at a meeting held at Ghent to discuss the policy of Free Trade or Protection, one of the speakers urged the new opposition in England to the income-tax as proof of a change of the national opinion in favor of protection."

Thus, in one of their recent addresses, the Financial Reformers of Liverpool utter their apprehension lest Great Britain should return to the principles of restriction.

"We can," they say, "scarcely believe in the possibility of such an exhibition of national infatuation; yet every reflecting man of ordinary intellect must see that it is to this end, and to nothing else, that the present efforts tend."[a]

As Free Trade, and consequently direct taxation, are in Great Britain offensive weapons in the hands of the industrial capitalist against the landed aristocrat, their common crusade against the income-tax bears witness of the same fact economically which was politically demonstrated by the Coalition Cabinet[260]—the lassitude of the British middle classes, and their longing for compromises with the oligarchs, in order to escape concessions to the proletarians.

Sir G. Lewis, in striking sail before the Anti-Income-Tax League, exhibited at once the reverse of the medal. No remission of the paper duty, no forsaking of the fire-insurance tax, no abatement of the wine duty; but, on the contrary, increase of the import duties on tea and sugar. According to the settlement of Mr. Gladstone,[b] the duty on tea was to be reduced[c] from 1/6 per pound, first to 1/3, and then to 1/; and the sugar duty from £1 per cwt., first to 15/, and then to 13/4.[d] This refers to refined sugar only. White sugar was to be reduced from 17/6 successively to 13/2 and 11/8; yellow sugar from 15/ to 11/8 and 10/6; brown sugar from 13/9 to 10/7 and 9/6; molasses from 5/4 to 3/9. The war arrested this settlement; but according to the law passed in 1855, it was now to be realized successively in 1857 and 1858. Sir G. Lewis, who, on the 19th April, 1855, had raised the tea duty from 1/6 to 1/9 per pound, proposes to throw its reduction over four years—diminishing it to 1/7 for 1857-58, to 1/5 for 1858-59,

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[a] The Address of the President and Council of the Liverpool Financial Reform Association to the Middle, Commercial, Manufacturing and Industrial Classes of the United Kingdom, *The Times*, No. 22561, December 26, 1856.—*Ed.*

[b] The manuscript has here: "of 1855".—*Ed.*

[c] Here the manuscript reads: "in 1857".—*Ed.*

[d] The manuscript has here: "in 1858".—*Ed.*

to 1/3 for 1859-60, and finally to 1/. With the sugar duty, he proposes dealing in a similar way. It is known that the supply of sugar has fallen below its demand, and that its stocks are reduced in the markets of the world—there being in London, for instance, at present only 43,700 tuns, against 73,400 two years ago. Thus the prices of sugar are, of course, rising. As to tea, Palmerston's Chinese expedition[261] has succeeded in creating an artificial limitation of supply, and a consequent rise of prices. Now, there is no economist who will not tell you that, in a period of dearth and rising prices, any reduction of duty, to benefit not only the importer but the general consumer also, must be sudden and striking. Sir G. Lewis asserts, on the contrary, that, with rising prices, reductions of duty are the surer to accrue to the benefit of the consumer the less they are perceptible. This assertion stands on a level only with his strange doctrine that Post-Office charges are a direct tax, and that complication constitutes the redeeming feature of taxation.

Decrease in the income-tax to be counterbalanced by the increase in the duties on tea and sugar—the latter being common necessaries with the British people—means evidently diminishing the taxes on the rich by augmenting the taxes on the poor. Such a consideration, however, would not have interfered with the vote in the House of Commons. But there are the tea-dealers, who have entered into large contracts and arrangements on the express faith, as they say, in the statement made on the 19th of April, 1856, by Sir George Lewis in the House of Commons—a statement again repeated to them by the Board of Customs on the 11th November, 1856—to the effect that "the duty on tea would be reduced to 1s. 3d. on the 6th of April, 1857."[a] There they are, standing upon their bond and upon budget morality. And there is Mr. Gladstone, glad to revenge himself upon Palmerston, who quite treacherously ousted the Peelites, after having used them to overthrow, first the Derby administration, then Russell, and lastly their own patriarch, old Aberdeen.[262] Besides, as the author of the financial settlement of 1853, Mr. Gladstone must of course defend his own standard budget from Sir G. Lewis's irreverent violations. Accordingly, he gave notice[b] that he should move the following resolution:

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[a] See: "Tea and sugar duties", *The Economist*, No. 690, November 15, 1856.—*Ed.*

[b] The manuscript has here: "on Thursday, 19 February, that on Friday, on the motion for going into Committee of ways and means, he should move...".—*Ed.*

"That this House will not agree to any addition to the rates chargeable by the Custom-duties Acts of 1855, upon the articles of tea and sugar."[a]

I have so far touched upon one side of the budget only—its ways and means. Let me now look at the other side of the balance-sheet—the proposed expenditure. If the proposed ways and means are characteristic of the present state of official English society, the intended expenditure is still more so of its actual government. Palmerston wants money, and much money, not only to plant firmly his dictatorship, but also to indulge his taste for Canton bombardments, Persian wars, Naples expeditions,[263] &c. Accordingly he proposes a peace establishment costing about £8,000,000 in excess of the highest expenditure since the peace of 1815. He wants £65,474,000, while Mr. Disraeli contented himself with £55,613,379, and Mr. Gladstone with £56,683,000. That the views of the Oriental war-glory should, in due course of time, dissolve in heavy tax-gatherers' bills, was an event of course to be anticipated by John Bull.

But the annual surplus taxation accruing from the war cannot be estimated at more than £3,600,000, viz.: £2,000,000 for Exchequer bonds falling due in May, 1857; £1,200,000 for the interest of £26,000,000 of new funded debt, and £8,000,000 of unfunded debt; lastly, about £400,000 for the new sinking fund, corresponding to the new debts. The war balances do not, then, account, in fact, for half of the surplus expenditure claimed by Lord Palmerston. But his military estimates do. The whole Army and Navy estimates from 1830 to 1840 did not average £13,000,000, but they amount in the Lewis budget to £20,699,000. If we compare them with the total military estimates of the last five years preceding the war, we find that the latter reached in 1849 to £15,823,537; in 1850, to £15,320,944; in 1851, to £15,555,171; in 1852, to £15,771,893; in 1853-54, to £17,802,000, the estimates of 1853-54 having themselves been fixed with the prospect of an imminent war.

Clinging to the orthodox Whig doctrine that the sap of the tree is destined to afford food for the vermin, Sir G. Lewis pleads the increased national wealth as shown by the export and import tables of 1856, as a reason for the increased Government expenditure. If the conclusion were true, the premise would, nevertheless, remain false. It suffices to point at the many thousands of destitute workmen now roaming through the streets

[a] W. Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on February 20, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22610, February 21, 1857.—*Ed.*

of London and applying at work-houses[264] for relief; at the broad fact resulting from the official revenue returns that, during the year 1856, the British consumption of tea, sugar and coffee has considerably declined, simultaneously with a slight increase in the consumption of spirits; at the trade circulars of the past year, which, as acknowledged by Mr. Wilson himself, the present Secretary of the Treasury, plainly prove that the profits of the British trade of 1856 bear a contrary proportion to its enlargement. It would seem that the natural tactics of an opposition leader would be to direct his main batteries against this extravagant expenditure. But in so doing Mr. Disraeli would risk being stabbed in the back by his own retainers, should he directly front this aristocratic lavishness.[a] He is, therefore, driven to the over-refined maneuver[b] of resting his motion against the Palmerston Budget, not on its extravagant expenditure for 1857 and 1858, but on its prospective deficiency of revenue in 1858-'59, and in 1859-'60.

At all events, the House of Commons debates on the Budget will be highly interesting, not only that the fate of the present Administration hungs upon them, and that they will exhibit the curious spectacle of a Disraeli-Gladstone-Russell coalition against Palmerston; but the very dialectics of a financial opposition which insists upon the abolition of the income-tax, forbids the increase of the sugar and tea duties, and dares not openly strike at extravagance in expenditure, must prove quite a novelty.

Written on February 20, 1857 Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4956, March 9, 1857

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[a] Instead of this sentence the manuscript has: "But Mr. Disraeli would risk to be attacked in the rear by his own party, should he thus seriously front the aristocratic tax-eaters."—*Ed.*

[b] Instead of the words "over-refined maneuver" the manuscript has "the most pitiful expedient".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES ON THE CHINESE HOSTILITIES[265]

London, Feb. 27, 1857

The Earl of Derby's resolution, and that of Mr. Cobden, both of them passing condemnation upon the Chinese hostilities, were moved according to notices given, the one on the 24th of February, in the House of Lords,[a] the other on the 27th of February, in the House of Commons.[b] The debates in the Lords ended on the same day when the debates in the Commons began. The former gave the Palmerston Cabinet a shock by leaving it in the comparatively weak majority of 36 votes. The latter may result in its defeat. But whatever interest may attach to the discussion in the Commons, the debates in the House of Lords have exhausted the argumentative part of the controversy—the masterly speeches of Lords Derby and Lyndhurst forestalling the eloquence of Mr. Cobden, Sir E. Bulwer, Lord John Russell, and *tutti quanti*.[c]

The only law authority on the part of the Government, the Lord Chancellor,[d] remarked that

> "unless England had a good case with regard to the *Arrow*,[266] all proceedings from the last to first were wrong."

Derby and Lyndhurst proved beyond doubt that England had no case at all with regard to that lorcha. The line of argument followed by them coincides so much with that taken up in the columns of *The Tribune*[e] on the first publication of the English

[a] E. Derby's speech in the House of Lords on February 24, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22613, February 25, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] R. Cobden's speech in the House of Commons on February 26, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22615, February 27, 1857.—*Ed.*

[c] All the rest.—*Ed.*

[d] R. Cranworth.—*Ed.*

[e] See this volume, pp. 158-63.—*Ed.*

dispatches that I am able to condense it here into a very small compass.

What is the charge against the Chinese Government upon which the Canton massacres[267] are pretended to rest? The infringement of Art. 9 of the supplemental treaty of 1843. That article prescribes that any Chinese offenders, being in the Colony of Hong-Kong, or on board a British man-of-war, or on board a British merchant ship, are not to be seized by the Chinese authorities themselves, but should be demanded from the British Consul, and by him be handed over to the native authorities. Chinese pirates were seized in the river of Canton on board the lorcha *Arrow*, by Chinese officers, without the intervention of the British Consul. The question arises, therefore, was the *Arrow* a British vessel? It was, as Lord Derby shows,

"a vessel Chinese built, Chinese captured, Chinese sold, Chinese bought and manned, and Chinese owned."[a]

By what means, then, was this Chinese vessel converted into a British merchantman? By purchasing at Hong-Kong a British register or sailing license. The legality of this register relies upon an ordinance of the local legislation of Hong-Kong, passed in March, 1855. That ordinance not only infringed the treaty existing between England and China,[268] but annulled the law of England herself. It was, therefore, void and null. Some semblance of English legality it could but receive from the Merchant Shipping Act, which, however, was passed only two months after the issue of the ordinance. And even with the legal provisions of that act it had never been brought into consonance. The ordinance, therefore, under which the lorcha *Arrow* received its register, was so much waste paper. But even according to this worthless paper the *Arrow* had forfeited its protection by the infringement of the provisions prescribed, and the expiration of its license. This point is conceded by Sir J. Bowring himself.[b] But then, it is said, whether or not the *Arrow* was an English vessel, it had, at all events, hoisted the English flag, and that flag was insulted. Firstly,[c]

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[a] E. Derby's speech in the House of Lords on February 24, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22613, February 25, 1857.— *Ed.*

[b] J. Bowring's letter to Consul Parkes of October 11, 1856, *The Times*, No. 22571, January 7, 1857. The manuscript has further: "writing to Consul Parkes that the *Arrow* was not entitled to British protection".— *Ed.*

[c] The manuscript has further: "it had no right to hoist the English flag as avowed by Sir J. Bowring himself in his letter to Consul Parkes d.d. Hong-Kong, October 11".— *Ed.*

if the flag was flying, it was not legally flying. But was it flying at all? On this point there exists discrepancy between the English and Chinese declarations. The latter have, however, been corroborated by depositions, forwarded by the Consuls, of the master and crew of the Portuguese lorcha No. 83. With reference to these depositions, *The Friend of China* of Nov. 13 states that

"it is now notorious at Canton that the British flag had not been flying on board the lorcha for six days previous to its seizure."[a]

Thus falls to the ground the punctilio of honor, together with the legal case.

Lord Derby had in this speech the good taste altogether to forbear from his habitual waggishness, and thus to give his argument a strictly judicial character. No efforts, however, on his part were wanted to impregnate his speech with a deep current of irony. The Earl of Derby, the chief of the hereditary aristocracy of England, pleading against the late Doctor, now Sir John Bowring, the pet disciple of Bentham; pleading for humanity against the professional humanitarian; defending the real interests of nations against the systematic utilitarian insisting upon a punctilio of diplomatic etiquette; appealing to the "vox populi vox dei"[b] against the greatest-benefit-of-the-greatest-number man[269]; the descendant of the conquerors preaching peace where a member of the Peace Society[270] preached red-hot shell; a Derby branding the acts of the British navy as "miserable proceedings" and "inglorious operations," where a Bowring congratulates it upon cowardly outrages which met with no resistance, upon "its brilliant achievements, unparalleled bravery, and splendid union of military skill and valor"—such contrasts were the more keenly satirical the less the Earl of Derby seemed to be aware of them. He had the advantage of that great historical irony which does not flow from the wit of individuals, but from the humor of situations. The whole parliamentary history of England has, perhaps, never exhibited such an intellectual victory of the aristocrat over the parvenu.

Lord Derby declared at the outset that he

"should have to rely upon statements and documents exclusively furnished by the very parties whose conduct he was about to impugn,"

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[a] Quoted according to E. Derby's speech in the House of Lords on February 24, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22613, February 25, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] "The voice of the people is the voice of God" (Hesiod, *The Works and Days*).—*Ed.*

and that he was content

"to rest his case upon these documents."

Now it has been justly remarked that those documents, as laid before the public by the Government, would have allowed the latter to shift the whole responsibility upon its subordinates. So much is this the case that the attacks made by the parliamentary adversaries of the Government were exclusively directed to Bowring & Co., and could have been indorsed by the home Government itself, without at all impairing its own position. I quote from his Lordship[a]:

"I do not wish to say anything disrespectful of Dr. Bowring. He may be a man of great attainments; but it appears to me that on the subject of his admission into Canton he is possessed with a perfect *monomania* [Hear, hear, and laughter]. I believe he dreams of his entrance into Canton. I believe he thinks of it the first thing in the morning, the last thing at night, and in the middle of the night, if he happens to be awake [Laughter]. I do not believe that he would consider any sacrifice too great, any interruption of commerce to be deplored, any bloodshed to be regretted, when put in the scale with the immense advantage to be derived from the fact that Sir J. Bowring had obtained an official reception in the Yamun[b] of Canton [Laughter]."

Next came Lord Lyndhurst[c].

"Sir J. Bowring, who is a distinguished humanitarian as well as plenipotentiary [laughter], himself admits the register is void, and that the lorcha was not entitled to hoist the English flag. Now, mark what he says: 'The vessel had no protection, but the Chinese do not know this. For God's sake do not whisper it to them.' He persevered, too, for he said in effect: We know the Chinese have not been guilty of any violation of treaty, but we will not tell them so; we will insist upon reparation and a return of the men they have seized in a particular form. If the men were not returned in the form, what was to be the remedy? Why, to seize a junk—a war junk. If that was not sufficient, seize more, until we compelled them to submit, although we knew they had the right on their side and we had no justice on ours [Hear]. Was there ever conduct more abominable, more flagrant, in which—I will not say more fraudulent, but what is equal to fraud in our country—more false pretense has been put forward by a public man in the service of the British Government [Hear]? It is extraordinary that Sir J. Bowring should think he had the right of declaring war. I can understand a man in such a position having necessarily a power of carrying on defensive operations, but to carry on offensive operations upon such a ground—upon such a pretense—is one of the most extraordinary proceedings to be found in the history of the world. It is quite clear from the papers laid on the table, that from the first moment at which Sir J. Bowring was appointed to the station he now fills, his ambition was to procure

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[a] E. Derby's speech in the House of Lords on February 24, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22613, February 25, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] Residence of a Chinese official.—*Ed.*

[c] J. Lyndhurst's speech in the House of Lords on February 24, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22613, February 25, 1857.—*Ed.*

what his predecessors had completely failed to effect—namely, the entry within the walls of Canton. Bent only upon carrying this object of gaining admission within the walls of Canton into execution, he has, for no necessary purpose whatever, plunged the country into a war; and what is the result? Property, to the large amount of $1,500,000, belonging to British subjects, is now impounded in the City of Canton, and in addition to that our factories are burned to the ground, and all this is only owing to the mischievous policy of one of the most mischievous of men.

"———But man, proud man,
Drest in a little brief authority,
Most ignorant of what he's most assured,
His glassy essence, like an angry ape,
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven
As make the angels weep[a]."

And, lastly, Lord Grey[b]:

"If your Lordships will refer to the papers you will find that when Sir J. Bowring applied for an interview with Commissioner Yeh, the Commissioner was ready to meet him, but he appointed for that purpose the house of the merchant Houqua, without the city. Sir J. Bowring's dignity would not allow him to go anywhere but to the official residence of the Commissioner. I expect, if no other result, at least the good result from the adoption of the resolution—the instant recall of Sir J. Bowring."

Sir J. Bowring met with similar treatment at the hands of the Commons, and Mr. Cobden even opened his speech with a solemn repudiation of his "friend of twenty years' standing."[c]

The literal quotations from the speeches of Lords Derby, Lyndhurst and Grey prove that, to parry the attack, Lord Palmerston's Administration had only to drop Sir J. Bowring instead of identifying itself with that "distinguished humanitarian." That it owed this facility of escape neither to the indulgence nor the tactics of his adversaries, but exclusively to the papers laid before Parliament, will become evident from the slightest glance at the papers themselves as well as the debates founded upon them.

Can there remain any doubt as to Sir J. Bowring's "monomania" with respect to his entrance into Canton? Is it not proved that that individual, as *The London Times* says,

"has taken a course entirely out of his own head, without either advice from his superiors at home or any reference to their politics?"[d]

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[a] Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure,* Act II, Scene 2.—*Ed.*

[b] G. Grey's speech in the House of Lords on February 24, 1857, *The Times,* No. 22613, February 25, 1857.—*Ed.*

[c] R. Cobden's speech in the House of Commons on February 26, 1857, *The Times,* No. 22615, February 27, 1857.—*Ed.*

[d] See *The Times,* same issue, leading article.—*Ed.*

Why, then, should Lord Palmerston, at a moment when his Government is tottering, when his way is beset with difficulties of all sorts—financial difficulties, Persian war difficulties, secret-treaty difficulties, electoral reform difficulties,[271] coalition difficulties—when he is conscious that the eyes of the House are

"upon him more earnestly but less admiringly than ever before,"

why should he single out just that moment to exhibit, for the first time in his political life, an unflinching fidelity to another man and to a subaltern, too—at the hazard of not only impairing still more his own position, but of completely breaking it up? Why should he push his new-fangled enthusiasm to such a point as to offer himself as the expiatory sacrifice for the sins of a Dr. Bowring? Of course no man in his senses thinks the noble Viscount capable of any such romantic aberrations. The line of policy he has followed up in this Chinese difficulty affords conclusive evidence of the defective character of the papers he has laid before Parliament. Apart from published papers there must exist secret papers and secret instructions which would go far to show that if Dr. Bowring was possessed of the "monomania" of entering into Canton, there stood behind him the cool-headed chief of Whitehall[a] working upon his monomania and driving it, for purposes of his own, from the state of latent warmth into that of consuming fire.

Written on February 27, 1857

Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] Palmerston.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## DEFEAT OF THE PALMERSTON MINISTRY

London, March 6, 1857

After having raged for four nights, the Chinese debates[a] subsided at last in a vote of censure passed by the House of Commons on the Palmerston Ministry. Palmerston retorts the censure by a "penal dissolution." He punishes the Commons by sending them home.

The immense excitement prevailing on the last night of the debates, within the walls of the House as well as among the masses who had gathered in the adjoining streets, was due not only to the greatness of the interests at stake, but still more to the character of the party on trial. Palmerston's administration was not that of an ordinary Cabinet. It was a dictatorship. Since the commencement of the war with Russia,[b] Parliament had almost abdicated its constitutional functions; nor had it, after the conclusion of peace, ever dared to reassert them. By a gradual and almost imperceptible declension, it had reached the position of a Corps Législatif,[272] distinguished from the genuine, Bonapartist article by false pretenses and high-sounding pretensions only. The mere formation of the Coalition Cabinet[273] denoted the fact that the old parties, on the friction of which the movement of the Parliamentary machine depends, had become extinct. This impotence of parties, first expressed by the Coalition Cabinet, the war helped to incarnate in the omnipotence of a single individual, who, during half a century of political life, had never belonged to any party, but always used all parties. If the war with Russia had not intervened, the very exhaustion of the old official parties would

[a] See this volume, pp. 207-12.— *Ed.*
[b] The Crimean war, 1853-56.— *Ed.*

have led to transformation. New life would have been poured into the Parliamentary body by the infusion of new blood, by the admission to political rights of at least some fractions of the masses of the people who are still deprived of votes and representatives. The war cut short this natural process. Preventing the neutralization of old Parliamentary antagonisms from turning to the benefit of the masses, the war turned it to the exclusive profit of a single man. Instead of the political emancipation of the British people, we have had the dictatorship of Palmerston. War was the powerful engine by which this result was brought about, and war was the only means of insuring it. War had therefore become the vital condition of Palmerston's dictatorship. The Russian war was more popular with the British people than the Paris peace.[274] Why, then, did the British Achilles, under whose auspices the Redan disgrace and the Kars surrender[275] had occurred, not improve this opportunity? Evidently because the alternative lay beyond his control. Hence his Paris treaty, backed by his misunderstandings with the United States, his expedition to Naples, his ostensible squabbles with Bonaparte, his Persian invasion, and his Chinese massacres.[276]

In passing a vote of censure upon the latter, the House of Commons cut off the means of his usurped power. Its vote was, therefore, not a simple Parliamentary vote, but a rebellion—a forcible attempt at the resumption of the constitutional attributes of Parliament. This was the feeling which pervaded the House, and whatever may have been the peculiar motives actuating the several fractions of the heterogeneous majority—composed of Derbyites, Peelites, Manchester men,[277] Russellites, and so-called Independents—all of them were sincere in asserting that it was no vulgar anti-Ministerial conspiracy which united them in the same lobby. Such, however, was the gist of Palmerston's defense. He covered the weakness of his case by an *argumentum ad misericordiam*,[a] by presenting himself as the victim of an unprincipled conspiracy. Nothing could be more happy than Mr. Disraeli's rebuke of this plea, so common to Old Bailey[278] prisoners.

"The First Minister," he said, "is of all men the man who cannot bear a coalition. Why, he is the archtype of political coalitions without avowed principles. See how his Government is formed. It was only last year that every member of his Cabinet in this House supported a bill introduced, I think, by a late colleague. It was opposed in the other House by a member of the Government who, to excuse his apparent inconsistency, boldly declared that when he took office the First

[a] Appeal to mercy.—*Ed.*

Minister required no pledge from him on any subject whatever [Laughter]. Yet the noble Lord is alarmed and shocked at this unprincipled combination! The noble Lord cannot bear coalitions! The noble Lord has acted only with those among whom he was born and bred in politics [Cheers and laughter]. That infant Hercules [pointing at Lord Palmerston] was taken out of the Whig cradle and how consistent has been his political life! [Renewed laughter.] Looking back upon the last half century, during which he has professed almost every principle, and connected himself with almost every party, the noble Lord has raised a warning voice to-night against coalitions, because he fears that a majority of the House of Commons, ranking in its numbers some of the most eminent members of the House—men who have been colleagues of the noble Lord—may not approve a policy with respect to China, which has begun in outrage, and which, if pursued, will end in ruin. That, sir, is the position of the noble Lord. And what defense of that policy have we had from the noble Lord? Has he laid down a single principle on which our relations with China ought to depend? Has he enumerated a solitary political maxim which should guide us in this moment of peril and perplexity? On the contrary, he has covered a weak and shambling case by saying—what?—that he is the victim of a conspiracy. He did not enter into any manly or statesmanlike defense of his conduct. He reproduced petty observations made in the course of the debate which I thought really had become exhausted and obsolete, and then he turned round and said that the whole was a conspiracy! Accustomed to majorities which have been obtained without the assertion of a single principle, which have, indeed, been the consequence of an occasional position, and which have, in fact, originated in the noble Lord's sitting on that bench without the necessity of expressing an opinion upon any subject, foreign or domestic, that can interest the heart of the country or influence the opinion of the nation, the noble Lord will at last find that the time has come when, if he be a statesman, he must have a policy; and that it will not do, the instant that the blundering of his Cabinet is detected, and every man accustomed to influence the opinion of the House unites in condemning it, to complain to the country that he is the victim of a conspiracy."[a]

It would, however, be quite a mistake to presume that the debates were interesting because such passionate interests hinged upon them. There was one night's debate after another night's debate, and still no division. During the greater part of the battle the voices of the gladiators were drowned in the hum and hubbub of private conversation. Night after night the placemen spoke against time to win another twenty-four hours for intrigue and underground action. The first night Mr. Cobden made a clever speech. So did Bulwer and Lord John Russell[b]; but the Attorney-General was certainly right in telling them that "he could not for one moment compare their deliberations or their arguments on such a subject as this, with the arguments that had

[a] B. Disraeli's speech in the House of Commons on March 3, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22619, March 4, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] Speeches of R. Cobden, E. Bulwer-Lytton and J. Russell in the House of Commons on February 26, 1857 see in *The Times*, No. 22615, February 27, 1857.—*Ed.*

been delivered in another place."[a] The second night was incumbered by the heavy special pleadings of the attorneys on both sides, the Lord-Advocate,[b] Mr. Whiteside and the Attorney-General. Sir James Graham, indeed, made an attempt to raise the debate, but he failed. When this man, the virtual murderer of the Bandiera,[279] sanctimoniously exclaimed that "he would wash his hands of the innocent blood which had been shed,"[c] a half-suppressed ironical laugh re-echoed his pathos. The third night was still duller. There was Sir F. Thesiger, the Attorney-General *in spe*,[d] answering the Attorney-General *in re*,[e] and Sergeant Shee endeavoring to answer Sir F. Thesiger. There was the agricultural eloquence of Sir John Pakington. There was General Williams of Kars, listened to with silence only for a few minutes, but after these few minutes spontaneously dropped by the House and fully understood not to be the man they had taken him for. There was, lastly, Sir Sidney Herbert. This elegant scion of Peelite statesmanship made a speech which was, indeed, terse, pointed, antithetical, but girding at the arguments of the placemen rather than producing new arguments of his own. But the last night the debate rose to a hight compatible with the natural measure of the Commons. Roebuck, Gladstone, Palmerston and Disraeli were great, each in his own way.

The difficult point was to get rid of the stalking-horse of the debate, Sir J. Bowring, and to bring home the question to Lord Palmerston himself, by making him personally responsible for the "massacre of the innocents." This was at last done. As the impending general election in England will in the main revolve upon this point, it may not be amiss to condense, in as short a compass as possible, the results of the discussion. The day after the defeat of the Ministry, and the day before the ministerial announcement of the dissolution of the House of Commons, *The London Times* ventured upon the following assertions:

"The nation will be at a loss to know the precise question to be answered. Has Lord Palmerston's Cabinet forfeited the confidence of the people on account of a series of acts committed on the other side of the world six weeks before they were even heard of here, and by public servants appointed under a former administration? It was at Christmas when Ministers heard of the matter and they were at that time as ignorant as everybody else. In fact had the scene of the

[a] R. Bethell. Here and below speeches in the House of Commons on February 27, 1857 see in *The Times*, No. 22616, February 28, 1857.— *Ed.*

[b] James Moncreiff.— *Ed.*

[c] Cf. Matthew 27 : 24.— *Ed.*

[d] In future.—*Ed.*

[e] In reality.— *Ed.*

narrative been the moon, or had it been a chapter from the *Arabian Nights*, the present Cabinet could not have less to do with it.... Is Lord Palmerston's administration to be condemned and displaced for what it never did and could not do, for what it only heard of when everybody else heard of it, for what was done by men whom it did not appoint and with whom it has not, as yet, been able to hold any communication?"[a]

To this impudent rhodomontade of a paper which has all along vindicated the Canton massacre as a supreme stroke of Palmerstonian diplomacy, we can oppose a few facts painfully elicited during a protracted debate, and not once controverted by Palmerston or his subordinates. In 1847, when at the head of the Foreign Office, Lord Palmerston's first dispatch on the admission of the British Hong-Kong authorities into Canton was couched in menacing terms. However, his ardors were damped by Earl Grey, his colleague, the then Secretary for the Colonies, who sent out a most peremptory prohibition to the officers commanding the naval forces, not only at Hong-Kong, but at Ceylon, ordering them, under no circumstances, to allow any offensive movement against the Chinese without express authority from England. On the 18th August, 1849, however, shortly before his dismissal from the Russell Cabinet, Lord Palmerston wrote the following dispatch to the British Plenipotentiary at Hong-Kong:

"Let not the great officers of Canton nor the Government of Peking deceive themselves. The forbearance which the British Government has hitherto displayed arises not from a sense of weakness, but from consciousness of superior strength. The British Government well knows that, if occasion required it, *British military force would be able to destroy the town of Canton, not leaving one single house standing*, and could thus inflict the most signal chastisement upon the people of that city."[b]

Thus the bombardment of Canton occurring in 1856, under Lord Palmerston as Premier, was foreshadowed in 1849 by the last missive sent to Hong-Kong by Lord Palmerston, as Foreign Secretary of the Russell Cabinet. All the intervening Governments have refused to allow any relaxation of the prohibition put upon the British representatives at Hong-Kong against pressing their admission into Canton. This was the case with the Earl of Granville under the Russell Ministry, the Earl of Malmesbury under the Derby Ministry, and the Duke of Newcastle under the Aberdeen Ministry. At last, in 1852, Dr. Bowring, till then Consul at Hong-Kong, was appointed Plenipotentiary. His appointment, as Mr. Gladstone states, was made by Lord Clarendon, Palmer-

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[a] *The Times*, No. 22620, March 5, 1857, leading article.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted from J. Graham's speech in the House of Commons on February 27, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22616, February 28, 1857.—*Ed.*

ston's tool, without the knowledge or consent of the Aberdeen Cabinet. When Bowring first mooted the question now at issue, Clarendon, in a dispatch dated July 5, 1854, told him that he was right, but that he should wait till there were naval forces available for his purpose. England was then at war with Russia. When the question of the *Arrow* arose,[a] Bowring had just heard that peace had been established, and in fact naval forces were being sent out to him. Then the quarrel with Yeh was picked. On the 10th of January, after having received an account of all that had passed, Clarendon informed Bowring that "Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the course which has been adopted by Sir M. Seymour and yourself." This approbation, couched in these few words, was not accompanied by any further instructions. On the contrary, Mr. Hammond, writing to the Secretary of the Admiralty,[b] was directed by Lord Clarendon to express to Admiral Seymour the Government's admiration of "the *moderation* with which he had acted, and the respect which he had shown for the lives and properties of the Chinese."

There can, then, exist no doubt that the Chinese massacre was planned by Lord Palmerston himself. Under what colors he now hopes to rally the electors of the United Kingdom is a question which I hope you will allow me to answer in another letter, as this has already exceeded the proper limits.

Written on March 6, 1857

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4970, March 25, 1857

[a] See this volume, pp. 207-12.— *Ed.*
[b] Ralph Bernal Osborne.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE COMING ELECTION IN ENGLAND[280]

London, March 13, 1857

"Stand between two churchmen, good my Lord;
For on that ground I'll make a holy descant."[a]

Palmerston does not exactly comply with the advice tendered by Buckingham to Richard III. He stands between the churchman on the one side, and the opium-smuggler on the other. While the Low Church bishops, whom the veteran impostor allowed the Earl of Shaftesbury, his kinsman, to nominate, vouch his "righteousness," the opium-smugglers, the dealers in "sweet poison for the age's tooth,"[b] vouch his faithful service to "commodity, the bias of the world."[c] Burke, the Scotchman, was proud of the London "Resurrectionists."[281] So is Palmerston of the Liverpool "poisoners." These smooth-faced gentlemen are the worthy representatives of a town, the pedigree of whose greatness may be directly traced back to the slave trade. Liverpool, otherwise not famous for poetical production, may at least claim the original merit of having enriched poetry with odes on the slave trade. While Pindar commenced his hymn on the Olympian victors with the celebrated "Water is the best thing" (Ariston men hudor),[d] a modern Liverpool Pindar might, therefore, be fairly expected to open his hymn on the Downing-street[e] prize-fighters with the more ingenious exordium, "Opium is the best thing."

Along with the holy Bishops and the unholy opium-smugglers, there go the large tea-dealers, for the greater part directly or

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[a] Shakespeare, *King Richard III*, Act III, Scene VII.—*Ed.*

[b] Shakespeare, *King John*, Act I, Scene I.—*Ed.*

[c] Op. cit., Act II, Scene I.—*Ed.*

[d] Pindar, *The First Olympian Ode*.—*Ed.*

[e] Downing-Street—a side-turning off Whitehall, where the main government buildings in London are situated; it contains the residence of the Prime Minister (at No. 10) and the Chancellor of the Exchequer (at No. 11).—*Ed.*

indirectly engaged in the opium traffic, and, therefore, interested in oversetting the present treaties with China. They are, besides, actuated by motives of their own. Having in the past year ventured upon enormous speculations in tea, the prolongation of hostilities will at once enhance the huge stocks they hold, and enable them to postpone the large payments to their creditors at Canton. Thus, war will allow them to cheat at once their British buyers and their Chinese sellers, and consequently realize their notions of "national glory" and "commercial interests." Generally the British manufacturers disagree from the tenets of this Liverpool catechism, upon the same lofty principle which puts in opposition the Manchester man, wanting low cotton prices, to the Liverpool gentleman, wanting high ones. During the first Anglo-Chinese war, extending from 1839 to 1842, the British manufacturers had flattered themselves with false hopes of marvelously extended exports.[282] Yard by yard they had measured the cotton stuffs the Celestials were to be clothed in. Experience broke the padlock Palmerstonian politicians had put upon their mind. From 1854 to 1857 the British manufactured exports to China did not average more than £1,250,000 sterling, an amount frequently reached in years preceding the first war with China.

"In fact," as Mr. Cobden, the spokesman of the British manufacturers, stated in the House of Commons, "since 1842 we" (the United Kingdom) "have not added to our exports to China at all, at least as far as our manufactures are concerned. We have increased our consumption of tea; that is all."[a]

Hence the broader views with which British manufacturers, in contradistinction to British Bishops, opium-smugglers, and tea-dealers, are able to take of Chinese politics. If we pass over the tax-eaters and place-hunters who hang on the skirts of every administration, and the silly coffee-house patriots who believe "the nation to pluck up a heart" under Pam's auspices, we have in fact enumerated all the *bona fide* partisans of Palmerston. Still we must not forget *The London Times* and *Punch*, the Grand Cophta[283] and the Clown of the British press, both of whom are riveted to the present administration by golden and official links, and, consequently, write up a factitious enthusiasm for the hero of the Canton massacres. But then, it ought to be considered that the vote of the House of Commons betokened a rebellion against Palmerston as much as against *The Times*. The imminent elections have, therefore, to decide not only whether Palmerston shall

[a] R. Cobden's speech in the House of Commons on February 26, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22615, February 27, 1857.—*Ed.*

engross all the power of the State, but also whether *The Times* shall monopolize the whole manufacture of public opinion.

Upon which principle, then, is Palmerston likely to appeal to the general election? Extension of trade with China? But he has destroyed the very port upon which that commerce depended. For a more or less protracted period he has transferred it from the sea to the land, from the five ports to Siberia, from England to Russia. In the United Kingdom he has raised the duty upon tea—the greatest bar against the extension of the Chinese trade. The safety of the British merchant-adventurers? But the Blue Book,[284] entitled "Correspondence Respecting Insults in China," laid upon the table of the Commons by the Ministry itself, proves that, since the last seven years, there occurred but six cases of insult, in two of which the English were the aggressors, while in the four others the Chinese authorities exerted themselves to the full satisfaction of the British authorities in order to punish the offenders. If, then, the fortunes and the lives of the British merchants in Hong-Kong, Singapore, &c., are at present endangered, their perils are conjured up by Palmerston himself. But the honor of the British flag! Palmerston has sold it for £50 a piece to the smugglers of Hong-Kong, and stained it by the "wholesale massacre of helpless British customers." Yet, these pleas of extension of trade, safety of British merchant-adventurers, and honor of the British flag, are the only ones put up by the Government oracles which till now have addressed their constituents. They wisely refrain from touching any point of internal policy, as the cry of "no reform," and "more taxes," would not do. One member of the Palmerstonian Cabinet, Lord Mulgrave, the Household Treasurer, tells his constituents[a] that he has "no political theories to propound." Another one, Bob Lowe, in his Kidderminster address,[b] girds at the ballot, the extension of suffrage, and similar "humbug." A third one, Mr. Labouchere, the same clever fellow who defended the Canton bombardment on the plea that, should the Commons brand it as unjust, the English people must prepare to pay a bill of about £5,000,000 to the foreign merchants whose Canton property had been destroyed—this same Labouchere, in his appeal to his Taunton constituents,[c]

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[a] G. Mulgrave's speech before the Scarborough constituents in March 1857, *The Times*, No. 22627, March 13, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] R. Lowe's speech before the Kidderminster constituents on March 10, 1857, *The Times*, same issue.—*Ed.*

[c] H. Labouchere's speech before the Taunton constituents on March 11, 1857, *The Times*, same issue.—*Ed.*

ignores politics altogether, simply resting his claims upon the high deeds of Bowring, Parkes and Seymour.

The remark, then, of a British provincial paper, that Palmerston has got, not only no "good cry for the hustings, but no cry at all," is perfectly true. Yet his case is by no means desperate. Circumstances are altogether altered since the vote of the Commons. The local outrage on Canton has led to a general war with China. There remains the question only, who is to carry on the war? The man who asserts that war to be just, is he not better enabled to push it on with vigor than his adversaries, getting in by passing sentence upon it?

During his interregnum will Palmerston not embroil matters to such a degree as to remain the indispensable man?

Then the mere fact of there taking place an electoral battle, will it not decide the question in his favor? For the greater part of the British electoral bodies, as at present constituted, an electoral battle means a battle between Whigs and Tories. Now, as he is the actual head of the Whigs, as his overthrow must bring the Tories in, will not the greater part of the so-called Liberals vote for Palmerston in order to oust Derby? Such are the true considerations upon which the Ministerialists rely. If their calculations prove correct, Palmerston's dictatorship, till now silently suffered, would be openly proclaimed. The new Parliamentary majority would owe their existence to the explicit profession of passive obedience to the minister. A coup d'état might then, in due course of time, follow Palmerston's appeal from the Parliament to the people, as it followed Bonaparte's appeal from the *Assemblée Nationale* to the nation.[285] That same people might then learn to their damage that Palmerston is the old colleague of the Castlereagh-Sidmouth Cabinet, who gagged the press, suppressed public meetings, suspended the Habeas Corpus act,[286] made it legal for the Cabinet to imprison and expulse at pleasure, and lastly butchered the people at Manchester for protesting against the Corn Laws.[287]

Written on March 13, 1857 Reproduced from the newspaper

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# Karl Marx

## [RUSSIAN TRADE WITH CHINA]

In the matter of trade and intercourse with China, of which Lord Palmerston and Louis Napoleon have undertaken the extension by force, no little jealousy is evidently felt of the position occupied by Russia. Indeed, it is quite possible that without any expenditure of money or exertion of military force Russia may gain more in the end, as a consequence of the pending quarrel with the Chinese, than either of the belligerent nations.

The relations of Russia to the Chinese Empire are altogether peculiar. While the English and ourselves—for in the matter of the pending hostilities the French are but little more than amateurs, as they really have no trade with China—are not allowed the privilege of a direct communication even with the Viceroy of Canton, the Russians enjoy the advantage of maintaining an Embassy at Pekin. It is said, indeed, that this advantage is purchased only by submitting to allow Russia to be reckoned at the Celestial Court as one of the tributary dependencies of the Chinese Empire. Nevertheless it enables Russian diplomacy, as in Europe, to establish an influence for itself in China which is by no means limited to purely diplomatic operations.

Being excluded from the maritime trade with China, the Russians are free from any interest or involvement in past or pending disputes on that subject; and they also escape that antipathy with which from time immemorial the Chinese have regarded all foreigners approaching their country by sea, confounding them, and not entirely without reason, with the piratical adventurers by whom the Chinese coasts seem ever to have been infested. But as an indemnity for this exclusion from the maritime trade, the Russians enjoy an inland and overland trade peculiar to

themselves, and in which it seems impossible for them to have any rival. This traffic, regulated by a treaty made in 1768,[288] during the reign of Catherine II, has for its principal, if not indeed its sole seat of operations, Kiakhta, situated on the frontiers of southern Siberia and of Chinese Tartary,[a] on a tributary of the Lake Baikal, and about a hundred miles south of the City of Irkootsk. This trade, conducted at a sort of annual fair, is managed by twelve factors, of whom six are Russians and six Chinese, who meet at Kiakhta, and fix the rates—since the trade is entirely by barter—at which the merchandise supplied by either party shall be exchanged. The principal articles of trade are, on the part of the Chinese, tea, and on the part of the Russians, cotton and woolen cloths. This trade, of late years, seems to have attained a considerable increase. The quantity of tea sold to the Russians at Kiakhta did not, ten or twelve years ago, exceed an average of forty thousand chests; but in 1852 it amounted to a hundred and seventy-five thousand chests, of which the larger part was of that superior quality well known to continental consumers as caravan tea, in contradistinction from the inferior article imported by sea. The other articles sold by the Chinese were some small quantities of sugar, cotton, raw silk and silk goods, but all to very limited amounts. The Russians paid about equally in cotton and woolen goods, with the addition of small quantities of Russian leather, wrought metals, furs and even opium. The whole amount of goods bought and sold—which seem in the published accounts to be stated at very moderate prices—reached the large sum of upward of fifteen millions of dollars. In 1853, owing to the internal troubles of China[289] and the occupation of the road from the tea provinces by bands of marauding rebels, the quantity of tea sent to Kiakhta fell off to fifty thousand chests, and the whole value of the trade of that year was but about six millions of dollars. In the two following years, however, this commerce revived, and the tea sent to Kiakhta for the fair of 1855 did not fall short of a hundred and twelve thousand chests.

In consequence of the increase of this trade, Kiakhta, which is situated within the Russian frontier, from a mere fort and fair-ground, has grown up into a considerable city. It has been selected as the capital of that part of the frontier region, and is to be dignified by having a military commandant and a civil governor. At the same time a direct and regular postal communi-

[a] Mongolia.—*Ed.*

cation for the transmission of official dispatches has lately been established between Kiakhta and Pekin, which is distant from it about nine hundred miles.

It is evident that, should the pending hostilities result in a suppression of the maritime trade, Europe might receive its entire supply of tea by this route. Indeed, it is suggested that even with the maritime trade open, Russia may, upon the completion of her system of railroads, become a powerful competitor with the maritime nations for supplying the European markets with tea. These railroads will supply a direct communication between the ports of Cronstadt and Libau and the ancient city of Nijni Novgorod in the interior of Russia, the residence of the merchants by whom the trade at Kiakhta is carried on. The supply of Europe with tea by this overland route is certainly more probable than the employment of our projected Pacific Railroad for that purpose. Silk, too, the other chief export of China, is an article of such small bulk in comparison to its cost, as to make its transportation by land by no means impossible; while this Chinese traffic opens an outlet for Russian manufactures, such as they cannot elsewhere attain.

We may observe, however, that the efforts of Russia are by no means limited to the development of this inland trade. It is several years since she took possession of the banks of the River Amour,[290] the native country of the present ruling race[a] in China. Her efforts in this direction received some check and interruption during the late war,[b] but will doubtless be revived and pushed with energy. She has possession of the Kurile Islands and the neighboring coasts of Kamtchatka. Already she maintains a fleet in those seas, and will doubtless improve any opportunity that may offer to obtain a participation in the maritime trade with China. This, however, is of little consequence to her compared with the extension of that overland trade of which she possesses the monopoly.

Written on about March 18, 1857

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

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[a] The Manchu dynasty of Ch'ing.—*Ed.*

[b] The Crimean war, 1853-56.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE ENGLISH ELECTION

London, March 20, 1857

The coming historian who is to write the history of Europe from 1848 to 1858, will be struck by the similarity of the appeal made to France by Bonaparte in 1851[291] and the appeal to the United Kingdom made by Palmerston in 1857. Both pretended to appeal from Parliament to the nation, from treacherous party coalition to the unsophisticated public mind. Both set forth analogous pleas. If Bonaparte was to save France from a social, Palmerston is to save England from an international crisis. Palmerston, like Bonaparte, is to vindicate the necessity of a strong executive against the empty talk and the intermeddling importunity of the legislative power. Bonaparte addressed himself at once to the conservatives and the revolutionists; to the former as the enemy of the aristocrats, to the latter as the enemy of middle-class usurpation. Palmerston, has he not insulted every despotic Government? Can he be obnoxious to any liberal? On the other hand, has he not betrayed every revolution? Must he not be the chosen of the conservatives? He opposed every reform, and the conservatives should not stand by him! He keeps the Tories out of office, and the liberal place-hunters should desert him! Bonaparte bears a name terrible to the foreigner, and identical with French glory. And does not Palmerston do the same with respect to the United Kingdom? At least, save some slight interruptions, he has kept the Foreign Office since 1830, since the days of reformed England,[292] and,

therefore, since the beginning of its modern history. Consequently, the international existence of England, however "terrible" or "glorious" it may happen to appear to foreign eyes, centers in the person of Lord Palmerston. Bonaparte by one stroke set at naught all the official great men of France, and does Palmerston not "kick into atoms" the Russells, the Grahams, the Gladstones, the Roebucks, the Cobdens, the Disraelis, and *tutti quanti*[a]? Bonaparte stood on no principle, he had no impediment, but he promised to give the country what it wanted, a man. And so does Palmerston. He is a man. His worst enemies dare not accuse him of being a principle.

The regime of the Assemblée Législative—was it not the regime of a coalition composed of Legitimists[293] and Orleanists,[294] with a sprinkling of bourgeois Republicans? Their very coalition proved the dissolution of the parties they represented, while the old party traditions did not allow them to merge in any but a negative unity. Such a negative unity is unfit for action; its acts can only be negative; it can only stop the way; hence the power of Bonaparte. Is the case not the same with Palmerston? The Parliament that has sat since 1852, was it not a coalition Parliament? and was it, therefore, from the outset, not incarnated in a coalition Cabinet? The Assemblée Nationale, when it was forcibly shut up by Bonaparte, ceased to possess a working majority. So did the House of Commons when Palmerston proclaimed its final dissolution. But here the simile ends. Bonaparte made his *coup d'état* before he appealed to the nation. Restrained by constitutional fetters, Palmerston must appeal to the nation before he attempts a *coup d'état.* In this respect it cannot be denied all the odds are on the side of Bonaparte. The massacres of Paris, the dragonnades in the provinces, the general state of siege, the proscriptions and deportations *en masse,* the bayonet placed behind and the cannon placed before the electoral urn, gave to the argumentations of the Bonapartist press (the only one not swept away by the December deluge) a sinister eloquence which its shallow sophistry, its abominable logic, and its nauseous floridness of adulation, were unable to deprive of persuasive force. Palmerston's case, on the contrary, grows the weaker the more his myrmidons inflate their lungs. Great diplomatist as he is, he has forgotten to bid his slaves be aware of the prescript of the lame who liked to lead the blind, to impress upon them Talleyrand's *"pas de zèle".*[b] And indeed,

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[a] All the rest.— *Ed.*
[b] No zeal.— *Ed.*

they have overdone their part. Take, for instance, the following dithyrambic uttered by a metropolitan organ:

"Palmerston for ever! is a cry which we hope to hear resounded from every hustings. ... The most devoted allegiance to Lord Palmerston is the first tenet to be insisted upon in the profession of faith of every candidate... It is indispensable that liberal candidates will be compelled to admit that Lord Palmerston as Premier is a political necessity of the hour. It is requisite that he should be recognized as the man of the time, not only as the coming man, but as the man that has come; not only as the man for the crisis, but as the man and the only living man for those conjunctures which are evidently impending upon our country... He is the idol of the hour, the pet of the people, the ascending as well as the risen sun."

No wonder that John Bull should prove reluctant to stand this, and that a reaction against the Palmerstonian fever should have set in.

Palmerston's person being proclaimed a policy, no wonder that his adversaries have made it a policy to sift his person. Indeed, we find that Palmerston, as if by magic, has worked the revival from the dead of all the fallen grandeurs of Parliamentary England. In proof of this assertion, the spectacle of Lord John Russell's (the Whig's) appearance before the metropolitan electors assembled at the London Tavern[a]; the exhibition made by Sir James Graham, the Peelite, before his Carlisle constituency[b]; and lastly, the performance of Richard Cobden, the representative of the Manchester school,[295] before the crowded meeting in the Free-Trade Hall at Manchester.[c] Palmerston has not acted like Hercules. He has not killed a giant by lifting him up to the air,[d] but he has reinvigorated dwarfs by throwing them back upon the earth. If any man had sunk in public estimation, it was certainly Lord John Russell, the father of all legislative abortions, the hero of expediency, the negotiator of Vienna,[296] the man in whose hand everything fatally dwindled to nothingness. Now look at his triumphal appearance before the London electors. Whence this change? It resulted simply from the circumstances in which Palmerston had put him. I, he said, am the father of the Test and Corporation act, of the Parliamentary Reform bill, of the

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[a] J. Russell's speech before the electors assembled at the London Tavern on March 19, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22633, March 20, 1857.— *Ed.*

[b] J. Graham's speech before the Carlisle constituents on March 16, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22632, March 19, 1857.— *Ed.*

[c] R. Cobden's speech before the Manchester constituents on March 18, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22633, March 20, 1857.— *Ed.*

[d] A reference to the myth about Antaeus.— *Ed.*

municipal corporation reform, of the tithes-question's settlement, of some liberal acts with respect to the Dissenters,[297] of others with respect to Ireland. In one word, I engross the substance of whatever was progressive in Whig policy. Are you to sacrifice me to a man who represents Whigism minus its popular elements, who represents Whigism not as a political party, but only as a place-hunting faction? And then he turned his very shortcomings to his advantage. I have always been an adversary of the ballot. Do you expect me now, because I am proscribed by Palmerston, to degrade myself by recanting my convictions and by pledging myself to radical reforms? No, shouted his auditory. Lord John ought at this moment not to be pledged to the ballot. It is greatness in the little man to confess himself, under present circumstances, a bit-by-bit reformer. Three cheers, and one more for John Russell without the ballot! And then he gave the last turn to the scale, by asking his audience whether they would allow a small coterie of opium dealers, at the bidding of Palmerston, to constitute themselves into an electioneering body to impose their government-hatched conclusions on the free electors of the metropolis, and to proscribe himself, Lord John Russell, their friend of 16 years' standing, at the bidding of Palmerston! No, no, shouted the auditory—down with the coterie! Long life to Lord John Russell! And he is now likely not only to be returned, but to head the poll in London.

The case of Sir James Graham was still more curious. If Lord John Russell had become ridiculous, Graham had become contemptible. But, said he to his Carlisle constituents, shall I be snuffed out like a candle that is burned down to the socket, or shall I slink away like a dog hunted off a race-course, because, once in my life, I acted conscientiously, and risked rather my political position than stoop to the dictation of a man? You have returned me as your representative in spite of all my infamies. Are you to dismiss me for one single good action I have committed? Certainly not, re-echoed the Carlisle electors.

In contradistinction to Russell and Graham, Mr. Cobden had, at Manchester, not to confront his own electors, but the electors of Bright and Gibson. He spoke not for himself, but for the Manchester School. His position waxed from this circumstance. The Palmerstonian cry at Manchester was more factitious than at any other place. The interests of the industrial capitalists differ essentially from those of the opium-smuggling merchants of London and Liverpool. The opposition raised at Manchester against Bright and Gibson was not founded upon the material

interests of the community, while the cry raised for Palmerston was antagonistic to all its traditions. It proceeded from two sources—from the high-priced press, endeavoring to revenge itself for the abolition of the newspaper stamp and the reduction of the advertisement duty,[298] and from that portion of rich and snobbish manufacturers who, jealous of the political eminency of Bright, try at playing the *bourgeois gentilhommes*,[a] and think that it would be fashionable and *bon ton* to rally under the aristocratic banner of Palmerston rather than under the sober programme of Bright. This peculiar character of the Palmerstonian coterie at Manchester enabled Cobden, for the first time since the Anti-Corn-Law-League agitation,[299] to take up again the position of a plebeian leader and to summon again the laboring classes to his banners. Masterly he improved that circumstance. The high ground he took up in his attack upon Palmerston may be judged from the following extract:

"Well, now there is a great question involved in this, which I think the people of this country ought to take very much to heart. Do you want the members of the House of Commons to look after your interests, and watch the expenditure—[yes, yes]—and to guard you from getting into needless and expensive wars? [Yes.] Well, but you are not going the right way to work, if what I learn in your newspapers is going to be verified in the course of the election, for I am told that those members who joined in that vigilant care of your interests, and voted according to the evidence before us on the question of that war are all to be ostracised—sent into private life—and that you are going to send up other men—[no, no]—to do what? to look after your interests? No, to go and do the humble dirty work of the minister of the hour [Loud cheers]. In fact, that you are going to constitute Lord Palmerston the despotic ruler of this country [No, no]. Well, but if he is not checked by Parliament—if the moment Parliament does check him he dissolves Parliament, and instead of sending up men who are independent enough to assert their and your rights, you send up mere creatures of his will, what is that but investing him with the powers of a despot? Ay, and let me tell you that it is a despotism of the clumsiest, most expensive kind, and at the same time the most irresponsible on the face of the earth; because you surround the minister with the sham appearance of a representative form of government; you cannot get at him while he has got a Parliament beneath whose shield he can shelter himself; and if you don't do your duty in your elections in sending men up to the House of Commons who will vigilantly watch the minister of the day, then, I say, you are in a worse plight because governed in a more irresponsible way than if under the King of Prussia or the Emperor of the French [Loud cheers]."[b]

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[a] An allusion to the main character in Molière's *Le bourgeois gentilhomme*. —*Ed.*

[b] R. Cobden's speech before the Manchester constituents on March 18, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22633, March 20, 1857.—*Ed.*

It will now be understood why Palmerston hurries on the elections. He can only vanquish by surprise, and time baffles surprise.

Written on March 20, 1857

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4980, April 6, 1857

# Karl Marx

## [ENGLISH ATROCITIES IN CHINA]

A few years since, when the frightful system of torture in India was exposed in Parliament Sir James Hogg, one of the Directors of the Most Honorable East India Company, boldly asserted that the statements made were unfounded. Subsequent investigation, however, proved them to be based upon facts which should have been well known to the Directors, and Sir James had left him to admit either "willful ignorance" or "criminal knowledge" of the horrible charge laid at the Company's doors. Lord Palmerston, the present Premier of England, and the Earl of Clarendon, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, seem just now to be placed in a similar unenviable position. At the late Lord Mayor's[a] banquet, the Premier, said, in his speech, while attempting to justify the atrocities committed upon the Chinese[b]:

"If the Government had, in this case, approved of unjustifiable proceedings, they had undoubtedly followed a course which deserved to incur the censure of Parliament and of the country. We were persuaded, however, on the contrary, that these proceedings were necessary and vital. We felt that a great wrong had been inflicted on our country. We felt that our fellow-countrymen in a distant part of the globe had been exposed to a series of insults, outrages and atrocities which could not be passed over in silence [Cheers]. We felt that the treaty rights of this country had been broken, and that those locally charged with the defense of our interests in that quarter of the world were not only justified, but obliged to resent those outrages, so far as the power in their hands would enable them to do so. We felt that we should be betraying the trust which the citizens of the country had reposed in us if we had not approved of the proceedings which we thought to be right, and which we, if placed in the same circumstances, should have deemed it our duty to have pursued [Cheers]."

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[a] Thomas Quested Finnis.—*Ed.*

[b] Palmerston's speech at the ministerial banquet at the Mansion House on March 20, 1857, *The Times,* No. 22634, March 21, 1857.—*Ed.*

Now, however much the people of England and the world at large may be deceived by such plausible statements, his Lordship himself certainly does not believe them to be true, or if he does, he has betrayed a willful ignorance almost as unjustifiable as "criminal knowledge". Ever since the first report reached us of English hostilities in China, the Government journals of England and a portion of the American Press have been heaping wholesale denunciations upon the Chinese—sweeping charges of violation of treaty obligations—insults to the English flag—degradation of foreigners residing on their soil, and the like, yet not one single distinct charge has been made or a single fact instanced in support of these denunciations, save the case of the lorcha *Arrow*, and, with respect to this case, the circumstances have been so misrepresented and glossed over by Parliamentary rhetoric as utterly to mislead those who really desire to understand the merits of the question.

The lorcha *Arrow* was a small Chinese vessel, manned by Chinese, but employed by some Englishmen. A license to carry the English flag had been temporarily granted to her, which license had expired prior to the alleged "insult". She is said to have been used to smuggle salt, and had on board of her some very bad characters—Chinese pirates and smugglers—whom, being old offenders against the laws, the authorities had long been trying to arrest. While lying at anchor in front of Canton—with sails furled, and no flag whatever displayed—the police became aware of the presence on board of these offenders, and arrested them—precisely such an act as would have taken place here, had the police along our wharves known that river-thieves and smugglers were secreted in a native or foreign vessel near by. But, as this arrest interfered with the business of the owners, the captain went to the English Consul[a] and complained. The Consul, a young man recently appointed, and, as we are informed, a person of a quick and irritable disposition, rushes on board *in propria persona*,[b] gets into an excited parley with the police, who have only discharged their simple duty, and consequently fails in obtaining satisfaction. Thence he rushes back to the Consulate, writes an imperative demand for restitution and apology to the Governor-General of the Quangtung Province, and a note to Sir John Bowring and Admiral Seymour at Hong-Kong, representing that he and his country's flag have been insulted beyond endurance, and intimat-

[a] Harry S. Parkes.—*Ed.*
[b] In person.—*Ed.*

ing in pretty broad terms that now is the time for a demonstration against Canton, such as had long been waited for.

Gov. Yeh politely and calmly responds to the arrogant demands of the excited young British Consul. He states the reason of the arrest, and regrets that there should have been any misunderstanding in the matter; at the same time he unqualifiedly denies the slightest intention of insulting the English flag, and sends back the men, whom, although lawfully arrested, he desired not to detain at the expense of so serious a misunderstanding. But this is not satisfactory to Mr. Consul Parkes—he must have an official apology, and a more formal restitution, or Gov. Yeh must abide the consequences. Next arrives Admiral Seymour with the British fleet, and then commences another correspondence, dogmatic and threatening, on the side of the Admiral; cool, unimpassioned, polite, on the side of the Chinese official. Admiral Seymour demands a personal interview within the walls of Canton. Gov. Yeh says this is contrary to all precedent, and that Sir George Bonham had agreed that it should not be required. He would readily consent to an interview, as usual, outside the walled town if necessary, or meet the Admiral's wishes in any other way not contrary to Chinese usage and hereditary etiquette. But this did not suit the bellicose representative of British power in the East.

Upon the grounds thus briefly stated—and the official accounts now before the people of England fully bear out the statement—this most unrighteous war has been waged. The unoffending citizens and peaceful tradesmen of Canton have been slaughtered, their habitations battered to the ground, and the claims of humanity violated, on the flimsy pretense that "English life and property are endangered by the aggressive acts of the Chinese!" The British Government and the British people—at least, those who have chosen to examine the question—know how false and hollow are such charges. An attempt has been made to divert investigation from the main issue, and to impress the public mind with the idea that a long series of injuries, preceding the case of the lorcha *Arrow*, form of themselves a sufficient *casus belli*. But these sweeping assertions are baseless. The Chinese have at least ninety nine injuries to complain of to one on the part of the English.

How silent is the press of England upon the outrageous violations of the treaty daily practiced by foreigners living in China under British protection! We hear nothing of the illicit opium trade, which yearly feeds the British treasury at the expense of human life and morality. We hear nothing of the constant bribery

of sub-officials, by means of which the Chinese Government is defrauded of its rightful revenue on incoming and outgoing merchandise. We hear nothing of the wrongs inflicted "even unto death" upon misguided and bonded emigrants sold to worse than Slavery on the coast of Peru and into Cuban bondage. We hear nothing of the bullying spirit often exercised against the timid nature of the Chinese, or of the vice introduced by foreigners at the ports open to their trade. We hear nothing of all this and of much more, first, because the majority of people out of China care little about the social and moral condition of that country; and secondly, because it is the part of policy and prudence not to agitate topics where no pecuniary advantage would result. Thus, the English people at home, who look no farther than the grocer's where they buy their tea, are prepared to swallow all the misrepresentations which the Ministry and the Press choose to thrust down the public throat.

Meanwhile, in China, the smothered fires of hatred kindled against the English during the opium war have burst into a flame of animosity, which no tenders of peace and friendship will be very likely to quench.[300]

Written on about March 22, 1857

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4984, April 10, 1857 as a leading article

# Karl Marx

## A TRAITOR IN CIRCASSIA

The following letter, is extracted from the *Pester Lloyd.*

"Circassian Head-quarters, Tuabs, Feb. 26.

"By means of the British steamer *Kangaroo* you will receive this letter, which will perhaps convey to Europe the first information of an event that may have very great influence on the future fate of the Circassian nations. It is known to you that Mehemed Bey (Bangya), to whose person I am attached, has acceded to the wishes of the chiefs and deputies of the Circassian tribes, and has accepted the post of commander-in-chief. On Monday the 23rd of February, we landed at Tuabs, where we have our head-quarters. Before our departure, Mehemed Bey engaged a couple of hundred excellent military instructors for the different arms, and they accompanied us hither. Mehemed Bey has already been solemnly proclaimed General-in-chief of the Circassian forces. The princes, nobles, and deputies of the people have sworn on the Koran to obey him, and a deputation of the Circassian diet has to-day sent in the flag of the prophet, which is the symbol of the highest power. The enthusiasm was very great when the new commander swore fidelity to the sacred standard. (The flag itself is green, and on it is a white sword with the crescent and the star.) The excitement is great, and the Circassians have resolved to obtain their complete independence or to perish in the struggle for it. It is expected that 150,000 (?) men will be in the field by the month of May. 'Russia,' said Mehemed Bey to me just now, 'will soon have an opportunity of convincing herself that a *new spirit* prevails.' I know the materials which are placed at my disposal (Mehemed Bey was with the Circassians during the late war), and am of opinion that a nation, which, without a military organization, could resist its enemy during thirty years, will, when properly organized, be able to *achieve* its complete independence. You may expect to receive some important news from these mountains in the coming spring. You shall have from me as early information of what happens as our means of communication will permit."

Bangya was a Hungarian chief, attached first to Kossuth, and afterwards to Szemere; was a refugee in England in 1851 and 1852, was employed by the Prussians *and* by the French Government as a spy, and of course must have an understanding

with their common master; now he goes under English auspices to Circassia, where a *new spirit* is to prevail. The old spirit was anti-Russia, the new must be Russia—Circassia is to *achieve* an independence which she has never lost, and to crown the whole, a Parliament is invented which has yet to be created.

Written on about March 25, 1857

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The Free Press*, No. 34, April 1, 1857

# Karl Marx

## THE DEFEAT OF COBDEN, BRIGHT AND GIBSON[301]

London, March 31, 1857

"The mass of candidates put forward their intention to give a general support to Lord Palmerston, as their best claim to be returned as representatives of public opinion in the new Parliament. ...Palmerston will enter the House, not as the head of a Conservative, or a Whig, or a Peelite,[302] or a Radical party, but as the leader of the English people, and as the great designer and administrator of a national party."[a]

Such are the words of *The Morning Post,* Lord Palmerston's private organ. Palmerston as dictator, the new Parliament as his *corps législatif*[303]—such is their meaning, which the electoral bulletins seem to warrant. As to the "public opinion" spoken of by *The Post,* it has been justly said that Palmerston manufactures one half of it, and laughs at the other half.

The complete rout of the Manchester School[304]—Bright and Milner Gibson being unseated at Manchester, Cobden at Huddersfield, Sir E. Armitage at Salford, Fox at Oldham and Miall at Rochdale—is the great event of the electoral battle. The issue of the Manchester election particularly took every one by surprise, even the Palmerston Government. How little stress it had laid upon the chances of victory in that quarter may be inferred from its unsettled and hesitating conduct. First, on the receipt of some Manchester addresses, Palmerston threatened to proceed himself to Cottonopolis, hurling defiance at his antagonists on "their own dunghill." On second thought, however, he shrank back. Then Bob Lowe, the Ministerial understrapper, came forward. Invited by a coterie of great mill lords to stand for Manchester, and receiving pledges that, if defeated, a sum of £2,000 should be

[a] *The Morning Post,* No. 25971, March 27, 1857, leading article.—*Ed.*

handed to him, which might enable him to buy one of the county rotten boroughs,[305] he publicly accepted the offer, and allowed an electioneering committee to set out canvassing in his name. Then came Mr. Cobden's great Manchester speech.[a 306] Palmerston now bid Lowe retract, which he did. On further reflection still, the Manchester attempt appeared so destitute of all elements of success that *The Times* was ordered to play the part of the fox in the fable.[b] Bob Lowe had to write a leader insisting upon the re-election of Bright & Co., and warning Manchester not to disgrace itself by the repudiation of its old representatives. When, in spite of all these misgivings, the electric wire flashed to Downing street the news of Cobden's defeat, of Bright's and Gibson's rejection, and by overwhelming majorities, too, judge of the rapturous delight and the maddening cries of triumph in the Ministerial camp. As to Palmerston himself, he thought perhaps that he had been too successful for his own purposes—keenly aware, as the old trickster is, that to paralyze even a giant, you have only to get him into the House of Commons, while to hasten the breaking down of that House itself—of its basis, the privileged constituencies, and its superstructure, Ministerial usurpation—you have only to turn out its eminent members and throw them on the street, thus giving chiefs of note to the disinherited multitude outside the gates of the "British Constitution."

The defeat of the Manchester School in their own strongholds, by the bulk of their own army, bears all the appearances of a personal triumph on the part of Palmerston, not only because Cobden and Gibson moved the vote of censure, which was to drive him from the Cabinet, and which afforded the pretext for the dissolution of Parliament. A deadly antagonism of principles and situations seems to resume itself in the persons of Palmerston on the one side, of Bright, Cobden & Co., on the other. Palmerston, the trumpet of national glory, they, the organs of industrial interests; the diplomatic Viscount concentrating in his person all the usurpations of the British oligarchy, the *parvenu* demagogues representing all the vitality of the British middle classes; he deriving his strength from the decay of parties, they owing their force to the struggle of classes—the last unscrupulous incarnation of old Toryism against the chiefs of the new defunct Anti-Corn-Law League.[307] Thus the defeat of Cobden, Bright & Co. appears

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[a] R. Cobden's speech in the Freetrade Hall, Manchester, on March 18, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22633, March 20, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] Aesop, "The Fox and the Crow".—*Ed.*

as a personal triumph of Palmerston, the more their victorious opponents on the hustings can claim no importance of their own. Sir John Potter, for instance, the opponent of Bright, is only known as the fattest man of Manchester. He would go under the name of the Manchester Sir John Falstaff, if his small wit and his long purse did not protect him from being compared to that immortal knight. A. Turner, Milner Gibson's opponent, rested his personal claims on the fact of his being a commonplace man who would never hurt the feelings of his fellow-citizens by unpleasant pretensions to genius or brilliancy. Mr. Akroyd, finally, the opponent of Cobden, accused the latter of being an imperial man, while he (Akroyd) had never been anything, and would certainly never be anything beyond a plain Huddersfield man. All of them gloried in being not men of talent but of character, which latter gift was sure to preclude them from falling, like their predecessors, into the fault of "opposing all Governments," and of sacrificing, like Milner Gibson, lucrative offices to theoretical crotchets.

Yet, in spite of appearances, the appeal of Palmerston against Cobden and Co.[a] afforded, not the cause, but only the pretext for the explosion of combustible materials which, for a long time, were gathering round the precincts of the Manchester School. Manchester forming the nucleus of the party, and Bright being acknowledged as its true hero, it will suffice to consider his defeat to account for the simultaneous failure of his companions in arms at other manufacturing places. There were, first, the old Whigs and Tories of Manchester, eager to revenge themselves for their political nullity since the days of the Anti-Corn-Law League. The elections of 1852, when Bright carried it over them by a majority of 100 votes only, had already shown their numerical force to be by no means contemptible. Unable, as they certainly were, to vanquish under their own banners, they formed a powerful contingent for any seceding corps of the Bright army. Then, in second line, came the leaders of the high-priced press, with their inveterate rancor and lurid malignity against the parliamentary godfathers of the penny press.[308] Mr. Garnett, the editor of *The Manchester Guardian,* stirred heaven and earth against Bright, and proved indefatigable in clothing in more or less decent garbs the shabby motives of the anti-Bright coalition—an attempt facilitated by the unpopularity Bright and Cobden had incurred at the time

[a] A reference to Lord Palmerston's speech at the meeting in Tiverton on March 27, 1857.—*Ed.*

of the Russian war.[309] At that period they could, indeed, not venture upon fronting a public meeting at Manchester, but had to hide themselves in select tea-parties at Newall's buildings, the old abode of the Anti-Corn-Law League. Of the liberal bourgeoisie, the mill lords and the large commercial firms, an overwhelming majority voted against Bright; of the petty middle class and the shopocracy, that numerous minority only which everywhere in the United Kingdom sticks to the heels of its "natural superiors," Quakers[310] and Irishmen, stood like one man for Bright. Whence this secession of the liberal bourgeoisie? To a great extent it is explained by the impatience of the rich "men of Manchester" to become "gentlemen," like their rivals at Liverpool. If they had borne with the superiority of a man of genius like Bright so long as he was the indispensable tool of their class-interests, they now thought the opportunity ripe for indulging the envious ostracism of well-to-do mediocrities. However, they rebelled not only against his personal superiority, but still more against the superannuated pretensions of the Anti-Corn-Law League rump, which weighed upon Manchester somewhat as the Rump Parliament[311] did upon the Commonwealth of England; periodically assembling under the presidency of Mr. Wilson, that "venerable fixture" and a retired starch merchant by profession, supported on the platform by Mr. Robinson, the honorary Secretary of the League, and other men without social standing or personal eminence, whom the billows of a tempest-beaten period had thrown on the surface, who obstinately refused to subside, and could, indeed, show no cause for their protracted appearance on the political stage, but the worn-out tradition of the past, and the conventional lie of the present, of playing Manchester whenever Bright wanted to call it up. One of the leaders of the rebellion, Mr. Entwistle, declared roundly on the hustings:

> "It is not the question of the Chinese war, or of the Russian war, or of any war at all. The question is, whether Manchester shall any longer submit to the dictation of the remnant of the party that assembles at Newall's buildings."

In finally burying the incubus of the Anti-Corn-Law League rump, the Manchester mill lords, while flattering themselves that they were closing the doors of their Jacobin club, were, of course, not aware that they were sweeping away the main obstruction to a new revolutionary movement.

The rationale, however, of the Manchester election was betrayed by a drunken anti-Bright man, who, during the polling, kept on crying vociferously: "We won't have home policy; we want foreign

policy." In other words: Away with reform questions and class struggles! After all, the middle classes form the majority of electors, and that is all we want. The cry against the aristocracy has become tiresome, unprofitable, and is only stirring up the working men. We have got free trade, and feel marvelously at our ease, especially since the reduction of the war income tax. We dearly love a lord for all that. "We won't have home policy; we want foreign policy." Let all of us unite on that ground where we are all equals, on the national ground. Let us all be Englishmen, true John Bulls, under the leadership of the truly British Minister, Lord Palmerston.[312]

The true secret, then, of the Manchester election is, the abdication on the part of the mill lords of the revolutionary leadership they had usurped during the Anti-Corn-Law League agitation.

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# Frederick Engels

## [A NEW ENGLISH EXPEDITION TO CHINA]

Should the quarrel which the English have picked with the Chinese be pushed to extremity, it may be expected to end in a new military and naval expedition similar to that undertaken in 1841-42, on the basis of the opium quarrel.[313] The easy success of the English on that occasion, in extorting an immense sum of silver from the Chinese, will be apt to recommend a new experiment of the same sort to a people who, with all their horror of *our* filibustering propensities, still retain, not less than ourselves, not a little of the old plundering buccaneering spirit which distinguished our common ancestors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Yet remarkable changes in the position of things in China, which have occurred since that former successful plundering inroad on behalf of the opium trade, make it very doubtful whether a similar expedition at the present day would be attended by anything like a similar result. The new expedition would doubtless set out, like that of 1841-42, from the island of Hong-Kong. That expedition consisted of a fleet of two seventy-fours, eight frigates, a great number of sloops and brigs-of-war, twelve steamers, and forty transports, having on board a military force, marines included, amounting to fifteen thousand men. The new expedition would hardly be attempted with any smaller force; indeed, some of the considerations we are about to state would indicate the policy of making it much larger.

The expedition of 1841-42, sailing from Hong-Kong on the 21st of August, 1841, took possession first of Amoy, and then, on the 1st of October, of the Island of Chusan, which they made the base of their future operations. The object of these operations was to penetrate into and ascend the great central river Yang-tse-Kiang

as far as the City of Nankin, about two hundred miles from its mouth. The river Yang-tse-Kiang divides China into two quite distinct portions—the North and the South. About forty miles below Nankin the Imperial Canal enters and crosses the great river, affording the means of commercial intercourse between the northern and southern provinces. The theory of the campaign was that the possession of this important communication would be a fatal thing for Pekin, and would force the Emperor[a] to make peace forthwith. On the 13th of June, 1842, the English forces, under Sir Henry Pottinger, appeared off Woosung, at the entrance of the small river of that name. This river flows from the south, entering the estuary of the Yang-tse-Kiang very near its débouché into the Yellow Sea. The mouth of the Woosung River forms the harbor of Shanghae, situated a short distance up. The banks of the Woosung were covered with batteries, all of which were stormed and carried without difficulty. A column of the invading force then marched on Shanghae, which surrendered without any attempt at resistance. But, though little resistance was as yet experienced from the peaceful and timid inhabitants on the banks of the Yang-tse-Kiang, who, after a prolonged peace of nearly two hundred years, had now their first experience of war, the estuary itself, and the approach to it from the sea, were found to present great impediments. The broad estuary of the Yang-tse-Kiang enters the sea from between shores half covered with mud, and hardly discernible, as the sea for many leagues[b] off is a muddy yellow, whence comes its name. Ships intending to enter the Yang-tse-Kiang are obliged to move cautiously along the southern shore, keeping the lead constantly going, in order to avoid the bars of movable sand with which the approach is impeded. These banks extend up the estuary as high as the upper end of the great island Tsang-Ming, which lies midway in it and divides it into two channels. Above this island, which is some thirty miles long, the shores begin to show themselves above the water, but the course of the channel becomes very serpentine. The tide flows up as far as Ching-Kiang-Foo, about half way to Nankin, and where, in fact, what has hitherto been an estuary or arm of the sea, first takes on, for ascending vessels, the character of a river. Before making this point, the English fleet met with some serious difficulties. It took them fifteen days to make the distance of eighty miles from their anchorage at Chusan. Near the Island

[a] Tao Kuang.—*Ed.*
[b] One nautical league equals 5.56 km.—*Ed.*

of Tsang-Ming several of the larger ships ran aground, but succeeded in getting off by the help of the rising tide. Having conquered these difficulties and approached the city of Ching-Kiang, the English found abundant proof that, however deficient the Tartar-Chinese soldiers might be in military skill, they were not lacking in courage and spirit. These Tartar soldiers, who were only fifteen hundred in number, fought with the utmost desperation, and were killed to a man. Before they marched to the battle, as if anticipating the result, they strangled or drowned all their women and children, great numbers of whose dead bodies were afterward drawn from the wells into which they had been thrown. The Commander-in-Chief, seeing that the day was lost, set fire to his house and perished in the flames. The English lost a hundred and eighty-five men in the attack—a loss which they revenged by the most horrible excesses in sacking the town—the war having been conducted by the English throughout in a spirit of brutal ferocity, which was a fitting counterpart to the spirit of smuggling cupidity in which it had originated. Had the invaders met with a similar resistance everywhere they never would have reached Nankin. But such was not the case. The city of Qua-Chow, on the opposite side of the river, submitted and paid a ransom of three millions of dollars, which the English freebooters of course pocketed with immense satisfaction.

Above this point, the channel of the river had a depth of thirty fathoms,[a] and, so far as the bottom was concerned, the navigation became easy, but at some points the current ran with great swiftness, not less than six and seven miles an hour. There was nothing, however, to prevent ships-of-the-line from ascending to Nankin, under the walls of which the English at length cast anchor on the 9th of August. The effect thus produced was exactly what had been anticipated. The Emperor was frightened into signing the treaty of the 29th of August,[314] the pretended violation of which is now made the occasion of new demands which threaten a new war.

That new war, should it occur, will probably be conducted on the model of the former one. But there are several reasons why the English could not anticipate a similar easy success. The experience of that war has not been lost on the Chinese. In the recent military operations in Canton River they have exhibited such improved skill in gunnery and the art of defense as to lead to the suspicion of their having Europeans among them. In

[a] One nautical fathom equals 1.83 m.—*Ed.*

everything practical, and war is eminently practical, the Chinese far surpass all the Orientals, and there is no doubt that in military matters the English will find them apt scholars. Again, it is likely that the English may encounter artificial obstacles to the ascent of the Yang-tse-Kiang, should they again attempt it, such as do not appear to have been met with on the former occasion. But,—what is the most serious consideration of all—the reoccupation of Nankin cannot be supposed to be attended with anything like the same terror and alarm to the Imperial Court at Pekin which it caused on the former occasion. Nankin, for a considerable period past, as well as large portions of the surrounding districts, has been in possession of the rebels, one or more of whose chiefs make that city their headquarters.[315] In this state of the case its occupation by the English might be rather agreeable to the Emperor than otherwise. They might do him good service in driving the rebels from a city which, when they had got it, might prove a possession rather difficult, troublesome and dangerous to keep, and which, as recent experience has shown, may be held by a hostile power without any immediately fatal results to Pekin or the Imperial rule.

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# Karl Marx

## RESULT OF THE ELECTION

London, April 7, 1857

The electoral lists are being closed. Their clearest sum is Palmerston's triumph, a great change in the *personnel* of the House, involving about one-fourth of its members, and its unprecedented loss in intellectual character. The computations, however, of the English papers as to the numerical force of the Ministerial majority, their bickerings and squabbles about these computations, and still more, their classifications under exploded rubrics of the newly-returned members, are silly work altogether. While *The Morning Post,* for instance, glories in a Ministerial majority of 80 votes, the Disraeli *Press* estimates the loss of its own men at four in the boroughs and about 20 in the counties. According to *The London Times,* the exclusion of the Peelites and the Manchester men[316] and professional Protectionists has restored Parliament to its *status quo ante,*[a] and delivered it back to its legitimate owners, the antediluvian parties of Whigs and Tories. It would fain persuade the world that

> "the British people have gone back to what they were some thirty years ago."[b]

The Disraeli *Press* is not very far from indorsing *The Times*'s opinion. This optimist creed, with which the oligarchy may try to comfort themselves, is, however, no more absurd than that of the sham Radicals, such as *The Examiner.*

> "A Reform Parliament," says it, "answers to Lord Palmerston's appeal."

He has asked for a lot of lackeys, and the enlightened country, that is to say, a small minority of privileged electors, returns his

[a] Former state.—*Ed.*
[b] *The Times,* No. 22648, April 7, 1857, leading article.—*Ed.*

compliment by sending him a band of tribunes of the people! While roaring "Palmerston forever!" they are only playing a trick on the wily Viscount! If the new Parliament initiate a great movement, it will be certainly no fault of its own, and Great Britain, like Sinbad the Sailor, will find it more difficult to throw off the old man than to saddle him on her shoulders.[a]

In comparing the new House to its predecessors, it seems opportune to begin with the old parliamentary sections that have completely vanished during the electoral struggle—the Peelite fraction and the Manchester School.

In contradistinction to Whigs, Tories and the Manchester School, the Peelite fraction did not represent a class or fractions of a class. They were a mere Parliamentary clique, which, without the walls of both Houses, might number friends, but could never muster an army. Relics of a bygone administration; estranged from the Tories by the Corn-Law[317] treason of their late chief[b]; loth to dissolve in the Whig ranks from the memory of old feuds, and the conviction, cherished by themselves and accepted to a certain degree by the public, that the administrative talent of the country centered in them; prevented by their aristocratic connections from mixing into one mass with the Manchester School, sure of influencing Parliamentary debates from the rhetorical ability of some of their members,—this pretentious nucleus of self-styled statesmen fluctuated uncertain, impossible of classification, and representing under the form of a peculiar Parliamentary party the decomposition of all Parliamentary parties effected by Peel's free-trade legislation. This principle of dissolution to which they owed their origin, they worked out by helping to overthrow the Derby Ministry, and by giving their nominal chief[c] to the combination of parties known as the Coalition Cabinet or the Cabinet of all the talents.[318] On the visible precipitation of the Parliamentary dissolving process, on their band devolved the honor of hoisting the colors under which the mutual suicide of the old parties was to be consummated. While thus securing to themselves for a moment a supreme position, they were simultaneously destroying the only reason for their existence as a separate body. The joint stock power of the combined parties ended necessarily in their common impotence and their joint prostration before one man. The Peelites held the ladder on which Palmerston mounted.

[a] *Tausend und eine Nacht.* Geschichte Sinbads des Seefahrers. Fünfte Reise.— *Ed.*
[b] Robert Peel.— *Ed.*
[c] George Aberdeen.— *Ed.*

Having already, in 1852, lost half of their forces on the electoral battle-field, the elections of 1857 have swept away their whole rank and file. The two Phillimores, Lord Hervey, Sir G. Clark, Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord W. Powlett, A. Gordon, Sutton, Harcourt, Lushington, Smythe, Sir J. W. Hogg of East Indian memory, Roundell Palmer, and lastly, Mr. Cardwell, are all gone. The last-named gentleman had, on Palmerston's accession to the Premiership, had the Chancellorship of the Exchequer offered to him, which he declined, however, on the advice of Gladstone, Graham & Co. Yet, in the dying session of the now buried House of Commons, hoping to take the wind out of Gladstone's sails, he seceded from his friends and voted on the Budget division with Palmerston. Finally, during the Canton debates, being apprehensive lest the tide should turn, he again shifted sides, returned to the Peelite circle, and countersigned Mr. Cobden's motion of censure. This gentleman is thus a true pattern of the curious association, distinctive of the Peelite clique, of moral nicety with unscrupulous place-hunting. The whole Peelite rank and file being now gone to the wall, there remain only its three generals, Mr. Gladstone, Sir James Graham and Mr. Herbert, three units unable to form a trinity, opposite as they are to one another by origin and predilections; Sir James Graham having started into public life from Radicalism, Mr. Gladstone from high Toryism, and Mr. Herbert as a nondescript.

One revelation made by Mr. Herbert on the hustings to his South Wilts constituents is characteristic of the manner in which Palmerston *did* the Peelites. Nothing had made them so unpopular as the conduct of the Russian war, and especially the sparing of Odessa,[319] which was accounted for by Mr. Herbert being the nephew of Prince Woronzoff. Foremost in spreading the envenomed calumny were Palmerston's myrmidons, such as *The Morning Post, The Sun,* and *The Morning Advertiser.* Now, Mr. Herbert told his electors that he had actually signed an order to attack Odessa, and that on his secession from office Lord Palmerston issued the order to spare the place.[a] This ranks on one line with Lord John Russell's revelation on the City of London hustings.[b] He notoriously broke down in consequence of his Vienna Embassy.[320] During the election turmoil, the beery *Morning*

[a] S. Herbert's speech before the electors of the Southern division of Wiltshire on April 1, 1857, *The Times,* No. 22644, April 2, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Russell's speech before the electors of the City of London on March 27, 1857, *The Times,* No. 22640, March 28, 1857.—*Ed.*

*Advertiser,* the licensed victualers' own paper and Palmerston's mob-organ—he has organs of all sorts and for all tastes, from the fashionable saloon to the tap-room—almost drowned its hoary voice in the cry of Russell's great Vienna treason. Provoked by these impudent tactics, Russell found at last the courage to tell the world that Lord Clarendon had refused him the permission to publish the instructions drawn up by Palmerston himself, written in his own handwriting, and dictating that very Vienna policy for which he (Russell) had once lost his popularity. A Greek philosopher said that his compatriots, the poets, had invented worse stories about the Hellenic gods than any man would dare tell of his deadliest enemy. Modern France and England exalt as their gods Bonapartes and Palmerstons, who want no poets to blacken them.

From what has been said, it is evident that the few Peelite generals who have outlived their army will reappear in Parliament no longer in their corporate, but in their individual capacity only. As an individual, Mr. Gladstone, now cleared from the obstructions of a coterie, roused by passion, and undoubtedly the greatest orator in the new Commons, may play a more conspicuous part than ever before. During their protracted Parliamentary duel, Gladstone and Disraeli, as occurs sometimes in ardent encounters, have from time to time dropped each his own weapons to seize those of his adversary. To a certain degree Gladstone has laid hold on Disraeli's polemical pungency, while Disraeli has caught Gladstone's pompous unction—Disraeli being hardly the winner in this exchange.

In taking leave of the Peelites, we may still point out the satire of history which, dating the birth of that fraction from the decomposition by the Anti-Corn-Law League of the old Parliamentary parties, registers its death simultaneously with the Parliamentary extinction of the Manchester School.

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# Karl Marx

## CONDITION OF FACTORY LABORERS

London, April 7, 1857

The reports of the Inspectors of Factories, which have been recently issued for the half year ending 31st October, 1856,[a] form a valuable contribution to the social anatomy of the United Kingdom. They will not a little help to explain the reactionary attitude taken by the mill-lords during the present general election.

During the Session of 1856, a Factory Act[b] was smuggled through Parliament by which the "radical" mill-lords first altered the law in regard to the fencing of mill-gearing and machinery, and secondly introduced the principle of arbitration in the disputes between masters and men. The one law purported to provide for the better protection of the limbs and lives of the factory laborers; the other to place that protection under cheap courts of equity.[321] In fact, the latter law intended to cheat the factory laborer out of law, and the former to cheat him out of his limbs. I quote from the joint report of the inspectors:

"Under the new statute, persons whose *ordinary occupation* brings them near to mill-gearing, and who are consequently well acquainted with the dangers to which their employment exposes them, and with the necessity of caution, are protected by the law; while protection has been *withdrawn* from those who may be obliged, in the execution of special orders, to suspend their ordinary occupation and to place themselves in positions of danger, of the existence of which they are not conscious, and from which, by reason of their ignorance, they are unable to protect

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[a] *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, for the Half Year Ending 31st October 1856.—Ed.*

[b] "An Act for the Further Amendment of the Laws Relating to Labour in Factories".— *Ed.*

themselves, but who, on that very account, would appear to require the special protection of the Legislature."[a]

The arbitration clause, in its turn, prescribes that the arbitrators shall be chosen from persons "skilled in the construction of the kind of machinery" by which bodily harm is inflicted. In one word, engineers and machine-makers are entrusted with the monopoly of arbitration.

"It appears to us," say the Inspectors, "that engineers and machine-makers ought to be considered *as disqualified* to act as factory arbitrators, by reason of their connection in trade with the factory occupiers, who are their customers."[b]

Under such provisions, it is not to be wondered at that the number of accidents arising from machinery, such as death, amputations of hands, arms, legs or feet, fracture of limbs and bones, of head and face, lacerations, contusions, &c., amount, during the six months ending on the 31st October, 1856, to the appalling number of 1,919. Twenty cases of death, inflicted by machinery, are registered in the industrial bulletin for half a year—about ten times the number lost by the British Navy during its glorious Canton massacre.[322] Since the mill-lords, so far from endeavoring to protect the lives and limbs of their laborers, are thus only bent on escaping payment for arms and legs lost in their service, and shifting the cost of the wear and tear of their animated machines from their own shoulders, it need not surprise us that, according to the official reports,

"overworking, in violation of the factory act, is on the *increase*."

Overworking in the terms of that act means employing young persons for a longer time per day than is legally allowed. This is done in various ways: By beginning work before six in the morning, by not stopping it at six in the evening, and by abridging the terms the law has fixed for the meals of the workpeople. There are three periods of the day when the steam-engine starts, viz., when the work begins in the morning, and when it is resumed after the two meals of breakfast and dinner; and there are three periods when it stops, viz., at the beginning of each meal-time and when the work ceases in the evening. Thus there are six opportunities when five minutes may be stolen, or half an hour each day. Five minutes a day's increased work, multiplied by

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[a] "Half-Yearly Joint Report of the Inspectors of Factories", *Reports of the Inspectors...*, p. 3.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 7.—*Ed.*

weeks, is equal to two and one-half days of produce in the year; but the fraudulent overworking goes far beyond that amount. I quote Mr. Leonard Horner, the Factory Inspector for Lancashire:

"The profit to be gained by such illegal overworking appears to be a greater temptation than the manufacturers can resist. They calculate upon the chance of not being found out; and when they see the small amount of penalty and costs which those who have been convicted have had to pay, they find that if they should be detected there will still be a considerable balance of gain."[a]

Beside the trifling fines imposed by the factory act, the mill-owners took good care to have it so framed, that the greatest facilities are afforded for passing by its enactments, and as the inspectors unanimously declare, "almost insuperable difficulties prevent them from putting an effective stop to the illegal working." They also concur in stigmatizing the willful commission of fraud by persons of large property; the mean contrivances to which they have recourse in order to elude detection; and the base intrigues they set on foot against the inspectors and sub-inspectors entrusted with the protection of the factory slave. In bringing forward a charge of overworking, the inspectors, sub-inspectors, or their constables, must be prepared to swear that the men have been employed at illegal hours. Now, suppose they appear after 6 o'clock in the evening. The manufacturing machinery is immediately stopped, and although the people could be there for no other purpose than attending upon it, the charge cannot be sustained, by reason of the wording of the act. The workmen are then sent out of the mill in great haste, often more doors than one facilitating their rapid dispersion. In some instances the gas was extinguished, when the sub-inspectors entered the room, leaving them suddenly in darkness among complicated machinery. In those places which have acquired a notoriety for overworking, there is an organized plan for giving notice at the mills of the approach of an inspector, servants at railway stations and at inns being employed for this purpose.

These vampyres, fattening on the life-blood of the young working generation of their own country, are they not the fit companions of the British opium smugglers, and the natural supporters of the "truly British Ministers[323]?"

The reports of the factory inspectors prove beyond doubt that the infamies of the British factory system are growing with its growth; that the laws enacted for checking the cruel greediness of

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[a] [L. Horner,] "Report of Leonard Horner, Esq., Inspector of Factories, for the Half Year Ended the 31st October 1856", ibid., p. 34.—*Ed.*

the mill-lords are a sham and a delusion, being so worded as to baffle their own ostensible end and to disarm the men entrusted with their execution; that the antagonism between the mill-lords and the operatives is rapidly approaching the point of actual social war; that the number of children under 13 years, absorbed by that system, is increasing in some branches, and that of females in all; that, although the same number of hands are employed in proportion to the horse-power as at former periods, there are fewer hands employed in proportion to the machinery; that the steam-engine is enabled to drive a greater weight of machinery than ten years before by economy of force; that an increased quantity of work is now turned off by increase of speed of the machinery and other contrivances; and that the mill-lords are rapidly filling their pockets.

The interesting statistical facts illustrated in the Reports may properly claim further notice. Thus much will be understood at once, that the industrial slaveholders of Lancashire are in want of a foreign policy able to distract attention from home questions.

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# Karl Marx

## THE ENGLISH FACTORY SYSTEM

London, April 10, 1857

The Reports of the Inspectors of Factories in the United Kingdom for 1856[a] contain detailed returns relating to factory statistics, such as the number of factories, the amount of horse-power employed, the quantity of machinery, and the number of persons set to work. Similar returns were ordered by the House of Commons in 1835, 1838 and 1850, the information being compiled from schedules filled up by the mill-owners. Ample materials are thus afforded for comparing different periods of the factory system, which, in its legal sense, comprises the manufactories only where steam or water-power is employed for the production of textile fabrics.

The most characteristic feature of the social history of the United Kingdom during the last six years is, undoubtedly, to be found in the rapid extension of that system.

The following are the numbers of factories at the dates of the last three returns[b]:

| | 1838. | 1850. | 1856. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cotton Factories | 1,819 | 1,932 | 2,210 |
| Woolen Factories | 1,322 | 1,497 | 1,505 |
| Worsted Factories | 416 | 501 | 525 |
| Flax Factories | 392 | 393 | 417 |
| Silk Factories | 268 | 277 | 460 |
| Total | 4,217 | 4,600 | 5,117 |

[a] *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, for the Half Year Ending 30th April and 31st October 1856.—Ed.*

[b] "Half-Yearly Joint Report of the Inspectors of Factories", *Reports of the Inspectors ... for the Half Year Ending 31st October 1856,* p. 11.— *Ed.*

The average increase of factories, therefore, which from 1838 to 1850 had been at the rate of 32 per annum, was almost tripled from 1850 to 1856, when it reached the rate of 86 yearly. An analysis of the aggregate increase during either epoch is given in the following summary[a]:

| Aggregate Increase from 1838 to 1850. | Per Cent. |
|---|---|
| Cotton Factories | 6 |
| Woolen | 13 |
| Worsted | 20 |

| Aggregate Increase from 1850 to 1856. | Per Cent. |
|---|---|
| Cotton Factories | 14.2 |
| Woolen | 0.5 |
| Worsted | 4.7 |
| Flax | 6.1 |
| Silk | 66.0 |

From this table, it will be seen that during the former period the increase was confined to the cotton, woolen and worsted manufacture, while in the latter period it also embraces the flax and silk factories. The proportions in which the various branches share in the aggregate increase differ also in the two periods. During 1838-50, the principal increase took place in the worsted and woolen trade, the latter of which appears almost stationary from 1850-56, and the former falling back to a four times lesser speed of expansion. On the other hand, cotton and silk top the movement during the latter period, the silk manufacture occupying the first rank in the proportional increase, and the cotton manufacture when the absolute increase is considered.

The localities of this expansion have varied considerably, there taking place a migration, as it were, from one part of the country to the other. Hand in hand with the general increase, there goes a local decrease, amounting in many counties and boroughs to a complete extinction of manufactories before existing. The general law ruling these changes of decay as well as of growth is the same law which pervades modern industry in all its directions—the law of concentration. Thus Lancashire, and the parts of Yorkshire adjoining it—the principal seat of the cotton manufacture—have drawn the trade from other parts of the kingdom. The number of cotton factories in Lancashire and Yorkshire having increased from 1838-56 by adding 411 to the previous number, they have decreased by 52 in the counties of Lanark (Glasgow), Renfrew

[a] Ibid., p. 12.— *Ed.*

(Paisley), and Antrim. So, too, the woolen trade is becoming concentrated in Yorkshire; while 200 woolen manufactories have been added there, we find a corresponding decrease of 82 in Cornwall, Devon, Gloucester, Monmouth, Somerset, Wilts, Wales and Clackmannan. The worsted manufacture is almost exclusively confined to Yorkshire, in which county there has been an increase of 107 factories. The flax-trade is now more vigorous in Ireland than in any other part of the United Kingdom; but the increase of 59 flax factories in Antrim, Armagh, Down and Tyrone, is accompanied by a decrease in Yorkshire of 31, in Devonshire, Dorsetshire and Gloucestershire of 9, and in Fifeshire of 18. To the increase of 76 silk factories in Cheshire, Derbyshire, Nottingham and Gloucestershire, there corresponds a decrease by 13 in Somersetshire. In some instances, the decay in one manufacturing branch is compensated by the growth of another, so that the industrial migrations would appear to be only a more definite working out of the principle of the division of employments on a large scale. Yet, on the whole, this is not the case—the progress of the system rather tending to establish a division between industrial and agricultural provinces. In England, for instance, the southern counties of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Gloucester, are being rapidly divested of their manufactures, while the northern counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Warwick, Nottingham, are strengthening their industrial monopoly. Of the aggregate increase of factories in the United Kingdom from 1838 to 1856, reaching the number of 900, Lancashire alone claims 360, Yorkshire 344, Warwick 71 and Nottingham 46—the increase in the two last-named counties having been caused by the introduction of improved machinery in two special trades—the adaptation of power to the stocking-frame at Nottingham, and the weaving of ribbons by power at Coventry.

From the increase in the number of factories must be distinguished the increase in the amount of horse-power employed, the latter not only depending on the addition of new mills, but also on the erection of more powerful engines in the old ones, the substitution of the steam-engine for water-power, the addition of steam-power to the waterwheel, and other similar contrivances. The following table contains a comparison of the nominal power of the factories in 1838, 1850 and 1856[a]:

[a] Ibid., p. 30.—*Ed.*

*Horse-power employed in the factories in the United Kingdom.*

| | 1838. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Steam. | Water. | Total. |
| Cotton | 46,826 | 12,977 | 59,803 |
| Woolen | 11,525 | 9,092 | 20,617 |
| Worsted | 5,863 | 1,313 | 7,176 |
| Flax | 7,412 | 3,677 | 11,089 |
| Silk | 2,457 | 927 | 3,384 |
| Total | 75,083 | 21,986 | 102,069 |

| | 1850. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Steam. | Water. | Total. |
| Cotton | 71,005 | 11,550 | 82,555 |
| Woolen | 13,455 | 8,689 | 22,144 |
| Worsted | 9,890 | 1,625 | 11,515 |
| Flax | 10,905 | 3,387 | 14,292 |
| Silk | 2,858 | 853 | 3,711 |
| Total | 108,113 | 26,104 | 134,217 |

| | 1856. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Steam. | Water. | Total. |
| Cotton | 88,001 | 9,131 | 97,132 |
| Woolen | 17,490 | 8,411 | 25,901 |
| Worsted | 13,473 | 1,431 | 14,904 |
| Flax | 14,387 | 3,935 | 18,322 |
| Silk | 4,360 | 816 | 5,176 |
| Total | 137,711 | 23,724 | 161,435 |

Great as the increase of the power apparent from the figures undoubtedly is—59,366 horse-power between 1838 and 1856—it falls, nevertheless, much below the actual additional force available and in motion for manufacturing purposes. The figures given in the return all relate to the *nominal* power only of the engines and wheels, and not to the power actually employed or capable of being employed. The modern steam-engine of 100 horse-power is capable of being driven at a much greater force than formerly, arising from improvements in its arrangements, the capacity and construction of the boilers, etc.; and thus its nominal power cannot be considered as other than an index from which its real

capabilities may be calculated. Mr. Nasmyth, the civil engineer, after an explanation of the nature of recent improvements in the steam-engine, by which the same engine can be made to perform more work with a diminished consumption of fuel, sums up results as follows[a]:

"From the same weight of steam-engine machinery, we are now obtaining at least 50 per cent. more work performed, on the average, and, in many cases, the identical steam-engines which, in the days of the restricted speed of 220 feet per minute, yielded 50 horse-power, are now yielding upward of 100."

By comparing the increase of horse-power with that of factories, the concentration of the woolen industry in some few hands becomes evident. Though in 1856 there were but eight more woolen factories than in 1850, yet the power employed in them had increased 3,757 horses during the same period. The same tendency to concentration is evidently working in the cotton, worsted and flax-spinning factories. The number of spindles in the United Kingdom amounting respectively in 1850 and 1856 to 25,638,716 and to 33,503,580, the average number of spindles in each factory was as follows[b]:

| | 1850. | 1856. |
|---|---|---|
| Cotton | 14,000 | 17,000 |
| Worsted | 2,200 | 3,400 |
| Flax | 2,700 | 3,700 |

In the weaving factories, it is true, the tendency seems to be to an extension of the trade among many occupiers rather than to its concentration among a few, the total number of looms being 369,205 in 1856, against 301,445 in 1850, while the average number employed by each manufacturer is less in 1856 than in 1850. However, this apparent deviation from the general tendency of the British factory system is easily accounted for by the fact that in the weaving department the introduction of the factory system is of comparatively recent date, and has not yet quite superseded the hand-loom system. In 1836, steam power was employed almost exclusively for cotton looms, or for fabrics mixed with cotton; but some years later there was a rapid increase in the number of power-looms for all fabrics, for fabrics of woolen, worsted, flax and silk, and this increase continues to the present time. The following statement shows the increase of power-looms since 1836[c]:

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[a] Ibid., p. 14, Note.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 16.— *Ed.*
[c] Ibid.— *Ed.*

| | 1836. | 1850. | 1856. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cotton | 108,751 | 249,627 | 298,847 |
| Woolen | 2,150 | 9,439 | 14,453 |
| Worsted | 2,969 | 32,617 | 38,956 |
| Silk | 1,714 | 6,092 | 9,260 |
| Flax | 209 | 3,670 | 7,689 |
| Total | 115,793 | 301,445 | 369,205 |

The increase of cotton looms resulted from the extension of trade, not from the appliance of power to articles formerly woven by hand solely; but in the other fabrics power is now applied to the carpet loom, the ribbon loom, and the linen loom, where it had hitherto been little used. The application of power to wool combing, which has come extensively into operation since the introduction of the combing machine, especially of Lister's, has also had the effect to throw a large number of men out of work.

The extent of the increased power of production is clearly shown by comparing the export returns. In 1850, there being in activity 1,932 cotton factories, the average value of cotton goods and yarn exported in the three years ending January 5, 1850, was, in round numbers, £24,600,000. If the 2,210 cotton factories in activity in 1856 had produced goods or yarn in the same proportion only as the factories of 1850, the value of the exports would be £28,000,000. Yet the average value of these exports, in the three years ending December 31, 1855, amounted to about £31,000,000. The case with the woolen and worsted factories is similar. We see, then, that while the quantity of machinery kept in motion by each horse-power has considerably increased, the number of persons employed for each horse-power has remained stationary, viz.: 4 persons, on an average. This is shown by the following table[a]:

*Total number of persons employed.*

| | 1838. | 1850. | 1856. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cotton | 259,104 | 330,924 | 379,213 |
| Woolen | 54,808 | 74,443 | 79,091 |
| Worsted | 31,628 | 79,737 | 87,794 |
| Flax | 43,557 | 68,434 | 80,262 |
| Silk | 34,303 | 42,544 | 56,137 |
| Total | 423,400 | 596,082 | 682,497 |

[a] Ibid., p. 31.— *Ed.*

The aggregate working population of 682,497, appears small indeed, if it is considered that the number of handloom weavers and their families, in 1838, alone amounted to about 800,000 persons. The following table shows the centesimal proportion of the different classes of hands employed.[a]

| | Children under 13. | Males bet'n 13 & 18. | Females above 13. | Males above 18. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1838 | 5.9 | 16.1 | 55.2 | 22.8 |
| 1850 | 6.1 | 11.5 | 55.9 | 26.5 |
| 1856 | 6.6 | 10.6 | 57.0 | 25.8 |

Between 1838 and 1850 the number of children employed had increased, but not in proportion to the general increase. The increase in the number of children between 1850 and 1856 is very considerable, amounting, as it does, to 10,761, of which 9,655 have been absorbed by the cotton trade. It may still be mentioned that the philanthropic law of 1844 permitted children to be employed in factories at 8 years of age, while prior to that it was illegal to employ them under 9 years of age.[324]

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[a] Ibid., p. 32.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [CHANGES IN THE RUSSIAN ARMY][325]

When the late war in Europe[a] broke out, a great number of military men pointed, not without a certain sense of awe, to the wonderful organization of the Russian army. While in France and England, brigades, divisions, army-corps, had to be formed from elements hitherto entirely disconnected, while commanders had to be appointed to lead bodies of troops which they had never seen before, and staffs had to be formed of officers arriving from all corners of the country—in Russia, the huge war-machine had been perfected, in all its subdivisions, years before; every regiment had its unalterable place in the organization of the whole; each body of men, from the company to the army-corps, had its standing commander, and each more important division had its regular staff. The machine was said to be, in fact, in working trim; it only awaited the word of command, the putting on of the steam, in order to move with the utmost ease; every cog, wheel, screw, pulley, strap, valve and lever in its place, doing its work and no more. That was what we were told we should see; but, unfortunately, we saw something quite different. The army-corps were scarcely ever complete, whole divisions, and still oftener brigades, being detached to distant theaters of war, while other troops were mixed up with the main bodies. The desire to keep together as much as possible the elements of each corps, division and brigade, appeared to hamper the movements of the army on the march quite as much as the strict regulations laid down for the order in which battles should be fought; and finally the nice subdivisions of command with all the generals in charge—corps,

[a] The Crimean war, 1853-56.—*Ed.*

divisions, brigades, with their respective staffs, all well known to their troops, well acquainted with each other, and well at home in their respective places and duties—all this turned out to be one vast conspiracy to swindle the Government out of its funds and the soldier out of his rations, clothing and comforts.

If these facts still required an official confirmation, the Russian Government has just given it. The new organization of the army aims first and mainly at the rooting up of those hotbeds of wholesale embezzlement, the subordinate staffs and headquarters. The staffs, both of the army-corps and of brigades, are done away with. Nay, the very name of brigade disappears from the Russian army. The whole six corps of the line are placed under the command of one man, Prince M. D. Gorchakoff I., the late commander in the Crimea. Each corps has, it is true, a commanding general; but as he has no staff—that is to say, no means of actually exercising the details of this command—he is at best but the inspector of his corps—a sort of check on the five generals of division under him. In reality, the generals of the thirty divisions (eighteen of infantry, six of cavalry and six of artillery), forming what is called the "first army," depend directly upon the commander-in-chief; and in each division again, the colonels of the four regiments, infantry or cavalry, and the chiefs of batteries, are directly dependent upon the general of the division. The generals of brigade, being entirely superseded by this new arrangement, are attached to the staff of the divisional general, as his lieutenants and seconds in command. The reason of all this is plain enough.

Upon Prince Gorchakoff the Emperor can rely; and Gorchakoff, again, can to some extent rely upon the officers of his personal staff. With the bureaucratic nicety and hierarchic gradations of the former system, the direct influence of the commander-in-chief ended with the chiefs of corps; they and their staffs had to transmit the orders to the divisions, whose staffs again handed them to the brigades, from whose staffs they reached the colonels of regiments, who saw to their actual execution. This was nothing but a well-organized scheme of fraud, embezzlement and larceny; and the better the service itself was organized, the better organized and the more successful was the plundering of the treasury. This was shown in the march of the first, second and third army-corps from Poland to the South during the war; and it is simply with a view of removing the evil that the Russian Government has done away with all but the names of the commanders of corps, and entirely with the commanders of

brigades. There are now but two intermediate grades between the commander-in-chief and the company officers, namely, the general of division and the colonel; and there is but one staff, that of the division, which can be used for purposes of embezzlement. If the Government should succeed in eradicating the habit of plunder from the divisional staffs, it may reasonably expect to banish it, by and by, from the regiments also.

Thus the whole organization of the army is upset, by taking out of the chain two links, the necessity of which, in time of war, is sure to show itself. Indeed, the Russian Government acknowledges that neither chiefs of corps nor generals of brigade can be entirely left out of its military hierarchy. The chief of the corps is left there, but as a mere dummy, while the general of brigade is completely relieved from his command, and made a simple appendix to the general of division. This means nothing but that the command of these officers is suspended during peace, while they are kept in readiness for use as soon as a war breaks out. In the only army, indeed, which still faces the enemy—that of the Caucasus—the brigades have been retained. Is any other proof wanted that the abolition of brigades in the remainder of the army is only an attempt to render brigadiers and their staffs innoxious while peace lasts?

Another important change is the dissolution of the great dragoon corps, consisting of ten regiments of eight squadrons each, drilled for infantry as well as for cavalry service. This corps was intended to play a brilliant part in all great battles. When the decisive moment approached, it was to fall with the rapidity of cavalry upon some important post on the flank or rear of the enemy, to dismount, to form into sixteen battalions of infantry and defend the post, supported by its heavy horse-artillery. During the whole of the late war, this corps was nowhere; and the total unfitness of these hybrid troops for active warfare appears to have been recognized on all hands. The consequence is, the change of these amphibious mounted foot-soldiers into regular cavalry, and their distribution, in twelve regiments of eight squadrons each, with the six army-corps of the "first army." Thus the two great creations by which the Emperor Nicholas expected to establish his place among the greatest military organizers of his time, have both disappeared within a few years of his death.

Among other changes, we may mention the establishment of a second battalion of rifles for every army-corps, and the formation of two new infantry regiments in the Caucasian army. By the former innovation, the great scarcity of light cavalry is to some

extent remedied. The latter shows that Russia is resolved to finish the Caucasian struggle as soon as possible. For the same reason, the reserve brigades of the Caucasian corps are still held together. It is, therefore, likely that by this time a campaign of importance has been opened in that country.

Written on about April 16, 1857

Reproduced from the newspaper

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# Karl Marx

## THE BRITISH WILD-CATS

London, May 1, 1857

The inquiry of the Court of Bankruptcy into the mysteries of the Royal British Bank is well nigh drawing to a close, and a more complete exposure of the recklessness, the hypocrisy, the shams and the infamies that lie hidden under the gilded outside of respectable society, has perhaps not been made since the days of Hudson the railway king's downfall. One of the gentlemen last summoned to the pillory of public opinion is Mr. Humphrey Brown, late M. P. for Tewkesbury, described in *Dodd's Parliamentary Companion* for 1855 "as a merchant," an "active promoter of railways," a "known railway statist and traffic taker," a "supporter of free-trade principles in the *fullest* sense," and a "Liberal to boot." Immediately after the burst of the Royal British Bank bubble, it became known that this influential personage had used his position as a Director of the Bank for swindling the latter out of some £70,000 sterling—which revelation, however, was not allowed to interfere any way with his customary State functions. Humphrey Brown quietly continued to make his appearance in the House of Commons, as well as on the benches of the "Great Unpaid."[326] He even gave public vent to his high sense of social responsibility by inflicting, in his quality as a county magistrate, the most severe punishment allowed by law on a poor carrier, who had happened to embezzle a small quantity of potatoes, and by administering to the culprit an unctuous sermon about the atrociousness of a breach of trust. A Tewkesbury paper thought itself warranted to improve the opportunity for finding fault with that peculiarity of the British institutions which makes great thieves the judges of small ones. Mr. Brown then threatened not only to bring the unhappy journalist to trial, but forever to turn

his back on the good town of Tewkesbury, should its inhabitants fail in expiating the crime of insulted innocence by some solemn act of contrition. Accordingly there was a triumphal procession offered to the "victim of an unscrupulous conspiracy," a testimonial which, to judge by the descriptions printed at the time in the public papers, made up for its artistic shortcomings by metallic heaviness. Mr. Brown harangued the multitude from his balcony, pocketed the testimonial, declared, but for the oath binding him to secrecy in respect to the affairs of the British Bank, his innocence would appear clear as the sun at noon-day, and wound up his oration by calling himself a man more sinned against than sinning. During the last general election he stepped forward anew, as a parliamentary candidate for his snug borough, but the Cabinet, of which he had always proved a staunch partisan, was ungrateful enough to drop him.

On the 29th of April this pompous gentleman felt rescued at last from the thraldom of the oath which till now had sealed his lips, and condemned him to endure the obloquy of disgraceful slander; the Commissioner of the Court of Bankruptcy acting as his confessor. It is a general rule with joint-stock companies that their directors should possess a certain number of their shares. Mr. Brown, inverting the common order of things, became first a director and then a stockholder; but, if he held the shares, he dispensed with paying for them. He got at their possession by the following very simple method: Mr. Cameron, the fugitive manager of the British Bank, handed over to him twenty shares, of the amount of £1,000, while he (Brown) handed over to Mr. Cameron a promissory note for the amount of £1,000, on account of which he took great care never to pay one single shilling. Having become a director in the month of February, 1853, he began his banking operations in the month of March. He deposited in the Bank the handy sum of £18 14s., and on the very same day borrowed from it on a note of hand the sum of £2,000, thus proving himself at once to be no new hand in the directorial management of joint-stock companies. In fact, before and after his connection with the Royal British Bank, he honored with his directorial management the chartered Australian Importing and Refining Company, the Patent Waterproof Brick and Tile and Common Brick and Tile Company, the Wandle Water-Works Company, a Land Company, a Dock Company—in one word, companies for all the four elements. On the question of Linklater, the solicitor for the assignees, as to what had become of all these companies, Brown pertinently answered, "They are defunct, so far as this." His

account with the British Bank, which began with £18 14s. paid in to his credit, ended in £77,000 standing to his debit. All these advances were made through Mr. Cameron, without the consent of the "other Directors being asked for."

"The executive officer of the Company," says Mr. Brown, "is the person through whom all the business is done. Such was the practice of this Bank, and," as he adds doctorally, "a very wholesome one it is."[a]

The truth seems to be, that the whole concern, governors, directors, managers, solicitors and accountants, were, after a preconcerted plan, playing into each other's hands, and that every one affected to ignore the share of the booty accruing to each partner. Ay, Mr. Brown is not very far from intimating that, as a Director of the Bank, he was hardly aware of his own doings as its customer. As to the customers not belonging to the managing staff, Mr. Brown seems, during his examination, still to labor under the painful impression that some of them dared encroach upon the directorial immunities. Thus he declares in respect to a Mr. Oliver:

"I have no hesitation in saying Oliver swindled the Bank out of £20,000. It is a very strong term to use, but I have no doubt about its correctness. He was a swindler."

On Mr. Linklater's asking "What were you?" he composedly replies, "Unfortunately a director much in the dark." All his answers go this same calm way. The ridiculous disproportion, for instance, between his deposits and his discounts, gives occasion for the following curious dialogue between himself and Mr. Linklater:

*Mr. Linklater*—Was it not one of the regular terms of the business of the Bank, that no person should have a discount account who had not also a drawing account; and on the drawing account there should always be kept a balance of one fourth of the bills current upon your discount?
*Mr. Brown*—It was so, and that was the Scotch system, as they told me.
*Mr. Linklater*—It was a system that you did not adopt?
*Mr. Brown*—I did not, because it was unsound.

Whenever Mr. Brown condescended to tender securities to the Bank, they consisted of notes of hand, or of ships which he took good care at the same time to have mortgaged to other people, as he generally quite freely disposed of the securities, by what the Commissioner had the hardihood to call most "fraudulent transactions." On the first of March, 1856, Mr. Brown had

[a] Here and below Marx quotes from the report on the inquiry into the causes of bankruptcy of the Royal British Bank published in *The Times*, No. 22668, April 30, 1857.—*Ed.*

virtually closed his account with the Bank; that is to say, the Board of Directors had decided upon no longer allowing him to run up his debts. Yet, on the 7th of June, we find him again getting £1,020 out of it. To Mr. Linklater's question, "by what hocus-pocus he had managed that affair?" he coolly replies, "There was no difficulty."

From the following letter, addressed by him to his bosom friend Mr. Cameron, may be inferred his general opinion about the storm of indignation the Royal British Bank disclosures roused in the public press:

"LITTLE SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER. Oct. 5. 1855.

"DEAR MR. CAMERON: Not knowing your whereabouts at the time, I take the chance of sending this through some member of your family. As sorry news travels fast, I conclude you are no stranger to the vituperation heaped upon us in all the papers, both great and small, myself and you having the lion's share. I have some reason for believing that the very violent articles in *The Times* have been instigated by one or two of our associates, through the accountant. I am quite in ignorance of what is going on, except through the public reports, the reading of which makes me almost conclude that no one ever owed a bank any money before, and that all former intimations were made in error, and that the whole wrath of *The Times* was reserved for our individual injury.... I have not seen any other directors since the Bank stopped, which was a bungling piece of work.

"Yours truly,
"Humphrey Brown."

As if "no one ever owed a bank any money before!" Mr. Brown apparently considers all the moral indignation washed on him and his associates as mere conventional cant. "Each thing's a thief!" So says Timon,[a] and so Mr. Brown, and seems persuaded, in the depth of his soul, that every member of what is called respectable society says so. The only important thing is to be no petty thief.

Written on May 1, 1857

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[a] Shakespeare, *Timon of Athens*, Act IV, Scene 3.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## CRÉDIT MOBILIER[327]

### I

For the bulletins of the Grand Army[a] the present French Empire makes up by the reports of the Crédit Mobilier. At the last general meeting of the shareholders, on the 28th of April, Mr. Isaac Péreire, in the name of the Board of Directors, presented a report,[b] purporting to comprise the summary history for the year 1856 of this remarkable Bonapartist institution. From this grandiloquent document, mingling, in a manner peculiar to its author, financial statements with theoretical propositions, figures with sentiments, and stock-jobbing speculation with speculative philosophy, a cautious research may elicit evidence of decay, which the apologetical varnish covering the whole exposes rather than conceals.

The profits of the Crédit Mobilier continue, indeed, to dazzle the public eye. Its shares being originally fixed at 500 francs, there was paid on them, for the year 1856, 25 francs by way of interest and 90 francs by way of dividend, making together 115 francs, a sum which exactly represents 23 per cent on the funds of the Company. Yet, to arrive at safe conclusions, one must compare the Crédit Mobilier, not with ordinary commercial enterprises, but with itself, and then we shall find that, during one single year, its profits have decreased nearly one half. There are two elements to be distinguished in the net revenue of the Company—the one fixed, the other variable—the one settled by statute, the other

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[a] Of Napoleon.—*Ed.*

[b] I. Péreire, "Rapport présenté par le conseil d'administration [de la Société générale du Crédit mobilier] dans l'assemblée générale ordinaire des actionnaires du 28 avril 1857", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 120, April 30, 1857.—*Ed.*

dependent on its commercial movement—the one figuring under the head of interest, and the other under the head of dividends. The interest of 25 francs, or 5 per cent per share, forms, therefore, a standing item in the accounts of the Company, while the dividend declared is the real test of its progress. Now, we find that from 178 francs 70 centimes, to which the dividend amounted in 1855, it has dwindled down to 90 francs in 1856, a movement which cannot very well be called an ascending one. If it be considered that the smaller fry of the shareholders have, on an average, bought their shares at 1,500 francs, the real dividend they received in 1856 will hardly exceed 7 per cent.

Mr. Isaac Péreire thinks that "it would be superfluous to endeavor to point out the causes of the difference which exists between the dividend of 1856 and that of 1855." Still he condescends to intimate that the profits of 1855 bore "an exceptional character." True enough; but then it is only by keeping up the exceptional character of its profits that the Crédit Mobilier can lay claim to any character whatever. The exceptional character of its profits results from the enormous disproportion between its capital and its operations. That disproportion, so far from being merely transient, forms, in fact, the organic law of its existence. The Crédit Mobilier pretends to be neither a banking nor an industrial company, but rather the representative, on a national scale if possible, of other banking and industrial companies. The originality of its conception is founded on this representative office. Its operations purport, therefore, to be circumscribed, not by its own capital and the usual credit derived from it, but solely by the vastness of the interests it actually represents or attempts to represent. If the disproportion between its capital and its operations and consequently its "exceptional" profits were to disappear, the Crédit Mobilier would not dwindle to a common banking-house, but would miserably break down. In pursuing the enormous operations in which, by the very nature of its organization, it finds itself involved, it must rely on the progressive execution of new plans on a still more enlarged scale. With such an institution, any stagnation, and still more any regress, is a symptom of fatal decay. Take even the report of 1856. There we find on the one side the modest capital of 60,000,000 of francs, and on the other, operations involving the enormous sum of more than 6,000,000,000 of francs. Mr. Péreire himself gives the following sketch of these operations[a]:

[a] Ibid.—*Ed.*

"Our subscription to the last loan was not only preserved intact, but it increased to the amount of 40,000,000 f. by purchases intended to facilitate the installments of the subscribers.

| | |
|---|---|
| The movement in our cash amounted to the sum of ..... | 3,085,195,176 f. 39 c. |
| That of our account current with the Bank was ..... | 1,216,686,271 f. 33 c. |
| That of our accounts current attained the amount of ..... | 2,739,111,029 f. 98 c. |
| Our Company has received installments on 1,455,264 shares and bonds, which have produced together the sum of ..... | 160,976,590 f. 98 c. |
| It has paid both on its own account and for that of the Companies to which it has acted as bankers 3,754,921 coupons, amounting to ..... | 64,259,723 f. 68 c. |
| The movement of our caisse of securities has been on 4,986,304 shares or bonds." | |

Mr. Péreire does not deny that the part performed by the Crédit Mobilier in 1856 was of a somewhat different kind from that it had performed before. During the first three years of its existence, it had to "inaugurate important undertakings in France," to "systematize the creations of great affairs," and, consequently, to prove inexhaustible in piling fresh securities upon the stock market. But, in 1856, a sudden change occurred. As "peace had opened a new era of social activity," speculation threatened to overshoot the mark. Under these altered circumstances the conscientious gentlemen of the Crédit Mobilier, the Péreires, the Foulds, the Mornys, exclusively bent on fostering public prosperity, felt it "an imperious duty" to bridle where before they had spurred, to moderate where they had urged on, and to maintain an attitude of "reserve" where "boldness" had before been "an intelligent prudence." As all France was becoming mobile, the Crédit Mobilier, for conscience' sake, resolved upon becoming stationary. It is, however, true that this virtuous resolution was to some extent forestalled by a note inserted in the *Moniteur* of the 9th of March, 1856, which "indicated the bounds the Government wished to trace out to the issue of fresh securities." Even "if" the propensities of the Crédit Mobilier had all been the other way, "this publication," says Mr. Péreire, "would have been an order, particularly for us; it was a forced halt, which must interrupt the creation of new undertakings." This forced halt seems sufficiently to account for the self-imposed duty of moderation.

At the very moment when the Crédit Mobilier found itself thus curbed in its career by a Government halter, it unfortunately happened that unprincipled competition was busily engaged in circumscribing its sphere of action and impairing its resources. While the *Moniteur*'s note of March 9, 1856, was directly aimed at the so-called Anonymous Societies[a] whose formation and operation in France are, by law, subject to Government approbation and control, and to the starting of which the Crédit Mobilier is restricted by its statutes, French speculation now found a larger outlet under the form of Sociétés en Commandite,[b] which are exempt from Government approbation, and almost from all control. Speculation thus merely changed its channels; the stunted growth of Anonymous Societies being more than compensated by the luxuriant crop of Sociétés en Commandite. Instead of obstructing speculation, Napoleon III., with all his "exalted wisdom," as Mr. Péreire calls it, had only withdrawn a great part of it from the control of his pet concern. During the first nine months of 1856, when all France was intoxicated with speculation, and when the cream of it should have been skimmed by the Crédit Mobilier, that devoted company was thus, by a mere misunderstanding on the part of the "exalted wisdom," condemned to act upon "a restricted scale," and to humbly "wait for the official signal for the resumption of activity." It was still waiting for the official signal and "a transition to better times," when an event occurred quite beyond the control even of the "exalted wisdom" of Napoleon himself.

— The consideration of that event we will postpone to another day.

## II

The financial crisis which, in September, 1856, broke out simultaneously on the Continent of Europe and in England, found the Crédit Mobilier, as Mr. Péreire says, in the attitude of "the intelligent sentinels of finance and credit," taking in "a more extended horizon" than other people "on different steps of the ladder," "capable of avoiding alarm as well as overexcitement," turning its undivided solicitude to the lofty end of "maintaining national labor and credit," indifferent "to interested or jealous

[a] See this volume, p. 11.— *Ed.*

[b] Joint-stock companies with limited liability.— *Ed.*

criticism," smiling at "violent or calculated attacks," and towering high above vulgar "misrepresentations." At that critical epoch, the Bank of France, it seems, proved rather restive against the demands which the Crédit Mobilier, prompted by its exclusive zeal for public prosperity, found itself induced to press upon it. We are, therefore, given to understand that "the crisis owed its violence and its rapidity to the measures which the Bank of France adopted under the empire of the constitution which governs it," and that "that institution is still highly imperfect from the absence of any bond, and of all harmonic combinations." While the Bank of France on one hand declined helping the Crédit Mobilier, it refused on the other to be helped by it. With characteristic boldness of conception, the Crédit Mobilier considered a financial crisis the true season for great financial strokes. At the moment of general confusion, you may take a fortress by storm which, for years, you have failed to take by regular maneuvers. Accordingly, the Crédit Mobilier offered to purchase, with the cooperation of several foreign houses, the *rentes* or public debt held by the Bank of France, so as to enable the latter establishment "effectually to increase its metallic reserve, and continue its advances on *rentes* and railway shares." When the Crédit Mobilier made this disinterested and philanthropic proposal, its treasury was encumbered with *rentes* to the amount of about 5,475,000 francs, and with railway shares to the amount of 115,000,000 francs, the Bank of France holding simultaneously *rentes* to about 50,000,000 francs. In other words, the Crédit Mobilier held more than twice the amount in railway shares which the Bank of France held in *rentes*. By throwing its *rentes* on the market, in order to strengthen its metallic reserve, the Bank of France would not only depress the *rentes*, but still more all other securities, and particularly railway shares. The proposal amounted, therefore, in fact, to an invitation to the Bank to keep the *rentes* held by itself off the market, in order to make place for the railway shares held by the Crédit Mobilier. Besides, the Bank, as Mr. Péreire says, would then have had an excuse for discontinuing its advances on railway shares. Thus it would have secretly come to the rescue of the Crédit Mobilier, while publicly owing vassalage to that magnanimous institution, and appearing to be saved by its aid. However, the Bank smelled a rat and turned a cold shoulder to the "intelligent sentinels."

As firmly resolved to save France from the financial crisis as its protector[a] had been to save her from Socialism, the Crédit

[a] Napoleon III.— *Ed.*

Mobilier made a second proposal, addressed not to the Bank of France but to the private bankers of Paris. It generously offered

"to provide for the wants of all French Railway Companies by subscribing to the amount of 300,000,000 francs to the loans which they had to issue for 1857; declaring that it was ready to engage itself in those loans to the amount of 200,000,000 francs, if the sum of 100,000,000 were subscribed by the other banking houses."[a]

Such a subscription was sure to effect a sudden rise in the price of railway shares and bonds, the very commodity of which the Crédit Mobilier was the principal holder. Moreover, the latter, by one bold stroke, would have installed itself as a great proprietor in all French railways, and drawn all the great Paris bankers into some sort of forced partnership with itself. Yet the scheme failed. Compelled "to renounce the idea of any united measure," the Crédit Mobilier had to shift for itself. The lofty conviction that "the sole fact of its having made such propositions doubtlessly contributed not a little to allay uneasiness," consoled it not a little for the tendency the crisis had "to reduce in a material manner the profits on which the Company thought it might calculate."

Quite apart from all these untoward events, the Crédit Mobilier complains of having till now been precluded from playing its trump card, namely, the emission of 600,000,000 francs in bonds—a paper money of its own invention; payable at very long dates; based, not on the capital of the company, but on the securities for which it would be exchanged.

"The resources," says Mr. Péreire, "which we should have derived from the issue of our bonds would have allowed us to absorb such securities as had not yet found their definitive investment, and to give an immense extension to the benefits rendered to industry."

In 1855, the Crédit Mobilier was just about emitting 240,000,000 of francs in such obligations, an issue authorized by its statutes, when "the exalted wisdom" of the Tuileries cut short the operation. Such an issue of fiduciary money the Crédit Mobilier calls augmenting its capital; common people are more likely to call it augmenting its debts. The forced halt, then, imposed on the Crédit Mobilier by the Government in March, 1856, the competition of the Sociétés en Commandite, the financial crisis, and the non-issue of its own paper money, all these circumstances will sufficiently account for the fall of its dividends.

In all former reports of this great swindling concern, the substitution of industrial joint-stock companies for private industry

[a] I. Péreire, op. cit.— *Ed.*

has been trumpeted as the specialty, and novelty of the institution. In this last report, the faintest allusion to this subject will be sought for in vain. Of the 60,000,000 francs which form the capital of the Company, 40,000,000 were once, during the year 1856, invested in State funds; and of the sums which credit placed in its hands, by far the greater part was employed in "continuations" in *rentes* and railway shares on the settling days of the Stock Exchange; such operations having been effected, in 1856, in French *rentes* to the amount of 421,500,000 francs, and in railway and other shares to the amount of 281,000,000 francs. Now these continuations mean nothing but advances of money to stock-jobbers in order to enable them to continue their operations, and give a bloated aspect to the fancy stocks of the Bourse. Upon this operation of turning a great part of the national capital from productive industry to unproductive gambling, the Crédit Mobilier rests its main claim to the gratitude of the nation. Louis Napoleon, indeed, derives an immense support from Messrs. Péreire & Co. Not only do they impart fictitious value to the Imperial funds, but they are constantly fostering, drilling, propping, propagating that spirit of gambling which forms the vital principle of the present empire. On the most cursory view of the operations so complacently detailed by Mr. Péreire, it must become evident that the gambling maneuvers of the Crédit Mobilier are necessarily blended with fraudulent transactions. On the one hand, in its public function as the protector of the Bourse, the Company borrows money from the public and lends it to stock-jobbing companies and individuals, in order to keep up prices of the national shares and funds. On the other hand, as a private concern, it is constantly speculating for its own account on the fluctuations of the very same securities, on their fall as well as their rise. To apparently harmonize these cross-purposes, fraud and imposture must be recurred to.

Like all professional gamblers, Louis Napoleon is as bold in the conception of his *coups* as slow and cautious in their execution. Thus he has twice checked the Crédit Mobilier in its unscrupulous career—first in 1855, when he forbade the issue of its bonds, and again in 1856, when his warning in the *Moniteur* brought it to a forced halt. But while he obstructs, the Company is pressing on. In point of fact, if full swing be given to it, it will break its neck. If Bonaparte continue to bother it with moderation, it will lose its soul. From Mr. Péreire's report, however, it appears that the "exalted wisdom" and the "intelligent prudence" have at last come to a compromise. Should the already discredited Crédit

Mobilier not be intrusted with the dangerous power of issuing its own paper money, the means it can no longer live without are to be tendered to it under the more respectable cloak of the Bank of France. Such is one of the secret ends of the new Bank law now laid before the "learned dogs and monkeys" of the *Corps Législatif*.[328] "We do not fear," says Mr. Péreire, "to proclaim it, but it would be in vain to seek elsewhere than at the Bank of France for the means of giving effectual assistance, by advances to public credit, to great undertakings, to commerce and to industry"—in other words, to the Crédit Mobilier.

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Frederick Engels

## PERSIA—CHINA[329]

London, May 22, 1857

The English have just concluded an Asiatic war, and are entering upon another.[330] The resistance offered by the Persians, and that which the Chinese have so far opposed to British invasion, form a contrast worth our attention. In Persia, the European system of military organization has been engrafted upon Asiatic barbarity; in China, the rotting semi-civilization of the oldest State in the world meets the Europeans with its own resources. Persia has been signally defeated, while distracted, half-dissolved China has hit upon a system of resistance which, if followed up, will render impossible a repetition of the triumphal marches of the first Anglo-Chinese war.[331]

Persia was in a state similar to that of Turkey during the war of 1828-9 against Russia.[332] English, French, Russian officers had in turns tried their hands at the organization of the Persian army. One system had succeeded another, and each in its turn had been thwarted by the jealousy, the intrigues, the ignorance, the cupidity and corruption of the Orientals whom it was to form into European officers and soldiers. The new regular army had never had an opportunity of trying its organization and strength in the field. Its only exploits had been confined to a few campaigns against Kurds, Turcomans and Affghans, where it served as a sort of nucleus or reserve to the numerous irregular cavalry of Persia. The latter did most of the actual fighting; the regulars had generally but to impose upon the enemy by the demonstrative effect of their seemingly formidable arrays. At last, the war with England broke out.

The English attacked Bushire, and met with a gallant though ineffective resistance. But the men who fought at Bushire were

not regulars; they were composed of the irregular levies of the Persian and Arab inhabitants of the coast. The regulars were only concentrating, some sixty miles off, in the hills. At last they advanced. The Anglo-Indian army met them half way; and, though the Persians used their artillery with credit to themselves, and formed their squares on the most approved principles, a single charge of one single Indian cavalry regiment swept the whole Persian army, guards and line, from the field. And to know what these Indian regular cavalry are considered to be worth in their own service, we have only to refer to Capt. Nolan's book on the subject.[a] They are, among Anglo-Indian officers, considered worse than useless, and far inferior to the irregular Anglo-Indian cavalry. Not a single action can Capt. Nolan find where they were creditably engaged. And yet, these were the men, six hundred of whom drove ten thousand Persians before them! Such was the terror spread among the Persian regulars that never since have they made a stand anywhere—the artillery alone excepted. At Mohammerah, they kept out of harm's way, leaving the artillery to defend the batteries, and retired as soon as these were silenced; and when, on a reconnaissance, the British landed three hundred riflemen and fifty irregular horse, the whole of the Persian host marched off, leaving baggage, stores and guns in the possession of the—victors you cannot call them—the invaders.

All this, however, neither brands the Persians as a nation of cowards, nor condemns the introduction of European tactics among Orientals. The Russo-Turkish wars of 1806-12 and 1828-9[333] offer plenty such examples. The principal resistance offered to the Russians was made by the irregular levies both from the fortified towns and from the mountain provinces. The regulars, wherever they showed themselves in the open field, were at once upset by the Russians, and very often ran away at the first shot; while a single company of Arnaut[b] irregulars, in a ravine at Varna, successfully opposed the Russian siege operations for weeks together. Yet, during the late war, the Turkish regular army have defeated the Russians in every single engagement from Oltenitza and Citate to Kars and to Ingur.[334]

The fact is that the introduction of European military organization with barbaric nations is far from being completed when the new army has been subdivided, equipped and drilled after the European fashion. That is merely the first step toward it. Nor will

[a] L. E. Nolan, *Cavalry, Its History and Tactics.—Ed.*
[b] Turkish name for the Albanians.—*Ed.*

the enactment of some European military code suffice; it will no more insure European discipline than a European set of drill-regulations will produce, by itself, European tactics and strategy. The main point, and at the same time the main difficulty, is the creation of a body of officers and sergeants, educated on the modern European system, totally freed from the old national prejudices and reminiscences in military matters, and fit to inspire life into the new formation. This requires a long time, and is sure to meet with the most obstinate opposition from Oriental ignorance, impatience, prejudice, and the vicissitudes of fortune and favor inherent to Eastern courts. A Sultan or Shah is but too apt to consider his army equal to anything as soon as the men can defile in parade, wheel, deploy and form column without getting into hopeless disorder. And as to military schools, their fruits are so slow in ripening that under the instabilities of Eastern Governments they can scarcely ever be expected to show any. Even in Turkey, the supply of educated officers is but scanty, and the Turkish army could not have done [anything] at all, during the late war, without the great number of renegades[335] and the European officers in its ranks.

The only arm which everywhere forms an exception is the artillery. Here the Orientals are so much at fault and so helpless that they have to leave the whole management to their European instructors. The consequence is that as in Turkey, so in Persia, the artillery was far ahead of the infantry and cavalry.

That under these circumstances the Anglo-Indian army, the oldest of all Eastern armies organized on the European system, the only one that is subject not to an Eastern, but an exclusively European government, and officered almost entirely by Europeans—that this army, supported by a strong reserve of British troops and a powerful navy, should easily disperse the Persian regulars, is but a matter of course. The reverse will do the Persians the more good the more signal it was. They will now see, as the Turks have seen before, that European dress and parade-drill is no talisman in itself, and may be, twenty years hence, the Persians will turn out as respectable as the Turks did in their late victories.

The troops which conquered Bushire and Mohammerah will, it is understood, be at once sent to China. There they will find a different enemy. No attempts at European evolutions, but the irregular array of Asiatic masses, will oppose them there. Of these they no doubt will easily dispose; but what if the Chinese wage against them a national war, and if barbarism be unscrupulous

enough to use the only weapons which it knows how to wield?

There is evidently a different spirit among the Chinese now to what they showed in the war of 1840 to '42. Then, the people were quiet; they left the Emperor's soldiers to fight the invaders, and submitted after a defeat with Eastern fatalism to the power of the enemy. But now, at least in the southern provinces, to which the contest has so far been confined, the mass of the people take an active, nay, a fanatical part in the struggle against the foreigners. They poison the bread of the European community at Hong-Kong by wholesale, and with the coolest premeditation. (A few loaves have been sent to Liebig for examination. He found large quantities of arsenic pervading all parts of them, showing that it had already been worked into the dough. The dose, however, was so strong that it must have acted as an emetic, and thereby counteracted the effects of the poison.) They go with hidden arms on board trading steamers, and, when on the journey, massacre the crew and European passengers and seize the boat. They kidnap and kill every foreigner within their reach. The very coolies emigrating to foreign countries rise in mutiny, and as if by concert, on board every emigrant ship, and fight for its possession, and, rather than surrender, go down to the bottom with it, or perish in its flames. Even out of China, the Chinese colonists, the most submissive and meek of subjects hitherto, conspire and suddenly rise in nightly insurrection, as at Sarawak; or, as at Singapore, are held down by main force and vigilance only. The piratical policy of the British Government has caused this universal outbreak of all Chinese against all foreigners, and marked it as a war of extermination.

What is an army to do against a people resorting to such means of warfare? Where, how far, is it to penetrate into the enemy's country, how to maintain itself there? Civilization-mongers who throw hot shell on a defenseless city and add rape to murder, may call the system cowardly, barbarous, atrocious; but what matters it to the Chinese if it be only successful? Since the British treat them as barbarians, they cannot deny to them the full benefit of their barbarism. If their kidnappings, surprises, midnight massacres are what we call cowardly, the civilization-mongers should not forget that according to their own showing they could not stand against European means of destruction with their ordinary means of warfare.

In short, instead of moralizing on the horrible atrocities of the Chinese, as the chivalrous English press does, we had better

recognize that this is a war *pro aris et focis,*[a] a popular war for the maintenance of Chinese nationality, with all its overbearing prejudice, stupidity, learned ignorance and pedantic barbarism if you like; but yet a popular war. And in a popular war the means used by the insurgent nation cannot be measured by the commonly recognized rules of regular warfare, nor by any other abstract standard, but by the degree of civilization only attained by that insurgent nation.

The English are this time placed in a difficult position. Thus far, the national Chinese fanaticism seems to extend no further than over those southern provinces which have not adhered to the great rebellion.[336] Is the war to be confined to these? Then it would certainly lead to no result, no vital point of the empire being menaced. At the same time, it would be a very dangerous war for the English if the fanaticism extends to the people of the interior. Canton may be totally destroyed and the coasts nibbled at in all possible points, but all the forces the British could bring together would not suffice to conquer and hold the two provinces of Kwang-tung and Kwang-si. What, then, can they do further? The country north of Canton, as far as Shanghae and Nankin, is in the hands of the Chinese insurgents, whom it would be bad policy to offend; and north of Nankin the only point an attack on which might lead to a decisive result is Pekin. But where is the army to form a fortified and garrisoned base of operations on the shore, to overcome every obstacle on the road, to leave detachments to secure the communications with the shore, and to appear in anything like formidable strength before the walls of a town, the size of London, a hundred miles from its landing place? On the other side, a successful demonstration against the capital would shake to its ground-works the very existence of the Chinese Empire—accelerate the upsetting of the Ch'ing dynasty and pave the way, not for British, but for Russian progress.

The new Anglo-Chinese war presents so many complications that it is utterly impossible to guess the turn it may take. For some months the want of troops, and for a still longer time the want of decision, will keep the British pretty inactive except, perhaps, on some unimportant point, to which under actual circumstances Canton too may be said to belong.

One thing is certain, that the death-hour of Old China is rapidly drawing nigh. Civil war has already divided the South from the

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[a] *Pro aris et focis certamen* (battle for our altars and our hearths), Cicero, *De Natura Deorum,* III, 40.—*Ed.*

North of the Empire, and the Rebel King[a] seems to be as secure from the Imperialists (if not from the intrigues of his own followers)[337] at Nankin, as the Heavenly Emperor[b] from the rebels at Pekin. Canton carries on, so far, a sort of independent war with the English, and all foreigners in general; and while British and French fleets and troops flock to Hong-Kong, slowly but steadily the Siberian-line Cossacks advance their stanitzas from the Daoorian mountains to the banks of the Amour, and the Russian marines close in by fortifications the splendid harbors of Mantchooria. The very fanaticism of the southern Chinese in their struggle against foreigners seems to mark a consciousness of the supreme danger in which Old China is placed; and before many years pass away, we shall have to witness the death-struggle of the oldest empire in the world, and the opening day of a new era for all Asia.

Written on about May 20, 1857

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Hung Hsiu-ch'üan.—*Ed.*
[b] Hsien Fung.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## INTERESTING REVELATIONS[338]

London, May 26, 1857

O'Donnell's speech in the Spanish Senate on the 18th of May contains most curious revelations of the secret history of cotemporaneous Spain. His betrayal of Espartero and his *coup d'état* having paved the way for Narváez, the Polacos,[339] in their turn, are now trying to rid themselves of the latter. To this purpose Gen. Calonge, himself a Christina rebel of 1843,[340] and the Captain-General of Pampeluna at the time of the outbreak of the revolution in 1854,[341] was induced on the 18th of May, during the Senate's debates on the address to the Queen,[a] to move a series of amendments to the paragraph recommending a general amnesty. In a virulent attack on military insurrections in general, and on the military insurrection of 1854 in particular, he demanded "that the policy of conciliation should not go the length to encourage, by granting absolute impunity, *incorrigible perturbers.*" This stroke, premeditated by the friends of Sartorius, was aimed at O'Donnell as well as at the Duke of Valencia (Narváez). The Polacos had, in fact, ascertained that O'Donnell would seize upon the first occasion to denounce Narváez as his secret accomplice in the insurrection of the camp of the Guards. Such an opportunity was, accordingly, offered to O'Donnell by General Calonge. To prevent the threatened explosion, Narváez ventured upon a desperate maneuver. He, the man of order, justified the revolution of 1854, which, he said, was "inspired by the loftiest patriotism, and provoked by the excesses of the preceding cabinets." Thus, at the very moment that Mr. de Nocedal, the Minister of the Interior, was proposing to the Cortes a Draconian press-law, Narváez, the

[a] Isabella II.—*Ed.*

chief of the ministry, acted in the Senate as the *advocatus diaboli*[a]—the vindicator of revolution and military insurrection. But in vain. During the subsequent sitting of the Senate, on the 18th of May, while forced by the Polacos to recant his censure of "former Cabinets," Narváez had, at the same time, to writhe under O'Donnell's indiscreet revelations, the truth of which he himself admitted, by complaining that "O'Donnell had revealed private and confidential conversations," and by asking "what confidence could now be placed in friendship!" In the eyes of the Court, Narváez is now a convicted rebel, and before long will have to give way to Bravo Murillo and Sartorius, the sure forerunners of a new revolution.

The following is a literal translation of O'Donnell's speech:

"*O'Donnell*—I cannot remain silent in this eminently political discussion, after the important events that have occurred since the last meeting of the Senate. The part I have played in these events obliges me to speak. The chief of the rising of the camp of the Guards: the author of the programme of Manzanares[342]; the War Minister in the Cabinet of the Duke of Vittoria[b]; summoned, two years later, by the crown, under solemn circumstances, to save the crown and endangered society; fortunate enough to obtain that result without being forced, after the combat, to shed one drop of blood or to pronounce a single sentence of banishment—I should have felt obliged to take part in the pending discussion. But it would be a crime to keep silence after the accusations directed by General Calonge against myself and the worthy generals who, during two years, were connected with me, and, in the days of the crisis, assisted in saving society and the crown. General Calonge has described as a rebellion the rising of the camp of the Guards. Wherefore? Has he so soon forgotten all the events that preceded it, and, in due course, would have precipitated the country into a revolution not to be subdued? I thank the President of the Council for the energy with which he has repelled the accusation of General Calonge. It is true that, in thus acting, he displayed the energy of one that defends his own cause [Profound sensation]. Being obliged to enter into details indispensable for the vindication of this fact, wishing above all to dismiss from these debates whatever might bear a personal appearance, I should feel grateful if the President of the Cabinet deigned to answer the following questions: Is it true that the Duke of Valencia[c] was, since 1852, united by close ties to the Generals of Vicalvaro? Is it true that he was informed of all their undertakings since the closing of the Senate after the vote of the 105? Is it true that he was disposed to join them in the accomplishment of their projects? Is it true that, although prevented from doing so by motives which I respect, he, nevertheless, sent later on one of his aides-de-camp to congratulate us upon our triumph?"

"*Narváez*—After the words the Count of Lucena has addressed to me, I must declare that in all he planned and afterward executed, in the form in which he planned and executed it, I did not participate at all, whatever may have been our former relations."

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[a] Devil's advocate.—*Ed.*

[b] Espartero.—*Ed.*

[c] Narváez.—*Ed.*

"*O'Donnell*—The President of the Cabinet has answered in the manner he thought the most opportune. I should have liked not to be obliged to give further explications, but, as I am driven to it, I shall give them. Everybody knows that, in the year 1852, there reigned in politics the most profound calm. Unfortunately for the Government and the country, then, for the first time, began to be whispered the words, 'Constitutional Reform.' The gentlemen of the Senate will recollect the agitation produced by the apprehension of a *coup d'état.* They will not have forgotten the numerous re-unions then taking place between political men, and in which an address to the Queen was resolved upon. To that address were appended many signatures, but it was not presented. The Cortes were convoked, and some days afterward, the *Gaceta* published the projects which produced such an effect in this very Chamber that the Government suffered a serious defeat in the election of the President. The Cortes were then dissolved. The most important men of the moderate party united then in order to protest against that measure; the Duke of Valencia being nominated as the President of the re-union. For fear lest the Government should obstruct the re-unions, a committee was appointed, over which the Duke of Valencia was again elected to preside, and of which Messrs. Mon, Pidal, and other important personages, were the most active members. Beside the protest, the legality of the new elections was mooted in this committee. Two or three days after the Duke of Valencia's departure for Bayonne, the Bravo Murillo Cabinet retired. The Count d'Alcoy succeeded Bravo Murillo. The Opposition remained the same, and when the Cortes assembled, a manifest, drawn up by the Duke of Valencia, was handed to the Senate. The Senate dropped it, but it became then evident that the Opposition was assuming formidable proportions. The Cabinet of Count d'Alcoy was succeeded by that of Gen. Lersundi; then the Ministry of the Count of San Luis was installed. I regret being obliged to enter into certain details, but the moment has arrived of speaking of my own political relations with those who joined me in the camp of the Guards. I received, and all of us received, before the Duke of Valencia's return to Spain, one of his confidants, with whom he had had a long conversation, and to whom, while deploring the lamentable situation in which the country was placed, and uttering apprehensions as to the dangers menacing the throne and the Constitution, the Duke said that there remained one escape only—the appeal to force [Sensation]. The Sartorius Ministry authorized the return to Spain of the Duke of Valencia. He went first to Madrid, and then retired to Aranjuez. There we had a conference with him. He communicated to us his patriotic feelings, which I am ready to admire, although I am unable to support the Cabinet he actually presides over. He declared to us that the situation made an appeal to force inevitable; that, from particular motives, he could not pronounce first, but that the second sword to leave the sheath should be his; adding that, in the present state of things, the rising of two regiments of cavalry would suffice to decide the revolution. This declaration was made to us in the manner the most categorical. The Cortes were opened. Fully convinced that all legal means would be tried in vain, the Duke of Valencia, instead of entering the Senate and taking the lead of the Opposition, withdrew to Loja. Everybody knows what then occurred in the Cortes; all remember the famous vote of the 105. The Government, nevertheless, thought not fit to resign. The Cortes were dismissed, and then a régime of unheard-of persecutions was initiated. The Generals who had voted against the Cabinet, the most eminent political men, the journalists of the Opposition, were sent into exile; organic changes in every direction were announced; the forced loan was proclaimed; in one word, the Government outlawed itself. Now, I ask you, dare you affirm that in this country, where all parties, when in opposition, did always conspire, there has ever been a revolution

more legitimate than that of 1854? As to myself, I left the modest abode where I had hidden myself during six months. I left it on horseback, followed by some generals and some regiments, with a view to overturning a Government that so shamefully was trampling down a constitution I had sworn to defend as a general and a senator. We arrived at Vicalvaro, where, to my great regret, the combat was engaged. There were neither victors nor vanquished. On both sides the troops fought gallantly. The garrison had to return to Madrid, while we remained at Vicalvaro. On the following day, according to what was agreed upon with the Duke of Valencia, we marched through Aranjuez in the direction of Andalusia. In the province of Jaen there sojourned Gen. Serrano, who had promised us his support. We arrived at Manzanares, where he met us, saying that those who had promised to follow him had disbanded, and that he came alone to share our lot. It was then that I published a manifest, and, as I am not used to deny my own acts, I shall tell what was at that moment preparing. By emissaries I was informed of all Madrid occurrences. All important men of the moderate party were involved in the movement. Only it happened—what is sure to happen—that on the planning a thing, you may rely on the concourse of a great number of men, the most zealous of whom disappear when the hour of action sounds. I was told that we were not likely to be seconded by the people, whom the Ministry endeavored to persuade that the movement arose out of merely personal squabbles, and lacked any fixed political principle. This was the motive of the publication of the manifest of Manzanares, which contained two important points:

"*Constitutional Reform,* such as I in my quality of President of the Cabinet, later on, proposed to her Majesty; and the

"*National Militia,* not as it was actually organized, but, as I intended making it, a true element of order.

We left Manzanares, and wrote to the Duke of Valencia a letter, signed by myself and four other generals, declaring that if he presented himself we should appoint him our commander-in-chief. The Duke sent us an aide-de-camp with the message that he had fallen sick and was narrowly watched. It has been said that we were resolved upon flying to Portugal. This is false. We had, on the contrary, resolved to withdraw to the Sierra Morena, to establish our cavalry at Barrios, to stop all the wagons loaded with provisions, and to improve the first occasion for presenting ourselves before Madrid, when suddenly the news of the fall of the Sartorius Cabinet and the appeal made by the Queen to the Duke of Vittoria was imparted to us. From that moment my mission was put an end to. Gen. San Miguel, the Minister *per interim,*[a] sent me word to return to Madrid. I obeyed, with the firm resolution of not entering the Cabinet. The Crown had removed the Duke of Vittoria, all relations with whom I had dropped since 1840. The same men who afterward accused me of having joined his Cabinet, came, on the very night of my arrival at Madrid, supplicating me to accept the War Ministry, as the only means of saving order and society. All these men belonged to the moderate party. I saw the Duke of Vittoria, and, at this point of my relation, I should feel much embarrassed if his own manifest did not warrant me in clearing myself from malignant imputations. Espartero embraced me cordially, and said that the time had arrived of dropping all dissensions between Spaniards; that it had become impossible to govern with one single party, and that it was his firm resolution to appeal to all men of influence and morality. I observed the situation at Madrid. The barricades stood still erect, the garrison was but very small, but the people, always judicious, inspired me with great confidence. My second interview with Espartero was rather

[a] In the meantime.—*Ed.*

cool; he offered me the portfolio of Foreign Affairs and of the Colonies. I made him aware that, on entering the Cabinet, I should decline every other place but that of War Minister. Then he told me that of all men I was most fit for fulfilling the functions of Captain-General of Cuba. I replied that, having already served in that quality, I should not like to return to Havana, and rather withdraw to private life; but I entreated him immediately to form a Ministry, and not any longer to abandon the nation to the dangers of a provisional state. Shortly afterward General Salanza, the originally-appointed War Minister, called upon me, in the name of Espartero, to accept the place of War Minister, and the same night I was sworn in with my colleagues. There were only two courses for me to take—either to leave the revolution to itself until its own excesses engendered a reaction, or to stop it in its march. The former part was the easier one; my honor and the interest of the country made me adopt the latter. I do not repent it. Our first discussion took place in regard to the Constituent Cortes. Mr. Collado, who sits among us, knows all our disputes on this point. Our efforts were baffled. The decree for the convocation of the Cortes was signed. The general election took place—not, as Mr. Pidal said, under governmental pressure, but with an unlimited liberty. The majority of representatives was composed of men sincerely wishing the welfare of the country. With a firm government, the Constitution would have been established in four months. But Espartero's proverbial weakness of character—not as a military man, but as a politician—rendered every governmental action impossible. I did not continue forming part of the Ministry with a view to betray my colleagues, as the Duke of Vittoria erroneously supposes. I clung to my post from the very motives which had made me canvass it. I remained in order to check the overflow of the revolution."

After a very clumsy apology for his *coup d'état,* O'Donnell concluded his speech with the declaration that he could not support the Cabinet of Marshal Narváez,

"since it had announced its intention of following a line of policy not in harmony with representative government."

Written on May 26, 1857

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# Karl Marx

## [THE NEW FRENCH BANK ACT][343]

The new French Bank act, and the resignation of Count d'Argout, the Governor of the Bank, are somewhat remarkable incidents in the financial history of the present Empire. Placed, in 1834, by Louis Philippe, at the head of the French Bankocracy, Mr. d'Argout distinguished himself by the tenacity with which, for 23 years, he clung to office; and by the circumspect prudence with which he weathered the tempests of 1848 and 1851. The revolution of 1848 was directed not only against Louis Philippe, but still more against the *haute finance*,[a] that had its center in the Bank of France. The latter institution and the unpopular personage at its head seemed, therefore, to be naturally the first objects for revolutionary assault. Count d'Argout, undervaluing the immediate chances of the moment, thought himself strong enough to frighten the middle classes into a counter-revolution by artificially aggravating the financial crisis. Accordingly, all at once he cut short the credit accommodations upon which the commerce of Paris was wont to rely; but the immense danger he had thus deliberately summoned, instead of shaking the Provisional Government, reverberated upon the Bank itself. Instead of the confidently expected counter-revolution, there occurred an unseasonable run on the Bank. If d'Argout had miscalculated the energies of the people, he discerned more keenly the capacities of the Government. Not only did he prevail upon them to give forced course to the notes of the Bank, and to humbly accept, under the most unfavorable conditions, a loan from that very same concern which they had just preserved from irretrievable ruin; he

[a] Financial aristocracy.— *Ed.*

improved the occasion to augment the Bank's sources of profit by procuring for it the privilege of issuing notes of a lower denomination, and to extend its monopoly by crushing the provincial banks of issue. The lowest denomination of notes issued by the Bank of France prior to 1847 was 500 francs; in 1848 it was authorized to issue notes of the value of 200 and of 100 francs. The places of the provincial banks—deprived of the privilege, hitherto enjoyed, of issuing notes—were filled up by new branches of the Bank of France. In consequence of these changes, its total circulation, which at the close of 1847 had only amounted to $48,000,000, reached at the end of 1855 the sum of $122,445,000; its gross transactions, which in 1847 fell short of $375,000,000, had already in 1855 risen to $940,600,000, of which $549,000,000 represented the business of the branches; and its shares, which before the Revolution were usually quoted at about 2,000 francs, now sell for 4,500 francs. Prior to 1848 the Bank of France had been a Parisian rather than a French institution. The new privileges bestowed upon it by the Revolutionary Government transformed it into a private concern of national dimensions. Thus, thanks to the clever management of d'Argout, the monopoly of the financial aristocracy, which the Revolution of February intended to break down, was extended, strengthened, reorganized, through the very instrumentality of that Revolution itself.

The second great catastrophe which d'Argout had to confront was the *coup d'état,* the success of which mainly hinged upon the forcible opening of the Bank coffers intrusted to his guardianship. The pliant Governor not only winked at Bonaparte's burglary, but contributed much to assuage the apprehensions of the commercial world, by sticking to his post at a moment when the exodus from the administration of all respectable or would-be respectable people threatened seriously to compromise the usurper. In reward for these good services, Bonaparte consented to take no advantage of the proviso in the last renewal of the Bank charter in 1840, by which its statutes might have been revised in 1855. D'Argout, like his friend the late Marshal Soult, never evinced fidelity to anything but place and salary. His resignation at this moment of the Governorship of the Bank of France can only be accounted for on the same principle that, according to popular belief, prompts rats to leave falling houses.

The history of the new Bank law marks it as one of those low jobs that distinguish the era of the present Empire. During the financial crisis which broke out in Europe at the end of 1856, the

alteration of the existing Bank law was first mooted on the plausible pretext that the enormous transactions of the Bank rested on too small a capital. For more than six months, mysterious conferences were held in the presence of Napoleon III., between the representatives of the Bank on the one hand, and the great financiers of Paris, the Ministers and the Council of State, on the other. Yet the present bill was not presented to the *Corps Législatif*[344] till that body was on the eve of its final dissolution. In the preliminary discussions in the *bureaux,*[345] it was violently attacked; the Committee appointed to report upon it literally tore it to pieces; and there were even threats of rejecting the project altogether. But Bonaparte knew his creatures. He caused an intimation to reach them that Government was determined, and that they must make up their minds either to pass the bill or be turned out of their sinecures at the approaching election. To assist them in parting with the last remnants of shame, the last day of the session was singled out for the discussion of the law. It was then of course passed, with some insignificant amendments. What must be the features of a law which required so much management in order to its passage by such a body as this *Corps Législatif?*

In fact, in the time of Louis Philippe himself, when the Bank of France and the Rothschilds were notoriously enabled to lay an embargo upon all legislative projects not to their taste, no minister would have dared to propose such a complete surrender of the State to them. The Government resigns the power, still guaranteed by the Charter of 1846, of amending the new Bank Act before its expiration. The privileges of the Bank, which have still ten years to run, are benevolently prolonged for a further term of thirty years. It is allowed to lower the denomination of its notes to 50 francs, the importance of which clause will be fully understood when we consider that the introduction in 1848 of 200 and 100 franc notes enabled the Bank to replace about $30,000,000 of gold and silver by its own paper. Of the enormous profits, which are sure to accrue to the Bank from this change, no share whatever is reserved for the nation, which, on the contrary, has to pay the Bank for the credit conferred upon the latter in the name of France. The privilege of establishing branch banks in the departments in which they do not yet exist, is bestowed upon the Bank of France, not as a concession made by the Government to the Bank, but, on the contrary, as a concession made by the Bank to the Government. The permission to charge its customers more than the legal 6 per cent interest is encumbered with no other

obligation but that of adding the profits thus derived to its capital and not to its yearly dividends. The reduction of the interest upon its current accounts with the Treasury from four to three per cent is more than compensated by the dropping of the clause of the act of 1840, which obliged the Bank to charge no interest at all whenever the account stood below 80,000,000, the common average of those accounts being 82,000,000. Last, not least, the newly created 91,250 shares, of the nominal value of 1,000 francs, are exclusively ascribed to the holders of the 91,250 shares actually existing; and the Bank shares being now sold on the Bourse at the price of 4,500 francs, these new shares are to be delivered to the old shareholders at the price of 1,100 francs. This act, so entirely framed in favor of the Bankocracy at the expense of the State, affords most conclusive proof of the monetary straits to which the Bonapartist Government finds itself already driven. As an equivalent for all its concessions, that Government receives the sum of $20,000,000, which the Bank is obliged to invest in three per cent *rentes,* to be created for this purpose, and the minimum price of which is fixed at 75 francs. The whole transaction seems strongly to support the notion circulated on the Continent of Europe, that Bonaparte has already drawn to a large amount on the coffers of the Bank, and is now anxious to clothe his fraudulent transactions in a more or less respectable garb.

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# Karl Marx

## THE PERSIAN TREATY

London, June 12, 1857

Some time ago, when a question respecting the Persian war was addressed to Lord Palmerston in his own House of Commons, he tauntingly replied: "As soon as the *peace* is ratified the House may express its opinions on the *war*."[a] The treaty of peace signed at Paris, March 4, 1857, and ratified at Bagdad, May 2, 1857, has now been laid before the House. It consists of fifteen Articles, eight of them being freighted with the usual treaty-of-peace ballast. Article V. stipulates that the Persian troops are to withdraw from the territory and city of Herat, and from every part of Affghanistan, within three months, from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty. By Art. XIV. the British Government, on its part, engages, so soon as the above stipulation be carried into effect, "to withdraw without delay the British troops from all ports, places and islands belonging to Persia."[b]

Now it should be recollected that the evacuation of Herat by the Persian troops was spontaneously offered by Feroukh Khan, the Persian Embassador, during his protracted conferences at Constantinople with Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and before the capture of Bushire had yet occurred. The only new profit accruing to England from this stipulation is, therefore, limited to the privilege of enchaining, during the most unhealthy season, her troops to the most pestilential spot of the Persian Empire. The

[a] Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on May 18, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22684, May 19, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below see "Treaty of Peace between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and His Majesty the Shah of Persia", *The Times*, No. 22704, June 11, 1857.—*Ed.*

terrible ravages the sun and swamps and the sea inflict during the summer months, even on the native population of Bushire and Mohammerah, are chronicled by old and modern writers; but why refer to them, since a few weeks ago, Sir Henry Rawlinson, a very competent judge, and a Palmerstonian too, publicly declared that the Anglo-Indian troops were sure to sink under the horrors of the climate?[a] *The London Times,* on receiving the news of the Mohammerah victory, proclaimed at once the necessity of advancing despite the treaty of peace to Shiraz, in order to save the troops.[b] The suicides, too, of the British Admiral and General,[c] placed at the head of the expedition, were due to their profound anxiety as to the probable fate of the troops, whom, by Governmental instruction, they were not to push beyond Mohammerah. A Crimean catastrophe on a smaller scale may thus be safely expected; this time proceeding neither from the necessities of war, nor from the blunders of the Administration, but from a treaty written with the sword of the victor. There occurs one phrase in the articles quoted which, if it suit Palmerston, may be worked into "a small bone of contention."

Art. XIV. stipulates the "withdrawal of the British troops from all ports, places and islands *belonging to Persia.*" Now it is a controversial matter whether or not the town of Mohammerah *does* belong to Persia. The Turks have never renounced their claims to that place, which, situated on the Delta of the Euphrates, was their only seaport on that river always accessible, the port of Bassora, being at certain seasons too shallow for ships of large burden. Thus, if Palmerston pleases, he may hold Mohammerah on the pretext of its not "belonging" to Persia, and of waiting for the final settlement of the boundary question between Turkey and Persia.

Art. VI. stipulates that Persia agrees to

> "relinquish all claims to sovereignty over the territory and city of Herat and the countries of Affghanistan;" to "abstain from all interference with the internal affairs of Affghanistan;" to "recognize the independence of Herat and the whole of Affghanistan, and never to attempt to interfere with the independence of those States;" to refer, in case of differences with Herat and Affghanistan, "for adjustment to the friendly offices of the British Government, and not to take up arms unless these friendly offices fail of effect."

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[a] H. C. Rawlinson's speech at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on May 11, 1857, *The Times,* No. 22679, May 13, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times,* No. 22681, May 15, 1857, leading article.—*Ed.*

[c] Etheridge and Stalker.—*Ed.*

The British Government, on their part, engage

"at all times to exert their influence with the States of Affghanistan to prevent any causes of umbrage being given by them," and "to use their best endeavors to compose differences in a manner just and honorable to Persia."

Now, if this article is stripped of its red tape, it means nothing beyond the acknowledgment by Persia of the independence of Herat, a concession to make which Feroukh Khan had declared himself ready at the Constantinople conferences. It is true that, by virtue of this article, the British Government is appointed the official intermeddler between Persia and Affghanistan, but that part it was, since the commencement of this century, always acting. Whether it be able or not to continue it, is a question, not of right, but of might. Besides if the Shah[a] harbors at the Court of Teheran any Hugo Grotius, the latter will point out that any stipulation by which an independent State gives a foreign Government the right of interfering with its international relations is null and void according to the *jus gentium,*[b] and that the stipulation with England is the more so, since it converts Affghanistan, a merely poetical term for various tribes and States, into a real country. The country of Affghanistan exists, in a diplomatic sense, no more than the country of Panslavia.

Art. VII., which stipulates that, in case of any violation of the Persian frontier by the Affghan States,

"the Persian Government shall have the right [...] to undertake military operations for the repression and punishment of the aggressors," but "must retire within its own territory so soon as its object is accomplished,"

is but a literal repetition of just that clause of the treaty of 1852[c] which gave the immediate occasion for the Bushire expedition.

By Art. IX. Persia admits the establishment and recognition of British Consul-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls, and Consular Agents, to be placed on the footing of the most favorite nation; but by Art. XII. the British Government renounces

"the right of protecting hereafter any Persian subject not actually in the employment of the British mission or of British Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and Consular Agents."

The establishment of British Consulates in Persia being agreed to by Feroukh Khan before the commencement of the war, the

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[a] Nasr-ed-Din.—*Ed.*

[b] International law.—*Ed.*

[c] A reference to *Articles convenus entre la Grande-Bretagne et la Perse relatifs à l'indépendance de la Ville de Hérat; signés à Téhéran, le 25 janvier 1853.*—*Ed.*

present treaty adds only the renunciation, on the part of England, of her right of protectorate over Persian subjects, which right formed one of the ostensible causes of the war.[346] Austria, France and other States have obtained the establishment of Consulates in Persia without recurring to any piratical expeditions.

Lastly, the treaty forces Mr. Murray back on the Court of Teheran, and prescribes the apology to be made to that gentleman, for being characterized in a letter addressed to Sadir Azim[a] by the Shah, as a "stupid, ignorant and insane man," as a "simpleton," and as the author of a "rude, unmeaning and disgusting document."[b] The apology to be made to Mr. Murray was likewise offered by Feroukh Khan, but then declined by the British Government, who insisted upon the dismissal of Sadir Azim, and Mr. Murray's solemn entry into Teheran "to the sound of cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all manner of music."[c] By accepting, as Consul-General in Egypt, personal favors from Mons, Barrot; by sending, on his first landing at Bushire, the tobacco then presented to him in the Shah's name to the bazaars, there to be publicly sold; by acting the knight-errant of a Persian lady of dubious virtue, Mr. Murray has failed to impress on the Oriental mind very high notions of British integrity or dignity. His forced readmission at the Persian Court must, therefore, be considered a rather questionable success. On the whole, the treaty contains, beyond the offers Feroukh Khan made before the outbreak of the war, no stipulations worth the paper they are written upon, and still less the treasure spent and the blood shed. The clear profits of the Persian expedition may be summed up in the odium incurred by Great Britain throughout Central Asia; the disaffection of India, increased by the withdrawal of Indian troops, and the new burdens thrown on the Indian Exchequer; the almost inevitable recurrence of another Crimean catastrophe; the acknowledgment of Bonaparte's official mediation between England and Asiatic States; lastly, the acquisition by Russia of two strips of land of great importance—the one on the Caspian, the other on the north-coast frontier of Persia.

Written on June 12, 1857 Reproduced from the newspaper

First published unsigned in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5048, June 24, 1857

[a] Prime Minister Mirza Aga Khan.—*Ed.*

[b] Nasr-ed-Din's letter to Sadir Azim of December 1855, *The Times*, No. 22704, June 11, 1857, "The Peace with Persia".—*Ed.*

[c] Daniel 3:10.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE REVOLT IN THE INDIAN ARMY[347]

The Roman *Divide et impera*[a] was the great rule by which Great Britain, for about one hundred and fifty years, contrived to retain the tenure of her Indian empire. The antagonism of the various races, tribes, castes, creeds and sovereignties, the aggregate of which forms the geographical unity of what is called India, continued to be the vital principle of British supremacy. In later times, however, the conditions of that supremacy have undergone a change. With the conquest of Scinde and the Punjaub,[348] the Anglo-Indian empire had not only reached its natural limits, but it had trampled out the last vestiges of independent Indian States. All warlike native tribes were subdued, all serious internal conflicts were at an end, and the late incorporation of Oude[349] proved satisfactorily that the remnants of the so-called independent Indian principalities exist on sufferance only. Hence a great change in the position of the East Indian Company. It no longer attacked one part of India by the help of another part, but found itself placed at the head, and the whole of India at its feet. No longer conquering, it had become *the* conqueror. The armies at its disposition no longer had to extend its dominion, but only to maintain it. From soldiers they were converted into policemen; 200,000,000 natives being curbed by a native army of 200,000 men, officered by Englishmen, and that native army, in its turn, being kept in check by an English army numbering 40,000 only. On first view, it is evident that the allegiance of the Indian people rests on the fidelity of the native army, in creating which the British rule simultaneously organized the first general center of

[a] Divide and rule.— *Ed.*

resistance which the Indian people was ever possessed of. How far that native army may be relied upon is clearly shown by its recent mutinies, breaking out as soon as the war with Persia had almost denuded the Presidency[350] of Bengal of its European soldiers. Before this there had been mutinies in the Indian army, but the present revolt[351] is distinguished by characteristic and fatal features. It is the first time that sepoy regiments have murdered their European officers; that Mussulmans and Hindoos, renouncing their mutual antipathies, have combined against their common masters; that

"disturbances beginning with the Hindoos, have actually ended in placing on the throne of Delhi a Mohammedan Emperor;"[a]

that the mutiny has not been confined to a few localities; and lastly, that the revolt in the Anglo-Indian army has coincided with a general disaffection exhibited against English supremacy on the part of the great Asiatic nations, the revolt of the Bengal army being, beyond doubt, intimately connected with the Persian and Chinese wars.[352]

The alleged cause of the dissatisfaction which began to spread four months ago in the Bengal army was the apprehension on the part of the natives lest the Government should interfere with their religion. The serving out of cartridges, the paper of which was said to have been greased with the fat of bullocks and pigs, and the compulsory biting[353] of which was, therefore, considered by the natives as an infringement of their religious prescriptions, gave the signal for local disturbances. On the 22nd of January an incendiary fire broke out in cantonments a short distance from Calcutta. On the 25th of February the 19th native regiment mutinied at Berhampore the men objecting to the cartridges served out to them. On the 31st of March that regiment was disbanded; at the end of March the 34th sepoy regiment, stationed at Barrackpore, allowed one of its men[b] to advance with a loaded musket upon the parade-ground in front of the line, and, after having called his comrades to mutiny, he was permitted to attack and wound the Adjutant[c] and Sergeant-Major of his regiment. During the hand-to-hand conflict, that ensued, hundreds of sepoys looked passively on, while others participated in the struggle, and attacked the officers with the butt ends of their muskets.

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[a] *The Times*, No. 22719, June 29, 1857, leading article.—*Ed.*
[b] Mungul Pandy.—*Ed.*
[c] Baugh.—*Ed.*

Subsequently that regiment was also disbanded. The month of April was signalized by incendiary fires in several cantonments of the Bengal army at Allahabad, Agra, Umballah, by a mutiny of the 3d regiment of light cavalry at Meerut, and by similar appearances of disaffection in the Madras and Bombay armies. At the beginning of May an émeute was preparing at Lucknow, the capital of Oude, which was, however, prevented by the promptitude of Sir H. Lawrence. On the 9th of May the mutineers of the 3d light cavalry of Meerut were marched off to jail, to undergo the various terms of imprisonment to which they were sentenced. On the evening of the following day the troopers of the 3d cavalry, together with the two native regiments, the 11th and 20th, assembled upon the parade-ground, killed the officers endeavoring to pacify them, set fire to the cantonments, and slew all the Englishmen they were able to lay hands on. Although the British part of the brigade mustered a regiment of infantry, another of cavalry, and an overwhelming force of horse and foot artillery, they were not able to move until nightfall. Having inflicted but little harm on the mutineers, they allowed them to betake themselves to the open field and to throw themselves into Delhi, some forty miles distant from Meerut. There they were joined by the native garrison, consisting of the 38th, 54th and 74th regiments of infantry, and a company of native artillery. The British officers were attacked, all Englishmen within reach of the rebels were murdered, and the heir of the late Mogul[a] [354] of Delhi proclaimed King of India. Of the troops sent to the rescue of Meerut, where order had been re-established, six companies of native sappers and miners, who arrived on the 15th of May, murdered their commanding officer, Major Frazer, and made at once for the open country, pursued by troops of horse artillery and several of the 6th dragoon guards. Fifty or sixty of the mutineers were shot, but the rest contrived to escape to Delhi. At Ferozepore, in the Punjaub, the 57th and 45th native infantry regiments mutinied, but were put down by force. Private letters from Lahore state the whole of the native troops to be in an undisguised state of mutiny. On the 19th of May, unsuccessful efforts were made by the sepoys stationed at Calcutta to get possession of Fort St. William.[355] Three regiments arrived from Bushire at Bombay were at once dispatched to Calcutta.

In reviewing these events, one is startled by the conduct of the

[a] Bahadur Shah II, son of Akbar II.—*Ed.*

British commander at Meerut[a] his late appearance on the field of battle being still less incomprehensible than the weak manner in which he pursued the mutineers. As Delhi is situated on the right and Meerut on the left bank of the Jumna—the two banks being joined at Delhi by one bridge only—nothing could have been easier than to cut off the retreat of the fugitives.

Meanwhile, martial law has been proclaimed in all the disaffected districts; forces, consisting of natives mainly, are concentrating against Delhi from the north, the east and the south; the neighboring princes are said to have pronounced for the English; letters have been sent to Ceylon to stop Lord Elgin and Gen. Ashburnham's forces, on their way to China; and finally, 14,000 British troops were to be dispatched from England to India in about a fortnight. Whatever obstacles the climate of India at the present season, and the total want of means of transportation, may oppose to the movements of the British forces, the rebels at Delhi are very likely to succumb without any prolonged resistance. Yet, even then, it is only the prologue of a most terrible tragedy that will have to be enacted.

Written on June 30, 1857

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Hewitt.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## STATE OF EUROPE[356]
## [—FINANCIAL STATE OF FRANCE]

The soporific dullness which, since the conclusion of the Oriental war,[a] had characterized the physiognomy of Europe, is rapidly giving way to a lively and even feverish aspect. There is Great Britain, with her Reform movement looming in the future and her Indian difficulties. *The London Times,* it is true, tells the world that except those who have friends in India,

"the British public, as a whole, look for the arrival of the next news from India with as much interest as we should on an overdue Australian steamer or the result of a rising at Madrid."[b]

On the same day, however, the same *Times,* in its money article, drops the mask of proud indifference, and betrays the real feelings of John Bull in the following strain:

"A continued depression like that now prevailing in the stock market, in the face of an uninterrupted augmentation in the Bank bullion and the prospect of a great harvest, is almost unprecedented. The anxiety with regard to India overpowers all other considerations, and if any serious news were to arrive to-morrow it would most probably produce a panic."[c]

To speculate upon the course of events in India would be useless just now, when every mail may be expected to bring authentic news. But it is evident that, in case of a serious revolutionary explosion on the continent of Europe, England,

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[a] The Crimean war, 1853-56.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times,* No. 22728, July 9, 1857, leading article.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Times,* No. 22728, July 9, 1857, "Money-Market and City Intelligence".—*Ed.*

drained of her men and her ships by the Chinese war and the Indian revolts, would prove unable to reassume the proud position she occupied in 1848 and 1849. On the other hand, she cannot afford to stand aloof, since the Oriental war and the alliance with Napoleon have lately chained her to continental politics, at the same time that the complete dissolution of her traditionary political parties, and the growing antagonism between her wealth-producing classes, expose her social frame more than ever to spasmodic disturbances. In 1848-49, while her power weighed like an incubus on the European revolution, England was at first a little afraid of it, then diverted its own native ennui by its spectacle, then betrayed it a little, then coquetted a little with it, and at last took earnestly to making money out of it. Her industrial fortunes, somewhat roughly shaken by the commercial distress of 1846-47, may even be said to have, to some extent, been remade, through the agency of the revolution of 1848. However, the continental revolution will be for England neither a spectacle to enjoy, nor a distress to speculate upon, but a severe trial to pass through.

Crossing the English Channel, we find the surface of society already heaving and rocking with the movement of the subterranean fires. The Paris elections[357] are even less the foreboding than the real commencement of a new revolution. It is quite in keeping with the historical past of France that Cavaignac should give color and name to the effort against Bonaparte, in the same way that Odilon Barrot introduced that against Louis Philippe. Cavaignac, like Odilon Barrot, is only a pretext on the part of the people, though both of them serious conceptions on the part of the middle classes. The name under which a revolution is ushered in is never that borne on the banner on the day of triumph. To hold out any chances of success, revolutionary movements must, in modern society, borrow their colors, at the beginning, from those elements of the people which, although opposed to the existing government, are quite in harmony with existing society. In one word, revolutions must receive their tickets of admission to the official stage from the ruling classes themselves.

The Paris elections, and the Paris imprisonments, and the Paris prosecutions, can be read in their true light only by considering the state of the Paris Bourse, whose disturbances preceded the electoral agitation, as they have outlived it. Even during the last three months of 1856, when all Europe was laboring in a financial crisis, the Paris Bourse did not witness such a stupendous and continued depreciation of all securities as prevailed during all last

June and the beginning of July. Besides, it was now not a process of declining and rising by fits and starts, but all went down in quite a methodical way, following the ordinary laws of fall only in the last precipitate plunges. The shares of the Crédit Mobilier,[358] which, at the beginning of June, stood at about 1,300f. were sunk to 1,162f. on the 26th; to 1,095f. on July 3; to 975f. on the 4th; to 890f. on the 7th. The shares of the Bank of France, quoted at the beginning of June at above 4,000f., had, in spite of the new monopolies and privileges bestowed upon the Bank, fallen to 3,065f. on the 29th of June; to 2,890f. on the 3d of July, and on the 9th of July brought no more than 2,900f. The three per cent *rentes,* the shares of the principal railways, such as the Northern, the Lyons, the Mediterranean, the Grand Fusion lines, and all other joint-stock shares, have proportionably shared in this long downward movement.

The new Bank act,[a] while exposing the desperate situation of the Bonapartist exchequer, has at the same time shaken the public confidence in the Bank administration itself. The last report of the Crédit Mobilier,[b] while revealing the organic hollowness of that institution and the vastness of the interests involved in it, informed the public that there was a struggle going on between its Directors and the Emperor,[c] and that some financial *coup d'état* was contemplated. In fact, to make good its most pressing obligations, the Crédit Mobilier has been forced to throw on the market about twenty millions of securities held by it. At the same time, in order to pay their dividends and get the means of continuing or commencing the works undertaken, railways and other joint-stock companies have also had to sell securities, to call for fresh deposits on their old shares, or to procure capital by issuing new ones. Hence the protracted heaviness in the French stock market, which, so far from being the result of merely incidental circumstances, will recur in aggravated forms at every subsequent settling term.

The alarming features of the present disease may be inferred from the fact that Emile Pereire, the great financial quack of the second empire, has stepped forward and tendered a report to Louis Napoleon, taking for his text the words pronounced by the latter in 1850 in an address to the Council-General of Agriculture and Commerce:

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[a] See this volume, pp. 289-92.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 270-77.— *Ed.*
[c] Napoleon III.— *Ed.*

"Credulity, let us not forget it, is the moral part of material interests—the spirit which animates the body—it increases tenfold by confidence the value of all productions."[a]

Mr. Pereire then goes on explaining in a manner already familiar to our readers the decrease of 980,000,000f. in the values of the country within the last five months. He winds up his lamentations with these fatal words: "The budget of fear almost equals the budget of France." If, as Mr. Pereire asserts, apart from the $200,000,000 France has to pay in taxes for maintaining the empire, she has to pay as much more for fear of losing it, the days of that expensive institution, adopted as it was with the exclusive view of saving money, are indeed numbered. If the financial disturbances of the empire have conjured up its political difficulties, the latter, in their turn, are sure to react on the former. It is from this state of the French empire that the recent outbreaks in Spain and Italy,[359] as well as the pending Scandinavian complications,[b] receive their true importance.

Written on July 10, 1857

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5075, July 27, 1857 as a leading article

[a] Napoleon III's speech at the opening session of the Council-General of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry on April 7, 1850, *Discours et Messages de Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte...*, p. 78.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 334-35.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE REVOLT IN INDIA

London, July 17, 1857

On the 8th of June, just a month had passed since Delhi fell into the hands of the revolted Sepoys[360] and the proclamation by them of a Mogul Emperor.[a] Any notion, however, of the mutineers being able to keep the ancient capital of India against the British forces would be preposterous. Delhi is fortified only by a wall and a simple ditch, while the hights surrounding and commanding it are already in the possession of the English, who, even without battering the walls, might enforce its surrender in a very short period by the easy process of cutting off its supply of water. Moreover, a motley crew of mutineering soldiers who have murdered their own officers, torn asunder the ties of discipline, and not succeeded in discovering a man upon whom to bestow the supreme command, are certainly the body least likely to organize a serious and protracted resistance. To make confusion more confused, the checkered Delhi ranks are daily swelling from the fresh arrivals of new contingents of mutineers from all parts of the Bengal Presidency, who, as if on a preconcerted plan, are throwing themselves into the doomed city. The two sallies which, on the 30th and 31st of May, the mutineers risked without the walls, and in both of which they were repulsed with heavy losses, seem to have proceeded from despair rather than from any feeling of self-reliance or strength. The only thing to be wondered at is the slowness of the British operations, which, to some degree, however, may be accounted for by the horrors of the season and the want of means of transport. Apart from Gen. Anson, the commander-in-chief, French letters state that about 4,000 Euro-

[a] Bahadur Shah II.— *Ed.*

pean troops have already fallen victims of the deathly heat, and even the English papers confess that in the engagements before Delhi the men suffered more from the sun than from the shot of the enemy. In consequence of its scanty means of conveyance, the main British force stationed at Umballah consumed about twenty-seven days in its march upon Delhi, so that it moved at the rate of about one and a half hours per day. A further delay was caused by the absence of heavy artillery at Umballah, and the consequent necessity of bringing over a siege-train from the nearest arsenal, which was as far off as Phillour, on the further side of the Sutlej.

With all that, the news of the fall of Delhi may be daily expected; but what next? If the uncontested possession by the rebels during a month of the traditionary center of the Indian Empire acted perhaps as the most powerful ferment in completely breaking up the Bengal army, in spreading mutiny and desertion from Calcutta to the Punjaub in the north, and to Rajpootana in the west, and in shaking the British authority from one end of India to the other, no greater mistake could be committed than to suppose that the fall of Delhi, though it may throw consternation among the ranks of the Sepoys, should suffice either to quench the rebellion, to stop its progress, or to restore the British rule. Of the whole native Bengal army, mustering about 80,000 men—composed of about 28,000 Rajpoots, 23,000 Brahmins,[361] 13,000 Mahometans, 5,000 Hindoos of inferior castes, and the rest Europeans—30,000 have disappeared in consequence of mutiny, desertion, or dismission from the ranks. As to the rest of that army, several of the regiments have openly declared that they will remain faithful and support the British authority, excepting in the matter in which the native troops are now engaged: they will not aid the authorities against the mutineers of the native regiments, and will, on the contrary, assist their "bhaies" (brothers). The truth of this has been exemplified in almost every station from Calcutta. The native regiments remained passive for a time; but, as soon as they fancied themselves strong enough, they mutinied. An Indian correspondent of *The London Times* leaves no doubt as to the "loyalty" of the regiments which have not yet pronounced, and the native inhabitants who have not yet made common cause with the rebels.

"If you read," he says, "that *all is quiet,* understand it to mean that the native troops have not yet risen in open mutiny; that the discontented part of the inhabitants are not yet in open rebellion; that they are either too weak, or fancy themselves to be so, or that they are waiting for a more fitting time. Where you

read of the 'manifestation of loyalty' in any of the Bengal native regiments, cavalry or infantry, understand it to mean that one half of the regiments thus favorably mentioned only are really faithful; the other half are but acting a part, the better to find the Europeans off their guard, when the proper time arrives, or, by warding off suspicion, have it the more in their power to aid their mutinous companions."[a]

In the Punjaub, open rebellion has only been prevented by disbanding the native troops. In Oude, the English can only be said to keep Lucknow, the residency,[362] while everywhere else the native regiments have revolted, escaped with their ammunition, burned all the bungalows to the ground, and joined with the inhabitants who have taken up arms. Now, the real position of the English army is best demonstrated by the fact that it was thought necessary, in the Punjaub as well as the Rajpootana, to establish flying corps. This means that the English cannot depend either on their Sepoy troops or on the natives to keep the communication open between their scattered forces. Like the French during the Peninsular war,[363] they command only the spot of ground held by their own troops, and the next neighborhood domineered by that spot; while for communication between the disjoined members of their army they depend on flying corps, the action of which, most precarious in itself, loses naturally in intensity in the same measure that it spreads over a greater extent of space. The actual insufficiency of the British forces is further proved by the fact that, for removing treasures from disaffected stations, they were constrained to have them conveyed by Sepoys themselves, who, without any exception, broke out in rebellion on the march, and absconded with the treasures confided to them. As the troops sent from England will, in the best case, not arrive before November, and as it would be still more dangerous to draw off European troops from the presidencies of Madras and Bombay—the Tenth regiment of Madras Sepoys, having already shown symptoms of disaffection—any idea of collecting the regular taxes throughout the Bengal presidency must be abandoned, and the process of decomposition be allowed to go on. Even if we suppose that the Burmese will not improve the occasion, that the Maharajah of Gwalior[b] will continue supporting the English, and the Ruler of Nepaul,[c] commanding the finest Indian army, remain quiet; that disaffected Peshawur will not combine with the restless Hill tribes, and that the Shah of Persia[d] will not be silly enough to evacuate

[a] "Agra, June 3", *The Times*, No. 22733, July 15, 1857.—*Ed.*
[b] Sindhia.—*Ed.*
[c] Jung Bahadur.—*Ed.*
[d] Nasr-ed-Din.—*Ed.*

Herat—still, the whole Bengal presidency must be reconquered, and the whole Anglo-Indian army remade. The cost of this enormous enterprise will altogether fall upon the British people. As to the notion put forward by Lord Granville in the House of Lords, of the East India Company[364] being able to raise, by Indian loans, the necessary means,[a] its soundness may be judged from the effects produced by the disturbed state of the north-western provinces on the Bombay money market. An immediate panic seized the native capitalists, very large sums were withdrawn from the banks, Government securities proved almost unsalable, and hoarding to a great extent commenced, not only in Bombay but in its environs also.

Written on July 17, 1857 Reproduced from the newspaper

First published unsigned in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5082, August 4, 1857

[a] Lord Granville's speech in the House of Lords on July 16, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22735, July 17, 1857.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE INDIAN QUESTION

London, July, 28 1857

The three hours' speech delivered last night in "The Dead House,"[365] by Mr. Disraeli, will gain rather than lose by being read instead of being listened to.[a] For some time, Mr. Disraeli affects an awful solemnity of speech, an elaborate slowness of utterance and a passionless method of formality, which, however consistent they may be with his peculiar notions of the dignity becoming a Minister in expectance, are really distressing to his tortured audience. Once he succeeded in giving even commonplaces the pointed appearance of epigrams. Now he contrives to bury even epigrams in the conventional dullness of respectability. An orator who, like Mr. Disraeli, excels in handling the dagger rather than in wielding the sword, should have been the last to forget Voltaire's warning, that "Tous les genres sont bons excepté le genre ennuyeux."[b]

Beside these technical peculiarities which characterize Mr. Disraeli's present manner of eloquence, he, since Palmerston's accession to power, has taken good care to deprive his parliamentary exhibitions of every possible interest of actuality. His speeches are not intended to carry his motions, but his motions are intended to prepare for his speeches. They might be called self-denying motions, since they are so constructed as neither to harm the adversary, if carried, nor to damage the proposer, if lost. They mean, in fact, to be neither carried nor lost, but simply to be

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[a] Here and below Disraeli's speech in the House of Commons on July 27, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22744, July 28, 1857.— *Ed.*

[b] "All genres are good except the boring ones (F. M. A. Voltaire, *L'enfant prodigue*, Preface).— *Ed.*

dropped. They belong neither to the acids nor to the alkalis, but are born neutrals. The speech is not the vehicle of action, but the hypocrisy of action affords the opportunity for a speech. Such, indeed, may be the classical and final form of parliamentary eloquence; but then, at all events, the final form of parliamentary eloquence must not demur to sharing the fate of all final forms of parliamentarism—that of being ranged under the category of nuisances. Action, as Aristotle said, is the ruling law of the drama.[a] So it is of political oratory. Mr. Disraeli's speech on the Indian revolt might be published in the tracts of the Society for the Propagation of Useful Knowledge, or it might be delivered to a mechanics' institution,[366] or tendered as a prize essay to the Academy of Berlin. This curious impartiality of his speech as to the place where, and the time when, and the occasion on which it was delivered, goes far to prove that it fitted neither place, time, nor occasion. A chapter on the decline of the Roman Empire which might read exceedingly well in Montesquieu or Gibbon[b] would prove an enormous blunder if put in the mouth of a Roman Senator, whose peculiar business it was to stop that very decline. It is true that in our modern parliaments, a part lacking neither dignity nor interest might be imagined of an independent orator who, while despairing of influencing the actual course of events, should content himself to assume a position of ironical neutrality. Such a part was more or less successfully played by the late M. Garnier Pagès—not the Garnier Pagès of Provisional Government memory in Louis Philippe's Chamber of Deputies; but Mr. Disraeli, the avowed leader of an obsolete faction,[367] would consider even success in this line as a supreme failure. The revolt of the Indian army afforded certainly a magnificent opportunity for oratorical display. But, apart from his dreary manner of treating the subject, what was the gist of the motion which he made the pretext for his speech? It was no motion at all. He feigned to be anxious for becoming acquainted with two official papers, the one of which he was not quite sure to exist, and the other of which he was sure not immediately to bear on the subject in question. Consequently his speech and his motion lacked any point of contact save this, that the motion heralded a speech without an object, and that the object confessed itself not worth a

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[a] Aristoteles, *De Poetica*, 6.—*Ed.*

[b] [Ch.-L. de Montesquieu,] *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains, et de leur décadance* and E. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*—*Ed.*

speech. Still, as the highly elaborated opinion of the most distinguished out-of-office statesman of England, Mr. Disraeli's speech ought to attract the attention of foreign countries. I shall content myself with giving in his *ipsissima verba*[a] a short analysis of his "considerations on the decline of the Anglo-Indian Empire".

"Does the disturbance in India indicate a military mutiny, or is it a national revolt? Is the conduct of the troops the consequence of a sudden impulse, or is it the result of an organized conspiracy?"

Upon these points Mr. Disraeli asserts the whole question to hinge. Until the last ten years, he affirmed, the British empire in India was founded on the old principle of *divide et impera*—but that principle was put into action by respecting the different nationalities of which India consisted, by avoiding to tamper with their religion, and by protecting their landed property. The Sepoy army served as a safety-valve to absorb the turbulent spirits of the country. But of late years a new principle has been adopted in the government of India—the principle of destroying nationality. The principle has been realized by the forcible destruction of native princes, the disturbance of the settlement of property, and the tampering with the religion of the people. In 1848 the financial difficulties of the East India Company had reached that point that it became necessary to augment its revenues one way or the other. Then a minute in Council[368] was published, in which was laid down the principle, almost without disguise, that the only mode by which an increased revenue could be obtained was by enlarging the British territories at the expense of the native princes. Accordingly, on the death of the Rajah of Sattara,[b] his adoptive heir was not acknowledged by the East India Company, but the Raj absorbed in its own dominions. From that moment the system of annexation was acted upon whenever a native prince died without natural heirs. The principle of adoption—the very corner-stone of Indian society—was systematically set aside by the Government. Thus were forcibly annexed to the British Empire the Rajs of more than a dozen independent princes from 1848-54. In 1854 the Raj of Berar, which comprised 80,000 square miles of land, a population from 4,000,000 to 5,000,000, and enormous treasures, was forcibly seized. Mr. Disraeli ends the list of forcible annexations with Oude, which brought the East India Government in collision not only with the Hindoos, but also with the

[a] Very words.—*Ed.*
[b] Appa Sahib.—*Ed.*

Mohammedans. Mr. Disraeli then goes on showing how the settlement of property in India was disturbed by the new system of government during the last ten years.

"The principle of the law of adoption," he says, "is not the prerogative of princes and principalities in India, it applies to every man in Hindostan who has landed property, and who professes the Hindoo religion."

I quote a passage:

"The great feudatory, or jaguedar, who holds his lands by public service to his lord; and the enamdar, who holds his land free of all land-tax, who corresponds, if not precisely, in a popular sense, at least, with our freeholder[369]—both of these classes—classes most numerous in India—always, on the failure of their natural heirs, find in this principle the means of obtaining successors to their estates. These classes were all touched by the annexation of Sattara, they were touched by the annexation of the territories of the ten inferior but independent princes to whom I have already alluded, and they were more than touched, they were terrified to the last degree, when the annexation of the Raj of Berar took place. What man was safe? What feudatory, what freeholder who had not a child of his own loins was safe throughout India? [Hear, hear]. These were not idle fears; they were extensively acted upon and reduced to practice. The resumption of jagheers and of inams commenced for the first time in India. There have been, no doubt, impolitic moments when attempts have been made to inquire into titles but no one had ever dreamt of abolishing the law of adoption; therefore no authority, no Government had ever been in a position to resume jagheers and inams the holders of which had left no natural heirs. Here was a new source of revenue; but while all these things were acting upon the minds of these classes of Hindoos, the Government took another step to disturb the settlement of property, to which I must now call the attention of the House. The House is aware, no doubt, from reading the evidence taken before the Committee of 1853, that there are great portions of the land of India which are exempt from the land-tax. Being free from land-tax in India is far more than equivalent to freedom from the land-tax in this country, for, speaking generally and popularly, the land-tax in India is the whole taxation of the State.

"The origin of these grants is difficult to penetrate, but they are undoubtedly of great antiquity. They are of different kinds. Beside the private freeholds, which are very extensive, there are large grants of land free from the land-tax with which mosques and temples have been endowed."

On the pretext of fraudulent claims of exemption, the British Governor General[a] took upon himself to examine the titles of the Indian landed estates. Under the new system, established in 1848,

"That plan of investigating titles was at once embraced, as a proof of a powerful Government, vigorous Executive, and most fruitful source of public revenue. Therefore commissions were issued to inquire into titles to landed estates in the Presidency of Bengal and adjoining country. They were also issued in the Presidency of Bombay, and surveys were ordered to be made in the newly-settled provinces, in order that these commissions might be conducted, when the surveys

[a] Dalhousie.—*Ed.*

were completed, with due efficiency. Now there is no doubt that, during the last nine years, the action of these commissions of Inquiry into the freehold property of landed estates in India has been going on at an enormous rate, and immense results have been obtained."

Mr. Disraeli computes that the resumption of estates from their proprietors is not less than £500,000 a year in the Presidency of Bengal; £370,000 in the Presidency of Bombay; £200,000 in the Punjaub, &c. Not content with this one method of seizing upon the property of the natives, the British Government discontinued the pensions to the native grandees, to pay which it was bound by treaty.

"This," says Mr. Disraeli, "is confiscation by a new means, but upon a most extensive, startling and shocking scale."

Mr. Disraeli then treats the tampering with the religion of the natives, a point upon which we need not dwell. From all his premises he arrives at the conclusion that the present Indian disturbance is not a military mutiny, but a national revolt, of which the Sepoys are the acting instruments only. He ends his harangue by advising the Government to turn their attention to the internal improvement of India, instead of pursuing its present course of aggression.

Written on July 28, 1857

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published unsigned in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5091, August 14, 1857

# Karl Marx

## INDIAN NEWS[370]

London, July 31, 1857

The last Indian mail, conveying news from Delhi up to the 17th June, and from Bombay up to the 1st of July, realizes the most gloomy anticipations. When Mr. Vernon Smith, the President of the Board of Control,[371] first informed the House of Commons of the Indian revolt, he confidently stated that the next mail would bring the news that Delhi had been razed to the ground.[a] The mail arrived, but Delhi was not yet "wiped out of the pages of history." It was then said that the battery train could not be brought up before the 9th of June, and that the attack on the doomed city must consequently be delayed to that date. The 9th of June passed away without being distinguished by any remarkable incident. On the 12th and 15th June some events occurred, but rather in the opposite direction, Delhi being not stormed by the English, but the English being attacked by the insurgents, the repeated sorties of whom were, however, repulsed. The fall of Delhi is thus again postponed, the alleged cause being now no longer the sole want of siege-artillery, but General Barnard's resolution to wait upon re-enforcements, as his forces—about 3,000 men—were totally inadequate to the capture of the ancient capital defended by 30,000 Sepoys, and possessed of all the military stores. The rebels had even established a camp outside the Ajmer gate. Until now, all military writers were unanimous in considering an English force of 3,000 men quite sufficient for crushing a Sepoy army of 30,000 or 40,000 men; and if such was

[a] V. Smith's speech in the House of Commons on June 29, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22720, June 30, 1857.—*Ed.*

not the case, how could England—to use an expression of *The London Times*—ever be able to "reconquer" India?[a]

The British army in India amounts actually to 30,000 men. The utmost number they can dispatch from England within the next half year cannot exceed 20,000 or 25,000 men, of whom 6,000 men are to fill up vacancies among the European ranks in India, and of whom the additional force of 18,000 or 19,000 men will be reduced by loss from the voyage, by loss from the climate, and by other casualties to about 14,000 troops able to appear on the theater of war. The British army must resolve upon meeting the mutineers in very disproportionate numbers, or it must renounce meeting them at all. Still we are at a loss to understand the slowness of the concentration of their forces around Delhi. If at this season of the year, the heat proves an invincible obstacle, which it did not in the days of Sir Charles Napier, some months later, on the arrival of the European troops, the rains will afford a still more conclusive pretext for a standstill. It should never be forgotten that the present mutiny had, in fact, already begun in the month of January, and that the British Government had thus received ample warning for keeping its powder dry and its forces ready.

The prolonged hold of Delhi by the Sepoys in face of an English besieging army has, of course, produced its natural result. The mutiny was spreading to the very gates of Calcutta, fifty Bengal regiments had ceased to exist, the Bengal army itself had become a myth of the past, and the Europeans, dispersed over an immense extent of land, and blocked up in insulated spots, were either butchered by the rebels, or had taken up position of desperate defense. At Calcutta itself the Christian inhabitants formed a volunteer guard, after a plot, said to have been most complete in its detail, for surprising the seat of the Government, had been discovered, and the native troops there stationed had been disbanded. At Benares, an attempt at disarming a native regiment was resisted by a body of Sikhs[372] and the Thirteenth irregular cavalry. This fact is very important, as it shows that the Sikhs, like the Mohammedans, were making common cause with the Brahmins, and that thus a general union against the British rule, of all the different tribes, was rapidly progressing. It had been an article of faith with the English people, that the Sepoy army constituted their whole strength in India. Now, all at once, they feel quite satisfied that that very army constitutes their sole

[a] *The Times*, No. 22740, July 23, 1857, leading article.—*Ed.*

danger. During the last Indian debates, Mr. Vernon Smith, the President of the Board of Control, still declared that

"the fact cannot be too much insisted upon that there is no connection whatever between the native princes and the revolt."[a]

Two days later the same Vernon Smith had to publish a dispatch containing this ominous paragraph:

"On the 14th of June the ex-King of Oude,[b] implicated in the conspiracy by intercepted papers, was lodged in Fort William,[373] and his followers disarmed."[c]

By and by there will ooze out other facts able to convince even John Bull himself that what he considers a military mutiny is in truth a national revolt.

The English press feigns to derive great comfort from the conviction that the revolt had not yet spread beyond the boundaries of the Bengal Presidency, and that not the least doubt was entertained of the loyalty of the Bombay and Madras armies. However, this pleasant view of the case seems singularly to clash with the fact conveyed by the last mail of a mutiny of the Nizam's[d] cavalry having broken out at Aurungabad. Aurungabad being the capital of the district of the same name which belongs to the Bombay Presidency, the truth is that the last mail announces a commencement of revolt of the Bombay army. The Aurungabad mutiny is, indeed, said to have been at once put down by General Woodburn. But was not the Meerut mutiny said to have been put down at once? Did not the Lucknow mutiny, after having been quenched by Sir H. Lawrence, make a more formidable reappearance a fortnight later? Will it not be recollected that the very first announcement of mutiny in the Indian army was accompanied with the announcement of restored order? Although the bulk of the Bombay and Madras armies is composed of low caste men, there are still mixed to every regiment some hundred Rajpoots,[374] a number quite sufficient to form the connecting links with the high caste rebels of the Bengal army. The Punjaub is declared to be quiet, but at the same time we are informed that "at

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[a] V. Smith's speech in the House of Commons on July 27, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22744, July 28, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] Wajid Ali Shah.—*Ed.*

[c] Dispatch from the British Vice-Consul at Trieste, *The Times*, No. 22746, July 30, 1857.—*Ed.*

[d] Ruler of the Hyderabad Principality.—*Ed.*

Ferozepore, on the 13th of June, military executions had taken place,"[a] while Vaughan's corps—5th Punjaub Infantry—is praised for "having behaved admirably in pursuit of the 55th Native Infantry."[a] This, it must be confessed, is a very queer sort of "quiet."

Written on July 31, 1857

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[a] Reprint from *The Morning Post* of July 30, *The Times*, No. 22747, July 31, 1857.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## STATE OF THE INDIAN INSURRECTION

London, August 4, 1857

On the arrival at London of the voluminous reports conveyed by the last Indian mail, the meagre outlines of which had been anticipated by the electric telegraph, the rumor of the capture of Delhi was rapidly spreading and winning so much consistency as to influence the transactions of the Stock Exchange. It was another edition of the capture of Sevastopol hoax,[375] on a reduced scale. The slightest examination of the dates and contents of the Madras papers, from which the favorable news was avowedly derived, would have sufficed to dispel the delusion. The Madras information professed to rest upon private letters from Agra dated June 17, but an official notification, issued at Lahore, on the 17th of June, announces that up to 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 16th, all was quiet before Delhi, while *The Bombay Times*, dated July 1, states that

> "General Barnard was waiting for re-enforcements on the morning of the 17th, after having repelled several sorties."[a]

This much, as to the date of the Madras information. As to its contents, these are evidently made up of General Barnard's bulletin, dated June 8, on his forcible occupation of the hights of Delhi, and of some private reports relating to the sallies of the besieged on the 12th and 14th June.

A military plan of Delhi and its cantonments has at last been compiled by Captain Lawrence, from the unpublished plans of the

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[a] "(From *The Bombay Times* of July 1)", *The Times*, No. 22748, August 1, 1857.—*Ed.*

East India Company. Hence we see that Delhi is not quite so weakly fortified as was at first asserted, nor quite so strongly as is now pretended. It possesses a citadel, to be taken by escalade or by regular approaches. The walls, being more than seven miles in extent, are built of solid masonry, but of no great hight. The ditch is narrow and not very deep, and the flanking works do not properly enfilade the curtain. Martello towers[376] exist at intervals. They are semi-circular in form, and loopholed for musketry. Spiral staircases lead from the top of the walls down through the towers to chambers, on a level with the ditch, and those are loopholed for infantry fire, which may prove very annoying to an escalading party crossing the ditch. The bastions defending the curtains are also furnished with banquettes for riflemen, but these may be kept down by shelling. When the insurrection broke out, the arsenal in the interior of the city contained 900,000 cartridges, two complete siege trains, a large number of field guns and 10,000 muskets. The powder-magazine had been long since removed, at the desire of the inhabitants, from the city to the cantonments outside Delhi, and contained not less than 10,000 barrels. The commanding hights occupied by Gen. Barnard on the 8th of June are situated in a north-westerly direction from Delhi, where the cantonments outside the walls were also established.[a]

From the description, resting on authentic plans, it will be understood that the stronghold of the revolt must have succumbed before a single *coup de main,* if the British force, now before Delhi had been there on the 26th of May, and they could have been there if supplied with sufficient carriage. A review of the list published in *The Bombay Times,* and republished in the London papers, of the number of regiments that had revolted, to the end of June, and of the dates on which they revolted,[b] proves conclusively that, on the 26th of May, Delhi was yet occupied by 4,000 to 5,000 men only; a force which could not one moment have thought of defending a wall seven miles in extent. Meerut being only forty miles distant from Delhi, and having, since the commencement of 1853, always served as the headquarters of the Bengal artillery, possessed the principal laboratory for military scientific purposes, and afforded the parade ground for exercise in the use of field and siege ordnance; it becomes the more

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[a] H. [W.] Barnard's bulletin of June 8 on the occupation of the hights of Delhi, *The Times,* No. 22748, August 1, 1857.— *Ed.*

[b] "(From *The Bombay Times* of July 1)", *The Times,* No. 22748, August 1, 1857.— *Ed.*

incomprehensible that the British commander was in want of the means necessary for the execution of one of those *coups de main* by which the British forces in India always know how to secure their supremacy over the natives. First we were informed that the siege train was waited for[a]; then that re-enforcements were wanted; and now *The Press*, one of the best informed London papers, tells us,

"It is known by our Government for a fact that General Barnard is deficient in stores and ammunition, and that his supply of the latter is limited to 24 rounds a man."

From General Barnard's own bulletin on the occupation of the hights of Delhi, which is dated the 8th of June, we see that he originally intended assailing Delhi on the following day. Instead of being able to follow up this plan, he was, by one accident or the other, confined to taking up the defensive against the besieged.

At this very moment it is extremely difficult to compute the forces on either part. The statements of the Indian press are altogether self-contradictory; but we think some reliance may be put upon an Indian correspondence of the Bonapartist *Pays*, which seems to emanate from the French Consul at Calcutta.[b] According to his statement, the army of Gen. Barnard was, on the 14th of June, composed of about 5,700 men, which was expected to be doubled (?) by the re-enforcements expected on the 20th of the same month. His train was composed of 30 heavy siege guns, while the forces of the insurgents were estimated at 40,000 men, badly organized, but richly furnished with all the means of attack and defense.

We remark *en passant*, that the 3,000 insurgents encamped without the Ajmer gate, probably in the Gazee Khan's tombs, are not, as some London papers imagine, fronting the English force, but, on the contrary, separated from them by the whole breadth of Delhi; the Ajmer gate being situated on one extremity of the south-western part of modern Delhi to the north of the ruins of ancient Delhi. On that side [of] the town nothing can prevent the insurgents from establishing some more such camps. On the north-eastern, or river side of the city, they command the ship bridge, and remain in continued connection with their countrymen, able to receive uninterrupted supplies of men and stores. On

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[a] See this volume, p. 314.— *Ed.*
[b] De Valbezen.— *Ed.*

a smaller scale Delhi offers the image of a fortress, keeping (like Sevastopol) open its lines of communication with the interior of its own country.

The delay in the British operations has not only allowed the besieged to concentrate large numbers for the defense, but the sentiment of having held Delhi during many weeks, harassed the European forces through repeated sallies, together with the news daily pouring in of fresh revolts of the entire army, has, of course, strengthened the *morale* of the Sepoys. The English, with their small forces, can, of course, not think of investing the town, but must storm it. However, if the next regular mail bring not the news of the capture of Delhi, we may almost be sure that, for some months, all serious operations on the part of the British will have to be suspended. The rainy season will have set in in real earnest, and protect the north-eastern face of the city by filling the ditch with "the deep and rapid current of the Jumna," while a thermometer ranging from 75 to 102,[a] combined with an average fall of nine inches of rain, would scourge the Europeans with the genuine Asiatic cholera. Then would be verified the words of Lord Ellenborough,

> "I am of opinion that Sir H. Barnard cannot remain where he is—the climate forbids it. When the heavy rains set in he will be cut off from Meerut, from Umballah and from the Punjaub; he will be imprisoned in a very narrow strip of land, and he will be in a situation, I will not say of peril, but in a situation which can only end in ruin and destruction. I trust that he will retire in time."[b]

Everything, then, as far as Delhi is concerned, depends on the question whether or not Gen. Barnard found himself sufficiently provided with men and ammunition to undertake the assault of Delhi during the last weeks of June. On the other hand, a retreat on his part would immensely strengthen the moral force of the insurrection, and perhaps decide the Bombay and Madras armies upon openly joining it.

Written on August 4, 1857

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

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[a] Fahrenheit (24° to 39° Celsius).—*Ed.*

[b] Lord Ellenborough's speech in the House of Lords on July 31, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22748, August 1, 1857.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE ORIENTAL QUESTION

London, Aug. 11, 1857

The Oriental question, which some fourteen months ago was said to have been settled by a peace at Paris,[377] is now fairly reopened by a diplomatic strike at Constantinople. There the embassies of France, Russia, Prussia and Sardinia have hauled down their flags, and broken off their relations with the Porte. The Embassadors of England and Austria,[a] backing the resistance of the Divan against the demands of the Four Powers, simultaneously declared they should not shun any responsibility likely to arise out of the conflict.

These events occurred on the 6th of the present month. The story of the drama is the old one, but the *dramatis personae* have shifted parts, and the plot is made to bear some air of novelty, through the contrivance of a new *mise en scène.* It is now not Russia, but France, that occupies the vanguard. M. Thouvenel, her Embassador at Constantinople, in a somewhat affected, Menchikoff strain, imperiously called upon the Porte to annul the Moldavian elections, because Vogorides, the Kaimakam[b] of Moldavia, by unfair interference, and in violation of the treaty of Paris, had contrived to give the Anti-Unionists a majority of representatives.[378] The Porte demurred to this dictation, but declared itself willing to summon the Kaimakam to Constantinople, there to answer the accusations brought forward against his administration. This proposal M. Thouvenel haughtily rejected, insisting on the inquiry into the electoral operations being

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[a] Stratford Canning Stratford de Redcliffe and Anton von Prokesch-Osten.—*Ed.*

[b] Lieutenant.—*Ed.*

handed over to the European Commission of reorganization installed at Bucharest. Since the majority of that Commission is formed of the Commissioners of France, Russia, Prussia and Sardinia, the very parties working for the union of the Danubian Provinces, and charging Vogorides with the crime of illegal interference, the Porte, pushed on by the Embassadors of Great Britain and Austria, of course declined making its avowed antagonists the judges in their own cause. Then the catastrophe took place.

The real point in question is evidently the same that gave origin to the Russian war, viz., the virtual separation of the Danubian Provinces from Turkey, this time attempted not in the form of a "material guarantee," but in the form of a union of the Principalities under the sway of a European puppet-prince. Russia, in her calm, circumspect, patient way, never swerves from her settled purpose. Already she has succeeded in arraying, in an affair in which she alone is interested, some of her enemies against the rest, and may thus expect to subdue the one by the other. As to Bonaparte, he is actuated by various motives. He hopes to find a safety-valve against disaffection at home by complication abroad. He is immensely flattered that Russia deigns to figure in a French mask, and allows him to lead the dance. His empire of fictions must content itself with theatrical triumphs, and, in the depths of his soul, he may delude himself with the notion of putting, with the aid of Russia, a Bonaparte on the mock throne of a Roumania extemporized by protocols. Since the famous Warsaw Conference of 1850,[379] and the march of an Austrian army to the northern confines of Germany, Prussia pants for some little revenge to be wreaked on Austria, if it be allowed at the same time to keep out of harm's way. Sardinia rests all her hopes on a conflict with Austria, to be no longer waged by the dangerous alliance with Italian revolutions, but in the rear of the despotic powers of the continent.

Austria is as earnest in counteracting the union of the Danubian Principalities as Russia is in forwarding it. She knows the prime motive of that scheme, which is still more immediately aimed at her own power than that of the Porte. Palmerston at last, the principal stock in trade of whose popularity consists of a spurious Anti-Russianism, must of course feign to share the real terrors of Francis Joseph. He, by all means, must appear to side with Austria and the Porte, and not to give way to Russian pressure unless constrained by France. Such is the position of the respective parties. The Rouman people are but a pretext, a thing quite out of

the question. Even the most desperate enthusiasts will scarcely be able to muster a sufficient quantity of credulity to believe in Louis Napoleon's sincere zeal for the purity of popular elections, or in Russia's ardent desire to strengthen the Rouman nationality, the destruction of which has never ceased to form an object of her intrigues and her wars since the days of Peter the Great.

A paper started at Brussels by certain self-styled Rouman patriots, and called *L'Etoile du Danube*, has just published a series of documents relating to the Moldavian elections, the substantial part of which I propose to translate for *The Tribune*. It consists of letters addressed to Nicholas Vogorides, the Kaimakam of Moldavia, by Stephen Vogorides, his father; by Musurus, his brother-in-law, and the Turkish Embassador at London; by A. Vogorides, his brother, and the Secretary to the Turkish Embassy at London; by M. Fotiades, another brother-in-law of his, and the Chargé d'Affaires of the Moldavian Government at Constantinople; and, lastly, by Baron Prokesch, the Austrian Internuncio[380] at the Sublime Porte. This correspondence was some time since stolen from the Jassy Palace of the Kaimakam, and the *Etoile du Danube* now boasts of the possession of the original letters. The *Etoile du Danube* considers burglary quite a respectable road to diplomatic information, and in this view of the case seems backed by the whole of the official European press.

## SECRET CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE MOLDAVIAN ELECTIONS, PUBLISHED BY THE *ÉTOILE DU DANUBE*[a]

*Fragment of a Letter of M. C. Musurus, the Ottoman Embassador at London, to the Kaimakam Vogorides*

London, April 23, 1857

"I tell you confidentially that Lord Clarendon approves your reply to the Consuls of France and Russia[b] concerning the press. He has found it honorable, just and legal. I have recommended to his Excellency the wisdom of your conduct in the actual circumstances. I write to the Porte, and endeavor to secure your success in the brilliant career you show yourself so worthy of. You will save this fine country from the danger into which traitors unworthy the name of Moldavians try to drag it. Stimulated by material interests and rewards, they push their perversity to the point of contributing to transform Moldavia, their fatherland, into

[a] "Extraits de lettres confidentielles adressées au caïmacam de Moldavie par différents personnages politiques", *L'Étoile du Danube*, No. 50, August 8, 1857.— *Ed.*

[b] Victor Place and Popoff.— *Ed.*

a simple appendage to Wallachia, and to wipe it out from the map of self-governing peoples. On the pretext of founding some fabulous Roumania, they want to reduce Moldavia and the Moldavians to the state of Ireland and the Irish, little caring for the maledictions of generations present and to come. You fulfill the duty of an honest and virtuos patriot in detesting such rubbish, which is not ashamed of calling itself the National party. The Unionist party may call itself the National party in Wallachia, where it aims at the aggrandizement of the fatherland; but from the same reason it cannot be designated in Moldavia but by the name of the anti-national party. There the only national party is that which resists the union... The English Government is hostile to the union. Do not doubt that. I tell you confidentially that instructions in this sense have been recently sent to the English Commissioner at Bucharest[a] (who is my friend), and your Excellency will shortly see the results of these instructions. The answer you have given to the Consuls of France and Russia in regard to the Press was a proper one... It was your duty, as the chief of a self-governing Principality, to beat back the scandalous and illegal intervention of foreigners in internal affairs. Yours is not the fault, if those two Consuls have placed themselves in a false position, from which their Governments can but enable them to withdraw by recalling them... I fear not less the Porte, constrained by foreign intervention, be placed in the unpleasant situation to involuntarily withhold from you, in its correspondence with you, all the satisfaction it derives from and all the praise it bestows upon your moderate and prudent conduct. The Kaimakam of Moldavia, you must certainly submit to the supreme Government; but, at the same time, the chief of that independent Principality, and a Moldavian Boyar, too, you have to fulfill your duty toward your country, and, if need be, to represent to the Porte that the first of the privileges *ab antiquo*[b] of the Principalities is the existence of Moldavia as a distinct, self-governing Principality."

*A. Vogorides, Secretary to the Turkish Embassy at London, to the Kaimakam Vogorides*

"I hasten to inform you that your brother-in-law has just seen Lord Palmerston. He has brought important news as to the disposition of his Lordship against the union of the Principalities. Lord Palmerston is a thorough adversary of the union; he considers it as subversive of the rights of our sovereign, and consequently analogous instructions will be sent to Sir Henry Bulwer, the Commissioner of Great Britain in the Principalities. Thus, as I wrote you before, it is necessary for you to strain every nerve for preventing the Moldavians from expressing any wishes in favor of the union and for showing you worthy of the benevolence of the Porte, or the support of England and Austria. The three Powers being decided upon obstructing the union, you need not care about what the French intend or threaten to do, whose journals treat you like a Greek."

*The Same to the Same*

London April 15, 1857

"I am advising you to blindly follow in everything the Austrian Consul,[c] even if he behaved still more fastidiously, and in spite of all his faults. You must consider

[a] William Henry Lytton Earle Bulwer.— *Ed.*

[b] Time-honoured.— *Ed.*

[c] Oscar de Goedel Lannoy.— *Ed.*

that that man acts only according to the instructions of his Government. Austria agrees with the ideas of the Sublime Porte and Great Britain, and it is for this reason that, when Austria is content, Turkey and England will be so. I repeat, therefore, that you must comply with the counsels and wishes of the Austrian Consul, and without the least objection, employ all the persons he may propose to you, without informing you whether the persons recommended be perverse or ill-famed. It suffices that these men be sincerely against the union. That suffices; for, if the union should be proclaimed by the Moldavian Divan, Austria would accuse you of being responsible, because of having resisted the advice of her Consul, so active in the opposition to the union. As to England, she will never allow the union to be realized, even if all the Divans pronounced for it. Nevertheless, it is desirable that you prevent the Moldavian Divan from pronouncing for the union, because then the difficulties of the three Powers will be less with respect to France and Russia, and thus they will owe you their gratitude... You were quite right in not granting the liberty of the press which Moldavian madcaps, friends of Russia under a French mask, would misuse for bringing about a popular move in favor of the union... Do prevent maneuvers of that sort. I feel sure that, if the *Etoile du Danube* and the like bad publications were published in France, the Government would not fail to immediately dispatch their authors to Cayenne.[381] France, which longs for liberty-clubs and political reunions in Moldo-Wallachia, should commence by admitting them at home, instead of inflicting banishment and warnings upon all journalists who dare speak a little freely. *Charité bien ordonnée,* as the French proverb says, *commence par soi-même.*[a] The Paris Treaty does not speak of the union of the Principalities; it simply says that the Divans shall pronounce themselves on the internal reorganization of the country; but the madcaps who make the union their watchword, altogether forgetting the clause of the treaty, instead of pondering over internal reforms, are exclusively bent on a new international organization, meditate independence under foreign princes... England, quite agreed with Austria, is completely opposed to the union and will, in concert with the Sublime Porte, never allow it to be carried out. If the French Consul tells you the contrary, do not believe him, because he lies."

Written on August 11, 1857 Reproduced from the newspaper

First published unsigned in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5102, August 27, 1857

[a] "Charity well directed should begin at home" (Montluc, *La Comédie des Proverbes,* Act III, 7).— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE INDIAN INSURRECTION

London, Aug. 14, 1857

When the Indian news, conveyed by the Trieste telegraph on the 30th of July, and by the Indian mail on the 1st of August, first arrived,[a] we showed at once, from their contents and their dates, that the capture of Delhi was a miserable hoax, and a very inferior imitation of the never-to-be-forgotten fall of Sevastopol.[382] Yet such is the unfathomable depth of John Bull's gullibility, that his ministers, his stock-jobbers and his press had, in fact, contrived to persuade him that the very news which laid bare General Barnard's merely defensive position contained evidence of the complete extermination of his enemies. From day to day this hallucination grew stronger, till it assumed at last such consistency as to induce even a veteran hand at similar matters, General Sir de Lacy Evans, to proclaim on the night of the 12th of August, amid the cheering echoes of the House of Commons, his belief in the truth of the rumor of the capture of Delhi. After this ridiculous exhibition, however, the bubble was ripe for bursting, and the following day, the 13th of August, brought successive telegraphic dispatches from Trieste and Marseilles, anticipating the Indian mails, and leaving no doubt as to the fact that on the 27th of June Delhi still stood where it had stood before,[b] and that General Barnard, still confined to the defensive, but harassed by frequent furious sorties of the besieged, was very glad to have been able to hold his ground to that time.

In our opinion the next mail is likely to impart the news of the retreat of the English army, or at least facts foreshadowing such a

[a] A reference to the report of the capture of Delhi, which proved false, see this volume, p. 318.— *Ed.*

[b] *The Times*, No. 22758, August 13, 1857.— *Ed.*

retrograde movement. It is certain that the extent of the walls of Delhi forbids the belief that the whole of them can be effectively manned, and, on the contrary, invites to *coups de main* to be executed by concentration and surprise. But Gen. Barnard seems imbued with European notions of fortified towns and sieges and bombardments, rather than prone to those bold eccentricities by which Sir Charles Napier knew how to thunderstrike Asiatic minds. His forces are, indeed, said to have been increased to about 12,000 men, 7,000 Europeans and 5,000 "faithful natives"; but on the other hand, it is not denied that the rebels were daily receiving new reinforcements, so that we may fairly assume that the numerical disproportion between besiegers and besieged has remained the same. Moreover, the only point by the surprise of which General Barnard might insure certain success is the Mogul's Palace, which occupies a commanding position, but the access to which from the river side must become impracticable from the effect of the rainy season, which will have set in, while an attack on the palace between the Cashmere gate and the river would inflict on the assailants the greatest risk in case of failure. Finally, the setting in of the rains is sure to make the securing of his line of communication and retreat the principal object of the General's operations. In one word, we see no reason to believe that he, with his still inadequate forces, should venture upon risking, at the most impracticable period of the year, what he shrunk from undertaking at a more seasonable time. That in spite of the judicial blindness by which the London press contrives to fool itself, there are entertained serious misgivings in the highest quarters, may be seen from Lord Palmerston's organ, *The Morning Post.* The venal gentlemen of that paper inform us:

> "We doubt whether even by the next mail after this, we shall hear of the capture of Delhi; *but* we do expect that, as *soon* as the troops now on their march to join the besiegers shall have arrived, with a *sufficiency of large guns,* [which it seems are still missing,] we shall receive intelligence of the fall of the stronghold of the rebels."[a]

It is evident that, by dint of weakness, vacillation, and direct blunders, the British generals have contrived to raise Delhi to the dignity of the political and military center of the Indian revolt. A retreat of the English army, after a prolonged siege, or a mere staying on the defensive, will be regarded as a positive defeat, and

[a] *The Morning Post,* No. 26090, August 13, 1857, leading article. Italics and words in brackets belong to Marx.—*Ed.*

give the signal to a general outbreak. It would moreover expose the British troops to a fearful mortality, from which till now they have been protected by the great excitement inherent to a siege full of sorties, encounters, and a hope of soon wreaking a bloody vengeance on their enemies. As to the talk about the apathy of the Hindoos, or even their sympathy with British rule, it is all nonsense. The princes, like true Asiatics, are watching their opportunity. The people in the whole Presidency of Bengal, where not kept in check by a handful of Europeans, are enjoying a blessed anarchy; but there is nobody there against whom they could rise. It is a curious *quid pro quo* to expect an Indian revolt to assume the features of a European revolution.

In the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, the army having not yet pronounced, the people of course do not stir. The Punjaub, at last, is to this moment the principal central station of the European forces, while its native army is disarmed. To rouse it, the neighboring semi-independent princes must throw their weight into the scale. But that such a ramification of conspiracy as exhibited by the Bengal army could not have been carried on on such an immense scale without the secret connivance and support of the natives, seems as certain as that the great difficulties the English meet with in obtaining supplies and transports—the principal cause of the slow concentration of their troops—do not witness to the good feelings of the peasantry.

The other news conveyed by the telegraphic dispatches are so far important as they show us the revolt rising on the extreme confines of the Punjaub, in Peshawur, and on the other hand striding in a southern direction from Delhi to the Presidency of Bombay, through the stations of Jhansi, Saugor, Indore, Mhow, till we arrive at last at Aurungabad, only 180 miles north-east of Bombay. With respect to Jhansi in Bundelcund, we may remark that it is fortified and may thus become another center of armed rebellion. On the other hand, it is stated that Gen. Van Cortlandt has defeated the mutineers at Sirsah, on his road from the north-west to join Gen. Barnard's force before Delhi, from which he was still 170 miles distant. He had to pass by Jhansi, where he would again encounter the rebels. As to the preparations made by the Home Government, Lord Palmerston seems to think that the most circuitous line is the shortest, and consequently sends his troops round the Cape, instead of through Egypt. The fact that some thousand men destined for China have been intercepted at Ceylon and directed to Calcutta, where the Fifth Fusileers actually arrived on the 2d of July, has afforded him the occasion for

breaking a bad joke on those of his obedient Commons who still dared doubt that his Chinese war was quite a "windfall."[a]

Written on August 14, 1857

First published unsigned in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5104, August 29, 1857; reprinted in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 1280, September 1, 1857

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on August 11, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22757, August 12, 1857.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [POLITICAL SITUATION IN EUROPE]

The last sitting but one of the Commons before their prorogation was seized upon by Lord Palmerston to allow them to take some faint glimpses at the entertainments he keeps in store for the English public during the interregnum between the session that has passed away and the session that is to come.[a] The first item of his programme is the announcement of the revival of the Persian war, which as he had stated some months ago, was definitely terminated by a peace concluded on the 4th of March.[b] General Sir de Lacy Evans having expressed the hope that Col. Jacob was ordered back to India with his forces now stationed on the Persian Gulf,[c] Lord Palmerston stated plainly that until Persia had executed the engagements contracted by the treaty, Col. Jacob's troops could not be withdrawn. Herat, however, had not yet been evacuated. There were, on the contrary, rumors afloat affirming that additional forces had been sent by Persia to Herat. This, indeed, had been denied by the Persian Embassador at Paris[d]; but great doubts were justly entertained of the good faith of Persia, and consequently the British forces under Col. Jacob would continue to occupy Bushire. On the day following Lord Palmerston's statement, the news was conveyed by telegraphic dispatch of the categorical demand pressed upon the Persian Government by Mr. Murray for the evacuation of Herat—a

[a] Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on August 20, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22765, August 21, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 293-96.—*Ed.*

[c] Sir de Lacy Evans' speech in the House of Commons on August 20, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22765, August 21, 1857.—*Ed.*

[d] Ferrukh Khan.—*Ed.*

demand which may be fairly considered the forerunner of a new declaration of war. Such is the first international effect of the Indian revolt.

The second item of Lord Palmerston's programme makes good for its want of details by the wide perspective it unrolls. When he first announced the withdrawal of large military forces from England to be dispatched to India, he answered his opponents, accusing him of denuding Great Britain of her defensive power, and thus affording foreign countries an opportunity to take advantage of her weakened position, that

"the people of Great Britain would never tolerate any such proceeding, and that men would be raised suddenly and rapidly, sufficient for any contingency that would arrive."[a]

Now, on the eve of the prorogation of Parliament, he speaks in quite a different strain. To the advice of Gen. de Lacy Evans to send out to India the troops in screw line-of-battle ships, he did not reply, as he had done before, by asserting the superiority of the sail to the screw-propeller, but on the contrary, admitted that the General's plan appeared in the first instance highly advantageous. Yet, the House ought to bear in mind, that

"there were other considerations to be kept in view, in regard to the propriety of keeping up sufficient military and naval forces at home... Certain circumstances pointed out the inexpediency of sending out of the country a greater naval force than was absolutely necessary. The steam line-of-battle ships were, no doubt, lying in ordinary, and were of no great use at present; but if any such events as had been alluded to took place, and they wanted their naval forces to put to sea, how could they meet *the danger which threatened*, if they allowed their line-of-battle ships to do the duty of transports to India? They should be falling into a grave error if they sent to India the fleet which *circumstances occurring in Europe* might render it necessary to arm *for their own defence at a very short notice*."[b]

Lord Palmerston, it will not be denied, plants John Bull on the horns of a very fine dilemma. If he uses the adequate means for a decisive suppression of the Indian revolt, he will be attacked at home; and if he allows the Indian revolt to consolidate, he will, as Mr. Disraeli said,

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[a] Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on August 11, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22757, August 12, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on August 20, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22765, August 21, 1857 (Marx gives the quotation in his own rendering).—*Ed.*

"find other characters on the stage, with whom to contend, beside the princes of India."[a]

Before casting a glance at the "European circumstances" so mysteriously alluded to, it may not be amiss to gather up the confessions made during the same sitting of the Commons in regard to the actual position of the British forces in India. First, then, all sanguine hopes of a sudden capture of Delhi were dropped as if by mutual agreement, and the highflying expectations of former days came down to the more rational view that they ought to congratulate themselves, if the English were able to maintain their posts until November, when the advance of the re-enforcements sent from home was to take place. In the second instance, misgivings oozed out as to the probability of their losing the most important of those posts, Cawnpore, on the fate of which, as Mr. Disraeli said, everything must depend, and the relief of which he considered of even greater import than the capture of Delhi.[b] From its central position on the Ganges, its bearing on Oude, Rohilcund, Gwalior, and Bundelcund, and its serving as an advanced fort to Delhi, Cawnpore is, in fact, in the present circumstances, a place of prime importance. Lastly, Sir F. Smith, one of the military members of the House, called its attention to the fact that, actually, there were no engineers and sappers with their Indian army, as all of them had deserted, and were likely "to make Delhi a second Saragossa.[383]"[c] On the other hand, Lord Palmerston had neglected to forward from England either any officers or men of the engineer corps.

Returning now to the European events said to be "looming in the future," we are at once astonished at the comment *The London Times* makes on Lord Palmerston's allusions. The French Constitution, it says, might be overthrown, or Napoleon disappear from the scene of life, and then there would be an end to the French alliance, upon which the present security rests.[d] In other words, *The Times*, the great organ of the British Cabinet, while considering a revolution in France an event not unlikely to occur any day, simultaneously proclaims the present alliance to be

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[a] B. Disraeli's speech in the House of Commons on August 11, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22757, August 12, 1857.— *Ed.*

[b] B. Disraeli's speech in the House of Commons on August 20, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22765, August 21, 1857.— *Ed.*

[c] J. M. F. Smith's speech in the House of Commons on August 20, 1857, *The Times*, same issue.— *Ed.*

[d] *The Times*, same issue, leading article.— *Ed.*

founded not on the sympathies of the French people, but on mere conspiracy with the French usurper. Beside a revolution in France, there is the Danubian quarrel.[384] By the annulling of the Moldavian elections,[a] it has not been made to subside, but only to enter on a new phase. There is, above all, the Scandinavian North, which, at a period not distant, is sure to become the theater of great agitation, and, perhaps, may give the signal to an international conflict in Europe. Peace is still kept in the North, because two events are anxiously waited for—the death of the King of Sweden[b] and the abdication of his throne by the present King of Denmark. At a late meeting of naturalists at Christiania, the hereditary Prince of Sweden[c] declared emphatically in favor of a Scandinavian union. Being a man in the prime of life, of a resolute and energetic character, the Scandinavian party, mustering in its ranks the ardent youth of Sweden, Norway and Denmark, will consider his accession to the throne as the opportune moment for taking up arms. On the other hand, the weak and imbecile King of Denmark, Frederick VII., is said to have been at last allowed by the Countess Danner, his morganatic consort, to withdraw to private life, a permission hitherto refused him. It was on her account that Prince Ferdinand, the King's uncle, and the presumptive heir of the Danish throne, was induced to retire from State affairs, to which he afterward returned in consequence of an arrangement brought about by the other members of the royal family. Now, at this moment, the Countess Danner is said to be disposed to change her residence at Copenhagen for one at Paris, and even to prompt the King to bid farewell to the storms of political life by resigning his scepter into the hands of Prince Ferdinand. This Prince Ferdinand, a man about 65 years of age, has always occupied the same position toward the Court of Copenhagen, which the Count of Artois—afterward Charles X.—held toward the Court of the Tuileries. Obstinate, severe and ardent in his conservative faith, he has never condescended to feign adherence to the Constitutional system. Yet the first condition of his accession to the throne would be the acceptance on oath of a Constitution he openly detests. Hence the probability of international troubles, which the Scandinavian party, both in Sweden and Denmark, are firmly resolved upon turning to their own profit. On the other hand, the conflict between

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[a] See this volume, pp. 322-26.— *Ed.*
[b] Oscar I.— *Ed.*
[c] Carl Ludvig Eugène.— *Ed.*

Denmark and the German Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, supported in their claims by Prussia and Austria,[385] would still more embroil matters, and entangle Germany in the agitations of the North; while the London treaty of 1852,[a] guaranteeing the throne of Denmark to Prince Ferdinand,[386] would involve Russia, France and England.

Written on August 21, 1857

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, № 5110, September 5, 1857 as a leading article

[a] "Traité signé à Londres, le 8 mai 1852, entre le Danemark d'une part, et l'Autriche, la France, la Grande-Bretagne, la Russie et la Suède de l'autre part, relatif à l'ordre de succession dans la monarchie danoise."—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [INVESTIGATION OF TORTURES IN INDIA][387]

Our London correspondent, whose letter with regard to the Indian revolt we published yesterday,[a] very properly referred to some of the antecedents which prepared the way for this violent outbreak. We propose to-day to devote a moment to continuing that line of reflections, and to showing that the British rulers of India are by no means such mild and spotless benefactors of the Indian people as they would have the world believe. For this purpose, we shall resort to the official Blue Books[388] on the subject of East-Indian torture, which were laid before the House of Commons during the sessions of 1856 and 1857.[b] The evidence, it will be seen, is of a sort which cannot be gainsayed.

We have first the report of the Torture Commission at Madras,[c] which states its "belief in the general existence of torture for revenue purposes." It doubts whether

> "anything like an equal number of persons is annually subjected to violence on criminal charges, as for the fault of non-payment of revenue."

It declares that there was

> "one thing which had impressed the Commission even more painfully than the conviction that torture exists; it is the difficulty of obtaining redress which confronts the injured parties."

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[a] See this volume, pp. 353-56.— *Ed.*

[b] *East India (Torture).—Ed.*

[c] "Report of the Commission for the Investigation of Alleged Cases of Torture at Madras."—*Ed.*

The reasons for this difficulty given by the Commissioners are: 1. The distances which those who wish to make complaints personally to the Collector[389] have to travel, involving expense and loss of time in attending upon his office; 2. The fear that applications by letter

"will be returned with the ordinary indorsement of a reference to the Tahsildar"

the district police and revenue officer—that is, to the very man who, either in his person or through his petty police subordinates, has wronged him; 3. The inefficient means of procedure and punishment provided by law for officers of Government, even when formally accused or convicted of these practices. It seems that if a charge of this nature were proved before a magistrate, he could only punish by a fine of fifty rupees, or a month's imprisonment. The alternative consisted of handing over the accused

"to the criminal Judge to be punished by him, or committed for trial before the Court of the Circuit."

The report adds that

"these seem to be tedious proceedings, applicable only to one class of offenses, abuse of authority—namely, in police charges, and totally inadequate to the necessities of the case."

A police or revenue officer, who is the same person, as the revenue is collected by the police, when charged with extorting money, is first tried by the Assistant Collector; he then can appeal to the Collector; then to the Revenue Board. This Board may refer him to the Government or to the civil courts.

"In such a state of the law, no poverty-stricken ryot[390] could contend against any wealthy revenue officer; and we are not aware of any complaints having been brought forward under these two regulations (of 1822 and 1828) by the people."

Further, this extorting of money applies only to taking the public money, or forcing a further contribution from the ryot for the officer to put into his own pocket. There is, therefore, no legal means of punishment whatever for the employment of force in collecting the public revenue.

The report from which these quotations are made applies only to the Presidency of Madras; but Lord Dalhousie himself, writing,

in September, 1855, to the Directors,[a] says that

"he has long ceased to doubt that torture in one shape or other is practiced by the lower subordinates in every British province."

The universal existence of torture as a financial institution of British India is thus officially admitted, but the admission is made in such a manner as to shield the British Government itself. In fact, the conclusion arrived at by the Madras commission is that the practice of torture is entirely the fault of the lower Hindoo officials, while the European servants of the Government had always, however unsuccessfully, done their best to prevent it. In answer to this assertion, the Madras Native Association presented, in January, 1856, a petition to Parliament, complaining of the torture investigation on the following grounds: 1. That there was scarcely any investigation at all, the Commission sitting only in the City of Madras, and for but three months, while it was impossible, except in very few cases, for the natives who had complaints to make to leave their homes; 2. That the Commissioners did not endeavor to trace the evil to its source; had they done so, it would have been discovered to be in the very system of collecting the revenue; 3. That no inquiry was made of the accused native officials as to what extent their superiors were acquainted with the practice.

"The origin of this coercion," say the petitioners, "is not with the physical perpetrators of it, but descends to them from the officials immediately their superiors, which latter again are answerable for the estimated amount of the collection to their European superiors, these also being responsible on the same head to the highest authority of the Government."

Indeed, a few extracts from the evidence on which the Madras Report professes to be founded, will suffice to refute its assertion that "no blame is due to Englishmen." Thus, Mr. W. D. Kohlhoff, a merchant, says:

"The modes of torture practiced are various, and suitable to the fancy of the tahsildar or his subordinates, but whether any redress is received from higher authorities, it is difficult for me to tell, *as all complaints are generally referred to the tahsildars* for investigation and information."

Among the cases of complaint from natives, we find the following:

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[a] Court of Directors of the East India Company.—*Ed.*

"Last year, as our peasanum (principal paddy or rice crops) failed for want of rain, we were unable to pay as usual. When the jamabundy[391] was made, we claimed a remission on account of the losses, according to the terms of the agreement entered into in 1837, by us, when Mr. Eden was our collector. As this remission was not allowed, we refused to take our puttahs.[392] The tahsildar then commenced to compel us to pay with great severity, from the month of June to August. I and others were placed in charge of persons who used to take us in the sun. There we were made to stoop and stones were put on our backs, and we were kept in the burning sand. After 8 o'clock, we were let to go to our rice. Suchlike ill treatment was continued during three months, during which we sometimes went to give our petitions to the collector, who refused to take them. We took these petitions and appealed to the Sessions Court, who transmitted them to the collector. Still we got no justice. In the month of September, a notice was served upon us, and twenty-five days after, our property was distrained, and afterward sold. Beside what I have mentioned, our women were also ill treated; the kittee was put upon their breasts."

A native Christian states in reply to questions put by the Commissioners:

"When a European or native regiment passes through, all the ryots are pressed to bring in provisions, &c., *for nothing*, and should any of them ask for the price of the articles, they are severely tortured."

There follows the case of a Brahmin, in which he, with others of his own village and of the neighboring villages, was called on by the Tahsildars to furnish planks, charcoal, firewood, &c., gratis, that he might carry on the Coleroon bridge work; on refusing, he is seized by twelve men and maltreated in various ways. He adds:

"I presented a complaint to the Sub-Collector, Mr. W. Cadell, but he made no inquiry, and tore my complaint. As he is desirous of completing cheaply the Coleroon bridge work at the expense of the poor and of acquiring a good name from the Government, whatever may be the nature of the murder committed by the Tahsildar, he takes no cognizance of it."

The light in which illegal practices, carried to the last degree of extortion and violence, were looked upon by the highest authority, is best shown by the case of Mr. Brereton, the Commissioner in charge of the Loodhiana District in the Punjaub in 1855. According to the Report of the Chief Commissioner for the Punjaub,[a] it was proved that

"in matters under the immediate cognizance or direction of the Deputy-Commissioner, Mr. Brereton himself, the houses of wealthy citizens had been

[a] John Laird Mair Lawrence.—*Ed.*

causelessly searched; that property seized on such occasions was detained for lengthened periods; that many parties were thrown into prison, and lay there for weeks, without charges being exhibited against them; and that the laws relating to security for bad character had been applied with sweeping and indiscriminating severity. That the Deputy-Commissioner had been followed about from district to district by certain police officers and informers, whom he employed wherever he went, and that these men had been the main authors of mischief."

In his minute on the case, Lord Dalhousie says:

"We have irrefragable proof—proof, indeed, undisputed by Mr. Brereton himself—that that officer has been guilty of each item in the heavy catalogue of irregularities and illegalities with which the chief Commissioner has charged him, and which have brought disgrace on one portion of the British administration, and have subjected a large number of British subjects to gross injustice, to arbitrary imprisonment and cruel torture."

Lord Dalhousie proposes "to make a great public example," and, consequently, is of opinion that

"Mr. Brereton cannot, *for the present*, be fitly intrusted with the authority of a Deputy Commissioner, but ought to be removed from that grade to the grade of a first class Assistant."

These extracts from the Blue Books may be concluded with the petition from the inhabitants of Talook[a] in Canara, on the Malabar coast, who, after stating that they had presented several petitions to the Government to no purpose, thus contrast their former and present condition:

"While we were cultivating wet and dry lands, hill tracts, low tracts and forests, paying the light assessment fixed upon us, and thereby enjoying tranquillity and happiness under the administration of 'Ranee,'[b] Bhadur and Tippoo, the then Circar[c] servants, levied an additional assessment, but we never paid it. We were not subjected to privations, oppressions or ill-usages in collecting the revenue. On the surrender of this country to the Honorable Company,[d] they devised all sorts of plans to squeeze out money from us. With this pernicious object in view, they invented rules and framed regulations, and directed their collectors and civil judges to put them in execution. But the then collectors and their subordinate native officials paid for some time due attention to our grievances, and acted in consonance with our wishes. On the contrary, the present collectors and their subordinate officials, *desirous of obtaining promotion on any account whatever*, neglect the welfare and interests of the people in general, turn a deaf ear to our grievances, and subject us to all sorts of oppressions."

[a] Region.—*Ed.*
[b] Hindoo queen.—*Ed.*
[c] Government.—*Ed.*
[d] The East India Company.—*Ed.*

— We have here given but a brief and mildly-colored chapter from the real history of British rule in India. In view of such facts, dispassionate and thoughtful men may perhaps be led to ask whether a people are not justified in attempting to expel the foreign conquerors who have so abused their subjects. And if the English could do these things in cold blood, is it surprising that the insurgent Hindoos should be guilty, in the fury of revolt and conflict, of the crimes and cruelties alleged against them?

Written on August 28, 1857

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5120, September 17, 1857 as a leading article

# Karl Marx

## [THE REVOLT IN INDIA]

The mail of the *Baltic* reports no new events in India, but has a mass of highly interesting details, which we proceed to condense for the instruction of our readers. The first point to be noticed is that so late as the 15th of July the English had not got into Delhi. At the same time, the cholera had made its appearance in their camp, the heavy rains were setting in, and the raising of the siege and the withdrawal of the besiegers appeared to be a question of time only. The British press would fain make us believe that the pest, while carrying off Gen. Sir H. Barnard, had spared his worse fed and harder worked men. It is, therefore, not from explicit statements, communicated to the public, but only by way of inference from avowed facts, that we can arrive at some idea of the ravages of this terrible disease in the ranks of the besieging army. An officer in the camp before Delhi, writes, July 14:

> "We are doing nothing toward taking Delhi, and are merely defending ourselves against sorties of the enemy. We have parts of five European regiments, but can muster only 2,000 Europeans, for any effective attack; large detachments from each regiment having been left to protect Jullindur, Loodhiana, Subathoo, Dugshale, Kussowlie, Umballah, Meerut and Phillour. In fact, small detachments only of each regiment have joined us. The enemy are far superior to us in artillery."

Now this proves that the forces arriving from the Punjaub found the great northern line of communication from Jullindur down to Meerut in a state of rebellion, and were consequently obliged to diminish their numbers by leaving detachments at the main posts. This accounts for the arrivals from the Punjaub not mustering their anticipated strength, but it does not explain the

reduction of the European force to 2,000 men. The Bombay correspondent of *The London Times,* writing on July 30, attempts to explain in another way the passive attitude of the besiegers. He says:

"The re-enforcements, indeed, have reached our camp—one wing of the 8th (King's), one of the 61st, a company of foot artillery, and two guns of a native troop, the 17th Irregular Cavalry regiment (escorting a large ammunition train), the 2d Punjaub Cavalry, the 1st Punjaub Infantry and the 4th Sikh Infantry; but the native portion of the troops thus added to the besieging force are not entirely and uniformly trustworthy, brigaded though they are with Europeans. The cavalry regiments of the Punjaub force contain many Mussulmans and high-caste Hindoos, from Hindostan proper, and Rohilcund, while the Bengal Irregular Cavalry are mainly composed of such elements. These men are, as a class, utterly disloyal, and their presence with the force in any numbers must be embarrassing—and so it has proved. In the 2d Punjaub Cavalry, it has been found necessary to disarm some 70 Hindostan men and to hang three, one a superior native officer. Of the 9th Irregulars, which have been some time with the force, several troopers have deserted, and the 4th Irregulars have, I believe, murdered their adjutant, while on detachment duty."[a]

Here another secret is revealed. The camp before Delhi, it seems, bears some likeness to the camp of Agramante,[393] and the English have to struggle not only with the enemy in their front, but also with the ally in their lines. Still, this fact affords no sufficient cause for there being only 2,000 Europeans to be spared for offensive operations. A third writer, the Bombay correspondent of *The Daily News,* gives an explicit enumeration of the forces assembled under Gen. Read, Barnard's successor, which seems trustworthy, as he reckons up singly the different elements of which they are composed. According to his statement, about 1,200 Europeans and 1,600 Sikhs, irregular horse, etc., say altogether about 3,000 men, headed by Brigadier-Gen. Chamberlain, reached the camp before Delhi from the Punjaub between June 23 and July 3. On the other hand, he estimates the whole of the forces now assembled under Gen. Read at 7,000 men, artillery and siege-train included, so that the army of Delhi, before the arrival of the Punjaub re-enforcements, could not have exceeded 4,000 men. *The London Times* of August 13 stated that Sir H. Barnard had collected an army of 7,000 British and 5,000 natives.[b] Although this was a flagrant exaggeration, there is every reason to believe that the European forces then amounted to

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[a] The letter of the Bombay correspondent, dated July 30, *The Times,* No. 22773, August 31, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times,* No. 22758, August 13, 1857, leading article.—*Ed.*

about 4,000 men, backed by a somewhat smaller number of natives. The original force, then, under Gen. Barnard, was as strong as the force now collected under Gen. Read. Consequently, the Punjaub re-enforcements have only made up for the wear and tear which have reduced the strength of the besiegers almost one-half, an enormous loss, proceeding partly from the incessant sorties of the rebels, partly from the ravages of the cholera. Thus we understand why the British can muster only 2,000 Europeans for "any effective attack."

So much for the strength of the British forces before Delhi. Now for their operations. That they were not of a very brilliant character may be fairly inferred from the simple fact that, since June 8, when Gen. Barnard made his report on the capture of the hight opposite Delhi,[a] no bulletin whatever has been issued from headquarters. The operations, with a single exception, consist of sallies made by the besieged and repulsed by the besiegers. The besiegers were attacked now in front and then in the flanks, but mostly in the right rear. The sorties took place on the 27th and 30th of June, on the 3d, 4th, 9th and 14th of July. On the 27th of June, fighting was confined to outpost skirmishes, lasting some hours, but toward the afternoon was interrupted by a heavy fall of rain, the first of the season. On the 30th of June, the insurgents showed themselves in force among the inclosures on the right of the besiegers, harassing their pickets and supports. On the 3d of July, the besieged made early in the morning a feint attack on the right rear of the English position, then advanced several miles to that rear along the Kurnaul road as far as Alipore, in order to intercept a train of supplies and treasure under convoy to the camp. On their way, they encountered an outpost of the 2d Punjaub irregular horse, which gave way at once. On their return to the city, on the 4th, the rebels were attacked by a body of 1,000 infantry and two squadrons of cavalry dispatched from the English camp to intercept them. They contrived, however, to effect their retreat with little or no loss and saving all their guns. On the 8th of July, a party was sent from the British camp to destroy a canal bridge at the village of Bussy, some six miles from Delhi, which in the former sallies had afforded the insurgents facilities for attacking the extreme British rear, and interfering with the British communications with Kurnaul and Meerut. The bridge was destroyed. On the 9th of July, the insurgents came out again in force and attacked the right rear of the British position. In the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 319, 320.— *Ed.*

official accounts telegraphed to Lahore on the same day, the loss of the assailants is estimated at about one thousand killed; but this account seems much exaggerated, since we read in a letter of July 13 from the camp:

"Our men buried and burnt two hundred and fifty of the enemy's dead, and large numbers were removed by themselves into the city."

The same letter, published in *The Daily News,* does not pretend that the British forced back the Sepoys, but, on the contrary, that "the Sepoys forced back all our working parties and then retired." The loss of the besiegers was considerable, amounting, as it did, to two hundred and twelve, killed and wounded. On the 14th of July, in consequence of another sortie, another fierce fight took place, the details of which have not yet arrived.

The besieged had, meanwhile, received strong re-enforcements. On the 1st of July, the Rohilcund mutineers from Bareily, Muradabat and Shahjehanpore, consisting of four regiments of infantry, one of irregular cavalry, and one battery of artillery, had contrived to effect their junction with their comrades at Delhi.

"It had been hoped," says the Bombay correspondent of *The London Times,* "that they would find the Ganges impassable; but the anticipated rise of the river not taking place, it was crossed at Gurmukteser, the Doab was traversed and Delhi was attained. For two days, our troops had the mortification of watching the long train of men, guns, horses and beasts of burden of all kinds (for there was a treasure with the rebels, say £50,000) streaming across the bridge of boats into the city, without a possibility of preventing or in any way annoying them."[a]

This successful march of the insurgents through the whole breadth of Rohilcund proves all the country east of the Jumna up to the hills of Rohilcund to be closed against the English forces, while the untroubled march of the insurgents from Neemuch to Agra, if connected with the revolts at Indore and Mhow, proves the same fact for all the country south-west of the Jumna and up to the Vindhya Mountains. The only successful—in fact, the only—operation of the English in regard to Delhi is the pacification of the country to its north and its north-west by Gen. Van Cortlandt's Punjaub Sikh forces. Throughout the district between Loodhiana and Sirsah, he had mainly to encounter the robber-tribes inhabiting villages sparsely scattered over a wild and sandy desert. On the 11th of July, he is said to have left Sirsah for

[a] *The Times,* No. 22773, August 31, 1857.—*Ed.*

Futtehabad, thence to march on Hissar, thus opening up the country in the rear of the besieging force.

Beside Delhi, three other points in the North-Western Provinces—Agra, Cawnpore and Lucknow—had become centers of the struggle between the natives and the English. The affair of Agra bears this peculiar aspect, that it shows for the first time the mutineers setting out on a deliberate expedition over about 300 miles of ground with the intention of attacking a distant English military station. According to *The Mofussilite,* a journal printed at Agra, the Sepoy regiments of Nusserabad and Neemuch, about 10,000 strong, (say 7,000 infantry, 1,500 cavalry and 8 guns), approached Agra at the end of June, encamped in the beginning of July on a plain in the rear of the village of Sussia, about 20 miles from Agra, and on the 4th of July seemed preparing an attack on the city. On this news, the European residents in the cantonments before Agra took refuge in the fort. The Commander at Agra[a] dispatched at first the Kotah contingent of horse, foot and artillery to serve as an advanced post against the enemy, but, having reached their place of destination, one and all bolted to join the ranks of the rebels. On July 5, the Agra garrison, consisting of the 3d Bengal Europeans, a battery of artillery and a corps of European volunteers, marched out to attack the mutineers, and are said to have driven them out of the village into the plain behind it, but were evidently themselves in their turn forced back, and, after a loss of 49 killed and 92 wounded, of a total force of 500 men engaged, had to retire, being harassed and threatened by the cavalry of the enemy with such activity as to prevent their "getting a shot at them," as *The Mofussilite* says.[b] In other words, the English took to downright flight and shut themselves up in their fort, while the Sepoys, advancing to Agra, destroyed nearly all the houses in the cantonment. On the following day, July 6, they proceeded to Bhurtpore, on the way to Delhi. The important result of this affair is the interruption by the mutineers of the English line of communication between Agra and Delhi, and their probable appearance before the old city of the Moguls.

At Cawnpore, as was known from the last mail, a force of about 200 Europeans, under the command of Gen. Wheeler, having with them the wives and children of the 32d foot, was shut up in a

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[a] John Colin.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted in *The Times,* No. 22773, August 31, 1857.—*Ed.*

fortified work and surrounded by an overwhelming mass of rebels, headed by Nena Sahib of Bithoor. Different assaults on the fort took place on the 17th and between the 24th and 28th of June, in the last of which, Gen. Wheeler was shot through the leg and died of his wounds. On June 28, Nena Sahib invited the English to surrender on the condition of being allowed to depart on boats down the Ganges to Allahabad. These terms were accepted, but the British had hardly put out into the middle of the stream when guns opened upon them from the right bank of the Ganges. The people in the boats that tried to escape to the opposite bank were caught and cut down by a body of cavalry. The women and children were made captives. Messengers having been dispatched several times from Cawnpore to Allahabad with pressing demands for relief, on July 1 a column of Madras fusiliers and Sikhs started, under Major Renaud, on the way to Cawnpore. Within four miles of Futteypore it was joined, on July 13 at daybreak, by Brig.-Gen. Havelock, who, at the head of about 1,300 Europeans of the 84th and 64th, the 13th irregular horse, and the remnant of Oude Irregulars, reached Allahabad from Benares, July 3, and then followed up Major Renaud by forced marches. On the very day of his junction with Renaud, he was forced to accept battle before Futteypore, whither Nena Sahib had led his native forces. After an obstinate engagement, Gen. Havelock, by a move in the flank of the enemy, succeeded in driving him out of Futteypore in the direction of Cawnpore, where twice he had to encounter him again on the 15th and 16th of July. At the latter date, Cawnpore was recaptured by the English, Nena Sahib retreating to Bithoor, situated on the Ganges, twelve miles distant from Cawnpore, and said to be strongly fortified. Before undertaking his expedition to Futteypore, Nena Sahib had murdered all the captive English women and children. The recapture of Cawnpore was of the highest importance to the English, as it secured their Ganges line of communication.

At Lucknow, the capital of Oude, the British garrison found themselves nearly in the same plight which had proved fatal to their comrades at Cawnpore—shut up in a fort, surrounded by overwhelming forces, straitened for provisions, and deprived of their leader. The latter, Sir H. Lawrence, died July 4, of tetanus, from a wound in the leg, received on the 2d, during a sortie. On the 18th and 19th of July, Lucknow was still holding out. Its only hope of relief rested on Gen. Havelock's pushing forward his forces from Cawnpore. The question is whether he would dare to do so with Nena Sahib in his rear. Any delay, however, must

prove fatal to Lucknow, since the periodical rains would soon render field operations impossible.

The examination of these events forces the conclusion upon us that, in the north-west provinces of Bengal, the British forces were gradually drifting into the position of small posts planted on insulated rocks amid a sea of revolution. In lower Bengal, there had occurred only partial acts of insubordination at Mirzapore, Dinapore and Patna, beside an unsuccessful attempt made by the roving Brahmins of the neighborhood to recapture the holy city of Benares. In the Punjaub, the spirit of rebellion was forcibly kept down, a mutiny being suppressed at Sealkote, another at Jelum, and the disaffection of Peshawur successfully checked. Emeutes had already been attempted in Gujerat, at Punderpoor in Sattara, at Nagpore and Saugor in the Nagpore territory, at Hyderabad in the Nizam's territory, and, lastly, as far south as Mysore, so that the calm of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies must be understood as by no means perfectly secure.

Written on September 1, 1857

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## [BRITISH INCOMES IN INDIA]

The present state of affairs in Asia suggests the inquiry, What is the real value of their Indian dominion to the British nation and people? Directly, that is in the shape of tribute, of surplus of Indian receipts over Indian expenditures, nothing whatever reaches the British Treasury. On the contrary, the annual outgo is very large. From the moment that the East India Company[394] entered extensively on the career of conquest—now just about a century ago—their finances fell into an embarrassed condition, and they were repeatedly compelled to apply to Parliament, not only for military aid to assist them in holding the conquered territories, but for financial aid to save them from bankruptcy. And so things have continued down to the present moment, at which so large a call is made for troops on the British nation, to be followed, no doubt, by corresponding calls for money. In prosecuting its conquests hitherto, and building up its establishments, the East India Company has contracted a debt of upward of £50,000,000 sterling, while the British Government has been at the expense, for years past, of transporting to and from and keeping up in India, in addition to the forces, native and European, of the East India Company, a standing army of thirty thousand men. Such being the case, it is evident that the advantage to Great Britain from her Indian empire must be limited to the profits and benefits which accrue to individual British subjects. These profits and benefits, it must be confessed, are very considerable.

First, we have the stockholders in the East India Company, to the number of about 3,000 persons, to whom under the recent charter[395] there is guaranteed, upon a paid-up capital of six

millions of pounds sterling, an annual dividend of ten and a half per cent, amounting to £630,000 annually. As the East India stock is held in transferable shares, anybody may become a stockholder who has money enough to buy the stock, which, under the existing charter, commands a premium of from 125 to 150 per cent. Stock to the amount of £500, costing say $6,000, entitles the holder to speak at the Proprietors' meetings, but to vote he must have £1,000 of stock. Holders of £3,000 have two votes, of £6,000 three votes, and of £10,000 or upward four votes. The proprietors, however, have but little voice, except in the election of the Board of Directors, of whom they choose twelve, while the Crown appoints six; but these appointees of the Crown must be qualified by having resided for ten years or more in India. One third of the Directors go out of office each year, but may be re-elected or reappointed. To be a Director, one must be a proprietor of £2,000 of stock. The Directors have a salary of £500 each, and their Chairman and Deputy Chairman twice as much; but the chief inducement to accept the office is the great patronage attached to it in the appointment of all Indian officers, civil and military—a patronage, however, largely shared, and, as to the most important offices, engrossed substantially, by the Board of Control. This Board consists of six members, all Privy Councilors, and in general two or three of them Cabinet Ministers—the President of the Board being always so, in fact a Secretary of State for India.

Next come the recipients of this patronage, divided into five classes—civil, clerical, medical, military and naval. For service in India, at least in the civil line, some knowledge of the languages spoken there is necessary, and to prepare young men to enter their civil service, the East India Company has a college at Haileybury. A corresponding college for the military service, in which, however, the rudiments of military science are the principal branches taught, has been established at Addiscombe, near London. Admission to these colleges was formerly a matter of favor on the part of the Directors of the Company, but under the latest modifications of the charter it has been opened to competition in the way of a public examination of candidates. On first reaching India, a civilian is allowed about $150 a month, till having passed a necessary examination in one or more of the native languages (which must be within twelve months after his arrival), he is attached to the service with emoluments which vary from $2,500 to near $50,000 per annum. The latter is the pay of the members of the Bengal Council; the members of the Bombay and Madras Councils[396] receive about $30,000 per annum. No

person not a member of Council can receive more than about $25,000 per annum, and, to obtain an appointment worth $20,000 or over, he must have been a resident in India for twelve years. Nine years' residence qualifies for salaries of from $15,000 to $20,000, and three years' residence for salaries of from $7,000 to $15,000. Appointments in the civil service go nominally by seniority and merit, but really to a great extent by favor. As they are the best paid, there is great competition to get them, the military officers leaving their regiments for this purpose whenever they can get a chance. The average of all the salaries in the civil service is stated at about $8,000, but this does not include perquisites and extra allowances, which are often very considerable. These civil servants are employed as Governors, Councilors, Judges, Embassadors, Secretaries, Collectors of the Revenue,[397] &c.—the number in the whole being generally about 800. The salary of the Governor-General of India is $125,000, but the extra allowances often amount to a still larger sum. The Church service includes three bishops and about one hundred and sixty chaplains. The Bishop of Calcutta has $25,000 a year; those of Madras and Bombay half as much; the chaplains from $2,500 to $7,000, beside fees. The medical service includes some 800 physicians and surgeons, with salaries of from $1,500 to $10,000.

The European military officers employed in India, including those of the contingents which the dependent princes are obliged to furnish, number about 8,000. The fixed pay in the infantry is, for ensigns, $1,080; lieutenants, $1,344; captains, $2,226; majors, $3,810; lieutenant colonels, $5,520; colonels, $7,680. This is the pay in cantonment. In active service, it is more. The pay in the cavalry, artillery and engineers, is somewhat higher. By obtaining staff situations or employments in the civil service, many officers double their pay.

Here are about ten thousand British subjects holding lucrative situations in India, and drawing their pay from the Indian service. To these must be added a considerable number living in England, whither they have retired upon pensions, which in all the services are payable after serving a certain number of years. These pensions, with the dividends and interest on debts due in England, consume some fifteen to twenty millions of dollars drawn annually from India, and which may in fact be regarded as so much tribute paid to the English Government indirectly through its subjects. Those who annually retire from the several services carry with them very considerable amounts of savings from their salaries, which is so much more added to the annual drain on India.

Beside those Europeans actually employed in the service of the Government, there are other European residents in India, to the number of 6,000 or more, employed in trade or private speculation. Except a few indigo, sugar and coffee planters in the rural districts, they are principally merchants, agents and manufacturers, who reside in the cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, or their immediate vicinity. The foreign trade of India, including imports and exports to the amount of about fifty millions of dollars of each, is almost entirely in their hands, and their profits are no doubt very considerable.

It is thus evident that individuals gain largely by the English connection with India, and of course their gain goes to increase the sum of the national wealth. But against all this a very large offset is to be made. The military and naval expenses paid out of the pockets of the people of England on Indian account have been constantly increasing with the extent of the Indian dominion. To this must be added the expense of Burmese,[398] Affghan, Chinese and Persian[399] wars. In fact, the whole cost of the late Russian war[a] may fairly be charged to the Indian account, since the fear and dread of Russia, which led to that war, grew entirely out of jealousy as to her designs on India. Add to this the career of endless conquest and perpetual aggression in which the English are involved by the possession of India, and it may well be doubted whether, on the whole, this dominion does not threaten to cost quite as much as it can ever be expected to come to.

Written at the beginning of September 1857

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Reproduced from the newspaper

[a] The Crimean war, 1853-56.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE INDIAN REVOLT

London, Sept. 4, 1857

The outrages committed by the revolted Sepoys in India are indeed appalling, hideous, ineffable—such as one is prepared to meet only in wars of insurrection, of nationalities, of races, and above all of religion; in one word, such as respectable England used to applaud when perpetrated by the Vendeans on the "Blues", by the Spanish guerrillas on the infidel Frenchmen, by Servians on their German and Hungarian neighbors, by Croats on Viennese rebels, by Cavaignac's Garde Mobile or Bonaparte's Decembrists on the sons and daughters of proletarian France.[400] However infamous the conduct of the Sepoys, it is only the reflex, in a concentrated form, of England's own conduct in India, not only during the epoch of the foundation of her Eastern Empire, but even during the last ten years of a long-settled rule. To characterize that rule, it suffices to say that torture formed an organic institution of its financial policy.[a] There is something in human history like retribution; and it is a rule of historical retribution that its instrument be forged not by the offended, but by the offender himself.

The first blow dealt to the French monarchy proceeded from the nobility, not from the peasants. The Indian revolt does not commence with the Ryots, tortured, dishonored and stripped naked by the British, but with the Sepoys, clad, fed, petted, fatted and pampered by them. To find parallels to the Sepoy atrocities, we need not, as some London papers pretend, fall back on the middle ages, nor even wander beyond the history of cotemporary England. All we want is to study the first Chinese war,[401] an event,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 336-41.— *Ed.*

so to say, of yesterday. The English soldiery then committed abominations for the mere fun of it; their passions being neither sanctified by religious fanaticism nor exacerbated by hatred against an overbearing and conquering race, nor provoked by the stern resistance of a heroic enemy. The violations of women, the spittings of children, the roastings of whole villages, were then mere wanton sports, not recorded by Mandarins, but by British officers themselves.

Even at the present catastrophe it would be an unmitigated mistake to suppose that all the cruelty is on the side of the Sepoys, and all the milk of human kindness flows on the side of the English. The letters of the British officers are redolent of malignity. An officer writing from Peshawur gives a description of the disarming of the 10th irregular cavalry for not charging the 55th native infantry when ordered to do so. He exults in the fact that they were not only disarmed, but stripped of their coats and boots, and after having received 12d. per man, were marched down to the river side, and there embarked in boats and sent down the Indus, where the writer is delighted to expect every mother's son will have a chance of being drowned in the rapids. Another writer informs us that, some inhabitants of Peshawur having caused a night alarm by exploding little mines of gunpowder in honor of a wedding (a national custom), the persons concerned were tied up next morning, and

> "received such a flogging as they will not easily forget."

News arrived from Pindee that three native chiefs were plotting. Sir John Lawrence replied by a message ordering a spy to attend to the meeting. On the spy's report, Sir John sent a second message, "Hang them." The chiefs were hanged.[a] An officer in the civil service, from Allahabad, writes:

> "We have power of life and death in our hands, and we assure you we spare not."[b]

Another, from the same place:

> "Not a day passes but we string up from ten to fifteen of them (non-combatants)."

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[a] From a letter of an artillery officer, dated Peshawur, June 26, *The Times*, No. 22766, August 22, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] "Allahabad, June 28", *The Times*, No. 22768, August 25, 1857.—*Ed.*

One exulting officer writes:

"Holmes is hanging them by the score, like a 'brick.'"[a]

Another, in allusion to the summary hanging of a large body of the natives:

"Then our fun commenced."

A third:

"We hold court-martials on horseback, and every nigger we meet with we either string up or shoot."

From Benares we are informed that thirty Zemindars[402] were hanged on the mere suspicion of sympathizing with their own countrymen, and whole villages were burned down on the same plea. An officer from Benares, whose letter is printed in *The London Times,* says:

"The European troops have become fiends when opposed to natives."[b]

And then it should not be forgotten that, while the cruelties of the English are related as acts of martial vigor, told simply, rapidly, without dwelling on disgusting details, the outrages of the natives, shocking as they are, are still deliberately exaggerated. For instance, the circumstantial account first appearing in *The Times,* and then going the round of the London press, of the atrocities perpetrated at Delhi and Meerut, from whom did it proceed?[c] From a cowardly parson residing at Bangalore, Mysore, more than a thousand miles, as the bird flies, distant from the scene of action. Actual accounts of Delhi evince the imagination of an English parson to be capable of breeding greater horrors than even the wild fancy of a Hindoo mutineer. The cutting of noses, breasts, &c., in one word, the horrid mutilations committed by the Sepoys, are of course more revolting to European feeling than the throwing of red-hot shell on Canton dwellings by a Secretary of the Manchester Peace Society,[d] or the roasting of Arabs pent up in a cave by a French Marshal,[403] or the flaying alive of British

[a] Letter from Tirhoot, dated June 26, *The Times,* No. 22763, August 19, 1857.— *Ed.*

[b] R. H. Bartrum, "Benares, July 13", *The Times,* No. 22775, September 2, 1857.— *Ed.*

[c] "Bangalore, July 4", *The Times,* No. 22768, August 25, 1857.— *Ed.*

[d] John Bowring. See this volume, pp. 158-63 and 232-35.— *Ed.*

soldiers by the cat-o'-nine-tails under drum-head court-martial, or any other of the philanthropical appliances used in British penitentiary colonies. Cruelty, like every other thing, has its fashion, changing according to time and place. Caesar, the accomplished scholar, candidly narrates how he ordered many thousand Gallic warriors to have their right hands cut off.[a] Napoleon would have been ashamed to do this. He preferred dispatching his own French regiments, suspected of republicanism, to St. Domingo, there to die of the blacks and the plague.

The infamous mutilations committed by the Sepoys remind one of the practices of the Christian Byzantine Empire, or the prescriptions of Emperor Charles V.'s criminal law,[404] or the English punishments for high treason, as still recorded by Judge Blackstone.[b] With Hindoos, whom their religion has made virtuosi in the art of self-torturing, these tortures inflicted on the enemies of their race and creed appear quite natural, and must appear still more so to the English, who, only some years since, still used to draw revenues from the Juggernaut festivals, protecting and assisting the bloody rites of a religion of cruelty.[405]

The frantic roars of the "bloody old *Times,*" as Cobbett used to call it—its playing the part of a furious character in one of Mozart's operas, who indulges in most melodious strains in the idea of first hanging his enemy, then roasting him, then quartering him, then spitting him, and then flaying him alive[c]—its tearing the passion of revenge to tatters and to rags—all this would appear but silly if under the pathos of tragedy there were not distinctly perceptible the tricks of comedy. *The London Times* overdoes its part, not only from panic. It supplies comedy with a subject even missed by Molière, the Tartuffe of Revenge. What it simply wants is to write up the funds and to screen the Government. As Delhi has not, like the walls of Jericho, fallen before mere puffs of wind,[406] John Bull is to be steeped in cries for revenge up to his very ears, to make him forget that his Government is responsible for the mischief hatched and the colossal dimensions it has been allowed to assume.

Written on September 4, 1857

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published unsigned in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5119, September 16, 1857

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[a] Gaius Julius Caesar, *Commentarii de bello Callico,* Libr. VIII, cap. XLIV.— *Ed.*

[b] [W. Blackstone,] *Commentaries on the Laws of England.*— *Ed.*

[c] W. A. Mozart, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail,* Act III, Scene 6, Osmin's aria.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE FRENCH CRÉDIT MOBILIER]

The downward movement of the Crédit Mobilier, as we anticipated some months ago, when examining its flowery Report for 1856,[a] has again set in, this time filling the monetary mind of Europe with considerable alarm. In the course of a few days the shares of the concern declined from 950 francs to about 850, this latter quotation being far from the lowest point to which they are likely to ebb. The rise and subsidence of the primeval waters affords no subject of greater interest to the geologist than the ascent and declension of the Crédit Mobilier shares to the politician. There are different epochs to be distinguished in the oscillations of the latter. Their first issue in 1852 was cleverly managed. The shares were divided into three series, the holders of the first series being entitled to the second and third series at par. The consequence was that the fortunate possessors of the first series had all the advantage of a limited supply of shares in a highly excited market, and also of the exaggerated anticipations of the large premium to be quickly attained by the stock of the society. With 250 francs paid on the first issue, the market price of the shares rose at once to 1,775 francs. Their oscillations during the years 1852, '53 and '54 are of minor political interest, since they indicate the different phases through which the forming enterprise had to run rather than the trials of the full-grown concern. In 1855 the Crédit Mobilier had reached its apogee, the momentary quotation at 1,900 francs of its shares marking its greater distance from common earthly business. Since that time the oscillations in the prices of the Crédit Mobilier shares, if

[a] See this volume, pp. 270-77.— *Ed.*

closely considered, and if the average of periods, say of 4 months, be taken, exhibit a downward movement, regulated, in spite of accidental deviations, by a constant and unerring law. The law is this, that from the highest point reached in each of those periods the prices subside to a lowest average point, which, in its turn, becomes the highest starting point for the subsequent period. Thus the figures of 1,400 francs, 1,300 francs, 1,100 francs, mark successively the lowest average point of one period and the highest average point of the other. During the whole of the present Summer, the shares were unable to reach, for any more protracted time, the hight of 1,000 francs; and the present crisis, if it does not result in worse consequences, will bring down the highest average price of the shares to about 800 francs, thence to sink down, in due course of time, to a still lower average level. This process can, of course, not go on *ad infinitum,* nor is it compatible with the organic laws of the Crédit Mobilier that its stocks should be reduced to their nominal quotation of 500 francs. An immense disproportion between capital and operations, hence the realization of extraordinary profits, and, consequently, an unusual elevation of the market price of its shares over their original amount, are conditions for the Crédit Mobilier not of prosperity, but of life. We need the less dwell on this point, as we have sufficiently elucidated it when examining the reduction of its profits from 40 per cent in 1855 to 23 per cent in 1856.[a]

The present depreciation of the Crédit Mobilier shares is connected with circumstances likely to be mistaken for causes, although they are only effects. Mr. A. Thurneyssen, one of the most "respectable" directors of the Crédit Mobilier, has been declared a bankrupt in consequence of the law tribunals pronouncing him liable for a debt of 15,000,000 francs, contracted by his nephew, Mr. Charles Thurneyssen, who fraudulently decamped from France in May last. That the mere bankruptcy of an individual director cannot at all account for the present state of the Crédit Mobilier, will be understood at once by referring to the bankruptcy of Mr. Place, which passed away without shaking to any sensible degree the Bonapartist bulwark. The public mind, however, is more apt to be struck by the sudden downfall of an individual than to trace the slow decline of an institution. Panic seizes the masses only when danger assumes a gross and palpable form. For instance, Law's shares and bank notes went on enjoying

[a] See this volume, p. 270.— *Ed.*

the superstitious confidence of France as long as the Regent[a] and his counselors contented themselves with depreciating the metallic money which the notes pretended to represent. The public did not understand that when the mint coined the mark[b] of silver in double the original number of livres, the bank note representing a given amount of silver livres was depreciated one half. But the very moment the notes themselves became, by order of council, depreciated in their official denomination, and a note of 100 livres was to be exchanged for a note of 50 livres, the process was at once understood, and the bubble burst. Thus the fall of almost 50 per cent in the profits of the Crédit Mobilier did not for a moment attract the attention even of the English money-article writers, while the whole press of Europe is now full of din and bustle about Mr. A. Thurneyssen's bankruptcy. The latter, in fact, is accompanied by aggravating circumstances. When Mr. Charles Thurneyssen defaulted in May last Mr. Isaac Pereire, with more than his usual display of virtuous indignation, started forward in the London press to solemnly deny all connection on the part of Mr. A. Thurneyssen and the Crédit Mobilier with the wretched defaulter.[c] The present decision of the French law tribunals has, therefore, given a flat contradiction to that high-sounding gentleman.

Moreover, panic seems to reign in the Crédit Mobilier itself. Mr. Ernest Andrée, one of the Directors, has thought fit to publicly free himself from all future liability, and to renounce all connection with the institution by legal methods. Others—among them the house of Hottinguer—are also said to be beating the retreat. When the pilots themselves take to the life-boat, the passengers may justly consider the vessel lost. Lastly, the intimate connection of the Thurneyssens with the St. Petersburg banking-house of Stieglitz and the great Russian railway scheme may well afford food for thought to the European monetary mind.

If the Directors of the Crédit Mobilier condescend to "create credit in France," to "foster the productive powers of the nation," and to prop up stock gambling all over the world, it would be a stupendous mistake to suppose that they did so for nothing. Over and above the average interest of about 25 per cent annum on the capital represented by their shares, they regularly received a bonus

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[a] Philip II, Duke of Orleans.— *Ed.*

[b] Denomination of weight for silver, usually 8 oz (about 240 gr.)— *Ed.*

[c] I. Péreire's communication regarding the failure of M. Charles Thurneyssen, "Paris, May 25", *The Times,* No. 22692, May 28, 1857.— *Ed.*

of 5 per cent on the gross profits, say the sum of 275,000 francs or $55,000 each for the first five years of the institution. Then, those Railway Companies and other public works which especially enjoyed the patronage of the Crédit Mobilier, are invariably found to be somehow or other mixed up with the private affairs of the Directors. Thus the Pereires were known to be largely interested in the new shares of the French Southern Railways. Now, in perusing the published accounts, we find the Company in its aggregate capacity to have subscribed not less than 623,000,000 francs to these identical railways. But not only did the fifteen Directors use to direct the operations of the Company according to their private interests; they were also able to regulate their private speculations, in conformity with the foreknowledge they possessed of the great *coups de bourse*[a] the Company was about to execute; and, finally, to enlarge their own credit in proportion to the immense sums officially passing through their hands. Hence the miraculously rapid enrichment of these Directors; hence the nervous anxiety of the European public in regard to financial reverses occurring among them; hence, too, the intimate connection between their private fortunes and the public credit of the Company, although some of the former are sure to be so managed as to outlive the latter.

Written on September 8, 1857

Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] Stock-exchange speculations.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE REVOLT IN INDIA]

The news from India, which reached us yesterday, wears a very disastrous and threatening aspect for the English, though, as may be seen in another column, our intelligent London correspondent regards it differently.[407] From Delhi we have details to July 29, and a later report, to the effect that, in consequence of the ravages of the cholera, the besieging forces were compelled to retire from before Delhi and take up their quarters at Agra.[a] It is true, this report is admitted by none of the London journals, but we can, at the very utmost, only regard it as somewhat premature. As we know from all the Indian correspondence, the besieging army had suffered severely in sorties made on the 14th, 18th and 23rd of July. On those occasions the rebels fought with more reckless vehemence than ever, and with a great advantage from the superiority of their cannon.

"We are firing," writes a British officer, "18 pounders and 8-inch howitzers, and the rebels are replying with twenty-fours and thirty-twos." "In the eighteen sallies," says another letter, "which we have had to stand, we have lost one-third of our numbers in killed and wounded."[b]

Of re-enforcements all that could be expected was a body of Sikhs under Gen. Van Cortlandt. Gen. Havelock, after fighting several successful battles, was forced to fall back on Cawnpore, abandoning, for the time, the relief of Lucknow. At the same time "the rains had set in heavily before Delhi," necessarily adding to

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[a] "Alexandria, Sept. 11", *The Times*, No. 22789, September 18, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] The letter from an officer employed on the staff at Delhi, *The Times*, No. 22777, September 4, 1857.—*Ed.*

the virulence of the cholera. The dispatch which announces the retreat to Agra and the abandonment, for the moment, at least, of the attempt to reduce the capital of the Great Mogul, must, then, soon prove true, if it is not so already.

On the line of the Ganges the main interest rests on the operations of Gen. Havelock, whose exploits at Futteypore, Cawnpore and Bithoor have naturally been rather extravagantly praised by our London cotemporaries. As we have stated above, after having advanced twenty-five miles from Cawnpore, he found himself obliged to fall back upon that place in order not only to deposit his sick, but to wait for re-enforcements. This is a cause for deep regret, for it indicates that the attempt at a rescue of Lucknow has been baffled. The only hope for the British garrison of the place is now in the force of 3,000 Goorkas[408] sent from Nepaul to their relief by Jung Bahadoor. Should they fail to raise the siege, then the Cawnpore butchery will be re-enacted at Lucknow. This will not be all. The capture by the rebels of the fortress of Lucknow, and the consequent consolidation of their power in Oude, would threaten in the flank all British operations against Delhi, and decide the balance of the contending forces at Benares, and the whole district of Bihar. Cawnpore would be stripped of half its importance and menaced in its communications with Delhi on the one side, and with Benares on the other, by the rebels holding the fortress of Lucknow. This contingency adds to the painful interest with which news from that locality must be looked for. On the 16th of June the garrison estimated their powers of endurance at six weeks on famine allowance. Up to the last date of the dispatches, five of these weeks had already elapsed. Everything there now depends on the reported, but not yet certain re-enforcements from Nepaul.

If we pass lower down the Ganges, from Cawnpore to Benares and the district of Bihar, the British prospect is still darker. A letter in *The Bengal Gazette,*[a] dated Benares, August 3, states

"that the mutineers from Dinapore, having crossed the Sone, marched upon Arrah. The European inhabitants, justly alarmed for their safety, wrote to Dinapore for re-enforcements. Two steamers were accordingly dispatched with detachments of her Majesty's 5th, 10th and 37th. In the middle of the night one of the steamers grounded in the mud and stuck fast. The men were hastily landed, and pushed forward on foot, but without taking due precautions. Suddenly they were assailed on both sides by a close and heavy fire, and 150 of their small force, including several officers, put *hors de combat.*[b] It is supposed that all the Europeans at the station, about 47 in number, have been massacred."

[a] Presumably a reference to *The Calcutta Gazette.—Ed.*

[b] Out of fight, disabled.—*Ed.*

Arrah, in the British district of Shahabad, Presidency of Bengal, is a town on the road from Dinapore to Ghazepore, twenty-five miles west of the former, seventy-five east of the latter. Benares itself was threatened. This place has a fort constructed upon European principles, and would become another Delhi if it fell into the hands of the rebels. At Mirzapore, situated to the south of Benares, and on the opposite bank of the Ganges, a Mussulman conspiracy has been detected; while at Berhampore, on the Ganges, some eighteen miles distant from Calcutta, the 63rd Native Infantry had been disarmed. In one word, disaffection on the one side and panic on the other were spreading throughout the whole Presidency of Bengal, even to the gates of Calcutta, where painful apprehensions prevailed of the great fast of the Mohurran,[409] when the followers of Islam, wrought up into a fanatical frenzy, go about with swords ready to fight on the smallest provocation, being likely to result in a general attack upon the English, and where the Governor-General[a] has felt himself compelled to disarm his own body-guard. The reader will, then, understand at once that the principal British line of communications, the Ganges line, is in danger of being interrupted, intersected and cut off. This would bear on the progress of the re-enforcements to arrive in November, and would isolate the British line of operations on the Jumna.

In the Bombay Presidency, also, affairs are assuming a very serious aspect. The mutiny at Kolapore of the 27th Bombay Native Infantry is a fact, but their defeat by the British troops is a rumor only. The Bombay native army has broken out into successive mutinies at Nagpore, Aurungabad, Hyderabad, and, finally, at Kolapore. The actual strength of the Bombay native army is 43,048 men, while there are, in fact, only two European regiments in that Presidency. The native army was relied upon not only to preserve order within the limits of the Bombay Presidency, but to send re-enforcements up to Scinde in the Punjaub, and to form the columns moved on Mhow and Indore, to recover and hold those places, to establish communications with Agra, and relieve the garrison at that place. The column of Brigadier Stuart, charged with this operation, was composed of 300 men of the 3d Bombay European Regiment, 250 men of the 5th Bombay Native Infantry, 1,000 of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, 200 of the 19th Bombay Native Infantry, 800 of the 3d Cavalry Regiment of the Hyderabad Contingent. There are with this force, amounting

[a] Charles John Canning.— *Ed.*

to 2,250 native soldiers, about 700 Europeans, composed chiefly of the Queen's 86th Foot and the 14th Queen's Light Dragoons. The English had, moreover, assembled a column of the native army at Aurungabad to intimidate the disaffected territories of Khandeish and Nagpore, and at the same time form a support for the flying columns acting in Central India.

In that part of India we are told that "tranquillity is restored,"[a] but on this result we cannot altogether rely. In fact it is not the occupation of Mhow which decides that question, but the course pursued by the Holkar and Scindiah, the two Mahratta princes.[410] The same dispatch which informs us of Stuart's arrival at Mhow adds that, although the Holkar still remained staunch, his troops had become unmanageable.[a] As to the Scindiah's policy, not a word is dropped. He is young, popular, full of fire, and would be regarded as the natural head and rallying point for the whole Mahratta nation. He has 10,000 well disciplined troops of his own. His defection from the British would not only cost them Central India, but give immense strength and consistency to the revolutionary league. The retreat of the forces before Delhi, the menaces and solicitations of the malcontents may at length induce him to side with his countrymen. The main influence, however, on the Holkar as well as the Scindiah, will be exercised by the Mahrattas of the Deccan, where, as we have already stated,[b] the rebellion has at last decidedly raised its head. It is here, too, that the festival of the Mohurran is particularly dangerous. There is, then, some reason to anticipate a general revolt of the Bombay army. The Madras army, too, amounting to 60,555 native troops, and recruited from Hyderabad, Nagpore, Malwa, the most bigoted Mohammedan districts, would not be long in following the example. Thus, then, if it be considered that the rainy season during August and September will paralyze the movements of the British troops and interrupt their communications, the supposition seems rational that in spite of their apparent strength, the re-enforcements sent from Europe, arriving too late, and in driblets only, will prove inadequate to the task imposed upon them. We may almost expect, during the following campaign, a rehearsal of the Affghanistan disasters.[411]

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[a] "Alexandria, Sept. 8", *The Times*, No. 22786, September 15, 1857.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 348.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE REVOLT IN INDIA][412]

The news received from India by the *Atlantic* yesterday has two prominent points, namely, the failure of Gen. Havelock to advance to the relief of Lucknow, and the persistence of the English at Delhi. This latter fact finds a parallel only in British annals, and in the Walcheren expedition.[413] The failure of that expedition having become certain toward the middle of August, 1809, they delayed re-embarking until November. Napoleon, when he learned that an English army had landed at that place, recommended that it should not be attacked, and that the French should leave its destruction to the disease sure to do them more injury than the cannon, without its costing one centime to France. The present Great Mogul,[a] even more favored than Napoleon, finds himself able to back the disease by his sallies and his sallies by the disease.

A British Government dispatch, dated Cagliari, Sept. 27, tells us that

> "the latest dates from Delhi are to the 12th of August, when that city was still in possession of the rebels; but that an attack was expected to be made shortly, as Gen. Nicholson was within a day's march with considerable re-enforcements."[b]

If Delhi is not taken till Wilson and Nicholson attack it with their present strength, its walls will stand till they fall of themselves. Nicholson's considerable forces amount to about 4,000 Sikhs—a re-enforcement absurdly disproportionate for an attack upon Delhi, but just large enough to afford a new suicidal pretext for not breaking up the camp before the city.

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[a] Bahadur Shah II.—*Ed.*

[b] "Rear-Admiral at Malta to the Secretary of the Admiralty, London. Sept. 25, 6 p.m.", *The Times*, No. 22798, September 29, 1857.—*Ed.*

After Gen. Hewitt had committed the fault, and one may even in a military point of view say the crime, of permitting the Meerut rebels to make their way to Delhi, and after the two first weeks had been wasted, allowing an irregular surprise of that city, the planning of the siege of Delhi appears an almost incomprehensible blunder. An authority which we shall take the liberty of placing even above the military oracles of *The London Times,* Napoleon, lays down two rules of warfare looking almost like commonplaces: lst. That "only what can be supported ought to be undertaken, and only what presents the greatest number of chances of success;" and 2dly. That "the main forces should be employed only where the main object of war, the destruction of the enemy, lies." In planning the siege of Delhi, these rudimental rules have been violated. The authorities in England must have been aware that the Indian Government itself had recently repaired the fortifications of Delhi so far that that city could be captured by a regular siege only, requiring a besieging force of at least 15,000 to 20,000 men, and much more, if the defense was conducted in an average style. Now, 15,000 to 20,000 men being requisite for this enterprise, it was downright folly to undertake it with 6,000 or 7,000. The English were further aware that a prolonged siege, a matter of course in consequence of their numerical weakness, would expose their forces in that locality, in that climate, and at that season, to the attacks of an invulnerable and invisible enemy, spreading the seeds of destruction among their ranks. The chances of success, therefore, were all against a siege of Delhi.

As to the object of the war, it was beyond doubt the maintenance of English rule in India. To attain that object, Delhi was a point of no strategical significance at all. Historical tradition, in truth, endowed it in the eyes of the natives with a superstitious importance, clashing with its real influence, and this was sufficient reason for the mutinous Sepoys to single it out as their general place of rendezvous. But if, instead of forming their military plans according to the native prejudices, the English had left Delhi alone and isolated it, they would have divested it of its fancied influence; while, by pitching their tents before it, running their heads against it, and concentrating upon it their main force and the attention of the world, they cut themselves off from even the chances of retreat, or rather gave to a retreat all the effects of a signal defeat. They have thus simply played into the hands of the mutineers who wanted to make Delhi the object of the campaign. But this is not all. No great ingenuity was required to convince the English that for them it was of prime importance to create an active field

army, whose operations might stifle the sparks of disaffection, keep open the communications between their own military stations, throw the enemy upon some few points, and isolate Delhi. Instead of acting upon this simple and self-evident plan, they immobilize the only active army at their disposal by concentrating it before Delhi, leave the open field to the mutineers, while their *own* garrisons hold scattered spots, disconnected, far distant from each other, and blocked up by overwhelming hostile forces allowed to take their own time.

By fixing their main mobile column before Delhi, the English have not choked up the rebels, but petrified their own garrisons. But, apart from this fundamental blunder at Delhi, there is hardly anything in the annals of war to equal the stupidity which directed the operations of these garrisons, acting independently, irrespectively of each other, lacking all supreme leadership, and acting not like members of one army, but like bodies belonging to different and even hostile nations. Take, for instance, the case of Cawnpore and Lucknow. There were two adjacent places, and two separate bodies of troops, both very small and disproportionate to the occasion, placed under separate commands, though they were only forty miles apart, and with as little unity of action between them as if situated at the opposite poles. The simplest rules of strategy would have required that Sir Hugh Wheeler, the military commander at Cawnpore, should be empowered to call Sir H. Lawrence, the chief Commissioner of Oude, with his troops, back to Cawnpore, thus to strengthen his own position while momentarily evacuating Lucknow. By this operation, *both* garrisons would have been saved, and by the subsequent junction of Havelock's troops with them, a little army been created able to check Oude and to relieve Agra. Instead of this, by the independent action of the two places, the garrison of Cawnpore is butchered, the garrison of Lucknow is sure to fall with its fortress, and even the wonderful exertions of Havelock, marching his troops 126 miles in eight days, sustaining as many fights as his march numbered days, and performing all this in an Indian climate at the hight of the Summer season—even his heroic exertions are baffled. Having still more exhausted his overworked troops in vain attempts at the rescue of Lucknow, and being sure to be forced to fresh useless sacrifices by repeated expeditions from Cawnpore, executed on a constantly decreasing radius, he will, in all probability, have at last to retire upon Allahabad, with hardly any men at his back. The operations of his troops, better than anything else, show what even the small English army before

Delhi would have been able to do if concentrated for action in the field, instead of being caught alive in the pestilential camp. Concentration is the secret of strategy. Decentralization is the plan adopted by the English in India. What they had to do was to reduce their garrisons to the smallest possible number, disencumber them at once of women and children, evacuate all stations not of strategical importance, and thus collect the greatest possible army in the field. Now, even the driblets of re-enforcements, sent up the Ganges from Calcutta, have been so completely absorbed by the numerous isolated garrisons that not one detachment has reached Allahabad.

As for Lucknow, the most gloomy previsions inspired by the recent previous mails[a] are now confirmed. Havelock has again been forced to fall back on Cawnpore; there is no possibility of relief from the allied Nepaulese force; and we must now expect to hear of the capture of the place by starvation, and the massacre of its brave defenders with their wives and children.

Written on September 29, 1857

Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] See this volume, p. 362.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE REVOLT IN INDIA]

We yesterday received files of London journals up the 7th inst.[414] In discussing the State of the Indian revolt they are full of the same optimism which they have cultivated from the beginning. We are not only told that a successful attack upon Delhi was to take place, but that it was to take place on the 20th of August. The first thing to ascertain is, of course, the present strength of the besieging force. An artillery officer, writing from the camp before Delhi on the 13th of August, gives the following detailed statement of the effective British forces on the 10th of that month:

| | British Officers. | British Troops. | Native Officers. | Native Troops. | H'ses. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Staff | 30 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Artillery | 39 | 598 | ... | ... | ... |
| Engineers | 26 | 39 | ... | ... | ... |
| Cavalry | 18 | 570 | ... | ... | 520 |
| 1st BRIGADE. | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 75th Regt. | 16 | 502 | ... | ... | ... |
| Hon. Co.'s 1st Fusileers | 17 | 487 | ... | ... | ... |
| Kumaon Battalion | 4 | ... | 13 | 435 | ... |
| 2nd BRIGADE. | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 60th Rifles | 15 | 251 | ... | ... | ... |
| Hon. Co.'s 2d Fusileers | 20 | 493 | ... | ... | ... |
| Sirmoor Battalion | 4 | ... | 9 | 319 | ... |
| 3d BRIGADE. | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 8th Regt. | 15 | 153 | ... | ... | ... |
| Her Majesty's 61st Regt. | 12 | 249 | ... | ... | ... |

| | British Officers. | British Troops. | Native Officers. | Native Troops. | H'ses. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4th Sikhs | 4 | ... | 4 | 365 | ... |
| Guide Corps | 4 | ... | 4 | 196 | ... |
| Coke's Corps | 5 | ... | 16 | 709 | ... |
| Total | 229 | 3,342 | 46 | 2,024 | 520[a] |

The total effective British force in the camp before Delhi amounted, therefore, on the 10th of August to exactly 5,641 men. From these we must deduct 120 men (112 soldiers and 8 officers), who, according to the English reports, fell on the 12th of August during the attack upon a new battery which the rebels had opened outside the walls, in front of the English left. There remained, then, the number of 5,521[b] fighting men when Brigadier Nicholson joined the besieging army with the following forces from Ferozepore, escorting a second-class siege train: the 52d light infantry (say 900 men), a wing of the 61st (say 4 companies, 360 men), Bourchier's field battery, a wing of the 6th Punjaub regiment (say 540 men), and some Moultan horse and foot; altogether a force of about 2,000 men, of whom somewhat more than 1,200 were Europeans.[c] Now, if we add this force to the 5,521 fighting men who were in the camp on the junction of Nicholson's forces, we obtain a total of 7,521 men. Further re-enforcements are said to have been dispatched by Sir John Lawrence, the Governor of the Punjaub, consisting of the remaining wing of the 8th foot, three companies of the 24th, with three horse-artillery guns of Captain Paton's troops from Peshawur, the 2d Punjaub infantry, the 4th Punjaub infantry, and the other wing of the 6th Punjaub. This force, however, which we may estimate at 3,000 men, at the utmost, and the bulk of which consists altogether of Sikhs, had not yet arrived. If the reader can recall the arrival of the Punjaub re-enforcements under Chamberlain about a month earlier,[d] he will understand that, as the latter were only sufficient to bring Gen. Reed's army up to the original number of Sir H. Barnard's forces, so the new re-enforcements are only sufficient to bring Brigadier Wilson's army up to the

[a] A letter from an officer of the Bengal Artillery of August 13, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22803, October 5, 1857.— *Ed.*

[b] Here and below the *New-York Daily Tribune* has "5,529".— *Ed.*

[c] A letter from the *Times* special correspondent at Bombay of August 31, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22800, October 1, 1857.— *Ed.*

[d] See this volume, p. 343.— *Ed.*

original strength of Gen. Reed; the only real fact in favor of the English being the arrival, at last, of a siege train. But suppose even the expected 3,000 men to have joined the camp, and the total English force to have reached the number of 10,000, the loyalty of one-third of which is more than doubtful, what are they to do? They will invest Delhi, we are told. But leaving aside the ludicrous idea of investing with 10,000 men a strongly-fortified city, more than seven miles in extent, the English must first turn the Jumna from its regular course before they can think of investing Delhi. If the English entered Delhi in the morning, the rebels might leave it in the evening, either by crossing the Jumna and making for Rohilcund and Oude, or by marching down the Jumna in the direction of Mattra and Agra. At all events, the investment of a square, one of whose sides is inaccessible to the besieging forces, while affording a line of communication and retreat to the besieged, is a problem not yet solved.

"All agree," says the officer from whom we have borrowed the above table, "that taking Delhi by assault is out of the question."

He informs us, at the same time, what is really expected in the camp, viz:

"to shell the town for several days and make a decent breach."

Now, this officer himself adds that,

"at a moderate calculation, the enemy must muster now nearly forty thousand men beside guns unlimited and well worked; their infantry also fighting well."

If the desperate obstinacy with which Mussulmans are accustomed to fight behind walls be considered, it becomes a great question indeed whether the small British army, having rushed in through "a decent breach," would be allowed to rush out again.

In fact, there remains only one chance for a successful attack upon Delhi by the present British forces—that of internal dissensions breaking out among the rebels, their ammunition being spent, their forces being demoralized, and their spirit of self-reliance giving way. But we must confess that their uninterrupted fighting from the 31st of July to the 12th of August seems hardly to warrant such a supposition. At the same time, a Calcutta letter gives us a broad hint why the English generals had resolved, in the teeth of all military rules, upon keeping their ground before Delhi.

"When," it says, "a few weeks ago it became a question whether our force should retreat from before Delhi, because it was too much harassed by daily fighting to support overwhelming fatigues much longer, that intention was

strenuously resisted by Sir John Lawrence, who plainly informed the Generals that their retreat would be the signal for the rising of the populations around them, by which they must be placed in imminent danger. This counsel prevailed, and Sir John Lawrence promised to send them all the re-enforcements he could muster."

Denuded as it has been by Sir John Lawrence, the Punjaub itself may now rise in rebellion, while the troops in the cantonments before Delhi are likely to be laid on their backs and decimated by the pestilential effluvia rising from the soil at the close of the rainy season. Of Gen. Van Cortlandt's forces, reported four weeks ago to have reached Hissar, and to be pushing forward to Delhi,[a] no more is heard. They must, then, have encountered serious obstacles, or have been disbanded on their route.

The position of the English on the Upper Ganges is, in fact, desperate. Gen. Havelock is threatened by the operations of the Oude rebels, moving from Lucknow via Bithoor and trying at Futteypore, to the south of Cawnpore, to cut off his retreat; while simultaneously the Gwalior contingent is marching on Cawnpore from Calpee, a town situated on the right bank of the Jumna. This concentric movement, perhaps directed by Nena Sahib, who is said to wield the supreme command at Lucknow, betrays for the first time some notion of strategy on the part of the rebels, while the English seem anxious only to exaggerate their own foolish method of centrifugal warfare. Thus we are told that the 90th foot and the 5th fusileers dispatched from Calcutta to re-enforce Gen. Havelock have been intercepted at Dinapore by Sir James Outram, who has taken it into his head to lead them via Fyrzabad to Lucknow. This plan of operation is hailed by *The Morning Advertiser* of London as the stroke of a master mind, because, it says, Lucknow will thus have been placed between two fires, being threatened on its right from Cawnpore and on its left from Fyrzabad.[b] According to the ordinary rules of war, the immensely weaker army, which, instead of trying to concentrate its scattered members, cuts itself up into two portions, separated by the whole breadth of the hostile army, has spared the enemy the pains of annihilating it. For Gen. Havelock, the question, in fact, is no longer to save Lucknow, but to save the remainder of his own and Gen. Neill's little corps. He will very likely have to fall back upon Allahabad. Allahabad is indeed a position of decisive importance, forming, as it does, the point of junction between the Ganges and

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[a] See this volume pp. 345-46.

[b] "Our present position in India," *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 20686, October 5, 1857.— *Ed.*

the Jumna, and the key to the Doab,[415] situated between the two rivers.

On the first glance at the map, it will be seen that the main line of operations for an English army attempting the reconquest of the North-Western provinces runs along the valley of the lower Ganges. The positions of Dinapore, Benares, Mirzapore, and, above all, of Allahabad, from which the real operations must commence, will therefore have to be strengthened by the withdrawal to them of the garrisons of all the smaller and strategically indifferent stations in the province of Bengal Proper. That this main line of operations itself is seriously threatened at this moment may be seen from the following extract from a Bombay letter addressed to *The London Daily News:*

"The late mutiny of three regiments at Dinapore has cut off communications (except by steamers on the river) between Allahabad and Calcutta. The mutiny at Dinapore is the most serious affair that has happened lately, inasmuch as the whole of the Bihar district, within 200 miles of Calcutta, is now in a blaze. Today a report has arrived that the Santhals[416] have again risen, and the state of Bengal, overrun with 150,000 savages, who delight in blood, plunder and rapine, would be truly terrible."

The minor lines of operation, as long as Agra holds out, are those for the Bombay army, via Indore and Gwalior to Agra, and for the Madras army, via Saugor and Gwalior to Agra, with which latter place the Punjaub army, as well as the corps holding Allahabad, require to have their lines of communication restored. If, however, the wavering princes of Central India should openly declare against the English, and the mutiny among the Bombay army assume a serious aspect, all military calculation is at an end for the present, and nothing will remain certain but an immense butchery from Cashmere to Cape Comorin. In the best case, all that can be done is to delay decisive events until the arrival in November of the European forces. Whether even this be effected will depend upon the brains of Sir Colin Campbell of whom, till now, nothing is known but his personal bravery. If he is the man for his place, he will, at any expense, whether Delhi fall or not, create a disposable force, however small, with which to take the field. Yet, the ultimate decision, we must repeat, lies with the Bombay army.

Written on October 6, 1857

Reproduced from the newspaper

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# Karl Marx

## [THE REVOLT IN INDIA]

The mail of the *Arabia* brings us the important intelligence of the fall of Delhi. This event, so far as we can judge from the meager details at hand, appears to have resulted upon the simultaneous occurrence of bitter dissensions among the rebels, a change in the numerical proportions of the contending parties, and the arrival on Sept. 5 of the siege train which was expected as long ago as June 8.

After the arrival of Nicholson's re-enforcements, we had estimated the army before Delhi at a total of 7,521 men,[a] an estimate fully confirmed since. After the subsequent accession of 3,000 Cashmere troops, lent to the English by the Rajah Ranbeer Singh, the British forces are stated by *The Friend of India* to have amounted in all to about 11,000 men. On the other hand, *The Military Spectator* of London affirms that the rebel forces had diminished in numbers to about 17,000 men, of whom 5,000 were cavalry; while *The Friend of India* computes their forces at about 13,000, including 1,000 irregular cavalry. As the horse became quite useless after the breach was once effected and the struggle within the town had begun, and, consequently, on the very entrance of the English they made their escape, the total forces of the Sepoys, whether we accept the computation of *The Military Spectator* or of *The Friend of India,* could not be estimated beyond 11,000 or 12,000 men. The English forces, less from increase on their side than from a decrease on the opposite one, had, therefore, become almost equal to those of the mutineers; their slight numerical inferiority being more than made up by the moral

[a] See this volume, pp. 370-71.— *Ed.*

effect of a successful bombardment and the advantages of the offensive enabling them to choose the points on which to throw their main strength, while the defenders were obliged to disperse their inadequate forces over all the points of the menaced circumference.

The decrease on the part of the rebel forces was caused still more by the withdrawal of whole contingents in consequence of internal dissensions than by the heavy losses they suffered in their incessant sorties for a period of about ten days. While the Mogul specter himself, like the merchants of Delhi, had become averse to the rule of the Sepoys, who plundered them of every rupee they had amassed, the religious dissensions between the Hindoo and Mohammedan Sepoys, and the quarrels between the old garrison and the new re-enforcements, sufficed to break up their superficial organization and to insure their downfall. Still, as the English had to cope with a force but slightly superior to their own, without unity of command, enfeebled and dispirited by dissensions in their own ranks, but who yet, after 84 hours' bombardment, stood a six days' cannonade and street-fight within the walls, and then quietly crossed the Jumna on the bridge of boats, it must be confessed that the rebels at last, with their main forces, made the best of a bad position.

The facts of the capture appear to be, that on Sept. 8 the English batteries were opened much in advance of the original position of their forces and within 700 yards of the walls. Between the 8th and the 11th the British heavy ordnance guns and mortars were pushed forward still nearer to the works, a lodgment being effected and batteries established with little loss, considering that the Delhi garrison made two sorties on the 10th and 11th, and made repeated attempts to open fresh batteries, and kept up an annoying fire from rifle-pits. On the 12th the English sustained a loss of about 56 killed and wounded. On the morning of the 13th the enemy's magazine, on one bastion, was blown up, as also the wagon of a light gun, which enfiladed the British batteries from the Talwara suburbs; and the British batteries effected a practicable breach near the Cashmere gate. On the 14th the assault was made on the city. The troops entered at the breach near the Cashmere gate without serious opposition, gained possession of the large buildings in its neighborhood, and advanced along the ramparts to the Moree bastion and Cabul gate, when the resistance grew very obstinate, and the loss was consequently severe. Preparations were being made to turn the guns from the captured bastions on the city, and to bring up other

guns and mortars to commanding points. On the 15th the Burn bastions and Lahore bastions were played upon by the captured guns on the Moree and Cabul bastions, while a breach was made in the magazine and the palace began to be shelled. The magazine was stormed at daylight, Sept. 16, while on the 17th the mortars continued to play upon the palace from the magazine inclosure.[a]

At this date, owing, it is said by *The Bombay Courier,* to the plunder of the Punjaub and Lahore mails on the Scinde frontier, the official accounts of the storm break off. In a private communication addressed to the Governor of Bombay,[b] it is stated that the entire city of Delhi was occupied on Sunday, the 20th, the main forces of the mutineers leaving the city at 3 a.m. on the same day, and escaping over the bridges of boats in the direction of Rohilcund. Since a pursuit on the part of the English was impracticable until after the occupation of Selimgurh, situated on the river front, it is evident that the rebels, slowly fighting their way from the extreme north end of the city to its south-eastern extremity, kept, until the 20th, the position necessary for covering their retreat.

As to the probable effect of the capture of Delhi, a competent authority, *The Friend of India,* remarks that

> "it is the condition of Bengal, and not the state of Delhi, that ought at this time to engage the attention of Englishmen. The long delay that has taken place in the capture of the town has actually destroyed any prestige that we might have derived from an early success; and the strength of the rebels and their numbers are diminished as effectually by maintaining the siege as they would be by the capture of the city."

Meanwhile, the insurrection is said to be spreading north-east from Calcutta, through Central India up to the north-west; while on the Assam frontier, two strong regiments of Poorbeahs,[c] openly proposing the restoration of the ex-Rajah Parandur Singh, had revolted; the Dinapore and Ranghur mutineers, led by Kooer Singh, were marching by Banda and Nagode in the direction of Subbulpore, and had forced, through his own troops, the Rajah of Rewah to join them. At Subbulpore itself the 52d Bengal Native Regiment had left their cantonments, taking with them a British officer as a hostage for their comrades left behind. The Gwalior mutineers are reported to have crossed the Chumbul, and are

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[a] *The Times,* Nos. 22823 and 22824, October 28 and 29, 1857, "India", "India and China", "The Fall of Delhi".— *Ed.*

[b] John Elphinstone.— *Ed.*

[c] *Poorbeah* means "eastern"; here the reference is to the regiments in eastern Bengal.— *Ed.*

encamped somewhere between the river and Dhalapore. The most serious items of intelligence remain to be noticed. The Todhpore Legion has, it appears, taken service with the rebel Rajah of Arwah, a place 90 miles south-west of Beawar. They have defeated a considerable force which the Rajah of Todhpore had sent against them, killing the General and Captain Monck Mason, and capturing three guns. Gen. G. St. P. Lawrence made an advance against them with some of the Nusserabad force, and compelled them to retreat into a town, against which, however, his further attempts proved unavailing.[a] The denuding of Scinde of its European troops had resulted in a widely extended conspiracy, attempts at insurrection being made at no less than five different places, among which figure Hyderabad, Kurrachee and Sikarpore. There is also an untoward symptom in the Punjaub, the communication between Moultan and Lahore having been cut off for eight days.[b]

In another place our readers will find a tabular statement of the forces dispatched from England since June 18; the days of arrival of the respective vessels being calculated by us on official statements, and therefore in favor of the British Government.[417] From that list it will be seen that, apart from the small detachments of artillery and engineers sent by the overland route, the whole of the army embarked amounts to 30,899 men, of whom 24,739 belong to the infantry, 3,826 to the cavalry, and 2,334 to the artillery. It will also be seen that before the end of October no considerable re-enforcements were to be expected.

*Troops for India*

The following is a list of the troops which have been sent to India from England since June 18, 1857

| Date of arrival | Total | Calcutta | Ceylon | Bombay | Kurrachee | Madras |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| September 20 | 214 | 214 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| October 1 | 300 | 300 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| October 15 | 1,906 | 124 | 1,782 | ... | ... | ... |
| October 17 | 288 | 288 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| October 20 | 4,235 | 3,845 | 390 | ... | ... | ... |
| October 30 | 2,028 | 479 | 1,549 | ... | ... | ... |
| Total for Oct. | 8,757 | 5,036 | 3,721 | | | |

[a] *The Times,* Nos. 22823 and 22824, October 28 and 29, 1857, "India", "The Fall of Delhi".—*Ed.*

[b] "Trieste, Monday, Oct. 26", "Alexandria, Oct. 20", *The Times,* No. 22822, October 27, 1857.—*Ed.*

| Date of arrival | Total | Calcutta | Ceylon | Bombay | Kurrachee | Madras |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| November 1 | 3,495 | 1,234 | 1,629 | ... | 632 | ... |
| November 5 | 879 | 879 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| November 10 | 2,700 | 904 | 340 | 400 | 1,056 | ... |
| November 12 | 1,633 | 1,633 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| November 15 | 2,610 | 2,132 | 478 | ... | ... | ... |
| November 19 | 234 | ... | ... | ... | 234 | ... |
| November 20 | 1,216 | ... | 278 | 938 | ... | ... |
| November 24 | 406 | ... | 406 | ... | ... | ... |
| November 25 | 1,276 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,276 |
| November 30 | 666 | ... | 462 | 204 | ... | ... |
| Total for Nov. | 15,115 | 6,782 | 3,593 | 1,542 | 1,922 | 1,276 |
| December 1 | 354 | ... | ... | 354 | ... | ... |
| December 5 | 459 | ... | ... | 201 | ... | 258 |
| December 10 | 1,758 | ... | 607 | ... | 1,151 | ... |
| December 14 | 1,057 | ... | ... | 1,057 | ... | ... |
| December 15 | 948 | ... | ... | 647 | 301 | ... |
| December 20 | 693 | 185 | ... | 300 | 208 | ... |
| December 25 | 624 | ... | ... | ... | 624 | ... |
| Total for Dec. | 5,893 | 1,851 | 607 | 2,559 | 2,284 | 258 |
| January 1 | 340 | ... | ... | 340 | ... | ... |
| January 5 | 220 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 220 |
| January 15 | 140 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 140 |
| January 20 | 220 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 220 |
| Total for Jan. | 920 | ... | ... | 340 | ... | 580 |
| Sept. till Jan. 20 | 30,899 | 12,217 | 7,921 | 4,441 | 4,206 | 2,114 |
| *Troops dispatched by the overland route:* | | | | | | |
| October 2 | 235 R.E. | 117 | ... | ... | 118 | ... |
| October 12 | 221 Art. | 221 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| October 14 | 224 R.E. | 122 | ... | ... | 122 | ... |
| Total for Oct. | 700 | 460 | ... | ... | 240 | ... |
| Total ..... | | | | | 31,599 | |
| Men en route from Cape, partly arrived ..... | | | | | 4,000 | |
| Grand total ..... | | | | | 35,599 | |

Written on October 30, 1857

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# Karl Marx

## [THE BANK ACT OF 1844 AND THE MONETARY CRISIS IN ENGLAND][418]

On the 5th inst. the Bank of England raised its minimum rate of discount from 8 per cent, at which it was fixed on October 19, to 9 per cent. This enhancement, unprecedented as it is in the history of the Bank since the resumption of its cash payments, has, we presume, not yet reached its highest point. It is brought about by a drain of bullion, and by a decrease in what is called the reserve of notes. The drain of bullion acts in opposite directions—gold being shipped to this country[a] in consequence of our bankruptcy, and silver to the East, in consequence of the decline of the export trade to China and India, and the direct Government remittances made for account of the East India Company. In exchange for the silver thus wanted, gold must be sent to the continent of Europe.

As to the reserve of notes and the influential part it plays in the London money market, it is necessary to refer briefly to Sir Robert Peel's Bank act of 1844,[419] which affects not only England, but also the United States, and the whole market of the world. Sir Robert Peel, backed by the banker Lloyd, now Lord Overstone, and a number of influential men beside, proposed by his act to put into practice a self-acting principle for the circulation of paper money, according to which the latter would exactly conform in its movements of expansion and contraction to the laws of a purely metallic circulation; and all monetary crises, as he and his partisans affirmed, would thus be warded off for all time to come. The Bank of England is divided into two departments—the issuing department and the banking department; the former being

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[a] The United States of America.—*Ed.*

a simple manufactory of notes and the latter the real bank. The issuing department is by law empowered to issue notes to the amount of fourteen millions sterling, a sum supposed to indicate the lowest point, beneath which the actual circulation will never fall, the security for which is found in the debt due by the British Government to the Bank. Beyond these fourteen millions, no note can be issued which is not represented in the vaults of the issuing department by bullion to the same amount. The aggregate mass of notes thus limited is made over to the banking department, which throws them into circulation. Consequently, if the bullion reserve in the vaults of the issuing department amounts to ten millions, it can issue notes to the amount of twenty-four millions, which are made over to the banking department. If the actual circulation amounts to twenty millions only, the four millions remaining in the till of the banking department forms its reserve of notes, which, in fact, constitutes the only security for the deposits confided by private individuals, and by the State to the banking department.

Suppose now that a drain of bullion sets in, and successively abstracts various quantities of bullion from the issuing department, withdrawing, for instance, the amount of four millions of gold. In this case four millions of notes will be cancelled; the amount of notes issued by the issuing department will then exactly equal the amount of notes in circulation, and the reserve of disposable notes in the till of the banking department will have altogether disappeared. The banking department, therefore, will not have a single farthing left to meet the claims of its depositors, and consequently will be compelled to declare itself insolvent; an act affecting its public as well as its private deposits, and therefore involving the suspension of the payment of the quarterly dividends due to the holders of public funds. The banking department might thus become bankrupt, while six millions of bullion were still heaped up in the vaults of the issuing department. This is not a mere supposition. On October 30, 1847, the reserve of the banking department had sunk to £1,600,000 while the deposits amounted to £13,000,000. With a few more days of the prevailing alarm, which was only allayed by a financial *coup d'état* on the part of the Government, the Bank reserve would have been exhausted and the banking department would have been compelled to stop payments, while more than six millions of bullion lay still in the vaults of the issuing department.

It is self-evident then that the drain of bullion and the decrease of the reserve of notes act mutually on each other. While the

withdrawal of bullion from the vaults of the issuing department directly produces a decrease in the reserve of the banking department, the directors of the Bank, apprehensive lest the banking department should be driven to insolvency, put on the screw and raise the rate of discount. But the rise in the rate of discount induces part of the depositors to withdraw their deposits from the banking department, and lend them out at the current high rate of interest, while the steady decrease of the reserve intimidates other depositors, and induces them to withdraw their notes from the same department. Thus the very measures taken to keep up the reserve, tend to exhaust it. From this explanation the reader will understand the anxiety with which the decrease of the Bank reserve is watched in England, and the gross fallacy propounded in the money article of a recent number of *The London Times.* It says:

"The old opponents of the Bank Charter Act are beginning to bustle in the storm, and it is impossible to feel certain on any point. One of their great modes of creating fright is by pointing to the low state of the reserve of unemployed notes, as if when that is exhausted the Bank would be obliged to cease discounting altogether."

As a bankrupt, under the existing law it would be. in fact, obliged to do so.

"But the fact is that the Bank could, under such circumstances, still continue the discounts on as great a scale as ever, since their bills receivable each day of course, on the average, bring in as large a total as they are ordinarily asked to let out. They could not increase the scale, but no one will suppose that, with a contraction of business in all quarters, any increase can be required. There is, consequently, not the shadow of a pretext for government palliatives." [a]

The sleight-of-hand on which this argument rests is this: that the depositors are deliberately kept out of view. It needs no peculiar exertion of thought to understand that if the banking department had once declared itself bankrupt in regard to its lenders, it could not go on making advances by way of discounts or loans to its borrowers. Taken all-in-all, Sir Robert Peel's much vaunted Bank law does not act at all in common times; adds in difficult times a monetary panic created by law to the monetary panic resulting from the commercial crisis; and at the very moment when, according to its principles, its beneficial effects

[a] "The Bank of England have to-day raised their charge...", *The Times,* No. 22831, November 6, 1857.—*Ed.*

should set in, it must be suspended by Government interference. In ordinary times, the maximum of notes which the Bank may legally issue is never absorbed by the actual circulation—a fact sufficiently proved by the continued existence in such periods of a reserve of notes in the till of the banking department. You may prove this truth by comparing the reports of the Bank of England from 1847 to 1857, or even by comparing the amount of notes which actually circulated from 1819 till 1847, with that which might have circulated according to the maximum legally fixed. In difficult times, as in 1847, and at present by the arbitrary and absolute division between the two departments of the same concern, the effects of a drain of bullion are artificially aggravated, the rise of interest is artificially accelerated, the prospect of insolvency is held out not in consequence of the real insolvency of the Bank, but of the fictitious insolvency of one of its departments.

When the real monetary distress has thus been aggravated by an artificial panic, and in its wake the sufficient number of victims has been immolated, public pressure grows too strong for the Government, and the law is suspended exactly at the period for the weathering of which it was created, and during the course of which it is alone able to produce any effect at all. Thus, on Oct. 23, 1847, the principal bankers of London resorted to Downing street, there to ask relief by a suspension of Peel's Act. Lord John Russell and Sir Charles Wood consequently directed a letter to the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England,[a] recommending them to enlarge their issue of notes, and thus to exceed the legal maximum of circulation, while they took upon themselves the responsibility for the violation of the law of 1844, and declared themselves prepared to propose to Parliament, on its meeting, a bill of indemnity.[420] The same farce will be again enacted this time, after the state of things has come up to the standard of the week ending on Oct. 23, 1847, when a total suspension of all business and of all payments seemed imminent. The only advantage, then, derived from the Peel Act is this: that the whole community is placed in a thorough dependence on an aristocratic Government—on the pleasure of a reckless individual like Palmerston, for instance. Hence the Ministerial predilections for the act of 1844; investing them with an influence on private fortunes they were never before possessed of.

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[a] J. Russell's and Ch. Wood's letter to James Morris and H. J. Prescott of October 25, 1847 in Th. Tooke's *A History of Prices, and of the State of Circulation...*, p. 449.—*Ed.*

We have thus dwelt on the Peel Act, because of its present influence on this country,[a] as well as its probable suspension in England; but if the British Government has the power of taking off the shoulders of the British public the difficulties fastened upon them by that Government itself, nothing could be falser than to suppose that the phenomena we shall witness on the London money market—the rise and the subsiding of the monetary panic—will constitute a true thermometer for the intensity of the crisis the British commercial community have to pass through. That crisis is beyond Government control.

When the first news of the American crisis reached the shores of England, there was set up by her economists a theory which may lay claim, if not to ingenuity, to originality at least. It was said that English trade was sound, but that, alas! its customers, and, above all, the Yankees, were unsound. The sound state of a trade, the healthiness of which exists on one side only, is an idea quite worthy of a British economist.[b] Cast a glance at the last half-yearly return issued by the English Board of Trade for 1857, and you will find that of the aggregate export of British produce and manufactures, 30 per cent went to the United States, 11 per cent to East India, and 10 per cent to Australia.[c] Now, while the American market is closed for a long time to come, the Indian one, glutted for two years past, is to a great extent cut off by the insurrectionary convulsions, and the Australian one is so overstocked that British merchandise of all sorts is now sold cheaper at Adelaide, Sydney and Melbourne, than at London, Manchester or Glasgow. The general soundness of the British industrialists, declared bankrupt in consequence of the sudden failure of their customers, may be inferred from two instances. At a meeting of the creditors of a Glasgow calico printer, the list of debts exhibited a total of £116,000, while the assets did not reach the modest amount of £7,000. So, too, a Glasgow shipper, with liabilities of £11,800, could only show assets to meet them of £789. But these are merely individual cases; the important point is that British manufactures have been stretched to a point which must result in a general crash under contracted foreign markets, with a consequent revulsion in the social and political state of Great

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[a] The United States of America.—*Ed.*

[b] See Marx's letter to Engels, October 20, 1857, present edition, Vol. 40, p. 191.—*Ed.*

[c] "An Account of the Declared Value of British and Irish Produce...", *The Economist*. No. 732, September 5, 1857.—*Ed.*

Britain. The American crisis of 1837 and 1839 produced a decline in British exports from £12,425,601, at which they stood in 1836, down to £4,695,225 in 1837, to £7,585,760 in 1838, and £3,562,000 in 1842. A similar paralysis is already setting in in England. It cannot fail to produce the most important effects before it is over.

Written on November 6, 1857

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# Karl Marx

## THE BRITISH REVULSION[421]

The British commercial revulsion seems to have worn throughout its immense development the three distinct forms of a pressure on the money and produce markets of London and Liverpool, a bank panic in Scotland, and an industrial breakdown in the manufacturing districts. The facts were stated at length in our pages on Friday,[a] in the form of copious extracts from the British journals, but their importance and prospective consequences require a still further exposition.

Though, as we anticipated in a former article,[b] the Government was finally compelled to suspend the Bank Act of 1844, this was not done till after the Bank had bravely swamped a host of its customers in the endeavor to save itself. But finally, on the evening of Nov. 11, the chiefs of the Bank held a war council, which resulted in an appeal to the Government for help, which was answered by the suspension of the provisions of the Act. This ordinance of the Ministry will at once be submitted to Parliament for approval, that body having been convoked to meet at the close of the month. The effect of the suspension must be one of comparative relief, as we have previously shown. It does away with an artificial stringency, which the Act adds to the natural stringency of the money market in times of commercial revulsion.[422]

In the progress of the present crisis the Bank had five times raised its rate of discount, in the vain hope of checking the rush of the current which was sweeping all away. On the 8th ult. the rate

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[a] November 27, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 382-83.—*Ed.*

was advanced to 6 per cent; on the 12th to 7; on the 22d to 8; on the 5th inst. to 9; and on the 9th to 10.[a] The rapidity of this movement offers a remarkable contrast to that which attended the crisis of 1847. Then the minimum rate of discount was raised to 5 per cent in April; to 5 $^1/_2$ in July; and to 8, its highest point, on the 23d of October. Thence it sank to 7 per cent on Nov. 20; to 6 on Dec. 4; and to 5 on Dec. 25. The five years next following form an epoch of continual decline in the rate, as regular, indeed, as if guided by a sliding scale. Thus, on June 26, 1852, it had reached its lowest point—being 2 per cent. The next five years, from 1852 to 1857, exhibit an opposite movement. On January 8, 1853, the rate stood at 2 $^1/_2$ per cent; on October 1, 1853, it was 5 per cent, whence, through many successive variations, at last it has attained its present elevation. So far, the oscillations of the rate of interest during the period of ten years now concluded have exhibited only the phenomena usual to the recurring phases of modern commerce. These phases are, briefly, an utter contraction of credit in the year of panic, followed by a gradual expansion, which reaches its maximum when the rate of interest sinks to its lowest point; then again a movement in the opposite direction, that of gradual contraction, which reaches its highest point when the interest has risen to its maximum, and the year of panic has again set in. Yet, on a closer examination, there will be discovered in the second part of the present period some phenomena which broadly distinguish it from all its predecessors. During the years of prosperity from 1844 till 1847, the rate of interest in London fluctuated between 3 and 4 per cent, so that the whole period was one of comparatively cheap credit. When the rate of interest reached 5 per cent, on April 10, 1847, the crisis had already set in and its universal explosion was, by a series of stratagems, put off for a few months only. On the other hand, the rate of interest which on May 6, 1854, had already mounted to 5 $^1/_2$ per cent, went down again successively to 5 per cent, 4 $^1/_2$ per cent, 4 per cent, and 3 $^1/_2$ per cent at which latter figure it continued to stand from June 16, 1855, to September 8, 1855. Then it ran again through the identical variations in the opposite direction, increasing to 4 per cent, 4 $^1/_2$ per cent, 5 per cent, until, in October, 1855, it had reached the very point from which it had started in May, 1854, namely, 5 $^1/_2$ per cent. Two weeks later, on October 20, 1855, it

[a] Here and below Marx used figures from "Dates and Duration of Bank of England Minimum Rates of Discount from 1844", *The Economist,* No. 741, November 7, 1857.—*Ed.*

rose to 6 per cent for short bills, and to 7 per cent for long ones. But again a reaction set in. During the course of 1856 it went down and up until in October, 1856, it had anew reached 6 and 7 per cent, the points from which it had started in the October of the previous year. On November 15, 1856, it rose to 7 per cent, but with irregular and often interrupted fluctuations of decline, which brought it for three months as low as 5 $^1/_2$ per cent. It did not recover the original hight of 7 per cent till October 12 of the present year, when the American crisis had begun to bear upon England. From that moment its movement of increase was rapid and constant, resulting at last in an almost complete stoppage of discount.

In other words, during the second half of the period from 1848 to 1857, the vicissitudes in the rate of interest were intensified at more frequently recurring intervals, and from October, 1855 to October, 1857, two years of dear money elapsed, when its fluctuations were circumscribed between the limits of 5 $^1/_2$ to 7 per cent. At the same time, in the face of this high rate of interest, production and exchange went on unabated at a pace never before thought of. On the one hand these exceptional phenomena may be traced back to the opportune arrivals of gold from Australia and the United States, which allowed the Bank of England to relax its grip at intervals; while on the other hand it is evident that the crisis was already due in October, 1855, that it was shifted off through a series of temporary convulsions, and that, consequently, its final explosion, as to the intensity of symptoms as well as the extent of contagion, will exceed every crisis ever before witnessed. The curious fact of the recurrence of the rate of 7 per cent on Oct. 20, 1855, on Oct. 4, 1856, and on Oct. 12, 1857, would go far to prove the latter proposition, if we did not know besides that, in 1854, a premonitory collapse had already taken place in this country, and that on the continent of Europe all the symptoms of panic had already repeated themselves in October, 1855 and 1856. On the whole, however, leaving these aggravating circumstances out of view, the period of 1848 to 1857 bears a striking resemblance to those of 1826 to 1836, and of 1837 to 1847.

It is true we were told that British Free Trade would change all this, but if nothing else is proved it is at least clear that the Free-Trade doctors are nothing but quacks. As in former periods, a series of good harvests has been followed by a series of bad ones. In spite of the Free-Trade panacea in England the average price of wheat and all other raw produce has ruled even higher from

1853 to 1857 than from 1820 to 1853; and, what is still more remarkable, while industry took an unprecedented start in the face of the high prices of corn, now, as if to cut off every possible subterfuge, it has suffered an unprecedented collapse in the face of a plentiful harvest.

Our readers will of course understand that this Bank of England rate of 10 per cent is merely nominal, and that the interest really paid by first-class paper in London, greatly exceeds that figure.

"The rates charged in the open market," says *The Daily News,* "are considerably above those of the Bank."

"The Bank of England itself," says *The Morning Chronicle,* "does not discount at the rate of 10 per cent, except in a very few cases—the exception, not the rule; while out of doors charges are notoriously disproportionate to the alleged quotation."

"The inability of second and third-class paper to obtain accommodation on any terms," says *The Morning Herald,* "is already producing immense mischief."

"In consequence of this," as says *The Globe,* "affairs are being brought to a deadlock; firms are falling whose assets exceed their liabilities; and there seems to be a general mercantile revolution."

What with this pressure on the money market, and with the influx of American products, all articles in the produce market have gone down. In the course of a few weeks cotton has fallen at Liverpool 20 to 25 per cent, sugar 25 per cent, corn 25 per cent, and coffee, saltpeter, tallow, leather, and the like, have followed in the wake.

"Discounts and advances upon produce," says *The Morning Post,* "are almost unattainable."[a]

"In Mincing Lane,[423]" says *The Standard,* "business has been turned inside out. It is no longer possible to sell any goods except in the shape of barter, money being out of the question."

All this distress, however, would not have so soon brought the Bank of England to her knees if the Bank panic in Scotland had not occurred. At Glasgow, the fall of the Western Bank was followed by that of the City of Glasgow Bank, producing in its turn a general run of depositors among the middle class and of noteholders among the working classes, and finally resulting in riotous disturbances which induced the Lord Provost of Glasgow to obtain the aid of bayonets. The City of Glasgow Bank, which

[a] "The market for the English funds has fluctuated...", *The Morning Post,* No. 26168, November 12, 1857.—*Ed.*

had the honor of being governed by no less a personage than the Duke of Argyll, had a paid-up capital of one million sterling, a reserved fund of £90,595, and ninety-six branches spread through the country. Its authorized issues amounted to £72,921, while those of the Western Bank of Scotland were £225,292, making together £298,213 sterling, or nearly one-tenth of the entire authorized circulating medium of Scotland. The capital of these Banks was to a great extent furnished in small sums by the agricultural population.

The Scotch panic naturally recoiled on the Bank of England; and £300,000 were taken from its vaults on Nov. 11, and £600,000 to £700,000 on the 12th, for transmission to Scotland. Other sums were also withdrawn on behalf of the Irish Banks, while large deposits were called in by the Provincial English Banks; so that the Banking Department of the Bank of England found itself driven to the very verge of bankruptcy. It is probable that for the two Scotch Banks above named the general crisis merely afforded a pretext for effecting a decent exit, they having long been rotten to the core. Still, the fact remains that the celebrated Scotch Banking system which in 1825-26, 1836-37, and in 1847 weathered the hurricanes that swept away the English and Irish Banks, for the first time, under the auspices of Peel's Bank Act, which was forced upon Scotland in 1845, has met with a general run; that for the first time the cry of "gold against paper" has been heard there; and that at Edinburgh, for the first time, even Bank of England notes have been refused. The idea of the defenders of Peel's Act, that if it was unable to ward off monetary crises in general, it would at least secure the convertibility of the notes in circulation, has now been exploded, the noteholders sharing the fate of the depositors.

The general state of the British manufacturing districts cannot be better described than by two extracts, the one from a Manchester trade circular, printed in *The Economist,* the latter from a private letter from Macclesfield in the *The London Free Press.* The Manchester circular, after giving a comparative statement of the cotton trade for the last five years, proceeds as follows:

"Prices have this week been falling with, day by day, more summary acceleration. For numerous descriptions, no prices can be given, because none could find a buyer, and generally where prices are given, they depend more on the position or apprehensions of the holder than on demand. *No current demand exists.* The home trade have laid in more stock than Winter prospects now give hope of clearing "

That foreign markets have been overstocked, the circular does, of course, not say.

"Short time has now been currently adopted as a necessity; the amount of its adoption is computed at present to *exceed one-fifth of the whole production.* The exceptions to extending its adoption are daily becoming less, and *the expediency is now debated of rather closing the mills for a time wholly.*"[a]

The Macclesfield writer tells us:

"At least 5,000 persons, consisting of skilled artisans and their families, who get up each morning and know not where to get food to break their fast, have applied for relief to the Union, and as they come under the class of able-bodied paupers, the alternative is of either going to break stones at about four pence per day, or going into the House, where they are treated like prisoners, and where unhealthy and scanty food is given to them through a hole in the wall; and as to the breaking of stones, to men that have hands only capable of handling the finest of materials, viz: silk, [that] is a complete refusal."[b]

What English writers consider an advantage of their present crisis, as compared with that of 1847—that there is no paramount channel of speculation, like the railways, for instance, absorbing their capital—is by no means a fact. The truth is the English have very largely participated in speculations abroad, both on the Continent of Europe and in America, while at home their surplus capital has been mainly invested in factories, so that, more than ever before, the present convulsion bears the character of an industrial crisis, and therefore strikes at the very roots of the national prosperity.

On the Continent of Europe the contagion has spread from Sweden to Italy in one direction, and from Madrid to Pesth in the other. Hamburg, forming the great commercial center of the exports and imports of the Zollverein,[424] and the general money market of Northern Germany, has had, of course, to bear the first shock. As to France, the Bank of France has screwed up its rate of discount to the English standard; the decrees for the prohibition of the export of corn have been revoked[425]; all the Paris papers have received confidential warnings to beware of gloomy views; the bullion dealers are being frightened by gens d'armes, and

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[a] "Markets of the manufacturing districts. Manchester, Thursday Evening, Nov. 5", *The Economist,* No. 741, November 7, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] "Macclesfield, November 5th, 1857", *The Free Press,* No. 20, November 11, 1857.— *Ed.*

Louis Bonaparte himself, in a rather coxcombical letter,[a] condescends to inform his subjects that he does not feel himself prepared for a financial *coup d'état,* and that, consequently, "the evil only exists in the imagination."[426]

Written on November 13, 1857

First published unsigned in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5183, November 30, 1857

Reproduced from the newspaper

[a] Napoléon III, "Lettre à S. Exc. le ministre des finances. Le 10 novembre 1857", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 315, November 11, 1857.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [THE CAPTURE OF DELHI][427]

We will not join in the noisy chorus which, in Great Britain, is now extolling to the skies the bravery of the troops that took Delhi by storm. No people, not even the French, can equal the English in self-laudation, especially when bravery is the point in question. The analysis of the facts, however, very soon reduces, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the grandeur of this heroism to very commonplace proportions; and every man of common sense must be disgusted at this overtrading in other people's courage, by which the English paterfamilias who lives quietly at home, and is uncommonly averse to anything that threatens him with the remotest chance of obtaining military glory, attempts to pass himself off as a participator in the undoubted, but certainly not so very extraordinary, bravery shown in the assault on Delhi.

If we compare Delhi with Sevastopol, we of course agree that the Sepoys were no Russians; that none of their sallies against the British cantonment was anything like Inkermann[428]; that there was no Todtleben in Delhi, and that the Sepoys, bravely as every individual man and company fought in most instances, were utterly without leadership, not only for brigades and divisions, but almost for battalions; that their cohesion did not therefore extend beyond the companies; that they entirely lacked the scientific element without which an army is now-a-days helpless, and the defense of a town utterly hopeless. Still, the disproportion of numbers and means of action, the superiority of the Sepoys over the Europeans in withstanding the climate, the extreme weakness to which the force before Delhi was at times reduced, make up for many of these differences, and render a fair parallel between the two sieges (to call these operations sieges) possible. Again we do

not consider the storming of Delhi as an act of uncommon or extra-heroic bravery, although as in every battle individual acts of high spirit no doubt occurred on either side, but we maintain that the Anglo-Indian army before Delhi has shown more perseverance, force of character, judgment and skill, than the English army when on its trial between Sevastopol and Balaklava.[429] The latter, after Inkermann, was ready and willing to re-embark, and no doubt would have done so if it had not been for the French. The former, when the season of the year, the deadly maladies consequent upon it, the interruption of the communications, the absence of all chance of speedy re-enforcements, the condition of all Upper India, invited a withdrawal, did indeed consider the advisability of this step, but for all that, held out at its post.

When the insurrection was at its highest point, a movable column in Upper India was the first thing required. There were only two forces that could be thus employed—the small force of Havelock, which soon proved inadequate, and the force before Delhi. That it was, under these circumstances, a military mistake to stay before Delhi, consuming the available strength in useless fights with an unassailable enemy; that the army in motion would have been worth four times its value when at rest; that the clearing of Upper India, with the exception of Delhi, the re-establishing of the communications, the crushing of every attempt of the insurgents to concentrate a force, would have been obtained, and with it the fall of Delhi as a natural and easy consequence, are indisputable facts. But political reasons commanded that the camp before Delhi should not be raised. It is the wiseacres at headquarters who sent the army to Delhi that should be blamed—not the perseverance of the army in holding out when once there. At the same time we must not omit to state that the effect of the rainy season on this army was far milder than was to be anticipated, and that with anything like an average amount of the sickness consequent upon active operations at such a period, the withdrawal or the dissolution of the army would have been unavoidable. The dangerous position of the army lasted till the end of August. The re-enforcements began to come in, while dissensions continued to weaken the rebel camp. In the beginning of September the siege train arrived, and the defensive position was changed into an offensive one. On the 7th of September the first battery opened its fire, and on the evening of the 13th two practicable breaches were opened. Let us now examine what took place during this interval.

If we were to rely, for this purpose, on the official dispatch of

Gen. Wilson,[a] we should be very badly off indeed. This report is quite as confused as the documents issued from the English headquarters in the Crimea ever were. No man living could make out from that report the position of the two breaches, or the relative position and order in which the storming columns were arranged. As to the private reports, they are, of course, still more hopelessly confused. Fortunately one of those skillful scientific officers who deserve nearly the whole credit of the success, a member of the Bengal Engineers and Artillery, has given a report of what occurred, in *The Bombay Gazette*, as clear and business-like as it is simple and unpretending.[b] During the whole of the Crimean war not one English officer was found able to write a report as sensible as this. Unfortunately he got wounded on the first day of the assault, and then his letter stops. As to later transactions, we are, therefore, still quite in the dark.

The English had strengthened the defenses of Delhi so far that they could resist a siege by an Asiatic army. According to our modern notions, Delhi was scarcely to be called a fortress, but merely a place secured against the forcible assault of a field force. Its masonry wall, 16 feet high and 12 feet thick, crowned by a parapet of 3 feet thickness and 8 feet hight, offered 6 feet of masonry beside the parapet, uncovered by the glacis and exposed to the direct fire of the attack. The narrowness of this masonry rampart put it out of the question to place cannon anywhere, except in the bastions and martello towers.[430] These latter flanked the curtain but very imperfectly, and a masonry parapet of three feet thickness being easily battered down by siege guns (field pieces could do it), to silence the fire of the defense, and particularly the guns flanking the ditch, was very easy. Between wall and ditch there was a wide berm or level road, facilitating the formation of a practicable breach, and the ditch, under these circumstances, instead of being a *coupe-gorge*[c] for any force that got entangled in it, became a resting place to re-form those columns that had got into disorder while advancing on the glacis.

To advance against such a place, with regular trenches, according to the rules of sieges, would have been insane, even if the first condition had not been wanting, viz, a force sufficient to invest the place on all sides. The state of the defenses, the

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[a] [A. Wilson,] "Despatch from General Wilson", *The Times*, No. 22839, November 16, 1857.— *Ed.*

[b] *The Times*, same issue, "India".— *Ed.*

[c] Cut-throat place.— *Ed.*

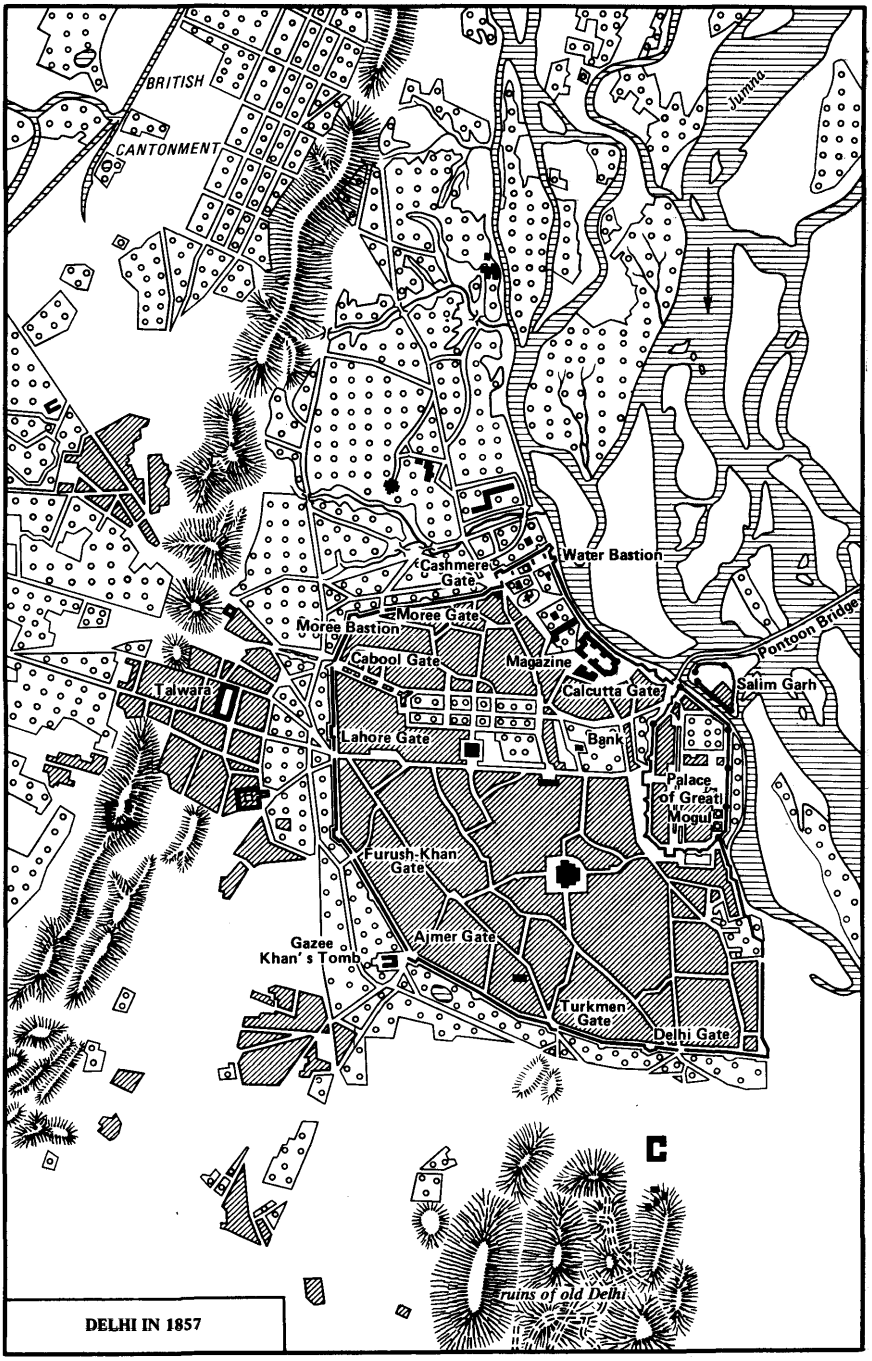


DELHI IN 1857

disorganization and sinking spirit of the defenders, would have rendered every other mode of attack than the one pursued an absolute fault. This mode is very well known to military men under the name of the forcible attack *(attaque de vive force).* The defenses, being such only as to render an open attack impossible without heavy guns, are dealt with summarily by the artillery; the interior of the place is all the while shelled, and as soon as the breaches are practicable the troops advance to the assault.

The front under attack was the northern one, directly opposite to the English camp. This front is composed of two curtains and three bastions, forming a slightly re-entering angle at the central (the Cashmere) bastion. The eastern position, from the Cashmere to the Water bastion, is the shorter one, and projects a little in front of the western position, between the Cashmere and the Moree bastions. The ground in front of the Cashmere and Water bastions was covered with low jungle, gardens, houses, &c, which had not been leveled down by the Sepoys, and afforded shelter to the attack. (This circumstance explains how it was possible that the English could so often follow the Sepoys under the very guns of the place, which was at that time considered extremely heroic, but was in fact a matter of little danger so long as they had this cover.) Besides, at about 400 or 500 yards from this front, a deep ravine ran in the same direction as the wall, so as to form a natural parallel for the attack. The river, besides, giving a capital basis to the English left, the slight salient formed by the Cashmere and Water bastions was selected very properly as the main point of attack. The western curtain and bastions were simultaneously subjected to a simulated attack, and this maneuver succeeded so well that the main force of the Sepoys was directed against it. They assembled a strong body in the suburbs outside the Cabool gate, so as to menace the English right. This maneuver would have been perfectly correct and very effective, if the western curtain between the Moree and Cashmere bastions had been the most in danger. The flanking position of the Sepoys would have been capital as a means of active defense, every column of assault being at once taken in flank by a movement of this force in advance. But the effect of this position could not reach as far eastward as the curtain between the Cashmere and Water bastions; and thus its occupation drew away the best part of the defending force from the decisive point.

The selection of the places for the batteries, their construction and arming, and the way in which they were served, deserve the greatest praise. The English had about 50 guns and mortars,

concentrated in powerful batteries, behind good solid parapets. The Sepoys had, according to official statements, 55 guns on the attacked front, but scattered over small bastions and martello towers, incapable of concentrated action, and scarcely sheltered by the miserable three-feet parapet. No doubt a couple of hours must have sufficed to silence the fire of the defense, and then there remained little to be done.

On the 8th, No. 1 battery, 10 guns, opened fire at 700 yards from the wall. During the following night the ravine aforesaid was worked out into a sort of trench. On the 9th, the broken ground and houses in front of this ravine were seized without resistance; and on the 10th, No. 2 battery, 8 guns, was unmasked. This latter was 500 or 600 yards from the wall. On the 11th, No. 3 battery, built very boldly and cleverly at 200 yards from the Water bastion in some broken ground, opened fire with six guns, while ten heavy mortars shelled the town. On the evening of the 13th the breaches—one in the curtain adjoining the right flank of the Cashmere bastion, and the other in the left face and flank of the Water bastion—were reported practicable for escalade, and the assault was ordered. The Sepoys on the 11th had made a counter-approach on the glacis between the two menaced bastions, and threw out a trench for skirmishers about three hundred and fifty yards in front of the English batteries. They also advanced from this position outside the Cabool gate to flank attacks. But these attempts at active defense were carried out without unity, connection or spirit, and led to no result.

At daylight on the 14th five British columns advanced to the attack. One, on the right, to occupy the force outside the Cabool gate and attack, in case of success, the Lahore gate. One against each breach, one against the Cashmere gate, which was to be blown up, and one to act as a reserve. With the exception of the first, all these columns were successful. The breaches were but slightly defended, but the resistance in the houses near the wall was very obstinate. The heroism of an officer and three sergeants of the Engineers (for here there *was* heroism) succeeded in blowing open the Cashmere gate, and thus this column entered also. By evening the whole northern front was in the possession of the English. Here Gen. Wilson, however, stopped. The indiscriminate assault was arrested, guns brought up and directed against every strong position in the town. With the exception of the storming of the magazine, there seems to have been very little actual fighting. The insurgents were dispirited and left the town in masses. Wilson advanced cautiously into the town, found scarcely

any resistance after the 17th, and occupied it completely on the 20th.

Our opinion on the conduct of the attack has been stated. As to the defense—the attempt at offensive counter movements, the flanking position at the Cabool gate, the counter-approaches, the rifle-pits, all show that some notions of scientific warfare had penetrated among the Sepoys; but either they were not clear enough, or not powerful enough, to be carried out with any effect. Whether they originated with Indians, or with some of the Europeans that are with them, is of course difficult to decide; but one thing is certain: that those attempts, though imperfect in execution, bear a close resemblance in their ground-work to the active defense of Sevastopol and that their execution looks as if a correct plan had been made for the Sepoys by some European officer, but that they had not been able to understand the idea fully, or that disorganization and want of command turned practical projects into weak and powerless attempts.

Written on November 16, 1857

Reproduced from the newspaper

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# Karl Marx

## [THE TRADE CRISIS IN ENGLAND]

While on this side of the ocean we were indulging in our little prelude to that great symphonious crash of bankruptcy which has since burst upon the world, our eccentric cotemporary *The London Times* was playing triumphant rhetorical variations, with the "soundness" of British commerce as its theme. Now, however, it tunes another and a sadder chord. In one of its latest impressions, that of Nov. 26, brought to these happy shores by the *Europa* yesterday, that journal declares "the trading classes of England to be unsound to the core." Then proceeding to work itself up to the highest pitch of moral indignation, it exclaims:

> "It is the demoralizing career pursued through eight or ten years of prosperity, before the consummation arrives, that works the deepest ruin. It is in calling into existence gangs of reckless speculators and fictitious bill drawers, and elevating them as examples of successful British enterprise, so as to discourage reliance upon the slow profits of honest industry, that the poison is infused. [...] Each point of corruption thus created forms an ever-extending circle."[a]

We shall not now inquire whether the English journalists who, for a decade, propagated the doctrine that the era of commercial convulsions was finally closed with the introduction of Free Trade, are now warranted in turning all at once from sycophantic encomiasts into Roman censors of modern money-making. The following statements submitted to recent meetings of creditors in Scotland, may serve, however, as matter-of-fact comment on the "soundness" of British commerce.

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[a] *The Times,* No. 22848, November 26, 1857, "Money-Market and City Intelligence".— *Ed.*

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| John Monteith & Co., liabilities in excess of the assets | £430,000 |
| D. & T. Macdonald | 334,000 |
| Godfrey, Pattison & Co | 240,000 |
| William Smith & Co | 104,000 |
| T. Trehes, Robinson & Co | 75,000 |
| Total | £1,183,000 |

"It appears from this statement", as *The North British Mail* says, "that on the bankrupts' own showing, £1,183,000 have been lost to the creditors of five houses."

Still the very recurrence of crises despite all the warnings of the past, in regular intervals, forbids the idea of seeking their final causes in the recklessness of single individuals. If speculation toward the close of a given commercial period appears as the immediate forerunner of the crash, it should not be forgotten that speculation itself was engendered in the previous phases of the period, and is therefore, itself a result and an accident, instead of the final cause and the substance. The political economists who pretend to explain the regular spasms of industry and commerce by speculation, resemble the now extinct school of natural philosophers who considered fever as the true cause of all maladies.

The European crisis has so far maintained its center in England, and in England herself, as we anticipated,[a] it has changed aspects. If the first reaction on Great Britain of our American collapse manifested itself in a monetary panic, attended by a general depression in the produce market, and followed more remotely by manufacturing distress, the industrial crisis now stands at the top and the monetary difficulty at the bottom. If London was for a moment the focus of the conflagration, Manchester is so now. The most serious convulsion which English industry ever sustained, and the only one which produced great social changes, the industrial distress from 1838 to 1843, was, for a short period during 1839, accompanied by a contraction of the money market, while during the greater part of the same epoch the rate of interest ruled low, and even sunk down to 2 $^1/_2$ and 2 per cent. We make this remark, not because we consider the relative improvement of the London money market as a symptom of its final recovery, but only to note the fact, that in a manufacturing country like England, the fluctuations of the money market are far

[a] See this volume, p. 390.— *Ed.*

from indicating either the intensity or the extent of a commercial crisis. Compare, for instance, the London and the Manchester papers of the same date. The former, watching but the efflux and influx of bullion, are all brightness when the Bank of England, by a new purchase of gold, has "strengthened its position." The latter are all gloom, feeling that strength has been bought at their expense, by a rise in the rate of interest and a fall in the price of their products. Hence, even Mr. Tooke, the writer of the *History of Prices,* well as he handles the phenomena of the London money and colonial markets, has proved unable not only to delineate, but even to comprehend, the contractions in the heart of English production.

As to the English money market, its history during the week ending Nov. 27 shows, on the one hand, a continuous alternation between a day of failures and a day marked by the absence of failures; on the other hand, the recovery of the Bank of England and the downfall of the Northumberland and Durham District Bank. The latter bank, founded 21 years ago, numbering 408 shareholders, and disposing of a paid-up capital of £562,891, had its head office at Newcastle and its branch establishments at Alnwick, Berwick, Hexham, Morpeth, North and South Shields, Sunderland and Durham. Its liabilities are stated to amount to three millions sterling, and the weekly wages alone, paid through its instrumentality, to £35,000. The stoppage of the great collieries and iron-works carried on by the advances of this bank will, of course, be the first consequence of its collapse. Many thousand workingmen will thus be thrown out of employment.

The Bank of England is stated to have increased her metallic reserve by about £700,000, an influx of bullion to be accounted for partly by the cessation of the drain to Scotland, partly by shipments from this country[a] and from Russia, and lastly by the arrival of Australian gold. There is nothing remarkable in this movement, since it is perfectly understood that the Bank of England, by screwing up the rate of interest, will curtail imports, force exports, draw back a portion of the British capital invested abroad, and consequently turn the balance of trade and effect an influx of bullion to a certain amount. It is no less sure that on the least relaxation of the terms of discount gold will again begin to flow abroad. The only question is how long the Bank will be able to maintain these terms.

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[a] The United States of America.— *Ed.*

The official reports of the Board of Trade for October,[a] a month during which the minimum rate of discount was successively advanced to 6, 7, and 8 per cent, prove evidently that the first effect of that operation was not to stop manufactures, but to force their products into foreign markets and to curtail the importation of foreign produce.

In spite of the American crisis, the exports for October, 1857, exhibit a surplus of £318,838, as compared with October, 1856, while the considerable decrease in the consumption of all articles of food and luxuries exhibited by the same returns proves that this surplus manufacture was far from being remunerative, or the natural consequence of thriving industry. The recoil of the crisis on English industry will become apparent in the next Board of Trade returns. A comparison of the returns for the single months from January, 1857, to October, 1857, will show that English production attained its maximum in the month of May, when the surplus export over that of May, 1856, amounted to £2,648,904. In June, consequent upon the first news of the Indian mutinies, the total production sank down beneath that of the corresponding month in 1856, and exhibited a relative decrease in the exports of £30,247. In July, despite the contraction of the Indian market, the production had not only recovered the standard of the corresponding month in 1856, but exceeded it by no less a sum than £2,233,306. It is, therefore, clear that in that month the other markets had to absorb beyond their ordinary consumption not only the portion usually sent to India, but a great surplus over the usual English production. In that month, therefore, the foreign markets seem to have been so far overstocked that the increase in the exports was successively forced down from about two and one third millions to £885,513 in August, £852,203 in September, and £318,838 in October. The study of the English trade reports affords the only trustworthy clue to the mystery of the present convulsion in that country.

Written on November 27, 1857

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5196, December 15, 1857 as a leading article

[a] Here and below Marx used the data from *The Economist*, Nos. 718, 722, 727, 731, 736, 740, 744; May 30, June 27, August 1, August 29, October 3, October 31, November 28, 1857.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE FINANCIAL CRISIS IN EUROPE]

The arrival yesterday morning[a] of the mails of the *Canada* and the *Adriatic* puts us in possession of a week's history of the European financial crisis. This history may be summed up in a few words. Hamburg still formed the center of the convulsion, which reacted more or less severely on Prussia, and was gradually reducing the English money market to the unsettled state which it seemed to be recovering from. Some distant echoes of the storm had reverberated from Spain and Italy. Through the whole of Europe the palsy of industrial activity and the consequent distress of the laboring classes are rapidly spreading. On the other hand, the comparative resistance which France still opposed to the contagion puzzled the political economists as a riddle harder to be solved than the general crisis itself.

The Hamburg crisis was thought to have passed its climax after Nov. 21, upon the establishment of the Guaranteed Discount Association, the total subscriptions for which amounted to 12,000,000 marks banco, destined to secure the circulation of such bills and notes as should receive the stamp of the Association. Still, some days later, the recurrence of some failures, and events like the suicide of the bill broker Gowa, foreshadowed new disasters. On Nov. 26, the panic again had full swing; and as at first the Discount Association, so now the Government itself stepped forward to stem its current. On the 27th, the Senate proposed, and obtained leave from the freehold burgesses of the city, to issue securities bearing interest (exchequer notes), to the amount of 15,000,000 marks banco, for the purpose of making advances

[a] December 3, 1857.—*Ed.*

upon goods of a permanent description, or upon State securities—such advances to amount to from 50 to $66^2/_3$ per cent of the respective value of the pawned commodities. This second effort to right the course of commerce foundered like the first—both resembling the vain cries of distress which precede a shipwreck. The guaranty of the Discount Association itself was found to need another guaranty in its turn, and the advances of the State, limited in their amount as well as the description of commodities to which they applied, became, moreover, by dint of the very conditions under which they were made, relatively useless, at the same ratio that prices were going down. To uphold prices, and thus ward off the active cause of the distress, the State must pay the prices ruling before the outbreak of the commercial panic, and realize the value of bills of exchange which had ceased to represent anything but foreign failures. In other words, the fortune of the whole community, which the Government represents, ought to make good for the losses of private capitalists. This sort of communism, where the mutuality is all on one side, seems rather attractive to the European capitalists.

On November 29, twenty great commercial Hamburg firms, beside numerous Altona houses, broke down, the discount of bills had ceased, the prices of merchandise and securities became nominal, and all business arrived at a dead lock.[a] From the list of failures it appears that five of them occurred in banking operations with Sweden and Norway—the liabilities of Messrs. Ullberg & Cramer, amounting to 12,000,000 marks banco, five in the Colonial produce trade, four in the Baltic produce trade, two in the export of manufactures, two in insurance agencies, one in the Stock Exchange, one in the ship-building trade. Sweden depends so entirely on Hamburg as her exporter, bill-broker and banker, that the history of the Hamburg market is that of the Stockholm market. Consequently, two days after the collapse a telegram[b] announced that the failures in Hamburg had led to failures in Stockholm, and that there too Government support had proved unavailable. What in this respect holds good for Sweden is still more true for Denmark, whose commercial center, Altona, is but a suburb of Hamburg. On the 1st of December extensive stoppages occurred, including two very old firms, viz.: Conrad

[a] Here and below Marx used the reports from Hamburg of November 30 and December 1, 1857. See *The Times*, Nos. 22854, 22855, December 3, 4, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] A telegram from Hamburg, dated the 2nd of December, was published in *The Times*, No. 22855, December 4, 1857.—*Ed.*

Warneke, in the Colonial trade, especially sugar, with a capital of 2,000,000 marks banco, and extensively connected with Germany, Denmark and Sweden; and Lorent am Ende & Co., carrying on business with Sweden and Norway. One ship-owner and general merchant committed suicide in consequence of his embarrassments.

The general extent of Hamburg commerce may be inferred from the fact that at this very moment about 500,000,000 m. b. in goods of all kinds are held in warehouses and in port, on account of its merchants. The republic is now recurring to the only remedy against the crisis, that of relieving its citizens from the duty of paying their debts. A law granting a respite of one month on all bills payable at maturity is likely to be passed. As to Prussia, the distress of the manufacturing districts of the Rhine and Westphalia is hardly noticed by the public papers, since it has not yet resulted in extensive failures, the latter having been limited to the corn exporters at Stettin and Dantzig, and to about forty manufacturers at Berlin. The Prussian Government has interfered by authorizing the Berlin Bank to advance loans on goods deposited and by suspending the usury laws.[a] The former measure will prove as vain at Berlin as at Stockholm and Hamburg, and the latter puts Prussia only on a footing of equality with other commercial countries.

The Hamburg collapse is a conclusive answer to those imaginative minds which presume the present crisis to have originated in prices artificially enhanced by a paper currency. In regard to currency, Hamburg forms the opposite pole to this country. There, there is no money but silver. There exists no paper circulation at all, but a medium of exchanges purely metallic is boasted of. Still the present panic not only rages there most severely, but since the appearance of general commercial crises—the discovery of which is not so old as that of the comets—Hamburg has been their favorite arena. Twice during the last third of the eighteenth century it exhibited the same spectacle as at present; and if it is distinguished by one characteristic feature from other great commercial centers of the world, it is by the frequency and violence of the fluctuations in the rate of interest.

Turning from Hamburg to England, we find that the tone of the London money market was progressively improving from

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[a] See the reports from Berlin of November 28 and 29 in *The Times*, No. 22853, December 2, 1857.—*Ed.*

Nov. 27 to Dec. 1, when again an opposite current set in. On November 28 the price of silver had actually declined, but after Dec. 1 it again recovered and will probably advance, large amounts being required for Hamburg. In other words, gold will again be withdrawn from London to buy Continental silver, and this renewed drain of bullion will call for the renewed action of the Bank of England screw. Beside the sudden demand at Hamburg, there is looming in a not remote future the Indian loan, which the Government, however it may try to shift off the evil day, must necessarily resort to. The occurrence of fresh failures had also contributed after the 1st inst. to dispel the delusion that the money market had seen its worst. As Lord Overstone (the banker Lloyd) remarked in the opening session of the House of Lords:

"The next occasion of pressure upon the Bank will probably occur before the exchanges are rectified, and then the crisis will be greater than that which we have shrunk from meeting on the present occasion. There are serious and formidable difficulties hanging over this country."[a]

The catastrophe at Hamburg has not yet been felt at London. The greater easiness of the loan market had favorably affected the produce market; but, irrespective of the eventual new contraction of money, it is evident that the great fall in the prices of produce in Stettin, Dantzig and Hamburg cannot but bring down the London quotations. The French decree rescinding the prohibition of the export of corn and flour[431] immediately compelled the London millers to reduce their quotations by three shillings per 280 pounds, in order to stem the influx of flour from France. Several failures in the corn-trade have been reported, but they have been confined to smaller houses and operators in grain for distant delivery.

The English manufacturing districts exhibit no novelty, except that cotton goods adapted to the Indian demand, such as brown shirtings, jaconets, madapolams, as well as yarns suitable for the same market, fetch, for the first time since 1847, remunerative prices in India. Since 1847, the profits made by the Manchester manufacturers in that trade have been derived, not from the price realized on the sale of their goods in East India, but only on the sale in England of their East Indian returns. The almost total suppression of Indian export since June, 1857, occasioned by the revolt, has allowed the Indian market to absorb the floating

[a] S. Overstone's speech in the House of Lords, December 3, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22855, December 4, 1857.—*Ed.*

English goods and even to open itself for new supplies at enhanced prices.[a] Under ordinary circumstances such an event would have given extraordinary liveliness to the Manchester trade. At present, as we are informed by private letters, it has hardly raised the prices of the privileged articles, while it turned such an amount of employment seeking productive power to the manufacture of these particular articles as would suffice to overstock three Indias on the shortest notice. Such has been the general enlargement of productive power in the British manufacturing districts during the last ten years, that even the reduction of labor to less than two-thirds its previous amount can only be sustained by the mill-owners accumulating in their warehouses a large surplus stock of fabrics. Messrs. Du Fay & Co., in their monthly Manchester trade report, say that "there was a pause in business during the month; very few transactions took place, and prices were altogether nominal. Never before was the sum total of a month's transactions so small as in November."

It is, perhaps, proper here to call attention to the fact that in the year 1858 the repeal of the British Corn Laws[432] will first be put to a serious test. What with the influence of Australian gold and industrial prosperity, what with the natural results of bad harvests, the average price of wheat during the epoch from 1847 to 1857 ruled higher than during the epoch from 1826 to 1836. A keen competition of foreign agriculture and produce will now have to be sustained concurrently with a decline in the home demand; and agricultural distress, which seemed buried in the annals of British history from 1815 to 1832, is likely to appear again. It is true that the advance in the price of French wheat and flour, following upon the Imperial decrees, has proved but temporary, and vanished even before any extensive export to England took place. But with a further pressure on the money market of France she will be forced to throw her corn and flour into England, which will be at the same time assailed by forced sales of German produce. Then in the spring the shipments from the United States will come forward, and give the British corn market its finishing blow. If, as the whole history of prices warrants us in supposing, several good harvests are now to follow each other in succession, we shall see fully worked out the true consequences of the repeal of the Corn Laws for the agricultural laborers in the first instance,

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[a] See Engels's letter to Marx of November 15, 1857 (present edition, Vol. 40, pp. 200-04).— *Ed.*

the farmers in the second, and the whole framework of British landed property in the last.

Written on December 4, 1857

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5202, December 22, 1857 as a leading article

# Karl Marx

## [THE CRISIS IN EUROPE][433]

The mails of the *Niagara* reached us yesterday, and a careful examination of our files of British journals only confirms the views we have lately had to express with regard to the probable course of the crisis in England.[a] The London money market is decidedly improving; that is to say, gold is accumulating in the vaults of the Bank of England; the demand for discount at the Bank is decreasing; first-class paper may be discounted in Lombard street[434] at $9\,^1/_2$ to $9\,^3/_4$ per cent; the public funds are firm, and the share market participates to some degree in this movement. This agreeable aspect of things is, however, badly impaired by great failures, recurring every two or three days in London; by daily dispatches, sad messengers of provincial disasters; and by the thunder of *The London Times,* inveighing more than ever against the general and helpless corruption of the British mercantile classes. In fact, the comparative easiness with which unexceptionable paper is discounted, seems to be more than balanced by the growing difficulty of finding paper which can pass as unexceptionable. Consequently, we are told in the London money articles of the latest date, that at Threadneedle street[435] the applications are extremely "limited," and that at Lombard street but little business is doing. Still, as the supply on the part of the Bank and the discount houses is increasing—while the pressure upon them, the demand on the part of their customers, is decreasing—the money market must be said to be comparatively easy. Nevertheless the Bank of England Directors have not yet dared to lower the rate of discount, convinced as it would appear

[a] See this volume, pp. 406-09.— *Ed.*

that the renewal of the monetary crisis is not a question of time, but of percentage, and that, consequently, as the rate of discount sinks, the monetary crisis is sure to rise again.

While the London money market, one way or the other, has thus got more easy, the stringency of the English produce market is increasing in intensity, a continuous fall in prices not being able to overcome the growing disinclination to purchase. Even such articles as tallow, for instance, which had previously formed an exception to the general rule, have now, by dint of forced sales, been obliged to give way. On comparing the price current of the week ending December 18 with the weekly price current of November, it appears that the extreme depression in prices which prevailed in the latter month has again been reached; this time, however, not in the shape of a panic, but the methodic form of a sliding scale. As to the manufacturing markets, an earnest of the industrial crisis which we predicted[a] has now been given in half a dozen failures of spinners and weavers in Lancashire, of three leading houses in the woolen trade in the West Riding, and an important firm in the carpet trade of Worcester.

Since the phenomena of this double crisis, in the produce market and among the manufacturing classes, will by and by become more palpable, we shall content ourselves, for the present, with quoting the following passage of a private letter from Manchester, which has been communicated for our columns:

> "Of the continuous pressure on the market and its disastrous effects you can hardly form any notion. No one can sell. Every day you hear of lower quotations. Things are come to that pass that respectable people prefer not to offer their commodities at all. Spinners and weavers are weighed down by utter despondency. No yarn commissioners sell yarn to the weavers except on cash or double securities. It is impossible for this state of things to go on without ending in a frightful collapse."[b]

The Hamburg crisis has scarcely abated.[c] It is the most regular and classical example of a monetary crisis that ever existed. Everything except silver and gold had become worthless. Firms of old standing have broken down, because they are unable to pay in cash some single bill that had fallen due, although in their tills

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[a] See this volume, pp. 390, 401-02.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx paraphrases Engels's letter to him of December 17, 1857 (present edition, Vol. 40, pp. 222-23). In this article he also uses other data from that letter.— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 404-06.— *Ed.*

there lay bills to a hundred times its value, which, however, for the moment were valueless, not because they were dishonored, but because they could not be discounted. Thus, we are informed that the old and wealthy firm of Ch. M. Schröder, before its bankruptcy, had offered to it two millions in silver, on the part of L. H. Schröder, the brother, of London, but replied by telegraph: "Three millions or nothing." The three millions did not come forward, and Ch. M. Schröder went to the wall. A different instance is that of Ullberg & Co., a firm much spoken of in the European press, which, with liabilities amounting to 12,000,000 marks banco, including 7,000,000 of bills of exchange, had, as now appears, a capital of only 300,000 marks banco as the basis of such enormous transactions.[a]

In Sweden, and especially in Denmark, the crisis has rather increased in violence.[b] The revival of the evil after it appeared to have passed away is to be explained by the dates on which the great demands on Hamburg, Stockholm and Copenhagen fall due. During December, for instance, nine millions of bills drawn on Hamburg by Rio de Janeiro houses for coffee fell due, were all protested, and this mass of protests created a new panic. In January the drafts for the cargoes of sugar shipped from Bahia and Pernambuco will probably meet with a similar fate, and cause a similar revival of the crisis.

Written on December 18, 1857

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

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[a] For the description of the Hamburg bankruptcies Marx used the facts cited by Engels in his letter of December 7, 1857 (present edition, Vol. 40, pp. 212-13).— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 405-06.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE FRENCH CRISIS[436]

The successive reduction by the Bank of France of its rate of discount from 10 per cent, at which it stood after Nov. 12, to 9 per cent on Nov. 26, 8 per cent on Dec. 5, and 6 per cent on Dec. 17,[a] is, of course, pointed out by the Imperialist organs as irrefutable proof that the commercial revulsion has entered its decreasing stage, and that "France will go through the severe trial without any catastrophe." The financial system of Napoleon III. is said to have created "this evident superiority of the commercial state of France over that of all other nations," and to insure the fact that France is, and always will be, "less injured in a time of crisis than the countries competing with it." Now, 6 per cent is a rate of bank discount which, since the beginning of the present century, has never occurred in France save in February, 1800, some days after the foundation of the Bank by the uncle,[b] until under the nephew,[c] in the critical period of 1855 and 1856. But if the Bank of France continues to lower its rate of interest, say to 4 per cent, what then? The rate of discount was reduced to 4 per cent on Dec. 27, 1847, when the general crisis still lasted and the French crisis had not yet reached its climax. Then, as now, the Government congratulated France on its privilege of escaping general crisis with nothing but scratches, and those not skin deep. Two months later the financial earthquake had overturned the throne and the wise man who sat upon it.[d]

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[a] Marsaud, "Banque de France", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 352, December 18, 1857.— *Ed.*

[b] Napoleon I.— *Ed.*

[c] Napoleon III.— *Ed.*

[d] Louis Philippe.— *Ed.*

We do certainly not contest the fact that thus far the crisis has had less influence on French commerce than was expected. The reason is simply that in transactions with the United States, Great Britain, and the Hanseatic towns, the balance of trade is, and has been for a long time, in favor of France. Thus, in order that the disasters occurring in those countries should directly recoil on France, large credits must have been given to them, or commodities for export to them have been speculatively accumulated. Nothing of the sort has happened. The American, English and Hanseatic events could, consequently, produce no drain of bullion from France; and if its Bank for some weeks raised the rate of interest to the English standard, it did this only for fear lest French capital should seek more profitable employment abroad.

But it cannot be denied that the general crisis has, even in its present phase, told on France in a form agreeable to the commercial relations of that country with the United States, England and the Hanseatic towns, viz.: in the chronic form of distress. It has forced Bonaparte—who, in his letter of November 10, declared "the evil to exist in the imagination only"[a]—to come out with another official message to the effect that "in spite of the prudence of French trade and the vigilance of the Government, the commercial crisis has obliged many branches of industry, if not to suspend work, at any rate to shorten their time or lower their wages," so that "many workmen suffer from forced idleness."[b] He has consequently opened a credit of a million francs for the relief of the necessitous and finding them means of employment; he has ordered military precautions to be taken at Lyons; and, through his journals, has appealed to private charity. The withdrawals from the savings banks have begun by far to exceed the deposits. Heavy losses from failures in America and England have been sustained by many manufacturers, production is contracting to a disastrous degree at Paris, Lyons, Mühlhausen, Roubaix, Rouen, Lille, Nantes, St. Etienne, and other industrial centers, while serious embarrassments prevail at Marseilles, Havre and Bordeaux.

The general stagnation of trade throughout the country is most evident from the last monthly report of the Bank of France, which shows for the month of December a decrease in circulation of

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[a] Napoléon III, "Lettre à S. Exc. le ministre des finances...", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 315, November 11, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Billault, "Rapport à l'Empereur", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 346, December 12, 1857.—*Ed.*

73,040,000 francs, as compared with October, and of 48,955,900 francs as compared with November; while the aggregate of discounts has fallen about 100,000,000 francs, if compared with October, and 77,067,059 francs compared with November.[a] In the present state of the French press it is, of course, not possible to ascertain the exact state of the failures occurring in provincial towns, but the Paris bankruptcies, although certainly not yet serious, exhibit a tendency to grow not only in quantity, but also in the quality of the concerns involved. In the fortnight from Nov. 17 to Dec. 1 thirty-four Paris bankruptcies only occurred, of which not fewer than twenty-four were of dealers in second-hand clothes, milk-dealers, tailors, artificial flower-makers, cabinet-makers, reticule-makers, gilders, leather dealers, jewelers, fringe-makers, vinegar-makers, cap-makers, fruiterers, &c. From the 1st of December up to the 8th the bankruptcies were no fewer than thirty-one, and from the 9th to the 15th the number amounted to thirty-four, including some of greater importance, such as Messrs. Bourdon, Dubuch & Co., bankers; the General Company of *voitures de remise,*[b] a Company for Jacquard looms, an oil Company,[c] &c. On the other hand, Bonaparte's attempt at checking the ruinous fall in the prices of wheat and flour by the abrogation of the prohibition decrees, has proved a failure, prices having progressively sunk from the 26th November to the 21st of December, and despite a fair margin of profit on sales in London, no more than 3,000 sacks (of 110 kilogrammes) being shipped thither up to the 22d of December.

If, however, the balance of trade is in favor of France in her dealings with the United States, England, and the Hanseatic towns, it is against her in her commerce with Southern Russia, the Zollverein,[437] Holland, Belgium, the Levant and Italy. As to Switzerland, the temporary balance of trade is always against her, but France is so deeply indebted to her—most of the Alsatian manufactures being carried on by Swiss capital—that in times of monetary scarcity she may always heavily pull upon the French money market. At this period, as at every former one, there will be no active French crisis before the commercial difficulties in those countries have reached a certain hight. That Holland cannot tide over the present storm, will be understood on the simple

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[a] "Situation de la Banque de France et de ses succursales", *Le Moniteur universel,* Nos. 282, 317 and 345, October 9, November 13 and December 11 1857.— *Ed.*

[b] Hired carriages.— *Ed.*

[c] *The Economist,* No. 747, December 19, 1857.— *Ed.*

consideration that her still large commerce is almost limited to that description of produce which has undergone and is progressively undergoing the most fatal depreciation. In the industrial centers of the Zollverein the premonitory symptoms of the crisis are already visible. Apprehensions of a crash in the Black Sea and Levantine trade are announcing themselves in the Trieste papers, and its first precursory flashes have sufficed to bring down some large houses at Marseilles. In Italy, finally, the monetary panic, at the very moment that it seems subsiding in the North of Europe, has burst out ablaze, as will be seen from the following extract from the *Opinione* of Milan, of Dec. 18:

"The difficulties of the present time are very, very great; failures are occurring on a frightful scale, and after those of Palleari, of Ballabio and Co., of Cighera, of Redaelli, of Wechler and Mazzola, after the *contre-coup* of foreign cities, after the suspension of payments by the best houses of Verona, Venice, Udine and Bergamo, our strongest firms also begin to waver, and to make up their accounts. And the accounts are very sad. Let it suffice to remark that among our great silk houses there is not one that has in warehouse a less quantity than 50,000 pounds of silk, whence it is easy to calculate that at present prices every one of them must lose from half a million to two millions of francs—the stock of some of them exceeding 150,000 lb. The firm of Brambilla Brothers was supported by a loan of one million and a half of francs; Battista Gavazzi is liquidating, and others are doing the same. Every man asks himself what we have to look forward to; so many fortunes vanished, so many reduced by one-half; so many families, lately in easy circumstances, now at their last shift; so many workmen without work or bread, or means of subsistence of any kind."[a]

When the French crisis, consequent upon the growing pressure from these countries, comes to maturity, it will have to grapple with a nation of gamblers, if not of commercial adventurers, and with a Government that has played the same part in France as private commerce has done in this country,[b] in England and Hamburg. It will fall severely upon the stock market and endanger the supreme security of that market—the State itself. The natural result of the contraction of French commerce and industry is to place money at the disposition of the Bourse, especially as the Bank of France is bound to make advances upon public funds and railway securities. Instead of checking stock gambling, the present stagnation of French commerce and industry has favored it. Thus we see from the last monthly report of the Bank of France, that its advances on railway shares have increased simultaneously with the decrease in discounts and

[a] Quoted according to the report from Turin of December 19, 1857, published in *The Times*, No. 22871, December 23, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] The United States of America.—*Ed.*

circulation. Thus, in spite of the heavy decrease in the receipts of most of the French railways, their quotations are looking up, the receipts of the Orleans line, for instance, having decreased by 22 1/2 per cent toward the close of November, as compared with the corresponding period of last year; yet Orleans was quoted on Dec. 22 at 1,355, while it stood on 1,310 francs only on Oct. 23.[a]

When the depression of trade set in upon France some railway companies were at once compelled to interrupt their works, and a similar fate threatened almost all of them. To mend this the Emperor forced the Bank of France into a treaty with the companies, by dint of which it becomes in fact the real railway contractor. It has to advance the money upon the new bonds which the companies are authorized by the settlement of Nov. 30, 1856, to emit in 1858; and on that part which remained still to be issued for 1857; the authorized issue of bonds for 1858 amounting to forty-two and a half millions. The Crédit Mobilier[438] seemed also destined to succumb before the first shock, and had on the 3d of December to sell at an enormous sacrifice part of its immense amount of securities. There is now a project afloat of amalgamating it with the Crédit Foncier and the Comptoire d'Escompte,[439] in order to make it share in the privilege granted to those institutions of having their bills discounted and their securities received by the Bank of France. Thus the plan evidently is to weather the storm by making the Bank of France responsible for all these concerns—a maneuver which of course exposes the Bank itself to wreck. But what even Napoleon III cannot think of, is to make the Bank pay the calls the private shareholders of the different joint-stock companies will have to encounter. Excluding petty affairs, the calls to be met toward the close of December were: Mercantile and Industrial Company of Madrid (Messrs. Rothschild), $30 per share; Franco-American Navigation Company, $10 per share; Victor Emmanuel Railway Company, $30 per share; Herserange Iron Works Company, $20 per share; the Mediterranean, $30 per share; the Austrian Railway, $15; the Saragossa, $10; the Franco-Swiss, $10; the Société Générale de Tanneries, $10; the Companie de la Carbonisation de Houilles[b] $10, &c. At the beginning of the year there is a payment of $20 per share on the

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[a] "Bourse du mardi 22 décembre 1857", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 357, December 23, 1857; "Bourse du vendredi 23 octobre 1857", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 297, October 24, 1857. The sum given in *Le Moniteur* is 1,320 francs.—*Ed.*

[b] Company of the Carbonisation of Coal.—*Ed.*

Chimay and Marienburg Railway, of $12 1/2 on the Lombard-Venetian Railways, and $20 on the Belgian and South American Steam Navigation Company. According to the settlement of Nov. 30, 1856, the calls for French railways alone will, in 1858, amount to about $50,000,000. There is certainly a great danger that France may founder on these heavy engagements in 1858, as England did in 1846-47. Moreover, capitalists in Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands, are large holders of French securities, the greater part of which, at the progress of the crisis in those countries, will be thrown upon the Paris Bourse to be turned into money at any price.

Written on December 25, 1857

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5219, January 12, 1858 as a leading article

# Frederick Engels

## [THE SIEGE AND STORMING OF LUCKNOW][440]

The last mails from Calcutta brought some details, which have made their way to this country through the London journals, from which it is possible to form a judgment as to Sir Colin Campbell's performance at Lucknow. As the British press assert that this feat of arms stands forth in unrivaled glory in the history of warfare, the subject may as well be a little more closely examined.

The town of Lucknow is situated on the right bank of the River Goomtee, which at that locality runs in a south-easterly direction. At a distance of from two to three miles from the river a canal runs nearly parallel to it, intersects the town, and below it approaches the river, which it then joins about a mile further down. The banks of the river are not occupied by crowded streets, but by a succession of palaces, with gardens and insulated public buildings. At the junction of the canal and river, but on the right or southern bank of both, are situated, close together, a school, called La Martinière, and a hunting-palace and park, called Dilkhoosha. Crossing the canal, but remaining on the southern side of the river, and close to its bank, the first palace and garden is that of Secunderbagh; further west come barracks and Mess-house, and then the Motee Mahal (Pearl Palace), which is but a few hundred yards from the Residency.[441] This latter building is erected on the only high ground in the neighborhood; it commands the town, and consists of a considerable inclosure with several palaces and out-houses within it. To the south of this line of buildings is the compact portion of the town, and two miles south of this is the park and palace of Alumbagh.

The natural strength of the Residency at once explains how it was possible for the English to hold out in it against far superior

numbers; but this very fact at once shows also what class of fighters the Oudians are. In fact, men who, partly drilled under European officers and provided plentifully with artillery, have never yet been able to overcome a single miserable inclosure defended by Europeans—such men are, militarily speaking, no better than savages, and a victory over them cannot add much to the glory of any army, however great the odds may be in favor of the natives. Another fact which classes the Oudians with the most contemptible opponents to be met with, is the manner in which Havelock forced his way through the very thickest portion of the town, in spite of barricades, loopholed houses, and the like. His loss, indeed, was great; but compare such an engagement with even the worst-fought street-battle of 1848![a] Not one man of his weak column could have made good his way had there been any real fighting. The houses cannot have been defended at all; it would have required weeks to take as many of them as would have secured a clear passage. As to the judgment displayed by Havelock in thus taking the bull by the horns, we cannot form an opinion; it is said he was compelled to do so from the great strait to which the Residency was reduced, and other motives are mentioned; however, nothing authentic is known.

When Sir Colin Campbell arrived he had about 2,000 European and 1,000 Sikh infantry; 350 European and 600 Sikh cavalry; 18 horse-artillery guns, 4 siege guns, and 300 sailors with their heavy shipguns; in all, 5,000 men, among which were 3,000 Europeans. This force was about as strong in numbers as a very fair average of most Anglo-Indian armies that have accomplished great exploits; indeed, the field-force with which Sir C. Napier conquered Sinde[442] was scarcely half as large, and often less. On the other hand, its large admixture of the European element and the circumstance that all its native portion consisted of the best fighting nation of India, the Sikhs, give it a character of intrinsic strength and cohesion far superior to the generality of Anglo-Indian armies. Its opponents, as we have seen, were contemptible, for the most part rough militia instead of trained soldiers. True, the Oudians pass for the most warlike race of Lower Hindostan, but this is the case merely in comparison with the cowardly Bengalees, whose *morale* is utterly broken down by the most relaxing climate of the world and by centuries of oppression. The way in which they submitted to the "filibustering" annexation of their country to the Company's dominions, and the whole of their

[a] The reference is to the revolution of 1848-49.—*Ed.*

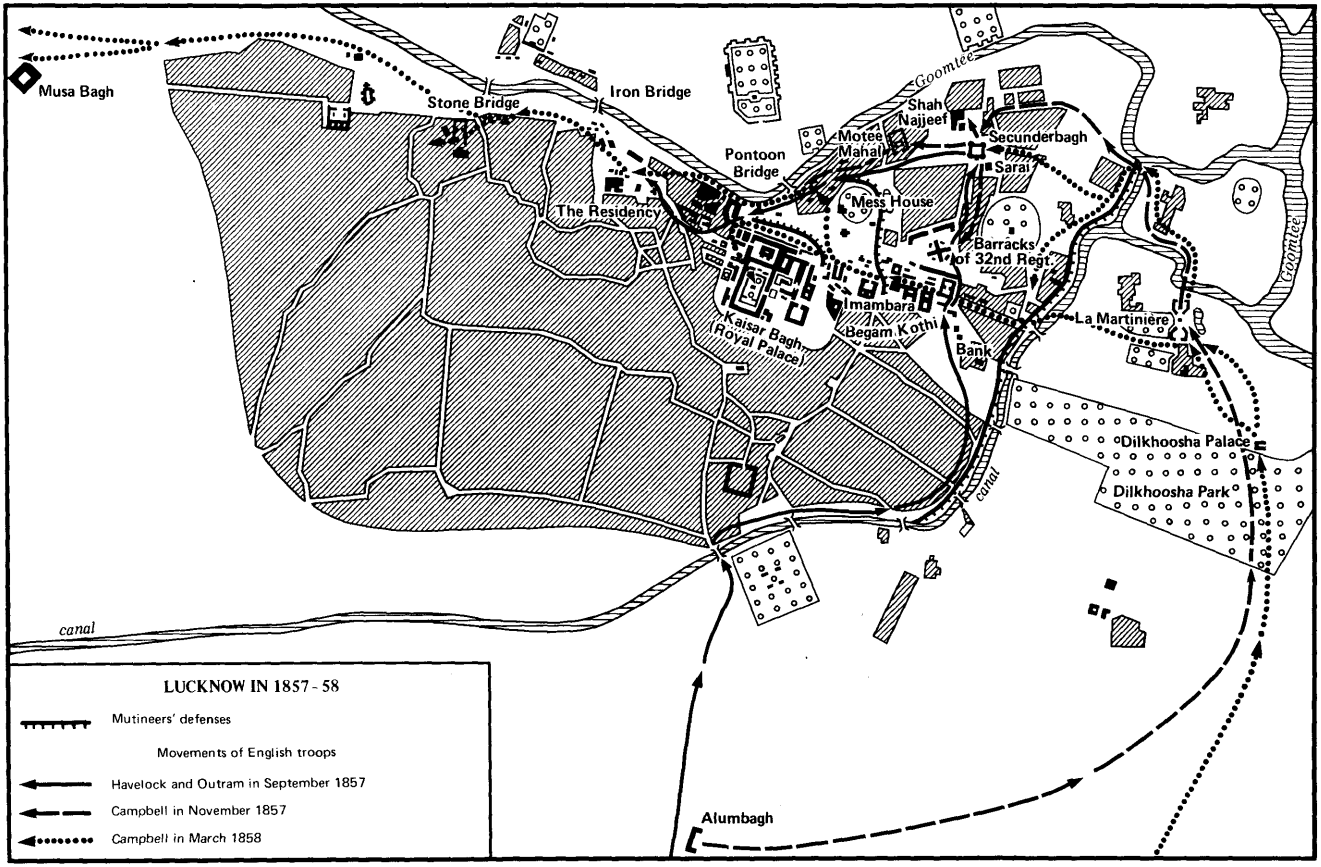
LUCKNOW IN 1857 - 58
Mutineers' defenses
Movements of English troops
Havelock and Outram in September 1857
Campbell in November 1857
Campbell in March 1858
Musa Bagh
Stone Bridge
Iron Bridge
Pontoon Bridge
The Residency
Goomtee
Shah Najjeef
Motee Mahal
Secunderbagh
Sarai
Mess House
Barracks of 32nd Regt.
Imambara
Begam Kothi
Kaisar Bagh (Royal Palace)
Bank
La Martinière
Dilkhoosha Palace
Dilkhoosha Park
canal
Alumbagh

behavior during the insurrection, certainly places them below the level of the Sepoys, as far as courage and intelligence are concerned. We are, indeed, informed that quantity made up for quality. Some letter-writers say there were as many as 100,000 in the town. They were, no doubt, superior to the British in the proportion of four or six to one, perhaps more; but with such enemies that makes little difference. A position can only be defended by a certain number, and if these are determined to run away it matters little whether four or five times that number of similar heroes are within half a mile. There is no doubt that many instances of individual bravery have been seen, even among these Oudians. Some among them may have fought like lions; but of what avail were these in a place which they were too weak to defend after the mere rabble among the garrison had run away? There appears to have never been among them any attempt at bringing the whole under a single command; their local chiefs had no authority except over their own men, and would not submit to anybody else.

Sir Colin Campbell advanced first on Alumbagh; then, instead of forcing his way through the town as Havelock had done, he profited by the experience gained by that General and turned toward Dilkhoosha and La Martinière.[a] The ground in front of these inclosures was cleared of the Oudian skirmishers on Nov. 13. On the 15th the attack commenced. So neglectful had the enemy been that the preparations for intrenching the Dilkhoosha were not yet completed even then; it was taken at once, and without much resistance, and so was the Martinière. These two positions secured to the English the line of the canal. The enemy advanced once more across this obstacle to retake the two posts, lost in the morning, but they were soon routed, with heavy loss. On the 16th the British crossed the canal and attacked the Secunderbagh Palace. The intrenchments here were in a little better order, consequently Gen. Campbell wisely attacked the place with artillery. After the defenses had been destroyed, the infantry charged and took the place. The Samuck, another fortified position, was next cannonaded for three hours and then taken, "after one of the severest fights ever witnessed," says Sir C. Campbell[b]—and, adds a wise correspondent from the seat of

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[a] Here and below Engels draws on "The Relief of Lucknow", *The Times*, No. 22876, December 29, 1857.— *Ed.*

[b] C. Campbell's words were cited by G. F. Edmonstone in the telegram published in *The Times*, No. 22876, December 29, 1857.— *Ed.*

war, "few men have seen more of hard fighting than he." We should like to know where he saw it. Surely not in the Crimea, where, after the battle of the Alma,[443] he had a very quiet life of it at Balaklava, only one of his regiments being engaged at the battle of Balaklava[444] and none at Inkermann.[445]

On the 17th the artillery was pointed on the barracks and Mess-house which formed the next position toward the Residency. This cannonade lasted till 3 o'clock, after which the infantry took the place by storm. The flying enemy was hotly pursued. One more position remained between the advancing army and the Residency—the Motee Mahal. Before dusk this, too, was carried, and the communication with the garrison was fully established.

Campbell should be praised for the judgment with which he took the easier route and with which he used his heavy artillery to reduce the intrenched positions before he launched his columns. But the British fought with all the advantages of skilled soldiers obeying one chief over half savages commanded by nobody; and, as we see, they fully availed themselves of these advantages. They did not expose their men more than was absolutely necessary. They used artillery as long as there was anything to be battered down. No doubt they fought with valor; but what they deserve credit for is discretion. The best proof of this is in the number of the killed and wounded. It has not yet been published as far as the men are concerned; but there were five officers killed and thirty-two wounded. The army must have had, with 5,000 men, at least 250 to 300 officers. The English officers are certainly never sparing of their lives. To show an example of bravery to their men is in too many cases the part of their duty which they only know. And when in three days' consecutive fighting, under circumstances and in positions which are known to cost more lives than any other to conquer, the loss is only one in eight or nine, it is out of the question to call it hard fighting. To take an example from British history alone, what is all this Indian fighting put together against the single defense of Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte at Waterloo?[446] What would these writers who now turn every little skirmish into a pitched battle say of contests like Borodino, where one army lost one-half and the other one-third of its combatants?[447]

Written on January 4, 1858

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# Karl Marx

## BRITISH COMMERCE

During the late extraordinary session of the British Parliament, Lord Derby declared in the House of Lords that, for the last three years the value of British imports had exceeded that of British exports to the amount of £160,000,000.[a] This statement gave rise to a controversy, out of doors, some private individuals applying to Lord Stanley of Alderley, President of the Board of Trade, for information as to the correctness of Lord Derby's statement. The President of the Board of Trade, in a letter addressed to his interrogators, replied:

"The assertion made by Lord Derby in the House of Lords, that the value of our imports during the last three years had exceeded that of our exports by £160,000,000, is incorrect, and arises from Lord Derby having taken the total value of our imports, including our imports from the Colonies and foreign countries, while he has excluded the re-export of merchandize which has been received from the Colonies and foreign countries. Thus Lord Derby's calculation shows:

| | |
|---|---|
| "Importations | £468,000,000 |
| Exports | 308,000,000 |
| Difference | £160,000,000 |

| | |
|---|---|
| "Whereas it should be: | |
| Importations | £468,000,000 |
| Exports | 371,000,000, |
| Difference | £97,000,000"[b] |

[a] E. G. Derby's speech in the House of Lords, December 3, 1857, *The Times*, No. 22855, December 4, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Johnson's inquiry, made on the instructions of the Foreign Affairs Association, and J. G. Fanshawe's reply on behalf of the President of the Board of Trade were published in *The Free Press*, No. 26, December 23, 1857.—*Ed.*

The President of the Board of Trade substantiates this assertion by adding to it a comparative statement of the value of the exports and imports of the United Kingdom during the years 1855, 1856 and 1857. This highly interesting document, which is not to be found in the London newspapers, we reprint below.[a] First it will be seen that the case might be put in a shape confirmatory of Lord Derby's assertion, viz.:

| | |
|---|---|
| Total imports | £468,000,000 |
| British exports | 308,000,000 |
| Excess of imports over British exports | £160,000,000 |
| Re-exports of foreign produce | 63,000,000 |
| Balance of trade against Great Britain | £97,000,000 |

Thus, there is actually an excess of foreign imports over British exports of 160,000,000, and after the re-export of 63,000,000 of foreign productions, there remains a balance of trade against Great Britain, as stated by the President of the Board of Trade himself, of 97,000,000, or more than 32,000,000 for the average of the three years, 1855, 1856, and 1857. Hence, the recent complaint of *The London Times:*

"The actual losses sustained by the nation have been going on for the last five or six years, and it is only now that we have found them out."[b]

These losses, however, arise not from the excess of imports over exports, but from the specific character of a great part of the exports.

The fact is, one-half the re-exports consists of foreign raw materials used in manufactures serving to increase foreign rivalry against the British industrial interests, and, to some extent, returned to the Britishers in manufactured goods for their home consumption. The decisive point, however, to be kept in view, is this, that the large re-exports of raw materials, resulting from the competition of Continental manufactures, enhanced the price of the raw material so much as almost to absorb the profit left to the British manufacturer. On a former occasion, we made some statements in this sense with respect to the British Cotton industry.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 428-29.— *Ed.*

[b] *The Times,* No. 22869, December 21, 1857 "Money-Market and City Intelligence".— *Ed.*

As at the present moment the industrial crisis rages most violently in the British Woolen districts, where failure follows upon failure, anxiously concealed from the general public by the London press, it may be opportune to give at this place some figures showing into what effective competition for raw wool the manufacturers of the European Continent were entering with the British ones—a competition which led to the unparalleled enhancement in the price of that raw material, ruinous to the manufacturer, and fostering the now blown-up speculations in that article. The following statement comprises the first nine months of each of the last five years[a]:

*Imports.*

| Year. | Foreign. | Colonial. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1853 | £37,586,199 | £46,277,276 | £83,863,475 |
| 1854 | 27,006,173 | 50,187,692 | 77,193,865 |
| 1855 | 17,293,842 | 53,896,173 | 71,190,015 |
| 1856 | 22,377,714 | 62,148,467 | 84,526,181 |
| 1857 | 27,604,364 | 63,053,100 | 90,657,464 |

*Exports.*

| Year. | Foreign. | Colonial. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1853 | £2,480,410 | £5,243,166 | £7,723,576 |
| 1854 | 5,993,366 | 13,117,102 | 19,110,468 |
| 1855 | 8,860,904 | 12,948,561 | 21,809,465 |
| 1856 | 5,523,345 | 14,433,958 | 19,957,303 |
| 1857 | 4,561,000 | 25,068,787 | 29,629,787 |

The quantities of foreign and colonial wools returned for British home consumption appear, therefore, to have been, in the years:

| Year | *Wool.* | Pounds |
|---|---|---|
| 1853 | | 76,139,899 |
| 1854 | | 58,083,397 |
| 1855 | | 49,380,550 |
| 1856 | | 64,568,878 |
| 1857 | | 61,027,677 |

[a] Here and below Marx quotes from "The Supply and Consumption of Wool", *The Economist*, No. 741, November 7, 1857.—*Ed.*

On the other hand, the quantities of British home-grown wool exported were:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1853 | lb 4,755,443 |
| 1854 | 9,477,396 |
| 1855 | 13,592,756 |
| 1856 | 11,539,201 |
| 1857 | 13,492,386 |

By deducting from the quantity of foreign wools imported into the United Kingdom, first the quantity re-exported and next the quantities of English wools exported, we find the following real quantities of foreign wool available for British home consumption:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1853 | lb 71,384,456 |
| 1854 | 48,606,001 |
| 1855 | 35,787,794 |
| 1856 | 53,029,677 |
| 1857 | 47,535,291 |

While, therefore, the import into the United Kingdom of colonial wool increased from 46,277,276 lbs. in the first nine months of 1853 to 63,053,100 lbs. in the same period of 1857, and the total imports of all kinds from 83,863,475 lbs. to 90,657,464 lbs. during the same respective periods, such, in the mean time, had been the increase in the demand for the European Continent, that, in regard to the foreign and colonial wools, the quantities returned for British consumption diminished in the five years from 76,139,899 lbs. in 1853 to 61,027,677 lbs. in 1857; and taking into account the quantities of English wools exported, there took place an aggregate reduction from 71,384,456 lbs. in 1853 to 47,535,291 lbs. in 1857. The significance of these statements will be better understood when attention is called to the fact avowed by *The London Times,* in a money article, that, simultaneously with this increase in the export of wool from the United Kingdom, the import of Continental woolen manufactures, especially French ones, was increasing.

From the figures furnished by Lord Stanley of Alderley we have abstracted the following tabular statement, showing the degree in which the balance of trade with Great Britain was favorable or unfavorable to different countries:

*Balance of Trade against England*
*for* 1855, 1856, 1857.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. United States | £28,571,764 |
| 2. China | 22,675,433 |
| 3. East Indies | 19,605,742 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4. | Russia | 16,642,167 |
| 5. | Prussia | 12,842,488 |
| 6. | Egypt | 8,214,941 |
| 7. | Spain | 7,146,917 |
| 8. | Br. West Indies | 6,906,314 |
| 9. | Peru | 6,282,382 |
| 10. | Sweden | 5,027,934 |
| 11. | Cuba & Porto Rico | 4,853,484 |
| 12. | Mauritius | 4,672,090 |
| 13. | New-Brunswick | 3,431,303 |
| 14. | Denmark | 3,391,144 |
| 15. | Ceylon | 3,134,575 |
| 16. | France | 2,696,291 |
| 17. | Canada | 1,808,454 |
| 18. | Norway | 1,686,962 |
| 19. | Africa (Western) | 1,432,195 |
| 20. | Portugal | 1,283,075 |
| 21. | Two Sicilies | 1,030,139 |
| 22. | Chili | 693,155 |
| 23. | Buenos Ayres | 107,676 |

*Balance of Trade in favor of England for* 1855, 1856, 1857.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Hanse Towns | 18,883,428 |
| 2. | Australia | 17,761,889 |
| 3. | Turkey | 6,947,220 |
| 4. | Brazil | 7,131,160 |
| 5. | Belgium | 2,214,207 |
| 6. | Holland | 1,600,904 |
| 7. | Cape of G. Hope | 59,661 |

The simple fact of the excess of British imports over exports, amounting in three years to £97,000,000 would by no means warrant the cry now raised by the Britishers "of carrying on their trade at a yearly sacrifice of £33,000,000," and benefiting by that trade foreign countries only. The enormous and increasing amount of British capital invested in all parts of the world must be paid for in interest, dividends and profits, all of which are to be remitted to a great extent in the form of foreign produce, and consequently go to swell the list of British imports. Beyond the imports corresponding to their exports, there must be a surplus of imports, remitted not in payment for commodities, but as revenue of capital. Generally speaking, the so-called balance of trade must,

therefore, always be in favor of the world against England, because the world has yearly to pay to England not only for the commodities it purchases from her, but also the interest of the debt it owes her. The really disquieting feature for England of the statements above made is this, that she is apparently at a loss to find at home a sufficient field of employment for her unwieldy capital; that she must consequently lend on an increasing scale, and similar, in this point, to Holland, Venice and Genoa, at the epoch of their decline, forge herself the weapons for her competitors. She is forced, by giving large credits, to foster speculation in other countries in order to find a field of employment for her surplus capital, and thus to hazard her acquired wealth in order to augment and conserve it. By being obliged to give large credits to foreign manufacturing countries, such as the Continent of Europe, she forwards herself the means to her industrial rivals to compete with her for the raw produce, and thus is herself instrumental in enhancing the raw material of her own fabrics. The small margin of profit thus left to the British manufacturer, still reduced by the constant necessity for a country the very existence of which is bound up with the monopoly of forming the workshop of the world, constantly to undersell the rest of the world, is then compensated for by curtailing the wages of the laboring classes and creating home misery on a rapidly-enlarging scale. Such is the natural price paid by England for her commercial and industrial supremacy.

*A Comparative Statement*
*of the Value of the Imports and Exports of the United Kingdom*
*from and to the Principal Foreign Countries*
*and British Possessions in 1854, 1855, and 1856.*[a]

| Countries. | Years. | IMPORTS. Computed real value of Imports. | VALUE OF EXPORTS. Declared Value of Produce of the United Kingdom. | Computed Real Value of Foreign & Colonial Produce. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| *Foreign.* | | | | | |
| Russia | 1854 | 4,252,288 | 54,301 | 19,738 | 74,039 |
| | 1855 | 478,169 | ... | ... | ... |
| | 1856 | 11,561,924 | 1,595,237 | 1,775,617 | 3,370,854 |

[a] The data given here and below are taken from *The Free Press,* No. 26, December 23, 1857.—*Ed.*

| Countries. | Years. | IMPORTS. Computed real value of Imports. | VALUE OF EXPORTS. Declared Value of Produce of the United Kingdom. | Computed Real Value of Foreign & Colonial Produce. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Sweden | 1854 | 2,509,539 | 334,518 | 249,792 | 584,310 |
| | 1855 | 2,325,171 | 545,384 | 279,515 | 824,899 |
| | 1856 | 2,031,861 | 629,697 | 300,795 | 930,492 |
| Norway | 1854 | 1,369,440 | 402,290 | 106,244 | 508,534 |
| | 1855 | 1,099,642 | 487,400 | 102,551 | 589,951 |
| | 1856 | 947,934 | 488,489 | 143,080 | 631,569 |
| Denmark | 1854 | 2,706,186 | 758,228 | 230,010 | 988,238 |
| | 1855 | 3,086,979 | 756,967 | 260,624 | 1,017,591 |
| | 1856 | 2,201,831 | 1,033,142 | 352,173 | 1,385,315 |
| Prussia | 1854 | 9,055,503 | 798,434 | 1,717,285 | 2,515,719 |
| | 1855 | 10,242,862 | 1,100,021 | 2,016,650 | 3,116,671 |
| | 1856 | 4,534,815 | 933,715 | 624,908 | 1,558,623 |
| Hanse Towns | 1854 | 6,221,524 | 7,413,715 | 2,720,274 | 10,133,989 |
| | 1855 | 4,816,298 | 8,350,228 | 3,344,416 | 11,694,644 |
| | 1856 | 5,302,739 | 10,134,813 | 3,260,543 | 13,395,356 |
| Holland | 1854 | 6,731,141 | 4,573,034 | 2,320,877 | 6,893,911 |
| | 1855 | 6,460,932 | 4,558,210 | 2,611,767 | 7,169,977 |
| | 1856 | 7,433,442 | 5,728,253 | 2,434,278 | 8,162,531 |
| Belgium | 1854 | 3,631,161 | 1,406,932 | 1,948,740 | 3,355,672 |
| | 1855 | 2,533,732 | 1,707,693 | 2,239,514 | 3,947,207 |
| | 1856 | 2,936,796 | 1,689,975 | 2,323,042 | 4,013,017 |
| France | 1854 | 10,447,774 | 3,175,290 | 3,216,175 | 6,391,465 |
| | 1855 | 9,146,418 | 6,012,658 | 4,409,223 | 10,421,881 |
| | 1856 | 10,386,522 | 6,432,650 | 4,038,427 | 10,471,077 |
| Spain | 1854 | 3,594,501 | 1,270,464 | 165,642 | 1,436,106 |
| | 1855 | 4,799,728 | 1,158,800 | 135,192 | 1,293,992 |
| | 1856 | 3,645,083 | 1,734,483 | 377,820 | 2,112,303 |
| Cuba and Porto Rico | 1854 | 3,369,444 | 1,073,861 | 4,727 | 1,078,588 |
| | 1855 | 2,332,753 | 1,077,745 | 22,933 | 1,100,678 |
| | 1856 | 2,654,580 | 1,398,837 | 25,190 | 1,424,027 |

| Countries. | Years. | IMPORTS. Computed real value of Imports. | VALUE OF EXPORTS. Declared Value of Produce of the United Kingdom. | Computed Real Value of Foreign & Colonial Produce. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Portugal | 1854 | 2,101,126 | 1,370,603 | 148,997 | 1,519,600 |
| | 1855 | 1,962,044 | 1,350,791 | 184,580 | 1,535,371 |
| | 1856 | 2,164,090 | 1,455,754 | 433,470 | 1,889,224 |
| Two Sicilies | 1854 | 1,411,457 | 563,033 | 109,258 | 672,291 |
| | 1855 | 1,281,940 | 921,220 | 175,221 | 1,096,441 |
| | 1856 | 1,505,582 | 1,202,183 | 197,925 | 1,400,108 |
| Turkey Proper | 1854 | 2,219,298 | 2,758,605 | 317,476 | 3,076,081 |
| | 1855 | 2,294,571 | 5,639,898 | 419,119 | 6,059,017 |
| | 1856 | 2,383,029 | 4,416,029 | 291,991 | 4,708,020 |
| Egypt | 1854 | 3,355,928 | 1,253,353 | 113,895 | 1,367,248 |
| | 1855 | 3,674,682 | 1,454,371 | 117,235 | 1,571,606 |
| | 1856 | 5,753,518 | 1,587,682 | 43,151 | 1,630,833 |
| United States (including California) | 1854 | 29,795,302 | 21,410,369 | 923,034 | 22,333,403 |
| | 1855 | 25,741,752 | 17,318,086 | 744,517 | 18,062,603 |
| | 1856 | 36,047,773 | 21,918,105 | 698,772 | 22,616,877 |
| Brazil | 1854 | 2,083,589 | 2,891,840 | 119,982 | 3,011,822 |
| | 1855 | 2,273,819 | 3,312,728 | 128,550 | 3,441,278 |
| | 1856 | 2,229,048 | 4,084,537 | 179,979 | 4,264,516 |
| Buenos Ayres | 1854 | 1,285,186 | 1,267,125 | 32,565 | 1,299,690 |
| | 1855 | 1,052,033 | 742,442 | 26,383 | 768,825 |
| | 1856 | 981,193 | 998,329 | 43,892 | 1,042,221 |
| Chili | 1854 | 1,380,563 | 1,421,855 | 43,589 | 1,465,444 |
| | 1855 | 1,925,271 | 1,330,385 | 56,688 | 1,387,073 |
| | 1856 | 1,700,776 | 1,396,446 | 64,492 | 1,460,938 |
| Peru | 1854 | 3,138,527 | 949,289 | 22,236 | 971,525 |
| | 1855 | 3,484,288 | 1,285,160 | 60,278 | 1,345,438 |
| | 1856 | 3,048,694 | 1,046,010 | 26,154 | 1,072,164 |
| China (including Hong Kong) | 1854 | 9,125,040 | 1,000,716 | 26,400 | 1,027,116 |
| | 1855 | 8,746,590 | 1,277,944 | 26,052 | 1,303,996 |
| | 1856 | 9,421,648 | 2,216,123 | 70,611 | 2,286,734 |

| Countries. | Years. | IMPORTS. Computed real value of Imports. | VALUE OF EXPORTS. Declared Value of Produce of the United Kingdom. | Computed Real Value of Foreign & Colonial Produce. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| W. C. of Africa (exclusive of Br. & Fr. Pos.) | 1854 | 1,528,896 | 646,868 | 174,073 | 820,941 |
| | 1855 | 1,516,729 | 839,831 | 219,827 | 1,059,658 |
| | 1856 | 1,657,375 | 666,374 | 223,842 | 890,216 |
| Total Foreign Countries | 1854 | 118,239,554 | 63,800,605 | 15,645,612 | 79,446,217 |
| | 1855 | 109,959,539 | 69,524,475 | 18,710,749 | 88,235,224 |
| | 1856 | 129,517,568 | 83,327,154 | 20,035,442 | 103,362,596 |
| *British Possessions* | | | | | |
| Canada | 1854 | 4,007,052 | 3,957,085 | 180,569 | 4,137,654 |
| | 1855 | 2,296,277 | 1,515,823 | 90,298 | 1,606,121 |
| | 1856 | 3,779,741 | 2,418,250 | 123,591 | 2,541,841 |
| New-Brunswick | 1854 | 2,079,674 | 863,704 | 40,273 | 903,977 |
| | 1855 | 4,379,041 | 370,560 | 27,718 | 398,278 |
| | 1856 | 1,891,707 | 572,542 | 34,322 | 606,864 |
| British West India Islands | 1854 | 3,977,271 | 1,870,674* | 166,690 | 2,037,364 |
| | 1855 | 3,978,278 | 1,389,992 | 136,022 | 1,526,014 |
| | 1856 | 4,157,098 | 1,462,156 | 180,799 | 1,642,955 |
| British Guiana | 1854 | 1,636,267 | | 31,779 | 31,779 |
| | 1855 | 1,491,935 | 421,398 | 35,189 | 456,587 |
| | 1856 | 1,418,264 | 411,241 | 41,248 | 452,489 |
| British Settlements in Australia | 1854 | 4,301,868 | 11,931,352 | 1,474,634 | 13,405,986 |
| | 1855 | 4,500,200 | 6,278,966 | 942,659 | 7,221,625 |
| | 1856 | 5,736,043 | 9,912,575 | 1,759,814 | 11,672,389 |
| British East Indies | 1854 | 10,672,862 | 9,127,556 | 493,154 | 9,620,710 |
| | 1855 | 12,668,732 | 9,949,154 | 404,321 | 10,358,475 |
| | 1856 | 17,262,851 | 10,546,190 | 478,328 | 11,024,518 |
| Ceylon | 1854 | 1,506,646 | 382,276 | 31,228 | 413,504 |
| | 1855 | 1,474,251 | 305,576 | 20,321 | 325,897 |
| | 1856 | 1,304,174 | 388,435 | 22,660 | 411,095 |

* Including British Guiana.
** Included with West Indies.

| Countries. | Years. | IMPORTS. Computed real value of Imports. | VALUE OF EXPORTS. Declared Value of Produce of the United Kingdom. | Computed Real Value of Foreign & Colonial Produce. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Mauritius | 1854 | 1,677,533 | 383,210 | 17,936 | 401,146 |
| | 1855 | 1,723,807 | 303,173 | 14,772 | 317,945 |
| | 1856 | 2,427,007 | 420,180 | 16,977 | 437,157 |
| Cape of Good Hope & Brit. Pos. in S. Afr'a | 1854 | 691,352 | 921,957 | 63,309 | 985,266 |
| | 1855 | 949,640 | 791,313 | 45,437 | 836,750 |
| | 1856 | 1,502,828 | 1,344,338 | 73,127 | 1,417,465 |
| Total of British Possessions | 1854 | 34,149,499 | 33,384,121 | 2,990,754 | 36,374,875 |
| | 1855 | 33,583,311 | 26,163,610 | 2,292,466 | 28,456,076 |
| | 1856 | 43,026,586 | 32,499,794 | 3,357,963 | 35,857,757 |
| Total Foreign Countries and Br. Posses'ns. | 1854 | 152,389,053 | 97,184,726 | 18,636,366 | 115,821,092 |
| | 1855 | 143,542,850 | 95,688,085 | 21,003,215 | 116,691,300 |
| | 1856 | 172,544,154 | 115,826,948 | 23,393,405 | 139,220,353 |

Written on about January 7, 1858

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published unsigned in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5238, February 3, 1858

# Frederick Engels

## THE RELIEF OF LUCKNOW[448]

We have at last before us the official dispatch of Sir Colin Campbell on the relief of Lucknow. It confirms in every respect the conclusions we drew from the first non-official reports on this engagement.[a] The contemptible character of the resistance offered by the Oudians is even more apparent from this document, while on the other hand Campbell himself appears to take more pride in his skillful generalship than in any uncommon bravery displayed either by him or his troops. The dispatch states the strength of the British troops at about 5,000, of whom some 3,200 were infantry, and 700 cavalry, the rest artillery, naval brigade, engineers, &c. The operations commenced, as stated, with the attack on Dilkhoosha. This garden was taken after a running fight. "The loss was very trifling; the enemy's loss, too, was trifling, owing to the suddenness of retreat."[b] There was, indeed, no chance of displaying heroism on this occasion. The Oudians retreated in such a hurry that they crossed at once through the grounds of La Martinière without availing themselves of the new line of defense offered by this post. The first symptom of a more obstinate resistance was shown at the Secunderbagh, a high-walled, loop-holed inclosure 120 yards square, flanked by a loop-holed village about 100 yards distant. There Campbell at once displayed his less dashing but more sensible mode of warfare. The heavy and field artillery concentrated their efforts on the main inclosure, while

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[a] See this volume, pp. 419-24.— *Ed.*

[b] Here and below see C. Campbell, "From His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to the Right Hon. the Governor-General", *The Times,* No. 22889, January 13, 1858.— *Ed.*

one brigade attacked the barricaded village, and another drove back whatever bands of the enemy attempted the open field. The defense was lamentable. Two intrenched positions like those described flanking each other by their fire, in the hands of indifferent soldiers, or even of plucky undisciplined insurgents, would require a deal of fighting to take. But here there appears to have been neither pluck, nor concert, nor even a shadow of sense. We do not hear of any artillery used in the defense. The village (evidently a small cluster of houses) was taken at the first onset. The troops in the field were scattered without an effort. Thus in a few moments the Secunderbagh was quite isolated, and when, after an hour's cannonading, the walls gave way in one point, the Highlanders stormed the breach and killed every soul in the place; 2,000 natives are said by Sir C. Campbell to have been found dead in it.

The Shah Nujjeef was the next post—a walled inclosure prepared for defense, with a mosque for a reduit; again one of those positions which a commander of brave but half-disciplined troops would exactly wish for. This place was stormed after a three hours' cannonade had opened the walls. On the next day, Nov. 17, the Mess-house was attacked. This was a group of buildings inclosed by a mud rampart and a scarped ditch twelve feet wide—in other words, a common field redoubt with a slight ditch and a parapet of problematical thickness and hight. For some cause or other, this place appeared rather formidable to Gen. Campbell, for he at once resolved to give his artillery full time to batter it down before he stormed it. The cannonade accordingly lasted the whole morning, till 3 o'clock p. m., when the infantry advanced and took the position with a rash. No sharp fighting here, at all events. The Motee Mahal, the last post of the Oudians on the line toward the Residency,[449] was cannonaded for an hour; several breaches were made and then taken without difficulty, and this ended the fighting for the relief of the garrison.

The character of the whole engagement is that of an attack by well-disciplined, well-officered European troops, inured to war and of average courage, upon an Asiatic rabble, possessing neither discipline nor officers, nor the habits of war, nor even adequate arms, and whose courage was broken by the consciousness of the double superiority possessed by their opponents, as soldiers over civilians and as Europeans over Asiatics. We have seen that Sir Colin Campbell nowhere appears to have been opposed by artillery. We shall see, further on, that Brigadier Inglis's report

leads to the conclusion that the great bulk of the insurgents must have been without fire-arms;[a] and if it is true that 2,000 natives were massacred in the Secunderbagh, it is evident they must have been very imperfectly armed, otherwise the greatest cowards would have defended the place against *one* assaulting column.

On the other hand, the conduct of the fight by Gen. Campbell deserves the highest praise for tactical skill. From the want of artillery in his opponents, he must have known that his progress could not be resisted; accordingly he used this arm to its full extent, clearing first the way for his columns before he launched them. The attack upon Secunderbagh and its flanking defenses is a very excellent specimen of the mode of conducting such an affair. At the same time, having once ascertained the despicable nature of the defense, he did not treat such opponents with any unnecessary formality; as soon as there was a gap in the walls, the infantry advanced. Altogether, Sir C. Campbell ranks from the day of Lucknow as a general; hitherto he was known as a soldier only.

By the relief of Lucknow we are at last put in possession of a document describing the occurrences which took place during the siege of the Residency. Brigadier Inglis, the successor in command of Sir H. Lawrence, has made his report to the Governor-General[b]; and, according to Gen. Outram and the *unisono* of the British press, here is a conspicuous case of heroism, indeed[c]—for such bravery, such perseverance, such endurance of fatigue and hardships, have never been seen at any time, and the defense of Lucknow stands unparalleled in the history of sieges. The report of Brigadier Inglis informs us that on the 30th of June the British made a sortie against the natives, who were then just concentrating, but were repulsed with such heavy loss that they had at once to confine themselves to the defense of the Residency, and even to abandon and blow up another group of buildings in the vicinity, containing 240 barrels of powder and 6,000,000 musket cartridges. The enemy at once invested the Residency, taking possession of and fortifying the buildings in its immediate vicinity, some within 50 yards of the defenses, and which, against the advice of the engineers, Sir H. Lawrence had refused to raze. The British parapets were still partly unfinished, and only two batteries

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[a] Here and below Engels used the report "From Brigadier Inglis, Commanding Garrison of Lucknow, to the Secretary to Government, Military Department, Calcutta", published in *The Times*, No. 22889, January 13, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] Charles John Canning.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Times*, No. 22889, January 13, 1858, leading article.—*Ed.*

were in working order, but, in spite of the terrific and incessant fire "kept up by" 8,000 men firing "at one time into the position," they were enabled to complete them very soon, and have 30 guns in battery. This terrific fire must have been a very wild and random kind of firing, not at all deserving the name of sharp-shooting with which Gen. Inglis adorns it; how otherwise could a man have lived in the place, defended as it was by perhaps 1,200 men? The instances related to show the terrific nature of this fire, that it killed women and children, and wounded men in places considered well sheltered, are very poor examples, as they occur never oftener than when the enemy's fire, instead of being aimed at different objects, is directed toward the fortification at large, and consequently never hits the actual defenders. On the 1st of July Lawrence was mortally wounded, and Inglis took the command. The enemy had by this time 20 or 25 guns in position, "planted all round our post." Very lucky for the defense, for if they had concentrated their fire on one or two places of the ramparts, the position would in all likelihood have been taken. Some of these guns were posted in places "where our own heavy guns could not reply to them." Now, as the Residency is on commanding ground, these places can only have been so situated that the guns of the attack could not fire at the rampart, but merely at the tops of the buildings inside; which was very fortunate for the defense, as that did no great harm, and the same guns might have been far more usefully employed in firing at the parapet or barricades. Upon the whole, the artillery on both sides must have been miserably served, as otherwise a cannonade at such short range must have been very shortly put a stop to by the batteries mutually dismounting each other; and that this did not take place, is still a mystery.

On July 20, the Oudians exploded a mine under the parapet, which, however, did no damage. Two main columns immediately advanced to an assault, while sham attacks were attempted at other places; but the mere effect of the garrison's fire drove them back. On the 10th of August another mine exploded, and opened a breach,

> "through which a regiment could have advanced in perfect order. A column charged this breach, flanked by the subordinate attacks; but at the breach only a few of the enemy advanced with the utmost determination."

These few were soon disposed of by the flank fire of the garrison, while at the flank attacks hand-grenades and a little firing drove the undisciplined masses back. The third mine was sprung on the 18th August; a new breach was formed, but the

assault was even more spiritless than before, and was easily repelled. The last explosion and assault took place on the 5th September, but again hand-grenades and musketry drove them back. From that time to the arrival of relief, the siege appears to have been converted into a mere blockade, with a more or less sustained fire of muskets and artillery.

This is, indeed, an extraordinary transaction. A mob of 50,000 men or more, composed of the inhabitants of Lucknow and the surrounding country, with perhaps 5,000 or 6,000 drilled soldiers among them, blockade a body of some 1,200 or 1,500 Europeans in the Residency of Lucknow and attempt to reduce them. So little order reigned among the blockading body, that the supplies of the garrison appear never to have been completely cut off, though their communications with Cawnpore were. The proceedings of what is called "the siege" are distinguished by a mixture of Asiatic ignorance and wildness, with here and there a glimpse of some military knowledge introduced by European example and rule. There were evidently some artillerymen and sappers among the Oudians who knew how to construct batteries; but their action appears to have been confined to the construction of shelter from the enemy's fire. They even appear to have brought this art of sheltering themselves to great perfection, so much so that their batteries must have been very safe, not only for the gunners but also for the besieged; no guns could have been worked in them with any effect. Nor were they; or how is this unparalleled fact to be explained, that 30 guns inside and 25 outside worked against each other at exceedingly short ranges, some not more than 50 yards, and yet we hear nothing of dismounted guns or one party silencing the artillery of the other? As to the musketry fire, we first have to ask how it is possible that eight thousand natives could take position within musket range from the British batteries without being sent to the right about by the artillery? And if they did, how is it possible that they did not kill and wound every soul on the place? Still we are told that they did hold their own, and did fire day and night, and that in spite of all this the 32d Regiment, which could at the very outside count 500 men after June 30, and had to bear the brunt of the whole siege, still was 300 strong at its end? If this is not an exact counterpart of the "last surviving ten of the Fourth (Polish) Regiment," which marched into Prussia 88 officers and 1,815 rank and file strong, what then is it? The British are perfectly right that such fighting was never seen as there was at Lucknow—indeed it was not. In spite of the unassuming, apparently simple tone of Inglis's report,

yet his queer observation about guns placed so that they could not be fired at, about 8,000 men firing day and night, without effect, about 50,000 insurgents blockading him, about the hardships of bullets going into places where they had no business to go, and about assaults carried out with the utmost determination, yet repulsed, without any effort—all these observations compel us to acknowledge the whole of this report is full of the most glaring exaggerations, and will not stand cool criticism for a moment.

But then surely the besieged underwent uncommon hardships? Listen:

"The want of native servants has also been a source of *much privation*. Several ladies have had to tend their children, and even to wash their own clothes as well as to cook their scanty meals entirely unaided."

Pity the sorrows of a poor Lucknow lady! True, in these times of ups and downs, when dynasties are made and unmade in a day, and revolutions and commercial crashes combine to render the permanency of all creature comforts most splendidly insecure, we are not called upon to show any great sympathy if we hear of some ex-queen having to darn her own stockings, and even to wash them, not to speak of her cooking her own mutton-chop. But an Anglo-Indian lady, one of that vast number of sisters, cousins, or nieces to half-pay officers, Indian Government writers, merchants, clerks, or adventurers, who are, or rather were, before the mutiny, sent out every year, fresh from the boarding-school, to the large marriage-market in India, neither more nor less ceremoniously, and often far less willingly, than the fair Circassians that go to the Constantinople market—the very idea of one of these ladies having to wash her own clothes and cook her scanty meals entirely unaided—entirely! One's blood boils at it. Completely without "native servants"—ay, having actually to tend their own children! It is revolting—Cawnpore would have been preferable![a]

The rabble investing the Residency may have counted 50,000 men; but then the large majority cannot have had any firearms. The 8,000 "sharp-shooters" may have had firearms; but of what description both arms and men were, the effect of their fire is there to tell. The twenty-five guns in the battery have been proved to have been most despicably served. The mining was as much at random as the firing. The assaults do not deserve the name even of reconnaissances. So much for the besiegers.

The besieged deserve full credit for the great strength of character with which they have held out for nearly five months,

[a] See this volume, pp. 346-47.— *Ed.*

the greater portion of which time they were without any news whatever from the British forces. They fought, and hoped against hope, as it behooves men to do when they have their lives to sell as dearly as they can, and women and children to defend against Asiatic cruelty. Again, full credit do we give them for their watchfulness and perseverance. But, after the experiences of Wheeler's surrender at Cawnpore, who would not have done the same?

As to the attempt to turn the defense of Lucknow into a piece of unparalleled heroism, it is ridiculous, especially after the clumsy report of Gen. Inglis.[450] The privations of the garrison were confined to scanty shelter and exposure to the weather (which, however, did not produce any serious disease), and as to provisions, the very worst they had consisted in "coarse beef and still coarser flour!" far more comfortable fare than besieged soldiers are accustomed to in Europe! Compare the defense of Lucknow against a stupid and ignorant barbarian rabble with that of Antwerp, 1832, and the Fort of Malghera near Venice, in 1848 and '49,[451] not to speak of Todtleben at Sevastopol,[452] who had far greater difficulties to contend with than Gen. Inglis. Malghera was attacked by the best engineers and artillerymen of Austria, and defended by a weak garrison of raw levies; four-fifths of them had no bomb-proof shelter; the low soil created malaria more dangerous than an Indian climate; a hundred guns played upon them, and during the last three days of the bombardment, forty rounds were fired every minute; still the fort held out a month, and would have held out longer, if the Austrians had not taken hold of a position necessitating their retreat. Or take Dantzig, where Rapp, with the sick remnants of the French regiments returned from Russia, held out eleven months.[453] Take in fact any respectable siege of modern days, and you will find that more skill, more spirit, and quite as much pluck and endurance were shown against quite as great odds as in this Lucknow affair.

The Oude insurgents, however, though contemptible in the field, proved, immediately after the arrival of Campbell, the strength of a national insurrection. Campbell saw at once that he could neither attack the City of Lucknow with his forces, nor hold his own. This is quite natural, and will appear so to any one who has attentively read the French invasion of Spain under Napoleon. The strength of a national insurrection does not lie in pitched battles, but in petty warfare, in the defense of towns, and in the interruption of the enemy's communications. Campbell accordingly prepared for the retreat with the same skill with which he had

arranged the attack. A few more positions about the Residency were carried. They served to deceive the enemy as to Campbell's intentions, and to cover the arrangements for the retreat. With a daring perfectly justified in front of such an opponent, the whole army, a small reserve excepted, was employed to occupy an extensive line of outposts and pickets, behind which the women, the sick and wounded, and the baggage were evacuated. As soon as this preliminary operation was performed the outlying pickets fell back, concentrating gradually into more solid masses, the foremost of which then retreated through the next line, again to form as a reserve to the rear. Without being attacked, the whole of this maneuver was carried out with perfect order; with the exception of Outram and a small garrison left at Alumbagh (for what purposes we do not at present see), the whole army marched to Cawnpore, thus evacuating the Kingdom of Oude.

In the mean time unpleasant events had taken place at Cawnpore. Windham, the "hero of the Redan,"[454] another of those officers of whose skill we are told that they have proved it by being very brave, had on the 26th defeated the advanced guard of the Gwalior contingent, but on the 27th he had been severely beaten by them, his camp taken and burned, and he himself compelled to retreat into Wheeler's old intrenchment at Cawnpore. On the 28th they attacked this post, but were repulsed, and on the 6th Campbell defeated them with scarcely any loss, taking all their guns and train, and pursuing them for fourteen miles. The details of all these affairs are so far but scanty; but this much is certain, that the Indian Rebellion is as yet far from being quelled, and that, although most or all British re-enforcements have now landed, yet they disappear in an almost unaccountable manner. Some 20,000 men have landed in Bengal, and still the active army is no larger than when Delhi was taken. There is something wrong here. The climate must make terrible havoc among the newcomers.

Written on January 14, 1858

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# Karl Marx

## THE APPROACHING INDIAN LOAN

London, Jan. 22, 1858

The buoyancy in the London money market, resulting from the withdrawal of an enormous mass of capital from the ordinary productive investments, and its consequent transfer to the security markets, has, in the last fortnight, been somewhat lessened by the prospects of an impending *Indian loan* to the amount of eight or ten million pounds sterling. This loan, to be raised in England, and to be authorized by Parliament immediately on its assembling in February, is required to meet the claims upon the East India Company by its home creditors, as well as the extra expenditure for war materials, stores, transport of troops, &c., necessitated by the Indian revolt. In August 1857, the British Government had, before the prorogation of Parliament, solemnly declared in the House of Commons that no such loan was intended, the financial resources of the Company being more than sufficient to meet the crisis. The agreeable delusion thus palmed on John Bull was, however, soon dispelled when it oozed out that by a proceeding of a very questionable character, the East India Company had laid hold on a sum of about £3,500,000 sterling, intrusted to them by different companies, for the construction of Indian railways; and had, moreover, secretly borrowed £1,000,000 sterling from the Bank of England, and another million from the London Joint Stock banks. The public being thus prepared for the worst, the Government did no longer hesitate to drop the mask, and by semi-official articles in *The Times, Globe,* and other governmental organs, avow the necessity of the loan.

It may be asked why a special act on the part of the legislative power is required for launching such a loan, and then, why such an event does create the least apprehension, since, on the

contrary, every vent for British capital, seeking now in vain for profitable investment, should, under present circumstances, be considered a windfall, and a most salutary check upon the rapid depreciation of capital.

It is generally known that the commercial existence of the East India Company was terminated in 1834, when its principal remaining source of commercial profits, the monopoly of the China trade, was cut off.[a] [455] Consequently, the holders of East India stock having derived their dividends, nominally, at least, from the trade-profits of the Company, a new financial arrangement with regard to them had become necessary. The payment of the dividends, till then chargeable upon the commercial revenue of the Company, was transferred to its political revenue. The proprietors of East India stocks were to be paid out of the revenues enjoyed by the East India Company in its governmental capacity, and, by act of Parliament, the Indian stock, amounting to £6,000,000 sterling, bearing ten per cent interest,[b] was converted into a capital not to be liquidated except at the rate of £200 for every £100 of stock. In other words, the original East India stock of £6,000,000 sterling was converted into a capital of £12,000,000 sterling, bearing five per cent interest, and chargeable upon the revenue derived from the taxes of the Indian people. The debt of the East India Company was thus, by a Parliamentary sleight of hand, changed into a debt of the Indian people. There exists, besides, a debt exceeding £50,000,000 sterling, contracted by the East India Company in India, and exclusively chargeable upon the State revenues of that country; such loans contracted by the Company in India itself having always been considered to lay beyond the district of Parliamentary legislation, and regarded no more than the debts contracted by the Colonial Governments in Canada or Australia for instance.

On the other hand, the East India Company was prohibited from contracting interest-bearing debts in Great Britain herself, without the especial sanction of Parliament. Some years ago, when the Company set about establishing railways and electric telegraphs in India, it applied for the authorization of Indian Bonds in the London market, a request which was granted to the amount of £7,000,000 sterling to be issued in Bonds bearing 4 per cent

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[a] *An Act for effecting an Arrangement with the East India Company...—Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx draws on "The financial obligations of the East India Company", *The Economist*, No. 749, January 2, 1858.—*Ed.*

interest, and secured only on the Indian State revenues. At the commencement of the outbreak in India, this bond-debt stood at £3,894,400 sterling,[a] and the very necessity of again applying to Parliament shows the East India Company to have, during the course of the Indian insurrection, exhausted its legal powers of borrowing at home.

Now it is no secret that before recurring to this step, the East India Company had opened a loan at Calcutta, which, however, turned out a complete failure. This proves, on the one hand, that Indian capitalists are far from considering the prospects of British supremacy in India in the same sanguine spirit which distinguishes the London press; and, on the other hand, exacerbates the feelings of John Bull to an uncommon pitch, since he is aware of the immense hoardings of capital having gone on for the last seven years in India, whither, according to a statement recently published by Messrs. Haggard & Paxley, there has been shipped in 1856 and 1857, from the port of London alone, bullion to the amount of £21,000,000. *The London Times,* in a most persuasive strain, has taught its readers that

> "of all the incentives to the loyalty of the natives, that of making them our creditors was the least doubtful; while, on the other hand, among an impulsive, secretive and avaricious people no temptation to discontent or treachery could be stronger than that created by the idea that they were annually taxed to send dividends to wealthy claimants in other countries."[b]

The Indians, however, appear not to understand the beauty of a plan which would not only restore English supremacy at the expense of Indian capital, but at the same time, in a circuitous way, open the native hoards to British commerce. If, indeed, the Indian capitalists were as fond of British rule as every true Englishman thinks it an article of faith to assert, no better opportunity could have been afforded them of exhibiting their loyalty and getting rid of their silver. The Indian capitalists shutting up their hoards, John Bull must open his mind to the dire necessity of defraying himself in the first instance, at least, the expenses of the Indian insurrection, without any support on the part of the natives. The impending loan constitutes, moreover, a precedent only, and looks like the first leaf in a book, bearing the title Anglo-Indian Home Debt. It is no secret that what the East India Company wants are not eight millions, or ten millions, but

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[a] "Indian loans", *The Economist,* No. 750, January 9, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times,* No. 22883, January 6, 1858, "Money-Market and City Intelligence".—*Ed.*

twenty-five to thirty millions pounds, and even these as a first installment only, not for expenses to be incurred, but for debts already due. The deficient revenue for the last three years amounted to £5,000,000; the treasure plundered by the insurgents up to the 15th October last, to £10,000,000, according to the statement of the *Phoenix*, an Indian governmental paper; the loss of revenue in the Northeastern provinces, consequent upon the rebellion, to £5,000,000, and the war expenses to at least £10,000,000.

It is true that successive loans by the Indian Company, in the London Money Market, would raise the value of money and prevent the increasing depreciation of capital; that is to say, the further fall in the rate of interest; but such a fall is exactly required for the revival of British industry and commerce. Any artificial check put upon the downward movement of the rate of discount is equivalent to an enhancement in the cost of production and the terms of credit, which, in its present weak state, English trade feels itself unable to bear. Hence the general cry of distress at the announcement of the Indian loan. Though the Parliamentary sanction adds no imperial guarantee to the loan of the Company, that guarantee, too, must be conceded, if money is not to be obtained on other terms; and despite all fine distinctions, as soon as the East India Company is supplanted by the British Government its debt will be merged into the British debt. A further increase of the large national debt seems, therefore, one of the first financial consequences of the Indian Revolt.

Written on January 22, 1858

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published unsigned in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5243, February 9, 1858

# Frederick Engels

## WINDHAM'S DEFEAT[456]

While during the Crimean war all England was calling for a man capable of organizing and leading her armies, and while incapables like Raglan, Simpson and Codrington were intrusted with the office, there was a soldier in the Crimea endowed with the qualities required in a general. We mean Sir Colin Campbell, who is now daily showing in India that he understands his profession with a master's mind. In the Crimea, after having been allowed to lead his brigade at the Alma[457] where from the rigid line-tactics of the British army, he had no chance to show his capacities, he was cooped up in Balaklava and never once allowed to participate in the succeeding operations. And yet, his military talents had been clearly established in India long before, by no less an authority than the greatest general England has produced since Marlborough, by Sir Charles James Napier. But Napier was an independent man, too proud to stoop to the reigning oligarchy—and his recommendation was enough to make Campbell marked and distrusted.

Other men, however, gained distinctions and honors in that war. There was Sir William Fenwick Williams of Kars, who now finds it convenient to rest on the laurels acquired by impudence, self-puffing, and by defrauding Gen. Kmetty of his well-earned fame. A baronetcy, a thousand a year, a comfortable berth at Woolwich, and a seat in Parliament, are quite sufficient to prevent him risking his reputation in India. Unlike him, "the hero of the Redan,"[458] Gen. Windham, has set out to command a division against the Sepoys, and his very first act has settled him forever. This same Windham, an obscure colonel of good family connections, commanded a brigade at the assault of the Redan, during

which operation he behaved extremely phlegmatically, and at last, no re-enforcement arriving, twice left his troops to shift for themselves, while he went to inquire about them himself. For this very questionable act, which in other services would have been inquired into by a court-martial, he was forthwith made a General, and shortly afterward called to the post of Chief of the Staff.

When Colin Campbell advanced to Lucknow, he left the old intrenchments, the camp and the town of Cawnpore, together with the bridge over the Ganges, in charge of General Windham and a force sufficient for the purpose. There were five regiments of infantry, whole or in part, many guns of position, 10 field guns and two naval guns, beside 100 horse; the whole force above 2,000. While Campbell was engaged at Lucknow, the various bodies of rebels hovering about the Doab[459] drew together for an attack on Cawnpore. Beside a miscellaneous rabble, collected by insurgent Zemindars,[460] the attacking force counted of drilled troops (disciplined they cannot be called), the remainder of the Dinapore Sepoys and a portion of the Gwalior contingent. These latter were the only insurgent troops, the formation of which can be said to go beyond that of companies, as they had been officered by natives almost exclusively, and thus, with their field-officers and captains, retained something like organized battalions. They were consequently regarded with some respect by the British. Windham had strict orders to remain on the defensive, but getting no replies to his dispatches from Campbell, the communication being interrupted, he resolved to act on his own responsibility. On the 26th November, he advanced with 1,200 infantry, 100 horse and 8 guns to meet the advancing insurgents. Having easily defeated their vanguard, he saw the main column approaching and retired close to Cawnpore. Here he took up a position in front of the town, the 34th Regiment on the left, the Rifles (5 companies) and two companies of the 82d on the right. The line of retreat lay through the town, and there were some brick-kilns in rear of the left. Within four hundred yards from the front, and on various points still nearer to the flanks, were woods, and jungle, offering excellent shelter to the advancing enemy. In fact, a worse position could not well have been chosen—the British exposed in the open plain, while the Indians could approach under shelter to within three or four hundred yards! To bring out Windham's "heroism" in a still stronger light, there was a very decent position close by, with a plain in front and rear, and with the canal as an obstacle before the front; but, of course, the worse position was insisted on. On the 27th November, the enemy opened a cannonade, bringing

up his guns to the edge of the cover afforded by the jungle. Windham, who, with the modesty inherent in a hero, calls this a "bombardment," says his troops stood it for five hours; but after this time, there happened some things which neither Windham, nor any man present, nor any Indian or British newspaper, has as yet dared to relate. From the moment the cannonade was turned into a battle, all our direct sources of information cease, and we are left to draw our own conclusions from the hesitating, prevaricating and incomplete evidence before us. Windham confines himself to the following incoherent statement:

"In spite of the heavy bombardment of the enemy, my troops resisted the attack [rather novel to call a cannonade against field-troops an *attack*] for five hours, and still held the ground, until I found from the number of men bayoneted by the 88th, that the mutineers had fully penetrated the town; *having been told* that they were attacking the fort, I directed Gen. Dupuis to fall back. The whole force retired into the fort, with all our stores and guns, shortly before dark. Owing to the flight of the camp-followers, I was unable to carry off my camp equipage and some of the baggage. Had not an error occurred in the conveyance of an order issued by me, I am of opinion that I could have held my ground, at all events until dark." [a]

Gen. Windham, with that instinct shown already at the Redan, moves off to the reserve (the 88th occupying the town, as we must conclude), and finds, not the enemy alive and fighting, but a great number of the enemy bayoneted by the 88th. This fact leads him to the conclusion that the enemy (he does not say whether dead or alive) has fully penetrated the town! Alarming as this conclusion is both to the reader and to himself, our hero does not stop here. He is told that the fort is attacked. A common general would have inquired into the truth of this story, which of course turned out to be false. Not so Windham. He orders a retreat, though his troops could have held the position at least until dark, had not an error been committed in the conveyance of one of Windham's orders! Thus, first you have Windham's heroic conclusion, that where there are many dead Sepoys there must be many live ones; secondly, the false alarm respecting the attack on the fort; and thirdly, the error committed in the conveyance of an order; all of which mishaps combined made it possible for a very numerous rabble of natives to defeat the hero of the Redan and to beat the indomitable British pluck of his soldiers.

Another reporter, an officer present, says:

"I do not believe any one can accurately describe the fight and retreat of this forenoon. A retreat was ordered. Her Majesty's 34th foot being directed to fall

[a] C. A. Windham, "Major-General C. A. Windham to the Commander-in-Chief", *The Times*, No. 22904, January 30, 1858.—*Ed.*

back behind the brick kiln, neither officers nor men knew where to find it! The news flew rapidly about the cantonments that our force was worsted and on the retreat, and an overwhelming rush was made at the inner intrenchments, as resistless as the mass of water at the Falls of Niagara. Soldiers and Jacks, Europeans and natives, men, women and children, horses, camels and oxen, poured in in countless numbers from 2 p. m. By nightfall the intrenched camp, with its motley assemblage of men and beasts, baggage, luggage, and ten thousand nondescript incumbrances, rivaled the chaos that existed before the fiat of creation went forth."[a]

Finally, *The Times*'s Calcutta correspondent states that evidently the British suffered on the 27th "what almost amounts to a repulse,"[b] but that from patriotic motives the Anglo-Indian press covers the disgrace with the impenetrable vail of charity. Thus much, however, is also admitted, that one of Her Majesty's regiments, composed mostly of recruits, one moment got into disorder, without however giving way, and that at the fort the confusion was extreme, Windham having lost all control over his men, until in the evening of the 28th Campbell arrived and "with a few haughty words" brought everybody to his place again.

Now, what are the evident conclusions from all these confused and prevaricating statements? No other than that, under the incapable direction of Windham, the British troops were completely, though quite unnecessarily defeated; that when the retreat was ordered, the officers of the 34th Regiment, who had not even taken the trouble to get in any way acquainted with the ground they had fought on, could not find the place they were ordered to retreat to; that the regiment got into disorder and finally fled; that this led to a panic in the camp, which broke down all the bounds of order and discipline, and occasioned the loss of the camp-equipage and part of the baggage; that finally, in spite of Windham's assertion about the stores, 15,000 Minié cartridges, the Paymaster's chests, and the shoes and clothing for many regiments and new levies, fell into the hands of the enemy.

English infantry, when in line or column, seldom run away. In common with the Russians, they have a natural cohesion which generally belongs to old soldiers only, and which is in part explained by the considerable admixture of old soldiers in both services, but it in part also evidently belongs to national character. This quality, which has nothing whatever to do with "pluck," but is on the contrary rather a peculiar development of the instinct of self-preservation, is still very valuable, especially in defensive

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[a] "Cawnpore, Dec. 7", *The Times*, No. 22902, January 28, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times*, No. 22902, January 28, 1858.—*Ed.*

positions. It also, in common with the phlegmatic nature of Englishmen, prevents panic; but it is to be remarked that when Irish troops are once disordered and brought to panic, they are not easy to rally. Thus it happened to Windham on Nov. 27. He will figure henceforth among that not very large but distinguished list of English generals who have succeeded in making their troops run away under a panic.

On the 28th the Gwalior contingent were re-enforced by a considerable body from Bithoor, and closed up to within four hundred yards of the British intrenched outposts. There was another engagement, conducted on the part of the assailants without any vigor whatever. During it an example of real pluck occurred on the part of the soldiers and officers of the 64th, which we are glad to relate, although the exploit itself was as foolish as the renowned Balaklava charge.[461] The responsibility of it, too, is shifted upon a dead man—Col. Wilson of that regiment. It appears that Wilson advanced with one hundred and eighty men against four guns of the enemy, defended by far superior numbers. We are not told who they were; but the result leads to the conclusion that they were of the Gwalior troops. The British took the guns with a rush, spiked three of them, and held out for some time, when, no re-enforcement arriving, they had to retreat, leaving sixty men and most of their officers on the ground. The proof of the hard fighting is in the loss. Here we have a small force, which, from the loss they suffered, must have been pretty well met, holding a battery till one-third of their numbers are down. This is hard fighting indeed, and the first instance of it we have since the storming of Delhi. The man who planned this advance, however, deserves to be tried by court-martial and shot. Windham says it was Wilson. He fell in it, and cannot reply.

In the evening the whole British force was pent up in the fort, where disorder continued to reign, and the position with the bridge was in evident danger. But then Campbell arrived. He restored order, drew over fresh troops in the morning, and so far repelled the enemy as to secure the bridge and fort. Then he made all his wounded, women, children and baggage cross, and held a defensive position until all these had a fair start on the road to Allahabad. As soon as this was accomplished, he attacked the Sepoys on the 6th, and defeated them, his cavalry and artillery following them up for fourteen miles the same day. That there was little resistance offered is shown from Campbell's report; he merely describes the advance of his own troops, never mentioning any resistance or maneuvers on the part of the enemy; there was

no check, and it was not a battle, but a *battue.* Brigadier Hope Grant, with a light division, followed the fugitives, and caught them on the 8th in the act of passing a river; thus brought to bay, they turned round and suffered severe loss. With this event Campbell's first campaign, that of Lucknow and Cawnpore, is brought to a close, and a fresh series of operations must begin, whose first developments we may expect to hear of within a fortnight or three weeks.

Written on about February 2, 1858

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# Karl Marx

## THE ATTEMPT UPON THE LIFE OF BONAPARTE[462]

*Quos deus vult perdere prius dementat*[a] seems the judgment pretty generally passed in Europe on the French usurper, whom, but a few weeks ago, the numberless sycophants of success in all countries, and of all languages, concurred to magnify into a kind of sublunary providence. Now, all at once, on the first approach of real danger, the demi-god is supposed to have run mad. To those, however, who are not to be carried away by first impressions, nothing will appear more evident than that the hero of Boulogne[463] is to-day what he was yesterday—simply a gambler. If he stakes his last card and risks all, it is not the man that has changed, but the chances of the game. There had been attempts on Bonaparte's life before without producing any visible effect on the economy of the Empire. Why did the quicksilver which exploded on the 14th of January[464] not only kill persons, but a state of things? It is with the hand-grenades of the Rue Lepelletier as it was with the greased cartridges dealt out at Barrackpore.[b] They have not metamorphosed an empire, but only rent the veil which concealed a metamorphosis already accomplished.

The secret of Bonaparte's elevation is to be found on the one hand in the mutual prostration of the antagonist parties, and on the other in the coincidence of his *coup d'état* with the entrance of the commercial world upon a period of prosperity. The commercial crisis, therefore, has necessarily sapped the material basis of the Empire, which never possessed any moral basis, save the

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[a] "Those whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad" (Sophocles, *Antigone*, 620).— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 298.— *Ed.*

temporary demoralization of all classes and all parties. The working classes reassumed their hostile attitude to the existing Government the very moment they were thrown out of employment. A great part of the commercial and industrial middle classes were placed by the crisis in exactly the same position which spurred Napoleon to hasten his *coup d'état;* it being well known that the fear of the debtors' prison at Clichy put an end to his vacillations. The same motive hurried the Paris bourgeois to the barricades in 1848, and would make him regard a political convulsion at this moment as a godsend. It is now perfectly understood that, at the hight of the panic, the Bank of France, on Government order, renewed all bills due—an accommodation which, by the by, it was again compelled to afford on the 31st of January; but this suspense in the liquidation of debts, instead of restoring commercial activity, has only imparted a chronic character to panic. Another very large portion of the Paris middle classes, and a very influential one too—the *petits rentiers,* or men of small fixed incomes—have met with wholesale ruin, consequent upon the enormous fluctuations of the Bourse, which were fostered by, and contributed to enrich, the Imperial dynasty and its adventurous retainers. That portion, at least, of the French higher classes which pretends to represent what is called French civilization never accepted the Empire, except as a necessary makeshift, never concealed their profound hostility to the "nephew of his uncle,"[a] and of late have seized upon every pretext to show their anger at the attempt to transform a mere expedient, as they considered it, into a lasting institution. Such was the general state of feeling to which the attempt of the Rue Lepelletier afforded an occasion of manifesting itself. This manifestation, on the other hand, has roused the pseudo Bonaparte to a sense of the gathering storm, and compelled him to play out his last card. Much has been said in the *Moniteur* as to the shouts and cries and the "public enthusiasm"[b] lavished on the Imperial party at their exit from the Opera. The value of this street enthusiasm is shown by the following anecdote emanating from a chief actor in the scene and the authenticity of which is vouched for by a highly respectable English paper:

"On the night of the 14th a person high in the Imperial household, but not that night on service, was crossing the Boulevards, when he heard the explosions, and saw people running toward the Opera. He ran thither also, and was present at the whole scene. Being recognized directly, one of the persons most nearly concerned

[a] Napoleon III, Napoleon I.—*Ed.*

[b] "Paris, le 14 janvier", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 15, January 15, 1858.—*Ed.*

in all that had occurred said, 'Oh, Mr.—, for God's sake, find some one belonging to the Tuileries, and send off for fresh carriages. If you can find none, go yourself.' The person thus addressed set to work immediately to find some of the household servants, which was no easy task—all, from high to low, chamberlains to footmen, having, with one or two admirable exceptions, taken to their heels with incredible alacrity. However, at the end of a quarter of an hour, he laid hands on a messenger, and sent him post-haste to the palace with the necessary orders. About five and twenty minutes or half an hour had elapsed, when he returned to the Rue Lepelletier, and made his way back to the peristyle of the theater with great difficulty, on account of the crowd. The wounded were still lying about on all sides, and apparently disorder reigned everywhere. At a little distance the gentleman alluded to espied M. Pietri, the Prefect of Police, and called to him, in order to attract his attention, and prevent him from going away until he could rejoin him. When he did so, he instantly exclaimed, 'Let me implore of you to get the street closed without loss of time. The fresh carriages will be here soon, and they cannot drive up to the door. Besides, see what confusion ensues. Let me entreat of you, get the streets cleared.' M. Pietri looked at him with surprise. 'The street cleared!' he echoed; 'why, the street is cleared; it was cleared in five minutes.' His interlocutor stared at him. 'But, then, what is all that crowd? What is that dense mass of men that one cannot elbow one's way through?' 'Those are all my people,' was M. Pietri's reply; 'there is not a stranger at this moment in this portion of the Rue Lepelletier; all those you see belong to me.'"

If such was the secret of the street enthusiasm paraded by the *Moniteur,* its paragraphs on the "spontaneous illuminations of the Boulevards after the attempt"[a] could certainly not mislead the Parisians who had witnessed that illumination, which was limited to the shops of the tradespeople employed by the Emperor and the Empress. Even these individuals were not backward in saying that half an hour after the explosion of the "infernal machine," police agents paid them a visit, to suggest the propriety of instantly illuminating, in order to prove how enchanted they were at the Emperor's escape.

Still more the character of the congratulatory addresses and the public protestations of devotion to the Emperor bears witness to his complete isolation. There is not a single man who signed them who does not, one way or the other, belong to the Administration, that ubiquitous parasite feeding on the vitals of France, and put in motion like a mannikin by the touch of the Minister of the Interior.[b] The *Moniteur* was obliged, day after day, to register these monotonous congratulations, addressed by the Emperor to the Emperor, as so many proofs of the unbounded love of the people for the *coup d'état.*[c] Some efforts were, indeed, made to

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[a] "Paris, le 14 janvier", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 15, January 15, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] Adolphe Billault.—*Ed.*

[c] "Adresses présentées à l'Empereur", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 17, January 17, 1858; see also the following issues.—*Ed.*

obtain an address from the Paris population, and for that purpose an address was carried about by the agents of the police; but as it was found that the mass of signatures would not be sufficiently imposing, the plan was abandoned. Even the Paris shopkeepers dared to decline signing the address, on the pretext that the police was not the proper source for it to emanate from. The attitude of the Paris press, as far as it depends on the public, and not on the public purse, entirely responded to the attitude of the people. Either, like the unfortunate *Spectateur,* it muttered some half-suppressed words on hereditary rights, or, like the *Phare de la Loire,* quoted semi-official papers as its authorities for the reported enthusiasm, or, like the *Journal des Débats,* kept its congratulations within the rigid bounds of conventional courtesy, or limited itself to reprinting the articles of the *Moniteur.* In one word, it became evident that if France was not just yet prepared to take up arms against the Empire, it was certainly resolved to get rid of it on the first occasion.

"According to my informants," writes the Vienna correspondent of *The London Times,* "who have recently arrived from Paris, the *general opinion* in that city is, *that the present dynasty is nodding to its fall.*"[a] [465]

Bonaparte himself, till then the only man in France believing in the final victory of the *coup d'état,* became at once aware of the hollowness of his delusions. While all public bodies and the press were swearing that the crime of the Rue Lepelletier, perpetrated as it was by Italians solely, but served to put in relief the love of France for Louis Napoleon, Louis Napoleon himself hastened to the Corps Législatif,[466] there publicly to declare that the conspiracy was a national one, and that France consequently wanted new "repressive laws" to keep her down.[b] Those laws already proposed, at the head of which figure the *lois des suspects,*[467] are nothing but a repetition of the identical measures employed in the first days of the *coup d'état.* Then, however, they were announced as temporary expedients, while they are now proclaimed as organic laws. Thus it is declared by Louis Napoleon himself, that the Empire can be perpetuated only by the very infamies through which it was produced; that all its pretensions to the more or less respectable forms of a regular Government must be dropped, and that the time of the sullen acquiescence of the

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[a] See the report from Vienna of January 29 in *The Times,* No. 22906, February 2, 1858.— *Ed.*

[b] Napoleon III's speech at the opening of the Corps Législatif, January 18, 1858, published in *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 19, January 19, 1858.— *Ed.*

nation in the rule of the Society of the perjured usurper[468] has definitively passed away.

Shortly before the execution of the *coup d'état,* Louis Napoleon contrived to gather from all departments, and principally from the rural districts, addresses leveled at the National Assembly, and expressive of unlimited confidence in the President. This source being now exhausted there remained nothing but to appeal to the army. The military addresses, in one of which the Zouaves[469] "almost regret not to have had an opportunity to manifest in a striking manner their devotion to the Emperor,"[a] are simply the undisguised proclamation of pretorian rule[470] in France. The division of France into five great military pashalics, with five marshals at their head, under the supreme control of Pelissier as marshal general,[471] is a simple consequence of that premise. On the other hand, the installation of a Privy Council, which is at the same time to act as Council during the eventual Regency of a Montijo, composed of such grotesque fellows as Fould, Morny, Persigny, Baroche and the like, shows France at the same time what sort of regime the newly-installed statesmen have in store for her. The installation of this Council, together with the family reconciliation, denoted to the astounded world by Louis Napoleon's letter in the *Moniteur,* by virtue of which Jerome, the ex-King of Westphalia, is nominated President of the State Councils in the Emperor's absence[b]—all this, it has been justly remarked, "looks like the pilgrim about to set out on a perilous journey."[c] On what new adventure is the hero of Strasbourg then to embark?[472] Some say that he means to relieve himself by a campaign in Africa; others that he intends an invasion of England. As to the first plan, it reminds one of his former notion of going to Sevastopol[473]; but now, as then, his discretion might prove the better part of his valor.[d] As to any hostility against England, it would only reveal to Bonaparte his isolation in Europe, as the attempt of the Rue Lepelletier revealed his isolation in France. Already the threats held out to England in the addresses of the soldiery have put the final extinguisher upon the Anglo-French

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[a] "Le régiment de zouaves de la garde imperiale", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 26, January 26, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] Napoleon III's decree on the appointment of Prince Jerome President of the State Council, February 1, 1858, *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 34, February 3, 1858.—*Ed.*

[c] J. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress.*—*Ed.*

[d] Shakespeare, *King Henry IV,* Part I, Act V, Scene IV.—*Ed.*

alliance, long since struggling in *articulo mortis.*[a] Palmerston's Alien bill[474] will only contribute to exasperate the already wounded pride of John Bull. Whatever step Bonaparte may take—and he must try to restore his prestige in some way or other—will only precipitate his ruin. He approaches the end of his strange, wicked and pernicious career.

Written on February 5, 1858

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[a] At the point of death.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IN FRANCE]

No argument can be required to prove that the precarious tenure of power by which Louis Napoleon still calls himself the Emperor of the French, must be seriously affected by the culmination in France of the commercial crisis which has already spent its fury in other parts of the world. The symptoms of this culmination are now chiefly to be found in the condition of the Bank of France and of the French markets for agricultural produce. The returns of the Bank, for the second week of February, as compared with those of the last week in January, exhibit the following features[a]:

| | |
|---|---|
| Decrease of circulation | francs 8,766,400 |
| Decrease in deposits | 29,018,024 |
| Decrease of discounts at the Bank | 47,746,641 |
| Decrease of discounts at the Branches | 23,264,271 |
| Total decrease in discounts | 71,010,912 |
| Increase in bills overdue | 2,761,435 |
| Increase in bullion | 31,508,278 |
| Increase in premium on purchases of gold and silver | 3,284,691 |

Throughout the whole of the commercial world the metallic reserve of the banks has increased as the activity of trade has diminished. At the same ratio that industrial life has grown fainter, the position of the banks has, generally, grown stronger;

[a] Here and below see "Situation de la Banque de France et de ses succursales", *Le Moniteur universel*, Nos. 15 and 43, January 15 and February 12, 1858.— *Ed.*

and so far the bullion increase in the vaults of the Bank of France would seem but one more instance of an economical phenomenon observed here in New-York as well as in London and Hamburg. Yet there is one feature distinctive of the bullion movement in France, viz.: the increase to the amount of 3,284,691 francs of the premium on purchases of gold and silver, while the total sum spent in this way by the Bank of France for the month of February reaches the figure of 4,438,549 francs. The gravity of this fact becomes evident from the following comparison:

*Premiums paid by the Bank of France on purchases of gold and silver.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| February, 1858 | francs | 4,438,549 |
| January, 1858 | | 1,153,858 |
| December, 1857 | | 1,176,029 |
| November, 1857 | | 1,327,443 |
| October, 1857 | | 949,656 |
| 1st January to 30th June, 1856 | | 3,100,000 |
| 1st July to 11th December, 1856 | | 3,250,000 |
| 1st July to 31st December, 1855 | | 4,000,000 |

Thus we see that the premium paid in February to procure temporary artificial additions to the bullion reserve of the Bank amounts to a sum almost equal to that expended for the same purpose during the four months from October, 1857, to January, '58, and exceeds the aggregate half-yearly premiums paid during the years 1856 and 1855; while the total amount of premiums paid from October, 1857, to February, 1858, reaching the figure of 9,045,535f., exceeds the premium paid during the whole year of 1856 by almost one-half. Despite this apparent plethora, the metallic reserve of the Bank is, consequently, really weaker than for the last three years. So far from the Bank being incumbered with bullion, the influx is only artificially raised to its necessary level. This single fact proves at once that in France the commercial crisis has not yet entered the phase already passed in the United States, England, and the North of Europe. In France, a general depression of commerce exists, as is shown by the simultaneous decrease in circulation and discounts; but the crash is still impending, as is shown by the decrease of deposits simultaneously with an increase of premium on bullion bought, and of bills overdue.

The Bank has also been forced to announce that a great part of its own new shares, on which the installments have not been duly paid up, will be sold. It has also been converted by the

Government into the general railway contractor of France, and compelled to make within fixed periods large advances to the railway companies—advances which for January and February alone amounted to the sum of 50,000,000 francs. It is true that in return for these advances it has received the bonds of the companies, which it may sell when it can. The present moment, however, is peculiarly unfavorable to such a sale, and the weekly railway returns, testifying to a constant falling off in receipts, are far from warranting any sanguine expectations in this line. For the month of January, for instance, the Orleans presented a decline of 21 per cent, the Eastern of 18 per cent, the Lyons of about 11 per cent, and the Western of 14 per cent, compared with the corresponding receipts in 1857.[a]

It is a well-known fact that the resistance, on the side of the seller or the buyer, against a change from low prices to high ones, and still more from high prices to low, is always very considerable; and that frequently there occur intervals, of longer or shorter duration, during which sales are heavy and prices nominal, until at last the tendency of the market declares itself one way or the other with irresistible force. Such a transitory struggle between the holders and buyers of merchandise is nothing extraordinary; but the protracted contest, lasting from the beginning of November to the present day, between French merchants and French consumers, is perhaps unparalleled in the history of prices. While French industry is stagnant, great numbers of workmen unemployed, and the means of everybody stinted, prices, which have elsewhere declined on an average from 30 to 40 per cent, are still maintained in France at the speculative range of the period preceding the general crisis. If we are asked by what means this economical miracle has been worked, the answer is simply that the Bank of France, under Government pressure, has twice been obliged to renew the bills and loans which had fallen due, and that thus, more or less directly, the means of the French people, accumulated in the Bank vaults, have been employed to keep up inflated prices against that very people. The Government seems to imagine that by this exceedingly simple process of distributing bank notes wherever they are wanted, the catastrophe can be definitively warded off. Yet the real result of this contrivance has been, on the one hand, an aggravation of distress on the part of the consumers, whose diminished means have not been met by diminished prices; on the other hand, an enormous accumulation

[a] *The Economist*, No. 754, February 6, 1858.—*Ed.*

of commodities in the Customs entrepots, which, when ultimately, as they must be, they are forced upon the market, will collapse under their own weight. The following statement, extracted from an official French paper, of the comparative quantities of merchandise stored up in the French Customs entrepots at the end of December, 1857, 1856 and 1855, will leave no doubt as to the violent self-adjustment of prices still looming in the future for France[a]:

| | 1857 Metrical qtls.[b] | 1856 Metrical qtls. | 1855 Metrical qtls. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cocoa | 19,419 | 17,799 | 10,188 |
| Coffee | 210,741 | 100,758 | 57,644 |
| Cotton | 156,006 | 76,322 | 28,766 |
| Copper | 15,377 | 1,253 | 3,197 |
| Tin | 4,053 | 1,853 | 1,811 |
| Cast-Iron | 132,924 | 102,202 | 76,337 |
| Oleaginous Seeds | 253,596 | 198,982 | 74,537 |
| Tallow | 25,299 | 15,292 | 11,276 |
| Indigo | 5,253 | 2,411 | 3,783 |
| Wool | 72,150 | 31,560 | 38,146 |
| Pepper | 23,448 | 18,442 | 10,682 |
| Sugar (colonial) | 170,334 | 56,735 | 55,387 |
| Sugar (foreign) | 89,607 | 89,807 | 71,913 |

In the trade in bread-stuffs, however, the contest has already terminated with disastrous consequences for the holders. Still their losses are of far less importance than the general state of the agricultural population of France at the present juncture. At a recent meeting of French agriculturists it was stated that the average price of wheat for all France was 31fr. 94c. the hectolitre (about $2^3/_4$ bushels) at the end of January, 1854; 27fr. 24c. at the same epoch in 1855; 32fr. 46c. in January, 1856; 27fr. 9c. in January, 1857, and 17fr. 38c. in January, 1858. The unanimous conclusion arrived at was that

"this state of prices must prove ruinous to French agriculture, and that at 17fr. 38c. the present average price, the producers in some parts of France have an extremely narrow margin of profit left them, while in others they sustain a serious loss."[c]

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[a] *The Economist*, No. 754, February 6, 1858. (The Paris correspondent said that the information had been taken by him "from an official paper".)— *Ed.*

[b] Metrical quintal—a unit of weight equal to 100 kilograms.— *Ed.*

[c] *The Economist*, No. 755, February 13, 1858.— *Ed.*

One would think that in a country like France, where the greater part of the soil belongs to the cultivators themselves, and but a relatively small portion of the aggregate produce finds its way to market, a superabundance of grain ought to be considered a blessing instead of a bane. Yet, as Louis XVIII. told us in a crown speech on Nov. 30, 1821: "No law can prevent the distress resulting from a superabundant harvest."[a] The fact is that the large majority of the French peasantry are owners in name only—the mortgagees and the Government being the real proprietors. Whether the French peasant be able to meet the heavy engagements weighing on his narrow strip of soil depends not on the quantity, but on the price of his produce.

This agricultural distress, taken together with the depression of trade, the stagnation of industry, and the commercial catastrophe still in suspense, must tend to bring the French people into that state of mind in which they are wont to embark in fresh political ventures. With the disappearance of material prosperity and its regular appendage of political indifference, every pretext for the prolongation of the second Empire also disappears.

Written on February 12, 1858

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5270, March 12, 1858 as a leading article

[a] Louis XVIII's speech in the Chamber of Deputies on November 30, 1821, *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 335, December 1, 1821.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE RULE OF THE PRETORIANS

Paris, Feb. 22, 1858

"When is Gérard the lion-killer to be named Minister of Public Instruction?" Such is the cant phrase current in the faubourgs of Paris since the appointment of Gen. Espinasse of Dobrudja memory[475] as Minister of the Interior and Public Safety. In Russia, it is well known, a general of cavalry presides over the Holy Synod.[a] Why not Espinasse over the French Home-Ministry, since France has become the home of Pretorians only?[476] By such apparent incongruities the rule of the naked sword is proclaimed in most unmistakable terms, and Bonaparte wants France to clearly understand that the imperial rule does rest not on her will but on 600,000 bayonets. Hence the Pretorian addresses cut out by the colonels of the different regiments, after a pattern supplied from the Tuileries—addresses in which the slightest allusion to the so-called "will of the people" is anxiously shunned; hence the parceling out of France into five pashalics[477]; hence the transformation of the Home-Ministry into an appendage of the Army. Here the change is not to stop. About 60 prefects are said to be on the eve of being disgraced, and to be replaced, for the most part, by military men. Prefectorial administration is to devolve upon half-pay colonels and lieutenant-colonels. The antagonism between the Army and the population is to be organized as the guarantee of "Public Safety," viz: the safety of the hero of Satory[478] and his dynasty.

A great modern historian has told us that, disguise the fact as you like, France, since the days of the Great Revolution, has been

[a] A. P. Tolstoi.— *Ed.*

always disposed of by the army. There have certainly ruled different classes under the Empire, the Restoration, Louis Philippe, and the Republic of 1848. Under the first the peasantry, the offspring of the revolution of 1789, predominated; under the second, the great landed property; under the third, the *bourgeoisie;* and the last, not in the intention of its founders but in fact, proved an abortive attempt at dividing dominion in equal shares among the men of the legitimate monarchy and the men of the monarchy of July. Still, all these regimes rested alike on the army. Has not even the Constitution of the Republic of 1848 been elaborated and proclaimed under a state of siege—that is, the rule of the bayonet? Was that Republic not personated by Gen. Cavaignac? Was it not saved by the army in June, 1848, and again saved in June, 1849, to be finally dropped by the same army in December, 1851? What then forms the novelty in the regime now openly inaugurated by Louis Bonaparte? That he rules by the instrumentality of the army? So did all his predecessors since the days of Thermidor.[479] Yet, if in all the bygone epochs the ruling class, the ascendency of which corresponded to a specific development of French society, rested its *ultima ratio*[a] against its adversaries upon the army, it was nevertheless a specific social interest that predominated. Under the second Empire the interest of the army itself is to predominate. The army is no longer to maintain the rule of one part of the people over another part of the people. The army is to maintain its own rule, personated by its own dynasty, over the French people in general.

It is to represent the *State* in antagonism to the *society.* It must not be imagined that Bonaparte is not aware of the dangerous character of the experiment he tries. In proclaiming himself the chief of the Pretorians, he declares every Pretorian chief his competitor. His own partisans, with Gen. Vaillant at their head, demurred against the division of the French Army into five Marshalships, saying that if it was good for the cause of order, it was not so for that of the Empire, and would one day end in civil war. The treacheries of Napoleon's Marshals, with Berthier at their head, were ransacked by the Palais Royal,[480] which feels extremely vexed at the new turn of Imperial policy.

The future conduct of the five Marshals, who hate each other cordially, at a critical juncture, may be best judged from their past. Magnan betrayed Louis Philippe; Baraguay d'Hilliers betrayed Napoleon; Bosquet betrayed the Republic, to which he owed

[a] Final reason or argument.— *Ed.*

his advancement, and to the principles of which he is known to be partial. Castellane has not even awaited a real catastrophe to betray Louis Bonaparte himself. During the Russian War[a] a telegraphic dispatch reached him to this effect: "The Emperor is dead." He instantly drew up a proclamation in favor of Henri V. and sent it to be printed. The Préfet of Lyons had received the real dispatch, which ran thus: "The Emperor of Russia[b] is dead." The proclamation was hushed, but the story got abroad. As to Canrobert, he may be an Imperialist, but then he is but a fraction, and, above all, lacks the capability of being a whole number. The five Marshals themselves, feeling the arduous task they were called upon to undertake, hesitated so considerably at accepting their respective commands that nothing could be settled with their consent; which seeing, Bonaparte wrote out himself the names of their separate destinations, gave the note to Mr. Fould to be filled up and sent to the *Moniteur,* and thus they were all gazetted at last, whether they would or not.[c] Bonaparte, on the other hand, dared not complete his plan by Pelissier's nomination of Marshal-General. Of his pentarchy of Marshals, we may say what Prince Jérôme Napoleon is stated to have answered to Fould, sent by Bonaparte to present his uncle with his nomination to the first place in the Council of Regency. After having declined the offer in most impolite terms, the ex-King of Westphalia, as Paris gossip has it, bowed Mr. Fould out with the words, "*Du reste,*[d] your Council of Regency is so framed as for you all to have but one object; that, namely, of arresting each other as promptly as possible." We repeat that it is impossible to suppose Louis Bonaparte ignorant of the dangers with which his new-fangled system is fraught. But he has no choice left. He understands his own situation and the impatience of French society to get rid of him and his Imperial mummeries. He knows that the different parties have recovered from their paralysis, and that the material basis of his stock-jobbing regime has been blown up by the commercial earthquake. Consequently, he is not only preparing for war against French society, but loudly proclaims the fact. It tallies with his resolution to take up a warlike attitude against France that he confounds the most heterogeneous parties. Thus,

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[a] The Crimean war, 1853-56.— *Ed.*

[b] Nicholas I.— *Ed.*

[c] Napoleon III's decree on the nomination of the five Marshals, February 13, 1858, *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 45, February 14, 1858.— *Ed.*

[d] However.— *Ed.*

when Cassagnac, in the *Constitutionnel*,[a] denounced Mr. Villemain as a "provoker of hatred" to the Empire, and accused the *Journal des Débats* of "complicity" in the *attentat* "through its silence," this was at first considered to be an act of foolish zeal on the part of the man whom Guizot has described as the *roi des drôles*.[b] Soon, however, it oozed out that the article had been imposed upon the *Constitutionnel* by Mr. Rouland, the Minister of Public Instruction, who had himself corrected the proofs of it. This explanation, by the by, was given to Mr. De Sacy of the *Débats* by Mr. Mirès, the proprietor of the *Constitutionnel*, who did not choose to bear the responsibility of the article. The denunciation of *all parties* as his personal enemies enters, therefore, into the game of Bonaparte. It forms part of his system. He tells them, in so many words, that he indulges no delusion as to the general aversion his rule is the subject of, but that he is ready to encounter it with grape and musketry.

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[a] A. Granier de Cassagnac, "La palinodie des honnêtes gens", *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 31, January 31, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] King of fools. The description has been cited by E. Dupont in "Chronique de l'Intérieur", *La Voix du Proscrit*, No. 8, December 15, 1850.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE DERBY MINISTRY.— PALMERSTON'S SHAM RESIGNATION[481]

If Orsini did not kill Louis Napoleon,[482] he certainly killed Palmerston. Made dictator of England by a Chinese Mandarin at Canton,[a] it is historically appropriate that this political gamester should finally be ruined by an Italian Carbonaro at Paris.[483] But that he should be succeeded by Lord Derby is something above the range of mere historical propriety, and approaches the dignity of a historical law. It is in accordance with the traditional working of the British Constitution. Pitt was followed by Fox; Fox by Perceval, a weaker Pitt; Wellington by Grey, a weaker Fox; Grey by Wellington; Wellington by Melbourne, a weaker Grey; Melbourne by Wellington again, under the name of Peel; Peel by Melbourne again, under the name of Russell; Russell by Derby, the substitute of Peel; Derby again by Russell. Why should not Palmerston, the usurper of Russell's place, be followed by Derby in his turn?

If there be in England any new force able to put an end to the ancient routine exemplified by this last change of places between right honorable gentlemen on one side of the House and right honorable gentlemen on the other side; if there be any man or body of men able to confront and supplant the traditional governing class, the world has not yet found it out. But of one thing there can be no doubt; and that is that a Tory Administration is far more favorable to every kind of progress than any other. For the last fifty years, all popular movements have either been initiated or consummated under Tory rule. It was a Tory Ministry which passed the Catholic Emancipation

[a] Yeh Ming-chin.— *Ed.*

bill.[484] It was under a Tory Ministry that the Reform movement grew irresistible.[485] The imposition of an Income tax, which, however incongruous in its present state, contains the germs of proportional taxation, is the work of a Tory Ministry. The Anti-Corn-Law League,[486] weak and timid under the Whig Administration, assumed revolutionary dimensions under the Tories; and while Russell, in his most audacious flights, never ventured beyond the limit of a fixed duty, as moderate as himself, Peel could not but consign the Corn Laws to the grave of all the Capulets.[a] So, too, it is the Tories who have, so to say, popularized the aristocracy by bringing plebeian vigor and talent to re-enforce its energies. Through the Tories, Canning, the son of an actress,[b] lorded it over the old landed aristocracy of England; so did Peel, the son of a parvenu cotton spinner,[c] who had originally been a hand-loom weaver; so does Disraeli, the son of a simple literary man,[d] and a Jew into the bargain. Lord Derby himself converted the son of a small shopkeeper[e] of Lewes into a Lord High Chancellor of England, under the name of Lord St. Leonards. The Whigs, on the other hand, have always proved strong enough to bury their plebeian tools in vain decorations, or to drop them by dint of haughty insult. Brougham, the soul of the Reform movement, was nullified by being made over to the Lords; and Cobden, the chief of the Anti-Corn-Law League, was offered the place of Vice President of the Board of Trade by the very Whigs he had reinstalled in office.[487]

In point of mere intellectual ability, the new Cabinet can easily bear comparison with its predecessor. Men like Disraeli, Stanley, and Ellenborough, suffer no harm when matched against people of the stamp of Mr. Vernon Smith, late of the Board of Control,[488] of Lord Panmure, a War Minister, whom nothing but his "Take care of Dowb,"[489] can ever make immortal, and of Sir G. C. Lewis, of *Edinburgh Review* dullness, or even against such moral grandeurs as Clanricarde of the Privy Seal. In fact Palmerston had not only replaced the Ministry of all parties by a Ministry of no party, but also the Cabinet of all the talents[490] by a Cabinet of no talent except his own.

There can be no question that Palmerston had no idea of the finality of his ruin. He believed Lord Derby would decline the

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[a] Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet.*—*Ed.*
[b] Mary Anne Castello.—*Ed.*
[c] Robert Peel.—*Ed.*
[d] Isaac D'Israeli.—*Ed.*
[e] Richard Sugden.—*Ed.*

Premiership now as he had done during the Crimean war. Russell would then have been summoned to the Queen[a]; but with the bulk of his own troops serving under Palmerston, and the bulk of the hostile army arrayed under Disraeli, he would have despaired of forming a Cabinet, especially as he, a Whig, could not resort to the "ultimate reason" of dissolving a Parliament elected under the Whig banners. Palmerston's return to office, after a week's oscillation, would thus have become inevitable. This fine bit of calculation has been nullified by Derby's acceptance. The Tory Ministry may hold office for a longer or shorter period. They may go on for several months before they are compelled to resort to a dissolution—a measure they are sure to employ before they finally resign their power. But we may be certain of two things, namely: that their career will be marked by the introduction of exceedingly liberal measures in regard to social reforms (Lord Stanley's course thus far, and Sir John Pakington's education bill, are a pledge of this); and above all, that in foreign policy they bring with them a most beneficial and cheering change. It is true, many shallow thinkers and writers argue that Palmerston's fall is not a damaging blow to Louis Napoleon, because several of the new Tory Ministry are personally on good terms with the French despot, and England [is] in no condition to wage war with a giant Continental power. But it is precisely because England is in no state to embark in a new war that we deem the answer given by Great Britain to the bullying menaces and exactions of Louis Napoleon's satraps most significant. It was not because Malmesbury and Disraeli were to come into the Ministry that the independent Liberals in Parliament, reflecting the undoubted and emphatic sentiment of the Nation, answered the dispatch of Walewski[b] by throwing out Palmerston's Conspiracy bill.[491] Lord Derby may stumble and fall, but the vote which carried Milner Gibson's amendment[492] will live and bear fruit, nevertheless.

We do not believe in any cordial and lasting alliance between British Toryism and French Bonapartism. The instincts, traditions, aspirations of both parties revolt at it. We do not believe it possible that the new Cabinet will take up and press Palmerston's Conspiracy bill, as the Paris journals so confidently anticipate. If they do, it will not be till after they shall have answered Walewski and De Morny, and answered them in the spirit of Pitt and

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[a] Victoria.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Walewski's dispatch to the French Ambassador in London of January 20, 1858, *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 41, February 10, 1858.—*Ed.*

Castlereagh. Toryism, with all its faults, must have changed its nature to be ready to change the laws of England at the beck of a Bonaparte.

But the significance of the late vote is unaffected by any presumption of speedy feud between the two Governments. It is as a proclamation to Europe that Britain has ceased to play second to French Imperialism that we deem it most important. Thus it is understood at Brussels, at Turin, and even at Vienna; thus it will soon be understood at Berlin, at Madrid, at St. Petersburg. England, so long the jailer of the first Napoleon, has pointedly refused to be longer the jackal of his successor.[493]

Written on February 26, 1858

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## PORTENTS OF THE DAY

Paris, March 11, 1858

At Chalons-sur-Saone, on the night of Saturday, March 6, there was a Republican outbreak on a small scale; on Wednesday night, March 10, there was a seditious gathering in this city; since the 24th of February, the tenth anniversary of the Revolution of February, wholesale arrests have been carried on in such an Algerian razzia style[494] that, as *The London Punch* says, there will soon be left but two classes in France, prisoners and jailers[a]; there has appeared a semi-official pamphlet, "Napoleon III. and England,"[b] and at the same time the *Moniteur* published extracts from the correspondence of Napoleon I[c]; and, lastly, half Paris has been on its legs to make sure of places to witness Orsini's execution, which has not yet taken place. Commencing with the concluding article in this Imperial bill of fare, it ought to be remarked that by a concurrence of circumstances, not generally known, the question of Orsini's "launching into eternity," as the cynical Cockney phrase runs, has assumed proportions more fatal than even the execution of the Buzançais rioters in Louis Philippe's time.[495] In the latter case, a storm of popular indignation was roused because that bloody act, although judicial and in accordance with all the formalities of French law, laid bare the most disgusting features of Louis Philippe's hypocritical reign. The Duke of Praslin had poison administered to him, in order to spare him the ignominy of a felon's death,[496] while these *émeutiers*

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[a] "A Bad Look Out", *Punch*, March 13, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] [A. La Guéronnière,] *L'Empereur Napoléon III et l'Angleterre.*—*Ed.*

[c] Napoléon I, "Correspondance de Napoléon Ier", *Le Moniteur universel*, Nos. 66, 70, 71, 73 and 78, March 7, 11, 12, 14 and 19, 1858.—*Ed.*

of famine, half-starved peasants who had committed manslaughter in an affray caused by the export of grain, were mercilessly surrendered to the executioner. Orsini, on his part, has manfully avowed his participation in the attempt, and taken all the responsibility upon himself.[a] He has been condemned according to law, and whatever sympathy the mass of the Paris population may feel for him, there can be nothing in his doom, considered in itself, particularly damaging to the second Empire. Yet the whole face of the affair is completely changed by the circumstances accompanying it. Throughout the whole of the judicial proceedings, the curiosity of Paris was stirred by their exceptional management, unheard of in the annals of French political trials.

In the act of accusation, mild and moderate expressions were used. The facts elicited by the Juge d'Instruction were only vaguely alluded to, while the long and repeated interrogatories of the police authorities, which used to play a principal part in that sort of trials, were altogether dropped. The less you say of them the better, seemed the prevailing notion.[b] For the first time, a prisoner was decently treated in an Imperial court of justice. There was, as an eye-witness says, "little or no bullying, brow-beating or attempt at declamation." Jules Favre, Orsini's advocate, was not even called to order when he ventured to give vent to this sentence:

> "I hate force when not devoted to the service of right. If a nation existed miserable enough to be in the hands of a despot, the poniard would not sever its chains. God, who counts them, knows the hours of the despot's weakness, and reserves to tyrants catastrophes more inevitable than the dagger of the assassin."[c]

Neither did the low murmur which approved this passage afford occasion for a legal ebullition on the part of Mr. Delangle, the President. This was not all. It oozed out that the letter written to the Emperor by Orsini[d] was carried to the Tuileries by Jules Favre himself, examined by the Emperor, who is said to have struck out two phrases of it, and allowed to be published. Hardly, however, had sentence been passed on Orsini, when the extremest

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[a] F. Orsini's testimony at the court session on February 25, 1858, *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 57, February 26, 1858.— *Ed.*

[b] "Cour d'assises de la Seine. Audience du 25 février 1858. Attentat du 14 janvier. Acte d'accusation", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 57, February 26, 1858.— *Ed.*

[c] J. Favre's speech before the Jury on February 26, 1858, *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 58, February 27, 1858.— *Ed.*

[d] F. Orsini, "À Napoléon III, Empereur des Français, 11 février 1858," *Le Moniteur universel,* same issue.— *Ed.*

severity was shown to him, and, on his asking permission to "set his papers in order," he was answered by the immediate application of the *camisole de force.*[a]

It thus becomes evident that an infernal double game was here played. Orsini had revelations to make, and had made them to Piétri, relating to Napoleon's participation in Carbonarism, and the positive pledges which, even after the *coup d'état,* when still undecided in the course to follow, he had given to the Italian patriots.[497] In order to give Orsini an interest in his own moderation, and thus prevent a great public scandal, promises of pardon were held out to him which were never meant to be kept. This manner of proceeding is no novelty in the annals of the second Empire. The reader will perhaps recollect the trial of Berryer, the son of the celebrated French advocate and legitimist. The question then at issue was frauds committed in regard to a joint-stock company enterprise—the *Docks Napoléoniens.* Well, Berryer, the father, had his hands full of documents proving Prince Napoleon and Princess Mathilde to have been the gainers largely by the same swindling tricks that had dragged his son to the criminal's bench. If Berryer, the greatest artist in the French way of oratory—a way altogether dependent on the action, the tone, the eye, and the gesticulation of the performer, which turn words, that appear dull when glanced at in print, into speaking flames, into electric strokes when heard—if he had produced these documents and commented upon them, the Imperial throne would have tottered. Accordingly he was induced to abstain from so doing, by the interference of those nearest about the Emperor, who offered him his son's certain acquittal as the price of his silence. He yielded; his son was condemned, and father and son were duped. The same maneuver has been repeated, and with the same success, in Orsini's case. But this is not all. He was not only induced to spare Bonaparte a fearful scandal, but to break his silence and commit himself in Bonaparte's interest. He received intimations of the Emperor's secret leanings for Italian liberty, and was thus instigated to write his letter. Then the scene with Jules Favre was enacted. Orsini's letter was inserted in the *Moniteur.* Austria was to be frightened into compliance with Bonaparte's demands by showing her, unmistakably, how Bonaparte might still wield the patriotic aspirations of the Italians. She was even offended. Orsini's head is to soothe her anger, and in payment for it she is to make herself still more detested in Italy, and to stifle

[a] Straight jacket.— *Ed.*

the feeble germs of the liberty of the press at Vienna. Such, whether true or false, is the general interpretation put on the case of Orsini.

As to the Chalons *émeute,* it is but a premonitory symptom. If even all manhood was extinct in France, from a mere sense of self-preservation, men would resort to insurrection. To die in a street fight, or to rot at Cayenne,[498] is the alternative left to them. The pretexts on which the imprisonments are carried on—and every arrest may lead to Cayenne, as every road leads to Rome—may be exemplified by one single instance. It is known that some time ago three Paris lawyers were arrested.[a] The bar, or rather the council of the advocates, took up the business, and applied to the Minister of Justice[b]; the answer was, that no explanations could be given, but that these three gentlemen were taken up for "intrigues and maneuvers" during the late Paris elections, ten months back. If the Chalons *émeute* appears, therefore, fully due in the natural course of things, the behavior, on that occasion, of the officers of the garrison hardly tallies with the frantic addresses which the French army was ordered to send to the *Moniteur.*[c] The barracks are situated on the right bank of the Saone, while the officers mostly live in lodgings on the left bank, where the rising took place. Instead of rushing to the head of their men in defense of the Empire, they cautiously adopted some diplomatic movements in order to ascertain whether or not the Republic was proclaimed at Paris. Even the *Moniteur* dares not altogether suppress the fact. It says:

> "The *officers of the garrison, who had hastened to the sub-prefecture to obtain some information* relative to the rumors already in circulation, forced their passage sword in hand."[d]

The *Patrie* tries to turn the awkward incident that way, saying that those curious officers wanted "to arrest the sub-prefect, in case he should side with the Republic;"[e] but the fact is that they ran to the sub-prefect to ask him if it was true that the Republic was proclaimed at Paris. It was only on his denial that they thought fit to exhibit their professional zeal. Castellane has already

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[a] "(Correspondance particulière de *L'Indépendance belge.*) Paris, 4 mars", *L'Indépendance belge,* No. 65, March 6, 1858.— *Ed.*

[b] Paul de Royer.— *Ed.*

[c] See addresses of the French army men, *Le Moniteur universel,* Nos. 26 and 27, January 26 and 27, 1858, and also the following issues.— *Ed.*

[d] "À Châlon-sur-Saône, dans la soirée...", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 68, March 9, 1858.— *Ed.*

[e] Quoted from *L'Indépendance belge,* No. 71, March 12, 1858.— *Ed.*

started from Lyons to investigate their behavior. In one word, the army shows symptoms of disaffection. The manner in which it was paraded in the *Moniteur,* and made the laughing-stock of Europe, then to be simply thrown overboard out of deference to John Bull; Bonaparte's breaking it up into five armies, for fear of abdicating its supreme command into Pelissier's hands,[499] who has now become cold toward his master; the disdainful letters in which Changarnier and Bedeau have declined the permission to return to France[a]; the raising of L'Espinasse, generally detested in the barracks since the Dobrodja affair,[500] to a post of exceptional trust; and lastly, that dark presentiment of an impending turn in the tide which has always distinguished the "intelligent bayonets"[501] of France; all this has contributed to estrange the calculating chiefs of the army. Beside the Chalons affair, there is Gen. M'Mahon's conduct in the French Senate to bear witness to this strange and rather unexpected change. His remarks on the *loi des suspects*[502] were most outspoken, and his was the one adverse vote among Bonaparte's embroidered liverymen.[b]

Written on March 11, 1858

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

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[a] Changarnier's letter to the editor of *L'Indépendance belge* of March 1, 1858, *L'Indépendance belge,* No. 61, March 2, 1858; Bedeau's letter to the editor of *L'Indépendance belge* of March 3, 1858, *L'Indépendance belge,* No. 65, March 6, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] MacMahon's speech in the French Senate on February 25, 1858. *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 57, February 26, 1858; also quoted in *L'Indépendance belge,* No. 59, February 28, 1858.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## BONAPARTE'S PRESENT POSITION[503]

Paris, March 18, 1858

"Risorgero nemico ognor piu crudo
Cenere anco sepolto e spirto ignudo."

(I shall revive from the dead a still more cruel foe, though but buried ash and a naked spirit.) These two lines of Tasso's *Jerusalem*,[a] which Orsini, after Favre's speech,[b] with a strange smile, whispered to his defender, are already beginning to be fulfilled. The attitude of the crowd witnessing the death of the Italian patriot is thus described by an eye-witness:

"Such had been the alarm of the Government that an entire division was had out, under the personal command of a general officer, who assisted at the execution. Fifteen thousand soldiers were ready to act on the slightest signal, and every issue and outlet was guarded as in times of insurrection. In my estimation, between 90,000 and 100,000 men of the Faubourgs, workmen in blouses, were assembled in the spaces and in the streets near the Place de la Roquette; but they were so grouped by the way in which the troops were stationed, that they could see little or nothing. When the dead, dull sound of the falling of the knife upon Orsini was heard, it was responded to by an immense but smothered reply of '*Vive la République*.' I cannot properly describe this; it was like a gigantic mutter; it was not a cry or a shout, but it sounded like the breath or the sigh of thousands of human beings. It was well appreciated by the authorities, for, on the instant, the soldiers raised the most disorderly clatter imaginable, struck their horses, so as to make them plunge and kick, shook their arms, and contrived that the popular whisper should be stifled without being literally put down. But the words '*Vive la République*' must have been clearly audible to every one. I purposely went home on foot, threading my way slowly through the groups wherever I found them thickest. I am bound to admit that everywhere I heard expressions of sympathy and admiration for Orsini, whose crime seems utterly forgotten, while only the effect produced by his courage and generosity toward his associates remains. Pieri's name I did not hear once. The attitude of the populace was, I should say, extremely menacing, for it had the marks of a hate and a thirst for vengeance

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[a] Torquato Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata*, canto nono, stanza XCIX.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Favre's speech before the Jury on February 26, 1858, *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 58, February 27, 1858.—*Ed.*

seated too deep for words. All the remarks I heard were made in an undertone, as though a police spy were dreaded at every instant."

It seems, then, that the measures of "general safety" intended to weed out the Republican element, the wholesale imprisonments and transportation, prove no more successful than the *cités ouvrières,*[a] the newly-established workshops, and other attempts to purchase the conscience of the French working classes. The circumstances dwelt upon on a former occasion,[b] which accompanied Orsini's trial, have now become the general topic of Paris conversation. It has even oozed out that when the voluminous correspondence of Orsini and Pieri came to be examined, letters written by Louis Napoleon, and signed by himself, dated many years ago, came to light. If the French *Constitutionnel* was still in the agreeable position it held in Mr. Guizot's time, we should, day after day, be treated with the solemn phrase, *"L'horizon politique s'obscurcit."*[c] [504] And so it does, indeed. Great was the consternation at the Tuileries on ascertaining the conduct of the officers of the garrison at Chalons, and excessive the anger at the naïveté of the *Moniteur* informing France and Europe that, instead of on the instant laughing at the whole affair, ordering out their men, or declaring that, even were the Republic proclaimed in Paris, they would fight against it for the Empire, the officers at Chalons first ran to the sub-prefect[d] and declined to risk their skins and their commissions for the Emperor, before having made sure whether or not the Republic was proclaimed. The fact proves that the mass of the army cannot be relied upon. Save its heads, which are too deeply compromised or have received too brilliant rewards to separate their destinies from that of the Empire, there is perhaps but one single portion of it altogether trustworthy, namely, the Guards. This corps is indeed very strong, and must be aware that, under any other government, it would be merged into the line, or altogether disbanded. Its infantry force consists of four regiments of grenadiers, two regiments of voltigeurs, one regiment of gens d'armes, one regiment of Zouaves[505] and one battalion of chasseurs—altogether seventeen battalions of infantry. It musters, besides, two regiments of cuirassiers, two regiments of dragoons, one regiment of mounted grenadiers, one regiment of hussars,

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[a] Workers' settlements.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 474-76.— *Ed.*

[c] The political horizon darkens.— *Ed.*

[d] "À Châlon-sur-Saône, dans la soirée...", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 68, March 9, 1858. See this volume, p. 475.— *Ed.*

and one regiment of chasseurs, or twenty-one squadrons of cavalry; its artillery, too, being rather strong. Its whole numerical force amounts to about 20,000 men, with 40 to 50 cannons, a nucleus sufficiently powerful to counteract the tendencies to vacillation which might prevail in the line in the case of a serious struggle with the Paris people. Moreover, everything is provided for a sudden concentration of the troops from the provinces, as the most superficial glance at a railway map of France will prove, so that a movement which should not take the Government by surprise is sure to find arrayed against it the formidable force of from 60,000 to 80,000 men. But the very measures Bonaparte has taken to suppress an armed revolt make it quite improbable that it should occur except on some great unforeseen occasion, when the decidedly anti-Bonapartist attitude of the bourgeoisie, the secret societies undermining the lower strata of the army, the petty jealousies, venal treacheries and Orleanist or Legitimist[506] leanings dividing its superior layers, are likely to turn the scale in favor of the revolutionary masses. The worst thing that could happen to the latter would be a successfull attempt on Bonaparte's life. In that case the answer given by Morny, at the beginning of the Russian war, to Bonaparte's question, what they intended doing on his sudden death:

"*Nous commencerions de jeter tous les Jerômes par la fenêtre, et puis nous tâcherions de nous arranger tant bien que mal avec les Orléans,*" [We shall begin by throwing all the Jerômes out of the window, and then we shall arrange matters as well as we can with the Orleans family,]

would perhaps turn out a prophecy. Before the men of the faubourgs could have decided upon the course to take, Morny might execute his palace-revolution, proclaim the Orleans, and thus draw over the middle classes to the anti-revolutionary camp.

Meanwhile Bonaparte's disappointments in the field of foreign policy vastly contribute to urge him on in his system of domestic terrorism. Every check he sustains from without, by betraying the weakness of his position, and giving new life to the aspirations of his antagonists, is necessarily followed up by new displays of what is called "governmental vigor." And these foreign miscarriages have rapidly accumulated during the last weeks. There was first the great failure with regard to England.[507] Then even Switzerland, although she had made very cowardly concessions, took courage to demur at the further steps urged upon her in the most unceremonious manner. It was formally declared to the Confederation that, if necessary, regiments of French infantry would enter

and perform those police duties which the police of Switzerland could not do for themselves. At this point even Mr. Kern found it necessary to demand his passports, and the French Government to draw off. Belgium, having altered its law at Bonaparte's dictation,[508] declined to comply with the demand for Gen. Changarnier's expulsion. The Commission of the Piedmontese Chamber charged with the duty of examining the bill[a] to assimilate the Sardinian institutions to the *Idées Napoléoniennes,*[b] by a majority of five against two, proposed the pure and simple rejection of the Bonapartist project. Austria, fully aware that Orsini's execution has bound over to her, hand and foot, the hero of Strasbourg,[509] and that he can no longer alarm her through Italy, shows him the cold shoulder.

To expose itself to ridicule is the surest way for a French Government to annihilate itself. Bonaparte is conscious of the grotesque luster which his last baffled attempts at playing the dictator of Europe have shed upon him. The more contemptible his European position grows, the more keenly he feels the necessity of appearing formidable to France. Consequently, the reign of terror is progressively extending. Gen. Espinasse, at the head of the Ministry of the Interior, is now backed by Mr. Boitelle, a former colonel in the hussars, at the head of the Prefecture of Police. The system adopted by these military myrmidons of the second Empire is thus described in *The Continental Review*:

"They have taken the old lists of individuals who, after the troubles of 1848 and 1851, were designated by the police as dangerous, and they have arrested these persons *en masse,* both in Paris and in the departments. All this was done without the slightest inquiry being made as to whether or not these persons had since that period given ground of complaint, and the most cruel effects have ensued. Thus, honest citizens, who, being carried away in 1848 by the whirlwind which agitated the whole nation, professed advanced ideas, but who have since abandoned politics, and many of whom are now fathers of families and industrious tradesmen, were carried off by the police from the midst of their affairs and from their families. These are known facts which show how little ground there was for the arrests, and with what an absence of even the semblance of legality or necessity these measures of terrorism were carried out. Among the persons whom the agents of the police attempted to arrest, there were some individuals who had been no less than six years out of France, and who consequently could not have committed any offense, but who, if they had been in France at the present moment, would inevitably have been thrown into prison on pretense of 'public safety.' Nay, more, the police went to the houses of several persons who had been dead for some years, for the

[a] The bill submitted to the Turin Chamber of Deputies on February 17, 1858, *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 54, February 23, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] An allusion to Louis Bonaparte's book *Des idées napoléoniennes.*—*Ed.*

purpose of arresting them. Their names figured on the lists of persons formerly arrested (and many of these simply because they were among the crowd in the streets, and that was their only crime). It is therefore clear that it is not against the guilty that the police war, but against the suspected; and the manner in which the law is executed is of itself a justification of the title conferred upon it by public opinion. In the departments matters proceed pretty much as in Paris. The lists of the suspected were drawn up by the administrative authorities, and woe to those who, in the elections of June last, ventured to oppose the candidates supported by the Prefect, and who, looking on the Constitution, the electoral law and the circulars of the Minister of the Interior as serious realities, have believed that they might take measures for the election of the candidates of their choice. These latter are considered as the worst of culprits, and they must be either very rich, very influential, or very well protected by their friends, to escape the vengeance of those officials whose paths they had crossed. Among the persons arrested in the provinces appears the name of Gen. Courtais, who, after having played a part in 1848 as Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard of Paris, lived for the last nine years in the greatest retirement in a country house in the department of the Allier, removed from society, and altogether a stranger to politics or public affairs."

What with this system of "general safety," what with the pangs of a commercial crisis that has become chronic, the French middle classes will soon be worked up to the point where they will consider a revolution necessary for the "restoration of confidence."

Written on March 18, 1858

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## PELISSIER'S MISSION TO ENGLAND

Paris, March 27, 1858

Of all governmental positions, the most trying is that of a civilian at the head of a despotic military state. In the Orient, the difficulty is more or less met by transforming the despot into a god, theocratic attributes not allowing the ruler to be reduced to a measure common to himself and to his swordsmen. In Imperial Rome, the deification of the Emperors, while not affording the same defense, grew out of the same necessity. Now, Louis Bonaparte is a civilian, although he was the editor of a history of cannon,[a] but he cannot adopt the Roman expedient. Hence the accumulating perplexities of his position. At the same rate that France grows impatient of the yoke of the army, the army waxes bolder in its purpose of yoking Bonaparte. After the 10th of December,[510] Bonaparte could flatter himself that he was the elect of the peasantry, that is, the mass of the French nation. Since the attempt of the 14th January,[511] he knows that he is at the mercy of the army. Having been compelled to avow that he rules through the army, it is quite natural that the latter should seek to rule through him.

The parceling out of France into five pashalics,[512] therefore, but preceded the installation of Espinasse as Minister of the Interior. The latter step was followed by making over the police of Paris to M. Boitelle, who was a non-commissioned officer in 1830, serving with M. de Persigny in the same regiment at La Fere and trying, when the revolution of July broke out, to make his comrades cry "Vive Napoleon II." The glorification of Boitelle is backed by the nomination of Pelissier Duc de Malakoff, as his Imperial Majesty's representative at the Court of St. James's. This appointment means flattery to the army and menace to England. It is true that the *Moniteur* pretends to turn it into a compliment to John

[a] Napoléon-Louis Bonaparte, *Histoire du canon dans les armées modernes.—Ed.*

Bull,[a] but Veuillot of the *Univers*, who is known to have his *petites* and *grandes entrées*[b] at the Tuileries, foreshadowed the event in a fierce article containing this significant phrase:

"The pride of England is wounded. The wound is an old one. The wound was inflicted in the Crimea at the Alma, at Inkermann, at the *Malakoff*, everywhere where the French were the first at the field and penetrated the deepest into the enemy's ranks. St. Arnaud, Bosquet, Canrobert, Pelissier, McMahon—these are the men who wounded the pride of England.'[c]

In one word, Napoleon III. has sent his Menchikoff to London, of whom, by-the-by, he is rather glad to get rid for a time, since Pelissier has taken up the attitude of a frondeur from the moment his appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the five pashalics was rescinded. The Paris Bourse, on the news becoming known, went down at once.

Pelissier has more than one grudge to avenge upon England. In 1841, before his electors at Tiverton, Palmerston publicly branded him as a monster,[d] and gave the signal to his general abuse by the London Press. After the Crimean campaign, General de Lacy Evans, in the House of Commons, more than hinted at Pelissier as the principal cause of the disgrace that had befallen the English army before Sevastopol. He was also roughly handled by the British Press, expatiating upon the intimations of Gen. Evans. Lastly, at a banquet given to the Crimean Generals, Pelissier simply appropriated the whole Crimean glory, such as it is, to the eagles of France, not even condescending to recollect John Bull's cooperation. Again, the London Press, by way of reprisal, dissected Pelissier. Moreover, his temper is known to unfit him altogether for the part of that mythological Greek personage who alone was able to heal the wounds it had inflicted.[e] Still we cannot share the opinion of those London papers which, working themselves up to a Roman state of mind, warn the Consuls to take care "*ne republica detrimenti capiat.*"[f] Pelissier means intimidation,

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[a] "Voici en quels termes les principaux organes...", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 86, March 27, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] The right of informal and official entrance.—*Ed.*

[c] "Le journal la Patrie publie...", *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 86, March 27, 1858.—*Ed.*

[d] Palmerston's speech before the electors at Tiverton on June 28, 1841, *The Times*, No. 1773, July 3, 1841.—*Ed.*

[e] The reference is to Achilles, who, as the Greek myth has it, was the only one able to heal the wounds he had inflicted to Telephus, Heracles' son.—*Ed.*

[f] That the state suffer no harm (the *decretum ultimum* passed by the Roman senate in times of national peril, which gave the chief magistrates, the consuls, full powers to use any means to save the commonwealth).—*Ed.*

but he does not mean war. This appointment is a mere *coup de théâtre.*

The broad ditch that separates *perfide* Albion[513] from *la belle France,* is her Lacus Curtius,[514] but Bonaparte is not the romantic youth to close the yawning chasm by plunging himself into the gulf, and disappearing. Of all men in Europe, he knows best that his frail tenure of power hinges upon the alliance with England; but this is a truth fatal to the revenger of Waterloo,[515] and which he must do his best to conceal from his armed myrmidons[516] by pulling hard on John Bull, and clothing the very alliance in the garbs of a vassalage, imposed by France, and accepted by England.

Such is his game, a most dangerous one, likely to hasten the issue it aims to put off. If Pelissier fails in his bullying mission, as he is sure to do, the last card has been played, the theatrical performances must make room for real ones, or Bonaparte will stand before his army a confessed impostor, hiding behind his Napoleonic airs the sorry figure of the London constable of the 10th of April, 1848.[517]

In point of fact, it was but the alliance with England which enabled the nephew for a time to mimic the uncle. The close connection of England and France, while giving the death-blow to the Holy Alliance[518] and putting at nought the balance of European power, naturally invested Bonaparte, the Continental representative of that alliance, with the appearance of the arbiter of Europe. So long as the Russian war and the internal state of France allowed him to do so, he was but too glad to content himself with this symbolical rather than real supremacy. All this has changed since peace reigns in Europe and the army reigns in France. He is now called upon by the army to show that, like a real Napoleon, he holds the dictature of Europe, not in trust for England, but in spite of England. Hence his perplexities. On the one hand he bullies John Bull, on the other hand he insinuates to him that he means no harm. He rather implores him to look frightened, out of courtesy, at the mock-menaces of his "august ally." This is the very way of stiffening John Bull, who feels that he risks nothing in giving himself heroical airs.

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# Karl Marx

## MAZZINI AND NAPOLEON

M. Mazzini has recently addressed a letter to the French Emperor,[a] which, in a literary point of view, must hold, perhaps, the first place among his productions. There are but few traces left of that false sublimity, puffy grandeur, verbosity and prophetic mysticism so characteristic of many of his writings, and almost forming the distinctive features of that school of Italian literature of which he is the founder. An enlargement of views is also perceptible. He has, till now, figured as the chief of the Republican formalists of Europe. Exclusively bent on the political forms of the State, they have had no eye for the organization of society on which the political superstructure rests. Boasting of a false idealism, they have considered it beneath their dignity to become acquainted with economical realities. Nothing is easier than to be an idealist on behalf of other people. A surfeited man may easily sneer at the materialism of hungry people asking for vulgar bread instead of sublime ideas. The Triumvirs of the Roman Republic of 1848,[519] leaving the peasants of the Campagna in a state of slavery more exasperating than that of their ancestors of the times of imperial Rome, were quite welcome to descant on the degraded state of the rural mind.

All real progress in the writing of modern history has been effected by descending from the political surface into the depths of social life. Dureau de la Malle, in tracing the different phases of the development of landed property in ancient Rome, has afforded a key to the destinies of that world-conquering city, beside which Montesquieu's considerations on its greatness and

[a] G. Mazzini, *To Louis Napoléon.—Ed.*

decline[a] appear almost like a schoolboy's declamation. The venerable Lelewel, by his laborious research into the economical circumstances which transformed the Polish peasant from a free man into a serf,[b] has done more to shed light on the subjugation of his country than the whole host of writers whose stock in trade is simple denunciation of Russia. M. Mazzini, too, does not now disdain to dwell on social realities, the interests of the different classes, the exports and imports, the prices of necessaries, house-rent, and other such vulgar things, being struck, perhaps, by the great if not fatal shock given to the second Empire, not by the manifestoes of Democratic Committees, but by the commercial convulsion which started from New-York to encompass the world. It is only to be hoped that he will not stop at this point, but, unbiased by a false pride, will proceed to reform his whole political catechism by the light of economical science. His letter commences with this vigorous apostrophe to Louis Napoleon:

"The fullness of time approaches; the Imperial tide is visibly rolling back. You too feel it. All the measures you have been enacting, since the 14th of January,[520] in France—all the diplomatic notes and requests you have been, since the fatal day, scattering to the four winds abroad, are bespeaking the restlessness of terror. There is a Macbeth feeling of intense agony preying upon your soul, and betraying itself through all that you say or do. There is at work within a presentiment that *summa dies et ineluctabile fatum*[c] are impending. The 'Thane of Glamis, Thane of Cawdor, and King'—the Pretender, President and Usurper—are doomed. The spell is broken. The conscience of mankind is aroused; it gazes sternly on you; it confronts you; it sifts your acts, and calls to account your promises. From this moment, your fate is sealed. You may now live months; years you cannot."[d]

Having thus announced the doom of the second Empire, Mazzini contrasts the present economical state of France with Napoleon's glowing promises of general prosperity:

"You promised, when you unlawfully conquered power, and as an atonement for its origin, that you would rule restless, perturbed, perturbing France to peace. Is imprisoning, gagging, transporting, *ruling*? Is the gendarme a teacher? Is the spy an apostle of morality and mutual trust? You told the French uneducated peasant that a new era was, with your empire, dawning for him, and that the burdens under which he groans would all, one by one, disappear. Has *any* disappeared? Can you point out a single amelioration to his fate—a single element of taxation removed? Can you explain how it is that the peasant is now enlisting in the *Marianne*[521]? Can you deny that the absorption of the funds, once naturally

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[a] A. Dureau de la Malle, *Economie politique des Romains;* Ch. Montesquieu, *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence.—Ed.*

[b] J. Lelevel, *Considérations sur l'état politique de l'ancienne Pologne et sur l'histoire de son peuple.—Ed.*

[c] The last day and the ineluctable hour (cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, II, 325).—*Ed.*

[d] G. Mazzini, *To Louis Napoléon*, p. 3.—*Ed.*

devoted to the agricultural element, into the channels of industrial speculation opened by you, has deprived the laborer of the possibility of finding advances for the purchase of working implements and the improvement of the land? You allured the misguided working man by declaring that you would be the *Empereur du peuple,* a sort of remodeled Henry IV., and procure to him perennial work, high wages, and *la poule au pot.*[a] Is not *la poule au pot* somewhat dear just now in France? Is not house-rent, are not some of the first necessaries of life, still dearer? You have opened new streets—drawn for your strategic, repressive purposes new lines of communication—destroyed and rebuilt. But do the bulk of the working classes belong to the benefited building branch? Can you overturn Paris and the main provincial towns, indefinitely, for the sake of creating for the *prolétaire* a source of work and earnings? Can you ever dream of making of such a factitious, temporary remedy a substitute for regular normal progress, and requited production? Is the demand for production now in a satisfactory state? Are not three-fifths of the cabinet-makers, of the carpenters, of the mechanicians, out of employment now in Paris? You whispered to the easily frightened, easily fascinated bourgeoisie fantastic dreams, hopes of a redoubled industrial activity, new sources of profits, El Dorados of stimulated exportation, and international intercourse. Where are they? Stagnation hovers over your French productive life; orders to commerce are diminishing; capital is beginning to retreat. You have, like the barbarian, cut the tree to pluck the fruit. You have artificially over-stimulated wild, immoral, all-promising and never-fulfilling speculation; you have, by self-puffing, gigantic, swollen schemes, attracted the savings of the small capitalists from the four corners of France to Paris, and diverted them from the only true permanent sources of national wealth, agriculture, trade and industry. These savings have been engulfed and disappeared in the hands of some dozens of leading speculators; they have been squandered in boundless unproductive luxuries; or they are quietly and prudently—I might quote members of your family—transferred to safe foreign countries. The half of these schemes have sunk into oblivious nonentity. Some of their inventors are traveling, as a precautionary measure, in foreign countries. You find yourself before a dissatisfied bourgeoisie, with all normal resources dried up, with the incubus of some five hundred millions of francs spent, throughout the principal towns of France, in unproductive public works, with a deficit of three hundred millions visible in your last budget, with an extensively indebted city of Paris, with no remedy to propose except a new loan of one hundred and sixty millions to be opened—not in your name, it would not succeed—but in the name of the City Council itself, and to meet the burden of interest, a widening of the barriers, therefore, of the hated octroi,[b] to the extent of the outward fortifications. The remedy will weigh heavy on the working class, and embitter against you the hitherto devoted suburbs. Your artificial contrivances are at an end; henceforth, everything you do to meet the financial difficulty of your position, will mark a step in the fatal descent. You have hitherto lived on an indefinite series of loans and credit; but where is your guaranty for prolonged credit? Rome and Napoleon were ransacking a world; you have only France to ransack. Their armies lived on conquest; yours cannot. You may dream of conquest; you cannot, do not dare to venture on it. The Roman dictators and your uncle were leading the conquering armies; however fond of gilt parade uniforms, I doubt your being able to lead a few combined battalions."[c]

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[a] A fowl in his pot.—*Ed.*

[b] A tax on articles (for sale) entering a town.—*Ed.*

[c] Here and below G. Mazzini, *To Louis Napoléon*, pp. 3-8 and 13.—*Ed.*

From the material prospect of the second Empire, Mazzini turns to the moral, and, of course, is somewhat perplexed in summing up the evidence for the proposition that liberty wears no Bonapartist livery. Liberty, not only in its bodily forms, but in its very soul, its intellectual life, has shriveled at the coarse touch of these resurrectionists of a bygone epoch. Consequently, the representatives of intellectual France, by no means distinguished by too nice a delicacy of political conscience, never failing to gather around every regime, from the Regent[a] to Robespierre—from Louis XIV. to Louis Philippe—from the first Empire to the second Republic—have, for the first time in French history, seceded in mass from an established government.

"From Thiers to Guizot, from Cousin to Villemain, from Michelet to Jean Reynaud, intellectual France shrinks from your polluting contact. Your men are Veuillot, the upholder of the St. Bartholomew[522] and of the Inquisition, Granier de Cassagnac, the patron of negro slavery, and such like. To find a man worth indorsing your pamphlet addressed to England, you have to look for one who is an apostate from Legitimism, and an apostate from Republicanism."

Mazzini then hits on the true meaning of the affair of the 14th of January by stating that the missiles which missed the Emperor pierced the Empire, and laid bare the hollowness of its boasts:

"You boasted to Europe, only a short while ago, that the heart of France was yours, hailing you as her savior, calm, happy, undisturbed. A few months have elapsed, a crash has been heard in the rue Lepelletier, and through your wild, alarmed, repressive measures—through your half-threatening, half-imploring appeals to Europe—through your military division of the country, with a saber in the Ministry of the Interior, you declare now, after seven years of unlimited sway—with an overwhelming concentrated army—with the national ranks cleared of all the dreaded leading men—that you cannot live and rule unless France is converted into a huge Bastille, and Europe into a mere Imperial police-office.... Yes; the Empire has proved a lie. You shaped it, Sir, to your own image. No man, during the last half century, has lied in Europe, Talleyrand excepted, so much as you have; and *that* is the secret of your temporary power."

The falsehoods of the savior of society are then recapitulated from 1831, when he joined the insurrectionary movement of the Roman population against the Pope[523] as "a sacred cause;" to 1851, a few days before the coup d'état, when he said to the army, "I shall ask nothing from you beyond my right, recognized by the Constitution;" to the 2d of December itself, the final result of the usurping schemes still pending, when he proclaimed that "his duty was to protect the Republic." Finally, he tells Napoleon roundly

[a] Philip II of Orleans.—*Ed.*

that but for England he would have been already conquered by the Revolution. Then, having disposed of Napoleon's claim to have inaugurated the alliance between France and England, he concludes with the words:

"You stand now, Sir, whatever self-mouthed, self-disguising diplomacy may say, alone in Europe."

Written on March 30, 1858

Reproduced from the newspaper

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# Karl Marx

## THE FRENCH TRIALS IN LONDON[524]

Paris, April 4, 1858

When Victor Hugo marked the nephew as Napoleon the Little, he acknowledged the uncle as Napoleon the Great. The title of his celebrated pamphlet[a] meant an antithesis, and,to some degree, did homage to that very Napoleon-worship on which the son of Hortense Beauharnais contrived to raise the bloody fabric of his fortune. What is more useful to impress on the present generation is that Napoleon the Little represents in fact the littleness of Napoleon the Great. The plainest illustration of this fact is afforded by the recent "painful misconceptions" between England and France, and the criminal proceedings against refugees and printers which they have led to on the part of the English Government. A short historical review will prove that during the whole of this miserable melo-drama Napoleon the Little has only re-enacted with anxious minuteness the shabby part invented and played before by Napoleon the Great.

It was only during the short interval separating the peace of Amiens[525] (March 25, 1802) from the new declaration of war on the part of Great Britain (May 18, 1803) that Napoleon could indulge his desire for interference with the internal state of Great Britain. He lost no time. Even while the peace negotiations were still pending, the *Moniteur* emitted his venom on all the London papers venturing to question "the moderation and sincerity of Bonaparte's views," and gave no very unintelligible hint that "such disbelief might ere long be followed with chastisement."[b] Nor did

[a] V. Hugo, *Napoléon le petit.* (Originally this epithet was used by the author of the pamphlet in his speech in the Legislative Assembly in 1851.).—*Ed.*

[b] "Paris, le 22 ventôse", "Paris, le 25 ventôse", *Gazette nationale, ou Le Moniteur universel,* Nos. 173, 176, 23, 26 ventôse an 10 de la République française.—*Ed.*

the Consul confine himself to a censorship over the language and sentiments of the British press. The *Moniteur* abused Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham for the part they took in the discussions on peace.[a] Mr. Elliot, a Member of Parliament, was called to account in the House of Commons by Perceval, the Attorney-General, for expressing his doubts as to Bonaparte's intentions.[b] Lord Castlereagh and Pitt himself pitched the key of submission, by inculcating, what had never been done on any former occasions, forbearance of language in debate as respecting the Consul of France.[c] About six weeks had passed from the conclusion of the peace, when Talleyrand, on June 3, 1802, informed Mr. Merry, the British Plenipotentiary at Paris, that Bonaparte, out of consideration for England, had resolved to replace Mr. Otto, the French Plenipotentiary at London, by a real Embassador in the person of Gen. Andréossy; but that before the arrival of that exalted personage at London, it was the First Consul's sincere wish

"to see such obstacles removed which stood very much in the way of the perfect reconciliation between the two countries and their Governments."

What he demanded, was simply the removal out of the British dominions of

"all the French princes and their adherents, together with the French bishops and other French individuals whose political principles and conduct must necessarily occasion great jealousy of the French Government.... The protection and favor which all the persons in question continued to meet with, in a country so close a neighbor to France, must alone be always considered as an encouragement to the disaffected here, even without those persons themselves being guilty of any acts leading to foment fresh disturbances in this country; but that the Government here possessed proofs of the abuse which they were now making of the protection which they enjoyed in England, and of the advantage they were taking of their vicinity to France, by being really guilty of such acts, since several printed papers had lately been intercepted, which it was known they had sent, and caused to be circulated in France, and which had for their object to create an opposition to the Government."[d]

There existed at that time an alien law[526] in England, which, however, was framed strictly with a view to the protection of the

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[a] "Paris, le 10 nivôse an 11", *Gazette nationale, ou Le Moniteur universel*, No. 101, 11 nivôse an 11 de la République française.— *Ed.*

[b] W. Elliot's speech in the House of Commons on November 4, 1801, *Cobbett's Annual Register*, Vol. II, col. 1187.— *Ed.*

[c] R. St. Castlereagh's and W. Pitt's speeches in the House of Commons on November 3, 1801, *Cobbett's Annual Register*, Vol. II, col. 1133-34, 1144.— *Ed.*

[d] Ch. M. Talleyrand's conversation with A. Merry on the 3rd of June 1802, *Cobbett's Annual Register*, Vol. III, col. 998.— *Ed.*

British Government. In answer to Talleyrand's demand, Lord Hawkesbury, the then Foreign Minister, replied that

"His Majesty the King[a] certainly expected that all foreigners who might reside within his dominions, should not only hold a conduct conformable to the laws of the country, but abstain from all acts hostile to the Government of any country with which his Majesty might be at peace. As long, however, as they conduct themselves according to these principles, his Majesty would feel it inconsistent with his dignity, with his honor, and with the common laws of hospitality, to deprive them of that protection which individuals resident in his dominions can only forfeit by their own misconduct. The greater part of the persons to whom allusion has been made in Mr. Talleyrand's conversation, are living in retirement."[b]

In delivering Lord Hawkesbury's dispatch to Talleyrand, Mr. Merry was by no means sparing of assurances calculated to "soothe, tranquilize and satisfy the First Consul."[c] Talleyrand, however, insisted upon his pound of flesh,[d] stating that the First Consul had solicited no more than the British Government itself had demanded of Louis XIV., when the Pretender[e] was in France, that he could not see any humiliation in the measure intimated, and that he must repeat

"that the adoption of it would be in the highest degree agreeable and satisfactory to the First Consul," and be considered by him as "the most convincing proof of his Majesty's disposition to see a cordial good understanding established between the two countries."[f]

On July 25, 1802, Mr. Otto, from his residence at Portman Square, addressed a letter to Lord Hawkesbury, requesting, in a very categorical way, nothing less than the suppression of the liberty of the English press, as far as Bonaparte and his Government were concerned.

"I transmitted," he says, "some time ago, to Mr. Hammond, a number of Peltier, containing the most gross calumnies against the French Government, and against the whole nation; and I observed, that I should probably receive an order to demand a punishment of such an abuse of the press. That order is actually arrived, and I cannot conceal from you, my Lord, that the reiterated insults of a small number of foreigners, assembled in London to conspire against the French Government, have produced the most unfavorable effects on the good understand-

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[a] George III.—*Ed.*

[b] R. Hawkesbury's dispatch to A. Merry, dated June 10, 1802, *Cobbett's Annual Register*, Vol. III, col. 999-1000.—*Ed.*

[c] A. Merry's dispatch to R. Hawkesbury, dated Paris, June 17, 1802, *Cobbett's Annual Register*, Vol. III, col. 1000-02.—*Ed.*

[d] Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, Act I, Scene 3.—*Ed.*

[e] James II.—*Ed.*

[f] Ch. M. Talleyrand's conversation with A. Merry, *Cobbett's Annual Register*, Vol. III, col. 1000-01.—*Ed.*

ing between the two nations.... It is not to Peltier alone, but to the editor of the *Courrier Français de Londres* (Reynaud), to Cobbett, and to other writers who resemble them, that I have to direct the attention of his Majesty's Government.... The want of positive laws against these sorts of offenses cannot palliate the violation of the laws of nations, according to which peace should put a stop to all species of hostilities; and doubtless those which wound the honor and reputation of a Government, and which tend to create a revolt of the people whose interests are confided to that Government, are the most apt to lessen the advantages of peace and to keep up national resentments."[a]

Instead of meeting these first reproaches of Bonaparte's interference on the subject of the press with a firm and dignified reply, Lord Hawkesbury, in a letter to M. Otto on July 28, made a paltry apology for the existence of the liberty of the press. He says that it is

"impossible his Majesty's Government could peruse Peltier's article without the greatest displeasure, and without an anxious desire that a person who published it should suffer the punishment he so justly deserves."

Then, after lamenting the "inconveniences" of prosecutions for libel, and the "difficulty" of obtaining judgment against the offenders, he concludes by stating that he has referred the matter to the King's Attorney-General[b] "for his opinion whether it is or is not a libel."[c]

While the British Government was thus preparing a crusade against the liberty of the press, in order to soothe the susceptibility of its great and new ally, there appeared suddenly, on August 9, a menacing article in the *Moniteur*, in which England was not only accused of receiving French robbers and assassins, of harboring them at Jersey, and of sending them to make predatory excursions on the coasts of France, but in which the English King himself was represented as a rewarder and instigator of assassination:

"*The Times*, which is said to be under Ministerial inspection, is filled with perpetual invectives against France. Two of its four pages are every day employed in giving currency to the grossest calumnies. All that imagination can depict, that is low, vile and base, is by that miserable paper attributed to the French Government. What is its end? Who pays it? What does it effect? A French journal,[d] edited by some miserable emigrants, the remnant of the most impure, a vile refuse, without country, without honor, sullied with crimes which it is not in the power of any amnesty to wash away, outdoes even *The Times*." "Eleven Bishops, presided over

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[a] L. G. Otto's letter to R. Hawkesbury, dated July 25, 1802, *Cobbett's Annual Register*, Vol. III, col. 1002.—*Ed.*

[b] Spencer Perceval.—*Ed.*

[c] R. Hawkesbury's letter to L. G. Otto, dated July 28, 1802, *Cobbett's Annual Register*, Vol. III, col. 1003.—*Ed.*

[d] *L'Ambigu, variétés atroces et amusantes.*—*Ed.*

by the atrocious *Bishop of Arras*, rebels to their country and to the Church, have assembled in London. They print libels against the Bishops and the French clergy." "The Isle of Jersey is full of brigands, condemned to death by the tribunals, committed subsequent to the peace for assassination, robberies, and the practices of an incendiary. Georges[a] wears openly at London his red ribbon, as a recompense for the infernal machine which destroyed a part of Paris, and killed thirty women and children, or peaceable citizens.[b] This special protection authorizes a belief that if he had succeeded, he would have been honored with the Order of the Garter." "Either the English Government authorizes and tolerates those public and private crimes, in which case it cannot be said that such conduct is consistent with British generosity, civilization and honor; or it cannot prevent them, in which case it does not deserve the name of a Government, above all, if it does not possess the means of repressing assassination and calumny and protecting social order."[c]

When the menacing *Moniteur* arrived late at night in London, it produced such an irritation that *The True Briton*, the Ministerial paper, was compelled to declare,

"That article could not have been inserted in the *Moniteur* with the knowledge or consent of the French Government."[d]

In the House of Commons Dr. Laurence called upon Mr. Addington (afterward Lord Sidmouth) as to the French libels on his Majesty.[e] The Minister replied that

"he wished he could show to the learned gentleman the satisfactory explanations which had taken place on that head."[f]

It was replied that while the British Government made a public matter of a jest on Bonaparte and his wife, and Mr. Peltier was, for his jokes upon those people, to be brought into the Court of King's Bench[527] and to be arraigned as a criminal; in the other case, when the British nation was libeled and its royal master, in the official gazette of France, styled the rewarder of assassins, the matter was to be settled by an "explanation", and that explanation so secret, too, as not to admit of being communicated to Parliament. Encouraged by the apparent vacillation of the English

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[a] Georges Cadoudal.— *Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the attempt on the life of Napoleon Bonaparte on December 24, 1800 in the rue Saint-Nicaise.— *Ed.*

[c] "Paris, le 19 thermidor", *Gazette nationale, ou Le Moniteur universel*, No. 320, 20 thermidor an 10 de la République française. (The last sentence of this passage was quoted by Marx in his letter to Engels of February 14, 1858. See present edition, Vol. 40, p. 266.).— *Ed.*

[d] *The True Briton's* declaration, *Cobbett's Annual Register*, Vol. II, col. 130.— *Ed.*

[e] Fr. Laurence's speech in the House of Commons on December 9, 1802, *Cobbett's Annual Register*, Vol. II, col. 1774-76.— *Ed.*

[f] H. Addington's speech in the House of Commons on December 9, 1802, *Cobbett's Annual Register*, Vol. II, col. 1776-77.— *Ed.*

Ministry, Otto, on Aug. 17, 1802, came out with a most impudent note to Lord Hawkesbury, in which the demand is formally put to adopt effectual measures for putting down all the unbecoming and seditious publications of the English prints, to send out of Jersey certain individuals, to expel the French bishops, to transport Georges and his adherents to Canada, and to send the French princes to Warsaw. With reference to the alien law M. Otto insists that the Ministry must possess

"a legal and sufficient power to restrain foreigners, without having recourse to the courts of law;"

and he adds,

"The French Government, which offers on this point a perfect reciprocity, thinks it gives a new proof of its pacific intentions, by demanding that those persons should be sent away whose machinations uniformly tend to sow discord between the two nations."[a]

Lord Hawkesbury's answer, dated Aug. 28, sent in the form of a dispatch to the English Plenipotentiary at Paris, has during the late quarrel with Bonaparte III. been quoted by the London press as a model of statesmanlike dignity; but it must be confessed that in spite of the terms of virtuous indignation in which it is couched, promises are held out of sacrificing the French emigrants to the jealous fears of the First Consul.[b]

In the beginning of the year 1803 Napoleon took upon himself to regulate the proceedings of Parliament and to restrain the liberty of speech among its members. With respect to the ex-Ministers, Mr. Windham, Lord Grenville, and Lord Minto, he intimated literally in his *Moniteur*,

"It would be a patriotic and wise law which should ordain that displaced Ministers should not, for the first seven years after their dismissal, be competent to sit in the English Parliament. Another law, not less wise, would be that every member who should insult a friendly people and power should be condemned to silence for two years. When the tongue offends, the tongue must suffer punishment."[c]

At the same time Gen. Andréossy, who had meanwhile arrived at London, complained in a note to Lord Hawkesbury that the despicable pamphleteers and libelers of the British press

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[a] L. G. Otto's note to R. Hawkesbury, dated August 17, 1802, *Cobbett's Annual Register*, Vol. III, col. 1103.—*Ed.*

[b] R. Hawkesbury's dispatch to A. Merry, dated August 28, 1802, *Cobbett's Annual Register*, Vol. III, col. 1007-13.—*Ed.*

[c] "Paris, le 10 nivôse an 11", *Gazette nationale, ou Le Moniteur universel*, No. 101, 11 nivôse an 11 de la République française.—*Ed.*

"have found themselves invariably supported in their insolent observations by particular phrases, taken from the speeches of some leading Members of Parliament."

Of these speeches it is said that

"every reasonable Englishman must be humiliated by such unheard-of licentiousness."

In the name of the First Consul he expresses the wish

"that means should be adopted to prevent in future any mention being made of what is passing in France, either in the official discussions or in the polemical writings in England, as in like manner, in the French official discussions and polemical writings, no mention should be made of what is passing in England."[a]

While Bonaparte in this tone of mingled hypocrisy and arrogance privately addressed the British Government, the *Moniteur* teemed with insults against the British people, and also published an official report of Col. Sebastiani, containing the most injurious charges against the British army in Egypt.[b] On Feb. 5, 1803, the French *Commissaire de Relation Commerciale* at Jersey, though acknowledged in no public capacity, had the insolence to prefer a complaint against some printers for inserting paragraphs from the London papers offensive to Bonaparte, and to threaten that if the practice was not punished, Bonaparte would certainly revenge himself upon Jersey. This threat had the desired effect. Two of the printers were brought before the Royal Court, and the positive injunction was laid on them not to publish in future anything offensive to France, even from the London papers.[c] On Feb. 20, 1803, one day before Peltier's trial, Lord Whitworth, the English Embassador at Paris, was summoned into the presence of the great man himself. Being received in his cabinet, Whitworth was desired to sit down after Bonaparte had sat down himself on the other side of the table. He enumerated the several provocations which he pretended to have received from England.

"He adverted to the abuse thrown out about him in the English prints, but this he said he did not so much regard as that which appeared in the French papers published in London. This he considered as much more mischievous, since it was meant to excite his country against him and his Government. He complained of the protection given to Georges and others of his description; [...] he acknowledged that the irritation he felt against England increased daily, because every wind which

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[a] A. Fr. Andréossy's note to R. Hawkesbury, dated March 29, 1803, *Cobbett's Annual Register*, Vol. III, col. 1053-57.—*Ed.*

[b] H. Sebastiani, "Rapport fait au Premier Consul", *Gazette nationale, ou Le Moniteur universel*, No. 130, 10 pluviôse an 11 de la République française.—*Ed.*

[c] "Summary of Politics", *Cobbett's Annual Register*, Vol. III, col. 315.—*Ed.*

blew from England brought nothing but enmity and hatred against him.... As a proof of his desire to maintain peace, he wished to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A descent was the only means of offense he had, and that he was determined to attempt, by putting himself at the head of the expedition. He acknowledged that there were one hundred chances to one against him, but still he was determined to attempt it if war should be the consequence of the present discussion; and that such was the disposition of the troops that army after army would be found for the enterprise.... To preserve peace the treaty of Amiens must be fulfilled, the abuse in the public prints, if not totally suppressed, at least kept within bounds and confined to the English papers, and the protection so openly given to his bitterest enemies must be withdrawn."[a]

On Feb. 21, Peltier was tried before Lord Ellenborough and a special Jury, for libeling Bonaparte and "intending to excite the people of France to assassinate their ruler."[b] Lord Ellenborough had the meanness to terminate his address to the Jury with the following words:

"Gentlemen, I trust your verdict will strengthen the relations by which the interests of this country are connected with those of France, and that it will illustrate and justify in every quarter of the world the conviction that has been long and universally entertained of the unsullied purity of British judicature."[c]

The Jury, without retiring from their box, immediately returned the verdict of Guilty. In consequence of the subsequent rupture between the two countries, Mr. Peltier was, however, not called upon to receive judgment, and the prosecution thus stopped. Having goaded the British Ministry into these persecutions of the press, and wrung from them Peltier's condemnation, the truthful and heroic *Moniteur*, March 2, 1803, published the following commentary:

"A person of the name of Peltier has been found guilty, before a court of justice at London, of printing and publishing some wretched libels against the First Consul. It is not easy to imagine why the English Ministry should affect to make this a matter of so much éclat. As it has been said in the English newspapers that the trial was instituted at the demand of the French Government, and that the French Embassador was even in the Court when the Jury gave in their verdict, we have authority to deny that any such things did ever take place. The First Consul was even ignorant of the existence of Peltier's libels till they came to his knowledge in the public accounts of the proceedings at his trial.... Yet it is to be acknowledged that these proceedings, however useless in other respects, have afforded an occasion to the Judges who presided at the trial to evince, by their wisdom and

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[a] Napoleon I's conversation with Lord Whitworth, dated February 20, 1803, *Cobbett's Annual Register*, Vol. III, col. 1034.—*Ed.*

[b] Cited according to "Trial of Mr. Peltier", *Cobbett's Annual Register*, Vol. III, col. 276-83.—*Ed.*

[c] E. L. Ellenborough's speech at the trial of J. G. Peltier on February 21, 1803, *Cobbett's Annual Register*, Supplement to Vol. III, col. 1232.—*Ed.*

impartiality, that they are truly worthy to administer justice in a nation so enlightened, and estimable in so many respects."[a]

While the *Moniteur* in the same article insisted that the duty weighed on all "civilized nations in Europe" reciprocally to put down the barbarians of the press, M. Reinhard, the French Plenipotentiary at Hamburg, summoned together the Hamburg Senate, in order to consider a requisition from the First Consul to insert in the *Hamburger Correspondent* an article most offensive to the British Government. It was the wish of the Senate at least to be allowed to omit or qualify the most offensive passages; but M. Reinhard said his orders were positive for the full and exact insertion of the whole. The article appeared consequently in its original coarseness. The French Minister desired that the same should be published in the papers at Altona; but the Danish magistrates said that they could not possibly permit it without an express order from their Government. In consequence of this refusal, M. D'Aguesseau, the French Minister at Copenhagen, received from his colleague at Hamburg a copy of the article, with the request that he would solicit permission for its publication in the Danish papers. When called upon with respect to this libel by Lord Whitworth, M. Talleyrand declared that

"the British Ministers could not be more surprised than the First Consul had been at seeing such an article inserted by authority; that an immediate explanation had been required of M. Reinhard, etc."[b]

Such was Napoleon the Great.

Written on April 4, 1858

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published unsigned in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5309, April 27, 1858

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[a] "Paris, le 11 ventôse", *Gazette nationale, ou Le Moniteur universel*, No. 162, 12 ventôse an 11 de la République française.—*Ed.*

[b] Ch. M. Talleyrand's conversation with Lord Whitworth, *Cobbett's Annual Register*, Vol. III, col. 1066.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE FINANCIAL STATE OF FRANCE]

Paris, April 13, 1858

By mere force of circumstances the restored Empire finds itself more and more compelled to throw up its adventitious graces and show its real features in their native hideousness. The hour of confessions has broken in upon it unexpectedly. It had already dropped every pretense of being a regular Government, or the offspring of the "*suffrage universel.*" It had proclaimed itself the régime of the upstart, the informer and the 12-pounder.[528] It goes now a step further, and avows itself the régime of the swindler. The *Moniteur* of April 11 contains a note stating that certain journals have announced prematurely the fixation of the dividend upon the shares of certain *railway companies* and *other industrial societies,* and have attributed to this dividend a lower figure than that which has been since determined by the Councils of Administration.

"These are maneuvers against which the industry and the capital of the country must be protected. *The editors of the journals referred to have been called before the Procureur Impérial,* and warned that such facts will for the future be sent before the tribunals, as constituting the offense of publishing false views. The duty of the press is to enlighten the public, and not deceive it."[a]

In other words, it is the duty of the press writers, at the peril of being transported to Cayenne,[529] to bolster up the *Crédit Mobilier,*[530] instead of warning the public of the impending breaking up of that monster imposture, as they have done of late, although in very timid and subdued tones. The Crédit Mobilier is to hold its general annual meeting April 29 and declare its dividend for the past year. While its directors shrouded themselves

[a] "Paris, le 10 avril", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 101, April 11, 1858.—*Ed.*

in impenetrable mystery, most disastrous reports were circulated as to the way in which the expected dividend was to be "cooked," and one paper dared to hint at the fact that at the meeting of one company, connected with the Crédit Mobilier, held some time before, the manager coolly announced that though he could only declare a dividend of 8 per cent, *the company was in a far better position* than the year before, when he gave 25. The writer ventured upon expressing his suspicion whether *any* dividend of this "and other" companies were not paid out of the capital rather than the profits realized. Hence the wrath of the *Moniteur.* The shares of the Crédit Mobilier, quoted from 957 to 960 frs. on Feb. 10, from 820 to 860 frs. on March 10, had fallen to from 715 to 720 frs. on April 10, and even this latter quotation was merely nominal. There was no means of concealing the ugly fact that Austrian and Prussian holders had resolved upon selling no fewer than 6,000 shares, and that the "Maritime *Générale Compagnie,*" one of the fantastic creations of the Péreires, was *in articulo mortis,*[a] from having engaged in speculations anything but "maritime."[b] It is a fine notion, quite worthy of a political economist of the force of General Espinasse, to imagine that menaces in the *Moniteur* will enforce credit as well as silence. The warning will act, but quite in the opposite direction, the more so since it emanates from a Government whose financial frauds have become a topic of general conversation. It is known that the budget drawn up by M. Magne, the Minister of Finance, represented a surplus, but, by the indiscretion of some member of the *Cour de Révision,* it oozed out that it showed in fact a deficit of some 100,000,000 francs.[c] When summoned to the "savior of property"[d] [531] for an explanation, M. Magne had the grave impudence to tell his master that knowing his predilections for a "surplus," he had "cooked up" a budget, as the Ministers of Louis Philippe had done before him. There the matter rested, but the notoriety given to this incident drove the Government into a confession. Having pompously announced in the *Moniteur*[e] that an augmentation had taken place in the customs receipts for the month of February, it dared not stand by its own statement. The

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[a] At the point of death.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Economist*, No. 756, February 20, 1858, "Foreign Correspondence".—*Ed.*

[c] P. Magne, "Rapport à l'Empereur. Paris, le 29 octobre, 1857", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 303, October 30, 1857.—*Ed.*

[d] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

[e] "Paris, le 11 mars", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 71, March 12, 1858.—*Ed.*

monthly customs returns, published at the end of March,[a] show the import duties in February last to be, even in the official version, but 13,614,251 francs, while they amounted, in the corresponding month of 1857, to 14,160,013 francs; and to be for the months of January and February united only 25,842,256 francs, against 28,044,478 for the same months of 1857. Such is the official meaning of "protecting the industry and the capital of the country against maneuvers," and of "enlightening the public," instead of "deceiving it."

The re-enactment of the *coup d'état* on an enlarged scale, the wholesale transportations, the parceling out of France into Praetorian camps, the rumors of war, the complications without and the conspiracies within—in one word, the convulsive spasms of the lesser Empire since the attempt of Jan. 14,[532] have somewhat distracted the general attention from the financial state of France. Otherwise the public would have become aware that during that same epoch the factitious prosperity of the Bonapartist régime has already resolved itself into its elementary principles of peculation and jobbery. In proof of this proposition, I will content myself with enumerating such facts as have from time to time found their way into the European press. There is first M. Prost, the chief of the *Compagnie Générale de Caisses d'Escompte*, which not only engaged in all sorts of Bourse speculations, but took upon itself to establish banks of discount all over France. The capital was $6,000,000, in 60,000 shares. It had effected an amalgamation with the Portuguese Crédit Mobilier, and was *magna pars*[b] of the Crédit Mobilier of Madrid. All the capital is gone, and the liabilities amount to about $3,000,000.[c] M. Damonieu, of the *Compagnie Parisienne des Equipages de grandes Remises,* was condemned by the tribunal of *police correctionelle* for having swindled his shareholders out of $100,000 in cash and shares, having plunged them into debt to the amount of $400,000, and squandered all the capital, amounting to $1,600,000.[d] The manager of another company—the *Lignéenne*—professing to make paper from wood, has also been condemned for embezzling the capital of $800,000. Two other Bonapartist "saviors of property" were convicted for having entered into an arrangement with some

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[a] "Direction générale des douanes et des contributions indirectes", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 80, March 21, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] An important part.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Economist,* No. 756, February 20, 1858, "Foreign Correspondence".—*Ed.*

[d] Here and below *The Economist,* No. 760, March 20, 1858, "Foreign Correspondence".—*Ed.*

bankers to palm off on the public, for $10,000,000 or $15,000,000, some forests and mines far off on the banks of the Danube, which they had purchased for $200,000. In another case, it appeared that the managers of a mining company near Aix-la-Chapelle had sold to their shareholders for $500,000 mines which they were afterward obliged to admit were worth only $200,000. In consequence of these and other similar revelations, the shares of the *Messageries Générales,* once quoted at 1,510 francs, fell to about 500 francs. The shares of the *Compagnie des Petites Voitures,* shortly after their issue maneuvered up to 210 francs, have sunk to 40 francs. The shares of the Union Company have dwindled down from 500 to 65 francs. The shares in the Franco-American Navigation Company, once at 750 francs, may now be had at 30 francs. The Amalgamated Gas Company shares have receded from 1,120 francs to 720 francs. The shareholders of the *Caisse des Actionnaires* have been told by M. Millaud, their director, one of the mushroom millionaires of the lesser Empire, that

"the operations of the last half-year have produced no profits at all, so that it would not be possible to declare a dividend, nor even to pay the ordinary half-year's interest, but that he would pay this interest out of his *own pocket.*"[a]

Thus the social ulcers of the lesser Empire are breaking up. The ridiculous conferences of Louis Bonaparte with the principal stock-jobbers as to the remedies to be applied to French commerce and industry have, of course, resulted in nothing. The Bank of France finds itself in a bad plight, since it is unable to sell the bonds of the railway companies, on the security of which it has been obliged to provide them with the money for carrying out their works. Nobody wants to buy these bonds at a moment when all railway property is rapidly depreciating in France, and the weekly railway returns exhibit a continuous falling off in receipts.

"With respect to the state of French trade," remarks the Paris correspondent of *The London Economist,* "it remains what it was; that is to say manifesting a tendency to improve, but not improving."[b]

Meanwhile, Bonaparte clings to his old way of sinking capital in unproductive works, but which, as Mr. Hausmann, the Prefect of

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[a] M. Millaud's report to the shareholders of the *Caisse des Actionnaires* of February 10, 1858 was published in *The Economist,* No. 756, February 20, 1858, and also in the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 45, February 14, 1858, supplement. Italics by Marx.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Economist,* No. 763, April 10, 1858, "Foreign Correspondence". —*Ed.*

the Seine, has the frankness to impart to the Paris people, are important in "a strategical point of view," and calculated to guard against "unforeseen events which may always arise to put society in danger." Thus Paris is condemned to erect new boulevards and streets, the cost of which is estimated at 180,000,000 francs, in order to protect it from its own ebullitions. The opening of the continuation of the boulevard of Sevastopol was quite in keeping with this "strategical point of view." Originally intended to be a purely civil and municipal ceremony, it was all of a sudden converted into a military demonstration, it being pretended that a fresh plot for the assassination of Bonaparte had been discovered. To explain away this *quid pro quo* the *Moniteur* says:

> "It was quite right that a muster of troops should mark the inauguration of such an artery of the capital, and, after the Emperor, our soldiers were the first who ought to have trodden a soil bearing the name of so glorious a victory."[a]

Written on April 13, 1858

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published unsigned in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5312, April 30, 1858

[a] "Paris, le 5 avril", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 95-96, April 5-6, 1858.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE FALL OF LUCKNOW[533]

The second critical period of the Indian insurrection has been brought to a close. The first found its center in Delhi, and was ended by the storming of that city; the second centered in Lucknow, and that place, too, has now fallen. Unless fresh insurrections break out in places hitherto quiet, the revolt must now gradually subside into its concluding, chronic period, during which the insurgents will finally take the character of dacoits or robbers, and find the inhabitants of the country as much their enemies as the British themselves.

The details of the storming of Lucknow are not yet received, but the preliminary operations and the outlines of the final engagements are known. Our readers recollect[a] that after the relief of the residency of Lucknow, Gen. Campbell blew up that post, but left Gen. Outram with about 5,000 men in the Alumbagh, an intrenched position a few miles from the city. He himself, with the remainder of his troops, marched back to Cawnpore, where Gen. Windham had been defeated by a body of rebels; these he completely beat, and drove them across the Jumna at Calpee. He then awaited at Cawnpore the arrival of reenforcements and the heavy guns, arranged his plans of attack, gave orders for the concentration of the various columns destined to advance into Oude, and especially turned Cawnpore into an intrenched camp of strength and proportions requisite for the immediate and principal base of operations against Lucknow. When all this was completed, he had another task to perform before he thought it safe to move—a task the attempting of which

[a] See this volume, pp. 441-42.—*Ed.*

at once distinguishes him from almost all preceding Indian commanders. He would have no women loitering about the camp. He had had quite enough of the "heroines" at Lucknow, and on the march to Cawnpore; they had considered it quite natural that the movements of the army, as had always been the case in India, should be subordinate to their fancies and their comfort. No sooner had Campbell reached Cawnpore than he sent the whole interesting and troublesome community to Allahabad, out of his way; and immediately sent for the second batch of ladies, then at Agra. Not before they had reached Cawnpore, and not before he had seen them safely off to Allahabad, did he follow his advancing troops toward Lucknow.

The arrangements made for this campaign of Oude were on a scale hitherto unprecedented in India. In the greatest expedition ever undertaken by the British there, the invasion of Afghanistan,[534] the troops employed never exceeded 20,000 at a time, and of these the great majority were natives. In this campaign of Oude, the number of Europeans alone exceeded that of all the troops sent into Afghanistan. The main army, led by Sir Colin Campbell personally, consisted of three divisions of infantry,[a] one of cavalry, and one of artillery and engineers. The first division of infantry, under Outram, held the Alumbagh. It consisted of five European and one native regiment. The second (four European and one native regiment) and third (five European and one native regiment), the cavalry division under Sir Hope Grant (three European and four or five native regiments) and the mass of the artillery (forty-eight field-guns, siege trains and engineers), formed Campbell's active force, with which he advanced on the road from Cawnpore. A brigade concentrated under Brigadier Franks at Juanpore and Azimghur, between the Goomtee and the Ganges, was to advance along the course of the former river to Lucknow. This brigade numbered three European regiments and two batteries, beside native troops, and was to form Campbell's right wing. Including it, Campbell's force in all amounted to—

| | Infantry. | Cavalry. | Artillery and Eng'rs. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Europeans | 15,000 | 2,000 | 3,000 | 20,000 |
| Natives | 5,000 | 3,000 | 2,000 | 10,000 |

[a] Here and below Engels used the material from *The Times*, Nos. 22954, 22959 and 22963, March 30, April 5 and 9, 1858.—*Ed.*

or in all 30,000 men; to whom must be added the 10,000 Nepaulese Ghoorkas advancing under Jung Bahadoor from Goruckpore on Sultanpore, making the total of the invading army 40,000 men, almost all regular troops. But this is not all. On the south of Cawnpore, Sir H. Rose was advancing with a strong column from Saugor upon Calpee and the lower Jumna, there to intercept any fugitives that might escape between the two columns of Franks and Campbell. On the north-west, Brigadier Chamberlain crossed toward the end of February the upper Ganges, entering the Rohilcund, situated north-north-west of Oude, and, as was correctly anticipated, the chief point of retreat of the insurgent army. The garrisons of the towns surrounding Oude must also be included in the force directly or indirectly employed against that kingdom, so that the whole of this force is certainly from 70,000 to 80,000 combatants, of which, according to the official statements, at least 28,000 are British. In this is not included the mass of Sir John Lawrence's force, which occupies at Delhi a sort of flank position, and which consists of 5,500 Europeans at Meerut and Delhi, and some 20,000 or 30,000 natives of the Punjaub.

The concentration of this immense force is the result partly of Gen. Campbell's combinations, but partly also of the suppression of the revolt in various parts of Hindostan, in consequence of which the troops naturally concentrated toward the scene of action. No doubt Campbell would have ventured to act with a smaller force; but while he was waiting for this, fresh resources were thrown, by circumstances, on his hands; and he was not the man to refuse to avail himself of them, even against so contemptible an enemy as he knew he would meet at Lucknow. And it must not be forgotten that, imposing as these numbers look, they still were spread over a space as large as France; and that at the decisive point at Lucknow he could only appear with about 20,000 Europeans, 10,000 Hindoos, and 10,000 Ghoorkas—the value of the last, under native command, being at least doubtful. This force, in its European components alone, was certainly more than enough to insure a speedy victory, but still its strength was not out of proportion to its task; and very likely Campbell desired to show the Oudians, for once, a more formidable army of white faces than any people in India had ever seen before, as a sequal to an insurrection which had been based on the small number and wide dispersion of the Europeans over the country.

The force in Oude consisted of the remnants of most of the mutinous Bengal regiments and of native levies from the country

itself. Of the former, there cannot have been more than 35,000 or 40,000 at the very outside. The sword, desertion and demoralization must have reduced this force, originally 80,000 strong, at least one half; and what was left was disorganized, disheartened, badly appointed, and totally unfit to take the field. The new levies are variously stated at from 100,000 to 150,000 men; but what their numbers may have been is unimportant. Their arms were but in part firearms, of inferior construction; most of them carried arms for close encounter only—the kind of fighting they were least likely to meet with. The greater part of this force was at Lucknow, engaging Sir J. Outram's troops; but two columns were acting in the direction of Allahabad and Juanpore.

The concentric movement upon Lucknow began about the middle of February. From the 15th to the 26th the main army and its immense train (60,000 camp followers alone) marched from Cawnpore upon the capital of Oude, meeting with no resistance. The enemy, in the mean time, attacked Outram's position, without a chance of success, on February 21 and 24. On the 19th Franks advanced upon Sultanpore, defeated both columns of the insurgents in one day, and pursued them as well as the want of cavalry permitted. The two defeated columns having united, he beat them again on the 23d, with the loss of 20 guns and all their camp and baggage. Gen. Hope Grant, commanding the advanced guard of the main army, had also, during its forced march, detached himself from it, and making a point to the left had, on the 23d and 24th, destroyed two forts on the road from Lucknow to Rohilcund.

On March 2 the main army was concentrated before the southern side of Lucknow. This side is protected by the canal, which had to be passed by Campbell in his previous attack on the city; behind this canal strong intrenchments had been thrown up. On the 3d, the British occupied the Dilkhoosha Park, with the storming of which the first attack also had commenced. On the 4th, Brig. Franks joined the main army, and now formed its right flank, his right supported by the River Goomtee. Meantime, batteries against the enemy's intrenchments were erected, and two floating bridges were constructed, below the town, across the Goomtee; and as soon as these were ready, Sir J. Outram, with his division of infantry, 1,400 horse, and 30 guns, moved across to take position on the left or north-eastern bank. From here he could enfilade a great part of the enemy's line along the canal, and many of the intrenched palaces to its rear; he also cut off the enemy's communications with the whole north-eastern part of

Oude. He met with considerable resistance on the 6th and 7th, but drove the enemy before him. On the 8th, he was again attacked, but with no better success. In the mean time, the batteries on the right bank had opened their fire; Outram's batteries, along the river-bank, took the position of the insurgents in flank and rear; and on the 9th the 2d division, under Sir E. Lugard, stormed the Martiniere, which, as our readers may recollect,[a] is a college and park situated on the south side of the canal, at its junction with the Goomtee, and opposite the Dilkhoosha. On the 10th, the Bank-House was breached and stormed, Outram advancing further up the river, and enfilading with his guns every successive position of the insurgents. On the 11th, two Highland regiments (42d and 93d) stormed the Queen's Palace, and Outram attacked and carried the stone-bridges leading from the left bank of the river into the town. He then passed his troops across and joined in the attack against the next building in front. On March 13, another fortified building, the Imambarrah, was attacked, a sap being resorted to in order to construct the batteries under shelter; and on the following day, the breach being completed, this building was stormed. The enemy, flying to the Kaiserbagh or King's Palace, was so hotly pursued that the British entered the place at the heels of the fugitives. A violent struggle ensued, but by 3 o'clock in the afternoon the palace was in the possession of the British. This seems to have brought matters to a crisis; at least, all spirit of resistance seems to have ceased, and Campbell at once took measures for the pursuit and interception of the fugitives. Brigadier Campbell, with one brigade of cavalry and some horse artillery, was sent to pursue them, while Grant took the other brigade round to Seetapore, on the road from Lucknow to Rohilcund, in order to intercept them. While thus the portion of the garrison which took to flight was provided for, the infantry and artillery advanced further into the city, to clear it from those who still held out. From the 15th to the 19th, the fighting must have been mainly in the narrow streets of the town, the line of palaces and parks along the river having been previously carried; but on the 19th, the whole of the town was in Campbell's possession. About 50,000 insurgents are said to have fled, partly to Rohilcund, partly toward the Doab and Bundelcund. In this latter direction they had a chance of escaping, as Gen. Rose, with his column, was still sixty miles at least from the Jumna, and was said to have 30,000 insurgents in front of him. In the direction of

[a] See this volume, p. 419.— *Ed.*

Rohilcund there was also a chance of their being able to concentrate again; Campbell would not be in a position to follow them very fast, while of the whereabouts of Chamberlain we know nothing, and the province is large enough to afford them shelter for a short time. The next feature of the insurrection, therefore, will most likely be the formation of two insurgent armies in Bundelcund and Rohilcund, the latter of which, however, may soon be destroyed by concentric marches of the Lucknow and Delhi armies.

The operations of Sir C. Campbell in this campaign, as far as we can now judge, were characterized by his usual prudence and vigor. The dispositions for his concentric march on Lucknow were excellent, and the arrangements for the attack appear to have taken advantage of every circumstance. The conduct of the insurgents, on the other hand, was as contemptible, if not more so, than before. The sight of the redcoats struck them everywhere with panic. Franks's column defeated twenty times its numbers, with scarcely a man lost; and though the telegrams talk of "stout resistance" and "hard fighting,"[a] as usual, the losses of the British appear, where they are mentioned, so ridiculously small that we fear there was no more heroism needed and no more laurels to be gathered this time at Lucknow than when the British got there before.[b]

Written on April 15, 1858

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] "The Siege of Lucknow", *The Times*, No. 22966, April 13, 1858.— *Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 419-24 and 435-42.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## MR. DISRAELI'S BUDGET

London, April 20, 1858

Mr. Disraeli's speech on the Budget in the Commons, on April 19,[a] fills about ten columns of *The London Times,* but, at all events, it is pleasant to read, perhaps rather more so than the *Young Duke* of the same author. As to lucidity of analysis, simplicity of composition, skillful arrangement and easy handling of details, it stands in happy contrast with the cumbersome and circumlocutory lucubrations of his Palmerstonian predecessor.[b] Neither does it contain or pretend to any striking novelty. Mr. Disraeli found himself in the happy position of a Minister of Finance who has to deal with a deficit not of his own making, but bequeathed by a rival. His part was that of the doctor, not of the patient. On the one hand, then, he had to meet a deficit; on the other, all serious restriction of expenditure was put out of the question by the ventures England had embarked in under the auspices of Lord Palmerston. Mr. Disraeli roundly told the House that, if they wanted a policy of invasion and aggression, they must pay for it, and that their loud cry for economy was a mere mockery, blended, as it was, with an unscrupulous readiness for expenditure. According to his statement, the charges devolving upon the financial year 1858-59 would be:

| | |
|---|---|
| Charge on the funded debt | £28,400,000 |
| Permanent charge on the consolidated fund | 1,900,000 |
| Army estimates | 11,750,000 |
| Charge for the navy, including packet service | 9,860,000 |
| Civil service | 7,000,000 |

[a] *The Times,* No. 22972, April 20, 1858.—*Ed.*
[b] G. C. Lewis.—*Ed.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Revenue department | 4,700,000 |
| Exchequer bonds to be liquidated in May, '58 | 2,000,000 |
| War sinking fund | 1,500,000 |
| Total charge | £67,110,000 |

The revenue of the year 1858-59 was estimated as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Customs | £23,400,000 |
| Excise | 18,000,000 |
| Stamp duty | 7,550,000 |
| Land & assessed taxes | 3,200,000 |
| Post-Office | 3,200,000 |
| Property and income tax | 6,100,000 |
| Crown lands | 270,000 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,300,000 |
| Total revenue | £63,020,000 |

A comparison between the estimated expenditure and the estimated income shows, despite the rather sanguine views taken by Mr. Disraeli of the eventual produce of the customs, the excise and the post-office, a clear deficit of £4,000,000. How was it to be met? The Palmerstonians had chuckled at the mere idea that Mr. Disraeli would be forced to suspend the decline in the next year of the income tax from 7d. to 5d. in the pound, a proposition which, when made by Sir Cornewall Lewis, he and Mr. Gladstone had distinguished themselves by opposing. Then the cry of factious opposition would have been raised, and the unpopularity of the tax turned to good account. In one word, the income tax was the rock which it was confidently predicted the Derby state ship must split upon. Mr. Disraeli, however, was too old a fox to be ensnared in such a trap. He told the House, on the contrary, that John Bull, during the last five years, had "behaved" like a good boy in financial matters; had borne the public burdens with great spirit, and should, therefore, under his present distressed circumstances, not be grieved by a tax he had always felt a peculiar aversion to, especially since, by the arrangement of the year 1853,[535] resolved upon by an immense majority of the House, the good boy had been promised the progressive diminution of the tax, and its final extinction at the end of a certain number of years. Mr. Disraeli's own prescriptions for meeting the deficit, and securing even a small margin of surplus income, amount to this: Postpone the liquidation of two millions of Exchequer bonds to a later period; do not pay the £1,300,000 for the war sinking fund until there is a *bona fide* surplus to be sunk in it; equalize the

English and Irish duties on spirits, by raising the latter from 6s. 10d. to 8s. per gallon, which equalization would give an increase of £500,000 to the Exchequer; and, lastly, put a penny stamp on bankers' checks, which would produce to the revenue a surplus of £300,000.

Now as to the trifling new taxes imposed by Mr. Disraeli, no serious objection can be raised against them. Though the representatives of Paddy felt it, of course, their duty to protest, any check put upon the spirit consumption in Ireland must be considered a curative measure. In proposing it, the Chancellor of the Exchequer could not withstand the temptation of poking some fun at his Irish friends. "In the most cordial spirit" he asked "the high-spirited Irishmen" to concur in the proposition for taxing "Irish spirit," and mingle their "spirits" with those of Englishmen and Scotchmen, &c. The penny stamp on bankers' checks was fiercely attacked by Mr. Glyn,[a] the representative of the London banking and stock-jobbing interest. That unfortunate penny, he felt sure, would prevent the monetary circulation of the country from performing its duties; but, whatever terror Mr. Glyn might feel or feign to feel at the audacity of imposing a trifling duty on bankers and stock-jobbers, his feelings are not likely to find an echo among the mass of the British people.

The serious feature of Mr. Disraeli's budget is the stopping of the operation of the artificial sinking fund, that great financial sham reintroduced by Sir Cornewall Lewis, on occasion of the debts contracted during the Russian war.[b] The genuine British sinking fund is one of those monster delusions which obscure the mental faculties of a whole generation, and the gist of which the following one is hardly able to understand. It was first in the year 1771, that Dr. Richard Price, in his observations on reversionary payments, revealed to the world the mysteries of compound interest and the sinking fund.

"Money," he said, "bearing compound interest, increases at first slowly; but, the rate of increase being continually accelerated, it becomes in some time so rapid as to mock all the powers of imagination. One penny, put out at our Savior's birth at five per cent interest, would, before this time, have increased to a greater sum than would be contained in 150 millions of earths, all solid gold. But, if put out at simple interest, it would in the same time have amounted to no more than 7s. 4 1/2d. Our Government has hitherto chosen to improve money in the last rather

[a] G. G. Glyn's speech in the House of Commons on April 19, 1858, *The Times*, No. 22972, April 20, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] The Crimean war of 1853-56.—*Ed.*

than the first of these ways.[a] A State need never be under any difficulties; for, with the smallest savings, it may, in as little time as its interest can require, pay off the largest debts. On this plan, it is of little importance what interest the State is obliged to give for money; for the higher the interest the sooner will such a fund pay off the principal."[b]

Consequently he proposed,

"an annual saving, to be applied invariably, together with the interest of all the sums redeemed by it, to the purpose of discharging the public debt; or, in other words, the establishment of a sinking fund."[c]

This fantastic scheme, rather less ingenious than the financial plan of the fool in one of Cervantes' novels,[d] who proposed to the whole Spanish people to abstain for only two weeks from eating and drinking, in order to get the means of discharging the public debt, nevertheless caught the imagination of Pitt. It was avowedly on this basis that he built up his sinking fund in 1786, allotting a fixed sum of 5,000,000 sterling, to be paid every year "without fail," for this purpose. The system was not abandoned until 1825, when the Commons passed a resolution that only the *bona fide* surplus revenue of the country was to be applied in payment of the national debt. The whole system of public credit had been thrown into confusion by this curious sort of sinking fund. Between what was borrowed from necessity, and what was borrowed from amusement; between loans that were to increase the debt, and loans that were to pay it off, there arose a tumultuous medley. Interest and compound interest, debt and redemption, danced before men's eyes in such perpetual succession; there was such a phantasmagoria of consols and bonds, of debentures and exchequer bills, of capital without interest and interest without capital, that the strongest understanding became bewildered. Dr. Price's principle was that the State should borrow money at simple interest in order to improve it at compound interest. In fact, the United Kingdom contracted a debt of 1,000 millions sterling, for which it nominally received about 600 millions, 390 millions of this sum being, however, destined not for the payment of the debt, but to keep up the sinking fund. This glorious institution, which marks the golden era of stock-jobbers and speculators, the Palmerstonian Chancellor of the Exchequer

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[a] R. Price, *An Appeal to the Public on the Subject of the National Debt*, pp. 18 and 19.—*Ed.*

[b] R. Price, *Observations on Reversionary Payments...*, pp. XIV and 140.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., p. 139.—*Ed.*

[d] M. de Cervantes Saavedra, *Novelas exemplares.*—*Ed.*

had attempted to saddle again on the shoulders of John Bull. Mr. Disraeli has given it the *coup de grâce.*

Written on April 20, 1858

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# Karl Marx

## THE ENGLISH ALLIANCE

Paris, April 22, 1858

The Anglo-French alliance has taken a new turn since Dr. Bernard's acquittal[a] [536] and the public enthusiasm that cheered it. In the first instance, being shrewd enough to understand that the "heart of England" spoke not "in the starched compliments with which the municipality of Dover overwhelmed the frank nature of the Duke of Malakoff", but rather "in the infamous huzzas raised by the people in the Court of Old Bailey," the *Univers* proclaimed England not only a "den of assassins," but a people of assassins, juries and judges included.[b] The original proposition of the colonels[537] is thus affirmed on a broader basis. At the heels of the *Univers*, in steps the *Constitutionnel* with an article appearing at the head of its columns, and signed by M. Renée,[c] the son-in-law of Mr. Macquard, who in his turn is the known amanuensis, confidant, and factotum of Bonaparte. If the *Univers* had taken up the colonels' definition of the English people, while enlarging its meaning, the *Constitutionnel* repeats their menaces, only that it tries to back the exasperation of the barracks by the alleged indignation of the "towns and rural districts." Affecting that tone of wounded moral sensibility so peculiar to the meretricious literature of the second Empire, it exclaims:

"We will not dwell at any length on such an acquittal, which throws an unheard-of scandal on public morality; for what man of honor in France or England could entertain a doubt of Bernard's guilt? We will only inform those of

[a] "Trial and acquittal of Simon Bernard...", *The Times*, No. 22971, April 19, 1858.— *Ed.*

[b] *The Times*, No. 22973, April 21, 1858, "France".— *Ed.*

[c] Am. Renée, "L'acquittement de Bernard a causé...", *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 111, April 21, 1858.— *Ed.*

our neighbors who desire *the maintenance of good relations between the two countries*, that if, by misfortune, the address pronounced by Bernard's counsel—that address which was *allowed* to teem with calumny and insult against the Emperor, against the nation which elected him, against the army, and against our institutions—was circulated in the towns, barracks, and rural districts of France" (a curious position this, of the barracks, between the towns and rural districts!) *"it would be difficult for Government, with the best intention, to stay the consequences of public indignation."*

So far so good. On the mere chance whether or not Mr. James's speech,[a] advertised by the *Constitutionnel* itself,[b] be or be not circulated in France, it will then depend whether or not France shall rush upon England. But after this quasi-declaration of war, there follows, a day later, a curious and startling winding-up in the *Patrie*. The French invasion is to be averted, but only by a new turn to be given to the Anglo-French alliance. Bernard's acquittal has revealed the rising power of anarchy in British society. Lord Derby is to save society in England in the same way as Bonaparte has saved it in France. Such is the upshot of the alliance, and such is its *conditio sine qua non*.[c] The Earl of Derby, it is added, is a "man of immense talent, and of almost royal alliances," and consequently the man to save society in England![d] The English daily papers cling to the weakness, tergiversation, and infirmity of purpose, betrayed in this alternation of rage, menace and sophism. The Paris correspondent of *The Daily News* imagines himself to have solved the riddle of these dissolving views exhibited in the *Univers*, the *Constitutionnel*, and the *Patrie*, by dwelling upon the well-known fact that Bonaparte has a double set of advisers—the drunken revelers of the evening, and the sober counselors of the morning. He smells in the articles of the *Univers* and the *Constitutionnel* the fumes of Chateau Maryaux and cigars, and in the article of the *Patrie* the showers of the cold water bath. But the same double set acted during Bonaparte's duel with the French Republic. The one, after January, 1849, threatened, in its little evening journals, with a *coup d'état*, while the other, in the heavy columns of the *Moniteur*, gave them the lie direct. Still it was not in the "starched" articles of the *Moniteur*, but in the drunken "huzzas" of the *Pouvoir*, that the shadow of coming events was traced. We are, however, far from believing that Bonaparte is

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[a] E. James' speech at the court hearing of S. Bernard's case on April 16, 1858, *The Times*, No. 22970, April 17, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] "Affaire Simon Bernard.—Complicité dans l'attentat du 14 janvier", *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 108, April 18, 1858.—*Ed.*

[c] Indispensable condition.—*Ed.*

[d] *The Times*, No. 22975, April 23, 1858, "France".—*Ed.*

possessed of the means of successfully crossing the "broad ditch."[a] The comical lucubrations in that line, which *The N. Y. Herald* had taken upon itself to publish, are sure to raise a smile on the lips even of mere tyros in military science. But we are decidedly of opinion that Bonaparte, a civilian, it ought never to be forgotten, at the head of a military Government, has, in the *Patrie*, put the last and the only possible interpretation on the Anglo-French alliance which will satisfy his "colonels." He finds himself in a situation at once the most grotesque and the most dangerous. To impose upon foreign Governments, he must clap on the sword. To soothe the sword-bearers, and prevent them from taking his rhodomontades in real good earnest, he must recur to such impossible *fictiones juris* as that the Anglo-French alliance means the saving of society in England in the approved Bonapartist fashion. Of course, facts must clash with his doctrines, and the upshot, if his reign is not, as we are inclined to think, cut short by a revolution, will be that his fortune is engulfed, as it has been raised, in mad-brain adventures in some *expédition de Boulogne*[538] on an enlarged scale. The Emperor will subside into the adventurer, as the adventurer has been converted into the Emperor.

In the mean time, while the *Patrie* has spoken the last word Bonaparte can utter as to the meaning of the Anglo-French alliance, it is worth the while to direct attention to the manner in which this alliance is now spoken of among the governing classes of England. In this respect an article of *The London Economist*, entitled "*The French Alliance, its character, its value and its price,*"[b] claims peculiar notice. It is written with studied pedantry, such as fits the position of an ex-Secretary of the Treasury under Palmerston's Administration, and an expounder of the economical views of English capitalists. Mr. Wilson sets out with the thesis that "the thing gained may not be exactly the thing bargained for." "Scarcely," he says, "any estimate of the value of a real alliance between France and England can be too high;" but then there exist different sorts of alliances, real ones and artificial ones, genuine alliances and alliances of a hot-house growth, "natural" ones and "governmental" ones, "governmental" alliances and "personal" alliances. In the first place, *The Economist* gives full swing to his "imagination;" and it may be remarked with respect to *The Economist*, what has been said with respect to lawyers, that

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[a] The Channel.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below *The Economist*, No. 763, April 10, 1858.—*Ed.*

the more prosaic the man the more tricks imagination is able to play with him. He can scarcely trust his

"imagination to dwell on the influence which a real alliance between the two great peoples which stand at the head of modern civilization would exercise on the destinies of Europe and the fortune and felicity of all other lands."

Still he is forced to admit that, although he hopes and believes the two nations to be "ripening" for a genuine alliance, they "are not *ripe* for it yet." If, then, England and France are not yet ripe for a genuine, national alliance, the question will naturally arise, of what sort is the present Anglo-French alliance?

"Our alliance of late," confesses the ex-member of the Palmerston Administration and the oracle of English capitalists, "has been to a great extent, we admit, unavoidably with the Government rather than with the nation—with the Emperor rather than the Empire—with Louis Bonaparte rather than with France; and further, in the value we have set upon the alliance and the price we have paid for it, we have somewhat lost sight of this material and weighty fact."

Bonaparte, of course, is the chosen of the French nation, and all that bosh, but, unfortunately,

"he represents only the numerical and not the intellectual majority of the French people. By mischance, it so happens that the classes which stand aloof from him comprise precisely those parties whose opinions on nearly all the great questions of civilization, are analogous to our own."

Having thus in most cautious and civil language, and in circumlocutory sentences which we will not discomfort the reader with, laid down the axiom that the present so-called Anglo-French alliance is rather governmental than national, *The Economist* goes the length of confessing that it is more *personal* even than purely *governmental.*

"Louis Napoleon," he says, "has hinted more plainly than became the head of a great nation that *he* was our especial friend in France—that he, rather than his people, desired and sustained the English alliance; and it may be that *we* have acquiesced in this view of the matter more readily and fully than was perfectly *prudent* and *sincere.*"[a]

Take it all in all, the Anglo-French alliance is a spurious, adulterated article—an alliance with Louis Bonaparte, but not an alliance with France. The question, therefore, naturally arises, whether that spurious article was worth the price paid for it? Here *The Economist* beats his own bosom and cries, in the name of the English governing classes, *Pater, peccavi!*[b] In the first place,

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[a] Here and below *The Economist*, No. 764, April 17, 1858.—*Ed.*
[b] "Father, I have sinned", Luke 15:18.—*Ed.*

England is a constitutional country, while Bonaparte is an autocrat.

"We owed to ourselves that our frank and loyal courtesy toward the *de facto* sovereign of France should be allowed to ripen and to warm into cordial and affectionate admiration only as far and as fast as his policy turned out such as we could honestly and righteously approve."

Instead of applying thus a sliding scale to their Bonapartism, the English people, a constitutional people,

"have lavished on an Emperor who had destroyed the constitutional liberties of his subjects, attentions such as were never before bestowed on a constitutional king who had granted and respected them. And when he was angry and irritated, we have stooped to soothe him by language of fulsome adulation which sounded marvelous from English lips. Our proceedings and our language have alienated all those sections of the French people in whose eyes Louis Napoleon is either a usurper or a military despot. It has especially irritated and disgusted the Parliamentary party in France, whether Republican or Orleanist."

*The Economist* discovers at last that this prostration before a lucky usurper was far from prudent.

"It is impossible," he says, "to believe that the existing régime in France can be the permanent one under which that energetic and restless nation will consent to live.... Is it wise, therefore, so to ally ourselves with a *passing phase of government in France* as to excite the enmity of its future and more permanent development?"

Moreover, the English alliance was more necessary to Bonaparte than his alliance to England. In 1852, he was an adventurer—a successful one, but still an adventurer.

"He was not recognized in Europe; it was questionable whether he would be recognized. But England promptly and unhesitatingly accepted him; acknowledged his title deeds at once; admitted him to the circle of royal exclusiveness, and gave him thus currency among the courts of Europe." "Nay, more, by the exchange of visits and cordial coalitions, our Court allowed acquaintanceship to ripen into intimacy.... Those enterprising moneyed and commercial classes, by whom it was especially important to him to be supported, saw at once how vast was the strength he gained by the closeness and cordiality of the alliance with England."

That alliance was necessary for him, and he "would have bought it at almost *any price*." Did the English Government prove their commercial acumen and wonted sharpness in fixing that price? They asked no price at all; they insisted upon no condition whatever; but, like Oriental satraps, crawled in the dust while handing to him the gift of the alliance. No infamy on his part was colossal enough to make them halt for one moment in their race "of thriftless generosity," as *The Economist* calls it—of reckless flunkeyism, as we should call it.

"It would be hard to prove," confesses the English sinner, "that of all his various measures for discountenancing Protestantism, for repressing thought, for destroying municipal action, for reducing Senates and Chambers to a mockery, we have manifested our dissatisfaction with a single one by even so much as a passing coolness or a casual frown." "Whatever he has done, whomsoever he has proscribed, how many journals he has seized or repressed, whatever the flimsy pretexts on which he has dismissed honorable and eminent professors from their posts—our language has still been the same; he has still been this great man, this wise and sagacious statesman, this eminent and firm ruler."

Not only have the English thus fostered, supported and promoted his abominable domestic policy, but, as *The Economist* avows, allowed him to hamper, modify, emasculate and degrade their foreign policy.

"To continue longer in such a false position," concludes *The Economist*, "may redound neither to our honor nor to our profit, nor to the benefit of the commonwealth of nations."

Compare this declaration with that of the *Patrie*, and there can remain no doubt that the Anglo-French alliance is gone, and with it the only international prop of the second Empire.

Written on April 22, 1858

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published unsigned in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5319, May 8, 1858

# Karl Marx

## IMPORTANT BRITISH DOCUMENTS

London, April 30, 1858

There have been recently issued on the part of the British Government several statistical papers—the Board of Trade returns for the first quarter of 1858,[a] a comparative statement of Pauperism for January, 1857 and 1858,[b] and lastly, the half-yearly reports of the Inspectors of Factories. The Board of Trade returns, as was to be expected, show a considerable falling off in exports as well as imports during the first three months of 1858, if compared with the same quarter of the previous year. The total declared value of all articles exported, which during the latter period amounted to £28,827,493, had fallen for the first three months of this year to £23,510,290, so that the aggregate decrease in British exports may be rated at about 19 per cent. The table of the values of the principal articles of import, given only up to the end of February, shows a decline, as compared with the first two months of 1857, from £14,694,806 to £10,117,920, the downward movement in imports being thus more marked still than that in exports. The comparative state of the export trade from the United Kingdom to the United States during the first three months of 1857 and 1858 may be ascertained from the following extract:

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[a] "Accounts Relating to Trade and Navigation for the Three Months Ended March 31", "The Board of Trade Returns", *The Economist*, No. 765, April 24, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] Presumably a reference to *Monthly Comparative Return of Paupers relieved in each month in each year* [1857, 1858].—*Ed.*

*Exports from the United Kingdom to the United States.*

| | Quantities | | Declared Val. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1857 | 1858 | 1857 | 1858 |
| Beer and Ale (bbls.) | 9,504 | 6,581 | £40,893 | £29,269 |
| Coal and Culm (tuns) | 19,972 | 44,299 | 11,975 | 24,818 |
| Cottons (yards) | 61,198,140 | 35,371,538 | 1,128,453 | 618,540 |
| Hardw's & Cutlery (cwt.) | 44,096 | 14,623 | 301,275 | 104,668 |
| Linens (yards) | 18,373,022 | 8,757,750 | 527,076 | 265,536 |
| Iron, Pig (tuns) | 10,172 | 6,569 | 39,927 | 20,344 |
| Iron, Bar (tuns) | 70,877 | 6,417 | 610,124 | 54,602 |
| Iron, Cast (tuns) | 207 | 2,362 | 4,659 | 14,475 |
| Wrought of all sorts | 12,578 | 2,097 | 151,602 | 29,218 |
| Steel, unwrought | 3,607 | 1,118 | 128,178 | 43,666 |
| Copper (cwt.) | 11,075 | 1,954 | 69,286 | 10,595 |
| Lead (tuns) | 941 | 60 | 21,793 | 1,324 |
| Oil Seed (gals.) | 400,200 | 42,790 | 62,576 | 5,768 |
| Salt (tuns) | 66,022 | 35,205 | 33,169 | 16,990 |
| Silk manufactures (lb) | 66,973 | 22,920 | 82,280 | 25,212 |
| Woolens, Cloth (pieces) | 106,519 | 30,624 | 351,911 | 110,096 |
| Woolens, mixed stuffs (ps) | 9,030,643 | 6,368,551 | 401,249 | 232,202 |
| Worsted stuffs (pieces) | 212,763 | 80,601 | 249,013 | 106,913 |
| Earthenware & Porcel'n | ... | ... | 155,700 | 70,998 |
| Haberdashery & Millin'y | ... | ... | 614,825 | 288,752 |
| Tin Plates | ... | ... | 273,409 | 105,847[a] |

With some trifling exceptions, this list exhibits a general and heavy falling off; but what strikes us is that in most instances the decline in the value of exports hardly keeps pace with the diminution in their quantity. The United States proves in this respect a far better market than other countries whence the Britishers for an increased quantity fetched in return a smaller value. Thus, for instance, of wool there were exported to Holland, in 1858, 277,342 lbs. against 254,593 lbs. in 1857; but the former realized but a value of £24,949, while the latter had brought £25,563; and for 1,505,621 lbs. exported to France in 1858, as against 1,445,322 lbs. exported in 1857, the value returned amounts but to £103,235, while for the smaller export of 1857 it reached the sum of £108,412. Moreover, if we compare the

[a] Here and below "Accounts Relating to Trade and Navigation...", III.—Exports of the Principal and Other Articles of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures...—*Ed.*

returns for the whole of the first quarter of 1858 with those for the month of March, a tendency to recovery in the British export trade to the United States will be discovered. Thus, in worsted stuffs the falling off between March, 1857, and March, 1858, is only from £66,617 to £54,376, while on the whole quarter it is from £249,013 to £106,913. The only country, however, which forms an exception to the general rule, and shows a considerably increased instead of diminished absorption of British manufactures, is India, as will appear from the following figures:

| | Quantities. | | Declared Val. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1857 | 1858 | 1857 | 1858 |
| Beer and ale, bbls | 24,817 | 51,913 | £77,845 | £166,567 |
| Cotton, yards | 120,092,475 | 151,463,533 | 1,385,888 | 1,787,943 |
| Hardw's & Cut'ry, cwt. | 10,642 | 16,776 | 42,849 | 67,287 |
| Cotton yarn, yards | 5,145,044 | 10,609,434 | 276,469 | 531,567 |
| Iron bar, tuns | 20,674 | 26,266 | 191,528 | 217,539 |
| Cop'r sh'ts & rails, cwt. | 18,503 | 23,313 | 115,927 | 132,156 |
| Woolens, cloth | 12,123 | 19,571 | 63,846 | 90,584 |
| Earthware & porcel'n | ... | ... | 9,989 | 19,631 |
| Haberd'y & millinery | ... | ... | 21,350 | 31,427 |
| Steam engines | ... | ... | 31,408 | 36,019 |

The increase in the British exports to India may, for some items, woolens for instance, be accounted for by the war demand. Generally, however, the rationale of that ascending movement is not to be sought in that direction. The case is simply this, that the insurrection for some months had shut up the Indian market altogether, thus causing the commodities floating in the market to be absorbed and creating a vacuum now again filled up. With respect to Australia, the returns show also considerable increase in some articles of British export, but the letters received from Sidney and Melbourne leave no doubt as to the merely speculative character of those shipments which, instead of selling at their declared value, will have to be disposed of at a heavy discount.

The comparative statement of Paupers in England and Wales,[539] who received official relief in the fifth week of January, 1857 and 1858, shows their number, from 920,608, to which it amounted in the former period, to have increased to 976,773 in the latter one, thus exhibiting an aggregate increase of 6.10 per cent. For the North Midland, North-Western and York divisions, however, that is, for the industrial districts, the increase in the percentage of paupers rose respectively by 20.52, 44.87, and 23.13 per cent. Besides, it must be kept in view that a very considerable portion of

the working classes stubbornly prefer starvation to enrollment in the workhouses. The following extract from the official returns is curious, because it proves how small a percentage even in England the strictly manufacturing population bears to the aggregate people:

*Industrial Statistics.*

| *Divisions.* | No. of persons aged 20 years and upward. | Ratio per cent of persons aged 20 years and upward, occupied in | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Mechanical Arts, Trade and Domestic Service. | Agriculture. | Manufactures. | Mining and Mineral Works. |
| 1. The Metropolis | 1,394,963 | 47.6 | 1.1 | 6.0 | 3.5 |
| 2. South-Eastern | 887,134 | 30.7 | 20.8 | 2.5 | 2.4 |
| 3. South Midland | 660,775 | 28.8 | 25.4 | 7.1 | 2.4 |
| 4. Eastern | 603,720 | 27.4 | 26.5 | 4.0 | 2.3 |
| 5. South-Western | 978,025 | 28.6 | 23.3 | 4.6 | 5.6 |
| 6. West Midland | 1,160,387 | 29.1 | 15.5 | 5.2 | 12.6 |
| 7. North Midland | 654,679 | 31.8 | 21.7 | 6.4 | 5.3 |
| 8. North-Western | 1,351,830 | 29.8 | 8.3 | 21.5 | 5.4 |
| 9. York | 961,945 | 25.2 | 14.3 | 17.5 | 7.3 |
| 10. Northern | 521,460 | 27.7 | 16.1 | 4.2 | 12.4 |
| 11. Welsh | 641,680 | 21.8 | 25.7 | 2.5 | 12.4 |
| England and Wales | 9,816,597 | 31.0 | 16.1 | 8.4 | 6.3 |

The reports of the Inspectors of Factories, extending only to the end of October, 1857, are deprived of their usual interest, because, as the Inspectors unanimously state, the closing of mills, the working of short time, the numerous bankruptcies among mill-owners, and the general depression of trade, which set in at the very time when they drew up their returns, prevented them from collecting that reliable information, which on former occasions allowed them to prepare a statement of the number of new factories, of factories that had added to their motive power, and of those which had ceased to work. The industrial statistics, therefore, illustrating the effects of the crisis, must be looked for in their next reports. The only new feature exhibited in the present publication is limited to some revelations as to the treatment of children and young persons in printing works. It was not until 1845 that the British Legislature extended their interference from textile fabrics to print-works. The Print-Works

act follows the provisions of the Factory acts in all those details relating to powers of inspectors, the mode of their dealing with offenders, and the various difficulties which might arise in the administration of the law, which are to be found in the Factory acts.[a] It provides, in the same manner as in factories, for the registration of the persons employed: for the examination by certifying surgeons of the younger hands prior to their permanent employment; and for insuring regularity in the observance of the times of beginning and ending daily labor by a public clock. It adopts also the nomenclature of the Factory acts in the division of the hands into classes, but differs widely from those acts in the definition of what persons shall constitute each class, and, consequently, in the amount of protection afforded by the restrictions upon labor.

The three classes under the Factory acts are: 1. Males over 18 years of age, whose labor is unrestricted; 2. Males between 13 and 18 years of age, and females above 13 years of age, whose labor is restricted; 3. Children between 8 and 13 years of age, whose labor is restricted, and who are required to attend school *daily.*

The corresponding classes in print-works are: 1. Males above 13 years of age, whose labor is unrestricted; 2. Females above 13 years of age, whose hours of labor are restricted; 3. Children of both sexes, between the ages of 8 and 13, whose labor is restricted, and who are required to attend school *periodically.* The Print-Works act differs essentially from the Factory acts, in containing no provisions of any kind for either of the following purposes: For setting apart times for meals; for the Saturday holiday; for the cessation from work on Christmas day and Good Friday; for periodical half-holidays; for the secure fencing of dangerous machinery; for the reporting of accidents, and compensation of injured persons; for the periodical lime-washing of the premises. The hours of labor in factories are now assimilated to the ordinary hours of work of mechanics and general laborers, i.e., from 6 a. m. to 6 p. m., with intervals of one hour and a half for meals. The hours of labor in print-works may practically be considered to be unrestricted, notwithstanding the existence of statutory limitation. The only restriction upon labor is contained in § 22 of the Print-Works act (8 and 9 Vict., 29), which enacts that no child between the ages of 8 and 13 years, and no female, shall be

[a] Here and below [A. Redgrave,] "Report of Alexander Redgrave, Esq., Inspector of Factories, for the Half Year Ended the 31st October 1857", *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories...*, pp. 38, 39, 41, 43.—*Ed.*

employed during the night, which is defined to be between 10 p. m. and 6 a. m. of the following morning. Children, therefore, of the age of 8 years, may be and are lawfully employed in a labor analogous in many respects to factory labor, mostly in rooms in which the temperature is oppressive, continuously and without any cessation from work for rest or refreshment, from 6 a. m. till 10 p. m.; and a boy, having attained the age of 13, may, and is often, lawfully employed day and night for any number of hours, without any restriction whatever. The school attendance of children employed in print-works is thus provided for: Every child, before being employed in a print-work, must have attended school for at least thirty days and not less than one hundred any fifty hours during the six months immediately preceding such first day of employment, and during the continuance of its employment in the print-work must attend for a like period of thirty days and one hundred and fifty hours during every successive period of six months. The attendance at school must be between 8 a. m. and 6 p. m. No attendance of less than two hours and a half nor more than five hours, on any one day, shall be reckoned as part of the one hundred and fifty hours. The philanthropy of the master-printers shines peculiarly in the method of executing these regulations. Sometimes a child would attend school for the number of hours required by law at one period of the day, sometimes at another period, but never regularly; for instance, the attendance on one day might be from 8 a. m. to 11 a. m., on another day from 1 p. m. to 4 p. m., and the child might not appear at school again for several days, when it would attend perhaps from 3 p. m. to 6 p. m.; then it might attend for three or four days consecutively or for a week; then it would not appear in school for three weeks or a month after that, upon some odd days at some odd hours when the employer chose to spare it. Thus the child is as it were buffeted from school to work, and from work to school, until the tale of one hundred and fifty hours is told.

Written on April 30, 1858

Reproduced from the newspaper

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# Frederick Engels

## [DETAILS OF THE ATTACK ON LUCKNOW]

At last we are in possession of detailed accounts of the attack and fall of Lucknow. The principal sources of information, in a military point of view, the dispatches of Sir Colin Campbell, have not yet, indeed, been published; but the correspondence of the British press, and especially the letters of Mr. Russell in *The London Times*,[a] the chief portions of which have been laid before our readers, are quite sufficient to give a general insight into the proceedings of the attacking party.

The conclusions we drew from the telegraphic news, as to the ignorance and cowardice displayed in the defense,[b] are more than confirmed by the detailed accounts. The works erected by the Hindoos, formidable in appearance, were in reality of no greater consequence than the fiery dragons and grimacing faces painted by Chinese "braves" on their shields or on the walls of their cities. Every single work exhibited an apparently impregnable front, nothing but loopholed and embrasured walls and parapets, difficulties of access of every possible description, cannon and small-arms bristling everywhere. But the flanks and rear of every position were completely neglected, a mutual support of the various works was never thought of, and even the ground between the works, as well as in front of them, had never been cleared, so that both front and flank attacks could be prepared without the knowledge of the defense, and could approach under perfect shelter to within a few yards from the parapet. It was just such a

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[a] Here and below [W. H. Russell,] "The Fall of Lucknow", *The Times*, No. 22986, May 6, 1858.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 435-37, 506-09.— *Ed.*

conglomerate of intrenchments as might be expected from a body of private sappers deprived of their officers, and serving in an army where ignorance and indiscipline reigned supreme. The intrenchments of Lucknow are but a translation of the whole method of Sepoy warfare into baked clay walls and earthen parapets. The mechanical portion of European tactics had been partially impressed upon their minds; they knew the manual and platoon drill well enough; they could also build a battery and loophole a wall; but how to combine the movements of companies and battalions in the defense of a position, or how to combine batteries and loopholed houses and walls, so as to form an intrenched camp capable of resistance—of this they were utterly ignorant. Thus, they weakened the solid masonry walls of their palaces by over-loopholing them, heaped tier upon tier of loopholes and embrasures, placed parapeted batteries on their roofs, and all this to no purpose whatever, because it could all be turned in the easiest possible manner. In the same way, knowing their tactical inferiority, they tried to make up for it by cramming every post as full of men as possible, to no other purpose than to give terrible effect to the British artillery and to render impossible all orderly and systematic defense as soon as the attacking columns fell upon this motley host from an unexpected direction. And when the British, by some accidental circumstance, were compelled to attack even the formidable front of the works, their construction was so faulty that they could be approached, breached and stormed almost without any risk. At the Imambarrah this was the case. Within a few yards from the building stood a pucka (sun-baked clay) wall. Up to this the British made a short sap (proof enough that the embrasures and loopholes on the higher part of the building had no plunging fire upon the ground immediately in front), and used this very wall as a breaching battery, prepared for them by the Hindoos themselves! They brought up two 68-pounders (naval guns) behind this wall. The lightest 68-pounder in the British service weighs 87 cwt., without the carriage; but supposing even that an 8-inch gun for hollow shot only is alluded to, the lightest gun of that class weighs 50 cwt., and with the carriage at least three tuns. That such guns could be brought up at all in such proximity to a palace several stories high, with a battery on the roof, shows a contempt of commanding positions and an ignorance of military engineering which no private sapper in any civilized army could be capable of.

Thus much for the science against which the British had to contend. As to courage and obstinacy, they were equally absent

from the defense. From the Martinière to the Mousabagh, on the part of the natives, there was but one grand and unanimous act of bolting, as soon as a column advanced to the attack. There is nothing in the whole series of engagements that can compare even with the massacre (for fight it can scarcely be called) in the Secunderbagh during Campbell's relief of the Residency. No sooner do the attacking parties advance, than there is a general helter-skelter to the rear, and where there are but a few narrow exits so as to bring the crowded rabble to a stop, they fall pell-mell, and without any resistance, under the volleys and bayonets of the advancing British. The "British bayonet" has done more execution in any one of these onslaughts on panic-stricken natives than in all the wars of the English in Europe and America put together. In the East, such bayonet-battles, where one party is active and the other abjectly passive, are a regular occurrence in warfare; the Burmese stockades in every case furnished an example.[540] According to Mr. Russell's account, the chief loss suffered by the British was caused by Hindoos cut off from retreat, and barricaded in the rooms of the palaces, whence they fired from the windows upon the officers in the court-yards and gardens.

In storming the Imambarra and the Kaiserbagh, the bolting of the Hindoos was so rapid, that the place was not taken, but simply marched into. The interesting scene, however, was now only commencing; for, as Mr. Russell blandly observes, the conquest of the Kaiserbagh on that day was so unexpected that there was no time to guard against indiscriminate plunder. A merry scene it must have been for a true, liberty-loving John Bull to see his British grenadiers helping themselves freely to the jewels, costly arms, clothes, and all the toggery of his Majesty of Oude. The Sikhs, Ghoorkas and camp-followers were quite ready to imitate the example, and a scene of plunder and destruction followed which evidently surpassed even the descriptive talent of Mr. Russell. Every fresh step in advance was accompanied with plunder and devastation. The Kaiserbagh had fallen on the 14th; and half an hour after, discipline was at an end, and the officers had lost all command over their men. On the 17th, Gen. Campbell was obliged to establish patrols to check plundering, and to remain in inactivity "until the present license ceases." The troops were evidently completely out of hand. On the 18th, we hear that there is a cessation of the *grosser* sort of plunder, but devastation is still going on freely. In the city, however, while the vanguard were fighting against the natives' fire from the houses, the rearguard

plundered and destroyed to their hearts' content. In the evening, there is another proclamation against plundering; strong parties of every regiment to go out and fetch in their own men, and to keep their camp-followers at home; nobody to leave the camp except on duty. On the 20th, a recapitulation of the same orders. On the same day, two British "officers and gentlemen", Lieuts. Cape and Thackwell, "went into the city *looting,* and were murdered in a house;" and on the 26th, matters were still so bad that the most stringent orders were issued for the suppression of plunder and outrage; hourly roll-calls were instituted; all soldiers strictly forbidden to enter the city; camp-followers, if found armed in the city, to be hanged; soldiers not to wear arms except on duty, and all non-combatants to be disarmed. To give due weight to these orders, a number of triangles for flogging were erected "at proper places."

This is indeed a pretty state of things in a civilized army in the nineteenth century; and if any other troops in the world had committed one-tenth of these excesses, how would the indignant British press brand them with infamy! But these are the deeds of the British army, and therefore we are told that such things are but the normal consequences of war. British officers and gentlemen are perfectly welcome to appropriate to themselves any silver spoons, jeweled bracelets, and other little memorials they may find about the scene of their glory; and if Campbell is compelled to disarm his own army in the midst of war, in order to stop wholesale robbery and violence, there may have been military reasons for the step; but surely nobody will begrudge these poor fellows a week's holiday and a little frolic after so many fatigues and privations.

The fact is, there is no army in Europe or America with so much brutality as the British. Plundering, violence, massacre—things that everywhere else are strictly and completely banished—are a time-honored privilege, a vested right of the British soldier. The infamies committed for days together, after the storming of Badajos and San Sebastian,[541] in the Peninsular war, are without a parallel in the annals of any other nation since the beginning of the French Revolution; and the medieval usage, proscribed everywhere else, of giving up to plunder a town taken by assault, is still the rule with the British. At Delhi imperious military considerations enforced an exception; but the army, though bought off by extra pay, grumbled, and now at Lucknow they have made up for what they missed at Delhi. For twelve days and nights there was no British army at Lucknow—nothing but a

lawless, drunken, brutal rabble, dissolved into bands of robbers, far more lawless, violent and greedy than the Sepoys who had just been driven out of the place. The sack of Lucknow in 1858 will remain an everlasting disgrace to the British military service.

If the reckless soldiery, in their civilizing and humanizing progress through India, could rob the natives of their personal property only, the British Government steps in immediately afterward and strips them of their real estate as well. Talk of the first French Revolution confiscating the lands of the nobles and the church! Talk of Louis Napoleon confiscating the property of the Orleans family! Here comes Lord Canning, a British nobleman, mild in language, manners and feelings, and confiscates, by order of his superior, Viscount Palmerston, the lands of a whole people, every rood, perch and acre, over an extent of ten thousand square miles.[542] A very nice bit of *loot* indeed for John Bull! And no sooner had Lord Ellenborough, in the name of the new Government, disapproved of this hitherto unexampled measure,[a] than up rise *The Times* and a host of minor British papers to defend this wholesale robbery, and break a lance for the right of John Bull to confiscate everything he likes. But then, John is an exceptional being, and what is virtue in him, according to *The Times,* would be infamy in others.[b]

Meanwhile—thanks to the complete dissolution of the British army for the purpose of plunder—the insurgents escaped, unpursued, into the open country. They concentrate in Rohilcund, while a portion carry on petty warfare in Oude, and other fugitives have taken the direction of Bundelcund. At the same time, the hot weather and the rains are fast approaching; and it is not to be expected that the season will be so uncommonly favorable to European constitutions as last year. Then, the mass of the European troops were more or less acclimated; this year, most of them are newly arrived. There is no doubt that a campaign in June, July and August will cost the British an immense number of lives, and what with the garrisons that have to be left in every conquered city, the active army will melt down very rapidly. Already are we informed that re-enforcements of 1,000 men per month will scarcely keep up the army at its effective strength; and as to garrisons, Lucknow alone requires at least 8,000 men, over one-third of Campbell's army. The force organizing for the

[a] E. L. Ellenborough's speech in the House of Lords on May 7, 1858, *The Times,* No. 22988, May 8, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] "On Monday it will be exactly a twelvemonth since...", *The Times,* same issue.—*Ed.*

campaign of Rohilcund will scarcely be stronger than this garrison of Lucknow. We are also informed that among the British officers the opinion is gaining ground that the guerrilla warfare which is sure to succeed the dispersion of the larger bodies of insurgents, will be far more harassing and destructive of life to the British than the present war with its battles and sieges. And, lastly, the Sikhs are beginning to talk in a way which bodes no good to the English. They feel that without their assistance the British would scarcely have been able to hold India, and that, had they joined the insurrection, Hindostan would certainly have been lost to England, at least for a time. They say this loudly, and exaggerate it in their Eastern way. To them the English no longer appear as that superior race which beat them at Moodka, Ferozepore and Aliwal.[543] From such a conviction to open hostility there is but a step with Eastern nations; a spark may kindle the blaze.

Altogether, the taking of Lucknow has no more put down the Indian insurrection than the taking of Delhi. This Summer's campaign may produce such events that the British will have, next Winter, to go substantially over the same ground again, and perhaps even to reconquer the Punjaub. But in the best of cases, a long and harassing guerrilla warfare is before them—not an enviable thing for Europeans under an Indian sun.

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## THE ANNEXATION OF OUDE[544]

About eighteen months ago, at Canton, the British Government propounded the novel doctrine in the law of nations that a State may commit hostilities on a large scale against a Province of another State, without either declaring war or establishing a state of war against that other State.[545] Now the same British Government, in the person of the Governor-General of India, Lord Canning, has made another forward move in its task of upsetting the existing law of nations. It has proclaimed that

> "the proprietary right in the soil of the Province of Oude is confiscated to the British Government, which will dispose of that right in such manner as it may seem fitting."[a]

When, after the fall of Warsaw in 1831, the Russian Emperor[b] confiscated "the proprietary right in the soil" hitherto held by numerous Polish nobles,[546] there was one unanimous outburst of indignation in the British press and Parliament. When, after the battle of Novara,[547] the Austrian Government did not confiscate, but merely sequestered, the estates of such Lombard noblemen as had taken an active part in the war of independence, that unanimous outburst of British indignation was repeated. And when, after the 2d December, 1851, Louis Napoleon confiscated the estates of the Orleans family, which, by the common law of France, ought to have been united to the public domain on the accession of Louis Philippe, but which had escaped that fate by a

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[a] Here and below Ch. J. Canning, "Proclamation", *The Times*, No. 22986, May 6, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

legal quibble, then British indignation knew no bounds, and *The London Times* declared that by this act the very foundations of social order were upset, and that civil society could no longer exist.[a] All this honest indignation has now been practically illustrated. England, by one stroke of the pen, has confiscated not only the estates of a few noblemen, or of a royal family, but the whole length and breadth of a kingdom[548] nearly as large as Ireland, "the inheritance of a whole people," as Lord Ellenborough himself terms it.[b]

But let us hear what pretexts—grounds we cannot call them—Lord Canning, in the name of the British Government, sets forth for this unheard-of proceeding: First, "The army is in possession of Lucknow." Second, "The resistance, begun by a mutinous soldiery, has found support from the inhabitants of the city and of the province at large." Third, "They have been guilty of a great crime, and have subjected themselves to a just retribution." In plain English: Because the British army have got hold of Lucknow, the Government has the right to confiscate all the land in Oude which they have not yet got hold of. Because the native soldiers in British pay have mutinied, the natives of Oude, who were subjected to British rule by force, have not the right to rise for their national independence. In short, the people of Oude have rebelled against the legitimate authority of the British Government, and the British Government now distinctly declares that rebellion is a sufficient ground for confiscation. Leaving, therefore, out of the question all the circumlocution of Lord Canning, the whole question turns upon the point that he assumes the British rule in Oude to have been legitimately established.

Now, British rule in Oude was established in the following manner: When, in 1856, Lord Dalhousie thought the moment for action had arrived, he concentrated an army at Cawnpore which, the King of Oude[c] was told, was to serve as a corps of observation against Nepaul. This army suddenly invaded the country, took possession of Lucknow, and took the King prisoner. He was urged to cede the country to the British, but in vain. He was then carried off to Calcutta, and the country was annexed to the territories of the East India Company. This treacherous invasion was based

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[a] "If Louis Napoleon had proceeded to exercise with judgment...", *The Times*, No. 21021, January 26, 1852.—*Ed.*

[b] E. L. Ellenborough's speech in the House of Lords on May 7, 1858, *The Times*, No. 22988, May 8, 1858.—*Ed.*

[c] Wajid Ali Shah.—*Ed.*

upon article 6 of the treaty of 1801,[a] concluded by Lord Wellesley.[549] This treaty was the natural consequence of that concluded in 1798 by Sir John Shore.[b] According to the usual policy followed by the Anglo-Indian Government in their intercourse with native princes, this first treaty of 1798 was a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance on both sides. It secured to the East India Company a yearly subsidy of 76 lacs[c] of rupees ($3,800,000); but by articles 12 and 13 the King was obliged to reduce the taxation of the country. As a matter of course, these two conditions, in open contradiction to each other, could not be fulfilled by the King at the same time. This result, looked for by the East India Company, gave rise to fresh complications, resulting in the treaty of 1801, by which a cession of territory had to make up for the alleged infractions of the former treaty; a cession of territory which, by the way, was at the time denounced in Parliament as a downright robbery, and would have brought Lord Wellesley before a Committee of Inquiry, but for the political influence then held by his family.

In consideration of this cession of territory, the East India Company, by article 3, undertook to defend the King's remaining territories against all foreign and domestic enemies; and by article 6 guaranteed the possession of these territories to him and his heirs and successors forever. But this same article 6 contained also a pit-fall for the King, viz: The King engaged that he would establish such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as should be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants. Now, supposing the King of Oude had broken this treaty; had not, by his government, secured the lives and property of the inhabitants (say by blowing them from the cannon's mouth, and confiscating the whole of their lands), what remedy remained to the East India Company? The King was, by the treaty, acknowledged as an independent sovereign, a free agent, one of the contracting parties. The East India Company, on declaring the treaty broken and thereby annulled, could have but two modes of action: either by negotiation, backed by pressure, they might have come to a new arrangement, or else they might have declared war against the King. But to invade his territory without declaration of

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[a] "Treaty between the Honorable East India Company and His Excellency the Nabob Vizier-ul-Momalik..., 10th November 1801".—*Ed.*

[b] "Treaty with the Nabob Vizier Saadet Ali Khan Behauder, 21st February 1798".—*Ed.*

[c] Lac=100,000.—*Ed.*

war, to take him prisoner unawares, dethrone him and annex his territory, was an infraction not only of the treaty, but of every principle of the law of nations.

That the annexation of Oude was not a sudden resolution of the British Government is proved by a curious fact. No sooner was Lord Palmerston, in 1831, Foreign Secretary, than he sent an order to the then Governor-General[a] to annex Oude. The subordinate at that time declined to carry out the suggestion. The affair, however, came to the knowledge of the King of Oude,[b] who availed himself of some pretext to send an embassy to London. In spite of all obstacles, the embassy succeeded in acquainting William IV., who was ignorant of the whole proceeding, with the danger which had menaced their country. The result was a violent scene between William IV. and Palmerston, ending in a strict injunction to the latter never to repeat such *coups d'état* on pain of instant dismissal. It is important to recollect that the actual annexation of Oude and the confiscation of all the landed property of the country took place when Palmerston was again in power. The papers relating to this first attempt at annexing Oude, in 1831, were moved for, a few weeks ago, in the House of Commons, when Mr. Baillie, Secretary of the Board of Control, declared that these papers had disappeared.[c]

Again, in 1837, when Palmerston, for the second time, was Foreign Secretary, and Lord Auckland Governor-General of India, the King of Oude[d] was compelled to make a fresh treaty with the East India Company.[e] This treaty takes up article 6 of the one of 1801, because "it provides no remedy for the obligation contained in it" (to govern the country well); and it expressly provides, therefore, by article 7,

"that the King of Oude shall immediately take into consideration, in concert with the British Resident, the best means of remedying the defects in the police, and in the judicial and revenue administrations of his dominions; and that if his Majesty should neglect to attend to the advice and counsel of the British Government, and if gross and systematic oppression, anarchy and misrule should prevail within the Oude dominions, such as seriously to endanger the public tranquillity, the British Government reserves to itself the right of appointing its

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[a] W. C. Bentinck.— *Ed.*

[b] Nazir-ed-Din.— *Ed.*

[c] H. J. Baillie's speech in the House of Commons on March 16, 1858, *The Times*, No. 22943, March 17, 1858.— *Ed.*

[d] Mohammed Ali Shah.— *Ed.*

[e] "Treaty between the Honorable East India Company and His Majesty ... Mohammud Ali Shah..., 11th September 1837".— *Ed.*

own officers to the management of whatsoever portions of the Oude territory, either to a small or great extent, in which such misrule shall have occurred, for so long a period as it may deem necessary; the surplus receipts in such case, after defraying all charges, to be paid into the King's Treasury, and a true and faithful account rendered to his Majesty of the receipts and expenditure."

By article 8, the treaty further provides:

"That in case the Governor-General of India in Council should be compelled to resort to the exercise of the authority vested in him by article 7, he will endeavor so far as possible to maintain, with such improvements as they may admit of, the native institutions and forms of administration within the assumed territories, so as to facilitate the restoration of these territories to the Sovereign of Oude, when the proper period for such restoration shall arrive."

This treaty professes to be concluded between the Governor-General of British India in Council,[550] on one hand, and the King of Oude on the other. It was, as such, duly ratified, by both parties, and the ratifications were duly exchanged. But when it was submitted to the Board of Directors of the East India Company, it was annulled (April 10, 1838) as an infraction of the friendly relations between the Company and the King of Oude, and an encroachment, on the part of the Governor-General, on the rights of that potentate. Palmerston had not asked the Company's leave to conclude the treaty, and he took no notice of their annulling resolution. Nor was the King of Oude informed that the treaty had ever been canceled. This is proved by Lord Dalhousie himself (minute Jan. 5, 1856):

"It is very probable that the King, in the course of the discussions which will take place with the Resident, may refer to the treaty negotiated with his predecessor in 1837; the Resident is aware that the treaty was not continued in force, having been annulled by the Court of Directors as soon as it was received in England. The Resident is further aware that, although the King of Oude was informed at the time that certain aggravating provisions of the treaty of 1837, respecting an increased military force, would not be carried into effect, the *entire abrogation of it was never communicated to his Majesty.* The effect of this reserve and want of full communication is felt to be embarrassing to-day. It is the more embarrassing that the canceled instrument was still included in a volume of treaties which was published in 1845, by the authority of Government."

In the same minute, sec. 17, it is said:

"If the King should allude to the treaty of 1837, and should ask why, if further measures are necessary in relation to the administration of Oude, the large powers which are given to the British Government by the said treaty should not now be put in force, his Majesty must be informed that the treaty has had no existence since it was communicated to the Court of Directors, by whom it was wholly annulled. His Majesty will be reminded that the Court of Lucknow was informed at

the time that certain articles of the treaty of 1837, by which the payment of an additional military force was imposed upon the King, were to be set aside. It must be presumed that it was not thought necessary at that time to make any communication to his Majesty regarding those articles of the treaty which were not of immediate operation, and that the subsequent communication was inadvertently neglected."

But not only was this treaty inserted in the official collection of 1845, it was also officially adverted to as a subsisting treaty in Lord Auckland's notification to the King of Oude, dated July 8, 1839; in Lord Hardinge's (then Governor-General) remonstrance to the same King, of November 23, 1847, and in Col. Sleeman's (Resident at Lucknow) communication to Lord Dalhousie himself, of the 10th December, 1851. Now, why was Lord Dalhousie so eager to deny the validity of a treaty which all his predecessors, and even his own agents, had acknowledged to be in force in their communications with the King of Oude? Solely because, by this treaty, whatever pretext the King might give for interference, that interference was limited to an assumption of government by British officers *in the name of the King of Oude,* who was to receive the surplus revenue. That was the very opposite of what was wanted. Nothing short of annexation would do. This denying the validity of treaties which had formed the acknowledged base of intercourse for twenty years; this seizing violently upon independent territories in open infraction even of the acknowledged treaties; this final confiscation of every acre of land in the whole country; all these treacherous and brutal modes of proceeding of the British toward the natives of India are now beginning to avenge themselves, not only in India, but in England.

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# Karl Marx

## A CURIOUS PIECE OF HISTORY[551]

Manchester (Eng.), May 18, 1858

A very short time after the close of the last Russian war[a] the public was informed that a certain Mohammed Bey, Colonel in the Turkish army, alias M. Bangya, ex-Colonel of the Hungarian army, had left Constantinople for Circassia along with a number of Polish volunteers. On his arrival, he at once became a sort of chief of the staff to Sefer Pasha, the Circassian chief. Those who knew the antecedents of this Hungarian liberator of Circassia could have no doubt that he had gone to that country for one purpose only: to sell it to Russia. The man had been, openly and unmistakably, proved to have been, in London and Paris, a spy in the pay both of the French and the Prussian police.[b] Accordingly, about a month ago, the European papers contained the news that Bangya-Mohammed Bey had actually been detected in treasonable correspondence with the Russian General, Philipson, and that a Court-martial, held upon him, had sentenced him to death. Bangya, however, a short time after, appeared all at once in Constantinople, and, with his usual impudence, declared all these stories about treachery, courts-martial, &c., to be pure inventions of his enemies, and tried to pass himself off as the victim of an intrigue.

We happen to be in possession of the most important documents relating to this curious incident of the Circassian war, and shall now give some extracts from them. These papers were brought to Constantinople by Sub-Lieutenant Franz Stock of the Polish battalion in Circassia, and one of the members of the

[a] The Crimean war of 1853-56.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 236-37.—*Ed.*

Court-martial which convicted Bangya. The public may then judge for themselves.[a]

*Extracts from the Minutes of the Council of War held at Aderbi, Circassia, on Mohammed Bey, alias J. Bangya of Illosfalva.*

[No. 1]—Sitting of January 9, 1858.—Deposition of Mustapha, native of the Province of Natkhouatz.

"... When the Colonel, Mohammed Bey, came to Shepsohour, he asked me to forward a letter to the Commander of the Cossack of the Black Sea, General Philipson. On my observing that I could not do so without informing Sefer Pasha, or without his permission, Mohammed Bey informed me that as Envoy and Lieutenant of the Padishah and Military Commandant in Circassia he had the right to exchange letters with the Russians; that Sefer Pasha was acquainted with the subject, and that his object was to mislead the Russians.... When Sefer Pasha and the National Assembly forwarded to me the manifesto of Circassia, addressed to the Czar,[b] Mohammed Bey gave me also a letter for Gen. Philipson. I did not find Gen. Philipson at Anapa, and I delivered the letter to the Major commanding at Anapa. The Major promised to forward the manifesto, but would not accept the letter, which was without address or signature. I brought back the letter, but feeling suspicious of the frequent correspondence of Mohammed Bey, and fearing myself to get compromised, I communicated the whole affair to the authorities...."

[No. 2.]—Deposition of Achmet Effendi, formerly Turkish Secretary to Mohammed Bey.

"... Mohammed Bey was very irate against Tefik Bey (Col. Lapinski) and spoke very ill of him, adding that he would block his path very long. The second night after our arrival at Aderbi ... it was early dawn when I was roused by Mohammed Bey's groom. Mohammed Bey himself told me that a great noise of guns was heard in the direction of Ghelendjeek. He was up and seemed uneasy.... The report that Col. Lapinski had been captured with all his party arrived at Aderbi, I know not how, even before the roar of the guns had ceased. I heard Mohammed Bey talk of it. When later news came that neither the Colonel nor his men had been made prisoners, Mohammed Bey said, very angrily,

'"That probably he had sold his guns to the Russians.'..."

[No. 3.]—Deposition of the Officers and Soldiers of the Polish Detachment stationed at Aderbi.

"One day before Ghelendjeek was surprised, Mohammed Bey came to the camp and said he had received letters from Constantinople, informing him that it was entirely Col. Lapinski's fault if they got no assistance anywhere.... He caused spirits to be distributed to the soldiers, and made them all sorts of promises if they would

[a] Here and below Marx used the material from *The Free Press*, No. 16, May 12, 1858, pp. 121-25.—*Ed.*

[b] Alexander II.—*Ed.*

abandon their Colonel and follow him.... When afterward the news (of the supposed capture of Lapinski) turned out false, Mohammed Bey came in person to the camp and harangued the detachment to induce them to refuse obedience to the Colonel. But when the Colonel came back, he pretended to know nothing about the matter, and abandoned several individuals who had attached themselves to him, and allowed them to be punished without interfering in their favor. Later, during the absence of the Colonel, Mohammed Bey endeavored to lead the troops into rebellion by the means of several Hungarians. The Hungarians drew up an act of accusation against the Colonel and endeavored to get the men to sign. With the exception of three men, who admit that they were seduced to sign, all the others declared on their oath that their signatures had been forged.... This forgery was the easier since in the detachment only a few soldiers knew how to write."

[No. 4.]—Confession of Bangya before the Court-Martial.[a]

"Tired of so long interrogatory, I present to the Commission this confession, written by my hand and signed by me. I hope that my judges, to whom I spare by so doing a long and difficult task, will be the more disposed to remember that with my fate is tied up also the fate of my innocent family.* Formerly my name was John Bangya of Illosfalva; my name now is Mohammed Bey; my age is forty; my religion was the Roman Catholic, but in 1853 I embraced Islamism.... My political action ... was dictated by the ancient chief of my country, Louis Kossuth.... Provided with letters of introduction from my political chief, I came to Constantinople on the 22d of December, 1853.... I entered the Turkish army with the rank of Colonel. At this time I was frequently receiving from Kossuth letters and instructions concerning the interest of my country. At the same epoch Kossuth addressed to the Ottoman Government a missive, in which he warmly recommends the Turks to beware of the French, English or Austrian alliance, and advised them to link themselves rather with the revolutionary Italians and Hungarians.... My instructions recommended me to get attached in some way or other to the troops destined to act on the Circassian shores.... Arrived in Circassia, I contented myself for a time with studying the state of affairs in the country, and communicating my observations to my political friends.... I tried to attach myself to Sefer Pasha.... My instructions recommended me to prevent any offensive steps on the part of the Circassians, and to oppose all foreign influence in the country. A very short time previous to my departure from Constantinople Col. Türr, who receives his instructions from the same quarters as myself, and with whom I have been for years in political relation, received orders to join the Greek insurrection. Gen. Stein (Ferhad Pasha), who also belongs to our party, was directed to proceed to Anatolia. As for the plan of getting attached to Sefer Pasha, it succeeded, and very soon I gained his entire confidence. His confidence once acquired, it was easy for me to follow and execute my instructions.... I persuaded Sefer Pasha that after the war

* By this he alludes to the Bangya family No. 3. He has one wife living in Hungary and another in Paris, beside the Islamic family he has in Constantinople. [This footnote is missing in *The Free Press*. It is not established whether it belongs to Marx or the *NYDT* editors.—*Ed.*]

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[a] Marx also used "Extract from the Minutes of the Council of War, held at Aderbi" and especially "Confession of Bangya" in his *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17).—*Ed.*

Circassia would be restored to the Sultan's rule.... To the Turkish commanders I represented that all offensive measures with their troops would be dangerous, since the Circassians ... would desert them in the hour of danger. The circumstances were favorable for me, and although the Russians had sent their troops to the theater of war, and left unprotected their frontiers, they had not to suffer from any serious incursions of the Circassians. I forwarded regular reports of my secret action to my political chiefs.... At the same time I found on my way men and circumstances just contrary to my plans. I allude to the arrival at Anapa of Mr. Longworth, British Consul. Mr. Longworth's instructions ordered him to induce Sefer Pasha to organize 6,000 Circassians at the expense of Great Britain and to dispatch them to the Crimea.... I received similar orders from the Turkish authorities, but at the same time my secret chiefs sent me the most positive order to do all in my power to annihilate the mission of the Consul.... In a conversation which I had with Mr. Longworth ... I asked for a post in the British army with the rank of Colonel, or for the capital sum of £10,000.... Mr. Longworth thought to gain me by an offer of 50,000 piasters.... My intrigue succeeded. Prince Sefer, so often deceived by vain promises, became suspicious and roundly refused to the Consul what he wanted of his people.... At this time I made an enemy in the person of Prince Ibrahim Karabatir, the son of Sefer Pasha, who had been named to command the 6,000 Circassians....

"The 21st of March, 1856, Sefer Pasha informed me that it had been decided in the General Assembly to send a deputation to the Turkish, French and British Governments to ask these Powers to reincorporate Circassia with Turkey. I induced Sefer Pasha to send me with this deputation.... On my arrival in Constantinople ... I addressed to my political friends and to Kossuth a detailed account of the state of Circassia.... I received in reply instructions ordering me to communicate with Col. Türr and Gen. Stein, and to conduct the affairs in common with them, and to engage in it as many Hungarians as possible. At the same time I entered into communication with Ismail Pasha, Postmaster of the Ottoman Empire, a Circassian by birth, who appeared to me patriotic and able to make sacrifices for his country. I consulted with him on the manner in which it might be possible for us to send into Circassia arms, ammunition, tools for artificers, good officers and artisans. *But the real plan of the expedition was arranged between Gen. Stein, Col. Türr and myself. Capt. Franchini, military secretary to the Russian Minister, was present at several of our conferences. The object was to gain over Circassia to Russian interests in a peaceable, slow, but certain manner....*[a] When once Circassia should have submitted to the direction of Gen. Stein and myself, our plan would be:

"I. To choose some native Prince who would bring the whole country under his rule;

"II. To persuade the Circassians that they are not to expect any assistance either from the Sultan or from any other Power;

"III. To demoralize the mountaineers by dint of defeats on the field of battle—defeats studied and prepared beforehand;

"IV. To bring them to recognize the Czar as their nominal sovereign without paying any tribute, but admitting garrisons into the country.... The Hungarians imported into Circassia would be placed about the Prince; the more capable would be intrusted with the important posts.... Capt. Franchini assured me that Russia required nothing more than apparent submission; ... the marks of Imperial favor, money and Russian orders would do the rest....

"The 22d of September, 1856, Ismail Pasha recommended me to engage for Circassia several hundred Poles who were barracked in Scutari, and who had

[a] Italics by Marx.—*Ed.*

formed part of the legion under Zamoyski.... This proposal did not agree with our plans, but it was difficult to reject it.... I had formerly known M. Lapinski, who had served with distinction in Hungary.... He was living at Scutari.... We agreed with Gen. Stein that the best plan would be to engage Col. Lapinski, who had absolute confidence in me.... On Sept. 24 I notified in writing to Col. Lapinski that he was called upon by the Circassian patriots to form a Polish corps in Circassia. The Colonel, in reply, demanded arms and equipments for 700 Poles.... We afterward consulted together—*Gen. Stein, Türr, Franchini and myself*[a]—and it was decided that Türr should proceed to England to purchase tools and machines for making cartridges, but that he would delay sending any arms. We wanted to be sure of the Poles before we gave them any arms.... The serious remonstrances of Col. Lapinski ... obliged me to hurry the departure, although I had not the means of taking with me the Hungarian officers I had engaged.... In the month of January, 1857, I received letters and instructions from Kossuth and from my other political friends. My plan was approved.... A short time before my departure an apparent coolness was simulated between me and Gen. Stein. I still wanted to delay my departure to render possible that of a few Hungarians with me, *but Capt. Franchini declared that there was not a day to be lost,*[a] because the expedition had become the talk of all Constantinople, and *if the Russian Embassy did not interfere it might be accused of complicity.*[a] On the 15th of February Col. Lapinski embarked on board the English steamer *Kangaroo.* I embarked also.... On my arrival at Dob (Kabardinsk of the Russians) I addressed letters to Sefer Pasha, to the Naïb,[b] and to the other chiefs of the tribes; and in those letters I announced myself as sent by his Imperial Majesty the Sultan to command the military forces of Circassia.... The conduct of Col. Lapinski was not very reassuring for me.... A few weeks after the arrival of the Polish detachment at Shepsohour (Fort Tenginsk of the Russians), the residence of Sefer Pasha, Mr. Römer arrived at Dob with the brig laden with arms and ammunition which we had left in the Bosphorus.... The irruption of the Russians by Attakum, in the month of May, brought together thousands of Circassian warriors from all parts of the country. For the first time the Circassians saw artillery of their own attacking with advantage the Russian artillery. This engagement, of little consequence in itself, gave importance to the Polish detachment and to me.... I took advantage of this disposition of the people to act my part; I presented myself in public as the Envoy of the Sultan[c]; I exacted obedience.... I afterward learned that Col. Lapinski was working with all his might to upset my plans.... I endeavored to gain partisans among the officers and men of his detachment, and the situation of the corps being precarious, I attributed this to the fault of their commander.... The capture by a Russian vessel of a few sandals, in the ports of Sudjak and Ghelendjeek, gave me an occasion to remove the Colonel to a distance from the seat of war, near Attakum, and to isolate him completely.... A few days later I received from Col. Lapinski a letter, by which he announced that there were no troops at Ghelendjeek, and that his position was not tenable.... I went myself to Ghelendjeek, and on the spot Col. Lapinski represented to me the danger of his position and the imminence of an attack from the Russians. Nine days afterward his prediction was realized....

"The agitation which I kept up among the officers and soldiers at Aderbi, during and after the catastrophe at Ghelendjeek, was simply the consequence of the resolution which I had taken to sow discord between the detachment and Col.

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[a] Italics by Marx.—*Ed.*

[b] Mohammed-Amin.—*Ed.*

[c] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*

Lapinski.... Through emissaries I was circulating among the Circassians reports that he had sold the guns to the Russians.... I allowed myself to be taken in by the simulated sincerity of the Colonel, who was observing me with greater vigilance than ever....

"In conformity with my instructions I was to form relations with the Russian General.[a] ... My anonymous letter, which is actually in the hands of the Commission, was to be the introduction to a regular correspondence, but by the stupidity of the Russian commander it has fallen into your hands....

"All of a sudden Col. Lapinski threw off the mask, and abruptly declared to me at Sefer Pasha's that he did not recognize me either as his superior or as military commandant in Circassia, broke off all intercourse with me, ... addressed also a general order in this sense to the Polish detachment. I tried to depose him by another order of the day addressed to the soldiers, but my efforts were vain....

"(Signed.)
*Mohammed Bey.*"

[No. 5.]—Letter of John Bangya to General Philipson.

"Would it not be in the interest of Russia to pacify Circassia? It might be possible to conquer the plains of Circassia momentarily by dint of enormous sacrifices, but the mountains and natural fastnesses will never be conquered. The Russian guns have lost their influence. The Circassian artillery will reply to the Russian with satisfactory results. The Circassians are not what they were five years ago; supported by a small regular force, they fight as well as the Russian troops, and for their religion and their country they will fight to the last man. Would it not be better to allow the Circassians a sort of mock liberty? to place Circassia under a national prince, and take this prince under the protection of the Russian Czar? In a word, to make of Circassia another Georgia, or something of the kind? Once Circassia intimately allied to Russia, the roads of Anatolia and of India are open to the Russians. *Sapienti sat.*[b] It might be possible to open negotiations on this basis. Reflect and answer."

[No. 6.]—Sentence, January 20, 1858.

"After the reading of the confession of Col. Mohammed Bey, read at the sittings of the 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th and 11th of January; after having heard the depositions of the witnesses at the sitting of the 9th of January, the Court-Martial declares, at the sitting of this day, Mohammed Bey, by his confession and by the depositions of the witnesses, convicted of treachery to the country, and secret correspondence with the enemy; declares him infamous, deprived of his rank in this country, and condemns him to death—unanimously.

"Signed: *Jacob Beckert,* soldier; *Philipp Terteltaub,* bombardier; *Mathias Bedneizek,* sergeant; *Otto Linovski,* gunner; *Franz Stock,* sub-lieutenant; *Anton Krysciewicz,* sub-lieutenant; *Michael Marecki,* lieutenant; *Leon Zawadski,* gunner; *Stanislas Tanckowski,* lance-corporal; *John Hamaniski,* sergeant;

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[a] G. I. Philipson.—*Ed.*
[b] Enough for the wise. Terence, *Phormio,* III, 3, 8.—*Ed.*

*Alexander Michicki*, sergeant-major; *Casimir Wystocki*, sub-lieutenant; *Josef Aranoski*, lieutenant; *Peter Stankiewicz*, captain; *Theophil Lapinski*, colonel."

To the above documents we have merely to add that Sefer Pasha was loth to have the sentence of death executed upon a man who held the rank of Colonel in the Sultan's army, and that he consequently had him escorted to Trebizond. The Hungarians in Constantinople declared Mohammed Bey's treachery to be a pure calumny, but the Polish officers at once protested against this assertion and threatened an eventual publication of the documents relating to this affair. We now publish them, in extract, as they form by far the most interesting contribution to the history of the Circassian war.

With regard to the conduct of the Russian Embassy during this affair, we may add the following facts: It was generally known in Constantinople that the *Kangaroo* was chartered to take troops and stores to Circassia. The Russian Embassy, however, did not drop one word with respect to that expedition to the Porte; but the very day the *Kangaroo* got clear of the Bosphorus, the Russian Embassador[a] addressed a protest to the Porte, and caused an inquiry to be made to discover the promoters of the expedition. They strained every nerve to implicate Count Zamoyski, who was at Constantinople at the time; but they signally failed in this. Then, on the ostensible demand of Russia, Gen. Stein and Ismail Pasha were sent into exile for having been mixed up with the affair. After a banishment of some months, on the occasion of a festal day in the Russian Imperial family, at the request again of the Russian Embassy, Gen. Stein and Ismail Pasha were allowed to return to Constantinople.

Critical remarks on the documents were written on May 18, 1858

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] A. P. Butenev.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [LORD CANNING'S PROCLAMATION AND LAND TENURE IN INDIA]

Lord Canning's proclamation in relation to Oude,[a] some important documents in reference to which we published on Saturday,[b] has revived the discussion as to the land tenures of India—a subject upon which there have been great disputes and differences of opinion in times past, and misapprehensions in reference to which have led, so it is alleged, to very serious practical mistakes in the administration of those parts of India directly under British rule.[552] The great point in this controversy is, what is the exact position which the zemindars, talookdars or sirdars, so called,[553] hold in the economical system of India? Are they properly to be considered as landed proprietors or as mere tax-gatherers?

It is agreed that in India, as in most Asiatic countries, the ultimate property in the soil rests [with] the Government; but while one party to this controversy insists that the Government is to be looked upon as a soil proprietor, letting out the land on shares to the cultivators, the other side maintain that in substance the land in India is just as much private property as in any other country whatever—this alleged property in the Government being nothing more than the derivation of title from the sovereign theoretically acknowledged in all countries, the codes of which are based on the feudal law and substantially acknowledged in all countries whatever in the power of the Government to levy taxes

[a] *The Times*, No. 22986, May 6, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] The words "some important documents ... on Saturday" belong to the *NYDT* editors who refer to "The Oude Proclamation. The Correspondence between the Governor-General and the Commissioner of Oude" published in the newspaper, No. 5343, June 5, 1858.—*Ed.*

on the land to the extent of the needs of the Government, quite independent of all considerations, except as mere matter of policy, of the convenience of the owners.

Admitting, however, that the lands of India are private property, held by as good and strong a private title as land elsewhere, who shall be regarded as the real owners? There are two parties for whom this claim has been set up. One of these parties is the class known as zemindars and talookdars, who have been considered to occupy a position similar to that of the landed nobility and gentry of Europe; to be, indeed, the real owners of the land, subject to a certain assessment due to the Government, and, as owners, to have the right of displacing at pleasure the actual cultivators, who, in this view of the case, are regarded as standing in the position of mere tenants at will, liable to any payment in the way of rent which the zemindars may see fit to impose. The view of the case which naturally fell in with English ideas, as to the importance and necessity of a landed gentry as the main pillar of the social fabric, was made the foundation of the famous landed settlement of Bengal seventy years ago, under the Governor-Generalship of Lord Cornwallis[554]—a settlement which still remains in force, but which, as it is maintained by many, wrought great injustice alike to the Government and to the actual cultivators. A more thorough study of the institutions of Hindostan, together with the inconveniences, both social and political, resulting from the Bengal settlement, has given currency to the opinion that by the original Hindoo institutions, the property of the land was in the village corporations, in which resided the power of allotting it out to individuals for cultivation, while the zemindars and talookdars were in their origin nothing but officers of the Government, appointed to look after, to collect, and to pay over to the prince the assessment due from the village.

This view has influenced to a considerable degree the settlement of the landed tenures and revenue made of late years in the Indian provinces, of which the direct administration has been assumed by the English. The exclusive proprietary rights claimed by the talookdars and zemindars have been regarded as originating in usurpations at once against the Government and the cultivators, and every effort has been made to get rid of them as an incubus on the real cultivators of the soil and the general improvement of the country. As, however, these middlemen, whatever the origin of their rights might be, could claim prescription in their favor, it was impossible not to recognize their claims as to a certain extent legal, however inconvenient, arbitrary

and oppressive to the people. In Oude, under the feeble reign of the native princes, these feudal landholders had gone very far in curtailing alike the claims of the Government and the rights of the cultivators; and when, upon the recent annexation of that kingdom,[555] this matter came under revision, the Commissioners charged with making the settlement soon got into a very acrimonious controversy with them as to the real extent of their rights. Hence resulted a state of discontent on their part which led them to make common cause with the revolted Sepoys.

By those who incline to the policy above indicated—that of a system of village settlement—looking at the actual cultivators as invested with a proprietary right in the land, superior to that of the middlemen, through whom the Government receives its share of the landed produce—the proclamation of Lord Canning is defended as an advantage taken of the position in which the great body of the zemindars and talookdars of Oude had placed themselves, to open a door for the introduction of much more extensive reforms than otherwise would have been practicable—the proprietary right confiscated by that proclamation being merely the zemindarree or talookdarree right, and affecting only a very small part of the population, and that by no means the actual cultivators.

Independently of any question of justice and humanity, the view taken on the other hand by the Derby Ministry of Lord Canning's proclamation, corresponds sufficiently well with the general principles which the Tory or Conservative party maintain on the sacredness of vested rights and the importance of upholding an aristocratic landed interest. In speaking of the landed interest at home, they always refer rather to the landlords and rent-receivers than to the rent-payers and to the actual cultivators; and it is, therefore, not surprising that they should regard the interests of the zemindars and talookdars, however few their actual number, as equivalent to the interests of the great body of the people.

Here indeed is one of the greatest inconveniences and difficulties in the Government of India from England, that views of Indian questions are liable to be influenced by purely English prejudices or sentiments, applied to a state of society and a condition of things to which they have in fact very little real pertinency. The defense which Lord Canning makes in his dispatch, published to-day,[a] of the policy of his proclamation

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[a] "The Correspondence between the Governor-General and the Commissioner of Oude", *The Times*, No. 23000, May 22, 1858.—*Ed.*

against the objections of Sir James Outram, the Commissioner of Oude, is very plausible, though it appears that he so far yielded to the representations of the Commissioner as to insert into the proclamation the mollifying sentence, not contained in the original draft sent to England, and on which Lord Ellenborough's dispatch[a] was based.[556]

Lord Canning's opinion as to the light in which the conduct of landholders of Oude in joining in the rebellion ought to be viewed does not appear to differ much from that of Sir James Outram and Lord Ellenborough. He argues that they stand in a very different position not only from the mutinous Sepoys, but from that of the inhabitants of rebellious districts in which the British rule had been longer established. He admits that they are entitled to be treated as persons having provocation for the course they took; but at the same time insists that they must be made to understand that rebellion cannot be resorted to without involving serious consequences to themselves. We shall soon learn what the effect of the issue of the proclamation has been, and whether Lord Canning or Sir James Outram was nearer right in his anticipation of its results.

Written on May 25, 1858

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5344, June 7, 1858 as a leading article

[a] [E. L. Ellenborough,] "The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-General of India in Council. April 19, 1858", *The Times*, No. 22989, May 10, 1858.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [BONAPARTE'S FINANCIAL MANEUVERS. —MILITARY DESPOTISM][557]

Paris, May 27, 1858

The dilapidated state of the Bonapartist Exchequer cannot longer be said to form a matter of dispute. It has been openly proclaimed by the "savior of property"[558] himself. In no other way is it possible to account for General Espinasse's circular to the French Prefects,[a] calling upon them to use their influence, and, "if need be, their authority," in order to induce the trustees of hospitals and other charitable institutions to convert the real property from which they derive their revenues into three per cent consols. That property amounts to $100,000,000, but, as Bonaparte, in the name of the poor, bewails, does not report an income of more than 2 1/2 per cent. If invested in the Funds the revenue would improve by at least one half. In his paternal solicitude Bonaparte had recently bid the Council of State to initiate a law for this conversion of the landed property of the charitable establishments into funded property, but, strange to say, his own Council of State doggedly declined to take the hint. What he thus failed in effecting in the legislative way he now tries to get at in the "executive way," by a military *ordre du jour.* There are some people silly enough to fancy that he only intends increasing the funds by the maneuver. Nothing can be further off the mark. If the above-named landed property was sold at its nominal value of $100,000,000, a great part of that purchase money would of course be forthcoming from capital till now invested in consols and other public securities, so that the artificially created demand for the funds would be met by heaps of them thrown into the

[a] [Ch. M. E. Espinasse,] "La circulaire au sujet des biens immeubles...", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 142, May 22, 1858.—*Ed.*

open market. The operation might even result in a further depression of the security market. However, Bonaparte's scheme is of a much sounder and more intelligible character. For the 100,000,000 of landed property he intends creating 100,000,000 of new *Rentes*. With the one hand he wants to seize the property of the charitable establishments, and with the other to indemnify them by drawing a cheque upon the *"grand livre"*[a] of the nation. On a former occasion, when examining the French Bank act of 1857,[b] we dwelt upon the enormous privileges Bonaparte had bestowed upon the Bank, at the cost of the State, with a view to secure himself a miserable loan of $20,000,000.[c] We considered that Bank act as a financial cry of distress on the part of the savior of society, but since that time the disasters overwhelming French commerce, industry and agriculture have rebounded upon the Exchequer, while its expenses were increasing at an awful ratio. The different ministries for 1858 actually require 79,804,004 francs more than they did in 1855; the expense for the army alone amounting to 51 per cent of the total receipts of the country. The *Crédit Mobilier*,[559] unable to pay a dividend to its own shareholders, and whose last report,[d] if closely scrutinized, shows a considerable surplus of liabilities over assets, cannot, as it did in 1854 and 1855, come to the rescue, and help raise loans on "democratic" principles. There remains, then, nothing for Bonaparte but to return, in financial matters, as he has been forced to do in political ones, to the original principles of the *coup d'état*. The financial policy initiated by the theft from the Bank cellars of 25,000,000 francs, continued in the confiscation of the Orleans estates, is now to receive a further development in the confiscation of the property of the charitable establishments.

The latter operation, however, would cost Bonaparte one of his armies, his army of priests, who administer by far the greatest portion of the charitable establishments. Already, for the first time since the *coup d'état*, the *Univers* dares openly dissent from the savior of society, and even implores the *Siècle* to make common cause against this intended encroachment upon "private property."

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[a] "Debt register".—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 289-92.—*Ed.*

[c] Napoléon III, "Loi portant prorogation du privilège de la Banque de France", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 162, June 11, 1857.—*Ed.*

[d] I. Péreire, "Rapport présenté au nom du Conseil d'administration [29 avril 1858]", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 120, April 30, 1858.—*Ed.*

While the "eldest son of the Church"[a] is placed in this rather equivocal position toward his holy army, his most profane army simultaneously threatens to become unmanageable. If he should interfere, in real good earnest, with the amusements of such heroes as Messrs. De Mercy, Léaudais and Hyenne, he will lose his hold on the only portion of the army on which he can rely. If, on the contrary, he allows that pretorian corruption[560] which he has so systematically fostered since the days of the Camp of Satory[561] boldly to show its front, all discipline will be at an end, and the army prove unable to withstand any shock from without. Another such event as the assassination of the *rédacteur*, of the *Figaro*,[b] and that shock will take place. The general exasperation prevailing may be inferred from the one fact, that when the account of the duel got to Paris about 5,000 young men flocked to the *bureaux* of the *Figaro*, requesting to be inscribed upon a list, as ready to fight with any sub-lieutenant who might be forthcoming. The *Figaro*, of course, is itself a Bonapartist creation, heading that literature of scandal and *chantage* and private slander which suddenly shot up after the violent extinction of the political press, and found in the soil and atmosphere of the lesser Empire all the conditions for a luxuriant growth. It is a fine trait of historical irony that the signal for the impending conflict should be given by the murderous quarrel between the literary and the military representatives of the Bonapartist swell mob.

Written on May 27, 1858 Reproduced from the newspaper

First published unsigned in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5348, June 11, 1858

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[a] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

[b] For details on the duel of Henri de Pène and the Sub-Lieutenant Hyenne in which the former was wounded see *The Times*, No. 23000, May 22, 1858.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [THE REVOLT IN INDIA]

In spite of the great military operations of the English in the capture first of Delhi and then of Lucknow, the successive headquarters of the Sepoy rebellion, the pacification of India is yet very far from being accomplished. Indeed, it may be almost said that the real difficulty of the case is but just beginning to show itself. So long as the rebellious Sepoys kept together in large masses, so long as it was a question of sieges and pitched battles on a great scale, the vast superiority of the English troops for such operations gave them every advantage. But with the new character which the war is now taking on, this advantage is likely to be in a great measure lost. The capture of Lucknow does not carry with it the submission of Oude; nor would even the submission of Oude carry with it the pacification of India. The whole Kingdom of Oude bristles with fortresses of greater or less pretensions; and though perhaps none would long resist a regular attack, yet the capture of these forts one by one will not only be a very tedious process, but it will be attended with much greater proportional loss than operations against such great cities as Delhi and Lucknow.

But it is not alone the Kingdom of Oude that requires to be conquered and pacified. The discomfited Sepoys dislodged from Lucknow have scattered and fled in all directions. A great body of them have taken refuge in the hill districts of Rohilcund to the north, which still remains entirely in possession of the rebels. Others fled into Goruckpore on the east—which district, though it had been traversed by the British troops on their march to Lucknow, it has now become necessary to recover a second time. Many others have succeeded in penetrating southward into Bundelcund.

Indeed, a controversy seems to have arisen as to the best method of proceeding, and whether it would not have been better to have first subdued all the outlying districts which might have afforded the rebels a shelter, before directing operations against their main body collected at Lucknow. Such is said to have been the scheme of operations preferred by the military; but it is difficult to see how, with the limited number of troops at the disposal of the English, those surrounding districts could have been so occupied as to exclude the fugitive Sepoys, when finally dislodged from Lucknow, from entering into them, and, as in the case of Goruckpore, making their reconquest necessary.

Since the capture of Lucknow, the main body of the rebels appear to have retired upon Bareilly. It is stated that Nena Sahib was there. Against this city and district, upward of a hundred miles north-west from Lucknow, it has been judged necessary to undertake a Summer campaign, and at the latest accounts Sir Colin Campbell was himself marching thither.[a]

Meanwhile, however, a guerrilla warfare seems to be spreading in various directions. While the troops are drawn off to the North, scattered parties of rebel soldiery are crossing the Ganges into the Doab, interrupting the communication with Calcutta, and by their ravages disabling the cultivators to pay their land tax, or at least affording them an excuse for not doing so.

Even the capture of Bareilly, so far from operating to remedy those evils, will be likely, perhaps, to increase them. It is in this desultory warfare that the advantage of the Sepoys lies. They can beat the English troops at marching to much the same extent that the English can beat them at fighting. An English column cannot move twenty miles a day; a Sepoy force can move forty, and, if hard pushed, even sixty. It is this rapidity of movement which gives to the Sepoy troops their chief value, and this, with their power of standing the climate and the comparative facility of feeding them, makes them indispensable in Indian warfare. The consumption of English troops in service, and especially in a Summer campaign, is enormous. Already, the lack of men is severely felt. It may become necessary to chase the flying rebels from one end of India to the other. For that purpose, European troops would hardly answer, while the contact of the wandering rebels with the native regiments of Bombay and Madras, which have hitherto remained faithful, might lead to new revolts.

Even without any accession of new mutineers, there are still in

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[a] *The Times*, No. 23008, June 1, 1858, "India".—*Ed.*

the field not less than a hundred and fifty thousand armed men, while the unarmed population fail to afford the English either assistance or information.

Meanwhile, the deficiency of rain in Bengal threatens a famine—calamity unknown within this century, though in former times, and even since the English occupation, the source of terrible sufferings.

Written at the end of May 1858

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5351, June 15, 1858 as a leading article

# Frederick Engels

## [THE BRITISH ARMY IN INDIA][562]

Our indiscreet friend, Mr. William Russell of *The London Times*, has recently been induced, by his love of the picturesque, to illustrate, for the second time, the sack of Lucknow, to a degree which other people will not think very flattering to the British character.[a] It now appears that Delhi, too, was "looted" to a very considerable extent, and that besides the Kaiserbagh, the city of Lucknow generally contributed to reward the British soldier for his previous privations and heroic efforts. We quote from Mr. Russell:

> "There are companies which can boast of privates with thousands of pounds worth in their ranks. One man I heard of who complacently offered to lend an officer 'whatever sum he wanted if he wished to buy over the Captain.' Others have remitted large sums to their friends. [...] Ere this letter reaches England, many a diamond, emerald and delicate pearl will have told its tale in a very quiet, pleasant way, of the storm and sack of the Kaiserbagh. *It is as well that the fair wearers ... saw not how the glittering baubles were won, or the scenes in which the treasure was trove....* Some of these officers have made, literally, *their fortunes....* There are certain small caskets in battered uniform cases which contain *estates in Scotland and Ireland*, and snug fishing and shooting boxes in every game-haunted or salmon-frequented angle of the world."[b]

This, then, accounts for the inactivity of the British army after the conquest of Lucknow. The fortnight devoted to plunder was well spent. Officers and soldiers went into the town poor and debt-ridden, and came out suddenly enriched. They were no longer the same men; yet they were expected to return to their

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[a] Here and below see W. H. Russell, "Lucknow, April 5", *The Times*, No. 23007, May 31, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

former military duty, to submission, silent obedience, fatigue, privation and battle. But this is out of the question. The army, disbanded for the purpose of plunder, is changed for ever; no word of command, no prestige of the General, can make it again what it once was. Listen again to Mr. Russell:

"It is curious to observe how riches develop disease; how one's liver is affected by loot, and what tremendous ravages in one's family, among the nearest and dearest, can be caused by a few crystals of carbon.... The weight of the belt round the private's waist, full of rupees and gold mohurs, assures him the vision" (of a comfortable independency at home) "can be realized, and it is no wonder he resents the 'fall in, there, fall in!' ... Two battas, two shares of prize-money, the plunder of two cities, and many 'pickings by the way', have made some of our men too rich for easy soldiering."

Accordingly, we hear that above 150 officers have sent in their resignations to Sir Colin Campbell—a very singular proceeding indeed in an army before the enemy, which in any other service would be followed up in twenty-four hours by cashiering and severest punishment otherwise, but which, we suppose, is considered in the British army as a very proper act for "an officer and a gentleman" who has suddenly made his fortune. As to the private soldiers, with them the proceeding is different. Loot engenders the desire for more; and if no more Indian treasures are at hand for the purpose, why not loot those of the British Government? Accordingly, says Mr. Russell:

"There has been a suspicious upsetting of two treasure tumbrils under a European guard, in which some few rupees were missing, and *paymasters exhibit a preference for natives in the discharge of the delicate duty of convoy!*"[a]

Very good, indeed. The Hindoo or Sikh is better disciplined, less thieving, less rapacious than that incomparable model of a warrior, the British soldier! But so far we have seen the individual British only employed. Let us now cast a glance at the British army, "looting" in its collective capacity:

"Every day adds to the prize property, and it is estimated that the sales will produce £600,000. [...] *The town of Cawnpore is said to be full of the plunder of Lucknow,* and if the damage done to public buildings, the destruction of private property, the deterioration in value of houses and land, and the results of depopulation could be estimated, it would be found that *the capital of Oude has sustained a loss of five or six millions sterling.*"[a]

The Calmuck hordes of Jenghiz Khan and Timur, falling upon a city like a swarm of locusts, and devouring everything that came

[a] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

in their way, must have been a blessing to a country, compared with the irruption of these Christian, civilized, chivalrous and gentle British soldiers. The former, at least, soon passed away on their erratic course; but these methodic Englishmen bring along with them their prize-agents, who convert loot into a system, who register the plunder, sell it by auction, and keep a sharp look-out that British heroism is not defrauded of a tittle of its reward. We shall watch with curiosity the capabilities of this army, relaxed as its discipline is by the effects of wholesale plunder, at a time when the fatigues of a hot weather campaign require the greatest stringency of discipline.

The Hindoos must, however, by this time be still less fit for regular battle than they were at Lucknow, but that is not now the main question. It is far more important to know what shall be done if the insurgents, after a show of resistance, again shift the seat of war, say to Rajpootana, which is far from being subdued. Sir Colin Campbell must leave garrisons everywhere; his field army has melted down to less than one-half of the force he had before Lucknow. If he is to occupy Rohilcund what disposable strength will remain for the field? The hot weather is now upon him, in June the rains must have put a stop to active campaigning, and allowed the insurgents breathing time. The loss of European soldiers through sickness will have increased every day after the middle of April, when the weather became oppressive; and the young men imported into India last Winter must succumb to the climate in far greater numbers than the seasoned Indian campaigners who last Summer fought under Havelock and Wilson. Rohilcund is no more the decisive point than Lucknow was, or Delhi. The insurrection, it is true, has lost most of its capacity for pitched battles; but it is far more formidable in its present scattered form, which compels the English to ruin their army by marching and exposure. Look at the many new centers of resistance. There is Rohilcund, where the mass of the old Sepoys are collected; there is Northeastern Oude beyond the Gogra, where the Oudians have taken up position; there is Calpee, which for the present serves as a point of concentration for the insurgents of Bundelcund. We shall most likely hear in a few weeks, if not sooner, that both Bareilly and Calpee have fallen. The former will be of little importance, inasmuch as it will serve to absorb nearly all, if not the whole of Campbell's disposable forces. Calpee, menaced now by General Whitlock, who has led his column from Nagpoor to Banda, in Bundelcund, and by General Rose, who approaches from Jhansi, and has defeated the advanced

guard of the Calpee forces, will be a more important conquest; it will free Campbell's base of operations, Cawnpore, from the only danger menacing it, and thus perhaps enable him to recruit his field forces to some extent by troops set at liberty thereby. But it is very doubtful whether there will be enough to do more than to clear Oude.

Thus, the strongest army England ever concentrated on one point in India is again scattered in all directions, and had more work cut out than it can conveniently do. The ravages of the climate, during the Summer's heats and rains, must be terrible; and whatever the moral superiority of the European over the Hindoos, it is very doubtful whether the physical superiority of the Hindoos in braving the heat and rains of an Indian Summer will not again be the means of destroying the English forces. There are at present but few British troops on the road to India, and it is not intended to send out large re-enforcements before July and August. Up to October and November, therefore, Campbell has but that one army, melting down rapidly as it is, to hold his own with. What if in the mean time the insurgent Hindoos succeed in raising Rajpootana and Mahratta country in rebellion? What if the Sikhs, of whom there are 80,000 in the British service, and who claim all the honor of the victories for themselves, and whose temper is not altogether favorable to the British, were to rise?

Altogether, one more Winter's campaign, at least, appears to be in store for the British in India, and that cannot be carried on without another army from England.

Written on about June 4, 1858

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5361, June 26, 1858 as a leading article

# Karl Marx

## THE STATE OF BRITISH COMMERCE

London, June 8, 1858

The trade and navigation tables just published by the British Board of Trade[a] comprise an account of the declared value of the exports of the United Kingdom in the three months ending 31st March, 1858, compared with the corresponding period of the year 1857; an account of the number and tunnage of vessels entered inward and cleared outward, with cargoes, in the four months ending 30th April, 1858, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1856 and 1857; and, lastly, an account of the principal exports and imports for the four months ending 30th April, 1858. The amount of the exports for the month of April, 1858, is £9,451,000, against £9,965,000 in 1857, and £9,424,000 in 1856,[b] while for the four months there is a reduction of nearly £6,000,000 in the year 1858. Accordingly the British exports of the month of April, 1858, would appear not only to have risen above the level of 1856, but closely to approach that reached in 1857, some months prior to the commercial explosion in the United States. Hence it might be inferred that the last traces of the crisis are rapidly disappearing, and that British commerce, at least, is again entering a new epoch of expansion. Such a conclusion, however, would be altogether erroneous. In the first place, it must be considered that the official statistics, as far as they relate to declared value, do not show the actual returns, but the returns as anticipated by the exporters. Moreover, a closer

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[a] "Accounts Relating to Trade and Navigation for the Four Months ended April 30", *The Economist*, No. 770, May 29, 1858, supplement.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Board of Trade Tables", *The Economist*, No. 770, May 29, 1858, p. 592.—*Ed.*

examination of the tables of exports proves that the apparent recovery of British commerce is mainly due to an over-importation of East India, which must lead to a violent contraction of that market. Already we read in the last commercial circular of Messrs. George Frazer & Company:

"The later advices from the East show symptoms of reaction from the extraordinary high range of prices which have been current in Bombay and in Calcutta during the period when supplies there were so short. A not inconsiderable decline has already been submitted to upon the arrival out of cargoes which were shipped not later than December. The supplies since then have been to both markets most liberal, if not excessive; and it seems very probable, therefore, that for some time to come we must look for less support to prices from the great activity of the Eastern demand than has been so far experienced since the beginning of January."

Beside India, those European and other countries which till now had not been reached by the effects of the commercial crisis, have been blocked up by British merchandise, not in consequence of increased demand, but by way of experiment. The countries thus blessed were Belgium, Spain and its dependencies, some Italian States—principally the Two Sicilies—Egypt, Mexico, Central America, Peru, China, and some minor markets. At the very time when the most disastrous news was arriving from Brazil and put a check upon the aggregate export to that country, some branches of British industry, compelled to find an outlet for their exuberant produce, did not only not curtail, but actually augment their shipments for that market. Thus, during the month of April, linens, earthenware and porcelain, destined for Brazil, were increasing in quantity as well as declared value. Nobody can consider this bona fide exports. The same remark holds true with respect to Australia, which had acted as so elastic a center of absorption during the first months of the crisis. Australia was then and is still overstocked; a sudden reaction took place; the aggregate exports thither were diminished, but again some branches of British industry, instead of contracting, have actually expanded—speculatively, of course—their supplies in spite of the warnings of all the Australian local papers. The export tables of the month of April, therefore, must be considered not as the bona fide standard of the recovery of British industry, but as mere feelers thrown out in order to ascertain what pressure the markets of the world are again able to bear. The following table contains an account of the declared value of the British and Irish exports in the three months ending 31st of March, 1858, compared with the corresponding period of the year 1857:

*Foreign Countries to which Exported.*[a]

| | 1857. | 1858. |
|---|---|---|
| Russia, Northern Ports | £3,015 | £8,853 |
| Russia, Southern Ports | 72,777 | 42,493 |
| Sweden | 48,007 | 3,717 |
| Norway | 30,217 | 5,911 |
| Denmark | 92,046 | 40,148 |
| Prussia | 133,000 | 78,917 |
| Mecklenburg | 9,502 | 3,099 |
| Hanover | 288,648 | 236,669 |
| Oldenburg | 3,520 | 1,957 |
| Hanse Towns | 2,318,260 | 1,645,419 |
| Holland | 1,305,606 | 975,428 |
| Belgium | 515,175 | 546,033 |
| France | 1,631,672 | 1,035,096 |
| Portugal proper | 380,160 | 356,178 |
| Azores | 10,793 | 12,581 |
| Madeira | 9,955 | 16,245 |
| Spain | 496,788 | 584,287 |
| Canary Islands | 18,817 | 8,475 |
| Sardinia | 290,131 | 293,138 |
| Tuscany | 189,534 | 257,508 |
| Papal States | 69,953 | 123,059 |
| Two Sicilies | 284,045 | 375,177 |
| Austrian Territories | 253,042 | 323,086 |
| Greece | 40,860 | 69,570 |
| Turkey | 969,288 | 821,204 |
| Wallachia and Moldavia | 111,052 | 98,135 |
| Syria and Palestine | 199,070 | 81,874 |
| Egypt (ports on the Mediterranean) | 449,497 | 483,516 |
| Tunis | 865 | 2,323 |
| Algeria | 4,790 | 4,831 |
| Morocco | 55,826 | 37,206 |
| Western Coast of Africa (foreign) | 235,527 | 196,484 |
| Eastern Coast of Africa | 301 | 1,927 |
| African Ports on the Red Sea | 1,130 | 567 |
| Cape Verde Islands | 2,419 | 3,965 |
| Java | 234,071 | 149,493 |

[a] Here and below "An Account of the Declared Value of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures...," *The Economist*, No. 770, May 29, 1858.—*Ed.*

| | 1857 | 1858 |
|---|---|---|
| Philippine Islands | 144,992 | 212,942 |
| China (exclusive of Hong Kong) | 290,441 | 389,647 |
| South Sea Islands | ... | 585 |
| Foreign West Indies | 620,022 | 521,435 |
| United States (Ports on the Atlantic) | 6,231,501 | 2,565,566 |
| California | 50,219 | 94,147 |
| Mexico | 112,277 | 151,890 |
| Central America | 22,453 | 46,201 |
| New Granada | 88,502 | 117,411 |
| Venezuela | 105,417 | 62,685 |
| Ecuador | 2,099 | ... |
| Brazil | 1,292,325 | 826,583 |
| Uruguay | 145,481 | 177,281 |
| Buenos Ayres | 285,187 | 279,913 |
| Chili | 336,309 | 270,176 |
| Peru | 209,889 | 299,725 |
| Total to foreign countries | £20,636,473 | £14,940,756 |

*British Possessions.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Channel Islands | £136,071 | £120,431 |
| Gibraltar | 152,926 | 210,575 |
| Malta | 116,821 | 131,238 |
| Ionian Islands | 66,148 | 52,849 |
| West Coast of Africa (British) | 135,452 | 62,343 |
| Cape of Good Hope | 442,796 | 403,579 |
| Natal | 26,605 | 23,106 |
| Ascension | 3,832 | 2,308 |
| St. Helena | 3,837 | 8,416 |
| Mauritius | 142,303 | 164,042 |
| Aden | 11,263 | 11,996 |
| British Territories in the East Indies (exclusive of Singapore and Ceylon) | 2,822,009 | 3,502,664 |
| Singapore | 101,535 | 308,545 |
| Ceylon | 98,817 | 153,090 |
| Hong Kong | 133,743 | 242,757 |
| West Australia | 15,515 | 13,813 |
| South Australia | 180,123 | 249,162 |
| New South Wales | 706,337 | 682,265 |

| | 1857. | 1858. |
|---|---|---|
| Victoria | £1,427,248 | £1,056,537 |
| Tasmania | 67,550 | 82,942 |
| New Zealand | 96,893 | 93,768 |
| British North American Colonies | 818,560 | 439,433 |
| British West India Islands | 334,024 | 426,421 |
| British Guiana | 122,249 | 95,385 |
| Honduras (British Settlements) | 28,363 | 31,869 |
| Total to British Possessions | £8,191,020 | £8,569,534 |
| Total to Foreign Countries and British Possessions | 28,827,493 | 23,510,290 |

*The Economist* thinks that, from an accurate analysis of these figures,

"the curious fact is disclosed that the entire decrease has taken place in the British trade to foreign countries as contrasted with the *colonial* possessions."[a]

In fact, the above tables may be condensed as follows:

*Exports for three months.*

| | 1857. | 1858. |
|---|---|---|
| To foreign countries | £20,636,473 | £14,940,756 |
| To British possessions | 8,191,020 | 8,569,534 |
| Total | £28,827,493 | £23,510,290 |

Yet the conclusion arrived at by *The Economist* seems a fallacy. According to the condensed statement there would appear to have taken place a reduction in the trade to foreign countries to the amount of £5,695,717, simultaneously with an increase of £378,514 in the colonial trade. However, if we deduct the increase in the trade of British smuggling places such as Gibraltar, Malta, Hong Kong, and of mere depots for foreign countries, such as Singapore, a decrease in the aggregate colonial trade becomes evident; and if we deduct India, the decrease appears very considerable. Of the decrease in the trade to foreign countries, the main percentage falls upon the following countries:

[a] Here and below "The Board of Trade Tables", *The Economist*, No. 770, May 29, 1858 (italics by Marx).—*Ed.*

| | 1857. | 1858. |
|---|---|---|
| United States | £6,231,501 | £2,565,566 |
| Brazil | 1,292,325 | 826,583 |
| Hanse Towns | 2,318,260 | 1,645,410 |
| France | 1,631,672 | 1,035,096 |
| Holland | 1,305,606 | 975,428 |

The accounts relating to navigation show a slight increase in the number as well as tunnage of the British vessels entered inward, but a decrease in the number and tunnage of the vessels cleared outward. Of foreign countries, the navigation of the United States continues to maintain the first rank. The following figures show the movement of their vessels to and from the British ports:

*Entered Inward.*

| | 1856. | | 1857. | | 1858. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ships. | Tunnage. | Ships. | Tunnage. | Ships. | Tunnage. |
| United States... | 382 | 383,255 | 367 | 366,407 | 366 | 366,650 |

*Cleared Outward.*

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| United States... | 414 | 395,102 | 440 | 427,221 | 343 | 321,015 |

According to the same accounts, Norway, Denmark and Russia seem the countries upon whose navigation the commercial crisis told with the most disastrous effect.

Written on June 8, 1858

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published unsigned in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5356, June 21, 1858

# Karl Marx

## [POLITICAL PARTIES IN ENGLAND.— SITUATION IN EUROPE]

England offers at this moment the curious spectacle of dissolution appearing at the summit of the State, while at the base of society all seems immovable. There is no audible agitation among the masses, but there is a visible change among their rulers. Shall we believe that the upper strata are liquefying, while the lower remain in the same dull solidity? We are, of course, not alluding to the cynical attempts of Palmerston and his compeers to "loot" the Treasury.[563] The battles between the exiles and their proscribers form no more a standing feature in the medieval annals of Italian towns than the conflicts between the Ins and Outs in the Parliamentary history of England. But now we have the Tory leader in the House of Commons winding up a speech with the ominous declaration that

> "There is one bond of union between us [the Radicals and the Tories] in this House and in this country; and that is, that we shall not any longer be the tools or the victims of an obsolete oligarchy!"[a]

There is the House of Lords passing one point of the People's Charter—the abolition of the property qualification for the members of the Commons[564]; there is Lord Grey, the descendant of the Whig Reformer,[b] warning his noble compeers that they are drifting to "a total revolution in the whole system of their Government and in the character of their Constitution;"[c] there is

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[a] B. Disraeli's speech in the House of Commons on May 31, 1858, *The Times*, No. 23008, June 1, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] Charles Grey.—*Ed.*

[c] H. G. Grey's speech in the House of Lords on June 10, 1858, *The Times*, No. 23017, June 11, 1858.—*Ed.*

the Duke of Rutland frightened out of his senses by the vista of having to swallow "the whole hog of the five points of the Charter, and something more."[a] And then *The London Times* in sinister accents one day cautions the middle classes that Disraeli and Bulwer wish them no good, and, in order to master them, may ally themselves with the vile multitude[b]; and then, the very next day, it warns the landed aristocracy that they are to be swamped by the shopocracy, to be enthroned through Locke King's bill, which has just passed through its second reading in the Lower House, for the extension of the elective franchise to the £10 occupiers in the counties.[c]

The fact is that the two ruling oligarchic parties of England were long ago transformed into mere factions, without any distinctive principles. Having in vain tried first a coalition and then a dictatorship, they are now arrived at the point where each of them can only think of obtaining a respite of life by betraying their common interest into the hands of their common foe, the radical middle-class party, who are powerfully represented in the Commons by John Bright. Till now, the Tories have been aristocrats ruling in the name of the aristocracy, and the Whigs aristocrats ruling in the name of the middle class; but the middle class having assumed to rule in their own name, the business of the Whigs is gone. In order to keep the Whigs out of office, the Tories will yield to the encroachments of the middle-class party until they have worried out Whig patience and convinced these oligarchs that, in order to save the interests of their order, they must merge in the conservative ranks and forsake their traditionary pretensions to represent the liberal interest or form a power of their own. Absorption of the Whig faction into the Tory faction, and their common metamorphosis into the party of the aristocracy, as opposed to the new middle-class party, acting under its own chiefs, under its own banners, with its own watchwords—such is the consummation we are now witnessing in England.

If we consider this state of internal affairs in England, and couple with it the fact that the Indian war will continue to drain her of men and money, we may feel sure that she will be disabled

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[a] Ch. C. J. Rutland's speech in the House of Lords on June 10, 1858, *The Times*, No. 23017, June 11, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] "In those sad days of Ireland's history...," *The Times*, No. 23016, June 10, 1858.—*Ed.*

[c] "There was a time within the memory...", *The Times*, No. 23017, June 11, 1858.—*Ed.*

from clogging, as she did in 1848, the European Revolution that draws visibly nearer. There is another great power which, ten years ago, most powerfully checked the revolutionary current. We mean Russia. This time, combustible matter has accumulated under her own feet, which a strong blast from the West may suddenly set on fire. The symptoms of a servile war are so visible in the interior of Russia, that the Provincial Governors feel themselves unable otherwise to account for the unwonted fermentation than by charging Austria with propagating through secret emissaries Socialist and revolutionary doctrines all over the land. Think only of Austria being not only suspected but publicly accused of acting as the emissary of revolution! The Galician massacres[565] have, indeed, fully proved to the world that the Cabinet of Vienna knows, in case of need, how to teach serfs a socialism of its own. Austria, however, angrily retorts the charge, by the statement that her eastern provinces are overrun and poisoned through Russian Panslavist agents, while her Italian subjects are wrought upon by the combined intrigues of Bonaparte and the Czar.[a] Prussia, finally, is keenly awake to the dangers of the situation; but she is bound hand and foot, and interdicted from moving in any direction. The royal power is, in fact, broken by the insanity of the King,[b] and the want of full powers on the part of the Regent.[c] The strife between the camarilla of the King, who refuses to resign, and the camarilla of the Prince, who dares not to reign, has opened a floodgate for the popular torrent.

Everything, then, depends upon France, and there the commercial and agricultural distress, financial *coup d'état,* and the substitution of the rule *of* the army for rule *by* the army, are hastening the explosion. Even the French press at length admits that all hopes of a return of prosperity must be abandoned for the present. "We believe that it would be foolish to tantalize the public with the chimerical hope of an immediate reaction," says the *Constitutionnel.*[d] "The stagnation continues, and in spite of the existing favorable elements, we must not expect any immediate modification," says the *Patrie.*

The *Union* and the *Univers* re-echo these complaints.[e] "It is

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[a] Alexander II.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[c] William, Prince of Prussia.—*Ed.*

[d] "Bulletin hebdomadaire de la Bourse de Paris", *Le Constitutionnel,* No. 158, June 7, 1858.—*Ed.*

[e] "Paris, Monday, June 7, 6 p.m.", *The Times,* No. 23015, June 9, 1858.—*Ed.*

generally admitted that there has not been more commercial distress experienced in Paris since the Revolution of 1848 than at the present moment," says the Paris correspondent of *The London Times*[a]; and the shares of the Crédit Mobilier,[566] have sunk down to something like 550 frs., that is, below the nominal price at which they were sold to the general public. On the other hand, the emptiness of the Imperial exchequer forces Napoleon to insist on his plan of confiscation.[b] "The only thing to be asked is," says a clerical paper appearing at Anjou, "whether or not property is to be respected." Property indeed! The only thing to be asked at this moment, answers Bonaparte, is how to make sure of the army? and he solves this question in his habitual way. The whole army is to be bought anew. He has ordered a general increase of its wages.[c] Meanwhile England is alarmed and Austria in terror. On all hands, war is believed to be imminent. Louis Napoleon has no other means of escaping speedy destruction. The beginning of the end is at hand.

Written on June 11, 1858

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] *The Times*, No. 23014, June 8, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 550-52.—*Ed.*

[c] Napoléon III, "Loi relative à la création d'une dotation de l'armée, an rengagement, au remplacement et aux pensions militaires".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE SLAVE-TRADE

London, June 18, 1858

In the sitting of the House of Lords on June 17, the question of the slave-trade was introduced by the Bishop of Oxford, who presented a petition against that trade from the Parish of St. Mary in Jamaica.[a] The impression these debates are sure to produce upon every mind not strongly prejudiced is that of great moderation on the part of the present British Government, and its firm purpose of avoiding any pretext of quarrel with the United States. Lord Malmesbury dropped altogether the "right of visit," as far as ships under the American flag are concerned, by the following declaration:

"The United States say that on no account, for no purpose, and upon no suspicion shall a ship carrying the American flag be boarded except by an American ship, unless at the risk of the officer boarding or detaining her. I have not admitted the international law as laid down by the American Minister for Foreign Affairs,[b] until that statement had been approved and fortified by the law officers of the Crown. But having admitted that, I have put it as strong as possible to the American Government that if it is known that the American flag covers every iniquity, every pirate and slaver on earth will carry it and no other; that this must bring disgrace on that honored banner, and that instead of vindicating the honor of the country by an obstinate adherence to their present declaration the contrary result will follow; that the American flag will be prostituted to the worst of purposes. I shall continue to urge that it is necessary in these civilized times, with countless vessels navigating the ocean, that there should be a police on the ocean; that there should be, if not a right by international law, an agreement among nations how far they would go to verify the nationality of vessels, and ascertain their right to bear a particular flag. From the language I have used, from the conversations which I had with the American Minister resident in this country,[c]

[a] *The Times,* No. 23023, June 18, 1858. Speeches by the members of the House of Lords quoted below are to be found in the same issue.— *Ed.*

[b] L. Cass.— *Ed.*

[c] J. M. Dallas.— *Ed.*

and from the observations contained in a very able paper drawn up by Gen. Cass on this subject, I am not without strong hope that some arrangement of this kind may be made with the United States, which, with the orders given to the officers of both countries, may enable us to verify the flags of all countries, without running the risk of offense to the country to which a ship belongs."

On the Opposition benches there was also no attempt made at vindicating the right of visit on the part of Great Britain against the United States, but, as Earl Grey remarked,

"The English had treaties with Spain and other powers for the prevention of the slave-trade, and if they had reasonable grounds for suspecting that a vessel was engaged in this abominable traffic, and that she had for the time made use of the United States flag, that she was not really an American ship at all, they had a right to overhaul her and to search her. If, however, she produced the American papers, even though she be full of slaves, it was their duty to discharge her, and to leave to the United States the disgrace of that iniquitous traffic. He hoped and trusted that the orders to their cruisers were strict in this respect, and that any excess of that discretion which was allowed their officers under the circumstances would meet with proper punishment."

The question then turns exclusively upon the point, and even this point seems abandoned by Lord Malmesbury, whether or not vessels suspected of usurping the American flag may not be called upon to produce their papers. Lord Aberdeen directly denied that any controversy could arise out of such a practice, since the instructions under which the British officers were to proceed on such an occurrence—instructions drawn up by Dr. Lushington and Sir G. Cockburn—had been communicated at the time to the American Government and acquiesced in by Mr. Webster, on the part of that Government.[a] If, therefore, there had been no change in these instructions, and if the officers had acted within their limits, "the American Government could have no ground of complaint." There seemed, indeed, a strong suspicion hovering in the minds of the hereditary wisdom, that Palmerston had played one of his usual tricks by effecting some arbitrary change in the orders issued to the British cruisers. It is known that Palmerston, while boasting of his zeal in the suppression of the slave-trade, had, during the eleven years of his administration of foreign affairs, ending in 1841, broken up all the existing slave-trade treaties, had ordered acts which the British law authorities pronounced criminal, and which actually subjected one of his instruments to legal procedure and placed a slave-dealer under the protection of the law of England against its own Government.

[a] "Annex (B) to the treaty between Great Britain, Austria...; signed at London, the Twentieth Day of December in the Year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-One. Instructions to Cruisers."—*Ed.*

He chose the slave-trade as his field of battle, and converted it into a mere instrument of provoking quarrels between England and other States. Before leaving office in 1841 he had given instructions[a] which, according to the words of Sir Robert Peel, "must have led, had they not been countermanded, to a collision with the United States." In *his own words,* he had enjoined the naval officers "to have no very nice regard to the law of nations." Lord Malmesbury, although in very reserved language, intimated that "by sending the British squadrons to the Cuban waters, instead of leaving them on the coast of Africa," Palmerston removed them from a station where, before the outbreak of the Russian war, they had almost succeeded in extinguishing the slave-trade, to a place where they could be good for little else than picking up a quarrel with the United States. Lord Woodhouse, Palmerston's own late Embassador to the Court of St. Petersburg, concurring in this view of the case, remarked that,

> "No matter what instructions had been given, if the Government gave authority to the British vessels to go in such numbers into the American waters, a difference would sooner or later arise between us and the United States."

Yet, whatever may have been Palmerston's secret intentions, it is evident that they are baffled by the Tory Government in 1858, as they had been in 1842, and that the war cry so lustily raised in the Congress and in the press is doomed to result in "much ado about nothing."

As to the question of the slave-trade itself, Spain was denounced by the Bishop of Oxford, as well as Lord Brougham, as the main stay of that nefarious traffic. Both of them called upon the British Government to force, by every means in its power, that country into a course of policy consonant to existing treaties. As early as 1814 a general treaty was entered into between Great Britain and Spain, by which the latter passed an unequivocal condemnation of the slave-trade. In 1817 a specific treaty was concluded, by which Spain fixed the abolition of the slave-trade, on the part of her own subjects, for the year 1820, and, by way of compensation for the losses her subjects might suffer by carrying out the contract, received an indemnity of £400,000. The money was pocketed, but no equivalent was tendered for it. In 1835 a new treaty[b] was entered into, by which Spain bound herself formally to bring in a

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[a] "Lettre adressée le 18 mai 1841, par le département des affaires étrangères aux lords de l'amirauté, au sujet de la poursuite des bâtimens américains..."—*Ed.*

[b] "Treaty between His Majesty and the Queen Regent of Spain ... signed in Madrid, June 28, 1835."—*Ed.*

sufficiently stringent penal law to make it impossible for her subjects to continue the traffic. The procrastinating Spanish proverb, *"A la mañana,"*[a] was again strictly adhered to. It was only ten years later that the penal law was carried; but, by a singular mischance, the principal clause contended for by England was left out, namely, that of making the slave-trade piracy. In one word, nothing was done, save that the Captain-General of Cuba,[b] the Minister at home,[c] the Camarilla, and, if rumor speaks truth, royal personages themselves, raised a private tax upon the slavers, selling the license of dealing in human flesh and blood at so many doubloons per head.

"Spain," said the Bishop of Oxford, "had not the excuse that this traffic was a system which her Government was not strong enough to put down, because Gen. Valdez had shown that such a plea could not be urged with any show of truth. On his arrival in the island he called together the principal contractors, and, giving them six months' time to close all their transactions in the slave-trade, told them that he was determined to put it down at the end of that period. What was the result? In 1840, the year previous to the administration of Gen. Valdez, the number of ships which came to Cuba from the coast of Africa with slaves was 56. In 1842, while Gen. Valdez was Captain-General, the number was only 3. In 1840 no less than 14,470 slaves were landed at the island; in 1842 the number was 3,100."

Now what shall England do with Spain? Repeat her protests, multiply her dispatches, renew her negotiations? Lord Malmesbury himself states that they could cover all the waters from the Spanish coast to Cuba with the documents vainly exchanged between the two Governments. Or shall England enforce her claims, sanctioned by so many treaties? Here it is that the shoe pinches. In steps the sinister figure of the "august ally," now the acknowledged guardian angel of the slave-trade. The third Bonaparte, the patron of Slavery in all its forms, forbids England to act up to her convictions and her treaties. Lord Malmesbury, it is known, is strongly suspected of an undue intimacy with the hero of Satory. Nevertheless, he denounced him in plain terms as the general slave-dealer of Europe—as the man who had revived the infamous traffic in its worst features under the pretext of "free emigration" of the blacks to the French colonies. Earl Grey completed this denunciation by stating that "wars had been undertaken in Africa for the purpose of making captives, who were to be sold to the agents of the French Government." The

[a] "Leave it till tomorrow."—*Ed.*
[b] Leopoldo O'Donnel y Jorris.—*Ed.*
[c] P. J. Pidal.—*Ed.*

Earl of Clarendon added that "both Spain and France were rivals in the African market, offering a certain sum per man; and there was not the least difference in the treatment of these negroes, whether they were conveyed to Cuba or to a French colony."

Such, then, is the glorious position England finds herself in by having lent her help to that man in overthrowing the Republic. The second Republic, like the first one, had abolished Slavery. Bonaparte, who acquired his power solely by truckling to the meanest passions of men, is unable to prolong it save by buying day by day new accomplices. Thus he has not only restored Slavery, but has bought the planters by the renewal of the slave-trade. Everything degrading the conscience of the nation, is a new lease of power granted to him. To convert France into a slave-trading nation would be the surest means of enslaving France, who, when herself, had the boldness of proclaiming in the face of the world: Let the colonies perish, but let principles live! One thing at least has been accomplished by Bonaparte. The slave-trade has become a battle-cry between the Imperialist and the Republican camps. If the French Republic be restored to-day, to-morrow Spain will be *forced* to abandon the infamous traffic.

Written on June 18, 1858

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## [TAXATION IN INDIA]

According to the London journals, Indian stock and railway securities have of late been distinguished by a downward movement in that market, which is far from testifying to the genuineness of the sanguine convictions which John Bull likes to exhibit in regard to the state of the Indian guerrilla war; and which, at all events, indicates a stubborn distrust in the elasticity of Indian financial resources. As to the latter, two opposite views are propounded. On the one hand, it is affirmed that taxes in India are onerous and oppressive beyond those of any country in the world; that as a rule throughout most of the presidencies, and through those presidencies most where they have been longest under British rule, the cultivators, that is, the great body of the people of India, are in a condition of unmitigated impoverishment and dejection; that, consequently, Indian revenues have been stretched to their utmost possible limit, and Indian finances are therefore past recovery. A rather discomfortable opinion this at a period when, according to Mr. Gladstone,[a] for some years to come, the extraordinary Indian expenditure alone will annually amount to about £20,000,000 sterling. On the other hand, it is asserted—the asseveration being made good by an array of statistical illustrations—that India is the least taxed country in the world; that, if expenditure is going on increasing, revenue may be increased too; and that it is an utter fallacy to imagine that the Indian people will not bear any new taxes. Mr. Bright, who may be considered the most arduous and influential representative of

[a] W. E. Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on June 7, 1858, *The Times*, No. 23014, June 8, 1858.—*Ed.*

the "discomfortable" doctrine, made, on the occasion of the second reading of the new Government of India bill,[567] the following statement:

"The Indian Government had cost more to govern India than it was possible to extort from the population of India, although the Government had been by no means scrupulous either as to the taxes imposed, or as to the mode in which they had been levied. [...] It cost more than £30,000,000 to govern India, for that was the gross revenue, and there was always a deficit, which had to be made up by loans borrowed at a high rate of interest. [...] The Indian debt now amounted to £60,000,000, and was increasing; while the credit of the Government was falling, partly because they had not treated their creditors very honorably on one or two occasions, and now on account of the calamities which had recently happened in India. [...] He had alluded to the gross revenue; but as that included the opium revenue, which was hardly a tax upon the people of India, he would take the taxation which really pressed upon them at £25,000,000. Now, let not this £25,000,000 be compared with the £60,000,000 that was raised in this country. Let the House recollect that in India it was possible to purchase twelve days' labor for the same amount of gold or silver that would be obtained in payment for one in England. This £25,000,000 expended in the purchase of labor in India would buy as much as an outlay of £300,000,000 would procure in England. [...] He might be asked how much was the labor of an Indian worth? Well, if the labor of an Indian was only worth 2d. a day, it was clear that we could not expect him to pay as much taxation as if it was worth 2s. [...] We had 30,000,000 of population in Great Britain and Ireland; in India there were 150,000,000 inhabitants. [...] We raised here £60,000,000 sterling of taxes; in India, reckoning by the days' labor of the people of India, we raised £300,000,000 of revenue, or five times a greater revenue than was collected at home. Looking at the fact that the population of India was five times greater than that of the British Empire, a man might say that the taxation per head in India and England was about the same, and that therefore there was no great hardship inflicted. But in England there was an incalculable power of machinery and steam, of means of transit, and of everything that capital and human invention could bring to aid the industry of a people. In India there was nothing of the kind. They had scarcely a decent road throughout India."[a]

Now, it must be admitted that there is something wrong in this method of comparing Indian taxes with British taxes. There is on the one side the Indian population, five times as great as the British one, and there is on the other side the Indian taxation amounting to half the British. But, then, Mr. Bright says, Indian labor is an equivalent for about one-twelfth only of British labor. Consequently £30,000,000 of taxes in India would represent £300,000,000 of taxes in Great Britain, instead of the £60,000,000 actually there raised. What then is the conclusion he ought to have arrived at? That the people of India in regard to their numerical strength pay the *same* taxation as the people in Great Britain, if allowance is made for the comparative poverty of the people in

[a] J. Bright's speech in the House of Commons on June 24, 1858, *The Times*, No. 23029, June 25, 1858.—*Ed.*

India, and £30,000,000 is supposed to weigh as heavily upon 150,000,000 Indians as £60,000,000 upon 30,000,000 Britons. Such being his supposition, it is certainly fallacious to turn round and say that a poor people cannot pay so much as a rich one, because the comparative poverty of the Indian people has already been taken into account in making out the statement that the Indian pays as much as the Briton. There might, in fact, another question be raised. It might be asked, whether a man who earns say 12 cents a day can be fairly expected to pay 1 cent with the same ease with which another, earning $12 a day, pays $1? Both would relatively contribute the same aliquot part of their income, but still the tax might bear in quite different proportions upon their respective necessities. Yet, Mr. Bright has not yet put the question in these terms, and, if he had, the comparison between the burden of taxation, borne by the British wages' laborer on the one hand, and the British capitalist on the other, would perhaps have struck nearer home than the comparison between Indian and British taxation. Moreover, he admits himself that from the £30,000,000 of Indian taxes, the £5,000,000 constituting the opium revenue must be subtracted, since this is, properly speaking, no tax pressing upon the Indian people, but rather an export duty charged upon Chinese consumption. Then we are reminded by the apologists of the Anglo-Indian Administration that £16,000,000 of income is derived from the land revenue, or rent, which from times immemorial has belonged to the State in its capacity as supreme landlord, never constituted part of the private fortune of the cultivator, and does, in fact, no more enter into taxation, properly so called, than the rent paid by the British farmers to the British aristocracy can be said to enter British taxation. Indian taxation, according to this point of view, would stand thus:

| | |
|---|---|
| Aggregate sum raised ..... | £30,000,000 |
| Deduct for opium revenue ..... | 5,000,000 |
| Deduct for rent of land ..... | 16,000,000 |
| Taxation proper ..... | £9,000,000 |

Of this £9,000,000, again, it must be admitted that some important items, such as the post-office, the stamp duties, and the customs duties, bear in a very minute proportion on the mass of the people. Accordingly, Mr. Hendriks, in a paper recently laid before the British Statistical Society on the Finances of India,[a] tries

[a] *The Economist*, No. 772, June 12, 1858.—*Ed.*

to prove, from Parliamentary and other official documents, that of the total revenue paid by the people of India, not more than one-fifth is at present raised by taxation, i. e., from the real income of the people; that in Bengal 27 per cent only, in the Punjaub 23 per cent only, in Madras 21 per cent only, in the North-West Provinces 17 per cent only, and in Bombay 16 per cent only of the total revenue is derived from taxation proper.

The following comparative view of the average amount of taxation derived from each inhabitant of India and the United Kingdom, during the years 1855-56, is abstracted from Mr. Hendriks's statement:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bengal, per head, Revenue | £0 | 5 | 0...Taxation proper. | £0 | 1 | 4 |
| North-West Provinces | | 3 | 5...Taxation proper. | | 0 | 7 |
| Madras | | 4 | 7...Taxation proper. | | 1 | 0 |
| Bombay | | 8 | 3...Taxation proper. | | 1 | 4 |
| Punjaub | | 3 | 3...Taxation proper. | | 0 | 9 |
| United Kingdom | | - | -...Taxation proper. | 1 | 10 | 0 |

For a different year the following estimate of the average paid by each individual to the national revenue is made by Gen. Briggs[a]:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| In England, 1852 | £ | 1 | 19 | 4 |
| In France | | 1 | 12 | 0 |
| In Prussia | | 0 | 19 | 3 |
| In India, 1854 | | 0 | 3 | 8 1/2 |

From these statements it is inferred by the apologists of the British Administration that there is not a single country in Europe, where, even if the comparative poverty of India is taken into account, the people are so lightly taxed. Thus it seems that not only opinions with respect to Indian taxation are conflicting, but that the facts from which they purport to be drawn are themselves contradictory. On the one hand, we must admit the nominal amount of Indian taxation to be relatively small; but on the other, we might heap evidence upon evidence from Parliamentary documents, as well as from the writings of the greatest authorities on Indian affairs, all proving beyond doubt that this apparently light taxation crushes the mass of the Indian people to the dust, and that its exaction necessitates a resort to such infamies as torture, for instance. But is any other proof wanted beyond the constant and rapid increase of the Indian debt and the accumula-

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[a] *The Economist*, No. 772, June 12, 1858.—*Ed.*

tion of Indian deficits? It will certainly not be contended that the Indian Government prefers increasing debts and deficits because it shrinks from touching too roughly upon the resources of the people. It embarks in debt, because it sees no other way to make both ends meet. In 1805 the Indian debt amounted to £25,626,631[a]; in 1829 it reached about £34,000,000[b]; in 1850 £47,151,018[c]; and at present it amounts to about £60,000,000. By the by, we leave out of the count the East Indian debt contracted in England, which is also chargeable upon the East Indian revenue.

The annual deficit, which in 1805 amounted to about two and a half millions, had, under Lord Dalhousie's administration, reached the average of five millions. Mr. George Campbell of the Bengal Civil Service, and of a mind strongly biased in favor of the Anglo-Indian administration, was obliged to avow, in 1852, that:

"Although no Oriental conquerors have ever obtained so complete an ascendency, so quiet, universal and undisputed possession of India as we have, yet all have enriched themselves from the revenues of the country, and many have out of their abundance laid out considerable sums on works of public improvements. ...From doing this we are debarred. ...The quantity of the whole burden is by no means diminished" (under the English rule), *"yet we have no surplus."*[d]

In estimating the burden of taxation, its nominal amount must not fall heavier into the balance than the method of raising it and the manner of employing it. The former is detestable in India, and in the branch of the land-tax, for instance, wastes perhaps more produce than it gets. As to the application of the taxes, it will suffice to say that no part of them is returned to the people in works of public utility, more indispensable in Asiatic countries than anywhere else, and that, as Mr. Bright justly remarked, nowhere so extravagant is a provision made for the governing class itself.[e]

Written on June 29, 1858

Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] G. Campbell, *Modern India: a Sketch of the System of Civil Government*, p. 412.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 414.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., p. 417.—*Ed.*

[d] Ibid., p. 406. Italics by Marx.—*Ed.*

[e] J. Bright's speech in the House of Commons on June 24, 1858, *The Times*, No. 23029, June 25, 1858.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE INDIAN ARMY[568]

The war in India is gradually passing into that stage of desultory guerrilla warfare, to which, more than once, we have pointed[a] as its next impending and most dangerous phase of development. The insurgent armies, after their successive defeats in pitched battles, and in the defense of towns and entrenched camps, gradually dissolve into smaller bodies of from two to six or eight thousand men, acting, to a certain degree, independently of each other, but always ready to unite for a short expedition against any British detachment which may be surprised singly. The abandonment of Bareilly without a blow, after having drawn the active field force of Sir C. Campbell some eighty miles away from Lucknow, was the turning point, in this respect, for the main army of the insurgents; the abandonment of Calpee had the same significance for the second great body of natives. In either case, the last defensible central base of operations was given up, and the warfare of an army thereby becoming impossible, the insurgents made eccentric retreats by separating into smaller bodies. These movable columns require no large town for a central base of operations. They can find means of existence, of re-equipment, and of recruitment in the various districts in which they move; and a small town or a large village as a center of reorganization may be as valuable to each of them as Delhi, Lucknow, or Calpee to the larger armies. By this change, the war loses much of its interest; the movements of the various columns of insurgents cannot be followed up in detail and appear confused in the accounts; the operations of the British commanders, to a great

[a] See this volume, pp. 441, 532, 553-55.—*Ed.*

extent, escape criticism, from the unavoidable obscurity enveloping the premises on which they are based; success or failure remain the only criterion, and they are certainly of all the most deceitful.

This uncertainty respecting the movements of the natives is already very great. After the taking of Lucknow, they retreated eccentrically—some south-east, some north-east, some north-west. The latter were the stronger body, and were followed by Campbell into Rohilcund. They had concentrated and re-formed at Bareilly; but when the British came up, they abandoned the place without resistance, and again retreated in different directions. Particulars of these different lines of retreat are not known. We only know that a portion went toward the hills on the frontiers of Nepaul, while one or more columns appear to have marched in the opposite direction, toward the Ganges and the Doab (the country between the Ganges and the Jumna). No sooner, however, had Campbell occupied Bareilly, than the insurgents, who had retreated in an easterly direction, effected a junction with some bodies on the Oude frontier and fell upon Shahjehanpore, where a small British garrison had been left; while further insurgent columns were hastening in that direction. Fortunately for the garrison, Brigadier Jones arrived with re-enforcements as early as the 11th of May, and defeated the natives; but they, too, were re-enforced by the columns concentrating on Shahjehanpore, and again invested the town on the 15th. On this day, Campbell, leaving a garrison in Bareilly, marched to its relief; but it was not before the 24th of May that he attacked them and drove them back, the various columns of insurgents which had cooperated in this maneuver again dispersing in different directions.

While Campbell was thus engaged on the frontiers of Rohilcund, Gen. Hope Grant marched his troops backward and forward in the South of Oude, without any result, except losses to his own force by fatigue under an Indian Summer's sun. The insurgents were too quick for him. They were everywhere but where he happened to look for them, and when he expected to find them in front, they had long since again gained his rear. Lower down the Ganges, Gen. Lugard was occupied with a chase after a similar shadow in the district between Dinapore, Jugdespore and Buxar. The natives kept him constantly on the move, and, after drawing him away from Jugdespore, all at once fell upon the garrison of that place. Lugard returned, and a telegram reports his having gained a victory on the 26th.[a] The identity of

[a] "Alexandria, June 23", "From the India-House", *The Times*, No. 23032, June 29, 1858.—*Ed.*

the tactics of these insurgents with those of the Oude and Rohilcund columns is evident. The victory gained by Lugard will, however, scarcely be of much importance. Such bands can afford to be beaten a good many times before they become demoralized and weak.

Thus, by the middle of May, the whole insurgent force of Northern India had given up warfare on a large scale, with the exception of the army of Calpee. This force, in a comparatively short time, had organized in that town a complete center of operations; they had provisions, powder and other stores in profusion, plenty of guns, and even founderies and musket manufactories. Though within 25 miles of Cawnpore, Campbell had left them unmolested; he merely observed them by a force on the Doab or western side of the Jumna. Generals Rose and Whitlock had been on the march to Calpee for a long while; at last Rose arrived, and defeated the insurgents in a series of engagements in front of Calpee. The observing force on the other side of the Jumna, in the mean time, had shelled the town and fort, and suddenly the insurgents evacuated both, breaking up this their last large army into independent columns. The roads taken by them are not at all clear, from the accounts received; we only know that some have gone into the Doab, and others toward Gwalior.[a]

Thus the whole district from the Himalaya to the Bihar and Vindhya mountains, and from Gwalior and Delhi to Joruckpore and Dinapore, is swarming with active insurgent bands, organized to a certain degree by the experience of a twelve months war, and encouraged, amid a number of defeats, by the indecisive character of each, and by the small advantages gained by the British. It is true, all their strongholds and centers of operations have been taken from them; the greater portion of their stores and artillery are lost; the important towns are all in the hands of their enemies. But on the other hand, the British, in all this vast district, hold nothing but the towns, and of the open country, nothing but the spot where their movable columns happen to stand; they are compelled to chase their nimble enemies without any hope of attaining them; and they are under the necessity of entering upon this harassing mode of warfare at the very deadliest season of the year. The native Indian can stand the mid-day heat of his Summer with comparative comfort, while mere exposure to the rays of the sun is almost certain death to the European; he can march forty

[a] Here and below "Bombay, June 4", *The Times*, No. 23037, July 5, 1858.—*Ed.*

miles in such a season, where ten break down his northern opponent; to him even the hot rains and swampy jungles are comparatively innocuous, while dysentery, cholera, and ague follow every exertion made by Europeans in the rainy season or in swampy neighborhoods. We are without detailed accounts of the sanitary condition of the British army; but from the comparative numbers of those struck by the sun and those hit by the enemy in Gen. Rose's army, from the report that the garrison of Lucknow is sickly, that the 38th regiment arrived last Autumn above 1,000 strong, now scarcely numbers 550, and from other indications we may draw the conclusion that the Summer's heat, during April and May, has done its work among the newly-imported men and lads who have replaced the bronzed old Indian soldiers of last year's campaign. With the men Campbell has, he cannot undertake the forced marches of Havelock nor a siege during the rainy season like that of Delhi. And although the British Government are again sending off strong re-enforcements, it is doubtful whether they will be sufficient to replace the wear and tear of this Summer's campaign against an enemy who declines to fight the British except on terms most favorable to himself.

The insurgent warfare now begins to take the character of that of the Bedouins of Algeria against the French[569]; with the difference that the Hindoos are far from being so fanatical, and that they are not a nation of horsemen. This latter is important in a flat country of immense extent. There are plenty of Mohammedans among them who would make good irregular cavalry; still the principal cavalry nations of India have not joined the insurrection so far. The strength of their army is in the infantry, and that arm being unfit to meet the English in the field, becomes a drag in guerrilla warfare in the plain; for in such a country the sinew of desultory warfare is irregular cavalry. How far this want may be remedied during the compulsory holiday the English will have to take during the rains, we shall see. This holiday will, altogether, give the natives an opportunity of reorganizing and recruiting their forces. Beside the organization of cavalry, there are two more points of importance. As soon as the cold weather sets in, guerrilla warfare alone will not do. Centers of operation, stores, artillery, intrenched camps or towns, are required to keep the British busy until the cold season is over; otherwise the guerrilla warfare might be extinguished before the next Summer gives it fresh life. Gwalior appears to be, among others, a favorable point, if the insurgents have really got hold of it. Secondly, the fate of the insurrection is dependent upon its being

able to expand. If the dispersed columns cannot manage to cross from Rohilcund into Rajpootana and the Mahratta country; if the movement remains confined to the northern central district, then, no doubt, the next Winter will suffice to disperse the bands, and to turn them into dacoits, which will soon be more hateful to the inhabitants than even the palefaced invaders.

Written on July 6, 1858

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5381, July 21, 1858 as a leading article

# Karl Marx

## THE INDIAN BILL[570]

The latest India bill has passed through its third reading in the House of Commons,[a] and since the Lords swayed by Derby's influence, are not likely to show fight, the doom of the East India Company appears to be sealed. They do not die like heroes, it must be confessed; but they have bartered away their power, as they crept into it, bit by bit, in a business-like way. In fact, their whole history is one of buying and selling. They commenced by buying sovereignty, and they have ended by selling it. *They have fallen,* not in a pitched battle, but under the hammer of the auctioneer, into the hands of the highest bidder. In 1693 they procured from the Crown a charter for twenty-one years by paying large sums to the Duke of Leeds and other public officers. In 1767 they prolonged their tenure of power for two years by the promise of annually paying £400,000 into the Imperial exchequer. In 1769 they struck a similar bargain for five years; but soon after, in return for the Exchequer's foregoing the stipulated annual payment and lending them £1,400,000 at 4 per cent, they alienated some parcels of sovereignty, leaving to Parliament in the first instance the nomination of the Governor-General and four Councilors, altogether surrendering to the Crown the appointment of the Lord Chief Justice and his three Judges, and agreeing to the conversion of the Court of Proprietors from a democratic into an oligarchic body.[571] In 1858, after having solemnly pledged themselves to the Court of Proprietors to resist by all constitutional "means" the transfer to the Crown of the governing powers of the

[a] See *The Times*, No. 23036, July 3, 1858.—*Ed.*

East India Company,[a] they have accepted that principle, and agreed to a bill penal as regards the Company, but securing emolument and place to its principal Directors. If the death of a hero, as Schiller says, resembles the setting of the sun,[b] the exit of the East India Company bears more likeness to the compromise effected by a bankrupt with his creditors.

By this bill the principal functions of administration are intrusted to a Secretary of State in Council,[572] just as at Calcutta the Governor-General in Council manages affairs. But both these functionaries—the Secretary of State in England and the Governor-General in India—are alike authorized to disregard the advice of their assessors and to act upon their own judgment. The new bill also invests the Secretary of State with all the powers at present exercised by the President of the Board of Control, through the agency of the Secret Committee—the power, that is, in urgent cases, of dispatching orders to India without stopping to ask the advice of his Council. In constituting that Council it has been found necessary, after all, to resort to the East India Company as the only practicable source of appointments to it other than nominations by the Crown. The elective members of the Council are to be elected by the Directors of the East India Company from among their own number.

Thus, after all, the name of the East India Company is to outlive its substance. At the last hour it was confessed by the Derby Cabinet that their bill contains no clause abolishing the East India Company, as represented by a Court of Directors, but that it becomes reduced to its ancient character of a company of stockholders, distributing the dividends guaranteed by different acts of legislation.[c] Pitt's bill of 1784 virtually subjected their government to the sway of the Cabinet under the name of the Board of Control. The act of 1813 stripped them of their monopoly of commerce, save the trade with China. The act of 1834 destroyed their commercial character altogether, and the act of 1854 annihilated their last remnant of power, still leaving them in possession of the Indian administration. By the rotation of history the East India Company, converted in 1612 into a joint-stock company, is again clothed in its primitive garb, only that it represents now a trading partnership without trade, and a

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[a] *The Times*, No. 22896, January 21, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] Schiller, *Die Räuber*, Act III, Scene II.—*Ed.*

[c] H. Cairns' speech in the House of Commons on July 8, 1858, *The Times*, No. 23041, July 9, 1858.—*Ed.*

joint-stock company which has no funds to administer, but only fixed dividends to draw.

The history of the Indian bill is marked by greater dramatic changes than any other act of modern Parliamentary legislation. When the Sepoy insurrection broke out, the cry of Indian reform rang through all classes of British society. Popular imagination was heated by the torture reports; the Government interference with the native religion was loudly denounced by Indian general officers and civilians of high standing; the rapacious annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie, the mere tool of Downing street; the fermentation recklessly created in the Asiatic mind by the piratical wars in Persia and China—wars commenced and pursued on Palmerston's private dictation—the weak measures with which he met the outbreak, sailing ships being chosen for transport in preference to steam vessels, and the circuitous navigation around the cape of Good Hope instead of trasportation over the Isthmus of Suez—all these accumulated grievances burst into the cry for Indian Reform—reform of the Company's Indian administration, reform of the Government's Indian policy. Palmerston caught at the popular cry, but resolved upon turning it to his exclusive profit. Because both the Government and the Company had miserably broken down, the Company was to be killed in sacrifice, and the Government to be rendered omnipotent. The power of the Company was to be simply transferred to the dictator of the day, pretending to represent the Crown as against the Parliament, and to represent Parliament as against the Crown, thus absorbing the privileges of the one and the other in his single person. With the Indian army at his back, the Indian treasury at his command, and the Indian patronage in his pocket, Palmerston's position would have become impregnable.

His bill passed triumphantly through the first reading, but his career was cut short by the famous Conspiracy bill,[573] followed by the advent of the Tories to power.

On the very first day of their official reappearance on the Treasury benches, they declared that, out of deference for the decisive will of the Commons, they would forsake their opposition to the transfer from the Company to the Crown of the Indian Government.[a] Lord Ellenborough's legislative abortion seemed to hasten Palmerston's restoration, when Lord John Russell, in order to force the dictator into a compromise, stepped in, and saved the

[a] E. G. Derby's speech in the House of Lords on March 1, 1858, *The Times*, No. 22930, March 2, 1858.— *Ed.*

Government by proposing to proceed with the Indian bill by way of Parliamentary resolution, instead of by a governmental bill.[a] Then Lord Ellenborough's Oude dispatch, his sudden resignation, and the consequent disorganization in the Ministerial camp, were eagerly seized upon by Palmerston. The Tories were again to be planted in the cold shade of opposition, after they had employed their short lease of power in breaking down the opposition of their own party against the confiscation of the East India Company. Yet it is sufficiently known how these fine calculations were baffled. Instead of rising on the ruins of the East India Company, Palmerston has been buried beneath them. During the whole of the Indian debates, the House seemed to indulge the peculiar satisfaction of humiliating the *Civis Romanus*.[574] All his amendments, great and small, were ignominiously lost; allusions of the most unsavory kind, relating to the Afghan war,[575] the Persian war,[576] and the Chinese war,[577] were continually flung at his head; and Mr. Gladstone's clause, withdrawing from the Indian Minister the power of originating wars beyond the boundaries of India,[b] intended as a general vote of censure on Palmerston's past foreign policy, was passed by a crushing majority, despite his furious resistance. But although the man has been thrown overboard, his principle, upon the whole, has been accepted. Although somewhat checked by the obstructive attributes of the Board of Council, which, in fact, is but the well-paid specter of the old Court of Directors, the power of the executive has, by the formal annexation of India, been raised to such a degree that, to counterpoise it, democratic weight must be thrown into the Parliamentary scale.

Written on July 9, 1858

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

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[a] J. Russell's speech in the House of Commons on April 12, 1858, *The Times*, No. 22966, April 13, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] W. E. Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on July 6, 1858, *The Times*, No. 23039, July 7, 1858.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF THE *NEUE ZEIT*[578]

[London, not later than July 12, 1858]

How a German "man of the people" and "poet" succeeds in combining the Pleasant with the Useful.

Four weeks ago Dr Kinkel inserted the following advertisement in *The Manchester Guardian:*

"**Tour through the English Lakes.** *Reading German Litterature.* A Professor of German at one of the most distinguished educational establishments in this country will read to a Party composed of Ladies and Gentlemen: Schiller's Gedichte, 'Don Carlos', Auerbach's 'Dorfgeschichten' and Hauff's 'Bettlerin vom Pont des Arts'. This Party being a select one, care will be taken to keep it so, and to connect by these means sociable and pleasant intercourse with instructive and entertaining reading. The Party to start from Kendall, Monday, July 5th. Early applications will oblige, as none will be received after June 19th. Address to the Publisher of this paper for Dr. K."[a]

For the edification of such of our German readers who have not completely mastered the English tongue, I append a translation of this concoction which is a curiosity if only by reason of its style.[b]

..."This Party being a select one" (how republican and how grammatical!)... "by these means" (how?)...

If desired, I can provide a cutting of the original advertisement.

*Anti-Humbug*

First published in *Die Neue Zeit,* London, No. 4, July 17, 1858

Published according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] Quoted by Marx in English.—*Ed.*

[b] In the original there follows a German rendering with comments in brackets by Marx. Only these have been retained, preceded by the particular words to which they refer.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## TRANSPORT OF TROOPS TO INDIA[579]

London, July 27, 1858

At the beginning of the Anglo-Indian war, two curious questions were mooted—the one relating to the respective superiority of steamers or sailing vessels, the other as to the use of the overland route for the transport of troops. The British Government having decided in favor of sailing vessels against steamers, and for the voyage round the Cape of Good Hope against the overland route, the House of Commons, on the motion of Sir De Lacy Evans, ordered, on the 4th of February, 1858, a Committee to be appointed, under the chairmanship of the veteran General, which was to inquire "concerning the measures resorted to."[a] The formation of this Committee was completely altered by the intervening change of Ministry, consequent upon which three Palmerstonians were substituted for Lord Stanley and Sir John Pakington. The report of the Committee proving, on the whole, favorable to the late Administration, Gen. Sir De Lacy Evans had a protest printed and circulated, in which he asserts the conclusion arrived at to be at utter variance with the premises from which it pretended to be drawn, and quite inconsistent with the facts and evidence laid before them. An examination of the evidence itself must oblige all impartial persons to fully concur in this view of the case.

The decisive importance of a short line of communication between an army in the field and its base of communication needs no demonstration. During the American War of Independence[580] the principal obstacle England had to grapple with was a sea line

[a] G. de Lacy Evans' speech in the House of Commons on February 4, 1858, *The Times*, No. 22909, February 5, 1858.—*Ed.*

of 3,000 miles over which she had to convey her troops, stores and re-enforcements. From Great Britain to the mouths of the Indus and Ganges, to Calcutta, Madras, Kurrachee and Bombay, the distance, according to past arrangements, may be reckoned at about 14,000 miles; but the use of steam offered the means of shortening it considerably. Hitherto on all occasions it had been the practice to effect the relief of regiments in India, by this long sea voyage in sailing vessels. This was considered a sufficient reason on the part of the late British Administration, for declaring at the beginning of the Indian troubles, that sailing vessels would still be preferred to steamers for the conveyance of troops. Up to the 10th of July, 1857, of 31 vessels taken up, nearly the whole were sailing ships. Meanwhile, public censure in England and unfavorable news from India effected so much that in the interval from the 10th of July to the 1st of December, among the 59 ships taken up for troops, 29 screw steamers were admitted. Thus a rough test was afforded of the relative qualities of steamers and sailing vessels in accomplishing the transit. According to the return furnished by the Marine Department of the East India Company, giving names of transports and length of passages to the four principal ports of India, the following may be considered the average results as between steamers and sailing vessels.

*From England to Calcutta.*

| | Days. |
|---|---|
| From August 6 to October 21, 1857, average of steamers, omitting fractions | 82 |
| Average of 22 sailing vessels, from June 10 to August 27, 1857 | 116 |
| Difference in favor of steamers | 34 |

*To Madras.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Average of 2 steamers | 90 |
| Average of 2 sailing ships | 131 |
| Difference in favor of steamers | 41 |

*To Bombay.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Average of 5 steamers | 76 |
| Average of 9 sailing ships | 118 |
| Difference in favor of steamers | 42 |

*To Kurrachee.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Average of 3 steamers | 91 |
| Average of 10 ships | 128 |
| Difference in favor of steamers | 37 |
| Average of the whole of the 19 passages by steamers to the four ports of India | 83 |
| Average passage of 43 sailing ships | 120 |
| Difference between averages of steam and sailing vessels | 37 |

The same official return, dated Feb. 27, 1858, gives the following details:

| | Men. |
|---|---|
| To Calcutta were conveyed by steamers | 6,798 |
| By sailing ships | 9,489 |
| Total to Calcutta | 16,287 |
| To Madras, by steamers | 2,089 |
| By sailing ships | 985 |
| Total to Madras | 3,074 |
| To Bombay, by steamers | 3,906 |
| By sailing ships | 3,439 |
| Total to Bombay | 7,345 |
| To Kurrachee, by steamers | 1,351 |
| By sailing ships | 2,321 |
| Total to Kurrachee | 3,672 |

It appears, then, from the above that 27 steamers carried to the four ports of disembarkation in India 14,144 men, averaging, therefore, 548 men in each ship; that in 55 sailing ships were conveyed 16,234 men, averaging 289 men in each. Now, by the same official statement of averages, it appears that the 14,144 men conveyed in steamers arrived at their respective places of destination on an average of 37 days sooner than the 16,234 men embarked on sailing ships. On the part of the British Admiralty and the other ministerial departments no arguments were adduced in favor of the traditionary transport but precedent and routine, both dating from an epoch when steam navigation was

utterly unknown. Lord Palmerston's principal plea, however, for the delay was expense, the cost of steamers in most of the above cases amounting to perhaps treble that of sailing ships. Apart from the fact that this great enhancement of charge for steamers must have gradually diminished after the first unusual demand, and that in so vital an emergency expense ought not to be admitted as an element of calculation, it is evident that the increased cost of transport would have been more than compensated for by the lessened chances of the insurrection.

Still more important than the question of superiority as between steamers and sailing vessels, seems the controversy respecting the voyage round the Cape on the one hand and the overland route on the other; Lord Palmerston affirming the general impracticability of the latter route. A controversy in regard to it between his Board of Control and the East India Directors, appears to have commenced cotemporaneously with the first information of the Indian revolt reaching England. The question had, in fact, been solved as long ago as the beginning of this century. In the year 1801, when there were no steam navigation company's agents to aid the military arrangements, and when no railway existed, a large force under Sir David Baird proceeded from India and landed at Kosseir in May and June; crossed in nine days the desert of Kherie,[a] on the Nile; proceeded down that river, garrisoned Alexandria, and in the following year, 1802, several regiments returned to India by Suez and the Red Sea, in the month of June. That force, amounting to 5,000 men, consisted of a troop of horse-artillery, six guns and small arms, ammunition, camp equipage, baggage, and 126 chests of treasure. The troops generally were very healthy. The march across the Suez Desert, from the lake of St. Pilgrims,[b] near Grand Cairo to Suez, was performed in four days with the greatest ease, marching by night and encamping during the day. In June the ships proceeded to India, the wind at that season blowing down the Red Sea. They made a very quick passage. Again, during the late Russian war,[c] in the summer of 1854, the 10th and 11th regiments of Dragoons (1,400 horses, 1,600 men) arrived in Egypt from India, and were forwarded thence to the Crimea. These corps, though their transfer took place during the hot months, or monsoon, and though they had to remain some time in Egypt, are known to have

[a] Wadi Karim.—*Ed.*
[b] Now non-existent.—*Ed.*
[c] The Crimean war, 1853-56.—*Ed.*

been remarkably healthy and efficient, and to have continued so throughout their Crimean service. In the last instance there is the experience of the actual Indian war. After the waste of nearly four months, some thousand troops were dispatched by Egypt with extraordinary advantage as to economy of time, and with perfect preservation of health. The first regiment that was conveyed by this line passed from Plymouth to Bombay in thirty-seven days. Of the first regiment sent from Malta, the first wing arrived at Bombay in sixteen and the second wing in eighteen days. An overwhelming mass of evidence, from numerous trustworthy witnesses, attest the peculiar facilities, especially in periods of emergency, afforded by the overland route transport. Col. Poeklington, Deputy Quartermaster-General, appointed in October, 1857, to direct and superintend the transit of the troops, and who, expressly prepared by order of the War Department a report for the Committee of Inquiry, states:

"The advantages of the overland route are very considerable, and the trajet is most simple. A thousand men per week can be conveyed across the isthmus by the Transit administration of Egypt without interference with the ordinary passenger traffic. Between 300 and 400 men can move at a time, and perform the distance from ship to ship in 26 hours. The transit by rail is completed to within almost twenty miles of Suez. This last portion of the journey is performed by the soldiers on donkeys in about six hours. There can be no doubt as to the experiment having succeeded."

The time occupied by troops from England to India is, by the overland route, from 33 to 46 days. From Malta to India, from 16 to 18 or 20 days. Compare these periods with the 83 by steamers, or the 120 by sailing ships, on the long sea route, and the difference will appear striking. Again, during the longer route, Great Britain will have from 15,000 to 20,000 troops, in effect *hors de combat*,[a] and beyond counter orders for a period annually, of from 3 to 4 months, while, with the shorter line, it will be but for the brief period of some 14 days, during the transit from Suez to India, that the troops will be beyond reach of recall, for any unexpected European contingency.

In resorting to the overland route only 4 months after the outbreak of the Indian war, and then only for a mere handful of troops, Palmerston set at naught the general anticipation of India and Europe. The Governor-General in India[b] assumed that the Home Government would dispatch troops by the way of Egypt. The following is a passage from the Governor-General in Council's

[a] Out of action.—*Ed.*
[b] Charles John Canning.—*Ed.*

letter to the Home Government, dated Aug. 7, 1857:

"We are also in communication with the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company for the conveyance from Suez of the troops that may possibly have been dispatched to India by that route."

On the very day of the arrival at Constantinople of the news of the revolt, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe telegraphed to London to know whether he should apply to the Turkish Government to allow the British troops to pass through Egypt, on their way to India. The Sultan[a] having meanwhile offered and transmitted a firman to that effect on the 2d of July, Palmerston replied by telegraph, that it was not his intention to send troops by that route. It being in France likewise assumed, as a matter of course, that the acceleration of the military re-enforcements must at that moment form the paramount object of British policy, Bonaparte spontaneously tendered permission for the passage over France of British troops, to enable their being embarked, if deemed desirable, at Marseilles, for Egypt. The Pasha of Egypt[b] lastly, when, at length, Mr. Holton, the Superintendent of the Peninsular and Oriental Company in Egypt, was authorized to reply on the subject, answered immediately,

"It would be a satisfaction to him to give facility to the passage of not only 200 men, as in the present instance, but to that of 20,000, if necessary, and not *en bourgeois*[c] but in uniform, and with their arms, if required."

Such were the facilities recklessly thrown away, the proper use of which might have prevented the Indian war from assuming its formidable dimensions. The motives by which Lord Palmerston was prompted in preferring sailing vessels to steamers, and a line of communication extending over 14,000 miles to one limited to 4,000 miles, belong to the mysteries of cotemporaneous history.

Written between July 16 and 20, 1858 — Reproduced from the newspaper

First published unsigned in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5401, August 13, 1858

[a] Abdul Mejid.— *Ed.*
[b] Said Pasha.— *Ed.*
[c] In civilian clothes.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## IMPRISONMENT OF LADY BULWER-LYTTON

London, July 23, 1858

The great Bulwer scandal, which *The London Times* thought to be "fortunately" hushed up by an amicable family arrangement, is far from having subsided into a state of quiescence. It is true that, despite the great party interest involved, the metropolitan press, with some trifling exceptions, did everything in its power to hush the case by a conspiracy of silence—Sir Edward Bulwer being one of the chiefs of the literary coterie which lords it more despotically over the heads of the London journalists than even party connection, and to openly affront whose wrath literary gentlemen generally lack the necessary courage. *The Morning Post* first informed the public that Lady Bulwer's friends intended insisting upon legal investigation[a]; *The London Times* reprinted the short paragraph of *The Morning Post*,[b] and even *The Advertiser*, although it certainly has no literary position to hazard, did not venture beyond some meager extracts from *The Somerset Gazette*. Even Palmerston's influence proved for the moment unavailing to extort anything from his literary retainers, and on the appearance of the flippantly apologetical letter of Bulwer's son,[c] all these public guardians of the liberty of the subject, while declaring themselves highly satisfied, deprecated any further indelicate intrusion upon the "painful matter." The Tory press, of course, has long since spent all its virtuous indignation on Lord Clanricarde's behalf, and the Radical press, which more or less receives its inspirations from

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[a] *The Morning Post*, No. 26369, July 5, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times*, No. 23038, July 6, 1858.—*Ed.*

[c] Here and below R. B. Lytton, "To the Editor of the *Observer*", *The Times*, No. 23049, July 19, 1858.—*Ed.*

the Manchester school,[581] anxiously avoids creating any embarrassment to the present Administration. Yet, along with the respectable or would-be respectable press of the metropolis, there exists an irrespectable press, absolutely swayed by its political patrons with no literary standing to check them, always ready to coin money out of its privilege of free speech, and anxious to improve an opportunity of appearing in the eyes of the public as the last representatives of manliness. On the other hand, the moral instincts of the bulk of the people once awakened, there will be no need of further maneuvering. The public mind once worked into a state of moral excitement, even *The London Times* may throw off its mask of reserve, and, with a bleeding heart of course, stab the Derby Administration by passing the sentence of "public opinion" on such a literary chieftain even as Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton.

This is exactly the turn things are now taking. That Lord Palmerston, as we hinted at first,[582] is the secret manager of the spectacle is now *un secret qui court les rues,*[a] as the French say.

"*On dit,*"[b] says a London weekly, "that Lady Bulwer-Lytton's best friend in this affair has been Lady Palmerston. We all remember how the Tories took up the cudgels for Mr. Norton when Lord Melbourne was in trouble about that gentleman's wife. Tit for tat is fair play. But on reflection it is rather sad at this time of day to find a Secretary of State using the influence of his position to commit acts of oppression, and the wife of a Minister playing off the wife of another Minister against an Administration."

It is often by the crooked ways of political intrigue only that truth becomes smuggled into some corner of the British press. The apparently generous horror at a real outrage is after all but a calculated grimace; and public justice is only appealed to in order to cherish private malice. For aught the chivalrous knights of the inkhorn would care about it, Lady Bulwer might have remained forever in a lunatic asylum, at London; she might have been disposed of more quietly than at St. Petersburg or Vienna; the conventionalities of literary decorum would have debarred her from any means of redress but for the happy circumstance of Palmerston's keen eye singling her out as the thin end of the wedge wherewith possibly to split a Tory Administration.

A short analysis of the letter, addressed by Bulwer's son to the London journals, will go far to elucidate the true state of the case. Mr. Robert B. Lytton sets out by asserting that his "simple assertion" must be "at once believed in," because he is "the son of

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[a] A secret known to everybody.—*Ed.*

[b] It is said.—*Ed.*

Lady Bulwer-Lytton, with the best right to speak on her behalf, and obviously with the best means of information." Now, this very tender son had neither cared for his mother, nor corresponded with her, nor seen her, for nearly seventeen years, until he met her at the hustings at Hertford on the occasion of his father's re-election. When Lady Bulwer left the hustings and visited the Mayor of Hertford in order to apply for the use of the Town Hall as a lecturing room, Mr. Robert B. Lytton sent a physician into the Mayor's house with the mission of taking cognizance of the state of the maternal mind. When, afterward, his mother was kidnapped in London, at the house of Mr. Hale Thompson, Clarges street, and her cousin Miss Ryves ran out into the street, and seeing Mr. Lytton waiting outside, entreated him to interfere and procure assistance to prevent his mother being carried off to Brentford, Mr. Lytton coolly refused to have anything to do with the matter. Having acted first as one of the principal agents in the plot laid by his father, he now shifts sides and presents himself as the natural spokesman of his mother. The second point pleaded by Mr. Lytton is, that his mother "was never for a moment taken to a lunatic asylum," but, on the contrary, into the "private house" of Mr. Robert Gardiner Hill, surgeon. This is a mere quibble. As the "Wyke House," conducted by Mr. Hill, does legally not belong to the category of "asylums," but to that of "Metropolitan Licensed Houses," it is literally true that Lady Bulwer was thrown, not into a "lunatic asylum," but into a lunatic house.

Surgeon Hill, who trades upon his own account in "lunacy," has also come out with an apology, wherein he states that Lady Bulwer had never been locked in, but, on the contrary, had enjoyed the use of a brougham and driven almost every evening during her detention to Richmond, Acton, Hanwell or Isleworth. Mr. Hill forgets to tell the public that this "improved treatment of the insane," adopted by him, exactly corresponds to the official recommendation of the Commissioners in Lunacy. The friendly grimaces, the smiling forbearance, the childish coaxing, the oily twaddle, the knowing winks and the affected serenity of a band of trained attendants may drive a sensitive woman mad as well as douches, straight waistcoats, brutal keepers and dark wards. However that may be, the protests on the part of Mr. Surgeon Hill and Mr. Lytton amount simply to this, that Lady Bulwer was treated as a lunatic indeed, but after the rules of the new instead of the old system.

"I," says Mr. Lytton, in his letter, "put myself in constant communication with my mother, ... and I carried out the injunctions of my father, who confided to me

implicitly every arrangement ... and enjoined me to avail myself of the advice of Lord Shaftesbury in whatever was judged best and kindest to Lady Lytton."

Lord Shaftesbury, it is known, is the commander-in-chief of the host who have their head-quarters at Exeter Hall. To deodorise a dirty affair by his odor of sanctity might be considered a *coup de théâtre* worthy of the inventive genius of a novel writer. More than once, in the Chinese business, for instance, and in the Cambridge House conspiracy, Lord Shaftesbury has been employed in that line. Yet Mr. Lytton admits the public only to a half confidence, otherwise he would have plainly declared that on the kidnapping of his mother an imperious note from Lady Palmerston upset Sir Edward's plans, and induced him to "avail himself of the advice of Lord Shaftesbury," who, by a particular mischance, happens to be at once Palmerston's son-in-law and the Chairman of the Commissioners in Lunacy. In his attempt at mystification, Mr. Lytton proceeds to state:

"From the moment my father felt compelled to authorize those steps which have been made the subject of so much misrepresentation, his anxiety was to obtain the opinion of the most experienced and able physicians, in order that my mother should not be subject to restraint for one moment longer than was strictly justifiable. Such was his charge to me."

From the evasive wording of this studiously awkward passage it appears, then, that Sir Edward Bulwer felt the necessity of authoritative medical advice, not for sequestrating his wife as insane, but for setting her free as *mentis compos.*[a] In fact, the medical men upon whose consent Lady Bulwer was kidnapped were anything but "most experienced and able physicians." The fellows employed by Sir Edward were one Mr. Ross, a city apothecary, whom, it seems, his license for trading in drugs has all at once converted into a psychological luminary, and one Mr. Hale Thompson, formerly connected with the Westminster Hospital, but a thorough stranger to the scientific world. It was only after gentle pressure from without had set in, when Sir Edward felt anxious to retrace his steps, that he addressed himself to men of medical standing. Their certificates are published by his son—but what do they prove? Dr. Forbes Winslow, the editor of "The Journal of Psychological Medicine," who had previously been consulted by Lady Bulwer's legal advisers, certifies that, "having examined Lady B. Lytton as to her state of mind," he found it such as "to justify her liberation from restraint."[b] The thing to be

[a] Being in her right mind.—*Ed.*

[b] F. Winslow, "To Edwin James, Esq., Q. C.", *The Times*, No. 23049, July 19, 1858.—*Ed.*

proved to the public was, not that Lady Bulwer's liberation, but on the contrary, that her restraint was justified. Mr. Lytton dares not touch upon this delicate and decisive point. Would not a constable, accused of illegal imprisonment of a free-born Briton, be laughed at for pleading that he had committed no wrong in setting his prisoner at large? But is Lady Bulwer really set at large?

"My mother," continues Mr. Lytton, *"is now with me,* free from all restraint, and about, at her own wish, to travel for a short time, in company with myself and a female friend and relation, of her own selection."

Mr. Lytton's letter is dated "No. 1 Park lane," that is, from the town residence of his father. Has, then, Lady Bulwer been removed from her place of confinement at Brentford to a place of confinement at London, and been bodily delivered up to an exasperated foe? Who warrants her being "free from all restraint?" At all events, when signing the proposed compromise, she was not free from restraint, but smarting under Surgeon Hill's improved system. The most important circumstance is this: While Sir Edward has spoken, Lady Bulwer has kept silence. No declaration on her part, given as she is to literary exercise, has met the public eye. An account written by herself, of her own treatment, has been cleverly withdrawn from the hands of the individual to whom it was addressed.

Whatever may be the agreement entered upon by the husband and the wife, the question for the British public is whether, under the cloak of the lunacy act, *lettres de cachet*[a] may be issued by unscrupulous individuals able to pay tempting fees to two hungry practitioners. Another question is, whether a Secretary of State will be allowed to condone for a public crime by a private compromise. It has now oozed out that during the present year, while investigating into the state of a Yorkshire asylum, the Lunacy Commissioners discovered a man, in the full possession of his mental faculties, who, for several years, had been immured and secreted in a cellar. On a question being put in the House of Commons by Mr. Fitzroy, in regard to this case, Mr. Walpole answered that he had found "no record of the fact," an answer which denies the record but not the fact. That things will not be allowed to rest at this point, may be inferred from Mr. Tite's notice that "on an early day next session he would move for

[a] Warrants for arrest and imprisonment.— *Ed.*

a select committee to inquire into the operation of the Lunacy act."[a]

Written on July 23, 1858

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] *The Times*, No. 23053, July 23, 1858.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE INCREASE OF LUNACY IN GREAT BRITAIN]

There is, perhaps, no better established fact in British society than that of the corresponding growth of modern wealth and pauperism. Curiously enough, the same law seems to hold good with respect to lunacy. The increase of lunacy in Great Britain has kept pace with the increase of exports, and has outstripped the increase of population. Its rapid progress in England and Wales during the period extending from 1852 to 1857, a period of unprecedented commercial prosperity, will become evident from the following tabular comparison of the annual returns of paupers, lunatics and idiots for the years 1852, 1854 and 1857[a]:

| Date. | Population. | Patients in County or Borough Asylums. | In licensed houses. | In Workhouses. | With friends or elsewhere. | Total of Lunatics and Idiots. | Proportion to population. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 1, 1852 | 17,927,609 | 9,412 | 2,584 | 5,055 | 4,107 | 21,158 | 1 in 847 |
| Jan. 1, 1854 | 18,649,849 | 11,956 | 1,878 | 5,713 | 4,940 | 24,487 | 1 in 762 |
| Jan. 1, 1857 | 19,408,464 | 13,488 | 1,908 | 6,800 | 5,497 | 27,693 | 1 in 701 |

The proportion of acute and curable cases to those of a chronic and apparently incurable kind was, on the last day of 1856,

[a] Here and below *Sixth, Eighth* and *Eleventh Annual Reports of the Commissioners in Lunacy to the Lord Chancellor. 1852, 1854, 1857.—Ed.*

estimated to be somewhat less than 1 in 5, according to the following summary of official returns:

| | Patients of all classes in Asylums. | Deemed curable. |
|---|---|---|
| In County and Borough Asylums | 14,393 | 2,070 |
| In Hospitals | 1,742 | 340 |
| In Metropolitan licensed Houses | 2,578 | 390 |
| In Provincial licensed Houses | 2,598 | 527 |
| Total | 21,311 | 3,327 |
| Deemed curable | 3,327 | |
| Deemed incurable | 17,984 | |

There exist in England and Wales, for the accommodation of lunatics and idiots of all sorts and of all classes, 37 public asylums, of which 33 are county and 4 borough asylums; 15 hospitals; 116 private licensed houses, of which 37 are metropolitan and 79 provincial; and lastly, the workhouses. The public asylums, or lunatic asylums properly so called, were, by law, exclusively destined for the reception of the lunatic poor, to be used as hospitals for the medical treatment, not as safe places for the mere custody of the insane. On the whole, in the counties at least, they may be considered well regulated establishments, although of too extensive a construction to be properly superintended, overcrowded, lacking the careful separation of the different classes of patients, and yet inadequate to the accommodation of somewhat more than one-half of the lunatic poor. After all, the space afforded by these 37 establishments, spreading over the whole country, suffices for the housing of over 15,690 inmates. The pressure upon these costly asylums on the part of the lunatic population may be illustrated by one case. When, in 1831, Hanwell (in Middlesex) was built for 500 patients, it was supposed to be large enough to meet all the wants of the county. But, two years later, it was full; after another two years, it had to be enlarged for 300 more; and at this time (Colney Hatch having been meanwhile constructed for the reception of 1,200 lunatic paupers belonging to the same county) Hanwell contains upward of 1,000 patients. Colney Hatch was opened in 1851; within a period of less than five years, it became necessary to appeal to the rate-payers for further accommodation; and the latest returns show that at the close of 1856 there were more than 1,100 pauper lunatics belonging to the county unprovided for in either of its asylums. While the existing asylums are too large to be properly conducted,

their number is too small to meet rapid spread of mental disorders. Above all, the asylums ought to be separated into two distinct categories: asylums for the incurable, hospitals for the curable. By huddling both classes together, neither receives its proper treatment and cure.

The private licensed houses are, on the whole, reserved for the more affluent portion of the insane. Against these "snug retreats," as they like to call themselves, public indignation has been lately raised by the kidnapping of Lady Bulwer into Wyke House, and the atrocious outrages committed on Mrs. Turner in Acomb House, York. A Parliamentary inquiry into the secrets of the trade in British lunacy being imminent, we may refer to that part of the subject hereafter. For the present let us call attention only to the treatment of the 2,000 lunatic poor, whom, by way of contract, the Boards of Guardians and other local authorities let out to managers of private licensed houses. The weekly consideration per head for maintenance, treatment and clothing, allotted to these private contractors, varies from five to twelve shillings, but the average allowance may be estimated from 5s. to 8s. 4d. The whole study of the contractors consists, of course, in the one single point of making large profits out of these small receipts, and consequently of keeping the patient at the lowest possible expense. In their latest report[a] the Commissioners of Lunacy state that even where the means of accommodation in these licensed houses are large and ample, the actual accommodation afforded is a mere sham, and the treatment of the inmates a disgrace.

It is true that a power is vested in the Lord Chancellor of revoking a license or preventing its renewal, on the advice of the Commissioners in Lunacy; but, in many instances, where there exists no public asylum in the neighborhood, or where the existing asylum is already overcrowded, no alternative was left the Commissioners but to prevent the license to continue, or to throw large masses of the insane poor into their several workhouses. Yet, the same Commissioners add that great as are the evils of the licensed houses, they are not so great as the danger and evil combined of leaving those paupers almost uncared for in workhouses. In the latter about 7,000 lunatics are at present confined. At first the lunatic wards in workhouses were restricted to the reception of such pauper lunatics as required little more than ordinary accommodation, and were capable of associating with the other inmates. What with the difficulty of obtaining

[a] *Return of Lunatic Asylums in England and Wales....— Ed.*

admission for their insane poor into properly regulated asylums, what with motives of parsimony, the parochial boards are more and more transforming the workhouses into lunatic asylums, but into asylums wanting in the attendance, the treatment and the supervision which form the principal safeguard of patients detained in asylums regularly constituted. Many of the larger workhouses have lunatic wards containing from 40 to 120 inmates. The wards are gloomy and unprovided with any means for occupation, exercise or amusement. The attendants for the most part are pauper inmates totally unfitted for the charge imposed upon them. The diet, essential above everything else to the unhappy objects of mental disease, rarely exceeds in any case that allowed for the healthy and able-bodied inmates. Hence, it is a natural result that detention in workhouses not only deteriorates the cases of harmless imbecility for which it was originally intended, but has the tendency to render chronic and permanent cases that might have yielded to early care. The decisive principle for the Boards of Guardians is economy.

According to law, the insane pauper should come at first under the care of the district parish surgeon, who is bound to give notice to the relieving officers, by whom communication is to be made to the magistrate, upon whose order they are to be conveyed to the asylum. In fact, these provisions are disregarded altogether. The pauper lunatics are in the first instance hurried into the workhouses, there to be permanently detained, if found to be manageable. The recommendation of the Commissioners in Lunacy, during their visits to the workhouses, of removing to the asylums all inmates considered to be curable, or to be exposed to treatment unsuited to their state, is generally outweighed by the report of the medical officer of the Union, to the effect that the patient is "harmless." What the workhouse accommodation is, may be understood from the following illustrations described in the last Lunacy Report as "faithfully exhibiting the general characteristics of workhouse accommodation."

In the Infirmary Asylum of Norwich the beds of even the sick and feeble patients were of straw. The floors of thirteen small rooms were of stone. There were no water-closets. The nightwatch on the male side had been discontinued. There was a great deficiency of blankets, of toweling, of flannels, of waistcoats, of washing basins, of chairs, of plates, of spoons and of dining accommodation. The ventilation was bad. We quote:

"Neither was there any faith to be put in what, to outward appearance, might have been taken for improvement. It was discovered, for example, that in

reference to a considerable number of beds occupied by dirty patients, the practice exists of removing them in the morning and of substituting, merely for show during the day, clean beds of a better appearance, by means of sheets and blankets placed on the bedsteads, which were regularly taken away at night and the inferior beds replaced."

Take, as another example, the Blackburn Workhouse:

"The day rooms on the ground floor, occupied by the men, are small, low, gloomy and dirty, and the space containing 11 patients is much taken up by several heavy chairs, in which the patients are confined by means of straps, and a large, projecting fire-guard. Those of the women, on the upper floor, are also much crowded, and one, which is used also as a bedroom has a large portion boarded off as a privy; and the beds are placed close together, without any space between them. A bedroom containing 16 male patients was close and offensive. The room is 29 feet long, 17 feet 10 inches wide, and 7 feet 5 inches high, thus allowing 2,39 cubic feet for each patient. The beds throughout are of straw, and no other description is provided for sick or bed-ridden patients. The cases were generally much soiled and marked by the rusty iron laths of the bedsteads. The care of the beds seems to be chiefly left to the patients. A large number of the patients are dirty in their habits, which is mainly to be attributed to the want of proper care and attention. Very few chamber utensils are provided, and a tub is stated to be placed in the center of the large dormitory for the use of the male patients. The graveled yards in which the patients walk are two for each sex, surrounded by high walls, and without seats. The largest of these is 74 feet long, by 30 feet 7 inches wide, and the smallest 32 feet by 17 feet 6 inches. A cell in one of the yards is occasionally used for secluding excited patients. It is entirely built of stone, and has a small, square opening for the admission of light, with iron bars let in to prevent the escape of the patient, but without either shutter or casement. A large straw bed was on the floor, and a heavy chair in one corner of the room. Complete control of the department is in the hands of an attendant and the nurse: the master seldom interferes with them, nor does he inspect this as closely as he does the other parts of the workhouse."

It would be too loathsome even to give extracts from the Commissioners' report on the St. Pancras Workhouse at London, a sort of low Pandemonium. Generally speaking, there are few English stables which, at the side of the lunatic wards in the workhouses, would not appear boudoirs, and where the treatment received by the quadrupeds may not be called sentimental when compared to that of the poor insane.

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# Frederick Engels

## [THE REVOLT IN INDIA]

The campaign in India has been almost completely suspended during the hot and rainy summer months. Sir Colin Campbell having secured, by a vigorous effort in the beginning of summer, all the important positions in Oude and Rohilcund, very wisely put his troops into quarters, leaving the open country in the possession of the insurgents, and limiting his efforts to maintaining his communications. The only episode of interest which occurred during this period in Oude, was the excursion of Sir Hope Grant to Shahgunge for the relief of Maun Singh, a native chief, who, after a deal of tergiversation, had lately made his peace with the British, and was now blockaded by his late native allies. The excursion proved a mere military promenade, though it must have caused great loss to the British by sun-stroke and cholera. The natives dispersed without showing fight, and Maun Singh joined the British. The easy success of this expedition, though it cannot be taken as an indication of an equally easy subjection of the whole of Oude, shows that the insurgents have lost heart completely. If it was the interest of the British to rest during the hot weather, it was the interest of the insurgents to disturb them as much as possible. But instead of organizing an active guerrilla warfare, intercepting the communications between the towns held by the enemy, of waylaying small parties, harassing the foragers, of rendering impassable the supply of victuals, without which no large town held by the British could live—instead of this, the natives have been satisfied with levying revenue and enjoying the leisure left to them by their opponents. Better still, they appear to have squabbled among themselves. Neither do they appear to have profited by the few quiet weeks to reorganize their forces, to refill

their ammunition stores, or to replace the lost artillery. The bolt at Shahgunge shows a still greater want of confidence in themselves and their leaders than any previous defeat. In the mean time, a secret correspondence is carried on between the majority of the chiefs and the British Government, who have after all found it rather impracticable to pocket the whole of the soil of Oude, and are quite willing to let the former owners have it again on reasonable terms. Thus, as the final success of the British is now beyond all doubt, the insurrection in Oude bids fair to die out without passing through a period of active guerrilla warfare. As soon as the majority of the landholders come to terms with the British, the insurgent bodies will be broken up, and those who have too much to fear from the Government will turn robbers (dacoits), in the capture of whom the peasantry will gladly assist.

South-west of Oude the Jugdispore jungles appear to offer a center for such dacoits. These impenetrable forests of bamboo and underwood are held by a party of insurgents under Ummer Singh, who shows rather more activity and knowledge of guerrilla warfare; at all events, he attacks the British whenever he can, instead of quietly waiting for them. If, as it is feared, part of the Oude insurgents should join him before he can be expelled from his stronghold, the British may expect rather harder work than they have had of late. These jungles have now for nearly eight months served as a retreat to insurgent parties, who have been able to render very insecure the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Allahabad, the main communication of the British.

In Western India, the Gwalior insurgents are still followed up by Gen. Roberts and Col. Holmes. At the time of the capture of Gwalior, it was a question of much consequence, what direction the retreating army might take; for the whole of the Mahratta country and part of Rajpootana appeared ready for a rising as soon as a sufficiently strong body of regular troops arrived there to form a nucleus for the insurrection. A retreat of the Gwalior force in a south-westerly direction then seemed the most likely maneuver to realize such a result. But the insurgents, from reasons which we cannot guess at from the reports before us, have chosen a north-westerly direction. They went to Jeypore, thence turning south toward Oodeypore, trying to gain the road to the Mahratta country. But this roundabout marching gave Roberts an opportunity of coming up with them, and defeating them totally without any great effort. The remnants of this body, without guns, without organization and ammunition, without leaders of repute, are not the men who are likely to induce fresh risings. On the

contrary, the immense quantity of plunder which they carry along with them, and which hampers all their movements, appears already to have excited the avidity of the peasantry. Every straggling Sepoy is killed and eased of his load of gold mohurs. If it has come to that, Gen. Roberts may safely leave the final dispersion of these Sepoys to the country population. The loot of Scindiah's treasures by his troops saves the British from a renewal of the insurrection in a quarter more dangerous than Hindostan; for a rising in the Mahratta country would put the Bombay army upon a rather severe trial.

There is a fresh mutiny in the neighborhood of Gwalior. A small vassal of Scindiah, Maun Singh (not the Maun Singh of Oude) has joined the insurgents, and got hold of the small fortress of Paoree. This place, is, however, already invested by the British, and must soon be captured.

In the mean time, the conquered districts are gradually pacified. The neighborhood of Delhi, it is said, has been so completely tranquillized by Sir J. Lawrence that a European may travel about with perfect safety, unarmed, and without an escort. The secret of the matter is, that the people of every village have been made collectively responsible for any crime or outrage committed on its ground; that a military police has been organized; and, above all, that the summary justice of the Court-Martial, so peculiarly impressive upon Orientals, is everywhere in full swing. Still, this success appears to be the exception, as we do not hear anything of the kind from other districts. The complete pacification of Rohilcund and Oude, of Bundelcund and many other large provinces, must yet require a very long time and give plenty of work yet to British troops and Court-Martials.

But while the insurrection of Hindostan dwindles down to dimensions which deprive it of almost all military interest, there has occurred an event far off, at the utmost frontiers of Afghanistan, which is big with the threat of future difficulties. A conspiracy to murder their officers and to rise against the British has been discovered among several Sikh regiments at Dera Ismael Khan. How far this conspiracy was ramified, we cannot tell. Perhaps it was merely a local affair, arising among a peculiar class of Sikhs; but we are not in a position to assert this. At all events, this is a highly dangerous symptom. There are now nearly 100,000 Sikhs in the British service, and we have heard how saucy they are; they fight, they say, to-day for the British, but may fight to-morrow against them, as it may please God. Brave, passionate, fickle, they are even more subject to sudden and unexpected

impulses than other Orientals. If mutiny should break out in earnest among them, then would the British indeed have hard work to keep their own. The Sikhs were always the most formidable opponents of the British among the natives of India; they have formed a comparatively powerful empire[583]; they are of a peculiar sect of Brahminism, and hate both Hindoos and Mussulmans. They have seen the British "raj" in the utmost peril; they have contributed a great deal to restore it, and they are even convinced that their own share of the work was the decisive one. What is more natural than that they should harbor the idea that the time has come when the British raj shall be replaced by a Sikh raj, that a Sikh Emperor is to rule India from Delhi or Calcutta? It may be that this idea is still far from being matured among the Sikhs, it may be that they are so cleverly distributed that they are balanced by Europeans, so that any rising could be easily put down; but that this idea exists among them must be clear, we presume, to everybody who has read the accounts of the behaviour of the Sikhs after Delhi and Lucknow.

Still, for the present, the British have reconquered India. The great rebellion, stirred up by the mutiny of the Bengal army, is indeed, it appears, dying out. But this second conquest has not increased England's hold upon the mind of the Indian people. The cruelty of the retribution dealt out by the British troops, goaded on by exaggerated and false reports of the atrocities attributed to the natives, and the attempt at confiscating the Kingdom of Oude, both wholesale and retail, have not created any particular fondness for the victors. On the contrary, they themselves confess that among both Hindoos and Mussulmans, the hereditary hatred against the Christian intruder is more fierce than ever. Impotent as this hatred may be at present, it is not without its significance and importance, while that menacing cloud is resting over the Sikh Punjaub. And this is not all. The two great Asiatic powers, England and Russia, have by this time got hold of one point between Siberia and India, where Russian and English interests must come into direct collision. That point is Pekin. Thence westward a line will ere long be drawn across the breadth of the Asiatic Continent, on which this collision of rival interests will constantly take place. Thus the time may indeed not be so very distant when "the Sepoy and the Cossack will meet in the plains of the Oxus,"[a 584] and if that meeting is to take place, the

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[a] Amu Darya.—*Ed.*

anti-British passions of 150,000 native Indians will be a matter of serious consideration.

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# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

# Karl Marx

## VENICE[585]

*Venice and Genoa.* (Trieste was linked with their Mediterranean trade...) *Genoa. Latter half of the 13th century:* Very substantial privileges accorded the Genoese in consequence of their support of the Greeks against the Catholic monarchs (privileges in Constantinople—Galata and Pera).[586] Superior to the Venetians here; (in Constantinople and the Black Sea[a]) *Venetians* favoured by the Catholic monarchs, commercial supremacy in Dalmatia, the Morea,[b] Asia Minor, Cyprus, Syria, etc.

*Causes of decline.* Since the beginning of the 15th century, conquest of the Greek empire by the Turks; notably Constantinople in *1453.* Italians lost their privileges there and their settlements in Constantinople, Syria, Armenia, on the Black Sea, etc. Accorded privileges by the sultans of Egypt, etc.

*From the end of the 15th century the Portuguese sailing round the Cape of Good Hope.* Market for Indian goods shifted to Lisbon. Very marked *decline from mid-16th century.* Moreover the *discovery of America* was of less use to them than to other states, etc. Venice severely handicapped since Constantinople no longer centre for trade and goods traffic from Asia.

*Towards the end of the 18th century* under French rule; war with England; *trade declined in all* Italian *maritime towns.*

Treaty *of 1815* restored only small proportion of trade enjoyed even *before the French Revolution;* most of it went to *Trieste,* much favoured by the Austrian government. *Trieste*'s volume of trade was three times greater than that of Venice. Trieste especially

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[a] The words "Black Sea" are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

[b] Peloponnesus.—*Ed.*

favoured by the growing prosperity of the *Russian ports*, particularly *Odessa*, on the Black Sea. Captured the grain trade which had still been conducted by Venice as recently as the final decades of the 18th century.

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*Trieste.* (1838) 1,700 houses, 52,000 inhabitants; on the Gulf of Trieste; also hemmed in by steep Karst Hills; 1,000 merchants; 700 brokers; English, French, German, Greek, Armenian, Jewish business houses.

*Prior to the treaty of Campoformio* of 17 October 1797 Napoleon had already dissolved the Venetian Republic in favour of the Cisalpine Republic consisting of Milan, Mantua, etc., the Valtellina, Romagna, etc. The *greater part of the Venetian Free State as far as the Adige was annexed to Austria.*

*Treaty of Luneville 9 February 1801*[587]: The Adige thalweg became the boundary between Austria and the Cisalpine Republic; she acquired Venice with the greater part of the former Venetian Free State as far as the Adige thalweg, together with Istria, Venetian Dalmatia, the islands belonging thereto, and the Bocche di Cattaro.

*1805. 26 September: Treaty of Pressburg.*[588] Austria loses her share of Venice to Italy.

*1807. 10 October.* Austria compelled to cede the county of Monfalcone to Italy,[589] the result being that the Isonzo thalweg became her boundary.

*14 October 1809 Treaty of Vienna*[590]: Napoleon created the so-called Illyrian Provinces out of the Villach District in Carinthia, the duchy of Carniola, the Trieste district, the county of Gorizia, Friuli, that part of Croatia on the right bank of the Sava including Fiume, as well as the Hungarian littoral and Austrian Istria, and annexed them to Istria, Dalmatia and Ragusa; he reserved these for himself and handed them over to a special governor-general.

*Convention Money*[591]
*About 1844 Trieste's Volume of Trade*

| | 1842-3 | |
|---|---|---|
| *Imports:* | 58,400,000 | (*Hamburg,* 1843, *Total value:* 215,500,000) |
| *Exports:* | 40,500,000 | (*Havre,* 1842, *Total value:* 168,700,000) |
| Total: | 98,900,000 | |

*Florins C. M.*
*Austria's Mercantile Marine*

| 1 Jan. 1840 | *Vessels* | *Tonnage* |
|---|---|---|
| | 1,590 | 176,696 |

*Austrian Commerce*
(*Figures* in millions)

| *Sea-borne Trade* | 1838 | | 1841 | | 1842 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Imp. | Exp. | Imp. | Exp. | Imp. | Exp. |
| Via *Fiume* | 0.2 | 1.7 | 0.2 | 1.6 | 0.2 | 1.7 |
| *Trieste* | 32.2 | 14.4 | 22.3 | 11.2 | 24.9 | 11.9 |
| *Venice* | 9.0 | 5.3 | 8.5 | 3.1 | 11.5 | 3.4 |
| *Other Maritime Towns* | 8.0 | 2.0 | 5.3 | 1.9 | 5.1 | 2.6 |
| | 49.4 | 23.4 | 36.3 | 17.8 | 41.7 | 19.6 |

*1839*
*Commerce of Trieste and Venice.*

*Imports into Venice: into Trieste* = 1:2.84
*Exports* = 1:3.8

*Commerce of Trieste*
*(Value in fl. C. M.)*

| 1832 | | 1836 | | 1840 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Imp. | Exp. | Imp. | Exp. | Imp. | Exp. |
| 57,000,000 | 44,000,000 | 77,000,000 | 54,000,000 | 49,000,000 | 37,000,000 |

*Shipping Traffic of Trieste*

| 1835 | | 1836 | | 1837 | | 1838 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Entered | Cleared | Ent. | Cl. | Ent. | Cl. | Ent. | Cl. |
| 988 | 1,069 | 1,146 | 1,117 | 1,094 | 1,132 | 1,154 | 1,118 |

*1839*

*Foreign vessels entering*

| | *Trieste* | *Venice* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1,217 | 271 | Number of vessels entering Venice: Number entering Trieste=1:4 |
| *Austrian* | 10,375 | 3,147 | |
| combined | 11,592 | 3,418 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Tonnage of foreign vessels* | 133,343 | 20,254 |
| *Austrian* | 330,404 | 196,135 |
| | 463,747 | 216,389 |

*Value in Turkish Piastres*
*Smyrna: Imp. and Exp. 1835-9*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Imports* | |
| At the forefront | *England.* | 126,313,146 |
| | (*Malta.* | 2,979,040) |
| Then | *Trieste.* | 93,500,456 |
| Then | *America, etc.* | 57,329,165 |
| | *Exports* | |
| | *England.* | 44,618,032 |
| | (*Malta.* | 3,361,185) |
| | *Trieste.* | 52,477,765 |
| | *America.* | 46,608,320 |

*Egypt: Imports and Exports* (1837) *fcs.*

| | *Imp.* | *Exp.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1) *Austria* (Trieste) | 13,858,000 | 14,532,000 |
| 2) *Turkey* | 12,661,000 | 12,150,000 |
| 3) *France* | 10,702,000 | 11,463,000 |
| 4) *England and Malta* | 15,158,000 | 5,404,000 |

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# SUPPLEMENT

# Karl Marx

## REVOLUTIONARY SPAIN

### [NINTH ARTICLE][592]

M. de Chateaubriand, in his *Congrès de Vérone*, accuses the Spanish Revolution of 1820-23 of having been nothing but a servile parody of the first French Revolution, performed on the Madrid stage, and in Castilian costumes.[a] He forgets that the struggles of different peoples emerging from the feudal state of society, and moving toward middle class civilization, cannot be supposed to differ in anything but the peculiar coloring derived from race, nationality, language, stage customs and costumes. His censure reminds us of the foolish old woman who strongly suspected all enamored girls of mimicking her own better days.

A whole library has been written *pro* and *con* upon the Constitution of 1812,[593] the proclamation of which, in 1820, gave rise to a three years' struggle between the prejudices and interests of the old society and the wants and aspirations of the new one. The Constitution of 1812 had strongly impressed upon it that same stamp of impracticability which characterizes all charters originally drawn up by modern nations at the epoch of their regeneration. At the revolutionary epoch, to which they owe their origin, they are impracticable, not in consequence of this or that paragraph, but simply because of their constitutional nature. At the Constitutional epoch they are out of place, because of their being impregnated with the generous delusions, inseparable from the dawn of social regeneration. The French Constitution of 1791,[594] for instance, at its own time justly considered to be reactionary, would have been found guilty of Jacobinism in 1830. Why so? In 1791 the royal power and the ruling forces of the

[a] F. R. Chateaubriand, *Congrès de Vérone*, T. I, pp. 33-34, 37.—*Ed.*

ancient society it represented, had not yet undergone those transformations which were to enable them to enter into combination with, and to take place within the elements of the new society. What was then wanted was revolutionary action to break down the resistance of the old society, and not a Constitution sanctioning an impossible compromise with it. In 1830, on the contrary, when limited monarchy had become possible, it was generally understood that it meant the rule of the bourgeoisie instead of the emancipation of the people. The Constitution of 1791 must then have appeared an incendiary anachronism. The same argument holds good for the Spanish Constitution of 1812, but there is still that distinction to be drawn between France in 1791, and Spain in 1820, that the Constitution of 1791 only pretended to make a halt, in a two years' revolutionary march, while the Constitution of 1812 was to supersede revolution altogether. Spain, the day before an Oriental despotism,[595] was to be a day later—a democracy with a monarch at its head. Such sudden changes belong exclusively to Spanish history. Ferdinand VII, when restored to absolute power, in 1823, as well as in 1814, expunged, by one stroke of the pen, all that had been done in the revolutionary interregnum.[596] The Revolutionists, on their part, acted in the same manner. In 1854, the Spanish people began with Espartero, with whom they ended in 1843.[597] In 1814 the revolution was terminated by Ferdinand's refusing to swear to the Cadiz Constitution. In 1820, it began with forcing upon him the oath to that same Constitution. He reassembled the same Cortes he had dissolved two years before, and made the very men Ministers he had banished or imprisoned in 1814. All parties in Spain, with equal obstinacy, tear out all those leaves from the book of their national history which they have not written themselves. Hence these sudden changes, these monstrous exactions, this endless, uninterrupted series of contests. Hence, also, that indelible perseverance which may be defeated, but can never be disheartened or discouraged.

The first Constitutional Ministry, as the chief of which Don Augustin Arguelles may be considered, was, as we have seen, formed of the martyrs of 1814. Martyrs are, on the whole, very dangerous political characters, deflowered, as it were, by the consciousness of their past failures; inflated by exaggerated notions of their past merits; inclined to attribute to themselves the greater capacities because of their damped courage; prone to declare the era of revolution closed with their arrival in the government; from the very fact of their restoration likely to

assume the character of revolutionary legitimists or of legitimate revolutionists; overjealous of the new men whom they are astonished to find their rivals; constantly vacillating between the fear of counter-revolution and the apprehension of anarchy; by the very force of circumstances induced to compromise with the former, in order not to be swept away by the latter, or to see overthrown what they used to call the true boundaries of progress. Such was the Ministry of Arguelles. During the four months which elapsed from its formation till the meeting of the Cortes, all public authority was, in fact, suspended. Juntas in the provinces and in the capital, public clubs backed by secret societies, for the first time a popular and unbridled press, stormy petitions, patriotic songs, the erection of constitutional monuments, demonstrations of effervescence natural with a nation on the recovery of its liberty, but yet no acts of vengeance, no crimes committed, and a magnanimity displayed which was not to be expected from southern natures wont to abandon themselves to the impetuosity of their passions.

The Cortes at last opened their first session on July 9, 1820. They made Don José Espiga, Archbishop of Seville, their president. Ferdinand VII swore before them, as he had done before the Ayuntamientos,[598] on the Gospel, to observe the Cadiz Constitution.

"So soon", he said, "as the excess of undeserved suffering brought the long-suppressed wishes of the people to a distinct expression, I hastened to pursue the course they indicated, and professed the oath of fidelity to the Constitution of the Cortes of 1812. From this moment the king and the people entered on their legitimate rights. *My resolution was free and voluntary.*"[a]

Ferdinand VII, a despotic coward, a tiger with the heart of a hare, a man as greedy of authority as unfit to exercise it, a prince pretending to absolute power in order to be enabled to renounce it into the hands of his footmen,[599] proud, however, of one thing, namely, his perfect mastery in hypocrisy. He enjoyed a sort of satisfaction in exaggerating his own self humiliation before a victorious enemy, resolved, as he was, to avenge, at the opportune moment, his abjection by still more astounding perfidy. When a prisoner of Napoleon,[600] he humbly thanked him for the refuge he had afforded him, and begged for the hand of a princess of the Bonaparte family. When Bonaparte negotiated with him for his restoration to the Spanish throne, he protested, in an adulatory

[a] Marx quotes Ferdinand VII's speech of July 9, 1820 from his notes on H. Davis' book *The War of Ormuzd and Ahriman in the Nineteenth Century.*— *Ed.*

letter, that he should be the meanest of mortals, and become a byword in Europe, if he ever proved ungrateful to his imperial benefactor, simultaneously writing a secret letter to the Regency at Madrid, informing them that, once set at liberty, his first act would be to betray the French Emperor.[601] When, on July 9, 1820, he swore anew to the Constitution, declaring that his "resolution was free and voluntary," the Count of Espagne[a] and Mr. Pons were already negotiating in his name, at Paris, with the Pavillon Marsan[602]—viz., the Count of Artois (afterward Charles X) and his coterie—on the means of subverting that same Constitution.

There were some moments in his political life, as for instance the decree of September 30, 1823,[603] when he made false promises in the most solemn manner, for no other possible purpose than the mere pleasure of breaking them. The serious work of counter-revolution, he committed entirely to the partisans of the ancient *régime*, reserving to himself to encourage their efforts in every possible way, but with the mental reservation of disowning them if unfortunate, and quietly delivering them to the resentment of their enemies if beaten. No mortal ever bore others' sufferings with more stoical apathy. For his own official part he limited himself to showing his disgust at the Constitution by playing the fool with it. One night,[b] for instance, he writes to the head of the Cabinet, a letter to the effect that he had appointed Gen. Contador as War Minister. The Ministers, at a loss to find a Contador in the army list, are astonished at discovering at length that Contador was the ex-chief of a squadron, 84 years old, long since disabled for any kind of service. The Ministers so insolently mocked, tendered their resignation. Ferdinand, having succeeded in composing the difference, proposes to replace Contador by Gen. Martinez Rodriguez, as unknown as his predecessor. New troublesome researches having taken place, it appears that Martinez had been dangerously hurt in the head at Badajoz,[604] by the explosion of a powder barrel, and had never recovered his senses since that accident. A sort of virtuoso in the art of passive audacity and active cowardice, Ferdinand VII never shrunk from provoking a catastrophe, resolved, as he was, to be beforehand with the danger.

The majority of the Cortes was composed of deputies to the Cadiz Cortes,[605] the authors of the Constitution and their

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[a] Presumably Count of Casa Irujo.—*Ed.*

[b] Presumably on August 23, 1821, the day R. Contador was appointed War Minister.—*Ed.*

adherents, while the minority consisted of men who had conspired to reestablish the Constitution. The majority considering the proclamation of the Constitution as the final term of the revolution, while the minority considered it as its beginning; the former having laid hold of the Government, while the latter were still striving to seize it; a schism between the Liberals of 1812 and the Liberals of 1820, between the Moderados and the Exaltados,[606] became inevitable. If the influence of the Liberals of 1812 was preponderant in the Cortes, the Liberals of 1820 were the stronger in the clubs,[607] the press, and the streets. If the former disposed of the Administration, the latter relied upon the army of the Isla,[608] which, strengthened by some regiments that had not participated in the military revolt, was still concentrated in Andalusia, and placed under the supreme command of Riego, Quiroga having been sent as a deputy to the Cortes. In order to break the stronghold of the Exaltados, the Marquis de Las Amarillas, Minister-of-War, disbanded the army of the Isla, Riego having before been removed from his troops on the pretext of being installed as Captain-General of Galicia. Hardly was the army of the Isla disbanded—the only military corps in Spain that deserved the name of an army—when the first Bands of the Faith[609] were seen to appear in Castile and in the North of Spain.

Riego, secretly summoned by his partisans, on the 31st August suddenly appeared at Madrid, where he became the idol of the people, who received him with turbulent ovations and with an overflow of enthusiasm, which the Ministry viewed as a general calamity. They resolved upon exiling him to Oviedo—several other Isla officers being also banished to different places. Although Riego did not resist this arbitrary act of proscription, the Ministers, apprehending an insurrection as likely to break out upon his nocturnal departure from Madrid, called the garrison to arms, occupied the principal places, filled the streets of Madrid with artillery, while on the following day, Arguelles proposed in the Cortes that measures should be taken against popular assemblies, which was warmly supported by Toreno and Martínez de la Rosa. From this day, (Sept. 7, 1820), is to be dated the open rupture between the two Liberal fractions and the retrogression of the revolutionary movement. The same fanaticism of order, the same complaints of incessant agitation, and the same angry impatience at every symptom of popular effervescence, which Europe witnessed during the first weeks after the Revolution of 1848, now possessed at once the Liberal aristocracy and the higher ranks of the middle classes in the Peninsula.

The first session of the Cortes being closed on November 9, 1820, Ferdinand VII, who had retired to the Escorial, with Victor Sáez, his confessor, thought the moment opportune for putting out his feelers. In spite of the Constitution, he nominated, by a royal decree, without the counter-signature of a responsible minister, Gen. Carvajal as Captain-General of New-Castile and Commandant of Madrid,[610] in the place of Gen. Vigodet, who, however, refused to resign his place into the hands of Carvajal. The Ministry, believing themselves lost, now appealed to the very party they had commenced by persecuting. They applied to the directors of the Clubs, and received, in the most gracious manner, the violent address of the Madrid Ayuntamiento, which insisted upon the King's return to Madrid. A similar address was drawn up by the permanent Commission, who represented the Cortes during their absence. The garrison and the militia were put under arms; the sittings of the Clubs became permanent; the populace burst forth into insulting menaces against the King; insurrection was openly preached by the daily papers, and a mass expedition to the Escorial, to fetch the King, seemed imminent. Bending before the storm, Ferdinand revoked his offensive decree, dismissed his anti-liberal confessor, and returned, with his whole family, to Madrid, where he arrived on Nov. 21, 1820. His entry resembled that of Louis XVI, and his family, on their forced return from Versailles to Paris on October 6, 1789.[611]

The Ministry had not obtained the support of the Liberals of 1820 without giving them due reparation, by removing the Marqués de las Amarillas, who afterward openly professed himself a zealous partisan of absolute monarchy, from the War Ministry, and by raising the Isla officers to separate commands. Riego was appointed Captain-General of Aragon, Mina, Captain-General of Galicia, and Velasco, Captain-General of Estremadura. The Ministry of the Martyrs,[612] irresolutely floating between fear of reaction and alarm at anarchy, contrived to become equally discredited with all parties. As to the royal family, its position—to quote the words of a thorough Legitimist—"continued precarious, owing to the indiscreet zeal of the Royalists, which it became impossible to control."[a]

At the opening of the second session, (March 1, 1821), the King acted his part quite in the tone and with the gestures of a stump-orator. Not content with simply reciting the speech drawn

[a] Marx quotes from his notes on W. Walton, *The Revolutions of Spain*, Vol. I, London, 1837, p. 249.—*Ed.*

up by his Cabinet, he puzzled the ministers, by altering their text in a revolutionary sense, and laying higher colors upon the most decisive passages, such as that relating to the invasion of Naples by Austria.[613] For a moment they fancied they had made a convert of him, but were soon disabused. Ferdinand terminated his speech[a] with a fulminant accusation of his own ministers, who had suffered him to be exposed to menace and insults, which would not have taken place, if the Government had displayed that energy and vigor required by the Constitution and desired by the Cortes.

The King's constitutional speech was only the forerunner of the dismissal of the Ministry, and the nomination of a Cabinet which, to the great astonishment of the nation, contained not a single individual attached to the new institutions, or who had not figured as an agent of despotism in the former Government.

The chief of the new Cabinet, M. Felix,[b] formerly a sub-lieutenant in a militia regiment of Lima, and Deputy to the Cortes of 1812 for Peru, was, even at the epoch of the Cadiz Cortes, known as a venal and subtle intriguer. Bardaji, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was a former diplomatist connected with the heads of the absolutist Cabinets, and Pelegrín, formerly a member of the Council of Castile, boasted that he was entirely devoted to the Holy Alliance. The avowed aim of this Ministry, which could not even pretend to any influence in the Cortes, was "to restore order and suppress anarchy."[c] Accordingly, the Exaltados were again removed from their commands, and full sway was given to the servile party;[614] the most important places were intrusted to men known for their hatred of the prevailing system, a vail being cast upon all the royalist conspiracies that had burst forth in the Peninsula, and their authors, nearly all imprisoned by the people, being set at liberty by the Government. Gen. Morillo, Count of Carthagena, had just arrived from Terra Firma,[d] where he had rendered himself notorious for his ferocity, dictatorial manners, want of probity, and a six years fratricidal war,[615] which he carried on with fanatical enthusiasm. On his return, he staid a few days at Paris, where he connected himself with the intrigues of the

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[a] Marx gives the contents of Ferdinand VII's speech of March 1, 1822 according to the excerpts from Marliani's *Historia politica de la España moderna*, pp. 70-71.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to R. Feliu.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx quotes from his notes on the book. *Examen critique des révolutions d'Espagne de 1820 à 1823 et de 1836.*—*Ed.*

[d] i.e. the Continent, in contrast to Spanish island possessions in Latin America.—*Ed.*

Pavillon Marsan, the ultra journals at Paris signalizing him as the man who was to restore the King to his ancient rights, and destroy the influence of the Cortes. When he arrived at Madrid, the Ministry lavished on him the strongest expressions of deference and respect, and appointed him Commander of the City and Province of Madrid. It was apparently this nomination which the servile party waited for to execute a coup d'état. The Brigadier Don José Martinez San Martin, a man of inflexible energy and strong Legitimist opinions, was joined to Morillo in the quality of *Jefe Politico*[a] of the capital. While Madrid seemed overawed by the terror of Morillo's name, Catalonia and Galicia became the scenes of passionate contests. Cadiz, Seville and Badajoz broke out in open revolt, refused to admit the Government officers, and disclaimed acknowledging any royal orders unless the Ministry were dismissed. In a message dated Nov. 25, 1821, the King summoned the Cortes to check these disorders.[b] The Cortes, in their answer, drawn up by Don José María Calatrava, blamed the conduct of Cadiz and Seville, but insisted upon the dismissal of the Ministry, who had lost the confidence of the country, and "the moral force to carry on Government."[c] Notwithstanding this vote of distrust, Ferdinand did not think fit to appoint another Ministry[616] till forty-eight hours before the opening of the new Cortes on March 1, 1822.

The elections to the new Cortes having taken place at the moment when the popular passions were exaggerated by the counter revolutionary course of the Government, by the news of Austria's armed interference to suppress the Spanish Constitution proclaimed at Naples,[617] and by the plundering expeditions of the Bands of the Faith at different points of the Peninsula, the Liberals of 1820, then called Exaltados, had, of course, a large majority. "The large majority of the new Legislature," says a Moderado "being possessed of nothing, had nothing to lose."[d] They belonged almost exclusively to the plebeian ranks of the middle-class and the army. The difference between them and their predecessors may be understood from the single fact that, while the latter had appointed the Archbishop of Seville[e] as their

[a] Governor.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx renders Ferdinand VII's message of November 25, 1821 according to the excerpts from *Examen critique des révolutions d'Espagne de 1820 à 1823 et de 1836.*—*Ed.*

[c] Marx quotes from his notes on *Examen critique des révolutions d'Espagne de 1820 à 1823 et de 1836.*—*Ed.*

[d] Ibid.—*Ed.*

[e] Don José Espiga.—*Ed.*

President, they, on their part, called to the presidential chair the hero of Las Cabezas[618]—Don Rafael del Riego.

The new Ministry, consisting of Ex-Deputies to the Cortes of 1820, was formed by Martinez de la Rosa, who accepted the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Martinez de la Rosa—who has since acted an important part under the reign of the innocent Isabella; formerly a Deputy to the short-lived Madrid Cortes of 1814; persecuted during the period of reaction; a Moderado *par excellence*; one of the most elegant Spanish poets and prose-writers—has proved at all epochs a true partisan of the doctrinaire school[619] of the Guizots, the moderation of which gentlemen consists in their fixed notion that concessions to the mass of mankind can never be of too moderate a character. They exult in the erection of a liberal Aristocracy and the supreme rule of the Bourgeoisie, blended with the greatest possible amount of the abuses and traditions of the ancient *régime*. Martinez de la Rosa—overwhelmed with politeness, courted and flattered by the successive French Embassadors at Madrid—the Prince Laval de Montmorency and the Count Lagarde—aimed to modify the Constitution of 1812, by establishing a House of Peers—giving the King an absolute veto, introducing a property qualification for the Lower House, and laying restrictions upon the press. From 1834 to 1836 this incorrigible doctrinaire had the pleasure of witnessing the introduction and the downfall of the abortive Constitution he had hatched in 1822. The French diplomatists made him understand that the Court of the Tuileries would approve of institutions similar to those which then existed in France, while he flattered himself that the King would not be averse to a charter which had enabled Louis XVIII to do what he liked.[620] The King, on his part, cajoled the self-conceited Moderado, whom he intended, as was afterward proved, to send directly from the palace to the scaffold.

According to the plan concocted between the Camarilla and the Ministry, all conspiracies were to be winked at, and confusion was to be suffered to reign, so as, afterward, by the assistance of France, to introduce order, and give the nation a moderate Charter, capable of perpetuating power and influence in its original promoters, and winning over the privileged classes to the new system. Consequently, in opposition to the secret societies of the Liberals, a secret society was founded on moderate principles—the Society of the Anillo, the members of which were to act conjointly with the Ministry. Money was plentifully scattered among the Royal Life Guards, but these distributions being

denounced to the Ministry by members of the municipal police, they ridiculed them, treating the information as a symptom of radicalism and republicanism. The regiment of the Royal Cuirassiers, cantoned in Andalusia, was completely seduced; alarming reports were spread in the different provinces whither were sent, as Political Chiefs, members of the Society of the Anillo. At the same time the tribunals received secret instructions to treat with great indulgence all conspiracies that might fall under their judicial powers. The object of these proceedings was to excite an explosion at Madrid, which was to coincide with another at Valencia.[621] Gen. Elío, the traitor of 1814, then a prisoner in that town, was to put himself at the head of the counter-revolution in the eastern part of Spain, the garrison of Valencia being composed of only one regiment, greatly attached to Elío, and hostile, therefore, to the Constitutional system. The Deputy Bertrán de Lys,[a] in the Assembly of the Cortes, entreated the Ministers to withdraw this body of soldiers from Valencia, and when they remained inflexible, brought in a motion of impeachment. The day appointed for the explosion was the last day of May (1822), the feast of St. Ferdinand. The Court was then at Aranjuez. On a given signal the guards rushed into the streets and, backed by the Aranjuez mob, assembled in the front of the palace, shouting cries of "Long live our absolute monarch! Down with the Constitution."[b] This riot was, however, instantly suppressed by Gen. Zayas, and the simultaneous revolt of the regiment of Valencia proved, after a bloody combat between the militia and the soldiers, no more successful. The failures of Aranjuez and Valencia served only to exasperate the Liberals. On all sides parties prepared for self-defense. The agitation becoming universal, the Ministers alone remained passive spectators in the midst of the confusion that announced an approaching storm.

Written on November 14, 1854

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* No. 4345, March 23, 1855

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[a] Presumably this refers to Manuel Bertrán de Lis.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes from his notes on *The Last Days of Spain. By an Eye-Witness*, London, 1823.— *Ed.*

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] Besides *The People's Paper*, Marx also sent this article to the *New-York Daily Tribune*, which published it without title and signature. In the *Tribune* certain passages were omitted.

*The People's Paper* was founded in May 1852 as a weekly of the revolutionary Chartists. Marx contributed to it and helped Ernest Jones, its chief editor, with the editing and organisational matters, especially in its early years. Between October 1852 and December 1856, besides publishing the articles Marx wrote specially for it, the paper reprinted the most important articles by him and Engels from the *New-York Daily Tribune*. At the beginning of 1856 Marx's contributions to *The People's Paper* became especially frequent. However, towards the end of that year Marx and Engels temporarily broke off relations with Jones and stopped contributing to his weekly because of Jones' increasing association with bourgeois radicals. The paper ceased publication in September 1858.

The *New-York Daily Tribune* was founded in 1841 and was published until 1924. Prior to the mid-1850s it was a left-wing paper and then it became the organ of the Republican Party. Among its contributors were prominent American writers and journalists. Charles Dana, who was strongly influenced by the ideas of utopian socialism, was one of its editors from the late 1840s. Marx contributed to the newspaper from August 1851 to March 1862. His contacts with the newspaper ceased entirely during the US Civil War. p. 3

[2] *Guelphs and Ghibellines*—political parties in Italy formed in the twelfth century in the period of strife between the popes and the German emperors. The *Ghibellines* included mostly feudal lords who supported the emperors and violently opposed the papal party of the *Guelphs*, which represented the upper trade and artisan strata of Italian towns. The parties existed till the fifteenth century. p. 3

[3] Marx is referring to the wars of the Spanish (1701-14) (see Note 236) and the Austrian (1740-48) Succession. As a result of the first war, under the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) Savoy obtained Sicily, Montferrato and part of the duchy of Milan. The Duke of Savoy became King of Sicily. In 1720 Savoy, Piedmont and Sardinia, which had been ceded to Savoy in compensation for Sicily seized by Spain in 1718, formed the Kingdom of Sardinia ruled by the kings of the Savoy dynasty.

The War of the Austrian Succession ended with the Peace Treaty of Aachen (1748) under which the Kingdom of Sardinia received from Austria part of the Principality of Pavia and some other Austrian possessions in Italy. p. 3

4 In conformity with a secret article of a treaty concluded between France and Austria on May 30, 1814 the Republic of Genoa was placed under the aegis of the Savoy dynasty.

This treaty also determined the future of Venice and Lombardy, officially fixed in Article 93 of the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna on June 9, 1815. p. 3

5 The *Holy Alliance*—an association of European monarchs founded in September 1815 on the initiative of the Russian Tsar Alexander I and the Austrian Chancellor Metternich to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in the European countries. p. 3

6 There was vague information about the Sardinian memorandum in the press (see *The Times*, No. 22330, April 1, 1856). Presumably this refers to the Note by Count Cavour, the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Piedmont, of March 27, 1856, which he sent to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs Count Walewski and the British Foreign Secretary Lord Clarendon. The Note concerned the situation in the Papal States, occupied by Austrian and French troops, and in the Kingdom of Naples.

The Italian question was discussed at a session of the Congress of Paris on April 8, 1856. Cavour used the text of the Note as the basis of his speech in which he came out against the Austrian domination in Italy and tried to persuade the audience to resolve the Italian question in favour of the Sardinian monarchy.

The domestic policy of King Ferdinand II of Naples was subjected to harsh criticism by Cavour and other speakers in the course of the discussion on April 8. On April 16, 1856, at the closing session of the Congress, the Piedmontese plenipotentiaries handed another memorandum on the same issue to Britain and France which Marx cites in this article.

The discussion of the Italian question did not lead to any decisions. However, it promoted the supremacy of the Kingdom of Sardinia in the Italian national liberation movement. p. 3

7 On December 2, 1851 Louis Bonaparte accomplished a coup d'état by dissolving the Legislative Assembly. p. 3

8 During the 1848-49 revolution, the Whig government, of which Lord Palmerston was Foreign Secretary, supported only in word the liberal movement in Italy which strove for moderate reforms and constitutional changes. In fact, however, Britain did not help Piedmont in its struggle against Austrian rule in Northern Italy either in 1848 or in 1849. p. 3

9 Marx is referring to the dispatch of an expeditionary corps to Italy in April 1849 under the pretext of defending the Roman Republic. Initiated by the President of the French Republic, Louis Bonaparte, this invasion of the Roman Republic aimed at restoring the Pope's temporal power (see K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France. 1848-1850*, present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 91-94). p. 5

10 The reference is to the brutal suppression of the Irish uprising in the summer of 1848 by Clarendon, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (1847-52), which broke out as a result of the famine caused by the potato crop failure in 1845-47. p. 5

[11] Marx means Louis Napoleon whose advent to power resulted in mass arrests of republicans and participants in the 1848-49 revolution.

*Cayenne*—a reference to French Guiana, where political prisoners were sent for penal servitude.

*Lambessa (Lambèse)*—a French penal colony founded on the ruins of the ancient Roman town of Lambessa in North Africa; from 1851 to 1860 it was a place of exile for political prisoners.

*Belle Isle*—an island in the Bay of Biscay, where political prisoners were detained in 1849-57, among others, workers who took part in the Paris uprising in June 1848 were imprisoned there. p. 5

[12] It was Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, who abdicated after the defeat of the Piedmontese army at Novara on March 23, 1849, during the Austro-Italian war of 1848-49. His son Victor Emmanuel II, the new king, concluded an armistice with the Austrians on March 26, and on August 6 a peace treaty was signed restoring Austrian rule in Northern Italy and the Austrian protectorate over a number of states of Central Italy. p. 5

[13] Marx is apparently referring to Napoleon III's plans to marry his cousin Prince Napoleon nicknamed Plon-Plon to Clotilde, the daughter of King Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia. The wedding took place in 1859. p. 6

[14] The *Delphic oracle*—Apollo's oracle at Delphi reputed for its prophecies about political and religious events which enabled Delphi to conduct and support certain conservative tendencies in politics. The knowledge of the situation in different Greek states influenced the prophecies of the oracle's medium, the Pythia.

The *Trophonian oracle* was in a cave at a temple near the town of Lebadea, Boeotia. Its prophecies were of a more private nature and concerned the human destinies in the main, and so it was much less important than the Delphic oracle.

Marx thought that M. P.'s speeches lacked originality and merely reflected Palmerston's policy. p. 6

[15] The *Crédit Mobilier* is short for the *Société générale du Crédit Mobilier*—a French joint-stock bank founded in 1852 by the Péreire brothers. The bank was closely connected with the Government of Napoleon III and, protected by it, engaged in speculation. It went bankrupt in 1867 and was liquidated in 1871.

The first article on *Crédit Mobilier* was published by Marx in *The People's Paper* without any indication that it was "to be continued". The editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* who published the subsequent articles on the subject printed them as a series and defined them by ordinal numbers.

In this volume the numbers of articles are put in square brackets as subtitles. p. 8

[16] Louis Bonaparte was nicknamed "the Little" by Victor Hugo in a speech in the Legislative Assembly in November 1851; the nickname became popular after the publication of Hugo's pamphlet *Napoléon le Petit* (1852). p. 11

[17] In May 1852 Louis Bonaparte's presidential powers were to expire and, according to the Constitution of the French Republic of 1848, new elections were to be held on the second Sunday in May. In view of this the Bonapartists began to prepare a coup d'état in the second half of 1851. They launched a propaganda campaign trying to intimidate the man in the street with the possible victory of democrats and socialists and with the anarchy which, they claimed, would set in if "the red spectre" was victorious. p. 14

[18] The *Society of December 10*—a secret Bonapartist organisation founded in 1849 and consisting mainly of declassed elements, political adventurers and the military. For details see Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 148-51). p. 14

[19] The *Fronde*, a movement in France against the absolutist regime from 1648 to 1653, involved various social sections—from radical peasant and plebeian elements and the bourgeoisie in opposition to high-ranking officials and aristocrats—which in many cases pursued opposite aims. The defeat of the Fronde led to the strengthening of absolutism. p. 14

[20] The *Corps Législatif* was established, alongside the State Council and the Senate, under the Constitution of February 14, 1852, after the Bonapartist coup d'état of 1851. Its powers were confined to endorsing bills drawn up by the State Council. The *Corps Législatif* was an elected body. However, the elections were supervised by state officials and the police, so that a majority obedient to the government was ensured. In fact it served as a screen for Napoleon III's unlimited powers. p. 16

[21] This refers to an *Act to remove doubts respecting promissory notes of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, for payment of sums of money under £5* of March 3, 1797 and *An Act for continuing for a limited time, the restriction contained in the minute of Council of the 26th of February, 1797, on payment of cash by the bank* of May 3, 1797 which established a compulsory rate of banknotes and gave temporary permission to the Bank to stop the exchange of banknotes for gold. In 1821 the exchange was resumed under the law of 1819. p. 24

[22] In the 1850s, while studying the foreign policies of European states and endeavouring to disclose the inner springs of these policies, Marx often turned to the history of diplomacy. Working at the British Museum, he discovered, in the collection of an English historian and writer, William Coxe, a mass of eighteenth-century documents, including letters from English ambassadors in St. Petersburg. This find served as an immediate stimulus for writing the *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* which he conceived at the beginning of 1856, when the Crimean war was still in progress. Marx wrote later: "While looking through the diplomatic manuscripts in the possession of the British Museum I came across a series of English documents, going back from the end of the eighteenth century to the time of Peter the Great, which reveal the continuous secret collaboration between the Cabinets of London and St. Petersburg, and seem to indicate that this relationship arose at the time of Peter the Great" (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 117).

Initially Marx intended to publish some of these documents, with his own comments, in the American *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, but he then decided to develop the theme and write an extensive (about 20 printed sheets) work on the history of Anglo-Russian relations in the 18th century. However, his negotiations with the German publisher in London Nikolaus Trübner in March-May 1856 on the publication of the work were fruitless. Marx failed to find another publisher and thought of printing it in one of the newspapers published by the followers of the English conservative journalist, David Urquhart, who was in opposition to the British Government and vigorously criticised its foreign policy. Marx had occasionally contributed to these papers, though he always dissociated himself from Urquhart's anti-democratic stance (see, for example, present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 477-78; Vol. 17, p. 117). It was because of Urquhart's political approach that Marx hesitated for some time before entrusting him with his work for publication. Marx wrote to Engels on

August 1, 1856: "...Should Urquhart come out with his counter-revolutionary nonsense in such a way that collaboration with him would discredit me in the eyes of the revolutionaries here, I would be obliged ... to decide against it" (present edition, Vol. 40, p. 62).

The *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century*, which Marx wrote from June 1856 to March 1857, began to appear in instalments in *The Sheffield Free Press*, an Urquhartist newspaper, in late June 1856. But since the editors interfered with the text by arbitrarily making cuts without Marx's consent, he stopped publication and handed over the work to another Urquhartist periodical—the London weekly *Free Press*. The work was published from the very beginning without any abridgements, as the text was sent in by Marx, from August 16, 1856 to April 1, 1857.

The published text was, in Marx's own words, only an Introduction to a projected work that was never written. It is divided into five chapters. More than half consists of documents (reports, letters and pamphlets) concerning the history of diplomatic relations between England and Russia in the 18th century. Chapter I consists of documents and Marx's numerous comments. In chapters II and III the proportion of Marx's text proper is insignificant. The whole of Chapter IV was written by Marx; in Chapter V, where he profusely cites the pamphlet *Truth Is But Truth...* Marx gives a description of Peter I's foreign policy.

The *Revelations* was never reprinted during Marx's and Engels' lifetime. After Engels' death this work, like some other works written by Marx and Engels in the 1850s, was prepared for the press by Marx's daughter Eleanor. It appeared in London under the title *Secret Diplomatic History of the Eighteenth Century* after Eleanor's death in 1899. In this book, the pamplet *The Defensive Treaty* (see this volume, pp. 65-73) was printed as a separate chapter. Hence, as distinct from the publication during Marx's lifetime, this book contained six chapters. Moreover, in the 1899 edition the concluding part (about four pages) of the fifth (fourth in the original) chapter was omitted.

In English the *Revelations* was also published in London and New York in 1969; the French translation appeared in 1954; the German translation in 1960, 1977 and 1981; the Polish translation in 1967; the Italian translation in 1977.

All these publications, as a rule, reproduce or are based upon the 1899 edition but restore the concluding pages of the fifth (fourth in the original) chapter omitted in that edition. Commentaries in some of them are biased.

In this volume the text of the book is reproduced from *The Free Press* collated with the 1899 edition.

Some minor factual inaccuracies are silently corrected. p. 25

[23] In this chapter Marx quotes letters of the British diplomats in Russia and the account of L. K. Pitt, Chaplain at the English trading station in St. Petersburg, which he discovered at the British Museum in the collection of William Coxe, an English historian and writer (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 17). p. 27

[24] This letter, as well as other reports from British diplomats in Russia in 1736-39, was published, with the permission of the British Government, in full in *Sbornik imperatorskogo russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva* (Records of the Imperial Russian Historical Society), St. Petersburg, 1892, Vol. 80, pp. 13-19, from the original in the Public Record Office of Great Britain. p. 27

[25] Marx is referring to the mediation offered by Britain and Holland in the Russo-Turkish war of 1735-39; it was rejected by Russia. p. 27

[26] An allusion to the *Union of Kalmar* (1397-1523)—a personal union of Denmark, Norway (with Iceland) and Sweden (with Finland) under Danish kings. In the fifteenth century Sweden virtually withdrew from the union. Christian II of Denmark made an attempt to restore his rule over Sweden by staging a massacre in Stockholm in November 1520 (this came to be called "the blood-bath of Stockholm"). This caused a popular uprising led by Gustavus Eriksson (Gustavus Vasa) and as a result Sweden was restored as a state. p. 28

[27] Marx is referring to a plan, drawn up by Russian diplomats in the 1760s, to unite the North-European states of Russia, Prussia, England, Denmark, Sweden and Poland. It came to be known as "the grand scheme uniting the Powers of the North" or the Northern Alliance, and was to be directed against France and Austria. Despite a number of treaties concluded by Russia (a defensive treaty with Prussia, 1764; a defensive treaty with Denmark, 1765; and a trade agreement with Great Britain, 1766), the project was not implemented because Prussia and England opposed it and Russia's foreign policy underwent some changes after the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-74. p. 29

[28] Presumably a reference to the preparation of the Russo-Prussian Treaty of Alliance which Peter III and Frederick II concluded on April 24 (May 5), 1762 during the Seven Years' War (1756-63). Frederick II received back all of his lands which had been conquered by Russian troops. Sir George Macartney's information was inaccurate: at that time Count Alexei Bestuzhev-Ryumin was relieved of his diplomatic duties. p. 29

[29] Marx is quoting the words of Horace Walpole and the statements by the Earl of Sandwich and William Pitt the Younger mentioned below according to T. S. Hughes' *The History of England, from the Accession of George III, 1760, to the Accession of Queen Victoria, 1837.* Third edition. London, 1846, Vol. I, p. 183; Vol. II, pp. 146, 261; Vol. III, p. 124. p. 30

[30] This letter was published in *Diaries and Correspondence of James Harris, First Earl of Malmesbury; containing an account of his missions to the courts of Madrid, Frederick the Great, Catherine the Second, and the Hague, and his special missions to Berlin, Brunswick, and the French Republic.* Edited by his grandson, the Third Earl. Vol. I, London, 1844, pp. 528-35. p. 31

[31] Sir James Harris writes about the moods prevailing at the Russian Court, in which the British Government was much interested since it intended to win Russia's support in the war against the North-American colonies (1775-83). p. 31

[32] The *Peace of Teshen* concluded between Austria and Prussia on May 13, 1779 ended the war of the Bavarian succession. The war had been caused by the claims of the German states to various parts of Bavaria after the death of the childless Bavarian Elector Maximilian Joseph, and also by the struggle between Austria and Prussia for domination over Germany. Under this treaty and the adjoining conventions, Prussia and Austria obtained some territories of Bavaria, while Saxony received money compensation. The Elector of the Palatinate became Elector of Bavaria. The Peace of Teshen confirmed a series of peace treaties which had previously been concluded by the German states. At first Russia and France acted as mediators between the warring countries, and in a special article of the treaty they were declared guarantor-powers. p. 31

[33] Harris presumably means the document on Spain's declaration of war on Britain in June 1779. p. 31

[34] The declaration of armed neutrality announced by Catherine II on February 28 (March 11), 1780, was directed against Britain during her war against the insurgent North-American colonies (1775-83). It proclaimed the right of neutral powers to trade freely with the belligerent countries and a series of other principles guaranteeing security to merchant shipping. The Declaration was joined in 1780-83 by Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Prussia, Austria, Portugal and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. p. 32

[35] In March 1781 the British Government offered Russia the Island of Minorca, an important strategic base in the Mediterranean, on the condition that Russia gave up her armed neutrality (see Note 34) and supported Britain in her war against the North-American colonies. This offer was rejected. p. 32

[36] This refers to the negotiations which ended with the signing of the Versailles Peace Treaty on September 3, 1783 between Britain and the USA with its allies—France, Spain and the Netherlands. According to this treaty, Britain recognised the USA's independence. p. 32

[37] On the initiative of Prussia, a convention on preliminary terms of partition of Poland was signed in St. Petersburg on 6 (17) February, 1772. Soon Austria also joined it. The partition undermined the national independence of Poland, which was undergoing a profound social and political crisis. p. 32

[38] This refers to the aggravation of Russo-Swedish relations after the 1772 coup d'état of Gustavus III. Having abolished the 1719 Constitution and the power of the aristocratic oligarchy, who had enjoyed the support of Britain and Russia, Gustavus virtually restored absolutism in Sweden. Russia as a guarantor of Sweden's statehood under the Peace of Nystad (1721), feared the growing influence of France which was financing Gustavus III. p. 32

[39] The *Kuchuk-Kainarji peace treaty* ended the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-74. Russia obtained part of the Black Sea shore between the South Bug and the Dnieper with the fortress of Kinburn; she also gained Azov, Kerch and Yenikale and compelled Turkey to recognise the independence of the Crimea. Russian merchant ships won free passage through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. In conformity with the treaty the Sultan also undertook to grant certain privileges to the Greek Orthodox Church. p. 33

[40] The reference is to George III, King of Great Britain and Ireland (1760-1820), and a group of Tories supporting him. George III belonged to the Hanover royal family which held the British throne under the provisions of the Act of Settlement (1701); up to 1815 the British kings of the Hanover dynasty were also the Electors of Hanover, and up to 1837 Kings of Hanover. p. 33

[41] Marx draws a parallel here between the 18th-century events and the actions of the British Admiralty in 1854 when an attempt was made to raise a blockade of the Russian harbours on the Black Sea at the beginning of the Crimean war (1853-56). James Graham's statement, report about his dispatch of April 5, 1854 and Admiral James Dundas' replies are cited by Marx according to the material of the John Arthur Roebuck commission appointed to investigate the state of the British Army in the Crimea ("State of the Army before Sebastopol", *The Times*, No. 22054, May 15, 1855). p. 34

[42] Marx quotes George III's speech on October 26, 1775, the words of Lord Cavendish and North's statement mentioned below from T. S. Hughes' *The History of England...*, Vol. II, pp. 191, 113. p. 34

[43] Marx is referring to the Versailles Peace Treaty (see Note 36). p. 35

[44] A reference to the retirement of Rockingham's ministry after his death on July 1, 1782. p. 35

[45] Marx quotes Burke from T. S. Hughes' *The History of England...*, Vol. III, pp. 148-49. p. 36

[46] The Shelburne ministry (1782-83) succeeded Rockingham's ministry (see Note 44). p. 36

[47] [Ph. H.] Mahon, *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle*, Vol. I, London, 1839, p. 341. p. 36

[48] The reference is to the French Revolution. p. 36

[49] A reference to Russia's secession from the second anti-French coalition in 1800. p. 37

[50] Marx is referring to the diplomatic correspondence between Pozzo di Borgo, the Russian ambassador to France, and the Russian Chancellor Count Nesselrode; Marx got acquainted with it from a collection of diplomatic documents and material entitled *The Portfolio; or a Collection of State Papers* edited by David Urquhart and published in London from 1835 to 1837, and also from *Recueil des documents relatifs à la Russie pour la plupart secrets et inédits utiles à consulter dans la crise actuelle*, Paris, 1854. p. 38

[51] A reference to the treaties on the partition of the Spanish possessions in Europe and elsewhere concluded by France with Britain, the Netherlands and Austria in 1698 and 1700 in anticipation of the death of the childless King of Spain, Charles II of Habsburg.

On October 2, 1700, Charles II made a will by which the Spanish crown was to go to Philip of Anjou, the grandson of Louis XIV of France, provided Philip renounced his right to the French crown. Despite this, in February 1701 Louis XIV made Philip of Anjou, who in 1700 became King of Spain under the name of Philip V, his heir, which led to the *War of the Spanish Succession* (1701-14). In this war, Britain, Austria, the Netherlands and some other countries fought against France and Spain. France's failures in the war resulted in the realignment of forces in Europe (see Note 236). p. 41

[52] Presumably Marx means here the annexation of Cracow by Austria after the 1846 insurrection. p. 41

[53] After the rout of the Swedish army at Poltava, Charles XII fled to Turkey and settled in Bendery where he stayed till 1713. Marx used the Latin text of the manifesto (Carolus, *Espèce de Manifeste du Roi de Suède contre le Roi Auguste*) published in Lamberty, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du XVIII siècle, contenant les négociations, traitez, résolutions et autres documents authentiques concernant les affaires d'état*, Tome sixième, La Haye, 1728, pp. 434-36. p. 41

[54] The *Glorious revolution*—the name given in English historiography to the coup d'état of 1688 which overthrew the Stuarts and established a constitutional monarchy, with William III of Orange at its head (from 1689), which was based on a compromise between the landed aristocracy and the big bourgeoisie. p. 41

[55] The *Peace Treaty of Travendahl* signed on August 18, 1700, ended the war between Denmark and the duchy of Holstein. It was concluded under military pressure from England, Holland and Sweden. Denmark was forced to recognise the independence of Holstein and withdraw from the anti-Swedish coalition. p. 41

[56] Marx is presumably referring to the fact that during the Northern War (1700-21) an abortive attempt was made in 1716 to unite the Danish and Russian naval forces. p. 42

[57] An inaccuracy in the text: Count Gyllenborg calls himself the author of the pamphlet not in the letter to Baron Görtz of January 12 (23), 1717 but in a letter to his brother of October 16 (27), 1716. Marx quotes Gyllenborg's letter from *Letters which passed between Count Gyllenborg, the barons Görtz, Sparre, and others; relating to the Design of Raising a Rebellion in His Majesty's Dominions, to be supported by a Force from Sweden*, London, 1717.

The *Court of St. James's*, called so after St. James's Palace in London, the residence of British kings until the beginning of the nineteenth century. p. 43

[58] The reference is to the decisions reached at a conference held by Peter I and Danish and Saxon ministers on October 22, 1711 in the town of Crossen (Krossen), Brandenburg. The conference drew up plans for immediate military-diplomatic action by the Allies against Sweden. p. 45

[59] *Rix dollar*—continental silver coin in the sixteenth-nineteenth centuries. p. 45

[60] This passage in *The Free Press* of September 20, 1856 was preceded by the following editorial note: "Our readers may, perhaps, require to be reminded that the following is a quotation from a pamphlet published in London, in 1716, and entitled the 'Northern Crisis'. Our last number contained the recital (copied from "The Northern Crisis") of the Danish Minister's reasons for delaying the descent upon Schonen." p. 46

[61] That is, the War of the Spanish Succession (see Note 51). p. 47

[62] This refers to an episode in the first stage of the Northern War (1700-21)—the defeat of the Russian troops at Narva on November 30, 1700. p. 48

[63] A reference to the *Peace Treaty of Altranstadt* concluded on September 24, 1706 between Augustus II, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, and Charles XII of Sweden. Under the provisions of the treaty, Augustus II was to abdicate from the Polish throne in favour of Stanislaus Leszczynski and annul the union with Russia. p. 48

[64] See Note 55. p. 49

[65] This sentence opens the next instalment in *The Free Press* on October 4, 1856. The editors of the newspaper preceded it with the following comment: "We beg to remind our readers that the following is part of a pamphlet written in—, and entitled the 'Northern Crisis', and that it is a continuation of 'Important Reflections' on the Danish Minister's 'Reasons for delaying the descent upon Schonen'". p. 50

[66] This refers to a 9,000-strong Russian detachment summoned by the Grand Duke Karl Leopold to Mecklenburg in 1716. The Duke was married to Peter I's niece Yekaterina Ivanovna. The same year the detachment was withdrawn from the duchy. p. 50

[67] A reference to what is known as the *Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation* founded in 962 when Otto I, the German King, was crowned Holy Roman Emperor. By the eighteenth century the Empire, ruled by sovereigns from the Habsburg dynasty, lost its political influence; it ceased to exist on August 6, 1806. p. 51

68 A reference to the war waged by Austria and her ally, the Venetian Republic, against Turkey in 1716-18. p. 51

69 Augustus II, the Elector of Saxony (1694-1733) and King of Poland (1697-1706 and 1709-33), adopted the Catholic faith to facilitate his election to the Polish throne. p. 53

70 Marx means the pamphlet: [G. Mackenzie,] *Truth is but Truth, as it is Timed! Or, our Ministry's present Measures against the Moscovite vindicated by Plain and Obvious Reasons, Tending to Prove*, etc., London, 1719. p. 56

71 On August 2, 1718 Britain, Austria and France concluded an alliance against Spain with a view to retaining the provisions of the Peace Treaty of Utrecht, which confirmed the results of the War of the Spanish Succession (see notes 51 and 236). On August 22 of that year the British fleet attacked and destroyed the Spanish fleet near the Cape of Passaro (Sicily). p. 57

72 Marx took the data for his calculations from A. Anderson, *An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce, from the earliest accounts. Containing an history of great commercial interests of the British Empire*, Vols. I, III, IV, London, 1787, 1789. p. 58

73 The *Balance of Trade doctrine*—one of the tenets of mercantilism. According to it a country's prosperity depends totally on the constant inflow of bullion from abroad, and to secure this it is necessary to attain a favourable balance of foreign trade. p. 60

74 Marx has in mind the book: S. Puffendorf, *De Rebus gestis Friderici Wilhelmi Magni, Electoris Brandenburgici, commentariorum Libri novendecim*, Berolini, 1695. p. 60

75 The *Russian* or *Muscovy Company* (its real name: Merchant Adventurers for the Discovery of Lands, Countries, Isles, not before known or frequented by any English)—an English trade company founded in the mid-sixteenth century which enjoyed some privileges from the Russian Government. However, the Company's intentions to get hold of the Russian market and also its plans to seize the North of Russia and the Volga route in 1612 during the period of the Polish and Swedish intervention caused dissatisfaction on the part of the Russian Government and merchants. The result of it was that in 1649 the Company virtually ceased to exist. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, during the War of the Spanish Succession (see Note 51), the Company was re-established as England was in great need of shipbuilding materials. p. 61

76 The publication date of these petitions is not known. p. 61

77 This refers to the fact Marx wrote about as early as June 1854 in his article "The Formation of a Special Ministry of War in Britain.—The War on the Danube.—The Economic Situation": "For the measure announced by Sir J. Graham in last Monday's House of Commons, viz.: The non-blockade of the port of Archangel, *The Morning Herald* accounts in the following laconic paragraph: 'There is a house at Archangel which bears the name of the Chancellor of the Exchequer'" (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 225-26). p. 61

78 See Note 54. p. 61

79 Marx has in mind the Polish emigrant to the USA and contributor to the *New-York Daily Tribune* Adam Gurowski, the French historian and writer Elias Regnault and the German philosopher and journalist Bruno Bauer, who wrote

a great deal on the Eastern question and European foreign policy during the Crimean war. p. 62

80 The fortress of Kars was captured by Russian troops during the Crimean war in November 1855. See K. Marx's series of articles "The Fall of Kars" (present edition, Vol. 14, pp. 621-54). p. 63

81 The *Suez Canal* was built from 1859 to 1869. Ferdinand de Lesseps, a French diplomat and engineer, obtained a concession for the building and exploitation of it on November 30, 1854. The British Government was against the project at first, fearing the expansion of French influence in Egypt and the Middle East. p. 63

82 The town of Narva was captured by the Russian troops in 1558 during the Livonian War (1558-83) fought by Russia against the Livonian Confederation, the Polish-Lithuanian state and Sweden. p. 63

83 The *Treaty of Ryswick of 1697* ended the war between France and the Augsburg League (the Netherlands, England, Spain, the German Emperor and several German princes) which lasted from 1688. It confirmed the slightly changed pre-war state boundaries. France was obliged to recognise the 1688 coup d'état in England (see Note 54). p. 64

84 Marx has drawn on the anonymous pamphlet *Reasons for the present conduct of Sweden in relation to the trade in the Baltic set forth in a letter from a gentleman at Dantzick, to his friend at Amsterdam. Translated from the French original published in Holland; and now submitted to the consideration of all just and impartial Britons*, London, 1715. p. 64

85 This is the nickname of the British statesman Robert Walpole, who habitually employed bribery to have his supporters elected to Parliament. p. 65

86 This pamphlet, which contains the text of the treaty and comments to it ("queries"), was published, as Marx supposed, in 1720. The author of the queries is unknown.

The Publishers express their gratitude to the British Museum Library for kindly granting them photocopies of this document and *Truth is but Truth*, the pamphlet Marx used in writing Chapter V (see this volume, pp. 92-96). p. 65

87 A reference to the war of the Spanish Succession (see Note 51). p. 67

88 The *Treaty of Westphalia*, signed in 1648, ended the Thirty Years' War. Sweden gained a considerable part of East Pomerania and also the Isle of Rügen, the port of Wismar and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, and became a member of the Holy Roman Empire (see Note 67).

The *Peace Treaty of Roskilde* ended the 1657-58 war between Denmark and Sweden. Denmark ceded her possessions in the South of the Scandinavian peninsular, the fief of Trondheim in Norway and several islands in the Baltic Sea. Besides, Denmark pledged to open negotiations with the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp on relieving him of her suzerainty, to annul the alliances and treaties directed against Sweden and to free Sweden from payment of the Sound duties.

The *Copenhagen Peace Treaty* ended the 1658-60 war between Denmark and Sweden. The war, provoked by differences connected with the implementation of the Treaty of Roskilde, was launched by Sweden with a view to completely abolishing Denmark's independence. Under the Copenhagen Treaty, the Isle of Bornholm and the fief of Trondheim were returned to Denmark.

The *Peace Treaty of Lunden* ended the 1675-79 war between Denmark and Sweden. Denmark gave up her possessions in Skåne which went to Sweden. p. 70

[89] See Note 55. p. 71

[90] The great *Battle of Poltava* (the Ukraine) was fought between Russian and Swedish troops on July 8, 1709, in the course of the Northern War (1700-21). The Russian troops commanded by Peter I won a decisive victory over Charles XII. p. 71

[91] This refers to the *Act of Settlement* of June 12, 1701 which fixed the succession to the throne on the Hanover royal family (see Note 40) and deprived the Stuarts of the right of succeeding to the English throne. p. 72

[92] The reference is to the "glorious revolution" (see Note 54). p. 72

[93] In this chapter Marx tried to outline Russia's historical development from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries from the perspective of her role in international affairs, and attempted to reveal the historical roots of the foreign policy of Russian Tsarism in the nineteenth century. Marx did not intend to give a comprehensive analysis of Russian history and restricted himself to making "some preliminary remarks on the general history of Russian politics" (see p. 74). Marx's main source was *History of Russia and of Peter the Great* (London, 1829), an English translation of a very unreliable book by the French aristocrat Philippe Paul Ségur. For comments on Marx's other sources see pp. XXI and XXII. p. 74

[94] Oleg, Prince of Kiev, raided Constantinople in 911. His successor Igor made war on Byzantium on two occasions, in 941 and 944, which resulted in the conclusion of a trade agreement in 944. p. 75

[95] Anna, the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Romanus II, was married to Prince Vladimir Svyatoslavich of Kiev (who after baptism adopted the name of Vasily) in 987, after her father's death, by her brother, the Byzantine Emperor Basil II (976-1025). The name of Prince Vladimir Svyatoslavich is connected with the adoption of Christianity in Kiev Russia (988-989) and the latter's growing might. p. 75

[96] Presumably Marx is hinting at the so-called "Will of Peter the Great"—a spurious document, different versions of which were repeatedly published in Western Europe in the nineteenth century. Historians have since proved irrefutably that the "Will" was a complete forgery. p. 75

[97] An inaccuracy in Marx's text. The third prince of the Vladimir-Suzdal principality was Andrei Bogolyubsky's brother, Vsevolod Bolshoye Gnezdo (1176-1212), during whose reign the territory of the principality was extended and its political and cultural significance grew considerably. p. 77

[98] The Tartar-Mongol yoke in Russia ended in 1480 as a result of the long and heroic struggle by the Russian people (see Note 109). p. 77

[99] Marx presumably means the rise of the Moscow Principality in the fourteenth century and the victories of the Russian troops under Dmitry Donskoi over the Golden Horde (battles on the Vozha River in 1378 and on Kulikovo Field in 1380). Later, in his *Chronological Notes* (1882), Marx wrote in particular: "*September 8, 1380—Battle* on the broad field of *Kulikovo;* Dmitry's complete victory; 200,000 said to be killed on both sides." p. 78

[100] An inaccuracy in Marx's text: Yury Danilovich, the elder brother of Ivan I Danilovich Kalita, bore the title of Grand Prince of Vladimir from 1317; his brother inherited it in 1328. p. 78

[101] The reference is to a branch of the Rurik dynasty, the princes of the Principality of Tver which existed in Russia in the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries. In the struggle for power with Prince Yury Danilovich of Moscow (see Note 100), Prince Mikhail Yaroslavich of Tver (1271-1318) was defeated and killed in the camp of Uzbek Khan. p. 78

[102] The episcopal seat of the primate was finally transferred to Moscow in 1328. p. 79

[103] In 1492 Ivan III sent a deed to Sultan Bajazet II containing a protest against the harassment of Russian merchants in the Turkish possessions. Having received no answer from the Sultan (his envoy was detained in Lithuania), Ivan III sent his own man, ambassador Mikhail Pleshcheyev, to Turkey with instructions to confirm the claims contained in the 1492 deed and to "stand on his feet not knees" during the audience. Pleshcheyev's mission was successful. Sultan Bajazet II promised not to put obstacles in the way of Russian merchants within the Ottoman Empire. p. 80

[104] The Golden Horde practically ceased to exist in the second quarter of the fifteenth century due to internecine strife and the liberation movement of the subject peoples, especially the Russian people (see notes 99 and 109). It was succeeded by a Tartar state, the Big Horde, which sprang up on the lower reaches of the Volga; the Nogai (Nogay) Horde, which occupied the territory from the Volga to the Irtysh River, virtually separated from the Golden Horde at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century; the final separation took place in 1426-40. p. 81

[105] Timour (Tamerlane) dealt crushing blows to the Golden Horde in his three big campaigns (1389, 1391, 1394-95). p. 81

[106] Marx means the free Cossack communities formed on the southern and south-eastern outskirts of the Moscow state in the second half of the fifteenth century by the peasants who had fled from the landowners, and the townsmen. They were used for defence purposes. p. 81

[107] The *Crimean Khanate* separated from the Golden Horde in 1443 as a result of a prolonged struggle; in 1475 it became a vassal of the Ottoman Empire. p. 81

[108] Ivan III ceased paying tribute to the Big Horde (see Note 104) in 1476. p. 81

[109] The disintegration of the Golden Horde (see Note 104) and especially the heroic struggle of the Russian people were the principal factors which led to the liberation of the Grand Principality of Moscow from the Tartar-Mongol yoke. The events which culminated this struggle are presented by Marx inaccurately. Khan Akhmat launched two campaigns against Moscow: in 1472 and in 1480. In 1472 he captured the town of Aleksin but was forced to retreat before the Russians. In 1480 Khan Akhmat's troops were confronted by strong Russian detachments on the River Ugra (known as "Standing on the Ugra"). Khan Akhmat was forced to retreat in October and November and on January 6, 1481 he was killed by the Nogay Khan Ivak. The "Standing on the Ugra" put an end to the 240-year Tartar-Mongol yoke over Russia.

The Crimean Khan Mengli-Ghirai defeated the Big Horde, but much later, in 1502. p. 82

110 In 1459 the Vyatka territory was subordinated to Moscow though it had enjoyed certain autonomy. The reign of Ivan III in the second half of the fifteenth century was marked by the growing separatist movement of the Vyatka boyars and merchants. However, in 1485-86 the movement was suppressed and in 1489 the Vyatka territory was incorporated into the Grand Principality of Moscow. p. 82

111 The feudal republic of Pskov existed as an independent state from 1348 to 1510. p. 82

112 A reference to the victory of the Moscow army over the Novgorodians on the banks of the River Shelon in 1471. This victory predetermined the abolition of political independence for the Novgorod feudal republic, which existed ever since the twelfth century. p. 83

113 After 1475 despite the old statutes legal proceedings on the complaints of the Novgorodians were not taken in their native city but in Moscow. p. 83

114 The final incorporation of Novgorod in the Grand Principality of Moscow took place in 1478. p. 84

115 The reference is to a kind of a republic formed by the Ukrainian Cossacks (Zaporozhye Sech) in the mid-sixteenth century. It was defeated by Peter I in 1709 and finally abolished by Catherine II in 1775. p. 84

116 The last independent Prince of Tver, Mikhail Borisovich, was married to the granddaughter of the Lithuanian Prince Casimir. Trying to throw off the growing dependence on Moscow, he entered into an alliance with Lithuania. However, Ivan III succeeded in breaking Tver's resistance and in 1485 Tver was finally annexed to Moscow. So ended the struggle of the Tver and Moscow princes for supremacy in Russia (see Note 101). p. 85

117 An inaccuracy in the text. Ivan III had four brothers, whose appanages were annexed to the possessions of the Grand Prince at different times. One of his brothers, Andrei Bolshoi, died in confinement. p. 85

118 After Casimir's death in 1492, his son Jan Albrecht succeeded to the Polish throne, and another son, Alexander, to the Lithuanian throne. p. 85

119 Elena Ivanovna, the daughter of Ivan III and Sophia Palaeologus, was married to the Lithuanian Grand Prince Alexander on the initiative of and pressure from the Lithuanian nobles who hoped by this means to win concessions from Ivan III. p. 86

120 As a result of the wars waged by Ivan III against the Grand Principality of Lithuania (1487-94 and 1500-03) western Russian towns (Chernigov, Novgorod-Seversky, Gomel, Bryansk) and the lands adjoining them were appended to Moscow. Smolensk was incorporated into Russia in 1514, after Ivan III's death. p. 86

121 The facts are inaccurate here. In an attempt to save the Byzantine Empire from the Turkish invasion the representatives of the Eastern Orthodox Church entered into union with the Catholic Church at the Council of Florence in 1439. Under the terms of the Union of Florence the Eastern Orthodox Church acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope and accepted the Catholic dogmas, while retaining its own rites. After the capture of Constantinople by the Turks

in 1453, Thomas, the brother of the last Byzantine Emperor Constantine XI Palaeologus, and his family, fled to Rome.

Pope Paul II, by planning to marry Thomas's daughter Sophia (Zoë) Palaeologus to Ivan III, and basing himself on the decisions of the Union of Florence, hoped to consolidate his power over the Russian Orthodox Church.

Ivan III married Sophia Palaeologus on November 12, 1472, under Pope Sixtus IV. Ivan III used this marriage to enhance Russia's prestige in international affairs and his own authority as a Grand Prince in Russia.

p. 86

[122] In this chapter, Marx drew on one of Engels' articles about Pan-Slavism, written for the *New-York Daily Tribune* in 1856, but never published. The manuscripts of these articles, which the editors of the newspaper returned to Marx, have not been traced. Soon after the *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* had been published, Marx wrote to Engels on April 9, 1857: "In the last one I used the text of one of your articles, in which you speak of Peter I" (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 120). p. 88

[123] This refers to the Russo-Turkish wars of 1686-99 and 1710-13 and Peter I's campaign to the Persian possessions near the Caspian Sea in 1722-23. p. 89

[124] Peter I assumed the title of Emperor in 1721. p. 93

[125] An ironic allusion to the actions of the English fleet commanded by Charles Napier (1854) and Richard Dundas (1855) during the Crimean war (1853-56). p. 94

[126] The *Peace Treaty of Stolbowa* was concluded between Russia and Sweden with Britain's mediation in 1617, after the failure of the intervention of Poland and Sweden in Russia at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Sweden returned several Russian towns to Russia, but retained the territories in Karelia and the Baltic lands, and thus cut off Russia from the Baltic Sea. The treaty envisaged the resumption of trade between Russia and Sweden. The state boundaries established by this treaty were intact till the Northern War (1700-21). p. 94

[127] See Note 88. p. 95

[128] See Note 55. p. 95

[129] A reference to the treaty of 1711, signed during the Russo-Turkish war of 1710-13. p. 96

[130] This refers to events in Madrid during the summer of 1856 which ended the fourth bourgeois revolution in Spain (1854-56). In July 1856 the conservative liberal opposition secured the resignation of the Espartero Progresista ministry and the formation of a conservative ministry headed by General O'Donnell. Disturbances organised by the left-democratic forces of the Cortes in Madrid, Barcelona, Saragossa and other towns were brutally suppressed by O'Donnell. p. 97

[131] See Note 7. p. 98

[132] Marx is referring to the counter-revolutionary mutiny (pronunciamiento) organised in May 1843 by generals Narváez, Conche and others against the dictatorship of Espartero, leader of the Progresistas. Some of the Progresistas, dissatisfied with the dictator's policy, supported the mutiny. On July 30, 1843, Espartero fled from the country and General Narváez, a leader of the

Moderados (see Note 136), who found support among the big landowners, became dictator. The reaction set in till the fourth revolution (1854-56).
p. 98

133 *Ayacuchos*—the name given to Espartero's followers during his Regency (1840-43), members of the pro-Englisn military party headed by him. They were so called after the decisive battle at Ayacucho, Peru, on December 9, 1824, during the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in America. The metropolitan troops were led by Espartero and other generals. The battle was won by the insurgent army and put an end to Spain's rule in South America. See also the article "Ayacucho" by Marx and Engels (present edition, Vol. 18, pp. 170-71). p. 98

134 A reference to Anglo-French diplomatic battles round the marriages of Queen Isabella II of Spain and her sister infanta María Luisa Fernanda. Their mother María Cristina (secretly married to Agustín Fernando Múñoz, a sergeant of the royal guards who later received the title of Duke of Riánsares; hence, Marx calls her Madame Múñoz) made an agreement with King Louis Philippe of France and, as a result, despite the intrigues of English diplomats, in October 1846 Isabella married Don Francisco de Asis of the Spanish Bourbons, and Maria Luisa Fernanda married the Duke of Montpensier,. Louis Philippe's younger son. p. 98

135 A reference is to the second bourgeois revolution in Spain (1820-23). After an abortive attempt to overthrow the constitutional government in Madrid on July 7, 1822, King Ferdinand VII of Spain secretly appealed to the Holy Alliance (see Note 5) for help in suppressing the revolution. By decision adopted at the Congress of Verona of the Holy Alliance on October 20, 1822 France was to help Ferdinand. On April 7, 1823 a French expeditionary corps entered Spain and on October 1 the King's absolute power was restored in the country. The French troops stayed in Spain until 1828. p. 99

136 *Moderados,* a party advocating a constitutional monarchy and representing the interests of the big bourgeoisie and liberal nobility, was organised at the beginning of the bourgeois revolution of 1820-23. In the 1840s and 1850s one of its leaders was General Narváez.

The liberal-bourgeois *Progresista* party was formed in the 1830s. The Progresistas found support among the urban middle and petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals and some officers. Their principal demand was for restriction of the powers of the monarchy. p. 99

137 A reference to the events in Madrid in June-July 1854 which started the fourth bourgeois revolution in Spain (1854-56). In July 1854 the Cabinet reshufflings caused by an uprising in the army and disturbances in the city brought to power the Ministry of the Duke of Rivas (Ryos y Rosas also became its member). It was nicknamed "the shrapnel ministry" for the way it suppressed the uprising. The Ministry's activity led to a new uprising, and the Ministry had to resign. p. 100

138 An allusion to the battle at Luchana bridge on December 25, 1836, during the first Carlist war (1833-40), in which the troops commanded by Espartero won a decisive victory over the Carlists and captured the town of Bilbao. Espartero was made Count of Luchana.

Below Marx alludes to Espartero's speech in Madrid in July 1854, at the beginning of the fourth Spanish revolution (1854-56): "Men of Madrid, you have summoned me to establish for ever the liberties of our land. Here I am;

and if the enemies of our most Holy liberty would snatch it from us, with the sword of Luchana I will put myself at your head, at the head of all Spaniards, and will show you the way to glory." p. 101

139 This refers to Espartero's resignation in July 1856. O'Donnell, Espartero's opponent in the government, succeeded in rallying all reactionary elements in the country, the Court and the Catholic clergy included, due to Espartero's irresolution and half-way policy. Behind Espartero's back he contacted Queen Isabella who was interested in suppressing the peasant movement which swept Spain in the spring and summer of 1856.

Unable to settle the differences in his government, Espartero chose Isabella as his arbiter. On July 13, 1856 he requested her to help him make peace between two members of the government: the radical Escosura and O'Donnell. Considering them both of great use in the government, Espartero declared that he would leave his post if one of them resigned. Therefore, when the Queen consented to Escosura's resignation, Espartero was forced to keep his promise.

On July 14, O'Donnell was appointed Prime Minister. Espartero gave up his struggle and did not head the democratic left wing of the Cortes which adopted a resolution against the new cabinet and called on the national militia and the people of Madrid to rebel. p. 103

140 *Carlism, Carlists*—a reactionary clerico-absolutist group in Spain consisting of adherents of the pretender to the Spanish throne Don Carlos, the brother of Ferdinand VII. Relying on the military and the Catholic clergy, and also making use of the support of the backward peasants in some regions of Spain, the Carlists launched in 1833 a civil war, which in fact turned into a struggle between the feudal-Catholic and liberal-bourgeois elements and led to the third bourgeois revolution (1834-43). p. 104

141 Marx is referring to the uprising of the Paris proletariat against the bourgeois regime of the Second Republic (June 23-26, 1848) and to an armed uprising which took place in Dresden on May 3-9, 1849. p. 105

142 A reference to the war of independence of the Spanish people against France (1808-14) which combined with the first bourgeois revolution in Spain. At the beginning of 1808, Napoleon I's troops entered Spain. The people answered with an uprising. Charles IV was forced to abdicate in favour of his son Ferdinand VII. Napoleon I, however, made Ferdinand VII give up his rights and proclaimed his brother Joseph King of Spain. Ferdinand VII was sent to France. A guerrilla war flared up and the organs of revolutionary power were set up. In 1810 the Cortes introduced a series of liberal reforms and in 1812 adopted the so-called Cadiz Constitution. This restricted the King's powers, and transferred legislative power to the one-chamber Cortes elected by universal suffrage. When the French troops were driven out of Spain, Ferdinand VII returned to Madrid. He refused to recognise the Constitution and restored the reactionary absolutist system. p. 106

143 A reference to the second bourgeois revolution in Spain (1820-23) which started on January 1, 1820 with a mutiny in the army directed by Rafael del Riego. It soon grew into a popular movement that swept the country. The revolution aimed at abolishing feudal relations in Spain. The Constitution of 1812 (see Note 142) which was abrogated in 1814 was reinstated. Some moderate reforms were adopted to liquidate the legal and administrative remnants of feudalism. However, an agrarian reform was not carried through, and this made the peasants withdraw from the revolution thereby facilitating its

defeat. The revolution was suppressed by the Holy Alliance in October 1823 (see Note 135). p. 106

144 On May 2, 1808 a popular uprising against the French interventionists flared up in Madrid. It was brutally suppressed by the commander-in-chief of the French army in Spain, Murat. p. 106

145 In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Spain and her colonies were divided into 17 military districts directed by captain-generals (hence the name Captain-Generalships). As viceroys, they possessed supreme power, both civil and military. p. 107

146 Marx is referring to the period of feudal absolutist reaction which set in after Ferdinand VII's return from France to Spain in March 1814. These years were characterised by numerous army conspiracies, and by the impotence and instability of the Spanish Government. From 1814 to 1819, 24 ministries succeeded one another.

For the *dynastic war of 1833-40* see Note 140. p. 107

147 A reference to the proclamation issued by generals O'Donnell and Dulce on July 1, 1854 after the mutiny of the Madrid garrison on June 28 with the aim of overthrowing San Luis' ministry and seizing power. On July 7 in Manzanares, La Mancha, the proclamation, known as the Manzanares programme was adopted. It envisaged the preservation of the monarchy, but the removal of the Court camarilla, the observance of the laws, formation of a national militia and other points. By adopting this programme O'Donnell and his followers sought to win the support of the masses. p. 107

148 *"The Croats of Radetzky"*—a reference to the Croatian border regiments stationed in the Military Border Area, a special militarily organised region of the Austrian Empire along the frontier with Turkey. They were used by the Austrian command to suppress the national liberation movements in the provinces, in Northern Italy in particular.

By the *"Africans of Bonaparte"* Marx means the *Zouaves*—French colonial troops first formed in 1830. Originally they were composed of Algerians and French colonists and later of Frenchmen only, while Algerians were formed into special regiments of riflemen. They were notorious for their atrocities during the colonial wars in Algeria.

In November 1848 the troops commanded by Wrangel took part in the counter-revolutionary coup in Berlin and in the dissolution of the Prussian National Assembly. The troops included many men from Pomerania, Wrangel's homeland. p. 107

149 An allusion to the methods employed by Louis Bonaparte to win supporters while preparing the coup d'état of December 2, 1851. At the receptions and military reviews he held as President of the Republic at Satory and elsewhere, army officers and men were treated to sausages, cold meat and champagne (see Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 150, 151, 179 and 180). p. 107

150 The *Deists* recognise the idea of God as the rational creator of the universe, but deny God's interference in nature and social life. In 1624, in Paris, Edward Herbert of Cherbury composed a Deist profession of faith. p. 109

151 Marx dwelt on this subject in his letter to Engels of September 26, 1856 in the part which is devoted to the state of the European money market at the time (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 72). p. 110

152 The *Court of Chancery*—one of England's highest courts, a division of the High Court of Justice following the Judicature Act of 1873. It was presided over by the Lord Chancellor and dealt with matters relating to inheritance, observance of contracts, joint-stock companies and similar legal problems. It was notorious for red tape and procrastination. p. 112

153 The banquets in support of the electoral reform were held in France in July 1847-January 1848 on the eve of the 1848 revolution.

The *Sonderbund*—a separatist union formed by the seven economically backward Catholic cantons of Switzerland in 1843 to resist progressive bourgeois reforms and defend the privileges of the church and the Jesuits. The decree of the Swiss Diet of July 1847 on the dissolution of the Sonderbund served as a pretext for the latter to start hostilities against the other cantons early in November. On November 23, 1847, the Sonderbund army was defeated by federal forces.

The *United Diet*—an assembly of representatives from the eight Provincial Diets of Prussia based on the estate principle. It sanctioned new taxes and loans, discussed new Bills and had the right to petition the King.

On the *Spanish marriages* see Note 134.

By decision of the Congress of Vienna (1815), the duchies of *Schleswig* and *Holstein* were incorporated into the Kingdom of Denmark, even though the majority of the population in Holstein and in Southern Schleswig were Germans. Under the impact of the March 1848 revolution in Prussia, the national liberation movement among the German population of the duchies grew in strength, becoming radical and democratic and forming part of the struggle for the unification of Germany.

Prussia and other states of the German Confederation sent federal troops to the duchies. Fearing a popular outbreak and an intensification of the revolution, the Prussian Government sought an agreement with the Danish monarchy to the detriment of overall German interests. As a result, the duchies remained part of the Kingdom of Denmark. p. 114

154 The July revolution of 1830 in France greatly influenced the social and political life of Germany. Constitutions were proclaimed in Brunswick, Saxony, Hesse, Cassel and other German states. Like the "1830 Charter" in France, which was a compromise between the topmost bourgeoisie—the finance aristocracy—and the landed aristocracy, these constitutions were a compromise between the bourgeoisie on the one hand and the king and the nobility on the other. p. 116

155 In the spring of 1856 floods occurred in the valleys of the Rhône and the Loire. Napoleon III visited a number of the affected towns and villages in a boat and personally handed out money. He also directed a message to the Minister of Public Works recommending measures to prevent such calamities. p. 119

156 Rich gold deposits were discovered in California in 1848 and Australia in 1851. Apart from their great importance for the commercial and industrial development of the European and American countries, these discoveries whipped up stock-exchange speculation there. p. 120

157 *"The Second Congress of Paris"* is Marx's scathing name for the meeting of European countries which was being prepared in Paris. It took place in March 1857 and was devoted to the peaceful settlement of the so-called Neuchâtel conflict between Prussia and Switzerland.

In September 1856 an uprising by adherents of the King of Prussia flared up in Neuchâtel. The insurgents were arrested by the Swiss troops. In answer to the King's demand to release the prisoners Switzerland suggested that the King should give up his rights to Neuchâtel. It was only under French pressure that Prussia was forced to officially renounce her claims in May 1857.

p. 122

158 The *Naples question* was discussed at the Congress of Paris (1856) at the request of Piedmont's representatives, who drew the attention of the Congress to the policy of terror in the Kingdom of Naples (the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies) (see Note 6). Fearing that this policy might set off a revolutionary explosion, France and England demanded in May 1856 that King Ferdinand II of Naples should give up this policy. Convinced that Austria would support him, Ferdinand II refused to comply with the demand. After this, in October 1856, diplomatic relations with France and England were broken off. The governments of France and England put their naval squadrons in the Mediterranean on alert. However, owing to differences between these countries the Neapolitan expedition did not take place. p. 122

159 On the *Neapolitan question* see Note 158.

*The Danubian question* was one of the central issues at the Congress of Paris (1856). The point of discussion was the status of the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. All participants in the Congress guaranteed them autonomy within the Ottoman Empire. In view of the growing social movement in the principalities for unification into a single state the Congress adopted a decision to hold a referendum on this issue. It was decided to convene a special conference to finally determine the status and rights of the Danubian principalities. Marx means here complicated diplomatic struggle around that issue during preparations of the conference which was convened in 1858.

The *Bessarabian question* was directly connected with that of the Danubian principalities at the Congress of Paris (1856). Under the Paris treaty of March 30, 1856, part of the Bessarabian lands that had formerly belonged to Russia were ceded to Moldavia which was still under Turkey's protectorate.

On the new *Congress of Paris* see Note 157. p. 124

160 See Note 156. p. 124

161 Marx is referring to the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in America which lasted from 1810 to 1826. As a result of this war Spain lost Mexico and the South-American colonies which became independent republics.

p. 125

162 The *British East India Company* was founded at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It had the monopoly of trade with the East Indies and played a decisive part in establishing the British colonial empire.

The East India Company's trade monopoly was abolished in 1813. The only exception was trade with China, the main articles of which were opium and tea. The Company was finally liquidated in 1858, during the popular Indian uprising of 1857-59. Marx gave a detailed description of the company in his article "The East India Company—Its History and Results" (see present edition, Vol. 12). p. 126

163 In 1850 popular unrest spread over a number of southern provinces in China and developed into a powerful peasant war. The insurgents established a state of their own over a considerable part of Chinese territory. It was called the Celestial Empire (Taiping Tankuo, hence the name of the movement—the Taiping uprising). The leaders put forward a utopian programme calling for

the existing social order to be transformed into a militarised patriarchal system based on the egalitarian principle. The movement, which was also anti-colonial in character, was weakened by internal strife and the formation of its own aristocracy in the Taiping state. It was dealt a crushing blow by the armed intervention of Britain and France. The Taiping uprising was put down in 1864. p. 126

164 Marx is referring to the manifestoes issued by Mazzini during the democratic popular movement for the liberation and unification of Italy. They had no decisive influence on the liberation struggle of the Italian people. Mazzini counted on the people as the main force of the national liberation struggle, but he did not take into account the specific interests of the Italian peasants who formed the bulk of the country's population. The conspiracies and uprisings instigated by him in the 1830s-50s were a failure because he was divorced from the masses and chose the moment for action on the impulse. Marx and Engels repeatedly criticised Mazzini's manifestoes for their vagueness, contradictoriness and bourgeois limitations (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 528-32). p. 129

165 The additional 45-centime tax for every franc of all direct taxes was introduced by the French Provisional Government on March 16, 1848, and it became a heavy burden, above all for the peasants who made up the majority of France's population. This measure caused the peasant masses to turn away from the revolution and to vote for Louis Napoleon Bonaparte at the presidential elections on December 10, 1848. p. 134

166 The *national workshops (ateliers)* were instituted by the Provisional Government immediately after the February revolution of 1848. By this means the government sought to discredit Louis Blanc's ideas on the "Organisation of Labour" in the eyes of the workers and, at the same time, to utilise those employed in the national workshops, organised on military lines, against the revolutionary proletariat. Revolutionary ideas, however, continued to gain ground in the national workshops. The government took steps to reduce the number of workers employed in them, to send a large number off to public works in the province and, finally, to liquidate the workshops. The government's actions precipitated a proletarian uprising in Paris in June 1848. After its suppression, the Cavaignac Government issued a decree on July 3 disbanding the national workshops.

For an assessment of the national workshops see Karl Marx, *The Class Struggles in France. 1848 to 1850* (present edition, Vol. 10, p. 63). p. 134

167 Presumably a reference to the events in Paris connected with the funeral of the well-known French sculptor David d'Angers, a republican. Many republican-minded students took part in the funeral procession in January 1856. Very popular among them was an anti-Bonapartist song ascribed to Béranger, who was also among the mourners and was greeted by the students with great enthusiasm. p. 135

168 Next comes this paragraph, inserted by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune:* "Of one thing, too, we in America may be perfectly assured; and that is, that when the downfall of this vast structure of swindling comes we shall go with it. We boast of our prosperity, but it is hollow. We are mere colonists and dependents of Europe. Let Napoleon tumble, and the event will be deeply felt not only in the coffers of the Wall-street gambler, but still more in the workshop and the home of the American laboring man." p. 138

169 When working on this article, Marx made a rough draft, "Venice", which is extant in his Notebook of excerpts for November 1854-beginning of 1857. It is published in this volume, in the section "From the Preparatory Materials", pp. 615-18.

The editors have no sources used by Marx for the article. p. 139

170 The *Treaty of Campo-Formio,* signed on October 17, 1797, concluded the victorious war of the French Republic against Austria, a member-country of the first anti-French coalition. Under the treaty, a large part of the Venetian Republic, including Venice, and also Istria and Dalmatia, were given to Austria in exchange for concessions made to France on the Rhine frontier.

The *Peace of Lunéville* of 1801 between France and Austria ended the war between France and the second coalition. It confirmed the provisions of the Treaty of Campo-Formio. p. 139

171 Under the *Treaty of Pressburg* concluded on December 26, 1805 between France and Austria, the latter acknowledged France's seizure of part of Italian territory (Piedmont, Genoa, Parma, Piacenza, etc.) and yielded to the Kingdom of Italy (i.e. to Napoleon I who became King of Italy) the Adriatic coast—the Venetian region, Istria and Dalmatia—keeping only Trieste.

Under the *Treaty of Vienna,* known under the name of Schönbrunn peace treaty concluded on October 14, 1809, between France and Austria, the latter ceded to France, Trieste, Craina, part of Carinthia and Croatia and also Istria. France undertook not to interfere with Austria's transit trade via Fiume. p. 139

172 The *Final (General) Act of the Congress of Vienna of June 9, 1815* annulled the Schönbrunn Peace Treaty (see Note 171). Austria acquired North-Eastern Italy (Lombardy and Venetia) and smaller Italian duchies. p. 139

173 The *Austrian Lloyd*—the name given by Marx to a maritime company founded in Trieste in 1833. Initially an insurance company, in 1836 the Austrian Lloyd became a steamship company entitled *Die Dampfschiffahrtsgesellschaft des Österreichisch-Ungarischen Lloyd.*

Many maritime insurance companies in Europe began to be named Lloyd's after Edward Lloyd, the owner of a coffee-house in London where the first English maritime insurance company was established in the late seventeenth century. p. 140

174 A reference to the *customs system* introduced by Napoleon I during the Continental Blockade of 1806-14. It included a series of strict prohibitions in customs policy and exceptionally high tariffs for colonial products imported to Europe, which was highly detrimental to trade in the Adriatic Sea's ports. p. 141

175 See Note 170. p. 146

176 See Note 171. p. 146

177 The *civil wars in Rome* reflected the class struggle between different groups in the slave-owning society in the second and first centuries B.C. They reached their peak in the 80s-40s B.C., particularly during Julius Caesar's struggle for dictatorship and in the epoch of the second triumvirate. They resulted in the substitution of an empire—a new political system—for the Roman Republic. p. 146

178 The *Uskoks* (Serbian: fugitives)—Balkan Slavs who fled to the Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic Sea following the seizure of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the

Turks in the second half of the fifteenth century. They waged a struggle against the Turks, making land and sea raids supported by local population. Their raids in the region of the Adriatic Sea also undermined Venice's maritime trade. p. 147

179 See Note 115. p. 147

180 See Note 171. p. 148

181 The *Battle of Austerlitz* on December 2 (November 20), 1805 between the Russian and Austrian forces (the third European coalition) and the French ended in a victory for Napoleon I. p. 148

182 The article is based on Marx's rough draft of an article which he entitled "Prussia ('The Military State')" and which is an annotated synopsis of A. F. Stein's *Preussisch-Brandenburgische Geschichte. Ein Handbuch zur Erinnerung und Belehrung.* p. 151

183 In the eighteenth century the Principality of Neuchâtel and Valangin (in German, Neuenburg and Vallendis) was under Prussian rule. In 1815 by decision of the Vienna Congress it was incorporated into Swiss Confederation as the 21st canton, while remaining a vassal of Prussia. In 1848 a republic was proclaimed in Neuchâtel. However, Prussia laid constant claim to Neuchâtel up to 1857, which led to a sharp conflict with Switzerland. p. 151

184 This refers to the so-called *Burgundian wars* (1474-77) waged by Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, against France.

The Principality of Neuchâtel, committed to Berne by an obligation (1406), sided with the Swiss Confederation, which was France's ally and which declared war on Charles the Bold. The troops of Charles the Bold were defeated by the Allied forces at Nancy on January 5, 1477 and he himself was killed in the battle. This led to the disintegration of the Duchy of Burgundy and the strengthening of the ties of Neuchâtel and Valangin with the Swiss Confederation. p. 152

185 Under the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna (1815) Prussia received what was known as Swedish Pomerania from Denmark. p. 153

186 The *Council of Constance* (1414-18) was convened to strengthen the weakened position of the Catholic Church. It condemned the teachings of John Wycliffe and Jan Hus and ended the schism in the Catholic Church by electing a new Pope. p. 155

187 The *Teutonic Order*—a German religious Order of Knights founded in 1190 during the Crusades. The Order seized vast possessions in Germany and other countries. These were administered by dignitaries known as commandores (or comthurs). In the thirteenth century, East Prussia fell under the rule of the Order after it was overrun and the local population exterminated. In 1237 the Order amalgamated with the Livonian Order, which also had its seat in the Baltic area. The Eastern possessions of the Order became a seat of aggression against Poland, Lithuania and the adjoining Russian principalities. After the defeat at Chudskoye Lake in 1242 and in the battle at Grünwald in 1410, the Order rapidly declined and was only able to maintain a small part of its former possessions. p. 155

188 The *Hussites*—the followers of Jan Hus, a preacher, thinker and the exponent of the Bohemian Reformation. They participated in the popular movement of 1419-37 against the Catholic Church, feudal exploitation and German

domination in Bohemia. There were two trends in the Hussite movement: a moderate (the Calixtines, or Utraquists) and a radical (the Taborites—see Note 189) trend. The Hussites built up a strong army which rebuffed five crusades organised against Bohemia by the Pope and the German Emperor Sigismund I. The movement was suppressed as a result of the burghers' and knights' compromise with Sigismund I. p. 155

189 The *Taborites* (so called from their camp in the town of Tabor, Bohemia)—a radical trend in the Hussite movement. They were the revolutionary, democratic wing of the Hussites, and their demands reflected the desire of the peasantry and the urban lower classes for an end to all feudal oppression and all manifestations of social and political arbitrariness. The Taborites were the core of the Hussite army. p. 155

190 A reference to the *League of Schmalkalden* (February 27, 1531), named after the town in Thuringia where it was formed, was a union of Protestant princes and a number of Imperial towns for the protection of the Reformation against the Catholic princes headed by Emperor Charles V. From 1546 to 1548 the League and the Emperor were engaged in a war which ended in the latter's victory and the disintegration of the League. p. 156

191 The *Thirty Years' War* (1618-48)—a European war in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the Catholic German princes, rallied under the banner of Catholicism, fought the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands and a number of Protestant German states. The rulers of Catholic France—rivals of the Habsburgs—supported the Protestant camp. Germany was the principal battle area and the main object of plunder and territorial claims. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) sealed the political dismemberment of Germany. p. 156

192 This refers to what is known as the *Peace of Prague,* a separate agreement concluded by the Elector of Saxony Johann Georg and the Emperor Ferdinand II of Habsburg on May 30, 1635. They were joined by the Elector of Brandenburg Georg Wilhelm and certain Protestant princes. Under this agreement the Elector of Saxony received Upper and Lower Łużica and part of Magdeburg's possessions.

The Protestant princes consolidated their hold on the lands which they had seized from the Church in the sixteenth century. p. 156

193 In 1611, the Polish Diet adopted a decision on the unification of the Duchy of Prussia with Brandenburg under Hohenzollern rule. This was done despite the opposition of a group of deputies who advocated Poland's rights to East Prussia. However, the Duchy of Prussia remained a territory held in fee by Poland. This decision was implemented in 1618 when the Elector of Brandenburg, Johann Sigismund, received the Duchy of Prussia in fee from the Polish King in exchange for his promise to take part in the war against Sweden. Under the Wielawa-Bydgoszcz Treaty of 1657 Poland finally renounced her supreme rights to the Duchy of Prussia in favour of Brandenburg. p. 156

194 On the *War of the Spanish Succession* (1701-14) see Note 51.

The Elector of Brandenburg, Friedrich III, having secured the support of the Polish nobility by bribery, and that of Emperor Leopold I by sending him Brandenburg troops for his war in Spain, announced, on January 18, 1701, the establishment of the Kingdom of Prussia and proclaimed himself King Frederick I. p. 157

195 On February 1, 1720, Prussia, a participant in the Northern War on Russia's side, concluded a peace treaty with Sweden under which it received Eastern Pomerania with the town of Stettin.

The three partitions of Poland (by Austria, Prussia and Russia) took place in 1772, 1793 and 1795.

Polish lands, including Pomorze, Great Poland, and part of Mazovia with Warsaw, went over to Prussia; Russia gained Lithuanian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian territories; Austria received the Western Ukraine and part of Smaller Poland. As a result of the third partition, Poland ceased to exist as a state.

Under the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna signed on June 9, 1815 Prussia gained Northern Saxony (almost half of Saxony's territory), Torn and Poznan, the Rhine Province and the greater part of Westphalia. p. 157

196 This refers to the incident which sparked off the Second Opium War: the seizure by the Chinese authorities of the British lorcha *Arrow* carrying contraband opium in Canton in 1856. The British Government retaliated by sending a corps of 5,000 men to China under the command of Lord Elgin. Canton was brutally bombarded in October-November 1856 by the fleet commanded by Admiral Seymour and on December 29, 1857 it was captured by the British. p. 158

197 This refers to Article 9 of the Anglo-Chinese treaty of October 8, 1843 signed to supplement the Treaty of Nanking.

The *Treaty of Nanking,* concluded between Britain and China in 1842, was the first of a series of unequal treaties imposed by the Western powers on China, reducing it to the status of a semi-colony. The Nanking Treaty made China open five of its ports to British commerce—Canton, Shanghai, Amoy, Ningpo and Fu-chou, cede the Island of Hongkong to Britain "in perpetuity" and pay a large indemnity. It introduced import and export tariffs advantageous to Britain.

The supplementary protocol of 1843 concerning the general rules for trading in the five open ports contained articles (2, 7 and 13) envisaging cooperation between the British and Chinese authorities in inspecting the goods brought to the ports and in organising their work. According to its Article 9 the Chinese who cooperated with the British were not subject to China's jurisdiction. p. 158

198 According to Article 2 of the Treaty of Nanking of 1842 (see Note 197), British subjects with their families and their property were allowed to stay in Canton "to achieve their commercial aims". However, because of resistance on the part of the Chinese population, access to Canton was postponed, first, under the agreement of 1846 for indefinite time; then, in 1847, for two more years. p. 161

199 See Note 197. p. 162

200 In the 1850s William Walker, an American adventurer, made several expeditions to Central America actually pursuing expansionist aims. In 1855, he captured Granada, the capital of Nicaragua, and soon proclaimed himself president. He tried to establish a dictatorship and restore slavery. During an expedition to Honduras in the late 1850s, Walker was taken prisoner and shot in 1860. p. 162

201 As a pretext for the First Opium War (1839-42), Britain used the confiscation by the Chinese authorities in Canton of opium stocks owned by foreign merchants. p. 163

202 Here Marx is referring to the Taipings (see Note 163) who by the beginning of 1857 had established an Empire in the central part of China, its most fertile and rich regions along the middle reaches of the Yangtze. p. 163

203 In the *New-York Daily Tribune* this is followed by a note from the editors: "With regard to the reported destruction of a Chinese fort by the American frigate *Portsmouth,* we are not yet sufficiently informed to express a decided opinion." p. 163

204 Engels wrote this article for the *New-York Daily Tribune* early in January 1857 at Marx's request. In his letter to Engels of January 10, Marx informed him of the receipt of the article (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 89).

The article was prompted by the Neuchâtel conflict (see Note 157) and the plans for the invasion of Switzerland by Prussian troops, widely discussed in the press. It consisted of two parts, the first being published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on January 27, 1857. The editors of the *Tribune* decided not to print the second part, and Charles Dana informed Marx of this in a letter of March 5, 1857, because on January 16, 1857 the Swiss government made concessions to Prussia by releasing the arrested monarchists. "The miserable collapse of Switzerland's braggadocio"—such was Marx's appraisal of the latest events of the Neuchâtel conflict in his letter to Engels of January 20 (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 94).

In the present edition the first part of the article is reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune* collated with an extant excerpt of the rough manuscript. The most important passages in the manuscript, which were omitted in the printed text, are given in the footnotes. The second part of the article is published according to the manuscript copied by Marx. p. 164

205 In the *Battle of Sempach* (Canton of Lucerne) on July 9, 1386 the Swiss defeated the Austrian troops of Prince Leopold III.

The *Battle of Morgarten* between Swiss volunteers and the troops of Leopold of Habsburg on November 15, 1315 ended in victory for the volunteers.

At *Murten* (Canton of Freiburg) on June 22, 1476 and at *Granson* (Canton Vaud) on March 2, 1476, the Swiss defeated the troops of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. p. 164

206 Engels is referring here to the wars of the League of Three Forest Cantons against the Habsburgs. As a result of them a Swiss Confederation consisting of eight lands was set up in 1389; the independence of Switzerland was recognised in 1499.

On the *Burgundian wars* see Note 184. p. 167

207 The troops of the French Directory entered Switzerland in the spring of 1798 to support the economically advanced cantons which were for the abolition of the feudal relations in the country. On April 12, 1798 a Helvetian Republic was proclaimed in Switzerland, and a constitution modelled on the French constitution of 1795 was adopted. The measures introduced by the new constitution favoured the economically advanced cantons and provoked stubborn resistance from the agrarian cantons in the central and eastern parts of the country. By the insurrections of the old forest cantons Engels means their actions against the French in April, May and August 1798. The Helvetian Republic became fully dependent on France with the conclusion of a defensive-offensive union, which led to the republic's participation in the war against the Second Coalition on France's side. The coalition was formed in

1798 and included Austria, England, the Kingdom of Naples, Russia, Turkey and other countries. p. 168

208 During the war of the Second Coalition (see Note 207) against France, the Russian and Austrian forces under the command of Alexander Suvorov freed almost the whole of Northern Italy from the French in the spring and summer of 1799. At the insistence of the Austrian Government Suvorov's army was then sent to Switzerland to link up with the Russian corps of Rimsky-Korsakov, which was being pressed by the forces of the French General Masséna. After the Russian army had heroically fought its way across the Saint Gotthard and several other mountain passes it was encircled by superior French forces, which had defeated Korsakov's corps at Zurich on September 25. Under extremely hard conditions Suvorov's troops succeeded in making their way through a number of Alpine mountain passes and on October 12 reached the upper Rhine. In his work *Po and Rhine* Engels wrote: "This passage was the most impressive of all Alpine crossings in modern times" (see present edition, Vol. 16, p. 222). p. 169

209 In 1830 the French Government launched a colonial war in Algeria. The Algerian people put up a stubborn resistance to the colonialists; it took the French 40 years to turn Algeria into their colony. p. 170

210 The *Tyrolese insurrection*—the insurrection of the Tyrol peasants which broke out in April 1809 and was headed by Andreas Hofer. It was directed against the French occupants and the Bavarian authorities. Under the Treaty of Pressburg of 1805 Tyrol was annexed from Austria to Bavaria by Napoleon I. The Austrian Government used the growing discontent of the Tyrolese with the new order in its own interests and supported the insurrection which at its initial stage was successful. After the Treaty of Schönbrunn (1809) by which Austria recognised the annexation of Tyrol to Bavaria, Napoleon I moved considerable forces against the Tyrolese peasants. The insurrection was suppressed in 1810.

On the *Spanish guerrilla war* see Note 142.

On the *Carlist Basque insurrection* see Note 140. p. 171

211 A reference to the war waged by the peoples of the North Caucasus (Adyghei, Chechens, Avars, Lezghins, etc.) against the Tsarist government. In the 1820s the liberation struggle of these peoples against the Tsarist colonialists and the arbitrary rule of the local feudal lords was headed by Shamyl, who was proclaimed Imam of Daghestan in 1834. The movement reached its peak in the 1840s and was suppressed in 1859. p. 171

212 Engels is referring to the wars, which lasted from 1792 to 1815, between revolutionary and Napoleonic France and the coalitions of European states. p. 173

213 The *Landsturm*—an armed force, a second-rate militia. It was organised in Tyrol in 1809. In the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries the *Landsturm* existed in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Holland, Switzerland and Sweden. It was called out in the event of a national emergency. In Switzerland all citizens from seventeen to fifty years of age outside the regular army or the *Landwehr* were enrolled in it. p. 175

214 This article was compiled by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* from Marx's two articles on the Anglo-Persian war, as can be seen from Charles Dana's letter of March 5, 1857. He wrote: "Two articles on Persia were

condensed into one and published in that form." The rough copies of both articles are extant. The heading of the article was taken from them. p. 177

215 The *Sikhs*—a religious sect which appeared in the Punjab (North-West India) in the sixteenth century. Their teaching on the equality of people was used by the peasants who fought against the Hindu feudal lords and the Afghan invaders at the end of the seventeenth century. Subsequently a local aristocracy emerged among the Sikhs and its representatives ruled the Sikh state, which in the early nineteenth century included the Punjab and some border regions. In 1845-46 and 1848-49 Britain waged aggressive wars against the Sikhs which ended with the subjugation of the Punjab. The conquest of the Punjab completed the British colonisation of India. p. 177

216 *Sunnites (Sunni)* and *Shiites (Shiahs)*—members of the two main Islamic branches which appeared in the seventh century as a result of conflicts between the successors of Mohammed, founder of Islam.

The Shiites differ from the Sunnites in their views on the provenance of supreme power. They believe that the Caliph, as a successor of Mohammed, should not be elected by people. At their inception the Shiites, being a political party, defended the rights of Ali, Mohammed's son-in-law, and his descendants from the Prophet's daughter, to spiritual and secular guidance in the Moslem world. With the Sunnites the election of the Caliph rests on the "consent of the whole community". Subsequently, the rites and laws of the Shiites too became slightly different from those of the Sunnites. p. 178

217 The *Treaty of Ghulistan,* which ended the Russo-Persian war of 1804-13, was signed on October 24 (November 5), 1813. Under this treaty the Russian Empire acquired Daghestan, Georgia with Shuragel province, Imeretia, Guria, Mingrelia and Abkhazia, and also the khanates of Karabakh, Ganja, Sheki, Shirvan, Derbent, Kuba, Baku and Talyshin. Russia also received the exclusive right to have a fleet in the Caspian Sea. In her turn Russia undertook to support the heir to the Persian throne chosen by the Shah. This treaty was in force until 1828, when the Turkmanchai Treaty between Russia and Persia was concluded. p. 178

218 The *Treaty of Turkmanchai,* which ended the Russo-Persian war of 1826-28, was signed on February 22, 1828. Under this treaty Russia received the territories of the Erivan and Nakhichevan khanates (Eastern Armenia), and Russia's exclusive right to have a fleet in the Caspian Sea was confirmed. Persia was to pay war indemnities (see also K. Marx, *Lord Palmerston,* present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 355-56). p. 178

219 After the death of Abbas Mirza, the heir to the Shah of Persia, in October 1833 his son, Mohammed Mirza, who had been appointed the governor of Azerbaidjan was proclaimed his successor. After the death of Mohammed Mirza's grandfather, Fath Ali Shah, in October 1834 several pretenders to the throne appeared. Supported by Russia and England, Mohammed Mirza became Shah of Persia at the beginning of 1835. With a view to consolidating their position in Persia the English sent a big military mission, which stayed in Persia till 1838, and a large shipment of arms. The British officer H. Lindsay Bethune commanded the Shah's troops for some time. p. 178

220 Marx is referring to Article 9 of the Definitive Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between Great Britain and Persia, signed on November 25, 1814. p. 179

221 This was the first Anglo-Afghan war (1838-42) which began with the invasion of Afghanistan by British occupation troops in Sind. The immediate cause was Persia's attack of Herat in the autumn of 1837; the siege of it lasted till August 15, 1838. The invasion was carried out under the pretext of rendering assistance to the pretender, Emir Dost Mohammed's brother Shuja. However, a popular uprising in November 1841 against the British invaders and their puppet Shuja compelled the British, who sustained a severe defeat, to withdraw. p. 180

222 This unfinished work by Marx is devoted to the criticism of Bruno Bauer's views on foreign policy and especially his view of the role of Tsarist Russia in the destinies of European peoples. Bruno Bauer, a German idealist philosopher, was a bourgeois radical in politics. In 1854, during the Crimean war of 1853-56, he published several pamphlets in which he analysed the events of the war and the preceding history of the foreign policy of the European states. He came to the conclusion that the western powers were a failure, and that Russia was becoming the arbiter in European affairs. Back in 1855 Marx and Engels intended to come out against "its [Critical Criticism's] arrogant stupidity", i.e. against Bruno Bauer (see present edition, Vol. 39, p. 535). In the *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* Marx, alluding to Bauer (this volume, p. 62 and Note 79), expressed his intention of analysing his views. Presumably, this manuscript which he wrote in January 1857 was an attempt to realise his plan. In it Marx criticised in the main Bauer's two pamphlets *La Russie et l'Angleterre* (which was published in Scharlottenburg in June 1854 and was a translation from the German edition *Russland und England*) and *Die jetzige Stellung Russlands* (also published in Scharlottenburg in October 1854).

This manuscript opens Marx's Notebook of excerpts for 1857 marked on the first page: "1. Heft A."; on the second page: "Spada. Russian Ephémérides" (this refers to Spada, *Ephémérides russes politiques, littéraires, historiques et nécrologiques ... jusqu'en 1816,* St. Petersburg, 1816) and the date "1857 (Januar)". The text of the manuscript begins on the third page. It contains six pages altogether. The title of the manuscript is preceded by figure 1).

Some passages deleted in the manuscript are given in the footnotes. The manuscript was first published in Russian, in the magazine *Letopisi marksizma,* Vol. VI, 1928. p. 181

223 *Criticism*—an ironic name given to Bruno Bauer by Marx and Engels in the first half of the 1840s (see their joint work *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism,* present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 3-211). p. 181

224 A reference to the coup d'état of December 2, 1851 in France carried out by Louis Bonaparte, to the introduction of the reactionary constitution by Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria in March 1849, and to the constitution imposed by King Frederick William IV of Prussia on December 5, 1848, simultaneously with the publication of the order dissolving the Prussian National Assembly. p. 182

225 Marx is referring to the actions of the Russian troops on the Danube in May-September 1854 and primarily to the raising of the siege of Silistria (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 234-57, 276-81, 334-39, etc.). p. 182

226 This refers to the following proposition: "Europe has apportioned itself roles in the constitutional drama: the West has assumed the role of stalwart

opposition; to Russia has fallen the role of an energetic government with might." It was first used by Bauer in his *La Russie et l'Angleterre.* It also opens his pamphlet *Die jetzige Stellung Russlands.* The words "quoted above" were inserted by Marx. p. 182

227 Marx gave a detailed criticism of Proudhon's theory of "People's Bank" (Banque du Peuple) and "labour money" in his *Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58* (the first version of *Capital*), Chapter on Money (see present edition, Vol. 28). p. 185

228 In 1774 Baron A. R. J. Turgot, who became controller general of finances, introduced free trade in corn and flour. This measure and his subsequent reforms roused strong opposition on the part of the Court, high priesthood, nobility and officialdom. In 1776 Louis XVI signed his resignation.

The *Anti-Corn Law League* was founded in 1838 by the Manchester textile manufacturers and free traders Richard Cobden and John Bright. It campaigned for the repeal of the high import tariffs on corn established in 1815 and for unrestricted free trade. The League ceased to exist after the repeal of the Corn Laws (see Note 287) in 1846. p. 185

229 A reference to the Crimean war, 1853-56. p. 185

230 The Reform Bill of 1831 (passed as a law in 1832) was directed against the political monopoly of the landed and finance aristocracy. It liquidated some "rotten boroughs" (see Note 243) and admitted the industrial bourgeoisie to Parliament. In the early 1850s a movement for a new electoral reform started in England. In February 1852, Russell declared in Parliament that he intended to present a new Reform Bill. However, the Bill was not discussed. Engels analyses this Bill in his article "England" (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 205-09). p. 186

231 *Influence étrangère* (foreign influence)—an allusion to David Urquhart, who regarded Palmerston as a direct agent of the Tsarist Government. p. 186

232 The version that the British diplomat Robert Adair, a confidential agent of the leader of the opposition Charles James Fox, was sent to St. Petersburg so as to disrupt William Pitt's plans (see Note 233) was put forward in G. Tomline's *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honorable William Pitt,* in 3 volumes, London, 1821. p. 187

233 Disturbed by Russia's victories in the Russo-Turkish war of 1787-91, William Pitt (the Younger) tried to wreck the Jassy Peace Treaty. Having employed the British press and entered into relations with Fox, the Russian diplomats managed to avert the rupture of diplomatic relations with Britain. Fox made a speech in the House of Commons severely criticising Pitt's policy. Having won a diplomatic victory over Pitt, Catherine II ordered a bust of Fox to be bought for her in London and installed in her palace in Tsarskoye Selo, between the statues of Demosthenes and Cicero. When writing about the "illicit liaison" Marx presumably meant these circumstances. p. 187

234 An allusion to the fact that the Marquis of Carmarthen paid £15,000 to Peter I for the monopoly of the tobacco trade in Russia. p. 187

235 Presumably Marx has in mind here the documents used by him in *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* (see this volume, pp. 27-37). p. 187

236 The *Treaty of Utrecht of 1713* was one of the peace treaties concluded between

France and Spain, on the one hand, and the countries of the anti-French coalition (England, Holland, Portugal, Prussia and the Austrian Habsburgs) on the other, which ended the War of the Spanish Succession, begun in 1701 (see notes 51 and 71). Under the terms of the 1713 treaty, the Spanish throne was retained by Philip V, Louis XIV's grandson; the King of France, however, was to give up his plans to unite the French and Spanish monarchies and renounce his claims and those of his Bourbon heirs to the Spanish crown. Several French and Spanish colonies in the West Indies and North America, as well as Gibraltar, were ceded to England.

In 1716 England and France signed a secret treaty in Hanover, under which England became a guarantor country: in case Louis XV died childless, the French crown remained with the Orleans dynasty. For England the treaty was signed by Stanhope, George I's Foreign Secretary of State, and for France by Cardinal Dubois. This treaty served as a basis for the Triple Alliance between England, France, and Holland, concluded in 1717; in 1718 Austria joined it (in this way, the Quadruple Alliance was formed). Marx speaks about these events below in the text. p. 187

237 A reference to a convention signed by France, England, Spain and Portugal in London on April 22, 1834. It dealt with the problems concerning the Peninsula. p. 187

238 A reference to a convention signed by England, Russia, Austria and Prussia on July 15, 1840 on the help to the Sultan of Turkey against the Egyptian pasha Mohammed-Ali, who was supported by France. p. 187

239 The *"Captain of Eton"*—honorary title received by the students at Eton College for participating in political disputes conducted in the form of parliamentary debates. Canning was awarded this title on graduating from the college in 1788. p. 188

240 On December 12, 1826 Canning made a speech in the House of Commons in connection with the dispatch of British troops to Portugal where the civil war was waged at that time (the so-called Miguelist wars of 1823-34). He said: "The situation of England amidst the struggle of political opinions which agitates, more or less sensibly, different countries of the world, may be compared to that of the Ruler of the Winds, as described by the poet:—

> "'Celsa sedet Aeolus arce,
> Sceptra tenens; mollitque animus et temperat iras;
> Ni faciat, maria ac terras caelumque profundum
> Quippe ferant rapidi secum, verrantque per auras.'"
> (Virgil, *Aeneid,* I, 55-59).

> [The tyrant Aeolus,
> from his airy throne,
> With power imperial
> curbs the struggling winds,
> And sounding tempests in
> dark prisons binds.
> (Dryden's translation)]

p. 188

241 This refers to the anti-French policy of the British Prime Minister William Pitt (Senior), who had much to do with unleashing the Seven Years' War (1756-63),

which enabled England to capture almost all the French possessions in India and North America. p. 188

242 The independence of the Spanish colonies in America (except for Cuba and Puerto Rico) was proclaimed in 1826; the independence of the Portuguese colony—Brazil—was obtained in 1822 as a result of the war of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in 1810-26. p. 188

243 *Rotten boroughs* (the name current in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) were sparsely populated or depopulated towns and villages which had enjoyed the right to send representatives to Parliament since the Middle Ages. The Reform Acts of 1832 (see notes 230 and 292), 1867 and 1884 deprived the rotten boroughs of their privileges. p. 188

244 See Note 54. p. 189

245 The German *"Stämme"* used by Marx has been translated as "population" here, because the term *"Stamm"* had a wider range of meanings in the 1840s and 1850s than it has now. It denoted an historical community of people descended from a common ancestor. p. 191

246 The Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29 was concluded by signing the Treaty of Adrianople in September 1829. It confirmed the autonomy of Serbia and secured the autonomy of the Danubian principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia). Their rights were to be guaranteed by Russia. Under the terms of the treaty the Organic Regulations which determined their socio-political organisation were introduced in the Danubian principalities in 1831-32. For Marx's estimation of these Regulations see also *Capital,* Vol. I (present edition, Vol. 35, Chapter X, Section 2). p. 191

247 Marx is referring to the siege of Enos on the Aegean Sea by the Russians during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29. Enos was taken by General Sivers' detachment on August 26, 1829. p. 192

248 The quotation from Lieven's dispatch cited by Bauer in his *La Russie et l'Angleterre* (p. 40) reads as follows: "It is in our camp that peace must be concluded; and it is only after its conclusion that Europe must know its conditions; the protests would be belated then and one must be patiently content with what could not be prevented." p. 192

249 On November 25, 1836 a Russian man-of-war captured the British merchant ship *Vixen* in the bay of Sujuk-Kale (the Caucasian coast of the Black Sea). p. 193

250 On the policy of the Frankfurt National Assembly concerning the nationalities question see Marx's and Engels' articles for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 109-10, 337-81). p. 193

251 This article was written by Engels on Marx's request, made by him in the letter of January 23, 1857: "I should be grateful if you should let me have by Tuesday ... a military article on *Persia*" (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 98). There is no evidence that the article was sent on the following Tuesday, January 27. However, it must have been sent not later than February 6, because after this date Marx temporarily stopped sending articles to the *Tribune*; this can be seen from his letter to Engels of February 6, 1857 (present edition, Vol. 40, p. 99). p. 194

252 The object of the Anglo-Persian war of 1856-57 was to establish British influence in Persia, pave the way for further colonial expansion in the Middle

East and Central Asia and prevent the Shah of Persia from establishing his power over the independent principality of Herat. When Persian troops occupied Herat in October 1856, Britain used this as a pretext to open hostilities. The war took an unfavourable turn for Persia. However, the national liberation uprising that flared up in India in 1857 and continued up to 1859 compelled Britain to conclude a peace treaty with Persia in all haste. Under the terms of the treaty, signed in Paris in March 1857, Persia repudiated her claims to Herat, which, in 1863, was incorporated into the possessions of the Afghan Emir. p. 194

253 See Note 218. p. 196

254 The Khanate of Khiva acknowledged its dependence on Russia only as a result of the treaty signed by Russia and Khiva on August 12, 1873. Between 1853 and 1857 V. A. Perovsky, Military Governor of Orenburg, erected a number of fortifications on the Syr-Darya River. p. 196

255 The Russian expedition to the Khanate of Khiva in November 1839 was undertaken under General Perovsky. His 5,000-strong detachment, with artillery and a food convoy, proved unprepared for a winter march through the barren steppes and lost half its men through epidemics. Perovsky failed to reach Khiva and was forced to return to Orenburg. p. 197

256 At the *Battle of Inkermann* on November 5, 1854, during the Crimean war of 1853-56, the Anglo-French forces defeated the Russian army. Engels described the battle in detail in his article "The Battle of Inkermann" (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 528-35).

*Sepoys*—mercenary troops in the British-Indian army recruited from the Indian population and serving under British officers. They were used by the British to subjugate India and to fight the wars of conquest against Afghanistan, Burma and other neighbouring states. p. 198

257 In Marx's Notebook for 1857, in his entry for February 20, this article is entitled "The Budget of Lewis". The rough drafts which are extant consist of two parts: "The Budget of Sir G. Lewis" and "Direct and Indirect Taxation". p. 200

258 The *Free Traders* advocated removal of protective tariffs and non-intervention by the government in economic life. They were supporters of the *Manchester School*—a trend in economic thinking which reflected the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. The centre of the Free Traders' agitation was Manchester, where the movement was headed by two textile manufacturers, Richard Cobden and John Bright, who founded the Anti-Corn Law League in 1838 (see Note 228). In the 1840s and 1850s the Free Traders were a separate political group, which later formed the Left wing of the Liberal Party. p. 201

259 This refers to the peace treaty signed in Paris in March 1856 after the end of the Crimean war. p. 202

260 A reference to Aberdeen's coalition ministry of 1852-55. The "Cabinet of All the Talents" included Whigs, Peelites (see Note 262) and representatives of the Irish faction in the British Parliament. p. 203

261 A reference to an intensive bombardment of Canton by the British in October-November 1856, which sparked off the Anglo-Franco-Chinese war of 1856-60 (known as the Second Opium War). p. 204

262 The *Peelites*—adherents of Robert Peel, who favoured concessions to the trading and industrial bourgeoisie in the sphere of economics and the continued political supremacy of the big landowners and financial magnates. In 1846 Peel secured the repeal of the Corn Laws in the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie; this aroused great discontent among the Protectionist Tories and led to a split in the Tory Party and the formation of an independent group by the Peelites. After Peel's death in 1850, the Peelites had no definite programme. At the end of the 1850s and the beginning of the 1860s they joined the Liberal Party, which was then being formed.

In February 1852 the Peelites seconded Palmerston's amendment to the militia Bill, which led to the resignation of Lord Russell's Government. In December of that year they opposed the budget suggested by Derby. Derby's cabinet was also forced to resign. In February 1855, Aberdeen's Ministry also fell. The Peelites helped Palmerston come to power by agreeing to enter his cabinet. However, when their leaders, William Gladstone, Sidney Herbert and James Graham, resigned shortly afterwards, Palmerston immediately replaced them by Whig representatives. p. 204

263 See Note 158. p. 205

264 The *workhouses*—public institutions for the maintenance of paupers—first appeared in England in the seventeenth century. By the Poor Law of 1834 they were the only form of relief for the able-bodied poor. In the workhouses with a prison-like regime the workers were engaged in unproductive, monotonous and exhausting labour. The people called these workhouses "Bastilles for the poor". p. 206

265 In Marx's Notebook for 1857 there is an entry about this article on February 26: "Chinese debates". The drafts of the first part of the article are in the Notebook of excerpts for 1857. The most important divergences are given in the footnotes. p. 207

266 See Note 196. p. 207

267 See Note 261. p. 208

268 See Note 197. p. 208

269 The *greatest happiness of the greatest number*—the principal tenet of the theory of Jeremy Bentham, the father of the English philosophy of utilitarianism. p. 209

270 The *Peace Society*—a pacifist organisation founded by the Quakers (see Note 310) in London in 1816. The society was actively supported by the Free Traders, who thought that in conditions of peace free trade would enable England to make full use of her industrial superiority and thus gain economic and political supremacy. The society had branches in other towns. p. 209

271 The reference is to the campaign for a second electoral reform in England in the 1850s. Its aim was to extend suffrage and finally abolish the "rotten boroughs" (see Note 243). Palmerston was against the reform. p. 212

272 See Note 20. p. 213

273 See Note 260. p. 213

274 See Note 259. p. 214

275 Marx has in mind the unsuccessful attack of the British troops on the Big

Redan (Bastion No. 3 of Sevastopol's defences) on June 6 (18) and August 27 (September 8), 1855.

Marx gave a detailed account of the battle in his report "The Mishap of June 18.—Reinforcements" and Engels described it in his articles "From Sevastopol", "The Late Repulse of the Allies", "The Fall of Sevastopol" and "The Great Event of the War" (see present edition, Vol. 14, pp. 297-301, 313-19, 328-32, 519-23 and 546-52).

Assisted by the British, the Turks had turned Kars into a bridgehead for the invasion of Transcaucasia. The successful operations by the Russian forces against the Turks in the Caucasian theatre of the Crimean war resulted in the capture of Kars on November 28, 1855 and this accelerated the conclusion of peace. p. 214

276 On the *Treaty of Paris* see Note 259.

By the "misunderstandings with the United States" Marx means the conflict that arose in 1855 because the US Government supported the American adventurer William Walker (see Note 200) who proclaimed himself President of Nicaragua. This was done with the aim of counteracting Britain in her aspirations to entrench herself on the Mosquito Coast in Central America. The conflict was settled in October 1856, when the US Government censured Walker's actions and Britain gave up her territorial claims.

On the *expedition to Naples* see Note 158.

*Ostensible squabbles with Bonaparte*—a reference to disagreements between England and France which arose after the Paris Congress of 1856. The rapprochement between France and Russia evident during the Congress prevented England from achieving her aims in the Crimean war. However, these disagreements had no serious consequences.

On *Persian invasion* see Note 252.

On the *Chinese massacres* see Note 261. p. 214

277 On the *Peelites* see Note 262.

On the *Manchester men* see Note 258. p. 214

278 *Old Bailey*—the London Central Criminal Court, so called because it stands in the ancient bailey of the city wall. p. 214

279 In June 1844 the Bandiera brothers, who were members of a conspiratorial organisation, landed on the Calabrian coast at the head of a small detachment of Italian patriots with the intention of sparking off an insurrection against the Bourbons of Naples and the Austrian rule. But the members of the expedition were betrayed by one of their number and taken prisoner; the Bandiera brothers were executed.

On the orders of Sir James Graham, then British Home Secretary, the letters of Italian emigrants were opened and their contents made known to the Austrian Government, which thus obtained information about the intended landing. p. 216

280 In Marx's Notebook for 1857 this article is entitled "Palmerston and the General Election". p. 219

281 The name "resurrectionists" was given in England to people who secretly exhumed corpses and sold them to dissecting rooms. In the 1820s this practice was particularly widespread; for example, there was the notorious case of William Burke, who murdered people in Edinburgh solely for this purpose and left no traces of the crime. p. 219

282 A reference to the *First Opium War* (1839-42)—an aggressive war waged by

Britain against China which started China's transformation into a semi-colony. One of the clauses of the Nanking Treaty imposed on China provided for the opening of five Chinese ports to foreign trade. See also Note 197. p. 220

283 The *Grand Cophta* was the name of the omnipotent and omniscient Egyptian priest who headed the non-existent Masonic "Egyptian Lodge" which the famous eighteenth-century impostor "Count" Cagliostro (Giuseppe Balsamo) claimed to have founded. p. 220

284 *Blue Books*—periodically published collections of documents of the British Parliament and Foreign Office. Their publication began in the seventeenth century. p. 221

285 Louis Bonaparte's appeal to the National Assembly of November 4, 1851, contained a demagogic demand for the re-establishment of universal suffrage in France. After the National Assembly's rejection of the Bill, introduced on the occasion by Bonaparte's ministry, Louis Bonaparte accomplished a coup d'état on December 2, 1851. p. 222

286 Marx is referring here to the six laws passed by the British Parliament, on Castlereagh's proposal, following the massacre (known as Peterloo) of the workers, participants in a mass meeting in support of electoral reform and in protest against the Corn Laws at St. Peter's Field, Manchester, on August 16, 1819. Known as the "gagging laws", they virtually abolished the Habeas Corpus act and restricted the freedom of the press and assembly.

The *Habeas Corpus Act* was passed by the British Parliament in 1679 and envisages the issue of a writ requiring an imprisoned person to be brought before a court or a judge within three to twenty days or to be set free. The procedure does not apply to persons accused of high treason and could be suspended by decision of Parliament. p. 222

287 On the butchery of the people at Manchester see Note 286.

The *Corn Laws* (first introduced in the fifteenth century) imposed high import duties on agricultural produce in the interests of landowners in order to maintain high prices for these products on the home market. The struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the Corn Laws ended in 1846 with their repeal (see also Note 228). p. 222

288 A reference to an additional article to the Treaty of Kiakhta of 1727 dealing with the demarcation and Russo-Chinese trade, which was adopted in October 1768. It also specified the legal stipulations concerning the violation of the state borders. p. 224

289 See Note 163. p. 224

290 A reference to the Amur expedition of 1849-55 under a naval officer, Gennady Nevelskoi. Its aim was to investigate the Amur and the adjoining territories, as well as Sakhalin and the Ussuri area. The Governor-General of Eastern Siberia, Nikolai Muravyev-Amursky, took an active part in it. Poor knowledge of the Amur territories was the main reason why Russia's border with China had not been precisely defined by the Nerchinsk Treaty of 1689.

As a result of the expedition, accurate maps were drawn up and the area described, with valuable data on the geography and population of the area. It served as a basis for establishing the state border between Russia and China laid down by the Treaty of Aigun of 1858. Under this treaty the left bank of the Amur from the Argun River to its estuary was confirmed as belonging to Russia. p. 225

[291] See Note 285 and also K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (present edition, Vol. 11, parts VI and VII). p. 226

[292] The Reform Bill of 1832 was directed against the political monopoly of the landed and financial aristocracy and gave representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie access to Parliament. The proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, the main forces in the struggle for the reform, received no electoral rights. p. 226

[293] The *Legitimists*, supporters of the main branch of the Bourbon dynasty overthrown in 1830, expressed the interests of the big hereditary landowners and upheld the claim to the French throne of the Count of Chambord, King Charles X's grandson, who called himself Henry V. Some of the Legitimists remained outside the bloc of monarchist groups. p. 227

[294] The *Orleanists* were supporters of the House of Orleans (a lateral branch of the Bourbon dynasty) overthrown by the February revolution of 1848; they represented the interests of the financial aristocracy and the big industrial bourgeoisie; their candidate for the throne was Louis Philippe Albert, Count of Paris and grandson of Louis Philippe. p. 227

[295] See Note 258. p. 228

[296] A reference to the talks, sponsored by Emperor Francis Joseph, between the British, French and Russian Ambassadors and Austrian Minister Buol, which opened in December 1854. Their official purpose was to work out a basis for peace negotiations between the belligerents in the Crimean war.

In mid-March 1855 representatives of Austria, Britain, France, Turkey and Russia met at a higher level at the Vienna Conference (Britain was represented by Special Envoy Lord John Russell). The conference produced no results. p. 228

[297] The *Test Act* of 1673 demanded recognition of the dogmas of the Church of England by persons occupying government posts. At first directed against attempts to re-establish Catholicism, this Act was subsequently applied against various religious sects and trends which deviated from the dogmas of the Established Church. Repealed in 1828.

Under the *Corporation Act* passed by the British Parliament in 1661 persons who held elected posts (this applied mainly to municipal administration) were required to accept the dogmas of the Church of England. Repealed in 1828.

On the *Parliamentary Reform Bill* see Note 292.

The *Municipal Corporation Acts*, adopted for Scotland in 1833 and for England in 1835 introduced a single system of government in all big cities except London. In Scotland municipal corporations were elected by landlords with an annual income of no less than ten pounds; and in England by all taxpayers.

Under the *Commutation Act* of 1838, the *tithes*, which the native Catholic population of Ireland had allotted to the Anglican Church from the sixteenth century, were commuted: payment in kind was changed to a special money-rent which was part of the rent of land.

*Dissenters* or *Dissidents* were members of various Protestant sects and trends in England who to some degree or other rejected the dogmas of the Established Church. Under the *Dissenters' Marriage Bill* introduced by Russell into the House of Commons in 1834, the dissenters were to be allowed to conduct marriage rituals in their churches. The adoption of the Bill was postponed. p. 229

298 *Stamp duty* and *advertisement duty* on newspapers introduced in 1712 were the sources of state revenue and a means of fighting the opposition press. In 1836 Parliament was compelled to reduce stamp duty and in 1855 to abolish it altogether. Advertisement duty was annulled in 1853.

The annulment of these duties was not in the interests of the few expensive newspapers because it encouraged the appearance of many cheap rival newspapers, thus lowering the profits of the older newspapers. p. 230

299 See Note 228. p. 230

300 After this comes a passage inserted by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune*: "For the sake of Christian and commercial intercourse with China, it is in the highest degree desirable that we should keep out of this quarrel, and that the Chinese should not be led to regard all the nations of the Western World as united in a conspiracy against them." p. 235

301 In this article Marx used the information in Engels' letters of March 11, 20 and 31, 1857 (see present edition, Vol. 40, pp. 104, 110, 115-16). p. 238

302 The *Whigs*—a political party in England in the seventeenth-nineteenth centuries that arose as a faction expressing the interests of the aristocracy which had become bourgeois and the big commercial and finance bourgeoisie. In the mid-nineteenth century, they united with the Peelites and began to call themselves the Liberal Party.

On the *Peelites* see Note 262. p. 238

303 See Note 20. p. 238

304 See Note 258. p. 238

305 See Note 243. p. 239

306 In his speech to the electors in the Free Trade Hall in Manchester on March 18, 1857 Cobden criticised Palmerston's home and foreign policy, in particular his aggressive policy against China and Persia. He also gave an unfavourable appraisal of Bob Lowe. p. 239

307 See Note 228. p. 239

308 By the "parliamentary godfathers of the penny press" Marx means the Manchester bourgeois radicals (in particular John Bright) who, both inside and outside Parliament, took an active part in the agitation for the abolition of the stamp and advertisement duties (see Note 298). p. 240

309 The Free Traders' leaders John Bright and Richard Cobden opposed England's participation in the Crimean war, 1853-56, maintaining that by free trade alone England could use her industrial superiority substantially to strengthen her economic and political might. p. 241

310 *Quakers* (or the *Society of Friends*)—a religious sect founded in England during the seventeenth-century revolution and later widespread in North America. They rejected the Established Church with its rites and preached pacifist ideas. p. 241

311 The *Rump Parliament* or the *Rump*—the remnant of the Long Parliament (convened by Charles I in 1640) after the expulsion of its Presbyterian majority in December 1648. The Rump—about a hundred Independents, supporters of the Protestant Church—was dissolved by Cromwell in April 1653. p. 241

312 *"The truly British minister"*—this ironic reference to Lord Palmerston is based on a passage from Lord Russell's speech in the House of Commons on June 20, 1850, who said: "...So long as we continue the government of this country, I can answer for my noble friend that he will act not as the minister ... of any other country, but as the minister of England." p. 242

313 A reference to the bombardment of Chinese maritime towns and posts on the Yangtze and other rivers by the British naval and land forces in 1839-40, during the First Opium War (1839-42). See also Note 282. p. 243

314 See Note 197. p. 245

315 Engels is referring to the Taiping uprising in China (see Note 163). In March 1853 the Taipings captured Nanking and made it the capital of their empire. p. 246

316 On the *Peelites* see Note 262.
On the *Manchester men* see Note 258. p. 247

317 See Notes 228 and 287. p. 248

318 See Note 260. p. 248

319 A reference to the bombardment of Odessa by the British and French fleets on April 10 (22), 1854, during the Crimean war.
The ruling party of Peelites was criticised by the Parliamentary opposition for irresolute military actions. p. 249

320 See Note 296. p. 249

321 See Note 152. p. 251

322 During the bombardment of Canton in 1856 (see Note 261) the British Navy lost three men. p. 252

323 See Note 312. p. 253

324 A reference to the Act to Regulate the Labour of Children and Young Persons in the Mills and Factories of the United Kingdom (1833) and the Act to Amend the Laws Relating to Labour in Factories (1844) on the employment of children, juveniles and women in the English textile industry.
Under the 1833 law children from nine to thirteen years of age worked nine hours a day (48-hour week) and had to attend school (two hours a day). The working day for juveniles from fourteen to eighteen years of age was twelve hours a day (69-hour week).
The 1844 law forbade the employment of children under eight years of age and introduced for children from eight to thirteen years half-shift work (six and a half hours a day). It restricted for the first time the working day for women: it was the same as for juveniles under the 1833 law. p. 261

325 The title is given in accordance with an entry in Marx's Notebook for 1857: "April 17. Changes in the Russian army." p. 262

326 The *"Great Unpaid"*—magistrates or justices. p. 266

327 The title is given in accordance with the entries in Marx's Notebook for 1857: "May 12. Crédit Mobilier (I)", "May 15. Crédit Mobilier (II)". p. 270

328 For *Corps Législatif* see Note 20.
The law on the Bank of France was passed on May 28, 1857. For details, see this volume, pp. 289-92. p. 277

[329] Marx's Notebook for 1857 has the following entry: "May 22. *China-Persian (War)* (Artikel an *Tribune*)". p. 278

[330] Engels is referring to the Anglo-Persian war of 1856-57 (see Note 252) and to the Second Opium War, 1856-60 (see Note 196). p. 278

[331] A reference to what is known as the First Opium War, 1838-42 (see Note 282). p. 278

[332] The *Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29* was launched by the Tsarist government in support of the national movement of the Christian population of Greece against the Turkish yoke. The Turkish troops, partly trained by European instructors and well armed, at first offered a strong resistance to the Russian army concentrated on the Danube (at Silistria, Shumla and Varna). However, the victorious offensive of the Russians on May 30 (June 11), 1829, put the Turkish army to flight. The war was ended by the treaty of Adrianople on September 2 (14), 1829, under which Russia obtained the Danube delta including the islands, and a considerable part of the eastern Black Sea coast south of the Kuban estuary. Turkey was to recognise the autonomy of Moldavia and Wallachia and also the independence of Greece, whose only obligation to Turkey was to pay an annual tribute to the Sultan. p. 278

[333] The *Russo-Turkish war of 1806-12* broke out over the violation by Turkey of certain terms of the previously concluded Russo-Turkish treaties (in particular the abolition of free passage for Russian men-of-war and merchant ships through the Bosporus and the Dardanelles). Neither side gained the advantage for long. In 1811 the threat of Napoleon's invasion of Russia forced the Russian government to take measures to conclude the war. After Mikhail Kutuzov had been appointed commander of the Danubian army the war took a turn in favour of Russia who concluded the Treaty of Bucharest with Turkey on May 16 (28), 1812. Under its terms, Russia obtained Bessarabia and certain areas in Transcaucasia. Turkey was to grant internal autonomy to Serbia and confirm its earlier agreements with Russia, extending a measure of autonomy to Moldavia and Wallachia. p. 279

[334] At *Oltenitza* (south-east Wallachia) in the Danubian theatre of operations, the Russian and Turkish forces fought one of the first battles of the Crimean war (November 4, 1853). A Russian detachment attacked the Turkish forces which had crossed to the left bank of the Danube. The attack failed, but the Turkish troops were soon compelled to withdraw to the right bank. Engels described the battle in his article "The War on the Danube" (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 516-22).

The battle of *Citate,* in the Danubian theatre of operations, between the Turkish and Russian armies, took place in the early period of the Crimean war, on January 6, 1854. After a stiff fight the Russian detachment was compelled to retreat under pressure from considerable Turkish forces (about 18,000 men), but following the arrival of Russian reinforcements the Turks were forced to go over to the defensive and eventually retreated to Kalafat. For a description of these events see Engels' article "The Last Battle in Europe" (present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 579-82).

On the capture of *Kars* see Note 275. In this case, Engels is referring to the abortive assault on the fortress by the Russians on September 29, 1855. For details see present edition, Vol. 14, pp. 563-68).

In the battle on the *Inguri* in Mingrelia on October 25 (November 6), 1855

the nearly 30-thousand-strong Turkish army met the 18.5-thousand-strong Russian army, the Russians were defeated. p. 279

335 *Renegades* was the name given in the Middle Ages to Christians in Moslem Spain who adopted Islam. Among Christians in Europe the word was afterwards applied generally to Christians in the Eastern countries who became Mohammedans. p. 280

336 See Note 163. p. 282

337 A reference to dissension among the Taiping leaders in the autumn of 1856. As a result, three of the leaders were killed and many thousands of insurgents in Nanking were massacred. The discord was caused by the fact that private and group interests prevailed over class and national considerations among the insurgent leaders. This had a detrimental effect on the further progress of the Taiping uprising. p. 283

338 Marx's Notebook has the following entry concerning this article: "May 26. O'Donnell's speech in the Senate, on the 18th of May." p. 284

339 The *Polacos* was the name adopted in the mid-eighteenth century by the admirers of the de la Cruz theatre in Madrid. In the mid-nineteenth century it was applied to the coterie of the Count San Luis (former journalist Sartorius), whose government ruled Spain from September 1853 to July 1854, i.e., up to the outbreak of the fourth Spanish revolution (1854-56). p. 284

340 See Note 132. p. 284

341 Marx means the beginning of the fourth bourgeois revolution in Spain (1854-56) (see notes 137 and 147) which brought to power the Espartero government of the Progresistas and Right-wing liberals. p. 284

342 See Note 147. p. 285

343 The draft of the *Loi portant prorogation du privilége de la Banque de France* was published in *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 130, on May 10, 1857. After it was passed by the Corps Législatif on May 28, the final text appeared in the same paper, No. 162, on June 11, 1857. p. 289

344 See Note 20. p. 291

345 The *bureaux* were formed by the President of the Corps Législatif out of its deputies for the preliminary discussion of various questions. Usually there were several bureaux, their composition changing periodically. p. 291

346 A reference to the Anglo-Persian war of 1856-57 (see Note 252). The official cause for England and Persia breaking off diplomatic relations at the end of 1855 was a conflict between the British envoy to Teheran and the Persian Sadir Asam (Prime Minister): Mirza Hashim, secretary of the British mission who was a Persian subject, was accused of spying for England. p. 296

347 This title was given according to the entry in Marx's notebook for 1857. p. 297

348 *Scinde,* a province of India bordering on Afghanistan, was finally colonised by the British in 1843.

On the subjugation of the Punjab see Note 215. p. 297

349 In 1856 the British authorities in India proclaimed the ruler of Oudh (a principality in the north of India) deposed and his possessions incorporated in

the territories controlled by the East India Company (see also this volume, pp. 533-38). p. 297

350 The *Presidency*—any of the three original provinces of British India (Bengal, Madras and Bombay). The term was derived from the word "president", a title of the chief of the Council of the principal factory under the East India Company. The title of President was used until 1784, when a parliamentary act was adopted by which governors were appointed instead of presidents. p. 298

351 This refers to the major national liberation uprising of the Indian people against the British rule in 1857-59. It was caused by the indignation of broad sections of the Indian population at colonial exploitation—the exorbitantly high tax burden which led to the complete ruin of the Indian peasants and the expropriation of certain strata of feudal lords; the policy of annexing the remaining independent Indian territories; the system of torture to extort taxes and the colonial reign of terror; gross violation of time-honoured national traditions and customs. The revolt broke out in the spring of 1857 (preparations for it began in mid-1856) among the sepoy units (see Note 256) of the Bengal army quartered in Northern India. They became the military core of the revolt, which assumed wide scope and spread to large areas of Northern and Central India, chiefly Delhi, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Rohilkhand and Bundelkhand. The chief driving force were peasants and urban artisans, but the leadership was in the hands of the feudal lords, the overwhelming majority of whom betrayed the revolt after the colonial authorities promised in 1858 to leave their possessions intact. The main reasons for the defeat of the revolt were: British military and technical superiority, the lack of a single leadership and a general plan of action among the insurgents, as well as contradictory aims largely resulting from the feudal disunity of India; the ethnic heterogeneity of the population and the latter's religious and caste division. Though the revolt did not involve directly certain parts of India (the English managed to prevent its spreading to the Punjab, Bengal and the south of India), it shook the whole country and compelled the British authorities to reform the system of government there.

Marx and Engels regularly described the course of the revolt in the columns of the *New-York Daily Tribune*. p. 298

352 A reference to the Anglo-Persian war of 1856-57 (see Note 252) and the Second Opium War of 1856-60 (see this volume, pp. 158-63, 207-12, 232-35, 243-46, 278-83). p. 298

353 The Indian army was equipped with Enfield rifled guns. When loading a rifle the paper wrapping of a cartridge had to be bitten off. In January 1857 a rumour spread among the Sepoys that the cartridges were greased with the fat of bullocks and pigs. The Sepoys refused to use these cartridges because to touch them meant insult to the religious convictions of the Hindus and Moslems. p. 298

354 The *Moguls*—invaders of Turkish descent who came to India from the east of Central Asia in the early sixteenth century and in 1526 founded the Empire of the Great Moguls in Northern India. The Great Mogul was the title the Europeans gave to the rulers of the Mogul Empire who called themselves Padishahs and resided in Delhi. The Mogul Empire reached considerable power, having subjugated most of India and part of Afghanistan by the mid-seventeenth century. However, due to peasant rebellions and the growing

feudal separatist tendencies, the Empire of the Great Moguls began to decline and practically disintegrated in the first half of the eighteenth century, though formally it lasted until 1858.

Here the reference is to Bahadur Shah II, son of Akbar II. p. 299

355 *Fort William*—an English fortress built in Calcutta in 1696 and named in honour of William III of Orange, King of England at the time. After the English conquered Bengal in 1757, government institutions were quartered in that fortress and its name began to denote "the English government of India". p. 299

356 This title is given in accordance with the entry in Marx's notebook for 1857. p. 301

357 A reference to the elections to the Corps Législatif in the summer of 1857. Despite the police measures taken by the government to secure success to the official candidates, the anti-Bonapartist opposition supported by the workers managed, for the first time in the history of the Second Empire, to get five of its representatives elected to the Chamber. p. 302

358 See Note 15. p. 303

359 Marx refers here to the revolution in Spain in 1856 (see this volume, pp. 97-108) and to the events in Italy in 1857. At the end of June 1857, Mazzini, who secretly arrived in Genoa, and other supporters of revolutionary action attempted to start an uprising in Italy with a view to liberating and uniting the country. A detachment of revolutionaries led by Pisacane seized a ship bound for Tunis from Genoa and landed in the Kingdom of Naples. Attempts were also made to start uprisings in Leghorn and Genoa but, like the expedition to the South, they also failed. p. 304

360 See notes 256 and 351. p. 305

361 *Rajputs*—a higher caste and a people in India inhabiting mainly Rajputana (present Rajasthan) and also some other districts of Northern India.

*Brahmins*—one of the four ancient Indian castes which originally consisted mainly of privileged priests; like other Indian castes, it subsequently embraced people of different trades and social standing, including impoverished peasants and artisans.

Only Hindus belonging to higher castes were recruited to the sepoy army of Bengal (as distinct from those of Bombay and Madras) and hence Brahmins and Rajputs made up a considerable part of it. p. 306

362 The *Residency*—an official abode of a British Resident (a political counsellor in an Indian principality); in this case the Resident of Oudh. p. 307

363 A reference to the war of independence the Spanish people waged in 1808-14 against the French occupation (see Note 142). p. 307

364 See Note 162. p. 308

365 Marx is apparently referring to the fact that members of the British House of Commons often preferred personal pursuits and recreation to their parliamentary duties during the summer sessions of Parliament. For this reason, speakers often had to address an almost empty house. p. 309

366 *Mechanics' Institutions* or *Institutes* were evening schools in which workers were taught general and technical subjects. Such schools first appeared in Glasgow in 1823 and in London in 1824. In the early 1840s there were over 200 of them,

mainly in the factory towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire. The bourgeoisie used these institutions to train skilled workers for industry and to bring them under the influence of bourgeois ideas, though initially this was resisted by the working-class activists. p. 310

367 A reference to the Tories, the party of the big British landed and financial aristocracy, which was founded in the seventeenth century. With the development of capitalism in Britain, the Tories gradually lost their former political influence and their monopoly in Parliament, especially after the 1832 Electoral Reform and the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. The mid-1850s witnessed a process of disintegration in the Tory party. Its class composition changed, and in the late 1850s-early 1860s the British Conservative Party arose on its basis. p. 310

368 This refers to the Council under the Governor-General of India. The Council was instituted in 1773 under the Governor-General of Bengal, whom the Act of 1833 also made Governor-General of India. By the Act of 1853 the council of four, enjoying the functions of an executive body, was supplemented by a larger legislative council which included the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, the Lord Chief Justice of Bengal and a judge of the Supreme Court. This statute of the Council under the Governor-General of India was in force until 1858. p. 311

369 *Jaguedar* or *jagirdar*—a Moslem feudal lord in the Great Mogul Empire (see Note 354) who received for temporary use a large estate (jagir) in return for which he rendered military service and supplied a specified contingent of troops. When the Empire began to disintegrate, the jagirdars became hereditary feudal owners.

*Enamdar*—an owner of an enam, a grant of land to be held in perpetuity rent free or on favourable terms. Enams were granted mainly to Hindu and Moslem priests and religious and charitable institutions, and sometimes, in Southern India, to the men at the top of the village community.

*Freeholders*—a category of English small landowners originating in feudal times. They paid their lord an insignificant fixed rent for plots of land which were at their complete disposal. p. 312

370 The title is given according to the entry in Marx's notebook for 1857. p. 314

371 The *Board of Control* was instituted under the 1784 Act for the better regulation and management of the affairs of the East India Company, and of the British possessions in India. The Board of Control consisted of six members appointed by the King from among the members of the Privy Council. The President of the Board of Control was a Cabinet Minister, and, in effect, the Secretary of State for India and India's supreme ruler. The decisions of the Board of Control, which sat in London, were conveyed to India by the Secret Committee, which consisted of three East India Company directors. In this way the 1784 Act established a dual system of government in India—the Board of Control (British Government) and the Court of Directors (East India Company). The Board of Control was dissolved in 1858. p. 314

372 See Note 215. p. 315

373 See Note 355. p. 316

374 See Note 361. p. 316

375 In early October 1854, when the Crimean war was at its height, a rumour spread in Paris that the Allies had captured Sevastopol. This hoax was taken up

by the official French, British, Belgian and German press. However, a few days later, the French newspapers were compelled to publish a refutation. Sevastopol did not fall until September 9, 1855. p. 318

376 *Martello towers*—circular forts armed with two or three guns—used for coastal defence. They were first thus used by the British Navy who occupied one on the Cape Mortella, Corsica, in 1794, during the wars against revolutionary France. p. 319

377 See Note 259. p. 322

378 See Note 159. p. 322

379 In 1849 and 1850 the reactionary Prussian Government, pressed by the broad sections of the German public who aspired to unification, took measures to reogranise the impotent German Confederation, seeking Prussia's victory over Austria in the struggle for supremacy over German states. In October 1850, Nicholas I, who did not want Prussia to grow stronger at Austria's expense, summoned to Warsaw Austrian Chancellor Prince Schwarzenberg and Prussian Prime Minister Count Brandenburg. Also present at the meeting, known as the *Warsaw Conference*, were Prince William of Prussia and Emperor Francis Joseph I of Austria. Nicholas I made it clear that he most decidedly supported Austria against Prussia. p. 323

380 *Internuncio*—a second-rank diplomat (envoy), Austria's representative at Constantinople. p. 324

381 See Note 11. p. 326

382 See Note 375. p. 327

383 *Saragossa* became famous for its heroic defence during the national liberation struggle of the Spanish people against Napoleon's troops, which besieged the town twice, in 1808 and 1809. Saragossa fell only on February 20, 1809 after the second, two-month siege. p. 333

384 See Note 159. p. 334

385 The German duchies of Schleswig, Holstein and Lauenburg were under the rule of the Danish Crown for centuries. The London protocol on the integrity of the Danish monarchy signed on May 8, 1852 by Russia, Austria, Britain, France, Prussia, Sweden and the representatives of Denmark recognised the right of the duchies to self-government, but preserved the supreme power of the Danish king over them. In spite of the protocol, however, the Danish Government promulgated a Constitution in 1855 which ruled out the independence and self-government of these duchies. This caused a protest on the part of their representatives in the Danish Parliament, who were supported by Prussia and Austria. The Schleswig-Holstein question was finally solved in the Danish war of 1864 when Schleswig was incorporated into Prussia and Holstein into Austria. After the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 Holstein was annexed to Prussia. p. 335

386 An inaccuracy in the text. According to the London protocol of May 8, 1852, the childless King Frederick VII of Denmark was to be succeeded by Christian of Glücksburg (later King Christian IX). p. 335

387 This article, according to the entry "India (Torture)" in Marx's notebook for 1857, was written by him on August 28, 1857, but for some unknown reason the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* published it after the article "The

Indian Revolt" written on September 4 and mentioned here. In the present edition the articles are published in chronological order according to the date of their writing. p. 336

388 See Note 284. p. 336

389 *Collector*—a British governor of a district in India who had unlimited powers. He performed the duties of the main tax collector (sued those who did not pay taxes), the chief judge (sentenced them) and an administrative official (executed the sentence). p. 337

390 *Ryot*—an Indian peasant who enjoyed full rights of a community member prior to the introduction of new land taxation laws by the English colonialists in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century and the destruction of the Indian community by them. In districts, where the so-called Zemindari system was introduced in 1793, the ryot became a land tenant of a Zemindar (see Note 402). After the introduction of the Ryotwari land taxation system in the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras in the early nineteenth century, the ryot became a holder of state land. He paid rent-tax for his plot, the rate of which was fixed by the British Government in India at its own discretion. p. 337

391 *Jamabundy*—an annual account of land tax. p. 339

392 *Puttah*—an official document drawn up by a landowner or a tax-collector to the tenant. It defined the nature of the tenure and fixed the sum of the rent. p. 339

393 *Agramante*—the Moorish king in Lodovico Ariosto's poem *L'Orlando furioso*. At war with Charlemagne, Agramante besieged Paris, concentrating the bulk of his forces by the walls of that city. But soon dissensions began in their camp. When Marx compared the English camp near Delhi with that of Agramante he meant a line in Ariosto's poem, "There is dissent in Agramante's camp" which had become a dictum. p. 343

394 See Note 162. p. 349

395 This refers to the law of 1853 on the East India Company Charter which curtailed to some extent the Company's monopoly rights in India. The Court of Directors was placed under a greater control of the British Crown, the directors lost the right to appoint officials. Their number was reduced from 24 to 18, of whom six were appointed by the Crown. The President of the Board of Control (see Note 371) was put on a par with the Secretary of State for India. However, the Company's shareholders were guaranteed fixed dividends out of revenues from Indian taxes. p. 349

396 On the *Bengal Council* see Note 368.

Councils consisting of the senior officials of the East India Company also existed under the Governors of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. p. 350

397 See Note 389. p. 351

398 Marx means the second Anglo-Burmese war of 1852 which resulted in the annexation of the Burmese province of Pegu to the East India Company's possessions. However, Burma did not sign a peace treaty and refused to recognise the seizure of Pegu. p. 352

399 Marx means the first Anglo-Afghan war of 1838-42 (see Note 221), the Second Opium War of 1856-60 and the Anglo-Persian war of 1856-57 (see Note 252). p. 352

400 In the Vendée (a province in western France) the royalists used the backward peasants to engineer a counter-revolutionary revolt in 1793 which was put down by the republican army. Its soldiers, like all the supporters of the Convention in general, were called the "Blues".

During the national liberation war against France in 1808-14 (see Note 142) the Spanish guerrillas, mainly the peasants, offered stubborn resistance to the conquerors.

The counter-revolutionary Austrian forces which suppressed the revolutionary movement in Austria and Hungary in 1848 and 1849 included Serbian and Croat troops (see also present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 503-06).

The *Guard Mobile* was formed by the French Provisional Government's decree of February 25, 1848 to fight the revolutionary masses. Its units consisted mainly of the lumpenproletarians and were used to crush the June uprising of the Paris workers.

*Decembrists*—members of the secret Bonapartist Society of December 10 (see Note 18). After the coup d'état of December 2, 1851 (see Note 7) they were active organisers of massive repressions against the republicans and especially against participants in the February 1848 revolution. p. 353

401 See Note 282. p. 354

402 *Zemindars*—in the Great Mogul Empire, feudal lords mainly from among the conquered Hindus who retained the right to hold land by heredity on condition that they paid to the government a certain share of the rent-tax they collected from the peasants. In the seventeenth and the eighteenth century the term "Zemindars" applied also to big land-revenue collectors in Bengal and some other areas. In the provinces of British India it began to denote various groups of feudal lords enjoying the rights of landed proprietors. p. 355

403 On *Peace Society* see Note 270.

During the suppression of a popular uprising against the French conquerors, in Algeria in 1845, General Pélissier, later Marshal of France, gave orders for a thousand Arab insurgents, who had hidden in mountain caves, to be suffocated by the smoke from fires. p. 355

404 *Charles V's criminal law* (*Constitutio criminalis Carolina*), adopted by the German Imperial Diet in Regensburg in 1532, was distinguished for extremely harsh punishments. p. 356

405 *Juggernaut* (*Jagannath*)—an incarnation of Vishnu. The famous place of worship was the temple in Puri near Cuttack (Eastern India). The priests of the temple enjoyed the protection of the East India Company and received large incomes from mass pilgrimages and sumptuous festivals in honour of Juggernaut. Particularly large number of pilgrims flocked to celebrate Rathayatra, when the idol of Juggernaut was carried on a chariot. Under its wheels many devotees immolated themselves. p. 356

406 At the end of the second millennium B.C., Jericho was destroyed by the Israelites who invaded Palestine. According to the Bible, the walls of Jericho fell at the blasts of the conquerors' trumpets. p. 356

407 This sentence was added by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* who meant here their correspondent Ferencz Pulszki, a Hungarian writer and journalist, who emigrated to the USA after the defeat of the Hungarian revolution of 1848. They received from him mainly reviews of international affairs. p. 361

408 *Goorkas* (or *Gurkhas*)—a conventional name of peoples inhabiting central and south-western areas of the Nepal. Part of them live in India—in the State of Uttar Pradesh (former United Provinces of British India) and West Bengal districts adjoining Nepal. p. 362

409 *Mohurran* (or *Muharram*)—the first month of the Moslem calendar. During its first ten days a great fast in commemoration of Imam Hosain is held; the religious ceremonies are usually accompanied by self-torture. p. 363

410 *Mahrattas* (*Marathas*)—a people who lived in the North-Western Deccan. In the mid-seventeenth century they began an armed struggle against the Empire of the Great Moguls (see Note 354), thus contributing to its decline. In the course of the struggle the Mahrattas formed their own independent state, whose rulers soon embarked on wars of conquest. At the close of the seventeenth century their state was weakened by internal feudal strife, but early in the eighteenth century a powerful confederation of Mahratta principalities was formed under a supreme governor, the peshwa. In 1761 they suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Afghans in the struggle for supremacy in India. Weakened by this and by internal feudal strife, the Mahratta principalities fell prey to the East India Company which annexed a considerable part of their territories in the three Anglo-Mahratta wars (1775-82, 1803-05 and 1817-18).

The reference here is to Tukaji II Holkar and Ali Jah Jaiaji Sindhia, princes of Mahratta. p. 364

411 See Note 221. p. 364

412 When writing this article Marx drew on the information about the uprising in India contained in Engels' letter to him of September 24, 1857 (see present edition, Vol. 40, pp. 182-85). p. 365

413 Marx is referring to the British naval expedition to the mouth of the Schelde River in July 1809, during the war of the fifth European coalition against Napoleonic France, at the moment when Napoleon's main forces were drawn to the war with Austria. After seizing the island of Walcheren, the British failed to use it as a base for action against Antwerp and other French fortified points in Belgium and Holland and were forced to withdraw in December 1809 having lost from hunger and disease about a quarter of their 40,000-strong landing force. p. 365

414 This sentence was interpolated by the newspaper editors. p. 369

415 The *Doab*—here the reference is to the territory in India between the Ganges and the Jumna. p. 373

416 The *Santhals*—a people inhabiting mainly Bihar, the western areas of Bengal, and Orissa; Dravidian by origin. p. 373

417 The table compiled by Marx was sent to the *New-York Daily Tribune* presumably simultaneously with this article, but the editors published the table separately, in the same issue on p. 6. Marx quoted this table, somewhat enlarged, in his letter to Engels of October 20, 1857 (see present edition, Vol. 40, pp. 192-93). p. 377

418 Concerning this article Marx wrote to Engels on December 8, 1857: "I've had a gratifying experience with the *Tribune*. On 6 November I wrote an exposé for them of the 1844 Bank Act in which I said that the next few days would see the farce of suspension, but that not too much should be made of this monetary panic, the real *affaire* being the impending industrial crash." The

article was published on November 21 as a leader but on the 24th the *New-York Times* came out against the author's assertions, declaring the "TALK of an 'INDUSTRIAL CRASH' in England to be 'SIMPLY ABSURD'." However, "the following day the *N.Y.T.* received a telegram ... with the news that the Bank Act had been *suspended*, and likewise news of 'INDUSTRIAL DISTRESS'" (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 215). p. 379

419 Marx is referring to *An Act to Regulate the Issue of Bank Notes, and for Giving to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England Certain Privileges for a Limited Period,* introduced by Robert Peel on July 19, 1844.

Marx analysed the Act of 1844 and its significance in a number of articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune*: "The Vienna Note.—The United States and Europe.—Letters from Shumla.—Peel's Bank Act" (see present edition, Vol. 12), "The English Bank Act of 1844" (Vol. 16). A detailed description of the Act was given by Marx later, in *Capital,* Vol. III, Chapter XXXIV (present edition, Vol. 37). p. 379

420 When describing the influence of the Bank Act of 1844 on the course of the 1847 crisis, Marx presumably drew on Th. Tooke's *A History of Prices, and of the State of the Circulation...* [Vol. IV], pp. 318-19 and 449. p. 382

421 In Marx's notebook for 1857 this article is entitled "English Monetary Crisis. Suspension of Peel's Act." p. 385

422 Here follows a sentence added by the *New-York Daily Tribune* editors: "This view of the case is confirmed by the news by the *Fulton,* reported in our columns by telegraph this morning". p. 385

423 *Mincing Lane*—a street in London, the centre of wholesale trade in colonial goods. p. 388

424 The *Zollverein,* a union of German states, which established a common customs frontier, was set up in 1834 under the aegis of Prussia. Brought into being by the need to create an all-German market, the Customs Union subsequently embraced all the German states except Austria and a few of the smaller states. p. 390

425 Napoleon III's decree of November 10, 1857 revoked the laws of September 8, 1856 and September 22, 1857 which prohibited the export of corn, flour and other food products. p. 390

426 Here the newspaper's editors added the following passage: "If we are not much mistaken, something of the same sort was put forth in this country, when philosophers like our neighbors of *The Times* and *The Independent* thought the catastrophe might be prevented, if people would only determine to be jolly, and give three cheers." p. 391

427 This and other articles by Engels on the subject published in this volume show how closely he followed the developments in India. This is also proved by his correspondence with Marx who was constantly interested to know his friend's opinion on these events, and on the military aspects of the uprising in particular. This article reflects some of Engels' ideas as expressed in his letter to Marx on September 24, 1857, namely, about the siege of Delhi from the point of view of England's *political consideration* (see also Note 412). Engels mentioned his writing of this article in the letters to Marx of November 16 and 17, 1857 (see present edition, Vol. 40, pp. 204 and 207). p. 392

428 See Note 256. p. 392

429 The *Battle of Balaklava* took place on October 25, 1854 during the Crimean war of 1853-56. Units of the Russian army tried to cut off the British and Turkish troops taking part in the siege of Sevastopol from their base in Balaklava. They succeeded in inflicting serious losses on the enemy, especially on the British cavalry, but failed to achieve their main objective. For the description of this battle see Engels' article "The War in the East" (present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 518-27). p. 395

430 See Note 376. p. 396

431 See Note 425. p. 407

432 See Note 287. p. 408

433 The title is given according to the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*. p. 410

434 The big London banks and discounting houses are located in *Lombard Street* which has become a synonym for the London money market. As distinct from the Bank of England, where only banks' first class papers were discounted, all bills of exchange could be discounted in Lombard Street and the discount interest there, being called market interest, was always higher than that of the Bank of England. p. 410

435 In *Threadneedle Street* (London) the Bank of England is situated. p. 410

436 Marx's notebook for 1857 contains the entry: "December 25. Französische Krisis". Marx also expressed his ideas about the crisis in France in his letter to Engels written on the same day, December 25, 1857 (see present edition, Vol. 40, pp. 228-32). p. 413

437 See Note 424. p. 415

438 See Note 15. p. 417

439 *Crédit Foncier* (Land Credit)—a French joint-stock bank set up in 1852 on the basis of the former Paris Land Bank. It granted short- and long-term loans on security of immovable property at a definite interest and received considerable government subsidies.

*Comptoir national d'Escompte de Paris* (National Discount Bank of Paris) was founded in 1848 by the Provisional Government of the French Republic. Originally it discounted bills and granted credits on the security of goods stored in public warehouses. At the time of Napoleon III it became a joint-stock society (from 1853 on) and acquired the privilege of making advances on government bonds and shares of industrial and credit companies. p. 417

440 Engels wrote this article on Marx's request (see Marx's letters to Engels of December 30, 1857 and January 1, 1858, present edition, Vol. 40, pp. 233 and 237). Engels expressed his ideas about the siege of Lucknow in his letter to Marx of December 31, 1857 (see ibid., pp. 233-36) and partly in this article. p. 419

441 *Mess-house*—premises of the officers' club and dining-room of the Lucknow military garrison.

The *Residency*—see Note 362. p. 419

442 On the occupation of Scinde, see Note 348.

Sir Charles Napier was formally given command of all the troops in Scinde and was empowered to exercise control over all civil and political officials as well as military officers within his command. p. 420

443 The *Battle of the Alma* took place on September 20, 1854 during the Crimean war (1853-56). The Russian forces were commanded by A. S. Menshikov, and the numerically superior forces of the French, British and Turks by Saint-Arnaud and Raglan. It was the first battle after the Allies' landing in the Crimea (at Eupatoria) on September 14. The defeat and withdrawal of the Russian troops opened up the way to Sevastopol for the Allies. p. 424

444 See Note 429. p. 424

445 See Note 256. p. 424

446 The castle of *Hougoumont* and the farm *La Haye Sainte* on the approaches to Waterloo were used by the English and Prussian troops as strong natural fortifications. In the battle of Waterloo on June 18, 1815 the defenders of these camps put up a stubborn resistance despite their small numbers (there were 7 companies and one battalion in Hougoumont and one battalion in La Haye Sainte). All attempts of the French to capture the first point failed, and only after a heavy bombardment and a pitched battle did they take the second. p. 424

447 At *Borodino*, near Moscow, a full-scale battle was fought by the French and Russian forces on September 7, 1812. During the battle the French had 135,000 men and 587 guns, the Russians 120,000 men and 640 guns. The French lost 58,000 men killed and wounded, the Russians about 44,000. p. 427

448 Engels wrote this article on Marx's request (see Marx's letter to Engels of January 11 and Engels' reply of January 14, 1858, present edition, Vol. 40, pp. 244 and 247) who thought very highly of it. "Your article is splendid and in style and manner altogether reminiscent of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in its heyday," Marx wrote to Engels on January 16, 1858 (ibid., p. 249). p. 435

449 See Note 362. p. 436

450 Informing Marx of this article in the letter of January 14, 1858, Engels wrote with irony: "The Lucknow garrison's greatest act of heroism consisted in the fact that they had to face every day the 'coarse beef' cooked by the ladies, *'entirely unaided'*. Must have been damned badly cooked" (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 247). p. 441

451 In October 1832 the Anglo-French troops, reinforced by the Belgian artillery and engineers, under Marshal Gérard blocked the ports of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and besieged the citadel of Antwerp so as to compel the Netherlands to comply with the London treaty of 1831 on Belgium's independence and the transfer of Antwerp to it. At the end of December 1832, after the fortress was in ruins, its commandant General Chassé and his garrison surrendered.

Venice, which rose against the Austrian rule in March 1848, was besieged by the Austrian troops from land and sea for over a year. The Austrians under Marshal Haynau directed their main attack on the Fort of *Marghera* which was defended by 2,500 men under Colonel Ulloa. Only when all the fortified works were destroyed and most of the guns put out of order did the defenders abandon it on the night of May 26, 1849. p. 441

452 In his articles "Progress of the War", "From Sevastopol", "The Armies of Europe" and "Aspects of the War" dealing with the Crimean war of 1853-56 and the heroic defence of Sevastopol in particular (see present edition, Vol. 14), Engels, more than once, highly appreciated the activity of General

E. I. Todtleben, chief engineer and organiser of the defence, and said that he was "the only man in either camp who has shown a spark of genius" (ibid., p. 487). p. 441

453 The fortress of Danzig, occupied by the French garrison under General Rapp after the defeat of Napoleon's army in Russia in 1812, was besieged from land and sea by the Russian and Prussian troops in early 1813. During the eleven and a half months the fortress withstood three regular sieges. The French lost 19,000 men, the Allies 10,000. On January 2, 1814, the Allies entered the city. p. 441

454 Engels alludes to the events of the Crimean war of 1853-56. Colonel Windham commanded a British brigade during the abortive attack on Bastion No. 3 (the Great Redan) of the Sevastopol fortifications on June 18, 1855. His actions were extremely slack, moreover, during the heat of the battle, he twice left for the rear, allegedly to bring up reinforcements (see this volume, pp. 447-52). p. 442

455 The commercial existence of the East India Company was terminated by the Parliamentary Act of 1833 which abolished its monopoly of the China trade. Though the Act left the Indian possessions of the Company in its hands for a further period of twenty years, it put the Company under stricter government control through a Crown-appointed official on the Bengal Council (see also Note 368). p. 444

456 Engels' letter to Marx of January 28, 1858 testifies to his work on this article (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 254) but he did not manage to finish it by Friday, January 29, and sent Marx only three articles for *The New American Cyclopaedia*. Nevertheless, on their receipt, Marx made the following entry in his notebook: "Windham's defeat, Berme, Blenheim, Borodino." In the letter of January 30, Engels definitely stated: "'Windham' will be ready for Tuesday" (ibid., p. 257), i.e. February 2, 1858. p. 447

457 See Note 443. p. 447

458 See Note 454. p. 447

459 See Note 415. p. 448

460 See Note 402. p. 448

461 Lord Raglan, the British commander-in-chief, gave order for a cavalry attack on the Russian batteries at the battle of Balaklava on October 25, 1854 (see Note 429) which led to the destruction of the British light cavalry under Lord Cardigan. (General command of the light and heavy cavalry was under Lord Lucan.) This event produced a grave impression on the British public. Later, trying to justify himself, Lord Raglan sought to put the blame on Lucan and Cardigan who, he alleged, had misunderstood him, and on Captain Nolan who was said to have passed the order inaccurately. There was no possibility of verifying the fact because Nolan was killed a few minutes after he had given the order. p. 451

462 This title is given according to the entry made by Marx in his notebook on February 5, 1858: "Bonaparte Attempt". p. 453

463 Marx is referring here to Louis Bonaparte who attempted a coup d'état on August 6, 1840. Profiting by a certain revival of pro-Bonapartist sentiments in France, he landed with a handful of conspirators at Boulogne and tried to raise

a mutiny among the local garrison. His attempt failed. He was sentenced to life imprisonment, but escaped to England in 1846. p. 453

464 On January 14, 1858 the Italian revolutionary Felice Orsini made an attempt on the life of Napoleon III, thus hoping to provoke revolutionary actions in Europe and intense struggle for the national unification of Italy. His attempt failed, and Orsini was executed on March 13, 1858. p. 453

465 The editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* inserted the following paragraph here: "Or as an eminent American, now in France, writes in a letter received by the *Africa*: 'There is a frightful foreboding in the bosoms of the French themselves. I was talking with a friend the other day, a very devout and clear-headed woman, and she told me *sotto voce* that she talked with no one who did not feel a stifling fear of what was coming, of a day of vengeance too black to contemplate. She told me that the receipts of the *mont-de-piété* were falling off so much that the truth was becoming evident that the people had nothing left to dispose of, and this to her and her friends was a sure sign that the final crash was near.'" p. 456

466 See Note 20. p. 456

467 A reference to *La loi relatif à des mesures de sûreté générale* (Law on Public Security Measures) known as *La loi des suspects* (Suspects Law) adopted by the Corps législatif on February 19 and promulgated on February 28, 1858. It gave the emperor and his government unlimited power to exile to different parts of France or Algeria or to banish altogether from French territory any person suspected of hostility to the Second Empire. p. 456

468 A reference to the *Society of December 10* (see Note 18). p. 457

469 See Note 148. p. 457

470 In Ancient Rome Praetorians were privileged soldiers in the personal guard of a general or the emperor. Here Marx is referring to the French military on whom Napoleon III relied (see also this volume, pp. 464-67). p. 457

471 Under Napoleon III's decree of January 27, 1858 the whole of French territory was divided into five military districts, with Paris, Nancy, Lyons, Toulouse and Tours as their capitals and Marshals Magnan, Baraguay d'Hilliers, Bosquet, Castellane and Canrobert as their commanders. Marx calls these districts *pashaliks* (a comparison earlier used by the French republican press), to emphasise the similarity of the unlimited powers of the reactionary Marshals and the despotic power of the Turkish pashas. Pélissier's proposed appointment as marshal general in 1858 remained unrealised. p. 457

472 Marx is referring to Louis Bonaparte who, during the July monarchy, attempted to stage a coup d'état by means of a military mutiny. On October 30, 1836 he succeeded, with the help of several Bonapartist officers, in inciting two artillery regiments of the Strasbourg garrison to mutiny, but they were disarmed within a few hours. Louis Bonaparte was arrested and deported to America. p. 457

473 In March 1855 Napoleon III planned to go to the Crimea with the aim of suppressing the discontent in the army and the country, invigorating military actions and speeding up the capture of Sevastopol. His trip did not take place. p. 457

474 After Orsini's attempt on the life of Napoleon III, Count Walewski, the French Foreign Minister, sent a dispatch to the British Government on January 20,

1858 expressing dissatisfaction that England should be giving asylum to French political refugees. The dispatch served as a pretext for Palmerston to move a new Alien Bill (also called *Conspiracy to Murder Bill*) on February 8, 1858. It stipulated that any Englishman or foreigner living in the United Kingdom who became party to a conspiracy to murder a person in Britain or any other country, was to be tried by an English court and severely punished. During the second reading of the new Alien Bill on February 19, 1858 the radicals Milner Gibson and John Bright moved an amendment censuring the Palmerston Government for not giving a fitting reply to Walewski's dispatch. By a majority vote, the House of Commons adopted the amendment and rejected the Bill. The Palmerston Government was compelled to resign. p. 458

475 In July 1854, during the Crimean war (1853-56), Marshal Saint-Arnaud ordered to organise an expedition under General Espinasse against the Russian troops in Dobrudja. However, having taken no military actions (except minor skirmishes with the retreating Cossacks) and having lost over half of the expeditionary corps due to epidemics of cholera and malaria among the soldiers, Espinasse returned to Varna. p. 464

476 See Note 470. p. 464

477 See Note 471. p. 464

478 On October 10, 1850 Louis Bonaparte, then President of the French Republic, held a general review of troops on the plain of Satory (near Versailles). During this review Bonaparte, who was preparing a coup d'état, treated the soldiers and officers to sausages in order to win their support. p. 464

479 A counter-revolutionary coup d'état of the *Ninth Thermidor* (July 27-28, 1794) overthrew the Jacobin government and established the rule of the big bourgeoisie. p. 465

480 The *Palais-Royal* in Paris was the residence of Louis XIV from 1643; in 1692 it became the property of the Orlean branch of the Bourbons. During the Second Empire it was the residence of Napoleon III's uncle, ex-King of Westphalia Jérôme, and his son Joseph Bonaparte, hereditary Prince until the birth of Napoleon III's son.

Here Marx hints at the strained relations between Jérôme and Louis Bonaparte. p. 465

481 The title is given according to the entry of February 26, 1858 in Marx's Notebook: "Derby Ministry. Palmerston's sham resignation". p. 468

482 See Note 464. p. 468

483 As a result of the Anglo-Chinese conflict, which arose in October 1856 (see Note 196) and marked the beginning of the Second "Opium" War (the main role in the conflict was played by Yeh Ming-Chin, Governor-General of Kwantung and Kwangsi, who objected to the unlawful demands by the British), and the debate over it in the House of Commons of February 26-March 3, 1857, the Palmerston Government was given a vote of no confidence by 263 against 247. Making use of this, Palmerston dissolved the Parliament. The new elections brought victory to the government candidates even in the bulwark of the Opposition—Manchester and secured a majority in the House for the champions of aggression against China.

On *Palmerston's resignation in 1858,* see Note 474.

*Carbonari*—members of secret political societies in Italy and France in the first half of the nineteenth century. In Italy they fought for national

independence, the unification of the country and liberal constitutional reforms. In France the movement was above all directed against the restored monarchy of the Bourbons (1815-30). In the first half of the nineteenth century the word "Carbonari" was synonymous with "revolutionary". p. 468

484 The *Emancipation of the Catholics*—in 1829 the British Parliament, under pressure of a mass movement in Ireland, lifted some of the restrictions curtailing the political rights of the Catholic population. Catholics were granted the right to be elected to Parliament and to hold certain government posts. Simultaneously the property qualification for electors increased fivefold. With the aid of this manoeuvre the British ruling classes hoped to win over to their side the upper crust of the Irish bourgeoisie and Catholic landowners and thus split the Irish national movement. p. 469

485 A reference to the campaign for an electoral reform carried out by the British Government in 1832 (see Note 292). p. 469

486 See Note 228. p. 469

487 Richard Cobden's campaign in 1845 for the repeal of the Corn Laws facilitated the fall of the Peel Cabinet. Lord John Russell, the leader of the Whig Party, who was charged to form a new Cabinet, offered Cobden the post of Vice-President of the Board of Trade, but the latter declined on the ground that he would be more efficient as the out-of-doors advocate of Free Trade than in an official capacity. Owing to internal dissensions among the Whig chiefs, the Cabinet was not formed, and on December 20 Peel returned to office. p. 469

488 See Note 371. p. 469

489 The phrase "Take care of Dowb" was used by British Secretary at War Panmure in a dispatch to General Simpson, appointed commander-in-chief in the Crimea in June 1855. It became widely known in England and was considered as proof that Panmure cared more for his nephew, a young officer named Dowbiggin, than for the whole British army. p. 469

490 See Note 260. p. 469

491 See Note 474. p. 470

492 See Note 474. p. 470

493 In the *New-York Daily Tribune* the article ended with the text added by the editors: "Every capital of Europe breathes more freely in consequence; every Liberal feels sure that the triumphant uprising of the People is much nearer than it was a month ago. We cite in confirmation a single passage from the speech of England's foremost orator, and one of her most promising statesmen—Mr. Gladstone, long the bosom friend of Sir Robert Peel, the representative of the University of Oxford—who, in the great debate which hurled Palmerston from office, said:

"'These times are grave for liberty. We live in the nineteenth century. We talk of progress; we believe that we are advancing; but can any man of observation who has watched the events of the last few years in Europe have failed to perceive that there is a movement, indeed, but a downward and backward movement? There are a few spots in which institutions that claim our sympathy still exist and flourish. They are secondary places, nay, they are almost the holes and corners of Europe, so far as mere material greatness is concerned, although their moral greatness will, I trust, insure them long

prosperity and happiness. But in these times more than ever does responsibility center upon England; and if it does center upon England, upon her principles, upon her laws, and upon her governors, then I say that a measure passed by this House of Commons—the chief hope of freedom—which attempts to establish a moral complicity between us and those who seek safety in repressive measures, will be a blow and a discouragement to that sacred cause in every country in the world.' [Loud cheers.]

"Bear in mind that Mr. Gladstone was urged by Lord Derby to accept a very high place in his Cabinet, and that there has not recently been, and is not likely soon to be, a Premier who would not gladly share with him the gravest responsibility." p. 471

494 An allusion to the atrocities committed by the French colonialists on the Arab tribes during the war in Algeria. See also Note 403. p. 472

495 In the spring of 1847 at Buzançais (department of the Indre) the starving workers and the neighbouring villagers looted storehouses belonging to profiteers, which led to a clash between the population and troops. Four of those who took part were executed and many others sentenced to hard labour. p. 472

496 In August 1847 Altarice-Rosalba-Fanny, the Duchess of Praslin, was found murdered in her home. Suspicion fell on her husband, the Duke of Praslin, who was arrested and who poisoned himself during the investigation. p. 472

497 On *Carbonari* see Note 483.

In the latter half of the 1850s several attempts were made on the life of Napoleon III, including one by the Italian patriot Orsini (see Note 464). In European circles some of these actions were ascribed to the desire to punish Napoleon III, who was member of the Italian Carbonari organisation in 1831, for breaking his commitments to it. p. 474

498 See Note 11. p. 475

499 See Note 471. p. 476

500 See Note 475. p. 476

501 The expression *"intelligent bayonets" (baïonnettes intelligentes)* is ascribed to the French general Changarnier. When in 1849, Marrast, President of the Constituent Assembly, felt a threat on the part of the Bonapartists and requested Changarnier to call up troops for the defence of the Assembly, Changarnier refused to do that with the remark that he did not like *baïonnettes intelligentes.* In this way he made it clear that the army should not be guided by political motives in its actions. Marx is alluding ironically here to the pro-Bonapartist French army which, in fact, played a considerable part in the policy of the Second Empire. p. 476

502 See Note 467. p. 476

503 In this article Marx made use of Engels' letter to him of March 17, 1858 (see present edition, Vol. 40, pp. 289-93). p. 477

504 The phrase *"L'horizon politique s'obscurcit"* (the political horizon is darkening) appeared daily in *Le Constitutionnel* on the eve of the revolution in France in 1848. p. 478

505 See Note 148. p. 478

506 See Note 293. p. 479

507 A reference to the rejection of the Alien Bill in the House of Commons in February 1858 and the resignation of the Palmerston Government that followed (see Note 474). p. 479

508 Marx is referring to the convention signed between France and Belgium on September 22 and ratified on October 11, 1856. It restricted Belgium's right to give asylum to political emigrants accused of the attempt on the life or of assassination of foreign sovereigns or members of their family. p. 480

509 See Note 472. p. 480

510 On December 10, 1848 Louis Bonaparte was elected President of the French Republic by a majority vote. p. 482

511 See Note 464. p. 482

512 See Note 471. p. 482

513 *Albion*—an old name of the British Isles; the expression "perfide Albion", current from the time of the French Revolution, was taken from a poem by Augustin, Marquis de Ximénès. Britain was so called for its government's numerous intrigues against the French Republic and organisation of anti-French coalitions. p. 484

514 It is said that in 362 B. C. a deep gulf opened in the forum, which the seers declared would never close until Rome's most valuable possession was thrown into it. Then Curtius, recognizing that nothing was more precious than a brave citizen, leaped into the chasm, which immediately closed. The spot was afterward covered by a marsh called the *Lacus Curtius*. p. 484

515 At the *Battle of Waterloo* (June 18, 1815) Napoleon's army was defeated by British and Prussian forces commanded by the Duke of Wellington and Blücher. p. 484

516 *Myrmidons,* in Homer, the inhabitants of Phthiotis in Thessaly. A fierce and devoted followers of Achilles. In modern times their name is used to mean subordinates who carry out orders implacably. p. 484

517 An allusion to the fact that, while in emigration in England, Louis Bonaparte volunteered for the special constabulary (a police reserve consisting of civilians) which helped the regular police disperse the Chartist demonstration on April 10, 1848, organised to present a petition to Parliament for the adoption of the People's Charter. p. 484

518 The *Holy Alliance*—an association of European monarchs founded on September 26, 1815, on the initiative of the Russian Emperor Alexander I and the Austrian Chancellor Metternich, to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries. p. 484

519 The *Triumvirs*—Mazzini, Saffi and Armellini—of the Roman Republic (1848-49) pursued a moderate policy. Although their measures towards peasants were progressive, in practice they neither changed agrarian relations in the countryside nor improved the hard condition of the peasants, who did not support the revolution in the greater part of the Italian states. p. 485

520 See Note 464. p. 486

521 The *Marianne,* founded in France in 1850, was a secret republican society which opposed Napoleon III during the Second Empire. p. 486

522 A great massacre of Huguenots by Catholics took place in Paris on St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24) in 1572.

Marx calls Louis François Veuillot the upholder of St. Bartholomew's Day because he was a rabid Catholic. p. 488

523 After the death of Pius VIII on November 20, 1830, the Holy See remained vacant until February 2, 1831. This created favourable conditions for uprisings against the Pope's secular power in a number of provinces of the Papal States—Romagna, Marca, Umbria—and also in the dukedoms of Modena and Parma. They were instigated by the Carbonari (see Note 483). Louis Bonaparte took part in the plot in Rome which was denounced by one of the conspirators. Expelled from Rome, Louis Bonaparte left for Florence. In late March 1831 the uprisings were suppressed by the Austrian troops and the government forces of small Italian states. p. 488

524 Marx's main source for this article were *Papers relating to the Negotiations carried on between Great Britain and France, between the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens, 25th March, 1802, and the recall of Lord Whitworth from Paris, 12th of May, 1803, including divers Papers from the English Ministers at the Hague, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, Copenhagen, and Hamburgh; to which is added an Appendix, containing offensive Papers, published by France.* Laid before the Parliament by His Majesty's Command on the 18th of May, 1803. This material was published in *Cobbett's Annual Register,* Vol. III, from January to June 1803 and Marx informed Engels about this in his letter of February 14, 1858 (see present edition, Vol. 40, pp. 265-66). p. 490

525 The *Peace of Amiens* signed by France on March 25 and by Britain on March 27, 1802 ended the war between France and the second European coalition. But peace did not last long. Napoleon I soon resumed the war under the pretext of Britain's failure to fulfil one of the conditions of the Amiens peace, namely to evacuate Malta, which she had occupied in 1800, and return it to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. p. 490

526 The *Alien Bill* was passed by the British Parliament in 1793 and renewed in 1802, 1803, 1816, 1818 and, finally, in 1848. The Bill authorised the Government to expel any foreigner from the Realm at any moment. It remained in force for one year. Subsequently conservative circles repeatedly urged its renewal. p. 491

527 The *Court of King's (Queen's) Bench* is one of the oldest courts in England; in the nineteenth century (up to 1873) it was an independent supreme court for criminal and civil cases competent to review the decisions of lower judicial bodies. p. 494

528 Marx alludes here to the introduction of a 12-pound cannon in the French army on Napoleon III's initiative, the so-called Louis Bonaparte's howitzer; it was planned that this cannon would replace all four calibres of field artillery but the appearance of rifled guns hindered this measure. p. 499

529 See Note 11. p. 499

530 See Note 15. p. 499

531 *"The savior of property"* was the name given to Louis Bonaparte in addresses which municipal councils of various French towns sent him in July 1849. p. 500

532 On Praetorian camps see notes 470 and 471.
On the attempt of January 14 see Note 464. p. 501

533 This title is given according to the entry in Marx's notebook for 1858. p. 504

534 This refers to the first Anglo-Afghan war of 1838-42 (see Note 221). p. 505

535 Marx means the proposals on the budget made on April 18, 1853 by Chancellor of the Exchequer Gladstone and adopted by the House of Commons. p. 511

536 The French surgeon Simon Bernard, residing in England, was accused of being an accomplice of Felice Orsini in the attempt on the life of Napoleon III (making bombs, etc.) and tried in London between April 12 and 17, 1858. By decision of the Central Criminal Court, Bernard was acquitted on April 17. p. 515

537 *Le Moniteur universel* published French colonels' addresses to Napoleon III on the occasion of his surviving after the attempt on his life on January 14, 1858 (see Note 464). These addresses abounded in threats against England. p. 515

538 See Note 463. p. 517

539 Marx presumably used the *Monthly Comparative Return of Paupers relieved in each month in each year* [1857, 1858]. Somewhat later *The Economist*, No. 769, May 22, 1858 carried the article "Pauperism and the State of Trade". Its author analysed the same official reports and gave some statistical data which are also quoted by Marx. p. 523

540 Engels is referring to the oldest form of defences raised by the Burmese around their towns and camps. p. 529

541 The Spanish fortress of *Badajoz* occupied by the garrison under General Phillipon was stormed and taken by English troops commanded by Wellington on April 8, 1812.

The French-held Spanish fortress of *San Sebastian* was stormed on August 31, 1813. Its commandant, General Rey, surrendered on September 8.

The capture of those towns was accompanied by plunder, violence and atrocities against local inhabitants. p. 530

542 On March 3, 1858, Lord Canning, the Governor-General of India, issued a proclamation on the confiscation of land in the province of Oudh in favour of the British Government. The confiscated property included the landed estates of big local feudal lords who had joined the Indian uprising. Canning's point of view was not shared by a number of prominent colonial officials and MPs who favoured a more flexible policy towards the Indian feudal lords and hoped to win them over by promises to leave their domains intact. Marx criticised the proclamation in the articles "The Annexation of Oudh" and "Lord Canning's Proclamation and Land Tenure in India" (see this volume, pp. 533-38 and 546-49). p. 531

543 Engels is referring to the battles fought during the first Anglo-Sikh war of 1845-46. Despite the well-organised army and strong artillery the Sikhs were defeated by the British at Moodka (near Lahore) on December 18, at Ferozeshah (near Ferozepore) on December 21, 1845 and at Aliwal (near the Sutlej) on January 28, 1846 and lost the war. The main cause of their defeat was the treachery on the part of their supreme command. p. 532

544 This title is given according to the entry Marx made in his notebook on May 14, 1858: "India (Politics) (Annexation of Oude)." p. 533

545 See notes 196 and 483. p. 533

546 Marx is referring to the Polish national liberation insurrection of 1830-31. The majority of its participants were revolutionary nobles and most of its leaders came from the aristocracy, whose estates were confiscated. p. 533

547 The *Battle of Novara* between Piedmontese and Austrian troops lasted the whole day of March 22 and ended at dawn on March 23, 1849, in the defeat and withdrawal of the Piedmontese army. p. 533

548 In 1739 Oudh seceded from the Great Mogul Empire and became an independent principality with Lucknow as its capital. Under the treaty of Allahabad (1765) Robert Clive, Governor of Bengal, concluded a subsidiary alliance with Shuja ud-Daulah; the latter had virtually lost power, which passed into the hands of the British Resident. To camouflage this state of affairs the English often referred to the ruler of Oudh as King. p. 534

549 Under the treaty concluded between the East India Company and the Nawab Vizier of Oudh in 1801 Oudh lost a considerable part of its territory between the Ganges and the Jumna, and also Rokhilkhand and Gorakhpur (known as the Ceded Districts) in compensation for failing to repay the Company's subsidies. The Nawab disbanded his troops, and the strength of the Company's troops in Oudh increased. p. 535

550 See Note 368. p. 537

551 Marx informed Engels about the response to his article among the Hungarian émigrés in the USA in his letter of July 2, 1858 (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 324). p. 539

552 Almost all India was under British rule by the middle of the nineteenth century. Cashmere, Rajputana, part of Hyderabad, Mysore and other smaller principalities were vassals of the East India Company. p. 546

553 On *Zemindars* see Note 402.

*Talookdars*—big feudal lords in Oudh, the majority of whom came from the ranks of the land-tax collectors who turned the districts taxed by them into their own property.

*Sirdars*—big Sikh feudal lords. p. 546

554 The reference is to the promulgation of the Permanent Settlement on March 22, 1793 by the Indian Governor-General Charles Cornwallis. It declared almost all lands in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa permanent property of zemindars and the sum of taxes they paid was also established in perpetuity. p. 547

555 See Note 542. p. 548

556 In his dispatch of April 19, 1858 the President of the Board of Control, Lord Ellenborough, severely criticised Lord Canning's proclamation of March 3, 1858 (see Note 542). However, Ellenborough's dispatch was not approved of by the British ruling classes and on May 10, 1858 he had to resign. p. 549

557 In his letter to Engels of May 31, 1858 Marx wrote that during the past week he had prepared two articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune*, presumably this and the preceding one. p. 550

558 See Note 531. p. 550

559 See Note 15. p. 551

560 See Note 470. p. 552

561 See Note 478. p. 552

562 On June 4, 1858, Marx wrote in his notebook: "Army in India", and in the letter to Engels on June 7 he acknowledged the receipt of Engels' article for the *New-York Daily Tribune*: "very amusing one, too" (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 319). He was probably referring to this article. p. 556

563 An allusion to the fact that Britain's Prime Minister was also First Lord of the Treasury. p. 566

564 The *People's Charter,* which contained the demands of the Chartists, was published in the form of a Parliamentary Bill on May 8, 1838. It contained six points: universal suffrage (for men of 21 and over), annual parliaments, vote by ballot, equal electoral districts, abolition of the property qualification of MPs and payment for MPs. Petitions urging the adoption of the People's Charter were turned down by Parliament in 1839, 1842 and 1848.

The property qualification of MPs was abolished by Parliament in 1858. p. 566

565 The reference is to the policy of the Austrian ruling circles during a big peasant uprising in Galicia in February and March 1846 which coincided with the Cracow national liberation uprising. Taking advantage of class and national contradictions, the Austrian authorities provoked clashes between the insurgent Galician peasants and the Polish lesser nobility (szlachta) who were trying to come to the assistance of Cracow. The peasant uprising began with the disarming of the insurgent szlachta detachments and grew into a mass sacking of landowners' estates. After dealing with the insurgent szlachta, the Austrian Government also suppressed the peasant uprising in Galicia. p. 568

566 See Note 15. p. 569

567 A reference to a Bill tabled in Parliament by the Derby Ministry in March and adopted on August 2, 1858 as the *Act for the Better Government of India.* It placed India under the control of the British Crown, while the East India Company was dissolved, and its shareholders were compensated with £3 million from the Indian budget. The Act also provided for the formation of the Indian Council as a consultative body consisting of 15 military and civil officials in the Anglo-Indian service. The Governor-General of India became the Viceroy, virtually remaining a functionary of the Secretary of State for India in London; the latter kept full control over British colonial administration and the military forces of the former East India Company.

A critical analysis of the Act is given by Marx in his article "The Indian Bill" (see this volume, pp. 585-88). p. 576

568 This title was given in accordance with the entry in Marx's notebook for 1858. p. 580

569 A reference to the colonial war in Algeria, launched by the French Government in 1830. The Algerian people put up a stubborn resistance to the French colonialists; it took them 40 years to turn Algeria into a French colony. p. 583

570 This title was given in accordance with the entry in Marx's notebook for 1858. p. 585

571 A reference to the *Act for establishing certain Regulations for the better Management of the Affairs of the East India Company, as well in India as in Europe of 1773*. Its main provisions were as follows: the qualification for a vote in the Court of Proprietors was raised from £500 to £1,000 and was restricted to those who had held their stock for at least twelve months. Measures were taken to prevent the collusive transfer of stock, and the consequent multiplying of votes. The directors were henceforth to be elected for four years, and one-fourth of their number must retire every year, remaining at least one year out of office. There was to be a Governor-General of Bengal assisted by four councillors. They were to have power to superintend the subordinate presidencies in making war or peace. The first governor-general and councillors, Warren Hastings, Clavering, Monson, Barwell and Philip Francis were named in the Act. They were to hold office for five years, and future appointments were to be made by the Company. The Act empowered the Crown to establish by charter a Supreme Court of Justice, consisting of a chief justice and three puisne judges. p. 585

572 See Note 567. p. 586

573 See Note 474. p. 587

574 *Civis Romanus sum* ("I am a Roman Citizen")—an expression used by Foreign Secretary Lord Palmerston in his speech in the House of Commons on June 25, 1850. Palmerston declared that like the formula of Roman citizenship, *Civis Romanus sum*, secured universal respect for the citizens of Ancient Rome, so also a British subject, in whatever land he may be, shall feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong. p. 588

575 Marx means the Anglo-Afghan war of 1838-42, in which the British forces were utterly defeated (see Note 221). p. 588

576 See Note 252. p. 588

577 A reference to the Second "Opium" War with China, 1856-60. p. 588

578 About his letter to the *Neue Zeit* Marx wrote to Engels on August 18, 1858 (see present edition, Vol. 40, pp. 340-41). p. 589

579 This article was written by Engels, on Marx's request, between July 16 and 20, 1858 and sent to New York on July 27. The *New-York Daily Tribune* editors tampered with the text and this is particularly noticeable in the last paragraph. Moreover, the editors changed the title to "How the Indian War Has Been Mismanaged" and published it unsigned. In this volume the title is given in accordance with the entry in Marx's Notebook for 1858. p. 590

580 The *American War of Independence* (1775-83)—a revolutionary war fought by 13 British colonies in North America. As a result of their victory an independent state was formed, the United States of America. France fought on the side of the Americans. p. 590

581 See Note 258. p. 597

582 Marx may have referred to his first article about Lady Bulwer-Lytton written on July 16, 1858, but not published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*. p. 597

583 The *Sikh empire,* a feudal Indian state on the territory of the Punjab, was founded at the end of the eighteenth century and reached its heyday at the beginning of the nineteenth century under Ranjit Singh who brought into subjection all local principalities and some neighbouring regions. Ranjit Singh created strong military organisation and the Sikh army was considered the best in India.

On the subjugation of the Punjab see Note 215. p. 610

584 This became a dictum in the 1840s. It originated with Lord Palmerston who wrote on February 14, 1840 to John Cam Hobhouse, Baron Broughton, President of the Board of Control: "It seems pretty clear that sooner or later the Cossack and the Sepoy, the man from the Baltic and he from the British islands will meet in the centre of Asia." p. 610

585 These notes are to be found in Marx's notebook of excerpts dated November 1854-early 1857. He made them during his work on the articles "Maritime Commerce of Austria" (see this volume, pp. 139-50). p. 615

586 The Genoese obtained privileges under the Nimpha Treaty of 1261 with the Byzantine emperor Mikhail VIII Palaeolog. p. 615

587 On the Treaty of Campo-Formio and of Lunéville see Note 170. p. 616

588 See Note 171. p. 616

589 A reference to the treaty between France and Austria signed in Fontainebleau on October 10, 1807. It specified the boundaries between the Austrian Empire and the Italian Kingdom. p. 616

590 See Note 171. p. 616

591 *Convention money (coin)* was introduced in Austria in 1753. The standard of the 20-gulden, or convention, system was silver. 20 guldens contained 234 grams of pure silver. With the introduction and the growing quantity of paper money in circulation, particularly during the 1848-49 revolution, the rate of exchange of convention money for it constantly increased. p. 616

592 In the summer of 1854 when the fourth bourgeois revolution in Spain (1854-56) broke out, Marx began studying in earnest the history of the nineteenth-century bourgeois revolutions in that country with the aim of ascertaining the specific character of the new revolution, which, he believed, if a success, could give an impact to revolutionary events in other European countries. As can be judged by the notebook in which Marx put down the dates of dispatching the articles to New York and sometimes briefly disclosed their contents, in August-November 1854 he wrote for the *New-York Daily Tribune* nine articles with the general title "Revolutionary Spain". In September-December that year the newspaper published the first six articles dealing with the first (1808-14) and the beginning of the second (1820-23) revolutions and containing a short survey of Spain's preceding history. However, the editors arbitrarily divided the articles, printing them in eight numbers, and thus the printed series of articles "Revolutionary Spain" consisted of eight articles (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 389-452). The remaining three articles were not found in the newspaper columns and were regarded as unpublished. Only a small fragment from their draft manuscript has survived dealing with the causes that led to the defeat of the second revolution. It is probably part of the eighth article (Marx's numeration) and may be considered relevant to the entry in the Notebook made on November 21, 1854 (ibid., pp. 654-59).

In 1983, when Volume 14, Section I, of *MEGA* was being prepared for publication, research workers of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany discovered the seventh (ninth in the newspaper) article of the series. It was published in the morning edition of the *New-York Daily Tribune* for March 23, 1855. This issue is missing in the file of the newspaper available at the library of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CC CPSU. The content of the article corresponds to the entry in the Notebook made on November 14, 1854: "Tuesday, November 14. Spain 1820-July 1822." The article substantially adds to the analysis of the laws governing bourgeois revolutions in general, given by Marx on the example of the nineteenth-century Spanish bourgeois revolutions, and also to the description of certain features of the revolution and counter-revolution in Spain itself determined by its specific historical development.

The article is reproduced here from the photocopy kindly placed at the disposal of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC SUPG. p. 621

593 A reference to the Constitution adopted by the Spanish Cortes in Cadiz on March 19, 1812 (see Note 142). Marx analysed it in one of the articles of this series (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 424-33).

For his study of the Constitution Marx used its text in *The Political Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy. Proclaimed in Cadix, 19 March 1812,* London, 1813. p. 621

594 The French Constitution adopted by the Legislative Assembly in 1791 established constitutional monarchy in the country. The king was granted full executive powers and the right of veto. This Constitution was annulled as a result of the popular uprising of August 10, 1792. p. 621

595 An allusion to the description of the absolute monarchy in Spain given by Marx in the first article of this series, namely: "The absolute monarchy in Spain, bearing but a superficial resemblance to the absolute monarchies of Europe in general, is rather to be ranged in a class with the Asiatic forms of government" (see present edition, Vol. 13, p. 396). p. 622

596 Marx is referring to the second bourgeois revolution in Spain (1820-23). p. 622

597 Marx analysed these events in the article "Espartero" (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 340-46). p. 622

598 *Ayuntamientos* were organs of local government in Spain, which played a great political role during the Reconquest, or struggle for Spain's liberation from the Arab yoke (eighth-fifteenth centuries), and which were liquidated later. The re-establishment of *ayuntamientos* was one of the democratic demands of the early nineteenth-century bourgeois revolutions. p. 623

599 An allusion to the fact that on the eve of the first bourgeois revolution (1808-14) the power in Spain was actually concentrated in the hands of Manuel Godoy (nicknamed "the sausage-maker"), the favourite of the royal couple, Carlos IV and Maria Luisa. p. 623

600 Ferdinand VII abdicated in May 1808 and lived in Talleyrand's palace in France from 1808 to March 3, 1814. p. 623

601 The reference is to the negotiations between Ferdinand VII and the French Government concerning the terms of Ferdinand's return to Spain terminated in the agreement of December 11, 1813. On December 15, Joseph Bonaparte

abdicated from the Spanish throne in Ferdinand's favour. The Spanish Regency, whom Ferdinand had sent his instructions immediately after December 11, did not fulfil the terms of the agreement. p. 624

602 *Pavillon Marsan*—a building in the Tuileries Palace; during the Restoration it was the residence of the Count of Artois. p. 624

603 This refers to the decree issued by Ferdinand VII on September 30, 1823. p. 624

604 In the course of the national liberation war of the Spanish people against Napoleon I the fortress of Badajoz was many a time the site of fierce battles. p. 624

605 The *Cadiz Cortes*—the constituent assembly in Spain convened on September 24, 1810 and dissolved on September 20, 1813, during the first Spanish revolution (1808-14). The Cortes promulgated a number of laws, and the adoption of the Constitution was of special importance (see notes 142 and 593). p. 624

606 The *Moderados* (see Note 136) were also called *anilleros* (see this volume, p. 629) during the second revolution (1820-23).

The *Exaltados* represented the Left wing in the revolution of 1820-23 and were supported by the democratic section among the officers, urban middle and petty bourgeoisie, artisans and workers. Marx called the Moderados the Liberals of 1812, and the Exaltados the Liberals of 1820. p. 625

607 During the 1820-23 revolution many democratic clubs and secret societies were set up in Spain. The most radical among the secret societies was the Confederation of Spanish Comuneros which numbered 70,000 members. Comuneros favoured resolute struggle against counter-revolution. After the defeat of the revolution the Comuneros were severely persecuted and abandoned their activity. p. 625

608 The *army of the Isla* (of the Island)—an expeditionary corps concentrated in 1819 near Cadiz and on the Isle of Leon to be dispatched to Latin America where the national liberation struggle was waged against the Spanish domination (see Note 615). A plan for an armed revolt against Ferdinand VII's despotism was being hatched in the expeditionary army formed of unreliable elements. The Riego battalion, which mutinied on January 1, 1820, and thus started the second revolution in Spain, was also part of this corps. p. 625

609 Marx is referring here to the detachments formed by the Catholic-absolutist group of Apostolics who called themselves the "army of faith" and staged a revolt against the revolutionary government in 1822 in Catalonia, Navarra and Biscay. In 1823 these detachments joined the French interventionists. p. 625

610 The decree nominating General Carvajal to the post of Captain-General of New Castile was signed by Ferdinand VII on November 16, 1820. Marx drew this information from a book by W. Walton, *The Revolutions of Spain*, 2 volumes, London, 1837. p. 626

611 On October 5-6, 1789, during the French Revolution, the Paris revolutionary masses marched to Versailles and frustrated the counter-revolutionary plot of the Court. The King and the Constituent Assembly were forced to return to Paris. p. 626

612 The Ministry that came to power in 1820 included active participants in the 1808-14 revolution—Evaristo Pérez de Castro, Manuel García Herreros, Augustin de Argüelles and others, who were victims of repressions after its defeat. p. 626

613 In July 1820 bourgeois revolutionaries (Carbonari) started a revolt in the Kingdom of Naples (the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies) and obtained a democratic constitution on the pattern of the Spanish Constitution of 1812. The Congress of the Holy Alliance which opened in Troppau in October 1820 and closed in Laibach in May 1821 took a decision to send Austrian troops to Italy. p. 627

614 The servile party (serviles)—a nickname given to the reactionary clerico-absolutist group which arose during the first bourgeois revolution in Spain (1808-14); later its members formed the Court camarilla of Ferdinand VII. p. 627

615 Marx is referring to the liberation war waged by the Spanish colonies in America (1810-26). General Morillo, who commanded the Spanish army there in 1815-20, was most brutal in suppressing the insurgents. p. 627

616 A reference to the Francisco Martínez de la Rosa Ministry appointed in late February 1822. p. 628

617 A reference to the suppression of the revolt in Naples by the Austrian troops (see Note 613). p. 628

618 *Las Cabezas* (Las Cabezas de San Juan)—a small town north-east of Cadiz, where Riego quartered his battalion at the end of December 1819 and whence he started his revolutionary march (see Note 608). p. 629

619 The *doctrinaire school* included French bourgeois politicians of the Restoration (1815-30), constitutional monarchists who wanted to form in France a bourgeois-aristocratic bloc like that in England. Most prominent among them were the historian François Guizot and the philosopher Pierre Paul Royer-Collard. p. 629

620 Marx is referring to the constitution, the so-called Charter, which was imposed by Louis XVIII in 1814, after Napoleon I's defeat, and established constitutional monarchy in France. p. 629

621 General Elío,who was sentenced to imprisonment in 1820 for having organised a counter-revolutionary coup in 1814, was kept in the citadel of Valencia. p. 630

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*Alexander Jagiello* (1460 or 1461-1506)—Grand Duke of Lithuania from 1492, King of Poland (1501-06).—85-86

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*Andrei Bogolubski* (c. 1111-1174)—Grand Duke of Vladimir-Suzdal from 1157; fought for the unification of Rus under his domination.—77

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*Argyll, George John Douglas Campbell, Duke of* (1823-1900)—British statesman, Peelite; Lord Privy Seal (1853-55, 1859-66, 1880-81), Postmaster-General (1855-58, 1860), Secretary for India (1868-74).—389

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*August(us) II (the Strong)* (1670-1733)—King of Poland (1697-1706, 1709-33) and Elector of Saxony as Frederick Augustus I (1694-1733).—41, 48, 49, 51

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*Bacon, Francis, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans* (1561-1626)—English philosopher, naturalist and historian.—56

*Bahadur Shah II* (1767-1862)—the last Great Mogul ruler in India (1837-58); from 1849 was pensioned off by the English and had no real power; in 1857, during the national liberation uprising in India, was again proclaimed Emperor by the insurgents; after the capture of Delhi in September 1857 was arrested by the English and exiled to Burma (1858).—299, 305, 365, 375

*Baillie, Henry James* (b. 1804)—British government official, Secretary of the Board of Control for India, Tory M.P.—536

*Baird, Sir David* (1757-1829)—British general, commanded the British expeditionary force in Egypt in 1800-02.—593

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*Bandiera* brothers, *Attilio* (1810-1844) and *Emilio* (1819-1844)—Austrian naval officers, participants in the Italian national liberation movement; members of the Young Italy society; executed for an attempt to raise an insurrection in Calabria (1844).—216

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*Baraguay d'Hilliers, Achille, comte* (1795-1878)—Marshal of France, took part in the Napoleonic campaigns, later sided with the Bourbons; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; Bonapartist after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—465

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*Bernard, Simon François (Bernard le Clubiste)* (1817-1862)—French republican; emigrated to Britain after the defeat of the 1848 revolution; in 1858 was accused by the French Government of being an accomplice in Orsini's attempt on the life of Napoleon III; acquitted by the British Court.—515, 516

*Berryer, Arthur*—agent of the French Government in the joint-stock company, Docks Napoléon; son of lawyer Pierre Antoine Berryer; in March 1857 was sentenced to two-year confinement for participating in the financial machinations of the company's governors.—474

*Berryer, Pierre Antoine* (1790-1868)—French lawyer and politician, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; Legitimist.—474

*Berthier, Louis Alexandre, prince de Neuchâtel, duc de Valengin, prince de Wagram* (1753-1815)—Marshal of France, chief-of-staff in Napoleon's army (1799, 1805-07, 1812-14); after the fall of the Napoleonic Empire (1814) sided with the Bourbons.—465

*Bertrán de Lys (Lis), Manuel*—Spanish statesman, deputy to the Cortes, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1851, 1852) and Minister of the Interior (1851).—630

*Bestuzhev (Bestoucheff)-Ryumin, Alexei Petrovich, Count* (1693-1766)—Russian statesman and diplomat, Chancellor of State from 1744; up to 1758 virtually directed Russia's foreign policy.—29

*Bethell, Richard, Lord Westbury* (1800-1873)—British lawyer and statesman, Liberal; Solicitor General (1852-56), Attorney-General (1856-58, 1860-61) and Lord Chancellor (1861-65).—215-16

*Billault, Adolphe Augustin Marie* (1805-1863)—French politician, Minister of the Interior (1854-58).—414, 455

*Biron, Ernst Johann, Duke of Courland* (from 1737) (1690-1772)—a Courland nobleman, favourite of the Russian Empress Anna Ivanovna, grand chamberlain at the Russian Court.—27

*Blackstone, Sir William* (1723-1780)—English lawyer, advocate of constitutional monarchy.—356

*Boitelle, Symphorien Casimir Joseph* (1813-1897)—colonel of the French army, prefect of the Paris police (1858-66).—480, 482

*Bonaparte*—imperial dynasty in France (1804-14, 1815, 1852-70).—124, 134, 323, 623

*Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon I*

*Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Bonaparte, Jérôme* (1784-1860)—younger brother of Napoleon I; King of Westphalia (1807-13), Marshal of France from 1850.—457, 466, 479

*Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul* (1822-1891)—son of Jérôme Bonaparte, cousin of Napoleon III; adopted the name of Jérôme after the death of his elder brother (1847).—98, 474

*Bonham, Sir Samuel George* (1803-1863)—British colonial official, Governor of Hong Kong and Superintendent of Trade in China (1847-52).—161, 162, 234

*Bosquet, Pierre Joseph François* (1810-1861)—French general, marshal from 1856; senator, participated in the Crimean war of 1853-56.—465, 483

*Bourbons*—royal dynasty in France (1589-1792, 1814-15, 1815-30), in Spain (1700-1808, 1814-68, 1874-1931 and since 1975) and in a number of Italian states.—29, 31

*Bourchier, George* (1821-1898)—British army officer, took part in suppressing the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India.—370

*Bowring, Sir John* (1792-1872)—British politician, linguist and writer, follower of Jeremy Bentham, Free Trader; colonial official, consul at Canton (1847-52); in 1854-57 governor, commander-in-chief and vice-admiral in Hong Kong, performed various diplomatic functions and supervised trade with China.—160, 208-12, 216-18, 222, 233, 355

*Bravo Murillo, Juan* (1803-1873)—Spanish statesman, belonged to the Moderado Party, head of government (1850-52).—285, 286

*Brereton*—an English official in India, Commissioner of the Loodhiana District in the Punjab (1855).—339-40

*Briggs, John* (1785-1875)—British general; served in the East India Company in 1801-35, member of its Court of Proprietors (1853); Free Trader, wrote and translated a number of works on India and Persia.—578

*Bright, John* (1811-1889)—English manufacturer and politician; a leader of the Free Traders and a founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; member of the House of Commons (from 1843).—229-30, 238-42, 567, 575-77, 579

*Brofferio, Angelo* (1802-1866)—Italian politician, poet and journalist, member of the Piedmont Chamber of Deputies from 1848, leader of the democratic opposition; follower of Garibaldi.—6

*Brougham and Vaux, Henry Peter, Baron* (1778-1868)—British Whig statesman, lawyer and writer; Lord Chancellor (1830-34).—469, 572

*Brown, Humphrey*—British businessman, M.P., a director of the Royal British Bank (1853-56), sentenced for machinations.—111, 266-69

*Buckingham, Henry Stafford, Duke of* (c. 1454-1483)—English feudal lord, helped Richard III to ascend the throne, later betrayed him and was executed.—219

*Bulwer, William Henry Lytton Earle (Baron Dalling and Bulwer)* (1801-1872)—British diplomat, Whig M.P. (1830-37); chargé d'affaires in the Danubian Principalities (1856-58); ambassador to Constantinople (1858-65).—325

*Bulwer-Lytton*—see *Lytton, Edward George Earle Lytton, Bulwer-Lytton*

*Bunyan, John* (1628-1688)—English writer.—457

*Burat, Jules François* (1807-1885)—French journalist.—115

*Burke, Edmund* (1729-1797)—British statesman and political writer, Whig M.P.; supported the Tories from 1791; at the beginning of his career advocated liberal principles, subsequently an opponent of the French Revolution.—30, 36

*Butenew, Appollinary Petrovich* (1787-1866)—Russian diplomat; envoy to Turkey (1856-58).—545

C

*Cadoudal, Georges* (1771-1804)—French politician, royalist; took part in the counter-revolutionary uprising in Vendée (1793); made several attempts to organise a royalist uprising in France; executed in 1804 for an attempted royalist coup in Paris.—494, 495

*Caesar (Gaius Julius Caesar)* (c. 100-44 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman.—146, 164, 356

*Cairns, Huge McCalmont* (1819-1885)—British lawyer and statesman, Tory and later a Conservative; Lord Justice of Appeal (from 1858).—586

*Calatrava, José María* (1781-1847)—Spanish statesman and lawyer; took part in the Spanish revolutions of 1808-14, 1820-23 and 1834-43; deputy to the Cortes; Minister of Justice (1823), Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1836).—628

*Calkoen, Cornelis* (1695-1764)—Dutch diplomat, ambassador to Turkey (1725-44).—27

*Calonge y Fenollet, Eusebio de* (1814-1874)—Spanish general; took part in the Carlist wars on the side of Isabella II; Captain-General of Pamplona (1854).—284, 285

*Cameron, Hugh Innes*—manager of the Royal British Bank (1849-55), sentenced for machinations.—112, 267-69

*Campbell*—British general, took part in suppressing the Indian national liberation uprising of 1857-59.—508

*Campbell, Alexander, Earl of Marchmont* (1675-1740)—British politician and diplomat, ambassador extraordinary to Denmark (1715-21).—45, 66

*Campbell, Sir Colin, Baron Clyde* (from 1858) (1792-1863)—British general, field marshal from 1862; in 1854-55 fought in the Crimean war; commander-in-chief of the British army which suppressed the Indian national liberation uprising of 1857-59.—373, 419-20, 423-24, 435-37, 441-42, 447-48, 450-52, 504-09,

527, 529-31, 548, 557-59, 580-83, 607

*Campbell, Sir George* (1824-1892)—British official in India (1843-74 with intervals); Liberal; author of works on India.—579

*Canning, Charles John, Earl* (from 1859) (1812-1862)—British statesman, Tory, then Peelite; Governor-General of India (1856-62), organised the suppression of the Indian national liberation uprising of 1857-59.—363, 437, 531, 533-34, 547-49, 594

*Canning, George* (1770-1827)—British statesman and diplomat, Tory, Foreign Secretary (1807-09, 1822-27), Prime Minister (1827).—188, 469

*Canrobert, François Certain* (1809-1895)—Marshal of France, Bonapartist; an active participant in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; commander-in-chief of the French army (September 1854-May 1855) during the Crimean war.—466, 483

*Cantemir, Demetrius (Demeter), Prince* (1673-1723)—Moldavian encyclopaedist and politician; Hospodar of Moldavia (1710-11); in 1711 concluded an agreement with Peter I placing Moldavia under Russian suzerainty.—89

*Cardwell, Eduard Cardwell, Viscount* (1813-1886)—British statesman, a leader of the Peelites and then a Liberal; President of the Board of Trade (1852-55), Chief Secretary for Ireland (1859-61).—61, 249

*Carl Ludvig Eugène* (1826-1872)—Crown Prince of Sweden, Regent (1857-59); King of Sweden and Norway under the name of Charles XV (1859-72); son of Oscar I.—334

*Carlos Maria Isidro de Borbón (Don Carlos)* (1788-1855)—brother of Ferdinand VII; pretender to the Spanish throne under the name of Charles V; head of the feudal clerical party (Carlists) which fomented a civil war in Spain (1833-40).—104, 106

*Carmarthen, Marquis of*—see *Osborne, Sir Thomas*

*Carvajal*—Spanish general, nominated by Ferdinand VII Captain-General of New Castile in 1820.—626

*Casa-Irujo, Carlos Maria Martinez* (1765-1824)—Spanish statesman, ambassador to Paris (1821), Minister of Foreign Affairs (1823).—624

*Casimir IV Jagiello* (1427-1492)—Grand Duke of Lithuania from 1440; King of Poland (1447-92).—85, 86

*Cass, Lewis* (1782-1866)—American statesman, general and diplomat, member of the Democratic Party; Secretary of State (1857-60).—570-71

*Cassagnac*—see *Granier de Cassagnac, Bernard Adolphe*

*Castellane, Esprit Victor Elisabeth Boniface, comte de* (1788-1862)—Marshal of France, Bonapartist; commanded the garrison of Lyons from 1850.—466, 475

*Castello, Mary Anne*—English actress, George Canning's mother.—469

*Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Marquis of Londonderry, Viscount* (1769-1822)—British statesman, Tory; Secretary for War and for the Colonies (1805-06, 1807-09); Foreign Secretary (1812-22); committed suicide.—114, 222, 471, 491

*Catherine I Alexeyevna* (1684-1727)—second wife of Peter the Great (from 1712); Empress of Russia (1725-27).—59, 60

*Catherine II* (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-96).—28-29, 31-32, 34-37, 39-40, 60, 157, 187, 224

*Catiline (Lucius Sergius Catilina)* (c. 108-62 B.C.)—Roman politician,

organiser of a conspiracy against the aristocratic republic.—36

*Cavaignac, Louis Eugène* (1802-1857)—French general, moderate republican; in May-June 1848 War Minister; directed the suppression of the June 1848 uprising of the Paris workers; head of the executive (June-December 1848); after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, opposed the government of Napoleon III.—302, 353, 465

*Cavendish, Lord John* (1732-1796)—British politician, Whig, Chancellor of the Exchequer (March-July 1782, April-December 1783), M.P.—34

*Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de* (1547-1616)—Spanish writer.—513

*Châlons-Orange, House of*—a family of French counts going back to the 14th century.—152

*Chamberlain, Sir Neville Bowles* (1820-1902)—British general, then field marshal; commanded the irregular forces in the Punjab (1854-58); took part in suppressing the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India.—343, 370, 506, 509

*Chambord, Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonné d'Artois, duc de Bordeaux, comte de* (1820-1883)—last representative of the elder line of the Bourbons; grandson of Charles X; pretender to the French throne under the name of Henry V.—466

*Changarnier, Nicolas Anne Théodule* (1793-1877)—French general and politician, monarchist; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848-51); banished from France after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—476, 480

*Charles II* (1630-1685)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1660-85).—70, 71

*Charles (Carlos) III* (1716-1788)—King of Spain (1759-88), King of Naples as Charles VII and Sicily as Charles IV (1735-59).—32

*Charles V* (1500-1558)—Holy Roman Emperor (1519-56) and King of Spain as Charles (Carlos) I (1516-56); Prince of the Netherlands (1516-55); King of Sicily (1516-56).—156, 356

*Charles VI* (1685-1740)—Holy Roman Emperor (1711-40).—27, 51, 52

*Charles X* (1757-1836)—King of France (1824-30); Count of Artois before he acceded to the throne.—334, 624

*Charles X (Gustavus)* (1622-1660)—King of Sweden (1654-60).—95

*Charles XI* (1655-1697)—King of Sweden (1660-97).—70-71

*Charles XII* (1682-1718)—King of Sweden (1697-1718).—29, 41-42, 44, 48-55, 57, 59, 63, 65-67, 69-72, 92

*Charles Albert (Carlo Alberto)* (1798-1849)—King of Sardinia and Piedmont (1831-49).—6

*Charles Louis (Karl Ludwig)* (1771-1847)—Archduke of Austria, field marshal and military author; commander-in-chief during the wars with France (1796, 1799, 1805 and 1809), War Minister (1805-09).—170

*Charles the Great (Charlemagne)* (742-814)—King of the Franks (768-800), Holy Roman Emperor (800-814).—75

*Charles ("the Bold")* (1433-1477)—Duke of Burgundy (1467-77).—152

*Chatham*—see *Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham ("the Senior")*

*Chateaubriand, François René, vicomte de* (1768-1848)—French writer, statesman and diplomat; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1822-24).—15

*The Chernyshevs (Chernicheffs)*—a Russian aristocratic family close to the

Court in the 18th-19th centuries.—31

*Chevalier, Michel* (1806-1879)—French engineer, economist and journalist, Saint-Simon's follower; supported Napoleon III's economic policy, wrote for the *Journal des Débats*.—15

*Ch'ing (The Manchu)*—dynasty of Manchu emperors, ruled in China from 1644 to 1911.—225, 282

*Christian V* (1646-1699)—King of Denmark and Norway (1670-99).—70

*Christina*—see *María Cristina*

*Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero)* (106-43 B.C.)—Roman orator, statesman and philosopher.—95, 154, 282

*Clanricarde, Ulick John de Burgh, Earl and Marquis of* (1802-1874)—English diplomat and politician, Whig; ambassador to St. Petersburg (1838-41), Lord Privy Seal (1857-58).—469, 596

*Clarendon, George William Frederick Villiers, Earl of, Baron Hyde* (1800-1870)—British statesman, Whig, then Liberal; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (1847-52), Foreign Secretary (1853-58, 1865-66, 1868-70).—5, 217-18, 232, 250, 324, 547

*Clark* or *Clerk, Sir George* (1787-1867)—British statesman, Tory, then Peelite; Secretary to the Treasury (1834-35, 1841-45), Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint (1845-46).—249

*Claudius* (10 B.C.-A.D. 54)—Roman Emperor (41-51).—164

*Clay, Sir William* (1791-1869)—British politician and journalist, Whig, M.P. (1832-57).—200

*Cobbett, William* (1763-1835)—British politician and radical writer; published *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register* from 1802.—356, 493

*Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865)—English manufacturer and politician; a leader of the Free Traders and a founder of the Anti-Corn Law League, M.P.—207, 211, 215, 220, 227-29, 238-40, 249, 469

*Cockburn, Sir George* (1772-1853)—British admiral (from 1837), First Lord of the Admiralty (1841-46), Admiral of the Fleet (1851).—571

*Codrington, Sir William John* (1804-1884)—British general, commander-in-chief of the British army in the Crimea (November 1855-July 1856), Governor of Gibraltar (1859-65), M.P.—447

*Collado, José Manuel*—Spanish politician, banker, member of the Progresista Party, Minister of Finance in the Espartero Ministry (August 1854-January 1855).—288

*Colquhoun, Robert Guilmour*—British consul in Bucharest in the 1840s and 1850s.—62

*Concha, Manuel Gutiérrez de le, marqués del Duero* (1808-1874)—Spanish general, belonged to the Moderado Party; conspired against Espartero in 1843; helped organise the suppression of revolution of 1854-56.—98, 105

*Constantine XI Palaeologus* (1405-1453)—last Byzantine Emperor (1449-53).—80

*Contador, Riego*—Spanish War Minister (1821).—624

*Corberon, Marie Daniel Bourrée, baron de* (1748-1810)—French diplomat, chargé d'affaires in Russia (1777-80).—31

*Cornwallis, Charles Cornwallis, Marquis and Earl* (1738-1805)—British statesman, Governor-General of India (1786-93, 1805); as the Viceroy of Ireland (1798-1801) suppressed the Irish rebellion of 1798.—547

*Courtais, Aimable Gaspard Henri, vicomte de* (1790-1877)—French general, began his service in Napoleon I's army; commanded the National Guard of Paris in 1848-49; abandoned politics after the revolution.—481

*Cousin, Victor* (1792-1867)—French philosopher.—488

*Coxe, William* (1747-1828)—English historian and traveller, archdeacon in Wiltshire from 1804; collected and published historical documents.—36

*Cramail, Adrien de Montluc, comte de, prince de Chabanais* (1588-1642)—French writer.—326

*Cranworth, Robert Monsey Rolfe, Baron* (1790-1868)—British statesman and lawyer, Whig, Lord Chancellor (1852-58, 1865-66).—207

*Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—leader of the English Revolution, Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653.—69

*Cunibert, Bartélemy Sylvestre*—physician of Prince Miloš Obrenović of Serbia (up to 1839); author of a history of Serbia.—62

D

*Dalhousie, James Andrew Broun Ramsay, Earl and Marquis of* (1812-1860)—British statesman, Peelite, Governor-General of India (1847-56), pursued a policy of colonial conquests.—312, 337, 340, 534, 537, 538, 579, 608

*Dallas, George Mifflin* (1792-1864)—US politician, lawyer and diplomat, Vice-President of the United States (1845-49), minister to London (1856-61).—570

*Danner, Luise Christine, Countess von* (1815-1874)—morganatic wife of King Frederick VII of Denmark.—334

*David d'Angers, Pierre Jean* (1788-1856)—French sculptor, republican; banished from France after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—135

*Delangle, Claude Alphonse* (1797-1869)—French lawyer and politician; Attorney-General from 1847 till the February revolution of 1848; First President of the Imperial Court (1852-58); Minister of the Interior (1858-59).—473

*Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Earl of* (1799-1869)—British statesman, Tory leader; Prime Minister (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68).—204, 207, 210-11, 214, 217, 222, 248, 425-26, 468-70, 511, 516, 548, 585-87, 597

*Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and writer, a Tory leader; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68); Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80).—200-01, 205-06, 214-16, 227, 247, 250, 309-13, 332-33, 469-70, 510-12, 514, 566

*D'Israeli, Isaac* (1766-1848)—British writer, Benjamin Disraeli's father.—469

*Dodd, George* (1808-1881)—English author, wrote a number of articles, mostly on industrial questions, for various reference books.—266

*Dolgor(o)uki, Vasily Lukich, Prince* (c. 1670-1739)—Russian diplomat, ambassador to Denmark (1707-20), member of the Supreme Privy Council (1728-30); exiled to Solovetsky Monastery in 1730 and executed in 1739.—44

*Dost Mohammed Khan* (1793-1863)—Afghan Emir (1826-39, 1842-63).—180

*Dowbiggin*—British army officer, fought in the Crimean war, Lord Panmure's nephew.—469

*Dulce y Garay, Domingo, marqués de Castellflorite* (1808-1869)—Spanish

general, close to the Moderado Party; headed an uprising in Madrid in 1854 which sparked off the revolution of 1854-56; in 1856 suppressed revolutionary struggle of the masses.—103, 105

*Dundas, Sir James Whitley Deans* (1785-1862)—British admiral, commander-in-chief of the British fleet in the Mediterranean from 1852 to January 1855.—34

*Dundas, Richard Saunders* (1802-1861)—British vice-admiral, commander-in-chief of the British fleet in the Baltic (1855).—94

*Dupont, Emile* (b. 1821)—French public figure; editor of a number of journals, including *La Voix du Proscrit*.—467

*Dureau de la Malle, Adolphe Jules César Auguste* (1777-1857)—French philologist and archaeologist.—485

E

*Elena Ivanovna* (1476-1513)—daughter of Ivan III, Grand Duke of Moscow; in 1495 was married to Alexander Jagiello, Grand Duke of Lithuania.—86

*Eleonore*—daughter of Albert Frederick, Duke of Prussia; wife (from 1603) of Joachim-Friedrich, Elector of Brandenburg.—156

*Elgin, James Bruce, Earl of Elgin and Kinkardine* (1811-1863)—British statesman and diplomat, plenipotentiary extraordinary to China (1857-58, 1860-61), Viceroy and Governor-General of India (1862-63).—300

*Elío, Francisco Javier* (1767-1822)—Spanish general, fought in the war of independence (1808-14); helped to establish the absolute power of Ferdinand VII in 1814; was executed during the revolution of 1820-23 for organising a counter-revolutionary coup.—630

*Ellenborough, Edward Law, Baron* (1750-1818)—British statesman and lawyer, Whig, later Tory; member of the House of Lords; Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench (1802-18).—497

*Ellenborough, Edward Law, Earl of* (1790-1871)—British statesman, Tory, member of the House of Lords; Governor-General of India (1842-44), First Lord of the Admiralty (1846), President of the Board of Control for India (1858); son of Baron Ellenborough.—321, 469, 531, 534, 549, 587, 588

*Elliot, William*—British politician, M. P. (1802).—491

*Ellis, Sir Henry* (1777-1855)—British diplomat, envoy (1814-15), then ambassador to Teheran (1835-36).—179

*Elphinstone, John, Baron* (1807-1860)—English official in India, Governor of Madras (1837-42) and Bombay (1853-59).—376

*Émeriau, Maurice Julien, comte* (1762-1845)—French vice-admiral, commanded the Mediterranean squadron (1811-14).—147

*Enfantin, Barthelemy Prosper* (nicknamed *Pére Enfantin*) (1796-1864)—French utopian socialist, a disciple of Saint-Simon, after his death headed the Saint-Simonian school.—15

*Eric XIV* (1533-1577)—King of Sweden (1560-68).—63

*Escosura y Morrogh, Patricio de la* (1807-1878)—Spanish writer and statesman, Minister of the Interior in the Espartero Cabinet (1856).—100

*Espartero, Baldomero, duque de la Vittoria* (1793-1879)—Spanish general and politician, leader of the Progresista Party, Regent of Spain (1841-43), head of government (1854-56).—98-104, 108, 284, 285, 287-88, 622

*Espiga, Don José*—Archbishop of Seville (1820).—623, 628

*Espinasse, Charles Marie Esprit* (1815-1859)—French general, Bonapartist, took an active part in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; headed an expeditionary force in Dobrudja (1854); participated in the Crimean war in 1855; Minister of the Interior and Public Safety (1858).—464, 476, 480, 482, 488, 500, 550

*Espoz y Mina, Francisco* (1781-1836)—Spanish general, a guerrilla leader during the war of independence (1808-14); active participant in the revolution of 1820-23, fought against the Carlists in 1833-36.—626

*Esseid-Mohammed Salihdar*—Turkish statesman, Grand Vizier in 1736.—27, 39

*Este, Maximilian Joseph Johann Ambros Karl* (1782-1863)—Archduke of Austria, Master of the Ordnance, inventor of a defence tower named after him.—149

*Etheridge* (d. 1857)—British admiral, commanded the British fleet in the Anglo-Persian war of 1856-57; committed suicide.—294

*Eugène, Prince of Savoy (François Eugène de Savoie-Carignan)* (1663-1736)—Austrian general and statesman.—167

*Eugénie Marie Ignace Augustine de Montijo de Guzmán, comtesse de Teba* (1826-1920)—French Empress, wife of Napoleon III.—455, 457

*Evans, Sir George de Lacy* (1787-1870)—British general, Liberal politician, M.P.; commanded a division in the Crimea in 1854.—327, 331, 332, 483, 590

F

*Falcon, Antonio*—Spanish general, took part in the Spanish revolution of 1854-56.—98, 103

*Fallmerayer, Jakob Philipp* (1790-1861)—German historian and traveller.—75

*Fath Ali (Feth Ali; Futtch Ali)* (1762-1834)—Shah of Persia (1797-1834).—178

*Favre, Jules Gabriel Claude* (1809-1880)—French lawyer and politician; a leader of the republican bourgeois opposition from the late 1850s; Orsini's counsel for the defence (1858).—473-74, 477

*Fawkener, Sir Everard* (1684-1758)—English merchant and diplomat, ambassador to Turkey (1735-42).—27

*Feliu, Ramón*—Spanish statesman, Minister of the Interior (1821).—627

*Ferdinand II* (1578-1637)—Holy Roman Emperor (1619-37).—94

*Ferdinand II* (1810-1859)—King of the Two Sicilies (1830-59), nicknamed King Bomba for the bombardment of Messina in 1848.—5

*Ferdinand VII* (1784-1833)—King of Spain (1808 and 1814-33).—99, 106, 622-24, 626-27

*Ferdinand*—see *Frederick Ferdinand*

*Feroukh (Ferrukh) Khan*—Persian diplomat who signed the Anglo-Persian treaty of 1857; envoy to Paris (1857).—293, 295, 296, 331

*Finnis, Thomas Quested*—Lord Mayor of London in 1856-57.—232

*Fitzroy, Henry* (1807-1859)—British politician, Peelite, Under-Secretary for Home Affairs (1852-55).—600

*Floridablanca (Florida Blanca), José Moñino, conde de* (1728-1808)—Spanish statesman and diplomat, champion of enlightened absolutism; Prime Minister (1777-92); President of the Central Junta (1808); tried to prevent the development of revolution in Spain in 1808.—32

*Fotiades*—chargé d'affaires of the Moldavian Government in Constantinople in 1857.—324

*Fould, Achille* (1800-1867)—French banker and politician, Orleanist, later Bonapartist; several times held the post of Minister of Finance and other governmental posts (1849-67).—272, 457, 466

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—21

*Fox, Charles James* (1749-1806)—English politician, Whig leader, Foreign Secretary (1782, 1783, 1806).—30, 34, 35

*Fox, William Johnson* (1786-1864)—British politician, journalist, Free Trader, M.P.—238

*Franchini, Viktor Antonovich* (1820-1892)—Russian army officer, later general, fought in the Crimean war of 1853-56 and later served in the Caucasus.—542-43

*Francis I* (1768-1835)—Emperor of Austria (1804-35), last Holy Roman Emperor under the name of Francis II (1792-1806).—75

*Francis II*—see *Francis I*

*Francis Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-1916).—182, 323

*Franks, Sir Thomas Harte* (1808-1862)—British general, took part in the second Anglo-Sikh war (1848-49) and in suppressing the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India.—505-07, 509

*Frederick I* (1657-1713)—Elector of Brandenburg as Frederick III (from 1688), King of Prussia (1701-13).—152, 156

*Frederick II* (1413-1471)—Elector of Brandenburg (1440-70).—155

*Frederick II (the Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—28-29, 31-32, 35, 154, 167

*Frederick III* (1609-1670)—King of Denmark (1648-70).—70

*Frederick IV* (1671-1730)—King of Denmark and Norway (1699-1730).—42, 44-45, 48-50, 54, 66, 71

*Frederick VII* (1808-1863)—King of Denmark (1848-63).—334

*Frederick Augustus I*—see *August(us) II (the Strong)*

*Frederick Ferdinand* (1792-1863)—Prince of Denmark.—334-35

*Frederick William I* (1688-1740)—King of Prussia (1713-40).—50, 53

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—151, 152, 174, 182, 568

G

*Gabel, Christian Carl* (1679-1748)—Danish vice-admiral, took part in the Northern War.—44

*Garnett, Jeremiah* (1793-1870)—English journalist, one of the founders of *The Manchester Guardian* and its editor from 1844 to 1861.—240, 589

*Garnier-Pagès, Étienne Joseph Louis* (1801-1841)—French politician, headed the republican opposition after the 1830 revolution; member of the Chamber of Deputies (1831-34, 1835-41).—310

*Garnier-Pagès, Louis Antoine* (1803-1878)—French politician, moderate republican, in 1848 member of the Provisional Government and Mayor of Paris; brother of the above.—310

*Genghis Khan*—see *Jenghiz Khan*

*George I* (1660-1727)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1714-27), Elector of Hanover (1698-1727).—41, 45, 53, 93, 187, 188

*George II* (1683-1760)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1727-60), Elector of Hanover.—27, 39

*George III* (1738-1820)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1760-1820), Elector and from 1815 King of Hanover.—30, 33, 492-94

*Georg Ludwig*—see *George I*

*George William (Georg Wilhelm)* (1595-1640)—Elector of Brandenburg (1619-40).—156

*Gibbon, Edward* (1737-1794)—British historian.—310

*Gibson, Thomas Milner* (1806-1884)—British statesman, Free Trader and later Liberal, President of the Board of Trade (1859-65, 1865-66).—229, 238-40, 470

*Girardin, Émile de* (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician; editor of *La Presse* in the 1830s-1860s (with intervals); during the 1848-49 revolution moderate republican, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1850-51); later Bonapartist; notorious for his lack of principles in politics.—131

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory, later Peelite, leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the 19th century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55, 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—61, 200-01, 204-07, 216-17, 227, 249-50, 511, 575, 588

*Glyn, George Grenfell, Baron Wolverton* (from 1869) (1824-1887)—English banker, Liberal M.P.—512

*Goedel Lannoy, Oscar, baron de*—Austrian consul in Moldavia.—325-26

*Golitsin, Alexander Mikhailovich, Prince* (1718-1783)—Russian diplomat, ambassador to London (1755-62), Vice-Chancellor (1762-75).—28

*Gorchakoff (Gorchakov), Mikhail Dmitrievich, Prince* (1793-1861)—Russian general, commanded the Russian troops on the Danube (1853-54), commander-in-chief of the Southern army (September 1854-February 1855) and of the army in the Crimea (February-December 1855); Governor-General of the Kingdom of Poland (1856-61).—263

*Görtz, Georg Heinrich, Baron von Schlitz* (1668-1719)—Swedish statesman, Minister of Finance and Minister of State Affairs from 1715.—43, 61

*Graham, Sir James Robert George* (1792-1861)—British statesman, Whig, later Peelite; Home Secretary (1841-46), First Lord of the Admiralty (1830-34, 1852-55).—216-17, 227-29, 249

*Granier de Cassagnac, Bernard Adolphe* (1806-1880)—French journalist; Orleanist prior to the 1848 revolution, later Bonapartist; deputy to the Corps législatif (1852-70); contributed to *Le Constitutionnel*.—467, 488

*Grant, Sir James Hope* (1808-1875)—British general, fought in the First Opium War with China in 1840-42 and in the Anglo-Sikh wars (1845-46, 1848-49); took part in suppressing the Indian national liberation uprising of 1857-59.—452, 505, 507-08, 581, 607

*Grantham, Thomas Robinson, Baron* (1738-1786)—British statesman and diplomat, Whig; Foreign Secretary (1782-83).—31, 34-35, 39

*Granville, George Leveson-Gower, Earl of* (1815-1891)—British statesman, Whig, later Liberal; Foreign Secretary (1851-52, 1870-74, 1880-85), President of the Council (1852-54, 1855-58, 1859-65).—217, 308

*The Great Mogul*—see *Bahadur Shah II*

*Great Moguls*—dynasty of Indian rulers (1526-1858).—176, 305, 328, 346, 362, 365

*Grenville, William Wyndham, Baron* (1759-1834)—British statesman,

Tory, later Whig, Foreign Secretary (1791-1801), Prime Minister (1806-07).—491, 495

*Grey, Charles, Earl of, Viscount Howick, Baron Grey* (1764-1845)—British statesman, a Whig leader, Prime Minister (1830-34).—468, 566

*Grey, Sir Henry George, Viscount Howick, Earl of* (1802-1894)—British statesman, Whig; Secretary at War (1835-39) and Secretary of State for the Colonies (1846-52); son of Charles Grey.—211, 217, 566, 571, 573

*Gross, Henrich* (d. 1765)—Russian diplomat, Minister Plenipotentiary in France (1744-48) and in Prussia (1749-50), envoy to Poland (1752-59) and England (1763-65).—28, 30, 39

*Grotius, Hugo (Huig de Groot)* (1583-1645)—Dutch scientist, jurist, a founder of the natural law theory.—295

*Guise, Duke*—see *Henry II of Lorraine*

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman; virtually directed France's foreign and home policy from 1840 to the February 1848 revolution.—15, 467, 478, 488

*Gurrea, Ignacio*—Spanish general, member of the Progresista Party.—101

*Gustavus II Adolphus* (1594-1632)—King of Sweden (1611-32) and general.—95, 156

*Gyllenborg, Carl, Count* (1679-1746)—Swedish statesman and diplomat, envoy to London (1715-17), Secretary of State (from 1718) and Prime Minister (1739-46).—43, 50, 54, 61

H

*Hammond, Edmund, Baron* (1802-1890)—British diplomat, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1854-73).—218

*Hammond, George* (1763-1853)—British diplomat, chargé d'affaires in Vienna (1788-90), ambassador to Washington (1791-95), Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1795-1806, 1807-09).—492

*Harcourt, Francis Vernon*—British politician, Peelite, M.P.—249

*Hardinge, Sir Henry, Viscount Hardinge of Lahore* (1785-1856)—British general, field marshal from 1855 and statesman, Tory; Governor-General of India (1844-January 1848); commander-in-chief of the British army (1852-56).—538

*Harris, James*—see *Malmesbury, James Harris, Earl of and Viscount Fitzharris*

*Hauff, Wilhelm* (1802-1827)—German poet and novelist.—589

*Haus(s)mann, Georges Eugène, baron* (1809-1891)—French politician, Bonapartist; took part in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; Prefect of the Seine (1853-70).—502

*Havelock, Sir Henry* (1795-1857)—British general; took part in several colonial wars; in 1857 took part in suppressing the national liberation uprising in India.—347, 361-62, 365, 367, 372, 393, 420, 423, 558, 583

*Hawkesbury, Robert Banks Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool* (1770-1828)—British statesman, Tory, Foreign Secretary (1801-03, 1809), Home Secretary (1804-06, 1807-09) and Prime Minister (1812-27).—492-93, 495

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—101

*Henry II of Lorraine, Duke of Guise* (1614-1664)—one of the Fronde leaders.—14

*Henry V*—see *Chambord, Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonné d'Artois, duc de Bordeaux, comte de*

*Herbert, Sidney, Baron of Lea* (1810-1861)—British statesman, at first Tory and later Peelite, Secretary at War (1845-46, 1852-55), Secretary for War (1859-60); nephew of Prince Vorontsov.—216, 249

*Hervey, Alfred*—British politician, Peelite, M.P.—249

*Hesiod* (c. 8th cent. B.C.)—Greek poet.—209

*Hewitt*—British general; commanded the garrison in Meerut in 1857, during the national liberation uprising in India.—300, 366

*Hien Fung (Hsien Fung)* (c. 1831-1861)—Emperor of China (1850-61).—163, 283

*Hodges, George Lloyd* (1792-1862)—British colonel and diplomat, Consul-General in Serbia (1837-39), then in Egypt (1839-40); Palmerston's protégé.—62

*Hogg, Sir James Weir* (1790-1876)—British politician, Peelite, M.P.; President of the Court of Directors of the East India Company (1846-47, 1852-53); member of the Indian Council (1858-72).—232, 249

*Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—151, 152, 154-57

*Holkar, Tukaji* (born c. 1836)—Mahratta Duke of the Indore Principality; sided with the English during the 1857-59 national liberation uprising in India.—364

*Holmes, John* (1808-1878)—British colonel, then general, took part in the first Anglo-Afghan war (1838-42) and in the suppression of the 1857-59 national liberation uprising in India.—355, 608

*Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus)* (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—55

*Horner, Leonard* (1785-1864)—English geologist and public figure; commissioner to inquire into employment of children in factories and chief inspector under Factories Act (1833-56), took the side of the workers.—253

*Hotze, Friedrich, Baron von* (1739-1799)—Austrian field marshal.—168

*Hudson, George* (1800-1871)—British capitalist, big railway owner, Tory M.P. (1845-59).—266

*Hughes, Thomas Smart* (1786-1847)—English writer and historian, author of works on religion and English history.—33

*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885)—French writer, republican; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies; opposed Louis Bonaparte in 1848-51; emigrated after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—490

*Hung Hsiu-ch'üan* (1814-1864)—leader and ideologist of the Taiping rebellion in China (1851-64), head of the Taiping State.—283

*Husayn Khan*—Persian ambassador to England in 1838-39.—180

*Hyenne*—French army officer who wounded at a duel a journalist Henri de Pène (1858).—552

I

*Ibrahim Karabatir, Prince*—son of the Circassian prince Sepher Pasha, participant in the wars of the Caucasian mountaineers against Tsarist Russia.—542

*Igor (Ingvar)* (d. 945)—Grand Duke of Kiev (912-45).—75

*Infante, Facundo* (1786-1873)—Spanish general, member of the

Progresista Party, President of the Cortes (1854-56).—100

*Inglis, Sir John Eardley Wilmot* (1814-1862)—British general, took part in suppressing the 1857-59 national liberation uprising in India.—436-39, 441

*Isabella II* (1830-1904)—Queen of Spain (1833-68); daughter of Ferdinand VII.—98, 100, 103, 106-07, 286-87, 629

*Ismail I (Ismael, Ismail Shah)* (1487-1524)—Shah of Persia (1502-24); founder of the Safavid dynasty (1502-1736).—177

*Ismail Pasha* (1805-1861)—Turkish general; Circassian by birth; fought in Circassia against Russia.—542, 545

*Ivan I Danilovich Kalita (Ivan Moneybag)* (d. 1340)—Prince of Moscow from 1325; Grand Duke of Vladimir (1328-40).—78-81, 86-87

*Ivan III* (1440-1505)—Grand Duke of Moscow (1462-1505).—78, 80-87, 92

J

*Jacob, Sir George Le Grand* (1805-1881)—British colonel, later general; in 1857 took part in the Anglo-Persian war and in suppressing the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India.—331

*James I* (1566-1625)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1603-25).—94

*James II* (1633-1701)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1685-88).—492

*James, Edwin John* (1812-1882)—English lawyer, M.P.; counsel for the defence at Simon Bernard's trial in April 1858.—516

*Jenghiz Khan* (1162-1227)—Mongol Khan and general, founder of the Mongol Empire.—77, 87, 557

*Jérôme*—see *Bonaparte, Jérôme*

*Jérôme-Napoleon* — see *Bonaparte, Jérôme*

*Joachim I Nestor* (1484-1535)—Elector of Brandenburg (1499-1535).—154, 155

*Joachim II Hector* (1505-1571)—Elector of Brandenburg (1535-71).—154, 156

*Joachim-Friedrich* (1546-1608)—Elector of Brandenburg (1598-1608).—156

*Johann ("Hans") Sigismund* (1572-1619)—Elector of Brandenburg (1608-19).—156

*John I Tzimisces* (c. 925-976)—Byzantine Emperor (969-976).—76

*John III* (1537-1592)—King of Sweden (1568-92).—63

*John (Johann) Cicero* (1455-1499)—Elector of Brandenburg (1486-99).—154

*Jones, Sir John* (1811-1878)—British general, took part in suppressing the 1857-59 national liberation uprising in India.—581

*Joseph II* (1741-1790)—co-regent of his mother Maria Theresa (1765-80), ruler of the Austrian monarchy (1780-90), Holy Roman Emperor (1765-90).—34

*Jung Bahadur* (1816-1877)—ruler of the Nepal from 1846; sided with the English during the 1857-59 national liberation uprising in India and took part in its suppression.—307, 362, 506

K

*Kaunitz-Rietburg, Wenzel Anton, Prince von* (1711-1794)—Austrian statesman and diplomat, supporter of an "enlightened" form of absolutism; bitter enemy of the French Revolution; Chancellor of State (1753-92).—35

*Kern, Johann Conrad* (1808-1888)—Swiss liberal politician, lawyer and diplomat; envoy to Paris (1857-83).—480

*King, Peter John Locke* (1811-1885)—British politician, Radical, M.P.—567

*Kinkel, Johann Gottfried* (1815-1882)—German poet and democratic journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, sentenced to life imprisonment by Prussian court; in 1850 he escaped and emigrated to England; a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees in London; an editor of the *Hermann* (1859); opposed Marx and Engels.—589

*Kiselev (Kisseleff), Pavel Dmitrievich, Count* (1788-1872)—Russian statesman and diplomat, general; fought in the patriotic war against Napoleon in 1812; head of Russian administration in Moldavia and Wallachia (1829-34); Minister of the Imperial Domains (1837-56); ambassador to Paris (1856-62).—191

*Kmety, György (Ismail Pasha)* (1810-1865)—Turkish general of Magyar descent; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; during the Crimean war commander of the Turkish forces on the Danube (1853-54) and in the Caucasus (1854-55).—447

*Koch, Christophe Guillaume de* (1737-1813)—French politician and lawyer; professor at Strasbourg University; wrote works on the history of Europe.—29

*Korsakov*—see *Rimsky-Korsakov, Alexander Mikhailovich*

*Kossuth, Lajos* (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement; head of the revolutionary government (1848-49); after the defeat of the revolution emigrated first to Turkey, later to England and the USA; sought for support in the Bonapartist circles in the 1850s.—236, 541, 543

*Kower (Kooer) Singh* (d. 1858)—a leader of the insurgents in Oudh during the 1857-59 national liberation uprising in India.—376

L

*Labouchere, Henry, Baron Taunton* (1798-1869)—British statesman, Whig; President of the Board of Trade (1839-41, 1847-52); Secretary of State for the Colonies (1855-58).—221

*Lacy, Evans*—see *Evans, Sir George de Lacy*

*Lacy, Francisco Antonio, conde de* (1731-1792)—Spanish general and diplomat; envoy to Sweden and Russia (1780s).—31

*Lagarde, Augustin Marie Balthazar Charles Pelletier, comte de* (b. 1780)—French general and diplomat, ambassador to Madrid (1820-23).—629

*La Guéronnière, Louis Étienne Arthur Dubreuil Hélion, vicomte de* (1816-1875)—French writer and politician, Bonapartist in the 1850s.—472

*Łapiński, Teofil* (1827-1886)—Polish colonel; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, served in the Turkish army under the name of Tewfik Bey; fought against Russia in Circassia (1857-58).—540-41, 543-44

*Laurence, French* (1757-1809)—English lawyer, M.P. from 1796.—494

*Law, John* (1671-1729)—Scottish economist and financier, Minister of Finance in France (1719-20).—15, 20, 24, 358

*Lawrence, John Laird Mair, Baron Lawrence* (1811-1879)—high official of the British colonial administration, Chief Commissioner of the

Punjab (1853-57); Viceroy of India (1864-69).—354, 370, 372, 506, 609

*Lawrence, Sir George Saint Patrick* (1804-1884)—British general; took part in suppressing the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India; resident in Rajputana (1857-64).—377

*Lawrence, Sir Henry Montgomery* (1806-1857)—British general, resident in the Nepal (1843-46); head of the British administration in the Punjab (1849-53); Chief Commissioner of Oudh (1857); commanded British troops in Lucknow during the suppression of the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India.—299, 316, 347, 367, 437-38

*Lecourbe, Claude Joseph, comte* (1759-1815)—French general; took part in the wars of the French Republic against European coalitions and in Napoleon I's campaigns.—169

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French writer and politician, a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats; editor of *La Réforme*; Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government (February-May 1848); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (headed the Montagne party); emigrated to England after the demonstration of June 13, 1849.—17

*Leeds*—see *Osborne, Sir Thomas, Earl of Danby*

*Lelewel, Joachim* (1786-1861)—Polish historian and revolutionary; took part in the 1830-31 Polish insurrection; a leader of the democratic wing of Polish emigrants.—486

*Leopold I* (1640-1705)—Holy Roman Emperor (1658-1705).—157

*Lersundi y Ormaechea, Francisco de* (1817-1874)—Spanish general and statesman, member of the Moderado Party; War Minister (1851), Minister-President and War Minister (1853).—286

*Lewis, Sir George Cornewall* (1806-1863)—British statesman, Whig; Secretary to the Treasury (1850-52); editor and publisher of the journal *Edinburgh Review* (1852-55); Chancellor of the Exchequer (1855-58); Home Secretary (1859-61).—61, 200-01, 203-05, 469, 510-12

*Liebig, Justus, Baron von* (1803-1873)—German chemist.—281

*Lieven, Khristofor Andreyevich, Prince* (1774-1839)—Russian diplomat, envoy to Berlin (1810-12), ambassador to London (1812-34).—192, 193

*Lister, Samuel Cunliffe, Baron Masham* (1815-1906)—English manufacturer and inventor.—260

*Locke King*—see *King, Peter John Locke*

*Longuevilles*—the family of French dukes (1505-1672).—152

*Longueville, Charles Paris d'Orléans, duc de* (1649-1672)—last representative of the Longuevilles.—152

*Longworth*—British consul in Anapa in the 1850s.—542

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—116, 488, 492

*Louis XV* (1710-1774)—King of France (1715-1774).—33, 186

*Louis XVIII (Louis de Désiré)* (1755-1824)—King of France (1814-15 and 1815-24).—99, 463, 629

*Louis Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Napoleon*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of France (1830-48).—17, 24, 98, 99, 184, 187, 289, 291, 302, 310, 413, 465, 472, 488, 500, 533

*Louisa Ulrica (Lovisa Ulrika)* (1720-1782)—wife of Adolphus Frederick, King of Sweden (1751-71);

sister of Frederick II of Prussia.—29

*Lowe, Robert, Viscount Sherbrooke* (1811-1892)—British statesman and journalist, contributed to *The Times*, Whig, and later Liberal; Vice-President of the Board of Trade (1855-58).—221, 238-39

*Lucan (Marcus Annaeus Lucanus)* (A.D. 39-65)—Roman poet.—146

*Lucena, Count of*—see *O'Donnell y Jorris, Leopoldo*

*Lugard, Sir Edward* (1810-1898)—English general, chief-of-staff during the Anglo-Persian war of 1856-57; took part in suppressing the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India.—508, 581-82

*Lushington, Charles Manners*—British politician, Peelite, M.P. (1854-57).—249, 571

*Luxembourgs*—dynasty of Holy Roman Emperors (1308-1437, with intervals), also ruled in Bohemia (1310-1437) and Hungary (1387-1437).—154-55

*Lyndhurst, John Singleton Copley, Baron of* (1772-1863)—British statesman and lawyer, Tory; Lord Chancellor (1827-30, 1834-35, 1841-46).—207, 210-11

*Lytton, Edward George Earle Lytton, Bulwer-Lytton* (1803-1873)—British writer and politician, Whig, from 1852 Tory, M.P., Secretary for the Colonies (1858-59).—207, 216, 567, 596-600

*Lytton, Edward Robert Bulwer, Earl of Lytton (Bulwer-Lytton)* (1831-1891)—British diplomat and poet; Viceroy of India (1876-80); ambassador to Paris (1887-91); son of the above.—596-600

*Lytton, Rosina Bulwer-Lytton* (1802-1882)—English novelist; wife of Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer-Lytton.—596-600, 604.

M

*Macartney, George, Earl Macartney* (1737-1806)—British colonial official and diplomat, envoy extraordinary to St. Petersburg (1764-67).—28-30, 39

*Macdonald, Jacques Étienne Joseph Alexandre, duc de Tarente* (1765-1840)—Marshal of France, participant in Napoleon I's campaigns, in 1799 commander-in-chief of the French troops during the Italian and Swiss campaigns; after Napoleon's abdication entered the service of the Bourbons; from 1816 to 1830 held high posts at the Court.—169

*MacGregor, John* (1797-1857)—British statistician and historian, Free Trader; founder and one of the governors of the Royal British Bank (1849-56); M.P. from 1847.—110-11

*Machiavelli, Niccolò* (1469-1527)—Italian politician, philosopher, historian and writer.—62, 80, 84

*Mackenzie, George*—British diplomat, ambassador in Russia (1710-15).—93, 94

*MacMahon, Marie Edme Patrice Maurice, comte de, duc de Magenta* (1808-1893)—French military figure and politician, Marshal of France, senator, Bonapartist; fought in the wars of the Second Empire; commanded a division in the Crimea (1855); a butcher of the Paris Commune (1871); President of the Third Republic (1873-79).—476, 483

*McNeill, Sir John* (1795-1883)—British diplomat, envoy to Teheran (1836-39, 1841-42).—179, 180

*Madoz, Pascual* (1806-1870)—Spanish politician and writer, member of the Progresista Party, President of the Cortes (1854), Minister of Finance (1855); took part in the

Spanish revolution of 1854-56.—100

*Magnan, Bernard Pierre* (1791-1865)—Marshal of France, Bonapartist, an organiser of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—465

*Magne, Pierre* (1806-1879)—French statesman, Bonapartist, Minister of Finance (1855-60, 1867-69, 1870, 1873-74).—119, 122, 500

*Mahmud II* (1785-1839)—Sultan of Turkey (1808-39).—39

*Mahmud (Mir Mahmoud)* (1699-1725)—Shah of Persia (1722-25).—177

*Mahon, Philip Henry Stanhope, Viscount* (1805-1875)—British politician and historian, Peelite, M.P.—36, 57, 60

*Malakoff, Duke of*—see *Pélissier, Aimable Jean Jacques*

*Malmesbury, James Harris, Earl of and Viscount Fitzharris* (1746-1820)—British diplomat and statesman, Whig; envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Russia (1777-82) and Holland (1784-89).—31-36, 39

*Malmesbury, James Howard Harris, Earl of* (1807-1889)—British statesman, Tory, Foreign Secretary (1852, 1858-59).—217, 470, 571-73

*María Cristina, senior* (1806-1878)—wife of King Ferdinand VII of Spain, regent of Spain (1833-40); after Ferdinand VII's death secretly married Agustín Fernando Muñoz.—98-99, 106-07, 171, 284

*Marie Antoinette* (1755-1793)—Queen of France (1774-93), wife of Louis XVI; executed during the French Revolution.—186

*Marie d'Orléans-Longueville, duchesse de Nemours* (1625-1707)—daughter of Henry II of Orléans, Duke of Longueville.—152

*Marlborough, John Churchill, Duke of* (1650-1722)—British general, in 1702-11 commander-in-chief of the British troops in the War of the Spanish Succession.—167, 447

*Martínez de la Rosa Berdejo Gómez y Arroyo, Francisco de Paula* (1787-1862)—Spanish writer and politician, a leader of the Moderados, head of government (1834-35).—625, 629

*Martinez Rodriguez*—Spanish general, took part in the defence of Badajoz during the war of independence (1808-14).—624

*Martinez Săn Martin, Don José*—Spanish general.—628

*Mason, George Henry Monck* (1825-1857)—English army officer, resident in Jodhpore; killed in the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India.—377

*Masséna, André, duc de Rivoli, prince d'Essling* (1756-1817)—Marshal of France; fought in the Napoleonic wars, in 1814 went over to the side of the Bourbons.—168, 177

*Mathilde (Bonaparte, Mathilde-Laetitia-Wilhelmine), princess of Bonaparte* (1820-1904)—daughter of Jérôme Bonaparte and Napoleon III's cousin.—474

*Ma(t)thias Corvinus (Matthias I, Hunyadi)* (1443-1490)—King of Hungary (1458-90).—85

*Maun (Man) Singh*—big feudal landowner in the Kingdom of Oudh; an ally of the British during the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India.—607, 609

*Maun (Man) Singh*—Indian Rajah, in August 1858 joined the insurgents but at the beginning of 1859 abandoned them by betraying their leader Tantia Topee.—609

*Maximilian I* (1459-1519)—Holy Roman Emperor (1493-1519).—85

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, leader of the national liberation movement; in 1849 head of the Provisional Gov-

ernment of the Roman Republic; in the early 1850s sought for support among the Bonapartists but later opposed them.—115, 485, 486, 488

*Mehemed Bey*—see *Bangya, János*

*Melbourne, William Lamb, Viscount* (1779-1848)—British statesman, Whig, Home Secretary (1830-34), Prime Minister (1834, 1835-41).—468, 597

*Menchikoff (Menshikov), Alexander Sergeyevich, Prince* (1787-1869)—Russian general and statesman; ambassador extraordinary in Constantinople (February-May 1853); commander-in-chief of the Russian army and navy in the Crimea (1853-February 1855).—322, 483

*Mengli-Ghirai (Menghi-Ghirei)* (d. 1515)—Crimean Khan (1468-1515).—82, 85, 86

*Mercy, de*—French army officer; court-martialled and sentenced to death for the sadistic murder of an officer in his regiment in 1858.—552

*Merry, Anthony*—British diplomat, envoy to Paris (1802).—491, 492, 495

*Miall, Edward* (1809-1881)—English writer and politician, radical, M.P. (1852-57, 1869-74).—238

*Michelet, Jules* (1798-1874)—French historian.—488

*Mierosławski, Ludwik* (1814-1878)—prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement; took part in the 1830-31 Polish insurrection and in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; later headed the moderate wing of the Polish democratic émigrés; sought for support among the Bonapartists in the 1850s.—62

*Mikhail Borisovich* (1453-c. 1505)—Grand Duke of Tver (1461-85).—85

*Millaud, Moïse* (1813-1871)—French banker, founded a number of newspapers and banks.—502

*Milner Gibson*—see *Gibson, Thomas Milner*

*Miloš (Milosh) Obrenović I* (1780-1860)—Prince of Serbia (1815-39, 1858-60), founder of the Obrenović dynasty.—62

*Mina*—see *Espoz y Mina, Francisco*

*Minié, Claude Étienne* (1804-1879)—French officer, inventor of a new type of rifle.—450

*Minto, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Earl of* (1751-1814)—British statesman, Whig, envoy to Vienna (1799-1801), Governor-General of India (1807-13).—495

*Mirès, Jules Isaac* (1809-1871)—French banker, owner of a number of newspapers, *Le Constitutionnel* among them.—467

*Moguls*—see *Great Moguls*

*Mohammed Ali Shah*—King of Oudh (1837-42).—536-38

*Mohammed-Amin*—Naib in the western part of the North Caucasus (the Abadzekh tribe) (1848-59); led the mountaineers' struggle against Tsarist Russia.—543

*Mohammed Shah* (1810-1848)—Shah of Persia (1834-48).—178-80

*Molière* (real name *Jean Baptiste Poquelin*) (1622-1673)—French playwright.—356

*Mon, Alejandro* (1801-1882)—Spanish politician, liberal; Minister of Finance (1837, 1844-46, 1849), deputy to the Cortes (1836-75).—286

*Moncreiff, James, Baron Moncreiff* (from 1874), *Baron of Tullibole* (from 1883) (1811-1895)—British lawyer, M.P., Lord Advocate for Scotland (1851-52, 1852-58, 1859-66, 1868-69).—216

*Montalembert, Charles Forbes René de Tryon, comte de* (1810-1870)—French politician and journalist, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1849-51), Orleanist, Catholic leader; supported Louis Bonaparte during the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, but later joined the opposition.—19, 20

*Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Secondat, baron de La Brède et de* (1689-1755)—French sociologist, economist and writer of the Enlightenment.—310, 485

*Montijo*—see *Eugénie Marie Ignace Augustine de Montijo de Guzmán, comtesse de Teba*

*Montluc*—see *Cramail, Adrien de Montluc*

*Montmorency-Laval, Mathieu Félicité, duc de* (1767-1826)—French politician and diplomat.—629

*Morillo, Pablo, conde de Cartagena y marqués de la Puerta* (1778-1837)—Spanish general, took part in the liberation war against Napoleonic France (1808-14), commanded troops fighting against the national liberation movement of the Spanish colonies in South America (1815-20), opponent of the 1820-23 revolution in Spain.—627

*Morny, Charles Auguste Louis Joseph, duc de* (1811-1865)—French politician, Bonapartist; an organiser of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; Minister of the Interior (December 1851-January 1852); President of the Corps législatif (1854-56, 1857-65); ambassador to Russia (1856-57); step-brother of Napoleon III.—15, 21, 272, 457, 470, 479

*Morris, James*—governor of the Bank of England (1847).—382

*Mourant, Ph.*—French émigré on the Jersey, printer.—496

*Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus* (1756-1791)—Austrian composer.—356

*Mulgrave, Sir George Augustus Constantine Phipps, Marquis of Normanby, Earl of* (1819-1890)—British statesman, Whig M.P., Treasurer of the Household (1853-58), later governor of a number of British colonies.—221

*Mungul Pandy*—soldier of the 34th Sepoy regiment.—298

*Muñoz Benavente, José (Pucheta)* (1820-1856)—Spanish toreador; took an active part in the revolution of 1854-56, a leader of Madrid revolutionary people; was killed on the barricades.—100, 105

*Muñoz, madame*—see *María Cristina*

*Murat, Joachim* (1767-1815)—Marshal of France, took part in Napoleon I's campaigns; commander of the French troops in Spain (1808); King of Naples (1808-15).—106

*Murray, Sir Charles Augustus* (1806-1895)—British diplomat, consul-general in Egypt (1846-53), envoy to Teheran (1854-59).—296, 331

*Musurus Pasha, Kostaki (Constantin)* (1807-1891)—Turkish diplomat, envoy and, later, ambassador to London (1851-85); Greek by birth.—324, 325

N

*Nadir Shah (Khuli-Khan)* (1688-1747)—Shah of Persia (1736-47); invaded India in 1738-39.—177

*Nana (Nena) Sahib* (born c. 1825)—Indian feudal lord; adopted son of the last peshwa of the Mahrattas, Baji Rao II; a leader of the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India.—347, 372, 554

*Napier, Sir Charles* (1786-1860)—British admiral, commanded the British naval forces in the Baltic (1854); M.P.—94

*Napier, Sir Charles James* (1782-1853)—British general, took part in

the Peninsular war (1808-14), in 1842-43 commanded the British troops in India that captured Sind; governor of Sind (1843-47).—198, 315, 328, 420, 447

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—15-16, 75, 98, 139, 141, 146, 149, 167, 169, 171, 356, 365-66, 413, 441, 454, 465-66, 471, 484, 487, 490-98, 616, 623

*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—nephew of Napoleon I, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—5-6, 11, 14-16, 18-21, 24, 98-99, 107, 110, 114-16, 118-19, 122, 124, 131-32, 134, 137, 214, 222-23, 226-27, 230, 250, 270, 273-74, 276, 290-92, 296, 302-03, 320, 323-24, 333, 353, 358, 391, 413-15, 453-59, 464-68, 470-74, 476-80, 483-90, 495, 500-03, 515-19, 531, 533, 550-52, 568-69, 573-74, 595

*Napoleon, Prince*—see *Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul*

*Narváez, Ramón Maria, duque de Valencia* (1800-1868)—Spanish general and statesman, leader of the Moderado Party; head of government (1844-46, 1847-51, 1856-57, 1864-65, 1866-68).—98-100, 284-88

*Nasmyth, James* (1808-1890)—British engineer and inventor.—259

*Nasr-ed-Din* (1831-1896)—Shah of Persia (1848-96).—177, 197, 295, 296, 307

*Nazar*—envoy of the Novgorod Republic in 1477.—83

*Nazir-ed-Din* (d. 1837)—King of Oudh (1827-37).—536

*Necker, Jacques* (1732-1804)—French banker and politician, several times Director-General of Finance in the 1770s and 1780s; attempted to carry out reforms.—186

*Neill, James George Smith* (1810-1857)—British general, fought in the Crimean war; during the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India acted with great severity in Cawnpore.—372

*Nemours, Duchess of*—see *Marie d'Orléans-Longueville*

*Nesselrode, Karl Vasilyevich, Count* (1780-1862)—Russian statesman and diplomat, Minister for Foreign Affairs (1816-56), State Chancellor (from 1845).—193

*Newcastle, Henry Pelham Fiennes Pelham Clinton, Duke of* (1811-1864)—British statesman, Peelite, Secretary for War and the Colonies (1852-54), Secretary for War (1854-55) and Secretary for the Colonies (1859-64).—217

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—178, 187, 264, 466, 533

*Nicholson, John* (1821-1857)—British general, in 1842 took part in the first Anglo-Afghan war, fought in the second Anglo-Sikh war (1848-49); in 1857, during the national liberation uprising in India, commanded an English unit in the attack on Delhi.—365, 370, 374

*Nocedal, Cándido* (1821-1885)—Spanish politician and journalist; member of the Moderado Party; deputy to the Cortes; Minister of the Interior (1856-57).—284

*Nolan, Lewis Edward* (c. 1820-1854)—British army officer, served in India, took part in the Crimean war, wrote several books on the cavalry.—279

*Norris, Sir John* (c. 1660-1749)—British admiral, in 1709-21 commander of the squadron in the Baltic sent to help Sweden against Russia.—45, 50, 54, 66, 70, 93

*North, Frederick, Earl of Guilford* (1732-1792)—British statesman,

Tory; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1767), Prime Minister (1770-82); Home Secretary (1783).—30, 32-35

*Northcote, Sir Stafford Henry, Earl Iddesleigh, Viscount St. Cyres* (1818-1887)—British statesman, Peelite, later joined the Conservatives, M.P. (1855-57, 1858-85); held a number of ministerial posts.—249

*Norton, Caroline Elizabeth Sarah* (1808-1877)—English poetess.—597

*Norton, George Chapple* (c. 1800-1875)—English barrister-at-law, husband of Caroline Norton.—597

O

*O'Donnell, Enrique José, conde de la Bisbal* (1769-1834)—Spanish general, took part in the war of independence (1808-14); during the period of reaction (1814-20) maintained contacts with the liberals and betrayed revolutionaries to the government.—99

*O'Donnell y Jorris, Leopoldo, conde de Lucena y duque de Tetuán* (1809-1867)—Spanish general and politician, a leader of the Moderado Party; Captain-General of Cuba (1843-48); in 1854 used the revolutionary crisis in the country to establish military dictatorship; as War Minister directed the suppression of the 1854-56 revolution; head of government (1856, 1858-63, 1865-66); nephew of the above.—97-102, 104-05, 107-08, 284-88, 573

*Oleg* (d. 912)—Prince of Kievan Rus.—75, 76

*Omer Pasha (Michael Lattas)* (1806-1871)—Turkish general; Croat by birth; commander-in-chief of the Turkish troops on the Danube (1853-54), in the Crimea (1855) and in the Caucasus (1855-56).—193

*Orléans*—royal dynasty in France (1830-48).—479, 531, 533, 551

*Orleans, Duke of*—see *Louis Philippe. I*

*Orléans, Philip II, duc d'* (1674-1723)—Regent of France (1715-23).—24, 359, 488

*Orloff (Orlov), Alexei Fyodorovich, Prince* (1786-1861)—Russian military figure and statesman, diplomat; headed Russian delegation at the Paris Congress in 1856; President of the State Council and the Committee of Ministers (from 1856); President of the Secret (from 1856) and of the Chief Peasant Question Committee (from 1858); opposed abolition of serfdom.—3

*Orsini, Felice* (1819-1858)—Italian democrat and republican; a prominent figure in the struggle for Italy's national liberation and unification; executed for his attempt on the life of Napoleon III.—468, 472-75, 477-78, 480

*Osborne*—see *Bernal Osborne, Ralph*

*Osborne, Sir Thomas, Earl of Danby, Marquis of Carmarthen, Duke of Leeds* (1631-1712)—British Tory statesman; Prime Minister (1674-79, 1690-95); in 1695 was accused of bribe-taking by Parliament.—187, 585

*Oscar I* (1799-1859)—King of Sweden and Norway (1844-59).—334

*Osten, Adolph Siegfried, Count* (1726-1797)—Danish diplomat, ambassador to St. Petersburg (1757-61, 1763-65).—28

*Osterman, Andrei Ivanovich, Count* (1686-1747)—Russian diplomat and statesman, Vice-Chancellor (1725-41), from 1731 virtually directed Russia's foreign and home policy; exiled after enthronement of Yelizaveta Petrovna in 1741.—27

*Osterman, Ivan Andreyevich, Count* (1725-1811)—Russian diplomat, ambassador extraordinary to Sweden (1759-74), Vice-Chancellor (1775-96), Chancellor (1796-97); son of the above.—29

*Otto, Louis-Guillaume, comte de Mosloy* (1754-1817)—French diplomat, envoy to London (1800-02), ambassador to Vienna (1809-13).—491-95

*Outram, Sir James* (1803-1863)—British general, resident at Lucknow (1854-56), in 1857 commanded British troops in the Anglo-Persian war; Chief Commissioner of Oudh (1857-58); took part in suppressing the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India.—372, 437, 442, 504, 505, 507, 508, 549

*Overstone, Samuel Jones Loyd, Baron* (from 1860) (1796-1883)—English banker, Whig, inspirer of Robert Peel's financial policy and, in particular, of his English Bank Act of 1844.—379, 407

*Owen, W. D.*—a director of the Royal British Bank (1849-54, 1855-56); condemned for fraud.—111

P

*Pakington, Sir John Somerset* (1799-1880)—British statesman, Tory, subsequently Conservative; Secretary for War and the Colonies (1852), First Lord of the Admiralty (1858-59, 1866-67), Secretary for War (1867-68).—216, 470, 590

*Palafox y Melci, José de Rebolledo, duque de Saragossa* (1776-1847)—Spanish general, participant in the war of independence (1808-14); directed the defence of Saragossa (1808-09).—101

*Palmer, John Horsley* (1779-1858)—British financier, governor of the Bank of England (1830-32); subsequently held various posts in financial institutions.—16

*Palmer, Sir Roundell, Earl of Selborne* (1812-1895)—British statesman, Peelite, later Liberal; Lord Chancellor (1872-74, 1880-85).—249

*Palmerston, Emily Mary* (previously *Countess Cowper*) (c. 1787-1869)—wife of Henry John Temple Palmerston (from 1839).—597, 599

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman; at first Tory, from 1830 Whig; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51); Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-65).—3, 6, 34, 39, 62-63, 179, 186-88, 193, 200, 204, 211-23, 226, 238-40, 242, 247-50, 293-94, 309, 323, 325, 328-33, 382, 458, 468-70, 483, 510-11, 513, 517, 531, 536-37, 566, 571-72, 587, 590, 593, 595-97, 599

*Panin, Nikita Ivanovich, Count* (1718-1783)—Russian diplomat and statesman, envoy to Denmark (1747) and Sweden (1747-59), head of the Department for Foreign Affairs (1763-81).—28-31, 39

*Panmure, Fox Maule, Baron Panmure, Earl of Dalhousie* (1801-1874)—British statesman, Whig, Secretary at War (1846-52), Secretary for War (1855-58).—469

*Parandur Singh*—Rajah of Hindustan.—376

*Parkes, Sir Harry Smith* (1828-1885)—British diplomat; as a consul in Canton provoked an Anglo-Chinese conflict which served as a prologue of the Second Opium War with China (1856-60); one of the three European control commissioners in Canton (1858-59, 1860-61), consul in Shanghai (1864-65), envoy to Japan (1865-83).—158-60, 208, 222, 233-34

*Paton, John Stafford* (1821-1889)—British officer, later general; took part in the first and second Anglo-Sikh wars (1845-46 and 1848-49), and in suppressing the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India.—370

*Paul I* (1754-1801)—Emperor of Russia (1796-1801).—37, 38

*Paul, Sir John Dean* (1802-1868)—British banker, bankrupted in June 1855; was sentenced to hard labour for financial machinations.—110

*Peel, Sir Robert* (1750-1830)—English cotton-spinning manufacturer, M.P., father of Sir Robert Peel.—469

*Peel, Sir Robert* (1788-1850)—British statesman, moderate Tory, Home Secretary (1822-27, 1828-30), Prime Minister (1834-35, 1841-46); repealed the Corn Laws (1846).—200, 201, 202, 216, 248, 379, 381-83, 389, 468-69, 572

*Pelegrín, Ramon Lópes*—Spanish statesman, Minister of the Interior.—627

*Pélissier, Aimable Jean Jacques, duc de Malakoff* (1794-1864)—Marshal of France, took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s-early 1850s; commander-in-chief of the French army in the Crimea (May 1855-July 1856); for taking Malakhov Mound was awarded the title of duc de Malakoff; ambassador to London (1858-59).—355, 457, 466, 476, 482-84, 515

*Peltier, Jean Gabriel* (1765-1825)—French royalist writer; after the August 10, 1792 revolution emigrated to London where he published various periodicals; was prosecuted for his sharp criticism of Napoleon I.—492-94, 496

*Pène, Henri de* (1830-1888)—French journalist, contributor to *Le Figaro*.—552

*Perceval, Spencer* (1762-1812)—British statesman, Tory, Attorney General (1802-06), Chancellor of the Exchequer (1807-09), Prime Minister (1809-12).—468, 491

*Péreire, Isaac* (1806-1880)—French banker, Bonapartist; deputy to the Corps législatif; in 1852, together with his brother Émile Péreire, founded the joint-stock bank Crédit Mobilier.—9, 12, 15-16, 20-23, 118, 270-77, 303, 359-60, 500

*Péreire, Jacob Émile* (1800-1875)—French banker, Bonapartist, deputy to the Corps législatif, in 1852, together with his brother Isaac Péreire, founded the joint-stock bank Crédit Mobilier.—9, 15, 21, 272, 276, 303, 304, 360, 500

*Perovsky, Vasily Alexeyevich, Count* (1795-1857)—Russian general, military governor of Orenburg (1833-42), Governor-General of Orenburg and Samara gubernias (1851-57); commanded a military expedition to Khiva (1839-40).—196

*Persigny, Jean Gilbert Victor Fialin, comte* (1808-1872)—French statesman, Bonapartist; an organiser of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; Minister of the Interior (1852-54, 1860-63), ambassador to London (1855-58, 1859-60).—17-18, 457, 482

*Peter* (second half of the 13th cent.-1326)—Metropolitan of Russia (1308-26).—78

*Peter I (the Great)* (1672-1725)—Tsar of Russia (from 1682), Emperor of Russia (from 1721).—40-60, 64-65, 68-70, 75, 87-96, 157, 178, 324

*Petit*—substitute of the Paris Attorney General (1856).—137

*Petty, Sir William, Marquis of Lansdowne and Earl of Shelburne* (1737-1805)—British politician, Home Secretary and First Lord of the Treasury (1782-83).—33, 36

*Philipp I* (d. 1473)—Metropolitan of Moscow and Russia (1464-73); helped to create a centralised Russian state.—86

*Philipson, Grigory Ivanovich* (1809-1883)—Russian general, took part

in conquering the Caucasus.—539, 540, 544

*Phillimore, John George* (1808-1865)—British lawyer and politician, Liberal M.P. (1852-57).—249

*Phillimore, Sir Robert Joseph* (1810-1885)—British lawyer, Whig, then Peelite, M.P. (1852-57); brother of the above.—249

*Pidal, Pedro José, marqués de* (1800-1865)—Spanish politician, member of the Moderado Party, President of the Cortes (1843), Minister of the Interior (1844-48), Minister of Foreign Affairs (1848-51).—286, 288, 573

*Pieri, Giuseppe Andrea* (1808-1858)—Italian revolutionary, executed as an accomplice of Orsini in an attempt on Napoleon III's life.—478

*Piétri, Pierre Marie* (1809-1864)—French politician, Bonapartist, prefect of the Paris police (1852-58).—455, 474

*Pilate, Pontius* (died c. A.D. 37)—Roman procurator of Judaea (26-36).—115

*Pindar* (c. 522-c. 442 B.C.)—Greek lyric poet; wrote ceremonial odes.—219

*Pitt, L. K.*—cousin of William Pitt "the Younger"; priest at the British merchant trading station in St. Petersburg in the 1790s.—36-38

*Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham ("the Senior")* (1708-1778)—British statesman, Whig, Foreign Secretary and Secretary for War (1756-61), Prime Minister (1766-68).—29, 35, 188-89

*Pitt, William ("the Younger")* (1759-1806)—British statesman, Tory, Chancellor of the Exchequer (1782-83), Prime Minister (1783-1801, 1804-06).—30, 36, 468, 470, 491, 513, 586

*Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti)* (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—3, 5

*Place, Henri*—French financier, a governor of the joint-stock bank Crédit Mobilier.—15, 358

*Place, Victor*—French consul in Moldavia in the 1850s.—324, 326

*Pompey (Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus)* (106-48 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman.—146

*Popoff (Popov)*—Russian consul in Moldavia in the 1850s.—324

*Potemkin, Grigory Alexandrovich, Prince Tavrichesky* (1739-1791)—Russian statesman, field marshal-general (from 1784); directed the colonisation of the Southern territories incorporated into Russia.—31, 34

*Potter, Sir John* (d. 1858)—British liberal M.P., was elected Mayor of Manchester three times.—240

*Pottinger, Sir Henry* (1789-1856)—British diplomat and military figure, envoy to China (1841-42); in 1842 commanded British troops in the First Opium War with China, Governor of Hong Kong (1843-44), of the Cape of Good Hope (1846-47), and Madras (1847-54).—244, 245

*Powlett, William John Frederick, Lord*—British statesman, Peelite, M.P.—249

*Pozzo di Borgo, Karl Osipovich, Count* (1764-1842)—Russian diplomat, Corsican by birth; envoy to Paris (1814-21), ambassador to Paris (1821-35) and to London (1835-39).—38

*Praslin, Charles Laure Hugues Théobald, duc de Choiseul* (1805-1847)—French aristocrat; his trial in 1847 for murdering his wife had political repercussions; committed suicide.—472

*Prescott, H. J.*—assistant-governor of the Bank of England in 1847.—382

*Price, Richard* (1723-1791)—British radical publicist, economist and moralist philosopher.—513

*Prince of Prussia*—see *William I*

*Prokesch-Osten, Anton, Count von* (1795-1876)—Austrian general and diplomat, internuncio (1855-67) and ambassador (1867-71) to Constantinople.—322, 324

*Prost*—French businessman, chief of the Compagnie générale de Caisses d'Escompte (1858).—501

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist, a forefather of anarchism.—15, 185

*Pucheta*—see *Muñoz Benavente, José*

*Puffendorf, Samuel, Baron von* (1632-1694)—German historian and lawyer, a theoretician of "natural law".—60

*Pulszky, Ferenc* (1814-1897)—Hungarian politician, writer and archaeologist; Pole by birth; took part in the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49; émigré; in the 1850s contributed to the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—361

Q

*Quiroga, Antonio* (1784-1841)—Spanish army officer, Liberal, participant in the revolutions of 1808-14 and 1820-23.—625

R

*Radetzky, Josef, Count of Radetz* (1766-1858)—Austrian field marshal, in 1848-49 suppressed the revolutionary and national liberation movement in Italy; Governor-General of the Kingdom of Lombardy and Venetia (1850-56).—6, 107

*Raglan, Lord Fitzroy James Henry Somerset, Baron* (1788-1855)—British field marshal; commander-in-chief of the British army in the Crimea (1854-55).—447

*Ranbir (Ranbeer) Singh*—Indian Rajah from Cashmere; during the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India fought on the British side.—374

*Rapp, Jean, comte* (1772-1821)—French general, participant in Napoleon I's campaigns; from January 1813 to January 1814 commanded the garrison of Danzig besieged by Russian and Prussian troops.—441

*Rawlinson, Sir Henry Creswicke, Baronet* (1810-1895)—English historian, Orientalist, served as an officer in Persia, member of the Council of India (1858-59, 1868-95), envoy to Teheran (1859-60).—294

*Redgrave, Alexander*—British factory inspector.—525

*Reed, Sir Thomas* (1796-1883)—British general, participated in suppressing the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India.—343-44, 370-71

*Regnault, Elias Georges Soulange Oliva* (1801-1868)—French historian and writer, Bonapartist.—62

*Reinhard, Charles Frederic, comte* (1761-1837)—French diplomat, envoy to Lower Saxony (1802); German by birth.—498

*Renaud* (d. 1857)—British army officer, took part in suppressing the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India.—347

*Renée, Lambert Amédée* (1808-1859)—French journalist, Bonapartist, responsible publisher of *Le Constitutionnel* and *Le Pays* from 1856.—515

*Reynaud*—French journalist, editor of the *Courrier Français de Londres* (1802).—493

*Reynaud, Jean* (1806-1863)—French naturalist and philosopher.—488

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—British economist.—8

*Richard III* (1452-1485)—King of England (1483-85).—219

*Riego y Núñez, Rafael del* (1785-1823)—Spanish army officer, participant in the war of independence (1808-14); prominent figure during the revolution of 1820-23; executed after its defeat.—625, 626, 629

*Rimsky-Korsakov, Alexander Mikhailovich* (1753-1840)—Russian general, commander of the Russian army in Switzerland (1799); member of the State Council from 1830.—168

*Roberts, Sir Henry Gee* (1800-1860)—British general, participated in suppressing the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India.—608, 609

*Robertson*—British consul in Shanghai (1856).—127

*Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de* (1758-1794)—leader of the Jacobins in the French Revolution, head of the revolutionary government (1793-94).—186, 488

*Robinson, Smith P.*—honorary secretary of the Anti-Corn Law League.—241

*Rockingham, Charles Watson Wentworth, Marquis of* (1730-1782)—British statesman, Whig M.P., Prime Minister (1765-66, 1782).—34, 36

*Roebuck, John Arthur* (1801-1879)—British politician and journalist, radical M.P.—216, 227

*Romanovs*—dynasty of Russian tsars and emperors (1613-1917).—5

*Romanus II* (939-963)—Emperor of Byzantium (959-63).—75

*Roncali, Federico, conde d'Alcoy* (b. 1809)—Spanish politician, head of government and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1852-53).—286

*Rondeau, Claudius* (d. 1739)—British diplomat, consul-general (1730-31) and resident-minister (1731-39) in St. Petersburg.—27, 39

*Rooke, Sir George* (1650-1709)—British admiral; in 1700 commander-in-chief of the Anglo-Dutch squadron sent to help Charles XII during the Danish-Swedish war.—95

*Ros de Olano, Antonio* (1808-1886)—Spanish general and politician, member of the Moderado Party, participant in the revolution of 1854-56.—99

*Rose, Hugh Henry, Baron Strathnairn* (1801-1885)—British general, later field-marshal, fought in the Crimean war, took part in suppressing the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India.—506, 508, 558, 582, 583

*Rothschild, James, baron de* (1792-1868)—head of the Rothschild banking house in Paris.—15

*Rothschilds*—dynasty of bankers with establishments in various European countries.—123, 291, 417

*Rouland, Gustave* (1806-1878)—French statesman, Bonapartist, Minister of Public Instruction and Worship (1856-63), President of the State Council (1863-64), general director of the Bank of France (1864-78).—467

*Ruriks*—dynasty of Russian princes and subsequently tsars (912-1598), founded, according to the chronicle, by Rurik, a semi-legendary Varangian leader.—75-77

*Russell, John, Earl of* (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader, Prime Minister (1846-52, 1865-66), Foreign Secretary (1852-53, 1859-65), President of the Council (1854-55); Britain's representative at the Vienna Conference (1855).—186, 204, 206-07, 214-15, 217, 227-29, 249-50, 382, 468-70, 587-88

*Russell, Sir William Howard* (1820-1907)—British journalist, the *Times* war correspondent during the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India.—527, 529, 556-57

*Rutland, Charles Cecil John Manners, Duke of* (1815-1888)—British aristocrat, Tory.—567

*Ryos y Rosas (Rios y Rosas), Antonio de los* (1812-1873)—Spanish politician, member of the Moderado Party, deputy to the Cortes; Minister of the Interior (1856).—100

S

*Sacy, Samuel-Ustazade Silvestre de* (1801-1879)—French journalist and writer; worked in the *Journal des Débats* from 1828.—467

*Sadleir, John* (1814-1856)—Irish banker and politician, a leader of the Irish Brigade in Parliament; committed suicide when the Tipperary Bank, of which he was director, went bankrupt.—16, 110

*Sáez (Sáenz), Victor*—Ferdinand VII's favourite, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1823).—626

*Said Pasha* (1822-1863)—ruler of Egypt (1854-63).—595

*Saint-Arnaud, Armand Jacques Achille Leroy de* (1801-1854)—Marshal of France, Bonapartist; took part in conquering Algeria (1830s-40s); an organiser of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; Minister of War (1851-54); commander-in-chief of the French army in the Crimea (1854).—483

*Saint-Just, Antoine Louis Léonde Richebourg de* (1767-1794)—a Jacobin leader in the French Revolution.—15

*Saint Leonards*—see *Sugden, Edward Burtenshaw*

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—15

*Saint-Simon, Louis de Rouvroy, duc de* (1675-1755)—French politician, writer, author of the famous memoirs.—20, 38, 110

*Salanza*—general, War Minister in Espartero's cabinet prior to O'Donnell.—288

*San Luis, Luis José Sartorius, conde de* (1820-1871)—Spanish statesman and writer, a leader of the Moderado Party, Minister of the Interior (1847-51), head of government (1853-54).—284-87

*San Miguel y Valledor, Evaristo, duque de* (1785-1862)—Spanish general, writer and politician, fought in the war of independence (1808-14) and the 1820-23 revolution; head of the liberal ministry (1822); War Minister (1840-42, 1854); deputy to the Cortes (1854-57).—287

*Sandwich, John Montagu, Earl of* (1718-1792)—British statesman, First Lord of the Admiralty (1748-51, 1763-65, 1771-82).—28-30, 35, 39

*Sartorius*—see *San Luis, Luis José Sartorius, conde de*

*Savoy*—a royal dynasty ruling in the Sardinian Kingdom (1720-1861) and in the united Italian Kingdom (1861-1946).—3-7

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—586, 589

*Schlözer, August Ludwig von* (1735-1809)—German historian and statistician, lived in Russia in 1760-66; a founder of the theory of the Russian state's Norman origin.—75

*Schröder, Christian Matthias* (1812-1892)—head of a large banking firm in Hamburg; went bankrupt at the end of 1857.—412

*Schröder, John Henry* (1784-1883)—head of a large banking firm in London; brother of Christian Matthias Schröder.—412

*Sébastiani, Horace François Bastien, comte* (1772-1851)—Marshal of France, diplomat, Orleanist; Foreign Minister (1830-32), ambassador to London (1835-40).—496

*Ségur, Philippe Paul, comte de* (1780-1873)—French diplomat, military writer and historian; general, took part in the 1812 campaign.—75, 78, 83, 84, 89, 92

*Semyon Ivanovich the Proud* (1316-1353)—Grand Duke of Moscow (from 1340) and of Vladimir (from 1341).—79

*Sepher Pasha (Sepher Bey)* (1795-1859)—Circassian prince in Turkish service; fought in the Russo-Turkish war (1826-28); directed the Circassians' military operations against Russia in 1855-59.—539-44

*Serrano y Dominguez, Francisco, conde de San Antonio, duque de la Torre* (1810-1885)—Spanish general and statesman, War Minister (1843), took part in the coup d'état of 1856; Foreign Minister (1862-63), head of government (1868-69, 1871, 1874), Regent of the Kingdom (1869-71).—98, 287

*Seu (Xu Guangjin)* (1785-1858)—Chinese statesman, Governor-General of Kwangtung and Kwangsi.—162

*Seymour, Sir Michael* (1802-1887)—British admiral, rear admiral of the Baltic fleet (1854-56), commander of the naval forces in the Second Opium War with China (1856-58).—158-62, 218, 222, 234

*Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of* (1801-1885)—British politician; in the 1840s headed a group of philanthropic Tories in Parliament; Whig from 1847; Palmerston's stepson-in-law.—219, 599

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English playwright and poet.—211, 219, 269, 457, 492

*Shee, Sir William* (1804-1868)—Irish lawyer and Liberal politician, M.P.—216

*Shelburne*—see *Petty, Sir William*

*Shore, John, Baron Teignmouth* (1751-1834)—British Governor-General of India (1793-98).—535

*Shuvalovs (Schuwaloffs)*—Russian noble family, close to the Court in the 18th-19th centuries.—31

*Sidmouth, Henry Addington, Viscount* (1757-1844)—British statesman, Tory; Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer (1801-04), Home Secretary (1812-21).—222, 494

*Sidney*—Lord Mayor of London (1857).—231

*Sigismund* (c. 1361-1437)—German Emperor (1411-37), last of the Luxembourg dynasty.—154-56

*Silius Italicus (Titus Catius Silius Italicus)* (c. 26-101)—Roman epic poet, author of the poem *De Secundo bello punico*.—65

*Simolin, Ivan Matveyevich, Baron* (1720-1799)—Russian diplomat, ambassador to Sweden (1774-79), to Britain (1779-85), to France (1785-92).—32, 34

*Simonich, Ivan Stepanovich, Count* (1792-1855)—Russian general; Serb by birth; envoy to Teheran (1832-39).—179

*Simpson, Sir James* (1792-1868)—British general, chief of staff (February-June 1855), then commander-in-chief of the British army in the Crimea (June-November 1855).—447

*Sindhia, Ali Jah Jaiaji (Bagirat Rao)* (born c. 1835)—Mahratta Prince of Gwalior from 1853; sided with the British during the national libera-

tion uprising of 1857-59 in India.—364, 609

*Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard Sismonde de* (1773-1842)—Swiss economist, representative of economic romanticism.—147

*Sixtus IV (Francesco della Rovere)* (1414-1484)—Pope (1471-84).—86

*Sleeman, Sir William Henry* (1788-1856)—British colonial official, officer, then general, resident at Gwalior (1843-49) and at Lucknow (1849-54).—538

*Smith, Sir John Mark Frederick* (1790-1874)—British general, military engineer, M.P.—333

*Smith, Robert Vernon, Baron Lyveden* (1800-1873)—British statesman, Whig, M.P., Secretary at War (1852); President of the Board of Control for India (1855-58).—314, 316, 469

*Smythe, John George*—British politician, colonel, Peelite, M.P.—249

*Solms-Sonnenwalde, Victor Friedrich, Count von* (1730-1783)—Prussian diplomat, envoy extraordinary to Sweden (1755-59), envoy to Russia (1762-79).—29

*Sophia (Zoë) Palaeologus* (c. 1448-1503)—Grand Duchess of Moscow, second wife of Ivan III, niece of the last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI Palaeologus.—80, 86

*Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu, duc de Dalmatie* (1769-1851)—Marshal of France and statesman, fought in the wars of Napoleonic France, Prime Minister (1832-34, 1839-40, 1840-47).—39, 290

*Souwaroff*—see *Suvorov, Alexander Vasilyevich*

*Stalker, Forster* (d. 1857)—British general, commanded British land forces in the Anglo-Persian war of 1856-57; committed suicide.—294

*Stanhope, James, Earl* (1673-1721)—British military and political figure, diplomat, Whig; participant in the War of the Spanish Succession, envoy to (1706-07, 1708-10) and commander of the British troops in Spain (1708-10); Secretary of State (1714-17), Chancellor of the Exchequer (1717-21); supported Sweden in her war against Russia.—56, 60, 93, 187

*Stanley, Edward Henry, Earl of Derby* (1826-1893)—British statesman, Tory, Conservative in the 1860s-70s, later Liberal; Colonial Secretary (1858, 1882-85), Secretary of State for India (1858-59), Foreign Secretary (1866-68, 1874-78); son of Edward Derby.—469, 470, 590

*Stanley, Edward John, Baron Stanley of Alderley and Baron Eddisbury of Winnington* (1802-1869)—British statesman, Whig, M.P.; President of the Board of Trade (1855-58), Postmaster-General (1860-66).—425-26, 428

*Stead, Jean*—French émigré on Jersey, printer.—496

*Stein, Maximilian, Baron* (1811-1860)—Austrian army officer; during the revolution of 1848-49 in Hungary was chief of the General Staff of the revolutionary army; then émigré in Turkey under the name of Ferhad Pasha; fought against Russia in the Caucasus (1857-58).—541-43, 545

*Stephen III the Great* (d. 1504)—Hospodar of Moldavia (1457-1504).—85

*Stewart, Sir Donald Martin* (1824-1900)—British army officer, later field marshal; took part in suppressing the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India, and in the second Anglo-Afghan war (1878-80); commander-in-chief of the British troops in India (1881-85); member of the Council of India (1885-1900).—364

*Stieglitz*—owner of the St. Petersburg banking house Stieglitz & Co.—359

*Stock, Franciszek*—Polish émigré, officer in the Turkish army.—539, 549

*Stocken, von*—Danish minister (early 18th cent.).—43, 44

*Stormont, David Murray, Viscount Stormont, Earl of Mansfield* (1727-1796)—British statesman and diplomat, Tory; envoy to Paris (1772-78); Secretary of State for the Southern Department (1779-82).—32-33, 35

*Strabo* (63 B.C.-c. A.D. 20)—Greek geographer and historian.—146

*Strahan, William* (born c. 1808)—British banker, partner of a firm which went bankrupt in June 1855; sentenced to hard labour for financial machinations.—110

*Stratford de Redcliffe, Stratford Canning, Viscount* (1786-1880)—British diplomat, envoy to Constantinople (1810-12, 1825-28, 1841-58).—293, 322, 595

*Stroganovs (Stroganoffs)*—the family of Russian merchants, later of nobles; known for their efforts to colonise the Urals and Siberia in the 16th-18th centuries; were close to the Court in the 18th-19th centuries.—31

*Suetonius (Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus)* (c. 70-c. 160)—Roman historian and writer, author of *The Twelve Caesars*.—164

*Sugden, Edward Burtenshaw, Baron St. Leonards* (1781-1875)—British lawyer and statesman, Tory; Lord Chancellor (1852).—469

*Sugden, Richard*—hairdresser, father of the above.—469

*Sunderland, Spencer Charles, Earl of* (1674-1722)—British diplomat and politician, Whig; Secretary of State for the Northern Department (from 1717), First Lord of the Treasury (1718-21).—34

*Sutton, John Henry Manners*—British politician, Peelite, M.P. (1847-57).—249

*Suvorov, Alexander Vasilyevich, Count Suvorov Rimniksky, Prince Italiisky* (c. 1729-1800)—Russian general.—168

*Svyatoslav Igorevich* (d. 972 or 973)—Grand Duke of Kiev (c. 945-72).—75, 76

*Szémere, Bertalan (Bartholomäus)* (1812-1869)—Hungarian politician and journalist; Minister of the Interior (1848) and head of the revolutionary government (1849); emigrated after the defeat of the revolution.—236

T

*Tahlman*—Austrian resident in Constantinople in 1736.—27

*Tahmasp II* (died c. 1736)—Shah of Persia (1730-32).—177

*Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice, prince de* (1754-1838)—French diplomat, Foreign Minister (1797-99, 1799-1807, 1814-15); represented France at the Vienna Congress (1814-15).—29, 227, 488, 491, 492, 498

*Tao Kuang* (1782-1850)—Emperor of China (1821-50).—244-45

*Tasso, Torquato* (1544-1595)—Italian poet.—477

*Terence (Publius Terentius Afer)* (c. 190-159 B.C.)—Roman author of comedies.—55

*Terentianus Maurus* (2nd half of the 2nd cent.)—Roman grammarian.—15

*Tewfik Bey*—see *Łapiński, Teofil*

*Themistocles* (c. 525-c. 460 B.C.)—Greek statesman and general of the time of Greco-Persian wars.—55

*Thesiger, Frederick, Baron Chelmsford* (1794-1878)—British statesman, Tory, M.P. from 1840; Attorney-General (1845-46, 1852), Lord Chancellor (1858-59, 1866-68).—216

*Theyls, Willem*—Dutch diplomat; at the beginning of the 18th century served at Dutch Embassy in Turkey, carried out diplomatic missions for the Russian Government; in 1711-12 helped to conclude a peace treaty between Russia and Turkey.—65

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836, 1840), deputy to the Constituent (1848) and Legislative (1849-51) Assemblies; head of the Orleanists after 1848; organised the suppression of the Paris Commune (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73).—488

*Thouvenel, Édouard Antoine* (1818-1866)—French diplomat, ambassador to Constantinople (1855-60), Foreign Minister (1860-62).—322-23

*Thurneyssen, Auguste*—a director of the French joint-stock bank Crédit Mobilier.—358, 359

*Thurneyssen, Charles*—French banker, nephew of the above.—358, 359

*Timur (Tamerlane)* (1336-1405)—Central Asian general and conqueror, founder of a large state in the East with Samarkand as its capital.—81, 557

*Tippoo Saib (Tipu Sahib)* (1750-1799)—ruler of Mysore (1782-99); waged wars against British expansion in India in the 1780s and 1790s.—340

*Tite, Sir William* (1798-1873)—British architect and politician; Liberal, M.P. from 1855.—600

*Todtleben (Totleben), Eduard Ivanovich, Count* (1818-1884)—Rissian military engineer, general, an organiser of the defence of Sevastopol (1854-55).—392, 441

*Tolstoi, Alexei Petrovich, Count* (d. 1864)—Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod (1856-62), cavalry general, senator.—464

*Tooke, Thomas* (1774-1858)—British economist, adherent of the classical school of political economy.—382, 402

*Toreno, José María Queipo de Llano, conde de* (1786-1843)—Spanish politician of liberal leanings and historian, participant in the revolutions of 1808-14 and 1820-23; deputy to the Cadiz Cortes, Minister of Finance (1834) and Prime Minister (1835); lived in emigration from 1814 to 1820, 1823 to 1833 and from 1835.—625

*Townshend, Charles, Viscount* (1674-1738)—British diplomat and politician, at first Tory, later Whig; ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Holland (1709-11), Secretary of State (1714-17, 1721-30).—56, 60, 65, 93

*Tseang (Jiang Li'ang)*—prefect in Luichow.—161, 162

*Turgot, Anne Robert Jacques, baron de l'Aulne* (1727-1781)—French economist and statesman; Physiocrat; Controller-General of Finance (1774-76).—185

*Turgot, Louis Felix Étienne, marquis de* (1796-1866)—French diplomat, Bonapartist, took part in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; Foreign Minister (1851-52), ambassador to Spain (1853).—98

*Turner, James Aspinall* (1797-1867)—British cotton manufacturer and politician, Tory, M.P., President of the Manchester Commercial Association.—240

*Türr, István (Achmet Kiamil Bey)* (1825-1908)—Hungarian army officer, participant in the 1848-49

revolution in Italy and Germany, émigré in Turkey; fought in the Crimean war on the side of the Allies and in the Caucasian mountaineers' war against Tsarist Russia.—542-43

U

*Ummer Singh*—see *Amar Singh*

*Urquhart, David* (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician; Turkophile; carried out diplomatic missions in Turkey in the 1830s; M.P. (1847-52), Tory; opponent of Palmerston's policy; founder and editor of *The Free Press* (1855-65).—184

*Uzbek Khan* (c. 1282-1342)—Khan of the Golden Horde (1312-42).—78

V

*Vaillant, Jean Baptiste Philibert, comte* (1790-1872)—Marshal of France, senator, Bonapartist, Minister of War (1854-59).—465

*Vaïsse, Claude Marius* (1799-1864)—French statesman, Bonapartist, Minister of the Interior (January-April 1851), prefect of Lyons in the mid-1850s.—466

*Valbezen, de*—French consul in Calcutta (1854-58).—320

*Valdez*—Spanish general, participant in the revolution of 1854-56.—100, 101

*Valdez (Valdés), Jeronimo* (1784-1855)—Spanish general, Governor-General of Cuba (1841-42).—573

*Van Cortlandt, Henry Charles* (1815-1888)—British general; was in the military service of the Sikhs (1832-39); fought in the first and second Anglo-Sikh wars (1845-46, 1848-49) on the side of the British; participated in suppressing the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India.—329, 345, 361, 372

*Vaughan, Sir John Luther* (1820-1911)—British general, participated in suppressing the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India.—307

*Velasco y Coello, Manuel* (1776-1824)—Spanish general, participant in the first (1808-14) and second (1820-23) revolutions in Spain; Military Governor of Madrid, Captain-General of Extremadura.—626

*Veuillot, Louis François* (1813-1883)—French journalist, editor-in-chief of clerical newspaper *L'Univers* (1848-60).—483, 488

*Victor Emmanuel (Vittorio Emanuele) II* (1820-1878)—King of Piedmont (Sardinia) (1849-61), King of Italy (1861-78).—5, 417

*Victoria* (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901).—186, 465, 525

*Vigodet, Caspar*—Governor of Montevideo (1810), Captain-General of New Castile (1820); in 1823 emigrated to France after the defeat of the revolution.—626

*Villemain, Abel François* (1790-1870)—French politician and writer, Liberal, Minister of Public Education (1839-40, 1840-44).—467, 488

*Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro)* (70-19 B.C.)—Roman poet.—43, 188, 486

*Vittoria, Duke of*—see *Espartero, Baldomero*

*Vladimir Svyatoslavich* (d. 1015)—Grand Duke of Kiev (980-1015).—75, 76, 86

*Vogorides, Alexandros, Prince (Alekopasha)* (c. 1823-1910)—Turkish statesman and diplomat; Bulgarian by birth; counsellor of the Embassy in London (1856-61), ambassador to Vienna (1876-78), Governor of the Eastern Rumelia (1879-84).—324-25

*Vogorides, Nikolaos (Konaki-Vogorides)* (1821-1863)—Kaimakam of Moldavia (1857-59); Bulgarian by birth; brother of Alexandros Vogorides.—323, 324, 326

*Vogorides, Stefan (Bogorov, Stojko)* (c. 1775-c. 1862)—Turkish politician; Bulgarian by birth; Kaimakam of Moldavia (1821-22); father of Alexandros and Nikolaos Vogorides.—324

*Voltaire, François Marie Arouet* (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—309

*Vorontsov, Mikhail Semyonovich, Prince* (1782-1856)—Russian statesman, field marshal-general, in 1844-54 commander-in-chief of the troops in Transcaucasia and Governor-General in the Caucasus; after retiring lived in Odessa; Sidney Herbert's maternal uncle.—249

*Vsevolod III* (1154-1212)—Grand Duke of Vladimir (1176-1212).—77

W

*Wajid Ali Shah*—King of Oudh (1847-56).—316, 529, 535

*Walewski, Alexandre Florian Joseph Colonna, comte* (1810-1868)—French diplomat and statesman; son of Napoleon I and Polish Countess Marie Walewska; Foreign Minister (1855-60); was chairman at the Paris Congress (1856).—5, 470

*Walker, William* (1824-1860)—American adventurer; in the 1850s made several expeditions to Central American states with a view to uniting them in an empire under himself; seized power in Nicaragua in 1856 and declared himself President; was taken prisoner and executed in 1860, during his expedition to Honduras.—162

*Walpole, Horatio (Horace), Baron Walpole of Wolterton* (1678-1757)—British diplomat and politician, Whig; envoy plenipotentiary (1715, 1715-16, 1722, 1734) and ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Holland (1734-37, 1739) and to France (1724-30).—27, 30, 39, 56, 65

*Walpole, Sir Robert, Earl of Orford* (1676-1745)—British statesman, Whig leader, Prime Minister (1721-42); the first to form cabinets independent of the king and relying on the majority in Parliament; widely resorted to bribery; brother of the above.—56, 57

*Walpole, Spencer Horatio (Horace)* (1806-1898)—British statesman, Tory, Home Secretary (1852, 1858-59, 1866-67).—600

*Wellesley, Richard Colley, Marquis* (1760-1842)—British statesman, Governor-General of India (1797-1805), Foreign Secretary (1809-12), Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (1821-28, 1833-34).—535

*Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of* (1769-1852)—British general and statesman, Tory; Prime Minister (1828-30), Foreign Secretary (December 1834-April 1835).—192, 468

*Wheeler, Sir Hugh Massy* (1789-1857)—British general; in 1838-39 took part in the first Anglo-Afghan war, and in the Anglo-Sikh wars (1845-46, 1848-49); commander of the Cawnpore garrison (1856-57); took part in suppressing the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India.—346-47, 367, 441, 442

*Whiteside, James* (1804-1876)—Irish lawyer and politician, Tory M.P.; Attorney-General (1858-59, 1866).—216

*Whitlock, George* (1798-1868)—British general; in 1818 entered the service of the East India Company; took part in suppressing the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India.—558, 582

*Whitworth, Charles, Earl* (1752-1825)—British diplomat, ambassador to Paris (1802-May 1803), Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (1813-17).—496-98

*William I* (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, Prince Regent (1858-61), King of Prussia (1861-88), Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—568

*William III* (1650-1702)—Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the Netherlands (1672-1702), King of England, Scotland and Ireland (1689-1702).—49, 53, 57, 64-66, 72, 95, 152, 187

*William IV* (1765-1837)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1830-37).—536

*William "of Kars"*—see *Williams, Sir William Fenwick, Baronet "of Kars"*

*Williams, Sir William Fenwick, Baronet "of Kars"* (1800-1883)—British general; headed the defence of Kars in 1855, during the Crimean war; M.P. (1856-59); commanded the garrison in Woolwich (1856-59).—216, 447-48

*Wilson, Sir Archdale* (1803-1874)—British general; during the national liberation uprising in India commander of the troops which besieged and stormed Delhi (1857), and of the artillery during the siege of Lucknow (1858).—365, 370, 396, 398, 558

*Wilson, George* (1808-1870)—British manufacturer and politician, Free Trader, President of the Anti-Corn Law League (1841-46).—241

*Wilson, James* (1805-1860)—Scottish economist and politician, Free Trader, founder and editor of *The Economist*, M.P. (1847-59), Financial Secretary to the Treasury (1853-58).—206, 517, 518

*Wilson, N.* (d. 1857)—British colonel, took part in suppressing the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India.—451

*Windham, Sir Charles Ash* (1810-1870)—British general; in 1854-56 fought in the Crimean war; commanded British troops in Lahore (1857-61); took part in suppressing the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 in India.—442, 447-52, 504

*Windham, William* (1750-1810)—British statesman, Whig, subsequently Tory, M.P., Secretary for War (1794-1801).—491, 495

*Winslow, Forbes Benignus* (1810-1874)—British physician and journalist, editor of *The Journal of Psychological Medicine and Mental Pathology*.—599

*Withworth, M.*—British ambassador at the Court of Peter I.—93

*Wodehouse, John, Earl of Kimberley* (1826-1902)—British statesman, envoy to St. Petersburg (1856-58), Viceroy of Ireland (1864-66), Lord Privy Seal (1868-70), Secretary for Colonies (1870-74, 1880-82).—572

*Wood, Sir Charles, Viscount Halifax* (1800-1885)—British statesman, Whig; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1846-52), President of the Board of Control for India (1852-55), First Lord of the Admiralty (1855-58), Secretary of State for India (1859-66).—382

*Woodburn*—British general, in 1857 took part in suppressing the national liberation uprising in India.—316

*Woronzoff, Prince*—see *Vorontsov, Mikhail Semyonovich, Prince*

*Wrangel, Friedrich Heinrich Ernst, Count von* (1784-1877)—Prussian general, an active participant in the counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Berlin and in the dispersal of the Prussian National Assembly in November 1848.—107

Y

*Yaroslav* (c. 978-1054)—Grand Duke of Kiev (1019-54).—76, 77

*Yeh Ming-chin* (1807-1859)—Chinese statesman, Imperial Commissioner, Governor-General of Kwangtung and Kwangsi (1852-57).—159-61, 211, 218, 233, 468

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# GLOSSARY OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES[a]

| | |
|---|---|
| Amoy | Szeming |
| Anatolia | Asia Minor |
| Araxes (river) | Aras |
| Astrabad | Gurgan |
| Aurungabad | Aurangabad |
| Austerlitz | Slavkov |
| Bahia | Salvador |
| Barrios | Los Barrios |
| Bassora | Basra |
| Boulogne | Boulogne-sur-Mer |
| Braila | Brăila |
| British Guiana | Guyana |
| Bundelcund | Bundelkhand |
| Cabool, Caboul | Kabul |
| Canton | Kwangchow |
| Canton River | Chu-Kiang (Pearl River) |
| Cattaro | Kotor |
| Cattaro, Bocche di | Kotor, Gulf of |
| Ceylon | Sri Lanka |
| Ching-Kiang-Foo | Chinkiang |
| Christiania | Oslo |
| Cilli | Celje |
| Citate | Chetatea |
| Coleroon | Cauvery |
| Constantinople | Istanbul |
| Cracow | Kraków |
| Dantzic | Gdańsk |
| Erivan | Yerevan |
| Erzeroum | Erzerum or Erzurum |
| Fiumè | Rijeka |
| Friuli | Udine |
| Galatz | Galaţi |
| Grisons | Graubünden |
| Gujerat | Gujarat |
| Hong Kong | Hsiang-Kiang |
| Illosfalva | Illésfalva |
| Inkermann | Inkerman |
| Ivangorod | Dęblin |
| Jassv | Isşi |
| Jaxartes | Syr Darya |
| Jericho | Er Ríha |
| Kabardinsk | Kabardinka |
| Kamtchatka | Kamchatka |
| Karrachee | Karachi |
| Lambessa | Lambèse |
| Libau | Liepaja |
| Luy-chow-foo | Luichow |
| Macao | Aomen |
| Malghera | Marghera |

[a] This glossary includes geographical names occurring in Marx's and Engels' articles in the form customary in the press of the time but differing from the national names or from those given on modern maps. The left column gives geographical names as used in the original; the right column gives corresponding names as used on modern maps and in modern literature.

| | |
|---|---|
| Memel | Klaipeda |
| Mohammerah | Khorramshahr |
| Montenegro | Crna Gora |
| Morea | Peloponnesus |
| Nankin | Nanking |
| Nepaul | Nepal |
| Neuenburg | Neuchâtel |
| Newcastle | Newcastle-upon-Tyne |
| Nizhni Novgorod | Gorky |
| Nusserabad | Nasirabad |
| Oltenitza | Oltenița |
| Oude | Oudh |
| Oxus | Amu Darya |
| Palangen | Palanga |
| Pekin | Peking |
| Pera | Beyoğlu |
| Pernambuco | Recife |
| Pernau | Pärnu |
| Persia | Iran |
| Peterhoff | Petrodvorets |
| Pirano | Piran |
| Plombières | Plombières-les-Bains |
| Pola | Pula |
| Pomerania | Pomorze |
| Posen | Poznań |
| Pressburg | Bratislava |
| Pultawa | Poltava |
| Punjaub | Punjab |
| Ragusa | Dubrovnik |
| Rajpootana | Rajasthan |
| Revel | Tallinn |
| Rohilcund | Rohilkhand |
| Rovigno | Rovinj |
| St. Petersburg | Leningrad |
| Salonica | Thessaloniki |
| San Domingo | Dominican Republic |
| Schonen | Skåne |
| Scutari | Üsküdar |
| Sebenico | Šibenik |
| Shehustan | Kohistan |
| Shuster | Shushtar |
| Silesia | Śląsk |
| Smyrna | Izmir |
| Spalato | Split |
| Stettin | Szczecin |
| Subbalpore | Jubbulpore |
| S(o)und | Øresund |
| Tabreez | Tabriz |
| Tarnau | Tarnów |
| Theiss | Tisza |
| Thorn | Toruń |
| Tiflis | Tbilisi |
| Todhpore | Jodhpur |
| Tornea | Tornio |
| Transoxiana | Bukhara |
| Trebizond | Trabzon |
| Tsang-Ming | Tsungming |
| Tuabs | Tuapse |
| Tunis | Tunisia |
| Turan | Turkestan |
| Tver | Kalinin |
| Valengin | Valangin |
| Wendish Sea | Baltic Sea |
| Whampoa | Huang-pu |
| Zara | Zadar |

# MARX & ENGELS
# COLLECTED WORKS

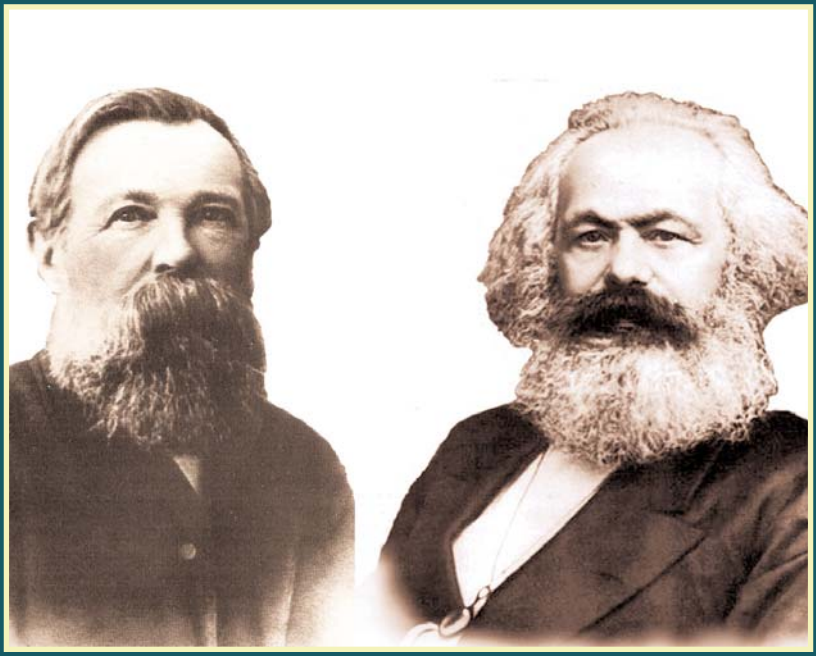

## VOLUME 16

Marx and Engels 1858-60

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 16

## Marx and Engels 1858-60

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HENRY MINS: Works 43, 64, 68, 71, 72, 74, 76, 77, 83, 85, 87, 106; Appendices 112, 113, 114

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# Preface

Volume 16 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains works written between August 1858 and February 1860. They consist mainly of articles published in the then progressive *New-York Daily Tribune* (and in many cases reprinted in the special issues, the *New-York Weekly Tribune* and the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*), and in the German-language London weekly *Das Volk,* which was for a short time the newspaper of the exiled German revolutionary workers. The present volume also includes Engels' pamphlets *Po and Rhine* and *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine.*

The works belonging to 1858 deal with the final period of the first capitalist world economic crisis which began in 1857 and embraced all the leading European countries and the USA.

As Marx and Engels had foreseen, the crisis gave an impetus to the working-class and democratic movements and also to the national liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples. By late 1858 and early 1859 a new revolutionary upsurge had begun in Europe, broadly reflected in the works contained in this volume. A revolutionary situation was developing in a number of countries. The masses, particularly the working class, were growing increasingly active. The question arose of the national unification of both Germany and Italy, and it was clear in each case that only a democratic solution of it would correspond to the interests of the masses. Marx's and Engels' theoretical and practical activity during this period was therefore aimed at preparing the international working class for new class struggles.

In elaborating revolutionary theory Marx and Engels paid particular attention to the development of economic theory. June

1859 saw the publication of Marx's *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (see present edition, Vol. 30). This work was a landmark in the creation of Marxist political economy. For Marx had by now elaborated the theory of surplus value (see present edition, Vol. 29), which completed the proof of the inevitability of the replacement of capitalism by a higher social order, socialism. Lenin described the Preface to this work as having formulated "the fundamental principles of materialism as applied to human society and its history" (*Collected Works,* Vol. 21, p. 55).

The present volume contains Engels' review—published in August 1859 in *Das Volk*—of Marx's *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* in which he pointed out that Marx had laid the foundations for a completely new political economy, which differed radically from bourgeois economics.

Engels' review explained the basic features of Marx's method for studying such important economic categories as those of commodity and money. He showed that in the Preface the materialist conception of history was not only made the scientific foundation of the revolutionary working-class world outlook, but also the essential methodology for the fruitful study of economic and other social processes. Marx had subjected the Hegelian dialectical method to criticism as early as the 1840s, and Engels emphasised the fundamental difference between materialist dialectics and Hegel's dialectics. It had been essential, he pointed out, to free Hegel's dialectics from its mystical form. "Marx was and is the only one who could undertake the work of extracting from the Hegelian logic the kernel containing Hegel's real discoveries in this field, and of establishing the dialectical method, divested of its idealist wrappings, in the simple form in which it becomes the only correct mode of the development of thought" (see this volume, pp. 474-75).

Engels among other things laid stress on the dialectical relationship of the logical and historical approaches to the analysis of phenomena in political economy and the other social sciences. Logical analysis, which effects a certain abstraction from concrete details, is essential. However, it must not be reduced to arbitrary and purely speculative abstractions but must be based on the consistent application of the historical method. The logical method, Engels explained, "is indeed nothing but the historical method, only stripped of the historical form and of interfering contingencies. The point where this history begins must also be the starting point of the train of thought, and its further progress will be simply the reflection, in abstract and theoretically consistent form, of the course of history" (p. 475).

The present volume consists mainly of journalistic items by Marx and Engels. Revolutionary journalism was at that period one of the main means of propagating Marxist ideas and the strategical and tactical principles of the working-class and democratic movement. Marx and Engels attached special importance to this at a time when the political situation in Europe was growing increasingly tense and new revolutionary events were imminent.

The work of Marx and Engels in this sphere became particularly intense in the summer of 1859, when they were able to write for the weekly *Das Volk.* The history of this newspaper and Marx's and Engels' association with it forms an important episode in their struggle for a working-class party.

The urgent requirements of the working-class movement impelled them to engage increasingly in the practical aspect of this struggle. It was essential to expose circles hostile to the working class, to promote in every possible way the liberation of workers from the influence of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, and ensure the working class an independent role in bringing about any bourgeois-democratic transformations in contemporary society. The question of using the press for communist propaganda became more urgent in the new conditions. So when, in May 1859, Marx was invited to write for the new weekly *Das Volk,* which began publication on May 7, 1859 as the organ of the German Workers' Educational Society and other London societies of German workers, he promised its editor, Elard Biscamp, his firm support. He took part in editing the articles, raising funds for the newspaper and selecting material for it.

From a small paper reflecting the interests of a narrow circle of German refugees in London, *Das Volk* began to turn into a militant revolutionary organ speaking for the working class. This enabled Marx and his associates to establish closer relations with it in June 1859. At the beginning of July Marx became to all intents and purposes the editor and manager of the paper, which had finally committed itself to the proletarian revolution.

In the columns of *Das Volk* Marx and Engels examined questions of the revolutionary theory and tactics of the working class. The newspaper published Marx's Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* and also, as mentioned above, Engels' review of this book.

Each issue of *Das Volk* contained "Political Reviews", evidently written by Elard Biscamp and Wilhelm Liebknecht. But as soon as

Marx took over the management of the newspaper he began to help with the editing of this section, and parts of it were written by him. In particular, the extract "On Ernest Jones" from one of these reviews, published in this volume, was written by Marx, who revealed in it the causes of the final decline of the Chartist movement.

*Das Volk* responded to current working-class struggles. Thus it reported the London building workers' strike at the end of July 1859, which played an important role in rousing the British working class to action. One of the "Political Reviews" pointed out that the British bourgeoisie's attempt to compel workers to renounce the revolutionary struggle could only "make the already deep rift between labour and capital even wider" (p. 637).

Marx regarded the struggle against petty-bourgeois ideology as one of the newspaper's most important tasks. Its reviews "Gatherings from the Press", written by Marx with Biscamp's participation, satirised the philistinism and nationalism of articles by German petty-bourgeois democrats—Gottfried Kinkel and others—in their London organ *Hermann* (pp. 625-34).

In the columns of *Das Volk* Marx and Engels were able to express their revolutionary views more freely than in the *Tribune*, where they were hampered by the paper's bourgeois bias. Marx and Engels used *Das Volk* to condemn the foreign and domestic policies of the ruling classes in the European states, to unmask reaction and uphold revolutionary principles.

*Das Volk* ceased publication on August 20, 1859, despite Marx's tremendous efforts to keep it going. However, in spite of its brief existence, the newspaper made a considerable contribution to the propagation of the ideas of scientific communism and the principles of the working-class party.

One of the main subjects of Marx's and Engels' writings during this period were the events in Italy. In July 1858 Napoleon III and the Prime Minister of Piedmont, Cavour, whose policies reflected the desire of the liberal nobility and bourgeoisie to unite Italy under the Savoy dynasty, concluded a secret agreement for a joint war against Austria. Although the war preparations were conducted in the greatest secrecy, Marx and Engels predicted the inevitability of an armed conflict between France and Piedmont, on the one hand, and Austria, on the other, many months before it actually broke out. They revealed the true reasons that had led Louis Bonaparte and his supporters after the

Crimean war to embark upon a new military escapade, pointed to the diplomatic moves by the European powers aimed at exacerbating the conflict and drew attention to the war preparations by the hostile states.

As soon as *Das Volk* was set up, their articles on the Italian question, which had originally appeared in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, began to be published in the new weekly too. They also became more politically pointed.

Marx and Engels strongly supported the revolutionary method of solving the Italian question. In the article "On Italian Unity" written at the beginning of January 1859 Marx expressed the conviction that "the burning hate of the Italians toward their oppressors, combined with their ever-increasing suffering, will find vent in a general revolution" (p. 148). Exposing the anti-democratic nature of the dynastic plans for uniting the country, Marx supported the truly patriotic forces in Italy, which he called the "national party". He hoped that the Italian democrats would succeed in uniting around them the middle and petty bourgeoisie, the progressive intelligentsia, the peasantry, and the still numerically small working class, and in "initiating the great national insurrection" (p. 153). Only in this way, Marx believed, would it be possible to achieve the national liberation and unification of Italy on a truly democratic basis, and also solve the social and political questions—eliminate the vestiges of feudalism, abolish monarchist regimes, etc.—in the interests of the masses.

In the articles "The War Prospect in Europe", "The Money Panic in Europe", "Louis Napoleon's Position", "Peace or War", "The War Prospect in France" and others, Marx and Engels revealed the attempts to prevent the outbreak of revolution by unleashing a new war. Marx and Engels believed that it was the task of the proletarian revolutionaries to use the developing war situation, created by the ruling classes, for strengthening the revolutionary movement, and if a war were unleashed, to do everything possible to turn it into a revolutionary war against the existing reactionary regimes.

In analysing the information which appeared in the press, Marx and Engels gave an accurate forecast of the progress and outcome of the imminent hostilities. Engels did so, in particular, in the articles "The Austrian Hold on Italy" and "Chances of the Impending War".

The present volume includes Engels' pamphlet *Po and Rhine*, written with the aim of outlining the position of the proletarian

revolutionaries on questions connected with the Italian crisis and the impending war between Austria and France and exposing the various chauvinist theories used to justify both the aggressive policy of Napoleon III and Austrian rule in Northern Italy.

*Po and Rhine,* published in April 1859, is a model analysis of complex international problems. As his pamphlet was intended for the general public, including the bourgeois reader, Engels concentrated on military history and strategy. Nevertheless, this work also trenchantly advocates the revolutionary-democratic unification of Italy and Germany and shows that the policies of the ruling classes in the states involved in the conflict were incompatible with the true national interests of the Italian and German peoples.

Engels championed these national interests from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism, at the same time exposing the nationalistic ideology of the ruling classes and their chauvinist conceptions of the superiority of some peoples over others. Thus he firmly denounced the idea, widespread among reactionary circles in Germany, particularly the Austrophile section of the bourgeoisie, of creating a "Central European great power" under the aegis of Austria. The supporters of this idea, Engels noted, argued that the Germans were destined to rule the world. They spoke condescendingly of the Romanic peoples as being degenerate and declared that the Slavs were unfit for independent statehood.

Engels criticised the theory of "natural frontiers" invoked by those who argued that Austria should retain Northern Italy because the Po was, allegedly, such a natural frontier. He ardently supported the liberation of Lombardy and Venice from Austrian oppression and showed that the granting of independence to Italy would benefit Germany both politically and militarily. "Instead of seeking our strength in the possession of foreign soil and the oppression of a foreign nationality, whose future only prejudice can deny, we should do better to see to it that we *are united and strong in our own house*" (p. 240).

Engels strongly attacked the aggressive plans of Napoleon III, stressing that Bonapartism, as one of the bulwarks of European reaction, was a serious obstacle to the national unification of Italy and Germany. The national interests of the German and Italian peoples were gravely threatened by the territorial claims of the ruling Bonapartist circles and their plans to redraw the map of Europe in favour of France, which they too sought to justify by

referring to the false concept of "natural frontiers". To solve the national tasks facing the Germans and Italians, Engels noted, a resolute struggle against Bonapartism was needed.

Engels' work is one of his finest writings as a military theoretician and military historian. In it he analysed the military scene in Italy and on the Rhine and expressed a number of important strategic and tactical ideas. His conclusions were based on a careful study of military history, in particular of the wars which had been fought in Northern Italy and the adjoining areas, from the campaigns of Napoleon Bonaparte and other French generals to the operations of the Austrian army against Italy in 1848. In his analysis Engels paid great attention to the Italian and, in particular, the Swiss campaign by Russian forces under the command of Suvorov in 1799. He called Suvorov's passage through the Alps "the most impressive of all Alpine crossings in modern times" (p. 222).

After the outbreak of the Italian war (as the Austro-Italo-French war was called at the time) in April 1859, Marx and Engels continued to develop the viewpoint they had expressed during the initial period of the Italian crisis before the commencement of hostilities. They regarded the war of France and Piedmont against Austria as a continuation of the anti-democratic policies of the ruling Bonapartist circles. Louis Napoleon and his entourage, they emphasised, needed this war to delay the collapse of the Bonapartist regime in France by comparatively easy victories over an "external foe", to win popularity by playing demagogically on the slogan "free Italy from Austrian rule" and the "principle of nationalities". Stripping Louis Napoleon of the hypocritical mask of "the liberator of Italy", Marx and Engels exposed his counter-revolutionary designs with respect to the Italian national movement. Like the Austrian Empire, Bonapartist France, they wrote, was emphatically opposed to the independence and unification of Italy. The war unleashed by Napoleon III was a masked intervention against the popular revolutionary movement for Italian unity. In his article "Louis Napoleon and Italy" Marx compared this war with the French expedition of 1849 aimed at restoring the power of the Pope, an expedition initiated by Louis Bonaparte, then President of the French Republic. Marx pointed out that for Louis Napoleon "the war ... was only another French expedition to Rome—on a grander scale in all respects, to be sure, but in motive and results not dissimilar to that 'Republican' enterprise" (p. 482).

All Marx's and Engels' articles on the Italian war are full of ardent support for the struggle of the Italian people against foreign rule. Marx approved of the manifesto of the Italian revolutionary Mazzini, which exposed the demagogic manoeuvres of Louis Napoleon, and published a translation of it in the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see this volume, pp. 354-59). Marx and Engels saw the anti-Austrian operations of the volunteer detachments led by the great Italian patriot Garibaldi as a splendid example of popular resistance to foreign rule and of a true war of liberation. Garibaldi, Engels wrote, "does not seem afraid of that dash, which Napoleon III warns his soldiers not to indulge in" (p. 360). In the article "Strategy of the War" Engels rated Garibaldi very highly as a revolutionary military commander.

In the articles "The War", "Fighting at Last", "Progress of the War", "Military Events", "A Chapter of History", "The Battle at Solferino", "The Italian War. Retrospect" and others, Engels gave an all-round review of the military campaign of 1859, making frequent excursions into the history of warfare and drawing some important theoretical conclusions. For example, in the article "The Campaign in Italy", published in *Das Volk*, Engels notes the changes that have taken place since the period of the Napoleonic wars in the conduct of warfare due to the development of a system of entrenched camps and fortresses to protect state frontiers, and also to the introduction of railways and shipping lines making it possible to speed up considerably the transport and concentration of troops. Engels uses this example to reveal the connection between the development of productive forces and methods of warfare.

In the articles "The French Disarmament", "The Invasion Panic in England" and others, Marx showed that the policy of military gambles pursued by the rulers of the Second Empire was the source of ever new conflicts and wars. In a number of articles Marx and Engels also criticised the reactionary forces that gave diplomatic support to France during its preparations for the war in Italy and in the period of the fighting. This applies first and foremost to the agreement between Louis Napoleon and Palmerston, which left Napoleon III free to carry out his Italian adventure. The agreement concluded between Bonapartist France and Tsarist Russia in March 1859, Marx and Engels stressed, served the same purpose.

The Italian war produced a social upsurge in Prussia and other states of the German Confederation. Napoleon III's war against

Austria was rightly regarded in Germany as the prelude to encroachments on German territory, in particular, the left bank of the Rhine. In the press, at mass meetings and in clubs demands were made for the organisation of national resistance to Napoleon III's aggressive plans. The national upsurge in Germany in 1859 again brought to the fore the question of the unification of the numerous German states.

Marx and Engels worked out the tactics of the working class on this question, linking them closely with the position of proletarian revolutionaries on the Italian conflict. Proceeding from the fact that Bonapartism was one of the main obstacles to the unification of Germany and that the fall of the Second Empire was an important prerequisite for a European revolution, they considered it essential that Prussia and the other German states should take part in the armed struggle against Bonapartist France. "While decidedly taking part for Italy against Austria, they cannot but take part for Austria against Bonaparte," wrote Marx in the article "The War Prospect in Prussia" (p. 269). But needless to say, their tactics by no means envisaged support for the reactionary regime of the Austrian Empire or its rule in Italy. Marx and Engels never ceased to denounce the Habsburgs as butchers of the freedom of the Italian and other oppressed peoples.

Marx and Engels believed that military action by the German states against France would create the conditions, independently of the will of the governments of these states, for the dynastic war to turn into a revolutionary war. The defeat of France might in this case lead to a revolutionary explosion in Europe. The result would be the destruction not only of the Bonapartist regime in France, but also of the reactionary regimes in Austria itself, Prussia and the other states of the German Confederation, and the unification of both Germany and Italy in a revolutionary, democratic way. Developing this idea, Marx noted in the article "Spree and Mincio" that an alliance of Prussia and Austria in the situation that had arisen "*means revolution*" (p. 381).

In this article, and also in the articles "Austria, Prussia and Germany in the War" and "A Prussian View of the War", Marx branded the neutral policy of the Prussian Government as one which aided and abetted Bonapartism. His article "Quid pro Quo", based on an analysis of numerous facts and documents, makes this point with particular force. In it Marx showed that what lay behind the diplomatic manoeuvring of the Prussian rulers at the time of the Italian war, manoeuvring which greatly assisted Napoleon III, was first and foremost the fear of a revolutionary

upsurge in Germany if the German states joined in the war. This policy, disguised as one of neutrality, was also calculated to weaken Prussia's rival, Austria, in the struggle for supremacy in Germany. For the sake of this,Prussia's rulers ignored the all-German national interests. Marx pointed out that by its manoeuvring and refusal to enter the war Prussia hoped "by trickery eventually to gain hegemony in Germany at a discount" (p. 452). The results of this double-faced policy, he noted, were most unfortunate for Prussia itself.

Marx's article "Erfurtery in the Year 1859" (the title contains an ironic allusion to the Prussophile plans of the Erfurt Parliament of 1850 and the attempt to revive them) attacked the support given by wide circles of the German bourgeoisie to the idea of Germany's unification under the hegemony of the Prussian Junkers. The very course of history, Marx pointed out, presented Germany with a choice: either the urgent tasks of national unification would be carried out in a revolutionary way, or they would be effected from above by the ruling Junker circles, with the help of the bourgeoisie, in the form and by the methods which were in keeping with their interests. Marx noted that one could not discount the possibility of the counter-revolutionary classes prevailing, in which case the unification of Germany would have to be carried out by the reactionary forces, i.e. the Prussian ruling clique, acting as the revolution's mandatory. But this clique could perform the tasks of the revolution, in particular, that of unifying the country, only in a distorted way. Marx warned that in the hands of reaction the "programme of the revolution turns into a satire on the relevant revolutionary efforts" (p. 404). Thus already in 1859 Marx called attention to the danger of allowing the reactionary circles to take over the initiative in unifying Germany.

The results of the Italian war, which ended with the signing on July 11, 1859 of the Preliminary Treaty of Villafranca (most of its terms were later adopted at Zurich), were the subject of Marx's articles "What Has Italy Gained?", "The Peace", "The Treaty of Villafranca", "Louis Napoleon and Italy" and others, and of Engels' pamphlet *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine.* Napoleon III concluded peace so hastily, Marx noted, because, against the will of its instigators, the war "was tending to become a revolutionary war" (p. 413). At the same time the Treaty of Villafranca clearly revealed that Louis Napoleon's aims were opposed to the cause of Italian liberation and unification. Marx stressed how humiliating the treaty was for the

Italians: Lombardy was transferred first to France and then "as a French gift to the Savoy dynasty" (p. 418), Napoleon providing himself with compensation for it in the form of Savoy and Nice. Venice remained in Austrian hands, as did the strategically important quadrilateral of fortresses (Mantua, Legnago, Verona and Peschiera). Despite his promises, the French Emperor "has left Austria seated almost as firmly as ever on the neck of Italy" (p. 414). In addition Napoleon III sought to place the Pope, the main inspirer of reaction in Italy, at the head of the proposed Italian Confederation and to restore the deposed dukes of Tuscany, Modena and Parma.

Marx stressed that the conclusion of the Peace Treaty of Villafranca did not lessen the danger of armed conflicts breaking out in Europe as a result of the adventurist policy of the ruling classes in Bonapartist France and other states. He emphatically condemned the war preparations that were being made under the pretext of securing peace. "Of all the dogmas of the bigoted politics of our time," he wrote in the article "Invasion!" which examined the possibility of the British Isles being occupied by Napoleon III's army, "none has caused more harm than the one that says 'In order to have peace, you must prepare for war'" (p. 439). Revealing the social roots of the Italian crisis, Marx pointed out that the ruling circles in the European states that resorted to this "cunning perfidy" had turned their countries into military camps and created an international situation in which "every new peace pact is regarded as a new declaration of war" (ibid.).

As Marx and Engels had foreseen, the war ended in a betrayal of Italy's interests. Bonapartist France and Austria concluded a deal to which Piedmont was admitted only some time later, as a special favour by Napoleon III. Not one of the main questions of the bourgeois revolution was solved. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that in 1859 it proved impossible to turn "a modestly liberal movement ... into a tempestuously democratic one", as Lenin put it (*Collected Works,* Vol. 21, p. 142), the events of that year promoted an upsurge of the national liberation movement in Italy in the following year, 1860.

In April 1860 Engels published the pamphlet *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* in which he showed the extent to which the conclusions formulated by him in *Po and Rhine* had been confirmed by the outcome of the Italian war.

The immediate reason for writing this work was the attempt by the pro-Bonapartist press to justify France's annexation of Savoy

and Nice. Engels demonstrated the invalidity of attempts to justify on linguistic, ethnographical and military grounds the claims of individual states to this or that territory, without taking into account the will and interests of the population. In the historical situation at that time, Engels noted, the annexation of Savoy and Nice by France meant that France's counter-revolutionary rulers were acquiring new military strongholds, thus consolidating the anti-democratic regime of the Second Empire. In addition, such acts were whetting the appetites of Bonapartist circles for other territories, including the Rhine, and creating precedents for further acts of aggrandisement.

In examining the alignment of forces in the international arena at that time and the tasks of the revolutionary democrats in the struggle against the reactionary monarchist bloc led by Bonapartist France and supported by Russian Tsarism, Engels combined in an exemplary way a patriotic defence of the interests of the progressive development of Germany with a consistently internationalist approach to the problems of national and revolutionary development.

Engels in no way identified the ruling circles with the peoples of the countries then forming the counter-revolutionary camp, nor did he make the slightest attempt to impose the responsibility for aggressive policies on the masses. On the contrary, within each of these countries Engels sought to pinpoint the forces the European revolution could count on. Thus, in making a sharp distinction between official Russia and the revolutionary Russia of the people, Engels expressed the hope that in their clash with Tsarism and the other counter-revolutionary powers the working class and democracy would this time find an ally in the Russian peasantry, which had entered the movement after the Crimean war. He wrote in *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*: "The contest that has now broken out in Russia between the ruling and the oppressed classes of the rural population is already undermining the entire system of Russian foreign policy. That system was only possible so long as Russia had no internal political development. But that time is past" (p. 609).

Among the other problems treated in the journalistic writings of Marx and Engels of this period the consequences of the economic crisis of 1857-58, the domestic development of Britain, France, Prussia and Russia, and the situation in the colonial world stand out in particular. Many of these writings were sequels to articles written on the same subject in earlier years and developed the ideas expressed in them.

In a number of his articles Marx describes the specific features of the economic crisis of 1857-58 in Britain during its final stage, and also analyses the effects of the crisis. Marx shows that British industry and commerce were not only hit by the internal crisis, which to some extent paralysed Britain's economy, but were also adversely affected by crises in other countries and parts of the world. Using Britain as an example he shows the harmful effect of the crisis on the condition of the working masses.

Marx's articles "The English Bank Act of 1844", "Commercial Crises and Currency in Britain" and "British Commerce and Finance", written in August-September 1858, contain strong criticism of the British Free Traders, who advocated the abolition of tariffs as a panacea for all crises. Marx revealed the futility of attempts by bourgeois economists to find a remedy for crises, refuted their simplistic explanation of the origin of the 1857 crisis and of crises in general, and drew some important conclusions concerning the theory of crises. The true causes of the crisis, he remarked, lay not in excessive speculation and abuse of credit, as bourgeois economists, including the ideologists of Free Trade, argued, but in the socio-economic conditions peculiar to capitalism. Crises, he pointed out, "are inherent in the present system of production", "so long as the system lasts, they must be borne with, like the natural changes of the seasons" (p. 34).

Analysis of Britain's economic and political situation occupies an important place in this volume. Marx's articles "The State of British Manufactures", "Population, Crime, and Pauperism", "British Commerce" and "Manufactures and Commerce" trace the operation of the increased concentration of production and the cyclic nature of its development on the basis of official British statistics. Analysing the current figures of British imports and exports, Marx notes a specific feature of the development of the British economy, namely that "England, in regard to the markets of the world, develops its function as money-lender still more rapidly than its function as manufacturer and merchant" (p. 494).

In his articles "Electoral Corruption in England", "The New British Reform Bill" and others, Marx reveals the anti-democratic nature of the British political system. "The real Constitution of the British House of Commons might be summed up in the word *Corruption*" (p. 526). He shows that Disraeli's Bill introduced in February 1859 reduced the new parliamentary reform to a number of minor changes in the electoral system and aimed, above all, at preserving the monopoly of political power enjoyed by the landed aristocracy and bourgeoisie and the lack of political

rights of the working class. "On first view it will be understood that all these new franchises, while admitting some new middle-class sections, are framed with the express purpose of excluding the working classes, and chaining them to their present station of political 'pariahs'" (p. 204).

Marx criticised the existing factory legislation in Britain, which left many convenient loopholes for the factory-owners.

Some of the articles by Marx and Engels in this volume expose the colonial policy of capitalist states, primarily Britain, and describe the national struggle of the oppressed peoples, which reached considerable scope during this period.

Marx and Engels saw Ireland as one of the centres of revolutionary ferment. There was no peace there after the defeat of the national liberation movement in 1848. Conditions were maturing for a new national liberation struggle, which in the early sixties took the form of the Fenian movement. In the article "The Excitement in Ireland" (December 1858), Marx wrote of the increased activities of the secret peasant organisation, "the Ribbon Society", in response to the violence and arbitrariness of the landlords and their agents, and the setting up of the patriotic Phoenix Club by revolutionary intellectuals who took part in the events of 1848 (the establishment of the Club was a prologue to the founding of the Fenian Brotherhood). Marx wrote that to blame the Irish for producing such secret societies for the struggle against the oppressors "would be as judicious as to accuse woodland of producing mushrooms" (p. 137).

A striking instance of the British ruling circles trampling on the vital interests of the peoples of economically backward countries was the opium trade in China, which Marx discusses in the two articles entitled "History of the Opium Trade". The British "civilisers" had monopolised the smuggling of opium and turned it into a goldmine. The British Government, which claimed to oppose the opium trade, had in fact established a monopoly of opium production in India and taken it over, legalising the sale of opium to contraband merchants, and by the beginning of the nineteenth century was receiving a vast income from this source. The finances of the British Government in India, Marx concludes, were closely dependent not merely on the opium trade with China, but on the illicit nature of this trade.

In the article "Great Trouble in Indian Finances" Marx exposes Britain's policy of rapine in India and points out the disastrous

effects of British rule. In particular, he notes the destruction of local industry by the mass import of British cotton fabrics and yarn. He examines the consequences of the British colonisers' brutal suppression of the national liberation uprising in India in 1857-59 and points out that the vast expenditure this entailed, and also the need to maintain a large armed force in India, placed a heavy tax burden on the British people.

The volume also contains articles on the domestic situation in France. Marx and Engels pointed out that the regime of Napoleon III was maintained by the same methods by which it had been set up, namely, police terrorism. But even such a despotic regime as the monarchy of Napoleon III, Marx noted, could not rely on brute force alone. The flirting with the various classes, the deceit and the demagogy continued throughout the existence of the Second Empire. Marx wrote that the French Emperor was trying at one and the same time to play the part of a protector of the French peasants, "a sort of socialist providence to the proletarians of the towns" and the "savior of property" of the French bourgeoisie (p. 114). Marx regarded the attempts of Bonapartist circles to bribe the French working class as particularly dangerous, and constantly warned against them.

At the end of 1858 Marx wrote a series of articles describing the position in Prussia in connection with the appointment of the Prince of Prussia (the future King William I) as Regent, the beginning of whose regime was hailed as the dawn of a "new era" by the liberals. But Marx showed that the Regent's liberalism was a sham. In the articles "The King of Prussia's Insanity", "The Prussian Regency", "Affairs in Prussia" and "The New Ministry" he exposed the Hohenzollern dynasty as the suppressor of all progressive trends. The Prussian monarchy and the reactionary Prussian Constitution had turned the people's rights into a dead letter. Marx exposed the domination of the bureaucracy which had penetrated all spheres of social life in the Prussian state. The feudal monarchist system, he pointed out, was able to survive in Prussia only owing to the cowardly liberalism of the Prussian bourgeoisie, which was always prepared to accommodate itself to the reactionary policies of the ruling circles.

In the late 1850s Marx and Engels began to give close attention to the development of events in Russia. They became increasingly convinced that the position of Tsarism had weakened after the Crimean war. The war had not only revealed the economic and political backwardness of Tsarist Russia, but also stimulated the rapid growth of unrest among the serfs, which was undermining

the foundations of the feudal, serf-owning system. As already stated, in *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* Engels spoke of the revolutionary aspirations of the Russian peasantry. Marx and Engels touched upon this question in earlier works too. Thus, at the end of 1858 Marx wrote the articles "The Question of the Abolition of Serfdom in Russia" and "The Emancipation Question", and Engels the article "Europe in 1858". Already in these articles Marx and Engels regarded Russia as a country on the verge of a popular, anti-serf revolution, and were saying that the mass movement in Russia was assuming a dangerous character for the autocracy. Studying the international situation in the latter half of 1858, Marx expressed the idea that revolutionary Russia was a potential ally of the revolutionary movement in the West. The revolutionary movement among the peasant masses in Russia, in Marx's opinion, threatened to turn into a mighty explosion. The reform which the ruling classes themselves were thinking to introduce in order to avert an outbreak of revolution would not remove the question of revolution. Marx was firmly convinced that soon "the Russian 1793 will be at hand", which would be a "turning point in Russian history, and finally place real and general civilization in the place of that sham and show introduced by Peter the Great" (p. 147).

Marx foresaw that the abolition of serfdom which was being prepared by the Tsarist Government would only be a half measure, like all such reforms introduced from above, merely a step along the path of essential bourgeois transformations in Russia, and would not solve all the pressing questions. These could be finally solved only as the result of revolution.

In their later works Marx and Engels continued to show great interest in the growing popular ferment in Russia and analysed in detail the place of the Russian revolutionary movement in the overall European revolutionary process.

The section "From the Preparatory Materials" contains items by Marx and Engels which were published recently for the first time (in Russian): the unfinished draft of Marx's article "Symptoms of the Revival of France's Internal Life", a draft of his lecture "On the Division of Labour" which he delivered to German workers in London in the autumn of 1859, and also Engels' chronological notes "The Italian War. 1859".

The Appendices include articles and notes in the writing of which Marx took part. They throw light on his efforts to turn the newspaper *Das Volk* into a working-class organ.

* * *

This volume contains a total of 109 works by Marx and Engels, including a short item published in the London newspaper *The Free Press*. Sixteen of them—fifteen written in German and one in English—are published in English for the first time (Engels' pamphlets *Po and Rhine* and *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine,* eleven articles from the newspaper *Das Volk* and three items in the section "From the Preparatory Materials"). Of the remaining works, written in English, eighty have not been reproduced in English since their first publication. During the preparation of the volume the authorship of the extract entitled "On Ernest Jones (from the "Political Review" of *Das Volk*)" was established for the first time. Almost all the materials published in the Appendices are also appearing for the first time in English.

In studying the concrete historical material contained in Marx's and Engels' articles one should bear in mind that they used as sources for their articles on current events newspaper information which sometimes proved to be inaccurate. Besides, as we know from Marx's and Engels' letters, the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* frequently took liberties with the text of their articles, particularly those which were printed as leaders. In the present edition all known cases of interference by the editors are indicated in the footnotes. If an article was published without a title and Marx also gave it no title in his Notebook, the editors of this volume have provided one, which is given in square brackets.

The volume was compiled, the text prepared and the notes written by Tatyana Andrushchenko in the case of works originally written in English, and Boris Krylov for works originally written in German. The preface is by Boris Krylov, and the volume as a whole was edited by Lev Churbanov (CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism). The name index, the indexes of quoted and mentioned literature and of periodicals, and the glossary of geographical names were prepared by Tatyana Gutina and Yelena Vashchenko; the subject index was compiled by Marlen Arzumanov; Olga Korolyova took part in the general work of preparing the notes and indexes.

The English translations were made by Henry Mins (International Publishers), Richard Dixon and Salo Ryazanskaya (Progress Publishers), and edited by J. S. Allen (International Publishers), Maurice Cornforth and Nicholas Jacobs (Lawrence and Wishart), Richard Dixon, Lydia Belyakova and Victor Schnittke (Progress

Publishers), and Norire Ter-Akopyan, scientific editor (USSR Academy of Sciences).

The volume was prepared for the press by Lydia Belyakova, Nadezhda Rudenko, Lyudgarda Zubrilova and the assistant editor Lyudmila Mikhailova (Progress Publishers).

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## WORKS

August 1858-February 1860

New-York Daily Tribune.

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# Karl Marx

## [THE ENGLISH BANK ACT OF 1844][1]

It will be recollected that in 1857 the British Parliament was hastily called together in consequence of the suspension of the Bank Charter Act,[2] which, by letter of Nov. 12, in the midst of the monetary panic, the Premier and the Chancellor of the Exchequer[a] had assumed the responsibility of decreeing. The Indemnity bill once passed,[b] Parliament adjourned, leaving behind a select Committee appointed "to inquire into the operations of the Bank acts of 1844 and 1845, as well as into the causes of the recent commercial distress." The Committee had, in fact, sat since the beginning of 1857, and had already published two heavy volumes, one of evidence, the other appendix, both relating to the operations and effects of the Bank Acts of 1844-45.[c] Its labors were almost forgotten when the occurrence of the commercial crisis recalled it to life, and afforded it an "additional element of inquiry." In the two heavy volumes to which we have referred, trade, just two months before its tremendous collapse, was declared to be "sound" and "safe." As to the working of Sir Robert Peel's Bank Act, Lord Overstone expressed himself before the Committee, on July 14, 1857, in these rather dithyrambic strains:

"By strict and prompt adherence," he said, "to the principles of the act of 1844, everything has passed off with regularity and ease; the monetary system is safe and unshaken; the prosperity of the country is undisputed; the public confidence in the

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[a] H. J. T. Palmerston and G. C. Lewis.—*Ed.*

[b] On December 12, 1857.—*Ed.*

[c] The reference is to *Report from the Select Committee on the Bank Acts...*, London, 1857, and *Report from the Select Committee on the Bank Acts...*, London, 1858.—*Ed.*

wisdom of the act of 1844 is daily gaining strength; and if the Committee wish for further practical illustration of the soundness of the principle on which it rests, or of the beneficial results which it has insured, the true and sufficient answer to the Committee is, look around you; look at the present state of trade of the country; [...] look at the contentment of the people; look at the wealth and prosperity which every class of the country presents; and then, having done so, the Committee may be fairly called upon to decide whether they will interfere with the continuance of an act under which those results have been developed."[a]

Six months later, the same Committee had to congratulate Government upon having suspended this very same act!

The Committee numbered among its members not less than five Chancellors or ex-Chancellors of the Exchequer, viz.: Mr. Disraeli, Sir G. C. Lewis, Mr. Gladstone, Sir Charles Wood, and Sir Francis Baring, backed by Mr. Wilson and Mr. Cardwell, two men long accustomed to find brains for Ministers of Finance. Beside these, all the magnates of the English bureaucracy had been added to it. In fact, it mustered about two dozen strong, and was a remarkable conclave of financial and economical wisdom. The questions to be decided were, first, the principles of the bank act, of 1844; secondly, the influence on commercial crises of the issue of bank-notes, payable on demand; and, lastly, the general causes of the recent distress. We propose, succinctly, to review the answers given to these different questions.

Sir Robert Peel, the Parliamentary godfather, and Lord Overstone, the scientific father, of the act of 1844,[b] which prohibited the Bank of England from issuing notes beyond the amount of £14,500,000, save on the security of bullion, flattered themselves they had prevented such pressures and panics as had periodically occurred from 1815 to 1844. Twice in ten years their expectation has been baffled, despite the extraordinary and unexpected aid afforded to the working of the act by the great gold discoveries.[3] In 1847 and 1857, as is shown by the evidence laid before the Committee, the panics were even of a more intense and destructive character than any ever witnessed before. Twice, in 1847 and 1857, the Government had to infringe the bank act, in order to save the bank and the monetary world revolving around it.

The Committee, it would appear, had to decide on a very simple alternative. Either the periodical violation of the law by the Government was right, and then the law must be wrong, or the law was right, and then the Government ought to be interdicted

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[a] *Report from the Select Committee on the Bank Acts...*, 1857, p. 409.—*Ed.*

[b] The Act of 1844 is based on Lord Overstone's proposals.—*Ed.*

from arbitrarily tampering with it. But will it be believed that the Committee has contrived to simultaneously vindicate the perpetuity of the law and the periodical recurrence of its infraction? Laws have usually been designed to circumscribe the discretionary power of Government. Here, on the contrary, the law seems only continued in order to continue to the Executive the discretionary power of overruling it. The Government letter, authorizing the Bank of England to meet the demands for discount and advances upon approved securities beyond the limits of the circulation prescribed by the Act of 1844, was issued on Nov. 12; but up to the 30th the Bank had, on a daily average, to throw into circulation about half a million of notes beyond the legal margin. On Nov. 20, the illegal surplus circulation had risen to about a million. What other proof was wanted of the mischievous futility of Sir Robert Peel's attempt at "regulating" the currency? The Committee are quite right in affirming "that no system of currency can secure a commercial country against the consequences of its own imprudence."[a] But this sage remark is not to the point. The question was, rather, whether the monetary panic, which forms only one phase of the commercial crisis, may or may not be artificially aggravated by legislative enactments.

In justification of the Bank Act, the Committee say:

> "The main object of the legislation in question was undoubtedly to secure the variation of the paper currency of the kingdom according to the same laws by which a metallic circulation would vary. No one contends that the object has not been attained."[b]

We remark in the first place that the Committee decline to state their opinion as to the laws by which a metallic circulation would vary; because they were afraid "they would not be able to arrive at any conclusion without much difference of opinion."[c] In the opinion of the bullionists, led by Sir Robert Peel, a merely metallic circulation would contract or expand in accordance with the state of the exchange—that is to say, gold would flow in with a favorable exchange, while it would leave the country with an unfavorable one. In the former case, general prices would rise; in the latter, they would fall. Now, supposing these violent fluctuations of prices to be inherent in a purely metallic circulation, Mr. J. S. Mill was certainly right in stating before the Committee[d] that the condition to be aimed

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[a] *Report from the Select Committee on the Bank Acts...,* 1858, p. XXII.—*Ed.*
[b] op. cit., p. XXV.—*Ed.*
[c] op. cit., p. XXIII.—*Ed.*
[d] *Report from the Select Committee on the Bank Acts...,* 1857, pp. 204-05.—*Ed.*

at by a paper currency was not to imitate but to correct and supersede such disastrous vicissitudes.

But the premises the bullionists proceed from in their reasonings have been proved to be imaginary. In countries where no credit operations exist, and consequently no paper circulation, as, comparatively speaking, was the case until recently in France, and is still the case on a much greater scale throughout Asia, private hoards of gold and silver are everywhere accumulated. When bullion is drained by an unfavorable exchange,these hoards open in consequence of a rise in the rate of interest. When the exchange turns, the hoards again absorb the surplus of the precious metals. In neither case, is a vacuum created in the currency, nor the opposite. The efflux and influx of bullion affect the state of the hoards, but not the state of the currency, and thus no action at all is exercised upon general prices. What, then, does the apology of the Committee amount to, that the Bank act of 1844, in periods of pressure, tends to create sudden fluctuations of prices which it falsely supposes would occur on the foundation of a purely metallic currency? But say the Committee, the convertibility of the notes, which it is the first duty of the Bank to maintain, is at least guaranteed by Sir Robert Peel's act. They add:

"The supply necessarily maintained in the coffers of that establishment under the provisions of the act of 1844, is greater than that which was ever maintained under circumstances of pressure in former times. During the crisis of 1825, the bullion fell to £1,261,000; in 1837 to £3,831,000, and in that of 1839 to £2,406,000, while the lowest points to which it has fallen since 1844 have been, in 1847 £8,313,000, and in 1857 £6,080,000."[a]

In the first instance, the convertibility of the notes was upheld in all those panics, not because the Bank possessed bullion enough to realize its promises, but simply because it was not asked to pay them in gold. In 1825, for instance, the Bank withstood the run by issuing £1 notes. If the comparatively greater bullion reserves in 1847 and 1857 are considered as simply the consequences of the act of 1844, then, on the same reasoning, to the same act must be attributed the fact that in 1857 the bullion reserve, despite California and Australia, had sunk by more than £2,000,000 below the level of 1847. But, although possessed of twice or thrice the amount of gold which it had owned in 1825 and 1836, the Bank of England, thanks to the provisions of Sir Robert Peel's act, trembled in 1847 and 1857 on the verge of bankruptcy. According

[a] *Report from the Select Committee on the Bank Acts...,* 1858, p. XXIII.—*Ed.*

to the evidence of the Governor of the Bank;[a] the entire reserve of the banking department on Nov. 12, 1857, the day of the issue of the Treasury Letter, was only £580,751, its deposits at the same time amounting to £22,500,000, of which near £6,500,000 belonged to London Bankers. But for the appearance of the Treasury Letter, the shop must have been shut up. To raise or reduce the rate of interest—and the Bank confesses that it had no other means of acting upon the circulation—is an operation which was applied before the passing of the act of 1844, and which, of course, might still have been applied after its repeal. But, says the Bank, the Directors want their virtue to be fortified by the act, and it would not be expedient "to leave them to their own unresisted wisdom and firmness."[b] In ordinary times, when the act is notoriously a dead letter, they want to be fortified by the fiction of its legal operation, and in moments of pressure, the only moments in which it can operate at all, they want to get rid of it by a Government ukase.

Written on August 6, 1858

Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] Th. M. Weguelin.—*Ed.*
[b] op. cit., p. XXV.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [COMMERCIAL CRISES AND CURRENCY IN BRITAIN][4]

There is, perhaps, no point in Political Economy in which there exists more popular misapprehension than on the power which banks of issue are commonly supposed to wield, of affecting general prices through an expansion or contraction of currency. The idea that the banks had unduly expanded the currency, thus producing an inflation of prices violently to be readjusted by a final collapse, is too cheap a method of accounting for every crisis not to be eagerly caught at. The question, be it understood, is not whether banks may be instrumental in fostering a fictitious system of credit; but whether they possess the power of determining the amount of circulation in the hands of the public.

A principle which is not likely to be contested is, that the interest of every bank of issue prompts it to keep in circulation the greatest possible amount of its own notes. If any bank can be supposed to join the power to the will, it is certainly the Bank of England. Now, if we consider the period from 1844 to 1857, for instance, we shall find that, except in times of panic, the Bank, notwithstanding the privilege of throwing its notes into the market by the purchase of public stocks, and notwithstanding successive reductions in the rate of interest, has never been able to keep its notes in circulation up to the legal margin. But there is another phenomenon more striking still. During the period from 1844 to 1857, the general commerce of the United Kingdom has perhaps trebled. British exports we know to have been doubled during the last ten years. But, concurrently with this immense increase of trade, the circulation of the Bank of England has actually

diminished, and still continues gradually to decline. Take the following figures:

| | Exports. | Circulation of Notes. |
|---|---|---|
| 1845 | £60,110,000 | £20,722,000 |
| 1854 | 97,184,000 | 20,709,000 |
| 1856 | 115,826,000 | 19,648,000 |
| 1857 | 122,155,000 | 19,467,000 |

Thus, with exports increasing by £62,045,000, the circulation has fallen by £1,255,000, though during the same period, by dint of the Bank Act of 1844, the number of branches of the Bank of England was increasing, that of the country banks of issue competing with it was decreasing, and its own notes were converted into legal tenders for country banks. It might perhaps be supposed that the gold coin, supplied from new and fertile sources, was instrumental in displacing part of the Bank of England notes, by filling channels of circulation which these notes formerly occupied. In fact, Mr. Weguelin,[a] in 1857 Governor of the Bank of England, stated to the Committee of the House of Commons that, on the part of the most competent persons, the increase in the gold currency for the six years then last elapsed was estimated at 30 per cent. The total gold circulation he believed now to amount to £50,000,000. This addition to the gold coin, however, was so little connected with the diminution of the paper currency, that on the contrary, the smaller denominations of notes, £5 and £10 notes, the only ones which could be superseded by coin in the retail trade and in the circulation going on between traders and consumers, have actually increased in number simultaneously with the increase of the metallic currency. The proportions of such increase are represented by the following table:

| | Notes of £5 and £10. | Per cent of total Note circulation. |
|---|---|---|
| 1845 | £9,698,000 | 46.9 |
| 1854 | 10,565,000 | 51.0 |
| 1855 | 10,628,000 | 53.6 |
| 1856 | 10,680,000 | 54.4 |
| 1857 | 10,659,000 | 54.7[b] |

[a] *Report from the Select Committee on the Bank Acts...*, 1857, p. 3.—*Ed.*
[b] *Report from the Select Committee on the Bank Acts...*, 1858, p. XXVI.—*Ed.*

The diminution has thus been limited to the higher descriptions of bank notes, notes of £200 to £1,000 performing functions of domestic circulation from which coin, properly so called, is almost shut out. Such was the saving effected in the use of those notes that, notwithstanding the extension of commerce, the general rise of prices, and the increase in the small paper currency, the aggregate note circulation went on gradually declining. From £5,856,000, to which they had amounted in 1852, the number of bank notes of £200 to £1,000 had sunk to £3,241,000 in 1857. While in 1844 they still formed 26 per cent, they furnished in 1854 but 20.5, in 1855 but 17.5, in 1856 but 16.9, and in 1857 but 16.7 per cent of the total circulation.[a]

This new feature in the paper currency of Great Britain arose from the growing competition of the London joint-stock banks with the private banks, and from the accumulation of vast sums in their hands, consequent upon their practice of allowing interest on deposits. On the 8th of June, 1854, after a long but vain resistance, the London private bankers saw themselves forced to admit the joint-stock banks to the arrangements of the clearing-house, and, shortly after, the final clearing was adjusted in the precincts of the Bank of England. The daily clearances being now effected by transfers in the accounts kept by the several banks in that establishment, the large notes formerly employed by the bankers for the adjustment of their mutual accounts, lost a vast field of employment, and were consequently in great part thrown out of circulation. Meanwhile the nine joint-stock banks of London had increased their deposits from £8,850,774 in 1847 to £43,100,724 in 1857, as shown in their published accounts.[b] Whatever influence, therefore, banks may have exercised upon the general tendency of trade, and upon prices, must have been effected by the management of their deposits, that is, by credit operations, instead of by an over-issue of notes, which they proved unable to keep up even to the old margin of circulation.

How little of real money, of Bank of England notes and gold, enters into the wholesale transactions of British trade, may be conclusively inferred from an analysis, forwarded to the Commons Committee by Mr. Slater, a member of one of the largest London firms, of a continuous course of commercial operations, extending over several millions yearly. The proportions of receipts and

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[a] loc. cit.—*Ed.*
[b] op. cit., p. V.—*Ed.*

payments are reduced to the scale of £1,000,000 only, for the year 1856, and read as follows:

RECEIPTS.

| | |
|---|---|
| In Bankers' drafts and Bills of Exchange payable after date | £533,596 |
| In checks on Bankers payable on demand | 357,715 |
| In country Bankers' notes | 9,627 |
| Total | £900,938 |
| In Bank of England notes | £68,554 |
| In gold | £28,089 |
| In silver and copper | 1,486 |
| In Post-Office orders | 933 |
| Total | £99,062 |
| Grand total | £1,000,000 |

PAYMENTS.

| | |
|---|---|
| By Bills of Exchange, payable after date | £302,674 |
| By Checks on London Bankers | 663,672 |
| Total | £966,346 |
| By Bank of England notes | £22,743 |
| By gold | 9,427 |
| By silver and copper | 1,484 |
| Total | £33,654 |
| Grand total | £1,000,000 [a] |

These figures may be taken as an illustration of the British wholesale trade, which centers in London. It is here shown that of money received, Bank of England notes amount to less than 10 per cent, and gold and silver to only 3 per cent of the currency. Of the payments made, Bank of England notes are but 2 per cent, and gold and silver only 1 per cent of the currency. On the other hand, payments are received in a ratio of about 90 per cent, and are made at nearly 97 per cent in that portion of the currency formed by the credit and the capital of the traders themselves.

From an analysis of the issues of the New-York banks—say for the last six years—we must arrive at the same conclusion, viz.: that

[a] op. cit., p. LXXI.—*Ed.*

the amount of notes in circulation is beyond the control of the banks themselves, and was actually contracting during the very epoch when trade expanded, and general prices underwent a process of inflation, resulting in a collapse. The vulgar notion, therefore, which refers the recent crisis, and crises generally, to an over-issue of bank notes, must be discarded as altogether imaginary.

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# Karl Marx

## HISTORY OF THE OPIUM TRADE[5]

The news of the new treaty[a] wrung from China by the allied Plenipotentiaries has, it would appear, conjured up the same wild vistas of an immense extension of trade which danced before the eyes of the commercial mind in 1845, after the conclusion of the first Chinese war.[6] Supposing the Petersburg wires to have spoken truth, is it quite certain that an increase of the Chinese trade must follow upon the multiplication of its emporiums? Is there any probability that the war of 1857-8 will lead to more splendid results than the war of 1841-2? So much is certain that the treaty of 1843, instead of increasing American and English exports to China proved instrumental only in precipitating and aggravating the commercial crisis of 1847. In a similar way, by raising dreams of an inexhaustible market and by fostering false speculations, the present treaty may help preparing a new crisis at the very moment when the market of the world is but slowly recovering from the recent universal shock. Beside its negative result, the first opium-war succeeded in stimulating the opium trade at the expense of legitimate commerce, and so will this second opium-war do, if England be not forced by the general pressure of the civilized world to abandon the compulsory opium cultivation in India and the armed opium propaganda to China. We forbear dwelling on the morality of that trade, described by Montgomery Martin, himself an Englishman, in the following terms:

"Why, the slave trade was merciful compared with the opium trade: We did not destroy the bodies of the Africans, for it was our immediate interest to keep them alive; we did not debase their natures, corrupt their minds, nor destroy their souls.

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[a] Published in *The Times*, No. 23109, September 27, 1858.—*Ed.*

But the opium seller slays the body after he has corrupted, degraded, and annihilated the moral being of unhappy sinners, while every hour is bringing new victims to a Moloch which knows no satiety, and where the English murderer and Chinese suicide vie with each other in offerings at his shrine."[a]

The Chinese cannot take both goods and drug; under actual circumstances, extension of the Chinese trade resolves into extension of the opium trade; the growth of the latter is incompatible with the development of legitimate commerce—these propositions were pretty generally admitted two years ago. A Committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1847 to take into consideration the state of British commercial intercourse with China, reported thus:

"We regret that the trade with that country has been for some time in a very unsatisfactory condition, and that the *result of our extended intercourse has by no means realized the just expectations* which had naturally been founded in a *free access to so magnificent a market.* We find that the difficulties of the trade do not arise from any want of demand in China for articles of British manufactures, or from the increasing competition of other nations; *the payment for opium* absorbs the silver to the great inconvenience of the general traffic of the Chinese, and tea and silk must in fact pay the rest."[b]

*The Friend of China,* of July 28, 1849, generalizing the same proposition, says in set terms:

"The opium trade progresses steadily. The increased consumption of teas and silk in Great Britain and the United States would merely result in the increase of the opium trade; the case of the manufacturers is hopeless."

One of the leading American merchants in China reduced, in an article inserted in Hunt's *Merchant's Magazine,* for January, 1850, the whole question of the trade with China to this point:

"Which branch of commerce is to be suppressed, the opium trade or the export trade of American or English produce?"

The Chinese themselves took exactly the same view of the case. Montgomery Martin narrates:

"I inquired of the Taoutai[c] at Shanghai which would be the best means of increasing our commerce with China, and his first answer to me, in presence of Capt. Balfour, Her Majesty's Consul, was: 'Cease to send us so much opium and we will be able to take your manufactures.'"[d]

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[a] R. M. Martin, *China; Political, Commercial, and Social,* Vol. II, London, 1847, p. 261.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Economist,* No. 209 (supplement), August 28, 1847, pp. 1014-15.—*Ed.*

[c] High official.—*Ed.*

[d] R. M. Martin, op. cit., p. 258.—*Ed.*

The history of general commerce during the last eight years has, in a new and striking manner, illustrated these positions; but, before analyzing the deleterious effects on legitimate commerce of the opium trade, we propose giving a short review of the rise and progress of that stupendous traffic, which, whether we regard the tragical collisions forming, so to say, the axis round which it turns, or the effects produced by it on the general relations of the Eastern and Western worlds, stands solitary on record in the annals of mankind.

Previous to 1767 the quantity of opium exported from India did not exceed 200 chests, the chest weighing about 133 lbs. Opium was legally admitted in China on the payment of a duty of about $3 per chest, as a medicine; the Portuguese who brought it from Turkey being its almost exclusive importers into the Celestial Empire.

In 1773, Colonel Watson and Vice-President Wheeler—persons deserving to take a place among the Hermentiers, Palmers and other poisoners of world-wide fame—suggested to the East India Company[7] the idea of entering upon the opium traffic with China. Consequently, there was established a depot for opium in vessels anchored in a bay to the southwest of Macao. The speculation proved a failure. In 1781 the Bengal Government sent an armed vessel, laden with opium, to China; and, in 1794, the Company stationed a large opium vessel at Whampoa, the anchorage for the port of Canton. It seems that Whampoa proved a more convenient depot than Macao, because, only two years after its selection, the Chinese Government found it necessary to pass a law which threatens Chinese smugglers of opium to be beaten with a bamboo and exposed in the streets with wooden collars around their necks. About 1798, the East India Company ceased to be direct exporters of opium, but they became its producers. The opium monopoly was established in India; while the Company's own ships were hypocritically forbidden from trafficking in the drug, the licenses it granted for private ships trading to China contained a provision which attached a penalty to them if freighted with opium of other than the Company's own make.

In 1800, the import into China had reached the number of 2,000 chests. Having, during the eighteenth century, borne the aspect common to all feuds between the foreign merchant and the national custom-house, the struggle between the East India Company and the Celestial Empire assumed, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, features quite distinct and exceptional;

while the Chinese Emperor,[a] in order to check the suicide of his people, prohibited at once the import of the poison by the foreigner, and its consumption by the natives, the East India Company was rapidly converting the cultivation of opium in India, and its contraband sale to China, into integral parts of its own financial system. While the semi-barbarian stood on the principle of morality, the civilized opposed the principle of pelf. That a giant empire, containing almost one-third of the human race, vegetating to the teeth of time, insulated by the forced exclusion of general intercourse, and thus contriving to dupe itself with delusions of Celestial perfection—that such an empire should at last be overtaken by the fate on occasion of a deadly duel, in which the representative of the antiquated world appears prompted by ethical motives, while the representative of overwhelming modern society fights for the privilege of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest markets—this, indeed, is a sort of tragical couplet, stranger than any poet would ever have dared to fancy.

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[a] Tao Kuang.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## HISTORY OF THE OPIUM TRADE[8]

It was the assumption of the opium monopoly in India by the British Government, which led to the proscription of the opium trade in China. The cruel punishments inflicted by the Celestial legislator[a] upon his own contumacious subjects, and the stringent prohibition established at the China custom-houses, proved alike nugatory. The next effect of the moral resistance of the Chinaman was the demoralization, by the Englishman, of the Imperial authorities, custom-house officers and mandarins generally. The corruption that ate into the heart of the Celestial bureaucracy, and destroyed the bulwark of the patriarchal constitution, was, together with the opium chests, smuggled into the Empire from the English storeships anchored at Whampoa.

Nurtured by the East India Company, vainly combatted by the Central Government at Pekin, the opium trade gradually assumed larger proportions, until it absorbed about $2,500,000 in 1816. The throwing open in that year of the Indian commerce, with the single exception of the tea trade, which still continues to be monopolized by the East India Company, gave a new and powerful stimulus to the operations of the English contrabandists. In 1820, the number of chests smuggled into China had increased to 5,147; in 1821, to 7,000, and in 1824, to 12,639. Meanwhile, the Chinese Government, at the same time that it addressed threatening remonstrances to the foreign merchants, punished the Hong merchants,[9] known as their abettors, developed an unwonted activity in its prosecution of the native opium consumers, and, at its custom-houses, put into practice more stringent measures. The final result, like that of similar exertions in 1794, was to drive the opium depots from a precarious to a more convenient basis of

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[a] Hien-Fung.— *Ed.*

operations. Macao and Whampoa were abandoned for the Island of Lintin, at the entrance of the Canton River, there to become permanently established in vessels armed to the teeth, and well manned. In the same way, when the Chinese Government temporarily succeeded in stopping the operations of the old Canton houses, the trade only shifted hands, and passed to a lower class of men, prepared to carry it on at all hazards and by whatever means. Thanks to the greater facilities thus afforded, the opium trade increased during the ten years from 1824 to 1834 from 12,639 to 21,785 chests.[a]

Like the years 1800, 1816 and 1824, the year 1834 marks an epoch in the history of the opium trade. The East India Company then lost not only its privilege of trading in Chinese tea, but had to discontinue and abstain from all commercial business whatever. It being thus transformed from a mercantile into a merely government establishment, the trade to China became completely thrown open to English private enterprise, which pushed on with such vigor that, in 1837, 39,000 chests of opium, valued at $25,000,000, were successfully smuggled into China, despite the desperate resistance of the Celestial Government. Two facts here claim our attention: First, that of every step in the progress of the export trade to China since 1816, a disproportionately large part progressively fell upon the opium-smuggling branch; and secondly, that hand in hand with the gradual extinction of the ostensible mercantile interest of the Anglo-Indian Government in the opium trade, grew the importance of its fiscal interest in that illicit traffic. In 1837 the Chinese Government had at last arrived at a point where decisive action could no longer be delayed. The continuous drain of silver, caused by the opium importations, had begun to derange the exchequer, as well as the moneyed circulation of the Celestial Empire. Heu Naetse, one of the most distinguished Chinese statesmen, proposed to legalize the opium trade and make money out of it; but after a full deliberation, in which all the high officers of the Empire shared, and which extended over a period of more than a year's duration, the Chinese Government decided that, "On account of the injuries it inflicted on the people, the nefarious traffic should not be legalized." As early as 1830, a duty of 25 per cent would have yielded a revenue of $3,850,000. In 1837, it would have yielded double that sum, but then the Celestial barbarian declined laying a tax sure to rise in proportion to the degradation of his people. In 1853, Hien-Fung, the present

[a] N. Allen, *An Essay on the Opium Trade*, Boston, 1850, p. 15.—*Ed.*

Emperor, under still more distressed circumstances, and with the full knowledge of the futility of all efforts at stopping the increasing import of opium, persevered in the stern policy of his ancestors. Let me remark, *en passant,* that by persecuting the opium consumption as a heresy the Emperor gave its traffic all the advantages of a religious propaganda. The extraordinary measures of the Chinese Government during the years 1837, 1838 and 1839, which culminated in Commissioner Lin's arrival at Canton, and the confiscation and destruction, by his orders, of the smuggled opium, afforded the pretext for the first Anglo-Chinese war, the results of which developed themselves in the Chinese rebellion, the utter exhaustion of the Imperial exchequer, the successful encroachment of Russia from the North, and the gigantic dimensions assumed by the opium trade in the South. Although proscribed in the treaty with which England terminated a war, commenced and carried on in its defense, the opium trade has practically enjoyed perfect impunity since 1843. The importation was estimated, in 1856, at about $35,000,000, while, in the same year, the Anglo-Indian Government drew a revenue of $25,000,000, just the sixth part of its total State income, from the opium monopoly. The pretexts on which the second opium war has been undertaken are of too recent date to need any commentary.

We cannot leave this part of the subject without singling out one flagrant self-contradiction of the Christianity-canting and civilization-mongering British Government. In its imperial capacity it affects to be a thorough stranger to the contraband opium trade, and even to enter into treaties proscribing it. Yet, in its Indian capacity, it forces the opium cultivation upon Bengal, to the great damage of the productive resources of that country; compels one part of the Indian ryots to engage in the poppy culture; entices another part into the same by dint of money advances; keeps the wholesale manufacture of the deleterious drug a close monopoly in its hands; watches by a whole army of official spies its growth, its delivery at appointed places, its inspissation and preparation for the taste of the Chinese consumers, its formation into packages especially adapted to the conveniency of smuggling, and finally its conveyance to Calcutta, where it is put up at auction at the Government sales, and made over by the State officers to the speculators, thence to pass into the hands of the contrabandists who land it in China. The chest costing the British Government about 250 rupees is sold at the Calcutta auction mart at a price ranging from 1,210 to 1,600 rupees. But not yet satisfied with this

matter of fact complicity, the same Government, to this hour, enters into express profit and loss accounts with the merchants and shippers, who embark in the hazardous operation of poisoning an empire.

The Indian finances of the British Government have, in fact, been made to depend not only on the opium trade with China, but on the contraband character of that trade. Were the Chinese Government to legalize the opium trade simultaneously with tolerating the cultivation of the poppy in China, the Anglo-Indian exchequer would experience a serious catastrophe. While openly preaching free trade in poison, it secretly defends the monopoly of its manufacture. Whenever we look closely into the nature of British free trade, monopoly is pretty generally found to lie at the bottom of its "freedom."

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## ANOTHER STRANGE CHAPTER OF MODERN HISTORY[10]

London, Sept. 7, 1858

Some months ago I sent you a series of documents relating to the attempted betrayal of the Circassians by Mehemed Bey, alias Col. Bangya.[a] A new chapter has since been added to this strange episode of the Circassian war; declarations and counter-declarations from the different parties involved giving rise, first, to serious feuds between the Hungarian and Polish emigrations at Constantinople, then to angry debates at the London headquarters of exiled Europe, as to the alleged complicity with Bangya of certain prominent personages. Fully aware of the interest attached by the revolutionary emigration of all shades and all nationalities to publications in the *Tribune,* I deliberately abstained from returning to the charge before the originals of some letters appearing in Constantinople papers, but the authenticity of which was afterward contested, had been shown to me, and before I had made sure of all the points at issue. However, I should consider it a breach of duty not to counteract the cowardly maneuvers intended to burke all further inquiry, and to throw a vail of mystery over the whole affair. If there exist a portion of the revolutionary emigration who think fit to conspire with the Russian Cabinet, and to side even with such professional spies as Bangya, let them come forward and have the courage of their opinions.

You will recollect that Bangya's confession, and the other papers attached to it, were brought to Constantinople by Lieut. Stock of the Polish detachment in Circassia, bearer of dispatches from Col.

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[a] See the article "A Curious Piece of History" (present edition, Vol. 15).—*Ed.*

Łapiński, his chief, and a member of the Military Commission which tried Bangya. Lieut. Stock stayed four months in Constantinople, to bear testimony to the truth of Łapiński's charges of treachery against Bangya, in case any judicial proceeding should be resorted to. In his confession, Bangya had identified Kossuth, Gen. Stein, Col. Türr, and the part of the Hungarian emigration, headed by Kossuth, with his own intrigues in Circassia. The Poles, at Constantinople, on receiving communication of the news and papers brought by Lieut. Stock, did not implicitly accept as true the charges made by Bangya against his countrymen, but distrusting their genuineness, resolved to keep the documents in their possession. While waiting for further news from Circassia, they limited themselves to the insertion in the *Presse d'Orient* of a short notice of the treason and condemnation of Mehemed Bey, alias Bangya. After the appearance of this paragraph they received visits from several Hungarians, amongst others from Col. Türr, who declared it to be an insult to himself, as a Hungarian, and to all the emigration. However, having read the papers which came from Circassia, Türr, after denials of a very unsatisfactory nature as to Bangya's assertions relating to his own complicity, exclaimed that Bangya ought to be hung, and begged that an emissary be sent to Sepher Pasha to press him to confirm and execute the sentence of the Commission. He was then allowed by the Poles to take with him a letter from Bangya exhorting his countrymen to abstain from all intervention in Circassia and from all intrigue against the Poles.

"As for our plans," says Bangya in this letter, "they are forever ruined, and I am at the mercy of Łapiński."[a]

The Poles, not content with communicating the papers afterward printed in the *Tribune*, to Türr and other Hungarians, gave another unmistakable proof of their good faith. To ingratiate himself, after his condemnation to death, with his judges, by proving to them that he was ready to make a clean breast of all he knew, Bangya had revealed to Łapiński, the President of the Court Martial, all the history of the preparations of his countrymen against Austria. He told him the nature of their resources, the cities where they were forming arm-depots, and the names of the individuals in charge of them. The Poles at once informed the Hungarians of the danger which menaced them, showed them all the papers they had received on these matters, which have never

[a] Quoted from *The Free Press*, No. 20, August 25, 1858.—*Ed.*

been published, and to assure them that they would ever be kept secret, proposed that they should be sealed up in their presence with their own seals. These papers are still in existence, with the seals unbroken. Among the individuals who put on these seals are Türr, Tüköry (Selim Agha), Thalmayr (Emin Agha) and other chiefs of the Kalmár emigration at Constantinople who subsequently signed manifestoes[a] in vindication of Bangya.[11]

Shortly after Türr's interview with the Poles, there appeared in the lithographed correspondence of Havas at Paris a telegraphic dispatch to the following effect:

"A letter of Col. Türr, received at Marseilles, gives the lie to the assertions of the *Presse d'Orient* relating to the treason and condemnation of Col. Mehemed Bey."

This paragraph was reproduced in most of the European prints. At the same time some Hungarians produced letters from Circassia in the office of the *Presse d'Orient* stating that Mehemed Bey was free, and in continued relations with Sepher Pasha. Bangya was presented to the public as a martyr to the cause of liberty; Col. Łapiński was accused of forgery and other crimes, and the Poles at Constantinople were made to appear his accomplices. Even ridiculous attempts at intimidating the Poles were resorted to. It was only then that the latter gave publicity to Bangya's confession and the papers attached to it in the *Tribune*[b] and the London *Free Press*.[c] Meanwhile, Bangya arrived at Constantinople, and presented himself at the office of the *Presse d'Orient*. The editors of that journal told him that they had published the news concerning him because they had not the least reason to doubt its veracity, but that they were ready to rectify it, if he was able to bring irrefutable proofs of its falsehood. Bangya contented himself with answering that all was false, that he was the victim of an intrigue, and then narrated a mass of details which he was not interrogated upon, as to the events in Circassia. On the question how he, a Turkish officer, the Circassian Commander-in-Chief, could have written a letter evidently destined for the Russian General Philipson, a letter sufficient to prove all the accusations preferred against him, he contrived to slip this dangerous ground by negligently replying that he was preparing

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[a] "Charge of Hungarian Treachery", *The Free Press*, No. 18, June 30, 1858.—*Ed.*
[b] See the article "A Curious Piece of History" (present edition, Vol. 15).—*Ed.*
[c] "Recent Treachery in Circassia", *The Free Press*, No. 16, May 12, 1858.—*Ed.*

an answer to the confession falsely attributed to him. He ended the conversation by promising to answer in the journal the charges brought against him; a proposal accepted on the condition that his letter should contain no individual attacks. A French officer, a French priest and an Armenian publicist were present at this meeting, and declared themselves willing to bear witness before any tribunal. In a second interview, on the 25th of April, Bangya handed over to the editors of the *Presse d'Orient* his letter, which, contrary to the agreement, vilified Col. Łapiński and Ibrahim Bey, while taking care to suppress the name of Lieut. Stock, who, unfortunately, was still remaining at Constantinople. After some alterations, insisted upon by the editors, had been made in the letter, it appeared in the *Presse d'Orient.* Its principal points are these:

"I have been the victim of an infamous intrigue on the part of Ibrahim Bey and Mr. Łapiński. It was on the 31st December last, toward evening, that Ibrahim Bey sent for me to his house for a private conversation. I went unarmed. Hardly had I entered the room of Ibrahim Bey, where I found my enemies assembled, than I was arrested, and during the same night conducted toward Aderbi. Being in the power of my enemies, my life and that of my whole family ran the greatest danger; but for the menaces of the Circassians I should have been assassinated. But at last, on the 19th of March, the Circassian chiefs set me at liberty, and it was the turn of Łapiński, Ibrahim Bey and Sepher Pasha himself, to trouble and to ask my pardon for all the evil they had done me. One word from me would have sufficed to make their heads roll in the dust.... As to the seizure of papers which proved treason, or a council of Circassian chiefs and European officers, any condemnation whatever,... all these fine things are the inventions of the correspondent, agent and gossip of Mr. Łapiński.... The pretended historical memoir of which you have the copy under your eyes, is a *romance fabricated in part at Constantinople* by Mr. T——, and revised by Mr. Łapiński. It is an intrigue prepared long since *and combined since my departure for Circassia.* This paper is destined to compromise an illustrious personage and to draw money from a great power." [a]

Some days after the insertion of this his letter in the *Presse d'Orient,* Bangya, from reasons best known to himself, with a cool impudence characteristic of the man, declared in the *Journal de Constantinople* that the editor of the *Presse d'Orient* had modified his letter in such a way as to disable him from acknowledging its authenticity. Now, I have seen the original letter, I know Bangya's handwriting, and I can bear witness that all the modifications complained of arè simply the substitution of initials for names and the addition of some introductory lines in which the editors of the *Presse d'Orient* are complimented on the exactitude of their

[a] Bangya's letter, published in *La Presse d'Orient* on April 28, 1858, is quoted from *The Free Press,* No. 18, June 30, 1858.—*Ed.*

information. All Bangya wanted was to throw doubts into the public mind. Unable to utter anything further, he, as if *re bene gesta,*[a] resolved to wrap himself up in the stubborn silence of persecuted virtue. Meanwhile there appeared two documents in the London papers—the one signed by the chiefs of the Hungarian emigration at Constantinople, the other by Col. Türr. In the former, the same men who had put their seals on the papers proving Bangya's guilt profess their belief that "Bangya will be able to justify himself," affect to "consider the affair of Mehemed Bey as an individual matter," and "as one devoid of all international character," while they stigmatize the friends of Col. Łapiński as "demons whose aim it is to sow discord between the two emigrations." Türr, who has, meanwhile, transformed himself into Achmet Kiamil Bey, declares in his letter:

"Hardly had I heard of the arrival of Mehemed Bey at Constantinople, when I went to see him, accompanied by Capt. Kabat (a Pole), and categorically inquired of him if the confessions contained in the memorandum which has been published in the newspapers were true. He replied that he had treacherously been arrested, and had been taken before a commission consisting of Poles, but that, after two sittings of this commission, M. Łapiński, the commander of eighty-two Poles in Circassia, had come to see him in his confinement, and had told him that all his confessions before the commission would be of no use; that to serve his (Łapiński's) plans it would be necessary for him (Mehemed Bey) to write with his own hand a memorandum, already written and arranged by Łapiński. *He* (Mehemed Bey) *refused to write the first memorandum* submitted to him, and which was the one the journals had published. Łapiński then modified it, and prepared a second, *which he* (Mehemed Bey) *wrote and signed,* under a threat to be shot, and thus to be disabled to defend himself against the accusations with which Łapiński was sure to stain his memory after his death. The original of this document has hitherto never been produced.

"After this declaration of Mehemed Bey, *I am not in a position to know which of the two is the scoundrel.*"[b]

Now it will be seen at once that Türr asserts Bangya to have only signed his confession when compelled and menaced by Łapiński, while at the same time Bangya himself declares that his confession was fabricated at Constantinople, and even before his departure for Circassia.

All these maneuvers were at last put an end to by the arrival of letters of Sepher Pasha, and of a great number of Circassians. A deputation of the latter called on the editor of the *Presse d'Orient,* affirmed all the published details of Bangya's treachery, and

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[a] Everything was all right.—*Ed.*

[b] "Charge of Hungarian Treachery", *The Free Press,* No. 18, June 30, 1858.—*Ed.*

declared themselves ready to bear testimony, by an oath on the Koran, to the truth of their assertions, before Bangya himself and any number of witnesses. Neither did Bangya dare to present himself before this tribunal of honor, nor did Türr, Tüköry, Kalmár, Veress and his other supporters, compel him to come forward and prove his innocence.

Still, during the Russian war, Mr. Thouvenel, the French Embassador, had written to Paris for information concerning Bangya, and learned that he was a spy at the service of whoever would pay him. Mr. Thouvenel applied for his removal from Anapa, but Bangya defended himself by testimonials from Kossuth. To the appeal to the fraternity of nations in the Hungarian manifesto, to which we have referred, the Poles were justified in answering as follows:

"You talk to us of the fraternity of nations; we have taught you that fraternity in the defiles of the Carpathians, on all the roads of Transylvania, in the plains of the Theiss and of the Danube. The Hungarian people will not have forgotten it, as forgot it those constitutionalists who, in 1848, voted millions of florins and thousands of men against Italy—as forgot it those republicans who, in 1849, were begging a king from Russia—as forgot it those chiefs of the State who, in the midst of a war for independence and liberty, were crying out to expel from the Hungarian territory all the Wallachian people—as forgot it those market-place orators in their peregrinations through America. Did he[a] at least tell the Americans—who paid him as they pay a Lola Montez or a Jenny Lind—did he tell them that he, the orator, was the first to leave his dying country, and that the last who abandoned that blood-stained land, just about to be covered with sorrows, was an old general, a hero and a Pole, Bem?"[b]

To complete our relation we add the following letter of Col. Łapiński:

*Col. Łapiński to ... Pasha*——. [Extract.]

Aderbi, Circassia,——.

Sir: It is now nearly two years since I arrived here, yielding to your request and trusting to your word. I need not remind your Excellency how the latter has been kept. I have remained without arms, without clothes, without money, and even without a sufficiency of food.

All this, I trust, is not to be attributed to any ill-will on the part of your Excellency, but to other causes, and especially to your unfortunate connection with men who bear no interest to your country. During one year one of the most subtle of the Russian spies was forced upon me. With God's help I baffled his intrigues, showed him I knew him, and now I have him in my power. I entreat of your Excellency to break off all intercourse with the Hungarians; avoid especially Stein and Türr—they are Russian spies. The other Hungarians serve the Russians, partly unknowingly. Do not let yourself be deceived by any projects of

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[a] The reference is to Lajos Kossuth.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Free Press*, No. 20, August 25, 1858.—*Ed.*

manufactories, mines, and extensive commerce. Every half-penny thus laid out would be thrown into the street, and that is just whither tend all the efforts of M. Türr, who only wishes your money to be spent in such a way that it may do no good to your country and no harm to the Russians. What we require here is: a gunpowder manufactory, a machine for striking money, a little printing press, a mill for grinding flour, and arms, which are not only bad here, but twice as dear as at Constantinople; even the bad saddles of the country cost twice as much as the French military saddles. As to mines it is altogether childish to think of them. Here every half-penny must be spent for the defense of the country, and not employed in speculations. Employ all your means in training troops; then not only will you be contributing to the welfare of your country, but you will obtain personal influence for yourself. Do not waste your means in trying to gain a party. The state of the country appears tranquil at present, but it is in reality fatal. Sepher Pasha and Naib[a] are not yet reconciled, and that because the Russian spies prevent it. Do not regret the money you will spend in training troops here. It is the only money well spent. Do not think of cannons. Having been brought up in the artillery, I surely know their value. What I foretold before my departure, has happened. At first the Russians were surprised at the sound of them, now they laugh at them. Where I put two they put twenty; and if I have no regular troops to defend mine, the Russians will take them, as the Circassians do not know how to defend them, and we ourselves may be taken prisoners.

One last word. My men and myself are ready, Pasha, to devote ourselves to the defense of your country, and in eight months from hence I shall increase my detachment to 600 chasseurs, 260 horsemen, 260 artillery, if you send me what is necessary to equip and arm them.

If within two months I receive nothing, I shall embark and return to Turkey, and all the blame will rest upon you—not upon me or the Poles. I neither intend making use of nor deceiving the Circassians. If I cannot properly serve their cause and my own, I leave them.

I have sent Stock to Constantinople. It would be better for you to give him all you can, and send him back immediately. May God keep you under his protection. Put off nothing till the morrow, I beseech you. Lose not a moment; for dearly will you yourself pay for the time that is lost.

*Łapiński*[b]

Written on September 7, 1858

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5436, September 23, 1858

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[a] Mohammed-Amin.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Free Press*, No. 20, August 25, 1858.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE ANGLO-CHINESE TREATY][12]

The unsuccessful issue, in a commercial point of view, of Sir Henry Pottinger's Chinese treaty, signed on August 29, 1842, and dictated, like the new treaties with China, at the cannon's mouth, is a fact now recollected even by that eminent organ of British Free Trade, the London *Economist.*[a] Having stood forward as one of the staunchest apologists of the late invasion of China, that journal now feels itself obliged to "temper" the sanguine hopes which have been cultivated in other quarters. *The Economist* considers the effects on the British export trade of the treaty of 1842, "a precedent by which to guard ourself against the result of mistaken operations." This certainly is sound advice. The reasons, however, which Mr. Wilson alleges in explanation of the failure of the first attempt at forcibly enlarging the Chinese market for Western produce, appear far from conclusive.

The first great cause pointed out of the signal failure is the speculative overstocking of the Chinese market, during the first three years following the Pottinger treaty, and the carelessness of the English merchants as to the nature of the Chinese demand. The English exports to China which, in 1836, amounted to £1,326,000, had fallen in 1842 to £969,000. Their rapid and continued rise during the following four years, is shown by these figures:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1842 | £969,000 | 1844 | £2,305,000 |
| 1843 | 1,456,000 | 1845 | 2,395,000 |

[a] Here and below see the article "The Commercial Effects of the Treaty with China. The Export Trade", *The Economist,* No. 784, September 4, 1858.—*Ed.*

Yet in 1846 the exports did not only sink below the level of 1836, but the disasters overtaking the China houses at London during the crisis of 1847 proved the *computed* value of the exports from 1843 to 1846, such as it appears in the official return tables, to have by no means corresponded to the value actually *realized.* If the English exporters thus erred in the quantity, they did not less so in the quality of the articles offered to Chinese consumption. In proof of the latter assertion, *The Economist* quotes from Mr. W. Cooke, the late correspondent of the London *Times* at Shanghai and Canton, the following passages:

"In 1843, 1844 and 1845, when the northern ports had just been opened, the people at home were wild with excitement. An eminent firm at Sheffield sent out a large consignment of knives and forks, and declared themselves prepared to supply all China with cutlery. [...] They were sold at prices which scarcely realized their freight. A London house, of famous name, sent out a tremendous consignment of pianofortes, which shared the same fate. What happened in the case of cutlery and pianos occurred also, in a less noticeable manner, in the case of worsted and cotton manufactures. Manchester made a great blind effort when the ports were opened, and that effort failed. Since then she has fallen into an apathy, and trusts to the chapter of accidents."

Lastly, to prove the dependence of the reduction, maintenance or improvement of the trade, on the study of the wants of the consumer, *The Economist* reproduces from the same authority the following return for the year 1856:

| | 1845. | 1846. | 1856. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Worsted Stuffs (pieces) .. | 13,569 | 8,415 | 7,428 |
| Camlets ..... | 13,374 | 8,034 | 4,470 |
| Long ells ..... | 91,530 | 75,784 | 36,642 |
| Woolens ..... | 62,731 | 56,996 | 38,553 |
| Printed Cottons ..... | 100,615 | 81,150 | 281,784 |
| Plain Cottons ..... | 2,998,126 | 1,859,740 | 2,817,624 |
| Cotton Twist, lbs..... | 2,640,090 | 5,324,050 | 5,579,600 |

Now all these arguments and illustrations explain nothing beyond the reaction following the overtrade of 1843-45. It is a phenomenon by no means peculiar to the Chinese trade, that a sudden expansion of commerce should be followed by its violent contractions, or that a new market, at its opening, should be choked by British oversupplies; the articles thrown upon it being not very nicely calculated, in regard either to the actual wants or the paying powers of the consumers. In fact, this is a standing feature in the history of the markets of the world. On Napoleon's fall, after the opening of the European continent, British imports proved so disproportionate to the continental faculties of absorp-

tion, that "the transition from war to peace" proved more disastrous than the continental system itself.[13] Canning's recognition of the independence of the Spanish colonies in America, was also instrumental in producing the commercial crisis of 1825. Wares calculated for the meridian of Moscow, were then dispatched to Mexico and Colombia. And in our own day, notwithstanding its elasticity, even Australia has not escaped the fate common to all new markets, of having its powers of consumption as well as its means of payment over-stocked. The phenomenon peculiar to the Chinese market is this, that since its opening by the treaty of 1842, the export to Great Britain of tea and silk of Chinese produce has continually been expanding, while the import trade into China of British manufactures has, on the whole, remained stationary. The continuous and increasing balance of trade in favor of China might be said to bear an analogy to the state of commercial balance between Russia and Great Britain; but, then, in the latter case, everything is explained by the protective policy of Russia, while the Chinese import duties are lower than those of any other country England trades with. The aggregate value of Chinese exports to England, which before 1842 might be rated at about £7,000,000, amounted in 1856 to the sum of about £9,500,000. While the quantity of tea imported into Great Britain never reached more than 50,000,000 lbs. before 1842, it had swollen in 1856 to about 90,000,000 lbs. On the other hand, the importance of the British import of Chinese silks only dates from 1852. Its progress may be computed from the following figures:

| | 1852. | 1853. | 1854. | 1855. | 1856. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Silk imp'd. lb. | 2,418,343 | 2,838,047 | 4,576,706 | 4,436,862 | 3,723,693 |
| Value .....£ | — | — | 3,318,112 | 3,013,396 | 3,676,116 |

Now take, on the other hand, the movement of the

BRITISH EXPORTS TO CHINA, VALUED IN POUNDS STERLING.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1834 ..... | £842,852 | 1836 ..... | £1,326,388 |
| 1835 ..... | 1,074,708 | 1838 ..... | 1,204,356 |

For the period following the opening of the market in 1842 and the acquisition of Hong Kong by the British, we find the following returns:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1845 ..... | £2,359,000 | 1853 ..... | £1,749,597 |
| 1846 ..... | 1,200,000 | 1854 ..... | 1,000,716 |
| 1848 ..... | 1,445,950 | 1855 ..... | 1,122,241 |
| 1852 ..... | 2,508,599 | 1856, upward of ..... | 2,000,000 |

*The Economist* tries to account for the stationary and relatively decreasing imports of British manufacture into the Chinese market by foreign competition, and Mr. Cooke is again quoted to bear witness to this proposition. According to this authority, the English are beaten by fair competition in the Chinese market in many branches of trade. The Americans, he says, beat the English in drills and sheetings. At Shanghai in 1856 the imports were 221,716 pieces of American drills, against 8,745 English, and 14,420 of American sheetings, against 1,240 English. In woolen goods, on the other hand, Germany and Russia are said to press hardly on their English rivals. We want no other proof than this illustration to convince us that Mr. Cooke and *The Economist* are both mistaken in the appreciation of the Chinese market. They consider as limited to the Anglo-Chinese trade features which are exactly reproduced in the trade between the United States and the Celestial Empire. In 1837, the excess of the Chinese exports to the United States over the imports into China was about £860,000. During the period since the treaty of 1842, the United States have received an annual average of £2,000,000 in Chinese produce, for which we paid in American merchandise £900,000. Of the £1,602,849, to which the aggregate imports into Shanghai, exclusive of specie and opium, amounted in 1855, England supplied £1,122,241, America £272,708, and other countries £207,900; while the exports reached a total of £12,603,540, of which £6,405,040 were to England, £5,396,406 to America, and £102,088 to other countries. Compare only the American exports to the value of £272,708, with their imports from Shanghai exceeding £5,000,000. If, nevertheless, American competition has, to any sensible degree, made inroads on British traffic, how limited a field of employment for the aggregate commerce of foreign nations the Chinese market must offer.

The last cause assigned to the trifling importance the Chinese import market has assumed since its opening in 1842, is the Chinese revolution,[14] but notwithstanding that revolution, the exports to China relatively shared, in 1851-52, in the general increase of trade, and, during the whole of the revolutionary epoch, the opium trade, instead of falling off, rapidly obtained colossal dimensions. However that may be this much will be admitted, that all the obstacles to foreign imports originating in the disordered state of the empire must be increased, instead of being diminished, by the late piratical war,[15] and the fresh humiliations heaped on the ruling dynasty.

It appears to us, after a careful survey of the history of Chinese

commerce, that, generally speaking, the consuming and paying powers of the Celestials have been greatly overestimated. With the present economical framework of Chinese society, which turns upon diminutive agriculture and domestic manufactures as its pivots, any large import of foreign produce is out of the question. Still, to the amount of £8,000,000, a sum which may be roughly calculated to form the aggregate balance in favor of China, as against England and the United States, it might gradually absorb a surplus quantity of English and American goods, if the opium trade were suppressed. This conclusion is necessarily arrived at on the analysis of the simple fact, that the Chinese finances and monetary circulation, in spite of the favorable balance of trade, are seriously deranged by an import of opium to the amount of about £7,000,000.

John Bull, however, used to plume himself on his high standard of morality, prefers to bring up his adverse balance of trade by periodical war tributes, extorted from China on piratical pretexts. He only forgets that the Carthaginian and Roman methods of making foreign people pay,[16] are, if combined in the same hands, sure to clash with, and destroy each other.

Written on September 10, 1858

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# Karl Marx

## BRITISH COMMERCE AND FINANCE

London, Sept. 14, 1858

In reviewing the Report on the Crisis of 1857-58 of the Committee appointed by the House of Commons, we have, first, shown the ruinous tendencies of Sir Robert Peel's Bank act,[a] and, secondly, done away with the false notion, attributing to banks of issue the power of affecting general prices by an arbitrary expansion or contraction of the paper currency.[b] We arrive, then, at the question, What were the real causes of the crisis? The Committee state that they have established "to their satisfaction, that the recent commercial crisis in this country, as well as in America and in the North of Europe, was mainly owing to excessive speculation and abuse of credit." The value of this solution is certainly not in the least impaired by the circumstance that, to find it out, the world have not waited upon the Parliamentary Committee, and that all the profit society may possibly derive from the revelation must at this time be fully discounted. Granted the truth of the proposition—and we are far from contesting it—does it solve the social problem, or does it but change the terms of the question? For a system of fictitious credit to spring up, two parties are always requisite—borrowers and lenders. That the former party should at all times be eager at trading upon the other people's capital, and endeavor to enrich themselves at other people's risk, seems so exceedingly simple a tendency that the opposite one would bewilder our understanding. The question is rather how it happens that, among all modern industrial nations, people are caught, as it were, by a periodical fit

[a] The reference is to the English Bank Act of 1844.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 3-7.—*Ed.*

of parting with their property upon the most transparent delusions, and in spite of tremendous warnings repeated in decennial intervals. What are the social circumstances reproducing, almost regularly, these seasons of general self-delusion, of over-speculation and fictitious credit? If they were once traced out, we should arrive at a very plain alternative. Either they may be controlled by society, or they are inherent in the present system of production. In the first case, society may avert crises; in the second, so long as the system lasts, they must be borne with, like the natural changes of the seasons.

We consider this to be the essential defect not only of the recent Parliamentary Report, but of the "Report on the Commercial Distress of 1847,"[a] and all the other similar reports which preceded them—that they treat every new crisis as an insulated phenomenon, appearing for the first time on the social horizon, and, therefore, to be accounted for by incidents, movements and agencies altogether peculiar, or presumed to be peculiar, to the one period just elapsed between the penultimate and the ultimate revulsion. If natural philosophers had proceeded by the same puerile method, the world would be taken by surprise on the reappearance even of a comet. In the attempt at laying bare the laws by which crises of the market of the world are governed, not only their periodical character, but the exact dates of that periodicity must be accounted for. The distinctive features, moreover, peculiar to every new commercial crisis, must not be allowed to overshadow the aspects common to all of them. We should overstep the limits and the purpose of our present task, were we even to give the faintest outline of such an inquiry. This much seems undisputed, that the Commons' Committee, so far from solving the question, has not even put it in its adequate terms.

The facts dwelt upon by the Committee, with a view to illustrate the system of fictitious credit, lack, of course, the interest of novelty. The system itself was in England carried on by a very simple machinery. The fictitious credit was created through the means of accommodation bills. The latter were discounted principally by joint-stock country banks, which rediscounted them with the London bill brokers. The London bill brokers, looking only to the indorsement of the Bank, not to the bills themselves, in their turn relied not upon their own reserves, but upon the

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[a] *Report from the Select Committee on the Bank Acts...*, London, 1858 and *First Report from the Secret Committee on Commercial Distress*, London, 1848.—*Ed.*

facilities afforded to them by the Bank of England. The principles of the London bill brokers may be understood from the following anecdote, related to the Committee by Mr. Dixon, the late Manager Director of the Liverpool Borough Bank:

"In incidental conversation about the whole affair, one of the bill brokers made the remark that if it had not been for Sir Robert Peel's act the Borough Bank need not have suspended. In reply to that, I said that whatever might be the merits of Sir Robert Peel's act, for my own part I would not have been willing to lift a finger to assist the Borough Bank through its difficulties, if the so doing had involved the continuance of such a wretched system of business as had been practiced, and I said if I had only known half as much of the proceedings of the Borough Bank before I became a Managing Director, as you must have known, by seeing a great many of the bills of the Borough Bank discounted, you would never have caught me being a stockholder." The rejoinder to which was: "Nor would you have caught me being a stockholder; it was very well for me to discount the bills, but I would not have been a shareholder either."

The Borough Bank in Liverpool, the Western Bank of Scotland, in Glasgow, the Northumberland and Durham District Bank, into the operations of which three banks the Committee instituted the strictest inquiry, seem to have carried the palm in the race of mismanagement. The Western Bank in Glasgow, which had 101 branches throughout Scotland and connections in America, allowed to draw upon it for the mere sake of the commission, raised its dividend in 1854 from 7 to 8 per cent, in 1856 from 8 to 9 per cent, and declared a dividend of 9 per cent, still in June, 1857, when the greater part of its capital was gone. Its discounts which in 1853 were £14,987,000 had been increased in 1857 to £20,691,000. The rediscounts of the bank in London, amounting in 1852 to £407,000, had risen in 1856 to £5,407,000. The whole capital of the bank being but £1,500,000, the sum of £1,603,000 appeared on its failure, in Nov. 1857, to be owed to it by the four installment houses alone of McDonald, Monteith, Wallace and Pattison. One of the principal operations of the bank consisted in making advances upon "interests," that is to say, manufacturers were provided with capital, the security for which consisted in the eventual sale of the produce to be created through the means of the loan advanced. The levity with which the discount business was managed, appears from the circumstance that McDonald's bills were accepted by 127 different parties; only 37 being inquired about, the report on 21 of which turned out unsatisfactory or positively bad. Still McDonald's credit continued undiminished. Since 1848, a substitution was made in the books of the bank, by which debts were turned into credits, and losses into assets.

"The modes," says the Report, "in which this kind of disguise can be accomplished, will perhaps be best understood by stating the manner in which a debt called Scarth's debt, comprised in a different branch of the assets, was disposed of. That debt amounted to £120,000, and it ought to have appeared among the protested bills. It was, however, divided into four or five open credit accounts, bearing the names of the acceptors of Scarth's bill. These accounts were debited with the amount of their respective acceptances, and insurances were effected on the lives of the debtors to the extent of £75,000. On these insurances, £33,000 have been paid as premiums by the bank itself. These all now stand as assets in the books."

Lastly, on examination it was found that £988,000 were due to the bank from its own shareholders.

The whole capital of the Northumberland and Durham District Bank amounting to £600,000 only, nearly £1,000,000 were loaned by it to the insolvent Derwent Iron Company. Mr. Jonathan Richardson, who was the moving spring of the Bank, in fact the person who managed everything, was, although no direct partner in the Derwent Iron Company, very largely interested in that unpromising concern, as holding the royalties upon the minerals which they worked. This case presents, therefore, the peculiar feature of the whole capital of a joint-stock bank being eaten up with the single view to improving the private speculations of one of its managing directors.

These two samples of the revelations contained in the Committee's report reflect a rather dismal light on the morality and general conduct of joint-stock trading concerns. It is evident that those establishments, the rapidly growing influence of which on the economy of nations can hardly be overvalued, are still far from having worked out their proper constitution. Powerful engines in developing the productive powers of modern society, they have not, like the medieval corporations, as yet created a corporate conscience in lieu of the individual responsibility which, by dint of their very organization, they have contrived to get rid of.

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# Karl Marx

## MAZZINI'S NEW MANIFESTO

London, Sept. 21, 1858

The Genoese *Dio e Popolo,* the last republican paper edited on Italian soil, having finally succumbed before the incessant persecution of the Sardinian Government, Mazzini, nothing daunted, has got up an Italian paper at London, to appear twice a month, under the title of *Pensiero ed Azione* (Thought and Action).

It is from the last number of this organ that we translate his new manifesto, which we consider a historical document enabling the reader to judge for himself of the vitality and the prospects of that part of the revolutionary emigration marshaled under the banner of the Roman triumvir. Instead of inquiring into the great social agencies on which the Revolution of 1848-9 foundered, and of trying to delineate the real conditions that, during the last ten years, have silently grown up and combined to prepare a new and more powerful movement, Mazzini, relapsing, as it appears to us, into his antiquated crotchets, puts to himself an imaginary problem which, of course, cannot but lead to a delusive solution. With him the all-absorbing question remains still—why the Refugees, as a body, have failed in their attempts at renovating the world; and still he busies himself with advertising nostrums for the cure of their political palsy. He says:

"In 1852 I declared, in a memorandum addressed to the European Democracy, what ought to-day to be the watchword, the rallying cry of the party? The answer is very simple. It is comprised in the single word of *action,* but united, European, incessant, logical, bold action. You can get liberty only by getting the conscience of liberty, and that conscience you can conquer only by action. You keep your destinies in your own hands. The world is waiting for you. The *initiative* is everywhere where a people shall rise, ready to fight and to die, in case of need, for the salvation of all, writing upon its banners the signal: God, People, Justice, Truth,

Virtue. Rise for all and you will be followed by all. It is necessary that the whole party moralize itself. Every one may pursue the study of the solution which he believes he has caught a glimpse of, but let him not stand by his exclusive colors, let him not desert the great army of the future.... We are not Democracy; we are but its vanguard. We have but to clear its way. All we want is unity of plan, superintendence of labor.... Six years have elapsed since that appeal, and the question remains unaltered. The forces of the party have numerically increased, the unity of the party is not yet constituted. Some organized minorities, by their inexhaustible vitality and the horrors which they inspire to the heart of the enemy, prove the power of union; the great bulk of the party continues to be given up to disorganisation, insulation, and, consequently, to inactivity and impotence. Small groups of devoted men, unable to bear the disgrace of inactivity, fight here and there as *tirailleurs*,[a] over the whole extent of the line, every one on his own account, for his own country, without a common understanding; too weak to vanquish, on any given point, they protest and die. The bulk of the army cannot come to their rescue; it has neither plan, nor means, nor chiefs.... The alliance of Governments had been broken for a moment. The Crimean war offered to the oppressed peoples an opportunity, which they ought to have seized upon with the rapidity of lightning; for want of organization they have allowed it to faint away. We have seen true revolutionists expect the emancipation of their countries from the presumed designs of a man who cannot touch on national questions and bid insurrections to rise without the certitude of perishing. We have seen Poles make themselves Cossacks in the service of Turkey,[17] forgetting Sobieski and the historical mission Poland has fulfilled in Christian Europe. There were people, like the Roumans, fancying that diplomacy would build their unity,[18] as if ever in the history of the world any nationality had originated in anything else than the battles of its sons. Others, like the Italians, resolved to wait until Austria had engaged in the struggle, as if Austria could take up any other position than that of armed neutrality. Greece alone rushed to action [19]; but without understanding that, against the accord of the Governments, no Greek national movement is possible without an accidental revolution, dismembering the forces, and without an alliance of the Hellenic element with the Slavo-Rouman element, in order to legitimate the insurrection. The want of organization and plans which I denounce, had never become more evident. Hence the mortal discouragement which sometimes spreads throughout our ranks. What can an individual, single-handed, insulated with weak means or no means at all, do for the solution of a problem which embraces Europe? Association alone can conquer it.... In 1848 we rose on ten points, in the name of all that is great and holy. Liberty, Solidarity, People, Alliance, Fatherland, Europe belonged to us. Later on, deceived, fascinated—I know not by which cowardly and culpable delusion we allowed the movements to become localized.... We repeated, we who had overthrown Louis Philippe, the atheist phrase which resumes his reign: *Chacun pour soi, chacun chez soi*.[b] It was thus that we fell. Have we nothing learned from that bitter experience? Do we not know at this time of the day that union, and union alone, gives power?

"Man consists of thought and action. Thought not embodied in acts, is but the shadow of man; action not directed and sanctified by thought, is but the galvanized corpse of man—a form without a soul. God is God, because he is the absolute identity of thought and action. Man is only man, on the condition of approaching incessantly as far as possible to that ideal.... We cannot triumph by dividing our

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[a] Sharpshooters.—*Ed.*

[b] Each for himself, each at home.—*Ed.*

party into thinkers and workers, into men of intelligence and men of action, by I know not what sort of immoral and absurd divorce between theory and practice, between individual and collective duty, between the writer and the conspirator or fighter.... All of us preach association as the watchword of the epoch of which we are the forerunners, but how many of us do associate themselves to their brothers to work with them in common? We all have on our lips the words, *tolerance, love, liberty,* and we separate from our companions because on this or that special question their solution diverges from our own. We clap our hands in enthusiasm at those who die in order to clear us the way for action; but we do not march on their footsteps. We find fault with the imprudence of attempts undertaken on a small scale; but we try not to realize them on vast and powerful proportions. We all deplore the want of material means in the hands of the party; but how many of us do periodically contribute their penny to a common chest? We explain our failures by the powerful organization of the enemy; but how few work to found the omnipotence of our party by means of a general uniform organization, which, while domineering the present, would reflect in itself the future?... Is there no means to get out of the present, deplorable, disorganized state of the party? All of us believe that thought is holy, that its manifestations ought to be free and inviolable; that the social organization is bad, if, from excess of material inequality, it condemns the workman to the part of a machine, and deprives him of intellectual life. We believe that human individual life is sacred. We believe that association is equally sacred; that it is the watchword expressing the special mission of our epoch. We believe that the State ought not to enforce but to encourage it. We look forward with enthusiasm to a future in which universalized association between the producers shall have put participation in the place of wages. We believe in the sanctity of labor, and think every society culpable in which a man willing to live by his labor is unable to do so. We believe in nationality, we believe in humanity.... By humanity we understand the association of free and equal nations on the double basis of independence for their internal development, and of fraternity for the regulation of international life and general progress. In order that the nations and humanity, such as we understand them, be able to exist, we believe that the map of Europe must be remade; we believe in a new territorial division, supplanting the arbitrary division, operated by the treaty of Vienna,[20] and to be founded on the affinities of language, tradition, religion, and the geographical and political condition of every country. Now, do you not think that these common creeds will suffice for a fraternal organization? I do not tell you to surrender one single doctrine, one single conviction. I say only. Let us together give battle to the negation of every doctrine; let us united carry a second victory of Marathon[21] against the principle of Oriental immobility which to-day threatens to reconquer Europe. All men, to whatever republican fraction belonging, but approving of the sentiments I have just enumerated, ought to constitute an European party of action, of which France, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Poland, Greece, Hungary, Roumania and the other oppressed nations ought to form so many sections; every national section to be constituted independently, with its separate chest; a Central Committee, with a central chest, to be formed of the delegates of the national sections, &c.

"The unity of the party once conquered, the European question dissolves into the question where to begin? In revolutions, as in war, victory depends on the rapid concentration of the greatest possible number of forces on a given point. If the party desires a victorious revolution, it ought to choose on the map of Europe that point on which the initiative is most easy, most effective, and thither to throw all the forces every section may dispose of. Rome and Paris are the two strategical

points from which the common action is to start. By her powerful unity, the souveniers of her great revolution and of the Napoleonian armies, by the prestige which every movement at Paris exercises over the mind of Europe, France—although every truly revolutionary rising on her part be sure to concentrate against herself all the forces of the Governments of Europe—still remains the country whose initiative would, with the greatest certitude, rouse all other oppressed nations. Save this one exception, Italy is to-day the country visibly uniting in itself the characteristics of the initiative. The universality of opinion which pushes it on need not be demonstrated; there has existed there for ten years past a series of noble protestations altogether exceptional in Europe. The cause of Italian nationality is identical with that of all nations crushed or dismembered by the partition of Vienna. The Italian insurrection, by attacking Austria, would afford a direct opportunity to the Slav and Rouman elements, which, within the bosom of the Empire, strive to emancipate themselves of it. The Italian troops, disseminated throughout the most disaffected parts of the Empire, would support their movements. Twenty thousand Hungarians, the soldiers of Austria in Italy, would range themselves round our banner of insurrection. It is, therefore, impossible for an Italian movement to become localized. The geographical position of Italy, and a population of twenty-five millions, would secure the insurrectional movement sufficient duration to allow the other nations to profit from it. Austria and France, France and England, have not in Italy that uniformity of interests which alone could create the unity of their politics. Italy, being unable to rise without overturning Papacy, would, by its insurrection, solve the problem of liberty of conscience in Europe, and meet with the sympathy of all those who cherish that liberty."

Critical remarks on Mazzini's manifesto were written by Marx on September 21, 1858

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# Karl Marx

## A NEW FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY MANIFESTO[22]

London, Sept. 24, 1858

Last night, at a public meeting held in commemoration of the 66th anniversary of the establishment of the first French Republic, M. Félix Pyat read a remarkable *"lettre aux Mandarins de la France,"* in which he fiercely denounces the want of moral courage displayed under the present regime by the literary class of France. In the outlines we propose giving of it, we have occasionally swerved from the letter of the original, in order to render more strikingly its spirit:

"In the night which has enveloped France since the invasion of the *coup d'état,* you, gentlemen of the press, are the most lost of souls. You undergo your punishment with a terrible patience and submission. You undergo it in silence, as if you deserved it; with resignation, as if it was to last forever. Is it possible? For ten years not an act, not a cry, not a word of protestation or hope. Strong and weak, age and youth, great and little, professor and disciple, all dumb, all crest-fallen. Not a single voice in the desert. In the French vocabulary there is no longer a word signifying liberty. Englishmen ask us whether French is still spoken in France, and we lower our heads. Even the press of Austria girds at you—even that of Russia bewails you. An object of pity and scorn for the Cossack himself, this press of France! Bonaparte has spit upon the sun and put it out. Who is to kindle again, or to replace that dead star? Suns wanting, there remain the volcanoes. If there is to be no more light, no more warmth from above, there is still the interior sun, the subterranean flame, the ray from below, the fire of the people. Already, we see blaze that Vesuvius, and therefore, do not despair."

Commencing his review of the French literary world with the members of the *Institut,*[a] Mr. Pyat addresses them thus:

"Let us begin with those who are most completely dead, with the *Immortels.* (The members of the 'Institut' going by the name of the 'Immortels.') There they

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[a] The *Institut de France* consists of five Academies, the first being called the *Académie française.— Ed.*

are, the chairs, or rather the coffins, of the forty! Shadows of authors, mumbling shades of epigrams; defunct minds still galvanized by the reminiscences and the regrets of the past. There is he (Guizot), an old Ixion, enamoured of the doctrinary mist,[23] pursuing his constitutional chimera, whirling from Gaud to Frohsdorf,[a] the vicious circle of the monarchial wheel, the symbol, packed in straw, of the 'Fusion.'[24] There is that other wizard, his contemporary (Cousin), retreated from the Sorbonne to the land of love, making, like Faust, amends for time lost, with a load of three score and more on his back, relapsing into youth, and devoting himself to the Margarets of the Fronde,[25] because of having been too much in love with eclecticism at the age of twenty! That other fellow there (Thiers), neither old nor young, with something unripe and something rotten about him, an oldish child, a petrified *perpetuum mobile,* having fluttered about art, politics and history—having carped at the Revolution, celebrated the Empire, and entombed twice the great man[b] in the *Dôme des Invalides* and in his books[26]; in one word, the national historian, the Taenia[c] of history, the Tacitus in ordinary to the *cent-gardes*[27] licensed by his Majesty, and warranted on the part of the Government. And last, not least, that Homer without an *Iliad* (Lamartine), that Belisar without campaigns, who banished barbarian schoolmasters only, and sung the capture of Elvire only, historian of *Grasiella,* poet of the *Girondins,* troubadour of the Restoration, orator of the Republic, and honest pauper of the Empire.

"Let us pass from fossils to men. Let us look at the most lively among them—those at least who pretend to be so—to stand by principle, to unfurl their colors—Legitimists, Orleanists and Liberals. Another cemetery this. But there is something audible there. What? A sigh, a whine, an allusion. So far goes their breath. No farther. They pant, they weep; tears make no noise. It is but the revolt of silence, the audacity of sadness, and the courage of regrets. The Constitution is regretted; so is the Charter,[28] so Henry V, everybody and everything, down to the Duchesses,[d] whom they themselves had bid to be gone. Béranger is embalmed; Voltaire revived from the death.... Béranger went to prison; Voltaire into exile. Their weepers go to church. To die for the ungrateful, say the brave *Débats,* is to die in vain, and they prefer living at any price.... We will not die, says the *Siècle,* save for moderation's sake. Who is wise in his generation will accept facts accomplished, and content himself with selling in the streets.... The very Brutuses among them will take to mongering opposition against Veuillot.[29] Yes, in the midst of this Nineteenth century, after three revolutions made in the name of the sovereignty of the people and of reason, 66 years after the revolution of September, 28 years after that of July, 10 years after that of February, in 1858, in France, they are discussing.... What? Miracles.... Oh, Lamennais, model of courage and honor, passionate lover of justice, who, the day after the battle of June, 1848, preferred breaking his pen rather than having it cut to the measure of the sword; who protested against the rich victor by the courageous cry, 'Silence for the poor'[30]; who made his very age protest from the prison, and his death itself from the common ditch,[31] thou wast but a coward and a fool! It is wisdom to write in order to say nothing; it is courage to speak in order to lie and betray, to keep peace with the regime of warnings, to conform to the diet prescribed by Doctor Fialin, to drink oil and treacle in the leading articles, and feed upon the legislative

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[a] A house near Vienna, residence of Count Chambord, pretender to the French throne.—*Ed.*

[b] Napoleon I.—*Ed.*

[c] Tapeworm.—*Ed.*

[d] Duchesses of Berry and Orleans.—*Ed.*

debates of Piedmont and Belgium.[32] All that time over, December will continue to dispose of the life, the rights, the future of France. Late representatives of the people, journalists, the best citizens, all that remains of the revolution, will be transported from the dungeons of Belle Isle[33] to those of Corsica, on the expiration of their punishment to be shipped off further still, to the burning sands of Cayenne,[34] as was done with Delescluze ... and such information even will have to be smuggled to France in the bottoms of the English press. Shame unheard of, even in Pagan Rome, even among the fanatics of Jiddah[35]! A woman married and separated from her husband, arrives a stranger at Paris, is arrested and conducted to the guard-house; and now hark what the soldiers of December set about doing. We quote the official act of accusation. The Sergeant of the guard takes her up in the ward and vainly annoys her with his filthy importunities. Then he orders two of his chasseurs to enter the ward, and be more fortunate. The woman still resists the two. The Sergeant has her stretched in the barrack-room itself, on a bench, with a sack for her cushion. Then the candle is put out, and all the men, nine in number, the Sergeant and the Corporal at their head, ravish that woman, keeping her by the arms and by the legs, while she screams, 'My God, leave me, leave me!' The Sergeant, who gives the orders, as he sets the example, says: 'Take numerals each from the right to the left, everybody must pass in his turn.'... Then, afterward, two quarts of brandy are drunk at the expense of the victim. And those defenders of order, those saviours wearing medals, the prime of the nation, those chasseurs of Vincennes who made December, and who do now the work of violation by the number, platoon violation, they are committed to prison for six days, and to the payment of 16 francs damages. The violators are inviolable, and the journal that enregisters the fact is authorized to state that there are 'attenuating circumstances.' Long life to the Empereur! In truth, *The Times* is right; every man of sense and feeling must wish the total abolition of the French press, rather than see it the accomplice of such crimes. A lamp without flame, why should it smoke? Why deceive, why trouble opinion any more? Enough of lies, under the semblance of truth; enough of prostitution, with the airs of prudery; enough of cowardice, under the name of constancy; enough of corruption, under the mask of life. Hypocritic, histrionic mummies, do not longer counterfeit life, get yourselves buried, ... and, to think that these are still the best, those press men who, at least, plume themselves upon being partisans, one way or the other!... But what of the remainder? There are, first, the neutrals, insensible to collective life, withdrawn to the background of cool grottoes, there to coquet with art for art's sake, or with philosophy for philosophy's sake, a sort of hermits in ecstasy at a rhyme or a diagram, fops believing in form only, pedants sticking to abstraction, excusing their indifference by the worthlessness of the vulgar, yet allowing the imperial eagle to convey them little cakes and little crosses, suiciding themselves in their works as the insect does in its cocoon, caterpillars of vanity, chrysalids of egotism, with no heart in them, dying of self-love like Narcissus. Then there comes another gang who once did in revolutions, but now do in jobs.... Happy results of the empire of peace[36].... Once they served principles, now they serve the funds; once the parties, now the bankers; once they called themselves monarchy or republic, now they go by the name of the North Western or Great Eastern, subjects of the branch Mirès or the house Millaud, legitimists in the pay of these Jewish dynasties, Levites[37] of the idols of the Bourse singing the scala of the Rentes and preaching the rights of the premium in the temple of the merchants, the tail of St. Simonism heading the choir before the altar of the golden calf again become god, and before the throne of the blackleg[a] transformed into Caesar.... Fie! We smell the last ranks of the

[a] Louis Bonaparte.—*Ed.*

literary world, official putrefaction, corpses in livery, gallooned skeletons, *Pays, Patrie, Moniteur, Constitutionnel,* the domestic pest dancing in a ring on the dung-yard of Augias."

In the second part of his "letter to the Mandarins," Mr. Pyat contrasts the active devotion of the French press at the times of the Restoration and Louis Philippe to its present total abdication. Under the regime of the octroyed charter,

"all did their duty, from the most illustrious to the most obscure. From Béranger to Fantau, from Magalon to Courier, Tay, Touy, Bert, Canchois, Chatelain, all went to the prison; some to St. Pélagie, some to Poissy. In the same way, under 'the best of Republics,' Lamennais got incarcerated, Raspail, Carrel, Marrast, Dupoty, Esquiros, Thoré—all the Republicans. Armand Carrel then, to his eternal honor, resisted force by force, covering his journal by his sword, and making Périer recoil before this memorable challenge: 'It is little, the life of a man killed furtively in the corner of a street; but it is much, the life of a man of honor who should be massacred in his own house by the *sbirri*[a] of M. Périer, while resisting in the name of right. His blood would cry for vengeance. Every writer, penetrated by his own dignity, should oppose law to illegality, and force to force. Such is my duty, happen what may.'[b]... However, if, since December, all 'the Mandarins' of France have withdrawn from the battlefield, the working class, and even the peasantry, have become the focus of political life. They alone bear the brunt of criminal persecutions, get up the conspiracies, take the offensive—unknown, anonymous, mere *plebs* as they are.... With them originated the affair of the Hippodrome,[38] and the attempts at insurrection that ran from Paris to Lyons, from St. Étienne to Bordeaux. At Angers, it was the *carriers,*[c] at Châlon, it was the coopers—simple working men, who had acted on their own account, without any leaders from the upper classes."[39]

As to the conspiracy of Châlon, Mr. Pyat gives some details hitherto unknown, with which we shall conclude these extracts. The chief of that conspiracy was a working man (cooper), thirty-two years of age, called Agénais. Mr. Lièvre, the public accuser, describes him thus to the Tribunal:

"'This man is a working man, industrious, orderly, instructed, disinterested; consequently the more dangerous—the more worth attracting the eye of the police and the hand of justice. He had declared he would not bear that an Italian should have the honor of saving France.' In order to convince the Judges that that man ought to be put down the type of 'an enemy of family, religion and property,' Mr. Lièvre read the following letter, addressed from Algeria by Agénais to his mother, and intercepted by the Decembrist police: 'My African jailors, knowing my position with my family, have often placed myself between these alternatives—heart and head, feeling and duty. These trials were especially renewed whenever I received a letter from you, the effects of which they spied with lynx eyes. This lasted a long time. Finally, at the end of their tricks and tired of the struggle, a superior jailor, a

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[a] Police spies.—*Ed.*
[b] *Le National,* January 24, 1832.—*Ed.*
[c] Quarriers.—*Ed.*

high officer, came one evening to visit me in my cell, and after some words exchanged with me, ended by saying, "You will not bend, you shall be broken." "I may be broken," was my answer, "but I shall not bend." Some days later, I received communication of an order sending me to Cayenne. I had twelve hours to reflect. I turned them to advantage. Hence I have neither bent, nor was I broken. Man proposes and God disposes, always the old proverb. Congratulate you, therefore, upon having seen myself resist the allurements of your wishes, and having followed the inspirations of my conscience alone. That faithful counselor has often repeated to me that I live only by the heart and for duty, and that without them nothing would remain of me but a coarse envelope, and I feel every day more distinctly that this interior voice is that of the truth.... Such is my excuse with respect to my family.'

"An Imperial Procureur," remarks M. Pyat, "would certainly not have invented that."

Agénais, unwilling either to bend or to break, escapes from the bagno of Algiers in order to avoid that of Cayenne, gains by swimming to a ship and returns to Spain, thence to France, where he again repairs to Châlon, a faithful soldier of the Marianne, an obstinate champion of the Republic.

Written on September 24, 1858

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# Karl Marx

## THE BRITISH AND CHINESE TREATY[40]

London, Sept. 28, 1858

The official summary of the Anglo-Chinese treaty,[a] which the British Ministry has at last laid before the public, adds, on the whole, but little to the information that had already been conveyed through different other channels. The first and the last articles comprise, in fact, the points in the treaty of exclusively English interest. By the first article, "the supplementary treaty and general regulations of trade," stipulated after the conclusion of the treaty of Nankin,[41] are "abrogated." That supplementary treaty provided that the English Consuls residing at Hong Kong, and the five Chinese ports opened to British commerce, were to cooperate with the Chinese authorities in case any English vessels should arrive within the range of their consular jurisdiction with opium on board. A formal prohibition was thus laid upon English merchants to import the contraband drug, and the English Government, to some degree, constituted itself one of the Custom-House officers of the Celestial Empire. That the second opium war should end in removing the fetters by which the first opium war still affected to check the opium traffic, appears a result quite logical, and a consummation devoutly called for by that part of the British mercantile public which chanted most lusty applause to Palmerston's Canton fireworks.[42] We are, however, much mistaken, if this official abandonment on the part of England of her hypocritic opposition to the opium trade is not to lead to consequences quite the reverse of those expected. By engaging the British Government to cooperate in the suppression of the opium traffic, the Chinese Government had recognized its inability to do so on its

[a] *The Times*, No. 23109, September 27, 1858.—*Ed.*

own account. The supplementary treaty of Nankin was a supreme and rather desperate effort at getting rid of the opium trade by foreign aid. This effort having failed, and being now proclaimed a failure, the opium traffic being now, so far as England is concerned, legalized, little doubt can remain that the Chinese Government will try a method alike recommended by political and financial considerations—viz.: legalize the cultivation of the poppy in China, and lay duties on the foreign opium imported. Whatever may be the intentions of the present Chinese Government, the very circumstances in which it finds itself placed by the treaty of Tien-tsin, show all that way.

That change once effected, the opium monopoly of India, and with it the Indian Exchequer, must receive a deadly blow, while the British opium traffic will shrink to the dimensions of an ordinary trade, and very soon prove a losing one. Till now, it has been a game played by John Bull with loaded dice. To have baffled its own object, seems, therefore, the most obvious result of the opium war No. II.

Having declared "a just war" on Russia, generous England desisted, at the conclusion of peace, from demanding any indemnity for her war expenses. Having, on the other hand, all along professed to be at peace with China itself, she, accordingly, cannot but make it pay for expenses incurred, in the opinion of her own present Ministers, by piracy on her own part. However, the first tidings of the fifteen or twenty millions of pounds sterling to be paid by the Celestials proved a quieter to the most scrupulous British conscience, and very pleasant calculations as to the beneficial effects of the Sycee silver[43] upon the balance of trade, and the metal reserve of the Bank of England, were entered into by *The Economist* and the writers of money articles generally. But alas! the first impressions which the Palmerstonian press had given itself so much trouble to produce and work upon, were too tender to bear the shock of real information.

A "separate article provides that a sum of two millions of taels"[a] shall be paid "on account of the losses sustained by British subjects through the misconduct of the Chinese authorities at Canton; and a further sum of two millions of taels on account of the expenses of the war."

Now, these sums together amount to £1,334,000 only, while, in 1842, the Emperor of China had to pay £4,200,000, of which £1,200,000 was indemnity for the contraband opium confiscated,

[a] *Tael*—a Chinese monetary unit; three taels are equal to one pound sterling.—*Ed.*

and £3,000,000 for the expenses of the war. To come down from £4,200,000, with Hong Kong into the bargain, to simple £1,334,000, seems no thriving trade after all; but the worst remains still to be said. Since, says the Chinese Emperor, yours was no war with China, but a "provincial war" with Canton only, try yourselves how to squeeze out of the province of Kwang-tung the damages which your amiable war steamers have compelled me to adjudge to you. Meanwhile, your illustrious Gen. Straubenzee may keep Canton as a material guaranty, and continue to make the British arms the laughing-stock even of Chinese braves. The doleful feelings of sanguine John Bull at these clauses, which the small booty of £1,334,000 is encumbered with, have already vented themselves in audible groans.

"Instead," says one London paper, "of being able to withdraw our 53 ships-of-war, and see them return triumphant with millions of Sycee silver, we may look forward to the pleasing necessity of sending an army of 5,000 men to recapture and hold Canton, and to assist the fleet in carrying on that provincial war which the Consul's deputy has declared. But will this provincial war have no consequences beyond driving our Canton trade to other Chinese ports?... Will not the continuation of it [the provincial war] give Russia a large portion of the tea trade? May not the Continent, and England herself, become dependent on Russia and the United States for their tea?" [a]

John Bull's anxiety as to the effects of the "provincial war" upon the tea trade is not quite gratuitous. From McGregor's *Commercial Tariffs*[b] it may be seen that in the last year of the former Chinese war, Russia received 120,000 chests of tea at Kiakhta. The year after the conclusion of peace with China the Russian demand fell off 75 per cent, amounting to 30,000 only. At all events, the costs still to be incurred by the British in distraining Kwang-tung are sure so to swell the wrong side of the balance that this second China war will hardly be self-paying, the greatest fault which, as Mr. Emerson justly remarks, anything can be guilty of in British estimation.

Another great success of the English invasion is contained in Art. 51, according to which

"the term barbarian is not to be applied to the British Government nor to British subjects in any Chinese official document issued by the Chinese authorities."

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[a] "Treaties with China", *The Free Press*, No. 21, September 22, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Mac-Gregor, *Commercial Tariffs and Regulations, Resources, and Trade of the Several States of Europe and America*, London, 1841-50. Quoted from *The Free Press*, No. 21, September 22, 1858.—*Ed.*

The Chinese authorities styling themselves Celestial, how humble to their understanding must not appear John Bull, who, instead of insisting on being called divine or Olympian, contents himself with weeding the character representing the word barbarian out of the official documents.

The commercial articles of the treaty give England no advantage not to be enjoyed by her rivals, and, for the present, dissolve into shadowy promises, for the greater part not worth the parchment they are written on. Art. 10 stipulates:

"British merchant ships are to be allowed to trade up the great river (Yang-tse), but in the present disturbed state of the Upper and Lower Valley, no port is to be opened for trade with the exception of Chin-kiang, which is to be opened in a year from the signature of the treaty. When peace is restored, British vessels are to be admitted to trade at such ports, as far as Hankow, not exceeding three in number, as the British Minister, after consulting with the Chinese Secretary of State, shall determine."

By this article, the British are in fact excluded from the great commercial artery of the whole empire, from "the only line," as *The Morning Star* justly remarks, "by which they can push their manufactures into the interior." If they will be good boys, and help the Imperial Government in dislodging the rebels from the regions now occupied by them, then they may eventually navigate the great river, but only to particular harbors. As to the new seaports opened, from "all" the ports, as at first advertised, they have dwindled down to five ports, added to the five ports of the treaty of Nankin, and, as a London paper remarks, "they are generally remote or insular." Besides, at this time of the day, the delusive notion of the growth of trade being proportionate to the number of ports opened, should have been exploded. Consider the harbors on the coasts of Great Britain, or France, or the United States, how few of them have developed themselves into real emporiums of commerce? Before the first Chinese war, the English traded exclusively to Canton. The concession of five new ports, instead of creating five new emporiums of commerce, has gradually transferred trade from Canton to Shanghai, as may be seen from the following figures, extracted from the Parliamentary Blue-Book on the trade of various places for 1856-57. At the same time, it should be recollected that the Canton imports include the imports to Amoy and Fu-chow, which are transhipped at Canton. [See Table on p. 50.]

"The commercial clauses of the treaty are unsatisfactory," is a conclusion arrived at by *The Daily Telegraph*, Palmerston's most abject sycophant; but it chuckles at "the brightest point in the

| | British import trade to | | British export trade from | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Canton. | Shanghai. | Canton. | Shanghai. |
| 1844..... | $15,500,000 | $2,500,000 | $17,900,000 | $2,300,000 |
| 1845..... | 10,700,000 | 5,100,000 | 27,700,000 | 6,000,000 |
| 1846..... | 9,900,000 | 3,800,000 | 15,300,000 | 6,400,000 |
| 1847..... | 9,600,000 | 4,300,000 | 15,700,000 | 6,700,000 |
| 1848..... | 6,500,000 | 2,500,000 | 8,600,000 | 5,000,000 |
| 1849..... | 7,900,000 | 4,400,000 | 11,400,000 | 6,500,000 |
| 1850..... | 6,800,000 | 3,900,000 | 9,900,000 | 8,000,000 |
| 1851..... | 10,000,000 | 4,500,000 | 13,200,000 | 11,500,000 |
| 1852..... | 9,900,000 | 4,600,000 | 6,500,000 | 11,400,000 |
| 1853..... | 4,000,000 | 3,900,000 | 6,500,000 | 13,300,000 |
| 1854..... | 3,300,000 | 1,100,100 | 6,000,000 | 11,700,000 |
| 1855..... | 3,600,000 | 3,400,000 | 2,900,000 | 19,900,000 |
| 1856..... | 9,100,000 | 6,100,000 | 8,200,000 | 25,800,000[a] |

programme," viz.: "that the British Minister may establish himself at Pekin, while a Mandarin will install himself in London, and possibly invite the Queen to a ball at Albert Gate." However John Bull may indulge this fun, there can be no doubt that whatever political influence may be exercised at Pekin will fall to the part of Russia, which, by dint of the last treaty, holds a new territory, being as large as France, and, in great part, on its frontier, 800 miles only distant from Pekin. It is by no means a comfortable reflection for John Bull that he himself, by his first opium-war, procured Russia a treaty yielding her the navigation of the Amoor and free trade on the land frontier, while by his second opium-war he has helped her to the invaluable tract lying between the Gulf of Tartary and Lake Baikal, a region so much coveted by Russia that from Czar Alexei Michaelowitch down to Nicholas, she has always attempted to get it.[44] So deeply did the London *Times*[b] feel that sting that, in its publication of the St. Petersburg news, which greatly exaggerated the advantages won by Great Britain, good care was taken to suppress that part of the telegram which mentioned Russia's acquisition by treaty of the valley of the Amoor.

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] "What Commercial Treaties May Really Effect", *The Economist*, No. 785, September 11, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Russian Despatch from China", *The Times*, No. 23085, August 30, 1858.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE QUESTION OF THE ABOLITION OF SERFDOM IN RUSSIA][45]

The serious turn which the serf question now seems likely to take in Russia will be best understood from the extraordinary step the Czar, Alexander II, has been driven to, of summoning to St. Petersburg a sort of general representation of the nobles to discuss the abolition of serfdom. The labors of the "Chief Peasant Question Committee"[46] have proved little better than abortive, and only led to fierce quarrels among its own members, quarrels in which the Chairman of that Committee, the Grand Duke Constantine, sided with the old Russian party against the Czar. The Provincial Committees of nobles, in their turn, seem, for the greater part, to have embraced the opportunity afforded for the official discussion of the preparatory steps of emancipation, with the single view of baffling the measure. An abolitionist party certainly exists among the Russian nobles, but while it forms only a numerical minority, it is divided on the most important points. To declare against servitude, but to allow emancipation under such conditions only as would reduce it to a mere sham, appears the fashionable doctrine even with the liberal Russian nobility. In fact, this open resistance to, or lukewarm support of, emancipation appears natural enough on the part of the old slaveowners. Revenue falling off, diminution in the value of their landed property, and a serious encroachment on the political power they have been wont to wield, as so many minor autocrats revolving around the central autocrat, such are the immediate consequences they predict, and which they can hardly be expected to incur with eagerness. It has become impossible even now, in some provinces, to raise loans on the security of landed property, consequent upon the uncertainty prevailing as to the impending depreciation in the value of estates. A great part of the landed property in Russia is mortgaged to the State itself, and, say its owners, how shall we deal with our obligations to the Government? Many have private

debts weighing upon their estates. A great number live on the dues paid to them by their serfs established in the towns as merchants, traders, handicraftsmen and operatives. Their incomes, of course, would vanish with the disappearance of serfdom. There are also small Boyars who possess a very limited number of serfs, but, proportionately, a still smaller area of land. If the serfs, as must be in case of emancipation, receive each a strip of ground, the proprietors will be beggared. For the great land-owners from their standpoint, it is considered almost a question of abdication. The serfs once liberated, what actual bar against Imperial power will remain at their disposal? And then, how with the taxes, which Russia is so much in need of, dependent on the actual value of land? How with the Crown peasants? All these points are mooted, and form so many strong positions behind which the friends of serfdom pitch their tents. It is a story as old as the history of nations. In fact, it is impossible to emancipate the oppressed class without injury to the class living upon its oppression, and without simultaneously discomposing the whole superstructure of the State reared on such a dismal social basis. When the time of change arrives, much enthusiasm is at first manifested; joyful felicitation upon mutual good will is dealt in, with great pomp of words as to the general love of progress, and so forth. But so soon as words are to be exchanged for deeds, some retire in fright at the ghosts raised, while most declare themselves ready to stand and fight for their real or imaginary interests. It is but with the support of revolution or war that the legitimate Governments of Europe have ever been able to suppress serfdom. The Prussian Government dared to think of emancipating the peasantry only when smarting under the iron yoke of Napoleon; and even then the settlement was such, that the question had again to be handled in 1848, and, although in a changed form, remains a question still to be settled in a revolution to come.[47] In Austria, it was the revolution of 1848, and the Hungarian insurrection, but neither the legitimate government nor the good will of the ruling classes, that disposed of the question. In Russia, Alexander I and Nicholas, not from any motives of humanity, but from mere State reasons, attempted to effect a peaceful change in the state of the mass of the people,[48] but both failed. It must, in fact, be added that, after the revolution of 1848-49, Nicholas turned his back on his own former schemes of emancipation, and became an anxious adept of conservatism. With Alexander II, it was hardly a question of choice whether or not to awaken the sleeping elements. The war, bequeathed to him by his father, had devolved immense sacrifices upon the Russian

common people—sacrifices, the extent of which may be estimated from the simple fact that, during the epoch commencing in 1853 and ending in 1856, the paper money of forced currency was increased from three hundred and thirty-three millions to about seven hundred millions of roubles; all this increase of paper money representing, in fact, but taxes anticipated. Alexander II only followed the example set by Alexander I during the Napoleonic war, in cheering the peasantry with promises of emancipation. The war, moreover, led to a humiliation and a defeat, in the eyes at least of the serfs, who cannot be supposed to be adepts in the mysteries of diplomacy. To initiate his new reign by apparent defeat and humiliation, both of them to be followed by an open breach of the promises held out in war-time to the rustics, was an operation too dangerous even for a Czar to venture upon.

It appears doubtful whether Nicholas himself, with or without the Oriental war, would have been able any longer to shift off the question. Alexander II, at all events, was not so; but he supposed, nor was the supposition quite gratuitous, that the nobles, all of whom were accustomed to submit, would not recoil at his orders, and would even consider it a mark of honor to be allowed, through the instrumentality of their several committees, to act a part in this great drama. These calculations, however, have proved false. On the other hand, the peasantry, with exaggerated notions even of what the Czar intended doing for them, have grown impatient at the slow ways of their seigneurs. The incendiary fires breaking out in several provinces are signals of distress not to be misunderstood. It is further known that in Great Russia, as well as in the provinces formerly belonging to Poland, riots have taken place, accompanied by terrible scenes, in consequence of which the nobility have emigrated from the country to the towns, where, under the protection of walls and garrisons, they can bid defiance to their incensed slaves. Under these circumstances, Alexander II has seen proper in this state of things to convoke something like an assembly of notables. What if his convocation should form a new starting-point in Russian history? What if the nobles should insist upon their own political emancipation as a condition preliminary to any concession to be made to the Czar with respect to the emancipation of their serfs?

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# Karl Marx

## THE KING OF PRUSSIA'S INSANITY[49]

Berlin, Oct. 2, 1858

In one of his tales, Hauff, the German novelist, narrates how a whole gossip-mongering, scandal-loving little town was startled out of its habitual state of self-complacency one fine morning by the discovery that the leading dandy, the lion, in fact, of the place, was but a monkey in disguise.[a] The Prussian people, or part of them, seem, at this moment, to be laboring under the still less comfortable idea that all these twenty years past they have been ruled by a madman. There is a suspicion, at least, lurking in the public mind, of some such great dynastic mystification having been palmed off upon the faithful Prussian "subjects." It is certainly not, as John Bull and his able editors will have it, from the King's conduct, during the Russian war, that any such misgivings have arisen. His abstention from that bloody sham is, on the contrary, considered the sanest political act Frederick William IV has to boast of.

If a man, in any walk of life, however humble, all at once proves quite the reverse of what he was taken for, generally his angry and duped neighbors are sure to turn over the leaves of his history, rake up bygone stories, remember whenever there was something wrong with the fellow, stitch together the queer scraps and odd ends of the past, and at last arrive at the morbid satisfaction that all along they ought to have known better. Thus it is now recollected—and from personal knowledge I can attest the fact—that Dr. Jacobi, the leading physician of the Rhenish Lunatic Asylum at Siegburg, was, all at once, in the month of May, 1848, summoned to Berlin by Mr. Camphausen, the then head of the

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[a] W. Hauff, *Der Affe als Mensch.—Ed.*

ministry, to assist the King, who, as was then said, labored under an inflammation of the brain. The nervous system of his Majesty had, as the myrmidons of the new-fangled Cabinet whispered in very confidential circles, been rudely shaken by the days of March, and, especially, by the scene where the people placed him face to face with the bodies of the citizens killed in consequence of a preconcerted misunderstanding, forcing him to uncover his head before and implore mercy of those bloody and still warm corpses.[50] That Frederick William afterward recovered, there can be no doubt, but it is by no means clear that he has not remained, like George III, subject to periodical relapses. Some casual eccentricities in his behavior were passed over the more slightly as he was known to indulge rather freely in the libations which once drove frantic the priestesses of a certain god at Thebes.[51]

In October, 1855, however, when he visited Rhenish Prussia on the pretext of laying the foundation stones of the new bridge to be built over the Rhine at Cologne, strange rumors were bruited about concerning him. With his face shrunk together, his legs gone, his belly protuberant, and an expression of restless anxiety in his eyes, he looked like the specter of his former self. While speechifying, he faltered, stumbled over his own words, now and then lost the thread of his sentence, and altogether looked uncomfortable, while the Queen,[a] close to his side, was anxiously watching all his movements. Contrary to his former habits, he received nobody, talked to nobody, and went nowhere but in company with the Queen, who had become quite inseparable from him. After his return to Berlin, there oozed out from time to time strange *on dits*[b] as to the bodily injuries he had, in sudden fits of passion, inflicted on his own Ministers, on Manteuffel even. To lull public attention, the King was said to suffer from dropsy. Afterward, reports as to the misadventures incurred by him in his own gardens at Sans Souci, sometimes hurting an eye against a tree, at other times damaging a leg on a stone, became more and more frequent, and, as early as the beginning of 1856, it was insinuated here and there, that he labored under temporary attacks of insanity. It was more especially said that he fancied he was a non-commissioned officer, who had still to pass through the trial of what, in the technical language of the Prussian drill-sergeant, is called *Übungsmarsche.*[c] Thence he used to run

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[a] Elizabeth.—*Ed.*
[b] Rumours.—*Ed.*
[c] Training marches.—*Ed.*

ill-omened races by himself in his parks at Sans Souci and Charlottenburg.

These and other reminiscences of a period of ten years are now being carefully connected. Why, it is asked, should not all that time an insane have been palmed off as King upon the Prussian people, since it is now confessed that for the last eighteen months at least Frederick William IV was kept on the throne despite his mental disease, and since, consequent upon the quarrels among the members of the royal family, the juggles played in his name by the Queen and the Ministers have been publicly exposed. In cases of insanity, arising from softening of the brain, the patients usually enjoy lucid intervals to the very moment of death. Such is the case with the King of Prussia, and this peculiar character of his insanity has afforded the fit opportunities for the frauds committed.

The Queen, always watching her husband, caught at every lucid interval of his mind to show him to the people, or make him interfere on public occasions, and drill him for the acting of the part he was to play. Sometimes her calculations were cruelly baffled. In the presence of the Queen of Portugal,[a] who, as you will remember, celebrated her nuptials at Berlin, *per procura*,[b] the King was to have publicly assisted at the church ceremonies. Everything was ready, and Ministers, aides-de-camp, courtiers, foreign embassadors, and the bride herself, were waiting for him, when all at once, despite the desperate efforts of the Queen, he was overtaken by the hallucination of believing himself the bridegroom. Some queer remarks he dropped as to his singular destiny in being married again during the lifetime of his first spouse, and as to the impropriety of his (the bridegroom's) appearance in a military uniform, left his exhibitors no chance but to countermand the spectacle which had been announced.

The boldness of the Queen's operations may be inferred from the following incident: There exists still an old custom at Potsdam, according to which the fishermen once in the year pay to the King an old feudal tribute of fish. On that occasion, the Queen, to prove to the men of the people the falsehood of the rumors then freely circulating as to the state of the royal mind, dared to invite the foremost of these men to a fish dinner, to be presided over by the King himself. In fact, the dinner went off pretty well, the King muttering some words learned by rote, smiling, and, on the whole,

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[a] Stephanie.— *Ed.*

[b] Literally: by proxy; here as a person representing the bridegroom.— *Ed.*

behaving properly. The Queen, anxious lest the scene so well got up should be spoiled, hastened to give the guests the signal of departure, when all at once the King rose, and in a thundering voice demanded to be put in the frying-pan. The Arabian tale of the man converted into a fish[a] became a reality with him. It was exactly by such indiscretions, to venture upon which was one of the necessities of the Queen's game, that the comedy broke down.

I need not say that no revolutionist could have invented a better method of depreciating royalty. The Queen herself, a Bavarian princess, and sister of the ill-famed Sophia of Austria (the mother of Francis Joseph), had never been suspected by the public at large of being the head of the Berlin Camarilla. Before 1848 she went by the name of the "meek mother of the land" (*die milde Landesmutter*),[b] was supposed to wield no public influence at all, and from the natural turn of her mind, to remain a complete stranger to politics. There was some grumbling at her supposed secret Catholicism, some railing at her commandership-in-chief of the mystical Order of the Swan, founded on her behalf by the King,[52] but that was the whole stock of public aspersion she ever had to bear. After the victory of the people in Berlin, the King appealed to their forbearance in the name of the "meek mother of the land,[c] and that appeal did not fall flat upon his audience. Since the counter-revolution, however, the public appreciation of the sister of Sophia of Austria has undergone a gradual change. The person in whose name the magnanimity of the victorious people had been secured, happened to turn a deaf ear to the mothers and sisters whose sons and brothers had fallen into the hands of the victorious counter-revolution. While the "meek mother of the land" seemed to indulge the monarchic joke of having some poor militia men (*Landwehrleute*) executed at Saarlouis on the birthday of the King in 1850, at a time when the crime those men had committed, of defending popular rights, seemed already forgotten, her whole capital of sentimental religiosity was spent in public homage to the graves of the soldiers fallen in their attack upon the unarmed people of Berlin, and in similar acts of reactionary ostentation. Her fierce quarrels with the Princess of Prussia became also, by and by, subjects of public

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[a] *A Thousand and One Nights*, "The Fisherman and the Afreet".—*Ed.*

[b] An expression from *Gedenkbuch an die silberne Jubel-Hochzeitsfeier ihrer königlichen Majestäten Friedrich Wilhelm IV und Elisabeth Ludovika von Preussen zu Potsdam am 29. November 1848,* Berlin, 1849, S. 353.—*Ed.*

[c] "An Meine lieben Berliner [in der Nacht vom 18.-19. März 1848]."—*Ed.*

discussion, but it seemed quite natural that she, childless as she was, should bear a grudge against the haughty wife of the King's legitimate successor. I shall return to the subject.

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Frederick Engels

## RUSSIAN PROGRESS IN CENTRAL ASIA[53]

A few weeks ago we noticed[a] the immense step in advance taken by Russia, during the last few years, in Eastern Asia, on the Western shores of the Pacific. We shall now call the attention of our readers to a similar step in advance, taken by the same power, on another territory—that of Central Asia.

The probability of a collision of the two great Asiatic powers, Russia and England, somewhere half-way between Siberia and India, of a conflict between the Cossack and the Sepoy on the banks of the Oxus, has been often debated since, simultaneously, in 1839, England and Russia sent armies toward Central Asia.[54] The original defeat of these armies—a defeat caused in either case by the asperity of the country and its climate—for a while deprived these speculations of interest. England avenged her defeat by a successful but unproductive march to Cabul. Russia appeared to pocket her disgrace, but how little she gave up her plans and how successfully she obtained her ends, we shall soon see. When the late war broke out there was again the question raised, as to the practicability of a Russian advance to India; but little did the public know then where the Russian outposts stood, and where their advanced patrols were reconnoitering. Indian papers brought stray paragraphs of reported Russian conquests in Central Asia, but they were not heeded. Finally, during the Anglo-Persian war of 1856, the whole question was again discussed.

Matters, however, have been latterly, and are still, changing rapidly in Central Asia.[b] When Napoleon in 1812, put down in his

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[a] See this volume, p. 50.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Free Press* of November 24, 1858 gives the beginning of the article up to the words "When Napoleon in 1812..." as follows:

map Moscow for a base of operations in a campaign against India, he but followed Peter the Great. As far back as 1717, that far-sighted Prince who pointed out all the various directions for conquest to his successors, had sent an expedition against Khiva, which, of course, proved unsuccessful. The steppes of Turan remained undisturbed by Russia for a long while; but in the mean time the country between the Volga and the Ural River was peopled with Cossacks, and the Cossack line along the latter river established. Still, beyond that river, the suzerainty of Russia over the three hordes or nations of the Kirghiz remained purely nominal, and Russian caravans were plundered both by them and the Khivans, until, in 1833, General Vasily Perovsky was sent to Orenburg as commander-in-chief. He found the commercial

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"I enclose *some extracts* from a memorandum which I have drawn up, on the latest progress of Russia in Central Asia. Part of these statements may perhaps be new to you, since the principal source from which they are derived—official Russian documents published at St. Petersburg in the Russian vernacular—have, so far as I know, not yet penetrated to England.

"The connexion between Lord *Palmerston's* acts and the encroachments by Russia on Central Asia becomes evident from simple attention to the chronological dates. For instance: in 1839, Russian progress in Khiva, despite a military defeat; in 1854, final success in Khiva, although Russia limited herself to a simple military demonstration and did not fire a gun; in 1856, while the progress through the Kirghiz steppe to South-Eastern Turan is quickly going on, a convergent movement in the Indian insurrection. In the Russian official documents, material facts (*faits accomplis*) only are stated; the underground agencies are, of course, studiously concealed, and the armed force which in the whole drama formed part of the scenery only, is represented as the principal actor. As you are perfectly acquainted with the diplomatic history of the case, I limit myself, in the extracts forwarded, to *facts* as represented by Russia herself. I have added some few considerations on the military bearings on India of the Russian progress in Central Asia.

"The question might be raised, why *Alexander II* has published documents respecting the Russian encroachments on Northern and Central Asia, documents which *Nicholas* used to anxiously conceal from the eyes of the world. Generally speaking, it may be said that *Alexander* finds himself in the position, not yet realised by his father, of initiating Europe into the secrets of Russia's 'Asiatic' destiny, and thus making Europe his professed cooperator in working out that destiny. Secondly, those documents are in fact accessible only to learned Germans who praise *Alexander's* condescension in contributing to the spread of geographical science. Lastly, after the Crimean war, the old Muscovite party was, stupidly enough, grumbling at the apparent loss of Russian prestige. *Alexander* answered them by publishing documents which not only show the immense material strides made by Russia during the last year, but the mere publication of which was an act of defiance, an asseveration of 'prestige,' such as *Nicholas* had never ventured upon."

The part of the article that follows this text is entitled "Notice of Russian Documents".—*Ed.*

relations of Russia with the interior and south of Asia completely interrupted by these plundering nomades, so that even the military escorts given for some years past to the caravans, had been insufficient to protect them. To put a stop to this, he organized, first, movable columns against the Kirghiz, and very soon after commenced establishing military stations of Cossacks in their territory. In a few years he thus brought them under the actual control and dominion of Russia, and then took up the old plans of Peter the Great against Khiva.

Having obtained the sanction of the Emperor,[a] he organized a force of about a division (8,000 men) of infantry, with numerous bodies of half-regular Cossack and irregular Bashkir and Kirghiz horse. Fifteen thousand camels were brought together to carry provisions through the desert steppes. To undertake the expedition in Summer, was out of the question, on account of the scarcity of water. Thus Perovsky chose a Winter campaign, and moved in Nov., 1839, from Orenburg. The result is known. Snow-storms and excessive colds ruined his army, killed his camels and horses, and compelled him to retreat with very great loss. Still, the attempt fulfilled its ostensible purpose; for while England has never yet been able to avenge the murder of her Embassadors, Stoddart and Conolly, at Bokhara, the Khan of Khiva[b] released all Russian prisoners, and sent an embassy to St. Petersburg to seek for peace.

Perovsky then set to work to prepare a line of operations across the Kirghiz steppe. Before eighteen months had passed, scientific and engineering expeditions were busy, under military protection, surveying the whole country north of the Jaxartes (Syr-Darya), and Lake Aral. The nature of the ground, the best directions for roads, and the best sites for large wells, were explored. At short intervals these wells were bored or dug, and surrounded with fortifications of sufficient strength to withstand any attack of the nomadic hordes, and of sufficient capacity to hold considerable stores. Karabulak on the Or,[c] and Irghiz on the river of the same name, served as central points of defense in the north of the Kirghiz steppe; between these and the towns on the Ural River the routes are marked by smaller forts and wells every ten or twelve[d] miles.

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[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

[b] Alla-Kuly.—*Ed.*

[c] More precisely, between the Or and the Irghiz.—*Ed.*

[d] *The Free Press* has here "twenty" instead of "twelve".—*Ed.*

The next step was taken in 1847, by the erection of a fort on the Syr-Darya, about 45 miles above its mouth, which fort was called Aralsk. It could hold a garrison of a battalion and more. This very soon became the center of an extensive Russian agricultural colony on the lower part of the river and the adjoining shores of Lake Aral; and now Russia formally took possession of the whole country north of that lake and of the delta of the Syr-Darya. In 1848 and '49 the lake was for the first time accurately surveyed, and a new group of islands discovered, which were at once set apart for the headquarters of the Aral steam flotilla, the creation of which was taken in hand without delay. Another fort was erected on an island commanding the mouth of the Syr-Darya, and at the same time the line of communications from Orenburg to Lake Aral was further strengthened and completed.

Perovsky, who had retired from the Commandership of Orenburg in 1842, now returned to his post, and advanced in the spring of 1853 with considerable forces to Aralsk. The passage of the desert was effected without much trouble, and now the army marched up the Syr-Darya, while a steamer of light draft escorted its movements on the river. Arrived at Akmetchet, a fortress about 450 miles up its course and belonging to the Khan of Khokan,[a] the Russians took it by assault and at once turned it into a stronghold of their own, and so successfully, that on its being attacked in December following by the army of Khokan, the assailants were completely defeated.

While in 1854 the attention of Europe was fixed upon the battles fought on the Danube, and in the Crimea, Perovsky, from his newly-gained base of operations on the Syr-Darya, advanced with 17,000 men against Khiva, but the Khan[b] did not wait for his arrival on the Oxus. He sent Embassadors to the Russian camp who concluded a treaty, *by which the Khan of Khiva acknowledged the suzerainty of Russia,* and ceded to him the right of making peace and war, and supreme power over life and death, and the right to fix the routes of caravans, the duties and customs, and to make regulations for trade generally throughout Khiva forever. A Russian consul took up his seat at Khiva, and along with it assumed the functions of supreme arbiter, under the Russian Government, of all political matters belonging to Khiva.[55]

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[a] Khudayar Khan.—*Ed.*
[b] Mohammed-Emin.—*Ed.*

With the submission of Khiva, the conquest of Turan is virtually decided; perhaps, since then it has also been decided in reality. The Khans of Khokan and Bokhara[a] have also sent embassies to St. Petersburg[56]; the treaties concluded with them have not been published, but they may be pretty nearly guessed at. Whatever independence Russia may feel inclined to leave to these petty States whose sole strength lay in their inaccessibility, which now, for Russia at least, no longer exists, is of a merely nominal character; for a force of some 20,000 men, sent either from Khiva or Akmetchet, toward the more fruitful valleys of Upper Turan, would be quite sufficient to quell any attempt at opposition, and to march from one end of the country to the other. That Russia, in these regions, has not been idle since 1854, we may take for granted, although she keeps her doings secret enough, and after the rapid, silent and persevering progress she has made in Turan during the last twenty-five years, it certainly may be expected that her flag will soon wave over the mountain-passes of the Hindoo Koosh and Bolor Tagh.

The immense value of these conquests, in a military point of view, is in their importance as the nucleus of an offensive base of operations against India; and, indeed, with such an advance of the Russians in the center of Asia, the plan of attacking India from the North leaves the realm of vague speculation, and attains something like a definite shape. The tropical regions of Asia are separated from those portions which belong to the temperate zone, by a broad belt of desert passing from the shores of the Persian Gulf,[b] right across that continent, to the sources of the Amoor. Leaving the Amoor country out of consideration this belt was until lately all but impassable by armies; the only imaginable route across it being that from Astrabad, on the Caspian, by Herat to Cabul and the Indus. But with the Russians, on the lower Jaxartes (Syr-Darya), and Oxus (Amu-Darya), and with military roads and forts, affording water and stores to a marching army, the Central Asiatic desert no longer exists as a military obstacle. Instead of the one unprepared route from Astrabad by Herat, to the Indus, Russia now has three different routes at her disposal, which, at no distant period, may be perfectly prepared for the march of an army. There remains, first of all, the old route by Herat, which, as matters now stand, cannot any longer be closed to Russia; secondly there is the Valley of the Oxus from Khiva to Balkh; thirdly, the Valley of the Jaxartes from Akmetchet to

[a] Nasrulla Khan.—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has here "the shores of the Baltic".—*Ed.*

Khojend, whence the force would have to strike across a well-watered and populated country, to Samarkand and Balkh. Herat, Samarkand and Balkh would form a capital base of operations against India. Balkh is only 500 miles from Peshawur, the North-Western outpost of the Anglo-Indian empire. Samarkand and Balkh belong to the Khan of Bokhara, who is even now at the mercy of Russia, and with Astrabad (which is either now occupied by Russians or may be occupied any day they like) and Balkh in the hands of Russia, Herat cannot be withheld from her grasp whenever she chooses to seize it. And as soon as this base of operations will be in her actual possession, England will have to fight for her Indian empire. From Balkh to Cabul is scarcely any further than from Cabul to Peshawur, and this one fact will show how small the neutral space between Siberia and India has now become.

The fact is, that if Russian progress goes on at the same rate and with the same energy and consistency as during the last twenty-five years, the Muscovites may be found knocking at the gates of India within ten or fifteen years. Once across the Kirghiz steppe, they get into the comparatively well cultivated and fruitful regions of Southeastern Turan, the conquest of which cannot be disputed to them, and which may easily support for years, without effort, an army of fifty thousand or sixty thousand men, quite strong enough to march anywhere up to the Indus. Such an army, in ten years, can completely subdue the country, protect the construction of roads, the colonization of a vast extent of land by Russian crown peasants (as is now done on Lake Aral), overawe all surrounding states, and prepare the base and line of operations for an Indian campaign. Whether such a campaign will ever be undertaken depends on political contingencies which are now only matters of remote speculation.[a]

Written about October 8, 1858

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Instead of the last sentence *The Free Press* has: "We defy any military man who has studied the geography of the country to deny it. And if we are right in this, then the struggle of 'the Cossack and the Sepoy' (if there be still Sepoys to fight for England), will not occur, as was expected, on the Oxus, but on the Cabul and Indus."—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE KING OF PRUSSIA'S INSANITY

Berlin, Oct. 12, 1858

It was to-day that the King left Berlin *en route* to Tyrol and Italy. Among the silent crowd waiting at the Potsdam Railway terminus to watch his departure there were many who, in 1840, had assisted at his coronation, and in his first public delivery of stump oratory, heard him solemnly swear that he would never allow a "Gallic bit of paper to interfere between him and his people."[a] The same man had the misfortune not only to accept on his oath a "Gallic bit of paper"—a romantic byword this for a written charter or constitution—but to become himself the god-father of the Prussian Constitution, and, in a certain sense, to be dethroned by virtue of that same mischievous "bit of paper." You will have remarked the discrepancy existing between the King's rescript to the Prince of Prussia and the Prince's rescript to the Ministry. The King in his rescript says:

"Continuing to be personally hindered from conducting public affairs, I request your Royal Highness and Liebden for the time being, etc., to exercise the kingly power as Regent in my name, according to your best knowledge and conscience, and with responsibility to God alone."[b]

The Prince, in his counter-rescript, says:

"In consequence of this Royal request and under virtue of Article 56 of the Constitution I being the next male heir to the throne, hereby take upon myself the

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[a] Friedrich Wilhelm IV, *Der 11. April 1847. Thron-Rede ... zur Eröffnung des Vereinigten Landtages,* Berlin, 1847, S. 6. See also this volume, p. 75.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below the quotations are from Friedrich Wilhelm IV, "Allerhöchster Erlass vom 7. Oktober 1858, betreffend die Aufforderung an Seine Königliche Hoheit den Prinzen von Preussen zur Uebernahme der Regentschaft".—*Ed.*

Regency of the country, and, according to Article 56 of the Constitution, convoke the two Houses of the Diet of the Monarchy."[a]

Now, in the Royal rescript, the King acts as a free agent, and, by his own free will, temporarily resigns. The Prince, however, refers at the same time to the "Royal request" and to "Article 56 of the Constitution" which assumes the King to be insane or captive, and, consequently, unable to install the Regency himself. The King, furthermore, in his rescript, calls upon the Regent to exercise his power "with responsibility to God alone," while the Prince, by referring to the Constitution,[b] leaves all the responsibility to the existing Ministry. According to the article quoted by the Regent, the "next heir to the throne," has immediately to convoke the Chambers, which in a united sitting, are to decide on the "necessity of the Regency." To take the latter power out of the hands of the Diet, the voluntary resignation of the King was insisted upon, but to become not altogether dependent upon the King's caprices, the Constitution was referred to. Thus there is a flaw in the Regent's claim as it professes to proceed from two titles, which extinguish each other. Article 58 of the Constitution declares that

"from the moment of his (the Regent's) oath relative to the Constitution (before the united Diet), the existing Ministry remains responsible for all governmental acts."

How does this tally with "the responsibility to God alone"? The acknowledgment of the King's rescript is a pretext, because the Diet is convoked, and the convocation of the Diet is a pretext, because it is not to decide upon the "necessity" of the Regency. By the mere force of circumstances the Prince of Prussia, who, in 1850, declined taking the oath to the Constitution, sees himself now placed in the awkward position of not only accepting, but of appealing to it. It must not be forgotten that from the Autumn of 1848 to the beginning of 1850, the Absolutists, especially in the ranks of the army, had cherished, and occasionally, even openly avowed their plan of supplanting the vacillating King by the sober Prince, who, at all events, was not prevented by any elasticity of intellect, from possessing a certain strength of will, and who,

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[a] Wilhelm, Prinz von Preussen, Regent, "Erlass Seiner Königlichen Hoheit des Prinzen von Preussen vom 9. Oktober 1858, die Uebernahme der Regentschaft und die Einberufung der beiden Häuser des Landtages der Monarchie betreffend".—*Ed.*

[b] "Verfassungs-Urkunde für den Preussischen Staat. Vom 31. Januar 1850."—*Ed.*

furthermore, by his conduct during the days of March, his flight to England, the popular odium centring upon him, and, lastly, his high deeds in the Baden campaign[57] seemed quite the man to represent strong government in Prussia, as Francis Joseph and the son of Hortense[a] do on the Western and Eastern frontiers of the Hohenzollern domains. The Prince, in fact, has never altered his principles. Yet the slights he, and still more his wife, a disciple of Goethe, a cultivated mind, an ambitious and haughty character, have had to submit to, on the part of the Queen and her camarilla, could not but drive him into a somewhat oppositional attitude. The King's malady left him no alternative but to allow the Queen to rule or himself to accept the Constitution. Besides, there is now removed a scruple characteristic of the man, which weighed upon his mind in 1850. Then he was simply the first officer of the Prussian army, and that army swears fidelity to the King alone, but not to the Constitution. If, in 1850, he had taken the oath to the Constitution, he would have bound the army which he represented. As it is now, he may take the oath; but, if he likes, by the simple act of his resignation, he can enable his son to subvert the Constitution by help of the army. The very example of his brother's reign during the last eight years had, if any other stimulus were required, given sufficient proof that the Constitution imposed imaginary fetters only on the Royal prerogative, while, at the same time, it turned out quite a godsend in a financial point of view. Just think of the King's financial difficulties during the epoch from 1842 to 1848, the vain attempts at borrowing money through the *Seehandlung,*[58] the cool denials of a few millions of dollars on the part of the Rothschilds, the small loans refused by the united Diet in 1847, the complete exhaustion of the public treasury, and then, on the other side, compare the financial facilities met with even in 1850, the first year of the Constitution, when three budgets, with a deficit of 70,000,000, were covered at once by the Chambers in the wink of an eye. He, indeed, must be a great fool, who should lose hold of such a machinery for coining money! The Prussian Constitution has, as far as the people are concerned, only added the political influence of the aristocracy to the traditional power of the bureaucracy, while the crown, on the contrary, has been enabled to create a public debt, and increase the yearly budget by more than 100 per cent.

The history itself of that Constitution forms one of the most

[a] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

extraordinary chapters of modern history. At first there had been produced, on May 20, 1848, the sketch of a Constitution[a] drawn up by the Camphausen Cabinet, which laid it before the Prussian National Assembly. The principal activity of that body consisted in altering the Government scheme. The Assembly was still busied with this work when it was disposed of by Pomeranian bayonets. On the 5th of December, 1848, the King octroyed a Constitution of his own, which, however, the times wearing still a rather revolutionary aspect, was only meant to act as a provisional quietus. In order to revise it, the Chambers were convoked, and their labors exactly coincided with the epoch of frantic reaction. These Chambers on a Prussian scale reminded one altogether of Louis XVIII's *chambre introuvable.*[59] Still the King vacillated. The "bit of paper," sugared as it was, perfumed as it was with loyalty, emblazoned as it was with medieval figures, still did not come up to the King's relish. The King tried everything to disgust the Constitution-mongers, while the latter were as firmly resolved to succumb to no humiliation, to take fright at no concession, to gain a nominal Constitution, whatever its contents, to ascend by cringing in the dust. In fact, the Royal messages, which followed each other like the discharges of a platoon fire, set aside, not the resolutions of the revising Chambers, because the latter kept up a merely passive attitude, but, on the contrary, the propositions successively made by the King's own Ministers, in the King's own name. To-day one paragraph was proposed by them. Two days later, after its acceptance by the Chambers, fault was found with it, and the King declared its alteration a condition, *sine qua non.* At last, tired of this game, the King, in his message of Jan. 7, 1850, resolved upon a last and definitive attempt at making his faithful subjects give up in despair their Constitutional aspirations. In a message, calculated to this effect, he proposed a string of amendments[b] which, in all human probability, he could not suppose even the Chambers able to swallow. Still they were swallowed, and with good grace too. So there remained nothing but to have done with the thing, and proclaim the Constitution. The oath still smacked of the farcical contrivances by which the Constitution had been set afloat. The King accepted the Constitution, on the condition that he should "find it possible to rule with

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[a] "Verfassungs-Gesetz für den Preussischen Staat. Vom 20. Mai 1848."—*Ed.*

[b] Friedrich Wilhelm IV, "Zusammenstellung der in der Allerhöchsten Botschaft vom 7. Januar 1850 vorgeschlagenen Abänderungen und Ergänzungen der Verfassung vom 5. Dezember 1848".—*Ed.*

it"[a]; and the Chambers accepted this ambiguous declaration as an oath and a payment in full; the bulk of the people taking no interest at all in the transaction.

Such is the history of this Constitution. Of its contents I propose giving you a succinct sketch in another letter,[b] since, by a strange concurrence of circumstances, that "airy nothing"[c] has now become, at least, the ostensible basis of operations for the contending official parties, which in Prussia, as elsewhere, are destined to initiate the general movement, that in due time must appear upon the scene.

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[a] Frederick William IV's speech at the sitting of both Prussian Chambers on February 6, 1850.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 74-77.—*Ed.*

[c] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* Act V, Scene 1.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE PRUSSIAN REGENCY

Berlin, Oct. 13, 1858

After a severe struggle, the Prussian palace revolution has at last become a *fait accompli.* From a mere substitute and delegate of the King, the Prince of Prussia has been converted into the Regent of the State. The bad grace with which the Queen and the camarilla gave way, appeared even in the concluding scene of the dynastic drama. Herr von Westphalen, the Minister of the Interior, and their official representative, declined signing the decree,[a] by which the King transfers the Royal power to his brother, resigned, and had to be replaced by Herr von Flottwell. On the other hand, the King has not abdicated unconditionally; but, as the decree runs, "for the time being, until I myself shall again be capable of executing the duties of my Royal office," and reserving "of the affairs of my Royal house, under my own authority, those concerning my own person." The one clause renders the power of Regent provisional, and the other continues the Queen's hold on the Royal purse-string. The conditional form of the surrender proves that, although forced to evacuate the stronghold of the position, the camarilla are resolved upon showing fight. It is in fact a public secret that, after the paralytic affliction that befell the King last week, his own physicians declared their despair of giving his life, under the most favorable circumstances, another year's respite. This declaration went far in determining Herr von Manteuffel to change sides and hoist the Prince of Prussia's flag. Being possessed of some cursory acquaintance with modern

[a] Friedrich Wilhelm IV, "Allerhöchster Erlass vom 7. Oktober 1858, betreffend die Aufforderung an Seine Königliche Hoheit den Prinzen von Preussen zur Uebernahme der Regentschaft".—*Ed.*

history, he is aware that Mazarin's influence outlived Louis XIII. He knows that Perceval, although as the blind tool of the camarilla known under the name of the "King's Friends," and led by the Queen and the Duke of York, he had given great offence to the Prince Royal, nevertheless, despite the intrigues and the ill-forebodings of the Whig place-hunters, succeeded in ingratiating himself with the Regent (afterward George IV), and in preserving his post. It was this defection on the part of Manteuffel which forced the camarilla and the Junker party standing behind it to beat a retreat. Otherwise the Prince of Prussia would have been driven to the alternative either of wearing the borrowed mask only of royalty, or of an appeal to popular interference, the latter step being incompatible with his own principles, as well as the traditions of the Hohenzollern dynasty. Manteuffel's pliancy extricated him from that distressing dilemma. Whether he will prove grateful to the turncoat remains to be seen. The very fact that Manteuffel's name is indelibly blended with the defeat of the revolution of March, that he was the responsible editor of the Prussian *coup d'état,* and that his ministry appears, therefore, a living and continuous protest against popular "usurpation," may prevent the Prince, notwithstanding his personal grudges, from parting abruptly and ostentatiously with this *"Mann der rettenden That."*[a]

The contrast between the Prince and the King bears the regular domestic stamp of the Hohenzollern family. A comedian, more or less luxurious, more or less impregnated with Byzantine notions of theology, more or less coquetting with medieval romanticism, is always followed by a morose compound of the drill-sergeant, the bureaucrat and the schoolmaster. Such is the contrast between Frederick I and his son Frederick William I, between Frederick William II and Frederick William III, between the weak eccentricities of Frederick William IV and the sober mediocrity of the present Regent.

It is pretty generally expected, and the British press is busy in spreading the notion, that the advent of the Regent will give at once a contrary turn to the foreign policy of Prussia, emancipate it from Russian supremacy and draw it nearer to England. Now it is probable that, personally, the Prince Regent may amuse himself

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[a] "Man of the saving deed." Marx is paraphrasing the expression *ein Recht der rettenden That* ("a right of the saving deed") from a speech by the Bonn delegate Dahlmann made in the Frankfurt National Assembly on December 14, 1848.—*Ed.*

with similar ideas. The insulting manner in which Nicholas, at the Congress of Warsaw, treated the Count of Brandenburg, the Prussian Plenipotentiary and a near relative of the royal house—an insult which drove Brandenburg to suicide—has never been wiped out of the Prince's memory.[60] The sting of the personal affront was felt the more bitterly as, at the same time, Nicholas forced Prussia, and very unceremoniously too, to yield to the claims of Austria, to see an Austrian army marched to Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein, and to eat dirt humbly before the eyes of all Europe. At a later epoch, at the time of the publication in England of the secret and confidential dispatches of the British Embassador at Petersburg,[a] the Prince, a man by no means of a forgiving temper, was again shocked at the affected contempt with which the late Emperor, in surveying the attitudes the great European powers were likely to assume in the case of a partition of the Turkish Empire, did not condescend even to mention Prussia. It is known that, after the first warlike moves, at an interview in Prague, the Prince of Prussia met the dictatorial haughtiness of his Muscovite brother-in-law with a dogged sullenness of his own. During the progress of the Russian war, the camarilla suspected the Prince of leaning to the side of the Western alliance, and, accordingly, subjected him to a system of personal *surveillance* and spying, which, by accident, became disclosed in a scandalous lawsuit at Potsdam. The Prince, on his part, had made sure that the chiefs of the camarilla and pet courtiers of the King, General von Gerlach and Cabinetsrath Niebuhr (the son of the great historian), acted as the direct agents of the Petersburg Government, kept it exactly informed of everything that passed in the Cabinet, and received from it orders, entering upon such details even as the collocation of the different *corps d'armée* throughout the monarchy. With the death of the Emperor Nicholas the reasons of personal antagonism disappeared. Alexander II, on the other hand, cannot be supposed to overwhelm his uncle with that feeling of awe which Nicholas, after his marriage with Frederick William III's eldest daughter,[b] knew how to strike into the heart of the Hohenzollern dynasty. It is, moreover, very likely that his new family relations with England may exercise some influence on the bias of the Regent's foreign policy. Yet, in fact, the latter depends not on the personal inclinations of the Prince, but on the vital conditions of the State.

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[a] "England, Turkey and Russia", *The Times*, No. 21963, March 20, 1854.—*Ed.*
[b] Charlotte Louise (Alexandra Fyodorovna).—*Ed.*

If Prussia was simply a German Power, the question could be very simply decided; but Prussia is not only the rival of Austria, who herself is the antagonist of Russia, but the vital principle of the Prussian monarchy is encroachment on Germany by the help of Russia. It was by the alliance of Frederick William I with Russia that Prussia succeeded in stripping Sweden of Pomerania. It was again by Frederick the Great's alliance with Catherine that he was able to keep Austrian Silesia and that he got part and parcel of Poland; the same maneuver being repeated with the same result by Frederick William II and Frederick William III. It was again by the patronage of Alexander I that Prussia got the Rhenish provinces and was allowed simultaneously to aggrandize herself at the cost of Saxony. It is on Russia that Prussia must again fall back in case of a French invasion. It is, therefore, more than doubtful whether the vital conditions of the Prussian State will ever allow its rulers to emancipate themselves from Russian supremacy, and whether public expectation will, therefore, not be disappointed on this point as well as on questions of internal policy.

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# Karl Marx

## AFFAIRS IN PRUSSIA

Berlin, Oct. 16, 1858

If the world in general knows nothing or little of the Prussian Constitution, it will, at all events, derive any desirable comfort from the great fact that the Prussian people itself gropes its way in the same dark ignorance. At this very moment, electioneering Committees in Berlin, Breslau, Königsberg, Cologne and all the other great or small centers of liberalism, are busily engaged in turning over the dry leaves of the Prussian Charter, to make sure what legitimate arms of attack or defense, suitable to the purpose of the hour, may be snatched from that mysterious arsenal. These ten years over, while that Charter pretended to be a thing of intrinsic value, a final result, a definitive solution, the bulk of the Prussians showed it the cold shoulder, caring about as much for it as for the laws of Manu.[61] The very moment that a general feeling did spring up of circumstances having turned this official lumber into a two-edged sword, everybody appears anxious to get acquainted with "the Great Unknown."[a] In official regions, on the other hand, there prevails a most uneasy feeling, lest the fruit of knowledge, in this case, as in the antediluvian epoch, may prove the fruit of sin; and the Constitutional mania, which has all at once seized upon the Prussian people, is looked upon with gloomy, and I cannot but say well-founded suspicion. The Prince of Prussia, at this very moment, considers a *coup d'état* as a contingency he may be driven to before long. If the electioneering Committees should succeed in their scheme of recruiting the majority of the Elective Chamber from the liberal ranks of the National Assembly of 1848, from Waldeck, Jacoby, Rodbertus,

[a] The name given to Walter Scott, because his first novels, beginning with *Waverley* up to 1827, were published anonymously.—*Ed.*

Unruh, Kirchmann, &c., the Prince would have to walk over again the same battle-ground Royalty seemed to have conquered in December, 1848. Even the mere breath and hum and clamor of reawakened popular life bewilder him. If he were to form—as advised by part of his own camarilla—a Cabinet Bismarck-Schönhausen, thus openly throwing the gauntlet into the face of revolution, and unceremoniously nipping the hopes ostensibly attached to his advent, the Elective Chamber, in harmony with Art. 56 of the Constitution and his own rescripts,[a] might discuss the "necessity" of his regency. His regime would thus be initiated by stirring and ominous debates as to the legitimate or usurpatory character of his title. On the other hand, should he allow, for a while only, the movement to spread and quietly assume palpable forms, his difficulties would become enhanced by the old Royalist party turning round and assailing him for his having reopened the flood-gates of revolution, which, in their opinion, they with statesmanlike superiority knew how to lock up as long as allowed to steer under the colors of the old insane King. The history of monarchies shows that, in epochs of social revolution, there is nothing more dangerous for a resolute and straightforward, but vulgar and old-fashioned man, than to accept the inheritance of a vascillating, feeble and faithless character. James I, to whom Frederick William bears the closest resemblance, weathered the tempest which threw Charles I upon the scaffold, and James II expiated in an obscure exile those divine-right delusions which had even added to the strange popularity of Charles II. It was, perhaps, from an instinctive apprehension of such difficulties laid in store for him, that Prince William stubbornly resisted the proclamation of the Charter by the same King who, in 1847, on the opening of the United Diet of the provincial estates, had pompously declared:

> "I feel urged to make the solemn declaration that no earthly power will ever succeed in deciding me to convert the natural and solid relation between King and people into a conventional, constitutional one, and that I will never allow, never, that there intrude between the Lord in heaven and this country, a written bit of paper, a second providence, so to say, pretending to rule by its paragraphs, and supplant by their means the old, sacred faith."[b]

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[a] Wilhelm, Prinz von Preussen, Regent, "Erlass Seiner Königlichen Hoheit des Prinzen von Preussen vom 9. Oktober 1858, die Uebernahme der Regentschaft und die Einberufung der beiden Häuser des Landtages der Monarchie betreffend".—*Ed.*

[b] Friedrich Wilhelm IV, *Der 11. April 1847. Thron-Rede ... zur Eröffnung des Vereinigten Landtages*, Berlin, 1847, S. 6.—*Ed.*

I have already related, in a former letter,[a] how the sketch of a Constitution drawn up by the Camphausen Cabinet and elaborated by the Revolutionary Assembly of 1848, forms the groundwork of the present Constitution, but only after a *coup d'état* had swept away the original scheme, an octroyed Charter had reproduced it in a mangled form, two revision chambers had remodeled the octroyed Charter, and innumerable royal decrees had amended the revised Charter; all this tedious process being gone through in order to wipe out the last features recording the revolutionary offspring of the patchwork. Still this end was not absolutely obtained, since all ready-made charters must be molded more or less on the French pattern, and, do what you may, forsake all pretension at any striking originality. Thus, if one runs through Title II of the Constitution of January, 1850, treating of the "Rights of Prussians," the Prussian *droits de l'homme*,[62] so to say, the paragraphs on first view read well enough,

"All Prussians are equals before the law. Personal liberty is guaranteed. The private domicile is inviolable. Nobody can be withdrawn from his legal judge. Punishments, save through the magistrate, in his legitimate function, are not to be held out by way of intimidation. Property is inviolable. Civil death and confiscation are banished from the law. The liberty of emigration is not to be encroached upon by the State, save with relation to military duty. The liberty of religious confession, of formation into religious societies, and private or public worship in common is granted. The enjoyment of civil and political rights is independent from religious confession. Marriages according to civil law only are to be allowed. Science and its doctrines are free. The education of the youth is to be sufficiently provided for by public schools. Everybody is free to teach and to found educational establishments. The direction of the economical relations of popular schools belongs to the communes. In public elementary schools instruction is given gratuitously. Every Prussian possesses the right of freely expressing his opinions by way of speech, writing and printing. Offenses, committed in this way, fall under the jurisdiction of the regular tribunals. All Prussians have the right to hold meetings if unarmed, and if gathering in closed rooms. They may form reunions and clubs for purposes not offending the laws. All Prussians enjoy the right of petition. The secrecy of letters is inviolable. All Prussians must fulfill their military duties. The armed force is only to interfere in exceptional cases legally circumscribed. Entails are by law proscribed, and the existing feudal property is to be transformed into freehold property. The free division of landed property is granted."

Now, if you turn from the "Rights of the Prussians," as they appeared on paper, to the sorry figure they cut in reality, you will, if you never did before, arrive at a full appreciation of the strange antagonism between idealism and realism, theory and practice. Every step of yours, simple locomotion even, is tampered with by the omnipotent action of bureaucracy, this second providence of

[a] See this volume, pp. 67-69.—*Ed.*

genuine Prussian growth. You can neither live nor die, nor marry, nor write letters, nor think, nor print, nor take to business, nor teach, nor be taught, nor get up a meeting, nor build a manufactory, nor emigrate, nor do any thing without "*obrigkeitliche Erlaubniss*"—permission on the part of the authorities. As to the liberty of science and religion, or abolition of patrimonial jurisdiction,[63] or suppression of caste privileges, or the doing away with entails and primogeniture, it is all mere bosh. In all these respects Prussia was freer in 1847 than it is now. Whence this contradiction? All the liberties granted by the Prussian Charter are clogged with one great drawback. They are granted within "the limits of law."[a] Now the existing law is exactly the absolutist law, which dates from Frederick II, instead of from the birthday of the Constitution. Thus there exists a deadly antagonism between the law of the Constitution and the constitution of the law, the latter reducing, in fact, the former to mere moonshine. On the other hand, the Charter in the most decisive points refers to organic laws, intended to elaborate its vague outlines. Now these organic laws have been elaborated under the high pressure of reaction. They have done away with guaranties even existing at the worst times of the absolute monarchy, with the independence, for instance, of the Judges of the executive Government. Not content with these combined dissolvents, the old and the new-fangled laws, the Charter preserves to the King the right of suspending it in all its political bearings, whenever he may think proper.

Yet, with all that and all that, there is there a double Prussia, the Prussia of the Charter and the Prussia of the House Hohenzollern. To work out that antagonism the electoral bodies are now busied with, despite the difficulties thrown in their way by the electoral laws.

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[a] Circular of the Minister of the Interior von Westphalen of September 24, 1858, *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung*, No. 231, October 3, 1858.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## AFFAIRS IN PRUSSIA

Berlin, Oct. 19, 1858

The Chambers are to assemble in united sitting on the 21st inst., when the Prince will call upon them "to acknowledge the necessity of the Regency," a demand which, I need not say, will be at once complied with, and most humbly too. It is, however, generally felt that if the formal existence of the Constitution dates from the 30th of January, 1850, its reality, as a working machine against the royal prerogative, is to be dated from 21st October, 1858. Meanwhile, to damp useless enthusiasm, newspaper confiscation is the order of the day—a true pity this, if one considers the happy-family character of the offenders. The most advanced of these papers are the *Volks-Zeitung* and the *National-Zeitung*—the latter being a paper which, by dint of respectable mediocrity, cowardly concession and unbounded display of Prussian local enthusiasm, contrived to weather the counter-revolutionary tempest, and convert into hard cash the scanty remnants of a movement whose dangerous eccentricities it was too wise in its generation to share. After the deluge, the organic beings peopling the earth were shaped in more decent and moderate size than their antediluvian predecessors. The same law prevails in the process of the formation of society. Still, we are involuntarily driven to the conclusion that the German Revolution itself must have been very dwarfish indeed, if the Lilliputians of the Berlin Press are to be considered as the legitimate representatives into whom it has finally settled down. However that may be, if these editors are no heroes, nor even common fighting men, they are shrewd calculators at all events. They feel that there is something stirring and that the regime which formed the background necessary for their own mock liberalism, and gave the value in

exchange to their ware, is rapidly breaking down. To convince, therefore, their customers that they are true watchmen, they venture upon low murmurs and plaintive moans. They do certainly not bite, nor even bark. Their audacity in this moment consists in lauding the Prince to the sky. They call upon him even, as the *National-Zeitung* recently did, to make free with the public exchequer; but, and this is the humor of the thing, all their compliments on his deeds yet unborn, turn into as many strictures on the past deeds of the Manteuffel Cabinet. They annoy the Prince by their prospective credulity and pique the ministry by their retrospective scepticism. But to appreciate them duly, one ought to read them in the vernacular. It is impossible to attempt in any other language, not even in Decembrist French, which smacks at least of its own specific *odeur de mauvais lieu,*[a] the dull, insipid, interminable yarn they spin. One might suppose they were speaking by mere innuendoes, playing hide and seek with the police, but this would be a great mistake. They say, in fact, every thing they have to say, but combine the homeopathic and allopathic methods in a most skilful and profitable way; they administer an infinitesimal deal of drug in an ocean of indifferent fluid. The ministers, on the other hand, seem aware of the geological fact, that the continuous action of water will wash away the proudest rock and roll it into pebbles. They feel not so much irritated at the stammering of these cautious wiseacres as at the general state of public mind which they presuppose to exist. Consequently, in their shortsighted bureaucratic way they beat the donkey in order to hit the bag—I mean the bag of public opinion. The repeated newspaper confiscations, initiating the new *régime,* say the royalists, are the true answer to the noisy hopes that affect to cling to the Prince. No, say the official Liberals, the Prince's *régime* has not yet begun, and his great respect for constitutional law obliges him, until he has been acknowledged by the Chambers and sworn in as Regent, to allow the ministers, according to the Charter, to act on their own responsibility. Now, "ministerial responsibility" is a very mysterious thing in all our monarchic Constitutions, whether cut on the English or the French pattern. In England, where it may be supposed to exist in its most vital, palpable form, it means that on certain solemn occasions irresponsibility becomes transferred from a Whig to a Tory, or from a Tory to a Whig. Ministerial responsibility means there the transformation of place-hunting into the main business of

[a] Bad odour.—*Ed.*

parliamentary parties. He who is in office is, for the time, irresponsible, because the representative of a legislative majority who, in order to help him in, abdicate into the hands of his whipper-in. In Prussia, the most ardent aspirations of middle-class ambition tend to render the ministerial posts prizes to be won in parliamentary tournaments. Till now, however, Prussian ministerial responsibility was a myth in every sense. Article 44 of the Charter runs thus:

> "The ministers of the King are responsible; all the governmental acts of the King, to have legal force, require the countersignature of a minister upon whom, thereby, the responsibility devolves."

No law has, however, been made with respect to this responsibility. In the paragraph itself, it is not said to whom the ministers are responsible. In practice, on every occasion when the chambers went the length of threatening the ministers with a vote of non-confidence, the latter declared roundly that they were quite welcome to it, ministers being responsible, indeed, but to their royal master only. The question of ministerial responsibility possesses in Prussia, as it did in the France of Louis Philippe, an exceptional importance, because it means, in fact, the responsibility of bureaucracy. The ministers are the chiefs of that omnipotent, all-intermeddling parasite body, and to them alone, according to Article 106 of the Constitution, have the subaltern members of the administration to look, without taking upon themselves to inquire into the legality of their ordinances, or incurring any responsibility by executing them. Thus, the power of the bureaucracy, and by the bureaucracy, of the executive, has been maintained intact, while the constitutional "Rights of the Prussians" have been reduced to a dead letter.

The imminent elections are the lever which all parties intend now using, but it is principally with regard to electoral matters that the present octroyed Constitution has succeeded in rooting out all traces of its revolutionary origin. True, in order to eke out small bureaucratic salaries by adding to them a parliamentary source of income, the very plebian law prescribing that the representatives of the people should be paid has been maintained. So has the eligibility of every Prussian aged 25 years. The electoral rights, however, and the machinery of election, have been managed in such a way as to exclude not only the bulk of the people, but to subject the privileged remnant to the most unbridled bureaucratic interference. There are two degrees of election. There are first elected the electors of the electors, and then the latter elect the

representatives. From the primitive election itself are not only excluded all those who pay no direct tax, but the whole body of primitive electors itself is again divided into three portions, consisting of the highest-taxed, the middle-taxed, and the lowest-taxed; these three parties, like the tribes of King Servius Tullius,[64] electing each of them the same number of representatives. As if this complicated process of filtering was not sufficient, the bureaucracy has, moreover, the right to divide, combine, change, separate and recompose the electoral districts at pleasure. Thus, for instance, if there exists a town suspected of liberal sympathies, it may be swamped by reactionary country votes, the minister, by simple ordinance, blending the liberal town with the reactionary country into the same electoral district. Such are the fetters which shackle the electoral movement, and which, only in the great cities, can exceptionally be broken through.

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# Frederick Engels

## [RUSSIA'S SUCCESSES IN THE FAR EAST][65]

The return match which Russia owed to France and England for her military defeats before Sevastopol, has just come off. The hard-contested, long-continued battles on the Heracleatic peninsula, though they damped the national pride of Russia, and deprived her of a small slice of territory,[66] still left her with a clear balance of profit at the close of the war. The condition of the "sick man"[67] has been rendered materially worse; the Christian population of European Turkey, both Greek and Slavonic, are more eager than ever to shake off the Turkish yoke, and look up to Russia, more than ever, as to their only protector. Russian agents, no doubt, have their hands in all the insurrections and conspiracies now at work in Bosnia, Servia, Montenegro and Candia, but the utter prostration and weakness of Turkey, as laid bare by the war itself and as augmented by the obligations imposed upon that country by the peace, can alone satisfactorily explain this general agitation among the Christian subjects of the Sultan.[a] Thus, for a momentary sacrifice of a narrow strip of land—for it must be obvious that she is sure to recover that at the very first opportunity—Russia has advanced a good deal toward the realization of her plans respecting Turkey. The increasing dilapidation of Turkey and the protectorate of her Christian subjects were the very objects sought after by Russia in beginning the war; and who can say that Russia does not now exercise such a protectorate more than ever?

Thus, Russia is the only gainer, even by this unsuccessful war. Still, she owed a return match, and she has chosen to play it on a

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[a] Abdul Mejid.—*Ed.*

ground where her success stands unrivaled—on that of diplomacy. While England and France undertook an expensive contest with China, Russia remained neutral, and only stepped in at the conclusion. The result is that England and France have been making war upon China for the sole benefit of Russia. The position of Russia, in this case, was indeed as favorable as it well could be. Here was another of those tottering Asiatic Empires, which are, one by one, falling a prey to the enterprise of the European race; so weak, so collapsed, that it had not even energy to pass through the crisis of popular revolution, but transformed even an acute insurrection into a chronic and apparently incurable complaint; an empire so rotten that nowhere scarcely was it capable either of controlling its own people or opposing resistance to foreign aggression. While the British squabbled with inferior Chinese officials at Canton, and discussed among themselves the important point whether Commissioner Yeh really did, or did not, act according to the will of the Emperor, the Russians took possession of the country north of the Amoor, and of the greater part of the coast of Mantchooria south of that point; there they fortified themselves, surveyed a line of railway, and laid out the plans of towns and harbors. When at last England resolved to carry the war to Pekin, and when France joined her in the hope of picking up something to her advantage, Russia, though at the very moment despoiling China of a country as large as France and Germany put together, and of a river as large as the Danube, managed to appear as the disinterested protector of the weak Chinese, and to act almost as mediator at the conclusion of the peace; and when we come to compare the different treaties, we must confess that the fact of the war having been carried on for the benefit, not of England or France, but of Russia, becomes evident to all.

The advantages secured to the belligerents, and in which Russia as well as the United States participates, are of a purely commercial character, and, as we have shown on former occasions,[a] for the most part illusory. Under present circumstances, the Chinese trade, with the exception of opium and some East Indian cotton, must continue to consist principally in the export of Chinese goods, tea and silk; that export trade depending on foreign demand rather than the greater or less facilities afforded by the Chinese Government. The world managed to get tea and silk before the treaty of Nankin,[68] and after that treaty the effect

[a] See this volume, pp. 46-50.—*Ed.*

of opening the five ports was the transfer of a portion of the trade of Canton to Shanghai. The other ports have scarcely any trade at all, and indeed the only one which has at least some importance, Swatow, does not belong to the five open ports. As to the opening of trade high up the Yang-tse-kiang, that has been wisely postponed till the time when his Imperial Majesty shall have recovered his full sway over the disturbed country in that neighborhood—a period coincident with the Greek Calends. But there have arisen other doubts as to the value of this new Convention. There are some people who affirm that the transit duties spoken of in Article XXVIII of the Anglo-Chinese treaty are imaginary. These duties have been supposed to exist solely because the Chinese wanted very little English merchandise, and English goods accordingly, did not penetrate inland at all, while a certain kind of Russian cloth, suited to the wants of the Chinese, and brought by way of Kiakhta or Thibet, actually found its way to the coast. It was forgotten that such tolls, if in existence, would affect Russian as well as English goods. So much is sure, that Mr. Wingrove Cooke, who was sent into the interior on purpose, was unable to trace out these pretended "transit duties," and that when publicly interrogated on the subject, he confessed his "humiliating conviction that our ignorance of China is a darkness that may be felt."[a] On the other hand, Mr. J. W. Henley, the President of the British Board of Trade, answers in a letter that has been published, to the question, "Whether there is evidence that such internal duties exist?" very plainly: "I am unable to furnish you with the information you ask, as to the evidence of internal duties in China." Thus, beside the rather uncomfortable conviction that Lord Elgin, in stipulating for an indemnity, fixed no time for its payment, and carried the war from Canton to the capital merely to make a treaty which should send the British forces back from the capital to fight at Canton, the dark suspicion has broken in upon John Bull's mind, that he himself will have to pay out of his own pockets the indemnity stipulated for, since Article XXVIII will prove a strong inducement to the Chinese authorities to establish transit duties of $7^1/_2$ per cent on the British manufactures to be, on demand, converted into a $2^1/_2$ per cent import duty. To divert John Bull from looking too deeply into his own treaty, the London *Times* found it necessary to affect great

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[a] G. W. Cooke, *China: being "The Times" Special Correspondence from China in the Years 1857-58,* London, 1858, p. 273.—*Ed.*

wrath at the American Embassador,[a] and fiercely denounced him as the spoiler of the mess, although, in fact, he had about as much to do with the failure of the second Anglo-Chinese war as the man in the moon.[b]

So the peace, so far as English commerce is concerned, results in a new import duty, and in a series of stipulations which are either without any practical value, or cannot be kept by the Chinese, and may, at any moment, become the pretexts of a new war. England has not obtained any accession of territory—she could not claim that, without allowing France to do the same, and an English war resulting in the establishment of French possessions on the Chinese coast would have been altogether unprofitable. As to Russia, the case is quite different. Beside sharing in all the ostensible advantages, whatever they be, secured to England and France, Russia has secured the whole of the country on the Amoor, which she had so quietly taken possession of. Not satisfied with this, she has obtained the establishment of a Russo-Chinese Commission to fix the boundaries. Now, we all know what such a Commission is in the hands of Russia. We have seen them at work on the Asiatic frontiers of Turkey, where they kept slicing away piece after piece from that country, for more than twenty years, until they were interrupted during the late war, and the work has now to be done over again. Then there is the article regulating the postal service between Kiakhta and Pekin. What was formerly an irregular and merely tolerated line of communication, will now be regularly organized, and established as a right. There is to be a monthly mail between the two places, and the journey, about 1,000 miles, is to be performed in 15 days; while once every three months a caravan is to go over the same route. Now, it is evident that the Chinese will either neglect this service, or be unable to carry it out; and, as the communication is now secured to Russia as a right, the consequence will be that it will gradually fall into her hands. We have seen how the Russians have carried their lines of posts through the Kirghiz steppe[c]; and we cannot doubt that in a very few years a similar line will be established across the desert of Gobi, and then adieu to all dreams of British supremacy in China; for then a Russian army may march on Pekin any day.

It is easy to imagine what will be the effect of the establishment of permanent Embassies at Pekin. Look to Constantinople or

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[a] William B. Reed.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times*, No. 23129, October 20, 1858 (leading article).—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 59-64.—*Ed.*

Teheran. Wherever Russian diplomacy meets English and French, it is uniformly successful. And that a Russian Embassador, with the chance of having, a few years hence, an army strong enough for any purpose at Kiakhta, a month's march from Pekin, and a line of road prepared for its march all the way—that such a Russian Embassador will be all powerful at Pekin, who can doubt?

The fact is that Russia is fast coming to be the first Asiatic Power, and putting England into the shade very rapidly on that continent. The conquest of Central Asia and the annexation of Mantchooria increase her dominions by an extent of country as large as all Europe exclusive of the Russian empire and bring her down from snowy Siberia to the temperate zone. In a short time, the valleys of the Central Asiatic rivers and of the Amoor will be peopled by Russian colonists. The strategic positions thus gained are as important for Asia as those in Poland are for Europe. The possession of Turan menaces India; that of Mantchooria menaces China. And China and India, with their 450,000,000 of inhabitants, are now the decisive countries of Asia.

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# Karl Marx

## [MR. JOHN BRIGHT][69]

Mr. John Bright is not only one of the most gifted orators that England has ever produced; but he is at this moment the leader of the Radical members of the House of Commons, and holds the balance of power between the traditional parties of the Whigs and Tories.[70] Rejected from Parliament for opposing Lord Palmerston's Chinese war, by the electors of Manchester,[71] he was taken up, when prostrate under the combined influence of this political defeat and of grievous bodily illness, and elected by the constituency of Birmingham. As he left the House at one important historical epoch, so his return to it, after a long period of suffering and of silence, constituted another. That return was marked by the forced retirement of Lord Palmerston from the Government.[72] Coming into the House, in which Palmerston had worn the authority of a dictator, Mr. Bright, with almost no personal following, overthrew that veteran tactician, and not only made a new Ministry but was able virtually to dictate the terms on which it should hold office. The magnitude of this position lent an unusual importance to Mr. Bright's first meeting with his constituents, which took place in the last week of October. This was the first time that the great orator had addressed a popular assemblage since his recovery from illness, and a dramatic interest accordingly attached to the event. At the same time the official parties of the country were anxiously awaiting a declaration of peace or war from the man, who, if excluded from himself framing a new reform bill, will at all events decide which of these parties is to frame it.

Mr. Bright twice addressed his constituents; once at a public meeting held to receive him, and again at a banquet given in his honor.[a] Of these speeches we, on another page, present the leading points and most striking passages.[73] Considered in a merely rhetorical point of view, they are not equal to previous performances of their author. They contain admirable touches of eloquence, but in that respect are inferior to the famous speech on the Russian war, or to the speech of last Spring on the Indian rebellion.[b] But that was a matter of necessity. The object in hand was to set forth a political programme fit to answer widely differing ends. On the one hand, it is designed to be immediately brought into Parliament as a legislative measure, and, on the other hand, to become the rallying cry of all sections of reformers, and, in fact, to create a compact Reform party. This problem, which Mr. Bright had to solve, did not allow of any extraordinary display of rhetorical power, but required plainness, common sense and perspicuity. It is praise enough, then, to say that Mr. Bright has anew proved himself a consummate orator by adapting his style to his subject. His programme may be described as a reduction of what has been called the People's Charter to a middle-class standard.[74] He fully adopts one point of the Charter—the Ballot.[75] He reduces another point, Universal Suffrage, while declaring that he personally believes in it, to the vote of rate-payers, so that the qualifications now required for being a parochial and municipal elector will suffice to make a man an imperial elector also. He lastly reduces a third point of the Charter, namely, the equalization of electoral districts, to a fairer distribution of representatives among the different constituencies. Such is his proposition. He would have it drawn up and introduced into Parliament as the Reformer's own bill, in opposition to the country gentlemen's measure, which the Derby Cabinet are likely to introduce, thinking that, as in the case of the Reform bill of 1830,[76] union will arise as soon as the scheme is brought before the House. The proposed reform being thus set on foot, petitions from the different towns should be sent in to support it. The House of Commons might give way before such a general demonstration, and if, as is

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[a] John Bright's speeches at a meeting of Birmingham constituents on October 27, 1858, *The Times*, No. 23136, October 28, 1858, and at a banquet in Birmingham, *The Times*, No. 23138, October 30, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] John Bright's speeches in the House of Commons on March 31, 1854, *The Times*, No. 21704, April 1, 1854, and on March 26, 1858, *The Times*, No. 22952, March 27, 1858.—*Ed.*

probable, the Government should resort to a new election, it would only afford a new opportunity for agitation. Lastly, Mr. Bright wishes the Reform party to reject every bill which concedes less than he demands.

The impression which this demonstration has produced in England is no doubt fairly reflected in the London journals. *The Times,*[a] with ill humor but slightly concealed, compares the last and most important speech to the fabulous mouse which, according to the Roman poet, was the offspring of a mountain in travail.[b] The contents of the speech, it says, are trivial. There is no novelty about them. Neither are they clothed in a new garb. Any stump orator spouting on Reform might have delivered the identical speech in the identical words. The only thing that appears new to *The Times,* because of its very obsoleteness, is the bad taste of Mr. Bright in excavating long-forgotten invectives against the House of Lords—as if the Lords had not just condescended to become popular lecturers on sociology, indoctrinating the lower orders how to bear cheerfully their predestinated inferiority!—as if the Birmingham of 1858 was the Birmingham of 1830, with its revolutionary Political Union[77]! An underbred man alone could commit such unfashionable anachronisms. On the other hand, *The Times* is perplexed at the want of discernment displayed by Mr. Bright in speaking for the ballot, although he must be fully aware of the fact that all the heaven-born statesmen—Whig and Tory and Peelite and Palmerstonian—are unanimous against that political heresy. The Tory press, on the other hand, lament the aberrations of so "honest" a man as Mr. Bright. They say that he has allowed himself to be ensnared into traps treacherously laid for him by Whiggish Pharisees. This speech, it seems, they consider an open breach of the truce between the Radicals and the Conservatives. Lord Palmerston's organ—*The Morning Post*—however, is not at all disappointed, since it knew all along that nothing good could come from this stubborn Roundhead.[78] *The Morning Chronicle*—which takes up a middling position between the Palmerstonian and Derbyite press—laments, in the interest of Mr. Bright himself, that he should have flung all moderation to the wind, and spoken not like a statesman, but like a demagogue. The Radical press, and especially the Radical penny papers, are, on the other hand,

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[a] *The Times,* No. 23137, October 29, 1858 (leading article).—*Ed.*
[b] Horace, *Ars Poetica,* 139.—*Ed.*

unanimous in applause of both the doctrines of Mr. Bright and the manner in which he has now stated them.[79]

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# Frederick Engels

## THE PROSECUTION OF MONTALEMBERT

Paris, Nov. 6, 1858

The very first man of any note in France to adhere to Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* was Count Montalembert. Under Louis Philippe, he had represented the Catholic party in the Chamber of Deputies; under the Republic, he belonged to that reactionary party in the National Assembly[80] which, composed of Orleanists and Legitimists, seemingly accepted the Republic, in order the better to undermine it, and which, in the hopes of working for either the one or the other branch of the Bourbons, in reality worked for that very same Louis Bonaparte who, one fine morning, had them all arrested and dispersed, and took hold of absolute power by the grace of a drunken soldiery. Involved in this forcible dispersion, and himself by his antecedents an Orleanist, Montalembert was the very first, and, with the "one base exception" of M. Dupin, still is the only, man of parliamentary notoriety in France, who has passed over into the Bonapartist camp. In the political syncope which at that time had overcome all France, this desertion of Montalembert was a fact of importance; it was a great fact for the new Government, still isolated from all France by the wall of soldiers which formed its protecting barrier. Montalembert had been bribed by the specifically Catholic turn which Louis Napoleon's Government took. Rumor adds that more substantial bribes, too, changed hands. For a while, Montalembert supported the Government as a member of the Legislative body; he fawned upon and flattered the man who had placed military dictatorship in the place of parliamentary debate; he was base enough to count it an honor to be one of those dummies whom the successful usurper deputed to vote laws and supplies at his dictation—to vote, and not to talk, or else to talk nothing but his

praise. But he got no reward for thus debasing himself; he had done his work; he was estranged forever from his former political friends; he was forever compromised; he could never again be a dangerous opponent; he was sucked out like an orange—why any longer treat him with ceremony? Montalembert, neglected, found out that the manner in which Louis Bonaparte had saved and continued to save France, by having it all his own way, was not the thing, after all. He could not help comparing his position in the Deputies' Chamber with the one he used to occupy in that same building, ten or twenty years ago; and he began gradually to oppose the Government. This he was allowed to do to a certain amount; the first two or three of his speeches[a] were even permitted to be published. Since that time, he, the few Republican deputies who have taken the oath of allegiance, and a few discontented Bonapartists, form a sort of Opposition in this miserable Assembly—an Opposition quite as miserable as the body to which it belongs.

This opposition to further Imperial encroachments appears to have gained to M. Montalembert a slight and sickly kind of popularity among a certain portion of the middle classes; and he has apparently waited for an opportunity to follow up this advantage by some bold and sudden stroke. He was connected with *The Correspondent,* a periodical belonging almost exclusively to the Broglie family, and accordingly Orleanist in its politics. Profiting by their absence from Paris, he carried the insertion of an article of his: "A Debate on India in the British Parliament," which would not have been admitted in its present form, if the cautious and timid Broglies had been present to exercise their influence. In this article, Montalembert tries to make the *amende honorable*[b] for having embraced the Bonapartist cause; by exalting to the skies the Parliamentary government of England, he most unmistakably condemns the present system of government in France.

"When my ears are dinned sometimes with the buzz of the antechamber chroniclers, sometimes with the clamorings of fanatics, who believe themselves to be our masters, or of hypocrites who fancy us their dupes; when I feel stifled with the weight of an atmosphere loaded with servile and corrupting effluvia, I hasten away to breathe a purer air and take a life-bath in the ocean of the liberties of England.... If among those who have opened these pages there be any under the

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[a] Charles Montalembert's speeches in the French Legislative Assembly on June 22, 1852, *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 176, June 24, 1852, and on June 26, 1852, *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 180, June 28, 1852.—*Ed.*

[b] Due apology.—*Ed.*

dominion of that [the Bonapartist and absolutist] fashion, I say to them, without ceremony: cease reading, go no further; nothing that I am going to write can please or interest you; go and ruminate in peace among the fat pastures of your contented repose, and do not envy them who, unenvying you, enjoy *the right of remaining faithful to their antecedents,* to the anxieties of thought and to their aspirations after liberty.... I came first from this grand spectacle (the debate in the House of Commons) full of emotion, as might any man who looks to a government as something above a lacquey's waiting-room, and who seeks in a civilized nation something better than a flock of sheep only fit for the shears or to be led to nibble in silence under the shadow of an enervating security."[a]

This sounds extremely well, and, indeed, is sonorous. John Bull, accustomed lately to get nothing but hard words and sneers from the French press, is of course exceedingly thankful for the wholesale flattery which Montalembert has poured out over him, so thankful that he has quite neglected to look into those "antecedents" to which Montalembert says he has remained faithful. It is a fact that it was by M. de Montalembert's own free will that he associated with those antechamber chroniclers, with those fanatics and hypocrites whose buzz and clamor now din his ears; he has but himself to blame if he dived down, determinedlv and knowingly, into that atmosphere loaded with servile and corrupt effluvia, whose weight now stifles him. If it be "the fashion of the day in France to express repugnance for anything having the semblance of a remembrance or a regret for a past political life," M. de Montalembert was one of the first to get up that fashion when he passed over, drums beating and banners flying, into the very camp which proclaimed a new era, based upon the total and final destruction of "past political life." As to the men who are satisfied to ruminate in peace among the fat pastures of their contented repose, Montalembert cannot blame them. The *coup d'état* was made under the very pretext of putting down political passions and initiating this very peace and contented repose; and if Montalembert did not adhere to the *coup d'état* on this very ground, on what ground did he adhere at all? Surely, whatever may be said against Louis Napoleon, he cannot be accused of having disguised his policy or his intentions after the *coup d'état.* There could be no mistake—nor was there any—that he intended to turn the French people into a flock of sheep, only fit for the shears, or to be led to nibble in silence under the shade of an enervating security. Montalembert knew this as well as the rest of the world. If he then raises himself up to his full hight, and

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[a] Ch. Montalembert, "Un débat sur l'Inde au parlement anglais", *Le Correspondant,* new series, Vol. IX, October 1858, pp. 205-06, 261.—*Ed.*

calls upon us to admire him as a man who, not envying his late Bonapartist friends, remains faithful to his antecedents, we have to ask him: Which antecedents do you mean, M. de Montalembert? Your antecedents of the monarchial chamber, where you used to speak and vote in the interest of reaction, repression and priestly fanaticism? Or your antecedents of the Republican assembly, when you plotted, with a lot of your old Parliamentary friends, to restore the monarchy, when you voted away, piece by piece, the liberties of the people, the freedom of the press, the right of meeting and of association and when you yourselves forged the arms for that same adventurer who, with those very arms, turned you and your associates out of doors? Or lastly, your antecedents of the Bonapartist Legislative body, where you ate humble pie before this same successful adventurer, and made yourself, willfully and deliberately, over to him as one of the lackeys in his waiting-room? Which of these three antecedents, M. de Montalembert, contain your aspirations for liberty? We are inclined to think it would take most people a great many "anxieties of thought" to find it out. In the mean time the Government of Louis Napoleon have retaliated upon their unfaithful adherent by a prosecution, and the trial is to come off some time this month. We shall have an opportunity to compare the virtuous indignation of M. de Montalembert, with the virtuous indignation of a Bonapartist *procureur*; and we may say, even now, that as far as sincerity is concerned, they will be both about on a par. The trial itself will create a deal of sensation in France, and, whatever its result may be, it will constitute an important fact in the history of the Second Empire. The very fact of Montalembert having considered it necessary to break thus conspicuously with the existing Government, and to provoke a prosecution, is a significant proof that political life is awakening among the middle classes of France. It was the total apathy—the politically used-up, *blasé* state of mind—of these classes which allowed Louis Napoleon to establish his power. Having against himself the Parliament only, unsupported by either the middle classes or the working classes, he had the passive assistance of the middle classes and the active support of the army for himself. The Parliamentarians were defeated in an instant, but the working classes not until after a month's struggle, carried on all over France.[81] The middle classes for a long while have obeyed grumblingly, but they have obeyed and looked upon Louis Napoleon as the savior of society, and therefore as an indispensable man. Now, it appears they have gradually changed their opinion. They are longing for the return of the time when

they, or at least a fraction of them, governed the country, and when the tribune and the press resounded with nothing but their own political and social concerns. They are evidently beginning again to feel confidence in themselves and their ability to govern the country, and if that be the case, they will find means to express it. Thus we may expect, in France, a middle-class movement corresponding to that which is now going on in Prussia, and which is as certain a forerunner of a new revolutionary movement as the Italian middle-class movement of 1846-47 was the herald of the revolutions of 1848. Louis Napoleon seems to be fully aware of this. He said at Cherbourg to a man whom he had not seen for many years:

"It is a pity that the educated classes of the country will not go with me; it is their own doing; but I have the army with me, and I do not care."

He will, however, very soon find out what becomes of the army, and an army officered and generaled like his, too—as soon as the mass of the middle classes are in open opposition. At all events, stirring times appear to be in store for the Continent of Europe.

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# Karl Marx

## THE NEW MINISTRY

Berlin, Nov. 6, 1858

After considerable vacillation a new Ministry has at last been formed, which may be best characterized as the Princess of Prussia's[a] Ministry. It is more liberally tinged than the Berlin Philistines dared to hope, and as might be expected from a lady's choice, is composed with but slight regard to the congruity of its different elements, so that the principal end aimed at, of securing a momentary popularity, is but secured. In true lady-like style the Princess says a gracious word to everybody; to the Catholics, in installing a Catholic as Prime Minister,[b] a thing unheard of in the annals of Prussia; to the fervent Protestants, in surrendering the Ministry of Public Instruction to an Evangelical Pietist[c]; to anti-Russian tendencies, in confiding the War Ministry to a General[d] formerly dismissed from the same post, on the express demand of the Czar Nicholas; to anti-Austrian jealousy, in intrusting with Foreign Affairs a man[e] who had once resigned that place in order not to stoop to the dictation of the Prince of Schwarzenberg; to the bureaucratic mind, in nominating as Minister of the Interior—that Minister being in fact the head of the whole bureaucratic army, police as well as administration (*Regierung*)—a survivor[f] of the good old times of Frederick William III; to the Liberals, in giving a seat in the Cabinet without office, something like the Presidency of the Council[82] in an

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[a] Augusta Marie Luise Katharina.—*Ed.*
[b] Prince von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen.—*Ed.*
[c] Von Bethmann-Hollweg.—*Ed.*
[d] Von Bonin.—*Ed.*
[e] Baron von Schleinitz.—*Ed.*
[f] Von Flottwell.—*Ed.*

English Ministry, to the man[a] who served as Prime Minister in the first Cabinet produced by the revolution of 1848; to the Free-Traders, in introducing Herr von Patow into the Ministry of Finance; and to the Protectionists, in retaining von der Heydt in the Ministry of Commerce; to the nobility, in placing a Prince of the royal house at the head of the Cabinet, and filling all its political posts with nobles; and to the middle-class, in leaving to simple or ennobled middle-class men the matter of fact Ministries of Justice, Commerce, Public Instruction and the Interior; to the enemies of the Camarilla, in forming the great majority of the new Cabinet of personal enemies of Gerlach and Company; and to the Conservatives, anxious lest any thing like Cabinet changes, in the Parliamentary sense of the word, should become the fashion in Prussia, in keeping in pay some Ministers who were the colleagues of Manteuffel, men of his own choosing, and men who countersigned the orders by which the *coup d'état* was proclaimed in December, 1848.[b]

Thus eclecticism is the distinctive character of the new Cabinet—an eclecticism proceeding from popularity-hunting, tempered by the firm resolution to sacrifice no essentials to that same popularity. I shall but hint at one feature of the new Cabinet, a shade quite indifferent to the cool political observer, but most interesting for the Berlin gossip-monger. There is not one of the newly-appointed ministers whose name does not look like a trump played against the Queen of Prussia, like a personal epigram pointed at her by her spiteful sister-in law. The general impression produced by the nomination of the new Cabinet among the more thinking part of the Berliners, I shall describe in the words of one of my Berlin friends. The official announcement[c] was only made in to-night's *Staats-Anzeiger*, that is to say at about 6 o'clock in the evening; but long before that time accurate lists of the men appointed were freely circulated among the groups gathered "*unter den Linden*."[d] Meeting there the friend alluded to, an average Berlin pot-house politician, I asked him what his thoughts were of the new Cabinet, and what the thoughts were of the

[a] Von Auerswald.—*Ed.*

[b] Friedrich Wilhelm IV, "Verordnung, betreffend die Auflösung der zur Vereinbarung der Verfassung berufenen Versammlung. Vom 5. Dezember 1848".—*Ed.*

[c] Wilhelm, Prince von Preussen, Regent, "Allerhöchster Erlass vom 6. November 1858 betreffend die Zusammensetzung des neu zu bildenden Ministeriums", *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung*, No. 261, November 7, 1858.—*Ed.*

[d] *Unter den Linden*—the main street in Berlin.—*Ed.*

"town" generally. Before giving his response, I must tell you what an average Berlin pot-house politician is. It is a man imbued with the notion that Berlin is the first town of the world; that there is to be found no "*Geist*" (an idea not to be translated, although ghost is etymologically the same word; the French *esprit*[a] is quite another thing) save at Berlin; and that *Weissbier*,[b] a disgusting beverage for every outside barbarian, is the identical drink quoted in the *Iliad* under the name of nectar, and in the *Edda* under the name of meth. Beside these harmless prejudices, your average Berlin luminary is an incorrigible wiseacre, indiscreet, fond of talk, indulging a certain low humor, known in Germany as *Berliner Witz*,[c] which plays more with words than with ideas, a curious compound of a little irony, a little skepticism and much vulgarity—altogether no very high specimen of mankind, nor a very amusing one, but still a typical character. Well, my Berlin friend answered my question by quoting, in the true Berlin tone of mockery, the following strophe from Schiller's "Glocke." I may remark, *en passant*, that your average Berliner praises nobody but Goethe, yet quotes nobody but Schiller:

"O zarte Sehnsucht, süsses Hoffen!
Der ersten Liebe goldne Zeit!
Das Auge sieht den Himmel offen,
Es schwelgt das Herz in Seligkeit;
O, dass sie ewig grünen bliebe,
Die schöne Zeit der jungen Liebe!"

(Oh, tender longings, sweet hopes, golden time of first love! The eye sees heaven open, the heart luxuriates in bliss. Oh, that it could bloom forever, that golden time of young love!)[d]

Returning from the poetical Berlin pot-house politician to the new Prussian Cabinet, and minding the old French adage: *"à tout seigneur tout honneur"*[e] the Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, the Prime Minister and intimate friend of the Princess of Prussia, claims attention first. He is the father of the Queen of Portugal,[f] and firmly declined standing as father-in-law to the second French Empire.[83] Still, he is a near relative of Bonaparte. His mother was a sister of Murat, one of the kings extemporized by Napoleon, and his wife[g] is the second daughter of the dowager Archduchess

[a] Mind, wit.—*Ed.*
[b] Pale ale.—*Ed.*
[c] Berlin wit.—*Ed.*
[d] Schiller, "Das Lied von der Glocke".—*Ed.*
[e] "Honour to whom honour is due."—*Ed.*
[f] Stephanie.—*Ed.*
[g] Josephine Friederike Luise.—*Ed.*

Stéphanie of Baden, a Beauharnais by birth. Thus, this Prince forms a link of relationship between the Prussian dynasty, the Coburg dynasty, and the Bonaparte dynasty. He has been much slandered by the liberals of Southern Germany, because in the year 1849 he abdicated the sovereignty of his state of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, and according to family treaties sold it to the branch of the Hohenzollerns[84] ruling in Prussia. At the time he made that bargain no German principality was worth a three years' purchase, and, of all men, the Prince could not be expected to oblige the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen demagogues by continuing the existence of a Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen nationality. The hoisting of the Prussian colors in Southern Germany was, besides, a thing which displeased Austria as much as the small demagogues of Baden and Württemberg. After the abdication the Prince entered the military service of Prussia as a General, pitching his tent at Düsseldorf, a town of painting, sculpture and barracks, where a side branch of the Prussian dynasty formerly used to keep a little court.[a] To punish the Düsseldorfers for their participation in the revolution of 1848, which had reached its climax in a mob-demonstration against the King, on his passage through that town, Düsseldorf was deprived of the presence of Prince Frederick's Court, and degraded to the common rank of towns, which must contrive to live without having a court as their customer. Thus the Prince of Hohenzollern's appearance in Düsseldorf was quite an event. Without doing anything remarkable, he shone by his mere presence, like the great man of whom Goethe says that he pays by what he *is*, instead of by what he *does*. His popularity spread from Düsseldorf like wild-fire. His being simultaneously a member of the Dynasty and a member of the Catholic Church, did the rest. For the bigoted part of the population of Rhenish Prussia no further qualification is needed. You may be sure that the powerful and well-organized Catholic clergy throughout Rhenish Prussia, Westphalia, Silesia and Posen will strain every nerve in support of a Prussian Ministry, headed by a Roman Catholic, and it is, in fact, desirable that it should be so. Nothing did more harm to the revolution of 1848 than the opposition attitude taken by the Roman clergy. The latter body won immensely by the revolution, viz.: the right of freely communicating with the Pope, of erecting nunneries and cloisters, and not least, of acquiring real property. In reward for these

[a] In the eighteenth century Düsseldorf was the capital of the Counts von Berg, side branch of the Sigmaringens.—*Ed.*

privileges won, the holy men, of course, fiercely turned upon the revolution when defeated. They acted as the most merciless tools of reaction, and it is a good thing that no opportunity should be afforded them for gliding again into the Opposition camp. Of the other Ministers I shall find another occasion of speaking.

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# Karl Marx

## THE NEW MINISTRY

Berlin, Nov. 9, 1858

"The whirligig of time brings in his revenges."[a] Herr von Auerswald, the Vice-President of the new Cabinet, was, as I stated in a former letter,[b] the nominal chief of the first regular Ministry of the revolutionary epoch. Then his appointment was considered a symptom of reaction, just as now, after a lapse of ten years, it is considered a symptom of progress. He was the successor of Camphausen, the corn merchant, whom the revolutionary tempest had thrown from his counting-house at Cologne to Berlin on the steps of the Prussian throne. Auerswald's Ministry lasted from the end of June to the 7th September, 1848. Quite apart from what he might do or leave undone, his mere name on the title-page of a Cabinet had a significant meaning in the month of June, 1848. Camphausen, his predecessor, was a native of Rhenish Prussia; Auerswald, a native of the province of East Prussia—the former a private merchant, the latter a public functionary; the former a *bourgeois,* the latter a noble; the former wealthy, the latter poor. Thus, it was evident that already at the end of June, 1848, one month only after the days of March, the oscillatory movement of the Prussian revolution had turned from the west to the east—from the neighborhood of France to the neighborhood of Russia; from simple mortals to Mandarins; from the middle class to the nobility; from the purse to the rank. Save this significance of his name, it cannot be said that Auerswald realized any great significance during the three months his Cabinet lasted. If you ask a Prussian as to the character of Auerswald's former Cabinet, he is

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[a] Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night; or What You Will,* Act V, Scene 1.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 96-97.—*Ed.*

likely to put his forefinger to his pate, rub it seriously, in true Hudibras[85] way, and at last, as if awaking from a trance, exclaim: "Ah, you mean Hansemann's Cabinet." Hansemann, indeed, the Minister of Finances who had passed from Camphausen's Cabinet to Auerswald's Cabinet, was the soul of the latter. So, to characterize the Premiership of Auerswald, we must speak of Hansemann.

The latter, an Aachen merchant, had resumed his political creed in his apostrophe, afterward become celebrated, addressed to Prussian royalty on the United Diet in 1847: "In monetary matters, there is an end of fine feeling." (In Geldsachen hört die Gemüthlichkeit auf.)[a] This sentence, if it be allowed *parva componere magnis*,[b] was, under the then circumstances, an equivalent of Sieyès's famous words: *"Le tiers-état c'est tout."*[c] Under Frederick William III, at a time when nobody, save the licensed followers of Prussian Universities, dared write on politics, Hansemann published a book comparing Prussia to France,[d] strongly leaning to the latter power, but so cleverly moderate that it was impossible even for the Prussian censure to put down his insulting parallelism. At a time when a joint-stock company was still a *rara avis*[e] in Germany, he had the ambition of becoming a German Hudson, and proved a perfect adept in that sort of jobbery which now flourishes in all civilized countries, and has been converted into a system, even, by the *Crédit Mobilier*.[86] At a time when bankruptcy was still considered by old-fashioned Germany a stain on the fair reputation of a man, Hansemann contrived to prove that an alternation of bankruptcies is almost as productive in the trading line, as an alternation of crops is in agriculture. The administration of this man, to which Auerswald lent his name, proceeded from the erroneous notion that the few weeks of revolution had sufficiently shaken the old State pillars, that dynasty and aristocracy and bureaucracy had been sufficiently humbled, that the political ascendency of the middle class was conquered forever, and that there remained nothing to do but roll back the ever-surging waves of the revolution.

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[a] David Hansemann's speech in the first United Diet on June 8, 1847.—*Ed.*

[b] To compare small things to great (Virgil, *Georgics*, IV, 176).—*Ed.*

[c] Paraphrase of *Qu'est-ce que le tiers-état?—C'est tout* (What is the Third Estate?—Everything) from Abbé Sieyès' book *Qu'est-ce que le tiers-état?*, published in 1789.—*Ed.*

[d] D. Hansemann, *Preussen und Frankreich*, Leipzig, 1833.—*Ed.*

[e] A rare thing, rarity (Juvenal, *Satires*, VI, 165).—*Ed.*

So successful proved the Ministry in this work of breaking the breakers, that itself was broken three months after its installation, that they, the liberal sycophants, were most unceremoniously kicked out by the courtiers standing behind them, who had used them as mere cat's-paws. Auerswald and Hansemann cut the sorry figures of impostors imposed upon.[a] Auerswald shared, besides, the by no means enviable position of being responsible for the Prussian foreign policy, since he had united in his person the Premiership and the *Portefeuille* of Foreign Affairs. Now, if the internal policy of the Ministry was dictated, at least, by the apparent interests of the middle class, which had taken fright at the progress of revolution, the foreign policy was exclusively directed by the Camarilla, and Auerswald a mere tool in their hands. In June 1850 he was appointed President of the province of Rhenish Prussia, to be shortly after removed from that post by Herr von Westphalen, who cleared the Prussian bureaucracy of liberals as coolly as a Scotch nobleman clears his estates of men. As a member of the Lower House (Abgeordneten Haus), Auerswald limited himself to opposition in such a diluted form as to be perceptible to the eyes of the political homeopathist only. Auerswald is one of the aristocratic representatives of the liberalism of the province of Eastern Prussia. The elements of which this liberalism consists are remembrances of the wars against Napoleon, and the hopes then embraced by the more intellectual patriots; some general ideas which Königsberg, as the center of Kant's philosophy, considers a local property almost; the unity of interests between the noble who grows the corn, and the inhabitants of the sea towns which export it; free-trade doctrinairism in various shapes, since the province of Prussia is no manufacturing country, but for the greater part depends on the sale to England of its agricultural produce.

Herr von Schleinitz, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, had once before, in 1849, been appointed Foreign Minister, and, during the short time of his administration, coalesced with the Gotha party,[87] who, if successful, would divide Germany into two parts—a Northern one, incorporated with Prussia, and a Southern one, incorporated with Austria. In fact, the absorption of Germany by the two great antagonist monarchies is the avowed purpose of the Gothaers. If successful in the formation of two Germanies, a deadly conflict would arise, a new thirty-years' war would be at hand, and the duel between the two antagonistic Germanies would

[a] G. E. Lessing, *Nathan der Weise*, Act III, Scene 7.—*Ed.*

at last be stopped by Russia pocketing the one and France pocketing the other.

Herr von Bonin, the War Minister, I have already alluded to in my former letter.[a] Here I shall only add that, during his commandership in the Schleswig-Holstein war,[88] he shone less by pursuit of the Danes than of the Democratic volunteers fighting under the German banner. That war, as is generally known, was one of the bloody farces of modern diplomacy. Herr von Patow, the Minister of Finance, was a member of the Camphausen Cabinet. In the Lower House, he was, a few years ago, denounced by the *Krautjunkers,*[b] as a Revolutionist. Some personal insult was added, resulting in his duel with Graf Pfeil, which made him for some time the pet of the Berlin public. Patow might be enrolled as a member of the Financial Reform Association of Liverpool.[89]

Of Count Pückler, the Minister of Agriculture, nothing is to be said but that he is the nephew of the *blasé* author of the "Memoirs of the Dead."[c] Bethmann-Hollweg was formerly curator of the University of Bonn, these curators being, in fact, the great inquisitors the Prussian Government pesters the official centers of science with. Under Frederick William III they hunted demagogues[90]—under Frederick William IV heretics. Bethmann was employed in the latter business. He belonged, in fact, before the revolution, to the King's camarilla, and separated only from them when they went "too far."

Simons, the Minister of Justice, and von der Heydt, the Minister of Commerce, are the only members of the Manteuffel cabinet that have outlived their chief. Both are natives of Rhenish Prussia, but of the Protestant part of it, lying on the right bank of the Rhine. Since it was intended to have some natives of Rhenish Prussia in the Cabinet, but to exclude, at the same time, the Rhenish Liberals, the two men were kept in. Simons may claim the merit of having degraded the law-tribunals to a lower depth than they had ever sunk to at the worst times of the Prussian monarchy. Von der Heydt, a rich merchant of Elberfeld, had in 1847 said of the King: "That fellow has belied us so often that we cannot trust him any longer." (Dieser Mensch hat uns so oft belogen, dass wir ihm nicht länger trauen können.) In December, 1848, he entered the *coup d'état* Ministry. At present he is the only Prussian Minister suspected of turning his official position to

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[a] See this volume, p. 96.—*Ed.*

[b] Cabbage junkers.—*Ed.*

[c] H. Pückler-Muskau, *Briefe eines Verstorbenen,* Stuttgart, 1831.—*Ed.*

private account. The rumor is very generally spread that he used to make state secrets subservient to the commercial jobs of the Elberfeld firm of Heydt & Co.

Written on November 9, 1858

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5492, November 27, 1858

Reproduced from the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## AFFAIRS IN PRUSSIA

Berlin, Nov. 16, 1858

The eclectic and variegated character of the new Cabinet, which I dwelt upon in a former letter,[a] has been laid hold of by the *Kreuz-Zeitung*, in the following sneering apostrophe:

"A change of system is to take place. What change of system, if we may take the liberty of asking? What is the system abandoned, and what are the principles of the new system to be adopted? Is it the Catholic Prince at the head of the Ministry, who represents its leading thought; or the Minister of Church and Educational Affairs, the man of the Evangelical alliance? And how is it that the Minister of Finance, the former deputy of the Democrats, is expected to harmonize with the above-mentioned persons? And can the veteran representative of old Prussian bureaucracy bring his opinions to the same level as that of Herr von Patow?"[b]

On the 12th of November, the *Urwahlen* (primitive elections) took place throughout the whole of the monarchy. The *Wahlmänner*[c] thus elected will in their turn elect the Deputies on the 23d of this month. Nobody likes moderate chastity in his wife, or moderate solvency on the part of his debtor; but moderate liberty was the watchword moderately dealt out among the *Urwähler*. The part of the Prussian population which as yet monopolizes the movement, and whose political creed may be characterized as *liberalismus vulgaris*, is anything but heroical. In 1848, they dared not move on until Naples and Paris and Vienna had broken loose. By a curious concatenation of circumstances, they find themselves, at this moment, in the position of giving the signal of the political

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[a] See this volume, pp. 96-97.— *Ed.*

[b] "Der Ministerwechsel", *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, No. 264, November 11, 1858.— *Ed.*

[c] Electors.— *Ed.*

revival on the continent. With a great army at their own back, with a Decembrist France on one side, a newly centralized Austria[91] on another, an eternally watchful Russia on the third, they offer too easy an object for a concentric attack not to feel rather uncomfortable. Then there is before their eyes and in their hearts the still fresh remembrance of the revolution; and, lastly, the Prince Regent must not be frightened out of his new constitutionalism. So one liberal hero admonishes the other, to do him the good service which the husband asked from his wife on her being insulted in the open street by a military officer. "Keep me back," cried the gallant fellow, "or I shall take revenge, and there will be bloodshed." In fact, no delusion is allowed on this point. A Prussian movement, in the local meaning of the word, is possible only within very narrow limits, which, once overstepped, it must roll back or resolve itself into a general continental movement. The fear of the latter is shared alike by the higher middle class and by the Prince Regent. A fact which you are not likely to find reported in any newspaper, but which I can vouch for, is, that the Prince, on his last visit to Breslau, in an audience granted to the notabilities of that city, declared in a most solemn tone that the revolutionary fire was still burning, that a new European eruption was threatened, and that it was, therefore, the duty as well as the interest of the middle classes to gather round the throne, and above all, by the observance of strict moderation in their political act, to stop any hole by which reckless demagogues (*gesinnungslose Demagogen*)[a] might rush in. This is quite in consonance with what I was recently told by a highly intellectual Prussian nobleman: "Do you know," he said, "what it was that drove the King mad? The specter of the Red Republic, and his brother, though a sober, mediocre and dull martinet, is haunted by the same ghost."

On the whole, liberal *Wahlmänner* have carried the day in the greater towns, and decided reactionists in the country. The way in which the country elections were managed you may infer from the fact that the *Landräthe*, in their private capacities, sent round circulars, through their respective districts, calling upon the *Urwähler* (primitive electors) to return such and such persons. Now, the position of the *Landrath* is quite exceptional in Prussia. In all the provinces, with the single exception of Rhenish Prussia, he is a squire of extensive landed property, the latter being

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[a] The Prince of Prussia's declaration at the reception of the Breslau notabilities on September 13, 1858, *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung*, No. 216, September 16, 1858.—*Ed.*

situated, like that of the English county magistrate, within the circle of his official domain. At the same time, he is a link of the Bureaucracy elected by the country, nominated by the crown, subject to the *Regierung* (a collegial body), residing in one of the centers of the greater administrative divisions, but in his district (or *Ressort*, as the Prussians call it) he is the highest Government representative. These *Landräthe* combine, therefore, in their persons the quality of the *Krautjunker* (fox-hunter) and the Bureaucrat. They do not, like the greater part of the State functionaries, exclusively depend on their public salaries; or they are, in the worst case, recruited from the younger sons of the landed aristocracy, to eke out by the State salary of $1,200 a year, the allowance granted by the father, or the uncle, or the elder brother. Generally, therefore, their interests are more strictly bound up with the class and party interests of the landed aristocracy than with the caste interests of the Bureaucracy. These men were the principal pillars of the Cabinet just overthrown. They considered a central government the tool of their own social interests, rather than that they had been its tools. They are making at this moment a stand against the new Cabinet, which has not dared to remove them, partly because such a radical operation would smash up all revolutionary tendencies, and clash with the routine of Prussian administration; partly because the action of the *Landräthe* is, to some degree, depended upon for fettering the agricultural population, and thus forming a counterpoise to the liberalism of the towns. The only *Landrath* yet removed is Count von Krassow in Pomerania, who amused himself with insulting the Cabinet in his circular addressed to the *Urwähler*.[a]

There has been no new census published since 1852; but the latter is quite sufficient to give you some idea of the proportion between the country population and the population of the towns. Of seventeen millions of inhabitants, twelve millions were scattered over the country, while five millions were gathered in towns, a great part of the latter being themselves country-towns only. Of the 984 towns of the monarchy, the 12 principal ones boasted of an aggregate population of 1,000,000, while more than 500 came not up to 2,500. The industrial population numbers 11 per cent in the Province of Prussia,[b] 15 per cent in Pomerania, 18 per cent in

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[a] Count von Krassow's circular addressed to the primary electors on October 26, 1858, was published in the *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung*, No. 267, November 14, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] This is what the North-Eastern province of the monarchy was called until 1878.—*Ed.*

Posen, 23 per cent in Silesia, 26 per cent in Westphalia, 28 per cent in Saxony, 25 per cent in Rhenish Prussia, 37 in Brandenburg. In the latter province, however, the whole industrial population is almost absorbed by Berlin. Of the whole population of the monarchy, 60 per cent belong to strictly agricultural life, and, on the average, there is one nobleman to 263 people.

Written on November 16, 1858

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5497, December 3, 1858

# Karl Marx

## [PROJECT FOR THE REGULATION OF THE PRICE OF BREAD IN FRANCE][92]

The Emperor of the French has just undertaken the execution of a favorite project of his, namely, the regulation of the price of bread throughout his empire. This idea he definitely announced as long ago as 1854, in his speech to the Legislative Body on occasion of the declaration of war against Russia. His statement of the case at that time is worth quoting, and we give it as follows:

"Above all, I recommend to your attention the system now adopted by the City of Paris; for if it extend, as I trust it will, to the whole of France, it will for the future prevent those extreme variations in the price of corn which, in times of abundance, cause agriculture to languish because of the low price of wheat, and, in years of scarcity, the poorer classes to suffer so greatly because of its dearness. That system consists in the establishment in all great centers of population of a credit institution called Baker's Bank (*Caisse de la Boulangerie*), which, during years of dearth, can give bread at a price infinitely lower than the official market quotation, on the condition of its price ranging a little higher in years of plenty. The good harvests being in general more numerous than the bad ones, it is easy to understand that the compensation between both may be effected with ease. In addition, the immense advantage would be gained of finding credit-companies which, instead of gaining from a rise in the price of bread, would, like every one else, be interested in its cheapness; for, contrary to what has existed to the present time, such companies would make money in seasons of fertility, and lose money in seasons of dearth."[a]

The principle here set forth is that bread should be sold "infinitely" below its market price in bad, and only "a little" above that same price in good seasons—the compensation to result from the hope that the good years will by far overbalance the scarce

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[a] Napoleon III's speech to the *Corps législatif* on March 2, 1854, *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 62, March 3, 1854.—*Ed.*

ones. An Imperial decree having in December, 1853, established the Baker's Bank at Paris,[a] the maximum price for the four-pound loaf was fixed at 40 centimes; the bakers being empowered to claim compensation for their loss from the Bank, which, in its turn, raised its funds by the issue of obligations guaranteed by the Municipality, which, on its part, raised the guaranty funds by contracting new debts, and enhancing the excise duties on articles of consumption at the gates of Paris. A certain sum was, besides, directly contributed by the Government from the public exchequer. At the end of 1854 the debts thus contracted by the Municipality of Paris, together with the Government money, had already reached the sum of eighty millions of francs. The Government was then forced to rescind its steps, and to successively raise the maximum price of the loaf to 45 and 50 centimes. Thus, the Paris people had partly to pay in the form of increased excises what they saved in the price of bread, and the rest of France had to pay a general pauper tax for the metropolis, in the form of the direct Government subvention accorded to the Municipality of Paris. However, the experiment proved a complete failure; the Paris price of bread rising above the official maximum during the bad seasons, from 1855 to 1857, and sinking below it during the rich harvests of 1857 and 1858.

Nothing daunted by the failure of this experiment on a relatively small scale, Louis Napoleon has now taken to organizing, by his own ukase, the bakers' trade and the commerce in grain throughout the Empire. Some weeks ago, one of his newspapers in Paris attempted to convince the public that "a reserve of grain"[b] was a necessity in all considerable towns. The argument was, that in the worst years of scarcity the maximum deficit of grain had been equal to 28 days' consumption of the whole population, and that the average number of consecutive bad years was three. From these premises it was calculated that "an effective reserve for three months will be all that can be enacted from human foresight." If extended only to towns with a minimum population of 10,000 inhabitants, the aggregate population of such towns in France (Paris excluded) amounting to 3,776,000 souls, each average soul consuming 45 kilogrammes of wheat for three months, and the present price of wheat being about 14f. the hectolitre—such a reserve, according to this view of the case, would cost between

[a] Décret impérial qui institue une caisse de service pour la boulangerie de Paris, le 27 décembre, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] L. Burat's article on the consumption of grain in France, *Le Constitutionnel,* No. 315, November 11, 1858.—*Ed.*

31,000,000 and 32,000,000f.! Now, on the 18th of Nov. the *Moniteur* published a decree in the following terms:

"Art. 1. The reserve of the bakers in all the towns in which the baking trade is regulated by decrees and ordinances is fixed at the quantity of grain or flour necessary for supplying the daily make of each baking establishment during three months.

"Art. 2. Within a month from this date, the Prefects of Departments, after having consulted the municipalities, shall decide whether the reserves shall be established in grain or flour, and shall fix the period within which they shall be provided; also, the portion of them which may be deposited in public store-houses."[a]

Annexed to this decree is a list of the towns "in which the baking trade is regulated," and which, consequently, have to lay in reserves. The list comprises all the towns and cities of France of a certain degree of importance, except Paris and Lyons, in which reserves already exist, and which consequently do not fall within the operation of the decree. In all, there are not fewer than 161 towns or cities, and among them are Marseilles, St. Quentin, Moulins, Caen, Angoulême, Dijon, Bourges, Besançon, Evreux, Chartres, Brest, Nîmes, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Montpellier, Rennes, Tours, Grenoble, St. Étienne, Nantes, Orléans, Angers, Rheims, Chalôns, Metz, Lille, Douai, Valenciennes, Beauvais, Arras, St. Omer, Calais, Boulogne-sur-Mer, Strasbourg, Mulhouse, Rouen, Havre, Mâcon, Le Mans, Amiens, Abbeville, and Toulon. According to the last census, the populations of the 161 towns and cities may now be set down at about 8,000,000! This gives us then 5,500,000 hectolitres, at a cost of between 70,000,000 and 80,000,000 francs for the reserves. In transmitting by circular the decree to the Prefects of Departments, the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce tells them that, though they "must not constrain the bakers to fulfill precipitately the obligations imposed on them by the decree," they must "fix within reasonable limits the period allowed for so doing." He leaves the Prefects to decide, from local considerations, whether the reserves shall be laid in in grain or flour. He then tells them that the present measure, vast as it is, may be considered capable of extension.[b]

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[a] Napoleon III's decree on grain reserves of November 16, 1858 and "Tableau des villes dans lesquelles la boulangerie est réglementée par des décrets ou ordonnances, et dans lesquelles l'approvisionnement de réserve des boulangers sera porté à trois mois de leur vente journalière", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 322, November 18, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and in what follows the quotations are from a circular by Eugène Rouher, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, "Extension des réserves de la boulangerie", published in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 322, November 18, 1858.—*Ed.*

"The Government does not exaggerate, Monsieur le Prefect, the importance of the measure I have described. It is aware that the decree only concerns a small part of the population, and accordingly it has occupied itself with the possibility of extending its means of action. The inhabitants of hamlets and of villages bake their own bread, and take from their crops the quantity of wheat necessary for their families during the year. The intervention of the Government with regard to them would be useless and impossible. But in a certain number of chief towns of departments, and in a greater number of the chief places of arrondissements and of cantons, and even in populous villages, bakers make an important part of the bread consumed, and yet they are not the object of any regulations, and are not obliged to make any reserves. Is it not possible to place the bakers of such places as these under the same *régime,* and to impose on them the same salutary law of prudence? The Government is disposed to think that its prescriptions in this respect would not meet with any serious objections."

Before, however, subjecting to the above decree all the rest of France, except the small villages, the Minister directs the Prefects to consult the Municipalities of the places which do not now fall within its operation. He then tells the Prefects how the reserves are to be stored up:

"Bakers must, as far as possible, utilise the dependencies of their shops, as the *surveillance* of them will be easy. But you must invite the Municipalities to organize, and to place at the disposal of bakers, public store-houses calculated to receive, on payment of a rent to be fixed by tariff, the reserve they cannot receive themselves. I do not doubt that the enlightened cooperation of the municipal authorities will render these operations easy."

The Minister next arrives at the vital point—where to get the money for carrying out the decree:

"As to the realization of the capital necessary, I am convinced that bakers will employ the most serious efforts to procure the sums they will need. Such an employment of capital presents commercial advantages so great, and promises to realize such legitimate profits that they can hardly fail to obtain credit, especially at a moment at which the interest on money is so low. Is it presuming too much on the good will of the capitalists in each commune to hope for their cooperation in favor of the bakers? Would they not find in the reserves constituted a safe pledge of their advances—and a pledge which is rather destined to increase in value than to decline? I shall be happy if the efforts you may make in this matter may be crowned with success. *I ask myself, if the Municipalities could not, if necessary, in imitation of the Caisse de Paris, create resources and employ them in advances to bakers.* In order to encourage and facilitate such advances, and to multiply them by circulation, the granaries destined to receive the reserves might have the character of bonded warehouses (*magasins généraux),* conferred on them, and might deliver warrants which would safely be accepted with favor by our financial establishment, and especially by the Bank of France."

The Minister concludes his circular by directing that within twenty days the Prefects shall inform him what they propose in regard to the execution of the second article of the decree, and

within a month shall report on what the Municipalities of the towns and villages not included in the decree recommend.

Now, we do not purpose to enter at this moment into the question of public granaries, but the immense importance of this economical *coup d'état* needs no long commentary. It is well known that the present price of grain is ruinously low in France, and that, consequently, signs of dissatisfaction are perceptible among the peasantry. By the artificial demand to be created through the means of three months' reserve, Napoleon tries to enhance prices artificially, and thus stop the mouth to agricultural France. On the other hand, he proclaims himself a sort of socialist providence to the proletarians of the towns, although in a rather awkward way, since the first palpable effect of his decree must be to make them pay more for their loaf than before. The "savior of property"[a] shows the middle class that not even the formal intervention of his own mock Legislatures, but a simple personal ukase on his part, is all that is wanted to make free with their purses, dispose of municipal property, trouble the course of trade, and subject their monetary dealings to his private crochets. Lastly, the question is still to be considered from the pure Bonapartist point of view. Immense buildings for public granaries will become necessary over the whole of France; and what a fresh field they will open for jobs and plunder. An unexpected turn is also given to the trade in breadstuffs. What profits to be pocketed by the Crédit Mobilier[93] and the other gambling companions of his Imperial Majesty! At all events, we may be sure that the Imperial Socialist will prove more successful in raising the price of bread than he has been in attempts to reduce it.

Written about November 19, 1858

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[a] From the Address of the Commercy Municipal Council to Napoleon III published in *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 196, July 15, 1849.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## AFFAIRS IN PRUSSIA

Berlin, Nov. 23, 1858

To-day was election day, the electors of the second degree, a body by no means numerous, meeting quietly to act as the proxies of the turbulent multitude. Liberalism, in its most moderate form, middle-class liberalism, clothed in bureaucratic garb—self-denying liberalism, has sprung out of the urn one moment suspected of turning out a Pandora box. The very titles of the nominees in this town prove that they can mean no harm. There is a General-Steuer-Director (chief controller of the taxes), an Oberbürgermeister (Lord Mayor), a Minister, an ex-Minister, a Gerichts President (chief justice), a Geheimer Archiv Rath (keeper of the royal archives), a Geheimer Rath (secret counsellor); all these official and secret people being backed by two *bourgeois*—the one Mr. Reimer, a Conservative and publisher to his Majesty, the other Dr. Veit, also a publisher, chosen by the money market, which here, as everywhere, is strongly imbued with Semitic blood, because of his Jewish persuasion. Now, there can be no mistake about the fact, that the middle-class radicals of 1848, Jacoby, Unruh, Waldeck, Rodbertus, Stein, Elsner, and so forth, in one word, the men whom I wrote you a month ago[a] were likely to be chosen by the great towns, played, indeed, a leading part in the meetings of the primitive electors, drew up many of the electioneering programmes, and at Breslau, Königsberg, Magdeburg, Elbing had seats in the Landtag offered to them. Whence this sudden *changement de décoration*? They have humbly declined accepting the honor kept in store for them. Some acted not quite as free agents, but resolved only upon self-abnegation after an

[a] See this volume, pp. 74-75.—*Ed.*

uncomfortable and by no means spontaneous interview with the Polizei Director. The others yielded to the pressure of the anxious part of the *bourgeoisie,* which lords it supreme at this moment. All, however, Polizei Directors, candidates and constituents, acted under the strong impulse of suddenly changed circumstances, or, I should rather say, circumstances had not changed, but the mist of delusions that hung about them became dissolved by a thunder-storm. *La situation,* as the French call it, *s'était dessinée.*[a] The Government had taken fright, and, out of mere timidity, grew bold. Herr Flottwell, the Minister of the Interior, published a circular[b] such as never before has been published in any language, teeming with grammatical blunders, perplexed in its wording, nonsensical in its arguments, but still full of angry meaning. You know what in France is understood by an official warning to a newspaper. Well, Flottwell's circular was a general warning to the electors, backed by private instructions to the police force. It directly pointed at the electioneering speeches, the electioneering programmes, and the electioneering prospects of the radical ex-members of the National Assembly of 1848. So, as the higher middle-class is willed to take the fortress by moderation, and as the more democratic majority of the people understand that for the moment the political initiative belongs to the higher middle-class, the Ministerial hint was at once acted upon, the *grands airs* of the revival were dropped, and the elections cut down to the Government pattern. Still, to be roughly shaken out of a delicious dream is by no means a pleasant sensation. The men and the speeches and the programmes interfered with, had, in their boldest soarings, kept themselves so strictly "within the limits of practical reason," that even the anxious part of the middle-class felt offended at the anxiety of the Government. Its method of ushering in the new regime of liberty seemed rather unceremonious; consequently, there was a low rumbling of disappointment through the general public, while the organs of the old Camarilla were overflowing with ironical congratulations upon the *"Selbstbesinnung"*[c] of the new Cabinet. Upon this poor Flottwell had another circular of his published,[d] which he had some weeks ago

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[a] The situation had taken shape.—*Ed.*

[b] Von Flottwell's circular of November 17, 1858 was published in the *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung,* No. 271, November 19, 1858.—*Ed.*

[c] Prudence.—*Ed.*

[d] Von Flottwell, "Circular an die Herren Regierungs-Präsidenten und den Herrn Polizei-Präsidenten von Berlin. 10. November 1858", *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung,* No. 273, November 21, 1858.—*Ed.*

secretly addressed to the *Landräthe,* and in which they were warned against supporting candidates of extreme opinions on either side. To give some weight to this anachronism, the by-gone edict was made the pretext of the following commentary in the *Preussische Zeitung,* the Ministerial organ:

"One highly auspicious fact characterizing the present elections is, that all parties concur to meet on the monarchical and constitutional basis, and thus lessen in a degree the points of difference separating their various creeds. The progressive but firm and moderate course of politics assumed by Government, will aim especially at promoting this union. Government will not suffer itself to be driven from its liberal but temperate principles by extravagant hopes or demands. Government, on the other hand, cannot allow that party to appropriate to themselves the exclusive title of Royalists, who, far from unreservedly accepting the basis of the Constitution, only admit the legality of the Charter in the same proportion as it corresponds with their own interests. Government denies the assertion that the majority of the landed proprietors belong to this party," etc.

In point of fact, the Ministry went in all this for nothing. The Prince had not established himself with a reactionary speech in the *Staatsrath,*[a] on the introduction of his son, with another reactionary speech in the Freemasons' meeting, and with a reactionary address to the *Treubund*[b] (a sort of Prussian Orangemen organization),[94] but he had frightened the Cabinet by violent explosions of anger at the turn things were taking under their direction. Flottwell's first circular was a well-meant warning to the middle-class not to put the Regent's new-fangled constitutionalism upon anything like a trial. When, consequent upon this step, the Ministers became aware of their own precarious position, they telegraphed to the Princess of Prussia, who at once hastened from Coblenz to Berlin and gave a *coup de baguette*[c] in the opposite direction. The Princess during the last year alternately dwelt at Weimar, Carlsruhe and Coblenz. She had only repaired to Berlin at the moment of the settlement of the Regency question. Then all the physicians consulted, declining to declare whether the King's malady was or was not to be cured, the Queen, through Herr von Kleist-Retzow, singled out an army surgeon, one Boeger, who countersigned a paper to the effect that the King could be restored to health. The Princess of Prussia feigned to fall sick. Cited that same surgeon to her side, had herself treated by him, coaxed him by flattery and

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[a] The Prince's speech in the State Council on November 8, 1858 was published in the *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung,* No. 276, November 25, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] This address was delivered on November 11, 1858. See *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung,* No. 270, November 18, 1858.—*Ed.*

[c] Stroke of the wand.—*Ed.*

gracious condescension, and, when he seemed ripe for her purpose, put the pertinent question, whether he, such an exceedingly learned and conscientious man, could in fact believe in his own declaration as to the King's state of health? Silly Boeger avowed that the tears of the Queen had alone determined his course of action. Upon this, the Princess rang the bell, two chamberlains rushed in, and the army surgeon, required to obey his natural superiors, had to repeat, not by word of mouth, but in his own handwriting, the confession just extorted. Having thus gained her end, the Princess was banished from Berlin. After her husband's installation as Regent, she voluntarily prolonged her sojourn at Coblenz. Prince William, like other mediocre men, suffers from the mental superiority of his better half, and, though kept in leading strings, dislikes to see the hands that pull them. His wife's influence must be brought to bear upon him in a roundabout way. The relations between these two personages are, besides, of an icy and ceremonious character. Prince William, in his youth, was passionately in love with Fräulein von Brockhaus, and wanted to marry her. His father interfered, and the Fräulein died of a broken heart at Paris. The marriage with the Princess of Weimar was forced upon the restive scion of the house of Hohenzollern; and to revenge himself, he exhibited, during the first years of marriage, an unbounded passion for Fräulein V——k. So the relations between the Prince and his wife are anything but homelike, and the best method for installing her Ministry at Berlin was to hide herself at Coblenz.

Meanwhile, the Queen played one of those tricks familiar to the readers of the *oeil de boeuf*'s[95] chronicles. You have, perhaps, read in the newspapers that, on the departure from Berlin of the King and the Queen, the latter's *portefeuille* was stolen at Leipsic, and that, despite all the exertions of the Argus-eyed and Briareus-handed German police, the thief was not to be caught. By some accident or other, this *portefeuille* found its way to the Regent's writing-desk, and in the *portefeuille* there was found a voluminous correspondence, carried on by the Princess, his wife, with all sorts of political characters.

There were letters addressed to Wenzel, Gerichts President at Ratibor, one of the deputies just elected at Berlin, and an Opposition member in the Manteuffel House of Commons, and letters to Reichensperger, the chief of the Prussian Catholic opposition, and other letters—all teeming with affected liberalism, and all longing for a united Germany. In this way, the Prince, known to be haunted by the bugbear of the Red Republic, was still

more frightened by the apparent discovery of his own wife being made a wife of the Revolutionists. Other intrigues were resorted to. I chronicle this *chronique scandaleuse,* the correctness of which I can vouch for, because revolutions, before taking the shape of popular commotion, announce themselves in monarchic States first by the decay of dynasties.

Written on November 23, 1858

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**Reproduced from the newspaper**

# Frederick Engels

## EUROPE IN 1858[96]

The second half of the year 1858 has witnessed, in Europe, a peculiar revival of political activity. From the 2d of December, 1851, till the middle of the present year, the continent of Europe was, politically speaking, covered as with a shroud. The powers which, by the grace of the armies, had issued victorious out of the great revolutionary contest, had been allowed to govern as they liked, to make and unmake, to keep or to break the laws just as they pleased. Representative institutions had everywhere been degraded to a mere sham; there was scarcely any Parliamentary opposition anywhere; the press was gagged; and had it not been, now and then, for some sudden explosion, an outbreak at Milan, a landing at Salerno, a riot at Châlon, an attempt on the life of Louis Napoleon[97]; had it not been for some political trials at Angers and elsewhere, during which the old revolutionary spirit revelled, for a short hour, and no matter at what cost, in a loud and startling self-assertion—one might have thought that the European Continent had given up all ideas of political life after the experiment of 1848, and that military despotism, the rule of the Caesars was generally acquiesced in as the only practicable form of government. Even in England, the spirit of political reform had been constantly on the decline. Judicial, commercial, and administrative legislation, the latter with an undoubted tendency toward centralization, occupied the attention of Parliament. The attempts at keeping alive a popular political movement failed most signally, the Middle-Class Reform party going quietly to sleep and suffering an immense defeat in Lord Palmerston's general election of 1857,[98] while Chartism had fallen completely to pieces.

Of all the European nations, Russia was the first to awake from this political lethargy. The Crimean war, though concluded without any very substantial loss of territory, and, so far as the East is concerned, even of prestige, had still humiliated her pride. For the first time, she had been compelled to abandon the principle, that whatever lands she annexes she never again gives up. Her whole system of administration, in its most perfect branch—the military—had broken down completely, and had to be admitted a failure. The work in which Nicholas had labored, day and night, for twenty-five years, had crumbled into ruins with the ramparts and forts of Sebastopol. Still, with the existing political state of the country, no other system of administration was possible than the exclusive and exaggerated bureaucratic system which existed. To lay a foundation for a better system, Alexander II had to recur to the idea of emancipating the serfs. He had two formidable opponents to contend with, the nobility and that very bureaucracy which he intended to reform against its own will, and which at the same time was to serve as the instrument of his designs. To support him, he had nothing but the traditionary passive obedience of that inert mass of Russian serfs and merchants which had hitherto been excluded from the right even of thinking about their political condition. To make their support available, he was compelled to create a kind of public opinion, and at least the shadow of a press. Accordingly, the censorship was relaxed, and civil, well-intentioned and well-behaved discussion was invited; even slight and polite criticisms of the acts of public officers were permitted. The degree of liberty of debate now existing in Russia would seem ridiculously small in any country of Europe except France; but still, to people who knew the Russia of Nicholas, the step in advance appears enormous, and, combined with the difficulties necessarily arising from the emancipation of the serfs, this awakening to political life of the more educated classes of Russia is full of good omens.

The next political revival took place in Prussia. When the King had temporarily retired from active government, it soon became known that his mental derangement was incurable, and that sooner or later his brother would have to be appointed Regent, with full powers. This intermediate period gave rise to some agitation, which, under the pretext of clamor for a definitive Regency, was, in fact, directed against the existence of an unpopular Ministry. When, two months ago, the Regency was finally established, the Ministry changed, and a new House of Representatives elected, the political movement, so long dammed

up, at once cleared a road for itself, and turned the former majority out of the Legislature, almost to a man. What all the present manifestation in Prussia will ultimately lead to, has been analyzed in these columns on former occasions[a]; here we have merely to register the fact that the political revival has taken place.

The existence of such a movement could not remain unnoticed in the remainder of Germany. In fact, it is already making itself felt in the smaller States; and changes of Ministry, shiftings of majorities and vacillations of policy, are sure to develop themselves as the movement in Prussia takes a more definite shape. And, not only in the small fry of German monarchies, but in Austria as well, is this movement beginning to be seriously felt. The Constitutional party in Austria have, at present, no chance of inducing the Government to make a second trial of Representative institutions; so, the only means they have of keeping the question before the public is to praise the "return to sound Constitutional Government" in Prussia; and, indeed, it is wonderful how popular Prussia has at once become in Austria and South Germany. But no matter what be its expression, the movement is in existence even in Austria.

Another focus of agitation is Italy. Comparatively quiet since the peace with Russia, the political infection, aided by Bonapartist intrigues, was sure to spread to this inflammable nation. The old anti-smoking movement has begun again in Lombardy; the Duchess of Parma[b] finds it convenient to allow Ristori to declaim against the Austrians under the cloak of Judith preaching a holy war against the Assyrians,[99] and that within hearing of the Austrian garrison of Piacenza. The position of the French army of occupation at Rome, and of the Papal Government there, are becoming equally difficult. Naples is even ready to rise, and, to crown all, Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia calls upon his generals to be prepared, for they may possibly have to smell powder again in the Spring.[c]

Even France has been seized by this new spirit. Montalembert's paper against Bonapartism[d] was a striking proof of a reawakening life among the French middle classes. It now appears that not only had Montalembert prepared another essay, but M. Falloux, the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 65-81, 96-109, 115-19.—*Ed.*

[b] Louise de Bourbon.—*Ed.*

[c] Victor Emmanuel's address to Colonel Rolland after the review of the Savoy brigade, November 1858, *The Times*, No. 23168, December 4, 1858.—*Ed.*

[d] Ch. Montalembert, "Un débat sur l'Inde au parlement anglais", *Le Correspondant*, new series, Vol. IX, October 1858. See also this volume, p. 93.—*Ed.*

ex-Minister of Louis Napoleon, is also coming out with a strong article against the existing state of things. The trial of Montalembert[a] resolves itself into a solemn protest of the parliamentary celebrities of France against the present system, and a declaration that they still aspire to the restoration of parliamentary government. De Broglie, Odilon Barrot, Villemain and many other men of that class were there, and Berryer spoke for them all when, under the shelter of that inviolability which to a certain degree adheres to the forensic speeches of an advocate, he exclaimed:

"No, we shall never and on no account be renegades to our past. You hold this country too cheap. You admit, yourselves, that it is changeful and inconstant. What guaranty, then, have you that it will not one day return to those institutions which it has loved, and under which it has lived for half a century? Ah, our strength is greatly exhausted by our protracted struggles, by our painful trials, by the bitterness of our disappointments—*no matter when our country wants us, it will ever find us at our posts.* We will devote ourselves to it with the same ardor, the same perseverance and the same disinterestedness as in bygone days, and the last cry of our expiring voice shall be—'Liberty and France!'"

Surely, such an open declaration of war against the whole of the existing institutions of France would never be ventured upon unless there was a strong party out of doors giving the speaker their moral support. Finally, we find even in England a resuscitated reform agitation, and an all but certainty that this question must now be kept before Parliament, in some definite shape or other, until a measure is passed which will alter materially the balance of parties, and thereby attack the foundations of the venerable but rickety British Constitution.

Now, what is at the bottom of this uniform and, so far, uncommonly harmonious movement in almost all the countries of Europe? When the volcanic upheavings of 1848 suddenly threw before the eyes of the astonished liberal middle classes of Europe the giant specter of an armed working class, struggling for political and social emancipation, the middle classes, to whom the safe possession of their capital was of immensely higher importance than direct political power, sacrificed this power, and all the liberties for which they had fought, to secure the suppression of the proletarian revolution. The middle class declared itself politically a minor, unfit to manage the affairs of the nation, and acquiesced in military and bureaucratic despotism. Then arose that spasmodic extension of manufactures, mines, railways, and steam navigation, that epoch of *Crédits Mobiliers,* joint-stock bubbles, of

[a] On November 24, 1858.—*Ed.*

swindling and jobbing, in which the European middle class sought to make up for their political defeats by industrial victories, for their collective impotence by individual wealth. But with their wealth rose their social power, and in the same proportion their interests expanded; they again began to feel the political fetters imposed upon them. The present movement in Europe is the natural consequence and expression of this feeling, combined with that return of confidence in their own power over their workmen which ten years of quiet industrial activity have brought about. The year 1858 bears a close resemblance to the year 1846, which also initiated a political revival in most parts of Europe, and was also distinguished by a number of reforming princes, who, two years afterward, were carried away helplessly by the rush of the revolutionary torrent which they had let loose.

Written late in November 1858

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## [AFFAIRS IN PRUSSIA]

Berlin, Dec. 4, 1858

In a former letter[a] I told you how sudden a turn was given to the general elections by Mr. Flottwell's confidential warning[b] to the middle class not to overdo the "revival" scene. Accordingly a full sweep was made of the middle-class radicals. On the other hand, the inferior classes stood in no need of warnings, since they abstained voluntarily and rather contemptuously from using the farcical right of casting a vote which, by virtue of the electoral law, counts for nothing whenever, as in the present case, first-rate and second-rate wealth have decided upon a common course. The few places where, as in this town for instance, you find the votes of the minority of the ratable working classes recorded, you may be sure that they acted under compulsion on a *mot d'ordre*[c] intimated by their employers. Even "the London *Times'* Own Correspondent" (who sees everything *couleur de rose*) cannot but avow, in the columns of the British Leviathan, that the passive attitude taken by the masses inspired his stout heart with dark misgivings.[d] So, then, the elections are altogether liberal in the ministerial sense. The *Kreuz-Zeitung's* party[100] has disappeared as by the move of a magical wand. Two of its magnates even have found their way back to the chambers where they used to dictate, and some owe their return solely to the magnanimity of their rivals. The havoc

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[a] See this volume, pp. 116-17.—*Ed.*

[b] See von Flottwell's circular of November 17, 1858, *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung*, No. 271, November 19, 1858.—*Ed.*

[c] Order.—*Ed.*

[d] See the report from Berlin of November 30, *The Times*, No. 23167, December 3, 1858 ("Prussia").—*Ed.*

made among them may be inferred from the single fact that out of 77 *Landräthe* but 27 have been reelected. Altogether they will reappear in the shape of a by no means respectable minority.

But such is the frail nature of Prussian constitutionalism that it has taken fright at the magnitude of its own victory. The elections having resulted in Chambers representing the liberalism of the Ministry, it is evident that the Ministry represents the liberalism of the elected Chambers, and by this simple process becomes actually converted into a party Ministry, a parliamentary Ministry, just the abomination that ought not to be. Consequently, the Ministers had to protest at once in the *Staats-Anzeiger* against the new situation created for them. They, the elected Councillors of the Prince, appeared all at once, transformed into the chosen Executive of the country, and their power to emanate from popular delegation. In their protest—the only name one can give to their profession of faith inserted in the *Staats-Anzeiger*—they asseverate in highflown sentences that Parliamentary Ministry or party Government is in Prussia quite out of the question; that the King, by the grace of God, must remain the exclusive source of power; that the Ministers cannot serve two masters; that it is all right on the part of the country to have carried the elections in its senses, but that, instead of the country now expecting them to follow the initiative of the Chambers, the Ministry expects the Chambers to walk obsequiously in the footsteps of the Government.

You see where we are. They are a Parliamentary Government and they are no Parliamentary Government. They have, through the elections, ousted the party of the Queen, but already they show themselves anxious to break the ladder by which they entered the premises of power. With the King still living, with the Queen still intriguing, with powerful and organized interests still hiding themselves under their banner, the Prince could not secure his place but by choosing a liberal Ministry, and that Ministry could not hold its post but by appealing to the general elections. The electors sending back from below the tune played from above, the Ministers became a party Ministry and the Prince became a middle-class Dictator. But then, all at once, he, the expectant heir, by the grace of God, to the throne of Prussia, recognizes the false position in which events have placed him, and in his angry weakness, imagines that by words he can blot out facts; that by phrases half didactic, half menacing, he can change the real conditions of his tenure of power, and that the electoral manoeuvre once got through with, he will be able to reassume the traditional airs of a Prussian King. He and his men, while fancying

that they can impose upon the country, betray only their own bad faith and exhibit the grotesque spectacle of the *malade malgré lui.*[a] In their anxiety to hush up the political revival, they are only emancipating it from their control. As an appendage of the ministerial protest must be considered the speech[b] in the State Council of the Prince, a speech published at full length because the Queen's camarilla harped upon some isolated sentences of the harangue.

Now, the Prince, like the Ministers, turns in most lusty self-contradiction. He has chosen a new Cabinet, because he considered the dismissal of the old one no real change. He wants something new, but the new thing must be a new edition of the old one. He condemns the Constitution of the Municipalities, forced upon the country by the late Government, because it extinguished the last spark of municipal self-government; but he will not have it altered, because such an alteration might work dangerously in the present fermentation of the public mind. He proposes to extend the influence of Prussia by pacific means only, and, consequently, dwells upon the necessary augmentation of the army, already a ruinously huge excrescence. He confesses that for the latter purpose money is wanted, and that, despite the creation of a State debt since the revolution, the Exchequer turns a deaf ear to the demands pressing upon it. He announces the creation of new taxes, and, at the same time, inveighs against the immense strides credit has made in Prussia during the last decennial epoch. As his Ministers want electors in their sense, while not admitted to be Ministers in the sense of their electors, he, the Regent, wants money for his army, but wants no moneyed men. The only passage in his speech which smacks of decided opposition to the late regime, is his invective against religious hypocrisy. This was a pique he owed to the Queen, but lest the public should take the same liberty, he, a Protestant Prince, had simultaneously a Berlin congregation of free Catholics[101] dispersed by the Police force.

Now, you will admit that such a nondescript, self-contradictory, suicidal policy would, even under ordinary circumstances, prove provoking and dangerous enough, but the circumstances are no ordinary ones. There is the revolution threatening from France, to show front against which the Prussian Government must feel

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[a] A play of words on the titles of two comedies by Molière, *Le médecin malgré lui* and *Le malade imaginaire.—Ed.*

[b] Delivered on November 8, 1858 and published in the *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung,* No. 276, November 25, 1858.—*Ed.*

comfortable at home. The only prospect of delaying the revolution in France is a European war. In such a war Russia, France and Sardinia would club together against Austria. Not to become the common scapegoat, Prussia must then be ready to carry on an insurrectionary war, a war of German independence; for if it should wage war against its own subjects, it would, as in 1806, be felled by a single stroke.[102] The Prussian Government is fully conscious of the predicament it would be put in by either a French revolution or a European war. And it knows that on the horns of this dilemma Europe is tossed at this moment. But, on the other hand, it knows that in giving full swing to the popular movement, the same danger would start from within, which would thus be shunned from without. To make popular concessions in appearance and baffle them in fact, is a game perhaps dangerous to play with the German people, but the poor Prussian Government lacks the nerve to even attempt the game. Why, for instance, not allow the higher middle classes to indulge the comfort that a Cabinet nominated by the Regent was afterward elected by them? Because even the appearance of popular concession offends the dynastic pride. As with the internal policy, so with foreign policy. No State feels more horror-struck at the aspect of a European war, than Prussia. Yet a little private war, say a fight with Denmark as to Schleswig-Holstein, or internecine bullets exchanged with Austria as to the German Hegemonie, might prove an extremely clever diversion, and create popularity at the cheap price of bleeding the mob. But, there again the thing desirable is not the thing that can be done. Behind the Danish question lurks Russia, while Austria represents in her proper person nothing less than the European *status quo.* Thus, as Constitutional concessions would pave the way to the revolution, so a little fighting would lead to a European war. Hence you may be sure that the grand warlike tones of Prussia against Denmark will evaporate in a wordy protest inserted in the *Staats-Anzeiger.*

Written on December 4, 1858

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5517, December 27, 1858

# Karl Marx

## QUESTION OF THE IONIAN ISLANDS

London, Dec. 17, 1858

The case of Mr. William Hudson Guernsey, alias Wellington[a] Guernsey, criminally prosecuted for stealing from the library of the British Colonial Office two secret dispatches addressed—the one on June 10, 1857, the other on July 18, 1858[b]—to the late Government of Lord Palmerston by Sir John Young, Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, has just been tried before Baron Martin of the Central Criminal Court, and ended in the acquittal of the accused. The trial was interesting, both in a political and a judicial point of view. It will be remembered that the Homeric Mr. Gladstone had hardly left London, on his extraordinary mission to pacify the Ionian Islands,[103] when, like a Scythian arrow, darted from an unseen hand, Sir John Young's dispatch, which proposes to abandon the protectorate of the islands and surrender them to Greece, but only after having cut off the finest morsel by merging Corfu in the colonial domains of Great Britain, made its appearance in the columns of *The Daily News*. Great and general was the astonishment. The portion of the London press opposed to secret diplomacy congratulated Lord Derby's Cabinet on the bold step of initiating the public into the mystery of diplomatic whisperings; and *The Morning Star*, in its naive enthusiasm, proclaimed that a new epoch of international policy had dawned upon the United Kingdom. The sweet voice of praise became, however, in no time, overhowled by the shrill and

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[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has "Washington" here.—*Ed.*

[b] The last date should be July 14, 1858. See "Copy of a Despatch from Sir J. Young to Mr. Secretary Labouchere, Corfu, June 10, 1857" and "Copy of a Despatch from Sir J. Young to the Right Hon. Sir E. L. Bulwer Lytton, Corfu, July 14, 1858", *The Times*, No. 23150, November 13, 1858.—*Ed.*

angry tones of criticism. The anti-ministerial press eagerly seized upon the "premeditated blunder," as they called it, which, they said, was aimed at nothing else than the destruction, in the first instance, of Mr. Gladstone's political independence and at his temporary removal from the Parliamentary arena; while, at the same time, by an unscrupulous stroke of Machiavellian perfidy, his mission was to be baffled on the part of his own employers by the publication of a document which put him at once in a false position toward the party he had to negotiate with, toward public opinion in England, and toward the public law of Europe. To ruin a too confiding rival, said *The Times,*[a] *The Globe, The Observer,* and the smaller anti-ministerial fry, the Derby Cabinet had not hesitated to commit an indiscretion which, under existing circumstances, amounted to nothing less than treason. How could Mr. Gladstone negotiate when the Ionians were not only informed that a foregone conclusion was arrived at on the part of Britain, but when the leading Ionian patriots were compromised by the betrayal of their acceptance of a plan resulting in the dismemberment of the seven islands? How could he negotiate in face of the European remonstrances, which were sure to result from such an infringement of the treaty of Vienna,[b] that treaty constituting England not the owner of Corfu, but the protector only of the seven islands, and settling the territorial divisions of the European map forever? These newspaper articles were, in fact, followed by actual remonstrances on the part of Russia and France.

Let me remark, *en passant,* that the treaty of Vienna, the only acknowledged code of international law in Europe, forms one of the most monstrous *fictiones juris publici* ever heard of in the annals of mankind. What is the first article of that treaty[c]? The eternal exclusion of the Bonaparte family from the French throne; yet there sits Louis Napoleon, the founder of the second empire, acknowledged and fraternized with, and cajoled and bowed to by all the crowned heads of Europe. Another article[d] runs to the effect that Belgium is forever granted to Holland; while, on the other hand, for eighteen years past, the separation of Belgium

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[a] No. 23152, November 16, 1858 (leading article).—*Ed.*

[b] "Convention entre les cours de Vienne, de St. Pétersbourg, de Londres et de Berlin, pour fixer le sort des sept îles Ioniennes; signée à Paris le 5 novembre 1815".—*Ed.*

[c] "Traité d'alliance de Vienne entre la Grande-Bretagne, l'Autriche, la Prusse et la Russie conclu le 25 mars 1815."—*Ed.*

[d] "Traité entre le roi du Pays-Bas et les quatre Puissances alliées, signé à Vienne, le 13 mai 1815."—*Ed.*

from Holland is not only a *fait accompli,* but a legal fact. Then the treaty of Vienna prescribes that Cracow, incorporated with Austria since 1846, shall forever remain an independent republic[a]; and last, not least, that Poland, merged by Nicholas into the Russian Empire, shall be an independent constitutional kingdom, linked with Russia by the personal bond of the Romanoff dynasty only.[b] Thus, leaf after leaf has been torn out of this holy book of the European *jus publicum,* and it is only appealed to when it suits the interests of one party and the weakness of the other.

The Derby Cabinet was evidently wavering, whether to pocket the unmerited praises of one part of the press, or meet the unmerited slanders of the other. Yet, after eight days' vacillation, it decided on the latter step, declared by a public advertisement that it had no hand in the publication of Sir John Young's dispatches, and that an investigation was actually going on as to the performer of the criminal trick.[c] Finally, Mr. William Hudson Guernsey was traced out as the guilty man, tried before the Central Criminal Court, and convicted of having purloined the dispatches. The Derby Cabinet, consequently, comes out victorious in the contest; and here the political interest of the trial ends. Still, in consequence of this lawsuit, the attention of the world has been again directed to the relations between Great Britain and the Ionian Islands. That the plan of Sir John Young was no private crotchet, is conclusively proved by the following extract from a public address of his predecessor, Sir Henry Ward, to the Ionian Assembly, on the 13th of April, 1850:

"It is not for me to speak, in the name of the British crown, of that distant future which the address shadows forth, when the scattered members of the Greek race may be reunited in one mighty empire, with the consent of the European powers. But I have no difficulty in expressing my own opinion [he spoke in the name of the British crown] that, if such an event be within the scope of human contingencies, the Sovereign and the Parliament of England would be equally willing to see the Ionians resume their place as members of the new power that would then take its place in the policy of the world."[d]

Meanwhile, the philanthropic feelings of Great Britain for the islands, gave themselves vent in the truly Austrian ferocity with

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[a] "Traité additionnel entre la Russie, la Prusse, et l'Autriche, relatif à Cracovie, signé à Vienne, le 3 mai 1815."—*Ed.*

[b] "Acte final du Congrès de Vienne, 9 juin 1815."—*Ed.*

[c] H. Drummond Wolff, "To the Editor of *The Times*", *The Times,* No. 23153, November 17, 1858. The statement to the *Times* editor was made on behalf of the British Colonial Office.—*Ed.*

[d] This and the following quotations are to be found in the article "The Ionian Islands", *The Free Press,* No. 23, November 24, 1858.—*Ed.*

which Sir Henry Ward crushed the then rebellion in the islands. Out of a population of 200,000 souls, 8,000 were punished by hanging, scourging, imprisonment and exile; women and children being whipped until blood flowed. In order not to be suspected of exaggeration, I will quote a British paper, *The Morning Chronicle,* of April 25, 1850:

> "We shudder at the awful measure of retribution which was inflicted by the Court-Martials, under the direction of the Lord High Commissioner. Death, transportation and corporal punishments were awarded to the wretched criminals in some cases *without trial,* in another by the rapid *process of martial law.* Of capital executions there were 21, and of other punishments a large number."

But, then, the Britishers boast of having blessed the Ionians with a free Constitution and developed their material resources to a pitch forming a bright contrast with the wretched economical state of Greece proper. Now, as to the Constitution, Lord Grey, at the moment when he was given to constitution-mongering for the whole Colonial Empire of Great Britain, could with no good grace pass over the Ionian Islands; but he only gave them back what England for long years had fraudulently wrested from them.

By a treaty drawn up by Count Capo d'Istria, and signed with Russia at Paris in 1815, the protection of the Ionian Islands was made over to Great Britain, on the express condition of her abiding by the Russian Constitution granted to them in 1803. The first British Lord High Commissioner, Sir Thomas Maitland, abrogated that Constitution, and replaced it by one investing him with absolute power.[104] In 1839, the Chevalier Mustoxidis, an Ionian, states in his *"Pro Memoria,"* printed by the House of Commons, June 22, 1840:

> "The Ionians [...] do not enjoy the privilege which the communities of Greece used to possess even in the days of Turkish tyranny, that of electing their own magistrates, and managing their own affairs, but are under officers imposed upon them by the police. The slight latitude which had been allowed to the municipal bodies of each island of administering their own revenues has been snatched from them, and in order to render them more dependent, these revenues have been thrown into the public exchequer."

As to the development of the material resources, it will suffice to say that England, Free-trade England, is not ashamed to pester the Ionians with export duties, a barbarous expedient which seemed relegated to the financial code of Turkey. Currants, for instance, the staple product of the islands, are charged with an export duty of $22^1/_2$ per cent.

"The intervening seas," says an Ionian, "which form, as it were, the highway of the islands, are stopped, after the method of a turnpike gate, at each harbor, by transit duties, which tax the commodities of every name and description *interchanged between island and island.*"

Nor is this all. During the first twenty-three years of British administration, the taxation was increased threefold and the expenditure fivefold. Some reduction took place afterward, but then in 1850 there was a deficiency equal to one half of what was previously the total taxation, as is shown by the following table:

| | Annual Taxation. | Expenditure. |
|---|---|---|
| 1815 | £68,459 | £48,500 |
| 1817* | 108,997 | 87,420 |
| 1850 | 147,482 | 170,000 |

* First year of the British Protectorate.

Thus, export duties on their own produce, transit duties between the different islands, increase of taxation and waste of expenditure are the economical blessings conferred on the Ionians by John Bull. According to his oracle in Printing-House Square,[a] he grasps after colonies only in order to educate them in the principles of public liberty; but, if we adhere to facts, the Ionian Islands, like India and Ireland, prove only that to be free at home, John Bull must enslave abroad. Thus, at this very moment, while giving vent to his virtuous indignation against Bonaparte's spy system at Paris, he is himself introducing it at Dublin.

The judicial interest of the trial in question hangs upon one point: Guernsey's advocate confessed to the purloining of ten copies of the dispatches, but pleaded not guilty, because they had not been intended to be used for a private purpose. If the crime of larceny depends on the intention only with which foreign property is unlawfully appropriated, the criminal law is brought to a dead stop in that respect. The solid citizens of the jury-box scarcely intended to effect such a revolution in the conditions of property, but only meant to assert, by their verdict, that public documents are the property—not of the Government, but of the public.[b]

Written on December 17, 1858

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5526, January 6, 1859

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[a] The square in London where *The Times* had its main offices.—*Ed.*

[b] "Trial of Mr. Guernsey for Stealing the Ionian Despatches", *The Times,* No. 23178, December 16, 1858.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE EXCITEMENT IN IRELAND

London, Dec. 24, 1858

A Government, representing, like the present British Ministry, a party in decay, will always better succeed in getting rid of its old principles, than of its old connections. When installing himself at Downing street,[a] Lord Derby, doubtless, made up his mind to atone for the blunders which in times past had converted his name into a byword in Ireland; and his versatile Attorney-General for Ireland, Mr. Whiteside, would not one moment hesitate flinging to the wind the oaths that bound him to the Orange Lodges.[105] But, then, Lord Derby's advent to power gave, simultaneously, the signal for one coterie of the governing class to rush in and fill the posts just vacated by the forcible ejection of the other coterie. The formation of the Derby Cabinet involved the consequence that all Government places should be divided among a motley crew still united by a party name which has become meaningless, and still marching under a banner torn to tatters, but in fact having nothing in common save reminiscences of the past, club intrigues, and, above all, the firm resolution to share together the loaves and fishes of office. Thus, Lord Eglinton, the Don Quixote who wanted to resuscitate the tournaments of chivalry in money-mongering England, was to be enthroned Lord Lieutenant at Dublin Castle, and Lord Naas, notorious as a reckless partisan of Irish landlordism, was to be made his First Minister. The worthy couple, *arcades ambo*,[b] on leaving London, were, of course,

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[a] 10 Downing Street is the British Prime Minister's residence.—*Ed.*

[b] Arcadians both: two of the same stamp, blackguards both (Virgil, *Bucolics, Eclogues,* VII, 4).—*Ed.*

seriously enjoined by their superiors to have done with their crotchets, to behave properly, and by no capricious pranks to upset their own employers. Lord Eglinton's path across the channel was, we do not doubt, paved with good intentions, the vista of the Viceroyal baubles dancing before his childish mind; while Lord Naas, on his arrival at Dublin Castle, was determined to satisfy himself that the wholesale clearance of estates,[106] the burning down of cottages, and the merciless unhousing of their poor inmates were proceeding at the proper ratio. Yet as party necessities had forced Lord Derby to instal wrong men in the wrong place, party necessities falsified at once the position of those men, whatever their individual intentions might be. Orangeism had been officially snubbed for its intruding loyalty, the Government itself had been compelled to denounce its organization as illegal, and very unceremoniously it was told that it was no longer good for any earthly purpose, and that it must vanish. The mere advent of a Tory Government, the mere occupancy of Dublin Castle by an Eglinton and a Naas revived the hopes of the chopfallen Orangemen. The sun shone again on the "true blues"; they would again lord it over the land as in the days of Castlereagh,[107] and the day for taking their revenge had visibly dawned. Step by step, they led the bungling, weak, and, therefore, temerarious representatives of Downing street from one false position to the other, until one fine morning at last, the world was startled by a proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant,[a] placing Ireland (so to say) in a state of siege, and turning, through the means of £100 and £50 rewards, the trade of the spy, the informer, the perjurer, and the *agent provocateur* into the most profitable trade in Green Erin. The placards announcing rewards for the detection of secret societies were hardly posted, when an infamous fellow, named O'Sullivan, an apothecary's apprentice at Killarney, denounced his own father and some boys of Killarney, Kenmare, Bantry, Skibbereen, as members of a formidable conspiracy which, in secret understanding with filibusters from the other side of the Atlantic, intended not only, like Mr. Bright, to "Americanize English institutions,"[b] but to annex Ireland to the model Republic. Consequently, detectives busied themselves in the Counties of Kerry and Cork, nocturnal arrests took place, mysterious informa-

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[a] R. S. Naas, "By the Lord Lieutenant-General and General Governor of Ireland. Proclamation. Eglintoun and Winton", *The Times,* No. 23168, December 4, 1858 ("The Irish Government and the Riband Conspiracy").—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times,* No. 23176, December 14, 1858 (leading article).—*Ed.*

tions went on; from the south-west the conspiracy hunting spread to the north-east, farcical scenes occurred in the County of Monaghan, and alarmed Belfast saw some dozen of schoolmasters, attorneys' clerks and merchants' clerks paraded through the streets and locked up in the jails. What rendered the thing worse was the vail of mystery thrown over the judicial proceedings. Bail was declined in all cases, midnight surprises became the order of the day, all the inquisitions were kept secret, copies of the informations on which the arbitrary arrests had been made were regularly refused, the stipendiary magistrates were whirling up and down from their judicial seats to the antechambers of Dublin Castle, and of all Ireland might be said, what Mr. Rea, the counsel for the defendants at Belfast, remarked with respect to that place, "I believe the British Constitution has left Belfast this last week."[a]

Now, through all this hubbub and all this mystery, there transpires more and more the anxiety of the Government, that had given way to the pressure of its credulous Irish agents, who, in their turn, were mere playthings in the hands of the Orangemen, how to get out of the awkward fix without losing at once their reputation and their places. At first, it was pretended[b] that the dangerous conspiracy, extending its ramifications from the south-west to the north-east over the whole surface of Ireland, issued from the Americanizing Phoenix Club.[108] Then it was a revival of Ribbonism[109]; but now it is something quite new, quite unknown, and the more awful for all that. The shifts Government is driven to may be judged from the maneuvers of the Dublin *Daily Express*, the Government organ, which day by day treats its readers to false rumors of murders committed, armed men marauding, and midnight meetings taking place. To its intense disgust, the men killed return from their graves, and protest in its own columns against being so disposed of by the editor.

There may exist such a thing as a Phoenix Club, but at all events, it is a very small affair, since the Government itself has thought fit to stifle this Phoenix in its own ashes. As to Ribbonism, its existence never depended upon secret conspirators. When, at the end of the Eighteenth century, the Protestant Peep-o'-Day boys combined to wage war against the Catholics in the north of Ireland, the opposing society of the Defenders sprang up.[110] When, in 1791, the Peep-o'-Day boys merged into Orangeism, the

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[a] "Ireland. The Arrests", *The Times*, No. 23183, December 22, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] "Ireland. Illegal Societies", *The Times*, No. 23174, December 11, 1858.—*Ed.*

Defenders transformed themselves into Ribbonmen. When, at last, in our own days, the British Government disavowed Orangeism, the Ribbon Society, having lost its condition of life, dissolved itself voluntarily. The extraordinary steps taken by Lord Eglinton may, in fact, revive Ribbonism, as may the present attempts of the Dublin Orangemen to place English officers at the head of the Irish Constabulary, and fill its inferior ranks with their own partisans. At present there exist no secret societies in Ireland except Agrarian societies. To accuse Ireland of producing such societies would be as judicious as to accuse woodland of producing mushrooms. The landlords of Ireland are confederated for a fiendish war of extermination against the cotters; or, as they call it, they combine for the economical experiment of clearing the land of useless mouths. The small native tenants are to be disposed of with no more ado than vermin is by the housemaid. The despairing wretches, on their part, attempt a feeble resistance by the formation of secret societies, scattered over the land, and powerless for effecting anything beyond demonstrations of individual vengeance.

But if the conspiracy hunted after in Ireland is a mere invention of Orangeism, the premiums held out by the Government may succeed in giving shape and body to the airy nothing.[a] The recruiting sergeant is no more sure to press with his shilling and his gin some of the Queen's mob into the Queen's service, than a reward for the detection of Irish secret societies is sure to create the societies to be detected. From the entrails of every county there rise immediately blacklegs who, transforming themselves into revolutionary delegates, travel through the rural districts, enrol members, administer oaths, denounce the victims, swear them to the gallows, and pocket the blood-money. To characterize this race of Irish informers and the effect on them of Government rewards, it will suffice to quote one passage from a speech delivered by Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons:

> "When I was Chief Secretary of Ireland, a murder was committed between Carrick-on-Suir and Clonmel. A Mr.—— had a deadly revenge toward a Mr.——, and he employed four men at two guineas each to murder him. There was a road on each side of the River Suir, from Carrick to Clonmel; and placing two men on each road, the escape of his victim was impossible. He was, therefore, foully murdered, and the country was so shocked by this heinous crime, that the Government offered a reward of £500 for the discovery of each of the murderers.

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[a] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act V, Scene 1.—*Ed.*

And can it be believed, the miscreant who bribed the four murderers was the very man who came and gave the information which led to their execution, and with these hands I paid in my office in Dublin Castle the sum of £2,000 to that monster in human shape."

Written on December 29, 1858

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# Karl Marx

## THE EMANCIPATION QUESTION

### I

Berlin, Dec. 29, 1858

The great "initiator" (to use a Mazzinian term) of the Russian Revolution, the Emperor Alexander II, has taken a new step in advance. On Nov. 13, last, the Imperial Central Committee for the abolition of servitude[111] finally signed its report to the Emperor, in which the bases are laid down on which the emancipation of the serfs is proposed to be carried out.[a] The fundamental principles are the following:

I. The peasants cease at once to be serfs, and enter into a state of "provisional obligation" toward their landlords. This state is to last for twelve years, during which they enjoy all the rights, personal and proprietary, of all other taxable subjects of the Empire. Serfdom and all its attributes, are abolished forever, without any consideration being paid to their former proprietors; for, says the report, serfdom was arbitrarily introduced by Czar Boris Godunov,* grew by an abuse of power into part and parcel

* This is anything but correct. Boris Godunov (ukase of Nov. 2, 1601) put an end to the right of the peasantry to travel about the Empire, and tied them to the estate to which they belonged by birth or residence. Under his successors the power of the nobility over the peasantry increased rapidly, and a state of serfdom became gradually the general condition of the latter. But this remained an illegal usurpation on the part of the boyars, until Peter the Great in 1723 legalized it. The peasants, without being freed from the bonds which fettered them to the estates, now were also made the personal property of the noble owner of that estate; he obtained the right to sell them, singly or in lots, with or without the land, and, in consideration of this, was made personally responsible for them and their taxes to the government. Subsequently [in 1783], Catherine II, by one stroke of the pen, turned four or five millions of comparatively free peasants in the newly-acquired western and southern provinces into serfs. But it would not do in Russian official documents to mention such facts respecting Peter I and Catherine II; and poor Boris Godunov is made to bear the responsibility of the sins of all his successors.

[a] See *Le Nord*, No. 354, December 20, 1858 ("Russie").—*Ed.*

of the common law, and thus, having been created by the will of the sovereign, may also be abolished by the will of the sovereign. As to a pecuniary consideration for its abolition, such a money payment in return for rights which belong to the peasantry by nature, and should never have been taken away from them, would form, says the report, a disgraceful page, indeed, in Russian history.

II. During the twelve years of provisional obligation, the peasant remains attached to the estate; but in case the landlord cannot find him at least five dessiatines[a] of land to cultivate for himself, he is at liberty to leave the estate. The same liberty is allowed him if he finds somebody else to cultivate his allotment, so long as he pays his taxes to the Crown.

III and IV. Every village community retains the possession of the dwelling-houses of its members, with their inclosures, farm-yards, gardens, &c., for which a rent of 3 per cent per annum on the appraised value is paid to the landlord. The community has the right to compel the landlord to have this value appraised by a mixed commission of two landlords and two peasants. Whenever the community please, they can buy their homesteads out and out by paying down the appraised value.

V. The land allotments to be given by the landlords to the peasants are thus regulated: Where there are on an estate more than six dessiatines to each serf inscribed on it, every adult male peasant receives an allotment of arable land of nine dessiatines; where there is less land, two-thirds of the whole arable land are delivered up to the peasants; and where there are so many peasants on an estate that out of these two-thirds there cannot be found five dessiatines, at least, for every adult male, the land is divided into allotments of five dessiatines, and those who, by lot, are excluded from receiving any, receive passports from the village authorities, and are at liberty to go where they like. As to firewood, the landlord is bound to find it for the peasants in his forests, at a price to be fixed beforehand.

VI. In return for these advantages, the peasant has the following *corvées* to furnish to the landlord: For every dessiatine allotted, ten work days with a horse and ten work days without (in case of nine dessiatines, 180 work days per annum). The value of his *corvée* is to be fixed, in money, in every government (province) after this rate, that one day of *corvée* is considered worth one-third only of one day of free labor. After the first seven years,

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[a] A dessiatine is equal to 2.7 acres.—*Ed.*

one-seventh of these *corvées*, and in every following year another seventh, may be commuted into a corn-rent.

VII. The personal serfs, such as are not attached to a particular estate, but to the family mansion or the person of their lord, will have to serve their lords for ten years, but will receive wages. They may, however, buy their liberty any time, at 300 roubles for a man and 120 roubles for a woman.

IX. The landlord remains the chief of the village community, and has the right of veto against their resolutions; but in such a case an appeal lies to a mixed commission of nobles and peasants.

Such are the contents of this important document, which expresses, in an indirect manner, the ideas of Alexander II on the great social question of Russia. I have omitted chapters VIII, which treats of the organization of the village communities, and X which merely gives the legal forms in which the official documents relating to this change are to be made out. A very superficial comparison shows that this report is a mere continuation, and, indeed, a filling up, of the programme issued by the Central Committee last Spring, to the various corporations of nobles throughout the Empire.[a] This programme, the ten heads of which correspond exactly to the ten chapters of the report, was, in fact, a mere form made out, to show the nobles in what direction they were to act, and which they were expected to fill up. But, the more they entered upon the question the greater was their repugnance; and it is very significant that after eight months, the Government have found themselves obliged to fill up this form themselves, and to draw up that plan which was to be supposed to be a spontaneous act of the nobles.

So much for the history of the above document; now for its contents.

If the Russian nobility do not think that the "4th of August" (1789) has yet arrived, and that so far there is no necessity of sacrificing their privileges on the altar of their country, the Russian Government is going a great deal faster; it has already arrived at the "declaration of the rights of man." [112] What, indeed, do you think of Alexander II, proclaiming "rights which belong to the peasantry by nature, and of which they ought never to have been deprived"? Verily, these are strange times! In 1846, a Pope[b] initiating a liberal movement[113]; in 1858, a Russian Autocrat, a true *samoderjetz vserossiiski*,[c] proclaiming the rights of man! And we

[a] See *Le Nord*, No. 354, December 20, 1858 ("Russie").—*Ed.*

[b] Pius IX.—*Ed.*

[c] Autocrat of all Russias.—*Ed.*

shall see that the Czar's proclamation will have as world-wide an echo, and an ultimate effect of far greater magnitude than the Pope's liberalism.

The first of the parties dealt with in this report is the nobility. If they refuse to celebrate a 4th of August, the Government tells them plainly enough that they will be compelled to do so. Every chapter of the report includes a pungent material loss to the aristocracy. One of the modes in which the nobles have turned their human capital was to hire them out, or to allow them, on payment of an annual sum (*obrok*), to travel about and gain a living as they pleased. This custom suited admirably both the purses of the nobles and the roving character of the Russian serf. It was one of the chief sources of income to the former. By chapter I this is proposed to be done away with, without any payment in return. Not only this: By chapter II every serf to whom the lord cannot allot 5 dessiatines of arable land is free in his own right, and can go where he pleases. By chap. III-V, the lord is deprived of the free disposal of something like two-thirds of his land, and compelled to assign it to the peasants. It is true, they occupy it now, but under his control, and in consideration of services which were fixed entirely by him. Now, the land is to belong, in reality, to the peasants, who are made tenants in perpetuity, who obtain the right to buy, out and out, their homesteads, and whose services, though fixed at a very high rate, are yet to be immutably fixed by a legal enactment, and, worse still, may be commuted at a (to them) pretty advantageous tariff. Even the *dvorovye,* the domestic servants of the hall, are to be paid wages, and, if inclined, may buy their liberty. And what is worse, the serfs are to receive the rights of all other citizens, which means to say that they will have the right, hitherto unknown to them, to bring actions against their lords, and to bear witness against them in Courts of law; and though the lords remain the chiefs of the peasants on their estates, and retain a certain jurisdiction over them, still the extortions by which a large portion of the Russian nobility have scraped together the means to keep fashionable *lorettes* in Paris and to gamble at German watering places, will undergo a vast limitation in future. But, in order to judge of the effect such a reduction of income would have upon the Russian nobles, let us cast a glance at their financial position. The whole territorial nobility of Russia is indebted to the Credit Banks (instituted by the Crown) in the sum of 400,000,000 silver roubles, for which sum about 13,000,000 of serfs are pledged to these banks. The whole of the serf population of Russia (excluding the Crown peasants)

amounts to 23,750,000 (census of 1857). Now it is evident that of the owners of serfs the smaller ones are the principal contractors of this debt, while the larger ones are comparatively free from debt. From the census of 1857 it appears that about 13,000,000 of serfs belong to landlords owning less than 1,000 serfs each, while the remaining 10,750,000 belong to proprietors holding more than 1,000 serfs each. It stands to reason that the latter will nearly represent the unencumbered, and the former the encumbered nobles of Russia. This may not be quite exact, but it comes near enough to be generally correct.

The number of landed proprietors owning from one to 500[a] "souls," according to the census of 1857, is 105,540, while that of nobles owning 1,000 souls and above is not more than 4,015. Thus, it would appear that, at the lowest estimate, nine-tenths of the whole Russian aristocracy are deeply indebted to the credit banks, or, what is tantamount, to the Crown. But it is notorious that the Russian nobility are, moreover, indebted, to a large extent, to private individuals, bankers, tradesmen, Jews and usurers, and that the great majority are so heavily incumbered as to leave them but a nominal interest in their possessions. Those that were still struggling with ruin were completely broken down by the heavy sacrifices of the late war, when, with heavy taxes, both in men, money and *corvées,* they found the egress for their produce shut up, and had to contract loans on extremely onerous conditions. And now they are called upon entirely to resign, without any return, a great portion of their revenue, and to regulate the remainder of their income in a manner which will not only reduce it, but also maintain it at the reduced limit.

With a nobility like the Russian, the consequences are easily foreseen. Unless they agree to see the great majority of their order ruined, or brought at once to bankruptcy, in order to be merged in that class of bureaucratic nobles whose rank and position depends entirely upon the Government, they must resist this attempt at enfranchising the peasantry. They do resist it; and if, as is evident, their present legal resistance will be of no avail against the sovereign will, they will be compelled to resort to other more telling means.

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[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has "999".—*Ed.*

## II

Berlin, Dec. 31, 1858

The resistance of the Russian nobles against the Czar's schemes of emancipation, has already begun to manifest itself in a double way—the one passive, the other active. The personal harangues which Alexander II, on his journey through several provinces, condescended to address to his nobles, harangues now mildly clothed in the garb of philanthropic appeals, now assuming the persuasive form of didactic exposition, now rising to the shrill tones of command and menace—what have all these speeches[a] resulted in? The nobles listened to them in servile attitude with diminished heads, but in their hearts they felt that the Emperor, who came to harangue, coax, persuade, inform, and menace them, had ceased to be that almighty Czar whose will was to stand in the place of reason itself. Consequently, they dared to give a negative answer by giving no answer at all, by not reechoing the Czar's sentiments, and by adopting the simple process of procrastination in their different committees. They left the Emperor no chance but that of the Roman Church: *Compelle intrare.*[b] However, the dull monotony of that restive silence was boldly broken through by the St. Petersburg Nobility Committee, which indorsed a paper drawn up by Mr. Platonoff, one of its members, and forming, in fact, a "petition of rights."[114] What was asked for was nothing less than a parliament of nobles to decide jointly with the Government not only the great question of the hour, but all political questions.

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[a] The reference is to Alexander II's speeches to the Tver nobility on August 11 and to the Kostroma nobility on August 16, 1858. See *Le Nord*, No. 277, October 4, 1858 ("Russie").—*Ed.*

[b] "Compel *them* to come in" (Luke 14:23).—*Ed.*

It was in vain that Mr. Lanskoi, the Minister of the Interior, declined accepting this paper, and sent it back to the nobility with the angry remark, that it was not their business to club together for the purpose of presenting petitions, but simply to deliberate upon the questions put to them by the Government. In the name of the Committee, Gen. Shuwaloff returned to the assault, and, by the menace of himself carrying the paper to the Emperor, compelled Mr. Lanskoi to receive it. Thus, the Russian nobility in 1858, as the French nobility in 1788, has given out the watchword of the *Assemblée des Etats généraux,*[115] or, in the Muscovite vernacular, of *Semski Sobor* or *Semskaja Duma.* Thus, in their interested attempts at maintaining the antiquated social basis of the pyramid intact, the nobles themselves attack its political point of gravitation. Besides, the *esprit de vertige,* as the old French emigrants styled the spirit of the age, has seized on them so violently, that the majority of the nobles go head over heels into the middle-class-joint-stock-company mania, while in the more western provinces the minority affects to lead and protect the new-fangled literary agitation. To give some notion of those bold movements, it will suffice to say, that in 1858 the number of existing journals had already swelled to 180, while 109 fresh ones were announced for 1859. On the other hand there were founded in 1857, sixteen companies, with a capital of 303,900,000 roubles, while, from January to August, 1858, 21 fresh new companies with a capital of 36,175,000 roubles were added.

Let us now consider the other party to the changes intended by Alexander II. It is not to be forgotten how often the Russian Government has, before the eyes of the peasantry, conjured up the *fata morgana* of freedom. In the beginning of his reign, Alexander I called upon the nobility to emancipate the peasants, but without success. In 1812, when the peasantry were called on to enrol themselves in the *opolchenie* (militia), emancipation from serfdom, if not officially still with the tacit consent of the Emperor, was held out as the reward for patriotism; the men who had defended Holy Russia could no longer be treated as slaves. Under Nicholas even, a series of ukases restricted the power of the nobles over their serfs, authorized the latter (ukase of 1842) to conclude contracts with their owners as to the services to be rendered (by which indirectly they were admitted to plead in courts of law against their lords); undertook (1844) to guarantee, on the part of the Government, the fulfillment of the engagements made by the peasants under such contracts; enabled the serfs (1846) to buy their liberty, if the estate to which they were

attached had to be sold by public auction; and enabled (1847) the corporation of serfs attached to such an estate, when first up for sale, to buy the whole estate. To the great astonishment of both government and nobles, it all at once appeared that the serfs were quite prepared for this, and actually did buy up one estate after the other; nay, that, in a great many cases, the landlord was but the nominal owner, having been liberated from his debts by the money of his own serfs who, of course, had taken such precautions as to secure to themselves virtually their own liberty and the property in the estate. When this came out, the Government, frightened at such symptoms of intelligence and energy among the serfs, and at the same time by the outbreaks of 1848 in Western Europe, had to look out for a remedy against an enactment which threatened to gradually turn the nobility out of their estates. But it was too late to repeal the ukase; and thus another ukase (March 15, 1848) extended the right of purchase, which so far had belonged to the commercial corporations of serfs only, to every individual serf. This measure not only tended to break up the associations, by villages and between the villages of a district, which hitherto had enabled the serfs to concentrate the capital for such purchase; it was, besides, seasoned with a few qualifications. The land could be bought by the serfs, but not the people attached to it; in other words, by buying the estate to which they belonged, the serfs did not buy their own freedom. On the contrary, they remained serfs, and the whole purchase-transaction was, moreover, made subject to the assent of the old landlord! To crown the whole, the numerous nobles who held their property, so to say, in trust for their serfs, were by the same ukase enabled and encouraged to break this trust and to recover full possession of their estates; all pleas on the part of the serfs being expressly excluded from the courts of law. Since then, all but the primary schools were closed to the serfs; and all hopes of emancipation appeared cut off, when the late war again compelled Nicholas to appeal to a general armament of the serfs, and to support this appeal, as usual, by promises of liberation from bondage, which the inferior servants of the Government were ordered to spread among the peasantry.

That after such antecedents, Alexander II should feel himself compelled to proceed seriously to an emancipation of the peasants, is quite natural. The result of his efforts, and the outlines of his plans, so far as they have been matured, are before us. What will the peasantry say to a twelve years probation, accompanied by heavy *corvées,* at the end of which they are to pass into a state

which the Government does not venture to describe in any particular? What will they say to an organization of communal government, jurisdiction and police, which takes away all the powers of democratic self-government, hitherto belonging to every Russian village community, in order to create a system of patrimonial government, vested in the hands of the landlord, and modeled upon the Prussian rural legislation of 1808 and 1809?[116]—a system utterly repugnant to the Russian peasant, whose whole life is governed by the village association, who has no idea of individual landed property, but considers the association to be the proprietors of the soil on which he lives.

If we recollect that since 1842 the insurrections of serfs against their landlords and stewards have become epidemic; that something like sixty nobles—according, even, to the official statistics of the Ministry of the Interior—have been annually murdered by the peasants; that during the late war the insurrections increased enormously, and in the western provinces were directed chiefly against the Government (a conspiracy was formed for an insurrection to break out the moment the Anglo-French army—the foreign enemy—approached!)—there can be little doubt that, even if the nobility does not resist the emancipation, the attempt to realize the committee's proposals must be the signal for a tremendous conflagration among the rural population of Russia. But the nobility are sure to resist; the Emperor, tossed about between state necessity and expediency, between fear of the nobles and fear of the enraged peasants, is sure to vacillate; and the serfs, with expectations worked up to the highest pitch, and with the idea that the Czar is for them, but held down by the nobles, are surer than ever to rise. And if they do, the Russian 1793 will be at hand; the reign of terror of these half-Asiatic serfs will be something unequaled in history; but it will be the second turning point in Russian history, and finally place real and general civilization in the place of that sham and show introduced by Peter the Great.

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## [ON ITALIAN UNITY][117]

Like the boy and his wolf alarm,[118] the Italians have so repeatedly affirmed that "Italy is rife with agitation, and on the eve of a revolution," the crowned heads of Europe have so often prated about a "settlement of the Italian Question," that it will not be surprising if the actual appearance of the wolf should be unheeded, and if a real revolution and a general European war should break out and take us unawares! The European aspect of 1859 is decidedly warlike, and, should the hostile bearing, the apparent preparations of France and Piedmont for war with Austria, end in smoke, it is not improbable that the burning hate of the Italians toward their oppressors, combined with their ever-increasing suffering, will find vent in a general revolution. We limit ourselves to a *not improbable*—for, if hope deferred maketh the heart sick, fulfillment of prophecy deferred maketh the mind skeptical. Still, if we are to credit the reports of English, Italian and French journals, the moral condition of Naples is a *fac simile* of her physical structure, and a torrent of revolutionary lava would occasion no more surprise than would a fresh eruption of old Vesuvius. Writers from the Papal States[a] dwell in detail on the increasing abuses of clerical government, and the deep-rooted belief of the Roman population that reform or amelioration is impossible—that a total overthrow of said government is the sole remedy—that this remedy would have been administered long since, but for the presence of Swiss, French and Austrian troops[119]—and that, in spite of these material obstacles, such an attempt may be made at any day or at any hour.

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[a] The Papal States existed until 1860; they consisted of legations governed by legates.— *Ed.*

From Venice and Lombardy, the tidings are more definite—and remind us forcibly of the symptoms that marked the close of 1847 and the commencement of 1848 in these provinces.[120] Abstinence from the use of Austrian tobacco and manufactures is universal, also proclamations to the populace to refrain from places of public amusement—studied proofs of hate offered to the Archduke[a] and to all Austrian officials—are carried to such a point that Prince Alfonso Parcia, an Italian nobleman devoted to the House of Hapsburg, dared not, in the public streets, remove his hat as the Archduchess[b] passed, the punishment for which misdemeanor, administered in the form of an order from the Archduke for the Prince's immediate departure from Milan, acts as an incentive to his class to join the popular cry of *fuori i Tedeschi.*[c] If we add to these mute demonstrations of popular feeling the daily quarrels between the people and the soldiery, invariably provoked by the former, the revolt of the students of Pavia, and the consequent closing of the Universities, we have before our eyes a reenactment of the prologue to the five days of Milan in 1848.[121]

But while we believe that Italy cannot remain forever in her present condition, since the longest lane must have a turning—while we know that active organization is going on throughout the peninsula, we are not prepared to say whether these manifestations are entirely the spontaneous ebullitions of the popular will, or whether they are stimulated by the agents of Louis Napoleon and of his ally, Count Cavour. Judging from appearances, Piedmont, backed by France, and perhaps by Russia, meditates an attack on Austria in the Spring. From the Emperor's reception of the Austrian Embassador at Paris, it would seem that he harbors no friendly designs toward the Government represented by M. Hübner[122]; from the concentration of so powerful a force at Algiers, it is not unnatural to suppose that hostilities to Austria would commence with an attack on her Italian provinces; the warlike preparations of Piedmont, the all but declarations of war to Austria that emanate daily from the official and semi-official portion of the Piedmontese press, give color to the surmise that the King will avail himself of the first pretext to cross the Ticino.[d] Moreover, the report that Garibaldi, the hero of Montevideo and of Rome,[123] has been summoned to Turin, is confirmed from

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[a] Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph.—*Ed.*

[b] Charlotte.—*Ed.*

[c] Out with the Germans.—*Ed.*

[d] The Ticino was the border line between Piedmont and Lombardy, which was occupied by the Austrians.—*Ed.*

private and reliable sources. Cavour has had an interview with Garibaldi, informed him of the prospects of a speedy war, and has suggested to him the wisdom of collecting and organizing volunteers. Austria, one of the chief parties concerned, gives evident proof that she lends credence to the rumors. In addition to her 120,000 men, concentrated in her Italian provinces, she is augmenting her forces by every conceivable means; and has just pushed forward a reinforcement of 30,000. The defenses of Venice, Trieste, &c., are being increased and strengthened; and in all her other provinces land-owners and trainers are called on to bring forward their studs, as saddle-horses are required for the cavalry and pioneers. And while, on the one hand, she omits no preparations for resistance in a "prudent Austrian way," she is also providing for a possible defeat. From Prussia, the Piedmont of Germany, whose interests are diametrically opposed to her own, she can, at best, hope but for neutrality. The mission of her Embassador, Baron Seebach, to St. Petersburg, seems to have failed utterly to win a prospect of success in the case of attack. The schemes of the Czar,[a] in more ways than one, and not the least on the question of the Mediterranean, where he, too, has cast anchor,[124] coincide too nearly with those of his ex-opponent, now fast ally, in Paris, to permit him to defend "the grateful" Austria.[125] The well-known sympathy of the English *people* with the Italians in their hatred of the *giogo tedesco*[b] renders it very doubtful whether any British Ministry would dare to support Austria, anxious as one and all would be to do so. Moreover, Austria, in common with many others, has shrewd suspicions that the would-be "avenger of Waterloo"[c] has by no means lost sight of his anxiety for the humiliation of "perfidious Albion"[126]—that, not choosing to beard the lion in his den, he will not shrink from hurling defiance at him in the East, attacking, in conjunction with Russia, the Turkish Empire (despite his oaths to maintain that empire inviolate), thus bringing half the British forces into action on the Eastern battle-field, while from Cherbourg he keeps the other half in forced inaction, guarding the British coasts. Therefore, in the case of actual war, Austria has the uncomfortable feeling that she must rely on herself alone; and one of her many expedients for suffering the least possible loss, in case of defeat, is worthy of notice for its impudent sagacity. The barracks,

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[a] Alexander II.—*Ed.*
[b] German yoke.—*Ed.*
[c] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

palaces, arsenals and other official buildings throughout Venetian Lombardy, the erection and maintenance of which have taxed the Italians exorbitantly, are, nevertheless, considered the property of the Empire. At this moment the Government is compelling the different municipalities to purchase all these buildings at a fabulous price, alleging as its motive that it intends to *rent* instead of owning them for the future. Whether the municipalities will ever see a farthing of the *rent,* even if Austria retains her sway, is doubtful at best; but, should she be driven from all, or from any part of her Italian territory, she will congratulate herself on her cunning scheme for converting a large portion of her forfeited treasure into portable cash. It is asserted, moreover, that she is using her utmost efforts to inspire the Pope, the King of Naples, the Dukes of Tuscany, Parma and Modena, with her own resolution to resist to the uttermost all attempts on the part of the people or the crowned heads to change the existing order of things in Italy. But none knows better than Austria herself how bad would be the best efforts of these poor tools to make head against the tide of popular insurrection or foreign interference. And, while war on Austria is the fervent aspiration of every true Italian heart, we cannot doubt that a large majority of Italians look upon the prospects of a war, begun by France and Piedmont, as doubtful, to say the least, in its results. While none conscientiously believe that the murderer of Rome[127] can by any human process be transformed into the Savior of Lombardy, a small faction favor Louis Napoleon's designs of placing Murat on the throne of Naples, profess to believe in his intention to remove the Pope from Italy or to confine him to the City and Campagna of Rome, and of assisting Piedmont to add the whole of Northern Italy to her dominions. Then there is a party, small but honest, who imagine that the idea of an Italian crown dazzles Victor Emmanuel, as it was supposed to dazzle his father[a]; who believe that he anxiously awaits the first opportunity to unsheathe his sword for its attainment, and that it is with this sole end in view that the King will avail himself of help from France, or any other help, to achieve this coveted treasure. A much larger class, numbering adherents throughout the oppressed provinces of Italy, especially in Lombardy and among the Lombard emigration, having no particular faith in the Piedmontese King or Piedmontese monarchy, yet say: "Be their aims what they may, Piedmont has an army of 100,000 men, a navy, arsenals, and treasure; let

[a] Charles Albert.—*Ed.*

her throw down the gauntlet to Austria; we will follow her to the battle-field: if she is faithful, she shall have her reward; if she falls short of her mission, the nation will be strong enough to continue the battle once begun and follow it up to victory."

The Italian National party,[128] on the contrary, denounce as a national calamity the inauguration of an Italian War of Independence under the auspices of France and Piedmont. The point at issue with them is not, as is often erroneously supposed, whether Italy, once free from the foreigners, shall be united under a republican or monarchical form of government, but that the means proposed must fail to win Italy for the Italians, and can at best only exchange one foreign yoke for another equally oppressive. They believe that the man of the 2d of December will never make war at all, unless compelled by the growing impatience of his army, or by the threatening aspect of the French people; that, thus compelled, his choice of Italy as the theater of war would have for its object the fulfillment of his uncle's[a] scheme—the making of the Mediterranean a "French lake"—which end would be accomplished by seating Murat on the throne of Naples; that, in dictating terms to Austria, he seeks the completion of his revenge, commenced in the Crimea, for the treaties of 1815, when Austria was one of the parties who dictated to France terms humiliating in the extreme for the Bonaparte family. They look upon Piedmont as the mere cat's-paw of France—convinced that, his own ends achieved, not daring to assist Italy to attain that liberty which he denies to France, Napoleon III will conclude a peace with Austria and stifle all efforts of the Italians to carry on the war. If Austria shall have at all maintained her ground, Piedmont must content herself with the addition of the Duchies of Parma and Modena to her present territory; but, should Austria be worsted in the fight, that peace will be concluded on the Adige, which will leave the whole of Venice and part of Lombardy in the hands of the hated Austrians. This *peace upon the Adige,* they affirm, is already tacitly agreed on between Piedmont and France. Confident as this party feels of the triumph of the nation in the event of a national war against Austria, they maintain that, should that war be commenced with Napoleon for Inspirer, and the King of Sardinia for Dictator, the Italians will have put it out of their own power to move a step in opposition to their accepted heads, to impede in any manner the wiles of diplomacy, the capitulations, treaties and the reriveting of their chains which must result

[a] Napoleon I.—*Ed.*

therefrom; and they point to the conduct of Piedmont toward Venice and Milan in 1848, and at Novara in 1849,[129] and urge their countrymen to profit by that bitter experience of their fatal trust in princes. All their efforts are directed to complete the organization of the peninsula, to induce the people to unite in one supreme effort, and not to commence the struggle until they feel themselves capable of initiating the great national insurrection which, while deposing the Pope, Bomba[a] & Co., would render the armies, navies and war material of the respective provinces available for the extermination of the foreign foe. Regarding the Piedmontese army and people as ardent champions of Italian liberty, they feel that the King of Piedmont will thus have ample scope for aiding the freedom and independence of Italy, if he chooses; should he prove reactionary, they know that the army and people will side with the nation. Should he justify the faith reposed in him by his partisans, the Italians will not be backward in testifying their gratitude in a tangible form. In any case, the nation will be in a situation to decide on its own destinies, and feeling, as they do, that a successful revolution in Italy will be the signal for a general struggle on the part of all the oppressed nationalities to rid themselves of their oppressors, they have no fear of interference on the part of France, since Napoleon III will have too much home business on his hands to meddle with the affairs of other nations, even for the furtherance of his own ambitious aims. *A chi tocca-tocca?*[b] as the Italians say. We will not venture to predict whether the revolutionists or the regular armies will appear first on the field. What seems pretty certain is, that a war begun in any part of Europe will not end where it commences; and if, indeed, that war is inevitable, our sincere and heartfelt desire is, that it may bring about a true and just settlement of the Italian question and of various other questions, which, until settled, will continue from time to time to disturb the peace of Europe, and consequently impede the progress and prosperity of the whole civilised world.

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[a] Pius IX and Ferdinand II.—*Ed.*
[b] Who is to begin?—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE WAR PROSPECT IN EUROPE

Paris, Jan. 11, 1859

The Emperor of Austria's reply to the strange Happy New-Year sent over to him from Paris on the part of the "Dutch cousin to the battle of Austerlitz," and the virtuous Emmanuel's opening speech addressed to the Sardinian Chambers,[130] have by no means contributed to allay the war alarm pervading Europe. On all the centers of the money market the barometer points to "stormy." The King of Naples has all of a sudden grown magnanimous and anti-Russian, setting free batches of political prisoners, exiling Poèrio with his associates, and refusing to Russia a coaling depot in the Adriatic; quarrels with the Tedeschi, and the crusade against the smokers of Government cigars continued at Milan, Lodi, Cremona, Brescia, Bergamo, Parma and Modena, while at Pavia the course of University studies has been suspended by Government order; Garibaldi, summoned to Turin, has been intrusted with the duty of reorganizing the National Guard; a new corps of about 15,000 chasseurs, is forming at Turin, and the fortifications of Casale are pushed forward with the utmost activity. An Austrian army of about 30,000 men, a complete *corps d'armée* (the 3d), will by this time have marched into the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, and Count Gyulay, a general of the Radetzky school, and a man of Haynau instincts, has already reached Milan to take the reins of power from the hands of the gentle, benevolent, but weak Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian. In France, military movements and counter-movements are the standing order, while the Emperor affects an immense zeal in trying experiments with the new cannon at Vincennes. The Prussian Government, finally, has initiated its new system of

liberty by asking the Chambers for money to augment the standing army and the conversion of the Landwehr into an appendage of the line.[131] With such clouds visible on the horizon of Europe, one may feel astonished at the comparatively inconsiderable decline in the quotations of the London Stock Exchange, which generally indicates the pulsations of European society more exactly than the monetary observatories of Paris and the rest of the Continent.

In the first instance, the shrewd observers of the London Stock Exchange were not quite averse to considering Napoleon's New-Year's freak a mere stock-jobbing maneuver on the part of their august ally. In fact, the French securities once sent down, people rushed headlong into Baal's temple to get rid of the public debt, Crédit Mobilier,[132] and railway shares for whatever they would fetch. Then part of the speculators for a rise being done for, there followed all at once, on the 6th of January, a slight rally on the Paris Bourse, in consequence of the rumor set afloat to the effect that a Government note in the *Moniteur* was to take out the sting of "his Majesty's" apostrophe to the Austrian Minister. Such a note, indeed, made its appearance on Friday, Jan. 7; then the funds went up, and a lot of fellows, known to be familiars of the Tuileries, realised on that very Friday extraordinary profits. Thus these gentlemen reimbursed themselves for the expenses of their New-Year's presents, in the cheapest way possible. Now, it seems that a similar conspiracy brewing at London, was baffled not by any uncommon shrewdness on the part of the British monetary mind, but by its secret sway over some of the financial managers of the Elysian *menus plaisirs*.[a] However, the comparative steadiness of the British securities is principally due to another circumstance less flattering to Louis Napoleon, but more characteristic of the state of Europe. No confessor knows more exactly the vulnerable parts of a fair penitent's heart than do the hard-cash men of Chapel street, Lombard street and Threadneedle street know where the shoe pinches the European potentates. They know that Russia wants a loan of about ten millions sterling; that France, despite the prospective surplus of a budget, always conjugated in the future tense, is badly in want of money; that Austria is looking out for an instalment of at least six or eight millions sterling; that little Sardinia is eager for a loan, not only to undertake a new Italian crusade, but to pay the old debts contracted through the Crimean war; and that altogether bills to the amount of thirty

[a] Small pleasures, also pocket money.—*Ed.*

millions sterling must be drawn by the crown-bearers and sword-bearers, upon the English purse, before armies can move, blood be let, and the boisterous voice of cannon roar. Now, to run through all these monetary transactions, two months' respite at least is required; so that, quite apart from military considerations, if there is to be war, it must be delayed until Spring.

Yet it would be a great mistake to rush to the conclusion that by their dependence on the good pleasure of peace-loving capitalists, the war-hounds will certainly be prevented from breaking loose. With the rate of interest ranging hardly at $2^1/_2$ per cent, with more than forty millions of gold stagnating in the vaults of the Banks of England and France, and with a general distrust in commercial speculation, Satan himself, if he were to open a loan for a new campaign, would, after some prudish delays and a few sanctimonious conferences, succeed in selling his scrip at a premium.

The circumstances which may put off the European war are the very same circumstances which push on to such an issue. After her splendid diplomatic successes in Asia, Russia is anxious to recover her predominance in Europe. In fact, as little Sardinia's throne-speech was revised at Paris, so Bonaparte's (the Little)[133] New-Year's *boutade*[a] was only the echo of a watchword indicated at St. Petersburg. With France and Sardinia in the leading strings of St. Petersburg, Austria threatened, England insulated and Prussia vacillating, Russian influence would lord it supreme in the case of war, for some time at least. She might keep aloof; weaken France and Austria by internecine contest, and in the end "improve" the difficulties of the latter power, that now stops her way to the South and opposes her Slavonian propaganda. Sooner or later, the Russian Government would have to interfere; its internal troubles might be diverted by a foreign war, and the Imperial power, by success abroad, become enabled to break down the nobiliary opposition at home. But, on the other hand, the financial pressure engendered by the Crimean campaign would be trebled; the nobility, appealed to in such an emergency, would gather new arms of attack and defense; while the peasantry, with promises not yet fulfilled before their eyes, exasperated by new delays, new conscriptions and new taxes, might be driven to violent commotions. As to Austria, she is afraid of war; but, of course, may be forced into it. Bonaparte, in his turn, has very probably arrived at the just conclusion, that now is an occasion for playing his trump

[a] Sally.—*Ed.*

card. *Aut Caesar aut nihil*.[a] The mock glories of the Second Empire are vanishing fast away, and blood is wanted to cement that monster imposture anew. And in what better character than that of an Italian liberator, and under what more favorable circumstances than those of England's forced neutrality, Russia's secret support, and Piedmont's confessed vassalage, could he hope ever to succeed? But on the other hand, the Ecclesiastical party in France is violently opposed to the unholy crusade; the middle class reminds him of *L'Empire c'est la paix*[134]; the very circumstance of England and Prussia being for the present bound to neutral attitudes would transform them into arbiters during the progress of the war; and any defeat on the plains of Lombardy would ring the funeral knell of the Brummagem Empire.

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[a] Either Caesar or nothing—a motto of Cesare Borgia, copied from Caligula's words in Suetonius' *The Twelve Caesars*.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## AFFAIRS IN PRUSSIA

Berlin, 11th January, 1859

You know the German proverb: "Where there is nothing, the Emperor loses his right" (*Wo nichts ist, hat der Kaiser sein Recht verloren*), and this law of nothingness, lording it over so mighty a personage as an Emperor, is, of course, not to be set at naught by your own correspondent. Where there are no events, there is no reporting. Such is the very conclusive reason which has induced me for some weeks to lay an embargo on my missives from the "capital of intelligence," the central residence, if not of worldly power, at least of the "*Weltgeist.*"[a] The first phase of the Prussian movement ended in the general elections, while the second begins to-morrow with the opening of the Diet. Meanwhile, the views of the state of affairs in this country developed in my former letters,[b] and, as I see from a batch of German American papers sent over to me, annexed by many American sons of Teut[135] without a due acknowledgment of the source from which they derived their wisdom, have been fully borne out by the slovenly, bit-by-bit, I cannot say march of things; but as Dr. Johnson, of pedantic memory, might have called it—their movement with the belly to the ground, without legs, like a worm. The German miles are longer than those of any other nation, but the steps by which they measure the ground are the shorter, with a vengeance. It is for this exact reason that in their fairy tales they are always dreaming of magical boots, enabling their happy possessor to walk over a league[c] at every lifting of the foot.

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[a] "World spirit."—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 74-81 and 106-09.—*Ed.*

[c] The German mile (*Meile*) was a linear measure of different length in different German states. The Prussian mile was equal to 7,533 metres. The English (statute) mile is equal to 1,609 metres. One land league is equal to about three miles.—*Ed.*

The history of the past ten years in this country has been so one-sidedly (to use a pet word of the Germans, who, like Buridan's scholastic animal, are so many-sided that they stick every moment in a deadlock)[136] judged, that some general considerations may not appear out of place. When the King with the brainless head ascended the throne, he was full of the visions of the romantic school.[137] He wanted to be a king by divine right, and to be at the same time a popular king; to be surrounded by an independent aristocracy in the midst of an omnipotent bureaucratic administration; to be a man of peace at the head of barracks; to promote popular franchises in the mediaeval sense while opposing all longings of modern liberalism; to be a restorer of ecclesiastic faith while boasting of the intellectual preeminence of his subjects; to play, in one word, the mediaeval king while acting as the king of Prussia—that abortion of the Eighteenth Century.[138] But, from 1840 to 1848, everything went the wrong way. The *Landjunkers*, who had hoped that the crowned collaborator of the *Politisches Wochenblatt*,[a] which day by day had preached the necessity of engrafting the poetical rule of aristocracy upon the Prussian prosaic rule by the schoolmaster, the drill-sergeant, the policeman, the tax-gatherer and the learned mandarin, were forced to accept the King's secret sympathies in lieu of real concessions. The middle class still too weak to venture upon active movements, felt themselves compelled to march in the rear of the theoretical army led by Hegel's disciples against the religion, the ideas and the politics of the old world. In no former period was philosophical criticism so bold, so powerful and so popular as in the first eight years of the rule of Frederick William IV, who desired to supplant the "shallow" rationalism, introduced into Prussia by Frederick II, by mediaeval mysticism. The power of philosophy during that period was entirely owing to the practical weakness of the *bourgeoisie*; as they could not assault the antiquated institutions in fact, they must yield precedence to the bold idealists who assaulted them in the region of thought. Finally, the romantic King himself, was, after all, like all his predecessors, but the visible hand of a common-place bureaucratic Government which he tried in vain to embellish with the fine sentiments of by-gone ages.

The revolution, or rather the counter-revolution to which it gave birth, altogether changed the face of things. The *Landjunkers* turned the private crotchets of the King to practical account, and succeeded in driving the Government back, not behind 1848, not

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

behind 1815, but even behind 1807. There was an end of coy, romantic aspirations; but in their place there sprang up a Prussian House of Lords; mortmain [139] was restored, the private jurisdiction of the manor flourished more than ever, exemption from taxation became again a sign of nobility, the policemen and the Government men had to stoop to the noblemen, all places of power were surrendered to the scions of the landed aristocracy and gentry, the enlightened bureaucrats of the old school were swept away, to be supplanted by the servile sycophants of rent-rolls and landlords, and all the liberties won by the revolution—liberty of the press, liberty of meeting, liberty of speech, constitutional representation—all these liberties were not broken up, but maintained as the privileges of the aristocratic class. On the other hand, if the *bourgeoisie,* in the by-gone period, had fostered the philosophical movement, the aristocracy now rooted it out and put pietism in its place. Every enlightened professor was driven away from the University and the *viri obscuri,*[a] the Hengstenbergs, the Stahls and *tutti quanti* seized upon all the educational institutions of Prussia, from the village school to the great seminary of Berlin. The police and administrative machinery were not destroyed, but converted into the mere tools of the ruling class. Even industrial liberty was struck at, and as the license system was turned into a mighty engine of patronage, intimidation and corruption, so the artizans in the great towns were again pressed into corporations, guilds, and all the other extinct forms of a departed epoch. Thus, then, the boldest dreams of the King, which had remained dreams during the eight years of his absolute regime, had all become fulfilled by the Revolution, and shone as palpable realities in the light of day during the eight years from 1850 to 1857.

But there is another side to the medal. The revolution had dispelled the ideological delusions of the *bourgeoisie,* and the counter-revolution had done away with their political pretensions. Thus they were thrown back upon their real resources—trade and industry—and I do not think that any other people have relatively made so immense a start in this direction during the last decennial epoch as the Germans, and especially the Prussians. If you saw Berlin ten years ago, you would not recognize it now. From a stiff place of parade it has been transformed into the bustling center of German machine-building. If you travel through Rhenish Prussia and the Duchy of Westphalia, Lancashire and Yorkshire will be recalled to your memory. If Prussia cannot boast one Isaac

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[a] Obscure people (Ulrich von Hutten, *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*).—*Ed.*

Péreire, she possesses hundreds of Mevissens, at the head of more Crédits Mobiliers than the German Diet numbers princes.

The rage of getting rich, of going ahead, of opening new mines, of building new factories, of constructing new railways, and above all of investing in and gambling with joint-stock company shares, became the passion of the day, and infected all classes from the peasant even to the coroneted prince, who had once been a *reichsunmittelbarer Fürst.*[140] So you see the days when the Bourgeoisie wept in Babylonian captivity[a] and drooped their diminished heads, were the very days when they became the effective power of the land, while even the inner man of the overbearing aristocrat became converted into a profit-loving, money-mongering stock-jobber. If you want an example of speculative philosophy converted into commercial speculation, look at Hamburg in 1857.[141] Did not these speculative Germans then prove masters in the swindling line? Still this upward movement of the Prussian middle class, strengthened by the general rise in the prices of commodities, and, consequently, the general fall of the fixed incomes of their bureaucratic rulers, was, of course, accompanied by the ruin of the small middle class and the concentration of the working class. The ruin of the small middle class during the last eight years is a general fact to be observed all over Europe, but nowhere so strikingly as in Germany. Does this phenomenon need any explanation? I answer in one word: Look at the millionaires of to-day who were the poor devils of yesterday. For one man of nothing to become a millionaire overnight, a thousand $1,000-men must have been turned into beggars during the day. The magic of the Stock Exchange will do this sort of thing in the twinkling of an eye, quite apart from the slower methods by which modern industry centralizes fortunes. A discontented small middle class and a concentrated working class have, therefore, during the last ten years, grown up in Prussia simultaneously with the bourgeoisie.

It is time to post this letter, although I have not yet done with my *Rundschau,* as the *New Prussian Gazette* calls this sort of retrospective review.

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Psalms 137.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## THE MONEY PANIC IN EUROPE[142]

Paris, Jan. 13, 1859

The panic on the European Exchanges has not yet subsided, and according to a very moderate calculation public securities have been depressed in value, some $300,000,000. While French, Sardinian and Austrian Government stocks have declined 5 per cent, the railway shares in the same countries have sustained a fall of between 15 and 35 per cent, while the Lombardo-Venetian show a decline of nearly 50 per cent. Save London, every European stock exchange now believes in war. I have no reason to alter my views on this topic, as before expressed.[a] I am convinced that Louis Napoleon does not really mean war; that his intentions do not exceed a diplomatic victory over Austria, connected with a good haul for himself and his tail of adventurers on the Paris Bourse. The noisy tone of the Bonapartist press and of that venal deposit of gossip, the *Indépendance belge,* the ostentation with which military preparations are heralded forth, are sufficient to show that not fighting but frightening is the object in hand. It is now admitted even by the London *Times'*[b] correspondent that the debt-ridden flunkeys about the Court have again been allowed, and to a more formidable extent than ever, to fleece the "respectable" speculators and the small holders of stock all over the country by bearing the market in an unprecedented degree. Count de Morny alone is said to have won at this game, up to the 5th January, not less than 2,000,000 of francs, and the total amount of money transplanted from the pockets of the *Bourgeoisie* to those of the Bonapartist adventurers must be many times this sum.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 154-56.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times,* No. 23194, January 4, 1859 ("France").—*Ed.*

There are three agencies which impel Louis Napoleon to court Italian sympathies and to affect a menacing attitude toward Austria. There is, first, Russia, which has used him like a manakin ever since the peace of Paris.[143] The second agency is little known, as he and his court do their best to hide it from the public eye, although its existence is an established fact. Since the attempt of Orsini, both before and after his execution, the French Emperor has continually received missives from the supreme Venta of the Italian Carbonari, of which secret society he was a member in 1831.[144] He has been reminded what his oaths were on entering that association, how he broke them, and how the laws of the society punish a traitor like him. While Orsini was in prison, he was warned that if he had him executed these attempts on his own life would be repeated until successful; after the execution, a formal sentence of death, passed upon Louis Napoleon by the Venta, was forwarded to him. The superstitious mind of the successful adventurer was terribly affected by this judgment of a secret tribunal. The nerves that had become, not iron, but tough and impermeable as leather, by twenty years' nightly training at the gambling table, were not proof against this constant vision of the sword of Damocles. This mysterious intervention of a power, invisible indeed, but known to him by his experience of former years, as well as latterly by the pistol of Pianori and the shells of Orsini, was the very thing to disturb the brains of a man who, beyond the common everyday policy of expediency, knew no causality in history but a mysterious action of some fatalistic influence, baffling rational inquiry, and often elevating perfect humbug to supreme power. This constant fear of assassination has contributed infinitely to the series of palpable blunders which mark the last twelve months of his reign.

The fact is that, to escape from his fate—for he believes in the omnipotence of the Italians for assassination as firmly as in the words of the Gipsy women at the Epsom races—a few pledges had to be given to the invisible power; and so the letters of Orsini, garbled as they were, were printed, and were made to bequeath to Louis Napoleon, as a sacred legacy, the realization of the hopes of the Italians.[145] But the Carbonari were not so easily satisfied; they have again and again reminded the culprit that he is still under sentence of death, and that to be pardoned he must act. Now the domestic difficulties of his situation in France have been growing very much of late. The great question as to where the money is to come from stares him in the face more threateningly every day. There is no chance of a loan, and the national debt has been so

rapidly increased that such a thing is out of the question. The Crédit Mobilier and Crédit Foncier,[146] the raising of millions under pretext of drainage and irrigation, rewooding, and the construction of dykes, all these have had their day, and cannot be played over again. But the necessities of the situation demand more money; his own prodigalities, and above all, the daily increasing exigencies of the ravenous band of soldiers, officials and adventurers, whose fidelity he has to buy from day to day, render the money question a question of life and death to him, and from a merely pecuniary point of view, a war with the prospect of forced loans, of plunder and war contributions from conquered provinces, would, at a certain extremity, appear the only outlet left to him. But it is not merely the financial question; it is the general insecurity of his position in France; it is the consciousness that, though Emperor by the grace of the army, he cannot overstep certain limits in struggling against public opinion, either of the middle or working class; that, because Emperor by the grace of the army, he must obey its will. It is all this which long since has made it as evident to himself as to the rest of the world that his last trump, in an extreme danger, is a war, and a war for the reconquest of the left bank of the Rhine. It is not exactly necessary that such a war should be commenced on the Rhine itself. On the contrary, the territory in question may be conquered, or its conquest begun, in Italy, just as the first conquest of these provinces was completed by Gen. Bonaparte's victories in Lombardy.

Such a war is necessarily Louis Napoleon's last card. He stakes his all upon it, and as an experienced gambler, he knows full well how fearful the odds are against him. He knows that silent and mysterious as he affects to be, the whole world knows, and knew from the first day of his power, what that last card is. He knows that none of his sphinx-like airs can deceive anybody on this point. He knows that no European power would tolerate such an extension of French territory, and that the friendship of Russia is almost as reliable as his own oath. To a man like him, who has given such a development to Louis XV's *"Après moi le déluge,"* and who knows what that deluge will be, every hour is a positive and invaluable gain, by which he can delay, temporize, bamboozle the players who surround him.

But at the same time the game is not in his hands; its necessities may compel him to play his grand trump long before he wishes. For the last three months at least armaments have been going on in France on a colossal scale. After dismissing on furlough a

considerable number of old soldiers, the whole of the recruits of 1858, 100,000 in number, have been called out, instead of the 60,000 of other years of peace. The activity developed in all the arsenals and military workshops has been such as to persuade all general officers, as much as three months ago, that a serious campaign was in preparation. We now learn that 75 batteries or 450 guns of Louis Napoleon's new construction (light 12-pounders), have been ordered in the public foundries; that new improvements in rifle projectiles (invented by Mr. Nessler, the official successor of Minié), have been introduced; that the battalions of chasseurs are increased from 400 to 700, and the regiments of the line from 900 or 1,000 to 1,300 men, by a draft on the depots (where the recruits have been forming), of some 60,000 men; that the materials of a campaign are being heaped up at Toulon, and that two camps, the sites of which are not yet known, have been fixed upon. The sites of these two camps may easily be guessed; the one will be about Lyons, or in the south, near Toulon, and the other at Metz, as an army of observation against Prussia and the German Confederation.[147] All this has of necessity excited the warlike spirit of the army to the highest pitch, and a war is so certainly reckoned upon that the officers will not order any more civilian's clothes, convinced as they are that they will have to wear the uniform alone for some time to come.

While this is going on in France, in Piedmont we have a King who, before Christmas, announced to his generals the intimation to keep themselves ready, for they might be called upon to smell powder before Spring,[a] and who now opens his Chambers with a speech[b] so full of general run of Italian patriotic bombast, and of allusions to Austria's misrule, that he must be either determined upon war or be content to be declared by all the world a perfect fool. In Lombardy, in Rome, in the Duchies, we have an excitement equaled only by that preceding the outbreak of 1848; the population seem to put the foreign troops at defiance, to be intent upon nothing but to show their utter contempt of established authority, and their certain conviction that the Austrians will in a few months have to leave Italy. To all this Austria answers by very quietly strengthening her army in Lombardy. It has consisted of three army corps—the 5th, 7th and

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[a] Victor Emmanuel II's address to Colonel Rolland after the review of the Savoy brigade, November 1858, *The Times*, No. 23168, December 4, 1858 ("Piedmont").— *Ed.*

[b] See also this volume, p. 154.— *Ed.*

8th, together about 100,000 men. Now, as I stated in my last,[a] the 3d is on the march to join it. Six infantry regiments (30 battalions), four battalions of Tyrolean chasseurs, two cavalry regiments, six batteries and the whole staff and engineering train of the Third Army corps are reported to be on the road, or to have already arrived in Lombardy. This raises the force to 130,000 or 140,000 men, who, in the position between the Adige and Mincio, will be able to resist, at least, double their number.

Thus, on every hand, the elements of strife are accumulating. Is Louis Napoleon the man to control them all? Not he; most of them are perfectly out of his reach. Let there be an outbreak in Lombardy, in Rome, or in one of the Duchies—let Gen. Garibaldi make an irruption into the very next portion of neighboring territory and insurge the population—will Piedmont, will Louis Napoleon be able to hold back? After the French army have been all but promised the conquest of Italy, where they are to be received as liberators, are they to be told that they must stand at ease, with arms grounded, while Austrian troops trample out the embers of Italian insurrection? There is the point. The turn of events in Italy has already escaped from Louis Napoleon's control; the turn of events in France may escape from it any day.

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[a] See this volume, p. 154.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## LOUIS NAPOLEON'S POSITION

Paris, Jan. 26, 1859

You will certainly have been already informed of the secret connection between Louis Bonaparte's recent Italian policy and his inveterate dread of Italian assassins. Some days ago you might have read in the *France Centrale,* a provincial paper that unfortunately never crosses the Atlantic, the following tale:

"We alluded to the ball of last Monday at the Tuileries. Letters from Paris inform us of an incident that caused no small disturbance at that fête. The crowd was great; a lady fainted, we believe, or from some cause of a similar nature, confusion ensued, and the 3,000 or 4,000 guests present fancied an accident had happened. A tumult was occasioned, several persons hurried toward the throne, and the Emperor, in order to calm the agitation, walked through the *salons.*"

Now, there were, on the occasion alluded to, about 200 or 300 persons present in the *Salle du Trône* witnessing a scene very different from what the *France Centrale* has been allowed to describe. By some accident or other, there had, in fact, taken place a sudden rush of the guests throughout the different *salons,* and the throng was pressing against the *Salle du Trône,* when Louis Bonaparte and Eugénie fled at once from the throne, and cut their way as precipitately as possible across the *salon,* the Empress gathering up her petticoats with her hands as best she might, and looking so pale that her best friends said "it was death-like to look at."

These cruel tribulations, which the usurper and his friends have been tormented by ever since Orsini's attempt, almost remind one of the celebrated passage in Plato's *Republic*[a]:

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[a] Plato, *Republic*, Book VIII.—*Ed.*

"Not even his end of being a ruler is attained by the tyrant. Whatever he may appear to be, the tyrant is a slave. His heart will be always filled with fears, always tortured by terror and pangs. From day to day he will become more and more what he was from the beginning, envied and detested, suspicious, friendless, unjust, an enemy to everything divine, and a protector and fosterer of all that is infamous. Thus he is himself the most unfortunate of men."

Bonaparte's hostile attitude against Austria, while it certainly intended holding out to the grumbling army some prospect of active employment other than its present police service, is still mainly aimed at disarming the Italian dagger, and giving the Italian patriots an earnest of the Emperor's adherence to his old Carbonari oath. The marriage of Prince Napoleon—or Gen. Plon-Plon, as the Parisians call him—with Princess Clotilde of Sardinia was to irretrievably identify, in the eyes of the world, France with Italy, thus paying the first installment, as the Tuileries people affect to think, of the debts due by the Bonapartes to the Italians. But you know the hero of Satory.[148] Obstinate as he has always shown himself in the pursuit of a purpose once settled, his ways are tortuous, his advances are made by continuous retreats, and supreme perplexities seem to paralyze him whenever he has crawled up to the crisis.

In such moments, as at Boulogne, at Strasbourg,[149] and during the night of the 1st of December, 1851, it is always by some bold, sanguine, impetuous desperadoes, standing behind him, that he is no longer allowed to put off the execution of his long-hatched plans and is forcibly plunged into the Rubicon. Having once passed it safely, he again begins to wind his way in his own plotting, designing, conspiring, irresolute and lymphatic manner. The very falsehood of his mind tempts him to play a double game with his own plans. This Sardinian marriage, for instance, was designed eight months ago, on the pretext of an Italian crusade, to be led by France. After so many baffled attempts at intruding into the royal families, would it not be a fine stroke of policy to ensnare, on false pretenses, the daughter of the oldest European dynasty into the Bonapartist net?

But Louis Bonaparte had more urgent reasons to resort to a *reculade*,[a] and try the soothing system after he had blown the war trumpet. Never during his whole reign had the middle classes shown so unmistakable signs of ill humor, while their alarm at the mere rumor of war exploded in tremendous commotions at the Bourse, on the produce markets and in the centers of industry. The financial magnates remonstrated. The Count de Germiny,

[a] Retreat.—*Ed.*

Governor of the Bank of France, personally informed the Emperor of the widespread commercial disasters which persistence in the dangerous line of policy pursued was sure to bring about.

The prefects of Marseilles, Bordeaux and other great commercial towns, while reporting on the unprecedented panic prevalent among the mercantile classes, gave strange hints as to the marks of disaffection on the part of those "friends of property and order." Mr. Thiers thought the opportunity fit for breaking his long silence and openly attacking in salons, interspersed with Government spies, the "insane policy" of the Tuileries. Entering into an elaborate political and strategical review of the chances of war, he showed how impossible it would be for France to escape defeat unless she could begin the contest with 400,000 soldiers, beside those she must keep in Algeria and those she must retain at home. The Governmental *Constitutionnel* itself, though in affected tones of indignation, could not but avow that the spirit of France was gone, and that, like a coward, she stood aghast at the mere notion of a serious war.[a]

On the other hand, the spies of inferior rank unanimously reported the sneers current among the populace, at the mere idea of the despot of France playing the liberator of Italy, along with most irreverent couplets sung in honor of the Sardinian marriage. One of those couplets begins with the words:

"So this time, it is Plon-Plon who is to be the husband of Marie Louise." [150]

Despite the soothing instructions sent to all the prefects, and the strictly official denials of any danger threatening the *status quo*, the general panic is far from having yet subsided. In the first instance, it is known here that the demi-god of the Tuileries has been pushed farther than he intended going. It is rumored that the Princess Clotilde, who, despite her young years, is very strong-minded, accepted Plon-Plon's offer with the words: "I marry you in order to insure the support of France to papa. If it were not quite certain of securing that, I would not marry you." She refused to agree to the betrothal until "positive guaranties" were given her father of the active assistance of France. Thus, Louis Bonaparte had to sign a defensive and offensive alliance [151] with Victor Emmanuel, a fact which the agents of Plon-Plon took good care to have immediately communicated to all Europe, through the columns of the *Indépendance belge*.[b] This Plon-Plon, in fact, and

[a] E. Dréolle, "On se préoccupe beaucoup de la guerre...", *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 25, January 25, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] No. 22, January 22, 1859.—*Ed.*

his suite, pretend to play the same part at this moment which Persigny had to act during the expedition of Boulogne, Morny, Fleury and St. Arnaud during the night of the 1st of December, viz.: that of plunging Louis Bonaparte into the Rubicon. Plon-Plon, you know, is not renowned for his military prowess. He cut a very sorry figure during the Crimean campaign, and, lacking even the pluck necessary for a common rider, knows not how to preserve the proper balance on horseback. Yet he is now the very Mars of the Bonaparte dynasty. To become Viceroy of Lombardy he considers the next step leading him to the throne of France. So indiscreet have grown his friends, that their chief, M. Émile de Girardin, dared to utter before some twenty people, discussing the Emperor's intentions: "Which Emperor do you mean?" "The one at the Palais Royal[152] is the only real Emperor." While the Government papers affect to preach peace, Plon-Plon's *Moniteur*, the *Presse*, in the coolest way announces day by day the preparations for war. While Louis Bonaparte ostensibly admonishes Victor Emmanuel to moderate the Mazzinians, Plon-Plon is pushing the King "to excite them." While Bonaparte has composed the suite following his cousin to Turin of the most conservative men, such as Gen. Niel, Plon-Plon refused to start, save on the condition that Mr. Bixio, the ex-Minister of the French Republic of 1848, was to accompany him, in order to imbue his *entourage* with a revolutionary perfume. Now, what people say is this: "Unless Louis Napoleon is prepared to go all lengths, nothing can be more dangerous than the airs assumed by Plon-Plon, and the articles published by his friends." Hence the apprehensions still prevailing. On the other hand, it is generally understood that Louis Napoleon would commit suicide if, intimidated by the cry of the French middle class, and the frowns of the European dynasties, he should now draw back, after Victor Emmanuel has been compromised, and the hopes of the French army have been raised to the highest pitch. To give the latter a *quid pro quo*, he intends, as rumor says, to dispatch them on some transmarine expedition against Morocco, Madagascar, or some other out-of-the-way place, not known to the Treaty of Vienna.[153] Still, any unforeseen event may bring about a war with Austria, despite the Imperial blackleg.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE FRENCH ARMY

The Paris *Constitutionnel* has lately put forth a statement intended to prove that, in case of war, France could send across her frontiers a force of 500,000 men.[a] According to M. Gaillardet in his letter from Paris published in the *Courrier des États-Unis* of yesterday, this statement, and the figures by which it is supported, were furnished to our Parisian cotemporary directly from the Emperor himself, without the knowledge of any of his Ministers. The first point of the statement is that, if all the men on furlough are called in, and no more furloughs given, the French army will consist, on the lst of April next, of 568,000 men; if the whole of the recruits of 1858 are called in, this strength will be increased by 64,000 men; and if war be declared, the Government may, with absolute certainty, count upon 50,000 voluntary enlistments at least, either of old soldiers whose time has expired, or of young volunteers. This would give a grand total of 682,000 men, divided, according to the Imperial statistician, as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Infantry | 390,978 | Train | 10,120 |
| Cavalry | 83,000[b] | Guards | 29,942 |
| Artillery | 46,450 | Miscellaneous corps | 49,000 |
| Engineers | 12,110 | | |
| Total | | | 621,600 |

There is evidently some flaw in this sum total. There are 60,000 men wanting, which the Imperial pen, in the hurry of the

[a] Louis Boniface's article dated Paris, January 29, *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 30, January 30, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] Boniface has the figure 83,800.—*Ed.*

moment, has forgotten to distribute. But never mind that. Suppose the 682,000 men are all right. In case of war, there would remain in the depots, which form at the same time the garrisons of the interior, 100,000 men. They would be supported by the 25,000 gensd'armes, while 50,000 men would be sufficient for Algeria. These 175,000 men, deducted from the above grand total, would leave 507,000 men. But his Majesty has again managed to lose 10,000 men, and deducts from 672,000 instead of from 682,000 men, thus reducing the net available field force to 497,000 men. An army of 500,000 men can, therefore, according to our authority, be made available for foreign war by the lst of June, 1859, without in any way altering the existing military organization of France.

Now let us see what the French army is made of in reality. The existing organization of an army forms a certain limit to its extension; battalions, squadrons, batteries, cannot comprise more than a certain number of men, horses and guns, in any particular service, without destroying the system and the tactical specialities of that service. The French battalions of eight companies each, for instance, could not increase their companies to anything like twice their normal number of 118 combatants, without necessitating an entire revolution in the rudimentary and battalion drill; nor could the French batteries increase the number of their guns from six to eight or twelve, without a similar effect; and, in either case, the companies and batteries would become extremely clumsy, unless they were subdivided. Thus the organization of any army places certain limits to the numbers it can accommodate; and if those limits be exceeded, new formations become necessary. As these, however, cannot escape public notice, so soon as they are established to any extent, and as, so far, the *Constitutionnel* says that there need be no new formations, we may take the frame-work of the army, as it existed at the conclusion of the Russian war, as the limit of the number of men it can at present absorb.

The infantry battalion of the French line, with its complex organization of six companies of the line and two of élite, cannot well exceed the strength of 1,000 men. For 100 regiments of the line, this would give, at three battalions each, 300,000 men. We purposely include the third battalion, for, although up to the Russian war it merely figured as a depot battalion, it was then mobilized, and three extra depot companies per regiment created, which no doubt are still in existence. These 300 depot companies will form a total of about 36,000 men. The 20 battalions of

*chasseurs à pied*,[a] destined to fight in detailed companies rather than in closed battalions, admit of a larger number of men; they number nearly 1,300 men each, and would therefore give a total strength of 26,000 men, with scarcely any depots, as they receive many men from other regiments. The guard consists of two divisions of infantry, and its regiments, up to the peace with Russia, had only two battalions each, which agrees with the *Constitutionnel*, according to which its infantry will consist of 18 battalions or 18,000 men. This constitutes the whole of the French infantry, with the exception of the troops designed for African service. These are 9 battalions of Zouaves, equal to 9,000 men, beside about 500 in depot; 3 penal battalions (Zéphirs),[154] or 3,000 men, and 9 battalions of Algerian (native) Tirailleurs, which, if fully up to their complement, will number 9,000 men. Thus, the total strength of the French infantry may be summed up as follows:

Line, including depots, 336,000 men in 300 battalions and 300 depot companies.

Chasseurs, 26,000 men in 20 battalions.

Guard, 18,000 men in 18 battalions.

Zouaves, 9,500 men in 9 battalions.

Zéphirs, 3,000 men in 3 battalions.

Native Algerians, 9,000 men in 9 battalions.

Total, 401,500 men in 359 battalions and 300 depot companies.

Of which 36,500 belong to the depots, leaving 365,000 for active service at home and abroad.

The French cavalry was supposed, in 1856, to consist of

12 heavy regiments—72 squadrons and 12 depots—14,400 active and 1,800 depot men.

20 line regiments—120 squadrons and 20 depots—24,600 active and 3,820 depot men.

21 light regiments—126 squadrons and 21 depots—27,100 active and 4,230 depot men.

4 African regiments—16 squadrons and 4 depots—3,000 active and 450 depot men.

3 native regiments—12 squadrons—3,600 active men.

Total, 346 active and 57 depot squadrons—72,700 active and 10,300 depot men.

To which add the Guards—30 active squadrons—6,000 active.

Grand total, 376 active, 57 depot squadrons—78,700 active and 10,300 depot men.

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[a] Foot soldiers.—*Ed.*

But it is not to be forgotten that, although since 1840 great strides have been made in the improvement of the breed of horses in France, still the native horses of that country are, to an extraordinary extent, unfit for cavalry service. Only with the greatest trouble and expense has it been possible to mount the cavalry, of late years, and that not in very good style, mainly with French horses. This refers, however, to the peace establishment only, which would scarcely exceed 50,000 horses; and in spite of the resources offered by Algeria, many foreign horses have had to be bought, among which not a few had been previously sold by other cavalries as unserviceable. Horses are, at this moment, being bought for the French cavalry in Germany, and the Austrian Government has just prohibited the exportation of horses on its south-western frontier. With all these difficulties, we need not apprehend that the French cavalry will ever exceed the number stated above, or that, with the exception of the small portion mounted on Algerian horses, it will ever excel in the field, unless it obtain, by conquest, a larger proportion of good horses than it now has.

The artillery, including the guards, may number about 50,000 men, with 207 field batteries, or 1,242 guns. Of this number of men, at least 5,000 belong to the depots. The engineers will not exceed 9,000, or 10,000 men, but we will say 12,000, with the *Constitutionnel*. The train, working companies, sanitary officers, &c., all non-combatants, number about 11,000 men on the war footing. Thus the utmost number of men for which the French army, in its present organization, is adapted would be as follows:

| | Active men. | Depot men. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Infantry | 365,000 | 36,500 | 401,500 |
| Cavalry | 78,700 | 10,300 | 89,000 |
| Artillery | 45,000 | 5,000 | 50,000 |
| Engineers | 12,000 | — | 12,000 |
| Non-combatants | — | 11,000 | 11,000 |
| Total | 500,700 | 62,800 | 563,500 |

This result agrees very well with the general arrangements of the French army for recruits. Every year 100,000 young men are called upon to join the ranks, but formerly in time of peace 60,000 only were actually sent to their regiments, and as they were liable to serve seven years, the army would not exceed 400,000 to 420,000 men. But under Louis Philippe the actual time of service

seldom exceeded from four to five years, so that at that period the actual strength would not exceed 300,000 men, the remainder being on furlough. Since then, however, an extra battalion to each infantry regiment, an extra squadron to each cavalry regiment, and the whole ~~corps of~~ guards having been added,[155] the frame-work of the army has been so far extended that it can accommodate about 600,000 men; and it is not likely that France, except in a war of national self-defense, will ever have more drilled soldiers at any one time.

If, therefore, we take the numbers which we have given above, and add to them the 49,000 gensd'armes, municipal guards, and nobody knows what other "miscellaneous corps" the *Constitutionnel* includes to make up that sum, the grand total will very nearly coincide with what that journal makes the strength to be on the lst of April, 1859. But now the difference begins. In our grand total there are depots organized in 300 companies and 57 squadrons, which are barely sufficient for the preliminary drill and organization of the 46,800 infantry and cavalry soldiers which are now in them. Supposing these to be suddenly withdrawn to make room for new recruits, and to fill up in the regiments the places of men whose time has elapsed, what number of recruits would these depots have to drill? The 100,000 men of the levy of 1859, and at least 20,000 raw volunteers, in all 120,000 men, or 70,000 more than the depots can accommodate. There is no doubt, then, that between the lst of April and the lst of June, the three depot companies of each infantry regiment must be increased to a full battalion, and thus for every cavalry regiment, two instead of one depot squadron must be established. For while now, with the whole army on mere garrison duty, the depots are mere stations of passage for the recruit, from which as soon as possible, undrilled or half-drilled, he is sent to his regiment, there to receive his education, it is not to be forgotten that in war, the army being on active duty, the depot has to equip and drill the soldier thoroughly so that he may join his regiment fit for army duty. Thus, if the *Constitutionnel* maintains the French can increase their strength to 700,000 men, without new formations, it deviates very considerably from the truth. And the formation of 100 depot battalions out of 300 companies, and of 57 extra depot squadrons, will necessitate the withdrawal from the ranks of the active army, at the very moment when their services are most required, of at the very least 2,000 commissioned and 10,000 non-commissioned officers.

But, supposing the 700,000 men collected—and we are far from

maintaining that France, at the onset of a war, could not collect this number of young men—how many soldiers fit for duty will there be of the 700,000? Not more than 580,000, and of these, according to the *Constitutionnel*, 50,000 have to defend Algeria. The gensd'armes and miscellaneous corps for duty in the interior we must not take at 25,000, but stick to the original estimate of the *Constitutionnel*, viz., 49,000. This leaves a residuum of 481,000 men. But our Imperial cotemporary must have a very strong faith indeed in the stability of his dynasty if he thinks that 120,000 raw recruits and 49,000 gensd'armes and other military police can be intrusted with its exclusive defense. The depots will hardly be sufficient to garrison the more important fortresses, except Paris and Lyons. These two towns Louis Napoleon would never trust in the hands of raw recruits; and although the *Constitutionnel* thinks 40,000 troops quite sufficient to keep them in check, it is certain that 100,000 men will not be too many for the purpose. But suppose we deduct 100,000 men for the requirements of the large towns of the interior, and for the Royalist south of France, the whole force disposable to be employed abroad is reduced to 381,000 men. Of these, 181,000 men, at least, would have to form an army of observation on the Belgian, German and Swiss frontier, and but 200,000 men would remain available for an attack upon Italy. Now, we maintain, that 150,000 Austrians, in their strong position on the Mincio and Adige, are equal to at least 300,000 French and Sardinians, and if there should be a war, they may one of these days prove it.

Written on January 31, 1859

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# Frederick Engels

## GERMAN RESOURCES FOR WAR

The recent boasting of Louis Napoleon as to the strength of the forces which he is able to bring against Austria, has called forth from the journals of Germany similar statements concerning the military resources likely to be combined against him in the event of a war. These statements, however, have generally but slender pretensions to accuracy or thoroughness of detail; and we have accordingly been obliged to resort to original and official documents for the facts and figures which we now proceed to lay before our readers.

The army of Austria is, of course, by far the strongest of all those that would be enlisted against France in such a war. Its infantry consists of 62 regiments of the line (each composed of 1 grenadier, 4 line, and 1 depot battalion), equal to 310 active and 62 depot battalions; 14 frontier regiments,[156] of 2 field and 1 reserve battalion; in all 28 active, 14 reserve battalions (beside one unattached battalion); and 32 battalions of rifles. The Austrian battalions are of unequal strength, varying from four to six companies. With full ranks, the strength of the whole will be:

| | |
|---|---|
| Line | 370,000 men. |
| Frontier regiments | 55,000 men. |
| Rifles | 32,000 men. |
| Total, inclusive of depots | 457,000 men. |

The line and frontier regiments are armed with smooth-bore percussion muskets, the locks being of a peculiar, not very admirable construction, but still very fair muskets. In the frontier

regiments, every company has 20 rifles. The 32 battalions of riflemen all carry rifles, but these are much inferior in range to the French Minié or English Enfield rifle. The infantry is, throughout, first-rate, and the men are equal to any in Europe, though as against English or Prussian infantry, every man of which carries a rifled musket of long range, the inferior armament must tell disadvantageously. Against French or Russian troops this disadvantage would not exist, if we except the 20 battalions of French Chasseurs, and unless the armament of the French line infantry should be changed.

The Austrian cavalry numbers 16 heavy and 24 light regiments—the first of 6, the second of 8 squadrons, beside a depot squadron per regiment. The heavy squadron has 194, the light 227 men. With such a force, an Austrian cavalry regiment is stronger than a French brigade of horse. The whole body is 67,000 men strong, exceedingly well mounted, and the greater part of the light cavalry recruited among two nations of horsemen, the Hungarians and Poles. There is no doubt that these 67,000 men would be more than a match for the 81,000 French cavalry which Louis Napoleon proposes to bring forward. The Austrian cavalry is, undoubtedly, at present without a rival.

The artillery consists of 12 field regiments, of 13 batteries of 8 guns each, 1 coast regiment, and 1 rocket regiment of 20 batteries—in all, 1,248 guns, 240 rocket-carriages, and 50,000 men. The pioneers, hospital troops, &c., amount to some 20,000 men in addition.

The whole force, on the peace footing, including train, &c., would be from 580,000 to 600,000 men. Of these, nearly 200,000 are generally, and up to this moment, on furlough, leaving 400,000 present with the colors. Not only these, however, but 120,000 men of the reserve (dismissed after eight years' service, and liable to be called out for two years longer) can be called together in case of war; and, if we are to believe the assertions of Austrian writers, the whole may be under arms in 14 days. Still, the resources of the empire are not exhausted with this. The frontier district is exempt from the reserve duty, but there every man is a soldier up to his 60th year, and ready at all times to be called to his regiment. This district, in 1848, furnished the troops that saved Radetzky in Italy, and with him the Austrian monarchy. It is not yet forgotten how battalion after battalion of these hardy Slavonians was formed, and dispatched into Italy; while, at the same time, the army which took Vienna from the insurgents was collected from the same material.[157] This district, whose contingent

for ordinary purposes is limited to 55,000 men, can, in case of need, send 200,000 soldiers into the field. Thus the Austrian army, with the reserves, and but 80,000 extra men from the frontier district, would count fully 800,000 men, to which above 100,000 frontier soldiers more can be added as fast as the battalions can be organized. Thus Austria, alone, supposing her to have the necessary money, would be fully sufficient for the defense of her Italian possessions against France and Piedmont combined.

Next comes Prussia. The infantry of this kingdom consists of 36 regiments of the line and guards, containing 108 battalions; 9 reserve regiments, containing 18 battalions; with 8 reserve battalions, and 10 battalions of rifles, in all 144 battalions, equal, on the war footing, to about 150,000 men. To this add the Landwehr of the first levy, 116 battalions, equal to about 120,000 men—in all 270,000 men. In time of war the 8 reserve battalions are formed into 36 depot battalions for the 36 line regiments, and the 9 reserve regiments, with their corresponding 9 Landwehr battalions, are destined for garrison duty, so that there remains an active field force of 228 battalions, including about 230,000 men.

The cavalry consists of 38 regiments of the line, 4 squadrons each; 152 squadrons and 34 regiments; 136 squadrons of the first levy of the Landwehr, equal to about 49,000 men.

Artillery: 9 regiments, each of 11 batteries of 8 guns, and 4 companies for duty in fortresses—in all 792 field guns and 20,000 men.

The engineers, train, &c., form a total of 40,000 men.

Thus, in all, Prussia has an available army of 380,000 men of the line and first levy of the Landwehr, of which 340,000 at least are able to take the field. The second levy of the Landwehr is not organized, and in fact merely destined to do duty in fortresses. In case of a war, however, it might be brought to a tolerable state of efficiency in about four months, as far as the infantry and artillery are concerned; the cavalry will scarcely ever be fit for much active duty. At all events, 100,000 or 120,000 men from this source may safely be reckoned upon, setting so many men of the line free from garrison duty. Thus the Prussian army can muster 500,000 men, with plenty of drilled men in addition who would not find a place in the frame-work of the first levy of the Landwehr, and who could be used for new formations.

The Prussian army, from the short time of service (three years), and from the fact that the whole of the first levy of the Landwehr

has been on an average from four to five years absent from the army (with few and short interruptions), is not equal, in the outbreak of a war, as far as the men go, to the Austrian. The nation is, however, of an essentially military cast, and a few weeks of active campaigning will always make good soldiers of them. It is the first month or two of a war that Prussia has to fear. Above one half of the army, consisting of a militia; it is ill adapted for an offensive war, but will act so much the better in a defensive one; for nowhere except in Switzerland[158] is the army so really a national body as in Prussia. As to the armament, the whole of the guards and one battalion of every line regiment are armed with the new needle guns, which have a range of 1,000 yards, and, with the English Enfield rifle, carry farther than any other muskets at present in use. The remainder of the line are armed with the common musket, which, however, by a very simple process has been rifled on Minié's principle, and is little inferior in range or precision to the real Minié rifle. The first levy of the Landwehr will also receive the needle gun when called out. Thus, with the exception of the British, the Prussian infantry have the best armament of any in Europe.

Of the German Federal army,[159] Austria forms the first, second and third, and Prussia the fourth, fifth and sixth army corps. The seventh is furnished by Bavaria. She is bound to find a simple contingent of 36,500 men, and 17,800 men reserve; in all, 54,300 men. But the Bavarian army counts a good deal more, viz.: 54 battalions—54,000 men, infantry; 56 squadrons, 9,000 men, cavalry; 224 guns, and 5,600 men, artillery, besides engineers, &c.; in all, more than 72,000 men; besides the reserve, formed by all dismissed soldiers from the 27th to the 40th year, and who may be used for new formations.

The eighth corps counts, in contingents and reserve:

| | Men. | | Men. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Württemberg | 21,000 | Actual army | 19,000 |
| Baden | 15,000 | Actual army | 15,000 |
| Hesse-Darmstadt | 9,300 | Actual army | 10,500 |
| Strength required | 45,300 | Actual strength | 44,500 |

The ninth corps, in contingents and reserve, should count 36,000 men; the armies composing it number actually 44,000 men.

The tenth corps is to number 42,000 men, and, we suppose, its component armies will make up about that strength.

The reserve division (contingents of the petty States) is about 17,000 strong. Thus, in a general summary, we have:

| | Men. | | Men. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Austria | 800,000 | Ninth Corps | 44,000 |
| Prussia | 400,000 | Tenth Corps | 42,000 |
| Bavaria | 70,000 | Reserve Division | 17,000 |
| Eighth Corps | 45,000 | | |
| Total | | | 1,418,000 |

Of this colossal force, the last five items, amounting to 218,000 men, are always ready, and form but the *regular peace establishment* of the respective States, after calling in all the men on furlough. These States could therefore easily furnish 100,000 to 150,000 men more, but as no organization exists for them, we have not counted them at all, any more than the Prussian second levy of the Landwehr. Austria can certainly have 700,000 men under arms at a fortnight's notice. In Prussia, the calling in of the reserve of war (men on furlough) would take even less time, and would swell the line to its full complement of 225,000 men. Thus, within a fortnight, Germany can bring some 1,150,000 men into the field; a month afterward, some 270,000 more, and then all the Prussian second levy, all the Bavarian reserve, and some 100,000 Austrian frontier soldiers, are still available. And when this is exhausted, then, and then only, will extraordinary efforts be necessary.

Thus, the forces at the disposal of Germany are so immense, that if they are directed with unity and firmness, she need not fear an attack made simultaneously by France, Italy and Russia. Whether they will be so used, is, of course, doubtful; but, if in a general war, petty jealousies, indecision and routine should hamper the acts of these armies, and insure defeat, then the present Governments of Germany may pack their trunks; they will soon have to decamp. The Germany of 1859 is as different from the Germany of the peace of Basel, of Jena, Austerlitz and Wagram,[160] as the France of to-day is from the revolutionary France of 1793; and if 1848 has done nothing else, it has created a German national feeling in every part of the country, even among those that were formerly accused of French sympathies. Louis Napoleon may attempt to play the liberator in Italy, but he dare not try that game on the Rhine; and even if he were partly

successful in war, he would only provoke a revolution in Germany which would insure his ultimate defeat, and endanger, by its example, his own already tottering throne.

Written on February 10, 1859

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Frederick Engels

## THE AUSTRIAN HOLD ON ITALY

When General Bonaparte, in 1796, descended from the Maritime Alps, the great week of Dego, Millesimo, Montenotte and Mondovi, sufficed to conquer the whole of Piedmont and Lombardy.[161] His columns advanced without resistance until they reached the Mincio. But there the tables turned. The walls of Mantua arrested them, and it took the greatest general of his age nine months to conquer this obstacle. The whole second part of the first campaign of Italy turns upon the conquest of Mantua. Rivoli, Castiglione, Arcole, and the march through the Brenta valley, are all subordinate to that grand object.[162] Twice was Napoleon arrested by a fortress; the first instance was Mantua, Danzig being the second.[163] Napoleon knew very well that Mantua was the key of Italy. After he once got hold of it, he never parted with it until he parted with his crown, and his sway over Italy was never seriously endangered till then.

From the geographical configuration of Italy, it is clear that whichever power can hold the Northern portion, the Gallia Cisalpina of the Romans, that power rules in all Italy. The basin of the Po has ever been the battle-field in which the fates of the peninsula were decided. From Marignano and Pavia, through Turin, Arcole, Rivoli, Novi and Marengo, down to Custozza and Novara, all the decisive struggles for mastery in Italy have been fought there.[164] It is quite natural. French or German, whoever drives his opponent from the valley of the Po, isolates him from the long-stretched peninsula, and isolates that peninsula from its allies. Reduced to its own resources, this peninsula, the least populated and least civilized portion of Italy, is soon subdued. Now, in this basin of the Po, Mantua is the most central position.

It is equidistant from both Adriatic and Mediterranean, about 70 miles from either; it thus effectually shuts up, if defended by an army in the field, all access to the peninsula. Add to this the immense tactical advantages of its position, in the middle of a lake, with three bridge-heads to debouch from, surrounded on all sides by ground intersected by rivers, and tending to isolate from each other the various portions of a besieging army—and no wonder that it should be a traditional saying that who holds Mantua is master of Italy.

These few considerations will suffice to show that it would not be so very easy to drive the Austrians out of Italy, even if they held nothing but Mantua. What it took the first captain of the age nine months to do, a late captain of the Swiss artillery[165] will not do under the same time. But the military aspect of Lombardy has changed immensely since 1796, nay, even since 1848. The campaign of 1848 is in a manner the reverse of that of 1796. If 1796 showed what Mantua could do when on the defensive, 1848 showed what Mantua, Peschiera, Legnago and Verona together can do in offensive warfare; and since then, this splendid position, about the finest in Europe, has been worked out and prepared in every possible way, and with a predilection, a study, and an *ensemble* which do the highest credit to the Austrian staff and engineers.

Look at the map. From the Lago di Garda to the Po runs the Mincio, a not very considerable river, fordable in Summer in many places, but, on the whole, not unfit for a defensive position. The length of the line, which must be measured from Peschiera to Borgoforte, though this is beyond the river, is about thirty miles, so that an army, placed in the middle of it, can reach either extremity in one day's march. Flanked on the right (north) by the lake and the Tyrolese Alps, and on the left by the Po, this short line of thirty miles is the first defensible line which an Austrian army can find against an enemy from the west. But this is not its only merit. Nearly parallel with the lake, the Mincio and the Po, at a distance of from ten to thirty miles to the rear, runs the Adige, forming a second and far stronger line of defense, and offering at all times an obstacle which must be overcome by bridges. This double line, as a glance on the map will show, naturally rounds off the Tyrol and the adjoining Austrian Provinces into a compact whole; it is, militarily speaking, their necessary complement; and upon this is founded the Austrian poiitical maxim that the line of the Mincio is necessary to the defense of Germany, and that the Rhine must be defended on the Po.

This position, naturally strong, has been rendered stronger still by art. The line of the Mincio is cut in two by Mantua. This fortress is so near to the mouth of that river, that the portion below it may be left entirely out of the calculation. Thus the line is shortened by some seven or eight miles more; and its southern extremity strengthened by a fortress of the first rank, forming bridge-heads on either side of the river. The other extremity, where the river leaves the lake, is defended by a small fortress, Peschiera. This place is certainly not very strong, and was taken by the Piedmontese in 1848; but it is sufficient to resist an irregular attack, and can therefore be held while the Austrians hold the field; while it allows them to debouch on the western side of the Mincio.

The line of the Adige, up to 1815, had been neglected. From 1797 to 1809, it formed the boundary of Austria and Italy; but since 1815, Austria became possessed of both banks of the river. Behind Mantua, about 25 miles distant, lay the small fortress of Legnago, on the Adige; but behind Peschiera, the nearest town, Verona, was not fortified. The Austrians, however, were not slow to find out that, to make the position really what it ought to be, Verona must be fortified. And so it was. Only, with the usual sloth of antediluvian Austria, the execution was so neglected that in 1848, when the revolution broke out, the portion on the left or eastern bank of the river, that which might be turned against Austria, was tolerably fortified, while the side toward the enemy was comparatively defenseless.

Radetzky and his chiefs of the staff, Hess and Schönhals, at once set to work, when the revolution had driven them from Milan, to remedy this defect. The hights surrounding Verona to the west were crowned with entrenchments, and by these the ramparts of the town were covered from a commanding fire. And well for Austria they did so. The line of the Mincio had to be abandoned. Peschiera was besieged by the Piedmontese, and they advanced to the very ramparts of these redoubts. But here they were brought to a standstill. The day of Santa Lucia (May 6, 1848) showed them that every further attempt on the defenses of Verona was quite useless.

Still, the whole of Upper Italy was in the hands of the revolutionary army. Radetzky held nothing but his four fortresses, using Verona as an entrenched camp for his army. His front, flanks and almost his rear were in the power of the enemy; for even the communication with the Tyrol was menaced and sometimes interrupted. Still, a division under Gen. Nugent

succeeded in making its way through the insurged Venetian country, and joined him toward the end of May. Then it was that Radetzky showed what could be done with that splendid position he had just been organizing for himself. Unable to live any longer in the exhausted neighborhood of Verona, too weak to take the field in a decisive battle, he removed his army, by a bold and skillful flank-march, by Legnago to Mantua; and, before the enemy had any certain knowledge of what was going on, Radetzky advanced from Mantua to attack them on the western bank of the Mincio; he drove in their line of blockade, and compelled the main army of the Piedmontese to retreat from before Verona. Still, he could not prevent the fall of Peschiera, and, having attained all the results from his march to Mantua he could possibly expect, he again collected his troops, marched by Legnago to Vicenza, and took it from the Italians, thereby subduing the whole of the Venetian territory on the continent, recovering his communications, and securing the resources of a large and rich district in his rear, after which he again retired to his stronghold of Verona, from which the Piedmontese were so much at a loss how to drive him, that they lost a whole month in doing nothing. In the mean time, however, three strong Austrian brigades had arrived, and then the tables were turned. In three days, Radetzky swept the Piedmontese from the hights between the Adige and the Mincio, turning, at the same time, their right flank by Mantua, and gave them such a lesson that they never showed fight again until they were behind the Ticino.

This campaign of Radetzky's shows what a general can do with an inferior army if supported by a well-defended system of river-lines. No matter where the Piedmontese stood, or which way they tried to make front, they could not attack the Austrians; and the groping in the dark to which all their military operations were confined for the last five weeks before their ultimate defeat, shows clearly how helplessly fast they were. Now, in what consisted the strength of Radetzky's position? Merely in this, that the fortresses not only sheltered him from an attack, but that they compelled the enemy to divide his forces, while Radetzky, under their shelter, could operate with the whole of his forces at any given point against that portion of the enemy he might happen to find against him. Peschiera neutralized a good many troops; while Radetzky was in Verona, Mantua neutralized another portion, and no sooner did he go to Mantua, than Verona compelled the Piedmontese to leave a corps of observation there. But more than this: the Italians had to operate with separate corps on either side

of the rivers, none of which could rapidly support the other, while Radetzky, by his fortresses and bridge-heads, could at pleasure remove the whole of his forces from one bank to the other. Vicenza and the Venetian Main would never have fallen had it been in the power of the Piedmontese to support them. As it was, Radetzky took both, while the Piedmontese were kept in check by the garrisons of Verona and Mantua.

When the French, in Algeria, have to march a column through a hostile district,[166] they form four squares of infantry and place them on the four corners of a rhomboid; the cavalry and artillery is placed in the center. If the Arabs attack, the steady fire of the infantry repels them, and, so soon as they are broken, the cavalry dash among them, and the artillery unlimber to send them their balls. If repulsed, the cavalry finds safe shelter behind the squares of the infantry. What the solid infantry is against such irregular hordes, such is a system of fortresses for an inferior army in the field; especially if these fortresses are situated on a network of rivers. Verona, Mantua, Peschiera, Legnago, form the four corners of a square, and so long as not three, at least, of them are taken, an inferior army cannot be compelled to leave the position. But how are they to be taken? Peschiera, indeed, will always fall easily, if the Austrians cannot hold the field; but Mantua, in 1848, was not even attempted to be blockaded on all sides, much less to be besieged. To blockade Mantua, three armies are required; one on the western, one on the eastern bank of the Mincio for the siege, and one to cover the siege against the Austrians at Verona. By skillful maneuvering among the rivers and fortresses, *each* of these three armies can be attacked, *ad libitum,* by the *whole* of the Austrian forces. How is a siege to be kept going, under such circumstances? If Mantua, alone, took General Bonaparte nine months to starve out, how strong will it be if supported by an army resting upon Verona, Legnago and Peschiera, capable of maneuvering with united forces, on either bank of the Mincio or Adige, and to which the retreat can never be cut off, as it has two lines of communication, one through the Tyrol, and the other through the Venetian Main? We have no hesitation in saying that this position is one of the strongest in Europe, and as it is not only fully prepared, but also fully understood by the Austrians, we believe that 150,000 Austrians, in it, need not fear double their number of opponents.

But suppose they get beaten out of it. Suppose they lose Mantua and Peschiera and Legnago. So long as they hold Verona, and are not totally driven from the field, they can render very risky the

march of any French army toward Trieste and Vienna. Keeping Verona as an outpost, they can retire into the Tyrol, recruit their strength, and again compel the enemy to divide his forces. One portion must besiege Verona, another defend the valley of the Adige; will there remain enough to march toward Vienna? If so, the Tyrolese army can fall upon them by that valley of the Brenta, the strategetic importance of which Gen. Bonaparte taught the Austrians in 1796 by such a severe lesson. Such an experiment, however, would be a decided fault, unless there was another army for the defense of the direct road to Germany; for if the main body of the Austrians was to be thrown into the Tyrolese Alps, the enemy might still march past, and arrive in Vienna before the Austrians could extricate themselves from the hills. But suppose Vienna fortified (which, we believe, is now being done), this consideration ceases. The army would still arrive in time to relieve it, and might confine the defense of the Carinthian frontier to a constant hovering in the Alps, on the left flank of the invader, threatening to fall upon him either by Bassano or Cornegliano, and seizing his communications so soon as he marched past.

This indirect defense of the South-German frontier is, by the bye, the best answer to the Austrian defense of their occupation of Italy—that the line of the Mincio is the natural frontier of Germany in the south. Were it so, the Rhine would be the natural frontier of France. Every argument that holds good in one case, is fully applicable to the other. But, fortunately, France does neither require the Rhine, nor Germany the Po and Mincio. Who turns, is turned. If the Venetian Main turns the Tyrol, the Tyrol turns all Italy. The Pass of Bormio leads straight to Milan, and may be made the means of preparing a Marengo to an enemy attacking Trieste and Gradisca, as much as the Great Saint Bernard was to Melas attacking the line of the Var.[167] In war, after all, he who holds the field longest and best is sure to win. Let Germany hold the Tyrol with a strong hand, and she can very well afford to let the Italians of the plain have it all their own way. So long as her armies can hold the field, it matters little to her whether the Venetian Main belongs politically to her. Militarily speaking, it is *commanded* by her Alpine frontier, and that should be enough.

This, of course, is a question between Italy and Germany alone. So soon as France steps in, things are different; and if France throws all her weight into the scale, it is but natural that each of the two combatants should secure its position as much as possible. Germany can afford to part with the line of the Mincio, and of the

Adige, too; but part with them to Italy only, and not to any other nation.

So far, we have considered the chances of a defensive war only on the part of the Austrians. But if it should come to war, their position is such that an offensive plan of campaign is imperatively imposed upon them—and of this, more hereafter.

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# Karl Marx

## THE STATE OF BRITISH MANUFACTURES

London, Feb. 25, 1859

The factory inspectors of England, Scotland and Ireland, having issued their regular half-yearly reports, ending October 31, 1858, on their different districts, I send you my usual abstract of those most important industrial bulletins.[a] The joint report is this time condensed into a few lines, and states only that, with the single exception of Scotland, the encroachments of the manufacturers upon the legal time for the employment of young persons and women,[168] and especially upon the time reserved for their meals, are rapidly increasing. They consequently feel it incumbent upon themselves to urge that these evasions of the law should be prevented by an amending act.

"The imperfections," they say, "in the Factory acts, which make it extremely difficult for the inspectors and sub-inspectors to detect and convict the offenders, and to fulfill the evident intentions of the Legislature in regard to the all-important subjects of limitation to the hours of work, and the securing of sufficient opportunities of rest and refreshment to the workers in the course of the day, render some alterations in the law necessary. If Parliament had imagined that such evasions could be resorted to, they would doubtless have been guarded against by adequate provisions."

Now, since I have conscientiously studied the stormy parliamentary debates from which the present factory laws emerged, the factory inspectors must allow me to dissent from their concluding passage, and to stick to the opinion that the factory laws were formed with the express purpose of allowing every possible facility for evasion and circumvention. The bitter antagonism between

[a] *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department for the Half Year ending 31st October 1858.—Ed.*

landlords and mill lords which gave birth to them, was still mitigated by the common spite the two ruling classes entertain for what they call "vulgar interests." At the same time, I willingly embrace the opportunity of paying my respects to those British factory inspectors, who, in the teeth of all-powerful class-interests, have taken up the protection of the down-trodden multitude with a moral courage, a steadfast energy, and an intellectual superiority of which there are not to be found many parallels in these times of mammon-worship.[a]

The first report proceeds from Mr. Leonard Horner,[b] whose district comprises the industrial center of England, the whole of Lancashire, parts of Cheshire, Derbyshire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, the North Riding and the four northern counties of England. The factory laws being still the object of unmitigated opposition on the part of the manufacturers, and almost every year witnessing a parliamentary campaign in favor of their repeal, Mr. Horner starts with an apology for the legislation which exempted children and women from the absolute sway of the inexorable laws of Free Trade. The official economists pronounced the factory legislation to be contrary to all sound "principles," and certain to prove most injurious in its consequences to trade. In reply to the first objection, Mr. Horner states.

> "As in all factories, there is a very large amount of fixed capital in buildings and machinery, the greater number of hours that machinery can be kept at work the greater will be the return; and, most assuredly, if that working could have been carried on without injury to human beings, there would have been no legislation to interfere with it. But when it was shown that, in order to derive a greater return upon the capital, children, young persons of both sexes, and women, were employed daily, and often in the night, for a length of time wholly inconsistent with their health, morals, education of the young, domestic comfort, and with any reasonable enjoyment of life, the clearest dictates of *moral* principles called upon the Legislature to put an end to so enormous an evil."

In other words, Mr. Horner propounds that, in the present state of society, a principle may appear "sound" on the part of the economist and the classes of which he is the theoretical mouthpiece, and may, nevertheless, not only prove contrary to all the laws of human conscience, but, like a cancer, eat into the very vitals of a whole generation. As to the alleged interference of the factory laws with the progress of industry, Mr. Horner opposes facts to declamation. In the return ordered by the House of

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[a] Th. Carlyle, *Past and Present*, Book III, Chapter 2.—*Ed.*

[b] "Report of Leonard Horner, Inspector of Factories, for the Half Year ended the 31st October 1858."—*Ed.*

Commons on the 19th of March, 1835, the numbers of mills, and the numbers of persons employed therein, were, in his present district, as follows:

| | Factories. | Persons emp'd. |
|---|---|---|
| Cotton | 775 | 132,898 |
| Woolen and Worsted | 220 | 8,738 |
| Flax | 60 | 5,546 |
| Silk | 23 | 5,445 |
| Total | 1,078 | 152,627 |

In the return made to the House of Commons in February, 1857, the account stands thus:

| | Factories. | Persons emp'd. |
|---|---|---|
| Cotton | 1,535 | 271,423 |
| Woolen and Worsted | 181 | 18,909 |
| Flax | 49 | 6,738 |
| Silk | 46 | 10,583 |
| Total | 1,811 | 307,653 |

From this tabular statement it appears, that in twenty-two years the number of cotton mills has nearly doubled, while the number of persons employed therein has more than doubled. In the woolen and worsted manufactories the considerable decrease of the number of mills simultaneous with an increase of more than two-fold in the persons employed therein, shows the concentration of capital and the extinction, to a great degree, of the smaller mills by the larger ones. The same process, although on a smaller scale, may be observed with regard to the flax mills. As to the silk mills, their number has been doubled, and the number of persons employed in them nearly so.

"But," as Mr. Horner remarks, "the increase in the actual number of mills is not the only measure of progression; for the great improvements that have been made in machinery of all kinds, have vastly increased their productive powers."

The important point is, that a stimulus to these improvements, especially as regards the greater speed of machines in a given time, was evidently given by the legal restrictions of the hours of work.

"These improvements," says Mr. Horner, "and the closer application which the operatives are enabled to give, have had the effect, as I have been again and again assured, of as much work being turned off in the shortened time as used to be in the longer hours."

It is principally in Mr. Horner's district that willful and deliberate violations of the enactments that restrict the hours of work, as well as those respecting the age of the workers and the attendance to school of children from eight to thirteen years, who by law are to work half-time only, have been on the increase since the recent improved state of trade. I quote from the report:

"The temptation of increased profits is yielded to by those mill-owners in whose code of morality disobedience to an act of Parliament is no crime, and who calculate that the amount of any fine they will have to pay, if found out, will form a very small proportion of the profit they make by disregarding the restrictions of the law."

To understand this trite complaint which we meet in all the successive reports, it must be first considered that, for the greater part, the magistrates consist of manufacturers or their relations, that secondly the fines imposed by law are very small, and lastly, that young persons and women are only held to be employed *"unless the contrary shall be proved."* Now, as Mr. Horner states:

"Nothing is more easy for a fraudulent mill-owner than to preserve the *contrary*. He has only to stop his steam engine so soon as the Inspector appears, and then all work ceases, and in every information the Inspector must prove that the individual named in the complaint was found actually at work. So soon as the illegal working begins, and it takes place at six different periods of the day, the gross daily amount being made up of small installments, a watch is set to give notice of the approach of an Inspector, and immediately on his being seen, a signal is given to stop the engine and to turn the people out of the mill."

Convictions can, in fact, be obtained only by the Sub-Inspectors overcoming the repugnance natural to gentlemen to resort to measures akin to those of a detective police officer. The persons of the Inspector and his Sub-Inspectors becoming soon well known in their respective districts, they thereby cease to be able to detect those most skillful in breaking the law, and the only resource left to them is to call in their colleagues from neighboring districts who, being mistaken for foreign merchants coming to buy, may escape the notice of the scouts posted by the mill-owners on the different railway stations.

The following bulletin of the wounded and dead of the half-yearly industrial campaign in Mr. Horner's district, is sure to afford a curious theme to the students of military science who will see that the regular tributes of human limbs, hands, arms, bones, feet, heads and faces offered to modern industry exceed in dimension many battles thought most murderous.

ACCIDENTS ARISING FROM MACHINERY.

| Nature of Injury. | Adults. M. | Adults. F. | Young Persons. M. | Young Persons. F. | Children. M. | Children. F. | Total. M. | Total. F. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Causing death | 4 | — | 3 | 1 | 2 | — | 9 | 1 |
| Amputation of right hand or arm | 2 | — | 1 | — | — | — | 3 | — |
| Amputation of left hand or arm | 2 | — | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | 4 | 1 |
| Amputation of part of right hand | 8 | 19 | 14 | 14 | 6 | 4 | 28 | 37 |
| Amputation of part of left hand | 14 | 14 | 8 | 12 | 5 | 3 | 27 | 29 |
| Fracture of limbs and bones of trunk | 18 | 4 | 10 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 31 | 11 |
| Fracture of hand or foot | 26 | 27 | 23 | 19 | 8 | 9 | 57 | 55 |
| Injuries to head and face | 11 | 16 | 12 | 13 | 7 | 1 | 30 | 30 |
| Lacerations, contusions and other injuries not enumerated above | 146 | 97 | 122 | 138 | 33 | 35 | 301 | 270 |
| Total | 231 | 177 | 194 | 202 | 65 | 55 | 490 | 434 |

ACCIDENTS NOT ARISING FROM MACHINERY.

| Nature of Injury. | Adults. M. | Adults. F. | Young Persons. M. | Young Persons. F. | Children. M. | Children. F. | Total. M. | Total. F. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Causing death | 3 | 1 | — | — | — | — | 3 | 1 |
| Injuries to head and face | 2 | — | 1 | — | — | — | 3 | — |
| Lacerations, contusions and other injuries not enumerated above | 3 | 2 | 4 | 2 | — | 1 | 7 | 5 |
| Total | 8 | 3 | 5 | 2 | — | 1 | 13 | 6 |

The second report, drawn up by Sir John Kincaid,[a] extends over the whole of Scotland where, as he states, the laws which regulate the employment of women, young persons, and children, in factories, continue to be strictly observed. The same is not true in

[a] "Report of Sir John Kincaid, Inspector of Factories, for the Half Year ending the 31st October 1858."—*Ed.*

respect of the educational enactments, since it seems with Scotch manufacturers a pet device to obtain for their juvenile workers school certificates from shops put up for that purpose, but where the children do not attend at all, or if they attend, are unfit to gather any instruction. It may suffice to quote two cases. In 1858, Sir John Kincaid, accompanied by Mr. Campbell, the Sub-Inspector, attended two schools, from which children employed in some of the Glasgow Print Works are used to receive their certificates. I quote from the report:

"The first school was that of Mrs. Ann Killin, in Smith's Court, Bridgeton; there were no children in the school room when we called, and on asking Mrs. Killin to spell her name, she blundered by commencing with the letter C, but presently corrected herself and said it began with K. However, on looking at her signature in the children's school certificate books, I noticed that she did not always spell her name the same, while the character of the writing showed that she was quite incapable of teaching, and she admitted that she was incapable of keeping the register. The second school visited was that of William Logue, of Londressey street, Calton, whose certificates I also felt it my duty to annul. The school apartment was about fifteen feet long and ten feet wide, and within that space we counted seventy-five children, screaming something unintelligible at the top of their voices. I requested the schoolmaster to point some of the children out to me, and from the manner in which he surveyed the crowd, I saw that he had no knowledge whether or not any of them were present."

In fact, the educational clauses of the Factory acts, while they require children to have certificates of school attendance, do not require that they shall have learned anything.

In Scotland the accidents arising from machinery were 237, of which 58 happened to men, and 179 to females; while there were only 10 accidents not arising from machinery. There is an increase in the numbers who have suffered amputations, as well as those who have met with minor accidents; but the difference is accounted for by the greater number of hands employed during the last half year of 1858. There is only one fatal accident. According to the reports of the Sub-Inspectors of the Western Districts of Scotland, some cotton mills which stopped in 1857 have not yet resumed work, while the fancy printing trade has been dull throughout the year. The latest reports received by Sir John Kincaid of the Eastern Division state that at Dundee and Arbroath several mills are standing, owing to recent bankruptcies and other causes; and that in some others, which are professedly working full time, a good deal of the machinery is unemployed; that this state of matters is very much to be attributed to over-production, to the deficiency in the usual supplies of flax from the Baltic, and to the consequent high prices of the raw

material. The number of persons usually employed in the mills was on the decrease, and, in fact, there was a movement among the flax spinners to reduce the working to forty-two hours per week while the depression continues. In the woolen districts, on the other hand, particularly in the manufacture of tweeds, a branch of trade which is every day increasing, there had been great activity at Hawick, Galashiels, Selkirk, &c.—every department being in full operation, except that of hand-loom weaving, which, from the increase in the number of power-looms, is gradually on the decline, and will soon altogether cease.

Sir John Kincaid gives the following tabular statement respecting the changes which have taken place in the chief branches of Scotch manufactures in the course of 20 years, between 1835 and 1857:

| | MILLS. | NUMBER OF HANDS. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cotton in all its branches. | Males. | Females. | Total. |
| 1835..... | 159 | 10,529 | 22,051 | 32,580 |
| 1857..... | 152 | 7,609 | 27,089 | 34,698 |
| | Woolen. | | | |
| 1835..... | 90 | 1,712 | 1,793 | 3,505 |
| 1857..... | 196 | 4,942 | 4,338 | 9,280 |
| | Flax. | | | |
| 1835..... | 170 | 3,392 | 10,017 | 13,409 |
| 1857..... | 168 | 8,331 | 23,391 | 31,722 |

A notice of the two other reports I delay for another letter especially as the report of Mr. Robert Baker contains matters of interest to industrialists everywhere.

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# Frederick Engels

## CHANCES OF THE IMPENDING WAR[169]

The most zealous friends of peace in Europe are beginning to abandon the last faint hope that peace will be maintained, and in place of discussing the possibility of a pacific settlement, they now debate the chances of success for the future belligerents. We may, then, be allowed to continue our observations on the military character of the valley of the Po, and on the chances it may offer to the maneuvers of a French and Sardinian and an Austrian army opposed to each other.

We have already described the strong position of the Austrians on the Mincio and Adige.[a] Let us now turn to the other side. The Po, in its general course west to east, makes one considerable bend, flowing for about sixteen miles from north-west to south-east, after which it resumes its eastward direction. This bend is on Sardinian territory, about 25 miles from the Austrian frontier. At its northern angle the Sesia, running southward from the Alps, at its southern angle the Bormida, running northward from the Apennines, join the Po. Numerous smaller streams join either of these rivers near their junction with the main stream, so that the country west of them offers, on the map, the spectacle of a vast system of water courses, all tending from the amphitheater of mountains surrounding Piedmont on three sides, to one common center, similar to the radii drawn from the periphery of a circle to its central point. This is the strong defensive position of Piedmont, and it was well recognized as such by Napoleon; but, neglected by him as well as by the Sardinian Government which succeeded the French dominion, it was never organized for defense until after

[a] See this volume, pp. 183-89.—*Ed.*

the disasters of 1849. Even then the defensive works were so slowly and sparingly erected that at the present moment they are incomplete, and works which ought to have a masonry scarp and counterscarp, are at this moment being constructed as simple field works, in order to be ready for defense in the Spring.

On the Po, about four miles above the junction of the Sesia, is situated Casale, which has been and is now being fortified so as to form the support of the northern or left wing of the position. At the junction of the Tanaro and the Bormida, eight miles above the junction of the latter with the Po, is Alessandria, the strongest fortress in Piedmont, and now being made the central point of a large intrenched camp, covering the southern or right wing of the position. The distance between the two towns is sixteen miles, and the Po runs in front of the road joining them, at a distance of about five or six miles. The left wing of an army camping in this position is covered first by the Sesia, and secondly by Casale and the Po; the right wing is covered by Alessandria and by the rivers Orba, Bormida, Belbo, and Tanaro, all of which form a junction close to Alessandria. The front is covered by the bend of the Po.

If Sardinia concentrates her army of 80,000 to 90,000 men in this position, she will have some 50,000 men disposable for active operations, and ready to fall on the flanks of any army attempting to turn the position by Novi and Acqui on the south, or by Vercelli on the north. Turin may, therefore, be considered as well covered by this position, especially as this capital has a citadel requiring regular siege before it can be taken, and no army turning such a position could conduct a siege without having first dislodged the Piedmontese army from its intrenched camp. But the position of Casale and Alessandria has one weak point; it has no depth, and its rear is completely uncovered. The Austrians, between the Mincio and Adige, have a square covered by four fortresses, one at each corner; the Piedmontese, on the Po and Bormida, have a line with two fortresses at each flank, and a well-defended front, but their rear is completely open. Now, to turn Alessandria by the south would be hazardous, and comparatively useless; but Casale can be turned on the north, if not by Vercelli, at least by Sesto Calende, Novara, Biella, Santhia and Crescentino; and, if a superior army pass the Po, above Casale, and attack the rear of the Piedmontese, they are at once compelled to give up the advantages of a strongly intrenched position, and to fight in the open field. It would be the counterpart of Marengo, though on the opposite side of the Bormida.

Having thus described the two bases of operation in the basin of the Po, that of the Austrians in a former article, that of the Franco-Piedmontese in the above remarks, let us next consider to what use they may be turned. A glance at the map shows that the whole north-eastern part of the Alpine chain belonging to Switzerland, from Geneva to within a mile of the Stelvio Pass, is neutral territory to begin with, until one or the other of the belligerents thinks proper to violate it. As the Swiss now-a-days muster a pretty strong force for defensive purposes, it is not likely that such a thing would be done at the very beginning of the war. We shall, therefore, for the present, consider Switzerland as really neutral and inaccessible to either party. In that case, the French have but four ways of getting into Piedmont. The army of Lyons will have to pass by Savoy and the Mont Cenis. A smaller corps may pass by Briançon and the Mont Genèvre; both will emerge from the mountains, and unite at Turin. The army concentrated in Provence may, in part, march from Toulon by Nice and the Col di Tenda; in part it may embark at Toulon and be steamed to Genoa in far shorter time. Both these bodies have their point of concentration at Alessandria. There are a few more roads, but they are either unfit for the passage of large bodies of troops, or subordinate to those named, leading to the same points of concentration.

The disposition of the French army of Italy, for we may now venture to call it by this name, has already been made, in accordance with this state of things. The two main points of concentration are Lyons and Toulon, with a smaller corps in the valley of the Rhône between the two, ready to advance by Briançon. In order rapidly to concentrate a strong French army in the valley of the Po, behind Alessandria and Casale, it is in fact necessary that all the above routes should be used; the strongest corps coming by Lyons and Mont Cenis, the weakest by Briançon and Mont Genèvre, and as large a portion as possible of the army of Provence being forwarded to Genoa by water; for while a corps marching from the Var by the Col di Tenda will require above ten days to march to Alessandria, it may go by water from Toulon to Genoa in twenty-four hours, and thence reach Alessandria in three forced or four easy marches.

Now, supposing, as we are bound to do, that Austria will declare war as soon as a French battalion passes into Piedmont, what course can her army of Italy pursue? It may remain in Lombardy, await, with arms grounded, the concentration of 200,000 Frenchmen and 50,000 Piedmontese, and then retire before them to its

base of operations on the Mincio, abandoning all Lombardy. This course would dishearten the Austrian troops, and flush their opponents with success bought unexpectedly cheap. Or it may await the attack of the French and Piedmontese in the open plains of Lombardy; in that case it would be beaten by superior numbers, having but 120,000 men to oppose to twice that strength, and, besides, be hampered by the Italian insurrection which would break out all over the country. It might, indeed, reach its fortresses, but that splendid base of operations would be reduced to a barren defensive, the offensive strength of the field army being gone. The great purpose for which that system of fortresses was created, to serve as a base to a weaker army for successful and sheltered attack upon a stronger one, would be completely destroyed, until support could arrive from the interior of Austria; and during that time Peschiera might fall, Legnago might fall, and the communications through the Venetian territory would certainly be lost. Either of the courses considered would be disadvantageous, and indeed inadmissible, unless dictated by stern necessity. But there remains another course.

The Austrians can bring into the field at least 120,000 men. If they choose their moment well, they have nothing to oppose them but the 90,000 Piedmontese, 50,000 of whom alone can take the field. The French arrive by four routes, all verging toward Alessandria. The angles comprised between these four routes, between a line drawn from Mont Cenis to Alessandria, and from Genoa to Alessandria, amount together to about 140 degrees; thus a mutual cooperation of the different French corps, while yet unconcentrated, is completely out of the question. Now, if the Austrians choose their time well—and we have seen in 1848 and '49 that they can do so—and march upon the Piedmontese base of operations, attacking it either in front or turning it by the north, we venture to say, with all respect for the bravery of the Piedmontese army, that the Sardinians would stand but a poor chance against superior numbers of Austrians; and, once the Piedmontese were driven from the field and reduced to a passive defense of their fortresses, the Austrians might attack with superior forces every French corps singly as it debouched from the Alps or the Apennines; and even if compelled to retreat, their retreat would be secure, so long as Switzerland's neutrality covered their northern flank, and the army, on arriving at Mantua, would still be fit for an active, offensive defense of its base of operations.

Another chance for the Austrians would be to take position about Tortona and await the arrival of the French column from

Genoa on its march to Alessandria, when it must offer its flank to the Austrians. But this would be but a lame kind of offensive, for the French might remain quiet at Genoa till the other columns were concentrated at Alessandria, in which case the Austrians would not only be completely outdone, but even liable to be cut off from the Mincio and Adige.

Supposing the Austrians were beaten, and had to retreat toward their base of operations; the French, as soon as they advance beyond Milan, are liable to be turned. The Stelvio road leads from the Tyrol straight to Milan, by the valley of the Adda; the Tonale road by the valley of the Oglio, and the Giudicaria road by that of the Chiese. Both lead into the heart of Lombardy, and to the rear of any army attacking the Mincio from the west. By the Tyrol, Austria turns all Lombardo-Venetia, and, if the requisite preparations are made, may prepare for her enemies any day a Marengo in the Lombard plains. So long as Switzerland remains neutral, no such stratagem can be played upon her while she attacks Piedmont.

Thus the offensive is what, in the present state of matters in Italy, will suit Austria best. To march right into the midst of an army while in the act of concentration, is one of the most splendid of those grand maneuvers of modern warfare which Napoleon knew so well how to execute. Upon none did he execute it with greater success than upon the Austrians; witness Montenotte, Millesimo, Mondovi and Dego, witness Abensberg and Eckmühl.[170] That they have learned it from him, they have brilliantly proved at Sommacampagna,[171] and Custozza, and above all, at Novara. The same maneuver would, therefore, seem to be most congenial to Austrian warfare now; and, although it will require great vigilance and nice timing, yet the Austrians will let immense chances of success escape out of their hands, if they confine themselves to a mere defense of their territories.

Written late in February 1859

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# Karl Marx

## THE NEW BRITISH REFORM BILL[172]

London, March 1, 1859

On the night of Feb. 28, Mr. Disraeli initiated the House of Commons into the mysteries of the Government Reform Bill.[a] That bill may be shortly described as Mr. Locke King's bill, for the reduction from £50 to £10 of the county franchise,[173] mitigated by the disfranchisement of the forty shilling freeholders[174] residing in boroughs, so far as their county votes are concerned, and embellished by a complex medley of fancy franchises, which, on one hand, are altogether nugatory, and on the other hand, would only strengthen the existing class-monopolies. The broad questions of admitting the majority of the people into the electoral precincts, of equalizing the electoral districts, and of protecting the vote by the ballot, are not even touched upon. The exactness of my description of the bill, may be ascertained from the following summary of its principal details: The occupation franchise is to be reduced to one uniform standard, both for the counties and boroughs; or, in other words, the Chandos clause of the Reform Act of 1832,[175] which established the £50 tenancy franchise in the counties, is to be repealed. The occupation franchise is extended to all descriptions of real property, whether a building is or is not included in the occupation. The introduction of the £10 county franchise, would, according to Mr. Newmarch's calculation, increase the number of county voters by 103,000, while Mr. Disraeli estimates the addition to the county constituencies at 200,000 votes. On the other hand, the forty shilling freehold would

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[a] The speeches of Disraeli, Bright, Russell and Roebuck made in the House of Commons on February 28, 1859 were published in *The Times*, No. 23242, March 1, 1859.—*Ed.*

nominally remain on its old basis, but the forty shilling freeholders dwelling in towns, who have heretofore exercised their suffrage in the counties on behalf of their freeholds, would lose this privilege, being obliged to vote in the boroughs in which they reside. By this process, about 100,000 votes would be transferred from the counties to the boroughs, while about 40,000, if not more, non-resident voters would be disfranchised altogether. This is the pith of the new scheme. With the one hand it would extract from the county franchise what it adds with the other, taking good care to break down whatever influence the towns, since the Reform Act of 1832, have wielded on county elections by the purchase of forty shilling freehold. Mr. Disraeli in his long speech in bringing in the bill, worked hard to show that during the last fifteen years the manufacture of forty shilling freeholds on the part of the boroughs, had proceeded at such a rate,

"that the number of county voters who do not dwell in the county, now exceeds the number who vote under the occupation clause"; so that on the election day "some large towns would pour out their legions by railway, and overpower, by some Club in the town, the persons who resided in the county."

To this county gentleman's plea, Mr. Bright made the following victorious reply:

"Your object is to make the counties more exclusive. There is nothing of which you seem to be more afraid than to have a good constituency, especially in the counties. It is a very remarkable fact that in a large portion of England, the county constituencies, for a considerable time past, have not been extended, but many of them have been diminished. Mr. Newmarch has shown that there are eleven counties in which, in the space of fifteen years, from 1837 to 1852, the whole constituency diminished by not less than 2,000 voters; whereas the whole county franchise of England and Wales only increased in these fifteen years by 36,000—more than 17,000 of that increase[a] took place in Lancashire, Cheshire, and the West Riding of Yorkshire. In the rest of England, such are the difficulties in the purchase of freeholds, such the mode in which farms have been increased in size, that the whole constituency of almost all the counties is stationary, or has absolutely been diminishing."

Passing now from the counties to the boroughs, we arrive at the new fancy franchises that are partly derived from Lord John Russell's abortive schemes of 1852 and 1854,[176] and are partly due to the genius which hatched the convoluted perplexities of Lord Ellenborough's unhappy India bill.[177] There are, first, some so-called educational qualifications, which, as Mr. Disraeli ironically remarked, independent as they are of scientific acquirements, betoken the education of the classes they concern, "to have

[a] *The Times* has: "...by 30,000 votes, and of that increase more than half...."—*Ed.*

involved some considerable investment," and may, therefore, be considered to belong to the general category of property qualifications. The right of vote is consequently to be conferred upon graduates, the clergy of the Church of England, ministers of all other denominations, barristers, pleaders and conveyancers, solicitors and proctors, medical men, certified schoolmasters; in a word, on the members of the different liberal professions, or, as the French used to call it in Mr. Guizot's time, on the "capacities." Since the greater portion of these "capacities" already share in the franchise as £10 leaseholders,[178] this is not likely to augment the number of voters in any perceptible degree, although it may contribute to an increase of clerical influence. The other new franchises are created in favor of—1. Lodgers or occupiers of any house, whether furnished or unfurnished, at the rate of 8 shillings per week, or £20 per annum; 2. Persons in the receipt of an income from personal property invested in government funds or annuities, East India stock, or bank stock of £10 per annum; or in receipt of a pension or superannuation allowance for services rendered in any department of the army, navy, or civil service, and not on active duty, of £20 per annum; 3. Depositors in a savings bank to the extent of £50.

On first view it will be understood that all these new franchises, while admitting some new middle-class sections, are framed with the express purpose of excluding the working classes, and chaining them to their present station of political "pariahs," as Mr. Disraeli had the indiscretion to call the non-voters. Now, it may be considered a new feature of the opposition raised within the walls of the House of Commons that all the adversaries of the Ministry, from Mr. John Bright, down to Lord John Russell, dwelt upon this point as the most objectionable feature of the new Reform bill. Mr. Disraeli himself stated,

"when the Reform bill was introduced in 1831, it was generally avowed that the object was to give a legitimate opposition in the Legislature to the middle classes of England."

"Well, Sir," said Lord John Russell, "since the time when I departed from the position of finality, I have done so on the ground, which appeared to me the only ground for disturbing a settlement, so vast and complicated as that was, namely, that there was a great body of persons, and those persons belonging to the working classes of this country, who are very competent to exercise the franchise, excluded."

"The bill of 1832," said Mr. Roebuck, "was to give power to the middle class. Without the working classes on that occasion there would have been no Reform bill. They behaved in a way that I shall never forget, and the middle classes of England ought not to forget. And I now appeal in the name of the working classes of this country to the middle classes."

"I," said Mr. Bright, "I should have the utmost contempt, and I would not say contempt, but should be utterly hopeless with regard to working classes of the country, if I thought they would remain content under an exclusion like that."

The exclusion of the working classes, coupled with the disfranchisement of the freeholders of the towns, will be the war cry under which the present Reform bill, together with its authors, will be attacked, at the same time that discussions in the ministerial camp, already marked by the secession from the Cabinet of Mr. Walpole and Mr. Henley, and originating in the repeal of the Chandos clause, will by no means contribute to strengthen their means of defense.

As to the other clauses of the bill, they are relatively unimportant. No nomination borough is to be disfranchised, but 15 new seats are to be created, of which the West Riding of Yorkshire will receive 4; South Lancashire, 2; and Middlesex, 2; while 7 new members will be given to boroughs of recent growth, viz.: Hartlepool, Birkenhead, West Bromwich and Wednesbury united, Bromley, Staleybridge, Croydon and Gravesend. To gain room for these additional Members of Parliament, a reduction from two to one is to be effected in the numbers of representatives returned by fifteen boroughs whose population is under 6,000. Such are the proportions in which the "equalization" of electoral districts is to be carried out.

Polling places are to be provided for in every parish, or group of parishes, containing not less than 200 electors; the additional polling places to be supplied at the expense of the county. As a sort of compromise with the partisans of the ballot, the elector, anxious not to give his vote on the hustings, may have recourse to the voting paper, sent to the voter, returned by him to the returning officer by a registered letter, signed in the presence of two witnesses, one of them a householder, and to be opened on the day of polling by a special deputy. There are finally some improvements to be introduced into the registration of county voters. There is not a single London paper, except *The Times* and the Government organ,[a] that holds out any prospect of success for this bill.[179]

Written on March 1, 1859

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] *The London Gazette.—Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE STATE OF BRITISH MANUFACTURES

London, March 4, 1859

I propose now giving a notice of the two Factory Reports alluded to in a former letter.[a] The first is written by Mr. A. Redgrave,[b] whose factory district comprises Middlesex (in and about London), Surrey, Essex, parts of Cheshire, Derbyshire and Lancashire, and the East Riding (Yorkshire). There were caused during the half year terminated on Oct. 31, 1858, 331 accidents by machinery, of which 12 proved fatal. Mr. Redgrave's report turns almost exclusively on one point, viz.: the educational enactments for factories and print-works. Previous to the permanent employment of a child or young person in a factory or print-work, the mill occupier is required to obtain a certificate from the certifying surgeon, who, by virtue of 7 Vict., c. 15, sch. A,[180] is bound to refuse that certificate if the person presented has

> "not the ordinary strength and appearance of a child of at least eight years of age, or of a young person of at least thirteen years of age, or if it be incapacitated by disease and bodily infirmity from working daily in the factory for the time allowed by law."

Children between the ages of eight and thirteen years, are legally disqualified for full-time employment, and have part of their time to give to school attendance, the surgeon being authorized to tender them half-time certificates only. Now, it appears from Mr. Redgrave's report that, on the one hand, the parents, if they can obtain full-time wages for their children, are anxious to withdraw them from school and half wages, while the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 190-96.—*Ed.*

[b] "Report of Alexander Redgrave, Inspector of Factories, for the Half Year ended the 30th of October 1858."—*Ed.*

only thing the mill-owner looks for in the juvenile hands is strength to enable them to perform their respective work. While the parent seeks full-time wages, the manufacturer seeks the full-time worker. The following advertisement, which appeared in the local newspaper of an important manufacturing town in Mr. Redgrave's district, and which smacks strangely of the slave-trade, will show how the mill-owners conform to the provisions of the law, literally:

WANTED—From 12 to 20 BOYS, not younger than *what will pass* for 13 years of age.... Wages 4s. per week.

In point of fact, the employer is legally not bound to procure a certificate of the children's age from an authentic source, but an *opinion,* relying upon appearance. The half-time system founded upon the principle that child labor should not be permitted unless, concurrently with such employment, the child attend some school daily, is objected to by the manufacturers, on two grounds. They object to their responsibility of enforcing the school attendance of the half-times (children under 13 years of age), and they find it cheaper and less troublesome to employ one set of children instead of two sets, working alternately 6 hours. The first result, therefore, of the introduction of the half-time system was the nominal diminution to nearly one half of the children under 13 years employed in factories. From 56,455, to which their number amounted in 1835, it had sunk to 29,283 in 1838. This diminution, however, was to a great extent nominal only, since the complaisance of the certifying surgeons worked a sudden revolution in the respective ages of the juvenile hands of the United Kingdom. At the same ratio, therefore, that the certifying surgeons were more strictly watched by factory inspectors and sub-inspectors, and that the facility of ascertaining the real age of the children from the Registrars of Births increased, a movement opposite to that of 1838 set in. From 29,283, to which the number of children under 13 years of age employed in factories had fallen in 1838, it rose again to 35,122 in 1850, and to 46,071 in 1856, the latter legal return being still far from exhibiting the real proportion of such employment. On the one hand, many of the certifying surgeons know still how to baffle the surveillance of the inspectors, and on the other, many thousand children were withdrawn from school and the half-time system at 11 years of age, by the alteration of the law with respect to silk mills,[181]

"a sacrifice which," as one of the factory inspectors says, "may have been accommodating to the mill occupiers, but which has proved injurious to the social interests of the silk districts."

Although we may consequently infer that the number of children between 8 and 13 years now employed in the factories and print-works of the United Kingdom exceeds the number similarly employed in 1835, there can exist no doubt that the half-time system had a great share in stimulating inventions for the suppression of child labor. Thus, Mr. Redgrave states:

"In fact, one class of manufacturers—the spinners of woolen yarn—now rarely employ children under 13 years of age (i.e., half-times). They have introduced improved and new machinery of various kinds, which altogether supersedes the necessity for the employment of children. For instance, I will mention one process, as an illustration of this diminution in the number of children, wherein, by the addition of an apparatus called a piecing machine to existing machines, the work of six or four half-times, according to the peculiarity of each machine, can be performed by one young person."[a]

How modern industry, in old-settled countries at least, tends to press children into money-making employment, has been again illustrated by recent instances in Prussia. The factory law of Prussia of 1853 enacted that after the 1st of July, 1855, no child should be employed in a factory until it had completed its twelfth year, and that children between 12 and 14 years of age should not be employed for more than 6 hours per day, and attend school at least 3 hours per day. This law met with such opposition from the manufacturers, that the Government had to give way, and enforce it, not throughout Prussia, but by way of experiment in Elberfeld and Barmen only, two continuous manufacturing towns, containing a large manufacturing population, engaged in spinning, calico-printing, &c. In the Annual Report of the Chamber of Commerce for Elberfeld and Barmen, for 1856, the following representations on this subject are made to the Prussian Government:

"The increase of the rate of labor, as also the increased price of coals and all materials necessary for those branches of manufacture, such as leather, oil, metal, &c., has proved highly disadvantageous to the trade. In addition to this, the strict enforcement of the law of May 1, 1853, concerning the employment of children in the manufactories, has worked very prejudicially. Not only has it caused the withdrawal of a number of children, but it has been rendered impossible to give them that early instruction calculated to render them skillful workmen. In consequence of the lack of these youthful hands, the machines in several establishments were brought to a stand-still, as the handling of them could not be performed by grown-up persons. A modification of this law is recommended, so as to shorten the forced attendance at school of children who have reached a certain standard of knowledge, as being a measure advantageous to numerous families and to the owners of manufactories."

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[a] "Report of Alexander Redgrave"..., p. 43.—*Ed.*

The last of the factory reports, that of Mr. Baker, Inspector for Ireland,[a] is distinguished by an analysis of the causes leading to accidents, and by a summary of the state of trade. In regard to the first point, Mr. Baker states that there happened one accident to every 340 persons, this being an increase of 21 per cent over the half year ending in April last, and that of the accidents that happened by machinery—only 10 per cent of the whole number of accidents being not connected with machinery—about 40 per cent were avoidable and might have been prevented by a nominal outlay, but which,

"by the recent change in the law, it is now very difficult to effect when entreaties fail."

The state of trade Mr. Baker asserts to be better, but, according to his opinion,

"in many instances the maximum has again been reached, beyond which manufactures become gradually less and less profitable, till they cease to be so altogether."

The changes in the relation between the price of the raw materials and the manufactured articles he justly points out as one of the principal causes upon which, concurrently with the increase of machinery, the cycle of good and bad times revolves. Mr. Baker takes as an instance the changes in the worsted trade:

"During the lucrative years in the worsted trade of 1849 and 1850 the price of English combing wool stood at 1s. 1d., and of Australian at between 1s. 2d. and 1s. 5d. per 1b., and on the average of the 10 years from 1841 to 1850, both inclusive, the average price of English wool never exceeded 1s. 2d., and of Australian wool 1s. 5d. per 1b. In the commencement of the disastrous year of 1857, the price of Australian wool began with 1s. 11d., falling to 1s. 6d. in December, when the panic was at its hight, but has gradually risen again to 1s. 9d. through 1858; while that of English wool, commencing with 1s. 8d. and rising in April and September, 1857, to 1s. 9d., falling in January, 1858, to 1s. 2d., has since risen to 1s. 5d., which is 3d. per 1b. higher than the average of the 10 years above referred to. This shows either that the bankruptcies which similar prices occasioned in 1857 are forgotten, or that there is barely the wool grown which the existing spindles are capable of consuming."

On the whole, Mr. Baker's opinion seems to be that spindles and looms multiply, both in number and speed, at a ratio not warranted by the production of wool. In England there exist no reliable statistics in this respect; but the agricultural statistics of Ireland, obtained by the constabulary, and those of Scotland,

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[a] "Report of Robert Baker, Inspector of Factories, for the Half Year ended 31st October 1858."—*Ed.*

obtained by Mr. Hall Maxwell, suffice for all practical purposes. They show that while in 1857 some of the cereal, and generally the animal growths in both countries materially increased, sheep were an exception, the number in Ireland being less in 1858 than it was in 1855 by 114,557; and though there was an increase in 1858 over 1857 by 35,533, the gross number was less even than the average of the three preceding years by 95,177, principally in ewes. And so, also, in Scotland, there were:

| | Sheep of all ages for breeding. | | Sheep of all ages for feeding. | | Lambs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| In 1856 | 2,714,301 | | 1,146,427 | | 1,955,832 |
| In 1857 | 2,632,283 | | 1,181,782 | | 1,869,103 |
| Decrease | 82,018 | Inc. | 35,355 | Dec. | 86,729 |

Showing not only a general decrease in sheep of 133,392, but that more sheep had been put up for feeding purposes than heretofore. Hence we know that, estimating the fleece to weigh 7 lbs., while in 1855 Ireland was capable of affording 16,810,934 lbs. of wool, without reckoning lambs, in 1858 that country was only able to afford 16,276,330 lbs.; and that the diminution of wool in Scotland, also without reckoning lambs, amounted in 1857 to 326,641 lbs.; the total deficient product in both countries being 861,245 lbs., or as nearly as possible, one-ninety-fifth part of all the home-grown wool estimated to be annually required for consumption in the worsted trade.

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Frederick Engels

# PO AND RHINE [182]

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Printed according to the pamphlet

Published in English for the first time

# Po und Rhein.

Das Recht der Uebersetzung wird vorbehalten.

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1859.

Title-page of Frederick Engels' pamphlet
*Po and Rhine*

## I

Since the beginning of this year it has become the slogan of a large part of the German press that *the Rhine must be defended on the Po.*

This slogan was fully justified in the face of Bonaparte's war preparations and threats. It was sensed in Germany, with correct instinct, that although the Po was Louis Napoleon's pretext, in any circumstances the Rhine could not but be his ultimate goal. Nothing except a war for the Rhine border could provide a lightning-conductor against the two factors inside France that threatened Bonapartism: the "superabundant patriotism"[a] of the revolutionary masses and the seething discontent of the "bourgeoisie". It would engage the former in a national undertaking and give the latter the prospect of a new market. That is why the talk about liberating Italy could not be misunderstood in Germany. It was a case of the old proverb: He beats the sack and means the donkey. If Italy was to play the part of the sack, Germany had no desire in this case to act as the donkey.

In the present case, the maintenance of the Po therefore meant merely that Germany, threatened by an attack involving, in the last instance, the possession of some of its best provinces, could not by any means dream of giving up one of its strongest, in fact its strongest military position without striking a blow. In this sense the whole of Germany was indeed interested in the defence of the Po. On the eve of a war, as in war itself, one occupies every position that can be used to threaten the enemy and do him damage, without engaging in any moral speculations as to whether it is consonant with eternal righteousness and the principle of nationality. One simply fights for one's life.

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[a] Heinrich Heine, "Bei des Nachtwächters Ankunft zu Paris".—*Ed.*

However, this way of defending the Rhine on the Po should be clearly distinguished from the tendency on the part of very many German military men and politicians to regard the Po, that is, Lombardy and Venice, as an indispensable strategic complement and, so to speak, an integral part of Germany. This view has been put forward and defended theoretically particularly since the campaigns in Italy in 1848 and 1849, for example, by General *von Radowitz* in St. Paul's Church[a] and by General *von Willisen* in his *Italienischer Feldzug des Jahres 1848.* In non-Austrian South Germany the theme has been treated particularly by Bavarian General *von Hailbronner,* with a predilection bordering on enthusiasm. The main argument is always a political one: Italy is totally incapable of staying independent; either Germany or France must rule in Italy; if the Austrians were to pull out of Italy today, the French would be in the Adige valley and at the gates of Trieste tomorrow and the entire southern border of Germany would be exposed to the "hereditary enemy". Therefore, Austria holds Lombardy in the name and the interests of Germany.

As we see, the military authorities for this opinion are among the foremost in Germany. Nonetheless, we must decidedly oppose it.

Yet this opinion has become an article of faith defended with true fanaticism in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung,* which has set itself up as the monitor of German interests in Italy. This Christian-Teutonic paper, for all its hatred of Jews and Turks, would rather see itself circumcised than the "German" region of Italy. What is after all only defended by politicking generals as a splendid military position in Germany's hands is in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* an essential component of a political theory. We mean the "Central European great power theory", which would make Austria, Prussia and the rest of Germany into a federal state under the predominant influence of Austria, Germanise Hungary and the Slavic-Romanian Danubian countries by means of colonisation, schools and gentle violence, thus shift the centre of gravity of this complex of countries more and more to the southeast, towards Vienna, and incidentally reconquer Alsace and Lorraine as well. The "Central European great power" is intended to be a kind of rebirth of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and seems, among other things, to aim at incorporating the once Austrian Netherlands[183] and also Holland as vassal states. The German's Fatherland would extend about twice as far as the

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[a] J. M. von Radowitz's speech of August 12, 1848 in the Frankfurt National Assembly in St. Paul's Church.—*Ed.*

German tongue is now heard[a]; and when all this had come to pass, Germany would be the arbiter and master of Europe. Moreover, the conditions for all this coming to pass have already been assured. The Romanic peoples are in an acute state of decadence: the Spanish and Italians are already totally ruined, and the French are now also experiencing their disintegration. On the other hand, the Slavs are incapable of forming a genuine modern state and have the world-historical vocation of being Germanised, in which case a rejuvenated Austria is once again the principal instrument of Providence. The Teutons are therefore the only race that still has moral strength and historical capacity, and among them the English are sunk so deep in insular egoism and materialism that their influence, trade and industry have to be kept off the mainland of Europe by powerful protective tariffs, by a kind of rational continental system. In this way German moral earnestness and the youthful Central European great power can hardly fail to attain world supremacy on land and sea in a short time and inaugurate a new era in history, in which Germany would at long last play first fiddle again and the other nations would dance to its music.

> The land belongs to the Russians and French,
> The English own the sea.
> But we in the airy realm of dreams
> Hold sovereign mastery.[b]

We would not dream of going into the political aspect of these patriotic fantasies[c] here. We have only outlined them in context in order that all these wonderful things might not, at some later time, be brought up against us as new proofs of the necessity of "German" rule in Italy. The only thing that concerns us here is the military question: Does Germany require for its defence permanent rule over Italy and in particular total military possession of Lombardy and Venice?

Reduced to its most essential military expression the question is: In order to defend its southern border, does Germany require possession of the Adige, the Mincio and the Lower Po, with the bridgeheads of Peschiera and Mantua?

Before we undertake to answer this question, we state expressly that when we speak of Germany here we mean by that a single power whose military forces and actions are directed from a single centre—Germany as a real, not an ideal, political body. On any other presuppositions there can be no question of the political and military requirements of Germany.

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[a] Cf. E. M. Arndt, "Des Teutschen Vaterland".—*Ed.*

[b] Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen,* Caput VII.—*Ed.*

[c] An allusion to Justus Möser's *Patriotische Phantasien.*—*Ed.*

## II

For hundreds of years Upper Italy has been, even more than Belgium, the battle-field on which the Germans and the French have fought out their wars. For the aggressor, possession of Belgium and the Po valley is a necessary condition for either a German invasion of France or a French invasion of Germany; it is only by virtue of such possession that the flanks and rear of the invasion are fully secure. The only exception could be a completely reliable neutrality of these two regions, and that case has never yet arisen.

If the fate of France and Germany has been decided indirectly on the battlefields of the Po valley ever since the day of Pavia,[184] the fate of Italy has been simultaneously decided there directly. With the huge standing armies of modern times, with the growing power of France and Germany, and with the political disintegration of Italy, old Italy proper, the region south of the Rubicon, lost all military importance, and possession of the old Cisalpine Gaul inevitably brought with it mastery of the long narrow peninsula. In the basins of the Po and Adige, on the Genoese, Romagnese and Venetian coasts, was the densest population, and there was concentrated Italy's most flourishing agriculture, most active industry and liveliest trade. The peninsula, Naples and the Papal States, remained relatively stationary in their social development; their military power had not counted for centuries. Whoever held the Po valley cut off the peninsula's land communications with the rest of the Continent and could easily subdue it if the occasion arose, as the French did twice during the revolutionary war and the Austrians did twice in this century. Accordingly, only the basins of the Po and the Adige are of military importance.

Enclosed on three sides by the unbroken chain of the Alps and Apennines and on the fourth, from Aquileia to Rimini, by the Adriatic Sea, this basin forms a region very clearly demarcated by nature, with the Po flowing through it from west to east. The southern, or Apennine, boundary does not interest us here; the northern, or Alpine, boundary interests us all the more. Its snow-clad ridge has only a few passes with paved roads; even the number of wagon-tracks, bridle-paths and footpaths is limited; long narrow gorges lead to the passes over the high peaks.

The German frontier bounds North Italy from the mouth of the Isonzo to the Stelvio Pass; from there to Geneva the border is with Switzerland; from Geneva to the mouth of the Var it is with France. Going west from the Adriatic to the Stelvio Pass, each pass leads deeper into the heart of the Po basin than the previous one and hence outflanks any positions of an Italian or French army lying further to the east. The border-line of the Isonzo is immediately outflanked by the first pass from Caporetto to Cividale; the Pontebba Pass goes round the position on the Tagliamento, which is also outflanked by two unpaved passes from Carinthia and Cadore. The Brenner Pass outflanks the line of the Piave by the Peutelstein Pass from Bruneck to Cortina d'Ampezzo and Belluno, the line of the Brenta by the Val Sugana to Bassano, the line of the Adige by the Adige valley, the Chiese by the Giudicaria, the Oglio by unpaved roads over Tonale, and finally all the territory east of the Adda by the Stelvio Pass and the Valtellina.

One could say that with such a favourable strategic position, actual possession of the plains down to the Po would not matter too much to us Germans. Given forces of equal strength, where could the enemy army take a stand east of the Adda or north of the Po? All its positions would be outflanked; even if it crossed the Po or the Adda, its flank would be threatened; if it moved south of the Po, its communications with Milan and Piedmont would be threatened; if it went beyond the Ticino, it would endanger its connections with the entire peninsula. If it were reckless enough to advance in an offensive in the direction of Vienna, it could be cut off any day and forced to give battle with its rear towards enemy country and its front facing Italy. If it were beaten, it would be a second Marengo with the roles reversed; if it beat the Germans, the latter would have to behave very stupidly to be deprived of their retreat to the Tyrol.

The construction of the road over the Stelvio Pass is proof that the Austrians learned their lesson from their defeat at Marengo.

Napoleon built the Simplon road in order to have a protected route into the heart of Italy; the Austrians supplemented their system of offensive defence in Lombardy by the road from Stelvio to Bormio. It may be said that this pass is too high to be practicable in winter; that the entire route is too difficult since it goes without relief through inhospitable high mountain country for a distance of at least fifty German miles[a] (from Füssen in Bavaria to Lecco on Lake Como), including three mountain passes; finally, that it can easily be blocked in the long defile along Lake Como and in the mountains themselves. Let us look into this.

To be sure, the pass is the highest practicable one in the entire chain of the Alps, 8,600 feet, and may be heavily snowed up in winter. But if we recall Macdonald's winter campaign of 1800-01 in the Splügen and Tonale, we will not give too much weight to such obstacles. All the Alpine passes are snowed up in winter and are passable nonetheless. Armstrong's production of efficient breech-loading rifled cannon has made reorganisation of all artillery something that can hardly be put off; it will introduce lighter guns into field artillery as well, increasing their mobility. A more serious obstacle is the long march in the high mountains and getting over one range after another. The Stelvio Pass does not cross the divide between the northern and southern Alpine rivers, but between the Adige and the Adda, two rivers that flow into the Adriatic, and therefore presupposes that the main range of the Alps is crossed by the Brenner or the Finstermünz Pass in order to get from the Inn valley into that of the Adige. Since in the Tyrol the Inn flows pretty much from west to east between two mountain ridges, troops from Lake Constance and Bavaria must also cross the more northerly of these ridges, so that there will be a total of two or three mountain passes on this route alone. Laborious though this may be, it is not a decisive obstacle to leading an army into Italy by this route. This difficulty will soon be reduced to a minimum by a railway in the Inn valley, which is already partly completed, and a projected line in the valley of the Adige. Napoleon's route over the St. Bernard Pass from Lausanne to Ivrea involved no more than about 30 miles through high mountains; but the route from Udine to Vienna, along which Napoleon advanced in 1797 and along which Eugène and Macdonald joined him at Vienna in 1809, goes through high mountains for over 60 miles, and likewise over three Alpine passes. The way from Pont-de-Beauvoisin over the Little St.

[a] The German mile is equal to 7,420 metres.—*Ed.*

Bernard to Ivrea, the route that goes directly from France furthest into Italy, without touching Switzerland, and is therefore the best for outflanking, also leads for more than 40 miles over high mountains, as does the Simplon route from Lausanne to Sesto Calende.

Finally, as for blocking the road in the pass itself or on Lake Como, one is no longer so inclined, after the campaigns of the French in the Alps, to rely on the efficacy of roadblocks. Commanding heights and the possibility of outflanking make them rather futile; the French stormed many of them and were never seriously held up by the fortifications in the passes. Any fortifications of the passes on the Italian side can be flanked via Cevedale, Monte Corno and Gavia, and the Tonale and Aprica. From the Valtellina there are many bridle-paths to the Bergamo region, and roadblocks on the long defile by Lake Como can be outflanked along those paths or from Dervio or from Bellano through Val Sassina. In mountain warfare, advancing in several columns is advisable in any case, and if one of them gets through, the purpose is usually attained.

How practicable even the most difficult passes are at virtually any time of year, provided good troops and resolute generals are employed; how even minor auxiliary passes not negotiable by vehicles can be used as good operational lines, especially for flanking purposes; and how little roadblocks can do to block the advance—all this is best shown by the campaigns in the Alps from 1796 to 1801. At that time not a single Alpine pass had been paved, and nonetheless armies crossed the mountains in every direction. In 1799, as early as the beginning of March, Loison with a French brigade crossed the divide between the Reuss and the Rhine by footpaths, while Lecourbe went over the Bernardino and the Viamala, then crossed the Albula and Julier Passes (7,100 feet high) and by March 24 took the Martinsbruck defile by a flanking movement, sending Dessolle through the Münster valley over Pisoc and the Worms Pass (a footpath 7,850 feet high) to the Upper Adige valley and thence to the Reschen-Scheideck. At the beginning of May Lecourbe pulled back over the Albula again.

Suvorov's campaign followed in September of the same year; during it, as the old soldier expressed it in his vigorous figurative language, the Russian bayonet forced its way through the Alps (*Ruskij štyk prognal črez Alpow*). He sent most of his artillery over the Splügen, had a flanking column go through Val Blegno over the Lukmanier (footpath, 5,948 feet) and thence over the Sixmadun (about 6,500 feet) into the Upper Reuss valley, while he himself

went through the St. Gotthard, which at that time was hardly passable for vehicles (6,594 feet). He took the roadblock of Teufelsbrücke by storm on September 24-26; but when he got to Altdorf, with the lake in front of him and the French on every other side, there was nothing left for him to do but to go up the Schächen valley over the Kinzig-Kulm into the valley of the Muota. Arriving there, after leaving all his artillery and baggage in the Reuss valley, he found the French in superior force before him again, while Lecourbe was on his heels. Suvorov went over the Pragel Pass into the valley of the Klön in order to reach the Rhine plain by that route. He met with insurmountable resistance in the Näfels defile and the only thing left him was to take the footpath through the Panix Pass, 8,000 feet high, to reach the upper valley of the Rhine and the link with the Splügen. The passage began on October 6 and on October 10 the headquarters were in Ilanz. This passage was the most impressive of all Alpine crossings in modern times.

We shall not say much about Napoleon's crossing of the Great St. Bernard. It does not come up to other similar operations of that period. The season was favourable and the only noteworthy thing was the skilful way in which the strong point of Fort Bard was outflanked.

On the other hand, Macdonald's operations in the winter of 1800-01 were remarkable. With the assignment of taking 15,000 men as the left wing of the French army of Italy to outflank the Austrian right wing on the Mincio and the Adige, he crossed the Splügen (6,510 feet) *in the depth of winter with all kinds of arms.* With the greatest of difficulty, often halted by avalanches and snowstorms, he led his army over the pass between December 1 and 7 and marched up along the Adda through the Valtellina to the Aprica. Nor were the Austrians frightened off by winter in the high mountains. They held the Albula, the Julier and the Braulio (Worms Pass), and at the last named even made a surprise attack in which they captured a detachment of dismounted French hussars. After Macdonald had surmounted the Aprica Pass from the Adda valley into the valley of the Oglio, he climbed the very high Tonale Pass by footpaths, and on December 22 attacked the Austrians, who had obstructed the defile in the pass with blocks of ice. Thrown back on that day as well as in the second attack (December 31—thus he remained in the high mountains for nine days!), he went down the Val Camonica to the Lago d'Iseo, sent his cavalry and artillery through the plain and with the infantry climbed the three ranges leading to Val Trompia, Val Sabbia and

the Giudicaria, where he reached Storo as early as January 6. Meanwhile Baraguay d'Hilliers had gone over the Reschen-Scheideck (Finstermünz Pass) from the valley of the Inn into the Upper Adige valley.—If such manoeuvres were possible sixty years ago, what can we not do today, when we have excellent paved roads in most of the passes!

Even from these sketches we can see that the only roadblocks that had any sort of ability to hold out were those that were not outflanked, whether from lack of skill or lack of time. For example, the Tonale was untenable once Baraguay d'Hilliers appeared in the Upper Adige valley. The other campaigns show that they were taken either by a flanking operation or, frequently, by storm. Luziensteig was stormed two or three times, and likewise Malborghetto in the Pontebba Pass in 1797 and 1809. The Tyrolean strong points did not stop Joubert in 1797 or Ney in 1805. It is known, as Napoleon stated, that outflanking can be accomplished on paths that a goat can negotiate. And ever since people have waged war on this basis, any and all strong points can be bypassed.

Consequently, we cannot see how, given equality of forces, a hostile army can defend Lombardy east of the Adda in the open field against a German army advancing over the Alps. Its only chance would be to take up a position between existing or newly erected fortifications and to manoeuvre between them. This possibility will be examined later.

What passes are now open to France for penetrating into Italy? Whereas Germany surrounds a full half of Italy's northern border, the French frontier runs in almost a straight line from north to south, surrounds nothing and outflanks nothing. It is only after taking Savoy and a part of the Genoese coast that flanking movements can be prepared via the Little St. Bernard and some passes in the Maritime Alps, and even then the effect will extend only to the Sesia and the Bormida and will not reach Lombardy and the duchies, let alone the peninsula. Only a landing in Genoa, which would have its difficulties for a large army, could bring about a flanking of all of Piedmont; a landing further east, e.g., at La Spezia, could no longer be based on Piedmont and France, but only on the peninsula, and would therefore be outflanked as much as itself doing the outflanking.

Thus far we have assumed that Switzerland would be neutral. In the event that it was drawn into the war, France would have one more pass available, the Simplon (the Great St. Bernard, which leads to Aosta as the Little St. Bernard does, would yield no new

advantages beyond the shorter line). The Simplon leads to the Ticino and therefore covers Piedmont for the French. In the same way, the Germans would obtain the relatively minor Splügen, which meets the Stelvio road on Lake Como, and the Bernardino, whose effect extends as far as the Ticino. The St. Gotthard could serve either side, depending on the circumstances, but would not give them many new opportunities for flanking operations. Thus we see that the effect of a French flanking manoeuvre over the Alps, on the one hand, and of a German flanking manoeuvre, on the other, extends to the present border between Lombardy and Piedmont, the Ticino. But if the Germans are on the Ticino, even if they are only at Piacenza and Cremona, they bar the French from the land route into the Italian peninsula. In other words, if France dominates Piedmont, Germany dominates all the rest of Italy.

The Germans have moreover a tactical advantage. Along the entire German frontier, the watershed is on the German side for all the important passes, with the exception of the Stelvio. The Fella in the Pontebba Pass rises in Carinthia, and the Boite in the Peutelstein Pass in the Tyrol. In the Tyrol this advantage is decisive. The Upper Brenta valley (Val Sugana), the Upper Chiese valley (Giudicaria) and more than half of the course of the Adige belong to the Tyrol. Although in any particular case it cannot be known, without a close study of the locality, whether possession of the watershed in mountain passes gives actual tactical advantage, this much is certain, that as a rule the party occupying the ridge and some of the slope towards the enemy will have the better chance of outflanking the other side and dominating the enemy from above. Furthermore, that party will be in a position to make the most difficult stretches of the auxiliary passes negotiable for all arms, even before war breaks out; this can be of decisive importance for communications in the Tyrol. If this projection of our territory on the enemy side has the extent that the zone of the German Confederation has in the South Tyrol; if, as here, the two main passes, the Brenner and the Finstermünz, are far removed from the enemy frontier; if, in addition, decisive auxiliary passes, such as those through the Giudicaria and the Val Sugana, are entirely within German territory, the tactical conditions for an invasion of Upper Italy are facilitated so enormously that in the event of war they need only be judiciously employed to ensure victory.

So long as Switzerland remains neutral, the Tyrol is the most direct route for a German army operating against Italy; if Switzerland is no longer neutral, the Tyrol and the Grisons (the

Inn and the Rhine valleys) are the most direct. It was along this line that the Hohenstaufens moved against Italy; there is no other route by which a Germany acting militarily as a *single* state can operate decisively with rapid blows in Italy. For this line, however, not Inner Austria, but Upper Swabia and Bavaria, from Lake Constance to Salzburg, is the operational base. This was true throughout the Middle Ages. Only when Austria had consolidated on the Middle Danube, when Vienna became the central point of the monarchy, when the German Empire fell apart and merely Austrian wars, not German wars, were waged in Italy, was the old, short, straight line from Innsbruck to Verona and from Lindau to Milan abandoned; only then was it replaced by the long, crooked, bad line from Vienna through Klagenfurt and Treviso to Vicenza, a line that a German army would formerly have relied on only in the extreme emergency of a threatened retreat, but never for an offensive.

So long as the German Empire existed as a real military power and hence based its attacks against Italy on Upper Swabia and Bavaria, it could strive to conquer Upper Italy on political, never purely military grounds. In the long struggles for Italy, Lombardy was at various times German, independent, Spanish or Austrian; but it should not be forgotten that Lombardy was separate from Venice and Venice was independent. And although Lombardy held Mantua, it did not include the Mincio line and the region between the Mincio and the Isonzo, without possession of which, we are now told, Germany cannot sleep in peace. Germany (through the intermediary of Austria) has had full possession of the Mincio line only since 1814. And although Germany, as a political body, did not play the most brilliant of roles in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this was not due to its not possessing the Mincio line.

In any case, the strategic rounding-out of states and their provision with defendable frontiers has come more to the forefront since the French Revolution and Napoleon created armies with greater mobility and traversed Europe with those armies in every direction. While during the Seven Years' War[185] the field of operations of an army was confined to a single province, and manoeuvres would go on for months around individual fortresses, positions or operational bases, in any war today the configuration of the terrain of entire countries is involved, and the importance previously attached to individual tactical positions is now given only to large groups of fortresses, long river lines or high, prominent mountain chains. In this

connection, such lines as the Mincio and the Adige are certainly much more important than in the past.

Let us therefore examine these lines.

All the rivers east of the Simplon that flow from the Alps into the Po in the Upper Italian plain or directly into the Adriatic make a concave arc with the Po or by themselves to the east. They are therefore more favourable for defence by an army to the east of them than by one to the west. If we look at the Ticino, the Adda, the Oglio, the Chiese, the Mincio, the Adige, the Brenta, the Piave or the Tagliamento, each of these rivers, alone or with the adjacent portion of the Po, forms an arc whose centre is to the east. This enables an army on the left (east) bank to take up a central position from which it can reach any seriously threatened point on the river in a relatively short time; it holds Jomini's "internal line",[a] and marches on the radius or the chord, whilst the enemy has to manoeuvre on the periphery, which is longer. If the army on the right bank is on the defensive, on the other hand, this situation is unfavourable to it; the enemy is supported in his feinting attacks by the terrain, and the shorter distances from the various points on the periphery that favour him in defence add decisive weight to his attack. Accordingly, the lines of the Lombard and Venetian rivers are favourable in every way to a German army, whether for defence or offence, and unfavourable for an Italian or Italian-French army; and if we add the circumstance discussed above, that the Tyrolean passes outflank all these lines, there is really no reason to be concerned for the security of Germany, even if there were not a single Austrian soldier on Italian soil; for the soil of Lombardy is ours whenever we want it.

Furthermore, these Lombard river lines are for the most part quite insignificant and unsuited to serious defence. Apart from the Po itself, which will be discussed below, there are only two positions in the entire basin that are really important for France or Germany; the relevant general staffs have realised the strength of these zones and fortified them, and they will undoubtedly play a decisive role in the next war. In Piedmont, a mile below Casale, the Po, which has an easterly course up to that point, turns southward, runs south-southeast for a good three miles and then bends eastward again. At the northern bend the Sesia flows in from the north; at the southern bend the Po is joined by the

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[a] H. Jomini, *Précis de l'art de la guerre, ou Nouveau tableau analytique des principales combinaisons de la stratégie, de la grande tactique et de la politique militaire.—Ed.*

Tanaro, coming in from the southwest. The Tanaro is joined, just before its confluence, near Alessandria, by the Bormida, the Orba and the Belbo, forming a system of radial river lines converging at a central point; this important junction is covered by the fortified camp of Alessandria. From Alessandria as a base, an army can take either bank of the smaller rivers, can defend the line of the Po in front of it, or can cross the Po at Casale (likewise a fortress) or operate downstream along the right bank of the Po. This position, which is strengthened by sufficient fortifications, is the only one that covers Piedmont or can serve as the base for offensive operations against Lombardy and the duchies. It has the drawback that it lacks depth, a highly unfavourable circumstance since it can be either outflanked or broken through frontally; a strong and skilful attack would soon reduce it to the as yet uncompleted fortified camp of Alessandria, and we have no basis for judging to what extent that camp could protect the defenders from having to give battle under unfavourable conditions, since neither the nature of the latest fortifications there nor the extent to which they have been completed is known. Napoleon already realised the importance of this position for the defence of Piedmont against attack from the east, and had Alessandria refortified. In 1814 the position did not maintain its protective power; how far it can do so today may be apparent to us soon.

The second position, which protects the Venetian region against attack from the west as much as or more than Alessandria does Piedmont, is that of the Mincio and the Adige. The Mincio, after leaving Lake Garda, flows south for four miles to Mantua. There it becomes a sort of lagoon bordered by swamps and then flows southeast to the Po. The stretch of river below the Mantua swamps to the confluence is too short to be used as a crossing by an army, since the enemy could take them from the rear by a sortie from Mantua and compel them to give battle under the most unfavourable conditions. A flanking movement from the south would have to go further, and cross the Po at Revere or Ferrara. On the north the position on the Mincio is broadly protected by Lake Garda from being outflanked, so that the actual length of the Mincio line that has to be defended, from Peschiera to Mantua, is only four miles long, with a fortress at either end ensuring a débouché onto the right bank of the river. The Mincio itself is no great obstacle, and one bank or the other is higher, depending on the locality. That discredited the line more or less before 1848 and it would hardly ever have become very famous were it not significantly strengthened by a special circumstance.

This circumstance is that four miles further back the Adige, the second largest river of Upper Italy, flows in an arc roughly parallel to the courses of the Mincio and the Lower Po and thereby forms a second, stronger position, which is reinforced by the two Adige fortresses of Verona and Legnago. The two river lines, with their four fortresses, constitute such a strong defensive position for a German or Austrian army attacked by Italy or France that no other complex in Europe can be compared with it; an army that can still take the field after leaving garrisons in the strong points will easily be able to stand up to a force twice as strong, if based on this position. Radetzky showed in 1848 what could be got out of the position. After the March revolution in Milan,[186] the desertion of the Italian regiments and the crossing of the Ticino by the Piedmontese, he withdrew to Verona with the rest of his troops, about 45,000 men. After leaving garrisons of 15,000 men he had somewhat more than 30,000 men available. Against him, between the Mincio and the Adige, were about 60,000 Piedmontese, Tuscans, Modenese and Parmesans. In his rear appeared the army of Durando, about 45,000 Papal and Neapolitan troops and volunteers.[187] The only line of communication he had left was through the Tyrol, and even that was threatened, although only lightly, by Lombard irregulars in the mountains. Nevertheless Radetzky held on. Keeping Peschiera and Mantua in check drew off so many troops from the Piedmontese that when they attacked the Verona position (battle of Santa Lucia) on May 6 they could put only four divisions, 40,000 to 45,000 men, in the field. Radetzky could utilise 36,000 men, including the garrison at Verona. Considering the tactically strong defensive position of the Austrians, equilibrium was already reestablished on the battlefield, and the Piedmontese were beaten. The counter-revolution in Naples on May 15 freed Radetzky from the presence of 15,000 Neapolitans[188] and cut down the army of the Venetian mainland to about 30,000; of these only 5,000 Papal Swiss and about the same number of Papal Italian troops of the line could be used in the open field, the rest being irregulars. Nugent's reserve army, which had been formed in April on the Isonzo, easily broke through these troops and joined Radetzky near Verona on May 25, almost 20,000 strong. Now at last the old field marshal could go beyond passive defence. In order to relieve Peschiera, which the Piedmontese were besieging, and to give himself more freedom of action, he made the celebrated flanking march to Mantua with his entire army (May 27), then from here debouched on the right bank of the Mincio on the 29th, stormed

the enemy line on the Curtatone and pressed on towards Goito on the 30th, in the rear and on the flank of the Italians. But Peschiera fell on the same day; the weather turned unfavourable and Radetzky did not yet feel himself strong enough for a decisive battle. So on June 4 he marched back through Mantua again to the Adige, sent the reserve corps to Verona and with the rest of his troops moved via Legnago against Vicenza, which Durando had fortified and occupied with 17,000 men. On the 10th he attacked Vicenza with 30,000 men; on the 11th Durando capitulated, after a stout resistance. The Second Army Corps (d'Aspre) conquered Padua, the Upper Brenta valley and the Venetian mainland in general and then followed the First Corps to Verona; a second reserve army under Welden came up from the Isonzo. During this time and until the end of the campaign the Piedmontese, with superstitious obstinacy, concentrated all their attention on the Rivoli plateau which, since Napoleon's victory, they seem to have regarded as the key to Italy but which had lost its importance by 1848 since the Austrians had restored safe communication with the Tyrol through the Vallarsa and in particular had reestablished direct connection with Vienna across the Isonzo. At the same time something had to be done against Mantua, and so a block was set up on the right bank of the Mincio—an operation that could not have had any other purpose than to document the perplexity prevailing in the Piedmontese camp, to disperse the army all along the eight-mile stretch from Rivoli to Borgoforte and into the bargain to split it into two halves by the Mincio, halves which could not support each other.

When the attempt was now made to blockade Mantua on the left bank as well, Radetzky, who had got 12,000 of Welden's troops in the interim, decided to break through the Piedmontese in their weakened centre and then defeat the assembling forces separately. On July 22 he ordered Rivoli to be attacked, and the Piedmontese evacuated it on the 23rd; on the 23rd he himself started from Verona with 40,000 men against the position of Sona and Sommacampagna, which was defended by only 14,000 Piedmontese, took it, and thereby broke the entire enemy front. The Piedmontese left wing was completely driven back over the Mincio on the 24th, and the right wing, which had reformed in the meantime and was advancing on the Austrians, was defeated at Custozza on the 25th; on the 26th the entire Austrian army crossed the Mincio and defeated the Piedmontese once again at Volta. This ended the campaign; the Piedmontese withdrew behind the Ticino almost without any resistance.

This brief account of the 1848 campaign is better proof than any theoretical reasoning could give of the strength of the position on the Mincio and the Adige. Once the Piedmontese had entered the quadrilateral between the four fortresses, they had to detach so many troops that their offensive power was thereby broken, as the battle of Santa Lucia shows, while Radetzky, as soon as his first reinforcements arrived, could move between the fortresses with complete freedom, base himself now on Mantua and then on Verona, threaten the rear of the enemy on the right bank of the Mincio today and a few days later capture Vicenza and constantly hold the initiative in the campaign. The Piedmontese committed error after error, it is true; but it is precisely the strength of a position that puts the enemy in a quandary and almost compels him to make errors. Holding the individual fortresses in check, let alone besieging them, forces him to divide his forces and weaken his available offensive strength; the rivers compel him to repeat the division and make it more or less impossible for his various corps to come to each other's assistance. What forces would be needed to besiege Mantua so long as an army ready for action in the field could break out of the detached forts of Verona at any instant?

Mantua alone was able to hold up General Bonaparte's victorious army in 1797. Only twice did a fortress impede him: Mantua and, ten years later, Danzig. In the entire second part of the campaign of [1796 and] 1797: Castiglione, Medole, Calliano, Bassano, Arcole, Rivoli[189]—everything revolves around Mantua, and only after this fortress had fallen did the victor venture to advance eastward and over the Isonzo. At that time Verona was not fortified; in 1848 only the circle of walls was completed on the right bank of the Adige at Verona, and the battle of Santa Lucia was fought on terrain where Austrian redoubts were put up immediately thereafter, and permanent detached forts subsequently; only as a result of this did the fortified camp of Verona become the core, the citadel of the entire position, which thus gained enormously in strength.

It will be seen that we have no intention of impugning the importance of the Mincio line. But let us not forget: This line only became important when Austria began waging war in Italy on its own account and the line of communication Bolzano-Innsbruck-Munich was pushed into the background by the Treviso-Klagenfurt-Vienna line. And for Austria, as presently constituted, possession of the Mincio line is indeed a matter of life and death. Austria as an independent state, which wishes to operate as a European great power independent also of Germany, must either

control the Mincio and the Lower Po or abandon defence of the Tyrol; otherwise the Tyrol would be outflanked on both sides and linked to the rest of the Empire only by the Toblach Pass (the road from Salzburg to Innsbruck goes through Bavaria). Now the opinion is held by elderly military men that the Tyrol has great defensive capacities and controls both the Danube and the Po basins. But this opinion is based entirely on fantasy and has never been confirmed by experience, for an insurrectional war, as in 1809,[190] proves nothing for the operations of a regular army.

The source of this opinion is *Bülow*; he expresses it, among other places, in his history of the Hohenlinden[191] and Marengo campaigns. A copy of the French translation of this book, belonging to Emmett, an English engineer officer assigned to St. Helena while Napoleon was a prisoner there, came into the hands of the exiled general in 1819. He made copious marginal notes in it and Emmett had the book reprinted in 1831 with Napoleon's notes.[a]

Napoleon obviously started reading the book in a favourable frame of mind. At Bülow's proposal to break all the infantry up into skirmishers, he remarks benevolently: "De l'ordre, toujours de l'ordre—les tirailleurs doivent toujours être soutenus par les lignes."[b] Then we have a few times: "Bien—c'est bien"[c] and again: "Bien." But from the twentieth page on it gets to be too much for Napoleon when he sees the unfortunate Bülow working his head off, with rare futility and clumsiness, to explain all the vicissitudes of warfare by his theory of eccentric withdrawals and concentric attacks, and rob the most masterful moves of their meaning by schoolboyish interpretation. First a few: "Mauvais—cela est mauvais—mauvais principe",[d] and then: "Cela n'est pas vrai—absurde—mauvais plan bien dangereux—restez unis si vous voulez vaincre—il ne faut jamais séparer son armée par un fleuve—tout cet échafaudage est absurde",[e] etc. And when Napoleon finds that Bülow keeps on praising bad operations and condemning good ones, that he attributes the silliest motives to

[a] A. H. D. Bülow, *Der Feldzug von 1800, militärisch-politisch betrachtet von dem Verfasser des Geistes des neuern Kriegssystems*, Berlin, 1801; *Histoire de la campagne de 1800, en Allemagne et en Italie*, Paris, s. a., and *Histoire des Campagnes de Hohenlinden et de Marengo. Contenant les notes que Napoléon fit sur cet ouvrage en 1819, à St. Hélène. Le tout mis en ordre et publié par Brevet Major Emmett*, Londres, 1831.—*Ed.*

[b] "Order, always order—skirmishers should always be supported by troops of the line."—*Ed.*

[c] "Good—this is good."—*Ed.*

[d] "Bad—this is bad—bad principle."—*Ed.*

[e] "This is not true—absurd—bad plan, very dangerous—stay united if you want to win—one should never separate one's army by a river—all this scaffolding is absurd."—*Ed.*

generals and gives them the most comical advice, and finally that he wants to do away with the bayonet and arm the second line of the infantry with lances, he cries out: "Bavardage inintelligible, quel absurde bavardage, quelle absurdité, quel misérable bavardage, quelle ignorance de la guerre."[a]

Bülow here reproaches the Austrian Danube army under Kray for going to Ulm instead of to the Tyrol. The Tyrol, he said, that impregnable bastion of rocks and mountains, dominates both Bavaria and a part of Lombardy if it is occupied by enough troops (Napoleon: "On n'attaque pas les montagnes, pas plus le Tirol que la Suisse, on les observe et on les tourne par les plaines"[b]). Then Bülow reproaches Moreau for letting himself be held up by Kray at Ulm, instead of leaving him there and conquering the Tyrol, which was weakly held: Conquest of the Tyrol would have overthrown the Austrian monarchy (Napoleon: "Absurde, quand même le Tirol eût été ouvert, il ne fallait pas y entrer"[c]).

After finishing reading the book, Napoleon characterised the system of eccentric withdrawals and concentric attacks and the control of the plains by the mountains in the following words: "Si vous voulez apprendre la manière de faire battre une armée supérieure par une armée inférieure, étudiez les maximes de cet écrivain; vous aurez des idées sur la science de la guerre, il vous préscrit le contre-pied de ce qu'il faut enseigner."[d]

Napoleon repeated, three or four times, the warning: "Il ne faut jamais attaquer les pays des montagnes."[e] This fear of the mountains obviously dates from his later years, when his armies had reached such colossal size and were tied down to the plains by reasons of supply and tactical development. Spain [192] and the Tyrol may also have contributed to this. Formerly he had not been so afraid of mountains. The first half of his campaign of 1796 was all fought in the mountains, and in the following years Masséna and Macdonald proved adequately that even in mountain warfare—and precisely there more than anywhere else—great things can be accomplished with small forces. But in general it is clear that our

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[a] "Unintelligible chatter, what absurd chatter, what an absurdity, what miserable chatter, what ignorance of war."—*Ed.*

[b] "One does not attack mountains, neither the Tyrol nor Switzerland, one keeps them under observation and goes around them by the plains."—*Ed.*

[c] "Absurd, even if the Tyrol had been open, it should not have been entered."—*Ed.*

[d] "If you want to learn how to have a stronger army defeated by a weaker army, study this writer's maxims; you will have ideas on the science of war, he prescribes the opposite of what should be taught."—*Ed.*

[e] "Mountain countries should never be attacked."—*Ed.*

modern armies can develop their power best in the mixed terrain of plains and foothills, and that a theory is false that prescribes throwing a large army into high mountain regions—not in transit but to take up permanent positions there—so long as there are free-lying plains like those of Bavaria and Lombardy on either side, in which the war can be decided. How long can an army of 150,000 men be fed in the Tyrol? How soon would hunger drive them down into the plain, where in the meantime the enemy would have been given time to dig in and where they could be forced to fight under the most unfavourable circumstances? And where in the narrow valleys could they find a position in which they could develop their entire strength?

Once Austria no longer controlled the Mincio and the Adige, the Tyrol would be a lost position, which it would have to give up as soon as it was attacked either from the north or the south. For Germany, the Tyrol flanks Lombardy up to the Adda by means of its passes; for an Austria acting separately, Lombardy and Venetia up to the Brenta outflank the Tyrol. The Tyrol is only tenable for Austria when it is shielded by Bavaria in the north and possession of the Mincio line in the south. The establishment of the Confederation of the Rhine[193] made it impossible for Austria by itself to make a serious defence of both the Tyrol and Venetia, and thus it was quite consistent for Napoleon to detach both provinces from Austria in the Treaty of Pressburg.[194]

For Austria, therefore, possession of the Mincio line with Peschiera and Mantua is an absolute necessity. For Germany as a whole, possession of it is not at all necessary, although still a great military advantage. What this advantage is, is obvious: simply that it ensures us, in advance, a strong position in the plain of Lombardy, one that we do not have first to conquer, and that it rounds out our defensive position comfortably while significantly supporting our offensive power.

But what if Germany does not hold the Mincio line?

Let us assume that all of Italy is independent, unified and allied with France for an offensive war against Germany. It follows from everything we have said so far that in that event the operational and withdrawal line of the Germans would be not Vienna-Klagenfurt-Treviso but Munich-Innsbruck-Bolzano and Munich-Füssen-Finstermünz-Glorenza, and that their débouchés on the plain of Lombardy lie between the Val Sugana and the Swiss border. Where then is the decisive point of attack? Obviously, that part of Upper Italy that affords communication of the peninsula with Piedmont and France, the Middle Po from Alessandria to Cremona. But the

passes between Lake Garda and Lake Como are quite sufficient to provide the Germans with access to that region and keep open a way of retreat on the same route or, if the worst comes to the worst, over the Stelvio Pass. In that case fortresses on the Mincio and the Adige, which we have assumed to be in the hands of the Italians, would lie far off from the decisive field of battle. Occupation of the entrenched camp of Verona with suitable forces sufficient for an offensive would only be a useless dispersion of the enemy troops. Or is it expected that the Italians massed on the beloved Rivoli plateau would deny the Adige valley to the Germans? Since the Stelvio road (over the Stelvio Pass) has been built, the outlet from the Adige valley has lost much of its importance. But assuming that Rivoli should once more be the key to Italy and that the Germans should be drawn strongly enough by the power of attraction of the Italian army stationed there to make the attack—what purpose would Verona serve in that case? It does not blockade the Adige valley, or else the march of the Italians to Rivoli would be pointless. Peschiera is sufficient to cover a withdrawal in the event of defeat; it provides a safe crossing over the Mincio and so ensures a further advance to Mantua or Cremona. Massing the entire Italian striking force between the four fortresses, perhaps to wait for the French to arrive there, and refusing to be provoked into fighting, would split the forces opposed to us at the very outset of the campaign and would enable us first to move concentrated forces against the French along the line of their join-up and after defeating them to undertake the somewhat tedious process of dislodging the Italians from their fortifications. A country like Italy, whose national army is confronted at any successful attack from the north and east with the dilemma of choosing between Piedmont and the peninsula as its base of operations, must obviously have its major defensive facilities in the region where its army may encounter this dilemma. Here the confluences of the Ticino and the Adda with the Po constitute points of support. General von Willisen (*Italienischer Feldzug des Jahres 1848*) wanted both points to be fortified by the Austrians. Apart from the fact that this will not work, if only for the reason that the land needed does not belong to them (at Cremona the right bank of the Po is Parmesan and at Piacenza they have only garrison rights), both points are too far forward for a major defensive position in a country in which the Austrians would be surrounded by insurrections in any war; furthermore, Willisen, who can never see two rivers join without straightaway making plans for a great entrenched camp, forgets that neither the Ticino nor the Adda are defensible lines and so, even according to his own views, do

not cover the region behind them. But what would be useless expenditure for the Austrians is undoubtedly a good position for the Italians. For them, the Po is the principal line of defence; the Pizzighettone-Cremona-Piacenza triangle, with Alessandria to the left and Mantua to the right, would provide effective defence of this line and enable the army either to wait in security for the arrival of distant allies or if need be to advance offensively in the decisive plain between the Sesia and the Adige.

General von Radowitz said in the Frankfurt National Assembly: If Germany no longer held the Mincio line, it would be placed in the same position in which it would be today after an entire unsuccessful campaign. The war would then be fought immediately on German soil; it would begin on the Isonzo and in the Italian Tyrol and all of South Germany up to Bavaria would be outflanked, so that the war even in Germany would have to be fought on the Isar rather than on the Upper Rhine.

General von Radowitz seems to have evaluated the military knowledge of his public accurately enough. It is true that if Germany gives up the Mincio line, it gives up as much, in terrain and positions, as an entire successful campaign might bring the French and Italians. But that does not signify that Germany would thereby be put in the position in which an unsuccessful campaign would put it. Or is a strong, intact German army which assembles at the Bavarian foot of the Alps and marches over the Tyrolean passes to invade Lombardy in the same situation as an army ruined and demoralised by an unsuccessful campaign and fleeing towards the Brenner, pursued by the enemy? Are the chances of a successful offensive from a position that in many respects dominates the point of juncture of the French and Italians equal to the chances that a defeated army has to get its artillery over the Alps? We conquered Italy much more often before we had the Mincio line than since we have had it; who can doubt that we can perform the trick again if need be?

As for the point that without the Mincio line the war would at once be shifted to Bavaria and Carinthia, that too is incorrect. The upshot of our entire exposition is that without the Mincio line, defence of the southern border of Germany can *only* be conducted *offensively.* One reason for that is the mountainous nature of the border provinces of Germany, which cannot serve as a decisive battlefield; another is the favourable position of the Alpine passes. The battlefield lies in the plains in front of them. There is where we have to descend, and no power on earth can prevent us from doing so. It is hard to conceive of any more favourable prelude to

an offensive than that available to us here in the most unfavourable case of a Franco-Italian alliance. It can be strengthened by improving the Alpine roads and fortifying the road junctions in the Tyrol enough, if not to hold up the enemy entirely in the event of a retreat, at least to compel him to detach strong contingents to guard his communications. So far as the roads through the Alps are concerned, all the wars in the Alps prove that most of the unpaved main roads and many bridle-paths are practicable for all classes of arms without excessive difficulty. Under these circumstances it should be possible to organise a German offensive into Lombardy in such a way as to have every prospect of success. We could still be beaten, to be sure; and then we should have the case that Radowitz speaks of. In that case, what about the exposure of Vienna and the outflanking of Bavaria through the Tyrol?

In the first place, it is clear that no enemy battalion would dare to cross the Isonzo until the German army of the Tyrol has been completely and irrevocably thrown back over the Brenner. Once Bavaria is the German operational base against Italy, from that moment on a Franco-Italian offensive in the direction of Vienna is purposeless; it would be a futile dispersion of forces. Even if Vienna were such a vital centre that it would be worth devoting the main power of the enemy army to conquer it, that proves only that Vienna must be fortified. Napoleon's 1797 campaign and the invasions of Italy and Germany in 1805 and 1809 could have turned out very badly for the French if Vienna had been fortified. An offensive that has been carried forward to such distances always runs the risk of seeing its last forces smashed before a fortified capital city. And even assuming that the enemy had thrown the German army back over the Brenner, what a degree of superiority would be required to make it possible to draw off an effective force against Inner Austria!

But what about the outflanking of all South Germany through Italy? In point of fact, if Lombardy flanks Germany as far as Munich, how far does Germany outflank Italy? At least as far as Milan and Pavia. So far, then, the chances are equal. But because of the much greater width of Germany, an army on the Upper Rhine which is "outflanked" from Italy towards Munich does not for that reason need to withdraw at once. An entrenched camp in Upper Bavaria or a temporarily fortified Munich could receive the defeated army of the Tyrol and soon bring the offensive of the pursuing enemy to a halt, while the army of the Upper Rhine would have the choice of basing itself on Ulm and Ingolstadt or

on the Main, that is, at worst it would have to change its base of operations. In Italy, on the other hand, it is entirely different. If an Italian army is outflanked via the Tyrolean passes in the west, it need only be driven from its fortresses and all Italy is won. In a war against France and Italy together, Germany always has several armies, at least three, and victory or defeat will depend on the aggregate result of all three campaigns. Italy has space for only one army; any division would be a mistake; and if this one army is wiped out, Italy has been conquered. For a French army in Italy, communication with France is vital under any and all conditions; and so long as this line of communication is not limited to the Col di Tenda and Genoa, its flank is exposed to the Germans in the Tyrol—and all the more so, the further the French advance into Italy. The possibility of a penetration of Bavaria through the Tyrol by the French and Italians must, to be sure, be guarded against once *German* wars are waged again in Italy and the base of operations is shifted from Austria to Bavaria. But with suitable fortifications in the modern sense, with the fortresses being there for the sake of the armies, not the armies for the sake of the fortresses, the spearhead of this invasion can be broken much more easily than that of a German invasion of Italy. And therefore we need not have any nightmares about this so-called "outflanking" of all South Germany. An enemy that outflanked a German army on the Upper Rhine through Italy and the Tyrol would have to advance to the Baltic before he could gather the fruits of this outflanking. Napoleon's march from Jena to Stettin[195] would be hard to repeat in the direction from Munich to Danzig.

We have no intention of denying that Germany yields a very strong defensive position if it gives up the line of the Adige and the Mincio. But we completely deny that this position is *necessary* for the security of the German southern frontier. If we proceed from the assumption, as the advocates of the opposite view seem to do, that a German army will always be defeated, wherever it makes its appearance, then it may be possible to imagine that the Adige, the Mincio and the Po are absolutely necessary for us. But in that case nothing would be of any use, really; neither fortresses nor armies would avail, and the best thing we could do would be to go at once under the Caudine Forks.[196] We have a different opinion of Germany's military power, and that makes us quite content to see our southern frontier secured by the advantages for an offensive on Lombard soil that that frontier affords.

Here, however, political considerations come into play which we cannot ignore. Since 1820[197] the national movement in Italy has

emerged from every defeat rejuvenated and more powerful. There are few countries whose so-called natural frontiers coincide so closely with the frontiers of nationality, and are at the same time so clearly marked. Once the national movement has become strong in such a country, which moreover has twenty-five million inhabitants, it can no longer rest so long as one of the best, and politically and militarily most important, parts of the country, with almost a quarter of the population, is under anti-national foreign domination. Ever since 1820 Austria has ruled in Italy by force alone, by suppressing repeated insurrections, by the terrorism of the state of siege. In order to maintain its domination in Italy, Austria is compelled to treat its political opponents, that is, every Italian who regards himself as an Italian, worse than common criminals. The manner in which Italian political prisoners have been treated by Austria, and to some extent still are being treated, is something unheard of in civilised countries. The Austrians have taken particular delight in trying to degrade political offenders in Italy by flogging them, either to extort confessions or under the pretext of punishment. Streams of moral indignation have been poured out over the Italian stiletto, over political assassination, but it seems to have been entirely forgotten that it was Austrian floggings that provoked it. The means that Austria has to use to maintain its rule in Italy are the best possible proof that this rule cannot endure; and Germany, which despite Radowitz, Willisen and Hailbronner does not have the same interest in it that Austria has—Germany must ask itself whether that interest is important enough to outweigh the many disadvantages it entails.

Upper Italy is an appendage that, under any conditions, can be of use to Germany only in war, but in peace can only harm it. The armies required to hold it down have kept growing larger since 1820, and since 1848, in a time of deepest peace, exceed 70,000 men, who are always as if in enemy country, expecting an attack at any moment. The war of 1848 and 1849 and the occupation of Italy down to the present time—despite the Piedmontese war indemnity, despite the repeated Lombard indemnities, forced loans and special taxes—have obviously cost Austria much more than Italy has brought in since 1848. And this despite the fact that from 1848 to 1854 the country has systematically been treated as a mere temporary possession to be drained of everything that can be got out of it before leaving. Since the Oriental war Lombardy has been in a less abnormal status for a few years; and how long will that last with today's complications and with Italian national feeling pulsating so strongly again?

Much more important, however: Does possession of Lombardy outweigh all the hatred, all the fanatical hostility, that it has brought us throughout Italy? Does it outweigh the complicity in the procedures by which Austria—in the name and on behalf of Germany, as we are assured—maintains its rule there? Does it outweigh the continual meddling in the internal affairs of the rest of Italy, without which, according to previous practice and Austrian assurances, Lombardy cannot be held, and which makes the Italians' hatred of us Germans even fiercer? In all our military discussions above, we have always assumed the worst possible case, an alliance between France and Italy. As long as we hold Lombardy, Italy will certainly be France's ally in any French war against Germany. As soon as we leave it, that will no longer be true. Is it really in our interest to hold four fortresses and thereby ensure that 25 million Italians will hate us fanatically and ally themselves with the French?

The disingenuous chatter about the political incompetence of the Italians and their calling to be under German or French domination, and the various speculations as to the possibility or impossibility of a unified Italy, sound a bit strange to us on the lips of Germans. How long is it since *we*, the great German nation, with twice as many people as the Italians, have escaped the "calling" to be either under French or Russian domination? And have today's realities solved the question of the unity or disunity of Germany? Are we not today in all likelihood on the eve of events that will mature the question of deciding our future in both directions? Have we completely forgotten Napoleon in Erfurt or the Austrian appeal to Russia at the Warsaw conferences or the battle of Bronzell?[198]

We will grant for the moment that Italy must be under either German or French influence. In that case, the decisive factor is, in addition to particular sympathies, the military-geographical position of the two influencing countries. We will assume that the military forces of France and Germany are of equal strength, although obviously Germany could be far stronger. But now we believe we have proved that even in the most favourable case, that is, if the Valais and the Simplon Pass were open to the French, their immediate military influence would extend only to Piedmont and they would have to win a battle before extending that influence to further areas, whereas our influence extends to all of Lombardy and the point of junction between Piedmont and the peninsula and we would first have to be defeated to deprive us of that influence. But where such a geographical basis for domina-

tion exists, the influence of Germany has nothing to fear from French competition.

Recently, General Hailbronner said in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* something like the following: Germany is called to other things than to act as a lightning-conductor for the thunderbolts that are collecting over the head of the Bonaparte dynasty.[a] The Italians could say with equal justification: Italy is called to other things than to serve as a buffer for Germany against French blows, and to get flogged by the Austrians in lieu of thanks. But if Germany has an interest in having such a buffer there, it would in any case be served much better by being on good terms with Italy, doing justice to the national movement, and leaving Italian affairs to the Italians so long as they do not interfere in German affairs. Radowitz's assertion that France would necessarily rule in Upper Italy tomorrow if Austria departed today was just as baseless at the time as it was three months ago; as things stand today, this assertion seems to be wanting to become true, but in a sense opposite to that of Radowitz. If the twenty-five million Italians cannot assert their independence, the two million Danes, the four million Belgians, the three million Dutch can do so even less. Nevertheless, we do not hear the defenders of German domination in Italy bemoan French or Swedish domination in those other countries or demand that it be replaced by German rule.

So far as the question of unity is concerned, our opinion is: Either Italy can be unified, and then it has a policy of its own, which of necessity will be neither German nor French and hence cannot be more harmful to us than to the French; or it remains divided, and then the division will assure us allies in Italy in any war with France.

In any event, this much is sure: Whether we have Lombardy or not, we shall always have considerable influence in Italy *so long as we are strong at home.* If we leave it to Italy to manage its own affairs, the Italians' hatred of us will come to an end automatically, and our natural influence on Italy will be much greater in any case and, eventually, rise to actual hegemony. Instead of seeking our strength in the possession of foreign soil and the oppression of a foreign nationality, whose future only prejudice can deny, we should do better to see to it that we *are united and strong in our own house.*

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[a] "Zur innern Politik des französischen Kaiserreichs. I. (Beschluss)", *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 53 (supplement), February 22, 1859.—*Ed.*

## III

What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. If we demand the Po and the Mincio for protection not so much against the Italians as against the French, we should not be surprised if the French likewise claim river lines for protection against us.

France's centre of gravity does not lie on the Loire at Orléans but in the north, on the Seine, in Paris; and experience has twice proved that if Paris falls, all France falls.[199] Accordingly, the military significance of the configuration of France's frontiers is determined primarily by the protection they afford Paris.

Straight lines from Paris to Lyons, Basle, Strasbourg and Lauterbourg are about the same length, some fifty-five miles; but any invasion of France from Italy aimed at Paris must advance between the Rhône and Loire in the Lyons area, or further north, if its communications are not to be endangered. Consequently, France's Alpine frontier, south of Grenoble, is out of the question in connection with an advance on Paris; on this side Paris is fully covered.

At Lauterbourg the French frontier leaves the Rhine at a right angle and runs northwest; from Lauterbourg to Dunkirk it forms almost a straight line. The arc that we drew using Paris-Lyons as radius and passing through Basle and Strasbourg to Lauterbourg is broken at this point; the northern frontier of France is more like the chord to this arc, and the segment of the circle lying outside this chord does not belong to France. The shortest line from Paris to the northern border, Paris-Mons, is only half as long as the Paris-Lyons or Paris-Strasbourg radius.

These simple geometrical relationships explain why Belgium must be the battlefield of every war fought in the north between

Germany and France. Belgium outflanks all Eastern France from Verdun and the Upper Marne to the Rhine. That is to say: An army invading from Belgium can reach Paris sooner than a French army stationed between Verdun or Chaumont and the Rhine; the army advancing from Belgium can therefore, if its offensive is successful, always drive a wedge between Paris and the French army of the Moselle or the Rhine; and all the more so since the way from the Belgian border to the points on the Marne that are decisive for the flanking action (Meaux, Château-Thierry, Epernay) is even shorter than the road to Paris itself.

Not only that. Along the entire line from the Meuse to the sea the terrain does not offer an enemy the slightest obstacle on the way to Paris until he comes to the Aisne and the Lower Oise, the courses of which, however, are rather unfavourable to the defence of Paris against attack from the north. They did not present any serious difficulties to the offensive either in 1814 or 1815. But even conceding that they can be integrated into the defensive system of the Seine and its tributaries and were in part so integrated in 1814, that in itself is a confirmation of the fact that the real defence of Northern France only begins at Compiègne and Soissons and that the first defensive position protecting Paris from the north is only twelve miles from Paris.

It is hard to imagine a weaker state frontier than the French frontier with Belgium. We know how Vauban laboured to make good the lack of natural means of defence by artificial ones; we also know how in 1814 and 1815 the attack went through the triple ring of fortresses almost without noticing it. We know how in 1815 fortress after fortress fell to the attacks of a single Prussian corps after incredibly brief siege and bombardment. Avesnes surrendered on June 22, 1815 after being shelled by ten field howitzers for half a day. Guise surrendered to ten field guns without firing a shot. Maubeuge capitulated on July 13 after 14 days of open approach trenches. Landrecies opened its gates on July 21 after 36 hours of open approach trenches and two hours of shelling, after only 126 bombs and 52 round shot had been fired by the besiegers. Mariembourg required, only *pro forma*, the honours of an open approach trench and a single twenty-four-pound ball and capitulated on July 28. Philippeville held out for two days of open approach trenches and a few hours of shelling, Rocroi 26 hours of open trenches and two hours of bombardment. Only Mézières held out for 18 days after the trenches were opened. There was a rage to capitulate among the commanders,

not much weaker than in Prussia after the battle of Jena; and if it is argued that these places were out of repair in 1815, weakly garrisoned and badly equipped, it should not be forgotten that with some exceptions these fortresses must *always* be neglected. Vauban's triple ring has no value today; it is a positive hindrance to France. None of the fortresses west of the Meuse protects any sector of the terrain by itself, and nowhere can four or five be found which form a group within which an army is protected and at the same time retains its ability to manoeuvre. The reason is that none of the fortresses is located on a large river. The Lys, the Scheldt and the Sambre only become important militarily on Belgian soil, and hence the action of these fortresses scattered in the open field does not extend beyond the range of their artillery. Except for a few large supply depots at the border which could serve as bases for an offensive into Belgium, and some points of strategic importance on the Meuse and Moselle, all the other strong points and forts on France's northern frontier have no effect beyond a quite useless scattering of forces. Any government that razed them would do France a service; but what would French traditional superstition say to that?

Thus, France's northern frontier is highly unfavourable for defence; in fact it is indefensible, and Vauban's ring of fortresses, instead of reinforcing it, is today only a confession of and monument to its weakness.

Like the Central European great-power theoreticians in Italy, the French too look beyond their northern frontier for a river line that could provide them with a good defensive position. What could it be?

The first line at hand would be that of the Lower Scheldt and the Dyle, continued to where the Sambre joins the Meuse. This line would give the better part of Belgium to France. It would comprise within itself almost all the famous Belgian battlefields on which Frenchmen and Germans have fought each other: Oudenarde, Jemappes, Fleurus, Ligny, Waterloo.[200] But it still would not make a line of defence; it would leave a great gap between the Scheldt and the Meuse, through which the enemy could pass without hindrance.

The second line would be the Meuse itself. If France held the left bank of the Meuse, its position would not be even as favourable as that of Germany in Italy if we had only the line of the Adige. The Adige line is fairly well rounded out, that of the Meuse very incompletely. If it flowed from Namur to Antwerp, it would make a much better frontier. Instead, it runs northeast

from Namur and only after passing Venlo flows to the North Sea in a great arc.

In wartime the entire region north of Namur between the Meuse and the sea would only be covered by its fortresses; for an enemy crossing of the Meuse would always find the French army in the South Brabant plain, and a French offensive on the German left bank of the Rhine would immediately come up against the strong Rhine line, and quite directly against the entrenched camp of Cologne. The receding angle of the Meuse between Sedan and Liège contributes to making the line weaker, even though the angle is filled by the Ardennes. Thus, the line of the Meuse gives the French too much for good defence of the frontier at one point, and too little at the others. Let us continue.

If we put one point of our compasses on Paris on the map and, with Paris-Lyons as our radius, describe an arc from Basle to the North Sea, we find that the course of the Rhine *from Basle to its mouth* follows *this arc* remarkably accurately. Within a few miles, all the important points on the Rhine are equally distant from Paris. *This is the actual, real reason for the French desire for the Rhine boundary.*

If France has the Rhine, then Paris will, with respect to Germany, really be the centre of France. All the radii from Paris to the attackable frontiers, whether on the Rhine or in the Jura, have the same length. At every point the enemy is faced by the convex periphery of the circle and must manoeuvre on detours behind it, while the French armies move on the shorter chord and can forestall the enemy. The equal lengths of the operational and withdrawal lines of the several armies make concentric withdrawal much easier, rendering it possible to combine two of these armies at a given point for a massive blow at the still divided enemy.

Possession of the Rhine frontier would make France's defensive system, so far as the *natural* preconditions are concerned, one of those that General Willisen calls "ideal", one that leaves nothing to be desired. The strong inner defensive system of the Seine basin, which is formed by the Yonne, Aube, Marne, Aisne and Oise rivers flowing like a fan into the Seine, and on which Napoleon gave the Allies such harsh lessons in strategy in 1814,[201] is thus first given uniform protection in every direction; the enemy will reach it at much the same time from any side and can be held at the rivers until the French armies are in a position to attack each isolated enemy column with united forces; whereas without the Rhine line, the defence can only make a stand at the most decisive point, at Compiègne and Soissons, only twelve miles from Paris.

There is no other region in Europe in which defence would be supported by railways in rapidly concentrating large forces so much as in the country between the Seine and the Rhine. Railways radiate from Paris as a centre to Boulogne, Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, Maastricht, Liège and Cologne, to Mannheim and Mainz via Metz, to Strasbourg, to Basle, to Dijon and Lyons. At whatever point the enemy can be present in greatest strength, the entire strength of the reserve army can be thrown against him by railway from Paris. In particular, the inner defence of the Seine basin is reinforced even more by the fact that all the railway radii within it run through the river valleys (the Oise, the Marne, the Seine, the Aube, in part the Yonne). But that is not all. Three concentric arcs of railways run at roughly equal distances from Paris for a quadrant or more in length: the first is the set of lines on the left bank of the Rhine, which now run almost without a break from Neuss to Basle; the second goes from Ostend and Antwerp through Namur, Arlon, Thionville, Metz and Nancy to Epinal, and is also as good as complete; lastly the third extends from Calais via Lille, Douai, St. Quentin, Rheims, Châlons-sur-Marne and St. Dizier to Chaumont. Here everywhere the means are available to concentrate masses of troops at any given point in the shortest time, and nature and skill, without any fortifications, would make the defence so strong by reason of manoeuvrability that an invasion of France would come up against a much different resistance than in 1814 and 1815.

The Rhine would have only one defect as a frontier river. As long as one bank is all German and the other all French, the river is not dominated by either of the two countries. A stronger army, of whichever nation, could nowhere be denied crossing; we have seen that a hundred times, and strategy explains why it must be so. In the face of a German offensive with superior forces the French defence could only call a halt further back: the army of the north on the Meuse between Venlo and Namur; the army of the Moselle on the Moselle, perhaps at the confluence with the Saar; the army of the Upper Rhine on the Upper Moselle and the Upper Meuse. In order to dominate the Rhine fully and be able to oppose an enemy crossing energetically, the French would therefore have to have bridgeheads on the right bank. It was therefore very logical on Napoleon's part that he summarily incorporated Wesel, Kastel and Kehl into the French Empire. As things stand today, his nephew would ask, as a complement to the fine fortresses the Germans have built for him on the left bank of the Rhine, for Ehrenbreitstein, Deutz and if need be the

Germersheim bridgehead as well. In that case France's military-geographical system would be complete for the offensive or the defensive, and any new annexation would only damage it. And how natural the system seems, how readily understandable, was strikingly shown by the Allies in 1813. France had set up the system only 17 years earlier, and yet it was so much taken for granted that the high Allies, despite their preponderance of strength and the defencelessness of France, shuddered at the thought of touching it, as if it were a sacrilege; and if they had not been carried along by the German nationalist elements of the movement, the Rhine would still be a French river today.

But if we should cede to the French not only the Rhine but also the bridgeheads on the right bank, the French would have fulfilled the duty to themselves that we are fulfilling to ourselves, as Radowitz, Willisen and Hailbronner see it, by holding the Adige and the Mincio with the Peschiera and Mantua bridgeheads. But therewith we would have made Germany as totally helpless *vis-à-vis* France as Italy is now *vis-à-vis* Germany. And then Russia, as in 1813, would be the natural "liberator" of Germany (as France or rather the French Government presents itself as the "liberator" of Italy now) and would only ask, in payment for its unselfish exertions, some small districts to round out Poland—say Galicia and Prussia; for Poland too is "outflanked" by them!

What the Adige and the Mincio are for us, the Rhine is for France, and much more vital. If Venetia in the hands of Italy, and possibly of France, flanks Bavaria and the Upper Rhine and uncovers the road to Vienna, so Belgium and Germany, via Belgium, flank all of Eastern France and uncover the road to Paris much more effectively. From the Isonzo to Vienna there are still sixty miles to go, in a terrain where the defence can still make a stand somehow; from the Sambre to Paris is thirty miles, and it is only twelve miles from Paris, at Soissons or Compiègne, that the defence has any sort of a protective river line. If, as Radowitz says, giving up the Mincio and the Adige would put Germany from the outset in a position it would otherwise reach after losing an entire campaign, France with its present frontiers is situated as though it had possessed the Rhine line and lost two campaigns, one around the Rhine and Meuse fortifications and the other in the field, on the Belgian plain. Even the strong position of the fortresses of Upper Italy is in a way repeated on the Lower Rhine and the Meuse; would it not be possible to make Maastricht, Cologne, Jülich, Wesel and Venlo, with a little assistance and a couple of intermediate points, into an equally strong system completely covering Belgium and

North Brabant that would enable a French army not strong enough for the open field to manoeuvre so as to hold a much stronger enemy army at the rivers and finally to use the railways to withdraw to the Belgian plain or to Douai without hindrance?

Throughout this study we have assumed that Belgium was completely open to the Germans for attacking France and was an ally of Germany. Since we had to argue from the French standpoint, we had the same right to that assumption as our opponents on the Mincio, when they assumed that Italy, even a free and united Italy, would always be hostile to the Germans. In all such matters it is quite correct to look into the worst case first and get prepared for it as a start; and that is how the French must go about it when considering the defensibility and strategic configuration of their northern frontier today. That Belgium is a neutral country according to European treaties, just like Switzerland, is something we may ignore here. In the first place, it remains to be proved by the actual course of history that in a European war this neutrality amounts to anything more than a sheet of paper, and secondly, France cannot by any means count on it so firmly that it could, militarily, treat the entire frontier with Belgium as if the country formed a protective arm of the sea between France and Germany. Ultimately, the weakness of the frontier remains the same whether it is really actively defended or whether troops are only dispatched there to occupy it against possible attacks.

We have drawn the parallel between the Po and the Rhine pretty closely. Apart from the larger dimensions at the Rhine, which however would only strengthen the French claim, the analogy is as complete as one could desire. It is to be hoped that in the event of war the German soldiers will defend the Rhine on the Po practically with greater success than the Central European great-power politicians do theoretically. They defend the Rhine on the Po, to be sure, but—*only for the French.*

As for the rest, in case the Germans should at some time be so unfortunate as to lose their "natural frontier", the Po and the Mincio, we shall carry the analogy still further. The French possessed their "natural frontier" only seventeen years and by now have had to get along without it for almost forty-five years. During this time their best military men have come to realise, theoretically too, that the uselessness of the Vauban ring of fortresses against invasion is based on the laws of modern warfare, and hence that it was neither accident nor the *trahison*[a] they like to

[a] Betrayal.—*Ed.*

invoke that allowed the Allies in 1814 and 1815 to march through between the fortresses undisturbed. Hereafter it was even clearer that something had to be done to protect the exposed northern frontier. Obviously, though, there was no prospect of obtaining the Rhine frontier in the near future. What was to be done?

The French managed in a way that honours a great people: They fortified Paris; for the first time in modern history, they performed the experiment of converting their capital into an entrenched camp on a colossal scale. The military experts of the old school shook their heads over this unwise undertaking. Money thrown away for nothing but French swagger! Nothing behind it, pure humbug; who ever heard of a fortress nine miles in circumference and with a million inhabitants! How is it to be defended, unless half the army is thrown into it as garrison? How are all those people to get their provisions? Madness, French vanity, godless frivolity, a repetition of the Tower of Babel! That is how the military pedants judged the new undertaking, the same pedants who study siege warfare from a Vauban hexagon and whose passive method of defence knows no greater offensive counterblow than the sortie of a column of infantry from the covered way to the foot of the glacis! But the French kept on calmly building and have had the satisfaction that, even though Paris has not yet undergone the test of fire, the unpedantic military men of all Europe agree with them, that Wellington drew up plans for the fortification of London, that, if we are not mistaken, construction of detached forts around Vienna has already begun and the fortification of Berlin is at least under discussion. They themselves must have learned from the example of Sevastopol how tremendously strong a colossal entrenched camp is if it is occupied by an entire army and the defence is conducted offensively on a large scale. And Sevastopol had only a rampart, no detached forts, only field works, no walled escarpments!

Ever since Paris has been fortified, France can do without the Rhine frontier. Like Germany in Italy, it will have to conduct its defence on the northern border offensively at first. The arrangement of the railway network shows that this has been understood. If this offensive is repulsed, the army makes its stand, a definitive one, on the Oise and the Aisne; for further advance by the enemy would no longer serve any purpose, since the army of invasion from Belgium would be too weak by itself to act against Paris. Behind the Aisne, in solid communication with Paris, at worst behind the Marne, with its left wing supported on Paris, in an

offensive flanking position, the French northern army could await the arrival of the other armies. The enemy would have no alternative but to move on Château-Thierry and operate against the communications of the French Moselle and Rhine armies. But the action would be far from having the decisive importance it would have had before the Paris was fortified. At the worst, the withdrawal of the other French armies behind the Loire cannot be cut off; concentrated there, they will still be strong enough to be dangerous to an invasion army weakened and split by the investment of Paris, or to break through to Paris. In a word: The fortification of Paris has blunted the point of a flanking movement through Belgium; it is no longer decisive; and it is easy to calculate the disadvantages it entails and the means to be employed against it.

We should do well to follow the example of the French. Instead of letting ourselves be deafened by the outcry about the indispensability of a possession outside Germany, which becomes more and more untenable for Germany every day, we should do better to prepare ourselves for the inevitable moment when we give up Italy. The earlier we set up the fortifications that will then be needed, the better. To say more about where and how they are to be set up than the ideas previously suggested, is not our function. Only let us not put up illusory strong points and, relying on them, neglect the only fortifications that can enable a retreating army to make a stand: entrenched camps and groups of fortresses on rivers.

## IV

By now we have seen where the theory of natural frontiers advanced by the Central European great-power politicians leads us. France has the same right to the Rhine that Germany has to the Po. If France should not annex nine million Walloons, Netherlanders and Germans in order to obtain a good military position, then neither have we the right to subject six million Italians for the sake of a military position. And this natural frontier, the Po, is after all only a military position and that is the only reason, we are told, why Germany should maintain it.

The theory of natural frontiers puts an end to the Schleswig-Holstein question with a single slogan: *Danmark til Eideren!* Denmark up to the Eider! [202] After all, what are the Danes asking but their *Po* and their *Mincio,* whose name is Eider, their Mantua, Friedrichstadt by name?

By the same right that Germany claims the Po, the theory of natural frontiers requires for Russia Galicia and Bukovina and a rounding out to the Baltic Sea, which includes at least the entire Prussian right bank of the Vistula. In a few years it could with equal right demand that the Oder be the natural frontier of Russian Poland.

The theory of natural frontiers, applied to Portugal, must extend that country to the Pyrenees and include all of Spain in Portugal.

The natural frontier of Reuss-Greiz-Schleiz-Lobenstein [203] will likewise have to be extended at least to the border of the German Confederation and beyond that to the Po and perhaps to the Vistula, if the laws of eternal righteousness are to be carried out, and Reuss-Greiz-Schleiz-Lobenstein has as much claim to its rights as Austria has.

If the theory of natural frontiers, that is, frontiers based exclusively on military considerations, is correct, what shall we call the German diplomats who at the Congress of Vienna brought us to the brink of a war of Germans against Germans, lost us the Meuse line, exposed Germany's eastern frontier and left it to foreigners to set the borders of Germany and divide it? Truly, no country has so much reason to complain of the Congress of Vienna as Germany has; but if we apply the rule of natural frontiers, what does the reputation of the German statesmen of that time look like? And it is precisely the same people who defend the theory of natural frontiers on the Po that live on the legacy of the diplomats of 1815 and continue the tradition of the Congress of Vienna.

Would you like an instance?

When Belgium broke away from Holland in 1830,[204] the same people who are now making the Mincio a question of life and death raised their voices. They raised a hue and cry over the dismemberment of the strong Dutch border power that was to have been a bulwark against France and in fact—what superstition remains after all the experiences of twenty years!—had to undertake to erect a thin band of fortresses to surround Vauban's ring of fortresses, which at least is an imposing example of its kind. As if the great powers feared that one fine day Arras and Lille and Douai and Valenciennes would march into Belgium, with all their bastions, demilunes and lunettes, and make themselves at home there! At that time the spokesmen for the same narrow-minded trend we are opposing moaned that Germany was in danger, since Belgium was nothing more than a helpless appendage of France, an inevitable enemy of Germany, and that the valuable fortresses built with German money (i.e., money taken from the French) to be a protection against the French are now open to the French against us. The French border had been advanced to the Meuse and the Scheldt, and beyond; how long would it take until it was pushed forward to the Rhine? Most of us still remember these lamentations very clearly. And what happened? Since 1848, and particularly since the Bonapartist restoration, Belgium has turned more and more resolutely away from France and towards Germany. By now it might even count as a foreign member of the German Confederation. And what did the Belgians do as soon as they got into a kind of opposition to France? They razed all the fortresses which the wisdom of the Congress of Vienna had imposed on the country, as being *completely useless against France,* and erected around Antwerp an

entrenched camp large enough to take in the entire army and enable it, in the event of a French invasion, to wait there for English or German help. And they were right.

The same wise policy that in 1830 wanted to keep Catholic, mainly French-speaking Belgium chained by force to Protestant, Dutch-speaking Holland, that same wise policy has sought since 1848 to keep Italy by force under Austrian oppression and make us Germans responsible for Austria's actions in Italy. And all this only through fear of the French. All the patriotism of these gentlemen seems to consist in falling into a state of feverish agitation as soon as France is mentioned. They seem never to have recovered from the blows the old Napoleon dealt them fifty and sixty years ago. We are certainly not among those who underestimate the military power of France. We know very well, for example, that so far as light infantry is concerned and experience and skill in waging a small war, and certain aspects of artillery, no army in Germany can compare with the French. But when people start throwing phrases around about Germany's twelve hundred thousand soldiers, as though those soldiers were standing there all ready and prepared like chessmen with which Doctor Kolb can play a game with France over Alsace and Lorraine[205]—and when these same people then tremble in their boots at anything that happens, as if it went without saying that those twelve hundred thousand men could not help being cut to pieces by half the number of Frenchmen, unless the said twelve hundred thousand slunk into impregnable positions—then it is really high time to lose patience. It is high time to remember, as against this policy of passive defence, that even if Germany may by and large depend on a defence with offensive counterblows, still no defence is more effective than an active, offensively conducted one. It is time to remember that we have often enough shown ourselves better in attack than the French and other nations.

"Moreover, it is the inherent nature of our soldiers to attack; and that is quite right,"

said Frederick the Great of his infantry[a]; Rossbach, Zorndorf and Hohenfriedberg can testify as to how his cavalry could attack.[206] How accustomed the German infantry of 1813 and 1814 was to being aggressive can be best seen from Blücher's well-known instructions for the beginning of the 1815 campaign:

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[a] Friedrich II, "Aus der Instruction für die Generalmajors von der Cavallerie (14. August 1748)."—*Ed.*

"Since experience has shown that the French army cannot stand up to the bayonet attacks of our massed battalions, the rule is always to make such attacks when the object is to overrun the enemy or take a position."

Our finest battles have been offensive battles, and if there is one definite quality of the French soldier that the German soldier is lacking, it is demonstrably the art of holding up defensively in villages and houses; in the attack the German compares well with the French soldier, and has shown that often enough.

As for the policy itself, apart from the motives underlying it, it consists of the following: First, under the pretext of defending alleged or absurdly exaggerated German interest, to make us hated by all the smaller countries on our borders, and then to be indignant that they tend more to attach themselves to France. It took five years of Bonapartist restoration to divorce Belgium from the French alliance into which the policy of 1815, continued in 1830, the policy of the Holy Alliance,[207] had forced it; and in Italy we have created a position for the French that certainly outweighs the line of the Mincio. And yet the French policy towards Italy has always been narrow, selfish, exploitative, so that with any kind of honourable treatment on our part the Italians would unquestionably have been more on our side than on France's. It is well known how from 1796 to 1814 Napoleon and his governors and generals drained them of money, produce, art treasures and men. In 1814 the Austrians came as "liberators" and were greeted as liberators. (Just how they freed Italy is shown by the hatred that every Italian has for the *Tedeschi*[a] today.) So much for the actual practice of French policy in Italy; as for the theory, we need only say that it has a *single* basic principle: ***France can never tolerate a unified and independent Italy.*** This principle has held good down to Louis Napoleon, and to make sure there is no misunderstanding, La Guéronnière has to proclaim it now once again as an eternal verity.[b] And in the face of such a narrow-minded philistine policy on the part of France, a policy that claims the right to intervene at will in the internal affairs of Italy, in the face of such a policy do we Germans need to fear that an Italy no longer under direct German domination will always be an obedient servant of France against us? It is really laughable. It is the old hue and cry of 1830 over Belgium. For all that, Belgium came over to us, came unasked, and Italy would have to come to us in the same way.

It must also be kept definitely in mind that the question of the

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[a] Germans.—*Ed.*

[b] [A.La Guéronnière,] *L'Empereur Napoléon III et l'Italie,* Paris, 1859.—*Ed.*

possession of Lombardy is a question between Italy and Germany, but not between Louis Napoleon and Austria. *Vis-à-vis* a third party like Louis Napoleon, a third party intervening in his own interest, which in other respects is anti-German, what it comes to is simply holding a province that will only be given up under compulsion, a military position that will only be abandoned if it can no longer be held. In this case the political question retreats immediately behind the military question; if we are attacked, we defend ourselves.

If Louis Napoleon wants to appear as Paladin of Italian independence, he can get along without a war against Austria. *Charité bien ordonnée commence chez soi-même.*[a] The "department" of Corsica is an Italian island, Italian despite the fact that it is the fatherland of Bonapartism. If Louis Napoleon were first to cede Corsica to his uncle Victor Emmanuel, we might then be ready to talk. Until he has done that, he would be well advised to keep his enthusiasm for Italy to himself.

There is no power of any importance in Europe that has not incorporated parts of other nations into its territory. France has Flemish, German and Italian provinces. England, the only country that has really natural frontiers, has gone out beyond them in every direction, has made conquests in every country and is now in conflict with one of its dependencies, the Ionian Islands, just after putting down a colossal rebellion in India with authentically Austrian methods.[208] Germany has half-Slavic provinces and Slavic, Magyar, Wallachian and Italian annexes. And over how many languages is the White Tsar in Petersburg master!

Nobody will venture to say that the map of Europe is definitively established. But any changes, if they are to endure, must increasingly tend by and large to give the big and viable European nations their *real* natural frontiers to be determined by language and fellow-feeling, while at the same time the remnants of peoples that can still be found here and there and that are no longer capable of national existence, remain incorporated into the larger nations and either merge into them or are conserved as merely ethnographic relics with no political significance.[209] Military considerations can apply only secondarily.

But if the map of Europe is to be revised, we Germans have the right to demand that it be done thoroughly and impartially, and that Germany should not be asked, as has been the custom, to make all the sacrifices alone, while all the other nations benefit

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[a] Charity begins at home.—*Ed.*

without giving up anything whatever. We can do without a good deal that lies at our borders and involves us in matters in which we should do better not to meddle directly. But the same applies to others, in exactly the same way; let them show us the example of unselfishness, or be silent. But the sum and substance of this entire study is that we Germans would make a very good deal if we could trade the Po, the Mincio, the Adige and all the Italian rubbish for *unity,* which would protect us from a repetition of Warsaw and Bronzell, and which alone can make us strong internally and externally. If we have this unity, the defensive can come to an end. We shall no longer need any Mincio; "our inherent nature" will once more be "to attack"; and there are still some sore points where this will be necessary enough.

# Karl Marx

## PEACE OR WAR[210]

We print elsewhere the recent article of the *Moniteur*,[a] oracularly disclaiming on the part of its master and inspirer, Louis Napoleon, any purpose of plunging Europe into war,—an article which would seem to have inflated the Exchanges, and half dispelled the apprehensions of the Old World. Yet whoever reads carefully that article will find in it little warrant for the hopes which it has excited. Beyond the single assertion that the Emperor's engagements to the King of Sardinia extend no further than assurances of defense against Austrian aggression—assurances which Victor Emmanuel cannot have needed, at all events, since his troops were dispatched to reenforce those of France and England before Sevastopol—we see nothing more in this manifesto than a fresh insult to the public understanding. It virtually asks the world to forget, in the interest of the French usurper, that it was he, and not the newspapers, that alarmed and convulsed Europe by a gratuitous and ostentatious menace, addressed to Austria through her Embassador,[b] on the first day of the present year[211]—that his presses, his pamphleteers, his cousin,[c] his armaments and purchases of *materiel*, have stimulated and diffused the war panic which his own premeditated language excited—and that this very article contains no line, no phrase, that savors of abatement of his pretensions or his intrigues in Italy or Moldo-Wallachia.[212] He *may* have concluded to recoil before the public opinion of Europe (Italy excepted, France *not* excepted); but he may also have

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[a] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 64, March 5, 1859.—*Ed.*
[b] Alexander Hübner.—*Ed.*
[c] Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte.—*Ed.*

concluded to simulate the language of peace and moderation to cover gigantic stock speculations or to lure those on whom he is about to spring into a false and fatal security. From first to last, his new manifesto does not even intimate that any lowering of the crest of Austria, any clearing of the sky of Diplomacy, has impelled and justified this change of tone rather than of attitude. And, as to the improbability that one about to launch his thunderbolts would parade such pacific professions, we must remember that this is the same Louis Napoleon who, on the very eve of his treacherous assassination of the French Republic, complained to a Republican of the cynicism which could suppose him capable of meditating such baseness. We hold, therefore, this Napoleonic manifesto "a conclusion by which nothing is concluded." It is only a white heap, which may turn out innocent meal or only mealy cat, but which of them time only can determine.

The comments of the London *Times* are even more significant in what they suggest by a constrained forbearance than in what they openly affirm.[a] Louis Napoleon can never more be the demigod of the Bourse and the Bourgeois. He rules henceforth by the sword alone.

Written about March 8, 1859

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[a] *The Times,* No. 23247, March 7, 1859 (leading article).—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## A SIGH FROM THE TUILERIES

The Emperor Napoleon must be in a very dismal condition indeed, for he has not only written a most lachrymose letter, but he has written it to Sir F. Head, who is not the liveliest of small statesmen, who has printed it in the London *Times*,[a] which is not the most jocund of British journals—making the whole affair about the most solemn ever originating in the gay land of Gaul, and quite funereal in foggy England itself. "My dear Sir Francis" is the affectionate address of the Emperor to the Baronet of the Bubbles,[b] and "My dear Sir Francis" is in the subscription. Sir Francis has, as it seems, heretofore written certain letters to the London *Times*[c] in defense of the Emperor—letters no doubt excellent, as volunteer communications to the press often are, but which we do not remember to have read, or to have even cursorily noticed, and about which we are certain there has been little or no debate in the Imperial Parliament. The Sire Napoleon has received these productions from the author, and as great folks are often grateful for donations of razor-strops or large cheeses, so the Sire Napoleon is dismally grateful for Sir Francis Head's articles. The Emperor is very glad to find that he is not forgotten in England, and touchingly refers to the days when he was trusted by the tradesmen of that land, as no vagabond Prince was ever trusted before.[213]

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[a] Napoleon III's letter to Francis Head of March 1, 1859 was published in *The Times*, No. 23246, March 5, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] An allusion to Head's book *Bubbles from the Brunnens of Nassau*, after the publication of which in 1834 he received the title of Baronet.—*Ed.*

[c] F. Head, "To the Editor of *The Times*, January 24, 1852", *The Times*, No. 21022, January 27, 1852.—*Ed.*

"To-day," he says, "I see clearly the cares of power, and one of the greatest of them around me is, to find oneself misunderstood and misjudged by those whom one values the most, and with whom one desires to live upon good terms."

Now, too, he openly declares Liberty to be a humbug.

"I deeply regret," he says, "that Liberty, like all good things, should have its excesses! Why is it that, instead of making truth known, it uses every effort to obscure it? Why is it that, instead of encouraging and developing generous sentiments, it propagates mistrust and hatred?"

And thus attacked in his sacred person by Liberty, the Emperor returns thanks that dear Sir Francis has not hesitated energetically to oppose such errors with loyal and disinterested voice.

Now, without entering at all into his present griefs in their political detail, we do not see why the Sire Napoleon III should expect to be rosily and unremittingly jovial. Had the experiences of the family of which he is a putative member been of that gay and sunny character, that when he sought the throne of France—when he risked his life, his liberty, and such money as he could borrow, in little invasions[214]—he supposed that he was in pursuit of a rosy chaplet of Sybaritic pleasures, of the good will of man, of private enjoyment, of the blessings of John Bull and the extorted deference of Europe! Had he never heard the remark of the "divine William," to the effect that uneasy lies the head that wears a crown?[a] Did he suppose that he of all men was called by Destiny and Duty to have a headache in the Tuileries for the benefit of the race? Why should he throw himself upon the broad bosom of the distinguished Sir F. Head, and cry because his much-coveted crown pinches his brows? And if he thinks it necessary to write to *The Times,* why does he not do it himself, instead of writing through a dilapidated Baronet? He has kicked poor etiquette out of doors more than once. Might he not have done so once more?

The dolorous dodge, if we may use so undignified an expression concerning dignitaries, was a favorite one with the Uncle, and seems to be fairly copied by the Nephew. The Founder of the Family was wont to expatiate at great length, with many tears, and with almost maudlin emotion, upon his sufferings, torments, trials, dangers, and especially upon the ill treatment which he received from perfidious Albion. But he never succeeded, we believe, in getting a letter to an Englishman into the London *Times.* He did succeed in being heartily laughed at in

[a] Shakespeare, *King Henry IV,* The Second Part, Act III, Scene 1.—*Ed.*

England, in being as heartily mourned within France, and in sometimes making his giggling neighbors laugh on the wrong side of their mouths. But if he had never done anything better than write letters to the Sir Francis Heads of his time, he would probably have been relieved from his distressing duties at the Tuileries at a much earlier period than the actual one which led him to the peaceful haunts of St. Helena.

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# Karl Marx

## THE WAR PROSPECT IN FRANCE

Paris, March 9, 1859

At the time when the war alarm had seized upon all the Bourses of Europe, I wrote that Bonaparte was far from having definitively decided upon war; but that whatever his real intentions might be, the control of circumstances was likely to slip from his hands.[a] At the present moment, when the greater part of the European press seems inclined to believe in peace, I feel sure that there will be war, unless some happy combination lead to a sudden overthrow of the usurper and his dynasty. This much the most superficial observer must admit, that the prospects of peace being circumscribed within the limits of talk, the prospects of war, on the contrary, are based upon material facts. War preparations are being carried on, both in France and Austria, on a scale unprecedented; and if one considers the desperate state of the two Imperial treasuries, no long chain of arguments is wanted to lead to the conclusion that fighting is meant, and at no distant period, too. Let me remark that Austria is pursued by a merciless fate, whose threads you might perhaps trace to St. Petersburg, which, whenever her finances seem on the point of recovering, flings her back into an abyss of financial distress as certainly as the malignant marble painfully rolled up the mountain by Sisyphus was darted down by unseen hands, whenever the doomed martyr approached the summit. Thus Austria, after years of incessant efforts, had in 1845 succeeded in approaching the point where income and expense meet each other; when the Cracovian revolution[215] broke out, and necessitated an extra expenditure on her part, which led to the catastrophe of 1848.[216] Again, in 1858, she was announcing

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[a] See this volume, pp. 162-66.—*Ed.*

to the world the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of Vienna, when all at once the New-Year's congratulation[217] sent over from Paris roughly cut short all plans of economy, and doomed her to a waste of treasure and an exhaustion of resources which, even in the eyes of the most sober Austrian statesmen, makes war appear the last chance of salvation.

Of all journals which boast a more than local influence, the *Tribune* is, perhaps, the only one that has never condescended to share in the common slang—I will not say of praising Louis Bonaparte's character, because that would have been too bad—but of crediting him with genius and superior force of will. You analyzed his political, military and financial exploits, and, in my opinion, proved incontrovertibly that his success, so overwhelming in the estimation of the vulgar, was due to a concatenation of circumstances which he had not created, and in using which he never rose beyond the mediocrity of the professional gambler, gifted with a keen eye for expedients, for surprises and *coups de main,* but always remaining the humble servant of hazard, and anxiously concealing beneath a mask of iron a soul of gutta-percha. Now, this is exactly the view which from the first all the great powers of Europe have silently consented to take of the *grand saltimbanque,*[a] as Russian diplomatists called him. Understanding that he was dangerous because he had placed himself in a dangerous position, they agreed to allow him to play the successor of Napoleon, on the express, although tacit condition, that he should always content himself with the mere appearance of influence, and never overstep the boundaries which separate the actor from the hero he personates. This game went on successfully for some time, but the diplomatists, as is their habit, had, in their wise calculations, overlooked one important item, the people. When Orsini's grenades exploded, the hero of Satory feigned to assume an attitude of dictation against England, and the British Government proved quite willing to allow him to do so; but popular clamor exercised so violent a pressure on Parliament, that Palmerston was not only thrown out,[218] but an anti-Bonapartist policy became a vital condition for the tenancy of Downing street. Bonaparte gave way, and from that moment his foreign policy has proved one uninterrupted chain of blunders, humiliations and failures. I need only allude to his Free-Negro Immigration scheme and his Portuguese adventures.[219] Meanwhile, Orsini's attempt had created a recrudescence of despotism in the interior of France,

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[a] Great charlatan.—*Ed.*

while the commercial crisis, converted by empirical quackery from an acute fever into a chronic malady, withdrew from beneath the *parvenu* throne the only real basis upon which it rested, material prosperity. Signs of disaffection showed themselves in the ranks of the army; signals of mutiny became audible in the camp of the *bourgeoisie*; menaces of personal vengeance on the part of Orsini's countrymen poisoned the sleep of the usurper; when all of a sudden he tried to create for himself a new position, by repeating, *mutatis mutandis,* Napoleon's rough apostrophe, after the peace of Lunéville,[220] to the English Embassador,[a] and by throwing, in the name of Italy, the gauntlet into the face of Austria. It was not from his free will, but from the force of circumstances, that he, the representative of reserve, the field marshal of expedients, the hero of nocturnal surprises, undertook such a desperately bold step.

There is no doubt that he was pushed on by false friends. Palmerston, who, at Compiègne, had flattered him with the sympathies of the English Liberals, ostensibly turned against him[b] on the opening of Parliament.[221] Russia, which had urged him on by secret notes and public newspaper articles, entered seemingly into diplomatic *pourparlers*[c] with her Austrian neighbor. But the die was cast—the war trumpet had sounded; and Europe was, so to say, forced to reconsider the past, the present and the future, of the successful blackleg who had at last arrived at the Italian campaign with which his uncle had begun his career. By the days of December, he had restored Napoleonism in France; but by an Italian campaign he seemed determined upon restoring it all over Europe. What he meant was not an Italian war, but an Austrian humiliation without a war. Successes which his namesake had bought at the mouth of the cannon, he was to wring from the fear of revolution. That he meant no war, but only a *succès d'estime,*[d] is evident. Otherwise, he would have commenced with diplomatic negotiations and ended with war, instead of following the opposite course. He would have prepared for war before talking war. He would, in one word, not have put the carriage before the horses.

But he had sadly mistaken the power with which he picked a quarrel. England, Russia, and the United States may go a great length in the way of apparent concession without losing one single

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[a] Charles Whitworth.—*Ed.*

[b] Lord Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on February 3, 1859, *The Times,* No. 23221, February 4, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] Negotiations.—*Ed.*

[d] Limited success.—*Ed.*

atom of their real influence; but Austria—above all, with respect to Italy—cannot swerve from her path without endangering her empire itself. Accordingly, the only answers Bonaparte received from Austria, were preparations of war which compelled him to embark in the same waters. Quite independent of his will, and quite contrary to his expectation, the mock quarrel assumed, by and by, the dimensions of a deadly conflict. Moreover, everything went the wrong way. In France, he met with a passive but stubborn resistance, and the anxiety of his most interested friends to keep him back from mischief, left no doubt of their distrust in his Napoleonic faculties. In England, the liberal party turned on him the cold shoulder, and railed at his pretensions of treating liberty as a French article of export. In Germany, a unanimous shout of defiance proved to him that, whatever the stupid French peasantry might fancy in 1848, there existed on the other side of the Rhine a settled conviction that *he* was a spurious Napoleon only, and that the respect shown to him by their rulers was a mere conventionality; that, in one word, he was as much a Napoleon "by courtesy," as the younger sons of English dukes are "lords by courtesy." [222]

Now, do you think in earnest, that the necessity which in January, 1859, led the man into the Austrian complication, will be overcome by a ridiculous and shameful *reculade,*[a] or that the hero of Satory himself thinks he has improved his desperate position by the greatest and most unmistakable defeat he ever underwent? He knows that the French officers do not even affect to conceal their desperate anger at his ridiculous lies told in the *Moniteur*[b] about the present war preparations; he knows that the Paris shop-keeper is already beginning to draw parallels between Louis Philippe's retreat before an European coalition in 1840,[223] and Louis Bonaparte's *grande retirade*[c] in 1859; that the bourgeoisie are pervaded by an evident, although smothered rage at their subjection under an adventurer who turns out to be cowardly; that in Germany undisguised contempt for him rules supreme, and that a few more steps in the same direction will make him the laughing-stock of the world. *N'est pas monstre qui veut,*[d] said Victor Hugo; but the Dutch adventurer cannot do without the reputation of being not only a Quasimodo, but a terrible one. The chances

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[a] Retreat.—*Ed.*

[b] *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 64, March 5, 1859. See also this volume, p. 256.—*Ed.*

[c] Grand retreat.—*Ed.*

[d] "Not everybody can be a monster" (Victor Hugo, *Napoléon le petit.* Conclusion. Première partie).—*Ed.*

which he now reckons upon for beginning the war in earnest, and he knows that he must begin it, are these: Austria will not make the least concession during the diplomatic transactions pending, and will thus give him some respectable pretext for appealing to the sword. Prussia has shown herself very lukewarm in her answer[a] to the Austrian note of Feb. 22,[224] and the antagonism between these two German powers may be widened. England's foreign policy will, on the downbreak of the Derby Cabinet, fall into the hands of Lord Palmerston. Russia will take her revenge upon Austria without herself risking a man or a rouble, and above all she will create European complications allowing her to take advantage of the meshes she has laid for the Sublime Porte in the Danubian Principalities, in Servia and Montenegro. Italy, at last, will commence burning while the diplomatic smoke envelopes the Conferences at Paris, and the people of Europe will yield to rising Italy what they refused to its self-constituted champion. Such are the chances which Louis Bonaparte hopes will once more launch his fortune on the high sea. The pangs of anxiety that he labors under now you may infer from the one fact that, at a recent Ministerial Council, he was overcome by a severe fit of vomiting. The horror of Italian vengeance is not the least powerful motive in urging him on to war at any price. That the judges of the Peninsular *Feme*[225] are watching over him, he again ascertained three weeks ago. A man was seized in the garden of the Tuileries, searched, and found to be the bearer of a revolver and of two or three hand grenades, with nipples like Orsini's. He was, of course, arrested and carried to prison. He gave an Italian name, and had an Italian accent. He said he could give the police a great deal of information, for he was connected with a secret society. For two or three days, however, he was very silent, and at last he petitioned for a companion, saying he could not, and would not, tell anything so long as he should be kept in solitary confinement. A companion was given him in the shape of one of the prison functionaries, a sort of archivist or librarian. The Italian then revealed, or appeared to reveal, many things. But, at the end of another day or two, his questioners returned and informed him that, on inquiry, all he had uttered was found to be unsupported by facts, and that he must make up his mind to act frankly. He said he would the next day. He was left to himself for the night. About 4 o'clock, however, in the morning he rose, borrowed his companion's razor

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[a] Circular dispatch to the Prussian Ambassadors at the German Courts, early March 1859, *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, No. 56, March 8, 1859.—*Ed.*

and cut his throat. The doctor called in gave as his opinion that the cut was so energetically made that life must have been extinguished on the instant.

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# Karl Marx

## THE WAR PROSPECT IN PRUSSIA

Berlin, March 15, 1859

War is considered at this place inevitable, but the part that Prussia ought to play in the impending contest between France and Austria is a matter of general dispute, neither the government nor the public seeming to have arrived at any settled opinion. One fact must have struck you, viz.: that the only warlike petitions sent up to Berlin came not from Prussia proper, but from Cologne, the capital of Rhenish Prussia. Too much stress, however, ought not to be laid upon those petitions, since they are evidently the work of the Catholic party, which, in Germany, as well as in France and Belgium, naturally identifies itself with Austria. In one respect, an exceptional unanimity of feeling may be said to pervade the whole of Germany. Nobody raises his voice in favor of Louis Napoleon—nobody affects any sympathy for the "liberator," but, on the contrary, a real deluge of hatred and contempt is day by day poured out against him. The Catholic party considers him a rebel against the Pope, and curses, of course, the sacrilegious sword about to be drawn against a power that, by its concordat with Rome, has anew subjected a great part of Europe to the Holy See[226]; the feudal party, while it affects to detest the French usurper, detests, in fact, the French nation, and flatters itself that, by a sound war against it all, the horrid innovations imported from the country of Voltaire and Jean Jacques Rousseau, may be swept away; the commercial and industrial middle class, who used to glorify Louis Bonaparte as the great "savior of order, property, religion and family," now abound in denunciations of the reckless peace-breaker who, instead of contenting himself with keeping down the exuberant forces of France and quenching the socialist desperadoes by wholesome exercise at Lambessa and Cayenne,[227]

has taken into his head the extravagant idea of sending down the funds, disturbing the even course of business, and awaking anew the revolutionary passions; the great mass of the people, at least, are exceedingly glad, after years of compulsory silence, to be allowed to give vent to their hatred against the man whom they consider the principal cause of the revolutionary failures of 1848-49. Angry recollections of the Napoleonic wars and the lurking suspicion of a war against Austria meaning a simulated move upon Germany, are quite sufficient to impregnate the philippics against Bonaparte, due to so many different motives, with the appearance of one common national feeling. The silly lies in the *Moniteur,* the frivolous pamphlets indited by the literary *condottieri* of the Emperor, and the evident signs of vacillation, distress, and even fear, on the part of the fox who is forced to play the lion,[a] have done the rest, and turned general hatred to general contempt.

Still, it would be the greatest mistake possible to infer that united Germany sides with Austria, because the whole of Germany is aroused against Bonaparte. In the first instance, I need not remind you of the inveterate and necessary antagonism between the Austrian and the Prussian Governments—an antagonism which certainly is not likely to be soothed by the recollections of the Congress of Warsaw, the bloodless battle of Bronzell, the Austrian armed promenade to Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein, or even the Russo-Turkish war.[228] You are aware of the cautious lukewarmness pervading the last manifestoes of the Prussian Government.[b] As a European power, they say, in fact, Prussia sees no reason why she should decide for one party or the other, and as a German power she reserves to herself to inquire how far the Austrian pretensions in Italy are in unison with truly German interests. Prussia has even gone further. She has declared that Austria's separate treaties with Parma, Modena, Tuscany and Naples,[229] and consequently the mooted abrogation of those treaties, ought to be considered from a European point of view, but did not at all lie within the horizon of the German Confederation. She has openly sided against Austria in the Danubian question; she has recalled from the German Diet at Frankfort a plenipotentiary,[c] apparently too decided a partisan of

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[a] Aesop, "The Fox and the Lion".—*Ed.*

[b] A. Schleinitz, "Rundschreiben der preussischen Regierung vom 12. Februar 1859", *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung,* No. 53, March 4, 1859; speech in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, March 9, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] Otto Bismarck.—*Ed.*

Austrian interests[230]; she has, finally, in order to meet the suspicion of acting unpatriotically, followed in the track of the minor German States, and forbidden the export of horses[a]; but to extract the anti-French sting from this prohibition, she has extended the latter to the whole of the Zollverein,[231] so that the prohibition is directed against Austria as well as against France. Prussia is still the very same power which concluded the separate treaty of Basle,[232] and, in 1805, sent Haugwitz into the camp of Napoleon with double dispatches, the one set to be presented in case the battle of Austerlitz should go the wrong way, the other containing servile felicitations to the foreign invader. Apart from the traditional family-policy, persisted in by the house of Hohenzollern, it is intimidated by Russia, who, she knows, entertains a secret understanding with Bonaparte, and even pushed him on to his fatal declaration of New-Year's day.[233] If one sees such a paper as the *New Prussian Gazette*[b] taking up the cudgels for the King of Piedmont against Francis Joseph, no great power of divination is required to guess from which side the wind blows. To leave no doubt, Herr von Manteuffel has published an anonymous pamphlet, recommending a Russo-French alliance against an Austro-English one.[c]

But the real question does not so much concern the intentions of the Government as the sympathies of the people. Now, I must tell you that, save the Catholic party, the feudal party, and some stupid relics of the Teutonic brawlers of 1813-15, the German people generally, and the population of Northern Germany in particular, feel themselves planted on the horns of a dilemma. While decidedly taking part for Italy against Austria, they cannot but take part for Austria against Bonaparte. Of course, if one were to receive his cue from the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung,* the conviction would grow upon one's mind that Austria was the idol of every German heart. Let me expose, in a few words, the theory started by that paper. Every race in Europe, except the German, is breaking down. France is decaying; Italy must feel exceedingly blessed at being converted into a German barrack; the Slavic races lack the ethical qualities necessary to govern themselves; and England is corrupted by commerce. So there remains only solid

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[a] "Bekanntmachung vom 7. März 1859—betreffend das Verbot der Ausfuhr von Pferden über die äussere Zollgrenze (gegen das Zollvereins-Ausland)", *Königlich Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger,* No. 60, March 10, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] *Neue Preussische Zeitung.*—*Ed.*

[c] *Preussen und die italienische Frage.* The pamphlet is supposed to be written by Constantin Rössler.—*Ed.*

Germany—and Austria is the European representative of Germany. With one hand it keeps Italy, with the other the Slavonians and Magyars under the ennobling influence of German *Sittlichkeit* (it is impossible to translate the word[a]). While securing the Fatherland from Russian invasion by its hold upon Galicia, Hungary, the Dalmatian coast, Moravia, and the prospective occupation of the Danubian Principalities, Austria defends Germany, that heart of human civilization, from the sullying contagion of French demoralization, frivolity and ambition, by its hold of Italy. Now, I need not tell you that this theory has, without the frontiers of Austria, never been embraced by anybody, save some Bavarian *Krautjunkers,*[b] whose claim to represent German civilization is about as well grounded as that of the ancient Boeotians[234] to represent Greek genius. But there has been, and there is at this very moment, another more prosaic view of the case, started from the same quarter. It is said that the Rhine must be defended on the Po, and that the Austrian positions on the Po, the Adige and the Mincio, form the natural military frontiers of Germany against French invasion. Propounded in 1848 in the German National Assembly at Frankfort by Gen. Radowitz, this doctrine carried the day and led the Assembly to side with Austria against Italy,[c] but the judgment of that so-called revolutionary parliament, which could go the length of investing an Austrian Archduke with the powers of the executive,[235] has long since been judged. The Germans begin to understand that they have been led astray by *quid pro quo,* that military positions needed for the defense of Austria are not at all wanted for the defense of Germany, and that the French can, with the same, and even a better right, claim the Rhine as their natural military frontier, than the Germans can claim the Po, the Mincio and the Adige.

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[a] It may mean "respectability" or "morality".—*Ed.*
[b] Cabbage junkers.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, p. 216.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## A HISTORIC PARALLEL

When Louis Napoleon, emulating the less lucky Marino Faliero of Venice, vaulted to a throne by perjury and treason, by midnight conspiracy and the seizure of the incorruptible members of the Assembly in their beds, backed by an overwhelming display of military force in the streets of Paris, the sovereign princes and aristocracies of Europe, the great landowners, manufacturers, *rentiers* and stockjobbers, almost to a man, exulted in his success as their own. "The crimes are his," was their general chuckle, "but their fruits are ours. Louis Napoleon reigns in the Tuileries; while we reign even more securely and despotically on our domains, in our factories, on the Bourse, and in our counting-houses. Down with all Socialism! *Vive l'Empereur!*"

And next to the Military, the fortunate usurper plied all his arts to attach the rich and powerful, the thrifty and speculating, to his standard. "The Empire is peace,"[236] he exclaimed, and the millionaires almost deified him. "Our very dear son in Jesus Christ," the Pope affectionately termed him; and the Roman Catholic priesthood saluted him (*pro tem.*) with every expression of confidence and devotion. Stocks rose; Banks of Crédit Mobilier sprang up and flourished; millions were made at a dash of the pen in new railroads, a new slave-trade, and new speculations of every sort. The British Aristocracy, turning their back on the past, doffed their caps and pulled their forelocks to the new Bonaparte; he paid a family visit to Queen Victoria[237] and was feasted by the City of London; the Exchange touched glasses with the Bourse; there was general congratulation and hand-shaking among the apostles of stockjobbing, and a conviction that the golden calf had

finally been fully deified, and that his Aaron was the new French autocrat.[a]

Seven years have rolled away, and all is changed. Napoleon III has spoken the word that may never be unsaid nor forgotten. No matter whether he rushes on his destiny as recklessly as his forerunner did in Spain and Russia, or is forced by the indignant, universal murmur of the royalties and bourgeoises of Europe into a position of temporary submission to their will, the spell is forever broken. They knew him long since as a villain; but they deemed him a serviceable, pliant, obedient, grateful villain; and they now see and rue their mistake. He has been using *them* all the time that they supposed they were using him. He loves them exactly as he loves his dinner or his wine. They have served him so far in a certain way; they must now serve him in another way or brave his vengeance. If "the Empire is peace" henceforth, it is peace on the Mincio or the Danube—peace with his eagles flaunting in triumph on the Po and the Adige, if not on the Rhine and Elbe as well—it is Peace with the Iron Crown on his brow[238]; Italy a French satrapy, and with Great Britain, Prussia, Austria, merely satellites revolving around and lighted by the central orb France, the Empire of Charlemagne.

Of course, there is gnashing of teeth in royal palaces, but not less in the halls of bankers and merchant princes. For the year, 1859, was opening under auspices that promised a restoration of the golden days of '36 and '56.[239] The long protracted stagnation of manufacturing had exhausted stocks of metals, wares and fabrics. The manifold bankruptcies had measurably purified the atmosphere of Commerce. Ships began again to have a market value; warehouses were about once more to be built and filled. Stocks were buoyant and millionaires decidedly jolly; in short, there was never a brighter commercial prospect, a more serene, auspicious sky.

A word changes all this; and that word is uttered by the hero of the *Coup d'État*—the Elect of December—the Savior of Society. It is spoken wantonly, coolly, with evident premeditation, to M. Hübner, the Austrian Envoy, and clearly indicates a settled purpose to pick a quarrel with Francis Joseph or bully him into a humiliation more fatal than three lost battles. Though evidently calculated for instant effect on the Bourse, in aid of gambling stock sales to deliver, it betrayed a fixed purpose to recast the map of Europe. Austria must recede from all those nominally

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[a] Cf. Exodus 7:20.—*Ed.*

independent Italian States which she now practically occupies by virtue of treaties with their willing rulers, or France and Sardinia will occupy Milan and menace Mantua with such an army as Gen. Bonaparte never commanded in Italy. The Pope must reform the abuses of clerical rule in his States—abuses so long upheld by French arms—or follow the petty despots of Tuscany, Parma, Modena, &c., in their headlong race to find safety at Vienna.[240] The Rothschilds groan over their Eleven Millions of Dollars lost by the depreciation of stocks consequent on the menace to Hübner, and utterly refuse to be comforted. The manufacturers and traders mournfully realize that their anticipated harvest of 1859 is likely to give place to a "harvest of death." Everywhere apprehension, discontent and indignation convulse the breasts on which the throne of the Man of December reposed so securely a few months ago.

And the cast-down, broken idol can never be set on its pedestal again. He may recoil before the storm he has raised, and again receive the benedictions of the Pope and the caresses of the British Queen; but neither will be more than lip-service. They know him now, what the peoples knew him long since—a reckless gambler, a desperate adventurer, who would as soon dice with royal bones as any other if the game promised to leave him a winner. They know him one who, having, like Macbeth, waded to a crown through human gore, finds it easier to go forward than to return to peace and innocence. From the hour of his demonstration against Austria, Louis Napoleon stood and stands alone among potentates. The young Emperor of Russia[a] may, for his own purposes, seem to be still his friend; but that seeming is an empty one. Napoleon I in 1813 was the prototype of Napoleon III in 1859. And the latter will probably rush on his fate as substantially as the former did.

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[a] Alexander II.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE PROPOSED PEACE CONGRESS

The readiness with which Louis Napoleon assented to the proposal of a Congress for the discussion of the Italian question,[241] was rather ominous than otherwise for the peace of Europe.[a] If a monarch, whose every act for the last six months has unmistakably pointed toward war, all at once turns around, and jumps at a proposal seemingly calculated to preserve the peace; then our first conclusion is that there are things behind the scenes which, if they were known, would take away the semblance of inconsistency from his course of action. This has been the case with regard to the European Congress. What at the first glance seemed to look like an attempt to preserve the peace, now turns out to be a new pretext for gaining time to complete the preparations for war. It is but recently that the Congress was proposed, and while nothing is decided as to the place where and the conditions on which it is to meet, while its meeting, if it should ever occur, is postponed to the end of April at the earliest, the French army is ordered to form a fourth battalion to each regiment, and six French divisions are to be placed on the war footing. These are facts worthy of consideration.

The French infantry, beside Chasseurs, Zouaves, Foreign Legion, native Algerian troops and other special corps, consists of eight regiments of the Guard and a hundred regiments of the line. These hundred regiments of the line are formed, on the peace footing, of three battalions each, two for active service and one for a *dépôt*; the regiment thus numbers from 1,500 to 1,800 men present under arms. But beside these, it includes the same, or

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[a] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 81, March 22, 1859.—*Ed.*

even a larger number of men, on furlough, who, when the regiment is placed on the war footing, are at once required to join their colors. In this case, the three battalions become, together, from 3,600 to 4,000 men strong; and leaving from 500 to 600 for the depot battalion, the two active battalions would count from 1,500 to 1,700 men each, a strength which is quite unwieldy. To make this force of trained men really available, it thus becomes necessary to form at once a new active battalion in every regiment, by which the strength of the battalion, the tactical unity, becomes reduced to about 1,000 men, which is the average figure now adopted in most European armies. The formation of the fourth battalions is therefore necessarily a preliminary step to placing the French army on the war footing, and is alone capable of furnishing the organizations requisite to receive the available number of trained men. This circumstance gives a peculiar significance to the formation of these fourth battalions; they mean readiness for war. The mode in which they are created is very simple: the 5th and 6th companies of the three existing battalions (each having six companies) are combined into a fourth battalion, while from the remaining four companies the necessary officers and men are drafted to form two new companies for each battalion. The new battalion goes into depot while the third battalion is transformed into an active one. Together with guards, chasseurs, and other special corps, the number of battalions in the French army will then be about 480, a number sufficient to absorb about 500,000 men; and if this should not suffice, the fourth battalions may be formed into active ones, and be replaced in the depots by newly-formed fifth battalions. This process was actually in course of execution at the close of the Russian war, when the army counted 545 battalions.

That the step taken by the French Government has indeed no signification, except immediate readiness for war, is proved by another measure which has closely followed it. Six divisions have received orders to place themselves on the war footing—that is to say, to call in their men on furlough. A French division of infantry consists of four regiments or two brigades of the line, and one battalion of foot chasseurs, or thirteen battalions in all—making about 14,000 men. Although the six divisions are not designated, it is not difficult to guess to which of them the order applies. There are, in the first instance, the four divisions now already on the Rhône, among which is the division of Gen. Renault, just returned from Algeria; then the Bourbaki division, now under orders of embarkation in Algeria; and finally a division of the

army of Paris, which, it is reported, has received orders to hold itself in readiness to march at a moment's notice. These six divisions include about 85,000 infantry, which, with the requisite artillery, cavalry and train, would form an army of rather more than 100,000 men, and may be considered as the main body of what is to be in the approaching campaign the army of Italy.

Now, considering the universal clamor for peace in France, the violent national and anti-French agitation in Germany, and the attitude of England, Louis Napoleon seems to have hesitated to take such a step as the mobilization of his army, without, at the same time, doing something to make people believe that he had not irrevocably resolved on war, but would be content with any improvement in the situation of Italy which could be obtained by means of a Congress. A glance at the history of the military preparations will confirm this view, and develop new reasons why such a sham was an element in his plans.

No sooner had the reception of New-Year's Day at the Tuileries shown that his intentions were to provoke difficulties with Austria, than what we might call a race of armaments began between France and Sardinia on one side, and Austria on the other. This latter power, however, at once proved that she had the best of it. With astonishing rapidity a whole army corps was in a few days thrown into Italy, and when the reports of French and Sardinian concentrations of troops took a still more menacing character, the men on leave belonging to the army of Italy were in three weeks collected and reincorporated with their regiments, while the men on furlough and the recruits belonging to the Italian Provinces were also called in and sent to the garrisons of their respective corps in the interior. The quietness and rapidity with which all this was done, afford the best possible proof of the perfection of the Austrian military system, and of the thorough efficiency of the Austrian army. The old reputation of the Austrians for slowness, pedantry and unwieldiness had certainly been very effectively reversed by the way the troops were handled by Radetzky in 1848-49, but such smooth working of the mechanism and such readiness at the shortest notice could scarcely have been expected. Here no new formations were required; the active battalions in Italy had but to receive their complement of men, to be raised to their full strength, while the transformation of depot battalions into active battalions, and the organization of fresh depots are going on far away in the interior of the monarchy, and without in any way delaying the completion of the active army.

It is also true that Sardinia did not require any new formations;

her organization was sufficient. But with the French it was different. The process of mobilization required a good deal of time. The creation of the fourth battalions had to precede the calling in of the men on furlough. Then Louis Napoleon had to keep in view the probability of a war with the German Confederation, in case of an attack upon Austria. While Austria, therefore, open to attack on her Italian or southern frontier only, and covered by Germany toward the west, could throw a very large portion of her forces into Italy, and enter upon war at once, if required, the French Government had to concentrate all its strength before it could venture on offensive operations; therefore, the new levy of recruits of 1859 and the 50,000 volunteers, on which France generally counts in case of war, had to be got together first. All this would require a considerable time; and a hurried embarking in a campaign, was, therefore, not at all in the interest of Louis Napoleon. Indeed, if we refer to the celebrated article of the *Constitutionnel* on the French army, which, it will be remembered, came direct from Louis Napoleon himself,[a] we shall find that he there fixed the epoch when the French forces will amount to some 700,000 men, at the end of May. Up to that period, then, Austria would have a relative advantage over France; and as matters were in a fair way of precipitating themselves toward an open rupture, this Congress became a capital means of gaining time.

There is another point to be considered. The fact that Russia has a finger in this pie cannot now be doubted. That she desires to humiliate Austria is certain; that an imbroglio in Western Europe gives her freedom of action on the Danube in order to recover whatever she lost by the Peace of Paris, is evident; that she has views of her own with regard to the Rouman Principalities, and Servia, and the Slavonic populations of Turkey, is proved by her recent policy in those countries.[242] There can be for her no better means of taking revenge on Austria, than to revive, while Austria is at war, the Panslavic agitation among the millions of Austrian Slavonians. To do all this, and more, if opportunity offers, she, too, must concentrate her troops and prepare the ground; and for this she requires time. And, moreover, to assume a passively hostile attitude toward Austria, a pretext is wanted, and an opportunity for picking a slight quarrel can nowhere be found so well as in such a Congress. This Congress, therefore, should it ever take place, instead of being a serious, or at least honest

[a] See this volume, pp. 171-76.—*Ed.*

attempt at maintaining peace, will prove nothing but "a delusion, a mockery and a snare"[a]; and it can scarcely be doubted that all the great powers are perfectly convinced by this time that the whole affair will be a mere formality, gone through to blind the public and to cloak ulterior projects which are not yet ripe for the daylight.

Written early in April 1859

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[a] Quoted from the speech by the Lord Chief Justice Th. Denman at a trial in September 1844.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## GREAT TROUBLE IN INDIAN FINANCES

### I

London, April 8, 1859

The Indian financial crisis, which at this moment shares with the war rumors and the electioneering agitation in the privilege of absorbing public interest in England, must be considered in a double point of view. It involves both a temporary necessity and a permanent difficulty.

On the 14th of February Lord Stanley brought in a bill in the House of Commons[a] authorizing the Government to raise a loan of £7,000,000 in England, in order to adjust the extra expenditure of the Indian administration for the current year. About six weeks later, John Bull's self-congratulations as to the small cost of the Indian rebellion[243] were roughly interrupted by the arrival of the Overland Mail, conveying a cry of financial distress from the Government at Calcutta. On March 25, Lord Derby rose in the House of Lords to state[b] that a further loan for India of £5,000,000, in addition to the £7,000,000 loan now before Parliament, would be required to meet the demands of the present year, and that even then, certain claims for compensation and prize money,[244] amounting to £2,000,000 at least, would remain to be paid from some source not yet apparent. To make things pleasant, Lord Stanley had, in his first statement, only provided for the wants of the Indian Treasury at London, leaving the British Government in India to its own resources, which, from the dispatches received, he could not but know to be far from sufficient. Quite apart from the expenses of the Home Government, or the Indian administration at London, Lord Canning

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[a] *The Times*, No. 23230, February 15, 1859.—*Ed.*
[b] *The Times*, No. 23264, March 26, 1859.—*Ed.*

estimated the deficit of the Government at Calcutta for the current year of 1859-60 at £12,000,000, after allowing an increase in the ordinary revenue of £800,000, and a decrease on military charges of £2,000,000.[a] Such was his penury that he had stopped paying part of his civil service; such was his credit that the Government 5 per cents were quoted at 12 per cent discount; and such was his distress that he could only be saved from bankruptcy by the shipment from England to India of £3,000,000 of silver within a few months. Three points thus become evident. First: Lord Stanley's original statement was a "dodge," and, so far from embracing all the Indian liabilities, did not even touch the immediate wants of the Indian Government in India. Secondly: During the whole period of the insurrection, if we except the sending from London in 1857 of £1,000,000 of silver to India, the Calcutta Government was left to shift for itself, to provide out of its own resources for the main part of the extraordinary war charges which, of course, had to be disbursed in India, for the barrack accommodation of some 60,000 additional Europeans, for the restoration of the treasures plundered, and for the replacing of all the revenues of the local Administrations which had been swept away. Thirdly: There is, apart from the wants of the Home Government, a deficit of £12,000,000, to be met in the present year. By operations, the questionable nature of which we forbear to dwell upon, this sum is to be reduced to £9,000,000, of which sum £5,000,000 are to be borrowed in India and £4,000,000 in England. Of the latter, £1,000,000 in silver bullion has already been shipped to Calcutta from London, and £2,000,000 more is to be dispatched in the shortest possible period.

It will be seen from this succinct statement that the Indian Government was very unfairly dealt with by its English masters, who left it in the lurch, in order to throw dust in the eyes of John Bull; but it must, on the other hand, be admitted that the financial operations of Lord Canning surpass in awkwardness even his military and political exploits. Up to the end of January, 1859, he had contrived to raise the necessary means by loans in India, issued partly in Government stocks, partly in Treasury bills; but, strange to say, while his efforts had answered during the epoch of the revolution, they failed entirely from the moment English authority was restored by the force of arms. And not only did they fail, but there was a panic in regard to Government securities;

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[a] Ch. J. Canning's report of February 21, 1859, *The Times*, No. 23268, March 31, 1859.—*Ed.*

there was an unprecedented depreciation in all funds, with protests from the Chambers of Commerce at Bombay and Calcutta, and, in the latter town, public meetings composed of English and native money-mongers, denouncing the vacillation, the arbitrary nature and the helpless imbecility of the Government measures. Now, the loanable capital of India which up to January, 1859, had supplied the Government with funds, began to fail after that period, when the power of borrowing seems to have been exceeded. In point of fact the aggregate loans which from 1841 to 1857 amounted to £21,000,000, absorbed in the two years of 1857 and 1858 alone about £9,000,000, equal to almost one-half of the money borrowed during the previous sixteen years. Such a failure of resources, while accounting for the necessity of successively screwing up the rate of interest on Government loans from 4 to 6 per cent, is, of course, far from explaining the commercial panic in the Indian security market, and the utter inability of the Governor-General to meet the most urgent requirements. The riddle is solved by the fact that it has become a regular maneuver with Lord Canning to bring out new loans at higher rates of interest than those given on existing *open loans*, without any previous notice to the public, and with the utmost uncertainty prevailing as to the further financial operations contemplated. The depreciation of the funds, in consequence of these maneuvers, has been calculated at not less than £11,000,000. Pinched by the poverty of the Exchequer, frightened by the panic in the stock market, and roused by the protests on the part of the Chambers of Commerce and the Calcutta meetings, Lord Canning thought best to be a good boy and to try to come up to the desiderata of the monetary mind; but his notification of the 21st of February, 1859, shows again that the human understanding does not depend on human will. What was he required to do? Not to open simultaneously two loans on different conditions, and to tell the monetary public at once the sum required for the current year, instead of deceiving them by successive announcements, one contradictory of the other. And what does he do in his notification? In the first instance he says that there is to be raised by loan in the Indian market for the year 1859-60, £5,000,000, at $5^1/_2$ per cent, and that

> "when this amount shall have been realized, the loan of 1859-60 shall be closed, and no further loan will be opened in India during that year."

In the very same proclamation, sweeping away the entire value of the assurances just given, he proceeds:

"*No loan carrying a higher rate of interest* will be opened in India in the course of the year 1859-60, *unless under instructions from the Home Government.*"

But that is not all. He opens, in fact, a *double loan* on different terms. While announcing that "the issue of Treasury bills on the terms notified on Jan. 26, 1859, will be closed on April 30," he proclaims "that a new issue of Treasury bills will be notified from the lst of May," bearing interest of nearly $5^3/_4$ per cent, and redeemable at the expiration of one year from the date of issue. Both loans are kept open together, while, at the same time, the loan opened in January has not yet been concluded. The only financial matter which Lord Canning seems able to comprehend is that his annual salary amounts to £20,000 in name, and to about £40,000 in fact. Hence, despite the sneers of the Derby Cabinet, and his notorious incapacity, he sticks to his post from "a feeling of duty."

The effects of the Indian financial crisis on the English home market have already become apparent. In the first instance, the silver remittances on account of Government coming to swell the large remittances on mercantile account, and falling at an epoch when the ordinary silver supplies from Mexico are held back in consequence of the distracted condition of that country,[245] have, of course, sent up the price of bar silver. On March 25, it had risen to the factitious price of $62^3/_4$ d. per ounce standard, causing such an influx of silver from every part of Europe that the price in London again fell to $62^3/_8$ d.; while the rate of discount at Hamburg rose from $2^1/_2$ to 3 per cent. Consequent upon these heavy importations of silver, exchanges have turned against England, and a drain of gold bullion has set in, which, for the present, only relieves the London money market of its plethora, but in the long run may seriously affect it, coupled, as it will be, with large Continental loans. The depreciation, however, on the London money market, of the Indian Government stocks and guaranteed railway securities, prejudicial as it must prove to the Government and railway loans still to be brought forward in the course of this season, is certainly the most serious effect on the home market as yet, resulting from the Indian financial crisis. The shares of many Indian railways, although 5 per cent interest upon them is guaranteed by the Government, are now at 2 or 3 per cent discount.

Taking all in all, however, I regard the momentary Indian financial panic as a matter of secondary importance, if compared with the general crisis of the Indian Exchequer, which I may perhaps consider on another occasion.

## II

London, April 12, 1859

The latest overland mail, so far from showing any abatement of the financial crisis in India, reveals a state of derangement hardly anticipated. The shifts to which the Indian Government is driven in order to meet its most urgent wants, may be best illustrated by a recent measure of the Governor of Bombay. Bombay is the market where the opium of Malwa, averaging 30,000 chests annually, finds its outlet by monthly instalments of 2,000 or 3,000 chests, for which bills are drawn upon Bombay. By charging 400 rupees upon every chest imported into Bombay, the Government raises a revenue of £1,200,000 annually on Malwa opium.[a] Now, to replenish his exhausted Exchequer, and ward off immediate bankruptcy, the Bombay Governor has issued a notification, which raises the duty on each chest of Malwa opium from 400 to 500 rupees; but, at the same time, he declares that this increased duty will not be levied till after the 1st of July, so that the holders of opium in Malwa have the privilege of bringing in the drug under the old duties for four months longer. Between the middle of March, when the notification was issued, and the 1st of July, there are only two months and a half during which opium can be imported, the monsoon setting in on the 15th of June. The holders of opium in Malwa will, of course, avail themselves of the interval allowed them for sending in opium at the old duty; and, consequently, during the two months and a half pour all their stock in hand into the Presidency.[246] Since the balance of opium, of the old and new crops, remaining at Malwa amounts to 26,000 chests, and the price of Malwa opium reaches 1,250 rupees per

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[a] *The Times*, No. 23274, April 7, 1859.—*Ed.*

chest, the Malwa merchants will have to draw upon the Bombay merchants for no less a sum than £3,000,000, of which more than £1,000,000 must come into the Bombay Treasury. The aim of this financial dodge is transparent. With a view to anticipate the annual revenue from the opium duty, and induce the dealers in the article to pay it at once, an enhancement of the duty is held out prospectively *in terrorem*.[a] While it would be quite superfluous to expatiate upon the empirical character of this contrivance, which fills the Exchequer for the present by creating a corresponding void a few months hence, no more striking instance could be given of the exhaustion of ways and means, on the part of the great Mogul's successors.[247]

Let us now turn to the general state of Indian finances, as it has grown out of the late insurrection. According to the last official accounts,[b] the net revenue derived by the British from their Indian farm amounts to £23,208,000, say £24,000,000. This annual revenue has never sufficed to defray the annual expenses. From 1836 to 1850 the net deficit amounted to £13,171,096, or, on a rough average, to £1,000,000 annually. Even in the year 1856, when the Exchequer was exceptionally filled by the wholesale annexations, robberies and extortions of Lord Dalhousie, the income and expense did not exactly square, but, on the contrary, a deficit of about a quarter of a million was added to the usual crop of deficits. In 1857 the deficiency was £9,000,000, in 1858 it amounted to £13,000,000, and in 1859 it is estimated by the Indian Government itself at £12,000,000. The first conclusion, then, which we arrive at is that even under ordinary circumstances, deficits were accumulating, and that under extraordinary circumstances they must assume such dimensions as to reach one-half and more of the annual income.

The question which next presents itself is, To what degree has this already existing gap between the expenses and the income of the Indian Government been widened by recent events? The new permanent debt of India accruing from the suppression of the mutiny is calculated by the most sanguine English financiers at between forty and fifty millions sterling, while Mr. Wilson estimates the *permanent deficit*, or the annual interest for this new debt to be defrayed out of the annual revenue, at not less than three millions. However, it would be a great mistake to think that

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[a] As a threat.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Wilson's speech in the House of Commons on March 7, 1859, *The Times*, No. 23248, March 8, 1859.—*Ed.*

this permanent deficit of three millions is the only legacy left by the insurgents to their vanquishers. The costs of the insurrection are not only in the past tense, but are in a high degree prospective. Even in quiet times, before the outbreak of the mutiny, the military charges swallowed sixty per cent at least of the aggregate regular income, since they exceeded £12,000,000; but the state of affairs is now changed. At the beginning of the mutiny the European force in India amounted to 38,000 effective men,[a] while the native army mustered 260,000 men. The military forces at present employed in India amount to 112,000 Europeans and 320,000 native troops, including the native police. It may be justly said that these extraordinary numbers will be reduced to a more moderate standard with the disappearance of the extraordinary circumstances which swelled them to their present size. Yet the military commission appointed by the British Government has arrived at the conclusion that there will be required in India a permanent European force of 80,000 men, with a native force of 200,000 men—the military charges being thus raised to almost double their original hight. During the debates on the Indian finances, in the House of Lords, on April 7, two points were admitted by all speakers of authority: on the one hand that an annual expenditure upon the revenue of India little short of twenty millions for the army alone was incompatible with a net revenue of twenty-four millions only; and, on the other hand, that it was difficult to imagine a state of things which for an indefinite series of years would render it safe for the English to leave India without a European force double its amount before the outbreak of the mutiny. But suppose even that it would do to add permanently to the European forces not more than one-third of their original strength, and we get at a new annual permanent deficit of four millions sterling at least. The new permanent deficit, then, derived on one hand from the consolidated debt contracted during the mutiny, and on the other hand from the permanent increase of the British forces in India, cannot, on the most moderate calculation, fall below seven millions sterling.

To this must be added two other items—the one accruing from an increase of liabilities, the other from a diminution of income. By a recent statement of the Railway Department of the Indian

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[a] Here and below the data are taken from the speeches made by E. Ellenborough and E. Derby in the House of Lords on April 7, 1859, *The Times*, No. 23275, April 8, 1859.—*Ed.*

office at London,[a] it results that the whole length of railways sanctioned for India is 4,817 miles, of which 559 miles only are yet opened. The whole amount of capital invested by the different railway companies amounts to £40,000,000 sterling, of which £19,000,000 are paid and £21,000,000 are still to be called in—96 per cent of the aggregate sum having been subscribed in England and 4 per cent only in India. Upon this amount of £40,000,000, the Government has guaranteed 5 per cent interest, so that the annual interest charged upon the revenues of India reaches £2,000,000, to be paid before the railways are in working order, and before they can yield any return. The Earl of Ellenborough estimates the loss accruing to the Indian finances from this source, for the next three years to come, at £6,000,000 sterling, and the ultimate permanent deficit upon these railways at half a million annually. Lastly, of the £24,000,000 of Indian net revenue, a sum of £3,619,000 is derived from the sale of opium to foreign countries—a source of revenue which, it is now generally admitted, must to a considerable extent be impaired by the late treaty with China.[248] It becomes, then, evident, that apart from the extra expenditure still necessitated to complete the suppression of the mutiny, an annual permanent deficit of £8,000,000 at least, will have to be defrayed out of a net revenue of £24,000,000, which the Government may, perhaps, by the imposition of new taxes, contrive to raise to £26,000,000. The necessary result of this state of things will be to saddle the English taxpayer with the liability for the Indian debt and, as Sir G. C. Lewis declared in the House of Commons,

> "to vote four or five millions annually as a subsidy for what was called a valuable dependency of the British crown."[b]

It will be confessed that these financial fruits of the "glorious" reconquest of India have not a charming appearance; and that John Bull pays exceedingly high protective duties for securing the monopoly of the Indian market to the Manchester free-traders.

Written on April 8 and 12, 1859

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] R. Crawford's speech in the House of Commons on April 4, 1859, *The Times*, No. 23272, April 5, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] G. Lewis' speech in the House of Commons on April 4, 1859, *The Times*, No. 23272, April 5, 1859.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [WAR INEVITABLE][249]

London, Friday, April 15, 1859

Though diplomacy still continues to toil in the effort to bring about a Congress, and by its means a peaceful settlement of the Italian question, nobody any longer believes in the possibility of avoiding war. The English Cabinet and Prussia are certainly sincere in their wish for peace; but Russia and France have entered into the present negotiations exclusively with the view of gaining time. Deep snow still lies on the Mont Cenis, by which the French army will have to pass on the way to Italy. Some additional French and Arab regiments are still to be levied in France and Algeria, and the preparations for the transport of troops between Marseilles, Toulon and Genoa are not yet completed, while the Russians must have time to organize the Wallachian militia and the irregular Servian army. In the mean while, the war party is in the ascendant at Vienna, and Francis Joseph desires nothing more ardently than the first roar of the cannon. Why, then, does he countenance the propositions for a Congress, when he knows that diplomatic delay will exhaust his financial resources and add to the force of his enemies? The answer lies in the attitude of the Prince of Prussia, who, unmoved by the German enthusiasm, tries to find an honorable pretext for maintaining an honest neutrality, and for evading the ruinous cost of an armed neutrality, which, sooner or later, will lead to war. Should Austria, in her eagerness to crush the Piedmontese army, begin the war, the Cabinet of Berlin would be justified in such a policy, even in the eyes of Germany; while an attack of the French on Austria in Lombardy would necessarily lead to an official appeal of Francis Joseph to the German Confederation to put the federal armies on the footing of preparation for war. Such being the real intentions of

Austria, it is ludicrous to see how the diplomatists of the different parties overreach one another by cunning devices, in order to force the adversary to strike the first blow. France finds fault with Austria's despotism; the man who peopled Lambessa and Cayenne with French Republicans is shocked that Francis Joseph should fill his prisons with Italian Republicans. Austria, on the other hand, which has confiscated Cracow, canceled the Constitution of Hungary,[250] appeals seriously to the sacredness of treaties. Russia, which is now suddenly reminded that a paper currency is a great evil, and, therefore, is making an enormous loan, has, of course, no warlike desires, but proposes four points as basis of a Congress. These are the exact counterpart of the far-famed four points proposed to Russia by Austria during the Crimean war.[251] They include the abandonment of the Protectorate over the Italian Duchies, a Congress to regulate the administration of Italy, and settle the reforms necessary in that country, and a revision of the minor points of the great Treaties, such as the right of garrisoning Ferrara, Comacchio and Piacenza,[252] which will become superfluous by a declaration of Italian neutrality. England takes up these propositions in good faith, softens them in form, and brings them to the notice of Austria. Count Buol, of course, hastens to accept them, but in such ambiguous language as not to leave any doubt as to his desire to discard them altogether. But he adds a new point, a previous general disarmament. Lord Malmesbury thinks this proposition very reasonable, and invites Count Cavour to dismiss a portion of the Sardinian army and to relieve the country from a great burden. Count Cavour has no exception to so excellent a suggestion, but pointing to the immense Austrian armaments in Lombardy, he turns to Count Buol and says, "*After you.*" Count Buol answers that he cannot begin to disband his costly battalions unless Napoleon will do the same. Napoleon coolly replies: "I have not armed, therefore I cannot disarm. Neither Rothschild nor Péreire have I asked for a loan; I have no war budget. I keep up my army by the regular resources of the country; how can I then disarm?"[a] Lord Malmesbury dumbfounded by the impudence of this answer, but still anxious to try his diplomatic luck, next proposes that the Congress should begin with and first of all decide the question of disarming; but the Stock Exchange, with every sensible man in Europe, laughs at his gullibility, and is preparing for the worst. The German nation are

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[a] The content of the article from *La Patrie* of April 12 is in *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 104, April 14, 1859.—*Ed.*

fairly roused; but in Hanover, the agitation against France, encouraged by the Court, has suddenly taken a different turn. Awakened from their apathy, people think the time has come to settle their accounts at home as well as abroad, and if the present state of suspense should last for a couple of months longer, Germany will certainly stand in arms against France, but will insist upon liberty and unity at home as conditions of her acting. The Prince of Prussia knows his countrymen in this respect better than Francis Joseph, or the King of Bavaria,[a] and, therefore, tries to prevent the spread of the excitement, which cannot fail to become dangerous to his semi-despotic tendencies.

Russia now has a good chance either to destroy the Turkish Empire by revolutions in Bosnia, Bulgaria and Albania, or to wreak vengeance on the Emperor of Austria. Of course she would not go to war against Francis Joseph, but she might encourage and abet a Moldo-Wallachian invasion of Transylvania and a Serbian one of Hungary. It is, of course, through the Wallachian and Slavonian elements that the Czar will try to disturb Hungary, or else an independent free Hungarian State might become a more efficient barrier to his aggressive policy than the effete centralizing despotism of Austria.

The King of Naples[b] is on the point of death. Great agitation prevails in the Kingdom; some speak of a Constitution; some of a Muratist rising. The greatest probability is a Ministry formed by Filangieri, Duke of Satriano, representing enlightened absolutism, according to the original Prussian fashion.[253] Such a system, however, cannot last in the face of an Italian crisis, and would soon have to make room, first for a Constitution, then for a Sicilian rebellion, while Murat would fish in the troubled waters.

Written about April 11, 1859

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5624, April 30, 1859

[a] Maximilian II.—*Ed.*
[b] Ferdinand II.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE PROPOSED PEACE CONGRESS

Paris, April 14, 1859

The British Government has at last thought fit to initiate the public into the official history of the European Congress, that *deus ex machina* introduced on the stage by the Russian and French managers when they became aware how much they were lagging behind Austria in their preparations for war. It may first be remarked that the note from Count Buol to M. de Balabine, the Russian Embassador, dated Vienna, March 23, 1859, and the other note of the Austrian Minister, addressed to Lord A. Loftus, the British Ambassador at the Court of Vienna, under date of Vienna, March 31,[a] had been confidentially communicated by the Austrian Government to the Vienna newspapers on April 8, while John Bull did not become acquainted with them before the 13th of April. But this is not all. The note of Count Buol to M. de Balabine, as communicated by the English Ministry to the London *Times*, contains only part of the Austrian note, and omits some highly important passages, which I shall take care to insert in this letter, so as to enable John Bull to learn, via New York, the diplomatic news which his Ministry thinks it unsafe to trust to his sagacious mind.

On first view it will be seen from Buol's note to M. de Balabine, that the proposal of the Congress proceeded from Russia, or, in other words, that it is a move concerted by the allied chess-players of St. Petersburg and Paris—a fact hardly calculated to fill us with a peculiar admiration for the sagacity or the sincerity of the tenants of Downing street, who, even in parliament, had not

[a] *The Times*, No. 23280, April 14, 1859.—*Ed.*

refrained from claiming a patent for that invention. From the note itself it becomes evident that Austria (and this point was carefully concealed in the announcement of the French *Moniteur*[a] of Austria's accession to the proposal of a general Congress) agreed to meet the other great Powers in Congress conditionally only.

"If," says Count Buol, "beside this question" (viz.: the putting down of the "political system of Sardinia"), "it should enter into the intentions of the Powers to bring forward others for discussion, it would be necessary that they should be exactly stated beforehand, and, inasmuch as they should touch upon the internal régime of other sovereign States, the undersigned could not dispense with insisting, above all things, that the mode of proceeding in this case should be *conformable to the rules formulated by the Protocol of Aix-la-Chapelle, under date of the 15th of November, 1818*."

Austria consequently accepted the Russian proposal of a general Congress upon the four conditions: First, that it should be the principal aim of the Congress to put down Sardinia and act in the Austrian interest; secondly, that the protocol of Aix-la-Chapelle[254] should be recognized as the basis of the conference; thirdly, that, "previously to all conference, Sardinia must disarm"; and, finally, that the points to be brought under discussion "should be exactly stated beforehand." The first point needs no comment. To leave no doubt as to its significance, Count Buol adds expressly that he considers it "as *the only one essentially important for the moral pacification of Italy*."

The second point, the recognition of the protocol of Aix-la-Chapelle, would, on the part of France, involve a direct recognition of the treaties of 1815 and of the Austrian special treaties with the Italian States. Now, what Bonaparte wants is exactly the abrogation of the treaties of 1815, upon which Austria's hold of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom rests, and of the separate treaties which secure to her a paramount influence over Naples, Tuscany, Parma, Modena and Rome. The third condition, the previous disarming of Sardinia, is the anticipation of an advantage which a successful campaign alone could win for Austria; and the last condition, the preliminary statement of the questions to be debated, would cut off Bonaparte from the main result which, beside the delay necessary for his war preparations, he flatters himself that he will gain from the Congress, viz.: to take Austria by surprise, and, having once entangled her in the meshes of diplomatic conferences, compromise her before public opinion in Europe by forcing her to give the signal for the breaking off of

[a] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 84, March 25, 1859.—*Ed.*

peace negotiations by an unceremonious denial of demands suddenly put upon her by France and Russia.

The conditions upon which Austria, in her note to the Russian Embassador, consented to accede to a General Congress may, then, be summed up as follows: Austria will take part in a European Conference settling the Italian question, if, before the meeting of that Conference, the European Powers agree to stand for Austria against Sardinia, to force Sardinia to disarm, to acknowledge the treaty of Vienna, and the subsidiary treaties based upon it; and, lastly, if every pretext for breaking the peace is taken away from Bonaparte. In other words, Austria will enter upon a Congress, if the Congress, even before meeting, binds itself to concede everything to Austria which she now declares herself prepared to enforce at the sword's point. If one considers that Austria was fully aware that the Congress was only an ambush laid for her by foes decided upon war, nobody can censure her for treating the Russo-French proposition in this ironical manner.

The passages of the Austrian document which I have commented upon, are those which the British Ministry thought fit to publish. The following sentences, which include Buol's dispatch, are suppressed in the Malmesbury edition of the Austrian note:

"*Austria will disarm as soon as Piedmont has disarmed.* Austria is anxious to keep the peace, because it wants peace, and knows how to value it, but it wishes for a sincere and permanent peace, which it justly believes it is able to secure without damaging its own power and honor. Many sacrifices it has already made in order to maintain the tranquility of Italy. Yet, until the preliminaries alluded to be formulated and settled, Austria may moderate its war preparations, but cannot stay them. *Its troops will continue to march to Italy.*"

After the Russo-French dodge had thus been exploded, England, goaded by her august ally on the other side of the Channel, stepped in to urge Austria to accept the proposal of a Congress of the Great Powers, which should take into consideration the Italian complications, and expressed her desire to see the Imperial Government acquiesce in the preliminary propositions hatched in Downing street. There is, perhaps, in the annals of diplomatic history, no document more outrageously ironical than Count Buol's reply to the English Embassador at Vienna. In the first instance, Buol repeats his demand that, previous to any Congress, Sardinia shall lay down her arms, and thus place herself at the mercy of Austria.

"Austria," he says, "could not present herself at the Congress until Sardinia shall have completed her disarmament, and shall have proceeded to the

disbandment of the *Corps Francs*.[a] These conditions fulfilled and executed, the Imperial Government declares itself ready to give, in the most formal manner, the assurance that Austria will *not attack Sardinia pending the duration of the Congress*, as long as the latter shall respect the Imperial territory and that of its ally."

Thus, if Sardinia will disarm, Austria will only bind herself not to attack *disarmed Sardinia pending the duration of the Congress*. Buol's reply to England's proposals is written in the true Juvenal vein. As to the British proposition that "territorial arrangements and the treaties of 1815 shall not be touched," Buol exclaims, "Perfectly agreed!" only adding that, also, "the treaties concluded in execution of the treaties of 1815 shall not be touched." As to the English wish to find means to assure the maintenance of peace between Austria and Sardinia, Buol interprets it in the sense that "the Congress shall examine the means of bringing back Sardinia to the fulfillment of her international duties." As to the proposed "evacuation of the Roman States and consideration of the reforms in the Italian States," Buol will allow Europe to "discuss" and "debate" these points, but reserves "the definitive adoption of the advice" tendered "to the decisions of the States directly interested." As to the British "combination to be substituted for the special treaties between Austria and the Italian States," Buol maintains "the validity of the treaties," but will consent to a revision, if Sardinia and France will consent to have debated their respective possessions of "Genoa" and "Corsica." In point of fact, Austria gave to the English propositions the same answer which she had already given to the Russian dispatch. Upon this second disappointment Russia and France moved poor Lord Malmesbury to propose to Austria, as a preliminary step, *a general disarmament*.[b] At the Tuileries, of course, it was presumed that Austria, having got the start over all her rivals in the arming business, would give a pointblank denial to such a proposal, but again Bonaparte had reckoned without his host. Austria knows that Bonaparte cannot disarm without disencumbering himself of the troublesome weight of the Imperial crown. Austria consequently assented to a proposal which was offered only to be rejected. Hence great perplexity at the Tuileries, which, after twenty-four hours' consideration, has enriched the world with the discovery that "a simultaneous disarming of the great Powers cannot mean anything beyond the disarmament of Austria." Read

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[a] Volunteer detachments.— *Ed.*

[b] The British Government made this proposal to France, Prussia and Russia on April 18, 1859, *The Times*, No. 23287, April 22, 1859.— *Ed.*

only the following scurrilous lucubration of the *Patrie*, a paper directly inspired by Napoleon III:

"In any case the proposition of a disarmament need only affect two powers, Austria and Piedmont—Austria who has concentrated beyond all precedent her military forces in Italy; and Piedmont who, in presence of the Austrian army in Lombardy, is compelled to respond to the menaces of war by the preparations for her defense. The question of disarmament proposed by Austria is a question which must first be settled; when she shall have recalled her army from Italy, Piedmont cannot but recognize the example which shall have been given to her.

"As to France, she has no occasion to disarm (*elle n'a pas à désarmer*), for the simple reason that she has no extraordinary armament; that she has marched no troops to her frontiers; that she has not even desired to use her right to respond to the threats of Austria—threats directed against Piedmont and against the peace of Europe. On the part of France, it cannot be a question either of reducing a single effective soldier in her army, or of taking a single additional cannon into her arsenals. The disarmament can only extend, so far as she is concerned, to an engagement not to arm.

"We cannot believe that Austria makes any pretension to this extent; this would be to nullify the pledge which, doubtless in a more pleasant mood (*mieux inspirée*), she desired to give for the peace of Europe, by proposing a disarmament of which she well knows that she must take the initiative."[a]

Written on April 14, 1859

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5624, April 30, 1859

[a] The content of the article from *La Patrie* of April 13 is in *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 105, April 15, 1859.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## THE STATE OF THE QUESTION.—GERMANY ARMING[255]

London, April 22, 1859

In German universities, after the students have been dislodged, at about 11 o'clock at night, by the academical authorities, from their various beer-houses, the several societies among the fraternity generally assemble on the market-place, if the weather is propitious. There the members of each society or "color" begin a game of "chaff" with those of any other color—the aim of which is to produce one of those frequent and not very dangerous duels which compose one of the chief features of student life. In these preliminary controversies on the market-place, the great art consists in so wording your hits that no actual or formal insult is contained in them, although as much as possible you vex your opponent, and at last make him lose his temper, so that he comes out with that conventional, formal insult which compels you to send him a challenge.

This preliminary game has now for some months been played by Austria and France. France, on the 1st of January last, commenced it, and Austria replied. From words to words, from gesture to gesture, the antagonists drew nearer to a challenge; but diplomatic etiquette requires such a game to be played out to its full extent. Hence proposals and counter-proposals, concessions, conditions, qualifications, tergiversations, without end.

The last form the diplomatic banter had assumed was this: On April 18, Lord Derby declared in the House of Lords[a] that England was making an ultimate effort, on the failure of which she should withdraw her mediation. Only three days later, on April 21, the *Moniteur* stated[b] that England had made to the four

[a] *The Times*, No. 23284, April 19, 1859.—*Ed.*
[b] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 111, April 21, 1859.—*Ed.*

other Great Powers the following propositions: 1. To effectuate, previous to the Congress, a general and simultaneous disarmament; 2. The disarmament to be regulated by a military or civil commission, independently of the Congress (this commission to be composed of six commissioners, one of them to be a Sardinian); 3. As soon as the commission shall have commenced operations, the Congress shall assemble and proceed to the discussion of political questions; 4. That the representatives of the Italian States should be invited by the Congress, immediately after its assembling, to take their seats with the representatives of the Great Powers, absolutely, as in the Congress of 1821.[256] At the same time, the *Moniteur* announced that France, Russia and Prussia have given in their adhesion to the proposals of England; and a telegram from Turin[a] comforted the different stock exchanges of Europe with the welcome news that Piedmont had been induced by Louis Napoleon to do the same. So far, things looked uncommonly peaceful, and all obstacles to the Congress seemed in a fair way of removal. In point of fact, the scheme was transparent. France was not yet "in condition" for the fight. Austria was. To leave no doubt as to his real intentions, Louis Napoleon, by his semi-official press, made known that this disarmament could apply to Austria and Piedmont only; for France, not having armed, *could not disarm*; and at the same time, in his official paper, the *Moniteur*, worded his articles so as to give no pledge whatever that France was to be included in the "principle of disarmament."[b] His next step would evidently have been to make the semi-official assertion about France not having armed an official one; the question being thus successfully placed upon the indefinite ground of military detail, where it is easy to carry on such a controversy almost interminably by assertions, counter-assertions, challenges of proof, denials, official returns, and other suchlike tricks. In the mean time, Louis Napoleon would have been able to quietly complete his preparations, which, according to his new principle, he may say are not armaments, for his wants do not consist in men (those he may call in any day), but in materials and new formations. He has himself stated that he will not be ready for war until the first of June next.[c] In fact, if his preparations were completed by the 15th of May, he could, with the help of his railways, have his men on

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[a] *The Times*, No. 23284, April 19, 1859.— *Ed.*

[b] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 109, April 19, 1859.— *Ed.*

[c] See Louis Boniface's article dated Paris, January 29, *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 30, January 30, 1859. See this volume, p. 171.— *Ed.*

furlough called in on that day, and by the first of June they would have joined their colors. There is, however, much reason to believe that from the enormous dilapidations, irregularities, jobberies and embezzlements which have taken place in the French military administration, according to the good example set by the Court, the necessary preparations of material cannot fully be completed even at the period originally fixed upon by him. However that may be, this much is sure, that every week's delay is so much gain to Louis Napoleon, and so much loss to Austria, which, in consequence of the diplomatic interlude, would not only give up the military advantages derived from the start she has got in her war preparations, but would be crushed by the enormous expense at which her present preparations must be maintained.

Perfectly understanding this state of things, Austria has not only refused the English proposal for a Congress upon the same conditions as that at Laibach, but has sounded the first note of war. In her name, General Gyulay has caused an *ultimatum*, insisting upon disarmament and the dismissal of the volunteers, to be presented to the Court of Turin, allowing Piedmont three days only for decision, after which respite war is to be declared.[a] At the same time, two more divisions of the Austrian army, of 30,000 men, have been ordered to the Ticino. Diplomatically, then, Napoleon has driven Austria to the wall, because he has compelled her first to utter the sacramental word, the declaration of war. Yet, if Austria, through threatening notes from London and St. Petersburg, be not induced to rescind her steps, the diplomatic victory of Bonaparte may cost him his throne.

In the mean time the war-fever has seized other States. The smaller Powers of Germany, justly considering themselves menaced by Louis Napoleon's preparations, have given vent to expressions of national feeling, such as had not been heard in Germany since 1813 and '14. They are acting up to that feeling. Bavaria and the neighboring States are organizing new formations, calling in reserves and Landwehr. The 7th and 8th corps of the German Federal army (formed by these States) which would number, according to the official status, 66,000 men for the field, and 33,000 men in reserve, bid fair to figure in the war, with 100,000 men in the field and 40,000 in reserve. Hanover and the other North German States forming the 10th Federal corps, are

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[a] The reference is to "Copie d'une lettre de M. le Comte Buol-Schauenstein à M. le Comte de Cavour en date de Vienne le 19 avril 1859", *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 116 (supplement), April 26, 1859.—*Ed.*

arming in a similar proportion, and at the same time are fortifying their coasts against naval attacks. Prussia, whose war material has been brought to a higher state of efficiency than at any former period by the preparations accompanying and succeeding the mobilization of 1850,[257] has been for some time past getting quietly ready for a mobilization of her army, is arming her infantry more and more with the needle-gun, and has just given 12-pounders to the whole of her foot artillery, while her fortresses on the Rhine are being placed on a war footing. She has ordered three *corps d'armée* to be got ready for hostilities. At the same time, her action in the federal military commission at Frankfort is a clear proof that she is pretty well aware of the dangers with which Louis Napoleon's policy menaces her. And if her Government were still hesitating, public opinion is fully on the alert. There is no doubt that Louis Napoleon will find Germany more unanimously and more heartily opposed to France than it ever was at any former period; and that at a time when there is less enmity than ever between the Germans and the French.

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# Frederick Engels

## PROSPECTS OF THE WAR[258]

We have not thought it necessary to reply to various easy criticisms made during the last two months,[259] whenever we have undertaken to discuss the resources and the strategic conditions for the opening of the great and bloody war in which Europe is now involved. We have now, however, in the ample details which to-day crowd our pages—presenting an impressive picture of the first scenes in this awful and imposing drama—a justification of our views so complete and so minute even, and at the same time so certain to interest the public, that we may properly call attention to the subject.

Fully two months ago, we indicated the offensive as the true method for Austria to defend herself.[a] We stated that the Austrians, having their Italian army well concentrated near to the Piedmontese position of defense, and perfectly ready and equipped for action, would commit a great mistake if they did not take advantage of this momentary superiority over their still scattered enemies by at once entering the Sardinian territory, beating the Sardinian army first, and then marching against the French, who must pass the Alps in several columns, and thus run the risk of being beaten in detail. This conclusion of ours excited a liberal share of dissenting comment on the part of various more or less eminent and more or less strategical critics; but we have found our judgment confirmed by that of every military man who has written on the subject; and finally it proves to be that of the Austrian generals. So much for that point.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 197-201.—*Ed.*

The war having thus been begun, what are the relative forces of the parties, and their chances of success?

The Austrians have in Italy five army corps—the 2d, 3d, 5th, 7th and 8th—consisting of at least 26 regiments of infantry, of five battalions each (of which one is a grenadier battalion), and 26 light battalions—in all 156 battalions, or 192,000 men. With cavalry, artillery, engineers and garrison troops, their force amounts, at the very lowest computation, to 216,000 men. We do not know how far this number has been exceeded by drawing into Italy fresh frontier regiments and men of the reserve. That it has been exceeded, there can scarcely be a doubt—but let us take the lowest estimate of 216,000 men. Of these, 56,000 men will be perfectly sufficient to hold all the fortresses, forts and entrenched camps the Austrians care for holding in Lombardy; but let us take the largest possible figure, and say 66,000 men. This will leave 150,000 men for the invasion of Piedmont. The telegrams give the strength of the Austrian army of invasion at 120,000; and these statements are, of course, not to be strictly depended upon. But, to be on the safe side, we will assume that the Austrians have no more than 120,000 men disposable for the field. How will the French and Piedmontese forces be placed to encounter this compact army?

Between Alessandria and Casale, in a position which we described some weeks since,[a] the Piedmontese army is concentrated. It numbers five divisions of infantry and one of cavalry—or 45,000 men of infantry of the line, including reserves; 6,000 riflemen, and about 9,000 cavalry and artillery—total 60,000 men, the utmost which Piedmont has been able to muster in the field. The remaining 15,000 men are required for garrisons. The Italian volunteers are not yet fit to encounter an enemy in the open field. As we have stated, the Piedmontese position cannot well be strategically turned to the south—it may be turned, however, to the north; and here it is supported by the line of the Sesia, which joins the Po about four miles east of Casale, and which the Sardinians, if we are to trust to the telegraphic dispatches, intend to hold.

It would be perfectly ridiculous for 60,000 men to accept a decisive battle in this position, if attacked by twice that force. In all probability, some show of resistance will be made on that river—enough to compel the Austrians to show their full strength—and then the Sardinians will fall back behind Casale

[a] See this volume, pp. 197-98.—*Ed.*

and the Po, leaving the direct road to Turin open. This may have happened on the 29th or 30th of April, supposing that English diplomacy has not caused a new delay in the military operations. The day following, the Austrians would attempt the passage of the Po, and, if successful, would drive the Sardinians across the plain to Alessandria. There they might leave them for a while; if necessary the Austrian column, debouching south of the Po from Piacenza, could destroy the railroad between Genoa and Alessandria, and attack any French corps marching from the former to the latter place.

But what do we suppose the French to be doing all this while? Why, they are coming down, with all haste, toward the future seat of war, the valley of the upper Po. When the news of the Austrian ultimatum reached Paris, the forces destined for the army of the Alps scarcely exceeded four divisions of infantry about Lyons, and three more either in the south of France and Corsica, or in the act of concentration. One more division was on the road from Africa. These eight divisions were to form four corps; as a first reserve, the divisions of the troops of the line at Paris were disposable, and, as a second reserve, the Guards. This would give, in all, twelve divisions of the line and two of Guards, making seven *corps d'armée.* The twelve divisions of the line, before the arrival of their men on furlough, would count about 10,000 men each, 120,000 in all, or with cavalry and artillery 135,000, and the Guards 30,000, making a grand total of 165,000 men. With the men on furlough called in, the whole of this army would reach 200,000 men. So far, so good; it is a fine army, large enough to conquer a country twice as big as Italy. But where could they be on or about the first of May, the time they are wanted in the plains of Piedmont? Why, McMahon's corps was sent, about the 23d or 24th, to Genoa; not having been concentrated previously, it will not be able to leave Genoa before the 30th; Baraguay d'Hilliers's corps is in Provence, and was to advance, according to some, by Nice and the Col di Tenda; according to others, it was to go on board ship, and effect a landing in the Mediterranean. Canrobert's corps was to pass into Piedmont by Mont Cenis and Mont Genèvre, and all the other troops were to follow as they arrived by the same roads. Now it is certain that no French troops set foot on Sardinian territory before the 26th; it is certain that of the army of Paris three divisions were still at Paris on the 24th, one of which left only that day by railway for Lyons; and that the Guard was not expected to begin its march before the 27th. Thus, supposing that all the other troops enumerated above had been concentrated on the frontier

and ready for the march, we have eight divisions of infantry, or 80,000 men. Of these, 20,000 go to Genoa; 20,000 under Baraguay, if they go into Piedmont at all, go by the Col di Tenda. There remain 40,000 under Canrobert and Niel to go by Mont Cenis and Mont Genèvre. This will be the whole which Louis Napoleon can make available by the time his assistance will be most wanted—the time when the Austrians may be at Turin. And all this, let us observe in passing, is perfectly in agreement with the indications we gave on this subject weeks ago. But with all the railways in the world, Louis Napoleon cannot bring down his remaining four divisions from the army of Paris in time to take part in the first engagements, unless he allows the Austrians to do as they like with the Piedmontese for a full fortnight; and even then, having eight divisions on two mountain passes, and the enemy on their point of junction in at least equal numbers, he stands but a poor chance. But a man in his position cannot, from political reasons, allow Piedmont to be overridden by the enemy for a full fortnight, and therefore he will have to accept a battle as soon as the Austrians offer it; and that battle he must fight under disadvantageous circumstances. The quicker the French get across the Alps, the better for the Austrians.

Written on April 28, 1859

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# Karl Marx

## THE FINANCIAL PANIC

London, April 29, 1859

Yesterday being settling day in Foreign Stocks and Shares, the panic on the Exchange, which had commenced on the 23d, reached a sort of climax. Not less than twenty-eight failures of members of the Stock Exchange were declared since Monday last, of which eighteen occurred on the 28th. The sums involved, reaching in one instance the amount of £100,000, surpass by far the usual average of such "executions." The simultaneous advance by the Bank Directors of the rate of discount to $3^1/_2$ per cent from $2^1/_2$ per cent, at which it was fixed on Dec. 9, 1858, an advance consequent upon the efflux of bullion necessitated by the purchase of silver for shipment to India, concurred in a slight degree to highten the disturbance. Three per cent Consols,[260] quoted, April 2, at $96^1/_4$, had sunk, April 28, to 89, and for some hours even to $88^1/_4$. Russian $4^1/_2$ per cent stock, quoted, April 2, at 100, fell on the 28th to 87. During the same interval Sardinian stock went down from 81 to 65, while the Turkish 6 per cent loan realized a decline from $93^1/_2$ to 57, from which point it rose again in a later hour to 61. Austrian 5 per cent stock was quoted as low as 49. The principal circumstances that created this enormous depreciation of home and foreign stocks, accompanied by a similar fall in railway shares, especially the Italian railways, were the news of the invasion of Sardinia by the Austrians, the advance of a French army on Piedmont, and the offensive and defensive treaties concluded between France, Russia, and Denmark.[261] It is true that in the course of the day the telegraph conveyed a denial on the part of the *Constitutionnel* of the offensive and defensive treaty between France and Russia.[a] Yet, credulous and sanguine as the

[a] See Louis Boniface's article in *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 119, April 29, 1859.— *Ed.*

Stock Exchange mind certainly is, for once it dared to discredit the veracity of French semi-official declarations. It had not yet contrived to forget that hardly a week ago the *Moniteur* had taken upon itself to deny that France was arming or intended to arm.[a] Moreover, while denying the treaty, the French oracle confessed that an "understanding" had been established between the Eastern and the Western Autocrat, so that the denial, in the best case, turned upon a quibble. With the failing British stock-jobbers, there went down at the same time the Russian loan of £12,000,000, which, but for the sudden resolution taken on the part of Austria,[262] would have been swallowed by Lombard street. Mr. Simpson, the money article writer of the London *Times,* makes these curious remarks on the bursting of that loan bubble[b]:

"One of the points particularly worthy of remark in the present state of affairs is the escape the public have had from the projected loan to Russia. Although the designs of that Power have been transparent ever since the premature termination of the Crimean war, through the influence of our 'ally,' and the subsequent meeting of the Emperors at Stuttgart,[263] it was certain that no warnings short of absolute demonstration would be of avail to prevent her from obtaining any desired amount, if a house of standing could be found willing to undertake the transaction. Accordingly, when the scheme for getting £12,000,000 was put out a month or two back, the greatest elation and confidence were expressed by all the parties interested. English capitalists might please themselves! Only a very moderate portion would be granted them! People at Berlin and elsewhere were anxious to get it at one or two per cent above the price at which it was to be offered in the London market. Under such circumstances, there was little hope of any word of caution being heard. True, neither Messrs. Baring nor Rothschild, who are usually eager enough to compete in such matters, had shown any willingness to touch it. There were also reports of a mysterious concentration of 100,000 Russian troops in Georgia. The Russian Embassador at Vienna[c] likewise was said to have remarked openly that the Emperor Napoleon was quite right in demanding a revision of the treaties of 1815; and, finally, the recent contrivances for annulling the Treaty of Paris, as regards the Danubian Principalities,[264] the tour of the Grand Duke Constantine in the Mediterranean, and the adroit movement for counteracting the pacific mission of Lord Cowley,[265] might have been supposed sufficient to induce hesitation. But nothing can influence a sanguine English investor, bent upon what he conceives to be a stock that will yield him 5 per cent, and there is no measure to his contempt for alarmists. So the hopes of the contractors remained undiminished, and it was actually only a day or two before the announcement of the Austrian ultimatum that the last deliberations were held, in order to have everything in readiness to bring out this proposal at a moment's notice. On the very next receipt of tranquilizing assurances in the French *Moniteur,* to back those already furnished, that France had not armed and did not intend to arm, the whole affair was to prove a great success. The 'criminal' movement of Austria, however, in not waiting till her opponents had obtained all

[a] *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 109, April 19, 1859. See also this volume, p. 296.— *Ed.*

[b] *The Times,* No. 23293, April 29, 1859.— *Ed.*

[c] V. P. Balabin.— *Ed.*

they required, spoiled the proceeding, and the £12,000,000 will now have to be kept at home."

At Paris, of course, the panic of the money market, and the failures consequent upon it, leave the London disturbances far behind in the race; but Louis Napoleon, having just voted himself a new loan of 500,000,000 francs[a] by his footmen of the Corps Législatif, has rigidly forbidden the public press to take any notice of these untoward accidents. Yet, we may arrive at a just appreciation of the present state of things by perusing the following tabular statement, which I have extracted from the official quotations:

| | March 24. | April 7. | April 28. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | f. c. | f. c. | f. c. |
| Three Per Cents | 69 20 | 67 95 | 62 00 |
| Bank of France, shares | 2,865 00 | 2,840 00 | 2,500 00 |
| Crédit Mobilier | 805 00 | 707 50 | 530@542 00 |
| Orleans | 1,368 00 | 1,257 50 | 1,150 00 |
| Northern | 940 00 | 915 00 | 835 00 |
| Eastern | 682 00 | 627 50 | 550 00 |
| Mediterranean | 850 00 | 830 00 | 752 00 |
| Southern | 523 00 | 503 75 | 412 50 |
| Western | 600 00 | 537 50 | 485 00 |
| Geneva | 540 00 | 520 00 | 445 00 |
| Austrian | 560 00 | 536 25 | 406 25 |
| Victor Emmanuel | 400 00 | 390 00 | 315 00 |
| Lombardo-Venetian | 527 50 | 512 50 | 420 00[b] |

The monetary mind of England is at this moment heated with excessive anger at the British Government, whom they accuse of having made themselves the laughing-stock of diplomatic Europe; and what is still more, of having led astray the commercial public by their own willful blindness and misapprehension. In fact, Lord Derby allowed himself, during the whole course of the mock negotiations, to be made the foot-ball of France and Russia. Not content with his previous uninterrupted blunders, he fell again into the same trap on the arrival of the news of the Austrian ultimatum, which, at the Mansion dinner, he branded as "criminal," having even then not yet become aware of the Russo-French

[a] This loan was to enlarge military contingents. For the discussion of the question in the *Corps législatif* see *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 117, April 27, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] This table was made by Marx on the basis of tables contained in *Le Moniteur universel,* Nos. 84, 98 and 119, for March 25, April 8 and 29, 1859, but the *Moniteur* gave no figures for the Lombardo-Venetian railway.—*Ed.*

treaty.[a] His last offer of mediation, which Austria could not but accept, was a mere electioneering trick, that could result in nothing but giving Bonaparte forty-eight hours more for the concentration of his troops and paralyzing the inevitable operations of Austria. Such is the diplomatic acumen of that proud aristocracy which pretends to oppose the popular Reform bill because it possibly might wrench the management of foreign affairs out of the clever hands of hereditary politicians. In conclusion, let me remark that the insurrections in Tuscany and the Duchies[266] were just what Austria wanted to give her a pretext to occupy them.

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[a] Lord Derby's speech at a dinner at the Mansion-House on April 25, 1859, *The Times,* No. 23290, April 26, 1859.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## FAIR PROFESSIONS

The circular of Louis Napoleon of the 27th of April, addressed, through his diplomatic agents, to the Governments of Europe,[a] also his address of the 3d of May to his Corps Législatif,[b] show the Emperor fully conscious of and exceedingly anxious to allay the suspicions so generally entertained as to the motives and ultimate objects of his intervention in the affairs of Italy. In the circular he endeavors to make out that in the matter of this intervention he has all along moved only in conjunction with England, Prussia and Russia, all of whom he represents as equally dissatisfied with himself at the condition of Italian affairs, equally convinced of the dangers arising from the discontent and underhand agitation prevailing there, and equally intent upon preventing, by a prudent precaution, an inevitable crisis. But when he refers, as proof, to Lord Cowley's mission to Vienna,[267] the Russian proposal of a Congress, and the support given by Prussia to these movements, he seems to forget that, instead of having Italy for their primary object, what those measures looked to and what originated them was, the threatened breach between Austria and France, compared with which, Italian discontent and agitation sank into insignificance.

It was only the sudden development of a peculiar interest on the part of Napoleon in Italian affairs that gave the Italian question any pressing importance in the eyes of the other European

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[a] See A. Walewski's circular to the French diplomatic representatives abroad of April 27, 1859, *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 121, May 1, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to Napoleon III's "Proclamation. L'empereur au peuple français", *Le Moniteur universel*, special edition, May 3, 1859.—*Ed.*

Powers. Though Austria has been the first to commence hostilities, the fact still remains that but for encouragement given by Napoleon to Sardinia, in which neither Prussia nor England concurred, and the steps taken by her in consequence, there is no reason whatever to suppose that hostilities would have commenced. So far from merely offering the cooperation of France to settle amicably in conjunction with the other Powers the matters in dispute between Austria and Sardinia, the fact cannot be got rid of that it was not till France had made herself substantially a party to that quarrel that the other Powers felt themselves called upon to take any deep interest in it, and then not as an Italian but as a European question. The very circumstance that France alone feels called upon to protect Sardinia against Austrian attack, contradicts the position which it is attempted to establish, that upon this question of Italian affairs France has only been acting in cooperation with the other Powers. Both in this dispatch, and in his address to the Legislative Corps, the French Emperor disclaims with great earnestness all personal ambition, all desires of conquest, any wish to establish a French influence in Italy. He would have it believed that he devotes himself exclusively to the establishment of Italian independence, and to the reestablishment of that balance of power disturbed by the preponderance of Austria. Those who remember the professions which the Emperor made and the oaths which he took as President of the French Republic, will hardly be inclined to place implicit confidence in his mere declarations; and even these very attempts of his to quiet the fears and dispel the suspicions of Europe contain suggestions well calculated to have a contrary effect.

That Louis Napoleon is at this moment sincerely desirous to prevent, on the part of England and Germany, any interference with his war against Austria, nobody can doubt; but that is very far from proving that he looks no further than to a mere settlement of Italian affairs. Suppose him to aim at European supremacy, he would, of course, prefer to fight the different Powers one at a time. He is astonished at the excitement which prevails in some of the States of Germany, although that excitement originates in the very same reasons by which he explains his own haste to rush to the aid of Sardinia.

If France is conterminous to Sardinia, bound to her by ancient remembrances, community of origin, and recent alliances, the relations of Germany with Austria are the same, and still closer; and, if Napoleon is unwilling to wait till he finds himself in the face of an accomplished fact, to wit, the triumph of Austria over

Sardinia, neither do the Germans incline to wait for the accomplished fact of a triumph of France over Austria. That Louis Napoleon looks to the humiliation of Austria, at least to the extent of her expulsion from Italy, he does not deny. It is true, he disclaims any intention to acquire Italian territory or influence, professing that the object of the war is to restore Italy to herself, not to impose upon her a change of masters. But suppose the Italian Governments, whose independence, as against Austria, it is thus proposed to vindicate, should find themselves troubled, as in all probability they would, by those whom Louis Napoleon describes as "the abettors of disorder, and the incorrigible members of old factions"? What then?

"France," says Louis Napoleon, "has shown her hatred of anarchy."

It was this very hatred of anarchy to which he professes to owe his present power. In that hatred of anarchy he found his warrant for dispersing the Republican Chamber, breaking his own oaths, overturning the republican Government by military force, crushing out all freedom of the press, and driving into exile or shipping off to Cayenne all opposers of his sole dictatorship. Might not the suppression of anarchy serve his turn quite as well in Italy? If "the suppression of the abettors of disorder and the incorrigible members of old factions" justified the destruction of French liberty, might it not furnish quite as fair a pretext for the overthrow of Italian independence?

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# Karl Marx

## AUSTRIA, PRUSSIA AND GERMANY IN THE WAR

Vienna, May 10, 1859

The impatience and disappointment of the Vienna public at the slow-coach pace at which the war, seemingly commenced in so bold a manner, is dragging on, has induced the Government to put on all the walls of the metropolis the following placard:

"The probability, that all the news published in the Austrian papers in regard to the movements of the Imperial army should become known within some hours to the enemy and enable him to turn them to his profit, imposes upon us the duty of observing the utmost caution in all such communications to the public. The latest news is to this effect, that the Imperial army has taken up a position between the Po and Sesia, which may serve as a basis for offensive movements. It is possessed of all passages over the Sesia, and although the still continuing rise of the Po prevents any decisive movement to the right bank of the river, the ground between Ponte Curone and Voghera remains occupied by important detachments of the army; at the same time the railway bridge near Valenza has been demolished by us." [a]

The Government regards, of course, with some dismay, the movements in the smaller Italian States. The following statement of their military forces has been printed at the War Office:

*Tuscany*—Four infantry regiments of the line—each regiment consisting of two battalions, each battalion of six companies, 6,833 men; one battalion of riflemen, six companies, 780 men; one battalion of insular riflemen, 780 men; battalions of volunteer jägers, 2,115 men; one battalion of veterans, 320 men; one penal division, 150 men; two squadrons of dragoons, 360 horses; one regiment of artillery, 8 batteries, with six pieces each; one battalion

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[a] From a government communication on the observance of military secrets, published in the *Wiener Zeitung* on May 9, 1859. See the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 133, May 13, 1859.—*Ed.*

of coast artillery, 2,218 men; one regiment of gensdarmes, 1,800 men. This gives, with the respective staffs, engineers, mariners, etc., 15,769 men.

*Parma*—Gardes du corps, hallebardiers, guides, 179 men; two battalions of the line, one battalion of jägers, 3,254 men; one company of artillery, 84 men; engineers, 14 men; gensdarmes, four companies, 417 men; with the staffs, commanders, schools, companies of working-men, 4,294 men.

*Modena*—Four regiments of the line, each one battalion only, 4,880 men; one company of jägers, 120 men; three companies of dragoons, 300 men; one field battery, with six pieces, 150 men; one coast battery, with 12 pieces, 250 men; one working company, 130 men; one company of pioneers, 200 men; beside some veterans, hallebardiers, etc., altogether 7,594 men.

*San Marino*—The little Republic musters 800 strong.

*Rome*—Two regiments of Swiss infantry (third regiment now forming), 1,862 men; two Italian regiments, of the same force; two sedentary battalions (a curious sort this of warriors), 1,200 men; one regiment of dragoons, 670 men and horses; one regiment of artillery, with seven batteries and four pieces, 802 men; gensdarmes, 4,323 men, with staffs, engineers, etc., 15,255 men.

*Naples and Sicily*—4 Swiss regiments, 2 Neapolitan grenadier regiments of the guard, 6 regiments of grenadiers, 13 regiments of infantry, 1 regiment of carabineers, with the dépôt companies, amounting altogether to 57,096 men; 12 battalions of jägers, 14,976, and with the dépôt companies, 16,740; 9 regiments of cavalry, 2 regiments of heavy dragoons, 3 regiments of dragoons, 1 regiment of carabineers, 2 regiments of lancers, 1 regiment of mounted jägers—8,415 men and horses; two regiments of artillery, each consisting of 2 field and 1 siege battalion, or 16 field batteries, with 128 pieces, and 12 siege companies—altogether, train included, 52,000 men. If the hallebardiers, engineers, guides, gardes du corps, &c., are added, we get at an aggregate force of 130,307 men.

The Neapolitan fleet consists of two line-of-battle ships, with 80 and 84 guns; fifty sailing frigates, twelve steam frigates, each with 10 guns; two sailing corvettes, four steam corvettes, two sailing goélettes, eleven smaller steamers, ten mortar-boats and eighteen cannon-boats.

The events in Tuscany were, in fact, more or less anticipated by the Austrian Government, and may, to a certain degree, be said to have entered into its calculations; but what fills it with real apprehension is, the cool, vacillating, and anything but friendly

attitude assumed by the Prussian Government. The Prussian Government is arming because forced to do so by public clamor, but simultaneously it paralyzes, so to say, its armaments by its diplomatic movements. You know that the present Prussian Ministry, and especially von Schleinitz, the Foreign Minister, belong to what is called in Germany the Gotha party,[268] a party which flatters itself with the delusion that the wreck of Austria might enable Prussia to form a new Germany under Hohenzollern auspices. This party listens with affected credulity to Bonapartist diplomacy assuring it that the war is to be "localised" in Italy, and that the formation of a French corps of observation at Nancy under Pélissier's command means nothing beyond a little flattery to that "illustrious warrior."[a] I may remark *en passant,* that the same number of the *Moniteur* which contains this comfortable doctrine, publishes an imperial order for the erection of a statue of Humboldt at Paris,[b] a maneuver showing at all events that Bonaparte thinks it no more difficult to buy the Gotha party by statues than to buy the French Zouaves by sausages.[269] This much is sure, that the Austrian Plenipotentiary at the German Diet at Frankfort[c] has proposed a motion calling upon the Confederation to declare whether its own security is not endangered by the participation of Bonaparte in the Italian struggle; but the Diet has till now abstained from answering the question in consequence of Prussian intrigues. Prussia may be right in protesting against being dictated to by a majority of the diminutive German *Landesväter,* but then it was her duty to take the initiative and herself propose the measures indispensable for the defense of Germany. So far she has followed quite the contrary course. On April 29, she addressed a circular to the different members of the Confederation, which, in a rather imperious way, preaches to them reserve and caution.[d] In answer to this missive the Governments of Southern Germany have, in very impressive language, reminded the Berlin Cabinet of the Roman adage, *"Caveant consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat."*[270]

They have said that in their conviction the moment of serious danger for the security of Germany had already set in, and that

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[a] *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 127, May 7, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] Napoleon III's order of May 9, 1859 was published in *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 130, May 10, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] Johann Bernhard Rechberg.—*Ed.*

[d] Prussia's circular letter to the states of the German Confederation of April 29, 1859, *Neue Preussische Zeitung,* No. 108, May 10, 1859.—*Ed.*

the do-nothing time was decidedly gone by. The Prussian Ministry finds within its own dominions allies of very different feather. Beside the Gotha party itself, there is first the Russian party, which preaches neutrality. Then there is the very influential party, represented by the *Cologne Gazette*,[a] of bankers, stock-jobbers and Crédit-Mobilier men, who by their material interests are subjected to the *Crédit Mobilier* at Paris, and consequently to Bonapartism. There is, finally, the pseudo-democratic party, which affects to be so exasperated by Austrian brutality, as to discern liberalism on the part of the hero of December. I may state that some members of the last mentioned party have positively been bought by napoléons d'or, and that the great manager of this trade in consciences resides in Switzerland, being himself not only a German, but an ex-member of the German National Assembly of 1848, and an outrageous Radical.[271] You understand that under these circumstances any anti-neutrality manifestation in Prussia is eagerly watched at this place, and that a short manifesto of Herr Friedrich von Raumer, the Prussian historian of the crusades, which is headed the *"Standpoint of Prussia,"* and openly combats the Gotha party theory, is made the most of.[b] From the following extracts you may judge the tenor of the Raumer effusion:

"It has been asserted by a certain party that Prussia ought to preserve the fullest independence, and not allow herself to be carried away by events or by an impatient agitation, which intends forcing German policy into a false direction, and to premature measures. The Government, they say, ought to oppose these tendencies with iron determination; and, one of the great Powers of Germany being absorbed by the Italian war, the other German Powers ought to rally round Prussia as the natural center of Germanic politics.

"We feel unable to subject ourselves to those monitions, without scrutinizing their just value. At first, then, the talk of the fullest independence of Prussia is but an exaggeration. She has, on the contrary, justly looked around, interpellated, uttered wishes, warned, recommended; because, locked up between four powerful States, she cannot, in fact, pretend to full independence, but must have regard to her neighbors' acts, without, however, sacrificing her own true mission. Prussia has entered the rank of the great Powers, not by dint of her bulk, but by the movement of her mind, decision and energy. Lacking these conditions, she, as history has shown, will sink down to lower regions, to be neglected, if not domineered over by other Powers.

"For four months diplomacy tried its utmost against an adversary like Napoleon III; but effecting nothing at all it has proved a complete failure. Is it not natural, is it not praiseworthy, if, taught by bitter experience, and with a full appreciation of

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[a] *Kölnische Zeitung.—Ed.*

[b] F. Raumer's article "Der Standpunkt Preussens" was published in the *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* on May 8, 1859, and was included with his other articles in the collection *Zur Politik des Tages.—Ed.*

what is demanded by honor, duty and the interest of self-conservation, the Germans should begin to grow impatient, and decline any longer to consider fantastic clouds as solid rocks?

"How is it possible to cling unchangeably to the old standpoint, after all the essential circumstances have changed, and the most serious events have overcome us? Since nothing has been effected from the standpoint of mediation, is it not allowable to doubt whether it was just in the beginning, and whether it was not the greatest error to take up the same position between France and Austria which Prussia might occupy between France and Turkey? This pretended impartiality, without any leaning to the German side, has not won the French, but in Germany at large it has diminished confidence and estranged the public mind from Prussia.

"I repeat that without Germany Prussia cannot be a great Power in the long run. The proposal and advice to abandon Austria to her fate and to look to Prussia only, mean the ruin of Germany. In true Medean manner, Germany, which at last feels itself an indivisible unity, is to be cut to pieces and thrown into the witches' caldron, fully convinced that the cooks of diplomacy will take care to recompose and renovate her! We do not know anything more stupid, more unpatriotic, more dangerous, than the doctrine, openly preached and secretly smuggled in, of an Austrian Germany and a Prussian Germany; it is this damnable doctrine of a line of demarcation crossing and dismembering our fatherland which prevailed in 1805, and which produced 1806.[272]

"The interests of all Germany are at the same time Prussian interests, and in despite of all shortcomings, errors and misfortunes, Austria for centuries past, has always been the protector of Germany against Slavs, Turks and Frenchmen. In a few weeks the Italian war must take a decided turn. Will Germany be prepared in a few weeks should Napoleon, stimulating France by the prospect of the natural frontiers of the left side of the Rhine, ask Prussia's consent to those frontiers, by virtue of the treaty of Basel?[273]

"What we have lacked till now is not *caution* but *foresight*. Events have overrun all expectants and made them forget the stern old proverb: 'Time lost everything lost.'"

Not to miss the post, I reserve for another opportunity some communications on the commercial panic and the popular movements of this gay and naïve city.

Written on May 10, 1859

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# Frederick Engels

## THE WAR

Napoleon III sailed from Marseilles on the 11th inst. for Genoa, where he was to take command of the French forces, and where preparations had been made to receive him with extraordinary display. Whether his military exploits will equal the indisputable triumphs of his diplomacy is a problem with regard to which we are likely soon to have positive demonstration; hitherto the only evidence of strategic capacity, which he has furnished, is to be found in his plan for operations in the Crimea, whose main features were of an antiquated description, and belonged to the military school of Bülow, of whom the great Napoleon said that his science was the science of defeat and not of victory.[a]

That the French Emperor enters Italy with the prestige of an immense moral success is not to be questioned. Having, by superior shrewdness and cunning, driven the Austrians to assume the heavy responsibility of declaring war, he has had the good fortune of seeing them throw away, in a fortnight of virtual inaction, the only advantage which they could hope to gain by that momentous step. Instead of crushing the Piedmontese army, by superiority of numbers and celerity of movement, before the French reenforcements could arrive, the Austrian has wasted his opportunity and now has before him an allied army fully equal to his own, which is every day becoming superior; and instead of offensive operations and the advance of a conqueror, he may very probably soon be compelled to abandon even Milan and fall back to the line of the Mincio, where he will assume a purely defensive attitude in the shelter of his great fortresses. Thus, Louis Napoleon begins his career as a commander with the benefit of

[a] See this volume, pp. 232-33.— *Ed.*

vast and almost inexplicable faults committed by his antagonist. His lucky star is still in the ascendant.

The first fortnight of the war offers us, on the Austrian side, a curious though monotonous story, very much like that narrated in the famous couplet respecting the King of France.[a] On the 29th of April, the Austrian advanced guard crossed the Ticino, without finding any great resistance, and on the following day the main body followed. From the first movements, which were made on Arona (on the Lago Maggiore), Novara and Vigevano, the direction of the attack appeared to be toward Vercelli and the Turin road. The occupation of Vercelli, which took place on the 1st, or the morning of May 2, and telegrams from Switzerland stating that the forces of the invading army were concentrated on the Sesia, tended to confirm this view. But this demonstration seems to have been merely a feint, destined to place the whole of the country between the Ticino and Sesia under contribution, and to destroy the telegraphic communication between Piedmont and Switzerland. The real point of attack was pointed out by a bulletin of General Gyulay,[b] from which it appears that Cozzo and Cambio formed the chief points of concentration, and that on the evening of May 2 his headquarters were at Lomello. Now, the first-named point being near the junction of the Sesia and Po (a little to the eastward of it), the second on the Po, a little eastward of the junction of the Bormida with that river, and the third a little more to the rear, but equidistant from both, a glance at the map will show that the Austrians are advancing against the front of the Piedmontese position behind the Po, extending from Casale to Alessandria, with its center toward Valenza. Further news, received by way of Turin, report that on the 3d they threw bridges across the Po near Cambio, and sent reconnoissances toward Tortona, on the southern bank of that river; and that they also reconnoitered nearly the whole front of the Piedmontese position, but especially near Valenza, engaging the enemy on several points, in order to induce him to show his forces. There were still rumors of an Austrian corps having debouched from Piacenza, and marched along the southern bank of the Po toward Alessandria, but this report has not been confirmed; still, taken in connection with the construction of bridges across the Po at Cambio, it was not an improbable movement.

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[a] P. J. de Béranger, *Le Roi d'Ivetot.—Ed.*

[b] Ferenc Gyulay's war bulletin of May 3, 1859, *The Times*, No. 23298, May 5, 1859.—*Ed.*

This was the aspect of the campaign up to the 5th of May; and so far, and indeed through the whole time since, the Austrian maneuvers have been marked by an extraordinary degree of slowness and caution, to say the least. From the Ticino to the Po, at Valenza, is certainly not more than 25 miles, or two easy marches, and hostilities commencing on April 29, the whole of the invading force might have been concentrated opposite Valenza by the 1st of May at noon; the advanced guard could have completed their reconnoissances on the same day, and during the night the resolution as to decisive operations for the following day might have been adopted. We are still, with the mails of the *Vanderbilt* in our possession, as much as ever unable to explain the delay which has occurred. But as rapidity of action was the course imperatively enjoined on the Austrians by the circumstances of the case, and as Gen. Gyulay has the reputation of a determined and daring officer, it is natural to suppose that unforeseen circumstances must have compelled them to this cautious mode of proceeding. Whether the idea of a march on Turin by Vercelli was at first actually entertained, and only abandoned on the receipt of news that the French had arrived in Genoa in such numbers as to render a turning movement dangerous; whether the state of the roads, cut up and barricaded everywhere by the Piedmontese, had something to do with it, or whether Gen. Gyulay, of whose qualities as a commander-in-chief the world is completely ignorant, found himself embarrassed by the unwieldiness of the masses he had to handle—all this is difficult to settle. A glance at the position of the other party may, however, throw some light on the state of the case.

Before an Austrian crossed the frontier, the French began to pour into Piedmont. On April 26 the first troops arrived in Genoa; on the same day the division of Gen. Bouat passed into Savoy, crossed Mont Cenis, and arrived on the 30th in Turin. On that day, 24,000 French were in Alessandria, and about 16,000 in Turin and Susa. Since then the influx has been uninterrupted, but with far greater rapidity into Genoa than into Turin, and from both points troops have been sent forward to Alessandria. The number of French thus sent to the front, cannot, of course, be determined, but from circumstances to which we shall allude directly, there can be no doubt that by May 5 it must have been considered sufficient to enable the allied armies to hold their own, and to prevent any turning movement of the Austrians by Vercelli. The original plan was, to hold the line of the Po from Alessandria to Casale with the main body of the Piedmontese and

whatever French troops could be brought up from Genoa, while the remainder of the Piedmontese (the brigades of guards of Savoy), along with the French arriving by the Alps, were to hold the line of the Dora Baltea from Ivrea to Chivasso, thus covering Turin. Any Austrian attack upon the line of the Dora might thus be taken in flank by the Piedmontese debouching from Casale, and compelling the invaders to divide their forces. But, for all that, the allied position was a mere make-shift, and intrinsically bad. From Alessandria to Ivrea it occupied a length of nearly fifty miles, with one salient and one reentering angle; and, though the opportunity for a flank attack strengthened it considerably, still the occupation of such a long line gave great facilities for false attacks, and could not offer serious resistance to a determined offensive. The line of the Dora once conquered, while a flank attack would have been momentarily paralyzed by a smaller Austrian corps, the victorious Austrians would have been at liberty to return on either bank of the Po, and to drive the army of Alessandria back under the guns of its fortress by superior numbers. Had the Austrians acted with energy during the first two or three days of the war, this might have been easily accomplished. There were not then forces concentrated between Alessandria and Casale to endanger their proceedings; but, on the 3d, 4th and 5th of May the case had changed, and the number of French who had arrived in the position and were still arriving from Genoa, must have been large enough to swell the force defending it to about 100,000 men in all, of whom 60,000 might have been used for an attack by way of Casale. That this strength was thought sufficient to cover Turin indirectly is proved by the fact that even as early as the 3d both French and Sardinian troops were being moved from the line of the Dora to Alessandria; and thus the tardiness of the Austrians permitted the allies to conclude in safety that dangerous maneuver, the concentration of their forces in the position of Alessandria. With this the whole end and purpose of the Austrian offensive was lost; and what we have called the moral victory of the allies was consummated.

So far the Austrian General appears to have acted successively upon at least three different plans of campaign. First, it would seem that in passing the Ticino, he designed to march straight on Vercelli and the Dora; then, on hearing of the large French arrivals at Genoa, and considering the flank march past Casale too dangerous, he altered his attack, and turned toward Lomello and the Po; and, finally, he alters his mind again, abandons the offensive altogether, and fortifying himself on the Sesia, waits for

the advance of the allies in order to give them battle. It is true, our reports of his movements are very imperfect, being derived almost exclusively from French and Sardinian telegrams; but such would seem to be the only inference to be drawn from the prolonged inactivity of the main body of the Austrians, and the various unimportant and seemingly irresolute movements of their outlying detachments between May 5 and 11.

Should the allied advance be delayed by any accident a few days longer, it is not impossible that we may see still another change in the Austrian strategy, in the form of a retreat to the Ticino, even without a battle—for Gyulay's army cannot remain for any length of time inactive in the pestilential rice swamps where it was at our latest advices; and it must either risk an attack against very doubtful odds or take up a new position in a less unhealthy district. The immediate advance of the allies, and a battle, are, however, what is to be expected; and it is likely that we shall have news of it by the next mail. But under these circumstances it is not surprising to hear from Vienna that Hess, the natural successor of Gyulay in the command, does not approve of his operations; and it is pretty certain that unless the Austrians win the approaching battle, they will have a new General-in-Chief before the first month of the war is over. This, however, is no unusual event in the history of their wars.

Written on May 12, 1859

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# Karl Marx

## HIGHLY IMPORTANT FROM VIENNA

Vienna, May 14, 1859

The Prussian General Willisen (brother of the other Prussian General of the same name who got some fame by his works on military science,[a] and lost it again by his conduct of the Schleswig-Holstein war) has arrived here, apparently sent from Berlin, to receive the brainless King of Prussia and his Queen[b] on their return to Prussia. His real business is said to be confined within two points—first, to warn Austria to desist from her intrigues at the Frankfort Diet, since Prussia is not willing to be dictated to by the Vienna Cabinet, under the mask of that grammatical being the German Confederation; secondly, to sweeten the pill thus administered by the positive assurance that Prussia is now definitively resolved upon "armed mediation." The latter ambiguous term is interpreted to this effect: that Prussia, having put her house in order and armed herself to the teeth, will make some new peace proposals to Bonaparte, on the refusal of which she will cast her sword into the balance. Concurrently with this important communication the Austrian Government has received, via Bern, the news[c] that, apart from its secret stipulations not yet known, the Russo-French treaty[d] obliges France to confine the war within the limits corresponding to its professed purpose of liberating Italy, while Russia binds herself on the first actual

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[a] W. Willisen, *Theorie des grossen Krieges angewendet auf den russisch-polnischen Feldzug von 1831* and *Der italienische Feldzug des Jahres 1848.*—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick William IV and Elizabeth.—*Ed.*

[c] The *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, No. 110, May 12, 1859.—*Ed.*

[d] The treaty between Russia and France on neutrality and cooperation, Paris, February 19-March 3, 1859. It does not contain the terms of which Marx says below.—*Ed.*

intervention of the German Confederation in the struggle to march an army of at least 300,000 men over her frontiers.

There is much grumbling here at Gen. Gyulay's old-fashioned strategy, and rumors are set afloat of his dismissal, Gen. Hess being named as his successor. But no such step seems yet to be contemplated, since Col. Kuhn, the most distinguished officer of the Austrian staff, has been sent to support Gyulay's vacillating counsels. Gyulay himself is a Magyar. He was born at Pesth, Sept. 1, 1798. At 16 years of age he entered, as sub-Lieutenant, a regiment of infantry commanded by his father; he was then transferred to the Hussars, was appointed in Sept., 1827, Major of the Kaiser-Uhlanen, soon after Colonel of the 19th Regiment of Infantry, and advanced in 1837 to the dignity of Major-General and Brigadier at St. Pölten. In 1845, he commanded the 33d Regiment of Infantry at Vienna; in 1846, having received the dignity of Field-Marshal Lieutenant,[a] he was sent to Trieste in the capacity of General of Division and Supreme Military Commander. In 1848, he found occasion to do some good service at that place. Placing himself, on his own responsibility, at the head of the navy, he dismissed the suspected Italian officers and sailors, put the men-of-war at the different stations on the Dalmatian coast in security, and saved some men-of-war already on their way to Venice.[274] He ordered the necessary measures of defense at Trieste, Pola, Pirano, and other important points on the coast, secured the frontiers menaced by insurrection, and prepared for the offensive, which was taken in fact by Feldzeugmeister,[b] Count Nugent, on April 17, 1848, after the arrival of reenforcements from the inland provinces. A rowing flotilla, organized by Gyulay, supported the coast operations of the army. On May 23, the Piedmontese fleet appeared before Trieste, but was kept at bay by the preparations he had made; its attempt at surprising the distant battery at St. Barcola, was likewise baffled. The Piedmontese fleet alarmed Trieste for the last time on the 8th of June, but, finding Gyulay well prepared, withdrew from the horizon of the town on the 4th of July, and from the Adriatic Sea after the battle of Custozza. In reward for these services, Gyulay received different orders from the Emperor and the right of citizenship from the magistracy of Trieste. Being intrusted at the beginning of June, 1849, with the Austrian War Ministry, he is said to have displayed great energy and activity. At the occupation of Raab,[275] he formed

[a] The rank in the Austrian army corresponding to Lieutenant-General.—*Ed.*
[b] An army officer second to field marshal.—*Ed.*

part of the Emperor's suite. From Vienna, whither he had returned to his office, he hastened, on the news of the defeat at Acs,[276] immediately to Komorn, there to take the necessary measures. Subsequently, he was sent on a tour of inspection through the whole empire, and presented his report to Francis Joseph. After an exchange, in July, 1850, of the War Ministry for the command of the 5th Corps at Milan, he was named Feldzeugmeister, and received the order of the Golden Fleece.[277] After Radetzky's retirement, he got the command of the second army, which he has now led against Piedmont. He is one of the Austrian Generals, mostly Slavs or Magyars by birth, that have disgraced themselves by women-flogging and other infamous brutalities.

Two battalions of Vienna volunteers have already left for the theater of war, and a third battalion is marching off to-day. These volunteers were, at first, the heroes of the day, dressed as they were in the uniforms of the *Legionairs* of 1848,[278] and belonging to the *autochthone* gentry of the suburbs. Balls and concerts and theatrical representations for their benefit abounded, and even the Austrian Waltz Orpheus, Mr. Strauss, composed a new march in their honor before his rather unpatriotic departure for Petersburg. It cannot, however, be denied that latterly the popularity of these newfangled warriors has sunk to a frightful discount. These primitive roughs of the suburbs made somewhat too free with beer and cigars and the better half of mankind, and sometimes rather overstepped the limits of even Vienna "humor." What they are, they tell themselves in their pet song:

"Ich bin ein ächter Wiener,
Führ ein lustiges Leben,
Und da hat mich mein Vater
Zu den Deutschmeistern geben;
Deutschmeister ist ein
Gar lustiges Regiment,
Hält in der einen Hand den Säbel,
In der andern das Ziment."

("I am a true child of Vienna, lead a merry life, and so my father has given me to the *Deutschmeister*; Deutschmeister is a very merry regiment, which wields in the one hand the saber, and in the other the Ziment." Ziment, I should add, is a beer-pot encompassing a rather awful quantity of fluid.)

One of the exploits of these "free and easy" people took a somewhat serious turn, and was justly reprimanded by the press. The barracks of our friends are situated on the Salzgries, a place

which, like the streets leading to it, is principally inhabited by Israelites. The Jews from Galicia having business to transact at Vienna, used also to repair to those rather dirty regions. Now, returning one evening to their barracks from the *Sperl*,[a] where they had been publicly feasted and congratulated upon their eventual prowess, our heroic wags, in a rather excited state of mind, gave some foretaste of their future operations by a sudden onslaught on the unhappy Israelites. They demolished the windows of some, trampled others down, cut off the beards of many, and even threw one unhappy victim into a tar-tun. Quietly passing people were apostrophized by the question, "Are you a Jew?" and on the answer being affirmative, mercilessly beaten, with noisy exclamations of "*Macht nichts, der Jud wird geprügelt*" ("never mind, the Jew must be cudgeled.") The hypersthenic feelings of those Vienna wags may be judged from one instance: A shoemaker's apprentice, of the age of fifteen, being refused admission to the volunteer corps by the recruiting sergeant, hung himself in despair.

The monetary and financial disturbance is visible in all regions, from the highest to the lowest. First, as you will have seen before from the European press, the Emperor himself has pawned the crown jewels. Then, in the second instance, whatever organ of the Vienna press be taken in hand, a prominent column headed "Patriotic Donations," is sure to strike the eye. These patriotic gifts, tendered either for war purposes in general or for the formation of volunteer corps in particular, vary extremely in amount, some falling as low as 2 florins 12 kreuzers, some rising to the respectable hight of 10,000 to 12,000 florins. The money donations are here and there interspersed with presents of a more medieval character, such as a pair of revolvers from a dealer in arms, paper for cartridges from a paper manufacturer, stuff for uniforms from a clothier, and so forth. Between the individual gifts there figure, more or less suspiciously, collections by provincial communes acting under the official pressure of their petty magistrates and Bürgermeisters (Mayors). One feature, however, distinguishes all the more valuable contributions, that of being tendered not in money of any kind, but in State obligations and coupons of public funds, so that the State is literally paid in "its own coin." The most unmistakable sign of the monetary derangement which intrudes itself upon you at every step is the total disappearance of small coin for the ready money transactions

[a] A well-known café in Vienna.—*Ed.*

of daily life. The very moment the suspension of cash payments was officially announced[a] together with the financial measures accompanying it, the small metallic currency, copper as well as silver, disappeared as if by the stroke of a magic wand. Recourse was taken to the same primitive method of parceling out larger paper into aliquot parts which so much bewildered the foreign visitor of Vienna in 1848—every individual holder of a one-florin bank note, cutting it into so many fractions as he stood in need of for effecting his retail purchases. The Government, at Vienna and in the provinces, has tried to stop this dilaniating process by a proclamation warning the public that fragments of notes will not be received in payment by the tax-gatherer and by the bank.[b] With regard to the bank this warning seems illegal, since there still exists a law of the year 1848, obliging the bank to accept such fractions of notes, and there is at the bank even a whole system for calculating them. It has been officiously asserted that there were in circulation 28,000,000 of florins in small cash, a sum which, it is added, twofold exceeded the real demand. The authorities, therefore,

> "are resolved seriously to oppose the silly speculation, which at present renders the small currency scarce."

This supposition of a superabundance of small cash, is, of course, far from meeting the visible deficiency of the thing needful.

The authorities should have been aware that the premium on silver has risen enormously, that even copper bears a premium of 10 per cent, and that the peasantry are everywhere hoarding whatever sounds like metal. The Governors of Bohemia and Lower Austria have reminded the public of a law punishing all *agiotage* in silver and copper coins, with a fine of fifty florins, and even heavier penalties, but all in vain. Such repressive measures miss their effect, the more surely when coupled with such official announcements as that contained in the official part of the *Wiener Zeitung*, according to which the silver pieces of six kreuzers will be put out of legal circulation in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom from the 1st of June.[c] The Government will finally be compelled to

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[a] The *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, No. 101, May 1, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] "Oesterreichischer Kaiserstaat. Wien, 2. Mai (Französische Unterthanen. Papiergeld)", *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, No. 104, May 5, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] Concerning this announcement on May 7, 1859 see the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 131, May 11, 1859.—*Ed.*

act upon the petition of the Chamber of Commerce of Lower Austria, and, however unrespectable it may be, to issue government paper for retail transactions at the respective denominations of 5, 10 and 25 kreuzers.

Ascending now from the low regions of retail transactions to those of the money market and commerce, properly so called, we have first to note the failure, already known to you, of the eminent firm of Arnstein & Eskeles, which was declared on the 5th of May. They were the principal bill-brokers of the metropolis on whom the discount of bills not immediately to be transacted at the bank, and the rediscount of the industrial and commercial bills of the provinces principally devolved. Apart from the metropolis, the monetary transactions of the manufacturers of Hungary, Bohemia and Silesia, were concentrated in their hands. The firm boasted of a standing of 80 years, and its chief, Baron von Eskeles, united in his hands the functions of Director of the National Bank, Consul-General for Denmark, Chairman of the Discount Company of Lower Austria, President of the Company for State Railways, Administrator of the Southern Railway, etc. He was, in one word, next to Rothschild, the highest financial authority of the Empire. Arnstein & Eskeles had played a prominent part in the time of the Vienna Congress, when the *salon* of Frau von Arnstein formed a center of reunion for the political and literary celebrities of the day. One of the immediate causes leading to this failure, which involves a sum of about $30,000,000, was the refusal of the Paris Crédit Mobilier to honor the drafts of the Vienna firm. Consequent upon their downfall not a day has passed without a whole list of failures being registered at the Vienna Stock Exchange of firms, among which the most important are those of Solomon Cammando, Eidam & Co., G. Blanc, Plecher & Co., Diem & English, I. F. Gaartner, F. C. Schmidt, M. Greger & Co., the Brothers Pokorny, Moritz Kollinsky, Charles Zohler, A. Kirschmann, etc. In the Austrian provinces bankruptcies immediately connected with this disaster have broken out at Brünn, Prague, Reichenberg, Lemberg, etc., the most important being that of the firm of Lutheroth & Co. at Trieste, whose chief is the Prussian Consul and Director of the Austrian Lloyd.[279] Beyond the confines of the Austrian States some first-rate houses at Breslau, Magdeburg, Munich, Frankfort, and the Loan and Commercial Bank at Cassel, have succumbed. Generally speaking, the present panic reminds one of the commercial panic at Hamburg in the Autumn of 1857, and the Hamburg proceedings for the alleviation of the panic[280] will also be imitated by this

Government. Some relaxation will take place in the laws concerning bills of exchange; the National Bank will form a Committee for the support of firms only momentarily driven to a suspension of payments by the general state of discredit, and two millions of paper money will be granted to the banks of Prague and Brünn.

Written on May 14, 1859

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Frederick Engels

## THE WAR—NO PROGRESS

Our latest telegrams from the seat of war, received yesterday by the *Asia,* extend to the 13th inst., precisely three days later than the advices by the *Vanderbilt.* These telegrams consist of the brief and rather confused bulletins issued by the Sardinian Government, the Austrians publishing no account of their proceedings.[a] Nothing of great importance has occurred in these three days. The campaign continues to maintain its preeminence in the annals of modern warfare for slowness. We almost seem to be transplanted back to those antediluvian times of pompous and do-nothing warfare, to which Napoleon put such a sudden and decisive end. Here we have two immense armies opposed to each other on a line extending over forty miles, each army capable of acting with from 100,000 to 140,000 men in the field; the one approaches, the other reconnoiters, feels its way now on this, now on that point of the enemy's position, and then draws back, while the other army does not stir from the ground it occupies; so that a distance varying from eight to twenty miles now separates the two.

There are some facts to give a rational explanation to this anomaly; but still anomaly it remains, and this in consequence of the error committed in the beginning of the campaign by the attacking party. As we have already shown,[b] the whole end and purpose of the Austrian invasion of Piedmont was foiled by an indolence and indecision in the Austrian movements which could scarcely be ascribed to anything but to the vacillation of Gen.

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[a] The beginning of the article shows signs of interference by the *New-York Daily Tribune* editors.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 316-19.— *Ed.*

Gyulay. The reports since received tend fully to confirm this view. The Austrians offer no explanations for the strange conduct of their army—a plain proof that they let the responsibility fall undivided on the head of the General-in-Chief. Indeed, it was only after a week's campaigning that the Austrian bulletins began to speak of the bad weather and the inundated state of the country as the reason which compelled their General to withdraw his troops from the fever-stricken rice-swamps of the Po. And now our well-informed London correspondent writes us that the Emperor himself, imitating the example of Louis Napoleon, is going with Gen. Hess to supersede Gyulay and take the command.[a]

As far as we can at present judge, the campaign appears to have proceeded as follows: In the first instance, the Austrian right wing was pushed forward toward Novara and Vercelli, with demonstrations on the Lago Maggiore. The center, and perhaps the left wing, marching by Vigevano and Pavia in parallel lines, were left rather behind. The column from Pavia only reached Lomello on the 2d of May with its main body. The throwing forward of the right wing now appears to have had for its object, first, to direct the attention of the Allies by a threatened attack on the Dora and Turin; and, secondly, to bring into requisition the resources of the Upper Lomellina for the use of the Austrian army. It was on the 3d of May only that the attack of the Austrian main body upon the line of Casale and Valenza developed itself; on the 4th, demonstrations were made against Frassineto (opposite the junction of the Sesia and Po) and Valenza, while the right wing was drawn nearer to the center; at the same time a bridge was thrown across the Po between Cambio and Salé, and a bridge-head constructed on the southern bank of the river. According to some accounts the 8th Austrian army-corps, said to have marched from Piacenza on the southern side of the Po, here effected its junction with the main body, and passed the river after a short excursion to Tortona and Voghera, and after destroying the railway bridge over the Scrivia. According to other accounts, however, and to some of our latest telegrams, there is still an Austrian force on the road between Piacenza and Stradella. Whether the reported excursion to Voghera was intended as a feint against Novi and the communications between Genoa and Alessandria, it is difficult to decide; at all events, it misled most of the able editors of Turin,

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[a] The report from London of May 14, 1859, *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5647, May 27, 1859. It may have been written by Ferenc Pulszky.—*Ed.*

Paris and London into prophesying a decisive battle on the old battle-ground of Novi, or somewhere about Marengo, which prophecy was at once negatively realized by the Austrians withdrawing to the northern side of the Po and breaking up their bridge. After the first few days of May, indeed, very heavy rains had set in. The Po rose ten to twelve feet near Pavia, and the secondary rivers in proportion. The inundations of the rice-fields in the valley of the Po—no obstacle ordinarily to a marching army, as the roads are formed by dykes above the level of the inundations—now became a serious matter; the whole country and many roads were flooded. Besides, the Austrians did not march; they remained in this swamp, obliged to bivouac either in the roads or in the wet fields. Accordingly, after they had remained a few days in the midst of this flood, it became imperative to them to withdraw to higher and drier ground; as it is, they must have suffered severe loss from sickness, especially from cholera and fever. The consequence was a movement of concentration toward the country about Mortara and Novara, a retreat not from the enemy (for they remained quiet enough in their lines), but from the elements. Since then the Austrians have constructed fortifications on the line of the Sesia, and pushed reconnoitering and foraging parties close up to the line of the Dora, which forms the extreme left of the allied position.

In all these series of operations, we cannot see a single stroke of good generalship. In fact, the first favorable moment for an attack upon the allied position once having been missed, the whole advance into the Lomellina became destitute of any definite and important purpose. The pushing forward of the Austrian right wing was a decided mistake. There was no time to be lost in artificial maneuvering; to march straight upon the enemy, to attack and beat him before he could fully concentrate his forces, was the only correct plan of operations. If it is true that Benedek's 8th corps marched by the southern bank of the Po, this was another error; it was separated from the main body by a large river, and if the rain had set in a day or two sooner, the throwing across of the bridge at Cambio would have been impossible, and the Austrians themselves would have been in that disconnected position in which they expected to find the enemy. The whole passage of the Po appears to have been forced upon them by the necessity of bringing Benedek over; why was he not from the beginning on the northern bank? By thus bridging the Po and the operations connected with it, they were compelled to stay a few days longer in the pestilential swamps than they otherwise need

have done. Finally the whole campaign appears to have been mismanaged. There is no decision in all these Austrian movements; demonstrations are made in all directions, but we nowhere see a move for a real attack; and thus they grope their way all along the enemy's line until at last the inundations place an impassable barrier of some miles in width between the contending hosts. Then, for want of something better to do, and in order to appear at least to be doing, they reconnoiter toward the Dora; but all these reconnoissances are made by small flying columns which cannot act with any vigor and have to fall back almost as soon as they reach any advanced point.

While thus the Austrians are in reality doing nothing, their opponents seem to be busy at the same game. They are now as much concentrated as they can be on the long line they occupy. Their positions are as follows: The extreme left line of the Dora and Po, as far as Casale, is occupied by the French corps of Gen. Niel, which includes two divisions; with the left at Casale, consisting of two Piedmontese divisions and 3,000 volunteers under Garibaldi. The center, at Valenza, is formed by the French corps of Gen. McMahon, and a Piedmontese division—in all, three divisions. The right, at Alessandria, consists of Canrobert's French corps and one Piedmontese division—in all, three divisions. The extreme right, at Novi and Arquata, is Baraguay d'Hilliers' French corps and one Piedmontese division—in all, three divisions. The reserve is formed by two divisions of the French guard in Genoa. Estimating the division at 10,000 men—which will be high enough, as the French have not had time to recall their men from furlough, and will count less, although the Sardinian divisions are stronger—this would give a grand total of 150,000 men, which is about the strength of the troops now in line on the side of the Allies. Of these, 110,000 to 120,000 men might act in the field. That they have been so extremely passive may be caused partly by the want of preparation on the part of the French, who have very little artillery and ammunition with them, and partly by orders from Louis Napoleon, who undoubtedly means to reap the first laurels of the campaign. This new General arrived at Genoa on the 12th, where he was received with popular acclamations. On the 13th he saw the King,[a] who came from the camp for the interview; on the same day he issued a Napoleonic proclamation,[b]

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[a] Victor Emmanuel II.—*Ed.*

[b] Napoleon III, "Armée d'Italie. Ordre du jour, Gênes, le 12 mai 1859", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 134, May 14, 1859.—*Ed.*

which we copy on another page[a]; and on the 14th, he was to leave for the army.

The rains now appear to have also subsided, and another mail or two may bring us news of a more decisive character. This state of suspense and inactivity cannot last much longer. Either the Austrians must re-cross the Po, or a battle must be fought in the Lomellina. It may be that the Austrians have been looking out for and preparing a strong defensive position, in which to receive the onset of the allied troops. If they have found one, this would be their best policy; they cannot well retrograde without showing fight, and at the same time they would be able, in such a position, to bring to bear all the strength they now have in the field, while the Allies would be weakened by the garrisons left in Casale, Alessandria and Valenza.

In the mean time, both parties are looking for reenforcements. Austria has sent a corps of 50,000 men under Gen. Wimpffen to Trieste and its neighborhood, to form a reserve for the army of Italy; while Louis Napoleon has organized two more army corps for Italy; and there are rumors that Prince Napoleon will take charge of a motley expedition, to land somewhere in the Peninsula to conquer a kingdom for himself.

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[a] This clause is inserted by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune.—Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## FIGHTING AT LAST

The *City of Washington,* which sailed from Liverpool on the 25th ult., and passed Cape Race on Thursday evening last, brings intelligence of more than usual interest from the seat of war.[a] The movement of retreat on the part of the Austrians, and the allied advance for the reoccupation of the Lomellina, has decidedly commenced, though it does not seem to be progressing with great rapidity, since the Austrian headquarters, which had been removed to Garlasco, a farm near the Ticino, on the road from Vigevano to Groppello, on the 19th, were still there on the 24th. On the south of the Po, however, a conflict has taken place at Montebello, a small town on the road from Stradella to Voghera, between a body of Stadion's corps and the advanced guard of Baraguay d'Hilliers, in which, according to their own account, the allies had decidedly the advantage. Our reports of this affair are as yet necessarily of the briefest. The French say[b] that Forey's division, 6,000 to 7,000 strong (its full strength is 10,000), with a regiment of Piedmontese cavalry, engaged an Austrian force, 15,000 strong, or the half of Stadion's entire corps, and that after four hours hard fighting they were repulsed with a loss of 1,500 to 2,000 killed and wounded and 200 prisoners, some of whom have already arrived at Marseilles, while the allied loss was only from 600 to 700. However, the defeat of the Austrians was not so decisive as to allow the allies to pursue the retreating enemy. According to the Austrian version,[c] Stadion had sent a body of

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[a] This sentence is inserted by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune.—Ed.*

[b] The report from Alessandria of May 21, 1859, *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 142, May 22, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] The report from Vienna of May 22, 1859, *The Times,* No. 23313, May 23, 1859.—*Ed.*

troops across the Po to reconnoiter. They had advanced toward Voghera as far as Montebello, when they encountered a superior French force, and, after a hot fight, retired in good order behind the Po. This discrepancy in the reports is not unnatural considering the exaggerations which always occur in such matters in the absence of positive official figures. We must wait for more precise intelligence before we can judge as to the importance and real features of the fight. At any rate, however, it was merely a set-to of outposts, and not a great field-day in which the strength of the opposing armies and the capacity of the generals is really tested.

While the second act of the drama has thus fairly commenced, the materials for a critical examination of the operations during the first act have received a very valuable addition in the letters of the correspondents of the London *Times*[a] and the *Augsburg Gazette*[b] at the Austrian headquarters. But for these we should be obliged to judge of the Austrian maneuvers by the Piedmontese bulletins, which, as a matter of course, were not intended to report the whole truth in the premises; and by the Austrian bulletins, which have scarcely reported anything at all. To fill up the many deficiencies, we had at first nothing but the contradictory rumors and surmises afloat among the officers and newspaper correspondents now in Piedmont—rumors the credibility of which was very slender indeed. And, as the Austrians had taken the initiative of the campaign, and up to their withdrawal from Vercelli had maintained it, the Allies preserving a comparatively passive attitude, the interest centered in that army of which we had no information at all, or, at the best, but negative information. It is not, therefore, to be wondered that, in matters of detail, we have been led into conclusions which are not now borne out by fact. It is more wonderful, on the contrary, that we should, on the whole, have had the good luck to guess correctly the main features of the campaign. There is only one important point in which we have differed from what is now stated to have been the original plan of the Austrians; but, whether this plan was distinctly traced from the beginning, as it is now said to have been, or whether the present "original plan" is but an afterthought, is still a question.

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[a] "The Austrian Army in Piedmont", *The Times,* No. 23313, May 23, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] "Von der österreichischen Armee in Italien. Mortara, 16. Mai", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 144, May 24, 1859.—*Ed.*

We thought when the first news of the invasion of Piedmont by the Austrians reached us, that their intention was still, as it evidently had been all along, to fall by a rapid march on the Piedmontese army and French vanguard before the body of the French had time to arrive. We are now informed that this idea had previously been given up. The Austrians appear to have been under the impression that the French began to enter the Piedmontese territory on the 24th; and, although no French regiment put a foot on Piedmontese ground before the 26th, this false report may indeed have induced them to abandon all attempts at a *coup de main* against whatever troops might be in front of them. Consequently, the invasion lost that character of rapidity with which the pursuit of the larger object would have invested it. It was merely a commencement of hostilities, ordered by the Emperor, and with no further object than to occupy part of the hostile territory, to make its resources available for the invaders, and to deprive the defending army of the use of these resources. If this was the object, it was pretty evident that the invasion must halt at the Sesia and Po, at Vercelli and Valenza. This being the case, no hurry was required. Methodically, slowly and surely, the Austrian army marched into the Piedmontese territory. There was another point which had great influence on this mode of action. The Austrians moved by the two main roads which lead from east to west through the Lomellina; the one from Pavia to Valenza, the other from Abbiategrasso to Vigevano and Casale. The northern road, from Boffalora to Vercelli, was not used by them at all. Both these roads are intersected by numerous rivers running from north-west to south-east, two of which, the Terdoppio and Agogna, are of some importance. The bridges being destroyed, the roads broken up in many places, while the lowlands to the right and left of the roads were either inundated or soaked with water, the advance was much retarded, and the whole of the army, 150,000 to 180,000 men, had to march on these two roads. Accordingly, we are not now astonished to learn that the last corps of the Austrian army crossed the Ticino not earlier than the 1st of May; for a corps of 30,000 to 35,000 men, marching on one single road, with its baggage and train, will take up a length of at least 12 to 15 miles, or a day's march; and as three corps marched on the road from Pavia to Casale, it follows that the third of these corps passed the Ticino, at Pavia, two days after the first.

The advanced guard passed on the 29th at Pavia; this was a brigade of the 5th corps under Gen. Festetics. It was followed by

the whole of the 3d corps (Schwarzenberg) advancing to Groppello; on the same day another corps, the 7th (Gen. Zobel), passed further north at Bereguardo and went to Gambolò. On the 30th the 8th corps (Benedek) followed the 3d at Pavia, and the 5th (Stadion) followed the 7th at Bereguardo. On the 1st of May, the 2d corps (Liechtenstein) passed at Pavia. In this formation, the 7th corps forming the extreme right, the 5th, 3d and 2d forming the center, and the 8th the extreme left, the army passed first the Terdoppio, then the Agogna, and finally appeared about the evening of the 2d before the Po and Sesia. From this we see that the Piedmontese reports about large bodies of troops passing at Boffalora and Arona, were completely in error (a fact which Garibaldi's unopposed advance to Gravellona, on Lake Maggiore, fully confirms), and that they were equally wrong in supposing Gen. Benedek with the 8th corps to have issued from Piacenza and marched, in an isolated column, along the southern bank of the Po.[a] The Austrians marched, on the contrary, on as narrow a front (of twelve miles) as an army of 150,000 men ever march. They kept together as closely and methodically as possible, having but a few flying columns on their flanks about Novara, Arona and the southern side of the Po. Now this very methodical march seems to us to prove that every idea of an attack upon the Piedmontese had not been given up. The enemy being notoriously incapable of offering serious resistance before his line of defense was reached, it would have been, but for this idea, subjecting the troops to unnecessary fatigue and hardships to confine them to such a narrow space. The road to Novara might have been used without detriment and to immense advantage, Vercelli being, under all circumstances, one of the necessary objects of a mere occupation of the Lomellina and Novarese. That this advantage was neglected, seems to us a certain proof that a hope was still lingering in the Austrian headquarters of finding a chance to attack, with superior strength and under favorable circumstances, the hostile forces about Casale or Alessandria. A *coup de main* against Novi (the nucleus of the railway connection between Genoa, Alessandria and Stradella) appears certainly to have been under consideration. To effect this, the bridge at Cornale was thrown across the Po during the night of the 3d, and Gen. Benedek passed over with his 8th corps. He behaved with great

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[a] See "Bulletin officiel de la guerre: N° 2. Turin, 30 avril au matin", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 124, May 4, 1859; *The Times*, No. 23295, May 2, 1859; *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, No. 107, May 8, 1859.—*Ed.*

activity; in less than twelve hours he occupied Voghera, Castelnuovo della Scrivia and Tortona, destroyed the railway bridges; and would very likely have ventured on toward Novi, had not the rains and the sudden rise of the Po, which partly destroyed his bridge, compelled him to retreat in order to keep his communication with the main army. The bridge was restored, and the whole of the Austrian force was again concentrated on the northern bank of the Po. The weather rendered a stay in the inundated lowlands of the Po impossible; consequently, the army took up a position further north, between Garlasco, Mortara and Vercelli, profiting by the proximity of the main forces to the Sesia, to reconnoiter and forage in the district west of that river. This they accomplished without finding any resistance worth speaking of; and on the 9th abandoned the western bank of the Sesia except Vercelli, removing their headquarters to Mortara, where they remained as we have said, till the 19th. While at Belgiojoso they threw a bridge across the Po, near the mouth of the Ticino, and a corps—it is not known how strong or how composed—occupied the position of Stradella, and foraged the districts of Southern Piedmont, adjoining the duchy of Parma. We suspect that this was the corps with which Forey had the battle at Montebello. But on this point we must wait for more positive information. The Sardinians are apparently on the point of experiencing the full delights of the French alliance. Their army is to be cut up; instead of forming a separate corps, and earning its own glory, each of its five divisions is to be made an appendix to one of the five French army corps, in which, of course, it will be completely merged, so that all the generalship and all the glory will belong to the French exclusively. Genoa, forts and all, has already passed completely into the possession of the French; and now the Sardinian army will cease to exist, except as a sort of appendix to the French. The Napoleonic liberation of Italy is indeed beginning to dawn. Though there is nothing surprising or improbable in the charges of brutal atrocity and plundering in the Lomellina, which the Sardinians bring against the Austrians, it is but just to say that the correspondence of the London *Times*[a] and the *Augsburg Gazette*,[b] from the Austrian headquarters, casts a different light on the matter. According to these authorities, the hatred of the

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[a] "The Austrian Army in Piedmont", *The Times*, No. 23309, May 18, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] "Von der österreichischen Armee in Italien. Lomello, 3. Mai," Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 131, May 11, 1859.—*Ed.*

peasantry in the Lomellina, as well as in Lombardy, against the landlords far exceeds their aversion against the foreign oppressor. Now, the landlords of the Lomellina (formerly an Austrian province) are mostly *sudditi misti*, mixed subjects, belonging to Austria as well as to Piedmont. All the great nobles of Milan have large possessions in the Lomellina. They are Piedmontese, and anti-Austrian at heart; and, by contrast, the peasantry of the province rather lean toward Austria. This is proved by the cordial reception the Austrians have found in the Lomellina, and it would appear that their requisitions and exactions have been as much as possible confined to the property of the nobles, and to the towns, the seats of Italian patriotism, while the peasantry have been as much as possible spared. This policy is essentially Austrian, and has been so ever since 1846[281]; and it explains at once the outcry made in the Piedmontese press about requisitions which do not exceed, after all, what is customary in modern warfare, and do not reach what French troops have been in the habit of exacting.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE BATTLE OF MONTEBELLO

The mails of the *Africa* add little to our previous knowledge with regard to this famous battle, of which such great account has been made by the Bonapartist press on both sides of the Atlantic.[a]

Of Gyulay's report[b] we have as yet only a brief telegraphic extract; and the mass of the French and Sardinian accounts are but the gossip of Turin and Paris, with so small pretensions to accuracy that they do not even give correctly the numbers of the regiments engaged. The deficiency is indeed supplied to some extent by Gen. Forey's report[c] which we received by the *City of Washington* on Monday night; but Forey does not undertake to state either the strength or the losses of the Austrians. From Baraguay d'Hilliers, unfortunately, we have nothing; for as there were troops of his corps engaged, in addition to Forey's division, his report would certainly clear up some doubtful points. But, while waiting for more ample and authentic intelligence, we proceed to make some observations founded on a careful comparison of all the documents before us, which may not be without their value. The Austrians, having been informed that a movement of the French toward the line of the Po, between Pavia and Piacenza, was in contemplation, had a bridge thrown across that river at Vaccarizza, not far from Pavia. The corps of Gen. Stadion was sent over to reconnoiter the position and the

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[a] This sentence is inserted by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

[b] "Official Bulletin Published To-day. Vienna, May 26", *The Times*, No. 23317, May 27, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] "Rapport officiel de M. le général Forey, transmis par S. Exc. le maréchal Baragaey d'Hilliers à l'Empereur", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 114, May 24, 1859.—*Ed.*

intentions of the enemy. Stadion occupied the position of the Stradella, a defile close to the river, where a spur of the Apennines, over which there are no carriage-roads, approaches the Po, and sent three brigades (15 battalions, with some eighteen guns and perhaps some cavalry) toward Voghera. The Austrians, no doubt leaving strong parties on their line of march to secure their retreat, met the enemy's outposts in front of Casteggio, and drove them through the town and through the village of Montebello. They advanced to the next village, Genestrello; but there they were met by a brigade of Gen. Forey's division (Brigade Beuret, 17th battalion of Chasseurs, 74th and 84th regiments of the line), and the combat became stationary. At this period, the Austrians evidently had but a few troops engaged—perhaps a brigade. The French were speedily reenforced by four battalions of Forey's other brigade (Blanchard, 98th, and one battalion of the 91st of the line). This gave them the superiority in numbers. Beuret's brigade was formed for the attack; took Genestrello, and afterward Montebello, after an obstinate fight; but at Casteggio, behind the small river on which it is situated, the Austrians made a stand. They very likely received fresh supports at this point, for they drove the French back in disorder upon Montebello, and were on the point of entering that village again when they were met by a portion of Gen. Vinoy's division, consisting of the 6th battalion of Chasseurs and the 52d regiment of the line. This again turned the scale in favor of the French, and the Austrians retreated in good order to Casteggio, where they left a rear-guard, until their columns had fairly got in marching order. Having thus accomplished their object, and ascertained where the corps of Baraguay d'Hilliers (forming the extreme right wing of the French) was posted, they retreated unmolested across the Po, certain that, so far, there was no intention on the part of the allies to advance toward Piacenza.

The Austrians cannot have had more than about two brigades on the battle-field, for three battalions at least must have been left on the road, and two more were required to fight two battalions of the French 91st at Oriolo, from which reason only one battalion of this regiment fought at Montebello. Of these two brigades or ten battalions, a portion only can have been engaged; the Austrian General, who should engage his last reserves in a reconnoissance, would certainly be very severely blamed.

On the French side there were three regiments (74th, 84th and 98th), and one battalion of the line (of the 91st), beside one battalion of Chasseurs; in all eleven battalions, supported at the

end of the battle by two battalions of the 52d, and one of the 6th Chasseurs. Thus, all in all, we have fourteen[a] battalions of French against some ten Austrian battalions; and although the latter are certainly stronger, still the numerical superiority was on the side of the French when the turn of the fight came. Independent of this, it is to be remembered that the Austrians did not fight for victory so much as to compel their opponents to show what strength they had on a given point; and this object they fully accomplished. It is, therefore, absurd to regard this insignificant engagement as a victory of importance. With the gigantic armies now opposed to each other on the Italian plains, an affair like that of Montebello is of no more account than a mere collision of outposts in wars of smaller magnitude; and if this be a victory where are the fruits of it? The French say they took 140 wounded and 60 unwounded prisoners; no more than they had a right to expect after a couple of hours' struggle for a village. They also took one ammunition wagon and lost one. But pursuit there was none; there was no attempt to reap the fruits of the victory, although the French had plenty of Piedmontese cavalry. The Austrians evidently gave their opponents the last repulse, and then marched away in perfect order and unmolested.

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has "fifteen".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## A PRUSSIAN VIEW OF THE WAR

Berlin, May 24, 1859

The war got up by the French autocrat is sure not only to be not "localized" in the sense of the political slang, according to which the term is understood to mean that the operations of war are not to be carried beyond the limits of the Italian Peninsula; the war, on the contrary, will not be confined even within the bounds of a simple war to be fought between arbitrary governments and to be decided by the action of drilled armies. In its progress it will turn into a general revolutionary conflagration of continental Europe, out of which not many of the present rulers are likely to save their crowns and their dynasties. Germany may become the center of the revulsion, as it must become the center of military operations the very moment Russia has made ready to throw her sword into the balance. Not much reasoning is required in order to arrive at the conclusion that a serious defeat on the battle-field will lead to revolutionary convulsions in France or in Austria, but Berlin is perhaps the only place which affords the data indispensable for calculating the rude trials Germany is to pass through in no distant future. Day by day you may discern, almost with the naked eye, the growth of the conditions which, when developed to a certain degree of maturity, will produce a tremendous crisis hardly yet suspected by the vulgar of all ranks. I may sum up the symptoms of the coming storm in a few words: The jealous rivalry of the German Princes, which condemns them to inactivity during the first phase of the war; the social misery and disaffection, spreading like wild-fire from the Vistula to the Rhine, which will add civil commotions to foreign aggression during the second phase of the war; and lastly, the outbreak of the Slavonian populations incorporated with Germany, which will

join an internal struggle of races to a foreign war and a revolutionary dislocation.

Now, let us first consider the social basis the German Princes will stand upon, when at last the force of circumstances shall have compelled them to decide upon some common course of action. You are aware that the period from 1849 to 1859 marks an epoch unprecedented in the economical development of Germany. During that time it has, so to say, been converted from an agricultural into an industrial country. Take one single city, Berlin, for instance: In 1848, it mustered hardly 50,000 manufacturing laborers, male and female, while at this moment their aggregate number has expanded to 180,000. Take one single branch of industry: Before 1848, the export of wool to England, France and other countries formed one of the principal German resources, while at the present moment the home-grown German wool hardly suffices for the consumption of the home manufactories. Simultaneously with the development of manufactories, railways, steam navigation, and exploration of mines, there has suddenly sprung up a credit system not only proportionate to the general progress of industry and commerce, but fostered beyond its legitimate bounds by the hot-house contrivances of the *Crédit Mobilier* imported from France. The peasantry and the small middle class, including, until lately, the immense majority of the nation, had, before the revolution of 1848, quietly taken to the old Asiatic method of hoarding hard money, but have now replaced it by paper securities of all sorts, all colors, and all denominations. The Hamburg crisis of 1857 had slightly shaken, but not seriously damaged this fabric of new-fangled prosperity, which now reels at the very first roar of the cannon on the banks of the Po and Ticino. You have doubtless already been informed of the reaction of the Austrian commercial crisis upon the rest of Germany, and of the bankruptcies following each other in rapid succession at Leipsic, Berlin, Munich, Augsburg, Magdeburg, Cassel, Frankfort and other commercial centers of Germany. These disasters, however, denote only transitory catastrophes in the higher commercial spheres. To give an idea of the real state of things, I think it best to call your attention to a proclamation of the Prussian Government just published, in which, referring to the dangerous disbandment of whole industrial armies in Silesia, Berlin, Saxony, and Rhenish Prussia, it states that it can *not* listen to the petitions of the Chambers of Commerce at Berlin, Breslau, Stettin, Danzig and Magdeburg, recommending the ambiguous experiment of issuing more inconvertible paper money, and

declines still more positively to employ the laborers on public works solely for the purpose of affording them occupation and wages.[a] The latter demand certainly sounds strange at a moment when the Government, from want of means, was forced to suddenly stop the public works already in progress. The single fact that, at the very beginning of the war, the Prussian Government should be forced to issue such a proclamation speaks volumes. Add to this sudden interruption of industrial life, a general imposition of new taxes throughout the whole of Germany, a general rise in the price of first necessaries, and a general disorganization of all business concerns by the calling in of the reserves and the Landwehr, and you may realize a faint idea of the proportions which social misery will reach in some months. The times, however, are passed when the bulk of the German people used to consider worldly misfortunes as inevitable inflictions sent from heaven. There is a low, but audible popular voice murmuring already the words: "Responsibility! If the revolution of 1848 had not been crushed by fraud and violence, France and Germany would not again be arrayed in arms against each other. If the brutal subduers of the German revolution had not lowered their crowned heads before a Bonaparte and an Alexander, there could have been no war, even now." Such are the low grumblings of the popular voice, which, by and by, will speak in accents of thunder.

I come now to the spectacle which the German Princes exhibit before the eyes of a rather impatient public. The Austrian Cabinet, since the beginning of January, had put in motion all resorts of diplomatic intrigue to induce the German States to concentrate a great federal army, into which Austrian forces were to enter to a large extent, on some point of Southern Germany, which concentration should expose France to an attack on its eastern frontiers. In this way the German Confederation was to be inveigled into an offensive war, while, at the same time, Austria reserved for herself the direction of that war. A resolution in that sense, proposed to the German Diet at Frankfort, on the 13th of May, by Hanover,[b] was met by Herr von Usedom, the Prussian

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[a] "Circular-Erlass vom 21. Mai 1859—betreffend die Bewilligung von Staats-Prämien für die Ausführung neuer Chausseebauprojekte in solchen Fällen, wo derartige Bauten zur Vorbeugung oder Beseitigung von Nothständen für erforderlich erachtet werden", *Königlich Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*, No. 121, May 24, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] For the resolution see the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 141, May 21, 1859.—*Ed.*

Plenipotentiary, with a formal protest of his Government.[a] Hence a general outburst of patriotic indignation on the part of the Princes of Southern Germany. The counterpart was now enacted by Prussia.

The Prussian Government, on the prorogation of its Parliament, had secured itself a passing popularity by declaring that it was resolved on a line of "armed mediation."[b] Hardly were the Chambers dismissed when the "armed mediation" shrunk together to the more modest dimensions of a refusal on the part of Prussia to declare itself neutral, as called upon to do by France and Russia. The negative prowess, although sufficient to arouse the wrath of the Court of St. Petersburg, was far from coming up to the expectations of the Prussian people. The armaments of the Western and Eastern fortresses, coupled as they were with the calling in of the reserves and the Landwehr, were intended to allay the popular clamor thus raised. On May 19, however, Herr von Usedom, in the name of his Government, asked the German Diet to put the Federal Army of Observation under the direct command of Prussia, and leave to her the whole initiative of the military measures to be taken. Now it was the turn of the minor German Princes, secretly backed by Austria, to verify their patriotic pretensions. Bavaria declared that the time was not yet come to subject the army of the Wittelsbachers to the commands of the Hohenzollerns. Hanover, with a rancorous "*Tu quoque,*"[c] reminded Prussia of its protest against a Federal army of observation, to be concentrated on a point of Southern Germany. Saxony, on its part, saw no reason why its august ruler should not be intrusted himself with the supreme command, if it were only with a view to set aside the conflicting pretensions of the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns. Württemberg almost preferred French invasion to Prussian supremacy; and in this way all the worst reminiscences of the Holy German Empire[282] boasted an ignominious revival. The nullification of Germany for the moment is the sum total of these bickerings between its diminutive rulers. The cry for the restoration of the German National Parliament is only the first weak protest, not on the part of the revolutionary

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[a] This protest was made on May 19, 1859. See the *Neue Preussische Zeitung,* No. 118, May 22, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] From the Prince of Prussia's speech at the closing session of the two Chambers of the Prussian Diet on May 14, 1859. See the *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung,* No. 113, May 15, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] "You too."—*Ed.*

masses, but of the anxious, mediating middle classes, against those dynastic obstructives.

I shall take another occasion to speak of the Slavonian troubles preparing in Germany.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE CAMPAIGN IN ITALY[283]

The campaign in Italy, which by now has lasted almost a month, has taken a peculiar and unexpected course. Two large armies, each of not much less than 200,000 men, concentrated opposite each other in the first days of May. While the outposts are within cannon range of one another, the two main bodies watch each other, put out feelers now here, now there, engage in light fighting at isolated points, make changes in their fronts, extend one wing or the other; but there are no large-scale encounters. This way of waging war seems out of keeping with the modern system of rapid decisive blows; it seems to be a step backwards from the lightning-quick moves and short campaigns of Napoleon.

Since Napoleon two new elements have changed warfare significantly. The first is the improved defence of states by entrenched camps and groups of fortresses at suitable points of the terrain. The fortresses of Napoleon's times were either too insignificant, too isolated from one another, or in terrain that was too indifferent strategically to raise serious obstacles to his operations. A victory in the open field or an outflanking march forced the enemy army away from its fortresses.

What fortifications can do was proved by Danzig in 1813, the quadrilateral of fortresses in Lombardy in 1848, Komorn in 1849, Sevastopol in 1855.[284] At the present time the position of the Franco-Piedmontese behind the Po and the Tanaro, between Casale, Alessandria and Valenza, forms such a system of grouped fortresses which shields an army even against considerably larger forces. The French succeeded in throwing so many troops behind this position before the Austrians arrived that an attack lost all prospects of decisive success, so that time was gained to bring up

the rest of the French troops and assemble all their supplies and equipment. This brought the Austrian offensive to a halt at Casale and Valenza, and since neither a frontal attack nor a serious outflanking of the position was possible, there was nothing else the Austrians could do but make demonstrations on the flanks, west of the Sesia and south of the Po, combined with the requisition of the useful resources for the army available in those districts.

The second factor that has changed warfare significantly since the time of Napoleon is steam. It was only by means of railways and steamships that the French were able to throw such masses of troops into Piedmont in the five days between the delivery of the Austrians' ultimatum and their actual invasion that any Austrian attack on the Piedmontese position was doomed to failure, and so to reinforce these masses during the following week that by May 20 at least 130,000 French were in the line between Asti and Novi.

The inevitable corruption and administrative disorder under the rule of an adventurer like Louis Bonaparte, however, result in the material required for the French campaign arriving only slowly and inadequately. In favourable contrast to this are the order and rapidity with which the Austrian army corps were transferred to Italy in full combat readiness. This cannot but affect the future course of the war.

The Austrians cannot advance because they have come up against the position between the Piedmontese fortresses; the French cannot because their armament is not yet complete. This is the reason for the operations coming to a standstill, and for the unmerited interest in the small action of Montebello. The whole affair comes down to the following: The Austrians received word that the French were shifting their right wing towards Piacenza; this movement aroused the suspicion that the intention was to cross the Po between Pavia and Piacenza and thus outflank the Austrian position in the Lomellina in the direction of Milan. The Austrian Fifth Army Corps (Stadion) therefore sent three brigades over a bridge thrown across the Po at Vaccarizza (below Pavia), in order to occupy the position before the Stradella and carry out a reconnaissance in the direction of Voghera. Near Casteggio these three brigades came up against the allied outposts and near Montebello against the first brigade of the French division of Forey, which they drove back out of Montebello. Soon after this, the second French brigade arrived, and now the Austrians were driven from the village after a stubborn fight; they beat off an attack on Casteggio and drove the French back on Montebello in disorder and would undoubtedly have taken it (the majority of

their troops had not yet entered battle) if a brigade of the French division of Vinoy had not arrived in the meantime. Seeing these reinforcements, the Austrians halted their advance. They had achieved their purpose; they knew now where the nearest bodies of troops of the French right wing stood, and they withdrew unhindered from Casteggio towards the Po and then over it to the main army, certain now that the French had not yet undertaken any serious movement against Piacenza. The Austrians are quite right to stay concentrated on the left bank of the Po as long as they have no imperative reason to throw their *entire* army over to the right bank; it would be a mistake to split the army *à cheval*[a] the river, and the Vaccarizza bridge, with its bridgehead, enables them to make the crossing at any time and to attack any French advance on the Stradella by the flank.

*Garibaldi,* at the head of 5,000 volunteers, has turned the Austrian right flank and is now on Lombard soil. According to the latest reports, the Austrians are already on his heels, and he is in great danger of being cut off, something that certainly would please Bonaparte the liberator greatly.

Prince Napoleon Plon-Plon has been ordered to organise an army corps in Leghorn (Tuscany), which is to fall on the flank of the Austrians. The French soldiers are furious and the Austrians laugh.

On Saturday and Sunday the Sardinians tried to establish themselves on the left bank of the Sesia but were prevented from doing so by the Austrians.

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[a] Astraddle.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## STRATEGY OF THE WAR[285]

We have very little to add to our last observations on the action at Montebello.[a] From the official Austrian report, which has at last turned up, and which yesterday adorned our columns, it becomes evident, that of the three brigades with which Gen. Stadion advanced on Montebello, portions were left behind to guard the flanks of the line of march.[b] The remainder arrived before Casteggio, which was taken by the Prince of Hessen Brigade; this brigade kept the town occupied, while the two other (incomplete) brigades advanced and took Montebello and Genestrello. They bore the brunt of the battle against the whole of Forey's division and the two cavalry regiments of Gen. de Sonnaz (Real Piedmont and Monferrato regiments)—and when they were ultimately driven in toward Casteggio, the Prince of Hessen Brigade appears to have so well supported them that no attack was ventured, and the Austrians were allowed to retreat in perfect good order and at their own convenience. It appears, however, very likely, from the Austrian reports which have come to hand, that at least the whole of Marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers's corps was assembled on the field toward the close of the engagement. This corps has three divisions of infantry and one of cavalry—amounting in all to twelve regiments of infantry, three battalions of Chasseurs, four regiments or twenty squadrons of cavalry, and a proportionate artillery force. This agrees with what the Austrians report[c] of the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 338-40.—*Ed.*

[b] Mention of the official Austrian report belongs to the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune*. See "The Battle of Montebello. Count Gyulay's Official Report", *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5662, June 14, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] "Von der österreichischen Armee in Italien. Garlasco, 22. Mai", *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 147, May 27, 1859.—*Ed.*

statements of French prisoners, that there were twelve French infantry regiments present, and with two reports from Turin—according to the first of which, Vinoy's, and, according to the second, Bazaine's division supported Forey's.[a] Now, these three divisions form together the whole of Baraguay's infantry. There is also some talk of French cavalry and Piedmontese infantry having been present; but that appears less authentic. The result, then, is this: The Austrians, who could not have any object but reconnoitering (otherwise it would have been madness to attack with three weak brigades), attained this object to the fullest extent, by compelling Baraguay to show the whole of his strength. During the engagement they fought quite as well as their opponents; when driven out of Montebello they had to retire before superior numbers, and the pursuit ended before Casteggio, where the Austrians even turned round and drove the pursuers so energetically back that they were not again molested, although by that time the French had nearly four times as many men on the field as the Austrians. Thus, if the French claim the victory, because they finally held Montebello and the Austrians retreated after the engagement, the Austrians may claim it on the ground that they drove the French from Casteggio and had the last success of the day, and especially that they completely fulfilled the object they had in view; for the engagement was commenced with the purpose of coming ultimately upon superior forces, and of course retreating before them.[b]

Since Montebello, the center and right wing of the Austrian army have seen some fighting. According to the dispatches which we received by the *Fulton,* and published yesterday,[c] the Sardinians crossed the Sesia near Vercelli on the 30th ult. and attacked and carried some Austrian intrenchments at Palestro, Casalino and Vinzaglio. Victor Emmanuel himself commanded[d]; and the work was accomplished by the bayonet. The loss of the Austrians is described by the Sardinians as very heavy. By the *Europa* at Halifax we now learn that the Austrians have twice endeavored to retake Palestro, and once were on the point of succeeding, when a body of Zouaves came to the rescue and repulsed them. Here the

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[a] The *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 148, May 28 and No. 149, May 29, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] In the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* the foregoing passage is omitted.—*Ed.*

[c] Here and in what follows information about the dispatches received is given by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune.*—*Ed.*

[d] The *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* adds here: "and fought most gallantly".—*Ed.*

Sardinians say they[a] took a thousand prisoners; but as to this affair it is impossible to form a judgment, owing to the absence of all precise details. Such obstinate fighting at the outposts on the Sesia is not what we expected from the Austrians, who are said to be in full retreat across the Ticino.[b] On their extreme right, however, they have[c] not shown so much pluck and tenacity. On the 25th of May, Garibaldi, who, with his Chasseurs of the Alps and some other troops, in all perhaps 5,000 men, had passed round the extreme right of the Austrians, crossed the Ticino and marched upon Varese, between Lake Maggiore and the Lake of Como, and took possession of that town. On the 26th he defeated an Austrian detachment which attacked him, followed up his victory with great vigor, and again, on the 27th, defeated the same detachment (reenforced by the garrison of Como), and entered that town the same night. The flying corps of Gen. Urban marched against him, and actually drove him into the mountains; but[d] our latest dispatches, received last night by the *Europa*,[e] report that he had come back and surprised the Austrians and retaken Varese. His success produced an insurrection in the towns on the Lake of Como and in the Valtellina or Upper Valley of the Adda, a mountain district, which in 1848 showed more insurrectionary energy than the towns of the Lombard plain. The steamers on the Lake of Como are in the hands of the insurgents, and 800 men from the Valtellina had joined Garibaldi. It is said that notwithstanding his temporary reverse, the insurrection in that part of Lombardy was spreading.

In this movement of Garibaldi the Allies have gained a great advantage, and the Austrians have made a great mistake. There was no harm to the latter in allowing him to take Varese; but Como ought to have been held by a strong column, which he would not have dared to meddle with. Another detachment sent toward Sesto Calende would have cut off Garibaldi's retreat, and thus, hemmed in in the small district between the lakes, a vigorous

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[a] In the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* there is the following insertion here: "not only suffered heavy losses themselves but".—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* has here: "Such obstinate fighting at the outposts on the Sesia is probably intended to hold the allied advance in check while the Austrians recross the Ticino and reenter Lombardy."—*Ed.*

[c] The *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* has here: "not been defeated, they have been outgeneraled".—*Ed.*

[d] The *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* further has: "he came back, surprised the Austrians, retook Varese and regained his former position at Como".—*Ed.*

[e] The words "received last night by the *Europa*" are inserted by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

attack must have compelled him either to lay down his arms or to pass into the neutral Swiss territory, where he would have been disarmed. But the Austrians, underrating this man, whom they call a brigand chief, and whom, if they had taken the trouble to study the siege of Rome and his march thence to San Marino,[286] they might have known to be a man of uncommon military talent, of great intrepidity, and full of resources, treated his incursion as lightly as the irruptions of Allemandi's Lombard volunteers in 1848.[287] They quite overlooked the fact that Garibaldi is a strict disciplinarian, and that he has had most of his men under his hands for four months—quite enough to break them to the maneuvering and movements of petty warfare. Garibaldi may have been sent into Lombardy by Louis Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel in order to destroy him and his volunteers—elements rather too revolutionary for this dynastic war—a hypothesis strikingly confirmed by the fact that his movement was made without the indispensable support; but it is not to be forgotten that in 1849 he took the same route and managed to escape. At all events, he gained possession of the bridge at Lecco, and of the steamers on the lake, and this insured to him the liberty of moving to the eastward of the Lake of Como. Here there is a large mountainous tract, extending north to the Splügen and Stelvio passes, east to the Lake of Garda, south to Bergamo and Brescia—a country especially adapted to partisan warfare, and where it will be very difficult to catch him, as Urban has just discovered. If 6,000 to 8,000 men would have been sufficient to ruin him in the Varese country, it may now require more than 16,000, so that his one brigade will henceforth fully occupy three of the Austrians. Still, with the forces accumulating in the Tyrol (a full army corps has been passed from Bohemia through Saxony and Bavaria by rail to the Tyrol), and with the troops holding Lombardy, we do not see how he can hold his own, notwithstanding his last success at Varese, unless the Allies gain a very speedy and very decisive victory over the Austrians. This will be a difficult matter. Another Austrian army corps, the 9th, has joined the active army, making it consist of six corps, or at least 200,000 men in all; and other corps are on the march. Still, from the fact that Louis Napoleon cannot afford to be long quiet, a battle may soon be expected; and the report that he has gone with his headquarters and guards to[a] Voghera, on the extreme right of the Allied

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[a] The *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* further has: "Novara, on the left of the Allied position, would indicate a battle in that neighborhood".—*Ed.*

position, would indicate a battle in the neighborhood of Stradella. If this be the case, we shall very likely see the Austrians defend the defile of Stradella in front, and try to operate on the French flank and rear by the bridge at Vaccarizza.[a]

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[a] The last sentence is omitted in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune.*—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## MAZZINI'S MANIFESTO[288]

Under present circumstances, any declaration on the part of Mazzini is an event deserving of greater attention than the diplomatic appeals from the contending Cabinets, or even the colored bulletins from the theater of war. However various men's opinions may be as to the character of the Roman triumvir,[289] nobody will deny that for a period of almost thirty years Italian revolution has been connected with his name, and that for the same space of time he has been acknowledged by Europe as the ablest exponent of the national aspirations of his countrymen. He has now performed an admirable act of moral courage and patriotic devotion, in raising, at the peril of damaging his popularity, his solitary voice against a Babel of self-delusion, blind enthusiasm, and interested falsehood. His revelations on the real plans concerted between Bonaparte, Alexander, and Cavour, the agent of the two autocrats, ought to be weighed the more carefully, since, of all private individuals in Europe, Mazzini is known to be possessed of the amplest means of penetrating into the dark secrets of the ruling Powers. His advice to the national volunteers to draw a clear line of distinction between their own cause and that of the crowned impostors, and to never dishonor their proclamations by encumbering them with the infamous name of Louis Napoleon, has been literally acted upon by Garibaldi. The omission of the name of France from the latter's proclamation,[a] as the Paris correspondent of the London *Times* reports, is considered by Louis Napoleon as a deadly insult; and such was the fear inspired

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[a] "Garibaldi's Proclamation to the Lombards", *The Times*, No. 23319, May 30, 1859.—*Ed.*

by the knowledge of Garibaldi's secret connection with the Roman triumvir, that his corps was reduced from the 10,000 *chasseurs d'Alpes* originally promised him, to 4,000; that a corps of artillery allowed him was withdrawn, the one battery already dispatched at his request was stopped, and a pair of experienced policemen, instructed to report on every word and movement of his, were, under the garb of volunteers, smuggled into his following.

We subjoin a literal translation of Mazzini's manifesto, published at London in the last number of *Pensiero ed Azione* (Thought and Action), under the title of *La Guerra* (The War):

"The war has begun. We have, therefore, before us no probability to be discussed, but a fact accomplished. The war has broken out between Austria and Piedmont. The soldiers of Louis Bonaparte are in Italy. The Russo-French alliance, announced by us a year ago, reveals itself to Europe. The Sardinian Parliament has conferred dictatorial powers on Victor Emmanuel. A military insurrection has overthrown the Ducal Government of Tuscany, and accepted the dictatorship of the King (who since then has surrendered it to a Bonaparte). The general fermentation in Italy is likely to produce similar facts in other places. The destinies of our fatherland are to-day irrevocably intrusted to the decision of battles.

"Under such circumstances most of our countrymen, inebriated by the desire of action, fascinated by the idea of possessing the mighty help of regular armies, carried away by the pleasure of making war against Austrian dominion, justly abhorred, disown the opinions of the past and their principles, immolate not only their dearest convictions, but even the intention of returning to them, renounce all foresight, all liberty of judgment, have but words of applause for whoever assumes to direct the war, approve without inquiry whatever may come from France or Piedmont, and initiate the battle of liberty by rendering themselves slaves. Others, seeing every idea of political morality extinguished in the political agitators, and the mob behind them; a people, the apostle of liberty for half a century, allying itself at once with despotism; men, who till yesterday believed in Proudhon's anarchy, surrender themselves to a King, and the countrymen of Goffredo Mameli burst into the cry, *'Viva l'Imperatore,'* who murdered him with thousands of others,[290] despair of the future, and declare our people not fit for liberty.

"We, for our part, do not share either the blind and servile hopes of the one party, or the desperate gloom of the others. The war begins under the saddest auspices, but the Italians can, if they will, turn it to a better end; and we believe in the noble instincts of our people. And those instincts powerfully pierce through the errors to which the agitators goad them. It would perhaps have been better if, instead of rallying round the absolute standards of Powers which will betray their hopes, the volunteers had silently organized the insurrection in their own countries and proclaimed it in the name of the Italian people, by taking its initiative; but the spirit which moved them is holy and sublime; the proof they give of devotion to the common country is not to be denied, and on this nucleus of the future national army, spontaneously formed, center the greatest hopes of Italy. The acceptance of a royal dictatorship is an error which may indeed result in disappointment, and violates the dignity of a people rising for its own emancipation; that dictatorship in a country and with a Parliament devoted to monarchy, with the precedents of Rome and Venice, where the harmony of the popular assemblies with the leaders of the defense was the source of power, with the record of the long and

tremendous war sustained by England against the first Empire, without the least violation of civil liberties, is evidently nothing but a concession to the exigencies of the allied despots and the first symptom of a design which intends to substitute the question of territory for the question of liberty; but the people which enthusiastically accepts the dictatorship, thinks it accomplishes an act of supreme sacrifice for the benefit of the common fatherland; and, deluded by the notion of the success of the war depending upon such a concentration of power, wants to show by its applause its firm determination to combat and to vanquish at any price whatever. The unconditional surrender of the revolted provinces to the absolute direction of the royal dictator, is almost sure to result in fatal consequences. The logic of the insurrection required every insurged province to put itself under a local revolutionary administration, and each to contribute by a representative to the formation of a national revolutionary Government; but even this immense error is a homage to the want of national unity, invincibly confuting the stupid chit-chat of the European press as to our dissensions. It constitutes the Italian common law. Patriotism is at this moment so powerful in Italy as to overcome all mistakes. Good citizens, instead of despairing, must try to give it the right direction. And for that purpose they must insist, without fear of malign interpretations, upon the true state of the situation. The moment is too solemn to care either for immediate favor or for calumny.

"The truth of the situation is this:

"As in 1848, and still more so, the Italian movement tends to liberty and national unity. The war is undertaken by the Sardinian monarchy and by Louis Bonaparte with entirely different views. As in 1848, and still more so, the antagonism existing between the tendencies of the nation and those of the accepted chiefs, which then ruined the war, menaces Italy with tremendous disappointments.

"What Italy aspires to is National Unity. Louis Napoleon cannot wish this. Beside Nice and Savoy, already conceded to him by Piedmont as the price for his aid in the formation of a northern kingdom, he wants an opportunity to set up the throne of a Murat in the south, and the throne of his cousin[a] in the center. Rome and part of the Roman State are to remain under the temporal government of the Pope.

"It does not matter whether sincerely or not, the Ministry[b] which to-day rules supreme in Piedmont has given its consent to this plan.

"Italy is thus to be divided into four States: two to be directly governed by the foreigner; *indirectly,* France would have the whole of Italy. The Pope has been a French vassal ever since 1849; the King of Sardinia,[c] from gratitude and from inferiority of forces, would become the vassal of the Empire.

"The design would be entirely executed should Austria resist to the last. But if Austria, defeated at the outset, should offer terms like those which, at a certain moment in 1848, she offered to the British Government, viz.: the abandonment of Lombardy, on the condition of retaining Venice, peace, naturally supported by the whole diplomacy of Europe, would be accepted; the single conditions of the aggrandizement of the Sardinian monarchy, and of the cession of Savoy and Nice to France, would be insisted upon; Italy would be abandoned to the revenge of its patrons, and the full execution of the pet plan be deferred to some more favorable moment.

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[a] Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte.—*Ed.*

[b] Of Camillo Benso Cavour.—*Ed.*

[c] Victor Emmanuel II.—*Ed.*

"This plan is known to the governments of Europe. Hence their general armaments; hence the warlike fermentation throughout the German Confederation; hence the elements already prepared of a coalition between England, Germany and Prussia—a coalition inevitable despite the declaration to the contrary of the governments. If Italy, independent of Bonaparte's alliance, should not vindicate her national life, the defense of Austria and the treaties of 1815 will fatally form the pivot of the coalition.

"The coalition is feared by Louis Napoleon. Hence his league with Russia, an uncertain and perfidious ally, but still ready to step in on the condition of liberticide concessions, such as the absolute abandonment of Poland, and the general protectorate by the Czar of European Turkey in exchange for the Mediterranean transformed into a French lake. If the war be prolonged so as to assume, consequent upon German intervention, European proportions, the insurrection of the Turkish Provinces, prepared a long time since, and that of Hungary, would enable the alliance to assume palpable forms.

"In case things come to that point, it is intended to merge in the territorial rearrangement every idea of popular right and liberty. Russian princes would govern the States established on the ruins of the Turkish Empire and Austria; princes of the Bonaparte dynasty the new States of Italy, and perhaps others into the bargain, according to eventualities. Constantine of Russia is already proposed to the Hungarian malcontents, as Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to the monarchic agitators of the Legations[a] and of Tuscany. As Charles V and Clement VII, although mortal enemies, coalesced in order to divide among themselves the free cities of Italy,[291] the two Czars, hating each other cordially, coalesce in order to stifle all aspirations for liberty and *imperialize Europe*. Hence the decree which, for an indefinite period, suppresses the liberty of Piedmont, betrayed by Cavour. With a mute press, every comment upon the operations being prevented, the people kept in darkness as to everything, the field is cleared for the tactics of the patrons. And the popular mind, fascinated by the phantom of an independence which, finally, would turn out but a change of dependence, becomes disused to liberty, the true source of all independence.

"Such are the designs of the allied despots. They may be denied by some exactly because they are working out their execution, in the same way as Louis Bonaparte disowned the idea of the *coup d'état*; by others from credulity as to every word that falls from the great, or from a blind desire darkening their intellect; they are not the less real for all that; known to myself, known to the different Governments and betrayed partly in the words, still more in the acts, of Louis Napoleon and Count Cavour. I say of Count Cavour, because I incline to think Victor Emmanuel a stranger to the bargains of Plombières and Stuttgart.[292]

"If Count Cavour had been a real friend of Italy he would have relied on the immense prestige derived from the possession of an important material force and from the general tendencies prevailing in Italy, in order to prepare Italian movements, to be *immediately* seconded by Piedmont. To a struggle initiated by Italian forces alone, Europe would have given applause and favor. And Europe, which to-day menaces Napoleon when he descends into Italy at her call and with the semblances of a liberator, would never have suffered him to come without provocation, in his own name, to the rescue of Austria. It would have been a holy and sublime enterprise, and Cavour could have carried it through. But it would have been necessary to fraternize, in the name of liberty and right, with the Italian revolution. Such a course did not suit the Minister of the Sardinian monarchy.

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[a] The provinces of which the Papal States were composed.—*Ed.*

Aversion to the people and to liberty spurred him to seek the alliance of tyranny—and of a tyranny which, by dint of old traditions of conquest, all nations abominate. This conception has changed the very nature of the Italian cause. If it comes out victorious, with the ally accepted as its patron, the national unity is lost—Italy is made the field of a new division under the French protectorate. If it succumbs with the man of December, Italy will have to pay damages and to undergo reactions without end; and Europe, instead of complaining of us, will say, 'Serves you right.' (*Voi non avete, se non quello che meritate.*) All calculations, all human tactics, are swayed by moral laws, which no people can dare violate with impunity. Every guilt drags inevitably behind itself its expiation. France—and thus we told her at the time—expiates the expedition to Rome.[293] May God exempt Italy from the severe expiation deserved by the Sardinian monarchy for having coupled a cause sanctified by half a century of sacrifice, of martyrdom, and virtuous aspirations, with the banner of egotism and tyranny!

"Nevertheless, the war is a *fact*—a powerful fact—which creates new duties, and essentially modifies our own proceedings. Between the conception of Cavour and the menace of a coalition, between Louis Napoleon and Austria, equally fatal, there stands Italy—the more serious the dangers of the situation are, the more the efforts of all must concentrate themselves to save the common fatherland from the perils it incurs. If the war was carried on between Governments, we might remain spectators, watching the moment when the combatants having weakened each other, the national element could come forward. But that element has already exploded. Deluded or not, the country trembles in a feverish state of activity, and believes it is able to accomplish its purpose by making use of the war of the Emperor and the King. The Tuscan movement,[294] a spontaneous movement of Italian soldiers and citizens, the universal agitation, and the rush of volunteer corps, break through the circle of the official intrigues, and they are beatings of the national heart. It is necessary to follow them on the field; it is necessary to enlarge, to italianise (*italianizzare*) the war. The Republicans will know how to accomplish this duty.

"Italy, if she will, may save herself from the perils we have set forth. She may win from the actual crisis her national unity.

"It is necessary that Austria should succumb. We may deplore the Imperial intervention, but we cannot deny that Austria is the eternal enemy of every national Italian development. Every Italian must cooperate in the downfall of Austria. This is demanded by the honor, by the safety of all. Europe must learn that between us and Austria there is an eternal war. It is necessary that the people of Italy maintain intangible its dignity, and convince Europe that, if we can undergo the aid of tyranny, because it was claimed by an Italian Government, we have not asked for it, and have not renounced for it our belief in liberty and the alliance of peoples. The cry of *'Viva la Francia!'* may issue without guilt from Italian lips; not so the cry of *'Viva l'Imperatore!'*... It is necessary that Italy arouse, from one end to the other, ... in the North to conquer, not to receive liberty; in the South, to organize the reserve of the national army. The insurrection may, with due reserve, accept the military command of the King wherever the Austrian has pitched his camp, or is at hand; the insurrection in the South must operate and keep itself more independent.... Naples and Sicily may secure the Italian cause, and constitute its power, represented by a National Camp.... The cry of insurrection, wherever it is heard, must be, 'Unity, Liberty, National Independence!' The name of Rome ought always to accompany that of Italy. It is the duty of Rome, not to send one man to the Sardinian army, but to prove to Imperial France that it is a bad bargain for any power to combat in the name of Italian Independence, while

declaring itself the support of Papal absolutism.... On Rome, Naples, and the conduct of the volunteer militia, depend to-day the destinies of Italy. Rome represents the unity of the fatherland: Naples and the volunteers can constitute its army. The duties are immense; if Rome, Naples and the volunteers do not know how to fulfill them, they do not merit liberty, and will not get it. The war, abandoned to the Governments, will end with another treaty of Campoformio.[295]

"The discipline preached to-day as the secret of the victory by the same men who betrayed the insurrections of 1848, is nothing but servility and popular passiveness. The discipline understood by us, may require a strong unity for everything concerning the progress of the regular war; it may require silence on all questions of form; but never that Italy should rise or sink according to the will of a dictator without a programme, and a foreign despot, never that it should keep back its resolution to be free and united!"

Marx's introductory remarks to Mazzini's manifesto were written late in May 1859

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# Frederick Engels

## PROGRESS OF THE WAR

As yet the glory of the war has been carried off by Garibaldi, who certainly does not seem afraid of that dash, which Napoleon III warns his soldiers not to indulge in. All of a sudden this volunteer leader has made himself the hero of Italy, though on this side of the Atlantic the Bonapartist press attempt to monopolize the credit of his exploits for their own great champion. But the laurels of the partisan general seem to have roused a spirit of emulation in the breast of Victor Emmanuel; and hence the battle of Palestro, of which we have unfortunately as yet received only telegraphic reports, and those from the Sardinian camp alone.

It seems, according to these,[a] that the Piedmontese 4th division, under Cialdini, which had some days previously passed the Sesia near Vercelli, and had spent the subsequent time in petty skirmishes with the Austrian outposts, attacked the enemy's entrenched position at Palestro, Vinzaglio, and Confienza on the 30th of May. They defeated the brigade which occupied it (very likely Gen. Gablenz's), but on the next morning (31st) it is reported that a body of 25,000 Austrians tried to retake the position. They attempted to turn the Piedmontese right flank, by which they offered their own flank to Gen. Canrobert's corps (Trochu's division), which had thrown a bridge across the Sesia and was just coming up. The Emperor at once ordered the 3d Zouaves to the support of the Piedmontese. They attacked, "although unsupported," an Austrian battery, took the six guns,

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[a] "Bulletin officiel de la guerre: N° 61, Turin, 31 mai soir" and "N° 62, Turin, 1-er juin matin", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 155, June 4, 1859.—*Ed.*

and drove the covering party into a canal, where 400 of them are said to have been drowned. The King of Sardinia was in the thickest of the fight, and so bent upon slaughtering the enemy that "the Zouaves tried to restrain his ardor, but in vain."[a] The Zouaves were led, it is said, by Gen. Cialdini in person. Finally, the Austrians were driven back, leaving in the hands of the Allies 1,000 prisoners and eight guns.

"The loss of the Austrians," say the Piedmontese, "was very great; that of our own troops is not yet known."[b]

At the same time, a separate struggle was going on at Confienza, in which the enemy was defeated by the division of Gen. Fanti. About 6 o'clock in the evening, however, the Austrians again attempted an attack on Palestro, but with no better success. On the 1st of June, Gen. Niel, with the French fourth corps, entered Novara, as it appears, without finding any resistance.

A more confused and contradictory account of a battle it has not been our lot to read since the peace of 1849 returned the *spada d'Italia* into the scabbard[296]; and yet in our *résumé* of it we have omitted some of the most inexplicable features. The Austrians attack with 25,000 men; are these all sent against Palestro, or do they comprise the troops beaten by Fanti at Confienza? As the strength of these is not stated separately, we shall certainly be on the right side, considering the extraordinary veracity of the Piedmontese bulletins, if we conclude that the whole of the Austrians engaged on the 31st were about 25,000. What the forces were which defeated them we shall see by and by. When the Piedmontese are in danger, the Emperor orders the 3d Zouaves to advance. Cialdini leads them, and the King presses forward among them where the fight was most furious, the Zouaves trying in vain to restrain him.

An admirable picture! How beautifully the parts are distributed! Louis Napoleon, "the Emperor," orders the Zouaves to advance. Cialdini, the General, and a Piedmontese, too, leads them on—a Piedmontese leading French Zouaves! "The King" rushes among them, and fights under the orders of his own General where the fight is thickest. But we are also told that the King commanded the fourth Piedmontese division, that is, Cialdini's, in person. What may have become of the fourth division while Cialdini led

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[a] "The Battles of Palestro", *The Times*, No. 23322, June 2, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] "Bulletin officiel de la guerre: N° 60, Turin, 31 mai au matin", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 154, June 3, 1859.—*Ed.*

on the Zouaves, and the King rushed into the thickest of the fight, we shall, perhaps, never learn. But this does not surprise us in Victor Emmanuel. At the fatal battle of Novara, he committed equal freaks of childishness, neglected his division, and contributed not a little to the loss of the battle, and the triumph of Radetzky.

From this confused account of an engagement, the real nature of which will not be revealed until we get the official reports of the French and Austrians, we may, however, glean a few useful facts. The extreme left wing of the Allies had been held, hitherto, by the French corps of Gen. Niel; he stood on the Dora Baltea west of Vercelli. Next in order came the two Piedmontese divisions of Cialdini and Durando (4th and 3d) at Casale. At Alessandria and Valenza were the Piedmontese divisions of Castelborgo (1st) and Fanti (2d), the French corps of McMahon, Canrobert and the Guards, forming the center. East of Alessandria, at Tortona, Novi, Voghera, were the Piedmontese 5th division of Cucchiari and the French corps of Baraguay d'Hilliers.

Now, we find engaged at Palestro and Confienza (these places are scarcely three miles from each other), not only Cialdini but Fanti; and though nothing is said of Niel, yet we find Canrobert there. We also find there the 3d regiment of Zouaves, which does not belong to Canrobert's, nor indeed to any of the other three French corps. Finally, we hear that Louis Napoleon has moved his headquarters to Vercelli, and that Gen. Niel occupied Novara the day after the battle. This shows a decided alteration in the disposition of the allied army. The left wing, formerly composed of Niel's corps, 26 battalions, and Cialdini's division, 14 battalions, in all 40 battalions, has now been reinforced by Canrobert's corps of 39 battalions and Fanti's division of 14, making together 53 battalions, and raising the total of that part of the allied army to 93 battalions in all. Of these, the two Piedmontese divisions, 28 battalions, and Trochu's division of Canrobert's corps, 13 battalions, in all 25,000 Piedmontese and at least 11,000 Frenchmen were, confessedly, more or less engaged in the action of Palestro. The repulse of the 25,000 Austrians is thus accounted for.

But this reenforcing of the left wing has evidently been undertaken with an ulterior object; Niel's advance upon Novara proves it; and so does the removal of Louis Napoleon's headquarters to Vercelli. The additional probability that the Guard has followed him there, leaves little doubt as to the intentions of the Allies. The Guard increases the force on the Sesia to 127 battalions in all; and by means of the railway, as at Montebello,

troops may soon be brought up from the extreme right, and be in time to participate in a general action. There will, then, remain two eventualities. Either Louis Napoleon will follow up the movement which has now begun, by entirely turning the Austrian right, and placing the main body of his army in the direct road from Vercelli to Milan, on the line of Vercelli and Novara, at the same time occupying the Austrians by demonstrations on the line of the Po. Or, while demonstrating strongly on the Austrian right, he will concentrate his main forces about Valenza, where Baraguay, McMahon and the Guards count 99 battalions, and Cucchiari, Durando and Castelborgo 42 battalions, to be reenforced by a quick removal of Canrobert's corps and some Piedmontese to the same quarter, by which 170 battalions might be united on one point, and fall upon the Austrian center with the intention of breaking it.

The ostentation with which Canrobert's corps (of which after all but Trochu's division may be there) and Fanti's Piedmontese are paraded on the Sesia, while Louis Napoleon removes his headquarters with similar ostentation to Vercelli, would seem to speak for the second alternative; but it is impossible to do more than guess.

In the mean time, the Austrians are apparently still on the Agogna, though their retreat across the Ticino is reported in the London *Daily News.* Their troops are getting more and more concentrated on a small space around Garlasco. They put a feeler out, now and then, such as the one at Montebello and the other at Palestro, but take care not to scatter themselves. They are at least six army-corps strong from 160 to 200 battalions (varying according to what may have been detached for garrisons). The forces seem pretty equally balanced. A few days, and the clouds must discharge whatever thunderbolts they hold suspended.

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# Frederick Engels

## MILITARY EVENTS

The fragmentary and contradictory nature of the telegrams received from the theatre of war permits only a few comments on the withdrawal of the Austrians over the Ticino and their defeat at Magenta. Intimidated, it would appear, by General Niel's occupation of Novara, the Austrians withdrew over the Ticino on June 3 and 4. On June 4, at four in the morning, the French and Piedmontese, who had crossed the Ticino at Turbigo and Boffalora on the right wing of the Austrians, fell with superior forces on the enemy directly opposite them and drove him from his position after exceptionally bloody and obstinate resistance. The details of the action released by the telegram-writer of the allied army, Louis Bonaparte,[a] testify to the power of imagination of this "secret general", who can still not overcome his aversion to *armes de précision*[b] and so travels with the train and baggage at a timid distance from the battlefield and behind the army, but still in "complete bodily health".[c]

There are good reasons for the importunity with which this health bulletin is thrown in the face of the world. At the time of the deliberations of the French Chamber of Peers on Louis Bonaparte's Boulogne expedition[297] it was confirmed on the sworn testimony of witnesses that at the moment of danger the hero opened his burdened heart in a way that was anything but a symptom of "complete bodily health".

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[a] Napoleon III's telegram to the Empress Eugénie, June 5, 1859, *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 157, June 6, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] Precision weapons (rifled guns).—*Ed.*

[c] The report from Alessandria, May 29, 1859, *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 150, May 30, 1859.—*Ed.*

The Austrians had concentrated on the Agogna in the position of a tiger poised to spring. Gyulay was responsible for their defeat because he gave up this position. After they had occupied the Lomellina and taken up a position about thirty miles before Milan, it was obvious that it was impossible to cover all the possible approaches to that capital. Three routes were open to the Allies: one through the Austrian centre by way of Valenza, Garlasco and Bereguardo; one on the Austrian left by way of Voghera, Stradella and the Po between Pavia and Piacenza; and finally the road on the Austrian right via Vercelli, Novara and Boffalora. If the Austrians wanted to defend Milan directly, they could block only one of these routes with their army. Stationing a corps on each of them would have split their forces and made their defeat certain. But it is a rule of modern warfare that a route can be defended just as well, if not better, by a flanking position than by a position in the front. An army of 150,000 to 200,000 men concentrated in a small area and ready to act in any direction can be ignored by the enemy with impunity only if his forces are enormously superior in number. When Napoleon marched towards the Elbe in 1813, the Allies, although much weaker in number, had reasons for provoking him to battle. They therefore took up a position near Lützen, a few miles south of the road leading from Erfurt to Leipzig. Part of Napoleon's army had already marched past when the Allies revealed their proximity to the French. As a result, the entire French army was brought to a halt, its advanced columns were called back, and a battle took place which hardly left the French in possession of the field, although their superiority in numbers was about 60,000.[298] On the next day both armies marched towards the Elbe in parallel columns, without the Allies having been hindered in their retreat. If the forces had been less out of proportion, the position of the Allies on the flank of Napoleon's march would have halted it at least as successfully as a frontal position straddling the road to Leipzig.

Gyulay's position was similar. He stood between Mortara and Pavia with a force of about 150,000 men, blocking the direct road from Valenza to Milan. He could have been outflanked on either wing, but his position gave him means of counteracting any such turning of his flank. The bulk of the allied army was concentrated near Vercelli on May 30, May 31 and June 1. It consisted of 4 Piedmontese divisions (56 battalions), Niel's corps (26 battalions), Canrobert's corps (39 battalions), the Guard (26 battalions) and MacMahon's corps (26 battalions), in all 173 battalions of infantry, besides the cavalry and artillery. Gyulay, for his part, had 6 army

corps, weakened by detachments against Garibaldi, towards Voghera, for occupying various strongholds, etc., but still mustering 150 battalions. His army was so placed that its right flank could only be turned by a flanking march within its operational range. Now, it is known that an army always needs time to go from marching order to battle order, even in a frontal attack, although in this case the marching order is organised for battle as far as possible. The derangement is much more dangerous when columns in marching order are attacked on the flanks. It is therefore a standing rule to avoid a flanking march within the enemy's range of action. The allied army violated the rule. It marched on Novara and the Ticino, apparently without consideration of the Austrians on its flank. This was the moment of action for Gyulay. He was to have concentrated his troops on Vigevano and Mortara during the night of June 3, after leaving a corps on the Lower Agogna to keep Valenza in check, and fallen on the flank of the advancing Allies on June 4 with every available man. There could have been little doubt as to the result of such an attack by about 120 battalions on the Allies' extended and in many places broken marching column. If part of the allied forces had already crossed the Ticino, so much the better for Gyulay; his attack would have brought them back but would hardly have allowed them time to play a decisive part. Even in the worst case, that of an unsuccessful attack, the withdrawal of the Austrians to Pavia and Piacenza would have been as safe as, e.g., after the battle of Magenta. Gyulay's whole troop disposition shows that this was, in fact, the Austrians' original plan. His council of war had decided after mature deliberation that the direct road to Milan should be left open to the French and Milan covered only by a march against the enemy's flank. When the decisive moment came, however, and Gyulay saw the French masses on his right rolling on towards Milan, the thoroughbred Magyar lost his head, wavered and finally retired behind the Ticino. By so doing he prepared his own defeat. While the French marched in a straight line on Magenta (between Novara and Milan) he made a wide detour, first marching down along the Ticino and crossing it at Bereguardo and Pavia and then marching up along the river again towards Boffalora and Magenta, in order to block the direct road to Milan. The result was that his troops arrived in weak detachments and could not be massed into bodies that could break the core of the allied army.

On the assumption that the allied army holds the battlefield, and hence the direct road to Milan, the Austrians will have to

withdraw behind the Po, behind the Adda or within their big fortresses to reform. Although the battle of Magenta would then decide the fate of Milan, it would by no means decide the campaign. The Austrians have three whole army corps which they are concentrating on the Adige at this moment, and which are bound to ensure them the balance of forces unless the gross errors of the "secret general" are compensated, as they have been again in this case, by Gyulay's indecision.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE AUSTRIAN DEFEAT

The arrival of the *Persia* last night puts us in possession of a variety of highly interesting documents concerning the battle of Magenta, for which we refer our readers to the proper place. Their substance may be summed up very briefly[a]: The battle of Magenta was a decisive defeat of the Austrians and a pregnant victory for the French; the Allies have entered Milan amid popular rejoicings; the Austrians are in full retreat, and the corps of Benedek has been signally defeated by Baraguay d'Hilliers (of whose disgrace no more is heard) at Marignano and 1,200 prisoners taken; and the Allies are flushed with confidence and the Austrians are dispirited and desponding.

Our London cotemporaries generally treat the battle as a surprise on the part of the Austrians; and such was our own judgment until the present testimony came into our hands. It now appears to us that Gyulay was not so much surprised, as caught in a fatal blunder; and our reasons for this opinion we proceed to set forth. When the Austrians took their position some thirty miles in advance of Milan, it was not to be expected that they could cover every possible avenue to that capital. There were three roads open to the Allies: they could march right through the Austrian center by Valenza, Garlasco, and Bereguardo; on the Austrian left by Voghera, Stradella, and across the Po between Pavia and Piacenza; and finally on the Austrian right by Vercelli, Novara, and Boffalora. Now, if the Austrians wanted to defend Milan, they could defend only one of these three routes by placing their army across it; to defend every one of them by placing a corps on each,

[a] This passage is added by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune*.— *Ed.*

would have been to scatter their strength and incur certain defeat. But it is recognized as a rule in modern warfare, that a road is quite as well, if not better, defended by a lateral position than by a mere front defense. An army of 150,000 to 200,000 men, concentrated on a small space of ground, ready to act in every direction, cannot be passed by with impunity by a hostile army, unless immensely superior in force. When, for instance, Napoleon, in 1813, marched toward the Elbe, and the Allies, though vastly inferior[a] in numbers, had reasons of their own to seek a battle, they took position at Lützen, a few miles south of the road leading from Erfurt to Leipsic. Napoleon's army had in part passed by already, when the Allies gave notice to the French of their proximity. The consequence was that the march of the whole French army was stopped, the advanced column recalled, and a battle fought, which left the French, although superior by 60,000 men, barely in possession of the battle-field. The next day both the hostile armies marched on parallel lines toward the Elbe, and the retreat of the Allies was not even molested. Had the forces been more equally balanced, the lateral position of the Allies would have stopped Napoleon's march as effectively, at least, as an occupation in front of the direct road to Leipsic. General Gyulay was in exactly such a position. With a force which it certainly depended upon him alone to increase to more than 150,000 men, he stood between Mortara and Pavia, stopping the direct road from Valenza to Milan. He might be turned by either wing, but that was the very nature of his position, and if that position was worth anything, he ought to have been able to find an effective remedy for that contingency in the very facilities the position gave him for counteracting such movements. But leaving the Austrian left entirely out of consideration, we will confine ourselves to the wing that has actually been turned. On the 30th and 31st of May, and lst of June, Louis Napoleon concentrated the mass of his troops at Vercelli. He had there, on the 31st, 4 Piedmontese divisions (56 battalions), Niel's corps (26 battalions), Canrobert's corps (39 battalions), and the Guards (26 battalions). In addition he also drew there McMahon's corps (26 battalions), in all the enormous force of 173 battalions of infantry, beside cavalry and artillery. Gyulay had six Austrian army corps; they were weakened by detachments left as garrisons, sent against Garibaldi, to Voghera, &c., but would still average 5 brigades each, giving 30 brigades or 150 battalions.

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[a] The newspaper has a mistake here: "superior".—*Ed.*

Now, such an army, if it has confidence in itself, no general dare leave on his flanks or rear. This army, besides, was so placed that it could not be turned on its right except by a flank march within reach of it, and such a flank march is a very dangerous maneuver. An army in marching order always requires a great deal of time to come into proper fighting order. It is never fully prepared for a battle. But if this be even the case when it is attacked in front, where the marching order is made as much as possible subordinate to the chances of resistance, it is far more the case when the marching columns are attacked in flank.

It is, therefore, a standing rule of strategy to avoid a flank march within reach of the enemy. Louis Napoleon, relying upon his masses, deliberately violated that rule. He marched toward Novara and the Ticino without heeding, apparently, the Austrians on his flank. Here was the moment for Gyulay to act. His business was to concentrate his troops, by the night of the 3d June, about Vigevano and Mortara, leaving a corps on the Lower Agogna to observe Valenza, and on the 4th fall with every available man on the flank of the advanced Allies. The result of such an attack, made with some 120 battalions, on the long, disconnected columns of the Allies, could scarcely have been doubtful. If part of the Allies had crossed the Ticino, so much the better. This attack would have recalled them, but they would have scarcely been in time to restore the fight. And supposing even the attack to have been unsuccessful, the retreat of the Austrians to Pavia and Piacenza would have been quite as safe afterward, as it has now proved since the affair of Magenta. There is reason to suppose that this was Gyulay's original plan. But when he found, on the 2d June, that the French were accumulating their masses on the direct road to Milan, on his right, his resolution seems to have forsaken him. The French could be at Milan quite as soon as himself, if he chose to let them—there was scarcely a man there to block the direct road; the entry of even a small body of French into Milan might set all Lombardy in a blaze, and although most probably all these considerations had been weighed over and over again in his councils of war, and a march upon the flank of the French insisted upon as quite sufficient to cover Milan; yet when the case came actually to pass, and the French were as near Milan as the Austrians, Gyulay faltered, and at last retreated behind the Ticino. That sealed his doom. While the French marched on a straight line toward Magenta, he made a large circuit, descending along the Ticino and passing it at Bereguardo and Pavia, and then reascending along the river to Boffalora and Magenta—and thus

attempting, too late, to block up the direct road to Milan. The consequence was that his troops arrived in small detachments, and could not be brought up in such masses as was required to oppose successfully the bulk of the allied forces. That they fought well there is no doubt; and as to the question of tactics and strategy in the fight, we propose to recur to that on another occasion. But it is useless for their bulletins[a] to attempt to palliate the fact that they were beaten, and that the battle has decided the fate of Milan, and must have its influence in deciding the fate of the campaign. Meanwhile, the Austrians have three more army-corps concentrating on the Adige, which will give them a considerable superiority in numbers. The command has also been taken from Gyulay, and given to Gen. Hess who has the reputation of the first strategist in Europe; but he is said to be such an invalid as to be incapacitated from protracted attention to business.

Our readers will notice that the reports of Austrian outrages in the Lomellina are contradicted on French as well as English authority.[b] We call attention to this fact also, not only to do justice to all parties, but because our own disbelief in the reports has been construed into an expression of sympathy with the cause of Francis Joseph—a potentate whose overthrow we have no desire to see postponed for a day. If he and Napoleon could but go down together, and by each other's hands, the perfection of historical justice would be attained.

Written about June 9, 1859

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] "The Austrian Account", *The Times,* No. 23325, June 6, and No. 23326, June 7, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] "Bulletin officiel de la guerre: N° 18, Turin, 8 mai au matin", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 131, May 11, 1859.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## A CHAPTER OF HISTORY[299]

We believe we have published every important account of the battle of Magenta which has been given to the world by the Governments involved and by the leading European journals. That battle happened nearly a month ago; and even in the view of our rather rigid friends of *The Evening Post,* it may now be discussed in a newspaper without doing violence to either propriety, earnestness or honesty; and accordingly we proceed with all deference to set forth the truth in the form of a historical and, if we may be allowed the expression, a strategical study of that battle.[a]

On the morning of June 4, the Austrians had completed their retreat across the Ticino, and were marching up toward Magenta and Abbiategrasso, in order to take in flank the French army advancing toward Milan; while Gen. Clam-Gallas, who had just arrived with a division of the 1st corps from Milan, was to oppose them in front with his division and the 2d corps (Liechtenstein's), which had joined him at Magenta. As a reserve, he had the Reischach division of the 7th corps (Zobel's) at Corbetta, a couple of miles behind Magenta. The line of the Ticino itself having been abandoned as indefensible, these seven or eight Austrian brigades were to hold the line of the Naviglio Grande, a large canal

[a] In *Das Volk* the beginning of the article reads as follows: "The official reports, French and Austrian, on the battle of Magenta bear out the suppositions we ventured to make on the basis of the telegraphic dispatches." (The dispatches in question are: "Passage du Tessin et Bataille de Magenta. Quartier général de San Martino, le 5 juin 1859", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 161, June 10, 1859, and "Report of Count Gyulay, Commander of the Second Army, to His Majesty the Emperor, June 7, 1859", *The Times,* No. 23331, June 13, 1859.)—*Ed.*

running nearly parallel to the Ticino, and passable by bridges only. The two bridges to be defended were those of Boffalora and Magenta, on two roads leading both from Magenta to the bridge of San Martino over the Ticino. The division of the 1st corps (commanded by Gen. Cordon) advanced on the road to Turbigo; two brigades of the 2d corps were on the bridges; a third at Magenta; and Reischach's division, as we have said, at Corbetta.

The French advanced in two columns. The first, under the nominal command of Louis Napoleon, consisted of the division of grenadiers of the guard, of Canrobert's, Niel's and Baraguay d'Hilliers's corps, in all 9 divisions, or 18 brigades (117 battalions). It advanced on the direct road from Novara to Milan, by the bridge of San Martino, and was to take the bridges of Boffalora and Magenta. The second, under McMahon, consisted of the division of voltigeurs[a] of the guard, of McMahon's corps, and of the whole Piedmontese army—in all 8 divisions, or 16 brigades, and including 109 battalions, as the Piedmontese divisions count one battalion more than the French. The head of this body had passed the Ticino and Naviglio without serious resistance at Turbigo, and was now to support the front attack of the first column by a movement upon the flank of the Austrians, by marching straight upon Magenta from the north. This column was to attack first, and, after it had well engaged the Austrians, the first column was to assault the bridges.

About noon the attack was commenced by McMahon. With superior forces he drove the division of Cordon before him toward Magenta, and about 2 o'clock the grenadiers of the guard, who had driven in the Austrian outposts as far as the canal, attacked the bridges of Boffalora and Magenta. There were at the time 3[b] French brigades on the battle-field, against what Louis Napoleon calls 125,000 Austrians, but what in reality was confined to 5 brigades (2 of the 1st and 3 of the 2d corps), or less than 30,000 men; for even Reischach's 2 brigades stood, as yet, at Corbetta.[c] The French, by a violent effort, carried the bridges over the canal. Gyulay, who was at Magenta, ordered Reischach to advance and retake the bridge of Magenta, which he did; but

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[a] Soldiers of light infantry.—*Ed.*

[b] *Das Volk* has "8" here.—*Ed.*

[c] There is one more sentence here in the text published in *Das Volk*: "The French 'secret general', following the example of Falstaff, turned less than 30,000 Austrians into more than 125,000" (see Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, The First Part, Act II, Scene 4).—*Ed.*

Boffalora seems to have remained in the hands of the French. The battle came to a stand; McMahon's corps, as well as the grenadiers, had been successfully repulsed; but also, every available man of the Austrians was engaged. Where were the other corps? They were everywhere except where they were wanted. The 2d division of the 1st corps was still on the road from Germany, and could not reasonably be expected to arrive. The remaining brigade of the 2d corps, for Gyulay distinctly says in his report, there were only 3 brigades of the 2d engaged, is not accounted for. The 2d division of the 7th corps, that of Gen. Lilia, was at Castelletto, 6 or 7 miles from Magenta. The 3d corps was at Abbiategrasso, 5 miles from Magenta. The 5th corps was on the march to Abbiategrasso, having come, probably, from Bereguardo, and when the battle began was at least 9 miles from Magenta. The 8th corps was on the march from Binasco to Bestazzo, 10 or 12 miles distant, and the 9th was actually on the Po,[a] below Pavia, 20 or 25 miles from the scene of action. By this precious scattering of his troops, Gyulay brought himself into the awkward predicament that with 7 brigades he had to resist the shock of the two French heads of columns from noon to somewhere about 4 or 5 o'clock in the afternoon, and these seven brigades would not have been able to do so if it had not been for the fact that the French marching on two roads only, with enormous masses of troops, could move but slowly.

While Reischach held the bridge of Magenta and took one of the new French rifled guns, Gyulay hurried to Robecco, a village on the canal about three miles below Boffalora, to hurry on the march of the 3d and 5th corps and to point out to them their directions of attack. Four brigades of the 3d corps were now thrown forward, the front line under Hartung and Ramming, and with Dürfeld in reserve, all three along the canal, and Wetzlar along the Ticino. They were to attack the right flank of the French. But in the mean time the latter had also obtained reenforcements. Picard's brigade (of Renault's division, and Canrobert's corps) arrived to support the grenadiers, and drove Reischach back over the bridge. They were followed by Vinoy's division (Niel's corps), Jannin's brigade (Renault's division) and Trochu's division (Canrobert's corps). Thus the French concentrated on this point six brigades in addition to the two brigades of grenadiers, while of the four Austrian brigades of the 3d corps,

[a] *Das Volk* has here: "and the ninth corps, *incredibile dictu!* loafed its time away on the Po".—*Ed.*

only two or three were actually engaged. In spite of these odds, the Austrians again took and retook the bridge of Magenta over and over again; but at last it remained in the hands of the French.[a]

While this was going on at the bridges, McMahon had prepared a second attack upon the troops opposed to him, consisting of four or five brigades of the 1st and 2d corps. His two divisions again advanced in two columns upon Magenta, followed, in second line, by Camou's division of voltigeurs of the guard. The divisions of Espinasse and La Motterouge (McMahon's corps) having been effectually stopped by the Austrians, the voltigeurs advanced to support them. The struggle now reached its crisis. The first of the French columns had passed the bridge of Magenta, and also advanced against the village, which was already hard pressed by McMahon's column. The 5th Austrian corps having at last made its appearance on the battle-field, the Prince of Hesse's brigade,[b] almost at nightfall, made a fresh attempt to drive the French back over the bridge, but in vain. It was, indeed, too much to expect that a weak brigade (it had already fought at Montebello[c]) should have arrested and hurled back that torrent of troops which came pouring over the bridge of Magenta. The Austrians in Magenta, assailed in front, flank, and rear, and having been under fire, without rest, since the beginning of the action, at last gave way, and after a violent struggle, Magenta was occupied by the French about nightfall.

Gyulay withdrew his troops through Corbetta, which had been occupied in the meantime by Lilia's division from Carbelletto, and through Robecco, which was also strongly held by the 3d corps, the 5th corps bivouacking between the two places. He intended to continue the struggle on the 5th of June, but there appears to have been some blundering with regard to orders given, for in the middle of the night he learned that the 1st and 2d corps had, according to orders, as they understood it, retired several miles from the field of battle, and were to continue their retreat at 3 o'clock in the morning. This intelligence decided Gyulay to desist from another battle. A brigade of the 3rd corps again assaulted

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[a] In *Das Volk* the end of this sentence reads as follows: "... the bridge of Magenta, which the enemy's superior forces retained only by dint of the most desperate efforts".—*Ed.*

[b] General Dormus was in command of the brigade at the time.—*Ed.*

[c] The *Volk* version reads: "decimated in the battle of Montebello".—*Ed.*

Magenta to cover the retreat of the Austrian army, which took place in the most perfect order.

According to the Austrian report,[a] there were engaged on their side:

| | |
|---|---|
| Of the 1st Corps, Cordon's Division | 2 Brigades. |
| Of the 2d Corps | 3 Brigades. |
| Of the 7th Corps, Reischach's Division | 2 Brigades. |
| Of the 3d Corps | 3 Brigades. |
| Of the 5th Corps, late at nightfall | 1 Brigade. |

In all, 11 brigades, equal to 55 battalions, with auxiliary arms, about 65,000 men.

According to the French account,[b] the Allies had engaged:

| | |
|---|---|
| The Corps of Guards, 2 divisions | 4 Brigades. |
| McMahon's Corps (2 divisions) | 4 Brigades. |
| Of Canrobert's Corps, 2 divisions (Renault's & Trochu's) | 4 Brigades. |
| Of Niel's Corps, 1 division (Vinoy's) | 2 Brigades. |

In all 14 brigades, or 91 battalions, equal to at least 80,000 men. But the French report, when speaking of the advance of Vinoy's division, says,

> "the 85th of the line suffered most ... Gen. Martimprey received a wound while leading on his brigade."

Now, neither the 85th nor Gen. Martimprey's brigade belong to "Vinoy's division of Gen. Niel's corps." The 85th belongs to the 2d brigade, commanded by Gen. Ladreitt de la Charrière of Ladmirault's division, and Gen. Martimprey commands the 1st brigade of that same division, which does not belong to Niel's corps, but to that of Marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers. We thus find a decisive proof that *more French troops were engaged than are enumerated in the report*; and if Ladmirault's division, which swells the number of brigades to 16, and that of battalions to 104, and that of combatants to 90,000, is thus glibly passed over, we cannot but expect that still other troops contributed to the result of the day. The Austrians, too, say that they made prisoners belonging to almost every regiment forming part of the army of Italy, and it is,

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[a] "Report of Count Gyulay, Commander of the Second Army, to His Majesty the Emperor, June 7, 1859", *The Times*, No. 23331, June 13, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] "Passage du Tessin et Bataille de Magenta. Quartier général de San Martino, le 5 juin 1859", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 161, June 10, 1859.—*Ed.*

therefore, probable that at least 16 brigades were engaged. This gives the French a numerical superiority, which reflects the highest honor upon the bravery of the Austrian troops. They were beaten by just the width of the battle-field; they took one gun and lost four, and they must have left the battle-field with the certainty that if numbers had been even, victory would have been theirs.

But what shall we say of their General? He expects the attack on the 4th; within 8 miles of the battle-field he has 13 brigades (the 7 first engaged, 2 of Lilia's, 4 of the 3d corps); at 9 miles 4 more of the 5th; at 10 or 12 miles 4 more of the 8th corps. This was at 8:30 in the morning. Now, is it expecting too much, on a day of battle, that all these corps should have been united by 4, or at latest 5, in the afternoon close enough to Magenta to take part in the conflict? Is it expecting too much, that at 2 o'clock, when the battle became serious, 13 instead of 7 brigades should have been engaged? In that case, the position—held, as it was, till nightfall by 4—might have been easily maintained with 12 brigades, and the great losses which Cordon's division and the 2d corps must undoubtedly have suffered would have been avoided. On the arrival of the 5th corps, the offensive might have been taken, and the French driven back across the Ticino. But the old slowness of movement appears again to have got hold of the Austrians. As the greater Napoleon said of them, they lose the most precious moments in useless pomposity and idle formalities. Gyulay has done the same, and given Louis Napoleon a victory which would have been an easy and a decisive one but for the bravery of the Austrian troops, and which Gyulay might himself have had.[a]

On the morning of the 5th, Gyulay had under his orders, of intact troops, that had not been engaged at Magenta:

| | |
|---|---|
| One Division of the 3d Corps | 2 Brigades. |
| Three Brigades of the 5th Corps | 3 Brigades. |
| One Division (Lilia's) of the 7th Corps | 2 Brigades. |
| The 8th Corps | 4 Brigades. |

Eleven brigades, or a force equal to that with which he had fought the day before. Of the troops engaged the day before, only 3

[a] In *Das Volk* this sentence reads as follows: "Gyulay revived this tradition, and so letting his own victory slip from him he allowed the 'secret general' to score a victory which would have been easy and decisive but for the bravery of the Austrian soldiers and the utter incapacity of the chief of the Society of December 10."—*Ed.*

divisions (1st and 2d corps) were so disorganized as to be unable to fight—this appears to be the real meaning of the mysterious retreat of these troops. There remained 8 brigades, in all 19 brigades, or above 100,000 men. There were opposed to him the 16 brigades of French engaged on the 4th; 4 more divisions of the French army, which must have been ready to fight on the 5th, and 1 or 2 divisions of Piedmontese, as most of the latter were still very far to the rear. Thus, on the 5th, Gyulay would have had 19 brigades, and perhaps later in the day, 25 (counting the 1st and 2d corps, if brought up again), against about 28 Franco-Piedmontese brigades, which, perhaps, toward evening, might have been reenforced by 2 or 3 more Piedmontese brigades. Now we see what an egregious blunder Gyulay committed in sending the 9th corps so far away. With the 9th corps present, his 29 brigades would have been a match for the whole allied army, and it is not at all impossible that the battle of the 5th might have had a different result to that of the day before.

Gyulay's mistakes may be summed up as follows:

1. When Louis Napoleon made a flank march within reach of the Austrians, from Vercelli to Turbigo, Gyulay did not profit by the unfavorable position of his enemy, by pouncing at once, with all his forces, on their exposed line of march, by which he might have cut them in two and driven part of them toward the Alps—repeating Radetzky's maneuver of 1849.

2. Instead of this, he retired behind the Ticino, and thus marched round-about to cover Milan, to which the straight road was abandoned to the enemy.

3. He scattered his troops during this retreat, which he conducted with an ease and laziness scarcely pardonable in peace maneuvers.

4. His 9th corps was so far away that it was out of reach of concentration.

5. The concentration even during the battle was carried on with unpardonable slowness, in consequence of which the troops first engaged had to suffer unnecessarily, and moreover the battle was lost instead of won.

If, with such blunders, he did not suffer a total defeat, having the *élite* of the French army to fight, it is merely to be attributed to the conspicuous bravery of his troops, and not at all to any qualities in their commander.

It will also appear from this review of the battle that the desertions of Italian and Hungarian troops, on which some of our

friends have laid so much stress, were really very small, and had no calculable influence on the result of the day.[a]

Written about June 16, 1859

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] The end of the article as given in *Das Volk* reads thus: "5. In the course of the battle itself the concentration was carried out so carelessly that the troops had to suffer unnecessarily and the victory was given to the enemy for nothing.

"If despite the many gross blunders Gyulay did not suffer a total defeat, though he was confronted by the *élite* of the French army, this was due entirely to the bravery of his troops and the shrewdness of his enemy, the 'secret general'. Gyulay's troops displayed the invincible vitality of the people, and he himself the senile idiocy of the monarchy. On the other hand, the 'secret general' realises that with the Austrians' retreat to the Mincio the melodramatic part of the struggle ends and the real war begins. The correctness of the maxim that in war no hide-and-seek can save one from personal danger, which the real Napoleon impressed on his brother Joseph, was driven home to him. Finally, Canrobert, disgruntled by the preference given to MacMahon, has threatened to provide certain revelations concerning the exploits of the hero of Satory in this campaign. The hero therefore longs to be back with his beloved wife in Faubourg Poissonnière and yearns for peace at any price. If this is unattainable then he wants at least peace talks to justify 'his own retreat to Paris'."—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## SPREE AND MINCIO

Voltaire, we know, kept four monkeys in Ferney, to which he had given the names of his four literary opponents, Fréron, Beaumelle, Nonnotte and Franc de Pompignan. Not a day passed without the writer's feeding them personally, kicking them liberally, pulling their ears, sticking pins in their noses, stepping on their tails, dressing them in clerical hoods and mistreating them in every possible way. The old man of Ferney needed these monkeys of criticism to draw off his bile, satisfy his hatred, and calm his fear of the weapons of polemics, just as much as Louis Bonaparte needs the monkeys of the revolution in Italy. And Kossuth, Klapka, Vogt and Garibaldi too are fed, given golden collars, kept under lock and key, cajoled or kicked, depending on whether hatred of the revolution or fear of it predominates in the mood of their master. The poor monkeys of the revolution are thus to be its hostages; they are to assure the man of December 2 an armistice on the part of the revolutionary party, so that he may, undisturbed, destroy the arsenals of Orsini-type bombs and fall on the enemy, whom he dreaded so long in the Tuileries, in his own camp, and strangle him.

The Empire *must mean peace once more,*[300] or it will not have been worth the trouble to perpetrate so many outrages, commit so many perjuries and suffer so many humiliations to set it up. An Empire rendered insecure by revolutionary bombs, secret societies, insolent bourgeois and unrestrained soldiers is intolerable. *Marchons!*[a] Here is fame, here are Napoleonic ideas,[301] freedom, nationality, independence, anything you want; but *marchons, marchons!*

[a] Onward! — *Ed.*

The idea of making Italy a mousetrap of the revolution is sophisticated enough; the only thing is that it cannot be put into execution, for the reason that anyone who lets himself be caught in it, at the moment that he nibbles at the bait ceases to be of any significance for the revolutionary party. To want to seal up the crater of the revolution by tossing Messrs. Kossuth, Klapka, Vogt and Garibaldi into it, head over heels, is really childish and only helps to hasten the eruption.

Even if it were possible, with their help, to extinguish an Orsini bomb in Italy, another would go off in France, in Germany, in Russia, or wherever it might be; for the need and the natural necessity of the revolution is as general as the desperation of the downtrodden peoples on whom your throne rests, as the hatred of the despoiled proletarians with whose wretchedness you played such pleasant games. And only after the revolution has become an elemental force, incalculable and unavoidable as the lightning whose thunder you only hear when its deadly bolt has been sent out without recall, only then are you aware of its eruption.

Where and how this eruption may take place is of little importance. The main thing is that it should occur. This time Prussia seems to be called on to express, against its will, the general need for revolution. The Prince Regent,[a] who *on his own* "never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one", is forced by pure love for conservatism to play seriously the revolutionary role with which Louis Bonaparte only flirts out of fear, affectation and caprice.

Prussia's *armed mediation,* i.e., its alliance with Austria, *means revolution.*

The general mood of the Berlin press proves that neutrality with mobilisation of the army has been given up as an untenable position. The *National-Zeitung,* the organ of the liberal trends in the Cabinet, says quite rightly:

> "Neutrality may be a suitable role for Belgium, Holland or Switzerland under the present conditions; for Prussia neutrality is death."

If Bonaparte succeeds in carrying out his noble-minded plans for Italy, the outcome would be, according to the same paper, nothing but a French military protectorate over the entire peninsula, even if the war is localised and does not produce any direct acquisition of territory by France. As a result the

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[a] William, Prince of Prussia.—*Ed.*

Russo-French hegemony over the continent of Europe, which has already been so perceptible for the last three years, would be so much strengthened that it could lead at any moment to the division of rule proclaimed in St. Helena.[302] The new Empire is said to show the same tendencies as the first Empire and to be in an even more advantageous position, since it is not under external pressure and can therefore choose at discretion the time, place and occasion to isolate its opponents and then annihilate them *en détail*.[a] In order to thwart this battle plan, which has been conducted with such great skill up to the present, Prussia, the paper says, will be forced to go with Austria, not at all in order to support the policies of the Habsburgs but to fight for its own existence.

This is approximately the content of the article in question, which is regarded as the programme corresponding to the policy of the regency. No one believes that the latest attempt at mediation, entrusted to Herr von Werther, will succeed. If, however, Napoleon consented to a peace that at best would intensify the discontent of his officers and soldiers, it would no longer be necessary to fight him. One could then say of him what Horace Walpole said about the Marquis de Very, a Sardinian diplomat: He is dead but wants it to be kept secret for a few days. He would not succeed for long.

If this mediation, which has hardly been undertaken seriously, should fail, the battles between Napoleonic tyranny and Habsburg despotism would be fought out on the Mincio, but the battles for freedom would be fought on the Oder and the Vistula. Huge bodies of troops have already been massed at Kalisch, two miles from the Prussian border. A Prussian army corps has been announced in Hanover on the march towards the Rhine, another is moving south, and the commanders of the various federal corps have been summoned to a military conference in Berlin. All these steps concern merely the mobilisation of the advance guard. The *army* that must wage the war against France and Russia is not yet in existence and can only be recruited from the people, not the people that declaims the Teutonic poems of the Teutonic Ludwig,[303] but the people that is rising with the entire devastating energy of revolutionary enthusiasm. If this enthusiasm cannot be aroused, then the mobilisation, armed mediation, declaration of war, warfare, etc., of the Hohenzollerns

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[a] One by one.—*Ed.*

are no better than the puerile idea of the Gold Coast Negro who thinks that he is dealing a mortal blow at his adversary if he hangs himself on his enemy's doorpost.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE AUSTRIAN WITHDRAWAL TO THE MINCIO

The *fruits* of a victory are gathered in pursuing the enemy. The more active the pursuit, the more decisive the victory. Prisoners, artillery, baggage, flags are not taken so much in the battle itself as in the pursuit afterwards. Further, the *intensity* of a victory is measured by the vigour of the pursuit. From this point of view, what are we to say of the "*grande victoire*" at Magenta? On the following day we find the French liberators "resting and reorganising".[a] Not the slightest attempt at pursuit. Through the march to Magenta the allied army had in fact concentrated all its forces. The Austrians, on the other hand, had some of their troops at Abbiategrasso, some on the road to Milan, others again at Binasco, and finally others at Belgiojoso—a heap of columns, so scattered, slogging along so disconnectedly as to extend a virtual invitation to the enemy to fall on them, to make a *single* effort and disperse them in all directions and then capture, with no great exertion, entire brigades and regiments that had been cut off from their line of retreat. Napoleon, the genuine Napoleon, would have known in such a case how to employ the 15 or 16 brigades that, according to the official French communiqué, had not taken part in the battle on the preceding day. What did the Brummagem[b] Napoleon do, the Napoleon of Herr Vogt, of the *Cirque Olympique,* of St. James's Street and the Astley Amphitheatre[304]? He had dinner on the battlefield.

The direct road to Milan was open to him. The stage effect was assured. That of course sufficed for him. June 5, 6 and 7, three

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[a] From Napoleon III's telegram to the Empress Eugénie, June 5, 1859, *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 157, June 6, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] Engels uses the English word.—*Ed.*

whole days, were presented to the Austrians so that they could extricate themselves from their dangerous positions. They marched down towards the Po and moved along the north bank of the river towards Cremona, advancing on three parallel roads. At the northernmost point of these roads General Benedek covered the retreat with three divisions as he moved next to the line of march of the enemy. From Abbiategrasso, where he was on the 6th, he marched via Binasco to Melegnano. There he left two brigades to hold the position until the baggage and supply train of the central column had moved far enough ahead. On June 8 Marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers was ordered to drive these two brigades out, and to make things quite safe, MacMahon's corps was also placed under his command. Ten brigades against two! Close by the Lambro MacMahon's corps was detached to cut off the Austrians' retreat, while Baraguay's 3 divisions attacked Melegnano; two brigades attacked the city frontally, two turned it on the right flank and two on the left. Only *one* Austrian brigade, Roden's, stood in Melegnano, and General Boér's brigade stood on the opposite, east side of the Lambro River. The French attacked very vigorously, and their sixfold superiority in numbers forced General Roden, after stubborn resistance, to evacuate the city and pull back under the protection of Boér's brigade. It was just for that purpose that the latter had taken up a position in the rear. After achieving its purpose, it likewise fell back in perfect order. Boér was killed on this occasion. The loss of the one Austrian brigade mainly engaged was undoubtedly considerable, but the figures (about 2,400) given by the Decembrising *crapauds*[a] are pure fantasy since the total strength of the brigade before the action was not over 5,000. Once more, the French victory bore no fruits. No trophies, not a single cannon!

In the meantime, Pavia was evacuated by the Austrians on the 6th, then for reasons unknown reoccupied on the 8th and evacuated again on the 9th, while Piacenza was abandoned on the 10th, only six days after the battle at Magenta. The Austrians retired in easy marches, following the Po until they reached the Chiese. Here they turned north and marched to Lonato, Castiglione and Castelgoffredo, where they took up a defensive position, in which they appear to await a new attack by the "liberators".

During this march by the Austrians, first southwards from Magenta to Belgiojoso, then east to Piadena and then north again

[a] Literally, toads; here wretches, meaning the Bonapartist General Staff.—*Ed.*

to Castiglione—describing a complete semicircle—the liberators marched in a straight line along the diameter of this semicircle and thus had only about two-thirds of the distance to cover. Nevertheless, they never caught up with the Austrians, except at Melegnano and once near Castenedolo, where Garibaldi carried out an insignificant skirmish. Such indolence in pursuit is unheard of in military history. It is typical of the Quasimodo, who travesties his uncle (his uncle according to the principle of the *Code Napoléon*: "La recherche de la paternité est interdite" [a]), even in his successes.

At the same time as the main body of the Austrians took up their positions behind the Chiese, between June 18 and 20, the Allies' advance guard reached the Chiese front. They will need one or more days to bring up their main forces. If the Austrians actually accept battle, a second general engagement may be expected about June 24 or 26. The liberators cannot hesitate for long in the face of the Austrians if they want to keep the impetus of the victory alive in their troops and not give the enemy an opportunity of beating them in smaller encounters. The position of the Austrians is very favourable. A plateau runs to the Mincio from the southern end of Lake Garda at Lonato; its edge towards the plain of Lombardy is formed by the line Lonato-Castiglione-San Cassiano-Cavriana-Volta, a splendid position in which to lie in wait for an enemy. The plateau rises gradually towards the lake and provides a series of various good positions, each superior to its predecessor in strength and concentration, so that winning the height of the plateau does not yield a victory but only marks the end of the first act of a battle. The right wing is covered by the lake, and the left is bent back considerably, so that it leaves almost ten miles of the Mincio line unprotected. Instead of being a drawback, this is the most favourable aspect of the position, because at the Mincio the marshlands begin that lie enclosed between the four fortresses of Verona, Peschiera, Mantua and Legnago and in which no enemy can venture without overwhelming superiority in numbers. Since the line of the Mincio is controlled by Mantua at its southern end and the terrain beyond the Mincio is within the range of action of Mantua and Verona, any attempt to leave out of account the Austrians on the plateau and advance past them to the Mincio would soon be forced to a halt. The advancing army would see its lines of communication destroyed, without being able to endanger those of the Austrians. In addition, they would find nothing to attack on the other side of

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[a] "Inquiry into paternity is forbidden."—*Ed.*

the Mincio (since there could be no question of siege operations under these circumstances) and would have to turn back again for lack of an objective. But the real danger of such a movement would be that it would have to be carried out in full view of the Austrians on the plateau, who would merely have to set their whole line in motion and fall on the enemy column, from Volta against Goito, from Cavriana against Guidizzolo and Ceresara, from Castiglione against Castelgoffredo and Montechiaro. The liberators would be fighting any such battle under frightfully unfavourable conditions, and it could end in a second Austerlitz,[305] but with the roles reversed.

Magenta-Gyulay has been relieved of his command. Schlick has taken his place as commander of the Second Army, while Wimpffen remains at the head of the First Army. The two armies, massed at Lonato and Castiglione, make up the Austro-Italian army under the nominal command of Francis Joseph and with Hess as chief of the General Staff. Schlick seems, from his past in the war in Hungary, to be an able run-of-the-mill general. Hess is undoubtedly the greatest living strategist. The danger is the personal interference of the notorious Francis Joseph. He, like Alexander I at the time of Napoleon's invasion of Russia, has surrounded himself with an assortment of old, philistine, hidebound know-alls, some of whom may be directly in the pay of Russia. If the French army left the Austrians undisturbed in their positions and marched past them directly to the Mincio, they could be seen most clearly indeed, regiment by regiment, from the plateau. The sense impression that the enemy was on the shorter road to the line of retreat might easily bewilder such a brain as Francis Joseph's. The fretful comments of his know-alls in epaulettes might soothe his weak nerves and lead him to give up the well-chosen position and withdraw to between the fortresses.[306] When silly youths are at the head of an Empire, everything depends on their nerve-thermometer. The best-laid plans are at the mercy of subjective impressions, accidents, whims. With a Francis Joseph in the Austrian headquarters, there is hardly any other guarantee of victory than the Quasimodo in the enemy camp. But *he* at least has steeled his nerves among the professional gamblers in St. James's Street and, although he is not a man of iron, as his admirers would have it, he is one of gutta-percha.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE NEWS FROM THE WAR[307]

The arrival of the *Asia* adds nothing to the brief telegraphic report of the great victory on the Mincio, which was reported in our columns yesterday morning,[a] by way of Newfoundland. The battle took place on Friday, June 24, lasting from 4 o'clock in the morning till 8 in the evening, and the steamers sailed the next day before any details could have been received. We must, therefore, wait for the arrival of the *Arago* here, or the *Hungarian* at Quebec, for the particulars, so anxiously expected by the public curiosity. Meanwhile, as the numbers of the combatants were about equal on both sides, the result seems to settle one point, at least, namely, that the Austrian soldier is not a match for the French.

The general impression of military men in England, as well as here, seems to have been that the Allies would not fight a great battle until the corps of Prince Napoleon, marching from Tuscany, had arrived to attack the Austrians in the rear, while it was supposed a flotilla would be launched on the Lake of Garda to enable the Allies also to make a flank attack in that quarter. Napoleon III has, however, waited for none of these things, but has fought and won the fight. It is also evident from the correspondence from the allied camp, of which we elsewhere give all that is important, that to fight was the only practicable course. Delay would have checked the victorious impulse of the allied troops, and would have given the Austrians opportunities to beat them by superiority of numbers in smaller encounters.

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[a] "The Great Battle (By Telegraph to Galway). Paris, Saturday, June 25", *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5681, July 7, 1859.—*Ed.*

In the movements of the Austrian army, the same vacillating indecision is apparent under Schlick which had before resulted in the defeat and disgrace of Gyulay. They at first prepared for battle on the line from Lonato to Castiglione, San Cassiano, Cavriana, and Volta. Here a plateau gradually rises toward the lake and the Mincio, offering a succession of excellent positions, each stronger and more concentrated than the preceding one, so that the conquest of the edge of the plateau would not constitute a victory, but only the first act of a battle. Their right wing was covered by the lake; their left was drawn back considerably, leaving unguarded nearly ten miles of the line of the Mincio. But this, instead of being a disadvantage, was in fact the finest feature of the position, from the circumstance that beyond the Mincio lay the dangerous ground inclosed between the four fortresses, into which an enemy could not venture unless he possessed a great numerical superiority. The line of the Mincio being commanded at its southern extremity by Mantua, and the ground beyond the Mincio belonging to the spheres of action of both Mantua and Verona, every attempt to treat the Austrians in the position on the plateau with contempt by marching past them toward the Mincio, would soon have been brought to a standstill; the advancing army would have seen its communications annihilated without being able to endanger those of the Austrians. But the most dangerous part of such a move would have been that it must have been done under the eyes of the Austrians on the plateau, who would have had nothing to do but to set their whole line in motion and fall upon the straggling columns of the enemy, from Volta upon Goito, from Cavriana upon Guidizzolo and Ceresara, from Castiglione upon Castelgoffredo and Montechiaro. Such a battle would have been fought by the Allies under a tremendous disadvantage, and might have ended in a second Austerlitz with the parts reversed.

Such was the position which the Austrians had assumed; and they had in it the further advantage of perfectly knowing the whole ground, from the fact that for years it has been the scene of their annual army exercises, carried out upon the largest scale. As we have said, it was carefully prepared for the expected conflict; the towns and villages were fortified; and then, at the last moment, for some reason that, in a military point of view, is utterly inexplicable, they abandon the ground, retreat bag and baggage across the Mincio, where, on the 24th, they are attacked and finally beaten. Whether this sudden and important change in the plan of the campaign had anything to do with the action of

Prussia, which Power is said to consider the quadrangle of the Mincio and Adige as in some sort a part of the defenses of Germany, is a question on which we may hope for more light hereafter. One thing, however, is pretty certain with regard to Prussia, and that is, that her attitude must prevent Louis Napoleon from drawing many more troops from France to Italy. As our readers are already aware, that Power has mobilized six out of her nine army corps; that is, she has called into service the *Landwehr*, consisting of soldiers belonging to those corps which, having completed three years of regular service, are discharged on indefinite furlough. Of these six army corps, five are to take a position on the lower and middle Rhine. Thus some 170,000 Prussians must at about the present date be in line between Coblenz and Metz; and no doubt two other federal corps, that of Bavaria and that of Baden, Württemberg and Hesse-Darmstadt, will also take their position in Baden and the Palatinate, making from 100,000 to 120,000 men in addition. Against such forces Napoleon III will require almost every man now at his disposal in France. In this case he may find it advisable to have recourse to a Hungarian insurrection, and to the services of Kossuth; though we may be pretty sure that he will not call such agencies into requisition until he is compelled.

That Prussia now actually intends to take part in the war is very doubtful; but it will not be so easy for her to avoid it. Her military system, by making soldiers of the majority of the whole adult able-bodied population, puts such a strain upon the nation, from the moment the Landwehr—even of the first levy only—is called out, that the country cannot afford to stand by with arms grounded for any length of time. At the present moment, all able-bodied males, from 20 to 32 years of age, are under arms in six provinces out of eight. The derangement caused by this in the whole commercial and industrial organization of Prussia is enormous; and the country can only stand it on condition that the men are led before the enemy without delay; the men themselves could not stand it—in a couple of months the whole army would be in a state of mutiny. Beside this, national feeling is running so high in Germany, that Prussia, now that she has gone so far, cannot retreat. The recollections of the peace of Basel, and of the irresolutions of 1805 and 1806, and of the Confederation of the Rhine,[308] are still so vivid that the Germans are determined not to allow themselves now to be beaten singly by their wary opponent. The Prussian Government cannot master this feeling; it may attempt to direct it, but if it does so, it is bound hand and foot to

the movement, and every trace of wavering will be considered as treason, and will recoil upon the waverer. There will, no doubt, be attempts at negotiation; but all parties are now so engaged that no road out of the labyrinth appears open in any direction.

If Germany, however, takes part in this war, there is no doubt that another actor will soon appear upon the scene. Russia has informed the lesser German States that she will interfere if the Germans do not sit quietly by while Austria is being dismembered. Russia is concentrating two army corps on the Prussian, two on the Austrian, one on the Turkish frontier. She may enter upon a campaign some time this year, but it will certainly be late. No recruits have been enlisted in Russia since the peace of Paris; the men on furlough, owing to the great losses during the war, cannot be numerous; and if the army corps, even after the recall of the men on furlough, reach 40,000 each, it will be much. Russia cannot undertake an offensive campaign before 1860, and then with not more than 200,000 or 250,000 men. Now, there are at present available in Germany, for use in the North, four Prussian corps, 136,000 men; the 9th and 10th Federal corps, with the reserve division, say 80,000 men; and at least three Austrian corps, or 140,000 men; so that, for a defensive war, or even an attack on Russian Poland, Germany has nothing to fear from Russia even now. But whenever Russia engages in this war, there will be appeals to national passions and to the opposed interests of classes, and the contest will take dimensions which will be likely to put the war of the first French Revolution into the shade.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE BATTLE AT SOLFERINO

The chivalrous Francis Joseph, who cannot sleep for thinking of the laurels of the pseudo-Napoleon, has shown us what it means when "a hereditary war-lord" takes the reins in his hands. We saw last week how the army first had to occupy the position on the heights of Castiglione and then, at the moment when everyone should have expected a battle, abandoned the position without fighting and without a reason, to retire behind the Mincio.[a] But Francis Joseph did not feel that this was sufficient to prove his pitiful weakness and inconsistency. No sooner was the army behind the Mincio than the "young hero" thought up something better: it was unworthy of a Habsburg to quit the field in this way without resistance; the army had to make an about-face, cross the Mincio again and attack the enemy.

After Francis Joseph had adequately reinforced his troops' confidence in their Most Serene War-Lord by this puerile marching to and fro, he led them against the enemy. They were at most 150,000 in number; even Bonaparte, that lover of truth, does not set the figure higher. The Austrians attacked along a line at least 12 English miles long. Thus, there were at most 12,500 men for each mile (2,100 paces) of front, a concentration, to be sure, that is adequate for a shorter line under certain conditions but definitely too weak on so long a front, and completely unsuitable for an offensive, since the several main blows could not be delivered with sufficient power. In addition to that, the enemy was certainly superior in strength, so that the Austrian offensive was an error from the outset; an enemy with superior forces was fairly

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[a] See this volume, pp. 384-87.—*Ed.*

sure to break through such a thin line at some point. The general advance of the Austrians began on Thursday, June 23; they easily drove back the enemy outposts at all points, occupied Pozzolengo, Volta, Guidizzolo, and pressed on to Solferino and Castelgoffredo by nightfall. On the next morning they drove the enemy vanguard still further back, their left wing almost reaching the Chiese; now however they came up against the main forces of the enemy and the battle became general. Both wings of the Austrians had the upper hand, especially the right wing, which faced the Piedmontese and gave them rough treatment, so that the Austrians were clearly victorious here. But in the centre the defects of the plan came to light. Solferino, the key to the centre, finally remained in the hands of the French after stubborn fighting; at the same time they developed overwhelming pressure on the Austrian left wing. These two circumstances persuaded Francis Joseph, who had apparently thrown every last man into the fight, to give the order to retreat. The Austrians withdrew—obviously in perfect order and without being pursued—and crossed the Mincio unmolested.

The details of the battle did not reach us in time to be discussed in this issue. This much is certain, however, that once again the Austrian troops fought with outstanding valour. This is proved by their steadfast resistance for 16 hours to a stronger enemy, and in particular by their orderly and undisturbed withdrawal. They do not seem to have any particular respect at all for messieurs the French; Montebello, Magenta and Solferino do not seem to have left any other impression on them than the conviction that, given equality in numbers, they can cope not only with the French but also with the stupidity of their own generals. The fact that they lost 30 guns and, allegedly, 6,000 prisoners is a pitiful result for the victor in such a major battle; the numerous engagements in villages *could not* yield him fewer spoils. But brilliantly as the troops conducted themselves in the face of superior strength, equally wretched was their leadership. Indecision, wavering, contradictory orders, as if the troops were to be quite intentionally demoralised—this is how Francis Joseph compromised himself irrevocably in the eyes of his army in three days. Nothing more woeful can be conceived than this arrogant youth presuming to command an army and yielding like a reed in the wind to the most contradictory influences, following old Hess today and taking Herr Grünne's contrary advice tomorrow, drawing back today and attacking suddenly on the morrow, and in general never knowing himself what he wishes. By now he has had enough of it, and is

going back, shamed and crestfallen, to Vienna, where he will get a beautiful reception.

But the war *is only now beginning.* The Austrian fortresses are only now coming into action; the French will now have to split up as soon as they cross the Mincio, and that will initiate a series of battles for single posts and positions, of minor secondary engagements in which the Austrians, *who now at last have old Hess at their head,* have better chances of victory despite their generally smaller forces. Once this, coupled with reinforcements, has reestablished the balance between the belligerents, the Austrians will be able to fall on the divided enemy with superior concentrations of forces and repeat the battles of Sommacampagna and Custozza[309] on a ten times larger scale. This is the task of the next six weeks. By the way, they are only now beginning to bring up their reserves, which will provide the army in Italy with at least 120,000 men in reinforcements, whilst Louis Napoleon is at a loss as to where to get reinforcements from, now that Prussia has mobilised.

Accordingly, the Solferino affair has only slightly altered the chances of the war. But one great result has been achieved: One of our principal sovereigns has made an utter laughing-stock of himself, and his entire old-Austrian system is tottering. Discontent with the concordat business,[310] with the centralisation, with rule by the bureaucracy, is breaking out all over Austria, and the people are demanding the overthrow of a system distinguished by oppression at home and defeats abroad. The mood in Vienna is such that Francis Joseph is hurrying there as fast as he can, to make concessions. At the same time our other sovereigns are making fools of themselves in the jolliest way; after the chivalrous Prince Regent[a] has exhibited the same irresolution and lack of character as a politician that Francis Joseph has shown as a general, the small states have started to squabble with Prussia again over the passage of troops, and the military commission of the Confederation has declared that it can make a decision on Prussia's proposal of free federal corps on the Upper Rhine only after a good fortnight of reflection. Things are becoming splendidly complicated. This time the gracious princes can make fools of themselves without the menace of danger to our nationality; on the contrary, the German people, an entirely different people since the revolution of 1848, has become strong enough

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[a] William, Prince of Prussia.—*Ed.*

to cope not only with the French and Russians but also with its own 33 sovereigns at the same time.

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# Frederick Engels

## HISTORICAL JUSTICE

We have now published every official account of the battle of Solferino which has reached us, with many letters from both camps,[a] including the excellent special correspondence of the London *Times*[b]; and having laid these documents before our readers, it is perhaps not too soon to set forth clearly the real causes by which the battle was lost by Francis Joseph and won by Napoleon III.

When the Austrian Emperor recrossed the Mincio for the attack, he had nine army corps at his disposal, which might, after deducting the garrisons of the fortresses, appear on the field in an average strength of four brigades of infantry each, or thirty-six brigades in all—the brigade averaging between 5,000 and 6,000 men. His force for the attack thus amounted to about 200,000 infantry. This strength, though fully large enough to warrant the movement, was still inferior or scarcely equal to that of the enemy, for they, on their side, counted ten Piedmontese and twenty-six French brigades of infantry. Now, the French had, since Magenta, received large reenforcements of men on furlough, and drilled recruits, who had been distributed to their regiments, and their brigades were certainly stronger than those of the Austrians, whose reenforcements had consisted of two fresh army corps (the 10th and 11th), by which the number but not the strength of the brigades had been increased. The allied army may therefore be fairly estimated at its full complement of infantry (170,000 French, 75,000 Sardinians), less the losses since the beginning of the campaign, say 30,000, leaving about 215,000 infantry. The

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[a] "The Great Battle (By Telegraph to Galway). Paris, Saturday, June 25", *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5681, July 7, 1859; "The Battle of Solferino", *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5683, July 9, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Battle of Solferino", *The Times*, No. 23348, July 2, 1859.—*Ed.*

Austrians, relying upon quickness of maneuvering and surprise, upon the ardent desire of their troops to revenge the defeat of Magenta, and to prove that they were not inferior to their opponents, and upon the strength of the positions which a quick advance to the hights behind Castiglione could again secure to them, were certainly justified in attacking, but only on condition that they should keep their troops as closely concentrated as possible, and that they should advance rapidly and energetically. Neither of these conditions was fulfilled.

Instead of advancing with their whole force between Peschiera and Volta, in order to secure the whole range of hights as far as Lonato and Castiglione, and leaving the plain of Guidizzolo to the cavalry and perhaps one corps of infantry, they left one corps, the 2d, in Mantua to guard against a possible surprise by Prince Napoleon's corps, which was believed to be near. Now, if the garrison of Mantua was not sufficient to hold the strongest fortress in Europe against an irregular attack without the assistance of an extra corps, it must have been a very curious sort of a garrison indeed. But this does not appear to have been the motive which fettered the second corps to Mantua. The fact is that two other corps, the 11th and 10th, had been detached to turn the right flank of the Allies by Asola, a town on the Chiese, some six miles south-west of Castelgoffredo, and so far away from the battle-field that they must have reached it too late under any circumstances. The second corps, it would almost seem, had been destined to cover the flanks and rear of this turning column against the possible arrival of Prince Napoleon, and thus to prevent it from being turned itself. The whole of this design is so thoroughly of the old Austrian school, so complicated, so ridiculous in the contemplation of any man accustomed to study plans of battles, that the Austrian staff must certainly be acquitted of all the responsibility of its invention. Nobody but Francis Joseph and his aide-de-camp, Count Grünne, could have conceived such an anachronism. Thus three corps were successfully put out of harm's way. The remaining seven were disposed of as follows: One, the 8th (Benedek), between Pozzolengo and the Lake of Garda, to hold a position on the hills, the center and key of which was San Martino. The 5th (Stadion) occupied Solferino; the 7th (Zobel) San Cassiano; the 1st (Clam-Gallas) Cavriana. To the south, in the plain, the 3d (Schwarzenberg) advanced on the high road from Goito to Castiglione by Guidizzolo, and the 9th (Schaffgotsch) further south toward Medole. This wing was thrown forward so as to press back the allied right, and to offer a

support to the 10th and 11th corps whenever, and if ever, they should happen to arrive.

Thus the six corps actually engaged, and which to all intents and purposes formed the Austrian fighting army, were drawn out on a line twelve miles long, giving on an average two miles, or 3,540 yards frontage to each corps. There could be no depth in such a long line. But this was not the only serious fault. The 3d and 9th corps advanced from Goito, to which place lay also their line of retreat; the 1st and 7th corps, the next adjoining, had their line of retreat to Valeggio. A glance at the map shows that this gives an eccentric retreat, a circumstance to which the slight effect produced by the two corps in the plain is no doubt mainly to be attributed.

This faulty disposition being laid out for the twenty-four, or if we suppose that Benedek was reenforced by some troops from the garrison of Peschiera, twenty-five or twenty-six Austrian brigades, was rendered still more faulty by the languor of the advance. A rapid march on the 23d, when the Mincio was recrossed, would have brought the concentrated Austrian army, by noon, upon the advanced positions of the Allies, about Desenzano, Lonato and Castiglione, and enabled it to drive them back by nightfall on the Chiese, so that the battle would have commenced with a preliminary success for the Austrians. But the furthest point reached on the hills was Solferino, only six miles from the Mincio. In the plain, the advanced troops got as far as Castelgoffredo, ten miles from the Mincio, and if so ordered, might have got to the Chiese. Then, on the 24th, instead of starting at daybreak, the advance was to begin by 9 o'clock! Thus it happened that the Allies, who started at 2 o'clock in the morning, fell upon the Austrians at between 5 and 6 o'clock. The consequences were inevitable. Thirty-three strong brigades against twenty-five or twenty-six weak ones (they had all been engaged before, and suffered heavy losses), could only result in the defeat of the Austrians. Benedek alone, with his five or six brigades, held out all day long against the Piedmontese army, of whose ten brigades every one, with the exception of the guard, was engaged; and he would have maintained his position, had not the general retreat of the center and left wing compelled him to fall back also. In the center, the 5th and lst corps (8 brigades) held Solferino against Baraguay d'Hilliers's corps (6 brigades) and the guard (4 brigades) till after 2 o'clock, while the 7th (4 brigades) was held in check by the four brigades of McMahon. Solferino being at last taken, the guard advanced against San Cassiano, and thus compelled the Austrian 7th corps to give up the position. Finally, the fall of

Cavriana, at about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, decided the fate of the battle in the center, and compelled the Austrians to retreat. On the Austrian left, the 3d and 9th corps were carrying on a desultory fight against Niel's corps, and one division (Renault) of Canrobert's; until, later in the afternoon, another division of this latter corps (Trochu's) entered into line and drove the Austrians back toward Goito. Although opposed from the beginning to a nearly equal force, these eight Austrian brigades might have done much more than they did. By a resolute advance from Guidizzolo toward Castiglione they might have disengaged the 7th corps at San Cassiano and thus indirectly supported the defenders of Solferino; but their line of retreat being to Goito, every step in advance compromised it, and thus they acted with a caution which was entirely misplaced in such a battle; but the blame rests with those who ordered them to retreat to Goito.

The Allies had every man engaged with the exception of three brigades, two of Canrobert's corps and one of Piedmontese Guards. Now, if the employment of all their reserves except these three brigades was necessary to win a hard-fought victory, after which there was no pursuit, how would the battle have stood if Francis Joseph had been able to avail himself of his three army corps, then wandering about far away to the south? Suppose he had given one to Benedek, placed another behind Solferino and San Cassiano as a reserve, and kept one behind Cavriana as a general reserve, what would the result of the battle have been? It cannot for a moment be doubtful. After repeated and vain efforts to take San Martino and Solferino, the Piedmontese and the French center would have been broken by a final and vigorous advance of the whole Austrian line, and instead of retiring toward the Mincio, the Austrians would have ended the day on the banks of the Chiese. They were beaten, not by the French, but by the arrogant imbecility of their own Emperor. Overwhelmed by both superior numbers from without, and contemptible management within, they still retired unbroken, giving up nothing but the battle-field, and as incapable of panic as any troops the world has ever seen.

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## Frederick Engels

# THE BATTLE OF SOLFERINO

The connection between the bloody defeat of Solferino and the obtrusive stupidity of Francis Joseph was already explained in the preceding number of *Das Volk*.[a] Later dispatches giving the details of the battle show that we had still overestimated the "young hero's" perspicacity. The year 1859 puts the victors of 1849 through a state examination which they fail, one after the other.

On June 23 the Austrian army had no less than 9 army corps available; of them, the First, Second, Third, Fifth, Seventh and Eighth had already seen action, as a whole or partially, but the Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh were still intact, had not yet faced the foe. The first six might have had a total of 130,000 men, the last three, 75,000. Hence the enemy could have been attacked with a force of at least 200,000. What did Francis Joseph do? He sent the Tenth and Eleventh Corps from Mantua to Asola on the Chiese, to fall on the French from the rear, and to protect this manoeuvre from a possible attack by the French Fifth Corps (Prince Napoleon), which was believed to be nearby, he held the Second Corps at Mantua. This left him only 6 corps, that is, 24 brigades, with which he planned to attack the front of the Franco-Piedmontese. But the manoeuvre was carried out so slowly that the army bivouacked only some six English miles from the Mincio on the evening of June 23 and the march forward was to be made only at 9 a.m. on the 24th. The forward troops of the Allies, which had been driven back all along the line on the 23rd, and also their reconnaissance naturally alerted the French camp, with the result that the Austrians, instead of attacking at 9 o'clock, were

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[a] See this volume, pp. 392-95.— *Ed.*

themselves attacked at 5 o'clock. Against the 24 Austrian brigades, which must have totalled about 136,000 men, the Allies deployed successively not less than 33 brigades (9 Piedmontese, with 45,000 men, and 24 French,* with 150,000), or at least 195,000 men; in addition, they held one Piedmontese brigade (Guard) and two French brigades (Bourbaki division) in reserve. Accordingly, they had at least 210,000 men on the field of battle. With such a superiority in numbers, the victory of the Allies was certain. Nonetheless, General Benedek, with the Austrian Eighth Corps, successfully beat back the attacks of the entire Piedmontese army and won a complete victory on the right wing, even though his own corps was only four brigades strong and he may at most have received a fifth brigade as reinforcements from the Peschiera garrison. The centre, held by 12 weak Austrian brigades, was attacked and driven back by 14 strong French brigades, and the left wing, 8 brigades, was also pushed back, after a long fight, by 10 stronger French brigades, to which the numerous French cavalry and artillery were added. On this wing, as well as in the centre, a massive concentration of Austrian artillery would have been in order, but Francis Joseph preferred to let the 13 batteries of reserve artillery (104 guns) rest quietly in Valeggio, without firing a shot! This gives a simple explanation of the superiority of the French artillery fire; it was not due to the excellence of the rifled guns but to the feeble and helpless confusion in the head of the Austrian emperor, who did not bring his reserve guns into action at all.

But where were the Tenth and Eleventh Corps? While fighting was going on from Lake Garda to Guidizzolo, they were wandering around in the flat country far to the south; the Eleventh Corps is said to have seen some enemy troops in the distance, the Tenth did not even get that far; and when the battle had been decided, neither of them had had a chance of firing a shot, in fact they were still so far off that Canrobert, who was to have faced this flanking movement, of which the French were aware, was able to use all his troops but one division against the

* Piedmontese: Mollard division, Fanti division, Durando division, each with 2 brigades, and the Savoy brigades, all engaged. French: Guard: 4 brigades; First Corps, Baraguay: 6 brigades; Second Corps, MacMahon: 4 brigades; Third Corps, Canrobert: 4 brigades engaged, 2 in reserve; Fourth Corps, Niel: 6 brigades engaged. In all, 33 brigades engaged, 3 in reserve. All these figures are taken from the official communiqué of Napoleon the Little. Incidentally, our figures enumerate only the *infantry*.

main Austrian army and decide the battle on the Austrian left wing.

In the meantime, the Second Corps was holding a front at Mantua against an imaginary attack by Prince Plon-Plon, who on that day had himself and his army fêted in Parma, eight days' march from the field of battle!

This gives us a brilliant demonstration of what it means to have a German hereditary "war-lord" in command. Two corps (50,000 men) sent strolling about far from the battlefield, a third corps (20,000 men) facing up to empty space at Mantua, and 104 guns parked uselessly at Valeggio, that is, a good third part of all the fighting forces and the entire reserve and artillery purposely removed from the battlefield so that the remaining two-thirds may be crushed to no purpose by much superior forces—only a German sovereign can commit such brilliant lunacy!

The Austrian troops fought with such remarkable bravery that the Allies, who were half as strong again, could drive them back at two out of three points only with the utmost exertion, and that even this superiority in strength was not able to bring them into disarray or make any attempt at pursuit possible. How would the battle have turned out if the 70,000 men and 104 guns that Francis Joseph had frittered away had been in position as a reserve between Volta and Pozzolengo? Without a doubt, the French would have been beaten, and the campaign would have shifted back again from the Mincio and the Chiese to the Ticino. The Austrian troops were not defeated by the Allies but by the stupidity and pretentiousness of their own emperor. If an Austrian soldier on outpost duty is guilty of the slightest fault, he gets a cudgelling of 50 blows. The least thing that Francis Joseph can do to atone in some measure for his gross blunders and idiocies is to report to General Hess and get his well-earned 50 blows.

The war is now being waged in the quadrilateral of fortresses, and we begin to see the first effects of the fortresses on the manoeuvres on the Allies: *They must divide.* One detachment has stayed behind at Brescia to observe the Tyrolean passes. The French Fifth Corps (Plon-Plon) has taken up a position against Mantua at Goito and has been reinforced by one division. A large part of the Piedmontese army has been assigned to besiege Peschiera. Peschiera, which was formerly a small fortress, is said (see *Revue des deux Mondes,* April 1, 1859[a]) to have been converted

[a] J.-J. Baude, "L'Autriche et sa puissance militaire en Italie".—*Ed.*

since 1849 into an entrenched camp by a semicircle of detached forts; if this is true, the Piedmontese will have their work cut out for them, and all that is left for the "operations" against Verona, pompously announced by Louis Bonaparte, is the French army, weakened by a division and the losses at Solferino (25 brigades, hardly much more than 130,000 men). If Hess has really taken over the command by now, and, indeed, with unlimited powers, he will soon find opportunities to win isolated engagements and thereby prepare a greater victory. The three divisions of the Lyons army are coming to reinforce the French, together with a division of the Paris army, it is said, in all 50,000 to 60,000 men. The Austrians are getting the Sixth Corps from the South Tyrol and the Fourth from Trieste and in addition to that the fourth field battalions of the regiments stationed in Italy, that is, at least 54 battalions of seasoned soldiers, which would bring the total Austrian reinforcements to almost 100,000. In the last analysis, however, the main thing for the Austrians is to restore the balance on the field of battle not so much by adding fresh troops as by forming a unified and rational command, and the only way in which that can be brought about is by removing the incompetent Francis Joseph and giving full command to Hess.

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# Karl Marx

## ERFURTERY IN THE YEAR 1859[311]

Reaction carries out the programme of the revolution. On this apparent contradiction rests the strength of Napoleonism, which still today considers itself the mandatory of the Revolution of 1789; the success of the Schwarzenberg policy in Austria, which brought the vague 1848 dream of unity into a clear, positive focus; and the phantom of parliamentary reform of the Confederation, which is now current in Little Germany owing to Prussian initiative and performs a burlesque dance of ghosts with Citizens Jacobus Venedey and Zais on the graves of the 1848 revolution. In the hands of reaction, to be sure, this programme of the revolution turns into a satire on the relevant revolutionary efforts, and thus becomes a lethal weapon in the hands of an implacable enemy. Reaction fulfils the demands of the revolution just as Louis Bonaparte fulfils those of the Italian national party. What is tragicomical in this process is that the poor sinners that are to be hanged there on their own phrases and stupidities cry "Bravo!" at the top of their voice as the executor puts the noose round their necks, and wildly applaud their own execution.

Just as in 1848 the well-known March demands, which had been drawn up by the party then called "revolutionary" and had been spread far and wide by very skilful organisation,[312] made the rounds from Diet to Diet and from riot to riot, so today a "*Declaration*" is making a triumphal tour of Central and South Germany, apparently the regency's *mot d'ordre*[a] for the "popular movement" wanted for the purpose of armed mediation. This regency programme which bears the very characteristic name of

[a] Slogan.— *Ed.*

the "*Nassau Declaration*", since it was first adopted by the sponging[a] fathers of the fatherland under the leadership of our old friend Herr Zais, proclaims:

"Austria should not be left alone in the present war, which may eventually threaten German interests. On the contrary, it is the duty of Germany" (its calling, Herr von Schleinitz would say) "to insist on reforms by Austria, including assurance of a state of affairs in Italy that meets the just demands of our time. The military and *political* leadership in the impending struggle must be turned over to Prussia. That leadership, however, would *not yet* (!) satisfy the *lasting* need of a strong federal government; a *reorganisation of the central power in Germany* on the one hand, and the *creation* of a constitution on the other, with German *popular representation* as its conclusion" (point, as Herr von Gagern used to put it), "cannot be withheld from the German people."[b]

This Nassau Declaration, also given the name of "Manifesto", has already been adopted by the constitutional and democratic notables of Darmstadt, Frankfurt, Württemberg—here signed by Reyscher, Schott, Vischer, Duvernoy, Ziegler, etc., in harmonious confusion—and is preached by the "liberal" press of Southwest Germany, Franconia and Thuringia, as the wonder-working gospel that will save Germany, extirpate the French Empire root and branch, give Herr Venedey his daily allowances back and provide Citizen Zais with political significance.

So that is the gist of the matter[c]; by using this kind of shabby trick, speculating on the utter mental retardation and senile childishness of the philistines of the Empire, the advocates of Prussia's calling hope to conjure away from the Federal Diet the laurels of Bronzell,[313] so chivalrously won and so dearly paid for! We must admit that we have very little respect for advocates of Prussia's calling who, instead of openly slapping the gentlemen of the Eschenheimer Gasse,[314] as one would like to do and dare not, insult them by throwing Messrs. Schott, Zais and Reyscher in their faces from a safe distance. If the statecraft of Berlin knows no other way of "saving Germany" than buying second-hand[d] the effects of the lamented Herr von Radowitz and his unlamented men of Gotha, then it can after all make peace at any price and submit unresistingly to the Franco-Russian dictatorship, since it

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[a] Here Marx plays on the word *nassauisch* (of Nassau) which is of common derivation with the word *Nassauer* (sponger, lickspittle).—*Ed.*

[b] "Erklärung nassauischer Staatsbürger", *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 176, June 25, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx has "des Pudels Kern", an expression from Goethe's *Faust*, Erster Teil, "Studierzimmer".—*Ed.*

[d] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

has not the slightest conception of the seriousness of the struggle that has been initiated by the Italian freedom campaign.

The fact that there are still patriotic notables who find an adequate expression of their insignificance in a "Nassau declaration" and live in the comforting conviction that by means of a feeble echo of the 1848 Imperial Parliament they can call into being a popular movement strong enough to take up the struggle against the combined despotisms of Russia and France, only proves how right H. Heine is when he says:

"True madness is as rare as true wisdom."[a]

For the madness of the Nassau declarers is false through and through, lying and cowardly, a Harlequin mask that these gentlemen put on to give the appearance of being lunatics not responsible for their actions, because in fact they are ashamed of their pitiable helplessness and inaction, and hope to evade responsibility by appealing for public sympathy as imbeciles.

"Reorganised central power" with "popular representation"—a splendid weapon against raving Bonapartism and a Tsarism that has been driven to desperation and has to fight on German soil for an existence threatened in its own interior! I should have thought we had had enough of both in 1848 and 1849 to have realised that any popular movement is dead when it loses its revolutionary power to a constituent popular representative assembly.

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[a] Heinrich Heine, *Die Bäder von Lucca*, Kapitel I.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## WHAT HAS ITALY GAINED?

The Italian war is finished. Napoleon has ended it as suddenly and unexpectedly as the Austrians began it.[315] Though brief, it has been costly. It has concentrated into a few weeks not only the exploits, the invasions and counterinvasions, the marches, the battles, the conquests and the losses, but also the expenditures, both in life and money, of many much longer wars. Some of the results of it are palpable enough. Austria has lost territory; her reputation for military prowess has been seriously damaged; her pride has been deeply wounded. But the lessons she has learned, if any, are, we apprehend, rather military than political, and any changes she may be led to make in consequence of this war, will be changes in drill, discipline and arms, rather than in her political system or her methods of administration. She may have been made a convert to the efficacy of rifled cannon. She may perhaps introduce into her service some imitation of the French Zouaves. This is much more likely than that she will essentially modify the government of what remains to her of her Italian provinces.

Austria has lost, too, at least for the present, that guardianship over Italy her persistence in which, in spite of the remonstrances and complaints of Sardinia, was made the occasion of the late war. But, though Austria has been obliged for the present to relinquish this office, the office itself does not appear to be vacant. It is a very significant fact that the new settlement of the affairs of Italy was decided at a short interview between the Emperors of France and Austria, both strangers, each at the head of an army of strangers, and that this settlement was made not only without the formality of even seeming to consult the parties who were the subjects of it, but without the knowledge on their part that they

were thus being bargained away and disposed of. Two armies from beyond the Alps meet and fight in the plains of Lombardy. After a six weeks' struggle, the foreign sovereigns of these foreign armies undertake to settle and arrange the affairs of Italy without taking a single Italian into their councils. The King of Sardinia, who in a military point of view had been placed on the level of a French general, seems to have had no more share or voice in the final arrangement than if he had been, in fact, merely a French general.

It was the ground of the complaints so loudly urged by Sardinia against Austria, not merely that she claimed a general superintendence of Italian affairs, but that she was the advocate of all existing abuses; that it was her policy to keep things as they were, interfering with the internal administration of her Italian neighbors, and claiming the right to suppress by force of arms any attempt on the part of the inhabitants of those countries to modify or improve their political condition. And what more respect is paid to Italian sentiment and wishes, or to that right of revolution of which Sardinia was the patron, under the new arrangement than under the old one? The Italian duchies south of the Po, though their proffered aid in the war was accepted, are, it would seem, under the treaty of peace to be handed back to their expelled princes. In no part of Italy has misgovernment been more complained of than in the States of the Church.[a] The maladministration of those States and the countenance and support given by Austria to that maladministration, have been prominently set forth as one of the worst features, if not the very worst feature, in the late condition of Italian affairs. But, though Austria has been obliged to relinquish her armed protectorate of the States of the Church, the unfortunate inhabitants of those Territories have gained nothing by the change. France supports the temporal authority of the Holy See to full as great an extent as Austria ever did; and since the abuses of the Roman Government are regarded by the Italian patriots as inseparable from its sacerdotal character, there seems to be no hope of improvement. France, in the position which she now holds of sole protector of the Pope, makes herself in fact more responsible for the abuses of the Roman Government than Austria ever was.

With respect to the Italian Confederation which forms a part of the new arrangement, there is this to be observed: Either that Confederation will be a political reality possessing a certain degree

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[a] The Papal States. See this volume, pp. 148 and 357.—*Ed.*

of power and influence, or else a mere sham. If it be the latter, Italian union, liberty, and development can gain nothing by it. If it be a reality, considering the elements of which it is composed, what can be expected from it? Austria (sitting in it for the Province or Kingdom of Venice), the Pope and the King of Naples[a] combined in the interests of despotism, will easily carry the day against Sardinia, even if the other smaller States should side with her. Austria may even avail herself of this new standing ground to secure a control over the other Italian States quite as objectionable, to say the least, as that which she lately claimed to exercise under special treaties with them.[316]

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[a] Francis II.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [ON ERNEST JONES.]

### [FROM THE "POLITICAL REVIEW" OF *DAS VOLK*][317]

A few days ago, a case was heard before the Court of Queen's Bench,[318] which we must recount in detail. Ernest Jones, who was condemned to two years solitary confinement in 1848 for his revolutionary activities and, having served his sentence, reorganised the Chartist Party with as much self-sacrifice as talent, as is known, conceived a plan in the autumn of 1857 to establish an alliance of the proletariat with the middle class. In order to put this idea into practice, he invited representatives of the bourgeoisie and of the workers to a joint conference, which took place nominally at the beginning of last year in St. Martin's Hall.[319] But only nominally. From the Chartists no man of weight turned up, and as "representatives of the bourgeoisie", instead of Messrs. Cobden, Bright, and so on, who had scornfully refused, a couple of ambiguous characters attended, like Mr. Coningham, the communist-Urquhartist Palmerstonian, and a certain Mr. Ingram, who has since been convinced of common fraud. The so-called conference drew up a "Programme of Alliance" and preached a proletarian and bourgeois crusade against the aristocrats. In vain. The proletariat protested, the bourgeois realised that there was nothing to be won, and Ernest Jones soon saw himself abandoned by his friends, old and new. The readership of *The People's Paper* and *The London News*, the two Chartist papers which he published, dwindled from day to day, and finally Jones decided to sell these newspapers to Mr. *Baxter Langley*, manager of Bright's *Star*[a]—at best a case of excessive haste, which was all the less excusable since *The People's Paper* was at the time the only official organ of the

[a] *The Morning Star.—Ed.*

Chartist Party. As was to be expected, this step aroused great indignation among some of the Chartists. Ernest Jones was violently attacked, and *Reynolds's Newspaper*, among others, carried a series of articles in which he was said to have sold himself to the Manchester School, to have exploited the workers politically and financially, to be a corrupt traitor, and so on and so forth. Thereupon Jones brought a defamation suit against Mr. Reynolds. Owing to various circumstances the lawsuit was drawn out and did not come up for hearing before the Queen's Bench until last Saturday. The plaintiff demonstrated most convincingly that by fighting for the Chartist principles he had ruined himself from the bourgeoisie's point of view, that he had never received money for himself from the Chartists and that he had not been bribed by the bourgeoisie, but on the contrary had been cheated by them in respect of the selling price of *The People's Paper*. Mr. Reynolds, who could furnish no proofs, solemnly retracted the accusations and was fined forty shillings for form's sake, but at the same time—and this is no trifling matter—was ordered to pay the costs of the proceedings, which amounted to several hundred pounds sterling.

Ernest Jones has saved his personal honour, but he has not had his political honour restored to him by the verdict of the Queen's Bench. He has already paid dearly for his ill-advised attempt at mediation, but the proletariat can never forgive mistakes.

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# Karl Marx

## THE PEACE

It seems from the intelligence received by the *Europa*, that the Italian Confederation announced by Napoleon III as one of the bases of his Peace with Francis Joseph, is a thing of most vague and precarious proportions. So far, it is simply a notion to which Austria has consented, but which has still to be submitted to the Italian Governments. It does not appear that even Sardinia, whose King, by the way, was apparently not consulted in the conclusion of the Peace, has agreed to join it, though he must of course do as he is told; while there is a rumor that the Pope, the proposed honorary head of the Federation, has written to Louis Napoleon that he shall seek the protection of the Catholic Powers—rather a doubtful refuge just at this moment, when it is against France that he wants to be protected.[a] As for the lately banished Monarchs of Tuscany, Modena, and Parma, it appears that they are to be restored to their thrones; and, under such circumstances, they will no doubt be ready to join any Confederation that may be dictated to them. But of the King of Naples,[b] now the only independent sovereign in Italy, we hear nothing whatever; and it is not impossible that he may refuse outright. Thus, it is yet a question whether there will be any Federation at all, and still more a question what will be its nature, should it succeed in getting itself formed.

An important fact, now first made certain, is that Austria retains

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[a] Pius IX's Encyclical Letter of June 18 to the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops and Bishops in Communion with the Holy See, *The Times*, No. 23352, July 7, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] Francis II.—*Ed.*

all four of the great fortresses,[a] the Mincio being made the western boundary of her territories. Thus she still holds the keys of Northern Italy, and can take advantage of any favorable emergency to regain what she has now had to abandon. This fact alone shows how utterly unfounded is Napoleon's pretense that he has virtually accomplished his purpose of driving Austria out of Italy. Indeed, it is not too much to say that if he has beaten Austria in the war, she has decidedly beaten him in concluding the peace. She has resigned simply what had been conquered from her, nothing more. France, at an expense of some hundred millions of dollars and the lives of some fifty thousand of her sons, has gained the control of Sardinia, much glory for her soldiers, and the renown of a very lucky and moderately successful General for her Emperor. For him it is much; for France, which has borne all the expense and suffered all the losses, it is little; and it is not surprising that there should be discontent in Paris.

The reason alleged by Napoleon for thus suddenly concluding the war is that it was assuming proportions incompatible with the interests of France. In other words, it was tending to become a revolutionary war, with an insurrection at Rome, and a rising in Hungary among its features. It is a curious fact that, just before the battle of Solferino, this same Napoleon actually urged Kossuth, who, at his invitation, had come to see him in the camp, to undertake a revolutionary diversion in favor of the Allies. Before that battle, then, he did not dread the dangers that terrified him immediately afterward. That circumstances alter cases is not a novel observation; but it is applicable in the present instance. However, it is needless to multiply evidence to prove that this man is as purely selfish as he is unscrupulous; and that, after having shed the blood of fifty thousand men to gratify his personal ambition, he is ready to forswear and abandon even the hypocrisy of every principle in the name of which he led them to the slaughter.

One of the first results of the present settlement, is the downfall of the Cavour ministry, which has had to quit office in Sardinia. Though one of the cleverest men in Italy, and not at all concerned in making the peace, Count Cavour could not stand before the public indignation and disappointment. It will probably be long before he rises to power again. And it will be long before Louis Napoleon can again delude even the sentimentalists and enthusiasts into regarding him as a champion of Freedom. The

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[a] Peschiera, Mantua, Verona and Legnago.—*Ed.*

Italians will now hate him worse than all other representatives of tyranny and of treachery; and we need not be surprised if the knives of Italian assassins should again seek the life of the man, who, promising and pretending to be the conqueror of Italian independence, has left Austria seated almost as firmly as ever on the neck of Italy.

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# Karl Marx

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE "MEMOIR ON RUSSIA, FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF THE PRESENT EMPEROR"[320]

Just after the settlement of the Regency question in Prussia, and the dismissal of Manteuffel's ministry, his successors in office discovered, among other official papers, a most curious "Memoir on Russia," an extract of which, despite all precautions taken, found its way into the hands of some outsiders who consider the present moment opportune for the publication of such a State paper.

All the passages literally quoted from the original are indicated by quotation marks. Passing over the general considerations on Russian history, with which the document opens, we begin with what relates to the time of Peter the Great.[a]

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[a] In *Das Volk* Marx introduced the text of the document with the following lines: "Under this heading the Urquhartist *Free Press* publishes a document of so great importance for Prussia and Germany that we reprint it in full. In one of our next issues we shall deal with the secret strings of the drama whose stage player is Bonaparte, but whose manager is Russia. For the present we let *The Free Press* speak."—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE TREATY OF VILLAFRANCA

If the war got up by Louis Napoleon on the false pretense of liberating Italy, gave rise to a general confusion of ideas, a shifting of positions, and a prostitution of men and things without parallel in the history of Europe, the peace of Villafranca[a] has broken the fatal spell. Whatever may have been said of Louis Napoleon's astuteness, that peace has destroyed his prestige, and even alienated from him the French people and the French army, whom it was his chief purpose to attach to his dynasty. When he tells that army that he made peace from fear, both of Prussia and the Austrian quadrangle, he tells them what can only awaken disgust in their hearts. And when he tells that people, every one of whom is born a revolutionist, that he was checked in his victorious career only by the fact that the next step in advance must have been taken with Revolution as his ally, he may be sure that they will regard him with far greater distrust and aversion than the bugbear with which he seeks to terrify them. In all the Europe of to-day, there is no other such failure as Louis Bonaparte with his Italian war. The humbug exploded at Villafranca. The speculators of the Stock Exchange exult at it, the chopfallen demagogues stand aghast, the betrayed Italians tremble with rage, the "mediating powers" cut sorry figures, the British and American believers in Louis Bonaparte's democratic mission hide their shame in unmeaning protests and ingenious explanations; but those who dared to oppose a deluge of self-delusion, at the peril

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[a] "Préliminaires de paix convenus entre l'Autriche et la France, à Villafranca le 11 juillet 1859."—*Ed.*

even of being accused of Austrian sympathies, are now proved to have been alone in the right.

Consider first the manner in which the treaty was concluded. The two Emperors meet; Francis Joseph surrenders Lombardy to Bonaparte, who makes a present of it to Victor Emmanuel, who, in his turn, although the apparent principal in the war, is not even admitted to the conference which settles the peace. The idea of consulting, even for appearance sake, the voice of the human chattels thus bartered away, is sneered at by the two contractors. Francis Joseph disposes of his property; so does Napoleon III. If the transfer of an estate had been in question, the presence of a law officer, and the fulfillment of some legal formalities, would have been indispensable. No such thing in the transfer of three millions of men. Not even the assent of Victor Emmanuel, the individual upon whom the property was finally settled, is asked for. Such humiliation was too much for a Minister, and Cavour resigned. A King, of course, may say of a country annexed what the Roman Emperor said of money raised: *Non olet.*[a] There is about it, perhaps, no smell of injury for him.

This, we suppose, is what is called in the vocabulary of the *Idées Napoléoniennes,*[b] the "restoration of nationalities." The Congress of Vienna itself, if its transactions be compared with the Villafranca job, may well be suspected of revolutionary principles and popular sympathies. Italian nationality is to be inaugurated by the studied insult of a convention which declares in broad characters, that Italy had no part in the war against Austria, and, by a necessary consequence, has no voice to utter in settling the peace with Austria. Garibaldi, with his bold mountaineers; the insurrections of Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and the Romagna; Victor Emmanuel himself with his country invaded, his finances dilapidated, and his army decimated; all this counts for nothing. There was a war between a Hapsburg and a Bonaparte. There was no Italian war. Victor Emmanuel cannot lay claim even to the honors of a subaltern ally. He was no party to the struggle; he was only an instrument, and is, therefore, excluded from those rights which, according to the law of nations, accrue to every co-belligerent, however diminutive. He falls short of the honors granted to the German mediatized princes at the peace of 1815.[321] A modest poor

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[a] Does not smell (the words said by the Roman Emperor Vespasian in connection with the tax on public conveniences).— *Ed.*

[b] Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, *Des idées napoléoniennes,* Chapitre IV, Question étrangère.— *Ed.*

relative, let him devour in silence the crumbs dropped from the table of his rich and powerful cousin.

If we come now to the contents—we mean the official contents—of the treaty of Villafranca, we shall find them quite in keeping with the method of its settlement. Lombardy is to be ceded to Piedmont, but the identical offer, in terms more favorable, and not clogged by drawbacks, Austria had proposed to Charles Albert and Lord Palmerston in 1848.[322] At that time no foreign Power had sequestrated the Italian movement. The cession was to be made to Sardinia, not to France; Venice, too, was to be severed from the Austrian territories and to be constituted into an independent Italian State—not with the Austrian Emperor, but with an Austrian Archduke at its head. These conditions were then scornfully rejected by the magnanimous Palmerston, who stigmatized them as too lame a conclusion for the Italian war for independence. The same Lombardy is now given as a French gift to the Savoy dynasty, while Venice, with the quadrangle of fortresses, those on the Mincio included, is to remain in the clutch of Austria.

The independence of Italy is thus converted into the dependence of Lombardy on Piedmont and the dependence of Piedmont on France. While Austria's pride may be humiliated by the cession of Lombardy, her real power is rather strengthened by this evacuation of a territory which absorbed part of her military forces without being defensible against foreign invasion and without paying the costs of their maintenance. The resources vainly spent in Lombardy may now be turned to good account elsewhere. What Austria keeps is the domineering military position from which, on any favorable occasion, she may pounce on her weak neighbor, who has in fact only gained an increase of weakness—an exposed frontier with turbulent, disaffected and jealous subjects—while he has lost even the pretext of representing the rights of Italy. He has struck a dynastic bargain, but he has resigned his national mission. From an independent State, Sardinia has dwindled down to a State on sufferance which, to hold its own against its foe in the East, must cringe before its Protector in the West.

But this is not all. By the terms of the treaty Italy, after the pattern of the German Confederation, is to be constituted into an Italian Confederation, under the honorary presidency of the Pope.[a] There now seems to be some difficulty in realizing this

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[a] Pius IX.—*Ed.*

Napoleonic Idea, and we have yet to learn how Napoleon III will deal with the hindrances that are rising in the way of his hobby. For, whatever be the event, there is no doubt that such a Confederacy, with the Pope at its head, is his hobby. But the overthrow of the papal power at Rome has always been considered as the *conditio sine qua* of Italian emancipation. Machiavelli, in his history of Florence,[a] long ago, traced in the papal dominion the source of Italian degradation. Now, in the purpose of Louis Napoleon, instead of the Romagna being freed, the whole of Italy is to be subjected to the nominal sway of the Pope. In fact, if the Confederacy should ever be organized, the papal tiara will be but the emblem of Austrian domination. What did Austria aim at by her private treaties with Naples, Rome, Tuscany, Parma, Modena? At a confederation of Italian princes under Austrian leadership. The treaty of Villafranca with the Italian Confederation, in which the Pope, Austria, and the restored Dukes—if, indeed, they can get restored—will form one party, and Piedmont the other, exceeds the boldest hopes of Austria. She has desired, since 1815, to form a Confederacy of Italian Princes against Piedmont. She may now subject Piedmont itself. She may extinguish the vital principle of that little State in a Confederacy of which the Pope, who has excommunicated Sardinia,[323] will be nominal head, and of which Sardinia's unforgiving enemy will be the real leader. It is, therefore, not Italy that has been emancipated, but Piedmont that has been crushed. Face to face with Austria, Piedmont is set to play the part of Prussia, but without the resources that have enabled the latter State to paralyze her rival in the German Diet. France, on her part, may flatter herself with having assumed toward Italy the position which Russia holds with regard to the German Confederation, but, then, the Russian influence in Germany is based upon the balance of power between the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns. The only way in which Piedmont can restore her prestige is clearly traced for her by her protector. In his proclamation to his soldiers, Louis Napoleon says:

> "The union of Lombardy with Piedmont creates for us (the Bonaparte family) a powerful ally who will owe to us its independence;"[b]

thus declaring that independent Piedmont has given place to a Napoleonic satrapy. To extricate himself from this degrading

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[a] N. Machiavelli, *Istorie fiorentine,* Libro I, IX.—*Ed.*

[b] Napoleon III, "Armée d'Italie. Proclamation. Valeggio, le 12 juillet 1859", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 195, July 14, 1859.—*Ed.*

position, Victor Emmanuel is without resources. He can only appeal to Italy, of which he has betrayed the confidence, or to Austria, with whose spoils he has been fed. Very possibly, however, an Italian Revolution may intervene to change the aspect of the whole peninsula, and to bring Mazzini and the Republicans once more upon the scene.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE ITALIAN WAR

### Retrospect

### I

The secret general[a] has ordered his Guard back to Paris in great haste to make his triumphal entry at its head and then have his victorious troops parade before him on the Place du Carrousel. In the meantime, let us make another review of the main events of the war in order to clarify the real merits of the ape Napoleon.[324]

On April 19 Count Buol committed the childish indiscretion of informing the English ambassador[b] that on April 23 he would give the Piedmontese a three-days' ultimatum, at the expiry of which he would begin war and give the order to march in. Buol knew, to be sure, that Malmesbury was no Palmerston, but he forgot that the time for the general elections was approaching, that the narrow-minded Tories, fearful that they might be shouted down as "Austrians", actually became Bonapartists against their will. On the 20th the English government hastened to communicate this information to Mr. Bonaparte, and *the concentration of French troops began at once* and orders were given to form the fourth battalions of reserves. On the 23rd the Austrians did issue the ultimatum[c]—on the eve of the English elections. Derby and Malmesbury hastened to label this action a "crime", against which they protested with the greatest energy.[d] Bonaparte had his troops cross the Piedmontese border even before the ultimatum

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[a] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

[b] Lord Augustus Loftus.—*Ed.*

[c] "Copie d'une lettre de M. le Comte Buol-Schauenstein à M. le Comte de Cavour en date de Vienne le 19 avril 1859", *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 116 (supplement), April 26, 1859.—*Ed.*

[d] Lord Derby's speech at a dinner at the Mansion-House on April 25, 1859, *The Times*, No. 23290, April 26, 1859 ("Lord Derby at the Mansion-House").—*Ed.*

expired; on April 26 the French entered Savoy and Genoa. But the Austrians, restrained by the protests and threats of the Tory government, conceded two days more and marched into Piedmont only on the 29th, instead of on the 27th.

In this way the secret general was aware of the Austrians' plan a full nine days before they marched in and was able, because of the treachery of the English ministry, to arrive on the scene three days earlier than the Austrians. But the secret general had confederates not only in the English ministry but also in the Austrian army command. Everyone expected, and justifiably, that Hess would take over the supreme command of the army in Italy. Instead, the command was given to Gyulay, who had never confronted the enemy in 1848 and 1849—a totally incapable mind, with no understanding or will-power, this Gyulay. Hess is of middle-class origin and far from friendly to the reactionary pro-Jesuit clique of nobles that makes up Francis Joseph's camarilla. The Grünne-Thun-Bach triumvirate incited the feeble Francis Joseph, who had worked out with Grünne a strange operational plan, which Hess had sharply criticised, against the old strategist; and so the blue-blooded dunce Gyulay remained commander-in-chief and his plan of operations—invasion of Piedmont—was adopted. Hess had recommended remaining strictly on the defensive and avoiding any battle until the Mincio was reached. The Austrian army, held moreover up by torrential rains, first appeared on the Po and Sesia on May 3 or 4 and by then it was of course too late to venture a coup against Turin or one of the Piedmontese fortresses. The French were massed on the Upper Po; this gave the incompetent Gyulay a welcome excuse for inaction. In order to prove his helplessness beyond doubt, he undertook the reconnaissance in force of Montebello. The ensuing battle was fought with honour by thirteen Austrian battalions against sixteen French battalions until the second and third divisions of Baraguay d'Hilliers' corps appeared on the field, at which the Austrians, who had achieved their purpose, withdrew. But since this reconnaissance was not followed up in any way by the Austrians, it is obvious that the whole expedition could just as well have been omitted.

The secret general, meanwhile, had to wait for his supplies and his cavalry, and probably spent the time studying his favourite Bülow. Being fully informed as to the positions and strength of the Austrians, the French could easily draw up a plan of attack. There are in general only three ways to attack: either frontally for a breakthrough in the centre, or by turning the right or left flank.

The secret general decided to turn the right flank of the enemy. The Austrians were deployed on a long line from Biella to Pavia, after they had foraged the entire region between the Sesia and the Dora Baltea without hindrance. On May 21 the Piedmontese attacked the Sesia line and for several days fought minor engagements between Casale and Vercelli, while Garibaldi slipped by along Lago Maggiore with his Alpine riflemen, raised an insurrection in the Varesotto and advanced to the Comasco and Brianza. Gyulay's troops remained scattered, and he even sent one of his six army corps (the Ninth) to the south bank of the Po. On May 29 the preparations had finally reached the point where the attack could begin. The actions at Palestro and Vinzaglio, in which the major part of the Piedmontese army was engaged against part of the Seventh Army Corps (Zobel), opened the road to the Allies to Novara, which Gyulay yielded without resistance. The Piedmontese, the French Second, Third and Fourth Corps and the Guard were dispatched there at once; the First Corps followed. The turning of the Austrian right flank was completed; the direct road to Milan was open.

This however put the armies into precisely the situation in which Radetzky won the victory of Novara in 1849. The Allies rolled on towards the Ticino in long columns on a small number of parallel roads. Their advance could only be slow. Gyulay had five army corps to work with, even deducting the dispersed Ninth Corps. As soon as the attack of the Piedmontese became serious, as it did on May 29 and 30, Gyulay had to concentrate his troops. Where exactly this took place did not really matter; one cannot march past 140,000-150,000 men in a concentrated position; moreover, it was essential not to make a passive defence but to strike an *a tempo*[a] blow at the enemy. If Gyulay had massed between Mortara, Garlasco and Vigevano on May 31 and June 1, he could for one thing have fallen on the flank of the move to turn his own right wing at Novara, cut the enemy's marching columns in two, drive some of them back to the Alps and take possession of the road to Turin. If, on the other hand, the enemy had crossed the Po below Pavia, Gyulay would still have been able to arrive in time to block their road to Milan.

Actually, concentration was begun. But before it was carried to completion, Gyulay was confused by the occupation of Novara. The enemy was closer to Milan than he was! In reality, that was just what was wanted; the moment for the *a tempo* blow had come;

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[a] Timely.—*Ed.*

the enemy would have to fight in the most unfavourable conditions. But Gyulay, whatever his personal bravery, was a moral coward. Instead of going forward quickly, he drew back in order to bring his army in an arc around the enemy in forced marches and again block their direct road to Milan at Magenta. The troops were set in motion on June 2 and the headquarters shifted to Rosate in Lombardy. Master of Ordnance Hess came there at 5:30 on the morning of June 3. He took Gyulay to task for the unpardonable blunder and had all the troops called to a halt at once, since he considered it still possible to strike the blow in the direction of Novara. Two entire army corps, the Second and the Seventh, were already on Lombard soil, having marched from Vigevano to Abbiategrasso. The Third Corps had received the order to halt right on the bridge at Vigevano; it marched back and took up a position on the Piedmontese bank. The Eighth went via Bereguardo, the Fifth via Pavia. The Ninth was still far off and quite out of reach.

When Hess had exact information on the distribution of the troops, he found that it was too late to be able to count on success in the Novara direction; now only the Magenta direction remained. At 10 a.m. orders went out to the columns to continue their march on Magenta.

Gyulay blames the loss of the battle of Magenta on this interference by Hess and the loss of $4^1/_2$ hours as a result of halting the columns. How groundless this excuse is can be seen from the following: The bridge at Vigevano is ten English miles from Magenta—a short day's march. The Second and Seventh Corps *were* already *in Lombardy* when the order to halt came. They could therefore have had at most 7 to 8 miles to march, by and large. For all that, only one division of the Seventh Corps got to Corbetta and three brigades of the Second Corps to Magenta. The second division of the Seventh Corps did not get beyond Castelletto near Abbiategrasso on the 3rd; and the Third Corps, which received the order to set out from the bridge at Vigevano not later than 11 a.m., and so had a good part of the day still before it, does not appear even to have made the 5 or 6 English miles to Abbiategrasso, since it came into battle only about 4 p.m. on the following day near Robecco (3 miles from Abbiategrasso). The columns must have been held up on the roads, slowing down the march because of faulty arrangements. If a corps takes 24 hours and more to cover 8 to 10 miles, 4 or 5 hours more cannot be considered as decisive. The Eighth Corps, which had been sent via Bereguardo and Binasco, had to go such a roundabout way

that it could not have arrived on the battle-field in time even using the $4^1/_2$ lost hours. The Fifth Corps, coming up from Pavia in two *real forced marches,* was able to join battle with one brigade on the evening of June 4.[325] What it lost in time, it won in intensity of movement. Accordingly, the attempt to blame the scattering of the army on Hess falls to the ground altogether.

Strategically, therefore, the initial steps towards the victory of Magenta were, in the first place, a positive error made by Louis Bonaparte himself by executing a flanking march in the enemy's zone, and secondly an error by Gyulay, who instead of concentrating and falling on the long marching columns dispersed his army entirely by a countermarch and withdrawal, wretchedly planned at that, and brought his troops into battle tired and hungry. This was the first phase of the war. On the second phase in our next number.

## II

We left our real secret Napoleon on the battle-field of Magenta. Gyulay had done him the greatest favour a general can do his opponent; he had brought his forces up so splintered that he was in the most decided minority at every moment of the battle, and even by evening did not have the troops on hand. The First and Second Corps pulled back towards Milan, the Eighth came from Binasco, the Fifth from Abbiategrasso, the Ninth was out on a stroll far down on the Po. Here was a situation for a general; here was the chance to use the many fresh troops who had arrived during the night to penetrate between the isolated Austrian columns, to win a *genuine* victory and force whole units to lay down their arms with their flags and artillery! That was how the vulgar Napoleon acted at Montenotte and Millesimo, at Abensberg and Regensburg. But not the "higher" Napoleon. He is far above such crude empiricism. He knows from his Bülow that excentric retreat is the most advantageous. And so he appreciated Gyulay's masterly retreat arrangements to the full, and instead of riding roughshod over him he telegraphed to Paris: The army is resting and reorganising.[a] He was sure that the world would not be so impolite as to regard his amateurish Magenta exercise as anything but a "great victory"!

Friend Gyulay, who had already made one trial, with such great success, of the manoeuvre of marching round the enemy in an arc—Friend Gyulay performed this experiment once again, and this time on a large scale. He had his army march first southeast

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[a] Napoleon III's telegram to the Empress Eugénie of June 5, 1859, *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 157, June 6, 1859.—*Ed.*

to the Po, then along the Po in three columns on three parallel roads until opposite Piadena on the Oglio, then north again to Castiglione. He was not in any hurry at all about it. The distance he had to march to Castiglione came to something like 120 English miles, that is, 10 very comfortable or 8 good days' march. He could have been in position at Castiglione on the 14th, or on the 15th at the latest; but it was not until the 19th that there was any important part of the army on the heights south of Lake Garda. However, trust breeds trust. If the Austrians marched slowly, the higher Napoleon proved that he was superior to them in this as well. The vulgar Napoleon would have held it his most urgent task to have his troops advance by forced marches on the shorter, direct route to Castiglione, which amounts to hardly 100 English miles, in order to reach the position south of Lake Garda and on the Mincio *before* the Austrians and attack the Austrian marching columns on the flank again if possible. Not so the improved Napoleon. "Ever slowly onward"[a] is his motto. It took him from the 5th to the 22nd to concentrate his troops on the Chiese. Seventeen days for 100 miles, or two short hours a day!

These were the colossal hardships that the French columns had to endure and which inspired the English newspaper correspondents with such admiration for the stamina and imperturbable good humour of the *pioupious*.[b] Only once was there an attempt at a rearguard action. The object was to drive an Austrian division (Berger) out of Melegnano. One brigade held the city; the other was already behind the Lambro to cover the retreat of the first and hardly got into the fighting. Now our secret general showed that he knew Napoleonic strategy too when it came down to it: Masses at the decisive point! Accordingly he sent two entire army corps, ten brigades, against this one brigade; the Austrian brigade (Roden), attacked by six brigades, held out for three or four hours and withdrew unpursued over the Lambro only after it had lost more than a third of its men; the presence of the second brigade (Boér) was enough to hold up the colossal superior numbers of the French. We see that the war was waged by the French with the utmost courtesy.

In Castiglione another hero came on the stage: Francis Joseph of Austria. Two worthy opponents! The first one has let it be

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[a] "Nur immer langsam voran"—the refrain of a German folk song, "Die Krähwinkler Landwehr" (the "Krähwinkler Landwehr" is the German equivalent of the Gotham Militia).—*Ed.*

[b] Nickname for the French infantrymen.—*Ed.*

known everywhere that he is the most cunning fellow of all times; the other takes pleasure in proclaiming himself as chivalrous. The first one cannot but be the greatest general of his century, because it is his vocation to travesty the original Napoleon—for he has taken his original drinking cup and other relics into the field with him; the other is bound to secure victory for his banners, being the born "supreme war-lord" of his army. The epigone system that has been widespread in the intervals between the revolutions of the nineteenth century could not have more suitable representatives on the field of battle.

Francis Joseph opened his career as generalissimo by first having his troops take up a position south of Lake Garda and then pulling them back at once behind the Mincio; he had hardly got them behind the Mincio before he sent them out on the offensive again. Such a manoeuvre could not but surprise even an improved Napoleon, as his bulletin is gracious enough to admit openly.[a] Since he happened to be on the march to the Mincio himself with his army on the same day, there was a collision between the two armies, the battle of Solferino. We shall not go into the details of this battle again, since we have presented them in a previous issue of this paper[b]; and especially so because the official Austrian communiqué is intentionally couched in very vague terms, in order to cover up the strange blunders of the hereditary war-lord.[c] This much emerges from it without any doubt, that the loss of the battle was due primarily to Francis Joseph and his camarilla. In the first place, Hess was purposefully and intentionally kept in the background. Secondly, Francis Joseph thrust himself into Hess' place. Thirdly, a mass of incompetent people, some of them even of dubious courage, were left in important commands through the influence of the camarilla. All these factors, even if we disregard the original plan, produced such confusion on the day of battle that control, interlocking of movements, order and sequence of manoeuvre, were quite out of the question. In the centre, in particular, hopeless confusion seems to have reigned. The three army corps in position there (First, Fifth and Seventh) performed such contradictory and disconnected movements and were always so lost to one another at the

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[a] "Bulletin de la bataille de Solferino [28 juin 1859]", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 183, July 2, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 400-03.—*Ed.*

[c] The official communiqué of the Austrian command on the battle of Solferino, early July 1859, *Neue Preussische Zeitung,* No. 155, July 7, 1859.—*Ed.*

moment of decision, while always in each other's way at other times, that the only thing that emerges from the Austrian report, but this with certainty, is the following: The battle was lost not so much because of numerical weakness as because of disgracefully poor leadership. One corps never supported the other at the right time; the reserves were everywhere except where they were needed; and so Solferino, San Cassiano, Cavriana fell, one after the other, whereas if they had been persistently and skilfully defended all three together, they would have constituted an impregnable position. But Solferino, the decisive point, was abandoned as early as two o'clock, and with Solferino, the battle; Solferino fell to concentric attack, which only offensive blows could ward off, but those blows were precisely what was lacking; and after Solferino the other villages fell, likewise to concentric attacks, which encountered but scanty passive defence. And yet there were still fresh troops on hand, for the Austrian casualty lists show that of 25 regiments of the line engaged eight (Rossbach, Archduke Joseph, Hartmann, Mecklenburg, Hess, Grüber, Wernhardt, Wimpffen), or one-third, lost less than 200 men per regiment, and so were engaged *only insignificantly*! Three of them, and likewise the Gradiskaner border regiment, did not lose 100 men per regiment, and of the riflemen most of the battalions (five) lost less than 70 men per battalion. Since the right wing (Benedek, Eighth Corps) was faced by greatly superior forces and had fully to engage all its troops, all these lightly engaged regiments and battalions belong to the centre and the left wing, and a good part must have been in the centre. This proves how wretched the leadership was there. Incidentally, the matter is very easily explained: Francis Joseph was there in person with his official camarilla, so that everything was bound to be confused and disorganised there. The 13 batteries of reserve artillery did not fire a single shot! A similar absence of leadership seems to have prevailed on the left wing. Here it was particularly the cavalry, commanded by old women, which did not come into action. Wherever an Austrian cavalry regiment appeared, the French cavalry wheeled about, but out of eight regiments only a single regiment of hussars made a regular charge and two regiments of dragoons and one uhlan regiment made lighter attacks. The Prussia hussars lost 110, the two dragoon regiments together 96 men; the losses of the Sicily uhlans are not known; the remaining four regiments lost only 23 men all together! The artillery lost only 180 men in all.

These figures prove, better than anything else, the uncertainty

and indecision with which the Austrian generals, from the emperor down to the corps commanders, led the troops against the enemy. If in addition we consider the numerical superiority of the French and the moral boost they got from their previous successes, we can see that the Austrians could not win. Only one corps leader, Benedek, was not cowed; he held the right wing all by himself and Francis Joseph did not have the time to interfere. The result was that he gave the Piedmontese a proper beating, despite their twofold superiority in numbers.

The higher Napoleon was no longer such a novice in warfare as Francis Joseph. He had won his spurs at Magenta and knew from experience how he should behave on the field of battle. He left it to old Vaillant to calculate the length of front to occupy, from which the distribution of the several corps follows automatically, and then he left it to the corps commanders to go ahead from there, since he could be fairly confident that they knew how to lead their corps. As for himself, he betook himself to the spots at which he would show up best in next Saturday's Paris *Illustration* and from there issued very melodramatic but also very indifferent orders concerning details.

## III

Long ago there was a Russian painter at the academy in Düsseldorf, who later was relegated to Siberia for lack of talent and laziness. The poor devil was enthusiastic over his Emperor Nicholas and would say ecstatically: "Emperor very great! Emperor can everything! Emperor can paint too! But Emperor have no time to paint; Emperor buy landscapes and then paint soldiers in. Emperor very great! God is great but Emperor is still young!"

The higher Napoleon has this in common with Nicholas, that he believes the landscapes are there only to have soldiers painted into them. But as he does not even have the time to paint the soldiers in, he contents himself with *sitting* for the paintings. *Il pose.*[a] Magenta, Solferino and all of Italy are only the accessories, only the pretext to get his interesting figure on this occasion in a melodramatic posture into the *Illustration* and the *Illustrated London News* again. Since this can be done with a little money, he has succeeded in this too. He told the Milanese:

> "If there are people who do not understand their century" (the century of advertisement and humbug) "I am not one of those people."[b]

The old Napoleon was great, and the improved Napoleon is no longer young!

This latest realisation, that he is no longer young, put the thought into his mind that it was about time to make peace. He had now got as far as one can get with mere *succès d'estime.*[c] "In

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[a] He poses.—*Ed.*

[b] Napoleon III, "Proclamation [Milan, le 8 juin 1859]", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 163, June 12, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] Success due to the sympathy of friends.—*Ed.*

four engagements and two battles",[a] with a loss of over 50,000 men in action alone, not counting the sick, he had conquered the foreland up to the Austrian fortresses—the region that Austria itself, by the very location of its fortifications, had proclaimed to all the world was not to be defended earnestly against superior strength and that had been defended on this occasion only in order to vex Marshal Hess. The *via sacra*,[326] along which the higher Napoleon had led his army thus far with such classic calm and such dubious success, was suddenly completely blocked. Beyond lay the promised land, which was not to be seen by today's "Army of Italy" but perhaps only by their grandsons—and perhaps not by them either. Rivoli and Arcole were not on the programme. Verona and Mantua were about to have a say, and the only fortress into which the higher Napoleon has yet entered with a military escort is the castle of Ham—and he was glad enough to get out of it again without the honours of war.[327] Moreover, the stage effects came out *pauvre*[b] enough: he did have *grandes batailles*[c] but not even the telegraph wire believed the *grandes victoires*.[d] A war for entrenched camps, against old Hess, a war with shifting success and decreasing chances, a war that called for serious work, a *real war*, that was no war for the Napoleon of the Porte Saint-Martin and Astley's Amphitheatre.[328] There was the additional factor that one step further would have led to a war on the Rhine and that would have brought about complications which would have immediately put an end to the heroic grimaces and melodramatic *poses plastiques*.[e] But the higher Napoleon does not let himself get involved in such matters—he made peace and swallowed his programme.

When the war began, our higher Napoleon at once brought up the Italian campaigns of the vulgar Napoleon,[f] the *via sacra* of Montenotte, Dego, Millesimo, Montebello, Marengo, Lodi, Castiglione, Rivoli and Arcole.[329] Let us compare the copy with the original a bit.[330]

The vulgar Napoleon took over the command of 30,000

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[a] Napoleon III's speech at a reception for members of the State Council, the Senate and the *Corps législatif* in the Palace of Saint-Cloud on July 19, 1859, *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 201, July 20, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] Poor.—*Ed.*

[c] Great battles.—*Ed.*

[d] Great victories.—*Ed.*

[e] Artificial poses.—*Ed.*

[f] Napoleon III, "Armée d'Italie. Ordre du jour, Gênes, le 12 mai 1859", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 134, May 14, 1859.—*Ed.*

half-starved, barefoot, ragged soldiers at a time when France, financially ruined, unable to take out loans, had to maintain not only two armies in the Alps but also two armies in Germany. He did not have Sardinia and the other countries of Italy for him but against him. The army opposing him was superior to his in numbers and organisation. Nonetheless, he attacked, beat the Austrians and Piedmontese in six blows in rapid succession, in each of which he managed to have superior numbers on his side, forced Piedmont to make peace, crossed the Po, made a forced crossing of the Adda at Lodi and laid siege to Mantua. He defeated the first relief army of the Austrians at Lonato and Castiglione and, by means of bold manoeuvres, forced them in their second advance to take refuge in Mantua. He stopped the second relief army at Arcole and held it in check for two months until it received reinforcements and went forward again, only to be beaten at Rivoli. Thereafter he forced Mantua to surrender and the princes of Southern Italy to make peace, and pressed on over the Julian Alps to the foot of the Semmering, where he won the peace.

Such was the vulgar Napoleon. And what of the higher? He comes into a better and stronger army than France has ever had, and a financial situation that at least allows meeting the costs of the war easily by loans. He has six months time of complete peace in which to prepare for his campaign. He has on his side Sardinia, with strong fortresses and a large excellent army; he keeps Rome occupied; Central Italy is only waiting for a signal from him to rise and join him. His base of operations is not in the Maritime Alps but on the middle Po, at Alessandria and Casale. Where his predecessor had bridle-paths, he has railways. And what does he do? He throws five strong army corps into Italy, so strong that, combined with the Sardinians, he is always significantly stronger in numbers than the Austrians, so much stronger that he can detach the Sixth Corps to the tourist army of his cousin[a] for a military jaunt. Despite all the railways, he takes a full month to concentrate his troops. Finally he moves. Gyulay's incapacity makes him a present of the undecided battle of Magenta, which is converted into a victory by the fortuitous strategic situation of the two armies after the battle—a situation for which by no means the higher Napoleon but Gyulay alone is responsible. In gratitude, he lets the Austrians escape, instead of pursuing them. At Solferino, Francis Joseph almost *compels* him to win; nonetheless, the result is hardly

[a] Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte.—*Ed.*

better than at Magenta. Now a situation is taking shape in which the vulgar Napoleon would just have begun to develop his resources; the war is being waged in a region where there is something more real to do, and is assuming dimensions from which a great ambition derives its advantage. Arrived at the point at which the *via sacra* of the vulgar Napoleon first begins, first opens a grand perspective, at that point—*the higher Napoleon sues for peace!*

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# Karl Marx

## TRUTH TESTIFIED

Clausewitz remarks somewhere in his work on the Italian campaign of 1796 and '97 that, after all, war is not so theatrical an affair as people are apt to fancy, and that victories and defeats, if contemplated with the eye of science, look rather the reverse of the picture of them reflected on the brains of the political gossip.[a] The knowledge of this truth has enabled us to bear with some equanimity the fussy anger which our appreciation of the military events of the recent war has from time to time called forth from various zealous, if not intelligent, Bonapartist organs in this country, whether printed in the French or the English language. We now have the satisfaction of finding our judgment of these events confirmed much sooner than we could have expected, and by the principal belligerents themselves, by Francis Joseph and Louis Napoleon.

Leaving aside questions of mere detail, what was the pith of our criticism? On the one hand we traced the defeats of the Austrians not to any genius displayed on the part of the Allies—not to the fabulous effects of the rifled cannon—not to the imaginary defections of the Hungarian regiments—not to the vaunted dash of the French soldiers, but simply to the strategical faults committed by the Austrian generals, whom Francis Joseph and his personal advisers had put in the place of such men as Gen. Hess. It was this faulty strategy which not only contrived to oppose numerical minorities to the foe at every point, but, on the battle-field itself, was able to arrange the disposable forces in the most absurd manner. On the other hand, the stubborn resistance

[a] The reference is to C. Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege,* Bd. I, Kapitel I.—*Ed.*

exhibited even under such circumstances by the Austrian army; battles almost equally contested, notwithstanding the disproportion of the forces to each other; the strategical blunders committed by the French, and the unpardonable laziness, which paralyzed victory and almost abandoned its fruits by neglecting the opportunities of pursuit—all these things warranted us in stating that by the transfer of the supreme command of the Austrian army from incompetent into able hands, the positions of the belligerents were likely to be reversed. The second point, and the most important one, upon which we insisted, even before the outbreak of the war, was this: that from the moment the Austrians turned from the offensive to the defensive, the war would be divided into two parts; the melodramatic, carried on in Lombardy, and the serious, commencing behind the line of the Mincio, within the terrible network of the four fortresses. All the victories of the French, we said, weighed as nothing, when compared with the trials they still had to encounter, in a position which it had cost even the real Napoleon nine months to overcome, though in his time Verona, Legnago, and Peschiera were ciphers in a military sense, and Mantua alone had to bear the whole brunt of the attack. Gen. Hess, who, of course, was better acquainted than we with the *status quo* of Austrian generalship, had, as we now ascertain from the journals of Vienna, proposed in the outset of the war not to invade Piedmont, but rather to evacuate Lombardy and accept battle only behind the Mincio. Let us now hear what Francis Joseph and Louis Bonaparte say in their apologies—the one for having abandoned part of a province, and the other for having falsified the programme he put forth in beginning the war.

Francis Joseph states two facts in regard to the war in which he is not contradicted by the *Moniteur*. In his appeal to his army,[a] he says that the Austrian forces were always opposed to superior numbers. The *Moniteur* dares not controvert this statement,[b] which, when rightly considered, lays the greatest blame on the Austrian Emperor's own shoulders. However that may be, we may claim the merit of having, from the most contradictory statements of "own correspondents," from French lies and Austrian exaggerations, disengaged the real state of things, and, with the spare and

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[a] Francis Joseph's manifesto of July 15, 1859, *The Times*, No. 23364, July 21, 1859 ("Austria").—*Ed.*

[b] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 201, July 20, 1859 (Napoleon III's speech at a reception for members of the State Council, the Senate and the *Corps législatif* in the Palace of Saint-Cloud on July 19, 1859).—*Ed.*

uncertain means at our disposal, of having ascertained the relative forces of the contending parties in our critical reviews of the single battles, from Montebello to Solferino.[a] Francis Joseph lays great stress upon another point which must sound rather strange to a certain class of newspaper writers. We give his very words:

"It is likewise a fact allowing of no doubt, that our enemies, in spite of their utmost exertions and the full employment of their superabundant resources, which had been long prepared for the intended conflict, *have not been able, even at the price of immense sacrifices, to gain a decisive victory.* All they have been able to gain in the field were *secondary advantages.* Austria's army, at the same time, with unshaken strength and fortitude, maintained a position, the possession of which offered a fair chance of success in all future attempts to regain lost ground."

What Francis Joseph dares not proclaim in his manifestoes, namely, that he and his camarilla have made a mess of the whole war by the intrusion of their pets and their crotchets upon its direction, and by the imbecile obstructions they laid in the way of plebeian, but competent generals, even this sin is now openly confessed, if not in words, at least by deeds. Gen. Hess, whose advice was neglected during the whole campaign, and who was debarred from the position which his antecedents, his age, and even his rank in the Austrian rank list ought to have secured to him, is now appointed Field Marshal; the supreme command of the Italian forces is made over to him, and the first thing Francis Joseph did on his arrival at Vienna, was to pay an ostentatious visit to the old General's wife. In one word, the whole attitude now assumed by the Hapsburg autocrat toward the man who, by his plebeian birth, his liberal sympathies, his rude frankness, and his military genius, offended the pretensions of the aristocratic circles at Schönbrunn,[331] implies a confession humiliating to men of all stations, but most so to the hereditary proprietors of mankind.

Let us now look at the counterpart of the Austrian manifesto, at Bonaparte's apology.[b] Does he share the silly delusion of his admirers, that he has won decisive battles? Does he think that future reverses were out of the question? Does he even intimate that a decisive point was gained, and that perseverance was the only thing required to push his victories to a crowning result? Quite the contrary. He owns that the melodramatic part of the struggle had come to an end; that the war was about inevi-

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[a] See this volume, pp. 332-37, 338-40, 349-53, 360-63, 368-71.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to Napoleon III's speech at a reception for members of the State Council, the Senate and the *Corps législatif* in the Palace of Saint-Cloud on July 19, 1859, *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 201, July 20, 1859.—*Ed.*

tably to change its aspect; that reverses were in store for him; that he was frightened, not only by the menacing Revolution, but by the power of "the enemy in front, intrenched behind great fortresses." He saw nothing before him but a "long and barren war." His words are these:

"Arrived beneath the walls of Verona, the struggle was inevitably about to change its nature, as well in a military as in a political aspect. Obliged to attack the enemy in front, who was intrenched behind great fortresses, and protected on his flanks by the neutrality of the surrounding territory, and about to begin a long and barren war, I found myself in face of Europe in arms, ready either to dispute our successes, or to aggravate our reverses."

In other words, Louis Napoleon not only made peace because he was afraid of Prussia and Germany, and of Revolution, but because he was afraid of the four great fortresses. To lay siege to Verona, he would have required, as we are told by a semi-official article in the *Indépendance belge*,[a] a reenforcement of 60,000 men; and these he could not bring from France and leave there the strength necessary for the northern army under Pélissier; and after he had done with Verona, Legnago and Mantua would remain to be disposed of. In fine, Napoleon III and Francis Joseph fully confirm, after the war, what we have said before it and during its progress, both as to the military resources of the two countries and the characteristics of the campaign. We cite these two witnesses as involuntarily vindicating common sense and historical truth against that swash of insane exaggeration and silly delusion, which for the last two months has obtained a currency, which it will not be likely soon again to enjoy.

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[a] *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 202, July 21, 1859.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## INVASION!

Of all the dogmas of the bigoted politics of our time, none has caused more harm than the one that says "In order to have peace, you must prepare for war". This great truth, whose outstanding feature is that it contains a great lie, is the battle cry that has called all Europe to arms and generated such a belligerent fanaticism that every new peace pact is regarded as a new declaration of war, and greedily exploited. At a time when the states of Europe have become so many armed camps, whose mercenaries are burning with the desire to rush at one another and cut each other s throats for the greater glory of peace, the only consideration before each new outbreak is merely the trifling detail of knowing which side one should be on. As soon as this incidental consideration has been satisfactorily disposed of by the diplomatic *parlementaires*[a] with the help of the old reliable *si vis pacem, para bellum*,[b] one of those wars of civilisation begins whose frivolous barbarity belongs to the best times of the robber knights, while their cunning perfidy belongs exclusively to the most modern period of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Under such circumstances we need not be surprised if the general leaning towards barbarity acquires a certain method, immorality becomes a system, lawlessness gets its lawgivers and club-law its lawbooks. Hence, if people return so often to the *idées napoléoniennes*, the reason is that these senseless fantasies of the prisoner of Ham[332] have become the Pentateuch of the modern

[a] Negotiators.—*Ed.*
[b] If you want peace, prepare for war.—*Ed.*

religion of trickery and the Revelation of imperial military and stock-exchange swindling.

Louis Napoleon stated in Ham:

"A great enterprise seldom succeeds at the first attempt."[a]

Convinced of this truth, he understands the art of pulling back in good time and beginning a new approach soon after, and repeating the manoeuvre long enough for his opponents to become careless and the issued *mots d'ordre*[b] to have become trivial, ridiculous and precisely for that reason dangerous. This art of temporising in order to deceive public opinion, of retiring in order to advance all the more unimpeded, in a word, the secret of *ordre, contre-ordre, désordre* was his most powerful ally in the coup d'état.

He seems to want to follow the same tactics with respect to the Napoleonic idea of *the invasion of England.* This phrase, so often disavowed, so often ridiculed, so often drowned in Compiègne champagne, is more and more on the agenda of European gossip, despite all its apparent defeats. Nobody knows where it suddenly comes from, but everyone feels that its mere existence is a still undefeated power. Serious men, such as the 84-year-old Lord Lyndhurst and Ellenborough, who is certainly not lacking in courage, recoil from the mysterious power of this phrase. When a mere phrase is able to make such a powerful impression on government, Parliament and people, that only proves that it is instinctively felt and known that it has an army of 400,000 marching behind it, with whom a battle for life or death must be waged, or else the sinister phrase cannot be got rid of.

The article in the *Moniteur,* which makes a comparison of the English and French naval budgets in order to depict England as the party responsible for the costly armaments; the irritated tone of His Majesty's introduction and conclusion to this document[c]; the semi-official commentary of the *Patrie,* which positively contains an impatient threat[d]; the order issued immediately thereafter to put the French armed forces on a peace footing[e]—all these are such characteristic instances of Bonapartist tactics that

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[a] Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, *Fragments historiques 1688 et 1830,* Paris, 1841.—*Ed.*

[b] Slogans.—*Ed.*

[c] An anonymous article dated Paris, July 25, *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 207, July 26, 1859.—*Ed.*

[d] *La Patrie,* July 28, 1859.—*Ed.*

[e] Published in *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 209, July 28, 1859.—*Ed.*

we can well understand the very serious attention that the English press and public opinion give to the question of invasion. If France "*is not arming*", as Mr. Walewski, conscious of his misunderstood innocence, assured us emphatically before the outbreak of the Italian war, that gives rise to a three-month freedom campaign; but if it now even *disarms* the unarmed army, we may reckon with an extraordinary coup.[a]

Undoubtedly, Mr. Bonaparte could not lead his praetorian hordes to any enterprise that would be more popular in France and a large part of the continent of Europe than an invasion of England. When Blücher rode through the streets of London during his visit to England, he cried out in the instinctive joy of his soldier mentality: "Mein Gott, what a town for to sack!"[b]—a cry whose power of seduction the imperial praetorians will be able to appreciate. But the invasion would also be popular with the ruling bourgeoisie, for precisely the reasons that *The Times* gives for maintaining the *entente cordiale*,[333] saying:

> "We are rather pleased than chagrined to see France powerful. While we are together as the guardians of order and the friends of civilisation, her power is our power, and *her prosperity is our strength.*"[c]

With a fleet of 449 ships, of which 265 are steam warships, with an army of 400,000 men who have tasted blood and glory in Italy, with the St. Helena testament in his pocket and inevitable ruin facing him, Mr. Bonaparte is just the man to stake all on invasion. He must play *va banque*[d]; sooner or later, but play he must.

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[a] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 64, March 5, 1859.—*Ed.*
[b] *The Times*, No. 23370, July 28, 1859 (leading article).—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid.—*Ed.*
[d] All or nothing.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE FRENCH DISARMAMENT

The announcement of Napoleon III, in his *Moniteur*, that he is about to reduce his land and sea forces to a peace footing,[a] might appear of little value with the fact before us that, on the very outset of the war, the same potentate, in the same *Moniteur*, solemnly declared that since 1856 his land and sea forces had never been put on a war footing.[b] His purpose, by a clever paragraph in his official organ, to suddenly avert the naval and military armaments of England, is too transparent to be disputed. However, it would be a great mistake to regard the announcement in the *Moniteur* as a mere trick. His sincerity is a matter of compulsion; he does simply what he cannot help doing.

After the conclusion of the treaty of Villafranca, it was indispensable for Louis Napoleon to reduce his military and sea forces to dimensions consistent with a peace budget. The Italian adventure had cost France about $200,000,000, and 60,000 men of the very *élite* of her army, without gaining for her anything beyond some military glory of a rather doubtful character. To back the disappointment of an unpopular peace with the continuance of war taxes would be a very dangerous experiment. To rush periodically beyond the frontiers of France, and to dispel civil disaffection by the excitement of warlike exploits, is one of the vital conditions of the restored Empire. To assume the attitude of the savior of France from a general European struggle, after

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[a] This announcement was published in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 209, July 28, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to an anonymous article in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 64, March 5, 1859.—*Ed.*

having carried her to its very confines, is another condition of life for the Man of December. After the forced interruption by war of industrial and commercial pursuits, peace, on whatever terms, appears not only as a blessing, but has also the charm of novelty. The tedium that renders peace burdensome under the monotonous rule of the Zouave and the spy is changed for lively sensations of pleasure after the scene has been diversified by war. The intense feeling of humiliation that must weigh upon the French mind, whenever it ponders the confiscation of a people by an adventurer without character, though not without cunning, has for the time been mitigated by the spectacle of foreign nations and foreign potentates submitting, if not in fact, at least in appearance, to the same superior sway. Production violently curtailed, now, by the law of elasticity, receives a new start: business transactions all at once broken off, are resumed with redoubled ardor; speculation, suddenly paralyzed, soars higher than before. Thus a peace following in the track of a Napoleonic war, again secures to the dynasty a respite of life for which the violation of peace was just before indispensable. Of course, after a certain interval of time the old dissolvents will again tend to produce a war. The essential antagonism between civil society and the coup d'état will revive; and, after the internal strife has again reached a certain degree of intensity, a new warlike interlude will be recurred to as the only practicable safety-valve. It is evident that the terms on which the "Savior of Society" has to save himself, must gradually become more and more dangerous. The adventure of Italy was far more perilous than that of the Crimea. Compared with the adventure of the Rhine, or the still remoter adventure, the invasion of England, both of which are undoubtedly cherished in the mind of Napoleon III and the passions of the more thoughtless among his subjects, this war in Italy may appear mere child's play.

However, it will be some time before these new enterprises are set on foot. Between the Crimean and the Italian war there was a pause of four years; but it is not likely that so long a respite can again intervene, while Louis Napoleon lives and rules. The fatal necessity under which he holds his power will come back upon him in shorter and shorter periods. The appetite of the army, and the very degradation which he enforces upon the people, will compel him to the next step more speedily than he was compelled to the last. War is the condition on which he keeps the throne, though, as he is after all only a counterfeit Bonaparte, it is likely always to be a barren war, waged on false pretexts, lavish of blood and treasure, and fruitless in benefits to his subjects. Such was the

Crimean war; such is that now concluded. On such terms only can France enjoy the advantage of being appropriated by this man. She must, as it were, forever reenact the days of December; only the scene of destruction is removed from the Boulevards of Paris to the plains of Lombardy, or the Crimean Chersonese; and the dwarfed descendants of the great revolution, instead of murdering their own countrymen, are employed in killing people of foreign tongues.

Written about July 30, 1859

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## QUID PRO QUO[334]

### I

General Clausewitz, in his work on the Austrian-French campaign of 1799, remarks that the reason why Austria was so often defeated was that its battle plans, strategically as well as tactically, were designed not so much for actually winning the victory as for exploiting the anticipated victory.[a] Turning the enemy on both flanks, encirclement, dispersion of one's own army to the most distant places in order to block off all the places where the enemy, already imagined as defeated, might hide—these and similar measures for exploiting the fanciful victory were in every case the most practical way of ensuring defeat. What was true of Austria's way of waging war holds good for Prussia's diplomacy.

Prussia undoubtedly strove to play a big role with low costs of production. Some instinct told it that the moment was favourable for the inflation of mediocrities. The France of the Vienna treaties, the France of Louis Philippe, was rechristened from a kingdom to an empire by simple decree,[b] without a single boundary stone being moved in Europe. In the place of the Italian campaign of 1796 and the expedition to Egypt, the establishment of the swindler Society of December 10 and the sausage parade of Satory sufficed to bring about December 2 as a travesty of the 18th Brumaire.[335] Prussia knew that the illusion of the French peasants about the resurrection of the real Napoleon was not shared in its entirety by the great powers. It was tacitly agreed that the adventurer who had to *play* Napoleon in France had assumed

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[a] C. Clausewitz, *Die Feldzüge von 1799 in Italien und der Schweiz.—Ed.*

[b] Napoleon III's decree of December 2, 1852, *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 337, December 2, 1852.—*Ed.*

a dangerous role and therefore could become dangerous for official Europe at any moment. France could only endure the Brummagem[a] empire on condition that Europe seemed to believe the farce. The thing was, therefore, to make the part easier for the comedian and ensure there was a vigorous claque in the stalls and the gallery. Whenever France's internal conditions became untenable—and two years seem to be the maximum period of rotation of the rococo empire on its axis—a foreign adventure had to be permitted to the ex-prisoner of Ham. The travesty of some article of the Napoleonic programme capable of execution beyond the French border then became part of Europe's agenda. The son of Hortense might wage war, but only under Louis Philippe's motto: "La France est assez riche pour payer sa gloire."[b] The old king of Prussia,[c] the man with the brainless head, once said that *his* Prussia differed from the Prussia of Frederick the Great in that the latter was in abstract opposition to Christianity, while his had overcome the transitional epoch of the insipid Enlightenment and penetrated to a deep inner understanding of revelation. So, the old Napoleon stuck to the superficial rationalistic prejudice that a war was only in France's favour when the foreign countries had the expenses of the war while France got the proceeds. His melodramatic successor, on the other hand, has penetrated to the depth of the perception that France itself must pay for its military glory, that the maintenance of its old frontiers is a law of nature and that all its wars must be "localised", i.e., take place within the narrow stage that Europe condescends to allow him to play on for each performance. Consequently, his wars are in fact only periodic blood-lettings for France, which enrich it by adding a new state debt and cost it an old army.

After every such war, however, certain inconveniences arise. France is dejected; but Europe hastens to do everything it can to cajole *la belle France*[d] out of the blues. It plays the Barnum of the Dutchfish.[e] After the Russian war, was he not clothed in all the theatrical attributes of the arbiter of Europe? Did not Baron von Seebach shuttle back and forth from Dresden to Paris and from Paris to Dresden?[336] Was he not waited on by Orlov, the poisoner, and Brunnow, the forger?[337] Did not the Prince of Montenegro[f]

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[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*
[b] "France is rich enough to pay for its glory."—*Ed.*
[c] Frederick William III.—*Ed.*
[d] Beautiful France.—*Ed.*
[e] Here, Dutch boor.—*Ed.*
[f] Danilo I.—*Ed.*

and Jacobus Venedey believe in his plenitude of power?[338] Was he not allowed to put through Russia's demands in the name of perfidies towards England? The Russian treaty of peace, which Palmerston had sealed with the betrayal at Kars and the negative magnitude of his own General Williams,[339] was it not denounced by *The Times* as a betrayal of England by Bonaparte? Did he not shine, therefore, in the light of the slyest head in Europe? During the war, had he not occupied all the capitals, if not of the modern, at least of the ancient world,[340] and did not his kind-hearted evacuation of the Dardanelles indicate deeper-lying plans? The old Napoleon seized what was at hand. The apparent resignation of the new-model Napoleon hints at unfathomable Machiavellianism. He only rejected the good because he sought the better. And finally the peace treaty of Paris, was it not crowned by a "notice" of Europe to the anti-Bonapartist newspaper writers of Belgium, the giant state?[341]

In the meantime, the two normal years of the rotation of pseudo-Napoleonic France kept rolling on. The official representatives of Europe felt they had done enough for the man's image for the time being. He was allowed to sail to China in the wake of the English, and to put Colonel Cuza into the Danubian Principalities at the behest of the Russians.[342] But as soon as the delicate borderline between the hero and the buffoon playing the hero was overstepped even tentatively, Louis Napoleon found himself relegated with mockery to his ordained territory. His intrigue against the United States of North America, his attempt at reviving the slave trade, his melodramatic threats against England, his anti-Russian demonstration over the Suez Canal, which he had to undertake on instructions from Russia to justify Palmerston's Russian opposition to the project in the eyes of John Bull—all those things collapsed. It was only against little Portugal that he could show his muscle,[343] in order to put his feebleness as against the great powers in proper relief. Belgium itself began to fortify and even Switzerland declaimed William Tell.[344] The official powers of Europe had obviously made the mistake that so often led astronomers astray in earlier times, miscalculating the period of rotation.

Meanwhile, the two years of the rotation period of the lesser empire[a] had elapsed. During the first rotation—1852 to 1854—a silent decay had taken place, which could be smelt but not heard.

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[a] "Lesser empire" is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

The Russian war was its safety valve.[a] It was different during the cycle of 1856 to 1858. The pseudo-Bonaparte had been flung back to the moment of the coup d'état by the internal development of France. Orsini's bombs had flashed lightning. Miss Coutts' unlucky lover had to abdicate to his generals. France (an unheard-of event) was divided into five general capitanates in the Spanish manner[345]—the operation being conducted under the auspices of tympanites-afflicted Eugénie. The establishment of a regency transferred the power in fact from the imperialist Quasimodo to Pélissier, the Orleanist roaster of Arabian human flesh.[346] But the revived *terreur* did not produce any scare. The Dutch nephew of the battle of Austerlitz seemed not terrible but grotesque. *N'est pas monstre qui veut.*[b] Montalembert could play Hampden in Paris, and Proudhon in Brussels proclaimed Louis-Philippism[c] with an *acte additionnel.* The rebellion at Châlon proved that even the army viewed the restored empire as a pantomime whose finale was approaching.[347]

Louis Bonaparte had once more reached the fateful point at which official Europe had to realise that the danger of revolution could only be averted by travestying a new article of the old Napoleonic programme. The travesty had begun with Napoleon's end, the Russian campaign. Why not continue it with Napoleon's beginning, the Italian campaign? Of all the characters in the European drama, Austria was the least *grata.*[d] Prussia had to avenge the Congress of Warsaw, the battle of Bronzell and the march to the North Sea.[348] Palmerston had for a long time certified his striving for civilisation by hatred of Austria. Russia saw with terror that Austria had announced that its bank would resume payments in specie. When in 1846 Austria's treasury showed no deficit for the first time in human memory, Russia had given the signal for the Cracow revolution.[349] Finally, Austria was the *bête noire*[e] of liberal Europe. Therefore, Louis Bonaparte's second theatrical Attila campaign had to be against Austria, under the usual conditions: no war indemnities, no extension of the French frontiers, "localised" war within the bounds of common

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[a] "Safety valve" is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

[b] "Not everybody can be a monster" (Victor Hugo, *Napoléon le petit.* Conclusion. Première partie).—*Ed.*

[c] P.-J. Proudhon, *De la justice dans la révolution et dans l'église,* Paris, 1858.—*Ed.*

[d] Acceptable.—*Ed.*

[e] Bugbear.—*Ed.*

sense, i.e., within the territory necessary for a second glorious blood-letting for France.

Under these circumstances, since once again a comedy was being performed, Prussia believed the moment had come for it too to play a major part, with the agreement of its overlords and good assurance. The treaty of Villafranca[350] put it in the pillory as a dupe before all Europe. In view of its great advance in constitutionalism, an advance demonstrable in the geometrical progression of its national debt, it believed it in order to plaster over the wound with a blue book of its own make.[a 351] We shall listen to its apology in an article.

[a] "Blue book of its own make" is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

## II

If the Prussia of the regency speaks as it writes, it is easy to explain its talent, newly proved in the European comedy of errors, not only to misunderstand but also to be misunderstood. In this it has a certain similarity with Falstaff, who not only was witty himself but was also the cause of other people's wit.

On April 14 Archduke Albrecht arrived in Berlin, where he stayed until April 20. He had a secret to tell the Regent[a] and a proposal to make. The secret was the imminent Austrian ultimatum to Victor Emmanuel. The proposal was a war on the Rhine. Archduke Albrecht would operate beyond the Upper Rhine with 260,000 Austrians and the South German Confederate corps, while the Prussian and North German corps, under Prussian command, would form a northern army on the Rhine. Instead of a "Confederation Generalissimo" Francis Joseph and the Prince Regent would make the decisions jointly from a headquarters.

Prussia, with restrained indignation, not only rejected the war plan out of hand but "made the most pressing representations to Archduke Albrecht against the *rash* procedure of the ultimatum".[b]

When Prussia brings the donkeypower (large machines are, as we know, rated by horsepower[c]) of its verbose cunning into play, no one can stand up against it, least of all an Austrian. The regent and his four satellites—Schleinitz, Auerswald, Bonin and Herr Dr. Zabel—were "convinced" that they had "convinced" Austria.

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[a] William, Prince of Prussia.—*Ed.*

[b] "Zur Mission des Erzherzogs Albrecht", *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 210, July 29, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English words "donkeypower" and "horsepower".—*Ed.*

"When Archduke Albrecht," says a semi-official Prussian statement, "left Berlin on April 20, it was *believed* that the bold plan had been put off for the moment.... But—alas!—a few hours after his departure the telegraph from Vienna announced the *dispatch of the ultimatum!*"[a]

After the war had broken out, Prussia refused to declare its *neutrality.* Schleinitz, in a *"Dispatch to the Prussian missions at the German courts, dated Berlin, June 24",* reveals to us the secret of this heroic decision.

"Prussia," he whispers, "has never abandoned its position as *interceding power*" (another dispatch says *mediation power*[b]). "Its *major effort* since war broke out was, on the contrary, directed towards maintaining this *position* by *declining to guarantee its neutrality,* keeping clear of any commitment on *any* side and *thus* remaining completely impartial and *free* for *interceding action.*"[c]

In other words: Austria and France, the contending parties, will exhaust one another in the war "localised" for the time being in Italy, while England as a neutral (!) stays far in the background. The neutrals have paralysed themselves, and the fighters' hands are tied because they have to use their fists. Between the ones and the others Prussia floats "completely impartial and free", a Euripidean *deus ex machina.* The middleman has always come off better than the extremes. Christ got further than Jehovah, St. Peter further than Christ, the priest further than the saints, and Prussia, the armed mediator, will get further than the rivals and the neutrals. Contingencies must arise in which Russia and England will give the signal to put an end to the comedy. Then they will slip their secret instructions into Prussia's pocket from behind, while it wears its Brennus[352] mask in front. France will not know whether Prussia is mediating on behalf of Austria; Austria will not know whether Prussia is mediating for France; neither will know whether Prussia is not mediating against both of them for Russia and England. Prussia will have the right to ask the confidence of "all sides" and arouse mistrust on every side. Its lack of commitment will commit everybody. If Prussia were to declare itself neutral, then nothing would prevent Bavaria and other members of the Confederation from taking sides with Austria. But as armed mediator, with the neutral great powers to protect it on its flanks and in the rear, with the misty image of its always menacing "German" great exploit in prospect, it might well

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[a] "Zur Mission des Erzherzogs Albrecht", *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 210, July 29, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. this volume, p. 461.—*Ed.*

[c] The *Neue Preussische Zeitung,* No. 171, July 26, 1859.—*Ed.*

hope, while moving in strides as mysterious as they were long-measured to save Austria, by trickery eventually to gain hegemony in Germany at a discount. As the mouthpiece of England and Russia it could impose itself on the German Confederation, and as pacifier of the German Confederation insinuate itself into the good graces of England and Russia.

Not only a German great power but a European great power and also a "mediation power" and tyrant of the Confederation into the bargain! We shall see in the course of events how Schleinitz gets more and more entangled in this sequence of ideas, as cunning as it is noble. The fifth wheel of the European wagon of state up to now, the great power "by courtesy", the character "on sufferance"[a] in the European drama[353]—this same Prussian is now entrusted with the grandiose position of the *quos ego!*[b] And that not because he draws his sword but only shoulders his musket, without shedding anything more than the tears of the regent and the ink of his satellites. It was not really Prussia's fault that the glory even of "Mittler"[c] of Goethe's *Wahlverwandtschaften* remained incomprehensible.

Prussia realised that in the first act the advisable course was to pinprick Austria, avoid the slightest suspicion on the part of Louis Bonaparte and above all to recommend itself to Russia and England by good behaviour.

"It was *not easy,*" as Schleinitz admits in the above-mentioned dispatch, "to achieve this goal, so important for our own interests, given the agitation that prevailed in many German states. In addition, we need hardly mention that the direction of our policy in this diverged from that of a large number of German governments and that Austria in particular was not in agreement with it."[d]

Despite all these difficulties Prussia successfully played the part of the gendarme of the German Confederation. It developed its mediating action from the end of April to the end of May, forcing its fellow Confederation members to remain inactive.

"Our efforts," Schleinitz says euphemistically, "were directed *above all* towards preventing *premature* involvement of the Confederation in the war."

At the same time the Berlin Cabinet opened the sluices of the

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[a] Marx uses the English phrases "by courtesy" and "on sufferance".—*Ed.*

[b] "I'll show you!"—Poseidon's words from Virgil's *Aeneid,* I, 135.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx plays on "Mittler", the name of a character in Goethe's novel *Die Wahlverwandtschaften,* and the German word for "middleman".—*Ed.*

[d] Here and below Marx quotes from Alexander Schleinitz's "Depesche an die preussischen Missionen an den deutschen Höfen", dated Berlin, June 24, *Neue Preussische Zeitung,* No. 171, July 26, 1859.—*Ed.*

liberal press, which assured the citizen, in black and white, that if Bonaparte was going into Italy, it was only for the purpose of freeing Germany from Austria and establishing German unity under the hero[a] who certainly belongs to the nation, since he has already once been declared "national property".[354]

What made Prussia's operation a little difficult was that it had the mission "in its own good time" not only to mediate but to mediate "under arms". While it was to suppress the cries for war, it had at the same time to call to arms. While it was issuing the arms, it had to warn against using them:

> Don't play with the firearm,
> It feels pain just like you.

"But if we," says Schleinitz, "simultaneously took all the steps for ensuring the security of Germany, which lies between the two warring great powers, and if, likewise, the Confederate agencies, with our cooperation, unremittingly took precautionary defence measures, then the *new duty* arose for us to see that these precautionary measures did not change suddenly into means of attack and thereby seriously compromise the Confederation's position and *our own*."

At the same time, the "mediation power" obviously could not always proceed unilaterally in the same direction. Moreover, dangerous symptoms appeared.

"There were," Schleinitz says, "to our great distress, indications of prospective special arrangements in the direction deviating from our policy, and here the seriousness of the situation could not but arouse the *fear* that this might increasingly strengthen the tendency towards a dissolution of the Confederation relationships."

In order to guard against these "inconveniences" and begin the second act of the "mediation", General Willisen went on a mission to Vienna. Its results are given in Schleinitz's dispatch, dated Berlin, June 14, addressed to Werther, the Prussian ambassador in Vienna.[b] So long as Schleinitz is only writing to the members of the German Confederation he uses the well-known Prussian government counsellor style in ordinary.[c] If he is writing to foreign great powers, this is fortunately in a language he does not know. But his dispatches to Austria! Yard-long tapeworm sentences, steeped in the green sentimental soap of Gothaism, powdered with the dry bureaucratic sand of the Uckermark[355] and half drowned in streams of the perfidious Berlin treacle.[d]

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[a] William, Prince of Prussia, Regent.—*Ed.*

[b] Published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 211, July 30, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English phrase "in ordinary".—*Ed.*

[d] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

## III

If we analyse a part of the Berlin blue book,[a] which is now three weeks old, in greater detail, this is not because of an antiquarian whim or interest in Brandenburg history. Rather, these are documents that are now being trumpeted abroad by German liberals and democrats as proofs of Prussia's future imperial calling.

Schleinitz's last dispatch to General Willisen arrived in Vienna on May 27.[b] Werther's dispatches to Schleinitz concerning Willisen's reception by the imperial Cabinet are dated May 29 and 31.[c] They were left unanswered for half a month. In order to gloss over all the contradictions between the original "mission" and its subsequent "interpretation", both Schleinitz's dispatches to Willisen and Werther's dispatches to Schleinitz are suppressed in the Prussian blue book, as are all the negotiations between the Prince Regent and Boustrapa.[356] Rechberg, the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, could not in any way produce the *original text,* since Willisen and Werther were not to give him copies of the Prussian dispatches but only *read* them to him. One can imagine the position of a Minister who may not read a sentence construction like the following but has to hear it:

"Guided by the desire," says Schleinitz, "to have full clarity prevail in so important a matter, I had been careful in my letter directed to General von Willisen to indicate our position very definitely, both in relation to what we

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[a] Marx uses the English words "blue book".—*Ed.*

[b] Schleinitz's dispatch of May 26, 1859 concerning mediation in the Italian war.—*Ed.*

[c] The *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 211, July 30, 1859. There is an error in the newspaper: the last dispatch is dated May 30.—*Ed.*

intended to do from our side under certain circumstances and in relation to the assumptions that must necessarily underlie the action we had in view."[a]

Before Schleinitz set about making an official interpretation of the Willisen mission to Vienna, he had, with characteristic prudence, let events pass him by. The Austrian army had lost the battle of Magenta, evacuated all the Lombard fortresses and was in full retreat behind the Chiese. Gorchakov's circular dispatch to the small German states, in which he peremptorily orders strict neutrality under menace of the knout, had found its way into the press.[b] Derby, suspected of secret sympathy with Austria, resigned and was replaced by Palmerston. Finally, on June 14, the date of Schleinitz's dispatch to Werther, the *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger* published an order for the mobilisation of six Prussian army corps.[c] Willisen's mission to Vienna, followed by this mobilisation! All Germany was full of Prussia's heroic prudence and prudent heroism.

We come at last to Schleinitz's dispatch to the Prussian ambassador in Vienna. "Magnanimous words" had fallen from the regent's lips. Willisen had moreover oracularly uttered "the most honourable intentions", "the most unselfish plans" and "the most trustful trust", and Count Rechberg had "expressed his agreement with the standpoint we have taken",[d] but in the end that same Rechberg, a Vienna Socrates, wanted to bring the debate down from the heaven of phrases to solid earth. He attached "particular value" to "seeing the Prussian intentions formulated". And so Prussia, through Schleinitz's pen, prepares to bring the "intention" of the Willisen "mission" to "precision". Accordingly, he "sums up in what follows the intentions we made known to them in the *exchange of thoughts* that took place in Vienna", which summing up we recapitulate in brief here. The point of Willisen's mission was this: To say that Prussia had "fixed intentions, on an explicit assumption". Schleinitz would have done better to say that

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[a] Schleinitz's dispatch to Karl Werther, the Prussian ambassador in Vienna, of June 14, 1859, *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 211, July 30, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Gortschakow, "Circularschreiben an die russischen Gesandtschaften vom 15. (27.) Mai 1859", *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 167, June 16, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] William, Prince of Prussia, Regent, "Allerhöchster Erlass vom 14. Juni 1859 betreffend die Mobilmachung von sechs Armee-Corps", *Königlich-Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*, No. 142, June 19, 1859. (There is an inaccuracy in the text of the article: the order was published on June 19, not June 14.)—*Ed.*

[d] Schleinitz's dispatch to Karl Werther, the Prussian ambassador in Vienna, of July 14, 1859. Below, on pp. 455-57, Marx sets forth the contents of this dispatch (ending with the words "hope to find in the imperial court a trust corresponding to ours").—*Ed.*

Prussia had flexible intentions on a fixed assumption. The *assumption* was that Austria would leave the initiative in the German Confederation to Prussia, renounce separate treaties with German courts, in a word, temporarily abandon the hegemony in Germany to Prussia; the *intention* was to ensure Austria's "territorial possessions in Italy based on the treaties of 1815" and "work for peace on that basis". The relations of Austria to the other Italian states and "the relations among the latter" were regarded by Prussia as "an open question". Were Austria's "Italian possessions to be seriously threatened", Prussia would "attempt an armed mediation" and

> "according to the success thereof in reaching the goal indicated above, act in such a way thereafter as its duties as a European power and the lofty calling of the German nation require".
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> "It is," says the disinterested Schleinitz, "in our own interest not to be *too late* with our intervention. But the *choice of the moment,* both for the mediation and for the further action of Prussia resulting therefrom, must be reserved to *the free judgment of the royal court.*"

Schleinitz asserts, first, that this "exchange of thoughts" mediated by Willisen was designated as an "exchange of opinions" by Rechberg; secondly, that the intentions and assumptions of Prussia "had to have the approval of the imperial court", and thirdly, that Rechberg, an enemy of pure thought, as it appears, wanted the "exchange of thoughts" transformed into an "exchange of notes", "the agreement of the two cabinets authenticated in writing", in a word, wanted to see the Prussian "assumption" and the Prussian "intention" "stated" in black and white. At this point Schleinitz's noble consciousness[a] revolts. What is Rechberg's unreasonable suggestion aimed at? Actually, the transformation of our "*most secret political thoughts, revealed in confidence,* into binding assurances". Schleinitz engages in real secret political exercises in thought, and Rechberg tries to tie down the unapproachable idea in profane notes! *Quelle horreur* for a Berlin thinker! What is more, such an exchange of notes would amount to a "guarantee" of the Austrian-Italian possessions. As if Prussia wanted to guarantee anything! What is more, the exchange of thoughts, wantonly transformed into an exchange of notes, could "immediately and *logically* be regarded by the French and Russian side as an *engagement formel*[b] and as entry into the war". As if

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[a] The "noble consciousness" is a philosophical category in Hegel's *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (VI. Der Geist).— *Ed.*

[b] Formal undertaking.— *Ed.*

Prussia would ever think of entering into a war or compromising itself on any side, and especially the French and Russian! Finally, though, and this is the main point, such an exchange of notes would "obviously make the contemplated attempt at mediation impossible". But Austria must realise that the question is not its Italian possessions, nor the 1815 treaties, nor French usurpation, nor Russian world domination, nor any kind of profane interests, but that the European complications were only introduced in order to improvise Prussia's new lofty "position" as "mediation power". Shakespeare's poor devil, who wakes up as a lord after having gone to sleep as a tinker,[a] does not speak more movingly than Schleinitz, once he is overcome by the fixed idea of Prussia's calling to be the "armed mediation power" of Europe. He is stung and disturbed, as if by a tarantula, by the "uneasy conviction that he ought to act up to his newborn sublimity of character".[b]

The "trust" with which Schleinitz whispers into Rechberg's ear the fixed idea of Prussia's calling as mediation power makes him, as he says, "hope to find in the imperial court a trust corresponding to ours".[c] Rechberg, for his part, wants a copy of this curious note of Schleinitz. To document the Prussian trust Werther explains that he is, "according to his instructions", empowered to read the note orally but by no means to hand over the *corpus delicti.* Rechberg then requests that Werther accompany him to Francis Joseph in Verona, so that the latter "might at least orally obtain full and exact knowledge of Prussia's views". Prussian trust is averse to this unreasonable suggestion too, and Rechberg remarks, with ironical resignation, that if he in "his answer may not have been able to follow all the arguments of the Berlin dispatch completely and correctly", this would be due to the fact that he knew Schleinitz's constructions only by hearsay.

Rechberg's answer, directed to Koller, the Austrian ambassador in Berlin, is dated Verona, June 22. It suggests doubts as to the consonance of Willisen's mission at the end of May with the Berlin interpretation of that mission in mid-June.

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[a] The reference is to Christopher Sly, a character from Shakespeare's comedy *The Taming of the Shrew* (Induction, Scenes I and II).—*Ed.*

[b] The entire phrase is quoted in English in the original.—*Ed.*

[c] In the following passage, down to the words "must keep its freedom in the domain of relationships of the German Confederation undiminished" (pp. 457-59) Marx gives the contents of "Abschrift eines Erlasses des k. k. Ministers des Äussern Grafen Rechberg an Frhrn. v. Koller in Berlin, dd. Verona am 22. Jun. 1859", *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 210 (supplement), July 29, 1859.—*Ed.*

"After my previous conferences with him" (Werther) "and General von Willisen," Rechberg says, "I had not believed that the Berlin Cabinet would still persist in aloofness to us to such an extent as even to avoid any written documentation of its intentions."

Even less had Willisen's mission prepared Rechberg for Prussia's lofty calling as the armed mediation power of Europe. The real point at issue, says Rechberg, is "Europe's independence as against the supremacy of France". The events themselves had disclosed the hollowness and triviality of the "pretexts"

"under which our opponents sought to gloss over their real intentions up to the moment of maturity". "In addition, Prussia had obligations as a member of the German Confederation with which the maintenance of the position of mediator could become incompatible at any moment."

Finally, Austria's hope had been to see Prussia "as a participant" on its side and it had therefore from the outset denied its calling as "mediator". Hence, if Austria had, since the beginning of the Italian complications, declared itself against Prussia's "attempts to occupy the position of mediator", obviously it could still less ever approve of an "armed mediation by Prussia".

"An armed mediation," Rechberg says, "includes, by the very meaning of the term, a *case of war* on *both sides.* Such a case fortunately does not exist between Prussia and Austria, so that we cannot conceive of the possibility of armed mediation by Prussia for the *relation between these two powers.* It would seem that the name, like the thing itself, must remain forever alien to this relation."

As we see, Rechberg contradicts Schleinitz's dispatch and its interpretation of the Willisen mission. He finds Prussia's tone altered since the end of May; he bluntly denies that Austria ever had recognised the lofty calling of Prussia as armed mediation power. Schleinitz owes an explanation of this misunderstanding No. 2 (the first occurred between Archduke Albrecht and the Prince Regent) by publishing his dispatches to Willisen and those of Werther to himself.

By the way, Rechberg replies as an Austrian, and why should the Austrian change his spots vis-à-vis the Prussian? Why should not Prussia "guarantee" Austria's possessions in Italy? Does not such a guarantee, Rechberg asks, correspond to the spirit of the Vienna treaties?

"In the period after the Congress of Vienna, and indeed down to our days, could France have hoped to find only a single opponent if it tried to contravene an important part of the European order set up by treaty? France could not think of infringing the relations of possession by a localised war."

Moreover, an "exchange of notes" is not a "treaty guarantee". Austria only "wanted to have official notice" of Prussia's good intentions. In the meantime, to please Schleinitz, it would keep his quite secret political thoughts quite secret. As regards peace, Rechberg remarks, Prussia could make as many proposals to France for peace as it liked,

> "provided that these proposals leave intact the territorial status of 1815 and the sovereign rights of Austria and the other princes of Italy".

In other words, Austria, in its "confidential communications to Prussia" as mediation power, was not inclined to go beyond meaningless commonplaces. But once Prussia

> "came in as an active ally, there could be no question of drawing up peace conditions except by mutual understandings".

Finally, Rechberg puts his finger on the Prussian scars. Austria had agreed to the "intention" of the Prussian initiative in the Diet on the "assumption" of the conversion of the Prussian exchange of thoughts into an exchange of notes. The conclusion falls with the premise. Even Schleinitz, with his curious comprehension, should "comprehend" that, since Berlin "has in no respect assumed binding obligations", since it has itself pushed "the moment of its decisions to be taken in the form of armed mediation" back into the azure "future and reserved its freedom of option", Vienna for its part "must keep its freedom in the domain of relationships of the German Confederation undiminished".

Prussia's attempt surreptitiously to usurp from Austria the supremacy in Germany and to get full powers for the sublime role of European mediation power, had thus decisively miscarried, whereas the mobilisation of the six Prussian army corps had taken place. Prussia owed Europe an explanation. And so, in a "circular dispatch dated June 19 to the Prussian embassies to the European powers", Schleinitz states:

> "By means of its mobilisation Prussia has taken a position more in keeping with the present situation, without abandoning the principles of moderation.... *Prussia's policy has remained the same* as it has pursued *from the beginning of the complication* of the Italian question. But now Prussia has also brought its *means* for contributing to a solution to the level of the situation."

And not to leave any doubt either as to the policy or the means, the dispatch ends by saying that it "is Prussia's intention *to forestall divisions of Germany*". The regency felt that it had to weaken even

this pitiful declaration by "very confidential" communications to France. Just before the war broke out, G., a painter of battle scenes,[a] and a mutual friend of Boustrapa and the regent, had been entrusted with a mission from the former to Berlin. He brought back the friendliest of reassurances. At the time of the mobilisation, however, official and semi-official protestations had found their way to Paris, bearing this message:

"It is hoped that France will not interpret Prussia's military measures in a bad light. We have no illusions; we know how impolitic a war against France would be, what dangerous consequences it would have. But we hope the Emperor will realise the difficult position we are in. The Prince Regent's government is being pushed and shoved from all sides. We are confronted with mistrustful sensibilities and are compelled to spare them."

Or:

"We shall mobilise but it should not be believed that this is an offensive measure against France. In his capacity as quasi-head of the German Confederation the Regent has the duty not only to protect the Confederation's interests but also to adopt a position within it that would allow him to prevent precipitate actions and impose his policy of moderation on the other German states. We trust that the Emperor will understand this fully and do all he can to ease our task."

The Prussian fiddling took the comic course of suggesting to the French government:

"It is hoped that the government newspapers will not praise Prussia too much at the expense of Bavaria, Saxony, etc. That could only compromise Prussia."

Hence Walewski had a perfect right to say in his circular dispatch of June 20:

"The new military measures taken in Prussia cause us *no concern*.... The Prussian government states that it has no other intention, in mobilising a part of its army, than to protect Germany's security and put itself in a position to exert a just influence on further arrangements for agreement with the other two great powers."[b]

Prussia's lofty *calling as armed mediation power* had become such a byword among the great powers that Walewski could make the poor witticism that Prussia was mobilising not against France but against "the other two great powers", which otherwise might deprive it of its "just" influence on the "arrangements for agreement".

Thus ended the second act of the Prussian mediation.

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[a] Probably Louis Eugène Ginain.—*Ed.*

[b] "Note des Grafen Walewski an die französischen Gesandten bei den deutschen Regierungen", *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 187, July 6, 1859.—*Ed.*

## IV

The first act of the Prussian mediation, from the end of April to the end of May, sentenced Germany to *la mort sans phrase*.[a] In the second act, from the end of May to June 24, the hamstringing of the "great fatherland" was adorned by the empty words of the Willisen mission and the arabesque of the Prussian mobilisation. An afterpiece of this second act was played at the smaller German courts, who got to *listen* to a note from Schleinitz. Schleinitz, like Stieber, likes "mixed" oral procedure. We cite here only two passages from his above-mentioned note, dated Berlin, June 24, "to the Prussian missions at the German courts".[b] Why did Prussia deny the Austrian wish to transform the "exchange of thoughts" into an "exchange of notes"?

"The fulfilment of this wish," Schleinitz whispers to the German courts, "would be equivalent to a *guarantee of Lombardy*. Assuming such an obligation in the face of *indefinite eventualities* was something that Prussia could not do."

Thus, from the point of view of Berlin the loss of Lombardy was neither "a serious menace to the Austrian possessions in Italy" nor "the definite eventuality" the Prussian sword was waiting for to spring from its scabbard.

"In addition," Schleinitz continues, "*any commitment of a formal nature* that could *affect our position as mediation power* would have to be avoided."

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[a] "Death without qualification"—words allegedly uttered by Abbé Sieyès when voting in the French Convention on January 17, 1793 for Louis XVI's execution.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 451.—*Ed.*

It was not the purpose of Prussian mediation, therefore, to alter the "indefinite eventualities" in the interest of Austria; rather, it was the vocation of all possible eventualities to leave "the position of Prussia as mediation power"[a] unaltered. While Prussia categorically demands that Austria give up the initiative in the German Confederation, it gives Austria the hypothetical equivalent of Prussian good will, guaranteed by Prussian good intentions. Onion soup with raisin sauce, as the Berlin errand-boy says.

In the third act of the mediation Prussia finally appears as a European great power, and Schleinitz prepares a dispatch in two copies, one addressed to Count Bernstorff in London, the other to Baron Bismarck in Petersburg, one to be read to Lord John Russell, the other to be read to Prince Gorchakov.[b] Half the dispatch consists of obeisances and excuses. Prussia has mobilised a part of its armed forces, and Schleinitz is inexhaustible in his motivation of this bold deed. In the general circular letter to the European great powers, dated June 19, it was the security of the territory of the German Confederation, the role as armed mediation power, and particularly "forestalling divisions of Germany".[c] In the letter to the members of the German Confederation, "this measure" was to "tie down the military armed forces of France and alleviate Austria's position considerably".[d] In the dispatch to England and Russia it is "the arming of the neighbours", the "supervision of events", the "approach of the war to the German frontier", dignity, interests, calling and so forth. But "on the other hand" and "nonetheless" and "I repeat, Herr Graf, Herr Baron", Prussia is arming in all good faith. It is "certainly not its intention to add new complications". It strives for "no other goal than it strove for a short time ago in agreement with England and Russia". *Nous n'entendons pas malice*,[e] Schleinitz cries out.

"What we desire" is *"peace"*, and "we appeal in full confidence to the cabinets of London and Petersburg, so as to find out, together with them, the means of putting a stop to the bloodshed."

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[a] See this volume, p. 451.— *Ed.*

[b] Schleinitz's dispatch of June 24, 1859 to Albrecht Bernstorff, Prussian ambassador in London, and Otto Bismarck, Prussian ambassador in St. Petersburg, on mediation in the Italian war, *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, No. 170, July 24, 1859.— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 459.— *Ed.*

[d] See this volume, p. 451.— *Ed.*

[e] We mean no harm.— *Ed.*

In order to show itself worthy of the confidence of England and Russia, Prussia swears to two Russian-English theses: the first is that Austria brought on the war by the ultimatums; the second, that the fight is over liberal-administrative reforms and the dissolution of the Austrian protectorate over neighbouring Italian states. Adjustment of the rights of the Austrian imperial house with a national liberal "work of reorganisation", that is what Prussia is aiming at. Finally, Prussia believes, as Schleinitz says, Louis Bonaparte's self-denying declarations.[a]

And these platitudinous insipidities are all that Prussia, "with full confidence and candid openness", stutters out in embarrassment to the neutral great powers concerning its "mediation plans". Schleinitz, "the sober, modest youth", is afraid of "prejudicing the question to a certain extent if he should make his *ideas* more precise". Only the fixed idea finally pops up: Prussia believes itself "*called* to be an armed mediation power". May England and Russia recognise this vocation! May they

> "express their views about a solution of the present complications and the way in which it could be made acceptable to the warring parties".

May they, in particular, furnish Prussia with instructions that permit it, under high sovereign licence, so to speak *avec garantie du gouvernement,*[b] to take over the role of mediating lion! Prussia, thus, wants to play the European lion,[c] but in the capacity of Snug the joiner.

> *Lion:* Then know, that I, one Snug, the joiner, am
> A lion-fell, nor else no lion's dam:
> For if I should as lion come in strife
> Into this place, 'twere pity on my life.
> *Theseus:* A very gentle beast, and of a good conscience.
> *Lysander:* This lion is a very fox for his valour.
> *Theseus:* True; and a goose for his discretion.[d]

Schleinitz's dispatch is dated June 24, the day of the battle of Solferino. Both copies of the dispatch were still lying on Schleinitz's desk when the news of the Austrian defeat arrived in Berlin. At the same time a dispatch of Lord John Russell[e] came in

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[a] "Self-denying declarations" is in English in the original.— *Ed.*

[b] With government guarantee.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English word.— *Ed.*

[d] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* Act V, Scene 1.— *Ed.*

[e] Lord John Russell's dispatch of June 22, 1859 to Lord Bloomfield, British Ambassador at the Berlin Court, *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 199 (supplement), July 18, 1859. The original English text of this dispatch is not available.— *Ed.*

the mail, "in which Mr. Brougham's little man" of old, the "tom-tit of English liberalism", the herald of the Irish "coercion-bills",[a] [357] initiated Prussia into Palmerston's Italian ideas. Magdeburg is not on the Mincio nor Bückeburg on the Adige, any more than Harwich is on the Ganges or Salford on the Sutlej. But Louis Bonaparte has declared that he does not covet Magdeburg and Bückeburg. Then why irritate the Gallic cock by Teutonic crudeness? Jack Russell even discovers that when the "victory" has been *"decided"* on the battlefield, "the combatants will *probably* be very willing to *put an end* to the exhausting struggle". Supported by this ingenious discovery, chiding Germany's desire for war, praising Prussia's "moderate and enlightened conduct", Russell warns Schleinitz to imitate England "quite as exactly" "as conditions in Germany will permit"!! Finally "Jack of all trades"[b] recalls Prussia's "lofty calling to mediation" and, with his customary little sweet-and-sour smirk, the little man leaves his pupil in constitutionalism with the consoling words:

"A time may *perhaps* come very soon when the voice of friendly and conciliatory powers can be successfully heard, and ideas of peace no longer remain without effect!" (Russell's dispatch to Lord Bloomfield in Berlin, dated London, June 22.)

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[a] "Little man", "tom-tit of English liberalism" and "coercion-bills" are in English in the original.— *Ed.*

[b] "Jack of all trades" is in English in the original.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## KARL MARX, *A CONTRIBUTION TO THE CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY*

PART ONE, FRANZ DUNCKER, BERLIN, 1859[358]

### I

The Germans have long since shown that in all spheres of science they are equal, and in most of them superior, to other civilised nations. Only one branch of science, political economy, had no German name among its leading figures. The reason is obvious. Political economy is the theoretical analysis of modern bourgeois society and therefore presupposes developed bourgeois conditions, conditions which for centuries, following the wars of the Reformation and the peasant wars and especially the Thirty Years' War, could not establish themselves in Germany. The separation of the Netherlands from the Empire[359] forced Germany out of world trade and restricted its industrial development from the very beginning to the pettiest scale; and while the Germans painfully and slowly recovered from the devastations of the civil wars, while they used up all their civic energy, which had never been very great, in futile struggle against the customs barriers and absurd commercial regulations which every petty princeling and imperial baron imposed upon the industry of his subjects, while the imperial cities with their craft-guild practices and patrician spirit went to ruin—Holland, England and France meanwhile captured the leading positions in world trade, established one colony after another and brought manufactory production to the height of its development, until finally England, owing to steam power, which gave value to its coal and iron deposits, headed modern bourgeois development. But political economy could not arise in Germany so long as a struggle had still to be waged against such preposterously antiquated remnants of the Middle Ages as those which hampered the bourgeois development of its material forces until 1830. Only with the establishment of

the Customs Union[360] were the Germans in a position to *comprehend* political economy at all. It was indeed at this time that English and French political economy began to be imported for the benefit of the German bourgeoisie. Men of learning and bureaucrats soon mastered the imported material and treated it in a way which does little credit to the "German spirit". The motley crowd of pen-pushing knights of industry, merchants, schoolmasters and bureaucrats produced a German literature on economics which, for triteness, insipidity, shallowness, verbosity and plagiarism, is equalled only by the German novel. Among people pursuing practical objectives there arose first the protectionist school of the industrialists, whose chief spokesman, List, is still the best that German bourgeois literature on economics has produced,[a] although his celebrated work is entirely copied from the Frenchman Ferrier,[b] the theoretical creator of the Continental System. In opposition to this trend the free-trade school was formed in the forties by merchants from the Baltic provinces, who rehashed the arguments of the English Free Traders[c] with childlike, but not disinterested, faith. Finally, among the schoolmasters and bureaucrats who had to handle the theoretical aspect of the subject there were desiccated and uncritical herbarium collectors, like Herr Rau,[d] would-be clever speculators who translated foreign propositions into undigested Hegelian language, like Herr Stein,[e] or gleaners with literary pretensions in the field of the "history of culture", like Herr Riehl.[f] The outcome of all this was cameralistics,[361] a hotchpotch of sundry trivialities sprinkled with an eclectic economic sauce, the sort of stuff a junior civil servant might find useful to remember during his final examination.

While in this way in Germany the bourgeoisie, the schoolmasters and the bureaucrats were still exerting themselves to learn by rote, and in some measure to understand, the first elements of Anglo-French political economy, which they regarded as incontest-

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[a] F. List, *Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie.* See also present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 265-93.—*Ed.*

[b] F. L. Ferrier, *Du gouvernement considéré dans ses rapports avec le commerce.* See also present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 290-93.—*Ed.*

[c] "Free Traders" is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

[d] The reference is probably to Karl Rau's books *Grundriss der Kameralwissenschaft, Über die Kameralwissenschaft* and *Lehrbuch der politischen Ökonomie.*— *Ed.*

[e] Engels presumably refers to Lorenz von Stein's books *System der Staatswissenschaft* and *Lehrbuch der Volkswirtschaft.*—*Ed.*

[f] The reference is probably to Wilhelm Riehl's book *Kulturstudien aus drei Jahrhunderten.*—*Ed.*

## Karl Marx, Zur Kritik der Politischen Oeconomie. Erstes Heft, Berlin, Franz Duncker, 1859.

### I.

Auf allen wissenschaftlichen Gebieten haben die Deutschen längst ihre Ebenbürtigkeit, auf den meisten ihre Ueberlegenheit gegenüber den übrigen civilisirten Nationen bewiesen. Nur Eine Wissenschaft zählte keinen einzigen deutschen Namen unter ihren Koryphäen: die politische Oekonomie. Der Grund liegt auf der Hand. Die politische Oekonomie ist die theoretische Analyse der modernen bürgerlichen Gesellschaft, und setzt daher entwickelte bürgerliche Zustände voraus, Zustände die in Deutschland seit den Reformations- und Bauernkriegen und besonders seit dem dreißigjährigen Krieg auf Jahrhunderte lang nicht aufkommen konnten. Die Lostrennung Hollands vom Reich drängte Deutschland vom Welthandel ab, und reduzirte seine industrielle Entwicklung von vornherein auf die kleinlichsten Verhältnisse; und während die Deutschen sich so mühsam und langsam von den Verwüstungen der Bürgerkriege erholten während sie alle ihre bürgerliche Energie, die nicht sehr groß war, aborbeiteten im fruchtlosen Kampf gegen die Zollschranken und verrückten Handelsregulationen die jeder kleine Duodezfürst und Reichsbaron der Industrie seiner Unterthanen auflegte, während die Reichsstädte im Zuchthaus und Patriziathum verkamen — während dessen eroberten Holland, England und Frankreich die ersten Plätze im Welthandel, legten Kolonie auf Kolonie an, und entwickelten die Manufactur-Industrie zur höchsten Blüthe, bis endlich England durch den Dampf, der seinen Kohlen und Eisenlagern erst Werth gab, an die Spitze der modernen bürgerlichen Entwicklung trat. So lange aber noch der Kampf gegen so lächerlich antiquirte Reste Mittelalter zu führen war wie sie bis 1830 die materielle bürgerliche Entwicklung Deutschlands fesselten, so lange war keine deutsche politische Oekonomie möglich. Erst mit der Errichtung des Zollvereins kamen die Deutschen in eine Lage in der sie politische Oekonomie überhaupt nur verstehen konnten. Von dieser Zeit an begann in der That die Importation englischer und französischer Oekonomie zum Besten des deutschen Bürgerthums. Bald bemächtigte sich das Gelehrten- und Büreaukratenthum des importirten Stoffe, und verarbeitete ihn in einer dem „deutschen Geist" nicht sehr creditablen Weise. Aus dem Sammelsurium von schriftstellernden Industrieritern, Kaufleuten, Schulmeistern und Büreaukraten entstand dann eine deutsch-ökonomische Literatur die an Fadaise, Seichtigkeit, Gedankenlosigkeit, Breite und Plagiarismus nur am deutschen Roman ein Seitenstück hat. Unter den Leuten mit praktischen Zwecken bildete sich zuerst die Schutzzöllnerschule der Industriellen aus, deren Autorität, List, immer noch das Beste ist, was die deutsche bürgerlich-ökonomische Literatur produzirt hat, obwohl sein ganzes glorioses Werk von dem Franzosen Ferrier, dem theoretischen Urheber des Continentalsystems, abgeschrieben ist. Dieser Richwissenschaftliche, selbstständige, deutsche Oekonomie. Diese deutsche Oekonomie beruht wesentlich auf der materialistischen Auffassung der Geschichte, deren Grundzüge in der Vorrede des oben citirten Werks kurz dargelegt sind. Diese Vorrede ist der Hauptsache nach bereits im „Volk" abgedruckt worden, weshalb wir darauf verweisen. Es war nicht nur für die Oekonomie, es war für alle historischen Wissenschaften (und alle Wissenschaften sind historisch welche „nicht Naturwissenschaften sind) eine revolutionirende Entdeckung, dieser Satz: „daß die Produktionsweise des materiellen Lebens den sozialen, politischen und geistigen Lebensprozeß überhaupt bedingt;" daß alle gesellschaftlichen und staatlichen Verhältnisse, alle religiösen und Rechtssysteme, alle theoretischen Anschauungen die in der Geschichte auftauchen, nur dann zu begreifen sind wenn die materiellen Lebensbedingungen der jedesmaligen entsprechenden Epoche begriffen sind und erstere aus diesen materiellen Bedingungen abgeleitet werden. „Es ist nicht das Bewußtsein der „Menschen das ihr Sein, sondern ihr gesellschaftliches Sein, das ihr Bewußtsein bestimmt." Der Satz ist so einfach, daß er für Jeden sich von selbst verstehen müßte, der nicht in idealistischem Schwindel befangen ist. Aber die Sache hat nicht nur für die Theorie, sondern auch für die Praxis höchst revolutionäre Konsequenzen: „Auf einer gewissen „Stufe ihrer Entwicklung gerathen die materiellen Produktivkräfte der Gesellschaft in „Widerspruch mit den vorhandenen Produktionsverhältnissen, oder was nur ein juristischer Ausdruck dafür ist, mit den Eigenthumsverhältnissen, innerhalb deren sie sich bisher bewegt hatten. Aus Entwicklungsformen dieser Produktivkräfte schlagen diese Verhältnisse in Fesseln derselben um. Es tritt dann eine Epoche sozialer Revolutionen ein. Mit der Veränderung der ökonomischen Grundlage wälzt sich der ganze ungeheure Ueberbau langsamer oder rascher um.... Die bürgerlichen Produktionsverhältnisse sind die letzte antagonistische Form des gesellschaftlichen Productionsprocesses, antagonistisch nicht im Sinn von individuellem Antagonismus, sondern eines aus den gesellschaftlichen Lebensbedingungen der Individuen hervorwachsenden Antagonismus, aber die im Schooß der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft sich entwickelnden Produktivkräfte schaffen zugleich die materiellen Bedingungen zur Lösung dieses Antagonismus." Die Perspective auf eine gewaltige, auf die gewaltigste Revolution aller Zeiten eröffnet sich uns also sofort bei weiterem Verfolgen unserer materialistischen These und bei ihrer Anwendung auf die Gegenwart.

Es zeigt sich aber auch sofort bei näherer Betrachtung, daß der anscheinend so einfache Satz, daß das Bewußtsein der Menschen von ihrem Sein abhängt und nicht umgekehrt, gleich in seinen ersten Consequenzen allem Idealismus, auch dem verstecktesten, direkt vor den Kopf stößt. Sämmtliche hergebrachte und angewöhnte Anschauungen über alles Geschichtliche werden durch ihn negirt. Der schauung als rother Faden durch alle einzelnen politischen Produktionen der Partei durch. In ihnen allen ist bei jedem einzelnen Fall nachgewiesen wie die Aktion jedesmal aus direkten materiellen Ansätzen, nicht aber aus den sie begleitenden Phrasen entspringt, wie im Gegentheil die politischen und juristischen Phrasen ebenso aus den materiellen Ansätzen hervorgingen wie die politische Aktion und ihre Resultate.

Als nach der Niederlage der Revolution von 1848-49 ein Zeitpunkt eintrat, wo die Einwirkung auf Deutschland, vom Auslande aus, mehr und mehr unmöglich wurde, überließ unsre Partei das Feld den Emigrationsdoctrinären — denn, das blieb die einzig mögliche Aktion — der vulgären Demokratie. Während diese sich nach Herzenslust herumtrieb, sich heute balbalgte, um morgen zu fraternisiren, und übermorgen wieder ihre ganze schmutzige Wäsche vor der Welt auszuwaschen, während sie durch ganz Amerika betteln ging, um gleich darauf über die Vertheilung der paar erbettelten Thaler neuen Skandal anzurichten — war unsre Partei froh wieder einige Ruhe zum Studiren zu finden. Sie hatte den großen Vorzug, eine neue wissenschaftliche Anschauung zur theoretischen Grundlage zu haben, deren Ausarbeitung ihr hinreichend zu thun gab; schon deßwegen konnte sie nie so tief verkommen wie die „großen Männer" der Emigration.

Die erste Frucht dieser Studien ist das vor uns liegende Buch.

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## Russisches Memoir zur Erklärung des gegenwärtigen Krieges.

Verfaßt vom Cabinet im Jahre 1837.

(Fortsetzung.)

„Unglücklicherweise bestand der preußische Staat während der Regierung Katharina's II. fort; allein nichts bewies so sehr die unwandelbahre Gewalt unserer Diplomatie und Stellung als die Thatsache, daß Friedrich II., ein sonst so weiser Politiker, unserer Politik ergeben blieb, selbst wo die Zukunft seines Staates das Gegentheil erheischt haben würde." Friedrich hatte durch Erfahrung gelernt, wie leicht es war russische Armeen weit in sein eigenes Land vorzuschieben; um diesem Nachtheil zu beseitigen, ging er auf die Theilung Polens ein; allein dadurch verhalf er uns zu einer gewissen Entschädigung für unserern Unglück, sein eigenes Land nicht getheilt zu haben. Nach dem Tode des Augustus hatte Rußland in Polen die Ordnung wieder herzustellen und, — zum Scheine — die Rechte der Dissidenten gegen die römisch-katholischen Bischöfe aufrecht zu erhalten, ohne jedoch wirksam in die Gewalt dieser letzteren, andere Seiten zu verfolgen, einzugreifen. Der Hauptpunkt indessen war, eine russische Armee in Polen stehen zu haben, und die polnische Constitution in einer Weise zu ändern, wie es unsern Zwecken diente. Auch zu jener Zeit hatte die Pforte allein die richtige Ansicht, indem sie für Polen aufstand; allein die türkische Armee wurde zurückgeschlagen, die russische Flotte ließ auf ihrem Wege nach dem mittelländischen Meere auf kein Hinderniß, *) und gewann einen Sieg. „Das Wiener

Part of a page from *Das Volk* containing Frederick Engels' review of Karl Marx's work *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

able dogmas, the German proletarian party appeared on the scene. The whole of its theory was derived from the study of political economy, and it is from the emergence of this party that *German political economy* as an independent science also dates. The essential foundation of this German political economy is the *materialist conception of history,* whose principal features are briefly outlined in the Preface[a] to the above-named work. Since the Preface has in the main already been published in *Das Volk,*[b] we refer to it. The proposition that "the process of social, political and intellectual life in general is determined by the mode of production of material life"; that all social and political relations, all religious and legal systems, all theoretical conceptions which arise in the course of history can only be understood if the material conditions of life obtaining during the relevant epoch have been understood and the former are traced back to these material conditions—this proposition was a revolutionary discovery not only for economics but also for all historical sciences (and all branches of science which are not natural sciences are historical). "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but their social being that determines their consciousness." This proposition is so simple that it should be self-evident to anyone not bogged down in idealist humbug. But it leads to highly revolutionary consequences not only in the sphere of theory but also in that of practice. "At a certain stage in their development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or—what merely expresses the same thing in legal terms—with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of *social revolutions.* The change in the economic foundation leads sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure.... The bourgeois relations of production are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production—antagonistic not in the sense of individual antagonism but of an antagonism that emanates from the individuals' social conditions of life—but the productive forces developing within bourgeois society create also the material conditions for a solution of this antagonism."[c] The prospect of a gigantic revolution, the most

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 30.—*Ed.*
[b] *Das Volk,* No. 5, June 4, 1859.—*Ed.*
[c] See present edition, Vol. 30.—*Ed.*

gigantic revolution that has ever taken place, therefore presents itself to us as soon as we pursue our materialist thesis further and apply it to the present time.

However, closer consideration also shows immediately that, already in its first consequences, the apparently so simple proposition—that the consciousness of men depends on their being and not the other way round—is a fatal blow to all forms of idealism, even the most concealed. Through it, all the conventional and customary views of history are denied. The entire traditional manner of political reasoning falls to the ground; patriotic nobility indignantly resists such an unprincipled interpretation. It was thus inevitable that the new point of view should shock not only the exponents of the bourgeoisie but also the mass of French socialists who intended to revolutionise the world by the magic formula, *liberté, égalité, fraternité.* But it utterly enraged the vociferous German vulgar democrats. Nevertheless, they have been fond of trying to plagiarise the new ideas in their own interest, although with a rare lack of understanding.

The development of the materialist conception in respect of even a single historical example was a scientific task requiring years of quiet research, for it is evident that mere phrases can achieve nothing here and that only an abundance of critically examined historical material which has been completely mastered can make it possible to solve such a problem. Our party was propelled on to the political stage by the February Revolution and was thus prevented from pursuing purely scientific aims. The basic outlook, nevertheless, runs like an unbroken thread through all literary productions of the party. Every one of them shows that action in each particular case was initiated by direct material causes and not by the accompanying phrases, that on the contrary the political and legal phrases, like political action and its results, originated in material causes.

After the defeat of the Revolution of 1848-49, at a time when it became increasingly impossible to exert any influence on Germany from abroad, our party relinquished the field of emigrant squabbles—for that was the only feasible action left—to the vulgar democrats. While these were chasing about to their heart's content, scuffling today, fraternising tomorrow and once more washing their dirty linen in public the day after, while they went begging throughout America and immediately afterwards started another row over the division of the few dollars they had collected—our party was glad to have peace once more for study. It had the great advantage that its theoretical foundation was a new scientific

outlook the elaboration of which kept it busy enough; for this reason alone it could never become so demoralised as the "great men" of the exile.[a]

The book under consideration is the first result of these studies.

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[a] Cf. *The Great Men of the Exile* by Marx and Engels (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 227-326).—*Ed.*

## II

The purpose of a work like the one under review cannot simply be a desultory criticism of separate propositions of political economy or a discussion of some economic issue or other in isolation. On the contrary, it is from the beginning designed to give a systematic résumé of the whole complex of political economy and a coherent elaboration of the laws governing bourgeois production and bourgeois exchange. This elaboration is at the same time a critique of all economic literature, for economists are nothing but interpreters of and apologists for these laws.

Since Hegel's death hardly any attempt has been made to develop any branch of science in its specific inner coherence. The official Hegelian school had assimilated only the most simple devices of the master's dialectics and applied them to everything and anything, often with ridiculous incompetence. Hegel's whole legacy was, so far as they were concerned, limited to a mere template, by means of which any subject could be shaped aright, and to a list of words and phrases whose only purpose was to turn up at the right moment, when ideas and positive knowledge were lacking. Thus it happened, as a professor at Bonn has said, that these Hegelians understood nothing but could write about everything. And that is what it came to. For all their conceit these gentlemen were, however, sufficiently conscious of their weakness to avoid major problems as far as possible. The old pedantic learning held its ground because of its superior positive knowledge, and then with Feuerbach's renunciation of the speculative method,

Hegelianism gradually fell asleep, and it seemed that science was once more dominated by the old metaphysics with its fixed categories.

For this there were quite natural reasons. The rule of the Hegelian Diadochi,[362] which ended in empty phrases, was naturally followed by a period in which the positive content of science predominated once more over the formal aspect. But at the same time Germany applied itself with quite extraordinary energy to the natural sciences, according to the immense bourgeois development after 1848; and with the coming into fashion of these sciences, in which the speculative trend had never achieved any real importance, the old metaphysical mode of thinking, even down to the extreme platitude of Wolff, also regained its ground. Hegel was forgotten and a new materialism arose in the natural sciences; theoretically it differed very little from the materialism of the eighteenth century and its advantage consisted mostly in its greater stock of data relating to the natural sciences, especially chemistry and physiology. We find the narrow-minded philistine mode of thinking of the pre-Kantian period reproduced in its most banal form by Büchner and Vogt, and even Moleschott, who swears by Feuerbach, gets himself stuck most amusingly at every turn in the most simple categories. The jaded cart-horse of the commonplace bourgeois mind falters of course in confusion in front of the ditch separating substance from appearance, and cause from effect; but one should not ride cart-horses if one intends to go hunting over the very rough ground of abstract reasoning.

Here there was, therefore, a question to be solved which was not connected with political economy as such. How was science to be dealt with? There was, on the one hand, the Hegelian dialectic in the quite abstract, "speculative" form in which Hegel had left it, and on the other hand the ordinary, essentially Wolffian, metaphysical method, which had again come into vogue and which was used by bourgeois economists to write their bulky rambling volumes. The second method had been theoretically so demolished by Kant and particularly by Hegel that its continued use in practice could only be rendered possible by inertia and the absence of an alternative *simple* method. The Hegelian method, on the other hand, was in its *existing* form quite inapplicable. It was essentially idealist, while the task here was to elaborate a world outlook more materialist than any previous one. Hegel's method took as its point of departure pure thought, whereas here the starting point was to be inexorable facts. A method which,

according to its own avowal, "came from nothing through nothing to nothing"[a] was in this shape by no means suitable. It was, nevertheless, the only element among the entire available logical material which could at least serve as a point of departure. It had not been subjected to criticism, had not been overthrown; none of the opponents of the great dialectician had been able to make a breach in its proud edifice. It has been forgotten because the Hegelian school did not know how to apply it. Hence, it was first of all essential to subject the Hegelian method to thoroughgoing criticism.

What distinguished Hegel's mode of thinking from that of all other philosophers was the exceptional historical sense underlying it. However abstract and idealist the form employed, the development of his ideas runs always parallel to the development of world history, and the latter is indeed supposed to be only the proof of the former. Although this reversed the actual relation and stood it on its head, yet the real content was invariably incorporated in his philosophy, especially since Hegel—unlike his pupils—did not rely on ignorance, but was one of the most erudite thinkers of all time. He was the first to try to demonstrate that there is development, an intrinsic coherence in history, and however strange some things in his philosophy of history may seem to us now, the grandeur of the basic conception is still admirable today, compared with either his predecessors or those who following him ventured to advance general observations on history. This monumental conception of history pervades the *Phenomenology,* the *Aesthetics* and the *History of Philosophy,* and the material is everywhere set forth historically, in a definite historical context even if in an abstract distorted manner.

This epoch-making conception of history was the direct theoretical precondition of the new materialist outlook, and already this constituted a connecting link with the logical method as well. Since, even from the standpoint of "pure thinking", this forgotten dialectics had led to such results, and had moreover with the greatest ease coped with the whole of the former logic and metaphysics, there had, at all events, to be more to it than sophistry and hairsplitting. But criticism of this method, which the entire official philosophy had evaded and still evades, was no small matter.

Marx was and is the only one who could undertake the work of extracting from the Hegelian logic the kernel containing Hegel's

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik,* Th. 1, Abt. 2.—*Ed.*

real discoveries in this field, and of establishing the dialectical method, divested of its idealist wrappings, in the simple form in which it becomes the only correct mode of the development of thought. The working out of the method which underlies Marx's critique of political economy is, we think, a result hardly less significant than the basic materialist outlook.

Even after the determination of the method, the critique of political economy could still be arranged in two ways—historically or logically. Since in the course of history, as in its literary reflection, development proceeds by and large from the simplest to the more complex relations, the historical development of political economy constituted a natural clue, which the critique could take as a point of departure, and then the economic categories would appear on the whole in the same order as in the logical development. This form seems to have the advantage of greater lucidity, for it traces the *actual* development, but in fact it would thus become, at most, more popular. History often moves in leaps and bounds and in zigzags, and as this would have to be followed throughout, it would mean not only that a considerable amount of material of slight importance would have to be absorbed, but also that the train of thought would frequently have to be interrupted; it would, moreover, be impossible to write the history of political economy without that of bourgeois society, and the work would thus be endless because of the absence of all preliminary studies. The logical method of approach was therefore the only suitable one. This, however, is indeed nothing but the historical method, only stripped of the historical form and of interfering contingencies. The point where this history begins must also be the starting point of the train of thought, and its further progress will be simply the reflection, in abstract and theoretically consistent form, of the course of history, a corrected reflection, but corrected in accordance with laws provided by the actual course of history, since each moment can be examined at the stage of development where it reaches its full maturity, its classical form.

Using this method we begin with the first and simplest relation which is historically, actually available, thus in this context with the first economic relation to be found. We analyse this relation. The fact that it is a *relation* already implies that it has two aspects which are *related to each other.* Each of these aspects is examined separately; this reveals the nature of their attitude to one another, their reciprocal action. Contradictions will emerge which require a solution. But since we are not examining here an abstract mental

process that takes place solely in our mind, but an actual event which really took place at some time or other, or is still taking place, these contradictions, too, will have arisen in practice and have probably been solved. We shall trace the mode of this solution and find that it has been effected by establishing a new relation, whose two contradictory aspects we shall then have to set forth, and so on.

Political economy begins with *commodities,* with the moment when products are exchanged, either by individuals or by primitive communities. The product being exchanged is a commodity. But it is a commodity only because of the *thing,* the product being linked with a *relation* between two persons or communities, the relation between producer and consumer, who at this stage are no longer united in the same person. Here is at once an example of a peculiar fact, which pervades the whole of economics and has produced serious confusion in the minds of bourgeois economists: economics is not concerned with things but with relations between persons, and in the final analysis between classes; these relations, however, are always *bound to things* and *appear as things.* Some economists had an inkling of this connection in isolated instances, but Marx was the first to reveal its significance for the whole of economics, thus making the most difficult problems so simple and clear that even bourgeois economists will now be able to grasp them.

If we examine the various aspects of the commodity, i.e., of the fully evolved commodity and not as it at first slowly emerges in the spontaneous barter of two primitive communities, it presents itself to us from two angles, that of use value and of exchange value, and thus we come immediately to the sphere of economic debate. Anyone wishing to find a striking instance of the fact that the German dialectical method at its present stage of development is at least as superior to the old superficially glib metaphysical method as railways are to medieval means of transport, should look up Adam Smith or some other officially recognised economist of repute to see how much distress exchange value and use value caused these gentlemen, how much difficulty they had in distinguishing properly between the two and in grasping each of them in its peculiar determinateness, and then compare the clear, simple exposition given by Marx.

After use value and exchange value have been expounded, the commodity, seen as a direct unity of the two, is described as it enters the *exchange process.* The contradictions arising here may be

found on pp. 20 and 21.[a] We merely note that these contradictions are not only of interest for theoretical, abstract reasons, but also reflect the difficulties arising from the nature of direct interchange, simple barter, and the impossibilities inevitably confronting this first crude form of exchange. The solution of these impossibilities is achieved by investing a specific commodity—*money*—with the attribute of representing the exchange value of all other commodities. Money or simple circulation is then analysed in the second chapter, namely 1) money as a *measure of value,* in which context value measured in terms of money, *i.e. price,* is more closely defined; 2) money as a *means of circulation* and 3) as the unity of the two aspects, as *real money,* which represents the entire bourgeois material wealth.[b] This concludes the first part, the conversion of money into capital being left for the second part.

We see that with this method, logical development need by no means be confined to the purely abstract sphere. On the contrary, it requires historical illustration and continuous contact with reality. A great variety of such evidence is therefore included, comprising references both to the actual course of history at various stages of social development and to literature on economics, in which the working out of lucid definitions of economic relations is traced from the beginning. The criticism of particular, more or less one-sided or confused points of view is thus given essentially already in the logical exposition and can be kept quite short.

The economic content of the book itself will be discussed in a third article.

Written between August 3 and 15, 1859

First published in *Das Volk,* Nos. 14 and 16, August 6 and 20, 1859

Printed according to the newspaper

[a] See present edition, Vol. 30.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## BRITISH COMMERCE

The British Board of Trade has just published returns of the exports for the first six months of the present year, while its table of the declared values of the imports embraces only the five months ending May 31.[a] On comparing the corresponding periods of 1858 and 1859, it will be found that, with some small exceptions not worth mentioning, the British imports from the United States had generally decreased, in value at least, while the British exports to this country were increasing in quantity as well as in value. To illustrate this fact, we have extracted the following tabular statement from the official returns:

BRITISH EXPORTS TO THE UNITED STATES FOR THE SIX MONTHS ENDING JUNE 30.

| Articles. | Quantities. | | Declared value. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1858. | 1859. | 1858. £ | 1859. £ |
| Cottons, yards | 60,150,771 | 110,360,198 | 1,031,724 | 1,924,951 |
| H'ware & Cut., cwts | 35,349 | 78,432 | 242,914 | 534,107 |
| Linens, yards | 17,379,691 | 31,170,751 | 515,416 | 961,956 |
| Iron, Pig, tuns | 22,745 | 39,370 | 68,640 | 111,319 |
| Bar, Bolt and Rod | 21,463 | 56,026 | 175,944 | 457,384 |
| Wrought | 9,153 | 19,368 | 113,436 | 238,903 |
| Sheet and nails, cwts | 5,293 | 15,522 | 28,709 | 77,840 |
| Lead, tuns | 1,214 | 1,980 | 27,754 | 44,626 |

[a] "Accounts Relating to Trade and Navigation for the Six Months Ended June 30, 1859"; "Real Value of the Principal Articles Imported. An Account of the Computed Real Value of the Principal Articles of Foreign and Colonial Merchandise Imported in the Five Months Ended 31st May 1859", *The Economist*, No. 831 (supplement), July 30, 1859.—*Ed.*

| Articles. | Quantities. | | Declared value. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1858. | 1859. | 1858. | 1859. |
| | | | £ | £ |
| Oil (seed), gals | 411,769 | 930,784 | 50,950 | 111,103 |
| Silk manufactures, lbs | 47,101 | 134,470 | 51,277 | 144,417 |
| Woolen cloths, p'cs | 76,311 | 81,686 | 273,409 | 421,006 |
| Wool's, mix. st'fs, y's | 13,897,331 | 30,893,901 | 562,749 | 1,188,859 |
| Do., worsted st'fs, p's | 185,129 | 489,171 | 229,981 | 758,914 |
| Earth'ware & porce'n | — | — | 168,927 | 279,407 |
| H'dashery & millin'y | — | — | 456,364 | 861,921 |
| Tin plates | — | — | 397,027 | 607,011 |

BRITISH IMPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES FOR FIVE MONTHS ENDING MAY 31.

| Articles. | 1858. | 1859. |
|---|---|---|
| Wheat | £371,452 | £7,013 |
| Wheat and Corn Flour | 693,847 | 14,666 |
| Cotton (raw) | 11,631,523 | 10,486,418 |

The returns of the British Exports show, generally, an increase not only on 1858, but also on 1857, as will be seen from the following statement[a]:

BRITISH EXPORTS FOR THE SIX MONTHS ENDING JUNE 30.

| *Declared value.* | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1857. | 1858. | 1859. |
| £60,826,381 | £53,467,804 | £63,003,159 |

On closer examination, however, it becomes evident that not only the total increase in the value of the exports of 1859 over those of 1857 is due to the extension of the commerce with India, but that there would have been a falling off of more than £2,000,000 in the general British export trade of 1859—as compared with that of 1857—if India had not made up more than the deficit. On the market of the world, therefore, all traces of the crisis of 1857 have not yet altogether disappeared. The most important and surprising feature of the Board of Trade Returns is, undoubtedly, the rapid development of the British export trade to the East Indies. Let us first by official figures, illustrate the fact:

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[a] "The Board of Trade Returns for the Half-Year Ending June 30, 1859", *The Economist*, No. 831, July 30, 1859.—*Ed.*

EXPORTS TO BRITISH EAST INDIES,
6 MONTHS ENDING JUNE 30.

| | 1856. | 1857. | 1858. | 1859. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Beer and Ale | £210,431 | £130,213 | £474,438 | £569,398 |
| Cottons, Calicoes, &c | 2,554,976 | 3,116,869 | 4,523,849 | 6,094,433 |
| Cotton Yarn | 579,807 | 540,576 | 967,332 | 1,280,435 |
| Earthenware and Porcelain | 30,374 | 23,521 | 43,975 | 43,195 |
| Haberdashery and Millinery | 39,854 | 70,502 | 77,319 | 105,723 |
| Hardwares and Cutlery | 84,758 | 101,083 | 139,813 | 153,423 |
| Saddlery and Harness | 12,339 | 15,587 | 35,947 | 19,498 |
| Machinery—steam-engines | [37,503 | 54,074 | 59,104 | 100,803][a] |
| other sorts | 156,028 | 313,461 | 170,959 | 179,255 |
| Iron—bar, bolt, and rod (exclusive of railway iron) | 506,201 | 228,838 | 166,321 | 172,725 |
| Railway Iron | — | 272,812 | 475,413 | 578,749 |
| Iron—wrought (exclusive of railway iron) | 266,355 | 217,484 | 192,711 | 242,213 |
| Copper—unwrought | 62,928 | 34,139 | 9,018 | 51,699 |
| Sheets and Nails | 144,218 | 228,325 | 318,381 | 205,213 |
| Salt | 23,995 | 31,119 | 21,849 | 4,468 |
| Stationery | 66,495 | 79,968 | 86,425 | 89,711 |
| Woolen Cloths | 96,045 | 166,509 | 202,076 | 174,826 |
| Total | £4,872,307 | £5,625,080 | £7,964,930 | £10,065,767 |

Recollecting the fact that for about 16 years—from 1840 to 1856—the British export trade to India was generally stationary, although there was sometimes a small rise beyond, sometimes a perceptible fall below the average figure of £8,000,000—one is rather startled to see this stationary trade doubled in the short interval of two years, and that sudden progress, too, taking place at the epoch of an atrocious servile war.[363] The question whether this expansion of commerce is due to only temporary circumstances or to a bona fide development of Indian demand, derives its peculiar interest from the present conjuncture of Indian finances which forces the British Government to ask Parliament for leave to contract a new Indian loan in London, and which, simultaneously, induces even the London *Times* to moot the question whether, after all, England had not better confine

[a] The figures in square brackets are missing in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and are given here according to *The Economist*, No. 831, July 30, 1859.—*Ed.*

herself to the three old provinces and restore the rest of the Peninsula to its native rulers.[a]

With the scanty materials before us, it would be impossible to arrive at a categorical judgment as to the real character of the sudden expansion of the British export trade to India, but all the data known incline us to the opinion that transitory circumstances have, so to say, swelled that trade beyond its organic dimensions. In the first instance, we are unable to discover any peculiar movement in the British imports from India which might have led to the increase of exports to that country. There has been an increase in some articles, but it is almost balanced by a decrease in others; and, altogether, the vacillations of the Indian exports are too feeble to account one way or the other for the sudden changes in the imports thither. The civil war may, however, have helped the English to explore countries formerly little known, and the soldier may thus have cleared the way for the merchant. Besides, an excessive import and accumulation of silver has of late years been going on in India, and even the Hindoo, somewhat vivified by the scenes of excitement just passed through, may have encroached upon his hoarding mania, and, to some degree, taken to spending silver instead of burying it. Still, we are not warranted in laying too great stress upon such hypotheses, especially as, on the other side, the positive fact stares us in the face of an extraordinary Government expenditure to the annual amount of about £14,000,000. This state of things, while it sufficiently accounts for the sudden growth of the English export trade to India, can hardly be thought to prognosticate a long continuance of this new movement. The most lasting effect will probably be the complete destruction of Indian native industry, since, as the reader will have seen from the last tabular statement, the surplus of British exports to India is principally due to the intrusion of British cottons and cotton-yarns. Overtrading on the part of Manchester may, to some degree, also have contributed to swell the figures of the British export table.

Written about August 5, 1859

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5717, August 19, 1859 as a leading article

[a] *The Times,* No. 23375, August 3, 1859 (leading article).—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## LOUIS NAPOLEON AND ITALY

Every day throws new light on the words and acts of Napoleon III in Italy, and helps us to understand what freedom "from the Alps to the Adriatic"[a] means on his lips. The war, so far as he was concerned, was only another French expedition to Rome—on a grander scale in all respects, to be sure, but in motive and results not dissimilar to that "Republican" enterprise.[364] Having "saved" France from a European war by concluding the treaty of Villafranca, the Liberator is now about to "save" Italian society by the compulsory restoration of the princes, whom a word from the Tuileries drove from power, and by the military suppression of popular movements in Central Italy and the Legations.[b] While the British press was teeming with vague conjectures and *on dits*[c] as to the probable changes which the stipulations of Villafranca were likely to undergo in the Conference at Zurich, and Lord John Russell, with the incorrigible indiscretion that induced Lord Palmerston to intrust the seals of the Foreign Office to him, felt himself warranted in the solemn declaration to the House of Commons[d] that Bonaparte would abstain from lending his bayonets to the dethroned princes, the *Wiener Zeitung* of August 8 appeared, headed by the following official declaration:

"The Zurich Conference is about to meet, in order definitively to conclude the peace of which the main features were agreed upon at Villafranca. It is difficult for one who considers this evident significance of the Conference, to understand how

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[a] Napoleon III, "Proclamation, L'empereur au peuple français", *Le Moniteur universel*, special edition, May 3, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 357.—*Ed.*

[c] Rumours.—*Ed.*

[d] John Russell's speech in the House of Commons of July 22, 1859, *The Times*, No. 23366, July 23, 1859.—*Ed.*

the press, not only abroad but even in Austria, could have felt at liberty to express doubts with respect to the execution or the practicableness of the Villafranca stipulations. Sealed by the signs manual of the two Emperors, those peace preliminaries possess the guaranty of their execution in the pledges and the power of two monarchs."[a]

This is plain language. On the one hand, there are the vain declamations of the deluded Italians; on the other hand, there is the *"Sic volo, sic jubeo"*[b] of Francis Joseph and Louis Bonaparte, which is backed by bayonets, rifled cannon and other *"armes de précision."*[c] If the Italian patriots refuse to yield to oily persuasions, they must give way to brute force. There is no other alternative, Lord John Russell's declaration—which he probably uttered in perfect good faith, as it was only put in his mouth that it might help to get rid of the British Parliament during the period appointed for crushing Italy under the iron heel of the allied despots—to the contrary notwithstanding. As to the Pope's temporal power in the Legations, Louis Napoleon did not even wait for the end of the war to dictate its maintenance. The preliminaries of Villafranca stipulate for the restoration of the Austrian princes in Tuscany and Modena. The return of the Duchess of Parma to power was not included in the stipulations, for Francis Joseph wished to wreak his vengeance upon that princess for having declined openly to pin her fortunes to those of Austria. Yet with his native magnanimity Louis Napoleon has condescended to listen to the humble prayers of the *donna errante.*[d] Through the instrumentality of Walewski he has pledged his word of honor to Sr. Mon, the Spanish Embassador at Paris, who is also the Plenipotentiary of the Duchess, that she shall be restored to a throne over the same extent of territory as before, with the single exception, perhaps, of the fortress of Piacenza, which is to be made over to Victor Emmanuel in case he behave well at the Conference at Zurich. At the idea of playing protector to the sister of the Bourbons, the *parvenu* not only felt immensely flattered, but thought that he had at last hit upon a sure means of conciliating the good will of the Faubourg St. Germain,[365] which had hitherto scornfully repulsed his advances and held toward him a haughty attitude of reserve.

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[a] The declaration from the *Wiener Zeitung* of August 8, 1859 (evening edition) is quoted in the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No: 223, August 11, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] "Thus I wish it, thus I order it" (Juvenal. *Satires,* VI, 223).—*Ed.*

[c] Precision weapons (rifled guns).—*Ed.*

[d] Lady-errant.—*Ed.*

But how was the "Liberator of Nationalities" to become the missionary of "Law and Order," the savior of "instituted society"? How successfully assume this less poetic *role*? It was a long step downward. To create and protract the incertitude of the public as to the true meaning of the Villafranca preliminaries, and to indulge it with wild rumors and sage conjectures, was obviously one method gradually to prepare Europe for the worst. Lord Palmerston, who hates Austria, professes to love Italy, and is notoriously the confidant of Napoleon III, has helped the Man of December over this slippery ground. Having ousted the Derby Ministry, because of their Austrian sympathies, Palmerston seemed to have pledged himself to all Europe, and especially to Italy for the upright intentions of Napoleon III, his august ally. And so, he has quietly put Parliament out of the way, if, indeed, he has not sent it home with a deliberate falsehood in its ear. His positive declaration that England had not yet made up her mind whether or no to participate in the European Congress[a]—which will probably sanction the conclusions of the Zurich Conference, and thus lighten the burden of odium which would otherwise rest upon Napoleon's shoulders, by distributing it among all the Powers of Europe,—is contradicted by the Prussian papers, which have published a semi-official note, stating that England and Russia have conjointly called upon the Court of Berlin, and demanded its concurrence in this European Congress.[b]

Napoleon's second step, which he did not take until the feverish excitement of the public mind had been somewhat allayed, was in Sardinia. He strove to induce Victor Emmanuel to do his work for him—a thing not easily to be managed. Whatever Austria and her dependents had lost, Victor Emmanuel seemed to have gained. He had become, in point of fact though not yet in name, the regent of Central Italy and of the Legations, the inhabitants of which countries generally proclaimed his dynasty out of hatred to Austria, if not from love of Piedmont. The first demand which the French crusader of liberty made of his new vassal was that he should resign his official leadership of the popular movement. This Victor Emmanuel could not refuse. He withdrew the Sardinian commissioners from the Duchies and the Papal territories, recalling Boncompagni from Florence, Massimo d'Azeglio

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[a] Lord Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on August 8, 1859, *The Times*, No. 23380, August 9, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] The *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 223, August 11, 1859.—*Ed.*

from the Romagna, and Farini (in his official capacity at least) from Modena.[366]

But the Imperial liberator was not yet satisfied. From previous experience in France he had seen reason to conclude that under proper management popular suffrage forms the best machinery in the world by which to establish a despotism upon a firm and comely basis. The King of Sardinia was, consequently, requested to operate upon the popular elections in the insurgent provinces so as to make the restoration of their princes appear to be the will of the people. Victor Emmanuel would not, of course, hear of a request, the fulfillment of which was sure to blight forever the prospects of Italian freedom, and to change *evvivas* into a general cry of execration throughout the Peninsula. He is said to have answered Count de Reiset, the French tempter, in these words:

"Monsieur, I am, first of all, an Italian Prince; do not forget that fact. The interests of Italy appear to me of more consequence than those of Europe, to which you have been pleased to allude. I cannot lend the authority of my name to the restoration of the dethroned princes; I will not do so. I have already been too indulgent in allowing things to follow their own course as they do."

And the chivalrous King is even said to have added:

"If armed intervention is determined upon, you will hear from me. As to the Confederation, my interest and my honor are alike opposed to it, and I will, therefore, combat it to the death."[a]

Soon after this reply was transmitted to Paris, the famous article of Granier de Cassagnac on Italian ingratitude,[b] containing the sinister intimation that if the protection of a mighty hand was withdrawn, the Austrian eagle would soon perch on the royal palace of Turin, made its appearance. Victor Emmanuel was presently informed that his possession of Piacenza would depend on his good behavior, and that the relative influence of the Italian Princes in the proposed Confederation was still a matter of debate. And the final blow was given to him by bringing the question of the nationality of Savoy upon the carpet, accompanied with an intimation that, if Bonaparte had aided Victor Emmanuel in freeing Italy from the yoke of Austria, he could hardly refuse to free Savoy from the yoke of Sardinia. These menaces soon assumed a tangible shape in the agitation which, on a signal from Paris, broke out among the feudal and Catholic party of Savoy.

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[a] Cf. "Nouvelles d'Italie (Correspondance particulière de *L'Indépendance belge*). Turin, 5 août", *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 221, August 9, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Granier de Cassagnac, "Ingratitude de l'Italie", *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 215, August 3, 1859.—*Ed.*

"The Savoyards," exclaimed a Paris paper, "are weary of spending their money and shedding the blood of their sons for the Italian cause."

This was a strong *argumentum ad hominem* to Victor Emmanuel and if he has not directly accepted the task set before him, there is some reason to fear that he has at least promised to pave the way for armed French intervention. If the intelligence contained in the telegram dated Parma, Aug. 9, according to which "the Piedmontese have been driven from the city, and the Red Republic proclaimed, while property-holders and the friends of order are taking flight,"[a] is to be relied upon, it is ominous of the future. But true or false, it may well be the signal for the "Savior of Order and Property," to intervene, to march his Zouaves against the "incorrigible anarchists," and to clear the road for the returning princes, one of whom, the son in whose behalf the Grand Duke of Tuscany[b] abdicated, has met with a "cordial reception" at the Tuileries. And the French troops, who are on their way home, have received orders to stay in Italy, so that the obstacles in the way of successful negotiations at Zurich will soon disappear.

Written in mid-August 1859

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] "Telegraphische Berichte. Wien, 11. August", *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 224 (supplement), August 12, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to Ferdinand IV and his father Leopold II.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## POPULATION, CRIME, AND PAUPERISM

London, August 23, 1859

A Blue Book, headed "Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom in each of the last fifteen years from 1844 to 1858," was presented to both Houses of Parliament during the last session. Dry as the figures, arrayed in the close columns of the official print, may look, they contain, in fact, more valuable contributions to the history of the national movement than volumes of rhetorical claptrap and political gossip. The first item that calls for our attention, is the population tables, but, strange to say, the figures relating to the movement of the population of Ireland during the fifteen years are altogether omitted. The Scotch table shows but feeble oscillations which we shall not dwell upon. The following is an account of the population movement in England and Wales:

| Years. | Estim'd Popula'n. | Births. | Deaths. | Marriages. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1844 | 16,520,000 | 540,763 | 356,950 | 132,249 |
| 1845 | 16,721,000 | 543,521 | 349,366 | 143,743 |
| 1846 | 16,925,000 | 572,625 | 390,315 | 145,664 |
| 1847 | 17,132,000 | 539,965 | 423,304 | 135,845 |
| 1848 | 17,340,000 | 563,059 | 399,800 | 138,230 |
| 1849 | 17,552,000 | 578,159 | 440,853 | 141,883 |
| 1850 | 17,766,000 | 593,422 | 368,986 | 151,738 |
| 1851 | 17,983,000 | 615,865 | 395,174 | 154,206 |
| 1852 | 18,205,000 | 624,171 | 407,938 | 158,439 |
| 1853 | 18,403,000 | 612,391 | 421,097 | 164,520 |
| 1854 | 18,618,000 | 634,506 | 438,239 | 159,349 |
| 1855 | 18,787,000 | 635,123 | 426,242 | 151,774 |
| 1856 | 19,045,000 | 657,704 | 391,369 | 159,262 |
| 1857 | 19,305,000 | 663,071 | 419,815 | 159,097 |
| 1858 | 19,523,000 | 655,627 | 450,018 | 154,500 |

Face to face with this population table we place the statements respecting crime and pauperism of England and Wales:

COMMITTED FOR TRIAL.

| Years. | Males. | Females. | Total. | Convicted. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1844 | 21,549 | 4,993 | 26,542 | 18,919 |
| 1845 | 19,341 | 4,962 | 24,303 | 17,402 |
| 1846 | 19,850 | 5,257 | 25,107 | 18,144 |
| 1847 | 22,903 | 5,930 | 28,833 | 21,542 |
| 1848 | 24,586 | 5,763 | 30,349 | 22,900 |
| 1849 | 22,415 | 5,401 | 27,816 | 21,001 |
| 1850 | 21,548 | 5,265 | 26,813 | 20,537 |
| 1851 | 22,391 | 5,569 | 27,960 | 21,579 |
| 1852 | 21,885 | 5,625 | 27,510 | 21,304 |
| 1853 | 20,879 | 6,178 | 27,057 | 20,756 |
| 1854 | 22,723 | 6,636 | 29,359 | 23,047 |
| 1855 | 19,890 | 6,082 | 25,972 | 19,971 |
| 1856 | 15,425 | 4,012 | 19,437 | 14,734 |
| 1857 | 15,970 | 4,299 | 20,269 | 15,307 |
| 1858 | 13,865 | 3,990 | 17,855 | 13,246 |

The tabular statement relating to the number of paupers (exclusive of vagrants) in receipt of relief in the several unions and parishes under Boards of Guardians in England and Wales, begins with the year 1849:

| Years. | Total of Paupers. | Years. | Total of Paupers. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1849 | 934,419 | 1854 | 818,337 |
| 1850 | 920,543 | 1855 | 851,369 |
| 1851 | 860,893 | 1856 | 877,767 |
| 1852 | 834,424 | 1857 | 843,806 |
| 1853 | 798,822 | 1858 | 908,186 |

By comparing these three tables of population, crime and pauperism, it will be found that from 1844 to 1854 crime grew faster than population, while pauperism from 1849 to 1858 remained almost stationary, despite the enormous changes worked during that interval in the state of British society. Three great facts mark the decennial period of 1849-1858—facts which would almost justify us in comparing that period to the most illustrious epochs of the 16th century. The corn laws had been repealed, the gold fields discovered,[367] and an immense emigration had taken place. There were, besides, other circumstances which gave a new start to industry and commerce. From revolutionary convulsions, Europe had turned to an industrial mania. The conquest of the Punjaub,[368] and then the Russian war and the Asiatic wars, had

made accessible markets till then almost unknown. Finally, the United States' import of British produce had developed itself in dimensions not even suspected ten years before. The whole market of the world had expanded and seemed to have doubled or trebled its powers of absorption. And with all this, during this memorable decennial epoch, the stationary million of English paupers is diminished only by 26,233 individuals. If we compare the years 1853 and 1858, it has even increased by 109,364.

There must be something rotten in the very core of a social system which increases its wealth without diminishing its misery, and increases in crimes even more rapidly than in numbers. It is true enough that, if we compare the year 1855 with the preceding years, there seems to have occurred a sensible decrease of crime from 1855 to 1858. The total number of people committed for trial, which in 1854 amounted to 29,359, had sunk down to 17,855 in 1858; and the number of convicted had also greatly fallen off, if not quite in the same ratio. This apparent decrease of crime, however, since 1854, is to be exclusively attributed to some technical changes in British jurisdiction; to the Juvenile Offenders' act[369] in the first instance, and, in the second instance, to the operation of the Criminal Justice act of 1855, which authorizes the Police Magistrates to pass sentences for short periods, with the consent of the prisoners. Violations of the law are generally the offspring of economical agencies beyond the control of the legislator, but, as the working of the Juvenile Offenders' act testifies, it depends to some degree on official society to stamp certain violations of its rules as crimes or as transgressions only. This difference of nomenclature, so far from being indifferent, decides on the fate of thousands of men, and the moral tone of society. Law itself may not only punish crime, but improvise it, and the law of professional lawyers is very apt to work in this direction. Thus, it has been justly remarked by an eminent historian, that the Catholic clergy of the medieval times, with its dark views of human nature, introduced by its influence into criminal legislation, has created more crimes than forgiven sins.

Strange to say, the only part of the United Kingdom in which crime has seriously decreased, say by 50, and even by 75 per cent, is Ireland. How can we harmonize this fact with the public-opinion slang of England, according to which Irish nature, instead of British misrule, is responsible for Irish shortcomings? It is, again, no act on the part of the British ruler, but simply the consequence of a famine, an exodus, and a general combination of circumstances favorable to the demand for Irish labor, that has

worked this happy change in Irish nature. However that may be, the significance of the following tabular statements cannot be misunderstood:

I.—CRIMES IN IRELAND.
COMMITTED FOR TRIAL.

| Years. | Males. | Females. | Total. | Convicted. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1844 | 14,799 | 4,649 | 19,448 | 8,042 |
| 1845 | 12,807 | 3,889 | 16,696 | 7,101 |
| 1846 | 14,204 | 4,288 | 18,492 | 8,639 |
| 1847 | 23,552 | 7,657 | 31,209 | 15,233 |
| 1848 | 28,765 | 9,757 | 38,522 | 18,206 |
| 1849 | 31,340 | 10,649 | 41,989 | 21,202 |
| 1850 | 22,682 | 8,644 | 31,326 | 17,108 |
| 1851 | 17,337 | 7,347 | 24,684 | 14,377 |
| 1852 | 12,444 | 5,234 | 17,678 | 10,454 |
| 1853 | 10,260 | 4,884 | 15,144 | 8,714 |
| 1854 | 7,937 | 3,851 | 11,788 | 7,051 |
| 1855 | 6,019 | 2,993 | 9,012 | 5,220 |
| 1856 | 5,097 | 2,002 | 7,099 | 4,024 |
| 1857 | 5,458 | 1,752 | 7,210 | 3,925 |
| 1858 | 4,708 | 1,600 | 6,308 | 3,350 |

II.—PAUPERS IN IRELAND.[a]

| Years. | Total of Paupers. | Years. | Total of Paupers. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1849 | 620,747 | 1854 | 106,802 |
| 1850 | 307,970 | 1855 | 86,819 |
| 1851 | 209,187 | 1856 | 73,083 |
| 1852 | 171,418 | 1857 | 56,094 |
| 1853 | 141,822 | 1858 | 50,582 |

It is to be regretted that the emigration table does not specify the different parts of the United Kingdom, from which the movement started, and the ratio in which each part has

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[a] The figures that follow were taken by the editors of the present edition from the "Statistical Abstract" used by Marx. In the *New-York Daily Tribune* the following table, referring to Scotland, was published under the heading "Paupers in Ireland":

| Years. | No. of Parishes | Paupers. | Years. | No. of Parishes. | Paupers. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1849 | 880 | 82,357 | 1854 | 883 | 78,929 |
| 1850 | 880 | 79,031 | 1855 | 883 | 79,887 |
| 1851 | 881 | 76,906 | 1856 | 883 | 79,973 |
| 1852 | 882 | 75,111 | 1857 | 883 | 79,217 |
| 1853 | 882 | 75,437 | 1858 | 883 | 79,199. |

— *Ed.*

contributed to the general result. From the table, such as it is, it will be inferred, that from 1844 to 1847, the emigration to the British North American Colonies bade fair to approximate, if not to outstrip the emigration to the United States. From 1848, however, the emigration to British North America settles down into a mere appendage of the emigration to the United States. On the other hand, British emigration to Australia and New Zealand is developing itself during the 15 years from 1844 to 1858 in rapid strides. While the emigration to the North American Colonies reaches its climax in 1847, and that to the United States in 1851, the emigration to Australia and New Zealand stands on its apogee in 1852. From that time down to 1858, there is a continuous fall in the number of emigrants, the total number of which in 1852 had ascended to 368,764, being brought down, in 1858 to 113,972, or by more than 75 per cent. The following is the table alluded to:

NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM TO VARIOUS DESTINATIONS.

| | To the N.A. Colonies. | To the U.S. | Australia and New Zealand. | Other Places. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1844 ..... | 22,924 | 43,660 | 2,229 | 1,873 | 70,686 |
| 1845 ..... | 31,803 | 58,538 | 830 | 2,330 | 93,501 |
| 1846 ..... | 43,439 | 82,239 | 2,347 | 1,826 | 129,851 |
| 1847 ..... | 109,680 | 142,154 | 4,949 | 1,487 | 258,270 |
| 1848 ..... | 31,065 | 188,233 | 23,904 | 4,887 | 248,089 |
| 1849 ..... | 41,367 | 219,450 | 32,191 | 6,490 | 299,498 |
| 1850 ..... | 32,961 | 223,078 | 16,037 | 8,773 | 280,849 |
| 1851 ..... | 42,605 | 267,357 | 21,532 | 4,472 | 335,966 |
| 1852 ..... | 32,873 | 244,261 | 87,881 | 3,749 | 368,764 |
| 1853 ..... | 34,522 | 230,885 | 61,401 | 3,129 | 329,937 |
| 1854 ..... | 43,761 | 193,065 | 83,237 | 3,366 | 323,429 |
| 1855 ..... | 17,966 | 103,414 | 52,309 | 3,118 | 176,807 |
| 1856 ..... | 16,378 | 111,837 | 44,584 | 3,755 | 176,554 |
| 1857 ..... | 21,001 | 126,905 | 61,248 | 3,721 | 212,875 |
| 1858 ..... | 9,704 | 59,716 | 39,295 | 5,257 | 113,972 |

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Reproduced from the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE

London, Sept. 5, 1859

Having considered, in a former letter,[a] the movement in the population of the Kingdom, we turn now to the movement of production. In the following tabular statements the exports are given for every year since 1844, while the figures relating to imports begin with the year 1854, an anomaly due to the circumstance that the computed real value of imports was not officially ascertained before 1854:

A—EXPORTS.

*Total Declared Real Value of British and Irish Produce Exported from the United Kingdom*[b]:

| Years. | £. | Years. | £. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1844 | 58,534,705 | 1852 | 78,076,854 |
| 1845 | 60,111,082 | 1853 | 98,933,781 |
| 1846 | 57,786,876 | 1854 | 97,184,726 |
| 1847 | 58,842,377 | 1855 | 95,688,085 |
| 1848 | 52,849,445 | 1856 | 115,826,948 |
| 1849 | 63,596,025 | 1857 | 122,066,107 |
| 1850 | 71,367,885 | 1858 | 116,608,911 |
| 1851 | 74,448,722 | | |

[a] See this volume, pp. 487-91.—*Ed.*

[b] "Commerce of the British Empire. The Result of Recent Commercial Legislation. II. Declared Value of British and Irish Produce Exported from the United Kingdom to Various Foreign Countries and British Possessions", *The Economist*, No. 803 (supplement), January 15, 1859; "The Customs Report. The Trade of 1857 and 1858", *The Economist*, No. 833, August 13, 1859.—*Ed.*

B—IMPORTS.

*Total Computed Real Value of Merchandise Imported into the United Kingdom*[a]:

| Years. | £. | Years. | £. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1854 | 152,389,053 | 1857 | 187,844,441 |
| 1855 | 143,542,850 | 1858 | 163,795,803 |
| 1856 | 172,544,154 | | |

From the first table it will be seen that exports, and consequently production had more than doubled in the period from 1844 to 1857, while population, as may be proved from the figures quoted in my former letter, had, during the same interval, hardly increased by 18 per cent. A curious answer this to the doctrine of Parson Malthus, the sinecurist. Table A moreover illustrates a law of production which might be proved with mathematical nicety, by comparing the returns of British exports since 1797. The law is this: That if, by over-production and over-speculation, a crisis has been brought about, still the productive powers of the nation and the faculty of absorption on the market of the world, have, in the mean time, so much expanded, that they will only temporarily recede from the highest point reached, and that after some oscillations spreading over some years, the scale of production which marked the highest point of prosperity in one period of the commercial cycle, becomes the starting point of the subsequent period. Thus the year 1845 marks the summit of productive power developed during the commercial cycle of 1837 to 1847. In 1846 the reaction begins; there is a catastrophe in 1847, the consequences of which but fully manifest themselves in 1848, when the magnitude of exports falls even below 1844. In 1849, however, there takes place not only a recovery, but the figures of 1845, the year of highest prosperity during the last cycle, are already outstripped by three millions, and this year marks now the level to which exports will never again sink during the new cycle. The highest point is again reached in 1857, the year of the crisis, whose agonies are registered in the diminished exports of 1858. But already, in 1859, the summit of the period 1847-1857 has been converted into the starting point of a new commercial cycle—a point to which the productive powers are not likely again to recede.

[a] "Commerce of the British Empire. The Result of Recent Commercial Legislation. III. Summary of the Import and Export Trade of the United Kingdom", *The Economist*, No. 803 (supplement), January 15, 1859; "The Customs Report. The Trade of 1857 and 1858", *The Economist*, No. 833, August 13, 1859.—*Ed.*

By comparing tables A and B, it will be found that British exports do considerably fall below British imports, and that this disproportion is growing as regularly as the magnitude of the exports. Now, this phenomenon has been interpreted by some English writers as if the unhappy Britishers were running into debt with other nations, or selling cheap and buying dear, thus making a present to the outer world of part of their industry. The simple fact is, that Great Britain receives, in the shape of imports from other nations, some returns for no equivalent whatever, as is the case in the Indian tributes raised under different forms, and other returns for the interest on capital lent out at former periods. The growing disproportion between British imports and exports, therefore, does only prove that England, in regard to the markets of the world, develops its function as money-lender still more rapidly than its function as manufacturer and merchant.

Of the articles of import, there are four which claim some attention, viz.: bullion, corn, cotton, and wool. On former occasions, the movements in the British imports and exports of bullion have been explained in the *N.-Y. Tribune,* which, at the time of the last commercial crisis, proved, from official figures, that the amount of Bank of England notes in circulation had rather diminished than increased since the new gold fields came into play.[a] We shall, therefore, not recur to this subject, but limit ourselves to stating a fact not yet, as far as we know, noticed by English writers. The amount of the metallic coin circulating in a nation may be fairly inferred from the operations of the national mint. In order, then, to ascertain the movement of the metallic currency in Great Britain during the operation of the Californian and Australian diggings, we give the following table, showing the amount of metal coined at the royal mint:

AMOUNT OF GOLD, SILVER, AND COPPER MONEYS COINED AT THE ROYAL MINT.

| Years. | Gold. | Silver. | Copper. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1844 | £3,563,949 | £626,670 | £7,246 | £4,197,865 |
| 1845 | 4,244,608 | 647,658 | 6,944 | 4,899,210 |
| 1846 | 4,334,911 | 559,548 | 6,496 | 4,900,955 |
| 1847 | 5,158,440 | 125,730 | 8,960 | 5,293,130 |
| 1848 | 2,451,999 | 35,442 | 2,688 | 2,490,129 |
| 1849 | 2,177,955 | 119,592 | 1,792 | 2,299,339 |

[a] See this volume, pp. 8-12.—*Ed.*

| Years. | Gold. | Silver. | Copper. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1850 | £1,491,836 | £129,096 | £448 | £1,621,380 |
| 1851 | 4,400,411 | 87,868 | 3,584 | 4,491,863 |
| 1852 | 8,742,270 | 189,596 | 4,312 | 8,936,178 |
| 1853 | 11,952,591 | 701,544 | 10,190 | 12,664,325 |
| 1854 | 4,152,183 | 140,480 | 61,538 | 4,354,201 |
| 1855 | 9,008,663 | 195,510 | 41,091 | 9,245,264 |
| 1856 | 6,002,114 | 462,528 | 11,418 | 6,476,060 |
| 1857 | 4,859,860 | 373,230 | 6,720 | 5,239,810 |
| 1858 | 1,231,023 | 445,896 | 13,440 | 1,690,359 |

We shall compare the totals, since the silver and copper coins must be regarded as mere tokens replacing the gold coin, so that for the consideration of the general movement of the metallic currency, it becomes quite indifferent, whether the gold coin has been circulated itself or whether its fractional parts were represented by metallic marks.

The fifteen years over which the above tabular statement expands, may be divided into two almost equal periods, the one of which precedes the operation on Great Britain of the new gold countries while the other is characterized by the rapid influx of gold from new sources. The first period we date from 1844 to 1850, the second we date from 1851 to 1858; the year 1851 being remarkable for the beginning agency of the New South Wales and Victoria diggings, as well as for the immense development of the California gold supply, which from £11,700 in 1848, £1,600,000 in 1849, £5,000,000 in 1850, had swollen to £8,250,300 in 1851. By summing up the totals of metal coined in the period of 1844 to 1850 on the one hand, and in the period of 1851 to 1858 on the other, and then calculating the yearly average in each period, it will be found, that the yearly average coinage during the former seven years amounted to £3,643,144, while, for the latter eight years, it reached the sum of £7,137,782.[a] The metallic currency of Great Britain, consequently, has almost increased by 100 per cent during the period falling into the operation of the new gold supplies. This would certainly prove the influence California and Australia exercised on the development of internal British commerce, but it would be quite incorrect to conclude that the metallic circulation was directly increased by the influx of new gold. The contrary is shown by comparing the single years of the two periods, before and after the gold discoveries. In 1854, for

[a] The figures published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* are inaccurate.— *Ed.*

instance, the coinage falls below that of 1845 and 1846, and in 1858 it sinks far below the level of 1844. The mass of gold entering the circulation in the shape of coin was, therefore, not determined by the import of gold bullion; but of the gold imports, a greater part was, on an average absorbed into the inner circulation during the second epoch, because commercial and industrial pursuits had generally expanded; an expansion, however, which to a great extent may be traced to the working of the new gold countries.

Written on September 5, 1859

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# Karl Marx

## KOSSUTH AND LOUIS NAPOLEON[370]

London, Sept. 5, 1859

You will recollect that about a year ago I made, through the columns of the *Tribune*,[a] some curious revelations in regard to a certain Bangya, his mission to Circassia and the squabbles hence arising between the Hungarian and Polish emigrations at Constantinople. Although the facts then stated by me afterward found their way into the European press, no attempt to dispute their accuracy has ever been ventured upon. I have now to call the attention of your readers to another secret chapter of contemporaneous history; I mean the connection between Kossuth and Bonaparte. It cannot longer be tolerated that the same men should receive with the one hand the pay of the assassin of the French Republic, and in the other hand hoist the banner of liberty; that they should play the part of both martyrs and courtiers; that, having become the tools of an atrocious usurper, they should still exhibit themselves as the organs of an oppressed nation. I think the moment the more opportune for revealing facts long known to me, as Bonaparte and his sycophants, Kossuth and his partisans, are equally busy in throwing a vail over transactions which could not fail to compromise the one before the monarchs, and the other before the peoples of the world.

It will be admitted by the most prejudiced admirers of Mr. Kossuth that, whatever his other accomplishments may be, he has always sadly lacked one great quality—that of consistency. During the whole course of his life he has more resembled the *improvisatore* receiving his impressions from his audience than the author imprinting his own original ideas upon the world. This

[a] See this volume, pp. 21-27.—*Ed.*

inconsistency of thought could not but reflect itself in duplicity of action. A few facts may illustrate the truth of this assertion. At Kutaya, Mr. Kossuth entered into an intimate *liaison* with Mr. David Urquhart, and, accepting at once the prejudices of that romantic Highlander, he did not hesitate to pass sentence on Mazzini as a Russian agent. He formally pledged himself to keep aloof from Mazzini. But he had hardly arrived at London when he formed a triumvirate with Mazzini and Ledru-Rollin.[371] The incontestable proofs of this double-dealing have been laid before the British public in the correspondence carried on between L. Kossuth and David Urquhart, which the latter gentleman has printed in the London *Free Press.*[a] In the first speech Mr. Kossuth made on landing on the English coast, he called Palmerston the friend of his bosom. Palmerston, through the instrumentality of a well-known member of Parliament,[b] intimated to Kossuth his desire to receive the latter at his mansion. Kossuth demanded to be received by the British Minister as Governor of Hungary, a request which, of course, was at once scornfully rejected. Mr. Kossuth, on his part, now gave, through Mr. Urquhart and other acquaintances of his, the British public to understand that he had rejected Palmerston's invitation because he had made sure, from a close study at Kutaya of the Blue Book relating to Hungarian affairs,[c] that Palmerston, the "friend of his bosom," had, in secret understanding with the Court of St. Petersburg, played the traitor to "dear Hungary." In 1853, when a Mazzinian *émeute*[d] broke out at Milan, there appeared on the walls of that town a proclamation addressed to the Hungarian soldiers, calling upon them to side with the Italian insurrectionists,[e] and bearing the signature of Lajos Kossuth.[372] The *émeute* turning out a failure, Mr. Kossuth, through the medium of the London newspapers, hastened to declare the proclamation a forgery, thus giving a public *démenti* to his friend Mazzini. Nevertheless, the proclamation *was* genuine. Mazzini *had* acted in concert with Kossuth.

Proceeding upon the settled conviction that to subvert Austrian

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[a] Lajos Kossuth's letter to David Urquhart of January 22, 1852, Pittsburg, and Urquhart's reply to Kossuth of February 14, 1852, London, *The Free Press,* No. 16, May 12, 1858.—*Ed.*

[b] Dudley Stuart.—*Ed.*

[c] See *Correspondence Relative to the Affairs of Hungary 1847-1849.*—*Ed.*

[d] Revolt.—*Ed.*

[e] L. Kossuth, "In the Name of the Hungarian Nation. To the Soldiers Quartered in Italy, February 1853", *The Times,* No. 21348, February 10, 1853.—*Ed.*

tyranny the united action of Hungary and Italy was indispensable, Mazzini for some time tried to replace Kossuth by a more trustworthy Hungarian leader, but his efforts splitting on the dissensions of the Hungarian emigration, he magnanimously pardoned his uncertain ally, and spared him an exposure that would have ruined Kossuth's position in England.

To draw nearer to present times, I may call to your recollection that, in the Autumn of 1858, Mr. Kossuth made a tour through Scotland, delivering lectures in different towns, and solemnly warning the British against Louis Bonaparte's treacherous designs. Take, for instance, the following extract of a lecture delivered at Glasgow, on Nov. 20, 1858:

> "I have," said Mr. Kossuth, "already alluded, in my other lecture, to the broth of national hatred which Louis Bonaparte is brewing. I do not mean to insinuate that he is meditating an invasion of this country: no doubt he would; only, like the fox in the fable,[a] he does not like sour grapes. It is not long ago that, with the exception, perhaps, of the gentlemen of St. Petersburg, who very likely know all about the mystery, Louis Bonaparte put the whole diplomacy of the world to their wits' end by his gigantic preparations at Cherbourg, pushed on to the last shilling of his empty treasury, and with a haste as if his existence was depending on a minute gained.... Cherbourg remains a structure solely against England.... He meditates a new conflict in the East, in company with Russia. In this conflict he means to check the free movement of the English navy by binding a goodly portion of it to your shores, while he proposes to strike a deadly blow at your vital interests in the East.... The Crimean war—was it concluded according to the interests of Great Britain and Turkey? Wallachia and Moldavia got a constitution devised in the den of secret diplomacy, that curse of our age; a constitution devised by Bonaparte with the concurrence of Russia and Austria—each and all of them ardent friends of popular freedom, forsooth! It is in reality no more nor less than a charter granted to Russia for the purpose of disposing of the Principalities.... Nay, more; has not Bonaparte, the dear ally, sent his officers to Montenegro to teach rifle practice to the wild mountaineers!... His mind is bent on a new treaty of Tilsit, if he has it not already in his pocket."[b]

Such were Kossuth's public strictures on Bonaparte, his dear ally, in the Autumn of 1858. Still more; in the beginning of 1859, when Bonaparte's plans for his Italian crusade of liberty had begun to take shape and figure, this same Kossuth, in Mazzini's *Pensiero ed Azione*, denounced the Dutch trickster in glowing language, and warned all true Republicans—Italians, Hungarians, and Germans even—from making themselves the cat's-paws of the Imperial Quasimodo. In a word, he reechoed Mazzini's views, which the latter again proclaimed in his manifesto of the 16th of

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[a] Aesop, "The Fox and Grapes".—*Ed.*

[b] L. Kossuth, *L'Europe, l'Autriche et la Hongrie.*—*Ed.*

May,[a] which he clung to during the Bonaparte crusade, and repeated victoriously at the end of the war in another manifesto reprinted by the *Tribune.*

Kossuth then, in January, 1859, not only saw through the Bonapartist sham, but did all in his power to lay it bare before the world. He goaded "the liberal press" into that direction afterward wondered at by Bonaparte's tools as "a sudden outbreak" of "anti-Napoleonic rage," and stigmatized by them as a symptom of morbid "sympathy for Austria." But, in the interval, between January, 1859, and May, 1859, a strange revolution occurred in the feelings and ideas of the grand *improvisatore.* He who, to warn the British against Bonaparte's atrocious designs, had made a lecturing tour through Scotland in the Autumn of 1858, set out in the month of May, 1859, on another lecturing tour, from the London Mansion House to the Free-Trade Hall at Manchester,[373] to preach confidence in the Man of December, and, under the false pretense of standing up for neutrality, inveigle the British over to the side of the Imperial blackleg. His own neutrality he soon after evinced in a manner not to be misunderstood.

Now, these recollections, which I might multiply at pleasure, ought to raise some misgivings in the minds of Kossuth's honest admirers—such men as are neither blind worshipers of a name, nor bound to the democratic grandee by sordid interest. At all events, they will not deny that the facts I am now about to relate appear by no means incompatible with the past of the presumed hero of liberty. There were three Hungarian leaders at Paris, paying court to the illustrious Plon-Plon, alias the *Prince Rouge,* the scion of the Bonapartist family, upon whom has fallen the lot of coquetting with revolution, in the same way that his bigger cousin dallies with "religion, order, and property." Those three men were Col. Kiss, Count Teleki, and Gen. Klapka. Plon-Plon, be it said, *en passant,* is a Heliogabalus as to morals, an Ivan III for personal cowardice, a real Bonaparte for falsehood; but, with all that, an *homme d'esprit,* as the French say. These three gentlemen prevailed upon Plon-Plon, who, probably, was not at all taken by surprise, to enter into negotiations with Kossuth, to summon him to Paris, and even to hold out the promise of presenting the ex-Governor of Hungary to the insidious ruler of the Tuileries.

Accordingly, Mr. Kossuth, having been provided with an English passport wherein he was designated as Mr. Brown, left London for Paris in the beginning of May. At Paris he had at first

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[a] See this volume, pp. 354-59.—*Ed.*

a long interview with Plon-Plon, to whom he exposed his views about insurging Hungary by landing 40,000 Frenchmen, to be backed by a corps of Magyar refugees, on the coast of Fiume, and a point that seemed uppermost in his patriotic mind, of forming, if only for appearance sake, a provisional Government with Mr. Kossuth at its head. In the evening of May 3, Plon-Plon, in his own carriage, conducted Mr. Kossuth to the Tuileries, there to introduce him to the Man of December. During this interview with Louis Bonaparte, Mr. Kossuth for once refrained from using his great rhetorical powers, and allowed Plon-Plon to act as his spokesman. He afterward paid a gracious compliment to the almost literal fidelity with which the Prince had reproduced his views.

Having attentively listened to the exposition of his cousin, Louis Bonaparte declared that there was one great obstruction to the acceptance on his part of Mr. Kossuth's projects, viz., the latter's Republican principles and Republican connections. It was then that Mr. Kossuth most solemnly *abjured the Republican faith,* declaring that he neither was nor ever had been a Republican, and that political necessities only, and a strange combination of circumstances, had compelled him to side for a while with the Republican part of the European emigration. Simultaneously, in proof of his anti-Republicanism, he, in the name of his country, offered the Hungarian crown to Prince Plon-Plon. It is true that the crown he thus disposed of had not yet become vacant, while his power of attorney to barter it away was altogether wanting; but whoever has carefully watched Mr. Kossuth's proceedings in foreign countries, must have become aware that he has long been used to speak of "dear Hungary" somewhat in the way in which a country gentleman speaks of his estates.

As to Mr. Kossuth's repudiation of Republicanism, I consider it to have been sincere. A civil list of 300,000 florins, which he claimed at Pesth for keeping up the splendor of the Executive; the patronage of the hospitals, transferred from an Austrian Archduchess[a] to his own sister[b]; the attempt to give his name to some regiments; his desire to surround himself with a camarilla; the tenacity with which, when on foreign soil, he clung to the title of Governor, although resigned by him at the epoch of the Hungarian catastrophe; the airs assumed by him of a pretender, rather than an exile—all this points to tendencies the reverse of

[a] Sophia.—*Ed.*
[b] Zsuzsánna Meszleny.—*Ed.*

Republicanism. However that may be, I positively affirm that Louis Kossuth abjured Republicanism before the French usurper, and in the presence of the Man of December offered the Hungarian crown to Plon-Plon, the Bonapartist Sardanapalus. Some rather loose gossip about this incident of his interview with Bonaparte at the Tuileries may have given rise to the notoriously false rumor that Kossuth had betrayed the secret plans of his Republican ex-confederates. He was not called upon to reveal their supposed secrets, nor would he have listened to such an infamous proposal. Having succeeded in completely destroying Louis Napoleon's apprehensions as to his Republican tendencies, and having pledged himself to act in the dynastic interest of the Bonapartes, a bargain was struck, by which three millions of francs were placed at Mr. Kossuth's disposal. There would appear nothing strange in this stipulation, since, to organize militarily the Hungarian emigration, money was wanted, and why should Mr. Kossuth not receive subsidies from his new ally, the same as all the despotic powers of Europe had received subsidies from England during the whole course of the Anti-Jacobin war? However, I cannot suppress the fact that, of the millions thus put at his disposal, Mr. Kossuth at once appropriated for his own personal expenses the rather handsome figure of 75,000 francs, stipulating, besides, in case the Italian war should end without leading to the invasion of Hungary, for one year's pension for himself. Before he left the Tuileries, it was agreed that Mr. Kossuth was to counteract the suspected Austrian tendencies of the Derby Ministry, by opening a neutrality campaign in England. It is generally known how, on his return to perfidious Albion, the spontaneous support of the Whigs and the Manchester school[374] enabled him to successfully perform this preliminary part of his engagement.

Since 1851, the greater part of the Hungarian exiles of any distinction and political standing had separated from Mr. Kossuth, but what with the vista of an invasion of Hungary by the aid of French troops; what with the logical horse-power of three millions of francs—the world, as the real Napoleon in one of his fits of cynicism said, being governed by "*le petit ventre,*"[a] save some honorable exceptions the whole of the Hungarian emigration in Europe flocked to the Bonapartist banners hoisted by Louis Kossuth. That the transactions which he entered upon with them had some Decembrist smack of corruption cannot be denied, since, to bestow a greater lot of French money upon his new-fangled

[a] "Belly." See Las Cases, *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène,* Vol. 5, p. 32.—*Ed.*

partisans, he promoted them to higher military grades: lieutenants, for instance, being advanced to the rank of majors. In the first instance, every one received his traveling expenses to Piedmont, then a rich uniform (the cost of a major's costume amounted to £150), and six months' pay in advance, with the promise of pay for one year's service on the conclusion of peace. The so-called Commander-in-Chief received a salary of 10,000 fr., the Generals 6,000 fr. each, the Brigadiers 5,000 fr., the Lieutenant-Colonels 4,000 fr., the Majors 3,000 fr., and so forth.

The names of the more prominent individuals who associated themselves with Kossuth and pocketed Bonapartist money are the following: Generals Klapka, Perczel, Vetter, Czecz; the Colonels Szabó, Imre and István; Kiss, Count S. Teleki, Count Bethlen, Mednyánszky, Ihász, and some lieutenant-colonels and majors. Among the civilians I may mention Count L. Teleki, Puky, Pulszky, Irányi, Ludvigh, Simonyi, Henszlmann, Veress, and others—in fact, all the Hungarian refugees residing in England and on the Continent, with the single exception of S. Vukovics (at London or Axminster), Rónay (at London, a Hungarian savant), and B. Szemere (at Paris, formerly President of the Hungarian Ministry).

Now, it would be unjust to think that all these men acted from corrupt motives. The majority probably consist of simple dupes—patriotic soldiers who cannot be supposed to possess distinct political principles, or the acumen to look through diplomatic webs. Some, like Gen. Perczel, withdrew as soon as events had shed light upon the Bonapartist imposture. Louis Kossuth, however, who as late as January, 1859, by his articles in Mazzini's *Pensiero ed Azione,* had shown himself a competent judge of Bonaparte's schemes, can by no means be exculpated in the same way.

Written on September 5, 1859

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## THE FUTURE OF ITALY[375]

The famous article on Italian affairs, in the *Moniteur* of the 9th of September, supposed to come directly from Louis Napoleon himself,[a] and which has been the occasion of so much comment, may be considered as including three principal topics. The first of these topics is an apology for the treaty of Villafranca,[376] and especially for that part of it which provided for the restoration of the expelled Archdukes. The second topic is a confession that the treaty, and the expensive war which preceded it, have wholly failed to bring about any settlement of Italian affairs, and an attempt to shift the blame of that failure from the treaty itself to the shoulders of those who have stood in the way of the stipulated restoration of the expelled sovereigns. The third topic is a warning to the Italians, that since they are unwilling to conform to the arrangements which the French Emperor saw fit to make for them, they have nothing more to expect from him, and that they must prepare themselves to see Austria resume her old position, without any further interference on the part of France, of the oppressor of the Italians under her immediate rule, and the jealous, bitter, and ever watchful enemy of Italian nationality, impending over Italy with a great army and keeping it in a constant state of unquiet and distrust.

The excuse given for treating at all, and for leaving Austria by that treaty in the possession of an important part of Italy, contrary to the programme with which the war commenced, is—first, the

[a] *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 252, September 9, 1859.—*Ed.*

strength of Austria herself, notwithstanding her defeats with forces still numerically superior, and now backed by formidable fortresses; and, secondly and principally, the impending danger of an interference on the part of Germany, which would have compelled the Emperor Napoleon to transfer his military efforts to the banks of the Rhine, thus seriously risking the loss of the advantages already gained in Italy. In excuse for the agreement that the banished Archdukes should be restored, Napoleon pleads that it was only by this concession that he could induce the Emperor of Austria[a] to come into the proposed Italian Confederation, and in so doing to recognize Italian nationality, and voluntarily to abandon the supremacy and control which she had acquired over the Italian peninsula, and which had been the occasion of the late war. He also sets forth as another reason for his consent to the restoration of the Archdukes, a counter-stipulation on the part of Austria, now heard of for the first time, to give Venetia a government of its own, distinct from the general administration of the Austrian Empire—in fact, to convert it from an Austrian Province, held by the hand of a conqueror with military force, into an Italian Principality, with a distinct local administration, and, as a member of the Italian Confederation, participating in the advantages of Italian nationality. He sets up also this further excuse for a stipulation which seemed like betraying and abandoning those whom he had stimulated to act, and by which his Italian popularity has so severely suffered, that it was by no means intended to bring back the Archdukes by the assistance of foreign troops, but to effect their return with the consent of the people, and with guaranties as to the future.

The article proceeds to draw a glowing picture of what might have been expected had the arrangements agreed upon for Italy by the two Emperors been frankly adopted by the people of Italy and carried into effect. Austria, from the dread and terror of Italy, would have been at once converted into a friendly or at least a harmless power. The Italian Confederation, in giving to Italian nationality a practical existence, would have, as its most influential member, Sardinia, the representative of the cause of Italy. But greatly to the chagrin of the Imperial penman of the *Moniteur* all these hopes have been dashed, by the narrow-mindedness and selfishness, as he alleges, of those who have stood and still stand in the way of the restoration of the banished Archdukes; and by reason of their conduct he pronounces the war and the treaty to

[a] Francis Joseph.—*Ed.*

be a complete failure. Since this part of the treaty has failed of its effect, he declares Austria to be released from her stipulations on behalf of Venetia, and as to the Italian Confederation. She is now at liberty, as to both those points, to pursue her old policy—to make the armaments kept up on the south bank of the Po a reason for maintaining her own forces on the opposite bank upon a war footing, and, in fact, to assume, as to all the rest of Italy, the very same position which was made the occasion of the late war, and which cannot fail in the end to lead to fresh troubles and disasters.

The statement that it was not intended at Villafranca that an armed force should be employed for the restoration of the expelled Archdukes, seems to be understood in Italy as amounting to a declaration on the part of Napoleon that he will not allow a foreign armed force to be employed for that purpose, and in that point of view this *Moniteur* article has been received there with satisfaction. But it does not admit of any such construction. The most that it amounts to is, that Napoleon did not pledge himself to interfere by force for the carrying out of that provision of the treaty, and that he does not intend to do so. But there is not the least intimation that should Austria see fit to cross the Po, for which she might easily find pretenses, he considers himself bound to interfere. On the other hand he can only be understood as giving notice that he has played out his game of Italian intervention, and as washing his hands of any responsibility for what may hereafter take place in Italy. In referring to the proposed European Congress on Italian affairs, he even suggests that nothing can be got from Austria without compensation. At least the only other alternative is war. In that respect France has done all she intends, and the Italians will look in vain for anybody else willing to go to war for them.

In truth, this article appears to hold out this alternative to the Italians, either to submit to the restoration of the Archdukes, or to abandon all hopes of further French interference, and to prepare themselves to deal with Austria as they may. In truth, from the complimentary tone in which the article alludes to the Emperor of Austria, and his readiness, for the sake of a good understanding with France, to make the sacrifices he did at the peace of Villafranca, there certainly would seem just now not the least disposition to engage in a new quarrel with him. On the other hand, the main object of this manifesto would seem to be to give notice to Austria that so far as France is concerned she is at liberty to deal with Italy as she may deem fit. Having spent a hundred

millions of dollars and used up 50,000 men to establish an Italian Confederation, which proves a chimera, the French Emperor proposes to withdraw from all further special concern in Italian affairs.

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# Karl Marx

## THE NEW CHINESE WAR[377]

### I

London, Sept. 13, 1859

At the time when England was generally congratulated upon the extortion from the Celestials of the treaty of Tien-tsin,[378] I tried to show that, Russia being in point of fact the only power benefited by the piratical Anglo-Chinese war, the commercial advantages accruing from the treaty to England were rather nugatory, while, in a political point of view, so far from establishing peace, that treaty, on the contrary, rendered resumption of war unavoidable.[a] The march of events has fully confirmed these views. The treaty of Tien-tsin has become a thing of the past, and the semblance of peace has vanished before the stern realities of war.[379]

Let me first state the facts as reported by the last Overland Mail.

The Hon. Mr. Bruce, accompanied by M. de Bourboulon, the French Plenipotentiary, set out with a British expedition destined to ascend the Peiho, and to accompany the two embassadors on their message to Pekin. The expedition, under the orders of Admiral Hope, consisted of seven steamships, ten gun-boats, two troop and storeships, and several hundred marines and royal engineers. The Chinese, on their part, had objected to the mission taking that particular route. Admiral Hope, consequently, found the entrance of the Peiho barred by booms and stakes, and having stayed for nine days, from the 17th till the 25th June, at the mouth of that river, attempted its forcible passage, the Plenipotentiaries having joined the squadron on the 20th of June. On his

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[a] See this volume, pp. 46-50 and 82-86.—*Ed.*

arrival off the Peiho River, Admiral Hope had made sure of the Taku forts, razed during the last war, having been rebuilt—a fact which, be it said *en passant*, he ought to have known before, since it had been officially announced in the *Pekin Gazette*.[a]

On the 25th of June, while the British attempted to force the Peiho passage, the Taku batteries, supported by a Mongol force of apparently 20,000 men, were unmasked, and opened a destructive fire on the British vessels. An engagement on land and water took place, resulting in the utter discomfiture of the aggressors. The expedition had to withdraw, after the loss of three English vessels of war, the *Cormorant*, the *Lee*, and *Plover*, and with a loss of 464 killed and wounded on the part of the British, while of the 60 Frenchmen present 14 were killed or wounded. Five English officers were killed and 23 wounded, the Admiral himself escaping not unhurt. After this defeat, Mr. Bruce and M. de Bourboulon returned to Shanghai, while the British squadron was to station off Chin-hae, Ningpo.[b]

On the receipt in England of these unpleasant tidings, the Palmerstonian press at once bestrode the British lion, and unanimously roared for wholesale revenge. The London *Times*, of course, affected some dignity in its appeals to the bloody instincts of its countrymen; but the lower class of Palmerstonian organs were quite grotesque in acting the part of *Orlando Furioso*. Listen, for instance, to the London *Daily Telegraph*:

> "Great Britain must attack the seaboard of China throughout its whole extent, invade the capital, expel the Emperor from his palace, and possess herself of a material guaranty against future aggression.... We must cat-o'-nine-tail any dragon-decorated official who presumes to treat our national symbols with contumely.... Every one of them (the Chinese Generals) must be hanged as a pirate and a homicide to the yard-arms of a British man-of-war. It would be a refreshing and salutary spectacle—that of a dozen bebuttoned villains, with the countenances of ogres, and the apparel of buffoons, swinging in the sight of the population. Terror must be struck, by one means or the other; and we have already had more than enough of leniency.... The Chinese must now be taught to value the English, who are their superiors, and ought to be their *masters*.... The least that can be attempted is to capture Pekin; while, if a bold policy were adopted, the confiscation in perpetuity of Canton would follow. We might retain Canton as we held Calcutta, make it the center of our ultra Eastern trade, compensate ourselves for the influence of Russia on the Tartar frontiers of the Empire, and lay the basis of a new dominion."

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[a] On this fact see D. Macgowan, "To the Editor of *The Times*", *The Times*, No. 23410, September 13, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] These data are taken from *Correspondence Relative to the Earl of Elgin's Special Missions to China and Japan*.—*Ed.*

Now, from these ravings of Palmerston's penmen, let me return to the facts and, as far as it is possible with the present meager information, try to unravel the true bearings of the untoward event.

The first question to be answered is, whether, on the supposition that the treaty of Tien-tsin stipulates for the immediate access to Pekin of the British Embassador, the Chinese Government have committed an infraction of that treaty, wrung from them by a piratical war, in withstanding the forcible passage by a British squadron of the Peiho River? As will be seen from the news conveyed by the Overland Mail, the Chinese authorities had objected, not to the British mission to Pekin, but to the British armament ascending the Peiho. They had proposed that Mr. Bruce should travel by land, divested of an armament which, with a fresh recollection of the Canton bombardment,[380] the Celestials could but consider the instrument of invasion. Does the right of the French Embassador to reside at London, involve the right of forcing the river Thames at the head of an armed French expedition? It must certainly be allowed that this interpretation put by the British on the admission to Pekin of their Embassador, sounds at least as strange as the discovery made by them during the last Chinese war, that in bombarding the town of an Empire, you are not waging war upon that Empire itself, but only exchanging local hostilities with one of its dependencies. In answer to the reclamations of the Celestials, the British had "taken," according to their own statement, "every precaution to force, if necessary, admission to Pekin," by ascending the Peiho with a rather formidable squadron. Even if bound to admit their pacific Embassador, the Chinese were certainly warranted in resisting their armed expedition. In thus acting they did not infringe a treaty, but baffled an encroachment.

In the second instance, it may be questioned whether, although the abstract right of legation had been accorded to the British by the treaty of Tien-tsin, the actual enjoyment of that right had, for the present, at least, not been waived by Lord Elgin? A reference to *"the correspondence relating to the Earl of Elgin's special mission to China, printed by command of her Majesty,"* will convince every impartial inquirer that, first, the admission to Pekin of the English Embassador was to take place not now, but at a *more remote period*; secondly, that his right of residence at Pekin was qualified by various clauses; and, finally, that the peremptory article III in the English text of the treaty, relating to the Embassador's admission, was, on the request of the Chinese envoys, altered in the Chinese

text of the treaty. This discrepancy between the two versions of the treaty is admitted by Lord Elgin himself, who, however, was, as he says,

"compelled by his instructions to require the Chinese to accept, as the authoritative version of an international agreement, a text of which they did not understand a syllable."

Can the Chinese be impeached for acting on the Chinese text of the treaty, instead of the English one, which, according to Lord Elgin's admission, somewhat diverges from "the correct sense of the stipulation"?

In conclusion, I will state that Mr. T. Chisholm Anstey, the late British Attorney-General at Hong Kong, formally declares in a letter addressed by him to the editor of the London *Morning Star*:

"The treaty itself, be it what it may, has been long since abrogated by the violent acts of the British Government and its subordinates, to the extent at least of depriving the Crown of Great Britain of every advantage or privilege conferred by the treaty."

Being on the one hand harassed by the Indian difficulties, and on the other hand arming for the eventuality of a European war, England is likely to incur great dangers from this new Chinese catastrophe, probably of Palmerston's own cooking. The next result must be the break up of the present Administration, whose head was the author of the last Chinese war, while its principal members had passed a vote of censure on their present chief for undertaking that war. At all events, Mr. Milner Gibson and the Manchester school[381] must either withdraw from the present Liberal coalition, or, a thing not very probable, in unison with Lord John Russell, Mr. Gladstone and his Peelite[382] colleagues, compel their chief to submit to their own policy.

## II

London, Sept. 16, 1859

A Cabinet Council is announced for to-morrow in order to decide upon the course to be taken in regard to the Chinese catastrophe. The lucubrations of the French *Moniteur* and the London *Times*[a] leave no doubt as to the resolutions arrived at by Palmerston and Bonaparte. They want another Chinese war. I am informed from an authentic source that at the impending Cabinet Council Mr. Milner Gibson, in the first instance, will contest the validity of the plea for war; in the second instance, will protest against any declaration of war not previously sanctioned by both Houses of Parliament; and if his opinion be overwhelmed by a majority of votes, will secede from the Cabinet, thus again giving the signal for a new onslaught on Palmerston's administration and the break up of the Liberal coalition that led to the ousting of the Derby Cabinet. Palmerston is said to feel somewhat nervous as to the intended proceedings of Mr. Milner Gibson, the only one of his colleagues whom he is afraid of, and whom he has characterized more than once as a man peculiarly able "in picking holes." It is possible that simultaneously with this letter you may receive from Liverpool the news of the results of the Ministerial Council. Meanwhile, the real bearing of the case in question may be best judged, not from what has been printed, but from what has been willfully suppressed by the Palmerston organs in their first publications of the news conveyed by the last overland mail.

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[a] "Chine. Aux embouchures du Pei-Ho, 1er juillet 1859", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 258, September 15, 1859; "The Disaster in China", *The Times,* No. 23411, September 14, 1859; the leading article in *The Times,* No. 23413, September 16, 1859.—*Ed.*

First, then, they suppressed the statement that the Russian treaty had already been ratified, and that the Emperor of China[a] had given instructions to his mandarins to receive and escort the American Embassy to the capital for the exchange of the ratified copies of the American treaty.[383] These acts were suppressed with a view to stifle the suspicion that would naturally arise, that the English and French Envoys, instead of the Court of Pekin, are responsible for meeting obstacles in the transaction of their business, which were not encountered either by their Russian or American colleagues. The other, still more important, fact that was at first suppressed by *The Times*, and the other Palmerston organs, but is now avowed on their part, is that the Chinese authorities had given notice of their willingness to conduct the English and French Envoys to Pekin; that they were actually in waiting to receive them at one of the mouths of the river, and offered them an escort if they only consented to leave their vessels and troops. Now, as the treaty of Tien-tsin contains no clause granting to the English and French the right of sending a squadron of men-of-war up the Peiho, it becomes evident that the treaty was violated, not by the Chinese, but by the English, and that on the part of the latter there existed the foregone conclusion to pick a quarrel just before the period appointed for the exchange of the ratifications. Nobody will fancy that the Hon. Mr. Bruce acted on his own responsibility in thus baffling the ostensible end aimed at by the last Chinese war, but that, on the contrary, he only executed secret instructions received from London. Now, it is true that Mr. Bruce was dispatched not by Palmerston, but by Derby; but, then, I have only to remind you that during the first administration of Sir Robert Peel, when Lord Aberdeen kept the seals of the Foreign Office, Sir Henry Bulwer, the English Embassador at Madrid, picked a quarrel with the Spanish Court, resulting in his expulsion from Spain,[384] and that, during the debates in the House of Lords on this "untoward event," it was proved that Bulwer, instead of obeying the official instructions of Aberdeen, had acted up to the secret instructions of Palmerston, who then sat on the Opposition benches.

A maneuver has also been carried out during these last days in the Palmerstonian press, which leaves no doubt, at least to those acquainted with the secret history of English diplomacy during the last thirty years, as to the real author of the Peiho catastrophe and the impending third Anglo-Chinese war. *The Times* intimates that

[a] Hien-Fung.—*Ed.*

the guns planted on the forts of Taku which caused such havoc among the British squadron were of Russian origin, and were directed by Russian officers. Another Palmerstonian organ is still more plain spoken. I quote:

"We now perceive how closely the policy of Russia is interwoven with that of Pekin; we detect great movements on the Amoor; we discern large Cossack armies maneuvering far beyond Lake Baikal, in the frozen dreamland on the twilight borders of the Old World; we trace the course of innumerable caravans; we espy a special Russian envoy (Gen. Mouravieff, the Governor of Eastern Siberia) making his way, with secret designs, from the remoteness of Eastern Siberia to the secluded Chinese metropolis; and well may public opinion in this country burn at the thought that foreign influences have had a share in procuring our disgrace and the slaughter of our soldiers and sailors."

Now, this is one of Lord Palmerston's old tricks. When Russia wanted to conclude a treaty of commerce with China, he drove the latter by the opium war into the arms of her northern neighbor.[385] When Russia requested the cession of the Amoor, he brought it about by the second Chinese war,[386] and now that Russia wants to consolidate her influence at Pekin, he extemporises the third Chinese war. In all his transactions with the weak Asiatic States, with China, Persia, Central Asia, Turkey, it has always been his invariable and constant rule to ostensibly oppose Russia's designs by picking a quarrel, not with Russia, but with the Asiatic State, to estrange the latter from England by piratical hostilities, and by this roundabout way drive it to the concessions it had been unwilling to yield to Russia. You may be sure that on this occasion the whole past Asiatic policy of Palmerston will be again sifted, and I draw, therefore, your attention to the Afghan papers, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on the 8th June, 1859.[a] They throw more light on Palmerston's sinister policy, and the diplomatic history of the last thirty years, than any documents ever before printed. The case is, in a few words, this: In 1838 Palmerston commenced a war against Dost Mohammed, the ruler of Cabul, a war that led to the destruction of an English army,[387] and was commenced on the plea of Dost Mohammed having entered into a secret alliance against England with Persia and Russia. In proof of this assertion, Palmerston laid, in 1839, before Parliament, a Blue Book, chiefly consisting of the correspondence of Sir A. Burnes, the British envoy at Cabul, with the Government at Calcutta.[b] Burnes had been assassinated during an

[a] *Papers. East India (Cabul and Affghanistan). Ordered by the House of Commons, to be Printed 8 June 1859* [London, 1859].—*Ed.*

[b] *Correspondence Relating to Persia and Affghanistan,* London [1839].—*Ed.*

insurrection at Cabul against the English invaders, but, distrustful of the British Foreign Minister, had sent copies of some of his official letters to his brother, Dr. Burnes, at London. On the appearance, in 1839, of the "Afghan papers," prepared by Palmerston, Dr. Burnes accused him of having "garbled and forged the dispatches of the late Sir A. Burnes,"[a] and, in corroboration of his statement, had some of the genuine dispatches printed. But it was only last Summer that the murder came out. Under the Derby Ministry, on the motion of Mr. Hadfield, the House of Commons ordered all the Afghan papers to be published in full, and this order has been executed in such a form as to constitute a demonstration, to the meanest capacity, of the truth of the charge of garbling and forgery, in the *interest of Russia.* On the title-page of the Blue Book appears the following:

"NOTE.—The correspondence, only partially given in former returns, is here given entire, the omitted passages being marked by brackets, [ ]."

The name of the official, which appears as a guaranty for the fidelity of the return, is "J. W. Kaye, Secretary in Political and Secret Departments," Mr. Kaye being the "upright historian of the War in Afghanistan."

Now, to illustrate the real relations of Palmerston with Russia, against which he pretended to have set up the Afghan war, one instance may suffice for the present. The Russian agent, Vitkavich, who came to Cabul in 1837, was the bearer of a letter from the Czar to Dost Mohammed. Sir Alexander Burnes obtained a copy of the letter, and sent it to Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of India. In his own dispatches, and various documents inclosed by him, this circumstance is referred to over and over again. But the copy of the Czar's letter was expunged altogether from the papers presented by Palmerston in 1839, and in every dispatch in which it is referred to, such alterations were made as were necessary to suppress the circumstance of the connection of the "Emperor of Russia" with the mission to Cabul. This forgery was committed in order to suppress the evidence of the Autocrat's connection with Vitkavich, whom, on his return to St. Petersburg, it suited Nicholas to formally disavow. For instance, at page 82 of the Blue Book will be found the translation of a letter to Dost Mohammed, which reads now as follows, the brackets showing the words originally suppressed by Palmerston:

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[a] James Burnes' statements about the forgery of the dispatches of Sir Alexander Burnes, *The Free Press,* No. 5, February 3, 1858.—*Ed.*

"The Embassador on the part of [the] Russia [or Emperor] came [from Moscow] to Teheran, and has been appointed to wait on the Sirdar at Candahar, and thence to proceed to the presence of the Ameer.[...] He is the bearer of [confidential messages from the Emperor and of the] letters from the Russian Embassador at Teheran. The Russian Embassador recommends this man to be a most trusty individual, and to possess full authority to make any negotiations, [on the part of the Emperor and himself], etc., etc."

These, and similar forgeries committed by Palmerston in order to protect the honor of the Czar, are not the only curiosity exhibited by the "Afghan papers." The invasion of Afghanistan was justified by Palmerston on the ground that Sir Alexander Burnes had advised it as a proper means for baffling Russian intrigues in Central Asia. Now Sir A. Burnes did quite the contrary, and consequently all his appeals in behalf of Dost Mohammed were altogether suppressed in Palmerston's edition of the "Blue Book;" the correspondence being by dint of garbling and forgery, turned quite to the reverse of its original meaning. Such is the man now about to enter on a third Chinese war, on the ostensible plea of thwarting Russia's designs in that quarter.

## III

London, Sept. 20, 1859

That there is to be another civilization war against the Celestials seems a matter now pretty generally settled with the English press. Still, since the meeting of the Cabinet Council on Saturday last, a remarkable change has come over those very papers that were foremost in the howl for blood. At first the London *Times,* in an apparent trance of patriotic fury, thundered[a] at the double treachery committed—by cowardly Mongols who lured on the *bonhomme*[b] of the British Admiral by studiously falsifying appearances and screening their artillery—by the Court of Pekin, which, with deeper Machiavellism, had set those Mongol ogres to their damnable practical jokes. Curiously to say, although tossed on a sea of passion, *The Times* had, in its reprints, contrived to carefully expunge from the original reports all points favorable to the doomed Chinaman. To confound things may be the work of passion, but to garble them seems rather the operation of a cool head. However that be, on Sept. 16, just one day before the meeting of the Ministers, *The Times* veered round,[c] and, without much ado, cut one head off its Janus-headed impeachment.

> "*We fear,*" it said, "that we cannot accuse the *Mongols* who resisted our attack on the forts of the Peiho of treachery;"

but then, to make up for that awkward concession, it clung the more desperately to "the deliberate and perfidious violation of a solemn treaty by the *Court of Pekin.*" Three days later, after the

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[a] *The Times,* No. 23409, September 12, 1859 (leading article).—*Ed.*
[b] Simpleton.—*Ed.*
[c] *The Times,* No. 23413, September 16, 1859 (leading article).—*Ed.*

Cabinet Council had been held, *The Times,* on further consideration, even

"found *no room for doubt* that if Mr. Bruce and M. de Bourboulon had solicited the Mandarins to conduct them to Pekin, they would have been permitted to effect the ratification of the treaty."[a]

What, then, remains there of the treachery of the Court of Pekin? Not a shadow even, but in its place there remain two doubts on the mind of *The Times.*

"It is," says it, "perhaps *doubtful* whether, as a *military* measure, it was wise to try with such a squadron, our way to Pekin. It is *still more doubtful* whether, as a *diplomatic* measure, it was desirable to use force at all."

Such is the lame conclusion of all the indignation-bluster indulged in by the "leading organ," but, with a logic of its own, it drops the reasons for war without dropping the war itself. Another semi-Governmental paper, *The Economist,* which had distinguished itself by its fervent apology for the Canton bombardment, seems to take a more economical and less rhetorical view of things now that Mr. J. Wilson has got his appointment of Chancellor of the Exchequer for India. *The Economist* brings two articles on the subject, the one political, the other economical[b]; the first one winding up with the following sentences:

"Now, all these things considered, it is obvious that the article of the treaty which gave our Embassador a right of visiting or residing at Pekin, was one literally *forced* upon the Chinese Government; and if it were thought absolutely essential to our interests that it should be observed, we think there was much room for the display of consideration and patience in exacting its fulfillment. No doubt it may be said that with such a Government as the Chinese, delay and patience are interpreted as signs of fatal weakness, and therefore the most unsound policy we could pursue. But how far are we entitled, on this plea, to vary the principles on which we should assuredly act toward any civilized nation in our treatment of these Oriental Governments? When we have wrung out an unwelcome concession from their fears, it may be perhaps the most consistent policy to wring out, also from their fears, the immediate execution of the bargain in the way most convenient to ourselves. But if we fail in so doing—if, in the mean time, the Chinese overcome their fears, and insist, with a suitable display of force, on our consulting them as to the mode to be taken for giving our treaty effect—can we justly accuse them of treachery? Are they not rather practising upon us our own methods of persuasion? The Chinese Government may—and it is very likely that it is so—have intended to

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[a] Here and below see *The Times,* No. 23415, September 19, 1859 (leading article).—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the articles "The Disaster in China" and "The Trade of China. Its Importance, Direct and Indirect", *The Economist,* No. 838, September 17, 1859.—*Ed.*

entrap us into this murderous snare, and never have purposed to execute the treaty at all. If this should prove to be so, we must and ought to exact reparation. But it may also prove that the intention to defend the mouth of Peiho against the recurrence of such a violent entry as was made good by Lord Elgin in the previous year, was not accompanied by any desire to break faith on the general articles of the treaty. As the hostile initiative came entirely from our side, and it was, of course, at any moment competent to our commanders to retire from the murderous fire, opened only for the defense of the forts, we cannot certainly prove any intention of breaking faith on the part of China. And, till proof of a deliberate intention to break the treaty reaches us—we think we have some reason to suspend our judgment, and ponder whether we may not have been applying to our treatment of barbarians, a code of principles not very widely different from that which they have practised toward ourselves."

In a second article, on the same subject, *The Economist* dwells on the importance, direct and indirect, of the English trade to China. In the year 1858, the British exports to China had risen to £2,876,000, while the value of the British imports from China had averaged upward of £9,000,000 for each of the last three years, so that the aggregate direct trade of England with China may be put down at about £12,000,000. But beside these direct transactions there are three other important trades with which, less or more, England is intimately connected in the circle of exchanges, the trade between India and China, the trade between China and Australia, and the trade between China and the United States.

"Australia," says *The Economist,* "takes from China large quantities of tea annually, and has nothing to give in exchange which finds a market in China. America also takes large quantities of tea and some silk of a value far exceeding that of their direct exports to China."

Both these balances in favor of China have to be made good by England, who is paid for this equalization of exchanges by the gold of Australia and the cotton of the United States. England, therefore, independent of the balance due by herself to China, has also to pay to that country large sums in respect to gold imported from Australia and cotton from America. Now this balance due to China by England, Australia, and the United States is, to a great extent, transferred from China to India, as a set-off against the amount due by China to India, on account of opium and cotton. Be it remarked, *en passant,* that the imports from China to India have never yet reached the amount of £1,000,000 sterling, while the exports to China from India realize the sum of nearly £10,000,000. The inference *The Economist* draws from these economical observations is, that any serious interruption of the British trade with China would "be a calamity of greater magnitude than the mere figures of exports and imports might at

first sight suggest," and that the embarrassment consequent upon such a disturbance would not be felt in the direct British tea and silk trade only, but must also "affect" the British transactions with Australia and the United States. *The Economist* is, of course, aware of the fact that during the last Chinese war, the trade was not so much interfered with by the war as had been apprehended; and that, at the port of Shanghai, it was even not affected at all. But then, *The Economist* calls attention upon "two novel features in the present dispute" which might essentially modify the effects of a new Chinese war upon trade—these two novel features being the "Imperial," not "local" character of the present conflict, and the "signal success" which, for the first time, the Chinese have effected against European forces.

How very different sounds this language from the war-cry *The Economist* so lustily shouted at the time of the Lorcha affair.[388]

The Ministerial Council, as I anticipated in my last letter, witnessed Mr. Milner Gibson's protest against the war, and his menace of seceding from the Cabinet, should Palmerston act up to the foregone conclusions betrayed in the columns of the French *Moniteur.* For the moment Palmerston prevented any rupture of the Cabinet, and the Liberal Coalition, by the statement that the force indispensable for the protection of British trade should be gathered in the Chinese waters, while before the arrival of more explicit reports on the part of the British Envoy, no resolution should be taken as to the war question. Thus the burning question was put off. Palmerston's real intention, however, transpires through the columns of his mob-organ, *The Daily Telegraph,* which in one of its recent numbers says:

> "Should any event lead to a vote unfavorable to the Government, in the course of next year, an appeal will certainly be made to the constituencies.... The House of Commons will test the result of their activity by a verdict on the Chinese question, seeing that to the professional malignants, headed by Mr. Disraeli, must be added the Cosmopolitans, who declare that the Mongols were thoroughly in the right."

The fix in which the Tories are hemmed up, by having allowed themselves to become inveigled into the responsible editorship of events planned by Palmerston and enacted by two of his agents, Lord Elgin and Mr. Bruce (Lord Elgin's brother), I shall, perhaps, find another occasion of remarking upon.

## IV

London, Sept. 30, 1859

In a former letter I asserted that the Peiho conflict had not sprung from accident, but, on the contrary, been beforehand prepared by Lord Elgin, acting upon Palmerston's secret instructions, and fastening upon Lord Malmesbury, the Tory Foreign Minister, the project of the noble Viscount, then seated at the head of the Opposition benches. Now, first, the idea of the "accidents" in China arising from "instructions" drawn up by the present British Premier is so far from being new, that, during the debates on the Lorcha war, it was suggested to the House of Commons, by so well informed a personage as Mr. Disraeli, and, curious to say, confirmed by no less an authority than Lord Palmerston himself. On February 3, 1857, Mr. Disraeli warned the House of Commons in the following terms:

"I cannot resist the conviction that what has taken place in China has not been in consequence of the alleged pretext, but is, in fact, in consequence of *instructions received from home,* some considerable time ago. If that be the case, I think the time has arrived when this House would not be doing its duty unless it earnestly considered whether it has any means of controlling a *system,* which if pursued, will be one, in my mind, fatal to the interests of this country."[a]

And Lord Palmerston most coolly replied:

"The right hon. gentleman says the course of events appeared to be the result of *some system predetermined by the Government at home.* Undoubtedly it was."[b]

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[a] Benjamin Disraeli's speech in the House of Commons on February 3, 1857, *The Times,* No. 22595, February 4, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] Lord Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on February 3, 1857, *The Times,* No. 22595, February 4, 1857.—*Ed.*

In the present instance, a cursory glance at the Blue Book, entitled: "*Correspondence relative to the Earl of Elgin's special missions to China and Japan,* 1857-59" will show, how the event, that occurred at the Peiho, on the 25th June, was already preceded by Lord Elgin on the 2d of March. Page 484 of the said correspondence, we find the following two dispatches:

"THE EARL OF ELGIN TO REAR-ADMIRAL SIR MICHAEL SEYMOUR

"*Furious,* March 2, 1859

"Sir: With reference to my dispatch to your Excellency of the 17th ult. I would beg leave to state that I entertain some hope that the decision come to by her Majesty's Government on the subject of the permanent residence of a British Embassador at Pekin, which I communicated to your Excellency in a conversation yesterday, may induce the Chinese Government to receive, in a becoming manner, the representative of her Majesty, when he proceeds to Pekin for the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of Tien-tsin. At the same time, it is no doubt possible that his hope may not be realized, and, at any rate, I apprehend *that Her Majesty's Government will desire* that our Embassador, *when he proceeds to Tien-tsin,* be accompanied by an *imposing force.* Under these circumstances, I would venture to submit, for your Excellency's consideration, whether it would not be expedient to concentrate at Shanghai, at the earliest convenient period, *a sufficient* fleet of gunboats *for this service,* as Mr. Bruce's arrival in China cannot long be delayed. I have, etc.

*Elgin* and *Kincardine*"

"THE EARL OF MALMESBURY TO THE EARL OF ELGIN

"*Foreign Office,* May 2, 1859

"My Lord: I have received your Excellency's dispatch of the 7th of March, 1859, and I have to inform you that her Majesty's Government approve of the note, of which a copy is therein inclosed, and in which your Excellency announced to the Imperial Commissioner that her Majesty's Government would not insist upon the residence of her Majesty's Minister being permanently fixed at Pekin.

"Her Majesty's Government also approve of *your having suggested* to Rear-Admiral Seymour that a fleet of gunboats should be collected at Shanghai in order to accompany Mr. Bruce *up the Peiho.*

"I am, *Malmesbury*"

Lord Elgin, then, knows beforehand that the British Government "will desire" that his brother, Mr. Bruce, be accompanied by "an imposing force" of "gunboats" up the Peiho, and he orders Admiral Seymour to make ready "for this service." The Earl of Malmesbury, in his dispatch dated May 2, approves of the

suggestion intimated by Lord Elgin to the Admiral. The whole correspondence exhibits Lord Elgin as the master, and Lord Malmesbury as the man. While the former constantly takes the initiative and acts upon the instructions originally received from Palmerston, without even waiting for new instructions from Downing street, Lord Malmesbury contents himself with indulging "the desires" which his imperious subaltern anticipates him to feel. He nods assent, when Elgin states that the treaty being not yet ratified, they had not the right to ascend any Chinese river; he nods assent, when Elgin thinks they ought to show much forbearance toward the Chinese in regard to the execution of the article of the treaty relating to the embassy to Pekin; and, nothing daunted, he nods assent when in direct contradiction to his own former statements, Elgin claims the right to enforce the passage of the Peiho by an "imposing fleet of gunboats." He nods assent in the same way that Dogberry nodded assent to the suggestions of the sexton.[a]

The sorry figure cut by the Earl of Malmesbury, and the humility of his attitude, are easily understood if one calls to mind the cry raised on the advent of the Tory Cabinet, by the London *Times*[b] and other influential papers, as to the great peril threatening the brilliant success which Lord Elgin, under the instructions of Palmerston, was about to secure in China, but which the Tory Administration, if for pique only, and in order to justify their vote of censure on Palmerston's Canton bombardment, were likely to baffle. Malmesbury allowed himself to be intimidated by that cry. He had, moreover, before his eyes and in his heart the fate of Lord Ellenborough, who had dared openly to counteract the Indian policy of the noble Viscount, and in reward for his patriotic courage, was sacrificed by his own colleagues of the Derby Cabinet.[389] Consequently, Malmesbury resigned the whole initiative into the hands of Elgin, and thus enabled the latter to execute Palmerston's plan on the responsibility of his official antagonists, the Tories. It is this same circumstance which for the present has put the Tories in a very dismal alternative as to the course to be taken in regard to the Peiho affair. Either they must sound the war-trumpet with Palmerston, and thus keep him in office, or they must turn their backs on Malmesbury, upon whom they heaped such sickening flatteries during the last Italian war.

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[a] Shakespeare, *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act IV, Scene 2.—*Ed.*

[b] No. 22930, March 2, 1858 (leading article).—*Ed.*

The alternative is the more trying since the impending third China war is anything but popular with the British mercantile classes. In 1857 they bestrode the British lion, because they expected great commercial profits from a forcible opening of the Chinese market. At this moment, they feel, on the contrary, rather angry at seeing the fruits of the treaty obtained, all at once snapped away from their hold. They know that affairs look menacing enough in Europe and India, without the further complication of a Chinese war on a grand scale. They have not forgotten that in 1857, the imports of tea fell by upward of 24 millions of pounds, that being the article almost exclusively exported from Canton, which was then the exclusive theater of war, and they apprehend that this interruption of trade by war may now be extended to Shanghai and the other trading ports of the Celestial Empire. After a first Chinese war undertaken by the English in the interest of opium smuggling, and a second war carried on for the defense of the lorcha of a pirate, nothing was wanted for a climax but a war extemporized for the purpose of pestering China with the nuisance of permanent Embassies at its Capital.

Written on September 13, 16, 20 and 30, 1859

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## [TO THE EDITOR OF *THE FREE PRESS*][390]

September 16, 1859

Sir,—You will have seen that the *Times*[a] of to-day intimates that the cannon planted on the forts of Taku, were of Russian make, and directed by Russian officers. Lord *Palmerston*'s mob paper, the *Daily Telegraph,* in its summary, says:—

"It is now proved, as mercantile circulars show, and as is conclusively set forth in the interesting statement of our Correspondent at St. Petersburg, dated September 7, long before the news of the attack was known, that the conspiracy had an imperial origin—that it had been schemed for months—that it was rumoured abroad before our flotillas could have entered the Gulf of Pecheli.... We now perceive, moreover, how closely the policy of Russia is interwoven with that of Pekin; we detect great movements on the Amoor; we discern large Cossack armies manoeuvring far beyond lake Baikal, in the frozen dreamland on the twilight borders of the Old World; we trace the course of innumerable caravans; we espy a special Russian envoy[b] making his way, with secret designs, from the remoteness of Eastern Siberia to the secluded Chinese Metropolis; and well may public opinion in this country burn at the thought that foreign influences have had a share in procuring our disgrace and the slaughter of our soldiers and sailors."

Lord *Palmerston* is again at his antiquated tricks. He will make a new war on China in order to *thwart the designs of Russia,* in the same way that he made his war upon Afghanistan.

Written on September 16, 1859

First published in *The Free Press,* No. 10, September 28, 1858

Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] "The Disaster in China", *The Times,* No. 32413, September 16, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] N. N. Muravyev.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## ELECTORAL CORRUPTION IN ENGLAND

London, Oct. 18, 1859

The Commissions appointed to investigate the state of the Parliamentary constituencies of Gloucester and Wakefield only confirm, by their daily disclosures, the saying of old Coppock, the late electoral agent of the Reform Club,[391] that the real Constitution of the British House of Commons might be summed up in the word *Corruption.* The present inquiry derives a peculiar interest from the circumstance that Gloucester is a rotten borough[392] of old standing, while Wakefield is a constituency created by the Reform act,[393] and that the Gloucester briber is an outrageous Tory, Sir Robert Carden, of Dogberry memory, while the Wakefield briber is a Radical, Mr. Leatham, the brother-in-law of Mr. Bright. In both cases, the childlike innocence of the Parliamentary candidates is something refreshing in this wicked age of skepticism. Both candidates find the money for the purchase of votes, but both take good care not to know where the money goes. From the beginning of the election to its end, their solicitors' bills run up in a geometrical progression, but at the same ratio increases their belief in the immaculate purity of the constituencies which to represent in Parliament they confess the highest aim of their worldly ambition.[a] Take, first, that pattern of a Quaker, honest Mr. Leatham. In 1857, he stood for Wakefield, and employed a solicitor of the name of Wainwright as his "legal friend." This Wainwright, in a fit of openheartedness, takes his friend the Quaker aside and surprises him, innocent Leatham,

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[a] Here and below Marx quotes Robert Carden's testimony at a sitting of the commission of enquiry into the elections in Gloucester, October 12, 1859, *The Times*, No. 23436, October 13, 1859.—*Ed.*

who had considered himself *l'homme qu'on aime pour lui-même,*[a] and the candidate to be elected *pour le roi de Prusse,*[b] by the shakingly shrewd remark that an election was a question of £. s. d., and that consequently the "needful" ought to be found. Wainwright fixed the amount of cash required at £1,000. Leatham exclaims: "I have not got it, but I will borrow it," and, as true as his word, has £1,000 sent over to Wainwright by Overend & Gurney, the Quaker bankers of Lombard street, London. Shortly after, Wainwright, who seems given to confidential *pourparlers,*[c] takes Leatham again "aside," whispers in his ear that he had found out the election *would* grow more expensive than at first contemplated, and insists upon another £500. Innocent Leatham "thinks this rather strange," but, on further consideration, and remembering that the election of 1852 had cost £1,600, he extended the credit to £500 more, but the most curious thing is that he feels not quite sure as to the source from which these £500 flowed. Again, two weeks later, stern Wainwright insists upon another supply of £1,000, and now Purity Leatham waxes quite melodramatic.

"I was," says he, "much vexed at this, and said as much to him, and also said that there were a great many things I did not like about his office. I had noticed a great many strange people about the office, and hoped there was nothing wrong going on. He said, 'You must leave that to me and *ask no questions.* You must give me the command of another £1,000, though I don't think I shall want it.' I was foolish enough to consent, and I *believe* the money was obtained from the same source as before."[d]

The mysterious stranger who "obtained the money" is Mr. Leatham's partner, being not present at the pending inquiry because, at this rather unseasonable time of the year, he has caught the whim of setting out upon a trip over the Continent.

If Quaker Leatham, despite his credulous temper, has misgivings of his own, but contrives to comfort his conscience by "asking no questions," Sir R. Carden, on the other hand, since "to the pure all things are pure,"[e] felt so much edified by his Gloucester election experiments in 1857, that, in 1859, he stood again for the same borough, although this time unsuccessfully. The very reason that induced him to walk into St. Stephen's[394] on the shoulders of Gloucester was, that he thought Gloucester to be so pure that it

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[a] A man who is loved for his own sake, for his personal qualities.—*Ed.*

[b] Literally: for the King of Prussia; here: just to gratify a person.—*Ed.*

[c] Negotiations.—*Ed.*

[d] From William Leatham's testimony at a sitting of the commission of enquiry into the elections in Wakefield, October 11, 1859, *The Times,* No. 23435, October 12, 1859.—*Ed.*

[e] The Epistle of Paul to Titus 1:15.—*Ed.*

would be an honor and distinction to represent it in Parliament, "whereas Coppock and his myrmidons[395] used to call Gloucester the cheese," because it was "so deliciously decayed"; in one word, so fully-flavored a sink of corruption. From £500, at which the necessary electoral expenses were at first settled, they were by sudden expansions swelled to something like £6,000, but still, and even after the Auditor's return fixing the legal expenses at £616 8s. 1d., Sir R. Carden's conviction of the purity of the Gloucester proceedings remained unshaken.

"He had believed the election had been pure until *only a day or two ago,* when he was positively shocked to hear the horrible revelations that had been made. Those revelations had taken him quite by surprise."

The electoral philosophy of the Parliamentary candidates, then, consists simply in allowing their left hand not to know what their right hand does, and thus they wash both hands in the water of innocence. To open their breeches' pockets, ask no questions, and believe in the general virtue of mankind, serves best their purpose.

As to the legal gentry, solicitors, attorneys, and barristers, employed in the electoral business, they, of course, have a legal claim to their professional fees. They cannot be expected to spend their time and "manage" the thing for nothing. Why, exclaimed one of the Gloucester M.P. makers,

"I bean't a-going to let'em have my vote for nothing. Look at the twenty-four lawyers having their £25 down and five guineas a day a piece, and I bean't a-going to let'em have mine for nothing."

And, says Mr. George Buchanan, a gentleman who canvassed in company with Sir R. Carden,

"In fact, it was a general scramble for money, and I do not like to hear so much obloquy thrown on poor men who took 3s. 6d. a day, while the professional men who made heavy charges for doing nothing, escaped."[a]

Now, as to the M.P.'s makers themselves, a few examples will suffice to characterize them. Mr. W. Clutterbuck, a solicitor, and canvasser in behalf of Sir R. Carden, chuckles in his sleeves while stating that

"Gloucester is as corrupt a place as any in England."[b]

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[a] Here and below Marx quotes George Buchanan's testimony at a sitting of the commission of enquiry into the elections in Gloucester, October 10, 1859. *The Times,* No. 23434, October 11, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx quotes W. Clutterbuck's testimony at a sitting of the commission of enquiry into the elections in Gloucester, October 7, 1859. *The Times,* No. 23432, October 8, 1859.—*Ed.*

He had set his eyes upon "the Coopeys." There are eight or nine of the Coopeys, a family that, from immemorial times, have played a prominent part in the Gloucester elections. They are, says Clutterbuck, "people you must amuse," and, consequently, he went to the Coopeys, and smoked a pipe with the Coopeys, and gossiped with the Coopeys, and held out to them no direct promises, by no means, but "led them to believe so and so." In his track, there followed Mr. John Ward, a builder, who offered the Coopeys £5 each. Two of the Coopeys, he says, were bribed. One of them was dead, but somebody polled in his stead.

"I," says Mr. John Ward, builder, "gave to nine of them £5 each,[a] and the dead man £3. The man was dead at the election of 1857, but he polled for Sir R. Carden there."

Then comes Mr. Maysey.

"I," says he, "I keeps a general shop, and are a hairdresser."[b]

He found "bribery was going on to any extent" and consequently he bought electors from £2 to £12 the piece. The fortunate mortal who fetched £12 was one Evans.

"The man," says our venerable hairdresser, "was well acquainted with all the *low voters*. Evans was worth £20, both as a voter and a spy."

It appears that Maysey, the heroic hairdresser, instructed a number of roughs with one Clements at their head, on the nomination day, to forcibly carry off an old voter named Wathen from the White Lion, but he (Maysey) did not see that lion's "coat torn off his back." The man, he says, by way of examination, "was too old and blind to resist, and was drunk beside." At Wakefield, higher prices were paid than at Gloucester, one vote costing from £5 to £70. At the same time, more violent means were here resorted to by the contending parties. One Mr. Smith, whose experience extends over a great many years, expressed his opinion that Wakefield was the most corrupt constituency in Europe, and

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[a] *The Times* has here: "gave nine of them £7 each". From John Ward's testimony at a sitting of the commission of enquiry into the elections in Gloucester, October 7, 1859. *The Times*, No. 23432, October 8, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx quotes J. Maysey's testimony at a sitting of the commission of enquiry into the elections in Gloucester, October 8, 1859. *The Times*, No. 23433, October 10, 1859.—*Ed.*

that money and beer would carry any election there.[a] In the latter stage of the fight going on between Quaker Leatham, the Radical, and Mr. Charlesworth, the Conservative, "it was known all over town that there was plenty of money to be got at the office of Wainwright," the immaculate Quaker's agent. The one great feature that distinguished the Conservatives from the Liberals, was that the latter did not occasionally refrain from issuing "flash notes,"[b] while the former paid in sterling money. About half a dozen Wakefield voters formed a club, with a view of turning the scale whichever way they liked when the poll should come to a close. One J. F. Tower, a barber, voted for Mr. Leatham because one of Mr. Leatham's canvassers gave him £40 for a hair-brush. John Wilcox, a peculiarly conscientious fellow, did not vote at all, having received £25 to vote for Leatham and £30 to vote for Leatham's rival. "So he balanced it by staying away altogether." One Benjamin Ingham, who voted for Leatham, could not say how much money he got, since "he was generally drunk at the time."[c] The Tories inveigled one James Clark, a fortune-teller and planet-ruler, into an inn, where they got him drunk, and "kept him for some days in a room of the hotel, with plenty to eat and to drink." He, nevertheless, tried at last to escape, and voted for Leatham, "partly a desire to spite the Blues[396] for keeping him locked up, and partly to get £50."

There was, furthermore, one William Dickinson, a plumber by profession, and at work in the morning at Mr. Teal's bleach-works.

> "On going into a room upstairs, to get some more piping to finish his job, the door was suddenly banged to from the outside, locked and nailed. There were three men and a boy in the room to keep him quiet, and they had a rope to tie him with if necessary."[d]

Altogether, if the Liberals excelled by their "flash-notes," the Conservatives were remarkable for their resort to main force.

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[a] Here and below Marx quotes J. Burtenshaw's testimony at a sitting of the commission of enquiry into the elections in Wakefield, October 7, 1859. *The Times,* No. 23432, October 8, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx quotes James Clark's testimony at a sitting of the commission of enquiry into the elections in Wakefield, October 8, 1859. *The Times,* No. 23433, October 10, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] Benjamin Ingham's testimony at a sitting of the commission of enquiry into the elections in Wakefield, October 8, 1859, *The Times,* No. 23433, October 10, 1859.—*Ed.*

[d] William Dickinson's testimony at a sitting of the commission of enquiry into the elections in Wakefield, October 8, 1859, *The Times,* No. 23433, October 10, 1859.—*Ed.*

Now, with respect to these disgusting disclosures of the English electoral system, old Lord Brougham thought fit to make a long speech at Bradford,[a] wherein he confesses that the offense of bribery has been growing rapidly, that it was comparatively rare before 1832, but had increased fast since the Reform Act of that year and that he intended to diminish it. And what is the curious remedy hit upon by Lord Brougham? To withhold the Franchise from the *working classes* until the lower-middle class, which is bribed, and the higher classes that bribe them, shall have mended their ways! The dotage of old age can alone account for such a paradox.

Written on October 18, 1859

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] Henry Brougham's speech at the Third Congress of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, Bradford, October 10, 1859, *The Times,* No. 23435, October 12, 1859.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## A RADICAL VIEW OF THE PEACE

Paris, Oct. 20, 1859

The treaty of peace concluded at Zurich between the Plenipotentiaries of France and Austria, appears, in its main features, a simple reproduction of the articles stipulated at Villafranca.[397] The negotiations for the definitive peace consuming about twice as much time as the operations of the war that stopped short before the walls of Mantua, there were a great many sanguine people ready to account for the slow-coach progress of the peacemakers by a deep-laid scheme on the part of Louis Bonaparte, who, they said, wanted to give to the Italians full scope for taking their affairs in their own hands, so that, Italian unity having once consolidated itself, the French liberator might, with good grace, back out of the awkward concessions made to Francis Joseph, and, from the word of his bond, appeal to the superior force of a *fait accompli*. Political contracts are not exempt from the casualties besetting civil contracts, which, according to the *Code Napoléon*, get nullified by the interference of a *force majeure*.[398] The people arguing in this way have again betrayed their woful ignorance, not only of their pet hero's character, but of the traditional diplomacy of France, from the Red Cardinal[a] down to the Man of December, and from the profligates of the Directory down to the Blues of 1848.[399] The first article of that traditional diplomacy proclaims it the first duty of France to prevent the formation on her confines of mighty States, and, consequently, under all circumstances, to keep up the anti-Unitarian Constitutions of Italy and Germany. It is the same policy that dictated the peace of Münster, and the peace of Campoformio.[400] The real

[a] Richelieu.— *Ed.*

purpose aimed at by the time-killing Zurich transactions has now become as plain as daylight. If, in the beginning of July, Louis Bonaparte had tried to enforce the Villafranca stipulations, at a time when his own army was flushed with victory, when popular passion ran high in Italy, and when France was soothing her wounded pride by the fanciful dream that she bore with slavery at home in order to impart freedom abroad, the Dutch usurper would have let loose upon himself fierce antagonistic powers more difficult to be grappled with than even the stubborn quadrilateral between the Mincio and the Adige. He could not have relied upon his own army, he would have roused Italy to action, and he might have given the signal for an insurrection in Paris. From melodramatic sublimity, got up for the occasion, to pass over to the matter-of-fact vulgarity of an imposture preconcerted, nothing was wanted but time. There is still a French army quartered on Italian soil, but from an army of liberation, it has turned into an army of occupation, whose everyday intercourse with the natives is anything but amiable—familiarity having, as usual, bred contempt. France, on her part, has awoke from her short-lived dream, shuddering at the danger of a European coalition, pondering over an old army lost and a new public debt created, and more distrustful than ever of the *idées Napoléoniennes.* As to Italy herself, we must judge her state from facts, not from proclamations. There is Garibaldi unable to get the money to be laid out in arms for the army of volunteers,[401] and there is this very army whose force appears almost ludicrous if one compares it to the numbers flocking to the standards in Prussia, during the war of independence,[402] at a time when Prussia had become of more diminutive dimensions than Lombardy.

Mazzini himself, in his appeal to Victor Emmanuel,[a] confesses that the national stream of enthusiasm is rapidly congealing in provincial ponds, and that the conditions of a return to the old state of things, are in the finest way of maturing.[403] It is true that the dreary *intermezzo* between the treaty of Villafranca and the peace of Zurich was filled up, in the Duchies and the Romagna, by some great state actions,[404] under the management of Piedmontese stage directors; but, despite the noisy plaudits from all the galleries of Europe, those political tricksters played only into the hands of their secret foes. The Tuscanese, Modenese, Parmesans and Romagnoles, were welcome to establish Provisional Governments, to depose their absentee Princes from their diminutive

[a] G. Mazzini, *A Vittorio Emanuele lettera.—Ed.*

thrones, and to proclaim Victor Emmanuel the *Re eletto*[a]; but, at the same time, they were strictly enjoined to content themselves with these formalities, keep quiet, and leave the rest to the French providence just about to settle their destinies at Zurich, and peculiarly averse to freaks of enthusiasm, outbreaks of popular passions, and *allures révolutionnaires*[b] in general. They were to expect everything, not from the vigor of their exertions, but from the modesty of their behavior—not from their own power, but from a foreign despot's grace. A landed estate could not be more calmly transferred from one proprietor to another than Central Italy was to pass from the foreign yoke to national self-government. Nothing was changed in the internal administration, all popular agitation was hushed, the liberty of the press itself stifled, and, for the first time perhaps in the history of Europe, the fruits of a revolution seemed to be gathered without the trials of a revolution being undergone. With all this the political atmosphere of Italy had sufficiently cooled down to allow Louis Bonaparte to come out with his foregone conclusions and leave the Italians to their own angry impotence. With a French army at Rome, another French army in Lombardy, one Austrian army frowning down from the Tyrol, another Austrian army holding the quadrilateral, and, above all, with the extinguisher so successfully put upon popular enthusiasm by its Piedmontese managers. there remains at present but small hope for Italy. As to the peace of Zurich itself, we call particular attention to two articles[c] not to be found in the first edition of the treaty.[405] By one of the articles Sardinia is saddled with a debt of 250,000,000 frs., partly to be paid to Francis Joseph, partly accruing from the responsibility thrown upon her for three-fifths of the liabilities of the Lombardo-Venetian bank. With this new debt of 250,000,000 frs. added to the debts contracted during the Crimean expedition and the last Italian war, beside a little bill[406] for his armed patronage which Louis Bonaparte presented a few days since, Sardinia will soon find herself on a level of financial prosperity with her hated antagonist. The other article alluded to stipulates that

"the territorial limits of the Independent States of Italy, which did not take part in the last war, can be changed only with the assent of the other Powers of Europe, which took part in forming and guaranteeing the existence of these States." At the

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[a] Elected King.—*Ed.*
[b] Revolutionary ways.—*Ed.*
[c] The reference is to Articles 7 and 8 of the treaty.—*Ed.*

same time, "the rights of the Princes of Tuscany, Modena, and Parma, are *expressly reserved* by the high contracting Powers."

Thus the provisional Italian Governments, having played the part cut out for them, are most scornfully ignored, and the populations, whom they have contrived to keep in such a normal state of passiveness, may, if they like, go a-begging at the doors of the framers of the treaty of Vienna.

Written on October 20, 1859

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# Karl Marx

## TRADE WITH CHINA

At a time when very wild views obtained as to the impulse American and British commerce were sure to receive from the throwing open, as it was called, of the Celestial Empire, we undertook to show, by a somewhat elaborate review of Chinese foreign commerce since the commencement of this century, that those high-flown anticipations had no solid ground to stand upon.[a] Quite apart from the opium-trade, which we proved to grow in an inverse ratio to the sale of Western manufactures, we found the main obstacle to any sudden expansion of the import trade to China in the economical structure of Chinese society, depending upon the combination of minute agriculture with domestic industry. We may now, in corroboration of our former statements, refer to the Blue Book entitled, "Correspondence Relative to Lord Elgin's Special Missions to China and Japan."

Wherever the real demand for commodities imported into Asiatic countries does not answer the supposed demand—which, in most instances, is calculated on such superficial data as the extent of the new market, the magnitude of its population, and the vent foreign wares used to find at some outstanding seaports—commercial men, in their eagerness at securing a larger area of exchange, are too prone to account for their disappointment by the circumstance that artificial arrangements, invented by barbarian Governments, stand in their way, and may, consequently, be cleared away by main force. This very delusion has, in our epoch, converted the British merchant, for instance, into the reckless supporter of every Minister, who, by piratical aggressions, promises to extort a treaty of commerce from the barbarian. Thus the artificial obstacles foreign commerce was supposed to encounter on the part of the Chinese authorities, formed, in fact, the

[a] See this volume, pp. 46-50.—*Ed.*

great pretext which, in the eyes of the mercantile world, justified every outrage committed on the Celestial Empire. The valuable information contained in Lord Elgin's Blue Book, will, with every unprejudiced mind, go far to dispel such dangerous delusions.

The Blue Book contains a report, dated in 1852, of Mr. Mitchell, a British agent at Canton, to Sir George Bonham, from which we quote the following passage:

"Our commercial treaty with this country (China) has now (1852) been nearly ten years in full work, every presumed impediment has been removed, one thousand miles of new coast have been opened up to us, and new marts established at the very threshold of the producing districts, and at the best possible points upon the seaboard. And yet, what is the result as far as the promised increase in the consumption of our manufactures is concerned? Why, plainly this: that at the end of ten years the tables of the Board of Trade show us that Sir Henry Pottinger found a larger trade in existence when he signed the supplementary treaty in 1843, than his treaty itself shows us at the end of 1850!—that is to say, as far as our home manufactures are concerned, which is the sole question we are now considering."

Mr. Mitchell admits that the trade between India and China, consisting almost exclusively in an exchange of silver for opium, has been greatly developed since the treaty of 1842,[407] but, even in regard to this trade, he adds:

"It developed itself in as fast a ratio, from 1834 to 1844, as it has done from the latter date to the present, which latter period may be taken as its working under the supposed protection of the treaty; while, on the other hand, we have the great fact staring us in the face, in the tables of the Board of Trade, that the export of our manufacturing stuffs to China was less by nearly three-quarters of a million sterling at the close of 1850, than it was at the close of 1844."

That the treaty of 1842 had no influence at all in fostering the British export trade to China will be seen from the following tabular statement:

DECLARED VALUE.

| | 1849. | 1850. | 1851. | 1852. | 1853. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cotton Goods | 1,001,283 | 1,020,915 | 1,598,829 | 1,905,321 | 1,408,433 |
| Woolen do | 370,878 | 404,797 | 373,399 | 434,616 | 203,875 |
| Other articles | 164,948 | 148,433 | 189,040 | 163,662 | 137,289 |
| Total | 1,537,109 | 1,574,145 | 2,161,268 | 2,503,599 | 1,749,597 |

| | 1854. | 1855. | 1856. | 1857. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cotton Goods | 640,820 | 883,985 | 1,544,235 | 1,731,909 |
| Woolen Goods | 156,959 | 134,070 | 268,642 | 286,852 |
| Other articles | 202,937 | 259,889 | 403,246 | 431,221 |
| Total | 1,000,716 | 1,277,944 | 2,216,123 | 2,449,982 |

Now, comparing these figures with the Chinese demand for British manufactures in 1843, stated by Mr. Mitchell to have amounted to £1,750,000, it will be seen that in five out of the last nine years the British exports fell far below the level of 1843, and in 1854 were only 10-17 of what they had been in 1843. Mr. Mitchell, in the first instance, explains this startling fact by some reasons which appear too general to prove anything in particular. He says:

"The habits of the Chinese are so thrifty, and so hereditary, that they wear just what their fathers wore before them; that is to say, just enough and no more of anything, no matter how cheap it may be offered them." "No working Chinaman can afford to put on a new coat which shall not last him at least three years, and stand the wear and tear of the roughest drudgery during that period. Now, a garment of that description must contain at least three times the weight of raw cotton which we put into the heaviest goods we import to China; that is to say, it must be three times as heavy as the heaviest drills and domestics we can afford to send out here."

Absence of wants, and predilection for hereditary modes of dress, are obstacles which civilized commerce has to encounter in all new markets. As to the thickness and strength of drills, might British and American manufacturers not adapt their wares to the peculiar requirements of the Chinese? But here we come to the real point at issue. In 1844, Mr. Mitchell sent samples of the native cloth of every quality to England, with the prices specified. His correspondents assured him that they could not produce it in Manchester, and much less ship it to China, at the rates quoted. Whence this inability in the most advanced factory system of the world to undersell cloth woven by hand in the most primitive looms? The combination we have already pointed to, of minute agriculture with domestic industry, solves the riddle. We quote again from Mr. Mitchell:

"When the harvest is gathered, all hands in the farm-houses, young and old together, turn to carding, spinning, and weaving this cotton; and out of this homespun stuff a heavy and durable material, adapted to the rough handling it has to go through for two or three years, they clothe themselves, and the surplus they carry to the nearest town, where the shopkeeper buys it for the use of the population of the towns, and the boat people on the rivers.[408] With this homespun stuff, nine out of every ten human beings in this country are clothed, the manufacture varying in quality from the coarsest dungaree to the finest nanking, all produced in the farm-houses, and costing the producer literally nothing beyond the value of the raw material, or rather of the sugar which he exchanged for it, the produce of his own husbandry. Our manufacturers have only to contemplate for a moment the admirable economy of this system, and, so to speak, its exquisite dove-tailing with the other pursuits of the farmer, to be satisfied, at a glance, that they have no chance whatever in the competition, as far as the coarser fabrics are concerned. It is, perhaps, characteristic of China alone, of all countries in the

world, that the loom is to be found in every well-conditioned homestead. The people of all other countries content themselves with carding and spinning, and at that point stop short, sending the yarn to the professional weaver to be made into cloth. It was reserved for the thrifty Chinaman to carry the thing out to perfection. He not only cards and spins his cotton, but he weaves it himself, with the help of his wives and daughters, and farm servants, and hardly ever confines himself to producing for the mere wants of his family, but makes it an essential part of his season's operations to produce a certain quantity of cloth for the supply of the neighboring towns and rivers.

"The Fukien farmer is thus not merely a farmer, but an agriculturist and a manufacturer in one. He produces his cloth literally for nothing, beyond the cost of the raw material; he produces it, as shown, under his own roof-tree, by the hands of his women and farm servants; it costs neither extra labor not extra time. He keeps his domestics spinning and weaving while his crops are growing, and after they are harvested, during rainy weather, when out-of-door labor cannot be pursued. In short, at every available interval throughout the year does this model of domestic industry pursue his calling, and engage himself upon something useful."

As a complement of Mr. Mitchell's statement, may be considered the following description Lord Elgin gives of the rural population he met with during his voyage up the Yang-tse-kiang:

"What I have seen leads me to think that the rural population of China is, generally speaking, well-doing and contented. I worked very hard, though with only indifferent success, to obtain from them accurate information respecting the extent of their holdings, the nature of their tenure, the taxation which they have to pay, and other kindred matters. I arrived at the conclusion that, for the most part, they hold their lands, which are of very limited extent, in full property from the Crown, subject to certain annual charges of no very exorbitant amount, and that these advantages, improved by assiduous industry, supply abundantly their simple wants, whether in respect of food or clothing."

It is this same combination of husbandry with manufacturing industry, which, for a long time, withstood, and still checks, the export of British wares to East India; but there that combination was based upon a peculiar constitution of the landed property which the British, in their position as the supreme landlords of the country, had it in their power to undermine, and thus forcibly convert part of the Hindoo self-sustaining communities into mere farms, producing opium, cotton, indigo, hemp, and other raw materials, in exchange for British stuffs. In China the English have not yet wielded this power, nor are they likely ever to do so.

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Reproduced from the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## TROUBLE IN GERMANY

Paris, Nov. 15, 1859

There is now on the tapis a *querelle allemande*,[a] which, diminutive as it must appear to the general public, may, nevertheless, result in a German, and even a European, catastrophe. The little country which affords the pretext of quarrel to the ruling Teutonic Powers has acquired a bad renown in the history of the United States. It is generally known that of the thousands of drilled slaves whom England bought in Germany, to ship over the Atlantic and let loose on her revolted Colonies, the principal stock was supplied from Hesse-Cassel, where a paternal Arch-elector used to derive revenue from the exchange of British gold for his faithful yeomen. Ever since that memorable epoch, the relations between the Arch-electors and their subjects seem to have grown progressively inimical, until, in 1830, the French Revolution of July gave the signal to a revolution in Hesse-Cassel.[409] That revolution was secretly fostered by the present Arch-elector,[b] who felt rather anxious to share with his beloved father[c] the responsibilities of supreme power. The little revolution paved the way to the Hessian Constitution of Jan. 5, 1831,[d] which affords now the grand battle-cry between Austria and Prussia; had, in 1850, driven them to the bloodless battle of Bronzell; and, circumstances helping, may soon induce Louis Bonaparte to study the "German question" after he has contrived to make a bore of the "Italian question."[e]

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[a] German quarrel.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick William I.—*Ed.*

[c] William II.—*Ed.*

[d] *Kurhessische Verfassungs-Urkunde vom 5ten Januar 1831.*—*Ed.*

[e] Paraphrase of Napoleon III's statement: "To study questions does not mean to create them." ("Etudier les questions, ce n'est pas les créer"), *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 64, March 5, 1859.—*Ed.*

To explain the present conflict, a short sketch of the Hessian Constitution of 1831, of the metamorphoses it underwent, and the events which mixed up with its fate the rival claims of Austria and Prussia, may prove opportune.

With the exception of the method of election it ordains, that is, the election of representatives by the old estates (nobles, citizens, peasants), the Hessian Constitution of 1831 may be regarded as the most liberal fundamental law ever proclaimed in Europe. There is no other Constitution which restrains the powers of the executive within limits so narrow, makes the Administration more dependent on the Legislature, and confides such a supreme control to the judicial benches. To account for this strange fact, it may be said that the Hessian revolution of 1831 was, in point of fact, a revolution against the Prince on the part of the lawyers, the civil service and the military officers acting in harmony with the malcontents of all "estates." By the first paragraph, every Hessian prince is excluded from the succession to the throne, who should decline taking an oath to the Constitution. The law on Ministerial responsibility, so far from being an unmeaning phrase, enables the representatives to remove, through the State tribunal, every Minister declared guilty of having even misinterpreted any resolution of the Legislature. The Prince is divested of the right of grace. He enjoys neither the privilege of pensioning or removing the members of the Administration against their will, there being always open to them an appeal to the courts of law. The latter are invested with the right of final decision in all questions of bureaucratic discipline. The Representative Chamber selects out of its members a permanent committee, forming a sort of Areopagus, watching and controlling the Government, and impeaching the officials for violation of the Constitution, no exception being granted on behalf of orders received by subalterns from their superiors in rank. In this way, the members of the bureaucracy were emancipated from the Crown. On the other hand, the Courts of law, empowered to decide definitively upon all the acts of the Executive, were rendered omnipotent. Communal Councillors, nominated by popular election, had to administer not only the local, but also the general police. The military officers, before entering the service, are bound by oath to obedience to the Constitution, and, in all respects, enjoy the same privileges against the Crown as the civilians. The representation, consisting of one single Chamber, possesses the right of stopping all taxes, imposts and duties, on every conflict with the executive.

Such is the Constitution of 1831 for Hesse-Cassel, which the

Arch-elector, William II, the father of the now reigning Prince, proclaimed,

"in perfect agreement with his estates," and which "he hoped would still, in distant centuries, flourish as a solid monument of the harmony between the sovereign and his subjects."[a]

A draft of the Constitution was then, on the part of the Government, communicated to the German Diet, which, if it gave no guaranty, seemed to accept it as a *fait accompli.* It could be foreseen that despite all *pia desideria,*[b] the Constitutional machinery was not to run smoothly in Hesse-Cassel. From 1832 to 1848 there sat not less than ten legislatures, of which not two contrived to last their natural terms of life. The revolution of 1848 and 1849 impregnated the Constitution of 1831 with a more democratic spirit by abolishing the election by estates, by putting the nomination of the members of the Supreme Court into the hands of the Legislature, and, lastly, by taking out of the hands of the Prince the supreme control of the army, and making it over to the Minister of War, a personage responsible to the representatives of the people.

In 1849—on the meeting of the first Hessian Legislature, elected according to the new electoral law—a general reaction had already broken in upon Germany; but, nevertheless, things were still in a state of fermentation. The old German Diet had been washed away by the revolutionary waves, while the German National Assembly, and its mock Executive, had been laid low at the point of the bayonet. So there no longer existed a center of the whole German Federation. Under these circumstances, Austria demanded the restoration of the old Diet at Frankfort, where its influence had always been paramount, while Prussia wanted to form a Northern Union,[410] for her own use and under her own control. Austria, backed by the four German Kingdoms and Baden, contrived, in fact, to gather around her in Frankfort-on-the-Main the relics of the old German Diet, while Prussia made a weak attempt at holding a Union-Diet at Erfurt,[411] with some of the smaller States. Hesse-Cassel, under the direction of its liberal Legislature, was, of course, foremost among the opponents of Austria, and the partisans of Prussia. As soon, however, as the Arch-elector had ascertained that Austria was backed by Russia, and was likely to win the race, he threw off the mask, declared for the Austrian Diet against the Prussian Union, installed a reaction-

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[a] *Kurhessische Verfassungs-Urkunde vom 5ten Januar 1831,* p. 1.—*Ed.*
[b] Pious wishes.—*Ed.*

ary Ministry with the ill-famed Hassenpflug at its head, dissolved the opposing Legislature, which had refused to grant taxes, and, having vainly tried to raise the taxes on his own authority, finding no support in the ranks of the army, the bureaucracy and the law courts, declared Hesse-Cassel in a state of siege. He had taken the good precaution of running away and resorting to Frankfort-on-the-Main, there to live under the immediate protection of Austria. Austria, in the name of the old Diet, restored by herself, dispatched a federal corps on the errand of putting down the Hessian Constitution, and raising up the throne of the Arch-elector. Prussia, on her part, was forced to declare for the Hessian Constitution against the Arch-elector, in order to maintain her own protest against the revival of the German Diet, and her attempt of establishing a Northern Union under her own auspices. Thus the Hessian Constitution was converted into a battle-cry between Austria and Prussia. Things drew meanwhile to a crisis. The vanguards of the Federal and the Prussian armies confronted each other at Bronzell, but only to sound the retreat on both sides. The President of the Prussian Ministry, Herr von Manteuffel, met the Prince of Schwarzenberg, the Austrian Minister, at Olmütz, on the 29th of November, 1850, to resign into his hands all Prussian claims to a policy of her own with regard to the Diet, Hesse-Cassel and Schleswig-Holstein. Prussia returned to the Diet a downcast and penitent sinner. Her humiliation was embittered by the triumphant march of an Austrian army to the coasts of the Northern Sea. The Hessian Constitution of 1831 was of course abolished without further ado, to be replaced at first by martial law, and subsequently, in 1852, by a most reactionary Constitution, hatched out by Hassenpflug, doctored by the Elector, and emendated and sanctioned by the German Diet.[a] This Constitution of 1852 formed, then, the standing topic of quarrel between the country and the Elector—all attempts at conciliation proving futile. The late events in Italy, and the consequent movements in Germany, were considered by the Prussian Government to afford the best opportunity of revenge for the defeat of Olmütz, and the renewal of its old feud with Austria. Prussia knows that Russia, who, in 1850, turned the balance on the side of Austria, will this time move in the opposite direction. Till now nothing has been exchanged between the two rivals except paper bullets. That the Hessian Constitutions of 1831 and 1852 form only the pretext of their fight, is shown by the simple circumstance that Austria

[a] *Kurhessische Verfassungs-Urkunde vom 13ten April 1852.—Ed.*

declares for a modification of the Constitution of 1852, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of 1831, while Prussia insists on the restoration of the Constitution of 1831, after its having been remodeled in conformity to the general (monarchic) principles of the German Diet. The people and the Chambers in Hesse-Cassel, relying on Prussian support, ask for the restoration of the old Constitution. The whole business, properly managed by interested counselors from without, may end in a German civil war, if the German people turn not, at the opportune moment, against "both their houses."[a]

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Reproduced from the newspaper

[a] Cf. Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, Act III, Scene 1.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE INVASION PANIC IN ENGLAND

London, Nov. 25, 1859

Panics appear to have become in these latter days as regular incidents of English political life, as they long ago were of the English industrial system. Panics, if properly managed, form a great resource for governments in so-called free countries. When people are frightened out of their senses their minds are easily diverted from dangerous crotchets. Take, for instance, the Reform question in England. At the very time when England was considering whether she would resign forever the control of North America, Lord Grey proposed a sweeping Reform bill which was to do away with all the traditional influence of the Lords on the Lower House. In 1780 the Duke of Richmond brought in a Reform bill which positively went the length of demanding annual Parliaments and universal suffrage. Pitt, himself, whose centenary birthday has passed away without being noticed by his countrymen, then just occupied in celebrating the secular anniversary of Handel's death—this same Pitt had originally inscribed on his banners the words: "Parliamentary Reform."[412] How, then, came it to pass that the Reform movement of the eighteenth century, having seized the most intellectual representatives of the governing classes, even died away without leaving any traces behind? It was swept away by the French Revolution panic, in the train of which followed the Anti-Jacobin war, the Public Debt monster, and the ignominious Gagging Acts.[413] Some years ago, the Russian panic killed two Reform bills,[414] and now-a-days the French invasion panic is likely to do the same service. We can, therefore, estimate at their just value the dark apprehensions of the English Radicals, under Mr. Bright's leadership, who profess to consider the oligarchs and their organs in the public press as interested

panic-mongers, bent upon defeating Reform, and perpetuating misrule, by the specter of a French invasion.[a] There are, indeed, upon the face of the thing some ugly, suspicious-looking features. The Palmerstonian press is the main vehicle of the invasion panic, while Palmerston is apparently Louis Bonaparte's most intimate friend. The same man who was dismissed from one Cabinet because he acknowledged the *coup d'état*, without the sanction of his colleagues, and was driven from another Cabinet because he introduced the French Conspiracy bill,[415] would he be the most proper personage to cross Bonapartist schemes? At the same time that the Palmerstonian press warns the English people against Bonaparte's perfidy, it calls upon them to embark with the same man into a new Chinese expedition.

Nevertheless it cannot be denied that the present war panic in England, though it may turn to the profit of aristocratic party policy, is not altogether divested of rational grounds. Whenever Bonaparte concludes a new peace, England asks herself instinctively whether her turn for bearing the brunt of war has at last come. Thus a war between France and England appears a question of time only. For fear of the revolution, official Europe accepted the regimé of Louis Bonaparte, but a periodical renewal of war is one of the vital conditions of that regimé. It only delivers the Cabinets from the bugbear of revolution on the express understanding that they allow themselves to be successively conquered. He had hardly sat two years upon his usurped throne when the Russian war had become necessary to his prolonged tenure of power. Two years had not yet elapsed since the conclusion of the Russian peace when the Italian adventure alone could save him from an ignominious catastrophe. His difficulties have certainly not decreased by a succession of wars, resulting in nothing but delusions on the one hand, in public debts, and the growing insolence of a Pretorian guard on the other, not to speak of the opposition of the clergy, added to the other elements of internal insecurity already existing. After the Russian war, some time elapsed before Orleanist disaffection dared to mutter its sarcasms, and revolutionary despair to launch its grenades. The evidence of disappointment that characterized the last war shows most conspicuously in the dead lock of French commerce, the complete failure of the Imperial amnesty,[b] the recrudescence of severity against the press,

[a] *The Times*, No. 23473, November 25, 1859 (leading article).—*Ed.*

[b] Napoleon III's decree of August 16, 1859 on the amnesty of those condemned for criminal and political offences, *Le Moniteur universel*, Nos. 228 and 229, August 16 and 17, 1859.—*Ed.*

and the revived hopes of the Orleanists. While the mass of the French people grumble at a barren war that has cost them the savings of peace, the mass of the army rail at a peace that, in their judgment, has cheated them out of the fruits of war. Some months more will develop to their full extent the difficulties Louis Bonaparte labors under, and from which there is only one issue—that of a new war. The successive wars, however, which his position compels him to enter upon grow gradually more dangerous for himself and for Europe, as whose most powerful representative England may be regarded. The war in the Crimea was hardly carried on on European soil. The war in Italy could only be localized by its abrupt termination. A war on the Rhine, and still more an invasion of England, would in its very beginning, be tantamount to a general European war. But it is only between Prussia and England, as the respective objects of his next attack, that Louis Bonaparte has to choose. In both cases England will become a party, in the one as principal, in the other as subsidiary. The latter eventuality is the more probable, but it is impossible to foresee what direct collisions between France and England may grow out of a war between France and Prussia. On another occasion we propose reviewing the military preparations England is making with an eye to the impending conflict.

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# Frederick Engels

## PROGRESS OF THE MOORISH WAR

We have long been waiting for some decided move on the part of the Spanish army in Morocco, which might bring to a close the first or preparatory period of the war.[416] But in vain. Marshal O'Donnell seems to be in no hurry to leave his camp on the hights of Serrallo, and so we are compelled to review his operations while they have hardly yet begun.

On Nov. 13, the first division of the Spanish active army, under Gen. Echagüe, embarked at Algeciras, and a few days afterward was landed at Ceuta. On the 17th it marched out of the town and occupied the Serrallo or White House, a large building about a mile and a half in front of the lines of Ceuta. The ground in that vicinity is very rugged and broken, and very favorable for skirmishing and irregular fighting. The Moors, after an unsuccessful attempt, on the same night, to reconquer the Serrallo, retired, and the Spaniards began to construct an intrenched camp to serve as a base for future operations.

On the 22d, the Serrallo was attacked by the Anjerites, the Moorish tribe occupying the country near the Ceuta. This engagement opened a series of fruitless fights which fill up the whole of the campaign to the present moment, and of which every one is exactly like all the rest. The Moors attack the Spanish lines in greater or lesser force, and try by surprise or feint, to get possession of part of them. According to the Moorish reports, they generally succeed in this, but abandon the redoubts because they have no artillery. According to the Spaniards, no Moor ever saw the inside of a Spanish redoubt, and all their attacks have proved utterly unsuccessful. On the first attack the Anjerites counted no more than 1,600 men. They received the next day a reenforce-

ment of 4,000 men, and at once returned to the attack. The 22d and 23d were filled up with skirmishing, but on the 25th, the Moors advanced with all their forces, and a severe combat took place, in which Gen. Echagüe was wounded in the hand. This attack by the Moors was so serious, that it spurred a little the sleepiness with which Cid Campeador O'Donnell had so far carried on the war. He ordered at once that the second division, under Gen. Zabala, and the reserve division, under Gen. Prim, should be embarked,[a] and left himself for Ceuta. On the night of the 27th, the whole Spanish active army was concentrated before that place. On the 29th, there was another attack by the Moors, repeated on the 30th. After this, the Spaniards began to think of their confined position; the object of their first move was to be Tetuan, about 20 miles south of Ceuta, and four miles from the sea. They commenced making a road toward this town; the Moors offered no opposition till Dec. 9. On the morning of that day they surprised the garrisons of the two principal redoubts, but as usual, abandoned them later in the day. On the 12th, another engagement took place in front of the Spanish camp, about four miles from Ceuta; and on the 20th O'Donnell telegraphs that the Moors had again attacked the two redoubts, but were, as usual, gloriously defeated. Thus, on Dec. 20, matters had not advanced one jot further than on Nov. 20. The Spaniards were still on the defensive, and, in spite of announcements made a fortnight or three weeks before, there were no symptoms of an advance.

The Spaniards, with all the reenforcements received up to the 8th December, were from 35,000 to 40,000 strong, and 30,000 men might be available for offensive operations. With such a force, the conquest of Tetuan ought to be easy. There are certainly no good roads, and the provisions of the army must all be carried from Ceuta. But how did the French manage in Algeria, or the English in India? Besides, Spanish mules and cart-horses are not so spoiled by good roads in their own country as to refuse to march on Moorish ground. No matter what O'Donnell may say by way of apology, there can be no excuse for this continued inactivity. The Spaniards are as strong now as they can reasonably expect to be at any time in the campaign, unless unexpected reverses should bring on extraordinary exertions. The Moors, on the contrary, are daily getting stronger. The camp at Tetuan, under Hadji Abd Saleem, which furnished the bodies

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[a] O'Donnell's order was reported in *L'Indépendance belge,* No. 334, December 1, 1859 ("Nouvelles d'Espagne").—*Ed.*

attacking the Spanish line on Dec. 3, had been swelled to 10,000 already, beside the garrison of the town. Another camp, under Muley-Abbas, was at Tangier, and reenforcements were arriving constantly from the interior. This consideration alone ought to have induced O'Donnell to advance as soon as the weather permitted it. He has had good weather, but he has not advanced. There can be no doubt that this is a sign of sheer irresolution, and that he has found the Moors less despicable enemies than he expected. There is no question that the latter have fought uncommonly well, and the great complaints arising from the Spanish camp of the advantages the ground in front of Ceuta gives to the Moors is a proof of it.

The Spaniards say that in brushwood and ravines the Moors are very formidable, and, besides, they know every inch of the ground; but that, as soon as they get into the plains, the solidity of the Spanish infantry will soon compel the Moorish irregulars to face about and run. This is a rather doubtful way of arguing in an epoch where three-fourths of the time spent in every battle is devoted to skirmishing in broken ground. If the Spaniards, after halting six weeks before Ceuta, do not know the ground as well as the Moors, so much the worse for them. That broken ground is more favorable to irregulars than a level plain, is clear enough. But even in broken ground, regular infantry ought to be vastly superior to irregulars. The modern system of skirmishing, with supports and reserves behind the extended chain, the regularity of the movements, the possibility of keeping the troops well in hand, and making them support each other and act all toward one common end—all this gives such superiority to regular troops over irregular bands, that in the ground best adapted for skirmishing, no irregulars ought to be able to stand against them, even if two to one. But here at Ceuta the proposition is reversed. The Spaniards have the superiority of numbers, and yet they dare not advance. The only conclusion is that the Spanish army do not understand skirmishing at all, and that thus their individual inferiority in this mode of fighting balances the advantages which their discipline and regular training ought to give them. In fact, there seems to be an uncommonly great deal of hand-to-hand fighting with yataghan and bayonet. The Moors, when the Spaniards are close enough, stop firing and rush upon them, sword in hand, in the same way as the Turks used to do, and this is certainly not very pleasant for young troops like the Spaniards. But the many engagements that have occurred ought to have made them familiar with the peculiarities of Moorish fighting and

the proper mode to meet it; and when we see the commander still hesitate and remain in his defensive position, we cannot form a very high estimate of his army.

The Spanish plan of campaign as it is shadowed forth by the facts appears to start with Ceuta as the base of operations, and Tetuan as the first object of attack. That part of Morocco immediately opposite the Spanish coast forms a kind of peninsula, some 30 or 40 miles broad by 30 long. Tangier, Ceuta, Tetuan, and Larache (El-Araish) are the four principal towns on this peninsula. By occupying these four towns, of which Ceuta already is in the hands of the Spaniards, this peninsula might be easily subjected, and made a base of further operations against Fez and Mequinez. The conquest of this peninsula, therefore, appears to be the object of the Spaniards, and the taking of Tetuan the first step toward it. This plan seems sensible enough; it confines operations to a narrow region, bounded on three sides by the sea and by two rivers (Tetuan and Lukkos) on the fourth, and, therefore, far more easy to take than the country further south. It also obviates the necessity of going into the desert, which would be unavoidable if Mogador or Rabat had been taken for the base of operations; and it brings the field of action close to the frontiers of Spain, there being only the Straits of Gibraltar between them. But whatever may be the advantages of this plan, they are all of no use unless the plan be carried out, and if O'Donnell goes on as he has done hitherto, he will cover himself and the reputation of the Spanish army with disgrace, in spite of the high-sounding language of his bulletins.

Written about December 10, 1859

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## Frederick Engels

# THE MOORISH WAR

The campaign in Morocco has at last fairly begun, and with this beginning disappear all the romantic hues in which the Spanish press and Spanish popular enthusiasm had dressed out O'Donnell, who sinks down into a passable average general; instead of the chivalry of Castile and León, we have the Princesa Hussars,[417] and instead of Toledo blades, rifled cannon and cylindro-conoidal shot do the work.

About the 20th of December the Spaniards began to construct a road, practicable for artillery and carriages, which was to lead across the hilly ground south of the camp before Ceuta. The Moors never attempted to destroy the road; they attacked, sometimes, Gen. Prim, whose division covered the working parties, sometimes the camp; but always without success. None of these engagements rose beyond the dimensions of skirmishes of the advance guard; and in the most serious of them, on Dec. 27, the Spanish loss did not exceed 6 killed and 30 wounded. Before the close of the year the road, itself not more than two miles long, was completed; but a fresh onset of storms and rain prevented the army from moving. In the mean time, as if it was meant to give the Moorish camp notice of the impending movements of the army, a Spanish squadron of one sailing vessel of the line, 3 screw frigates, 3 paddle steamers, in all 246 guns, ran up to the mouth of the Tetuan River, and bombarded, on the 29th December, the forts at its mouth. They were silenced, and the earthworks destroyed in about three hours; it is not to be forgotten that they were the same forts which the French had bombarded about a month before with a far inferior force.[418]

The weather having become fair on the 29th, the Spanish army at last began to move on the 1st of January. The First Corps of two divisions, under Echagüe, which had been the first to land in Africa, remained in the lines in front of Ceuta. Although it had suffered much by disease in the first weeks, it was now pretty well acclimatized, and, with reenforcements received since, numbered 10,000 men, considerably more than either the Second or the Third Corps. These two corps, commanded, the Second by Zabala, and the Third by Ros de Olano, together with Prim's reserve division, in all 21,000 to 22,000 men, marched out on the first day of the new-year. Every man carried six days' rations, while a million of rations, or one months' provisions for the army, were shipped on board transports to accompany the army. With Prim for an advance guard, supported by Zabala, and Ros de Olano bringing up the rear, the high ground south of Ceuta was passed. The new road led down toward the Mediterranean within two miles from the camp. There a semicircular plain extended for some distance, the chord being formed by the sea, and the periphery by broken ground rising gradually into rugged mountains. No sooner had Prim's division fairly debouched from the camp than the skirmishing began. The Spanish Light Infantry easily drove back the Moors into the plain, and thence into the hills and brushwood, which flanked their line of march. Here it was that by some misunderstanding two weak squadrons of Princesa Hussars were led to charge, and did so with such a spirit that they passed right through the Moorish line into their camp; but getting everywhere into broken ground, and finding nowhere either cavalry or infantry in practicable ground at which they could charge they had to turn back with a loss of seven or nearly all of their officers, beside privates. So far, the fight had been carried on principally by the infantry in skirmishing order, and a battery or two of mountain artillery, supported here and there by the effect—more moral than physical—of the fire of a few gunboats and steamers. It appears that O'Donnell intended to halt in the plain, without occupying permanently, as yet, the ridge forming the boundary of this plain to the south. In order, however, to secure his position for the night, he ordered Prim to dislodge the Moorish skirmishers from the northern slope of the ridge and then to fall back about dusk.[a] Prim, however, who is the greatest fighting man in the Spanish army, engaged in a serious

[a] Telegraphic message from Madrid of January 7, *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 10, January 10, 1860.—*Ed.*

encounter, which ended in his taking possession of the whole top of the ridge, though not without severe loss. His advance guard encamped on the ridge and threw up field-works on its front. The Spanish loss amounted, that day, to 73 killed and 481 wounded.

The position gained that day was the one known by the name of Castillejos, from two white buildings, the one on the inner slope near the plain, and the other on the ridge conquered, in the afternoon, by Prim. The official designation of this camp, however, appears to be *Campamento de la Condesa.* On the same day, the Moors had attempted a slight diversion against the camp before Ceuta, by attacking both the extreme right redoubt and the interval between the two extreme left redoubts. They were, however, easily repulsed by Echagüe's infantry and artillery fire.

The active army remained three days in the Camp de la Condesa. The field artillery and a rocket battery, as well as the remainder of the cavalry (the whole cavalry brigade consists of eight squadrons of hussars, four of cuirassiers without cuirasses, and four of lancers, in all 1,200 men), arrived in the camp. The siege train alone (among which was a battery of rifled 12-pounders) was still behind. On the 3d, O'Donnell reconnoitered toward Monte Negro, the next range of mountains to the south. The weather continued fine, hot at noon, with very heavy dews at night. Cholera was still rife among one or two divisions, and some corps had suffered severely from sickness. The two battalions of engineers, for instance, who had been very severely worked, were reduced from 135 men to 90 men per company.

So far, we have detailed accounts; for what follows, we are reduced to meager and not quite consistent telegrams. On the 5th, the army advanced. On the 6th, it was encamped "to the north of the Negro valley, having traversed the passes without opposition."[a] Whether this means that the Monte Negro Ridge had been passed, and the army was encamping on its southern slope, is very uncertain. On the 9th, the army was, we are told, one league[b] from Tetuan, and an attack of the Moors had been repulsed. On the 13th, the whole of the positions of Cabo Negro were carried, a complete victory was obtained, and the army was before Tetuan; so soon as the artillery could be brought up, the town would be attacked. On the 14th, the division of Gen. Rios, ten battalions strong, which had been concentrated at Malaga, landed at the

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[a] Telegraphic message from Madrid of January 7, *L'Indépendance belge,* No. 10, January 10, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] The Spanish league is equal to about 5.5 kilometres.—*Ed.*

mouth of the Tetuan River, and occupied the forts destroyed by the fleet a fortnight before. On the 16th, we are informed that the army was on the point of passing the river and attacking Tetuan.

To explain this, we may state that there are four distinct ridges of hills to be passed between Ceuta and Tetuan. The first immediately south of the camp and leading to the plain of Castillejos; the second closing that plain to the south. These two were taken by the Spaniards on the 1st. Still further south, and running perpendicular to the Mediterranean shore, is the ridge of Monte Negro, and parallel to this range, only further south still, comes another and higher ridge ending on the coast, in the Cape called Cabo Negro, south of which flows the Tetuan River. The Moors, after hanging on the flanks of the invading army during the 1st, changed their tactics, removed further south, and attempted to bar the road to Tetuan in front. It was expected that the decisive fight for the possession of this road was to come off in the passes of the last or Cabo Negro ridge, and such seems to have been the case on the 13th.

The tactical arrangements of these combats do not appear very creditable to either party. From the Moors we cannot expect anything but irregular fighting, carried on with the bravery and cunning of semi-savages. But, even in this they appear deficient. They do not seem to show that fanaticism which the Kabyles of the Algerian coast-ridges, and even of the Riff, have opposed to the French[419]; the long, unsuccessful skirmishing in front of the redoubts near Ceuta seems to have broken the first ardor and energy of most of the tribes. Again, in their strategical arrangements they do not come up to the example of the Algerians. After the first day, they abandon their proper plan, which was to harass the flank and rear of the advancing column, and to interrupt or menace its communication with Ceuta; instead of this, they work hard to gain a march upon the Spaniards, and to bar their road to Tetuan in front, thus provoking what they ought to avoid—a pitched battle. Perhaps they may yet learn that with such men, and in such a country as they have, petty warfare is the proper way to wear out an enemy who, whatever his superiority in discipline and armament, is hampered in all his movements by immense *impedimenta,* unknown to them, and which it is no easy matter to move in a roadless and inhospitable country.

The Spaniards have gone on as they commenced. After lying idle two months at Ceuta, they have marched twenty-one miles in sixteen days, advancing at the rate of five miles in four days! With all due allowance for difficulties of roads, this is still a degree of

slowness unheard of in modern warfare. The habit of handling large bodies of troops, of preparing extensive operations, of marching an army which, after all, scarcely equals in strength one of the French army corps in the last Italian campaign, seems to have become quite lost with Spanish Generals. Otherwise how could such delays arise? On the 2d of January O'Donnell had all his artillery at Castillejos, with the exception of the siege train, but still he waited two days longer, and only advanced on the 5th. The march of the column itself appears to be pretty well arranged, but with such short marches this could scarcely be otherwise. When under fire the Spaniards appear to fight with that contempt of their enemy which superior discipline and a series of successful combats cannot fail to give; but it remains to be seen whether this certainty of victory will hold good when the climate and the fatigues of a campaign, which is sure to end in harassing, petty warfare, will have reduced both the *morale* and the *physique* of the army. As to the leadership, we can, so far, say very little, the details of all but the first engagement in the field being still deficient. This first fight, however, exhibits two conspicuous blunders—the charge of the cavalry, and the advance of Gen. Prim beyond his orders; and if these things should turn out to be regular features of the Spanish army, so much the worse for them.

The defense of Tetuan will very likely be a short but an obstinate one. The works are no doubt bad, but the Moors are capital soldiers behind ramparts, as has been proved in Constantine[420] and many other Algerian towns. The next mail may bring us the news that it has been stormed. If so, we may expect a lull in the campaign, for the Spaniards will require time to improve the road between Tetuan and Ceuta, to form Tetuan into a second base of operations, and to await reenforcements. Thence, the next move will be upon Larache or Tangier.

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# Frederick Engels

## SAVOY AND NICE

While the Governor of Chambéry has positively declared that the King of Sardinia has never contemplated the cession of Savoy to France,[a] we have from the Foreign Minister of England the assurance, delivered in the House of Commons on the 2d inst., that the project was disavowed last Summer by Count Walewski in behalf of the Emperor of the French.[b] These statements of Lord John Russell, however, refer to a period of several months ago; and what was then denied may now be very nearly consummated. Certainly it is difficult, or rather impossible, to believe that the movement for annexation to France, which has recently been developed among the people of Savoy, is purely of native origin. It must have been fomented by French agents, and must be sanctioned, or at least tolerated, by the Government of King Victor Emmanuel.

Savoy is a province of thorough and decided French nationality, as much as the western cantons of Switzerland. The people speak a Southern French (Provençal or Limousin) dialect; but the written and official language is everywhere French. This, however, is no proof whatever that the Savoyards wish to be annexed to France, and particularly to Bonapartist France. According to the notes of a German officer who made a military tour through the country in January, 1859, the French party is nowhere of any importance, except in Chambéry and the other towns of Lower Savoy, while

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[a] "The Annexation of Savoy", *The Times,* No. 23530, January 31, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] John Russell's speech in the House of Commons on February 2, 1860, *The Times,* No. 23533, February 3, 1860.—*Ed.*

Upper Savoy, Maurienne and Tarentaise would prefer to remain as they are, and Chablais, Faucigny and Genévois, the three northern districts, would prefer to form a new Canton of the Swiss Confederation. Still Savoy, being thoroughly French, will undoubtedly more and more gravitate toward the great center of French nationality, and ultimately be united to it, so that it is a mere question of time.

With Nice the case is different. The people of the county of Nice also speak a Provençal dialect but here the written language, the education, the national spirit, everything is Italian. The relation between the Northern Italian and the Southern patois is so close that it is almost impossible to say where one ends and the other begins. Even the patois of Piedmont and Lombardy is, in its inflections, thoroughly Provençal, while the way in which the words are formed from the Latin, is essentially Italian. To claim Nice on the strength of this patois would never do; consequently, it is now claimed on the ground of supposed sympathies for France, the existence of which, however, is more than problematical. That Nice, in spite of these sympathies and of its patois, is thoroughly Italian, there can be no better proof than that it produced the soldier, par excellence, of Italy, Giuseppe Garibaldi. The notion of Garibaldi becoming a Frenchman, is ludicrous enough.

The cession of both these Provinces would not much weaken Piedmont in a merely financial point of view. Savoy is a poor country, which, although it produces the best soldiers in the Sardinian army, yet never pays the expense of its own administration. Nice is not much better off, and, besides, is but a small strip of land. Apparently the loss would not be great. Nice, though Italian, might be sacrificed to the consolidation of Northern and Central Italy; and the loss of a foreign province like Savoy might even be considered an advantage, so long as the chances of Italian unity are thereby promoted. But things take a far different aspect when examined from a military point of view.

From Geneva to Nice, the present frontier between France and Sardinia forms almost a straight line. On the south, the sea, on the north, neutral Switzerland, cut off all communication. So far, the position of the parties in a war between Italy and France would appear equal. But both Savoy and Nice are situated beyond the main ridge of the Alps, which surround Piedmont proper in a vast arc, and both are open toward France. While, therefore, on the frontier of Piedmont and France, each party holds one side of the Alpine chain, Italy holds, on the northern and southern parts of

the frontier, both sides, and thereby completely commands the passes.

Moreover, while from want of traffic all the roads across the Alps leading from Piedmont into France have become quite neglected, the road over Mont Cenis from Piedmont to Savoy, and that over the Col di Tenda from Piedmont to Nice, are main roads of European traffic, and in capital order. The consequence is, that in all wars between France and Italy, both Nice and Savoy, when the attack came from the Italian side, have formed natural bases of operation for an invasion of France; and when France attacked, she had to conquer these two provinces before she could assail transalpine Italy. And although neither Nice nor Savoy could be held by the Italians against a superior army, they have still afforded time for a concentration of the Italian forces in the plains of Piedmont, and thus served as a safeguard against surprise.

If the military advantages resulting to Italy from the possession of Savoy and Nice were confined to these positive ones, they might still be sacrificed without any severe inconvenience. But the negative advantages are by far the greatest. Let us imagine Mont Blanc, Mont Iseran, Mont Cenis, and the Col di Tenda, to be gigantic stone pillars marking the frontier of France. The frontier, instead of being a straight line as now, would sweep around Piedmont in an immense arc. Chambéry, Albertville, Moutiers, the points where the chief roads converge, would be turned into French depots. The northern slope of the Mont Cenis would be guarded and fortified by the French; the outposts of the two nations would meet on its hight, two marches from Turin. On the south, Nice would be the center of the French depots, and their outposts would stand at Oneglia, four marches from Genoa. Thus, the French would be, even in time of peace, at the very gates of the two largest towns of Northwestern Italy, and as their territory would almost surround Piedmont on three sides, they could render impossible the concentration of an Italian army in the plain of the Upper Po. Any attempt to concentrate the Italian forces west of Alessandria would be exposed to an attack before the concentration was complete—in other words to a series of defeats in detail. Thus, the center of defense of Piedmont would at once be removed from Turin to Alessandria; in other words, Piedmont proper would become incapable of serious defense, and would be at the mercy of the French. This is what Louis Napoleon calls

"a free and grateful Italy, which, to France alone, will owe her independence."

If we turn to the North, what is a standing menace to Italy would be a death blow to Switzerland. Savoy becoming French, the whole of Western Switzerland, from Basel to the Great St. Bernard, would be hemmed in by French territory, and untenable for a day in case of war. This is so conspicuous, that the Vienna Congress resolved to neutralize Northern Savoy as much as Switzerland, and in case of war to give the Swiss the right to occupy and defend that district.[a] Sardinia, a paltry State of four millions, could not object to such a regulation; but could or would France allow part of her territory to be thus placed in military subjection to another and a smaller State? Could Switzerland attempt, in the event of war, to occupy and take under her military control a French province? Certainly not. And then, whenever it might suit France, the whole of French Switzerland, the Bernese Jura, Neuchâtel, Vaud, Geneva, with as much of Fribourg and Valais as might be deemed expedient, might be annexed as easily and comfortably as Savoy and Nice; and until such time Switzerland would be as much under the control and influence of France, as if she were a mere satellite. As to Swiss neutrality in case of war, that will have ceased from the same moment. There can be no neutrality when a great and warlike power is able at all times to crush its neutral neighbor.

This innocent-looking plan for the annexation of Savoy and Nice has no other meaning than to establish French domination in Italy and Switzerland—to make France paramount on the Alps. This little step once accomplished, how long will it be before we behold the attempt to make France paramount on the Rhine also?

Written in early February 1860

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[a] "Declaration des Puissances rassemblées au Congrès de Vienne au sujet de la Suisse. Annexe N° 11 de l'acte du Congrès de Vienne".—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE MOORISH WAR

As the first, and possibly at the same time the last act of the Spanish war in Morocco has now been brought to a close, and as all the detailed official reports have arrived,[a] we may once more return to the subject.

On the first of January the Spanish army left the lines of Ceuta, in order to advance upon Tetuan, which is only 21 miles distant. Though never at any time seriously attacked, or stopped by the enemy, it took Marshal O'Donnell not less than a month to bring his troops to within sight of that town. The absence of roads, and the necessary caution are not sufficient motives for this unparalleled slowness of march; and it is plain that the command of the sea possessed by the Spaniards, was not utilized to the full extent. Nor is it an excuse that a road had to be made for heavy guns and provisions. Both should have been principally carried by the ships, while the army, provided with a week's provision, and no other guns than the mountain artillery (carried on the backs of mules), could have reached the hights above Tetuan in five days at the utmost, and waited with the Rios division, which then, as well as three weeks afterward, could not be prevented from landing at the mouth of the Wahad el Jelu. The battle of the 4th of February might have been fought, and probably under still more favorable aspects for the Spaniards, on the 6th or 7th of January; thus thousands of men lost through sickness would have been spared, and by the 8th of January Tetuan might have been taken.

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[a] This refers to the reports of the special correspondent of *The Times* from the Camp of Guad el Jelu, *The Times*, Nos. 23531, 23535 and 23548, February 1, 6 and 21, 1860.— *Ed.*

This seems a bold assertion. Surely, O'Donnell was as eager to get to Tetuan as any of his soldiers; he has shown bravery, circumspection, coolness, and other soldierly qualities. If it took him a month to arrive before it, how could he have done the same thing in a week? O'Donnell had two ways before him to bring up his troops. First, he might rely chiefly on the communication by land, and use the ships merely as auxiliaries. This is what he did. He organized a regular land transport for his provisions and ammunition, and took with the army a numerous field-artillery of 12-pounders. His army was to be entirely independent of the ships, in case of need; the ships were to serve merely as a second line of communication with Ceuta, useful, but anything but indispensable. This plan, of course, entailed the organization of an immense train of carriages, and this train necessitated the construction of a road. Thus a week was lost until the road from the lines to the beach had been constructed; and almost at every step, the whole column, army, train and all, was halted, until another piece of road had been made for the next day's advance. Thus, the duration of the march was measured by the miles of road which the Spanish engineers could construct from day to day; and this appears to have been done at the rate of about half a mile per day. Thus the very means selected to transport the provisions necessitated an immense increase of the train, for the longer the army remained on the road, the more, of course, it must consume. Still, when, about the 18th January, a gale drove the steamers from the coast, the army was starving, and that within sight of their depot at Ceuta; another stormy day, and one-third of the army would have had to march back to fetch provision for the other two. Thus it was that Marshal O'Donnell managed to promenade 18,000 Spaniards along the coast of Africa for a whole month at the rate of two-thirds of a mile a day. This system of provisioning the army once adopted, no power in the world could have very materially shortened the length of this unparalleled march; but was it not a mistake to adopt it at all?

If Tetuan had been an inland town, situated twenty-one miles from the coast instead of four miles, no doubt there would have been no other choice. The French in those expeditions to the interior of Algeria found the same difficulties and overcame them in the same way, though with greater energy and quickness. The English in India and Afghanistan were saved this trouble by the comparative facility of finding beasts of burden and provender for them in those countries; their artillery was light, and required no

good roads, as the campaigns were carried on in the dry season only, when armies can march straight across the country. But it was left to the Spaniards and to Marshal O'Donnell to march an army along the sea-shore for a whole month, and to accomplish in this time the immense distance of twenty-one miles.

It is evident from this that both appliances and ideas in the Spanish army are of a very old-fashioned character. With a fleet of steamers and sailing transports always within sight, this march is perfectly ridiculous, and the men disabled during it by cholera and dysentery, were sacrificed to prejudice and incapacity. The road built by the engineers was no real communication with Ceuta, for it belonged to the Spaniards nowhere except where they happened to encamp. To the rear, the Moors might any day render it impracticable. To carry a message, or escort a convoy back to Ceuta, a division of 5,000 men at least was required. During the whole of the march, the communication with that place was carried on by the steamers alone. And with all that, the provisions accompanying the army were so insufficient that before twenty days had passed the army was on the point of starvation, and saved only by the stores from the fleet. Why, then, build the road at all? For the artillery? The Spaniards must have known for certain that the Moors had no field-artillery, and that their own rifled mountain guns were superior to anything the enemy could bring against them. Why, then, trail all this artillery along with them, if the whole of it could be carried by sea from Ceuta to San Martin (at the mouth of the Wahad el Jelu or Tetuan river) in a couple of hours? For any extremity, a single battery of field-guns might have accompanied the army, and the Spanish artillery must be very clumsy, if they could not march it over any ground in the world at the rate of five miles a day.

The Spaniards had shipping to carry at least one division at a time, as the landing of the Rios division at San Martin proved. Had the attack been made by English or French troops, there is no doubt that this division would have been landed at once at San Martin, after a few demonstrations from Ceuta to attract the Moors to that place. Such a division of 5,000 men, entrenched by slight field-works, such as might be thrown up in a single night, could have fearlessly awaited the attack of any number of Moors. But a division could have been landed every day, if the weather was favorable, and thus the army could have been concentrated within sight of Tetuan in six or eight days. We may, however, doubt whether O'Donnell would have liked to expose one of his divisions to an isolated attack for possibly three or four days—his

troops were young, and not accustomed to war. He cannot be blamed for not having adopted this course.

But this he might undoubtedly have done. With every man carrying a week's provisions, with all his mountain guns—perhaps a battery of field guns, and as many stores as he could carry on the backs of his mules and horses, he might have marched off from Ceuta, and approached Tetuan as quickly as possible. Take all difficulties into consideration, eight miles a day is certainly little enough. But say five; this would give four days marching. Say two days for engagements, although they must be poor victories that do not imply a gain of five miles of ground. This would give six days in all, and would include all delays caused by the weather, for an army without a train can certainly do four or five miles a day in any weather almost. Thus the army would arrive in the plain of Tetuan before the provisions it carried were consumed; in case of need, the steamers were there to land fresh supplies during the march, as they actually did. Morocco is no worse country for ground or weather than Algeria, and the French have done far more there in the midst of Winter, and far away in the hills, too, without any steamers to support and supply them. Once arrived on the heights of the Monte Negro, and master of the pass to Tetuan, the communication with the fleet in the roads of San Martin was safe, and the sea formed the base of operations. Thus, with a little boldness, the period during which the army had no base of operations but itself, would have been shortened from a month to a week, and the bolder plan was therefore the safer of the two; for the more formidable the Moors were, the more the slow march of O'Donnell became dangerous. And if the army had been defeated on the road to Tetuan, its retreat was far easier than if it had been encumbered with baggage and field-artillery.

O'Donnell's progress from the Monte Negro, which he passed almost without opposition, was quite in keeping with his former slowness. There was again a throwing up and a strengthening of redoubts, as if the best organized army had been opposed to him. A week was thus wasted, although against such opponents, simple field-works would have sufficed; he could not expect to be attacked by any artillery equal to six of his mountain guns, and for the construction of such a camp one or two days ought to have been sufficient. At last, on the 4th, he attacked the intrenched camp of his opponents. The Spaniards appear to have behaved very well during this action; of the merits of the tactical arrangements we are unable to judge, the few correspondents in the Spanish camp dropping all the dry military details in favor of

good painting and exaggerated enthusiasm. As the correspondent of the London *Times* says, what is the use of my describing to you a piece of ground which you ought to see, in order to judge of its nature! The Moors were completely routed, and the following day Tetuan surrendered.

This closes the first act of the campaign, and if the Emperor of Morocco[a] is not too obstinate, it will very likely close the whole war. Still, the difficulties incurred hitherto by the Spaniards—difficulties increased by the system on which they have conducted the war—show that if Morocco holds out, Spain will find it a very severe piece of work. It is not the actual resistance of the Moorish irregulars—that never will defeat disciplined troops so long as they hold together and can be fed; it is the uncultivated nature of the country, the impossibility of conquering anything but the towns, and to draw supplies even from them; it is the necessity of dispersing the army in a great many small posts, which, after all, cannot suffice to keep open a regular communication between the conquered towns, and which cannot be victualed, unless the greater part of the force be sent to escort the convoys of stores over a roadless country, and across constantly reappearing clouds of Moorish skirmishers. It is well known what it was for the French, during the first five or six years of their African conquest, to revictual even Blidah and Médéa, not to speak of stations further from the coast. With the rapid wear and tear of European armies in that climate, six or twelve months of such a war will be no joke for a country like Spain.

The first object of attack, if the war be continued, will naturally be Tangier. The road from Tetuan to Tangier lies across a mountain pass, and then down the valley of a river. It is all inland work—no steamers near to furnish stores, and no roads. The distance is about 26 miles. How long will it take Marshal O'Donnell to do this distance, and how many men will he have to leave in Tetuan? He is reported to have said that it will take 20,000 men to hold it; but this is evidently much exaggerated. With 10,000 men in the town, and a local brigade in an intrenched camp at San Martin, the place should be safe enough; such a force might always take the field in sufficient strength to disperse any Moorish attack. Tangier might be taken by bombardment from the sea, and the garrison brought thither by sea also. It would be the same with Larache, Salé, Mogador. But if the Spaniards intended to act in this way, why the long march to

[a] Sidi Mohammed.—*Ed.*

Tetuan? This much is certain: The Spaniards have much to learn yet in warfare before they can compel Morocco to peace, if Morocco holds out for a year.

Written in early February 1860

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Frederick Engels

# SAVOY, NICE AND THE RHINE[421]

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und

# der Rhein.

Vom Verfasser von „Po und Rhein."

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Title-page of Frederick Engels' pamphlet
*Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*

## I

It is a year now since the Bonapartist-Piedmontese-Russian conspiracy began to unfold before the public. First the New Year's speech, then the mating of the "Italian Iphigenia", then the cry of distress from Italy, finally Gorchakov's admission that he had entered into *written undertakings* with Louis Napoleon.[422] And in between, arming, troops marching, threats, attempts at mediation. At that time, in the first moment, an instinctive feeling ran through all of Germany: What is at stake here is not Italy, but our own skin. The beginning is on the Ticino, the end is on the Rhine. The final aim of any Bonapartist war can only be the reconquest of France's "natural frontier", the Rhine frontier.[a]

But that section of the German press that was most furious over the covert French claim to the natural border of the Rhine, that same section, with the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* at its head, defended the Austrian domination in Upper Italy with equally violent fanaticism, on the pretext that the Mincio and the Lower Po formed Germany's natural boundary against Italy.[b] Herr Orges of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* set all his strategic apparatus in motion to prove that Germany is lost without the Po and the Mincio, that giving up Austrian domination in Italy was a betrayal of Germany.

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[a] Review of the French press, Paris, February 2, *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 35, February 4, 1860.— *Ed.*

[b] Cf. the anonymous article "Die Lage der italienischen Frage und die Interessen Deutschlands (Schluss)", *Allgemeine Zeitung* (supplement), No. 56, February 25, 1860.— *Ed.*

This turns the matter upside down. Here it was equally evident that the threat concerning the Rhine was only a pretext, that the purpose was to maintain Austria's despotic rule in Italy. The threat concerning the Rhine was only meant to get Germany to join in the subjection of Upper Italy by Austria. Then too there was the ludicrous contradiction of asserting the same theory on the Po and condemning it on the Rhine.

At that time the author of these lines wrote a work which he published under the title *Po and Rhine.*[a] In the interest of the national movement itself, this pamphlet protested against the Mincio frontier theory; it tried to show, in terms of military science, that Germany does not need any part of Italy for its defence and that France, if only military considerations counted, would certainly have much stronger claims to the Rhine than Germany to the Mincio. In a word, it tried to make it possible for the Germans to go into the expected struggle with clean hands.

How far the pamphlet succeeded in this is for others to judge. No attempt has been made, to our knowledge, to give a scientific refutation of its theses and their development. The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung,* against which it was directed in the first place, promised to print an article of its own on the subject but instead gave three pieces reprinted from the *Ost-Deutsche Post,* whose criticism was limited to declaring the author a "Little Germany" man because he wanted to give up Italy. In any case, the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* has not mentioned the theory of the Mincio frontier again since then, so far as we are aware.

In the meantime the attempt to make Germany into a supporter of the domination and the policy of Austria in Italy had given the North German Gothaist philistines a welcome pretext for attacking the national movement.[423] The original movement was really national, much more national than all the Schiller festivals from Archangel to San Francisco[424]; it arose spontaneously, instinctively, directly. Whether Austria was right or wrong in Italy, whether Italy had a claim to independence, whether the Mincio line was needed or not—all of that was a matter of indifference to it at the outset. One of us was attacked, and by a third party who had nothing to do with Italy but had all the more interest in capturing the left bank of the Rhine—and against him, against Louis Napoleon, against the traditions of the first French Empire, we all had to stand together. The people felt this instinctively, and they were right.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 211-55.—*Ed.*

But for years the Gotha-liberal philistines had ceased to regard German Austria as any longer "one of us". They welcomed the war because it could weaken Austria and so make possible the final establishment of the Little German or Great Prussian Empire. They were joined by the bulk of the North German vulgar democrats, who speculated on Louis Napoleon's demolishing Austria and then permitting them to unite all of Germany under Prussian domination; they were joined by a small part of the German emigration in France and Switzerland, which was shameless enough to ally itself openly with Bonapartism. The strongest ally, however—let us make no bones about this—was the cowardice of the German petty bourgeoisie, which never dares to face up to danger, which, in order to get a year's reprieve, will leave its faithful allies in the lurch, so that, without them, it will later be all the more certain of being defeated itself. Hand in hand with this cowardice went the notorious super-cunning that always has a thousand excuses for not doing anything, cost what it may, but therefore must do all the more empty talking; that is sceptical about everything except these excuses; the same super-cunning that rejoiced over the Basle peace treaty that ceded the left bank of the Rhine to France; that silently rubbed its hands in glee when the Austrians were defeated at Ulm and Austerlitz; the same super-cunning that never sees its Jena approaching, and whose seat is Berlin.[425]

This alliance triumphed; Germany left Austria in the lurch. But the Austrian army fought on the Lombard plain with a heroism that astonished its enemies and compelled the admiration of the world—only not of the Gothaites and their hangers-on. No parade drill, no garrison spit and polish, no corporal's stick could destroy the inexhaustible combativity of the German in them. Despite their tight clothing and their heavy packs these young troops, who had never been under fire, held like veterans against the war-tried, lightly clothed and lightly equipped French, and it was only with the greatest show of incompetence and disunity that the Austrian command managed to have such troops beaten. And beaten how? No trophies, no flags, almost no guns, almost no prisoners—the only flag captured was *found* on the battlefield under a heap of dead, and the unwounded prisoners were Italian or Hungarian deserters. From private to major the Austrian army covered itself with glory—and this glory belongs particularly to the *German* Austrians. The Italians were unusable and were for the most part rejected, the Hungarians defected in crowds or were very unreliable, the Croats fought decidedly worse than usual in this

campaign.* The German Austrians may claim this glory with full justice; even though it was they in the first place who were to blame for the bad leadership.

This leadership was truly Old Austrian. What Gyulay's incompetence could not accomplish by itself was achieved by the lack of unity in the command ensured by the camarilla and the presence of Francis Joseph. Gyulay invaded the Lomellina and was brought to a sudden stop when he reached the Casale-Alessandria region; the entire offensive miscarried. The French joined up with the Sardinians unhindered. To show his helplessness completely, Gyulay orders the Montebello reconnaissance, as if he wanted to prove, right from the outset, that the old Austrian spirit of uncertain groping and serious scruples in waging war is still as much alive as in the days of the late *Hofkriegsrat*.[426] He leaves the initiative entirely to his opponent. He disperses his army from Piacenza to Arona, in order to cover everything immediately, in the manner favoured by the Austrians. The traditions of Radetzky are already forgotten after ten years. When the enemy attacks at Palestro, the Austrian brigades come into battle one after the other so slowly that one is always knocked out of its position before the others arrive. When the enemy now engages in the manoeuvre whose possibility was the only thing that gave meaning to the entire position in the Lomellina—the flanking march from Vercelli to Boffalora—, when finally the opportunity came to parry this hazardous manoeuvre by striking against Novara and thereby take advantage of the unfavourable position the enemy was in—Gyulay loses his head and hurries back across the Ticino in order—by a detour—to place himself diagonally in front of the attacker. In the middle of this withdrawal Hess appears—on June 3, at four in the morning—in the headquarters at Rosate. The resurrected *Hofkriegsrat* in Verona had apparently come to have its doubts about Gyulay's ability just at the decisive moment. Now, therefore, there were two supreme commanders. At Hess' suggestion all the columns halt until Hess is convinced that the moment for the attack on Novara has passed and that things have to be allowed to run their course. In the meantime, nearly five hours have gone by with all this, during which the troops had

* See the report on Solferino of the *Times* correspondent in the Austrian camp.[a] At Cavriana, Nugent, the old Master of Ordnance, who was present as an onlooker, tried in vain to bring up several battalions of border troops.[b]

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[a] "The Battle of Solferino", *The Times*, No. 23348, July 2, 1859.—*Ed.*
[b] Loc. cit.—*Ed.*

broken their march.* In the course of the 4th they arrived in Magenta separated, hungry and tired; they fight splendidly nevertheless and with excellent results until MacMahon *against* his orders, which call for a direct march from Turbigo to Milan, turns towards Magenta and falls on the Austrian flank.[b] In the meantime the other French corps arrive, those of the Austrians fail to appear, and the battle is lost. The retreat of the Austrians goes so slowly that at Melegnano one of their divisions is attacked by two whole French army corps. One brigade holds the town for several hours against six French brigades and gives way only after it has lost over half its men. Finally, Gyulay is recalled. The army marches in a great arc from Magenta around Milan and finds time (so far from there being any question of pursuit!) to reach the position of Castiglione and Lonato *before* the enemy, who marched along the shorter chord. It was said that Francis Joseph personally picked out this position, which the Austrians had been reconnoitering in the greatest detail for years, for his troops. The fact is that it had long been included in the defence system of the quadrilateral of fortresses and provided an excellent position for a defensive battle with an offensive counter-thrust. Here the army joined up at last with the reinforcements that had arrived meanwhile or had been held in reserve; but as soon as the enemy has reached the other bank of the Chiese, the signal for retreat is sounded again, and withdrawal is made across the Mincio. Hardly has this operation been carried out when the Austrian army again goes back over that same Mincio, to take from the enemy that same position which they have just voluntarily left him. Its confidence in the high command considerably weakened by this maze of *ordre, contre-ordre, désordre,* the Austrian army goes into the battle of Solferino. It is an uncontrollable slaughter on both sides; no question of tactical leadership on the part of either the French or the Austrians; greater incompetence, confusion and fear of

* See the report of Captain Blakeley, the first correspondent of *The Times* in the Austrian camp, in that paper, reporting this fact.[a] The Darmstadt *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* presents a defence of Gyulay giving as the reason for the five-hour halt an event which cannot be revealed owing to official considerations and with which Gyulay had nothing to do, and ascribing the loss of the battle to this event. But Blakeley had already reported on the nature of the event.

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[a] Presumably the reference is to his letter from Novara of June 4, 1859, *The Times*, No. 23329, June 10, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] Comments on Austrian and French reports about the battle of Magenta, *The Times*, No. 23330, June 11, 1859.—*Ed.*

responsibility of the Austrian generals, the greater confidence of the French brigade and division commanders, the natural superiority of the French in dispersed and street fighting, developed to its highest point in Algeria, finally drove the Austrians from the field of battle. That concluded the campaign, and who was happier than poor Herr Orges, who had to praise the Austrian high command through thick and thin in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* and discover rational strategic motives for their actions.

Louis Napoleon too had had enough. The meagre glory of Magenta and Solferino was still more than he had a right to expect, and in among the vexatious four fortresses a time might come when the Austrians would no longer let themselves be defeated by their own generals. Furthermore, Prussia was mobilising, and neither the French army of the Rhine nor the Russians were prepared for war. In short, the idea of an Italy free to the Adriatic Sea was dropped; Louis Napoleon offered peace, and the document of Villafranca[427] was signed. France did not get an inch of land; it magnanimously gave Lombardy, which had been ceded to it, to Piedmont; France had waged war for an idea; how could it have thought of the Rhine border!

Meanwhile Central Italy had provisionally annexed itself to Piedmont, and the kingdom of Upper Italy represented, for the time being, quite a respectable power.

| | |
|---|---|
| The previous provinces of the mainland and the island of Sardinia represented a population of | 4,730,500 |
| Lombardy, excluding Mantua, about | 2,651,700 |
| Tuscany | 1,719,900 |
| Parma and Modena | 1,090,900 |
| Romagna (Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna and Forli) | 1,058,800 |
| Total (as of 1848) | 11,251,800 |

The area of the state rose from 1,373 to 2,684 German square miles.[a] Hence, the kingdom of Upper Italy, if it were definitively constituted, would be the foremost power in Italy. Against it there would remain only:

[a] The German square mile is equal to 55.063 sq. km.—*Ed.*

| | |
|---|---|
| for Venetia | 2,452,900 |
| for Naples | 8,517,600 |
| for the rest of the Papal States | 2,235,600 |
| Total | 13,206,100 |

so that Upper Italy alone would have almost as large a population as all the other Italian territories put together. With its financial and military power and the civilisation of its inhabitants, such a state could claim a place in Europe ahead of Spain, and directly after Prussia, and would undoubtedly claim it, certain as it would be of the growing sympathy of the rest of Italy.

That, however, was not what the Bonapartist policy had desired. It had openly declared that France never could or would tolerate a unified Italy. What it meant by the independence and freedom of Italy was a kind of Italian Confederation of the Rhine[428] under Bonapartist protection and the honorary presidency of the Pope, replacement of the Austrian hegemony by French. Along with this went the good-hearted intention of setting up an Etrurian kingdom, an Italian Kingdom of Westphalia, in Central Italy for the heir of Jérôme Bonaparte.[429] All these plans were brought to an end by the consolidation of the Upper Italian state. Jérôme Bonaparte junior had won nothing for himself on his tour through the duchies, not even a *single* vote; Bonapartist Etruria was as impossible as the Restoration, and there was nothing left but annexation to Piedmont.[430]

To the same extent that the inevitability of the unification of Northern Italy became evident, the "idea" came to light for which France had waged war this time. This was the idea of annexing Savoy and Nice to France. Even during the war voices had been raised to assert that this was the price of the French intervention in Italy. But they were not heard. And did not the document of Villafranca contradict them? Nonetheless, the world suddenly learned that under the national and constitutional regime of the *re galantuomo*[a] two provinces were suffering under foreign rule—two French provinces who turned their tearful eyes with longing towards the great fatherland, from which only brute force kept them—and that Louis Napoleon could no longer close his ears to the anguished cry of Savoy and Nice.

[a] The king-gallant, the appellation given to King Victor Emmanuel II by one of his Ministers and under which the King ordered himself to be listed in the register of Turin's eminent citizens.—*Ed.*

It now came to light that Nice and Savoy were the price for which Louis Napoleon had undertaken to unite Lombardy and Venice with Piedmont and that, since Venice was not to be had for the moment, he asked for the two provinces as his price for consenting to the annexation of Central Italy. Now the disgusting manoeuvres of Bonapartist agents began in Savoy and Nice, along with the cries of the paid Paris press that the Piedmontese Government was suppressing the will of the people in those provinces, which were calling out loudly to be joined to France; now at last it was said in Paris, *the Alps are France's natural border, France has a right to them.*[a]

[a] Review of the French press, Paris, February 2, *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 35, February 4, 1860.—*Ed.*

## II

When the French press asserts that Savoy is French in language and customs, that is at least as true as if the same were said of French Switzerland, the Walloon part of Belgium and the Anglo-Norman islands in the Channel. The people of Savoy speak a Southern French dialect, and the cultivated and written language is French everywhere. So far from there being any question of an Italian element in Savoy, the French (that is, the Southern French or Provençal) vernacular is spoken on the other side of the Alps deep into Piedmont, as far as the upper valleys of the Dora Riparia and the Dora Baltea. Nevertheless, before the war there was hardly a trace of sympathy for being joined to France; that sort of thought was entertained only by isolated individuals in the lowlands of Savoy, which have commercial relations with France, but was as alien to the mass of the population here as in all the other French-speaking lands bordering on France. It is noteworthy that none of the countries that were incorporated into France from 1792 to 1812 has the slightest desire to come under the wings of the eagle again. People had assimilated the fruits of the first French Revolution, but were sick and tired of the rigid centralisation of the administration, the rule by prefects, the infallibility of the apostles of civilisation sent down from Paris. The sympathies that had been revived by the July and February revolutions were at once suppressed again by Bonapartism. No one has any wish to import Lambessa, Cayenne, the *loi des suspects*.[431] In addition, there is the Chinese walling-off of France from almost all import trade, which is felt most keenly on the border. The First Republic found, on all its borders, provinces oppressed and sucked dry, peoples that had been dismembered

and robbed of all common natural interests, and it brought them emancipation of the peasantry, agriculture, industry and trade. The Second Empire comes up, on all its borders, against greater freedom than it has to offer; in Germany and Italy it comes up against stronger national feeling, and in the smaller countries against consolidated separate interests, which have grown big in forty-five years of unprecedentedly rapid industrial development and are interwoven with world trade on all sides; it brings with it nothing but the despotism of the age of the Roman Caesars, the incarceration of trade and industry in the huge prison of its customs line, and at best, in addition, free passage to the country where pepper grows.

Savoy, separated from Piedmont by the main chain of the Alps, supplies almost all its needs from the north, from Geneva and in part from Lyons, just as on the other hand the canton of Ticino, which lies south of the Alpine passes, draws on Genoa and Venice. If this circumstance is a motive for separation from Piedmont, it is not one for annexation to France, for the commercial metropolis of Savoy is Geneva; that was taken care of, apart from the geographical situation, by the wisdom of the French tariff laws and the chicanery of the French customs.

But despite the language, the blood relationship and the chain of the Alps, the Savoyards do not seem to have the slightest desire to be blessed with the imperialist institutions of the great French motherland. They have the traditional feeling that Italy has not conquered Savoy, but Savoy Piedmont. Starting from little Lower Savoy, the small nation of warlike mountaineers of the entire province concentrated themselves into a state and then descended into the Italian plain and, by conquest and policy, annexed Piedmont, Monferrato, Nice, the Lomellina, Sardinia and Genoa, one after the other. The dynasty settled in Turin and became Italian, but Savoy remained the cradle of the state, and today the cross of Savoy is the coat of arms of North Italy from Nice to Rimini and from Sondrio to Siena. France conquered Savoy in the campaigns of 1792 to 1794, and until 1814 the country was called the Département du Mont-Blanc. But in 1814 it was not at all inclined to remain French; the only question was whether to join Switzerland or to return to the old relationship to Piedmont. Nonetheless, the lowlands remained French until after the Hundred Days,[432] at which time they were given back to Piedmont. Naturally, the old historical tradition had faded with time; Savoy was neglected, as the Italian provinces of the state gained too great a predominance; the interests of Piedmontese

policy pointed more and more south and east. It is all the more remarkable that precisely *that* class of the population harboured separatist desires most which professed to be the primary bearer of historical tradition: the old conservative and ultramontane nobility; and these desires aimed at union with Switzerland, so long as the old oligarchical patrician constitutions prevailed there; only since the general introduction of democracy in Switzerland do they seem to have taken a different orientation; under Louis Napoleon France became reactionary and ultramontane enough to be regarded by the nobility of Savoy as a refuge from the revolutionary policy of Piedmont.

The state of affairs seems at present to be as follows: In general there is no desire to separate Savoy from Piedmont. In the uplands, in Maurienne, Tarentaise and Upper Savoy, the population is decidedly for the *status quo.* In the Genévois, Faucigny and Chablais, union with Switzerland is preferred to anything else, if any change at all is to be made. It is only here and there in Lower Savoy, and then only among the local reactionary nobility, that any desire for union with France can be observed.[a] But these voices are so isolated that even in Chambéry the vast majority of the population is strongly opposed to them and the reactionary nobility (see the statement of Costa de Beauregard[b]) does not dare to admit its sympathies.

So much on the question of nationality and the will of the people.

Now what is the situation as regards the military question? What strategic advantages does possession of Savoy give Piedmont, and what advantages would it give France? And how does a change of mastery in Savoy affect the third contiguous state, Switzerland?

From Basle to Briançon the French border forms a large markedly inward-bending arc; a good bit of Switzerland and all of Savoy project into French territory here. If we draw the chord of this arc, we find that the segment of the circle is almost exactly filled by French Switzerland and Savoy. If France's frontier were pushed forward up to this chord, it would make, by and large, just as straight a line from Lauterburg to Fréjus as from Lauterburg to Dunkirk; but this line would be of much different significance for defence. Whereas the northern frontier is quite open, the northern part of the eastern frontier would be covered by the

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[a] The French press on the plans for Savoy's union with France, *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 34, February 3, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] The *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 39, February 8, 1860.—*Ed.*

Rhine and the southern part by the Alps. Between Basle and Mont Blanc, no section of land would mark the borderline; rather, the "natural frontier" would be formed here by the Jura down to Fort de l'Ecluse and from there on by the branch of the Alps bounding the Arve valley in the south from Mont Blanc onwards and likewise ending at Fort de l'Ecluse. But if the natural frontier forms a concave arc *bending inward*, it no longer fulfils its purpose and so is no longer a natural frontier. And if it happens that this inward-bending segment of a circle, pressing our frontier so unnaturally back, is inhabited by people, into the bargain, who are French "by language, customs and civilisation",[a] must not the mistake that Nature made here be rectified, must not the theoretically required convexity or at least rectilinearity be restored in practice here, can the French living on the other side of the natural frontier be sacrificed to a *lusus naturae*?[b]

That this sort of Bonapartist reasoning is not entirely without significance is proved by the First Empire, which went on from annexation to annexation until an end was put to it; the most perfect frontier has its weak points, where it can be improved and given a push; and if one does not have to stand on ceremony, one can go on annexing without end. At any rate, it follows from the foregoing line of argument that what can be said for the annexation of Savoy, either as regards nationality or the military interests of France, *holds good for French Switzerland as well.*

The Alps, which run north-northwest from the Col di Tenda, turn by and large north-northeast at Mont Thabor, which marks the boundary between Piedmont, Savoy and France, and then bend still more eastward at Mont Géant, the boundary point between Piedmont, Savoy and Switzerland. Accordingly, from Mont Thabor to Mont Géant the Alps can only form the natural frontier of France if this frontier proceeds in a straight line from Mont Géant to Basle. In other words: The demand for the annexation of Savoy to France *entails the demand for the annexation of French Switzerland.*

Along the entire sector in which the main ridge of the Alps forms the present border of the two states, there is only one paved pass, Mont Genèvre. Besides this, only the Col d'Argentera, which leads from Barcelonnette into the valley of the Stura, is passable by artillery, and it might be possible, with some difficulty, to make

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[a] The French press on the plans for Savoy's union with France, *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 35, February 4, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] Freak of nature.—*Ed.*

still more bridle-paths practicable for all arms. But so long as Savoy and Nice each provide two paved passes over the main chain of the Alps, any French attacker, if he is not yet in possession of these provinces, must conquer at least one of them before he crosses the Alps. Now there is the additional factor that for an attack from France, the Mont Genèvre permits only a direct thrust at Turin, whereas the Mont Cenis and still more the Little St. Bernard, the two Savoy passes, have a flanking effect; and that the Mont Genèvre makes a large detour necessary for an attacking Italian army aiming at the heart of France, while the Mont Cenis is the great high road from Turin to Paris. Accordingly, no commander would dream of using the Mont Genèvre except for auxiliary columns; the major operational line will always pass through Savoy.

Possession of Savoy would therefore at once give France a terrain that is essential to it for an aggressive war against Italy, and which it would otherwise have to conquer first. An Italian army on the defensive would of course never defend Savoy by a decisive battle, but it could hold up the attacker to some extent by vigorously conducted mountain warfare and destruction of the roads, even as early as in the upper valleys of the Arc and the Isère (through which the Mont Cenis and St. Bernard roads run), and then hold the northern slope of the main chain of the Alps for some time more, backed up by the forts blocking the passes. Of course, there cannot be any question of an absolute defence here any more than in mountain warfare in general; the decisive battle is reserved for the descent of the enemy into the plain. But time will *certainly be won,* which can be decisive for concentrating forces for the main battle, and which is particularly important for so elongated a country with so few railways as Italy, as opposed to a compact country like France, covered with an excellent strategic railway network; and this time will *certainly be lost* if France already possesses Savoy before the war. But Italy will never wage war alone against France; and if it has Allies, there is the possibility that the two armies in Savoy could already keep the balance. The consequence of this would be that the struggle for control of the Alpine chain would be long drawn out; that at the worst the Italians could hold the northern slope of the ridge for some time and, after losing it, fight the French for the southern slope, for only he is master of a ridge who controls both slopes and can cross it. Whether the attacker would then still be strong and decided enough to follow the defender into the plain is very uncertain.

The campaigns in Savoy from 1792 to 1795 provide an example of such an indecisive mountain war, even though the action on both sides was loose, uncertain and fumbling.

On September 21, 1792 General Montesquiou invaded Savoy. The 10,000 Sardinians defending it were so dispersed in a chain of posts, as was the favourite custom of the time, that they could not bring sufficient forces together to resist anywhere. Chambéry and Montmélian were occupied and the French passed through the valleys up to the foot of the main chain of the Alps. The ridge itself remained entirely in the hands of the Sardinians, who, under General Gordon, after some minor engagements, on August 15, 1793 pushed back the French, who had been weakened by sending detachments to the siege of Lyons, and drove them back out of the Arc and Isère valleys to Montmélian. There the beaten columns were joined by their reserves; Kellermann returned from Lyons, went over to the attack immediately (September 11) and threw the Sardinians back again to the Alpine passes without much trouble; but here his strength too was exhausted and he had to come to a standstill at the foot of the range. But in 1794 the army of the Alps was brought up to 75,000 men, to which the Piedmontese could oppose only 40,000, with a possibly available reserve of 10,000 Austrians. Despite this, the first attacks of the French were unsuccessful at both the Little St. Bernard and the Mont Cenis, until finally the St. Bernard was taken on April 23 and the Mont Cenis on May 14, which put the entire ridge into their hands.

Thus, it took three campaigns to wrest entrance into Italy from the Piedmontese on this side. Even though today it would be impossible to conduct such an indecisive war on such a limited terrain, and have it drag out over several campaigns, it still will always be difficult for the French, given any sort of balance of forces, not only to force the Alpine passes but also to remain strong enough to descend at once into the plain. Savoy does not offer more than that to Italy, but that is already enough.

Now let us assume that Savoy is united with France. How does Italy stand then? The northern slope of the Alpine chain is in the hands of the French, and the Italians can only defend the southern slope, whose strong points and positions are dominated by the high ridge or else can be observed and in most cases turned at a fairly short distance. Defence of the mountains is reduced to its last, weakest and also most costly act. The opportunities for gathering intelligence that mountain warfare in Savoy gives disappear. And that is not all. So long as Savoy had to be

*conquered*, France might under certain circumstances be content with doing that and thereby confining Italy to the passive defensive; one result would already be in hand; the troops might perhaps be better used elsewhere; France would have an interest in not engaging too great forces in that theatre of war. If on the other hand Savoy is definitively a French province, it is worth while to defend it offensively, in the French manner. Passive defence could cost as many losses in a campaign as an attack on Italy; not so very many more troops would be needed for the attack, and what entirely different results would be in prospect!

The day after annexation, French general staff officers will be seen travelling up the valleys of the Arc and Isère, investigating the lateral valleys, climbing the mountain ridges, questioning the best Alpine guides, pacing off distances, measuring gradients and noting everything down carefully; all of this not out of tourists' whims but according to a visible plan, probably already prepared by now. They will soon be followed by engineers and contractors, and it will not be long before roads have been laid and masonry structures built in the highest mountains of which neither the inhabitants nor travellers will be able to say what they are for. They do not concern either peasants or tourists; their only purpose is to develop the natural strategic capabilities of Savoy.

Both the Mont Cenis pass and that of the Mont Genèvre lead to Susa. If the southern slopes of both are attacked by French columns, the Italian detachments defending them will be completely cornered. They will have no way of knowing which side the main attack will come from; but they will know this much in advance, that if one of the two passes is forced and Susa taken, the troops defending the other pass will be cut off. If the Mont Cenis is forced first, the troops at the Mont Genèvre can at the worst escape by footpaths into the valley of Fenestrelle, leaving behind their artillery, baggage and horses; but if the attackers push to Susa over the Mont Genèvre, the troops at the Mont Cenis have no way of retreat. Under such circumstances, defence of these two passes is reduced to a mere demonstration. Now, into the bargain, the operational lines of the two French forces, the roads from Grenoble to Briançon and from Chambéry to Lans-le-Bourg, run parallel on the whole and are separated only by a mountain ridge which branches from the Mont Thabor and over which there are many foot- and bridle-paths. As soon as the French have cut over this ridge a side road, which need be no more than four German miles in length, they can shift their masses from one road to the other at will, the cornering will be even more effective, and the

defence of the line of the Alps against an attack from Italy will become enormously stronger on this side.

Let us go further. Savoy has still another pass over the Alps, the Little St. Bernard. Many French authorities hold that Napoleon would have done better to take this pass for his crossing of the Alps instead of the Great St. Bernard. The pass is lower, and so is free of snow earlier in the spring and is in general easier to negotiate. The columns from Lyons and Besançon converge on Albertville at least as easily as on Lausanne; and both passes lead to Aosta and Ivrea. The mere fact that a polemic could arise as to the advisability of one or the other pass for Napoleon's purposes in the 1800 campaign proves how important this Little St. Bernard is for warfare. Quite special conditions, to be sure, are presupposed before the Little St. Bernard can be used to repeat the strategic outflanking of Marengo. Armies are larger today, and they could never pass through high mountains in a single column; nowadays a flanking manoeuvre with only 30,000 men would in most cases lead to disaster. All this is true for the first and second campaigns. But if, as seems likely, all wars waged pertinaciously by both sides assume a different, protracted character because of modern groups of fortresses and entrenched camps, when a war can really no longer be fought out until the combatants have slowly ground one another down in a number of campaigns, the armies will also get gradually smaller. Let us assume that a war has moved to and fro in the upper Italian plain for several years; that the French, who in the process had taken Casale or Alessandria or both, have been thrown back across the Alps, and the struggle has come to a standstill there with fairly depleted forces on both sides. Will it then be such a feat, with our railways and with the artillery now lighter in all armies, quickly to throw 30,000 to 40,000 men and even more over the Little St. Bernard to Ivrea? From Ivrea they will be within reach of their permanent depot in the plain, where they will find their essential supplies and can get reinforcements from the garrison; if this should not be possible, their road to Turin and their line of retreat over the two adjoining passes could certainly not be blocked by a stronger force. But at such a time these 30,000 to 40,000 men, with the garrisons, would be a very respectable force, and at the worst, after crushing the nearest corps of the enemy, could carry the war on from their entrenched camp with every prospect of success. It should be recalled how the armies had already shrunk in 1814 and with what slender forces Napoleon accomplished such great things in that year.

The road over the St. Bernard leads, as has been said, into the valley of the Isère, as the one over the Mont Cenis into that of the Arc. Both rivers rise on the Mont Iseran. Above Bourg-Saint-Maurice the St. Bernard road leaves the river and turns straight over the mountain, while the gorge (Val de Tignes) goes to the right southward. Below Lans-le-Bourg, at Termignon, a small lateral valley (Val Saint-Barthélemy) runs into the Arc valley. From the Val de Tignes there are three footpaths over the ridge, between the Mont Iseran and the Mont Chaffequarré, into the Val Saint-Barthélemy. One of these three saddle-shaped passes must certainly be capable of being paved. If a road were built here, then, in conjunction with the previously mentioned side road, the strategic road system of Savoy—as a French border province—would already be fairly well developed. A road would run just behind the main ridge of the Alps linking the three most important passes and making it possible to shift the main bodies of troops from the St. Bernard and the Mont Genèvre to the neighbourhood of the Mont Cenis in two days, and from one flank to the other in four to five days. If the system is further completed by a road from Moutiers over the Pralognan pass to Saint-Barthélemy and Lans-le-Bourg and another one from Moutiers to Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne, there will hardly be anything to add. Then it will only be necessary to set up the fortifications needed for support—not for absolute blocking—and to ensure the security of Moutiers, the principal highway hub, as the central depot before the powerful attack. In this there will be a total of less than twenty-five German miles of new road construction.

If these or similar arrangements are made—and there can be no doubt that the French general staff has already prepared a plan for the total strategic utilisation of Savoy—what happens then to the defence of the southern slope of the Alps? And, in the case of defence, what powerful strokes could not a new Lecourbe, relying on a secure central depot and small forts, deliver when his mobility was assured by such a network of roads? It should not be argued that mountain warfare cannot occur any longer with the great armies of today. So long as the armies are really large and there is decisive superiority on one side, that is true enough. But the armies will soon be ground down on the modern fortresses, and there will be plenty of cases in which superiority will give way to equilibrium. Naturally, no one will take to the mountains if he can help it, but the way from Paris to Italy and from Italy to Paris will always lead through Savoy or the Valais.

We sum up. Because of its geographical location and especially because of its Alpine passes, Savoy as a French province would allow an only slightly superior French army to take possession of the Italian slope of the Alps, make sweeps into the valleys and take on an importance much greater than its actual military forces would indicate. But if the theatre of war had been prepared to some extent, the French army would be so favourably situated that with otherwise fully equal forces it would have immediate superiority over its adversary; and in addition the Little St. Bernard would force the Italians to send off a detachment to a long distance, while the same pass would under certain circumstances give the French the opportunity to make more decisive offensive thrusts.

Savoy in French hands is, as against Italy, *an exclusively offensive tool.*

Now what is the situation as regards the interests of Switzerland?

In the present state of affairs Switzerland cannot be attacked by any of its neighbours except frontally. In saying this we count South Germany without Austria as one bordering state and Austria as another, for we have just seen that the two do not always of necessity act together. South Germany can attack only on the Basle-Constance line, Austria only on the Rheineck-Münster line, Italy on the Poschiavo-Geneva line and France on the Geneva-Basle line. Everywhere the Swiss army has its line of retreat perpendicularly behind its front; everywhere neutral border territory more or less covers its flanks. Consequently, strategic outflanking cannot be started *before* fighting has begun, so long as only one of the countries bordering on Switzerland is attacking. Only Austria has an advantageous position for outflanking the Grisons, but the Swiss would in any case never fight their decisive battle against an Austrian attack in the Grisons, but more to the northwest, in the spurs of the Alps. Austria's cession of Lombardy has greatly reinforced this advantage of the Swiss; up to a year ago Austria certainly had the means for a concentric attack on Southwestern Switzerland that would not be negligible in the high mountains, given superior forces. At the same time the effect of such an attack would be limited to only the Grisons, Ticino, Uri and Glarus, that is, the most thinly populated and poorest part of the country, and would presuppose that the enemy forces were already badly dispersed if they were to go over the St. Gotthard coming from Italy. The existing favourable distribution of the bordering countries is worth more to Switzerland than the

European guarantees of neutrality. It gives it the chance in the event of an attack by only one of its neighbours to prolong the defence as long as possible, and that is after all the only thing that so small a country can count on.

From the moment that Savoy becomes French or even is only occupied by French troops, there is no question any more of defending all of French Switzerland, from the Bernese Jura to the Lower Valais. Even now Geneva can be turned into a French depot within 24 hours; the Jura is turned, as well as the line of the Zihl and the lakes of Neuchâtel and Biel; the French, instead of having to struggle in the defiles and then force the narrow way between the two lakes and through the Grosse Moos, will march at their ease through the rich hilly land of the Vaud, and the first position for serious resistance coincides with the position in which the first main battle will have to be fought, before Berne behind the Saane and the Sense; for a flanking column from Savoy via Villeneuve and Vevey would make any resistance in the Vaud useless.

Up to now Switzerland's first defence line against France has been the Jura, an excellent terrain for raw militiamen who know the country and are supported by the population. It cannot be held effectively, however, if only because of the much-indented frontier which often cuts across its parallel ridges. The second, and more important, line is that of the Zihl, which connects the lakes of Neuchâtel and Biel and flows from of the Lake of Biel into the Aare. On the right the line is continued by the lower course of the Aare, and on the left by the Orbe, which flows into the Lake of Neuchâtel at its upper end, at Yverdon. The Zihl is only a half mile long between the lakes and only a mile from the Lake of Biel to the Aare. The true front of the position lies between the lakes and is further strengthened by the Grosse Moos in the low ground, extending from the Lake of Neuchâtel to near Aarberg and passable only on the main road. A right flanking of this front via Bürglen could be paralysed by the reserve at Aarberg; a flanking manoeuvre with a wider swing presupposes throwing a bridge over the Aare and tends to expose its lines of communication. A left flanking movement can only be carried out through the Vaud and can be held up successively at the Orbe, the Mentue and the Broye. This resistance cannot be undermined by a flanking operation along the Lake of Geneva towards Fribourg because the Swiss drawing back along the Lake of Neuchâtel would always have the shorter road to travel to get there. Thus the position on the Zihl can be used for a major battle only under

special conditions, if the enemy makes serious mistakes, but it still does everything that Switzerland could demand of it: It gives an opportunity to hold up the enemy and, in particular, to bring up the contingents from Southwestern Switzerland.

But once Savoy is in the hands of the enemy, a column advancing from Saint-Gingolph via Villeneuve and Châtel-Saint-Denis would make all resistance in the Vaud useless, for even at Vevey the column would be hardly two miles further from Fribourg than the Swiss on the Orbe and could therefore bar their retreat. From Saint-Gingolph to Fribourg is about twelve miles; Fribourg lies a day's march behind the left flank of the position on the Zihl between the lakes and three miles from Peterlingen (Payerne), where the French columns marching through the Vaud could join up with the column from Savoy. Thus, in three or four days the attacker can, if Savoy is at his disposal, cut the line of communication of the Valais through the valley of the Rhône, capture Geneva, the Vaud and Fribourg up to the Saane and emerge with his main forces in the rear of the Zihl position, which would let Basle, Solothurn, the Bernese Jura and Neuchâtel fall into his hands. And these are no barren high mountain districts but the richest and most industrial cantons of Switzerland.

Switzerland felt the strategic pressure Savoy exerts on it so strongly that in 1814 it effected the well-known neutralisation of its northern portion and in 1816 obtained from Sardinia the contractual undertaking never to cede the Chablais, Faucigny and Genévois to another power than Switzerland itself. Louis Napoleon also has the rumour spread about everywhere that he wants only Southern Savoy; the Chablais, Faucigny and a part of the Genévois, up to the Usses brook, are to go to Switzerland. Since one gift deserves another, he uses Herr Vogt, according to *The Times*, to inquire confidentially of the Swiss National Assembly whether he could not get free use of the Simplon road in exchange. A first hint that the Simplon too is a natural frontier post of France, as in fact it was under the First Empire.

Let us assume that Switzerland is enriched by the new canton of North Savoy. The frontier would be formed by the mountain ridge that separates from the main chain between the Little St. Bernard and the Mont Blanc and extends to the Rhône defile (Fort de l'Ecluse); it would thus appear to be quite "natural". But the following roads run from the valleys of the Isère and Rhône over this ridge: (1) Seyssel to Geneva; (2) Annecy to Geneva; (3) Annecy to Bonneville; (4) Albertville to Sallanches. Roads run from Bonneville and from Sallanches over the north ridge of the

Arve valley to Thonon. Thus, the region lies quite open to an offensive directed against Thonon on the south bank of the Lake of Geneva, and since the distances from Seyssel or Albertville to Thonon are not over fifteen miles, possession of North Savoy would only give the Swiss defensive five days more at most. But since it is out of the question that this new canton could be defended by any other troops than the *Landsturm*, the attacking column could just as well go directly from Geneva to Thonon—five miles—at which place it would be only some four miles from Saint-Gingolph. In this case North Savoy would provide Switzerland with only three days grace. In addition, it could only have the effect of dividing the Swiss defensive forces. The line of retreat of a Swiss army attacked from France obviously goes through Berne and the lowlands, where possible along the Aare to Zurich, and where that is not possible, to Lucerne, and from those two places into the Upper Rhine valley. Accordingly, the army cannot take up a position so far to the south that it can be forced out of these lines and up into the high mountains. As we saw, the Vaud can be incorporated to advantage into the Swiss defensive system; North Savoy and the Valais, laid open by the abrogation of the neutrality of Savoy, can certainly not be. We know, however, that in a threatened federative state defended by militias everyone will want to have his own home district defended. We know that the troops will grumble, the national assemblies will cry out, if entire cities and cantons are given up without resistance, and especially in the case of a new canton, which Switzerland will have received only for the sake of its defence! In the general staff itself everyone will do what he can to see that his district is specially protected, and in a militia army, in which the discipline is lax enough at best because of the comfortable tavern atmosphere of peacetime, all these influences will make it hard enough for the commander to hold his troops together. In nine cases out of ten it is a good bet that the commander will let himself be swayed or have to give way, and that North Savoy will be occupied by troops who will be no use at all for its defence but will in any event suffer during the retreat and be thrown in part into the Valais, where they may then try to see how they can get back to the main army over the Gemmi or the Furka.

The only security for Switzerland is that North Savoy belong neither to it nor to France; in that case it would really be neutral in a war between those two states, and really cover Switzerland. However, if it belonged to Switzerland this would not be much better for the Swiss than if it belonged to France. Its value comes

to a gain of three, or at most five, days, the greater part of which, however, would be lost again in defending the Vaud. What is that against the security that they could be attacked, under any circumstances, *only* between Basle and the Lake of Geneva?

North Savoy is a gift of the Greeks[a] for the Swiss; it is more than that: This gift implies a threat. In the case that has been presumed, France is militarily master of all of French Switzerland and interdicts any even half serious defence of it. Annexation of South Savoy by France *immediately raises the demand for incorporation of French Switzerland.*

[a] Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, II, 49: "Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes" (I fear the Greeks, even when bringing gifts).—*Ed.*

## III

As we know, the county of Nice lies at the foot of the Maritime Alps, and its border towards the district of Genoa drops to the sea a mile east of Oneglia, at Cervo. The western half speaks a Provençal dialect and the eastern half, beyond the Roya, an Italian one. With the exception of some villages on the Var, however, Italian is the written language everywhere; only in the city of Nice, because of the large influx of foreigners, is it counterbalanced by French.

If we are to treat the national question correctly here, we must go into the language relationships of the Western Alps for a moment.

At every point at which Italian competes with other languages in the Alps it is proved to be the weaker. There is no point at which it crosses the Alps; the Romance dialects of the Grisons and the Tyrol are entirely independent of Italian. On the other hand, all the bordering languages have won territory from it south of the Alps. Krain-Slovenian is spoken in the western mountain districts of the Venetian province of Udine. In the Tyrol the German element is master of the entire southern slope and all of the Upper Adige valley; further to the south, in the middle of the Italian region, there are the German-language islands of the *Sette comuni* and the *Tredici comuni*[433]; at the southern foot of the Gries Pass, as well as in the Val di Cavergno in the Ticino and the Val Formazza in Piedmont, in the Upper Valdi Vedro at the foot of the Simplon, and finally on the entire southeastern slope of the Monte Rosa, in the Val de Lys, the Upper Val Sesia and Val Anzasca, German is spoken. From the Val de Lys on the French language border begins; it comprises the entire Val d'Aosta and the eastern slope of the Cottian Alps, from the Mont Cenis Pass on, so that the

common understanding is that the sources of all the rivers of the Upper Po basin belong to it. It is usually accepted that this border runs from Demonte (on the Stura) somewhat westerly from the Col di Tenda to the Roya and follows that river down to the sea.

There can be no doubt as to the boundaries between Italian and German or Slavic-speaking peoples. It is different, however, where two Romance languages meet, and to be sure not the Italian literary language, *il vero toscano,*[a] nor the cultured North French, but the Piedmontese dialect of Italian and the South French of the troubadours, degenerated into a thousand patois, which we shall designate, for the sake of brevity, with the imprecise but familiar name of Provençal. Anyone who has ever studied, even superficially, the comparative grammar of the Romance languages or Provençal literature, must be struck immediately by the great similarity of the vernacular in Lombardy and Piedmont to Provençal. In Lombard, it is true, this similarity is limited to the external habitus of the dialect; the dropping of the masculine vowel endings, while the feminine ones are kept in the singular, as well as of most of the vowel endings in conjugation, give it a Provençal ring, while on the other hand the nasal *n,* the pronunciation of the *u* and *oeu* are reminiscent of North French. But the word formation and phonology are essentially Italian, and where divergences occur they are often strangely reminiscent, as in Rhaeto-Romanic,[434] of Portuguese.* The Piedmontese dialect agrees fairly well with the Lombard in its basic features, while coming closer to the Provençal and no doubt approaching it so closely in the Cottian and Maritime Alps that it would be hard to draw a definite line.** Further, most of the South French patois are not much closer to the North French written language than

* Lat. *clavis,* Ital. *chiave,* Port. *chave,* Lomb. *ciàu* (pron. *chow*=key. The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* had an account written to it from Verona last summer (see the reports from the Austrian headquarters) to the effect that people in the street greeted each other with "Chow, chow". The wise newspaper, which has a fondness for language errors, was obviously baffled by this *Chow, chow.* The word is *s-ciau* (*stchow*) and is the analogue in Lombard for *schiavo*=slave, servant, as we too use the greeting: "Your servant, obedient servant", etc.—Only two actual Provençal forms in Lombard occur to us: the feminine past participle in *-da* (*amà, amada*) and the first person of the present in *-i* (*ami*=I love, *saludi*=I greet).

** Decisive criteria for the Italian and Provençal dialects would be: (1) the Italian vocalisation of *l* after consonants (*fiore, piu, bianco*), which does not occur in Provençal; (2) formation of the plural of nouns from the Latin nominative (*donne, cappelli*). Provençal and Old French did have this formation of the nominative in

[a] True Tuscan.—*Ed.*

Piedmontese itself. Here, therefore, the vernacular can hardly be decisive for nationality; the Provençal-speaking Alpine peasant learns Italian as easily as French and uses one as seldom as the other; Piedmontese is perfectly comprehensible to him, and he gets along well enough with it. If some point of support had to be found, it could be only the written language, and this is Italian in all of Piedmont and Nice, the only exception being probably the Val d'Aosta and the Waldensian valleys, where French is the dominant written language here and there.

To try to assert the French nationality of Nice on the basis of a Provençal patois, which covers only half the province at that, is, therefore, nonsense from the start. The assertion becomes still more nonsensical if we recall that the Provençal language extends across the Pyrenees as well, covers Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia, and in these Spanish provinces, despite some Castilian echoes, not only is preserved on the whole in a much purer form than anywhere in France, but also still has an existence as a written language in the popular literature. What would become of Spain if Louis Bonaparte one day claimed these three regions too as being of French nationality?

It seems to be even harder to create French sympathies in the county of Nice than in Savoy. One hears nothing from the country; in the city every attempt falls even flatter than in Chambéry, although it is much easier to concentrate a crowd of Bonapartists in this seaside resort. The idea of making Garibaldi, the man from Nice, into a Frenchman is not at all bad.

If Savoy is of supreme importance for the defence of Piedmont, Nice is still more so. Three roads lead from Nice to Italy: the Corniche road along the coast to Genoa, the road over the Col di Nava from Oneglia to the valley of the Tanaro and Ceva, and the road over the Col di Tenda to Cuneo (Coni). The first one is, to be sure, finally barred by Genoa, but as early as at Albenga and again at Savona gives an advancing column the opportunity of crossing the Apennines on good paved roads, and in addition provides a number of bridle-paths and footpaths over the mountains; in 1796 Napoleon gave an example of how they are to be used in war. The third one, over the Col di Tenda, is for Nice what the Mont Cenis is for Savoy; it leads directly to Turin, but

the Middle Ages, while all the other cases were derived from the Latin accusative (ending *-s*). All modern Provençal dialects have only the latter form, so far as we know. Nonetheless, it could seem doubtful at the border whether the nominative form that has been handed down comes from the Italian or the Provençal.

affords few or no flanking advantages. On the other hand, the middle road over the Col di Nava leads straight to Alessandria and so has the same sort of effect in the south that the Little St. Bernard has in the north, only much more directly and with far fewer obstacles. It has the additional advantage that it is near enough to the coast road to get significant support from it in the attack. As early as at Garessio the column advancing on the Nava road can make contact again with the column which has advanced to Albenga on the coast road, since the crossroad from Albenga comes out there; if it has passed Ceva, the road to Alessandria leads through Carcare, where the road from Savona comes out and which is half way between Ceva and Savona. However, there are high mountains between Ceva, Savona and Oneglia, where the defence cannot make a stand. In addition, the north slope of the Col di Nava, with the sources of the Tanaro, lies *in the territory of Nice,* so that the pass belongs from the outset to whoever has Nice *before* the war.

A French army that had control of Nice even before war broke out threatens, from there, the flank, rear and lines of communication of any Italian force thrust forward westward from Alessandria. Cession of Nice to France would therefore mean, in war, drawing the assembly point of the Italian forces to Alessandria and abandoning the defence of Piedmont proper, which can only be conducted in Nice and Savoy.

Here too the history of the revolutionary war affords the best example.

On October 1, 1792 General Anselme crossed the Var with a division of 9,000 men, while at the same time the French fleet (12 ships of the line and frigates) cast anchor within 1,000 paces of Nice. The inhabitants, who favoured the revolution, rose in revolt and the weak Piedmontese garrison (2,000 men) retreated in haste to the Col di Tenda, where they took up a position at Saorge. The city of Nice received the French with open arms, but they plundered the entire country, burned the peasants' houses, raped their women and could not be kept within bounds either by Anselme's orders of the day or by the proclamations of the commissaries of the Convention. This was the original core of the later Army of Italy with which General Bonaparte won his first laurels. Bonapartism in its initial stages always seems to have to base itself on riff-raff; without a Society of December 10[435] it cannot get to its feet anywhere.

For a long time the warring parties remained inactive facing one another; the French held the city and its surroundings; the

Piedmontese, reinforced by an Austrian division, remained masters of the mountains and had a strong entrenched position with its centre at Saorge. In June 1793 the French made some attacks, on the whole fruitless; in July they took the Col d'Argentera, which leads into the rear of the enemy position. After the capture of Toulon (December 1793) the army of Italy received considerable reinforcements and General Bonaparte was attached to it. The following spring he mounted an attack on the camp at Saorge, which was executed with complete success on April 28 and gave the French possession of all the passes in the Maritime Alps. Now Bonaparte proposed to combine the army of the Alps with the army of Italy in the valley of the Stura and to conquer Piedmont; but the plan was not accepted. Soon after Bonaparte lost his most powerful protector, the younger Robespierre, as a result of the ninth Thermidor,[436] and with that his influence in the Council of War; he was left a simple divisional general. The army went over to the defensive, and it was only when the Austrian General Colloredo moved against Savona with habitual slowness in order to cut off the very important French line of communication with neutral Genoa that Bonaparte found an opportunity to fall upon and defeat him. Nonetheless, the road to Genoa remained in danger, and the campaign of 1795 began with the expulsion of the French from the entire Genoese Riviera. In the meantime the peace treaty with Spain[437] had made the army of the Eastern Pyrenees available; it was sent to Nice, where it was fully assembled by November. Schérer, who was now in command in the Maritime Alps, went over to the attack immediately under a plan worked out by Masséna. While Sérurier kept the Piedmontese busy at the Col di Tenda, Masséna advanced in the high mountains to flank Loano, which Augereau attacked frontally (November 23). The plan succeeded completely; the Austrians lost 2,000 killed, 5,000 prisoners and 40 guns and were totally separated from the Piedmontese. The line of communication with Genoa was now secure again, and the mountains remained firmly in French hands during the winter. In spring 1796 Bonaparte at last received command of the army of Italy, and now things took a different turn. Supported by possession of Nice and the Riviera di Ponente, he went up into the mountains from Savona, beat the Austrians at Montenotte, Millesimo and Dego[438] and thereby separated them from the Piedmontese, who now, outflanked by superior French forces and isolated, signed a treaty of peace immediately after a couple of rearguard actions. Thus, four successful engagements in the upper valleys of the Bormida and

the Tanaro yielded the French military control of all Piedmont, without a direct thrust at Turin being required; the seat of war shifted at once to Lombardy, and Piedmont became a part of the French base of operations.

So during the first three years of the war Italy was completely protected by Nice. Only in the third campaign were the passes of the Maritime Alps lost, and only in the fourth did they come into play—but then in an immediately decisive manner. After the mountain engagements of the first week a strong demonstration against the Piedmontese was enough to make them realise their helpless position and the necessity of capitulation. The thrust itself could have continued almost without interruption in the direction of Milan; all the territory between the Bormida, the Ticino and the Alps fell without a fight into the hands of the French.

If Nice is a French province, Italy is in the same position *vis-à-vis* France that it was in at the end of the 1794 campaign. Not only is the valley of the Stura open to the French through the Col di Tenda, and the valley of the Tanaro through the Col di Nava; the way to Albenga and Savona cannot be contested to a superior attacking French army, and consequently, three or four days after the beginning of the campaign, it would be back where the campaign of 1796 started. Where should the main body of the Italians stand up against it? In the Genoese Riviera it has no room to deploy; westward of the Belbo and Tanaro its communications with Alessandria, Lombardy and the peninsula are endangered. The only thing it can do is to advance southward from Alessandria and fall, with joint forces, on the individual columns debouching from the mountains. This, however, presupposes that the defence of the Alpine frontier has been abandoned from the outset, since otherwise all the detachments at the Col di Tenda and west and northwest of it would be cut off. In other words, possession of Nice *gives France mastery of the Alps,* which then will no longer be a protective wall for Italy, and hence military mastery over Piedmont.

Nice gives France the same flank advantages in the south that Savoy gives it in the north, only still more completely and directly. Now if either Nice or Savoy by itself lays Piedmont proper totally open to a French attack, what power would France have over Piedmont if it had both provinces! Piedmont would be in their grip as in pincers; along the entire line from the Little St. Bernard down to the Col di Nava and the mountain roads above Savona, the inexorable game of feinting attacks could be played in endless variations until finally the real attack comes at a point on the

flanks and cuts off all the Italian detachments that have dug in too deeply in the mountains. The only course left to an Italian army would be to concentrate at Alessandria and Casale, to leave the Alps only under observation and, as soon as the main direction of the attack was ascertained, to throw all its forces at it. If this is conceded, it means that not only the chain of the Alps but the entire Piedmontese Po basin is given up to the enemy in advance and that the first defensive position of an Italian army against France is behind the ramparts of Alessandria. With Savoy and Nice as advanced bulwarks Piedmont is the first base of operations of the Italian army; without them Piedmont, militarily speaking, belongs to the French offensive and must first be recovered from it by a victory on Piedmontese soil and by capturing the passes of Savoy and Nice.

The annexation of Savoy and Nice is equivalent, if not to the political, to the *military annexation of Piedmont to France.* When in the future Victor Emmanuel looks out from the Villa della Regina at Turin at the mighty chain of the Alps, not one of whose mountains will belong to him any more, this will be clear enough to him.

But, it will be said, if a powerful military state takes shape in Upper Italy, France needs Nice and Savoy for its own defence.

It is true, as we have seen, that Savoy would significantly strengthen the French defensive system. Nice would reinforce it further only to the extent that this province too would have to be conquered before the present French Alpine departments could be attacked. The question is, however, whether a strong Italian military state could in any way so threaten France that special protection against it would be required.

Italy, even if entirely united, could, with its 26 million inhabitants, never wage an aggressive war against France except in alliance with Germany. In such a war, however, Germany would always provide the bulk of the military forces and Italy would be the subordinate power. This alone would suffice to shift the main stress of the attack from the Alps to the Rhine and the Meuse. In addition, there is the position of Paris, the decisive point of attack, in North France. The most dangerous attack on France will always be the one from Belgium; if Belgium is neutral, the one from the German left bank of the Rhine and Baden on the Upper Rhine. Any other attack makes a detour and is more or less eccentric, not aimed directly at Paris. And if Clausewitz (*Vom Kriege,* Book VI, Chap. 23) already made fun of the way in which in 1814 an army of 200,000 men, instead of marching straight on Paris, let a silly

theory lead them by the nose on the detour through Switzerland to the plateau of Langres, what would he now say of campaign plans that would aim the main attack on Paris through Upper Italy and Savoy, or even Nice?[a] Any attack through Savoy is far inferior to the attack from the Rhine because of the longer line of communication, going across the Alps into the bargain, because of the greater distance to Paris, and finally because of the attractive power of the big fortified camp of Lyons, which would bring it to a halt in most cases. Accordingly, the corps invading France through Italy in the 1814 campaign played virtually no role.

With such means of defence, France does not in fact need any extension of its terrain on this, the best protected of its frontiers, and against one of its weakest neighbours. If France's present frontiers were everywhere as far removed from Paris—and as strong by nature and art and owing to difficulties in enemy communications—as its frontier with Italy, France would be unassailable. But if Bonapartism seeks out precisely this point to raise the question of the so-called natural borders on the pretext that they are indispensable to France's defence[b]—how much easier will it be to establish its claims to the Rhine!

Nice will always remain Italian, even if it be temporarily ceded to France. Savoy may, and probably will at some future time, desire to be incorporated into France, when the great European nationalities have further consolidated themselves. But it is quite another matter whether Savoy will voluntarily become French when Germany and Italy have realised their national unity politically and militarily as well and thereby considerably strengthened their position as European powers—or whether a ruler like Louis Napoleon, depending on conquest, wrests it from a still divided Italy in order to perpetuate his mastery over Italy and at the same time provide a first precedent for the theory of natural borders.

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[a] C. Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege*, Hinterlassenes Werk. Zweiter Theil. Sechstes Buch. Vertheidigung, Kapitel 23. Schlüssel des Landes, Berlin, 1833.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to the anonymous article "Das Wachsen der Opposition", *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 58, February 27, 1860.—*Ed.*

## IV

In this huckstering over Savoy and Nice, there are three factors that mainly concern us Germans.

In the first place, Louis Napoleon's practical version of Italian independence: Italy divided into at least three states, if possible four, Venice Austrian, and France master of Piedmont by virtue of possessing Savoy and Nice. The Papal lands, after the subtraction of the Romagna, will completely separate Naples from the Upper Italian state and block any expansion of the latter southward, since the Pope is to be "guaranteed" possession of his remaining territories. At the same time Venice is held out as the nearest bait to the Upper Italian state, and in Austria the Italian national movement retains its most immediate and primary adversary; and to make sure that the new kingdom can be set in motion against Austria at the pleasure of Louis Napoleon, the French take over all the positions dominating the Western Alps and shift their advance posts to within nine miles of Turin. This is the position that Bonapartism has got for itself in Italy, and it is worth an army in the event of a war over the Rhine border. It gives Austria the best of excuses to supply at most its federal contingent—if that. In this situation there is only one thing that can help: a complete reversal of German policy with respect to Italy. We believe that we have proved elsewhere that Germany has no need of the territory of Venice up to the Mincio and the Po. Likewise, we have no interest in the continuance of the Papal and Neapolitan rule, but we do have one in the establishment of a strong and unified Italy which can have a policy of its own. Under certain circumstances, we can therefore offer Italy more than

Bonapartism can; the time may soon come when it will be important to bear this in mind.

In the second place, the outright proclamation of the theory of France's natural frontiers.[a] No one can have any doubt that this theory has been trumpeted by the French press not only with the permission of the Government but at its direct orders. For the time being the theory is being applied only to the Alps; this is still relatively innocuous; Savoy and Nice are small regions, with only 575,000 and 236,000 inhabitants respectively, so that the population of France would be increased by only 811,000, and their political and military significance is not obvious at first glance. But the fact that with the claim to these two provinces the notion of natural frontiers is again brought to the fore and recalled to the French people, that Europe is to get used to the slogan again, as to other Bonapartist slogans that have been proclaimed and dropped and proclaimed and dropped for ten years—that is what particularly concerns us Germans. In the French language of the First Empire, which the republicans of the *National* subsequently continued so diligently to speak, the natural frontier *par excellence* of France was understood to be the Rhine. Even today, when a natural frontier is spoken of, no Frenchman thinks of Savoy or Nice but only of the Rhine. What government, and one at that which is based on the traditions of conquest and the lust for conquest in the nation, would dare to revive the call for the natural frontiers and then expect to satisfy France with Savoy and Nice?

The renewed proclamation of the theory of France's natural frontiers is a direct threat to Germany and a fact which can no longer be misunderstood, one that justifies the national feeling that was expressed in Germany a year ago. Louis Napoleon does not say so, to be sure, but the press he directs is explaining to anyone who will listen that nothing else was and is involved than the Rhine.

In the third place, and most important, *Russia's attitude towards the whole intrigue.* When the war broke out last year, when Gorchakov himself admitted that Russia had contracted "written obligations" to Louis Napoleon, rumours reached the public as to the content of these obligations. The rumours came from various sources and confirmed each other in essentials. Russia bound itself to mobilise four army corps and station them on the Prussian and Austrian borders in order to help Louis Napoleon's game. For the

[a] See this volume, p. 600.—*Ed.*

course of the war itself, it was said, three cases were envisaged:

Either Austria makes peace on the Mincio; in this case it loses Lombardy and, isolated from Prussia and England, will be easy to persuade to enter the Russo-French alliance, whose further aims (partition of Turkey, cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France) can then be pursued in another way.

Or Austria continues to fight for possession of Venetia; in that case it will be driven out of Italy altogether, and an insurrection will be started in Hungary, which under certain circumstances will be given to the Russian Grand Duke Constantine; Lombardy and Venice will go to Piedmont, Savoy and Nice to France.

Or else Austria continues to fight and the German Confederation[439] stands by it; then Russia will enter the war actively, France will get the left bank of the Rhine and Russia will have a free hand in Turkey.

We repeat: These data on the essential content of the Russo-French alliance were already known and published by the time war broke out. A considerable part of them have been confirmed by events. What of the rest?

Documentary proof of them cannot, of course, be provided at present owing to the very nature of the case. Such documents only come to light when the relevant events themselves are history. Only the policy of Russia, as established by facts and documents concerning previous periods of history (e.g., the Russian archives found in Warsaw in 1830[a]), can serve as a guide in this tangle of intrigue; but that it does thoroughly.

Russia has allied itself with France twice during this century, and in each case the alliance had the partition of Germany as its aim or basis.

The first occasion was on the raft at Tilsit.[440] Russia gave Germany over entirely into the hands of the French Emperor, and even took a piece of Prussia as security for it. In exchange it got a free hand in Turkey; it hastened to conquer Bessarabia and Moldavia and send its troops across the Danube. The fact that Napoleon soon after "studied the Turkish question" and significantly changed his opinion on the matter was one of Russia's main grounds for the war of 1812.

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[a] This refers to documents from the Grand Duke Constantine's archives seized by the Polish insurgents during the 1830-31 uprising in Warsaw. Some of them were published by David Urquhart in his series of diplomatic documents *The Portfolio; or a Collection of State Papers...*, Vol. III, London, 1836, some appeared in *Recueil des documents relatifs à la Russie pour la plupart secrets et inédits utiles à consulter dans la crise actuelle*, Paris, 1854.—*Ed.*

The second occasion was in 1829. Russia entered into a treaty with France according to which France was to get the left bank of the Rhine and in exchange Russia was to get a free hand in Turkey again. This treaty was torn up by the July revolution; Talleyrand found the relevant documents as the case against the Polignac Ministry was being prepared, and threw them into the fire in order to spare French and Russian diplomacy the colossal scandal. Diplomats of all countries constitute a secret league as against the exoteric public and will never compromise one another openly.

In the 1853 war Russia relied on the Holy Alliance, which it had reestablished by the intervention in Hungary and the humiliation of Warsaw and believed to be strengthened by Austria's and Prussia's mistrust of Louis Napoleon. It was mistaken. Austria astonished the world by the extent of its ingratitude (in the meantime it had repaid its debt to Russia with usurious interest in Schleswig-Holstein and Warsaw) and by its consistent resumption of its traditional anti-Russian policy on the Danube.[441] The Russian calculations went astray in this sector; in another, they were saved again by treachery in the enemy camp.

This much was clear: The fixed idea of conquering Constantinople could now be put into execution only by an alliance with France. On the other hand there had never yet been a government in France that so badly needed to conquer the frontier on the Rhine as the Government of Louis Napoleon. The situation was even more favourable than in 1829. Russia had the game in hand. Louis Napoleon could do nothing but pull its chestnuts out of the fire.

Above all else the task was to annihilate Austria. With the same tenacity with which Austria resisted the French on the field of battle from 1792 to 1809, with that same tenacity from 1814 onward it had offered diplomatic resistance to Russian lust for conquest on the Vistula and the Danube—and this is its only, but undeniable merit. In 1848-49, when the revolution in Germany, Italy and Hungary brought Austria to the brink of ruin, Russia saved Austria—it was not to be ruined by a revolution, for that would have taken control of the liberated parts out of the hands of Russian policy. Nonetheless, the movement of the various nationalities had become independent and from 1848 on made it impossible for Austria to resist Russia any longer, thereby removing the last internal, historical reason for the existence of Austria.

This same anti-Austrian national movement was now to become

the lever with which to unhinge Austria. First in Italy; later, if necessary, in Hungary. Russia does not operate as the first Napoleon did, that is, against the West, when it comes up against dense populations of higher civilisation than that of its own people, it proceeds only slowly. The beginnings of the subjection of Poland date from Peter the Great, and the process is only partially completed. Slow but sure successes are just as welcome to Russia as swift decisive blows with great results; but both possibilities are always kept in view. The Russian hand is plain to see in the use made of the Hungarian insurrection in the 1859 war, in its being put back into reserve for the second act.

But if Russia was satisfied, in one case, with the weakening of Austria by the short campaign of 1859, did it not foresee any other eventualities? Did it mobilise its first four army corps only for the pleasure of it? What if Austria had not yielded? What if military and political combinations had forced Prussia and the rest of Germany to intervene on Austria's side—and if the war had continued this was the only possibility? What then? What obligations *could* Russia have entered into with France for that event?

The treaties of Tilsit and of 1829 give the answer. France must have its share of the booty too if Russia extends on the Danube and rules directly or indirectly in Constantinople. The only compensation that Russia *can* offer France is the left bank of the Rhine; the sacrifices must again be borne by Germany. The natural and traditional policy of Russia towards France is: to promise France possession of the left bank of the Rhine or to help it to get it in a given case, in exchange for the consent to and support of Russian conquests on the Vistula and the Danube; and then to support Germany, which in gratitude will recognise the Russian conquests, in its reconquest of the territory lost to France. Execution of this programme will naturally be possible only in great historical crises, but that does not in any way prevent such eventualities from being envisaged in 1859 as they were in 1829.

It would be ridiculous today to try to prove yet again that the conquest of Constantinople is the unchangeable goal of Russian foreign policy and that any means is good towards reaching that goal. We recall only one thing here. Russia can never bring about the partition of Turkey except through an alliance with France or England. When direct offers to England seemed suitable in 1844, the Emperor Nicholas went to England and personally brought a Russian memoir on the partition of Turkey, in which, among

other things, the English were promised Egypt. The offers were rejected, but Lord Aberdeen put the memoir into a box, which he handed over, sealed, to his successor in the Foreign Office; and every successive Foreign Secretary read the document, resealed it and handed it over to his successor in the same manner, until the matter finally came out into the open in the debates in the House of Lords in 1853. At the same time the well-known conversation of the Emperor Nicholas with Sir Hamilton Seymour about the "sick man" came to light, in which England was likewise offered Egypt and Crete, while Russia apparently was willing to be satisfied with small benefits.[442] The Russian promises to England were thus the same in 1853 as in 1844; would the promises to France have been less generous in 1859 than in 1829?

Louis Napoleon's personality and his position both fit him for serving the purposes of Russia. The pretended heir to a great military tradition, he also inherited the consequences of the defeats of 1813 to 1815. The army is his main support and he must satisfy it by new military successes, by punishing the powers that crushed France in those years, by restoring the country's natural frontiers. Only when the French tricolour waves on the entire left bank of the Rhine, only then will the disgrace of the two captures of Paris[443] be wiped out. And in order to achieve all this, a strong ally is needed; the choice is only between England and Russia. England, with its frequent changes of Ministries, cannot be relied on, to say the least, even if an English Minister were to lend himself to such projects. But Russia? Already twice it had, for a reasonable equivalent, proved its readiness for an alliance on such a basis.

Never was a man more suitable to Russian policy than Louis Napoleon; never was a situation more favourable to it than his. A ruler on the French throne who *must* wage war, who *must* make conquests, just to survive, who needs an alliance and for this alliance must rely on Russia alone—this was something Russia had never been offered before. Since the meeting in Stuttgart,[444] the mainsprings of French policy are to be found no longer in Paris, in Louis Napoleon's head, but in St. Petersburg, in the cabinet of Prince Gorchakov. The "mysterious" man, who produces such awe in the German philistine, is reduced to a tool with which Russian diplomacy plays and which it allows to be plastered over with all the appearance of a great man, while contenting itself with the real advantages. Russia, which never sacrifices a kopeck or a soldier unless it is absolutely necessary, but lets the other European powers mangle and weaken one another as far as

possible, Russia had to give its permission through Gorchakov's treaty before Louis Napoleon could give himself airs as the liberator of Italy.[445] And when the reports on the mood in Russian Poland sounded too bad to allow any armed rising in Hungary nearby; when the attempted mobilisation of the first four Russian army corps proved that the exhaustion of the country had not yet been overcome; when the peasant movement as well as the resistance of the nobility assumed dimensions that could be dangerous in a foreign war—an adjutant general[a] of the Russian Emperor[b] appeared in the French headquarters and the Treaty of Villafranca was concluded. For the time being Russia had achieved enough. Austria had been severely punished for its "ingratitude" in 1854, more severely than Russia could ever have expected. Its finances, which before the war had been on the point of being put in order, ruined for decades, its entire internal system of government hopelessly collapsed, its domination in Italy wiped out, its territory diminished, its army discouraged, deprived of confidence in its leaders; the Hungarians, Slavs and Venetians so heightened in their national movement that secession from Austria was now openly expressed as their aim; from now on Russia could entirely disregard Austria's resistance and count on gradually converting it into a tool. These were the successes for Russia; Louis Napoleon brought home nothing but very meagre glory for his army, very dubious glory for himself and a very precarious claim to Savoy and Nice—two provinces that are at best gifts of the Greeks and chain him still more firmly to Russia.

The broader plans are put off for the moment, not given up. For how long, will depend on the development of international relations in Europe, on how long Louis Napoleon will be able to keep his praetorian army quiet, and on the greater or lesser interest Russia has in a new war.

What kind of role Russia intends to play in relation to us Germans is clear enough from the well-known circular that Prince Gorchakov sent to the smaller German states last year.[c] Such language has never been used to Germany before. Let us hope that the Germans will never forget that Russia dared to try to forbid them to come to the aid of a German state that was being attacked.

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[a] P. A. Shuvalov.—*Ed.*

[b] Alexander II.—*Ed.*

[c] A. Gortschakow, "Circularschreiben an die russischen Gesandtschaften vom 15. (27.) Mai 1859", *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 167, June 16, 1859.—*Ed.*

Let us hope that the Germans will not forget many other things in connection with Russia.

In the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 Russia had a bit of the territory of its ally, Prussia—the Bialystok district—ceded to it and abandoned Germany to Napoleon.

In 1814, when even Austria (see Castlereagh's memoirs[a]) upheld the necessity of an independent Poland, Russia incorporated into itself almost the entire Grand Duchy of Warsaw (i.e., former Austrian and Prussian provinces[446]) and thereby took up an offensive position against Germany that will be a threat to us until we have driven Russia out of it. The fortress group of Modlin, Warsaw and Ivangorod, built since 1831, is conceded even by the Russophile Haxthausen to be a direct threat to Germany.

In 1814 and 1815 Russia did everything it could to achieve the constitution of the German Confederation[447] in its present form and thereby perpetuate Germany's external impotence.

From 1815 to 1848 Germany was under the direct hegemony of Russia. Austria may have opposed it on the Danube, but at the congresses of Laibach, Troppau and Verona[448] it carried out every wish of Russia's in Western Europe. This Russian hegemony was the direct result of the constitution of the German Confederation. When Prussia tried for a moment to break away in 1841 and 1842, it was at once forced back into its previous status. The result was that at the outbreak of the 1848 revolution Russia issued a circular in which the movement in Germany was treated as a revolt in the nursery.[b]

In 1829 Russia concluded with the Polignac ministry a treaty that had been prepared from 1823 by Chateaubriand (and openly admitted by him) and that bartered the left bank of the Rhine away to France.

In 1849 Russia supported Austria in Hungary only on condition that Austria reestablished the Federal Diet and crushed the resistance of Schleswig-Holstein; the London Protocol[449] assured Russia of the succession to the entire Danish monarchy in the near future and gave it the prospect of realising the plan it had nurtured since Peter the Great of entering the German Confederation (formerly the Empire).

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[a] *Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh*, Vol. I, London, 1848.—*Ed.*

[b] Circular of the Russian Foreign Minister K. V. Nesselrode to the Russian representatives in German states, July 6, 1848, *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung*, No. 210 (second supplement), July 28, 1848 (see also present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 307-13).—*Ed.*

In 1850 Prussia and Austria were summoned to Warsaw by the Tsar, who sat in judgment on them. The humiliation was no less for Austria than for Prussia, although in the eyes of the café politicians Prussia alone bore it.

In 1853 the Emperor Nicholas, in his conversation with Sir Hamilton Seymour, disposed of Germany as though it was his hereditary property. Austria, he said, he was sure of. Prussia he did not even mention.[a]

And finally, in 1859, when the Holy Alliance seemed to have been altogether dissolved, the treaty with Louis Napoleon, the French attack on Austria with Russian consent and support, and Gorchakov's circular forbidding the Germans to give any help to Austria, in the most shameless manner.

This is what we have to thank the Russians for since the beginning of this century and what, we hope, we Germans will never forget.

At this moment the Russo-French alliance still threatens us. France itself can endanger us only at special conjunctures, and even then only through the alliance with Russia. But Russia threatens and insults us at all times, and if Germany rises against that, Russia sets the French gendarme in motion with the prospect of the left bank of the Rhine.

Should we allow this game to be played with us any longer? Should the forty-five million of us tolerate any longer that one of our fairest, richest and most industrial provinces should serve as a lure held out by Russia to the praetorian rule in France? Does the Rhineland have no other function than to be overrun in war so that Russia may have a free hand on the Danube and Vistula?

That is the question. We hope that Germany will soon answer it sword in hand. If we stand together, we shall soon send the French praetorians and the Russian *kapustniki*[b] about their business.

In the meantime we have obtained an ally in the form of the Russian serfs. The contest that has now broken out in Russia between the ruling and the oppressed classes of the rural population is already undermining the entire system of Russian foreign policy. That system was only possible so long as Russia had no internal political development. But that time is past. Industrial

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[a] "Communications Respecting Turkey Made to Her Majesty's Government by the Emperor of Russia, with the Answers Returned to Them. January to April 1853", *Correspondence Respecting the Rights and Privileges of the Latin and Greek Churches in Turkey*, London, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] Cabbage-eaters, from the Russian word *kapusta* (cabbage).—*Ed.*

and agricultural development fostered in every way by the government and the nobility, has reached a point where the existing social conditions can no longer be endured. Elimination of these conditions is a necessity, on the one hand, but an impossibility without violent change, on the other. With the Russia that existed from Peter the Great to Nicholas, the foreign policy of that Russia collapses as well.

As it would seem, it is reserved for Germany to make this fact clear to the Russians not only with the pen but with the sword as well. If it comes *to that*, it will be a rehabilitation of Germany that will outweigh the centuries of political ignominy.

# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

# Karl Marx

## [SYMPTOMS OF THE REVIVAL OF FRANCE'S INTERNAL LIFE][450]

Paris, November 9

People in this city are generally so much bored with the progress of liberty abroad that they almost forget minding the progress of servitude at home. Still, now and then, symptoms of returning internal life appear on the surface of the social body.

Take for instance M. Berryer's vigorous denunciation of the decay of the *barreau*[a] and of the growing servility of the French Courts of Justice. Another instance is the efforts made by liberals of every shade of opinion to rally and make a literary stand at least against the streams of turpitude daily poured over the country through the floodgates of the Decembrist press. Thus at Paris Messrs. d'Haussonville, Jules Simon, Barthélemy-St.-Hilaire, Odilon Barrot, Duvergier de Hauranne, Barni, Hauréau and others, are trying their best in this direction. In the department *de la Meurthe* a cluster of independent writers have started a periodical publication under the title of *Varia* with a view to combat the monster centralisation that envelops France in its deadly embrace, as the serpents did the body of Laocoon; and similar undertakings are set on foot in Alsace. The *Courrier du Dimanche*, however, a weekly Paris paper, now evidently takes the lead of the new liberal opposition. On casting a glance on its sheets, one becomes at once aware of the enormous difficulties its way is beset with, and, moreover, its writers appear more or less tainted with the exhalations of the corrupt medium they breathe

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[a] The Bar.—*Ed.*

in. Still there is a great effort made to emerge and, consequently, I propose giving a summary of their recent strictures on the Bonapartist pamphlet literature.[a]

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[a] The manuscript breaks off here.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE ITALIAN WAR. 1859[451]

| | |
|---|---|
| *January 1* | Bonaparte's New-Year speech.[a] |
| *February 26* | Cowley's mission[b] aimed at appeasement and evacuation of the Papal States by both [states].[c] |
| *March* | Austria arms and reinforces the army in Italy. |
| *April 23* | Austrian *ultimatum* to Turin: immediate disarmament or hostilities. Cavour appeals to the Congress, to which, on England's proposal, France, Prussia and Russia agree.[452] |
| " *24* | Sentries on the border. |
| " *25* | *French troops land in Genoa.* |
| " *26* | Austrians *cross the Ticino, begin* hostilities. |
| " *27* | *Flight of the Grand Duke of Tuscany*[d] owing to revolution. Provisional Government, replaced by Piedmontese Commission[453] on May 11. According to reports from Vienna, *offensive and defensive alliance between France and Russia.* |
| " *29* | *Austria definitively in Lomellina.* |
| *May 1* | *Duchess of Parma* forced to flee, returned for a few days, but then left for good.[e] |

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[a] Napoleon III's address to the Austrian Ambassador von Hübner at a reception for the Diplomatic Corps in the Tuileries, January 1, 1859, *The Times*, No. 23196, January 6, 1859. See this volume, p. 149.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 304.—*Ed.*

[c] France and Austria.—*Ed.*

[d] Leopold II.—*Ed.*

[e] "For good" is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *May* | *10* | Bonaparte [goes] to Italy. |
| " | *20* | *Fighting at Montebello.* |
| " | *31* | *Ditto at Palestro.* |
| *June* | *4* | *Battle of Magenta.* |
| " | *7* | *Fighting at Melegnano.* |
| " | *24* | *Solferino.*[a] |
| *July* | *5* | In a dispatch Lord Russell advises against annexation of Savoy.[454] |
| " | *7* | *Villafranca armistice.* |
| " | *11* | *Ditto peace preliminaries.*[b] |

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[a] On the fighting at Montebello, Palestro, Magenta and Solferino see this volume, pp. 338-40, 360-63, 368-71, 372-79, 392-95, 396-99, 400-03.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 407-09, 412-14, 416-20, and also Engels' letter to Marx of July 14, 1859 (present edition, Vol. 40).— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [ON THE DIVISION OF LABOUR][455]

...forming a [soci]al whole. My labour thus appears as an independent part of all social labour. The various kinds of labour represent various parts of social labour, and taken together all appear thus as the *division of labour,* and through exchange they constitute a whole, mutually supplementary parts, links in a system of social labour....

In this division of labour which is manifested in exchange of the various kinds of useful labour, two things are to be distinguished.

*First*: What here relates the various kinds of labour to one another is their *variety,* and not their *sameness,* their *manifoldness,* and not their *unity.* The division of social labour is an aggregate of manifold kinds of labour, which are mutually supplementary precisely through their difference, their variety.

The shoemaker wants to exchange the bootmaking labour contained in boots for bread, tea, sugar, coal, meat, clothes, a hat, etc., that is, for the baker's labour, the labour of the tea-grower, the labour of the sugar-refiner, the labour of the butcher, the labour of the tailor, the labour of the hat-maker, and so on. He exchanges his labour for that of the others because the kinds of labour performed by the others are different from his, and therefore satisfy needs which his own labour does not satisfy; they are realised in means of subsistence in which his own labour is not realised. If the others' labour were *of the same kind* as his own, he would not need it, and would not exchange his labour for theirs. Hence, the kinds of labour are exchanged for one another, insofar as they are useful labour, because they *are different from one another,* to the extent that they differ from one another and belong to different systems of human needs.

*Second*: If I myself performed all the kinds of labour which I need in order to live, consequently produced all my means of subsistence myself, then I would not need the labour of others and would not exchange my kinds of labour for those of others, who would likewise themselves perform all the kinds of labour necessary for their sustenance. If I not only made boots, but also baked my own bread, brewed my own beer, grew my own wheat, wove my own garments, I would not have to exchange my bootmaking labour for baker's, beer-brewer's, peasant's, weaver's labour.

My labour is *one-sided*; but it satisfies a *social* need, the need of other members of society. I could not perform exclusively this one-sided labour if I did not know that other members of society perform other necessary kinds of labour and thereby complement mine. Labour for the satisfaction of a social need is thus exclusive labour of separate definite individuals who make it their profession.

Written in the autumn of 1859

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# APPENDICES

# THE FRENCH SLAVE TRADE[456]

It is a little odd, not to say a little suspicious, that all the recent movements in defense of the maritime rights of nations have been made, or at least have the appearance of having been made, in the interest of the African slave-trade. Such was the unfortunate color of the zealous efforts of Mr. Cass—both those which he made when Embassador to France, as well as his more recent labors—to protect slavers sailing under the American flag from search and seizure by British cruisers; and such is the late alleged vindication by Napoleon III of the rights of national vessels not to be interrupted by the authorities of any other nation, within whose waters they may happen to be in the pursuit of that traffic. For, as we understand it, the ground taken by the Emperor of the French in the case of the *Charles et Georges* goes that full length. He does not deny the jurisdiction of Portugal over that portion of the African coast whence the cargo of pretended voluntary emigrants was obtained, nor over the harbor in which the vessel was seized.[457] What he denies is, that these people, being embarked, no matter by what means, on board a vessel sailing under a special Imperial commission, Portugal had no longer any right to inquire whether the people on board, though professedly taken from Portuguese territory, were kidnapped or not; and that, even granting that they were kidnapped, Portugal had no other remedy except a representation to and a reclamation upon the French Government.

In putting his case upon this ground, the Emperor places in a new light the scheme for supplying the French colonies with African labor. That scheme no longer appears as a mere private speculation on the part of M. Regis and the French planters; it

would seem to have been a direct Government operation, the enterprise being undertaken not merely with the bare assent and permission of the French Emperor, but being in fact adopted as his own and carried on by vessels specially commissioned, so as to be clothed, in the view of the Emperor, with a national character sufficient to protect them against any direct responsibility to the authorities of any country into whose waters the pursuit of their traffic might carry them.

Having thus recognized this scheme as a Government operation, and made himself directly and personally responsible, not only for the general character of the scheme, but for all the details of its execution, the Emperor has certainly acted with judgment and good sense in appointing a commission to inquire personally on the coast of Africa into the real character of the business in which the French Government has thus engaged itself. The Portuguese Government, considered by itself alone, is not a formidable adversary. The Emperor has already, with the strong hand, wrested away from that feeble Power the vessel they had seized, upon a charge of kidnapping and slave-trading. But Portugal not only possesses the common privilege of the weak, that of protest and complaint, which in this case she has not hesitated to exercise—she has in England, not merely a sympathizing friend, but an ally bound by treaty to protect her,[458] in case it can be made to appear that her rights have been invaded. Even allowing the doctrine of national maritime rights set up by the Emperor, and conceding as a matter of fact the national character with which he has undertaken to clothe the vessels engaged in the execution of the Regis contract, the Emperor feels, and rightly, that he never can stand justified in the eyes of the civilized world except by refuting the charge upon which the Portuguese Government based its proceedings, or else abandoning an enterprise, the true character of which has thus been detected and revealed. That a fair and impartial inquiry into the proceedings under the Regis contract will prove the whole speculation to have been, in the words of the Emperor addressed to his Colonial Minister, "nothing more than a disguised slave-trade," can hardly admit of a doubt. The very circumstance of the numerous mutinies soon after the embarkation of these pretended free emigrants, would seem to be, in itself alone, sufficient to establish that fact. Nor, taking all the circumstances of the case into consideration, do we imagine that the appointment of this commission is merely for white-washing purposes. No doubt, the Commissioners will be apt to feel it a part of their duty to gloss

over or veil from view some of the more revolting features of the transaction, but we are strongly inclined to think that the main object of the commission is to afford the Emperor an opportunity to retreat from an undertaking which not only exposes him to great obloquy, but which, in a mere mercantile point of view, has proved, we suspect, a decided failure.[a]

Written on November 1, 1858

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5495, December 1, 1858 as a leading article; reprinted in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 1411, December 3, 1858

Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

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[a] Further comes an addition made by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune*: "The suggestion at the close of the Emperor's letter that it might be well to fall back upon the resource of coolies from India is a little remarkable. This whole scheme of obtaining laborers from Africa originated in the rigid rules established and enforced by the English Government to prevent the exportation of coolies from India, except upon fair contracts, fully explained to and understood by the intended emigrants. The emigration of coolies from India to the British colonies, and to a certain extent also to the French island of Réunion, must not be confounded with the importation of Chinese coolies, principally in American and British vessels, to the Spanish colonies. The whole business in these cases is conducted in a totally different way. The Chinese cooly traffic is but little different from a pure slave-trade. The victims of it are entrapped on board under false pretenses, if not often kidnapped. On their arrival at their port of destination—those that do arrive—they are sold to the highest bidder under a contract for a term of years, which is little better than a mere mockery. In the case of the Indian coolies, the British Government takes care that the contract shall be fairly made and fully understood, and also, that it shall be fulfilled. It was this obstacle in the way of obtaining, on their own terms, as many coolies as they wished, that led the French to resort to their African experiment. The Emperor seems now inclined to be content to get coolies from India upon such terms as the English may prescribe."—*Ed.*

# STATEMENT BY THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE NEWSPAPER *DAS VOLK*

In order to put a stop to all the false rumours and wild combinations that have been circulated with reference to the editorship of our paper, we must state that there has been, and will be, no change in the editorial personnel. The circle of our collaborators has, however, widened, and we are pleased to inform our readers that *Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Ferdinand Freiligrath, W. Wolff, H. Heise,* and thus the most significant literary forces of our party, are determined to grant their support to *Das Volk* and, by their contributions, to enable the editorial staff to represent the interests of our party in a worthy and comprehensive manner.

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# GATHERINGS FROM THE PRESS[459]

"Our readers are clever people—sometimes, when their criticisms of the *Hermann* reach our ears, one could almost believe that the *incalculable majority*" (the incalculable *majority* of 600 readers might come to 599) "of readers are much cleverer than we ourselves" (*Hermann*).[a]

Self-knowledge is good in all things, even when, as here, it comes rather late. However—

You greybeards, muster all your forces,
Let there be more heat in your blood!
In your last, holiest of causes,
For digging trenches you're still good,
You must bring up the soil in baskets....[b]
(Thusnelda consoles Hermann.)[460]

"Wisconsin, the staunchest Republican state, has sent its clearest and soundest speaker, Herr Karl Schurz, to Massachusetts to agitate with bold words.... In an excellent and fiery speech he proved..."

what—is hard to say, unless, as is said later,

"that he does not consider himself a representative of that great nation of thinkers that is called the German nation".[c] (Student Schurz as calculable minority and autobiographer.[461])

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[a] From the leading article "Furor Teutonicus", *Hermann*, No. 21, May 28, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Kathinka Zitz's poem "Das Vaterland ist in Gefahr!" is quoted, ibid.—*Ed.*

[c] Quoted from a report from New York of May 11, 1859, "Der europäische Krieg. Karl Schurz in Boston", ibid.—*Ed.*

You young men, sharpen up your sword-blades,
Be brave, as brave as Hermann was.

(Thusnelda.)

"We have seen a sample of this fireproof muslin and tested it with a candle. If it is drawn slowly through the flame, it does not burn at all; if it is held in the flame for a longer time, it chars, but the fire does not spread. But an English lady who had seen the larger piece at the exposition remarked that the stuff did not look as clear and fresh as untreated muslin" (*Hermann*—editorial note).[a]

And you, O women, let the calling
Be piety for each and all!

(Thusnelda.)

It did our cosmopolitan heart good to read that Arminius, mindful of that sublime moment in which he presented Mr. Kossuth with the revolution in the West in exchange for the one in the East,[462] takes the

"17 million Slavs" of Austria under his protection and "therefore has not only given space for the correspondent in question directly after this leading article but has even invited him to speak in the *Hermann* as representative of his nationality".

As "it must remain an open question for republicans on which side one will stand in the Italian war",[b]

half will declare for Prussia, half for Louis Napoleon, half for Italy, half for Little Germany, half for Great Germany, half for regency, half for the Imperial parliament, but *all* for Herr *Bender*, 8, Little Newport Street, Leicester Square, to whom "any one who has learned to read" ("Presse und Werkstatt") need only apply to be initiated into the secrets of natural science without "laborious studies and lectures".[c]

* * *

A Czech says in the last number of the *Hermann*:

"We were ... the first champions ... of the social idea."[d]

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[a] The *Hermann*'s editorial note to the article "Die Society of Arts, und die elfte Ausstellung neuer Erfindungen in ihrem Gebäude: John Street, Adelfi. Schluss", ibid.—*Ed.*

[b] From the leading article "Furor Teutonicus".—*Ed.*

[c] Quoted from the unsigned article "Deutsche Naturwissenschaft, für das praktische Verständniss und Leben", published in the section "Presse und Werkstatt", *Hermann*, No. 21, May 28, 1859.—*Ed.*

[d] From the unsigned article "Der Germanismus in Böhmen", *Hermann*, No. 24, June 18, 1859.—*Ed.*

To this the spiritual gentleman[463] who holds that "Salon" remarks:

"Was *it* not the *Swiss* before the Czechs?"[a]

The only *social* idea that the Swiss have championed is summed up in the words: *Point d'argent, point de Suisses* (*Kein Kreuzer, keine Schweizer*).[b] The "New-Swiss" Vogt and the "New-Kreuzer" Kinkel[464] know how to evaluate this "social idea" in its world-historical significance.

In the same "Salon" it is said:

"We find it understandable that English insurance companies are no longer willing to *accept* (!) German goods intended for *overseas world markets.*"[c]

Well, how many "world markets" does the "spiritual" gentleman know?

Sample of *coherence* in the *Wochenblatt aus London,* alias the *Hermann*:

"A pair of swallows is nesting on the laurel-covered grave of Humboldt. The dreadful region of juvenile crime, whose germs should be rooted out phrenologically and physiatrically at the outset, has been recently illustrated again by a nine-year-old boy in Schmiedeberg."[d]

*Hermann's judgment on Metternich.*—The judgment on Metternich's policy is formulated as follows:

"Where Metternich and his men have committed infamy and crime for almost an entire century, for a long time no child of peace can sleep sweetly by the brook, as Schiller says.[e] Just let him" (viz., Schiller) "try, e.g., on the Mincio."[f]

To change the Mincio into a "brook" is something that only the inventor of "overseas world markets" could succeed in doing.

*Hermann* explains in an article on

"the vacancy at the Savoy Church in London" that "he" (*Hermann*) "makes himself dearer to his countrymen in London and at home every day".[g]

True enough. He gives less each week for 3d. This may be connected with the exact enumeration of the vacant "emolu-

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[a] The *Hermann*'s editorial note to the above-quoted article.—*Ed.*

[b] "No money, no Swiss"—allegedly said by the Swiss mercenaries who refused to serve the French King Francis I when his treasury was empty. The words were used by Jean Baptiste Racine in *Les Plaideurs,* Act I, Scene 1.—*Ed.*

[c] From the unsigned article "Unsere Politik. London, 17. Juni", *Hermann,* No. 24, June 18, 1859.—*Ed.*

[d] ibid.—*Ed.*

[e] Cf. Schiller, *Die Braut von Messina.*—*Ed.*

[f] From the article "Unsere Politik".—*Ed.*

[g] From the unsigned article "Die Vacanz an der Savoy-Kirche in London", *Hermann,* No. 24, June 18, 1859.—*Ed.*

ments",[a] an enumeration through which there shines the desire to transfer the "Salon" to the "Savoy Church".

* * *

No. 26 of the *Gottfried* brings *Hermann*'s letter of resignation.[b] It runs as follows:

*"To our readers*:

"With the present number my activity as editor of this paper ends. The only reason for my withdrawal is the *condition* of my health, which does not permit me *to continue, along with my previous profession of teacher, this other and so diversifying activity."* (So the *profession of teacher* is one *activity* along with *this other activity.*) "Since I *accordingly*" (according to what?) "am no *further* responsible for the content of the paper" (he will rather not be responsible for its *further* contents), "I have also let the ownership pass into *other hands.* The enterprise, whose success is *now*" (viz., by Kinkel's removal) "*assured,* will be carried on in the *same spirit as previously*" (cheap prices and real service) "and while I *previously* hardly found time and *space* even to write *for it*" (viz., the enterprise), "I will henceforward" (later), "free from the burdens of outside work, submit *all the more numerous* contributions as correspondent." (If Gottfried appears "all the more numerously" as correspondent, the less "space" he found previously, what will become of the success of the enterprise, which *now* was to be "assured" by his disappearance as editor?) "I take leave of readers and co-workers with friendly thanks for their participation and support.

*"Gottfried Kinkel"*

The last *Gottfried* carries an editorial announcement as final sample of the "so diversifying activity" to which Hermann bids such a friendly farewell:

"We" (namely Gottfried) "feel a kind of malicious joy *every time* one of our correspondents *once* comes a regular cropper; for *as a rule* someone (!) will be found among our readers for whom the blunder is an occasion" (why not rather a shock?) "to make a *penetrating* and instructive communication *about the thing*" (penetrating *about* the thing) "*aimed at*" (rather, the thing hit, namely the blunder). "It is to such an oversight that we owe in this" (which?) "case as well the valuable correction from which every reader" (but certainly no correspondent!) "will *soon* see that its author, as they say on the Rhine, is a *man who sticks to his guns.*" (Isn't that so, fair reader?) "Unfortunately the urgent political material, especially the *wretched high politics* of our correspondents, only today gave us the possibility of printing *this article*" (to wit, *this* editorial note).[c]

We see that, despite his deeply-felt thanks, Hermann does not part from the "correspondents" without bitterness. In his own

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[a] Ibid.—*Ed.*

[b] It was dated London, June 30, 1859, *Hermann,* No. 26, July 2, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] Editorial note to the article "Ueber die Verunreinigungen der Luft", *Hermann,* No. 26, July 2, 1859.—*Ed.*

salon the poor man hardly found the space "earlier" to place "this article" on "the cropper" and "the man who sticks to his guns".

And here we say in respect of the "former" editor of the *Gottfried*: *De mortuis nil nisi bene.*[a] But to the "later" correspondent, Hermann: We shall meet again at Philippi.[b]

*A diplomatic-strategic discovery.*

The *Hermann* says:

"Prussia's armed mediation, it is said, takes the Mincio line as its basis; well, after the battle of Solferino this line stands out in clearer relief. Only the shadows of the walls of Mantua and Peschiera still darken it. A siege must bring light into this darkness."[c]

The skilful columnist[d] of the *Hermann* sends his articles, after they have been worn out in London, to Leipzig as well, to the *Gartenlaube.* To spice the report of the Humboldt festival[465] arranged by the Association of German Men we are informed that

"a communist association, which now publishes a weekly paper, has made it its special task to vilify not only Kinkel's journal but him personally, in the most offensive way, not stopping at the baldest lies, etc."

On this we remark only that our journal, as the columnist must know from our repeated statements, is not a paper published by any kind of association and that the charges we have made against Herr Kinkel cannot be branded as lies until they have been refuted, and that has not happened yet and will never happen. By the way, we are indebted to the honourable reporter for the news that Kinkel's sermon,

"the finest fragrance of the festivities", took as its text, "As thou forgettest Zion, so shalt thou be forgotten",[e] and that he began it "raising his hand to the black-red-gold flag".

The *Hermann* makes a joke. In a *Hermann* article on Austria, we hear that the Habsburgs have always been stepfathers for their hereditary lands but stepmothers for the German Empire. The author of the article in question, full of excerpts from Pölitz's *Weltgeschichte* for German maidens, has adequately demonstrated that an old or a young man can be an old woman, but that a

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[a] Of the dead say nothing but good. See Diogenes Laertius, *De vitis philosophorum,* I, 3, 70.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar,* Act IV, Scene 3.—*Ed.*

[c] "Die Volksstimmung. Die Schlacht am Mincio. Paris, 29. Juni", *Hermann,* No. 26, July 2, 1859.—*Ed.*

[d] Heinrich Beta.—*Ed.*

[e] Cf. Psalms 137:5.—*Ed.*

stepfather can be a stepmother is something we had not previously believed to be possible.

* * *

The rejuvenated *Hermann* under the editorship of E. J. Juch & Co. merits an exhaustive review. Let us begin at once with the first leader[a] on "Prussia's position".[b]

In the event that peace is concluded between France and Austria

"Prussia will remain for some time *pretty much the same* as it has been. *At the same time* it will *gradually come* into another position. Still *more rapidly*" (than gradually), "however, it must *change* its position, *provided* (!) the war continues; *for it would* then *be* (!) forced to act and, if it does not *seek* (!) a secure position for itself in good time, lose every solid foundation, *in order* to go under with the rest of the states of the German Confederation." (Prussia might perhaps not be unwilling to lose "the solid foundation in order to go under".)

The author now brings Prussia on in various more or less enticing *poses plastiques.*[c] Firstly, Prussia could act as a European great power, and, indeed, in a double fashion.

"Prussia could, by behaving *as an independent great power,* act completely on its own" (independently?). "This" (action!) "would be a purely *European standpoint,* whose *purpose*" (the purpose of a standpoint) ... "would prove to be a *question* of power; *for* preservation of the equilibrium, which the treaties will subserve, is the *balancing* of the *power available to the*" (which?) "*national interest. In that case* Prussia could take as its starting point *the violation of the 1815 treaties* caused by the present war, treaties to which it was *a contracting party*" (*a father* instead of one of the fathers), "*while* it sought to *indemnify* itself by material guarantees for *the services* it *hereby*" (by the violation of the treaties?) "rendered to the monarchical order of Europe." Besides this crafty proceeding "Prussia could also as a European great power place itself on *purely political* ground, *by* opposing, for reasons of self-preservation, the *overstrengthening* of its French rival" (*non bis in idem*[d]; the balance of power has come up already). "It could plead on its own behalf that because England *be* (!!) *still an open* and Russia an *already secret* Ally of France, the enemy of Austria, etc."

After Prussia has thus in so many ways proved itself as a European great power,

"it can thereafter take up an *exclusively German standpoint.* Here too it has a choice. That is, it can either take a place as a *German great power* above *the other*

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[a] The English words "first leader" are used in the original.—*Ed.*

[b] "Die Stellung Preussens", *Hermann,* No. 27, July 9, 1859. The quotations that follow are from this article.—*Ed.*

[c] Artificial poses.—*Ed.*

[d] Not the same thing twice.—*Ed.*

*states*" (including Turkey) "or, while assuming the humble attitude of an *equal confederate,* put itself below or alongside the *small countries*" (Swiss cantons?). (It is not quite clear why an *equal confederate* should occupy a *lower* place.)

In other words, either Prussian Kaiser rule or continuance of the German Confederation.

The first "would mean taking its place seriously at the head of Germany, *like* a power that knows that necessity *makes* a law" (for ordinary people necessity knows no law, for Gothaists it makes a law, and a very unpretentious one at that), "wherefore it" (necessity), "since its existence is at stake" (the existence of necessity is at stake), "must *depart* from inhibiting forms, etc."

The reasons that "Prussia could adduce for such a revolutionary policy" involve our author in a true *embarras de richesses.* Among other things:

"The foreign countries hostile to the unity of Germany—Russia and England, *which* with the complicated seesaw system of German counterbalancing hindered the power development of the German great powers by continual mutual weakening—worked rather for themselves than for Germany in the establishment of the Confederation, etc." (A strange plan of Russia and England, the foreign countries, to weaken each other in order to prevent the power development of Prussia!) "Finally, it" (Prussia) "shows that it completely understands the essential nature of the present war, *which, like the Thirty Years' War,* has as its purpose the termination of the 1848 revolution." "For these reasons" (that is, because the Thirty Years' War had the purpose of terminating the revolution of 1848) "Prussia no longer recognises the Federal Diet ... and *regards* the sovereignty of all the other German princes *for* extinguished, etc." Finally, however, "the Prussian Government, if this *revolutionary policy* seemed too precarious to it" (i.e. Prussia), "could choose the conservative standpoint. It could choose it ... because the Prussian reigning dynasty as *an equal*" (to what?) "has to respect the maintenance of the others" (what others?), ... "because Prussia, *while* it is not independent, governs its conduct by *those* of neutral England, etc."

Up to now it has "wavered". It let "*rival* Austria" be defeated.

"It sought constantly to *pull over* the small states by means of treaties." (To put one over on them, pull the wool over their eyes, or to win them over?) "It came back to Frankfurt" (from Erfurt[466]) "with almost the *identical proposals* which, *if* they *came* from Hanover or Bavaria, Prussia would not have sanctioned."

In the end the author designates this as a *"routine procedure",* although it shows little routine in the *consecutio temporum.*[a]

Unfortunately, the treaty of Villafranca at one blow brushed away all the Prussian positions that Gotha fantasy could arrive at. Accordingly, we turn from the "high policy" of Messrs. Juch & Comp. to Tyrtaeus, who sings of the battle of Solferino in the

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[a] Sequence of tenses.—*Ed.*

rejuvenated *Hermann.* This Tyrtaeus seems to be an easy-going fellow. He does not doubt for a moment that the Zouaves, Turcos, Croats, Raizen, Czechs *et autres*[a] Zéphyres,[467] who fought at Solferino,

"were it not for the two emperors,[b] would have, everywhere in the world that chance might have brought them together, eaten and drunk, treated and greeted one another as *harmless, amiable people*". (They would have eaten and drunk one another! What cannibalistic amiability!)

The metre in which the battle is sung is that of the heroic epic, hexameter. Kleist, as we know, enlarged the hexameter with a short anacrusis. Our singer outdoes Kleist; a couple of anacrustic or complementary syllables more or less make no difference to him. On the other hand, these are hexameters that come straight from battle, and should be pardoned if here and there a foot is lacking or a member dislocated.

And so, a few samples:

"So mortally sickened
Bȳ ĕxhāūstiŏn, hēāt, ănd bȳ thĭrst wĭth ĭts mērcĭlĕss tōrtŭre."
"Ōnlȳ ăt lēāst thĭs rēcĕnt dēcăde būrdĕned wĭth cūrsĕs."
"Ōut ĭn blĭstĕrĭng sūnshĭne, ăll blōōdȳ ănd thĭrstȳ, sŏme strūck bȳ
The coup de grace from a bayonet blade of a sudden descending,
In most cases only, however, by
Slāshĕs ănd blōws ŏn wīde-ŏpĕn wōūnds,
Tŏ ă hōrrĭblĕ dēāth pāĭn wākĭng thĕm."
"Thĕ hōt ănd nākĕd sūmmĭts flōwed wĭth stēāmĭng rĕd blōōd, ĭn
Which there wallowed mutilated men."
"Ăn ārm mĭssĭng hēre, thĕre ă lēg, ŏr
Āll thĕ jāw frŏm ă fāce, ŏr āll thĕ
Sīde ŏf ă hēad."
"Then it all went
Stūll ănd sōmbrĕ. Frŏm hills ănd frŏm dāles căme shūddĕrĭngs, crīēs ănd
Moaning amain, now here, now there, everywhere *hour-broad.*"
"On the day of battle
Ăll hōt ănd būrnĭng, thĕy hād nŏt ă drōp ŏf wātĕr tŏ ēāse thĕm."
"Others panted and
Gūrglĕd ănd shōwed thĕ whites ŏf thĕir glāzĭng ēyēs
To the tardy surgeon."[c]

After the battle song, historical criticism. In an article from Paris the "thinker" of the rejuvenated *Hermann* reveals to us Louis Bonaparte's relation to the revolution.

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[a] And other.—*Ed.*
[b] Napoleon III and Francis Joseph I.—*Ed.*
[c] "Solferino", *Hermann,* No. 27, July 9, 1859.—*Ed.*

"The revolution is justified as long as it is under the wing of the emperor *and* is permitted by him.... *But* it retains its original shape *and* must be crushed to the ground as soon as it counters the emperor's interests *or* interferes with his plans."[a]

Here is wisdom:

> I have now seen the ground wherein
> My anchor shall hold fast forever.[b]

Rushing down from the "wretched regions of high politics", of cannon thunder and historical criticism, we come upon a modest, isolated *"Workshop"*, the quiet retreat in which our old friend Gottfried has settled as new correspondent. He grumbles to us:

"Up to now, because of all the war and politics, this paper could not find *space*, etc."[c]

We know the old complaint. He offers, as an artistic cicerone, to take us through the "Exhibition of the Academy on Trafalgar Square". In the familiar "golden" flow of language of the

"almost heroic man who like the bee sucks drops of honey even from poisonous flowers" (see the *Gartenlaube*),

he whispers to us that

"Leslie's bright *little pictures* ... are true *little pearls* of fine art".

But what he is concerned with most of all are the *Pre-Raphaelites,*[468] and since example is better than precept, he has set out some Pre-Raphaelite wordpaintings[d] in his own "Workshop" which save us the walk to Trafalgar Square.

*Pre-Raphaelite painting No. 1.*

"From 11 o'clock on and throughout the whole afternoon fashionable crinoline reigned in the hall, and the *favourite pictures* of the public were then *continually lounged around.*"

*Pre-Raphaelite painting No. 2.*

"Everything has value that is done perfectly *in its kind. A pair of trousers,* e.g., if it is well made and *doesn't pinch.*"

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[a] "Walewski's Note. Vom Kriegsschauplatz. Paris, 6. Juli", *Hermann*, No. 27, July 9, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] Words from a Protestant hymn.—*Ed.*

[c] Here and below the quotations are from Gottfried Kinkel's article "Die Ausstellung der Kunst-Akademie auf Trafalgar Square", published in the section "Presse und Werkstatt", *Hermann*, No. 27, July 9, 1859.—*Ed.*

[d] The English word is used in the original.—*Ed.*

*Pre-Raphaelite painting No. 3.*

"*In* the convent cemetery two nuns are *occupied* in *making* a grave.... They are two robust figures of women, who take turns *at* the gloomy work *of the twilight*" (the two robust figures take turns while the twilight does the work for them): "One standing in the grave as she, with the muscular arms of a washerwoman, throws up the heavy, wet, black earth, *grown through with tree roots,* a quite prosaic, ordinary, indifferent person."

A person grown through with tree roots may be *quite prosaic* but is *extraordinary* in any case. Still the *sans-gêne*[a] with which that same person uses the arms *of a washerwoman* instead of her own for the digging does suggest a certain indifference.

From these samples, however, the "craftsman" will realise what Gottfried gives him urgently to "think over", namely that the eunuch school of art

"would *help* him more in his *business*" (*utile cum dulci*[b]) "than Sunday excursions to Epping Forest or the Botanical Gardens at Kew", more than "all the jolly taverns in the suburbs", more than "evening gatherings" and "threshing out the great problem of whether at the next revolution the thousand-year rule of the tailor journeymen will dawn under the title of the *workers' dictatorship*".

We, however, despite all the Pre-Raphaelites, stick to the old wise saw: *Cacatum non est pictum.*[c]

Written on June 3 and 24, July 8 and 15, 1859

First published in *Das Volk,* Nos. 5, 8, 10 and 11, June 4 and 25, July 9 and 16, 1859

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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[a] Unceremoniousness.—*Ed.*

[b] The useful with the pleasant (cf. Horace, *Epistula ad Pisones,* 343).—*Ed.*

[c] Shitted is not painted.—*Ed.*

# [NOTE BY THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *DAS VOLK*][469]

We only published the poem by G. Herwegh in our last issue[a] to show what can happen to the once-admired art of political-poetic declamation if it is brought low by Swiss republicanism. The relevant editorial comment was however omitted due to a mistake.

Written about July 29, 1859

First published in *Das Volk*, No. 13, July 30, 1859

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] Georg Herwegh's poem written on the occasion of the Federal Marksmen's Festival in Zurich, *Das Volk*, No. 12, July 23, 1859.—*Ed.*

# POLITICAL REVIEW[470]

*London.* The strike of the building workers, or, more correctly, the lockout by the builders, is continuing[471] without any essential change in the positions of the two opposed sides. On Tuesday the workers' delegates held a meeting, which was also attended by representatives from the other trades, at which it was decided unanimously not to take up work with any master who demanded a promise not to join the "society".[a] At the same time the "associated" masters got together in the Freemasons' Tavern, no reporters being allowed. It was learned later that the light-shunning gentlemen, after a stormy debate, agreed that no member of the association should open his establishment until the building workers had formally broken with the "society" and before "Mr. Trollope's hands had put an end to their strike".[b] The last point might well be settled shortly, since Mr. Trollope recently engaged in negotiations with the workers and gave most positive assurances that the complaints made against him (discharge of a worker who handed the nine-hour petition, etc.) were based on a misunderstanding. As for the other condition, however, the "locked-out" men will not consent to it by any means unless forced to by extreme distress; they feel that breaking with the "society", renouncing any organisation, would mean making themselves downright serfs of the capitalists and abandoning the last bit of independence left to the modern proletarian. The brutal obstinacy of the masters, who are arrogating for themselves the

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[a] "Meeting of Trades' Delegates", *The Times*, No. 23387, August 17, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Nine Hours Movement", *The Times*, No. 23387, August 17, 1859.—*Ed.*

same authority over their "hands" as the American planter over his slaves, has aroused the disapproval even of a section of the bourgeois newspaper writers. Naturally, we have no reason to be displeased with the masters; they are doing everything in their power to make the already deep rift between labour and capital even wider and to produce that concentrated, conscious class hatred that is the surest guarantee of a social revolution.

London has a total of over 1,000 building establishments. Of them only 88, but the largest, are locked out. The number of "locked-outs" comes to 19,000-20,000, not 40,000, as was asserted at first. Money contributions are pouring into the "society" plentifully from every part of the country, but up to now the unemployed workers have declined to draw relief. Honour to the brave! Would the bourgeoisie be capable of such sacrifice in *its* class interest?

In the last days of the session, which ended on Saturday, the Lower House was concerned almost exclusively with election scandals, which have sprung up like mushrooms out of the ground and covered every wall of the Houses of Parliament. There was a fearful stench of corruption, which harmonised excellently with the odours of the Thames and would have nauseated the honorable members if they had not been accustomed to such things. In some cases it was a question of individuals who had bought or sold herds of British voters openly (and *that* was the offence) like so many herds of sheep; in other cases it was some poor wight who voluntarily gave up his dearly-paid seat because he could not afford to defend it against a petition that would have cost at least £3,000,—but let us leave this. Why wallow in the filth? We will only add that almost all the members who were proved guilty of bribery belong to the "Liberal" Party.[472]

There is almost nothing to be said about the speech from the throne. It is a completely vapid document. On the projected European congress it states that Her Majesty has not yet arrived at any definite decision.[a] That is a lie. Immediately after the signing of the Treaty of Villafranca Lord Palmerston declared to the Russian Government that he was prepared to send representatives to the congress *Russia had proposed.* That is, he had already "arrived at a definite decision" four weeks earlier.

*Paris.* We spare our readers an account of the victory celebration in Paris. Despite the complicated machinery set in motion to make

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[a] Queen's speech in the House of Lords, August 13, 1859, *The Times,* No. 23385, August 15, 1859.—*Ed.*

people forget the defeat at Villafranca, to divide the attention of the population of Paris and to bring the throats of the interested parties to shouting, the Emperor personally is said to have been so little pleased with his reception that he took the desperate step of the amnesty, even though his Decembrist advisers urgently advised against it. The Paris press also received an amnesty; all "warnings" have been revoked.[a]

From *Berlin* nothing but the old empty phrases and continuation of the woebegone agitation for reform of the Confederation under Prussian hegemony. The merging of the Gotha party with the democrats is now an accomplished fact, as will be seen from the following notices.—The condition of the King[b] has not improved.

In *Eisenach* another meeting of "German patriots" was held on August 14, to proclaim, with the approval of the high authorities, that *Gothaism* is the only means of salvation.[c] Among the assembled celebrities we find mentioned: Herr von Bennigsen from Hanover; Zabel from Berlin (seest thou how thou art?); Siegel, editor of the *Sächsische Konstitutionelle Zeitung*; Titus from Bamberg; Schulze from Delitzsch, etc. Of course, the programme drawn up for the newly formed German Party contains: reform of the Confederation, Prussian hegemony, repeal of the Federal Diet's decrees against freedom of the press and assembly, etc. Finally, *Frankfurt* was chosen to be the venue of the next assembly, probably in order to be near St. Paul's Church.[473]

On the other hand, it is reported from *Hanover* that the government there, in order to compete with its Prussia-loving patriots, against whom it is beginning to take police action, has raised the question of Schleswig-Holstein again.

Written about August 19, 1859

First published in *Das Volk*, No. 16, August 20, 1859

Printed according to the newspaper

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[a] Napoleon III's decree of August 16, 1859 on the amnesty of those condemned for criminal and political offences, *Le Moniteur universel*, Nos. 228 and 229, August 16 and 17, 1859; Napoleon III's decree of August 16, 1859 revoking administrative warnings to the press, *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 230, August 18, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[c] "Eisenach (die Kundgebung für preussische Hegemonie)", *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 242, August 30, 1859.—*Ed.*

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] This volume covers the period from early August 1858 to early February 1860, when Marx's intensive contribution to the *New-York Daily Tribune*, the organ of the US Republican Party, ended.

Marx worked as a correspondent of the *Tribune* from August 1851 to March 1862, but a large number of the articles he sent were written at his request by Engels. Marx began to send his own articles to New York in August 1852. Initially, he wrote them in German and his friends, most frequently Engels, translated them into English. But by January 1853 he had sufficiently mastered the English language to write in English.

Marx's and Engels' articles in the *New-York Daily Tribune* mainly dealt with the most important questions of foreign and home policy, the working-class movement, the economic development of the major European countries, colonial expansion and the national liberation movement in the oppressed and dependent countries.

In the autumn of 1857, in view of the economic crisis in the USA, which had also affected the newspaper's finances, and the waning interest there in European affairs, Marx had to reduce the number of his articles. Subsequent events in Europe, however, compelled the *Tribune* editors to devote more space to his reports.

From mid-1855 onwards, most of Marx's articles were published as editorials, without his signature. For this reason their authorship and date of writing have been determined mainly by means of Marx's Notebook for 1858-60 and the letters of Marx and Engels to each other and to third persons. Additional information was obtained from study of the sources used by Marx and Engels for their reports, from the schedules of transatlantic ships by which Marx sent his reports during this period, and from other indirect data.

Marx's wife, Jenny, and sometimes Marx himself entered in the Notebook the dates on which the articles were written before dispatching them from London to New York. This was necessary above all for the accounts with the *Tribune*. Apart from the dates, these entries often contained remarks disclosing the content of the articles.

The article with which this volume opens is one of a series written in August and September 1858 and dealing with the 1857 financial crisis in Britain.

In his letter to Engels of September 21, 1858, Marx writes: "By way of

evaluating the Report of the Committee on the late crisis I sent the paper [the N.Y.D.T.] several articles, which it printed as leaders, specifically relating to banking, currency, etc..." (see present edition, Vol. 40).

The article is entered in Marx's Notebook for 1858 as "6 Friday Bankact". p. 3

[2] The *Bank Charter Act* (An Act to Regulate the Issue of Bank-Notes, and for Giving to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England Certain Privileges for a Limited Period) was introduced by Robert Peel on July 19, 1844. It provided for the division of the Bank of England into two separate departments, each with its own cash account—the Banking Department, dealing exclusively with credit operations, and the Issue Department, issuing bank-notes. The Act limited the quantity of bank-notes in circulation and guaranteed them with definite gold and silver reserves which could not be used for the credit operations of the Banking Department. Further issues of bank-notes were allowed only in the event of a corresponding increase in the precious metal reserves. The issue of bank-notes by provincial banks was stopped. The Act was suspended several times by the government itself, in particular, during the monetary crises of 1847 and 1857.

Marx analysed the Act of 1844 and its significance in a number of articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune*: "The Vienna Note.—The United States and Europe.—Letters from Shumla.—Peel's Bank Act" (see present edition, Vol. 12), "The English Bank Act of 1844 and the Monetary Crisis in Britain", "The British Revulsion" (Vol. 15). A detailed description of the Act was given by Marx later, in Vol. III of *Capital* (Chapter XXXIV). p. 3

[3] Rich gold deposits were discovered in California in 1848 and Australia in 1851. Apart from their great importance for the commercial and industrial development of the European and American countries, these discoveries whipped up stock-exchange speculation there. p. 4

[4] This article was preceded by Marx's report which is entered in his Notebook for 1858 as "27 Friday. China. Peace treaty. Russia. 'Times'". It was heavily edited and published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5428, September 14, 1858 as a leading article. Owing to the *Tribune* editors' interference, the report became purely informative and lost features typical of Marx's articles, it has therefore not been included in this volume.

As for the article in question, it is entered in the Notebook for 1858 as "10 Tuesday Bankact".

In his letter to Engels of September 21, 1858, Marx mentions a letter written by a *Tribune* reader in connection with this article and published in the newspaper on September 4 under the signature "A bullionist". Marx writes: "Along comes a banker, a self-styled 'bullionist', and writes a letter to the *Tribune* in which he 1. says that never has so comprehensive a summary of the whole subject been penned, etc., but 2. raises all kinds of objections and invites the editors to reply. So reply the poor devils must and indeed very sad work they made of it" (see present edition, Vol. 40).

Here is what the banker wrote about the article: "A more comprehensive summary of banking, credit currency, prices and fluctuations, was probably never penned." The author makes "a few suggestions on the general subject and on the use of terms which are not generally understood". He goes on to say that "with the increase of currency, prices rise; with its decrease, they fall", therefore it is the duty of the banks to regulate the amount of currency in the country. He concludes: "I entertain the 'vulgar notion' that over-issues of bank-notes set in motion an over-issue of bank credits, inflate prices, ruin our

home industry, produce disastrous fluctuations, prostrate the business and industrial occupations of the great masses of the people, and tend to divide our population into two great divisions—a very few men of princely wealth on the one hand, and a nation of poverty-stricken laborers or dependents on the other."

The *Tribune's* reply in the same issue of the newspaper deals with particular questions concerning money circulation: the dependence of export and prices on the currency, the relation of import and export in countries with paper and metallic currency. p. 8

[5] The heading is given according to Marx's Notebook for 1858, where the following entry is made: "31 Tuesday. History of the Opium Trade." p. 13

[6] This refers to the unequal treaties signed in Tientsin in June 1858 by Britain and France with China during the second Opium war (1856-60). The treaties made new ports available to foreign commerce: on the River Yangtze, in Manchuria and on the islands of Taiwan and Hainan, also the port of Tientsin. Foreign diplomatic representatives were authorised in Peking; foreigners were allowed to travel freely in the country for commercial or other purposes. Britain and France received economic privileges through the introduction of new commercial rules legalising the opium trade, and were paid indemnities. The Peking treaties of 1860 which ended the second Opium war increased the indemnities to be paid out by China. The British received the right to recruit Chinese for work in colonies and other places. Britain obtained the southern part of the Tsulung (Koulung) peninsula. The Peking treaties confirmed the remaining, unchanged, articles of the Tientsin treaties, which were ratified simultaneously with the signing of the Peking treaties. Though the USA did not officially take part in the war, it rendered aid, above all diplomatic, to Britain and France. This gave the USA the possibility to sign with China the Tientsin Treaty of June 1858 which guaranteed it a number of commercial privileges, the most-favoured-nation treatment and freedom of activity for US missionaries. p. 13

[7] The *British East India Company* was founded at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It had the monopoly of trade with the East Indies and played a decisive part in establishing the British colonial empire.

The East India Company's trade monopoly was abolished in 1813. The only exception was trade with China, the main articles of which were opium and tea. The Company was finally liquidated in 1858, during the popular Indian uprising of 1857-59. Marx gave a detailed description of the Company in his article "The East India Company—Its History and Results" (see present edition, Vol. 12). p. 15

[8] The heading is given in accordance with the following entry in Marx's Notebook for 1858: "3 Friday. History of the Opium Trade."

In the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* and the *New-York Weekly Tribune* the article was published under the heading "The British Opium Monopoly". p. 17

[9] *Hong*—a privileged merchants' guild, founded in China in 1721, whose members, for payment of a large entrance fee to the treasury, obtained a monopoly of trade with foreigners. It was dissolved after the conclusion of the Nanking Treaty in 1842. p. 17

[10] This article is entered in the Notebook for 1858 as "7 Tuesday. Bangya". p. 21

[11] The reference is to the manifesto published in *The Star* on June 28, 1858 and signed by Majors Kalmár and Tüköry, and Veress, in which the Hungarian emigration at first doubted Bangya's guilt and then virtually dissociated themselves from him, considering this affair as Bangya's personal business, and called for unity and brotherhood between the Hungarians and Poles.

The manifesto was reprinted in *The Free Press* on June 30, 1858, and Marx presumably used this publication for his article. p. 23

[12] This article was published as an editorial, without any title. It is entered in Marx's Notebook for 1858 as "10 Friday. China". p. 28

[13] The *Continental System*, or the *Continental blockade*, proclaimed by Napoleon I in 1806, after Prussia's defeat, prohibited trade between the countries of the European Continent and Great Britain. Napoleon's defeat in Russia in 1812 put an end to the Continental System. p. 30

[14] In 1850 popular unrest spread over a number of southern provinces in China and developed into a powerful peasant war. The insurgents established a state of their own over a considerable part of Chinese territory. It was called the Celestial Empire (Taiping Tankuo, hence the name of the movement—the Taiping uprising). The leaders of the uprising put forward a utopian programme calling for the existing social order to be transformed into a militarised patriarchal system based on the egalitarian principle. The movement, which was also anti-colonial in character, was weakened by internal strife and the formation of its own aristocracy in the Taiping state. It was dealt a crushing blow by the armed intervention of Britain and France. The Taiping uprising was put down in 1864. p. 31

[15] The reference is to the second Opium war of Britain and France against China in 1856-60. p. 31

[16] In Carthage money capital was obtained by means of customs taxes imposed on the provinces dependent on Carthage.

In Ancient Rome money capital was provided by contributions and the spoils of war. p. 32

[17] The reference is to the Polish emigrants who settled in Turkey after the 1848-49 events. During the Crimean war some of them decided to fight on the side of the Turks. p. 38

[18] The ruling classes of Moldavia and Wallachia sought to create a single Rumanian state through diplomacy, thinking this the most convenient and the safest way. p. 38

[19] During the Crimean war of 1853-56, Greece became the scene of a movement for the reunification with Greece of Thessaly, Epirus and other Greek lands ruled by Turkey. The peasants' uprisings in these regions were supported by the Greek army which occupied Thessaly and Epirus in 1854. Turkey responded with military operations. It was supported by Britain and France which occupied part of Greek territory. p. 38

[20] The reference is to the *Vienna treaties*—the treaties and agreements concluded at the Congress of Vienna held by the European monarchs and their ministers in 1814-15. They established the borders and status of the European states after the victory over Napoleonic France and sanctioned, contrary to the national interests and will of the peoples, the reshaping of Europe's political

map and the restoration of the "legitimate" dynasties overthrown as a result of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. The Vienna treaties confirmed France's territory within the borders of 1790 and the restoration of the Bourbons in France. p. 39

21 In the battle of Marathon (Attica) in 490 B.C., during the Greco-Persian wars, the Greeks defeated the Persians. Using a more progressive army formation the Greek general Miltiades secured a victory over the far more numerous but less organised Persian army. p. 39

22 In this article Marx analyses a pamphlet by the French petty-bourgeois democrat Félix Pyat, *Lettre aux mandarins de la France.* Marx always took a negative attitude to Pyat, who in England in the 1850s and 1860s called for the assassination of Napoleon III and for "regicide" in general, thus giving the English police a pretext to deport revolutionary refugees, and the French police a pretext for persecuting participants in the working-class and democratic movement in France. Pyat always opposed an independent movement by the workers and was later an enemy of the First International. But this pamphlet attracted Marx's attention because it contained "one or two facts that are interesting" (see Marx's letter to Engels of October 8, 1858, present edition, Vol. 40), viz., signs of the growing self-consciousness of the proletariat and its acting as a class. Besides, Marx quotes passages which testify to the crisis of the Bonapartist empire and show that the French bourgeoisie has exhausted its revolutionary potentialities.

The dispatch of the article to New York is registered in Marx's Notebook for 1858 as "24 Friday. Pyat's *Lettre aux mandarins*".

The editors of the present edition do not have Pyat's pamphlet at their disposal. p. 41

23 *Ixion* (Greek Myth.), King of the Lapithae, tried to seduce the Goddess Hera but was deceived by Zeus who substituted for her a cloud in her own image. Here Pyat alludes to Guizot's ideal of a representative monarchy and, in particular, to his *Cours d'Histoire moderne. Histoire des origines du gouvernement représentatif en Europe.* p. 42

24 *Fusionism*—a policy which favoured the union of the Legitimists, supporters of the elder branch of the Bourbons, with the Orleanists, supporters of the younger branch. p. 42

25 The *Fronde,* a movement in France against the absolutist regime from 1648 to 1653, involved various social sections, which in many cases pursued opposite aims, from radical peasant and plebeian elements and oppositional bourgeoisie, to high-ranking officials and aristocrats. The defeat of the Fronde led to the strengthening of absolutism.

Marx alludes to Victor Cousin's *Madame de Longueville, Madame de Sablé, Madame de Chevreuse et madame de Hautefort,* and other works written in the 1850s under the general subtitle "Etudes sur les femmes illustres et la société du XVII-e siècle". p. 42

26 Thiers was Prime Minister when Napoleon I's remains were transferred from St. Helena to Paris in 1840 and buried in the Dôme des Invalides.

Pyat also has in mind Thiers' twenty-volume *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire.* p. 42

27 *Cent-gardes*—the Emperor's special privileged guard formed in France by a decree of March 24, 1854. p. 42

[28] The reference is to the *Charte octroyée* granted in 1814 by Louis XVIII. It was the Bourbons' fundamental law which introduced a regime of moderate constitutional monarchy with wide powers for the king and high electoral qualifications ensuring above all political privileges for the landed aristocracy. p. 42

[29] An allusion to the fact that Catholic and Bonapartist circles were displeased with Louis Veuillot, editor of the Catholic newspaper *L'Univers religieux*, in which he conducted a scandalous polemic against all those who professed other beliefs, and appealed to the Pope against them. p. 42

[30] An allusion to the closing of Lamennais' newspaper *Le peuple constituant*. His words "silence au pauvre" ("silence for the poor") appeared in its last issue, on July 10, 1848. p. 42

[31] In his will Lamennais asked to be buried in a cemetery for the poor without any church rites. p. 42

[32] The reference is to the discussion and adoption in Belgium and Piedmont on February 18, 1858 of laws punishing instigation to attempts on people's life and participation in them. They were adopted to please Napoleon III after an attempt on his life on January 14, 1858 by the Italian revolutionary Orsini. p. 43

[33] *Belle Isle*—an island in the Bay of Biscay, where political prisoners were detained in 1849-57; among others, workers who took part in the Paris uprising in June 1848 were imprisoned there. p. 43

[34] *Cayenne*—the reference is to French Guiana where political prisoners were sent for penal servitude. p. 43

[35] In Jiddah (a Red Sea port) a fierce clash took place between Moslems and Christians in 1858. p. 43

[36] An allusion to Louis Bonaparte's words spoken in Bordeaux on October 9, 1852, shortly before the plebiscite and the proclamation of the Second Empire. In an effort to win the people's sympathy he declared demagogically: "L'Empire c'est la paix" ("The Empire is peace"). p. 43

[37] *Levites*—Hebrew priests in the service of the temple of Jerusalem for whose benefit tithes were collected. p. 43

[38] This refers to the trial of a group of republicans who made two attempts on the life of Napoleon III in the summer of 1853 (on June 7 on the way to the Hippodrome and on July 6 at the Comic Opera). p. 44

[39] The secret republican society *Marianne* established in 1850 made numerous attempts to organise opposition to the Bonapartist regime.

On the night of August 26, 1855, the Angers quarry workers, on receipt of the false news of the victory of the republic in Paris, marched to the city but were dispersed by government troops.

In 1858, following Orsini's abortive attempt on Napoleon III's life on January 14, attempts at republican coups were made in a number of French towns, in particular, in Châlon-sur-Saône on March 6 (on the Châlon-sur-Saône events see present edition, Vol. 15). p. 44

[40] In connection with this article Marx wrote to Engels on December 17, 1858 that for months the *Tribune* had been publishing his articles about China as leaders.

He went on to say: "But when the *official* text of the Anglo-Chinese treaty was finally released, I wrote an article in which I said among other things that the Chinese 'would now legalise the import of opium, likewise impose an import duty on opium and, lastly, probably also permit the cultivation of opium actually inside China', and thus the 'second Opium war' would sooner or later deal a deadly blow to the English opium trade, and notably to the Indian Exchequer.... Mr. Dana printed this article as being from an 'occasional correspondent' in London, and himself wrote a bombastic leader *refuting* his 'occasional correspondent'" (see present edition, Vol. 40).

This leader, published in the same issue in which Marx's article was printed, reads in part: "We do not, however, consider as very probable, at least not at an early day, the consequence which our correspondent anticipates of the opening of the ports of China to the legal importation of opium and still less the legalizing of its cultivation in China."

In the above-mentioned letter Marx goes on to say that he wrote another article to the *Tribune* "qua 'occasional correspondent'", "somewhat mocking, though of course restrained, about my 'castigator'".

This article was not published by the *New-York Daily Tribune*. p. 46

41 The *Treaty of Nanking*, concluded between Britain and China in 1842, was the first of a series of unequal treaties imposed by the Western powers on China, which reduced it to the status of a semi-colony. The Nanking Treaty made China open five of its ports to British commerce—Canton, Shanghai, Amoy, Ningpo and Fu-chou, cede the Island of Hongkong to Britain "in perpetuity" and pay a large indemnity. It introduced import and export tariffs advantageous to Britain. The latter did not succeed in legalising the import of opium, though the Nanking Treaty did not oblige the British Government to prohibit British subjects to trade in opium.

The supplementary protocol of 1843 concerning the general rules for trading in the five open ports contained articles (2, 7, 13) envisaging cooperation between the British and Chinese authorities in inspecting the goods brought to the ports and in organising their work.

Similar treaties with China were also signed by the USA and France. On the Tientsin Anglo-Chinese Treaty see Note 6. p. 46

42 This refers to the incident which sparked off the second Opium war: the seizure by the Chinese authorities of the British lorcha *Arrow* with contraband opium in Canton in 1856. The British Ministry responded by sending to China a corps of 5,000 men under the command of Lord Elgin. Canton was brutally bombarded and on December 29, 1857 captured by the British. p. 46

43 *Sycee silver*—ingots of silver of definite weight used in China at that time as coins called taels (liangs). In international trade 750 taels were equal to 1,000 dollars. p. 47

44 The reference is to the *Aigun* and *Tientsin treaties* concluded between China and Russia.

The establishment of the first ties between Russia and China dates back to the thirteenth century and that of official contacts to the early seventeenth century, when the Russians began the economic development of the Amur (Amoor) Region. In the 1680s an Albazin Voivodeship was set up embracing the Amur Valley, from the confluence of the Shilka and the Argun.

The Manchu dynasty which established itself in Peking in the mid-seventeenth century and subjugated the Chinese people sought to take

possession of the Amur Region developed by the Russians. The policy of expansion pursued by the Ching Government resulted in a military conflict with Russia in the 1680s. The necessity to settle the armed clashes of Russian Cossacks and peasants in the Amur Region with Manchu armed detachments which attacked them and tried to drive away the local population led to the dispatch, in 1686, of a mission under F. A. Golovin to Nerchinsk to negotiate with the Ching Government. The Ching troops, who had actually occupied the Albazin Voivodeship and were near Nerchinsk during the talks, totalled 15,000 men, while Golovin's guard numbered 2,000. Under the Nerchinsk Treaty signed on August 29, 1689, Russia was forced to give up the large territory of the Albazin Voivodeship. No border-line in the proper sense of the word was established for lack of precise geographical reference points and because the Russian, Latin and Manchu copies of the treaty were not identical.

Under the Aigun Treaty of May 28 (16), 1858, the left bank of the Amur, from the confluence of the Shilka and the Argun to the sea, was recognised as Russian territory, while the question of the Ussuri Area, from the confluence of the Ussuri and the Amur to the sea, was left open until the final fixing of the frontier between Russia and China. Navigation on the Amur, Sungari and Ussuri was prohibited to all states except Russia and Ching China. The treaty thus returned to Russia the left bank of the Amur developed by the Russians in the seventeenth century and taken from it under the Nerchinsk Treaty of 1689. Besides, it thwarted the British diplomats' attempt to aggravate Russo-Chinese relations and closed the Amur to West-European shipping.

The Tientsin Treaty of June 1 (13), 1858 confirmed the articles of the Aigun Treaty. Russia's frontier on its eastern part was finally defined by the supplementary Peking Treaty, signed on November 2 (14), 1860, under which the land on the eastern banks of the Ussuri and Sungach was recognised as Russian territory and the land on the western banks as that of Ching China.

See also Note 6. p. 50

45 This article is entered in Marx's Notebook for 1858 as "October 1. Friday. Russian serfs". p. 51

46 The *Chief Peasant Question Committee* is the name given in January 1858 to the Secret Committee "for discussing measures to arrange the life of the landowners' peasants" which began its sittings on January 3, 1857 with Alexander II as chairman. The aim of the Chief Committee was to consider "the decisions and proposals concerning serfdom". The Grand Duke Constantine was among its members.

In November 1857 a rescript was issued inviting each gubernia to form landowners' committees for the purpose of drafting the conditions for the abolition of serfdom. Such committees were set up in all gubernias in the course of 1858. Their composition varied, the majority consisting of big serfowners and the minority, of liberal landowners. p. 51

47 By an 1807 edict the Prussian Government granted personal freedom to the peasants, abolishing their hereditary subjection (*Erbunterthänigkeit*) to the landowners. However, all feudal obligations of the peasants connected with the use of landowners' lands remained in force. The conditions for the redemption of these obligations were defined by a number of successive edicts. In 1808 the landowners succeeded in acquiring the right to appropriate peasant plots. The "regulating" edict of 1811 contained extremely harsh conditions for redemption. It concerned only those peasants who had hereditary or lifelong rights to

their plots of land. The masses of leaseholders continued to be in bondage. It was not until 1850 that defeudalisation was completed. p. 52

48 The reference is to Alexander I's edict "On the Freeing of His Peasants by the Landowner on Conditions Based on Mutual Consent" adopted on February 20, 1803, and to Nicholas I's edicts of 1842, 1844, 1846 and 1847. p. 52

49 This article is marked "Berlin" but was written by Marx in London. By agreement with the *Tribune* editors, Marx marked some of his articles on the different European countries "Paris", "Berlin" or "Vienna" respectively, sometimes indicating an earlier date than that of their actual writing. p. 54

50 On March 18, 1848, during the dispersal of a demonstration before the king's palace in Berlin, two shots were fired. This provocation on the part of the Prussian military command served as a signal for armed barricade fighting which ended in the defeat of the royal troops. As a result of the street fighting several hundred Berliners were killed and many wounded. The insurgents took over the guard of the palace, and on the morning of March 19 they forced the king to go out on to the balcony and bare his head before the corpses of the fallen fighters. p. 55

51 According to Greek mythology, Dionysus, a god of wine, in order to avenge himself on Pentheus, King of Thebes, for not acknowledging him as god, led all the Theban women away to the Cithaeron mountains where they indulged in orgiastic and bacchanalian rites, and in their frenzy killed Pentheus. p. 55

52 In 1843 Frederick William IV, who wanted to revive the romantic aspect of feudalism, issued a decree on the rebirth of the Order of the Swan, a medieval religious order of Knights (founded in 1440 and dissolved during the Reformation). The King's intention did not materialise, however. p. 57

53 The heading is given according to the following entry in Marx's Notebook for 1858: "8 Friday. Russian Progress in Central Asia." As we see from Marx's letter to Engels of October 8, 1858, Marx also published this article in *The Free Press* on November 24 but changed its beginning and end. It appeared in *The Free Press* under the heading: "Russian State Papers Respecting Her Recent Advance to Our Indian Frontiers." p. 59

54 This refers to General Perovsky's abortive expedition organised in 1839 to conquer Khiva, and to the first Anglo-Afghan war of 1838-42. When speaking of the British reverses, Engels seems to have in mind the difficulties experienced by the British army during the seizure of and withdrawal from Kabul in 1839-42. p. 59

55 The Khanate of Khiva acknowledged its dependence on Russia only as a result of the treaty signed by Russia and Khiva on August 12, 1873. Between 1853 and 1857 Perovsky erected a number of fortifications on the Syr-Darya River. p. 62

56 On its arrival in Bukhara, after the negotiations in Khiva, the Russian mission on October 11, 1858 reached an agreement with the Emir of Bukhara on freedom of navigation for Russian ships on the Amu-Darya, on the reduced duties on Russian goods and on authorisation of a temporary commercial agent in Bukhara. Under the 1868 treaty concluded after the capture of Samarkand by the Russians and the defeat of the Emir's army, and supplemented by the 1873 treaty, Bukhara acknowledged Russia's protectorate.

The Kokand Khanate was finally annexed to Russia in February 1876. p. 63

57 During the March 1848 revolution in Germany the Prince of Prussia fled to England. As commander-in-chief of the Prussian forces he took part in suppressing the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849. p. 67

58 The *Seehandlung* is short for the *Preussische Seehandlungsgesellschaft* (Prussian Maritime Trading Company). It was founded as a commercial and banking company in 1772 and granted a number of important privileges by the state. It advanced big loans to the government and in fact became its banker and broker. p. 67

59 *Chambre introuvable*—the name of the French Chamber of Deputies in 1815-16 given to it by Louis XVIII. Its extreme conservatism, expressed in the ultra-reactionary actions of its majority, forced the King to disband the chamber. p. 68

60 During the so-called Warsaw Conference in October 1850, the Russian Tsar Nicholas I spoke in a sharp and threatening tone to Prussia's Prime Minister, the Count of Brandenburg. Upon his return from Warsaw the Count suddenly died, which was attributed to Nicholas' insulting behaviour and to the Count's emotions caused by Prussia's national humiliation. p. 72

61 The *laws of Manu*—an ancient Indian collection of instructions defining the duties of each Hindu in accordance with the dogmas of Brahminism. According to Indian tradition, these laws were drafted by Manu, the mythical father of people, approximately between the second century B.C. and the first century A.D. p. 74

62 This refers to the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* (Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen) adopted by the French Constituent Assembly on August 26, 1789, during the French Revolution. It proclaimed the main principles of the revolution: sovereignty of the people and the natural rights of man—the right to freedom, property, security and resistance to oppression. p. 76

63 *Patrimonial jurisdiction* deals with the transfer of patrimony (from *patrimonium,* a term of the Roman law), property inherited from one's father. This right belonged to the feudal lord who performed judicial functions in his estate. p. 77

64 Roman tradition associates the name of Servius Tullius with the reforms which led to the establishment of the state system in Rome. The most important of these was the centurial reform which put an end to the gentile constitution and completed the transition to the slave-owning system. According to this reform, gentile tribes were replaced by territorial, and the plebs became part of the Roman people *(populus Romanus).* The entire population of Rome was divided into five classes according to property qualifications. Each class provided a definite number of centuries (*centurie*), or army companies of a hundred men each, which were also political divisions. Of great importance were the assemblies of *centurie,* where each class received a number of votes corresponding to the number of *centurie* it placed in the field. This system made it possible for the more propertied classes to influence the settlement of major political questions. p. 81

[65] In the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* this article is published under the heading "Russia in China". p. 82

[66] The *Heracleatic peninsula*—part of the Crimean peninsula west of Inkerman up to Balaklava—was one of the major theatres of military operations during the siege of Sevastopol. When Marx says that Russia was deprived of "a small slice of territory", he refers to that part of Bessarabia which Russia had to cede under the Paris Treaty of 1856. p. 82

[67] This is what Nicholas I called Turkey in his talk with the British envoy G. Seymour in St. Petersburg on January 9, 1853. He suggested that Turkey should be divided between Russia and Britain, but Britain rejected the proposal for it did not want to see Russia become stronger and was interested in preserving the weak Ottoman Empire. Marx deals with this question in his article "The Documents on the Partition of Turkey" (see present edition, Vol. 13). See *Correspondence Respecting the Rights and Privileges of the Latin and Greek Churches in Turkey. Presented to Both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty*, Part I, "Eastern Papers. Seymour to Russell, January 11, 1853", London, 1854, pp. 875-78. p. 82

[68] See Note 41. p. 83

[69] This article, published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* as a leader, bears signs of the editors' interference; in particular, they heavily edited the first paragraph and added the last one. The enthusiastic epithets used to describe Bright also belong to them. The heading is given according to the beginning of the article.

In the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* it appeared under the heading "Radicalism in England". p. 87

[70] On June 11, 1858 Marx wrote in his article "Political Parties in England.—The Situation in Europe": "The fact is that the two ruling oligarchic parties of England were long ago transformed into mere factions, without any distinctive principles. Having in vain tried first a coalition and then a dictatorship they are now arrived at the point where each of them can only think of obtaining a respite of life by betraying their common interest into the hands of their common foe, the radical middle-class party, who are powerfully represented in the Commons by John Bright" (present edition, Vol. 15). p. 87

[71] The reference is to the war waged by Britain and France against China in 1856-60 (the second Opium war). In his article "The British Quarrel with China" (present edition, Vol. 15) Marx described in detail the events which served as the *casus belli*.

On the defeat of the Manchester school in the elections to the House of Commons in March 1857 see Marx's article "The Defeat of Cobden, Bright and Gibson" (present edition, Vol. 15). p. 87

[72] On January 20, 1858 Count Walewski, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent a Note to the British Government expressing dissatisfaction with Britain's granting of the right of asylum to political refugees. In view of this, on February 8 Palmerston introduced the *Conspiracy to Murder Bill* in the House of Commons. During the second reading of the Bill on February 19, Milner Gibson proposed an amendment censuring Palmerston's Government for not replying to the Note. Adopted by the majority, the amendment was actually a vote of no-confidence in the government and forced it to resign. p. 87

[73] This sentence was inserted by the *Tribune* editors. p. 88

[74] Marx gave an assessment of Bright's programme in his letter to Engels of November 29, 1858: "As regards the reform movement in England, all I have discussed latterly is Bright's meeting in Birmingham, the gist of the article being that his programme is a reduction of the People's Charter to the middle-class standard" (see present edition, Vol. 40). p. 88

[75] Marx refers to Point 4 of the People's Charter, which was the Chartists' political programme. It reads: "Voting by ballot to prevent bribery and intimidation by the bourgeoisie" (see present edition, Vol. 4, p. 518). p. 88

[76] The reference is to the *Reform Bill* which was finally passed by the British Parliament in June 1832. The Reform Act of 1832 consisted of three acts adopted accordingly for England and Wales on June 7, for Scotland on July 17, and for Ireland on August 17, 1832. It was directed against the political monopoly of the landed and finance aristocracy and enabled the industrial bourgeoisie to be duly represented in Parliament. The proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, the main forces in the struggle for the reform, remained disfranchised. p. 88

[77] The Birmingham Political Union for the Protection of Public Rights, founded by Thomas Attwood in 1830, played an important role in the struggle for the 1832 reform. p. 89

[78] *Roundheads*—the nickname given by the Royalists to the Parliamentarians during the seventeenth-century English revolution. p. 89

[79] In the *New-York Daily Tribune* this is followed by a paragraph inserted by its editors: "For our part, regarding the question as one of political justice and popular progress, and as tending, in its solution, to a more democratic government of England, we hail Mr. Bright's movement with joyful hope, and bid him God-speed in his manly and noble efforts." p. 90

[80] The party referred to is the *Party of Order* which united the rival monarchist groups—the Legitimists, Orleanists and Bonapartists—and supported Louis Napoleon. The Legitimists and Orleanists, exponents of the interests of the elder and the younger branch of the Bourbons, hoped with Louis Napoleon's aid to pave the way for the restoration of the monarchy. Their hopes, however, proved fruitless: the Bonapartist coup d'état of December 2, 1851 put an end to the activities of the Party of Order.

For details on this see Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 99-197). p. 91

[81] This refers to the republican uprisings which broke out at the end of 1851 in Southeast, Southwest and Central France in response to the Bonapartist coup d'état. Their main participants were artisans and workers of small towns, local peasants, traders and intelligentsia. The uprisings involved some twenty departments, but being local and isolated they were soon put down by the police and troops.

By a decree of January 9, 1852, sixty-six republican deputies of the Legislative Assembly, including Victor Hugo, were banished from France. p. 94

[82] The office of Lord President of the Council (later the Privy Council), introduced in England in the seventeenth century, remained in the British Cabinet as an honorary office, the holder of which had no direct influence on government affairs. p. 96

[83] This refers to Louis Napoleon's plans in the latter half of 1852 to marry a representative of a European ruling dynasty. One supposed candidate was a daughter of Karl Anton von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. These plans did not materialise. p. 98

[84] Under the treaty of December 7, 1849, the Principality of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen was annexed to Prussia. This was called forth by the 1848 revolutionary events in the principality, as a result of which Prussian forces were brought in. p. 99

[85] *Hudibras*—the title character of a satirical poem by the English poet Samuel Butler written in 1663-78. Hudibras was distinguished by his inclination to absurd reasoning and disputes and his ability to prove the most absurd propositions by means of syllogisms. The poem was directed against the hypocrisy and bigotry of the English bourgeoisie. p. 102

[86] The *Crédit Mobilier* is short for the *Société générale du Crédit Mobilier*—a French joint-stock bank founded in 1852 by the Péreire brothers. The bank was closely connected with the Government of Napoleon III and, protected by it, engaged in speculation. It went bankrupt in 1867 and was liquidated in 1871. p. 102

[87] On June 26, 1849 the liberal deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly, who had walked out after the Prussian King's refusal to accept the Imperial Crown, met in Gotha for a three-day conference which resulted in the formation of the so-called *Gotha party*. This party expressed the interests of the pro-Prussian German bourgeoisie and supported the policy of the Prussian ruling circles aimed at uniting Germany under the hegemony of Hohenzollern Prussia (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 22). p. 103

[88] This refers to the war waged by Prussia against Denmark in 1848-50. Being defeated, Prussia was forced to conclude a treaty with Denmark (1850) under which Schleswig and Holstein remained within the Kingdom of Denmark. p. 104

[89] The *Financial Reform Association* was founded in April 1848 in Liverpool. It advocated economical government, just taxation and perfect freedom of trade. p. 104

[90] *Demagogues* in Germany were participants in the opposition movement of intellectuals. The name became current after the Karlsbad Conference of Ministers of the German states in August 1819, which adopted a special decision against the intrigues of "demagogues". p. 104

[91] The centralisation of the Austrian monarchy, undermined by the 1848-49 revolution, was restored by patent of the Emperor of Austria on December 31, 1851. p. 107

[92] In the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* this article was published under the heading "Napoleon's Last Scheme". p. 110

[93] See Note 86. p. 114

[94] *Treubund* (the Union of the Loyal)—a Prussian monarchist society founded in Berlin at the end of 1848. Late in 1849 it split into ultra-royalists and constitutional monarchists.

The *Orangemen*—members of the Orange Society (Order), a militant Protestant organisation founded in Ireland in 1795 and used by the authorities,

Protestant landlords and the clergy against the Irish national liberation movement. The name was derived from William III, Prince of Orange, who suppressed the Irish uprising of 1688-91. The Order had an especially strong influence in Ulster, Northern Ireland, where the population was mainly Protestant. p. 117

95 The reference is to Touchard-Lafosse's eight-volume *Chroniques de l'oeil-de-boeuf* published in Paris in 1829-33. The oeil-de-boeuf was a large ante-room to the bedroom of the French king in the palace of Versailles, lighted only by a small round window (*oeil-de-boeuf*). Here the courtiers waited for the king and could engage in all sorts of intrigue. p. 118

96 The heading is given according to the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* and the *New-York Weekly Tribune.* p. 120

97 The insurrection at Milan on February 6, 1853 was raised by the followers of the Italian revolutionary Mazzini and supported by the Hungarian revolutionary elements in the Austrian army. Marx analysed it in a number of articles (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 508-09, 513-16 and 535-37).

The landing at Sapri (province of Salerno) of a small detachment for the purpose of raising a revolt in the south of Italy took place late in June 1857.

The republican uprising in Châlon-sur-Saône took place on the night of March 5, 1858.

This attempt on the life of Napoleon III was made by the Italian revolutionary Orsini on January 14, 1858. p. 120

98 The reference is to the party of radical Free Traders. p. 120

99 The Italian actress Adelaide Ristori played the title-role in Giacometti's drama *Judith.* At the end of the play she sang a hymn containing the words:

"Sappian essi che sacra é la guerra
Se straniero minaccia la terra"
("Let them know that sacred is the war
if the foreigner threatens the country"). p. 122

100 The *Kreuz-Zeitung*'s party (*Kreuzzeitungspartei*)—a name given from 1851 to the end of the nineteenth century to the extreme Right wing of the Prussian conservative party grouped round the *Neue Preussische* (*Kreuz-*) *Zeitung.* p. 125

101 The reference is to the *"German Catholics"*—members of a religious movement which arose in a number of German states in 1844 and involved considerable sections of the middle and petty bourgeoisie. The "German Catholics" did not recognise the supremacy of the Pope, rejected many dogmas and rites of the Roman Catholic Church and sought to adapt Catholicism to the needs of the German bourgeoisie. p. 127

102 This refers to the *battle of Jena* on October 14, 1806, in which the Prussian troops were defeated by Napoleon's army. This resulted in Prussia's capitulation. p. 128

103 In 1797 the Ionian Islands which formerly belonged to the Venetian Republic, came under French rule. During the war of the second European coalition against Napoleonic France a combined Russo-Turkish squadron under F. F. Ushakov was sent to the Mediterranean in 1798 and freed the Ionian Islands from the French. But under the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807, which acknowledged the French territorial conquests, the Ionian Islands were returned to France.

The Vienna Treaty of 1815 established Britain's protectorate over the Ionian Islands. In the 1850s national movement for union with Greece was mounting in these islands and in Greece itself. In November 1858 Gladstone was sent to the Ionian Islands on a special mission. Though the Legislative Assembly of Corfu, the main Ionian island, voted unanimously for union with Greece, the British Government managed to drag out the solution of the question, and it was not until 1864 that the Ionian Islands were transferred to Greece.

By calling Gladstone "Homeric" Marx may be alluding to the fact that Gladstone was the author of the *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age* published a short time previously.

On November 24, 1858 *The Free Press* (London) published a number of documents on the Ionian Islands which Marx used for his article. p. 129

104 After being liberated from French rule, the Ionian Islands were proclaimed, in 1799, the Republic of the Seven United Islands, and a Provisional Plan for Establishing Government was introduced, known as the Ushakov Constitution. But the latter was not approved by the guarantors of the Ionian Republic. The Provisional Plan of 1799 found its continuation in the 1803 Constitution, also drawn up with the direct participation of Russia's representatives. This Constitution was annulled by the French administration in 1807 (see Note 103).

Having received the protectorate over the Ionian Islands, Britain introduced a new Constitution in 1817 which invested its representative—the Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands—with unlimited powers.

The mounting movement for the independence of the Ionian Islands and their unification with Greece compelled the British Government (in which Henry Grey was Secretary for the Colonies) to carry out a reform in 1849 extending local self-government and the electoral rights of the Ionians.

p. 132

105 When Lord Derby was the Chief Secretary for Ireland (1830-33) he pursued a policy of repression against the Irish people. An Act for the More Effectual Suppression of Local Disturbances and Dangerous Associations in Ireland (Coercion Act) which Derby managed to pass through Parliament in 1833 abolished freedom of assembly and introduced a state of emergency and military tribunals, and suspended the Habeas Corpus Act.

The *Orange Lodges*—see Note 94. p. 134

106 *Clearance of estates*—eviction of peasants from their lands by the landlords, typical of nineteenth-century England. Marx gave a detailed description of this process in his *Capital* (Vol. I, Ch. XXVII). p. 135

107 *"True blues"*—the term that appeared in Great Britain in the seventeenth century to designate the representatives of the moderate wing of the Puritans who chose blue as their colour in contrast to the red of the monarchy. Later it was applied to members of the British Conservative Party.

While Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1797-1801, Castlereagh supported the Orangemen's policy of terror in respect of Ireland's Catholic population.

*Green Erin*—an ancient name for Ireland. p. 135

108 The *Phoenix Club*—a secret society founded on the basis of a local literary club in Skibbereen, County Cork, in the mid-1850s by the Irish poet and writer Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, later one of the leaders of the revolutionary Fenians who fought for Ireland's independence. This society was the first step

towards setting up in Ireland a nation-wide Fenian organisation. By that time the Fenian movement had developed among the Irish emigrants in the USA. In 1858 the police authorities discovered the Phoenix Club and instigated court proceedings against its leaders. p. 136

109 *Ribbonism*—a peasant movement that arose in Northern Ireland at the close of the eighteenth century. The peasants united in secret organisations (Ribbon Societies) and wore a green ribbon as their emblem. p. 136

110 *Peep-o'-day boys*—members of Protestant organisations formed in Northern Ireland in the 1780s to fight the Catholics.

*Defenders*—members of the Irish Catholic organisations set up in the 1780s to defend themselves against the peep-o'-day boys. p. 136

111 See Note 46. p. 139

112 On the night of August 3, 1789, during the French Revolution, the French Constituent Assembly, under pressure from the growing peasant movement, announced the abolition of a number of feudal services, which had actually already been abolished by the insurgent peasants. But the laws subsequently issued abolished without redemption only personal services.

On the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen see Note 62. p. 141

113 Soon after his election, in 1846, Pius IX initiated a number of liberal reforms (partial amnesty for political prisoners, abolition of preliminary censorship, etc.) to prevent the growth of the popular movement. p. 141

114 Marx draws an analogy between the "Regulations on Governing the Landowners' Peasants of the St. Petersburg Gubernia Drawn up by the St. Petersburg Nobility Committee", which appeared about December 5, 1857, and the Petition of Right presented by the Parliamentary opposition to Charles I on May 28, 1628, which demanded a considerable limitation of the king's power. p. 144

115 The *États généraux* (States General)—the supreme body representing the social estates in feudal France—were convened on May 5, 1789, after a 175-year interval (from 1614), and existed until June 17. Their convocation was demanded by the French nobility who wished to preserve the existing system in view of the approaching bourgeois revolution. p. 145

116 See Note 47. p. 147

117 In the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* this article was published under the heading "Italians". p. 148

118 The reference is to Aesop's fable "The Shepherd Boy and the Wolf", in which the shepherd boy repeatedly raised a false alarm by shouting that wolves were attacking the flock. After a number of such incidents, nobody responded to his cries for help when wolves really did attack the flock. p. 148

119 French and Austrian troops had been present in Rome and in the Papal States ever since the suppression of the 1848-49 revolution in Italy, and the Swiss mercenaries formed the Pope's guard. p. 148

120 At the end of 1847 and the beginning of 1848 a mass anti-Austrian movement took place in Venice and Lombardy. One of its centres was the Pavia University closed by the Austrian authorities early in 1848. The people boycotted Austrian

manufactures and tobacco; secret republican circles organised demonstrations, which frequently led to clashes with the military and the police. p. 149

121 On March 18-22, 1848, a popular uprising took place in Milan. The five-day struggle resulted in the withdrawal of the Austrian troops from Milan and the formation, on March 22, of a Provisional Government consisting of representatives of the Italian liberal bourgeoisie. p. 149

122 At a reception of the diplomatic corps in the Tuileries on January 1, 1859, Napoleon III said to the Austrian Ambassador J. A. Hübner: "I regret that our relations with your Government are not as good as formerly." This statement led to a diplomatic conflict with Austria, war against which had long ago been decided on: in July 1858, in Plombières, a secret agreement had been reached between France and Piedmont, under which France was promised Savoy and Nice in exchange for participation in the forthcoming war against Austria. p. 149

123 Between 1842 and 1846 Garibaldi took part in the struggle of the Uruguayan people for national liberation and played an important role in the defence of Montevideo. From February to July 1849 Garibaldi virtually directed the defence of the Roman Republic set up as a result of a popular uprising. p. 149

124 In August 1858 an agreement was concluded between Russia and Piedmont granting the Russian Steamship and Trading Company the right to use temporarily the eastern part of the Villafranca harbour, near Nice, for mooring, refuelling and repairing its ships. p. 150

125 Marx alludes to Austria's "gratitude" to Tsarist Russia for its help in suppressing the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49. With the aggravation of the Eastern Question in the early 1850s, Austrian foreign policy took an anti-Russian turn which was reflected in the following words ascribed to the Austrian Prime Minister Schwarzenberg: "We will astonish the world by the greatness of our ingratitude." p. 150

126 *Albion*—an old name of the British Isles; the expression "perfidious Albion", current from the time of the French Revolution, was borrowed from a poem by Marquis de Ximénès. Britain was so called for its government's numerous intrigues against the French Republic and organisation of anti-French coalitions. p. 150

127 The reference is to the abolition of the Roman Republic and the restoration of the temporal power of the Pope in July 1849, as a result of French military intervention initiated by Louis Bonaparte after his election as President of the French Republic. p. 151

128 This refers to the Italian National Committee set up by Giuseppe Mazzini in London in October 1850. The main demand of its programme was struggle for the independence and unification of Italy by means of a national uprising. p. 152

129 After the victorious March 1848 revolution in Milan and Venice the Piedmontese King Charles Albert, fearing the spread of republican ideas and establishment of a democratic system in Lombardy, declared war on Austria on March 23. His main aim being to annex Lombardy to the Kingdom of Sardinia, Charles Albert did his utmost to hinder the creation of a united national front against Austria and thus weakened the military efforts of the Piedmontese

army itself. Following the defeat of the Piedmontese army at *Custozza* (July 25-26, 1848) he concluded an armistice with Austria on August 9. Military operations were resumed on March 20, 1849 and on March 23 the Piedmontese army suffered a serious defeat at Novara. On March 26 an armistice was signed there with Austria on terms that were harsh for Piedmont and the whole of Italy.

In 1849 Engels wrote a number of articles for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* exposing the Piedmontese monarchy (see present edition, Vol. 9, pp. 148-51, 156-57, 164-66, 169-77). p. 153

130 This refers to Napoleon III, the son of Napoleon I's brother Louis Bonaparte who was King of the Netherlands from 1806 to 1810. In calling Napoleon III the "Dutch cousin to the battle of Austerlitz" Marx alludes to the fact that the coup d'état of December 2, 1851 took place on the anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz (December 2, 1805) in which Napoleon I routed the allied armies of Russia and Austria.

In his speech at the opening of the Sardinian Parliament on January 10, 1859 Victor Emmanuel II said that "Sardinia respects treaties, but is not insensible to Italy's cry of anguish". p. 154

131 The reference is to the "liberal" course proclaimed by William, Prince of Prussia (King of Prussia from 1861), in October 1858, when he took up the regency; in the bourgeois press this course was described as a "new era". Actually he did not carry out a single reform expected by the bourgeoisie, but in 1860 a previously prepared military reform was effected abolishing the democratism remaining in the Prussian army since the national liberation war against Napoleon I in 1813-15. This reform stipulated that henceforth the Landwehr would be used only for garrison duties and considerably increased the strength of the army in peacetime. p. 155

132 See Note 86. p. 155

133 Louis Bonaparte was nicknamed "the Little" by Victor Hugo in a speech in the Legislative Assembly in November 1851; the nickname became popular after the publication of Hugo's pamphlet *Napoléon le Petit* (1852). p. 156

134 See Note 36. p. 157

135 *Teut*—an ancient Germanic god invented in the late eighteenth century by the Klopstock school and named after the Teutons. Ancient sources make no mention of such a god. p. 158

136 The reference is to the expression *l'âne de Buridan* attributed to the French fourteenth-century scholastic philosopher Jean Buridan. To prove the absence of free will he cites the example of an ass dying of starvation through inability to choose between two equidistant and equally desirable stacks of hay. p. 159

137 An allusion to Frederick William IV's devotion to medieval social ideals and mystical sentiments typical of the German romantic school of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See also Note 52. p. 159

138 Frederick III, Elector of Brandenburg, became the first king of Prussia under the name of Frederick I in 1701. p. 159

139 *Mortmain*—in the Middle Ages the right of the feudal lord to inherit the property of a dead serf peasant. Since the property and the land of the dead

peasant usually went to his heirs the latter were obliged to pay a special onerous fee for it to the lord. p. 160

140 In the period of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation (962-1806) the *reichsunmittelbarer Fürst* was the German sovereign directly subordinated to the Emperor. The king of Prussia was such a sovereign from 1701. p. 161

141 This refers to the 1857 monetary crisis in Hamburg. Trade in Hamburg was expanded by increasing promissory-note circulation, which led to the large-scale forging of such notes and the use of all kinds of fictitious, accommodation and financial bills. As a result, the beginning of the crisis in November 1857 was accompanied by numerous bankruptcies in Hamburg, as Engels wrote to Marx on December 7, 1857 (see present edition, Vol. 40). Marx made use of this fact in his article "The Crisis in Europe" (Vol. 15). p. 161

142 As can be seen from Marx's letter to Engels written between January 13 and 15, 1859, Engels' article was edited and enlarged by Marx before being dispatched to the USA. p. 162

143 This peace treaty was signed at the Paris Congress on March 18 (30), 1856 by France, Britain, Austria, Sardinia, Prussia and Turkey on the one hand and Russia on the other; it ended the Crimean war of 1853-56. p. 163

144 The *Supreme Venta of the Italian Carbonari*—the leading body of the Carbonari, a secret society which appeared in Italy in the early ninetèenth century and fought for national independence and liberal reforms. While in Italy in 1831 Louis Bonaparte joined the Carbonari and for a short time took part in their activities. p. 163

145 The reference is to Felice Orsini's letters of February 11 and March 10, 1858, addressed, according to the official version, to Napoleon III from the Mazas and La Roquette prisons, where the Italian revolutionary was confined after an abortive attempt on the life of Napoleon III. The first letter was read at the Orsini trial the next day, and on February 27, 1858 it was published in *Le Moniteur universel;* the second letter was published after Orsini's execution. Historians still question whether Orsini addressed Louis Napoleon with these letters. p. 163

146 The *Crédit Foncier*, a French joint-stock bank set up in 1852, granted short- and long-term loans on the security of immovable property. Between 1854 and 1859 it made loans amounting to 2,000 million francs to the Government of Napoleon III. p. 164

147 The *German Confederation* (*der Deutsche Bund*)—a short-lived confederation of German states founded in 1815 by decision of the Congress of Vienna. p. 165

148 On October 10, 1850 Louis Bonaparte, then President of the French Republic, held a general review of troops on the plain of Satory (near Versailles). During this review Bonaparte, who was preparing a coup d'état, treated the soldiers and officers to sausages in order to win their support. p. 168

149 This refers to Louis Bonaparte's attempts during the July monarchy to stage a coup d'état by means of a military mutiny. On October 30, 1836 he succeeded, with the help of several Bonapartist officers, in inciting two artillery regiments of the Strasbourg garrison to mutiny, but they were disarmed within a few hours. Louis Bonaparte was arrested and deported to America. On August 6,

1840, taking advantage of a partial revival of Bonapartist sentiments in France, he landed in Boulogne with a handful of conspirators and attempted to raise a mutiny among the troops of the local garrison. This attempt likewise failed. He was sentenced to life imprisonment, but escaped to England in 1846. p. 168

150 Napoleon I married Marie Louise, daughter of the Emperor of Austria, out of political considerations. p. 169

151 On July 21, 1858, at Plombières, a secret agreement was reached between Napoleon III and the Piedmontese Prime Minister Cavour which envisaged the liquidation of Austrian rule in Lombardy and Venice, the creation of a North-Italian state headed by the Savoy dynasty, and the cession of Savoy and Nice to France. In January 1859 the agreement was formalised by a Franco-Sardinian treaty concluded in Turin. p. 169

152 The *Palais-Royal* in Paris was the residence of Prince Joseph Bonaparte (Plon-Plon) in the 1850s. p. 170

153 See Note 20. p. 170

154 *Zouaves*—French colonial troops first formed in 1830. Originally they were composed of Algerians and French colonists and later of Frenchmen only while Algerians were formed into special regiments of riflemen.

*Zéphires*—an unofficial name of African infantry units of the French army formed of criminals. p. 173

155 The guard was formed by Napoleon III in 1854 on the pattern of Napoleon I's imperial guard disbanded in 1815. p. 175

156 The reference is to the special regiments supplied by what was known as the *Military Border Area*, i.e. the southern border region of the Austrian Empire under military administration. The area included part of Croatia and Southern Hungary. Its population (the borderers) consisted of Serbs, Croats and other nationalities who were allotted land in return for military service, the fulfilment of other obligations and payment of fees. p. 177

157 The army referred to consisted of Slavs and took part in the storm of revolutionary Vienna by the Austrian troops on October 30-November 1, 1848. p. 178

158 The Swiss armed forces were formed on the militia basis; in peacetime all citizens capable of military service underwent a short period of training and in the event of war general mobilisation was declared. p. 180

159 That is, the army of the German Confederation (see Note 147). p. 180

160 The *peace of Basle* was concluded on April 5, 1795 separately between France and Prussia, the latter being a member of the first anti-French coalition. The treaty was the consequence of the French victories as well as of the differences between the members of the coalition, in particular between Prussia and Austria.

At the *battle of Jena* on October 14, 1806 the Prussians were routed by Napoleon I and this led to the capitulation of Prussia.

The *battle of Austerlitz* on December 2 (November 20), 1805 between the Russian and Austrian forces (the third coalition) and the French ended in a victory for Napoleon I.

At the *battle of Wagram* on July 5-6, 1809 Napoleon I won a decisive victory over the Austrians. p. 181

[161] These are battles in the initial stage of Bonaparte's Italian campaign of 1796-97 against the first anti-French coalition. The Austrians lost the battles of Montenotta (April 12, 1796), Millesimo (April 13-14), Dego (April 14-15) and Mondovi (April 22). p. 183

[162] The siege of Mantua was laid by Bonaparte in June 1796. The main body of the French forces fought against the Austrian troops trying to relieve the fortress. On August 5, 1796 the Austrians were defeated at Castiglione; in the first half of September 1796, in the Brenta valley; on November 15-17, at Arcole; on January 14-15, 1797, at Rivoli. On February 2, 1797, after a nine-month siege, Mantua capitulated. p. 183

[163] The siege of Danzig (Gdańsk) by Napoleon's army lasted from March 1807 to the end of May 1807. p. 183

[164] The *battle of Marignano* (September 13-14, 1515)—one of the major battles in the wars waged by France, Spain and the German Empire in Italy in 1494-1559; in this battle the army of the French King Francis I defeated the Duke of Milan's Swiss mercenaries. On February 24, 1525 the army of Francis I was defeated at Pavia by the forces of the German Emperor Charles V.

On September 7, 1706 at the *battle of Turin* the Italians routed the French army which had besieged the city for 117 days.

At the *battle of Novi* (August 15, 1799) the Russo-Austrian forces under A. V. Suvorov routed the French army under General Joubert and finally drove the French out of Northern Italy.

At the *battle of Marengo* on June 14, 1800 Bonaparte's army defeated the Austrians.

At the *battle of Custozza* on July 25, 1848 the Austrian army under Radetzky inflicted a heavy defeat on the Piedmontese.

*At Novara* the Piedmontese were defeated by the Austrians on March 23, 1849. p. 183

[165] The reference is to Louis Bonaparte who lived in Switzerland for a long time, became a Swiss citizen and in 1834 enlisted as a captain in the artillery regiment of the Berne Canton. p. 184

[166] In 1830 the French began a war of conquest in Algeria which lasted, with intervals, forty years. p. 187

[167] This refers to the 1800 campaign in Italy. The commander-in-chief of the Austrian forces, Melas, at first successfully attacked the French right flank at the Var River, but in the latter part of May 1800 Bonaparte crossed the Alps and appeared in the rear of the Austrians. After the capture of Milan on June 2 and the French crossing of the Po, the Austrian army was routed at Marengo on June 14, 1800. p. 188

[168] The reference is to the Act to Regulate the Labour of Children and Young Persons in the Mills and Factories of the United Kingdom (1833) and the Act to Amend the Laws Relating to Labour in Factories (1844) on the employment of children, juveniles and women in the English textile industry.

Under the 1833 law the working day for children from nine to thirteen years of age was nine hours (48-hour week). Juveniles from fourteen to eighteen worked twelve hours a day (69-hour week). Children from nine to thirteen years of age had to attend school (two hours a day).

The 1844 law forbade the employment of children under eight years of age

and introduced for children from eight to thirteen years a half-shift work (six and a half hours a day). It restricted for the first time the working day for women: it was the same as for juveniles under the 1833 law. p. 190

169 Marx wrote to Engels on April 19, 1859 that the *New-York Daily Tribune* of April 5 had printed a reader's comments on this article.

The author of the comments in a letter signed "Asbouth" referred to his first letter concerning Engels' article "The Austrian Hold on Italy" (see this volume, pp. 183-89). This first letter was signed "A" and published in the *Tribune* on March 11, 1859.

The second letter largely repeats the first. The author considers the assessment of Austria's possibilities in the impending war given by Engels in his two articles to be insufficiently thorough and therefore exaggerated. p. 197

170 The *battles of Abensberg* and *Eckmühl* were two stages in the five-day fighting in the region of Regensburg (Bavaria) in April 1809 between Napoleon I's army and the Austrian forces during the Austro-French war of 1809. p. 201

171 In the *battle at Sommacampagna* on July 23, 1848 the Austrian army under Radetzky defeated the Piedmontese; this battle was followed by the rout of the Piedmontese army at Custozza on July 25, 1848. p. 201

172 Besides this article, Marx wrote two more articles on the 1859 Reform Bill, on March 22 and April 1, 1859, but they were not printed in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and have not reached us. p. 202

173 *Locke King's Bill*, introduced in the House of Commons in February 1851, envisaged the reduction of franchise qualification for people renting land from £50 to £10 annual income, thus giving them the same rights as house tenants in the towns; the Bill was defeated. p. 202

174 *Freeholders*—a category of English small landowners dating from feudal times. They paid to the landlord a fixed money rent and had the right to dispose freely of their plots of land. Under the Reform Bill of 1832, the smallest property qualification for them was fixed at forty shillings (£2) annual income. p. 202

175 See Note 76. p. 202

176 In February 1852 Lord Russell made a preliminary statement of his intention to introduce an electoral Bill. It envisaged measures aimed at strengthening the political power of the industrial bourgeoisie: abolition of the so-called rotten boroughs (having a population of less than 500 and sending deputies to Parliament) that continued to exist even after the 1832 Reform, redistribution of seats in favour of the big towns, and reduction of property qualifications. The Bill was not debated.

In February 1854 Lord Russell introduced a new Bill envisaging equal rights for rural and urban boroughs, the right to vote for all citizens whose annual salary was not less than £100, who received not less than £10 dividend from state securities, bank or East India Company stocks, or had not less than £50 savings in savings banks; the Bill also envisaged the right to vote for people with a University degree. This Bill was rejected by the House of Commons. p. 203

177 This refers to what was known as the *Government of India Bill* drawn up by Ellenborough and introduced in the House of Commons in April 1858. It

envisaged an extremely complex procedure for electing the Indian Council and was finally adopted by the two Houses in July 1858. p. 203

178 *Leaseholders*—small holders of land by right of a lease, the period and terms of which were determined by an agreement between the landlord and the lessee. p. 204

179 At its second reading in March-early April 1859 the electoral Bill failed to receive a majority vote and was rejected by the House of Commons. p. 205

180 See Note 168. p. 206

181 The reference is to the changes in the 1833 law as a result of the 1844 law, which allowed children of over eleven years employed in the silk industry not to attend school (see Note 168). p. 207

182 Engels was prompted to write his *Po and Rhine* by the impending military conflict in Italy and the necessity to determine the stand of the proletarian revolutionaries and the European democrats as opposed to that of the bourgeoisie, above all German, on the ways of unifying Germany and Italy. He also wanted to expose the various chauvinistic theories by which the European ruling circles tried to justify the policy of aggression and conquest, and to show that they were untenable from the point of view of military strategy.

Conceived in February 1859, this work had been written by Engels by March 9 and sent to be read by Marx, who appreciated it highly. "Exceedingly clever," he wrote to Engels on March 10, 1859, "the political side is also splendidly done and that was damned difficult." On Marx's advice *Po and Rhine* was published in Germany anonymously to avoid a conspiracy of silence. It was printed in April 1859 in Berlin by the publisher Franz Duncker (in 1,000 copies).

The work exerted a great influence on public opinion in Germany, and was also a success among the military men. No less than ten reviews of it appeared in the German press. All the reviewers approved the military content of the pamphlet and many of them thought it was written by a big military expert. But conflicting opinions were expressed on the author's political conclusions, particularly the one that a united Germany would not need to hold on to Italian territory for its defence. While liberal newspapers such as the *Grenzboten* (Leipzig), the *Preussische Jahrbücher* (Berlin) and *Die Reform* (Hamburg) agreed—though not quite consistently—with the author's political arguments, the conservative press—the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, the *Aachener Zeitung* and the *Berliner Revue*—adopted a chauvinist standpoint and declared that they would not agree to give up Italian territory.

In May 1859, Marx and Engels decided the time had come to inform the public at large on the origin of the work and wrote in *Das Volk*, No. 2, that the author of *Po and Rhine* was a well-known leader of the proletarian party; Engels' name was not given till later, in issue No. 5 (June 4).

In his letter to Lassalle of April 19, 1859, Marx enclosed a list of misprints in the *Po and Rhine* pamphlet. In this edition they are corrected in accordance with Marx's instructions. p. 211

183 Under the Peace Treaty of Westphalia of 1648, which ended the Thirty Years' War, Alsace and part of Lorraine, which had hitherto belonged to the Habsburgs, were transferred to France; Lorraine as a whole was annexed to France in 1766.

The *Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation* (982-1806) included, at different times, German, Italian, Austrian, Hungarian and Bohemian lands, Switzerland and the Netherlands, forming a motley conglomeration of feudal kingdoms and free towns with different political structures, legal standards and customs.

The *Austrian Netherlands*—the territory of the present Belgium and Luxemburg, which belonged to the Austrian Habsburgs from 1714 to 1797. p. 216

184 See Note 164. p. 218

185 The *Seven Years' War* (1756-63)—a war between the two European coalitions: the Anglo-Prussian and the Franco-Russo-Austrian. The war was caused by the conflict of interests of the feudal absolutist powers (Prussia, Austria, Russia and France) and the colonial rivalry between France and Britain. The war resulted in the expansion of the British colonial empire at the expense of the French possessions and in the growth of Russia's might; Austria and Prussia retained in the main their pre-war frontiers. p. 225

186 See Note 121. p. 228

187 In March 1848, under pressure from the masses who had risen throughout Italy against Austrian rule, Pope Pius IX and Ferdinand II of Naples were compelled to send troops to Northern Italy to fight the Austrians. But the participation of these forces in the liberation struggle was brief for soon Pius IX and Ferdinand II openly went over to the enemies of the Italian revolution. p. 228

188 On May 15, 1848 the King Ferdinand II of Naples brutally suppressed a popular uprising in Naples and carried out a coup d'état. He recalled to Naples the Neapolitan corps which was in Lombardy to help the revolutionary army, thus easing Radetzky's position in Northern Italy. p. 228

189 On the siege of Danzig by Napoleon's troops see Note 163.

Engels enumerates the battles between the French and Austrian armies during the siege of Mantua by the French (see also Note 162) in Napoleon's Italian campaign of 1796-97. In the *battle at Medole* the Austrians were defeated; in the first *battle at Calliano,* on September 4, 1796, the French were victorious but in the second, on November 6-7, they were driven back by the Austrians; *at Bassano* on September 8, 1796 the French were victorious but the battle on November 6 was undecisive. p. 230

190 The reference is to the national liberation struggle against the Napoleon yoke waged by the Tyrolese peasants under Andreas Hofer in 1809. In this insurrectional war the Tyrolese widely used guerrilla methods of fighting in the mountains. In October 1809 the Austrian Government signed peace with Napoleonic France, in consequence of which the Tyrolese peasants, receiving no support from the Austrian regular army, were routed by the French and Italians in 1810. p. 231

191 At the battle of Hohenlinden, that took place on December 3, 1800, during the war between France and the second European coalition, the French army under Moreau defeated the Austrian army of Archduke John. p. 231

192 The reference is to the Spanish people's national liberation struggle against the French invaders between 1808 and 1814, during which the Spaniards made wide use of the guerrilla methods of fighting in the mountains. p. 232

193 The *Confederation of the Rhine* (*Rheinbund*)—an association of sixteen states in Southern and Western Germany established in July 1806 under the protectorate of Napoleon I, after the latter had defeated Austria in 1805. Later twenty other states in Western, Central and Northern Germany joined the Confederation. It fell apart in 1813, after the defeat of Napoleon's army in Germany. p. 233

194 Under the Treaty of Pressburg (Bratislava) concluded on December 26, 1805 between France and Austria, the latter acknowledged France's seizure of part of Italian territory (Piedmont, Genoa, Parma, Piacenza, etc.) and yielded to the Kingdom of Italy (i.e. to Napoleon I who became King of Italy) the Adriatic coast—the Venetian region, Istria and Dalmatia—keeping only Triest. The Tyrol was given by Napoleon I to his ally Bavaria. p. 233

195 The reference is to the swift and practically unhindered march of Napoleon I's army in Prussia after its victory over the Prussians at Jena and Auerstädt on October 14, 1806; on October 29 the French entered Stettin (Szczecin). p. 237

196 In 321 B.C., during the second Samnite war, the Samnites defeated the Roman legions in the Caudine pass, near the ancient Roman town of Caudine, and compelled them to go under the "forks", which was the greatest shame for the defeated army. Hence the expression "to go under the Caudine forks", i.e. to undergo extreme humiliation. p. 237

197 In July 1820 the Carbonari revolted against the absolutist regime in the Kingdom of Naples and succeeded in having a moderate liberal constitution introduced. In March 1821 there was a rising in Piedmont headed by liberals who proclaimed a constitution and attempted to make use of the anti-Austrian movement in Northern Italy to unify the country under the aegis of the Savoy dynasty then ruling in Piedmont. Interference by the powers of the Holy Alliance and the occupation of Naples and Piedmont by Austrian troops led to the restoration of absolutist regimes in both states. p. 237

198 By the autumn of 1808, when Napoleon I arrived in Erfurt to negotiate with the Russian Tsar Alexander I, almost the whole of Germany had been subjected to France. The German Princes assembled in Erfurt confirmed their loyalty to Napoleon.

In May and October 1850 Warsaw was the scene of conferences in which representatives of Russia, Austria and Prussia took part. They were convened on the initiative of the Russian Tsar in view of the intensification of the struggle between Austria and Prussia for mastery in Germany. The Russian Tsar acted as arbiter in the dispute between Austria and Prussia and used his influence to make Prussia abandon its attempts to form a political confederation of German states under its own aegis.

The *battle of Bronzell* was an unimportant skirmish between Prussian and Austrian detachments on November 8, 1850, during an uprising in Kurhessen. Prussia and Austria contended for the right to interfere in the internal affairs of Kurhessen to suppress the uprising. In this conflict with Prussia Austria again received diplomatic support from Russia and Prussia had to yield. p. 239

199 Paris was twice captured by the forces of the anti-Napoleonic coalition: on March 30-31, 1814 and July 6-8, 1815. p. 241

200 The *battle of Oudenarde* took place on July 11, 1708, during the War of the

Spanish Succession. The French were defeated by the allied Anglo-Austrian forces.

At the *battle of Jemappes* on November 6, 1792 the French revolutionary army won a big victory over the Austrians.

At the *battle of Fleurus* on June 26, 1794 the French defeated the Austrians. This victory made it possible for the French to enter Belgium and occupy it.

At the *battle of Ligny* on June 16, 1815 the Prussians were routed by the French. This was the last battle won by Napoleon I.

At the *battle of Waterloo* on June 18, 1815 Napoleon's army was defeated by the allied forces of Britain, Holland and Prussia. p. 243

201 At the *battles of Montmirail, Château-Thierry, Reims* and others, in February and March 1814 Napoleon defeated superior forces of the sixth anti-French coalition. p. 244

202 *Denmark up to the Eider!*—the slogan advanced by the members of the Danish liberal party of the 1840s to 1860s (Eider Danes) who supported the union of Schleswig (up to the River Eider), populated mainly by Germans, with Denmark. p. 250

203 Under this name Engels ironically unites here two dwarf German states, Reuss-Greiz and Reuss-Gera-Schleiz-Lobenstein-Ebersdorf, belonging to the elder and younger branches of the Reuss dynasty. p. 250

204 By decision of the Vienna Congress of 1815 Belgium and Holland were incorporated into the united Kingdom of the Netherlands, Belgium being actually under the control of Holland. Belgium became an independent constitutional monarchy as a result of the 1830 revolution. p. 251

205 The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, whose editor-in-chief was Dr. Gustav Kolb, was at the time in favour of Germany seizing Alsace and Lorraine (see also this volume, p. 216). p. 252

206 At the *battle of Rossbach* on November 5, 1757 during the Seven Years' War (1756-63), Prussian King Frederick II's army defeated the Franco-Austrian forces.

On August 25, 1758, *at Zorndorf*, Frederick II gave battle to the Russian army, as a result of which both armies suffered serious losses without achieving anything.

At the *battle of Hohenfriedeberg* on June 4, 1745, during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48), the Prussian army commanded by Frederick I defeated the Austro-Saxon forces.

Prussian cavalry played an important role in all these battles. p. 252

207 The *Holy Alliance*—an association of European monarchs founded in September 1815 on the initiative of the Russian Tsar Alexander I and the Austrian Chancellor Metternich to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in the European countries. p. 253

208 On the national liberation movement in the Ionian Islands see Note 103.

In 1857-59 India was the scene of a big popular uprising against the British. It flared up in the spring of 1857 among the Sepoy units of the Bengal army and spread to large areas in Northern and Central India. Its main strength was in the peasants and the poor urban artisans. Directed by local feudal lords it was put down owing to the country's disunity, religious and caste differences and also because of the military and technical superiority of the colonisers. p. 254

209 Engels' views on the historical destiny of small nations were inaccurate: he held that as a rule small nations were not capable of independent national existence and were bound to be absorbed, in the course of centralisation, by larger, more viable nations. Correctly noting the tendency towards centralisation and the creation of large states, which is inherent in capitalism, Engels did not give due consideration to another tendency, namely, the struggle of small nations against national oppression, for their independence and the establishment of their own states. History has shown that many small nations proved capable of independent national development and played a considerable role in the progress of humanity. p. 254

210 This article and the next, "A Sigh from the Tuileries", were written by Marx as a single article but were published by the *Tribune* as two independent leading articles in two different issues. The first sentence bears signs of the editors' interference. p. 256

211 See Note 122. p. 256

212 The French diplomats made use of the strivings of the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia to merge in a single state in order to strengthen France's influence in the Balkans. With the assistance of France and Russia Colonel Alexandru Cuza was elected hospodar (ruler) of Moldavia (in January 1859) and of Wallachia (in early February 1859). A united Rumanian state was set up in 1862. p. 256

213 An allusion to Prince Louis Bonaparte's stay in England as an émigré in 1838-40 and 1846-48. p. 258

214 The reference is to Louis Bonaparte's abortive attempts to raise a mutiny in the French army in 1836 and 1840 (see Note 149). p. 259

215 The reference is to the national liberation and anti-feudal uprising in the city of Cracow, which had been under the joint control of Austria, Russia and Prussia since 1815. The insurgents seized power on February 22, 1846 and set up a National Government, which issued a manifesto abolishing feudal services. The uprising was put down in early March 1846. In November 1846, Austria, Prussia and Russia signed a treaty incorporating Cracow in the Austrian Empire. p. 261

216 In 1848 an acute financial crisis in Austria led to an enormous increase of the national debt, devaluation of the currency and mass issues of paper money. p. 261

217 The reference is to Napoleon III's anti-Austrian declaration at a New-Year reception in the Tuileries (see Note 122). p. 262

218 See Note 72. p. 262

219 In 1852 the French Government drew up a plan for the immigration of Negroes from Africa, including Portugal's African colonies, for work on the plantations in the French West Indies. The implementation of this plan which actually revived the slave trade resulted in a conflict between France and Portugal. In November 1857 the French ship *Charles et Georges*, with Negroes on board, was detained near the shores of the Portuguese colonies in Eastern Africa. This led to the conflict here referred to (see also this volume, pp. 621-23). p. 262

220 The *peace of Lunéville* of 1801 between France and Austria and the *peace of Amiens* of 1802 between France and Britain ended the war between France and the second coalition. But peace did not last long. Soon Napoleon I resumed the war under the pretext of Britain's failure to fulfil one of the conditions of the Amiens peace according to which it was to evacuate Malta, which it had occupied in 1800 and return it to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. At a reception in the Tuileries in March 1803 Napoleon I ended a talk with the British Ambassador Whitworth by exclaiming: "Malta or War!" p. 263

221 In the autumn of 1858, Palmerston, then head of the Whig opposition to the Derby-Disraeli Tory Cabinet, was invited by Napoleon III to Compiègne in order to clarify his position in the impending Franco-Austrian war. At the meeting Palmerston did not object to the Austrians being driven out of Italy, but in his speech at the opening of Parliament on February 3, 1859, he condemned France's action. p. 263

222 The younger sons of English dukes received the title of lord "by courtesy", i.e. they acquired it only by tradition, but by law they had no hereditary right to it or to membership of the House of Lords. p. 264

223 On July 15, 1840, Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia signed a convention to support the Sultan of Turkey against the Egyptian ruler Mehemet Ali who was supported by France. This resulted in a threat of war between France and an anti-French coalition, but Louis Philippe decided against war and denied his support to Mehemet Ali. p. 264

224 In its Note of February 22, 1859, addressed to Prussia and communicated to the other states of the German Confederation, Austria called on Prussia to abide by its obligations as an ally and take part in the impending struggle against France. p. 265

225 An allusion to the Carbonari (see Note 144).

*Feme*—courts in medieval Germany which passed sentences after secret investigations, both in and without the presence of the accused, and themselves carried them out. p. 265

226 The concordat of 1855 between Austria and Pius IX restored to the Catholic Church a number of privileges abolished during the 1848-49 revolution. p. 267

227 *Lambessa* (*Lambèse*)—a French penal colony founded on the ruins of the ancient Roman town of Lambessa in Northern Africa; from 1851 to 1860 it was a place of exile for political prisoners.

*Cayenne*—see Note 34. p. 267

228 On the Warsaw Conferences and the battle of Bronzell see Note 198.

The Schleswig-Holstein question was one of the causes that aggravated Austro-Prussian relations in 1848-50. From March 1848 these duchies were the scene of a national liberation struggle against Denmark with Prussia taking part on the side of the insurgents. Austria and other European powers supported the Danish monarchy and brought pressure to bear upon Prussia by compelling it to sign a treaty with Denmark in July 1850. In the winter of 1851 the forces of the German Confederation, which included Austrian units, undertook a punitive expedition against the insurgents and forced them to surrender.

During the Crimean war (1853-56) Prussia, manoeuvring between Russia and the Western powers, was forced, in 1854, by Austria, Britain and France

to join Austria in demanding the evacuation of the Danubian Principalities by the Russians. At the end of the war Prussia was also to support the Austrian ultimatum to Russia which impelled the Tsarist Government to accept the Allies' terms as the basis for peace negotiations. p. 268

229 The reference is apparently to the treaties of alliance imposed by Austria on Modena and Parma in 1847 and 1848, the 1850 treaty on the maintenance of Austrian forces in Tuscany, and the 1814 treaty between Austria and Naples. p. 268

230 Marx refers to Prussia's anti-Austrian position at the Paris Conference of Britain, France, Russia, Austria, Turkey, Prussia and Sardinia (May to August 1858) at which Prussia, contrary to the will of Austria, supported the proposal to unite Moldavia and Wallachia (see Note 212).

By the *German Diet* Marx means the *Federal Diet* (*Bundestag*), the central body of the German Confederation (see Note 147), which consisted of representatives of German states and sat in Frankfurt am Main. It served as an instrument of the reactionary policy of the German governments.

Prussia's plenipotentiary in the Federal Diet from 1851 onwards was Otto Bismarck. At the beginning of his career he sought an alliance with Austria but later adopted a pronounced anti-Austrian stand. In early 1859 he was replaced by Usedom. p. 269

231 The *Zollverein* (Customs Union), a union of German states which established a common customs frontier, was set up in 1834 under the aegis of Prussia. Owing its existence to the need for an all-German market, the Customs Union subsequently embraced all the German states except Austria and a few of the smaller ones. p. 269

232 See Note 160. p. 269

233 See Note 122. p. 269

234 *Boeotians* were inhabitants of Boeotia, an economically and culturally backward region in Ancient Greece. p. 270

235 Archduke John of Austria was proclaimed Regent of Germany by the Frankfurt National Assembly in June 1848. He was invested with executive power until an Imperial Constitution was introduced. Being Regent up to December 1849 he was the vehicle of the counter-revolutionary policy of the German princes. p. 270

236 See Note 36. p. 271

237 Napoleon III and Empress Eugénie visited England in April 1855. p. 271

238 The reference is to the Lombardy crown. p. 272

239 The economically favourable years of 1836 and 1856 were followed by crises in 1837 and 1857. p. 272

240 At the beginning of the 1848-49 revolution in Italy the dukes of Tuscany, Modena and Parma fled from their duchies. p. 273

241 In March 1859 the Russian Government proposed that an international congress should be held to discuss the Italian question. Britain, France, Prussia

and Piedmont supported the idea, but the congress did not take place because of the Austrian demand to debar Piedmont from participation in it and to make it disarm. p. 274

242 Under the Peace of Paris (see Note 143) Russia was deprived of the Danube estuary region and part of Southern Bessarabia and was compelled to give up its protectorate over the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia.

Later, in order to strengthen its influence in the Balkans, Russia supported the national liberation movement of the Balkan peoples against the Turkish rule. Together with France it supported Moldavia's and Wallachia's desire to form a united Rumanian state. Russia also backed the dynastic coup d'état in Serbia in late November 1858, as a result of which the Karageorgević dynasty whose foreign policy was oriented on Austria and Turkey was replaced by the Obrenović dynasty. p. 277

243 On the Indian rebellion of 1857-59 see Note 208. p. 279

244 The *prize money* was awarded by the government to the crews of ships which destroyed or seized enemy ships or neutral vessels engaged in contraband. p. 279

245 The year 1854 saw the beginning of a bourgeois revolution in Mexico followed by a civil war which lasted until the end of 1860 and ended in the defeat of the reactionary feudal landowners and clergymen. p. 282

246 Marx here refers to Bombay. According to the administrative division of British India, Bombay, with Bengal and Madras, was given the status of a Presidency headed by a governor. p. 283

247 Marx ironically calls the British governors of India the Great Mogul's successors.

The Empire of the Great Moguls founded in 1526 by the Moguls, invaders of Turkish descent, became very powerful in the mid-seventeenth century when it conquered the greater part of India and part of Afghanistan. Later, however, the Empire began to decline due to popular movements and increasing separatist tendencies. In the early half of the eighteenth century the Empire of the Great Moguls practically ceased to exist. Formally the Great Moguls continued to be considered as rulers of India until 1858, when the English authorities put an end to the dynasty. p. 284

248 The reference is to the Shanghai British-Chinese commercial agreement of November 8, 1858, concluded to enlarge on Clause 26 of the Tientsin Treaty of 1858. The agreement legalised the import of opium to China under the guise of foreign medicine. p. 286

249 Marx dated this article "April 15", the day when it was sent from London to New York. p. 287

250 Cracow was annexed to the Austrian Empire after the suppression of the 1846 uprising (see Note 215).

After the suppression of the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary the Austrian authorities established a regime of severe terror there: they abrogated all the laws adopted during the revolution and, moreover, liquidated the partial autonomy enjoyed by Hungary even before the revolution. p. 288

251 The reference is to the demands presented by the Western powers to Russia in a Note of August 8, 1854 as preliminary conditions for peace negotiations.

Russia was to give up its protectorate of Moldavia, Wallachia and Serbia, which was to be replaced by a European guarantee, to allow free passage of ships on the Danube, to consent to the revision of the 1841 London Convention on the Straits, and to renounce its protection of the Christian subjects of Turkey. At first the Tsarist government rejected these Four Points but in November 1854 it was compelled to accept them as the basis of future peace negotiations. p. 288

252 This right was granted to Austria by the Vienna Treaty of 1815. p. 288

253 An allusion to the policy of King Frederick II of Prussia (1712–1786) whose enlightened absolutism was, to use Marx's words, a "hodge-podge rule of despotism, bureaucracy and feudalism" (*Capital,* Vol. I, Moscow, 1977, p. 684). p. 289

254 The *protocol of Aix-la-Chapelle* (*Aachen*) (Protocole signé à Aix-la-Chapelle le 15 novembre 1818 par les plénipotentiaires des cours d'Autriche, de France, de la Grande-Bretagne, de Prusse et de Russie) of November 15, 1818 was signed by Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia and France at the first congress of the Holy Alliance. It confirmed the state structure of Europe as established at the Vienna Congress of 1815. p. 291

255 As is evident from Marx's letter to Engels of April 22, 1859, this article written by Engels was edited and enlarged by Marx as new material had been received. p. 295

256 The reference is to the *Laibach Congress* of the Holy Alliance held in 1821. It proclaimed the principle of intervention by the powers of the Holy Alliance in the internal affairs of other states in support of feudal-monarchist regimes there. Accordingly, the Laibach Congress decided to send Austrian troops to Italy to crush the revolutionary and national liberation movement there. Representatives of the monarchist circles in the Italian states attended the congress in accordance with the restrictive clause inserted in the 1818 protocol of Aix-la-Chapelle on the insistence of the British Foreign Secretary Castlereagh. It stipulated that intervention in the home affairs of other states should be practised only "on the wish" of those states, which were also to be given the right to take part in the talks. p. 296

257 In November 1850 Prussia declared a general mobilisation in view of the worsening of the Austro-Prussian relations caused by the struggle for mastery in Germany. The mobilisation revealed serious shortcomings in the Prussian military system and insufficient equipment of the army; this made the government take vigorous measures to eliminate these shortcomings. p. 298

258 In his letter to Engels of May 6, 1859 Marx wrote about this article: "I deleted the whole of the preamble to your last Friday's article, firstly because I had my misgivings about Austria; secondly because it is absolutely essential that we do not identify our cause with that of the present German governments." p. 299

259 See Note 169. p. 299

260 *Consols* is short for consolidated annuities, i.e. government securities consolidated in 1751 into a single stock at three per cent. Up to the First World War they made up a large part of the British national debt. p. 303

261 The reference is to the secret Paris treaty of February 19 (March 3), 1859 concluded between France and Russia. Russia undertook to adopt a "political and military stand which most easily proves its favourable neutrality towards France" (Article I) and not to object to the enlargement of the Kingdom of Sardinia in the event of a war between France and Sardinia on the one hand and Austria on the other. Information about this secret treaty leaked into the press but the Russian Foreign Minister Gorchakov officially denied the existence of any written obligations to France. As was proved later, Denmark did not take part in the negotiations. p. 303

262 The reference is to the Austrian ultimatum to Sardinia of April 23, 1859 which marked the beginning of the 1859 war between France and Sardinia on the one hand and Austria on the other. p. 304

263 The Stuttgart meeting of the Emperors, Alexander II and Napoleon III, took place on September 25, 1857. It was a sign of rapprochement between France and Russia after the Crimean war. p. 304

264 Under the Treaty of Paris (see Note 143) the autonomy of the Danubian Principalities within the Ottoman Empire was guaranteed by the countries which took part in the Paris Congress of 1856. Austria, which occupied the principalities in 1854, was to withdraw its troops from them. In 1858 a special conference was convened in Paris to decide finally on the status and rights of the Danubian Principalities (see Note 242). p. 304

265 In mid-February 1859 the Derby government in Britain offered to mediate in settling the Franco-Austrian conflict. With this aim in view Lord Cowley was sent, with Napoleon III's consent, to Vienna at the end of February for talks with Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria. His mission, however, failed. p. 304

266 In the spring and summer of 1859 popular insurrections flared up in Tuscany, Modena and Parma. The members of the ruling dynasties fled from their duchies to seek the protection of the Austrian army. The national assemblies set up as the result of the insurrections declared that the population of the duchies wished to be incorporated in Piedmont. This question was settled in March 1860 by a plebiscite. p. 306

267 See Note 265. p. 307

268 See Note 87. p. 312

269 An allusion to the treating of soldiers to sausages during the military review in Satory (see Note 148). p. 312

270 These words ("Let the consuls beware lest the Republic suffer harm") used to be addressed by the Roman Senate to the consuls in time of danger for the state; the meaning was that they were empowered to appoint a dictator. p. 312

271 The reference is to Karl Vogt (for details about him see Marx's work *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17). p. 313

272 Marx is referring to Prussia's defeat at Jena and Auerstädt in 1806 (see also Note 102). p. 314

273 See Note 160. p. 314

274 In March 1848 a revolution broke out in Venice. The Austrians were driven out and power went over to the Provisional Government headed by Daniel Manin. The Provisional Government proclaimed a republic, which existed until August 1849. p. 321

275 On June 28, 1849, during the 1848-49 national liberation war in Hungary, the Austrians routed the Hungarians at Raab (Györ) and seized the town. p. 321

276 The Austrian troops were defeated by the Hungarian revolutionary forces at Acs (near Komárno) on August 3, 1849. p. 322

277 The *Order of the Golden Fleece*, an order of Knighthood in the Austrian monarchy, was founded in 1429. p. 322

278 The *Legionaries* were members of the Academic Legion, an armed student organisation set up in Vienna during the March 1848 revolution. p. 322

279 The *Austrian Lloyd*—the name given by Marx to a steamship company founded in Trieste in 1833. Many maritime insurance companies in Europe began to be named Lloyd's, after Edward Lloyd, the owner of a coffee-house in London where the first English maritime insurance company was established (late seventeenth century). p. 325

280 Marx is referring to the foundation of the Guarantee Discount Society in Hamburg in November 1857, during one of the cyclic crises, and to the issue of interest-bearing securities to the amount of 15,000,000 marks to subsidise the purchase of commodities or state securities; the subsidies were to cover from 50 to $66^2/_3$ per cent of the value of the mortgaged commodities (see Marx's article "The Financial Crisis in Europe", present edition, Vol. 15). p. 325

281 The reference is to the policy of the Austrian ruling circles during a big peasant uprising in Galicia in February and March 1846 which coincided with the Cracow national liberation uprising (see Note 215). Taking advantage of class and national contradictions, the Austrian authorities provoked clashes between the insurgent Galician peasants and the Polish lesser nobility (szlachta) who were trying to come to the assistance of Cracow. The peasant uprising began with the disarming of the insurgent szlachta detachments, and grew into a mass sacking of landowners' estates. After dealing with the insurgent szlachta, the Austrian Government also suppressed the peasant uprising in Galicia. p. 337

282 The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation founded by King Otto I in 962 lasted until August 1806. p. 344

283 This article, written at Marx's request, was Engels' first contribution to *Das Volk*.

*Das Volk*—a German-language weekly published in London from May 7 to August 20, 1859—was founded as the official organ of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 455). Its first issue appeared under the editorship of the German journalist and petty-bourgeois democrat Elard Biscamp. Beginning with issue No. 2 Marx took an active part in its publication: he gave it advice, edited articles, organised material support, and so on. In issue No. 6 of June 11, the Editorial Board officially named Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Ferdinand Freiligrath, Wilhelm Wolff and Heinrich Heise as its contributors (see this volume, p. 624).

Marx's first article in the paper—"Spree and Mincio"—was printed on June 25. Under Marx's influence *Das Volk* began to turn into a militant revolutionary working-class newspaper. In the beginning of July Marx became its virtual editor and manager.

*Das Volk* reflected the elaboration by Marx and Engels of questions concerning the revolutionary theory and tactics of the working-class struggle, described the class struggles of the proletariat, and relentlessly fought the exponents of petty-bourgeois ideology. It analysed from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism the events of the Austro-Italian-French war of 1859 and the questions of German and Italian unification, exposed the foreign policy of Britain, Prussia, France, Russia and other reactionary states, and consistently opposed Bonapartism and its overt and covert supporters.

*Das Volk* carried Marx's preface to his work *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, six of his articles, including the unfinished series *Quid pro Quo*, seven articles by Engels and his review of Marx's *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, and reviews of the newspaper of the German petty-bourgeois democrats, the *Hermann*, by Marx and Biscamp (they appeared in the section "Gatherings from the Press"). Besides, many articles and political reviews written by different authors were edited personally by Marx. In all, sixteen issues appeared. The newspaper ceased publication for lack of money.

p. 346

284 *Danzig* (Gdańsk), held by a French garrison after the defeat of Napoleon's army in Russia in 1812, was besieged by sea and land by the Russians and Prussians in early 1813. It withstood three sieges but finally had to capitulate. On January 2, 1814 the Allies entered the city.

On the quadrilateral of fortresses in Lombardy (Peschiera, Mantua, Verona and Legnago) see this volume, pp. 227-29.

In 1849, during the national liberation war in Hungary, the fortress of Komárno was a strong point of the Hungarian revolutionary army: twice (in January-April and July-September) it withstood a siege by the Austrians.

On the defence of Sevastopol during the Crimean war see the series of Engels' articles in Vol. 14 of the present edition. p. 346

285 In the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* the article was published under the title "Progress of the War". It was abridged.

In the *New-York Weekly Tribune* two Engels' articles—"Strategy of the War" and "The Battle of Montebello"—were united under the title "The War".

p. 349

286 On July 2, 1849, shortly before the downfall of the Roman Republic (see Note 127) and after the Roman Constituent Assembly had decided to cease the struggle, Garibaldi left Rome with a detachment of 4,000 volunteers and went to the aid of the Venetian Republic, which was fighting against the Austrian forces. Garibaldi manoeuvred skilfully in the Austrian rear and many times broke out of encirclement but failing to reach besieged Venice, he was forced to enter the neutral Republic of San Marino on July 30, 1849 and to disband his detachment. p. 352

287 The reference is to the anti-Austrian actions of a 5,000-strong detachment of Lombard volunteers under General Allemandi who in April 1848 blocked the Tyrol passes from Tonale to Stelvio. p. 352

288 Marx's introductory remarks to Mazzini's manifesto "The War" published in the present volume show that Marx and Engels supported Mazzini in his correct stand on the question of Bonaparte's interference in the liberation of Italy. At the same time they continued to criticise Mazzini's views and tactics as a whole. p. 354

289 In March 1849 Mazzini became the head of the triumvirate (Mazzini, Saffi, Armellini) invested by the Constituent Assembly of the Roman Republic with full executive authority and extraordinary powers for the defence of the republic. p. 354

290 The Italian poet and patriot Goffredo Mameli was killed in July 1849, during the defence of the Roman Republic against the French troops sent by Louis Bonaparte. p. 355

291 This refers to the treaties Emperor Charles V concluded with Pope Clement VII in Barcelona in 1529 and in Bologna in 1530. From then on the imperial government and the Catholic Church acted hand in hand to abolish the remnants of the Italian cities' independence. p. 357

292 See Notes 151 and 263. p. 357

293 See Note 127. p. 358

294 The reference is to an anti-Austrian uprising in Tuscany that began on April 27, 1859, on the eve of the Austro-Piedmontese war.

As a result of this uprising Duke Leopold II and the Austrian occupation forces were driven out of Tuscany. p. 358

295 The *Treaty of Campoformio*, signed on October 17, 1797, concluded the victorious war of the French Republic against Austria, a member of the first anti-French coalition. Under this treaty part of the Venetian Republic's territory, including Venice and Istria and Dalmatia, was given to Austria in exchange for concessions on the Rhine frontier. Another part went to the Cisalpine Republic formed by Napoleon I in the summer of 1797 out of lands he had captured in Northern Italy. The Ionian Islands and the Venetian Republic's possessions on the Albanian coast were also annexed to France. p. 359

296 Engels is referring to the reports on the battle of Novara on March 23, 1849 (see Note 129), which he analysed in a series of articles entitled "The Defeat of the Piedmontese" (present edition, Vol. 9, pp. 169-77). One of the causes of the defeat of the Piedmontese at Novara was the cowardly behaviour of Charles Albert, King of Sardinia and Piedmont, whose "valour" had been lauded up to then by monarchist circles, advocates of Italy's unification under the Savoy dynasty, who even named him "spada d'Italia" ("Italy's Sword"). After the abdication of Charles Albert his son Victor Emmanuel, the new King, concluded a peace treaty with the Austrians in Milan in August 1849, under which Austria retained all its possessions in Italy and was paid by Piedmont indemnities amounting to 65 million francs. p. 361

297 As a result of his abortive attempt to land with a handful of conspirators at Boulogne in August 1840 and effect a coup d'état (see Note 149), Louis Bonaparte was tried by the French Chamber of Peers and in October of the

same year was sentenced to life imprisonment; he escaped to England in 1846. p. 364

298 The *battle of Lützen* (Saxony) between Napoleon I's army and the Russian and Prussian forces took place on May 2, 1813. p. 365

299 This article ("A Chapter of History") was first published in the newspaper *Das Volk* under the title "Die Schlacht von Magenta" ("The Battle of Magenta"). In this volume it is reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune.* The most important different readings are given in footnotes. It is possible that the *Tribune* editors made changes in the article. p. 372

300 An allusion to Louis Bonaparte's words: "The Empire is peace" (see Note 36). p. 380

301 An ironical allusion to Louis Bonaparte's book *Des idées napoléoniennes* which he wrote in England and published in 1839 in Paris and Brussels. p. 380

302 An allusion to the book *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France sous Napoléon, écrits à Ste Hélène, sous la dictée de l'empereur,* published in 1822-25, in which Napoleon I expressed his hostility to England and expounded his views on the necessity of an alliance with Russia. p. 382

303 The poems of King Ludwig I of Bavaria, popular among German philistines, are examples of meaningless pretentious poetry. p. 382

304 *Cirque olympique*—a theatre in Paris.
*St. James's Street*—a street in London containing clubs and gambling-houses.
*Astley Amphitheatre*—a London circus. p. 384

305 See Note 160. p. 387

306 In *Das Volk* this passage is provided with the following editorial note: "According to the latest reports the Austrians did retreat behind the Mincio, in the region of their fortresses. Even if nothing is lost *strategically* through this withdrawal, it is bound to exert a harmful influence on the morale of the army." p. 387

307 This article, especially the beginning, shows signs of interference by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune.* p. 388

308 By "irresolutions of 1805 and 1806" Engels means the policy of the Prussian King Frederick William III who manoeuvred between the third anti-French European coalition and Napoleon I. These tactics helped the latter to defeat first Austria in 1805 and then Prussia itself in 1806.
On the Peace of Basle see Note 160.
On the Confederation of the Rhine see Note 193. p. 390

309 See Notes 164 and 171. p. 394

310 See Note 226. p. 394

311 This refers to the attempts made by Prussia, in alliance with the sovereigns of Hanover, Saxony and other German states, to unite Germany, excluding Austria, under Prussian hegemony and thus realise the plan for creating a "Little Germany". This plan was backed by the liberal bourgeoisie who formed the so-called Gotha party (see Note 87). The latter took an active part in the elections to the German parliament which met in Erfurt on March 20, 1850 to

adopt the draft German Constitution revised to suit pro-Prussian circles. Under pressure from the Austrian Court and the Russian Emperor the Prussian Government had to abandon its unification plans temporarily and dissolve the Erfurt parliament on April 29, 1850.

Below Marx quotes from the "Erklärung nassauischer Staatsbürger" published by a number of German newspapers. The full text of this declaration appeared in the *Rhein und Lahnzeitung* on June 21, 1859. It was the political programme of the German bourgeoisie striving to unite Germany under Prussian supremacy. p. 404.

312 The *March demands*—four principal political demands expressing the mood of the people. They were formulated by the petty-bourgeois democrats of Baden in February 1848 and soon became known in the whole of South-Western Germany. These were: 1) arming of the people with the right to elect their officers, 2) unrestricted freedom of the press, 3) judgment by jury, and 4) immediate convocation of a German Parliament. Under pressure from the people, the liberal bourgeoisie of German states made these demands its programme in the struggle against the monarchy but when it came to power as a result of the revolution, it made a compromise with the monarchist circles. p. 404

313 See Note 198. p. 405

314 *Eschenheimer Gasse*—a street in Frankfurt am Main where the German Federal Diet had its premises in 1816-66. p. 405

315 On July 8, 1859 the emperors of France and Austria held a separate meeting—without the King of Piedmont—in Villafranca, at which they reached an agreement on an armistice. The meeting was initiated by Napoleon III, who feared that the protracted war might give a fresh impulse to the revolutionary and national liberation movements in Italy and other European states. On July 11 France and Austria signed a preliminary peace under which Austria was to cede to France its rights to Lombardy and France was to transfer this territory to Piedmont. Venice was to remain under the supreme power of Austria and the rulers of the states of Central Italy were to be restored to their thrones. It was intended to create a confederation of Italian states under the honorary chairmanship of the Pope.

The Villafranca preliminaries formed the basis of the peace treaty concluded in Zurich on November 10, 1859 between France, Austria and Piedmont. p. 407

316 See Note 229. p. 409

317 Political reviews (*politische Rundschauen*) were published in each issue of *Das Volk*. They were presumably written by Elard Biscamp and Wilhelm Liebknecht.

When Marx became the virtual editor of the newspaper (see Note 283), he also began to take part in editing this section. The passage on Jones in this review was written and inserted in the text by Marx himself. This can be proved by comparing this passage with Marx's letters to Engels of November 24, 1857 and September 21, 1858 and to Weydemeyer of February 1, 1859 (present edition, Vol. 40). p. 410

318 The *Court of Queen's Bench* is one of the high courts in England; in the nineteenth century (up to 1873) it was an independent supreme court for

criminal and civil cases, competent to review the decisions of lower judicial bodies. p. 410

319 Marx refers to the conference organised by the Chartists. Ernest Jones proposed to convene such a conference as early as April 1857. It was to be attended by Chartists and bourgeois radicals. By agitating in 1857 for an alliance with bourgeois radicals to fight jointly for an electoral reform, Jones hoped to revive the mass Chartist movement in the country. However, he made serious political concessions to the bourgeois radicals by renouncing almost all the points of the People's Charter when working out a common platform for uniting with the bourgeois radicals. Of the six points of the Charter (universal suffrage, annual Parliaments, vote by secret ballot, equal constituencies, abolition of property qualifications for candidates to Parliament, and payment of M.P.s.) Jones retained only the demand for universal adult male suffrage. Jones' departure from revolutionary positions caused discontent among rank-and-file Chartists, many of whom opposed their leader's conciliatory policy. After repeated postponements the joint conference of Chartists and bourgeois radicals was convened in London on February 8, 1858.

Marx and Engels regarded Jones' conciliation with the radicals as a manifestation of his political vacillation and decline into reformist positions, and broke friendly relations with him. They resumed them only a few years later when Jones again adopted a revolutionary proletarian stand. p. 410

320 This text was written by Marx as an introductory note to his report "The Foreign Policy of Russia. Memoir on Russia, for the Instruction of the Present Emperor—Drawn up by the Russian Cabinet in 1837" published in the *New-York Daily Tribune.* In this report marked "Correspondence of the *N.-Y. Tribune.* Berlin, July 14, 1859" Marx reproduced the document—"Memoir on Russia, for the Instruction of the Present Emperor. Drawn up by the Cabinet in 1837"—published by *The Free Press* on July 13, 1859. This document attracted Marx's attention in connection with the intensified struggle over the problem of German and Italian unification and the fight against Bonapartism. Marx intended to briefly sum up Russia's part in this tragicomedy and at the same time to expose Bonaparte's intrigues (see Marx's letter to Engels of July 19, 1859). Marx expressed the same idea in the introductory note to another publication of this document which appeared in *Das Volk* and was a German translation from *The Free Press.* When Marx and Engels read this document they expressed doubts as to the authenticity of some passages (see Engels' letter to Marx of July 18, 1859 and Marx's letter to Engels of July 19, 1859). And indeed, from subsequent issues of *The Free Press* (of July 27 and 31, 1859) it appeared that the publication was based not on the original document but on material published in the German conservative newspaper *Preussisches Wochenblatt* and allegedly a review of this document with large quotations from it (*Preussisches Wochenblatt zur Besprechung politischer Tagesfragen,* Nos. 23, 24 and 25, June 9, 16 and 23, 1855). This publication quoted neither the source from which the document had been taken nor its title or the full text. In his memoirs (*Gedanken und Erinnerungen von Otto Fürst von Bismarck,* Stuttgart, 1898, Bd. 1, S. 111-12) Bismarck says outright that this publication was forged.

The introductory note to the German publication in *Das Volk* (July 23 and 26 and August 6 and 13, 1859) is reproduced in the footnote to this item. p. 415

321 The reference is to the petty German princes who lost their power and saw their possessions annexed by larger German states as a result of the reshaping of the political map of Germany during the Napoleonic wars and at the Vienna Congress (1814-15). p. 417

322 In 1848 Palmerston wanted Lombardy to be annexed to the Kingdom of Piedmont in order to check the spread of the revolutionary movement in Italy and to meet the interests of the traditional British policy of "European equilibrium". Frightened by the revolutionary events in Austria and the national liberation struggle in Italy, the Austrian Government was forced to agree, in its memorandum of May 24, to the cession of Lombardy and the separation of Venetia into an independent state under the Archduke of Austria, but after Piedmont's defeat Austria retracted its agreement. p. 418

323 In view of the growing movement in Northern Italy and the Papal States for incorporation with Piedmont, Pius IX issued an encyclic in June 1859 threatening to excommunicate those who encroached on the Pope's temporal power, referring above all to Victor Emmanuel II. p. 419

324 Engels is referring here to what Napoleon I said to General Charles de Montholon on St. Helena on April 17, 1821 as a testament to his son: "All his efforts should be aimed at ruling in peace. Should he want to recommence my wars, by pure imitation and without absolute necessity, he would be only an ape." p. 421

325 Here the editors of *Das Volk* inserted in Engels' text the following sentence, which is not reproduced in this volume: "Without this 4 $^1/_2$ hours' halt the corps would hardly endure the extreme exertion with which it hastened to the battle-field." In connection with this Engels wrote to Marx on July 25, 1859: "Some nonsense was edited into my last article. I said that, during the march from Pavia, the 5th corps so exerted itself on the 3rd and 4th that, had the 4$^1/_2$ hours lost through the halt been put to use, the result would not have been materially different, nor would the corps have arrived on the battle-field appreciably earlier. In print it says that it was the halt alone which made that exertion possible, which 1. is just the opposite and 2. is nonsense. In the first place the troops were not in the least tired at 6 o'clock in the morning of the 3rd, having only *just moved off*, so that the halt could be of no benefit to them, and secondly the halt deprived them of the cool hours of the morning and forced them to march when the midday heat was at its greatest. To any military man, the sentence as it now stands would seem quite preposterous" (see present edition, Vol. 40). p. 425

326 *Via sacra* (Holy Road)—the road in ancient Rome along which the triumphal marches of the victorious troops took place; the expression "via sacra" has come to denote in general a victorious campaign or march. p. 432

327 An allusion to the imprisonment of Louis Bonaparte in the fortress of Ham in 1840, following the failure of the military putsch in Boulogne; Louis Bonaparte escaped from the fortress in 1846 (see Note 149). p. 432

328 *Porte Saint-Martin*—a gate of triumph on the boulevards in Paris. During the coup d'état of December 1851 it witnessed the massacre of the republicans by the Bonapartist soldiery. The Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin is situated on the boulevard St. Martin.

On the *Astley Amphitheatre* see Note 304. p. 432

329 The reference is to Napoleon III's appeal to the army from Genoa of May 12, 1859 on the occasion of his assumption of the post of commander-in-chief. It said among other things: "On the Holy Road of ancient Rome inscriptions were carved in marble to remind the people of its feats: now too when passing through Mondovi, Marengo, Lodi, Castiglione, Arcole, Rivoli you will march along another Holy Road, among these glorious memories" (see also this volume, pp. 330-31). p. 432

330 In his letter to Engels of July 22, 1859, Marx advised him: "In your second article on the war you will not, I am sure, forget to stress the inadequate strength of the pursuit after victory had been won, and the pitiful whining of Bonaparte, who had at last got to the point where Europe did not, as hitherto, out of fear of revolution, permit him to *play* the old Napoleon within given limits. In this connection it would be pertinent to recall the 1796-97 campaign, when France was not able to take its time preparing all its resources for 'a localised war' but, with its finances completely disrupted, had to fight not only beyond the Rhine, but also beyond the Mincio and the Adige. Bonaparte is actually complaining that his 'succès d'estime' are now begrudged him" (see present edition, Vol. 40). p. 432

331 *Schönbrunn*—a palace in Vienna, the Emperor's summer residence. p. 437

332 On *"idées napoléoniennes"* see Note 301.
On Louis Bonaparte's imprisonment in Ham see Note 327. p. 439

333 The relations established between Britain and France after the July revolution of 1830 and known in history as the *entente cordiale* were not confirmed by treaty until April 1834, when the so-called Quadruple Alliance was concluded between Britain, France, Spain and Portugal. But at the conclusion of this treaty disagreements between Britain and France became apparent which subsequently led to a worsening of relations between the two countries. p. 441

334 *"Quid pro Quo"* ("Confusion of one thing with another")—the title of a series of articles published by Marx in *Das Volk* at the end of July and the middle of August 1859; the series remained unfinished, as the newspaper ceased publication. p. 445

335 The *expedition to Egypt*—the reference is to the landing of the French army, commanded by General Bonaparte, in Egypt in the summer of 1798 and to this army's subsequent campaigns to subdue Egypt and Syria. Napoleon's expedition to Egypt ended in failure in 1801.
The *Society of December 10*—a secret Bonapartist organisation founded in 1849 and consisting mainly of declassed elements. For a detailed account of this society see Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (present edition, Vol. 11).
On the *parade in Satory* see Note 148.
The *18th Brumaire* (November 9, 1799)—the day of the coup d'état which led to the establishment of Napoleon Bonaparte's military dictatorship. p. 445

336 The reference is to the secret peace negotiations between France and Russia in 1855 which were conducted through Baron Seebach, Saxony's envoy in Paris and son-in-law of Russia's Foreign Minister, Count Nesselrode. p. 446

337 At the Paris Congress of 1856, Count Orlov, head of the Russian delegation, and Brunnow, a member of the delegation, played on Anglo-French contradictions; the congress saw the beginning of rapprochement between France and Russia. p. 446

338 In 1856-60 Napoleon III, in an effort to consolidate his influence in the Balkans, supported Danilo I, Prince of Montenegro, in his opposition to Turkey's encroachments on Montenegro. Accordingly, Danilo I sought personal friendship with Napoleon III and the latter became the godfather of the Montenegro heir.

In 1851-52 Jakob Venedey published a number of articles on Louis Bonaparte and his coup d'état in the Hanover *Zeitung für Norddeutschland.* p. 447

339 The Turkish fortress of Kars, fortified by the British, was surrendered to the Russians in November 1855. Despite the fact that British officers headed by General Williams directed the defence of the fortress, the conduct of the British Government towards the Kars defenders was rather ambiguous, for secretly it was interested in weakening "allied" Turkey. For details on this see Marx's article "The Fall of Kars" (present edition, Vol. 14). Upon Williams' return from Russian captivity in 1856, the British Government arranged a pompous reception and gave him awards and honorary titles. p. 447

340 The reference is to Athens and Constantinople where French troops were stationed during the Crimean war. p. 447

341 At one of the last sittings of the Paris Congress of 1856 the French Foreign Minister Walewski demanded that the Belgian newspapers should stop attacking Napoleon III. He was supported by representatives of other states. p. 447

342 An allusion to France's participation in the second Opium war (1856-60) against China.

On the election of Colonel Alexandru Cuza hospodar of Moldavia and Wallachia see Note 212. p. 447

343 See Note 219. p. 447

344 An allusion to Switzerland's discontent with Napoleon III's interference in the internal affairs of the country. In early 1858 Napoleon III demanded that the Swiss Government extradite political refugees accused of taking part in Orsini's plot. p. 447

345 By the decree of January 27, 1858, the territory of the Second Empire was divided, in the Spanish manner, into five military districts headed by marshals. p. 448

346 The decree on the regency and the establishment of the Privy Council was issued on February 1, 1858, soon after Orsini's attempt on Napoleon III. Pélissier was a member of the Council, which was to become the Regency Council if the Emperor's minor son acceded to the throne.

Marx refers to Pélissier's barbarous actions in 1845, during the suppression of an uprising in Algeria, when he ordered a thousand Arab insurgents who had hidden in mountain caves to be suffocated by smoke from fires. p. 448

347 At the end of 1858 the French journalist Montalembert was put on trial for writing an article condemning the regime of the Second Empire. Montalembert

was pardoned by Napoleon III but rejected the pardon and demanded his acquittal (see this volume, pp. 91-95 and 122). Marx draws a parallel between this trial and that of John Hampden, a prominent figure in the English seventeenth-century revolution, who refused to pay "ship money"—a tax not authorised by the House of Commons—and was put on trial in 1637. The Hampden trial increased the opposition to absolutism in England.

*Acte additionnel*—constitutional regulations introduced by Napoleon I in France in 1815 upon his return from the island of Elbe. Drawing a parallel between the Bonaparte and Orleans dynasties, in his pamphlet *De la justice dans la révolution et dans l'église,* Proudhon gave preference to the principles of government proclaimed by the Orleanists but with reservations concerning the necessity of certain democratic reforms. Marx ironically compares these reservations with the *Acte additionnel.*

On the rebellion at Châlon see Note 39. p. 448

348 On the negotiations in Warsaw between Prussia and Austria, and on the battle of Bronzell see Note 198.

By the "march to the North Sea" Marx means the entry of the Austrian troops in Holstein in the winter of 1851. See Note 228. p. 448

349 See Note 215. p. 448

350 See Note 315. p. 449

351 The "blue books of its own make" is what Marx, by analogy with the English Blue Books, calls the diplomatic documents of the Austro-Italo-French war of 1859, published in July 1859 in a number of German newspapers. Many of them were, for example, published in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung,* Nos. 170, 171 and 174, July 24, 26 and 29, 1859. A more complete collection was published in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung,* Nos. 210 (supplement), 211 and 212 (supplement), July 29, 30 and 31, 1859. p. 449

352 The Gauls who invaded Rome in 390 B.C. are said to have agreed, after a prolonged siege of the Capitol, to leave the city in return for a big ransom. But when the gold was being weighed, the Gauls' leader Brennus cried "Vae victis!" (Woe to the defeated!) and threw his heavy sword on the scales, thus violating the agreement. p. 451

353 *By courtesy*—see Note 222.

*On sufferance*—in English law, the condition of one who continues to hold property without express leave from the owner. p. 452

354 After the flight of the Prince of Prussia to England during the March 1848 revolution his palace in Berlin was declared "national property". See also Note 57. p. 453

355 *Gothaisms* is what Marx calls the pompous declarations of the Gotha party (see Note 87).

*Uckermark*—a northern part of the Brandenburg Province (Prussia), the mainstay of the reactionary Prussian junkers. p. 453

356 *Boustrapa*—nickname of Louis Bonaparte, composed of the first syllables of the names of the places where he and his supporters staged Bonapartist *putsches*: Boulogne (August 1840), Strasbourg (October 1846) and Paris (the coup d'état of December 2, 1851). p. 454

357 *Coercion bills*—exceptional laws adopted by the British Parliament to suppress the revolutionary movement in Ireland. Marx is referring, in particular, to the 1833 law (see Note 105) and the 1848 law: An Act for the Better Prevention of Crime and Outrage in Certain Parts of Ireland. p. 464

358 Engels' review of Marx's book *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 30) remained unfinished. Only two parts were published. The third part, in which Engels intended to analyse the economic content of the book, did not appear in print, and the manuscript has not been found.

The review was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works* (in two volumes), Vol. I, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935, pp. 360-71. p. 465

359 Holland was part of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation from 1477 until the mid-1550s, when after the partition of the empire it came under Spain's rule. Towards the end of the sixteenth-century bourgeois revolution Holland was freed of Spanish rule and became an independent republic. p. 465

360 See Note 231. p. 466

361 *Cameralistics*—a university course of administrative, financial, economic and other sciences taught in the Middle Ages and later. p. 466

362 An ironical allusion to the Right Hegelians, who in the 1830s and 1840s held many chairs in German universities and used their position to attack representatives of a more radical trend in philosophy; they gave a reactionary interpretation of Hegel's teaching.

*Diadochi*—generals of Alexander the Great, who, after his death, fought one another in a fierce struggle for power. In the course of this struggle (end of the fourth and the beginning of the third century B.C.) Alexander's Empire, an unstable military and administrative union, disintegrated into several independent states. p. 473

363 This refers to the Indian uprising of 1857-59 against British rule (see Note 208). p. 480

364 The reference is to the dispatch of an expeditionary corps to Italy in April 1849 under the pretext of defending the Roman Republic. Initiated by the President of the French Republic, Louis Bonaparte, this invasion of the Roman Republic aimed at restoring the Pope's temporal power (see K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850,* present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 45-145). p. 482

365 *St. Germain*—an aristocratic district in Paris. p. 483

366 The Sardinian commissioners were sent by Victor Emmanuel to Florence, Modena and Romagna (the Papal states) which were in revolt against Austrian rule, to prepare the annexation of these territories to Piedmont. Following the conclusion of the Villafranca Peace Treaty (see Note 315) which aroused a protest movement throughout Italy, and under pressure from France, Victor Emmanuel recalled the commissioners. p. 485

367 The reference is to the repeal of the Corn Laws in June 1846 by the Peel Government in the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie.

The Corn Laws (first introduced in the fifteenth century) imposed high import duties on agricultural produce in the interests of the landowners in order to maintain high prices for these products on the home market. The struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the Corn Laws ended in their repeal.

The discovery of rich gold deposits in California in 1848 and in Australia in 1851 greatly influenced the economic development of Europe and America. See also Note 3. p. 488

368 The Punjab (North-Western India) was conquered by the British East India Company as a result of the Anglo-Sikh wars of 1845-46 and 1848-49. The conquest of the Punjab completed the British colonisation of India. p. 488

369 This refers to the *Reformatory School Act of 1854* which instituted reformatory schools in England for delinquents from 12 to 16 years old. p. 489

370 This article is first mentioned in Marx's letter to Engels of September 5, 1859: "I have written today ... about Italy and Hungary." In a letter to Engels written on September 28, 1859 Marx gives more details about this subject: "'The particulars about Kossuth' in *The Free Press* are mine. (I have made two articles out of it for the *Tribune* and shall see whether it accepts them)" (see present edition, Vol. 40).

The item for *The Free Press* mentioned by Marx was published on September 28, 1859 (issue No. 10) under the title "Particulars of Kossuth's Transaction with Louis Napoleon" (unsigned). The facts given in this item were used by Marx in an article in the *New-York Daily Tribune* whose editors probably combined Marx's two articles into one.

Later, in his letter to Bertalan Szemere of October 8, 1859, Marx wrote: "I received today the *New-York Daily Tribune* ... which, under the title 'Kossuth and Louis Napoleon', brings an elaborate article of mine, filling two and a half columns ... this publication is a real success."

In a letter to Engels, of November 19, 1859, Marx described the reaction of the Hungarian refugees in America to this article as follows: "The Hungarians in New York, Chicago, New Orleans, etc., have held meetings at which they resolved to send Kossuth a letter citing my article in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and suggesting he vindicate himself" (see present edition, Vol. 40). p. 497

371 This refers to Kossuth's participation in the Central Committee of European Democracy set up in London in June 1850 on Mazzini's initiative. The Committee united bourgeois and petty-bourgeois refugees from different countries. Extremely heterogeneous in its composition and ideological stand, the organisation only survived for a short time. It virtually ceased to exist by March 1852 because of the strained relations between Italian and French democratic refugees. p. 498

372 See Note 97. p. 498

373 *Mansion House*—residence of Lord Mayor in London.

*Free-Trade Hall*—a hall in Manchester where Free Traders met. p. 500

374 The *Manchester school*—a trend in economic thought reflecting the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. It advocated Free Trade and non-interference by the

state in economic affairs. In the 1840s and 1850s the Free Traders constituted the Left wing of the Liberal Party in England. p. 502

375 The authorship of this article has been established by comparing its content with that of Marx's other articles on Italian affairs written in 1859 (see this volume, pp. 354-59, 380-83, 407-09, 416-20, 482-86) and on the basis of his correspondence which makes it possible to assert that in September 1859 Marx continued to write about Italy for the *New-York Daily Tribune*. The *Tribune* editors made some changes in the article. p. 504

376 See Note 315. p. 504

377 The article was published in full in the *New-York Daily Tribune*. The *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* published only the first two parts, and the *New-York Weekly Tribune*—only the first part. p. 508

378 See Notes 6 and 248. p. 508

379 As a result of the incident on the Peiho River in the summer of 1860, described in the text below, hostilities were resumed in the second Opium war which had been suspended by the Tientsin negotiations. The war ended in the signing, in October 1860, of the unequal Peking treaties. See Note 6. p. 508

380 The reference is to the bombardment of Canton by the British in October 1856. See Note 42. p. 510

381 See Note 374. p. 511

382 *Peelites*—moderate Tories, adherents of Robert Peel, who favoured concessions to the trading and industrial bourgeoisie in the sphere of economics and the continued political supremacy of the big landowners and financial magnates. In 1846 Peel secured the repeal of the Corn Laws in the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie; this aroused great discontent among the Protectionist Tories and led to a split in the Tory Party and the formation of an independent group by the Peelites. After Peel's death in 1850 the Peelites had no definite programme. At the end of the 1850s and the beginning of the 1860s they joined the Liberal Party which was then being formed. p. 511

383 See Note 6. p. 513

384 The English ambassador to Madrid, Sir Henry Bulwer, grossly interfered in the internal affairs of Spain. As a result he was expelled from the country on May 19, 1848 and diplomatic relations between the two countries were broken off. p. 513

385 The reference is to the Kulju Treaty concluded between Russia and China in July 1851. Under it Russian merchants were allowed to trade in Kulju and Chuguchak. This treaty opened up regular and stable trade between Russia and China on their common Central Asian borders. p. 514

386 During the second Opium war, before the conclusion of the Tientsin Treaty with Britain and France, the Chinese Government signed the Aigun Treaty with Russia in May 1858. See Note 44. p. 514

387 The first Anglo-Afghan war (1838-42) started with the invasion of Afghanistan by British occupation troops in Sind. The invasion was carried out under the pretext of rendering assistance to the pretender, Emir Dost Mohammed's brother Shuja. However, a popular uprising in November 1841 against the British invaders and

their puppet Shuja compelled the British, who sustained a severe defeat, to withdraw. p. 514

388 The reference is to the arrest by the Chinese authorities in October 1856 of the lorcha *Arrow* sailing under the British flag with contraband opium. See Note 42. p. 520

389 This refers to the conflict between Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control, and Lord Canning, Governor-General of India. In his dispatch of April 19, 1858 Ellenborough, who advocated a more flexible policy towards the Indian top feudal strata, sharply criticised Canning's proclamation of March 3, 1858 confiscating the lands of the Oudh feudal lords who had joined a national liberation uprising. However, Ellenborough's dispatch was not approved of by the British ruling classes and in May 1858 he had to resign his post as President of the Board of Control. Ellenborough was sacrificed to maintain the Derby Cabinet in power. p. 523

390 The item was written by Marx during his work on the second part of his article "The New Chinese War" (this volume, pp. 508-24) and included almost textually in it.

In *The Free Press* it was published under the title "Russia's Part in the Defence of the Pei-ho" (signed K. M.). p. 525

391 *Reform Club*—a liberal political club in London founded in 1834, the centre of the Liberals' struggle against the Conservatives. p. 526

392 *Rotten boroughs*—sparsely populated or depopulated small towns and villages in England which enjoyed the right to send representatives to Parliament since the Middle Ages. These representatives were practically appointed by the landed aristocracy, who controlled the handful of "free voters" who formally elected them. The "rotten boroughs" were disfranchised by the electoral reforms of 1832, 1867 and 1884. p. 526

393 See Note 175. p. 526

394 *St. Stephen's Chapel*—part of Westminster Palace, where the House of Commons has sat since 1547. p. 527

395 *Myrmidons* is the name given to a legendary tribe in South Thessaly whose warriors fought in the Trojan War under Achilles; it also means base servants, hired ruffians. p. 528

396 See Note 107. p. 530

397 On October 16, 1859 Austria, France and Sardinia met in conference in Zurich to work out the terms for a final peace treaty. Signed on November 10, the Zurich Peace Treaty was based, with certain changes, on the terms of the Villafranca preliminary peace treaty (see Note 315) and consisted of three separate diplomatic documents: the Austro-French treaty, the Franco-Sardinian treaty on the transfer of Lombardy to Sardinia, and a general Austro-Franco-Sardinian treaty. p. 532

398 *Force majeure*—circumstances beyond control, unforeseen circumstances; from Article 1148 of the Napoleonic code which reads: "There are no grounds for damages and interests when, as a result of circumstances beyond control or a chance happening, the debtor is prevented from giving or doing what he was obliged to, or has done what he was forbidden to do." p. 532

399 The *Directory* (consisting of five directors, one of whom was reelected every year)—the leading executive body in France instituted in accordance with the 1795 Constitution which was adopted after the fall of the revolutionary Jacobin dictatorship in 1794. Until the 1799 Bonapartist coup d'état the Directory was the government of France. It maintained a regime of terror against democratic forces and defended the interests of the big bourgeoisie.

The "blues" of 1848—the name given in France to bourgeois republicans as distinct from the "reds" (petty-bourgeois republicans and socialists, the so-called Montagne party) and the "whites" (monarchists, united in the Party of Order). The dictatorship of the "blues", headed by Cavaignac, was established during the suppression of the uprising of the Paris proletariat in June 1848 and lasted until the presidential elections in December of the same year.

p. 532

400 The *Münster Peace Treaty* of October 24, 1648—one of the treaties known in history under the general title of the Treaty of Westphalia which ended the European Thirty Years' War (1618-48). Under this treaty concluded between the representatives of the German Empire and the German princes on the one hand and France on the other, France received Alsace (without Strasbourg) and had its rights to the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun confirmed; the German princes were acknowledged as sovereigns with the right to conclude political treaties and agreements with other countries independently of the German Emperor. The Münster Treaty led to a further weakening of the German Empire and consolidated France's dominant position in Central and Western Europe.

On the Treaty of Campoformio see Note 295. p. 532

401 Fearing the growth of the revolutionary movement in the country, Victor Emmanuel II did all he could during the war with Austria to restrict the actions of the Garibaldi volunteer corps which was supported by the people by submitting it to the most unfavourable conditions. After the conclusion of the Villafranca Treaty between France and Austria Garibaldi proposed continuing the struggle against the Austrians, but the volunteer corps was disbanded on Victor Emmanuel's insistence in November 1859. p. 533

402 The reference is to Prussia's national liberation war against Napoleonic France in 1813-15. p. 533

403 In this letter Mazzini suggested that the King should lead the struggle for the liberation and unification of Italy, arouse the South of Italy to the struggle with Garibaldi's help and organise a march on Rome. No action was taken on Mazzini's letter. p. 533

404 The reference is presumably to *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* ("principal and spectacular actions"). The term has a double meaning. First, in the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, it denoted plays performed by German touring companies. The plays were rather formless historical tragedies, bombastic and at the same time coarse and farcical.

Second, this term can denote major political events. It was used in this sense by a trend in German historical science known as "objective historiography". Leopold Ranke was one of its chief representatives. He regarded *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* as history's main subject-matter. p. 533

405 The reference is to the Villafranca preliminary peace treaty. p. 534

406 Article 4 of the Franco-Sardinian treaty on the transfer of Lombardy to Sardinia stipulated that Sardinia would pay France 60 million francs "so as to diminish the expenses France contracted on the occasion of the last war". p. 534

407 See Note 41. p. 537

408 This refers to people engaged mainly in fishing and ferrying and living on the deltas of large rivers or in floating homes on the rivers. p. 538

409 In the autumn of 1830 the people of Hesse-Cassel rose against the heavy taxes and the government's customs policy. p. 540

410 The reference is to a union taking shape between Prussia, Saxony and Hanover. p. 542

411 Representatives of Prussia, Saxony and Hanover met in Erfurt from March 20 to April 29, 1850 to draw up a constitution for this union of states under Prussian supremacy. But the union did not materialise. See also Note 311. p. 542

412 England's rapid industrial development in the latter half of the eighteenth century intensified the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy. The parliamentary reform Bills mentioned in this article were one of the forms of its manifestation. The Bills were introduced by representatives of the ruling aristocratic circles who advocated a compromise with the industrial bourgeoisie. The Bill proposed by the Duke of Richmond in 1780 envisaged annual Parliaments, electoral rights for the adult male population and redistribution of constituencies. The Bill proposed by Pitt the Younger in 1785 provided for abolition of "rotten boroughs" (see Note 392) and redistribution of constituencies in favour of industrial centres. The Reform Bill introduced by Charles Grey in 1797 among other things also proposed abolition of "rotten boroughs" and an increase in the number of electors in rural constituencies. All these Bills were rejected by Parliament. p. 545

413 The reference is to the six emergency acts adopted by the British Parliament in 1819, abrogating inviolability of the person and limiting freedom of the press and assembly. p. 545

414 This refers to the Bills introduced by Locke King and John Russell (see Notes 173 and 176). p. 545

415 In a conversation with the French Ambassador in London, shortly after the Bonapartist coup d'état in France on December 2, 1851, the British Foreign Secretary Palmerston expressed approval of Louis Bonaparte's usurpation without consulting the other members of the Whig Ministry. This led to Palmerston's dismissal in December 1851. The British Government was nevertheless the first to recognise Bonaparte. In February 1858 Palmerston, who was then Prime Minister, was forced to resign in connection with his Conspiracy to Murder Bill (see Note 72). p. 546

416 In October 1859 Spain declared war on Morocco, and a Spanish force under General O'Donnell invaded Morocco. The campaign, which lasted until March 1860, met with stubborn resistance and brought the Spaniards no success. In April 1860 a peace treaty was concluded under which Spain received indemnities and insignificant territorial concessions. p. 548

417 *Princésa Hussars*—a light cavalry regiment in the Spanish army. p. 552

418 In November 1859 the French Government made a further attempt to violate Morocco's frontier with Algeria, but encountered Moroccan resistance. In reply a French squadron bombarded Fort Tetuan. p. 552

419 The reference is to France's aggressive wars in Algeria and Morocco in the 1830s-1850s, in particular to the military expeditions in Algeria in 1830 and in Morocco in 1851 and 1859. p. 555

420 In the autumn of 1836 at Constantine an Algerian force under Bey Haji Ahmed repulsed the attacks of the French troops trying to take the city by storm, and inflicted heavy losses on them. It was not until the autumn of 1837, during the second military expedition, that the French managed to capture the city after a siege. p. 556

421 *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* was written by Engels in February 1860 and was a continuation of his *Po and Rhine* (see this volume, pp. 211-55). Engels was prompted to write it by Napoleon III's declaration about France's claims to Savoy and Nice. Engels' article "Savoy and Nice" (this volume, pp. 557-60) deals with the same subject. Engels used his excellent knowledge of military science, history and linguistics to lay bare the groundlessness of Bonaparte's claims to Savoy and Nice and to the left bank of the Rhine. He also wanted to prove, by analysing the course and results of the Austro-Italian French war, the correctness of the revolutionary proletarian positions on foreign policy questions which Marx and he advocated.

The Berlin publisher Duncker, who had printed Engels' pamphlet *Po and Rhine* anonymously, agreed to publish this new work only on condition that the author's name appeared on the title-page, as he disagreed this time with Engels' assessment of the positions of the German political parties. But Engels considered it necessary merely to point out that the new pamphlet belonged to the author of *Po and Rhine*: he did not want to reveal his authorship before it was necessary and thereby admit to military readers that both pamphlets had been written by a civilian. The pamphlet was published anonymously in Berlin by G. Behrend in April 1860. p. 567

422 The reference is to Napoleon III's New Year's statement to the Austrian ambassador (see Note 122); the marriage of Napoleon III's cousin, Prince Napoleon (Plon-Plon), to Princess Clotilde (see this volume, p. 168) whom Marx ironically calls Iphigenia, the name of the daughter of King Agamemnon, who according to Greek mythology, sacrificed her to the Gods before the Greeks' Trojan campaign; the Russo-French treaty of 1859 (see Note 261). p. 571

423 See Note 87. p. 572

424 These festivals were arranged in 1859 on the occasion of the centenary of Schiller's birth. p. 572

425 On the *Basle Peace Treaty* see Note 160.

At Ulm on October 17, 1805 the Austrians capitulated to Napoleon I.

On the *battle of Austerlitz* see Note 130.

On the *battle of Jena* see Note 160. p. 573

426 *Hofkriegsrat*—the Court military council of Austria (1556-1848) controlling the military department and exercising the supreme leadership of military operations

during the war. It remained far from the theatres of war and hindered the commanders-in-chief by its constant interference. p. 574

427 See Note 315. p. 576

428 See Note 193. p. 577

429 The Kingdom of Westphalia was set up by Napoleon I on the territory of Central Germany in 1807 and existed until 1813. The Westphalian throne was given to Napoleon I's youngest brother Jérôme Bonaparte, the father of Prince Napoleon (Plon-Plon). p. 577

430 The treaties of Villafranca and Zurich provided for the restoration of the dukes of Modena, Parma and Tuscany who had been deposed as a result of the insurrections in these duchies in 1859 (see Note 266). However, the growing popular movement there for the incorporation in Piedmont made the restoration of the former sovereigns impossible, and in 1860 Modena, Parma and Tuscany were annexed to Piedmont. p. 577

431 The reference is to the "Loi relatif à des mesures de sûreté générale" (Law on Public Security Measures) adopted by the *Corps législatif* on February 19, 1858. It gave the Emperor and his government unlimited power to exile to different parts of France or Algeria or to banish from French territory in general anyone suspected of hostility to the Second Empire.

On *Lambessa* and *Cayenne* see Note 227. p. 579

432 The *Hundred Days*—the period of the short-lived restoration of Napoleon I's empire, which lasted from the moment of his arrival in Paris from Elbe on March 20, 1815 to his second deposition on June 22 of the same year, following his defeat at Waterloo. p. 580

433 *Sette comuni* (Seven Communes) and *Tredici comuni* (Thirteen Communes)—the names of small mountain areas with a German population in the southern spurs of the Alps in Northern Italy. German settlements appeared there in the second half of the thirteenth century. Their dialects have been preserved only in a few villages. p. 593

434 The *Rhaeto-Romanic language* (from Rhaetia, a province of the Roman Empire) belongs to the Romance group of languages and is spoken in the high-mountain regions of South-Eastern Switzerland and North-Eastern Italy. p. 594

435 See Note 335. p. 596

436 The *Ninth Thermidor* (July 27-28, 1794)—counter-revolutionary coup d'état which overthrew the Jacobin government and established the rule of the big bourgeoisie. p. 597

437 This treaty was concluded in Basle on July 22, 1795 between France and Spain, a member of the first anti-French coalition. p. 597

438 See Note 161. p. 597

439 See Note 147. p. 603

440 The reference is to the *Treaty of Tilsit* of 1807. The first meeting between Napoleon I and Alexander I took place on a raft moored in the middle of the Niemen. p. 603

441 Engels is referring here to conferences in Warsaw in May and October 1850 in which Russia, Austria and Prussia took part. See also p. 609 of this volume and Note 198.

On the Schleswig-Holstein question see Note 228.

On Austria's anti-Russian policy see Notes 125 and 228. p. 604

442 On the negotiations between the British Ambassador in St. Petersburg Lord Seymour and the Russian Emperor Nicholas I on the Turkish question which took place in early 1853 see Marx's articles "The Documents on the Partition of Turkey" and "The Secret Diplomatic Correspondence" (present edition, Vol. 13). p. 606

443 See Note 199. p. 606

444 See Note 263. p. 606

445 On the Russo-French treaty of 1859 see Note 261. p. 607

446 The *Duchy of Warsaw*—a vassal state formed by Napoleon I in 1807, under the Treaty of Tilsit, on a small Polish territory formerly annexed to Prussia. After the defeat of Austria in 1809 some of the Polish lands belonging to Austria were added to the Duchy. By decision of the Congress of Vienna in 1814-15 the territory of the Duchy of Warsaw was divided between Prussia, Austria and Russia. p. 608

447 The *Bundesakte* (Federal Act) adopted by the Congress of Vienna on June 8, 1815 proclaimed the formation of a German Confederation (see Note 147). p. 608

448 On the *Congress of Laibach* see Note 256.

At the *Congress of Troppau*—the second congress of the reactionary Holy Alliance (October-December 1820)—Russia, Austria and Prussia, in connection with the revolution in the Kingdom of Naples, signed a protocol proclaiming the right of armed interference in the internal affairs of other states. In particular, Austria was allowed to send troops to the Kingdom of Naples.

The *Congress of Verona*—the last congress of the Holy Alliance—was held from October to December 1822. It adopted a decision on French intervention in Spain, prolonged Austria's occupation of Italy and condemned the Greek insurgents.

The efforts of all these congresses were aimed at suppressing bourgeois revolutions and national liberation movements in Europe. p. 608

449 On May 8, 1852, representatives of Russia, Austria, Britain, France, Prussia and Sweden jointly with representatives of Denmark signed the London protocol on the integrity of the Danish monarchy. It was based on a protocol establishing the principle of the indivisibility of the domains of the King of Denmark, including the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein and which was adopted on July 4, 1850 and finally signed on August 2, 1850 by the above-mentioned participants in the London Conference (with the exception of Prussia). In the London protocol the Tsar of Russia, being a descendant of the Duke Karl Peter Ulrich of Holstein-Gottorp who reigned in Russia under the name of Peter III, was referred to as one of the lawful pretendants to the throne of Denmark, who had renounced their right in favour of Duke Christian of Glücksburg, proclaimed successor to King Frederick VII. This created a

precedent for the Russian Tsar to lay claim to the Danish throne in the event of the extinction of the Glücksburg dynasty. p. 608

450 This unfinished draft of the article "Symptoms of the Revival of France's Internal Life" shows what great attention Marx paid to the growth of opposition sentiments in Bonaparte's empire and supplements his articles on the mounting financial, economic and political crisis in France published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* in 1858. Though Marx himself put only the day and month on the manuscript, the facts contained in the draft allow it to be dated 1858. The passages crossed out in the manuscript are not reproduced in this volume. p. 613

451 The chronological notes "The Italian War. 1859" were written by Engels probably on July 19, 1859 in response to Marx's request to write an article for the newspaper *Das Volk* "summing up the campaign" of Napoleon III in Italy (see Marx's letter to Engels of July 18, 1859 in Vol. 40 of the present edition). The notes were used by Engels for his article "The Italian War. Retrospect" (see this volume, pp. 421-34). p. 615

452 For an assessment of the true intentions of the European powers which favoured convening the congress and peaceful settlement of the conflict, see Engels' articles "The Proposed Peace Congress" and "War Inevitable" (this volume, pp. 274-78 and 287-89), Marx's article "The Proposed Peace Congress" (pp. 290-94), their joint article "The State of the Question.—Germany Arming" (pp. 295-98), and Marx's letter to Engels of April 22, 1859 (present edition, Vol. 40). p. 615

453 The revolution in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany (part of the Italian bourgeois revolution of 1859-60) began on April 27, 1859. The Provisional Government of Tuscany set up after the revolution was replaced on May 1, 1859 by a Cabinet of Ministers headed by Count Carlo Boncompagni, whom Victor Emmanuel appointed extraordinary royal commissioner in Tuscany. Engels calls this government the "Piedmontese commission". p. 615

454 See Note 151, and also this volume, pp. 557-60 and 567-608. p. 616

455 This is the draft of one of the lectures on political economy which Marx delivered to the German Workers' Educational Society in London from the autumn of 1859, after the publication of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. This draft has something in common with the section on the division of labour in the original text of Chapter II of Marx's book (see present edition, Vol. 30).

The *German Workers' Educational Society in London* was founded in 1840 by German worker refugees, members of the League of the Just. After the founding of the Communist League in 1847 representatives of its local communities played the leading role in the Society, which had branches in various working-class districts in London. In 1847 and 1849-50 Marx and Engels took an active part in the Society's work, but in September 1850 they temporarily withdrew because the Willich-Schapper sectarian-adventurist group had increased its influence in the Society. In the late 1850s, when Marx's followers (Georg Eccarius, Friedrich Lessner, Karl Schapper, who had rejected his sectarian views, and others) prevailed again, Marx and Engels resumed their

activities in the Educational Society, which existed up to 1918, when it was closed by the British Government. p. 617

456 That this article was written by Marx is proved by his letter to Engels of November 2, 1858, in which Marx said that he had written about "the Portuguese affair" (see present edition, Vol. 40).

Informing Engels of the themes he dealt with in his work for the *New-York Daily Tribune* at that period (see the letter of November 29, 1858), Marx mentioned once more that he had written about "England's sham provocation in the Portuguese affair" (see present edition, Vol. 40). Marx touches on this subject in an earlier article, "The War Prospect in France" (this volume, pp. 261-66).

The editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* probably cut out some passages of the article and distorted its concluding part by omitting criticism of the British colonial policy (see footnote on p. 623 of this volume). Since this article has been heavily edited it is given here in the Appendices. p. 621

457 The reference is to the conflict between France and Portugal caused by the seizure of the French merchant vessel *Charles et Georges* by the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique on November 29, 1857. The vessel had on board a number of East-African Negroes who were to be shipped, allegedly as free emigrants, to the French island of Réunion.

The Franco-Portuguese talks continued for almost a year but brought no results. On October 13, 1858 Napoleon III sent a special Note to the Portuguese Government demanding the return of the confiscated vessel and the release of its captain. The demand was backed by the dispatch of two French warships to the Portuguese capital. Portugal was compelled to yield. p. 621

458 The Lisbon Treaty of 1703 on the political and military alliance between England and Portugal against Spain and France, concluded during the war of the Spanish Succession of 1701-14, proclaimed an "eternal alliance" between Portugal and England. p. 622

459 These reviews printed in *Das Volk* (see Note 283) in the section "Gatherings from the Press" were directed against the newspaper *Hermann* published in London by the petty-bourgeois democrat Gottfried Kinkel. Besides Marx, Elard Biscamp also took part in writing them. Because of the Italian war of 1859 and the revival of the activities of the petty-bourgeois democratic refugees, Marx maintained that one of the most important tasks of *Das Volk* should be to combat the influence of the petty-bourgeois ideology on the workers. In these reviews Marx sharply criticised the political unprincipledness and illusions of the petty-bourgeois ideologists, their philistinism and ignorance. His reviews forced Kinkel to withdraw from the editorial board of the *Hermann*.

The reviews published in this volume criticise the contents of issues Nos. 21, 24, 26 and 27 of the *Hermann* for May 28, June 18, and July 2 and 9, 1859. p. 625

460 The reference is to the author of the poem quoted, which was printed in the newspaper over the signature of Kathinka Zitz, and the editor of the *Hermann* Gottfried Kinkel. p. 625

461 An ironical allusion to the ties between the petty-bourgeois democrat Schurz and Kinkel. On this see Marx's and Engels' pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile* (present edition, Vol. 11). p. 625

462 The reference is to Kinkel's activity in the period of reaction in Europe which followed the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution. As a leader of the German petty-bourgeois democratic refugees, Kinkel proceeded in his policy not from the objective economic and socio-political conditions prevailing in Europe at the time, but from his own subjective, voluntarist idea that revolution in Europe might be started at any moment. In their pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile* (present edition, Vol. 11), Marx and Engels denounced the illusory views and adventurist tactics of Kinkel and other leaders of the petty-bourgeois refugees. p. 626

463 This refers to Gottfried Kinkel, who began his career as a pastor's assistant. p. 627

464 Marx alludes to Vogt's naturalisation in Switzerland where he emigrated after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution in Germany.

By calling Kinkel a Kreuzer (a German small coin) Marx derides his pettiness in money questions. p. 627

465 The reference is to the meetings held to mourn the death of the outstanding German scientist Alexander Humboldt (May 6, 1859), in which German refugees' organisations as well as the newspaper *Hermann* took part. p. 629

466 An allusion to the Erfurt Parliament (see Note 311). p. 631

467 See Note 154. p. 632

468 The *Pre-Raphaelites*—a school of painting in England in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Pre-Raphaelites imitated the style of the painters of the pre-Raphael Renaissance (hence the name of the school). Their creative work expressed a Romantic protest against the ugly reality of capitalism which they contrasted to the Middle Ages with their religiosity and mysticism. p. 633

169 In issue No. 12 of *Das Volk* (July 23, 1859) Biscamp, without notifying Marx, printed Georg Herwegh's arch-patriotic poem written on the occasion of the Federal Marksmen's Festival in Zurich. On July 30, 1859 Marx published an ironical editorial note (*Das Volk,* No. 13), which is given below.

In connection with the publication of Herwegh's poem Engels wrote to Marx on July 25, 1859: "How, by the way, could you permit Herwegh's lousy poem to be included?" (see present edition, Vol. 40). In his reply to Engels Marx wrote on August 1, 1859: "Herwegh's rotten poem got in without my knowing about it. I therefore compelled Biscamp to give an explanation in the last issue and, into the bargain, I got him to publish the Landwehr soldier's song (as a fitting sequel to Herwegh)" (ibid.). p. 635

470 See Note 317. p. 636

471 In the summer of 1859 a mass movement for a nine-hour working day began in England. In London it embraced the building workers organised in trade unions. At the end of July 1859, when the employers refused to satisfy their demands for a shorter working day for the same pay, the building workers of the Trollop firm went on strike. The strike movement in London and other towns gained in strength, especially after the employers declared open war on the workers' unions at a joint meeting on July 27 by unanimously deciding not to employ workers belonging to trade unions and on August 6 declared a lockout of more than twenty thousand workers. The builders on strike and those affected by the lockout were aided by other workers, not only in London but in eighty other towns throughout the country. The strike continued until

February 1860 and ended in a compromise: the employers agreed to employ workers belonging to trade unions, but the workers had to give up their demand for a nine-hour working day. p. 636

472 In the late 1850s and early 1860s there emerged in England a Liberal Party composed of Whigs, Manchesterites (representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie) and Peelites (moderate Tories). The Liberals, who replaced the Whigs in the English two-party system, were opposed by the Conservative Party, which also took shape at this period and replaced the Tory Party. p. 637

473 The reference is to a meeting of representatives of the liberal bourgeoisie from the states of Northern and Central Germany in Eisenach on August 14, 1859. It discussed the main points of the liberal bourgeoisie's programme providing for a reform of the German Confederation, the establishment of a strong centralised government headed by the King of Prussia, the formation of united armed forces, etc. This programme served as the basis for the founding of a new party, called the National Union (*Nationalverein*), at a congress in Frankfurt on September 15-16, 1859. The nucleus of the Union was the Gotha party (see Note 87).

It was in St. Paul's Church that the German National Assembly held its sessions in 1848 and 1849. p. 638

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*Ahmet Kiamil Bey*—see *Türr, István*

*Aesop* (6th cent. B.C.)—semi-legendary Greek fabulist.—268, 499

*Agénais*—French worker, republican.—44

*Albrecht Friedrich Rudolf* (1817-1895)—Archduke of Austria, general; took part in suppressing the revolutionary and national liberation movement in Italy in 1848-49; civil and military Governor of Hungary (1851-60); was sent on a diplomatic mission to Berlin in 1859.—450, 458

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*Alexander Ludwig Georg, Prince of Hesse* (1823-1888)—Austrian general; in the Italian war of 1859 commanded at first a brigade and later a division.—349, 375

*Alexei* (*Alexis*) *Michaelowitch* (1629-1676)—Tsar of Russia (1645-76).—50

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*Allemandi, Michele Napoleone* (1807-1858)—Italian general, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Italy, led the Lombard, Swiss and Genoese volunteers.—352

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*Arnstein, Nathan Adam, Baron von* (1743-1838)—Austrian banker, Consul-General of Sweden in Vienna.—325

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*Bangya, János* (*Mehemed Bey*) (1817-1868)—Hungarian journalist and army officer, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; Kossuth's emissary abroad after the defeat of the revolution and at the same time an agent-provocateur; later served in the Turkish army under the name of Mehemed Bey and was a Turkish agent in the Caucasus (1855-58) during the Circassians' war against Russia.—21-26, 497

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*Baraguay d'Hilliers, Louis* (1764-1812)—French general, participant in the wars of the French Republic against European coalitions and in Napoleon I's campaigns; father of the above.—223

*Baring, Sir Francis Thornhill* (1796-1866)—British statesman, Whig, M.P.; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1839-41), First Lord of the Admiralty (1849-52).—4

*Baring, Thomas* (1799-1873)—financier, head of a banking house in London, Conservative M.P.; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852 and 1858).—304

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French politician and philosopher.—613

*Barnum, Phineas Taylor* (1810-1891)—American showman; circus producer.—446

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*Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire, Jules* (1805-1895)—French philosopher and politician, moderate republican.—613

*Baude, Jean Jacques, baron* (1792-1862)—French politician; gave up political activities in the 1840s; contributed to the *Revue des deux Mondes*.—402

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*Beauharnais, Eugène de* (1781-1824)—French general, stepson of Napoleon I; participant in Napoleon's campaigns including that of 1812 in Russia; Viceroy of Italy (1805-14).—220

*Beauharnais, Eugénie Hortense de* (1783-1837)—mother of Napoleon III, wife of Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland.—67, 446

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*Bem, Józef* (1795-1850)—Polish general, prominent in the national liberation movement, participant in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31 and in the revolutionary events in Vienna in 1848; a leader of the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49); emigrated to Turkey after the defeat of the revolution.—26

*Bender, H.*—a London bookseller, distributor of the newspaper *Hermann*.—626

*Benedek, Ludwig von* (1804-1881)—Austrian general, took part in the suppression of the peasant uprising in Galicia in 1846 and of the national liberation movement in Italy and Hungary in 1848 and 1849; commanded a corps in the Italian war of 1859.—329, 335, 336, 368, 385, 397-99, 401, 429, 430

*Bennigsen, Rudolf von* (1824-1902)—German politician, advocate of Germany's unification, under Prussia's supremacy; President of the National Union (1859-67).—638

*Béranger, Pierre Jean de* (1780-1857)—French poet, wrote many songs on satirical subjects; democrat.—42, 44, 316

*Berger*—Austrian general, commander of a division in the Italian war of 1859.—427

*Bernstorff, Albrecht, Count von* (1809-1873)—Prussian diplomat, envoy to London (1854-61), Foreign Minister (1861-62), ambassador to London (1862-73).—462

*Berry, Marie Caroline de Bourbon, duchesse de* (1798-1870)—mother of Count Chambord, Legitimist pretender to the French throne; in 1832 attempted to start an uprising in Vendée with the aim of overthrowing Louis Philippe.—42

*Berryer, Pierre Antoine* (1790-1868)—French lawyer and politician, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, Legitimist.—123, 613

*Beta, Johann Heinrich* (pen-name of *Bettziech*) (1813-1876)—German journalist, democrat; a refugee in London, follower of Gottfried Kinkel.—629

*Bethlen, Gergely, Count* (1818-1867)—Hungarian army officer, participant in the 1848-49 revolution; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated.—503

*Bethmann-Hollweg, Moritz August von* (1795-1877)—Prussian lawyer and

politician, a leader of the Conservative Party; deputy to the first and the second Chambers of the Prussian Diet (1849-55), Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine (1858-62).—96, 104, 106

*Beuret, Georges* (1803-1859)—French general, participant in the Spanish expedition of 1823, the Algerian war and the intervention against the Roman Republic in 1849; commanded a brigade in the Italian war of 1859.—339

*Bismarck-Schönhausen, Otto, Prince von* (1815-1898)—statesman of Prussia and Germany, diplomat; Prussian representative in the Federal Diet in Frankfurt am Main (1851-59); ambassador to St. Petersburg (1859-62) and Paris (1862); Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-71) and Chancellor of the German Empire (1871-90).—75, 268, 462

*Bixio, Jacques Alexandre* (1808-1865)—French journalist and politician, moderate republican; an editor of *Le National*; Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly (1848), Minister of Agriculture and Trade (from December 20 to 29, 1848), deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849).—170

*Blakeley*—British army officer and journalist; the *Times* correspondent in the Austrian army in the Italian war of 1859.—574, 575

*Blanchard, Georges Eugène* (1805-1876)—French general, commanded a brigade in the Italian war of 1859.—339

*Bloomfield, John Arthur Douglas, Baron* (1802-1879)—British diplomat, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at St. Petersburg (1844-51) and Berlin (1851-60).—72, 463, 464

*Blücher, Gebhard Leberecht von, Prince of Wahlstadt* (1742-1819)—Prussian field marshal-general; took part in wars against Napoleon I.—252, 441

*Boér, Imre* (1808-1859)—Hungarian-born Austrian general; commanded a brigade in the Italian war of 1859.—385, 427

*Bonaparte*—imperial dynasty in France (1804-14, 1815 and 1852-70).—99, 130, 152, 168, 170, 176, 240, 259, 261, 357, 417, 419, 500, 502

*Bonaparte, Jérôme* (1784-1860)—youngest brother of Napoleon I; King of Westphalia (1807-13), Marshal of France from 1850.—577

*Bonaparte, Joseph* (1768-1844)—eldest brother of Napoleon I, King of Naples (1806-08) and Spain (1808-13).—379

*Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul* (1822-1891)—son of Jérôme Bonaparte, cousin of Napoleon III; assumed the name of Jérôme after his elder brother's death (1847); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; commander of a division in the Crimea in 1854; Minister for the Colonies and Algeria (June 1858-March 1859); commander of a corps in the Italian war of 1859; known under the nicknames of Plon-Plon and the Red Prince.—168-70, 256, 331, 348, 356, 388, 397, 400, 402, 433, 500-02, 577, 622

*Boncompagni di Mombello, Carlo* (1804-1880)—Italian statesman, moderate liberal, Sardinian plenipotentiary in Florence in 1859.—484

*Bonham, Sir Samuel George* (1803-1863)—British colonial official, Governor of Hong Kong and Superintendent of Trade in China (1847-52).—537

*Boniface, Louis* (b. 1796)—French journalist, Bonapartist.—171, 296, 303

*Bonin, Eduard von* (1793-1865)—Prussian general and statesman, War Minister (1852-54, 1858-59).—96, 104, 450

*Borgia (Borja), Cesare, Duke of Valentinois and Romagna* (c. 1475-1507)—member of an influential Italian feudal family, son of Pope Alexander VI, tried to establish a powerful absolutist state, famous for his unscrupulousness.—157

*Bouat, Marie Joseph Guillaume* (1802-1859)—French general, commander

of a division in the Italian war of 1859.—317

*Bourbaki, Charles Denis Sauter* (1816-1897)—French general, Greek by birth; participant in the Crimean war of 1853-56; commander of a division in the Italian war of 1859.—275, 401

*Bourbons*—royal dynasty in France (1589-1792, 1814-15, 1815-30), in Spain (1700-1808, 1814-68, 1874-1931 and since 1975), in the Kingdom of Naples (1735-1806, 1815-60), and in Parma (1748-1859).—91, 483

*Bourboulon, A. de*—French plenipotentiary in China from 1852, minister to Peking (1859).—508, 509, 518

*Boustrapa*—see *Napoleon III*

*Brandenburg, Friedrich Wilhelm, Count von* (1792-1850)—Prussian general and statesman, head of the counter-revolutionary Ministry (November 1848-November 1850).—72

*Brennus*—legendary leader of the Gauls, who in 390 B.C. invaded Italy and captured Rome.—451

*Bright, John* (1811-1889)—English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; M.P. (from 1843); leader of the Left wing of the Liberal Party from the early 1860s, held several ministerial posts.—87-90, 135, 202-05, 410, 526, 545

*Broglie, Achille Charles Léonce Victor, duc de* (1785-1870)—French statesman, Prime Minister (1835-36), deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51), Orleanist; father of Albert Broglie.—92, 123

*Broglie, Jacques Victor Albert, duc de* (1821-1901)—French politician, writer and historian; contributed to the Catholic journal *Le Correspondant;* subsequently held several ministerial posts.—92

*Brougham and Vaux, Henry Peter, Baron* (1778-1868)—British statesman, lawyer and writer, Whig; Lord Chancellor (1830-34); from the 1850s was not very active in politics.—464, 531

*Bruce, Sir Frederick William Adolphus* (1814-1867)—British colonial administrator and diplomat, envoy to China (1858-65).—508-10, 513, 518, 520, 522

*Brunnow, Filipp Ivanovich, Baron* (1797-1875)—Russian diplomat, envoy (1840-54, 1858-60) and ambassador (1860-70, 1870-74) to London, member of the Russian delegation at the Paris Congress of 1856.—446

*Brutus* (*Marcus Junius Brutus*) (c. 85-42 B.C.)—Roman politician, republican, an organiser of the conspiracy against Julius Caesar.—42

*Büchner, Ludwig Friedrich Karl Christian* (1824-1899)—German physiologist and philosopher, representative of vulgar materialism.—473

*Bülow, Dietrich Adam Heinrich, Baron von* (1757-1807)—Prussian military writer, author of the well-known book *Geist des neuern Kriegssystems.*—231-32, 315, 422, 426

*Bulwer, William Henry Lytton Earle* (*Baron Dalling and Bulwer*) (1801-1872)—British diplomat, ambassador to Madrid (1843-48).—513

*Bulwer-Lytton*—see *Lytton, Edward George Earle Lytton, Bulwer-Lytton*

*Buol-Schauenstein, Karl Ferdinand, Count von* (1797-1865)—Austrian statesman and diplomat, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister (1852-59).—288, 290-92, 297, 421

*Burdett-Coutts, Angela Georgina, Baroness* (1814-1906)—favourite of Napoleon III.—448

*Buridan, Jean* (1300-1358)—French philosopher.—159

*Burnes, Sir Alexander* (1805-1841)—British colonel; was sent on a mission to Kabul (1836-38), political officer with the army at Kabul (1839-41).—514-16

*Burnes, James* (1801-1862)—English physician, brother of the above.—515

C

*Caligula* (*Gaius Julius Caesar Germanicus*) (12-41)—Roman Emperor (37-41).—157

*Camou, Jacques* (1792-1868)—French

general, Senator; participant in the Crimean war of 1853-56; commanded a guard division in the Italian war of 1859.—375

*Campbell*—sub-inspector of factories in Scotland.—195

*Camphausen, Ludolf* (1803-1890)—German banker, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie, Prime Minister of Prussia from March to June 1848.—54, 68, 76, 101, 102, 104

*Canning, Charles John, Earl* (1812-1862)—British statesman, Tory, then Peelite; Governor-General of India (1856-62), organised the suppression of the Indian national liberation uprising of 1857-59.—279-82

*Canning, George* (1770-1827)—British statesman and diplomat, Tory; Foreign Secretary (1807-09, 1822-27), Prime Minister (1827).—30

*Canrobert, François Certain* (1809-1895)—Marshal of France, Senator, Bonapartist; took part in conquering Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s; an active participant in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; commander-in-chief of the French army (September 1854-May 1855) during the Crimean war; commanded a corps in the Italian war of 1859.—301-02, 330, 360, 362, 363, 365, 369, 373, 374, 376, 379, 399, 401

*Capo d'Istria (Capodistrias), Giovanni Antonio (Joannes), Count* (1776-1831)—Greek statesman; from 1809 to 1822 was in the Russian service, Second Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Russia (1815-22), President of Greece (1827-31).—132

*Carden, Sir Robert Walter* (b. 1801)—British official, Tory M.P.—526-29

*Cardwell, Edward Cardwell, Viscount* (1813-1886)—British statesman, Peelite, later liberal; Secretary for Ireland (1859-61).—4

*Carlyle, Thomas* (1795-1881)—British writer, historian and philosopher, Tory; preached views bordering on feudal socialism up to 1848; later a relentless opponent of the working-class movement.—191

*Carrel, Armand* (1800-1836)—French journalist, liberal; one of the founders and editor of *Le National*.—44

*Cass, Lewis* (1782-1866)—American statesman, general and diplomat, member of the Democratic Party; minister to France (1836-42), Secretary of State (1857-60).—621

*Castelborgo*—Italian general, commanded a division in the Italian war of 1859.—362, 363

*Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Marquis of Londonderry, Viscount Castlereagh* (1769-1822)—British statesman, Tory; Secretary for War and for the Colonies (1805-06, 1807-09), Foreign Secretary (1812-22).—135, 608

*Catherine II* (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-96).—73, 139

*Cavour, Camillo Benso, conte di* (1810-1861)—Italian statesman, head of the Sardinian Government (1852-59, 1860-61), pursued a policy of unifying Italy under the supremacy of the Savoy dynasty relying on the support of Napoleon III; headed the first government of united Italy in 1861.—149, 150, 288, 297, 354, 356-58, 413, 417, 421, 615

*Chambord, Henri Charles, duc de Bordeaux, comte de* (1820-1883)—last representative of the elder line of the Bourbons, grandson of Charles X, pretender to the French throne under the name of Henry V.—42

*Chandos*—see *Grenville, Richard, Duke of Buckingham and Chandos*

*Charles I* (1600-1649)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1625-49), beheaded during the English revolution.—75

*Charles II* (1630-1685)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1660-85).—75

*Charles V* (1500-1558)—Holy Roman Emperor (1519-56), King of Spain (1516-56) as Charles (Carlos) I.—357

*Charles Albert (Carlo Alberto)* (1798-1849)—King of Sardinia (1831-49).—151, 418

*Charlemagne (Charles the Great)* (c. 742-814)—King of the Franks (768-814) and Holy Roman Emperor (800-814).—272

*Charlesworth, John C. Dodson*—British

Conservative, M.P. from Wakefield (1857).—530

*Charlotte Louise* (*Alexandra Fyodorovna*) (1798-1860)—wife of the Russian Emperor Nicholas I, eldest daughter of Frederick William III of Prussia. —72

*Charlotte* (or *Carlotta*), *Marie Amélie Auguste Victoire Clémentine Léopoldine, Princess* (1840-1927)—Archduchess of Austria, wife of Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph.—149

*Chateaubriand, François René, vicomte de* (1768-1848)—French writer, statesman and diplomat, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1822-24).—608

*Chatelain, Amable Pierre Eugène* (1829-1902)—French poet, participant in the 1848 revolution and the Paris Commune of 1871.—44

*Cialdini, Enrico, duca di Gaeta* (1811-1892)—Italian general, commanded a division in the Italian war of 1859.—360-62

*Cid, the* (*Campeador the Cid*) (real name—*Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar*) (c. 1043-1099)—Spanish national hero, famous for his exploits in the wars against the Moors; hero of a number of literary works.—549

*Clam-Gallas, Eduard, Count* (1805-1891)—Hungarian-born Austrian general; commanded a corps in the Italian war of 1859.—372, 397

*Clausewitz, Karl von* (1780-1831)—Prussian general and military theoretician.—435, 445, 599

*Clement VII* (*Giulio de Medici*) (1478-1534)—Pope (1523-34).—357

*Clotilde, princesse de Savoie* (1843-1911)—daughter of Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia; wife of Prince Jérôme Napoleon from 1859.—168-70

*Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865)—English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; M.P. —410

*Coburgs*—a family of German dukes, belonging to or connected with the royal dynasties of Belgium, Portugal, Britain and other European countries.—99

*Colloredo-Melz und Wallsee, Wenzel Joseph, Count* (1738-1822)—Austrian general, field marshal from 1808, participant in the wars of European coalitions against the French Republic and Napoleon I.—597

*Coningham, William* (b. 1815)—English radical M.P.—410

*Conolly, Arthur* (1807-1842)—British army officer, envoy to Khiva in 1840, arrested and killed in Bukhara.—61

*Constantine* (*Konstantin Nikolayevich*) (1827-1892)—Grand Duke of Russia, second son of Nicholas I; Admiral-General, head of the Sea Department (1853-81) and the Navy (1855-81); as a member of the Chief Peasant Question Committee in 1858-61 took part in preparing and effecting the 1861 Peasant Reform. —51, 304, 357, 603

*Cooke, George Wingrove* (1814-1865)—English liberal historian and journalist, the *Times* correspondent in China in 1857.—29, 31, 84

*Coppock, James* (1798-1857)—English lawyer, an agent for the elections to Parliament.—526, 528

*Cordon, Franz, Baron* (1796-1869)—Austrian general, commanded a division in the Italian war of 1859.—373, 376, 377

*Costa de Beauregard, Louis Marie Pantaléon, Marchese* (1806-1864)—Italian aristocrat, deputy to the Sardinian Parliament from Savoy (1848-49).—581

*Courier, Paul Louis* (1772-1825)—French philologist and writer, democrat; opposed the aristocratic and clerical reactionaries in France.—44

*Cousin, Victor* (1792-1867)—French philosopher.—42

*Coutts, Miss*—see *Burdett-Coutts, Angela Georgina, Baroness*

*Cowley, Henry Richard Charles Wellesley, Baron of* (1804-1884)—British diplomat, ambassador to Paris (1852-67).—304, 307, 615

*Crawford, Robert Wygram*—member of the House of Commons (1857-59).—286

*Cucchiari, Domenico* (1806-1900)—

Italian general, commanded a Piedmontese division in the Italian war of 1859.—362, 363

*Cuza, Alexandru* (1820-1873)—Romanian politician; from 1859 to 1866 hospodar (under the name of Alexandru Ioan Cuza I) of the Danubian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia which in 1862 formed a united Romanian state.—447

*Czecz (Czetz), János* (1822-1904)—Hungarian general; during the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary Chief of the General Staff of the revolutionary army in Transylvania; emigrated after the defeat of the revolution.—503

D

*Dahlmann, Friedrich Christoph* (1785-1860)—German historian and politician, liberal, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right centre) in 1848.—71

*Dalhousie, James Andrew Broun-Ramsay, Earl and Marquis of* (1812-1860)—British statesman, Peelite, Governor-General of India (1847-56), pursued a policy of colonial conquests.—284

*Danilo I Petrović Njegoš* (1826-1860)—Prince of Montenegro (1852-60).—446

*Delescluze, Louis Charles* (1809-1871)—participant in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 in France, sentenced to four-year imprisonment in 1854, after which was exiled to penal servitude in Cayenne; member of the Paris Commune.—43

*Denman, Thomas, Baron* (1779-1854)—British lawyer and statesman, Whig, member of the House of Lords, Lord Chief Justice (1832-50).—278

*Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Earl of* (1799-1869)—British statesman, Tory leader; Prime Minister (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68).—88, 89, 129-31, 134, 135, 265, 279, 282, 285, 295, 305, 306, 421, 455, 484, 502, 512, 513, 515, 523

*Dessolle, Jean Joseph Paul Augustin, marquis* (1767-1828)—French general, participant in Napoleon I's wars, later Legitimist.—221

*Diogenes Laertius* (3rd cent.)—Greek historian of philosophy, compiled a large work on the ancient philosophers.—629

*Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and writer, a Tory leader; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68), Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80).—4, 202-04, 520, 521

*Dixon, Joshua*—American banker; left for England in 1852, a manager of the Board of the Liverpool Borough Bank and from August 1857 its Managing Director.—35

*Dormus*—Austrian general, commanded a brigade in the Italian war of 1859.—375

*Dost Mohammed Khan* (1793-1863)—Afghan Emir (1826-39, 1842-63).—514-16

*Dréolle, Jean Baptiste Ernest* (1829-1887)—French journalist, contributed to several newspapers.—169

*Duncker, Franz* (1822-1888)—German politician and publisher, founder and editor of the *Volks-Zeitung* (1853-59).—465

*Dupin, André Marie Jean Jacques* (1783-1865)—French lawyer and politician, Orleanist, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49) and President of the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); subsequently Bonapartist.—91

*Dupoty, Michel Auguste* (1797-1864)—French journalist, took part in publishing several republican-democratic newspapers.—44

*Durando, Giovanni* (1804-1869)—general of the Piedmontese army, commanded a division in the Italian war of 1859.—228, 362, 363, 401

*Dürfeld*—Austrian general, commanded a brigade in the Italian war of 1859.—374

*Duvergier de Hauranne, Prosper* (1798-1881)—French liberal politician and writer.—613

*Duvernoy, Heinrich Gustav* (1802-1890)—Württemberg statesman, Minister of the Interior in the Liberal Ministry (1848-49), deputy to the Provincial Diet (1851-68), advocate of Germany's unification under Prussia's supremacy, one of the founders of the National Union.—405

E

*Echagüe, Rafael, conde del Serrallo* (1815-1887)—Spanish general, participant in the 1854-56 revolution, belonged to the Moderado Party; commanded a corps in the Spanish-Moroccan war of 1859-60.—548, 549, 553, 554

*Eglinton and Winton, Archibald William Montgomerie, Earl of* (1812-1861)—British statesman, Tory, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (1852, 1858-59).—134, 135, 137

*Elgin, James Bruce, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine* (1811-1863)—British diplomat, plenipotentiary extraordinary to China (1857-58, 1860-61), Viceroy and Governor-General of India (1862-63).—84, 509-11, 519, 520-23, 536-38

*Elizabeth* (1801-1873)—Queen of Prussia, wife of Frederick William IV.—55-57, 67, 70, 97, 118, 126-27, 320

*Ellenborough, Edward Law, Earl of* (1790-1871)—British statesman, Tory, member of the House of Lords, Governor-General of India (1842-44), First Lord of the Admiralty (1846), President of the Board of Control for India (1858).—203, 285, 286, 440, 523

*Elphinstone, John, Baron* (1807-1860)—British official in India, Governor of Madras (1837-42) and Bombay (1853-59).—283

*Elsner, Karl Friedrich Moritz* (1809-1894)—Silesian radical journalist and politician, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; an editor of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* in the 1850s.—115

*Emmett, Anthony* (1790-1872)—British military engineer, major-general from 1855, commanding royal engineer at St. Helena (1815-21).—231

*Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895).—572, 616, 624

*Eskeles, Bernhard, Baron von* (1753-1839)—Austrian banker, one of the founders of Arnstein & Eskeles firm.—325

*Eskeles, Denis, Baron von* (1804-1876)—Austrian banker, Consul-General of Denmark in Vienna.—325

*Espinasse, Charles Marie Esprit* (1815-1859)—French general, Bonapartist; an active participant in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; commanded a division in the Italian war of 1859.—375

*Esquiros, Henri François Alphonse* (1812-1876)—French writer; in 1840 was sentenced to imprisonment for his book *L'Evangile du peuple*; after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851 was expelled from France.—44

*Eugène, Prince*—see *Beauharnais, Eugène de*

*Eugénie Marie Ignace Augustine de Montijo de Guzmán, comtesse de Teba* (1826-1920)—Empress of France, wife of Napoleon III.—167, 379, 448

*Euripides* (c. 480-406 B.C.)—Greek dramatist.—451

F

*Faliero (Falier), Marino* (1274-1355)—Doge of Venice (1354-55), executed for conspiring against the rule of the nobility.—271

*Falloux, Frédéric Alfred Pierre, comte de* (1811-1886)—French politician and writer, Legitimist and clerical; in 1848 initiated the closure of the national workshops and inspired the suppression of the June uprising of the Paris workers; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, Minister of Education (1849).—122

*Fanti, Manfredo* (1808-1865)—Italian general and statesman, participant in the national liberation and revolutionary movements in Italy in 1848-49; commanded a Piedmontese division in the Italian war of 1859.—361-63, 401

*Farini, Luigi Carlo* (1812-1866)—Italian statesman and historian, Sardinian plenipotentiary in Modena in 1859.—485

*Ferdinand II* (1810-1859)—King of the Two Sicilies (1830-59), nicknamed King Bomba for the bombardment of Messina in 1848.—151, 153, 154, 289

*Ferdinand IV*—see *Lorena, Ferdinando di*

*Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph* (1832-1867)—Archduke of Austria, Governor-General of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom (1857-59), Emperor of Mexico under the name of Maximilian (1864-67).—149, 154

*Ferrier, François Louis Auguste* (1777-1861)—French economist, government official, advocate of mercantilism.—446

*Festetics, Tassilo (Tasziló), Count* (1813-1883)—Austrian general, Hungarian by birth; commanded a brigade in the Italian war of 1859.—334-35

*Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas* (1804-1872)—German philosopher.—472, 473

*Filangieri, Carlo, principe di Satriano e duca di Taormina* (1784-1867)—Neapolitan general and statesman, Prime Minister and War Minister (1859-60).—289

*Fleury, Emile Félix, comte* (1815-1884)—French army officer and diplomat, Bonapartist, active participant in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—170

*Flottwell, Eduard Heinrich von* (1786-1865)—Prussian statesman, Minister of Finance (1844-46), *Oberpräsident* of Posen and later of Westphalia; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848-49; Minister of the Interior (1858-59).—70, 96, 116, 117, 125

*Forey, Elie Frédéric* (1804-1872)—French general, later marshal, Senator, Bonapartist; participant in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; commanded a division in the Italian war of 1859.—332, 336, 338, 339, 347, 349

*Francis I* (1494-1547)—King of France (1515-47).—627

*Francis II* (1836-1894)—King of the Two Sicilies (1859-60).—409, 412

*Francis V* (1819-1875)—Archduke of Austria, Duke of Modena (1846-59).—151, 273, 412, 535

*Francis Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-1916).—57, 67, 154, 269, 272, 287-89, 321-23, 328, 334, 371, 376, 387, 392-97, 399-412, 417, 418, 422, 427-30, 433-38, 457, 483, 505-06, 532, 534, 574, 575, 632

*Frederick I* (1657-1713)—Elector of Brandenburg under the name of Frederick III (from 1688); King of Prussia (1701-13).—71

*Frederick II (the Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—73, 77, 159, 252, 446

*Frederick William I* (1688-1740)—King of Prussia (1713-40).—71, 73

*Frederick William I* (1802-1875)—Elector of Hesse-Cassel (1847-66); Regent (1831-47).—540, 542-44

*Frederick William II* (1744-1797)—King of Prussia (1786-97).—71, 73

*Frederick William III* (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—71-73, 97, 102, 104, 446

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—54-57, 65-68, 70-72, 75, 97, 99, 104, 105, 107, 117, 118, 121, 126, 159-61, 320, 638

*Freiligrath, Ferdinand* (1810-1876)—German romantic and later revolutionary poet; member of the Communist League; one of the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49).—624

*Fréron, Elie Catherine* (1719-1776)—French critic and writer, literary opponent of Voltaire and the Encyclopaedists.—380

*Friedrich Wilhelm Ludwig* (1794-1863)—Prince of Prussia, general, nephew of Frederick William III.—99

*Friedrich Wilhelm Nikolaus Karl* (1831-1888)—Crown Prince of Prussia and the German Empire; general; son of William I; King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany under the name of Frederick III (1888).—68, 117

G

*Gablenz, Ludwig Karl Wilhelm, Baron von* (1814-1874)—Austrian general, commanded a brigade in the Italian war of 1859.—360

*Gagern, Heinrich Wilhelm August, Baron von* (1799-1880)—German moderate liberal politician, deputy to and President of the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre), Imperial Prime Minister (December 1848-March 1849); a leader of the Gotha party after May 1849.—405

*Gaillardet, Théodore Frédéric* (1808-1882)—French journalist and playwright, publisher of *Le Courrier des États-Unis* in the USA (1839-48); in 1848 returned to France but remained this newspaper's correspondent.—171

*Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; took part in the revolutionary movement of South America in the 1830s and 1840s; chief organiser of the defence of the Roman Republic (April-July 1849), led the struggle of the Italian people for national liberation and the unification of the country in the 1850s and 1860s; headed the Alpine riflemen in the Italian war of 1859.—149, 154, 166, 330, 335, 348, 351-55, 360, 366, 369, 380, 381, 386, 417, 423, 533, 558, 595

*George III* (1738-1820)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1760-1820).—55

*George IV* (1762-1830)—Prince Regent (1811-20), King of Great Britain and Ireland (1820-30).—71

*Gerbaix de Sonnaz, Maurizio* (1816-1892)—general of the Piedmontese army, commanded a brigade in the Italian war of 1859.—349

*Gerlach, Ludwig Friedrich Leopold von* (1790-1861)—Prussian politician, general, headed the reactionary camarilla in the 1840s; adjutant general of Frederick William IV in 1850.—72, 97

*Germiny, Charles Gabriel Le Bègue, comte de* (1789-1871)—French statesman and financier, Bonapartist; Minister of Finance (January-April 1851), Governor of the *Crédit Foncier* (1854-56) and of the Bank of France (1857-63).—168

*Gibson, Thomas Milner* (1806-1884)—British politician and statesman, Free Trader, later liberal, President of the Board of Trade (1859-65, 1865-66).—511, 512, 520

*Ginain, Louis Eugène* (1818-1886)—French battle-painter.—495

*Girardin, Émile de* (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician; editor of *La Presse* in the 1830s-1860s (with intervals); moderate republican during the 1848-49 revolution; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1850-51); later Bonapartist;notorious for his lack of principles in politics.—170

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory, then Peelite, leader of the Liberal Party in the second half of the nineteenth century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55, 1859-66), Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—4, 129, 130, 511

*Godunov, Boris* (c. 1552-1605)—Tsar of Russia (1598-1605).—139

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—67, 98, 99, 405, 452

*Gorchakov, Alexander Mikhailovich, Prince* (1798-1883)—Russian statesman and diplomat, ambassador to Vienna (1854-56), Foreign Minister (1856-82), State Chancellor (1867-82).—455, 462, 571, 602, 606-09

*Gordon, Anton, Baron* (1767-1832)—Austrian general, took part in the wars of European coalitions against the French Republic.—584

*Granier de Cassagnac, Bernard Adolphe* (1806-1880)—French journalist, lack-

ed principles in politics; Orleanist prior to the 1848 revolution, later Bonapartist; deputy to the *Corps législatif* during the Second Empire; contributed to the newspaper *Le Constitutionnel*.—485

*Great Moguls*—dynasty of Indian padishahs (1526-1858).—284

*Grenville, Richard, Duke of Buckingham and Chandos* (1797-1861)—British historian and politician, Whig, M.P. (1818-39).—202, 205

*Grey, Charles, Earl of, Viscount Howick, Baron Grey* (1764-1845)—British statesman, a Whig leader; First Lord of the Admiralty (1806), Prime Minister (1830-34).—545

*Grey, Sir Henry George, Earl* (1802-1894)—British statesman, Whig, Secretary at War (1835-39), Colonial Secretary (1846-52); son of Charles Grey.—132

*Grüber*—Austrian army officer, commanded a regiment in the Italian war of 1859.—429

*Grünne, Karl Ludwig, Count von Pinchard* (1808-1884)—Austrian general, belonged to the Court camarilla, adjutant general of Emperor Francis Joseph (1850-59).—393, 397, 422

*Guernsey, William Hudson,* alias *Guernsey, Wellington* (born c. 1819)—British official.—129, 131, 133

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman; virtually directed France's home and foreign policy from 1840 to the February 1848 revolution.—42, 204

*Gyulay, Franz* (or *Gyulai, Ferenc*), *Count von Maros-Németh und Nadaska* (1798-1868)—Austrian general, Hungarian by birth; took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; War Minister (1849-50); during the Italian war of 1859 commanded an Austrian army until the defeat at Magenta (April-June 1859).—154, 297, 316-19, 321, 322, 328, 338, 349, 365-67, 368-70, 372, 373-75, 376-79, 387, 389, 422-27, 433, 574, 575

H

*Habsburgs* (or *Hapsburgs*)—dynasty of emperors of the Holy Roman Empire from 1273 to 1806 (with intervals), of Spanish kings (1516-1700), of emperors of Austria (1804-67) and of Austria-Hungary (1867-1918).—149, 344, 382, 392, 417, 419, 629

*Hadfield, George* (1787-1879)—British politician, radical, M.P. (1852-74).—515

*Hadji* (*Haji*) *Abd Saleem*—commander of the Moroccan troops at Tetuan during the Spanish-Moroccan war of 1859-60.—549

*Hailbronner, Karl von* (1789-1864)—Bavarian military writer and traveller.—216, 238, 240, 246

*Hampden, John* (c. 1595-1643)—prominent figure in the English revolution, a leader of the Parliamentary opposition to the absolutist regime.—448

*Handel, George Frederick* (1685-1759)—German composer.—545

*Hansemann, David Justus Ludwig* (1790-1864)—German capitalist, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Finance Minister of Prussia (from March to September 1848).—102, 103

*Hartmann*—Austrian army officer, commanded a regiment in the Italian war of 1859.—429

*Hartung, Ernst* (1808-1879)—Austrian general, commanded a brigade in the Italian war of 1859.—374

*Hassenpflug, Hans Daniel Ludwig Friedrich* (1794-1862)—German statesman, advocate of absolutism, Minister of Justice and the Interior of Hesse-Cassel (1832-37), head of the Hesse-Cassel Ministry (1850-55).—543

*Hauff, Wilhelm* (1802-1827)—German poet and novelist.—54

*Haugwitz, Christian August Heinrich Kurt, Count von* (1752-1832)—Prussian statesman, Foreign Minister (1792-1804, 1805-06).—269

*Hauréau, Jean Barthélemy* (1812-1896)—French historian and writer, moderate republican.—613

*Haussonville, Joseph Othenin Bernard de Cléron, comte d'* (1809-1884)—French writer and politician.—613
*Havas, Charles* (1785-1858)—French journalist, founder of the French information agency *Agence Havas*.—23
*Haxthausen, August Franz Ludwig Maria, Baron von* (1792-1866)—Prussian official and writer; author of works on the agrarian system and the peasant commune in Russia.—608
*Haynau, Julius Jakob, Baron von* (1786-1853)—Austrian general; took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; commanded the Austrian troops in Hungary (1849-50); initiated brutal repressions against Hungarian revolutionaries.—154
*Head, Sir Francis Bond* (1793-1875)—British colonial administrator, traveller and writer.—258-60
*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—159, 456, 466, 472-75
*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—215, 217, 406
*Heise, Heinrich* (d. 1860)—German journalist, democrat, participant in the 1848-49 revolution, emigrated to England.—624
*Heliogabalus* (*Elagabalus*) (204-222)—Roman Emperor (218-22); his name became the symbol of extravagance, despotism and debauchery.—500
*Hengstenberg, Ernst Wilhelm* (1802-1869)—German theologian, professor of Berlin University.—160
*Henley, Joseph Warner* (1793-1884)—British statesman, Tory, President of the Board of Trade (1852, 1858-59).—84, 205
*Henry V*—see *Chambord, Henri Charles*
*Henszlmann, Imre* (1813-1888)—Hungarian archaeologist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; emigrated after its defeat.—503
*Hermann*—see *Arminius*
*Herwegh, Georg Friedrich* (1817-1875)—German democratic poet.—635
*Hess, Heinrich Hermann Josef, Baron von* (1788-1870)—Austrian general, later field marshal, took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; commander-in-chief of the Austrian troops in Hungary, Galicia and the Danubian Principalities (1854-55); during the Italian war of 1859 commanded the Austrian army after the defeat at Magenta (June-July 1859).—185, 319, 321, 328, 371, 387, 393, 402, 403, 422, 425, 428, 429, 432, 435-37, 574
*Hesse, Prince of*—see *Alexander Ludwig Georg, Prince of Hesse*
*Heu Naetse* (*Hsü Nai-tsi*)—Chinese statesman, judge in the province of Kwangtung (1834), Vice President of the Sacrificial Court at Peking (1836).—18
*Heydt, August, Baron von der* (1801-1874)—Prussian conservative statesman, Elberfeld banker; Minister of Trade, Industry and Public Works (from December 1848 to 1862); deputy to the Second Chamber (1848).—97, 104, 105
*Hien-Fung* (*Hsien Feng*) (c. 1831-1861)—Chinese Emperor (1850-61).—17, 18, 83, 84, 509, 513
*Hohenstaufens*—dynasty of emperors of the Holy Roman Empire (1138-1254).—225
*Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—67, 71, 72, 77, 98, 118, 269, 312, 344, 419
*Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Karl Anton, Prince von* (1811-1885)—Prussian general, Prime Minister (1858-62).—96, 97, 98, 99, 106
*Homer*—semi-legendary Greek epic poet, author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.—42, 129
*Hope, Sir James* (1808-1881)—British admiral, commanded a military expedition in China (1859-60).—508-09, 517
*Horace* (*Quintus Horatius Flaccus*) (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—89, 634
*Horner, Leonard* (1785-1864)—English geologist and public figure, commissioner to inquire into employment of children in factories and a chief inspector under Factories Act (1833-

56), took the side of the workers.—191-93

*Hortense*—see *Beauharnais, Eugénie Hortense de*

*Hübner, Joseph Alexander, Count von* (1811-1892)—Austrian diplomat, envoy (1849-56) and ambassador (1856-59) to Paris.—149, 155, 256, 272, 273

*Hudson, George* (1800-1871)—English capitalist, big railway owner, Tory M.P. (1845-59).—102

*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885)—French writer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; opposed Louis Bonaparte.—448

*Humboldt, Alexander von* (1769-1859)—German naturalist and traveller.—312, 627, 629

*Hunt, Freeman* (1804-1858)—American journalist, publisher of *The Merchant's Magazine and Commercial Review* (1839-58).—14

*Hutten, Ulrich von* (1488-1523)—German poet, advocate of the Reformation, ideologist of and participant in the knights' uprising in 1522-23.—160

I

*Ihász, Dániel* (1813-1882)—Hungarian army officer; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, later emigrated; friend of Kossuth.—503

*Ingram, Herbert* (1811-1860)—English radical M.P.—410

*Irányi, Dániel* (1822-1892)—Hungarian politician and journalist; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, deputy to Parliament,then commissar of the revolutionary government, after the defeat of the revolution emigrated.—503

*Ivan III* (1440-1505)—Grand Duke of Muscovy (1462-1505).—500

J

*Jacobi, Karl Wigand Maximilian* (1775-1858)—German psychiatrist.—54

*Jacoby, Johann* (1805-1877)—German radical writer and politician; in 1848 one of the leaders of the Left wing in the Prussian National Assembly; in the 1870s was close to the Social-Democrats.—74, 115

*James I* (1566-1625)—King of England, Scotland and Ireland (1603-25).—75

*James II* (1633-1701)—King of England, Scotland and Ireland (1685-88).—75

*Jannin*—French general, commanded a brigade in the Italian war of 1859.—374

*Jomini, Henri, Baron* (1779-1869)—general serving in the French and later in the Russian army, Swiss by birth; military theoretician, author of several works on strategy and military history.—226

*Jones, Ernest Charles* (1819-1869)—prominent figure in the English working-class movement, proletarian poet and journalist, a leader of the Left Chartists; friend of Marx and Engels; in 1858 came to an agreement with bourgeois radicals, which was the cause of Marx's and Engels' temporary break with him.—410, 411

*Joseph Karl Ludwig* (1833-1905)—Archduke of Austria, commanded a regiment in the Italian war of 1859.—429

*Josephine Friederike Luise, Princess of Baden* (1813-1900)—daughter of the Duchess of Baden Stéphanie and wife of Karl Anton Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen.—98

*Joubert, Barthélemy Catherine* (1769-1799)—French general, took part in Bonaparte's Italian campaign in 1796-99; commander-in-chief of the army in Italy (1798-99).—223

*Juch, Hermann*—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat, refugee in London, Kinkel's supporter, editor of the newspaper *Hermann* (from July 1859).—630, 631

*Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis)* (born c. 60-d. after 127)—Roman satirical poet.—102, 293, 483

K

*Kabat*—Pole by birth, captain of the Turkish army.—25

*Kalmár, József*—Hungarian émigré in Turkey.—23, 26

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—103, 473

*Kaye, Sir John William* (1814-1876)—British military historian and colonial official, Secretary of the Political and Secret Department of the India Office (1858-74), author of *History of the War in Afghanistan* (1851).—515

*Kellermann, François Christophe, duc de Valmy* (1735-1820)—French general, from 1804 marshal, took part in the wars of the French Republic against European coalitions and in Napoleon I's campaigns, later Legitimist.—584

*Khudayar Khan* (born c. 1829)—Khan of Kokand, ruled from 1845 to 1875 (with intervals).—62, 63

*Killin, Ann*—owner of a factory school in Glasgow.—195

*Kincaid, John* (1787-1862)—inspector of factories and jails in Scotland in the 1850s.—195, 196

*King, Peter John Locke* (1811-1885)—British politician, radical M.P.—202

*Kinkel, Johann Gottfried* (1815-1882)—German poet and journalist, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; sentenced to life imprisonment by a Prussian court; in 1850 escaped and emigrated to London; a leader of the petty-bourgeois emigrants; editor of the *Hermann* (1859); opposed Marx and Engels.—625-29, 633, 634

*Kirchmann, Julius Hermann von* (1802-1884)—German lawyer, journalist and philosopher, radical; in 1848 deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre), in 1849 deputy to the Second Chamber; later member of the Progressist Party.—75

*Kiss, Miklós* (1820-1902)—Hungarian army officer, democrat, refugee, Kossuth's agent in France and Italy; maintained contact with the Bonapartist circles.—500, 503

*Klapka, György* (1820-1892)—general of the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49), emigrated in 1849; maintained contact with the Bonapartist circles in the 1850s; after the amnesty returned to Hungary in 1867.—380, 381, 500, 503

*Kleist, Ewald Christian von* (1715-1759)—German poet and officer.—632

*Kleist-Retzow, Hans Hugo von* (1814-1892)—Prussian politician, one of the founders of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, *Oberpräsident* of the Rhine Province (1851-58); headed the conservative faction of the Prussian Upper Chamber (extreme Right wing).—117

*Kolb, Gustav Eduard* (1798-1865)—German journalist, editor-in-chief of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* (1837-65).—252

*Koller, August, Baron von* (b. 1805)—Austrian diplomat, ambassador in Berlin (1857-60).—457

*Kossuth, Lajos (Louis)* (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement, headed the bourgeois-democratic elements in the 1848-49 revolution, head of the Hungarian revolutionary government; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated first to Turkey and later to England and the USA; sought for support in the Bonapartist circles in the 1850s.—22, 26, 380, 381, 390, 413, 498-503, 626

*Krassow, Karl Reinhold, Count von* (1812-1892)—Prussian *Landrath*, deputy to the Provincial Diet from 1849 to 1852 (Right wing), *Regierungspräsident* of Stralsund (1852-68).—108

*Kray von Krajow, Pál (Paul), Baron von* (1735-1804)—Austrian general, Hungarian by birth; took an active part in the wars of European coalitions against the French Republic and Napoleon I.—232

*Kuhn, Franz, Baron von Kuhnenfeld* (1817-1896)—Austrian army officer, Chief of the General Staff during the Italian war of 1859.—321

L

*La Beaumelle, Laurent Angliviel de* (1726-1773)—French writer, literary opponent of Voltaire.—380

*Labouchere, Henry, Baron Taunton* (1798-1869)—British statesman, Whig; President of the Board of Trade (1839-41, 1847-52), Secretary of State for the Colonies (1855-58).—129

*Ladmirault, Louis René Paul de* (1808-1898)—French general, took part in conquering Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s; commanded a division in the Italian war of 1859; took part in suppressing the Paris Commune.—376

*Ladreitt de la Charrière, Jules Marie* (1806-1870)—French general, took part in conquering Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s; commanded a brigade in the Italian war of 1859.—376

*La Guéronnière, Louis Étienne Arthur Dubreuil Hélion, vicomte de* (1816-1875)—French journalist and politician, Bonapartist in the 1850s.—253

*Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louis de* (1790-1869)—French poet, historian and politician, a leader of the moderate republicans in the 1840s, Foreign Minister and effective head of the Provisional Government in 1848.—42

*Lamennais, Félicité Robert de* (1782-1854)—French abbot, writer, one of the ideologists of Christian socialism.—42-44

*La Motterouge (La Motte Rouge), Joseph Édouard de* (1804-1883)—French general, commanded a division in the Italian war of 1859.—375

*Langley, J. Baxter*—English radical, journalist.—410

*Lanskoi, Sergei Stepanovich, Count* (1787-1862)—Russian statesman, conservative, Minister of the Interior (1855-61); took part in effecting the 1861 Peasant Reform.—145

*Łapiński, Teofil* (1827-1886)—Polish colonel, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; under the name of Tewfik Bey served in the Turkish army; fought against Russia in Circassia (1857-58).—22-27

*Las Cases, Emmanuel Augustin Dieudonné, comte de* (1766-1842)—French historian, accompanied Napoleon I to St. Helena (1815-16); published *Mémorial de Sainte Hélène* (1822-23).—502

*Leatham, William Henry* (1815-1889)—English poet and politician, radical M.P.—526, 527, 530

*Lecourbe, Claude Joseph, comte* (1759-1815)—French general; took part in the wars of the French Republic against European coalitions and in Napoleon I's campaigns.—221-22, 587

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician, a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats, editor of *La Réforme;* Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government (February-May 1848), deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies, where he headed the Montagne party; emigrated to England after the demonstration of June 13, 1849.—498

*Leopold II* (1797-1870)—Grand Duke of Tuscany (1824-59).—151, 273, 486, 535, 615

*Leslie, Charles Robert* (1794-1859)—English painter.—633

*Lessing, Cotthold Ephraim* (1729-1781)—German writer.—103

*Lewis, Sir George Cornewall* (1806-1863)—British statesman, Whig, Secretary to the Treasury (1850-52), Chancellor of the Exchequer (1855-58), Home Secretary (1859-61).—3, 4, 286

*Liechtenstein, Eduard Franz Ludwig, Prince* (1809-1864)—Austrian general; took an active part in suppressing the Prague uprising of June 1848; commanded a corps in the Italian war of 1859.—335, 372

*Lilia*—Austrian general; commanded a division in the Italian war of 1859.—374, 375, 377

*Lin Tse-sü* (1785-1850)—Chinese statesman, appointed in 1839 the Imperial High Commissioner at Kwang-

tung and Kwangsi and authorised agent in the struggle against opium trade.—19

*Lind, Jenny* (1820-1887)—Swedish opera singer.—26

*List, Friedrich* (1789-1846)—German economist, adherent of protectionism.—466

*Lloyd, Edward* (late 17th-early 18th cent.)—keeper of a coffee house in Tower Street, London, and later (1692) of "Lloyd's Coffee House" in Lombard Street. His coffee house became the centre of ship brokerage and marine insurance. From him the association and the corporation now known as Lloyd's were named.—325

*Loftus, Lord Augustus William Frederick Spencer* (1817-1904)—British diplomat, envoy to Austria (1858-60).—290, 293, 421

*Logue, William*—owner of a factory school in Glasgow.—195

*Loison, Louis Henri, comte* (1771-1816)—French general, took part in the wars of the French Republic against European coalitions and in Napoleon I's campaigns.—221

*Lorena, Ferdinando di* (1835-1908)—son of the Grand Duke of Tuscany Leopold II; in July 1859, after his father's abdication, assumed the title of Grand Duke Ferdinand (Ferdinando) IV.—486

*Louis XIII* (1601-1643)—King of France (1610-43).—71

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—107

*Louis XV* (1710-1774)—King of France (1715-74).—164

*Louis XVI* (1754-1793)—King of France (1774-92), guillotined during the French Revolution.—461

*Louis XVIII (Louis le Désiré)* (1755-1824)—King of France (1814-15, 1815-24).—68

*Louis Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Napoleon*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—40, 44, 80, 91, 174, 264, 445, 446, 448

*Louise de Bourbon, Marie Thérèse, duchesse de Parme* (1819-1864)—Regent of the Duchy of Parma (1854-59).—122, 151, 273, 535, 615

*Ludvigh, János* (1812-1870)—Hungarian journalist and politician, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated after the revolution.—503

*Ludwig (Louis) I* (1786-1868)—King of Bavaria (1825-48).—382

*Lyndhurst, John Singleton Copley, Baron* (1772-1863)—British statesman and lawyer, Tory; Lord Chancellor (1827-30, 1834-35, 1841-46), M.P.—440

*Lytton, Edward George Earle Lytton, Bulwer-Lytton* (1803-1873)—British writer and politician; at the beginning of his career a Whig and from 1852 a Tory M.P.; Secretary for the Colonies (1858-59).—129

M

*Macdonald, Jacques Étienne Joseph Alexandre, duc de Tarente* (1765-1840)—Marshal of France, participant in Napoleon I's campaigns, in 1799 commander-in-chief of the French troops during the Italian and Swiss campaigns; after Napoleon I's abdication entered the service of the Bourbons; from 1816 to 1830 held high posts at the Court.—220, 222, 232

*MacGregor, John* (1797-1857) — British economist, statistician and historian, Free Trader; Vice-President of the Board of Trade (1840-47), M.P. from 1847; founder and one of the governors of the Royal British Bank (1849-56).—48

*Machiavelli, Niccolò* (1469-1527)—Italian politician, historian and writer.—130, 419, 447, 517

*MacMahon, Marie Edmé Patrice Maurice, comte de, duc de Magenta* (1808-1893)—French military figure and politician, marshal, Bonapartist; commanded a corps in the Italian war of 1859; a butcher of the Paris Commune (1871); President of the Third Republic (1873-79).—301, 330, 362, 363, 365, 369, 373-75, 376, 379, 385, 398, 401, 575

*Magalon, Jean Denis* (1794-c. 1840)—French writer of liberal trend.—44
*Maitland, Sir Thomas* (c. 1759-1824)—British lieutenant-general, Governor of Malta (1813-24), Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands and commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean (1815-24).—132
*Malmesbury, James Howard Harris, Earl of* (1807-1889)—British statesman, Tory; Foreign Secretary (1852, 1858-59), Lord Privy Seal (1866-68, 1874-76).—288, 292, 293, 421, 521-23
*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, author of a theory of population.—493
*Mameli, Goffredo* (1827-1849)—Italian poet and patriot, perished in 1849 while defending the Roman Republic.—355
*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von* (1805-1882)—Prussian conservative statesman, Minister of the Interior (November 1848-November 1850), deputy to the First and Second Chambers (1849), Prime Minister (1850-58).—55, 70, 71, 79, 97, 104, 118, 269, 415, 542
*Marie Louise* (1791-1847)—daughter of Francis I of Austria; was married to Napoleon I in 1810.—169
*Marrast, Armand* (1801-1852)—French journalist and politician, a leader of moderate republicans, editor of *Le National*; in 1848 member of the Provisional Government and Mayor of Paris, President of the Constituent Assembly (1848-49).—44
*Martimprey, Ange Auguste de* (1809-1875)—French general, commanded a brigade in the Italian war of 1859.—376
*Martin, James* (1815-1886)—English lawyer, Attorney-General (1856 and 1857); presided in the Central Criminal Court in 1858.—129
*Martin, Robert Montgomery* (c. 1803-1868)—English historian and statistician, well-known traveller in the East.—13, 14
*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883).—3, 71, 97, 99, 101, 104, 106, 115, 119, 158, 206, 261, 268, 269, 345, 455, 457, 463, 465, 470-71, 474-77, 493, 497, 500-02, 508, 509, 616, 624
*Masséna, André, duc de Rivoli, prince d'Essling* (1756-1817)—French general, from 1804 marshal, participant in Napoleon I's campaigns; in 1814 went over to the side of the Bourbons.—232, 597
*Maximilian II* (1811-1864)—King of Bavaria (1848-64).—289
*Maxwell, John Hall* (1812-1866)—English agronomist and statistician, Secretary to the Highland Agricultural Society.—210
*Mazarin, Jules* (*Mazarini, Giulio*) (1602-1661)—Italian-born French cardinal and statesman; Prime Minister from 1643; virtual ruler of France during Louis XIV's minority.—71
*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, democrat, a leader of the national liberation movement in Italy; head of the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic in 1849; an organiser of the Central Committee of European democracy in London in 1850; sought support among the Bonapartists in the early 1850s, but later opposed Bonapartism.—37, 139, 354, 355, 420, 498, 499, 503, 533
*Mecklenburg*—Austrian army officer, commanded a regiment in the Italian war of 1859.—429
*Mednyánszky, Sándor* (1816-1875)—Hungarian army officer, took part in the 1848-49 revolution, after the revolution emigrated.—503
*Mehemed Bey*—see *Bangya, János*
*Melas, Michael Friedrich Benedikt, Baron von* (1729-1806)—Austrian general, participant in the Seven Years' War (1756-63), commander-in-chief of the Austrian army in Italy (1799-1800).—188
*Meszleny, Zsuzsánna* (née *Kossuth*) (d. 1854)—sister of Lajos Kossuth, government inspector of hospitals during the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary.—501
*Metternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince von* (1773-1859)—

Austrian statesman and diplomat, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1809-21) and Chancellor (1821-48); an organiser of the Holy Alliance.—627

*Mevissen, Gustav von* (1815-1899)—German banker and politician, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie, founder of a number of big joint-stock and credit banks and industrial joint-stock companies.—161

*Mill, John Stuart* (1806-1873)—English economist and philosopher.—5

*Millaud, Moïse* (1813-1871)—French banker, founder of a number of newspapers and banks.—43

*Minié, Claude Étienne* (1804-1879)—French army officer, inventor of a new type of rifle adopted by the French army in 1852.—165, 178, 180

*Mirès, Jules Isaac* (1809-1871)—French banker, owner of several newspapers.—43

*Mitchell*—British agent in Canton.—537, 538

*Mohammed-Amin*—Naib in the western part of the North Caucasus (the abadzekh tribe) (1848-59), directed the struggle of the mountaineers against Russia.—27

*Mohammed-Emin*—Khan of Khiva (1845-55).—62

*Moleschott, Jakob* (1822-1893)—Dutch physiologist and philosopher; taught in Germany, Switzerland and Italy.—473

*Molière* (real name *Jean Baptiste Poquelin*) (1622-1673)—French dramatist.—127

*Mollard*—Piedmontese general, commanded a division in the Italian war of 1859.—401

*Mon, Alejandro* (1801-1882)—Spanish politician, liberal, ambassador to France (1858-62).—483

*Montalembert, Charles Forbes René de Tryon, comte de* (1810-1870)—French politician and writer, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, Orleanist; leader of the Catholic circles; supported Louis Bonaparte during the coup d'état of December 2, 1851 but soon afterwards joined the opposition.—91-94, 122, 448

*Montesquiou-Fezensac, Anne Pierre, marquis de* (1739-1798)—French general, politician, Legitimist, took part in conquering Savoy in 1792.—584

*Montez, Lola* (1818-1861)—well-known adventuress, dancer, favourite of the Bavarian King Ludwig I in 1846-48; upon his abdication emigrated to London and in 1851 to the USA.—26

*Montijo*—see *Eugénie Marie Ignace Augustine de Montijo de Guzmán, comtesse de Teba*

*Moreau, Jean Victor Marie* (1763-1813)—French general; took part in the wars waged by the French Republic against European coalitions.—232

*Morny, Charles Auguste Louis Joseph, duc de* (1811-1865)—French politician, Bonapartist; an organiser of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; Minister of the Interior (December 1851-January 1852); President of the *Corps législatif* (1854-56, 1857-65), ambassador to Russia (1856-57); half brother of Napoleon III.—162, 170

*Möser, Justus* (1720-1794)—German historian and politician, one of the founders of the conservative-romantic trend in historiography.—217

*Mouravieff (Muravyev-Amursky), Nikolai Nikolayevich, Count* (1809-1881)—Russian general, statesman and diplomat; Governor-General of the Eastern Siberia in 1847-61.—514, 525

*Muley el Abbas (Muley-Abbas)* (d. 1885)—Prince of Morocco, commander-in-chief of the Moroccan army during the Spanish-Moroccan war of 1859-60.—550

*Murat, Antonia Maria, Princess von* (1793-1847)—mother of Prince Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen.—98

*Murat, Joachim* (1767-1815)—Marshal of France; participated in Napoleon I's campaigns; commander-in-chief of the French troops in Spain in 1808; King of Naples (1808-15).—98

*Murat, Napoléon Lucien Charles, prince* (1803-1878)—French politician,

Bonapartist, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic: son of Joachim Murat and cousin of Napoleon III.—151, 152, 289, 356

*Muravyev, N. N.*—see *Mouravieff, Nikolai Nikolayevich*

*Mustoxidis, Andreas* (1785-1860)—Greek scientist and politician; studied the history of the Ionian Islands.—132

N

*Naas, Richard Southwell Bourke, Earl of Mayo, Lord* (1822-1872)—Irish statesman, Conservative,Chief Secretary for Ireland (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68), Viceroy and Governor-General of India (1869-72).—134, 135

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—29, 41, 42, 52, 59, 103, 152, 164, 183, 184, 187, 197, 201, 220-23, 225, 227, 229, 230-33, 236, 237, 239, 244, 245, 252, 253, 259, 260, 262-64, 268, 269, 271-73, 315, 327, 330, 346, 347, 369, 377, 379, 384, 386, 387, 421, 426-28, 431-34, 436, 445-48, 502, 586, 587, 595-97, 602-05, 608

*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—Napoleon I's nephew; President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—43, 67, 91-95, 98, 110-12, 114, 120, 130, 133, 149-52, 154-56, 162-70, 171, 176, 177, 178, 181, 215, 245, 253, 254, 256-59, 261-65, 267-69, 271-74, 276, 277, 288, 291-94, 296-98, 302, 304-09, 312-15, 320, 322, 328, 330, 336, 341, 343, 347, 348, 352-58, 360-65, 369-71, 373, 377, 378, 379, 380-82, 384-86, 387, 388, 390, 392, 394, 396, 401, 403, 404, 407, 412-13, 416, 417, 419-22, 425, 426, 428, 430, 438, 440-48, 452-54, 460, 463, 464, 482-85, 497, 499-502, 504-07, 512, 532-34, 540, 546, 547, 557, 559, 571, 572, 576, 578, 581, 590, 595, 600-04, 606, 607, 609, 614-15, 621-23, 638

*Napoleon, Prince*—see *Bonaparte, Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul*

*Nasrulla Khan* (d. 1860)—Emir of the Khanate of Bukhara (1826-60).—63, 64

*Nesselrode, Karl Vasilyevich, Count* (1780-1862)—Russian statesman and diplomat, Foreign Minister (1816-56); State Chancellor from 1845.—608

*Nessler*—French army officer, inventor of a new rifle projectile (1857).—165

*Newmarch, William* (1820-1882)—English economist and statistician.—202, 203

*Ney, Michel, duc d'Elchingen* (1769-1815)—Marshal of France, participant in Napoleon I's campaigns; fought in the war in Spain from 1808 to 1811.—223

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—50, 51, 60, 61, 72, 96, 121, 131, 145, 146, 431, 515, 516, 605, 606, 609, 610

*Niebuhr, Barthold Georg* (1776-1831)—German historian of antiquity.—72

*Niebuhr, Markus Carsten Nikolaus von* (1817-1860)—Prussian official, Frederick William IV's retainer, secretary of the King's Cabinet (1851-57); son of Barthold Georg Niebuhr.—72

*Niel, Adolphe* (1802-1869)—French general and later marshal; commanded a corps in the Italian war of 1859.—170, 302, 330, 361, 362, 364, 365, 369, 373, 374, 376, 399, 401

*Nonnotte, Claude François* (1711-1793)—French writer, Jesuit, literary opponent of Voltaire.—380

*Nugent, Laval, Count of Westmeath* (1777-1862)—Austrian field marshal (from November 1849); took part in the suppression of the national liberation movement in Italy in 1848 and in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849; fought in the Italian war of 1859.—185, 228, 321, 574

O

*O'Donnell y Jorris, Leopoldo, conde de Lucena y duque de Tetuán* (1809-1867)—Spanish general and politician, a leader of the Moderado Party; made attempts to use revolutionary

crisis in the country to establish military dictatorship in 1854; as War Minister directed the suppression of the 1854-56 revolution; head of government (1856-57, 1858-63, 1865-66); commander-in-chief of the Spanish expeditionary army during the Spanish-Moroccan war of 1859-60.—548, 549, 550-54, 556, 561-65

*Orges, Hermann von* (1821-1874)—German journalist, an editor of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* from 1854 to 1864.—571, 576

*Orléans, Hélène Louise Elisabeth, duchesse d'* (1814-1858)—Princess of Mecklenburg, widow of Ferdinand, Louis Philippe's elder son.—42

*Orlov, Alexei Fyodorovich, Prince* (1786-1861)—Russian general and statesman, diplomat; headed the Russian delegation at the Paris Congress (1856); President of the State Council and the Committee of Ministers (from 1856); President of the Secret (from 1856) and (from 1858) of the Chief Peasant Question Committee, opposed the abolition of serfdom.—446

*Orsini, Felice* (1819-1858)—Italian revolutionary, democrat and republican, prominent in the struggle for Italy's national liberation and unification; executed for an attempt on Napoleon III's life.—163, 167, 262, 263, 265, 380, 381, 448

*Overstone, Samuel Jones Loyd, Baron* (from 1860) (1796-1883)—English banker, Whig, inspirer of Robert Peel's financial policy and, in particular, of his English Bank Act of 1844.—3, 4

P

*Palmer, William* (1824-1856)—English physician; so as to receive insurance money he poisoned his wife, brother and friend, for which he was sentenced to death by hanging.—15

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman, Tory, Whig from 1830; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-65).—3, 46, 47, 49, 60, 87, 89, 120, 129, 263, 265, 410, 418, 421, 447, 448, 455, 464, 482, 484, 498, 509-16, 520-23, 525, 546, 606, 637

*Parma, Duchess of*—see *Louise de Bourbon, Marie Thérèse*

*Parry, John Humffreys* (1816-1880)—English serjeant-at-law.—133

*Patow, Erasmus Robert, Baron von* (1804-1890)—Prussian statesman, Minister of Trade, Industry and Public Works (from April to June 1848), Finance Minister (1858-62).—97, 104, 106

*Peel, Sir Robert* (1788-1850)—British statesman, moderate Tory, Home Secretary (1822-27, 1828-30), Prime Minister (1834-35, 1841-46); repealed the Corn Laws in 1846.—3-6, 33, 35, 137, 511, 513

*Pélissier, Aimable Jean Jacques* (1794-1864)—Marshal of France, took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s-early 1850s; ambassador to Britain (1858-59); commander of the army of observation at Nancy in 1859.—312, 438, 448

*Perceval, Spencer* (1762-1812)—British statesman, Tory, Chancellor of the Exchequer (1807-09), Prime Minister (1809-12).—71

*Perczel, Mór* (1811-1899)—Hungarian general; took part in the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Turkey and in 1851 to England; returned to Hungary in 1867.—503

*Péreire, Isaac* (1806-1880)—French banker, Bonapartist, deputy to the *Corps législatif*; in 1852, together with his brother Émile Péreire, founded the joint-stock bank *Crédit Mobilier*; author of works on credit.—160, 161, 288

*Périer, Casimir* (1777-1832)—French statesman, banker; Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior under Louis Philippe (1831-32).—44

*Perovsky, Vasily Alexeyevich, Count* (1795-1857)—Russian general, Military Governor of Orenburg (1833-42),

Governor-General of Orenburg and Samara gubernias (1851-57); commanded a military expedition to Khiva in 1839-40.—60, 62

*Persigny, Jean Gilbert Victor Fialin, comte* (1808-1872)—French statesman, Bonapartist, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); an organiser of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, Minister of the Interior (1852-54, 1860-63), ambassador to Britain (1855-58, 1859-60).—170

*Peter I (the Great)* (1672-1725)—Russian Tsar from 1682, Emperor of Russia from 1721.—60, 61, 139, 140, 147, 415, 605, 608, 610

*Pfeil, Count von*—Prussian Junker, member of the Prussian Provincial Diet.—104

*Philipson, Grigory Ivanovich* (1809-1883)—Russian general; took part in conquering the Caucasus.—23

*Pianori, Giovanni* (1827-1855)—Italian revolutionary; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Italy and in the defence of the Roman Republic against the French invaders; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Piedmont and then to France; executed for an attempt on Napoleon III's life in May 1855.—163

*Picard*—French general, commanded a brigade in the Italian war of 1859.—374

*Pitt, William* (1759-1806)—British statesman, Tory, Prime Minister (1783-1801, 1804-06).—545

*Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti)* (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—141, 151, 153, 228, 267, 271, 273, 356, 408, 412, 418-19, 483, 577, 601

*Plato* (c. 427-c. 347 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—167, 168

*Platonoff (Platonov), Alexander Platonovich*—Russian major, District Marshal of Nobility, in 1858 Vice-President of the St. Petersburg Nobility Committee for Preparing the Peasant Reform of 1861.—144

*Plon-Plon*—see *Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul*

*Poèrio, Carlo* (1803-1867)—Italian politician, liberal, participant in the national liberation movement; in 1848 Prefect of Police and Minister of Education in Naples; in 1849-59 was imprisoned in Italy.—154

*Polignac, Jules Auguste Armand Marie, prince de* (1780-1847)—French statesman of the Restoration, Legitimist and clerical; Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister (1829-30).—604, 608

*Pölitz, Karl Heinrich Ludwig* (1772-1838)—German historian.—629

*Pompignan, Jean Jacques Lefranc, marquis de* (1709-1784)—French poet, literary opponent of Voltaire.—380

*Porcia, Alphonse Séraphin, comte d'Ortenbourg, Mitterbourg, Porcia et Brugnera* (1801-c. 1878)—Italian aristocrat.—149

*Pottinger, Sir Henry* (1789-1856)—British diplomat and military figure, ambassador to China (1841-42); in 1842 commanded British troops in the first Opium war with China, Governor of Hong Kong (1843-44), the Cape of Good Hope (1846-47) and Madras (1847-54).—28, 537

*Prim y Prats, Juan, conde de Reus, marqués de los Castillejos* (1814-1870)—Spanish general and politician; in the Spanish-Moroccan war of 1859-60 commanded a division and then a corps.—549, 552-54, 556

*Prince of Prussia*—see *William I*

*Princess of Weimar, Princess of Prussia*—see *Augusta Marie Luise Katharina*

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist, a founder of anarchism; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848).—355, 448

*Pückler, Erdmann, Count von* (1792-1869)—Prussian Minister of Agriculture (1858-62).—104

*Pückler-Muskau, Hermann Ludwig Heinrich, Prince von* (1785-1871)—German writer.—104

*Puky, Miklós* (1806-1887)—Hungarian politician, deputy to the Hungarian Parliament and commissar of the revolutionary government during the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; emigrated after the defeat of the

revolution; returned to Hungary after the 1867 amnesty.—503

*Pulszky, Ferenc* (1814-1897)—Hungarian politician, writer and archaeologist, a Pole by birth; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; emigrated after the defeat of the revolution, contributed to the *New-York Daily Tribune* in the 1850s; returned to Hungary after the 1867 amnesty; deputy to the Diet (1867-76 and 1884-97).—328, 503

*Pyat, Félix* (1810-1889)—French journalist, dramatist and politician; petty-bourgeois democrat, took part in the 1848 revolution; was against an independent working-class movement; member of the Paris Commune (1871); conducted a slander campaign against Marx and the International.—41, 42, 44, 45

R

*Racine, Jean Baptiste* (1639-1699)—French dramatist.—627

*Radetzky, Joseph, Count of Radetz* (1766-1858)—Austrian field marshal; commanded the Austrian forces in Northern Italy from 1831; suppressed the national liberation movement in Italy in 1848-49; Governor-General of the Kingdom of Lombardy and Venice (1850-56).—154, 178, 185, 186, 228-30, 276, 322, 362, 378, 423, 574

*Radowitz, Joseph Maria von* (1797-1853)—Prussian general and statesman; a Right-wing leader in the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848-49.—216, 235, 236, 238, 240, 246, 270, 405

*Ramming, Wilhelm, Baron von Riedkirchen* (1815-1876)—Austrian general, commanded a brigade in the Italian war of 1859.—374

*Raspail, François Vincent* (1794-1878)—French naturalist and writer, socialist close to the revolutionary proletariat; took part in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; deputy to the Constituent Assembly.—44

*Rau, Karl Heinrich* (1792-1870)—German economist.—446

*Raumer, Friedrich Ludwig Georg von* (1781-1873)—German historian and politician.—313

*Rea, John* (1822-1881)—Irish politician, member of the "Young Ireland" society.—136

*Rechberg und Rothenlöwen, Johann Bernhard, Count von* (1806-1899)—Austrian statesman and diplomat, conservative; Prime Minister (1859-60) and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1859-64).—312, 454-59

*Redgrave, Alexander, Esquire*—inspector of factories in England.—206-08

*Reed, William Bradford* (1806-1876)—American lawyer, diplomat and author; United States Minister to China (1857-58).—85

*Reichensperger, August* (1808-1895)—German lawyer and politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848-49; from 1852 leader of the Catholic deputies in the Prussian Provincial Diet.—118

*Reimer, Georg Ernst* (1804-1885)—German book publisher, conservative, deputy to the Prussian Provincial Diet.—115

*Reischach, Sigmund, Baron von* (1809-1878)—Austrian general, commanded a division in the Italian war of 1859.—372-76

*Reiset, Gustave Armand Henri, comte de* (1821-1905)—French diplomat; in 1859, while ambassador at Darmstadt, was sent with a special mission to Victor Emmanuel II for concluding the Peace Treaty of Zurich.—485

*Renault, Pierre Hippolyte Publius* (1807-1870)—French general, took part in conquering Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s; commanded a division in the Italian war of 1859.—275, 374, 376, 399

*Reynolds, George William MacArthur* (1814-1879)—British politician and journalist, founder of *Reynolds's Newspaper*.—411

*Reyscher, August Ludwig* (1802-1880)—Württemberg politician, lawyer, advocate of Germany's unification under

Prussia's supremacy, one of the founders of the National Union.—405
*Richardson, Jonathan*—manager of the Northumberland and Durham District Bank.—36
*Richelieu, Armand Jean Du Plessis, duc de* (1585-1642)—French statesman in the period of absolutism, Cardinal.—532
*Richmond, Charles Lennox, Duke of* (1735-1806)—British politician, Tory M.P.—545
*Riehl, Wilhelm Heinrich von* (1823-1897)—German historian of literature and writer, professor in Munich.—466
*Rios, Diego de los*—Spanish general; in the Spanish-Moroccan war of 1859-60 commanded a division and later a corps.—554, 561, 563
*Ristori, Adelaide* (1822-1906)—famous Italian actress.—122
*Robespierre, Augustin Bon Joseph de* (1763-1794)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, Jacobin; brother of Maximilien Robespierre.—597
*Rodbertus-Jagetzow, Johann Karl* (1805-1875)—German economist, head of the Left Centre in the Prussian National Assembly in 1848; subsequently, theoretician of "state socialism".—74, 115
*Roden* (d. 1859)—Austrian general, commanded a brigade in the Italian war of 1859.—385, 427
*Roebuck, John Arthur* (1801-1879)—British politician and journalist, radical M.P.—202, 204
*Rolland*—Italian colonel, commanded the Brigade of Savoy.—122, 165
*Romanoffs* (*Romanovs*)—dynasty of Russian tsars and emperors (1613-1917).—131
*Rónay, Jácint* (*János*) (1814-1889)—Hungarian scientist and writer; took part in the 1848-49 revolution, emigrated after its defeat; in 1866 returned to Hungary, member of the Hungarian Diet.—503
*Ros de Olano, Antonio* (1808-1886)—Spanish general and politician, belonged to the Moderado Party, participant in the 1854-56 revolution; commanded a corps in the Spanish-Moroccan war of 1859-60.—553
*Rossbach*—Austrian army officer, commanded a regiment in the Italian war of 1859.—429
*Rössler, Constantin* (1820-1896)—German writer, professor of Jena University.—269
*Rothschild, Anselm, Baron von* (1803-1874)—Austrian banker, head of the Rothschild banking house in Vienna from 1855.—325
*Rothschild, James, baron de* (1792-1868)—head of the Rothschild banking house in Paris.—288
*Rothschild, Lionel Nathan, Baron* (1808-1879)—head of the Rothschild banking house in London; Whig M.P. from 1858.—304
*Rothschilds*—dynasty of bankers with banks in many European countries.—67, 273
*Rouher, Eugène* (1814-1884)—French lawyer and statesman, Minister of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works (1855-63).—112, 113
*Rousseau, Jean Jacques* (1712-1778)—French philosopher and writer of the Enlightenment.—267
*Russell, John, Earl* (1792-1878)—British statesman, a Whig leader; Prime Minister (1846-52, 1865-66), Foreign Secretary (1852-53, 1859-65), President of the Council (1854-55).—202-04, 462-64, 482, 483, 511, 557, 616

S

*Saint-Arnaud, Armand Jacques Achille Leroy de* (1801-1854)—Marshal of France, Bonapartist; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s; an organiser of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; War Minister (1851-54); commander-in-chief of the French army in the Crimea (1854).—170
*Saint Mon*—see *Mon, Alejandro*
*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—43

*Sardanapalus*—see *Assurbanipal*
*Savoy*—Italian ruling dynasty.—418, 484
*Schaffgotsch, Johann Franz, Count* (1792-1866)—Austrian general, commanded a corps in the Italian war of 1859.—397
*Schérer, Barthélemy Louis Joseph* (1747-1804)—French general and statesman, took part in France's wars in Italy in 1795-96 and 1799; War Minister (1797-99).—597
*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—98, 572, 627
*Schleinitz, Alexander, Baron von* (1807-1885)—Prussian statesman, Minister of Foreign Affairs (June 1848, 1849-50, 1858-61).—96, 103, 268, 312, 405, 450-64
*Schlick, zu Bassano und Weisskirchen, Franz Heinrich, Count* (1789-1862)—Austrian general, commanded the 2nd Army in the Italian war of 1859.—387, 489
*Schönhals, Karl, Baron von* (1788-1857)—Austrian general and military writer; took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Italy.—185
*Schott, Sigmund* (1818-1895)—Württemberg writer and politician, advocate of Germany's unification under Prussia's supremacy, a founder of the National Union.—405
*Schulze-Delitzsch, Franz Hermann* (1808-1883)—German economist and liberal politician, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848 and member of the Second Chamber in 1849; advocate of Germany's unification under Prussia's supremacy; a founder of the National Union, a leader of the Progressist Party in the 1860s; tried to detract workers from the revolutionary struggle by organising cooperative societies.—638
*Schurz, Karl* (1829-1906)—German democrat, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland and in 1852 to the USA, took part in the American Civil War; later US ambassador to Spain, Senator and Home Minister.—625
*Schwarzenberg, Edmund Leopold Friedrich, Prince zu* (1803-1873)—Austrian general, commanded a corps in the Italian war of 1859.—335, 397
*Schwarzenberg, Felix, Prince of* (1800-1852)—Austrian conservative statesman and diplomat; Prime Minister and Foreign Minister (from November 1848 to 1852).—96, 404, 543
*Scott, Sir Walter* (1771-1832)—Scottish poet and novelist.—74
*Seebach, Albin Leo, Baron von* (1811-1884)—Saxon diplomat, envoy to Paris (1852-70); in 1858 was in St. Petersburg with a diplomatic mission.—150, 446
*Sepher Pasha* (*Sepher Bey*)—Circassian prince; being in the Turkish service, took part in the Russo-Turkish war (1826-28); directed the Circassians' military operations against Russia in 1855-59.—22-24, 25, 27
*Sérurier, Jean Matthieu Philibert, comte* (1742-1819)—French general, from 1804 marshal; took part in the wars of the French Republic against European coalitions and in Napoleon I's campaigns.—597
*Servius Tullius* (578-534 B.C.)—sixth Roman Tsar.—81
*Seymour, George Hamilton* (1797-1880)—British diplomat; envoy to St. Petersburg (1851-54), envoy extraordinary to Austria (1855-58).—606, 609
*Seymour, Sir Michael* (1802-1887)—British admiral; rear admiral of the Baltic Fleet in 1854-56; commanded the navy in the second Opium war with China (1856-58).—522
*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English dramatist and poet.—69, 102, 137, 259, 344, 373, 450, 457, 463, 489, 523, 544, 629
*Shuvalov, Pavel Andreyevich, Count* (1830-1908)—Russian military figure and diplomat; took part in the Crimean war of 1853-56; adjutant general of Alexander II; Russia's military representative in Napoleon III's army

during the Italian war of 1859.—607

*Shuwaloff (Shuvalov), Pyotr Pavlovich, Count* (b. 1824)—St. Petersburg Gubernia Marshal of the Nobility; President of the St. Petersburg Nobility Committee for Preparing the Peasant Reform of 1861.—145

*Sidi Mohammed* (1803-1873)—Emperor of Morocco (1859-73).—565

*Siegel, Franz Ludwig* (1812-1877)—German journalist and lawyer, editor of the *Sächsische Konstitutionelle Zeitung*; advocate of Germany's unification under Prussia's supremacy; a founder of the National Union.—638

*Sieyès, Emmanuel Joseph* (1748-1836)—French abbot; prominent figure in the French Revolution of 1789; deputy to the Convention, moderate constitutionalist (Feuillant).—102, 461

*Simon, Jules François Simon Suisse* (1814-1896)—French statesman and idealist philosopher; moderate republican, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49), member of the *Corps législatif*.—613

*Simonich, Ivan Stepanovich, Count* (1792-1855)—Russian general, a Serb by birth; envoy to Teheran (1832-39).—516

*Simons, Ludwig* (1803-1870)—German lawyer; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848; Minister of Justice (1849-60).—104

*Simonyi, Ernő* (1821-1882)—Hungarian politician, participant in the 1848-49 revolution; after its defeat emigrated; deputy to the Hungarian Diet in 1861.—503

*Simpson*—the *Times* financial observer.—304

*Slater*—partner of a big London firm, Morrison, Dillon & Co.—10

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—476

*Sobieski, John (Jan)* (1624-1696)—King of Poland (1674-96); in 1683 commanded the combined Polish and Austro-German forces and defeated the Turkish army at Vienna.—38

*Socrates* (c. 469-c. 399 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—455

*Sonnaz*—see *Gerbaix de Sonnaz, Maurizio*

*Sophia (Sophie)* (1805-1872)—Archduchess of Austria; mother of Emperor Francis Joseph I.—57, 501

*Stadion, Philipp, Count* (1799-1868)—Austrian general, commanded a corps in the Italian war of 1859.—332, 333, 335, 338, 339, 347, 349, 397

*Stahl, Friedrich Julius* (1802-1861)—German lawyer and politician; from 1840 professor of Berlin University.—160

*Stanley, Edward Henry, Earl of Derby* (1826-1893)—British statesman, Tory, Conservative in the 1860s and 1870s, then Liberal; Colonial Secretary (1858, 1882-85) and Secretary of State for India (1858-59), Foreign Secretary (1866-68, 1874-78); son of Edward Derby.—279, 280

*Stein, Julius* (1813-1889)—Silesian teacher and journalist; in 1848 deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing), deputy to the Second Chamber (extreme Left wing) (1849).—115

*Stein, Lorenz von* (1815-1890)—German lawyer, historian and economist; author of works on the socialist movement, advocate of "social monarchy".—466

*Stein, Maximilian, Baron* (1811-1860)—Austrian army officer; during the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary was Chief of the General Staff of the revolutionary army; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Turkey, where he assumed the name of Ferhad Pasha; fought against Russia in Circassia (1857-58).—22, 26

*Stéphanie Louise Adrienne (née Beauharnais)* (1789-1860)—Grand Duchess of Baden from 1811.—99

*Stephanie, Princess* (1837-1859)—wife of King Pedro V of Portugal, daughter of Prince Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen.—56, 99

*Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882)—Prussian police officer, an organiser of and chief witness for the prosecution in

the Cologne Communist trial (1852); later chief of the Prussian political police.—461

*Stock, Franciszek*—Polish refugee, officer of the Turkish army.—21, 24, 27

*Stoddart, Charles* (1806-1842)—British diplomat and army officer; in 1838 was appointed envoy to Bukhara, where he was arrested and killed.—61

*Straubenzee*—see *Van Straubenzee, Sir Charles Thomas*

*Strauss, Johann* (1825-1899)—Austrian composer and conductor.—322

*Stuart, Lord Dudley Coutts* (1803-1854)—British politician, Whig M. P.; was connected with Polish and Hungarian emigrants.—498

*Suetonius* (*Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus*) (c. 70-c. 160)—Roman historian and writer, author of *The Twelve Caesars*.—157, 344

*Suvorov, Alexander Vasilyevich, Count Suvorov Rimniksky, Prince Italiisky* (c. 1729-1800)—Russian general.—221, 222

*Szabó, Imre* (1820-1865)—Hungarian army officer, participant in the 1848-49 revolution; War Minister (1848); after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to London; took part in the Italian war of 1859.—503

*Szabó, István* (1825-1862)—Hungarian army officer, participant in the 1848-49 revolution; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated.—503

*Szemere, Bertalan* (1812-1869)—Hungarian politician and journalist; Minister of the Interior (1848) and head of the revolutionary government (1849); fled from Hungary after the defeat of the revolution.—503

T

*Tacitus, Cornelius* (c. 55-c. 120)—Roman historian and orator.—42

*Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice, prince de* (1754-1838)—French diplomat; Foreign Minister (1797-99, 1799-1807, 1814-15); represented France at the Vienna Congress (1814-15).—604

*Tao Kuang* (1782-1850)—Chinese Emperor (1820-50).—16, 17, 19

*Teleki, László, Count* (1811-1861)—Hungarian politician and writer; represented the Hungarian Republic in France during the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; after the defeat of the revolution remained in France.—503

*Teleki, Sándor, Count* (1821-1892)—Hungarian army officer, participant in the 1848-49 revolution; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated.—500, 503

*Thalmayr* (*Emin Agha*)—Hungarian refugee in Turkey.—23

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836, 1840), deputy to the Constituent (1848) and Legislative (1849-51) Assemblies; head of the Orleanists after 1848; suppressed the Paris Commune (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73).—42, 169

*Thoré, Étienne Joseph Théophile* (1807-1869)—French politician, lawyer and journalist, democrat; took an active part in the 1848 revolution; emigrated to England; returned to France after the 1859 amnesty.—44

*Thouvenel, Édouard Antoine* (1818-1866)—French diplomat, ambassador to Turkey (1855-60), Foreign Minister (1860-62).—26

*Thun-Hohenstein, Leo, Count von* (1811-1888)—Austrian statesman of Czech descent; one of the closest counsellors of Francis Joseph I; Minister of Religious Worship and Education (1849-60).—422

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*Titus*—German politician, lawyer, advocate of Germany's unification under Prussia's supremacy; a founder of the National Union.—638

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*Türr, István* (*Ahmet Kiamil Bey*) (1825-1908)—Hungarian army officer, refugee in Turkey; participant in the Italian national liberation movement and in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; fought in the Crimean war on the side of the Allies and in the Circassians' war against Russia.—22, 23, 25-27

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*Unruh, Hans Victor von* (1806-1886)—Prussian engineer and politician; in 1848 a leader of the Left Centre in the Prussian National Assembly; President of this Assembly from October 1848; deputy to the Second Chamber (Left wing) in 1849; subsequently a founder of the Progressist Party, then a national-liberal.—75, 115

*Urban, Karl, Baron von* (1802-1877)—Romanian colonel, later general for the Austrians; Right-wing leader of the Romanian national movement in Transylvania (1848-49); took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; commanded a division in the Italian war of 1859.—351, 352

*Urquhart, David* (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician, Turkophile; went on diplomatic missions to Turkey in the 1830s; Tory M.P. (1847-1852); opposed Palmerston's policy.—410, 415, 498, 603

*Usedom, Karl Georg Ludwig Guido, Count von* (1805-1884)—Prussian diplomat, Plenipotentiary in the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848) and in the Federal Diet in Frankfurt am Main (1858-59).—343-44

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*Vaillant, Jean Baptiste Philibert, comte* (1790-1872)—Marshal of France, Senator, Bonapartist; War Minister (1854-59); Chief of General Staff during the Italian war of 1859.—430

*Van Straubenzee, Sir Charles Thomas* (1812-1892)—British general, in 1855-56 commanded a British brigade in the Crimea and in 1857-60 the British troops in the second Opium war with China.—48

*Vauban, Sébastien Le Prêtre* (*Prestre*) *de* (1633-1707)—Marshal of France, military engineer; author of a number of books on fortification and siege-works.—242, 243, 247, 251

*Veit, Moritz* (1808-1864)—German book publisher, liberal, deputy to the Prussian Provincial Diet.—115

*Venedey, Jakob* (1805-1871)—German radical journalist and politician; in 1848 deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing); liberal after the 1848-49 revolution.—404, 405, 447

*Veress, Sándor* (1828-1884)—Hungarian historian and journalist, participant in the 1848-49 revolution; after the revolution emigrated.—26, 503

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*Veuillot, Louis François* (1813-1883)—French journalist, editor-in-chief of the Catholic newspaper *L'Univers* (1848-60).—42

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*Vischer, Friedrich Theodor* (1807-1887)—Württemberg politician and poet; member of the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848); advocate of Germany's unification under Prussia's supremacy, took part in founding the National Union.—405

*Vitkavich, Ivan Viktorovich* (c. 1810-1839)—Russian army officer, diplomatic representative in Afghanistan (1837-38).—515

*Vogt, Karl* (1817-1895)—German natural scientist, materialist, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five imperial regents in June 1849; emigrated in 1849; was exposed by Marx as an agent of Louis Bonaparte in his work *Herr Vogt* (1860).—317, 380, 381, 384, 473, 590, 627

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*Vukovics, Sebö* (1811-1872)—Hungarian politician, Minister of Justice of the revolutionary government (1849); after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to London, maintained contacts with Kossuth.—503

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*Walewski, Alexandre Florian Joseph Colonna, comte* (1810-1868)—French diplomat and statesman, son of Napoleon I and the Polish Countess Marie Walewska; participant in the Polish uprising of 1830-31; emigrated to France after its defeat; French Foreign Minister (1855-60); chairman of the Paris Congress (1856).—307, 441, 460, 483, 557, 633

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*Walpole, Spencer Horatio* (*Horace*) (1806-1898)—British statesman, Tory, Home Secretary (1852, 1858-59, 1866-67).—205

*Ward, Sir Henry George* (1797-1860)—British colonial official, Whig; Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands (1849-55), Governor of Ceylon (1855-60) and Madras (1860).—131, 132

*Watson, Henry* (1737-1786)—British engineer, colonel; from 1764 was in the service of the East India Company; chief engineer of Bengal.—15

*Weguelin, Thomas Matthias*—British businessman, liberal M.P., a Governor of the Bank of England in 1857.—7, 9

*Welden, Franz Ludwig, Baron von* (1782-1853)—Austrian Master of Ordnance; took part in the campaign against the national liberation movement in Italy in 1848; commandant of Vienna after the suppression of the October 1848 uprising; commander-in-chief of the Austrian troops fighting against the Hungarian revolution (April and May 1849).—229

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*Wernhardt, Stephan Wilhelm, Baron von* (1806-1869)—Austrian general, commanded a corps in the Italian war of 1859.—429

*Werther, Karl, Baron von* (1809-1894)—Prussian diplomat, ambassador to Austria (1859-66, 1866-69).—382, 453-58

*Westphalen, Ferdinand Otto Wilhelm Henning von* (1799-1876)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1850-58); stepbrother of Jenny Marx, Karl Marx's wife.—70, 77, 103

*Wetzlar, Gustav* (1813-1881)—Austrian general, commanded a brigade in the Italian war of 1859.—374

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*Whitworth, Charles, Earl* (1752-1825)—British diplomat, ambassador to Paris (1802-May 1803).—263

*William I* (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, Prince Regent (1858-61), King of Prussia (1861-88) and Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—57, 65-67, 70-72, 74, 75, 78-79, 97, 107, 117-19, 121, 126-28, 287, 289, 344, 381, 394, 405, 452-54, 458, 460

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*Williams, Sir William Fenwick, Baronet "of Kars"* (1800-1883)—British general; in 1855, during the Crimean war, directed the defence of Kars, M.P. (1856-59).—447

*Willisen, Friedrich Adolf, Baron von* (1798-1864)—Prussian general, took part in suppressing the revolutionary and national liberation movement in Italy in 1848-49; Prussian ambassador to Italy (1862-64).—320, 454-55, 458, 461

*Willisen, Karl Wilhelm, Baron von* (1790-1879)—Prussian general and military theorist, royal commissioner in Posen in 1848; was in the Austrian army that suppressed the revolutionary and national liberation movement in Italy in 1848-49; in 1850 commander-in-chief of the Schleswig-Holstein army in the war against Denmark.—216, 234, 238, 244, 246, 320

*Wilson, James* (1805-1860)—Scottish economist and politician, Free Trader, founder and editor of the journal *The Economist*, M.P., Financial Secretary to the Treasury (1853-58), Chancellor of the Indian Exchequer (1859-60); opposed the quantitative theory of money.—4, 28, 284, 518

*Wimpffen, Franz Emil Lorenz, Count* (1797-1870) — Austrian general, commanded the 1st army in the Italian war of 1859.—331, 387, 429

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*Wolff, Christian, Baron von* (1679-1754)—German philosopher and mathematician.—473

*Wolff, Sir Henry Drummond Charles* (1830-1908)—British politician and diplomat, Private Secretary to the Secretary for the Colonies (1858), Secretary to Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands (1859-64).—131

*Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus)* (1809-1864)—German teacher, proletarian revolutionary, leading figure in the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848 and 1849; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—624

*Wood, Sir Charles, Viscount Halifax* (1800-1885)—British statesman, Whig; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1846-52), President of the Board of Control for India (1852-55), First Lord of the Admiralty (1855-58), Secretary of State for India (1859-66).—4

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*Yeh Ming-chin* (1807-1859)—Chinese statesman, Imperial Commissioner, Governor-General of Kwangtung and Kwangsi (1852-57).—83

*York, Frederick Augustus, Duke of York and Albany, Earl of Ulster* (1763-1827)—second son of George III of Great Britain; field marshal from 1795; commander-in-chief of the British army (1798-1809, 1811-27).—71

*Young, Sir John, Baron Lisgar* (1807-1876)—British statesman, Tory; Chief Secretary for Ireland (1852-55), Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands (1855-59).—129, 131

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*Zabala y de la Puente, Juan de* (1804-1879)—Spanish general, belonged to the Moderado Party, participant in the 1854-56 revolution; commanded a corps in the Spanish-Moroccan war of 1859-60.—549, 553

*Zabel, Friedrich* (1802-1875)—German journalist, editor of the Berlin *National-Zeitung* (1848-75).—79, 450, 638

*Zais*—German liberal politician and physician, advocate of Germany's unification under Prussia's supremacy; took part in founding the National Union.—404-05

*Ziegler, Franz Wilhelm* (1803-1876)—Württemberg politician; in 1848 member of the Prussian National Assembly and then of the Second Chamber; advocate of Germany's unification under Prussia's supremacy; took part in founding the National Union.—405

*Zobel, Thomas Friedrich, Baron* (1799-1869)—Austrian general, commanded a corps in the Italian war of 1859.—335, 372, 397, 423

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*Allgemeine Preussische Zeitung*—a government daily published in Berlin from 1853 to 1859.—117

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*Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*—a semi-official government newspaper of a constitutional-monarchist trend; it appeared in Berlin from 1740 to 1874 six times a week; also called *Spenersche Zeitung* after its publisher.—313

*Le Constitutionnel*—a daily published in Paris from 1815 to 1817 and from 1819 to 1870; during the 1848 revolution it voiced the views of the monarchist bourgeoisie (Thiers' party) and after the coup d'état of 1851 became a Bonapartist newspaper.—44, 111, 113, 169, 171-76, 277, 296, 303, 485

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*Journal de Constantinople*—a French-language Turkish newspaper published from 1846; it was subsidised by the Turkish Government but was actually the vehicle of French influence; it appeared six times a month.—24
*Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*—a daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1944; organ of the moderate Orleanist opposition after the coup d'état of 1851.—42

*Kölnische Zeitung*—a daily published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; it took an anti-revolutionary stand and attacked the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49; it expressed the interests of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie in the 1850s.—313

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*Neue Preussische Zeitung*—a conservative daily published in Berlin from June 1848 to 1939; organ of the Prussian Junkers and Court circles; it was also known as the *Kreuz-Zeitung* because the heading contained a cross bearing the device "Forward with God for King and Fatherland!"—106, 125, 161, 265, 269, 312, 320, 324, 335, 344, 428, 451, 452, 462

*New-York Daily Tribune*—a newspaper founded by Horace Greeley in 1841 and published until 1924; organ of the Left wing of the American Whigs until the mid-1850s and later of the Republican Party; it voiced progressive views and opposed Negro slavery in the 1840s and 1850s; Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862.—7, 12, 16, 20-23, 27, 32, 36, 40, 45, 50, 53, 58, 64, 69, 73, 77, 81, 86, 90, 95, 100, 105, 109, 114, 119, 124, 128, 133, 138, 147, 153, 157, 161, 166, 170, 176, 182, 189, 196, 201, 205, 210, 257, 260, 262, 266, 270, 273, 278, 286, 289, 294, 298, 302, 306, 309, 314, 319, 326-27, 331, 332, 337, 338, 340, 345, 349-53, 359, 363, 368, 371, 379, 388, 391, 396, 399, 409, 414, 415, 420, 437, 438, 444, 480, 481, 486, 490, 491, 494-97, 500, 503, 507, 524, 531, 535, 539, 544, 547, 551, 556, 560, 566, 621

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*Ost-Deutsche Post*—a moderate liberal daily published in Vienna from 1848 to 1866.—572

*The Overland Friend of China*—an English official newspaper published in Victoria (Hong Kong) from 1842 to 1859.—14

*La Patrie. Journal du commerce, de l'agriculture, de l'industrie, de la littérature, des sciences et des arts*—a daily published in Paris from 1841; it spoke for the Party of Order (the monarchist bourgeoisie) in 1850 and later took a Bonapartist stand.—44, 288, 294, 440

*Le Pays. Journal de l'Empire*—a daily founded in Paris in 1849; semi-official organ of Napoleon III's Government from 1852 to 1870.—44

*Peking Gazette*—the name given to *King Pao*, the official organ of the Chinese Government, published from 1644 to 1911.—509

*Pensiero ed Azione*—a bimonthly organ of the Italian democrats edited by Giuseppe Mazzini; it was published in London in 1858 and 1859, and in Lugano and Genoa in 1860.—503

*The People's Paper*—a Chartist weekly published by Ernest Jones in London from 1852 to 1858; Marx and Engels contributed to it from October 1852 to December 1856 and helped with its editing; in June 1858 it fell into the hands of bourgeois dealers.—410, 411

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# GLOSSARY OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES *

| | |
|---|---|
| Aix-la-Chapelle | Aachen |
| Akmetchet | Kzyl-Orda |
| Amoy | Szeming |
| Arquata | Arquata Scrivia |
| Astrabad | Gurgan |
| Austerlitz | Slavkov |
| Barmen | Wuppertal |
| Belgiojoso | Belgioioso |
| Blidah | Blida |
| Boffalora | Boffalora sopra Ticino |
| Breslau | Wrocław |
| Bruneck | Brunico |
| Brünn | Brno |
| Candia | Crete |
| Canton | Kwangchow |
| Canton River | Chu-Kiang (Pearl River) |
| Casale | Casale Monferrato |
| Castiglione | Castiglione delle Stiviere |
| Chalon | Chalon-sur-Saône |
| Châlons | Châlons-sur-Marne |
| Constantinople | Istanbul |
| Cracow | Kraków |
| Danzig | Gdańsk |
| Desenzano | Desenzano del Garda |
| Dunkirk | Dunkerque |
| Eckmühl | Eggmühl |
| Elberfeld | Wuppertal |
| Elbing | Elblag |
| Fiume | Rijeka |
| Fu-chow | Foochow (Fu-chau, Minhow) |
| Giudicaria | Giudicàrie |
| Gravellona | Gravellona Toce |
| Groppello | Groppello Cairoli |
| Hong Kong | Hsiang-Kiang |
| Ivangorod | Dęblin |
| Jaxartes | Syr Darya |
| Kalisch | Kalisz |
| Karabulak | Karabutak |
| Khojend | Leninabad |
| Khokan | Kokand (Khokand) |
| Komorn | Komárno (Komárom) |
| Königsberg | Kaliningrad |
| Kutaya | Kütahya |
| Laibach | Ljubljana |
| Lanslebourg | Lanslebourg-Mont-Cenis |
| Leipsic | Leipzig |
| Lemberg | Lvov or Lwow |
| Lüttich | Liège |
| Macao | Aomen |
| Malborgeth | Malborghetto-Valbruna |
| Marignano | Melegnano |
| Mequinez | Meknès (Meknez) |
| Nankin | Nanking |

* This glossary includes geographical names occurring in Marx's and Engels' articles in the form customary in European and American press of the time but differing from the national names or from those given on modern maps. The left column gives geographical names as used in the original (when they differ from the national names of the time, the latter are given in brackets); the right column gives corresponding names as used on modern maps and in modern literature.— *Ed.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Neuenburg | Neuchâtel |
| Neuss | Nyon |
| Novarese | Fara Novarese |
| Olmütz | Olomouc |
| Oxus | Amu Darya |
| Pe-chi-li | Po Hai |
| Peiho | Hai-ho |
| Pekin | Peking |
| Persia | Iran |
| Peschiera | Peschiera del Garda |
| Peshawur | Peshawar |
| Peterlingen | Payerne |
| Plombières | Plombières-les-Bains |
| Pola | Pula |
| Pomerania | Pomorze |
| Posen | Poznań |
| Prague | Praha |
| Pralognan | Pralognan-la-Vanoise |
| Punjaub | Punjab |
| Raab | Györ |
| Ratibor | Racibórz |
| Reichenberg | Liberec |
| Rivoli | Rivoli Veronese |
| St. Petersburg | Leningrad |
| Saorgio | Saorge |
| Stettin | Szczecin |
| Stura | Stura di Demonte |
| Thonon | Thonon-les-Bains |
| Tilsit | Sovetsk |
| Toblach | Dobbiaco |
| Troppau | Opava |
| Turan | Turkistan |
| Valeggio | Valéggio sul Mincio |
| Villafranca | Villafranca di Verona |
| Whampoa | Huang-pu |
| Worms | Bormio |

# MARX & ENGELS
# COLLECTED WORKS

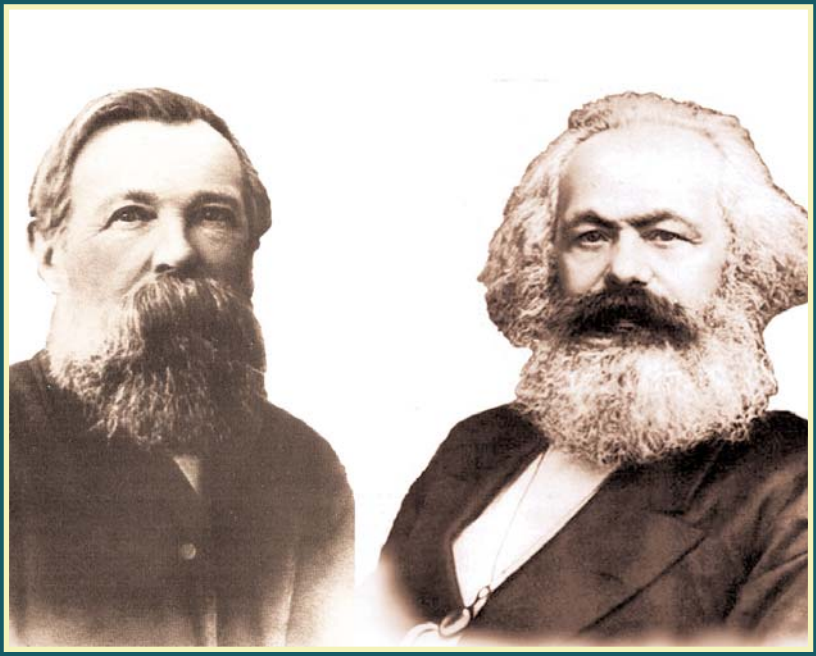

## VOLUME 17

Marx and Engels 1859-60

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 17

## Marx and Engels 1859-60

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Translated by

RODNEY LIVINGSTONE

# Preface

Volume 17 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels comprises works written between October 1859 and December 1860. The first half of the volume is devoted to Marx's long polemic *Herr Vogt* and the letters and statements connected with the so-called Vogt Case that he sent to the editors of various newspapers. The second half consists of articles written by Marx and Engels for the American progressive newspaper *New-York Daily Tribune* between January and December 1860. All these works are linked in subject-matter with those published in volumes 16, 18 and 19 of the present edition.

As Marx and Engels had foreseen, the first world economic crisis of 1857-58 was followed by a fresh upswing of the democratic, proletarian and national liberation movements. An ever widening struggle was being waged over the tasks the bourgeois revolutions of 1848-49 had left unsolved, one of which was the now urgent necessity for the unification of Germany, and also of Italy. In this period the international situation, as the Italian war of 1859 (France and Piedmont against Austria) had shown, was charged with the danger of armed conflict.

In the complex conditions of the time the activity of the masses, particularly that of the proletariat, grew rapidly, and Marx and Engels devoted themselves to preparing the working class for the forthcoming battles. Besides elaborating revolutionary theory and crucial questions of the tactics of proletarian struggle, they concentrated more and more of their practical activity on rallying the revolutionary forces and setting up an independent political party of the working class. Their task now was not only to preserve the cadres of experienced proletarian revolutionaries, but also to

establish closer ties with the broad masses, to give the movement its own newspaper (the attempts to turn the London German émigré paper *Das Volk* into such an organ are described in Volume 16) and to win more supporters.

Increasingly Marx and Engels devoted their journalistic writings on home and foreign policy to substantiating the position of the emerging party of the proletariat. Defending its political and moral authority, Marx vigorously rebuffed the ideological enemies of the working class, who were trying to slander and discredit the active members of the Communist League. A rebuttal of these slanderous fabrications was particularly necessary at this crucial moment in the development of the working-class movement, when the proletarians of many countries had begun to awaken to political activity and showed a tendency to set up their own political organisations and establish international connections, when new forces were entering the working-class movement and there was thus a real opportunity for creating a mass proletarian party. Its nucleus was to be, as Marx and Engels envisaged, a united and well-tested group of proletarian revolutionaries. "The moment is approaching," Marx wrote to Lassalle in September 1860, "when our 'small' and yet, in a certain sense, powerful party' (insofar as the other parties do not know what they want or do not want what they know) must draft a plan of its campaign" (see present edition, Vol. 41).

Marx's long polemical work—*Herr Vogt*—reflects the struggle waged by Marx and Engels against attempts by the ideologists and agents of the bourgeoisie to denigrate the proletarian party. Their exposure had become an important task and in the circumstances of the time was not only a means of self-defence, but also a form of active upholding and propagation of communist principles.

In his letter to Freiligrath of February 29, 1860 Marx wrote that he and his associates were being attacked with utter ruthlessness by the bourgeois circles of many countries, by the whole official world "who in order to ruin us are not just occasionally infringing the penal code but have ranged widely over its length and breadth..." (see present edition, Vol. 41). One of the spokesmen of this "official world" was the German scientist and politician Karl Vogt, who had formerly sided with the petty-bourgeois democrats. In December 1859 Vogt published a pamphlet entitled *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung,* which was full of slanderous statements about Marx and his associates.

In this pamphlet Vogt deliberately falsified facts and invented charges against Marx and his associates, distorting the true picture

of the activities of the Communist League. Armed with police forgeries used in the Cologne communist trial in 1852, Vogt even went so far as to accuse Marx and his associates of mercenary, if not criminal aims. In principle there was nothing new in these insinuations. They were merely a rehash of the fabricated charges brought against members of the Communist League by Prussian police agents. The same lies had often been used by groups of petty-bourgeois émigrés hostile to the proletarian revolutionaries. "...At all times and in all places," Marx wrote, "the sycophants of the ruling class have always resorted to these despicable slanders to denigrate the literary and political champions of the oppressed classes" (see this volume, p. 69). However, Vogt's slanderous fabrications were on this occasion immediately taken up by the bourgeois press of Germany, England, Switzerland and other European countries and also found their way into the émigré press in the United States. The dissemination of anti-communist inventions assumed a massive scale. "Naturally the jubilation of the bourgeois press knows no bounds," Marx wrote to Engels on January 31, 1860 about the reaction of the bourgeois press to the publication of the Vogt pamphlet (see present edition, Vol. 41).

Marx rightly saw this as an attempt by the bourgeoisie to discredit the proletarian revolutionaries, to strike a blow at the emerging party of the proletariat and undermine its positions morally and politically in the eyes of the public. "His [Vogt's] attack on me...", Marx wrote to Engels on February 3, 1860, "is intended as a *grand coup* by vulgar bourgeois democracy ... against the whole party. It must therefore be answered by a *grand coup.* The *defensive* is not for us" (see present edition, Vol. 41). Marx's exposé *Herr Vogt* was the answer to this anti-communist campaign. The unmasking of Vogt was particularly important for Germany, where the proletarian revolutionaries were faced with the task of building up their influence among the masses in the struggle for the country's democratic unification.

Marx pursued a dual aim in his writings against Vogt. He exposed him both as an individual spreading slander and as "an individual who stands for a whole trend" (this volume, p. 26) of ideologists whom the bourgeoisie was using to discredit proletarian revolutionaries and disorganise the working-class movement. Marx was not merely answering the attacks on himself personally, was not only defending the proletarian revolutionaries' past activities, he was also fighting for the future of the proletarian party. The exposure of Vogt was "of decisive importance for the *historical*

*vindication* of the party and for its future position in Germany", Marx wrote to Freiligrath on February 23, 1860 (see present edition, Vol. 41). The importance Marx attached to defending the party, which was still only in the process of formation, from slander by its enemies is shown by the fact that he put aside his work on *Capital* for nearly a year in order to write the pamphlet.

*Herr Vogt* is a complex, highly satirical work. The wealth of information it contains, the importance of the problems raised, the vast quantity of thoroughly researched and skilfully presented material, make it one of the finest examples of Marx's polemical writings and one of the most important of his historical works. He succeeded in creating a broad canvas portraying the period, the prevailing political systems, the home and foreign policies of the ruling classes, the bourgeois court, the police and the venal press. At the same time, he levelled revealing criticism at the anti-proletarian trends of bourgeois liberalism and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democracy.

In dealing with the formation and development of the international communist movement, Marx refuted Vogt's allegations that the Communist League was a narrow conspiratorial organisation pursuing aims that were not revolutionary at all. In Chapter IV of the work ("Techow's Letter") he gave a brief but succinct description of the emergence and activities of this first international communist organisation of the proletariat. In this and other chapters (Chapter III, "Police Matters", and Chapter VI, "Vogt and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*") he portrayed the historical setting in which the League operated, its connections with working-class circles and its role in the propagation of communist ideas, and also the struggle waged by the proletarian trend against sectarian elements. Discussing the reasons for the split in the Communist League, Marx pointed out the harm done by the adventurist and conspiratorial tactics of the Willich-Schapper sectarian group, their incompatibility with the true aims of the proletarian party, and particularly stressed the demoralising and disorganising consequences of the voluntarist and conspiratorial trends for the working-class movement.

*Herr Vogt* is the first work in Marxist literature to pinpoint the basic elements of the initial phase in the process of combining scientific communism with the working-class movement. It pioneers the idea of the continuity of the various stages of this process, the various steps in the struggle for a proletarian party. Along with Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* and *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness*, and Marx and

Engels' *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vols. 11, 12), *Herr Vogt* marks the beginning of the Marxist historiography of the communist movement.

The portrait of the main character in the pamphlet is generalised. Marx used Vogt as an example to show that the anti-revolutionary, anti-proletarian prejudices of the unstable elements among the bourgeois intellectuals brought them into the camp of reaction and allowed the ruling classes, particularly those of such a corrupt state as Bonapartist France, to exploit them for counter-revolutionary purposes. Marx exposed Vogt as a petty politician and ridiculed him as one of the cowardly leaders of the leftist petty-bourgeois group in the Frankfurt National Assembly and a member of the imperial regency, set up by the rump of the Frankfurt Parliament at the closing stage of the 1848-49 revolution. Marx showed that Vogt's whole political activity was in fact counter-revolutionary. According to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, he was "the 'faithful warner' against revolution" (this volume, p. 55). This exposure of Vogt had a great impact because he had been widely regarded as a democratic and even radical politician.

Marx considered Vogt mainly as a political figure, but some of his sharply satirical observations illuminated the nature of Vogt's philosophical views as a spokesman of German vulgar materialism.

The pamphlet's focal point is the exposure of Vogt as a paid agent of Napoleon III (Chapter VIII, "Dâ-Dâ Vogt and His Studies"; IX, "Agency"; and X, "Patrons and Accomplices"), as "one of the countless mouthpieces through whom the grotesque ventriloquist in the Tuileries spoke in foreign tongues" (this volume, p. 159). As Marx proved, Vogt performed the function of moulding European public opinion in the Bonapartist spirit and recruiting members of the liberal and democratic opposition to Bonapartism by admitting them to the "French feeding-trough". Vogt's *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas* (Studies on the Present Situation in Europe), published a month before the outbreak of the Italian war, left Marx "in no doubt about his connection with Bonapartist propaganda" (this volume, p. 116) since it was a rehash of the official propaganda hand-outs of the Second Empire and was designed to assist the latter in its foreign-policy adventures. Subsequently, in 1870, after the fall of the Second Empire, when details of the expenditure of secret funds in 1859 were released, Vogt's name was found to be on the list of recipients. This was incontrovertible documentary proof of the charges Marx had brought against him ten years before.

Marx exposed not only Vogt but also his "patrons and

accomplices", the whole circle of paid agents, hack writers and journalists, and unprincipled politicians acting in the interests of the Second Empire. The pages describing the typical ways in which the bourgeois press serves the ruling circles ideologically in their struggle against the revolutionary working-class movement, and purveys bourgeois influence among proletarians and democrats are brilliant political satire. Marx lashed out at the venality of the Bonapartist press, whose scribes "one and all take their inspiration from one and the same illustrious—*money-box*" (this volume, p. 211), and had some equally hard things to say about the bourgeois press of Germany and England. He treated the action of the then liberal *Daily Telegraph,* which had reprinted Vogt's slander and refused to publish Marx's denial, as a striking example of how the press and journalism as a whole in bourgeois society become a field for private money-making, spreading lies and misinformation, derogatory rumours and scandalous gossip to satisfy the tastes of the philistine. Marx compares the newspaper to a "great central paper *cloaca*" receiving all the "social refuse" (this volume, p. 243).

The social and national demagoguery of Bonapartism, Louis Bonaparte's "leftist" gestures in social and national policy, designed to present the police state of the Second Empire as a champion of the workers' interests and a defender of oppressed nations, were particularly dangerous, Marx wrote. He drew attention to the attempts of the Bonapartist Vogt to persuade the Swiss artisans that Napoleon III was a "workers' dictator" (this volume, p. 191) deeply concerned for the welfare of the working people and their protection from exploitation by the bourgeoisie. Marx demonstrated the demoralising effect on the working class of this brand of social demagoguery, which was later to spread in other countries in the form of "police socialism". Taking Vogt's role as an accessory to the Bonapartist monarchy as an example, Marx pointed to the danger of the democratic and proletarian movements being penetrated by all kinds of hostile agents, and to the need for their timely identification and exposure.

Marx's revelations of Vogt's connections with Bonapartist circles grew into a general unmasking of the Bonapartist regime. Marx and Engels regarded the Second Empire as one of the bastions of reaction in Europe and the fight against Bonapartism as one of the international proletariat's key tasks. In *Herr Vogt* (Chapters VIII, IX and X) Marx developed and deepened the analysis of Bonapartism that he had made in his *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11) and quotes from this work.

Dealing with Vogt's and other mercenary writers' efforts to embellish the foreign policy of the Second Empire, Marx showed the reactionary aims and methods of this policy, revealing the demagogic essence of the Bonapartist "principle of nationality", and the false concept of "natural frontiers", which were used to cover up the plans of the ruling circles to exploit the national movements in order to establish French hegemony and redraw the map of Europe in favour of the Bonapartist camarilla. Marx noted that the Bonapartist clique was trying to consolidate the dictatorial regime in France by means of "local wars" and combat the revolutionary-democratic struggle in Italy and other countries by armed force. He showed that the rulers of the Second Empire were enemies of all national liberation movements and hypocritically masked their true position by a pretence of sympathy for the Poles, Hungarians, Italians and other oppressed nations. In Marx's view the tendency of some of the national leaders to succumb to Bonapartist demagoguery, their readiness to make a deal with Bonapartism, presented a grave danger to the revolutionary development of these movements. Marx revealed the true nature of the policies pursued by the ruling circles of England, and also of Tsarist Russia, who were giving Napoleon III diplomatic support and thus contributing to the outbreak of the Italian war.

In *Herr Vogt* Marx analysed various aspects of international relations from the eighteenth century up to the 1850s and highlighted the key points of contradiction and conflict between the European powers. His interest in these problems is also documented by the excerpts, published here in the section "From the Preparatory Materials", from the book by the Hungarian historian and participant in the 1848-49 revolution Imre Szabó, *The State Policy of Modern Europe, from the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century to the Present Time*, which was a source used for several passages of *Herr Vogt*.

The writings of Marx and Engels against Bonapartism were closely linked with their struggle for the unification of Germany, and also of Italy, by revolutionary-democratic means. They saw Bonapartist France as one of the main obstacles to German and Italian unity (see present edition, Vol. 16). In *Herr Vogt* Marx exposed Vogt's pro-Bonaparte stance on this issue as well.

Marx's pamphlet against Vogt and his associates was also a kind of answer to Lassalle, whose view on the ways and means of unifying Germany, and also Italy, was expounded in his pamphlet *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preussens* (The Italian War and the Tasks of Prussia). Lassalle justified the policy of Napoleon

III in Italy and supported the dynastic way of uniting Germany under Prussian auspices that was being canvassed by the Prussophile bourgeoisie. "Lassalle's pamphlet is an enormous blunder," Marx wrote to Engels on May 18, 1859, and in a letter of November 26 of the same year he declared even more emphatically that Lassalle "in point of fact was piping the same tune as Vogt" (see present edition, Vol. 40). Not for nothing did Lassalle try to dissuade Marx from openly opposing this Bonapartist agent. In *Herr Vogt* Marx indirectly, without naming Lassalle, was actually criticising the ideas of Lassalle's pamphlet along with the views expressed by other vulgar democrats who shared Vogt's opinion. In contrast to the nationalistic ideas of Lassalle, who did not believe in the revolutionary-democratic forces of Italy and Germany, in contrast to his attempts to justify the policy of Bonapartism and the Prussian ruling circles, Marx proposed a plan for the revolutionary-democratic unification of each of the two countries from below, through the revolutionary action of the masses. "Lassalle deviated towards a national-liberal labour policy, whereas Marx encouraged and developed an independent, consistently democratic policy hostile to national-liberal cowardice" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 21, p. 141).

The pamphlet *Herr Vogt,* and Engels' pamphlet *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* written a short time before (see present edition, Vol. 16),were the first works in which the founders of Marxism actually opposed in print the tactics advocated by Lassalle.

An important problem raised by Marx in *Herr Vogt* was that of how to fight the influence of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology on the proletariat, an ideology emanating from circles that Marx classified as vulgar democrats (see his letters to Engels, January 28 and February 3, 1860, present edition, Vol. 41). In his Preface to the pamphlet, referring to German bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democracy, he wrote that one of the reasons that had prompted him to come out publicly against Vogt was the opportunity this offered of exposing the whole trend to which Vogt belonged. This was important as a means of securing the independence of the emerging proletarian party's ideological and tactical principles. The German petty-bourgeois democrats had evolved to the right since the revolution of 1848-49 and were steadily deteriorating into an appendage of bourgeois liberalism. Some of them, like Vogt, had taken up pro-Bonapartist positions. Marx and Engels had criticised the leaders of the petty bourgeoisie in their work *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11). In Chapters IV and XII of *Herr Vogt* ("Techow's Letter" and

"Appendices") Marx returns to this subject and ridicules the narrowness and political instability of the vulgar democrats, their contempt for the true interests of the toiling masses, and the petty quarrels between the various groups.

Brilliant both in its content and form, *Herr Vogt* is outstanding among the best examples of political satire and journalism and leaves one in no doubt as to Marx's extensive knowledge of literature. Its sparkling aphorisms and literary references add to the acerbity of its style. "This is, of course, the best polemical work you have ever written," was Engels' comment in a letter to Marx of December 19, 1860 (see present edition, Vol. 41), as soon as he had read the pamphlet. Franz Mehring, who thought highly of the pamphlet's artistic merits, although he did not fully appreciate its significance in upholding the principles of the proletarian party, wrote that it would afford great pleasure to the literary connoisseur.

Marx's pamphlet is written in a spirit of militant partisanship. It has retained its scientific and political significance both as a source for studying the history of the international working-class movement and the struggle waged by Marx and Engels to create a proletarian party, and as an example of their opposition to Bonapartism and other reactionary forces. It remains a model of the impassioned defence of the interests of the working class and is a classic rebuttal of the opponents of communism.

The second half of the volume consists of articles by Marx and Engels on crucial problems of the social and political development of Europe in 1860. With the revolutionary movement again on the upswing their writings were of especial significance as a way of working out and popularising the tactical principles that should be adopted by the working-class and democratic movement. In 1860 the *New-York Daily Tribune* was the only newspaper for which Marx and Engels wrote on political subjects (the articles on military questions that Engels contributed in 1860 to *The New American Cyclopaedia, The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire,* and the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung,* are published in Volume 18 of the present edition, as part of the cycle of works on this subject written by Marx and Engels in those years). Though he did not share Marx's beliefs, the editor of the paper realised the importance of his articles (see this volume, p. 323-24).

The journalistic activities of Marx and Engels in this period show that they were continuing their studies of the economic contours and dynamics of the social and political development of various

countries, and the crucial points of international contradictions and conflicts. As always they took a particular interest in the unfolding of revolutionary events.

One of the main themes in the journalism of Marx and Engels in 1860 was the events in Italy. Their articles continue the cycle of their works on this subject written during the Italian war (see present edition, Vol. 16). The war resulted neither in the unification of Italy nor in its complete liberation from Austrian domination. Austria kept its grip on Venice. In return for the cession of Lombardy to Piedmont France had been given Savoy and Nice. With its national and social problems still unsolved, Italy remained one of the main centres of revolutionary ferment in Europe. In April 1860 the popular uprising in Palermo (Sicily) against the regime of the Neapolitan Bourbons launched a new stage in the struggle for the country's unification that took the form of a bourgeois-democratic revolution. Marx responded to these events with the article "Sicily and the Sicilians", drawing a graphic picture of the hardships suffered by the people of the island, where all land was owned by a few large landowners, where the medieval system of land tenure was still intact, and the tenant farmers led an impoverished existence under a crushing burden of taxes and exorbitant rent. Marx taunted Europe's official circles for their indifference over the brutal reprisals that the Neapolitan authorities had taken against the insurgents. But, as Marx noted, the people's spirit was not broken. The Sicilians "have battled, and still battle, for their freedom" (this volume, p. 370).

Garibaldi's landing with his famous "thousand" volunteers helped to unite the scattered guerrilla bands and develop the revolutionary war in Sicily. Marx and Engels followed with great sympathy the actions of Garibaldi, around whom all Italy's patriotic forces had rallied. "If the insurrection develops much vital power, Garibaldi's army will be swelled to more formidable dimensions," wrote Marx in his article "Garibaldi in Sicily.—Affairs in Prussia" (this volume, p. 382). A high evaluation of the actions of Garibaldi's insurrectionist forces is to be found in the articles "Garibaldi in Sicily", "Garibaldi's Movements", "Garibaldi's Progress" and "Garibaldi in Calabria", which Engels wrote at Marx's request. Engels spoke of Garibaldi as "the man who has borne high the flag of Italian revolution in the face of French, Neapolitan, and Austrian battalions" (this volume, p. 386). And in another place he said, "The Sicilian insurrection has found a first-rate military chief" (pp. 389-90). After Garibaldi's landing in Calabria Engels wrote that he had "shown himself to be not only a

brave leader and clever strategist, but also a scientific general" (this volume, p. 476).

Marx and Engels held that the broad scope of the popular movement in Italy offered the opportunity of achieving the unification of Italy in a democratic way. They assessed Garibaldi's successes as evidence of the superiority of Italy's revolutionary-democratic forces over the aristocratic and bourgeois monarchist camp that had assembled round Piedmont. Marx and Engels also considered Garibaldi's victories in the light of their positive international repercussions, and the revolutionary response that they had evoked among the masses in the European countries. The operations of Garibaldi's revolutionary army not only disrupted the plans of the Italian liberal-monarchist circles and the Savoyan dynasty; they also struck at the hopes nurtured by France's Bonapartist rulers of bringing Italy under its control. In the article "Interesting from Sicily.—Garibaldi's Quarrel with La Farina.—A Letter from Garibaldi", Marx joyfully reported the expulsion of Piedmont's agent La Farina from a Sicily liberated by Garibaldi's forces. Marx believed that if the movement retained "its pure popular character", and Garibaldi prevented Piedmont's ruling circles from intervening, it might lead to "rescuing Italy, not only from its old tyrants and divisions, but also from the clutches of the new French protectorate" (this volume, p. 422).

At the same time Marx and Engels were quite sober in assessing the complexity of the situation and the development of events. The liberal-monarchist circles of Piedmont were preparing, in the event of Garibaldi's campaign proving successful, to snatch the fruits of his victory and bring about the unification of Italy by dynastic means. Despite the hopes cherished by Marx and Engels, this was what happened, in the shape of the creation of the Italian monarchy headed by Victor Emmanuel II, the King of Piedmont.

A number of articles published in this volume are devoted to Germany, and more specifically to Prussia, one of the leading states of the German Confederation. In considering the principal task confronting Germany—the country's national unification—Marx and Engels developed ideas that they had already voiced in their articles of the Italian war period. The need for the unification of Germany sprang from the country's whole internal development and answered the demands of economic and social progress. In upholding the revolutionary-democratic way of solving this problem, Marx and Engels believed that only a movement involving the whole people could paralyse the opposi-

tion of the Prussian and Austrian counter-revolutionary elements. The elimination of the relics of the feudal-absolutist system, they concluded, would create favourable conditions for developing the productive forces, for social progress and rallying and organising the proletariat. "To withstand encroachments from without," Marx wrote, "or realise unity and liberty at home, she [Germany] must clear her own house of its dynastic landlords" (this volume, p. 487). Marx exposed the Prussian ruling circles' schemes for uniting the country under their aegis without any changes in its internal system by introducing and employing Prussian police and bureaucratic practices throughout the country. Opposing these plans for the Prussianisation of Germany, Marx wrote that "after the blow dealt to Austria [in the Italian war, 1859], Germany stands in need of a similar blow being dealt to Prussia, in order to get rid of 'both the houses'" (this volume, p. 378). In the article "Public Feeling in Berlin" and in other articles Marx dealt with the internal situation in Prussia. He ridiculed the sham liberalism of the Prince Regent (the future king William), the first years of whose reign—from 1858—had been proclaimed by the liberals as the beginning of a "new era", and regarded the government's manoeuvres as only a nominal rejection of "the old reactionary system of mingled feudalism and bureaucratism". In reality, he pointed out, the Prussian ruling circles had no intention of removing "the bureaucratic and police shackles" (this volume, p. 367, 368).

The articles published in this volume throw light on the beginnings of the constitutional conflict in Prussia between the liberal majority of the lower Chamber and the government, a conflict over the government plan for reorganising the army. The Bill was rejected by the Chamber, although it sanctioned the allocations "for putting the army into a state fit to encounter the dangers apprehended from without". The government launched the reform without the consent of the Provincial Diet. Marx and Engels saw the far-reaching consequences of this policy of the Prussian ruling circles, who were intent on militarising the country and creating an army "trained to passive obedience, drilled into a mere instrument of the dynasty which owns it as its property and uses it according to its caprice" (this volume, pp. 495, 496).

Marx and Engels denounced the conciliatory tactics of the German liberal bourgeoisie and also the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats. They pointed to the timidity and inconsistency of their opposition to the government, their readiness to make concessions, and their actual orientation towards the unification of Germany round monarchical Prussia. In his article

"Preparations for War in Prussia" Engels pointed out ironically that the only retort from these "mock representatives" of the people to the government's military reform launched without the sanction of the Provincial Diet would be "some low grumbling, pickled with fervent assertions of dynastic loyalty, and unbounded confidence in the Cabinet" (this volume, p. 495).

Some of the articles included in this volume fill in the details of the picture of the Second Empire presented in *Herr Vogt*. They focus on the counter-revolutionary essence of the Bonapartist regime, the internal situation in France, and the mainsprings of the adventurist foreign policy pursued by its rulers. In his articles "Affairs in France", "Events in Syria.—Session of the British Parliament.—The State of British Commerce", and others, Marx showed that behind the growth of foreign trade and the spread of the railways, there were signs of the rapid economic collapse of the Second Empire—the fifty per cent increase in the national debt, the threat of financial bankruptcy, the decline of agriculture and the ruination of the peasantry. "The Empire itself," he wrote, "is the great incubus whose burden grows in a greater ratio than the productive powers of the French nation" (this volume, p. 333). The instability of the Bonapartist regime was becoming increasingly apparent and "the rebellious spirit of Gaul is rekindling from its cinders". The rulers of the Second Empire, as always, saw the way out of the crisis in foreign-policy adventures. This was what gave rise to the plan for "some fresh and thrilling crusade, to plunge his Empire again into the Lethe of war-hallucinations". This was the purpose of Napoleon III's colonial expedition to Syria (this volume, pp. 431, 430).

Marx exposed the annexationist plans of the Bonapartist circles with regard to the left bank of the Rhine, and also the demagoguery of their promises to assist in furthering the unification of the North German states around Prussia in return for the cession of the Rhineland to France (see "Preparations for Napoleon's Coming War on the Rhine", "The Emperor Napoleon III and Prussia", "Interesting from Prussia", and others).

Economic problems and also the internal development of Britain, Austria and Russia, and the situation in the colonial world, figure among the themes of the journalistic writings included in this volume, and the ideas expressed on these questions in previous years are developed in many of them.

In some of his articles Marx analysed the state of the British economy and against this background considered the general economic condition of the bourgeois world. In two surveys entitled

"British Commerce" Marx noted that one of the peculiar features of the capitalist economy was the involvement of distant regions of the globe in world trade and the interdependence of the economic processes going on in the world. These problems are also treated in Marx's articles on the Anglo-French trade agreement of 1860.

In his reviews on "The State of British Manufacturing Industry" Marx used official data—the reports of the factory inspectors—to analyse the mechanism of the industrial system and the various forms of the exploitation of the working class. Specifically, he pointed out that child labour was being widely used in British factories although Britain was at the time an advanced industrial country. In breach of laws already passed to restrict the use of child labour, the so-called apprentice system had been revived. Agreements were being made between manufacturers and boards of guardians for the employment of destitute children who had no other means of subsistence. In some industries (at the calico-printing, dyeing and bleaching factories), Marx observed, the working day of women and children of tender age was virtually unlimited and they toiled 14-15 hours a day while their real wages tended to decrease. The industrial accident rate was appalling and safety regulations were applied at by no means all factories (this volume, pp. 416-18).

Marx and Engels were by this time paying more and more attention to the situation in Russia. They attached tremendous importance to the Russian peasant movement for the abolition of serfdom and regarded this movement as a massive reserve for the European revolution (see Marx's letter to Engels of January 11, 1860, present edition, Vol. 41). In his article "Russia Using Austria.—The Meeting at Warsaw" Marx delves into the position of the various classes of Russian society on the eve of the imminent abolition of serfdom and stresses the likelihood of a deal between the Tsarist Government and the nobility in the interests of the big landowners and at the expense of the broad masses of the peasantry. He wrote that "an understanding ... has been arrived at between the existing powers at the cost of the oppressed class" (this volume, p. 486).

The above-mentioned article by Marx, Engels' articles "The Sick Man of Austria", "Austria—Progress of the Revolution", and others examine the process of the decay of the Austrian Empire, torn by internal contradictions and intensification of the national liberation struggle of the peoples within its borders. Marx associates the final disintegration of the Austrian Empire with the German revolution, which, he believed, would have "one

of its centers at Vienna and the other at Berlin" (this volume, p. 487).

A number of works by Engels on military subjects have been included in the volume. Engels continued his profound study of the problems of military theory, specifically analysing the character of revolutionary wars, the influence of the advance of military technology on tactics and on the methods of warfare, and studying the history of the making and perfection of various weapons. In his articles on the Italian events Engels analysed the campaigns of Garibaldi's volunteers in Sicily and Calabria from the military point of view. In a series of articles "On Rifled Cannon" Engels considered the development of artillery. His articles "Military Reform in Germany", "British Defenses" and "Could the French Sack London?" deal with military problems in connection with international relations and the mounting military conflicts. The article "The British Volunteer Force" discusses the class composition of volunteer troops.

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The volume comprises 45 works by Marx and Engels, including Marx's *Herr Vogt*, 35 articles written for the *New-York Daily Tribune* (some of them were reprinted in its special issues, the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* and the *New-York Weekly Tribune*) and 9 letters and statements that Marx sent to the editors of various newspapers. There are 8 works that appear in English for the first time—*Herr Vogt* and 7 letters and statements sent by Marx to the newspapers. The other works originally written in English had not been reprinted since their publication in 1860. One of Marx's statements (written in English) was never published in his lifetime.

In the section "From the Preparatory Materials" there appear for the first time in English the passages that Marx copied from Szabó's book *The State Policy of Modern Europe, from the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century to the Present Time.*

In preparing the present volume for the press the sources used by Marx were checked and the necessary corrections made. In quoting the works of other authors Marx sometimes ran paragraphs together, omitted authors' italics and introduced his own. He also abridged some passages and gave only a general summing up of their content. The present volume retains Marx's form of quotation. The most substantial changes are indicated in footnotes

and passages left out of quotations are indicated by omission marks in square brackets. For the convenience of the readers some additional paragraphing has been introduced; obvious misprints have been silently corrected.

In studying the historical material quoted in Marx's and Engels' articles, it must be borne in mind that they made use of newspaper information which in a number of cases proved to be inaccurate.

In cases where an article has no title, the editors have provided one which is given in square brackets.

The volume was compiled and the text prepared by Tatyana Yeremeyeva, who also wrote the preface and notes. Chapter XII of the pamphlet *Herr Vogt* and the section "From the Preparatory Materials" were prepared by Marina Vaninskaya, who also compiled the name index and the indexes of quoted and mentioned literature and of periodicals. The subject index was compiled by Marlen Arzumanov. The editor of the volume was Lev Churbanov (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The publishers express their gratitude to the editors of Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*—MEGA, Bd. 18, erste Abteilung (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC, Socialist Unity Party of Germany), for the loan of materials used in preparing the volume.

The translations were made by Rodney Livingstone and edited by Nicholas Jacobs (Lawrence & Wishart), Salo Ryazanskaya, Yelena Chistyakova, Victor Schnittke (Progress Publishers) and Vladimir Mosolov, scientific editor (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The volume was prepared for the press by the editor Lyudgarda Zubrilova and the assistant editor Natalya Belskaya (Progress Publishers).

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## WORKS

October 1859-December 1860

# Karl Marx

## [LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE *ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG*][1]

October 19, 1859, 9 Grafton Terrace,
Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, London[a]

Sir,

As long as I had a hand in the German press I attacked the *Allgemeine Zeitung* and the *Allgemeine Zeitung* attacked me. However, this does not of course prevent me from assisting the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, as far as it lies in my power, in a case in which it has in my view fulfilled the *primary* duty of the press: that of the denunciation of humbug.[b] The enclosed document would be a *legal* document here in London.[c] I do not know whether it is the same in *Augsburg*. I have procured the said document because Blind refused to stand by the statement which he had made to me and others, which I passed on to Liebknecht, and which allowed the latter no doubts about the denunciation contained in the anonymous pamphlet.[d]

Yours very sincerely,
*Dr. K. Marx*[e]

Published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 300, October 27, 1859

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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[a] The *Allgemeine Zeitung* of October 27, 1859, in which this letter was published, gives the address inaccurately: "I. Grafton Terrace, Quai, Haydpark, Haverstock Hill, London." In the issue of November 21, which carried Marx's "Declaration" (see this volume, pp. 8-9), the address is given correctly.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English word.— *Ed.*

[c] This refers to the statement by the compositor Vögele to the effect that the pamphlet *Zur Warnung* was written in Blind's hand (see this volume, pp. 123-25.).— *Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 122-24.— *Ed.*

[e] "Editor of the former *Rheinische Zeitung*" (footnote added by the editors of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*).— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [STATEMENT TO THE EDITORS OF *DIE REFORM*, THE *VOLKS-ZEITUNG* AND THE *ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG*][2]

London, November 7, 1859

I see from a copy of *Der Freischütz*, No. 132, which a friend has sent me from Hamburg, that Eduard Meyen has felt obliged to place his unequivocally decisive weight into the scales of the Vogt affair.[a] The horse-power, or should I say, the donkey-power[b] of his logic is concentrated in the great thesis: that because he was a friend of Blind, and because Blind failed to send him a copy of the anonymous pamphlet, the original document I had sent to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* must of necessity be a falsehood. In his sly little way he takes good care, of course, not to say this directly; he says it indirectly.

Incidentally, I wish that Herr Eduard Meyen would provide evidence to prove that my time is valueless enough to be squandered in attacks on the German vulgar democrats.

At the end of 1850 I broke off all relations with the German emigration in London, which really did collapse once I had pulled from under it the one thing that had held it together: its antagonism towards me. The process of dissolution was hastened, above all, by the industry of such agents as Meyen who, for example, publicly agitated against the Ruge faction on behalf of the Kinkel faction. In the nine years that have meanwhile elapsed, I have been a constant contributor to the *New-York Tribune*, a paper with 200,000 subscribers and hence a reading public roughly approximate to that of *Der Freischütz*. Have I ever even so much as mentioned the name of a single one of the German

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[a] This refers to the item marked **, "Der Process Carl Vogt's gegen die Augsburger Allg. Ztg.", *Der Freischütz*, No. 132, November 3, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English expressions "horse-power" and "donkey-power".—*Ed.*

vulgar democrats, or spent even so much as a single word on any of the despicable attacks that these men of honour have heaped upon my head in the German and especially the German-American press over the past five years?

During this time I did indeed attack, although I did not slander, "great democrats" of the sort that were dutifully admired by Herr Eduard Meyen. Such as the great democrat Lord Palmerston.[a] My offence was all the more unforgivable because my "slanders" were reprinted not merely by English papers of the most diverse political tendencies—from the Chartist *People's Paper* to *The Free Press* of Mr. Urquhart—but also as a pamphlet at least 15,000 copies of which were produced in London, Sheffield and Glasgow without any prompting by me. During that same period, moreover, I denounced the great democrat Louis Bonaparte, first in a work in German (*Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte*),[b] which was confiscated at all the German frontiers, but which circulated in considerable numbers in the United States and which appeared in extract in the then London organ of Chartism.[3] I have continued this "slander" of the "great democrat" Bonaparte in the *Tribune* to this day in the form of analyses of his financial system, his diplomacy, his warfare and his *idées napoléoniennes*.[4] Louis Bonaparte has sent the *New-York Times* a public statement in gratitude[c] for its opposition to these "slanders". Seven years ago I even denounced the "great democrat" Stieber in the *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial*,[d] which was pulped at the frontier of Baden and Switzerland. Herr Meyen will surely give me credit for that. Such slander is democratic nowadays since it takes place "with the permission of the high authorities". But my frequent errors in timing are revealed not only by the organ of Herr Eduard Meyen, but also by that of Herr Joseph Dumont in Cologne.[e] When in 1848 and 1849 I took the liberty of coming out for the cause of the Hungarian, Italian and Polish nationalities in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, who raged and foamed at the mouth more than the organ of Herr Joseph Dumont in Cologne? But at that time, of course, no Louis Napoleon Bonaparte had given his "liberal" blessing to the cause of these nationalities. That the

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[a] The reference is to Marx's pamphlet *Lord Palmerston* (see present edition, Vol. 12).—*Ed.*

[b] *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11).—*Ed.*

[c] Instead of *Dankschreiben* (message of gratitude) *Die Reform* has *Denkschreiben* (memorandum), presumably a misprint.—*Ed.*

[d] See present edition, Vol. 11.—*Ed.*

[e] *Kölnische Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

former editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* have remained true to their opinions is known even to the erstwhile Herr Joseph Dumont, now Giuseppe Delmonte, from Frederick Engels' pamphlet *Po and Rhine*,[a] which appeared at the start of the war. But as for Eduard Meyen's democracy "in its narrower sense", I have ignored it for nine years and have only on two occasions, quite recently, broken my silence. The first time was to attack Kossuth and the second was in criticism of Herr Gottfried Kinkel. I did in fact make a number of marginal comments of a purely grammatical nature on Kinkel's aesthetic effusions in the *Hermann*, and I published them in *Das Volk*. This was the only thing which I did write for *Das Volk*, apart from an article on the Peace of Villafranca under the title "Quid pro quo".[b] But in the eyes of Eduard Meyen, a "good democrat" is doubtless just as justified in violating the "despotic" rules of syntax as in deserting from the republican camp to that of the royalists.[c]

I now find myself at the end of this epistle in the opposite difficulty to Hegel's at the beginning of his *Logic*.[d] He wanted to advance from Being to Nothing, whereas I wish to move from Nothing to Being, namely from Eduard Meyen to a real case, the case of Vogt. To make it brief I ask Karl Blind the following questions:

1. Did Blind impart to me information about Vogt on May 9 on the platform of the Urquhart meeting, information whose substance tallies precisely with that contained in the pamphlet *Zur Warnung*?

2. Did Blind publish an anonymous article in the London *Free Press* of May 27, bearing the title "The Grand Duke Constantine to be King of Hungary",[e] an article which, apart from the omission of the name of Vogt, repeats the substance of the pamphlet *Zur Warnung*?

3. Did Blind cause the above-mentioned pamphlet to be printed at his expense in London in the print-shop of Herr F. Hollinger, Litchfield Street, Soho?[f]

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 16.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to Marx's articles "Kossuth and Louis Napoleon", "Gatherings from the Press" and "Quid pro quo" (see present edition, Vol. 16).—*Ed.*

[c] An allusion to Gottfried Kinkel's speech before the court martial in Rastatt on August 4, 1849.—*Ed.*

[d] G. W. F. Hegel, *Die Wissenschaft der Logik*, Band I, Abteilung 2, Berlin, 1833.—*Ed.*

[e] See this volume, pp. 122-23.—*Ed.*

[f] See this volume, pp. 116, 122, 123-24.—*Ed.*

Despite all the efforts of Meyen's democracy to misrepresent matters, and despite even that Great Unknown, the "outstanding lawyer" of Herr Joseph Dumont, everything still turns on the question: Who arranged for the pamphlet *Zur Warnung* to be printed? The only reason why the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* is being sued is the fact that this pamphlet was reprinted there. The only accusations of which Vogt feels compelled to clear his name in the eyes of the world are those contained in this pamphlet. The publisher of the pamphlet has, as Robert Peel would have said, three courses open to himself.[a] Either he has knowingly lied. I do not believe this of Karl Blind. Or else he subsequently became convinced that the information which justified his printing the pamphlet was false. In that case he is under an even greater obligation to supply an explanation. Or, finally, he holds the proof in his hand, but wishes for private reasons of his own to hush the whole business up and endures with magnanimous resignation the rotten eggs that are hurled not at himself, but at me. But must not all private considerations lapse in such a vital matter as the need to throw light on the relations between the German Imperial Regent *in partibus*[b] and the Emperor of the French *de facto*?

*Karl Marx*

Published in the supplement to *Die Reform*, No. 139, November 19, 1859

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] This phrase is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

[b] *In partibus infidelium*—literally: in parts inhabited by infidels. The words are added to the title of Roman Catholic bishops holding purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries. Here the expression means "only in word".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## DECLARATION[5]

Vogt, who knows the people he has to deal with, executed a very cunning manoeuvre when he shifted the source of the denunciation of himself from the so-called democratic camp into the socialist one. But I for my part have no interest in aiding and abetting this quid pro quo, and can therefore not permit Blind's declaration[a] in No. 313 of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* to go unanswered.

1. On May 9, on the platform of the Urquhart meeting, Blind communicated to me all the accusations against Vogt contained in the pamphlet *Zur Warnung*. He gave the same details to others, to Freiligrath, for instance. Given the complete identity of both style and substance between his verbal statement and the printed pamphlet, he was naturally regarded as its author *de prime abord*.[b]

2. In the London *Free Press* of May 27, an anonymous article of Blind's appeared with the title "The Grand Duke Constantine to be King of Hungary",[c] which in all essentials anticipated the pamphlet *Zur Warnung*. In that article Blind declared that he knew of liberals in Germany and democrats in London who had been offered "large bribes"[d] on behalf of Bonapartist propaganda. While Vogt's lawsuit was pending, I received a visit from Mr. D. Collet, the responsible editor of *The Free Press*, who asked me at *Blind's request* to make *no use* of my knowledge concerning the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 125-26.—*Ed.*
[b] From the very outset.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, pp. 122-23.—*Ed.*
[d] Marx uses the English expression.—*Ed.*

authorship of the article in question. I replied to Mr. Collet—who found it quite appropriate—that I would not commit myself to anything but that my discretion in the matter would rather depend on Blind's conduct.

3. Fidelio Hollinger's declaration is simply ridiculous.[a] Fidelio Hollinger is aware that he has formally infringed English law by publishing the pamphlet *without declaring the place of publication.* He himself therefore issues a testimonial stating that he did not commit the peccadillo in question. It so happened that the reprint in *Das Volk*[b] was made from the type still standing in Hollinger's print-shop. Thus even without the need to call witnesses, a simple comparison of the pamphlet and the reprint of it in *Das Volk* would be sufficient to prove to a court that the former "came from F. Hollinger's print-shop". The transfer of the trial from Augsburg to London would, in general, resolve the entire Blind-Vogt *mystère.*

*Karl Marx*

November 15, 1859
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, London

Published in the supplement to the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 325, November 21, 1859

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung,* Genf, 1859, Dokumente, S. 38, and also this volume, p. 126.—*Ed.*

[b] *Das Volk,* No. 7, June 18, 1859. See also this volume, p. 119.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## PROSECUTION OF THE AUGSBURG GAZETTE[6]

TO THE EDITOR OF *THE FREE PRESS*

9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill,
London, 4th February, 1860

Sir,

You will remember that *The Free Press* of May 27th, 1859, published an article headed: *"The Grand Duke Constantine to be King of Hungary."* In that article *Mr. Vogt*, of Geneva, although not named, was pointed at, in a manner intelligible to the German refugees, as a Bonapartist agent, who, on the outset of the Italian war, had offered *"large bribes"* to Liberals in Germany, and German Democrats in London. The writer gave vent to his intense delight at the indignant repulse those attempts at bribery had met with. *Mr. Charles Blind* I assert to be the author of that notice. You can correct me if I am in error. Some time later, there circulated in London an anonymous *German* pamphlet, entitled *Zur Warnung* (a warning), which, in point of fact, may be considered a reproduction of the article of *The Free Press*, only that it gave fuller details and Vogt's name. Having been reprinted in a German London paper, entitled *Das Volk*[a] (The People); thence the anonymous pamphlet found its way to the columns of the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*[b] (The Augsburg Gazette), which, consequently, was sued by Mr. Vogt for libel. Meanwhile I had obtained from Mr. Vögele, a compositor then employed by Mr. Hollinger, the publisher of *Das Volk*, a written declaration[c] to the effect, that the pamphlet was printed in Hollinger's office, and drawn up by *Mr. Charles Blind*. This declaration, as I told you at the time, was sent over to the *Augsburg Gazette*. The Augsburg

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[a] *Das Volk*, No. 7, June 18, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] "K. Vogt und die deutsche Emigration in London", *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 173 (supplement), June 22, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 3, 123-25.—*Ed.*

tribunal having declined to decide the case, *Mr. Blind* at last came out in the *Augsburg Gazette.*[a] Not content with a point-blank denial of his authorship of the anonymous pamphlet, he, in terms most positive, *declared the pamphlet not to have issued from Hollinger's printing office.* In proof of this latter statement, he laid before the public a declaration[b] signed by Hollinger himself, and one Wiehe, a compositor, who, as he said, had for eleven months been continuously employed by Hollinger. To this joint declaration of Blind, Hollinger and Wiehe I replied in the *Augsburg Gazette*[c]; but *Blind,* in his turn, repeated his denial, and again referred to the testimony of Hollinger and Wiehe.[d] *Vogt,* who, from the beginning, and for purposes of his own, had designed *me* as the secret author of the pamphlet, then published a *brochure*[e] full of the most infamous calumnies against myself.

Now, before taking any further step, I want to show up the fellows who evidently have played into the hands of Vogt. I, therefore, publicly declare that the statement of Blind, Wiehe and Hollinger, according to which the anonymous pamphlet was *not* printed in Hollinger's office, 3, Litchfield Street, Soho, is a *deliberate lie.* First, Mr. Vögele, one of the compositors, formerly employed by Hollinger, will declare upon oath that the said pamphlet *was* printed in Hollinger's office, was written in the hand-writing of *Mr. Blind,* and partly composed by Hollinger himself. Secondly, it can be judicially proved that the pamphlet and the article in *Das Volk,* have been taken off the same types. Thirdly, it will be shown that Wiehe was *not* employed by Hollinger for eleven consecutive months, and, especially, was *not* employed by him at the time of the pamphlet's publication. Lastly, witnesses may be summoned in whose presence Wiehe himself confessed having been persuaded by Hollinger to sign the *wilfully false declaration in the Augsburg Gazette.* Consequently, I again declare the above said *Charles Blind* to be a *deliberate liar.*

If I am wrong, he may easily confound me by appealing to an English Court of Law.

*Karl Marx*

Published as a pamphlet on February 4, 1860

Reproduced from the pamphlet

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[a] This refers to Karl Blind's declaration dated "London, November 3" in the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 313, November 9, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] ibid. See also this volume, p. 126.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 8-9.—*Ed.*

[d] The *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 345, December 11, 1859.—*Ed.*

[e] Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess....*—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITORS OF THE *VOLKS-ZEITUNG*

### DECLARATION[7]

I hereby make it known that I have taken steps preparatory to instituting legal proceedings for libel against the Berlin *National-Zeitung* in connection with the leading articles in Nos. 37 and 41[a] regarding Vogt's pamphlet *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*. I reserve the right to answer Vogt in writing at a later date since this requires putting a number of questions to people not at present in Europe.

For the moment then I shall say only this:

1. To judge by the anthology in the *National-Zeitung*—strangely the book itself has up to now been unobtainable in London either from booksellers or the acquaintances to whom Herr Vogt had earlier sent his so-called *Studien*[b]—Vogt's concoction is merely the elaboration of a sketch that he published nine months ago in his private *Moniteur*, the Biel *Handels-Courier*.[c] At the time I had his lampoon published in London without comment. Such a simple procedure was sufficient here, where the situations and personalities are well known, to provide a judgment on the Herr Professor.

2. The *pretext* which led Herr Vogt to launch his campaign against me, like the pretext for the Italian campaign, was an "idea". I was alleged to be the author of the anonymous pamphlet *Zur Warnung*. From the enclosed circular[d] in English, which I have had published here, you will see that I have taken steps to compel

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[a] "Karl Vogt und die Allgemeine Zeitung" and "Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht", *National-Zeitung*, Nos. 37 and 41, January 22 and 25, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] Carl Vogt, *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas*, Genf und Bern, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] An allusion to Vogt's article "Zur Warnung" in the *Schweizer Handels-Courier*, No. 150 (special supplement), June 2, 1859.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 10-11.—*Ed.*

Herr Blind and consorts either to concede the falseness of that pretext by their silence, or to be convicted of it by an English court.

*Karl Marx*

February 6, 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, London

Published in the *Volks-Zeitung*, No. 35, February 10, 1860; in the supplement to the *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 41, February 10, 1860; in *Die Reform*, No. 18, February 11, 1860; in the supplement to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 48, February 17, 1860 (with alterations)[a] and in other German papers

Printed according to the *Volks-Zeitung* checked with the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] The manuscript of this declaration in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* written in Jenny Marx's hand and a covering note in Marx's handwriting have been preserved.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF THE *DAILY TELEGRAPH*[8]

In your to-day's impression you publish, under the title: "*The Journalistic Auxiliaries of Austria*", a letter full of libellous and scandalous imputations against my person. That letter, purporting to be written at Frankfort on the Main, but probably indited at Berlin, is, in point of fact, but a clumsy amplification of two articles contained in the Berlin *National-Zeitung* d.d. January 22 and January 25,[a] which paper will have to give account of its[b] calumnies before a Prussian Court of Law. The *false pretext*, upon which Vogt launched his libel against me,[c] is the assertion that I am the author of the anonymous *German* pamphlet: *Zur Warnung* (a warning), first circulated at London, and afterwards reprinted in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.[d] From the inclosed print[e] you will see that I have provoked my adversaries to bring this point to a judicial issue before an English Court of Law.

In conclusion, if you do not prefer being sued for libel, I request you to make in your next number an *amende honorable*[f] for the recklessness with which you dare vilifying a man of whose

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[a] See this volume, p. 12.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx has "his".—*Ed.*

[c] Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess....*—*Ed.*

[d] "K. Vogt und die deutsche Emigration in London", *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 173 (supplement), June 22, 1859.—*Ed.*

[e] See this volume, pp. 12-13.—*Ed.*

[f] Apology.—*Ed.*

personal character, political past, literary productions, and social standing, you cannot but confess to be utterly ignorant.

Your obedient servant,
*Dr. Karl Marx*

February 6, 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, London

First published in Russian in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

Printed according to the rough copy of the English original

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITORS OF THE AUGSBURG *ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG*

February 21, 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove,
Oxford Road, Manchester

*Personal*

In one of the two letters dated October 16, 1859 which I have received from the editors of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, it says literally:

"You may rest assured of our *particular gratitude* whenever the occasion should present itself for us, highly esteemed Sir, to express to you our *thanks*."

That I neither desired nor expected either "thanks" or "particular gratitude" from the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* is made perfectly plain in my reply of October 19.[a] What I did expect, however, in this *particular matter*, was at least the common fairness[b] which no English paper, regardless of its shade of opinion, ever ventures to refuse.

The "particular gratitude" and the "thanks" are actually expressed in the following manner:

1. My first declaration[c] was *not* printed at all. There appeared instead Blind's impertinent statement[d] together with two false pieces of evidence obtained by conspiracy.[e] *Die Reform* in Hamburg published my declaration without delay.

2. In the case of my reply to Blind I had to resort to *douce violence*[f] to secure its insertion.[g] And even then it did not appear,

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[a] See this volume, p. 3.—*Ed.*
[b] Marx uses the English phrase.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, pp. 4-7.—*Ed.*
[d] The *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 313, November 9, 1859.—*Ed.*
[e] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*
[f] Gentle pressure.—*Ed.*
[g] See this volume, pp. 8-9.—*Ed.*

as I had demanded in all fairness, in the same place as Blind's attack, namely in the main portion of the paper.

3. The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* then printed a second declaration by Blind[a] in which he had the effrontery to speak of barefaced lies and to appeal yet again to the criminally liable testimony of Wiehe and Hollinger. The paper then declared the correspondence closed and so denied me the right to reply.

4. On February 6 I sent my final declaration together with the English circular[b] to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*. The highly esteemed editorial board pushed it to one side and instead published Blind's declaration[c] *which had only come into being as the consequence of my circular*. They naturally took good care not to publish the *billet doux* this great diplomat had enclosed. They also published Biscamp's declaration,[d] dated three days later than mine (viz., London, February 9). Finally, having convinced themselves of the fact that my declaration had long since been printed by the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the *Volks-Zeitung*, etc., they resolve on publication,[e] but—they also take upon themselves the endearing liberty of *censoring* me and making arbitrary alterations. In Cologne in 1842-43 I suffered from the twofold Royal Prussian censorship,[9] but never imagined that in the year 1860 I would in addition fall victim to the censorship of Herr Dr. Kolb & Co.

I consider that more specific characterisation of these methods is utterly pointless.

*K. Marx*

First published in Russian in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

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[a] The *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 345 (supplement), December 11, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 10-13.—*Ed.*

[c] Karl Blind, "Gegen Karl Vogt", *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 44 (supplement), February 13, 1860.—*Ed.*

[d] Elard Biscamp, "Erklärung", *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 46 (supplement), February 15, 1860.—*Ed.*

[e] See this volume, pp. 12-13.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [TO THE EDITORS OF *DIE REFORM*][10]

### *For Information*

With regard to the effusions of Herr *Eduard Meyen* in *Der Freischütz,* Nos. 17 to 21,[a] I would say only this:

The libel action I am conducting against the Berlin *National-Zeitung* will achieve all that is necessary to provide a *legal* clarification of Vogt's pamphlet.[b] His associate Eduard Meyen cannot lay claim to a like honour. The only thing I can do for Eduard Meyen is to assign to him a niche appropriate to his dimensions in the pamphlet which is due to appear after the conclusion of the court proceedings.

*Karl Marx*

Manchester, February 28, 1860

Published in *Die Reform,* No. 29, March 7, 1860

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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[a] The reference is to Eduard Meyen's article "Carl Vogts Kampf gegen die Augsburger Allgem. Zeitung und die Marxianer", *Der Freischütz,* Nos. 17-21, February 9, 11, 14, 16 and 18, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess....*—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## DECLARATION [11]

At the beginning of February 1860 the editorial board of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* were kind enough to publish a declaration by myself which began with these words:

"I hereby make it known that I have taken steps preparatory to instituting legal proceedings for libel against the Berlin *National-Zeitung* in connection with the leading articles in Nos. 37 and 41 regarding Vogt's pamphlet *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*. I reserve the right to answer Vogt in writing at a later date." [a]

In the course of February 1860 I brought a libel suit in Berlin against F. Zabel, the responsible editor of the *National-Zeitung*. My lawyer, Legal Counsellor Weber, resolved at first on an *official investigation*. With a ruling of April 18, 1860 the Public Prosecutor refused to "take action" against F. Zabel, on the grounds that there was no *public interest* involved. On April 26, 1860 his refusal was confirmed by the Chief Public Prosecutor.

My lawyer then began *civil proceedings*. The Royal *Municipal Court* in a ruling of June 8, 1860 *prohibited* me from proceeding with my *lawsuit* on the grounds that the genuinely defamatory "utterances and statements" of F. Zabel's were *merely quotations* from other persons, and that the "intention to insult" was not present. The Royal *Court of Appeal* for its part declared in a ruling of July 11, 1860 that the alleged use of quotation did not affect the culpability of the articles, but that the defamatory passages contained in them did *not* refer to my "person". Furthermore, "in the present case" the intention to insult "could not be assumed".

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[a] See this volume, p. 12.—*Ed.*

Thus the Royal Court of Appeal confirmed the negative ruling of the Municipal Court. In a ruling of October 5, 1860, which I received on October 23 of this year, the Royal *Supreme Tribunal* found that "in the present case" no "legal error" on the part of the Royal Court of Appeal "could be discerned". The *prohibition on suing F. Zabel* was thus sustained and my claim did not reach the stage of being accorded a *public hearing.*

My *reply to Vogt* will appear in a few days.

*Karl Marx*

*London,* November 24, 1860

Published in the supplement to the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 336, December 1, 1860

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

Karl Marx

# HERR VOGT[12]

Written between February and November 1860

Published as a book in London in 1860

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Printed according to the book

Published in English for the first time

# Herr Vogt.

Von

## Karl Marx.

London,
A. Petsch & Co, deutsche Buchhandlung,
78, FENCHURCH STREET, E.C.
—
1860.

Title-page of the first edition of *Herr Vogt* by Karl Marx

## PREFACE

Under the date "*London*, February 6, 1860", I published a declaration[a] in the Berlin *Volks-Zeitung*, the Hamburg *Reform* and a number of other German papers, which began with these words:

"I hereby make it known that I have taken steps preparatory to instituting legal proceedings for libel against the Berlin *National-Zeitung* in connection with the leading articles in Nos. 37 and 41 regarding *Vogt*'s pamphlet, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*. I reserve the right to answer *Vogt* in writing at a later date."

The present publication will make it clear why I chose to answer *Karl Vogt* in writing, while challenging the *National-Zeitung* through the courts.

During February 1860 I went ahead with the libel action against the *National-Zeitung*.[b] On October 23 of this year, after the case had gone through four preliminary stages, I received a ruling from the Royal Prussian Supreme Tribunal definitively refusing me permission to put my case and so dismissing my action before it could be heard in open court. Had the latter come to pass, as I had a right to expect, I would have been spared the necessity of writing the first third of the present pamphlet. A straightforward reproduction of the verbatim report of the court proceedings would have been quite sufficient and I would have been spared the hateful task of having to answer accusations directed at my

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[a] See this volume, pp. 12-13.—*Ed.*

[b] See Marx's letters to Legal Counsellor Weber dated February 13, 21 and 24, 1860 (present edition, Vol. 41), and this volume, pp. 19-20.—*Ed.*

own person and therefore of having to speak about myself. I have always taken such pains to avoid this that Vogt could well expect his cock-and-bull stories to have some success. However, *sunt certi denique fines.*[a] Vogt's concoction, summarised by the *National-Zeitung* in its own fashion, accused me of a series of dishonourable actions which require a literary refutation now that the road to a *public* rebuttal in the courts has been definitively barred. But even apart from this consideration, which left me no alternative, I had other reasons, since in any case I had to deal with Vogt's tall stories about me and my party comrades, for examining them in greater detail. On the one hand, there was the almost unanimous jubilation with which the so-called liberal German press greeted his alleged revelations. On the other hand, the analysis of his concoction presented me with the opportunity to dissect an individual who stands for a whole trend.

My reply to Vogt has forced me in a number of places to expose a *partie honteuse*[b] in the history of the emigration. In doing so I am only making use of the right to "self-defence". Moreover, except for a few persons, the emigration can be reproached with nothing worse than indulging illusions that were more or less justified by the circumstances of the period, or perpetrating follies which arose necessarily from the extraordinary situation in which it unexpectedly found itself. I am speaking here, of course, only of the early years of the emigration. A comparative history, say from 1849 to 1859, of governments and of bourgeois society on the one hand and the emigration on the other, would constitute the most outstanding apologia of the latter that could possibly be written.

I know in advance that the same astute men who shook their heads sagely at the importance of Vogt's "revelations", when his concoction first appeared, will now be unable to comprehend why I am wasting my time refuting his childish allegations; while the "liberal" pen-pushers who gloatingly took up Vogt's commonplaces and worthless lies and hastened to hawk them around the German, Swiss, French and American press will now find my mode of dealing with themselves and their hero outrageously offensive. But never mind![c]

The political and legal aspects of the present work require no prefatory comment. I would only make one point to avoid possible

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[a] There are certain limits after all (Horace, *Satires,* Book I, Satire 1).—*Ed.*
[b] A disgraceful affair.—*Ed.*
[c] Marx uses the English phrase.—*Ed.*

misunderstandings: men who even before 1848 agreed that the independence of Poland, Hungary and Italy has to be upheld not only as the *right* of the nations concerned, but also in the *interests* of Germany and Europe, came to advance wholly opposed ideas about the tactics to be adopted by Germany *vis-à-vis* Louis Bonaparte in connection with the Italian war of 1859.[13] This clash of opinions sprang from conflicting assessments of the *facts of the underlying situation* which it will be the prerogative of a later age to resolve. For my part, I am concerned here only with the opinions of *Vogt* and his clique. Even the views he *claimed* to uphold, and in the *fantasy* of an uncritical rabble did uphold, actually fall outside the scope of my criticism. I deal only with the views he *really* upheld.

In conclusion I wish to express my sincere gratitude for the ready assistance I have received while writing this pamphlet, not only from long-standing friends in the party, but also from many members of the emigration in Switzerland, France and England with whom I had earlier not been at all close and some of whom I still do not personally know.

*London,* November 17, 1860

*Karl Marx*

# I

## THE BRIMSTONE GANG[14]

Clarin: Malas pastillas gasta; .....
.....hase untado
Con ungüento de azufre.
(*Calderón*)[a]

The "*well-rounded character*",[b] as the barrister *Hermann* so delicately described his spherical client, the hereditary Vogt of Noughtborough,[15] to the District Court in Augsburg, the "well-rounded character" begins his enormous travesty of history[c] as follows:

"Among the refugees of 1849 the term **Brimstone Gang**, *or else* the no less characteristic name of the **Bristlers**,[d] referred to a number of people who after being scattered throughout Switzerland, France and England gradually congregated in London, and there they revered Herr *Marx* as their visible leader. The political principle of these fellows was the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc." (*Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung* by Karl Vogt, Geneva, December 1859, p. 136).

The "Magnum Opus"[16] into which this momentous piece of information had found its way appeared in December 1859. Eight months earlier, however, in May 1859, our "well-rounded character" had published an article in the Biel *Handels-Courier* which must be regarded as an *outline* of the more extensive travesty of history. Let us consider the *original text*:

"Ever since the failure of the revolution of 1849," so brags our *Commis voyageur* from Biel, "a clique of refugees has gradually congregated in London, whose

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[a] He's free with empty phrases; ... he has smeared himself with sulphur ointment (*El Mágico prodigioso,* Act 2).— *Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx puns on the phrase *abgerundete Natur* which can mean both "a well-rounded character" (in the physical sense) and "an intellectually mature character". In his speech of October 24, 1859 the barrister Hermann used the phrase in the latter sense (see Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess*..., S. 17).— *Ed.*

[c] Cf. Johann Fischart, *Affentheurliche, Naupengeheurliche Geschichtklitterung*....— *Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 38-40.— *Ed.*

members were in those days (!) known among *the Swiss emigration* as the '*Bristlers*' or the '*Brimstone Gang*'. Their leader is *Marx*, the former editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne—their slogan, 'Social Republic, Workers' Dictatorship'—their business, establishing contacts and hatching plots."[a] (Reprinted in the "Magnum Opus", Section 3, Documents, No. 7, pp. 31, 32.)

In the course of eight months the clique of refugees known as the "Brimstone Gang" "among the Swiss emigration" has been transformed for the benefit of a larger public into a mass "scattered throughout Switzerland, France and England" and known as the "*Brimstone Gang*" "among the refugees" in general. It is the old story of the men in buckram of Kendal green, told so merrily by Karl Vogt's prototype, the immortal Sir John Falstaff,[b] whose zoological reincarnation has forfeited nothing as to *substance.* The original text of our *Commis voyageur* from Biel makes it quite obvious that both the "*Brimstone Gang*" and the "*Bristlers*" were local *Swiss* flora. Let us try and trace their natural history.

In February 1860, having learnt from friends that a refugee association by the name of "Brimstone Gang" had indeed flourished in Geneva in the years 1849-50 and that Herr *S. L. Borkheim,* a well-situated merchant in the City of London, could provide more exact information about the origins, growth and decline of that ingenious association, I wrote to that gentleman, who was not known to me at the time, and after a personal meeting I received from him the following sketch which I print without making any alterations.

"*London,* February 12, 1860
18 Union Grove, Wandsworth Road

"Dear Sir,

"Although, until three days ago, we had not met personally, despite having lived for nine years in the same country, and for the most part in the same town, you have rightly presumed that I, as a fellow-exile, would not refuse you the information you require.

"Very well then, here is what I know about the '*Brimstone Gang*'.

"In 1849, soon after we rebels had been forced out of Baden,[17] a number of young men who as students, soldiers or businessmen had been on friendly terms in Germany before 1848, or who had become so during the revolution, gathered together in *Geneva* either of their own free will or else because they had been directed there by the Swiss authorities.

"The refugees were not in a very rosy mood. The so-called political leaders blamed each other for the failure; the military leaders criticised each other's

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[a] Karl Vogt, "Zur Warnung", dated May 23, published in the *Schweizer Handels-Courier,* No. 150 (special supplement), June 2, 1859. Sometimes Marx ironically refers to this newspaper as the Biel *Commis voyageur.—Ed.*

[b] Shakespeare, *Henry IV,* Part I, Act II, Scene 4.—*Ed.*

retrograde attacking movements, flanking manoeuvres and offensive withdrawals; people began to call each other names such as bourgeois republicans, socialists and communists; there was a flood of pamphlets, which did nothing to restore peace; spies were thought to be everywhere and, in addition to all this, the clothes of the majority gradually turned to rags and the signs of hunger could be seen on many faces. In the midst of this misery the young people referred to above held together in friendship. They were:

"*Eduard Rosenblum,* born in Odessa of German parents; he had studied medicine in Leipzig, Berlin and Paris.

"*Max Cohnheim* from Fraustadt; he had been an office-boy, and on the outbreak of the revolution, he was doing a year as a volunteer in the artillery guards.

"*Korn,* a chemist and pharmacist from Berlin.

"*Becker,* an engineer from the Rhineland.

"And *myself,* who, after matriculating from the Werder school in Berlin in 1844, had studied in Breslau,[a] Greifswald and Berlin and was serving as a gunner in my home town of Glogau when the 1848 revolution began.

"I think none of us was more than 24 years old. We lived close together, for a time indeed in the Grand Pré, all in the same house. Finding ourselves in a small country that presented so little opportunity for earning a living, our chief occupation was to keep ourselves from being too much depressed and demoralised by the general misery of refugee life and political dejection. The climate and the surrounding country were glorious—we did not belie our Brandenburg origins and accents and found the place 'luv'ly' [fanden die *Jegend jottvoll*[b]]. What belonged to one of us, the others had too, and if none of us had anything we could always find good-natured innkeepers and other friendly souls who took pleasure in lending us money on the strength of our young, vivacious faces. We really must have looked an honest set of madcaps! I must make specific thankful mention here of Bertin, the owner of the Café de l'Europe who was truly *indefatigable* in supplying us on tick, and not only us but also many other German and French refugees. In 1856, after six years' absence, I visited Geneva on my way back from the Crimea in order, with the piety of a well-intentioned tourist, to repay my debts. Our good old fat Bertin was amazed and assured me that I was the first person to give him this pleasure, but that he did not regret the 10,000-20,000 francs still owing to him from the refugees who were by now long since scattered to the four corners of the globe. Never mentioning the money they owed him, he asked with special affection about the fate of those I had been closest to. Unfortunately there was little I could tell him.

"I return from this digression to the year 1849.

"In those days we drank merrily and sang joyfully. I remember seeing refugees of every political shade and colour at our table, including Frenchmen and Italians. Convivial evenings spent in such *dulci jubilo*[18] seemed to everyone like veritable oases amidst the otherwise barren wastes of refugee life. Even those of our friends who sat on the Grand Council of Geneva, or were later to do so, would occasionally join our revels for the sake of a little relaxation.

"Liebknecht, who is now here and whom I have only seen three or four times in last nine years, having met him each time by chance in the street, was a frequent member of the company. Students, doctors, former friends from school and university, touring on holiday, would often drink their way through many

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[a] The Polish name is Wrocław.—*Ed.*

[b] Berlin dialect.—*Ed.*

glasses of beer and many a bottle of that good, cheap Mâcon. Sometimes we would spend days and even weeks on the Lake of Geneva without once going on shore; we sang old love-songs and, guitar in hand, paid court beneath the windows of the villas on both the Savoy and Swiss sides.

"I shall not conceal the fact that our wild behaviour occasionally brought us into collison with the police. On such occasions that dear man, the late *Albert Galeer,* who was a by no means insignificant opponent of Fazy's among the Genevan citizenry, would read us a sermon, though in the kindest manner possible. 'You are wild lads,' he would say, 'but it is true that to have such a sense of humour amid the miseries of exile shows that you are no weaklings, either in mind or body—a certain flexibility is indispensable.' The good-natured man found it hard to rebuke us more severely than that. He was a Grand Councillor of the Canton of Geneva.

"To the best of my knowledge only one duel took place at the time, and that was fought with pistols by a Herr R...n and myself. But the quarrel was not political. My second was a Genevan in the artillery who spoke nothing but French, and *Oskar Galeer* acted as adjudicator. He was the Grand Councillor's brother, a young man who unfortunately later died prematurely of a nervous disease while still a student in Munich. A second duel, also unpolitical in origin, was to have taken place between Rosenblum and a refugee lieutenant von F...g from Baden, who returned home soon after and, I believe, rejoined the resuscitated Baden army. On the morning fixed for the battle the quarrel was settled amicably before a blow was struck thanks to the intervention of Herr Engels [19]—presumably the same man who is now said to be in Manchester and whom I have not seen again since those days. This Herr Engels was *passing* through Geneva and we drank many bottles of wine in his entertaining company. The acquaintance with him was very welcome to us, if I recollect rightly, especially because we could allow his purse to take charge of the proceedings.

"We were associated neither with the so-called blue or red [20] republicans, nor with the socialist or communist party leaders. We reserved the right to form our own opinions freely and independently (I will not say always correctly) about the political activities of Imperial Regents, members of the Frankfurt Parliament [21] and other speech-making bodies, about generals of the revolution no less than the corporals and Dalai Lamas of communism. For this reason as well as for other reasons which diverted us we even founded a weekly paper entitled

*RUMMELTIPUFF*

*Organ of Rapscallionocracy**

"The paper only survived two issues. Later, when I was arrested in France prior to being deported to this country, the French police confiscated my papers and diaries and I can no longer remember clearly whether it was official ban or lack of funds that brought about the paper's demise.

"To the 'philistines'—and they were to be found in the ranks of the so-called bourgeois republicans as well as among the so-called communist workers[a]—we were known as the *'Brimstone Gang'*. I sometimes imagine that we must have given

* "If my memory serves me right, this epithet had been applied to all the liberal parties in the Parliament of one of the German petty principalities, or in the Frankfurt Parliament. We wished to immortalise it." (*Borkheim*)

[a] This presumably refers to the advocates of utopian workers' communism.—*Ed.*

the name to ourselves. At any rate it was only attached to us in its cosy German sense. I am on the friendliest terms with fellow-exiles, who are friends of Herr Vogt, and with others who were, and probably still are, friends of yours. But I rejoice to say that I have never found the members of what I have called the *'Brimstone Gang'* referred to by anyone in a disrespectful tone in connection with either political or private matters.

"This *'Brimstone Gang'* is the only one known to me. It existed in Geneva from 1849 to 1850. The few members who constituted this dangerous band were compelled, with the exception of *Korn,* to leave Switzerland in the middle of 1850, as they belonged to the category of undesirable aliens. Our departure meant the end of the 'Brimstone Gang'. I know nothing of other 'Brimstone Gangs', or whether other groups went by the name anywhere else, nor what goals they might have been pursuing.

"*Korn* remained, I believe, in Switzerland and is said to have settled down as a pharmacist. *Cohnheim* and *Rosenblum* went to Holstein before the battle of Idstedt[22] in which, I believe, both took part. Later, in 1851, they sailed to America. Rosenblum returned to England at the end of the same year and left again in 1852 for Australia and I have heard nothing more of him since 1855. *Cohnheim* is said to have been for some time now editor of the *New-Yorker Humorist. Becker* likewise emigrated to America in 1850. Unfortunately I have no definite subsequent news of him.

"I myself stayed in Paris and Strasbourg during the winter of 1850-51 and, as I mentioned earlier, in February 1851 the French police sent me to England by brute force—for three months I was dragged from one prison to the other, 25 in all, and for the most part in heavy iron chains while *en route.* I now live here where, having devoted the first year to learning the language, I am engaged in business. My interest in the course of political events in my native land is as persistent and lively as ever, but I have held aloof from all the activities of the political cliques among the refugees. I am doing tolerably well or, as the English would say: Very well, sir, thank you.—You have only yourself to blame if I have made you wade through this long and at all events not very important story.

"I remain, Sir, your humble servant,
*Sigismund L. Borkheim*"

Thus far Herr *Borkheim's* letter. In anticipation of its historical significance the "Brimstone Gang" took the precaution of carving its own civic register into the Book of History. For the first issue of the *Rummeltipuff* is adorned by woodcut portraits of its founders.

The prodigies of the "Brimstone Gang" had taken part in Struve's republican putsch of September 1848. They then sat in Bruchsal Gaol until May 1849[23] and finally fought as combatants in the campaign for the Imperial Constitution, and as a result were pushed across the Swiss frontier. At some point in 1850 two of their matadors, Cohnheim and Rosenblum, arrived in London where they "congregated" around Herr *Gustav Struve.* I did not have the honour of a personal acquaintance with them. But they established contact with me politically by attempting to form a

counter-committee[24] under Struve's leadership in opposition to the London Refugee Committee[25] which was directed at the time by Engels, Willich, myself and others. Their manifesto, hostile to us, appeared in the Berlin *Abend-Post* and elsewhere over the signatures of Struve, Rosenblum, Cohnheim, Bobzin, Grunich and Oswald.

In the heyday of the Holy Alliance the *Charcoal Gang* (or Carbonari[26]) was a mine richly productive of police activities and aristocratic fantasies. Was it the intention of our Imperial Gorgellantua[a] to exploit the "Brimstone Gang" in the same way as the Charcoal Gang had been exploited for the benefit of ye olde Teutonic burghers? If there were a *Saltpeter Gang,* it would round off the policemen's Trinity. Possibly, also, *Karl Vogt* is averse to brimstone because he cannot take the smell of gunpowder. Or is it that, like other patients, he cannot endure a medicine specific to his disease? It is well known that the magic Dr. *Rademacher* classifies diseases according to their antidotes.[27] The category of sulphur diseases would include what Hermann, the barrister in the District Court in Augsburg, referred to as his client's *"well-rounded character"*,[b] what Rademacher calls a "drum-like distension of the peritoneum", and what the even greater Dr. Fischart describes as "the great vaulted belly from France".[c] Thus all Falstaffian natures suffered from the sulphur disease in more than one sense. Or can it be that *Vogt*'s zoological conscience has reminded him that sulphur is fatal to scab-mites, and that it is therefore utterly repugnant to scab-mites that have several times changed skin? For, as recent research has shown, only the mite that has shed its skin is capable of procreation and has therefore achieved self-awareness. What a charming contrast: *sulphur* on the one hand, the *self-aware scab-mite* on the other! But in any case, Vogt was obliged to prove to his "Emperor"[d] and to the liberal Teutonic burghers that all disasters "since the failure of the revolution of 1849" stem from the *Brimstone Gang* in Geneva, rather than from the *December Gang* in Paris.[28] To punish me for my many outrages, committed over a period of years, against the head and members of the "Gang of December 10", Vogt

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[a] An allusion to Vogt. Gorgellantua or Gurgelgrosslinger=Gargantua. Gorgellantua occurs in Johann Fischart's adaptation of Rabelais' *Gargantua et Pantagruel.—Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 28.—*Ed.*

[c] Johann Fischart, *Affentheurliche, Naupengeheurliche Geschichtklitterung...*, S. 130.—*Ed.*

[d] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

appointed me the leader of the Brimstone Gang which he has so reviled and which I had not heard of before the appearance of his "Magnum Opus". To render comprehensible the just indignation of this "agreeable companion"[a] I may cite here some of the passages referring to the "December Gang" from my book *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte,* New York, 1852. (Cf. loc. cit., pp. 31, 32 and 61, 62.[b])

"This gang[29] dates from the year 1849. On the pretext of founding a benevolent society, the lumpenproletariat of Paris had been organised into secret sections, each section being led by Bonapartist agents, with a Bonapartist general[c] at the head of the whole. Alongside decayed aristocratic *roués* with dubious means of subsistence and of dubious origin, alongside ruined and adventurous offshoots of the bourgeoisie, were vagabonds, discharged soldiers, discharged jailbirds, escaped galley slaves, rogues, mountebanks, *lazzaroni,*[30] pickpockets, tricksters, gamblers, *maquereaus,*[d] brothel-keepers, porters, casual labourers, organ-grinders, rag-pickers, knife-grinders, tinkers, beggars—in short, the whole indefinite, disintegrated mass, thrown hither and thither, which the French term *la bohème*; from this kindred element Bonaparte formed the core of the Gang of December 10. A 'benevolent society'—in so far as, like Bonaparte, all its members felt the need of benefiting themselves at the expense of the labouring nation.

"This Bonaparte, who constitutes himself chief of the lumpenproletariat, who here alone rediscovers in mass form the interests which he personally pursues, who recognises in this scum, offal, refuse of all classes the only class upon which he can base himself unconditionally, is the real Bonaparte, the Bonaparte *sans phrase,* unmistakable even when, later on, having become all-powerful, he pays his debt to a number of his former fellow-conspirators by decreeing their transportation to Cayenne along with the revolutionaries. An old crafty *roué,* he conceives the historical life of the nations and their performances of state [*Haupt- und Staatsaktionen*] as comedy in the most vulgar sense, as a masquerade where the grand costumes, words and postures merely serve to

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[a] Marx applies to Vogt the expression *angenehmer Gesellschafter* which the latter used in reference to Jérôme Napoleon (see Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess...,* Dokumente, S. 24).—*Ed.*

[b] *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 148-49, 150, 195-97). In the extracts quoted here Marx leaves out a number of passages and slightly alters others.—*Ed.*

[c] Jean Pierre Piat.—*Ed.*

[d] Pimps.—*Ed.*

mask the pettiest knavery. Thus on his expedition to Strasbourg, where a trained Swiss vulture had played the part of the Napoleonic eagle. For his irruption into Boulogne he puts some London lackeys into French uniforms. They represent the army.[31] In his Gang of December 10, he assembles 10,000 rogues who are to play the part of the people, as Nick Bottom that of the lion[a]....

"What the national *ateliers* were for the socialist workers, what the *Gardes mobiles*[32] were for the bourgeois republicans, the Gang of December 10, the party fighting force characteristic of Bonaparte, was for him. On his journeys the detachments of this gang packing the railways had to improvise a public for him, stage public enthusiasm, roar *vive l'Empereur,* insult and beat up republicans, of course under the protection of the police. On his return journeys to Paris they had to form the advance guard, forestall counter-demonstrations or disperse them. The Gang of December 10 belonged to him, it was *his* work, his very own idea. Whatever else he appropriates is put into his hands by the force of circumstances; whatever else he does, the circumstances do for him or he is content to copy from the deeds of others. But *he* with official phrases about order, religion, family and property in public, before the citizens, and with the secret society of the Schufterles and Spiegelbergs, the society of disorder, prostitution and theft, behind him—that is Bonaparte himself as original author, and the history of the Gang of December 10 is his own history....

"Bonaparte would like to appear as the patriarchal benefactor of all classes. But he cannot give to one class without taking from another. Just as at the time of the Fronde it was said of the Duke of Guise that he was the most *obligeant* man in France because he had turned all his estates into his partisans' obligations to him, so Bonaparte would fain be the most *obligeant* man in France and turn all the property, all the labour of France into a personal obligation to himself. He would like to *steal* the whole of France in order to be able to *make a present* of her to France, or, rather, in order to be able to *buy France anew* with French money, for as the chief of the Gang of December 10 he must needs buy what ought to belong to him. And all the state institutions, the Senate, the Council of State, the legislative body, the courts, the Legion of Honour, the soldiers' medals, the wash-houses, the public works,

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[a] The reference is to Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* Act I, Scene 2.—*Ed.*

the railways, the *état-major*[a] of the National Guard excluding privates, and the confiscated estates of the House of Orleans—all become parts of the institution of purchase. Every place in the army and in the government machine becomes a means of purchase.

"But the most important feature of this process, whereby France is taken in order to be given back, is the percentages that find their way into the pockets of the head and the members of the Gang of December 10 during the transaction. The witticism with which Countess L.,[b] the mistress of M. de Morny, characterised the confiscation of the Orleans estates: '*C'est le premier vol** de l'aigle*',[c] is applicable to every flight of this *eagle,* which is more like a *raven.* He himself and his adherents call out to one another daily like that Italian Carthusian admonishing the miser who, with boastful display, counted up the goods on which he could yet live for years to come: '*Tu fai conto sopra i beni, bisogna prima far il conto sopra gli anni.*'** Lest they make a mistake in the years, they count the minutes.

"A gang of shady characters push their way forward to the court, into the ministries, to the head of the administration and the army, a crowd of the best of whom it must be said that no one knows whence he comes, a noisy, disreputable, rapacious *bohème* that crawls into braided coats with the same grotesque dignity as the high dignitaries of Soulouque. One can visualise clearly this upper stratum of the Gang of December 10, if one reflects that Véron-Crevel*** is its preacher of morals and Granier de Cassagnac its thinker. When Guizot, at the time of his ministry, utilised this Granier on a hole-and-corner newspaper against the dynastic opposition, he used to boast of him with the quip: '*C'est le roi des drôles*', 'he is the king of the buffoons.'[d] One would do wrong to recall the Regency[34] or Louis XV in connection with

* *Vol* means flight and theft. [Note by Marx to *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.*]

** "Thou countest thy goods, thou shouldst first count thy years." [Note by Marx to *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.*]

*** In his novel *Cousine Bette,* Balzac delineates the thoroughly dissolute Parisian philistine in Crevel, a character based on Dr. Véron, owner of the *Constitutionnel.* [Note by Marx to *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.*]

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[a] General Staff.—*Ed.*

[b] Lehon.—*Ed.*

[c] "It is the first flight (theft) of the eagle."[33]—*Ed.*

[d] Quoted in the article by Emile Dupont, "Chronique de l'intérieur", *La Voix du Proscrit,* No. 8, December 15, 1850, p. 118.—*Ed.*

Louis Bonaparte's court and clique. For 'often already, France has experienced a government of mistresses; but never before a government of *hommes entretenus*.'...* [a]

"Driven by the contradictory demands of his situation and being at the same time, like a conjurer, under the necessity of keeping the public gaze fixed on himself, as Napoleon's substitute, by springing constant surprises, that is to say, under the necessity of executing a coup d'état *en miniature* every day, Bonaparte throws the entire bourgeois economy into confusion, violates everything that seemed inviolable to the Revolution of 1848, makes some tolerant of revolution, others desirous of revolution, and produces actual anarchy in the name of order, while at the same time stripping its halo from the entire state machine, profanes it and makes it at once loathsome and ridiculous. The cult of the Holy Coat of Trier[35] he duplicates in Paris with the cult of the Napoleonic imperial mantle. But when the imperial mantle finally falls on the shoulders of Louis Bonaparte, the bronze statue of Napoleon will crash from the top of the Vendôme Column." [36]

* The words quoted are those of Madame Girardin. [Note by Marx to *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.]

[a] *Hommes entretenus*: kept men.—*Ed.*

## II

## THE BRISTLERS

> "But, sirrah, there's no room for faith, truth, nor honesty in this bosom of thine; it is all filled up with guts and midriff."
>
> (*Shakespeare*)[a]

*"Bristlers"* **or** *"Brimstone Gang"* is what it says in the original Biel gospel ("Magnum Opus", Documents, p. 31). *"Brimstone Gang"* **or else** *"Bristlers"* is what we find in the "Magnum Opus" (p. 136).[b]

According to both versions the "Brimstone Gang" and the "Bristlers" are one and the same gang. The "Brimstone Gang" was, as we have seen, dead and buried by the middle of 1850. Therefore the "Bristlers" too? Our "well-rounded character" is the civilising agent attached to the December Gang, and civilisation, according to Fourier, is distinguished from barbarism by the fact that in it lies simple are replaced by lies composite.[c]

Our "composite" Imperial Falstaff informs us ("Magnum Opus", p. 198) that a certain *Abt* is the "lowest of the low". What admirable self-effacement: Vogt puts himself in the positive, but his Abt in the superlative, appointing him, as it were, his Field Marshal Ney. When Vogt's original gospel appeared in the Biel *Commis voyageur,*[d] I requested the editors of *Das Volk*[37] to reprint the original rigmarole without further comment. Despite this they followed the reprint with this note:

"The above rigmarole stems from the pen of a dissolute creature called *Abt,* who, eight years ago in Geneva, was unanimously found guilty of a variety of

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[a] *Henry IV,* Part I, Act III, Scene 3. Marx quotes in English.—*Ed.*

[b] Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess...,* S. 31, 136.—*Ed.*

[c] Charles Fourier, *Théorie de l'unité universelle. Oeuvres complètes,* Vol. 2, Paris, 1843, pp. 78-79, and Vol. 5, Paris, 1841, pp. 213-14.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx means Karl Vogt's article "Zur Warnung" in the *Schweizer Handels-Courier,* No. 150 (special supplement), June 2, 1859 (see this volume, p. 29).—*Ed.*

dishonourable actions by a court of honour of German refugees" (*Das Volk*, No. 6, June 11, 1859).

The editors of *Das Volk* took Abt for the author of Vogt's original rigmarole; they forgot that Switzerland had two Richmonds in the field,[38] *a Vogt, as well as an Abt.*

In the spring of 1851, then, the "lowest of the low" invented the *"Bristlers"*, whom Vogt pilfered from his Field Marshal in the autumn of 1859. The sweet habit of plagiarism acquired in making books on natural history instinctively clings to him in those dealing with his police activities. For a time the President of the Workers' Association in Geneva had been a brushmaker [*Bürstenmacher*] called *Sauernheimer.* Abt bisected Sauernheimer's profession and name, took the beginning of the former and the end of the latter and from the two halves thus obtained he ingeniously formed the whole: "*Bürstenheimer*" [Bristler]. This title he originally bestowed on *Sauernheimer,* as well as on his closest friends: *Kamm* from Bonn, a brushmaker by trade, and also **Ranickel**, a bookbinder's apprentice from Bingen. He appointed Sauernheimer general and Ranickel adjutant of the Bristlers, while Kamm became a Bristler *sans phrase.* Later, when two refugees belonging to the Workers' Association in Geneva, *Imandt* (who is at present professor at the college in Dundee) and *Schily* (a lawyer, formerly of Trier, now in Paris), brought about Abt's expulsion at the hands of a court of honour of the Association, Abt published an abusive pamphlet[39] in which he elevated the whole Workers' Association in Geneva to the rank of "*Bristlers*". It is clear, then, that there were Bristlers in general and Bristlers in particular. *"Bristlers"* in general included the Genevan Workers' Association, the same association which Vogt tricked into giving him a *testimonium paupertatis* which was published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*[a] at a time when he had been driven into a corner, the same association on which he fawned during the celebrations in memory of Schiller and Robert Blum (1859). "Bristlers" in particular were, as I have mentioned, Sauernheimer, who is totally unknown to me and who has never been to London; Kamm who, having been turned out of Geneva, went to the United States via London, where he looked up Kinkel and not me; and finally *Ranickel,* or **the Ranickel,**[b] who remained as the adjutant of the

[a] This refers to the declaration of the German Workers' Educational Association in West Switzerland printed in the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 235, August 23, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] The name suggests *Ranunkel*=ranunculus and also, by metathesis, *Karnickel*=(1) rabbit and (2) a fool or Simple Simon. Marx puns below on *Ran-Igel*=hedgehog.—*Ed.*

Bristlers in Geneva where he "congregated" around our "well-rounded character". And indeed, in his own person he represents the proletariat in Vogt's eyes. As I shall have more to say about *the Ranickel* later on, here are a few preliminary facts about the beast. *Ranickel* took part in Hecker's ill-starred campaign and after its defeat he joined the detachment of refugees under Willich in Besançon.[40] Still under Willich he went through the campaign for the Imperial Constitution after which he fled with him to Switzerland. Willich was in his eyes the communist Mohammed who would bring about the millennium with fire and sword. A vain, long-winded, foppish melodramatic actor, *the Ranickel* was more tyrannical than the tyrant. In Geneva he raged in a red fury against the "parliamentarians" in general and, like a second Tell, against the "Land-Vogt" in particular, whom he threatened to "strangle". But when he was introduced to Vogt by Wallot, a refugee from the thirties and a boyhood friend of Vogt's, *Ranickel*'s thirst for blood dissolved in the milk of human kindness.[a] *"That* fellow was *the Vogt's,"* as Schiller says.[b]

The adjutant of the Bristlers became the adjutant of General Vogt, who has only failed to achieve military renown because Plon-Plon thought the Neapolitan captain *Ulloa* (another general by courtesy[c]) bad enough for the task his *"corps de touristes"* had to perform in the Italian campaign, and so held his Parolles in reserve for the great adventure with "the lost drum" that will unfold on the Rhine.[41] In 1859 Vogt promoted his *Ranickel* from the proletariat to the middle classes, obtained a business for him (*objets d'art*, bookbinding and stationery) and in addition procured for him the custom of the Geneva Government. The adjutant of the Bristlers now became Vogt's "maid of all work",[d] his Cicisbeo, intimate friend, Leporello, confidant, correspondent, gossip-bearer and scandal-monger, but above all, after the Fall of our Fat Jack,[e] he acted as his spy and as recruiting officer for Bonaparte among the workers. A Swiss paper recently reported the discovery of a third species of hedgehog, viz., the Ran or Rhine hedgehog [*Ran- oder Rhein-Igel*] which combines the qualities of both the canine and porcine varieties in itself and which has been found in

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[a] Marx uses the English phrase "the milk of human kindness" which comes from *Macbeth*, Act I, Scene 5.— *Ed.*

[b] *Wilhelm Tell*, Act I, Scene 4.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English phrase. For more about Ulloa see Engels' letter written to Marx approximately July 23, 1860, present edition, Vol. 41.— *Ed.*

[d] Marx uses the English phrase.— *Ed.*

[e] Sir John Falstaff was addressed as Jack by his drinking mates.— *Ed.*

a hole on the River Arve, the country-seat of Humboldt-Vogt. Was this *Ran-Igel* aimed at our *Ranickel*?

N.B. The only refugee in Geneva with whom I had any contact was *Dr. Ernst Dronke,* a former co-editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*[42] and at present a businessman in Liverpool. He was opposed to the activities of the "Bristlers".

The following letters from *Imandt* and *Schily* I would only preface with the remark that, on the outbreak of the revolution, Imandt left university in order to take part as a volunteer in the war in Schleswig-Holstein. In 1849 Schily and Imandt led the storming of the arsenal in Prüm[43] and from there they forced a passage to the Palatinate with their troops and the weapons they had seized. There they joined the ranks of the army of the Imperial Constitution. Having been expelled from Switzerland in the early summer of 1852 they made their way to London.

"*Dundee,* February 5, 1860

"Dear Marx,

"I am at a loss to understand how Vogt can attempt to connect you with affairs in Geneva. It was common knowledge among the refugees there that of all of us *only Dronke* was in communication with you. The *Brimstone Gang* was before my time and the only name I can recall in connection with it is *Borkheim.*

"The *Bristlers* were the Genevan Workers' Association. The name originated with *Abt.* At the time the Association served as nursery for Willich's secret league of which I was chairman. When, at my instigation, Abt was found by the Workers' Association, to which many refugees belonged, to be a scoundrel and unworthy to associate with refugees and workers, he published a lampoon shortly afterwards in which he accused Schily and myself of the absurdest crimes. Whereupon we revived the whole affair in a different place and before a completely different audience. He rejected our demand that he should come forward with proofs to back up his libellous allegations, and without its being necessary for Schily or myself to say a word in our own defence, *Dentzel* proposed a motion that Abt be declared an infamous slanderer. The motion was approved unanimously for a second time, on this occasion by a meeting of refugees consisting almost entirely of parliamentarians. I am sorry that my tale is so very meagre, but it is the first time in eight years that I have had cause to think back to all *that trash.* I would not like to be condemned to write about it and *I shall be most astonished if you can bring yourself to immerse your hand in such a brew.*

"*Adieu,*

Your *Imandt*"

A well-known Russian writer[a] who had been on very friendly terms with Herr Vogt during his stay in Geneva, wrote to me very much along the lines of the concluding words of the above letter:

[a] Nikolai Ivanovich Sazonov.—*Ed.*

"Paris, 10 Mai 1860

"Mon cher Marx!

"J'ai appris avec la plus vive indignation les calomnies qui ont été répandues sur votre compte et dont j'ai eu connaissance par un article de la *Revue contemporaine,* signé *Édouard Simon.*[a] Ce qui m'a particulièrement étonné c'est que Vogt, que je ne croyais ni bête, ni méchant, aît pu tomber dans l'abaissement moral que sa brochure révèle. Je n'avais besoin d'aucun témoignage pour être assuré, que vous étiez incapable de basses et sales intrigues, et il m'a été d'autant plus pénible de lire ces diffamations que dans le moment même où on les imprimait, vous donniez au monde savant la première partie du beau travail[b] qui doit renouveler la science économique et la fonder sur des nouvelles et plus solides bases... Mon cher Marx, ne vous occupez plus de toutes ces misères; tous les hommes sérieux, tous les hommes consciencieux sont pour vous, mais ils attendent de vous autre chose que des polémiques stériles; ils voudraient pouvoir étudier le plus tôt possible la continuation de votre belle œuvre.—Votre succès est immense parmi les hommes pensants et s'il vous peut être agréable d'apprendre le retentissement que vos doctrines trouvent en Russie, je vous dirai qu'au commencement de cette année le professeur—[c] a fait à Moscovie un cours public d'économie politique dont la première leçon n'a pas été autre chose que la paraphrase de votre récente publication.[44] Je vous adresse un numéro de *La Gazette du Nord,* où vous verrez combien votre nom est estimé dans mon pays. Adieu, mon cher Marx, conservez-vous en bonne santé et travaillez comme par le passé, à éclairer le monde, sans vous préoccuper des petites bêtises et des petites lâchetés. Croyez à l'amitié de votre dévoué..."[d]

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[a] "Un tableau de moeurs politiques en Allemagne. Le procès de M. Vogt avec la gazette d'Augsbourg", *Revue contemporaine,* February 15, 1860. For Marx's analysis of this article see this volume, pp. 93-94, 112-13.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to Marx's work *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (see present edition, Vol. 30).—*Ed.*

[c] Ivan Kondratyevich Babst.—*Ed.*

[d] "My dear Marx, I have learnt with the greatest indignation of the slanders that have been circulated about you and of which I was apprised by an article in the *Revue contemporaine* signed by *Édouard Simon.* What has astonished me most of all is that Vogt whom I thought to be neither stupid nor malicious should have morally sunk so low as his pamphlet reveals. I need no evidence to persuade me that you are incapable of base and sordid intrigues and it was all the more painful to read these slanders when, at the very moment they were being printed, you were presenting to the learned world the first part of the admirable work which will give new life to the science of economics and provide it with new and more solid foundations.... My dear Marx, you must ignore all this wretched pettiness; all serious men, all scrupulous men are on your side, but they expect something other than sterile polemics from you; they would like to study the continuation of your admirable work as soon as possible.—Among thinking men your success is enormous, and if it gives you pleasure to hear of the echo your works have found in Russia, I can tell you that at the beginning of this year Professor—gave a course of public lectures on political economy in Moscow, the first hour of which was nothing but a paraphrase of your recent publication. I am sending you an issue of *La Gazette du Nord* from which you will be able to see how high your reputation stands in my

*Szemere,* the former Hungarian Minister, also wrote to me in similar vein:

"Vaut-il la peine que *vous* vous occupiez de toutes ces bavardises?"[a]

I have briefly indicated in the Preface my reasons for immersing my hand in Vogt's brew (to use Imandt's forceful expression) despite these and similar attempts at dissuasion.

To return to our *Bristlers.* The following letter from *Schily* is printed here verbatim, not even omitting the parts that do not refer to "*nos moutons*". I have however shortened the description of the Brimstone Gang since it would merely repeat what we already know from Borkheim's account, and certain other passages have been saved for *later* as I must to some extent treat "my agreeable subject" artistically and not blurt all my secrets out at once.

"Paris, February 8, 1860
46 Rue Lafayette

"Dear Marx,

"It was very agreeable to have a direct sign of life from you in the shape of your letter of January 31[b] and you will find me all the more ready to give you the information you require about these episodes in Geneva as I intended to write to you about them *proprio motu.*[c] The first thing that struck me, and not only me but also all my Geneva acquaintances here with whom I had occasion to discuss the matter, was that Vogt, as you write, lumps you together with people who are quite unknown to you. And so, in the interests of the truth, I had taken upon myself the task of conveying to you the relevant information about the 'Bristlers', the 'Brimstone Gang', etc. So you can see that both your questions: '(1) Who were the Bristlers and what were their activities? and (2) What was the Brimstone Gang, who belonged to it, what did they do?' came at a very opportune moment. I must begin by pointing out, however, that you are guilty of an error in chronology, for priority belongs by rights to the *Brimstone Gang.* If it was Vogt's wish 'to have a bit of fun' and terrify the German philistines by conjuring up the devil or even by calling down fire and brimstone on their heads, he should have found rather more diabolical figures for his models than those harmless and jolly ale-house geniuses to whom we, the senior members of the Geneva emigration, used to refer jokingly and without any unfriendly ulterior motive as the Brimstone Gang, a title which they too accepted in good part. They were the merry sons of the Muses who had taken their *examina* and done their *exercitia practica* in the various South German putsches, finishing up in the campaign for the Imperial Constitution. After the failure they were gathering strength in Geneva in the company of their examiners and instructors in revolution for the time when business would be resumed.... It is

country. Adieu, my dear Marx, keep in good health and labour as in the past for the enlightenment of the world without concerning yourself with petty stupidities and petty acts of cowardly malice. I remain your devoted friend...."—*Ed.*

[a] "Is it really worth *your* while to bother your head with all this tittle-tattle?" (From Szemere's letter of February 5, 1860.)—*Ed.*

[b] Marx's letter to Schily dated January 31 is not available.—*Ed.*

[c] Of my own accord.—*Ed.*

obvious that anyone who either was never in Geneva or arrived there after the dissolution of the Gang could not have belonged to it. It was a purely local and ephemeral flora (a brimstone flora would be the right name for this corrosive substance), though probably because of the *Rummeltipuff* with its whiffs of revolution, it proved to have too strong a scent for Federal Swiss nerves. For Druey blew and the flower was scattered to the winds. It was not until a considerable period had elapsed that *Abt* came to Geneva, followed a few years later by *Cherval,* and while both of them smelled, 'each in his own way', it was not, as Vogt alleges, in that forgotten bouquet which had long since wilted and been torn apart.

"The activities of the Gang may be more or less summed up in the words: *toiling in the vineyard of the Lord.*[a] In addition they edited the *Rummeltipuff* with its motto: 'Dwell in the land and thrive on *red wine*!'[b] In it they exercised their wit and humour on everything under the sun: they denounced false prophets, flayed the parliamentarians (*inde irae*[c]), and spared neither themselves nor us, their audience, but caricatured everyone whether friend or foe with an admirable conscientiousness and impartiality.

"I do not need to tell you that they had no connection with you and never wore your *Bundschuh.*[45] Nor can I conceal from you the fact that that footwear would have been little to their taste. These soldiers of the revolution were for the time being lounging around in the slippers of the armistice until the revolution itself would reanimate them and re-equip them with its own buskin (the seven-league boots of resolute progress).[46] And anyone who had been so bold as to disturb their siesta with Marxist political economy, workers' dictatorship, etc., would have been given a very cool reception indeed. For Heaven knows, the work *they* did required nothing further than a Master of Ceremonies and their economic researches were confined almost entirely to the 'jug' and its *reddish* contents. One of their members, Backfisch, an honest farrier from the Odenwald, once expressed the opinion that 'the right to work was all very well, but the duty to work was one he would prefer to be spared....'

"Let us then replace the sacrilegiously abused tombstone of the Brimstone Gang. To prevent any further desecration of their grave a Hafiz should be employed to sing the *requiescat in pace.*[d] But, failing that, may they herewith accept this obituary *pro viatico et epitaphio*[e]: 'They knew the smell of powder.' Whereas their sacrilegious historiographer has merely managed to smell out brimstone.

"The *Bristlers* first emerged at a time when the Brimstone Gang only lived on verbally in legend, in the records of Genevan philistines and the hearts of Genevan beauties. The brushmakers and bookbinders, Sauernheimer, Kamm, Ranickel, etc., came into conflict with Abt. When Imandt, myself and others resolutely took their side we too became the targets of his hostility. Abt was then summoned to appear before a general assembly of refugees and members of the Workers' Association, combined to form a *cour des pairs*[f] or a *haute cour de justice.*[g] Abt did in fact appear

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[a] Matthew 20:4.—*Ed.*

[b] A pun on Psalm 37:3. Proverbia (in German): "Dwell in the land and verily thou shalt be fed" (lit. "feed thyself honestly" in Luther's version). Schily replaced *redlich* (honestly) with *rötlich,* literally "reddishly".—*Ed.*

[c] Hence the outcry (Juvenal, *Satires,* Book I, Satire 1).—*Ed.*

[d] Rest in peace. Psalms 4:9.—*Ed.*

[e] For their extreme unction and epitaph.—*Ed.*

[f] Court of peers.—*Ed.*

[g] High court.—*Ed.*

and not only failed to provide proof of the accusations he had hurled at various people, but even declared quite openly that he had made them up quite arbitrarily, as reprisals for just as arbitrary accusations that his enemies had levelled at him: *'Tit for tat, reprisals make the world go round!'*—was his view of the matter. Having made a valiant plea for his system of tit for tat, thoroughly convincing the noble peers of the great practical advantages to be derived from it, and after proofs of the accusations against him had been brought, he was declared to have confessed his malicious slanders, was found guilty of the other misdeeds imputed to him and was formally outlawed. In revenge he christened the noble peers, originally only the above-named guild-members, the '*Bürstenheimers*' [Bristlers], which, as you see, is a happy combination of the trade and name of the first-named. You should revere him, therefore, as the progenitor of the family of Bürstenheim, without however your being in a position to claim to be one of or related to the clan, whether the term is applied to the guild or the peerage. For you ought to know that those of them that did busy themselves with 'organising the revolution' did so not as your supporters but as your opponents. They revered Willich as God the Father or as their Pope and anathematised you as the Antichrist or antipope, so that Dronke, who was regarded as your only supporter and *legatus a latere*[a] in the diocese of Geneva, was excluded from all councils of the Church except the oenological ones, where he was *primus inter pares*. But the Bristlers, like the Brimstone Gang, were the merest Ephemeridae, and Druey had only to give one mighty puff and they scattered in all directions.

"The fact that a pupil of Agassiz[b] should have got involved in these fossils of the Geneva emigration and have unearthed such fantastic tales as those served up in his pamphlet is the more astonishing since as regards the species of Bristleriana he actually possesses a perfect specimen in his own zoological cabinet in the shape of a mastodon of the order of ruminants: **Ranickel**, the very prototype of the Bristler. So the rumination seems to have been imperfectly performed, or else not properly studied by the above-mentioned pupil....

"There you have all you asked for *et au delà*.[c] But now I too should like to ask you something, namely your opinion about the wisdom of introducing an inheritance tax *pro patria, vulgo*: for the state. It would form the state's principal source of income, eliminate the taxes which at present burden the poorer classes and of course would only apply in cases of sizeable estates.... Besides this inheritance tax I am interested in two German institutions: 'the consolidation of landed property' and 'mortgage insurance', institutions which I wish were better appreciated in this country. At the present time they are not at all understood, for the French in general, with but few exceptions, when they gaze across the Rhine see nothing but nebulosities and sauerkraut. An exception was provided recently by *L'Univers*[d] which, after lamenting immoderately about the fragmentation of landed property, added quite correctly: 'Il serait désirable qu'on appliquât immédiatement les remèdes énergiques, dont une partie de l'Allemagne s'est servie avec avantage: le remaniement obligatoire des propriétés partout où les $^{7}/_{10}$ des propriétaires d'une commune réclament cette mesure. La nouvelle répartition facilitera le

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[a] Cardinal, emissary. Dronke was sent to Switzerland as an emissary of the Communist League in the summer of 1850.—*Ed.*

[b] Vogt had been an assistant to the Swiss naturalist Agassiz.—*Ed.*

[c] And more besides.—*Ed.*

[d] The full title of the newspaper is *L'Univers réligieux, philosophique, politique, scientifique et littéraire.*—*Ed.*

drainage, l'irrigation, la culture rationelle et la voirie des propriétés.'[a] On top of this comes *Le Siècle* which is in general somewhat myopic, but which is completely blind when it comes to consider German affairs, thanks to a chauvinism which it displays as proudly as Diogenes showed off his threadbare cloak—it serves up this stuff, disguised as patriotism, daily to its subscribers. This chauvinist, then, having fired off the obligatory salvo at *L'Univers*, its *bête noire*, went on to say: 'Propriétaires ruraux, suivez ce conseil! Empressez-vous de réclamer le remaniement obligatoire des propriétés; *dépouillez les petits au profit des grands.* O fortunatos nimium agricolas—trop heureux habitants des campagnes—sua si bona—s'ils connaissaient l'avantage à remanier obligatoirement la propriété.'[b] As if the large landowners could out-vote the smallholders where *each man* had a vote.

"For the rest I let God's water flow freely over His land, give unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's,[c] and even 'the Devil's share',[d] and remain your old affectionate friend,

*Schily*"

It follows from the foregoing that as there existed a "Brimstone Gang" in Geneva in 1849-50, and an association called the "Bristlers" in 1851-52, two societies connected neither with each other nor with myself, the revelations of our parliamentary clown about the existence of the *"Brimstone Gang* **or** *Bristlers"* are flesh of his flesh, a *lie* to the fourth power, "like the father that begets it: gross as a mountain, open, palpable".[e] Just imagine a historian shameless enough to report: At the time of the first French Revolution there was a group of people known by the name of the *"Cercle social"*[47] **or else** by the no less characteristic title of *"Jacobins"*.

As regards the life and deeds of the "Brimstone Gang *or* Bristlers" that he concocted, our merry joker was careful to keep the costs of their production down to a minimum. I shall give but a single instance of this:

"One of the chief occupations of the Brimstone Gang," the well-rounded one informs his astounded audience of philistines, "was to compromise people at home in Germany in such a way that they were forced to pay money and no longer resist the attempts to blackmail them" (a fine how-do-you-do[48]; "they *were forced to no longer*

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[a] "It would be desirable that energetic remedies be introduced immediately, such as those that have proved so successful in part of Germany: the compulsory reorganisation of land holdings wherever it is demanded by $^{7}/_{10}$ of the owners in a community. The new distribution of land would facilitate drainage, irrigation, the rational exploitation of the land and the planning of roads."—*Ed.*

[b] "Rural landowners, follow this advice! Hasten to demand the compulsory reorganisation of land holdings; *rob the small owners to enrich the large ones. O fortunatos nimium agricolas*—too happy country-dwellers—*sua si bona*—if they only knew the advantages of the compulsory reorganisation of land holdings." (The Latin expression quoted here is a paraphrase from Virgil's poem *Georgies.*)—*Ed.*

[c] Matthew 22:21.—*Ed.*

[d] Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, Part I, Act I, Scene 2.—*Ed.*

[e] ibid., Act II, Scene 4.—*Ed.*

resist the attempts to blackmail them"), "in exchange for which the gang should preserve the secret of their having been compromised. Not just *one* letter, but *hundreds* were written to Germany by these men" (namely Vogt's homunculi) "and all of them contained the naked threat that the person in question would be denounced for complicity in this or that act of revolution unless a certain sum of money had been received at a specified address by a given date" ("Magnum Opus", p. 139).

Why did Vogt fail to print even *"one"* of these letters? Because the "Brimstone Gang" wrote *"hundreds"* of them. If threatening letters were as plentiful as blackberries[a] Vogt would swear that we should have no threatening letter. If he were summoned to appear tomorrow before a court of honour of the Grütli Association[49] to give an account of the "hundreds" of "threatening letters", he would instead of producing a single letter pull a bottle of wine from his jerkin, smack his lips, cock a snook and with a great belly-laugh worthy of Silenus, he would exclaim like his Abt: "Tit for tat, reprisals make the world go round."

[a] Adaptation of Falstaff's "if reasons were as plentiful as blackberries" (Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, Part I, Act II, Scene 4).—*Ed.*

# III

# POLICE MATTERS

"Welch' Neues Unerhörtes hat der Vogt
Sich ausgesonnen!"

(*Schiller*)[a]

"I say quite bluntly," says Vogt, striking the gravest pose of which such a buffoon is capable, "I say quite bluntly: Everyone who engages in political machinations with Marx and his associates will sooner or later fall into the hands of the police. For these machinations are no sooner under way than they are made known and betrayed to the secret police and hatched out by them as soon as the time appears to be ripe" (these machinations are eggs, it would seem, and the police are the broody hens that hatch them out). "The instigators, Marx & Co., are of course sitting in London out of reach" (while the police are sitting on the eggs). *"I would not be at a loss to provide proofs of this assertion"* ("Magnum Opus", pp. 166, 167).[b]

Vogt is not "*at a loss*" [*verlegen*], Falstaff was never "*at a loss*" either. As "*mendacious*" [*verlogen*] as you please, but "*at a loss*"? Come, your "proofs" [*Belege*], Jack, your "proofs".[c]

## 1. CONFESSION

"*Marx* himself says on p. 77 of his pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne,*[d] published in 1853: '*After* 1849 just as before 1848, only *one* path was open to the proletarian party—that of *secret association.* Consequently after 1849 a whole series of clandestine proletarian societies sprang up on the Continent, were *discovered by the police,* condemned by the courts, broken up by the gaols and *continually resuscitated* by the force of circumstances.' *Marx,*" Vogt declares, "here euphemistically describes himself as 'circumstance'" ("Magnum Opus", p. 167).

Marx says, then, that "the police have discovered a whole series of secret societies since 1849" that were restored to life by the

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[a] "What new, unheard-of plan has Vogt invented now?" (*Wilhelm Tell,* Act I, Scene 3.)—*Ed.*

[b] Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess....* The italics are Marx's.—*Ed.*

[c] Shakespeare, *Henry IV,* Part I, Act II, Scene 4.—*Ed.*

[d] See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 446.—*Ed.*

force of circumstances. Vogt says it was *Marx* and not the "circumstances" that "resuscitated the secret societies". Thus Vogt has furnished proof that whenever Badinguet's police discovered Marianne,[50] Marx in collusion with Pietri set it up again.

"*Marx himself* says." I shall now quote what Marx himself says in its proper context:

"With the defeat of the revolution of 1848-49 the party of the proletariat on the Continent lost use of the *press, freedom of speech and the right to associate,* i.e. the *legal instruments* of party organisation, which it had enjoyed for once during that short interval. The social status of the classes they represented enabled both the bourgeois-liberal and the petty-bourgeois democratic parties to remain united in one form or another and to assert their common interests more or less effectively despite the reaction. After 1849 just as before 1848, only *one* path was open to *the proletarian party*—that of *secret association. Consequently* after 1849 a whole series of clandestine proletarian societies sprang up on the Continent, were discovered by the police, condemned by the courts, broken up by the gaols and continually resuscitated by the force of circumstances. Some of these secret societies aimed directly at the overthrow of the existing state. This was fully justified in *France....* Other secret societies aimed at organising the proletariat into a party, without concerning themselves with the existing governments. This was necessary in countries like *Germany....* There is no doubt that here too the members of the proletarian party would take part once again in a revolution against the *status quo, but it was no part of* **their** *task to prepare this revolution, to agitate, conspire or to plot for it.... The Communist League,*[51] *therefore, was no conspiratorial society...*" (*Revelations, etc.,*[52] *Boston* edition, pp. 62, 63).[a]

But our merciless Land-Vogt regards even "propaganda" as a crime, except of course for the propaganda organised by Pietri and Laity. Our Land-Vogt will even condone "agitation, conspiracy and plotting", but only when its central office is in the Palais Royal[53] with Hearty Harry, Heliogabalus Plon-Plon. But "propaganda" among proletarians! Fie!

After the above-quoted passage, so significantly mutilated by our Examining Magistrate Vogt, I continue in the *Revelations* as follows:

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 445-46. Marx introduces additional italics and also bold type in quoting.—*Ed.*

"It is self-evident that a secret society of this kind" (like the *Communist League*) "[...] could have had but few attractions for individuals who on the one hand concealed their personal insignificance by strutting around in the theatrical cloak of the conspirator, and on the other wished to satisfy their narrow-minded ambition on the day of the next revolution, and who wished above all to seem important at the moment, to snatch their share of the proceeds of demagogy and to find a welcome among the quacks and charlatans of democracy. Thus a group broke off from the *Communist League,* or if you like it was broken off, a group that demanded, if not real conspiracies, at any rate the *appearance* of conspiracies, and accordingly called for a direct alliance with the democratic heroes of the hour; this was the Willich-Schapper group. It was typical of them that Willich was, together with *Kinkel,* one of the *entrepreneurs* in the business of the German-American Revolutionary Loan"[54] (pp. 63, 64).[a]

And how does Vogt translate this passage into his "euphemistic" police mumbo-jumbo? Listen:

"As long as *both*" (parties) "cooperated, they worked, *as Marx himself says,* to create secret societies and to **compromise societies and individuals** *on the Continent*" (p. 171).

Our fat rascal forgets only to quote the page in the *Revelations* where Marx *"of course says this himself".*

"Egli è bugiardo e padre di menzogna."[b]

## 2. THE REVOLUTIONARY CONGRESS IN MURTEN

"Charles the Bold", our "bold Charles", *vulgo* Karl Vogt, now delivers his account of the defeat of Murten.[55]

"Large numbers of workers and refugees were cajoled and bullied"—namely by *Liebknecht*—"until finally [...] it was agreed that there should be *a revolutionary congress* in Murten. The delegates of the branch societies were to assemble there *in secret* in order to confer about the *final organisation of the League* and the *exact moment for the armed uprising.* All preparations were made in *absolute secrecy,* the summonses were conveyed *only* by Liebknecht's trusted friends and correspondents. The delegates converged on Murten from *all* sides, *on foot, by boat and by carriage,* and were immediately welcomed by gendarmes, who knew in advance about the whats, the whys and the *hows.* The whole company that had been arrested *in this manner* was detained for a while in the Augustinian monastery in Fribourg and then transported to England and America. Herr Liebknecht was treated with quite *exceptional* consideration" ("Magnum Opus", p. 168).

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 449.—*Ed.*

[b] "'Twas said he was a liar and the father of lies" (Dante, *The Divine Comedy,* Inferno, Canto XXIII).—*Ed.*

"Herr Liebknecht" had taken part in Struve's putsch in September 1848, then was kept in Baden gaols until the middle of May 1849, was freed as a result of the military insurrection in Baden, served as a common soldier in the Baden People's Artillery, was incarcerated once more as a rebel in the casemates in Rastatt by Vogt's friend Brentano; having been freed again during the campaign for the Imperial Constitution he joined the division commanded by Johann Philipp Becker and finally crossed the French border with Struve, Cohnheim, Korn and Rosenblum from where they made their way to Switzerland.

At the time I knew even less about "Herr Liebknecht" and his Swiss "revolutionary congresses" than about the drinking-meetings with mine host Benz in Kessler Street in Berne where the assembled parliamentarians regaled each other with the speeches they had made in St. Paul's Church,[56] counted and distributed future posts of the Empire among themselves, and helped to while away the hard night of exile by listening to the lies, farces, ribaldry and rodomontades of Charles the Bold who, not without a touch of humour, awarded himself the letters patent of *"Imperial Wine Bibber"* in honour of an old German lay.

The "lay" begins with these words:

"Swaz ich trinken's hân gesëhen,
daz ist gar von kinden geschëhen:
ich hân einen swëlch gesëhen,
dem wil ich meisterschefte jëhen.
"Den dûhten becher gar entwiht,
ër wolde näpf noch kophe niht.
ër tranc ûz grôzen kannen.
ër ist vor allen mannen
ein vorlauf allen swëlhen
"von ûren und von ëlhen
wart solcher slünd nie niht getân."[a]

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[a] "The drink and drinking I have seen
Are fit alone for callow youth,
But one great tippler has there been
Fit to wear the crown in truth.
"Normal cups he had forsworn,
Pots and jugs he'd laugh to scorn,
He would guzzle tankards tall,
The staunchest drinkers he would balk,
He was the greatest of them all.
"Neither bison nor the elk
Could quaff their drink in such a gulp."
(From the thirteenth-century comic poem "Weinschwelg". Marx quotes in Middle High German.)—*Ed.*

But to return to the "revolutionary congress" in Murten. "Revolutionary congress"! "*Final* organisation of the League"! "Moment for the armed uprising"! "*Absolutely secret* preparations"! "Very *secret* meeting converging from all sides on foot, by boat and by carriage"! "Charles the Bold" evidently did not study my analysis of Stieber's methods in the *Revelations* without profit.

The facts of the matter are simply these: Liebknecht was—early in 1850—the President of the Geneva Workers' Association. He proposed a union of all the hitherto unconnected German workers' associations in Switzerland. The proposal was accepted. Whereupon it was decided to send a circular to twenty-four different workers' associations, inviting them to Murten to discuss the problems of the intended organisation and of establishing a joint newspaper. The debates in the Geneva Workers' Association, the circular, the discussions of the latter in the other twenty-four workers' associations—all this was done *in public* and the congress at Murten was likewise arranged *in full view of the public.* Had the Swiss authorities desired to ban it they could have done so four weeks before it was due to be held. But the liberal Herr *Druey,* who was on the look-out for a victim he could devour and thus placate the sabre-rattling Holy Alliance, preferred to have his police stage a *coup de théâtre.* Liebknecht, who as President of the Workers' Association had signed the document proclaiming the congress, was accorded the honour of being regarded as one of the chief ringleaders. He was separated from the other delegates, was granted free lodging in the uppermost turret of the tower in Fribourg, from where he enjoyed a fine view of the surrounding country, and he even had the privilege of walking for an hour each day upon the battlements. The only special feature of the way he was treated was the fact of solitary confinement. His repeated request to be allowed to join the other prisoners was repeatedly rejected. Vogt, however, knows full well that the police do not put their "*moutons*"[a] in solitary confinement, but place them as "agreeable companions" among the mass.

Two months later Liebknecht, together with a certain Gebert, was transported by the Fribourg Chief of Police to Besançon, where both he and his companion received a compulsory French passport to London, with the warning that if they deviated from the prescribed route they would be deported to Algiers. As a result of this unexpected journey Liebknecht lost most of the

[a] Spies.—*Ed.*

personal effects he had in Geneva. Apart from this, however, Messrs. Castella, Schaller and the other members of the then Fribourg Government are to be commended for their humane treatment of Liebknecht and the other prisoners of Murten. These gentlemen were mindful of the fact that they themselves had been captive or on the run but a few years before and they openly expressed the disgust they felt at being obliged to execute the orders of the Grand Cophta Druey.[57] The captive refugees were not given the *kind* of treatment that the refugee "parliamentarians" had expected. A certain Herr H., an associate of the parliamentarians who is still in Switzerland, felt it incumbent on himself to publish a pamphlet in which he denounced the prisoners in general and Liebknecht in particular for upholding "revolutionary" ideas that exceeded the limits of parliamentary reason. And it seems that "Charles the Bold" is still inconsolable about the "quite exceptional consideration" accorded to Liebknecht.

Plagiarism is a general characteristic of all the concoctions of our "bold hero", and this one is no exception. For the Swiss liberals invariably "liberalised" their acts of expulsion by accusing their victims of spying. After *Fazy* had expelled *Struve* he denounced him publicly as a "Russian spy". Likewise *Druey,* who accused *Boichot* of being a French *mouchard. Tourte* slandered *Schily* in a similar manner after he had suddenly had him arrested in the street in Geneva and sent to the *tour des prisons* in Berne. *"Le commissaire maire fédéral Monsieur Kern exige votre expulsion"*[a] was the reply of the high and mighty *Tourte* when Schily asked the reason for the brutal treatment meted out to him. *Schily*: *"Alors mettez-moi en présence de Monsieur Kern."*[b] *Tourte*: *"Non, nous ne voulons pas que M. le commissaire fédéral fasse la police à Genève."*[c] The logic of this reply was altogether worthy of the letter this same *Tourte,* who was then Swiss Ambassador in Turin, wrote to the President of the Confederation[d] informing him that Cavour was working with might and main to prevent the cession of Savoy and Nice at a time when this cession was already a *fait accompli.* But it is possible that certain diplomatic railway

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[a] "The Federal Commissioner, Mayor Kern, demands your expulsion."—*Ed.*

[b] "Very well, then, take me to M. Kern."—*Ed.*

[c] "No, no, we won't have the Federal Commissioner playing policeman in Geneva."—*Ed.*

[d] See *Correspondence Respecting the Proposed Annexation of Savoy and Nice to France...,* No. 34, p. 34, Hudson to Russell, received February 16, 1860.—*Ed.*

connections were responsible for the failure of Tourte's normal discernment at the time. Scarcely was Schily locked up in the severest solitary confinement in Berne when Tourte began to "liberalise" his police brutality by whispering in the ears of German refugees (Dr. Fink, for example) that "Schily had secretly been in contact with Kern and had sent him information about refugees in Geneva, etc." The Geneva paper *Indépendant* itself included among the notorious sins of the Geneva Government of the day "the systematic calumniation of the refugees, which has been raised to the level of a principle of state". (See Appendix 1.)

At the very first representations of the German police, Swiss liberalism violated the right of asylum by driving out the so-called "leaders"—and this right of asylum had just been granted on condition that the remnant of the revolutionary army would refrain from fighting a last battle on Baden soil. But later, after the "leaders", it was the turn of the "misguided led". Thousands of Baden soldiers were given passports for home on false pretences and when they arrived there they were immediately welcomed by gendarmes, who knew in advance about "the whats, the whys and the hows". Then came the threats of the Holy Alliance and with them the police farce in *Murten.* But even the "liberal" Federal Council[58] did not venture to go as far as the "bold Charles". Nothing at all about "revolutionary congress", "final organisation of the League", "exact moment for the armed uprising". The investigation which for propriety's sake had to be started, vanished into thin air.

"Threats of war" from abroad and "political-propagandistic tendencies", that was all the "embarrassed" Federal Council could stutter by way of excuse in its official report. (See Appendix 2.) The grand police actions of "Swiss liberalism" did not cease with the "revolutionary congress in Murten". On January 25, 1851 my friend Wilhelm Wolff ("Parliamentary Wolf" as he was known among the "Parliamentary Sheep") wrote to me from Zurich:

> "The recent measures taken by the Federal Council have reduced the number of refugees from 11,000 to 500, and the Council will not rest until the remnant has been harried out of the country too, leaving only those who possess either a considerable fortune or powerful connections."

The refugees who had fought for the revolution stood in the most natural opposition to the heroes of St. Paul's Church who had talked it into the grave. The latter did not scruple to deliver their opponents into the hands of the Swiss police.

Vogt's loyal follower, the *Ranickel* monstrosity, himself wrote to *Schily* after the latter's arrival in London:

"Try to keep a few columns open in one of the Belgian newspapers for explanations, and do not fail to make the life of those *rascally German dogs* (the parliamentarians) in America miserable for having **sold** *themselves to that goitrous diplomat* (*Druey*)."

It is now apparent what "Charles the Bold" meant when he said:

"I was labouring *with all my strength* to set limits to all these revolutionary antics and to provide the refugees with *shelter*, either on the Continent or *overseas*."[a]

The following description was to be found, long ago, in No. 257 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* dated

"Heidelberg, March 23, 1849: Our friend *Vogt*, 'champion' of the Left, imperial jester of the moment, imperial Barrot of the future, the 'faithful warner' against revolution—he has joined forces with—some like-minded people? By no means! But with a few reactionaries of the deepest dye ... and for what purpose? In order to convey or to *deport* to America all those 'characters' living in Strasbourg, Besançon and elsewhere on the German frontier.... What Cavaignac's iron rule imposes as a punishment these gentlemen would like to mete out in the name of Christian charity.... Amnesty is dead, long live *deportation*! And of course this was accompanied by the *pia fraus*[b] that the refugees had themselves expressed the desire to emigrate, etc. But now the *Seeblätter* receives word from Strasbourg that these intentions to deport them have unleashed an angry storm of protest among *all* the refugees, etc. [...] In fact they all hope to return to Germany soon, even at the risk (as Herr Vogt touchingly remarks) of having to join some 'mad escapade'."[c]

But enough of "Charles the Bold's" revolutionary congress in Murten.

### 3. CHERVAL

"The virtue of this jest will be the incomprehensible lies that this same fat rogue will tell us."[d]

In my *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* an entire chapter is devoted to the *Cherval plot*.[5a] In it I show that Stieber with Cherval (a pseudonym for Crämer) as his instrument, and Carlier, Greif and Fleury as midwives, brought the so-called

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[a] Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess....* S. 165.—*Ed.*

[b] Pious deception.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx quotes the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* from his notebook. There are some alterations in the use of italics as compared with the original.—*Ed.*

[d] Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, Part I, Act I, Scene 2. Marx quotes in English and gives the German translation.—*Ed.*

Franco-German September plot in Paris into the world,* with the intention of providing the prosecution with just that "*factual evidence of an indictable offence*" against the Cologne prisoners the lack of which the "Indictment Board of Cologne" had criticised.

So decisive were the proofs I delivered to the defence during the Cologne trial,[60] so convincing the demonstration of a total lack of connection between Cherval, on the one hand, and the accused at Cologne and myself, on the other, that Stieber, who had sworn by Cherval on October 18 (1852), forswore him again on October 23, 1852 (*Revelations,* p. 29[a]). Driven into a corner he abandoned the attempt to link Cherval and his plot with us. Stieber was Stieber, but even Stieber was a far cry from Vogt.

I think it is quite unnecessary for me to repeat here the information I gave in the *Revelations* about the so-called September plot. At the beginning of May 1852 Cherval returned to London, from where he had moved to Paris on business in the early summer of 1850. The Paris police let him escape from them a few months after he was sentenced in February 1852. In London he was greeted at first as a political martyr and welcomed into the German Workers' Educational Society, from which my friends and I had resigned as early as *mid-September 1850.*[61] But this delusion was short-lived. The truth about his deeds of heroism in Paris soon became known and during that same month, May 1852, he was publicly expelled from the Society for his infamous conduct. The accused in Cologne, who had been imprisoned early in May 1851, were still in detention awaiting trial. I realised from a notice sent from Paris by the spy *Beckmann* to his paper, the *Kölnische Zeitung,* that the Prussian police were attempting retrospectively to forge a link between Cherval, his plot and the accused in Cologne. I accordingly kept on the look-out for reports about Cherval. It so happened that in July 1852 the latter offered his services as an Orleanist agent to M. de R.,[b] a former Minister during Louis Philippe's reign and a well-known eclectic philosopher. The connections which M. de R. retained in the Paris Prefecture of Police enabled him to obtain extracts from their dossier on

* I did not learn until after the *Revelations* were in print that de la Hodde (under the name Duprez) as well as the Prussian police agents *Beckmann* (then *correspondent of the "Kölnische Zeitung"*) and *Sommer* were also involved.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 420.—*Ed.*

[b] Charles François Marie de Rémusat (see Marx's letter to Engels, July 13, 1852, present edition, Vol. 39).—*Ed.*

Cherval. In the French police report Cherval was referred to as *Cherval nommé Frank, dont le véritable nom est Crämer.*[a] For a long time he had worked as an agent for Prince Hatzfeldt, the Prussian Ambassador in Paris; he was the betrayer of the *complot franco-allemand* and was now simultaneously a spy for the French, etc. In the course of the Cologne trial I gave these reports to one of the counsel for the defence, Herr *Schneider II,* and empowered him to name my source if need arose. When Stieber said under oath during the session of October 18 that the Irishman Cherval, who on Stieber's own testimony had served a gaol sentence in Aachen in 1845 for forging bills of exchange, was at that moment still under arrest in Paris, I informed Schneider II by return of post that, under the pseudonym of Cherval, the Rhenish Prussian Crämer was "still" in London, was in daily communication with Greif, the Prussian lieutenant of police, and that, as he was a condemned Prussian criminal, the English would extradite him as soon as they received an application from the Prussian Government. To have brought him to Cologne as a witness would have overthrown the entire Stieber system.

Under pressure from Schneider II Stieber finally remembered on October 23 having heard that Cherval had fled from Paris, but he swore high and low that he had no knowledge of the present whereabouts of the Irishman or of his alliance with the Prussian police. In fact at that time Cherval was attached to Greif in London by a fixed weekly salary. The debates about the "Cherval mystery" at the Cologne Assizes, that had been provoked by my reports, drove Cherval from London. I heard that he had gone on a police mission to Jersey. I had long lost sight of him when by chance I came across a report from the Geneva correspondent of the *Republik der Arbeiter,*[b] which appears in New York, stating that Cherval had turned up in Geneva in March 1853 under the name of *Nugent,* and that he had vanished from there once more in the summer of 1854. He visited Vogt in Geneva, then, a few weeks after my *Revelations* with the compromising statements about him had been published in Basle by Schabelitz.

Let us now return to the Falstaffian travesty of history.

According to Vogt, Cherval arrived in Geneva *immediately* after his fictitious escape from Paris and before that he was allegedly "sent" by the secret Communist League from London to Paris "a

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[a] Cherval, called Frank, whose real name is Crämer.—*Ed.*

[b] "Korrespondenzen. Genf, den 16. April 1854", *Republik der Arbeiter,* No. 22, May 27, 1854.—*Ed.*

few months" prior to the discovery of the September plot (loc. cit., p. 172). Hence while the interval between May 1852 and March 1853 thus disappears altogether, the interval between June 1850 and September 1851 shrinks to "a few months". What wouldn't Stieber have given for a Vogt who could have testified on oath before the Assizes at Cologne that the "secret Communist League in London" had sent Cherval to Paris in June 1850, and what wouldn't I have given to see Vogt sweating on the witness stand next to his Stieber! What a fine company they make: the swearing Stieber with his bird, the Greif [griffin], his Wermuth [vermouth], his Goldheimchen [golden cricket] and his *Bettelvogt* [beadle]. Vogt's Cherval brought with him to Geneva "*recommendations to all friends of Marx & Co., from whom Mr. Nugent soon became inseparable*" (p. 173). He "took up his quarters with the family of a correspondent of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*" and gained access to Vogt probably as the result of my recommendations (in the *Revelations*). Vogt employed him as a lithographer (loc. cit., pp. 173[-74]) and entered with him so to speak into a "scientific intercourse" as he had done earlier with Archduke John and was to do later with Plon-Plon. One day, while he was working in the "office" of the Imperial Regent,[62] "Nugent" was recognised by an "acquaintance" as Cherval and accused of being an "*agent provocateur*". In fact Nugent was not only working for Vogt in Geneva but was also busily engaged in "founding a clandestine society".

"Cherval-Nugent presided, *kept the minutes and corresponded with London*" (loc. cit., p. 175). *He had "taken a few not very discerning* but otherwise worthy workers into his confidence" (ibid.), however "among the members *there was also an associate of the Marx clique* known to everyone as a suspect minion of the German police" (loc. cit.).

"*All* the friends" of Marx, from whom Cherval-Nugent "became inseparable", are now suddenly transformed into "*one* associate", and this *one* associate promptly dissolves again into "*the associates of Marx* who had remained behind *in Geneva*" (p. 176), with whom Nugent later "continues to correspond from Paris" and whom he magnetically "attracts to himself" in Paris (loc. cit.).

Yet another instance, then, of his favourite "transformation" of the buckram "cloth" of Kendal green!

What Cherval-Nugent purposed with his society was the

"mass production of forged banknotes and treasury bills which when put into circulation were expected to undermine the credit of the despots and ruin their finances" (loc. cit., p. 175).

Cherval, it seems, was trying to emulate the celebrated Pitt who, as is well known, set up a factory not far from London during the war against the Jacobins to produce false French assignats.

"Various stone and copper plates had *already* been engraved for this purpose by Nugent himself; the gullible members of the secret league had *already* been selected to go to France, Switzerland and Germany with packets of these"—stone and copper plates?—no—"*these counterfeit banknotes*" (the banknotes were, of course, put into packets before they were printed) (p. 175),

but Cicero-Vogt was *already* standing behind Cherval-Catiline with his sword drawn. A peculiar characteristic of all Falstaffs is that as well as big bellies they also have big mouths. Just look at our Gurgelgrosslinger who has already set limits to "revolutionary antics" in Switzerland and arranged for whole shiploads of refugees to find *a livelihood overseas*, look how he postures, how melodramatically he acts, how he magnifies Stieber's Paris skirmish with Cherval (see *Revelations*[a])! Here he lay, and thus he bore his point![b]

"The plan of the whole *conspiracy*" (loc. cit., p. 176) "*had been monstrously conceived.*" "All the workers' associations were to have Cherval's project laid at their door." There had *already* been "some confidential inquiries from foreign embassies", they were *already* on the point of "compromising Switzerland, especially the Canton of Geneva".

But the Land-Vogt was vigilant. He carried out his first rescue of Switzerland, an experiment he later repeated several times with steadily increasing success.

"*I* cannot deny," the weighty man exclaims, "*I* cannot deny that I contributed **a substantial part** in frustrating these *devilish plans*; *I* cannot deny that I made use of the police of the Geneva Republic for this purpose; *I* regret to this day" (disconsolate Cicero) "that the zeal of some deluded enthusiasts served to warn the wily ringleader and enabled him to evade arrest" [p. 177].

But at all events, Cicero-Vogt had "frustrated" the Catiline conspiracy, rescued Switzerland, and "contributed" **his substantial part** (wherever he carries that). According to him Cherval reappeared in Paris a few weeks later and there "he made no attempt to hide himself, but showed himself *in public* like other *citizens*" (loc. cit., p. 176). And we all know how *public* is the *life* of the citizens of Paris in the counterfeit Empire.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 11.—*Ed.*

[b] Falstaff's words (slightly paraphrased) from Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, Part I, Act II, Scene 4.—*Ed.*

While Cherval thus gads about in Paris "in public", poor[a] Vogt always has to hide in the Palais Royal under Plon-Plon's table when he visits Paris!

I rather regret that after Vogt's powerful Zachariad[63] I must now give the following letter from *Johann Philipp Becker.* A veteran of the German emigration, active as a revolutionary from the Hambach Festival[64] to the campaign for the Imperial Constitution, in which he fought as commander of the 5th Army Division (the Berlin *Militär-Wochenschrift,* a voice that is by no means partial, testified to his military achievement), Johann Philipp Becker is too well known to require any recommendation from me. I need only say, therefore, that his letter was written to R.,[b] a German businessman in London with whom I am on friendly terms, that I do not know Becker personally and that he has never been connected with me politically. Finally, I should note that I have omitted the opening section of his letter which deals with business matters as well as most of the passages referring to the "Brimstone Gang" and the "Bristlers" since we are already familiar with the material they contain. (The original of the letter is in Berlin along with other documents connected with my suit.)

"*Paris,* March 20, 1860

"...I recently saw Vogt's pamphlet against Marx.[c] I found its contents very distressing, all the more so since, as I was living in Geneva at the time, I am perfectly familiar with the history of the so-called Brimstone Gang and the notorious Cherval. It is evident that the events have been totally distorted and with an utter disregard for justice have been falsely connected with the political activities of the economist Marx. I do not know Herr Marx personally, nor have I ever had any association with him whatever, but I have known Herr Vogt and his family for upwards of twenty years and am bound to him by much closer bonds of affection. I must bitterly deplore and unreservedly repudiate the frivolous and unscrupulous manner in which Vogt has entered the lists on this occasion. It is unworthy of a man to include distorted and even imaginary facts as weapons in his armoury. It is really very painful to see that Vogt unthinkingly, and apparently suicidally, destroys his congenial field of activity, compromises his position and stains his own reputation; and this would be the case even if he could be wholly acquitted of the charge of being in the pay of Napoleon. On the other hand, how gladly would I have seen him use every honest means to clear his name of such grave accusations. As it is, his behaviour hitherto in this unedifying business impels me to give you a description of the so-called Brimstone Gang and the worthy Herr Cherval so that you may judge for yourself the extent to which Marx may be held responsible for their existence and their activities.

"A word, then, about the rise and fall of the Brimstone Gang, for scarcely

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[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[b] Georg Friedrich Rheinländer.—*Ed.*

[c] Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess...*—*Ed.*

anyone is in a better position than I am to give you this information. During my stay in Geneva at that time I had an opportunity to observe the activities of the emigrants not only thanks to my position; but in addition, as an older man and always mindful of the general cause, I had a particular interest in closely following their every move so as to be able whenever possible to forestall and prevent the occasional foolish ventures which were so forgivable in people whom misfortune had so harassed and even reduced to despair. My 30 years' experience had taught me only too well how richly every emigration is endowed with illusions."

## (What follows has been largely anticipated in the letters of Borkheim and Schily.)[a]

"...This company, essentially a company of idlers, was referred to jestingly and mockingly as the Brimstone Gang. It was a club which consisted, as it were, of a motley crowd brought together by chance; it had neither president nor programme, neither statute nor dogma. There is no question of its having been a secret society, or of its having had any political or other goal to pursue systematically; they merely wanted to show off and that with an openness and frankness that knew no bounds. Nor did they have any connection with Marx, who for his part could certainly have known nothing of their existence and whose socio-political views moreover diverged widely from theirs. And in addition these fellows evinced a strong urge to be independent that verged on self-conceit and it is extremely unlikely that they would have been willing to subordinate themselves to any authority either in theory or in practice. They would have laughed Vogt's paternalistic admonitions out of court, no less than they would have ridiculed Marx's policy instructions. I was in a position to obtain very precise information about everything that went on in those circles since my eldest son[b] used to meet the Big White Chiefs every day.... In all, the whole farce of this gang, devoid of any ties,[c] scarcely outlasted the winter of 1849-50; the force of circumstances scattered our heroes to the winds.

"Who would have thought that after ten years' slumber the long-forgotten Brimstone Gang would be set alight once more by Professor Vogt in order to ward off imagined aggressors by spreading a foul stench which was then transmitted by obliging journalists with great enthusiasm acting as it were as electromagnetic-sympathetic conductors. Even Herr von Vincke, that liberal *par excellence,* mentioned the Brimstone Gang in connection with the Italian question and used it as an illustration in the modest Prussian Chamber. And the otherwise blameless citizens of Breslau in their *sancta simplicitas* have in honour of the Brimstone Gang prepared a carnival jest and fumigated the whole city with sulphur fires as the symbol of their loyalty.

"Poor innocent Brimstone Gang! After your blessed end you had willy-nilly to turn into a veritable volcano, to become the bogy that frightens timid subjects into a wholesome respect for the police, to vulcanise all the fat-heads of the world and blacken every overheated brain down to its roots—just as Vogt, in my opinion, has burnt his fingers for ever.

"Now then, *as for Crämer, vulgo Cherval.* This socio-political and common scoundrel came to Geneva in 1853, pretending to be an Englishman by the name

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[a] See this volume, pp. 29-32, 43-46.—*Ed.*

[b] Gottfried Becker.—*Ed.*

[c] A pun in the original: *bandlose Bande. Bandlose* means "without ties", *Bande* means "band", "gang".—*Ed.*

of Nugent. This was in fact the surname of the woman who accompanied him, ostensibly as his wife, and who really was English. He spoke both French and English fluently and for a long time carefully avoided speaking German for he seemed to be doing everything in his power to pass for a native Englishman. Being competent in both lithography and chromolithography, he boasted of having introduced this latter art into Geneva. In society he was very adept, he knew how to make his presence felt and to show himself to advantage. He soon obtained a sufficient amount of work, drawing objects from nature and antiquity for professors of the Academy. At first he lived a retired life and later, when he did seek company it was exclusively in the circle of French and Italian refugees. At that time I founded an *office de renseignements*[a] and a daily paper *Le Messager du Léman* and I had an assistant called *Stecher*,[b] a refugee from Baden who had formerly been headmaster in a secondary school. He was a talented draughtsman and strove to improve his standing by studying chromolithography. He found a teacher in the Englishman Nugent. Stecher was now full of stories about this skilful, kindly and generous Englishman and about the pleasant and graceful Englishwoman. Stecher also taught singing in the Workers' Educational Association and he occasionally brought his teacher Nugent with him. It was there that I first had the pleasure of meeting him and that he condescended to speak German; he spoke it so fluently and with such a command of the Lower Rhenish dialect that I said to him: 'But you can't possibly be an Englishman!' He persisted in his assertion, however, explaining that his parents had placed him in a school in Bonn when he was very young and that he had remained there until his eighteenth year, during which time he had got used to the local dialect. Stecher, who remained enchanted by the 'nice' man almost to the last, helped to make the belief that he was an Englishman more credible. But this incident made me rather distrustful of the would-be son of Albion and I urged caution on my fellow-members in the Association. Some time later I met the Englishman in the company of some French refugees and approached just as he was boasting of his heroism during the Paris uprisings. This was the first occasion on which I learned that he was also interested in politics. This made him all the more suspect so I made fun of the 'leonine bravery' he claimed to have displayed, to give him the chance to exhibit it against me in the presence of the Frenchmen. But as he answered my biting mockery by cringing like a cur I judged him contemptible from that moment on.

"From then on he avoided me whenever he could. In the meantime, with Stecher's aid, he organised evening dances in the bosom of the German Workers' Association, enlisting additional musical talent free of charge in the shape of an Italian, a Swiss and a Frenchman. At these balls I again met the Englishman, this time as a veritable *maître de plaisir*[c] and completely in his element; uproarious merriment and pleasing the ladies suited him much better than his leonine bravery. However, he was not politically active in the Workers' Association, where he did nothing but hop, skip and jump, drink and sing. In the meantime however I heard from Fritz, a goldsmith from Württemberg, that our 'intrepid revolutionary Englishman' had founded a League consisting of him (Fritz), another German, a few Italians and Frenchmen, making seven members in all. I implored Fritz to have nothing to do with this political tightrope-walker, at any rate as far as serious matters were concerned, and begged him both to resign from the League at once and induce his associates to do likewise. Some time later my bookseller sent me a

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[a] Information bureau.— *Ed.*
[b] See Appendix 3 (p. 304 of this volume).— *Ed.*
[c] Master of ceremonies.— *Ed.*

pamphlet by *Marx* dealing with the communist trial in Cologne[a] and in this Cherval was unmasked as Crämer and sharply attacked as a scoundrel and a traitor. At once I began to suspect that Nugent might be Cherval, above all because, according to the pamphlet, he came from the Rhineland and this corresponded to his accent. Also he was alleged to be living with an Englishwoman, which was the case here too. I at once told Stecher, Fritz and others of my suspicions and circulated the pamphlet to this end. Mistrust of Nugent spread quickly; *Marx's pamphlet had its effect.* Soon Fritz came to me explaining that he had resigned from the 'League' and that the others would follow his example. He also revealed to me the League's secret aim. The 'Englishman' intended to destroy the credit of the nations by manufacturing government securities and using the profits that would be gained in this manner to start a European revolution, etc. At about this time a French refugee called Laya, who had formerly been a lawyer in Paris, was giving lectures on socialism. Nugent attended them and Laya, who had defended him at his trial in Paris, identified him as Cherval, and told him so. Nugent implored Laya not to betray him. I learned of it from a French emigrant friendly with Laya and I spread the news at once. Nugent had the effrontery to appear once again in the Workers' Association whereupon he was exposed as the German Crämer and the Frenchman Cherval and was expelled. Ranickel from Bingen is said to have been his most violent assailant on this occasion. To crown it all the Genevan police began to show an interest in him because of the League, but the manufacturer of government securities had disappeared without a trace.

"In Paris he engaged in decorating porcelain and since I was in the same line of trade I met him in the course of business. But I found him the same irresponsible and incorrigible windbag as before.

"But how Vogt could have dared to connect the Genevan activities of this rogue with those of *Marx* and to describe him as one of his confederates or tools is utterly beyond my comprehension, especially as this was supposed to have been at the very time that he was the object of such a violent attack by *Marx* in the pamphlet referred to above. *It was after all Marx who unmasked him and who drove him from Geneva where, according to Vogt, he was actively engaged on Marx's behalf.*

"When I reflect how it was possible for a scientist like Vogt thus to go astray my mind reels. Is it not lamentable to find the praiseworthy reputation brought about by a happy coincidence of events so recklessly destroyed in such a wasteful and sterile fashion! Would it be surprising if after witnessing such deeds the whole world were to receive Vogt's scientific researches with scepticism, suspecting all the while that he might have arrived at his scientific conclusions with the same recklessness and the same lack of scruple, basing them on erroneous notions rather than on positive facts, painstakingly studied?

"If to become a statesman and a scientist nothing but ambition were required even *Crämer* might become both. *Unfortunately, with his Brimstone Gang and his Cherval, Vogt has degenerated into a sort of Cherval himself. And indeed there are intrinsic similarities between the two, brought about by their hankering for material comfort, for the safety of their own persons, for the joys of conviviality and for frivolous trifling with serious matters....* In anticipation of friendly news from you I send you my warmest greetings.

"Yours,

*J. Ph. Becker*

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[a] *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11).—*Ed.*

"P. S. Glancing once more at Vogt's pamphlet I observe to my further surprise that the 'Bristlers' too have been duly honoured. So I am adding a few words to outline their story....

"Furthermore, I also saw in the pamphlet that he claims that Nugent-Cherval-Crämer *came to Geneva on a mission for Marx.*[a] I must add therefore that he did not drop the pretence of being an Englishman up to the very last moment in Geneva and that he *never gave the slightest indication that he had ever had any contact whatever with any German emigrant,* which would in any case have scarcely been reconcilable with his wish to preserve his incognito. Even here and now, when the matter must have lost its former significance for him, he is reluctant to admit his German origin and steadfastly denies all earlier acquaintance with Germans.

"Hitherto I still believed that Vogt had light-mindedly allowed himself to be mystified by others, but now his actions increasingly seem to be motivated by malicious perfidy. I am less sorry for him than before and my sympathy is reserved now for his worthy and good old father[b] who will suffer many a bitter moment because of this business.

"I will not only permit you, I actually request you to make known this information among your circle of acquaintances in the interest of truth and of the good cause.

"With warm greetings,
Yours,
*J. Philipp B.*" (See Appendix 3.)

## 4. THE COMMUNIST TRIAL IN COLOGNE

From the "office" of the Regent of the Empire in Geneva to the Royal Prussian Court of Assizes in Cologne.

"In the Cologne trial *Marx* played an outstanding part." Undoubtedly.

"In Cologne *his confederates* were on trial."[c] Granted.

The Cologne accused were held in detention for $1\,^1/_2$ years pending the trial.

The Prussian police and the Embassy, Hinckeldey with his entire clan, postal and municipal authorities, the Ministries of the Interior and of Justice—all made the most strenuous efforts during these $1\,^1/_2$ years to give birth to a *corpus delicti.*

Here then, in his research into my "activities", Vogt has at his disposal, as it were, the assistance of the Prussian state and he even had authentic material contained in my *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne,* Basle, 1853, a copy of which he discovered in the Geneva Workers' Association and which he borrowed and "studied". This time, then, young Karl really will

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[a] Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess...,* S. 176.—*Ed.*
[b] Philipp Friedrich Wilhelm Vogt.—*Ed.*
[c] Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess...,* S. 169-70.—*Ed.*

settle my hash. But no! For once Vogt is "at a loss", he just sets off a few of his home-made smoke-bombs and stink-bombs* before beating a hasty retreat, stammering:

"*The Cologne trial is of no particular significance for us*"[a] ("Magnum Opus", p. 172).

In the *Revelations* I was compelled to attack Herr *August Willich* among other people. Willich commenced his defence in the *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung* of October 28, 1853** by describing my work as *"a masterly critique of the savage procedures adopted by the central police of the German Confederation"*.[b] *Jacob Schabelitz fils,* the publisher of the pamphlet, wrote to me from *Basle* on December 11, 1852 after receiving the manuscript:

"Your exposure of the perfidy of the police is unsurpassable. You have erected a permanent monument to the present regime in Prussia."[c]

He added that his judgment was shared by experts, chief among these "experts" being a man who is at present a Genevan friend of Herr Karl Vogt.

Seven years after the publication of the *Revelations* Herr Eichhoff of Berlin, whom I do not know at all, made the following statement in court (it is well known that Eichhoff was on trial,[65] accused of having slandered Stieber):

"He had made a detailed study of the Cologne communist trial and not only adhered to his original opinion that Stieber had committed perjury but had to extend it to assert that everything Stieber said during the trial was false.... The verdict passed on the accused in Cologne was due entirely to Stieber's testimony.... Stieber's whole testimony was perjury from start to finish" (first supplement to the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung,* May 9, 1860).[d]

* "*Smoke-bombs* or *stink-bombs* are used chiefly in mine warfare. One works with an ordinary flare-charge which must however contain rather more *sulphur* than usual and as much feathers, horn, hair and other rubbish as the charge will take. This is put in a container and the shell fired with a fuse" (F. C. Plümicke, *Handbuch für die Königlich Preussischen Artillerie-Offiziere,* Erster Teil, Berlin, 1820).

** I replied with a pamphlet called *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness,* New York, 1853. [See present edition, Vol. 12.]

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[a] Italics by Marx.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to August Willich's slanderous article "Doctor Karl Marx und seine Enthüllungen", published in the *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung,* October 28 and November 4, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] See present edition, Vol. 39. Marx gives a summary rather than the exact words of the quoted passage.—*Ed.*

[d] Karl Wilhelm Eichhoff [,Erklärung vor dem Criminalgericht 8.-15. Mai 1860], *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen,* No. 108 (supplement), May 9, 1860.—*Ed.*

*Vogt* himself admits:

"He" (Marx) "did *everything in his power* to provide the defence with the materials and instructions necessary for the conduct of their case...."

It is a known fact that "false documents, manufactured by the agents themselves", i. e. Stieber, Fleury, etc., "were presented to the court" (in Cologne) "as 'evidence' and that in general an abyss of perfidy was *exposed* among this police rabble that makes one shudder to contemplate" ("Magnum Opus", pp. 169, 170).

If Vogt can show his hatred of the coup d'état by making propaganda for Bonapartism, why should not I reveal "my collusion" with the secret police by *exposing* their abysmal perfidy? If the police had genuine proofs, why manufacture false ones?

But, lectures Professor Vogt,

"nevertheless the blow *only* fell on the members of the Marxian League in Cologne, only on the Marx party".

Indeed, Polonius! Had not the blow fallen on another party earlier on in Paris; did it not also strike another party later on in Berlin (the Ladendorf trial), and yet another in Bremen (League of the Dead),[66] etc., etc.?

As to the *verdict* passed on the Cologne accused I shall quote a relevant passage from my *Revelations*:

"The miracles performed by the police were originally necessary to conceal the completely *political nature* of the trial. 'The revelations you are about to witness, Gentlemen of the Jury,' said Saedt when opening for the prosecution, 'will prove to you that this trial is not a political trial.' But now" (at the conclusion of the case) "he emphasises its political character so that the police revelations should be forgotten. After the 1 $^1/_2$-year preliminary investigation the jury needed objective evidence in order to justify itself before public opinion.

"After the five-week-long police comedy they needed 'politics *pure and simple*' to extricate themselves from the sheer mess. Saedt therefore did not only confine himself to the material that had led the Indictment Board to the conclusion that 'there was no factual evidence of an indictable offence'. He went even further. He attempted to prove that the law against conspiracy does not require any indictable action, but is simply a law with a political purpose, and the category of conspiracy is therefore merely a pretext for burning political heretics in a legal way. The success of his attempt promised to be all the greater because of the decision to apply the new [Prussian] Penal Code that had been promulgated after the accused had been arrested. On the pretext that this code contained extenuating provisions the servile court was able to

permit its retroactive application. But if it was simply a political trial why a preliminary investigation lasting $1\frac{1}{2}$ years? For political reasons" (loc. cit., pp. 71, 72).

"With the unmasking of the minute-book" forged and planted by the Prussian police themselves "the case had advanced to a new stage. The jury was no longer free merely to find the defendants guilty or not guilty; they must either find the defendants guilty—or the government.

"*To acquit the accused would mean condemning the government*" (loc. cit., p. 70).[a]

That the Prussian Government of the day put a similar construction on the situation is plain from a communication that Hinckeldey sent to the Prussian Embassy in London while the Cologne trial was still in progress. In this he said that "*the whole existence of the political police depended on the outcome of the trial*". He accordingly asked for a person who could appear in court in the guise of the witness H.[b] (who had disappeared), for which performance he would receive 1,000 talers reward. This person had actually been found when Hinckeldey's next letter arrived:

> "The State Prosecutor hopes that *thanks to the happy constitution of the jury* it will be possible to get a verdict of guilty even without further extraordinary measures, and he" (Hinckeldey) "therefore asks you not to trouble yourselves further." (See Appendix 4.)

It was in fact the *happy constitution of the jury in Cologne* which inaugurated the Hinckeldey-Stieber regime in Prussia. "A blow will be struck in Berlin if the Cologne accused are condemned" was the view of the police rabble attached to the Prussian Embassy in London, as early as October 1852, even though the police mine (the Ladendorf conspiracy) did not explode in Berlin until the end of March 1853. (See Appendix 4.)

The liberal outcry that follows an age of reaction is all the louder the greater the cowardice displayed by liberals in putting up with the reaction for years on end without protest. Thus at the time of the Cologne trial, all my efforts to expose Stieber's system of deception in the liberal Prussian press were unavailing. The motto of the press, printed on its banner in block letters, ran: Reliability is the first duty of the citizen, and in this sign shalt thou—live.[67]

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[a] See *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 454-55, 453). Except for the words "pure and simple", the italics were introduced by Marx in *Herr Vogt.—Ed.*

[b] Hermann Wilhelm Haupt.—*Ed.*

### 5. JOINT FESTIVAL OF THE GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS IN LAUSANNE (JUNE 26 AND 27, 1859)

Our hero takes to his heels and with undiminished pleasure he retreats to—Arcadia. We meet him again in a "secluded corner of Switzerland", in Lausanne, at a "Joint Festival" of a number of German workers' educational associations which took place towards the end of June. Here Karl Vogt saved Switzerland for the second time. While Catiline was sitting in London, our Cicero with the gay-coloured jacket thundered in Lausanne:

"Jam, jam intelligis me acrius vigilare ad salutem, quam te ad perniciem reipublicae."[a]

By happy chance there exists an authentic report on the above-mentioned "Joint Festival" and on the deed of valour performed during it by our "well-rounded character". Written by Herr G. Lommel with the collaboration of Vogt, it is entitled *Das Centralfest der Deutschen Arbeiterbildungsvereine in der Westschweiz (Lausanne 1859),* Geneva, 1859, Markus Vaney, rue de la Croix d'or. Let us compare the authentic report with the "Magnum Opus", which appeared five months later. The report contains Cicero-Vogt's speech *"delivered by himself"* and in it he begins by explaining the mystery of his presence at this gathering. He appears among the workers, he harangues them, because

"grave accusations have latterly been made against him, accusations which, if they were true, were bound utterly to destroy the confidence placed in him and *completely undermine all his political activities*". "I have come," he goes on, "I have *specifically* come here to protest publicly against the" (above-mentioned) "malicious underhand dealings" *(Report,* pp. 6-7).

He has been accused of Bonapartist intrigues, he has to rescue his political activities and as is his wont he defends his skin with his tongue. After indulging in empty talk for an hour and a half, he recollects Demosthenes' admonition that "action, action and once again action is the soul of eloquence".[b]

But what is action? In America there is a small animal called a *skunk* which has only *one* method of defending itself at moments of extreme danger: its offensive smell. When attacked it releases a substance from certain parts of its body which, if it touches your clothes, will ensure that they have to be burnt and, if it touches

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[a] "You will already be aware that I attend with greater zeal to the salvation of the state than you to its destruction" (Cicero, *Speeches against Catiline,* I, 4).—*Ed.*

[b] Demosthenes, *The Olynthiac,* Second Speech, Chapter Four.—*Ed.*

your skin, will banish you for a period from all human society. The smell is so horribly offensive that when hunters see that their dogs have accidentally started a skunk they will hurriedly take to their heels in greater panic than if they had found that a wolf or a tiger was pursuing them. For powder and lead is an adequate defence against wolves and tigers, but no antidote has been found to the *a posteriori* of a skunk.

That is what action is, says our orator, a naturalised citizen of the "Kingdom of Animals",[a] and bespatters his supposed persecutors with the following skunk-like effluent:

"But I would like to warn you of one thing above all else, and that is of the machinations of a small group of depraved men whose aims and efforts are all directed towards seducing the worker away from his job, implicating him in conspiracies and communist intrigues, and finally, after living from the sweat of his brow, driving him cold-bloodedly" (i. e. after he has finished sweating) "to his destruction. Now *once again* this small group is using every possible method" (just keep it as general as possible!) "to ensnare the workers' associations in its toils. Whatever they may say" (about Vogt's Bonapartist intrigues) "you may rest assured that their true aim is to exploit the worker for their own selfish ends and finally to abandon him to his fate" (*Report*, p. 18. See Appendix).

The shameless impertinence with which this "skunk" accuses me and my friends of *"living from the sweat of the workers' brow"*, when we have always sacrificed our private interests in order to defend those of the working class, and have done this *gratis*, is not even original. The *mouchards* of the December Gang hurled similar slanders at Louis Blanc, Blanqui, Raspail, etc. And not only that, for at all times and in all places the sycophants of the ruling class have always resorted to these despicable slanders to denigrate the literary and political champions of the oppressed classes. (See Appendix 5.)

After this action our "well-rounded character" is incidentally no longer able to keep a straight face. The buffoon goes on to compare his "persecutors" who are walking about freely, with the "Russians *taken prisoner* at Zorndorf".[b] [68] And he compares himself with—who would have guessed it!—*Frederick the Great*. Falstaff-Vogt remembers that Frederick the Great ran away from the first battle at which he was present. How much greater then is *he* who ran away without even waiting for the battle.*

* Kobes [69] relates in *Jacob Venedey*'s pamphlet *Pro domo und pro patria gegen Karl Vogt*, Hanover, 1860: "He was a witness to the fact that the Imperial Regent,

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[a] An allusion to the title of Karl Vogt's book, *Untersuchungen über Thierstaaten*, in which the author treats his subject as a vulgar materialist.—*Ed.*

[b] Georg Lommel, op. cit., S. 19.—*Ed.*

Thus far the adventures of the Joint Festival at Lausanne according to the authentic report. And "now just look" (as Fischart puts it) "at our clammy-handed, parasitically stout, slovenly cook and pot holder"[a] and see what a fine police *purée à la* Eulenspiegel he serves up five months later for the benefit of the German philistines.

"*They* wanted at *all costs to create complications in Switzerland*; some sort of blow was to be aimed ... at the policy of neutrality. *I was informed* that the Joint Festival of the Workers' Educational Associations was to be used to induce the workers to follow a route which they had firmly rejected. It was hoped that the lovely Festival would provide an opportunity for forming a *secret committee* to enter into communication with like-minded people in Germany and take God knows what *steps*" (Vogt does not know, *even though he was informed*). "There were all sorts of dark rumours and mysterious talk about the active intervention of the workers in German political affairs. *I at once resolved to oppose these intrigues* and to exhort the workers anew to turn a deaf ear to *all proposals of this sort*. At the conclusion of the speech referred to above I gave a solemn warning, etc." ("Magnum Opus", pp. 180 [-81]).

Cicero-Vogt has already forgotten that at the start of his speech he let slip what had brought him to the Joint Festival—not the neutrality of Switzerland but the need to save his own skin. His speech does not contain a single word about the intended plot against Switzerland, the conspiratorial intentions at the Joint Festival, the secret committee, the active intervention of the workers in German politics or proposals of "*this*" or any other "sort". Not a word about all these Stieberiads. His final warning was nothing but the warning of the honest Sikes in the Old Bailey who warned the jurymen not to listen to the "infamous" detectives who had caught him stealing.

"The events which immediately followed," Falstaff-Vogt declares ("Magnum Opus", p. 181), "confirmed my *forebodings*."

*Karl Vogt, was not present* when we and the four other Imperial Regents forced the Government of Württemberg to bring the Parliament to an honourable end with sword and bayonet. It is an amusing story. The other four Imperial Regents had already entered the carriage to go to the Assembly Room, as agreed, and there together with the Rump Parliament [...] to put on a bold front" (it is well known that the Rump Parliament had no head). [Venedey says here: *die Brust bieten* (literally, to present the breast). The phrase is an adaptation of the German idiomatic expression *die Stirn bieten* (to present the forehead) which means "to put on a bold front". Marx puns on Venedey's substitution of *Brust* (breast) for *Stirn* (forehead) to stress that the Rump Parliament had no head.] "Karl Vogt slammed the carriage-door shut and called to the coachman: 'You go on ahead, the carriage is full up, I shall follow on!' But Karl Vogt only appeared [...] after all possible danger was over" (loc. cit., pp. 23, 24).

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[a] Johann Fischart, *Affentheurliche. Naupengeheurliche Geschichtklitterung...*, S. 73.—*Ed.*

What does he mean, *forebodings*! But Falstaff has already forgotten that a few lines before he did not have "forebodings", but that he had been "informed", *informed* of the plans of the conspirators, and *informed in detail*! And what, you vengeful angel,[a] were the *events* which immediately followed?

"An article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* imputed tendencies to the Festival and to the life of the workers which these" (i. e. the Festival and the life) "did not in the least have in mind." (Just as Vogt had imputed tendencies to the Murten Congress and the workers' organisations in general.) "This article and a *reprint* of it in the *Frankfurter Journal* led to a confidential inquiry from the Ambassador of a South German state in which the Festival was given the importance"—"*imputed*" to it by the article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* and the reprint in the *Frankfurter Journal*?—by no means!—"which it **ought to have had** if the *intentions of the Brimstone Gang had not been frustrated.*"[b]

*Ought to have had!* Yes indeed!

Although the most superficial comparison of the "Magnum Opus" and the authentic report on the Joint Festival is enough to clear up the mystery of Cicero-Vogt's second rescue of Switzerland, I nevertheless wished to ascertain whether there was any factual basis, however slender, that might have given him the "matter" which provided him with his "energy".[70] I wrote, therefore, to the editor of the authentic report, Herr *G. Lommel* in Geneva.[c] Herr Lommel must have been on friendly terms with Vogt since he not only collaborated with him on the report on the Joint Festival in Lausanne but also, in a subsequent pamphlet about the Schiller and Robert Blum memorial celebrations in Geneva,[d] he covered up the fiasco that Vogt had brought upon himself there. In his reply of April 13, 1860, Herr Lommel, who is personally unknown to me, wrote:

"*Vogt's* story that he had frustrated a dangerous conspiracy in Lausanne is *the sheerest fairy-tale* or **lie**; he only went to Lausanne because it was an opportunity to make a speech which he could afterwards print. In the speech, which lasted 1 1/2 hours, he defended himself against allegations that he was in the pay of Bonaparte. I still have the manuscript in safe keeping."

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[a] An allusion to Goethe's *Faust*, Erster Teil, Marthens Garten. But instead of Goethe's *du ahnungsvoller* (foreboding) *Engel* Marx has *du ahndungsvoller* (vengeful) *Engel*.—*Ed.*

[b] Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess...*, S. 181, 182. In the last sentence the italics are Vogt's. He is referring to the article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 215 (supplement), August 3, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx to Lommel, April 9, 1860 (present edition, Vol. 41).—*Ed.*

[d] Georg Lommel, *Das Centralfest der Deutschen Arbeiterbildungsvereine in der Westschweiz*, Genf, 1859.—*Ed.*

A Frenchman living in Geneva, when asked about the same Vogtian conspiracy, replied bluntly:

"Il faut connaître cet individu" (namely Vogt), "surtout **le faiseur**, *l'homme important*, toujours hors de la nature et de la vérité."[a]

Vogt himself declares on p. 99 of his so-called *Studien*[b] that he "had never laid claim to *prophetic* gifts". But we know from the Old Testament that the ass could see what the prophet had missed.[c] And so we can understand how Vogt managed to *see* the conspiracy which in November 1859 he had forebodings of having "frustrated" in June 1859.

## 6. MISCELLANY

"If my memory does not deceive me," our Parliamentary Clown writes, "the circular" (i. e. an alleged address to the proletarians dated London 1850) "was indeed written by a follower of Marx's known as Parliamentary Wolf, and it was allowed to fall into the hands of the Hanover police. Here too we find *this same channel turning up* in the history of the circular 'of the patriots to the men of Gotha'" ("Magnum Opus", p. 144).

*A channel turns up!* A *prolapsus ani*,[d] perhaps, you zoological jester?

As to "Parliamentary Wolf"—and we shall see later on why, like a bad dream, Parliamentary Wolf weighs so heavily on the memory of our Parliamentary Clown—he published the following statement in the Berlin *Volks-Zeitung*, the *Allgemeine Zeitung* and the Hamburg *Reform*:

"*Statement.* Manchester, February 6, 1860: I see from the letter of a friend that the *National-Zeitung* (No. 41 of this year) has brought the following passage to the attention of the public in a leading article based on Vogt's pamphlet:

"'In 1850 another *circular* was dispatched from London to *the proletarians* in Germany, written, as Vogt believes he remembers, by Parliamentary Wolf, alias Casemate Wolf. The circular was allowed simultaneously to fall into the hands of the Hanover police.' I have seen neither the relevant issue of the *National-Zeitung* nor the Vogt pamphlet and would like therefore to direct my answer solely to the passage just cited:

"1. In 1850 I was living not in London but *in Zurich*, and I did not move to London until the summer of 1851.

"2. I have never in the whole of my life written a circular addressed either to 'proletarians' or to anyone else.

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[a] "One must know this fellow who is above all a **charlatan,** a *self-important,* unnatural, untruthful man."—*Ed.*

[b] Carl Vogt, *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas,* Genf und Bern, 1859, S. 99. Marx's italics.—*Ed.*

[c] Numbers 22:21-33.—*Ed.*

[d] Prolapse of the rectum.—*Ed.*

"3. As to the insinuation about the Hanover police *I hereby return this shamelessly invented accusation to its author with contempt.* If the remainder of Vogt's pamphlet is as full of impudent lies as the part that refers to me it is a worthy fellow to the *fabrications of Chenu, de la Hodde* & Co.

*W. Wolff*"[a]

There you are: just as *Cuvier* could construct the whole skeleton of an animal from a single bone, *Wolff* has correctly constructed Vogt's whole fabrication from a single fragmentary quotation. *Karl Vogt* can indeed stand beside *Chenu* and *de la Hodde* as *primus inter pares.*

The last "proof" adduced by Vogt, who is still "by no means at a loss", to demonstrate my *entente cordiale* with the secret police in general and "my relations with the *Kreuz-Zeitung* party in particular", consists in the argument that my wife is the sister of the retired Prussian Minister Herr von Westphalen ("Magnum Opus", p. 194). Now how to parry the cowardly stratagem of our fat Falstaff? Perhaps the Clown will forgive my wife the cognate Prussian Minister[b] when he learns of the agnate Scotsman[c] who was beheaded in the market-place in Edinburgh as a rebel in the war of liberation against James II. It is well known that it is only by accident that Vogt still carries his own head around. For at the Robert Blum celebrations of the German Workers' Educational Association in Geneva (November 13, 1859) he reported

"how the Left of the Frankfurt Parliament was for a long time undecided who to send to Vienna, Blum or him. Finally, the matter was decided by lot, by drawing a piece of straw, which fell upon Blum, or rather against him" (*Die Schillerfeier zu Genf usw.*, Geneva, 1859, pp. 28, 29).

On October 13 Robert Blum set out from Frankfurt for Vienna. On October 23 or 24 a deputation of the extreme Left in Frankfurt arrived in Cologne on the way to the Democratic Congress in Berlin.[71] I met these gentlemen, among whom were several Members of Parliament who had close bonds with the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* These parliamentarians, of whom one was summarily shot during the campaign for the Imperial Constitution, a second died in exile, while the third still lives, whispered all sorts of strange and sinister stories in my ear about Vogt's intrigues in connection with Robert Blum's mission to Vienna.

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[a] Wilhelm Wolff, "Erklärung", *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 44 (supplement), February 13, 1860. Also published in the Hamburg *Reform* on February 11, 1860 and in the Berlin *Volks-Zeitung* on February 24, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] Ferdinand von Westphalen.—*Ed.*

[c] Archibald Campbell Argyll.—*Ed.*

However,

> Bid me not speak, bid me be silent,
> To keep the secret I am bound.[a]

The Robert Blum celebrations of November 1859 in Geneva to which we have already referred treated our "well-rounded character" most unkindly. On entering the premises, waddling like an obsequious Silenus at the heels of his patron, James Fazy, a worker was heard to say: There's Harry with Falstaff after him. When he told a delightful anecdote designed to present himself as the *alter ego* of Robert Blum, it was only with difficulty that some infuriated workers were prevented from storming the podium. And when, finally, forgetting how he had frustrated the revolution in June, he himself "called yet again for the barricades"[b] (*Schillerfeier*, p. 29) a mocking echo repeated: "Barricades—shmarricades!" Abroad, however, people know so well just what value they are to place on Vogt's revolutionary mouthings that the "confidential inquiry from a South German Ambassador",[c] usually unavoidable, was unforthcoming on this occasion and *no* article appeared in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*.

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Vogt's entire Stieberiad from the "Brimstone Gang" to the "retired Minister" reveals the sort of Mastersinger of whom Dante says:

> Ed egli avea fatto del cul trombetta.*

* And he made a trumpet of his rear. (*Kannegiesser*) [Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, Inferno, Canto XXI. Kannegiesser is the name of the German translator.]

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[a] Mignon's song in Goethe's novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, Fünftes Buch, Kapitel 16.—*Ed.*

[b] The closing line of the poem about Robert Blum which Vogt quoted concluding his speech at the Blum celebrations (see Georg Lommel, *Die Schiller-Feier in Genf. Nebst einem Nachtrag enthaltend die diesjährige Todtenfeier für Robert Blum*, Genf, 1859, S. 29).—*Ed.*

[c] Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess...*, S. 181-82.—*Ed.*

## IV

## TECHOW'S LETTER

What else does our "*well-rounded character*" pull out of that

> "tristo sacco
> Che merda fa di quel, che si trangugia."
>
> (*Dante*) *

*A letter from Techow* dated *London, August 26, 1850*:

"I cannot characterise these activities better" (i.e. of the "Brimstone Gang") "than by imparting to you the contents of a letter from a man whom all who have ever known him will acknowledge as a man of honour, a letter which I may permit myself to publish because *it*" [a] (the man of honour or the letter?) "was expressly intended *for communication*" (to whom?) "and the considerations" (whose?) "which earlier militated against *publication* no longer obtain" ("Magnum Opus", p. 141).

*Techow* arrived in London from Switzerland at the end of August 1850. His letter is addressed to *Schimmelpfennig*, formerly a lieutenant in the Prussian army, who lived in Berne at the time. Schimmelpfennig was supposed to "communicate the letter to our friends", i.e. the members of the *Centralisation*,[72] a secret society now extinct for nearly a decade, set up by German refugees in Switzerland with a rather mixed membership and a strong leavening of parliamentarians. Techow was a member of the society, but Vogt and his friends were not. How then did Vogt come into possession of Techow's letter and who authorised him to publish it?

* "The sordid sack
That turns to dung the food it swallows." [*The Divine Comedy*, Inferno, Canto XXVIII.]

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[a] The German *er* used here can refer either to the man of honour or the letter.— *Ed.*

*Techow* himself wrote to me on the subject from Australia on April 17, 1860:

"At any rate, *I* have *never* had occasion to give Herr *Karl Vogt any authorisation* in connection with this matter."

Of the "friends" of Techow to whom the letter was to be communicated only two are still living in Switzerland. Both may speak for themselves:

*E.*[a] *to Schily, April 29, 1860, Upper Engadine, Grisons Canton*:

"When Vogt's pamphlet *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung* appeared, containing a letter from Techow to his friends in Switzerland dated August 26, 1850,[b] we, the friends of Techow still living in Switzerland, resolved to write to Vogt to express our disapproval of his *unauthorised* publication of the letter. Techow's letter had been addressed to Schimmelpfennig in Berne and the intention was to distribute copies of it among friends.... I am glad that we were not mistaken in our belief that none of Techow's friends, none of those who had a right to see the letter of August 26, had used it after the manner of the man who has by accident come into possession of it. On January 22 a letter was dispatched to Vogt protesting against the *unauthorised* publication of Techow's letter, forbidding *any further misuse* of it and demanding the return of the letter. On January 27 Vogt replied: 'Techow's letter was intended to be shown to his friends; the friend who had it in his possession had handed it over with the express wish that it should be published ... and he would only return the letter to the man from whom *he* had received it.'"

*B.*[c] *to Schily, Zurich, May 1, 1860*[73]:

"The letter to Vogt was written by me after I had discussed the matter with E.... R.[d] was not among the 'friends' for whom Techow's letter was intended. From the contents of the letter, however, it was *perfectly clear to Vogt* that it had been addressed to me among others, but he took good care not to ask me for permission to publish it."

The solution to the riddle is contained in a passage from *Schily*'s letter quoted earlier[e] and which I have saved up for this moment. He writes:

"I must say something here about **Ranickel** because it is *through him that Techow's letter must have fallen into Vogt's hands*, a point in your letter which I had almost overlooked. This letter was written by Techow to friends he had lived with in Zurich: Schimmelpfennig, B. and E. As their friend and Techow's, I was also able to read it later on. When I was brutally and summarily expelled from Switzerland (without any previous order of expulsion having been made I was simply arrested in the street in Geneva and immediately transported from there), I was not permitted to go back to my lodgings to arrange my affairs. From the prison in Berne I wrote to a reliable man in Geneva, a master shoemaker called

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[a] Karl Emmermann.—*Ed.*
[b] See Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess...*, S. 142-61.—*Ed.*
[c] Friedrich von Beust.—*Ed.*
[d] Ranickel.—*Ed.*
[e] See this volume, pp. 43-46.—*Ed.*

Thum, asking him to find one or other of my friends who might be still in Geneva (for I did not know whether the same fate had not befallen any of them), who could pack up my belongings and send the most valuable of them to me in Berne, putting the remainder *into safe keeping* for the time being. I wanted that person to sort out my papers taking particular care to ensure that nothing should be forwarded to me which could not survive the transit through France. Thum did as I asked him and Techow's letter remained behind. My belongings included a number of papers relating to a rebellion of the parliamentarians against the Geneva local committee for the distribution of money for the refugees (the committee consisted of three Geneva citizens, among them Thum, and two refugees, Becker and myself). *Ranickel* was familiar with these as he had taken the side of the committee against the parliamentarians. For this reason I had asked Thum as the treasurer and archivist of the committee to take out those papers with *Ranickel*'s help. It may now be the case that, having a legitimate reason for being present while my papers were being sorted, Ranickel somehow got his hands on Techow's letter. Perhaps it was given him by one of the sorters. I do not by any means dispute the *transfer of the letter into his possession*, as distinct from the transfer of *property rights* from me to him. On the contrary, I claim the latter quite explicitly. *I soon wrote to Ranickel from London asking him to send me the letter. However, he did not do so* and his *culpa manifesta*[a] dates from that time. At the beginning it was probably only *levis*[b] but it then mounted, depending on the extent of his complicity in the unauthorised publication of the letter, to *magna* or *maxima culpa*[c] or even to *dolus*.[d] I do not doubt for a single moment that his publication of the letter was *unauthorised* and that none of the addressees had given their permission, but I shall nevertheless write to E. for confirmation of this. Nor can it be doubted that *Ranickel* assisted in the publication, given his notorious intimacy with Vogt. And even though I do not wish in the least to criticise that intimacy, I cannot refrain from pointing out the contrast with their earlier relationship. For **Ranickel** had not only been one of the greatest enemies of the parliamentarians in general; he had also uttered the most blood-curdling threats in regard to the Imperial Regent in particular. 'I'll strangle the fellow,' he would shout, 'even if I have to go to Berne to do it', and we had to forcibly restrain him from carrying out his regicidal intention. But now that the scales seem to have fallen from his eyes, and Saul has turned into Paul,[e] I am very curious to see how he will worm his way out of another obligation: that of becoming the *avenger of Europe*. I have fought a hard struggle, he would say in the days when he was hesitating between Europe and America, but now it is at an end. I shall remain and—*avenge myself*!! Let Byzantium tremble."[f]

Thus far *Schily*'s letter.

*Ranickel*, then, unearthed[g] Techow's letter among the papers left behind by Schily. Notwithstanding Schily's request for it from

[a] Manifest guilt.—*Ed.*

[b] Slight.—*Ed.*

[c] Great or maximum guilt.—*Ed.*

[d] Evil intent.—*Ed.*

[e] The Acts of the Apostles 9 : 15-17.—*Ed.*

[f] "Trema, Bisanzio!"—quoted from Gaetano Donizetti's opera *Belisario*, Act II, Scene 3 (libretto by Salvatore Cammarano).—*Ed.*

[g] Marx uses the verb *aufstiebern*—an adaptation of the verb *aufstöbern* (ferret out, unearth)—formed by analogy with *Stieber*, the name of a German police agent.—*Ed.*

London, he retained it. The letter *misappropriated* in this way was handed by "friend" *Ranickel* to "friend" Vogt, and "friend" Vogt, with his characteristic delicacy of conscience, declared himself authorised to publish the letter since Vogt and *Ranickel* are "friends". Anyone, therefore, who writes a letter to be "communicated" to "friends", necessarily writes for the benefit of "friends" *Vogt* and *Ranickel—arcades ambo.*[a]

I must apologise if this peculiar sort of jurisprudence leads me back to long-past and half-forgotten events. But Ranickel has started it and I must follow.

The "*Communist League*" was founded in Paris in 1836, originally under another name.[b] The organisation that gradually evolved was as follows: a certain number of members formed a "community", the different communities in the same town constituted a "district" [*Kreis*] and a varying number of districts were joined together into "leading districts" [*leitende Kreise*]. At the head of the whole stood the "Central Authority" which was elected at a congress consisting of deputies from all the districts, but which had the right to add to its own numbers and, in emergencies, to nominate its successor on a provisional basis. The Central Authority was based first in Paris, and then, from 1840 to the beginning of 1848, in London. The chairmen of the communities and districts and the Central Authority itself were elected. This democratic constitution, utterly unsuitable for conspiratorial secret societies, was not incompatible, to say the least, with the tasks facing a propaganda association. The activities of the "League" consisted first of all in founding public German workers' educational associations, and the majority of the associations of this sort, which still exist in Switzerland, England, Belgium and the United States, were founded either directly by the "League" or else by people who had at one time belonged to it. The constitution of these workers' associations is accordingly the same everywhere. One day per week was devoted to discussion, another to social activities (singing, recitations, etc.). Libraries were set up everywhere, and where possible classes in elementary education were started for the instruction of the workers. The "League" standing behind the public educational associations, and guiding them, found them both the most convenient forum for

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[a] Literally "Arcadians both", i.e. each deserves the other—an expression used by Virgil in *Bucolics* (Eclogues), 7, 4, and later by Byron, who wrote: "'Arcades ambo' id est—blackguards both" (*Don Juan*, IV, 93).—*Ed.*

[b] The League of the Just.—*Ed.*

public propaganda and also a reservoir whose most useful members could replenish and swell its own ranks. In view of the itinerant life of German artisans it was only on rare occasions that the Central Authority had to send special emissaries.

As far as the secret doctrine of the "League" is concerned, it underwent all the transformations of French and English socialism and communism, as well as their German versions (e. g. Weitling's fantasies). After 1839, as is made clear in the Bluntschli report,[a] the religious question came to play the most important role alongside the social problem. The various phases undergone by German philosophy from 1839 to 1846 were followed with the most lively interest in these workers' societies. The secret form of the society goes back to its Paris origins. The chief purpose of the League—propaganda among workers in Germany—dictated the retention of this form in later years. During my first stay in Paris[b] I established personal contact with the leaders of the "League" living there as well as with the leaders of the majority of the secret French workers' associations, without however becoming a member of any of them. In Brussels, where Guizot's expulsion order had sent me, I, together with Engels, W. Wolff and others, founded the German Workers' Educational Society,[74] which is still in existence. At the same time we published a series of pamphlets,[c] partly printed, partly lithographed, in which we mercilessly criticised the hotchpotch of Franco-English socialism or communism and German philosophy, which formed the secret doctrine of the "League" at that time. In its place we proposed the scientific study of the economic structure of bourgeois society as the only tenable theoretical foundation. Furthermore, we argued in popular form that it was not a matter of putting some utopian system into effect, but of conscious participation in the historical process revolutionising society before our very eyes. In consequence of these activities the London Central Authority entered into correspondence with us and at the end of 1846 they sent one of their members, a watchmaker called *Joseph Moll*, who later fell as a soldier of the revolution on the field of battle in Baden,[d] to Brussels to invite us to join the "League". Moll allayed

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[a] Johann Caspar Bluntschli, *Die Kommunisten in der Schweiz nach den bei Weitling vorgefundenen Papieren...*, Zürich, 1843.—*Ed.*

[b] From late October 1843 to February 3, 1845.—*Ed.*

[c] The only one extant is *Circular Against Kriege* (see present edition, Vol. 6).—*Ed.*

[d] See Frederick Engels, *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 225-26).—*Ed.*

our doubts and objections by revealing that the Central Authority intended to convoke a Congress of the League in London where the critical views we had expressed would be laid down in an open manifesto as the doctrine of the League. He argued, however, that if backward and refractory elements were to be overcome, our participation in person was indispensable, but that this could only be arranged if we became members of the "League". Accordingly, we joined it. The Congress, at which members from Switzerland, France, Belgium, Germany and England were represented, took place,[a] and after heated debate over several weeks it adopted the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*[b] written by Engels and myself, which appeared in print at the beginning of 1848 and was later translated into English, French, Danish and Italian. On the outbreak of the February revolution the London Central Authority entrusted me with the leadership of the "League". During the revolutionary period in Germany, its activities died down of themselves, since more effective avenues existed now for the realisation of its ends. When, in the late summer of 1849, I arrived in London after being expelled from France for a second time, I found that the Central Authority had been reconstructed from the ruins and that the links with the reconstituted districts of the League in Germany had been re-established. *Willich* arrived in London a few months later and was admitted to the Central Authority at my suggestion. He had been recommended to me by *Engels*, who acted as his adjutant in the campaign for the Imperial Constitution. To round off the history of the League I would only remark that there was a split in the Central Authority on September 15, 1850.[c] Its majority, including Engels and myself, transferred the seat of the Central Authority to *Cologne*, which had long been the "leading district" for Central and Southern Germany and which, after London, was the most important centre of intellectual activity.

We resigned from the London *Workers' Educational Society* at the same time. The minority on the Central Authority, however, including Willich and Schapper, set up a separate League[75] which maintained relations with the Workers' Educational Society and also resumed contact with Switzerland and France, which had been interrupted since 1848. On November 12, 1852 the accused in the Cologne communist trial were condemned. A few days later, at my

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[a] The Second Congress of the Communist League was held in London between November 29 and December 8, 1847.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 6.—*Ed.*

[c] See present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 625-30.—*Ed.*

suggestion, the League was declared dissolved.[a] I included a document, relating to the dissolution, dated November 1852, in the dossier on my action against the *National-Zeitung*. The reason given there for the dissolution of the League is that with the arrests in Germany, i.e. from as early as the spring of 1851, *all* contact with the Continent had in any case ceased to exist and that moreover circumstances were no longer favourable for a propaganda society of this sort. A few months later, at the beginning of 1853, the Willich-Schapper separate League also died a natural death.

The issues of principle which underlay the split mentioned above are set out in my *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial*,[b] which contains an extract from the minutes of the meeting of the Central Authority of September 15, 1850. The immediate practical cause of the split was *Willich*'s efforts to involve the "League" in the revolutionary escapades of the German democratic emigration. The disagreement was exacerbated by wholly opposed interpretations of the political situation. I shall cite only *one* example. Willich had conceived the idea that the quarrel between Prussia and Austria on the question of the Electorate of Hesse and the German Confederation[76] would lead to serious conflicts and create an opportunity for the practical intervention of the revolutionary party. On November 10, 1850, shortly after the split in the "League", he published a proclamation along these lines entitled *Aux démocrates de toutes les nations*[c] over the signatures of the Central Authority of the "separate League" as well as those of French, Hungarian and Polish refugees. Engels and I, on the other hand, as can be seen in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue* (double issue, May to October 1850, Hamburg, pp. 174, 175), maintained on the contrary that "*None of this noise will lead to anything....* Without a drop of blood having been shed, the parties to the dispute", i.e. Austria and Prussia, "will come together on the benches of the Federal Diet"[77] in Frankfurt "without there being the slightest diminution in their petty mutual jealousies, or in their dissensions with their subjects, or in their irritation at *Russian* supremacy".[d]

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[a] See Marx's letter to Engels dated November 19, 1852 (present edition, Vol. 39). A copy of the letter is to be found in Marx's notebook for 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 11.—*Ed.*

[c] *Le Constitutionnel*, November 18, 1850. The text of this proclamation is quoted by Marx in his letter to Engels dated December 2, 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 38).—*Ed.*

[d] See "Review, May to October [1850]" (present edition, Vol. 10, p. 528). The italics were introduced by Marx in *Herr Vogt*.—*Ed.*

Now it may be judged from the following document whether *Willich*'s individuality (whose worth incidentally we do not intend to dispute) and the then (1850) still fresh memories of his experiences in Besançon enabled him "impartially" to consider conflicts which contradictory views had rendered inevitable and had constantly renewed:

"*The German Brigade in Nancy*
to
*Citizen Joh. Philipp Becker in Biel,*
President of the German military
association 'Self-Help'[78]

"*Citizen,*

"We are writing to inform you, as the elected representative of all German republican refugees, that in Nancy a brigade of German refugees has been formed which bears the name: 'German Brigade in Nancy.'

"The refugees who make up the present Brigade are composed partly of former members of the Vesle Brigade and partly of units of the Besançon Brigade. Factors of a purely democratic nature are responsible for the removal of the latter from Besançon.

"The fact is that in everything that he did, Willich very rarely consulted the Brigade. Hence the principles governing the Besançon Brigade were not generally discussed and decided by all members, but were decreed *a priori* by Willich and put into effect without the approval of the Brigade.

"Furthermore, Willich also provided evidence of his despotic nature *a posteriori* in the form of a number of orders worthy of a Jellachich or a Windischgrätz, but not a republican.

"Willich ordered a man called Schön, who wished to resign from the Brigade, to take off his new shoes which had been purchased from the savings of the Brigade, disregarding the fact that Schön too had contributed his share to these savings, which consisted chiefly of the daily 10 sous per capita which the French paid by way of subsidy.... Schön wanted to take his shoes with him, but Willich forced him to leave them behind.

"Several valuable members of the Brigade were for trivial offences such as absence from roll-call, drill, lateness (in the evening), petty quarrels, etc., ordered by Willich, who *did not consult* the Brigade, to leave Besançon. They could go to Africa, he remarked, for they had no right to remain in France, and if they did not go to Africa he would see to it that they were extradited to Germany. He claimed that the French Government had given him authority to do this, but upon subsequent inquiry the Prefecture in Besançon declared this to be untrue. Almost every day at roll-call, Willich announced: Whoever does not like it here can go, if he wishes, the sooner the better; he can go to Africa, etc. On one occasion he also uttered the general threat that anyone who refused to obey his orders could either go to Africa or he, Willich, would have him extradited to Germany. This led to our making the above-mentioned inquiry at the Prefecture. As a result of these daily threats many people were fed up with life in Besançon where, as they said, one was constantly provoked into chucking up the whole paltry business. If we wish to be slaves, they said, we can go to Russia and we need not have started the fight in Germany in the first place. In short, they declared that they could no longer endure it in Besançon at any price without coming into serious conflict with Willich. They therefore left Besançon, but as at that time there was no other brigade which they could join, and as they could not live on the 10 sous on their

own, they had no other choice but to sign on for Africa, and this they did. In this way Willich reduced thirty worthy citizens to despair and he is to blame for their loss to the national cause.

"Furthermore, Willich was unwise enough always to praise his old colleagues at roll-call while denigrating the new ones, and this led to constant friction. On one occasion Willich even declared at roll-call that the Prussians were far superior to the South Germans in head, heart and body, or as he put it, in physical, moral and intellectual abilities. The South Germans, in contrast, were easy-going, or rather, stupid was what he wanted to say, but he did not quite dare. In this way Willich managed to infuriate the South Germans, who were in a great majority. We have left the worst to the end:

"Two weeks ago the 7th Company allowed a man called Baroggio whom Willich had arbitrarily expelled from the barracks to spend an extra night in their room. Despite Willich's refusal to permit this they kept him in their room and defended it against Willich's supporters, fanatical tailors. Willich then ordered ropes to be brought and the rebels to be bound. The ropes really were brought, but although Willich had the will to have his order carried through, he did not have the power.... It is for these reasons that they have left the Brigade.

"We have not written this letter in order to accuse Willich. For Willich's character and intentions are good, and many of us respect him. But we did not like the manner in which he attempts to achieve his ends nor all the means he uses. Willich means well. But he believes to be wisdom itself and the *ultima ratio* and thinks that everyone who opposes him, even on petty issues, is either a fool or a traitor. In short, Willich acknowledges no opinion other than his own. He is a spiritual aristocrat and despot; when he has resolved on a thing, he does not easily shrink from using the means necessary to put it into practice. But enough: we know Willich now. We know his strengths and his weaknesses; this is why we are no longer in Besançon. Incidentally, when we left Besançon we all declared that we were leaving Willich, but that we did not wish to resign from the German military association 'Self-Help'.

"This applies to the members of the Vesle Brigade also....

"Assuring you of our enduring respect, we conclude with fraternal greetings from the Brigade in Nancy.

"Approved in general assembly, November 13, 1848.

"Nancy, November 14, 1848

"In the name and on the instructions of the Brigade,
*B..., Secretary*"

Let us now return to *Techow*'s letter. As with other reptiles, its poison is in the tail, namely in the postscript of September 3 (1850). It refers to a duel between Herr *Willich* and my friend, *Konrad Schramm*, who died a premature death. In the duel, which took place in Antwerp in the beginning of September 1850, *Techow* and *Barthélemy*, a Frenchman, acted as Willich's seconds. *Techow* wrote to Schimmelpfennig "for communication to our friends":

"They" (i.e. Marx and his followers) "have let their champion *Schramm* loose against Willich who had attacked him" (Techow means: whom he had attacked) "with invective of the most vulgar sort and finally challenged him to a duel." ("Magnum Opus", pp. 156, 157.)

My refutation of this stupid piece of gossip was published seven years ago in the pamphlet, cited earlier, *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness*, New York, 1853.

At the time Schramm was still alive. Like Willich he was living in the United States.

Willich's second, Barthélemy, had not yet been hanged; Schramm's second, the worthy Polish officer Miskowsky, had not yet been burnt to death,[79] and Herr Techow could not yet have forgotten the letter he had written for "communication to our friends".

In the above-mentioned pamphlet there is a letter from my friend *Frederick Engels*, dated *Manchester, November 23, 1853*, at the end of which he writes:

"*In the meeting of the Central Authority, when it came to a challenge to a duel between Schramm and Willich,*[80] I" (Engels) "am supposed" (according to Willich) "to have committed the crime of having 'left the room' together with Schramm shortly before the scene took place, *and, therefore, of having prepared the whole scene in advance.* Previously" (according to Willich) "it was *Marx* who was alleged to have 'egged on' Schramm, now for a change *I* am supposed to have done so. A duel between a Prussian lieutenant, an old hand at pistol shooting, and a *commerçant*, who perhaps had never had a pistol in his hand, was truly a remarkable means to 'get rid' of the lieutenant. Yet friend Willich maintained everywhere, orally and in writing, that we had wanted to get him shot.... Simply, Schramm was furious at Willich's shameless behaviour, and to the great astonishment of us all he challenged him to a duel. A few minutes before, Schramm himself had no inkling that it would come to this. Never was an action more spontaneous.... Schramm departed" (from the room) "only after being personally addressed by Marx, who wanted to avoid any further scandal.

*Fr. Engels*" (*The Knight, etc.*, p. 7.)[a]

How far I was from foreseeing that *Techow* would allow himself to become a vehicle for this stupid piece of gossip can be seen from the following passage of the same pamphlet:

"Originally, *as Techow himself told Engels and me after his return to London*, Willich was firmly convinced that through Schramm I aimed at his removal from this world, and he put this idea in writing everywhere. On closer reflection, however, he found it impossible that a diabolical tactician like myself could hit on the

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 492, 493. The italics were introduced by Marx in *Herr Vogt*.—*Ed.*

idea of getting rid of him by means of a duel with Schramm" (loc. cit., p. 9).[a]

The gossip that Techow imparted to Herr Schimmelpfennig for "communication to our friends" was hearsay which he simply repeated. *Karl Schapper,* who took Willich's side when later the split in the League occurred and who witnessed the challenge, has written this letter to me about it:

"5 Percy Street, Bedford Square,
September 27, 1860

"Dear Marx,

"Concerning the row between Schramm and Willich:

"It broke out during a meeting of the Central Authority as the result of a fierce argument between the two which arose *by chance* in the course of the discussion. I can still remember very well that you did *everything* possible to restore calm and to settle the affair and that you appeared to be as much taken by surprise by this sudden explosion as I myself and everyone else present.

"Salute,
Your *Karl Schapper*"

Finally, it is worth mentioning that a few weeks *after* the duel, in a letter dated *December 31, 1850,* Schramm himself accused me of *being partial to Willich.* The disapproval which Engels and I had openly expressed, both before the duel and after it, had momentarily annoyed him. His letter and other papers of his and Miskowsky's concerning the duel, which have come into my hands, are available for perusal by his relatives. They should not be exposed to the gaze of the public.

When Konrad Schramm next visited me in London in mid-July 1857 after his return from the United States, his impetuous, tall, youthful frame had already collapsed under the impact of galloping consumption, which however had merely heightened the effect of his strikingly handsome features. With the sense of humour peculiar to him and which never left him for a moment, the first thing he showed me, laughing as he did so, was the notice of his death which an indiscreet friend had already published in a German paper in New York on the basis of a rumour.[b] On medical advice Schramm went to St. Hélier in Jersey, where Engels and I saw him for the last time. Schramm died on January 16, 1858. At his burial, which was attended by the entire liberal population of St. Hélier and the whole of the emigration resident

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[a] ibid., p. 496. The italics were introduced by Marx in *Herr Vogt.—Ed.*

[b] See Marx's letter to Engels dated April 9, 1857 (present edition, Vol. 40). The paper referred to is *Neue Zeit.—Ed.*

there, the funeral oration was given by one of the best English popular orators, *G. Julian Harney*, who was known earlier as one of the Chartist leaders and who had been friendly with Schramm during his stay in London. Schramm's ardent, fiery and enterprising nature, which could never be curbed by mundane concerns, was combined with critical understanding, original intelligence, ironic humour and naive geniality. He was the Percy Hotspur of our party.

To return to Herr *Techow*'s letter. A few days after his arrival in London, he had a long meeting with us late one evening[a] in a tavern where Engels, Schramm and myself acted as hosts. He describes the meeting in his letter of August 26, 1850 to Schimmelpfennig, "for communication to our friends".[b] I had never met him before and only saw him once or twice afterwards, and then only briefly. Nevertheless, he at once made a penetrating analysis of me and my friends, closely examining our minds, hearts and entrails, and hastened to send a letter containing a psychological description behind our backs to Switzerland, carefully advising his "friends" that it should be secretly reproduced and distributed.

Techow is much concerned with the state of my "heart". I will generously refrain from following him into this territory. *"Ne parlons pas morale"*,[c] as the Parisian grisette says when her friend starts to talk politics.

Let us dwell a while on the recipient of the letter of August 26, the former Prussian lieutenant *Schimmelpfennig*. I do not know the gentleman personally and have never seen him. I shall quote from two letters to convey his character. The first, which I give only in extract, was addressed to me by my friend *W. Steffen*, a former Prussian lieutenant and teacher in the Divisional School. It is dated *Chester, November 23, 1853*[81] and he writes:

"Willich once sent an adjutant called *Schimmelpfennig* over" (to Cologne). "He paid me the compliment of summoning me to him and he was firmly convinced that he could assess the whole situation right from the start better than anyone who was involved in it from day to day. He therefore formed a very low opinion of me when I told him that the officers of the Prussian army would be far from considering themselves fortunate to be able to fight under his banner and Willich's and that they were certainly not inclined to proclaim Willich's republic at once. He became even angrier when no one showed himself foolish enough to offer to duplicate the proclamation which he had brought with him in readiness and which exhorted the officers to declare themselves in favour of what he called democracy.

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[a] On August 21, 1850.—*Ed.*

[b] See Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess...*, S. 142-61.—*Ed.*

[c] "Don't let's talk morality."—*Ed.*

"In a fury, he departed from what he described to me as '*a Cologne enslaved by Marx*'. He arranged for the duplication of his nonsense elsewhere and dispatched it to a large number of officers with the result that the chaste mystery of his cunning plan to convert Prussian officers to the republican cause was prostituted by the 'Spectator' of the *Kreuz-Zeitung*."

At the time of this adventure, Steffen, who only came to England in 1853, was completely unknown to me. Even more revealing is *Schimmelpfennig's* self-characterisation in the following letter to the same *Hörfel* who was later exposed as a French police agent. He was the heart and soul of the Revolutionary Committee founded in Paris at the end of 1850 by Schimmelpfennig, Schurz, Häfner and other friends of *Kinkel* in those days and he was on terms of intimacy with those two matadors Schurz and Schimmelpfennig.

*Schimmelpfennig to Hörfel* (in Paris, 1851):

"Here" (in London) "the following events have taken place.... We have written to all our friends with any influence" (in America) "asking them to prepare the way for the loan" (the Kinkel Loan) "first of all *by talking for some time about the power of conspiracy, both personally and in the press*, and by emphasising that people worth their salt will *never* leave the field of battle—*neither* the Germans, the French *nor* the Italians." (History does *not* have *no* date?[a]) "... *Our work is now off to a good start.* If you drop people who are too obstinate, they will soon think better of it and come to accept the conditions imposed. Since the *work* is now firm and secure, I shall tomorrow establish contact with Ruge and Haug.... *My own social position, like yours, is very oppressive.* **It is vital that our affairs should get moving soon.**" (Namely the business of Kinkel's Revolutionary Loan.)

"Your *Schimmelpfennig*"

This letter of Schimmelpfennig's is to be found in the *Enthüllungen* which *A. Ruge* published in the *Herold des Westens*, Louisville, September 11, 1853. Schimmelpfennig, who was already living in the United States when they appeared, never impugned the authenticity of the letter. Ruge's *Enthüllungen* are reprinted from a document entitled "*Aus den Akten des Berliner Polizeipräsidiums*". It consists of marginal notes by Hinckeldey and of papers which were either found by the French police in the possession of Schimmelpfennig and Hörfel in Paris, or were unearthed at Pastor Dulon's in Bremen, or, lastly, were entrusted to the German-American press during the Frogs-and-Mice War between Ruge's Agitation Union and Kinkel's Émigré Society,[82] by the feuding brothers themselves. Typical is the irony with which

[a] Marx ridicules Schimmelpfennig's ungrammatical sentence by alluding to an equally ungrammatical statement made by Prince Lichnowski, a reactionary deputy of the Frankfurt National Assembly, who said at one of the sessions: "Für das historische Recht gibt es *kein* Datum *nicht*" ("With regard to historical right there does *not* exist *no* date") (cf. present edition, Vol. 7, p. 369).—*Ed.*

Hinckeldey remarks that Schimmelpfennig abruptly cut short his journey through Prussia as missionary on behalf of Kinkel's Revolutionary Loan because "he *imagined* that he was being pursued by the police"! The same *Enthüllungen* contain a letter from *Karl Schurz,* "the representative of the Paris Committee" (i.e. that of Hörfel, Häfner, Schimmelpfennig, etc.) "in London", in which we find:

"It was decided yesterday that of the members of the emigration here Bucher, Dr. Frank, Redz from Vienna and *Techow,* who will soon be here, should be asked to join the discussions. N.B. *Techow should not be informed of this decision for the time being, either verbally or in writing,* before his arrival." (*Karl Schurz* to his "dear men" in Paris, *London, April 16, 1851.*)

It was to one of these "dear men", Herr *Schimmelpfennig,* that *Techow* addresses his letter of August 26, 1850 for "communication to our friends". He begins by informing the "dear man" of theories which I had been trying to keep a strict secret, but which he at once detected at our single encounter by means of the proverb "*in vino veritas*".

"I," Herr Techow recounts to Herr Schimmelpfennig, "for communication to our friends", "I ... declared finally that I had *always* **imagined** them" (i.e. Marx, Engels, etc.) "*to be above all the nonsense about a communist paradisiacal barn à la Cabet,* etc." ("Magnum Opus", p. 150.)[a]

*Imagined!* So Techow did not even *know* the elementary facts about our views, but was nevertheless magnanimous and condescending enough to *imagine* that they were not exactly "nonsense".

Leaving scientific works to one side, even if he had read the *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* which he later calls my "Proletarian Catechism",[b] he would have found in it a detailed chapter with the title "Socialist and Communist Literature", and at the end of this chapter a section entitled "Critical-Utopian Socialism and Communism", in which it says:

"The Socialist and Communist systems properly so called, those of Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen and others, spring into existence in the early undeveloped period, described above, of the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie.... The founders of these systems saw, indeed, the class antagonisms, as well as the action of the decomposing elements in the prevailing form of society. But the proletariat offered to them the spectacle of a class without any historical initiative or any independent political movement. Since the development of class antagonism keeps even pace with the

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[a] Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess...,* S. 150. Marx's italics and bold type.—*Ed.*
[b] ibid., S. 152.—*Ed.*

development of industry, the economic situation, as they find it, does not as yet offer to them the material conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat. They therefore search after a social science, after social laws, *that are to create these conditions.* Social action is to yield to their personal inventive action, *historically* created conditions of emancipation to *fantastic* ones, and the gradual class organisation of the proletariat to an *organisation of society specially contrived by these inventors.* Future history resolves itself, in their eyes, into the *propaganda and the practical* carrying out of their social plans.... The significance of Critical-Utopian Socialism and Communism bears an inverse relation to historical development.... Therefore, although the originators of these systems were, in many respects, revolutionary, their disciples have, in every case, formed mere reactionary sects [...] and [...] still *dream* of experimental realisation of their social Utopias, of founding isolated 'phalanstères', of establishing 'Home Colonies', of *setting up a 'Little Icaria'*—duodecimo editions of the New Jerusalem...*" (*Manifesto of the Communist Party,* 1848, pp. 21, 22).[a]

In the concluding words *Cabet*'s Icaria, or "paradisiacal barn", to use Techow's expression, is explicitly referred to as a "duodecimo edition of the New Jerusalem".

Techow's self-confessed total ignorance of the ideas that Engels and I had published in print years before our encounter with him is the factor that completely accounts for his misunderstanding. A few quotations will serve adequately to characterise *him*:

"He" (Marx) "laughs at the fools who blindly repeat his Proletarian Catechism after him, just as he laughs at communists like Willich and at the bourgeoisie. The only men he respects are *aristocrats,* those who are pure aristocrats, and are conscious of being so. *To oust them from power* he requires a force which he can find only in the proletariat. *This is why his system is tailored to fit that force*" ("Magnum Opus", p. 152).

* *Phalanstères* were Socialist colonies on the plan of Charles Fourier; *Icaria* was the name given by Cabet to his Utopia and, later on, to his American Communist colony. [*Note by Engels to the English edition of 1888.*]

"Home Colonies" were what Owen called his Communist model societies. *Phalanstères* was the name of the public palaces planned by Fourier. *Icaria* was the name given to the Utopian land of fancy, whose Communist institutions Cabet portrayed. [*Note by Engels to the German edition of 1890.*]

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[a] Here and below Marx quotes from the first German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* published in London in 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 514-15, 516). The italics were introduced by Marx in *Herr Vogt.—Ed.*

Techow thus "imagines" that I have written a "Proletarian Catechism". He means the *Manifesto* which criticises and, if he likes, "ridicules" socialist and critical utopianism of every kind. Only, this "ridiculing" was not such a simple matter as Techow "imagines", but required a fair amount of work, as he could see from my book against Proudhon, *Misère de la philosophie* (1847).[a] Techow further "imagines" that I have "tailored" a "*system*", whereas, on the contrary, even in the *Manifesto* which was intended directly for workers, I rejected systems of *every* kind and in their place I insisted on "a critical insight into the conditions, the line of march and the ultimate general results of the real movement of society".[b] Such an "insight" cannot be blindly repeated, nor can it be "tailored" like a cartridge pouch. Of rare naivety is the view of the relations between aristocracy, bourgeoisie and proletariat, as Techow "imagines" them and *imputes* them to me.

I "respect" the aristocracy, "laugh" at the bourgeoisie, and I "tailor a system" to fit the proletariat, using them to "oust the aristocracy from power". In the first section of the *Manifesto,* entitled "Bourgeois and Proletarians" (see *Manifesto,* p. 11),[c] it is argued in detail that the economic and, hence too, in one form or another, the political *sway of the bourgeoisie* is the essential precondition both of the existence of the modern proletariat and of the creation of the "material conditions for its emancipation". "The development of the modern proletariat" (see *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue,* January 1850, p. 15) "is, in general, conditioned by the development of the industrial bourgeoisie. Only *under its rule* does the proletariat gain that extensive national existence which can raise its revolution to a national one, and does it itself create the modern means of production, which become just so many means of its revolutionary emancipation. Only *its rule* tears up the material roots of feudal society and levels the ground *on which alone a proletarian revolution is possible.*"[d] I declared accordingly in the same "Review" that any revolution in which England did not take part was no more than a "storm in a teacup".[83] Engels had already advanced the same opinion in 1845 in *The Condition of the Working-Class in England.*[e] Hence in countries where an aristocracy

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 6.—*Ed.*

[b] ibid., p. 497.—*Ed.*

[c] ibid., pp. 495-96.—*Ed.*

[d] Karl Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (see present edition, Vol. 10, p. 56). The italics were introduced by Marx in *Herr Vogt.*—*Ed.*

[e] See present edition, Vol. 4.—*Ed.*

in the Continental sense of the term—and this is what Techow meant by "aristocracy"—has still to be "ousted from power", the very first prerequisite of a proletarian revolution is in my opinion missing, namely the existence of an *industrial proletariat* on a national scale.

Techow could have found my view of the attitude to the bourgeois movement adopted by the German workers in particular expressed very clearly in the *Manifesto.*

"In Germany they [the Communists] fight with the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary way, against the absolute monarchy, the feudal landowners and philistinism [*Kleinbürgerei*]. But they never cease, for a single instant, to instil into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat, etc." (*Manifesto,* p. 23.)[a]

When I stood before a bourgeois jury in Cologne charged with "rebellion", I argued along the same lines: "Modern bourgeois society still has *classes,* but no longer *social estates.* Its development lies in the struggle between these classes, but the latter stand united against the estates and their monarchy by the grace of God." ("*Zwei politische Prozesse,* verhandelt vor den Februar-Assisen zu Köln 1849", p. 59.)[84]

What else did the liberal bourgeoisie do in its appeals to the proletariat between 1688 and 1848 but "tailor systems and phrases" in order to use the *proletariat*'s strength to oust the aristocracy from power? So Herr Techow discovers that the core of the matter[b] hidden in my secret theory is *bourgeois liberalism of the crudest sort*! *Tant de bruit pour une omelette*![c] Since, on the other hand, Techow knew perfectly well that "Marx" was no bourgeois liberal, he was left finally with no choice but "to go away with the impression that *his* personal supremacy was the goal of all his actions". "All my actions", what a temperate description of my single interview with Herr Techow!

Techow further confides to his Schimmelpfennig, "for communication to our friends", that I had expressed the following monstrous opinion:

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[a] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 519). Marx quotes the German edition of 1848.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the idiomatic expression *des Pudels Kern* from Goethe's *Faust,* Erster Teil, Studierzimmer.—*Ed.*

[c] Much ado about an omelette!—an exclamation which Jacques Vallée, Sieur des Barreaux, is supposed to have made when a thunderstorm occurred while he was eating an omelette on a fast-day.—*Ed.*

"In the end it is a matter of complete indifference whether this miserable Europe were to be destroyed, a thing which must happen **within a short space of time** without a social revolution, and whether afterwards America would exploit the old system at Europe's expense." ("Magnum Opus", p. 148.)[a]

My conversation with Techow took place at the end of August 1850. In the February 1850 issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue*, i.e. eight months *before* Techow culled this secret from my lips, I revealed the following views to the German public:

"Now we come *to America*. The most important thing to have occurred here, more important than the February revolution, is the discovery of the Californian gold-mines. Already now, after barely eighteen months, one may predict that this discovery will have much more impressive consequences than the discovery of America itself.... For the second time world trade is taking a new direction ... the Pacific Ocean will have the same role as the Atlantic has now and the Mediterranean had in antiquity and in the Middle Ages—that of the great water highway of world commerce; and the Atlantic will decline to the status of an inland sea, like the Mediterranean nowadays. The only chance the civilised nations of Europe will *then* have, not to fall into the same industrial, commercial and political dependence to which Italy, Spain and Portugal are now reduced, lies in a social revolution." (*Revue*, No. 2, February 1850, pp. [76,] 77.)[b]

But the idea that old Europe will be "destroyed *within a short space of time*" and America will accede to the throne the following morning, belongs to Herr Techow. The clarity of my own view of America's immediate prospects at that time can be seen from another passage in the same "Review": "*Over-speculation* will develop very soon, and even if British capital becomes involved on a large scale [...] nevertheless this time *New York* will remain the centre of the whole swindle and, as in 1836, will be the first to suffer when it collapses." (*Revue*, double issue, May to October 1850, p. 149.)[c] This prognosis for America, which I made in 1850, was fully borne out by the great trade crisis of 1857. As to "old Europe", on the other hand, having given an account of the revival of its economy, I go on to say: "With this general prosperity, in which the productive forces of bourgeois society

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[a] In this passage Marx left out Vogt's italics and introduced bold type.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 265-66. The word "*then*" in the last sentence was introduced by Marx in *Herr Vogt*.—*Ed.*

[c] Here and immediately below Marx quotes, with minor alterations, from "Review, May to October [1850]" (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 506 and 510). The italics were introduced by Marx in *Herr Vogt*.—*Ed.*

develop so luxuriantly ... there can be no talk of a real revolution.... The various quarrels in which the representatives of the individual factions of the Continental party of Order now indulge and mutually compromise themselves, far from providing the occasion for revolution, are, on the contrary, possible only because the basis of the relationships is *momentarily* so secure and, what the reaction does not know, *so bourgeois.* All reactionary attempts to hold up bourgeois development will rebound off it just as certainly as *all moral indignation and all enthusiastic proclamations of the democrats.* A new revolution is possible only in consequence of a crisis" (loc. cit., p. 153).

And in fact European history has only re-entered an acute and, if one wishes, revolutionary phase since the crisis of 1857-58. In fact it was precisely during the reactionary period from 1849 to 1859 that industry and trade on the Continent, and along with them the material foundations for the political domination of the bourgeoisie, developed to an extent unheard of previously. In fact during this period "all moral indignation and all enthusiastic proclamations of the democrats" rebounded off the realities of economic conditions.

If *Techow* took the serious side of our discussions so humorously, he made up for it by the seriousness with which he responded to their humorous side. With a woebegone face he reports to his *Schimmelpfennig* "for communication to our friends":

"Furthermore, *Marx* stated: In revolutions officers are always the greatest threat; [...] from La Fayette to Napoleon, a series of traitors and treacheries. *One ought always to have dagger and poison in readiness for them.*" ("Magnum Opus", p. 153.)[a]

Even Techow will not wish to claim that the platitude about the treasonable activities of "the military" is an original opinion of mine. My originality is supposed rather to consist in the "dagger and poison" always to be held in readiness. Did Techow not know even then that really revolutionary governments, such as the *Comité du salut public,*[85] kept antidotes in readiness for "the military" that were very drastic though less melodramatic? The dagger and poison really belong to the stock-in-trade of a Venetian oligarchy. If Techow were to scrutinise his letter once again, he would perhaps notice the irony in the "dagger and poison". *Vogt's* fellow-scoundrel, **Edouard Simon,** the notorious Bonapartist **spy**, translated the last part of Techow's letter in the

[a] In this passage the italics are Vogt's.—*Ed.*

*Revue contemporaine* (XIII, Paris, 1860, p. 528, in his "Le procès de M. Vogt, etc.") adding his own gloss:

"*Marx* n'aime pas beaucoup voir des officiers dans *sa bande.* Les officiers sont trop dangereux dans les révolutions.

"*Il faut toujours tenir prêts pour eux le poignard et le poison!*

"Techow, qui est officier, se le tient pour dit; il se rembarque et retourne en Suisse."[a]

According to *Edouard Simon,* poor Techow was in such a panic at the thought of the "dagger and poison" I was holding in readiness, that he immediately took to his heels, boarded ship and returned to Switzerland. The Imperial Vogt prints the passage about "dagger and poison" in bold type, to send a shiver down the spine of the German philistines. However, the same merry gentleman wrote in his so-called *Studien*:

"*Today the knife and the poison of the Spaniard are shining in even greater glory*—for it was the independence of the nation that was at stake" (loc. cit., p. 79).[b]

Quite by the way: the Spanish and English historical sources dealing with the period 1807-14 have long since disproved the tales about poison invented by the French. But for the tub-thumping politicians, of course, they survive unscathed.

I now come, lastly, to the "tittle-tattle" in Techow's letter and shall provide a few illustrations of his historical impartiality:

"The talk centred at first on the question of competition between them and us, Switzerland and London. [...] *They had to maintain the rights of the old League,* which because of its own specific party policy of course could not tolerate another league operating in the *same* area" (the proletariat) ("Magnum Opus", p. 143).[c]

The rival organisation in Switzerland to which Techow refers here and as whose representative he, as it were, approached us, was the already-mentioned "*Revolutionary Centralisation*". Its Central Committee was located in Zurich and its President was a lawyer, a former Vice-President of one of the pocket parliaments of 1848 and a member of one of the provisional governments in Germany in 1849.[d] In *July 1850 Dronke* went to Zurich[86] where, as a

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[a] "*Marx* does not much care to see officers in *his gang.* Officers are too dangerous in revolutions.

"*One ought always to have dagger and poison in readiness for them!*

"Techow, who is an officer, did not need to be told twice; he re-embarked and returned to Switzerland" (Edouard Simon, "Un tableau de moeurs politiques en Allemagne. Le procès de M. Vogt avec la gazette d'Augsbourg", *Revue contemporaine,* t. 13, Paris, February 15, 1860). The italics are Simon's.—*Ed.*

[b] Carl Vogt, *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas,* S. 79. Marx's italics.—*Ed.*

[c] Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess...,* S. 143.—*Ed.*

[d] Samuel Erdmann Tzschirner.—*Ed.*

member of the London "League", he was given a sort of legal contract by that lawyer "for communication" to me. I quote from it verbatim:

"Considering the necessity for a union of all truly revolutionary elements, and since all members of the Revolutionary Central Committee have acknowledged the proletarian character of the next revolution, even though not all were able unreservedly to accept the programme adopted in London (the Manifesto of 1848), the Communist organisation and the Revolutionary Centralisation have agreed on the following points:

"1. Both parties agree to continue working side by side—the Revolutionary Centralisation will strive to prepare for the next revolution by attempting to unite *all* revolutionary elements, the London association will try to prepare for the rule of the proletariat by concentrating *primarily* on the organisation of *proletarian elements*;

"2. The Revolutionary Centralisation will instruct its agents and emissaries that, when forming branches in Germany, members who seem to be qualified to join the Communist organisation should have their attention drawn to the existence of an organisation devoted primarily towards the furtherance of proletarian interests;

"3. and 4. That the leadership in the 'Revolutionary Central Committee' for Switzerland will only be entrusted to *genuine supporters* of the London Manifesto, and that there should be a general exchange of information."

It is evident from this document, which is still in my possession, that there was no question of two secret societies "operating in the same area" (the proletariat), but of an alliance between two societies with *different aims* operating in *different areas*. It is equally evident that the "Revolutionary Centralisation" declared itself willing to act as a sort of branch organisation of the "Communist League", in addition to pursuing its own ends.

The proposal was rejected because it was incompatible with the principles of the "League".

"Then it was *Kinkel*'s turn.... To this they replied.... They had never striven for cheap popularity, on the contrary! [...] As far as Kinkel was concerned they would not have begrudged him his cheap popularity in the least, had he kept quiet. But once he had published that Rastatt speech in the Berlin *Abend-Post*,[a] peace was no longer possible. They had known perfectly well that there would be a general outcry; they had clearly foreseen that the existence of their present paper" (*Rheinische Zeitung. Revue*) "was at stake. Moreover, their fears had been realised. They had been ruined by the whole affair, they had lost all their subscribers in the Rhine Province and had to close the paper down. But it would do them no harm" (loc. cit., pp. 146-48).[b]

First a factual correction. It is not true that the *Revue* was closed down at this point, since one more, double issue came out three

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[a] Gottfried Kinkel's speech before the court martial in Rastatt on August 4, 1849, *Abend-Post*, Nos. 78 and 79, April 5 and 6, 1850.—*Ed.*

[b] Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess...*, S. 146-48.—*Ed.*

months afterwards.[a] Nor had we lost *a single subscriber* in the Rhine Province, as my old friend *J. Weydemeyer,* a former Prussian lieutenant of artillery and, at that time, editor of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* in Frankfurt, can testify since it was he who was kind enough to collect the subscriptions for us. For the rest, Techow, who had only a hearsay acquaintance with the writings of Engels and myself, nevertheless must at least have read our critique—which he himself criticises—of Kinkel's speech. Why then send this confidential information to his "dear men" in Switzerland? Why "reveal" to them what we had ourselves revealed to the public five months previously? We wrote in the critique referred to:

"We know in advance that we shall provoke the general wrath of the sentimental swindlers and democratic spouters by denouncing this speech of the 'captured' Kinkel to our party. To this we are completely indifferent. Our task is that of ruthless criticism ... and in maintaining this our position *we gladly forego cheap democratic popularity.* Our attack will by no means worsen Herr Kinkel's position; *we denounce his amnesty* by confirming his confession that he is not the man people allege to hold him for, and by declaring that he is worthy, not only of being amnestied, but even of entering the service of the Prussian state! Moreover, his speech has been published" (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue,* April 1850, pp. 70, 71).[87]

*Techow* asserts that we "compromised" the *petits grands hommes*[b] of the revolution. However, he does not use the word "compromise" in the *police* sense of Herr Vogt. On the contrary, he means the operation by means of which we stripped off the offensive covering of those sheep who had dressed up in revolutionary wolf's clothing, thus preserving them from the fate of the celebrated Provençal troubadour[c] who was torn to pieces by the dogs because they took the wolf's pelt seriously which he wore to go hunting.

As an instance of our offensive attacks Techow singles out the incidental gloss on General *Sigel* to be found in Engels' account of the "campaign for the Imperial Constitution" (see *Revue,* March 1850, pp. 70-78).[d]

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[a] The issue in question—*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue,* No. 5-6—appeared in late November 1850.—*Ed.*

[b] Little great men.—*Ed.*

[c] Vidal Peire.—*Ed.*

[d] See present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 174-79.—*Ed.*

Now Engels' critique, which is based on documentary evidence, should be compared with the following malicious and trite twaddle about that same General *Sigel,* published about a year after our meeting with Techow by the London "Emigration Association" run by Techow, Kinkel, Willich, Schimmelpfennig, Schurz, H. B. Oppenheim, Eduard Meyen, etc. Moreover, this was published solely because Sigel belonged to Ruge's "Agitation Union", instead of Kinkel's "Emigration Association".

On December 3, 1851 the *Baltimore Correspondent,*[a] which was at the time a sort of Kinkel *Moniteur,* published the following description of *Sigel* beneath the title *"The Agitation Union in London"*:

"Let us take another look at these worthy men who regard everyone else as an *'immature politician'. Sigel, the supreme commander.* If anyone ever asks the muse of history how such an insipid nonentity was given the supreme command she will be even more at a loss for an explanation than in the case of that mooncalf Napoleon. The latter is at least 'his uncle's nephew'; Sigel, however, is only 'his brother's brother'. His brother[b] became a popular officer as a result of his critical remarks about the government, remarks which had been provoked by his frequent arrests for *disorderly behaviour.* The young Sigel thought this *reason enough* in the early confusion prevailing at the outbreak of the revolution to proclaim himself supreme commander and Minister of War. The Baden artillery, which had often proved its worth, had plenty of older and more experienced officers who should have taken precedence over this *young Lieutenant Sigel,* and they were more than a little indignant when they had to obey a *young, insignificant* man whose *inexperience was only matched by his incompetence.* But there was Brentano, who was so mindless and treacherous as to permit anything that might ruin the revolution. It is a ridiculous fact, but a fact nevertheless, *that Sigel promoted himself to the rank of commander-in-chief* and that Brentano approved his nomination in retrospect.... It is certainly noteworthy that Sigel left the bravest soldiers of the republican army in the lurch at the desperate and hopeless battles in Rastatt and the Black Forest without the reinforcements he had promised while he himself drove around Zurich with the epaulettes and in the carriage of Prince von Fürstenberg and paraded as an interesting unfortunate supreme commander. This is the well-known magnitude of this mature politician who, 'understandably proud' of his earlier heroic deeds, imposed himself as supreme commander for a second time, on this occasion in the Agitation Union. This is the great *well-known man,*[c] the *'brother of his brother'*."[d]

Impartiality requires us to lend an ear also to Ruge's "Agitation Union" in the person of its spokesman *Tausenau.* In an open letter addressed "To Citizen Seidensticker", London, *November 14, 1851,*

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[a] *Der Deutsche Correspondent* (Baltimore).—*Ed.*

[b] Albert Sigel.—*Ed.*

[c] Presumably an analogy with The Great Unknown, i.e. Sir Walter Scott, who was called so because until 1827 his novels appeared anonymously.—*Ed.*

[d] This passage is also quoted in the pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile* by Marx and Engels (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 324).—*Ed.*

Tausenau writes with reference to the "Emigration Association" led by Kinkel, Techow, etc.:

"...They affirm their conviction that the union of all in the interest of the revolution is an urgent patriotic duty. The German Agitation Union shares this conviction, and its members have proved this by their sustained efforts to achieve unity with Kinkel and his supporters. But as soon as a basis for political co-operation seemed to be established it vanished once again, and new disappointments followed the old ones. High-handed actions in violation of previous agreements, separate interests in the guise of conciliation, the systematic 'fixing' of majorities, the emergence of unknown quantities as party leaders, attempts to impose a secret finance committee are but a few of the devious tricks and chess moves that immature politicians always resort to in exile in the belief that they are guiding the fortunes of their country, while in reality the very first glow of the revolution will dissipate all such vanities and scatter them to the winds.... We were denounced officially and in public by Kinkel's supporters; the **reactionary German press, which was barred to us,** is packed with reports favourable to Kinkel and hostile to us. Finally Kinkel made the journey to the United States in order to use his project of the so-called German Loan as a means of imposing a union on us, or rather a status of subordination and dependence which is the *goal of everyone who proposes a financial merger between two parties.* Kinkel's departure was kept so secret that we did not learn of it until we read in the American press about his arrival in New York.... All this, and other considerations of the same sort, were compelling motives to persuade serious revolutionaries who did not overestimate themselves, but who in the *knowledge of their previous achievements* could with self-confidence assert that at any rate *clearly defined sections of the people stood behind them,* to enter an association which seeks in its own way to further the interests of the revolution."[a]

Further it is held against Kinkel that the funds he had collected were to be used for the benefit of "a clique", as "his entire behaviour here" (in London) "and in America makes plain", as do also "the majority of the guarantors nominated by Kinkel himself".

Tausenau concludes by saying:

"We *promise* our friends neither interest on their money nor the repayment of their patriotic donations; but we know that we shall vindicate their confidence in us through our positive achievements" (fair services?) "and scrupulous accounting and *that one day, when we come to publish their names, the gratitude of the nation will await them*" (*Baltimore Wecker* of November 29, 1851).

This was the sort of "literary activity" maintained in the columns of the German-American press for three years by the democratic heroes of the "Agitation Union" and the "Emigration Association" who were later joined by the "Revolutionary League of Two Worlds"[88] founded by Goegg. (See Appendix 6.)

The refugee row in the American press, incidentally, was inaugurated by a paper battle[89] between the parliamentarians Zitz and Roesler of Oels.

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[a] This passage is contained in Marx's notebook for 1860.—*Ed.*

One more fact by way of characterising Techow's "dear men". Schimmelpfennig, to whom Techow's letter "for communication to our friends" was addressed, had set up a so-called Revolutionary Committee in Paris at the end of 1850 (as we have already mentioned) together with Hörfel, Häfner, Goegg and others (K. Schurz joined in at a later date).

A few years ago a document written by a former member of the Committee to a political refugee here[90] was handed to me to use as I pleased. The document is still in my possession.

It says, among other things:

"Schurz and Schimmelpfennig were in effect the whole Committee. They also acquired some sort of associates but they were merely for show. These two gentlemen firmly believed at that time that they could soon put their Kinkel, whom they had virtually made their property, at the head of affairs in Germany. They particularly detested Ruge's sarcasms and the criticism and demonic activity of Marx. At a meeting of these gentlemen with their associates they gave us a really very interesting description of Marx and conveyed to us an exaggerated impression of the pandemonic dangers he represented.... Schurz-Schimmelpfennig proposed a motion to *destroy* Marx. The means they *recommended* were *insinuations and intrigues,* and **the most shameless slanders.** A vote in favour and a resolution, if one can use these words to describe their childish antics, then took place. The next step was the character sketch of Marx published in the *literary section* of the *Hamburger Anzeiger*[a] at the beginning of 1851. It was written by *L. Häfner* on the basis of the above-mentioned description by Schurz and Schimmelpfennig."

In any event there is the most striking affinity between Häfner's essay and Techow's letter, although neither the one nor the other can equal *Vogt*'s *Lousiad.* It is important not to confuse the *Lousiad* with the *Lusiads* of Camoens. The original *Lousiad* was rather a mock heroic epic by *Peter Pindar.*[91]

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[a] Leopold Häfner's article was published in the *Hamburger Nachrichten* on February 28, 1851.—*Ed.*

## V

## IMPERIAL REGENT AND COUNT PALATINE

Vidi un col capo sì dì merda lordo,
Che non parea, s'era laico, o cherco,
Quei mi sgridò: perchè se' tu sì 'ngordo
Di riguardar più me che gli altri brutti.

(*Dante*) *

*Vogt*, repulsed by the Bristlers, experiences a powerful need to show why the "Brimstone Gang" had singled him out as the *bête noire*. For this reason *Cherval* and the "frustrated conspiracy" at the Joint Festival in Lausanne are supplemented by the adventure of the "fugitive Imperial Regent", an adventure which had no less reality than they. *Vogt*, we must not forget, was at one time Governor of the parliamentary island of Barataria.[92] His story goes like this:

"Early in 1850 the *Deutsche Monatsschrift* of Kolatschek made its appearance. [...] Immediately after the publication of the first number, *the Brimstone Gang, acting through one of its comrades who left for America without delay, issued* a pamphlet with the title *Der flüchtige Reichsregent Vogt mit seinem Anhange und die Deutsche Monatsschrift von Adolf Kolatschek*, a work which was also mentioned by the *Allgemeine Zeitung*.... The Brimstone Gang's whole system is revealed yet again in this pamphlet" (loc. cit., pp. [162-]163).[a]

He goes on to explain at tedious length how, in the pamphlet referred to, an anonymous article on *Gagern* which had been written by Professor *Hagen* was "attributed" to the fugitive Imperial Regent, Vogt, because

* I there made out a smeared
Head—whether clerk or lay was hard to tell,
It was so thickly plastered with the merd.
"Why stand there gloating?" he began to yell,
"Why stare at me more than the other scum?" (*Kannegiesser*) [*The Divine Comedy*, Inferno, Canto XVIII. Kannegiesser is the name of the German translator.]

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[a] Here and below Marx quotes from Vogt's *Mein Prozess...*, S. 162-63. The italics are Marx's.—*Ed.*

"the Brimstone Gang knew" that Hagen "was living in Germany at the time, that he had been harassed by the Baden police and that he could not be named without exposing him to molestation of the most unpleasant sort" (p. 163).

In his letter of February 6,[a] *Schily* wrote to me from Paris:

"That *Greiner* who, to the best of my knowledge, has never been to Geneva, has been linked with the Brimstone Gang, is the result of his obituary notice to the 'fugitive Imperial Regent' for which *d'Ester* was held responsible and outlawed in parliamentary circles until I set matters right in a letter to one of Vogt's friends and colleagues."[b]

*Greiner* was a member of the Provisional Government of the Palatinate. Greiner's rule was an "unrelieved horror" (see *Vogt's Studien,* p. 28), that is for my friend *Engels,* whom he had arrested on a trumped-up charge in Kirchheim. Engels has himself given a detailed account of the whole tragicomedy in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue* (February 1850, pp. 53-55).[c] And that is all I know about Herr *Greiner.* The fact that the fugitive Imperial Regent has managed to implicate me in his quarrel with "Count Palatine" reveals "yet again" the "whole system" by means of which our ingenious raconteur has composed the story of the life and deeds of "the Brimstone Gang".

What endears him to me, however, is the true Falstaffian humour he displayed in causing the Count Palatine to depart for America "without delay". The Count Palatine, having let fly his pamphlet at the "fugitive Imperial Regent" like a Parthian shot, was suddenly overwhelmed with horror. Which caused Greiner to flee from Switzerland to France, from France to England. Even the Channel did not seem to offer sufficient protection and so he fled headlong to a Cunard steamer[d] in Liverpool where he breathlessly cried out to the Captain: "Away, across the Atlantic!" And the "stern mariner"[e] replied:

"I'll save you from the hands of the *Vogt*
But from the might of the storm another must lend his aid."[f]

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[a] Marx quotes from Schily's letter of February 8, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] Ludwig Simon.—*Ed.*

[c] See *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 200-02).—*Ed.*

[d] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[e] Marx uses the English phrase.—*Ed.*

[f] Schiller, *Wilhelm Tell,* Act I, Scene 1.—*Ed.*

## VI

## VOGT AND THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

"Sîn kumber was manecvalt."[a]

*Vogt* himself claims that his "purpose" in writing his "Magnum Opus" (p. 162) is to clarify "the *development of his personal attitude to this clique*" (Marx and Co.). Curiously enough, he only describes conflicts that he has never experienced and only experiences conflicts that he has never described. So it is necessary to confront his tall stories with a piece of real history. Anyone who leafs through the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (June 1, 1848-May 19, 1849) will discover that in 1848 Vogt's name does not occur, apart from a single exception,[b] either in its leading articles or in its correspondence columns. It will be found only in the daily reports of the parliamentary debates and to Vogt's immense satisfaction the Frankfurt reporter[c] never failed to record conscientiously the "applause" accorded to him for "the speeches delivered by himself". We saw that whereas the Right wing in Frankfurt had at their disposal the united forces of a harlequin like *Lichnowski* and a *clown* like *von Vincke,* the Left was forced to rely entirely on the sporadic outbreaks of farce from its one and only *Vogt.* We realised that he stood in need of encouragement,

> "that *important fellow,*
> the children's wonder — *Signor Punchinello*",[d]

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[a] "His griefs were manifold"—an adapted line from *Der Edel Stein,* a collection of fables by Ulrich Bonerius.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to the article "Ein Aktenstück des Märzvereins" in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* No. 181, December 29, 1848.—*Ed.*

[c] Gustav Adolph Schlöffel.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx gives these lines in English.—*Ed.*

and so let the Frankfurt reporter have his head. After the middle of September 1848 his reports underwent a change of tone.

In the debates on the Truce of Malmö, Vogt tried to stir up a rebellion with his revolutionary rantings.[a] At the decisive moment he did his utmost to prevent the acceptance of the resolutions which had been passed by the popular assembly on the Pfingstweide and approved by a section of the extreme Left.[94] After the barricade fighting had been crushed, with Frankfurt openly transformed into an army camp and a state of siege proclaimed, this same Vogt declared on September 19 that he was in favour of *urgently* discussing Zachariä's resolution endorsing the measures already taken by the Imperial Ministry and expressing gratitude to the Imperial troops.[b] Before *Vogt* rose to speak even *Venedey*[c] had protested against the *"urgency"* of these resolutions, declaring that such a discussion at such a time was unworthy of the Assembly. But Vogt was *inferior* to Venedey. By way of punishment I inserted the word "windbag" into the parliamentary report[d] after the word "Vogt", as a hint to the Frankfurt reporter.

In the following October Vogt not only neglected his duty of waving his harlequin's wooden sword above the heads of the then boisterous and fiercely reactionary majority. He did not even dare to sign the protest tabled by *Zimmermann* of Spandau[e] on October 10 in the name of some 40 deputies, opposing the law for the protection of the National Assembly.[95] The law, as Zimmermann correctly pointed out, signalled the most shameless interference with the popular rights that had been gained in the March revolution—right of assembly, freedom of speech and of the press. Even *Eisenmann*[f] handed in a similar protest. But *Vogt* was *inferior* to *Eisenmann*. When he did venture forth again at the founding of the "Central March Association"[96] his name finally made its appearance in an article in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

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[a] Vogt's speech in the Frankfurt National Assembly on September 15, 1848, *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen constituirenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main*,[93] Bd. 3, S. 2091-94.—*Ed.*

[b] The speeches by Vogt and Zachariä in the Frankfurt National Assembly on September 19, 1848, ibid., S. 2188.—*Ed.*

[c] Venedey's speech in the Frankfurt National Assembly on September 19, 1848, ibid., S. 2187.—*Ed.*

[d] Report on the sitting of the Frankfurt National Assembly on September 20, 1848, *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 110, September 23, 1848.—*Ed.*

[e] Zimmermann's speech in the Frankfurt National Assembly on October 10, 1848, *Stenographischer Bericht...*, Bd. 4, S. 2531.—*Ed.*

[f] Eisenmann's speech in the Frankfurt National Assembly, ibid., pp. 2531 et seq.—*Ed.*

(December 29, 1848), in which the "March Association" was designated the "unconscious tool of the counter-revolution", its programme was critically torn to shreds and *Vogt* was represented as one half of the two-headed figure whose other half was *Vincke.* More than a decade later both "Ministers of the Future" acknowledged their affinity and chose the *partition of Germany* as the motto of their unity.

That our assessment of the "March Association" was correct was not only confirmed by its later "development". The Heidelberg "People's League", the Breslau "Democratic Association", the Jena "Democratic Association", etc., all rejected its importunate offers of love with scorn, and those members of the extreme Left who had joined it confirmed our criticism of December 29, 1848, by announcing their resignation on April 20, 1849. Vogt, however, in the quiet grandeur of his soul, heaped coals of fire on our heads as can be seen from the following quotation:

"*Neue Rheinische Zeitung, No. 243,* Cologne, March 10, 1849. 'The Frankfurt so-called March Association' of the so-called 'Imperial Assembly' has had the insolence to send *us* the following lithographed letter:

"'The March Association has decided to compile a list of *all newspapers* which *have given us space in their columns* and to distribute it to all associations with which we are connected in order that with the assistance of this association the newspapers indicated will be given preference in being supplied with any relevant *announcements.* In informing you herewith of this list, *we believe it is unnecessary to draw your attention to the importance of the paid announcements of a newspaper* as the chief source of income for the whole enterprise. [...] Frankfurt, end of February 1849.

The Managing Committee
of the Central March Association'

"In the enclosed *list* of newspapers which have given space in their columns to the March Association and to which the supporters of the March Association should give preference in supplying 'relevant announcements', one finds also the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* which, *in addition, is given the honour of an asterisk.* We hereby announce [...] that our newspaper has never given space in its columns to the so-called March Association.... If, therefore, the March Association in its lithographed report to those newspapers which have really given it space in their columns designates our newspaper as one of its organs, this is simply calumny against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and absurd boasting on the part of the March Association....

"To the dirty remark of the profit-greedy competition-goaded

patriots about the importance of the paid announcements of a newspaper as a *source of income for the whole enterprise*, we, of course, do not reply. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has always differed from the patriots not only generally but also in that it has never regarded political movement as a territory for swindlers or a source of income."[a]

Shortly after this brusque rejection of the source of income proffered by Vogt and Co. the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was tearfully held up as a model of "true German disunity" at a meeting of the Central Commercial Association.[b] At the conclusion of our reply to this Jeremiad (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 248) Vogt is described as a "provincial academic beer-blusterer and an *unsuccessful Imperial Barrot*".[c] True, at that time (March 15), he had not yet compromised himself on the question of the Emperor. But we had made our minds up once and for all about Herr Vogt and could therefore regard his future treason as a foregone conclusion, even before it was clear to Vogt himself.

From then on, incidentally, we abandoned Vogt and Co. to the attentions of the young *Schlöffel*, who was both brave and intelligent. He had arrived in Frankfurt from Hungary early in March after which he kept us informed of all the storms in the Imperial frog-pond.

Vogt, meanwhile, had sunk so low—he himself had of course done more to bring this about than the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*—that even *Bassermann* could venture to brand him an "*apostate and renegade*" in the session of April 25, 1849.[d]

*F. Engels*, one of the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, was forced to flee because of the part he played in the Elberfeld uprising,[97] and I myself was driven out of Prussia shortly afterwards, after repeated efforts to silence me through legal proceedings had failed thanks to the jury, and after the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, the organ of the coup d'état Ministry,[98] had repeatedly denounced the "Chimborazo insolence[e] of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, compared to which the *Moniteur* of 1793

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[a] Karl Marx, "The March Association" (see present edition, Vol. 9, pp. 36-37).—*Ed.*

[b] Marx puns on *März* (March) and *Kommerz* (commerce).—*Ed.*

[c] Karl Marx, "The Frankfurt March Association and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*" (see present edition, Vol. 9, p. 85). The italics were introduced by Marx in *Herr Vogt*.—*Ed.*

[d] *Stenographischer Bericht...*, Bd. 8, S. 6303.—*Ed.*

[e] The Chimborazo is a peak of the Andes. "Chimborazo insolence" means "monumental insolence".—*Ed.*

seemed rather pale" (see the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 299).[a] Such "Chimborazo insolence" was highly appropriate in a Prussian fortress-town and at a time when the victorious counter-revolution sought to intimidate people by means of unashamed brutality.

On May 19, 1849 the last number of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (the Red Number) appeared. As long as the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* existed, Vogt had endured in silence. If a parliamentarian did lodge a complaint, he did so in all modesty. For example:

"Sir, the *sharp criticism* in your newspaper is valued by me no less because *it observes all parties and all persons with equal strictness*" (see No. 219 [supplement], February 11, 1849, *Wesendonck's* complaint).[b]

A week after the demise of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Vogt, operating under the mantle of parliamentary immunity, finally thought he could seize his long-awaited opportunity to convert the "matter" he had accumulated deep in his heart into "energy".[99] The position was that one of the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, *Wilhelm Wolff*, had replaced a retired Silesian deputy[c] in the Frankfurt Assembly, which was "in the process of dissolution" at the time.[100]

In order to understand the following scene in the parliamentary session of May 26, 1849, it must be borne in mind that the uprising in Dresden and the local movements in the Rhine Province had already been crushed. The Empire was about to intervene in Baden and the Palatinate, the main Russian army was marching on Hungary and, finally, the Imperial Ministry had simply quashed resolutions approved by the Assembly. On the agenda were two "Proclamations to the German Nation", the first edited by Uhland and emanating from the majority, the other stemming from the Committee of Thirty,[101] whose members belonged to the Centre. Presiding over the Assembly was *Reh* from Darmstadt who later turned into a rabbit[d] and "detached" himself from the Assembly, which was "in complete disarray". I quote from the official stenographic report, Nos. 229, 228. Session in St. Paul's Church.[e]

*Wolff from Breslau*: "Gentlemen, I have registered my opposition to the Proclamation to the Nation, the proclamation that was composed by the majority

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[a] Karl Marx, "The *Kreuz-Zeitung*" (see present edition, Vol. 9, p. 437).—*Ed.*
[b] Hugo Wesendonck, "Erklärung. Düsseldorf, 8. Februar 1849".—*Ed.*
[c] Gustav Adolf Stenzel.—*Ed.*
[d] Marx plays on the surname *Reh*, a homonym of *Reh* (roe deer).—*Ed.*
[e] *Stenographischer Bericht...*, Bd. 9, S. 6749.—*Ed.*

and that has been read aloud here, because I think it utterly inadequate to the needs of the present time. I find it altogether too feeble. It is good enough to appear as an article in the newspapers which represent the party that has devised it, but it is not good enough for a Proclamation to the German Nation. Since a second Proclamation has now been read out I may remark in passing that I would be even more strongly opposed to it than to the first one, for reasons that I do not need to enter into here." (A voice from the Centre: "Why not?") "I am speaking solely of the majority Proclamation. It is true that it is couched in such moderate terms that even Herr Buss had little to say against it, and that is without doubt the worst recommendation for any proclamation. No, gentlemen, if you wish to have any influence on the people at all you should not address it in the manner adopted in this Proclamation. You must not speak about legality, the legal basis, etc., but of illegality just like the governments, like the *Russians*—and by Russians I understand the Prussians, Austrians, Bavarians and Hanoverians." (Commotion and laughter.) "All these have been subsumed under the name *Russians*." (Loud laughter.) "Yes, gentlemen, the *Russians* are represented in this Chamber too. You must tell them: 'In the same way as you adopt the legal standpoint, so do we.' This is the standpoint of force, and in parenthesis you ought to explain legality by saying that you will oppose the Russian cannon with force, with well-organised storming-parties. *If any* proclamation is to be issued, issue one which begins by *outlawing the first traitor to the people, the Imperial Regent.*"[a] (Interruption: "Order!"—Lively applause from the gallery.) *"All the Ministers likewise."* (Renewed commotion.) "Oh, I shall not let myself be intimidated: *he is the first traitor to the people.*"

*President*: "I think that Herr Wolff has ignored and offended against every propriety. He cannot describe the *Archducal Imperial Regent* as a *traitor to the people in* **this** *House* and I must therefore call him to order. I must also request the galleries for the last time not to intervene further in the debate."

*Wolff*: "For my part, I accept the call to order and declare that it was my *intention* to transgress the bounds of order and to state *that he and his Ministers are traitors.*" (From all sides of the House: "Order. This is scandalous.")

*President*: "I must ask you to be seated."

*Wolff*: "Very well, *I protest.* I wanted to speak here in the *name of the people* and to say what the *people is thinking.* I protest against every proclamation framed in these terms." (Great tumult.)

*President*: "Gentlemen, will you please allow me to speak for a moment. Gentlemen, the *incident* that has just taken place is, I may say, the *first* there has been *since Parliament has been in session here.*" (It was indeed the first and *the only incident* to take place in that Debating Society.) "No speaker has ever before declared that it was his intention to disrupt the *order,* the very *foundations* of this House." (*Schlöffel* had replied to a similar call to order, in the session of April 25: "I accept the call to order, all the more as I hope that *the time will soon come when this Assembly will be called to order in a very different way.*")[b]

"Gentlemen, I deeply regret that Herr Wolff, who has only just become a member of this House, should have made his *début* in this manner" (Reh looks at the matter from a theatrical point of view). "Gentlemen, I have called him to order because he has permitted himself *greatly to affront the respect and consideration that we owe to the person of the Imperial Regent.*"

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[a] Archduke John.—*Ed.*

[b] *Stenographischer Bericht...*, Bd. 8, S. 6751.—*Ed.*

The debate then proceeded. Hagen and Zachariä made long speeches, the one for and the other against the proclamation of the majority. Finally,

*Vogt from Giessen* rose from his seat: "Gentlemen, allow me a few words, I shall not weary you. It is perfectly true that this Parliament *is no longer what it was* when it *assembled* last year, gentlemen, and we *thank Heaven*" (our Vogt of "blind faith"[a] thanks Heaven) "that *it is become so*" (*is become,* indeed![b]) "and that those who lost faith in the people and who betrayed the cause of the people at the decisive moment, have now left this Assembly! Gentlemen, I *have asked permission to speak*" (so the thanksgiving we have just heard was just humbug), "in order to defend the *crystal-clear stream*" (defence of a stream) "that flowed from the poet's soul" (Vogt is becoming soulful) "into this proclamation against the *unworthy filth* that has been thrown into it *or* hurled at it" (but the stream had already been absorbed by the proclamation), "to defend these *words*" (as with everything that Vogt touches, the stream has been changed into *words*) "against the *muck* that has been heaped up in this latest movement and which threatens to engulf and besmirch everything. Yes, gentlemen! That" (namely the muck) "is muck *and* filth" (the muck is filth!) "which is being thrown in *this way*" (in what way?) "*at everything pure that can be imagined,* and I wish to express my *deep indignation*" (Vogt in deep indignation, *quel tableau!*[c]) "at the fact that *this sort of thing*" (what sort of thing?) "could have happened."[d]

And his very speech is—muck.[e]

*Wolff* had not said a single word about *Uhland's editing* of the proclamation. As the President repeatedly declared, he had been called to order, he had conjured up the whole storm, because *he* had declared that the *Imperial Regent and all his Ministers were traitors to the people* and had called on Parliament to do likewise. But for Vogt the "Archducal Imperial Regent", the "worn-out Habsburg" (*Vogt*'s *Studien,* p. 28) and *"all his Ministers"* represent *"everything pure that can be imagined"*. With Walther von der Vogelweide he sang:

"des fürsten milte ûz ôsterrîche
fröit dem süezen rëgen gelîche
beidiu liute und ouch daz lant."[f]

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[a] Vogt of "blind faith" (*der "Köhlergläubige" Vogt*)—an ironical allusion to Vogt's book *Köhlerglaube und Wissenschaft...,* Giessen, 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx ridicules the ungrammatical verb form used by Vogt: *geworden wird.*—*Ed.*

[c] What a sight!—*Ed.*

[d] *Stenographischer Bericht...,* Bd. 9, S. 6751.—*Ed.*

[e] Variation on a verse from Ludwig Uhland's "Des Sängers Fluch": "Und was er spricht, ist Geissel" ("His very speech is a whiplash").—*Ed.*

[f] "The Prince of Austria's generosity,
Like gentle rain, bestows felicity
Both on the people and on the land."—*Ed.*

Did Vogt already even at that time, enjoy the "scientific relationship" with Archduke John that he later confessed to? (See Documents in the "Magnum Opus", p. 25.)

Ten years later the same Vogt declared in the *Studien* (pp. 27[-28]):

"So much at least is certain: the National Assembly in France and its leaders at the time underestimated the abilities of Louis Napoleon just as the leaders of the Frankfurt National Assembly underestimated *those of Archduke John*, and both the old foxes *made their respective detractors pay dearly for their mistake*. We are far from wanting to equate the two men. The terrible ruthlessness, etc., etc." (of Louis Bonaparte).—"All this makes him cut a far superior figure to the old and worn-out Habsburg."[a]

During the very same session *Wolff* challenged *Vogt* to a duel with pistols—a challenge which was transmitted by deputy Würth from Sigmaringen—and when the aforesaid Vogt preferred to preserve his skin intact for the Empire,* he threatened to thrash him. On leaving St. Paul's Church, however, *Wolff* discovered Charles the Bold flanked by two ladies, and bursting into laughter he left him to his fate. Although he is a wolf, with a wolf's heart and teeth, Wolff is a lamb when he sees the fair sex. His only, really quite innocuous, revenge was an article in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue* (April issue, 1850, p. 73) entitled "*Nachträgliches aus dem Reich*" in which he wrote about the Ex-Imperial Regent as follows:

"In these critical days the Central March people have been extremely industrious. Before withdrawing from Frankfurt they had published an address to the various March associations and to the German people: 'Fellow-citizens! The eleventh hour has struck!' In order to assemble a people's army they issued a new proclamation 'to the German nation' from Stuttgart, and lo and behold! the hand on the Central March clock had stood still, or like the clock on Freiburg Minster, had lost the number XII. However that might be, this proclamation too began with the words: 'Fellow-citizens! The eleventh hour has struck!' Oh if only it had struck earlier, and had pierced your heads, at least at the time when *Karl Vogt*, the Central March hero, was pacifying the Franconian revolution[102] in Nuremberg to his own satisfaction and to the satisfaction of the wailers who were fêting him**....

* In the pamphlet by Jacobus Venedey already referred to, Kobes I tells the following story: "In the same session in which Gagern embraced Gabriel Riesser after the latter's speech on the Emperor, ... Karl Vogt embraced Zimmermann in St. Paul's Church with mock pathos and noisy exclamations, and so I called out to him: 'Stop these roguish pranks.' Vogt thought it expedient to reply in provocative and abusive terms and when I challenged him personally, he had the courage, after a friend had made a number of journeys between the two of us, to withdraw his insult" (loc. cit., pp. 21, 22).

** Vogt later justified his valiant deeds in Nuremberg with the words: "He had been given no guarantees for his own personal safety."

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[a] Carl Vogt, *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas*, S. 27-28. Marx's italics.—*Ed.*

The Regency set up its offices in the government building in Freiburg. The Regent *Karl Vogt*, who was also Foreign Minister and the incumbent of many other Ministries, once more took the well-being of the German people[a] very much to heart. Having studied their problems in long days and nights he came up with a very timely invention, that of '*Imperial Regency passports*'. These passports were simple, beautifully lithographed and could be obtained gratis by anyone whose heart desired one. They only had the one small defect of being recognised as valid only in Vogt's Chancellery. It is possible that later on one or other of them will find its way into an Englishman's collection of curios."[b]

Wolff did not follow Greiner's example. Instead of "departing at once for America" as soon as the *Revue* "had appeared", he remained for a year in Switzerland, awaiting the revenge of the Land-Vogt.

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[a] Wolff has: "of the German Empire".— *Ed.*

[b] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue,* IV. Heft, April 1850, S. 75, 76.— *Ed.*

## VII

## THE AUGSBURG CAMPAIGN

Shortly after the citizen of the Canton of Thurgau[103] had concluded his Italian war, the citizen of the Canton of Berne[a] launched his Augsburg campaign.

"There" (in London) "it was *the Marx clique* that had *always* supplied the greater part of the reports" (of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*), "and *ever since 1849 its relations with the 'Allgemeine Zeitung' had been continuous*" ("Magnum Opus", p. 194).[b]

Although Marx has only been living in London since the end of 1849,[c] i.e. since he was expelled from France for the second time, the "Marx clique" appears to have lived in London *always*, and although the Marx clique has "*always* supplied **the greater part of the reports** of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*", "its relations" with the *Allgemeine Zeitung* have only been "*continuous* ever since 1849". At all events, Vogt's chronology is divided—and this is not to be wondered at since before 1848 the man "had not yet contemplated any political activity" (loc. cit., p. 225)—into two great periods, viz., the period "*always*" up to 1849, and the period from 1849 up to "this" year.

Between 1842 and 1843 I edited the old *Rheinische Zeitung*, which waged a life-and-death war with the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. From 1848 to 1849 the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* revived the polemic. What remains, then, of the period "*always up to 1849*"

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[a] i.e. Vogt. See his *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas*, S. 6.—*Ed.*

[b] Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess...*, S. 194. The words "the Marx clique" were italicised by Vogt, the rest of the italics are Marx's.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx arrived in London about August 26, 1849.—*Ed.*

apart from the fact that Marx had fought against the *Allgemeine Zeitung "always"*, while Vogt had been its "constant collaborator" from 1844 to 1847? (See "Magnum Opus", p. 225.)

Now for the second period of world history *à la* Vogt.

The reason why I maintained "continuous relations with the *Allgemeine Zeitung*" from London, "*continuous ever since* **1849**", is that "*from* **1852**" a certain *Ohly* had been chief London correspondent of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. It is true that Ohly had *no* relations whatever with me, either before or after 1852. I have *never* seen him in my life. Inasmuch as he played any part among the London refugees it was as a member of Kinkel's *Emigration Association*. But this has no bearing on the case, for,

"The former oracle of Altenhöfer, that old Bavarian who had learnt English, was my" (Vogt's) "*fellow-countryman, the blond Ohly*, who having started out as a communist, *strove to attain a loftier poetic standpoint in politics and literature*. At first in Zurich, but from 1852 in London, he was the chief correspondent of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* until he ended his days in a madhouse." ("Magnum Opus", p. 195.)

Edouard Simon, the police spy, has Frenchified this Vogtiad as follows:

"En voici d'abord un qui de son point de départ communiste, avait cherché à s'élever aux plus hautes conceptions de la politique." ("Loftier poetic standpoint in *politics*" was beyond the genius even of an Edouard Simon.) "À en croire M. Vogt, cet adepte fut l'oracle de la Gazette d'Augsbourg jusqu'en 1852, époque où il mourut dans une maison de fous"[a] (*Revue contemporaine*, Vol. XIII, Paris, 1860, p. 529).

"*Operam et oleum perdidi*,"[b] Vogt may well say of his "Magnum Opus" and his *Ohly*. Whereas he makes his "fellow-countryman" the London correspondent of the *Allgemeine Zeitung from 1852*, until he "ends his days in a madhouse", Edouard Simon says that "if we may believe Vogt, Ohly had been the oracle of the *Allgemeine Zeitung up to 1852* when he" (who, it will be noted, is still alive) "*died* in a madhouse". But Edouard Simon knows his Karl Vogt. Edouard knows that once one has resolved to "believe" Karl, it is quite irrelevant *what* one believes, whether it is what he says, or the opposite of what he says.

"*Herr Liebknecht*," says Karl Vogt, "replaced him" (namely *Ohly*) "as correspondent of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*." "Only after Liebknecht had been openly *proclaimed*

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[a] "This is a man who, having started out as a communist, strove to raise himself to the loftier conceptions of politics. If we may believe Herr Vogt, this adept was the oracle of the Augsburg Gazette up to 1852 when he died in a madhouse."—*Ed.*

[b] "I have wasted oil and labour", Plautus, *Poenulus*, Act I, Scene 2, where it is spoken by a whore whose efforts to repair the ravages of time have proved vain. *Oleum* is a pun on Ohly.—*Ed.*

a member of the *Marx party*,[a] was he accepted as a correspondent by the *Allgemeine Zeitung*" (loc. cit., p. 169).

That proclamation was made during the Cologne communist trial, i.e. at the *end* of 1852.

In fact in the spring of 1851 Liebknecht became a contributor to the *Morgenblatt* where he reported on the Great Exhibition in London.[104] Through the mediation of the *Morgenblatt* he was made correspondent of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in *September 1855.*

"His" (Marx's) "comrades do not write a single line of which Marx *has not been previously informed*" (loc. cit., p. 194).

The proof is simple: "He" (Marx) "has absolute control over his people" (p. 195) whereas Vogt is absolutely obedient to his Fazy and Co. We are confronted here by a peculiarity of Vogt's myth-making. The pygmy standards of Giessen or Geneva, the small-town framework and the fug of Swiss taverns are everywhere. Naively translating the leisurely provincial cliquism of Geneva to one of the great cities of the world, London, he will not allow Liebknecht to write "a single line" in the West End of which I "have not been previously informed" four miles away in Hampstead. And I perform the identical services of a La Guéronnière[b] every day for a whole host of "comrades" scattered all over London and writing their reports to the four corners of the globe. A delightful profession—and a profitable one!

With the unmistakable delicacy of the artist, Vogt's mentor, Edouard Simon, who does not know London, but is at least familiar with conditions in Paris, provides the account of his uncouth "friend from the country" with the veneer of the big city:

"Marx, comme chef de la société, ne tient pas lui-même la plume, mais ses fidèles n'écrivent pas une ligne sans l'avoir consulté: *La Gazette d'Augsbourg* sera d'autant mieux servie" (loc. cit., p. 529). That is to say, "Marx as head of the society *does not write himself*, but his trusted associates do not write a single line without first consulting him. In this way the *Augsburger Zeitung* is the better served."

Does Vogt appreciate all the subtlety of this correction?

I had as much to do with Liebknecht's reports to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* from London as I had with Vogt's reports to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* from Paris. Moreover, Liebknecht's reports were praiseworthy in every respect—a critical presentation of *English* politics, which he described in exactly the same way in the

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[a] Vogt has: "of Marx's society".—*Ed.*

[b] La Guéronnière was Chief Censor during the Second Empire in France.—*Ed.*

*Allgemeine Zeitung* as in his reports for the radical German-American newspapers written at the same time. Vogt himself, who has anxiously searched through whole years of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in the hope of discovering something detrimental in Liebknecht's letters, confines his critique of their contents to stating that the symbol used by Liebknecht to indicate his authorship consisted of "*two thin slanting lines*" ("Magnum Opus", p. 196).

The fact that the lines were on a slant showed of course that the reports themselves were not quite straight. But even worse, they were "*thin*"! If only Liebknecht had chosen instead of two "thin lines", two round blobs of grease for his reports! But even if there is nothing reprehensible about his reports apart from these "two thin slanting lines", there is still the objection that they were printed at all in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. And why should they not? It is a known fact that the *Allgemeine Zeitung* allows the most widely divergent views to be expressed in its columns, at least on such neutral topics as that of English politics, and in addition it is the only German paper with a more than local significance in the eyes of the world. Liebknecht could without hesitation dispatch his London letters to the very newspaper for which *Heine* wrote his "Paris Letters" and *Fallmerayer* his "Oriental Letters".[105] Vogt reports that lewd persons also wrote for the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. It is well known that he himself was a contributor from 1844 to 1847.

As far as *Frederick Engels* and myself are concerned—I mention Engels because we work to a common plan and after prior agreement—it is true that in 1859 we did enter into a "relationship" of a sort with the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. That is to say during January, February and March 1859 I published a series of leading articles in the *New-York Tribune* in which *inter alia* the theory advanced by the *Allgemeine Zeitung* about a "Central European great power" and that paper's claim that it was in the *Germans' interest* to maintain Austria's rule in Italy were subjected to searching criticism. Shortly before the outbreak of war, and with my agreement, *Engels* published *Po and Rhine*, Berlin, 1859,[a] a pamphlet directed specifically against the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. To quote Engels' own words (from his pamphlet *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*, Berlin, 1860, p. 4) it provided scientific military proof that "Germany does not need any part of Italy for its defence and that

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[a] Karl Marx, "The War Prospect in Prussia", and Frederick Engels, *Po and Rhine* (see present edition, Vol. 16).—*Ed.*

France, if only military considerations counted, would certainly have much stronger claims to the Rhine than Germany to the Mincio".[a] This polemic against the *Allgemeine Zeitung* and its theory of the necessity of Austrian despotic rule in Italy went hand in hand with a polemic directed against *Bonapartist* propaganda. For instance, I argued in detail in the *Tribune* (see e.g. February 1859) that the financial and internal political problems of the "*bas empire*"[106] had reached a critical point and that only a foreign war could prolong the rule of the coup d'état in France and hence the counter-revolution in Europe.[b] I demonstrated that the *Bonapartist* liberation of Italy was a mere pretext to keep France in subjection, to subject Italy to the rule of the coup d'état, to shift France's "natural frontiers" to Germany, to transform Austria into a tool of Russia and to force the nations into a war waged by the legitimate counter-revolution against the illegitimate counter-revolution. All this took place before the ex-Regent of the Empire, Karl Vogt, issued his clarion call from Geneva.

Ever since Wolff's article in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue* (1850),[c] I had completely forgotten the "well-rounded character". I was reminded of the merry fellow once more in the spring of 1859, on an evening in April, when Freiligrath gave me a letter of Vogt's to read together with an accompanying political "*Programme*".[107] This was no act of indiscretion since Vogt's circular was intended "for communication" to the friends not of Vogt, but of the addressee.

Asked what I found in the "Programme", I replied: "Political hot air." I could see at once that the old joker had not changed, from his request to Freiligrath to persuade Herr *Bucher* to become political correspondent for the propaganda sheet to be published in Geneva.[d] Vogt's letter was dated April 1, 1859. It was well known that in the reports he sent from London to the Berlin *National-Zeitung* since January 1859, Bucher advocated views directly antithetical to those in Vogt's Programme. But all cats are grey to the man of "critical immediacy".

After this incident which I did not think of sufficient importance to mention to anyone, I received a copy of Vogt's *Studien*

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 16, p. 572.—*Ed.*

[b] See "The Money Panic in Europe", *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5548, February 1, 1859 (present edition, Vol. 16).—*Ed.*

[c] Wilhelm Wolff, "Nachträgliches aus dem Reich...", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, Heft 4, April 1850.—*Ed.*

[d] Presumably *Die Neue Schweiz*.—*Ed.*

*zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas*, a woeful document which left me in no doubt about his connection with Bonapartist propaganda.

On the evening of May 9, 1859 I found myself on the platform at a public meeting arranged by David Urquhart because of the Italian war. Before the meeting had got under way I saw a solemn figure approaching me portentously. From the Hamlet-like expression on his countenance I realised at once that "something was rotten in the state of Denmark".[a] It was the *homme d'état, Karl Blind*. After a few preliminaries he began to talk about Vogt's "intrigues" and he assured me with much shaking of the head that Vogt was in receipt of Bonapartist subsidies for his propaganda, that a South German writer, whose name he could "unfortunately" not reveal, had been offered 30,000 guilders as a bribe by Vogt—I was in some doubt as to which South German writer could possibly be worth 30,000 guilders—that there had been attempts at bribery in London, that as early as 1858 there had been a meeting between Plon-Plon, Fazy & Co. in Geneva where the Italian war had been discussed and the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia had been named as the future King of Hungary, that Vogt had also tried to enlist him (Blind) for his propaganda, and that he had *proofs* of Vogt's treasonable intrigues against his country. Blind then withdrew to his seat at the other corner of the platform next to his friend J. Fröbel; the meeting began and in a detailed report[b] D. Urquhart tried to present the Italian war as the fruit of Franco-Russian intrigue.*

* Vogt naturally connects the attacks on *Lord Palmerston* by the Marx clique with my hostility to this self-important personage and his "friends" ("Magnum Opus", p. 212). It would appear, then, that this is a suitable place to comment briefly on my relations with D. Urquhart and his party. Urquhart's writings on Russia and against Palmerston had interested but not convinced me. In order to arrive at a firm view I undertook the laborious analysis of *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* and the diplomatic Blue Books from 1807 to 1850. The first fruits of these studies were a series of leading articles in the *New-York Tribune* (end of 1853) in which I demonstrated Palmerston's involvement with the St. Petersburg Cabinet on the basis of his transactions with Poland, Turkey, Circassia, etc. Shortly afterwards I had these articles reprinted in *The People's Paper*, the organ of the Chartists edited by Ernest Jones, together with additional passages about Palmerston's activities.[108] In the meantime, *The Glasgow Sentinel* had also reprinted one of the articles ("*Palmerston and Poland*") which attracted the attention of Mr. D. Urquhart. After a meeting with me he persuaded Mr. Tucker in London to bring out some of

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[a] Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene 4.—*Ed.*

[b] David Urquhart's report was discussed in the article "Mr. Urquhart's Address on Neutrality" in *The Free Press*, No. 5, May 27, 1859.—*Ed.*

Towards the end of the meeting *Dr. Faucher*, foreign-news editor of *The Morning Star* (the organ of the Manchester School[111]), came up to me to tell me that a new London German weekly, *Das Volk*, had just appeared. *Die Neue Zeit*, a workers' paper published by Herr *A. Scherzer* and edited by *Edgar Bauer*, had just folded up as the result of an intrigue by *Kinkel*, the publisher of the *Hermann*. Hearing this news, *Biscamp*, who had been a reporter for *Die Neue Zeit* up to that time, gave up his teaching post in the South of England in order to go to London and set up *Das Volk* in opposition to the *Hermann*. The German Workers' Educational Society and other London societies supported the newspaper, which like all such workers' newspapers was naturally edited and written gratis. Although as a free-trader[b] he, Faucher, did not agree with the general policy of *Das Volk*, he was opposed to there being a monopoly in the German press in London and therefore, together with some London acquaintances, he had set up a Finance Committee in support of the paper. Biscamp had already written to Liebknecht, whom he had not yet met, with a request for literary contributions, etc. Finally, Faucher asked me to join in the venture.

Although Biscamp had been living in England since 1852, we had not yet made each other's acquaintance. The day after the Urquhart meeting Liebknecht brought him to my home. From lack of time I could not accept the invitation to write for *Das Volk* for the moment, but I promised to ask my German friends in

the articles in pamphlet form. These Palmerston pamphlets were later sold in various editions in numbers ranging from 15,000 to 20,000. Following my analysis of the Blue Book on the fall of Kars—it was published in the London organ of the Chartists in April 1856[a]—I received a letter of thanks from the Sheffield Foreign Affairs Committee.[109] (See Appendix 7.) While looking through the diplomatic manuscripts in the possession of the British Museum I came across a series of English documents, going back from the end of the eighteenth century to the time of Peter the Great, which reveal the continuous secret collaboration between the Cabinets of London and St. Petersburg, and seem to indicate that this relationship arose at the time of Peter the Great. Up to now, all I have published of a detailed investigation into the subject has been an introduction with the title *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century*. This appeared first in the Sheffield and subsequently in the London *Free Press*,[110] both published by Urquhart. The last-named has received occasional contributions from me since its foundation. My interest in Palmerston and British-Russian diplomatic relations in general arose, as one can see, without my having had the slightest suspicion that the figure of Herr Karl Vogt was standing behind that of Lord Palmerston.

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[a] "The Fall of Kars", *The People's Paper*, Nos. 205-08, April 5, 12, 19 and 26 (see present edition, Vol. 14).—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*

England for subscriptions, financial donations and literary contributions. In the course of the conversation we came to speak of the Urquhart meeting and this led on to Vogt, whose *Studien* Biscamp had already read and correctly evaluated. I told him and Liebknecht of the contents of Vogt's "Programme" and also of Blind's revelations, adding, however, with respect to the latter, that South Germans were inclined to paint in rather exaggerated colours. To my surprise, No. 2 of *Das Volk* (May 14) printed an article with the title "Der Reichsregent als Reichsverräther" [The Imperial Regent as Imperial Traitor][a] (see "Magnum Opus", Documents, pp. 17, 18) in which Biscamp mentioned two of the facts reported by Blind—the 30,000 guilders, which, however, he reduced to 4,000, and the Bonapartist sources of Vogt's funds. For the rest his article consisted of witticisms in the manner of *Die Hornisse,* which he had edited in Cassel with *Heise* in 1848-49. In the meantime, as I learned long after the appearance of the "Magnum Opus" (see Appendix 8), the London Workers' Educational Society had commissioned Herr Scherzer, one of its leaders, to invite the workers' educational associations in Switzerland, Belgium and the United States to support *Das Volk* and to combat Bonapartist propaganda. Biscamp himself sent a copy of the above-mentioned article published in *Das Volk* on May 14, 1859 to Vogt, who simultaneously received Herr A. Scherzer's circular from his own Ranickel.

With his familiar "critical immediacy" Vogt at once cast me in the role of the demiurge behind these attempts to ensnare him. Without hesitation he at once published an *outline* of his later travesty of history[b] in the oft-quoted "*special supplement to No. 150 of the 'Schweizer Handels-Courier'*". This original gospel which first revealed the mysteries of the Brimstone Gang, the Bristlers, Cherval, etc., beneath the date Berne, May 23, 1859 (and hence more recently than the gospel according to the Mormons[112]), bore the title **Zur Warnung**[c] and its content corresponds to that of a piece translated from a pamphlet[113] by the notorious E. About.*

* A word about the Biel *Commis voyageur,* the local *Moniteur* of the "fugitive Imperial Regent". The publisher and editor of the Biel *Handels-Courier* is a

[a] This refers to the anonymous article "Der Reichsregent". One of the paragraphs in it begins with the words "Der Reichsregent als Reichsverräther!"—*Ed.*

[b] See Johann Fischart, *Affentheurliche, Naupengeheurliche Geschichtklitterung....*—*Ed.*

[c] Carl Vogt, "Zur Warnung", *Schweizer Handels-Courier,* No. 150 (special supplement), June 2, 1859; see also *Mein Prozess...,* Dokumente, S. 31-33.—*Ed.*

Vogt's anonymous original gospel *Zur Warnung* was reprinted, as I have already remarked, in *Das Volk*[a] at my request.

In the beginning of June I left London to visit Engels in Manchester, where a subscription of about £25 was collected for *Das Volk*. This contribution, whose "nature" induced the "curious" Vogt to cast his "eyes across the Channel" towards Augsburg and Vienna ("Magnum Opus", p. 212), came from Frederick Engels, Wilhelm Wolff, myself and finally three German physicians[b] resident in Manchester, whose names are recorded in one of the legal documents I sent to Berlin. As to the money collected in London by the original Finance Committee, Vogt should consult Dr. Faucher.

Vogt informs us on p. 225 of the "Magnum Opus":

> "But it has always been a *device* of the *reactionaries* to require the democrats to do everything *for nothing* while *they*" (that is the reactionaries, not the democrats) "*claim* the right to demand payment and to be paid."

What a *reactionary* device on the part of *Das Volk*, which is not only edited and written for nothing but *even induces* those who work on it to *pay*! If that is not proof of the connection between *Das Volk* and the reaction, then Karl Vogt is at his wit's end.

During my stay in Manchester an event of decisive importance took place in London. Liebknecht discovered in the compositor's room of Hollinger (*who printed "Das Volk"*) the proof-sheet of the anonymous pamphlet against Vogt entitled *Zur Warnung*. He read it through cursorily, immediately recognised Blind's revelations and to crown it all learnt from *A. Vögele*, the compositor, that *Blind* had given the manuscript, which was in his handwriting, to Hollinger for printing. The corrections on the proof-sheet were also in *Blind*'s handwriting. Two days later Hollinger sent Liebknecht the proof-sheet, which he in turn sent to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. The type for the pamphlet survived and was used later for a reprint in *Das Volk*, No. 7 (June 18, 1859).[c]

With the publication of the "*warning*" by the *Allgemeine Zeitung*[d]

certain Ernst Schüler, a political refugee of 1838, a postmaster, wine merchant, bankrupt and at present solvent once more thanks to the fact that his newspaper, which was subsidised by British, French and Swiss advertisements during the Crimean war, now numbers 1,200 subscribers.

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[a] No. 6, June 11, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] Louis Borchardt, Eduard Gumpert and Martin Heckscher.—*Ed.*

[c] In the article "Warnung zur gefälligen Verbreitung".—*Ed.*

[d] "K. Vogt und die deutsche Emigration in London", *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 173, June 22, 1859.—*Ed.*

begins the Augsburg campaign of the ex-Vogt of the Empire. He sued the *Allgemeine Zeitung* for reprinting the pamphlet.

In the "Magnum Opus" (pp. 227-28) Vogt travesties Müllner's "'Tis me, 'tis me; I am the robber Jaromir".[114] He merely translates "to be" into "to have".

"*I have sued* because I knew all along that the shallowness, futility and baseness of the editorial board which parades as the 'representative of High German culture', would be forced into the open. *I have sued* because I knew all along that the connection of its esteemed editors and the Austrian policies they have been exalting to the heavens with the Brimstone Gang and the dregs of the revolution, could not remain hidden from the public."

And so on through another four "*I have sued*'s". The suing Vogt becomes quite sublime,[a] or Longinus is right when he says that there is nothing in the world that is drier than a man with dropsy.[b]

"Personal considerations," the "well-rounded character" declares, "were the least of my motives when I went for the law."

In reality matters stood quite differently. No calf could show greater reluctance to go to the slaughter than Karl Vogt to go to court. While his "close" friends, the Ranickel, Reinach (formerly a peripatetic *chronique scandaleuse* about Vogt) and the garrulous Mayer from Esslingen, a member of the Rump Parliament, confirmed him in his terror of the court, he was bombarded with urgent requests from Zurich to proceed with his "suit". At the Workers' Festival in Lausanne the fur-dealer Roos told him in front of witnesses that he could no longer have any respect for him if he did not take legal proceedings. Nevertheless, Vogt resisted: He did not give a rap for the Augsburg and London Brimstone Gang and would remain silent. Suddenly, however, he spoke. Various newspapers announced the forthcoming trial and the Ranickel declared:

"*The Stuttgart people would not leave him*" (*Vogt*) "*any peace.* He" (Ranickel) "had not given his approval."

We may note in passing that since the "well-rounded one" found himself in a tight corner, an action against the *Allgemeine Zeitung* was undoubtedly the most promising stratagem. Vogt's self-apologia in response to an attack on him by J. Venedey, who had accused him of Bonapartist intrigues,[115] saw the light in the

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[a] A pun in the original: *der geklagt habende* (who has sued) and *wird erhaben* (becomes sublime).—*Ed.*

[b] Cassius Longinus, *On the Sublime.*—*Ed.*

*Biel "Handels-Courier" of June 16, 1859,*[a] and hence arrived in London *after* the appearance of the anonymous pamphlet, which concluded with the threat:

"If, however, *Vogt* attempts to deny these accusations, a thing he will hardly dare, this revelation will be followed by No. 2."[b]

Vogt had now issued a denial and revelation No. 2 did not follow. Secure on this front, mischief could only come from his dear friends, whom he knew well enough to rely on their cowardice. The more he exposed himself in public by resorting to legal action, the more surely he could bank on their discretion, for in the person of the "fugitive Imperial Regent" it was in a way the entire Rump Parliament that was standing in the pillory.

Parliamentarian *Jacob Venedey tells tales* out of school in his *Pro domo und pro patria gegen Karl Vogt,* Hanover, 1860, *pp. 27-28*:

"Apart from the letters produced by Vogt in his own account of his lawsuit, I have read a further letter of Vogt's which reveals, much more clearly than the letter to Dr. Loening,[c] Vogt's position as the accomplice of those who were making strenuous efforts to localise the war in Italy. I have copied out a few passages from this letter for my own information, but unfortunately I cannot publish them because the man to whom the letter was addressed only showed them to me on condition that I would not publish them. *Attempts have been made from personal and party considerations to cover up Vogt's part in this affair which in my view cannot be justified either from a party point of view or in terms of a man's duty to his country. This restraint on the part of many people* explains why Vogt can still have the temerity to present himself as a German party leader. *It appears to me, however, that the party to which Vogt belonged has by this means become in part responsible for his activities.*" *

If then his action against the *Allgemeine Zeitung* was not risking all that much, an offensive in that direction provided General Vogt with the most favourable base of operations. It was Austria that was denigrating the Imperial Vogt through the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* and moreover, Austria in league with the communists! Thus the Imperial Vogt appeared as the interesting victim of a

* See also p. 4 of the same pamphlet where it is stated: "This practice of 'making allowances' from party considerations, the want of moral principle implied in admitting among themselves that Vogt has been playing a disgraceful game with his own country [...] and then permitting Vogt to sue people for slander when they have only asserted what all know and think and of which they know and even possess the proofs—all this I find quite nauseating, etc."

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[a] Carl Vogt, "Erklärung", *Schweizer Handels-Courier,* No. 162 (special supplement). Vogt's statement was dated Geneva, June 10, 1859. He also included it in his *Mein Prozess...,* Dokumente, S. 20-25.—*Ed.*

[b] "Warnung zur gefälligen Verbreitung", *Das Volk,* No. 7, June 18, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess...,* Dokumente, S. 36.—*Ed.*

monstrous coalition of the enemies of bourgeois liberalism. And the "Little Germany" press, which was already prejudiced in the Imperial Vogt's favour, as a diminisher of the Empire,[116] would jubilantly bear him aloft on its shield!

In the beginning of July 1859, shortly after my return from Manchester, Blind paid me a visit in consequence of an incident of no importance in this context. He was accompanied by Fidelio Hollinger and Liebknecht. During this meeting I gave it as my opinion that Blind was the author of the pamphlet *Zur Warnung*. He protested the opposite. I repeated what he had told me on May 9[a] point by point, for in fact his assertions then constituted the entire contents of the pamphlet. He admitted all that but nevertheless insisted that he was not the author of the pamphlet.

About a month later, in August 1859, Liebknecht showed me a letter he had received from the editors of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* who urgently asked him for proof of the allegations made in the pamphlet *Zur Warnung*. At his request I agreed to go with him to Blind's home in St. John's Wood, for even if Blind was not the *author*, he at any rate had known as early as the beginning of May what the pamphlet did not reveal to the world until the beginning of June, and he could, moreover, *"prove"* what he knew. Blind was not there. He had gone to a seaside resort. Liebknecht, therefore, wrote to him explaining the purpose of our visit. No answer. Liebknecht wrote to him a second time.[117] Finally, the following statesman-like document arrived:

"Dear Herr Liebknecht,

"Your two letters, which had been wrongly addressed, arrived almost simultaneously. As you will understand I have absolutely no wish to meddle in the affairs of a newspaper with which I am quite unconnected. All the less in the given case, since, *as I have already stated, I had* **nothing whatever to do** *with the problem in question.* As to *the remarks* you cite *that were made in the course of a private conversation,* it is *obvious that these were completely misinterpreted.* There is evidently a misunderstanding here which I shall discuss with you in due course. I am sorry that your visit to me with Marx was in vain and

"I remain, respectfully yours,

*K. Blind*

"St. Leonard's, September 8"

This cool diplomatic note according to which *Blind* had "**nothing whatever to do**" with the denunciation of Vogt, reminded me of an article which had appeared anonymously in

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[a] See this volume, p. 116.—*Ed.*

*The Free Press* in London on May 27, 1859 and which went as follows[a]:

*"The Grand Duke Constantine to be King of Hungary*

"A Correspondent, who encloses his card, writes as follows:—

"Sir,—Having been present at the last meeting* in the Music Hall, I heard the statement made concerning the Grand Duke Constantine. I am able to give you another fact: So far back as last summer, Prince Jérôme-Napoléon detailed to some of his confidants at Geneva a plan of attack against Austria, and prospective rearrangement of the map of Europe. I know the name of a Swiss senator to whom he broached the subject. Prince Jérôme, at that time, declared that, according to the plan made, Grand Duke Constantine was to become King of Hungary.

"I know further of *attempts* made, in the beginning of the present year, to *win over* to the Russo-Napoleonic scheme *some of the exiled German Democrats, as well as some influential Liberals in Germany. Large pecuniary advantages were held out to them as a bribe.*[b] I am glad to say that these offers were rejected with indignation." (See Appendix 9.)

This article—though it does not name Vogt but, as far as the German emigration in London was concerned, unmistakably points to him—does in effect contain the *core* of the pamphlet *Zur Warnung* that appeared later on. The author of the *"future King of Hungary"*, whom patriotic zeal drove to make an anonymous denunciation of Vogt, had of course to grasp the golden opportunity that the Augsburg trial had thrown into his lap, the opportunity to reveal the treachery in a court of law in full view of the whole of Europe. And who was the author of the "future King of Hungary"? *Citizen Karl Blind.* The form and content of the article had already made that obvious to me in May and this was now *officially confirmed* by Mr. Collet, the editor of *The Free Press,* after I had explained to him the importance of the dispute that was pending and after I had shown him Blind's diplomatic note.

On September 17, 1859, Herr *A. Vögele,* the compositor, gave me a written declaration (printed in the "Magnum Opus", Documents, Nos. 30, 31), in which he testifies not that *Blind* was the *author* of the pamphlet *Zur Warnung,* but that he (A. Vögele) and his employer, *Fidelio Hollinger, had set the type for it in the Hollinger print-shop,* that *the manuscript was in Blind's hand* and that *Blind had occasionally been mentioned by Hollinger as the author of the pamphlet.*

* This was the meeting held by D. Urquhart on May 9, mentioned above.

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[a] In the German original the letter is given in Marx's translation. In the present edition the original English text is given, which Marx supplies in Appendix 9.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes this sentence in English in brackets after the German translation. The italics in this paragraph are Marx's.—*Ed.*

Armed with Vögele's declaration and the "future King of Hungary", *Liebknecht* again wrote to *Blind* asking for "proofs" of the denunciations made by that statesman in *The Free Press,* pointing out at the same time that he had now a piece of evidence about *his* involvement in the publication of *Zur Warnung.* Instead of answering *Liebknecht, Blind* sent Mr. Collet to me. Mr. Collet was supposed to ask me in *Blind's name* to make no public use of my knowledge of the authorship of the said article in *The Free Press.* I replied that I could give no such assurance. *My* discretion would keep pace with *Blind's* courage.

In the meantime, the date set down for the hearing of the case in Augsburg was drawing nearer. *Blind* remained silent. *Vogt* had attempted in various public announcements to make *me* as the secret source of it all responsible both for the pamphlet and the *proof* of the facts given in it. To ward off this manoeuvre, to vindicate Liebknecht and to defend the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* which in my view had performed a good deed in denouncing Vogt, I informed the editors of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* via Liebknecht that I was prepared to let them have a document regarding the origin of the pamphlet *Zur Warnung,* if I received a written request from them. That is how the *"lively correspondence came about which is at present carried on by Marx and Herr Kolb"* as Herr Vogt states on p.194 of the "Magnum Opus".* *My "lively correspondence with Herr Kolb"* consisted in two letters from Herr *Orges* to me, both of the same date, in which he asked me for the document I had promised, which I then sent him together with *a few lines* from myself.**

The two letters from Herr *Orges,* which were in reality just a double edition of the same letter, arrived in London on October 18, 1859, while the court proceedings were due to begin in Augsburg on the 24th. I therefore wrote at once to Herr Vögele to arrange a meeting next day in the office at the Marlborough Street Police Court, where he should give his declaration about the pamphlet *Zur Warnung* the legal form of an *affidavit.**** My letter

* It is true that in No. 319 of the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* Herr *Kolb* mentions "a very detailed *letter* from Herr *Marx which he has not printed*". But this "detailed letter" has been *printed* in the Hamburg *Reform,* No. 139, *supplement of November 19, 1859.* The "detailed letter" was a declaration from me intended for *publication,* and I sent it also to the Berlin *Volks-Zeitung.* [See this volume, pp. 4-7.]

** My covering note [see this volume, p. 3] and Vögele's declaration can be found in the "*Magnum Opus*", *Documents,* pp. 30, 31. Herr Orges' letters to me are contained in Appendix 10.

*** An *affidavit* is a statutory declaration given before a court, which, if false, is liable to all the penalties incurred by perjury.

did not reach him in time. Hence, on October 19,* against my original intention, I was compelled to send the above-mentioned written declaration of September 17 instead of the affidavit.**

The court proceedings in Augsburg, as is well known, turned into a true comedy of errors. The *corpus delicti* was the pamphlet *Zur Warnung* sent by *W. Liebknecht* to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* and reprinted by it. The publisher and the author of the pamphlet, however, were involved in a game of blind-man's buff. *Liebknecht* could not compel his witnesses, who were in London, to appear before the court in Augsburg; the editors of the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* embarrassed by this legal impasse, spouted a lot of political gibberish; Dr. Hermann regaled the court with the tall stories of our "well-rounded character" about the Brimstone Gang, the Lausanne Festival, etc.; and the court finally dismissed *Vogt*'s suit because the plaintiff had brought the case to the *wrong* court. The confusion reached its climax when the case in Augsburg had been concluded and the report on the proceedings[a] reached London with the *Allgemeine Zeitung. Blind,* who had unswervingly preserved his statesman-like silence up to that moment, suddenly leaped into the public arena scared by the testimony of *Vögele,* the compositor, which had been produced by me. Vögele had *not* declared that Blind *was the author* of the pamphlet, but only that he had been referred to as such by Fidelio Hollinger. However, Vögele did declare categorically that the *manuscript of the pamphlet had been written in Blind's hand, with which he was familiar, and that it had been set and printed in Hollinger's print-shop. Blind* could be the *author* of the pamphlet even if it had neither been written down in Blind's handwriting, nor set up and printed in Hollinger's print-shop. Conversely, the pamphlet could have been *written down* by *Blind* and printed by Hollinger, even though Blind was *not* the author.

In No. 313 of the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* beneath the date London,

* Since I write illegibly my letter of October 19 was regarded by the Augsburg Court as dated October 29. Vogt's lawyer, Dr. Hermann, Vogt himself, the dignified *Berlin "National-Zeitung" et hoc genus omne* [and that whole tribe] of "*critical immediacy*" did not doubt at all that a letter written in London on October 29 could arrive in Augsburg by October 24.

** That this quid pro quo was the result of pure chance—namely the belated arrival of my letter to Vögele—can be seen from his subsequent affidavit of February 11, 1860.

[a] The report in question, "Prozess Vogt gegen die Redaction der Allgemeinen Zeitung", was published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* Nos. 300 and 301, October 27 and 28, 1859.—*Ed.*

November 3 (see "Magnum Opus", Documents, pp. 37, 38), the citizen and statesman Blind declared that he was *not the author* of the pamphlet, and as *proof* he was "publishing" the "**following document**":

"a) I hereby declare that the assertion of the compositor Vögele printed in the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 300, to the effect that the pamphlet *Zur Warnung* mentioned there was *printed in my print-shop* or that Herr *Karl Blind* was its author, is a *malicious fabrication.*

"3 Litchfield Street, Soho,
London, November 2, 1859

*Fidelio Hollinger*"

"b) The undersigned, who *has lived and worked* in No. 3 Litchfield Street for the past eleven months, for his part *testifies to the correctness of Herr Hollinger's statement.*

"London, November 2, 1859

*J. F. Wiehe,* Compositor"

Vögele had nowhere *asserted* that *Blind* was the *author* of the pamphlet. Fidelio Hollinger therefore invents Vögele's assertion so as to be able to dismiss it as a *"malicious fabrication"*. On the other hand, *if* the pamphlet was *not* printed in Hollinger's print-shop, how can the same Fidelio Hollinger be certain that *Karl Blind* was *not* its author?

And how can the circumstance that the *compositor Wiehe "has lived and worked for eleven months"* (up to November 2, 1859) with Hollinger enable him to testify to the *"correctness of Fidelio Hollinger's statement"*?

My reply[a] to *Blind*'s declaration (in No. 325 of the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* see "Magnum Opus", Documents, pp. 39, 40) concluded with the words: *"The transfer of the trial from Augsburg to London* would resolve the entire *Blind-Vogt mystère."*

*Blind,* with all the moral indignation of a beautiful soul cut to the quick, returned to the attack in the *"supplement to the 'Allgemeine Zeitung' of December 11, 1859"*:

"Having **repeatedly**" (we must take note of this) "**based my testimony** *on the* **documents signed** *by Herr Hollinger, the printer, and Herr Wiehe, compositor,* I declare here for the last time that the *allegation* (which is latterly put forward merely as an insinuation) that *I am the author* of the pamphlet frequently referred to is a *downright untruth.* The other statements about me contain *distortions of the crudest sort.*"

In a postscript to this declaration the editors of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* remarked that "this discussion is of no further interest to the general public" and they therefore request "the gentlemen

[a] See this volume, pp. 8-9.—*Ed.*

concerned to abstain from further replies", a request which our "well-rounded character" interpreted as follows at the end of the "Magnum Opus":

"In other words, the editors of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* request Messrs. *Marx, Biscamp** and *Liebknecht,* who stand revealed as barefaced liars, not to compromise themselves and the *Allgemeine Zeitung* any further."

Thus, for the time being, the Augsburg campaign came to an end.

Reverting to the tone of his *Lousiad, Vogt* made "Vögele the compositor" bear *"false witness"* to me and *Liebknecht* ("Magnum Opus", p. 195). He explained the origins of the pamphlet by suggesting that *Blind*

"may well have conceived various suspicions and have spread them abroad. *The Brimstone Gang then used them to fabricate a pamphlet and other articles which they then attributed to Blind who found himself driven into a corner*" (loc. cit., p. 218).

And if the Imperial Vogt failed to resume his indecisive campaign in London, as he had been challenged to do, this was partly because London was *"a backwater"* ("Magnum Opus", p. 229), but partly because the disputants "were accusing each other of lying" (loc. cit.).

The man's "critical immediacy" can only approve of the intervention of the courts if the parties are *not disputing* about the truth.

I now pass over three months and resume the thread of my story in the beginning of February 1860. Vogt's "Magnum Opus" had not yet reached London, but we had received the *anthology* of the Berlin *National-Zeitung*, which contained the following statement:

"It was very easy for the *Marx party* to lay the authorship of the pamphlet at *Blind*'s door, just because the latter had previously uttered similar views in

* In a letter dated October 20 from London, Biscamp had written to the editors of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in connection with the Vogt affair, ending up by offering his services as news correspondent.[a] I knew nothing of this letter until I saw it in the *Allgemeine Zeitung.* Vogt has invented a moral doctrine according to which my support of a newspaper which has since folded up makes me responsible for the subsequent private letters written by its editor. How much more responsible would this make Vogt for Kolatschek's *Stimmen der Zeit* since he was a paid contributor to Kolatschek's *Monatsschrift.* When Biscamp was editing *Das Volk,* he made the greatest sacrifices. He gave up a job he had had for many years in order to take on the editorship; he edited the paper *gratis* in very trying circumstances and finally he jeopardised his position as news correspondent for German papers, such as the *Kölnische Zeitung,* so that he could work in accordance with his convictions. Everything else did not and does not concern me.

[a] The *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 300 (supplement), October 27, 1859.—*Ed.*

conversation with *Marx* and in the article in *The Free Press*. By using Blind's statements and turns of phrase the pamphlet could be *fabricated* so that it looked like *his* work."

*Blind,* like Falstaff who thought discretion the better part of valour,[a] esteemed silence as the whole art of diplomacy, and so he began to be silent once again. To loosen his tongue I published a circular in English over my signature and dated London, February 4, 1860. (See Appendix 11.)

The circular, addressed to the editor of *The Free Press,* stated *inter alia*:

"Now, before taking any further step, I want to show up the fellows who evidently have played into the hands of Vogt. I, therefore, publicly declare that the statement of Blind, Wiehe and Hollinger, according to which the anonymous pamphlet was *not* printed in Hollinger's office, 3, Litchfield Street, Soho, *is an infamous lie.*" *

Having presented the evidence in my possession I end with the words:

"Consequently, I again declare the above said *Charles Blind* to be an *infamous liar* (deliberate liar). If I am wrong, he may easily confound me by appealing to an English Court of Law."[b]

On February 6, 1860 a London daily (the **Daily Telegraph**)—to which I shall return in due course—reproduced the anthology of the *National-Zeitung,* under the title *"The Journalistic Auxiliaries of Austria"*.[c] However, I initiated an action for libel against the *National-Zeitung,* gave the *Daily Telegraph* notice of similar proceedings[d] and set about assembling the necessary legal material.

On February 11, 1860 the compositor Vögele swore an affidavit before the Police Court in Bow Street. He repeated the essential contents of his declaration of September 17, 1859, namely that the manuscript of the pamphlet was in **Blind's handwriting** and that

* In the English original I said "a deliberate lie". The *Kölnische Zeitung* translated this as "*infame Lüge*" (infamous lie). I accept this translation, even though "*durchtriebene Lüge*" would be closer to the original.

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[a] Shakespeare, *Henry IV,* Part I, Act V, Scene 4.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx's circular (letter to the editor of *The Free Press* dated February 4, 1860, see this volume, p. 11) was written in English. The original text is reproduced here and in Appendix 11. The last sentence does not occur in the latter.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx gives the title in English and supplies the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 14-15.—*Ed.*

it had been composed **in Hollinger's print-shop,** partly by him (Vögele) and partly by *F. Hollinger.* (See Appendix 12.)

Incomparably more important was the affidavit taken out by the compositor *Wiehe,* whose testimony Blind had **repeatedly**, and with growing self-confidence, quoted in the *Allgemeine Zeitung.*

Apart from the original (see Appendix 13) I am therefore giving here a word-for-word translation[a]:

"One of the first days of November last—I do not recollect the exact date—in the evening between nine and ten o'clock I was taken out of bed by Mr. *F. Hollinger,* in whose house I then lived, and by whom I was employed as compositor. He presented to me a paper to the effect, that, during the preceding eleven months I had been *continuously* employed by him, and that during all that time a certain German flysheet '*Zur Warnung*' (A Warning) had *not* been composed and printed in Mr. Hollinger's Office, 3, Litchfield Street, Soho. In my perplexed state, and not aware of the importance of the transaction, I complied with his wish, and copied, and signed the document. Mr. *Hollinger* promised me *money,* but I never received anything. *During that transaction Mr. Charles Blind,* as my wife informed me at the time, *was waiting in Mr. Hollinger's room.* A few days later, Mrs. Hollinger called me down from dinner and led me into her husband's room, *where I found Mr. Blind alone. He presented me the same paper* which Mr. Hollinger had presented me before, and *entreated me*[b] *to write, and sign a second copy, as he wanted two, the one for himself, and the other for publication in the Press. He added that he would show himself grateful to me.* I copied and signed again the paper.

"I herewith declare the truth of the above statements and that:

"1) During the eleven months mentioned in the document I was for six weeks **not** employed by Mr. Hollinger, but by a Mr. Ermani.

"2) I did **not** work in Mr. Hollinger's Office just at that time when the flysheet '*Zur Warnung*' was published.

"3) I heard at the time from Mr. Vögele, who then worked for Mr. Hollinger, that he, Vögele, had, **together with Mr. Hollinger** himself, *composed* the flysheet in question, and that the manuscript was in *Blind's handwriting.*

"4) The types of the pamphlet were still standing when I returned to Mr. Hollinger's service. *I myself broke them into columns* for the reprint of the flysheet (or pamphlet) 'Zur Warnung' in the German paper *Das Volk* published by Mr. Hollinger, 3, Litchfield Street, Soho. The flysheet appeared in No. 7, d.d. 18th June 1859, of *Das Volk.*

"5) I saw Mr. Hollinger give to Mr. William Liebknecht of 14, Church Street, Soho, the proofsheet of the pamphlet 'Zur Warnung', on which proofsheet Mr. *Charles Blind with his own hand had corrected four or five mistakes.* Mr. Hollinger hesitated at first giving the proofsheet to Mr. Liebknecht, and when Mr. *Liebknecht* had withdrawn, he, Hollinger, expressed to me and my fellow workman Vögele his regret for having given the proofsheet out of his hands.

*Johann Friedrich Wiehe*

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[a] The original English text is given in Appendix 13. The various types of emphasis were introduced by Marx.—*Ed.*

[b] In his translation Marx gives the English words "entreated me" in brackets after the German equivalent.—*Ed.*

"Declared and signed by the said Friedrich Wiehe at the Police Court, Bow Street, this 8th day of February, 1860, before me,

*Th. Henry*, Magistrate of the said court" (Police Court)
(Bow Street)

The two *affidavits* of the compositors *Vögele* and *Wiehe* proved that the *manuscript of the pamphlet had been written in Blind's hand, composed in Hollinger's print-shop and that Blind himself had corrected the proofs.*

And the *homme d'état* wrote to Julius Fröbel from London on July 4, 1859:

"A violent attack on Vogt has *appeared* here, accusing him of corruption. *I do not know who is responsible for it.* It contains a number of allegations *of which we had not previously heard.*"[a]

And the same *homme d'état* wrote to Liebknecht on September 8, 1859, saying that

"**he had nothing whatever to do with the problem in question**".

Not content with these achievements citizen and statesman *Blind had fabricated a false declaration* and contrived to *induce the compositor Wiehe to sign it* by promises of money from *Fidelio Hollinger* and proofs of his own gratitude in the future.

This, his own fabrication with a signature obtained by false pretences and together with Fidelio Hollinger's false testimony, he not only sent to the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* but in his second declaration he even *"refers" "repeatedly"* to these *"documents",* and hurls the reproach of "downright untruth" at my head with every sign of moral indignation.

I had copies made of the two affidavits of Vögele and Wiehe and circulated them in different circles, whereupon a meeting took place at Blind's house attended by *Blind, Fidelio Hollinger,* and Blind's house-friend Herr *Karl Schaible,* M.D., a quiet decent fellow who plays the role of tame elephant in Blind's political operations.

In the *Daily Telegraph* of February 15, 1860 there appeared an item that was later reprinted in German newspapers and which went as follows:

"The Vogt-Pamphlet
"To the Editor of *The Daily Telegraph*

"Sir,

"In consequence of erroneous statements which have been current, I feel I owe it to Mr. Blind, as well as to Mr. Marx, formally to declare that neither of them is

[a] Marx probably quotes this letter from the *National-Zeitung,* No. 41, July 4, 1859.— *Ed.*

the *author* of the pamphlet directed some time ago against Professor Vogt, at Geneva. That pamphlet originates from me; and on me the responsibility rests. I am sorry both with regard to Mr. Marx and Mr. Blind, that circumstances beyond my control should have prevented me from making this declaration earlier.

*"London, 14 February, 1860*

*Charles Schaible, M.D."*

Herr *Schaible* sent me this declaration.[a] I reciprocated his politeness by return of post by sending the affidavits of the compositors Vögele and Wiehe and wrote that his (Schaible's) declaration made no difference either to the false statements that *Blind* had sent to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, or to *Blind's conspiracy*[b] *with Hollinger* to obtain Wiehe's signature for the *false document he had fabricated.*

*Blind* perceived that he was no longer on the firm territory of the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* but under the perilous jurisdiction of England. If he wanted to invalidate the *affidavits* and the "grave insults" of my circular based on them, he and Hollinger would have to swear *counter-affidavits*; but felony is no joke.

Eisele-Blind[118] is not the author of the pamphlet, because Beisele-Schaibele publicly declares himself its author. Blind has only *written* the manuscript of the pamphlet; he has only *had it printed* by Hollinger, corrected the proofs in his own hand, *fabricated false statements* together with Hollinger in order to refute these facts and sent them to the *Allgemeine Zeitung.* But he is nevertheless a wronged innocent, because he was not the *author* or *originator* of the pamphlet. He acted only as *Beisele-Schaibele's secretary.* It is just for this reason that on July 4, 1859 he did not know *"who"* had brought the pamphlet into the world and on September 8, 1859 he had *"nothing whatever to do with the problem in question".* It may therefore reassure him that *Beisele-Schaible* is the *author* of the pamphlet in the literary sense of the word, but *Eisele-Blind* is its *author* in the technical sense of the English law, and the *responsible publisher* in the sense of all civilised legislation. *Habeat sibi!*[c]

A final word of farewell to Herr Beisele-Schaible.

The lampoon published by *Vogt* against me in the Biel *Handels-Courier,* dated *Berne, May 23, 1859,* bore the title *Zur Warnung.* The pamphlet composed by *Schaible* and written out

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[a] On this see Marx's letters to Engels of February 15, 1860 and to Legal Counsellor Weber of February 24, 1860 (present edition, Vol. 41).—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[c] So be it! Genesis 38:23.—*Ed.*

and published by his secretary *Blind* in the beginning of June 1859, in which Vogt was arraigned as an agent of Louis Bonaparte, and accused in some detail of both "*giving*" and "taking bribes", also bears the title *Zur Warnung*. Furthermore, it is signed X. Although in algebra X represents an unknown quantity, it also happens to be the last letter of my name. Were the title and the signature on the pamphlet an attempt to make Schaible's "warning" look like *my* reply to Vogt's "warning"? Schaible had promised a Revelation No. 2 as soon as Vogt ventured to deny Revelation No. 1. Vogt not only issued a denial; he instituted an action for libel in reply to Schaible's "warning". And Herr Schaible's Revelation No. 2 has not appeared to this day. At the head of his pamphlet Schaible had printed the words: *"For distribution!"* And when Liebknecht was obliging enough to "distribute" it through the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, "circumstances beyond his control" sealed Herr Schaible's lips from June 1859 to February 1860, when they were unsealed again by the affidavits taken out in the Police Court in Bow Street.

However that may be, Schaible, the original denouncer of Vogt, has now publicly accepted responsibility for the information given in the pamphlet. Hence the Augsburg campaign ends not with the victory of the defendant Vogt, but with the appearance on the battlefield at long last of the accuser Schaible.

# VIII

## DÂ-DÂ VOGT AND HIS STUDIES

### "SINE STUDIO"[119]

About a month before the outbreak of the Italian war, Vogt published his so-called *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas,* Geneva, 1859. *Cui bono?*[a]

*Vogt* knew that

"in the approaching war *England* would remain *neutral*" (**Studien**, p. 4).

He knew that *Russia,*

"in agreement with France, would do *everything in its power* to injure Austria, short of actual hostilities" (*Studien*, p. 13).[b]

He knew that *Prussia*—but let him say for himself what he knows about Prussia.

"Even the most short-sighted will have realised by now *that there is an understanding between the Prussian Government and the Imperial Government of France*; that Prussia will not take up arms to defend Austria's non-German provinces; that it will give its approval to all measures necessitated by the defence of the territory of the Confederation; but apart from this *it will prevent any attempt by the Confederation or any of its members to intervene in support of Austria,* and in the subsequent peace negotiations it will expect *to be rewarded in the northern plains of Germany for* **these** *pains*" (loc. cit., pp. [18-]19).

To sum up: In Bonaparte's imminent crusade against Austria, England will *remain neutral,* Russia will adopt a *hostile stance* towards Austria, Prussia will restrain the bellicose members of the Confederation, and Europe will localise the war. As with the Russian war earlier on, Louis Bonaparte will now conduct the Italian war with the permission of the supreme authorities, he will

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[a] Who benefits?—*Ed.*

[b] The quotation actually begins with the words "would do everything".—*Ed.*

act, as it were, as the secret general of a European coalition. What then is the purpose of Vogt's pamphlet? Since Vogt knows that England, Russia and Prussia are acting against Austria, what compels him to write *for Bonaparte*? But it appears that, quite apart from the old Francophobes with "the now childish Father Arndt and the ghost of the wretched Jahn at their head" (loc. cit., p. 121), a sort of national movement was convulsing "the German people" and was echoed in all kinds of "Chambers and newspapers" "while the governments only joined the dominant current hesitatingly and with reluctance" (loc. cit., p. 114). It appears that the "belief in an imminent threat" moved the German "people" to issue a "call for common measures" (loc. cit.). The French **Moniteur** (see *inter alia* the issue of March 15, 1859) looked on at this German movement with "astonishment and regret".[a]

"A sort of crusade against France," it declares, "is preached in the Chambers and in the press of some of the states of the German Confederation. They accuse France of entertaining ambitious plans, which it has disavowed, and of preparing for conquests of which it does not stand in need", etc.

In rebuttal of these "slanders" the *Moniteur* argues that "the Emperor's" attitude towards the Italian question should "rather inspire the greatest sense of security in Germany", that German unity and nationhood are, so to speak, the hobby-horses of Decembrist France, etc. The *Moniteur* concedes, however (see April 10, 1859), that certain German anxieties may appear to have been "provoked" by certain Parisian pamphlets—pamphlets in which Louis Bonaparte urgently exhorts himself to provide his people with the "long-desired opportunity" *"pour s'étendre majestueusement des Alpes au Rhin"* (to extend its frontiers majestically from the Alps to the Rhine).

"But," the *Moniteur* asserts, "Germany forgets that France stands under the protection of a legislation which does not authorise any preventive control on the part of the government."[b]

This and similar declarations by the *Moniteur* produced the very opposite effect to the one intended, or so it was reported to the Earl of Malmesbury (see the Blue Book *On the Affairs of Italy. January to May 1859*[c]). But where the *Moniteur* failed, *Karl Vogt* might perhaps succeed. His *Studien* are nothing but a *compilation*

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[a] "Partie non officielle. Paris, le 14 mars", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 74, March 15, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 100, April 10, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] Cowley to Malmesbury, April 10, 1859 (extract). Here and below Marx uses the English title of the Blue Book.—*Ed.*

in German of *Moniteur* articles, *Dentu* pamphlets[120] and Decembrist maps of the future.

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*Vogt*'s tub-thumping about *England* has only one point of interest—as an illustration of the general style of his *Studien.* Following his French sources he transforms the English Admiral, *Sir Charles Napier,* into *"Lord" Napier* (*Studien,* p. 4). The literary Zouaves attached to the Decembrists have learnt from the theatre of Porte St. Martin[121] that every distinguished Englishman is a Lord at the very least.

"England has never been able," *Vogt* declares, "to harmonise with Austria for long. Even though a *momentary* community of interests may have united *them for a while,* political necessity always separated them again *immediately.* On the other hand, England constantly formed close alliances with Prussia", etc. (loc. cit., p. 2.)[a]

Indeed! The common struggle of England and Austria against Louis XIV lasted with brief interruptions from 1689 to 1713, i.e. almost a quarter of a century. In the war of the Austrian Succession England fought for about six years together with Austria against Prussia and France. It was not until the Seven Years' War[122] that England became the ally of Prussia against Austria and France, but as early as 1762 Lord Bute left Frederick the Great in the lurch and put forward proposals for the "partition of Prussia" first to the Russian minister Golitsin and then to the Austrian minister Kaunitz. In 1790 England concluded a treaty with Prussia against Russia and Austria, but it faded away before the year was out. During the Anti-Jacobin War Prussia withdrew from the European Coalition with the Treaty of Basle,[123] despite Pitt's subsidies. Austria, on the other hand, urged on by England, fought on with brief interruptions from 1793 to 1809. As soon as Napoleon was eliminated and even before the conclusion of the Congress of Vienna, England concluded a secret treaty (of January 3, 1815) with Austria and France against Russia and Prussia.[124] In 1821, in Hanover, Metternich and Castlereagh made a new agreement against Russia.[125] Thus whereas the British themselves, both historians and parliamentarians, mostly refer to Austria as their "*ancient ally*",[b] *Vogt* has discovered from his original source, French pamphlets published by *Dentu,* that Austria and England were always at loggerheads apart from cases of a

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[a] In this passage the italics are Marx's. The punctuation is slightly altered.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English phrase and gives the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

"momentary community of interests", while England and Prussia were constant allies, which probably explains why Lord *Lyndhurst* warned the House of Lords during the Russian war with Prussia in mind: "*Quem tu, Romane, caveto!*"[a] Protestant England has antipathies towards Catholic Austria, liberal England towards conservative Austria, free-trade England towards protectionist Austria, solvent England towards bankrupt Austria. But emotional factors have always been alien to English history. It is true that Lord *Palmerston,* during his thirty years' rule of England, occasionally glossed over his vassalage to Russia by parading his Austrian antipathies. From "antipathy" to Austria, for example, he rejected in 1848 Austria's proposal, approved by Piedmont and France, for England to mediate in Italy, a proposal according to which Austria would have withdrawn to Verona and the line of the Adige, Lombardy would have become part of Piedmont, if it so decided, Parma and Modena would have fallen to Lombardy, while Venice would have formed an independent Italian state under an Austrian Archduke and given itself a constitution. (See *Blue Book on the Affairs of Italy,* Part II, July 1849, Nos. 377, 478.) These conditions were at any rate better than those of the Treaty of Villafranca.[126] After Radetzky had defeated the Italians at all points, Palmerston put forward the same terms that he himself had earlier rejected. As soon as Russia's interests required the opposite approach, however, such as during the *Hungarian* war of independence, he refused the assistance for which the Hungarians asked on the basis of the treaty of 1711[127]—despite his "antipathy" to Austria—and even refused to make any protest against Russian intervention on the grounds that

"the political independence and liberties of Europe are bound up with the maintenance and integrity of Austria as a great European Power" (sitting of the House of Commons, July 21, 1849).[b]

*Vogt*'s story continues:

"The interests of the United Kingdom ... are *everywhere in opposition* to them" (to the interests of Austria) (loc. cit., p. 2).

"Everywhere" is at once transformed into the Mediterranean.

"England wishes at all costs to preserve its influence in the Mediterranean and the countries along its coastline. Naples and Sicily, Malta and the Ionian Islands, Syria and Egypt are points of support of its policy oriented towards the *East Indies.* At *all* these points, Austria has set up the *greatest* obstacles to it" (loc. cit.).

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[a] "Be on your guard against him, Romans!" (Horace, *Satires,* Book I, Satire 4, paraphrased.)—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times,* No. 20235, July 23, 1849.—*Ed.*

It is amazing to see how much *Vogt* takes on trust from the original Decembrist pamphlets published by Dentu in Paris! The English had imagined hitherto that they had been fighting the Russians and the French in turn for Malta and the Ionian Islands, but never the Austrians. They imagined that France, not Austria, had earlier sent an expedition to Egypt and was establishing itself at this very moment in the isthmus of Suez; that France, not Austria, had made conquests on the North coast of Africa and, allied with Spain, had striven to snatch Gibraltar from Britain; that England had concluded the treaty of July 1840 referring to Egypt and Syria against France and with Austria[128]; that in "*the policy oriented towards the East Indies*" England had everywhere encountered the "greatest obstacles" set up by Russia, not Austria. They imagined that in the only serious dispute between England and Naples—the sulphur question of 1840—it was a *French,* not an Austrian, company whose monopoly of the Sicilian sulphur trade triggered off the conflict.[129] And lastly, that on the other side of the Channel, there was occasional talk of transforming the Mediterranean into a "*lac français*", but never into a "*lac autrichien*". However, an important particular has to be considered in this context.

In the course of 1858 a map of Europe appeared in London entitled *L'Europe en 1860* (Europe in 1860).[a] This map, which was put out by the French Embassy and for 1858 contained several prophetic hints—Lombardy-Venice, for example, were annexed by Piedmont, and Morocco by Spain—redrew the political geography of the whole of Europe with one exception, that of France, which apparently remained within its old frontiers. The territories designed for it were, with sly irony, donated to impossible owners. Thus *Egypt* fell to *Austria* and the note in the margin of the map read: "*François Joseph I, l'Empereur d'Autriche et d'Egypte*" (Francis Joseph I, Emperor of Austria and Egypt).

Vogt had the map of *L'Europe en 1860* before him as a sort of Decembrist compass. Hence his dispute between England and Austria on account of *Egypt* and *Syria.* Vogt prophesies that this conflict would "end in the destruction of one of the disputants", *if,* as he remembers just in time, "*if* Austria *possessed a navy*" (loc. cit., p. 2). However, the historical scholarship peculiar to the *Studien* reaches its climax in the following passage:

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[a] A description of the map was published in *The Times,* Nos. 23228 and 23229, February 12 and 14, 1859.—*Ed.*

"When Napoleon I *once* attempted to break *the English Bank*, the latter *one day*[a] resorted to counting the sums, instead of weighing them out, as it had always done previously; the Austrian Treasury finds itself in the same position, or even in a much worse one, for 365 days every year" (loc. cit., p. 43).

It is well known that the Bank of England ("the English Bank" is another figment of Vogt's imagination) suspended payments in cash from February 1797 until 1821,[130] during which 24 years English banknotes could not be exchanged for metal at all, whether weighed or counted. When the suspension first began there was as yet no Napoleon I in France (although a General Bonaparte was engaged on his first Italian campaign), and when cash payments were resumed in Threadneedle Street, Napoleon I had ceased to exist in Europe. Such "studies" even surpass La Guéronnière's account of the conquest of Tyrol by the "Emperor" of Austria.

Frau von Krüdener, the mother of the Holy Alliance, used to distinguish between the good principle, the *"white angel of the North"* (Alexander I), and the evil principle, the *"black angel of the South"* (Napoleon I).[b] Vogt, the adoptive father of the new Holy Alliance, transforms both, Tsar and Caesar, Alexander II and Napoleon III, into *"white angels"*. Both are the predestined liberators of Europe.

Piedmont, Vogt claims, *"has* **even** *gained the respect of Russia"* (loc. cit., p. 71).[c]

What more can be said of a state *than that it has even gained the respect of Russia.* Especially after Piedmont had ceded the naval port of Villafranca to Russia, and as the selfsame *Vogt* points out in regard to the purchase of the Jade Bay by Prussia[131]:

"A naval port on alien territory, without organic connections to the land to which it belongs, is such ridiculous nonsense that its existence can only acquire meaning if it is, as it were, regarded as a target of future aspirations, as a raised pennant on which to train one's sights" (*Studien*, p. 15).

It is common knowledge that Catherine II had already striven to obtain naval ports on the Mediterranean for Russia.

Tender consideration towards the "white angel" of the North leads *Vogt* into crude exaggerations which violate "the modesty of

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[a] The italics are Marx's except for the words "one day"; the punctuation is slightly altered.—*Ed.*

[b] See J. Turquan, *Une illuminée au XIX^e siècle (la baronne de Krüdener), 1766-1824*, Paris, p. 194.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx's italics and bold type.—*Ed.*

nature", insofar as this was still respected by his original source in Dentu. In *La vraie question. France-Italie-Autriche,* Paris, 1859 (published by Dentu) he read on p. 20:

"And besides, with what right could the Austrian Government invoke the inviolability of the treaties of 1815, when it has itself broken them with the *confiscation of Cracow* whose independence the treaties guaranteed?" *

He translates his French original in this way:

"It is strange to hear such language from the mouth of the *only government*[a] which up to *now has insolently violated the treaties* [...] by raising its sacrilegious hand, without cause, in the midst of peace, against the *Republic of Cracow,* which had been guaranteed by the treaties, and incorporating it *without more ado* into the Empire" (loc. cit., p. 58).

It was of course out of "respect" for the treaties of 1815 that Nicholas destroyed the Constitution and autonomy of the Kingdom of Poland, which were guaranteed by the treaties of 1815. Russia had no less respect for the integrity of *Cracow* when it occupied the free city with Muscovite troops in 1831. In 1836 Cracow was again occupied by the Russians, Austrians and Prussians; it was treated like a conquered nation in every respect and as late as 1840 it vainly appealed to England and France, invoking the treaties of 1815. Finally, on February 22, 1846, Russians, Austrians and Prussians again occupied Cracow, to incorporate it into Austria.[132] Thus all *three Northern powers* violated the treaties and the Austrian confiscation of 1846 was only the sequel to the Russian invasion of 1831. Out of courtesy towards the "white angel of the North" Vogt forgets the confiscation of Poland and falsifies the history of the confiscation of Cracow.**

The circumstance that *Russia* is "consistently hostile to Austria and sympathetic to France" leaves Vogt in no doubt about Louis Bonaparte's inclination to liberate all nations, just as the fact that "his" (Louis Bonaparte's) "policies are *today* in the *closest* agreement with those of Russia" (p. 30) raises no doubts in his mind about Alexander II's inclination to liberate all nations.

* "De quel droit, d'ailleurs, le gouvernement autrichien viendrait-il invoquer l'inviolabilité de ceux (traités) de 1815, lui qui les a violés en confisquant Cracovie, dont ces traités garantissaient l'indépendance?"

** Palmerston, who fooled Europe with his ridiculous protest, had worked unceasingly in the intrigue against Cracow ever since 1831. (See my pamphlet *Palmerston and Poland,* London, 1853.) [See present edition, Vol. 12.]

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[a] The words "only government" were italicised by Vogt. The other italics in this passage are Marx's.—*Ed.*

Hence in the East Holy Russia must be regarded as the "friend of aspirations to freedom" and of "popular and national development", just like Decembrist France in the West. This slogan was given out for all the agents of December 2.

"Russia," *Vogt* found in *La foi des traités, les puissances signataires et l'empereur Napoléon III,* Paris, 1859, a work published by Dentu, "Russia belongs to the family of the Slavs, a chosen race.... Astonishment has been expressed at the chivalrous concord that has suddenly sprung up between France and Russia. Nothing could be more natural: *agreement on principles, unanimity of purpose,* submission to *the law of the holy alliance of the governments and peoples,* not to set traps and constrain others, but to guide and support the divine movements of the nations. From this perfect concord" (between Louis Philippe and England there was only an *entente cordiale,* but between Louis Bonaparte and Russia there is *la cordialité la plus parfaite*) "the most happy things have resulted: railways, *emancipation of the serfs,* trading posts in the Mediterranean, etc." *

*Vogt* immediately latches on to the "emancipation of the serfs" and suggests that

"the present impulse ... may well make Russia the ally of aspirations to freedom, rather than their enemy" (loc. cit., p. 10).

Like his Dentu original, he attributes the impulse for the so-called emancipation of the serfs in Russia to Louis Bonaparte and for this purpose he transforms the Anglo-Turkish-French-Russian war, which provided the impulse, into a *"French war"* (loc. cit., p. 9).

It is well known that the call to emancipate the serfs first rang out, loud and persistently, under Alexander I. Tsar Nicholas was occupied with emancipation of the serfs throughout his life; in 1838 he created a Ministry of Domains for this very purpose; in 1843 he instructed this Ministry to make the necessary preparations and in 1847 he even issued decrees favourable to the peasantry about the disposal of land belonging to the nobility[133] which he only reversed in 1848 from fear of the revolution. Hence, if the emancipation of the serfs has assumed more substantial dimensions under the "benevolent Tsar", as *Vogt* genially calls Alexander II, this would appear to be the result of economic developments which even a Tsar cannot subdue. Besides, the emancipation of the serfs as the *Russian Government sees it,* would

* "La Russie est de la famille des Slaves, race d'élite... On s'est étonné de l'accord chevaleresque survenu soudainement entre la France et la Russie. Rien de plus naturel: accord des principes, unanimité du but ... *soumission à la loi de l'alliance sainte des gouvernements et des peuples,* non pour leurrer et contraindre, mais pour guider et aider la marche divine des nations. De la cordialité la plus parfaite sont sortis les plus heureux effets: chemins de fer, *affranchissement des serfs,* stations commerciales dans la Méditerranée, etc." *La foi des traités, etc.,* Paris, 1859, p. 33.

increase the aggressive power of Russia a hundredfold. It is simply intended to perfect autocratic rule by tearing down the barriers which the big autocrat has hitherto encountered in the shape of the many lesser autocrats of the Russian nobility, whose might is based on serfdom, as well as in the shape of the self-administrating peasant communes, whose material foundation, common ownership of land, is to be destroyed by the so-called emancipation.

The Russian serfs happen to interpret the emancipation differently from the government, and the Russian nobility understands it in yet a third sense. Hence the "benevolent Tsar" discovered that a genuine emancipation of the serfs is incompatible with his own autocratic rule, just as the benevolent Pope Pius IX discovered in his day that the emancipation of Italy was incompatible with the existence of the Papacy. The "benevolent Tsar", therefore, regards wars of conquest and the traditional foreign policy of Russia, which, as the Russian historian Karamzin remarks, is "immutable",[a] as the only way to postpone the revolution within. In his work *La vérité sur la Russie,* 1860, Prince *Dolgorukov* has subjected to devastating criticism the tissue of lies about the millennium that is supposed to have dawned under Alexander II, myths zealously disseminated throughout Europe since 1856 by writers in the pay of Russia, loudly proclaimed in 1859 by the Decembrists and blindly repeated by Vogt in his *Studien.*

According to *Vogt,* even before the outbreak of the Italian war the alliance forged between the "white Tsar" and the "Man of December" for the express purpose of liberating the subject nationalities, had shown its worth in the Danubian principalities, where the unity and independence of the Romanian nation were confirmed by the election of Colonel Cuza as ruler of Moldavia and Wallachia.[134]

"Austria protested with might and main, *France and Russia applauded*" (loc. cit., p. 65).

In a memorandum[135] (printed in the *Preussisches Wochenblatt,* 1855) drawn up in 1837 for the Tsar of the time[b] by the Russian Cabinet, we can read:

"Russia prefers not to annex *immediately* states with alien elements.... In any event it seems more fitting to allow countries whose acquisition has been *resolved*

[a] Н. М. Карамзинъ, *Исторія Государства Россійскаго,* Т. XI, Спб., 1824, стр. 23 (N. M. Karamzin, *The History of the Russian State,* Vol. XI, St. Petersburg, 1824, p. 23).—*Ed.*

[b] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

upon to exist for a time under separate, but entirely dependent leaders, as we have done in Moldavia and Wallachia, etc."[a]

Before Russia annexed the Crimea it proclaimed its *independence.* In a Russian proclamation of December 11, 1814, it is stated *inter alia*:

"The Emperor Alexander, your protector, appeals to you, Poles: Arm yourselves for the defence of your country and the maintenance of your *political independence.*"[b]

And above all the Danubian principalities! Ever since Peter the Great's invasion of the Danubian principalities, Russia has laboured in the cause of their *"independence"*. At the Congress of Niemirov (1737) the Empress Anne demanded that the Sultan should concede the independence of the Danubian principalities under Russian protection. At the Congress of Focşani (1772) Catherine II insisted on the independence of the principalities under *European protection.*[136] Alexander I continued these efforts and put the seal on them by transforming Bessarabia into a Russian province (by the Peace of Bucharest, 1812[137]). Nicholas even gladdened the hearts of the Romanians through Kiselev by bestowing on them the *Règlement organique,* which established the most hideous form of serfdom while the whole of Europe applauded him for this code of liberty, which is still in force.[138] By his quasi-unification of the Danubian principalities under Cuza, Alexander II only went one step further in the century-and-a-half's policy of his forbears. *Vogt* now discovers that this unification under a Russian vassal means that "the principalities will constitute a dam blocking the advance of Russia towards the South" (loc. cit., p. 64).

Since Russia has been applauding the election of Cuza (loc. cit., p. 65) it is as clear as daylight that the benevolent Tsar must be doing all he can to block his own "path to the South" even though "Constantinople remains an eternal goal of Russian policy" (loc. cit., p. 9).

There is nothing new in proclaiming Russia the protector of liberalism and of national aspirations. Catherine II was celebrated as the standard-bearer of progress by a whole host of French and

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[a] "Zur Signatur der russischen Politik", *Preussisches Wochenblatt,* No. 23, June 9, 1855. Marx gives a summary rather than the exact words of the passage in question.—*Ed.*

[b] The source used by Marx has not been established. The text of the proclamation can be found in D'Angeberg's *Recueil des traités, conventions et actes diplomatiques concernant la Pologne.*—*Ed.*

German Enlighteners. The "noble" Alexander I (*Le Grec du Bas Empire*[a] as Napoleon meanly described him) in his day played the hero of liberalism throughout Europe. Did he not make Finland happy by bestowing on it the blessings of Russian civilisation? Did he not in his magnanimity give France not only a Constitution, but even a *Russian* Prime Minister, the Duc de Richelieu? Was he not the secret head of the "Hetairia",[139] while simultaneously at the Congress of Verona, he urged Louis XVIII through his hired agent Chateaubriand to campaign against the Spanish rebels?[140] Did he not use Ferdinand VII's confessor to incite Ferdinand to send an expedition to quell the rebellious Spanish-American colonies, while at the same time he promised the President of the United States of North America[b] his assistance against the intervention of any European power on the American continent? Did he not send Ypsilanti to Wallachia as the "leader of the Holy Hellenic Host", and use the same Ypsilanti to betray the host and arrange for the assassination of Vladimirescu, the Wallachian rebel leader? Before 1830 Nicholas, too, was eulogised in every language, in verse and in prose, as the hero who would liberate the subject nationalities. In 1828-29, when he undertook a war against Mahmood II, for the liberation of the *Greeks*, after Mahmood had refused to allow a Russian army to move in to suppress the Greek uprising, Palmerston speaking in the British Parliament declared that the enemies of Russia, the liberator, were necessarily the "friends" of the greatest monsters in the world: Dom Miguel, Austria and the Sultan. Did not Nicholas in paternal solicitude give the Greeks a president, namely Count Capo d'Istria, a Russian general? But the Greeks were not Frenchmen and they murdered the noble Capo d'Istria. And although Nicholas had mainly appeared in his role as guardian of legitimacy ever since the July 1830 revolution, he did not cease for a moment to work for the "liberation of the subject nationalities". A few illustrations will suffice. The constitutional revolution in *Greece* in September 1843 was led by Katakasi, the Russian minister in Athens and formerly the responsible supervisor over Admiral Heiden at the time of the disaster at Navarino.[141] The centre of the *Bulgarian* rebellion in 1842 was the Russian consulate in Bucharest. There in the spring of 1842, the Russian general Duhamel received a Bulgarian

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[a] Greek of the Byzantine Empire; figuratively, confidence-trickster. See Emmanuel Las Cases, *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène...*, t. 2, Paris, 1824, p. 407, and François René Chateaubriand, *Congrès de Vérone*, Vol. I, Paris, 1838, pp. 186-87.—*Ed.*

[b] James Monroe.—*Ed.*

deputation whom he presented with a plan for a general insurrection. Serbia was to act as reserve for the revolt and the Russian general Kiselev was to become Hospodar of Wallachia. During the *Serbian* uprising (1843) Russia used its Embassy in Constantinople to drive the Turks to resort to violence against the Serbs, and then made use of this pretext to appeal to the sympathy and fanaticism of Europe against the Turks. *Italy,* too, was by no means excluded from the liberation plans of Tsar Nicholas. *La Jeune Italie,* which was for a time the Paris organ of the Mazzini party, recounts in an issue in November 1843:

"The recent disturbances in the Romagna and the movements in Greece were more or less connected with each other.... The Italian movement failed because the real democratic party refused to join it. The *Republicans* would *not aid* in a movement instigated by *Russia.* Everything was prepared for a general insurrection in Italy. The movement was to commence in Naples, where it was expected that a section of the army would take the lead or make common cause with the patriots. After the outbreak of the revolution, Lombardy, Piedmont and the Romagna would rise and an *Italian Empire* was to be established under the Duke of Leuchtenberg, the son of Eugène Beauharnais and the son-in-law of the Tsar. '*Young Italy*'[142] *frustrated this plan.*"[a]

*The Times* of November 20, 1843 commented as follows on this information from *La Jeune Italie*:

"If that great end—the establishment of a new Italian Empire the head of which would be a Russian Prince—could be attained, so much the better; but there was another—an immediate, though perhaps not quite so important advantage to be gained by any outbreak in Italy—the causing of alarm to Austria and the withdrawal of her attention from the fearful[b] projects of Russia *on the Danube.*"

After Nicholas had made an unsuccessful approach to "Young Italy" in 1843, he sent Mr. von Butenev to Rome in March 1844. Butenev proposed to the Pope[c] in the name of the Tsar that Russian Poland should be ceded to Austria in exchange for Lombardy, which was to become a North Italian kingdom under Leuchtenberg. *The Tablet* of April 1844, which was at that time the English organ of the Roman Curia, commented as follows:

"The bait for the Roman Curia contained in this beautiful plan lay in the fact that Poland would fall into Catholic hands, while Lombardy would remain in the possession of a Catholic dynasty as before. But the diplomatic veterans of Rome perceived that while Austria can barely maintain its hold on its own possessions and in all human probability will be forced sooner or later to relinquish its Slav

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[a] Here and below Marx probably drew on the item "Express from Paris", *The Times,* No. 18458, November 20, 1843. The italics are Marx's.—*Ed.*

[b] In the original Marx gives the word "fearful" in brackets after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

[c] Gregory XVI.—*Ed.*

provinces, the cession of Poland to Austria, even if this part of the proposal were seriously intended, would be nothing more than a loan to be repaid at a later date. Whereas North Italy with the Duke of Leuchtenberg would in fact fall under Russian protection and before long would infallibly come beneath the Russian sceptre. The warmly recommended plan was consequently put aside for the present."[a]

Thus far *The Tablet* of 1844.

The only factor that has served as a justification for the existence of Austria as a political entity since the middle of the eighteenth century has been its resistance to the advance of Russia in Eastern Europe, a resistance conducted in a helpless, inconsistent and cowardly, but obstinate manner. This resistance leads *Vogt* to the discovery that "Austria is the source of all discord in the East" (loc. cit., p. 56). With "a certain childlike innocence" so becoming to his tubbiness, he explains the alliance of Russia and France against Austria as the result of the latter's *ingratitude* for the services rendered it by Nicholas during the Hungarian revolution, to say nothing of the liberating predilections of the "benevolent Tsar".

"In the Crimean war Austria went to the very edge of hostile, armed neutrality. It is self-evident that such an attitude, which moreover bore all the marks of *falsity and scheming,* was bound to be bitterly resented by the Russian Government and impel it to draw closer to France" (loc. cit., pp. 10, 11).

According to *Vogt,* Russia pursues a sentimental policy. The *gratitude* Austria expressed to the Tsar at Germany's expense during the Warsaw Congress in 1850 and in the march on Schleswig-Holstein[143] does not satisfy the grateful *Vogt.*

The Russian diplomat *Pozzo di Borgo* in his celebrated dispatch from Paris in October 1825,[144] having listed Austria's intrigues to frustrate Russia's plans for intervention in the East, goes on to say:

"Our policy obliges us, therefore, to present our most terrifying face towards this state" (Austria) "to convince it by our preparations that if it ventures any movement against us we shall unleash upon it the greatest storm it has ever experienced."

He goes on to threaten war from without and revolution from within, and having hinted at a possible peaceful solution in the suggestion that Austria should annex any Turkish "provinces that appealed to it" and having described Prussia as a subordinate ally of Russia, he continues:

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[a] "The Papacy and the Great Powers", *The Tablet,* No. 205, April 13, 1844. Marx gives a summary rather than the exact words of the passage in question. He may have used some other source too.—*Ed.*

"*If the Viennese court had yielded to our good purposes and intentions,* the plan of the Imperial Cabinet would long since have achieved fulfilment—a plan which embraces not only the annexation of the Danubian principalities and Constantinople, but even provides for the expulsion of the Turks from Europe."

It is well known that in 1830 a secret treaty was concluded between Nicholas and Charles X. Its terms laid down that France would permit Russia to take possession of Constantinople and would receive the Rhine provinces and Belgium in return. Prussia would be given Hanover and Saxony, and Austria would receive a part of the Turkish provinces on the Danube. Under Louis Philippe, at Russia's suggestion, this plan was again laid before the Russian Cabinet by Molé. A little while after, Brunnow went to London with the document where it was shown to the English Government as proof of France's treachery and helped to set up the anti-French coalition of 1840.

Let us now see how, according to the ideas of *Vogt,* who obtained his inspirations from his original Paris sources, Russia was *supposed* to exploit the Italian war in agreement with France. It might be thought that the "national" composition of Russia and especially the *"Polish nationality"* might well create certain difficulties for a man for whom "the principle of nationality was the Lodestar".[a] However:

"The principle of nationality stands high in our estimation, but the principle of free self-determination stands even higher" (loc. cit., p. 121).

When Russia annexed by far the largest portion of *Poland* proper by virtue of the treaties of 1815, it gained a position which extended so far westward, and drove as it were a wedge not only between Austria and Prussia, but also between East Prussia and Silesia, that even at the time Prussian officers (such as Gneisenau) pointed out that such frontiers could not be tolerated in relation to so powerful a neighbour. However, it was not until 1831, when the defeat of Poland put the whole territory at the mercy of Russia, that the true significance of the wedge became clear. The subjugation of Poland was no more than a pretext for constructing the grandiose chain of fortresses at Warsaw, Modlin and Ivangorod. Its real purpose was complete strategic control of the basin of the Vistula, and the establishment of a base from which to launch attacks to the North, South and West. Even Haxthausen, who enthused about the orthodox Tsar and all things Russian, regards this as a very definite danger and a threat to Germany.

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[a] Carl Vogt, *Studien...*, Einleitung, S. ix.—*Ed.*

The Russian fortifications on the Vistula pose a greater threat to Germany than all the French fortresses put together, especially if and when Polish national resistance were to cease completely and Russia were able to use Poland's war potential as its own force of aggression. Hence *Vogt* comforts Germany with the thought that *Poland* has become *Russian* from an act of free self-determination.

"There can be no doubt," he says, "that thanks to the great efforts of the Russian people's party, *the gulf that yawned between Poland and Russia has been narrowed significantly* and it perhaps requires only a *small impulse to close it completely*" (loc. cit., p. 12).

This small impulse was to be provided by the Italian war. (However, in the course of this war Alexander II became convinced that Poland had not yet reached such Vogtian heights.) The idea was that owing to the law of gravity *Poland,* which had been absorbed into Russia by an act of "free self-determination", would as a central body attract the detached limbs of the former Kingdom of Poland, which were now wasting away under foreign rule. To facilitate this process of attraction *Vogt* counsels Prussia to seize the opportunity and rid itself of its "Slav appendage" (loc. cit., p. 17), that is *Posen* (loc. cit., p. 97) and probably also *West Prussia* since only East Prussia is recognised to be a "genuine German land". The limbs detached from Prussia would, of course, at once revert to the central body absorbed by Russia and the "genuine German land" of East Prussia would be transformed into a Russian enclave. On the other hand, as far as *Galicia* is concerned, which is also shown as a part of Russia on the map of *L'Europe en 1860,* its separation from Austria lay directly in line with the war to free Germany from the non-German possessions of Austria. *Vogt* recollects that

"before 1848 the picture of the Russian Tsar could be seen more frequently in [...] Galicia than that of the Austrian Emperor" (loc. cit., p. 12) and "in view of the uncommon skill displayed by Russia in weaving its intrigues, Austria would have serious cause for anxiety here" (loc. cit.).

It is perfectly self-evident, however, that in order to rid itself of the "internal enemy" Germany should simply allow the Russians "to advance troops to the frontier" (p. 13) to lend their support to these intrigues. While Prussia is detaching itself from its Polish provinces, Russia using the Italian war should separate Galicia from Austria, just as in 1809 Alexander I had received a piece of Galicia in payment for his purely theatrical support of Napoleon I. It is well known that Russia successfully reclaimed parts of Poland

that had originally gone to Austria and Prussia, partly from Napoleon I and partly from the Congress of Vienna. According to *Vogt,* in 1859 the time had come for the *whole* of Poland to be united with Russia. *Vogt* demands not the *emancipation of the Polish nationality* from Russians, Austrians and Prussians, but the *absorption by Russia and the annihilation of the entire former Kingdom of Poland. Finis Poloniae!*[145] This "Russian" conception of the "reconstruction of Poland", which was rife throughout Europe immediately after the death of Tsar Nicholas, was denounced as early as March 1855 by *David Urquhart* in his pamphlet *The New Hope of Poland.*[a]

But *Vogt* had not yet done enough for Russia.

"The extraordinary civility," says our *agreeable companion,* "indeed the almost brotherly feelings with which the Russians treated the *Hungarian* revolutionaries formed too great a contrast with the behaviour of the Austrians for it not to have had repercussions. Russia did indeed crush the party" (N.B.: according to *Vogt* the Russians crushed not *Hungary* but the *party*), "but treated it with forbearance and courteousness, and thereby laid the foundations for an attitude which may be characterised by saying that when faced with two evils one must choose the lesser of the two, and *that in the present case, Russia is not the greater*" (loc. cit., pp. 12, 13).

With what "extraordinary civility, forbearance, courteousness", and indeed almost "brotherly feelings" does Plon-Plon's Falstaff conduct the Russians to Hungary, making himself into the "channel" for the illusion which destroyed the Hungarian revolution of 1849. It was *Görgey*'s party which disseminated the belief in a Russian prince as the future King of Hungary, a belief which broke the will of the Hungarian revolution to resist.*

Without having particular support in any one race the Habsburgs naturally based their dominion over Hungary *before* 1848 on the dominant nationality—the *Magyars.* We may remark in passing that Metternich was the great protector of the nationalities. He misused them by playing them off against each other, but he needed them in order to misuse them. He therefore

* According to the Polish Colonel Lapinski, who fought against the Russians in the Hungarian revolutionary army up to the fall of Komorn,[b] and later in Circassia, "it was the Hungarians' misfortune that they did not know the Russians" (Theophil Lapinski, *Feldzug der Ungarischen Hauptarmee im Jahre 1849,* Hamburg, 1850, p. 216). "The Viennese Cabinet was completely in the hands of the Russians ... it was on their advice that the leaders were murdered ... while the Russians did everything to gain the sympathies of all, *Austria was ordered by them* to make itself even more hated than ever in the past" (loc. cit., pp. 188, 189).

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[a] Marx gives the English title and supplies the German translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

[b] Komárom.— *Ed.*

preserved them. We may compare the situation in Posen and Galicia. After the revolution of 1848-49 the Habsburg dynasty, having used the Slavs to subdue the Germans and Magyars, tried to follow in the footsteps of Joseph II and to impose the rule of the German element in Hungary by force. The fear of Russia prevented the Habsburgs from embracing their rescuers, the Slavs. Their overall reactionary policy in Hungary was aimed more against their saviours, the Slavs, than against their defeated enemies, the Magyars. Hence, as *Szemere* has shown in his pamphlet *Hungary, 1848-1860,* London, 1860, fighting against its own saviours, the Austrian reaction therefore drove the Slavs back under the wing of the Magyars. Austrian rule *over* Hungary and the rule of the Magyars *in* Hungary coincided, therefore, both *before* and *after* 1848. Russia is in a quite different position, whether it rules Hungary directly or indirectly. Taking the racial and religious affinities together, Russia would immediately have the *non-Magyar majority* of the population at its disposal. The Magyar race would instantly succumb to the union of the Slavs, who are akin to the Russians ethnically, and the Wallachians, who are akin to them religiously. Russian domination in Hungary, therefore, is synonymous with the *destruction of Hungarian nationality,* i.e. of a Hungary historically bound up with Magyar rule.*

*Vogt,* who proposes that the *Poles* by an act of "free self-determination" should be absorbed by *Russia,* also wants to drown the *Hungarians* in a *sea of Slavs* by subjecting them to Russian rule.**

But *Vogt* has still not done enough for Russia.

* General *Moritz Perczel,* famous for his part in the Hungarian revolutionary war, withdrew from the group of Hungarian officers around Kossuth in Turin while the Italian campaign was still in progress. In a public declaration he explained the reasons for his resignation—on the one hand, there was Kossuth, who merely acted as a Bonapartist bogyman, on the other hand, there was the prospect of a *Russian* future for Hungary. In his reply (from St. Hélier, April 19, 1860) to a letter from me in which I inquired for further information about his declaration, he said *inter alia*: "I shall never consent to act as a tool to rescue Hungary from the claws of the Double Eagle merely to force it into the **deadly embrace** of the Northern Bear."

** Mr. *Kossuth* was never in any doubt about the correctness of the views set forth in the present work. He knew that *Austria* can maltreat Hungary, but not annihilate it. "The Emperor Joseph II," he writes to the Grand Vizier Reshid Pasha from Kütahya, February 15, 1851, "the only man of genius produced by the Habsburg family, exhausted the extraordinary resources of his rare intellect and of the then still common notions of the power of his House, in the attempt to Germanise Hungary, and integrate it within the state as a whole. But Hungary

Among the "non-German provinces" of Austria on behalf of whom the German Confederation should *not* "take up its sword" against France and Russia, which "stands whole-heartedly on the side of France", are not only Galicia, Hungary and Italy, but in particular *Bohemia and Moravia,* as well.

"Russia," Vogt says, "provides the firm centre around which the Slav nationalities increasingly strive to congregate" (loc. cit., pp. 9-10).

Bohemia and Moravia belong to the "Slav nationalities". As Muscovy developed into Russia, so must Russia develop into Pan-Slavonia. "With the *Czechs* ... at our side we shall *succumb to every enemy*" (loc. cit., p. 134). We, i.e. Germany, must attempt to rid ourselves of the Czechs, i.e. of Bohemia and Moravia. "No guarantee for non-German possessions of the rulers" (loc. cit., p. 133). "*No non-German provinces in the Confederation any longer*" (loc. cit.) but only German provinces in France! Hence we must not only "*give* the present French Empire *a free hand* [...] as long as it does **not** *violate the territory* of the German *Confederation*" (Preface, p. 9), but we must also allow **Russia** "a free hand" as long as it only violates *"non-German provinces in the Confederation"*. Russia will help Germany develop its "unity" and "nationhood" by advancing troops to the "Slav appendages" of Austria exposed to Russia's "intrigues". While Austria is kept busy in Italy by Louis Bonaparte and Prussia forces the sword of the German Confederation back into its sheath, the "benevolent Tsar" will "be able secretly to support" revolutions in *Bohemia and Moravia* "with money, arms and munitions" (loc. cit., p. 13).

And "with the Czechs at our side we must succumb to every enemy"!

emerged from the struggle with renewed vigour.... In the last revolution Austria only raised itself from the dust in order to collapse once again at the feet of the Tsar, its master, who never *gives* his aid but only *sells* it. And Austria had to pay for this aid dearly" (*Correspondence of Kossuth,* p. 33). On the other hand, he maintains in the same letter that only Hungary and Turkey together can frustrate the *Pan-Slavist intrigues* of Russia. He writes to *David Urquhart* from Kütahya, *January 17, 1851*: "*We must crush Russia,* my dear Sir! and, headed by you, we will! I have not only the resolution of will, but also that of hope! and this is no vain word, my dear Sir! no sanguine fascination; it is the word of a man, who is wont duly to calculate every chance: of a man though very weak in faculties, not to be shaken in perseverance and resolution, etc." (loc. cit., p. 39.)[a]

[a] The letter was quoted in the article "Data by Which to Judge of Kossuth", *The Free Press,* No. 5, May 27, 1859. Marx quotes the original English text and gives the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

How magnanimous of the "benevolent Tsar", then, to relieve us of Bohemia and Moravia with all their Czechs which as "Slav nationalities must" naturally "congregate around Russia".

Let us examine how our Vogt of the Empire protects the Eastern German frontier by incorporating Bohemia and Moravia in Russia. Bohemia Russian! But Bohemia lies in the middle of Germany, separated from Russian Poland by Silesia, and from the Galicia and Hungary Russified by *Vogt,* by a Moravia also Russified by Vogt. Thus Russia acquires an expanse of German federal territory 50 German miles long and 25-35 miles broad.[a] Its Western frontier will advance westwards by a full 65 German miles. Since the distance between Eger[b] and Lauterburg in Alsace is no more than 45 German miles as the crow flies, North Germany will be totally separated from South Germany by the French wedge in the West and even more by the Russian wedge in the East, and the *partition of Germany would be complete*! The direct route from Vienna to Berlin would pass *through Russia,* and the same would apply even to the direct route from Munich to Berlin. Dresden, Nuremberg, Regensburg and Linz would be our frontier towns bordering on Russia; our position *vis-à-vis* the Slavs would, at least in the South, be the same as it was *before* Charlemagne (while in the West Vogt does not allow us to go back as far as Louis XV), and we could simply erase 1,000 years of our history.

What could be accomplished with the aid of Poland, could be accomplished even better with the aid of Bohemia. If Prague were transformed into a fortified encampment, with secondary fortresses at the confluence of the Moldau and the Eger[c] with the Elbe, the Russian army in Bohemia could calmly stand and wait for the German army which, divided from the outset, would approach from Bavaria, Austria and Brandenburg. Falling upon the smaller German units it would be able to destroy them while allowing the larger ones to run up against the fortresses.

Let us look at a linguistic map of Central Europe, taking, for example, a Slav authority, the *"slovanský zeměvid"* of Šafařík.[146] According to this the Slav-language frontier runs from the Pomeranian coast near Stolp via Zastrow south of Chodziehen[d] on the Netze, and advances westwards to Meseritz. However, from there it suddenly curves south-east. Here the massive German

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[a] A German mile is equal to 7,420 metres.—*Ed.*

[b] Modern name: Cheb.—*Ed.*

[c] Now the Vltava and the Ohře.—*Ed.*

[d] Modern names: Stölpchen (Stölpgen), Jastrow and Colmar.—*Ed.*

territory of Silesia drives a deep wedge between Poland and Bohemia. In Moravia and Bohemia the Slavonic language again protrudes far to the west, although it is greatly eroded by the advance of German from all directions and the whole area is interspersed with German towns and linguistic islands, just as in the north, the whole Lower Vistula and the best part of East and West Prussia are German and push forward uncomfortably towards Poland. Between the most westerly point of the Polish tongue and the most northerly point of Bohemian, the Lusatian or Wendish linguistic enclave lies in the middle of German-speaking territory, but in such a way that it almost cuts off Silesia.

For the Russian Pan-Slavist *Vogt,* who has Bohemia to play with, there is no doubt where the natural frontier of the Slav Empire lies. It goes from Meseritz directly to Lieberose and Lübben, then south of where the Elbe passes through the mountains on the Bohemian frontier, after which it follows the Western and Southern frontier of Bohemia and Moravia. Everything to the east of this is Slav: the few German enclaves and other interlopers on Slav soil can no longer withstand the development of the great Slav nation. And anyway they have no right to be where they are. Once this "Pan-Slavist state of affairs" has been brought about, a similar rectification of the frontiers will become inevitable in the south. Here too a German wedge has of its own accord thrust itself between the North and South Slavs and occupied the valley of the Danube and the Styrian Alps. *Vogt* cannot tolerate this wedge and, being consistent, he therefore has Russia annex Austria, Salzburg, Styria and the German parts of Carinthia. In this construction of the Slav-Russian Empire, Vogt has already demonstrated, Austria notwithstanding, that according to the well-tested axioms of the "principle of nationality" small numbers of Magyars and Romanians as well as various groups of Turks must fall to Russia (for the "benevolent Tsar" also contributes to the "principle of nationality" by his subjugation of Circassia and the extermination of the Crimean Tartars!)—as a punishment for being wedged between the North and South Slavs.

In this operation, we Germans lose—nothing more than East and West Prussia, Silesia, parts of Brandenburg and Saxony, the whole of Bohemia, Moravia and the rest of Austria apart from Tyrol (part of which falls to the Italian "principle of nationality")—and our national existence to boot!

But let us just consider the first stage, according to which Galicia, Bohemia and Moravia become *Russian*!

In such circumstances German Austria, Southwest Germany and North Germany can never act in concert, except—and this would inevitably come about—*under Russian leadership.*

Vogt makes us Germans sing what his Parisians sang in 1815:

"Vive *Alexandre,*
Vive *le roi des rois,*
Sans rien *prétendre,*
Il nous donne *des lois.*"[a]

*Vogt*'s "principle of nationality", which he desired to realise in 1859 through the alliance between the "white angel of the North" and the "white angel of the South", should according to *his* views prove its worth by the absorption of Polish nationality, the disappearance of Magyar nationality and vanishing of German nationality in—*Russia.*

I have not mentioned his original source in *Dentu*'s pamphlets on this occasion because I was reserving a *single* conclusive quotation as proof that everything that he either hints at or blurts out stems from slogans issued by the Tuileries. In the *Pensiero ed Azione*'s issue of May 2-16, 1859, in which *Mazzini* forecasts events that later took place, he remarks *inter alia* that the first condition of the alliance agreed between Alexander II and Louis Bonaparte was: *"abbandono assoluto della Polonia"* (absolute abandonment of Poland by France, which *Vogt* translates as "completely closing the gulf yawning between Poland and Russia").

"Che la guerra si prolunghi e assuma ... proporzioni europee, l'insurrezione delle provincie oggi turche preparata di lunga mano e quelle dell'*Ungheria,* daranno campo all'Allianza di rivelarsi... Principi russi governerebbo le provincie che surgerebbo *sulle rovine* dell'Impero Turco e dell'*Austria... Constantino di Russia* è già proposto ai malcontenti ungheresi." (See *Pensiero ed Azione,* May 2-16, 1859.) ("If the war be prolonged so as to assume ... European proportions, the insurrection of the Turkish provinces, prepared a long time since, and that of Hungary, would enable the alliance to assume palpable forms.... Russian princes would govern the states established on the ruins of the Turkish Empire and Austria.... Constantine of Russia is already proposed to the Hungarian malcontents.")[b]

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[a] "Long live *Alexander,*
Long live *the king of kings;*
He gives us *laws* and *never*
*Asks* for the least of things."
(*Le Peuple de 1850,* No. 26, September 27).—*Ed.*

[b] From Mazzini's manifesto entitled "La Guerra". Marx translated it into English and published it with a brief introduction in the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see present edition, Vol. 16, p. 357).—*Ed.*

But *Vogt's Russophile posture* is only secondary. He is merely repeating one of the catch-phrases issued by the Tuileries and his aim is merely to prepare Germany for manoeuvres agreed between Louis Bonaparte and Alexander II if certain contingencies of the war against Austria should eventuate. In fact, he merely echoes slavishly the Pan-Slavist phraseology of his original Paris pamphlets. His true task is to sing the *Lay of Ludwig*[147]:

> "Einan kùning wèiz ih, hèizit hêr Hlùdowîg
> ther gêrno Gôde" (i.e. the nationalities) "dionôt."[a]

We saw earlier how *Vogt* praised Sardinia by pointing out that *"it had even gained the respect of Russia"*. We now have the parallel assertion.

> "There is no mention of Austria," he says, "in" (Prussia's) "declarations ... in the event of an imminent war between North America and Cochin China the wording would be the same. But the German mission of Prussia, its German obligations, the old Prussia—that is where the emphasis is put for preference. *France*" (in accordance with his statement on p. 27 that "France is now summed up [...] exclusively in the person of its ruler") "*therefore bestows praise through the 'Moniteur' and the rest of the press.*—Austria fumes" (*Studien*, p. 18).

"The fact that Prussia correctly interprets its *'German mission'* follows from the *praise bestowed on it* by Louis Bonaparte in the *Moniteur* and the rest of the Decembrist press." What brazen impudence! We remember how from a feeling of tenderness towards the "white angel of the North" Vogt made Austria the *sole* offender against the treaties of 1815 and the sole state to confiscate Cracow. He now performs the same labour of love for the benefit of the "white angel of the South".

> "This ecclesiastical state against whose republic" (republic of an ecclesiastical state!) "*Cavaignac*, the representative of the doctrinaire republican party [...] and the military counterpart of Gagern" (a fine parallel!),"perpetrated the abominable *act of massacre*" (to commit massacre against the republic of a state!), "a crime which, however, did not help him to reach the presidential chair" (loc. cit., p. 69).

So it was *Cavaignac* and not *Louis Bonaparte* who perpetrated "the *abominable act of massacre*" against the *Roman Republic*! Cavaignac did indeed send a navy to Civitavecchia in November 1848 for the personal protection of the Pope. But it was only in the following year, on *February 9, 1849,* several months after Cavaignac had failed to get the presidential chair, that the temporal rule of the Pope was abolished and *the republic proclaimed in Rome.* So Cavaignac could not possibly murder a republic that

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[a] "I know of a king, he is called Lord Ludwig
who gladly serves God" (i.e. nationalities).—*Ed.*

did not yet exist while he was in power. On April 22, 1849 Louis Bonaparte sent General Oudinot with 14,000 men to Civitavecchia after he had tricked the National Assembly into giving him the funds necessary for the expedition against Rome by solemnly declaring several times over that his intention was merely to resist an invasion of the Roman states planned by Austria. It is well known that the Paris catastrophe of June 13, 1849[148] arose from the resolution moved by Ledru-Rollin and the Montagne to exact vengeance for the "abominable act of massacre against the Roman Republic" which was also an "abominable breach of the French Constitution" and an "abominable violation of the resolution of the National Assembly", from *Louis Bonaparte,* who was responsible for all these abominations, *by instituting proceedings for impeachment against him.* We see how "abominably" the base sycophant of the coup d'état, how brazenly *Karl Vogt falsifies* history in order to elevate the mission of Lord "Hlùdowîg" to liberate the subject nationalities in general and Italy in particular beyond all doubt.

Vogt remembers from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* that alongside the class of the lumpenproletariat it is the class of peasant smallholders that in France constitutes the sole social basis of the *bas empire.* He now adjusts this as follows:

"The present Empire has no party among the educated, no party [...] in the French bourgeoisie—only two masses *belong* to it, the army and the rural proletariat,[a] *which cannot read or write.* But this constitutes $^9/_{10}$ of the population and embraces the mighty organised instrument with whose aid resistance can be smashed, and the *herd of mortgage helots* who own nothing but their *vote*" (p. 25).

The non-urban population of France, including the army, amounts to scarcely $^2/_3$ of the total population. *Vogt* transforms less than $^2/_3$ into $^9/_{10}$. Moreover, he transforms the whole non-urban population of France, of which around $^1/_5$ consists of well-to-do landowners and another $^1/_5$ of people with neither land nor other possessions, lock, stock and barrel into smallholders, "mortgage helots". Finally, he abolishes all reading and writing in France outside the cities. Just as he earlier distorted history, so now he falsifies statistics in order to enlarge the pedestal of his hero. Having done this he installs his hero on this pedestal.

"Thus France is now indeed summed up exclusively in the person of its ruler, of whom Masson" (also an authority) "said 'he possesses great qualities as a statesman and a sovereign, an unshakable will, sure sense of tact, vigorous resolution, a stout heart, a bold, noble spirit and utter ruthlessness'" (loc. cit., p. 27).

[a] Vogt in his *Studien* has *Landvolk* (rural people).—*Ed.*

"wie saeleclîche stât im an
allez daz, daz êr begât!
wie gâr sîn lîp ze wunsche stât!
wie gênt îm so gelîche inein
die fînen keiserlîchen bein."
(*Tristan*)[a]

*Vogt* snatches the censer from Masson's hands in order to swing it himself. To Masson's catalogue of virtues he adds "cold calculation", "bold planning", "serpentine cunning", "tenacious patience" (p. 28) and then, as the Tacitus of the antechamber, he stammers: "The *origins* of this reign are *monstrous*", which is certainly—nonsense. Above all he has to melodramatise the grotesque figure of his hero into a great man and so "*Napoléon le Petit*"[149] becomes a "*man of destiny*" (loc. cit., p. 36).

"Even if *present circumstances,*" Vogt exclaims, "lead to a *change*" (what a modest word: a *change*!) "in the government" (of this man of destiny), "we shall not be behindhand with our *warmest congratulations,* even though we can see *no prospect* of this for the time being!" (loc. cit., p. 29.)

How serious the warm fellow is with his congratulations *in petto*[b] can be seen from the following:

"Hence with a **lasting peace** the *internal situation* becomes **more and more untenable day by day,** because the French army is much more closely involved with the parties of the educated than is the case, for example, in the German states, in Prussia and Austria; because these parties find an echo, above all among the officers, so that one fine day the *only active pillar* of the power that the Emperor holds in his hands might slip away" (loc. cit., pp. [26-]27).[c]

So the *"internal situation"* became *"more and more untenable day by day"* with a "**lasting peace**". This is why *Vogt* had to assist Louis Bonaparte to *violate the peace.* The army, the "only active pillar" of his "power", threatened to "slip away". This is why Vogt had to prove that it was Europe's task to bind the French "army" to Louis Bonaparte once again by means of a "localised" war in Italy. And indeed at the end of 1858 it looked as though things were going to end dreadfully[150] with Badinguet, as the Parisians unrespectfully call the "nephew of his uncle". The general trade crisis of 1857-58 had paralysed French industry.* The government

* It is in fact the industrial prosperity that has sustained the regime of Louis Bonaparte for so long. As the result of the discoveries in Australia and California

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[a] "Everything he does, how divinely it becomes him! What a perfect body he has! How evenly those royal legs move together!" (Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan und Isolde.*) Marx quotes according to an entry he made in his notebook entitled *Vogtiana* (1860).—*Ed.*

[b] Up his sleeve.—*Ed.*

[c] The italics and bold type are Marx's.—*Ed.*

manoeuvres to prevent the crisis from becoming acute made the malady chronic, so that the stagnation in French trade dragged on until the outbreak of the Italian war. On the other hand, grain prices fell so low between 1857 and 1859 that a loud cry went up at various *congrès agricoles* to the effect that French agriculture was being ruined by low prices and the heavy burdens imposed on it. Louis Bonaparte's absurd attempt to raise grain prices artificially by a fiat designed to force the bakers throughout France to set up granaries only reveals the helpless confusion of his government.

The foreign policy of the coup d'état exhibited nothing but a series of unsuccessful attempts to play Napoleon—mere trials, invariably crowned by official withdrawals. For example, his intrigue against the United States of America, his manoeuvres to revive the slave trade,[151] the melodramatic threats directed against England. The insolence with which Louis Bonaparte at that time ventured to treat Switzerland, Sardinia, Portugal and Belgium—even though in Belgium he could not even prevent the fortification of Antwerp—only throws the fiasco of his policy *vis-à-vis* the great powers into even starker relief. In the British Parliament "*Napoléon le Petit*" became a standard expression and *The Times* heaped ridicule on the "Man of Iron" in its articles at the end of 1858, by describing him as the "Man of Gutta-Percha". In the meantime, Orsini's hand-grenades[152] had burst like a thunderbolt, illuminating the internal situation in France. It turned out that Louis Bonaparte's regime was just as insecure as it had been in the first days after the coup d'état. The *Lois de sûreté publique*[153] revealed his total isolation. He had to abdicate to his own generals. In an unprecedented development, France was divided into 5 General Captaincies, in the Spanish manner. With the introduction of the Regency Pélissier was in fact recognised as the highest authority in France.[154] Moreover, the renewed *terreur* intimidated no one. Instead of presenting a terrible appearance, the Dutch nephew of the battle of Austerlitz only looked grotesque.[155] Montalembert was able to play Hampden in Paris, Berryer and Dufaure to disclose the hopes of the bourgeoisie in their summings-up and in Brussels Proudhon to proclaim Louis-Philippism with an *acte additionnel*,[156] while Louis Bonaparte himself disclosed the growing power of Marianne to the whole of Europe.

and their effects on the world market, French export trade had more than doubled, a hitherto unprecedented advance. And in general the failure of the February revolution may be attributed in the last analysis to California and Australia.

In the course of the uprising in Chalon [157] the officers, on hearing that a republic had been proclaimed in Paris, cautiously inquired at the Prefecture whether a republic had actually been proclaimed, instead of just falling upon the insurgents, an event which demonstrated in a striking manner that even the army regarded the restored Empire as a pantomime, whose closing scene was drawing near. Scandalous duels of the arrogant officers in Paris coincided with scandalous deals on the Stock Exchange in which the top leaders of the Gang of December 10 were involved. The Palmerston Government in England fell because of its alliance with Louis Bonaparte! [158] And lastly, a treasury that could only be replenished by resorting to exceptional subterfuges! Such was the situation of the *bas empire* at the end of 1858. The Brummagem[a] Empire would collapse, or else the absurd farce of a Napoleonic empire *within* the frontiers of the treaties of 1815 would have to cease. But for this a *localised war* was essential. The mere prospect of a war with Europe would then have sufficed to produce an explosion in France. A child could understand what *Horsman* said in the British Parliament:

> "We know that France will support the Emperor as long as our vacillation allows him success in his foreign policy, but we have grounds to believe that it will abandon him as soon as we show resolute opposition."

All depended on *localising* the war, i.e. on conducting it with the supreme sanction of Europe. To begin with, France itself had to be prepared gradually for the war with the aid of a series of hypocritical peace negotiations and their repeated failure. Louis Bonaparte came to grief even here. Lord Cowley, the English Ambassador in Paris, had gone to Vienna with proposals drawn up by Louis Bonaparte and approved by the (Derby) Cabinet in London. In Vienna (see the Blue Book quoted above[b]), under English pressure, the proposals were unexpectedly accepted. Cowley had just returned to London with the tidings of a "peaceful solution" when suddenly the news came that Louis Bonaparte had abandoned his own proposals and had supported the convocation of a congress suggested by Russia to discipline Austria. The war became possible only through the intervention of Russia. If Russia had no longer needed Louis Bonaparte in order to carry out its own plans—either *to enforce them with French assistance* or *to use the French to beat Austria and Prussia into passive instruments of Russia*—Louis Bonaparte would have fallen

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[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to *Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Italy* (see this volume, p. 134).—*Ed.*

then. But despite Russia's covert support, despite the promises of Palmerston, who had given his blessing at Compiègne to the conspiracy of Plombières,[159] everything depended on the attitude of Germany, since on the one hand the Tory Cabinet was still at the helm in England, and on the other hand the silent rebellion of France against the Bonapartist regime would have been driven out into the open by the prospect of a European war.

*Vogt* himself lets slip that he sang his *Lay of Ludwig* neither from a lively sympathy for Italy, nor from fear of the timid, conservative despotism of Austria, which was as clumsy as it was brutal. On the contrary, he believed that if Austria, which, it should be noted, was *forced* to start the war, should gain the advantage in Italy at first,

> *"the revolution would certainly be unleashed in France, the Empire would be overthrown and the future would be different"* (loc. cit., p. 131). He believed that "the Austrian armies would in the last resort be unable to withstand the liberated forces of the French people" (loc. cit.) and that "the victorious armies of Austria, by provoking revolutions in France, Italy and Hungary, would themselves create the enemy who would crush them".[a]

But the issue for him was not the liberation of Italy from Austria, but the enslavement of France by Louis Bonaparte.

What further proof is required that *Vogt* was merely one of the countless mouthpieces through whom the grotesque ventriloquist in the Tuileries spoke in foreign tongues?

It will be remembered that at the time when Louis Bonaparte first discovered his mission to liberate the subject nationalities in general and Italy in particular, France presented a spectacle unprecedented in its history. The whole of Europe marvelled at the stubborn obstinacy with which it rejected the "*idées napoléoniennes*".[b] People still remember very well the enthusiasm with which even the "*chiens savants*"[c] of the *Corps législatif* welcomed Morny's assurances of peace[d]; the irritated tone in which the *Moniteur* lectured the nation, now for its immersion in material interests, now for its lack of patriotic vigour and its doubts about Badinguet's talents as a general and his wisdom as a politician[e];

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[a] Marx's italics.—*Ed.*

[b] An allusion to N.-L. Bonaparte's book *Des idées napoléoniennes*, Paris, 1839.—*Ed.*

[c] "Trained dogs".—*Ed.*

[d] This refers to Morny's speech at the opening of the Legislative Assembly on February 8, 1859, *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 40, February 9, 1859.—*Ed.*

[e] "Partie non officielle. Paris, le 4 mars", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 64, March 5, 1859.—*Ed.*

the soothing official messages to all the chambers of commerce throughout France and the imperial assurance that "*étudier une question n'est pas la créer*".[a] At the time, the English press, astonished at the extraordinary spectacle, was crammed full of well-meaning nonsense about the transformation of the French into a peace-loving people, the Stock Exchange treated the issue of "war" or "not war" as a "duel" between Louis Bonaparte, who wanted war, and the nation, which did not, and bets were placed as to who would prevail, the nation or "his uncle's nephew". To give an idea of the situation as it was at the time I shall simply quote a few passages from the London *Economist*, which, as the organ of the City, as the spokesman of the Italian war and as the property of Wilson (the recently deceased Secretary of the Treasury for India and a tool of Palmerston), was highly influential:

"Alarmed at the colossal uproar which has been created, the French Government is now trying the soothing system" (*The Economist, January 15, 1859*).

In its issue of *January 22, 1859*, in an article entitled "*The Practical Limits of the Imperial Power in France*", *The Economist* says:

"Whether the Emperor's designs for a war in Italy are or are not carried out to their completion, *one* fact at least has become conspicuous enough,—that his plans have received a very severe and probably unexpected check in the chilling attitude assumed by popular feeling in France and the complete absence of any sympathy with the Emperor's scheme.... He proposes a war [...] and the French people show nothing but alarm and discontent;—the Government securities are depreciated, the fear of the tax-gatherer subdues every gleam of political or martial enthusiasm, the commercial portion of the nation is simply panic-struck, the rural districts are dumb and dissatisfied, fearing fresh conscriptions and fresh imposts;—the political circles which have supported the Imperial régime most strongly, as a *pis aller* against anarchy,[b] discourage war for exactly the same reason for which they support that régime [...] it is certain that Louis Napoleon has found an extent and depth of opposition throughout all classes in France to a war, even in Italy, which he did not anticipate." *

* Lord Chelsea, who deputised for Lord Cowley in Paris during the latter's absence, writes: "The official disavowal" (in the *Moniteur* of March 5, 1859) "of all warlike intentions on the part of the Emperor, this Imperial message of peace,[c] has been received *by all classes of Paris* with feelings of what may be called exultation" (No. 88 of the Blue Book *On the Affairs of Italy. January to May 1859*). [Marx quotes in English and gives the German translation in brackets.]

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[a] "To study a question is not to create it."—*Ed.*

[b] *Pis aller* means "last resort". *The Economist* has "as against the alternative of anarchy".—*Ed.*

[c] "Partie non officielle. Paris, le 4 mars", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 64, March 5, 1859.—*Ed.*

Faced with this mood of the French people *that* section of the original Dentu pamphlets was launched which "in the name of the people" peremptorily called on the "Emperor" "at last to assist France in the majestic extension of its frontiers from the Alps to the Rhine" and no longer to resist the "nation's pugnacious spirit and desire to bring about the liberation of the subject nationalities". *Vogt* plays the same tune as the prostitutes of December. At the very moment when Europe stood amazed at France's obstinate longing for peace, *Vogt* made the discovery that "*today,* the fickle nation" (the French )*"appears to be filled with a warlike passion"* (loc. cit., pp. 29, 30), and Lord Hlùdowîg was only following the "dominant trend of the age" which was intent on the "independence of the nationalities" (loc. cit., p. 31). Naturally, he did not believe a *single* syllable of what he was writing. In the *Programme* in which he called upon democrats to co-operate in his Bonapartist propaganda he makes it crystal clear that the Italian war was *unpopular* in France.

"*I cannot foresee any immediate threat to the Rhine*; *but* one could *arise in the future.* A war *there* or against England would make Louis Napoleon almost popular; *the Italian war does not possess this popular aspect*" ("Magnum Opus", Documents, p. 34).*

If now one portion of the original Dentu pamphlets sought to rouse the French nation from its "peace lethargy" with the aid of the traditional visions of conquest and to put the private wishes of Louis Bonaparte into the mouth of the nation, the other portion, with the *Moniteur* in the vanguard, had the task of convincing Germany in particular of the Emperor's repugnance to foreign conquests and of his ideal mission as the Messiah who would bring freedom to the subject nationalities. The proofs of the disinterestedness of his policy on the one hand and of his desire to free the subject nationalities on the other are easy to remember because they are constantly repeated and revolve round only two axes. Proof of the disinterestedness of Decembrist policies—*the Crimean war.* Proof of his desire to free the subject nationalities—*Colonel Cuza and the Romanian nationality.* The tone was set by the

* *N. B.* In his *Studien* he echoes the *Moniteur* and the original Dentu pamphlets to the effect that "it is a peculiar whim of fate which compels this man" (Louis Bonaparte) "to place himself in the forefront as the *liberator of the subject nationalities*" (p. 35), that one "must agree to *assist* this policy as long as it keeps within the framework of the liberation of subject nationalities" and *must wait "until this liberation has been brought about by this man of destiny"* (p. 36). In his *Programme* for the democrats, on the other hand, he says: "We can and *must warn against such a helper*" ("Magnum Opus", Documents, p. 34).

*Moniteur*. See the *Moniteur* of March 15, 1859 on *the Crimean war*. The *Moniteur* of April 10, 1859 writes about the *Romanian nationality*:

"In Germany as in Italy it" (France) "desires that the nationalities recognised by the treaties should continue to exist and become even stronger. In the *Danubian principalities* he" (the Emperor) "has endeavoured to help the legitimate wishes of these provinces to triumph so that an order based on national interests might be established in this part of Europe too."

See also the pamphlet published by *Dentu* at the beginning of 1859 with the title *Napoléon III et la question roumaine*. With regard to *the Crimean war*:

"Lastly, what compensation has France requested for the blood it has shed and the millions it has expended in the East in the service of an exclusively European cause?" (*La vraie question*, Dentu, Paris, 1859, p. 13.)

This theme, played with endless variations in Paris, was translated so well into German by *Vogt* that *E. About*, that gossipy magpie of Bonapartism, appears to have translated *Vogt*'s German translation back into French. See *La Prusse en 1860*. Here too we are again pursued by the *Crimean war* and *Romanian nationality under Colonel Cuza*.

"But this much at least is clear," *Vogt* announces, echoing the *Moniteur* and Dentu's original pamphlets, "that France did not conquer a single square foot of land" (in the Crimea) "and that after such a *victorious campaign* the *uncle* would not have rested content with the meagre gain of having proved his superiority in the art of warfare" (*Studien*, p. 33). "Here we can see an *essential* difference between the present and the old Napoleonic policies" * (loc. cit.).

* Incidentally, "*Napoléon le Petit*" also copied the catchword "liberation of subject nationalities" from the real Napoleon. In *May 1809*, for example, Napoleon issued a proclamation from Schönbrunn to the *Hungarians*, in which he says *inter alia*: "Hungarians! The moment is come to recover your *independence*.... I ask *nothing* of you. I only desire to see you a *free and independent nation*. Your union with Austria has been your bane, etc." [a] On May 16, 1797 Bonaparte concluded a treaty with the Republic of Venice whose first article states: "In future peace and understanding shall govern relations between France and the Venetian Republic." He revealed his intentions in concluding this peace three days later in a secret dispatch to the French Directory which opens with these words: "You receive herewith the treaty that I have concluded with the Republic of Venice and under the terms of which General Baraguay d'Hilliers has occupied the city with 5,000-6,000 men. In making this peace I had a number of aims in mind." As the final aim he mentions: "To silence all the talk in Europe since it will now seem as if our occupation of Venice is merely a temporary operation which *the Venetians themselves* urgently requested." Two days later, on May 26, Bonaparte wrote to the Venice municipality: "The treaty concluded

[a] "Proclamation Addressed to the Hungarians by Napoleon I. From Schoenbrunn, in May, 1809" (see Bartholomäus Szemere, *Hungary, from 1848 to 1860*, London, 1860).—*Ed.*

As if Vogt had to prove to us that *"Napoléon le Petit"* is not the real Napoleon! With just as much justification *Vogt* could have prophesied in 1851 that the nephew, who had nothing to set against the first Italian campaign and the expedition to Egypt but the Strasbourg adventure, the expedition to Boulogne and the sausage review of Satory,[160] could never emulate the 18 Brumaire, to say nothing of acquiring the Imperial Crown. There was after all "an essential difference between the present and the old Napoleonic policies". Yet another difference was between waging a war against a European coalition and waging one with the permission of a European coalition.

The "glorious campaign in the Crimea" in which England, France, Turkey and Sardinia in concert "captured" half a Russian fortress after two years, and in exchange lost a whole Turkish fortress (Kars) to the Russians, and at the conclusion of peace were forced humbly to "request" the enemy at the Paris Congress[161] for "permission" to evacuate their troops without interference and ship them home—that was indeed anything but "Napoleonic". It

in Milan can be signed by the municipality in the meantime—the secret articles by three of its members. I shall always do everything in my power to provide you with proofs of my desire to consolidate *your liberties* and to see *this unfortunate Italy* at last occupy the place it deserves on the world stage, *free and independent of all alien rule.*" A few days later he wrote to General Baraguay d'Hilliers[a]: "On receipt of this letter present yourself to the Provisional Government of Venice and point out to them that in accordance with the principles which now unite the Republics of France and Venice, and with the immediate protection granted to Venice by the French Republic, it is essential to place its sea power on a footing that will inspire respect. *On this pretext* you will take possession of everything, while at the same time you will do all in your power to remain on good terms with the Venetians and to recruit all the sailors of the Republic to our service—while *constantly speaking in the name of Venice.* In brief, you must manage matters so that you can transport the entire stock of ships and naval supplies in the harbour of Venice to Toulon. By virtue of a secret article in the treaty, the Venetians are obliged to provide the French Republic with naval supplies to the value of 3 million for the Toulon navy, but *it is my intention* to take possession on behalf of the French Republic of *all* the Venetian ships and *all* their naval supplies for the benefit of Toulon" (see *Correspondance secrète et confidentielle de Napoléon,* 7 vols., Paris, 1817). These commands were carried out to the letter; and as soon as Venice had been plundered of *all* its naval and war supplies, Napoleon, without the slightest hesitation, handed over his new ally, *the liberated Republic of Venice,* whom he had solemnly sworn to defend at whatever the risk, to *the despotic yoke of Austria.*

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[a] Napoléon Bonaparte, "Au chef de division commandant la marine française dans le golfe Adriatique. Montebello, le 25 prairial, an 5 (13 juin 1797)", *Correspondance inédite...,* v. 5, livre 1, pp. 304-05. Baraguay d'Hilliers is named by mistake here.—*Ed.*

was glorious only in *Bazancourt*'s novel.[a] But the Crimean war proved all sorts of things. Louis Bonaparte *betrayed* his ostensible allies (the Turks) in order to gain the alliance of the ostensible enemy. The first success of the Paris peace was the sacrifice of the "Circassian nationality" and the extermination of the Crimean Tartars by the Russians, and likewise the destruction of the national hopes that the Poles and Swedes had pinned to a West European crusade against Russia. A further moral of the Crimean war was: Louis Bonaparte could *not* afford a *second Crimean war,* could not afford to lose an old army and gain new national debts in exchange for the knowledge that France was rich enough "*de payer sa propre gloire*",[b] that the name of Louis Napoleon figured in a European treaty, that "the conservative and dynastic press of Europe" unanimously acknowledged "the ruling virtues, the wisdom and the moderation of the Emperor"—a fact which *Vogt* counts to Louis Bonaparte's credit (loc. cit., p. 32)—and that at the time the whole of Europe paid him all the honour due to a genuine Napoleon, on the express condition that Louis Bonaparte, following the example of Louis Philippe, should quietly stay within "the limits of practical reason", i.e. of the treaties of 1815, and not forget for a single moment the fine line that distinguishes a buffoon[c] from the hero he represents. The political combinations, the ruling powers and the social conditions that provided the leader of the December Gang with the opportunity to play at being Napoleon, first in France and then even beyond French territory, do in fact belong to *his* epoch, and not to the annals of the Great French Revolution.

"This fact at any rate is established, that present French policy in the East has fulfilled the aspirations of one nationality" (the *Romanian*) "for unification" (*Studien,* pp. 34-35).

Cuza, as we have mentioned, is keeping the place open for either a Russian governor or a Russian vassal. On the map of *L'Europe en 1860* a Grand Duke of Mecklenburg figures as that vassal. Russia naturally allowed Louis Bonaparte all the *honour* for *this* Romanian emancipation, reserving all its advantages for itself. Austria stood in the way of further benevolent intentions. Hence the Italian war had the function of *remodelling* Austria, *changing it from an obstacle into an instrument.*

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[a] *L'Expédition de Crimée jusqu'à la prise de Sébastopol,* t. I-II, Paris, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] "To pay for its own fame".—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the word *Pickelhäring,* the name for the buffoon in Old German comedies.—*Ed.*

The ventriloquist in the Tuileries was already playing the tune of "Romanian nationality" on his innumerable mouthpieces as early as 1858. One of *Vogt*'s authorities, *Mr. Kossuth,* was thus in a position to give an answer as early as November 20, 1858 in a lecture in Glasgow[a]:

"Wallachia and Moldavia receive a Constitution, hatched in the caverns of secret diplomacy.... It is in reality no more nor less than a charter granted to Russia for the purpose of disposing of the Principalities."[b]

Thus the "principle of nationality" was abused by Louis Bonaparte in the Danubian principalities so as to mask the fact that they were being handed over to Russia, just as in 1848-49 the *Austrian Government* had abused the "principle of nationality" to strangle the Magyar and German revolution with the aid of the Serbs, Slovenes, Croats, Wallachians, etc.

Good care is taken both by the Russian consul in Bucharest and by the rabble of Moldavian and Wallachian Boyars, most of whom are not even Romanian but a motley mosaic of adventurers from God-knows-where—a sort of oriental December Gang—that the *Romanian people* should still groan beneath the burdens of a villeinage so monstrous that it could *only* have been set up by *Russians* with their *règlement organique* and could only be sustained by an oriental *demi-monde.*

*Vogt,* in the attempt to deck out the wisdom quarried from his original Dentu sources with his own eloquence, says:

"Austria already had enough on her hands with one Piedmont in the South; it had no need of another in the East" (loc. cit., p. 64).

Piedmont annexes *Italian* lands. So are the Danubian principalities, the least warlike of the Turkish lands, to annex Romanian territory, that is, conquer Bessarabia from Russia, and Transylvania, the Banat of Temesvár and the Bukovina from Austria? *Vogt* not only forgets the "benevolent Tsar", he also forgets that in 1848-49 *Hungary* did not seem in the least inclined to part with these more or less Romanian provinces, that it answered their "cry of distress" with a drawn sword, and that on the contrary it was *Austria* which used "propaganda about the principle of nationality" as a weapon *against Hungary.*

But the historical scholarship of his *Studien* shows itself in its full splendour when *Vogt,* relying on half-remembered bits from

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[a] Kossuth actually gave the lecture on November 19 (Kossuth, *L'Europe, l'Autriche et la Hongrie,* Bruxelles, 1859, pp. 54-55).—*Ed.*

[b] Marx gives this sentence in English in brackets after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

an ephemeral pamphlet, which he had skimmed through, with perfect calm

"*deduces* the wretched condition of the principalities ... from the destructive poison of the *Greeks* **and** *Fanariots*" (loc. cit., p. 63).

He had no idea that the *Fanariots* (so called after a district in Constantinople) are these very same *Greeks* who have lorded it in the Danubian principalities under Russian protection since the beginning of the eighteenth century. They are, in part, the descendants of the *limondji* (lemonade-sellers) of Constantinople that are now once again playing at "Romanian nationality" by order of the Russians.

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While the white angel of the North advances from the East, destroying the various nationalities for the benefit of the Slav race, the white angel of the South advances from the opposite direction as the standard-bearer of the principle of nationality, and

"we must *wait until* the liberation of the subject nationalities has been brought about by this man of destiny" (*Studien,* p. 36).

Now while these combined operations of the two angels and the "two greatest external enemies of Germany's unity" (*Studien*, 2nd edition, Afterword, p. 154) are being conducted "in close concert"—what role is assigned to *Germany* by our Imperial Vogt, who is, however, no "Augmentor of the Realm"[a]?

"The most short-sighted persons," Vogt remarks, "*must* have realised by now that there is an understanding between the Government of Prussia and the Imperial Government of France, that Prussia will not unsheath its sword to defend the non-German provinces of Austria" (including Bohemia and Moravia, of course), "that it will give its approval to all measures affecting the defence of the territory of the Confederation" (excluding its "non-German" provinces), "but will otherwise prevent any intervention of the Confederation or its individual members on Austria's behalf, so that in the subsequent peace negotiations *it will receive its reward for these efforts in the North German plains*" (*Studien,* 1st edition, pp. 18-19).

By proclaiming from the housetops, even before the outbreak of the war against Austria, the secret entrusted to him by the Tuileries that Prussia was acting in "secret *understanding*" with the "external enemy of Germany", who would reward it with territory "in the North German plains", Vogt was of course giving Prussia the best possible assistance in achieving its alleged ends. He roused

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[a] Medieval title bestowed on the German Emperor.— *Ed.*

the suspicions of the other German governments both towards Prussia's initial attempts to neutralise them and towards its military preparations and its claim to the supreme command during the war.

"Whatever path Germany has to choose in the present crisis," Vogt says, "one thing is certain: that as a whole it must pursue one definite path with energy, whereas as things are the unhappy Federal Diet, etc." (loc. cit., p. 96).

By spreading the view that Prussia goes arm in arm with "the external enemy" and that this will lead to its devouring the Northern plains, Vogt presumably intends to restore the unity in the Federal Diet which is so badly lacking. *Saxony*, in particular, is reminded explicitly that Prussia has already once occasioned "the loss of some of its finest provinces" (loc. cit., p. 93). The "purchase of the Jade Bay" is denounced (loc. cit., p. 15).

"*Holstein* was to have been the reward for Prussia's participation" (in the Turkish War) "when the notorious theft of the dispatch gave the negotiations a different turn" (loc. cit., p. 15). "Mecklenburg, Hanover, Oldenburg, Holstein and other miscellaneous appendages ... these fraternal German states are the bait at which Prussia greedily snatches"—and does so moreover "at every possible opportunity" (loc. cit., pp. 14, 15).

And as Vogt reveals, on this occasion it has been firmly hooked by Louis Bonaparte. On the one side, as the result of its secret "understanding" with Louis Bonaparte Prussia must and will "reach the coasts of the North Sea and the Baltic at the expense of its German brothers" (loc. cit., p. 14). On the other side,

"Prussia will have obtained a *natural frontier* only when the *watershed* of the Erzgebirge and the Fichtelgebirge is extended *through* the white Main and *along* the Main up to Mainz" (loc. cit., p. 93).

Natural frontiers in the depth of Germany! Formed, moreover, by a *watershed* which *passes through a river*! It is this sort of discovery in the realm of physical geography—to which we may add the channel that rose to the surface (see "Magnum Opus")—that puts "the well-rounded character" on a par with Alexander von Humboldt. At the same time as he was preaching to the German Confederation on the confidence it must have in the leadership of Prussia, Vogt, not satisfied with the "ancient rivalry between Prussia and Austria on German, etc., territory", invented another rivalry between these two states which "has so frequently broken out on *non-European* soil" (loc. cit., p. 20). This *non-European* soil is probably on the moon.

In fact Vogt simply translates into words the map of *L'Europe en 1860* published by the *French* Government in 1858. The map

shows Hanover, Mecklenburg, Brunswick, Holstein, the Electorate of Hesse together with sundry territories such as Waldeck, Anhalt, Lippe, etc., as having been annexed to Prussia, while "*l'Empereur des Français conserve ses* (!) *limites actuelles*", the Emperor of the French preserves his (!) existing frontiers. "Prussia down to the Main" is also a slogan of Russian diplomacy. (See, for example, the memorandum of 1837 mentioned above.[a]) A Prussian North Germany would counterbalance an Austrian South Germany, separated by natural frontiers, tradition, denomination, dialect and tribal differences. The *division* of Germany *into two parts* would be completed by simplifying the contradictions within it and the Thirty Years' War[162] would be declared in permanence.

According to the first edition of the *Studien*, Prussia was supposed to receive such a *"reward"* for its "efforts" in forcing the sword of the German Confederation back into its sheath during the war. In Vogt's *Studien,* as on the French map *L'Europe en 1860,* it is *not Louis Bonaparte, but Prussia* that seeks and achieves the enlargement of its territory and attains natural frontiers as a result of the *French* war against Austria.

Vogt only reveals Prussia's true task in the Afterword to the second edition of his *Studien*,[b] which appeared while the Franco-Austrian war was still in progress. Prussia was to initiate a "**civil war**" (see the 2nd edition, p. 152) so as to establish a "unified central power" (loc. cit., p. 153), to incorporate Germany in the Prussian monarchy. While Russia advances from the East and Austria is held down by Louis Bonaparte in Italy, Prussia is to embark on a *dynastic "civil war"* in Germany. Vogt guarantees the Prince Regent[c] that

> "the war that has broken out" in Italy "will last out the year 1859 at the very least, whereas the unification of Germany, if prosecuted resolutely, will not take *as many weeks* as the Italian campaign months" (loc. cit., p. 155).

The civil war in Germany will only be a matter of weeks! Apart from the Austrian troops which would immediately march on Prussia, Italian war or no Italian war, Prussia would meet resistance, as *Vogt* himself explains, from "*Bavaria*[d] ... which is entirely under Austrian influence" (*Studien*, 1st edition, p. 90), from *Saxony,* which would be the first to be threatened and which

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[a] See this volume, p. 141.—*Ed.*

[b] The Preface to the first edition of the *Studien* was dated "March 31, 1859", and the Afterword to the second edition, "June 6, 1859".—*Ed.*

[c] William, Prince of Prussia.—*Ed.*

[d] Vogt's italics.—*Ed.*

would no longer have any reason to do violence to its "sympathies for Austria" (loc. cit., p. 93), from "Württemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt and Hanover" (loc. cit., p. 94), in short from *"nine-tenths"* (loc. cit., p. 16) of the *"German governments"*. And these governments, as *Vogt* further demonstrates, would not lack support in the event of such a *dynastic* "civil war", especially if initiated by Prussia at a time when Germany was threatened by its "two greatest external enemies".

"The court" (in Baden), says Vogt, "goes along with Prussia, but the people, and there is no doubt about that, certainly does not share the predilections of the ruling family. The Breisgau, no less than Upper Swabia, is bound much more closely to the Emperor and the Imperial state by ties of sympathy, religious confession and old memories of the Austrian Forelands, to which it formerly belonged, than one would have supposed after such a long separation" (loc. cit., pp. 93-94). "With the exception of Mecklenburg" and "perhaps" the Electorate of Hesse, "in *North Germany* the attitude to the theory of incorporation is one of mistrust and Prussia's policy is accepted only with reluctance. The instinctive *feeling of dislike, indeed of hatred,* aroused by Prussia in *South Germany* ... has not been eliminated or talked out of existence by the full-throated cry of the Imperial party.[a] It lives on in the people, and no government, not even that of Baden, can resist it for long. *Thus Prussia has no real support either among the German people, or in the governments of the German Confederation*" (loc. cit., p. 21).

*Thus speaks Vogt.* And for that very reason, according to that same *Vogt,* a *dynastic "civil war"* initiated by Prussia in "secret understanding" with the "two greatest external enemies of Germany", would only be a matter of *"weeks"*. But there is more to come.

"The Old Prussian provinces go along with the government—the *Rhineland and Westphalia* with Catholic Austria. If the popular movement there does not succeed in pushing the government over to Austria's side, *the immediate consequence would be to reopen the gulf between the two parts of the monarchy*" (loc. cit., p. 20).

Thus, according to *Vogt,* if the simple non-intervention of Prussia on Austria's behalf was enough to reopen the gulf between Rhineland-Westphalia and the Old Prussian provinces, then clearly, in the eyes of the same *Vogt,* a "civil war", undertaken by Prussia with the aim of expelling Austria from Germany, was bound to wrench Rhineland-Westphalia from Prussia for good and all. But "what does Germany matter to these papists?" (loc. cit., p. 119), or as he really thinks, what do these papists matter to Germany? The *Rhineland and Westphalia* are ultramontane *"Roman-Catholic"* and not *"true German"* provinces. Hence they must be expelled from the territory of the Confedera-

[a] i.e. the supporters of Austria.—*Ed.*

tion just like Bohemia and Moravia. And this process of expulsion is to be accelerated by the *dynastic "civil war"* recommended to Prussia by *Vogt.* And in fact in its map published in 1858 of *L'Europe en 1860,* which served *Vogt* as a compass throughout his *Studien,* the *French* Government, which had annexed Egypt to Austria, also showed the Rhine provinces as countries of *"Catholic nationality"* and annexed by *Belgium*—an ironic formula for the annexation of Belgium and the Rhine provinces by France. The fact that *Vogt* goes even further than the map of the French Government and throws in Catholic Westphalia as an extra, can be explained by the "scientific relations" between the fugitive Regent of the Empire and Plon-Plon, the son of the ex-King of Westphalia.[a]

To sum up: On the one hand, Louis Bonaparte will give Russia leave to extend its rule from Posen to Bohemia and from Hungary right down to Turkey. On the other hand, he himself will establish a united and independent Italy on France's frontier by force of arms, and all that—*pour le roi de Prusse*[b]; all that to give Prussia an opportunity to bring Germany under its wing by means of a civil war and to "secure" the "Rhine provinces for ever" against France (loc. cit., p. 121).

"But, it will be said, the territory of the Confederation is in danger, the hereditary foe threatens, his real goal is the Rhine. Then, defend the Rhine and defend the territory of the Confederation" (loc. cit., p. 105),

and in fact defend the territory of the Confederation by ceding Bohemia and Moravia to Russia, and defend the Rhine by starting a German "civil war" with the aim, among others, of tearing Rhineland and Westphalia from Prussia.

"But, it will be said, Louis Napoleon ... desires to satisfy his Napoleonic thirst for conquest by some means or other! We do not think so, we have the example of the Crimean campaign before our eyes!" (loc. cit., p. 129.)

Apart from his scepticism about the Napoleonic thirst for conquest and his faith in the Crimean campaign, *Vogt* has yet another argument *in petto.* The Austrians and the French will follow the example of the Kilkenny cats [163] and keep on biting each other in Italy until there is nothing left of them but their tails.

"It will be a terribly bloody, stubborn and perhaps indecisive war" (loc. cit., pp. 127, 128). "Only by exerting its strength to the very utmost will France, together with Piedmont, be able to triumph, and it will not recover from these efforts for decades" (loc. cit., p. 129).

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[a] Jérôme Bonaparte.—*Ed.*

[b] For the King of Prussia, i.e. for nothing.—*Ed.*

This prospect of a *long-lasting* Italian war silences his critics. And the method by which *Vogt* manages to prolong Austria's resistance to French arms in Italy and to cripple France's aggressive power, is indeed original enough. On the one hand, the French are given *carte blanche* in Italy; on the other hand, the "benevolent Tsar" is given leave by manoeuvres in Galicia, Hungary, Moravia and Bohemia and by revolutionary machinations within the country and military demonstrations on its frontiers

"to hold down a significant part of the Austrian forces in those parts of the monarchy which are exposed to Russian attack or vulnerable to Russian intrigue" (loc. cit., p. 11).

And lastly, by means of a dynastic "civil war" simultaneously unleashed in Germany by Prussia, Austria will be compelled to withdraw its main forces from Italy to protect its German possessions. It is obvious that in such circumstances Francis Joseph and Louis Bonaparte will not conclude a Treaty of Campoformio[164] but "will both bleed to death in Italy".

Austria will not make any concessions to the "benevolent Tsar" in the East and accept the long-standing offer of indemnification in Serbia and Bosnia. Nor will it guarantee the Rhine provinces to France and fall on Prussia in league with Russia and France. Not on your life! It will insist on "bleeding to death in Italy". In any event, however, Vogt's "man of destiny" would indignantly reject such a compensation on the Rhine. Vogt knows that

"the foreign policy of the present Empire has only one principle, that of self-preservation" (loc. cit., p. 31).

He knows that Louis Bonaparte

"is intent on pursuing a single idea [...] that of preserving his power" (over France) (loc. cit., p. 29).

He knows that the "Italian war does not increase his popularity in France" whereas the acquisition of the Rhine provinces would make him and his dynasty "popular". He says:

"The Rhine provinces are indeed a pet ambition of the French chauvinist and perhaps, if one were to go into it, one would discover only a very small minority of the nation which did not bear this wish deep in its heart" (loc. cit., p. 121).

On the other hand, "perceptive Frenchmen", and therefore presumably also Vogt's "man of destiny who is as wise as a serpent", know that

"they can only hope to see this realised" (namely France's acquisition of the natural frontier of the Rhine) "as long as Germany possesses 34 different

governments. [...] Let a real Germany come into existence, with unified interests and a firm organisation—and the Rhine frontier will be secure for all time" (loc. cit., p. 121).

For this very reason, Louis Bonaparte, who at Villafranca offered the Emperor of Austria Lombardy in exchange for a guarantee of the Rhine provinces (see the statement by Kinglake in the House of Commons, July 12, 1860[a]), would have indignantly rejected Austria's offer of the Rhine provinces in exchange for French aid against Prussia.

Vogt's original *Dentu* sources likewise not only indulged in lyrical effusions on the subject of German unity under the aegis of Prussia*: they also spurned every suggestion of ambitions in the Rhine provinces with virtuous indignation.

"The Rhine!... What is the Rhine?—A frontier. Frontiers will soon be anachronisms" (*La foi des traités, etc.*, Paris, 1859, p. 36).**

In the millennium that is to be established by Badinguet on the foundations of the principle of nationality, who will be concerned about the Rhine frontier, or indeed any frontiers at all!

"Does France insist on compensation for the sacrifices it is prepared to make in the cause of equity, of legitimate influence and in the interest of European equilibrium? Does it demand the left bank of the Rhine? Does it so much as lay claim to Savoy and the County of Nice?" (*La vraie question, etc.*, Paris, 1859, p. 13.)***

* "La Prusse est l'espoir de l'Allemagne ... l'esprit allemand a son centre à Berlin ... l'esprit allemand cherche *l'unité* de son corps, la vérité de la Confédération. C'est par cet entraînement que s'élève la Prusse... D'où vient-il que, lorsque l'Italie réclame l'intégrité, l'unité nationale, ce que l'Allemagne désire, celle-ci favorise l'Autriche, négation vivante de toute nationalité?... C'est que la Prusse n'est pas encore la tête; c'est que la tête est l'Autriche qui, pesant avec ces forces hétérogènes sur l'Allemagne politique, l'entraîne à des contradictions avec l'Allemagne véritable" (*La foi des traités, etc.*, p. 34). ["Prussia is the hope of Germany ... the German spirit has its centre in Berlin ... the German spirit seeks the *unity* of its body, a real Confederation. It is this desire that induces Prussia to rise.... How does it come about that while Italy demands national integrity and unity, which Germany too longs for, the latter can still favour Austria, the living negation of all nationality?... The reason is that Prussia is not yet in command; the reason is that Austria is still in command and weighing with its heterogeneous forces on the political entity called Germany, and brings it into contradiction with the real Germany."]

** "Le Rhin!... Qu'est-ce que le Rhin? Une frontière. Les frontières seront bientôt des anachronismes" (loc. cit., p. 36).

*** "La France stipule-t-elle des dédommagements pour les sacrifices qu'elle est prête à faire dans un but d'équité, de juste influence, et dans l'intérêt de l'équilibre

[a] *The Times*, No. 23671, July 13, 1860.—*Ed.*

France's renunciation of Savoy and Nice as proof of France's renunciation of the Rhine! Vogt did not translate that into German.

Before the start of the war it was of crucial importance for Louis Bonaparte, if he was unable to lure Prussia into an understanding, at least to make the German Confederation believe that he had done so. *Vogt* attempts to disseminate this belief in the first edition of his *Studien*. During the war it became even more important for Louis Bonaparte to induce Prussia to take steps that would provide Austria with proof or apparent proof of such an understanding. In the second edition of the *Studien*, which appeared while the war was in progress, *Vogt* therefore calls on Prussia in an Afterword to conquer Germany and initiate a dynastic "civil war" which, as the text of his book makes clear, would be "bloody, stubborn and perhaps indecisive" and would cost Prussia Rhineland and Westphalia at the very least. And in the Afterword to the same book he solemnly assures his readers that it will "only cost a matter of weeks". Vogt's voice is in truth not that of the siren. Hence Louis Bonaparte, seconded in his knavish plot by bottle-holder[a] *Palmerston*, was forced to present *Prussian proposals he himself had drawn up* to Francis Joseph in Villafranca; Austria had to use Prussia's modest claims to the military leadership of Germany as an excuse for concluding a peace* which Louis Bonaparte had to excuse in France by saying that the Italian war was threatening to become a general war which

"would bring about German unity and thus accomplish a work which ever since Francis I it had been the object of French policy to prevent".**

européen? Demande-t-elle la rive gauche du Rhin? Élève-t-elle même des prétentions sur la Savoie et sur le Comté de Nice?" (*La vraie question, etc.*, p. 13.)

* A few days after the conclusion of peace in Villafranca the *Prager Zeitung* printed the following official declaration: "This insistence" (Prussia's insistence on taking over the supreme command of the federal army *under federal control*) "provides clear proof that *Prussia is striving for hegemony in Germany and thus for the expulsion of Austria from Germany.* Since faithless Lombardy is infinitely less valuable than *the maintenance of our position in Germany*, we sacrificed it so as to achieve peace which had become an urgent necessity for us *in view of Prussia's attitude.*"[b]

** *Galignani's Messenger* of Paris, which only carries leading articles by way of exception and then in response to special official request, states in its issue of July 22, 1859 [Marx quotes in English]: "To give another province to the King of Piedmont, it would not only have been necessary to support a war against

[a] Marx uses the English expression.—*Ed.*

[b] "Politische Übersicht, Wien, 13. Juli", *Prager Zeitung*, No. 165, July 15, 1859.—*Ed.*

After France had acquired Savoy and Nice as a result of the Italian war, and with them a position worth more than an army in the event of a war on the Rhine, "German unity under Prussian hegemony" and "cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France" became interchangeable factors in the probability calculations of the 2nd December. The map of *L'Europe en 1860* published in 1858 was interpreted by the map *L'Europe pacifiée* (Europe pacified?) which appeared in 1860. According to this map Egypt was no longer given to Austria and the Rhine provinces together with Belgium were annexed by France in return for the "*Northern plains*" that were now assigned to Prussia.*

Finally, *Persigny* made an official pronouncement in Etienne that, if only in the "interest of European equilibrium", any further centralisation on the part of Germany would entail the advance of France to the Rhine.** But neither before nor after the Italian war had the grotesque ventriloquist of the Tuileries expressed himself with such insolence as through the mouthpiece of the fugitive Imperial Regent.

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two-thirds of Europe, but *German unity would have been realised,* and a work thus accomplished, which ever since the time of Francis I it has been the object of French policy to prevent." ["Latest Intelligence", *Galignani's Messenger,* No. 13876, July 22, 1859.]

* Plon-Plon's special organ, *L'Opinion nationale,* said in an article of July 5, 1860: "The day of demanding the return of territories by force is past. The Emperor has too much tact and too accurate a feeling for the trend of public opinion for that.... But is *Prussia* obliged by oath never to think of *German unity*? Can it guarantee never to cast a covetous eye on Hanover, Saxony, Brunswick, Hesse, Oldenburg and Mecklenburg? Today the rulers embrace each other and their sincerity is certainly genuine. But who knows what the people will demand of them in a few years' time? And if, under the pressure of public opinion, Germany is *unified* would it be fair, would it be reasonable not to allow *France to expand its territory at the expense of its neighbours*?... If the Germans were to think it right and proper to alter their hitherto existing political constitution and to put a strong centralised government in the place of the impotent Confederation, then we cannot guarantee *that France would not think it right and proper to demand compensation and assurances from Germany.*"

** The Imperial Pecksniff excels himself in the Dentu pamphlet *La politique anglaise*, Paris, 1869. According to this a few million Germans and Belgians have to be purloined in order to improve the moral constitution of France, whose southerly element requires a greater admixture of northern solidity. Having argued that for political and military reasons France *requires the frontiers given it by nature itself,* it continues: "A second factor makes such an annexation" (of the Rhine provinces and Belgium) "necessary. France desires and demands a rational freedom (*une sage liberté*) and the southerly element plays an important role in its public institutions. This southerly element has many wonderful qualities ... but it lacks stamina and

Vogt "the New Swiss, citizen of the Canton of Berne and member of the Council of States[165] for Geneva" (loc. cit., Preface), opens the *Swiss* section of his *Studien* with a prologue (loc. cit., pp. 37-39) in which he calls upon Switzerland to utter a *paean of joy* at the replacement of Louis Philippe by Louis Bonaparte. It is true that Louis Bonaparte was demanding that the Federal Council should "put controls on the press", but "the Napoleonides seem in this respect to have extremely sensitive skins" (loc. cit., p. 36). A mere skin disease, so engrained in the family that it is transmitted not only in the family blood, but even—*teste* Louis Bonaparte—by the mere family name. However,

"The persecution of innocent men in Geneva which has been carried out by the Federal Council on *instructions from the Emperor* against poor devils whose only crime was that they were Italians; the establishment of consulates; the harassment of the press; the senseless police regulations of every conceivable kind and, finally, the negotiations about the cession of the Vallée des Dappes,[166] have all played an essential part in obliterating in the minds of the Swiss the memories of those *services* which *the Emperor really rendered* in the *Neuchâtel affair*,[167] and in particular for the very party which has now turned most violently against him" (loc. cit., pp. 37, 38).

Magnanimous Emperor, ungrateful party! The Emperor's aim in the Neuchâtel affair was by no means the creation of a precedent for the violation of the treaties of 1815, the humiliation of Prussia and the establishment of a protectorate over Switzerland. What he was really concerned with was "*to render*" Switzerland "*a real service*", in his capacity as "New Swiss, citizen of the Canton of Thurgau and artillery captain of Oberstrass". The accusation of ingratitude levelled by *Vogt* against the anti-Bonapartist party in Switzerland in March 1859, was extended to the whole of Switzerland in June 1860 by another servant of the Emperor, M. de *Thouvenel. The Times* of June 30, 1860 writes that

"A few days ago a meeting took place between Dr. Kern and M. de Thouvenel in the Foreign Ministry in Paris in the presence of Lord Cowley. Thouvenel informed the honourable representative of Switzerland that the doubts and protestations of the Federal Government were insulting inasmuch as they seemed to imply a want of faith in the government of His Imperial Majesty. Such treatment was base ingratitude in view of the *services* which the Emperor Napoleon had *rendered*[a] the Confederation on many occasions, and in particular in the

firmness. It stands in need of patient steadfastness, the cold, unbending resolution of our northern brothers. The frontiers destined for us by providence, therefore, are as essential to our freedom as to our independence."

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[a] Marx gives the English words "services" and "rendered" in brackets after their German equivalents.—*Ed.*

*Neuchâtel affair.* However that may be, since Switzerland had been so *blind* as to mistrust her benefactor, she must herself bear the consequences."

Nevertheless *Vogt* tried to open the eyes of the *blind* anti-Bonapartist party in Switzerland as early as March 1859. On the one hand, he points to "the real services" which "the Emperor has rendered". On the other hand, "the Imperial harassments shrink to vanishing point" beside the royal harassments under Louis Philippe (loc. cit., p. 39). For example, in 1858 the Federal Council "on instructions from the Emperor" expelled some "poor devils whose only crime was that they were Italians"[a] (p. 37); in 1838, notwithstanding Louis Philippe's threats, it refused to expel Louis Bonaparte, whose only crime was to have used Switzerland as a base from which to conspire against Louis Philippe. In 1846, despite Louis Philippe's "warlike gestures", Switzerland ventured upon the Sonderbund war,[168] for it refused to let itself be bullied by the peaceful King; in 1858 it was hardly prudish in its reaction to Louis Bonaparte's groping in the Vallée des Dappes.

"Louis Philippe," Vogt says himself, "had dragged out a miserable existence in Europe, snubbed by everybody, even by the lesser legitimate rulers, because he had not dared to conduct a strong foreign policy" (loc. cit., p. 31). However, "*Imperial policy vis-à-vis Switzerland* is without any doubt that of a powerful neighbour *who knows that in the end he can enforce whatever he likes*" (loc. cit., p. 37).

*Therefore, Vogt* concludes, with a logic worthy of *Grandguillot*, "*from a purely Swiss point of view one can only rejoice heartily*" (p. 39) because instead of "Louis Philippe who was snubbed by everybody" Switzerland has received a "powerful neighbour who knows that *with respect to Switzerland he can do whatever he likes*".

This prologue, which establishes the necessary mood, is followed by a German translation of the note of the Federal Council of March 14, 1859,[b] and curiously enough Vogt is full of praise for this note in which the Federal Council referred to the treaties of 1815,[169] though the same Vogt declares that it is "hypocrisy" to refer to these treaties. "Get along with your hypocrisy!" (loc. cit., p. 112.)*

* In reality it was not the "treaties" which had protected Swiss neutrality, but the fact that the interests of the various neighbouring powers cancelled each other out. "The Swiss feel," wrote Captain Harris, the English chargé d'affaires in Berne, in a letter to Lord John Russell after an interview with Frey-Hérosé, the Federal President, "that ... recent events have fundamentally altered the balance of power

[a] In early 1858 Napoleon III demanded that the Swiss Government should extradite the political refugees accused of being implicated in the Orsini conspiracy.—*Ed.*

[b] Carl Vogt, *Studien...*, S. 80-83.—*Ed.*

*Vogt* now goes on to consider "from which side *the first attack on Swiss neutrality will come*" (loc. cit., p. 84) and proves, quite unnecessarily, that the French army, which had no need to conquer Piedmont this time, would march through neither the Simplon nor the Great St. Bernard. At the same time he discovers a non-existent land route "over the Mont Cenis, via Fenestrelle and through the Stura valley" (loc. cit., p. 84). He means the Dora valley. From *France,* then, there is no threat to Switzerland.

"But respect for Swiss neutrality *on the part of Austria* cannot be looked for with similar confidence, and various factors even suggest that in certain eventualities Austria is indeed prepared to violate it" (loc. cit., p. 85). "Of significance in this respect is *the concentration of a military force in Bregenz and Feldkirch*" (loc. cit., p. 86).

Here the thread which runs through the *Studien* and leads straight from Geneva to Paris becomes visible.

The Blue Book on *The Affairs of Italy. January to May 1859* published by the Derby Cabinet says that "the concentration of an Austrian military force near Bregenz and Feldkirch" was a rumour assiduously cultivated by Bonapartist agents in Switzerland without a jot of factual evidence to support it (No. 174 of the Blue Book in question: letter from Captain Harris to Lord Malmesbury, Berne, March 24, 1859). In this connection Humboldt-Vogt also made the discovery that in Bregenz and Feldkirch

"one is in the immediate vicinity of the valley of the Rhine, which is the starting-point for *three* great Alpine passes with viable roads, viz., the Via Mala, the Splügen and the Saint Bernard, the latter leading to the Ticino, the first two to Lake Como" (loc. cit., p. 86).

In reality the Via Mala leads firstly over the Splügen, secondly over the Saint Bernard and thirdly nowhere elsė.

After all this Polonius chatter designed to direct the apprehensions of the Swiss from the Western to the Eastern frontier, "the well-rounded character" at last rolled on to its real task.

"Switzerland," Vogt announces, "is utterly *in the right* when it *firmly rejects* the obligation not to permit troop movements on this railway" (from Culoz to Aix and Chambéry) "and will confine itself, should the case arise, to make use of the neutralised territory only insofar as it is necessary for the defence of its own territory" (loc. cit., p. 89).

among Switzerland's neighbours, as ever since the Neuchâtel affair, Prussia has been indifferent, Austria paralysed, and France incomparably more powerful than before."[a]

[a] Harris to Russell, received January 25, *Correspondence Respecting the Proposed Annexation of Savoy and Nice to France...*, London, 1860, p. 12.—*Ed.*

And he assures the Federal Council that "the whole of Switzerland will support the *policy indicated in its note of March 14* to a man".

Vogt published his *Studien* at the end of March. It was not until April 24 that Louis Bonaparte used the above-mentioned railway for troop movements and he did not declare war until even later. Thus Vogt, who was privy to the details of the Bonapartist plan of war, knew very well "*from which side the first attack on Swiss neutrality would come*". His mission was explicitly to decoy Switzerland into condoning an initial violation of its neutrality, which would lead logically to the annexation of the neutralised territory of Savoy by the December Empire. Patting the Federal Council on the back, he attributes to the note of March 14 the meaning that it *ought to have* from the point of view of the Bonapartists. The Federal Council stated in its note that Switzerland would fulfil its "mission" of neutrality as stipulated in the treaties, "faithfully and with complete impartiality". It goes on to quote an article of the treaties according to which "*no troops belonging to any other power may pass through* or be stationed there" (in the neutralised territory of Savoy). It does not mention *at all* that it would permit the French to use the railway which passes through the neutralised territory. Conditionally, as a "measure designed to secure and defend the territory of the Confederation", it reserves the right of the Confederation to a "military occupation" of the neutralised territory. The fact that *Vogt* deliberately and on instructions from above *distorts* the note of the Federal Council is not only evident from its own wording; it is corroborated also by the statement made in the House of Lords on April 23, 1860 by Lord *Malmesbury*, then British Foreign Secretary:

> "When the French troops were about to march through Savoy into Sardinia" (more than a month *after* the Federal Council's note of March 14), "the Swiss Government, true to the neutrality upon which depends its independence, [...] at first objected that these troops had no right to pass through the neutralised territory." [a]

And by what means did Louis Bonaparte and the Swiss party allied with him manage to allay the doubts of the Federal Council? Vogt, who was aware at the end of March 1859 that French troop trains would violate the neutralised territory at the end of April 1859, was naturally able to foresee by the end of March the euphemism which Louis Bonaparte would use at the end of April to palliate his act of violence. He casts doubt on whether the

[a] Marx gives the quoted passage in English in a footnote.—*Ed.*

"head of the line from Culoz to Aix and Chambéry comes within the neutral territory" (loc. cit., p. 89) and shows that "the demarcation of neutral territory was not carried out with the purpose of cutting off communications between France and Chambéry", so that morally the railway in question does not come within the neutral territory.*

Let us, on the other hand, listen to what Lord *Malmesbury* says about it:

"Subsequently, there being some question as to whether the line of railway did not avoid the neutralised portion of Savoy, the Swiss Government withdrew their objection, and allowed the troops of France to pass. I think that they were wrong in doing so.[a] We thought the maintenance of the neutrality of such European consequence ... that we protested at the French Court against the passage of those troops to Sardinia on 28 April 1859."

This protest led to Palmerston accusing Malmesbury of "pro-Austrian" sympathies, as he "had uselessly offended the French Government",[b] just as *Vogt* in his "Magnum Opus" (p. 183) accuses *Das Volk* of

"doing everything in its power to embarrass Switzerland", on behalf of Austria, of course.... "Read the articles which *Das Volk* published about the question of neutrality and the passage of the French troops through Savoy if you wish to have tangible evidence of these views, which are fully shared by the *Allgemeine Zeitung*".**

* The fact that the railway *does* come within the neutralised territory was explicitly conceded in a note addressed to Captain Harris on November 18, 1859 by Stämpfli, the President of the Confederation, and Schiess, the Chancellor. It says there: "Il pourrait être aussi question d'un autre point qui concerne la neutralité de la Savoie ... nous voulons parler du chemin de fer dernièrement construit de Culoz à Chambéry, à l'égard duquel on peut se demander s'il devait *continuer à faire partie du territoire neutralisé*." ["A further question could arise concerning the neutrality of Savoy ... we refer to the railway recently constructed between Culoz and Chambéry, regarding which it may be questionable whether it can *continue to form part of the neutralised territory*."]

** Vogt accuses *Das Volk* in particular of having attempted "to bring about a conflict between the Swiss Confederation and its more powerful neighbours". When the annexation of Savoy actually took place, the *Eidgenössische Zeitung*, a Bonapartist paper, criticised the official journal, *Der Bund*, because "its views on Savoy and France were a feeble echo of the policy which had aimed at involving Switzerland in the conflicts of Europe ever since 1848" (see *Der Bund*, Berne, No. 71, March 12, 1860). It is evident that the Bonapartist scribes receive the phrases ready-made.

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[a] Marx gives this sentence in English in brackets after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx gives this phrase in English in brackets after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

The reader will now have "tangible evidence" that the entire section of Vogt's *Studien* that deals with Switzerland had no other purpose than to prepare the ground for the *first violation of Swiss neutrality* by his "man of destiny". It was the first step towards the annexation of Savoy and hence of French Switzerland. The fate of Switzerland depended on the vigour with which it opposed this first step, maintained its rights by availing itself of them at the decisive moment and raised the matter at European level at a time when the support of the English Government was assured and Louis Bonaparte, who was just launching into his localised war, would not venture to throw down the gauntlet. Once the English Government had become officially committed, it could not back out.* *Hence* the mighty efforts of our "New Swiss, citizen of the Canton of Berne and member of the Council of States for Geneva" to distract attention by representing it as a **right** to be asserted by Switzerland and as a courageous gesture of defiance towards Austria to *grant permission* to the French troops to march through the neutralised territory. After all, he had saved Switzerland from Catiline-Cherval!

At the same time as Vogt reiterates and amplifies the denial put out in his original *Dentu* pamphlets with regard to ambitions on the Rhine frontier, he avoids making *any* reference, even the most tentative, to the renunciation of Savoy and Nice contained *in the same pamphlets.* Even the names of Savoy and Nice do not appear at all in his *Studien.* Now, as early as February 1859, Savoyard delegates in Turin had protested against the Italian war on the grounds that the annexation of Savoy by the December Empire would be the price of purchasing the French alliance. This protest had never reached Vogt's ears. Nor had the terms of the agreement reached at Plombières by Louis Bonaparte and Cavour in *August 1858* (published in one of the first issues of *Das Volk*[a]) even though they were well known in émigré circles. In the issue of *Pensiero ed Azione* already cited (May 2-16, 1859), *Mazzini* had predicted, literally:

"But if Austria were to be defeated right at the start of the war and if it were to revive the proposals which it had put to the English Government for some time in 1848, namely the surrender of Lombardy on condition that it could keep Venice, then peace would be accepted. The only conditions to be implemented would be

* "Had those provinces (Chablais and Faucigny) been occupied by the Federal troops ... there can be little doubt they would have remained in them up to this moment" (L. Oliphant, *Universal Suffrage and Napoleon III,* London, 1860, p. 20).

[a] "Mazzini und Monsieur Bonaparte", *Das Volk,* No. 5, June 4, 1859.—*Ed.*

the enlargement of the Sardinian monarchy and the *cession of Savoy and Nice to France.*" *

Mazzini published his prediction in the middle of May 1859 and the second edition of Vogt's *Studien* appeared in the middle of June 1859, but it did not contain a single word about Savoy and Nice. Even before Mazzini and the Savoyard delegates, as early as *October 1858*, a month and a half after the conspiracy at Plombières, the President of the Swiss Confederation informed the English Ministry in a dispatch that

"he had reason to believe that a conditional agreement about the cession of Savoy had been reached between Louis Bonaparte and Cavour".**

In the beginning of June 1859 the President of the Confederation again informed the English chargé d'affaires in Berne of his fears about the imminent annexation of Savoy and Nice.*** *Vogt*, the professional saviour of Switzerland, never received the least intimation either of the protest of the Savoyard delegates or of Mazzini's revelations, or of the anxieties of the Swiss Federal Government which persisted from October 1858 to June 1859. Indeed, as we shall see later, *even in March 1860*, when the secret of Plombières was circulating in all the streets of Europe, it took care to keep out of Vogt's way. "Silence is the virtue of slaves",[a] the motto of the *Studien*, refers presumably to their failure to mention the threatened annexation. They do, however, contain *one* oblique reference to it:

"But even assuming," Vogt says, "even assuming that the *improbable* were to take place and that territory in Italy, whether to the south or the north, were to be the prize for victory.... *Undoubtedly, from an extremely narrow German point of view ... one might fervently wish* that the French wolf will get his teeth into *an Italian bone*" (loc. cit., pp. 129, 130).

* "Ma dove l'Austria, disfatta in sulle prime, affacciasse proposte eguali, a quelle ch'essa affacciò per breve tempo nel 1848 al Governo Inglese, abbandono della Lombardia a patto di serbare il Veneto, la pace ... sarebbe accettata: le sole condizioni dell'ingrandimento della Monarchia Sarda e della cessione della Savoia e di Nizza alla Francia, riceverebbero esecuzione."

** In the speech mentioned above, Lord *Malmesbury* said: "There is a despatch now in the Foreign Office, dated as long back as October 1858 ... from the President of the Swiss Republic, stating that he had reason to believe that some conditional agreement had been come to between the Emperor of the French and Count Cavour with respect to Savoy."

*** See No. I of the first Blue Book *On the Proposed Annexation of Savoy, etc.*

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[a] Paraphrased dictum from Heinrich Heine's *Reisebilder*, Zweiter Teil, Italien. III. Die Stadt Lucca, Kap. XVII.—*Ed.*

Italian territory to the north of course meant Nice and Savoy. After the New Swiss, citizen of the Canton of Berne and member of the Council of States for Geneva has called on Switzerland "*from a purely Swiss point of view*" (loc. cit., p. 39) to "*rejoice with all its heart*" at having Louis Bonaparte for a neighbour, it suddenly occurs to the fugitive Regent of the Empire that "undoubtedly, *from an extremely narrow German point of view*" he would "fervently wish" that the French wolf "will get his teeth into the bone" of Nice and Savoy, and *hence, of French Switzerland.**

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Some time ago a pamphlet appeared in Paris with the title *Napoléon III,* not *Napoléon III et l'Italie,* or *Napoléon III et la question Roumaine,* or *Napoléon III et la Prusse,*[a] but quite simply *Napoléon III,* Napoleon III without any qualification. Couched entirely in hyperboles, it is a panegyric on Napoleon III written by Napoleon III. The pamphlet was translated by an *Arab* called *Dâ-Dâ* into his native tongue.[b] In the Afterword the intoxicated Dâ-Dâ is unable to contain his enthusiasm any longer and overflows into radiant verse. In the Foreword, however, he is still sober enough to confess that his pamphlet had been published at the behest of the local authorities in Algiers and was destined for distribution among the indigenous Arab tribes beyond the Algerian frontiers so that "the idea of unity and nationhood under a common leader might take hold of their imagination".

* The wish which, "from an extremely narrow German point of view", Vogt has to force Italian "bones" between the jaws of the "French wolf" to give the wolf indigestion, will undoubtedly be fulfilled in increasing measure. The semi-official *Revue contemporaine—Vogt's special patron,* incidentally—on October 15, 1860 carries a report from Turin of October 8 which states *inter alia*: "*Genoa and Sardinia* would be the legitimate prize for a new (French) war on behalf of Italian unity. I may add that the possession of Genoa would be the necessary instrument of our influence on the peninsula and the only effective means of preventing the sea power whose establishment we had aided from defecting from an alliance with us at a later date in order to enter into league with someone else. *Only with our knee on Italy's throat can we be sure of its loyalty. Austria, a good judge on this point, knows this very well. We shall apply pressure less crudely, but more effectively than Austria,—that is the only difference.*" [Quoted from "La situation de l'Italie, Turin, le 8 octobre 1860".]

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[a] Marx refers to the following pamphlets: Arthur La Guéronnière, *Napoléon III, portrait politique,* Paris, 1853 and *L'empereur Napoléon III et l'Italie,* Paris, 1859; A. Lévy, *L'empereur Napoléon III et les principautés roumaines,* Paris, 1858; and Edmond About, *La Prusse en 1860,* Paris, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] La Guéronnière, *Portrait politique de l'empereur Napoléon III,* trad. en arabe par M. Rochaid Dahdah, Paris, 1860.—*Ed.*

This common leader who would lay the foundations for "the unity of the Arab nation" is, as Dâ-Dâ makes clear, none other than "the sun of beneficence, the glory of the firmament,—the Emperor Napoleon III". Vogt, although his writing is unrhymed,[a] is none other than *the German Dâ-Dâ.*

That *Dâ-Dâ Vogt* should employ the word "*studies*" to describe his German paraphrase of the "*Moniteur*" *articles, Dentu pamphlets and revised maps of Europe* inspired by the sun of beneficence and the glory of the firmament, is the best joke that has ever occurred to him in the course of his hilarious career. It even surpasses his Regency of the Empire, the Imperial Wine-Bibbing and his invention of the Imperial passports. The fact that the "educated" German citizen was able to accept in good faith "studies" in which Austria fought against Britain for the possession of *Egypt*, Austria and Prussia were waging their struggle on *non-European* terrain, Napoleon I compelled the Bank of England to weigh its gold instead of counting it, Greeks and Fanariots were racially distinct, a land route went from Mont Cenis through Fenestrelle via the Stura valley, etc.,—all this bears witness to the high pressure which a ten-year-long reaction had exerted on his liberal skull.

Curiously enough, the same liberal German sluggard who had applauded the crude exaggerations of *Vogt's German version of the original Decembrist pamphlets*, leaped up in fury from his sleep when *Edmond About* produced a prudently restrained French *retranslation* of Dâ-Dâ's compilation with the title *La Prusse en 1860* (originally *Napoléon III et la Prusse*). This chattering magpie of Bonapartism, incidentally, has a dash of waggishness. As evidence of Bonapartist sympathies for Germany, *About* points out, e.g., that the December Empire no more distinguishes between *Dâ-Dâ Vogt* and *Humboldt* than it does between *Lazarillo Hackländer* and *Goethe.*[b] At any rate his bracketing of *Vogt* with *Hackländer* suggests a more profound study on the part of About than is to be found anywhere in the *Studien* of our German Dâ-Dâ.

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[a] Marx puns on the word *ungereimt,* which means "unrhymed" and also "without rhyme or reason".—*Ed.*

[b] Edmond About. *La Prusse en 1860,* Paris, 1860, p. 6.—*Ed.*

# IX

## AGENCY

"So muosens alle strîten.
in vîl angestlîchen zîten
wart gescheiden doch her dan
... der *Vogt* da von Bërne."[a]

(*Klage*)*

In a Programme which Dâ-Dâ Vogt in a fit of great hilarity has dated *April 1*, namely April 1, 1859,[c] he called upon democrats of every shade of opinion to collaborate in a paper which was to appear in Geneva and propagate the Decembrist-Russian views of his *Studien*. Circumspect as the Programme naturally had to be, the cloven hoof can occasionally be glimpsed beneath the blotting-paper in which it is wrapped. But we shall not dwell on this aspect of it.

At the conclusion of his Programme Vogt asks his readers to give him the names of "like-minded comrades" who "would be

* In *Iwein*, on the other hand, *Hartmann* makes the *Vogt* say, evidently alluding to his dispute with the bears of Berne[b]:

"von Bêrn mac wol heizen ich,
wand ich dâ nîht ze schaffen hân."
["Von Bern I may be called
Though no business have I there."]

This *Hartmann* is not to be confused with Vogt's friend, the lyrical parliamentary mollusc of the same name.

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[a] "Thus, all to war must go
In times of grief and woe.
He had to take leave of that place
...the *Vogt* of Berne." [170]—*Ed.*

[b] i.e. the people of Berne.—*Ed.*

[c] Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess...*, Dokumente, S. 33-37.—*Ed.*

prepared to support similar aims in newspapers and journals to which they had access". At the Joint Festival in Lausanne he declared he had formulated a Programme with an invitation to

"*those people who* were in agreement with it and were prepared to work for it, in exchange for an appropriate remuneration, in organs of the press at their disposal" (*Centralfest, etc.*, p. 17).[a]

Lastly, in a letter to *Dr. Loening* he writes:

"Can you put me in touch with *people* who could influence newspapers and journals in this sense from Frankfurt? I am in a position to offer respectable remuneration for the contributions offprints of which I am sent" ("Magnum Opus", Documents, p. 36).

The *"like-minded comrades"* of the Programme become *"those people who"* at the Joint Festival of Lausanne, and they in turn are transformed into *"people"*, people *sans phrase*, in the letter to Dr. Loening. Vogt the Treasurer in Chief and Inspector General of the German press has had "funds placed at his disposal" (loc. cit., p. 36) with which to commission not only articles "in newspapers and journals", but even "pamphlets" (loc. cit.). It is easy to see that an agency on this scale stands in need of quite substantial "funds".

"—er sante nach allen den hêrren
die in diusken rîchen wâren;
er klagete in allen sîn nôt,
unde bôt in ouch sîn golt rôt."
(*Kaiserchronik*)[b]

But to what purpose were newspapers, journals and pamphlets to be "influenced" and "sent to" Vogt by *those people who* would then receive "respectable" remuneration from him? "It is Italy that is at stake", that is all; for in order to ward off the danger threatening on the Rhine it "appears advantageous" to Herr Vogt "to bleed Louis Bonaparte in Italy" (*Programme*, loc. cit., p. 34). No, "it is not Italy that is at stake" (letter to Dr. Loening, loc. cit., p. 36). "Hungary is at stake" (letter to Herr H. in N., loc. cit.). No, Hungary is not at stake. "What is at stake ... is something that I cannot disclose" (loc. cit., Documents, p. 36).

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[a] Georg Lommel, *Das Centralfest der Deutschen Arbeiterbildungsvereine in der Westschweiz*, Genf, 1859, S. 17.—*Ed.*

[b] "For all the noble lords sent he
That dwelt in the lands of Germany.
All them of his great need he told,
And offered them his bright red gold."[171]—*Ed.*

As controversial as the question of what is at stake is the problem of the source from which these respectable "funds" flow. It lies in "a remote corner of French Switzerland" ("Magnum Opus", p. 210). No, "it is Hungarian ladies from the West" (letter to Karl Blind, supplement to No. 44 of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of February 13, 1860).[a] On the contrary, it is some *masculini* "within the reach of the German and especially the Austrian police" (*Centralfest,* p. 17). The size of his funds is no less chameleon-like than their purpose and source. They amount to "a few francs" ("Magnum Opus", p. 210). "The funds are small" (*Centralfest,* p. 17). The funds are adequate to provide respectable remuneration for all those able to exert a Vogtian influence in the German press and in pamphlets. To cap it all there are even two accounts of the formation of the funds. Vogt has "*scraped them together* slowly and painfully" ("Magnum Opus", p. 210). No, they "have been placed at his disposal" (loc. cit., Documents, p. 36).

"If I am not mistaken," says the "well-rounded character", "to *bribe* means to offer someone money or other advantages to perform actions or make utterances contrary to his own convictions" (loc. cit., p. 217).

Hence anyone whose convictions bid him to allow himself to be *bought* cannot be *bribed,* likewise anyone whose convictions run counter to this cannot be bribed. For example, if the department of the Paris Ministry responsible for the foreign press offers Swiss newspapers copies of the Paris *Lithographierte Correspondenz* which appears daily and costs 250 francs, at half or a quarter of the price, or even for nothing, and if it intimates to "editors who are well disposed" that they can expect a cash bonus of 50, 100 or 150 francs each month "depending on their success", this cannot be called bribery by any stretch of the imagination. The editors whose convictions run counter to the daily *Correspondenz* and the monthly bonus are not compelled to accept the one or the other. And has Granier de Cassagnac been "bribed", or La Guéronnière, or About, or Grandguillot, or Bullier, or Jourdan of *Le Siècle,* or Martin or Boniface of *Le Constitutionnel,* or Rochaid Dâ-Dâ Albert? Has a remunerative action or utterance ever come into conflict with the convictions of any of these gentlemen? Or again, did Vogt bribe the agent of a certain Swiss newspaper formerly hostile to him when he placed several hundred copies of his *Studien* at his disposal free of charge? In any event it is a strange

[a] In Karl Blind's article "Gegen Karl Vogt". — *Ed.*

invitation, Vogt's invitation to journalists to work in the spirit of their own convictions in organs at their disposal and to be rewarded for their efforts by the organ of Herr Karl Vogt in Geneva. The fact that Vogt makes no distinction between the fee paid by a particular newspaper to its own contributors and the secret subsidies which a third party draws from an anonymous source and offers to the correspondents of newspapers quite unconnected with him and even to the press of a whole nation—this quid pro quo shows the extent to which the German Dâ-Dâ "familiarised" himself with the morality of December 2.

"At the source there sat a youth."[a] But at which source?

Instead of the weekly *Die Neue Schweiz* intended by Vogt, there appeared somewhat later in Geneva the *Neue Schweizer Zeitung,* founded by Herr *A. Brass,* Dâ-Dâ's friend of many years' standing. One cool morning in November Herr Brass declared to the astonishment of the whole of Geneva that he had

"written to Vogt spurning the *French feeding-trough* that Vogt had tried to set before him".

At the same time he declared his willingness to stand by his denunciation before a court (*Neue Schweizer Zeitung, November 12, 1859*). And the cock or rather the capon that had crowed so merrily until that moment suddenly fell silent as soon as he was attacked on his own dung-heap. The "New Swiss, citizen of the Canton of Berne and member of the Council of States for Geneva" now stood publicly accused in the middle of Geneva by one of his "notorious" friends of having *attempted to bribe him* with *French* money. And the Genevan Councillor fell silent.

It should not be imagined that Vogt could simply ignore the *Neue Schweizer Zeitung* with an air of superiority. The denunciation of his actions had appeared, as we have said, in the issue of November 12, 1859. Shortly after this the same paper published a piquant description of Plon-Plon and the *Revue de Genève,* the organ of *James Fazy,* the dictator of Geneva, immediately retorted in a four-column leading article (*Revue de Genève,* December 6, 1859). It protested "*au nom du radicalisme genèvois*", in the name of Genevan radicalism. Such was the importance attached to the *Neue Schweizer Zeitung* by James Fazy himself. The four-column leading article of the *Revue de Genève* shows the unmistakable signs of Vogt's helping hand. Brass himself is half-excused. He had not contrived the attack on Plon-Plon, but

[a] From Schiller's poem "Der Jüngling am Bache".—*Ed.*

had merely been led astray. In the authentic Vogtian style the *corpus delicti* is placed at the doorstep of the same L. Häfner whom Vogt suspected, in the "Magnum Opus" too (p. 188), of spreading "unsavoury pieces of personal gossip about the Emperor and Prince Napoleon". There is also Vogt's inevitable allusion to "the notorious former Baden lieutenant Clossmann" as the Berne correspondent of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (cf. "Magnum Opus", p. 198). Let us dwell for a moment on the protest which master and servant, *James Fazy* and *Karl Vogt,* published on December 6, 1859 in the *Revue de Genève* "in the name of Genevan radicalism" and in vindication of Plon-Plon.

Brass is accused of attempting "to validate his German opinion of France by insulting a Prince of the House of Bonaparte". As had long been common knowledge in Geneva, *Plon-Plon* was a liberal of the purest water who during his exile had magnanimously refused "to play a part of any sort at the court of Stuttgart or even Petersburg". Nothing would be more ridiculous than to impute to him, as does the libellous article in the *Neue Schweizer Zeitung,* the idea of forming a small sovereign realm here and there, an Etruscan kingdom, for instance.

"Prince Napoleon, who is acutely aware of his own **genius** and his own *talents,* has too lofty an opinion of himself to stoop to such petty thrones."

Rather does he prefer "as citizen-prince" *(prince-citoyen)* to play the part of Marquis Posa at the court of his exalted cousin in France, "the centre of high civilisation and the fount of general inspiration". "His cousin loves and respects him, whatever people may say of this." The Prince is not only Bonaparte's Marquis Posa. He is "the disinterested friend" of Italy, of Switzerland, in short, of the subject nationalities.

"Prince Napoleon, like the Emperor, is a great economist.... Undoubtedly, if the sound principles of political economy ever triumph in France, this will be due in no small measure to the influence of Prince Napoleon."

He was and is "the advocate of the most far-reaching freedom of the press", the enemy of all preventive measures on the part of the police, the adherent of "ideas of freedom in the broadest sense of the word, both in theory and practice". If this Egeria finds that the Emperor's malicious entourage has made him deaf to his voice, he makes a dignified withdrawal, but "without sulking". It is simply "*his merits* that have exposed him to the slanders of Europe". The

"enemies of France fear him because he relies on the revolutionary support of the peoples of Europe to restore to them their nationhood and their liberty".

Hence he is a misunderstood genius, Marquis Posa, Egeria, an economist, the protector of the subject nationalities, a democrat of the purest water and—can it be possible?—Plon-Plon is *"habile comme général et brave comme tout officier fançais"* ("a skilful general and valiant like every French officer").

"He proved this in the Eastern campaign, during and following the battle on the Alma." And in the Italian campaign "he ably organised his army corps of 50,000 men" (the celebrated *corps de touristes*; I was almost tempted to write *corps de ballet*) "and within a short space of time he made a hard march through mountainous country without his men wanting for anything".

The French troops in the Crimea are known to have said of anyone who got into a funk that he was suffering from *la maladie Plon-Plonienne,* and it is likely that Plon-Plon only withdrew from the peninsula because of the increasing shortage of provisions.[172]

"We," the *Revue de Genève* concludes triumphantly, "we have portrayed him", namely Plon-Plon, "as he really is".

Three cheers for General Plon-Plon!

No wonder therefore that *Vogt* can announce that he received his war chest from "democratic hands". Plon-Plon, the *Prince Rouge,*[a] is the ideal of both Vogt and Fazy; he is, as it were, the enchanted prince of European democracy. *Vogt* could not receive his money from purer democratic hands than those of Plon-Plon. Even if some of the monies made over directly to Mr. Kossuth by Plon-Plon's exalted cousin had been transmitted to Vogt through Hungarian hands, their "origins would still be *monstrous*".[b] But from the hands of Plon-Plon...! And even if the monies that *Vogt* obtained from Klapka's friend, Countess K.,[c] at the time of the Neuchâtel affair might come from more delicate hands, they could not possibly come from purer or more democratic ones. A well-known French writer has said that "*Plon-Plon est voluptueux comme Héliogabale, lâche comme Ivan III et faux comme un vrai Bonaparte*".[d] Plon-Plon's most disastrous achievement is that he has turned his cousin into *un homme sérieux.* Victor Hugo could still say of Louis Bonaparte "*n'est pas monstre qui veut*".[e] But ever since Louis Bonaparte invented Plon-Plon, the business side

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[a] Red Prince.—*Ed.*

[b] Carl Vogt, *Studien...,* S. 28.—*Ed.*

[c] Countess Károlyi.—*Ed.*

[d] "Plon-Plon is as dissolute as Heliogabalus, as cowardly as Ivan III and as false as a real Bonaparte" (Victor Hugo, *Napoléon le Petit,* paraphrased).—*Ed.*

[e] "One is not a monster because one wishes to be one" (ibid.).—*Ed.*

of the Imperial Janus has been concentrated in the hands of the man in the Tuileries, and the grotesque side in the man residing in the Palais Royal. The false Bonaparte, who is his uncle's nephew without being his father's son,[173] appeared authentic when compared with this authentic Bonaparte. So that the French still say: "*l'autre est plus sûr*".[a] Plon-Plon is both the Don Quixote and the Hudibras of the *bas empire.* Hamlet thought it disquieting that the dust of Alexander might have been used to stop a bung-hole.[b] What would Hamlet have said if he had seen the disintegrated head of Napoleon on the shoulders of Plon-Plon? *

Although *Vogt* obtained the main supplies of money for his war chest *"from the French feeding-trough"*, it is of course possible that to conceal this he also organised ostentatious collections of "a few francs" from more or less democratically inclined friends. The contradictions about the source, quantity and formation of his funds are thus quite easily resolved.

Vogt's agency did not confine itself to the *Studien,* the *Programm* and the setting up of a recruitment office. At the *"Joint Festival" in Lausanne* he informed the German workers in Switzerland of Louis Bonaparte's mission to liberate the subject nationalities, and he did so of course in more radical terms than he had used in the *Studien,* which had been intended for the liberal German philistines. In the latter case his penetrating study of the relation between "matter and energy"[174] had led him to the conclusion that there could be no question of "undermining and destroying the existing governments in Germany" (*Studien,* Preface, p. VII), and he appealed to the "German bourgeois" in particular (loc. cit., p. 128) "to take to heart" the consideration that the Bonapartist "liberation" of Italy would help to ward off "revolution" in Germany. He informed the German workers, on the other hand, that "Austria is the *only pillar* shoring up their" (i.e. the German rulers') "existence" (*Centralfest, etc.,* p. 11).[c]

* Vogt recounts that as early as 1852 he was supposed to embark on a voyage of discovery (Bacchic procession?) with Plon-Plon, to whom he had been enthusiastically recommended by a "Proudhonist" because of his "astounding studies in natural history" "*mais do que promettia a força humana*" ["which showed promise of superhuman strength", Camoens, *Lusiads,* First Canto] ("Magnum Opus", Documents, p. 24).

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[a] "The other one is safer."—*Ed.*

[b] Shakespeare, *Hamlet,* Act V, Scene 1.—*Ed.*

[c] Here and below Marx quotes Vogt's speech at the Joint Festival of the German Workers' Educational Associations in Lausanne (Georg Lommel, *Das Centralfest der Deutschen Arbeiterbildungsvereine in der Westschweiz*).—*Ed.*

"As I have just pointed out," he said, "Germany does not exist as far as the outside world is concerned, it has still to be created, and I am convinced that it can only be created *in the form of a federation of republics* similar to the Swiss Confederation" (loc. cit., p. 10).

He said this on June 26 (1859), while on June 6, in the Afterword to the second edition of the *Studien* he entreated the Prince Regent of Prussia[a] to bring Germany beneath the sway of the House of Hohenzollern by force of arms and a dynastic civil war. Monarchic centralisation by force of arms is, of course, the shortest way to a federal republic "similar to the Swiss Confederation". He further developed the theory of the *"external enemy"*, France, with which Germany should ally itself in opposition to the *"internal enemy"*, Austria.

"If I am presented with the choice," he exclaimed, "between the Devil (Habsburg) and his grandmother (Louis Bonaparte), *I will choose the latter,* since she is an old woman and must die."

This direct appeal to Germany to throw itself into the arms of Decembrist France on the pretext of hatred for Austria seemed to him too compromising to be put into print, so in the *published* speech we find this emended version:

"And if we are obliged to take up sides in the dispute between the Devil and his grandmother we think it would be best *if the two were to kill and devour each other,* thus saving us the trouble" (*Centralfest, etc.,* p. 13).

Finally, whereas in the *Studien* he raises the standard of Louis Bonaparte as the Emperor of the peasants and soldiers, when faced with an audience of workers he declares that

"it is *especially the great majority of workers in Paris* who have been won over to Louis Bonaparte".

In the view of the French workers

"Louis Bonaparte is doing everything the Republic should have done *since he is giving work to the proletariat and ruining the bourgeoisie, etc.*" (*Centralfest, etc.,* p. 9).

Thus Louis Bonaparte is a *workers' dictator* and eulogised as such before the German workers in Switzerland by the very same *Vogt* who in the "Magnum Opus" flared up in bourgeois indignation at the mere mention of the words "workers' dictatorship"![b]

The Paris programme which laid down the line to be followed by the Decembrist agents in Switzerland on the question of the

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[a] William.—*Ed.*

[b] Carl Vogt. *Mein Prozess....* S. 136-40. Vogt has "dictatorship of the proletariat".—*Ed.*

annexation of Savoy consisted of three points: (1) For as long as possible rumours of the imminent danger were to be completely ignored and if necessary they were to be dismissed as an Austrian invention. (2) At a more advanced stage it should be put about that Louis Bonaparte wished to incorporate the neutralised territory into Switzerland. (3) And finally, once the annexation had been carried out it should be used as a justification for a *Swiss alliance with France,* i.e. for Switzerland's voluntary submission to a Bonapartist protectorate. We shall now see how faithfully master and servant, *James Fazy* and *Karl Vogt,* the dictator of Geneva and the member of the Council of States for Geneva created by him, adhered to the terms of this programme.

We have already seen in the *Studien* that Vogt assiduously avoided all mention of the idea on behalf of which his man of destiny was embarking on war. The same silence prevails at the Joint Festival in Lausanne, in the National Council,[175] at the celebrations in memory of Schiller and Robert Blum, in the Biel *Commis voyageur* and, lastly, in the "Magnum Opus". And yet the "idea" was even older than the conspiracy of *Plombières.*[176] As early as *December 1851,* a few days after the coup d'état, one could read in *Le Patriote savoisien.*

"The official positions in Savoy are already being shared out in the antechambers of the Elysée. Its newspapers find the subject a great source of amusement." *

On December 6, 1851 M. Fazy considered Geneva as good as lost to the December Empire.**

On July 1, 1859 *Stämpfli,* who was President of the Confederation at the time, had an interview with Captain Harris, the British chargé d'affaires in Berne. He repeated his fears that in the event of the expansion of Sardinian rule in Italy, the annexation of Savoy by France was a settled matter, and he emphasised that the annexation of North Savoy in particular would completely *expose* one flank of Switzerland and this would entail the loss of Geneva in the near future (see the first Blue Book *On the Proposed*

* "On se partage déjà les places ... de la Savoie dans les antichambres de l'Elysée. Ses journaux plaisantent même assez agréablement là-dessus."

** "Peut-être le citoyen Thurgovien que nous avons si bien défendu contre les menaces de Louis-Philippe, nous fera-t-il la grâce de vouloir bien se constituer comme médiateur, *et reprendre de nous Genève*" ["Perhaps the citizen of Thurgau whom we defended so well against the threats of Louis Philippe will do us the favour of offering himself as mediator and *recover Geneva from us*"] (*Revue de Genève,* December 6, 1851).

*Annexation of Savoy and Nice,* No. I). Harris reported to Malmesbury, who for his part instructed Lord Cowley in Paris to ask Walewski to explain the nature of the Emperor's intentions. Walewski in no way denied that

"France and Sardinia had more than once discussed the problem of annexation and that the Emperor entertained the idea that if Sardinia was to be enlarged and become an Italian Kingdom, it was not unreasonable to expect that she should, on the other hand, make territorial concessions to France" (loc. cit., No. IV).[a]

Walewski's reply was written on July 4, 1859 and hence pre-dated the peace of Villafranca. In August 1859 Petétin's pamphlet[b] appeared in Paris, preparing Europe for the annexation of Savoy. *That same August,* after the summer session of the Swiss National Assembly, Herr Vogt slunk into Paris to receive his instructions from Plon-Plon. To put people off the scent he arranged for his fellow-scoundrels, Ranickel and Co., to spread the rumour in Geneva that he had gone for a cure on the Lake of Lucerne.

"ze Pârîs lëbt er mangen tac,
vil kleiner wîsheit er enpflac,
sîn zerung was unmâzen grôz;...
ist ër ein esel und ein gouch,
daz sëlb ist ër zuo Pârîs ouch."[c]

In September 1859 the Swiss Federal Council saw the threat of annexation looming nearer (loc. cit., No. VI) and on November 12 it resolved to address a memorandum to this effect to the great powers. On November 18 President Stämpfli and Chancellor Schiess handed an official note to the English chargé d'affaires in Berne (loc. cit., No. IX). *James Fazy,* who had returned in October from his abortive journey to Tuscany where he had vainly striven to advance the cause of Plon-Plon's Etruscan kingdom, now tried to stem the rumours of annexation in his usual loud and cantankerous manner and with an affectation of rage: no one has ever dreamt of annexation, either in France or in Sardinia. As the danger drew nearer, the confidence of the *Revue de Genève* increased accordingly and in November and December 1859 its

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[a] Cowley to Russell, received July 5, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] Anselme Petétin, *De l'annexion de la Savoie.*—*Ed.*

[c] "In Paris many a day he dwelt,
For learning no great love he felt;
He ate and drank more than his fill....
Since he is ass and fool together,
He doesn't change in Paris either."
(Ulrich Bonerius, *Der Edel Stein,* Berlin, 1816.)—*Ed.*

Corybantic cult[177] of the Napoleonides surpassed all bounds (see, for example, the article on Plon-Plon quoted above[a]).

With the year 1860 we enter the second phase of the annexation affair.

Issuing denials or just turning a deaf ear was no longer in the interest of the Decembrists. The problem now rather was to make Switzerland more amenable to the idea of annexation and manoeuvre it into a false position. The second point of the Tuileries programme had to be put into action, i.e. the alleged intention of donating the neutral territory to Switzerland had to be publicised as loudly as possible. These efforts of the Swiss Decembrists were of course supported by simultaneous manoeuvres in Paris. Thus *Baroche,* the Minister of the Interior, told the Swiss Ambassador, *Dr. Kern,* at the beginning of January 1860, that

> "should any change in the ownership of Savoy occur hereafter it should only be made with due regard to those provisions of the Treaties of 1815 which stipulated that a portion of it sufficient to ensure a good line of defence should be at the same time ceded to Switzerland" (see the Blue Book, op. cit., No. XIII).[b]

And even on February 2, 1860, on the same day that *Thouvenel* told the British Ambassador, Lord Cowley, that the annexation of Savoy and Nice was a "possibility", he informed him at the same time that

> "indeed, in the opinion of the French Government, it would be well if in these circumstances the districts of Chablais and Faucigny should be united *permanently* to Switzerland" (loc. cit., No. XXVII).[c]

The dissemination of this illusion was designed not only to make the Swiss more amenable to the idea of the annexation of Savoy by the December Empire, but also to blunt their subsequent protest, and to compromise them in the eyes of Europe by making them the accomplices, albeit the cheated accomplices, of the Decembrists. *Frey-Hérosé,* President of the Confederation since 1860, avoided the pitfall and even informed Captain Harris of his misgivings about the supposed advantages of incorporating the neutralised territory into Switzerland. For his part, *Harris* warned the Federal Government about the Bonapartist intrigue, so that

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[a] The leading article in the *Revue de Genève,* December 6, 1859 (see this volume, p. 187).—*Ed.*

[b] Grey to Russell, received January 10, *Correspondence Respecting the Proposed Annexation of Savoy and Nice to France...,* p. 9.—*Ed.*

[c] Cowley to Russell, received February 8, ibid., p. 28.—*Ed.*

"Switzerland should not appear as a Power eager for annexation or extension of territory" (loc. cit., No. XV).[a]

On the other hand, *Sir James Hudson,* the British Ambassador in Turin, wrote to Lord John Russell after a lengthy interview with *Cavour*:

"I have good ground for believing that Switzerland also is anxious to annex to herself a portion of Savoy. Consequently, it ought to be clearly understood, that when France is blamed for seeking this cession, Switzerland is no less to blame.... This question therefore, becoming more complicated by this double attack, renders the position of Sardinia more defensible" (loc. cit., No. XXXIV).[b]

Finally, as soon as Louis Bonaparte threw away the mask, Thouvenel quite unceremoniously revealed the mystery behind the slogan of the Swiss annexation of the neutral territory. In a dispatch to the French chargé d'affaires in Berne he openly derided the Swiss protest against the French annexation of Savoy, and how? By using the "plan for the *partition* of Savoy" foisted on Switzerland by Paris (see Thouvenel's dispatch of March 17, 1860).[c]

And what did the Swiss agents of December meanwhile contribute to the web of delusion? In January 1860, in the course of discussion with the British chargé d'affaires in Berne, *James Fazy* was the first to represent the annexation of Chablais and Faucigny to Switzerland not as something promised by Louis Bonaparte, but as the desire of Switzerland and of the inhabitants of the neutralised districts (loc. cit., No. XXIII). *Vogt,* who until that moment had never dreamt of the possibility of a French annexation of Savoy, was suddenly inspired by the spirit of prophecy, and *The Times,* which had never mentioned the name Vogt since its inception, suddenly announced in a correspondence dated January 30:

"The Swiss Professor Vogt pretends to know that France will procure for Switzerland Faucigny, Chablais, and the Genevese, the neutral provinces of Savoy, if the Grand Council of the Republic will let her have the free use of the Simplon" (*The Times*, February 3, 1860).[d]

Even more! At the end of January 1860 James Fazy assured the British chargé d'affaires in Berne that *Cavour,* with whom he had had a long interview in Geneva hardly two months previously, was foaming with rage at the idea of making any concession to France

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[a] Harris to Russell, received January 25, ibid., p. 12.—*Ed.*
[b] Hudson to Russell, received February 16, ibid.—*Ed.*
[c] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 82, March 22, 1860.—*Ed.*
[d] "Austria", *The Times*, No. 23533, February 3, 1860.—*Ed.*

(see the Blue Book,[a] op. cit., No. XXXIII). Thus while Fazy plays guarantor for Cavour to England, Cavour exculpates himself in English eyes by revealing the territorial ambitions of the same Fazy (loc. cit., No. XXXIII). And finally, *Tourte,* the Swiss Ambassador in Turin, hastens to the British Ambassador, Hudson, as late as February 9, 1860 to assure him that

"no engagement subsists between Sardinia and France for the cession of Savoy to France, and that Sardinia is not in the least disposed to cede or exchange Savoy to France" (loc. cit.).[b]

The decisive moment was drawing nearer. The Paris *Patrie* of January 25, 1860 began to prepare the way for the annexation of Savoy in an article entitled "*Les voeux de la Savoie*". In another article, on January 27, *"Le comté de Nice",* it foreshadowed in its Decembrist style the annexation of Nice. On February 2, 1860 Thouvenel announced to the British Ambassador, Cowley, that even before the war France and Sardinia had agreed that the annexation of Savoy and Nice was a "possibility". However, an official note on France's *actual* decision to absorb Savoy and Nice was not given to Lord Cowley until February 5 (see Lord Cowley's speech in the House of Lords on April 23, 1860)[c] and Dr. Kern was not told until February 6. And both the British and Swiss Ambassadors were explicitly informed that the neutralised territory was to be absorbed into Switzerland. *Prior* to these official announcements, *James Fazy* was instructed from the Tuileries that Sardinia had *already* ceded Savoy and Nice to France in a secret treaty and that the treaty contained *no clause in favour of Switzerland. Prior* to Thouvenel's official announcements to Lord Cowley and Dr. Kern, *Fazy* was to sugar the Imperial pill and present it to his Genevan subjects. On *February 3,* therefore, he arranged for his blindly devoted tool, *John Perrier,* to organise a popular meeting on the premises of the *Club populaire* of Geneva, a meeting which he attended apparently by chance, on the pretext that

"he had just heard (*je viens d'entendre*) that the treaties were being discussed which may have been concluded between France and Sardinia for the cession of Savoy. Unfortunately, such a treaty was signed on *January 27* by the Sardinian Government; but from this *positive fact* we cannot yet deduce that our security is really threatened.... It is true that there is no written reservation made in the treaty

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[a] Harris to Russell, received February 6, *Correspondence Respecting the Proposed Annexation of Savoy and Nice to France...,* p. 24.—*Ed.*

[b] Hudson to Russell, received February 16, ibid.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Times,* No. 23602, April 24, 1860.—*Ed.*

in favour of our rights over the Sardinian neutralised territory; but we do not know whether in the intention of the contracting parties there may not exist some reservation in this sense.... It may have been taken into consideration, and, so to speak, understood as taken for granted (*sous-entendu comme allant de soi*)....We should beware of introducing any spirit of premature distrust.... We should rely on the sympathy" (for the coup d'état monarchy) "...and abstain from any hostile word."

(See Fazy's "confidential" speech, in its own way a masterpiece of demagogy, in the *Revue de Genève* of February 3, 1860.) The British chargé d'affaires in Berne found Fazy's prophetic knowledge remarkable enough for him to send a special dispatch to Lord John Russell about it.[a]

The *official* treaty relating to the cession of Savoy and Nice to France was due to be concluded on March 24, 1860. So there was no time to be lost. The Swiss patriotism of the Genevan Decembrists had to be officially established before the official proclamation of the annexation of Savoy. Signor *Vogt* therefore journeyed to Paris early in March, accompanied by General *Klapka,* who might well be acting *de bonne foi,*[b] with the intention of bringing *his* influence to bear on Plon-Plon, the Egeria of the Palais Royal, the misunderstood genius, and, in full view of the whole of Switzerland, of throwing *his personal weight* into the scales in favour of the incorporation of the neutralised territory into Switzerland. From the Lucullan table of Plon-Plon—in the art of gastronomy, as is well known, Plon-Plon rivals both Lucullus and Cambacérès, so that if Brillat-Savarin were to rise from the grave, even he would marvel at Plon-Plon's *genius, economics, liberal ideas, military talent* and *personal valour* in this field—from the Lucullan table of Plon-Plon, where as an "agreeable companion" he tucked in heartily, Falstaff-Vogt called on the Swiss to show their valour (see his long letter from Paris in the supplement to the Biel *Commis voyageur* of *March 8, 1860*). Switzerland should prove that

"its militia was not there *just* to parade and play at being soldiers". The "cession of the neutralised territory to Switzerland" was an illusion. "The abandonment of Chablais and Faucigny to France was a *first* step, to be followed by others." "*Mounted on the two stilts: nationality and natural frontiers,* one can advance from the Lake of Geneva to the Aar and right up to Lake Constance and the Rhine—if one's legs are strong enough."

But—and this is the point—Falstaff-Vogt *still does not give credence* to what the French Minister Thouvenel himself had

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[a] Harris to Russell, received February 9, *Correspondence Respecting the Proposed Annexation of Savoy and Nice to France....—Ed.*

[b] In good faith.—*Ed.*

officially revealed a month before and what all Europe knew by now—that the cession of Savoy and Nice had been agreed on *as long ago as August 1858 in Plombières,* as the price of French intervention against Austria. His "man of destiny" had only just been driven against his will into the arms of chauvinism by the priests and coerced into confiscating the neutralised territory.

"Evidently," our embarrassed apologist stammers, "evidently the leading circles have been **looking** for a counterweight to the *steady growth of the clerical movement* and hope that this might be found in so-called chauvinism—in that most narrow-minded sense of nationality that knows of nothing beyond the acquisition of *a* **bit** (!) of territory."

After Vogt, intoxicated by the smells issuing from Plon-Plon's kitchen, had laid about him so heartily in the Biel *Commis voyageur,* he romanced wildly in the same mouthpiece on his return from Paris about the absolute love of the French to be found among the inhabitants of Nice. He thus came into a disagreeable conflict with *Vegezzi-Ruscalla,* one of the chief leaders of the Italian National Association and the author of the pamphlet *La nazionalità di Nizza.* And when the same hero who had played Winkelried from the safety of Plon-Plon's table came to speak in the National Council in Berne, the warlike clarion call turned into a diplomatic piping on the flute, which recommended calmly to carry on the negotiations with *the Emperor who had always been amicably disposed towards the Swiss* and which warned emphatically against any *alliance with the East.* The President of the Confederation, *Frey-Hérosé,* made some strange insinuations regarding *Vogt,* who on the other hand had the satisfaction of seeing his speech praised by the *Nouvelliste Vaudois.*[a] The *Nouvelliste Vaudois* is the organ of Messrs. Blanchenay, Delarageaz and other Vaudois magnates, in short of the Swiss Western railway, just as the *Neue Zürcher-Zeitung* is the organ of Zurich Bonapartism and the Northeastern railway. To characterise the patrons of the *Nouvelliste Vaudois* it is enough to point out that on the occasion of the well-known dispute about the Oron railway five Vaudois government councillors were repeatedly and with impunity accused by the opposition press of having each received a present of 20 shares to the value of 10,000 francs from the Paris *Crédit Mobilier,*[178] the chief shareholder of the Swiss Western railway.

A few days after *Vogt* had set off in the company of Klapka to visit the Egeria of the Palais Royal, *James Fazy,* accompanied by

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[a] Marx is drawing on data from a letter by Georg Lommel of April 19, 1860. There is an entry to this effect in Marx's notebook.—*Ed.*

*John Perrier,* embarked on a journey to the sphinx in the Tuileries.[a] It is known that Louis Bonaparte relishes the role of sphinx and maintains his Oedipuses just as former kings of France maintained their own court jesters. In the Tuileries, *Fazy* interposed himself between Switzerland and the sphinx. As we have said, *John Perrier* was his companion. This John is the very shadow of his James, he does everything the latter desires, nothing which he does not desire, lives through him and for him, became a member of the Grand Council of Geneva through him, prepares all festivals and toasts for him and acts, in short, as his Leporello and his Fialin. Both returned to Geneva having achieved nothing as far as the threat to Switzerland was concerned, and with astonishing success, as far as the threat to Fazy's own position was concerned. Fazy thundered in public, saying that the scales had now fallen from his eyes and that in future he would hate Louis Bonaparte as passionately as he had loved him hitherto. A strange love, this nine-year-long passion of the republican Fazy for the murderer of two republics! Fazy acted the disillusioned patriot with such virtuosity that the whole of Geneva wallowed in Fazy-enthusiasm and the demise of Fazy's illusions was felt almost more keenly than the loss of the neutralised provinces. Even Théodore de Saussure, the head of the aristocratic opposition and his enemy of many years' standing, confessed that it was no longer possible to doubt the sincerity of James Fazy's Swiss patriotism.

Having been the recipient of such well-merited popular ovations, the tyrant of Geneva hastened to the National Council in Berne. Shortly after his departure, his loyal squire, his Paris travelling companion, in short, his own *John Perrier,* embarked on a voyage of the Argonauts of a very special sort. A band of Swiss drunkards (at least this is how they were described in the columns of the London *Times*), chosen from the company of *"fruitiers"*, Fazy's democratic bodyguard, set sail unarmed under *Perrier*'s leadership for *Thonon* at which spot of the neutralised territory they intended to stage an *anti-French* demonstration. To this day no one can say in what this demonstration consisted or was supposed to consist, whether the Argonauts intended to search for the Golden Pelt[b] or to sell their own skins. For no Orpheus accompanied Perrier's Argonauts and no Apollonius has sung of

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[a] An allusion to Karl Grün's pamphlet *Louis Bonaparte, die Sphinx auf dem französischen Kaiserthron,* Hamburg, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx ironically writes *goldenes Fell* (Golden Pelt) instead of *goldenes Vlies* (Golden Fleece).—*Ed.*

their deeds. It seems to have involved a sort of symbolic occupation of the neutralised territory by a Switzerland represented by *John Perrier* and his band. The real Switzerland now found its hands so full with diplomatic excuses and declarations of loyalty and indignant repudiations of *John Perrier*'s symbolic occupation of Thonon as to make Louis Bonaparte appear the soul of magnanimity when he contented himself with the actual occupation of Thonon and the rest of the neutralised territory.

*John Perrier* was arrested in Geneva with several thousand francs in his pockets. On the basis of Perrier's testimony M. *Ducommun,* the Vice-Chancellor of the state and editor of the *Revue de Genève,* a young man without private means, and dependent for his incumbency of these two posts on *James Fazy,* President of the State Council and owner of the *Revue de Genève,* was likewise arrested. He confessed to having given Perrier the money which had been taken from a fund set up to establish a volunteer corps—a fund whose existence had been quite unknown to the Geneva radicals up to that moment. The judicial investigation ended with the dismissal firstly of Ducommun and then of Perrier.

On March 24 Nice and Savoy, together with the neutralised territory, were officially ceded to Bonaparte by Victor Emmanuel. On March 29-30 *John Perrier,* who had returned from Paris to Geneva with *Fazy,* embarked on his Argonaut adventure, a burlesque demonstration which just at the crucial moment made any real demonstration impossible. In Berne, *James Fazy* insisted that "he had no knowledge of the incident".* In the former neutral territory *Laity* boasted that if the Swiss had actually launched an attack there his Emperor would have at once ordered three divisions to march into Geneva. *Vogt,* finally, was quite in

* The realisation that with the annexation of North Savoy Geneva had become an enclave of France and, in no less measure, the impact of the French fortification of the harbour of Thonon, have recently, as everybody knows, greatly roused the anti-Decembrist feeling of the ancient Republic. However, the authentic outbreaks of popular indignation are accompanied by false ones, inspired from Paris and set in motion in part by French police personnel. Thus, for example, we can read in the *Saturday Review* of September 22, 1860: "A party of self-styled Swiss were giving vent to gross insults against the Empire at Thonon, when a blundering gendarme, in an excess of official zeal, seized them, and insisted on looking at their passports. They turned out to be Frenchmen, with papers perfectly *en règle*.... The gravest fact relating to these artificial collisions is, that in one of the earliest and the worst of them, *a close adherent of Mr. Fazy*" (friend Perrier) "*was prominently implicated.*"[a]

[a] Marx gives the last sentence in brackets in English after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

the dark about the secret of the journey of the Argonauts, *for* a few days before it took place he made a prophylactic *denunciation to the Genevan police* warning them of a conflict due to be engineered from Geneva on the Savoy frontier—but in so doing he was laying a false trail. I have in my possession a letter from a refugee living in Geneva, a former friend of Vogt's, to a refugee living in London. It says *inter alia*:

"*Vogt* was putting it about that I was continuously dashing backwards and forwards between West Switzerland and Savoy organising a revolution to the detriment of Switzerland and the advantage of powers hostile to it. This was only a few days before *Perrier*'s adventure about which Vogt was undoubtedly in the know, but of which I was as ignorant as yourself. Evidently he attempted to cast suspicion on me and to ruin me. Fortunately, *he also denounced me to Duy, the Director of Police* who summoned me and was not a little surprised when I burst into laughter at his opening question and said: 'Aha! that well-known intrigue of Vogt's!' He then asked for details about my relations with *Vogt*. My statement was also confirmed by a government secretary, a member of the Helvetia,[179] who went to the Central Assembly in Berne on the following day where he met Vogt's brother and criticised Karl's behaviour to him, whereupon Gustav replied laconically that he had long since gathered from Karl's letters how things stood with his politics."[a]

If, to begin with, silence, denials and sermons of confidence in Louis Bonaparte were supposed to blind the Swiss to the impending danger, if later on the clamour about the intended incorporation of Faucigny, Chablais and the Genevese into Switzerland was designed to make the annexation of Savoy by France acceptable for the people, and if, finally, the burlesque at Thonon was intended to break any serious resistance, then, in accordance with the Paris programme, the annexation which had actually taken place and the danger that could no longer be denied were now to be put forward to induce the Swiss to surrender voluntarily, *i.e. to enter an alliance with the December Empire.*

This task was of such an extreme delicacy that its accomplishment could only be entrusted to *James Fazy* himself. His servant *Vogt* was allowed to warn against an *alliance with the East,* but only Fazy himself could advocate an *alliance with the West.* He first hinted at the necessity of this in the *Revue de Genève.* On *April 18, 1860* an excerpt from a London letter was circulating in Geneva which said, among other things:

"Our influential fellow-citizens should be warned to be on their guard against the advice of *J. Fazy,* who may well recommend that Switzerland should *abandon its neutrality.* It is highly likely that this advice emanates from the *French Government*

[a] Marx is quoting Georg Lommel's letter of April 19, 1856.—*Ed.*

itself, whom *James Fazy* has served zealously down to this very day.... He now assumes the posture of a good Swiss who is striving to thwart the designs of the French. However, I am told by someone who has always shown himself to be well informed that this is all just a snare. As soon as Switzerland has declared that it neither can nor will continue to remain *neutral,* the French Government will take notice of this and force it into an alliance as in the days of the First Empire."

Whereupon *Fazy* caused this reply to appear in the *Revue de Genève*:

"The day that Savoy is united with France the neutrality of Switzerland will cease of itself, so that any advice to that effect from Fazy would be superfluous."

Three months later, on *July 10, James Fazy* made a speech in the Swiss National Council in which

"fuming and raging and shaking his clenched fist at the Bonapartist financiers and the barons of the Confederation—he denounced them as *le gouvernement souterrain*[a]—he marched straight into the Bonapartist camp".

The official French party of Zurich and the Vaud, seemingly the chief victim of his attack, therefore allowed him to continue blustering.

"Europe, and *Germany in particular,* has left Switzerland in the lurch. *Neutrality has thereby become impossible; Switzerland must look around for* **alliances**, but where?"

The old demagogue then muttered something to the effect that

"France, which was so near and closely related, would one day recognise and make good the wrong it had done. It might even become a republic, etc. But the financiers and barons of the Confederation who had outlived their day should not be allowed to initiate *the new policy.* Helvetia, the people must do that: Just wait and see, the next elections will teach you a lesson. The troops of the Confederation are most welcome in Geneva. However, if their presence raises the slightest doubts about the existing government of Geneva, then away with them. Geneva is able to look after itself and to defend itself."

On *July 10,* then, *James Fazy* elaborated in the National Council upon what he had hinted at in the *Revue de Genève* of *April 18—"the new policy", the alliance between Switzerland and France,* i.e. the annexation of Switzerland by the Decembrists. Well-informed Swiss thought that it was premature for Fazy to drop the anti-Bonapartist mask he had been wearing since his return from the Tuileries. However, it is precisely Fazy who displays a virtuosity in the art of calculated indiscretion that to some extent is reminiscent of that of Palmerston.

It is well known that the most disreputable members of the *"gouvernement souterrain"* moved a vote of censure on *Stämpfli* in

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[a] The underground government.—*Ed.*

the National Council, because as Federal President he had grasped the situation and at one point had made the correct decision to use Federal troops to defend the neutralised territory against French violations. The motion of censure was defeated by an enormous majority, but *Vogt*'s vote was not among them.

"Very typical," I was told in a letter from Switzerland at the time, "of *Karl Vogt* was his absence during the discussions in the Swiss Council of States on the motion of censure on *Stämpfli,* the President of the Confederation. As representative of the Canton of Geneva under threat from Bonaparte Vogt had perforce to vote for Stämpfli, the most energetic defender of this Canton. He is, moreover, both a personal friend of Stämpfli's and also greatly indebted to him. Vogt's father and two of his brothers earn their bread as employees of the Canton of Berne; a third brother was recently given a lucrative post as a senior Federal statistician, thanks to Stämpfli's mediation. Consequently it was hardly possible for Vogt to vote against his friend, benefactor and man of the people in an open ballot. On the other hand, it was even less possible for a Plon-Plonist to approve publicly a policy which was fighting Bonapartist aggression to the death. Hence his running away and sticking his head in the sand, but this left his broad backside clearly visible and exposed to a beating—the usual stratagem and the mundane destiny of the modern Falstaff."

The slogan of *"Austrianism",* which had emanated from the Tuileries, and had then been echoed so loudly by *James Fazy* in the *Revue de Genève* and by his servant *Vogt* in the Biel *Commis voyageur,* in the *Studien* and in the "Magnum Opus", etc., now finally rebounded on Switzerland. Around the middle of April a poster appeared everywhere on the walls of Milan entitled: *"Conflict between Napoleon and Switzerland."* In it we read:

"Savoy appeared to Switzerland as an appetising tit-bit and, *egged on by Austria,* Switzerland hastened to obstruct the plans of Napoleon III on a matter that is exclusively the concern of Italy and France.... England and the other great powers of the north, *except Austria,* are not in the least opposed to the incorporation of Savoy. *Switzerland alone, spurred on by Austria,* which attempts to stir up trouble and rebellion in all the states allied to Sardinia, put in its veto.... *Switzerland* is an *abnormal state* which cannot resist the *tide of the great principle of nationality* for a long time. Germans, Frenchmen and Italians are not capable of submitting to the same laws. If Switzerland knows this it should reflect that in the Canton of Ticino it is the language of Foscolo and Giusti that is spoken, it should not forget that a large part of its population belongs to the great and magnanimous nation that calls itself *French.*"

In short, it appears that Switzerland is an *Austrian* invention.

While *Vogt* was at such pains to rescue *Switzerland* from the clutches of *Austria,* he charged one of his most trusted accomplices with the task of rescuing *Germany.* This was the garrulous Swabian, *Karl Mayer of Esslingen,* Rump parliamentarian, a would-be great man and at present owner of a bijouterie factory. At the ceremony to dedicate the banner of the Neuchâtel German

Workers' Association, held at The Crown in St. Blaise, the official speaker, Rump parliamentarian and jeweller, *Karl Mayer of Esslingen,* called upon Germany

"just *to allow* the French across the Rhine because otherwise things would never improve in Germany".

Two representatives of the Workers' Association of Geneva who returned in the new year (1860) after attending the ceremony, reported the incident. When their account was confirmed by the representatives of a number of other West Swiss associations, the Genevan headquarters released a circular containing a general warning about Bonapartist intrigues among German workers in Switzerland. I quote from a report of the circular lying before me:

"According to a reminiscence of the First Empire when a few Germans also tried to uphold Napoleon's dominion of the world truly believing that the colossus would not survive the demise of its hero and that then a unified Germany would at any rate be one of the provinces into which the Frankish Empire would disintegrate, and such a Germany would find it easier to win freedom—it was dismissed as political quackery to believe that one could drain a living body of blood and trust to the fantastic miracle that fresh blood would be produced to replace it. Moreover, the attempt was denounced to deny a great people the strength to help itself and the right to determine its own destiny. Finally, it was noted that Germany's hoped-for Messiah had just demonstrated in Italy precisely what *he* understood by the liberation of subject nationalities, etc., etc. The circular was addressed, as it stated, only to those Germans who were choosing the wrong means to achieve a good end, but it refused to become involved with **venal journalists** and **ambitious ci-devants**."

Simultaneously, the *Aargauer Nachrichten, organ of the Helvetia,* castigated

"the logic that the hedgehog should be allowed to enter the mole's burrow so that one could better catch hold of it and throw it out again, according to which fine logic the Ephialtes of this world should be given a free hand so that Leonidases might arise. **A certain professor** was behaving like Duke Ulrich of Württemberg in reverse; for the Duke attempted to return home from exile by making use of the Bundschuh,[180] after the Riding Boot did not want to have anything to do with him, while **the above-mentioned professor** had ruined his relations with the Shoe and so was trying to patch things up with the Boot, etc."

This denunciation of *Professor Vogt* was significant because it appeared in an organ of the Helvetia. By way of compensation, as it were, he was given a favourable reception in *L'Espérance,* a paper founded in 1859 in Geneva by the French Treasury and which appeared in large format and with no expense spared. It was the task of *L'Espérance* to preach in favour of the annexation of Savoy and the Rhineland in particular and of Louis Bonaparte's Messianic destiny to liberate the subject nationalities in general. It is common knowledge in *Geneva* that *Vogt* was an *habitué* of the

editorial office of *L'Espérance* and one of its most active contributors. I myself have been informed of details which put this fact *beyond all doubt.* What *Vogt* hints at in his *Studien,* what he had his accomplice *Karl Mayer,* the garrulous Swabian, Rump parliamentarian and jeweller *from Esslingen,* proclaim so loudly at Neuchâtel, is developed further in *L'Espérance.* For example, it says in its issue of *March 25, 1860*:

"If war with France is the only hope of the German patriots, what reason can they have for wishing to weaken the government of that country and to prevent it from attaining its *natural frontiers*? Could it be that the German people is far from sharing this hatred of France? However that may be, *there are some very sincere German patriots, in particular* **among the most progressive German democrats**" (namely the Vogt of the Empire, the Ranickel, Karl Mayer from Esslingen and *tutti quanti*), "*who do not regard the loss of the left bank of the Rhine as a great misfortune, but who on the contrary are convinced that* **only after that loss** *political life will begin in Germany,* a revived Germany founded on the alliance and merging with the civilisation of the European West." *

Having been so precisely informed by *Vogt* of the views of the most progressive elements among the German democrats, *L'Espérance* declared in a leading article on May 30 that

"a plebiscite on the left bank of the Rhine would soon show that everyone there was in favour of the French".[c]

*Der Postheiri,* a humorous Swiss magazine, then overwhelmed *L'Espérance* with bad jokes, referring to it as the "miserable jade" which in addition to the light laurels of Bacchus Plon-Plon now had also to endure the "weighty paunch" of his Silenus on its back.

The precision with which the Decembrist press manoeuvres were orchestrated can be seen in the following example. On *May*

* "Si la seule espérance des patriotes allemands est fondée sur une guerre avec la France, quelle raison peuvent-ils avoir de chercher à affaiblir le gouvernement de ce pays et l'empêcher de former ses[a] frontières naturelles? Serait-il que le peuple en Allemagne est loin de partager cette haine de la France? Quoi qu'il en soit, il y a des patriotes allemands très sincères, et notamment parmi les démocrates les plus avancés, qui ne voient pas un grand malheur dans la perte de la rive gauche du Rhin, qui sont, au contraire, convaincus que c'est après cette perte seulement que commencera la vie politique d'une Allemagne régénérée, appuyée sur l'alliance et se confondant avec la civilisation de l'Occident européen" (*L'Espérance,* March 25, 1860).[b]

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[a] In *L'Espérance*: "et l'empêcher de reclamer les" ("and to prevent it from claiming the").—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes from the article "Allemagne. Correspondance particulière de l'Espérance". The italics and bold type are Marx's.—*Ed.*

[c] "Le Rhin", *L'Espérance,* No. 149, May 30, 1860.—*Ed.*

*30 L'Espérance* in Geneva spoke of the cession of the left bank of the Rhine to the Decembrists by plebiscite; on *May 31* Louis Jourdan in *Le Siècle* in Paris started to dig the trenches for the annexation of the Rhine,[a] and in the *beginning of June Le Propagateur du Nord et du Pas-de-Calais* opened up with crude artillery fire against Belgium. Shortly before the statements of the Genevan mouthpiece, *Edmond About* declared in *L'Opinion nationale* that Sardinia's aggrandizement had compelled the Emperor "de prendre la Savoie ... c.-à-d. *nous fermons notre porte*",[b] and, he continued, if Germany's desire for unification led to a similar enlargement of Prussia, "alors nous aurions à veiller à notre sûreté, *à prendre la rive gauche du Rhin*, c.-à-d. *nous fermerions notre porte*".[c] This frivolous door-keeper was immediately followed by A. A.,[d] that ponderous blockhead, the correspondent of *L'Indépendance belge*, a sort of Joseph Prudhomme and Sybil Extraordinary of the "providence" dwelling in the Tuileries.[e] Meanwhile the enthusiasm for *German unity* peculiar to *L'Espérance* and the same paper's indignant denunciation of German anti-Decembrists who had fallen into the clutches of *Austria*, had reached such giddy heights that *James Fazy*, who was forced to observe certain diplomatic proprieties and who was moreover on the point of converting his *Revue de Genève* into *La Nation suisse*, magnanimously condescended to declare in the *Revue* that it was possible to oppose Bonapartism without being an Austrian.

*Karl Vogt*, German Dâ-Dâ, owner of a Decembrist recruitment office for the German press, Fazy's sub-agent, "agreeable companion" in the Palais Royal, Plon-Plon's Falstaff, Ranickel's "friend", prompter to the Biel *Commis voyageur*, contributor to *L'Espérance*, protégé of Edmond About, bard of the *Lousiad*—*Karl Vogt* had still to plumb the ultimate depths of depravity. In Paris he was to appear before the eyes of the world in the *Revue contemporaine*, arm in arm with **Monsieur Edouard Simon.** Let us consider for a moment what the *Revue contemporaine* is and who *Monsieur Edouard Simon*.

The *Revue contemporaine* was originally the official Decembrist publication in sharp contrast to the *Revue des deux Mondes*, which

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[a] Louis Jourdan's article "Les frontières naturelles".—*Ed.*

[b] "To take Savoy ... in other words, *we are closing our door*".—*Ed.*

[c] "Then we should have to look to our security, *occupy the left bank of the Rhine*, in other words, *we should close our door*".—*Ed.*

[d] An allusion to the item "Autre correspondance. Paris, 27 avril" signed A. A., which appeared in *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 120, April 29, 1860.—*Ed.*

[e] i.e. of Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

received contributions from the elegant writers, the men of the *Journal des Débats*, Orleanists, Fusionists, and above all professors of the *Collège de France* and members of the *Institut.*[181] Since the latter could not be directly assigned to the *Revue contemporaine*, the attempt was made to detach them from the *Revue des deux Mondes* and so indirectly to force them to join the Decembrist *Revue.* However, the coup did not have much success. The proprietors of the *Revue contemporaine* even found it inexpedient to do business with the editorial committee foisted onto them by M. *La Guéronnière.* But since the ventriloquist of the Tuileries stood in need of mouthpieces tuned in various keys, the *Revue contemporaine* was then transformed into a *semi-official* magazine while the *Revue européenne* with the editorial committee imposed by *La Guéronnière* was installed as *official* review.

Now to **Monsieur Edouard Simon**, by nature a Rhine-Prussian Jew called *Eduard Simon*, who however cuts the most comical capers to pass himself off as an authentic Frenchman, while his style constantly betrays the fact that he is a Rhine-Prussian Jew translated into French.

Shortly after the Schiller festivities (November 1859) in the home of a London acquaintance I met a highly respectable businessman who had lived many years in Paris. He gave me a detailed account of the Parisian Schiller festivities, Schiller societies, etc. I interrupted him with a question about how German societies and meetings in Paris had managed to accommodate themselves to the Decembrist police. He replied with a humorous grin:

"Naturally, there is no meeting without a *mouchard*,[a] nor any society without its *mouchard.* To avoid all complications we decided once and for all to adopt the simple tactic—*probatum est*[b]—of attracting a *known spy* and voting him on to the committee from the start. And we always have **Edouard Simon** at our disposal, a man who might have been made for the job. You are aware that *La Guéronnière*, who was formerly Lamartine's lackey and the manufacturer of long rigmaroles for Émile de Girardin, is now the Emperor's favourite, his privy stylist and at the same time the supreme censor of the French press. Well, *Edouard Simon* is *La Guéronnière*'s lap-dog, and," he added screwing up his nose, "he is a cur with a very unpleasant smell at that. *Edouard Simon* was unwilling to work *pour le roi de Prusse*,[c] as I am sure you will find understandable, but decided that he would perform an incalculable service for civilisation and himself if he were to make common cause with the Decembrist system. He is a fellow with a small mind and a nasty character, but in the sphere of petty intrigue he is not without a certain ability. La Guéronnière installed his *Edouard Simon* in *La Patrie* to write some of the leading articles. This well illustrated the tact of the privy stylist. For the

[a] Spy.—*Ed.*
[b] It has been shown to work.—*Ed.*
[c] For the King of Prussia, i.e. for nothing.—*Ed.*

proprietor of *La Patrie,* a banker called *Delamarre,* is an arrogant, headstrong, surly parvenu who cannot endure anyone around him who is not an utterly servile and pliable creature. So *Edouard Simon* was the right man for the position, since despite his poisonous malice, he can be as smooth as an angora cat. Under the republic *La Patrie* was, as you know, one of the most brazen mouthpieces of the *rue de Poitiers.*[182] Since the December coup it has quarrelled with *Le Pays* and *Le Constitutionnel* for the honour of being recognised as the semi-official organ of the Tuileries and ever since the signal was given it has gone in for the annexation-fever in a big way. You know of those beggars who pretend to have epileptic attacks on the street so as to swindle passers-by of a few coppers. It was indeed an honour to *La Patrie* that it was allowed to be the first to announce the imminent annexation of Savoy and Nice. Scarcely had the annexation taken place when it enlarged its format, for, as M. Delamarre naively declared: 'La Savoie et le Comté de Nice ayant été annexés à la France, la conséquence naturelle est *l'agrandissement de la Patrie.*'[a] Who is not put in mind of the witticism of a Parisian cynic who when asked *'Qu'est-ce que la patrie?'* replied *'Journal du soir'.*[b] If moreover the Rhine provinces were annexed, what an increase there would be then in *La Patrie* and its format and in the *salaire* of *Edouard Simon*! As far as economic policy is concerned *La Patrie* believes that the salvation of France is to be achieved by abolishing the *tourniquet de la Bourse,*[c] as a result of which business on the Exchange and hence throughout the land would again soar to the desired level. *Edouard Simon* is equally enthusiastic about the abolition of the *tourniquet de la Bourse.* However, our *Edouard Simon* is not only a writer of leading articles for *La Patrie* and La Guéronnière's lap-dog. He is the most sincere friend and informer of the new *Jerusalem,* alias the Prefecture of Police, and of M. *Palestrina* in particular. In short, gentlemen," the narrator concluded, "a committee with M. **Edouard Simon** in its bosom is by that very fact in the very best *police odour.*"

And Herr ... gave a curiously shrill laugh as if there were a further ineffably secret connection between Monsieur *Edouard Simon* and the *odeur de mauvais lieu.*[d]

Mr. *Kinglake* has drawn the attention of the House of Commons to the pleasant confusion of foreign policy, the police and the press, so characteristic of the Decembrist agents (session of the House of Commons, July 12, 1860).[e] Of course, **Monsieur Edouard Simon**—Vogt's infamous[f] *Eduard* is not to be confused with Vogt's gentle *Kunigunde,* alias *Ludwig Simon of Trier**—**Monsieur Edouard Simon**, La Guéronnière's lap-dog, Delamarre's

* Thanks to the intervention of the gentle Kunigunde some of Vogt's attacks against me were inserted in a local sheet in my home town of Trier. They included

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[a] "Savoy and the county of Nice having been annexed by France, the natural consequence is *the enlargement of the Patrie*" (*Patrie* can mean both "motherland" and the title of the newspaper).—*Ed.*

[b] "What is the motherland?" "An evening paper."—*Ed.*

[c] Whirligig of the Stock Exchange.—*Ed.*

[d] The smell of a place of ill-repute.—*Ed.*

[e] Mr. Kinglake's speech was reported in *The Times,* No. 23671, July 13, 1860.—*Ed.*

[f] Marx puns on the word *ruchbar* (notorious, infamous) which in this context can also mean "ill-smelling".—*Ed.*

poodle, Palestrina's spy[a] and general dogsbody, clearly belongs if not to the cream at least to the Limburg cheese of the 10th December, to the Second Circle where

> "s'annida
> Ipocrisia, lusinghe, e chi affatura,
> Falsità, ladroneccio, e *simonia*,
> Ruffian, baratti, e simile lordura".[b]

Many weeks before the publication of the "Magnum Opus" *Karl Vogt* had commissioned his *Edouard Simon* to review it in the French press. *Edouard Simon* opted for *double emploi.* First, he privately translated the "Magnum Opus" for M. *La Guéronnière* and in this connection his patron then assigned him to the *Revue contemporaine.* It was in vain that the editorial board of the *Revue contemporaine* humbly pleaded that if *Edouard Simon* were to appear in their columns it should at least be anonymously. La Guéronnière was inexorable. *Edouard Simon* made his debut in the *Revue contemporaine* of February 15, 1860 with an advertisement for his friend *Vogt* under the title: "*Un tableau de mœurs politiques de l'Allemagne. Le procès de M. Vogt avec la Gazette d'Augsbourg*" (Political Portrait of Germany. Herr Vogt's Action against the Augsburg Gazette), signed—**Edouard Simon**.

The "Romanic" *Edouard Simon* does not believe that "he needs to hurl invective at the noble German race in order to prove himself a good Frenchman" (*Revue contemporaine,* loc. cit., p. 531), but as a "good Frenchman" and a "Romanic by birth" he must at least exhibit his innate ignorance of German affairs. Thus among other statements he asserts of his *Karl Vogt*: "He was one of the *three Regents*[c] of the short-lived Empire." * *Monsieur Edouard Simon*

references to my "carnal miscegenation" with the *Allgemeine.* What an association of ideas for the chaste Kunigunde! Very shocking indeed! [Marx wrote the last sentence in English. The reference is to an item published in the Trier *Volksblatt* on November 7, 1859. Marx mentions it also in a letter to Engels of November 19, 1859 (see present edition, Vol. 40).]

* "Il fut un des trois régents de l'empire éphémère" (loc. cit., p. 518).

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[a] Marx uses the word *Spitzel* which means "spy" but in this context also suggests "spitz".—*Ed.*

[b] "Hypocrites, flatterers, dealers in sorcery.
Panders and cheats, and all such filthy stuff,
With theft, and *simony* and barratry
All have their nest."
(Dante, *The Divine Comedy,* Inferno, Canto XI, adapted.)—*Ed.*

[c] Marx's italics.—*Ed.*

does not know of course that the Empire *in partibus*[a] groaned under the rule of a *pentarchy*,[b] and "as a Frenchman" he imagines that if only for the sake of symmetry there were three parliamentary Regents of the Empire in Stuttgart corresponding to the three wise kings of Cologne.[183] "Friend" *Vogt's* jokes in the "Magnum Opus" "frequently go beyond the limits of French taste".* Edouard the Frenchman will remedy this and will "strive to make a judicious selection".** "Friend" *Vogt* has a natural liking for "garish colours" and "is not exactly subtle in his use of language".*** Naturally! For "friend" Vogt is only a German who has been annexed, just as Dâ-Dâ is only an Arab who has been annexed, whereas *Edouard Simon* is a "good Frenchman" by birth and belongs to the "Romanic" race. Did Herr Orges and Herr Dietzel ever go so far in their slander of the "Romanic race"?

Monsieur Edouard Simon amuses his superiors by exhibiting one of the "three" wise German Rump-Kings to the Paris public, with the agreement, moreover, and on the instructions of that Holy German Rump-King, and parading him as a voluntary prisoner in the wake of the triumphal carriage of the Imperial Quasimodo. It is obvious, says *Edouard Simon,* after quoting from *Vogt's* "Magnum Opus",

"it is obvious that it did not matter to Herr *Vogt* from where help might come in favour of German unity, provided only that it did come; *he even regarded the French Empire as particularly well fitted to hasten the realisation of the solution he favoured. Perhaps Herr Vogt abandoned his old antecedents* **too cheaply** (?!), and his former colleagues who had sat with him on the extreme Left of the Frankfurt Parliament must have been astonished to see this intransigent opponent of every unified power, this passionate zealot of anarchy, **display such lively sympathies for the sovereign who has subdued anarchy in France**".****

* "Il dépasserait le but au goût des Français" (loc. cit., p. 519).

** "Nous nous efforcerons de choisir" (loc. cit.).

*** "M. Vogt aime beaucoup les couleurs tranchantes, et il n'est pas précisément un gourmet en matière de langage" (loc. cit., p. 530).

**** "On le voit, M. Vogt se souciait peu d'où vînt le secours en faveur de l'unité allemande, pourvu qu'il vînt; l'empire français lui semblait même singulièrement propre à hâter le dénouement qu'il désire. Peut-être en cela M. Vogt faisait-il bon marché de ses antécédents, et il dut paraître étrange, à ses anciens collègues qui siégeaient avec lui à l'extrême gauche dans le Parlement de Francfort, de voir ce fougueux antagoniste de tout pouvoir unique, ce fervent zélateur de l'anarchie manifester de si vives sympathies envers le souverain qui l'a vaincue en France" (loc. cit., p. 518).

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[a] The words *in partibus infidelium* (in lands inhabited by infidels) were added to the title of Catholic bishops appointed to purely nominal dioceses in non-Catholic countries. Here *in partibus* means non-existent.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx means the five Imperial Regents (Franz Raveaux, Karl Vogt, Heinrich Simon, Friedrich Schüler and August Becher).—*Ed.*

Edouard transfers the "fugitive Regent of the Empire" from the un-"committed" Left to the extreme Left of the Frankfurt Parliament. The man who voted in favour of "the hereditary German Emperor"[184] is transformed into an "intransigent opponent of every unified power", and the member of the Central March Association who preached "order" at any price to the motley parties inhabiting the taverns of Frankfurt becomes a "passionate zealot of anarchy". And all this to put the achievement of the 10th December in capturing the "fugitive Regent of the Empire" into its proper perspective. All the more precious are the "*lively sympathies*" which Herr *Vogt* "cherishes for the man who had subdued anarchy in France", all the more valuable his present recognition "*that the French Empire is particularly well fitted to bring about the unity of Germany*", and all the more comprehensible is "friend" *Simon*'s broad hint that "friend" *Vogt* "perhaps abandoned his antecedents *too cheaply* (*de bon marché*)", i.e. the December man at any rate did not have to pay "*too dearly*". And in order to remove every doubt that might have remained in higher places that "friend" *Vogt* might not be as utterly reliable as "friend" *Simon*, Monsieur Edouard Simon explains with a grin and a wink, rubbing his hands the while, that *Vogt* in his passion for order, "*if he has understood him rightly, has even notified the Genevan authorities of revolutionary intrigues*"* *that have come to his attention*, just as Monsieur Edouard Simon "notified" Messrs. Palestrina and La Guéronnière.

It is common knowledge that About and Jourdan and Granier de Cassagnac and Boniface and Dr. Hoffmann, that the monks of *L'Espérance*, the knights of *Les Nationalités*, the bellows of *L'Opinion nationale*, the penny-a-liners[a] of *L'Indépendance*, *The Morning Chronicle*, the *Nouvelliste Vaudois*, etc., that the La Guéronnières and the Simons, the stylists, civilisationists, Decembrists, Plon-Plonists, Dentuists and dentists one and all take their inspiration from one and the same illustrious—**money-box.** So we see that Dâ-Dâ *Vogt* is no solitary partisan fighting a lonely battle, but is subsidised, indoctrinated, enlisted, enrolled along with the *canaille*, bound up with Edouard Simon, annexed by Plon-Plon, and sticking to them through thick and thin. The remaining question is whether *Karl Vogt* has been *paid* for his agency?

* "Si nous l'avons bien compris, il a *même* appelé l'attention des *autorités* de Genève sur ces menées" (loc. cit., p. 529).

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[a] Marx uses the English expression.—*Ed.*

"If I am not mistaken, to bribe means to offer someone money or other advantages to perform actions or make utterances contrary to his own *convictions*" ("Magnum Opus", p. 217).

And Plon-Plonism is the sum of *Vogt*'s convictions. So that even if he was *paid* in cash, he was by no means *bribed.* But the modes of payment are at least as various as the different forms of coinage.

Who knows whether Plon-Plon did not promise his Falstaff the post of governor of the Mouse Tower near the Binger Loch?[185] Or nomination as corresponding member of the *Institut,* now that About in his *La Prusse en 1860* has made French naturalists quarrel over the honour of corresponding *simultaneously* with the living *Vogt* and the dead *Dieffenbach*? Or perhaps he held out prospects of a restoration of his Regency of the Empire?

I know of course that current reports provide a more prosaic explanation. Thus it is said that "with the change of circumstances since 1859" there has been a change in the circumstances of our "agreeable companion"[a] (who had shortly before been one of the managers of a joint-stock company which had run aground and became the subject of a criminal investigation[186]). His anxious friends tried to explain away these developments by claiming that an Italian mining company had presented Vogt with a large number of shares in recognition of his contributions to "mineralogy", a gift which he had turned into cash during his first stay in Paris. People conversant with the situation but who do not know each other, have written to me almost simultaneously from Switzerland and France informing me that the "agreeable companion" had assumed the fairly profitable superintendence of an estate called "La Bergerie" near Nyon (in the Vaud). The estate is the widow's seat which Plon-Plon purchased for the Iphigenia of Turin.[b] I have even seen a letter written by a "New Swiss" who was still on terms of intimacy with *Vogt* long after "the change in circumstances of 1859" to a "Mr. P. B. B. of 78 Fenchurch Street, London" early in 1860 in which he *mentions a very considerable sum of money* which his ex-friend had received from the treasury in Paris, not as a *bribe,* but as *payment in advance.*

Such items of news and worse have made their way to London,

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[a] Carl Vogt, "Zur Warnung", *Schweizer Handels-Courier,* No. 150 (special supplement), June 2, 1859.— *Ed.*

[b] Princess Clothilde of Savoy, daughter of the Sardinian King Victor Emmanuel.— *Ed.*

but for my part I would not give a brass farthing for them. I rather believe *Vogt* implicitly, when he says that

"it is no one's business where I" (*Vogt*) "get my money from. *I shall continue to try to obtain whatever resources are needed to achieve my political ends,* and conscious *that I am working for a good cause I shall continue to obtain them* **from wherever I can**" ("Magnum Opus", p. 226) —

hence also from the Paris treasury.

*Political ends!*

"Nugaris, cum tibi, Calve,
Pinguis aqualiculus propenso sesquipede extet."[a]

*Good cause!* This is apparently the German idealistic expression for what the Englishman with his coarse materialism calls "the good things of this world".[b]

Whatever *Dr. Schaible* may think of it, why should we not believe *Vogt* implicitly, since in the same "Magnum Opus" he declares with equal seriousness at the end of his *tall stories* about the Brimstone Gang, etc.:

"That concludes this phase of **contemporary history**. *What I have described are no mere day-dreams*; **they are pure facts**!" ("Magnum Opus", p. 182.)

Why shouldn't his *agency* be just *as pure* as the **facts** recounted in the "Magnum Opus"?

For my part, I am firmly convinced that, in contrast to all the other writing, agitating, politicising, conspiring, propagandising, boasting, Plon-Plonising, plotting and self-compromising members of the *December Gang,* it is solely and exclusively the unique Vogt who regards his Emperor as "*l'homme qu'on aime pour lui-même*".[c]

"*Swerz niht geloubt, der sündet*", as Wolfram von Eschenbach says,[d] or "He errs who does not believe it", as a contemporary song says.

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[a] "You're drivelling, Calvus, with your
Fat little paunch protruding in front of you eighteen inches."
(Persius, *Satires,* Book I, First Satire.)—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English phrase.—*Ed.*

[c] "A man whom one loves for his own sake."—*Ed.*

[d] "He sins who does not believe it" (Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival,* IX. Buch).—*Ed.*

# X

## PATRONS AND ACCOMPLICES

Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est.[a]

As guarantors of his "good behaviour"[b] the ex-Vogt of the Empire proposes

"Kossuth" and "the two other men—*Fazy*, the regenerator of Geneva, and *Klapka*, the defender of Komorn"[187]—whom he "proudly calls his friends" ("Magnum Opus", p. 213).

I call them his *patrons*.

After the battle of Komorn (July 2, 1849) *Görgey* usurped the supreme command of the Hungarian army in defiance of the orders of the Hungarian Government, which had dismissed him.

"If an energetic man had stood at the head of the government," writes Colonel *Lapinski*, who was still a supporter of *Kossuth* when he wrote his book, "a stop could have been put to all of Görgey's intrigues even at that time. *Kossuth* needed only to come into the camp and say a few words to the army and all of Görgey's popularity would not have saved him from defeat.... But *Kossuth* did not come; he was not forceful enough to oppose Görgey in public and so *while he intrigued against the general in secret, he attempted to justify the latter's misdemeanours in the eyes of the world.*" (Th. Lapinski, *Feldzug der Ungarischen Hauptarmee, etc.*, pp. 125, 126).

On his own admission, Kossuth was officially informed of Görgey's intended betrayal some time later by General *Guyon* (see David Urquhart, *Visit to the Hungarian Exiles at Kutayah*[c]).

"It is true that Kossuth did say in the course of a fine speech in Szeged that if he knew that anyone was a traitor he would murder him with his own hands. He may have had Görgey in mind as he spoke. However, not only did he not carry out this somewhat theatrical threat, he did not even tell all his Ministers just whom he

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[a] To have pleased great men is not the greatest glory (Horace, *Epistles*, 1, 17).—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English phrase.—*Ed.*

[c] Kütahya.—*Ed.*

had under suspicion; while he *was busy forging miserable plans against Görgey* with some of them, [...] *he always spoke of him with the greatest respect and even wrote letters to him couched in the most amicable terms.* Others may understand him but I cannot understand how it was possible for him to realise that the salvation of the nation wholly depended on the fall of a dangerous man and yet to make no more than a tentative gesture to bring him down, while at the same time supporting him, winning new adherents and admirers to his cause by expressing his confidence in him, and thus placing all the power into his hands. While Kossuth vacillated *in this pusillanimous way,* working now for Görgey and now against him ... *Görgey,* who was more consistent and resolute than Kossuth, put his evil plan into practice" (Th. Lapinski, loc. cit., pp. 163, 164).

On August 11, 1849, on Görgey's *orders,* Kossuth issued a manifesto, ostensibly from the fortress of Arad, announcing his abdication and conferring on Görgey "supreme government authority in both military and civilian affairs". He went on to say:

"After the unfortunate outcome of the battles which *God* has *visited* upon the nation in recent days, *there is no longer any hope that we can continue our defensive struggle against the combined forces of the two great powers* [...] *with any prospect of success.*" [a]

Having thus stated at the beginning of the manifesto that Hungary's cause was *irrevocably* lost, and moreover as a result of *Divine visitation, Kossuth* goes on to make Görgey "responsible *before God* for deploying the power" placed by Kossuth at his disposal "*for the salvation*" of Hungary. He trusted Görgey enough to deliver Hungary up to him, but too little to deliver up his own person to him. His personal distrust of Görgey was so intense that he contrived it so that the arrival of his deed of abdication in Görgey's hands coincided with his own arrival on Turkish soil. This is why he concludes his manifesto with the words:

"If my death can be of any use to my country, I shall sacrifice my own life with joy."

What he had sacrificed on the altar of his country, handing it over to Görgey, was the *government,* the *title* to which however he at once usurped again under Turkish protection.

In Kütahya His Excellency, the Governor *in partibus,* received a copy of the first Blue Book on the Hungarian catastrophe laid before Parliament by Palmerston.[b] As he wrote to David Urquhart, the study of these diplomatic documents convinced him that "*Russia had a spy, nay an agent even, in every Cabinet*" and that *in the*

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[a] Lajos Kossuth, "An die Nation! Festung Arad am 11. August 1849". Quoted in Theophil Lapinski's *Feldzug der Ungarischen Hauptarmee...,* Hamburg, 1850, S. 175.—*Ed.*

[b] *Correspondence relative to the Affairs of Hungary, 1847-1849. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.* August 15, 1850, London.—*Ed.*

*Russian interest Palmerston had betrayed* dear Hungary.[a] * And the first words that fell from his lips when he stepped onto English soil in Southampton were: "Palmerston, the dear friend of my bosom!"[b]

After he was freed from internment in Turkey Kossuth sailed to England. Off the coast of Marseilles, where he was forbidden to land, he issued a manifesto whose tenor and phraseology were those of French social democracy.[c] Having set foot on English soil he at once *repudiated*

"that *novel doctrine,* social democracy, which rightly or wrongly is held to be incompatible with social order and the security of property. Hungary neither has nor wishes to have anything to do with these doctrines, if only for the extremely simple reason that in Hungary there is no opportunity nor even the slightest inducement for them to be introduced."[d] (Cf. the letter from Marseilles.)

During the first two weeks of his stay in England he changed his confession of faith as frequently as his audience—he was all things to all men. Count *Kasimir Batthyány* gave this explanation of his public breach with Kossuth which took place at this time:

"It is not just the *bévues*[e] that Kossuth has committed in the first two weeks since his release that have induced me to take this step, but all my experience of him, everything I have seen, suffered, allowed, endured, and, as you will recall, disguised and concealed, at first in Hungary and then in exile,—in short it is a matter of the opinion I have formed about the man.... Permit me to remark that whatever Mr. Kossuth has said or may say in Southampton, Wisbech or London, in England, in short, cannot undo what he said in Marseilles. In the land of the 'young giant'" (America) "he will again sing a different tune, for just as he is unscrupulous[f] in other matters and bends like a reed beneath any gust of wind, so too does he gainsay his own words *sans gêne,*[g] and does not hesitate to hide behind

* Kossuth did not understand then how Palmerston's feigned hostility to Russia "could" deceive anyone of ordinary intelligence. "*How could a man of any intellect* for a single moment believe that the Minister who allowed Russia's intervention in Hungary, would give the word of attack against her?" (Letter dated Kutayah, December 17, 1850. *Correspondence of Kossuth.*)

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[a] Marx uses the English phrase "dear Hungary".—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes this sentence in English and gives its German equivalent in brackets.—*Ed.*

[c] Lajos Kossuth, "An die Marseiller Democratie" [Bord des Mississippi, 29. September 1851], quoted in Gustav von Alvensleben's *L. Kossuth nach der Capitulation von Vilagos,* Weimar, 1852, S. 65-66.—*Ed.*

[d] From Kossuth's speech at a workers' meeting at Copenhagen House. Quoted in *Authentic Life of His Excellency Louis Kossuth...,* London, 1851, p. 76.—*Ed.*

[e] Blunders.—*Ed.*

[f] Marx gives the English words "unscrupulous" and, further on in the text, "a most undeserving heart" in brackets after their German equivalents.—*Ed.*

[g] Without the slightest embarrassment.—*Ed.*

the great names of men now dead whom he has ruined, such as my poor cousin, Louis Batthyány.... I do not hesitate to declare that before Kossuth leaves England you will have good reason to regret the honours you have squandered on a most undeserving heart" (*Correspondence of Kossuth*, letter of Count Batthyány to Mr. Urquhart, Paris, October 29, 1851).

Kossuth's performance in the United States, where he spoke *against* slavery in the North and *for* slavery in the South, left behind nothing but a great sense of disappointment and 300 dead speeches. Bringing the curtain down hastily on this peculiar episode, I would only remark that he strongly recommended the *Germans* in the *United States*, and in particular the *German emigration*, to conclude an alliance between Germany, Hungary and Italy, to the *exclusion of France* (and not just the coup d'état government, but France itself, and even the French emigration together with the parties in France represented by it). No sooner had he returned to London than he attempted *to establish relations with Louis Bonaparte* through the agency of Count Szirmay, a dubious character, and through Colonel Kiss in Paris (see my letter in the *New-York Tribune* of *September 28, 1852* and my public declaration in the same paper on November 16, 1852[a]).

During the Mazzini rising in Milan in 1853[188] a proclamation appeared on the walls of the town addressed to the Hungarian troops stationed there and calling on them to join the Italian insurgents.[b] It bore the signature: *Louis Kossuth*. Scarcely had the news of the defeat of the insurgents reached London when Kossuth hastened to publish a statement in *The Times*[c] and other English papers, declaring the proclamation to be a *forgery* and thereby publicly contradicting his friend Mazzini. The proclamation was nevertheless *authentic*. Mazzini had obtained it from Kossuth, he owned the original manuscript in Kossuth's handwriting and he had acted in concert with Kossuth. Convinced that Austrian despotism in Italy could only be overthrown by the united action of Italy and Hungary, Mazzini then first tried to replace Kossuth with a more reliable Hungarian leader, but after this attempt had failed because of the divisions within the Hungarian emigration, he forgave his unreliable ally and mag-

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[a] Karl Marx, "Movements of Mazzini and Kossuth.—League with Louis Napoleon.—Palmerston" and "Kossuth, Mazzini, and Louis Napoleon. To the Editor of *The N. Y. Tribune*, London, November 16, 1852" (see present edition, Vol. 11).—*Ed.*

[b] L. Kossuth, "In the Name of the Hungarian Nation. To the Soldiers Quartered in Italy, February 1853", *The Times*, No. 21348, February 10, 1853.—*Ed.*

[c] "Italy. The 'Voce della Verita!'", *The Times*, No. 21366, March 3, 1853.—*Ed.*

nanimously abstained from an exposure which was bound to destroy Kossuth's reputation in England.

The same year, 1853, it will be remembered, saw the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war. On December 17, 1850 Kossuth had written to David Urquhart from Kütahya:

"Take away the Turkish supremacy from Turkey and it will cease to be. And after all, as matters stand, *Turkey is indispensably necessary to the freedom of the world.*" [a]

His enthusiasm for the Turks was even greater in a letter he wrote to the Grand Vizier *Reshid Pasha* on February 15, 1851. In extravagant phrases he offered his services to the Turkish Government. On January 22, 1852, during his tour of the *United States*, he wrote to *David Urquhart*:

"Would you feel inclined, knowing how much the interests of Hungary and Turkey were identical, to plead my cause at Constantinople? The Porte did not know who I am when I was there. My reception in England and America, and the position in which the chances of fortune, and I may say Providence, have placed me, could show the Porte that I am a true friend, and perhaps a not uninfluential one, of Turkey and her future."

On November 5, 1853 he wrote to Mr. *Crawshay* (an Urquhartist), offering to go to Constantinople as an ally of Turkey, but "not with empty hands",[b] and therefore asked Mr. Crawshay to raise funds

"by private applications addressed confidentially to such liberal men as might well afford the assistance he required".

In this letter he says: "I hate and despise the artifice of making revolutions." At the same time as he was penning letters to the Urquhartists that overflowed with hatred of revolutions and love for the Turks, he issued manifestos together with Mazzini which proclaimed the expulsion of the Turks from Europe and the transformation of Turkey into an "oriental Switzerland", and also signed the exhortations to revolution in general put out by the so-called Central Committee of European Democracy.[189]

Since as early as the end of 1853 Kossuth had aimlessly squandered the money he had collected in America in 1852 by his speechifying in the name of Hungary, and since moreover his plea to Mr. Crawshay fell on deaf ears, the Governor abandoned his intended chivalrous journey to Constantinople, but instead he sent

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[a] Here and below Marx quotes from the article "Data by Which to Judge of Kossuth", *The Free Press*, No. 5, May 27, 1859. The italics are in the article.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx gives the English words "not with empty hands" and, below, "I hate and despise the artifice of making revolutions" in brackets after their German equivalents.— *Ed.*

his agent, Colonel *Johann Bangya*, supplying him with the best possible recommendations.*

* I myself had made the acquaintance of *Bangya* in London in 1850, together with his friend at the time, the present *General Türr*. His underhand dealings with parties of every complexion, Orleanists, Bonapartists, etc., and his association with policemen of every "nationality" made me suspect him, but he dispelled my suspicions quite simply by showing me a document in *Kossuth's* own hand in which he (who had formerly been provisional chief commissioner of the police in Komorn[a] under Klapka) was appointed chief commissioner of the police *in partibus*. As a secret chief of police in the service of the revolution he naturally had to keep in "touch" with police in the service of the governments. In the course of the summer of 1852 I discovered that he had appropriated a manuscript[b] I had asked him to convey to a bookseller in Berlin and steered it into the hands of a German government. After I had written to a Hungarian in Paris[c] describing this incident and a number of other striking peculiarities of the man's, and after the Bangya mystery had been completely cleared up thanks to the intervention of a third person well informed in the matter,[d] I sent an open denunciation, signed by myself, to the *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung* early in 1853.[e] In a letter, still in my possession, in which he attempted to justify his actions, Bangya emphasised that I had less reason than anyone to regard him as a spy, since he had always (and this was perfectly true) avoided discussing with me the affairs of my own party. Although Kossuth and his supporters did not drop Bangya at the time, my revelations in the *Criminal-Zeitung* made it nevertheless difficult for him to continue operating in London and so he was all the more ready to grasp the opportunity provided by the troubles in the Orient of employing his talents in another setting. Soon after the conclusion of the Peace of Paris in 1856 I saw from the English newspapers that a certain *Mehemed Bey*, a colonel in the Turkish service, formerly a Christian known under the name of Johann Bangya, had sailed from Constantinople to Circassia, in the company of some Polish refugees, and that once there he figured as Sepher Pasha's Chief of the General Staff, and as what might be termed the "Simon Bolivar" of the Circassians. In the columns of the London *Free Press*, of which many copies are sent to Constantinople, I drew attention to the liberator's past.[f] On January 20, 1858 Bangya was, as is mentioned in the text, sentenced to death in Aderbi by a military tribunal of the Polish Legion under the command of Colonel Th. Lapinski for plotting treason against Circassia. As Bangya was a Turkish colonel, Sepher Pasha decided that execution of the sentence was incompatible with the respect due to the Sublime Porte and therefore shipped the condemned man to Trebizond from where he soon returned to Constantinople, a free man. In the meantime the Hungarian emigration in Constantinople had enthusiastically taken up his cause against the Poles. Shielded from the Divan (which, since he was a "colonel", had moreover to feed both him and his harem) by the protection of the Russian Embassy, and from the Poles by

[a] Komárom.—*Ed.*

[b] The pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile* by Marx and Engels (see present edition, Vol. 11).—*Ed.*

[c] Gustav Zerfy (see Marx's letter to him of December 28, 1852, present edition, Vol. 39).—*Ed.*

[d] Bartholomäus Szemere.—*Ed.*

[e] See Karl Marx, "Hirsch's Confession" (present edition, Vol. 12).—*Ed.*

[f] Karl Marx, "A Traitor in Circassia", *The Free Press*, No. 34, April 1, 1857.—*Ed.*

A military tribunal held in Aderbi in Circassia on *January 20, 1858* unanimously passed a sentence of death on "*Mehemed Bey,* formerly *Johann Bangya d'Illosfalva,* who on his own admission and on the evidence of witnesses had been found guilty of high treason and conducting a secret correspondence with the enemy" (the Russian general Philipson).[d] However, this did not prevent him from living peacefully in Constantinople to this very day. In a handwritten confession submitted to the tribunal, *Bangya* said *inter alia*.

"My political action was entirely dictated by the chief of my country, *Louis Kossuth*.... Provided with letters of introduction from my political chief, I came to Constantinople on the 22nd December, 1853."[e]

He goes on to describe how he became a Moslem and entered the Turkish service with the rank of colonel.

"My instructions" (from Kossuth) "insisted that I should get attached in some way or other to troops which were to take part in operations on the Circassian coast."

His task there was to prevent the Circassians from taking any part in the war against Russia. He carried out his mission successfully and towards the close of the war he sent "Kossuth a detailed account of the situation in Circassia" from Constantinople. Before his second expedition to Circassia, which he undertook together with the Poles, he received an order from Kossuth to collaborate with certain Hungarians, among whom was General Stein (Ferhad Pasha).

the prejudices of his fellow-countrymen, Bangya coolly proceeded to publish a self-apologia in the *Journal de Constantinople.* However, a Circassian deputation arrived presently and this put an end to his games. The Hungarian emigration officially dropped their favourite, though *de très mauvaise grâce.*[a] All the papers relating to the military tribunal in Aderbi, including Bangya's own confession of guilt, and all the documents produced later in Constantinople were sent on to London by the Polish emigration, and once there they were published in extracts in *The Free Press* (May 1858).[b] The documents were also published more extensively by me in the *New-York* [*Daily*] *Tribune* on June 16, 1858.[c]

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[a] With great reluctance.— *Ed.*

[b] "Extract from the Minutes of the Council of War, held at Aderbi...", *The Free Press,* No. 16, May 12, 1858.— *Ed.*

[c] See "A Curious Piece of History", *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5352.— *Ed.*

[d] "Sentence. January 20, 1858", *The Free Press,* No. 16, May 12, 1858.— *Ed.*

[e] Here and below Marx quotes from "Confession of Bangya before the Council of War", ibid.— *Ed.*

*"Captain Franchini,"* he says, *"military secretary to the Russian Ambassador,*[a] was present at several of our conferences. The object was to win over Circassia to Russian interests in a peaceable, slow, but sure manner. [...] Before the expedition set out from Constantinople" (mid-February 1857), "I received letters and instructions from Kossuth approving my plan of operations."

Bangya's treachery came to light in Circassia when a letter to Philipson, the Russian general, was intercepted.

*"In conformity with my instructions,"* Bangya says, "I was to get in touch with the Russian general. For a long time I could not make up my mind to do this, but at last I received *orders so precise* that it was impossible for me to hesitate any longer."

The proceedings of the military tribunal in Aderbi and especially *Bangya's confession* made a great sensation in Constantinople, London and New York. Kossuth was repeatedly and urgently pressed, even from the Hungarian side, to make a public statement, but to no avail. To this day he has maintained timorous silence on Bangya's mission in Circassia.

In the autumn of 1858 Kossuth was busy hawking around England and Scotland moderately priced lectures in which he denounced the Austrian concordat[190] and Louis Bonaparte. The passionate fanaticism with which he warned the English to beware of the treacherous designs of Louis Bonaparte, whom he described as the secret ally of Russia, can be seen, e.g., from *The Glasgow Sentinel* of November 20, 1858.[b] When Louis Bonaparte revealed his Italian plans early in 1859, Kossuth denounced him in *Mazzini's Pensiero ed Azione* and warned "all true republicans", Italians, Hungarians and even Germans, to beware of allowing themselves to be used as a cat's-paw by the Imperial Quasimodo. In February 1859 Kossuth ascertained that Colonel Kiss, Count Teleki and General Klapka, all of whom had long since belonged to the red camarilla of the Palais Royal, were hatching a conspiracy with Plon-Plon to provoke an uprising in Hungary. Kossuth now threatened a public polemic in the English press unless he too were admitted to the "secret league". Plon-Plon was more than willing to open the doors of the conclave to him. Travelling under the name of Mr. Brown and furnished with an English passport, Kossuth went to Paris in the beginning of May. He hastened to the Palais Royal and expounded his plans for a Hungarian uprising to Plon-Plon at great length.[191] On the evening of May 3 the Prince Rouge accompanied the ex-Governor to the Tuileries in his own carriage, to present him there to the saviour of society. Throughout the meeting with Louis

[a] Apollinary Petrovich Butenev.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to the article "Louis Kossuth and Panslavism".—*Ed.*

Bonaparte, words failed the normally so eloquent speaker, so that Plon-Plon had to act as spokesman and present Kossuth's programme to his cousin. Kossuth later praised the almost literal accuracy of Plon-Plon's rendering. Having listened attentively to his cousin's exposition, Louis Bonaparte declared that there was only one obstacle preventing him from adopting Kossuth's proposals, and this was Kossuth's republican convictions and republican connections. Thereupon the ex-Governor solemnly abjured his republican faith, protesting that he neither was a republican now, nor had he ever been one, but that political necessity alone and a strange concatenation of circumstances had forced him into an alliance with the republican party of the European emigration. As proof of his anti-republicanism he offered Plon-Plon the Hungarian crown in the name of his country. At that time, this crown had not yet been abolished. Moreover, Kossuth was not officially authorised to auction it, but everyone who has followed his appearances abroad with any attention will have observed that he had long been accustomed to speak of his "dear Hungary"[a] much as a backwoods squire will speak of his estate.*

I take his repudiation of republicanism to be sincere. A civil list of 300,000 florins, claimed in Pest to maintain the dignity of the executive; the transfer of the patronage of the hospitals from an Austrian Archduchess[b] to his sister[c]; the attempt to christen a number of regiments with the name of Kossuth; his efforts to form a camarilla; the stubbornness with which he clung to the title of governor when abroad, a title which he had renounced in the moment of danger; his entire subsequent behaviour, much more that of a pretender than a refugee—all that points to tendencies alien to republicanism.

After his formal cleaning of the suspicion of republicanism, an agreement was reached placing 3 million francs at Mr. Kossuth's disposal. There was nothing objectionable about this clause in itself since money was needed to finance the military organisation of the Hungarian refugees, and why should the Governor be denied the same right to receive subsidies from his new ally as had

* That such matters come to light appears less strange if it is borne in mind that at least two loquacious parties were involved here. Incidentally, English papers reported these facts during Kossuth's stay in London (in the late summer of 1859).

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[a] Marx uses the English expression.—*Ed.*
[b] Maria Theresa.—*Ed.*
[c] Zsuzsánna Meszlenyi.—*Ed.*

been enjoyed by all the despotic powers of Europe who had been subsidised by England throughout the anti-Jacobin war? Kossuth was given 50,000 francs[a] on the spot as an advance on his personal expenses and he secured certain other pecuniary advantages, a sort of insurance premium, in the event of the premature end to the war. Financial flair and melodramatic emotions are by no means mutually exclusive. After all, as his ex-Finance Minister, Dušek, must be aware, even during the Hungarian revolution Kossuth had taken the precaution of receiving his salary not in Kossuth-notes but in silver or in Austrian banknotes.

Before Kossuth left the Tuileries it was agreed that he should undertake to neutralise the alleged "Austrian tendencies" of the Derby Ministry by launching a neutrality campaign in England. It is known how the voluntary support of the Whigs and the Manchester School enabled him to carry out this initial part of the agreement with the greatest success. A lecturing tour from the Mansion House in London to the Free Trade Hall in Manchester formed an antithesis to the Anglo-Scottish tour of autumn 1858 when he hawked his hatred of Bonaparte and Cherbourg, "the standing menace to England",[b] at a shilling per head.

The larger part of the Hungarian emigration in Europe had withdrawn its support for Kossuth since the end of 1852. The prospect of an invasion of the Adriatic coast with French assistance brought the majority back to his flag. His negotiations with the military sector of his new-found supporters were not without a certain Decembrist flavour. In order to be in a position to assign a larger amount of French money to them he advanced them to higher military rank, lieutenants, for instance, were promoted to major. To begin with each man received travelling expenses to Turin, then a lavish sum for a uniform (the cost of a major's outfit amounted to £150), and finally six months' advance of salary with the promise of one year's retirement pay after the conclusion of peace. The salaries themselves were not unduly high: 10,000 francs[c] for the supreme general (Klapka), 6,000 francs for the generals, 5,000 for the brigadiers, 4,000 for the lieutenant-colonels, 3,000 for the majors, and so on. The Hungarian forces assembled in Turin consisted almost entirely of officers without

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[a] *The Free Press* of September 28, 1859 ("Particulars of Kossuth's Transaction with Louis Napoleon"), and the *New-York Daily Tribune* of September 24, 1859 ("Kossuth and Louis Napoleon") have: "75,000 francs".—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English phrases "lecturing tour" and "the standing menace to England".—*Ed.*

[c] *The Free Press* of September 28, 1859 has: "12,000 francs".—*Ed.*

the rank and file, and I have heard many bitter words about this from the "lesser" Hungarian emigration.

*General Moritz Perczel,* as has already been mentioned, resigned publicly as soon as he had seen through the diplomatic game. Despite Louis Bonaparte's order to the contrary, *Klapka* insisted on a landing near Fiume, but *Kossuth* made sure that the Hungarian refugee corps stayed within the theatrical limits laid down by the director of the troupe.

The rumours of the peace signed at Villafranca had hardly arrived in Turin when Kossuth, terrified of being handed over to the Austrians, took to his heels and escaped to Geneva, secretly, behind the back of the military forces at his disposal. At the time neither the name of Francis Joseph, nor that of Louis Bonaparte, stood in such bad odour in the Hungarian camp in Turin as that of Louis Kossuth, but for the fact that the comic side of his latest escapade somewhat overshadowed all criticism. On his return Kossuth published in London a letter to his tame elephant, a certain McAdam in Glasgow,[a] declaring himself to be disillusioned, but not cheated and closing with the emotional statement that he had nowhere to lay his head and that therefore all letters for him should be sent to his friend F. Pulszky who had offered shelter to the refugee. The more than Anglo-Saxon gruffness with which the London press intimated to Kossuth that he should use the Bonapartist subsidies to rent himself a house in London convinced him that for the time being his role in London was at an end.

Apart from his talent as an orator Kossuth also possesses the great gift of silence as soon as the audience shows definite signs of displeasure or he finds himself at a loss for words by which to justify himself. Like the sun he knows all about eclipses. That he was capable of consistency at least once in his life was demonstrated by his recent letter to Garibaldi in which he warned him not to make an attack on Rome lest he offend the Emperor of the French, "the only support of the oppressed nationalities".[b]

Just as, in the first half of the eighteenth century, Alberoni was known as the colossal cardinal, so we may think of Kossuth as a colossal *Langenschwarz.* He is essentially an improviser who is

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[a] Passages from the letter were quoted in a leading article in *The Times,* No. 23428, October 4, 1859. A statement by McAdam to the effect that Kossuth's letter was a private one was published in *The Times,* No. 23431, October 7. Marx mentioned the fact in a letter to Bartholomäus Szemere on October 8 (see present edition, Vol. 40).—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. Kossuth's letter to Garibaldi, Turin, September 14, in L. Kossuth, *Meine Schriften aus der Emigration,* Bd. III, S. 24.—*Ed.*

moulded by the impressions he receives from the audience facing him at a given moment, not an author who stamps his original ideas on the world. Like Blondin on his rope, Kossuth dances on his tongue. Cut off from the mood of his people he was bound to lapse into mere virtuosity and the vices of the virtuoso. The insubstantiality of thought characteristic of the improviser is inevitably reflected in the ambivalence of his actions. If Kossuth was once the Aeolian harp through which the hurricane of the people reverberated, he is now merely the Dionysian ear which echoes in a murmur the whisperings in the mysterious apartments of the Palais Royal and the Tuileries.

It would be quite unjust to place *General Klapka,* Vogt's second patron, on the same level as Kossuth. Klapka was one of the best Hungarian revolutionary generals. Like the majority of officers who gathered in Turin in 1859 he regards Louis Bonaparte much as Franz Rákóczy regarded Louis XIV. In their eyes Louis Bonaparte represents France's military power, a power which might serve Hungary but which, if only on geographical grounds, could never endanger it.* But why does Vogt appeal to the authority of Klapka? Klapka has never made a secret of the fact that he belongs to Plon-Plon's red camarilla. So that "friend" Klapka can vouch for "friend" Vogt? Klapka has shown no great talent in the selection of his friends. One of his closest friends in Komorn was Colonel *Assermann.* Let us hear about this Colonel Assermann from Colonel *Lapinski,* who served under Klapka up to the surrender of Komorn and who subsequently distinguished himself in Circassia fighting against the Russians.

* Although I can understand how Klapka can entertain such views, it is astonishing to find similar ones in the above-quoted work of Szemere's[a] and I have frankly told him what I think of it in this respect.[b] I find it even harder to understand his latest statement about the Austrian concession.[192] I am aware that Szemere does not allow private considerations to influence his decisions on public affairs and that he had very important reasons for declaring that with the concessions granted by Vienna, the Hungarians could take all they wanted in Pest; that any Hungarian insurrection from abroad, especially with the aid of the French, would necessarily provoke Russian intervention in Hungary, whether for or against Austria; and finally, that the autonomy granted to Transylvania, Slavonia and Croatia, as well as to the Voivodina, would at this particular moment ensure that the Vienna Cabinet had the loyalty of these "nationalities" against the Magyars just as it did in 1848-49. All that is true enough, but could have been said without appearing to recognise the Hungarian Constitution "in usum delphini"[193] in the mutilated Viennese edition.

[a] This refers to Bartholomäus Szemere's pamphlet *Hungary, from 1848 to 1860,* London, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx to Szemere, June 2, 1860 (see present edition, Vol. 41).—*Ed.*

"The betrayal at Világos,"[194] Lapinski says, "threw the numerous and idle staff officers in Komorn into a state of great terror.... The scented gentlemen with golden collars, many of whom were able neither to hold a rifle nor to command three men, were full of fear running about in confusion and devising plans to save their own skins at any price. These men, who had managed on one pretext or another to leave the main army and withdraw to the cosy safety of the impregnable fortress, without having to perform any labour over and above putting their signature to a receipt once a month acknowledging that their salaries were correct and in order, were terrified by the thought that they were now faced with a life-and-death struggle.... It was these wretches who conjured up dreadful visions of internal unrest, mutiny, etc., in order to make the general surrender the fortress as quickly as possible [...] if they could only save themselves and their property. The latter was of special concern to many of them, for all their endeavours throughout the revolution had been concentrated on enriching themselves, and a number had succeeded. Some individuals managed to enrich themselves quite easily for often half a year would pass before it was necessary to give an account of the funds they had received. Since this was a situation which favoured treachery and fraud many people may have dipped their hands more deeply into the cash-box than they could have justified.... The armistice had been concluded: how was it used? From the supplies in the fortress, which would have lasted *a year,* unnecessarily large rations were distributed among the villages, while no provisions were brought in from the surrounding area; even the hay and oats which the peasants in the nearby villages wanted to sell was left lying there so that a few weeks later the Cossacks' horses devoured the property of the peasants while we in the fortress complained about the lack of supplies. The cattle in the fortress were for the most part sold off outside the town on the pretext that there was a shortage of fodder. *Colonel Assermann* presumably did not know that meat can be pickled. A large part of the grain was also sold off on the grounds that it was going mouldy; this was done openly, and even more such things were done secretly. With such a man as *Assermann* at his side and with a number of similar individuals in his entourage *Klapka* had of course quickly to abandon every good idea that came into his head; those gentlemen took good care of that..." (Lapinski, loc. cit., pp. 202-06).[a]

The memoirs of both Görgey and Klapka[b] provide no less eloquent testimony to Klapka's lack of character and political understanding. All the errors he committed during the defence of Komorn stem from this defect.

"If Klapka with his knowledge and patriotism *also had a firm will of his own,* and if he had acted in accordance with opinions he had formed himself, rather than with those *suggested* to him by fools and cowards, the defence of Komorn would sparkle in the annals of history like a meteor" (loc. cit., p. 209).

On August 3, Klapka had gained a brilliant victory over the besieging Austrian corps at Komorn, he had scattered it and put it out of action for some time. He followed this up by taking Raab[c]

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[a] Theophil Lapinski, *Feldzug der Ungarischen Hauptarmee im Jahre 1849.—Ed.*

[b] Arthur Görgey's *Mein Leben und Wirken in Ungarn in den Jahren 1848 und 1849,* Bd. 1-2, Leipzig, 1852, and *Memoiren von Georg Klapka. April bis October 1849,* Leipzig, 1850.—*Ed.*

[c] Now Györ.—*Ed.*

and could easily take Vienna as well, but for eight days remained irresolute and inactive at Raab and then returned to Komorn where he was met by the news of Görgey's surrender and found a letter from the latter awaiting him. The enemy requested an armistice so that the scattered besieging corps of the Austrians and the Russians advancing from Rima Szombat[a] could be concentrated near Komorn and invest the fortress at their leisure. Instead of attacking and defeating the enemy formations piecemeal before they could join up, Klapka again vacillated irresolutely, but rejected the request of the Austrian and Russian spokesmen for an armistice. At that moment, says Lapinski,

"an adjutant of the Emperor Nicholas arrived in Komorn on August 22.... But, said the Russian Mephisto in honeyed tones, *surely you will grant us a two weeks' armistice, General. It is His Majesty, my gracious Emperor, who is asking you!* This worked like a quick poison. Where the efforts of the Austrian spokesmen and the arguments of the Russian negotiators had failed, this cunning Russian emissary succeeded with a few brief words. *Klapka* could not resist the subtle compliment and signed an armistice for 14 days. The fall of Komorn dates from this act".[b]

*Klapka* allowed the armistice to be used by *Colonel Assermann,* as we have already mentioned, to disperse *in two weeks* the *provisions* of the fortress, *which would have lasted a whole year.* At the end of the armistice Grabbe invested Komorn from the Vag, while the Austrians, whose forces had gradually grown to 40,000 men, camped on the right bank of the Danube. The inactive life behind the walls and fortifications demoralised the troops inside Komorn. Klapka did not launch a single attack on the Russian besieging corps, which had seen no action yet and was only 19,000 strong. The enemy's preparations for the siege were not disturbed for an instant. In fact, from the moment he had signed the armistice, Klapka prepared everything not for defence but for capitulation. The only energy he showed was of an inquisitorial nature and was directed at the upright officers who were opposed to capitulation.

"In the end," *Lapinski* says, "it became dangerous to say anything about the Austrians if one wished to avoid arrest."

Finally, on September 27, the capitulation was signed.

"In view of the power, of the desperate situation of the nation, which had put its last hopes in Komorn," Lapinski says, "in view of the situation in Europe and the impotence of Austria, which would have made the greatest sacrifices for the sake of Komorn, *the surrender conditions were as wretched as could be imagined.*"[c]

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[a] Rimavska Sobota.—*Ed.*
[b] Theophil Lapinski, op. cit., S. 201-02.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., S. 230.—*Ed.*

They "were just sufficient to enable us to escape quickly from Komorn over the frontier", but they did not contain the slightest guarantee either for Hungary or even for the revolutionary generals in the hands of the Austrians. Moreover, they were drawn up in great haste and were so imprecise and ambiguous that it was easy for Haynau to violate them later on.

So much for *Klapka.* If Vogt is lacking in "character", Klapka is the last man to make good the deficiency.

Vogt's third patron is "*James Fazy,* the regenerator of Geneva",[a] as he is described by Vogt, his court jester. The following letters, written by *Johann Philipp Becker*[b] to the addressee of his letter reproduced earlier,[c] contain a portrait of Fazy which is so apt that any additional comment will only spoil it. I would make only one preliminary remark. The most nauseating feature of Vogt's so-called *Studien* is the hypocritical show of Lutheran and even Calvinist horror of the "*ultramontane party*".[195] Thus, for example, he confronts Germany with the absurd alternative of either giving Louis Bonaparte a free hand or submitting to the domination of the Austrian concordat, and "verily we should rather prefer to undergo a second period of national humiliation" (*Studien,* p. 52). In the nasal tones of the puritan he fumes about

> "the ultramontane party, the sworn enemy of humanity, this monster that is attacking its very core" (loc. cit., p. 120).[d]

He has of course never heard of the fact which even Dupin Aîné revealed in the Decembrist Senate, that

> "under Louis Bonaparte's régime the congregations, associations and foundations of all kinds directly subject to the Order of Jesuits have become more numerous than they were under the *ancien régime,* and that all the state regulations which restricted the ultramontane organs of propaganda even before 1789 have been systematically dismantled by Decembrist legislation and administration".

But Vogt must at any rate know that the rule of his local Bonaparte, M. *James Fazy,* is based on a long-standing coalition between the so-called radical party and the ultramontane party. When the Vienna Congress incorporated Geneva, the traditional home of Calvinism, into the Swiss Confederation, it added to its

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[a] Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess...,* S. 213.—*Ed.*

[b] Becker wrote them at Marx's request (see Marx's letter to him of April 9, 1860, present edition, Vol. 41). For tactical reasons Becker addressed them to Georg Friedrich Rheinländer.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 60-64.—*Ed.*

[d] The words in quotation marks are Marx's summary of several passages from the *Studien.*—*Ed.*

territory, along with certain Savoyard districts, a rural Catholic population and the *crème* of the ultramontane priesthood. It is the alliance with this "sworn enemy of humanity, this monster" which has made *Fazy* the *dictator* of Geneva and *Vogt Fazy's member of the Council of States.* So much by way of introduction.

"*Paris,* July 2, 1860

"Dear R...,

"At long last I really must comply with your wish and give you my opinion of M. James Fazy....

"Just as the political sciences are of no avail unless one knows how to apply them in real life, so too statesmanship is sterile unless it is based on science and philosophical thought. A so-called statesman who has nothing but theory will not fool anyone and he will soon reveal his incapacity. On the other hand, a man who has a one-track talent for statesmanship can more easily conceal his lack of knowledge and intellectual prowess, he may pass for a practical statesman and gain the support of the great market of mediocrity. Whether or not the rule of such a man can advance the culture of a nation and can create conditions ensuring its undisturbed progress, lies beyond the powers of judgment of the blindly adulating crowd. If there is only the appearance that things are going well and are improving and if only everything is done in the name of freedom and civilisation!

"M. *James Fazy* is an outstanding specimen of the breed of political virtuosos. This astute man is distinguished not only for his statecraft but largely for his political craftiness. He resorts to all sorts of artifices and produces *tours de force* as often as the 'public interest' requires it, but with his usual cunning avoids every salto mortale. Full of guile in his manipulation of roles behind the scenes, a skilful director and prompter, he is the *ne plus ultra* of a French actor. His 'strength of character', which recoils from nothing if only it will serve his purposes, would be much to be admired, were it not for the fact that it is so intimately bound up with the disreputable nature of those purposes. Once one is familiar with the man's lack of principles and moral character, one will be less inclined to admire his ingenuity in devising means and his adroitness in employing them. This political virtuoso contrives by a sleight of hand boldly to appropriate everything good that occurs in the life of the people he governs; he then presents it to the great mass of the people in his own name so that they believe and are prepared to swear that it has all been brought about by or through the agency of 'Papa Fazy'. With equal skill he manages to shrug off the responsibility for everything that is bad or unpopular and to blame it on others. In his government he will not endure any independent personality, his colleagues must submit to being arbitrarily repudiated or forced to act as godfather for his abortive undertakings. Submitting to his despotic brutality *à discrétion,*[a] they have always to be prepared to act as the scapegoats and whipping-boys for the sake of the people and the glory of their President. Just as a crowned monarch will always ask himself whether a political measure will damage his dynasty, however much it may be to the advantage of the people, before he 'is pleased' to approve it, so too Papa Fazy asks himself, whenever he plans to take action: 'Will it not topple my presidential chair?' Hence our hero always adapts his policies to circumstances and lives from hand to mouth: on one day he will act out an uproarious comedy in the government, the next day he will perform a conjuring trick in the Grand Council and the day after that he will produce a sensational

[a] Unconditionally.—*Ed.*

coup at a popular assembly, and the great mass, skilfully cosseted by him, only too happy to believe in a visible and audible God whom it can worship and pray to, becomes credulous and believes in pennies from heaven when it is only a heavy shower beating down on the roofs. I do not wish to suggest that the people of Geneva are immature and lacking in intelligence; on the contrary, I am convinced that hardly anywhere can one find a more active public life, a more vigorous and conscious endeavour to evolve a free civil society than here on the banks of the Lake of Geneva. I shall return later to the subject and attempt to explain why M. Fazy has nevertheless been able on so many occasions to secure a majority of votes.

"All that has been achieved in Geneva in fifteen years by an energetic generation he has chalked up to the credit of his rule, or he has caused his lackeys and worshippers to do so. The demolition of the fortifications, the impressive extension and improvement of the capital of the Canton, for instance, pass for his achievement. But every administration, including that of M. Fazy, would have been ruthlessly pushed aside if it had attempted to resist the mighty pressure from the populace to tear down fortifications that had become useless and to expand a town in which health conditions were increasingly deteriorating because of the terrible overcrowding. This question thus also became a question of Fazy's own survival and he energetically took it in hand—honour to whom honour is due—and has helped to carry out many improvements to the general satisfaction of the public. But without arrogant insolence no individual can set himself up as the originator or creator of what has been achieved by the strenuous and joint efforts of a whole generation to satisfy a great need of the age. It is only society as a whole that creates, and then only in a relative sense, an integral whole, to which the members according to their strength and position contribute a larger or smaller share. Blind faith in the authorities is a superstition like any other and is detrimental to any healthy development.

"I am well aware that our M. Fazy is like everyone else in that he only does those things which he cannot refrain from doing, and he only refrains from doing things that he cannot do, and that like every living being, in his desire to develop his own individuality completely, he pursues his own needs. It is just as impossible to expect him to act otherwise as to demand that a cat should go into the water of its own accord or a horse climb trees. If he acted differently he would not be James Fazy, and if he were not James Fazy he might perhaps be Louis Bonaparte or something of the sort. If greatness in a man who possesses power is to keep a people in leading-strings, to dazzle them with conjuring tricks, without impressing the stamp of intensive progress on their moral and intellectual culture, but instead branding society with the marks of corruption, then Fazy would surely be great and worthy of being envied by tyrants more powerful than he.

"He is as capable as anyone of sustaining contradictory policies and from them he produces the magic formula with which, as with a compass, he steers his little ship of state. At one moment radicalism will supply the crew and ultramontanism the cargo, at another, it will be the other way about—just as it suits the book and the latest tactics of the helmsman. So the machine of state is constantly in motion, heaving from one side to the other, like the balance wheel of a watch. And with what a happy effect! The radicals swear that things are moving forwards, the ultramontanists are convinced that they are going backwards. Both views are correct; both sides are happy in their faith and the Lord God Fazy remains at the helm.

"Now, my dear friend, let these lines be enough for the moment.

"Warmest greetings from

Your *Joh. Philipp Becker*"

*"Paris, July 20, 1860*

"Dear R...,

"So you think that my portrait of Fazy is perhaps somewhat exaggerated. By no means, my dear friend! Moreover, one cannot just think and judge things and people according to one's whims, but only in accordance with the logic of one's understanding and inner experience. Anyone whose words differ from his thoughts in such matters, and whose acts differ from his words, is untrue to himself and a scoundrel.

"Fazy, who received his earliest education in a Herrnhut school[196] in Neuwied and speaks good German, still gives the appearance, at the age of 65, of judging Germany and its people according to the impressions gained at that model institution. Nothing German, and even Swiss German, is to his taste, and only in rare cases does he make an exception of this. As a native of Geneva and as a man who has spent a long time in the United States of North America, he is intimately familiar with republican institutions, with the methods of agitation and, owing to his natural disposition, especially with the various stratagems of intrigue. He is more of a demagogue than a democrat and his chief political slogan, his badge: *laissez aller et laissez faire,*[197] would not be so bad, if only he could refrain from having a finger in every pie in which people attempt to do something without the blessing of the state. His interventions are designed either to achieve something that adds to his own glory, or where this proves to be impossible, to frustrate the enterprise, as he did in the project of Herr Mayer and others to establish the Banque de Crédit et d'Échange and to set up a Chamber of Commerce. During the Genevan revolution of 1846[198] M. James acted in accordance with the precept: away from the danger zone makes for a long life, and he thought more of how to escape than of how to win. He was just on the point of leaving Geneva in secret when Albert Galeer, the heart and soul of the entire movement, made a last mighty effort to resolve the struggle which had long raged indecisively, and gained a total victory. Galeer, who was single-mindedly devoted to the cause and cared nothing for fame, firmly believed, at least at that time, that Fazy was motivated by a sincere love of the people. He was not at all put out when that hero, who had been saved from a precipitate flight in the nick of time, posed as the conqueror at a popular assembly immediately after the victory. Galeer himself could not contemplate a government post for himself immediately after the revolution, especially as he was not a Genevan, but a citizen of the Canton of Berne and so could neither vote nor be elected according to the confederate laws in force at the time. It is true that citizenship was soon conferred on him and after that he was elected into the Grand Council and was also given a post as translator of state papers. As the focus of the most energetic among the young people of Geneva he became a firm pillar of radical rule. Thanks to him Fazy's position as the hero of the great mass was strengthened still further. Using the phraseology of French radicalism which he had acquired when working on *Le National* in Paris in the day of Louis Philippe, James Fazy agitated in the press and on the podium, disguising his true thoughts and desires to his heart's content. Nevertheless, despite all his demagoguery a year had scarcely passed before he began to be seriously accused in various circles of entertaining secret relations with the leaders of the ultramontane party, and soon after of being a Francophile. In German Switzerland, where people look at these things more coolly and their judgments are more detached, they seem to have seen through his game even earlier. Towards the end of 1847, immediately after the conclusion of the Sonderbund War,[199] M. James Fazy went to the offices of the War Department to pay a call on General Ochsenbein; I was the only person there, as Ochsenbein was with the rest of the officers visiting the wounded in the

hospitals. When Ochsenbein returned I told him that M. Fazy had called, to which he responded contemptuously: 'Oh, that perfidious hypocrite!' General Ochsenbein, the former President of the Swiss Confederation and head of the Berne Government, who for years has been living on an Imperial French pension in Switzerland, may now perhaps think more charitably of an old colleague who is certainly his equal. However, it is a noteworthy fact that M. Fazy was never elected into the Federal Council by the Swiss National Assembly, despite all the efforts of his friends and himself, and despite the tendency, so dominant in this Assembly as almost to have become an inflexible dogma, to ensure that the important cantons should be guaranteed a turn in the Central Government. He always was a recalcitrant in relation to, and when possible tried to put a spoke in the wheel of, the federal authority which provided him with no opportunity to exercise power, and instead limited the cantonal sovereignty so convenient for him.

"When, early in 1849, the Federal police deemed it politically expedient to persecute me for organising a Sicilian legion,[200] I went to Geneva where Fazy told me that I could organise to my heart's content and had no need to concern myself about the Federal Council. I am well aware that M. Fazy will instantly sacrifice anyone as soon as things take a bad turn for the person concerned, even if the law is on that person's side, and I have later experienced this myself in an incident which is too complicated to explain in a letter but to the facts of which the Federal Commissars Dr. Kern and Trog can testify.

"As far as the refugees were concerned, he used the watchword of humanity to resist the measures of the Federal Council and with callous arbitrariness persecuted refugees who were in his bad books. Above all, outstanding people close to Galeer, in whom he suspected a future rival, were subjected to ruthless persecution. Mazzini had good cause to fear him more than the Federal police. The tall Heinzen was abhorrent to him and had to leave the Canton almost at once. 'He thumps around as if the ground belonged to him', was the only explanation Fazy naively offered. Struve was arrested while out walking with his wife, even though there had been no instructions from the Federal Council, and was pushed over the frontier to the Canton of Vaud on the grounds that he was a *Russian* spy. Galeer managed to get to Fazy in time and tried to rectify this error. The two became embroiled in loud discussions since Fazy believes he is more convincing the more he shouts and the more indignant he pretends to be. Struve had to remain a Russian spy. If I remember rightly this scene took place in the Hôtel des Bergues in the presence of Mr. Herzen, the Russian refugee with whom the head of the Geneva Government liked to dine. However, this gentleman certainly had no part in the sordid accusations brought against Struve. Fazy is undoubtedly a greater Russophile than Struve, for I once heard him say in a speech at some celebration: 'The works of Jean Jacques Rousseau are more read and better understood in Russia than in Germany.' It is true that his principal intention here was to snipe at Galeer's German friends and the Germans in general.

"Galeer, who up till then had gone along with Fazy through thick and thin on political matters and whom I spoke to just after he had crossed swords with Fazy on Struve's account, told me sadly: 'I am through with Fazy now. As a matter of honour I can no longer associate with him. The man is a veritable monster politically, a mere animal in his desires. If I were to remain in league with him this would mean helping to destroy the cause of the people from within. Only if he is confronted by a truly liberal party, will he be compelled to uphold the banner of radicalism to save his position. As long as he is opposed only by the old aristocracy things will only get worse, since he has long been flirting with the ultramontane party and can really do what he likes. Moreover, he is no true Swiss in his attitudes

and looks more to Paris than to Berne. I have for a long time now had reason enough to turn my back on him but I was prevented by the fact that I had been accustomed to look on him as a worthy man for so long. Only repeated internal struggles and the external clash today have finally prevailed on me to settle accounts with him.'

"All the people with independent minds and especially the members of the young school of political economy gathered round Galeer, and the committed radical and socialist elements thus 'united' soon became known as the democratic party. Henceforth radicalism, with few exceptions, consisted solely in conscious or unconscious servility towards Fazy, who had now found, in the Catholic districts of Savoy united with Geneva after 1815, a lever by which to control the majority. The ultramontane priests, all-powerful in that region, now entered into an alliance with 'radicalism', which was the upshot of Fazy's activity. Galeer was subjected to the basest sort of calumny, persecuted and was finally removed from his post. The young democratic party now found itself caught between the party of the aristocrats on the one hand and the party of the united old radicals and the ultramontanists on the other, and was as yet unable to put up its own independent list at the approaching elections. And although M. James Fazy refused to include the names of some of the democrats in his own list, Galeer and his friends, scorning the offers of the aristocratic party, resolved to give their votes this time to Fazy, looking for victory to the future. So if Fazy had been sincere in what he said about progress and a radically bourgeois development he would have had no need to attach himself to the filthy wing of the eternally backward-looking ultramontanists. In order to prosecute the malicious attacks and accusations against Galeer with greater effect the satellites of His Excellency, the 'radical' President, founded a special abusive paper to relieve that astute lord and master of the necessity of befouling his own *Moniteur,* the *Revue de Genève,* with his invective, more and more of which now appeared in the paper of his whipping-boys, whom he could disown at will. Galeer, whose health was weak, succumbed to this dastardly campaign and died in the course of the same year (1851) when he was still no more than thirty-five years of age. How often did I not hear it said in Geneva: '*Our good, noble Galeer was the victim of the inexorable revenge of our jesuitical tyrant.*' In the following elections Galeer's friends entered into the alliance offered by the aristocratic party, and they did so all the more willingly since the latter declared themselves content with the fall of Fazy and with a very modest share in the government. Galeer, who always remained true to his principles, would probably have rejected this alliance even now, but, as the members of his party said, to what end has M. Fazy given us the fine example of his alliance with the ultramontane party, why should we be ashamed of joining up with the decent wing of the aristocratic party when Fazy does not blush to be associated with the indecent wing of the ultramontanists? Can we not progress at least as far with the cultured aristocracy as M. Fazy claims to with the ignorant ultramontanists?

"When it came to the elections, then (I believe they took place in November 1853) many radicals and even a number of Fazy's ministerial colleagues went over to the democrats, so that the hero of 1846 was unseated from his presidential chair by a great majority. The ex-President, who had run up lots of debts, now found himself in an extremely embarrassing situation. In this context I must digress to reveal a number of characteristic facts about his life.

"Even before entering the government M. James Fazy had run through a substantial inheritance in fine style. Up to his ears in debts and mercilessly pursued by his creditors, he sought as soon as he had arrived at the presidential chair quickly to abolish the practice of arresting debtors. Of course, he was acting 'in the

interests of personal liberty'. In 1856 I was told by a Genevan citizen plagued by debts: 'It is a good thing that we had a spendthrift as head of the government. Though he could not abolish debts, at least he abolished the debtors' prison.'

"In the beginning of the fifties, however, M. Fazy found himself in sore straits materially, so that a 'grateful people' had to come to his rescue and make him a present of a large building site that had become available with the razing of the fortifications. And why not indeed? Since he had been instrumental in cleaning this area of the fortifications, why should he not 'annex' a portion of it, especially as greater potentates than he do not disdain to do things of that sort. M. Fazy was now able to sell many large building sites and build a big beautiful house for himself. Unfortunately, he soon incurred new debts and could not pay the wages of his builders. Early in 1855 he was forced to endure being shouted at on the street by a master carpenter to whom he owed a few thousand francs: 'Pay me, you rogue, so that I can buy bread for my children.' It was in these circumstances that the hard-pressed man became an ex-President, and, to crown it all, he found himself in an even more painfully embarrassing situation. What happened was that the Caisse d'Escompte, a radical bank, was forced to suspend payments. Fazy's friends in the bank, themselves overburdened with debts, had advanced credit to him and to each other far beyond what was permitted in the statutes and was actually at the disposal of the bank. The director, who is in jail to this day, had been even less restrained—bad examples ruin good habits—in advancing credit to himself. Thus the Caisse d'Escompte found itself on the brink of a grave emergency: bankruptcy. The savings of a hundred thrifty workers' families were in jeopardy. Good counsel and, even more urgently, action were needed, cost what it might, otherwise Fazism would have been swept away by the deficit like chaff in the wind. Naturally enough in the circumstances, there could be no question of raising money for the Caisse d'Escompte directly. However, at that time there was another bank in Geneva labouring to establish itself, the Banque Générale Suisse. A considerable amount of capital had to be procured for this bank so that in return it would rescue the Caisse d'Escompte from its financial ebb and M. Fazy from the flood of debts. Fazy had to act as rescuer in order to be rescued himself. In case of success he was guaranteed a substantial commission expressed in so and so many per cent and the Caisse d'Escompte the badly needed additional capital. So on behalf of the Banque Générale Suisse and also *pro domo*,[a] M. Fazy went to *Paris* where, after a sojourn lasting several weeks and, as rumour would have it, *thanks to the gracious assistance of 'His Majesty'*,[b] he succeeded in persuading the Crédit Mobilier[201] to provide millions of francs towards the rescue operation. At around the same time (November 1855) the preparations for the new elections were being made and the *sauveur*[c] therefore sent letters home to Geneva in advance, announcing that he would presently arrive bearing in person his cargo of millions. This was a healing plaster for the stricken hearts of the shareholders of the Caisse d'Escompte, and a magic wand for the ultramontane-radical voters. At that time a good likeness of him appeared in a caricature showing him as a gigantic swan entering the harbour of Geneva weighed down with sacks of gold. A joker told me at the time that according to the story he had heard over a beer Fazy had brought back 50 million, over a glass of wine the sum rose to 100 million and when the absinthe was reached it had become 200 million. In the eyes of his children, the reputation of Papa Fazy's miraculous powers was fully restored. The democrats,

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[a] For his own benefit.—*Ed.*
[b] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*
[c] Saviour.—*Ed.*

fondly imagining that their victory at the hustings was assured, did not exert themselves very much. A society of muscular young men that had been formed some time before—*les fruitiers*—now established themselves as Fazy's bodyguard. They terrorised the electorate in the most brutal manner possible and their idol ascended the presidential throne once more.

"This time, however, it soon became perfectly clear that the ultramontane faction had not lent their massive support for nothing, but that they were determined to have their share of the rewards of victory. M. Marilley, the Bishop of Fribourg, an eternal agitator and trouble-maker who had been driven out of Switzerland as a result of the Sonderbund War, left France and reappeared in Geneva one fine day with the official permission of M. Fazy. Once in Geneva he began to celebrate 'Holy' Mass once again. The entire city reverberated with anger, and popular fury soon echoed throughout Switzerland. It was too much even for the blindest radicals, the most subservient *fruitiers*. A popular assembly was convened without delay and the head of the government was presented with a vote of no-confidence. His colleague, Councillor Tourte, although himself merely a disciple and pupil of Fazy, suddenly displayed a very dubious desire for independence and he thundered away at his lord and master without any scruples whatever. However, M. Fazy had taken good care to absent himself from the country before the arrival of the Lord Bishop, just as he always did leaving his colleagues to drink what he had brewed. M. de Marilley, of course, had to leave the city and the country without more ado. Papa Fazy however wrote from Berne giving his unruly children a dressing down and asserting that he had been the victim of a misunderstanding, the government had not handled the affair correctly, he had merely acted in the 'interest of freedom of religion' and had simply permitted the Bishop to make a visit. After the storm had abated a much wronged Papa Fazy returned to Geneva. It was now all the simpler to re-establish his injured authority and restore faith in his pure love of freedom and of his country, by the simple device of uttering a few oracular statements which ring very true and fit any situation, because his colleagues were decent enough to shoulder the main responsibility. But Fazy had thus achieved the satisfactory end of demonstrating to his friends of the ultramontane faction *that he was always prepared to do for them—whatever lay in his power.* For a number of years now M. James Fazy has been a very wealthy man. Not only is the Banque Générale Suisse said to have guaranteed him a certain percentage for the duration of his life, but he has also, as head of the government, revealed great understanding of his own interests in such matters as the development of railways in his own Canton, etc. In his large and beautiful mansion (the Hôtel Fazy on the Quai du Mont Blanc) the beau monde moves among the *cercle des étrangers.*[a] And ever since Piedmont found the 'gambling dens' of the Savoy spas incompatible with its political morality, the compassionate President of the Republic of Geneva has touchingly offered such a den asylum in his roomy dwelling. Long live freedom! *Laissez aller et laissez faire! Allez chez moi et faites votre jeu!*[b]

"Darling, what more can you desire?[c]

Your *Johann Philipp Becker*"

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[a] Circle of foreigners.—*Ed.*

[b] Let people do as they think best. Come to my place and make your stake.—*Ed.*

[c] From Heinrich Heine's cycle of poems, "Die Heimkehr", No. 64, *Buch der Lieder,* Erster Teil.—*Ed.*

Leaving *Vogt*'s patrons, I descend now to his *accomplices.*

Peace and goodwill to this fair meeting,
I come not with hostility, but greeting.[a]

At the head of the procession, from which I intend only to single out a few of the more striking figures, we encounter the Berlin *National-Zeitung,* under the command of Herr **F. Zabel.** A comparison between the review of the "Magnum Opus" which appeared at Vogt's prompting in the *Revue contemporaine* from the pen of M. Edouard Simon[b] and the corresponding articles in the *National-Zeitung, Breslauer Zeitung,* etc., almost leads one to the conclusion that the "well-rounded character" issued two programmes, one dealing with the Italian campaign, the other with the Augsburg campaign. What on earth could have induced Herr *F. Zabel,* that fat and tedious bore of the *National-Zeitung,* who is usually so cautious, to kick over the traces and translate Vogt's street-songs into leading articles?

The first detailed reference to the *National-Zeitung* appeared in No. 205 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on January 26, 1849, in a leading article beginning with the words *"Signpost to Schilda".*[202] However, the arms of this signpost are too long to reprint them here. In a leading article of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* No. 224 of February 17, 1849, it is stated:

"The Berlin *National-Zeitung* represents *triviality portentously expressed.* Some recent samples. They are taken from its discussion of the Prussian circular note.... Althoughs and buts! Can and may and seem! Consider and wish that the Prussian Government may wish! Like the inmate of a bagnio each phrase has a hundredweight tied to it, and is therefore weighty. Each 'if', each 'although', each 'but' is a real *Dr. utriusque juris.*[c] And if you take all that Christian-Germanic padding, all those cotton rags in which the *National-Zeitung* has solicitously enveloped its wisdom and unwrap them just as carefully, what remains? ... *Political hot air,* in black and white, Berlin leading articles *en grande tenue*[d].... The *National-Zeitung* is obviously written for the *thinking reader,* just like Rotteck's *Weltgeschichte*[203].... The French have an apt formula for thought of this kind which is active purely at a linguistic level. '*Je n'aime pas les épinards et j'en suis bien aise; car si je les aimais, j'en mangerais beaucoup, et je ne peux pas les souffrir.*' 'I do not like spinach and that is a good thing; *for if* I liked it I would not be able to eat enough of it and I can't stand it.' ... The *National-Zeitung* has Prussia's happiness at heart and so it wants—another Ministry. What it wants in any case is—a *Ministry.* And this is the only thing which the patrons of the *National-Zeitung* are definite and self-confident about."

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[a] Marx quotes the verses in English and gives the German translation in a footnote.—*Ed.*

[b] Edouard Simon, "Un tableau de moeurs politiques en Allemagne...", *Revue contemporaine,* t. 13, Paris, 1860.—*Ed.*

[c] Doctor of both laws (civil and canon).—*Ed.*

[d] In full dress.—*Ed.*

In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* No. 296,[a] the following can be found:

"*Berlin, May 9, 1849....* It is interesting to observe the attitude of the Berlin press towards the Saxon revolution. *The 'National-Zeitung' knows only one emotion: the fear of being banned.*"

But fear is an elixir of life, as the *National-Zeitung* has demonstrated throughout the decade of Manteuffel's rule.

The *National-Zeitung* has proved the truth of Pope's dictum:

Still her old empire to restore she tries,
For, born a goddess, Dullness never dies.*[204]

The only thing that distinguishes Pope's realm of *Dullness* from that of the *National-Zeitung* is that in the former "now[b] Dunce the second reigns like Dunce the first", whereas in the latter, the old dunce, *Dunce the first,*[c] still holds sway.

The *Breslauer Zeitung,* which follows hard on the heels of the *National-Zeitung,* is now in raptures about the Hohenzollern Ministry as it had been about the Manteuffel Ministry before it. Early in 1860 I received the following letter[d]:

"Breslau, February 27, 1860

"Dear Marx,

"I saw in the *Volks-Zeitung* your address and your declaration against the *National-Zeitung.*[e] An article similar to that in the *National-Zeitung* appeared also in the *Breslauer Zeitung* from the pen of its *daily* contributor, **Dr. Stein.** This is the same Dr. Stein who used to sit with D'Ester on the extreme left of the Berlin National Assembly and who proposed the famous motion against the officers of the Prussian army. This great Stein with the diminutive body was suspended from his post as teacher. When the new Ministry was installed he set himself the task of agitating on its behalf, not just in the past year, in preparation for the elections, but even now, to bring about a merger of the Silesian democrats and the constitutionalists. Despite this his application to the present Ministry for permission to give private lessons has been refused, not just once but over and over again. The previous Ministry had tacitly allowed him to teach, while the present one prohibits him from doing so on the grounds that it is unlawful. He has now gone to Berlin to obtain permission there but without success, as you can see elsewhere in the

* It is impossible to find a German equivalent for Dullness. It is more than boredom, it is ennui elevated into a principle, soporific lifelessness, blunted stupor. As a quality of style Dullness is what the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* called "triviality portentously expressed". [Marx quotes the two lines from Alexander Pope in English and gives the German translation at the beginning of this footnote.]

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[a] Of May 12, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] Pope has "still".—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English phrase "Dunce the first".—*Ed.*

[d] An entry in Marx's notebook says the letter was written by Peter Nothjung.—*Ed.*

[e] See this volume, pp. 12-13.—*Ed.*

same issue of the *Volks-Zeitung* which printed your declaration. *Dr. Stein* has now made the Brimstone Gang play their part in the procession of fools in the *Breslauer Ressourcen-Gesellschaft.* Nevertheless, *Dr. Stein, Schlehan, Semrau* and their cronies have to put up with one humiliation after the other at the hands of the constitutionalists; but men of their stamp will not let themselves be deflected from their patriotic purposes. What do you say to this fine company?"

What should I say about my colleague Stein, for in fact, Stein was my colleague, since I was for a full six months, in 1855, a correspondent of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*[205] and this was the only German paper for which I wrote while I was abroad. Clearly, Stein is a man with a stony [*steinern*] heart and even the refusal to allow him to give private lessons could not soften him. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* hammered away at Stein a great deal in order to knock him into shape. Thus in No. 225, for example:

"Cologne, February 16, 1849.... As for Herr Stein himself, we recall the time when he attacked the republicans on fanatically constitutional grounds, when in the *Schlesische Zeitung* he *roundly* **denounced** *the representatives of the working class* and *had them denounced* by a schoolteacher whose ideas were akin to his own and who is now a member of the 'Association for Law and Order'. Just as pitiful as the Agreers Assembly itself was the so-called democratic group of this Assembly. It could be foreseen that these gentlemen, in order to be *re-elected,* would now recognise the *imposed Constitution.* It is even more characteristic of the standpoint of these gentlemen that *after* the elections they are disavowing in the democratic clubs what *before* the elections they assented to at meetings of the electors. This petty, crafty liberal slyness was never the diplomacy of revolutionaries."[206]

The [*Neue*] *Rheinische Zeitung* had not sculptured this stone [*Stein*] in vain, as he demonstrated as soon as Manteuffel had dictated the dictated Chamber out of existence once again, for Dr. Julius Stein then proclaimed in the "chief democratic club in Breslau":

"We" (the extreme Berlin Left) "have regarded the German question as a lost cause from the outset.... People must *now* realise that *no united Germany is possible as there are still German Princes*" (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* No. 290).

It is indeed a heart-rending sight, it is enough to melt a stone, to see how Schwerin time and time again rejects this same Stein, even though he is no longer a stumbling-block [*Stein des Anstosses*], and refuses to use him—as a building stone [*Baustein*].[a]

I do not know if my readers have ever themselves seen a copy

[a] Cf. Psalms 118:22, Matthew 21:42 and Luke 20:17.—*Ed.*

of *Punch,* the London equivalent of the *Kladderadatsch.* The title-page shows a picture of Punch sitting down and behind him stands his dog Toby with a grumpy expression on his face and a pen behind his ear, both of which point to his being a born penny-a-liner.[a] If it is fair to compare small things with large[b] then one could perhaps compare Vogt with Punch, especially since the latter has lost his wit, a misfortune that struck him in 1846 with the abolition of the Corn Laws.[207] His companion, however, Toby the dog, can only be compared to himself or to—**Eduard Meyen.** And in fact if Eduard Meyen were ever really to die he would not stand in need of any Pythagorean migration of the soul. Toby has already taken care of that during his lifetime. I would not go as far as to claim that Eduard Meyen sat for the artist who designed the title vignette, but in any case I have never in my life seen a greater similarity between a man and a dog. But there is nothing surprising about this, since Eduard Meyen is a penny-a-liner by nature, and the penny-a-liner is by nature—Toby. E. Meyen has always inclined to devote his obtrusively versatile pen to ready-made party-organisation-literary-enterprise institutions. An imposed programme saves one the trouble of thinking for oneself, the feeling of togetherness with a more or less organised mass of people stifles the sense of one's own inadequacy, and the realisation that a war-chest is available can overcome, momentarily at least, even Toby's professional peevishness. Thus we find Eduard Meyen attached to the unfortunate Central Democratic Committee, that empty nut which grew out of the German Democratic Assembly in Frankfurt am Main in 1848.[208] As an exile in London he was engaged as the most indefatigable producer of the lithographed flysheets on which a portion of the money Kinkel had raised by loan to manufacture a revolution was frittered away, a circumstance which did not of course prevent the selfsame Eduard Meyen from rushing with bag and baggage into the camp of the Prince Regent[c] to beg for an amnesty and in fact to obtain permission to go to Wandsbek and pester the Hamburg *Freischütz* with articles on foreign policy. Vogt, who was busy enlisting the services of "people who" would "follow his Programme" and were prepared to bring him articles, and who was dangling the tempting sight of a well-filled war-chest before their eyes, came as a godsend to Eduard Meyen, who was running around without a

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[a] Here and below Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*
[b] Cf. Virgil, *Georgies,* Book IV, 176.—*Ed.*
[c] William, Prince of Prussia.—*Ed.*

master just then, for no one was willing to pay the dog tax during those hard times. And you can just imagine the howls of rage when Toby heard a rumour that I was about to cheat Vogt's party literary-enterprise institution of its credit and its pen-pushing pugs of their fees! *Quelle horreur!* Vogt's instructions to his Eduard Meyen about the obligatory treatment of the "Magnum Opus" were just as detailed as those given to Edouard Simon, and in fact Eduard Meyen did adorn 5 numbers of *Der Freischütz* (Nos. 17-21, 1860) with pieces from the "Magnum Opus".[a] But what a difference! Whereas Edouard Simon corrected the original, Eduard Meyen bowdlerised it. The simplest evidence of the objective understanding of a given topic is surely the ability to *copy* printed matter, but our Eduard Meyen is utterly incapable of copying even a single line correctly. Toby's mind lacks even the strength requisite for correct copying. Just listen:

*Der Freischütz, No. 17*:

"The paper" (*Allgemeine Zeitung*) "... has now been found guilty ... also ... of having made use of the assistance of a revolutionary party which Vogt has stigmatised as the *Brimstone Gang of the German republicans*."

When and where has Vogt prated about the Brimstone Gang of the German republicans?

*Der Freischütz, No. 18*:

"It is Liebknecht who has launched an attack on Vogt in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*,[b] by repeating there the accusations made by Biscamp in the London *Volk*. However, the accusations did not develop their full force until Marx sent to the offices of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* a pamphlet that had appeared in London and which he attributed to Blind."

Vogt was able to tell many lies but even his lawyer, Hermann, forbade him the lie that the article by Biscamp, which had *not* been reprinted in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, was "repeated" there by Liebknecht. Nor has Vogt ever thought of maintaining that it was I who sent the pamphlet *Zur Warnung* to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. On the contrary, he says quite explicitly: "It was Herr Liebknecht ... who sent the libellous pamphlet to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*" ("Magnum Opus" p. 167).

*Der Freischütz, No. 19*:

"Blind positively denied that he was the pamphlet's author, and the printer certified that it was not *given* to him to print by Blind. What is however certain is that

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[a] This refers to Eduard Meyen's article "Carl Vogts Kampf gegen die Augsburger Allgem. Zeitung und die Marxianer" published in *Der Freischütz* in February 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] Wilhelm Liebknecht [An die Redaction der *Allgemeinen Zeitung*, Augsburg], *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 300, October 27, 1859.—*Ed.*

the lampoon was immediately taken over in the same type-setting in *Das Volk,* and that Marx caused it to be published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* etc."

In his "Magnum Opus" Vogt on the one hand prints Fidelio Hollinger's declaration asserting that the pamphlet *had not been set* in his print-shop,[a] and, on the other, my counter-declaration that the original type of the lampoon was *still* standing at Hollinger's when it was reprinted in *Das Volk.*[b] What chaos did our unfortunate Toby make out of this!

*Der Freischütz, No. 19*:

"As far as the people themselves are concerned" (Engels and I are supposed to say in Techow's letter) "they are pure rationalists who have no patience with nationality."

No *sentimentality,* my dear Toby; no sentimentality, writes Techow, according to Vogt.

*Der Freischütz, No. 20*:

"Marx ... did not prevent the duellists from going to *Ostend* to fight a pistol duel. Techow acted as Willich's second, etc. After this incident [...] Techow broke off relations with Marx and his League."

Eduard Meyen is not content to substitute *Ostend* for *Antwerp.* He had probably heard about the Frenchman in the West End of London complaining that the English write "London" and pronounce it "Constantinople". Techow, who had only met me once in his life at the time of his correspondence and who moreover writes explicitly that he had at first intended to *join* me and my League, is made by Eduard Meyen to *break off* relations with me and my League, of which he was never a member.

*Der Freischütz, No. 21*:

"This incident" (the Joint Workers' Festival in Lausanne) "explains the violent attack on Vogt which was made in *Das Volk* in London."

In the "Magnum Opus" Vogt himself gives the date of the "violent attack" on him in *Das Volk—May 14, 1859.*[c] (The pamphlet appeared in *Das Volk* on June 18, 1859.) However, the Lausanne Joint Festival took place on *June 26 and 27, 1859,* i.e. long *after* the "violent attack" which according to Meyen it provoked.

But we have quoted enough of Toby's reading. It is not surprising that Toby having managed to read all sorts of things in

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[a] Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess...,* Dokumente, S. 38.—*Ed.*
[b] ibid., S. 39-40. See also this volume, pp. 8-9.—*Ed.*
[c] ibid., S. 17.—*Ed.*

Vogt that were not there should also have made this discovery:

"Vogt's book will take its rightful place among the boldest, wittiest and most useful polemics in our literature" (*Der Freischütz*, No. 17).

Just think of this wretched Toby, incapable as he is of even copying out two lines of a printed book correctly, just think of him condemned to sit in Wandsbek, having to decipher the book of world history[209] every day, straining to read a record of events barely hinted at in the obscurest of scripts, copying away by the hour and having to produce life-size photographs of the dissolving views[a] of the present in the columns of *Der Freischütz*! Unhappy Wandsbek Messenger![b] Happy Hamburg reader of *Der Freischütz*!

A few days ago the London *Times* published a strange news item which went through the entire English press and bore the title: "A Man Shot by a Dog." It seems therefore that Toby knows how to use a gun and thus it is not surprising to find Eduard Meyen sing in *Der Freischütz*: "A marksman am I in the pay of the Regent."[c]

The *Kölnische Zeitung* confined itself to a few malicious little paragraphs and insinuations in favour of Vogt. A week after the "Magnum Opus" had appeared it spread the fairy-tale in its columns that it was already out-of-print, probably so as not to have to lay violent hands upon it. But what an irony of history!

If only I had been able to foresee in 1848-49, at the time of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, when we had daily to cross swords with our Cologne neighbour for the Poles, Hungarians and Italians, that this very same *Kölnische Zeitung* would in 1859 become the chivalrous protagonist of the principle of nationality, and that the simple Herr **Jusepp Dumont** would emerge from his chrysalis as Signor Giuseppe Del Monte! But of course at that time no Louis Bonaparte had as yet given the nationalities the superior blessing of morality and liberalism, and the *Kölnische Zeitung* will always remember that Louis Bonaparte has saved society. The red fury with which it attacked *Austria* at the time can be seen from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, No. 144*[d]:

"Cologne, November 15 (1848). At a moment when the whole of Germany cries out in indignation because the blood-stained minion of the Austrian bandit, because a Windischgrätz could dare to have the deputy **Robert Blum** shot down

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[a] Marx uses the English phrase "dissolving views".—*Ed.*

[b] Marx here puns on *Wandsbeker Bote*—Wandsbek Messenger, a celebrated paper published by the poet Matthias Claudius from 1770 to 1775.—*Ed.*

[c] See B. von Braunthal, *Das Nachtlager in Granada*.—*Ed.*

[d] This refers to the item "Köln, 15. November" in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of November 16, 1848. Marx quotes from his notebook.—*Ed.*

like a dog—at such a moment it is fitting to take note of two German papers of which one has attempted with almost unheard-of perfidy to vilify the last few days of the dead man's life, while the other pursues him to the grave with its insipid cretinism. We are referring to the *Kölnische Zeitung* and the *Rheinische Volks-Halle* (*vulgo* Narrhalla[a])..... In No. 292 the *Kölnische Zeitung* reported: 'On the 22nd of this month' (October) 'the *enthusiastic leaders* of the democratic party ... left Vienna; so did ... **Robert Blum.**' The *Kölnische Zeitung* made this statement without any qualification, but set its denunciation of Blum in Garamond type to print it more firmly on the reader's memory. The *Kölnische Zeitung* reached the heights of perfection in its subsequent issues. It was not ashamed to find space in its columns even for the articles of the most black and yellow paper of the camarilla, news items from the journal of the Archduchess Sophie [...], the most infamous of all Austrian papers [...] " (there then follows a quotation including this passage): "'Robert Blum earned no laurels in Vienna.... For he spoke in the great hall of the internal enemies—timorousness, lack of courage and of stamina; but if there were to arise *other enemies* in addition to these internal ones—he hoped this would not be the case—but if there were still people in the city who preferred the victory of the military to the victory of freedom, then the life-and-death battle waged before the walls of the city must be just as ruthlessly waged against them too.... In Herr Blum's speech there lay the madness of a Septembrist[210].... If Herr Blum really spoke those words then we must say quite frankly that he has **dishonoured himself**.' So much for the *Kölnische Zeitung*."

By means of an ingenious system of concealed plumbing, all the lavatories of London empty their physical refuse into the Thames. In the same way every day the capital of the world spews out all its social refuse through a system of goose quills, and it pours out into a great central paper *cloaca*—the *Daily Telegraph*. Liebig rightly criticises the senseless wastefulness which robs the Thames of its purity and the English soil of its manure.[b] **Levy**, however, the proprietor of this central paper cloaca, is an expert not only in chemistry, but even in alchemy. Having transformed the social refuse of London into newspaper articles, he transforms the newspaper articles into copper, and finally the copper into gold. At the entrance which leads to the central paper cloaca, the following words are written *di colore oscuro*: "*hic ... quisquam faxit oletum!*"[c] or as *Byron* translated it so poetically "*Wanderer, stop and—piss!*"[d]

*Levy*, like Habakkuk, *est capable de tout*.[e] He is capable of printing a leading article three columns long on a single case of rape. Earlier this year he treated his numerous public of gourmets to an

[a] Roughly=fool's paradise, a pun on Valhalla.—*Ed.*

[b] Justus von Liebig, *Die Chemie in ihrer Anwendung auf Agricultur und Physiologie*, Braunschweig, 1840, S. 216.—*Ed.*

[c] In sombre colours: "Here ... it is permitted to make bad odours!" The Latin words are a paraphrased line from Persius, *Satires*, Book I, First Satire.—*Ed.*

[d] Byron, "Epitaph".—*Ed.*

[e] Is capable of everything.—*Ed.*

asafoetida stew that had been ingeniously brewed from ingredients of a certain court case that were so nauseating that the judge ordered the court to be cleared of women and children. Unfortunately Levy had spiced the stew with the name of an innocent person. The resulting libel action brought against Levy ended with his conviction and the public condemnation of his newspaper by the English judiciary. As everyone knows, libel actions, like all other actions, are shamelessly expensive in England; they are in a sense the privilege of the *coffre fort.*[a] However, a number of unemployed lawyers in the City now discovered that Levy was fair game; they joined forces and offered their services gratis as a speculation to anyone who wished to take action against Levy for libel. Levy himself thereupon complained loudly in his paper that a new kind of blackmail had become fashionable: libel actions against Levy. Since then it has become precarious to sue Levy. One lays oneself open to ambiguous talk, for just as you can read on walls in London the notice: Commit no Nuisance, so too you can find written on the entrances to the English courts: *Commit Levy.*[b]

Politicians refer to the *Daily Telegraph* as "Palmerston's mobpaper", but Levy's refuse barge only carries politics as ballast. The *Saturday Review* aptly described his penny-rag as "cheap and nasty".

"It is a fatal symptom," it says *inter alia,* "that it should have given such a definite preference for dirt to cleanliness. In every case it will exclude the most important report in order to leave space for a disreputable article."

Nevertheless, Levy also has a prudery of his own. He criticises immorality in the theatre, for instance, and like a second Cato the Censor, he pursues the dress of the ballet dancers, which according to him starts too late and ends too soon. Such fits of virtue only take Levy out of the frying-pan into the fire. O Logic! a London theatrical journal, *The Players,* exclaims, O Logic! where is thy blush? How the rogue[c] must have laughed in his sleeve!... The *Telegraph* as guardian of the decency of female costume on the stage! Holy Jupiter, what will happen next? Earthquakes and fiery comets are the least that can be expected now. Decency! "I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word."[d] And as Hamlet

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[a] Of the strong-box, i.e. of the rich.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx uses English: "Commit no Nuisance", "Commit Levy", "mobpaper", "cheap and nasty".—*Ed.*

[c] Marx gives the English word in brackets after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

[d] Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice,* Act IV, Scene 1. In Marx's original the English sentence is followed by its German equivalent in brackets.—*Ed.*

advises Ophelia, the "Player" advises Levy to clear off to a nunnery: "Get thee to a nunnery,[a] Levy!" Levy in a nunnery! And perhaps "nunnery" is just a printing error for a nonaria[b] so that we should really read it "Get thee to a nonaria, Levy!" and in that case, everyone will be

"multum gaudere paratus,
Si Cynico" (the cynic Levy) "barbam petulans nonaria vellat".[c]

The *Weekly Mail* maintains that although Levy really fools no one,[d] he has changed "i" into "y", and it is true that among the 22,000 Levites[211] whom Moses counted in the journey through the wilderness, there was not a single Levi who spelled his name with a "y". Just as Edouard Simon spares no effort to be regarded as belonging to the Romance people, so Levy is determined to be an Anglo-Saxon. Therefore, at least once a month he attacks the un-English policies of Mr. Disraeli, for Disraeli, "the Asiatic mystery",[e] is, unlike the *Telegraph*, not an Anglo-Saxon by descent. But what does it profit Levy to attack Mr. D'Israeli and to change "i" into "y", when Mother Nature has inscribed his origins in the clearest possible way right in the middle of his face. The nose of the mysterious stranger of Slawkenbergius (see *Tristram Shandy*) who had got the finest nose from the promontory of noses[f] was just a nine days' wonder in Strasbourg,[g] whereas Levy's nose provides conversation throughout the year in the City of London. A Greek epigrammatist describes the nose of a certain Castor which could be used for all sorts of things: as a shovel, a trumpet, a sickle, an anchor, etc. He concludes his description with the words:

"Οὕτως εὐχρήστου σκεύους Κάστωρ τετύχηκε,
Ῥῖνα φέρων πάσης ἄρμενον ἐργασίας" *

* Thus was Castor equipped with a tool that was truly amazing,
Owning a nose that served almost every conceivable purpose."
[Anonymous epigram from *Anthologia Graeca*, XI, 203, Verses 7 and 8.]

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[a] Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act III, Scene 1.—*Ed.*

[b] Harlot.—*Ed.*

[c] "...always ready to be delighted,
Should the harlot playfully tug at the beard of the Cynic" (Persius, *Satires*, Book I, First Satire).—*Ed.*

[d] Marx puns on the idiom "ein X für ein U vormachen" (to put an X in place of a U) which means to try to fool someone.—*Ed.*

[e] Marx gives the English phrase in brackets after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

[f] Marx uses English: "finest nose" and "promontory of noses".—*Ed.*

[g] Cf. Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, Vol. IV, Slawkenbergius.—*Ed.*

But even Castor could not have guessed the purpose to which Levy puts his nose. The English poet comes nearer to it in the lines:

> "And 'tis a miracle we may suppose,
> No nastiness offends his skilful nose."[a]

Indeed the great skill of Levy's nose consists in its ability to titillate with a rotten smell, to sniff it out a hundred miles away and to attract it. Thus Levy's nose serves the *Daily Telegraph* as elephant's trunk, antenna, lighthouse and telegraph. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that Levy writes his paper with his nose.

The clean-minded *Daily Telegraph* was of course the *only* English paper in which Vogt's *Lousiad,* not only could, but had to be printed. In Levy's organ an article two-and-a-half columns long appeared on February 6, 1860, with the title: "The Journalistic Auxiliaries of Austria",[b] which was in fact a mere translation into malodorous English of the two leading articles from the Berlin *National-Zeitung.* To lead the reader astray, the article bore the superscription: "From an occasional correspondent, Frankfort on the Main, February 2."[c] I knew of course that the only correspondent of the *Telegraph* was based in Berlin where Levy's nose had sniffed him out with its customary virtuosity. I therefore wrote at once to a friend in Berlin asking him to see if he could discover the name of Levy's correspondent.[212] My friend, a man whose learning has been acknowledged even by Alexander von Humboldt, was obdurate enough to insist that there was no *Daily Telegraph* in London and consequently no correspondent belonging to it in Berlin. I therefore turned to another acquaintance in the City on the Spree. Reply: the Berlin correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* exists and is called—**Abel**. I thought this might well conceal a gross mystification. Abel was obviously just an abbreviation of Zabel. Nor was I led astray by the fact that Zabel cannot write English. If Abel can edit the *National-Zeitung* as Zabel without knowing any German, why should not Zabel be able to contribute to the *Telegraph* as Abel without knowing any English. So Zabel, Abel, Abel, Zabel? How to find a way out of this Babel? I examined the Berlin organ of wisdom once again, comparing it with Levy's, and this time I discovered the following passage in No. 41 of the *National-Zeitung*:

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[a] Marx quotes in English and gives the German translation in a footnote.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx gives the title in English and supplies the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx gives the words of the superscription in English and supplies the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

"Liebknecht strangely enough adds: 'We asked the *magistrate* (?) to authenticate our signatures.'"

This passage about the magistrate and Zabel's astonished question mark after the word "magistrate" puts one in mind of the Swabian who "as soon as he got off the ship in Asia asked: 'Isn't there some good fellow from Bebbingen here?'" Levy's paper omits not only the entire passage, but even the question mark, which proves conclusively that Levy's correspondent does not share F. Zabel's belief that London police-court judges or magistrates[a] are the same thing as the Berlin *Magistrat*.[213] Hence Zabel was not Abel and Abel was not Zabel. In the meantime, however, other acquaintances in Berlin had heard of my difficulties. One of them wrote: "Among the 22,000 Levites in *Numbers* there is an Abel, but it is spelt Abigail." Another wrote: "On this occasion it is Abel who killed Cain, not Cain who killed Abel." In this way I went deeper and deeper into the maze until, finally, the editor of a London newspaper assured me with the dry earnestness of the English that Abel was not a joke, but a Jewish-born man of letters in Berlin whose full name was **Dr. Karl Abel**. This noble youth had served for a considerable time under Stahl and Gerlach as a zealous drudge for the *Kreuz-Zeitung*, but with the change of Ministry he had changed, if not his skin, at least his colours. The over-eager zeal of the renegade would indeed explain why Levy's Berlin correspondent imagines that the freedom of the press in England has been specially designed to allow him to peddle his compulsive admiration of the Hohenzollern Ministry. Hypothetically, then, we may assume that there is an Abel in Berlin as well as a Levy in London—*par nobile fratrum*.[b]

Abel supplies his Levy simultaneously from everywhere under the sun: from Berlin, Vienna, Frankfurt am Main, Stockholm, Petersburg, Hong Kong, etc.,—a much greater achievement than De Maistre's *Voyage autour de ma chambre*. But whatever address Abel chooses when he writes to his Levy, his dominant sign of the Zodiac remains constant: Cancer. In contrast to the procession in Echternach where those taking part move two steps forward and one step back,[214] Abel's articles take one step forward and two steps back.

> "No crab more active in the dirty dance,
> Downward to climb, and backward to advance." (*Pope*)[c]

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[a] Marx gives the English term in brackets after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

[b] A noble pair of brothers (Horace, *Satires*, Book II, Satire 3).—*Ed.*

[c] Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad*, Book II. Marx quotes in English and gives the German translation in a footnote.—*Ed.*

Abel has an undeniable talent for providing his Levy with the state secrets of the Continent. For example, if the *Kölnische Zeitung* publishes a leading article it has borrowed from the *Baltische Monatsschrift* on the state of the Russian finances, Abel will let a month go by and will suddenly send the *Kölnische Zeitung*'s article to London from Petersburg, not omitting to hint of course that he acquired the statistical secrets *entre deux cigares,* not indeed from the Tsar himself, or even from the Russian Minister of Finance, but assuredly from one of the directors of the State Bank. And he will declare triumphantly: "I am in a position to state, etc."[a] Or the official *Preussische Zeitung* puts out a ministerial feeler, for instance indicating Herr von Schleinitz's unauthoritative ideas about the problem of the Electorate of Hesse. This time Abel wastes no time. The very same day he writes to his Levy openly from Berlin about the problem of the Electorate of Hesse. A week later he reports: The *Preussische Zeitung,* the organ of the Ministry, has printed the following article on the problem of the Electorate of Hesse and "I owe it to myself" to point out that a week ago I myself, etc. Or he translates an article from the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* and gives it a date-line perhaps from Stockholm. This is inevitably followed by the phrase, "I must warn your readers" to beware—not of the article he has copied, but of some other article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* that he has not copied. Yet, whenever he happens to mention the *Kreuz-Zeitung* he makes the sign of the cross so as to disguise his true identity.

As to Abel's style, we can give the reader an idea of what it is like by saying that it is a poor imitation of the styles of Stern Gescheidt, Isidor Berlinerblau and Jacob Wiesenriesler.

With Abel's permission we shall make a digression at this point. The original Stern Gescheidt is another accomplice of Vogt. He is a certain **L. Bamberger** who in 1848 was the editor of a provincial rag in Mainz[b] and is at present a *loup-garou*[c] married "on full pay" in Paris and a *Decembrist democrat* "in the *simplest* meaning of the word". To grasp the significance of this "simple" meaning, it is necessary to be acquainted with the jargon of the Paris Stock Exchange synagogue. Stern Gescheidt's "simple" democracy is identical with what Isaac Péreire calls *"la démocratisation du crédit",*

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[a] This phrase and, below, the expressions "I owe it to myself" and "I must warn your readers" are in English in the original. The German equivalents are given in brackets.— *Ed.*

[b] The *Mainzer Zeitung.—Ed.*

[c] Werewolf.— *Ed.*

the democratisation of credit. This consists in transforming the entire nation, and not just certain strata in it, into a gambling den so that the people can be swindled *en masse*.[215] Under Louis Philippe the oligarchic Stock Exchange wolf had been so strait-laced that he confined his depredations to the national wealth accumulated by the upper bourgeoisie; under the aegis of Louis Bonaparte, however, all is fair game[a] for the democratic Stock Exchange wolf, who like the Roman Emperor exclaims: *non olet*,[b] adding with Stern Gescheidt Bamberger: *"It's the quantity that does it."* This is Stern Gescheidt's democracy in its extreme "simplicity". More recently, Stern Gescheidt Bamberger has come to be known under the name of *"Hurrah, on to Italy!"*[c] In contrast to that, during the campaign for the Imperial Constitution he answered to the name of *"Ouch, away from Kirchheimboland!"* I have in my possession a priceless manuscript describing the heroic deeds of Stern Gescheidt Bamberger, who absconded from Kirchheimboland and led the volunteer corps of the Rhine-Palatinate by the nose. He was much too smart[d] not to have sensed that the bloated, blood-streaked soil of December was gold-bearing for smart treasure-seekers. So he went to Paris where, as his friend Isidor Berlinerblau alias *H. B. Oppenheim* puts it so aptly, "one feels freer than one knows". Stern Gescheidt, whose "circulation was coming to a standstill" in 1858 (see the declaration of the Banque de France on circulation in 1858-59[e]), was overjoyed when he suddenly saw the dirty soil of December glistening with the bright colours of high-faluting ideas. Stern Gescheidt, as smart as he is brightly democratic, realised that if Paris had a flood which were to wash over the soil of December, it would sweep away the *Credit* in his ledger, while leaving the *Debit* behind. It is common knowledge that Stern Gescheidt Bamberger has added a tenth, Hebrew, muse to the nine Greek ones: it is "the muse of time", as he calls the Stock Exchange list.

But to return to Abel. Abel's style is saturated with the *odor specificus* inseparable from the *Daily Telegraph*, the paper cloaca of

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[a] Marx writes "fish" in the original.—*Ed.*

[b] It doesn't smell (these words are usually attributed to Emperor Vespasian who introduced a tax on public lavatories).—*Ed.*

[c] An allusion to Ludwig Bamberger's book *Juchhe nach Italia!* published anonymously in Berne and Geneva in 1859.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx uses the word *gescheit*, punning on the name Gescheidt. On Bamberger's part in the events of 1849 see Engels' *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 196 and 224).—*Ed.*

[e] "The Bank of France", *The Times*, No. 23203, January 14, 1859.—*Ed.*

the capital of the world. When Levy finds himself genuinely moved by the scent of Abel's news reports, Abel's learning and the energy and zeal with which Abel writes from 20 different latitudes at the same time—at such moments of the greatest exaltation Levy has a very special term of endearment for Abel: he calls him his "industrious bug".[a]

Poetic justice demands that at the end of the comedy the "well-rounded character" should not get stuck together with Abel in the London muck, but who is to pull him out of it? Who is to be his saviour? A mudlark is to be his saviour, namely *Baron* **von Vincke,**[b] a squire of the red earth,[c] a knight of the joyful countenance, *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche.*[216]

As already mentioned, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as early as 1848 revealed the identity of the opposites Vogt and Vincke,[d] and Vogt himself had a presentiment of this identity as early as 1859 when he wrote in his *Studien*:

> "Herr von Vincke as the apostle of a new political freedom ... really verges *on the realm of the ridiculous*" (loc. cit., p. 21),

i.e. Vogt's own realm. However, on March 1, 1860 Vincke publicly extended the hand of friendship in a speech in which, as Johann Philipp Becker expressed it, he "used the *Brimstone Gang* as an illustration of the modest Prussian Chamber". Hardly a year had passed since he had recommended to that same house the pamphlet *Po and Rhine*[e] whose sulphurous origins he had of course been unable to detect, since he lacked Levy's nose. When moreover Vincke began to play the Italian just like Vogt, when Vincke, like Vogt, insulted the Poles and when Vincke, like Vogt, proclaimed the partition of Germany, the feuding brothers fell into each other's arms for ever.

It is well known that like poles are bound to repel each other. So for a long time Vogt and Vincke repelled each other. Both men drivel too much so that each imagined that the other wished to prevent him from speaking.

Vogt is a great zoologist, as Ranickel testifies, and so is Vincke, as is demonstrated by his pig-farm at Ickern.

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[a] Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad,* Book I. Marx uses the English phrase and gives the German translation and the author's name in a footnote.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx puns on the name Vincke and the word *Mistfinke* (mudlark, filthy fellow).—*Ed.*

[c] Westphalia.—*Ed.*

[d] This refers to an item in the column "Deutschland" in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* No. 181, December 29, 1848.—*Ed.*

[e] See present edition, Vol. 16.—*Ed.*

In Spanish drama there are always two clowns per hero. Calderón equips even St. Cyprian, the Spanish Faust, with a Moscon and a Clarin.[a] In the same way, in the Frankfurt Parliament, the reactionary General von Radowitz had two comic adjutants, his harlequin Lichnowski and his clown Vincke. Vogt, however, the liberal counter-clown, had to do everything on his own, for Jacobus Venedey only knew how to act the sentimental role of Pantalone, and so inevitably, he came to resent Vincke. Vincke liked occasionally to take off the fool's cap and bells. On June 21, 1848, for example, he declared in Parliament:

"He sometimes imagined that he was in a theatre rather than in such an assembly."[b]

And at a party of the Tories of the Frankfurt Parliament he made an appearance as the *Prince of Fools,* sat on a barrel and sang[217]:

"The Prince of Fools am I,
I'll booze until I die."

This too offended his counterpart. Furthermore, Vogt and Vincke could not intimidate each other so they both imagined that their best course was for each to set upon the other. Falstaff Vogt knew what to think of the knight without fear or reproach, and vice versa. The Westphalian Bayard had in his time studied law at German universities, not so much the Roman *corpus juris*[218] for, as he said, his ancestors of the red earth had not defeated Varus for nothing. To make up for it he threw himself on Teutonic law, i.e. the *students' code of behaviour,* whose basis he thoroughly explored in every direction and subsequently made notorious as the *legal basis.*[c] As a result of this profound and casuistical research into the students' code of behaviour he later on, whenever faced with a duel, always found some Duns-Scotian hair which at the decisive moment interposed itself as hair-splittingly sharply between our knight and the shedding of blood as the naked sword in the bridal bed which separated the princess from the *locum tenens.*[d] From the adventure with the Supreme Court advocate Benda at the time of the United Diet of 1847[219] to the no less notorious adventure with the

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[a] Calderón, *El Mágico prodigioso.—Ed.*

[b] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* No. 25, June 25, 1848.—*Ed.*

[c] A reference to Georg Vincke's speech in the Frankfurt National Assembly on June 21, 1848, in which he said "my standpoint is that of the undermined legal basis" (ibid.).—*Ed.*

[d] Substitute.—*Ed.*

Prussian Minister of War[a] in the Chamber of Deputies in 1860, this hair-splitting always intervened with the regularity of a recurrent fever. We can see how unfair was the reproach, recently levelled at the squire, that he had lost his legal basis. It is not his fault if his legal basis consists entirely of trapdoors. Moreover, since the students' code of behaviour is really only applicable in the higher reaches of legal debate, the ingenious squire replaces it at the ordinary parliamentary level by the *code of the cudgels.*

In the frog-pond of Frankfurt Vincke once bitterly referred to his counterpart Vogt as the *"Minister of the Future"*.[b] But it really struck home when he heard in Ickern that Vogt, mindful of the maxim

> "Once a position of power you've found,
> You're lord and master the whole year round",[c]

had not only become Imperial Regent, but even Minister of Foreign Affairs *in partibus,* and he grumbled irritably that the rights of seniority had been ignored. For as early as the United Diet of 1847 Vincke as a frondeur had been against the Ministry and as a representative of the nobility against the bourgeois opposition. Hence on the outbreak of the March revolution he thought that he above all others was predestined to save the crown. But his rivals became Ministers of the Present, whereas he was appointed *"Minister of the Future"*, a post that he has filled with unbroken success to this day.

In revenge he shook the dust of Berlin from his feet and went to St. Paul's Church in Frankfurt, where he joined the extreme Right wing, acting as a clown, claqueur and bully for General Radowitz.

Our finch[d] was a fanatical and zealous Austrian as long as this had the approval of the authorities. He thundered frantically against the *nationalities.*

> "On the left they are infatuated with every conceivable nationality in turn—Italians, Poles, and now even Magyars" (session of October 23, 1848).[220]

The three knights Vincke, Lichnowski and Arnim played a musical trio:

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[a] Albrecht Roon.—*Ed.*

[b] Report on the session of the Frankfurt National Assembly of September 16, 1848 in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* No. 106, September 19, 1848 in the column "Deutschland".—*Ed.*

[c] Johann Fischart, *Affentheurliche, Naupengeheurliche Geschichtklitterung...,* S. 76.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx puns on *Fink* (finch) and Vincke.—*Ed.*

"To ox's bellow and cow's fart
The ass provides the underpart."

They performed this with such virtuosity in opposition to those who spoke in support of Poland (session of June 5, 1848)[a] that even the President's bell ran out of breath, and when Radowitz went so far as to put forward military and "natural" arguments in favour of incorporating the Mincio into the German Empire (session of August 12, 1848),[b] Vincke stood on his head and signalled his applause with his legs, to the delight of the whole gallery and the secret admiration of Vogt. As the chief claqueur for the resolutions by means of which the Frankfurt frog-pond stamped the dynastic subjugation of Poland, Hungary and Italy with the approval of the German people, the squire of the red earth shouted even more excitedly when the claims of the German nation had to be sacrificed because of the humiliating armistice of Malmö. To secure a majority for the ratification of the cease-fire, diplomatic and other observers sneaked down from the gallery and joined the Right-wing benches. The fraud was discovered and Raveaux pressed for a new vote. The finch protested that it was not a matter of who voted but of what was voted for (session of September 16, 1848).[c] During the September rising in Frankfurt that had been provoked by the resolution approving the Malmö armistice the Westphalian Bayard vanished without a trace, but reappeared after the state of siege had been proclaimed and avenged himself in a series of reactionary somersaults for the fright which no one could ever make up to him.

Not content with his verbal fulminations against Poles, Italians and Hungarians, he proposed that the Archduke John of Austria should be made president of the provisional central authority (session of June 21, 1848),[d] but he obsequiously added the rider that the Habsburg executive of the German Parliament should neither implement nor proclaim, nor in any way concern itself with the Parliament's plebeian resolutions. He even fell into a rage when, just to make a change, his colleagues in the majority voted that the Imperial Administrator should at least graciously deign to secure the previous agreement of the Parliament on matters of war and peace or the conclusion of treaties with foreign powers (session of June 27, 1848). And the extreme heat which the finch

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[a] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 10, June 10, 1848.—*Ed.*
[b] ibid., No. 76, August 15, 1848.—*Ed.*
[c] ibid., No. 106, September 19, 1848.—*Ed.*
[d] ibid., No. 25, June 25, 1848.—*Ed.*

generated in his noisy efforts to extort from the German Parliament a vote of confidence for the Imperial Minister Schmerling and his associates by way of reward for their and the Imperial Administrator's complicity in the bloody and infamous betrayal of Vienna[221] (session of October 23, 1848), triumphantly refuted Fischart's slanderous words:

"Oh, what cold mouths
Are Westphalian mouths!"[a]

Thus Vincke was amiably pro-Habsburg until the Fata Morgana of Little Germany[222] suddenly came into view, looming above the parliamentary Sahara, and the squire perceived a life-size ministerial portfolio with a finch under its arm. Since the walls of St. Paul's Church had unusually long ears, he might well flatter himself that the noise he had made in Frankfurt with his outbursts about loyalty to the Hohenzollern dynasty had produced an agreeable effect in Berlin. Had he not declared before a crowded St. Paul's Church on June 21, 1848:

"I have been sent here by the electorate to defend the rights not only of the people, but also of the princes. I always comfort myself with the saying of the Great Elector[b] who once described the inhabitants of the Mark[c] as his most loyal and obedient subjects. And we in the Mark are proud of it."[d]

And our Bayard from the Mark proceeded from phrases to fisticuffs in the celebrated parliamentary battle in which he won his spurs (sessions of August 7 and 8, 1848). What happened was that when Brentano, in the course of the debate on the proposed amnesty for Friedrich Hecker, let fall an ambiguous reference to one of the Hohenzollern princes from the rostrum, the finch had a veritable attack of loyalty rabies and rushing from his seat he hurled himself upon Herr Brentano and tried to drag him from the rostrum, shouting "Come down, you dirty dog!" Brentano was not to be dislodged. Later on the squire assaulted him a second time and threw down the gauntlet of knighthood, though naturally he reserved the right to later and more mature reflections on scruples arising from the legal basis. Brentano accepted his challenge with the words:

"Outside the church you may say whatever you wish to me; but if you do not let go of me here I shall hit you in the face."

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[a] Johann Fischart, *Affentheurliche, Naupengeheurliche Geschichtklitterung...*, S. 68.— *Ed.*

[b] Frederick William.— *Ed.*

[c] A county in Westphalia.— *Ed.*

[d] In this passage Marx summarises Vincke's speech, which was reported in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 25, June 25, 1848.— *Ed.*

The squire then reached into his quiver of invective and showered the Left with a series of dirty dogs until Reichardt shouted at him: "Von Vincke, you are a skunk" (session of August 7, 1848).[a] The finch tried to cut short the debate on the disagreement between the Brandenburg Ministry and the Berlin Agreers Assembly by simply proposing that the Assembly should proceed to the next item on the agenda.

"Ever since Wrangel's triumphant entry into Berlin," he said, "order had reigned, stocks have risen on the Exchange.... The Berlin Assembly has no right to issue proclamations to the people, etc."[b]

The members of the Agreers Assembly had hardly been dispersed before our knight without fear or reproach fell upon them with even greater fury.

"We lack the political experience," he lamented in the session of December 12, 1848, "needed for a republic. This has been proved to us by the members of the former Berlin Assembly who approved resolutions dictated by base personal ambitions."[c]

He sought to appease the storm this provoked by declaring that

"he was ready to defend his words against anyone, in a *chivalrous manner*", but, the cautious knight added, "he was not referring to any member of this Assembly, only the members of the dispersed Berlin Assembly".[223]

This was the defiant challenge that our Bayard of the Mark hurled at the entire army of dispersed Agreers. One of them heard his call, pulled himself together and succeeded in bringing about an unheard-of event: he managed to induce our squire of the red earth to venture bodily onto the battlefield at Eisenach. Bloodshed seemed inevitable when, at the decisive moment, our Bayard smelled a Duns-Scotian rat. His opponent bore the name of Georg Jung and while the laws of honour enjoined the knight without fear or reproach to do battle with dragons, they would not allow him under any circumstances to take up the cudgels with a namesake of the dragon killer.[d] The finch simply could not be made to give up this *idée fixe*. He swore by all that is holy that he would rather slit his stomach like a Japanese *daimio*[224] than touch

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[a] Joseph Reichardt made this remark on August 8. It was included in the report on the session published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 72, August 11, 1848.—*Ed.*

[b] Georg Vincke's speech of November 14, 1848, ibid., No. 145, November 17, 1848.—*Ed.*

[c] Georg Vincke's speech of December 12, 1848, ibid., No. 169, December 15, 1848.—*Ed.*

[d] St. George.—*Ed.*

a hair of the head belonging to a man with the name of Georg, especially if he was below duelling age.[a] The knight invulnerable to duels showed all the less restraint in his onslaughts in St. Paul's Church against Temme and other persons unpalatable to the government who were safely under lock and key in the gaol at Münster (session of January 9, 1849).[b] While he scorned no detail that might ingratiate him in high places his zeal to prove his loyalty surpassed itself in his titanic efforts to bring about the creation of a lesser Germany and a greater crown for Prussia. Warwick the King-Maker was a child compared to Vincke the Emperor-Maker.

Our Bayard from the Mark now imagined that he had heaped enough burning coals on the heads of the ingrates of March 1848. When the Ministry of Action[225] fell, Vincke vanished for a time from St. Paul's Church and held himself in readiness. He did likewise on the fall of the von Pfuel Ministry. But as the mountain still failed to come to Mahomet, Mahomet resolved to go to the mountain. Having been elected in the first available rotten borough,[c] the knight of the red earth suddenly reappeared in Berlin as a deputy in the imposed Chamber,[d] fully expectant that the reward for his deeds in Frankfurt would now be forthcoming. Moreover, the knight felt entirely at home in the state of siege which would not deny him any unparliamentary freedom. He lapped up the hisses and jeers with which the people of Berlin greeted him as he stood with the other "imposed" deputies in front of the palace, waiting to be admitted to the White Hall, all the more eagerly as Manteuffel had dropped a delicate hint to the effect that they were inclined in the very highest places to accept the gift of the lesser German crown from the hands of the Emperor-Makers of Frankfurt if only to find a vacant ministerial portfolio in payment for a certain service. Full of such sweet dreams the finch sought to make himself useful for the time being by acting as the dirty boy of the Cabinet. He drew up a draft address to the Crown on lines laid down by the *Kreuz-Zeitung*,[e]

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[a] Marx puns on the name Jung and the adjective *jung* (young).—*Ed.*

[b] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 196, January 16, 1849.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses English: "rotten borough" and, below, "dirty boy".—*Ed.*

[d] i.e. the Chamber set up under the Constitution imposed by Frederick William IV in December 1848. It was dissolved in February 1849.—*Ed.*

[e] This refers to a motion Georg Vincke tabled in the Second Chamber of the Prussian National Assembly on March 31, 1849 (see the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 262, April 3, 1849).—*Ed.*

inveighed against amnesty,[a] and was only willing to accept the imposed Constitution on the express condition that it would be revised and revoked[b] by a "strong state power". He insulted the Left-wing deputies suffering from the rigours of the state of siege, etc., and patiently awaited the hour of his triumph.

The catastrophe drew nearer, the Frankfurt deputation bringing the offer of the Imperial Crown had arrived in Berlin and on April 2 (1849) Vincke put forward the most loyal amendment to the proposals about the Emperor,[c] an amendment for which Manteuffel voted in all innocence. As soon as the session was over Vincke rushed into a neighbouring second-hand shop where he personally purchased a portfolio, a portfolio of black cardboard, with a red velvet cover edged in gold. The following day our knight of the joyous countenance sat contentedly in his seat in the middle of the Chamber, grinning like a triumphant faun—but the words he heard from Manteuffel's mocking lips were "never, never, never"[226]; and the fearless squire, the colour drained from his cheeks, and quivering like an electric eel with emotion, gasped to his friends: "Hold me back, or I shall do something terrible." The *Kreuz-Zeitung,* whose prescriptions Vincke had been anxiously following for months and to whose proposed address of the Chamber he had stood godfather, the *Kreuz-Zeitung,* to hold him back, published an article on the following day with the headline "The Nation in Danger" in which it declared *inter alia*:

> "*The Ministry remains* and the King's[d] answer to Herr von Vincke and his associates is that they should not involve themselves in matters which do not concern them."[e]

Finding himself cheated our knight *sans peur et sans reproche* left Berlin for Ickern with a nose longer than Levy had ever had, a nose, moreover, which simply could not have been fobbed off onto anyone except a—*Minister of the Future*!

Having spent many a long anxious year vegetating in the pursuit of practical zoology in Ickern, our Cincinnatus of the red earth awoke one fine day in Berlin to find himself the official

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[a] Georg Vincke's speech of March 22, 1849, *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* No. 255, March 22, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] A pun in the original: *ausgemerzt* (eradicated) puts the reader in mind of *März* (March) and the March revolution in Germany.—*Ed.*

[c] See the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* No. 263, April 4, 1849.—*Ed.*

[d] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[e] "Das Vaterland ist in Gefahr!", *Neue Preussische Zeitung,* April 3, 1849. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* commented on this article in its issue No. 260, April 7, 1849.—*Ed.*

leader of the opposition in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies. Having had such ill luck with his rightist speeches in Frankfurt he now embarked on left-handed speeches in Berlin. It was not possible to discover whether he represented the opposition of confidence or the confidence of the opposition. But however that may be, he once again overplayed his hand. He soon became so indispensable to the Cabinet on the opposition benches that he was forbidden ever to take his leave of them. The squire of the red earth thus remained—a *Minister of the Future.*

In the circumstances the finch became tired of the whole business and so he concluded his famous Treaty of Ickern. *Vogt* gave it him in black and white: as soon as Plon-Plon had conquered the first parliamentarian island of Barataria[a] on the German continent, and as soon as he had peopled it with Sch-Oppenheimers[b] and had installed his Falstaff as its Regent, Vogt would appoint the Westphalian Bayard to be his Prime Minister and confer on him the right to adjudicate in all matters concerning duelling. Furthermore, he would make him Real and Privy General Masterbuilder in charge of all the roads,* and would moreover raise him to a princely rank giving him the title of a Prince of Fools. Lastly, he would have a coin struck in the *metal*[c] that passes for money in the insular realm of Vogt and this coin would have engraved on it a pair of Siamese twins, with Vogt on the right as Plon-Plon's Regent, Vincke on the left as Vogt's Minister, and a vine-adorned inscription wound round the voluminous double-figure, stating

> "Cheek by jowl with you
> I throw down this challenge to the age."[d]

* See the pamphlet *Auch eine Charakteristik des liberalen Abgeordneten von Vincke und erbauliche Geschichte des Sprochhövel-Elberfelder Wegbaues,* Hagen, 1849.

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[a] The island of which Sancho Panza became Governor in *Don Quixote,* Book II, Chap. 44.—*Ed.*

[b] A pun on the name Oppenheim and Schoppen (pint pot). *Sch-Oppenheimers* suggests "boozers".—*Ed.*

[c] A pun on *Blech,* which means both "sheet metal" and, in a figurative sense, "nonsense".—*Ed.*

[d] Adaptation of the lines: "Arm in arm with you I throw down this challenge to the age." From Schiller's *Don Carlos,* Act I, Scene 9.—*Ed.*

## XI

## A LAWSUIT

At the end of January 1860 two numbers of the Berlin *National-Zeitung* arrived in London containing two leading articles, the first bearing the title *"Karl Vogt und die 'Allgemeine Zeitung'"* (*National-Zeitung,* No. 37), and the second, *"Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht"* (*National-Zeitung,* No. 41). Under these headings **F. Zabel** presented a version of Vogt's *"Magnum Opus"*[a] prepared *in usum delphini.*[227] The "Magnum Opus" itself did not reach London until much later. I decided at once to start proceedings for libel against this **F. Zabel** in Berlin.

In the previous ten years a vast number of vilifications of myself had appeared in the German and German-American press, but they only rarely drew any literary response from me, and then only if a real party interest seemed to be at stake, as with the Cologne communist trial. In my view the press has *the right to insult* writers, politicians, actors and other public figures. If I regarded an attack to be worth answering my motto in such cases was: *à corsaire, corsaire et demi.*[b]

Here the position was different. *Zabel* accused me of a series of *criminal* and *infamous* actions and he did so for the benefit of a public whose political prejudices inclined it to credit the greatest atrocities and who, moreover, in view of my eleven-year absence from Germany, had nothing to enable it to form a judgment of me. Quite apart from any political considerations, I therefore owed it to my family, my wife and children, to have Zabel's *defamatory* accusations tested in a court of law.

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[a] Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung.*—*Ed.*

[b] Pay rogues in their own coin.—*Ed.*

The method of procedure I selected excluded from the outset any legal comedy of errors along the lines of Vogt's action against the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. Even if I had indulged in the fantastic idea of appealing against Vogt before the same Fazyesque court which had already quashed one criminal action in Vogt's interests,[a] there were a number of important and even decisive points that could *only* be settled in Prussia and not in Geneva. Conversely, the only one of Zabel's statements for which he might have sought proof from Vogt was based on alleged documents which Zabel could produce just as easily in Berlin as his friend Vogt in Geneva. My "complaint" against Zabel contained the following points:

1. In No. 37 of the *National-Zeitung* dated January 22, 1860, in an article entitled "Karl Vogt und die 'Allgemeine Zeitung'" Zabel writes:

"*Vogt* reports on p. 136 et seq.: Among the refugees of 1849 the term *Brimstone Gang*, or the name of the *Bristlers*, referred to a number of people who, originally scattered throughout Switzerland, France and England, gradually congregated in London, *where they revered Herr Marx as their visible leader*. The political principle of *these fellows* was the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' and with the aid of this illusion they succeeded in deceiving for a while not only some of the best among the refugees but also the workers from Willich's volunteer corps. *They continued the work of the 'Rheinische Zeitung'*[b] among the refugees. In 1849 this paper had counselled against any participation in the movement and had also constantly attacked all the members of Parliament because the Imperial Constitution was the only aim of the movement. *The Brimstone Gang maintained a frightfully strict discipline among its supporters.* Any of them who sought in any way to make a decent living in the bourgeois world was branded a traitor to the revolution merely for attempting to become independent. It was expected that the revolution would break out again at any moment and it was vital to keep its soldiers mobile and ready to be sent into battle. With the aid of rumours, letters, etc., dissension, brawling and duels were artificially fomented in this carefully nurtured class of loafers. Each one suspected the other of being a spy and a reactionary; distrust was universal. *One of the chief occupations of the Brimstone Gang was to compromise people at home in Germany in such a way that they were forced to pay money so that the gang should preserve their secret without compromising them. Not just one, but hundreds of letters were written to people in Germany, threatening to denounce them for complicity in this or that act of revolution unless a certain sum of money had been received at a specified address by a given date.* Following the principle that 'whoever is not unconditionally for us, is against us', the reputation of anyone who opposed these intrigues was 'ruined', not just among the refugees, but also by means of the press. *The 'proletarians' filled the columns of the reactionary press in Germany with their denunciations of those democrats who did not subscribe to their views; they became the confederates of the secret police in France and Germany.* To *fill in* the picture Vogt publishes among other documents a long letter by Techow, a former lieutenant, dated

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[a] The action against the joint-stock company La Cimentaire. See Appendix 16 and also Marx's letter to Engels of November 16, 1860 (present edition, Vol. 41).— *Ed.*

[b] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.— *Ed.*

August 26, 1850, in which the principles, the intrigues, the feuds and the various hostile secret unions of the 'proletarians' are described, and in which we see how Marx, puffed up with Napoleonic pride in his intellectual superiority, *rules the members of the Brimstone Gang with a rod of iron.*"

We should note at once, so as better to understand what follows, that *Zabel,* who was ostensibly allowing *Vogt* to "speak for himself" in the passage quoted above, now goes on in his own name to throw further light on the Brimstone Gang, by mentioning one after the other the Cherval trial in Paris, the communist trial in Cologne, the pamphlet I wrote about the last,[a] Liebknecht's revolutionary congress in Murten and his relations with the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in which I acted as mediator, Ohly, who is "likewise a channel of the Brimstone Gang", and lastly, Biscamp's letter of October 20, 1859 to the *Allgemeine Zeitung.*[b] He concludes with the statement:

"A week after Biscamp *Marx,* too, wrote to the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* offering it a 'legal document' as evidence against Vogt about which we shall perhaps speak at a later date. *These then are the correspondents of the 'Allgemeine Zeitung'.*"

Of the whole of this leading article No. 1, I made use only of the section printed under 1. in my submission, and in that passage I was concerned only with the following sentences:

"One of the chief occupations of the Brimstone Gang" (commanded by *Marx*) "was to compromise people at home in Germany in such a way that they were forced to pay money so that the gang should preserve their secret without compromising them. Not just one, but hundreds of letters were written to people in Germany, threatening to denounce them for complicity in this or that act of revolution unless a certain sum of money had been received at a specified address by a given date."

Here, of course, what I required from Zabel was *proof that his claims were true.* In my first advice to my lawyer, Legal Counsellor *Weber* in Berlin, I wrote that I did not require Zabel to produce "hundreds of threatening letters",[c] or even one, but just a single line showing that any one of my notorious party associates had been guilty of the infamous deeds imputed to them. Zabel, after all, only needed to turn to Vogt, who could have sent him dozens of "threatening letters" by return. And if by any chance Vogt were unable to produce even a single line from the hundreds of threatening letters, he would in any case still be able to give the names of the several hundred "people in Germany" who had been

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[a] Karl Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (present edition, Vol. 11).—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 127.—*Ed.*

[c] See Marx's letter to Weber of February 13, 1860 (present edition, Vol. 41).—*Ed.*

plundered in the manner described. Since these people are to be found in "Germany" they would undoubtedly be more accessible to a court in Berlin than to one in Geneva.

Thus my ground of complaint against Zabel's leading article No. 1 confined itself to a single point: *political compromising of people in Germany for the purpose of extorting money from them.* In order at the same time to refute the other statements made in his leading article No. 1, I produced a series of facts. Here I did not require Zabel to *prove that his claims were true*; I showed that *they were false.*

As to the *Brimstone Gang or Bristlers, Johann Philipp Becker's* letter[a] has thrown sufficient light on them. As far as the *character of the Communist League* was concerned, and my involvement with it, *H. Bürgers* of Cologne, one of the condemned in the Cologne communist trial, belonged to those people who could have been subpoenaed as witnesses to Berlin and made to testify under oath during the proceedings. Furthermore, *Frederick Engels* had discovered amongst his papers a letter dated November 1852[b] and *authenticated* by its postmarks in London and Manchester, in which I informed him of the dissolution of the League at my suggestion together with the reasons for that dissolution as they were set forth in the resolution: viz. that since the arrest of the accused in Cologne all contacts with the Continent had been broken off and that a propaganda society of this kind was no longer opportune. As for Zabel's shameless allegations about my contacts "with the secret police in Germany and France", these were supposed to have been verified partly by the Cologne communist trial and partly by the Cherval trial in Paris. I shall have more to say about the latter in due course. With reference to the former I sent my defence counsel a copy of my *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, which had appeared in 1853, and pointed out that the lawyer Schneider II could be subpoenaed from Cologne to Berlin where he could testify under oath to my part in uncovering the nefarious activities of the police.[c] Zabel's claim that my party associates and myself had "filled the columns of the reactionary press in Germany with denunciations of those democrats who did not subscribe to our views"—this claim was to be confronted with the fact that I *never* either directly or indirectly wrote for German newspapers from abroad, with the single

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[a] See this volume, pp. 60-64.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx to Engels, November 19, 1852 (see present edition, Vol. 39). An extract from this letter is contained in Marx's notebook.—*Ed.*

[c] See Marx's letters to Weber of February 24 and March 3, 1860 (present edition, Vol 41).—*Ed.*

exception of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung.* My printed contributions to that paper and, if need be, the testimony of one of its editors, Dr. Elsner, would prove that I *never* thought it worth the trouble to mention even one "democrat" by *name.* As for *Liebknecht's* reports to the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* they began in the spring of 1855, three years after the "League" was dissolved, and moreover they appeared *without my knowledge,* and as a scrutiny of the back numbers will reveal they contain accounts of English politics written from his political standpoint, but not a word about "democrats". When, during my absence from London, Liebknecht sent a pamphlet printed in London and attacking the "democrat" Vogt[a] to the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* he was perfectly entitled to do so for he knew that the pamphlet had been published by a "democrat" whom the "democrat" Vogt had himself invited to collaborate on his "democratic" propaganda, i.e. whom Vogt had recognised as a "democrat" of equal standing with himself. Zabel's comic tale making me a "correspondent of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*" was utterly refuted by a letter written to me by *Herr Orges* a few days before the opening of the Augsburg trial (see Appendix 10), in which he, *inter alia,* sought to correct my presumed "liberal" prejudices against the *Allgemeine Zeitung.* Lastly, Zabel's lie that "a week *after* Biscamp Marx, too, wrote to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*" collapsed of its own accord since Biscamp's letter was dated October 20, 1859 and the brief note I sent to Herr Orges along with the "document" he had asked for, was already in the hands of the Augsburg Court on October 24, 1859 and so could not possibly have been written in London on October 29, 1859.

For the benefit of the court it seemed appropriate to supplement the evidence already mentioned with a few documents which would serve to reflect back on "democrat" Zabel the grotesquely defaming light in which he had sought to place my situation within the emigration and my "intrigues" abroad.

I first lived in Paris from the end of 1843 until early in 1845, when I was expelled by Guizot. To indicate my position within the French revolutionary party during my stay in Paris I sent my counsel a letter from *Flocon* which in the name of the Provisional Government of 1848 revoked Guizot's decree of expulsion and invited me to return to France from Belgium (Appendix 14). I lived in Brussels from the beginning of 1845 until the end of February 1848, when Rogier had me expelled from Belgium. Subsequently the Brussels Municipal Council dismissed the police

[a] *Zur Warnung* by Karl Blind.—*Ed.*

commissar who had arrested my wife and myself on the occasion of my expulsion. In Brussels there was an international democratic association[228] in which the aged General *Mellinet* who had saved Antwerp from the Dutch held the office of Honorary President. The lawyer *Jottrand,* a former member of the Belgian Provisional Government, was President; the Vice-President for the Poles was *Lelewel,* a former member of the Polish Provisional Government; the Vice-President for the French was *Imbert,* who had been Governor of the Tuileries after the February revolution of 1848, and I held the post of Vice-President for the Germans, having been elected at a public meeting consisting of the members of the German Workers' Association and the entire German emigration in Brussels. A letter from Jottrand to me at the time of the establishment of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (Jottrand belongs to what is known as the American school of republicanism, i.e. a trend alien to me), and a few otherwise insignificant lines from my friend Lelewel provide a sufficient indication of my position in the democratic party in Brussels. I added them therefore to the material in my defence (Appendix 14).

After I had been driven out of Prussia in the spring of 1849 and out of France in the late summer of the same year, I went to London, where following the dissolution of the League (1852) and the departure of most of my friends from London, I have been living without joining *any* associations whether public or secret, and indeed without society of any sort. I do, however, from time to time, with the permission of "democrat" Zabel, give free lectures on political economy to a select group of workers. *The German Workers' Educational Society in London,* from which I resigned on September 15, 1850, celebrated its twentieth anniversary on February 6, 1860. It invited me to attend the celebrations, at which it passed a unanimous resolution *"to brand as slander"* Vogt's allegation that I had "exploited" the German workers in general and the London workers in particular. Herr Müller, who was at that time the President of the Workers' Society, had this resolution authenticated on March 1, 1860 at the Police Court in Bow Street. Together with this document I sent my lawyer a letter from the English lawyer and leader of the Chartist Party, Ernest Jones (Appendix 14), in which he expresses his indignation about the "infamous articles"[a] of the *National-Zeitung* and draws

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[a] Marx uses the English phrase and gives the German translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

attention *inter alia* to my unpaid collaboration over a period of years on the London organs of the Chartist Party. (It should be noted, incidentally, that Ernest Jones, who was born and brought up in Berlin, knows more German than Zabel.) I may also mention here that when the English Labour Parliament assembled in Manchester at the end of 1853,[229] Louis Blanc and I were the only members of the London emigration to be invited to attend as honorary members.

Finally, since our honorary Vogt has represented me as "living from the sweat of the workers", from whom I have never either asked or received a penny, and since "democrat" Zabel has suggested that I have "compromised people in Germany" politically "in such a way that they were forced to pay money so that the gang should preserve their secret without compromising them", I requested Mr. *Charles A. Dana,* the managing editor[a] of the *New-York Tribune,* the first Anglo-American paper which has 200,000 subscribers and is thus almost as widely known as the Biel *Commis voyageur* and Zabel's "organ of democracy",[b] to give me a statement in writing about my ten-year-long paid collaboration on the *Tribune,* the *Cyclopaedia Americana,* etc. His letter, extremely flattering for me (see Appendix 14), was the last document I thought it necessary to forward to my lawyer to defend myself against the stink-ball No. 1 of Vogt and Zabel.

2. In Zabel's leading article No. 2, "Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht" (*National-Zeitung,* No. 41, January 25, 1860), it is stated:

> "*Where* the *money* for this generously distributed paper" (i.e. *Das Volk*) "*came from,* is known to the gods; men, however, are well aware that *Marx* and Biscamp have no money to spare."

Looked at in isolation this passage might appear to be no more than a frank expression of astonishment, as if I were to say: "How a certain stout party whom I knew in my student days in Berlin as a dunce bereft of all intellectual and material charms—he was the owner of a day nursery and his literary accomplishments prior to the revolution of 1848 were confined to a few furtive contributions to a literary local rag—how the above-mentioned stout dunce managed to become editor-in-chief of the *National-Zeitung,* a shareholder in it and 'a democrat in possession of spare money'—that is known to the gods. Men, however, who have read

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[a] Marx uses English: "managing editor".—*Ed.*

[b] The *Schweizer Handels-Courier* and the *National-Zeitung.*—*Ed.*

a certain novel by Balzac[a] and who have made a study of the Manteuffel era, may be able to hazard a guess."

Zabel's remark acquires quite a different, and far more malicious inflection from the circumstance that it follows his allegations about my connections with the secret police of France and Germany and my conspiratorial and police efforts to extort money with the aid of threatening letters, and leads on directly to the "manufacture of counterfeit paper money on a massive scale" to be treated under 3. Obviously he intends to imply that I obtained financial contributions for *Das Volk* in a disreputable manner.

In order to refute Zabel in court I obtained an affidavit from Manchester dated March 3, 1860 according to which all the money I gave to *Das Volk* (with the exception of a specified amount out of my own pocket) came, not, as Vogt opined, from "the other side of the Channel", but from the pockets of my friends in Manchester (see "The Augsburg Campaign").[b]

3. "To throw light on" the "tactics" of the "'*proletarian' party* **under Marx**", F. Zabel narrates the following story (leading article No. 2 *inter alia*):

> "In this way a conspiracy of the most infamous sort was devised in 1852, which aimed at damaging the Swiss workers' associations by **manufacturing counterfeit paper money on a massive scale**. *See Vogt for further details,* etc."

This is how Zabel interprets Vogt's assertions about the *Cherval affair* and makes me the moral source and criminal accomplice in the "manufacture of counterfeit paper money on a massive scale". The evidence I assembled in refutation of these allegations by "democrat" Zabel extended over the whole period from Cherval's admission to the "Communist League" to his flight from Geneva in 1854. An affidavit taken out by *Karl Schapper* at the Police Court at Bow Street on March 1, 1860[c] proved that Cherval had been admitted to the League in London *before* I myself joined it. It showed further that when he was in Paris, where he lived from the summer of 1850 until the spring of 1852, he entered into relations not with myself, but with the rival League of Willich and Schapper which was hostile to me. Finally, it proved that after his feigned escape from the prison of St. Pélagie and his return to

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[a] Presumably *Illusions perdues.*—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 118, 119.—*Ed.*

[c] On this see Marx's letter to Karl Schapper of February 27, 1860 (present edition, Vol. 41). Extracts from the letter and from the affidavit are contained in Marx's notebook.—*Ed.*

London (spring 1852), he joined the public *German Workers' Educational Society* there to which I had ceased to belong in September 1850. Here he was finally exposed, condemned and expelled. Moreover, the lawyer Schneider II in Cologne could be made to testify under oath that the revelations about Cherval made *while* the Cologne communist trial was in progress, the account of his relations with the Prussian police in London, etc., all came from me. My *Revelations,* which were published in 1853, proved that I had publicly denounced him *after* the conclusion of the trial. Finally, Johann Philipp Becker's letter[a] provided information about Cherval's Geneva period.

4. Having with genuinely dunce-like logic babbled about the pamphlet *Zur Warnung,* which had been aimed at Vogt, and having done his best to discredit Vögele's testimony[b] about the *origins* of the pamphlet, which testimony I had forwarded to the *Allgemeine Zeitung, "democrat"* F. Zabel concludes his peroration in leading article No. 2 as follows:

"He" (Blind) "is obviously not a member of the *Marx party in the narrower sense.* It appears to us that the *latter* did not find it too difficult to turn him into a scapegoat, and if the charges levelled at Vogt were to carry any weight, they had to be attributed to a definite person who would have to be responsible for them. The *Marx party* could very easily saddle Blind with the authorship of the pamphlet because and after he had expressed similar views to those contained in it in *conversation with Marx* and in an article in *The Free Press. By making use of Blind's assertions and turns of phrase the pamphlet could be* **fabricated** *and made to look as if* **he** *had concocted it....* Anybody is at liberty to regard either *Marx* or Blind as its author", etc.

Zabel here accuses me of having **fabricated** a document, viz. the pamphlet *Zur Warnung,* in **Blind's name** and of having subsequently, in a false testimony sent by me to the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* represented Blind as the author of the *pamphlet fabricated* by myself. The legal refutation of "democrat" Zabel's allegations was as decisive as it was simple. It consisted of Blind's letter to Liebknecht, cited earlier on, of Blind's article in *The Free Press,*[c] the two affidavits of Wiehe and Vögele (Appendices 12 and 13) and the printed declaration of M. D. Schaible.[d]

Vogt, who is known to have jeered at the Bavarian Government in his *Studien,*[e] launched an action against the *Allgemeine Zeitung* at

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[a] See this volume, pp. 60-64.—*Ed.*
[b] ibid., Appendix 12.—*Ed.*
[c] ibid., pp. 122, 122-23.—*Ed.*
[d] ibid., pp. 130-31.—*Ed.*
[e] Carl Vogt, *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas,* S. 91.—*Ed.*

the end of August 1859. As early as September the *Allgemeine Zeitung* had to request a postponement of the hearing and although the postponement had been granted the trial actually took place on *October 24, 1859.* If this was possible in the *obscurantist state of Bavaria,* what might not be expected from the *enlightened state of* **Prussia,** quite apart from the proverbial truth that "in Berlin there are judges".

My lawyer, *Counsellor Weber,* formulated my case thus:

"The editor of the *National-Zeitung,* Dr. Zabel, has repeatedly and publicly libelled me in leading articles in Nos. 37 and 41 of that paper of this year. In particular he has accused me (1) of acquiring and having acquired money in a dishonourable and criminal manner; (2) of having fabricated the anonymous pamphlet *Zur Warnung* and of having not only represented a certain Blind as its author to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* against my better knowledge, but also of having sought to prove this assertion with the aid of a document of whose inaccurate contents I must have been convinced."

Counsellor Weber elected to proceed first by means of an *official investigation,* i.e. he denounced Zabel's libels to the Public Prosecutor with the idea that proceedings against Zabel should then be initiated by the Public Prosecutor's Office. This resulted in the following *"ruling"* which was handed down on *April 18, 1860*:

"The original documents are returned to Dr. Karl Marx c/o Counsellor Weber, together with the notification that *no issue of public importance* is raised by this matter which could make it desirable for me to take any action (Article XVI of the Prolegomena to the Penal Code of April 14, 1851).[a] Berlin, April 18.

"Public Prosecutor at the Royal Municipal Court,

(signed) **Lippe**"

My counsel appealed to the Chief Public Prosecutor and on *April 26, 1860* he received a second *"ruling"* worded thus:

"To the Royal Counsellor Weber, acting on behalf of Dr. Karl Marx of London. I hereby return to you the documents accompanying the complaint of April 20 of this year concerning the denunciation against Dr. Zabel. The only criterion by which the Public Prosecutor may act in considering what discretion he is allowed by Article XVI of the Prolegomena to the Penal Code is, of course, the question whether prosecution is required by any discernible public interest. Concurring with the judgment of the Royal Public Prosecutor I must answer this question negatively in the present instance, and I accordingly reject your complaint. Berlin, April 26, 1860.

"Chief Public Prosecutor at the Royal High Court,

(signed) **Schwarck**"

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[a] "Gesetz über die Einführung des Strafgesetzbuchs für die Preussischen Staaten. Vom 14. April 1851", *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preussischen Staaten 1851.—Ed.*

I found these two refusals on the part of Public Prosecutor *Lippe* and Chief Public Prosecutor *Schwarck* entirely justified. In every state throughout the world, and hence presumably in the state of Prussia also, the public interest is interpreted as the *interest of the government.* As far as the Prussian Government was concerned there neither was nor could there be *"any discernible public interest"* in the *prosecution* of "democrat" Zabel for libels against my person. If anything, the interest lay in the opposite direction. Moreover, the Public Prosecutor does not have the judicial authority to pass judgment; he has to follow blindly the regulations laid down by his superior, the *Minister of Justice* in the final instance, and he must do this regardless of his own views or convictions.

In actual fact, then, I am quite in agreement with the decisions of Messrs. Lippe and Schwarck, although I have legal reservations about Lippe's reference to Article XVI of the Prolegomena to the Penal Code of April 14, 1851. There is no paragraph in the Prussian Code which obliges the Public Prosecutor's Office to give a reason for its *refusal* to intervene. Nor is there any single syllable about this in the Article XVI referred to by Lippe. So why quote it?

My lawyer now proceeded to launch a *civil action,* and I breathed a sigh of relief. Though the Prussian Government had no public interest in prosecuting F. Zabel, I had the strongest private interest to defend myself. And I could now act in my own name. The *verdict* was a matter of indifference to me, if only I could compel F. Zabel to appear at the bar of a public court. But just imagine my astonishment! I was told that it was not yet a matter of instituting legal proceedings, but of a court hearing to settle the question whether I had a *right to bring an action* against F. Zabel.

I was disconcerted to discover that, according to the Prussian judicial regulations, before the judge can hear the action and proceed to judgment, every plaintiff must plead his case to the same judge to enable the latter to see whether the plaintiff has the *right to sue.* In the course of this preliminary investigation the judge may call for additional evidence, or he may suppress part of the old evidence, or he may find that the plaintiff has no **right** *to sue.* If he sees fit to allow the right to sue, the judge arranges the hearing; the case is heard and is settled by a verdict. If the judge refuses the right to sue, he simply stops the action by a decree, by a *ruling.* This procedure applies not only to actions for libel, but to all civil cases. Thus an action for libel, like any other civil action,

can be dismissed in all instances by such an official *ruling* and therefore will never be settled.

It will be granted that a code of law which does not recognise the *right* of the private individual *to sue* in his own private interests, ignores the simplest and most basic laws of civil society. The right to sue, a self-evident right of the independent private individual, is turned into a privilege granted by the state through the agency of its judiciary. In every legal conflict the state intervenes placing itself between the private individual and the gateway to the court, which is its *private property* and which it opens or closes as it thinks fit. First the judge *gives a ruling* in his capacity as an official; later on he *gives his verdict,* in his capacity as a judge. The same judge who, without hearing the accused, without hearing the pros and cons of the case, *prejudges* the issue of whether there are grounds for an action, and who, let us say, places himself on the side of the plaintiff, who thus decides to a certain degree *in favour of* the legitimacy of the complaint, who decides therefore to a certain degree against the defendant, this very same judge is supposed subsequently, in the actual trial, to *decide impartially* between the plaintiff and defendant, i.e. to pass a verdict on his own prejudgment. B. boxes A.'s ears. A. cannot sue the attacker until he has civilly acquired a licence to do so from the court official. A. withholds from B. a piece of land that belongs to him. B. requires a preliminary licence enabling him to assert his property rights before the court. He may receive it or he may not. B. libels A. publicly in the press, and an official of the judiciary, sitting in camera, may "rule" that A. may not sue B. It is easy to see what monstrous injustices may be perpetrated because of this procedure even in civil cases in the strict sense of the word. Still more so in case of libels made in the press against political parties. In all countries, and even in Prussia, judges are known to be human beings like everyone else. Even one of the Vice-Presidents of the Royal Prussian Supreme Tribunal, *Dr. Götze,* has declared in the Prussian Upper House that Prussian law was embarrassed by the disturbances of the years 1848, 1849 and 1850, and needed some time to orientate itself. Who can guarantee that Dr. Götze has not miscalculated the time required for orientation? The fact that in Prussia the right to take action against a slanderer, for example, depends on the *interim "ruling"* of an official whom the government, moreover, may punish for so-called "derelictions of duty while in office", with censure, fines, forced transfer and even dishonourable dismissal from the judiciary (see the interim ordinance of July 10, 1849

and the Law concerning discipline of May 7, 1851[a])—how shall I even begin to make this credible, if not clear, to English readers?

For it is my intention to publish an English pamphlet about my case against F. Zabel.[230] And when Edmond About wrote his *La Prusse en 1860* what would he not have given for the information that in the entire realm of the Prussian monarchy the *right to sue* does not exist anywhere but in the Rhine Province, which has been "blessed" with the possession of the *Code Napoléon*[231]! Men must *suffer* everywhere under the courts, but only in a very few countries are they forbidden to *sue.*

In the circumstances it is understandable that *my action* against *Zabel* in the *Prussian courts* had to change into *my dispute with the Prussian courts* about *Zabel.* Leaving the theoretical beauties of the law to one side, let us now cast a glance at the charms of applying it in practice.

On June 8, 1860 the Royal *Municipal Court* in Berlin issued the following *"ruling"*:

*"Ruling regarding the suit for libel brought on June 5, 1860*
*"Marx contra Zabel.* M. 38 de 1860

"1. The suit is dismissed for *lack of an indictable offence,* because the two incriminating leading articles of the local *'National-Zeitung' merely make the political views of the Augsburg 'Allgemeine Zeitung'* and the *history of the anonymous pamphlet 'Zur Warnung'* the object of discussion. *The statements and assertions contained therein, insofar as they are those of the author himself* and **are not merely quotations from other persons,** *do not exceed the bounds of legitimate criticism.* In accordance with § 154 of the Penal Code, therefore, since *the intention to insult* is evident neither *from the form* of these utterances, nor *from the circumstances* in which they were made, they cannot be held to be punishable.

Berlin, June 8, 1860

"Royal Municipal Court, Criminal Division
"Commission I for Libel Cases (L.S.[b])"

Thus the *Municipal Court* forbids me to *sue F. Zabel* and absolves *Zabel* of the irksome necessity of having to answer for his public libels! And why? *"For lack of an indictable offence."* The Public Prosecutor's Office refused to take action against Zabel on my behalf because *no discernible public interest was involved.* The *Municipal Court* forbids me to proceed against Zabel on my own behalf because there is *no indictable offence.* And why is there no indictable offence?

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[a] "Verordnung, betreffend die Dienstvergehen der Richter ... vom 10. Juli 1849" and "Gesetz, betreffend die Dienstvergehen der Richter ... vom 7. Mai 1851".—*Ed.*

[b] *Locus sigilli*: the place of the seal.—*Ed.*

First: "Because the two leading articles of the *'National-Zeitung' merely relate to the political views of the 'Allgemeine Zeitung'.*"

*Because* Zabel has for the time being deceitfully transformed me into a *"correspondent of the 'Allgemeine Zeitung'"* he has the right to make me the whipping-boy in his feud with that paper, and I do not even have the right to complain about this "ruling" of the mighty Zabel! Brimstone Gang, Bristlers, *complot franco-allemand,* revolutionary congress in Murten, Cologne communist trial, fabrication of counterfeit paper money in Geneva, *"work of the 'Rheinische Zeitung'"*, etc., etc.—all this "**merely** *relates to the political views of the 'Allgemeine Zeitung'*".

Second: F. Zabel had *"no intention to insult"*. Of course not! The good fellow only had the intention of killing me off politically and morally with his lies.

When "democrat" F. Zabel asserts in the *National-Zeitung* that I have counterfeited money on a massive scale, fabricated documents in the name of third persons, politically compromised people in Germany so as to extort money from them by threatening to denounce them, etc., it is evident that according to legal terminology he can have had only one of two things in mind: either to libel me or to denounce me. If the first, then he is legally punishable; if the second, then he must prove the truth of his assertions in a court of law. What do I care for any other private intentions of "democrat" F. Zabel?

Zabel libels me, but without "the intention to insult". He injures my reputation like the Turk who cut off the head of a Greek, but without intending to injure him.

If one speaks of "insulting" and "the intention to insult", if one speaks of the kind of infamous actions which "democrat" F. Zabel imputes to me, then the specific *"intention"* to *"insult"*, the *utterly malicious intention* of the *good* Zabel—why it breathes from every pore of his leading articles Nos. 1 and 2.

Vogt's "Magnum Opus", appendices included, has no fewer than 278 pages. And F. Zabel, who is accustomed "to draw out the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument",[a] our conceited F. Zabel, Dunce Zabel has succeeded in compressing these 278 pages into approximately five small newspaper columns without forgoing a *single one* of Vogt's libels against me and my party. F. Zabel provides an anthology of the most scurrilous parts and a table of contents for the less drastic portions. F. Zabel, accustomed to expanding two molecules of ideas into 278 pages,

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[a] Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost,* Act V, Scene 1.—*Ed.*

now condenses 278 pages into two leading articles without losing a single atom of dirt in the process. *Ira facit poetam.*[a] How potent a malice it must have been to transform the hydrocephalic Zabel into a hydraulic press of such force!

On the other hand, his malice blinds him to such an extent that he ascribes miraculous powers to me, actual miraculous powers, only to enable him to make one more slanderous insinuation at my expense.

Having begun in the first leading article with a description of the Brimstone Gang under my command, and having happily turned me and my associates into the *"confederates of the secret police in France and Germany"*, having recounted, *inter alia,* that "these people" hated Vogt because he was continuously rescuing Switzerland from their clutches, he goes on:

> "Now when last year Vogt had brought an action against the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* the *latter* received a *communication* from *another* London *accomplice, Biscamp....* In the most shameless manner the writer offered ... his services as a second correspondent along with Herr Liebknecht. [...] *A week after Biscamp Marx,* **too**, *wrote to the 'Allgemeine Zeitung', offering it a 'legal document'* as evidence against Vogt about *which"* [b] (the document, the evidence or Vogt?) *"we shall perhaps speak at a later date."*

Zabel gave this promise on January 22 and carried it out as early as January 25 in the *National-Zeitung,* No. 41, where we can read:

> "So Blind denies being the author of the pamphlet; he is ... referred to as such for the first time in *Biscamp's letter to the 'Allgemeine Zeitung' of October 20.... To strengthen the case* for Blind's authorship *Marx wrote to the 'Allgemeine Zeitung' on October 29."*

So F. Zabel credits me, not once, but twice, first on January 22 and then again on January 25, having had three days to think it over, with the magic power of writing a letter in London on *October 29, 1859* which had been in the possession of the Augsburg District Court on *October 24, 1859.* And both times he credits me with this magic power in order to establish a link between the "document" I forwarded to the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* and the objectionable letter sent to it by Biscamp,[c] i.e. to make my letter look like the *pedisequus*[d] to Biscamp's. So was it not malice, pigheaded malice which made F. Zabel stupid to the point of

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[a] Anger makes the poet (Virgil, *The Aeneid,* Book VII, 507, paraphrased).—*Ed.*

[b] In German: *von dem,* but *dem* can refer either to the document, the evidence or Vogt.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 127.—*Ed.*

[d] Sequel.—*Ed.*

beginning to believe in magic, far beyond the average degree of duncedom?

But, the *Municipal Court* "argues further", Zabel's leading article No. 2 *"merely makes the history of the anonymous* pamphlet *Zur Warnung"* the "object of discussion". The *object?* Read *pretext.*

*Eisele-Beisele,* concealed this time under the name of *"German Patriots",* had, it appears, sent an "open letter" in November 1859 to the "National Association" which was printed in the reactionary *Neue Hannoversche Zeitung.*[232] This "open letter" offended against the "democracy" of Zabel, a democracy in which the heroic courage to attack the Habsburg dynasty was neatly balanced by the servility shown to the Hohenzollern dynasty. The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* took the opportunity provided by the "open letter" to make the not very original discovery that once democracy has got under way it need not necessarily end up in—**F. Zabel** and his "organ of democracy". Zabel flew into a rage and wrote leading article No. 2, *"Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht"* [*"How Radical Pamphlets Are Made"*].

"By inviting the *Kreuz-Zeitung,*" Zabel begins portentously, "to go through the history of the pamphlet (*Zur Warnung*) *with the help* of the documents and *explanations* provided *by Vogt,* we express the hope that it will finally admit that we were in the right when we said two months ago that the open letter to the National Association was something for it, not for us, that it had been designed *for its columns,* not for ours."

So "democrat" Zabel, who has been so radically initiated by Vogt into the mysteries of radicalism, wishes for his part to read the *Kreuz-Zeitung* a lecture on the mystery of "how radical pamphlets are made", or as the Municipal Court expresses it: "he **merely** *wishes to make the history of the pamphlet 'Zur Warnung' the object of discussion*". And how does F. Zabel set about his task?

He starts with the "tactics" of the "'proletarian' party *under Marx*". First, he recounts how, *in the name* of a Workers' Association but behind its back, the "proletarians *under Marx*" send letters from London for foreign workers' associations "which *are to be compromised*", hatch "intrigues", set up a secret league, etc.; and how they, finally, compose "documents" which "inevitably attract the protests of the police" to those associations "which are to be compromised". Thus in order to teach the *Kreuz-Zeitung* "how radical pamphlets are made", Zabel begins by explaining that "the 'proletarian' party *under Marx*" manufactures police "reports" and "documents", which are not "pamphlets" at all. In

order to explain "how radical pamphlets are made" he goes on to recount that the "proletarians *under Marx*" manufactured *"counterfeit paper money on a massive scale"* in Geneva in 1852, which are likewise not "radical pamphlets". In order to demonstrate "how radical pamphlets are made", he reports that the "proletarians *under Marx*" carried out *"manoeuvres"* hostile to the Swiss and compromising for the associations during the Lausanne Joint Festival in 1859—and these too are not "radical pamphlets". He explains that "Biscamp and *Marx*" with the aid of funds whose source was known only "to the gods" produced *Das Volk,* which was not a "radical pamphlet" either but a weekly journal. And after all this he puts in a good word for the immaculate purity of Vogt's recruiting agency, which once again was no "radical pamphlet". In this way he fills 2 of the 3 $^1/_4$ columns of the article entitled *"How Radical Pamphlets Are Made"*. Thus for these $^2/_3$ of the article the *history* of the anonymous pamphlet serves merely as a *pretext* for reproducing those of Vogt's slanders which *F. Zabel,* his "friend" and accomplice, has not dealt with under the heading *"Political Views of the 'Allgemeine Zeitung'"*. Lastly at the very end Dunce I comes to the art of "making radical pamphlets", namely to "the history" of the pamphlet *Zur Warnung.*

"Blind denies being the author of the pamphlet; he is impudently referred to as such for the first time in Biscamp's letter to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of October 20.... *To strengthen the case* for Blind's authorship *Marx* wrote to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* on October 29: 'I have obtained the *accompanying document* because Blind refused to stand by statements which he made to me and to other persons.'"

Now Zabel suspects this document in particular because Liebknecht ... "strangely enough" adds: "We requested the magistrate (?)" (this question mark stands in Zabel's text) "to authenticate our signatures" and Zabel has resolved once and for all not to recognise any magistrate but the Berlin magistrate. Zabel goes on to report the contents of Vögele's declaration which had caused Blind to send the statements of Hollinger and Wiehe to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* to prove *that the pamphlet had not been printed on Hollinger's press* and was therefore not *composed* by Blind. He continues:

"*Marx, always ready with an answer,* replied in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* on November 15."

Zabel lists the various points in my reply. Marx says this ... Marx says that..., "**in addition**, *Marx* refers". So since I do not say anything *"in addition"*, surely Zabel has informed his readers of *all* the points I make in my reply? But we know our Zabel! He

conceals, leaves out, *suppresses* the decisive point of my reply.[a] In my declaration of November 15[b] I make a number of points, all of which are numbered. Thus "1. ... 2. ... and finally, 3. ...": "It so happened that the reprint" (of the pamphlet) "in *Das Volk* was made from the type still standing in Hollinger's print-shop. Thus *without the need to call witnesses,* a simple comparison of the pamphlet and the reprint of it in *Das Volk* would be sufficient *to prove to a court that the former came from F. Hollinger's print-shop.*" That's the conclusive piece of evidence, Zabel said to himself. My readers must not hear of this. So he spirits away the strongest point of my reply and instead burdens my conscience with a suspect gift of repartee.[c] Thus Zabel's account of "the history of the pamphlet" contains two intentional falsehoods. He falsifies first the chronology and then the contents of my declaration of November 15. His *twofold falsification* prepares the way for his conclusion *that I "fabricated" the pamphlet,* and that I did so in such a way that it "looked like Blind's fabrication" and hence that in sending Vögele's testimony to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* I likewise sent a false testimony, and did so *knowingly.* The accusation of fabricating documents with the intention of saddling a third person with responsibility for them does not, in the view of the Berlin *Municipal Court,* "exceed the bounds of legitimate criticism" and even less does it imply "an intention to insult".

At the end of his recipe describing "how radical pamphlets are made" it suddenly occurs to Zabel that there is *one* shameless invention of Vogt's that he has omitted to make use of, and so right at the end of his leading article No. 2 he hastily adds the following note:

> "In 1850 another circular" (as Vogt recollects) "written by Parliamentary Wolf, *alias Casemate Wolf,* was sent to the 'proletarians' in Germany, and *simultaneously* allowed to fall into the hands of the Hanover police."[d]

With this pretty police anecdote about one of the former editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* our stout party, democrat Zabel, grins and takes his leave of his readers. The words "alias

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[a] Marx puns on the words *unterschlagen* (suppress) and *schlagend* (decisive).—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 8-9. The italics were introduced by Marx in *Herr Vogt.*—*Ed.*

[c] Marx puns on the words *Schlagkraft* (forcefulness, striking power, here—strongest point) and *Schlagfertigkeit* (gift of repartee).—*Ed.*

[d] From the article "Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht", *National-Zeitung,* No. 41, January 25, 1860.—*Ed.*

Casemate Wolf" belong not to Vogt but to F. Zabel. His Silesian readers were to be clearly informed that he is talking about their countryman *W. Wolff,* the former co-editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* How assiduously our good Zabel toils to ensure that the connection between the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and the police in France and Germany is established down to the last detail! His Silesians might imagine otherwise that it was Zabel's own *B. Wolff* that was under discussion, Zabel's natural superior[a] who, as is well known, rearranges world history with the aid of telegrams and in "secret league" with such well-known manufacturers of false reports as *Reuter* in London and *Havas* in Paris. *Sigmund Engländer,* the notorious secret police agent, is the heart and soul of the Reuter bureau and hence the presiding genius of the trinity *B. Wolff-Reuter-Havas.*

Despite all this and despite democrat Zabel's intention not to insult, the Berlin *Municipal Court* declares that Zabel's two leading articles do indeed "contain statements and assertions" which "exceed the bounds of legitimate criticism" and are therefore "punishable", or at least *actionable.* So produce this Zabel! Hand him over and let him wriggle in court! Not so fast! the *Municipal Court* exclaims. The "statements and assertions" contained in the two leading articles, the Municipal Court says, do not, "*insofar as* they are those of the author" (Zabel) "himself **and are not merely quotations from other persons**", exceed "the bounds of legitimate criticism" and are not "punishable". Hence Zabel is not only not punishable, he is not even actionable and "the costs are therefore to be borne by the plaintiff". So the libellous part of Zabel's "statements and assertions" is "**mere quotation**". *Voyons!*

It will be remembered from the opening part of this chapter that my action for libel was based on four passages in Zabel's two leading articles. In the passage dealing with *Das Volk*'s financial resources (*sub* 2 of the points listed above), *Zabel himself does not claim* to quote nor does he quote in fact, for:

| *Zabel (National-Zeitung,* No. 41) | *Vogt* ("Magnum Opus", p. 212) |
|---|---|
| "Where the money for this generously distributed paper" *(Das Volk)* "came from, is known to the gods; men, however, are well aware that Marx and Biscamp have no money to spare." | "The regular correspondent of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* is a collaborator on this paper" *(Das Volk)* "which was established with the aid of unknown funds, for neither Biscamp nor Marx have the requisite means *for it*" (i.e. to establish a paper on the basis of *unknown funds*?). |

[a] Marx gives the English phrase in brackets after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

In the second incriminating passage (see above *sub* 4), in which I am accused of fabricating a document in Blind's name, Zabel even states *explicitly* that **he** is speaking in *his own* name, as Zabel, and not in Vogt's.

"It appears to **us**", as monarch in the Kingdom of Dullness[a] Zabel naturally makes use of the *pluralis majestatis*,[b] "it *appears* to **us** that the latter" (the Marx party) "did not find it too difficult to turn him" (Blind) "into a scapegoat.... By making use of Blind's assertions and turns of phrase the pamphlet could be *fabricated* and made to *look* as if *he*" (Blind) "had concocted it" (*National-Zeitung*, No. 41).

The third of the incriminating passages (see above *sub* 3) must be "quoted" again in full:

"In this way a conspiracy of the most infamous sort was devised in 1852, which aimed at damaging the Swiss workers' associations by manufacturing counterfeit paper money on a massive scale. (*See Vogt for further details.*) This conspiracy would have caused the greatest difficulties for the Swiss authorities if it had not been uncovered in time."

Is this "**merely a quotation**", as the *Municipal Court* maintains, is it in fact a quotation of any kind? It is indeed partly plagiarised from Vogt, but it is *not a quotation in any sense of the word.*

In the first place *Zabel himself* does not claim that he is quoting, but implies that he is speaking in his own right when he remarks in a parenthesis: "See Vogt for further details." And now look at the passage itself! In Geneva it was known that *Cherval* did not arrive in Geneva before *spring 1853* and that his "conspiracy" and flight took place in *spring 1854.* So Vogt, writing in Geneva, does not venture to assert that the "conspiracy ... was devised in **1852**". This lie he leaves to our good Zabel in Berlin. Furthermore, Vogt says:

"Various stone and copper plates had already been *engraved* for this purpose" (the manufacture of counterfeit banknotes, etc.) "by Nugent" (Cherval) "himself" ("Magnum Opus", p. 175).

Hence various stone and copper plates had *already* been engraved for the forgery, but the banknotes and treasury bills had *not yet* been manufactured. According to *Zabel,* however, "the manufacture of counterfeit paper money" had already taken place, and *"on a massive scale",* moreover. Vogt states that the statutory "purpose" of Cherval's conspiracy was

"to attack despotism with its own weapons, by manufacturing counterfeit banknotes and treasury bills on a massive scale" (loc. cit.).

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[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*
[b] The royal plural.—*Ed.*

Zabel deletes the attack on despotism and holds fast to the "manufacture of counterfeit paper money on a massive scale". In Zabel, then, what we have is an ordinary criminal act which is not even palliated for the benefit of the members of the "secret league" by the pretence of a political purpose. And *this* is how Zabel "**quotes**" from the "Magnum Opus" throughout. *Vogt* felt it necessary to turn his tall stories into a "book". So he fills it with details, spins it out, scrawls, splutters, colours, daubs, arranges, develops, complicates, explains, fantasises, *fa del cul trombetta*[a] with the result that at every point his Falstaffian soul shines through the purported facts, which are once more dissolved by his own narrative, though he is not aware of this, into the void from which they had emerged. Zabel, by contrast, who had to compress the book into two leading articles and did not wish to omit a single slander, suppresses everything but the *caput mortuum*[b] of every purported "fact", he strings the dry bones of these slanders together and then counts his rosary with the zeal of a Pharisee.

Take the following case. Starting with the fact revealed first by myself, that Cherval was a secret police agent and *agent provocateur* in the pay of various embassies, Vogt's imagination takes wing. He says *inter alia*:

> "Various stone and copper plates had *already* been engraved for this purpose" (forgery) "by Nugent" (Cherval) "himself; the gullible members of the secret league had *already* been selected to go to France, Switzerland and Germany with packets of these" (as yet unmanufactured) "counterfeit banknotes. But *denunciations had already been made to the police* and scandalously enough these also incriminated the workers' associations, etc." ("Magnum Opus", p. 175.)

*Vogt* thus makes Cherval *denounce* his own operations to the police even though he has done *no more* than engrave the stone and copper plates for the intended forgery, even before the purpose of his conspiracy has been achieved, before a *corpus delicti* has appeared and anyone apart from himself has been compromised. But the Vogtian Cherval is eager to "scandalously" incriminate "the workers' associations" in his "conspiracy". The *foreign embassies* that make use of Cherval are as stupid as he is and are equally precipitate

> "in indicating to the Swiss police in confidence that political intrigues were being devised in the workers' associations, etc."[c]

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[a] Makes a bugle of his rear (Dante, *The Divine Comedy,* Inferno, Canto XXI).—*Ed.*

[b] Literally: dead head; a term used in chemistry for the residuum left after distillation; here: remainder, residue.—*Ed.*

[c] op. cit., S. 176.—*Ed.*

Simultaneously, these ambassadorial numskulls, who are too impatient to allow the conspiracy hatched by Cherval on their orders to come to fruition and who, in their childish impatience, reveal the identity of their own agent to no purpose, have police lying in wait at "the frontiers" to receive Cherval's emissaries, "if matters had developed to such a pitch" as they had prevented them from developing, "to receive them with counterfeit bank-notes" whose manufacture they had thwarted,

"and turn the whole affair into an occasion for a general witch-hunt in which masses of innocent people would have had to pay for the misdeeds of a few wicked men".[a]

When *Vogt goes on* to say that "the plan of the whole conspiracy had been *monstrously conceived*", everyone will agree that its conception was *monstrously stupid,* and when he concludes with the boast

"I cannot deny that I contributed **a substantial part** in frustrating these *devilish plans*",[b]

everyone will get the point and collapse with laughter at the whimsical devil. But compare this with the ascetic account given in Zabel's annals!

"In this way a conspiracy of the most infamous sort was devised in 1852, which aimed at damaging the Swiss associations by manufacturing counterfeit paper money on a massive scale. (See Vogt for further details.) This conspiracy would have caused the greatest difficulties for the Swiss authorities if it had not been uncovered in time."

Here, condensed into a single brief sentence, we find a whole bundle of facts, as dry as they are scandalous. "A conspiracy of the most infamous sort" dated 1852. "Manufacture of counterfeit paper money on a massive scale", i.e. an ordinary criminal act. The intentional compromising of the "Swiss workers' associations", i.e. betrayal of one's own party. The "greatest difficulties" which might have arisen for the "Swiss authorities", i.e. *agent provocateur* against the Swiss Republic in the interests of Continental despots. Lastly, "timely discovery of the conspiracy". Here criticism is deprived of all the vital clues provided by Vogt's account, they have been simply conjured away. One has to believe or disbelieve. And this is how Zabel treats the entire "Magnum Opus" insofar as it deals with my party associates and myself. As *Heine* so rightly says, no human being is as dangerous as an addle-brained ass.

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[a] ibid., S. 177.— *Ed.*
[b] ibid.— *Ed.*

Lastly, the fourth incriminating passage (see above *sub* 1) with which leading article No. 1 opens its revelations about the "Brimstone Gang". It is true that *Zabel* begins with the words: *"Vogt reports on p. 136 et seq."* But Zabel does not make it clear whether he is summarising or quoting. He takes care not to use quotation marks. In fact, *he does not quote.* There could be no doubt about it from the outset since he condenses pp. 136, 137, 138, 139, 140 and 141 of the "Magnum Opus" into 51 lines of about 48 letters each, does not indicate omissions, but packs the sentences as tightly as Dutch herrings, and lastly even has space in these 51 lines for reflections of his own. Wherever he comes upon a particularly vile sentence, he incorporates it more or less as it stands. For the rest, he mixes up his excerpts so that they do not follow the pagination of the "Magnum Opus" but are brought in as and when they suit his purpose. He equips the head of one Vogtian sentence with the tail of another Vogtian sentence. Or again, he composes a *single* sentence from the keywords of a dozen of Vogt's sentences. Should it occur that in Vogt's original the stylistic rubble prevents the light from falling right on the slander, Zabel clears away the rubble. For example, *Vogt* talks of

"compromising people at home in Germany in such a way that *they could no longer resist the attempts to blackmail them* and were forced to pay money".

According to *Zabel,* however, this reads:

"compromising people in such a way that they were forced to pay money".

Elsewhere Zabel *alters* anything that appears to him to be *ambiguous* in Vogt's unstylish mess. Thus *Vogt:*

"they were forced to pay money so that the gang should preserve the secret of *their* having been compromised".

Whereas in *Zabel:*

"so that the gang should preserve their secret *without* compromising [them]".

Finally, *Zabel* interpolates entire sentences of his *own* invention, such as:

"The Brimstone Gang maintained a frightfully strict discipline among its supporters" and "they"—namely *"the fellows who continued the work of the 'Rheinische Zeitung' among the refugees"*—"**they became the confederates of the secret police in France and Germany**."

Thus of the four passages regarded by me as libellous three stem *from Zabel on Zabel's own admission,* while the fourth alleged "quotation", although containing quotations, is *not a quotation,* and even less is it *"merely a quotation",* as the *Municipal Court*

maintains, and least of all is it a quotation *"from other persons"* in the plural, as the same *Municipal Court* contends. Conversely, among all Zabel's *"statements and assertions"* about me there is not *a single line* of "criticism and appraisal" ("legitimate" or "illegitimate").

But even supposing that *the actual assumption of the Municipal Court* is as true as it is false; even supposing that *Zabel*'s libellous statements about me were merely *quotations*, would the *Municipal Court* because of this circumstance be *legally justified* in *forbidding* me to bring an *action* against *F. Zabel*? On the contrary, in a "ruling" handed down by the **Royal Prussian High Court** which we shall give *in extenso*, we find that

"It would **not** *affect* the situation as laid down in §156 of the Penal Code if the facts set out in the aforementioned articles turned out to be *the author's own assertions* or **quotations** from the assertions of third persons."

So whether he quotes or not, "democrat" Zabel remains responsible for his "assertions". The *Municipal Court* has already *declared* that Zabel published assertions about me which are in themselves "punishable"; *but* these assertions are **quotations** and **hence** unassailable. Away with this pretext, which is *legally untenable*, cries the **High Court**. So finally I shall be able to lay hands on Zabel; the doors of the law will open, *Italiam, Italiam*![a]

My lawyer appealed from the *Municipal Court* to the *High Court* and on *July 11, 1860* he received the following *"ruling"*:

"In the leading articles published in Nos. 37 and 41 of the *National-Zeitung* on January 22 and 25 of this year under the titles 'Karl Vogt and the *Allgemeine Zeitung*' and 'How Radical Pamphlets Are Made', a libel on the plaintiff Dr. Karl Marx of London cannot be found. Even though it would not affect the situation as laid down in §156 of the Penal Code if the facts set out in the aforementioned articles turned out to be the author's own assertions or the assertions of third persons, it would be wrong to restrict the right of the press to subject the activities of the parties and the published expression of their disagreements to analysis and criticism, insofar as the form of the polemic does not indicate an *intention to insult*. In the present case this intention *cannot be presumed to exist*.

"In the aforementioned articles light is thrown above all on the conflict that prevailed between the views of Dr. Karl Vogt, on the one hand, and the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, on the other, concerning the support expressed for the interests of the Italians and for the interests of Austria on the occasion of the recent war; in this context the intervention of the so-called *German emigration* in London on the side of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* and against Vogt, as well as some of the *factional quarrels* and the machinations of these refugees among themselves, are also discussed!

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[a] Virgil, *The Aeneid*, Book III.—*Ed.*

"If in the course of these discussions the relations of *the plaintiff* to these parties and his partial involvement in their aspirations and in particular his efforts to assist the Augsburg '*Allgemeine Zeitung*' *in its polemic* against Vogt by supplying it with evidence are drawn into the debate, the relevant allegations concerning this involvement which are contained in the two articles are *not so much refuted as the plaintiff intended, but rather confirmed* by the facts *which he himself includes in his complaint.* If on the other hand he goes on to assert that he is *identified, in a defamatory manner,* with those political activities, on which the articles in question admittedly pass severe strictures, referring to them as *eccentric,* and even unprincipled and *dishonourable,* this assertion cannot be regarded as substantiated. *For* when the first article *quotes* from Vogt's account: 'that the refugees of 1849 gradually congregated in London, where they revered the above mentioned Marx as their visible leader'; and refers to a letter by Techow: 'in which we see how Marx, puffed up with Napoleonic pride in his intellectual superiority, rules the members of the Brimstone Gang with a rod of iron'—what we have here is in essence only a description of what Vogt calls the 'Brimstone Gang', and not an invective against Marx, who is portrayed rather as a restraining influence and intellectually superior. Least of all is his person associated with those people who are accused of blackmail and denunciation. Likewise, in the second article, it is nowhere stated that the plaintiff ascribed the authorship of the pamphlet *Zur Warnung* to the abovementioned Blind *against his better knowledge,* and that he *knowingly* sent false testimonies of third persons to that effect to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung.* However, the fact that the testimony of the compositor Vögele was disputed is conceded by the plaintiff himself in his complaint when he cites the conflicting statements by Hollinger, the printer, and Wiehe, the compositor. Furthermore, on his own admission a certain Schaible later disclosed that he was the author of the pamphlet, and he did this moreover only *after* the two articles in the *National-Zeitung* had appeared.

"The appeal of the 21st of last month against the negative ruling of the Royal Municipal Court of the 8th of the same month is adjudged to be without foundation and is therefore dismissed. Twenty-five silver groschen in costs for assessing the unfounded appeal are to be paid to the Treasury of the local Municipal Court without delay on pain of distraint.

"Berlin, July 11, 1860

Criminal Senate of the Royal High Court
Second Division
*Guthschmidt Schultze*

"To D. Phil. Karl Marx c/o Legal
Counsellor Weber"

When I first received this "*ruling*" from my lawyer, I did not notice the address and conclusion on the first reading and, unfamiliar as I am with Prussian law, I imagined that I had been sent a copy of the *defence* handed in to the High Court by "democrat" F. Zabel. I said to myself that what Zabel had to say about "the views" (see Appendix 15) "of Dr. Karl Vogt and the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*", and about "the interests of the Italians and the interests of the Austrians", all this must have accidentally strayed into his petition from a leading article intended for the *National-Zeitung.*

In any event, "democrat" F. Zabel does not mention in so much as a *single syllable* either these views or those interests in the four columns that concern *me* in his two leading articles (which themselves amount to hardly six columns). In his petition Zabel says that I

"assisted the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* in its *polemic* against Vogt by supplying it with evidence".

He refers to *Vogt's legal action against the "Allgemeine Zeitung"* as the *polemic of the "Allgemeine Zeitung" against Vogt.* If legal action and polemic were identical things why should I require the permission of the Public Prosecutor, the Municipal Court, the High Court, etc., for my "polemic" against Zabel? And Zabel even asserts that the "relevant allegations" in his two leading articles concerning my relations with the *Allgemeine Zeitung* were "*not so much* refuted as I had intended, *but rather confirmed* by the facts I had myself included". Not so much—but rather! In *jus*[a] it must be either-or. And what "relevant allegations" were made by Zabel?

The "relevant allegations" in Zabel's leading article No. 1 concerning my relations with the *Allgemeine Zeitung* were as follows:

1. Liebknecht became correspondent for the *Allgemeine Zeitung* on the strength of a reference which I had given him officially. I declared, in my complaint, that Zabel was lying, but thought it unnecessary to advance any further "facts" on such an absurdity. 2. According to Zabel I sent a "legal document" to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* from London on October 29, which in fact had been in the possession of the Augsburg District Court on October 24, and he found this "allegation" confirmed by the "facts" produced by me! From the facts I had advanced in my complaint, Zabel could indeed see that, quite apart from any political motives, it had become necessary for me to send in a document relating to *the origins* of the pamphlet *Zur Warnung,* because Vogt had *publicly* attempted to saddle me with the authorship of it even before the institution of legal proceedings. 3. Zabel's "allegation" that I was one of the correspondents of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* was refuted by me with the aid of authentic documents. Zabel's *leading article No. 2*, "How Radical Pamphlets Are Made", contained, as shown earlier on, no "allegations" concerning my relations with the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* other than the "allegation" that I myself had fabricated the pamphlet, that I had then laid it at Blind's door and

[a] Law.—*Ed.*

tried to prove that it was his work by means of Vögele's false testimony. Were all these "relevant allegations not so much refuted as I had intended, but rather confirmed by the facts included 'in my complaint'"? Zabel himself admits the opposite.

Could Zabel have known that Schaible had written the pamphlet *Zur Warnung*? Did Zabel have to believe that compositor Vögele's testimony, which on my own admission was "disputed", was in fact correct? But where in the world have I laid down that Zabel must have this knowledge or that belief? My complaint refers "rather" to Zabel's "relevant allegation" that I "*fabricated* the pamphlet and made it *look* as if *he*" (Blind) "had concocted it" and that I later used Vögele's testimony to try and prove that it was Blind's work.

Finally, I came across an argument in Zabel's defence which at least looked interesting.

"If on the other hand he" (the plaintiff Marx) "goes on to assert that he is *identified*, in a *defamatory* manner, with those political activities" (of the Brimstone Gang), "on which the articles in question" (Zabel's leading articles) "admittedly pass severe strictures, referring to them as *eccentric*, and even *unprincipled* and *dishonourable*, this assertion cannot be regarded as substantiated... *Least of all is his person associated with those people who are accused of blackmail and denunciation.*" [a]

Zabel is manifestly not one of those Romans of whom it is said: "*memoriam quoque cum voce perdidissimus.*" [b] He has lost his memory, but not his tongue. He transforms not just brimstone but the Brimstone Gang from its crystalline state into a liquid and from a liquid into a gas, and he uses the red gas to throw dust in my eyes.[c] The Brimstone Gang, he claims, is a "party" with whose "activities" he has never "*identified*" me, and with whose "blackmail and denunciations" he never even associated people "associated" with me. It is essential to convert this sulphurous gas back into the original flowers of sulphur.

In *leading article No. 1 (National-Zeitung, No. 37, 1860)* Zabel opens his "relevant allegations" about the *Brimstone Gang* by describing "*Marx*" as its "visible leader". The second member of the Brimstone Gang whom he alludes to "to fill in the picture", but does not name, is Frederick Engels. He refers in particular to the letter in which Techow reports on his meeting with Fr. Engels, K. Schramm and myself. Zabel draws attention to the two last as illustrations of the "Brimstone Gang". Immediately after he mentions *Cherval* as a London emissary. Then it is Liebknecht's turn.

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[a] See this volume, p. 283.—*Ed.*

[b] "We lost our memories along with our vices" (Tacitus, *Vita Julii Agricolae*).—*Ed.*

[c] Marx puns on *roter Dampf* (red gas) and *blauen Dunst vormachen* (literally: to produce blue smoke; figuratively: to throw dust in someone's eyes).—*Ed.*

"This Liebknecht, *in nomine omen*,[a] one of the most servile supporters of *Marx*.... Immediately after his arrival Liebknecht took up service with *Marx*, and his labours were to the complete satisfaction of his master."

"*Ohly*", who marches directly behind Liebknecht, is "**likewise** a channel of the Brimstone Gang". Finally, "another London *accomplice, Biscamp*". All these details follow in quick succession in leading article No. 1, but at the end of leading article No. 2 yet another member of the Brimstone Gang is named, *W. Wolff*—"Parliamentary Wolf, alias Casemate Wolf"—who had been entrusted with the vital mission of "sending out circulars". According to Zabel's "relevant allegations", then, the *Brimstone Gang* consists of: Marx, leader of the Brimstone Gang; F. Engels, illustration of the Brimstone Gang; Cherval, London emissary of the Brimstone gang; Liebknecht, "one of the most servile supporters of Marx"; Ohly, "**likewise** a channel of the Brimstone Gang"; Biscamp, "*another*" London "accomplice"; lastly, Wolff, the Brimstone Gang's writer of circulars.

In his first 51 lines Zabel makes this miscellaneously constituted *Brimstone Gang* figure variously under the *names*: "Brimstone Gang or Bristlers", "fellows who continued the *work of the* **Rheinische Zeitung** among the refugees", the "*proletarians*" or, as we find in leading article No. 2, "the 'proletarian' party under *Marx*".

So much for the personnel and the names of the Brimstone Gang. In his "relevant allegations" Zabel gives a brief and impressive account of its *organisation*. "*Marx*" is the "*leader*". The "*Brimstone Gang*" itself comprises the circle of his "*close*" supporters or, as Zabel says in his second leading article, "*the Marx party in the narrower sense*". Zabel even provides a touchstone for defining "*the Marx party in the narrower sense*". A member of the Marx party in the narrower sense must have seen Biscamp at least once in his life.

"He" (Blind), Zabel writes in leading article No. 2, "he declares that he has never seen Biscamp in the whole of his life. He is *obviously not a member of* **the Marx party in the narrower sense**."

The "Marx party in the narrower sense", or the Brimstone Gang proper, is therefore the aristocracy of the gang, not to be confused with the third category, the mass of "*supporters*" or "this carefully nurtured *class of loafers*". So first comes leader Marx, then the "Brimstone Gang" proper, or "the Marx party in the

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[a] The name says everything. *Lieb-knecht*—dear servant.—*Ed.*

narrower sense", and lastly, the mass of "supporters" or the "class of loafers". The Brimstone Gang, subdivided into these three categories, enjoys a truly Spartan discipline. "The *Brimstone Gang,*" says Zabel, "maintained a frightfully strict discipline among its *supporters.*" While at the same time "*Marx* ... rules the members of the *Brimstone Gang* with a rod of iron". It is obvious that in such a well-organised "gang" as this, its characteristic "activities", its "chief occupations", the deeds the gang carries out qua gang, all take place on the orders of its leader and they are explicitly presented by Zabel as the actions of this leader with his rod of iron. And what was, if we may use the term, the official occupation of the gang?

"One of the chief occupations of the Brimstone Gang was to compromise people at home in Germany in such a way that they were forced to pay money so that the gang should preserve their secret without compromising them. Not just one, but hundreds of letters were written to people in Germany, threatening to denounce them for complicity in this or that act of revolution unless a certain sum of money had been received at a specified address by a given date.... The reputation of anyone who opposed **these** intrigues was ruined, not just among the refugees, but also by means of the press. The 'proletarians' filled the columns of the reactionary press in Germany with *their denunciations* of those democrats who did not subscribe to their views; they became the *confederates* of the secret police in France and Germany, etc." (*National-Zeitung,* No. 37.)[a]

After beginning the "relevant allegations" about the Brimstone Gang with the observation that I was its "visible leader", and after listing its "chief occupations", namely blackmail, denunciation, etc., Zabel concludes his general description of the Brimstone Gang with the words:

"...*They became the confederates of the secret police in France and Germany.* To *fill in* the picture Vogt publishes a letter by Techow, a former lieutenant, dated August 26, 1850 ... in which we see how *Marx, puffed up with Napoleonic pride in his intellectual superiority, rules the members of the Brimstone Gang with a rod of iron.*"

Having caused me to be "revered" as the "visible leader" of the Brimstone Gang in his introductory remarks, Zabel fears that the reader might imagine that behind the visible leader there was an invisible one, or that, like the Dalai Lama, I was content to be "revered". So at the end of his description he transforms me (in *his* words, not *Vogt*'s) from the merely "visible" leader into the leader who wields a rod of iron, from the Dalai Lama into the Napoleon of the "Brimstone Gang". And it is precisely this remark that he cites in his petition as *proof* that he does *not* "*identify*" me with the "political activities" of the Brimstone Gang,

[a] Here and below cf. this volume, pp. 260-61.—*Ed.*

on which "severe strictures are passed" and which are "referred to as *eccentric,* and even *unprincipled* and *dishonourable*". Of course he doesn't! Or not entirely! He does "*identify*" me with them, but *not* "in a *defamatory manner*". "Rather" he has done me the *honour* of appointing me the Napoleon of blackmailers, threatening-letter writers, *mouchards, agents provocateurs,* forgers, etc. Zabel clearly takes his conception of honour from the vocabulary of the *December Gang.* Hence the epithet "Napoleonic". But I am taking him to court because of this very *honour* he has shown me! With the "facts" adduced in my complaint I have **proved**, and proved so decisively that Zabel absolutely refuses to follow me to any public court, **proved** that all his "relevant allegations" about the Brimstone Gang are Vogtian inventions and lies, and that Zabel only "quotes" them in order to be able to "*honour*" me as the Napoleon of this Brimstone Gang. But am I not depicted by him as "a restraining influence and intellectually superior"? Does he not describe me as maintaining *discipline* in the gang? He himself explains what this restraint, this superiority and this *discipline* consisted in.

"The Brimstone Gang maintained a *frightfully strict discipline* among its supporters. Anyone who sought in any way to secure a decent living in the bourgeois world was branded a traitor to the revolution merely for attempting to become independent.... With the aid of rumours, letters, etc., dissension, brawling and duels were fomented in this carefully nurtured class of loafers, etc."

But Zabel is not content with this *general description* of the "political activities" of the Brimstone Gang with which he has honourably "identified" me.

*Liebknecht,* a "notorious member of the Marx party", "one of the most servile supporters of Marx, whose labours were to the complete satisfaction of his master", intentionally compromises the workers in Switzerland with the "revolutionary congress in Murten" and joyfully "leads" them "into the arms" of the waiting "gendarmes". "In the Cologne trial the authorship of the forged minute-book was attributed to this Liebknecht." (Zabel omits to add, of course, that this lie of Stieber's was publicly *shown* to be a lie of Stieber's during the actual proceedings.) *Wolff,* the former co-editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* is accused of sending "a circular to the proletarians" from London and at the same time "allowing it to fall into the hands of the Hanover police".

While Zabel thus presents people who are "notoriously" connected with me as agents of the secret police, on the one hand, he also connects me with a "notorious" secret police agent, *agent provocateur* and forger, namely Cherval, on the other. Immediately

following his general description of the Brimstone Gang he makes "a number of people" including *Cherval* travel from London to Paris "in the double role of revolutionary seducers of workers and confederates of the secret police" and bring about the "so-called communist trial", etc. In leading article No. 2 he takes up the story:

"In this way a conspiracy of the most infamous sort was devised in 1852 which involved the manufacture of counterfeit paper money on a massive scale (**see Vogt for further details**), etc."

Now if the reader of the *National-Zeitung* carries out Zabel's peremptory instructions and *sees for further details in Vogt,* what does he find? He finds that Cherval was sent by me to Geneva where under my direct orders he set in motion "the most infamous conspiracy involving counterfeit paper money", etc. The reader, referred by Zabel to Vogt, will further find this:

"However, the personal involvement of Marx is quite irrelevant in this context, for, as we have already remarked, *it is a matter of complete indifference whether Marx does something himself or has it done by a member of his gang; his control over his people is absolute.*"

But Zabel could not rest content even with this. At the end of his two leading articles he felt impelled to whisper a final word into the ear of his readers. He says:

"He" (Blind) "declares at the same time that he has never seen Biscamp in the whole of his life. He is obviously not a member of the *Marx party in the narrower sense. It appears to us* that the latter" (i.e. the Marx party in the narrower sense) "did not find it too difficult to turn him" (Blind) "into a scapegoat.... The *Marx party* could very easily saddle Blind with the authorship of the pamphlet because ... he had expressed similar views to those contained in it in conversation with *Marx* and in an article in *The Free Press.* By making use of Blind's assertions and turns of phrase *the pamphlet could be fabricated* and made to look as if *he*" (Blind) "had concocted it."

Hence *"the Marx party"* or *"the Marx party in the narrower sense"* alias the Brimstone Gang "fabricated" the pamphlet so that it looked as if Blind had concocted it? Having unfolded this hypothesis Zabel summarised its implications in the following laconic words: "*Anybody is now at liberty* **to regard** *either* **Marx** or *Blind* **as its author**."

Thus it is not the Marx party or Blind, and not even Blind or the Marx party in the narrower sense, *vulgo* Brimstone Gang, but Blind or Marx, *Marx sans phrase.* Hence the Marx party, the Marx party in the narrower sense, the Brimstone Gang, etc., were merely pantheistic names for *Marx,* the person Marx. Zabel not only *"identifies"* Marx with the "party" of the Brimstone Gang, he

*personifies* the Brimstone Gang in Marx. And the *selfsame* Zabel has the effrontery to assert before a court that, in his leading articles, he did not "*identify* the plaintiff" Marx with the "activities" of the Brimstone Gang in a "defamatory manner". With his hand on his heart he swears that *"least of all"* has he "associated" my "person with those people" whom he "accuses of blackmail and denunciation"! What a figure Zabel will cut in the public session of the court, I thought to myself. What a figure indeed! With this consoling exclamation, I turned once more to the document I had received from my lawyer and read it through again, vaguely noticing that it was signed by some such names as Müller and Schultze.[a] But I soon discovered my error. What I had in my hands was not Zabel's proposed petition, but—a *"ruling"* handed down by the *High Court* over the signatures of *Guthschmidt and Schultze,* a ruling that refused me the *right to proceed with my action* against Zabel, and, to cap it all, by way of punishing me for my "complaint" it ordered me to pay 25 silver groschen to the Treasury of the Berlin Municipal Court without delay, on pain of distraint. I was indeed *attonitus.*[b] However, on carefully reading the *"ruling"* once more my astonishment faded away.

*Example 1*

*Zabel prints in the leading article of the "National-Zeitung",* No. 37, 1860:

"Vogt reports on p. 136 et seq.: Among the refugees of 1849 the term Brimstone Gang, or the name Bristlers, referred to a number of people who, originally scattered throughout Switzerland, France and England, gradually congregated in London, where they revered Herr Marx as their visible leader."

*Messrs. Guthschmidt and Schultze read in the leading article of the "National-Zeitung",* No. 37, 1860:

"For when the first article *quotes* from Vogt's account: 'that the *refugees of 1849* gradually congregated in London, where they revered the above mentioned Marx as their visible leader'".

*Zabel* says: Among the refugees of 1849 *the term Brimstone Gang, or the name Bristlers,* referred to *a number of people, etc.,* who gradually congregated in London, where they revered myself as their visible leader. Messrs. *Guthschmidt* and *Schultze,* however, make Zabel say: *The refugees of 1849 gradually congregated in London* (which is not even true since a large proportion of the refugees congregated in Paris, New York, Jersey, etc.) where they revered me as their visible leader, an honour which I have not

[a] The names of two philistines, the characters of many skits and jokes in the satirical journal *Kladderadatsch.—Ed.*

[b] Thunderstruck.—*Ed.*

received, nor is it imputed to me by either Zabel or Vogt. Now Messrs. *Guthschmidt and Schultze* are by no means giving a summary, they *quote in inverted commas* a sentence *nowhere* printed by Zabel as if it were *quoted* by Zabel in his first article "from Vogt's account". Messrs. *Guthschmidt and Schultze* evidently had before them a *secret edition* of No. 37 of the *National-Zeitung,* known neither to me nor the public. This must be the explanation of all these misunderstandings.

This *secret edition* of No. 37 of the *National-Zeitung* differs from the vulgar edition of the same issue not just by a *different formulation* of particular sentences. The *entire context* of the first leading article in the *vulgar edition* has nothing but a few words in common with its context in the *secret edition.*

*Example II*

*Having appointed me the leader of the Brimstone Gang, Zabel goes on to say in No. 37 of the "National-Zeitung":*

"These fellows" (the Brimstone Gang) "...continued the work of the *Rheinische Zeitung* among the refugees.... One of the chief occupations of the Brimstone Gang was to compromise people at home in Germany in such a way that they were forced to pay money.... The 'proletarians' filled the columns of the reactionary press in Germany with their denunciations ... they became the confederates of the secret police in France and Germany. To *fill in* the picture" (of the "Brimstone Gang" or "proletarians") "Vogt publishes a letter by Techow ... in which the principles, the *activities,* etc., of the 'proletarians' are described, and in which we see how Marx, puffed up with Napoleonic pride in his intellectual superiority, rules the members of the Brimstone Gang with a rod of iron."

After Zabel has appointed me the *leader of the refugees of 1849, Messrs. Guthschmidt and Schultze read in No. 37 of the "National-Zeitung":*

"and when it" (the first article in the *National-Zeitung*) "*goes on* to refer to a letter by Techow, 'in which we see how Marx, puffed up with Napoleonic pride in his intellectual superiority, rules the members of the Brimstone Gang with a rod of iron'".

Given that judges have the legal authority to grant or refuse private individuals the right to bring an action, it is clear that Messrs. *Guthschmidt and Schultze* were not only justified in refusing me the right to sue Zabel, they were obliged to do so. For the context of the leading article in No. 37 of the *secret edition* of the *National-Zeitung*, which they reproduce *in nuce,*[a] flatly precludes

[a] In brief.— *Ed.*

any *corpus delicti.* For what in fact does Zabel say in this *secret edition*? In the first place he confers on me the undeserved honour of causing me to be "revered" as the "visible leader" by the entire community of refugees living in London in 1849. And why should I wish to *"bring an action"* against him for that? And secondly, he does me the no less undeserved honour of making me "rule with a rod of iron" over a *Brimstone Gang* without connecting me with that gang in any other way whatever, more or less as I had ruled over Zabel and his companions in 1848-49. And what is there in that to make me *"bring an action"* against Zabel?

It is obvious what confusions can arise when the law permits officials of the judiciary to *"give a ruling"* and *"rule"* in secret on the question of whether or not someone has the right to bring an action against another person, e.g. for libel in the *National-Zeitung.* The plaintiff *sues* on the basis of a vulgar edition of No. 37 of the *National-Zeitung* of which perhaps 10,000 copies are available to the public, and the judge bases his *ruling* on a secret edition of the same issue produced *for him alone.* So little care is taken in this procedure to preserve the identity even of the *corpus delicti.*

By making the right of private individuals to bring an action dependent on a judicial permit in each particular case, Prussian law proceeds from the assumption that the state is a paternal authority which must regulate and act as guardian over the civil existence of its children. But even from the standpoint of Prussian law the "ruling" of the *High Court* seems strange. The intention of Prussian law is evidently to prevent the bringing of frivolous actions and therefore, if I understand its spirit correctly, and if I am right in assuming that its aim is not the systematic refusal of justice, it gives the judge the right to refuse permission for a case to proceed, but only if the *complaint* is *prima facie*[a] *unfounded,* if the suit appears frivolous on the face of it. Is that the case in the present instance? The *Municipal Court* concedes that Zabel's leading articles *in fact* contain "defamatory" and hence "punishable" statements about me. It only places *F. Zabel* beyond the reach of my legal vengeance because *F. Zabel* has "*merely quoted*" his libels. The *High Court* declares: defamatory statements are equally punishable by law whether they are quoted or not quoted, but it goes on to *deny* for its part that Zabel's leading articles contain any defamatory statements about myself whether quoted or unquoted. Thus the *Municipal Court* and the *High Court* have not merely *divergent,* but directly *conflicting* views of the *facts of the case.* The

[a] At first view.—*Ed.*

one finds defamatory statements about me where the other fails to do so. The *contradictory* judicial findings about the *facts of the case* demonstrate clearly that *prima facie* there are *grounds* for complaint. If Papinian and Ulpian say: This printed statement is defamatory; and if Mucius Scaevola and Manilius Brutus assert the opposite: This printed statement is not defamatory, what will the nation of quirites[233] think? Why should the people not believe with Ulpian and Papinian that Zabel had in fact published defamatory statements about me in Nos. 37 and 41 of the *National-Zeitung*? And if I assure the nation of the quirites that Mucius Scaevola and Manilius Brutus have given me a secret certificate stating that Zabel's *"defamatory"* statements and assertions in no way referred to my person, the nation of the quirites will undoubtedly shrug their shoulders and say: *à d'autres.*[a]

Since the *High Court* is the final court of appeal as far as the *facts of a case* are concerned, in this case therefore it was the court of last instance that had to decide whether Zabel's two leading articles *in fact* contained defamatory statements about me and whether the intention to insult was present; and since the *High Court* denies that the *facts of the case* provided sufficient grounds for action, a further appeal to the **Supreme Tribunal** could only relate to the question whether the *substantive findings* of the High Court were not based on an *error in law.* In its *"ruling"* the *High Court* had **established** that Zabel had accused the *Brimstone Gang* of "unprincipled and dishonourable activities", "denunciations and blackmail", the same Brimstone Gang that in the same leading article the same Zabel had expressly described as "*the Marx party*", or *"the Marx party in the narrower sense"*, with "Marx" as its visible "leader", ruling it with a rod of iron. Was the High Court within its *legal* rights in not regarding this as an insult to me? My lawyer, Counsellor *Weber,* comments on the question as follows in his submission to the *Supreme Tribunal*:

"It is true that it is nowhere stated in so many words" (by Zabel) "that Marx had extorted or forged money, or denounced anybody. But is anything more explicit required than the statement: Marx was the leader of a party which was engaged in the above-mentioned criminal and immoral activities? No sensible and unprejudiced person can deny that the leader of an association whose purpose and chief activities consist in the execution of crimes, not only condones these activities, but initiates and organises them and enjoys their fruits. And this leader is, unquestionably, doubly responsible, both as participant and as the intellectual inspiration, even if it cannot be proved in any particular instance that he was actually implicated in a specific act of crime. *The view expressed in the disputed ruling"* (of the High Court) *"would imply that a man's good name was utterly at the*

[a] Tell us another one.—*Ed.*

*mercy of anyone who wished to discredit him. Instead of fraudulently asserting that A. had committed murder, a would-be slanderer would need only to say that somewhere or other a gang was engaged in committing murder and that A. was the leader of the gang. The view expressed by the High Court grants this slanderer complete impunity.* According to the correct view, however, the same punishment for slander should be imposed on the slanderer irrespective of whether he falsely accuses a man of being a robber or a robber-chief."

From the standpoint of ordinary *common sense* a libel has undoubtedly been committed. Does it also exist in the *view of Prussian law*? The High Court says no, my lawyer says yes. If the High Court has ruled, contrary to the Municipal Court, that the *form of a quotation* should not grant *immunity* to a libeller, why should not the Supreme Tribunal rule, contrary to the High Court, that the libeller is *not protected* by the *"tapeworm" form*? My lawyer appealed to the **Supreme Tribunal**, hence so to speak to the *Areopagus* itself, on this *legal point,* on the argument that there had been an *error in law* on the part of the High Court in its appraisal of the facts of the case. The *Supreme Tribunal "ruled"*:

"I. Your appeal of August 23 of this year against the ruling on July 11 of this year of the Criminal Senate of the Royal High Court in the action for libel brought by Dr. K. Marx against Dr. Zabel, editor of the *National-Zeitung,* is hereby dismissed as without foundation after consideration of the relevant documents. II. For the Royal High Court did not find an objective defamation of the plaintiff in the two leading articles of the *National-Zeitung* in question, nor did it find that there was an intention to insult the plaintiff. It was right, therefore, to refuse permission to proceed with the proposed action for libel. The question whether there is an objective act of defamation, or an intention to insult, essentially pertains to matters of fact and the conclusions regarding them can only be disputed by appeal to the Royal Supreme Tribunal if the decision of the Appeal judge is based on an error in law. III. However, such an error is not evident in the present instance. IV. The costs of this ruling are to be borne by you and for this purpose 25 silver groschen should be deposited with the Treasury of the local Royal Municipal Court within a week.

"*Berlin,* October 5, 1860

Royal Supreme Tribunal, *von Schlickmann*

"To Legal Counsellor *Weber* in Berlin"

For the sake of clarity I have numbered the various sections of the *"ruling"* of the *Supreme Tribunal.*

*Sub* I. Herr *von Schlickmann* states that the appeal against the High Court has been *"dismissed". Sub* II. Herr *von Schlickmann* informs us of the respective spheres of competence of the High Court and the Supreme Tribunal—evidently a didactic digression irrelevant to the matter in hand. *Sub* IV. Herr Weber is ordered to pay the sum of 25 silver groschen into the Treasury of the Berlin

Municipal Court within a week. This is a *consequence* of the "ruling", but certainly not its *reason.*

Where then is the "dismissal" of the appeal *substantiated*? Where is the answer to the very detailed case set out by my lawyer? It is:

*Sub* III. "However, such an error is **not** *evident* in the present instance."

If we strike out the little word *not* from this sentence *sub* III, the explanation reads: "However, such an error is *evident* in the present instance." And this of course would overturn the ruling of the High Court. Thus this ruling is sustained only by the word *"not"* with which Herr *von Schlickmann* "dismisses" in the name of the Supreme Tribunal the appeal put forward by Counsellor Weber.

Αὐτότατος ἔφη.[a] *Not!* Herr *von Schlickmann* does *not* refute the legal objections raised by my lawyer; he does *not* discuss them; he does *not* even *mention* them. Of course, Herr *von Schlickmann* had reasons enough for his "ruling", but he fails to state them. *Not!* The demonstrative force of this little word lies entirely in the authority of the man who utters it, in the position he holds in the hierarchy. In itself "not" proves nothing. *Not!* Αὐτότατος ἔφη.

Thus the *Supreme Tribunal* too **forbade** me to **bring an action** against "democrat" **F. Zabel.**

Thus ended *my lawsuit with the Prussian courts.*

[a] He himself hath spoken (the words are attributed to the disciples of Pythagoras).— *Ed.*

# XII

# APPENDICES

## 1. SCHILY'S EXPULSION FROM SWITZERLAND

A letter from Schily about his expulsion from Switzerland which exemplifies the treatment meted out to non-parliamentary refugees[234] can unfortunately only be printed in extract, owing to lack of space. The letter begins by recounting how two German refugees, B. and I.,[a] both friends of Schily, left Geneva, were arrested during their journey through Switzerland and, having been liberated by Druey, returned again to *Geneva.*

"At their request," Schily continues, "I went to Fazy to find out whether anyone was looking for them and he reassured me by saying that there was no reason at Cantonal level to disturb their incognito and that no inquiries about them had reached him at Federal level either. I would do well, however, to have an interview with the *chef du département de justice et de police,* M. Girard, mentioning his name and what he had told me. This I did with more or less the same success and leaving my address behind in case there were any Federal inquiries. A few weeks later I was visited by a police officer who requested me to give him the address of B. and I. I refused, hurried around to the aforementioned Girard and upon being threatened by him with expulsion unless I gave him the address, I explained to him that according to our previous agreement I could be appealed to as an *intermédiaire,* but not as a *dénonciateur.* To which he replied: 'Vous avez l'air de vouloir vous interposer comme ambassadeur entre moi et ces réfugiés, pour traiter de puissance à puissance.'[b] I replied: 'Je n'ai pas l'ambition d'être accrédité ambassadeur près de vous.'[c] And in fact I was then dismissed without any of the ceremony to which ambassadors are entitled. On my way home I learnt that B. and I. had just been discovered, and that they had been arrested and led off so that I could regard Girard's threat as superseded by events. But I had reckoned without April 1, for on this ominous day in 1852 I was requested by a police officer, in the middle of the street, to accompany him to the Hôtel de Ville, where some questions

[a] Elard Biscamp and Peter Imandt.—*Ed.*

[b] "It looks as if you would like to act the ambassador between me and these refugees, to mediate as between equal powers."—*Ed.*

[c] "I have no ambition to become an ambassador accredited to you."—*Ed.*

were to be put to me. Once arrived there it was explained to me by State Councillor Tourte, the Genevan Commissar for the expulsion of refugees and *ad latus*[a] to Trog, his counterpart at Federal level, who happened to be in Geneva at the time, that I was expelled and that he must send me to Berne without delay; all of this to his greatest regret, since there was no complaint against me at Cantonal level, but the Federal Commissar insisted on my expulsion. To my request to be allowed to see the latter he replied: 'Non, nous ne voulons pas que le commissaire fédéral fasse la police ici.'[b] This statement, of course, contradicted his earlier one and in general he now abandoned his role of Genevan State Councillor, which consisted in resisting Federal demands for expulsion with liberal prudery, in yielding only to force, sometimes also yielding, with pleasure or resignation, to the application of gentle pressure.[c] Another feature of this role was to noise it abroad that the person expelled was a spy and that it had been necessary to remove him in the interests of the 'good cause'.... Thus Tourte told the refugees afterwards that he had had to get rid of me because I was in league with the Federal Commissar, together with whom I had sought to frustrate *his* (Tourte's) measures to protect the refugees, i.e. that I was in league with the same Commissar who, much to *his* regret, had given orders to expel me. *Quelles tartines!*[d] What lies and contradictions! And all for a little *aura popularis!*[e] Of course, wind is what that gentleman uses to keep his balloon airborne. Grand Councillor and State Councillor of Geneva, member of the Swiss Council of States or National Council, a born Counsellor of Confusion, he needs only to become a member of the Federal Council[235] to ensure that Switzerland will enjoy peaceful days in accordance with the saying: *Providentia Dei et confusione hominum Helvetia salva fuit.*"[f]

On arriving in London Schily sent a letter of protest about Tourte's slander to the Genevan *Indépendant,* which was under the influence of *Raisin,* whom we shall mention later, and which had shortly before printed a scathing attack on the assinine slanderous fabrications with which "the liberal *faiseurs*[g] were driving the refugees out of Switzerland". His letter was *not* published.

"From the Hôtel de Ville in Geneva," Schily continues, "I was transferred to gaol, and on the following day I was sent by mail coach to Berne with a police guard. There M. Druey held me in close confinement for two weeks in the so-called Old Tower...."

In his correspondence with the imprisoned Schily, which we shall refer to in due course, *Druey* placed all the guilt on the Canton of Geneva, while for his part Tourte had asserted that the entire responsibility lay with the Federal authorities, since *there was*

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[a] Assistant.— *Ed.*

[b] "No, we don't want the Federal Commissar playing the policeman here."— *Ed.*

[c] Marx uses English: "gentle pressure".— *Ed.*

[d] What follies!— *Ed.*

[e] Whiff of popularity (a phrase from Cicero's *De haruspicum responso,* 20, 43).— *Ed.*

[f] The providence of God and the confusion of man have been the salvation of Switzerland.— *Ed.*

[g] Busybodies.— *Ed.*

*no complaint against him on the part of the Canton of Geneva.* He had received a similar assurance shortly before from *Raisin,* the Genevan examining magistrate. Schily has this to say, among other things, about the latter gentleman:

"On the occasion of the Federal Shooting Competition which was held in Geneva in the summer of 1851, *Raisin* had taken over the editorship of the *Journal du tir fédéral,* which appeared in French and German. He engaged me to work on the paper, promising me a fee of 300 francs in exchange for which I was supposed *inter alia* to record *flagrante delicto*[a] the opening and closing speeches in German of the President of the Committee Tourte. I owe a debt of gratitude to Tourte for having made my task much easier by his habit of addressing more or less the same enthusiastic words to the various deputations of marksmen, varying his phrases slightly according to whether he was eulogising the Bear of Berne, the Bull of Uri,[b] or other members of the Confederation. In particular, when he would come to the refrain 'But if the moment of danger ever arrives, then we shall, etc.', I would calmly lay down my pen and when *Raisin* asked *why,* I could answer: *c'est le refrain du danger, je le sais par coeur.*[c] Instead of my hard-earned fee of 300 francs, I managed only to extract 100 from *Raisin,* and only with the greatest difficulty although he did open up the prospect of collaborating on a political review he intended to establish in Geneva in order to be independent of all the existing parties and be able to oppose any side and especially the then 'liberal' government of Fazy and Tourte, even though he belonged to it himself. He was the very man for such an enterprise—able, as he used to boast, 'd'arracher la peau à qui que ce soit'....[d] Accordingly, he commissioned me to establish contacts for this journal in the course of a journey through Switzerland which I undertook after my Federal Shooting labours. I did so and on my return I drew up a written report on the results achieved. In the meantime, however, the wind had begun to blow from another direction and he found himself returning full sail from his expedition of piracy into the peaceful harbour of the existing government. *J'en étais donc pour mes frais et honoraires,*[e] for which I vainly pestered him and continue to do so to this day, and have still received nothing even though he is now a wealthy man.... Shortly before my arrest he asserted categorically that there was no question of my being expelled, his friend Tourte had himself assured him that it was not necessary for me to take any preventive measures with regard to Girard's threats, etc. ... In reply to a letter which I sent him *de profundis,*[f] from my old prison tower, asking him for a small instalment of the money he owed me and for an explanation of the incident (my arrest, etc.), he preserved a stubborn silence, even though he assured the person who brought him the message that he would comply with all my requests....

"A few months later I received a letter from K.,[g] a reliable, unprejudiced man, informing me that my expulsion had been the work of the refugee *parliamen-*

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[a] In the very act of committing an offence.—*Ed.*

[b] An allusion to the arms of the Cantons of Berne and Uri.—*Ed.*

[c] "It is the refrain about danger, I know it by heart."—*Ed.*

[d] "To skin a man alive."—*Ed.*

[e] That was the last I heard of my expenses and fees.—*Ed.*

[f] Literally: out of the depths. Figuratively: from a state of extreme suffering (Psalms 130:1).—*Ed.*

[g] Presumably a letter from Friedrich Kamm written in 1852.—*Ed.*

*tarians,* and this was confirmed *mordicus*[a] by a few lines written by *Ranickel,* which he enclosed. This view was also confirmed by many experienced observers with whom I later had an opportunity to discuss the matter.... Yet I did not hate the parliamentarians like that hyena *Reinach,* who used to drag the late-lamented Imperial Regent *Vogt,* day after day, from the Imperial tomb to the dinner table in Berne where Vogt sat like the reincarnation of the 'chained Prometheus', and then, *entre poire et fromage,*[b] would savagely devour both his mummy and the reincarnated form to the horror of those present. It is true that I was no admirer of the parliamentarians' deeds, quite the reverse! But is it likely that these gentlemen intended to punish me for this by an Imperial ban—regarding Switzerland as part of the Empire because both the Imperial Constitution[236] and the most recent resolution of the Imperial Diet lie buried there? I think it more likely that the presumption of their persecution of myself is connected with the parliamentary rebellion mentioned in my previous letter[c] against the Geneva Refugee Committee formed by myself, Becker and a number of Genevan citizens.... Why these gentlemen wished to usurp the right to distribute the refugee funds was a matter about which even they differed among themselves. Some of them, among them Dentzel from the little Chamber of Baden, *preferred,* contrary to *our* practice of giving aid above all to penniless workers, to wipe away the tears of professional sufferers, heroes of the revolution, patriotic sons of the nation, who had seen better days.... *Is fecit cui prodest,*[d] as the saying goes in the trade, and since my activities were, it is true, inconvenient to these gentlemen, the suspicion arose that they had made use of their influence in important places to bring about my removal. It was known that they had the *aurem principis*[e] or, at any rate, they were close enough to it to whisper something or other about my *restiveness,* and that *princeps* Tourte especially had frequently gathered them around himself...."

Having described how he was moved from the Old Tower in Berne to Basle and then over the French frontier, Schily continues:

"As far as the expense entailed in expelling refugees is concerned, I cherish the hope that the costs were defrayed not by the Federal Treasury, but by that of the Holy Alliance. For one day a considerable time after our entry into Switzerland, *Princess* **Olga** was sitting at luncheon in a Berne restaurant with the *Russian* chargé d'affaires there.[f] *Entre poire et fromage* (*sans comparaison* to the terrible *Reinach*) Her Highness remarked to her table companion: 'Eh bien, Monsieur le baron, avez-vous encore beaucoup de réfugiés ici?' 'Pas mal, Princesse,' he replied, 'bien que nous en ayons déjà beaucoup renvoyé. M. Druey fait de son mieux à cet égard, *et si de nouveaux fonds nous arrivent,* nous en renverrons bien encore.'[g] This was overheard and passed on to me by the waiter on duty, a quondam volunteer in the Imperial campaign where he served under my august command."

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[a] Convincingly.—*Ed.*

[b] Over the dessert.—*Ed.*

[c] Schily's letter of February 8, 1860 (see this volume, pp. 43-46).—*Ed.*

[d] He did it who benefits by it (Seneca, *Medea,* III, 500-01).—*Ed.*

[e] Ear of the authorities.—*Ed.*

[f] Pavel Alexeyevich Krüdener.—*Ed.*

[g] "Well, Baron, are there still many refugees here?" "Quite a few, Your Highness, although we have already sent many of them back. M. Druey does his best in this respect, *and if we receive new funds* we shall be able to send back even more."—*Ed.*

During Schily's removal his travel-effects vanished mysteriously and irretrievably.

"It has remained a mystery to this very day how my effects could have vanished in Le Havre from the chaos of bundles accompanying a German émigré train (into which we had been incorporated in Basle by *Klenk,* the emigration agent, whom the Federal authorities had hired to transport us to Le Havre, with the result that all the luggage belonging to the refugees and emigrants had become hopelessly confused), *unless* it had been achieved *with the aid of a list of the refugees and their baggage.* Perhaps the Swiss Consul in Le Havre, the merchant *Wanner,* to whom we were sent for further transportation, knows more about it. He promised that we would be fully compensated. Druey later confirmed this promise in a letter which I sent to *Advocate Vogt in Berne* to enable him to pursue the matter in the Federal Council. However, I have not been able to get it back from him up to now, *nor have I ever received a reply to any of the letters I wrote to him.* On the other hand, in the summer of 1856 my complaint was rejected by the Federal Council and I was warned to keep the peace, without being given any reasons for this decision....

"All this and all the expulsions involving so many gendarmes, handcuffs, etc., are mere trivia, however, compared to the peculiarly cosy good-neighbourly arrangement of sending home the so-called less serious offenders of the Baden campaign, providing them with special travel passes and directing them to report on their arrival to the local authorities where, instead of being allowed to resume their occupations, as they had been led to expect, they were subjected to all sorts of unexpected penances. The silent sufferings of all those extradited in this way (for extradition is the correct word) are still waiting for their chronicler and avenger.

"The Swiss Tacitus speaking of Switzerland says that it does a man credit 'if his faults may be mentioned without detracting from his greatness'. There is no lack of materials for praise of this kind; to praise Switzerland in this manner does not spoil its figure ... *qui aime bien châtie bien.*[a] And in fact I for my part have an irrepressible love for Switzerland by and large. I like both the country and the people. Keeping a gun as part of his household equipment, always ready and skilful in using it to protect historical traditions of good repute and modern achievements of good quality, the Swiss in my eyes definitely deserves respect. He is entitled to the sympathies of others because he himself feels sympathy for others who struggle to improve their situation. 'I would rather that God had lost his best pair of angels,' a Swiss farmer said in his annoyance at the failure of the South German uprising. He might not have been prepared to risk a team of *his* horses for it, but he would have been more likely to risk his skin and his gun. In his heart of hearts the Swiss is not *neutral,* even if he practises neutrality because of, and in order to preserve, his inherited possessions. Incidentally the old crust of neutrality which cloaks his better nature will probably soon burst asunder with all these foreign feet trampling on it—for that is after all the essence of neutrality—and there will be a big bang and that will clear the air."

Thus far Schily's letter. In the Prison Tower in Berne he was not able to arrange a personal meeting with Druey, but he did manage to exchange letters with that gentleman. In reply to a letter from Schily inquiring into the reasons for his arrest and asking permission to consult his lawyer, Herr Wyss in Berne, Druey wrote on *April 9, 1852*:

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[a] He who loves well chastises well.—*Ed.*

"... L'autorité genèvoise a ordonné votre renvoi du Canton, vous a fait arrêter et conduire à Berne à la disposition[a] de mon département, parce que vous vous êtes montré un des réfugiés les plus remuants et que vous avez cherché à cacher I. et B., que vous vous étiez engagé à représenter à l'autorité. Pour ce motif et parce que votre séjour ultérieur en Suisse nuirait *aux relations internationales de la Confédération,* le Conseil fédéral a ordonné votre renvoi du territoire suisse, etc. ... Comme votre arrestation n'a pas pour but un procès criminel ou correctionnel, mais *une mesure de haute politique*[b] ... il n'est pas nécessaire que vous consultiez l'avocat. *D'ailleurs, avant de ... autoriser l'entrevue que vous me demandez avec M. l'avocat Wyss, je désire savoir le but de cette entrevue.*"[c]

The letters which Schily was permitted, after numerous complaints, to write to his friends in Geneva had all to be submitted beforehand to M. Druey to inspect. In one of these letters Schily used the expression *"Vae victis"*.[237] Druey wrote to him about it in a letter dated *April 19, 1852*:

"Dans le billet que vous avez adressé à M. J.,[d] se trouvent les mots: *vae victis...* Cela veut-il dire que les autorités fédérales vous traitent en vaincu? S'il en était ainsi, ce serait *une accusation mensongère,* contre laquelle je devrais protester."[e]

Schily replied to the mighty Druey in a letter dated *April 21, 1852*:

"Je ne pense pas, M. le conseiller fédéral, que cette manière de caractériser les mesures prises à mon égard puisse me valoir le reproche d'une *accusation mensongère;* du moins un pareil reproche ne serait pas de nature à me faire revenir de l'idée que je suis traité avec dureté; au contraire, adressé à un *prisonnier, par celui qui le tient en prison,* une telle réponse me paraîtrait une dureté de plus."[f]

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[a] Marx has: "déposition".—*Ed.*

[b] Marx has: "police".—*Ed.*

[c] "...The Genevan authorities have ordered your expulsion from the Canton; they have had you arrested and conducted to Berne and put at the disposition of my department, because you have shown yourself to be one of the most restive of the refugees and have tried to conceal the whereabouts of I. and B., of which you were obliged to inform the authorities. For this reason and because your further residence in Switzerland would have harmed the *international relations of the Confederation,* the Federal Council has resolved on expelling you from Swiss territory, etc. ... Since the purpose of your arrest was not the institution of any criminal or civil action against you, but is *a measure necessitated by considerations of high politics* ... there is no need for you to consult a lawyer. *In any event before ... authorising the interview you request with M. Wyss, your lawyer, I should have to know for what purpose you want to consult him.*"—*Ed.*

[d] Abraham Jacoby.—*Ed.*

[e] "The note you have written to M. J. contains the words: *vae victis....* Is that supposed to mean that the Federal authorities treat you as one treats a defeated opponent? If this is the implication, it is *a lying accusation* against which I should feel bound to protest."—*Ed.*

[f] "I do not believe, Federal Councillor, that the way in which I have described the measures taken in my regard can be thought to merit the reproach of making *lying accusations*; at the very least such a reproach is hardly likely to persuade me that I am not being treated harshly; on the contrary, for me *as a prisoner to receive an answer like this from the person who keeps me in prison* seems to be another harsh act."—*Ed.*

Towards the close of *March 1852,* shortly before Schily's arrest and the deportation of other *unparliamentary* refugees, the reactionary *Journal de Genève* published all sorts of wild gossip about communist plots among the German refugees in Geneva: Herr Trog was said to be busy cleaning out a nest of German communists with a brood of 84 communist dragons inside it, etc. Alongside this reactionary Genevan paper a scribbler in Berne who belonged to the parliamentary gang—it must be assumed that it was **Karl Vogt** since he repeatedly claims in the "Magnum Opus" that it was he who had rescued Switzerland from the clutches of the communist refugees—was busy spreading similar news in the *Frankfurter Journal* over the initials "ss". For example, he wrote that the Genevan Committee to aid German refugees, a committee consisting of communists, had been overthrown because of its inequitable distribution of the available funds, and that it had been replaced by upright men (namely parliamentarians) who would soon put an end to these evil practices. He wrote further that the dictator of Geneva seemed at last to be prepared to comply with the ordinances of the Federal Commissars, since two German refugees belonging to the communist faction had shortly before been put under arrest and brought from Geneva to Berne, etc.[238] The *Schweizerische National-Zeitung,* which appears in Basle, published an answer from Geneva in its issue No. 72, of *March 25, 1852,* in which it said *inter alia*:

"Every unbiassed person knows that just as Switzerland is concerned only with the consolidation and constitutional development of its political achievements, so too the feeble remnants of the German emigration in this country are occupied entirely with earning their daily bread and other perfectly harmless pursuits, and that the fairy-tales about communism are the product of hallucinations on the part of philistines or else are concocted by politically or personally interested *informers.*"

After the Berne parliamentary correspondent of the *Frankfurter Journal* had been described as one of these *informers*—the article concludes:

"The refugees here are of the opinion that in their ranks there are a number of so-called 'decent men' on the pattern of the former 'Biedermen and Bassermen of the Empire'[a] who, driven by nostalgia for the flesh-pots of home,[239] seek to pave the way for their own pardon at the hands of their native rulers by reactionary expectorations of this kind. We should like to send them our best wishes for a

[a] A pun on the names of Friedrich Karl Biedermann and Friedrich Daniel Bassermann, *Biedermann* means "honest man" and, in an ironical sense, "philistine". *Bassermansch* means "homeless tramp" or "beggar".—*Ed.*

speedy departure as they will then cease to compromise the refugees and the government that gives them asylum."

*Schily* was known to the refugee *parliamentarians* as the author of this article. It appeared in the Basle *National-Zeitung* on *March 25,* and on *April 1* Schily's wholly unmotivated arrest took place. "Tantaene animis caelestibus irae?"[a]

## 2. THE REVOLUTIONARY CONGRESS IN MURTEN

After the Murten scandal[b] the German refugees in Geneva, with the exception of the refugee *parliamentarians,* issued a protest addressed "To the Supreme Department of Justice and the Police of the Confederation", from which I print the following passage[240]:

"... The monarchs did not rest content with their previous diplomatic gains. They rattled their sabres all around Switzerland and threatened military occupation so as to make a clean sweep of the refugees. The Federal Council at any rate has expressed its concern about this danger in an official document. And lo and behold! There were further deportations, justified this time by the notorious assembly in Murten and the claim that traces of political and propagandistic activities had been uncovered by the investigation following it. As far as the facts are concerned this claim must be categorically rejected.... From the legal point of view, however, it is important to bear in mind that wherever the rule of law obtains, *actions proscribed by the law can only be punished by penalties laid down by the law,* and this holds good for deportation too, if it is not to appear as the arbitrary action of the police. Or was perhaps here too the intention to play off *diplomacy* against us and to say: we have been forced to act thus out of *consideration for foreign powers,* in the interests of international relations? Very well, then, if this is the position, the *cross of the Confederation*[c] should hide its head in shame before the *Turkish crescent,* which, when the myrmidons searching for refugees knock on the Porte,[d] shows its horns and does not eat humble pie.[e] If this is the position, then give us our passports so that we can go to *Turkey* and when the door has closed behind us, hand over the keys to the Swiss bastion of liberty to the *Holy Alliance* as a *feudum oblatum,*[f] and hold them in future as the insignia of chamberlains of the Holy Alliance, with the motto: *Finis Helvetiae!*"[g]

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[a] "Can heavenly spirits cherish resentment so dire?" Virgil, *Aeneid,* I, 11.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 50-55.—*Ed.*

[c] Switzerland's national flag.—*Ed.*

[d] A pun in the original: *an der Pforte klopft* (literally, "knocks on the door". *Pforte* in German means both "door" and "the Porte", i.e. the Turkish Government).—*Ed.*

[e] In the original: *nicht zu Kreuze kriecht*—"does not crawl to the cross".—*Ed.*

[f] Feudal fief.—*Ed.*

[g] End to Switzerland! (by analogy with *Finis Poloniae!*—End to Poland! See p. 148 of this volume).—*Ed.*

### 3. CHERVAL

I realised from Joh. Ph. Becker's letter[a] that the "associate of Marx" or the "associates" of Cherval mentioned by the Vogt of the Empire[b] could only be Herr *Stecher,* now resident in London. Up to that time I had not had the honour of making his personal acquaintance, although I had heard many complimentary descriptions of his great and many-sided artistic talents. In consequence of Becker's letter we met for the first time. The following is a letter from my "associate" to me.[c]

"17 Sussex St., London W. C.
October 14, 1860

"Dear Herr Marx,

"I am glad to be able to give you some information about *Nugent* (Cherval-Crämer) who was mentioned in Vogt's pamphlet of which you were kind enough to send me an extract. In March 1853 I came to Geneva after a trip to Italy. Nugent arrived in Geneva at around the same time and I made his acquaintance in a lithography workshop. I had myself just taken up lithography and since Nugent had a thorough knowledge of it, and since he was extremely agreeable, energetic and industrious by nature, I accepted his proposal to share an atelier with him. What Vogt says about Nugent's activities in Geneva is roughly the same as what I heard for myself at the time, if you discount the usual exaggerations to be expected from journalists or pamphleteers. There was very little success. I knew only one of the group, a good-natured and hard-working, but otherwise imprudent and light-minded young man. And since he was one of the leaders it must be presumed that N. was everything in the group and the others nothing but curious listeners. I am convinced that neither stone nor copper plates were ever engraved, although I heard N. talk of such matters. My own acquaintances were mainly Genevans and Italians. I was aware that later on I was thought to be a spy by Vogt and other German refugees, whom I did not know. But I took no notice of it—the truth will always out. I was not even offended; it was so easy to arouse suspicion as there were spies aplenty and to discover who they were was not always a simple matter. I am almost certain that Nugent did not correspond with anyone in Geneva after he had been expelled from there. I later received two letters from him inviting me to join him in Paris to help him with a project on medieval architecture, which I did. In Paris I found Nugent to be utterly remote from politics and correspondence. All this of course suggests that I myself could be '*the associates of Marx*' since I neither saw nor heard of *anyone else whom Nugent had induced to come to Paris.* Of course Herr Vogt could not know that I had never had any contact with you, either direct or indirect, and that I probably never would have had, if I had not moved to London where by chance I have had the pleasure of meeting you and your esteemed family.

"With best wishes to you and your ladies,

*H. Cal. Stecher*"

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[a] See this volume, pp. 60-64.—*Ed.*
[b] See Carl Vogt, *Mein Prozess...*, S. 175.—*Ed.*
[c] This letter has not been found.—*Ed.*

### 4. THE COMMUNIST TRIAL IN COLOGNE

In this section I wish to make public information concerning the Prussian Embassy in London and its correspondence with Prussian authorities on the Continent during the Cologne trial. This information is based on the confessions of Hirsch which were published by *A. Willich* in April 1853 in the *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung* under the title "Die Opfer der Moucharderie, Rechtfertigungsschrift von Wilhelm Hirsch".[a] Hirsch, who is at present in a Hamburg gaol, was the principal tool of Police Lieutenant Greif and his agent Fleury. It was on instructions from them and under their direction that he forged the *false* Minute-Book submitted as evidence by Stieber in the course of the communist trial. I give here a number of excerpts from Hirsch's memoirs.

(During the Great Exhibition) "the German associations were kept under surveillance by a police triumvirate: Police Superintendent Stieber for Prussia, a Herr Kubesch for Austria and Police Commissioner Huntel of Bremen".

Having volunteered to act as an informer, Hirsch had an interview in London with *Alberts* who was Secretary at the Prussian Embassy. He gives this account of their first meeting:

"The meetings of the Prussian Embassy in London with its secret agents take place at a public house well fitted for the purpose. The Cock, in Fleet St., Temple Bar, is so unobtrusive that but for a golden cock pointing to the entrance the casual passer-by would hardly notice it. I went through a narrow passage leading to the interior of this old English tavern and asked for Mr. Charles, whereupon a corpulent personage introduced himself to me with such an amiable smile that anyone seeing us would have taken us to be old friends. The Embassy agent (for this is what he was) seemed to be in very high spirits and his mood was still further improved by brandy and water. He enjoyed it so much that for a long time he seemed to have completely forgotten the purpose of our meeting. Mr. Charles at once revealed that his true name was *Alberts* and that he was the *Embassy Secretary*. To begin with, he informed me that in fact he had nothing to do with the police but that he would act as an intermediary in this case... A second meeting took place at his home in 39 Brewer St., Golden Square, and it was here that I made the acquaintance of Police Lieutenant *Greif*. Greif looked the true policeman: medium height, dark hair and a beard of the same colour cut in the regulation style, with the moustache meeting the side-whiskers and the chin left shaven. His eyes looked anything but intelligent and they protruded fiercely in a permanent glare, apparently the result of frequent association with thieves and rogues.... Like Herr Alberts, Herr Greif introduced himself to me by the pseudonym of Mr. Charles. The latest Mr. Charles was at least in a more serious mood and he even felt it was necessary to test me.... Our first meeting ended with his instructing me to give him an accurate report on all the activities of the revolutionary émigrés.... On the next

[a] This article was published in instalments in the *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung* on April 1, 8, 15 and 22, 1853. Excerpts from it are contained in Marx's notebook. For his assessment of it see his article "Hirsch's Confessions" (present edition, Vol. 12).—*Ed.*

occasion Herr Greif introduced me to what he called 'his right hand', namely 'one of his agents', he added. This turned out to be a tall elegantly dressed young man who also gave his name as Mr. Charles. The whole political police seems to have adopted this pseudonym and I now had three Charleses to deal with. The latest specimen seemed to be the most remarkable. He said that 'he too had been a revolutionary but that all things were possible and I had only to go along with him'."

Greif left London for some time and parted from Hirsch

"expressly commending me to the latest Mr. Charles who, he said, acted always on his instructions. I should not hesitate to confide in him. Moreover, even if certain things should appear strange to me I should not be surprised. To make this clearer he added: 'The Ministry sometimes requires various things, *chiefly documents*; *if these are unobtainable we should find some way out!*'"

Hirsch states further that the latest Charles was *Fleury*.

"He had earlier been employed in the office of the *Dresdner Zeitung*, which was edited by L. Wittig. When he was in Baden, he was, as a result of recommendations he had brought from Saxony, sent by the provisional government to the Palatinate to take in hand the organisation of the Landsturm, etc. When the Prussians occupied Karlsruhe he was taken prisoner, etc. He suddenly reappeared in London towards the end of 1850 or early in 1851; from the outset he went here by the name of de Fleury and was known by this name in refugee circles. He was hard up, at least he seemed to be, stayed in the refugee barracks set up by the Refugee Committee and drew subsidies. Early in the summer of 1851 his position suddenly improved; he moved into a respectable apartment and at the end of the year he married the daughter of an English engineer. He turned up later in Paris as a police agent.... His real name is *Krause* and he is the son of Krause the cobbler who was executed some 15 or 18 years ago in Dresden together with Backhof and Beseler for the murder of Countess Schönberg and her maid.... Fleury-Krause told me many times that he had been working for different governments since he was 14."

It is this same *Fleury-Krause* whom Stieber admitted in open court in Cologne to be a secret Prussian police agent working directly under Greif. In my *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* I wrote of Fleury:

"Fleury is not indeed the Fleur de Marie of the police prostitutes, but he is a flower[a] and he will bear blossom, albeit only fleurs-de-lys." *

This prophecy has in a sense been fulfilled; some months after the communist trial Fleury was sentenced in England to several years in the hulks[b] for forgery.

* *Fleurs-de-lys* [lilies] is the French colloquial name of the letters T. F. (*travaux forcés*, forced labour), the brand-mark of criminals. [Note by Engels to the 1885 edition of the *Revelations*. See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 442.]

[a] A pun: Fleur de Marie—the heroine in Eugène Sue's novel *Les mystères de Paris*, fleur—a flower.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

"As the right-hand man of Police Lieutenant Greif," Hirsch writes, "Fleury dealt directly with the Prussian Embassy during Greif's absence."

Fleury was in contact with Max Reuter who stole the letters from Oswald Dietz, at that time archivist of the Schapper-Willich League.[241]

"Stieber," says Hirsch, "had learned from the agent of the Prussian Ambassador in Paris Hatzfeldt, the notorious *Cherval,* of the letters written by the latter to London. Stieber got Reuter to find out where they were, whereupon Fleury stole them on Stieber's orders and with Reuter's aid. These are the stolen letters which Herr Stieber was not ashamed to exhibit *'as such'* to the jury in Cologne.... In autumn 1851 Fleury had been in Paris with Greif and Stieber after the latter had, through the mediation of Count Hatzfeldt, made contact with *Cherval,* or more correctly, *Joseph Crämer* with whose assistance he hoped to engineer a plot. With this end in view consultations were held in Paris between Messrs. Stieber, Greif, Fleury, two other police agents, Beckmann* and Sommer, and the famous French spy *Lucien de la Hodde* (who went by the name of Duprez) and they gave Cherval directions according to which he was to tailor his correspondence. Fleury often laughed in my presence over the scuffle he had provoked between Stieber and Cherval. And the man called Schmidt who in the guise of secretary of a revolutionary league in Strasbourg and Cologne had gained admission to the society founded at *the behest of the police* by Cherval, was none other than M. de Fleury.... Fleury was undoubtedly the sole agent of the Prussian secret police in London and all proposals and offers that the Embassy received went through his hands.... Messrs. Greif and Stieber were accustomed to relying on his judgment."

Fleury informed Hirsch:

"Herr Greif has told you what has to be done.... At Police Headquarters in Frankfurt they are themselves of the opinion that our primary aim must be to make *the position of the political police secure*; the means we use to achieve this are immaterial; the September plot in Paris is already *one step in this direction.*"[a]

Greif returned to London and expressed satisfaction with Hirsch's work but demanded more. In particular he wanted reports on *"the secret meetings of the Marx party".*

"At all costs," the Police Lieutenant concluded, "we must draw up reports on the League meetings. Do it any way you wish as long as you don't overstep the limits of credibility. I am too *occupied* to attend to it myself. M. de Fleury will work with you as my representative."

Greif's occupation at that time consisted, as Hirsch states, in a correspondence via de la Hodde-Duprez with Maupas concerning

* The same man[b] who figures in the Arnim Trial. [Note by Marx in the 1875 edition of the *Revelations,* to which Appendix 4 to *Herr Vogt* was supplemented.] He was already then Paris correspondent for the *Kölnische Zeitung* and was to remain so for many years. [Engels' addition to Marx's note in the 1885 edition of the *Revelations.*]

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[a] Beckmann.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 55-56.—*Ed.*

the arrangements for the mock escape of Cherval and Gipperich from the St. Pélagie gaol. On being assured by Hirsch that

"Marx had not founded any new central organisation of the League in London ... Greif agreed with Fleury that in the circumstances we should for the time being prepare reports on meetings of the League ourselves. He, Greif, would vouch for their authenticity, and in any case his submissions would be accepted".

So Hirsch and Fleury set to work. "The content" of their reports on the secret meetings of the League I held

"was provided", Hirsch states, "by reports of discussions that took place from time to time; the admission of new members, the founding of new sections in obscure corners of Germany, or a new organisation; speculation to the effect that in Cologne Marx's imprisoned friends did or did not have any prospects of being released; letters that had come from this person or that, and so on. On this last point Fleury usually took care to mention people in Germany who had become suspect as a result of political investigations or who had been involved in some political activity or other. Very often, however, we had to have recourse to our imagination and then we would report on the activities of a non-existent member of the League. But Herr Greif said that the reports were excellent and that anyway we had to have them at all costs. Some of the writing was done by Fleury alone but mostly I had to help him as he was unable to describe the smallest detail without errors of style. In this way the reports came into being and without a moment's hesitation Herr Greif declared his willingness to vouch for their authenticity".

Hirsch then describes how Fleury and he visited Arnold Ruge in Brighton, and Eduard Meyen (of Tobian memory[a]) and stole letters and lithographed material from them. Not content with this, Greif-Fleury rented a lithographic press from Stanbury Press, Fetter Lane, and together with Hirsch began to produce "radical pamphlets". That "democrat", *F. Zabel,* could learn a lesson or two here. Let him take note of this:

"The first pamphlet I" (Hirsch) "wrote was entitled *An das Landproletariat* at Fleury's suggestion; and we managed to make a few good copies of it. Herr Greif sent these copies as documents emanating from the *Marx party.* To make it seem more plausible we included in the reports of the so-called League meetings, which came into being in the manner described above, a few words about the dispatch of such a pamphlet. One other product of this kind was fabricated; its title was *An die Kinder des Volkes* and I do not know under whose auspices Herr Greif sent this one in. We later abandoned this trick chiefly because it was so costly."

At this point Cherval arrived in London after his mock escape from Paris and was attached to Greif at a weekly salary of £1 10s.,

"in return for which he was required to make reports on the contacts between the German and French émigrés".

Publicly exposed and expelled from the Workers' Society as a spy,[242]

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[a] See this volume, p. 239.—*Ed.*

"Cherval very understandably described the German émigrés and their organs as being as insignificant as could be—since he found it quite impossible to get hold of any information on the subject which he could pass on. By way of compensation he compiled a report for Greif on the non-German revolutionary party which put Munchausen's tall stories in the shade".

Hirsch now returns to the Cologne trial.

"Herr Greif had already been questioned a number of times about the contents of the League reports prepared at his instance by Fleury in so far as they had any bearing on the Cologne trial.... There were also particular commissions in connection with the trial. On one occasion Marx was alleged to be corresponding with *Lassalle* via an 'ale-house' and the Public Prosecutor required further information.... Rather more naïve was the Public Prosecutor's request asking for precise information about the financial assistance that Lassalle in Düsseldorf was allegedly sending to the defendant Röser in Cologne ... it was believed that the true source of the money was in London."

I have already recounted in Section III, 4 how Fleury, acting on instructions from Hinckeldey, was to find someone in London who would be willing to appear before the jury in Cologne in the guise of H.,[a] the witness who had disappeared, etc. After a detailed account of this incident Hirsch goes on:

"Herr Stieber had meanwhile urgently requested Greif to supply him, if at all possible, with the original minutes of the League meetings that he had been reporting on. Fleury was of the opinion that he could produce an original minute-book if only the requisite people were available. Above all, however, he would need *specimens of the handwriting of some of Marx's friends.* I made use of this last remark in order to extricate myself from the whole undertaking; Fleury alluded to the topic only once again and after that he said nothing more. Around this time Stieber suddenly appeared in Cologne with a Minute-Book of the League's central organisation in London.... I was even more astonished when I found that the minutes as reported in extract in the papers were absolutely identical with the reports concocted by Fleury at Greif's behest. It was evident that Herr Greif or Herr Stieber himself had had a *copy* made somehow or other, *for the minutes in this allegedly original document bore signatures while those submitted by Fleury had none.* From Fleury himself I learned about this miracle only that 'Stieber can contrive anything, it will be a sensation!' "

As soon as Fleury heard that "Marx" had had the handwriting of the ostensible signatories of the minutes (Liebknecht, Rings, Ulmer, etc.) witnessed in a London Police Court[b] he wrote the following letter:

"*To the Royal Police Presidium in Berlin;* dated from London.

"It is the intention of Marx and his friends here to discredit the signatures on the League Minutes by having handwriting specimens legally authenticated. These specimens are to be produced in the Court of Assizes as the really authentic ones. Everyone familiar with the English laws knows that on this point they can be

[a] Haupt (see this volume, p. 67).—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses English: Police Court.—*Ed.*

manipulated and that a person who vouches for the authenticity of a thing does not actually give any true guarantee. The person who gives you this information does not recoil from giving you his name in a matter like this where the truth is at stake. *Becker,* 4, Litchfield St." "Fleury knew the address of Becker, a German refugee living in the same house as *Willich.* It might very easily happen later on that the suspicion of authorship would fall on the latter who was an opponent of Marx.... Fleury looked forward eagerly to the scandal that would result. The letter would be read out in court, but of course too late, he thought, for any doubts about its authenticity to arise before the trial was over.... The letter, signed by Becker, was addressed to the *Police Presidium in Berlin,* however it went not to Berlin but to 'Police Officer Goldheim, Frankfurter Hof in Cologne', and an *envelope for this letter* arrived at the Police Presidium in Berlin with a note stating that *'Herr Stieber in Cologne would give a complete explanation as to its use....'* Stieber made no use of this letter; he was unable to do so because he was forced to drop the whole *Minute-Book.*"

## With regard to the Minute-Book Hirsch says that

"Herr Stieber declared" (in court) "that he had had the Minute-Book in his hands for two weeks but had scrupled to produce it; he declared further that it had come to him by a courier called Greif.... Hence Greif had personally delivered his own work. How can this be reconciled with a letter of Herr *Goldheim*'s in which he informed the Embassy that 'the Minute-Book was produced so late only in order to avoid scrutiny as to its authenticity....'"

## On Friday, October 29, Herr Goldheim arrived in London.

"As Herr Stieber had to face the fact that it was not possible to uphold the authenticity of the Minute-Book he sent a deputy to negotiate with Fleury about it on the spot. At issue was the question whether a proof could not be obtained after all. His discussions were fruitless and he returned without any decision having been reached. Fleury was left in a state of despair for Stieber was now resolved to expose him rather than compromise the police chiefs. But I did not realise that this was the cause of Fleury's disquiet until Herr Stieber made his declaration soon afterwards. In panic, M. Fleury now resorted to his last expedient. He brought me a specimen of handwriting for me to use to copy out a declaration, sign it 'Liebknecht' and take an oath before the Lord Mayor of London that I was Liebknecht.... Fleury told me that the handwriting was that of the person who had written the Minute-Book and that *Herr Goldheim had brought it with him*" (*from Cologne*). "But if Herr Stieber had received the Minute-Book per Greif, the courier from London, how was it possible for Herr Goldheim to bring a specimen of the handwriting of the alleged Minute-Book writer from Cologne at the very moment when Greif had just arrived back in London?.... What Fleury gave me consisted of a few phrases and a signature...." Hirsch "copied the handwriting as closely as he could and wrote that the undersigned, i.e. Liebknecht, declared that the signature of Liebknecht legally witnessed by Marx and Co. was false and that this, his signature was the only genuine one. When I had finished and had the handwriting in my hands" (i.e. the specimen given him by Fleury to copy), "which fortunately I still possess, I told Fleury, who was not a little taken aback, that I had had second thoughts and would not go through with it. Inconsolable at first, he then announced that he would swear to it himself....For safety's sake he would *have the writing countersigned by the Prussian Consul*; and he went to the Consulate at once. I waited for him in a tavern; when he got back he had the countersignature

and he next went to the Lord Mayor to swear the oath. But the plan fell through as the Lord Mayor wanted further guarantees and Fleury could not give them—so the oath remained unsworn.... Late in the evening I saw M. de Fleury again, and for the last time. That very day he had been unpleasantly surprised to read Herr Stieber's declaration concerning him in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. 'But I know that Stieber could not have acted differently, otherwise he would have had to compromise himself,' M. de Fleury said very truly by way of consoling himself.... '*There will be a great explosion in Berlin if the Cologne prisoners are convicted,*' M. de Fleury said to me at one of our last meetings".

Fleury's last meetings with Hirsch took place at the *end of October 1852*. Hirsch's confessions are dated the *end of November 1852*; and at the *end of March 1853* came the *"explosion in Berlin"* (the Ladendorf conspiracy).*[243]

* The reader will be interested to see the testimonials that Stieber himself gave his two accomplices Fleury-Krause and Hirsch. He writes of the first in the *Black Book*,[244] II, p. 69:

"No. 345. *Krause,* Carl Friedrich August, from Dresden. He is the son of Friedrich August Krause, a farmer executed for his part in the murder of Countess Schönberg in Dresden in 1834, and afterwards" (after his execution?) "a corn-dealer, and of his widow Johanna Rosine née Göllnitz, who is still living. Carl Friedrich was born on January 9, 1824, in the vineyard houses at Coswig near Dresden. From October 1, 1832, he went to the charity school in Dresden; in 1836 he was admitted to the orphanage in Antonstadt, Dresden, and in 1840 he was confirmed. He was then apprenticed to Herr Gruhle, a Dresden merchant, but in the following year he was arrested and detained by the Dresden Municipal Court for *repeated theft*. However, the period of detention was counted towards his sentence and he was released. After this he lived with his mother without taking a job, but in March 1842 he was arrested again for *breaking and entering* and this time he was sentenced to *four years' imprisonment*. On October 23, 1846, he came out of gaol and returned to Dresden and began to *associate with the most notorious thieves*. Then, the Rehabilitation Society took him up and found him a job in a cigar factory and he remained in this job without interruption or any further misdemeanour until March 1848. But after that date he gave in to his idleness again and began to frequent political societies" (as a government spy; see above his admission to Hirsch in London). "Early in 1849 he became a salesman of the *Dresdner Zeitung* edited by the republican literateur E. L. Wittig who is now in America but who at that time was in Dresden. In May 1849 he took part in the Dresden uprising and became commandant of the barricade in the Sophienstrasse. He fled to Baden after the uprising was quelled and there he was empowered by the provisional government of Baden (the decrees of June 10 and 23, 1849) to raise a Landsturm and requisition supplies for the insurgents. He was taken prisoner by Prussian soldiers but on October 8, 1849, he escaped from Rastatt." (Just as, later on, Cherval "escaped" from Paris. But now comes the part of the bouquet which has the authentic police aroma—it should be borne in mind that this was printed two years after the Cologne Trial.) "According to a report in the Berlin *Publizist*, No. 39 of May 15, 1853, taken from a book printed in New York with the title *Die Opfer der Spionage*[a] by Wilhelm Hirsch, a Hamburg shop-assistant" (O Stieber, you foreboding angel![b]), "Krause

[a] *Die Opfer der Moucharderie, Rechtfertigungsschrift von Wilhelm Hirsch.—Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 71.—*Ed.*

## 5. SLANDERS

When the communist trial in Cologne was over, Vogt-like calumnies about my "exploitation" of the workers were busily disseminated, especially in the German-American press. Some of my friends living in America—Messrs. J. Weydemeyer, Dr. A. Jacoby (a practising doctor in New York and one of the defendants in the Cologne communist trial) and A. Cluss (an official in the U.S. Navy Yard in Washington)—published a detailed refutation of these absurdities dated New York, November 7, 1853. Their article contained the comment that I was in the right to preserve *silence* about my private affairs insofar as it was a matter of gaining the *approval* of the philistines. "But when faced by the *hostility* of the mob, the philistines and the

turned up in London late in 1850 or early in 1851 as a political émigré bearing the name of *Charles de Fleury*. At first he lived in somewhat straitened circumstances but later, in 1851, his position improved. For after he was admitted to the Communist League" (another Stieber lie), "he worked as an agent for a number of governments in the course of which, however, he became involved in a number of swindles."

So much for Stieber's gratitude to his friend Fleury who, moreover (as we noted above), was sentenced to several years' imprisonment in London for forgery just a few months after the Cologne trial.

Concerning the worthy Hirsch we can read (op. cit., p. 58):

"No. 265. Hirsch, Wilhelm, shop-assistant from Hamburg. It appears that he went to London not as a refugee but of his own accord." (Why this wholly superfluous lie? After all, Goldheim tried to arrest him in Hamburg!) "But once there he associated with refugees and especially with the communist party. He played a double game. On the one hand, he was active on behalf of the revolutionary party, while, on the other, he offered to spy on political criminals and forgers for a number of continental governments. But he himself became implicated in the *worst possible frauds* and swindles. In particular, he was guilty of *forgery*, so that everyone should be on their guard *against him*. Together with various other individuals he even *manufactured false paper money* merely in order to extract high rewards from the police for uncovering forgeries. He was eventually unmasked by both sides" (namely, both by police forgers and non-police ones?) "and he has now returned from London to Hamburg where he lives in poor circumstances."

Thus far Stieber on his London accomplices to whose "truthfulness and reliability" he is never tired of testifying. It is interesting to see how utterly impossible it is for this model Prussian to speak the simple truth. He cannot even restrain himself from smuggling[a] quite purposeless lies into the—true and false—facts taken from the documents. On the testimony of such professional liars—and they are more numerous now than ever—hundreds of people are sent to prison and in this lies what is nowadays called salvation of the state. [This note to Appendix 4 was added by Engels in the 3rd (1885) edition of the *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*.]

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[a] A pun on the name *Stieber* and the verb *hineinstiebern* (to smuggle in, insert).—*Ed.*

degenerate idlers, it does harm to the cause in our view and so *we* break that silence."[a]

### 6. THE WAR BETWEEN FROGS AND MICE[b]

In my pamphlet *The Knight, etc.,* from which I quoted above, I wrote on p. 5:

"...On July 20, 1851 the 'Agitation Union' was founded, and on July 27, 1851 the German 'Émigré Club'. From that day ... dates the struggle on both sides of the ocean between the 'Émigrés' and the 'Agitators', the great war between frogs and mice.

> Now who will give me words and who the tongue,
> To sing of such brave deeds in sonorous sounds!
> For ne'er was strife upon this earth begun
> More proudly fought on bloodier battle grounds;
> Compared to this all other wars are roses.
> To tell of it my lyric art confounds
> For on this earth there ne'er was seen such glory
> Or noble valour bright as in this story.
>
> (After Boiardo, *Orlando innamorato,*
> Canto 27.)"[c]

Now it is by no means my intention to go into the details of "the story" of this strife or into the agreement entitled, *verbotenus,*[d] "The Preliminary Agreement about the *Treaty on the Alliance*" (under which name it was publicised throughout the entire German-American press), which was reached between *Gottfried Kinkel* in the name of the Émigré Club, and *A. Goegg* on behalf of the "Revolutionary League of the Two Worlds", on August 13, 1852. I would only remark that with a few exceptions the entire *parliamentary* emigration joined in the farce on one side or the other. (Of course, names like *K. Vogt* were at that time avoided by every party if only for propriety's sake.)

At the end of his revolutionary pleasure and fund-raising tour of the United States, Gottfried Kinkel, the passion flower of German philistinism, wrote a *"Denkschrift über das deutsche Nationalanlehn zur Förderung der Revolution",* dated Elmira, N. Y., February 22, 1852, in which he gave vent to views which at least

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[a] J. Weydemeyer, A. Cluss, A. Jacoby, "An die Redaktion der *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung,* November 7, 1853", *New-Yorker Criminal Zeitung,* No. 37, November 25, 1853.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 87.—*Ed.*

[c] See present edition, Vol. 12, p. 488.—*Ed.*

[d] Literally.—*Ed.*

possess the merit of great simplicity. Gottfried believes that engineering a revolution is much like making a railway. Once the money is there, the railway, or the revolution will follow in due course. Whereas the nation should cherish a longing for revolution in its heart, the makers of revolution should have cash in their pockets, and everything therefore depends on "a small well-equipped band of men with a **plentiful** supply of money". It is remarkable into what bizarre byways of thought even melodramatic minds are driven by England's commercial wind. Since everything here, even public opinion,[a] is organised with the aid of shares, why not float a joint-stock company "for the promotion of the revolution"?

In a public meeting with *Kossuth,* who was also engaged at that time on a revolutionary fund-raising campaign in the United States, *Gottfried* expressed himself in highly aesthetic terms:

"Even from your clean hands, Governor, the gift of freedom would be a bitter pill, and I would moisten it *with the tears of* **my shame**."[b]

Hence *Gottfried,* having looked the gift-horse so sharply in the mouth, assured the governor that if the latter should present to him "the revolution in the east" with his right hand, he, Gottfried, would present to him "the revolution in the west" in return. Seven years later, in the *Hermann,* a paper he had founded himself, the very same Gottfried assured his readers that he was a man of rare consistency,[c] and that having proclaimed the Prince Regent[d] as Emperor of Germany before the military court in Rastatt,[245] he had always kept this as his motto.

Count Oskar Reichenbach, one of the three original regents and the Treasurer of the Revolutionary Loan, published the accounts in *London* on *October 8, 1852,* together with a statement in which he dissociated himself from the enterprise. At the same time he declared that "in any event I neither can nor will hand the money over to citizens Kinkel, etc." Instead he invited the shareholders to hand in their provisional loan certificates in exchange for the money in his hands. His own resignation as treasurer, etc., he said,

"was motivated by political and legal considerations.... The assumptions on which the idea of the loan was based have not been realised. The sum of 20,000

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[a] Marx uses the English phrase: "public opinion".—*Ed.*

[b] G. Kinkel, "Denkschrift über das deutsche Nationalanlehn zur Förderung der Revolution", *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung,* March 2, 1852.—*Ed.*

[c] G. Kinkel, "Brief des Herausgebers an einen Freund in Amerika", *Hermann,* March 26, 1859.—*Ed.*

[d] William.—*Ed.*

dollars which had to be raised before the loan could be proceeded with, has therefore not been acquired.... The proposal to found a periodical and to promote agitation found no echo. Only political charlatans or revolutionary monomaniacs could deem the loan to be practicable at present and imagine that an equitable, and hence impersonal, actively revolutionary use of the money by all party groups is possible at this moment."

But Gottfried's faith in revolution could not be shaken so easily and so he procured a "resolution" that allowed him to carry on the business under another name.

Reichenbach's statement of the accounts contains some interesting data.

"The Trustees," he says, "cannot be held responsible for contributions which may have been made later by the committees *to persons other than myself,* and I would ask the committees to take note of this when calling in the certificates and settling accounts."

According to his computations £1,587 6s. 4d. was *received,* of which London had contributed £2 5s., and *"Germany"* £9. The *expenditure* amounted to £584 18s. 5d. and was broken down as follows: *Kinkel*'s and *Hillgärtner*'s *travel expenses*: £220; *other travel expenses*: £54; lithographic press: £11; cost of provisional certificates: £14; *lithographed correspondence, stamps, etc.*: £106 1s. 6d. *On Kinkel*'s *instructions, etc.*: £100.

The Revolutionary Loan ended up with £1,000, which Gottfried Kinkel keeps in the Westminster Bank as earnest money for the first German provisional government. And despite all this, there is still no provisional government. Perhaps Germany believes that 36 actual governments are quite sufficient.

Certain American loan funds which were not incorporated into the central London Treasury were at least employed here and there for patriotic purposes. Such was the case with the £100 which Gottfried Kinkel gave to Karl Blind early in 1858 to transform into "radical pamphlets", etc.

### 7. PALMERSTON-POLEMIC

*"Council Hall, Sheffield, May 6th, 1856*

"Doctor,

"The Sheffield Foreign Affairs Committee instruct me to convey to you an expression of their warm thanks for the great public service you have rendered by your admirable *exposé* of the Kars-Papers[a] published in the *People's Paper.*

"I have the honour, &c.

"Dr. Karl Marx"[b] Wm. Cyples, *Secretary*

[a] Marx's series of articles "The Fall of Kars" (see present edition, Vol. 14).—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes the letter in English.—*Ed.*

## 8. STATEMENT BY HERR A. SCHERZER

Herr *A. Scherzer,* a man who has played a praiseworthy role in the workers' movement since the 1830s, wrote to me from London on April 22, 1860:

"Dear Citizen,

"I cannot let the occasion pass without protesting about a passage in the monstrous tissue of lies and the infamous calumnies of Vogt's pamphlet which concerns me personally. I am referring to the statement in Document No. 7, printed in the supplement to the *Schweizer Handels-Courier,* No. 150, of June 2, where it says: 'We know that at this very time fresh efforts are being made from London. Letters signed by A. Sch... are being sent from there to both associations and individuals, etc.' These 'letters' appear to be the reason why Herr K. Vogt wrote elsewhere in his book: 'At the beginning of this year (1859) a new arena for political agitation seemed to be opening up. The opportunity was seized in a moment so as to regain some influence if possible. The tactics have not altered in this respect for years. A committee about which "no-one knows nothing", as it says in the old song, circulates letters through an equally unknown president or secretary, etc., etc. Having reconnoitred the terrain in this manner, a number of "travelling brethren" turn up in the country and at once start to organise a secret league. The association which is to be compromised learns nothing of these goings-on which remain the work of a number of sectarian individuals. For the most part even the correspondence conducted in the name of the association remains quite unknown to it, but the letters refer always to "our association", etc., and the inquiries of the police, which follow inexorably, and are based on documents that have fallen into their hands, always affect the association as a whole, etc.'

"Why did Herr K. Vogt not *print the whole letter* which he alludes to in Document No. 7? Why not 'reconnoitre' the source he has relied on for his information? It would have been easy for him to discover that the public *Workers' Educational Society in London* chose its correspondence committee, to which I had the honour to be elected, in *open* session. When Herr Vogt speaks of unknown secretaries and the like, I am very pleased to be unknown to him, but am happy to be able to say that I am known to thousands of German workers, who have all derived benefit from the erudition of the men whom he vilifies now. Times have changed. The period of secret societies is past. It is ridiculous to talk of secret leagues or sects, when problems are dealt with openly in a workers' society, where strangers attend as visitors at every meeting. The letters signed by me were so formulated that it was impossible for anyone to come to harm in consequence. We German workers in London had only one interest at heart and that was to learn about the mood of the workers' associations on the Continent, and to found a newspaper which would represent the interests of the working class and which would do battle with writers in the pay of the enemy. It naturally did not occur to a single German worker to act in the interests of a Bonaparte, a thing of which only a Vogt or people of his kind are capable. We undoubtedly hate the despotism of Austria with a far deeper loathing than Herr Vogt, but we do not seek its defeat in the victory of another despot. Every people must liberate itself. Is it not striking that Herr Vogt arrogates for himself the very means which he accuses us of having used against his own activities? Herr Vogt asserts that he is not in the pay of Bonaparte, and that he only received money to set up a newspaper from democratic sources. In saying this he hopes to exonerate himself, but how can he

be so obtuse, with all his learning, to cast suspicion on workers, and hurl accusations at them for concerning themselves with the well-being of their country and for making propaganda about the need to establish a newspaper?

"With my most sincere respects,

*A. Scherzer*"

## 9. BLIND'S ARTICLE IN *THE FREE PRESS* OF MAY 27, 1859[a]

"*The Grand Duke Constantine to be King of Hungary*

"A Correspondent, who encloses his card, writes as follows:—

"Sir,—Having been present at the last meeting in the Music Hall, I heard the statement made concerning the Grand Duke Constantine. I am able to give you another fact:—

"So far back as last summer, Prince Jérôme-Napoléon detailed to some of his confidants at Geneva a plan of attack against Austria, and prospective rearrangement of the map of Europe. I know the name of a Swiss senator to whom he broached the subject. Prince Jérôme, at that time, declared that, according to the plan made, *Grand Duke* Constantine *was to become King of Hungary.*

"I know further of attempts made, in the beginning of the present year, to win over to the Russo-Napoleonic scheme some of the exiled German Democrats, as well as some influential Liberals in Germany. Large pecuniary advantages were held out to them as a bribe. I am glad to say that these offers were rejected with indignation."[b]

## 10. HERR ORGES' LETTERS

"Dear Sir,

"I heard today from Herr Liebknecht that you would be kind enough to put a legal document at our disposal, *relating to the origins* of the pamphlet against Vogt.[c] May I ask you urgently to send it to us as quickly as possible, so that we can produce it in court. Please, send the document against a receipt and charge us for any expenses you may have incurred. Incidentally, my dear Sir, the liberal party sometimes misjudges the *Allgemeine Zeitung.* We (the editors) have gone through fire and water and have passed all the tests of political commitment. If you do not consider the separate piece of work, the individual article, but our whole activity you will probably come to realise that no German newspaper strives as we do, without haste, but without rest, for unity and freedom, power and culture, for spiritual and material progress, for greater patriotic awareness and higher moral standards of the German nation, and that no paper achieves more than ours. You should judge our deeds by their effects. Asking you once more most urgently to grant my request, and assuring you of my greatest respect,

"Yours sincerely,

*Hermann Orges*

"*Augsburg,* 16/10"

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[a] See this volume, pp. 122-24.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes this report in English.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 119-24.—*Ed.*

The second letter, dated the *same* day, was only an *extract* of the first, and was posted, as Herr Orges states, "only for safety's sake". In it he likewise requests "the most urgent dispatch of the document *about the origins* of the well-known pamphlet against Vogt, a document which, as Herr Liebknecht writes, you have been so kind as to put at our disposal".

## 11. CIRCULAR AGAINST K. BLIND

I include here only the concluding section of my circular against Blind of February 4, 1860, which was written in English[a]:

"Now, before taking any further step, I want to show up the fellows who evidently have played into the hands of Vogt. I, therefore, publicly declare that the statement of Blind, Wiehe and Hollinger, according to which the anonymous pamphlet was *not* printed in Hollinger's office, 3, Litchfield Street, Soho, is a *deliberate lie.* First, Mr. Vögele, one of the compositors, formerly employed by Hollinger, will declare upon oath that the said pamphlet *was* printed in Hollinger's office, was written in the hand-writing of *Mr. Blind,* and partly composed by Hollinger himself. Secondly, it can be judicially proved that the pamphlet and the article in *Das Volk* have been taken off the same types. Thirdly, it will be shown that Wiehe was *not* employed by Hollinger for eleven consecutive months, and, especially, was *not* employed by him at the time of the pamphlet's publication. Lastly, witnesses may be summoned in whose presence Wiehe himself confessed having been persuaded by Hollinger to sign the *wilfully false declaration in the Augsburg Gazette.*[b] Consequently, I again declare the above said *Charles Blind* to be a *deliberate liar.*

*Karl Marx*"

*From the London "Times", February 3rd.*

"Vienna, January 30th.—The Swiss Professor Vogt pretends to know that France will procure for Switzerland Faucigny, Chablais, and the Genevese,[c] the neutral provinces of Savoy, if the Grand Council of the Republic will let her have the free use of the Simplon."[d]

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[a] Marx quotes this excerpt from the circular in English (see this volume, pp. 10-11).—*Ed.*

[b] The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung.*— *Ed.*

[c] Genevois.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx quotes this report in English (see also this volume, p. 195).—*Ed.*

## 12. VÖGELE'S AFFIDAVIT

"I declare herewith:
that the German flysheet *Zur Warnung* (A Warning) which was afterwards reprinted in No. 7 (d.d. 18th June 1859) of *Das Volk* (a German paper which was then published in London) and which was again reprinted in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of Augsburg (the Augsburg Gazette)—that this flysheet was composed partly by Mr. Fidelio Hollinger of 3, Litchfield Street, Soho, London, partly by myself, who was then employed by Mr. Fidelio Hollinger, and that the flysheet was published in Mr. F. Hollinger's Printing office, 3, Litchfield Street, Soho, London; that the manuscript of the said flysheet was in the handwriting of Mr. Charles Blind; that I saw Mr. F. Hollinger give to Mr. William Liebknecht of 14, Church Street, Soho, London, the proofsheet of the flysheet *Zur Warnung*; that Mr. F. Hollinger hesitated at first giving the proofsheet to Mr. W. Liebknecht, and, that, when Mr. W. Liebknecht had withdrawn, he, Mr. F. Hollinger, expressed to me, and to my fellow workman J. F. Wiehe, his regret for having given the proofsheet out of his hands.

"Declared at the Police Court, Bow Street, in the County of Middlesex, the eleventh day of February 1860, before me, *Th. Henry*, one of the Police Magistrates of the Metropolis.

"L.S. A. Vögele"[a]

## 13. WIEHE'S AFFIDAVIT

"One of the first days of November last—I do not recollect the exact date—in the evening between nine and ten o'clock I was taken out of bed by Mr. F. Hollinger, in whose house I then lived, and by whom I was employed as compositor. He presented to me a paper to the effect, that, during the preceding eleven months I had been continuously employed by him, and that during all that time a certain German flysheet *Zur Warnung* (A Warning) had not been composed and printed in Mr. Hollinger's Office, 3, Litchfield Street, Soho. In my perplexed state, and not aware of the importance of the transaction, I complied with his wish, and copied, and signed the document. Mr. Hollinger promised me money, but I never received anything. During that transaction Mr. Charles Blind, as my wife informed me at the time, was waiting in Mr. Hollinger's room. A few days later, Mrs. Hollinger called me down from dinner and led me into her husband's room, where I found Mr. Charles Blind alone. He presented me the same paper which Mr. Hollinger had presented me before, and entreated me to write, and sign a second copy, as he wanted two, the one for himself, and the other for publication in the Press. He added that he would show himself grateful to me. I copied and signed again the paper.

"I herewith declare the truth of the above statements and that:

"1) During the 11 months mentioned in the document I was for *six* weeks *not* employed by Mr. Hollinger, but by a Mr. Ermani. 2) I did not work in Mr. Hollinger's Office just at that time when the flysheet *Zur Warnung* (A Warning) was published. 3) I heard at the time from Mr. Vögele, who then worked for Mr. Hollinger, that he, Vögele, had, together with Mr. Hollinger himself, composed the flysheet in question, and that the manuscript was in Mr. Blind's handwriting. 4) The types of the pamphlet were still standing when I returned to Mr. Hollinger's service. I myself broke them into columns for the reprint of the

[a] Marx gives this document in English (see also this volume, p. 128).—*Ed.*

flysheet (or pamphlet) *Zur Warnung* (A Warning) in the German paper *Das Volk* published at London, by Mr. Fidelio Hollinger, 3, Litchfield Street, Soho. The flysheet appeared in No. 7, d. d. 18th June 1859, of *Das Volk* (The People). 5) I saw Mr. Hollinger give to Mr. William Liebknecht of 14, Church Street, Soho, London, the proofsheet of the pamphlet *Zur Warnung*, on which proofsheet Mr. Charles Blind with his own hand had corrected four or five mistakes. Mr. Hollinger hesitated at first giving the proofsheet to Mr. Liebknecht, and when Mr. Liebknecht had withdrawn, he, F. Hollinger, expressed to me and my fellow workman Vögele his regret for having given the proofsheet out of his hands.

"Declared and signed by the said Johann Friedrich Wiehe at the Police Court, Bow Street, this 8th day of February, 1860, before me *Th. Henry*, Magistrate of the said court.

"L.S. *Johann Friedrich Wiehe*"[a]

## 14. FROM THE TRIAL PAPERS

"*Gouvernement Provisoire*

République Française. Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité.

*Au nom du Peuple Français*

"Paris, 1 Mars 1848

"Brave et loyal Marx,

"Le sol de la république française est un champ d'asile pour tous les amis de la liberté. La tyrannie vous a banni, la France libre vous rouvre ses portes, à vous et à tous ceux qui combattent pour la cause sainte, la cause fraternelle de tous les peuples. Tout agent du gouvernement français doit interpréter sa mission dans ce sens. Salut et fraternité.

*Ferdinand Flocon*, Membre du gouvernement provisoire"[b]

"Bruxelles, le 19 Mai 1848

"Mon cher Monsieur Marx,

"J'entends avec un grand plaisir par notre ami Weerth que vous allez faire paraître à Cologne une *Nouvelle Gazette Rhénane* dont il m'a remis le prospectus. Il

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[a] Marx gives this document in English (see also this volume, pp. 129-30).—*Ed.*

[b] "*Provisional Government*

French Republic. Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

*In the name of the French People*

"Paris, March 1, 1848

"Honest, worthy Marx,

"The soil of the French Republic is a place of asylum for all the friends of freedom. Tyranny has expelled you, a free France opens its doors to you once more, to you and to all those who fight for the sacred cause, the fraternal cause of all the peoples. Every official of the French Government should interpret his task in this sense. With fraternal greetings.

*Ferdinand Flocon*, Member of the Provisional Government."—*Ed.*

est bien nécessaire que cette feuille nous tienne au courant en Belgique des affaires de la démocratie allemande, car il est impossible d'en rien savoir de certain ici par la *Gazette de Cologne,* la *Gazette Universelle* d'Augsbourg et les autres gazettes aristocratiques de l'Allemagne que nous recevons à Bruxelles, non plus que par notre *Indépendance Belge* dont toutes les correspondances particulières sont conçues au point de vue des intérêts de notre aristocratie bourgeoise. M. Weerth me dit qu'il va vous joindre à Cologne pour contribuer à l'entreprise de la *Nouvelle Gazette Rhénane*: et il me promet en votre nom l'envoi de cette feuille en échange du *Débat social* que je vous enverrai de mon côté. Je ne demande pas mieux aussi que d'entretenir avec vous une correspondance sur les affaires communes à nos deux pays. Il est indispensable que les Belges et les Allemands ne restent pas trop étrangers les uns aux autres, dans l'intérêt commun des deux pays: car il se prépare en France des événements qui ne tarderont pas à mettre en jeu des questions qui toucheront les deux pays ensemble. Je reviens de Paris où j'ai passé une dizaine de jours que j'ai employés de mon mieux à me rendre compte de la situation de cette grande capitale. Je me suis trouvé, à la fin de mon séjour, juste au milieu des affaires du 15 mai.[246] J'assistais même à la séance où s'est passé le fait de l'irruption du peuple dans l'assemblée nationale.... Tout ce que j'ai compris, à voir l'attitude du peuple parisien et à entendre parler les principaux personnages qui sont en ce moment dans les affaires de la république française, c'est qu'on s'attend à une forte réaction de l'esprit bourgeois contre les événements de février dernier; les affaires du 15 mai précipiteront sans doute cette réaction. Or, celle-ci amènera indubitablement dans peu de temps un nouveau soulèvement du peuple... La France devra bientôt recourir à la guerre. C'est pour ce cas-là que nous aurons à aviser, ici et chez vous, sur ce que nous aurons à faire ensemble. Si la guerre se porte d'abord vers l'Italie nous aurons du répit... Mais si elle se porte sur-le-champ vers ce pays-ci je ne sais pas trop encore ce que nous aurons à faire, et alors nous aurons besoin du conseil des Allemands... En attendant j'annoncerai dans le *Débat social* de dimanche la publication prochaine de votre nouvelle feuille... Je compte aller à Londres vers la fin du mois de juin prochain. Si vous avez occasion d'écrire à Londres à quelques amis, veuillez les prier de m'y faire accueil. Tout à vous cordialement,

*L. Jottrand, Avt.*" [a]

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[a] "My dear Mr. Marx, I hear with great pleasure from our friend Weerth that you intend to publish a *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne of which he has sent me the prospectus. It is extremely necessary for this paper to keep us in Belgium informed about the affairs of German democracy, since it is not possible to learn anything definite about this from the *Kölnische Zeitung,* the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* and the other aristocratic German papers which we receive here in Brussels, any more than from our *Indépendance Belge,* all of whose special reports are written from the standpoint of the interests of our bourgeois aristocracy. Herr Weerth has told me that he is going to join you in Cologne to collaborate on the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and he has promised me in your name to send me copies of it in exchange for the *Débat social* which I shall forward to you. I can ask nothing better than to correspond with you about the affairs common to our two nations. It is in the interest of both our countries that Belgians and Germans should become better acquainted with each other, for in France events are about to take place which in a short time will pose problems affecting both our countries. I have just come back

"Bruxelles, 10 Février, 1860

"Mon cher Marx,

"N'ayant pas de vos nouvelles, depuis très longtemps, j'ai reçu votre dernière[a] avec la plus vive satisfaction. Vous vous plaignez du retard des choses, et du peu d'empressement de ma part de vous répondre à la question que vous m'aviez faite. Que faire: l'âge ralentit la plume; j'espère cependant que vous trouverez mes avis et mon sentiment toujours les mêmes. Je vois que votre dernière est tracée à la dictée par la main de votre secrétaire intime, de votre adorable moitié: or Madame Marx ne cesse de se rappeler du vieux hermite de Bruxelles. Qu'elle daigne recevoir avec bonté mes salutations respectueuses.

"Conservez-moi, cher confrère, dans vos amitiés. Salut et fraternité.

*Lelewel*"[b]

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from Paris after spending ten days there during which time I did my best to gain an understanding of what is happening in this great metropolis. At the end of my stay I found myself in the midst of the events of May 15. I was even present at the session of the National Assembly during which the people rushed into the Chamber.... As far as I have understood both from seeing the attitude of the people of Paris and from listening to the speeches of the leading statesmen in the French Republic at the present time, a powerful reaction is expected against the events of February last on the part of the bourgeoisie; the events of May 15 will doubtless hasten this reaction. And this will undoubtedly lead in a short time to a new uprising by the people.... France will soon have to have recourse to war. It is for this reason that we ought to consider here and in your country what common action we should take in that event. If to start with the war is directed against Italy we shall have a breathing space; ... but if it is directed against this country from the very beginning I do not yet know what we should do, and we should then be in need of the advice of the Germans.... In the meantime I shall announce the approaching publication of your new paper in the Sunday edition of the *Débat social*.... I plan to go to London towards the end of June. Should you have occasion to write to any of your friends in London, I would be grateful if you could ask them to receive me kindly.

"With cordial greetings,

*L. Jottrand,* Lawyer"

See also this volume, pp. 263-66.—*Ed.*

[a] This refers to Marx's letter to Lelewel of February 3, 1860 (present edition, Vol. 41).—*Ed.*

[b] "My dear Marx, not having heard any news from you for a long time, I was very glad to receive your last communication. You complain about the delay and the lack of urgency on my part in answering the question you put to me. But what can one do: age slows down the pen. Nevertheless, I hope that you will find my opinions and my feelings the same as ever. I see that your last letter was written at your dictation by the hand of your private secretary, your charming wife. So Madame Marx still remembers the old hermit in Brussels. Please, convey to her my respectful greetings.

"Continue to include me, dear colleague, among your friends. With fraternal greetings.

*Lelewel*".—*Ed.*

"5, Cambridge Place,
Kensington, London,
February 11th, 1860

"My dear Marx,

"I have read a series of infamous articles against you in the *National-Zeitung* and am utterly astonished at the falsehood and malignity of the writer. I really feel it a duty that every one who is acquainted with you, should, however unnecessary such a testimony must be, pay a tribute to the worth, honour and disinterestedness of your character. It becomes doubly incumbent in me to do so, when I recollect how many articles you contributed to my little magazine, the *Notes to the People*, and subsequently to the *People's Paper*, for a series of years, utterly gratuitously; articles which were of such high value to the people's cause, and of such great benefit to the paper. Permit me to hope that you will severely punish your dastardly and unmanly libeller.

"Believe me, my dear Marx, most sincerely, yours,

*Ernest Jones*

"Dr. Karl Marx"[a]

"Tribune Office,
New York,
March 8th, 1860

"My dear Sir,

"In reply to your request I am very happy to state the facts of your connection with various publications in the United States concerning which I have had a personal knowledge. Nearly nine years ago I engaged you to write for the *New York Tribune*, and the engagement has been continued ever since. You have written for us constantly, without a single week's interruption, that I can remember; and you are not only one of the most highly valued, but one of the best paid contributors attached to the journal. The only fault I have had to find with you has been that you have occasionally exhibited too German a tone of feeling for an American newspaper. This has been the case with reference both to Russia and France. In questions relating to both, Czarism and Bonapartism, I have sometimes thought that you manifested too much interest and too great anxiety for the unity and independence of Germany. This was more striking perhaps in connection with the late Italian war than on any other occasion. In that I agreed perfectly with you: *sympathy with the Italian people.* I had as little confidence as you in the sincerity of the French Emperor, and believed as little as you that *Italian liberty* was to be expected from him; but I did not think that Germany had any such ground for alarm as you, in common with other patriotic Germans, thought she had.

"I must add that in all your writings which have passed through my hands, you have always manifested the most cordial interest in the welfare and progress of the labouring classes; and that you have written much with direct reference to that end.

"I have also at various times within the past five or six years been the medium through which contributions of yours have been furnished to *Putnam's Monthly*,[247] a literary magazine of high character; and also to the *New American Cyclopaedia*, of which I am also an editor, and for which you have furnished some very important articles.

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[a] Marx gives the letter in English.—*Ed.*

"If any other explanations are needed I shall be happy to furnish them. Meanwhile I remain, yours very faithfully,

*Charles A. Dana*, Managing Editor of the *N. Y. Tribune*

"Dr. Charles Marx"[a]

## 15. DENTU PAMPHLETS

I have shown that the Dentu pamphlets are the source from which the German Dâ-Dâ derives his wisdom about world history in general and "*Napoleon's salutary policy*" in particular. The "*salutary policy of Napoleon*" is a phrase from a recent leading article by "democrat" *F. Zabel.* What the *French themselves* think and know about these pamphlets can be seen from the following extract from the Paris weekly, the *Courrier du Dimanche, No. 42,* of *October 14, 1860.*

"Pour ce qui regarde le moment actuel, prenez dix brochures au hasard, et vous reconnaîtrez que neuf au moins ont été pensées, élaborées, écrites ... par qui? par des romanciers de profession, par des chansonniers, par des vaudevillistes, par des sacristains!

"Parle-t-on dans les gazettes de mystérieuses entrevues entre les puissances du Nord, de la Sainte-Alliance qui ressuscite? Vite voilà un faiseur agréable de couplets assez littéraires, et même (jadis) passablement libéraux, qui court chez l'inévitable *M. Dentu* et lui apporte sous ce titre ronflant: La coalition, une longue et fade paraphrase des articles de M. Grandguillot. L'alliance anglaise semble déplaire parfois à M. Limayrac? Vite, un M. Châtelet, chevalier de l'ordre de Grégoire le Grand,[248] et qui doit être sacristain quelque part, si j'en crois son style, publie ou republie un long et ridicule factum: *Crimes et délits de l'Angleterre contre la France.* Déjà l'auteur du *Compère Guillery* (Edmond About) avait jugé à propos de nous édifier sur les arcanes politiques de la monarchie prussienne, et avait donné du haut de ses chutes théâtrales, des conseils de prudence aux chambres de Berlin. On annonce que M. Clairville va prochainement élucider la question de l'isthme de Panama, si fort embrouillée par M. Belly; et sans doute quelques jours après la conférence royale du 21 Octobre,[249] on verra paraître à toutes les vitrines de nos libraires une splendide brochure rose qui portera ce titre: *Mémoire sur l'entrevue de Varsovie par le corps de ballet de l'Opéra.*

"Cette invasion, en apparence inexplicable, des questions politiques par les *dii minores* de la littérature, se rattache à bien des causes. Nous en citerons ici une seule, mais qui est la plus immédiate et la plus incontestable.

"Dans le marasme presque universel d'esprit et de coeur, ces messieurs, qui font le triste métier d'amuseurs publics, ne savent plus par quel moyen secouer et réveiller leurs lecteurs. Les vieilles gaîtés de leurs refrains et de leurs anecdotes leur reviennent sans cesse. Eux-mêmes se sentent aussi mornes, aussi tristes, aussi ennuyés que ceux qu'ils entreprennent de dérider. Voilà pourquoi à bout de ressources, ils se sont mis, en désespoir de cause, à écrire les uns des mémoires de courtisanes, les autres des brochures diplomatiques.

"Puis, un beau matin, un aventurier de la plume, qui n'a jamais fait à la politique le sacrifice d'une heure sérieuse d'étude, qui n'a pas même au coeur le

[a] Marx gives the letter in English.—*Ed.*

semblant d'une conviction, quelle qu'elle soit, se lève et se dit: 'J'ai besoin de frapper un grand coup! Voyons! que ferai-je pour attirer sur moi l'attention générale qui me fuit d'instinct? Écrirai-je un opuscule sur la question Léotard ou sur la question d'Orient? Révélerai-je au monde surpris le secret de boudoirs où je n'entrai jamais, ou celui de la politique russe qui m'est plus étrange encore? Dois-je m'attendrir en prose voltairienne sur *les femmes éclaboussées* ou en prose évangélique sur les malheureuses populations maronites[250] traquées, dépouillées, massacrées par le fanatisme mahométan? Lancerai-je une apologie de mademoiselle Rigolboche ou un plaidoyer en faveur du pouvoir temporel? Décidément, j'opte pour la politique. J'amuserai encore mieux mon public avec les rois et les empereurs, qu'avec les lorettes.' Cela dit, notre surnuméraire de la littérature bohème compulse le *Moniteur*, hante quelques jours les colonnades de la Bourse, rend visite à quelques fonctionnaires et sait enfin de quel côté souffle le vent de la curiosité à la ville, ou celui de la faveur à la cour: il choisit alors un titre que ce vent puisse enfler d'une façon suffisante et se repose content sur ses lauriers. Aussi bien son oeuvre est faite désormais; car aujourd'hui, en matière de brochure, il n'y a que deux choses qui comptent, le titre et les relations que l'on suppose entre l'écrivain et 'de hauts personnages'.

"Est-il nécessaire de dire, après cela, ce que valent les brochures qui nous inondent? Ramassez un jour tout ce que vous avez de courage, tâchez de les lire jusqu'au bout et vous serez effrayés de l'ignorance inouïe, de la légèreté intolérable, voire même de l'amoindrissement de sens moral qu'elles décèlent dans leurs auteurs. Et je ne parle pas ici des plus mauvaises... Et chaque année nous courbe plus bas, chaque année voit apparaître un nouveau signe de décadence intellectuelle, chaque année ajoute une honte littéraire nouvelle à celles dont il nous faut déjà rougir. De telle sorte que les plus optimistes se prennent quelquefois à douter de demain, et se demandent avec angoisse: Sortirons-nous de là?"[a]

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[a] "As to the present state of affairs, pick any ten pamphlets at random and you will find that at least nine of them have been devised worked out and written ... by whom? By professional novelists, song-writers, vaudeville-writers or sextons.

"If the newspapers mention mysterious meetings between the northern powers or a project to resurrect the Holy Alliance, immediately some amiable person manufacturing fairly literary songs, and even (formerly) passably liberal songs, will run off to the inevitable *M. Dentu* and supply him, under the resounding title: 'La Coalition', with a lengthy and insipid paraphrase of the articles of M. Grandguillot. If the alliance with England seems sometimes to displease M. Limayrac, a M. Châtelet, knight of the Order of Gregory the Great, and a man who must be a sexton somewhere or other, to judge him by his style, quickly publishes or republishes a long, ridiculous account: *Crimes et délits de l'Angleterre contre la France.* The author of *Compère Guillery* (Edmond About) has already deemed it expedient to edify us with stories about the political secrets of the Prussian monarchy and from the heights of his theatrical fiascos he has honoured the Chambers of Berlin with his prudent advice. It has been announced that M. Clairville will soon elucidate the problem of the Isthmus of Panama which has been so thoroughly obscured by M. Nelly: and no doubt a few days after the royal conference of October 27 we shall see in the windows of all our bookshops a splendid pink pamphlet bearing the title: *Mémoire sur l'entrevue de Varsovie par le corps de ballet de l'Opéra.*

"This apparently inexplicable invasion of the political arena by the *lesser gods* of literature has many causes. We shall only mention one here, but that one is the most palpable and the most indisputable of all.

The phrase "*the salutary policy of Napoleon*" quoted above was taken from the *National-Zeitung*. Strangely enough the Paris correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* which is regarded throughout England as a paper publishing mostly reliable news—has reported the following curiosity:

"Paris, November 8.... Louis-Napoleon spends his gold in vain in supporting such newspapers as the *National-Zeitung*." (*Manchester Guardian* of November 12, 1860.)[a]

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"Amidst the almost universal decline of intellect and heart, the gentlemen who have the dreary task of amusing the public are at a loss for the means to astonish and rouse their readers. They continually reproduce the old jokes of their refrains and their anecdotes. They are themselves as depressed, as melancholy and as bored as those whom they undertake to cheer up. This is why out of sheer despair, when they have come to their wits' end, some of them begin to write the memoirs of courtesans, and others diplomatic pamphlets.

"Then, one fine morning, an adventurer of the pen who has never sacrificed a single hour of serious study to politics, who does not even have the ghost of a genuine conviction of any sort in his heart, gets out of bed and says to himself: 'I must strike a great blow! Let's see. what shall I do to attract the notice of the general public which instinctively ignores me? Shall I write an article on the Leotard affair or on the Eastern Question? Shall I reveal to an astonished world the secrets of boudoirs which I have never entered, or the mysteries of Russian politics of which I know even less? Shall I melt with emotion in the Voltairean manner about the fate of *fallen women*, or bewail in Biblical prose the wretched Maronite population persecuted, plundered and slaughtered by Moslem fanaticism? Shall I sing the praises of Mademoiselle Rigolboche or pen an apologia of temporal power? I have it: I shall settle for politics. I shall entertain my public better with kings and emperors than with loose women.' Having said which, our supernumerary of the literary *Bohème* wades through the *Moniteur*, hangs around the colonnades of the Stock Exchange for several days, visits a few officials and in the end he knows which way the wind of the town's curiosity is blowing, or the direction of the favour of the Court. He then selects a title capable of capturing a sufficient portion of this wind, whereupon he rests on his laurels. He has now done everything necessary: for these days only two things are needed to make a pamphlet: the title and the relations that may be supposed to exist between the author and 'people in high places'.

"Is it still necessary, after all this, to speak of the value of the pamphlets which are flooding the market? If one day you pluck up all your courage and try to read them right through to the end you will be appalled by the extraordinary ignorance, the unbearable frivolousness and especially the utter debasement of moral principles that they reveal in their authors. And I am not speaking of the worst of them.... And every year sees the standard sink still lower, every year brings new evidence of intellectual decadence, every year brings a new literary dishonour to add to those which already make us blush. Things have come to such a pass that even the greatest optimists sometimes wonder what the morrow will bring and anxiously ask themselves: Shall we ever be able to escape from all this?"—*Ed.*

[a] Marx quotes the passage from *The Manchester Guardian* in English and gives the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

However, I think that the normally so well-informed correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* is mistaken this time. For F. Zabel is said to have gone over to the Bonapartist camp to prove that he is *not in the pay of Austria.* At any rate, this information reached me from Berlin and it fits well into the—*Dunciad.*

## 16. POSTSCRIPT

### a) K. VOGT AND *LA CIMENTAIRE*

While the last of these pages were being printed, I accidentally came across the *October issue* (1860) of the *Stimmen der Zeit. A. Kolatschek,* the former publisher of the *Deutsche Monatsschrift,* the organ of the refugee parliamentarians, and hence, in a manner of speaking, the literary superior of the "fugitive Regent of the Empire", tells the following story about his *friend Karl Vogt* on p. 37:

"The Geneva joint-stock company, *La Cimentaire,* which numbered none other than Herr *Karl Vogt* himself among its *directors,* was founded in 1857. By 1858 the shareholders were down to their last farthing and the public prosecutor immediately put one of the directors in gaol on charges of fraud. At the time of the arrest Herr Vogt happened to be away in Berne; he returned in haste, the man who had been arrested was set at liberty, the charges were suppressed 'for fear of causing a scandal', but the shareholders lost everything. But after such an example as this it cannot really be maintained that property is very well protected in Geneva and the error of Herr *Karl Vogt* in this respect is all the stranger since he was, as we have mentioned, *one of the directors of the company concerned.* And even in France in similar cases it is customary to search for the culprits among the directors, to put them into gaol and to use their property to satisfy the civil claims of the shareholders."

This should be compared with the account given by Joh. Ph. Becker in his letter (in Chapter X) about the bank incident which drove M. *James Fazy* into the arms of the Decembrists.[a] Such details as this are a great help in solving the riddle of how *"Napoléon le Petit"* became the greatest man of his age. As is well known *"Napoléon le Petit"* himself had to choose between a coup d'état and—Clichy.[251]

### b) KOSSUTH

The following excerpt from a memorandum of a conversation with *Kossuth* proves incontrovertibly that Kossuth knows perfectly well that it is *Russia* that constitutes the greatest threat to

[a] See this volume, pp. 230-35.—*Ed.*

Hungary. The memorandum[252] comes from one of the most celebrated radical members[a] of the present House of Commons.[b]

"*Memorandum of a conversation with M. Kossuth on the evening of May 30th, 1854,* at....

"... A return to strict legality in Hungary (said he, viz. *Kossuth*) might renew the union of Hungary and Austria, and *would prevent Russia from finding any partisan in Hungary.* He (Kossuth) would not offer any opposition to a return to legality. He would advise his countrymen to accept with good faith such a restoration, if it could be obtained, and would pledge himself not in any way to be an obstacle to such an arrangement. He would not himself return to Hungary. He would not himself put forward such a course for Austria as he had no belief in Austria's return to legality, except under pressure of dire necessity. He gave me authority to say, such were his sentiments, and if appealed to, he would avow them, though he could not commit himself to any proposal, as he could not expect Austria to abandon her traditional scheme of centralisation till forced to do so.... He would have consented in 1848 to Hungarian troops being sent to resist attacks of the Piedmontese" (M. Kossuth went much further in 1848 since he ensured that Hungarian troops would be sent against the Italian "rebels" by delivering a violent speech in the Imperial Diet in Pest), "but would not employ them to coerce Austrian Italy, as he would not consent to foreign troops in Hungary."[253]

The mythopoeic power of popular fantasy has always shown itself in the creation of "great men". *Simon Bolivar* is undeniably the most convincing illustration of this. As for *Kossuth,* he is, for example, celebrated as the man who abolished feudalism in Hungary. Nevertheless he is in no way connected with the three great measures: universal taxation, the abolition of the feudal burden of the peasantry and the abolition without compensation of the tithes paid to the Church. The motion for *universal taxation* (the nobility having previously been exempt) was put by *Szemere*; the motion to do away with corvée, etc., by *Bonis,* the deputy for Szabolcz, and the clergy itself, acting through Jekelfalussy, a deputy and a canon, voluntarily relinquished its rights to raise tithes.[254]

### c) EDMOND ABOUT'S *LA PRUSSE EN 1860*

At the end of Chapter VIII I expressed the opinion that *E. About*'s pamphlet *La Prusse en 1860,* or as it was originally called, *Napoléon III et la Prusse,* was a retranslation into French of an excerpt of Dâ-Dâ Vogt's German compilation of the Dentu pamphlets.[c] The only objection to this view was the total ignorance

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[a] William Sandford.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English term and gives the text of the memorandum, which follows, in English too.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 182-83.—*Ed.*

of the German language on the part of that unsuccessful comedy writer, E. About. But was it out of the question for the *compère Guillery* to have discovered a *commère allemande*[a] somewhere or other in Paris? Who this *commère* was remained a matter of conjecture. *La Prusse en 1860* was known to have been published as a vademecum for Louis Bonaparte's trip to Baden-Baden[255]; it was designed to foreshadow his request to the Prince Regent and to make it clear to Prussia that in the December 2 Empire Prussia possessed, in the concluding words of the pamphlet, an "allié très utile qui est peut-être appelé à lui" (Prussia) "rendre de grands services, *pourvu qu'elle s'y prête un peu*".[b] E. About had already revealed in French (see Chapter IX, "Agency"[c]) in *L'Opinion Nationale* as early as the spring of 1860 that "*pourvu qu'elle s'y prête un peu*" translated into German means: "on the condition that Prussia sells the Rhine Province to France". In view of these aggravating circumstances I could not name anyone as the German prompter of E. About, the unsuccessful comedy writer and Dentu pamphletist, simply on the basis of a conjecture. But I am now justified in declaring that the German *commère* of the *compère* Guillery is none other than Vogt's gentle Kunigunde—*Herr Ludwig Simon of Trier.* This was hardly suspected by the German refugee in London[d] who penned the well-known answer to About's pamphlet.[e]

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[a] *Compère*—godfather, *commère allemande*—German godmother.—*Ed.*

[b] "A very useful ally, who is still ready to render her" (Prussia) "great service, *provided that she will help herself.*"—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 211-12.—*Ed.*

[d] S. L. Borkheim.—*Ed.*

[e] *Napoléon III und Preussen. Antwort eines deutschen Flüchtlings auf die Broschüre "Preussen in 1860" von Edmond About,* London, 1860.—*Ed.*

New-York Tribune.

Vol. XIX....No. 5,862. NEW-YORK, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1860. PRICE TWO CENTS.

# Karl Marx

## AFFAIRS IN FRANCE[256]

Paris, Jan. 17, 1860

Louis Napoleon has been converted to Free-trade, and is about to inaugurate a new era of peace. He can hardly fail to be enrolled as a member of the Society of Friends,[257] and the year 1860 will, in the annals of Europe, be recorded as the year 1 of the Millennium. This extraordinary news going the round of the London Press dates its origin from a letter of Louis Bonaparte published in the *Moniteur*, dated Jan. 15, 1860, and addressed to Mr. Fould, Minister of State.[a] The first effect of the letter was to send the Funds down at Paris and to send them up at London.

Now, before all things, it seems necessary to scrutinize somewhat closely the *corpus delicti*—that is, the Imperial letter—upon which the whole superstructure of the new era is about to be reared. Louis Bonaparte informs Mr. Fould that

> "the moment has arrived for applying ourselves to the means of giving a greater development to the different branches of national wealth."

The almost identical announcement[b] appeared in the *Moniteur* of January, 1852, when the *Coup d'état* inaugurated the era of the *Crédit Mobilier*, the *Crédit Foncier*, and other *Crédits ambulants*.[258] And this is not all. Since that eventful epoch, every yearly financial bulletin issued under the auspices of the French autocrat has laid all its stress upon and proved by an awful array of official figures the circumstance that the Empire had been as good as its word,

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[a] Here and below see *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 15, January 15, 1860. Further on Marx calls this letter a "manifesto".—*Ed.*

[b] "Au nom du peuple français", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 15, January 15, 1852.—*Ed.*

and that, under its fostering sway, all the branches of national industry *had* taken an immense development.

Thus one finds himself in a fix. Either the proclamations of the *Coup d'état* were untimely, and the financial bulletins issued after the *Coup d'état* were spurious, or the present proclamation is a mere hoax.

At all events, this much appears incontrovertible, on the own showing of the new Imperial manifesto, that the economical benefits which French society was to derive from the resurrection of Bonapartism belong not to the past, but to the future tense. Let us, then, see by what new contrivance the happy economical change is to be brought about.

In the first instance, Louis Bonaparte tells Mr. Fould, who must have been somewhat startled at the profound discovery of his master, that "our foreign commerce must be developed by the exchange of products," a stupendous truism, indeed. Foreign commerce consisting in the exchange of national products for foreign products, it cannot be denied that, to develop French foreign commerce, the exchange of French products must be developed. The principal result which Louis Bonaparte expects from the new development of French foreign commerce he is about to start, is "to spread prosperity among the working classes," the which, as implicitly confessed by the man of the *Coup d'État*, and as shown by recent French writers (see, for instance, the works of the late Mr. Colins[a]), have visibly decayed within the last ten years. Unhappily, one great fact strikes the most superficial observer. French foreign commerce *has* made immense strides from 1848 to 1860. Amounting in 1848 to about 875 millions francs, it has risen to more than double that sum in 1859. An increase of commerce by more than 100 per cent in the short space of ten years, is a thing almost unprecedented. The causes that have brought about that increase are to be found in California, Australia, the United States, and so forth, but certainly not in the archives of the Tuileries.[259] It appears, then, that despite the immense increase of French foreign commerce within the last ten years—an increase to be traced to revolutions in the markets of the world quite beyond the petty control of the French police—the situation of the mass of the French nation has not improved. Consequently, there must have been at work some

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[a] Marx refers to Jean Guillaume Colins' works *L'économie politique. Sources des révolutions et des utopies prétendues socialistes,* Vols. I-III, Paris, 1856-1857, and *Science sociale,* Paris, 1857.—*Ed.*

agency powerful enough to frustrate the natural results of commercial progress. If the development of French foreign commerce accounts for the apparent ease with which the second Empire has been allowed to indulge its expensive vagaries, the prostration of the nation, despite its doubled exports, betrays the cost at which that Imperial ease is purchased. If the Empire could not have subsisted *without* that development of French foreign commerce, that commercial progress has failed *with* the Empire to bear its legitimate fruits.

The Austrian Emperor, having banished the deficit from his States by dint of a ukase, why should Louis Bonaparte, by dint of another ukase, not command the increase of French foreign commerce? Still he apprehends some hitch in his way.

> "We must first," he says, "improve our agriculture, and free our industry from all interior impediments which place it in a position of inferiority."

That French agriculture is badly in want of improvement, is the standing topic of French economists; but how is Louis Bonaparte to do the thing? In the first place, he will grant loans to agriculture at a moderate "interest." French agriculture is notoriously the concern of more than two-thirds of the French nation. Will Louis Bonaparte impose taxes upon the remaining third, in order to grant loans "at a moderate rate" to the majority of the nation? The idea is in fact too preposterous to be insisted upon. On the other hand, it was the confessed aim of his *Crédits Fonciers* to direct loanable capital to the land. The only thing they have proved efficient in is not in ameliorating agriculture, but in ruining small freeholds and accelerating the concentration of landed estates. After all, we have here again the old worn-out panacea—institutions of credit. Nobody will deny that the second Empire marks an epoch in the development of French credit, but that it has overshot the mark, and that, with its own credit, its credit-fostering influence has gone to the wall. The only novelty seems to be that the semi-official credit machinery having been stretched and worked to its utmost, Louis Bonaparte now dreams of converting the Government itself into a direct loan-shop. While any such attempt must be fraught with immense dangers, it would as necessarily collapse as did his grain granaries, intended to screw up the prices of corn.[260] Draining, irrigating, and cleaning the ground, are all very good things in their different lines, but their only possible effect is to multiply agricultural products. They cannot raise, and they are not intended to raise, the prices of those products. Now then, even if Louis Bonaparte should find by

some miraculous methods the ways and means required for those ameliorations on a national scale, how are they to mend the depreciation of agricultural produce which the French peasant has labored under for these five years? But then, Louis Napoleon will set about a consecutive amelioration of the means of communication. The coolness with which this proposition is made, beats even Bonapartist impudence. Look only to the development of French railways since 1850. The annual expense for these "means of communication" amounted, from 1845 to '47, to about 175,000,000 of francs; from 1848 to '51, to about 125,000,000; from 1852 to '54, to nearly 250,000,000 (double the expenditure of 1848-'51); from 1854[a] to '56, to nearly 550,000,000; from 1857 to '59, to about 500,000,000. In 1857, when the general crisis broke in upon the commercial world, the French Government stood aghast at the immense sums still required for the railways in progress or already conceded. It prohibited the railway companies from raising, by means of securities, debentures, &c., more than 212,500,000 francs annually, interdicted the getting up of new companies, and circumscribed within fixed limits the work to be annually undertaken. And, after all this, Louis Bonaparte speaks as if railways, canals, and so forth, were now first to be invented! A forcible reduction of the canal dues, which he hints at, is, of course, an operation involving the breach of public contracts, frightening the capital embarked in those enterprises, and certainly not calculated to allure new capital into the same channels. Lastly, to find a market for agricultural products, manufacturing industry is to be stimulated. Yet, as we have already stated, manufacturing industry has made immense strides during the second Empire, but with all that, with the unprecedented increase of exports, with the immense development of railways and other means of communication, with the exaggeration of a credit system formerly unknown in France, French agriculture languishes, and the French peasantry decays. How shall we account for the strange phenomenon? The fact that 255,000,000 of francs are added yearly to the funded debt, not to speak of the impost of blood for the army and the navy, offers a sufficient answer. The Empire itself is the great incubus whose burden grows in a greater ratio than the productive powers of the French nation.

Louis Bonaparte's prescriptions for French industry, if we deduct all that is mere phraseology, or is still looming in the

[a] Thus in the original.—*Ed.*

future, are simply these: Suppression of the duties on wool and cotton, and successive reductions on sugar and coffee. Now, this is all very well, but all the gullibility of English free-traders is required to call such measures free trade. Whoever is acquainted with political economy, knows full well that the abolition of duties on agricultural raw material forms a main item in the doctrine of the mercantile school of the eighteenth century. These "interior impediments" which weigh upon French production, are as nothing if compared with the *octrois*,[261] dividing France into as many independent countries as there are towns, paralyzing the internal exchange, and barring the creation of wealth by crippling its consumption. Those *octrois*, however, have increased under the Imperial régime, and will continue to increase. The diminution of duties on wool and cotton is to be made up by suppressing the sinking fund, so that the last restraint upon the growth of the public debts, although merely nominal, will be done away with.

On the other hand, the woods are to be cleared, the hills to be leveled, and the moors to be drained, by applying to those purposes the 160,000,000 of francs said to form the remnant disposable from the last war loans, in three yearly installments, which will make less than 54,000,000 of francs on an annual average. Why, the embankment of the Loire alone, so pompously announced by the Imperial Cagliostro some five years ago, and then no longer thought of, would absorb the whole sum in less than three months. What then remains of the manifesto! "The inauguration of an era of peace," as if that era had not long since been proclaimed at Bordeaux. "*L'Empire c'est la paix.*"[a]

Written on January 17, 1860 Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5862, February 7, 1860

[a] The words quoted are taken from Napoleon III's speech in Bordeaux on October 9, 1852, shortly before the plebiscite and the proclamation of the second Empire. They were a demagogic attempt to win the sympathy of the people.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## ENGLISH POLITICS

London, Jan. 27, 1860

The most interesting topics touched upon in the parliamentary address[a] debates were the third Chinese war, the commercial treaty with France, and the Italian complication.[262] The Chinese question, it ought to be understood, involves not only an international question, but also a constitutional question of vital import. The second Chinese war,[263] undertaken on the arbitrary behest of Lord Palmerston, having led first to a vote of censure against his Cabinet, and then to a forcible dissolution of the House of Commons—the new House, although elected under his own auspices, was never called upon to cashier the sentence passed by its predecessor. To this very moment Lord Palmerston's second Chinese war stands condemned by a parliamentary verdict. But this is not all.

On the 16th of September, 1859, the account of the repulse on the Peiho was received in England. Instead of summoning Parliament, Lord Palmerston addressed himself to Louis Bonaparte, and conversed with the autocrat on a new Anglo-French expedition against China.

"During three months," as Lord Grey says, "the British ports and arsenals resounded with the din of preparation, and measures were taken for dispatching artillery, stores, and gun-boats to China, and for sending land forces of not less than 10,000 men, in addition to the naval forces."[b]

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[a] Victoria, "The Queen's Speech. The Address, January 24, 1860," *The Times*, No. 23525, January 25, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx quotes Lord Grey's speech in the House of Lords on January 24, 1860 during the parliamentary address debates. See *The Times*, No. 23525, January 25, 1860.—*Ed.*

The country having thus been fairly embarked in a new war, on the one hand by a treaty with France, on the other by a vast expenditure incurred without any previous communication to Parliament, the latter, on its meeting, is coolly asked "to thank her Majesty for having informed them of what had occurred, and the preparations that were making for the expedition to China." In what different style could Louis Napoleon himself have addressed his own *corps législatif*, or the Emperor Alexander his senate?

In the debate on the address in the House of Commons in 1857, Mr. Gladstone, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, with reference to the Persian war,[264] had indignantly exclaimed:

> "I will say, without fear of contradiction, that the practice of commencing wars, without first referring to Parliament, is utterly at variance with the *established practice* of the country, *dangerous to the Constitution, and absolutely requiring the intervention of this House*, in order to render the repetition *of so dangerous a proceeding* utterly impossible."[a]

Lord Palmerston has not only repeated the proceeding, "so dangerous to the Constitution"; he has not only repeated it this time with the concurrence of the sanctimonious Mr. Gladstone, but as if to try the strength of ministerial irresponsibility, wielding the rights of Parliament against the Crown, the prerogatives of the Crown against Parliament and the privileges of both against the people—he had the boldness to repeat the dangerous proceeding within the same sphere of action. His one Chinese war being censured by the Parliament, he undertakes another Chinese war in spite of Parliament. Still, in both Houses, only one man mustered courage enough to make a stand against this ministerial usurpation; and, curiously to say, that one man belonging not to the popular, but to the aristocratic branch of the Legislature. The man is Lord Grey. He proposed an amendment to the address in answer to the Queen's speech to the purport that the expedition ought not to have been entered upon before the sense of both Houses of Parliament was taken.

The manner in which Lord Grey's amendment was met, both by the spokesman of the ministerial party and the leader of her Majesty's opposition, is highly characteristic of the political crisis which the representative institutions of England are rapidly approaching. Lord Grey conceded that, in a formal sense, the Crown enjoyed the prerogative of entering upon wars, but since Ministers were interdicted from spending one single farthing on

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[a] Marx quotes Gladstone from Lord Grey's speech.—*Ed.*

any enterprise without the previous sanction of Parliament, it was the constitutional law and practice that the responsible representatives of the Crown should never enter upon warlike expeditions before notice having been given to Parliament, and the latter been called upon to make provision for defraying the expenditure which might be thus incurred. Thus, if the council of the nation thought fit, it might check, in the beginning, any unjust or impolitic war contemplated by ministers. His Lordship quoted then some examples in order to show how strictly these rules were formerly adhered to. In 1790, when some British vessels were seized by the Spaniards on the north-west coast of America, Pitt brought down to both Houses a message from the Crown[a] calling for a vote of credit to meet the probable expenses. Again in December 1826, when the daughter of Dom Pedro[b] applied to England for assistance against Ferdinand VII of Spain, who intended an invasion of Portugal to the benefit of Dom Miguel, Canning brought down a similar message[c] notifying to Parliament the nature of the case and the amount of expenditure likely to be incurred. In conclusion Lord Grey broadly intimated that the ministry had dared to raise taxes upon the country without the concurrence of Parliament, since the large expenditure already incurred must have been defrayed one way or other; and could not have been defrayed without encroaching upon money-grants provided for entirely different demands.

Now which sort of reply did Lord Grey elicit on the part of the Cabinet? The Duke of Newcastle, who had been foremost in protesting against the lawfulness of Palmerston's second Chinese war, answered in the first instance that "the very wholesome practice had arisen of late years of never moving an amendment to the address, unless some great *party object* was to be attained."[d] Consequently, Lord Grey being not prompted by factious motives, and pretending not to aspire to put Ministers out in order to put himself in, what, for the life of the Duke of Newcastle, could he mean by infringing upon that "very wholesome practice of late years"? Was he crotchety enough to fancy that they were to break

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[a] George III, "Message respecting Vessels captured by Spain at Nootka Sound. 1790, 5 May", *The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803*, London, 1816, Vol. 28, pp. 764-66.—*Ed.*

[b] Maria II da Gloria.—*Ed.*

[c] George IV [Message respecting Portugal, December 11, 1826], *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, London, 1826, Vol. 16, pp. 334-36.—*Ed.*

[d] Here and below Marx quotes the Duke of Newcastle's speech in the House of Lords on January 24, 1860. See *The Times*, No. 23525, January 25, 1860.—*Ed.*

lances except for great party objects? In the second instance, was it not notorious that the constitutional practice, so anxiously adhered to by Pitt and Canning, had been over and over again departed from by Lord Palmerston? Had that noble Viscount not carried on a war of his own in Portugal in 1831, in Greece in 1850, and, as the Duke of Newcastle might have added, in Persia, in Afghanistan[265] and in many other countries? Why, if Parliament had allowed Lord Palmerston to usurp to himself the right of war and peace and taxation during the course of thirty years, why, then, should they all at once try to break from their long servile tradition? Constitutional law might be on the side of Lord Grey, but prescription was undoubtedly on the side of Lord Palmerston. Why call the noble Viscount to account at this time of the day, since never before had he been punished for similar "wholesome" innovations? In fact, the Duke of Newcastle seemed rather indulgent in not accusing Lord Grey of rebellion for his attempt at breaking through Lord Palmerston's prescriptive privilege of doing with his own—the forces and the money of England—as he liked.

Equally original was the manner in which the Duke of Newcastle endeavored to prove the legality of the Peiho expedition. There exists an Anglo-Chinese treaty of 1843, by dint of which England enjoys all the rights conceded by the Celestials to the most favored nations.[266] Now Russia, in her recent treaty with China, has stipulated for the right of sailing up the Peiho.[267] Consequently, under the treaty of 1843, the English had a right to such passage. This, the Duke of Newcastle said, he might insist upon "without any great special pleading." Might he, indeed! On the one side there is the ugly circumstance that the Russian treaty was only ratified, and, consequently, dates its actual existence only from an epoch posterior to the Peiho catastrophe. This, of course, is but a slight *husteron proteron.*[a] On the other hand, it is generally known that a state of war suspends all existing treaties. If the English were at war with the Chinese at the time of the Peiho expedition, they, of course, could appeal neither to the treaty of 1843, nor to any other treaty whatever. If they were not at war, Palmerston's Cabinet has taken upon itself to commence a new war without the sanction of Parliament? To escape the latter part of the dilemma, poor Newcastle asserts that since the Canton bombardment,[268] for the last two years, "England had *never* been *at peace*

[a] The latter (put as) the former—a figure of speech in which what should come last is put first; inversion of the natural order.—*Ed.*

with China." Consequently the Ministry had pushed on hostilities, not recommenced them, and consequently he might, without special pleading, appeal to the treaties effective only during a time of peace. And to highten the beauty of this queer sort of dialectics, Lord Palmerston, the chief of the Cabinet, asserts at the same time, in the House of Commons, that England all this time over, "*had never been at war with China.*"[a] They were not so now. There were, of course, Canton bombardments, Peiho catastrophes, and Anglo-French expeditions, but there was no war, since war had never been *declared,* and since, to this moment, the Emperor of China[b] had allowed transactions at Shanghai to proceed in their usual course. The very fact of his having broken, in regard to the Chinese, through all the legitimate international forms of war, Palmerston pleads as a reason for dispensing also with the constitutional forms in regard to the British Parliament, while his spokesman in the House of Lords, Earl Granville, "with regard to China," disdainfully declares "*the consultation of Parliament by Government*" to be "*a purely technical point.*"[c] The consultation of Parliament by Government a purely technical point! What difference, then, does still remain between a British Parliament and a French *Corps Législatif?* In France, it is, at least, the presumed heir of a national hero[d] who dares to place himself in the place of the nation, and who at the same time openly confronts all the dangers of such usurpation. But, in England, it is some subaltern spokesman, some worn-out place-hunter, some anonymous nonentity of a so-called Cabinet, that, relying on the donkey power of the parliamentary mind and the bewildering evaporations of an anonymous press, without making any noise, without incurring any danger, quietly creep their way to irresponsible power. Take on the one hand the commotions raised by a Sulla[269]; take on the other the fraudulent businesslike maneuvers of the manager of a joint stock bank, the secretary of a benevolent society, or the clerk of a vestry, and you will understand the difference between imperialist usurpation in France and ministerial usurpation in England! Lord Derby, fully aware of the equal interest both factions have in securing ministerial impotence and irresponsibility, could, of course, "not concur with the noble Earl

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[a] Lord Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on January 25, 1860, *The Times,* No. 23526, January 26, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] Hsien Fêng.—*Ed.*

[c] The Earl of Granville's speech in the House of Lords on January 24, 1860, *The Times,* No. 23525, January 25, 1860.—*Ed.*

[d] The reference is to Napoleon III and Napoleon I.—*Ed.*

[Grey] in the strong views which he takes of the *laches* of Government."[a] He could not quite concur in Lord Grey's complaint that "the Government ought to have called Parliament together, to have consulted them on the Chinese question," but he "certainly would not support him by his vote, should he press the amendment to a division."

Consequently, the amendment was not pressed to a division, and the whole debate, in both Houses, on the Chinese war, evaporated in grotesque compliments showered by both factions on the head of Admiral Hope for having so gloriously buried the English forces in the mud.

Written on January 27, 1860

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5868, February 14, 1860

[a] Lord Derby's speech in the House of Lords on January 24, 1860, *The Times*, No. 23525, January 25, 1860.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE NEW TREATY BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND

London, Jan. 28, 1860

The commercial treaty with France[270] will not be communicated to the House of Commons before the 6th of February. Still, with what was broached during the address debates—with what is insinuated by the French papers, and with what is gossiped at London and Paris, one may, Mr. Gladstone's solemn warnings[a] notwithstanding, already venture upon some general appreciation of this "sweet changeling."[271] It was on Monday, the 23d of January, that the treaty was duly signed at Paris, Rouher, Minister of Commerce, and Baroche, ad interim Minister of Foreign Affairs, acting as its French godfathers, while, on the part of England, the same function was performed by Lord Cowley and Mr. Cobden. That Mr. Michel Chevalier—the ex-St. Simonian—had his hand in the pie, and that general regret is felt throughout the whole realm of France that Louis Napoleon had not the tact of allowing this distinguished personage (viz.: Mr. Chevalier) to inscribe his name to the treaty by the side of his "English *confrère*,"[b] is a piece of news which that "distinguished personage" himself was so condescending as to send over to London and have inserted in the various free-trade organs. But, what is not known by the journals, is that *Père Enfantin*, the ex-high-priest of St. Simonism, was the principal actor on the French side. Is it not truly wonderful how those St. Simonians, from *Père Enfantin* down to Isaac Péreire and Michel Chevalier, have been turned into the main economical pillars of the second Empire. But to return to

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[a] Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on January 25, 1860, *The Times*, No. 23526, January 26, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] Colleague.—*Ed.*

Mr. Chevalier's "English *confrère*," the Lancashire ex-manufacturer, who, of course, felt not a little elated at the honor of putting his own sign-manual to an international treaty. If one should consider the circumstance that reciprocity treaties, and commercial treaties generally, save the treaties with barbarians, have always been loudly denounced by the English free-traders, led by Mr. Cobden, as the worst and most perfidious form of protectionism; if it be further considered that the present treaty, even judged from the reciprocity stand-point, seems a rather ludicrous arrangement; and, lastly, if the political aims and purposes the treaty is destined to screen be duly weighed, people might feel inclined to pity Mr. Richard Cobden as the innocent victim of a Palmerstonian machination. Yet there is another side to the medal. Mr. Cobden, as is generally known, did once receive, in exchange for his Anti-Corn law[272] success, some £60,000 sterling on the part of the grateful manufacturing interest. Mr. Cobden invested the principal in American shares, and, consequent upon the crisis of 1857, lost almost everything. The hopes he still cherished when setting out on his voyage to the United States, proved delusory. Mr. Cobden returned to England a ruined man. To appeal to a national subscription some national pretext was wanted, some transaction that might be puffed, and again exhibit Mr. Cobden in the light of the guardian angel of the United Kingdom, "securing plenty and comfort to millions of lowly households." Well, the Anglo-French treaty *did* the thing, and, as you will see, from the provincial papers, a new subscription to the amount of £40,000, intended to compensate the great free-trade apostle for his American losses, already goes the round very "feelingly." There is no doubt that if Disraeli, for instance, had introduced to the Commons such a treaty, Mr. Cobden at the head of the free-traders would have risen to move for a vote of non-confidence in a Cabinet attempting to carry the legislation back to the darkest fallacies of the unenlightened past.

From the following tables[a] the number of protective duties levied during the year 1858 by England on French articles may be inferred:

| *Articles.* | Duty. |
|---|---|
| Baskets | £2,061 |
| Butter | 7,159 |
| China and Porcelain Ware | 1,671 |
| Clocks | 3,928 |

[a] "Commercial Treaties and Free Trade", *The Economist*, No. 857, January 28, 1860, p. 85.—*Ed.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Coffee | 4,311 |
| Eggs | 19,934 |
| Embroidery | 5,572 |
| Flowers, artificial | 20,412 |
| Fruit | 7,347 |
| Lace | 1,858 |
| Boots, Shoes, and other Leather Manufactures | 8,883 |
| Gloves | 48,839 |
| Musical Instruments | 4,695 |
| Oil, chemical | 2,369 |
| Paper-Hangings | 6,713 |
| Plaiting of Straw, for hats, &c | 11,622 |
| Silks | 215,455 |
| Brandy and other Spirits | 824,960 |
| Sugar | 275,702 |
| Tea | 14,358 |
| Tobacco | 52,696 |
| Watches | 14,940 |
| Wine | 164,855 |

Most of the duties thus levied were protective duties, as those on baskets, clocks, lace, boots, gloves, silks, etc. Others, like the duties on brandy, etc., were higher than the English excise duty on British spirits, and so far protective. Even mere duties for revenue, such as the duty on wine, might be considered by a consequent free-trader as protective duties, because it is almost impossible to levy taxes on a foreign article without protecting some similar, if not identical, article in the home market. For instance, a revenue duty on foreign wine may be considered a protective duty for native beer, etc. By dint of the treaty just concluded all British duties on French manufactures will be abolished at once, while the duties on brandy, wine, and other articles, will be assimilated to English excise duties, or to the Custom-House duty now raised on similar products (wine for instance) if introduced from British colonies. On the other hand, the French changes of tariff will not be completely carried out before October, 1861, as will be seen from the following statement, borrowed from a French Government paper[a]:

> July 1, 1860—Suppression of the import duties on cotton and wool.
> July 1, 1860—Belgian tariff applied to English coal and coke.
> October 1, 1860—Duty of 7 francs the 100 kilogs. substituted for the present duties on iron.
> December 31, 1860—Diminution of the duties on the importation of machinery.

[a] "Foreign correspondence. Paris, Thursday", *The Economist*, No. 857, January 28, 1860.—*Ed.*

June 1, 1861—Removal of the prohibition on hemp threads and fabrics, and the adoption of duties not exceeding 30 per cent.

October 1, 1861—Removal of all other prohibitions, to be replaced by protective duties ad valorem for five years, and not exceeding 25 per cent afterward.

Save the reduction of the duty on English coal to the same rate now paid by Belgian coal, all the concessions apparently made by France appear of a very equivocal character. The price of a tun of pig iron No. 1 (Wales) amounts, for instance, at present, to £3 10/, but the French duty on iron will amount to nearly another £3. That the 30 per cent ad valorem duty on prohibited articles will be virtually protective is conceded by the London *Economist.* So far as the reductions, real or apparent, on English articles are put off to future periods, the English Government acts, in fact, the part of an insurance office for Louis Napoleon's tenure of power for the terms specified. The true secret, however, of the commercial treaty, viz.: that "*it is no commercial treaty at all,*" but a simple hoax, intended to puzzle John Bull's commercial mind, and to cloak a deep-laid political scheme, has been masterly exposed by Mr. Disraeli during the address debates.[a] The substance of his revelation was this:

"Some years ago, the Emperor of the French made a communication similar to the letter lately addressed by him to the Minister of the Interior,[b] in which communication he proposed the entire extinction of the prohibitive system, and the adoption of measures similar to those contained in his late manifesto.[c] In 1856, a bill in this sense was introduced into the *Corps Législatif* [...], but, before being passed, was laid before the 86 Provincial Councils of France,[d] which, with the exception of 6, all adopted the proposal with an understanding that a certain period of time should elapse before the new system should be brought into play. Consequently, the Emperor agreeing with this proposition, some public document expressed his resolution to carry this system into effect, and appointed July, 1861, as the period with which it should commence." All, therefore, that France engages by the treaty to do in July, 1861, "was already provided by the course of law in France."

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[a] Benjamin Disraeli's speech in the House of Commons on January 24, 1860, *The Times,* No. 23525, January 25, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times* has "the Minister of State".—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 330.—*Ed.*

[d] *The Times* has "86 Councils General, the departmental Parliaments of France".—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## MILITARY REFORM IN GERMANY[273]

The Italian war of 1859, even more than the Crimean war,[274] established the fact that the French military organization was the best in Europe. Of all European armies, excepting the French, the Austrian army certainly ranked highest; and yet, in the short campaign of 1859, though its soldiers covered themselves with glory, the army, as a whole, could not win a single battle. With all due allowance for bad generalship, want of unity of command, and for the incompetent meddling of the Emperor, still the unanimous impression of the Austrian regimental officers and of the men was, that part of their want of success was due to an organization less adapted for real war than that of their opponents. And if the Austrian army—thoroughly reorganized as it had been only a few years before—was found to be deficient, what was to be expected from other armies whose organization was of even a more ancient date?

That the French were superior in this particular, was a fact not to be wondered at. No nation with any military aptitude can carry on petty warfare for twenty-five years on so colossal a scale as that of Algeria,[275] without thereby developing to a high pitch the capabilities of its troops. While England and Russia had waged their wars in India and the Caucasus principally with troops set apart for this service, the greater part of the French army had passed through the Algerine school. France really had made the most of this school, which had been expensive in men and money, but very effective and fruitful in valuable military experience. After this, the Crimean war, another school on a larger scale, served to enhance the confidence of the soldier by showing him that what he had learned in his campaigns against nomadic tribes

and irregulars, was quite as useful and applicable in a contest with regular troops.

That with such opportunities, a nation endowed with peculiar genius for the military profession, should have brought its warlike organization to a perfection exceeding anything attained by its neighbors—a fact proved beyond dispute at Magenta and Solferino[276]—nevertheless excited wonder, especially in Germany. The military pedants of that country had been so secure in their presumed superiority over the volatile, unsteady, undisciplined, immoral French, that the blow stunned them. On the other hand, the younger and more intelligent portions of the Austrian and other German armies, always opposed to martinetism, now at once began to speak out. The Austrian officers, fresh from Magenta, were the first to say, what is perfectly true, that the French carry no knapsacks in battle; that they have no stocks, no stiff collars, no tight coats or trousers; they are dressed in loose trousers, and a loose great coat with collar turned down, and neck and chest quite free; their head covered with a light cap, and they carry their cartridges in their trousers pockets. Where the men of the Austrians arrive fatigued, and out of breath, the French come up fresh and singing, and ready for any physical effort. Thus reported the letters of the Austrian officers fresh from the battle-field, and Prussian, Bavarian, and other officers soon chimed in. The awful fact was there. Soldiers had actually dared to face the enemy without all the cumbersome paraphernalia which compose almost all the glorious pomp and circumstance of war, and which taken together are equivalent to a strait-jacket; and in spite of the absence of this strait-jacket they had been victorious on every field. This fact was so very serious that even the German Governments could not close their eyes to it.

Thus military reform became the watchword of the day in Germany, to the great dismay of old fogies in general. The most revolutionary theories in matters military were not only propounded with impunity, but even taken into consideration by governments. The first point was of course that of the equipment of the soldier, which had formed the most conspicuous difference between the two armies on the battle-field, and the discussion of this project was as interminable as the varieties of taste. An immense deal of ingenuity was expended on military tailoring. Caps, helmets, shakos, hats, coats, blouses, capotes, collars, cuffs, trousers, gaiters, and boots were discussed with vivacity and loquacity as if on such things alone had depended the fate of the day at Solferino. The Austrians were the most extravagant in their

military fashions. From an almost exact copy of the French model (barring the color) they passed through all the intermediate stages, up to the blouse and slouched, wide-awake hat. Imagine the stiff, conservative, staid, Imperial Royal Austrian soldier in the coquettish dress of the French chasseur, or, still worse, in the blouse and felt hat of the revolutionary German free corps of 1848. A greater satire could not be passed on the Austrian military system than that either of these extremes should have been taken seriously into consideration. As usual, the debate has been exhausted rather than settled; military old fogyism has recovered part of the lost ground, and in Austria, at least, the alterations in the uniform will, upon the whole, be trifling; while in the other German armies scarcely any change appears probable, except that the Prussian helmet, that pet invention of the romantic Frederick William IV, seems doomed to descend to the grave even before its inventor.

Next came the great knapsack question. That the French went into battle without their knapsacks was a piece of imprudence which could be justified by nothing but their good luck, and the warmth of the season. But should it become a habitual thing with them, the first reverse in cold or rainy weather would punish them severely for it. In fact, the general adoption of this usage would imply nothing less than that in every battle the beaten army should lose not only its artillery, colors, and stores, but the whole of the individual baggage of its infantry also. In consequence, a few rainy bivouacs would completely break up the infantry, reduced as it would be to such clothing as every man might happen to be dressed in. The real question, however, would seem to be, how the individual baggage of the soldier can be reduced to a minimum, and this is a point of importance which might easily be settled in a satisfactory way, if the items composing it were considered merely as to their real utility in a campaign; but the discussion in Germany has not settled it.

Beside the clothes question and the knapsack question, the organization of the various subdivisions of the army is also a matter much disputed. How many men should make a company, how many companies a battalion, how many battalions a regiment, how many regiments a brigade, how many brigades a division, and so forth. This is another point upon which a great deal of bosh may be uttered with the most serious and important face in the world. In every army the system of elementary tactics confines to certain limits the strength and number of companies and battalions; the strength of brigades and divisions find their minimum and maximum by the strength adopted in neighboring

armies, so that in case of a conflict the disproportion between the larger tactical units may not be too great. To try to solve such questions not by the actual conditions as given by the facts of the case, but by an attempted recourse to first principles, is mere fudge, worthy perhaps of German philosophers but not suited to practical men. The increase in the number of the Austrian regiments of infantry of the line from 63 to 80, with a reduced number of battalions, will no more insure them "better luck next time" than the widening of their trousers and the turning down of their collars.

But while man-millinery and abstruse speculations on the normal strength and composition of a brigade occupy attention, the great defects and evils of the German military system are unheeded. What, indeed, are we to think of officers who most furiously discuss the cut of a pair of pantaloons, or of a collar, and who submit quietly to have in the German federal[277] army some twenty different calibers of field artillery, and an almost incalculable variety of calibers for small-arms? The introduction of rifled muskets, which offered such a splendid occasion for equalizing the calibers all over Germany, has not only been shamefully neglected, but has made matters worse. It is worth while to look for a moment at this confusion of calibers. Austria, Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt, have one caliber—0.53 of an inch. With that practical good sense which the South Germans have shown in many instances, they have carried this most important reform, which establishes unity of caliber for five corps of the federal army. Prussia has two calibers; one the so-called *Zündnadelgewehr*, or needle-gun,[a] about 0.60 of an inch, and the old smooth-bore musket, lately rifled on Minié's principle, about 0.68. The latter, however, is to be superseded by the former as soon as possible. The Ninth Army Corps has three different rifled and two or three different smooth-bore calibers; the Tenth has at least ten, and the reserved division has as many calibers almost as battalions. Now imagine this motley army in an active campaign. How is it possible that the ammunition belonging to each contingent can always be at hand when wanted, and if not, that contingent is helpless and useless? Excepting Austria, the South Germans and Prussia, no contingent can, from this circumstance alone, be of any real use in a lengthened contest. The same is true of the artillery. Instead of fixing at once upon one common caliber at least corresponding to the old six-pounder, which would

[a] See Frederick Engels' *The History of the Rifle,* present edition, Vol. 18.—*Ed.*

thus in time become the universal caliber of rifled field guns, the Prussians, the Austrians, the Bavarians are now casting rifled ordnance quite independently of each other, which will only serve to increase the diversity of calibers already existing. An army in which such fundamental defects exist might do better than spend its time in quarreling about collars and inexpressibles, and the normal strength of brigades and battalions.

There can be no military progress in Germany so long as the idea is cherished in high quarters that armies are made for parade and not for battle. Crushed for a while by Austerlitz, Wagram, and Jena,[278] and by the popular enthusiasm of 1813-15, this pedantry soon raised its head again, reigned supreme until 1848, and, in Prussia, at least, seems to have attained its culminating point during the last ten years. Had Prussia been involved in the Italian war, Pélissier could scarcely have helped inflicting another Jena upon her army, and the fortresses on the Rhine alone would have saved her. Such is the condition to which an army has been reduced which, in respect of its men, stands second to none in the world. In any future conflict between the French and the Germans, we may reasonably expect to see reproduced the features of Magenta and Solferino.

Written in late January and early February 1860

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Reproduced from the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## THE ENGLISH BUDGET

London, Feb. 11, 1860

The last was a great night, in the Parliamentary sense of the word. Mr. Gladstone, in an immense speech,[a] simultaneously divulged the mysteries of his budget and of the commercial treaty, linking both carefully together, and propping the frailty of the one by the boldness of the other. As to the treaty, now laid with all its details before the world, you will find the sketch I gave you many weeks ago[b] to have been quite correct, and, in fact, I have nothing to add to the general criticism I ventured upon at the time. Consequently, I propose considering Mr. Gladstone's budget as a simple operation of English finance, a treatment of the subject the more called for since the impending Parliamentary debates are sure to enlighten us, by the by, on the diplomatic undercurrent of Mr. Gladstone's facts and figures.

Now, whatever inconsistencies may be traced in the details of the budget; whatever political objections may be raised against the prudence of answering a deficit of more than 14 per cent on the total revenue, and a vast increase of expenditure, by one full sweep of many existing duties, part of which did hardly weigh upon the mass of the people; nevertheless, common fairness obliges me to say that Mr. Gladstone's budget is a great and bold stroke of financial ingenuity, and that the British Free-Trade doctrines once accepted—apart from some glaring incongruities necessitated by the treaty with France, as well as by the tenderness every British Chancellor of the Exchequer will always bring to

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[a] Marx analyses the Budget for 1860-61, introduced by Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his speech in the House of Commons on February 10, 1860 (*The Times*, No. 23540, February 11, 1860).—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 341-44.—*Ed.*

bear upon the rent-rolls of the 50,000 paramount landlords—it is a fair budget. The position of Mr. Gladstone was fraught with difficulties created by himself. He was the man, who in 1853, in his so-called standard budget prospectively extending over a space of seven years, had pledged himself to definitely do away with the income tax in 1860-61.[a] He again, in a supplementary budget,[b] called into life by the Russian war, had promised to abolish, at no distant date, the war duty on tea and sugar. The same man, now that his promissory bills have fallen due, comes forward with a scheme in which the latter duty is maintained, while the income tax is enhanced from 9d. to 10d. in the pound; that is to say, by 11 1-9 per cent. But, you will remember that, in my strictures on his budget of 1853, I tried to prove that, if the financial legislature of free-trade meant anything, it meant indirect taxation being displaced by direct taxation.[279] I dwelt at the time on the incompatibility of Mr. Gladstone's pledge of going on with the removal of custom and excise duties, with his simultaneous pledge of altogether expunging the income tax from the tax-gatherer's list. The income tax, only that it is partially, unjustly, and even stupidly laid on, is the best item in English financial law. That Mr. Gladstone, instead of seriously taxing landed property, maintains a war duty upon such first necessities as tea and sugar, is a cowardice due much more to the aristocratic structure of Parliament than to any narrowness of mind on his part. If he had dared lay his hands on the rent-rolls, the Cabinet, whose prospects of life are precarious enough, would have gone to the wall in no time. It is an old proverb that the belly has no ears, but it is no less true that rent-rolls have no conscience.

Before giving a succinct statement of the alterations contemplated by Mr Gladstone, I shall first call the attention of the reader to some incidental remarks dropped in the course of his speech. First, then, the Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted that the common opinion of free-trade being incarnated in the English financial system was mere slang. Secondly, he admitted that England had no commerce worth speaking of with France, while France, on the contrary, had a very extensive and expanding trade with England. Thirdly, he could not help confessing that Palmerstonian policy, embarking upon "friendly expeditions" behind the

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[a] Gladstone's speeches in the House of Commons on April 18, 1853, *The Times*, No. 21406, April 19, 1853 and February 10, 1860, *The Times*, No. 23540, February 11, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on May 8, 1854, *The Times*, No. 21736, May 9, 1854.—*Ed.*

back of Parliament, had turned the scale, and paralyzed the increase accruing to the Exchequer from the extension of British commerce and industry. Lastly, although gilding the bitter pill with a sweet envelope, and presenting it in as handy a shape as French apothecaries are used to present you the most abominable pharmaceutical stuff, he could not but own that the same dear ally, to whom Great Britain is just about sacrificing nearly two millions of income, is the mainspring of British military and naval expenditure being swollen, for the year 1860-61, to the stupendous amount of 30 millions. Eighteen millions, it should be recorded, was the maximum of war expenditure, which the Iron Duke,[a] twenty-four years since, entreated English rationalism to swallow.

After these preliminary remarks I come to the changes proposed by Mr. Gladstone. They are divided into two categories, the one resulting from the treaty with France, the other embracing subsidiary changes which Mr. Gladstone was compelled to introduce in order to free his budget from the reproach of being a concession extorted from a foreign despotic power, and imparting to it the more acceptable color of being a general reform of the existing tariff.

The changes introduced by the commercial treaty with France are these: There will at once be a clean sweep, absolutely and entirely, of manufactured goods off the British tariff, with the exception, for a limited period, of three articles only, viz.: cork, gloves, and another trifling article. The brandy duty will be reduced from 15s. a gallon to the level of the colonial duty of 8s. The duty on all foreign wines will be immediately diminished from nearly 5s. 10d. per gallon to 3s. a gallon. England engages further to reduce the duty from April 1, 1861, to a scale proportioned to the quantity of spirit contained in the wine. All duties upon foreign articles which are also produced in England, and there subject to an excise duty, will be reduced to the standard of the home excise. Such is the pith of the first set of changes to be introduced.

The alterations which, independently of the treaty with France, are to give the present budget the character of a general reformation of British financial legislature are these:

There are to be abolished immediately and entirely the duties on butter, tallow, cheese, oranges, and lemons, eggs, nutmegs, pepper, licorice, and various other articles, of which the total duty is about £382,000 a year. Reductions are to take place in the

[a] The Duke of Wellington.—*Ed.*

present duty raised on timber from 7/ and 7/6 to the colonial rate of 1/ and 1/6.[a] On currants, from 15/9 to 7/; on raisins and figs, from 10/ to 7/; on hops, from 45/ to 15/. Lastly, the excise upon paper is to be abolished.

The account of the financial year 1860[-61] stands thus[b]:

EXPENDITURE.

| | |
|---|---|
| Funded and Unfunded Debt | £26,200,000 |
| Consolidated Fund Charges | 2,000,000 |
| Army and Militia | 15,800,000 |
| Navy and Packet Service | 13,900,000 |
| Miscellaneous and Civil Service | 7,500,000 |
| Revenue Department | 4,700,000 |
| Total | £70,100,000 |

INCOME.

| | |
|---|---|
| Customs | £22,700,000 |
| Excise | 19,170,000 |
| Stamps | 8,000,000 |
| Other Taxes | 3,250,000 |
| Income Tax | 2,400,000 |
| Post-Office | 3,400,000 |
| Crown Lands | 280,000 |
| Miscellaneous Revenue | 1,500,000 |
| Total | £60,700,000 |

Now, on comparing expenditure with income, it will be found that a deficit to the amount of nearly £10,000,000 sterling is avowed, for which Mr. Gladstone, as already said, thinks to make up by the increase of the Income Tax from 9/ to 10/ and by the maintenance of the war duties on tea and sugar. The minor alterations, by which he proposes getting a penny here, and another penny there, it is not necessary to dwell upon in this general survey of the British Budget for 1860-61.

Written on February 11, 1860 Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] Gladstone has these figures in his speech: "I propose to reduce the duty on timber from 7s. 6d. and 15s. to the colonial rate of 1s. and 2s."—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times*, No. 23540, February 11, 1860.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## ON RIFLED CANNON

### I

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5914, April 7, 1860]

The first attempts at increasing the range and precision of ordnance by rifling the bore, and thereby giving the shot a rotation vertical to the line of propulsion, date from the 17th century. There is a small rifled gun at Munich, manufactured in Nuremberg in 1694; it has eight grooves and a bore of about two inches diameter. During the whole of the 18th century, experiments were made, both in Germany and in England, with rifled cannon, some of them breech-loading. Though the calibers were small, the results obtained were very satisfactory; the English two-pounders in 1776, at a range of 1,300 yards, gave a lateral deflection of two feet only—a degree of precision which no other gun at the time was capable of approaching. In the same year, these rifled cannon were for the first time used for projecting oblong shot.

These experiments, however, remained for a long while without any practical results. The current of military opinion at that time altogether went against rifled arms. The rifle itself was then a very clumsy instrument, its loading was a slow and tedious operation, requiring considerable skill. It was a weapon unfit for general warfare at a period when rapid firing, whether of deployed lines, of heads of columns, or of skirmishers, was one of the chief desiderata in battle. Napoleon would have no rifles in his army; in England and Germany, a few battalions only were equipped with them; in America and Switzerland alone, the rifle remained the national weapon.

The Algerian war was the occasion to bring the rifle again into credit, and to cause improvements in its construction which were but the beginning of that colossal revolution in the whole system

of firearms which is even now far from its conclusion. The smooth-bore muskets of the French were no match for the long *espingardas* of the Arabs; their greater length and better material, which admitted of a heavier charge, enabled the Kabyles and Bedouins to fire on the French at distances where the regulation musket was utterly powerless. The Duke of Orleans,[a] having seen and admired the Prussian and Austrian chasseurs, organized the French chasseurs on their model, who soon, for armament, equipment, and tactics, became the first troops of their class in the world. The rifle with which they were armed was far superior to the old rifle, and it soon underwent further changes, resulting, finally, in the general introduction of rifled muskets in the whole of the infantry of Europe.

The range of infantry fire having thus been increased from 300 to 800, and even 1,000 yards, the question arose whether field artillery, which hitherto had commanded all distances from 300 up to 1,500 yards, would still be able to hold its own against the new small-arms. The fact was, that the greatest efficacy of common field guns lay just within that range which was now disputed to it by the rifle; canister was scarcely effective beyond 600 or 700 yards; round shot gave no very satisfactory results, with the six or nine-pounder, beyond 1,000 yards; and shrapnel (spherical case-shot), to be very formidable, required a coolness and a correct estimation of distances which are not always to be found on the field of battle, when the enemy is advancing; while the shell-practice of the old howitzers against troops was anything but satisfactory. The armies which had the nine-pounder gun for their smallest caliber, such as the English, were still the best off; the French eight-pounder, and, still more, the German six-pounder, became almost useless. To obviate this, the French introduced, about the beginning of the Crimean war, Louis Napoleon's so-called invention, the light twelve-pounder, *canon obusier*,[b] from which solid shot, with a charge of one-fourth instead of one-third its weight, as well as shell, was to be fired. This gun was a mere plagiarism upon the English light twelve-pounder, which had already been again abandoned by the English; the system of firing shells from long guns had been long in practice in Germany; so that there was nothing at all new in this pretended improvement. Still, the arming of the whole French artillery with 12-pounders, even of a diminished range, would have given it a decided

[a] Ferdinand.— *Ed.*
[b] Howitzer.— *Ed.*

superiority over the old 6 and 8-pounders; and to counteract this, the Prussian Government, in 1859, resolved upon giving heavy 12-pounders to all its foot batteries. This was the last move in the cause of the smooth-bore gun; it showed that the whole subject was exhausted, and the defenders of the smooth-bore driven *ad absurdum.* There could, indeed, not be anything more absurd than to arm the whole artillery of an army with those lumbering, stick-in-the-mud Prussian 12-pounders, and that at a time when mobility and rapidity of maneuvering is the greatest desideratum of all. The French light 12-pounder having a relative superiority only to other artillery, and none at all as regarded the new small-arms, and the Prussian heavy 12-pounder being a palpable absurdity, there remained nothing but either to drop field artillery altogether, or to adopt rifled cannon.

In the mean time, experiments with rifled cannon had continually been carried on in various countries. In Germany, the Bavarian Lieut.-Col. Reichenbach experimented with a small rifled gun and cylindro-conoidal shot, as early as 1816. The results were very satisfactory as to range and precision, but the difficulties of loading and extraneous obstacles prevented the subject from being followed up. In 1846, the Piedmontese Major Cavalli constructed a breech-loading rifled gun which attracted considerable attention. His first gun was a thirty-pounder, charged with a cylindro-conoidal hollow shot weighing 64 pounds, and 5 pounds powder; at $14\,^3/_4$ degrees elevation he obtained a range (of first gauge) of 3,050 metres or 3,400 yards. His experiments (continued up to the latest period, partly in Sweden, partly in Piedmont) had the important result of leading to the discovery of the regular lateral deflection of all shot fired from rifled ordnance, which is caused by the pitch of the grooves, and which is always in the direction to which the grooves turn; this once being ascertained, its correction by what is called a lateral or horizontal tangent-scale, was also invented by Cavalli. The results of his experiments were highly satisfactory. At Turin, in 1854, his thirty-pounder, with 8-pound charges, 64-pound shot, gave the following results:

| Elevation. | Range. | Lateral irregular deflection. |
|---|---|---|
| 10° | 2,806 metres | 2.81 metres |
| 15° | 3,785 metres | 3.21 metres |
| 20° | 4,511 metres | 3.72 metres |
| 25° | 5,103 metres | 4.77 metres |

giving a range, at 25 degrees, of above three miles, with a lateral deflection from the line of aim (as corrected by the horizontal

tangent-scale) of less than 16 feet! The largest French field howitzer, at a range of 2,400 metres, equal to 2,650 yards, gave lateral deflections averaging 47 metres, or 155 feet; ten times as large as those of the rifled gun at twice the range.

Another system of rifled ordnance which created attention, a little after Cavalli's first experiments, was that of the Swedish Baron Wahrendorff. His gun was also breech-loading, and his shot cylindro-conoidal. The difference, however, in the shot was this: while Cavalli's shot was of hard metal, and had wings to fit in the grooves, Wahrendorff's shot was covered with a thin layer of lead, and slightly larger in diameter than the bore of the rifled portion of the gun. After being introduced into the chamber, which was large enough to receive it, the shot was propelled by the explosion into the rifled bore, and the lead being pressed into the grooves effectually, did away with all windage, and prevented the escape of any portion of the gases formed by the explosion. The results obtained with these guns in Sweden and elsewhere were quite satisfactory, and if Cavalli's guns were introduced into the armament of Genoa, those of Wahrendorff figure in the casemates of Waxholm in Sweden, Portsmouth in England, and in some Prussian fortresses. Thus, the introduction of rifled ordnance into practical use had begun, although only for fortresses. There remained only the one step to introduce them into field artillery, and this has been done in France and is now being done in all European artilleries. The various systems on which the rifling of field ordnance is now, or may be, profitably carried on, will form the subject of a second paper.

## II

[*New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5926, April 21, 1860]

The French were, as we said in our preceding paper, the first to introduce rifled cannon into practical warfare. For five or six years past, two officers, Col. Tamisier and Lieut.-Col. (now Col.) Treuille de Beaulieu, had experimentalized on the subject by order of the Government, and the results arrived at were found satisfactory enough to warrant their being made the base of a reorganization of the French artillery immediately before the outbreak of the late Italian war. Without entering upon the history of the experiments, we will at once pass to a description of the system now adopted in the French artillery.

In accordance with that desire for unity so characteristic of the French, they adopted one caliber only for field artillery (the old French four-pounder bore of 85 $^1/_2$ millimetres, or nearly 3 $^1/_2$ inches), and one for siege artillery (the old 12-pounder of 120 millimetres, or 4 $^3/_4$ inches). All other guns, except mortars, are to be done away with. The material selected is generally the common gun-metal, but also cast-steel, in some cases. The guns are muzzle-loading, as the French experiments with breech-loaders gave no satisfaction. There are six grooves in each gun, 5 millimetres deep and 16mm. broad, of a rounded form; the pitch of the rifling appears to be but low, but there are no details known respecting it. The windage on the body of the shot is about $^1/_2$ to 1 mm.; that on the *ailettes* or warts which enter the grooves rather less than 1 mm. The shot is cylindro-ogival, and hollow, weighing about 12 pounds when filled; it has six *ailettes,* one for every groove, three standing near the point, and three near the base; they are very short—about 15 mm. long. The fuse-hole passes downward from the point, and is closed by a fuse or by a piston, with a percussion-cap for shot filled with powder, and by an iron screw, when the shot is not to explode; in this latter case it is filled with a mixture of sawdust and sand, so as to give it the same weight as when filled with powder. The length of bore of the gun is 1,385 mm., or 16 times its diameter; the weight of the brass gun is but 237 kilogrammes (518 pounds). To regulate the line of aim by the deviation (lateral deflection) of the shot in the direction of the pitch of the rifling—a deviation common to all projectiles launched from rifled barrels—the right trunnion carries what is called a horizontal tangent-scale. The gun, as well as its carriage, is reported to be of very elegant workmanship, and, from its small size and neatness, to look more like a model than a real engine of war.

Armed with this gun, the French artillery entered upon the Italian campaign, where it indeed astonished the Austrians by its great range, but certainly not by its accuracy of fire. The guns very often, indeed generally, overshot the mark, and were more dangerous to reserves than to first lines—in other words, where they hit better than the common guns, they hit people at whom they were not aimed at all. This is certainly a very questionable advantage, as in nine cases out of ten it implies that the objects at which the guns were aimed were *not* hit. The Austrian artillery, with as clumsy a material as any in Europe, made a very decent appearance when opposed to them, and came up to close quarters (that is, 500 or 600 yards) with these formidable opponents,

unlimbering under their most effective fire. There is no doubt that, great as the superiority of the new French guns is over their old smooth-bored ones, they did not perform anything like what was expected from them. Their extreme practicable range was 4,000 metres (4,400 yards), and undoubtedly it was but an impudent Bonapartist exaggeration when it was said that they could easily hit a single horseman at 3,300 yards.

The reasons for these unsatisfactory performances, in actual war, are very simple. The construction of these guns is utterly imperfect, and if the French adhere to it, in two or three years their artillery will possess the worst materiel in Europe. The first principle in rifled arms is that there must be *no windage;* otherwise the shot, loosely rolling about in the barrel and grooves, will not rotate round its own longitudinal axis, but rotate, in a spiral line of flight, round an imaginary line, the direction of which is determined by the accidental position of the shot when leaving the muzzle, and the spiral rounds will increase in diameter with the distance. Now, the French guns have considerable windage, and cannot do without it so long as the explosion of the charge is relied upon to light the fuse of the shell. This, then, is one circumstance which explains the want of accuracy. The second is the irregularity of the propelling force created by the greater or less escape of gas through windage during the explosion of the charge. The third is the greater elevation, with the same charge, necessitated through this windage; it stands to reason that where no gas at all can escape between shot and bore, the same charge propels further than where part of the gas escapes. Now, the French guns appear to require not only a very great charge for rifled guns (one-fifth of the weight of the shot), but also a pretty high elevation. The greater range obtained by rifled bores over smooth ones, even with smaller charges, is chiefly obtained by the absence of windage, and the certainty of having the whole explosive force of the charge applied to the expulsion of the shot. By admitting windage, the French sacrifice part of the propelling force, and have to replace it by increased charges to a limited degree, and by greater elevation beyond that. Now, there is nothing so contrary to accuracy at any distances as great elevation. So long as the line of flight of the shot does not, at its highest point, much exceed the hight of the object aimed at, so long a mistake in estimating the distance is of little importance; but at long range, the shot takes a very high flight, and comes down at an angle on an average twice as great as that under which it began its flight (this, of course, is confined to elevations up to about 15

degrees). Thus, the higher the elevation the more the line in which the shot strikes the ground approaches the vertical; and an error in estimating the distance of not more than ten or twenty yards may preclude the possibility of hitting at all. At ranges beyond even 400 or 500 yards, such errors are unavoidable, and the consequence is the astonishing difference between the capital shooting on the practice-ground, with measured distances, and the execrable practice on the battle-field, where the distances are unknown, the objects moving, and the moments for reflection very short. Thus, with the new rifles, the chance of hitting beyond three hundred yards on the battle-field is very small, while under three hundred yards, from the low flight of the ball, it is very great; in consequence of which, the charge with the bayonet becomes the most effective means of dislodging an enemy, as soon as the attacking body has come up to that distance. Suppose one army to carry rifles which at 400 yards give no higher trajectory than the rifles of their opponents give at 300 yards, the former will have the advantage of beginning an effective fire at 100 yards greater distance, and as but three or four minutes are required to charge through 400 yards, this advantage is not a mean one in the decisive moment of a battle. It is similar with cannon. Sir Howard Douglas, ten years ago, declared[a] that gun far the best which gives the greatest range with the least elevation. With rifled cannon the importance of this point is still greater, as the chance of error in estimating distance increases with the longer range, and as the ricochets of any other than spherical shot cannot be relied upon. This is one of the disadvantages of rifled guns; they must hit with the first impact, if they are to hit at all, while round-shot, if it falls short, will rebound and continue its flight in very nearly its original direction. Here, then, a low trajectory is of the very highest importance, as every degree more of elevation reduces the chance of hitting with the first impact in an increasing ratio, and therefore the high line of flight produced by the French guns is one of their most serious defects.

But the whole of the deficiencies of these guns are crowned and enhanced by one defect, which suffices to stamp the whole system. They are produced by the machinery and on the principles formerly serving for the manufacture of the old smooth-bored guns. With the very great windage of these old guns, and the varying weights and diameters of the shot, mathematical precision

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[a] Howard Douglas, *A Treatise on Naval Gunnery. Dedicated by Special Permission to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty*, London, 1851.—*Ed.*

in the manufacture was but a secondary consideration. The manufacture of firearms, up to a very few years ago, was the most backward branch of modern industry. There was far too much hand labor and far too little machinery. For the old smooth-bore arms this might be allowable; but when arms were to be manufactured which were expected to have great precision at long distances, this system became intolerable. To insure the certainty that every musket should shoot perfectly alike at 600, 800, 1,000 yards, and every cannon at 2,000, 4,000, 6,000 yards, it became necessary that every part of every operation should be performed by the most perfect and self-acting machinery, so as to turn out one weapon the mathematical counterpart of the other. Deviations from mathematical precision, inappreciable under the old system, now became defects rendering the whole weapon useless. The French have not improved their old machinery to any noticeable extent, and hence the irregularities in their firing. How can guns be made to give the same range at the same elevation, all other circumstances being alike, when none of them is identical with the other in every particular? But irregularities in manufacture which at 800 yards produce differences of a yard, at 4,000 will produce differences of a hundred yards in range. How, then, can such guns be expected to be true at long ranges?

To recapitulate: the French rifled guns are bad, because they must have windage; because they require, comparatively, great elevations, and because their workmanship is not at all up to the requirements of rifled long-range guns. They must soon be superseded by different constructions, or they will reduce the French artillery practice to the worst in Europe.

We have purposely examined these guns a little in detail, as they gave us, thereby, an opportunity of explaining the chief principles of rifled ordnance. In a concluding article we shall consider the two systems proposed, which in England are now contesting for superiority—systems both of which are founded upon loading by the breech, absence of windage, and perfect workmanship—the Armstrong system and that of Whitworth.

## III

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5938, May 5, 1860]

We now come to the description of the two kinds of breech-loading rifled cannon which at the present moment contend for superiority in England, and which, both invented by

civilians, certainly surpass in efficiency anything hitherto produced by professional artillerists—the Armstrong gun and the Whitworth gun.

Sir William Armstrong's gun had the advantage of priority, and of being praised by the whole press[a] and official world of England. It is, undoubtedly, a highly effective machine of war, and far superior to the French rifled gun; but whether it can beat Whitworth's gun may well be doubted.

Sir Wm. Armstrong constructs his gun by wrapping, round a tube of cast steel, two layers of wrought-iron tubes in a spiral form, the upper layer laid on in the opposite direction to the lower one, in the same way as gun-barrels are made from layers of wire. This system gives a very strong and tough material, though a very expensive one. The bore is rifled with numerous narrow grooves, one close to the other, and having one turn in the length of the gun. The oblong—cylindro-ogival—shot is of cast iron, but covered with a mantle of lead, which gives it a diameter somewhat larger than the bore; this shot, along with the charge, is introduced by the breech into a chamber wide enough to receive it; the explosion propels the shot into the narrow bore, where the soft lead is pressed into the grooves, and thus does away with all windage while giving the projectile the spiral rotation indicated by the pitch of the grooves. This mode of pressing the shot into the grooves, and the coating of soft material required for it, are the characteristic features of Armstrong's system; and if the reader will refer to the principles of rifled ordnance, as developed in our preceding articles, he will agree that, in principle, Armstrong is decidedly in the right. The shot being larger in diameter than the bore, the gun is necessarily breech-loading, which, to us, also seems a necessary feature in all rifled ordnance. The breech-loading apparatus itself, however, has nothing whatever to do with the principle of any particular system of rifling, but may be transferred from one to the other; we leave it, therefore, entirely out of our consideration.

The range and precision attained with this new gun are something wonderful. The shot was thrown to some 8,500 yards, or nearly five miles, and the certainty with which the target was hit at 2,000 or 3,000 yards much exceeded what the old, smooth-bore guns could show at one-third of these distances. Still, with all the puffing of the English press, the scientifically interesting details of

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[a] See *The Times*, Nos. 23524, 23526, 23545, 23547 and 23585, January 24 and 26, February 17 and 20, and April 4, 1860.—*Ed.*

all these experiments were studiously kept secret. It was never stated with what elevation and charge these ranges were obtained; the weight of the shot and that of the gun itself, the exact lateral and longitudinal deviations, &c., were never particularized. Now, at last, when the Whitworth gun has made its appearance, we learn some details of one set of experiments at least. Mr. Sidney Herbert, Secretary of War, has stated in Parliament[a] that a 12-pounder gun of 8 cwt., with 1 lb. 8 oz. of powder, gave a range of 2,460 yards, at 7 degrees elevation, with an extreme lateral deviation of three, and an extreme longitudinal deviation of 65 yards. At eight degrees elevation, the range was 2,797 yards; at nine, above 3,000 yards; the deviations remaining nearly the same. Now, an elevation of seven to nine degrees is a thing unknown in the practice of smooth-bore field artillery. The official tables, for instance, do not go beyond four degrees elevation, at which the 12-pounder and 9-pounder give a range of 1,400 yards. Any higher elevation in field guns would be useless, from giving too high a line of flight, and thereby immensely reducing the chance of hitting the mark. But we have some experiments (quoted in Sir Howard Douglas's *Naval Gunnery*) with heavy ship guns of smooth bore at higher elevations. The English long 32-pounder at Deal, in 1839, gave ranges, at 7 degrees, of 2,231 to 2,318; at 9 degrees, from 2,498 to 2,682 yards.[b] The French 36-pounder, in 1846 and '47, gave ranges, at 7 degrees, of 2,270; at 9 degrees, of 2,636 yards.[c] This shows that, at equal elevations, the ranges of rifled guns are not so very superior to those of smooth-bore cannon.

The Whitworth gun, in almost every respect, is the opposite of the Armstrong gun. Its bore is not circular, but hexagonal; the pitch of its rifling is very near twice as high as that of the Armstrong gun; the shot is of a very hard material, without any coating of lead; and, if it is breech-loading, it is not necessarily so, but merely as a matter of convenience and of fashion. This gun is of a recently-patented material, called "homogeneous iron," of great strength, elasticity, and toughness; the shot is a mathematically exact fit to the bore, and cannot, therefore, be introduced without the bore being lubricated. This is done by a composition of wax and grease being inserted between charge and shot, which at the same time tends to decrease whatever windage there may be

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[a] In his speech in the House of Commons on February 17, 1860 (see *The Times*, No. 23546, February 18, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] See Howard Douglas' *A Treatise on Naval Gunnery*, London, 1851, p. 563.—*Ed.*

[c] ibid., p. 585.—*Ed.*

left. The material of the gun is so tough that it will easily stand 3,000 rounds without any damage to the bore.

The Whitworth gun was brought before the public in February last, when a series of experiments were made with it at Southport, on the Lancashire coast. There were three guns—a 3-pounder, 12-pounder, and 80-pounder; from the long reports[a] we select the 12-pounder as an illustration. This gun was 7 feet 9 inches long, and weighed 8 cwt. The common 12-pounder, for round shot, is 6 feet 6 inches long, and weighs 18 cwt. The ranges obtained with Whitworth's gun were as follows: At 2 degrees elevation (where the old 12-pounder gives 1,000 yards), with a charge of $1\,^3/_4$ lb., the range varied from 1,208 to 1,281 yards. At 5 degrees (where the old 32-pounder gives 1,940 yards), it ranged from 2,298 to 2,342 yards. At 10 degrees (range of old 32-pounder, 2,800 yards), it averaged 4,000 yards. For higher elevations a 3-pounder gun was used, with 8 oz. charge; with 20 degrees, it ranged from 6,300 to 6,800, with 33 and 35 degrees, 9,400 to 9,700 yards. The old 56-pounder, of smooth bore, gives, at 20 degrees, a range of 4,381 yards, at 32 degrees, of 5,680 yards. The precision obtained by the Whitworth gun was very satisfactory, and at least as good as that of the Armstrong gun in lateral deflection; as to longitudinal variations, the experiments do not admit of a satisfactory conclusion.

## IV[b]

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5950, May 19, 1860]

The Whitworth gun is constructed upon the principle of reducing windage to the utmost minimum, by a mathematical fit of the shot to the bore, and doing away with what little may remain by the effect of the lubricating composition. In this respect it is inferior to Armstrong's gun, which has no windage at all; and this we consider its principal defect. The polygonal bore, however, would be impossible without this defect, and at all events it deserves to be acknowledged that with such an originally defective system, such great results have been obtained. Whitworth has undoubtedly brought to its highest perfection the system which

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[a] See "Experiments with Mr. Whitworth's Breech-Loading Cannon", *The Times*, No. 23547, February 20, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] This section was discovered to have been by Engels after the publication of the German and the Russian editions of the *Collected Works*, and appears here for the first time since its publication in the newspaper.—*Ed.*

gives hard, unyielding shot and allows windage. His gun is immensely superior to the rough empiricism of the French rifled ordnance. But while Armstrong's gun, and other guns depending on soft-coated shot to be forced into the grooves by pressure, may be perfected *ad infinitum*, Whitworth's gun will have no such future; it has already attained the highest perfection compatible with its fundamental principles.

To recapitulate:

We find that at the *practicable elevation* of field-artillery, the best rifled guns known give a range but *very little* superior to the old smooth-bored gun. There is, however, some advantage, and this remains an item in their favor. But the great *advantages* of rifled ordnance for field-artillery are these:

1. The same weight of shot can be projected by a gun having a much smaller bore, and with a much smaller charge than with the old smooth-bored gun, which was only fit for spherical shot. Consequently, the weight of the gun is considerably reduced. The old 12-pounder had a bore of about $4\,^1/_2$ inches, and weighed 18 cwt.; its charge was four pounds of powder. The new 12-pounder has a bore of about $3\,^1/_2$ inches, or nearly that of the old 9-pounder; its weight, 8 cwt.; charge, from $1\,^1/_2$ to $1\,^3/_4$ pounds. The French new 12-pounders, with the old 4-pounder's bore, are still lighter. This is an immense advantage. It gives to the field-gun a mobility hitherto unknown, and renders it almost as fit to go over any ground as infantry. More than four horses to a gun will henceforth be useless.

2. At the distances hitherto practicable for field-artillery, it gives a far greater chance of hitting; it lowers the trajectory, and reduces to a minimum both lateral and longitudinal deflections. At an exchange of round shot and shells with percussion fuses, a rifled battery will always beat a smooth-bored one of equal weight of shot.

As to heavy ordnance, it will be all-powerful against stone walls, especially by shell-practice with percussion fuses. This has already been proved by experiment, both in France and Germany. It will give ships and siege batteries a chance of bombarding towns at distances from 4,000 to 9,000 yards. In every other respect it will not alter materially the hitherto existing relations of besiegers and besieged, and of ships against batteries on shore.

On the other hand, the *disadvantages* of rifled ordnance are:

1. The common case-shot becomes either impossible or ineffective from the irregular line of flight imparted to the balls by the spiral rotation.

2. Firing with shell with time-fuses (and shrapnel shot with ditto) becomes almost impracticable, as the absence or reduction of windage prevents the flame of the explosion from communicating with the fuse which necessarily must be at the point of the oblong shot.

In spite of these drawbacks, rifled ordnance has now become a matter of necessity for every army. The question now is only, how these drawbacks can be obviated. That they will be so there can be no doubt. But it is certain that the same rules obtain in rifled ordnance which regulate the construction and use of rifled small arms. The exaggerated ideas of five-mile ranges in the one are as ridiculous as the notion of hitting a man with the new rifles at 800 or 1,000 yards; and still the advantages given by rifled bores in either case, are so great that it is imperative upon every army which may ever be called upon to fight with civilized foes, to do away with all smooth-bored barrels, both in small arms and artillery.

Written in March and May 1860

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## PUBLIC FEELING IN BERLIN

Berlin, April 10, 1860

If an intelligent foreigner who had visited Berlin but two months ago and then left it were now to return to the "metropolis of intelligence," the thorough change in the physiognomy, tone and temper "*meiner lieben Berliner*" (of my beloved Berliners)[a] could not fail to strike his mental eye. Still, some months ago small talk obtained in all the ranks of the metropolitan society. People congratulated each other, in subdued accents, on the nightmare of a decennial reaction having at last ceased to crush their brains—that the worst was over. This silly theme was sounded to all keys, and the unavoidable afterthought that the change had been brought about not by any vigorous and healthy effort on the part of the Prussian subjects, but rather by the sickly affection of the Prussian King's head; that the change was therefore the work of nature, not the deed of man. This uncomfortable afterthought falsified even the first joys of the new era[280] triumphantly announced by the dully-deadly pens of the Berlin daily press. Such was the pusillanimity prevailing that, not to frighten the Prince Regent[b] out of his new-fangled liberalism, all the candidates in the general election to the Second Chamber were put to this simple test: Did they profess confidence in the Hohenzollern Cabinet[c] installed by the Prince Regent? Were their names in no way obnoxious to the mild liberalism of the new Government? Instead of men to take up the grievances of the country, there were wanted bottle-holders with ready-cut votes for the Cabinet. That the new Cabinet actually did not touch the bureaucratic and police shackles forged by its predecessors, while its very profes-

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[a] An allusion to Frederick William IV's address to the Berlin population on March 19, 1848 (see the *Allgemeine Preussische Zeitung*, No. 80, March 20, 1848).—*Ed.*

[b] William, Prince of Prussia.—*Ed.*

[c] The Cabinet headed by Karl Anton Hohenzollern.—*Ed.*

sions of faith were characterized by weak duplicity, shy reserve, and equivocal reticence—these facts were hoodwinked; and it was furthermore proclaimed a patriotic duty to hoodwink them. All the opposition papers, whether styling themselves Constitutional or Democratic, turned downright Ministerial.

After the peace of Villafranca, when *Herr von Schleinitz*, the Prussian Minister of Foreign Affairs, published a sort of Blue Book on the Italian war[281]—when his dispatches, true patterns of weak-minded verbosity, showed him up the worthy successor of the man[a] who, in the last century, had concluded the peace of Basle, and, in this century, had prepared the catastrophe of Jena[282]—when we saw him humbly receiving lessons of constitutionalism on the part of Little Johnny,[b] the British Jack-of-all-Trades, crouching in the dust before Prince Gorchakoff, exchanging *billets-doux* with the Man of December,[c] superciliously frowning upon his Austrian colleague,[d] to be finally kicked by all his correspondents—even then the Prussian press and our Berlin Liberals worked themselves into real fits of enthusiasm with respect to the superhuman wisdom evinced by the Prussian Government, which, not content with doing nothing itself, had contrived to preclude Germany from all action.

Soon after there took place at Breslau[e] a meeting between the Russian Czar and Gorchakoff on the one side, and the Prince Regent with his Ministerial satellites on the other.[283] A new deed of enfeoffment of Prussia to her Muscovite neighbor was duly signed—the first, but necessary result, this, of the peace of Villafranca. Even in 1844 such an event would have aroused a storm of opposition throughout the country. Now it was extolled as an earnest of far-seeing statecraft. The *nihilism* of the Prince Regent's foreign policy coupled with the continuance of the old reactionary system of mingled feudalism and bureaucratism, which was forsaken in *name* only, seemed to our friends, the Berlin Liberals, and the Prussian press of all colors, save the special organs of the old Camarilla, sufficient reasons to claim the Imperial crown of little Germany (that is to say, Germany minus German Austria) for the representative of the Prussian dynasty. It is difficult to find in the records of history a similar piece of judicial blindness, but we remember that after the battle of

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[a] Karl August Hardenberg.—*Ed.*
[b] John Russell.—*Ed.*
[c] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*
[d] Johann Bernhard Rechberg.—*Ed.*
[e] Wrocław.—*Ed.*

Austerlitz,[284] Prussia also crowed for some days on her own dunghill, *quasi re bene gesta.*[a]

After the termination of the Italian war, it was a spectacle as pitiful as it was disgusting to hear the Prussian press, with the Berlin papers at its head, instead of venturing upon the faintest criticism of the stupid diplomacy of her[b] native rulers; instead of boldly challenging the "liberal" Ministry to bridge at last, in internal affairs, the broad chasm between the nominal and the real; instead of denouncing the silent but obstinate encroachments on civil liberty dared upon by the host of Manteuffel's officials, still snugly ensconced in their old strongholds; instead of all that, to hear them sing panegyrics on the splendor of renovated Prussia; to see them dart their pointless shafts at humbled Austria; to see them stretch their unnerved hands at the German Imperial crown, and, to the utter astonishment of all Europe, demean themselves like maniacs in a fool's paradise. Altogether, it seemed as if the great international drama now enacted on the European stage, did only concern our Berlin friends as spectators who, from the gallery or pit, have to applaud or hoot, but not to act.

All this has been changed now as by a magician's wand. Berlin is at this moment, with the exception perhaps of Palermo and Vienna, the most revolutionary town in Europe. The fermentation pervades all ranks, and seems more intense than in the days of March, 1848. How has this phenomenon been brought about, and so suddenly, too? By a combination of events at the top of which range Louis Bonaparte's last exploits on the one hand, and the new army reforms[c] proposed by the liberal Government on the other. Then, of course, the state of confidence and of willful self-delusion could not last forever. The incidents, furthermore, by which the Ministry has been forced to dismiss Stieber,[285] the Police Director, the low criminal, who, together with his master, the late Hinckeldey, had swayed supreme power in Prussia ever since 1852; and last, not least, the publication of Humboldt's correspondence with Varnhagen von Ense[d] have done the rest. The fool's paradise has vanished before the breath from beyond the grave.

Written on April 10, 1860 Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] As if everything were well.—*Ed.*

[b] i.e. Prussia's.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 345-49.—*Ed.*

[d] *Briefe von Alexander von Humboldt an Varnhagen von Ense aus den Jahren 1827 bis 1858,* Leipzig, 1860. Humboldt's letters contain sharp criticism of the Prussian Government.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## SICILY AND THE SICILIANS

Throughout the history of the human race no land and no people have suffered so terribly from slavery, from foreign conquests and oppressions, and none have struggled so irrepressibly for emancipation as Sicily and the Sicilians. Almost from the time when Polyphemus promenaded around Etna, or when Ceres taught the Siculi[286] the culture of grain, to our day, Sicily has been the theater of uninterrupted invasions and wars, and of unflinching resistance. The Sicilians are a mixture of almost all southern and northern races; first, of the aboriginal Sicanians, with Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks, and slaves from all regions under heaven, imported into the island by traffic or war; and then of Arabs, Normans, and Italians. The Sicilians, in all these transformations and modifications, have battled, and still battle, for their freedom.

More than thirty centuries ago the aborigines of Sicily resisted as best they could the superior weapons and military skill of Carthaginian and Greek invaders. They were made tributary, but never wholly subdued by the one or the other. For a long time Sicily was the battle-field of Greeks and Carthaginians; her people were ruined and partly enslaved; her cities, inhabited by Carthaginians and Greeks, were the central points whence oppression and slavery radiated through the interior of the island. These early Sicilians, however, never missed an opportunity to strike for liberty, or at least to take as much revenge as possible on their Carthaginian masters and on Syracuse. The Romans finally subdued Carthaginians and Syracusans, selling into slavery as many of them as possible. On one occasion 30,000 inhabitants of Panormus, the modern Palermo, were thus sold. The Romans

worked Sicily with numberless gangs of slaves, in order to feed with Sicilian wheat the poor proletarians of the Eternal City. For this purpose, they not only enslaved the inhabitants of the island, but imported slaves from all their other dominions. The terrible cruelties of Roman Proconsuls, Praetors, Praefects, are known to every one who is in any degree familiar with the history of Rome, or with the oratory of Cicero. Nowhere else, perhaps, did Roman cruelty hold such saturnalia. The poor freemen and yeomen, if unable to pay the crushing tribute exacted of them, were pitilessly sold into bondage, themselves or their children, by the tax-gatherers.

But both under the Syracusan Dionysius and under the Roman rule, the most terrible slave insurrections took place in Sicily, in which the native people and the imported slaves often made common cause. During the breaking up of the Roman Empire, Sicily was visited by various invaders. Then the Moors got hold of it for a time; but the Sicilians, and above all the genuine people of the interior, resisted always, more or less successfully, and step by step maintained or conquered various small franchises. The dawn had scarcely begun to spread over the medieval darkness, when the Sicilians stood forth, already armed, not only with various municipal liberties, but with rudiments of a constitutional government, such as at that time existed nowhere else. Earlier than any other European nation, the Sicilians regulated by vote the income of their Governments and Sovereigns. Thus the Sicilian soil has ever proved deadly to oppressors and invaders, and the Sicilian Vespers[287] stand immortal in history. When the House of Aragon brought the Sicilians into dependence on Spain, they knew how to preserve their political immunities more or less intact; and this they did alike under the Hapsburgs and the Bourbons. When the French Revolution and Napoleon expelled the tyrannical reigning family from Naples, the Sicilians—incited and seduced by English promises and guaranties—received the fugitives, and in their struggles against Napoleon sustained them both with their blood and their money. Every one knows the subsequent treachery of the Bourbons, and the subterfuges or impudent denials by which England has tried and still tries to varnish her own faithless abandonment of the Sicilians and of their liberties to the tender mercies of the Bourbons.

At the present day, political, administrative, and fiscal oppression crushes all classes of the people; and these grievances therefore stand in the foreground. But nearly the whole soil is still in the hands of comparatively few large landowners or barons.

The medieval tenures of land are still preserved in Sicily, except that the tiller is not a serf; he ceased to be such about the eleventh century, when he became a free tenant. The conditions of his tenure are, however, generally so oppressive, that the immense majority of agriculturists work exclusively for the advantage of the tax-gatherer and of the baron, producing scarcely anything beyond the taxes and rents, and themselves remaining either wretchedly, or, at least, comparatively poor. Producing the celebrated Sicilian wheat and excellent fruits, they themselves live poorly on beans the whole year through.

Sicily now bleeds again, and England looks calmly on at these new saturnalia of the infamous Bourbon, and his not less infamous minions, lay or clerical, Jesuits or Guardsmen.[288] The fussy declaimers of the British Parliament rend the air with their empty talk about Savoy and the dangers of Switzerland, but have not a word to say of the massacres in the Sicilian cities. No voice raises the cry of indignation throughout Europe. No ruler and no Parliament proclaims outlawry against the bloodthirsty idiot of Naples.[a] Louis Napoleon, alone, for this or that purpose—of course not for any love of liberty, but for the aggrandizement of his family or of French influence—may perhaps stop the butcher in his work of destruction. England will howl about perfidy, will spout fire and flames against Napoleonic treachery and ambition; but the Neapolitans and the Sicilians must eventually be gainers, even under a Murat or any other new ruler. Any change must be for the better.

Written in late April and early May 1860

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[a] Francis II.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## PREPARATIONS FOR NAPOLEON'S COMING WAR ON THE RHINE

### I

Berlin, May 1, 1860

The notion that Louis Bonaparte is about to put the German question on the tapis prevails here among all classes of society. In to-day's *National-Zeitung*, a correspondent even affirms that he knows, from sources most authentic, that Badinguet (as Louis Bonaparte is familiarly styled at Paris) has definitely resolved upon a Rhenish campaign, and that Lord John Russell had just been informed of this scheme when, some weeks ago, he rose from his seat to frighten the House of Commons by fierce invectives against the Emperor of the French, and the sudden announcement that England was now going in search for new alliances. The tone and temper of French semi-official prints are far from allaying these apprehensions. Read, for instance, the following extract from *Bullier's Correspondence*,[289] a Paris publication from which most of the provincial journalists in France derive their inspiration:

"A friend of mine, who is addicted to prophetic pleasantries, said to me the other day: 'You'll see the Emperor go to the Rhine to offer his alliance to the King of Prussia,[a] coupled with a slight rectification of frontiers.' I replied by a quotation from the pamphlet *Napoleon III et l'Italie*[b]: It is better to settle a Territorial modification in a friendly way than to have to do it the day after a victory."

Not long after the treaty of commerce with England[c] was concluded, the French Government threw out a hint to the Prussian Embassador[d] at Paris that an application for a similar treaty between France and the Zollverein[290] would be favorably received, but the Prussian Government answering that the

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*
[b] La Guéronnière, *L'empereur Napoléon III et l'Italie*, Paris, 1859, pp. 63-64.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, pp. 341-44.—*Ed.*
[d] A. Pourtalès.—*Ed.*

Zollverein was not at all desirous to make such a treaty, surprise and displeasure were expressed in terms far from courteous. Moreover, the Prussian Government was, at the time, fully informed of the negotiations which the agents of Louis Bonaparte had recently opened with the Bavarian Court, in order to induce the latter to cede to France the fortress of Landau, which, it was said, having been left to France by the treaty of 1814, had been unjustly taken from her by the treaty of 1815.[291] The popular rumors of an impending rupture with France are, consequently, strengthened by official suspicion.

Prussia's position at present bears, in some respects, a strong likeness to that of Austria after the conclusion of the Oriental war. Austria seemed then to have got off best of all the Powers. She flattered herself that she had humbled Russia, her dangerous neighbor, without incurring any trouble beyond the mobilization of her forces. Having played the armed mediator while the Western Powers had to bear the brunt of war, she might, after the proclamation of peace, fancy she had broken, by the arms of the Western Alliance, the ascendency Russia had won over her since the Hungarian events of 1849, and there were indeed at that time many compliments bestowed upon the clever diplomatic tactics of the Vienna Cabinet. In point of fact, however, the ambiguous attitude maintained by Austria during the Oriental war, left her without allies, and enabled Louis Bonaparte to *localize* the Italian war. Prussia, in her turn, maintained her resources intact during the Italian war. She shouldered her arms, but had not used them, and contented herself with spilling, instead of blood, the patient ink of her political wiseacres. After the peace of Villafranca, Prussia seemed to have weakened the rival House of Hapsburg through the instrumentality of French victories, and opened to herself the road to paramount power in Germany. Still, the very pretexts on which the treaty of Villafranca was proclaimed ought to have rent the delusions she labored under. While Louis Bonaparte declared that Prussia's armaments and threats of an eventual intervention had blunted the sword of France, Austria declared that her own power of resistance had split upon the equivocal neutrality of Prussia. During the whole war, Prussia had displayed pretensions ludicrously contradicted by her acts. Before Austria and the minor German States she appealed to her duties as a European Power; before England and Russia she appealed to her obligations as the paramount German Power; and, resting her claims on these double pretensions, she demanded from France to be acknowledged as the armed mediator of Europe. To her claims

as the German Power, *par excellence*, she acted up by allowing Russia to intimidate, in a circular[a] of unprecedented insolence, the minor German courts, and by timidly listening, in the person of Herr von Schleinitz, to Lord John Russell's flippant lectures on the "constitutional" law of nations.

Her claims as a European Power she made good by hushing up the warlike impulses of the minor German princes, and by an attempt to turn the military defeats of Austria into as many titles for usurping the place formerly held by her rival in the councils of the German Confederation. When at last forced, by the progress of the French arms, to assume something like a warlike attitude, she met with the cold resistance of the minor German States, which hardly thought it worth while to dissimulate their distrust as to the ultimate intentions of the Prussian Court. The peace of Villafranca found Prussia completely insulated, not only in Europe, but in Germany, while the subsequent annexation of Savoy, by greatly contracting the exposed front of France, greatly improved her chances of a victorious campaign on the Rhine.

Under these circumstances, the line of policy which Prussia now affected to follow, both in her internal and external relations, appears alike faulty. Despite all the vainglorious declamations of the Prussian newspapers and Representative Chambers, nothing has been altered in her internal affairs, save the phraseology of her officials. The propositions on army reform,[b] while not at all strengthening her military force for the impending emergency, aim at a permanent enlargement of the standing army, already too large; the overburdening of the financial resources, already overstrained, and the annihilation of the only democratic institution of the country—the Landwehr.[292] All the reactionary laws on the press, the right of association, the municipal administration, the relations of landlords and peasants, the bureaucratic tutelage, the ubiquity of the police, have been carefully maintained. Even the infamous statutes relating to marriages contracted between nobles and the common stock of mankind, have not been rescinded. The very idea of restoring the Constitution, overthrown by a *coup d'état*, is hooted at as a wild dream.

I will give you one single instance of the civil liberty now enjoyed by a Prussian subject. A native of Rhenish Prussia[c] had,

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[a] Gorchakov's "Circularschreiben an die russischen Gesendtschaften vom 15. (27.) Mai 1859", *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 167, June 16, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 345-49.—*Ed.*

[c] Peter Nothjung. See Engels' letter to Ferdinand Lassalle of March 15, 1860, present edition, Vol. 41.—*Ed.*

during the worst period of the reaction, been condemned by a packed Jury, because of what was then called a political crime, to seven years imprisonment in a Prussian fortress. The period of his punishment, not abridged by the liberal ministry, having come to an end, he repaired to Cologne, there to be driven out by order of the police. He then set out for his native town, but, strange to say, was informed by the authorities that, having absented himself for seven years from the place, he had lost his citizenship, and must look for another abode. He retorted that his absence had not been a voluntary one, but all in vain. From Berlin, where he then resorted, he was again ejected on the plea that he had no means of existence to show, except his personal resources of labor and knowledge; all his property having been consumed during his imprisonment. He at last betook himself to Breslau, where an old acquaintance of his employed him as one of his agents, but being one morning summoned to the police, he was told that his permission of residence could be prolonged only for a few weeks, if, in the mean while, he should not have procured citizenship in Breslau. On his appliance to the Breslau municipal authority, many petty difficulties were thrown in his way, which, being removed by the interference of zealous friends, his petition for citizenship was at last granted, but, together with the grant, he received a big bill, parading an array of fees, all to be paid by any happy mortal on his entrance into the ranks of Breslau citizens. If his friends had not possessed the means by clubbing, to raise the sum required, this Prussian subject would, like the Wandering Jew, have found no place in his glorious fatherland where to rest his head.

## II

Berlin, May 2, 1860

After the conclusion of the peace of Villafranca, the Prussian Government, which for months had flattered itself with the idle hope of being acknowledged as the armed mediator of Europe, and of rearing, upon the ruins of the Hapsburg Empire, the edifice of Hohenzollern greatness, seemed to have awakened to a sense of the immense dangers looming in the future. Their policy, at once irresolute, vacillating, and perfidious, had left them without allies, and even von Schleinitz, whose long-winded dispatches had become a standing joke with the diplomatic world, could hardly conceal from himself the truth that, so soon as the

internal state of France should again drive the Man of December beyond the French frontiers, Prussia was to be the predestined object of another localized war.

Had not Louis Napoleon, in a moment of apparent openheartedness, dropped some words to the effect that he knew what Germany stood in need of—unity, that he was the man to impart it; and that the Rhenish Provinces would be not too high a price for the purchase of so precious a commodity. Quite true to the tradition of Prussia's past, the first idea of the Prince Regent[a] and his satellites was to throw themselves upon the mercy of Russia. Had not Frederick William I acquired Pomerania by a treaty of division concluded with Peter the Great against Charles XII of Sweden?[293] Had not Frederick II carried the day in the Seven Years' War, and annexed Silesia by the withdrawal of Russia from her Austrian ally?[294] Had not the several divisions of Poland,[295] planned between the Court of Berlin and the Court of Petersburg, swelled out the diminutive dimensions of the Prussian monarchy? Had not, at the Congress of Vienna, the unbounded servility of Frederick William III, who stood by Alexander I, when, in 1814, England, Austria, and France showed some indication to opposition and resistance, been rewarded by the annexation of Saxony and the Rhenish Provinces to Prussia?[296] Prussia, in one word, had in its encroachments upon Germany, always enjoyed the patronage and the support of Russia, on the express condition, of course, of helping that latter Power to subject the countries bordering on the fatherland, and of playing the part of its humble vassal on the European stage. In October, 1859, the Prince Regent and Alexander II, surrounded by diplomatists, generals and courtiers, met each other at Breslau, there to conclude a treaty,[297] the articles of which have, till now, remained an unfathomable secret, not for Louis Bonaparte or Lord Palmerston, but for Prussian subjects, whose liberal representatives have proved themselves, of course, much too polite to interpellate Herr von Schleinitz, the Foreign Minister, on such a delicate question. This much, however, is sure, that the Bonapartist press took no fright at the Breslau conference; that ever since then the relations between Russia and France have grown more ostentatiously intimate; that that conference did not prevent Louis Bonaparte, either from seizing upon Savoy, or threatening Switzerland, and throwing out hints upon some unavoidable "rectification of the Rhenish frontiers," and, finally, that Prussia herself, despite the comfortable prospect

[a] William, Prince of Prussia.—*Ed.*

of again being allowed to form Russia's vanguard, has, in these latter times, eagerly seized upon the bait of an English alliance, only thrown out at London to amuse the British House of Commons for a week or two.

However, Lord John Russell's indiscreet betrayal in the shape of a Blue Book,[a] of Herr von Schleinitz's coquetry with the Tuileries during the last Italian war, gave the death-blow to the Anglo-Prussian alliance, which the Prussian Government considered for a moment as a scheme really entertained, but which was known at London to be nothing beyond a phrase hiding a Parliamentary trick. After all, despite the conference with Alexander II, at Breslau, and Lord John Russell's "search for new alliances," Prussia now, as after the treaty of Villafranca, finds herself completely insulated and singly exposed to the French theory of the natural frontiers.[298]

Can it be believed that under such trying circumstances the only expedient which the Prussian Government has hit upon is to renew its scheme of a little Germany with a Hohenzollern at its head, and, by the most insolent provocations, not only to drive Austria into the hostile camp, but to estrange the whole of Southern Germany? Yet, incredible as it may appear, and the more incredible since this line of policy is fervently recommended by the Bonapartist press, such is the case. The nearer the danger draws, the more anxious appears Prussia to display her hunger for a new division of Germany. By the way, it is likely enough that, after the blow dealt to Austria, Germany stands in need of a similar blow being dealt to Prussia, in order to get rid of "both the houses,"[b] but at all events nobody will suspect the Prince Regent and Herr von Schleinitz of acting upon such pessimist principles. Ever since the treaty of Villafranca the leanings of the Regent's policy have been betrayed in little press skirmishes and small occasional debates on the Italian question, but, on the 20th of April, in the Prussian Lower House, on [the] occasion of the debates on the Kurhessian question,[c] the cat was let out of the bag.

I have before explained this Kurhessian question to your readers,[d] and shall therefore now limit myself to explaining in a

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[a] *Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Italy from the Signing of Preliminaries of Villafranca to the Postponement of the Congress,* London, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. "a plague o'both your houses", Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet,* Act III, Scene 1.—*Ed.*

[c] See the *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung,* No. 93, April 20, 1860.—*Ed.*

[d] Karl Marx, "Trouble in Germany", present edition, Vol. 16.—*Ed.*

few words the main points upon which the debates turned. The Kurhessian Constitution of 1831 having been destroyed by the Arch-Elector[a] in 1849-50, under Austrian auspices, Prussia for a moment affected a desire to draw the sword on behalf of the protesting representative Chamber, but in November, 1850, on the meeting between Prince Schwarzenberg and Baron Manteuffel at Olmütz, when Prussia altogether surrendered to Austria, acknowledged the restoration of the old German Diet,[299] betrayed Schleswig-Holstein, and recanted all her pretensions to supremacy, she also yielded her knight-errantry on behalf of the Kurhessian Constitution of 1831.

In 1852, the Arch-Elector octroyed a new constitution which was guaranteed by the German Diet, despite the protest of the Kurhessian people. After the Italian war, the question, on the secret instigation of Prussia, was again mooted. The Kurhessian Chambers again declared for the validity of the Constitution of 1831, and fresh petitions for its reestablishment went up to the Diet at Frankfort. Prussia then asserted the Constitution of 1831 to be alone valid, but, as she cautiously added, it ought to be adapted to the monarchical principles of the Diet. Austria, on the other hand, insisted that the Constitution of 1852 was legal, but ought to be amended in a liberal sense. Thus the dispute was a verbal one, a mere quibble, the gist of which was a trial of the respective power wielded by the Hohenzollern and the Hapsburg over the German Confederation. A vast majority of the Diet decided at last for the validity of the Constitution of 1852; viz., on the Austrian side, and against Prussia. The motives which swayed the votes of the minor German States were transparent. Austria they knew to be too much involved in foreign difficulties, and too unpopular, to attempt anything beyond the conservation of the general *status quo* in Germany, while they suspected Prussia of ambitious schemes of innovation. By not acknowledging the competency of the vote of the Diet of 1851, they would have put in jeopardy the competency of all the other resolutions of the Diet since 1848. Last, not least, they did not like the Prussian strategy of dictating to the minor German Princes and encroaching upon their sovereignty, by affecting to take up the grievances of the Kurhessian people against the Arch-Elector. Consequently the motion of Prussia was lost.

Now, on the 20th of April, when this matter came to be debated at Berlin in the House of Deputies, Herr von Schleinitz, in the

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[a] Friedrich Wilhelm I.—*Ed.*

name of the Prussian Government, explicitly declared[a] that Prussia would not think herself bound by the vote of the German Diet; that, in 1850, when the Prussian Constitution was fabricated, there existed no German Diet, that body having been swept away by the earthquake of 1848, whence it followed that all resolutions of the German Diet which should run counter to the plans of the Prussian Government were void of legal force; and, lastly, that, in fact, the German Diet belonged to the dead, although the German Confederation, of course, continued to exist. Now, is it possible to imagine any step more foolish on the part of the Prussian Government? The Austrian Government declared the old Constitution of the German Empire to be defunct, after Napoleon I had really put the extinguisher upon it. The Hapsburg then proclaimed only a fact. The Hohenzollern, on the contrary, now proclaims the nullity of the Federal Constitution of Germany at a moment when Germany is threatened with a foreign war, as if to afford the Man of December legal pretexts for entering into separate alliances with the minor German States, which, till now, were precluded from such a course of action by the laws of the Diet. If Prussia had proclaimed the right of the Revolution of 1848, the nullity of all the counter-revolutionary acts committed by herself and the Diet since that time, and the restoration of the institutions and laws of the Revolutionary epoch, she would have commanded the sympathies of all Germany, Austrian Germany included.

As it is, she has only divided the German Princes without uniting the German people. She has, in fact, opened the door by which to let in the Zouaves.

Written on May 3-4, 1860 Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5950, May 19, 1860

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[a] Von Schleinitz's speech in the Prussian Diet on April 20, 1860, *Stenographischer Bericht*, Bd. 2, Berlin, 1860, S. 794-95. Presumably Marx used the material from "Debates in the Prussian Chamber", *The Times*, No. 23604, April 26, 1860.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [GARIBALDI IN SICILY.—] AFFAIRS IN PRUSSIA

Berlin, May 28, 1860

The prevailing topic of conversation here, as everywhere all over Europe, is, of course, Garibaldi's adventures in Sicily. Now, you are aware that never before has the telegraph been put to such impudent work as in the present instance, both on the part of Naples and Genoa or Turin. Locusts have never poured upon Europe in such multitude as do now the electric *canards.* It seems, therefore, worth while to state, in a few words, the views here entertained of Sicilian affairs in the most competent military circles. In the first instance, the insurrection, as is generally known, was kept up for a whole month before the arrival of Garibaldi; but, of paramount importance as this fact is, it may be overvalued, as shown by the Paris *Constitutionnel.* The military forces Naples disposed of in Sicily before Gen. Lanza was sent over with fresh troops could hardly amount to 20,000 men, the far greater part of whom had to be concentrated in the fortresses of Palermo and Messina, so that the flying corps left available for the pursuit of the insurgents might boast of several successful encounters, disperse the enemy on certain points, and harass him in different directions, but must prove altogether insufficient to thoroughly stifle the insurrection. At the present moment, there seem to be about 30,000 Neapolitan troops gathered at Palermo, two-thirds of them holding the fortress, while one-third encamp beyond its precincts. Fifteen thousand Neapolitans are said to hold Messina. Now Garibaldi had, according to the latest news, not pushed beyond Monreale. It is true that this place is situated on hills which command Palermo from the land side, but to improve the opportunities offered by this position, Garibaldi as yet lacks the principal requisite—siege artillery. The immediate chances of

Garibaldi, whose army musters about 12,000 men, will consequently depend upon two main circumstances—the rapid spread of the insurrection throughout the island, and the attitude of the Neapolitan soldiers at Palermo. If the latter waver, and get into quarrels with the foreign mercenaries intermingled with them, Lanza's means of defense may break up in his own hands. If the insurrection develops much vital power, Garibaldi's army will be swelled to more formidable dimensions. If Garibaldi should get into Palermo, he will sweep everything before him save Messina, where the difficult task will again begin. You remember that, in 1848-49, the Neapolitans had lost everything save Messina, serving as a *tête-de-pont* between Sicily and Naples; but Messina then sufficed to regain the whole island. The fall of Palermo, and the military hold by the patriots of the whole island, except Messina, would, however, this time prove more decisive than in 1848-49, because of the altered political conjunctures. If Garibaldi masters Palermo, he will be officially supported by the "King of Italy." If he fails, his invasion will be disavowed as a private adventure. There is something of ironical pathos in the words addressed to Victor Emmanuel by Garibaldi, who tells the King that he will conquer for him a new province, which he hopes the King will not again bargain away, like Nice, Garibaldi's birthplace.[a]

Among the topics of Prussian politics, the first place in the public mind is naturally occupied by the Prince of Prussia's private letter to the Prince Consort of England,[300] of which the Prince de La Tour d'Auvergne, Louis Bonaparte's Embassador at the Court of Berlin, had not only the impudence to present a copy to Herr von Schleinitz, the Prussian Foreign Minister, but went the length of asking explanations on some of its passages reflecting on the character and plans of the great Paris *saltimbanque*.[b] This incident reminds one of a similar accident that happened shortly before the ratification of the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, 1833.[301] The Grand Vizier having at that time communicated a copy of the secret treaty, drawn up by Count Orloff, to the British Embassy at Constantinople, was much bewildered when a day later, to his not agreeable surprise, Count Orloff returned him the identical copy, with the spiteful advice, to find better confidants for the future. At Berlin everybody feels sure that the Prince Regent's letter, having been transmitted by post via *Ostend*, not via *Calais*, was

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[a] Giuseppe Garibaldi's address to Victor Emmanuel, *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 143, May 22, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] Quack.—*Ed.*

tampered with at the English Post-Office, where a numerous *personnel* is notoriously employed in prying into suspected letters—a practice carried to such a degree that at the time of the Coalition-Cabinet, the Earl of Aberdeen confessed that he dared not confide to the post his own letters addressed to his metropolitan friends. Lord Palmerston, having thus got a copy of the Prince Regent's letter, is supposed, out of spite against Prince Albert and in the interest of the Anglo-French-Russian alliance, to have placed a copy of that letter into the hands of the French Embassador[a] at London. At all events the course of the intended and much talked-of Anglo-Prussian alliance runs anything but smooth.

Some months ago, when Lord John Russell one fine morning discovered that England must go in search of new alliances,[b] and when that intimation was received with much childish enthusiasm in the official circles of Berlin, out came all at once, in the form of an English Parliamentary paper, a dispatch addressed by Lord Bloomfield[c] to the Foreign Office at Downing street, narrating a private conversation he had held during the last Italian war with Herr von Schleinitz, and sadly compromising the good faith of Prussian foreign policy. Lord John at the time pleaded guilty of a most strange indiscretion, but the first blow to the new alliance was dealt. The second blow has been given by the miscarriage of the Prince Regent's letter.

You will have seen that in his speech from the throne the Prince[d] speaks very emphatically of the maintenance of treaty rights and the united front Germany is ready to show against any encroachment upon the independence and integrity of the common fatherland. The unpleasant impression produced upon the Paris stock exchange by the apparent menace has been allayed through the Russian journal *Le Nord*,[e] which, in a tone of ironically condescending *bonhommie*,[f] divests the Prince's speech of all serious meaning, calls to mind similar phrases uttered by him

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[a] Jean Gilbert Persigny.—*Ed.*

[b] John Russell's speech in the House of Commons on March 26, 1860, *The Times*, No. 23578, March 27, 1860.—*Ed.*

[c] For Lord Bloomfield's dispatch to Lord John Russell see "Nouvelles de l'Angleterre. Berlin, 14 janvier, 1860", *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 73, March 13, 1860.—*Ed.*

[d] The Prince of Prussia's speech from the throne at the closing of the Prussian Diet on May 23, 1860, *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung*, No. 120, May 24, 1860.—*Ed.*

[e] "Resumé politique", *Le Nord*, No. 148, May 27, 1860.—*Ed.*

[f] Good nature.—*Ed.*

during the Italian war, and, in conclusion, characterizes the whole passage as a mere compliment paid to popular feeling. As to the rest of the Prince's speech, it is, in fact, but a summary of legislative failures. The only important projects debated by the Chambers—the projected laws on marriage, municipal administration, and reform of the land tax, from which the nobility in the greater part of the monarchy still remain exempt, have all proved abortive. The Prince, moreover, complains of his pet measures relating to the army reform not having yet received legislative sanction.

Though the Government has proved unable, even with the present Chamber of Representatives—whose large majority consists of Ministerialists—to carry its proposed army reform, it has at last got an extra vote of nine millions and a half of dollars, to be laid out in military expenditures; while simultaneously, as I am informed by letters from the provinces, the intended changes in the army organization are quietly but practically introduced, so as to leave to the Chambers, when reassembling, no other alternative than that of sanctioning what will then have become a *fait accompli.* The gist of the intended army reform is pointed out in the *Baltische Monatsschrift,* a Russian-German monthly, published at Riga, and printed under the sanction of the Russian Governor-General of Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland.

"The Prussian army reform," says that paper, "which was introduced immediately after the peace of Villafranca, can hardly serve any other purpose than that of emancipating the Government from the direct appeal to the whole people—[an appeal] which, with the old military system, became unavoidable, whenever the Government thought it necessary to support its policy by warlike demonstrations. Under the present political combinations of Europe, a State like Prussia, still striving for its full acknowledgment as one of the great Powers, can neither suspend its whole pacific life on every occasion that seems to necessitate the employment of its military forces, nor can it in every case guarantee to the nation when once called to arms the ensuing of actual war. There lies hidden in the *Landwehr* system a certain democratical antagonism against the monarchic principle. The mobilizations of 1850 and 1859, following each other within a relatively short interval, and leading both times to no warlike action, but only to demobilization, seem to have impaired with the great part of the Prussian people the authority of the State, even in foreign affairs. From the very circumstances accompanying both mobilizations, the conclusion seemed to have been drawn by the popular mind that the Government was bound to obtain the consent of public opinion in every instance of a general armament. Even the official declarations made by Prussia in regard to the attitude she observed during the Italian conflict contain the confession of the mobilization of the *Landwehr* having encountered *unexpected difficulties.*"[a]

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[a] The *Baltische Monatsschrift,* 1859, Bd. I, Heft I, S. 47-48.—*Ed.*

Hence the Russian-German paper concludes that Prussia ought to get rid of the *Landwehr system*, in its present form, but, at the same time, intimates with an ironical sneer that "such an alteration of one of the most popular institutions, just at a moment when Prussia affects to stand on liberalism," is a very delicate operation. I may here remark that this *Baltische Monatsschrift*, published under Czarist auspices at Riga, forms to some degree the counterpart of the *Strassburger Correspondent*, published under Bonapartist auspices at Strassburg. Both skirmish on the German frontiers, the one from the east, the other from the west. The writers of the one may be considered as literary Cossacks, the writers of the other as literary Zouaves.[a] Both affect great tenderness for Germany, and abound in wise counsels to the land whose vernacular they still condescend to use. Both try to prepare the fatherland for great changes impending, and both smell of the *entente cordiale* just now linking the Caesarism of Paris to the Czarism of Petersburg; but here the likeness ends. The Strassburg paper, although perfumed with that peculiar scent of false melodramatic dignity characteristic of the Bohemian literature of the Second French Empire, is still written in the homely style that belongs to Southern Germany. It affects common sense, and certainly does not pretend to any literary distinction. The Riga monthly, on the contrary, struts with a didactic stateliness and a metaphysical profoundness savoring of the traditions of the Königsberg University. After all, I consider the ebullitions of patriotic rage with which the German press assails both the *Monatsschrift* and the *Correspondent*, but mainly the latter, as silly exhibitions of childish incompetency.

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[a] See Marx's letter to Engels of April 24, 1860, present edition, Vol. 41.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## GARIBALDI IN SICILY[302]

After a variety of the most contradictory information, we receive, at last, something like trustworthy news of the details of Garibaldi's wonderful march from Marsala to Palermo. It is, indeed, one of the most astonishing military feats of the century, and it would be almost unaccountable were it not for the prestige preceding the march of a triumphant revolutionary general. The success of Garibaldi proves that the Royalist troops of Naples still hold in terror the man who has borne high the flag of Italian revolution in the face of French, Neapolitan, and Austrian battalions, and that the people of Sicily have not lost their faith in him, or in the national cause.

On the 6th of May, two steamers leave the coast of Genoa with about 1,400 armed men, organized in seven companies, each of them, evidently, destined to become the nucleus of a battalion to be recruited among the insurgents. On the 8th, they land at Talamone on the Tuscan coast, and persuade the commander of the fort there, by some sort of argument or other, to furnish them with coal, ammunition, and four field pieces. On the 10th, they enter the harbor of Marsala, at the extreme western end of Sicily, and disembark with all their material, in spite of the arrival of two Neapolitan men-of-war, who are powerless, at the right moment, to prevent them; the story about British interference in favor of the invaders has proved false, and is now abandoned even by the Neapolitans themselves. On the 12th, the small band had marched to Salemi, 18 miles distant in the interior, and on the road toward Palermo. Here the chief men of the revolutionary party appear to have met Garibaldi, to have consulted with him, and collected insurrectionary reenforcements amounting to some 4,000 men;

while these were being organized, the insurrection, repressed but not quelled a few weeks before, was kindled afresh all over the mountains of Western Sicily, and, as was proved on the 16th, not without effect. On the 15th, Garibaldi, with his 1,400 organized volunteers and 4,000 armed peasantry, advances northward across the hills upon Calatafimi, where the country road from Marsala joins the high road from Trapani to Marsala. The defiles leading to Calatafimi, across a spur of the lofty Monte Cerrara, called the Monte di Pianto Romano, were defended by three battalions of Royal troops, with cavalry and artillery, under Gen. Landi. Garibaldi at once attacked this position, which was at first obstinately defended; but although in this attack Garibaldi could not have employed against the 3,000 or 3,500 Neapolitans more than his volunteers and a very small portion of the Sicilian insurgents, the Royalists were successively driven out of five strong positions, with the loss of one mountain-gun and numerous killed and wounded. The loss of the Garibaldians is stated by themselves at 18 killed and 128 wounded. The Neapolitans profess to have conquered one of Garibaldi's flags in this engagement, but, as they found a flag left behind on board one of the abandoned steamers at Marsala, they are quite capable of having exhibited this same flag at Naples as a proof of their pretended victory. Their defeat at Calatafimi, however, did not compel them to abandon that town the same evening. They left it on the following morning only, and after that they appear not to have offered any further resistance to Garibaldi until they reached Palermo. They did reach it, but in a terrible state of dissolution and disorder. The certainty of having succumbed to mere "filibusters and armed rabble" reproduced in their minds all at once the terrible image of that Garibaldi, who, while defending Rome against the French, could yet find time to march to Velletri and send to the right-about the advanced guard of the whole Neapolitan army, and who had since conquered, on the slopes of the Alps, warriors of a far superior mettle to any that Naples produces.[303] The hurried retreat, without a show even of further resistance, must have still increased their despondency and the tendency to desertion which already existed in their ranks; and when all at once they found themselves surrounded and harassed by that insurrection which had been prepared at the meeting at Salemi, their cohesion was utterly lost; of Landi's brigade nothing but a disorderly and dispirited mob, greatly reduced in numbers, reentered Palermo in small successive bands.

Garibaldi entered Calatafimi on the day that Landi had left it—on the 16th; marched on the 17th to Alcamo (10 miles); on

the 18th to Partinico (10 miles), and beyond that place toward Palermo. On the 19th, incessant torrents of rain prevented the troops from moving.

In the mean time, Garibaldi had ascertained that the Neapolitans were throwing up intrenchments around Palermo, and strengthening the old, decayed ramparts of the town on the side facing the Partinico road. They were still at least 22,000 strong, and thus far superior to any forces that he could bring against them. But they were dispirited; their discipline was loosened; many of them began to think of passing over to the insurgents; while their generals were known, both to their own soldiers and to their enemy, to be imbeciles. The only trustworthy troops among them were the two foreign battalions. As matters stood, Garibaldi could not have ventured upon a direct front attack upon the town, while the Neapolitans could not undertake anything decisive against him, even if their troops were fit for it, as they must always leave a strong garrison in the town and never move too far away from it. With a General of the common stamp in the place of Garibaldi, this state of things would have led to a series of desultory and undecisive engagements, in which he might have trained a portion of his levies to warfare, but in which also the Royal troops would very soon have recovered a good deal of their lost confidence and discipline, for they could not help being successful in some of them. But such a kind of warfare would neither suit an insurrection nor a Garibaldi. A bold offensive was the only system of tactics permitted to a revolution; a striking success, such as the deliverance of Palermo, became a necessity as soon as the insurgents had arrived in sight of the city.

But how was this to be done? Here it was that Garibaldi brilliantly proved himself a General, fit not for petty partisan warfare only, but also for more important operations.

On the 20th and succeeding days, Garibaldi attacked the Neapolitan outposts and positions in the neighborhood of Monreale and Parco, on the roads leading to Palermo from Trapani and Corleone, thus making the enemy believe that his attack would take place chiefly against the south-western face of the town, and that here his main forces were concentrated. By a skillful combination of attacks and feigned retreats, he induced the Neapolitan General to send more and more troops out of the town in this direction, until, on the 24th, some 10,000 Neapolitans appeared outside the town, toward Parco. This was what Garibaldi intended. He at once engaged them with part of his forces, slowly

retreated before them so as to draw them further and further away from the town, and when he had got them as far as Piana,[a] across the main range of hills, which run across Sicily, and here divide the Conca d'Oro (the golden shell, the Valley of Palermo) from the Valley of Corleone, he at once threw the main body of his troops across another part of the same ridge, into the Valley of Misilmeri, which opens out to the sea, close to Palermo. On the 25th he took up his headquarters at Misilmeri, eight miles from the capital. What he further did with the 10,000 men entangled on a single line of bad road in the mountains, we are not informed, but we may be sure that he kept them well occupied with some fresh apparent victories, so as to make sure they would not come back too soon to Palermo. Having thus reduced the defenders of the town by nearly one-half, and transferred his line of attack from the Trapani road to the Catania road, he could proceed to the grand attack. Whether the insurrection in the town preceded Garibaldi's assault, or whether it was produced by his knocking at the gates, the conflicting dispatches leave unsettled; but certain it is, that on the morning of the 27th, all Palermo rose in arms and Garibaldi thundered at the Porta Termini, on the south-east face of the town, where no Neapolitan expected him. The remainder is known—the gradual clearing of the town, with the exception of the batteries, the citadel, and the Royal palace, from the troops; the subsequent bombardment, the armistice, the capitulation. Authentic details of all these proceedings are still wanting; but the main facts are pretty certain.

In the mean time, we must declare that Garibaldi's maneuvers preparatory to the attack on Palermo at once stamp him as a General of a very high order. Hitherto we knew him as a very skillful and very lucky guerrilla-chief only; even in the siege of Rome his mode of defending the town by constant sallies gave him scarcely an opportunity of rising above that level. But here we have him on fair strategic ground, and he comes from the trial a proven master of his art. His manner of enticing the Neapolitan commander into the blunder of sending one-half of his troops out of reach, his sudden flank-march and reappearance before Palermo, on the side where he was least expected, and his energetic attack while the garrison was weakened, are operations far more imprinted with the stamp of military genius than anything that occurred during the Italian war of 1859. The

[a] Piana dei Greci.—*Ed.*

Sicilian insurrection has found a first-rate military chief; let us hope that the politician Garibaldi, who will soon have to appear on the stage, may keep unsullied the glory of the General.

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# Karl Marx

## THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III AND PRUSSIA[304]

Berlin, June 12, 1860

The following are extracts from Mr. About's newest pamphlet,[a] which will be published in Paris in the course of a few days:

"Let Germany know that the friendship of France has its value. [...] Did not our soldiers rush to the Black Sea to rescue the Ottoman Empire from destruction? [...] Has not the emancipation of the Moldo-Wallachians [...] been effected solely by our influence, without bloodshed? Italy [...] has entered the paths of independence and unity under our auspices—our armies paved the way along which it now marches onward, led by Piedmont; and if Heaven shall permit this great work to be accomplished, and that a nation of 26,000,000 of souls shall be organized at our gates, France will not take umbrage, [...] for she feels that order cannot be established in Europe so long as there are oppressed nationalities and *kings who are insupportable to their subjects.*"

"Never was that noble nation" (Germany) "so great as from 1813 to 1815, for never was it so united. When a Frenchman speaks with admiration of the campaigns which were so terrible to France, his testimony is worthy of attention. The sentiment of German honor and independence, surging up against conquest, worked miracles. Germany has but one passion—one heart. It raised itself up as one man, and the defeat of our incomparable armies showed what united Germany could do."

"Well, let Germany be again united. France ardently desires it, for she loves the Germanic nation with disinterested affection. Were we devoured by that brutal ambition attributed to us by certain Princes, we should not impel Germany to unity. [...] Let Germany be united and form so compact a body as to render invasion impossible. France sees without fear an Italy of 26 millions of souls rising on her southern frontier; she would not fear to see one of 32 millions of Germans on her eastern confines."

"The Germans begin to see [...] the folly of keeping up 37 different Governments," and are resolved to become united.

Prussia will be their nucleus, because Prussia represents freedom of trade and thought, whereas Austria represents prohibition, despotism and all the horrors

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[a] Edmond About, *La Prusse en 1860*, Paris, 1860.—*Ed.*

engendered by its Concordat.[305] Therefore will they rally round Prussia. But Prussia must choose between the right divine and the rights of the people. "While some Princes are clinging to a false legitimacy, really legitimate empires are being founded on the basis of universal suffrage. The King of Naples[a] affirms that his subjects belong to him, and they oppose an armed repudiation of these pretensions. The Emperor of the French[b] and the King of Sardinia[c] declare with modern philosophy that peoples belong to themselves alone, and two great nations with all but unanimity select them for their chiefs. Will the Prince of Prussia[d] declare for the right divine [...] or the rights of the people? [...] It is the more necessary [...] that he should make this declaration, as in 1849, [...] a National Assembly, the issue of universal suffrage, brought a legitimate crown to the King[e] in his palace. What did he? He declared for the right divine against the popular right; he would not accept the crown unless offered to him by Princes, and the Prussian clodhoppers applauded saying: '[...] We would not have a throne on which Democracy has spat.' [...] Saxony and Baden had dismissed their Sovereigns. Two Prussian armies marched in the name of divine right and invaded Saxony and Baden. The Saxon King[f] was replaced on his throne, as was also the Duke of Baden[g]; and after all had thus been adjusted, and the Baden Democratic Army had sought shelter in Switzerland, the Prussians shot in cold blood 26 German patriots.

"A Prussian Democrat lately wrote to the people in Württemberg, 'Why don't you join us?' They replied, 'If we were Prussians we should all be exiled, with the poet Uhland at our head.'

"Nothing is more strange nor more true than this assertion. Since 1848 all the princes of Europe, including even the Pope, have granted amnesties. The Prussian amnesty has not yet appeared. If the Regent" wishes to deserve well of his country, "let him summon back the exiles [...] and become the testamentary executor of the Parliament of 1849, as the Napoleons are testamentary executors of the French Revolution!

"Let us here correct certain erroneous notions which exist in Germany. They suppose, on the strength of certain feudal journals, that the French Empire[h] is in a state of slavery—that the Imperial rule has gagged thought, suppressed the national representation, and tossed our liberties to the dogs.

"The Prussians believe themselves to be more free and happy than we are, under their liberal and parliamentary Government. It is true that the Emperor of the French works out the grandeur and prosperity of France" with a dictatorial power: but it is essentially democratic, "as it was confided to him by the people."[i]

## But is not feudalism rampant in Prussia?

"The French army is devoted to the Emperor, but it does not belong to him but to the nation. Does the Prussian army belong to the King or to the nation? 'To the

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[a] Francis II.—*Ed.*

[b] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

[c] Victor Emmanuel II.—*Ed.*

[d] William.—*Ed.*

[e] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[f] Frederick Augustus II.—*Ed.*

[g] Leopold.—*Ed.*

[h] Edmond About has "la nation française".—*Ed.*

[i] This sentence reads as follows in the French original: "Il est vrai que l'empereur Napoléon travaille à la grandeur et à la prospérité de la France avec un pouvoir très-étendu. Mais ce pouvoir, c'est la nation qui le lui a confié."—*Ed.*

King,' said the other day the Prime Minister Hohenzollern, 'the Deputies of the nation have nothing to do with the affairs of the army.'

"It is true that with us the liberty of the press is subjected to severe restrictions, but the right to print and publish is not confiscated; it is only postponed. The nation consents to remain silent around a Prince who does great things, as the friends of a philosopher or a great writer keep silent in his cabinet. As for the right, it remains intact, and Frenchmen [...] will have the right to reclaim it, in good time and place, should the Emperor forget (!) to restore it to them. The writers of Berlin are more free, perhaps," despite their taxes, and caution-money, etc., "but who shall guarantee to them the duration of their privilege? [...] The hand which gave may take away. The difference between us and them is that we lend our liberties to the Emperor, whereas they borrow theirs from the Regent.

"The Germans fancy that we have allowed ourselves to be despoiled of our Parliamentary régime. True. Our Parliament has changed since 1848. It is no longer a coterie representing 400,000 or 500,000 persons; it is the whole nation which sends its Deputies to the Corps Législatif. This Assembly, chosen, like the Emperor himself, by universal suffrage, no longer enjoys the ridiculous privilege (!) of interrupting the march of public affairs, of replacing action by speeches, union by coalition, the public interest by private vanity, the serious progress of a great people by the flattering of some petty oratorical ambition—but it enjoys the inestimable right of voting all the taxes and all the laws of the Empire." "Have we any reason to be jealous of the Prussian Constitution? Is the principle of Ministerial responsibility applied in Prussia? Not yet. Have the Chambers the recognized right to refuse to vote the taxes? No. And what are the Prussian Chambers? That which corresponds with our Corps Législatif, or (!) the House of Commons,is united by a mechanism rather ingenious than democratic." [...] A District is given, which pays 300,000 francs direct taxation. The tax-payers are separated into three squads, the 15 or 20 large proprietors who pay 100,000 francs, are the first class of electors; the second class consists of 200 or 300 who pay another 100,000 francs, and the third, of the 2,000 or 3,000 who pay the remainder. Each of these classes elect [...] six Electors, and these eighteen Electors elect a Deputy. Therefore the middling classes can never be represented, and "this is why M. de Vincke, who sat on the Conservative side in the Frankfort Parliament, is now, without having changed his opinions, the most advanced democrat of the Prussian Chambers. Can liberal Germany do much with such a Chamber?" And even when it evinces some desire for progress, is it not cramped and pushed back by the Upper House?—"an Assembly consisting of nobles who have seats by right or by birth, and members selected by the King from candidates presented to him by the nobility, the Universities and large towns—on one side the right of birth, on the other the Sovereign's choice. It is recruited from no other sources, therefore is it opposed to all liberal measures." It lately "rejected the principle of civil marriages by a large majority. It nearly raised an insurrection against the Minister[a] who proposed that the nobles should be compelled to pay taxes like the other classes of the citizens.

"This Constitution is not perfect. They will do well to modify it if Germany should resolve to throw itself into the arms of Prussia.

"It is very desirable that Prussia should show a little more fairness toward the Governments which are based on universal suffrage. We do not reproach the Court of Berlin for the violence of the German press, nor do we expect the Prince Regent to gag his subjects even when they insult us; but we must be permitted to remark that if the *Siècle* and *Opinion nationale* express themselves in offensive terms

[a] Count von Roon.—*Ed.*

against a Sovereign who is not the enemy of France, the *Moniteur*, or at least the semi-official journals hasten to repair the injury by administering a severe reprimand.

"It would also be extremely desirable that the political men of Prussia should abstain from fulminating in the Prussian Parliament attacks openly directed against France. When M. de Vincke talks in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies of reconquering from us Alsace and Lorraine, the French nation is not sufficiently excited by this frivolity to take up arms; but it takes pleasure in declaring that such imprudences are never committed in France."

"Since the accession of Napoleon III, and especially since the annexation of Nice and[a] Savoy, German writers and perhaps even German Princes have somewhat loudly manifested an unjust mistrust of French policy. They persist in attributing to us the project of annexing the Rhenish Provinces, and encroaching on the soil of Germany. This groundless alarm is so loudly expressed and so obstinately persevered in *that it might inspire us with bad thoughts were we less equitable. It is certain that if you accost in the street the most gentle and inoffensive man, and you say to him: Sir, you mean to slap my face, you may swear that you have no such intention, but I know that you intend to slap my face. You need not swear to the contrary, for I won't believe you on your oath, for I know that you do mean to slap my face. But I am stronger than you. I am not afraid of you. I will crush you like a fly, and I defy you to slap my face. Would not the gentlest and most inoffensive man find good reason to do what was demanded of him, and would he not inflict the slap on the face of his provoker?*[b]

"But, no provocations will cause France to depart from the line which she has traced for herself. [...] We have too much justice to think of conquering the territory of a foreign nationality. Would to Heaven that the German Confederation was animated by the same ideas! It would not have taken the Duchy of Posen, nor attacked the north of Schleswig, nor declared Trieste to be a German town. As for us, we do not fear to affirm that Lorraine and Alsace are French, because they themselves have proved it against Germans. *We keep what belongs to us.* We demand nothing more! We believe that all the natural frontiers, all the rivers of Europe, are not worth half so much for the defense of our territory as a regiment of Zouaves or Chasseurs-à-pied with fixed bayonets.

"May we be permitted to add one piece of advice to these friendly counsels? It will prove how deeply we are interested in German unity and the future of Prussia.

"Much as the name of Prussia, its Constitution, the person of its august Regent excite the sympathies of Germany, still more so, perhaps, does its bureaucracy inspire feelings of abhorrence, not only in Germany but among honest men of all countries. On the 12th of May, 1860, a ray of light fell on the maneuvers of the Prussian police, and revealed the most singular admixture of clumsiness and immorality, zeal, and imprudence, incendiary provocation and splashing Machiavellism.

"Here are the facts as they have been narrated to the Prussian Parliament by an honorable deputy of the Grand Duchy of Posen, Mr. Niegolewscki. Three Prussian bureaucrats, M. de Puttkammer, President of the Province of Posen, M. de Baerensprung, President of the Police, and Mr. Post, Secretary-Interpreter, were in search of some means whereby they might make manifest their zeal and entitle themselves to the gratitude of the Government. M. de Puttkammer is a great personage, something more than a Prefect, something less than a Minister, M. de Baerensprung is a man of note and importance. Post is a poor devil of no note.

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[a] The words "Nice and" were introduced by Marx.—*Ed.*

[b] Italicised by Marx.—*Ed.*

"The first thinks, the second dictates, the third writes. These three worthies, by dint of digging into their bureaucratic brains, conceive the grand idea of getting up an insurrection in Posen, that they may have the honor and glory of putting it down. The part of a provocative agent, against which even Vidocq recoiled, inspired them with no disgust. They disguise themselves as Poles discontented with Prussian rule. They establish in their bureaus a false democratic committee, and put themselves in communication with the Central Committee residing in London. 'Send us,' they write, 'send us emissaries, proclamations, arms.' On the other hand, they send money to London, the money of the Budget, the thalers wrung from unfortunate tax-payers. Here are taxes well employed. The treasurer of the enterprise was M. Stolzenberg, the Secretary of Police. The letters were to be addressed to Madame Ruch, wife of a counselor in the Supreme Tribunal.

"The London Committee did not take the bait very readily. It hesitated, was mistrustful. It seemed to scent the treason. But the bureaucratic trio implored with such humility for some letters and circulars; it spoke with such admiration of General Mazzini; with so much emotion of the prose of Félix Pyat, the very bread of life, that some revolutionary men in London, including even Mazzini himself, entered into correspondence with them. This perfidious game was played for three years, and would have been played on till now, had it not been suddenly stopped by a thunderbolt from M. Niegolewscki.[a]

"The eloquent orator of Posen laid on the table the original text of 24 letters, written by Mr. Post, dictated by M. Baerensprung and inspired by Mr. Puttkammer. The first is dated August 19, 1858; the last April, 1860. No one, not even the Minister of the Interior, M. de Schwerin, ventured to contest the authenticity of these documents. We have had them translated by a sworn interpreter. They prove that the Prussian police excited the Committee in London to send incendiary proclamations to the Grand Duchy of Posen; that it paid the expenses for printing them in London, and caused them to be distributed to suspected persons, that they might afterward be seized and the police might then manifest their zeal to the detriment of some of the King of Prussia's subjects; that Puttkammer, Baerensprung, and their accomplices, by means of entreaties and promises, induced the Committee in London to dispatch to them an emissary named Rewitt, who was furnished by them" (the Police) "with a passport; that they allowed him to circulate freely, that he might compromise as many people as possible; that they then arrested him, and had him condemned to two years' imprisonment". After this fine exploit, M. de Baerensprung, the savior of order, which he had disturbed, [...] set up as a candidate for Parliament, and was rejected. "But he still carried on his correspondence with Mazzini, and the Committee in London, swearing to them that Rewitt had been betrayed by the Polish nobility (letter of July 5, 1859), and that numbers of the nobility were in the police. (Letter of July 19, 1859.)

"These functionaries, in their letters, held up the nobility and clergy, including Prince Czartoryski, to the execration of the London Committee. They talk about seizing the estates of the nobles, and parceling them out among the people. [...] On the 27th March, 1859, they see that the Emperor of the French is about to make a generous effort in favor of Italian independence. They write to the London Committee to forestall it. They beg Mazzini to stir up the country before the arrival of the French army. [...] They beg him to hoist the red flag before Napoleon shall be able to mix himself up in Italian affairs. [...] On the 21st of May, they thank the

[a] Niegolewscki's speech in the Chamber of Deputies on May 12, 1860, *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 136, May 15, 1860.— *Ed.*

Committee in London for sending them [...] the 'receipt for making Orsini's shells.' It needs no ghost to tell us for what purpose they obtained this receipt. We know that these gentlemen belonged to the police, therefore they could not be conspirators; their intentions must have been pure. They doubtless intended to warn the Emperor against danger, and this was their reason for putting a postscript to their letter: 'How long will the French democrats delay making another attempt against Napoleon?' [...] After Villafranca, you might have supposed that every German would have been pleased that Venice was preserved to Austria; but they wrote to Mazzini: 'The revolution will break out in Italy, Hungary, Germany, Prussia, and perhaps in France, and even in Poland. The eyes of the world are opened to the treachery of Napoleon, and all oppressed nations are glad to get rid of him.' And, further on, these Prussian police agents write: 'What is going on in France? Will no second Orsini come forth? Do the Republicans mean to do nothing to overthrow the tyrant?' (Aug. 20, 1859.)

"We do not wish to fix too high the responsibility for these imprudences. The police has been more clumsy than culpable, for it has not had the tact to conceal its most secret papers from the gaze of honest men. But the Prussian Government should lead its police out of these tortuous paths; it is always wrong to counsel crime, even as a means for trying of what stuff men are made.

"Every one knows that if Orsini had succeeded in his criminal attempt he would have assassinated the future liberator of Italy, and have done more harm than good to his country. We may also add that if these Prussian police, without any evil intent, and simply out of a stupid zeal, had got up another Orsini, they would have deprived Prussia of a useful ally, who is still ready to render her good service, provided that she will help herself."[a]

Compiled on June 12, 1860 Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5986, June 30, 1860

[a] The concluding words from Edmond About's pamphlet, beginning with "a useful ally", are cited by Marx at the end of *Herr Vogt* (see this volume, p. 329).—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## INTERESTING FROM PRUSSIA

Berlin, June 13, 1860

This evening the Prince Regent[a] will leave for Baden-Baden, where a sort of conference between Louis Napoleon and a council of crowned German heads is to take place on the 16th and 17th inst.[306] The Prince Regent's suite will be formed by Gen. von Manteuffel, the chief of the Military Cabinet; Gen. von Alvensleben, Lieut.-Col. von Schimmelmann, von Loë, *chef d'escadron*, Count von Pückler, the Court Marshal, Privy Councilor von Illaire, Mr. Borkmann, the Regent's Secretary, and Prince von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, the chief of the Cabinet and a member of the Royal family. You will remember that on the occasion of the private letter addressed by the Prince Regent to the Prince Consort of England, intercepted at London and thence communicated to Louis Bonaparte,[b] the latter insisted upon a personal interview with the Prince Regent as the best means of clearing away the misunderstanding that seemed to have sprung up between France and Prussia. Shortly afterward, on the Prince Regent's visit to Saarbrücken and Trier, towns situated on the confines of France, Louis Napoleon again intimated his wish to improve this opportunity for meeting the Prince. This proposal was, however, declined. Meanwhile, the rumor having got abroad of the Prince Regent's intention to stay for a month at Baden-Baden, Max, the King of Bavaria,[c] took it into his head to propose to the Regent a sort of conference at the watering-place with the Princes of Southern Germany, who wanted to come to a friendly understand-

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[a] William, Prince of Prussia.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 382.—*Ed.*
[c] Maximilian II.—*Ed.*

ing with Prussia, and by this very meeting to show a united front against France. The Prince Regent, jumping at once into this scheme, which was also embraced by the Grand Duke of Baden, the King of Württemberg, and the Grand Duke of Hessen-Darmstadt,[a] one fine morning the French Embassador at Berlin[b] officially notified Herr von Schleinitz, the Prussian Foreign Minister, that his august master, in order to dispel the distrust, whose innocent object France appeared to be, thought a friendly interview at Baden-Baden, with the actual chief of the Prussian State, a great benefit to both Germany and France. On the Prussian Minister's reply that unjust suspicions, not likely to be dispelled by such an interview, hovered also over Prussia, and that besides a confidential conference of German Princes at Baden-Baden had already been convened, the French Embassador, on further information from Paris, rejoined that Louis Napoleon would delight in finding together the greatest possible number of German Princes, and that, moreover, he had some important communication to personally impart, which would allow of no further delay. At this point the Hohenzollern power of resistance gave way.[c] A Vienna dispatch conveyed at once to Berlin the expression of Austria's displeasure at the intended rendezvous, but the other German Courts were more or less soothed by a circular note of the Prussian Foreign Minister.[d] Consequent upon this circular note, the King of Hanover[e] unexpectedly arrived at Berlin this morning, and declared spontaneously his willingness of accompanying to Baden-Baden the Prince Regent, who then, by a telegraphic dispatch, summoned also the King of Saxony[f] to the conference. It need hardly be said, that the Dukes of Coburg-Gotha and Nassau[g] will follow in the track.

Thus, a meeting of German Princes, originally purporting to mean a demonstration against France, has turned into a sort of levee, held by Louis Bonaparte, on German soil, and crowded by the Kings, Grand Dukes, and other little potentates of the German Confederation. On the part of the Prince Regent it looks like

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[a] Friedrich I Wilhelm Ludwig, William I and Ludwig III.—*Ed.*

[b] La Tour d'Auvergne-Lauraguais.—*Ed.*

[c] For the preparation for a friendly interview at Baden-Baden see "Prusse", *Le Nord*, June 15, 1860.—*Ed.*

[d] Alexander Schleinitz, "Preussische Circulardepesche, 6. Juni, 1860", *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 261, September 17, 1860.—*Ed.*

[e] Ernest Augustus.—*Ed.*

[f] Johann Nepomuk Maria Joseph.—*Ed.*

[g] Ernst II and Adolf.—*Ed.*

contrition for the sin of having uttered his suspicions as to the French usurper's aggressive schemes, and on the part of the smaller princely fry as a precaution taken for not being sold by their huger *confrère*[a] to their common enemy. The lead in the humiliation of the crowned heads before the Quasimodo of the French Revolution was notoriously taken by Queen Victoria and the King of Sardinia.[307] The Czar's personal interview at Stuttgart with the Man of December, in 1857,[308] could surprise nobody beyond the coffee-house politicians, duped by the ostentatious coquetry of the Petersburg Court with the tenets of legitimacy. After the battle of Solferino, the Hapsburg's Villafranca meeting with his victor was a matter of business, not of courtesy. The Prince Regent, together with the minor stars clustering around him, has neither to plead an alliance, like Victoria and Victor Emmanuel, nor a conspiracy, like Alexander II, nor a defeat, like Francis Joseph; but, leaving the motives aside, he may plead the general precedent put by his betters. At all events, he has seriously impaired his factitious popularity by the acceptance of Louis Bonaparte's overture, and the more so since the latter, only a few weeks ago, had the impudence of intimating, through a dispatch of his Foreign Minister, M. de Thouvenel, to the Grand Dukes of Hessen-Darmstadt and Baden, that, for the future, they ought to sign their letters to the French Emperor with the words: "*Votre frère et serviteur.*"[b] Such was, indeed, the formula Napoleon I had invented for the German Princes, forming part of the Rhenish Confederation, of which he was the protector, and to which belonged Baden and Hessen-Darmstadt, together with Württemberg, Bavaria, and other German principalities.[309] In order to prevent Louis Bonaparte from introducing M. de Thouvenel into the presence of the highly-offended monarchs of Baden and Hessen-Darmstadt, the Prince Regent and his crowned associates have unanimously forborne to be accompanied by their respective Foreign Ministers; but, then, do these gentlemen really fancy that the affront was offered to them by the servant, instead of the servant's master?

As to the "important communication" which the Dutch savior of society is about to impart to the crowned heads of Germany, there is every reason to believe that, imitating Metternich's operations on the successive Congresses of Vienna, Aix-la-Chapelle,[c] Troppau,

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[a] Colleague.— *Ed.*
[b] "Your brother and servant."— *Ed.*
[c] Aachen.— *Ed.*

Laibach and Verona,[310] Louis Napoleon will try his utmost to convince the Prince Regent of the existence of a vast conspiracy among the revolutionists, straining every nerve to bring about a collision between France and Prussia, in order to enthrone the Red Republic in Paris and a Central Republic in Germany. All the Bonapartist organs in Switzerland, Belgium, and Germany, swarm, since a fortnight, with paragraphs full of similar dark insinuations; and a confidential Bonapartist agent at Geneva—a well-known German naturalist[a]—has already triumphantly announced that the anti-Bonapartists' eruptions of the German press would very soon be stopped by the competent authorities.

While the Prince Regent and his German *dii minorum gentium*[b] are thus to be convinced of the necessity to gather round the general savior of society, the Prussian people is to be belabored in the opposite sense by M. About's new pamphlet, "The Emperor Napoleon III and Prussia."[c] Although this pamphlet has as yet been retained, some stray copies of it have already found their way to Berlin, and by another letter I have sent you the most remarkable passages from this newest Tuileries manifesto.[d] The Prussian people must choose, says the oracle from the Seine, between the feudalism of Austria and the democratic principle of the French Empire. It is only by the latter that, resolving of course to give its mighty neighbor some material guaranties, the German people can hope to realize the unity so much coveted by it. Having traced the shortcomings of the present Prussian Government in a very superficial manner, the author of the pamphlet sets out on informing the Prussians of the true nature of the "democratic principle" so characteristic of the second French Empire, and which consists, to say it shortly, in the election of its chief by what is called in modern Gaul, "general suffrage." It is true, and M. About does hardly dare deny it, that every sort of liberty has been sequestrated in France to the profit of the Dutch adventurer, but then, this sequestration was based on general suffrage. It is in this way, with the aid of France, and on the same democratic basis, that a Teutonic Empire under the auspices of a Hohenzollern ought to be reared in Germany. The operation is a very simple one. Prussia has only to cede part of her "legitimate" possessions

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[a] Karl Vogt.—*Ed.*

[b] Literally, "lesser gods"; here, minor princes.—*Ed.*

[c] The reference is to Edmond About's *La Prusse en 1860*, Paris, 1860.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 391-96.—*Ed.*

to France and to simultaneously encroach, under the form of an appeal to general suffrage, on the possessions of the minor princes, and she will at once be transformed from a feudal into a democratic state. It must be owned that this new "democratic principle" discovered by Louis Bonaparte and his sycophants is no innovation, but, on the contrary, has for about two centuries been flourishing in holy Russia. The Romanoff family was seated on the throne by general suffrage. Hence democracy reigns from the Niemen to the Amoor. Perhaps it might be retorted by the prophets of the new "democratic principle" that the Romanoffs were freely elected; that no *coup d'état* preceded the appeal to the people; and that, on their accession to the throne, a general state of siege failed to keep the electoral urns within the proper limits of the democratic principle. At all events, since Louis Bonaparte cannot afford to become a "legitimate" prince, the next best thing he can do is to convert his brother sovereigns of Italy and Germany into "democratic" princes, after the pattern of the Lesser Empire. The Roman Emperors, of course, were no truly "democratic" sovereigns, because modern progress requires the principle of hereditary monarchy to be engrafted upon the principle of "general suffrage," so that, when a fellow by hook or crook has once succeeded in usurping a throne, and coloring his usurpation by the farce of general election, his dynasty must forever be supposed to remain the living incarnation of the people's general will. (*Rousseau's volonté générale.*)[a]

In another letter I propose surveying the state of the Schleswig-Holstein complications, which impart to the Baden-Baden Conference its actual importance. For the present, I shall only mention that on the 10th of June an interview took place at the castle of Kronburg between the King of Sweden and the King of Denmark.[b] A fortnight before this rendezvous the Swedish Foreign Minister[c] had sent to the Danish Foreign Minister[d] a note to the purport that it was very desirable that the King of Denmark's suite should contain no persons the encounter with whom might prove embarrassing for his Swedish Majesty. In other words, the King of Denmark was called upon to clear his company

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[a] Marx refers to Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Contrat social ou principes du droit politique*, London, 1782, v. 5, p. 254.—*Ed.*

[b] Charles XV and Frederick VII.—*Ed.*

[c] Kristoffer Rutger Ludvig Mandeström.—*Ed.*

[d] Carl Christian Hall.—*Ed.*

from the presence of his wife, the Countess Daner, *ci-devant*[a] Mademoiselle Ramussen. Accordingly, the King of Denmark thought fit to leave his girl behind him.

Written on June 13, 1860

Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] Formerly.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE BRITISH VOLUNTEER FORCE

The great review of volunteers which took place in London a few weeks ago has attracted attention to the citizen soldiers of Great Britain. The volunteers must not be confounded with the militia, which is a separate arm of her Majesty's service. On the 1st of April, the militia numbered, according to Government statistics, 50,000. Of these, 23,735 were embodied, England contributing 13,580, Ireland 7,471, and Scotland 2,684. The militia represents the lower classes; the volunteers the middle class. The assertion of the London *Times*[a] that in the ranks of the troops reviewed on the 22d "all classes were represented" is merely a way of giving things a popular coloring. It is not quite three months since a deputation of respectable mechanics waited on the authorities for the purpose of being supplied with arms, to "defend their country," in case of invasion. Their application was refused. The only working men admitted into the volunteer corps are those whose outfit and expenses their employers provide, and whose services are understood to be permanently at the command of those employers.

The total strength of the British volunteer force, notwithstanding the larger figures of many recent statistical tables, is short of 90,000. It is true that Col. Macmurdo declared, at a dinner given some time since to the St. George's Rifle Corps, that there were 124,000 registered for voluntary service; but when pushed for particulars he included half the militia in his estimate. The newspapers count every regiment at the nominal strength of 800 or 1,000 men, when in reality few ever muster on parade more

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[a] *The Times*, Nos. 23655 and 23658, June 25 and 28, 1860.—*Ed.*

than 500 or 600. Mr. Sidney Herbert, whose position at the Horse Guards entitles him to be an authority on the subject, stated in Parliament a day or two before the great turnout in London, that "on paper, the force has maintained considerable numbers, who, however, cannot be accounted for, and never answer at roll-call."[a]

The speech in which this passage occurs appears in the same number of *The Times* that chronicles "the magnificent success" of the national volunteer review. Even the Hyde Park parade itself furnishes a striking illustration of the exaggerated manner in which the London Press speak of such matters. *The Times* of the 20th anticipated that "no less than 35,000 men would appear before her Majesty."[b] Tom Taylor, writing to *The Manchester Guardian* from London on the 21st, says that there were over 46,000 in the Metropolis. Yet the whole number of soldiers who passed before the Queen, according to Col. Macmurdo, who would hardly underestimate them, was 18,300. Certainly, this is not a very extraordinary army to be over-jubilant about. In October, 1803, nearly 13,000 native Londoners were inspected in the garb of volunteers; and, by way of comparing British military valor of those days with that of the present time, we subjoin a brief statement of the volunteer force, registered in Jan., 1804:

| | |
|---|---|
| Total of effective rank and file | 341,687 |
| Field-officers | 1,246 |
| Captains | 4,472 |
| Subalterns | 9,918 |
| Staff-officers | 1,100 |
| Sergeants | 14,787 |
| Drummers | 6,733 |
| Grand total | 379,943 |

Even the 124,000, to which England hopes to raise her present voluntary army, would not figure creditably beside this table. One man in every ten of the present able-bodied of Great Britain's male population would amount to 500,000 men. It does not appear from these facts that Englishmen are becoming more

[a] Sidney Herbert's speech in the House of Commons on June 26, 1860, *The Times*, No. 23657, June 27, 1860. Instead of "and never answer at roll-call", *The Times* has "and never appear on parade".—*Ed.*

[b] "London, Friday, June 22, 1860", *The Times*, No. 23653, June 22, 1860. The figure in *The Times* is 30,000.—*Ed.*

desirous to take up arms in defense of their native land than they ever were before, the statements of London journals to the contrary notwithstanding. According to the careful statistics of a writer in *The Army and Navy Gazette*, we find the total militia and volunteer force of England to be, of militia 50,160, and of volunteers 88,400, making 138,560 in all. Of these, the writer of *The Gazette* states that at least 20,000 would, from various causes, prove unavailable in case of need, so that 118,560 men constitute the grand total of England's militia and volunteers.

Written between June 25 and 28, 1860

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## BRITISH COMMERCE

The Board of Trade Returns[a] for the five months ending May 31, 1860, which have just been issued at London, show but a trifling change in the movement of British exports, if compared with the exports during the first five months of 1859.

From £52,337,268, to which they had amounted in 1859, they rose to £52,783,535 in 1860[b]—this small surplus being altogether due to an increase in the month of May last.

The first feature that strikes us on comparing the respective exports during the first five months of 1860 and 1859, is a considerable decline in the British export trade to the British East Indies, as will be seen from the following statement:

PRINCIPAL BRITISH ARTICLES EXPORTED TO THE EAST INDIES IN THE FIVE MONTHS ENDING MAY 31.

| | Quantities. | | Value. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1859. | 1860. | 1859. | 1860. |
| Beer and ale, barrels | 168,355 | 166,461 | £507,308 | £491,609 |
| Cottons, yards | 396,022,733 | 311,163,765 | 4,884,982 | 3,977,289 |
| Cotton yarn, lbs. | 17,411,542 | 15,044,812 | 1,002,439 | 903,516 |
| Iron (bar, bolt, rod), tuns | 16,851 | 12,194 | 127,678 | 90,954 |
| Iron (cast), tuns | 12,138 | 4,108 | 132,946 | 42,912 |
| Iron (wrought), tuns | 11,823 | 10,554 | 188,126 | 195,659 |
| Sheets and rails[c] | 31,582 | 79,117 | 169,072 | 437,170 |

[a] For the analysis of the British commerce Marx makes use of the table "Exports of the Principal and other Articles of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures in the Five Months ended 31st May, 1860, compared with the corresponding Months of the Year 1859", *The Economist*, No. 879, June 30, 1860, pp. 36-38.—*Ed.*

[b] ibid., p. 38.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Economist* has "nails" here and in the table on p. 409.—*Ed.*

| | Quantities. | | Value. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1859. | 1860. | 1859. | 1860. |
| Earthen ware and porcelain | .... | .... | £34,530 | £24,039 |
| Haberdashery and millinery | .... | .... | 83,832 | 42,126 |
| Leather—saddlery and harness | .... | .... | 16,780 | 15,600 |
| Machinery—steam engines | .... | .... | 73,087 | 100,846 |
| Other kinds | .... | .... | 165,899 | 196,928 |
| Tin plates | .... | .... | 19,127 | 6,441 |
| Total | | | £7,405,806 | £6,525,089 |
| Decrease | | | | £876,717 |

From the above table it appears that the aggregate decrease in the main exports to the East Indies amounts to about one million sterling; that it is heaviest in the leading articles (cotton and cotton yarns); and that the only exception consists of commodities immediately connected with railway building. It ought, moreover, to be kept in view that the commercial news received by the last Overland Mail is highly unfavorable, and points to an overcharged market; so that, consequently, the value of the exports as declared in England, and as estimated on a range of prices far beyond the average, will by no means be realized in India. Now, there can be no doubt that the Indian trade has been overdone. The artificial demand raised by the Government during the Indian rebellion [311]; the stimulus given to commercial activity by the subsiding of the revolutionary disturbances, and the contraction of most of the other markets of the world, consequent upon the general crisis of 1857-58—all these circumstances concurred to swell the bulk of the Indian trade beyond its natural capacities. Still, according to all past experience, the newfangled prosperity market might have borne the bombardment by cotton goods for some years longer, but for the sage interference of the British Government. Mr. Wilson, it seems, was expressly dispatched to Calcutta for the purpose of convulsing the Anglo-Indian trade, by the joint operation of clumsy fiscal measures in the interior, and of burdensome customs duties levied on imports from abroad. Has ever, in the whole history of commerce, such a spectacle been witnessed as that of the United Kingdom allowing its most important colonial market to be crippled by the spontaneous acts

of its own Government, at the very same time that it cringes before the French Emperor,[a] and bears with his political encroachments, on the pretext of a factitious alleviation in the French customs duties?

The exports to the Australian market, although they show some decline in cottons, exhibit, on the whole, an increase both in quantity and value. However, to arrive at a just appreciation of the present state of the markets in the Australian Colonies, we ought to turn from the Board-of-Trade returns to the last commercial intelligence received. Advices from Adelaide to the 26th of April complain of a continuance of excessive shipments from England, and a general prevalence of speculation, swindling and overtrading. An extensive weeding out, it was said, of insolvent firms had become necessary. In Sydney, New South Wales, several failures had already taken place, including nine houses with an aggregate of liabilities of £400,000, of which amount three-fourths was expected to be ultimately deficient, the loss falling on the banks and English creditors. From a list just received of Australian insolvencies during the last 17 years, it appears that the number in 1858 was three times as great as in 1857, and in 1859 there was a further increase of 50 per cent; and this year, up to the middle of April, the rate had experienced a fresh advance of about 7 per cent. The total liabilities of failed firms from 1822 to 1859 were £5,981,026; and the assets, stated in schedules, amounted to £3,735,613; but of the latter amount, not 50 per cent was ever realized.

The considerable decline that has taken place in the value, and in most cases, also, in the quantity of the British goods exported to the United States, will be illustrated by the following extract:

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES EXPORTED TO THE UNITED STATES IN THE FIVE MONTHS ENDING MAY 31.[b]

| | Quantities. | | Value. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1859. | 1860. | 1859. | 1860. |
| Coals, tuns | 68,020 | 106,925 | £67,785 | £66,196 |
| Cotton, yards | 88,441,112 | 84,208,598 | 1,562,918 | 1,491,721 |
| Linens, yards | 25,476,444 | 20,974,699 | 776,780 | 643,676 |
| Pig Iron, tuns | 37,510 | 21,497 | 106,476 | 62,919 |
| Bar, bolt, rod, tuns | 48,063 | 37,824 | 394,426 | 293,294 |

[a] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

[b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has a misprint here, "May 1" instead of "May 31".—*Ed.*

| | Quantities. | | Value. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1859. | 1860. | 1859. | 1860. |
| Wrought, tuns | 16,024 | 16,488 | £200,576 | £189,854[a] |
| Sheets and rails, tuns | 12,107 | 4,622 | 61,721 | 24,559 |
| Seed Oil, gals. | 795,808 | 511,602 | 95,154 | 57,230 |
| Silk manufacture, lb. | 119,719 | 58,836 | 128,133 | 68,866 |
| Woolens, mix. stff., yds. | 22,697,619 | 18,250,639 | 892,026 | 733,000 |
| Earthenw'e & porcel'n | ..... | ..... | 234,492 | 281,532 |
| Haberdash'y & milli'y | ..... | ..... | 719,754 | 637,035 |
| Tin plates | ..... | ..... | 524,615 | 464,630 |

France was, of course, the country to make up for the contraction of the markets of the East Indies, the Australian Colonies, and the United States. However, on a closer examination, the English export trade to France will be found to have lost nothing of its traditionally diminutive dimensions. As to cottons and twist, Mr. Milner Gibson, the President of the Board of Trade, seems to have been ashamed of the sorry figure he cut, and, consequently, thought fit to altogether expunge them from the returns. Ditto with linens and linen yarns, and silk manufactures. The value of the exports during the respective epochs of 1859 and 1860 shows a falling off for the current year in thrown silk from £130,260 to £88,441,[b] in silk twist and yarn from £50,520 to £29,643, in machinery from £98,551 to £64,107, and in coals from £253,008 to £206,317, while some increase has taken place in the export of iron, copper, wool, woolens, and worsted yarns.

The import of French wine has increased, but in no greater proportion than that of all other descriptions of wine. In conclusion, we may remark that the symptoms of contraction in the principal markets, if taken together with the very distressing harvest prospects, the heavy calls upon the money market by the English and other Governments, and the unsettled political state of Europe, seem to forebode anything but a prosperous season for the Autumn of 1860.

Written in late June and early July 1860

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5998, July 16, 1860 as a leading article

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[a] The figure in the *New-York Daily Tribune* is 199,859, which is a misprint.— *Ed.*

[b] *The Economist*, No. 879, June 30, 1860, pp. 37, 38, 36.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE STATE OF BRITISH MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

### I

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6016, August 6, 1860]

London, July 10, 1860

The reports of the Inspectors of Factories,[a] which have just been issued, comprise three reports only; the district lately vacated by Mr. Leonard Horner having been annexed partly to Sir John Kincaid's district (Scotland), and partly to Mr. Redgrave's district, now comprising 3,075 factories and printworks; while Mr. Robert Baker's district (Ireland, and some parts of England) remains within its old boundaries. The following is a general abstract, showing the total number of accidents reported to the three Inspectors during the six months ended the 30th April, 1860:

ACCIDENTS ARISING FROM MACHINERY.[b]

| | Ad'ts. | | Y'g per. | | Child. | | Total. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Nature of Injury*..... | M. | F. | M. | F. | M. | F. | M. | F. | Total. |
| Causing death ..... | 14 | 3 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 23 | 7 | 30 |
| Amputat'n of right hand or arm ..... | 5 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 1 | — | 9 | 7 | 16 |
| Amputat'n of left hand or arm ..... | 4 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 1 | — | 12 | 4 | 16 |
| Amputat'n of part of right hand ..... | 23 | 24 | 29 | 22 | 15 | 7 | 67 | 53 | 120 |
| Amputat'n of part of left hand ..... | 16 | 17 | 21 | 18 | 8 | 7 | 45 | 42 | 87 |

[a] In writing this article Marx made use of the *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, for the Half Year ending 30th April 1860*, London, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] ibid., p. 4.—*Ed.*

| | Ad'ts. | | Y'g per. | | Child. | | Total. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Nature of Injury*..... | M. | F. | M. | F. | M. | F. | M. | F. | Total. |
| Amp. of any part of leg or foot ..... | 5 | — | 1 | — | — | — | 6 | — | 6 |
| Fract. of limbs and bones of trunk .... | 30 | 11 | 43 | 11 | 11 | 4 | 84 | 26 | 110 |
| Fracture of hand or foot ..... | 39 | 43 | 30 | 37 | 20 | 15 | 89 | 95 | 184 |
| Injuries to head and face ..... | 20 | 17 | 23 | 29 | 11 | 4 | 54 | 40 | 94 |
| Lac'tns, contus'ns, and other injur's not enum. above | 268 | 255 | 315 | 352 | 128 | 66 | 711 | 673 | 1,384 |
| Total ..... | 424 | 377 | 479 | 465 | 197 | 105 | 1,100 | 947 | 2,047 |
| ACCIDENTS NOT ARISING FROM MACHINERY. | | | | | | | | | |
| Total ..... | 83 | 30 | 59 | 26 | 21 | 10 | 163 | 66 | 229 |

The reports are unanimous in bearing witness to the extraordinary activity of trade during the half year. Such was the demand for work that in some branches of industry the supply of labor was insufficient. This difficulty was less prevalent in the woolen manufactures, where improved machinery allowed the manufacturers to dispense with manual labor, than in cotton and worsted factories, where much machinery has been standing for want of hands, particularly of the younger. Some vicious methods have been adopted in past times to meet this transitory deficiency of labor. In the infancy of the factory system, when manufacturers were in want of labor, it was obtained directly by application to the overseers of some distant parish, who forwarded a certain number of apprentices, children of tender age, who were bound to the manufacturers for a term of years. The children being once apprenticed, the Poor-Law officers congratulated their respective parishes on their deliverance from idle mouths, while the manufacturer proceeded to make the best of his bargain by keeping them at the most economical rate, and by screwing from them all the labor of which they were capable. Hence the first of the series of Factory acts passed in 1802, 42 Geo. III, Cap. 73, has for its title, "An Act for the Preservation of the Health and Morals of Apprentices and Others Employed in Cotton and Other Mills, and Cotton and Other Factories," and was merely intended to mitigate the evils of the apprenticeship system. But as improvements were made in machinery, a different kind of labor was

wanted, when trade became brisk and the population of the neighborhood failed to supply the mills with their full complement of hands. These manufacturers sent to Ireland, and brought over Irish families; but Ireland has ceased to be the market from which a supply of labor can be procured on English demand, and manufacturers have now to look to the Southern and Western counties of England and Wales for families which can be tempted by the present rate of wages in the Northern counties to commence a new career of industry. Agents have been sent throughout the country, to set forth the advantages offered to families by removing to the manufacturing districts, and they are empowered to make arrangements for the emigration to the North. Many families are said to have been forwarded by these agents. Still, the importation into a manufacturing town of a man with his wife and family has this peculiar disadvantage, that while the younger members of the family, who can soon be taught, and whose services become valuable in a comparatively short period, are most in request, there is no ready demand for the labor of the man and his wife, unskilled in factory labor. This has induced some manufacturers to return, in some measure, to the old apprenticeship system, and to enter into engagements for specific periods, with boards of guardians, for the labor of destitute pauper children. In these cases, the manufacturer lodges, clothes and feeds the children, but pays them no regular wages. With the return of this system, complaints of its abuse seem also to have revived. However, this kind of labor, it should be remembered, would only be sought after when none other could be procured, for it is a high-priced labor. The ordinary wages of a boy of 13 would be about 4 shillings per week; but to lodge, to clothe, to feed and to provide medical attendance and proper superintendence for 50 or 100 of these boys, and to set aside some remuneration for them, could not be accomplished for 4 shillings a head per week.[a]

A comparison of the rate of wages paid to factory operatives in 1839 and that paid in 1859 proves the highly interesting fact that the rate of wages has risen, at least nominally, in factories where the hours of work were restricted to 60 per week, while, with a few exceptions, a real reduction has been suffered in the printing, bleaching, and dyeing works in which the labor of children, young

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[a] These facts and the following are taken from the "Report of A. Redgrave, Esq., Inspector of Factories, for the Half Year ending the 30th April 1860", *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories...*, pp. 26-27.—*Ed.*

persons, and women is unrestricted, and where they are at times employed fourteen and fifteen hours per day. The following statements have reference to the cotton trade in Manchester and its neighborhood:

WEEKLY WAGES.[a]

| | 1839. | 1859. |
|---|---|---|
| Hours of work per week | 69 | 60 |
| *Occupations.* | | |
| Steam-engine tender | 24sh. | 30sh. |
| Warehouse boys | 7 | 8 |
| Warehouse men | 18 | 22 |
| Carding department—Scutchers (young women and girls) | 7 | 8 |
| Skippers (young men) | 11 | 14 |
| Overlookers | 25 | 28 |
| Card minders (boys from 14 to 18) | 6 | 7 |
| Drawing-frame tenders (young women) | 6 6d | 8 |
| Spinning department—Spinners on self-acting mules | 16 to 18 | 20 to 22 |
| Piecers (women and young men) | 8 | 10 |
| Overlookers | 20 | 20 |
| Doubling department—Doublers (women) | 7 | 9 |
| Doffers (girls) | 4 | 5 |
| Overlookers | 24 | 28 |
| Jobbers (young men) | 10 | 13 |

In the reeling, gassing, and power-loom departments, there has also been a slight increase of wages. The anticipations of those who warned the factory operatives that they would seriously suffer by the diminution of their hours of work, have thus been completely disappointed. Compare, on the other hand, the movement of wages in those branches where the hours of daily labor are legally unrestricted:

CALICO-PRINTING, DYEING, BLEACHING,
SIXTY HOURS PER WEEK.[b]

| | Weekly Wages. 1839. | 1859. |
|---|---|---|
| Color-mixer | 35 | 32 |
| Machine-printer | 40 | 38 |
| Foreman | 40 | 40 |

[a] op. cit., p. 31.—*Ed.*
[b] op. cit., p. 32.—*Ed.*

[*Continued*]

| | Weekly Wages. 1839. | 1859. |
|---|---|---|
| Block-cutter | 35 | 25 |
| Block-printer | 40 | 28 |
| Dyer | 18 | 16 |
| Washer and laborer | 16 and 15 | 16 and 15 |
| FUSTIAN-DYEING, SIXTY-ONE HOURS PER WEEK. | | |
| Dressers | 18 | 22 |
| Bleachers | 21 | 18 |
| Dyers | 21 | 16 |
| Finishers | 21 | 22 |

By far the most interesting portion of the Reports of Mr. Alexander Redgrave and Sir John Kincaid relates to the development and extension of cooperative societies for the erection and working of mills in Lancashire, and also to some degree in Yorkshire. These cooperative societies, which have multiplied since the passing of the Limited Liability Act, are generally composed of operatives. Each society has a capital of £10,000 and upward, divided into shares of £5 and £10, with power to borrow in certain proportions to the capital subscribed, the money borrowed being made up of small loans by operatives and persons of the like class. In Bury, for instance, upward of £300,000 will be required to put the cooperative mills there built and building into working order. In cotton-spinning mills the spinners and persons employed are frequently shareholders in the same mill, working for wages and receiving interest upon their shares. In cotton-weaving sheds, the partners frequently hire and work looms. This is attractive to operatives, because no great capital is required to start them in their undertaking. They purchase the yarn ready for the loom, weave the cloth, and the factory operation is completed; or else they receive the yarn from some manufacturer who trades with them, and return to him the woven fabric. But this cooperative system is not confined to the spinning and weaving of cotton. It has extended to the trade on a variety of articles of consumption, such as flour, groceries, draperies, etc.

The following report, drawn up by Mr. Patrick, one of Sir John Kincaid's sub-inspectors, contains some valuable information in regard to the progress of this new system of mill-ownership, which, I am afraid, will be put to a severe test by the next industrial crisis.

"May 16, 1860

"There has been a cooperative company in existence at Rochdale, under the style of the 'New Bacup and Wardle Commercial Company,' for about twelve years. They are incorporated under the Joint Stock Companies Act, and unlimited. They commenced operations at Clough House Mill, Wardle, near Rochdale, with power to raise a capital of £100,000, in shares of £12 10s., £20,000 of which was paid up. They then increased to £30,000, and about five years ago built a large factory, Far Holme Mill, near Stackstead, of 100-horse power steam, in addition to Clough House Mill; and the half year ending October last they paid a dividend at the rate of 44 per cent on the paid-up capital (Mr. Patrick reports on the 11th June, that the New Bacup and Wardle Commercial Company, 'Far Holme Mill, Bacup,' have just declared another dividend of 48 per cent on the paid-up capital), and they have now increased their capital to the sum of £60,000, and have largely increased their Far Holme Mill, near Stackstead, in this neighborhood, requiring two more engines of 40-horse power each, which they are about to put down. The large majority of shareholders are operatives who work in the factory, but receive wages as workmen, and have no more to do with the management than to give their vote to the annual election of the Committee of Management. I have been through the Far Holme Mill this morning, and can report that, so far as the Factory Act is concerned, it is as well conducted as any in my division. I think, though I did not ask them the question, that they have borrowed money at 5 per cent interest.

"There has been another in existence in the neighborhood of Bacup about six years, trading under the firm of the 'Rossendale Industrial Association.'

"They built a factory; but, I am told, were not thriving, in consequence of the want of sufficient funds. This, also, was on the cooperative system. The firm has now been changed to 'The Rossendale Industrial Company,' and are incorporated under the Limited Liabilities Act, with power to raise a capital of £200,000. £40,000 has been taken in shares of £10 each, and they have borrowed about £4,000. This £4,000 has been borrowed from small capitalists, in sums from £150 down to £10, without any mortgages being given. When this cooperative company first started, every shareholder was an operative. In addition to the Wear Mill, that referred to as having been built by the Rossendale Industrial Association, they have now bought of Messrs. R. Mum Bros., Irwell Mills, in Bacup, and are working the two.

"The prosperity and success of the New Bacup and Wardle Commercial Company seem to have given rise to the new companies that are now formed in my immediate vicinity, and preparing large factories to carry on their business. One is the 'New-Church Cotton Spinning and Weaving Company,' under the Limited Liabilities Act, with power to raise £100,000 in £10 shares, £40,000 of which is already paid, and the Company has borrowed £5,000 on mortgage at five per cent. This Company has already started, having taken an unoccupied factory of 40-horse power, Vale Mill, New-Church, and they are building the 'Victoria Works,' which will require an engine of 100-horse power. They calculate upon employing 450 people when complete, which they think will be in February next.

"Another is 'The Ravenstall Cotton Manufacturing Company,' also limited, with a nominal capital of £50,000, in £5 shares, with power to borrow to the extent of £10,000. About £20,000 is already paid up, and they are erecting at Hareholme a factory requiring an engine of 70-horse power. I am told that in both of these companies nine-tenths of the shareholders are of the operative class.

"There is another cooperative company which has sprung up within the last six months. 'The Old Clough Cotton Company,' which purchased from Messrs. R. & J. Mum, two old mills, called Irwell Springs, and are on the same principle as the

others, but not having been able to go there to-day I am not able to give all particulars about it. The power, however, has been returned as 13-horse and the number of hands employed 76, and I believe all the shareholders to be of the operative class.

"There are several who take part of a factory, one or two rooms, as the case may be, and in some instances even part of a room, but then these are masters of that part, although they work with and as their own workmen, hire and pay wages as any other manufacturer, without the workpeople employed having interest in the business. There were many more of these at Bacup than there are now. Some have given it up, while others have succeeded and either built mills for themselves or rent large premises. There are more of this sort at Rochdale than any other place in my division."[a]

## II

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6032, August 24, 1860]

London, July 14, 1860

After the *résumé* given in my last letter[b] of the Factory Reports of Sir John Kincaid and Mr. Redgrave, it still remains for me to take notice of the report of Mr. Robert Baker,[c] Inspector of Factories for Ireland and part of Cheshire, Lancashire, Gloucestershire, Yorkshire, Staffordshire, Leicestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire. The total number of accidents in Mr. Baker's district amounted to 601, of which 9 per cent only occurred to children, while 33 per cent happened to persons above 18 years of age.[d] A closer analysis of these accidents will prove, firstly, that the ratio of accidents to population is greatest in those branches of industry where the machinery employed is not subject to legal control, and, secondly, that in the textile fabrics, where the same sort of machinery is employed, the bulk of accidents falls upon the largest mills. In regard to the employment of 198,565 operatives, belonging to the district of Mr. Baker, the latter gives, for the last half year, the following statement[e]:

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[a] "Report of Sir John Kincaid, Inspector of Factories, for the Half Year ending the 30th April 1860", *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories...*, pp. 11-12.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 410-16.—*Ed.*

[c] "Report of Robert Baker, Esq., Inspector of Factories, for the Half Year ending the 30th April 1860", *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories...*, pp. 49-85.—*Ed.*

[d] op. cit., pp. 52, 53.—*Ed.*

[e] loc. cit., p. 53.—*Ed.*

| | Persons employed. | Accidents from machinery. |
|---|---|---|
| In Cotton Mills, among | 107,106 | 1 to every 261 |
| In Woolen Mills | 14,982 | 1 to every 348 |
| In Flax Mills | 33,918 | 1 to every 389 |
| In Silk Mills | 33,874 | 1 to every 2,251 |
| In Worsted Mills | 2,896 | 1 to every 424 |
| In other Fabrics | 5,789 | nil |

In all these textile fabrics, the machinery is protected—that is to say, provided with such contrivances for the security of the operatives that use it as are prescribed by the protective clauses of the Factory Act. If we now turn, for example, to Nottingham, where a large number of persons, and especially of children, are employed among machinery which is *not* protected by the law, we shall find that there were entered on the books of the General Hospital, in 1859, 1,500; and on those of the Dispensary, 794 accidents; making a total of 2,294 among a population estimated to not exceed 62,583. This gives the number of accidents within the borough of Nottingham as 1 to every 27, a proportion compared with which the accidents in the protected textile fabrics appear almost insignificant. Again, in Birmingham, which is full of employments of every kind, both with and without connection with power, where there are only two small textile factories, and where, generally, there is no compulsory protection to the machinery among which the young workers are engaged, the proportion of accidents to population was as 1 to 34. The great advantages derived from the protective clauses of the Factory Act, and from the more general enforcement of these clauses, is also shown by a comparison of all the accidents reported to all the Inspectors for the half years ending the 31st of October, 1845, and the 30th of April, 1846, with the half years ending with October and April, 1858 and 1859. In the latter period, the gross diminution of accidents was equal to 29 per cent, although there had taken place an increase of workers of 20 per cent, at the lowest estimate.

Now, as to the distribution of accidents between larger and smaller mills, I think the following facts, stated by Mr. Baker, to be decisive: During the last half year, out of the 758 cotton factories of his district, employing 107,000 persons, all the accidents which occurred happened in 167 factories, employing about 40,000 persons; so that in 591 factories, employing 67,000 persons, there were no accidents at all.[a] In like manner, out of 387

[a] op. cit., pp. 54-55.—*Ed.*

smaller mills all the accidents happened in 28 mills; out of 153 flax mills all the accidents happened in 45 mills, and out of 774 silk factories all the accidents happened in 14 mills, so that in a large proportion of each branch of trade there were no accidents whatever by machinery, and in every branch the bulk of the accidents happened in the largest mills. The latter phenomenon Mr. Baker tries to account for by the two causes, that in the largest mills the transition state from old, unprotected, to new machinery is, comparatively, most protracted and gradual; and, secondly, that in these larger concerns the rapidity with which the hands are collected together grows in the same ratio as the moral control exercised over such establishments diminishes.

"These two causes," says Mr. Baker, "operate most distinctly in the production of accidents. In the former, the remains of the old machinery which has never been protected, and wherein gathering parts of wheels still remain, are even more destructive from that very circumstance, since, in the safety of the new, the danger of the remaining old is forgotten, while, in the latter, the perpetual scramble for every minute of time, where work is going on by an unvarying power, which is indicated at, perhaps, a thousand horses, necessarily leads to danger. In such mills, moments are the elements of profit—the attention of everybody's every instant is demanded. It is here, where, to borrow one of Liebig's sentiments, there may be seen a perpetual struggle between life and inorganic forces; where the mental energies must direct, and the animal energies must move and be kept equivalent to the revolutions of the spindles. They must not lag, notwithstanding the strain upon them either by excessive excitement or heat; nor be suspended for an instant by any counter-attention to the various movements around, for in every lagging there is loss. Thus it is that fingers are laid upon wheels supposed to be secure, either from their position, or from the slowness of their motion when the attention is wrongly directed elsewhere. Thus, workmen, in hastening to produce a certain amount of pounds weight of yarn within a given time, forget to look under their machines for their little 'piecers.' Thus many accidents arrive from what is called self-carelessness."[a]

During the last half year, all the textile manufactures, that of silk excepted, were highly prosperous in Ireland as well as the English districts of Mr. Baker. The only check which seemed to keep the different branches of industry within bounds, was the increasing scarcity of raw material. In the cotton trade, the erection of new mills, the formation of new systems of extension, and the demand for hands had, at no former time, been exceeded. Nothing was more remarkable than the new movements in search of raw material. Thus, in imitation of the Cotton Supply Association of Lancashire, a Flax Supply Association had been founded at Belfast. While "for the five years ending with 1853, the average importation of flax, with the flax crop of Ireland

[a] op. cit., p. 56.—*Ed.*

added, had amounted to 113,409 tuns per annum, it was, for the last five years, ending with 1858, only 101,672 tuns, showing a diminution of 12,000 tuns per annum, with an increased annual value of exports of £1,000,000."[a] The price of wool, already above the average, during the period over which the last Factory Reports extend, has since then been continually rising. The rapid extension of the woolen manufactories, and the increased demand for mutton both in Great Britain and in the Colonies, may be considered as the permanent causes of this rise in the wool prices. As an accidental cause menacing to shorten the usual supply of wool, must be considered the peculiar character of the season; many sheep having died during the Winter from bad or improper food, and many lambs having perished during the Spring from cold, want of food, and by a disease that proved fatal in a few hours.[b]

The only trade that was seriously checked during the last six months, consequent upon the conclusion of the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty,[c] and the fears entertained concerning the effects of foreign competition, is the silk trade. The pressure thus exercised has been gradual, so that at the moment I write this letter more than 13,000 weavers are out of employment in Coventry alone, every loom being stopped. This crisis is the more to be regretted, since, as I remarked in a letter on the Factory Reports of 1859, there had been springing up at Coventry a number of cottage silk factories, in which the workmen employed their own families, with now and then a little hired labor. These factories had, since the commencement of 1860, been considerably increased in number. They are, in fact, a recurrence to the former domestic manufacturers, only with the addition of steam-power, but wholly different to the new cooperative system of Lancashire and Yorkshire. With them the householder is the master, the weaver the renter of power, sometimes the employer of other labor, as well as that of his own family. He has either bought his two looms out and out, or upon credit, and is paying for them so much a week; or he has hired them, probably from his landlord, who is a builder and speculator. He, besides, hires the power wanted. There is said to be as much difference now between the work thus done upon the weaver's loom and that done upon the

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[a] op. cit., p. 57. Robert Baker cites the figures given by the President of the Chamber of Commerce in his speech of December 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] op. cit., p. 58.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 341-44.—*Ed.*

master's, as there is almost between the French ribbon and the English one. Still it is apprehended, and Mr. Robert Baker, in his report, seems to share this apprehension, that this domestic labor, combined with the employment of mechanical power, will be unable to stand commercial shocks. It is probable that the English manufacturer, to cope with his French rival, will be compelled to recur to the employment of capital on a large scale, which must break up the cottage silk factories competing at his own door.

Written on July 10 and 14, 1860

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# Karl Marx

## INTERESTING FROM SICILY.— GARIBALDI'S QUARREL WITH LA FARINA.— A LETTER FROM GARIBALDI

London, July 23, 1860

According to a telegram received to-day from Palermo, Col. Medici's impending attack on Milazzo had decided the King of Naples[a] to give orders for the complete evacuation of Sicily by the Neapolitan army, and their withdrawal to his continental dominions. Although this telegram stands in need of confirmation, it seems beyond dispute that Garibaldi's cause is working on, despite the disease his troops suffer from, and the diplomatic intrigues his Government is pestered with.

Garibaldi's open breach with the Cavour party, viz.: the expulsion from Sicily of La Farina, the notorious marplot, and of Signors Griscelli and Totti,[b] Corsicans by birth, and Bonapartist police agents by profession, has given rise to very contradictory comments on the part of the European press. A private letter of Garibaldi's to a London friend,[312] which has been communicated to me with the permission to state its principal contents in the *Tribune*, will leave no doubt as to the real bearing of the case. Garibaldi's letter is of a date anterior to his decree of the 7th inst., by which the three aforesaid plotters were summarily removed from the island, but it fully explains the points at issue between the General and the Minister—between the popular Dictator and the dynastic Grand Vizier; in one word, between Garibaldi and Cavour. The latter, in secret understanding with Louis Bonaparte, whom Garibaldi stigmatizes as "*cet homme faux*" (that false man), and with whom he foresees "the necessity of measuring his sword some fine morning"—Cavour, then, had determined upon

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[a] Francis II.—*Ed.*

[b] "Affaires des deux Siciles", *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 198, July 16, 1860.—*Ed.*

annexing, piece-meal, such slices of Italian territory as Garibaldi's sword might cut out, or as popular risings might sever from their old allegiance. This process of piece-meal annexation to Piedmont was to be accompanied by a simultaneous process of "compensation" for the second Empire. As Savoy and Nice had to be paid for Lombardy and the Duchies, so Sardinia and Genoa were to pay for Sicily; every new act of separate annexation calling for a new separate diplomatic transaction with the protector of Piedmont. A second dismemberment to the benefit of France, quite apart from the outrage on the integrity and independence of Italy which it involved, would at once have put an extinguisher on the patriotic movements at Naples and Rome. The conviction spreading that to coalesce under Piedmontese auspices, Italy must grow less and less, would have enabled Bonaparte[a] to maintain at Naples and Rome separate governments, independent in name, but for all practical purposes, French vassalages. Hence Garibaldi thought it his principal task to cut off all pretext for French diplomatic interference, but, as he understood, this could only be done by preserving to the movement its pure popular character, and divesting it of all appearance of connection with mere schemes of dynastic aggrandizement. Sicily, Naples, and Rome once liberated, the moment would have come for merging them into the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel, if the latter would take upon himself to keep them, and defend them, not only from Austria, the enemy in front, but also from France, the enemy in the rear. Relying, perhaps, somewhat too much on the good will of the English Government, and the necessities of Louis Bonaparte's situation, Garibaldi presumes that so long as he does not annex to Piedmont any territory, and exclusively relies for the liberation of Italy upon Italian arms, Louis Bonaparte will not dare to interfere in open violation of the pretexts upon which he commenced the Italian crusade. However that may be, this much is sure—that Garibaldi's plan, whether successful or not, is the only one that, under present circumstances, holds out any chance of rescuing Italy, not only from its old tyrants and divisions, but also from the clutches of the new French protectorate. And to baffle this plan was the special errand upon which Cavour had dispatched La Farina to Sicily, supported by the two Corsican brothers.

La Farina is a native of Sicily, where, in 1848, he distinguished himself among the Revolutionists by his hatred against the

[a] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

Republican party and his intrigues with the Piedmontese doctrinaires rather than by real energy or memorable exploits. After the failure of the Sicilian revolution and during his stay at Turin, he published a voluminous history of Italy,[a] in which he did his best to exalt the Savoy dynasty, and to slander Mazzini. With soul and body bound to Cavour, he imbued the "National Association for Italian unity"[313] with a Bonapartist spirit; and having become its chairman, handled it as an instrument not for furthering but for impeding all attempts at independent national action. It was quite in keeping with these antecedents that, when the first rumor got afloat of Garibaldi's intended expedition to Sicily, La Farina ridiculed and reviled the very idea of such an expedition. When, nevertheless, immediate steps were taken in preparation of the bold adventure, La Farina put in movement all the resources of the "National Association" with a view to obstruct it. When his opposition had failed in discouraging the general and his men, and when at last the expedition sailed, La Farina, with cynical sneers, indulged in forebodings of the most sinister kind, making himself bold to predict the immediate and total failure of the enterprise. So soon, however, as Garibaldi had taken Palermo and proclaimed himself Dictator, La Farina rushed to join him, being provided with a commission from Victor Emmanuel, or rather from Cavour, which gave him power to assume the command of the island in the name of the King, directly after the annexation had been voted. Being, as he himself admits, despite his ill-omened antecedents, at first most courteously received by Garibaldi, he at once began to assume the airs of the master, to intrigue against the Ministry of Crispi, conspire with the French police agents, rally around himself the aristocratic liberals eager to close the revolution by a vote of separate annexation, and propose, instead of the necessary steps for the expulsion of the Neapolitans from Sicily, plans for the expulsion from the public administration of the Mazzinians, and other men not to be relied on by his master, Cavour.

Crispi, with the undermining of whose Ministry La Farina opened his intrigues, had for a long time been an exile in London, where he was counted among Mazzini's friends, and made the deliverance of Sicily the all-absorbing subject of his exertions. In the Spring of 1859 he went under a Wallachian name and character to Sicily at great personal risk, visited every great town

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[a] Giuseppe La Farina, *Storia d'Italia dal 1815 al 1850*, Vols. I-VI, Torino, 1851-1852.—*Ed.*

there, and planned an insurrection for the month of October. The events of the Autumn delayed the insurrection, first till November, and then till the present year. In the mean time Crispi applied to Garibaldi, who, while refusing to excite an insurrection, gave the promise to aid it after it had once broken out and so far consolidated itself as to prove what were the real feelings of the Sicilians. During the expedition Crispi, with his wife, the only woman of the expedition, accompanied Garibaldi and fought in every action, his wife superintending the attendance on the sick and wounded. It was this man whom Signor La Farina wanted first to throw overboard, with the secret hope, of course, of flinging the Dictator after him. Garibaldi, out of consideration for Victor Emmanuel, and under the high pressure of the aristocratic liberals, consented, although under protest, to form a new Ministry and dismiss Crispi, whom he, however, retained as a personal counselor and friend. But Garibaldi had hardly made this sacrifice when he became aware that the dismissal of the Crispi Ministry had only been insisted upon in order to quarter upon him a Cabinet which, in all but name, was not his, but La Farina's or Cavour's Cabinet, and which, encouraged by the presence of La Farina, and relying upon Cavour's protection, would in a very short time counteract his whole plan of liberation, and turn all their influence throughout the country against the Nizzardist intruder, as Garibaldi was already nicknamed. It was then that he saved his own cause, not less than that of Sicily and Italy, by the expulsion of La Farina with the two Corsican brothers, the acceptance of the resignation of La Farina's ministerial nominees, and the appointment of a patriotic Ministry, among whom we may name Signor Mario.

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# Frederick Engels

## BRITISH DEFENSES[314]

The plan for the National Defenses of England, just laid before Parliament,[a] proposes to confine all the outlay to the fortification of the dockyards, together with some minor works, barely sufficient to protect the larger harbors of the country from insult by small hostile squadrons, and with the erection of strong and extensive forts at Dover and Portland, for the purpose of securing sheltered anchorage to fleets and detached vessels. The whole of the money is to be spent on the circumference of the country, on the coast-line accessible to an enemy's fleet; and as it is impossible to defend the whole length of coast, a few important points, especially the naval arsenals and dockyards, are selected. The interior of the country is to be left entirely to its own resources.

Now, when England once confesses that her wooden walls no longer protect her, and that she must have recourse to fortification as a means of national defense, it stands to reason that she should first shelter from attack her naval arsenals—the cradles of her fleet. That Portsmouth, Plymouth, Pembroke, Sheerness, and Woolwich (or whatever place may be selected in its stead), should be made so strong as to be able to beat off any attack by sea, and to hold out for a reasonable time against a regular siege by land, nobody will doubt. But it is perfectly ridiculous to call the providing for this danger a system of national defense. In fact, in order to elevate the scheme to this dignity, it appears to have been necessary to make it far more complicated and expensive than was required for the mere protection of the dockyards.

A country like France or Spain, which is exposed to invasion on its land frontier as much as to naval attacks and descents on its

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[a] See *Report of the Commissioners appointed to consider the Defences of the United Kingdom; together with the Minutes of Evidence and Appendix; also Correspondence relative to a Site for an internal Arsenal. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty*, London, 1860; on the debates see *The Times*, No. 23680, July 24, 1860.—*Ed.*

coast, is obliged to make its naval depots fortresses of the first rank. Toulon, Carthagena, Genoa, even Cherbourg, may be subjected to the combined attack which destroyed the arsenals and dockyards of Sevastopol.[315] They ought, therefore, to have a very strong land-front with detached forts to keep the dockyards out of range of a bombardment. But this does not apply to England. Supposing even that a naval defeat had for a moment placed in doubt England's maritime supremacy; even then an invading army, landed on British soil, could never depend upon the liberty of its communications, and must, therefore, act rapidly and decisively. This invading army would not be in a state to undertake a regular siege; and if it was, nobody in his senses would expect the invader to go and settle down quietly before Portsmouth and to waste his resources in a lengthened siege, instead of marching straight upon London, and at once provoking a decision on the main issue while his moral and material ascendency is at its hight. If it comes to that, that troops and material can be safely landed in England sufficient to attack London, and at the same time to besiege Portsmouth, then England is at the brink of ruin, and no land-forts around Portsmouth can save her. As with Portsmouth, so with the other naval arsenals. Let the sea-fronts be made as strong as they can; but on the land-fronts, everything is superfluous which goes beyond keeping off the enemy far enough to protect the dockyard from bombardment, and securing it against a fortnight's regular siege. But if we are to judge from the estimates, and from some plans respecting the proposed defenses of Portsmouth, which have got into the London *Times*, there is to be a great waste of brick and mortar, of ditch and parapet, of money and, in case of war, of men too. The engineering staff appear positively to revel in this luxury of planning fortifications which, to them, has so long been a forbidden joy. England is menaced with a vegetation of forts and batteries springing up as rapidly as mushrooms, and as rank as the creepers of a tropical forest. The Government seem to insist upon it that there must be something to show for the money; but that will be the principal use of all these splendid structures.

So long as the dockyards are not safe against a *coup de main*,[a] so long invasions might be undertaken, with the sole aim of destroying one of them, and then retiring. Thus they serve, so to say, as safety-valves for London. But as soon as they are secured against an attack by main force, and even against a regular attack, for fourteen days—and this is evidently necessary—there is no

[a] Sudden attack.—*Ed.*

other object left for an invasion except London. All minor ends are secured; local invasions are no longer to any purpose; an invasion must go in for the chance of annihilating England or suffer annihilation in its turn. Thus, the very fact of the fortification of the dockyards weakens London. It compels the invading power to concentrate all its strength on the attempt at once upon London. London, we are told by Lord Palmerston, must be defended in the field. Suppose this to be so: the stronger the army, the safer London will be. But where is that strong army to come from, if Portsmouth, Plymouth, Chatham, and Sheerness, and, perhaps, Pembroke, are converted into first-rate fortresses of the size of Cherbourg, Genoa, Coblentz, or Cologne, requiring garrisons of from 15,000 to 20,000 men to defend them? Thus, the stronger you make the dockyards, the weaker you render London and the country. And this is what you call national defenses.

In any case, one lost battle would decide the fate of London; and, considering the immense commercial centralization of the country, and the dead lock to which the occupation of London would bring all the industrial and commercial machinery of England, there can be no doubt that one battle would decide the fate of the whole kingdom. And thus, while twelve millions are proposed to be spent on the security of the dockyards, the very heart of the country is to remain unprotected, and is left to hinge on the result of one battle!

There is no good in mincing the matter. Let the dockyards, by all means, be fortified in a rational manner, which could be done for less than half the money now proposed to be squandered upon them; but if you want national defenses, set at once about fortifying London. It is no use saying, as Palmerston does, that this is impossible. It is the same talk that was heard when Paris was to be fortified. The surface inclosed in the continuous rampart round Paris is not much less than that occupied by London; the line of forts encircling Paris has an extent of 27 miles, and a circle round London six miles from Charing Cross would give a periphery of 37 miles. This circle might very well represent the average distance of the forts from the center; and ten miles more will not render the line too long, if a proper system of radial and circular railway communication facilitates the rapid movements of the reserves. Of course, London cannot be defended in the off-hand way, proposed in the *Cornhill Magazine*, where six large forts are to do all; the number of forts must be twenty at least; but, on the other hand, London need not be fortified in the pedantic style of Paris, for it will never have to stand a siege. To

defend it against a *coup de main*, against the resources which an invading army can bring against it within a fortnight after landing, is all that is required. The continuous inclosure may be dispensed with; the villages and groups of houses on the outskirts may be made to serve in its stead quite effectually, if the plan of defense be properly prepared beforehand.

With London thus fortified, and the dockyards strengthened on the sea fronts and protected on the land fronts against a forcible, irregular attack, and even a slight siege, England might defy any invasion, and the whole might be done for something like fifteen millions sterling. The dockyards would not absorb, in all, more than 70,000 regulars and 15,000 volunteers; while the whole rest of the line, the militia, and the volunteers—say 80,000 line and militia, and 100,000 volunteers—would defend the intrenched camp around London, or accept battle in front of it; and while the whole country north of London would remain at full liberty to organize fresh bodies of volunteers and depots for the line and militia. The enemy would in all cases be compelled to act; he could not, even if he would, then escape the attraction of the great intrenched camp of London, and he would have only the choice either to attack it and be beaten, or to wait, and thereby increase every day the difficulties of his position.

Instead of this, the Government plan of national defenses would bring matters to this pass, that if the forces of England consisted of 90,000 line and militia and 115,000 volunteers, the garrisons would, at least, absorb 25,000 regulars and 35,000 volunteers, leaving for the field in which to defend London, 65,000 regulars and 80,000 volunteers, while 35,000 men who might be very badly wanted on the day of battle, would be sitting quietly and unmenaced behind stone walls which nobody had thought of attacking. But not only would this army be weakened by 35,000 men, it would be deprived of a fortified position out of which it could not be driven except by a regular siege; it would have to expose its 80,000 badly officered and inexperienced volunteers to a fight in the open field, and it would thus fight in circumstances very much less favorable than the army placed as above described.

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# Karl Marx

## [EVENTS IN SYRIA.— SESSION OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT.— THE STATE OF BRITISH COMMERCE]

London, July 28, 1860

The Blue Book on the Syrian disturbances[a] having only just been issued, and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe having announced for Tuesday next his interpellation respecting the Syrian affairs,[b] [316] I delay entering on this momentous subject, and would only warn your readers to not be carried away by the sentimental declamations of the Decembrist press, the feelings of horror at the atrocious outrages of wild tribes, and the natural sympathy felt for the sufferers. But there are a few points which ought steadily to be fixed upon. In the first instance, the Russian Empire, consequent upon the internal collisions that have arisen out of the serf emancipation movement and the dilapidated state of finances, finds itself in a fix out of which the present Government knows not how to get itself safe by a war on a grand scale. War appears to them the only means of shifting off the impending revolution so confidentially predicted in Prince Dolgoroukow's *La vérité sur la Russie.* Consequently, it is about three months since Prince Gorchakoff tried to reopen the Oriental question by issuing his circular[c] on the grievances of the Christians in Turkey, but his appeal, rèechoed only by a solitary voice from the Tuileries, fell flat on the ears of Europe.

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[a] *Papers, 1858-1860, respecting past or apprehended Disturbances in Syria,* in four parts, London, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] Lord Stratford de Redcliffe's interpellation of August 3, 1860, *The Times,* No. 23690, August 4, 1860.—*Ed.*

[c] Gorchakov's circular of May 20, 1860 to Russian Embassies in foreign countries, *Russky Invalid,* No. 111, May 26, 1860, pp. 447-48.—*Ed.*

Even from that time Russian and French agents were bestirring themselves to bring about a politico-religious row—the former on the Dalmatian, the latter on the Syrian coast—both movements supporting each other, since the troubles in Montenegro and the Herzegovina compelled the Porte to withdraw almost the whole Turkish army stationed in Syria, so as to leave the arena open to the high-pitched antagonism of the barbarous clans of the Lebanon. The Emperor of the French found himself placed in the same necessity as the orthodox Czar,[a] of looking out for some fresh and thrilling crusade, to plunge his Empire again into the Lethe of war-hallucinations. The Italian movement, slipping out of his leading-strings, and taking a course contrary to the direction he wanted to impart to it, had, as was delicately hinted in the *Constitutionnel*,[b] become a *bore* in the opinion of Paris. His attempts at wheedling the Prince Regent of Prussia[c] into a violent "consolidation of Germany," to be paid by a "moral compensation" for France in the shape of the Rhenish Provinces, turned out a signal failure, and even cast some ridicule on the *entrepreneur* of the emancipation-of-nationalities dodge. The conflict Louis Napoleon found himself involved in with the Pope[317] damaged the prop on which his sway over the peasantry rests—the Catholic clergy of France.

The Imperial exchequer was reduced for some time to, and continues in a state of, exhaustion, which it was vainly tried to cure by throwing out the hint of the expediency of an *emprunt de la paix* (a peace-loan). This was too much even for Decembrist France. To eke out one loan contracted on the pretext of war by a subsequent loan contracted on the pretext of peace, was a presumption abhorrent even to the Paris stock-jobbers. Some faint voice in the emasculated Paris press dared to insinuate that the blessings of the second Empire were as great as expensive, the nation having bought them by an increase to the amount of fifty per cent of the public debt. The project of a peace loan of 500,000,000f. was consequently dropped, a retreat that only encouraged Mr. Favre to descant in the *Corps Législatif* on the impending "financial crash," and to tear to pieces the flowery gauze which the Imperial Budgetmonger had thrown over the State chest. The strictures in the *Corps Législatif* among the "*chiens savants*" (the learned dogs) of the mock representation, hazarded

[a] Alexander II.—*Ed.*

[b] See Ernest Dréolle's article "Paris, 10 juillet", *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 193, July 11, 1860.—*Ed.*

[c] William.—*Ed.*

by Mr. Favre and Mr. Olivier,[a] on the characteristic features of the Decembrist régime, as well as the furious onslaught on the intrigues of the "old parties,"[318] with which the official, the semi-official, and officious press of Paris teems, coincided in bearing witness to the stern fact, that the rebellious spirit of Gaul is rekindling from its cinders, and that the continuance of the usurper's rule again depends on the enactment of a grand war-spectacle, as it did two years after the *coup d'état*, and again two years after the conclusion of the Crimean episode. It is evident that the Autocrat of France and the Autocrat of Russia,[b] laboring both under the same urgent necessity of sounding the war-trumpet, act in common concert. While Bonapartist semi-official pamphlets[c] offered to the Prince Regent of Prussia[d] "German Union," backed by a "moral compensation" for France, the Emperor Alexander, as has just been publicly stated, without a denial on the part of the Berlin governmental press, in the publications of the German "National Association,"[319] openly proposed to his uncle[d] the annexation to Prussia of the whole of Northern Germany up to the main, on the condition of a cession to France of the Rhenish Provinces, and of connivance at the progress of Russia on the Danube. It is this fact simultaneously thrown out by both the Autocrats that has brought about the rendezvous at Teplitz between the Emperor of Austria and the Prince Regent.[320] The conspirators of Petersburg and Paris had, however, in case their temptations of Prussia should fail, kept in reserve the thrilling incident of the Syrian massacres, to be followed by a French intervention which, as it would not do to enter through the main gate, would open the back door of a general European war. In respect to England I will only add, that, in 1841, Lord Palmerston furnished the Druses with the arms they kept ever since, and that, in 1846, by a convention with the Czar Nicholas, he abolished, in point of fact, the Turkish sway that curbed the wild tribes of the Lebanon, and stipulated for them a quasi-independence[321] which, in the run of time, and under the

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[a] Émile Olivier's speech in the *Corps Législatif* on June 26, 1860, *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 180, June 28, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] Napoleon III and Alexander II.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx is referring to the following pamphlets published by Dentu in Paris in 1859 and 1860: *La vraie question, France-Italie-Autriche; Napoléon III et la question roumaine; La foi des traités, les puissances signataires et l'empereur Napoléon III;* Edmond About, *La Prusse en 1860* (concerning the last-named pamphlet, see this volume, pp. 391-96 and 400-01.).—*Ed.*

[d] William.—*Ed.*

proper management of foreign plotters, could only beget a harvest of blood.

You are aware that the present Parliamentary session stands unrivalled by a startling succession of Government failures. Apart from Mr. Gladstone's abortion of protective duties, not one single important measure has been carried. But while the Government were withdrawing bill after bill, they had contrived to smuggle through the second reading a little resolution,[a] consisting of one single little clause, which, if carried, would have brought about the greatest constitutional change witnessed in England ever since 1689.[322] That resolution simply proposed the abolition of the local English army in India, its absorption into the British army, and consequently the transfer of its supreme command from the Governor-General at Calcutta to the London Horse Guards, alias the Duke of Cambridge. Quite apart from the other serious consequences such a change must be fraught with, it would put part of the army out of the control of Parliament, and, on the grandest scale, add to the Royal patronage. It seems that some members of the Indian Council, who unanimously objected to the Government project, but, by virtue of the Indian Act of 1858,[323] can occupy no seats in the House of Commons, whispered their protests into the ears of some M.P.s, and so it came that when the Government already considered their dodge to be safe, a sudden Parliamentary *émeute*,[b] led by Mr. Horsman,[c] broke through their intrigue in the very nick of time. It is a truly ludicrous spectacle, this perplexity of a Cabinet unexpectedly found out, and the bewilderment of a House of Commons fretting at the snares laid to its own profound ignorance.

The declared value of the exports for last month shows the progress of the downward movement of British commerce. I have singled out in a previous letter[d] [that], compared with the exports of June, 1859, there is a falling off of nearly a million and a half sterling for June, 1860.

The returns for the month of June in the last three years are as follows[e]:

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[a] Moved in the House of Commons on June 12, 1860, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 159, 1860, p. 395.—*Ed.*

[b] Riot.—*Ed.*

[c] Edward Horsman's speech in the House of Commons on July 26, 1860, *The Times*, No. 23683, July 27, 1860.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 406-09.—*Ed.*

[e] For these and the following data see the article "The Board of Trade Returns", *The Economist*, No. 883, July 28, 1860.—*Ed.*

| 1858. | 1859. | 1860. |
|---|---|---|
| £10,241,433 | £10,665,891 | £9,236,454 |

For the half year ending with the 30th June, the declared value of the exports is less by a million than in the same six months of last year:

| 1858. | 1859. | 1860. |
|---|---|---|
| £53,467,804 | £63,003,159 | £62,019,989 |

The falling off of the last month is distributed over the cotton, cotton yarn, linen, hardware, and cutlery, iron and worsted trade. Even in the exports of manufactured woolen goods, the trade in which has hitherto shown a steadily increasing prosperity, this month excepted, "woolen and worsted yarn" shows a decline. The export of cotton goods for the *six months* to British India has declined from £6,094,430, in the first half of 1859, to £4,738,440 in the first half of 1860, or by [about] £1,360,000 worth of goods.[a]

With regard to the imports the most striking feature is the huge bulk of the cotton arrivals. In June, 1860, 2,102,048 cwts. have been received, as against 1,655,306 cwts. in the June of last year, and 1,339,108 cwts. in June, 1858.[b] The increase for the six months is no less than three millions of hundredweights; so that the half year receipts are greater by more than 60 per cent. The cotton imported in the month of May, 1860, is worth more by £1,800,000 than the import in 1859. No less than six millions and a half sterling have been spent in raw cotton in the first five months of 1860, beyond what was so spent in the same period of the previous year.

If the rapid decrease in the export of cotton goods and yarns be compared with the still more decided increase in the cotton imports, it will be understood that some cotton crisis is approaching, the more so since the new arrivals of the raw material fall upon unusually replete cotton stores.

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[a] op. cit.—*Ed.*
[b] op. cit.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## COULD THE FRENCH SACK LONDON?

The report of the British National Defense Commission, which was recently published in London,[a] states that if the Emperor of the French were disposed to send a hostile army to England, it would be impossible for "all the available vessels of the Royal Navy" to prevent it from landing at some point of the 2,147 miles of coast line of England and Wales, not to speak of that of Ireland. It having been also conceded, at various times before and since the publication of the famous de Joinville pamphlet,[b] that a landing of 100,000 or more Frenchmen could be effected in the British Islands, under skillful management, the only important point to be considered is, what power of resistance Great Britain has at her command to meet such an invasion.

In compliance with an order of the House of Commons, the strength of the British land forces was reported in May last. It was as follows: Total regimental establishments, 144,148; effectives of all ranks on the 1st of May, 133,962; embodied militia, 19,333. When this statement was made public, an almost universal cry from all parts of the three Kingdoms was raised, as to the manner in which the $75,000,000 appropriated for the army estimates were spent, since an analysis of the 144,148 men, given as the available material of the line, "revealed the startling fact that scarcely 30,000 infantry could be mustered for offensive or defensive purposes, at a given place."

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[a] *Report of the Commissioners appointed to consider the Defences of the United Kingdom*, London, 1860. See this volume, pp. 425-28.—*Ed.*

[b] François Ferdinand de Joinville's *De l'État des forces navales de la France*, Francfort s/M., 1844.—*Ed.*

Mr. Sidney Herbert and his associates of the Horse Guards, immediately held a consultation, and the London *Times* endeavored to quiet the anxiety of the people. It said[a]:

"We took occasion to examine the figures by which these allegations were supported, and explained in some detail the actual position of affairs."

It tried to

"show that if by the term 'troops' it was intended to describe only infantry of the line, the state of the case had been pretty accurately given, but that in reality the force at home comprised strong divisions of other arms of the service, so that its aggregate strength was by no means so small as might have been imagined."

The result of this nervousness on the part of the public, and of the consultation at the Horse Guards, was a completely new table of statistics,[b] putting down the military forces of Great Britain, at home, at 323,259; or 179,111 men more than the statement submitted two months previously. The discrepancy is not difficult of explanation. The first was issued with the intention to show the number of men that could, under favorable circumstances, and on receiving reasonable notice, be made available for immediate duty; the last to supply the sum total of every man and boy entered on the military pay-roll, and consequently receiving a share of the $75,000,000, beside including 227,179 volunteers and militia, of whom fully 200,000 have no existence as soldiers. Then there are 33,302 men accounted for, as belonging to "depots." Lest we may be charged with prejudice in describing what these "depots" are, we will cite the London *Times* as authority[c]:

"The troops in the depots really belong, not to the home, but the foreign establishments. They are portions of the battalions serving abroad, and there is nothing strange in their being comparatively ineffective for duty at home."

In short they are merely an ineffective body, composed of recruits not over three months in the service, who are shipped off quarterly, or oftener, when enlisted, to the regiments abroad, and old invalids who have been left at home as useless,

"so that, what with those who are exhausted and those who are untaught, the corps itself is never in the condition of a regular battalion."

So much for the depots. Now as to the volunteers and militia. It is only necessary to repeat that at least 200,000 exist at present, only on paper. Mr. Maguire recently proved in Parliament that nearly every regiment of militia had from 200 to 300 men more

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[a] "London, Saturday, June 23, 1860", *The Times*, No. 23654, June 23, 1860.— *Ed.*

[b] ibid.— *Ed.*

[c] "London, Monday, June 4, 1860", *The Times*, No. 23637, June 4, 1860.— *Ed.*

on the books of the Horse Guards than could ever be got together on parade. Mr. Sidney Herbert made a similar admission.[a] Of the Irish militia regiments, whose members are compelled, from hardship and poverty, to report themselves more punctually than their English neighbors, many now estimated at 800—the Waterford for instance—have only 400. The estimate giving the strength of militia and volunteers of England at 138,560 is probably as near the mark as it is possible for an impartial statistician to make it.

The force of the regular army at home, according to the recent report from the War-Office, is 68,778. The Household cavalry (1,317), Royal Engineers (2,089), the Army Hospital corps of discarded invalids, the military train, and other partially unavailable troops, are here included. To avoid trespassing on disputed grounds, we will admit that the entire 68,000 are available. This, supposing all militia and volunteers embodied, and under arms, would give a grand total of 206,560 men. We will even add the Irish police to the list, which will increase it to about 237,000. The nominal strength of the regular army and embodied militia, just now, is given at 100,000; about 16,000 in excess of the real figures; but we will take it as it stands. Conceding that 15,000 of the volunteers could be assembled at a given point, within three days of the landing of the French, England would still have at her disposal an army of 115,000. Of these, it must be borne in mind that fully 25,000 are novices in the use of arms. Now, all the navy yards, arsenals and Government strongholds, would require extra garrisons, for there are never more than 8,000 marines ashore at the naval ports. Ireland, without attaching any importance to the influence of the "national petition," in creating a friendly disposition to the soldiers of McMahon, will need an army. All volunteers or militia would not suffice to keep order in the Emerald Isle, with the prospect of a fight in view. Her Majesty's authorities should at least detail 10,000 regulars, and 25,000 irregulars for that country, beside the police. This would make about 55,000 in all, and would leave only 80,000 soldiers to England and Wales, to guard arsenals, armories, and navy yards. It is idle to suppose that less than 20,000 serviceable troops would be sufficient for this important duty, allowing even the worn-out or inexperienced men in the depots to be able to hold their own. So Napoleon's 100,000 Frenchmen, Zouaves, &c., would be opposed by 60,000 red coats, of whom little more than 45,000

[a] Sidney Herbert's speech in the House of Commons on June 26, 1860, *The Times*, No. 23657, June 27, 1860.—*Ed.*

would belong to the line. The probable result of a rencounter between the two forces, thus brought face to face, hardly admits of a doubt.

It will be objected that France could not equip and dispatch across the Channel 100,000 men, without its becoming known. It may be; but England would not know where the blow would fall, and would naturally tremble for the safety of her possessions bordering the Mediterranean, and try to reenforce her garrisons there lest the threatened attack on London might be intended to cover ulterior designs on Malta and Gibraltar. She would send over to those places, in a few vessels of the Channel fleet, 20,000 or 30,000 soldiers, who would not be "volunteers," thus throwing on the latter the weight of resisting the enemy at home. Some distinguished writers assert that even the sacking of London would eventually be less injurious to England, than her banishment from Malta and Gibraltar.

But it will be argued that the mere announcement of national danger would be sufficient to arouse every Briton in the land, from the Cheviot Hills to Cornwall, to hurl the intruder into the sea. This is plausible. But experience teaches us that no matter how intense the patriotism of the masses may be, the fact that they, as a general thing, have no arms, and do not know how to use them if they had, renders their disposition in an emergency of very little value. Cane-swords and pitchforks may be weapons exceedingly dangerous to human life in the Seven Dials,[a] or in the Provinces, but it is not reasonable to assume that they would be irrepressible in repelling the Zouaves. It may also be seriously doubted whether the middle classes, who almost exclusively represent the volunteer force, would be so ready to answer muster, with the French on their native island, as they are when summoned to receive the congratulations of her Majesty. At all events, it is not more absurd to admit the possibility of the invading army numbering 150,000 than to suppose the volunteers can turn out 120,000; since a cordial invitation from Buckingham Palace cannot succeed in bringing, at the end of a twelve months' recruiting, more than 18,300.

Some doubts having been expressed as to the force actually reviewed at Hyde Park, we quote a paragraph from *The Manchester Guardian*, of the second day's parade. The "private correspondent" alluded to is Mr. Tom Taylor, an intimate and confidential friend of Col. McMurdo:

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[a] A working-class district in the centre of London.—*Ed.*

"Our private correspondent, as our readers may recollect, has stated the number at 18,300, on the official authority of Col. McMurdo, which is a little lower than the amount given by Sir. John Burgoyne's calculation. But the martial bearing of the Volunteers evidently struck Sir John more than their mere number."

In estimating the forces that could probably be concentrated to oppose invaders, we have purposely made the most liberal calculation in favor of Great Britain. Our statement of the regular army admits as efficient every man, sick and well, whose name is on the military books. The militia and volunteers have been considered as 115,000 strong, which those well informed on the matter may deem excessive. The acknowledged ability of French field officers, the excellence of French military discipline, the general superiority of French tactics; and, on the other hand, the well-established stupidity of many of the highest officers in the English army; the slovenly management of the regulars and volunteers (after five weeks' notice had been given one regiment of militia actually mustered, in May last, with 135 barefoot members); even the conceded inferiority of the *ensemble* of a British to a French fighting army—all these have not been considered, although they are most important elements in a discussion of the subject.

In view of these facts, it appears certain that if Napoleon landed to-morrow, at a judiciously selected port in England, with 150,000 or even 100,000 men, he could "sack London" and escape the "annihilation" which a London journal recently stated would be his inevitable fate "if he put a hostile foot on Saxon soil."

Written between July 26 and 28, 1860

Reproduced from the newspaper

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# Karl Marx

## THE RUSSO-FRENCH ALLIANCE

London, August 3, 1860

The observations made in my last letter[a] upon the secret connection between the Syrian massacres and the Russo-French alliance, have received unexpected confirmation from the other side of the Channel, in the shape of a pamphlet published at M. Dentu's on Tuesday last, entitled *La Syrie et l'Alliance Russe*, and ascribed to the penmanship of M. Edmond About. M. Dentu, as you are aware, is the French Government publisher, who has issued all the semi-official pamphlets which from time to time initiated Europe into the "studies"[b] just indulged at the Tuileries. The above-mentioned pamphlet derives a peculiar interest from the circumstance that its publication followed closely on the love-letter addressed by the Man of December to Persigny,[324] which was destined to mesmerize John Bull, and of which Lord John Russell, at the very moment he refused to lay it before the House, forwarded a copy to the London *Times*.[c] The subjoined extracts contain the substance of *La Syrie et l'Alliance Russe*:

"As at the time of the Crusades, Christian Europe is moved by the horrible crimes of which Syria has just been the scene. Seven hundred thousand Christians are delivered up to the merciless fanaticism of two millions of Mussulmans, and the Turkish Government, by its inexplicable inaction, appears to avow itself their accomplice. Assuredly, France would have forgotten all her traditions had she not immediately claimed the honor of protecting the lives and properties of those who,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 429-32.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx is evidently alluding to Carl Vogt's work *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas*, Geneva and Berne, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] Issue No. 23687, August 1, 1860.—*Ed.*

in former days, were the soldiers of Peter the Hermit and Philip Augustus.... It is, therefore, high time to think of a remedy for a situation which could not last any longer without leading to a great calamity—the total extermination of the Christian subjects of the Porte. The expedition which the Turkish Government talks so much about is totally insufficient to restore order. The Powers which have co-religionists in Syria, and which are justly alarmed for their safety, must be prepared bodily to interfere. If they tarried, it would no longer be time to protect victims; their only duty would be to avenge martyrs.

"Two nations are especially interested in defending the Cross on those distant shores—France and Russia. What would be the probable consequence of the union of their arms, and the result on the ulterior organization of Europe? This is what we are about to investigate.

"At certain periods of history we find that under the impulse of certain laws of attraction and agglomeration peoples form political combinations unknown to the past. We are 'assisting' at one of these critical moments in the life of mankind. The Syrian question is but one of the knots of a very complicated situation. The whole of Europe is in a state of expectation and anxiety, waiting for a vast solution which may settle the basis of a lasting peace both in Europe and in the East. Now that object can only be attained in so far as the organization of our continent shall be in conformity with the wishes and requirements of the present questions of nationalities struggling beneath the yoke. Hostile religious tendencies, incompatibility of tempers, languages radically opposed to each other, keep up in certain European States an undercurrent of agitation, which prevents the restoration of confidence, and hinders the progress of civilization. Peace, that ultimate term of the ambition of all Governments, can only be permanently secured when the permanent causes of disturbance we have just indicated shall have disappeared. We therefore wish to arrive at a double result.

"1. Wherever such a thing is possible, to favor the formation of a homogeneous and national State, the mission of which would be to absorb and concentrate, in a mighty unity, populations having ideas or tendencies in common.

"2. To try and carry out that principle without having recourse to arms.

"At first sight, France and Russia appear to have realized the ideal of monarchies. Though 400 leagues divide them, these two Powers have arrived by the most different roads at that unity which alone is able to create durable empires, not ephemeral circumscription, the limits of which may be changed any day by the fortune of war.... The Czars, meditating for the last 135 years over the will of Peter the Great,[325] have not ceased to cast covetous glances on European Turkey....Must France continue to protest against the pretensions of the Czars to the decaying Empire of the Sultan? We think not. *If Russia lent us her cooperation for the reannexation of the Rhine frontier, it appears to us that a kingdom would not be too high a price for her alliance. Thanks to such a combination, France might resume her real limits, as traced by the geographer Strabo, 18 centuries ago.* [Then follows a quotation from Strabo, enumerating the advantages of Gaul as the seat of a powerful empire.] It can easily be understood that France should desire to reconstruct that divine work [I presume the frontiers of Gaul], thwarted for so many centuries by the fraud of man, and this is so much in the nature of things, that at a period when we were not thinking of territorial aggrandizement, Germany was nevertheless subject to periodical fits of uneasiness, and flung at us, as a pledge of defiance, Becker's patriotic song[326].... We know that we are not alone in having plans of aggrandizement. Now, if Russia regards Constantinople in the same way as we look at the Rhine, can one not turn these analogous pretensions to some account, and force upon Europe the acceptance of a combination which would allot Turkey to

Russia, to France that Rhine frontier, which Napoleon I considered in 1814 as a *sine qua non* condition of his existence as a sovereign?

"There are only two millions of Turks in Europe, whereas there are thirteen millions of Greeks, whose spiritual head is the Czar.... The Greek insurrection,[a] which lasted nine years, was but the prelude of the movement which the massacres in Syria may act upon as a signal to break out. The Greek Christians are only waiting for an order from their Chief at St. Petersburg,[b] or their Patriarch at Constantinople, to rise against the infidels; and there are but few far-sighted politicians who do not anticipate a solution of the Eastern question in a sense favorable to Russia, and that at no distant time. It is not, therefore, surprising, that at the call of their co-religionists, and encouraged by the predictions of Stalezanew, the Russians should be prepared to cross the Pruth at the first moment.

"If we cast an eye on our frontiers, the considerations which justify our tendencies appear to be quite as important as those which actuate Russia. Let us set aside all historical recollections, and all geographical motives, take one by one the provinces inclosed by the Rhine, and examine the reasons that militate in favor of their annexation.

"First we meet with Belgium. In good faith it is difficult to question the striking analogy which has induced some historians to call the Belgians the French of the North. In fact, throughout that country the educated classes use no language but French, and the Flemish dialect is only understood by the lower classes of the population in some few localities. Moreover, Belgium is throughout attached to Catholicism, and it is to France, her sister, by origin, idiom and religion, that she is indebted for her independence. We will not recall the fact that Belgium, conquered by our armies in 1795, formed nine French departments until 1814. Nevertheless, it would appear that our yoke was not so very heavy, as in 1831, Belgium,having been unable to obtain from the Great Powers the permission of being annexed to France, offered, by a vote of the two Chambers, the Belgian Crown to the Duke de Nemours, the son of the King of the French. The refusal of the latter induced them subsequently to offer it to the Duke of Saxe Coburg, now Leopold I; but the precedent we refer to appears to us highly important, and it leads to the presumption that if Belgium were consulted she would not be less generous than Savoy, and would prove once more the attraction of the prestige which the greatness of France causes her to feel. The opposition of a few members of the upper classes would be very soon stifled by popular acclamations.

"Before falling into the sea, the Rhine divides itself into three branches, two of which run in rather northerly directions—the Yssel, which flows into the Zuyderzee, and the Waal, a confluent of the Meuse. If France had once more to trace her limits, might she not take the line of the Rhine, properly so called, instead of that of the Waal or the Yssel, so as to slice off as little as possible of Southern Holland? That is what she would assuredly do. Moreover, it is not on the side of Holland that it is indispensable to rectify our frontier by taking the line of the Rhine as a basis. Belgium, with her present frontiers, would be enough to satisfy the want of extension which of late has been so loudly claimed by public opinion. The line of the Scheldt was, moreover, the frontier conceded to France by the treaty of Lunéville in 1801."

Next follows a short passage demonstrating, by similar arguments, the necessity of annexing the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg,

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[a] The reference is to the 1821-29 national uprising in Greece.—*Ed.*

[b] A probable reference to the Russian Tsar.—*Ed.*

"which formed under the Empire the *Département des Forêts.*"[a] The pamphleteer then proceeds to show the necessity for the annexation of Rhenish Prussia:

"Belgium and Luxemburg once in our power, our task is not over.... To complete our frontiers we must not take less than two-thirds of Rhenish Prussia, the whole of Rhenish Bavaria, and about one-third of the Grand Duchy of Hesse. All these territories formed, under the Empire, the departments of Roer of the Rhine, and Moselle of the Sarre, of Mont Tonnerre,[b] and the Grand Duchy of Berg. In 1815, they were distributed among several possessors, to render their recovery by us more difficult. A remarkable fact is, that these provinces, annexed to the French Monarchy, were but a few years in direct intercourse with us, and, nevertheless, our temporary stay among them has left the most enduring marks. What sympathy is lavished on the French traveler in those parts, we willingly appeal to those who have traveled there. For the last 45 years not a single French soldier has garrisoned those towns on the banks of the Rhine, and yet it is marvelous to see the touching reception our uniform meets with there. Catholics like us—like us they are Frenchmen. *Was it not at Aix-la Chapelle*[c] *that our Emperor, Charlemagne, held his Court?...* Contiguous to France, the Rhenish Provinces must become the political, as they are the natural dependencies of France."

The writer then returns to Russia, and after showing that the Crimean war forms no barrier to the alliance between France and Russia, *as they had not then come to an understanding*, gives the following piece of information concerning one of the claims of France to the gratitude of Russia:

"It must be kept in mind that France did not lend herself to the plans of England in the Baltic. We do not know whether an attack on Cronstadt would have succeeded in any case; it was not attempted, thanks, we have reason to believe, to the opposition of France."

After an excursion to the Italian campaign, the writer does not doubt that in the end Prussia will join the Franco-Russian alliance:

"But to attach the Cabinet of Berlin to our policy, it must be withdrawn from the influence of England. How can this be brought about? By so contriving that Prussia shall cease to be our neighbor on the Rhine, and by promising to support her legitimate pretensions to preponderance in Germany. The exchange of these Rhenish Provinces causes Bavaria and Prussia to take their compensations from Austria. The English alliance can only secure to Prussia the *status quo*—the French alliance throws open to her a boundless horizon.

"The alliance between France, Russia, and Prussia loyally concluded, as we have reason to hope it will be, the consequences that flow from it are most natural.... We have demonstrated above what 1,800 years ago Strabo had laid down as beyond question—that the Rhine was the natural frontier of Northern France. Now, Prussia is the greatest sufferer from this extension of territory. For the last 45 years she has kept the Rhine as the dragon used to keep watch over the garden of the

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[a] Forestry Department.—*Ed.*
[b] Ruhr-Rhine, Moselle-Saar, Donnersberg.—*Ed.*
[c] Aachen.—*Ed.*

Hesperides. Let this cause of hostility between France and Prussia disappear; let the left hand of the Rhine become French once more; in exchange for her good offices, Prussia would find a compensation in Austria—that Power would be punished for her bad faith and clumsiness. Let all be organized for a durable peace.

"Let the populations be consulted, so that no violent annexation should take place. With Russia at Constantinople, France on the Rhine, Austria diminished, and Prussia preponderating in Germany, where can any cause for disturbance or revolution be found in Europe? Would England dare to contend single-handed against Russia, Prussia, and France? We cannot admit such a thing. If, however, it did happen, if Great Britain should venture to commit such an imprudence, she might receive a severe lesson. Gibraltar, Malta, the Ionian Islands are a security for her keeping quiet; those are the weak points of her armor. But though she will be reduced to a sterile agitation in her island, and be compelled to be a passive spectator of what takes place on the continent, she will barely be permitted to offer her opinion, thanks to the five or six thousand men she will send to Syria.

"The moment has arrived when our policy must be clearly defined. It is in Syria that France must pacifically conquer the frontier of the Rhine, by cementing the alliance of Russia. But we must take care not to give Russia an unlimited extension. The provinces north of the Bosphorus must suffice for her ambition. Asia Minor must remain neutral ground. Were it, indeed, possible to look at a practical subject in a poetical and practical light, we would say our choice is made; a man has just come forward who seems the incarnation of the idea we should wish to see represented in Syria—Abd-el-Kader. He is sufficiently orthodox as a Moslem to conciliate the Mussulman population; he is sufficiently civilized to distribute justice equally to all; he is attached to France by ties of gratitude; he would protect the Christians, and reduce to obedience the turbulent tribes ever ready to disturb the repose of Asia Minor. To make of Abd-el-Kader the Syrian Emir would be a noble reward for our prisoner's services."

The critical remarks on Edmond About's pamphlet were written on August 3, 1860

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6025, August 16, 1860

# Karl Marx

## THE PAPER TAX.—THE EMPEROR'S LETTER

London, Aug. 7, 1860

The great faction fight of the session, which came off yesterday night, in a full House of Commons, proved a failure in the scenical sense, although it was a triumph in the ministerial sense. Mr. Gladstone's resolutions[a] for reducing the customs duties on paper to the level of the excise duties—some slight charge being added to the customs duties to counterbalance the incidental inconveniences of the excise duty—were carried by a majority of 33. But the House of Commons had it all their own way. There was the arena, and there were the gladiators, with their retainers behind them, but there was no audience worth mentioning. Before the battle had commenced, its issue was known and its bulletin promulgated. Hence the indifference of the public. The coalized parties, forming the so-called "Great Liberal Party,"[327] notoriously sway a Parliamentary majority, so that a defeat of the Cabinet could only have proceeded from a split in the ranks of the majority. This point, however, had been settled in Lord Palmerston's official residence, whither he had summoned the liberal members of all shadows and shades. The resolution itself proceeded from the Manchester fraction of the Ministry, Lord Palmerston having only been able to retain the support of Messrs. Gladstone and Milner Gibson by pledging himself to raise Mr. Gladstone's resolution to the rank of a Cabinet question. He had betrayed them by his management of the Paper Duty Abolition bill. This time they had bound him over to a certain line of conduct. The regular Whigs were the only fraction of the majority

[a] Moved on August 6, 1860. See *The Times*, No. 23692, August 7, 1860.—*Ed.*

suspected of hatching treasonable designs; but the harsh voice of their master and the menace suspended over their heads of a new dissolution of Parliament sufficed to bring them back to the stern behests of discipline. Thus many hours before the curtain was drawn, all London had become acquainted with the exact result of the party trial, and, save the habitués of the Strangers' Gallery, nobody cared to assist the sham-fight at St. Stephen's.[328] It was indeed a rather dull affair, enlivened only by the sweeping oratory of Mr. Gladstone, and the highly finished pleading of Sir Hugh Cairns.[a] Mr. Gladstone tried to represent the opposition raised against his bill as a last desperate stand made by Protection against Free Trade. When he sat down, the cheers that drowned his concluding words, seemed to hail him as the true chief of the liberal party, of which Lord Palmerston is the by no means beloved despot. Sir Hugh Cairns, on the part of the Conservatives, proved by close argumentation, and with great analytical power, that the reduction of the customs duty on paper to the level of the excise duty was in no way stipulated for by the commercial treaty with France. His antagonist, Sir Richard Bethell, the Whig Attorney-General, had the bad taste to show ill temper at the success of his rival, to sneer at Sir Hugh's "forensic eloquence,"[b] and thus to draw upon his own devoted head a regular volley of Tory interruptions.

The great faction fight of the session being over, whole flocks of honorable members are sure to desert the House, so that Lord Palmerston, by the sheer process of exhaustion, may now succeed in passing any little bill he has set his heart upon—i.e. the monstrous Indian bill for the amalgamation of the local European army with the British army.[329] If any new striking proof were wanted of the depth of degradation Parliamentarism has reached in England, this Indian bill and the treatment it received in the House of Commons would afford it. Every man in the House, of any authority on, and any experience in, Indian affairs, had opposed the bill. The majority themselves confessed not only their complete ignorance, but they betrayed their dark suspicions as to the ulterior views of the framers of the bill. They could not but confess that the bill had been smuggled into the House under false pretenses; that the most important papers indispensable for a

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[a] Hugh Cairns' speech in the House of Commons on August 6, 1860, *The Times*, No. 23692, August 7, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] Richard Bethell's speech in the House of Commons on August 6, 1860, *The Times*, No. 23692, August 7, 1860.—*Ed.*

just appreciation of the case had been fraudulently withheld; that the Indian Minister[a] had introduced the bill despite the unanimous dissent of the Indian Council, a dissent which, by an open infraction of the new constitution bestowed upon India in 1858,[330] he had omitted to lay on the table of the House; and lastly, that the Cabinet had not even attempted at showing any reason for driving, toward the end of the session, and after the withdrawal of every measure of import, with such indecent haste, a bill through the House which, in point of fact, radically changed the British Constitution by an immense addition of patronage to the crown, and by the creation of an army that, in every practical respect, would become independent of the vote of supplies. Still, this bill may now be carried, the chiefs of both factions having, as it appears, come to a secret understanding with the Court.

Louis Napoleon's letter to his beloved Persigny continues to form the chief topic of conversation here and on the other side of the Channel. It seems that, in the first instance, the protest of the Porte against the Syrian expedition, as originally planned between France and Russia,[331] met with a strong support on the part of Austria and Prussia, while Lord Palmerston, having just singled out, during the fortification debates, Louis Napoleon as the great object of British suspicion, could not but throw his weight into the balance of Turkey and the German Powers. It appears, moreover, that the Man of December got somewhat frightened, not only at the dictatorial tone assumed by Russia, but still more at the sneers circulated in the saloons of the "*anciens partis*"[b] and the low murmurs audible in the Faubourgs in regard to the "*alliance Cosaque.*"[c]

To make the latter palatable to Paris, a far greater complication of things must have been arrived at. Under these distressing circumstances, and in an evidently uneasy state of mind, Louis Napoleon penned his letter, several passages of which are highly perfumed with the scent of the ludicrous.

An Englishman may indulge in a downright laugh at the phrase addressed by Louis Napoleon to Lord Palmerston: "Let us understand one another in good faith like *honest men as we are, and* not *like thieves* who desire to cheat each other"; but the exquisitely bad taste blended with the power of ridicule of the original French "*entendons nous loyalement comme d'honnêtes gens, que nous sommes, et*

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[a] Sir Charles Wood.—*Ed.*
[b] Old parties.—*Ed.*
[c] Cossack alliance.—*Ed.*

*non comme Des Larrons qui veulent se duper mutuellement,*"[a] can only be appreciated by a French ear. No Frenchman can read that passage without being reminded of a similar sentence occurring in the famous play of "*Robert Macaire.*"[332]

I subjoin some data for a comparison between French and English state expenditure.[b] According to the provisional or prospective budget, the total revenue of France for the year 1860 is estimated at 1,825 millions of francs, or £73,000,000 sterling, derived from the following sources:

| | |
|---|---|
| I. Direct Taxes, land, house, personal patentes | £18,800,000[c] |
| II. Enregistrement (stamps and domaines) | 14,300,000 |
| III. Woods, forests, and fisheries | 1,500,000 |
| IV. Customs and tax on salt | 9,100,000 |
| V. Contributions indirectes (excise, etc.) | 19,500,000 |
| VI. Post-Office | 2,300,000 |
| VII. Miscellaneous | 7,500,000 |

The English revenue for 1859 (the financial accounts for 1860 have not yet been issued) was as follows, in both cases round numbers only being given:

| | |
|---|---|
| I. Taxes (including income tax) | £10,000,000 |
| II. Stamps | 8,250,000 |
| III. Crown Lands | 420,000 |
| IV. Customs | 24,380,000 |
| V. Excise | 18,500,000 |
| VI. Post-Office | 3,200,000 |
| VII. Miscellaneous | 2,100,000 |

The comparative public expenditure of the two countries was as follows:

| | France. | England. |
|---|---|---|
| Interest on the debt | £22,400,000 | £28,500,000 |
| Army and Navy | 18,600,000 | 22,500,000 |
| Civil List of the Crown | 1,000,000 | 400,000 |
| Cost of collecting the Revenue | 8,000,000 | 4,500,000 |
| Other expenses | 23,000,000 | 9,000,000 |
| Total | £73,000,000 | £65,000,000 |

[a] Napoleon III's letter to Jean Persigny of July 25, 1859, "Paris, 1er août", *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 215, August 2, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] The tables are taken from the article "Taxation in France", *The Economist*, No. 884, August 4, 1860, p. 840.—*Ed.*

[c] The *New-York Daily Tribune* gives 18,000,000—a misprint.—*Ed.*

From the last tabular statement it will be seen that the interest on the public debt is in Bonapartist France rapidly mounting to the British level; that Continental centralization keeps the Army and Navy at a cheaper cost than insular oligarchy; that one Louis Napoleon wants for his private expenses twice and a half more money than a British sovereign; and finally, that in a bureaucratic country, like France, the cost of collecting the revenue grows at a rate disproportionate to the amount of the revenue itself.

Written on August 7, 1860

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6030, August 22, 1860

# Frederick Engels

## GARIBALDI'S MOVEMENTS

London, August 8, 1860

The crisis in Southern Italy is at hand. If we are to trust the French and Sardinian papers, 1,500 Garibaldians have landed on the coast of Calabria and Garibaldi is hourly expected.[a] But even if this news be premature, there can be no doubt that Garibaldi will have transferred the seat of war to the Italian mainland before the middle of August.

To understand the movements of the Neapolitans, it must be kept in mind that there are two opposing undercurrents at work in their army: the moderate Liberal party, officially in power, and represented by the Ministry, and the Absolutist camarilla, to which most of the chiefs of the army are attached. The orders of the Ministry are counteracted by the secret orders of the Court and by the intrigues of the generals. Hence conflicting movements and conflicting reports. To-day we hear that all royal troops are to leave Sicily, to-morrow we find them preparing a fresh base of operations at Milazzo. This state of things is inherent to all half-and-half revolutions; the year 1848 furnishes examples of it all over Europe.

While the Ministry offered to evacuate the island, Bosco, who seems to be the only resolute man among the parcel of old women bearing Neapolitan generals' epaulettes, quietly attempted to turn the north-eastern corner of the island into a stronghold from which the reconquest of the island might be attempted, and for this purpose marched to Milazzo with a picked force of the best men to be had in Messina. Here he fell in with Medici's brigade of

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[a] See "Affaires des deux Siciles", *Le Constitutionnel,* No. 220, August 7, 1860.— *Ed.*

Garibaldians. He did not, however, venture any serious attack on them, until Garibaldi himself had been sent for and brought some reenforcements. Here the insurgent chief, in his turn, attacked the royals, and, after an obstinate fight of above twelve hours' duration, defeated them completely. The forces engaged on either side were about equal, but the position held by the Neapolitans was very strong. However, neither positions nor men could withstand the dash of the insurgents, who drove the Neapolitans right through the town into the citadel. Here nothing remained to them but to capitulate, and Garibaldi allowed them to embark, but without arms. After this victory, he marched at once to Messina, where the Neapolitan general consented to give up the outer forts of the town on condition of not being molested in the citadel. This citadel being unable to hold more than a few thousand men, will never be a serious obstacle to any offensive operations of Garibaldi, and he therefore did quite right in sparing the town of a bombardment, which would inevitably have followed any attack. As it is this series of capitulations at Palermo, Milazzo, and Messina, must do more to destroy the confidence of the royal troops in themselves and in their chiefs, than twice as many victories. It has become a matter of course that the Neapolitans always capitulate before Garibaldi.

From this moment it became possible for the Sicilian Dictator to think of landing on the continent. His steam navy does not as yet appear to be sufficiently large to warrant him in attempting a landing further north, somewhere within six or eight marches from Naples, say in the Bay of Policastro. He, therefore, seems to have decided on crossing the Straits where they are narrowest, that is, on the extreme north-eastern point of the island, north of Messina. On this point he is said to have concentrated about 1,000 vessels, very likely most of them fishing and coasting felucas, such as are common on those coasts, and if the landing of the 1,500 men under Sacchi be confirmed, they will form his advanced guard. The point is not the most favorable for a march on Naples, as it is the part of the mainland furthest away from the Capital; but if his steam navy cannot transport something like 10,000 men at once, he cannot select any other, and then he has at least this advantage, that the Calabrians will at once join him. If, however, he can cram some ten thousand men on board his steamers, and can rely on the neutrality of the Royal navy (which appears resolved not to fight against Italians), then he may still land a few men in Calabria as a feint, and himself go with the main body to the Bay of Policastro, or even to that of Salerno.

The force at present at the disposal of Garibaldi consists of five brigades of regular infantry, of four battalions each; of ten battalions of Cacciatori dell' Etna[a]; of two battalions of Cacciatori delle Alpi,[b] the élite of his army; of one foreign (now Italian) battalion under Col. Dunne, an Englishman; of one battalion of engineers; one regiment and a squadron of cavalry; and four battalions of field artillery; in all 34 battalions, four squadrons, and 32 guns, equal to some 25,000 men in all, of whom, rather more than one-half are North Italians, the rest Italians. The whole, nearly, of this force might be used for the invasion of Naples, as the new formations now being organized will soon suffice to observe the citadel of Messina, and protect Palermo and the other towns from insult. Still, this force looks very small when compared with what the Neapolitan Government disposes of on paper.

The Neapolitan army consists of three regiments of the guard, fifteen ditto of the line, four foreign regiments, each of two battalions, or together 44 battalions; of 13 battalions of chasseurs; of nine regiments of cavalry, and two of artillery—in all 57 battalions, and 45 squadrons, on the peace-footing. Inclusive of the 9,000 gens d'armes, who also are organized on a perfectly military footing, this army, on the peace-footing, counts 90,000 men. But, during the last two years, it has been raised to the full war complement; third battalions of regiments have been organized, the depot squadrons have been put to active service, the garrison troops have been completed; and this army now consists, on paper, of above 150,000 men.

But what an army is this! Externally fine to look at for a martinet, there is no life, no spirit, no patriotism, no fidelity in it. It has no national military traditions. When Neapolitans fought as such, they were always defeated. Only in the wake of Napoleon were they ever associated with victory. It is not a National army. It is a purely Royal army. It was raised and organized for the express and exclusive purpose of keeping down the people. And even for that it appears unfit; there are plenty of anti-royalist elements in it, and they now break forth everywhere. The sergeants and corporals, especially, are Liberals almost to a man. Whole regiments shout "*Viva Garibaldi!*" No army ever underwent such disgrace as this one did from Calatafimi to Palermo; and if the foreign troops and some Neapolitans fought well at

[a] Etna riflemen.—*Ed.*
[b] Alpine riflemen.—*Ed.*

Milazzo, it is not to be forgotten that these picked men form but a small minority of the army.

Thus it is almost certain that, if Garibaldi lands with a force sufficient to obtain a few successes on the continent, no concentration of Neapolitan masses will be able to oppose him with any chance of success; and we may next expect to hear that he is continuing his triumphal career, with 15,000 men against tenfold odds, from the Scilla to Naples.

Written about August 7, 1860

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## [THE NEW SARDINIAN LOAN.—THE IMPENDING FRENCH AND INDIAN LOANS]

London, Aug. 14, 1860

The new Sardinian loan of £6,000,000 has been closed, and three times the sum required is said to have been subscribed. Thus it appears that the bonds of the new Italian Kingdom are rising in the market at the very time that Austria is struggling in vain with a debt whose magnitude ought to be measured not by the resources of the country, but by the weakness of its Government, and while Russia, mighty Russia, having been driven from the European loan market, was forced to recur again to its own paper-money machinery. Still, even in regard to Sardinia, the new loan reminds us of the ugly fact that in modern times almost the first act in a people's struggle for freedom or independence seems, by some monstrous fatality, to consist in contracting a new servitude. Is every public debt not a mortgage saddled upon the industry of a whole people, and a curtailment of its freedom? Does it not give rise to a new set of invisible tyrants, known under the name of public creditors? However that may be, if the French, in less than a decade, have almost doubled their public debt in order to remain slaves, the Italians must be allowed to incur the same liabilities in order to become freemen.

Piedmont proper, exclusive of the provinces newly added,[333] was in 1847 taxed to the amount of £3,813,452, while this year it will have to pay £6,829,000.[a] It has been stated by English papers, *The Economist*, for instance, that the commerce of Piedmont, consequent upon the liberal changes introduced into its tariff, had also greatly increased, and in illustration of this progress we are treated to the following figures:

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1854 the imports were only ..... | £12,497,160 |
| In 1857 they were ..... | 19,123,040 |

[a] Marx took all the data from *The Economist*, No. 885, August 11, 1860, pp. 867-68.—*Ed.*

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1854 the exports were | £8,595,280 |
| In 1857 they increased to | 14,050,040[a] |

Now, I beg to remark that this increase is more apparent than real. The leading articles of Sardinian export consist of silk, silk manufactures, twine, spirits, and oil; but it is generally known that during the first three quarters of 1857 the prices of all those articles had assumed a most bloated aspect, and would, consequently, greatly swell the sum total of the Sardinian commercial returns. The official statistics of the Kingdom give, moreover, the values only, not the quantities of the articles exported and imported, so that the figures for the year 1857 may be altogether exceptional. No public accounts for the years 1858-60 having as yet been issued, it remains to be seen whether or not the commercial crisis in 1858 and the Italian war in 1859 have checked the industrial progress of the country. The following tabular statements, showing the official estimates of the revenue and expenditure for the current year (1860) of Sardinia proper, afford evidence that part of the new loan will be employed to cover the deficit, while another part of it is wanted for new preparations for war:

*Sardinian Revenue for 1860.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Customs | £2,411,824 |
| Land-tax, house-tax, stamps, etc | 2,940,284 |
| Railroads and telegraphs | 699,400 |
| Post-Office | 242,000 |
| Fees received at Foreign Office | 12,400 |
| Fees received at Home Office | 21,136 |
| Profits on some branches of Public Instruction | 580 |
| Mint | 6,876 |
| Miscellaneous | 193,888 |
| Extraordinary resources | 301,440 |
| Total | £6,829,828 |

*Sardinian Expenditure for 1860.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Finance Department | £4,331,676 |
| Public Justice | 243,816 |
| Foreign Affairs | 70,028 |
| Public Instruction | 117,744 |
| Ministry of the Interior | 407,152 |
| Public Works | 854,080 |

[a] The *New-York Daily Tribune* has 19,050,040 instead of 14,050,040.—*Ed.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Military expenditure | £2,229,464 |
| Marine expenditure | 310,360 |
| Extraordinary expenses | 1,453,268 |
| Total | £10,017,588 |

Comparing the expenditure amounting to £10,017,588 to the revenue of £6,829,828, we find a deficit of £3,187,760. On the other hand the newly acquired provinces are estimated to yield an annual revenue of £3,435,552, and to cost an annual expenditure of £1,855,984, so that they would leave a clear surplus of £1,600,000.[a] According to this calculation, the deficit of the whole kingdom of Sardinia, including the newly acquired provinces, would be reduced to £1,608,282. It is only just that Lombardy and the Duchies should pay part of the expenses Piedmont has incurred in the Italian war; but, in the run of time, it might prove a highly dangerous experiment to charge taxes upon the new provinces, almost twice as large as their cost of administration requires, with a single view to relieving the exchequer of the old provinces.

People conversant with the undercurrents of the Paris money market continue to give out that another French loan is looming in a not remote future. The only thing wanted is a specious opportunity for raising the wind. The *emprunt de la paix*,[b] as you know, has proved a failure. *Partant pour la Syrie*[334] has till now been rehearsed on too small a scale to justify a fresh appeal to the enthusiasm of the *grande nation*. It is, therefore, presumed that, should nothing new turn up, and the prices of corn go on increasing, a loan will be raised on the pretext of providing against the possible disasters of dearth. In connection with French finances it may be remarked as a curious fact, that Mr. Jules Favre, who dared to predict in the midst of the *Corps Législatif* the impending crash of the Imperial Exchequer,[c] has been elected *Bâtonnier* of the Paris Bar. The French advocates, as you are aware, have from the times of the old monarchy saved some tatters of their ancient feudal constitution. They still form a sort of corporate body, called the *Barreau*, the yearly elected chief of

[a] This figure is cited by *The Economist*, p. 867. The exact figure is £1,579,568. Hence the figure £1,608,282 in the next sentence.—*Ed.*

[b] The peace loan—a loan whose purpose was to increase military contingents. The question was debated in the *Corps Législatif* (see *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 117, April 27, 1859).—*Ed.*

[c] Jules Favre's speech in the *Corps Législatif* on July 13, 1860, *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 195, July 15, 1860.—*Ed.*

which, viz., the *Bâtonnier*, represents the order in its relations with the tribunals and the Government, at the same time that he watches over its internal discipline. Under the restoration, and under the following regime of the citizen King,[a] the election of the Paris *Bâtonnier* was always considered a great political act, involving a demonstration for or against the Ministry of the day. Mr. Jules Favre's election must, I believe, be considered the first anti-Bonapartist demonstration ventured upon by the Paris Bar, and consequently deserves to be chronicled among the events of the day.

In yesterday's sitting of the House of Commons, before a House hardly large enough to make up a quorum, Sir Charles Wood, that true pattern of the genuine Whig place-hunter, carried a resolution[b] empowering him to contract a new loan of Three Millions Sterling on behalf of the Indian Treasury. According to his statement, the Indian deficit was in 1858-59 (the financial year always beginning with and ending in April) £14,187,000, in 1859-60 £9,981,000, and is estimated for 1860-61 at £7,400,000. Part of that deficit he promised to cover from the yield of Mr. Wilson's newly-introduced taxes—a very questionable prospect, after all—while the other part was to be provided for by the new loan of three millions. The public debt, which in 1856-57, the year before the Rebellion, amounted to £59,442,000, had now increased to £97,851,000. At a still more rapid rate the interest on the debt had grown. From £2,525,000 in 1856-57 it had risen to £4,461,000 in 1859-60. Although the revenue had been forcibly expanded by the imposition of new taxes, still it could not keep pace with the expenditure which, even according to Mr. Charles Wood's own statement, was increasing in every direction, save that of Public Works. To make up for an outlay of three millions on fortified barracks, there has been put during the present, and will be put during the following year, "almost a perfect stop to public works and public buildings of a civic character." This "perfect stop" Sir Charles seemed to consider one of the beauties of the system. Instead of 40,000, as in 1856-57, there are now kept 80,000 European soldiers in India; and, instead of a native army of hardly 200,000, one of above 300,000 men.

Written on August 14, 1860 Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] Louis Philippe.—*Ed.*

[b] Sir Charles Wood's resolution of August 13, 1860, *The Times*, No. 23698, August 14, 1860.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE SICK MAN OF AUSTRIA

The Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria seems permitted to live only that he may prove the truth of the old Latin maxim, that he whom the gods mean to destroy they first make mad. From the beginning of the year 1859 he has done nothing but deliberately trample under foot every chance that was offered to him to save himself and the Austrian Empire. The sudden attack on Piedmont with a portion only of his forces—the superseding of Marshal Hess in the command of the army by the Emperor and his clique—the irresolution which led to the battle of Solferino—the sudden conclusion of peace at the very moment when the French had arrived before his strongest positions—the obstinate refusal of all concessions in the internal organization of the Empire until it was too late, form an unequaled series of foolish blunders to be committed by one individual in so short a time.

But, as luck would have it, Francis Joseph had still another chance. The barefaced double-dealing of Louis Napoleon rendered necessary that alliance between Prussia and Austria which the preceding humiliations of Austria, her daily increasing difficulties at home and abroad, had first rendered possible. The interviews of Baden and Teplitz[335] sealed that alliance. Prussia, for the first time acting as the representative of the rest of Germany, promised her assistance in case Austria was attacked, not only by Italy, but by France also; while Austria promised to make concessions to public opinion, and change her internal policy. Here was indeed a hope for Francis Joseph. A fight with Italy single-handed he might not fear, even in case of troubles in Hungary, for his new policy was to be the best guaranty of security in that quarter. With a separate Constitution based upon

the one abolished in 1849, Hungary would have been satisfied; a liberal Constitution for the whole of the Empire would have fulfilled the present wishes of the German nucleus of the monarchy, and counteracted in a great measure the separate tendencies of the Slavonic provinces. The finances once under popular control, public credit would have recovered itself, and the same Austria, now weak, poor, prostrate, exhausted, and a prey to internal divisions, would have soon regained strength under the protection of the 700,000 bayonets which Germany held ready to defend her. To insure all this, but two things were required of Austria: to follow up a genuine liberal policy at home, sincerely and without reserve, and to remain on the defensive in Venice, abandoning the remainder of Italy to its fate.

But neither the one nor the other, it appears, can or will Francis Joseph do. He can neither throw overboard his power as an absolute monarch, which is every day being dissolved more and more into vapor, nor can he forget that position of protector of the petty Italian tyrants, which he has already lost. Insincere, weak, and obstinate at the same time, he seems to fly from his internal difficulties to an aggressive war abroad, and rather than cement his Empire by the sacrifice of a power which is slipping from his hands, he appears to have thrown himself once more into the arms of his personal cronies, and to be preparing a descent into Italy which may end in the breaking up of the Austrian monarchy.

There may or there may not be a note or other communication sent from Vienna to Turin, on the subject of Garibaldi's landing in Calabria; but it is quite probable that Francis Joseph has made up his mind to consider this landing a case for his intervention in favor of the King of Naples.[a] Whether this be true, we shall soon see. But what can be the cause of this sudden revulsion of Austrian policy? Has the recent fraternization with Prussia and Bavaria turned the head of Francis Joseph? It is not likely; for, after all, that fraternization of Teplitz was a humiliation for him, and a triumph for Prussia only. Does Francis Joseph intend to collect under his standard the armies of the Pope[b] and of the King of Naples before Garibaldi has shattered them to atoms and incorporated their Italian elements with his own followers? That would be a very insufficient motive. In any campaign whatever, these troops will want for nothing, while, in the position in which

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[a] Francis II.—*Ed.*
[b] Pius IX.—*Ed.*

Austria will place herself by such a foolish aggression, she will want for everything. There can be no other cause for it than the state of internal Austrian politics. And here we have not to seek long. The Council of the Empire, reenforced by some of the most conservative and aristocratic elements of the different Provinces, and intrusted, *in time of peace*, with the control of the finances of the country, is about to discuss the question of popular representation and constitutions for the Empire and the single provinces composing it. The motions made to this effect by the Hungarian members have an overwhelming majority in the Committee, and will be passed in the same triumphant manner in the Council, in the face of the Government. In one word, *the second Austrian Revolution seems to have set in.* The Council of the Empire—a weak counterfeit of the French Notables—exactly as they did, declares itself incompetent, and calls for the States General.[336] The Government, in the same financial difficulties as that of Louis XVI, and weaker still by the diverging tendencies of the various nationalities composing the Empire, is not in a position to resist. Concessions wrested from the Government are sure to be followed by fees and demands. The States General soon formed themselves into the National Assembly. Francis Joseph feels the ground tremble under his feet, and to escape from the impending earthquake will perhaps fly into a war.

If Francis Joseph acts up to his menace, commencing a crusade for legitimacy in Naples and the Papal States, what will be the end of it? There is not a Power or State in Europe which has the slightest interest in the maintenance of the Bourbons, and if Francis Joseph interferes in their behalf, he will have to bear the consequences. Louis Napoleon is sure to cross the Alps in defense of non-intervention; and Austria, with the public opinion of all Europe dead against her, with ruined finances, insurrection in Hungary, and a brave but far outnumbered army, will be fearfully beaten. Perhaps she will receive her death-blow. As to Germany coming to her aid, it is perfectly out of the question. The Germans will most decidedly decline to fight either for the King of Naples or for the Pope. They will take care to have the territory of the Confederation respected (which both French and Italians will be but too glad to submit to), and if Hungary rises, they will look on quite as coolly. Nay, the German provinces of the Empire will, very likely, support the demands of the Hungarians, as they did in 1848, and demand a Constitution for themselves. The Austrian press, restricted as it is by the Government, still shows unmistakable signs of the existence, even in Austria, of a widespread

sympathy with Garibaldi. The current of opinion has changed from the channel it followed last year; Venice is now considered a very bad kind of property, and the struggle of the Italians for independence, since it is carried on without French assistance, is looked on in a favorable light by the Viennese public. Francis Joseph will find it exceedingly difficult to make even his own German subjects take up the cause of the Bourbon of Naples, of the Pope, of the petty Dukes of Emilia. A people which is just entering on a revolution against absolutism, is not likely to stick up for the dynastic interests of its ruler. The Viennese have proved this before, and it is possible enough that the passage of the Po by the Austrian troops may become the signal for the use of more violent means by the movement party in Vienna as well as in Hungary.

Written on August 16, 1860

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## THE CROPS IN EUROPE

London, August 21, 1860

The more the season advances the gloomier become the harvest prospects and the fainter grow the hopes still founded on a possible return of fine weather. The character of the past Summer was altogether exceptional, not only throughout the United Kingdom, but over the whole of Northern Europe, Northern France, Belgium, and the Rhenish Provinces included. In regard to this country the season has been justly described in these words:

"After the cold, backward Spring, June proved so extremely wet that in many districts turnips could not be sown, mangel-wurzel hoed, nor any of the usual operations of the period performed. Then, after about ten days of fine weather, the season became so unsettled that two days together without rain have been rather a surprise. But, in addition to the excess of moisture, the present, we may say the past Summer, has been remarkable for the absence of sunshine and the very low temperature which have prevailed even when there has been no rain."[a]

The average fall of rain for the year being about 20 inches, and the fall of rain during the months of May and June having reached the figure of 11.17, it appears that these two months have given over half a year's supply of water. During the last week, at the commencement of which a favorable change seemed impending, the weather proved more unsettled and boisterous than ever, real deluges of rain being, on the 16th and 18th inst., accompanied by thunder-storms and the tempests of the south-west wind. Consequently the wheat prices at Mark Lane[337] advanced yesterday about two shillings the quarter over the rates of last Monday's[b] market.

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[a] "The Wet Summer", *The Economist*, No. 886, August 18, 1860, p. 899.—*Ed.*

[b] August 13; see *The Times*, Nos. 23698 and 23704, August 14 and August 21, 1860.—*Ed.*

Hay-making has been already seriously interfered with and belated by the incessant wind, rain, and cold. The grass having been laid and constantly saturated with water, it is feared that much of its nutritive substance has been washed away, so that a great part of it will not do for fodder, but must be used for litter, and will thus prove a very serious loss, greatly increasing the consumption of Spring corn. Much of it is still to be gathered, and much is irretrievably lost.

"There can be little doubt," says *The Gardeners' Chronicle* of Saturday last, "that the wheat crop generally is considerably injured. Of 140 reports received from as many correspondents in England and Scotland, no fewer than 91 declare the crop to be below the average, and if the chief wheat-growing districts be selected, it will be found that the proportion of unfavorable returns is quite as large. Thus, five out of six reports from Lincolnshire, three out of five from Norfolk and Suffolk, and all from the counties of Oxford, Gloucestershire, Wilts, Hants, and Kent, are unfavorable."

A great deal of the wheat crop has rotted at the root before the grain was mature, and in many districts it has been blighted and mildewed. While wheat is thus attacked by the disease, and in many districts to a large extent, the potato disease, which commenced in 1845, continued with great virulence for the four subsequent years, and gradually abated since 1850, has reappeared in an aggravated form, not only in Ireland, but in many districts of England and the Northern Continent.

*The Freeman's Journal* thus resumes the general harvest prospects of Ireland:

"The oat crop is generally looked upon as all but lost. Except in a few inconsiderable districts, it has not yet ripened; but remains perfectly green, and beaten to the ground by the violence of the weather. Wheat promises to share in the calamity which generally threatens the grain crops. Little of it has been yet cut, and this crop, the condition of which inspired the most sanguine expectations only a few weeks since, is now causing farmers the deepest concern. [...] With regard to the potato crop, the general opinion is, that if the present weather continues for another month, it must be inevitably lost."[a]

According to the Wexford *Independent*,

"the potato disease is progressing, and in some places fully one-third of the produce is found affected, irrespective alike of size and description, and in proportion to the time of planting."

This much appears, therefore, certain: The general harvest will be much belated beyond its usual term, and the existing stores

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[a] Quotations from *The Freeman's Journal* were given in the article "The Harvest" in *The Times*, No. 23703, August 20, 1860.—*Ed.*

consequently be run short. The partial failure of hay, coupled with the potato disease, will press to an unwonted extent upon the cereals; and the yield of all sorts of corn, especially wheat, will fall far below the average. Till now, the imports from abroad, instead of showing an excess over the imports during the years 1858 and 1859, exhibit, on the contrary, a marked comparative decline. On the other hand, corn prices, although, on an average, they rule now 26 per cent higher than at the same period of last year, have as yet been kept down by the news of the plentiful harvests in America and Southern Russia, by the hope of a favorable turn in the weather, and by the extreme caution the late collapse in the leather trade had imposed upon *all* monetary transactions. The conclusion to which I am led by a comparison of the present prices with those of similar seasons since 1815, is, that the average price of wheat, which may be taken now to amount to 58/@59/ the quarter, will have to rise, in England at least, to 65/@70/. The effect of such a rise in the price of breadstuffs will be considerably aggravated by its coincidence with a progressive decline in the export trade of the country. From £63,003,159, which sum they realized during the six months ending June 30, 1859, the British exports have sunk to £62,019,989 during the corresponding period of 1860,[a] and, as I have shown in a former letter,[b] the contraction was mainly due to a decline in the sale of cotton goods and yarns, consequent upon the markets of Asia and Australia having been glutted. While the exports are thus falling off, the imports have considerably risen, if compared with the corresponding period of 1859. We find, in fact, the imports for the five months ending May 31, 1859, £44,968,863; 1860, £57,097,638.

This excess of imports over exports must necessarily aggravate the drain of bullion and the consequent unsettled state of the money market which characterizes all periods of failing harvests, and extraordinary purchases of foreign corn. If, in England, the effect of the imminent monetary pressure is not likely to stretch far beyond the sphere of political economy, it is quite another thing on the Continent, where serious political disturbances are almost unavoidable whenever a monetary crisis coincides with a failing harvest and a great increase of taxation. Already the most serious apprehensions are entertained at Paris, where the magistrate is just busied with buying up whole lots of old houses, in

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[a] The figures quoted here and at the end of the paragraph were given in *The Economist*, No. 886, August 18, 1860, p. 895.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 406-08.—*Ed.*

order to have them pulled down, and thus cut out work for the "*ouvriers.*"[a] The Paris prices of best wheat range at this moment as high, if not somewhat higher than the London prices, namely at 60/6 to 61/. The last dodges by which Louis Bonaparte tried to divert the public mind, viz.: the Syrian expedition, the advancement of Spain to a "great power,"[338] the transactions with Prussia, and the attempts at interference with Garibaldi's progress, having all turned out dead failures, he must needs meet the dangers of a bad season, a monetary pressure and a stinted exchequer at the very moment when his political "prestige" is evidently at a considerable discount. If any proof for the latter assertion were wanted, is there not his letter to "*Mon cher Persigny*"?[b 339]

Written on August 21, 1860

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

[a] "Workmen".—*Ed.*
[b] "My dear Persigny."—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [CORN PRICES.—EUROPEAN FINANCES AND WAR PREPARATIONS.—THE ORIENTAL QUESTION]

London, Aug. 25, 1860

The state of the weather having not improved during this week, a rise of 6 shillings per sack took place in the value of town-made flour, at Mark Lane yesterday, and orders for the purchase of nearly 1,000,000 quarters of produce were at once forwarded to foreign ports. Importers share now pretty generally the opinion I advanced in a late letter[a] as to the inevitable further rise in the quotations of the grain market. The recent measures taken by France in regard to the corn trade bring that country into direct competition with the British corn merchant. You are aware that there exists in France a sliding scale, regulating the import and export duties on grain, and that this sliding scale varies for the eight different circles which the whole country is divided into with respect to the corn trade. Now, by a decree published in the *Moniteur* of the 23d inst.,[b] this sliding scale has been altogether suspended. The decree enacts that grain and flour imported by land or by sea, in French or foreign vessels, shall, wherever they may come from, only pay, up to the 30th of September, 1861, the minimum of duties fixed by the law of the 15th of April, 1832[c]; also, that vessels laden with grain and flour shall be exempt from tunnage dues; and finally, that vessels so laden leaving any foreign port at any date previous to the said 30th of September, 1861, shall only pay the said minimum, and shall be free from tunnage

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[a] See this volume, p. 461.—*Ed.*

[b] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 235.—*Ed.*

[c] "Loi relative à l'importation et à l'exportation des céréales [le 15 avril 1832]", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 109, April 18, 1832.—*Ed.*

dues. The minimum referred to, is 25 cents the hectolitre (about $2\frac{3}{4}$ bushels).[a] Consequently, while France in the years 1858 and 1859 sent more wheat—2,014,923 quarters—and more flour—4,326,435 cwt. to England than any other country, it will now seriously compete with England in the purchase of grain in the foreign markets—the provisional suspension of the French sliding scale affording the wanted facilities for such competition.

The two main markets of export which both England and France find themselves limited to are the United States and Southern Russia. In regard to the latter country, the news as to the state of the harvest is of the most contradictory character. On the one hand, it is asserted that the harvest is most plentiful; on the other, that heavy rains and high floods having damaged the crops in all parts of the Empire, the roads and corn-fields of the southern provinces had been greatly devastated by locusts, a scourge which made its first appearance in Bessarabia, and whose depredations it was vainly attempted to circumscribe within a limited area by an army of 20,000 men drawing a cordon around them. The ultimate extent of the disaster cannot, of course, be estimated, but at all events it must tend to accelerate the upward movement of food prices. Some London papers fancy that the drain of bullion inseparable from large and sudden corn imports may be counterbalanced in its usual effect upon the money market by the gold supplies from Australia. No notion could be more preposterous. We witnessed, during the crisis of 1857, a lower ebb of the bullion reserves than in any similar epoch before the discovery of Australia and California. On former occasions I have shown by incontrovertible facts and figures that the extraordinary gold imports into England since 1851 have been more than counterbalanced by extraordinary gold exports. There is, moreover, the fact that the bullion reserves in the Bank of England have, since 1857, not only not exceeded the average amount, but were continually falling off. While they amounted in August, 1858, to £17,654,506, they had declined to £16,877,255 in August, 1859, and to £15,680,840 in August, 1860.[b] As the gold drain has not yet set in, this phenomenon may be accounted for by the circumstance that the prospect of a failing harvest is only beginning to operate, while, till now, the rate of interest has

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[a] "Foreign correspondence", *The Economist*, No. 887, August 25, 1860, p. 931.—*Ed.*

[b] "Bank Returns and Money Market", *The Economist*, No. 887, August 25, 1860, p. 934.—*Ed.*

continued to be higher at London than at the other principal exchanges of the Continent, viz.: Amsterdam, Frankfort, Hamburg, and Paris.

Continental Europe exhibits at this moment a very curious spectacle. France is known to labor under heavy financial difficulties, but she is creating armaments on a scale as gigantic, with an energy as untiring, as if she owned Aladdin's lamp. Austria totters on the very brink of bankruptcy, but, somehow or other, the money is found for feeding an immense army, and crowding the fortresses of the Quadrilateral[a] with rifle cannon. And Russia, where all the monetary operations of the Government have failed, and the national bankruptcy is talked of as a probable event—where the army grumbles in consequence of arrears not paid, and even the loyalty of the Imperial Guard is put to a severe test, their pay having been withheld for the last five months—Russia, nevertheless, is pouring her troops down to the Black Sea, and holds 200 ships ready at Nicolaieff, in order to embark them for Turkey. The inability of the Russian Government to cope with the slave question, the money question, and the reviving Polish question, seems to have decided it to try war as a last resource of national soporification. The complaints arising from all parts of the Empire, and all ranks of Russian society, are consequently, by Government order, drowned in the fanatical cry of revenge for the poor, down-trodden Christians of Turkey. Day by day the Russian press teems with illustrations and demonstrations as to the necessity of an intervention in Turkey. The following extract from the *Invalid*[b] may be considered a fair sample[340].

"The Oriental question has reached a stage which is certain to keep it before the Powers for a long time to come, and, as it now engrosses the attention of all Europe, it would ill become us to leave it undiscussed in our columns. Those only who are indifferent to the interests of humanity can allow this topic to pass by unnoticed. We, however, are obliged not only to relate the details of Oriental occurrences, but also to allude to the eventualities of the future, especially as it behooves us to show the public what measures must be taken in order to do away with such an unnatural state of things, forming, as it does, the disgrace of our century and civilization.

"Considering what acts of barbarism the Turks are allowed to commit, we are, in deference to truth and justice, compelled to acknowledge that Europe must be held accountable for the origin and consequences of Mussulman fanaticism. We will not hesitate to speak out frankly. What were the motives that prompted Europe to engage in an unjust war against Russia in 1853-4? Europe herself put forward two

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[a] Mantua, Peschiera, Verona and Legnago (on this see Engels, "Po and Rhine", present edition, Vol. 16).—*Ed.*

[b] *Russky Invalid.—Ed.*

objects as the grounds of the Crimean campaign[a]: One was, to thwart the power and ambition of Russia; the other to prevent the oppression of Christians by the Turks. Europe, consequently, acknowledged the existence of such oppression, but in order to remove it, declared her determination to maintain the integrity of Turkey as a necessary condition of the balance of power. The war being at an end, diplomacy began to busy itself with the means for the attainment of this double object. The first step was to receive Turkey into the family of European Powers, and to protect her against the overweening interference of any one of their number. This being easy enough of accomplishment, one of the two objects was consequently secured. But how is it with the other? Have any guarantees been given for the protection of Christians against murder and every description of ill usage? Alas! Europe in this respect put her faith in words, papers, and documents, without any solid security being accorded for their fulfillment. As early as the 8th of August, 1854, when the cessation of hostilities was contemplated,[b] the Porte was called upon to grant an equal share of religious rights to its Christian and Mussulman subjects.[c] The same demand was raised by the St. Petersburg Cabinet in the memorials of the 28th December, 1854[d]; and finally, the preliminary conditions of peace drawn up at Vienna on the 1st of February, 1856, and afterward embodied in the minutes of the first sitting of the Paris Congress, were made to include the following words: 'The rights of the rayahs will be protected, without prejudice, however, to the independence and sovereign dignity of the Sultan. Austria, France, Great Britain, and the Porte, are of accord respecting the maintenance of the Turkish Christians in the enjoyment of their political and religious rights; and they will request the consent of Russia to this proposition in the instrument of peace.'

"The same object occupied the Congress in various other sittings, as may be seen from the minutes of the 28th of February, and of the 24th and 25th of March. In all this, it was desirous of attaining two objects mutually destructive of each other—to preserve the sovereign rights of the Sultan, and to place those of his Christian subjects under the guardianship of Europe. The Congress altogether forgot that the same rights of the Christians, which it was so desirous of establishing, had been conceded over and over again by the Porte in its previous treaties with Europe—treaties which, moreover, had already abolished the sovereign power of that monarch, who, as Europe now said, ought to be assisted in its maintenance. To establish a little harmony between these two contradictory points, the Sultan, while induced to issue the celebrated Hatti-Humayouni, was acknowledged to have acted from his own free will and sovereign inclination. So he had to promise that he would respect and increase the rights of his Christian subjects, and this promise was received into the treaty of peace, by way of guaranty for its fulfillment as one of its constituent parts. On these conditions, the Congress, in the 9th clause of the treaty, resigned all further interference with the internal affairs of Turkey.

"But has the Congress really obtained any guaranty for the carrying out of the Hatti-Humayouni? Have any effective obligations been entered into by the Sultan?

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[a] The words "as the grounds of the Crimean campaign" do not occur in the *Russky Invalid*.—*Ed.*

[b] The *Russky Invalid* has here "and the famous Four Points drawn up".—*Ed.*

[c] The *Russky Invalid* reads "the Porte was called upon to preserve the religious rights of all the Christians".—*Ed.*

[d] The *Russky Invalid* has "The same demand was raised in the memorials of the 28th December, 1854, submitted to the St. Petersburg Cabinet."—*Ed.*

Of this, nothing was provided. For, although the wisdom of the Hatti-Humayouni is much extolled in the treaty, that document, as all Europe predicted, has remained a dead letter. But, worse than this—Europe, in virtue of the new treaty, is deprived of all right of legal interference,[a] even though the Hatti-Humayouni may never have been executed, and notwithstanding the perpetration of the most horrible atrocities only four years after its issue. [...] Quite recently, Russia warned all the Cabinets of Europe that the fanaticism of the Turks[b] had diminished neither in zeal nor fierceness; that new outbreaks were soon to be expected, although, indeed, there had never been any interval of relaxation. But even then Europe was satisfied with the promises of the Porte, and indulged herself in the hope that the guilty parties would be punished, and law and order speedily restored. It needed the wholesale slaughter at the hands of these savages to effect a change in her opinions. Then at length Europe resolved to interfere,[c] though not without such delay and circumlocution as would justify the belief that she intended to let the guilty ones escape. Everything was made to depend on the letter of the treaty of the 30th March, 1856; and, just as in the case of Italy last year, the sufferings of a people weighed nothing against the text of a diplomatic document.[d]

"But our opinion on all this is very different. The treaty of Europe with Turkey, in our eyes, guarantees the principles of humanity, religion, and civilization. If Turkey violates these principles, she alone brings upon herself the interference of Europe.[e]

"Until the year 1856, the Powers of Europe, in virtue of several treaties concluded with the Porte, owned a legal right of remonstrance respecting the position of the Christian rayahs. To-day, however, it may be questioned whether or not this right has been abrogated by the treaty of the 30th March, 1856. Has Europe resigned the privileges of protecting its co-religionists? It has if it ever reckoned upon the execution of the Hatti-Humayouni, of the 18th February; if it ever believed that reforms promised are one and the same with reforms carried out; if it ever hoped that the customs, passions, and laws of the Mussulmans[f] are capable of a change. But, of course, Europe never was, never could be, of that opinion. Carried away by the belief that the integrity of the Ottoman Empire is a *sine qua non* for the balance of power, she allowed the Sultan to enter into her family of States. But this was only accorded on the condition that Turkey, dissevering herself from Mussulman traditions, should become European in her institutions; that a sword should no longer be the only law-giver between believers and unbelievers; that the Christians should no longer be the slaves of their masters and the property of the royal rayahs cease to form the common plundering-ground of Mussulmans. This, indeed, was the leading idea of Europe in 1856. With all its wrath against Russia, the natural consequence of a sanguinary and unjust war, it did not release the Porte from its previous obligations; but, on the contrary, demanded a progressive improvement in the situation of the Christians. To secure the attainment of this object was the only purpose of the common protectorate of Europe over the Porte and for this price alone Europe guaranteed the integrity of the Sultan's dominions. Without this, neither the war nor the peace would have been justifiable. Without this, Turkey would never have been received into the family of

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[a] The *Russky Invalid* has "mediation" instead of "legal interference".—*Ed.*
[b] The *Russky Invalid* has "Mussulmans".—*Ed.*
[c] The *Russky Invalid* has "mediate".—*Ed.*
[d] The *Russky Invalid* has "against the letter of the Vienna treaties".—*Ed.*
[e] The *Russky Invalid* has "the mediation and its consequences".—*Ed.*
[f] The *Russky Invalid* has "laws of the Koran".—*Ed.*

Powers, nor protected in the integrity of her possessions. The two conditions are so intimately connected that they cannot be separated; every one can see that, who wishes to see at all.

"The form of the condition, it is true, might have been less effective than it is; if the letter of the treaty ruled supreme. Europe, in virtue of the 9th clause, has formally resigned her right of interference[a] in the internal affairs of Turkey; but even in this clause mention is made of the Hatti-Humayouni of the 18th February, in accordance with which the Christians are to be placed on an equal footing of right with the Mussulmans. It is but in harmony with the laws of sound logic to infer, that if the Hatti-Humayouni has been disregarded, the 9th clause falls to the ground.

"In vain Turkey now affects to quell the latest outbreak[b] in Syria. That outbreak was unavoidable, considering that the situation of the Christians has not been ameliorated, but on the contrary, rendered worse than before. In vain England strives to prevent the interference[a] of Europe; it is just possible she has her own policy, and is swayed by political and commercial motives, the justice and importance of which we do not care to consider; but she cannot base her objections on the 9th clause of the Paris Treaty. [...] In vain Europe seeks to conceal the fact of her interference, under the plea that it has been undertaken in consequence of a wish of the Sultan. We say that all this is in vain; and although Ilion did not believe in the prophecies of Cassandra, we have at least the satisfaction of knowing that Ilion was destroyed."

Written on August 25, 1860

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6046, September 10, 1860

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[a] The *Russky Invalid* has "mediation".—*Ed.*

[b] The *Russky Invalid* has "In vain Turkey now vigorously opposes mediation".—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## GARIBALDI'S PROGRESS

As events develop themselves they begin to give us an insight into the plan which Garibaldi had prepared for the liberation of Southern Italy, and the more we see of it the more we admire the vastness of its proportions. Such a plan could not have been conceived, or its execution attempted in any country but Italy, where the National party is so perfectly organized, and so completely under the control of the one man who has drawn his sword with brilliant success for the cause of Italian unity and independence.

The plan was not confined to the liberation of the Kingdom of Naples only; the Papal States were to be attacked simultaneously, so as to find occupation for Lamoricière's army and the French at Rome,[341] as well as for Bombalino's[a] troops. About the 15th of August, 6,000 volunteers transferred gradually from Genoa to the Gulf of Oranges (Golfo degli Aranci), on the north-east coast of the Island of Sardinia, were to cross over to the Papal coast, while at the same time the insurrection in the various Provinces of the Neapolitan Continent was to break out, and Garibaldi was to cross the Straits of Messina into Calabria. Some reported expressions of Garibaldi's as to the cowardice of the Neapolitans, and the intelligence received by the last steamer that he had entered Naples, and been triumphantly received there, render it probable that an insurrection in the streets of that city, which the flight of the King rendered unnecessary, was a part of the plan.

The landing in the Papal States, as is already known, was prevented partly by Victor Emmanuel's representations, partly and

[a] Francis II.—*Ed.*

principally by Garibaldi's convincing himself that these men were not in a fit state to undertake an independent campaign. He accordingly took them to Sicily, left part at Palermo, sent the remainder round the island in two steamers to Taormina, where we shall find them again presently. In the mean time the Neapolitan movements in the provincial towns took place as agreed upon, and in a manner which showed both how well the revolutionary party was organized, and how much the country was ripe for an outbreak. On the 17th of August, the insurrection broke out at Foggia, in Apulia. The dragoons, forcing the garrison of the town, joined the people. General Flores, commanding the district, sent two companies of the 13th Regiment who, on arrival, did likewise. Then did Gen. Flores come himself, accompanied by his staff; but he could do nothing and had to leave again. This proceeding clearly shows that Flores himself did not wish to offer serious resistance to the revolutionary party. Had he been in earnest he would have sent two battalions instead of two companies, and when he came himself, would have come at the head of as strong a force as he could muster, instead of coming with a few adjutants and orderlies. In fact, the circumstance alone that the insurgents allowed him to leave the town again is sufficient to show that there was at least some tacit understanding. Another movement broke out in the Province of Basilicata. Here the insurgents collected their forces at Carletto Perticara, a village on the River Lagni (this must be the place called Corleto by the telegrams).

From this mountainous and remote district they marched to Potenza, the chief town of the Province, where they arrived, 6,000 strong, on the 17th. The only resistance they found, was offered by about 400 gendarmes, who, after a short engagement, were dispersed, and afterward came in one by one to surrender. A provincial government was formed in the name of Garibaldi, and a prodictator installed.[a] It is reported that the Royal Intendant (governor of the Province) accepts this office—another sign how hopeless the cause of the Bourbons is considered to be even by their own organs. Four companies of the Sixth Regiment of the line were sent from Salerno to put down this insurrection, but when they came to Auletta, about 23 miles from Potenza, they refused to march further, and cried *Viva Garibaldi.* These are the only movements of which any details have reached us. But we are further informed that other places have joined the insurrection;

[a] See "Affaires d'Italie", *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 241, August 28, 1860.—*Ed.*

for instance, Avellino, a town not 30 miles from Naples; Campobasso, in the Province of Molise (on the Adriatic), and Celenza in Apulia, for this must be the place called Cilenta in the telegrams; it is situated about half-way between Campobasso and Foggia; and now Naples itself is added to the number.

While thus the Neapolitan provincial towns at least carried out their apportioned share of the work, Garibaldi was not idle. Scarcely returned from his trip to Sardinia, he made his final arrangements for crossing over to the continent. His army now consisted of three divisions, commanded by Türr, Cosenz, and Medici. The two latter, concentrated about Messina and the Faro,[a] were marched toward the northern coast of Sicily, between Milazzo and Faro, as if they were intended to embark there and land on the Calabrian coast, north of the Straits, somewhere about Palmi or Nicotera. Of Türr's division, the brigade Éber was encamped near Messina, the brigade Bixio had been sent to the interior, to Bronte, to repress some disorders. Both were at once ordered to Taormina, where, on the evening of the 18th of August, the brigade Bixio, along with the men brought from Sardinia, embarked on the two steamers, the *Torino* and *Franklin*, and some on transports taken in tow.

About ten days previous Major Missori, with 300 men, had crossed the Straits and safely passed through the Neapolitans to the high and broken ground of Aspromonte. Here he was joined by other small bodies, thrown across the Straits from time to time, and by Calabrian insurgents, so that by this time he commanded a body of about 2,000 men. The Neapolitans had sent about 1,800 men after his little band when landed, but these 1,800 heroes managed so as never to come up with the Garibaldians.

On the 19th, at daybreak, Garibaldi's expedition (for he was on board *himself*) landed between Melito and Cape Spartivento, on the extreme southern end of Calabria.

They found no resistance. The Neapolitans had been so completely deceived by the movements threatening a landing north of the Straits, that the country south of them was completely neglected by them. Thus 9,000 men were thrown across, beside the 2,000 got together by Missori.

Having been joined by these, Garibaldi at once marched on Reggio,[b] which was occupied by four companies of the line and four of chasseurs. This garrison must, however, have received

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[a] Faro di Messina.—*Ed.*

[b] Reggio di Calabria.—*Ed.*

some reenforcements, as some very severe fighting is reported to have taken place in or before Reggio on the 21st.[a] After the storming of some outworks of Garibaldi, the artillery in the fort of Reggio refused to fire any longer, and Gen. Viale capitulated.[b] In this engagement Col. Deflotte (the Republican member for Paris in the French Legislative Assembly of 1851) was killed.

The Neapolitan flotilla in the Straits distinguished itself by doing nothing. After Garibaldi had landed, a naval commander telegraphed to Reggio that it was impossible for the ships to offer any resistance, as he had with him eight large men-of-war and seven transports! No more did this flotilla oppose the passage by the division of Gen. Cosenz, which must have taken place on the 20th or 21st, at the narrowest place of the Straits, between Scilla and Villa San Giovanni, on the very spot where both the ships and troops of the Neapolitans were most concentrated. Cosenz's landing was marked by a signal success. The two brigades Melendez and Briganti (the Neapolitans say battalions instead of brigades), and the fort of Pezzo (not Pizzo, as some telegrams say; this place is situated far to the north, beyond Monteleone), surrendered to him, as it appears, without a blow. This is said to have taken place on the 21st, on which day also Villa San Giovanni was occupied after a short engagement.[c]

Thus in three days Garibaldi had made himself master of the whole coast of the Straits, including some of the fortified points; the few forts still occupied by Neapolitans were now useless to them.

The two following days appear to have been occupied by the passage of the remainder of the troops and of the materiel—at least we do not hear of any further engagements until the 24th, when a severe contest is reported to have taken place at a place called in the telegrams *Piale*, which we do not find on the maps. It may be the name of some mountain torrent, the ravine formed by which might have served as a defensive position to the Neapolitans. This engagement is said to have been undecided. After some time the Garibaldians offered an armistice, which the Neapolitan commander referred to his General-in-Chief at Monteleone. But before an answer could arrive, the Neapolitan soldiers appear to have come to the conclusion that they had done quite enough for their King, and dispersed, leaving the batteries unoccupied.

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[a] *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 240, August 27, 1860.—*Ed.*
[b] *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 241, August 28, 1860.—*Ed.*
[c] ibid.—*Ed.*

The main body of the Neapolitans, under Bosco, appears during all this time to have quietly remained at Monteleone, some thirty miles from the Straits. They do not seem to have been very eager to fight the invaders, so Gen. Bosco went over to Naples to fetch six battalions of Chasseurs, which are, next to the Guards and foreign troops, the most reliable portions of the army. Whether these six battalions were themselves infected by the spirit of dejection and demoralization reigning in the Neapolitan army remains to be seen. Certain it is, that neither they nor any other troops have been able to prevent Garibaldi from marching victoriously, and probably unchecked, to Naples, to find that the Royal family had fled, and the gates of the city open to his triumphant entrance.

Written about September 1, 1860

Reproduced from the newspaper

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# Frederick Engels

## GARIBALDI IN CALABRIA

We are now in possession of detailed information respecting the conquest of Lower Calabria by Garibaldi, and the entire dispersion of the Neapolitan corps charged with its defense. In this part of his triumphal career, Garibaldi has shown himself to be not only a brave leader and clever strategist, but also a scientific general. The attack, by main force, of a chain of coast-forts is an undertaking which requires not only military talent, but also military science; and it is gratifying to find that our hero, who never passed a military examination in his life, and can scarcely be said ever to have belonged to a regular army, was as much at home on this kind of battle-field as on any other.

The toe of the Italian boot is formed by the mountain chain of Aspromonte, which ends in the peak of Montalto, about 4,300 feet high. From this peak, the waters flow toward the coast in a number of deep ravines, extending from Montalto as from a center, like the radii of a semicircle, the periphery of which is formed by the coast. These ravines, with the beds of their respective mountain torrents dried up in this season, are called *fiumare*, and form as many positions for a retreating army. They may indeed be turned by the Montalto, especially as there are bridle-paths and footpaths running along the crest of each spur and of the main chain of Aspromonte itself; but the complete absence of water on the high land would make it rather a difficult maneuver to do so in Summer with a large force. The spurs of the hill run down to the coast, where they descend toward the sea in steep and irregularly broken rocks. The forts guarding the straits between Reggio and Scilla are constructed partly on the beach, but more generally on low, projecting rocks close to the shore. The consequence is that they are all of them commanded and looked into by the more elevated rocks close to the rest, and although the

commanding points may be inaccessible to artillery, and mostly out of the range of old Brown Bess,[342] so as to be considered of no consequence when the forts were erected, their importance has become decisive since the introduction of the modern rifle; they are mostly within its range, and thus they now do command the forts in reality. Under these circumstances, a forcible attack on these forts, despising the rules of regular sieges, was perfectly justified. What Garibaldi had to do was, evidently, to send a column along the high road which skirts the shore under the fire of the forts, for a feigned front attack on the Neapolitan troops; and to take another column over the hills as high up the *fiumare* as might be rendered necessary by the nature of the ground, or by the extent of front offered by any Neapolitan defensive position, thus turning both troops and fort, and having the advantage of the commanding position in every engagement.

Accordingly, on the 21st August, Garibaldi sent Bixio, with part of his troops, along the coast toward Reggio, whilst he himself, with a small detachment and the troops of Missori, which had rejoined him, went by the higher ground. The Neapolitans, eight companies, or about 1,200 men, occupied a *fiumare* just outside Reggio. Bixio, being the first to attack, sent one column to the extreme left on the sandy beach, while he himself advanced on the road. The Neapolitans very soon gave way; but their left wing, in the hills, held out against the few men of Garibaldi's advanced guard until Missori's men came up and drove them in. Then they retreated to the fort, which is situated in the middle of the town, and to a small battery on the beach. The latter was taken by a very gallant rush of three of Bixio's companies, who went in through an embrasure. The large fort was cannonaded by Bixio, who found two Neapolitan heavy guns, with ammunition, in this battery; but this would not have compelled it to surrender, had not Garibaldi's sharpshooters taken up the commanding hights, from which they could see and pick off the gunners in the batteries. This told; the artillerymen forsook the platforms, and ran into the casemates: the fort surrendered, the men partly joining Garibaldi, but mostly going home. While this was going on at Reggio, the attention of the Neapolitan steamers being engaged by this fight, by the destruction of the stranded steamer *Torino,* and by a sham embarcation of Medici's men in Messina, Cosenz succeeded in getting 1,500 men, in 60 boats, out of the Faro Lagore, and landing them on the north-west coast, between Scilla and Bagnara.[a]

[a] Bagnara Calabria.—*Ed.*

On the 23d, a small engagement took place near Salice,[a] a little beyond Reggio; fifty Garibaldians, English and French, commanded by Col. De Flotte, defeated four times their number of Neapolitans. De Flotte fell on this occasion. On the same day, Gen. Briganti, who commanded a brigade in Lower Calabria under Viale, had an interview with Garibaldi as to the conditions of his passing over into the Italian camp; this interview, however, had no other result but to show that the Neapolitans were completely demoralized. From this moment, there was no longer any question as to victory, but only as to surrender. Briganti and Melendez, the chief of the second movable brigade of Lower Calabria, had taken up a position close to the coast, between Villa San Giovanni and Scilla, extending their left toward the hills near Fiumara-di-Muro. Their united forces might be computed at some 3,600 men.

Garibaldi, placing himself in communication with Cosenz, who had landed in the rear of this body, drew a complete net round them and then quietly awaited their surrender, which took place on the 24th, toward evening. He kept their arms, and permitted the men to go home if they liked, which most of them did. The fort of Punta-di-Pezzo surrendered also, and the posts of the Alla Fiumare, Torre del Cavallo, and Scilla followed the example, discouraged as much by the rifle-shots from the commanding hights as by the general defection of the other forts and the troops in the field. Thus not only was the perfect command of both sides of the straits secured, but the whole of Lower Calabria conquered, and the troops sent to its defense taken prisoners and dismissed to their homes in less than five days.

This series of defeats broke every capability of further resistance in the Neapolitan army. The officers of the remaining battalions of Viale, at Monteleone, came to the conclusion to defend their position for an hour, to save appearances, and then to lay down their arms. The insurrection in the other provinces made rapid progress; whole regiments refused to march against the insurgents, and desertions took place in bodies, even among the troops guarding Naples. And thus the road to Naples was finally opened to the hero of Italy.

Written about September 6, 1860

Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] Saliche Calabria.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## BRITISH COMMERCE

London, Sept. 8, 1860

The *Tribune* was the first paper which called attention to the serious decline of the British export trade to the East Indies, a decline most conspicuous in the great staple articles, viz.: cotton goods and cotton yarns.[a] The reaction hence arising has begun to be felt in Lancashire and Yorkshire, at the very moment when the home market is contracting in consequence of a harvest which is full five weeks later than that of last year, and, despite the improving prospects since Thursday, the 30th of August, will, at all events, fall below an average yield. The British Chambers of Commerce have, consequently, taken the alarm, and assailed the central government with protests against the New Indian Customs' Act, by which the duty upon the staple imports from Great Britain was increased from 5 to 10 per cent.; that is to say, at a rate of 100 per cent. The English press, which, till then, had cautiously abstained from touching this point, has thus at last been compelled to break through its reserve. The London *Economist* treats us to the "Trade of India", and "The Cause of its Depression."[b] Apart from the circumstance of *The Economist* being considered the first English authority in matters of this kind, its articles on India derive peculiar interest from their connexion with the writing-desk of Mr. Wilson, the present Indian Chancellor of the Exchequer. The first part of the article, an attempt at disengaging the late Indian customs legislation from all responsibility for the present contraction of the Indian market, is best answered by the necessity

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[a] See this volume, pp. 406-08.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Trade of India. The Cause of Its Depression", *The Economist*, No. 889, September 8, 1860, pp. 977, 978.—*Ed.*

to which the Governor-General at Calcutta has been put, of convening, at Calcutta, a committee, to consist of representatives of the Revenue Boards of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, and their respective Chambers of Commerce, and to be charged with the task of revising and readjusting the tariff lately introduced. That tariff, as I stated when first introducing this subject to your readers,[a] did not create the Indian commercial crisis, whose outbreak it, however, accelerated by its sudden introduction at a time when the Indian commerce was already bloated to a size beyond its natural capacity. The glut of British commodities in the Indian market and of Indian commodities in the English market is avowed by *The Economist.*

"We believe," he says, "it will be admitted on all hands that the enormous profits made in the Indian trade during a portion of last year, led to a sudden and large increase of supplies to the market, more than was required for any consumption, as far as this country was concerned, and to a very extensive speculative trade by the native capitalists for the supply of the markets in the interior from the seaports. For example, the exports of cotton piece goods to British India amounted [...] in 1859 to the value of £12,043,000 against £9,299,000 in 1858 and £5,714,000 in 1857; and of yarns the exports were in 1859 £2,546,000 against £1,969,000 in 1858, and £1,147,000 in 1857. For a long time goods were taken off as rapidly as they arrived, and as long as prices continued to rise, there was no lack of speculative Mahajuns[b] to make purchases and to consign to the markets of the interior; and there is no doubt, from the best information we can obtain, that *large stocks of goods accumulated at all the markets in the North-West.* Upon this point the testimony of Mirzapur, Allahabad, Lucknow, Agra, Delhi, Amritsar and Lahore is uniform."[c]

*The Economist* then proceeds to detail some circumstances which contributed to consolidate in a certain sense the glut in the Indian markets. The main cause—the continuance of large supplies from England—he does not even allude to. In the first instance, then, the Autumn crops of 1859 throughout northern India, consequent upon the drouth generally prevailing, fell much below an average, and were affected both as to quality and quantity. Hence a high range of the prices of provisions through the Winter and Spring, which, later on in the season, was still more enhanced by famine prospects. Furthermore, with scarcity and high prices, there was raging the disease.

"Throughout the whole of the North-West, the cholera prevailed to so alarming an extent among the densely-peopled cities, that the ordinary business of life was in many cases suspended, and the population fled as from an invading enemy."

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[a] See this volume, pp. 406-08.—*Ed.*
[b] Usurers.—*Ed.*
[c] *The Economist,* No. 889, September 8, 1860, p. 978; Marx's italics.—*Ed.*

But, worst of all,

"Upper India was threatened, for a month or six weeks before the departure of the last mail, with a misfortune most appalling. The rains, upon which alone the Autumn crops depend, usually fall by the middle or at latest the end of June. This year, up to the middle of July, not a drop of rain had fallen. From the north-west frontier down to Lower Bengal, from the Khyber pass to Benares, including the great Doabs of the Sutlej, the Jumna, and the Ganges, all was one arid, hard, and immovable surface of parched earth. It was only in the few exceptional places which were moistened by the rivers passing through them, or by the tributaries of the great irrigation works, the Jumna and Ganges canals, that any cultivation was possible. The prospect of a famine equal to that of 1837 and 1838 created on all hands the greatest apprehension. Prices rose still more. Cattle were dying in numbers or being drawn to the hills in place of tilling the soil, and the people are described as being on the borders of starvation."[a]

The worst apprehensions, however, have been set to rest, according to the telegraphic accounts received and published at Calcutta during the eight days previous to the departure of the last mail, which left on the 27th of July. Rains had at last fallen copiously, and in proper time to avert a famine, if not to secure a good crop.

The details given by *The Economist* go far to prove that for the next future there exists not the least prospect of a revival in the Indian trade, which had already fallen off about £2,000,000 for the first half year of 1860 as compared with the first half year of 1859. The Australian markets exhibit also all the symptoms of contraction consequent upon over-trade. The trade with France, which was all at once to assume immense proportions by virtue of the Commercial Treaty,[b] has on the contrary declined by more than £1,000,000, as will be seen by the following statement[c]:

| Six months ended June 30, | 1859. | 1860. |
|---|---|---|
| Imports from France ..... | £9,615,065 | £8,523,983 |
| Exports to France ..... | 2,358,912 | 2,324,665 |
| Total ..... | £11,973,977 | £10,848,648 |

The heavy decline in the British import trade from France may be accounted for by the high prices of provisions in France during this year, while in 1859 corn and meal had formed a principal item in the French exports to England. Great stress is laid on the increased rate at which the United States, in return for the present

[a] loc. cit.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 341-44.—*Ed.*
[c] *The Economist*, No. 888, September 1, 1860, p. 953.—*Ed.*

large exports of provisions to the United Kingdom, are presumed to become consumers of English manufactures. But though there will always be some proportion between the exports and the imports of a country, the above conclusion seems somewhat rash, if we are to judge from the movements of the Anglo-American trade in the first half years of 1859 and 1860. There we shall find[a]:

| | 1859. | 1860. |
|---|---|---|
| British Export to the United States... | £11,625,920 | £9,366,647 |
| British Imports from United States... | 17,301,790 | 25,618,472 |

so that during the same epoch, in which the British imports from the United States increased by more than 8,000,000, the British exports to the United States decreased by more than 2,000,000. The only branches of international British trade which have enlarged are the Anglo-Turkish trade, the Anglo-Chinese trade, and the Anglo-German trade. Now Turkey is just being convulsed by Russian and French interference. China is convulsed by the English themselves, and Germany, while suffering in many parts from a deficient harvest, stands on the eve of grave political convulsions at home, and serious collisions abroad. As to the Anglo-Chinese trade, I still remark that some part of its increase is certainly due to the war demand; that part of the increased exports to China were only so many goods abstracted from the Indian market, and thrown, by way of experiment, on the Chinese market, and, lastly, that the import from China continues to be of much more importance than the export to China, as will be seen from the following figures[a]:

*Six months ending June 30.*

| | 1859. | 1860. |
|---|---|---|
| Imports from China, including Hong Kong ..... | £5,070,691 | £5,526,054 |
| Exports to China, exclusive of Hong Kong ..... | 1,001,709 | 1,622,525 |
| Exports to Hong Kong ..... | 976,703 | 1,236,262 |
| Total ..... | £7,049,103 | £8,384,841 |

Meanwhile, unexpected failures in most branches of business continue to feed a general feeling of distrust. The subjoined

[a] loc. cit.—*Ed.*

summary of the till-now-ascertained liabilities and assets of the late failures in the leather trade will show that the assets, on an average, but amount to 5s. 6d. in the pound, leaving to the holders of the bills of the fallen firms a loss of £1,471,589.

LIABILITIES.[a]

| | *Firms.* | |
|---|---|---|
| In bankruptcy | 9 | £1,530,991 |
| Winding up or compromised | 15 | 499,806 |
| Particulars not published | 10 | ..... |
| Total | 34 | £2,030,797 |

ASSETS.

| | | Amounts. | In the £. | Defic'y |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| In bankruptcy | 9 | £342,652 | 4s. 6d. | £1,188,339 |
| Winding up or compromised | 15 | 216,556 | 8s. 8d. | 283,250 |
| Particulars not published | 10 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Total | 34 | £559,208 | 5s. 6d. | £1,471,589 |

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[a] *The Economist*, No. 889, September 8, 1860, p. 992.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## RUSSIA USING AUSTRIA.—THE MEETING AT WARSAW

Berlin, 17th September, 1860

Of all the countries in Europe, Germany presents, at this moment, the most curious, the most intricate, and the most lamentable spectacle. The real state of German affairs will be best understood from a simple juxtaposition of two facts, the recent meeting of the German National Association at Coburg, and the impending meeting of the principal German princes at Warsaw.[343] While the former aspires to the unification of the fatherland, by abandoning German Austria and confiding in Prussia, the Regent of Prussia[a] himself rests his prospects of resistance against French aggression upon the restoration of the Holy Alliance under Russian auspices. Russian foreign policy, as is well known, does not care one straw for principles, in the common meaning of the term. It is neither legitimist nor revolutionary, but improves all opportunities of territorial aggrandizement with the same facility, whether they be obtained by siding with insurgent peoples or with struggling princes. In regard to Germany, it has become the invariable policy of Russia to shift sides. She first combines with France, in order to break the resistance of Austria to her Oriental schemes, and then sides with Germany in order to enfeeble France and draw a bill upon German gratitude, to be discounted on the Vistula or the Danube. In the progress of a European complication, she will always prefer a coalition with the German princes to an alliance with the French upstarts, for the simple reason that her real force consists in her diplomatic superiority, and not in her material power. A war with Germany, her immediate neighbor, springing from an alliance with France, would reveal the real

[a] William, Prince of Prussia.—*Ed.*

impotency of the Northern Colossus; while in a war with France, Russia must, from her geographical position, always form the reserve, forcing Germany to do the real work, and keeping in store for herself the fruits of the victory. Coalesced empires resemble in this point the different corps of an army. The vanguard and the center have to bear the decisive shock, but the reserve decides the battle and carries the day. German dreamers may flatter themselves with the delusive hope that Russia, while laboring under the high pressure of an internal social struggle, in the emancipation movement, will for once give the lie to Karamzin, the Russian historian's maxim that Russian foreign policy never changes.

It has been presumed that an immense empire, distracted by a struggle of classes, and distressed by a financial crisis, would be but too glad to let Europe alone; but then the real nature of the Russian internal movement has been misunderstood. Whatever may have been his real intentions, it is no more possible for a benevolent Czar[a] to conciliate the abolition of serfdom with the continuance of his own autocracy than it proved for a benevolent Pope,[b] in 1848, to reconcile Italian unity with the vital conditions of the Papacy. Simple as the phrase of Russian serf emancipation sounds, it implies meanings the most different and aspirations the most contradictory. The vail that, in the beginning of the movement, was thrown, by a kind of general enthusiasm, over the conflicting tendencies, must necessarily be torn asunder, so soon as steps are taken to proceed from the verbal to the real. Serf emancipation, in the sense of the Czar, amounted to the destruction of the last checks still restraining the Imperial autocracy. On the one hand the relative independence of the nobles, resting upon their uncontrolled sway over the majority of the Russian people, would have been removed; on the other hand, the self-administration of the rural serf communities, based on their common property in the enslaved soil, would have been broken up by the Government scheme which aimed at the abolition of the "communist" principle. Such was serf emancipation as understood by the Central Government. The nobles, in their turn—that is to say, that influential portion of the Russian aristocracy which despaired of maintaining the old state of things—had made up their minds to grant the emancipation of the serfs on two conditions: monetary indemnity, converting the

[a] Alexander II.—*Ed.*
[b] Pius IX.—*Ed.*

peasants from their serfs into their mortgagees, so that, so far as material interests go, nothing would have been changed, for two or three generations at least, save the form of servitude—its patriarchal form being supplanted by its civilized form. Beside this indemnity to be paid by the serfs, they wanted another indemnity to be paid by the State. For the local power over their serfs, which they declared themselves ready to surrender, they wanted to make up by political power to be wrested from the Central Government, investing them in substance with a constitutional share in the general management of the empire.

Lastly, the serfs themselves preferred the simplest formula of the emancipation question. What they understood by it was the old state of things, minus their old landlords. In this mutual strife, where the Government, despite menaces and cajoling, split upon the opposition of the nobles and the peasants—the aristocracy upon the opposition of the Government and of their human chattels, the peasantry upon the combined opposition of their central lord and their local lords—an understanding, as is usual in such transactions, has been arrived at between the existing powers at the cost of the oppressed class. The Government and the aristocracy have agreed together to shelve the emancipation question for the present, and to again try their hands at foreign adventures. Hence the secret understanding with Louis Bonaparte in 1859[344], and the official congress at Warsaw with the German princes in 1860. The Italian war had sufficiently broken the self-reliance of Austria to transform her from an obstacle into a tool of the Russian schemes of foreign policy, and Prussia, which had made a fool of herself by combining, during the continuance of the war, the airs of ambitious perfidy with an utter nullity of action, cannot, threatened as she is by France on her Rhenish frontiers, but follow in the wake of Austria. It was one of the great delusions of the Gotha party[345] to fancy that the blows Austria was likely to receive on the part of France would dissolve her into her constituent parts, so that Austrian Germany, disconnected from its ties with Italy, Poland, and Hungary, might easily enter into the formation of one great German empire. A long historical experience has shown us that every war which Austria may have to wage with France or Russia would not free Germany from her weight, but only make her subservient to the schemes of France or Russia. To break her up into her constituent parts by one great blow, would be bad policy on the part of those Powers, if they were possessed of the force to strike the blow; but to enfeeble Austria, in order to turn its remaining influence to their own

account, was and must always be the main object of their diplomatic and military operations. Nothing but a German revolution, with one of its centers at Vienna and the other at Berlin, could shatter to pieces the Hapsburg empire, without endangering the integrity of Germany, and without subjecting its non-German dominions to French or Russian control.

The impending Warsaw Congress would immensely strengthen Louis Bonaparte's position in France, if the prospect of a conflict in Italy between the truly national party and the French party did not spoil his opportunity. As it is, one must hope that the Warsaw Congress will at last open the eyes of Germany, and teach her that either to withstand encroachments from without or realize unity and liberty at home, she must clear her own house of its dynastic landlords.

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# Karl Marx

## AFFAIRS IN PRUSSIA. [—PRUSSIA, FRANCE AND ITALY]

Berlin, September 27, 1860

The Prince Regent[a] who, as I have already told your readers, since his accession to supreme power, is a sullen and dogged Legitimist at the core of his heart, despite the gaudy insignia of liberalism he has been decked out with by the official oracles of the Prussian fool's paradise, has just caught an occasion of publicly giving vent to his long compressed feelings. It is a strange fact, but nevertheless it is a fact, that the Prince Regent of Prussia has for the nonce shut out the Garibaldians from the fortress of Messina, and saved that important military stronghold for his beloved brother, King Bombalino[b] of Naples. The Prussian Ambassador at Naples, Count of Perponcher, a personage as notorious for his staunch Legitimism as Baron of Canitz, the Prussian Ambassador at Rome, had, like most of his colleagues, followed King Bombalino to Gaeta, where the Prussian war corvette *Loreley* was placed for the protection of German subjects. Now on the 15th of September, the citadel of Messina was on the point of capitulating. The officers had declared for Victor Emmanuel, and sent a deputation to Gaeta in order to tell the King that the place was no longer tenable. On the following day that deputation was shipped back to Messina by the war corvette *Loreley*, with a Prussian Commissary on board, who, on the arrival of the vessel, proceeded immediately to the citadel, where he had a long conversation with the Neapolitan commander. Beside his personal eloquence, the Prussian agent exhibited a bundle of dispatches on the part of the King, encouraging the General to resistance, and strongly inveigh-

[a] William, Prince of Prussia.—*Ed.*
[b] Francis II.—*Ed.*

ing against every proposition of giving up, even under the most favorable conditions, the forts still sufficiently provisioned for several months. During the stay of the Prussian Commissary, cries of "Evviva il Re!"[a] were heard ringing from the citadel, and when he left, the transactions entered into, with a view to stipulate the terms of the capitulation, were at once broken off. On the arrival of this news, Count Cavour hastened to lodge a complaint at Berlin because of "the abuse of the Prussian flag," and the violation of the promise to preserve perfect neutrality in the revolutionary war of Italy. Despite the justness of the complaint, Count Cavour of all men was the man least fitted to prefer it. Herr von Schleinitz, whose dispatches had, during the war of 1859,[346] obtained some notoriety for their soft-sawder style, their seesaw reasonings, and the incomparable art of drawing out the thread of their verbosity finer than the staple of their argument—Herr von Schleinitz eagerly improved the opportunity to insinuate himself with the Prince Regent, and to change for once his humble sotto voce[b] for the shrill tones of haughtiness. He administered a peremptory rebuke to Count Cavour, who was plainly told that Sicily had not yet become a Sardinian province, that the treaty obligations were daily violated by the Court of Turin, and that if Cavour wanted to protest against foreign intervention in Italy, he had better lodge his protest at the Tuileries.

The withdrawal of the French Embassador from Turin is here considered a transparent dodge, since it is perfectly known that immediately after the meeting at Chambéry between Louis Bonaparte and Messrs. Farini and Cialdini, the latter was intrusted with the command of the Piedmontese invasion of the Papal States. That invasion was planned at Chambéry with a view to taking the game out of the hands of Garibaldi and replacing it into the hands of Cavour, the French Emperor's most pliant servant. The revolutionary war in Southern Italy is known to be considered at the Tuileries not as a fortuitous avalanche of a ball once set rolling, but as the deliberate act of the independent Italian party who, ever since Louis Napoleon's ingress of the *via sacra*,[347] had proclaimed the rising of the South as the only means of taking off the nightmare of French protection. In point of fact, Mazzini in his proclamation to the Italian people, dated May 16, 1859, stated plainly:

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[a] "Long Live the King!"—*Ed.*
[b] Undertone.—*Ed.*

"With due reserve the people of the North may rally round the banners of Victor Emmanuel, wherever the Austrian is encamped or neighboring; the insurrection of the South must take a different and more independent course. Rising, rising united, installing a Provisional Government, arming, selecting a strategical point where it may keep its ground and attract the volunteers of the North, Naples and Sicily may still save the cause of Italy, and constitute its power, represented by a national camp. Thanks to that camp and the Northern volunteers, Italy, at the end of the war, whatever be the intentions of its initiators, may still become the supreme arbiter of its own destinies.... Such a popular manifestation would exclude every new division of Italy, every importation of new dynasties, every peace of the Adige or the Mincio, every abandonment of every part of the Italian soil. And the name of Rome is inseparable from the name of Italy. There, in the sacred city, stands the palladium of our national unity. It is the duty of Rome not to swell the Sardinian army by a mob of volunteers, but to prove to Imperial France that the prop of the Papal despotism at Rome will never be acknowledged the sword-bearer of Italian independence.... If Rome forgets its duties, we must act for the Romans. Rome represents the unity of the fatherland. Sicily, Naples, and the volunteers of the North must constitute its army."

Such were the words of Mazzini in May, 1859, reechoed by Garibaldi[a] when, at the head of the popular army created in Sicily and Naples, he promised to proclaim the Unity of Italy from the top of the Quirinal.[348]

You will remember how Cavour, from the beginning, did everything in his power to beset Garibaldi's expedition with difficulties; how, after the first success won by the popular hero, he sent La Farina, in company with two Bonapartist agents, over to Palermo, in order to deprive the conqueror of his dictatorship; how, later on, every military move of Garibaldi was met, on the part of Cavour, first by diplomatic and at last by military countermoves.[b] After the fall of Palermo and the progress to Messina, Garibaldi's popularity towered so high among the people and the army of Paris, that Louis Napoleon considered it prudent to try the wheedling method. When Gen. Türr, at that time disabled from active service, had repaired to Paris, he became quite overwhelmed with Imperial flatteries. He was not only an honored guest at the Palais Royal, but was even admitted to the Tuileries,[349] initiated into the Emperor's unbounded enthusiasm for his "annexed" subject, the Nizzard hero, and laden with tokens of good will, such as rifled cannon, and so forth. At the same time Türr's mind was impressed with the Emperor's

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[a] Giuseppe Mazzini, "La Guerra", *Pensiero ed Azione*, No. 17, May 2-16, 1859; Giuseppe Garibaldi's address to the people of Palermo on September 10, 1860, *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 261, September 17, 1860; see also *The Times*, No. 23728, September 18, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 421-24.—*Ed.*

conviction that Garibaldi, after he had made sure of Naples and the Neapolitan Navy, could do nothing better than to try, in unison with the Hungarian refugees, a landing at Fiume, there to plant the banner of a Hungarian revolution. But Louis Napoleon proceeded from altogether false premises when he supposed that Türr was the man, or even fancied himself to be the man, to exercise the least control over Garibaldi's course of action. Türr, whom I know personally, is a brave soldier and an intelligent officer, but beyond the sphere of military activity he is a mere zero, below the average of common mortals, lacking not only training of mind and a cultivated intellect, but that natural shrewdness and instinct which may stand in place of education, learning, and experience. He is, in one word, an easy-going jolly good fellow, gifted with an extraordinary degree of credulity, but certainly not the man to politically control anybody, not to speak of Garibaldi, who, with a fire of soul, still owns his grain of that subtle Italian genius you may trace in Dante no less than in Machiavelli. Türr, then, having proved a miscalculation, such at least he is spoken of in the entourage of the Tuileries. Kossuth was tried and dispatched to Garibaldi to bring him round to the views of the Emperor, and to bring him off his true scent, which points to Rome. Garibaldi used Kossuth as a means of stirring the revolutionary enthusiasm, and had him consequently feasted with popular ovations, but knew wisely how to distinguish between his name, representing a popular cause, and his mission, hiding a Bonapartist snare. Kossuth returned to Paris quite chopfallen; but, to give an earnest of his fidelity to the Imperialist interests, has now, as reported by the *Opinion nationale*, the Plon-Plon *Moniteur*, addressed a letter to Garibaldi, wherein he calls upon the latter to conciliate himself with Cavour, to abstain from every attempt at Rome, in order to not estrange France, the true hope of the oppressed nationalities, and even to let Hungary alone, the latter country being not yet ripe for an insurrection.

I need not tell you that here, at Berlin, the shares of ministerial liberalism have experienced a heavy fall, consequent upon the impending Warsaw Congress; where, not only the rulers by the grace of God are to shake hands, but their respective Ministers of Foreign Affairs: Prince Gorchakoff, Count Rechberg, and our own Herr von Schleinitz, are to meet in the snug corner of a gilded antechamber, there to give an orthodox turn to the coming history of mankind.

The transactions of Prussia with Austria, as to a new commercial treaty between the Zollverein and Austria, such as foreshadowed

by the treaty of February 19, 1853,[350] may now be considered to be broken off, since the Prussian Cabinet has positively declared that any assimilation, or even approximation of tariffs was out of the question.

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# Frederick Engels

## PREPARATIONS FOR WAR IN PRUSSIA

Berlin, Oct. 23, 1860

The anger and the dread felt by our Liberals at the Prince Regent's[a] participation in the Warsaw Congress, find, as is usual with the grievances of genuine Prussian Liberals, their vent in bitter aspersions of Austria and its new-fangled Constitution.[351] In the first place, Francis Joseph will never be forgiven, for having bereft these gentlemen of their greatest consolation, and the standing topic of their verbose self-righteousness, viz., the contrast between "constitutional" Prussia and "absolutist" Austria. The Austrian patent, of course, is open, not only to cavils, but to serious misgivings of every kind. The circumstances under which and the hands by which the gift is bestowed, stamp it with the character of a shift, rather than a sincere concession. Once before, on the 4th of March, 1849, Francis Joseph promulgated the outlines of a constitution, only to cancel them the following year, after the fortune of war had declared on his side.[352] But, then, there exists no instance on the records of history of princes having ever curtailed their own privileges, and yielded to popular claims, except under a heavy pressure from without, and there exists no instance of their having kept faith whenever they could dare to break their oaths and their pledges with impunity. The old Hungarian Constitution[353] has not been restored in its integrity, since the two most important rights of voting the ways and means, and the levies of troops, are transferred from the Diet at Pesth to the Central Imperial Council at Vienna, which latter being intended to form the States General of the whole empire, finds itself invested with attributes likely to become permanent sources

[a] William, Prince of Prussia.—*Ed.*

of strife between itself and the different national or provincial Diets. The Constitutions of the German and Slavonic provinces being limited to the most general and vague outlines, may be made nothing or everything of. The greatest fault found with the patent on the part of the Magyars is the separation of Croatia and Servia and Transylvania from Hungary, and the grant to those provinces of different independent Diets; but if the events of 1848-49 be recalled to mind, it may be justly doubted whether the Croats, Slavonians, Serbs, and Wallachians will be inclined to share in this Magyar grievance, and back it by their support. The Vienna statesmen, in this instance, seem rather to have played a clever trick upon the principle of nationality, and turned it to their own account.

But, as for the general Diet of the whole empire, under the name of the Imperial Council, seated at Vienna and composed of the respective delegates appointed by the different Diets of Galicia, Hungary, Transylvania, Croatia, Servia, Venetia, and the German provinces, being placed beyond the pale of allegiance to the Diet of the German Confederation, will it not cut asunder the relations that have hitherto obtained between German Austria and the German Confederation? This is the great theme now harped upon by official Prussian Liberalism, which will never stand in want of arguments for its pet idea, the exclusion of Austrian Germany from the German Confederation. But all this reasoning proceeds from a false premise in clinging to the letter of Francis Joseph's patent. While the latter must be considered, on the part of the Austrian dynasty, as a clever device, it affords to the various peoples crushed under Hapsburg sway a precious handle for working out their own destinies and reopening the era of revolutions. For the present, the Austrian Constitution will have done much good in humbling the Pharisean pride of the Prussian mock Liberals, and stripping the Hohenzollern dynasty of the only advantage it could boast over its rival, that of carrying on the old concern of the bureaucrat and the soldier under the more respectable form of constitutionalism.

To give you an insight into the real state of this much-vaunted, "regenerated" Prussia, it will be necessary to recur to the changes that have lately taken place in the organization of the Prussian army. You will remember that the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, while lacking on the one side the courage to affront public opinion by an open sanction of the Government proposals for the reorganization of the army, and lacking on the other side the courage to make a decided stand against the martinet leanings of

the Prince Regent, hit upon the usual expedient of weakness—a middle course, neither fish nor flesh. It refused to pass the Government plan for the reorganization of the army, but voted $9,500,000 for putting the army into a state fit to encounter the dangers apprehended from without.[a] In other words, the Prussian Deputies voted the ways and means wanted by the Government for carrying out its plan, but voted them on false pretexts. Hardly had the Prussian Parliament been adjourned when the Ministry, openly breaking through the conditions on which the grant was obtained, began, without further ado, to introduce the changes in the organization of the army willed by the Prince Regent and rejected by the so-called representatives. During the recess of the Parliament, the standing army has been *doubled*, being raised from 40 regiments to 72 regiments of the line and 9 regiments of the guard. The permanent annual expenses for the military budget have thus, by the supreme will of the Prince Regent, and in open violation, not only of the will of the people, but of the vote of its mock representatives, been raised by 100 per cent. But do not fancy the Prince of Hohenzollern or any of his colleagues risks the fate of Strafford.[354] There will be some low grumbling, pickled with fervent assertions of dynastic loyalty, and unbounded confidence in the Cabinet, and this will be all. Now, considering that even the old army organization, founded as it was upon a merely agricultural population, had become an intolerable drawback upon the resources and the productive activity of a people which in the course of time had engaged in manufactures, it will be easily understood how the army, now doubled in numbers, must grind down the best energies of the masses, and drain the springs of national wealth. The Prussian army may now boast of being the largest in Europe in proportion to population and national resources.

You know that a Hohenzollern ruler, when speaking of himself, or when spoken of by his cabinet and his officials, goes by the name of *Kriegsherr*, that is to say, "Lord of War." Now this, of course, does not mean that Prussian kings and regents lord it over the chances of war. Their great anxiety to keep peace, and their known propensity for being thrashed in the open field show better. By that title of "Lord of War," so dearly cherished by Hohenzollern rulers, it is rather understood that the true prop of their kingly power must be sought for, not in the people, but in a

[a] On this sitting of the Prussian Diet (February 10, 1860) see the *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen*, Bd. I, Berlin, 1860, S. 95-106.—*Ed.*

portion of the people, separated from the mass, opposed to it, distinguished by certain badges, trained to passive obedience, drilled into a mere instrument of the dynasty which owns it as its property and uses it according to its caprice. A Prussian king would, therefore, rather abdicate than allow his army to swear obedience to the Constitution. Hence a Hohenzollern ruler, being the king of his people only as far as he is the "Lord of War," in other words, the proprietor of the army, must, before all things, dote on it, fondle it, flatter it, and feed it with always increasing morsels of the national wealth. This great aim has been obtained by the new military organization. The number of officers has been doubled, and the rapid promotion to higher grades in the French, Austrian, and Russian armies, which the Prussian officers had cast longingly anxious eyes upon, has been secured to them without exposing their lives and limbs to the least hazard. Hence there is just now prevailing, not among the common soldiers, but among the officers of the Prussian army, a vast amount of enthusiasm for the Prince Regent and his "liberal" Ministers. At the same time the aristocratic fox-hunters, grumbling at the liberal phrases of the new régime, have been quite conciliated by the new occasion afforded them for fastening their younger sons on the purse of the country. There is one drawback to all this, even from the dynastic standpoint. Prussia has now concentrated all its available forces into one standing army. That army once beaten, there will be no reserve to fall back upon.

Written on October 23, 1860 Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6097, November 8, 1860

# Karl Marx

## GREAT BRITAIN—A MONEY STRINGENCY[a]

London, Nov. 10, 1860

An event long ago predicted has set in, a drain of bullion, and, consequent upon it, a rise in the rate of discount. Yesterday the Bank of England raised the rate of discount from 4 to $4^1/_2$ per cent. In the corresponding month of 1859 the bank rate did not exceed 3 per cent, despite the then enormous shipments of silver to the East, amounting to £13,234,305. The obvious object of the Bank was to put a check on the drain of bullion from its vaults, which, amounting to £16,255,951 on the 26th of September last, is now reduced to £13,897,085, not including £43,000 taken from the Bank yesterday. The drain, beginning on Sept. 26, has been constantly on the increase until it has reached this week almost £300,000. The large imports of corn were, of course, sure to lead, sooner or later, to an emigration of the precious metals, but the payments of the corn bills being not yet due, the present drain cannot be accounted for in this manner, and, moreover, it takes place concurrently with a rate of discount higher in London than in Paris, Amsterdam, Brussels and Hamburg, while simultaneously the gold export leaves no profit as an exchange operation.

Whither, then, does the gold go? To the vaults of the Bank of France. The present discount rate of the Bank of France is only 3 per cent, although that concern has lost about £4,000,000 since the end of August, while its discounts for August and September have increased by about £3,000,000. Any vulgar bank would, under such circumstances, have raised its rate of discount, but Louis Bonaparte, afraid to cause a *visible* disturbance of the

[a] Marx based his analysis on the article "The Rise in the Bank Rate of Discount", *The Economist* of November 10, 1860, pp. 1232 and 1242.—*Ed.*

money market, orders the Bank to purchase gold at a loss, and will force it to continue proceeding with this certainly not mercantile operation. On the other hand, the Bank of England proves that it is unable to check the present drain by the rise in the rate of interest. Yesterday, for instance, no bullion was taken from the Issue Department of the Bank, but a considerable quantity in sovereigns was drawn from the Banking Department. It is one of the necessary consequences of Sir Robert Peel's blessed bank acts of 1844 and 1845[355] that the mercantile public are constantly misled as to the real amount of the precious metals exported, since the Banking Department furnishes no public returns of the sovereigns withdrawn from its chest.

The rise in the official discount rate of the Bank of England, especially if continuing, will, of course, impose upon the Bank of France the necessity of following in the same direction, and thus prevent Louis Bonaparte from any longer commanding the Bank Directors to buy gold at a loss, in order to hide a visible derangement of the money market. Still, the English drain of bullion will not be stopped by that eventuality, since, in proper time, the corn bills must fall due and be paid for in cash.

Written on November 10, 1860

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6111, November 24, 1860

# Frederick Engels

## AUSTRIA—PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION

London, Dec. 24, 1860

The revolution in Austria gets along at a racing pace. Only two months ago, Francis Joseph acknowledged by his *diploma* of the 20th October,[356] that his empire was in a state of revolution, and tried to remedy it by bribing Hungary by a promise that her ancient Constitution, in some curtailed shape or other, was to be restored. The diploma, although a concession to the revolutionary movement, was in its conception one of those master-strokes of treacherous policy which form such a prominent part in Austrian diplomacy. Hungary was to be bought by concessions apparently very great, and made to appear still greater by being placed side by side with the scanty allowance allotted to the German and Slavonic provinces, as well as with the mockery of an Imperial Parliament which the diploma proposed to establish. But in the details of the work the cloven foot of treachery was apparent enough to turn the contemplated master-stroke into a piece of egregious folly and a pledge given to the revolutionary movement of the helpless weakness of the Government. Not only was the voting of supplies and soldiers to be taken from the Hungarian Diet and to be transferred to the Central Parliament and partly even to the Emperor alone—as if a Government just compelled to eat all the political leek it had grown during the last ten years, was still strong enough to withhold such rights from its very conquerors—but the scanty and vague nature of the rights conferred on the other portions of the empire and on the central representation at once proved, by contrast, the insincerity of the whole affair. And when the provincial constitutions for Styria, Carinthia, Salzburg, and Tyrol[357] were published—constitutions

giving the lion's share of representation to the nobility and clergy, and maintaining the old distinction of estates—when the old Ministry remained in office, there could be no longer any doubt as to what was intended. Hungary was to be soothed, and then to be made the cat's-paw to help absolutist Austria out of her troubles; and absolutist Austria once strong again, Hungary knew well enough from experience what her fate would be. The very fact of the unlimited and indiscriminate establishment of the Hungarian language as the only official language in Hungary, was intended for nothing else but to excite the Slavonians, Roumans, and Germans of Hungary against the Magyar race. The Hungarian old Conservatives (*vulgo,* Aristocrats), who had concluded this bargain with the Emperor, lost all standing at home by it; they had attempted to barter away the two most essential rights of the Diet. In fact, the Imperial diploma deceived nobody. While in the German provinces public opinion at once compelled the old municipal councils (appointed by the Emperor after the Revolution) to give way before new men, who are now being chosen by popular election, the Hungarians began to reestablish their old county officers and county assemblies which, before 1849, formed all the local authorities in the country.[358] In either case, it is a good sign that the opposition party at once secured local and communal power, instead of merely clamoring for an ephemeral change of Ministry and neglecting to secure the important positions left open to it in more modest spheres of action. In Hungary, the forms of the ancient local administration, as reorganized in 1848, at once placed all the civil power in the hands of the people, and left to the Vienna Government no other alternative but to cede or to have recourse at once to military force. Here, then, the movement naturally went on most rapidly. The demand for the full restoration of the Constitution, as amended in 1848, and including all the laws agreed upon in that year between the Diet and the King, arose from one end of the land to the other. Not satisfied with that, the immediate repeal of the tobacco monopoly (introduced illegally since 1848), and of all other laws imposed without the consent of the Diet, was asked for. The levying of taxes was openly declared illegal, until the Diet should have voted them; not one-third of the taxes due were paid; the young men called out to serve in the army were called upon to resist enrolment, or to abscond; and Imperial eagles were pulled down, and, worst of all, in this transition state the Government had no means to resist this agitation. Wherever the county assemblies were convoked they pronounced themselves unanimously in this sense;

and the Conference of Hungarian notables assembled at Gran,[a] under the Presidency of the Primate of Hungary,[b] in order to propose to the Government a basis for the election of a Diet, without deliberation almost, and unanimously, declared the democratic electoral law of 1848 to be still in force.

That was more than the old Conservatives had expected when they made the compromise with the Emperor. They were completely "*débordés.*"[c] The revolutionary waves threatened to drown them. The Government itself saw that something must be done. But what could the Cabinet of Vienna do?

The attempt at bribing Hungary was on the eve of signally failing. What, if the Cabinet now tried to bribe the Germans? They never enjoyed such rights as the Hungarians, perhaps less would satisfy them. The Austrian monarchy, to exist, must use the various nationalities among its subjects in turns against each other. The Slavonians could be used in the utmost extremity only; they were too much connected with Russia by Panslavist agitation; be it then for the Germans. Count Goluchowski, the hated Polish aristocrat (a renegade from the Polish cause to that of Austrian service), was sacrificed, and Chevalier von Schmerling was made Minister of the Interior. He had been Minister of the German ephemeral empire in 1848, and afterward of Austria; this post he quitted when the Constitution of 1849 was definitively abolished. He passed for a Constitutionalist. But there was, again, so much hesitation and indecision before he was definitively called in, that the effect was again lost. People asked what good was Schmerling if all the other Ministers remained? There was a cooling down of all hopes, even before he was definitively appointed; and instead of a frank concession, his nomination only appeared as another proof of weakness. But while in the German Provinces the opposition was satisfied with securing local power, and receiving every move of the Government with undisguised distrust, and dissatisfaction, in Hungary the movement went on. Before even Schmerling had been nominated, the old Conservative Hungarians called into office, Szécsen and Vay at their head, acknowledged the impossibility of retaining their positions; and the Ministry of the Emperor had to undergo the humiliation of inviting two Hungarian Ministers of 1848, colleagues up to Autumn of that year of Batthyány, who was shot, of Kossuth and Szemere—of

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[a] Estergom.—*Ed.*
[b] János Scitovszky.—*Ed.*
[c] Overwhelmed.—*Ed.*

inviting Messrs. Déak and Eötvös, to enter the Ministry of the man who had trodden down Hungary with Russian assistance. They are not appointed yet; the system of hesitation and vacillation, of higgling and haggling about trifles, is in its full glory yet, but if they accept, they are sure to be ultimately appointed.

Thus Francis Joseph is being driven from one concession to another, and if it should come to pass that in January the two Diets should meet, one at Pesth for Hungary, and her annexes, and the other at Vienna for the remaining provinces of the empire, fresh concessions will be wrung from him. But instead of reconciling his subjects, every fresh concession will exasperate them more by the undisguised insincerity with which it is given. And what with the reminiscences of the past—with the maneuvers of the Hungarian emigration in the pay of Louis Napoleon; with the fact that a liberal Austria is impossible, because Austria's foreign policy must always be reactionary, and, therefore, at once create collisions between the Crown and the Parliament, and with Louis Napoleon speculating upon this fact—it is probable enough that 1861 may see the Austrian empire dissolve into its component parts.

Written on December 24, 1860 Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6152, January 12, 1861

# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

# Karl Marx

## [EXTRACTS FROM IMRE SZABÓ'S WORK *THE STATE POLICY OF MODERN EUROPE, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT TIME.* IN TWO VOLUMES, LONDON, 1857][359]

## [Volume I]

### 1) *1520-1559. Francis I and Charles V*

(*1523.* Dissolution of the Union of Calmar[360]; Gustavus Vasa elected king of Sweden.)

*1520.* Charles (V) crowned emperor at Aix-la-Chapelle[a] (master of *Burgundy, Spain, Sicily, Naples* and *Navarre* and *Austria* (since Maximilian I's death in 1519)).

*Milan,* claimed by Louis XII by the right of his grandmother, of the family of Visconti, conquered by Francis I in 1515 from the Sforzas; now claimed by Charles as a fief of the Empire. Francis also revived the claims of France to Naples and Burgundy. Thus commenced a 14 years' war, apparently for the sake of Milan. Henry VIII in the Austrian alliance. French (after defeat of Bicoco[b]) forced by a Spanish army to abandon the Duchy of Milan. Rome, Venice, Florence and Genoa enter the Austrian alliance. Francis I without an ally; Charles Bourbon (the Constable) goes over to Charles.

Second French campaign (in Italy) under General Bonnivet. The French routed. Charles Bourbon enters the Provence, English prepare to invade Picardy. Francis drives the invaders out of the French territory, reconquers the Duchy of Milan (after the battle of Marignano).

*1525.* Francis beaten before Pavia, carried away prisoner to Madrid. Coalition against Charles—the small states of Italy, new pope (Clement VII), Henry VIII, Louise of Savoy (the regent of France, Francis' mother). *1526.* Francis accepts Madrid peace to get free.

League between Francis, Pope, Venice, Milan, Florence, Henry VIII.[361]

Bourbon with the Imperialists drives Sforza[c] from Milan, sacks Rome. Francis and Henry VIII declare war to Charles.

French army makes itself master of Rome, besieges Naples. Malady in the French camp, return to France.

Charles checked by the Lutheran princes of Germany and the arms of Soliman. Ottomans occupy almost the whole of Hungary, of which Ferdinand, the brother of Charles, endeavoured to possess himself. Soliman advances to the walls of Vienna.

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[a] Aachen.—*Ed.*

[b] Bicocca.—*Ed.*

[c] Francesco II.—*Ed.*

*1529. Treaty of Cambray* (traité des dames).[362] Francis again renounces his claims to Milan, Naples, and Flanders. As to Burgundy, one chief point of the quarrel, only temporary arrangement: the marriage of Francis with Eleonora of Portugal, Charles' sister, being again stipulated.

Charles turns upon the Lutherans. The *princes now [have] two lines of policy, with regard to home and foreign affairs*; Pope even seeks the alliance of the infidels.

*1530.* Diet of Augsburg.[363] Condemnatory decree against innovation. Protestants form the *league of Schmalkalden*,[364] seek the aid of France and England. Francis enters upon the proposal; concludes also alliance with *John Zapolya*,[a] *of Hungary*, the rival of Ferdinand of Austria, and sends Rincon to Constantinople, to secure the *Sultan's assistance*. Francis marries his son[b] to Catherine of Medici, the pontiff's niece, while Henry VIII severs England from the see of Rome.[365]

*1532.* Temporary peace of Nuremberg (between Charles and the Protestants). Charles' expedition against Barbarossa.[c]

*1535.* Francis, after 6 years of peace, recommences war (*third war*), reappears in Italy; successful; dictates at Milan and Savoy. Charles returns victor from Algiers, drives the French from Italy, penetrates into the Provence where [he is] finally repulsed.

*1538. Peace at Nice for 10 years.* But 2 French envoys (Rincon to the Porte, Fregosa for Venice) by orders of Charles seized in Italy, assassinated. Francis recommences war. Five armies put in motion, but in vain.

*1544. Peace of Crespy*: Francis renounces his claims to Naples and Artois; bind[s] himself not to meddle with Navarre. (Henry VIII had again turned on the part of Charles.)

*1547.* † *Francis I*; his son *Henry II.* Charles turns upon the league of Schmalkalden.

*1547. Victory of the Imperialists through Maurice of Saxony of Mühlberg*, dissolving the league. Charles proclaims the Interim.[366] Maurice, having secured the co-operation of Henry II, surprises the Emperor in Tyrol (Charles forced *1552* to conclude the *peace of Passau* with the Protestants) same year in which the French poured into the Duchy of Lorraine, there to seize Metz, Toul and Verdun. Charles driven back from Metz and *1556* withdraws from the public scene, divides his dominions between his brother, Ferdinand of Austria, and his son Philip II. War in Italy and the Netherlands continues between Henry II and Philip II.

*1559. Treaty of Château Cambresis.*[d] Each party was bound to restore all the conquests made since 1551[367]; France abandoning more than 180 strong places besides Savoy. Marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II, to Philip II. Henry II †.

This (the reign of Charles V) the period of Habsburg supremacy proper. France is the first to attack it, but supported by Lutherans in Germany, Soliman, Hungary (Zapolya) and the Pope (Clément), also by the jealousy of the small Italian states.

## II) *1559-1618. The Netherlands and Philip II*

*1559. Francis II in France.* (Religious wars in France.) *1566.* Commencement of the troubles in the Netherlands.

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[a] Janos Zápolya.—*Ed.*

[b] Henry II.—*Ed.*

[c] Hadher Barbarossa.—*Ed.*

[d] Cateau-Cambrésis.—*Ed.*

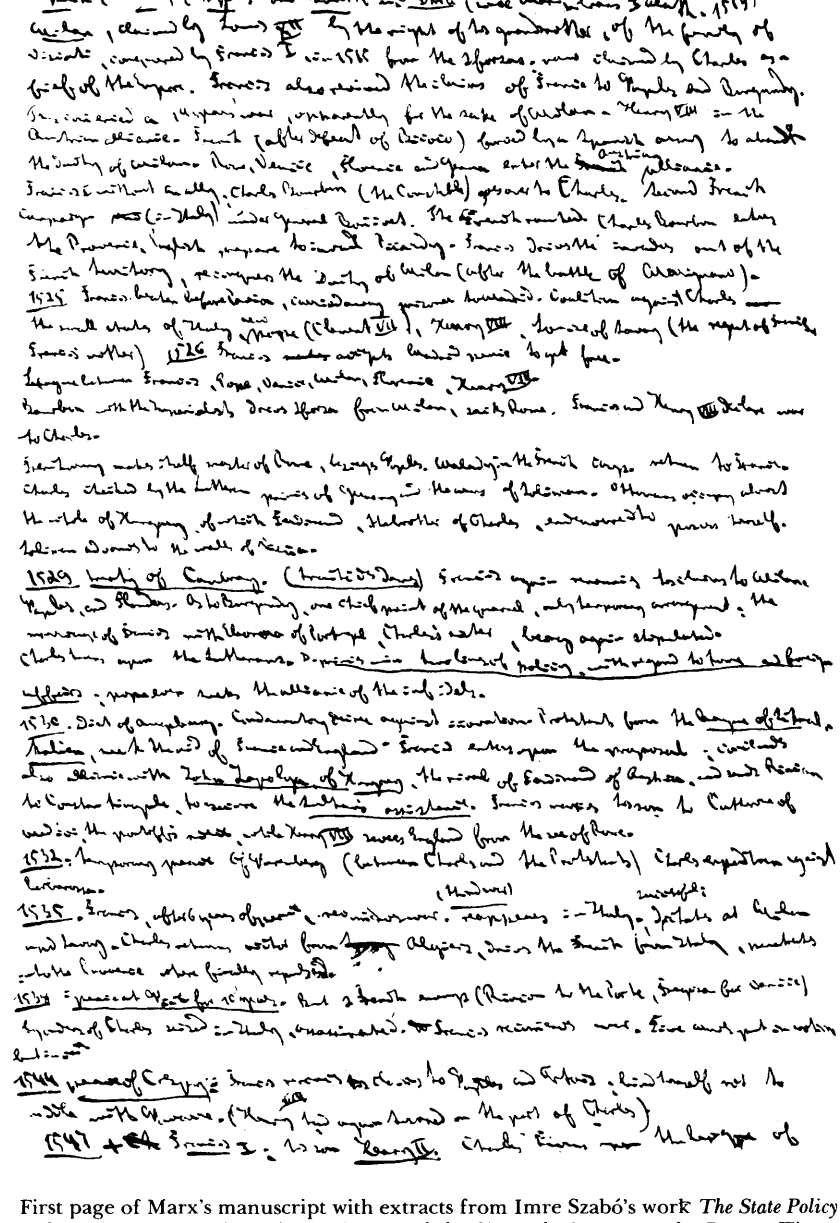

First page of Marx's manuscript with extracts from Imre Szabó's work *The State Policy of Modern Europe, from the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century to the Present Time*

*1572.* William of Orange proclaimed governor of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht. *1579.* Union of Utrecht.

Elizabeth in England. *1562* (after treaty of Elizabeth with Protestants in France) treaty with *Charles IX* (of France). In this treaty comprehended Ferdinand (Emperor) and Philip II.

*1572.* Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Till *1585* the Netherlands left to themselves. *1585.* Alliance treaty of Elizabeth with the Netherlands.

*1589. Henry III,* the last of the Valois, murdered. *Henry of Navarre* (*Henry IV*).

*1593.* Alliance at the Hague between Elizabeth and Henry IV; Netherlands included in it.

*1598. Peace of Vervins* between Henry IV and Philip II (mutual restitution of the conquests since 1559). This peace proclaimed the wane of Spanish preponderance (in the same year *Edict of Nantes*). *Philip II* †. *Philip III.* (*1588.* Destruction of the Armada.) Death of Elizabeth. *James I.*

*1609.* Treaty between Henry and Spain for the cessation of hostilities with the *United Provinces* (form of a truce of 12 years; in fact, an acknowledgment of the independence of the Low Countries). (The Spanish branch of the Habsburgs still maintained its sway over Italy and had acquired Portugal in 1581).

Henry IV's plan for the remodelling of Europe (abasement of Austria).[368] Provisions: *Italy: Pope secular Prince* (Rome, Naples, Apulia, Calabria under him); *Venice* (Republic; united with Florence, Modena, a few other small states); *Duke of Savoy* (to become king of Lombardy).

*Bohemia* (elective kingdom; to be annexed to it Moravia, Silesia, Lusatia[a]). *Hungary* (annexed to it the arch-duchy of Austria, Styria, Carinthia). *Poland* also to be aggrandized. *Switzerland* (to be added to it Tyrol, Alsace, and other territories). *Netherlands* (to be republic).

*The House of Austria* to be reduced to Spain and a few islands off the coast of the Mediterranean.

† *Henry IV* 1610.

(This period [witnesses the] downfall of the older branch of the Habsburgs.)

## III) *1618-1648. (Thirty Years War)*

*1617.* Treaty between Gustav Adolphus and Michael Feodorowich (first Romanoff). Sweden confirmed in the possession of Carelia, Kexholm[b] and Ingria.[c] Muscovite excluded from the Gulf of Finland and the Baltic. Adolphus rendered himself master (against Poland) of Livonia and Polish Prussia. End of the 16th century extinction of the Jagellon dynasty.

Hungary and Bohemia now under the Habsburgs: the former aided, and, at the same time, clogged by Turkey in its attempts to throw off the Habsburgs.

Under Ferdinand I, Maximilian, Rudolph II (filling the XVI$^{th}$ century) Austria takes no part in the wars between Spain and France; appeases the Sultans with tributes and vies for Hungary.

*1606.* Hungary pacified by the *treaty of Vienna* (*Rudolph II*). Transylvania's

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[a] Region in the middle reaches of the Elbe, Spree and Neisse rivers, inhabited by the West Slavonic tribe of Lusatians.—*Ed.*

[b] Priozersk.—*Ed.*

[c] The Izhora land subject to Novgorod.—*Ed.*

independence acknowledged.[369] Turkey checked by Abbas, Shah of Persia; arrested her progress to Europe.

Accession of *Ferdinand II* (archduke of Styria).

*1618* commencement of the troubles in Bohemia. Bohemians offer the crown to *Frederick V* (elector of the Palatinate); his ally *Bethlen*[a] (prince of Transylvania).

*28 Aug. 1619.* Ferdinand II elected emperor of Germany, concludes alliance with Maximilian of Bavaria, Spain, Pope,[b] and Marv de Medicis (in the minority of Louis XIII, married to Anne, daughter of Philip III). (Duke of Angoulême *1620* concludes for France treaty with Ferdinand II at Ulm.) Philip III †. Philip IV. Protestants in Germany [find an] ally in Christian IV of Denmark; Wallenstein's army. Beginning of the war.[370] Prince of Wales married with Henrietta of France.[c]

*1624.* Richelieu's entrance into office.

*1625.* Richelieu makes war on Spain by occupying the Valtelina. *Charles I* (in England).

*1626.* Bethlen forced to make peace with Ferdinand II.[371] Denmark (participating in the war from 1625) forced to make a separate peace with *Ferdinand II* (1629).

*1629. Ferdinand II's* decree of Restitution.[372] La Rochelle surrenders to Richelieu.

*1629.* Richelieu mediates peace between Sweden and Poland.[373] Gustavus Adolphus (with the promise of subsidies of France) lands an army in Pomerania.

*1631.* Treaty between France and Sweden.

(1629, after the death of Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua,[d] Charles, Duke of Nevers, and Ferdinand of Guastalla pretenders to it. Former supported by France, latter by Austria. French army forces the pass of Susa, confirms Nevers.)[374]

*1632.* Battle of Lützen. Gustav Adolphus †.

*1634.* Defeat of the Swedes at Nördlingen. Direct participation of France in the war of Germany. France takes possession of Alsace, after its fortified places were given up to the French by their Swedish allies. New league with the Netherlands set on foot by Richelieu. *Elector of Saxe*[e] goes over to the Emperor; *peace of Prague.*[375]

War simultaneously recommenced in Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, on the Rhine and the Danube. Richelieu invades Spain. (*1635*) Marshals Châtillon and Brézé entered the Netherlands; Créqui, in unison with the Duke of Savoy,[f] in Italy; Guébriant and Turenne cooperate with the Swedes on the Rhine, another body penetrates into Spain.

## Austria and Spain on the one side; France, Sweden, and the Netherlands on the other the principals.

*1637. Ferdinand II † Ferdinand III Emperor.*

1640. Fresh war in Hungary about to commence by *George Rakoczy,*[g] *Prince of Transylvania,* in alliance with France and Sweden; the latter (France) ditto with the Catalonians, where a rise [takes place]. Revolution in Portugal; expulsion of the Spaniards. Emperor assured by a truce with the Turks, then masters of the half of Hungary. Victories of the French army in Italy, Spain, Flanders, on the Rhine.

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[a] Gábor Bethlen.— *Ed.*
[b] Paul V.— *Ed.*
[c] Henrietta Maria.— *Ed.*
[d] Vincenzo II Gonzaga.— *Ed.*
[e] Johann Georg I.— *Ed.*
[f] Victor Amadeus I.— *Ed.*
[g] György I Rákóczy.— *Ed.*

*4 December 1642. Richelieu* †. *1643.* Louis XIII †. *Mazarin* (Anne's of Spain Regency).[376]

*1645.* Assembling of the Plenipotentiaries at *Münster* (chiefly there treated the affairs of Sweden and the Protestants), and *Osnabruck*[a] (the affairs of France principally).[377] (155 negotiators.) (Savoy ally of France.)

Circular of the French ambassador: "*the interests of France identical with German liberty*". Victories by French and Swedes.

"The Hollanders no more feared their hereditary enemies, the Spaniards, but the French, their ancient allies, now the object of their distrust" (Bougeant[b]). "They (the Hollanders) insensibly came to the conviction that security consisted in having the Spaniards as a barrier against France" (l.c.). *Preliminary agreement between the Spanish and Dutch ambassadors.*

*1648.* Victories of the Swedes. Ratification of peace between Spain and Holland.[378]

*October 1648. Peace.* (Spain excluded from it.)

*France obtained*: Upper and Lower Alsace, Brisac,[c] right of keeping a garrison in Philipsburg, the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun. *Sweden* received Higher Pomerania, Stettin, Gortz, etc., port of Wismar; bishoprics of Verden and Bremen, with vote in the German diet. Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Hanover, Hesse, etc., compensated chiefly by ecclesiastical property. (*Pignerol*,[d] formerly belonging to Savoy, [turned over] to France.) In Italy Austria confirmed in Milan and Tuscany. Acknowledged independence of Holland and Switzerland

(de facto since 1315).

With reference to religion all settled on the basis of the peace of Passau and Augsburg (1552 and 1556). Emperor grants general amnesty to the empire, except his own provinces.

(Bohemia forgotten.)[379]

Weakening of the younger house of Austria.

## IV) *1648-1660. Gallo-Spanish War. Peace of the Pyrenees*

Cromwell.

*1654.* War in Flanders between Mazarin and Spain.

*1654.* Peace between England and Holland.[380]

*1655.* Coalition between England and France. Commercial English treaty with France. *1657* Cromwell sends the French an aid of 6,000 men, acquires Dunkirk.

*1657.* † Ferdinand III. *1658* Leopold Emperor. Cromwell †.

*1657.* Coalition against Sweden of Denmark, Poland, Muscovy, Austria. (*Charles Gustavus* king of Sweden.) His only ally: Prince Rakoczy of Transylvania.

*1659.* Conferences between Mazarin and Don Louis de Haro, on the island of Pheasants (in the river of Bidasoa). Marriage between Louis XIV and *Maria*

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[a] Osnaburg.— *Ed.*

[b] Guillaume Hyacinthe Bougeant, *Histoire du traité de Westphalie, ou des négociations qui se firent à Münster et à Osnabrüg, pour établir la paix entre toutes les puissances de l'Europe*, Paris, 1751.— *Ed.*

[c] Breisach.— *Ed.*

[d] Pinerolo.— *Ed.*

*Theresa*, daughter of Philip IV (entire renunciation on the part of the Infanta). *Treaty of the Pyrenees.*[381] France gets in the Low Countries the county *of Arras*, several places in Flanders, Hainault and the Duchy of Luxemburg. On the Pyrenees Roussillon and Conflans.[a] Duke of Lorraine bound to allow a military passage to France.

*March 1661* Mazarin †.

*1654.* Queen Christina resigns in favour of Charles X (son of the sister of Gustav Adolphus[b]). He is allied with the elector of Brandenburg,[c] invades Poland. Then league of Denmark with Muscovy, Holland against him. *1660* he compels the Danes to peace, gets Scania,[d] Oeland,[e] several places on the island of Rügen, exemption from the Sound Duties.[382] *1660* Charles X †; his son, *Charles XI*, succeeds. Renews treaty with Denmark, makes *peace of Oliva*[383] with Poland, which cedes to him Livonia, Esthonia, and Oesel. *1661* peace with Muscovy on the status quo ante bellum.

"Thus did Sweden confirm its preponderance in the north, at the very moment when France became all-powerful in the south and west of Europe."

## V) *1660-1697. Wars of Louis XIV. Peace of Ryswick*

Restoration in England.

Dunkirk sold to Louis XIV by Charles II. War between England and Holland. England by De Ruyter and Tromp forced to *peace of Breda (1667).* (Louis XIV acted in this war with Holland.) Louis XIV assists Portugal against Spain.

*1665. Philip IV* of Spain (Louis XIV's father-in-law) †. *Carlos II* (scarcely 4 years old, his son). (Philip IV's 2nd daughter[f] consort of the Emperor Leopold.) Louis XIV lays claim by the *"right of devolution"*[384] to the Spanish Netherlands.

*1667.* Louis XIV (Turenne) conquers greatest part of the Spanish Netherlands. *1668* (winter) subdues *Franche-Comté.*

*January 23, 1668. Triple Alliance* between England, Holland and Sweden. France was to relinquish its conquests in the Spanish Netherlands or Franche-Comté.

*May 1668.* Louis XIV at Aix-la-Chapelle peace with Spain (retains his conquests in the Netherlands, relinquishes Franche-Comté).

*1670.* Conspiracy of the nobles in Hungary against the Habsburg rule. Leopold treaty with Louis XIV. Hungary subdued, Leopold turned to the Dutch.

*1671.* Secret treaty of Louis XIV with Charles II of England.

*1672.* French invasion of Holland.

*1673.* Charles forced to abandon the French alliance. Coalition of Spain, the Emperor,[g] Brandenburg, Holland, Denmark against France. Sweden her only ally. Theatre of war from Holland transferred to the Spanish Netherlands and the German frontiers.

*1675.* Negotiations commence at *Nimeguen*,[h] where:

*10 August 1678.* Separate treaty between Louis XIV and Holland. *September* 1678 Spain made peace. Abandons Franche-Comté for the restitution of some

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[a] Albertville.— *Ed.*
[b] Catherine.— *Ed.*
[c] Frederick William.— *Ed.*
[d] Malmöhus.— *Ed.*
[e] Halland.— *Ed.*
[f] Margarita Theresa.— *Ed.*
[g] Leopold I.— *Ed.*
[h] Nijmegen.— *Ed.*

places in the Spanish Netherlands. Finally *Leopold* makes peace[385]; Louis stipulates with Denmark, Brunswick, Brandenburg for the restitution to Sweden of the conquests made upon her during the war. Louis XIV triumphs at the coast of Sicily over the united fleets of Holland and Spain. But the peace of Nimeguen did not settle Louis' right over a few towns in Alsace.

*1681.* Chamber of Reunion in Metz.[386]

*Emperor* tries to make war; but war with Hungary and Turkey; *1684* makes peace with Louis XIV at Ratisbonne.[a]

*1686.* League between Holland, Austria, Savoy, Brandenburg.

*1688.* Louis XIV sends an army to the Rhine. Accession of William III in England. Great offensive alliance against France (England, Holland, Emperor Leopold, Spain, Brandenburg, Victor Amadeus of Savoy).

*1689.* Declaration of war against France by Holland, England, Spain, and Austria.[b] (Separate treaty between Holland, England and the Emperor in May 1689.) (Emperor or his heirs shall be assisted in taking the eventual succession of the Spanish Monarchy. His son, Joseph, king of Hungary, shall be elected Emp. of Germany.) (France to be reduced to the terms of the treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees.)

*August 1696.* Separate peace at Turin between Louis XIV and Victor Amadeus of *Savoy.* Pignerol given up to Savoy.

*1697. Peace of Ryswick.*[387] First peace between France, Holland and England. Then Spain. Mutual restitution. *July 1697* peace with the Emperor. Kiel, Fribourg, Brisac, Philipsburg exchanged by Louis XIV for Strasburg. Apart from this, restitution of all places acquired during the war, beyond Alsace.

## VI) *1697-1715. War of the Spanish Succession. Peace of Utrecht*

*October 11, 1698. Partition treaty* (of Spain) at the Hague between Louis XIV and William III. (Two Sicilies, Tuscany, Guipuscoa allotted to the Dauphin.[c] Milan to archduke Charles, 2nd son of the emperor. Spain and its other possessions to the Elector of Bavaria[d] and his heirs.)

*February* 1698. † the Elector of Bavaria.

*March 11, 1700.* Second Partition Scheme between William and Louis.

(Dauphin to receive, besides the dominions in the 1st treaty, Lorraine, for which Milan to the Duke of Lorraine. All the other dominions of the Spanish crown to the Archduke Charles.)

*1699.* Peace of Carlowitz between the Porte, Austria, Venice, and Poland.

*1700.* League between Czar Peter, Poland and Denmark against Sweden, defeat of the Russians at Narva by Charles XII.

*October 1700.* Will of *Carlos II,* appointing the Duke of Anjou,[e] 2nd son of the Dauphin, his heir. *November 1700* Carlos II †. Philip V acknowledged by Duke of Savoy, Duke of Mantua,[f] Portugal, and lastly, *King William.*

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[a] Regensburg.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx took this from the chronological table at the end of Szabó's book, p. 384.— *Ed.*

[c] Louis.— *Ed.*

[d] Joseph Ferdinand.— *Ed.*

[e] Philip of Anjou (Philip V).— *Ed.*

[f] Ferdinando Carlo, Gonzaga di.— *Ed.*

*February 1701.* Louis XIV marches troops into the Spanish Netherlands which he forces the Dutch garrisons to evacuate; letter patent by which he acknowledges the right of Philip to succeed to the throne of France.[a]

*September 1701.* Second Great Alliance.[388] James II †. *Louis XIV* acknowledges the Pretender.[b] William †. Partial war between Austria and France in Italy.[389]

*1702.* Queen Anne renews the alliance. *May.* War against France declared by England, Holland, Emperor.[c] (Portugal, Hanover, Prussia accede) ([also] several of the smaller German states). (Bavaria, Brunswick, Cologne, Duke of Savoy for Louis XIV.)

*1704.* Gibraltar captured by the English. *1706* victory of Ramillies (Marlborough). Civil war in Hungary.[390] Austria conquers Naples.

*1707.* Charles XII in Saxony.

(Hungary in war against Austria since 1703.)

*1709.* Battle of Pultava.[d] Charles XII to Turkey.

*1710.* Declarations of war by the Porte to Russia.

*1711.* Peace of the Pruth between Turkey and Russia. Preliminaries of Peace between England and France.

*April 1711.* † Emperor Joseph. The Archduke Charles, his son,[e] heir to all his dominions.

In the preliminaries (*between England and France*):

Dunkirk demolished; Gibraltar and Port *Mahon*, Newfoundland and Hudson Bay for England.

*January 12, 1712.* General Congress opened at Utrecht. (Philip renounces his claims to France.) (Duke of Berry and Duke of Orleans renounce their claims to Spain.)

*April 1713. Peace of Utrecht* concluded between England, France, Spain and Holland. France ceded to England, besides the above, her possessions in the island of St. Christopher, Nova Scotia, Port Royal. In the name of Spain Louis ceded Upper Guelder to Prussia, acknowledged the king-title of Frederick I, and his sovereignty over Neufchatel. Savoy received Sicily and the right of succession [to the] throne, in default of the issue of Philip V. Frontier between France and Savoy the summits of the Alps. Holland obtains a commercial treaty and the exchange of a few places. *April 11,* 1713. Commercial treaty between France and England.

*1711.* Hungary pacified by the treaty of Szatmar. Czar Peter promised to assist him[f] with 30,000 men, if allowed to keep Livonia as a fief of the German empire. Short campaign, France on the Rhine superior to Austria.

*Sept. 7, 1714. Peace of Baden* between France and Austria. France acknowledges the right of the Emperor to Naples, Milan, Tuscany, Spanish Netherlands; restores Brisac and Fribourg. Electors of Bavaria and Cologne to be restored to their states.

*1715.* New league against Sweden joined by George I and Prussia.

Philip V not yet acknowledged by Austria. Not until *1715* treaty between Holland and Austria, which concedes Holland a few places in the Spanish Netherlands, in addition to the right of garrisoning several other places.

*1 September 1715.* Louis XIV †.

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[a] Szabó has "formal renunciation on the part of Philip V of the throne of France" (Vol. I, p. 167).—*Ed.*

[b] James Stuart.—*Ed.*

[c] Leopold I.—*Ed.*

[d] Poltava.—*Ed.*

[e] A slip of the pen. It should read "his brother".—*Ed.*

[f] Charles VI.—*Ed.*

## VII) *1715-1721*

George I [and] Duke of Orleans united in league against Spain. (Alberoni.)

*1699.* Peace of Carlowitz. Peter gets Azov; abandonment of all Hungary to Austria save the *Banat*; Morea rendered back to Venice; Podolia and Ukraine to Poland.

Under the treaty between England (Hanover), Prussia, Poland (Saxony) and Denmark, the Czar received the Baltic provinces; Prussia Stettin and dependencies, August of Saxony rex Poloniae Courland, Hanover Bremen-Verden, Denmark the island of Rügen with a part of Swedish Pomerania.[a] *1719.* Aaland conferences opened on April 24.[391] Agreed in Aaland isles that: Czar assists Charles XII to recover from Prussia Stettin and the part of Pomerania occupied by Prussian troops. Czar assists Sweden with 20,000 men for carrying on the war in Germany, and assists Charles to acquire Norway as indemnity for the Baltic provinces ceded to Russia. Czar assists Charles to gain back Bremen and Verden from George I, etc.

(also Restoration of Stuarts).

Death of Charles XII. Peace of the new Swedish Government with England, Denmark and Prussia.

(*Treaty of Stockholm,* November 1, 1719.)

*Treaty of Nystadt* (in Finland), *August 30, 1721.* (Sweden cedes Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, part of Carelia, district of Wiborg, islands Oesel, Dago, Moen, and the other islands off the coasts of the said provinces. Czar restores Finland except a part, to be determined at the regulation of the frontiers.)[392]

(Under the peace of Stockholm Schleswig fell to Denmark. Peter marries his daughter Anne to Duke of Holstein,[b] takes up his "rights". Originally, he in alliance with Denmark against this Duke.)

*"Transformation of the north of Europe, based on the dismemberment of Sweden."*

## VIII) *1715-1740. General Embroilment of Europe*

War between Spain and Austria in Italy. Austria supported by England. War of England and France against Spain.

Alberoni sent into exile.

*January 1720.* Spain accedes to the Quadruple Alliance.[393] *Sicily* made over to the Emperor,[c] Savoy receives Sardinia in exchange for it. Parma, Placentia,[d] Tuscany promised, on the death of the last Medici,[e] to Don Carlos, son of Philip V by his second wife, Elizabeth of Parma.

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[a] Marx put this paragraph after the words "*1719.* Aaland conferences opened on April 24". The editors have transferred it to maintain the chronological order.— *Ed.*

[b] Charles I.— *Ed.*

[c] Charles VI.— *Ed.*

[d] Piacenza.— *Ed.*

[e] Cosimo III.— *Ed.*

*1724. Congress of Cambray* (England, France, Spain, and Austria).

*1725.* Secret treaties between Spain and Austria. Counter-treaty of Hanover.[394]

*1728.* (Opened 14 June) *Congress of Soissons.*

*1729. Peace of Seville* between Spain, England and France.

*1731. Treaty of Vienna* between Austria, England and Holland. Death of king Augustus.

*September 1733. Stanislaus Leszinsky* proclaimed king of Poland. Russia (ruled by Anne since 1730) with Austria (Karl VI) are for the son[a] of the deceased king, who promised the emperor the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction,[395] and to the Czarina not to reclaim Courland, formerly a fief of Poland. *War about the crown of Poland.* France attacks Austria.

Marshal Berwick operates on the Rhine. Another French army, under Villars, crosses the Alps, and, joined by Charles Emanuel of Sardinia, drove the Austrians from Milan. Shortly afterwards Don Carlos (of Spain) (son of Elizabeth) penetrated into Naples and Sicily, where he was proclaimed king, dispersing (with the aid of the population, exasperated at the tyranny of the Austrian rule) the whole imperial army; and there was soon nothing left in Italy in Austrian hands, save the fortress of Mantua. Only 1,500 French troops sent to Danzic.

*1735. Peace of Vienna* (October) between France and Austria. (August III of Saxony shall be king of Poland. Stanislaus, with the kingly title, *receives the Duchies of Lorraine and Bar, to revert after his death to France.* Don Carlos retains Naples, Sicily, and the Austrian coast of Tuscany.) The Duke of Lorraine receives in exchange for his hereditary dominions the possession of Tuscany. *Sardinia shall receive Novara, Tortona, and a few other places in the Milanese.* Parma and Piacenza to be given to the Emperor. All the other conquests made by the allied armies to be restored. *Guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction* by France, Spain, the maritime powers and Russia. (Marie Therese, the Emperor's daughter, marries Francis of Lorraine.[b])

*1736.* Russo-Austrian war against the Porte. Russians invade the Crimea. Munich takes Perekop, lays waste the southern part of the peninsula.

*1737.* Munich takes Oczakow. Gen. Lascy (Russ) again penetrates into the Crimea. *Congress of Niemirov.* Russia demanded: 1) the abolition of all former treaties; 2) cession of the Crimea, the Kuban, and the other Tartar provinces; 3) independence of the Danubian provinces, under the protectorate of Russia; 4) Czar to be acknowledged (his title as *Emperor*); 5) free navigation in the Euxine,[c] the Bosphorus, the Hellespont, and the Mediterranean.

Austria asked large territories beyond the Danube, including Belgrade, Widdin, several portions of Moldavia and Wallachia.

*1739. Peace of Belgrade*: Everything restituted to the Porte except Azov. Further: The Porte remained in the possession of Belgrade, Orsova, and the disputed parts of Wallachia and Bosnia. (Never had Hungary had a better opportunity for recovering her independence. Rakoczy, ex-prince of Transylvania, in Turkey together with anti-Austrian Hungarian chiefs.)

*War in India*[d] between Spain and England. English declaration of war against Spain.[e]

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[a] Augustus III.— *Ed.*

[b] Francis Stephen (Francis I).— *Ed.*

[c] The Black Sea.— *Ed.*

[d] Szabó has "in the Indies". This refers to the West Indies.— *Ed.*

[e] Marx took this sentence from the chronological table at the end of Szabó's book, p. 386.— *Ed.*

*1740.* † Frederick William I, of Prussia; † Emperor Charles VI; † Anna of Russia.

*1713-1740. Barren unison of France with England.* Pitiable state of Sweden, divided into Hat (French) and Bonnet (Russian) parties, the latter of which soon gained the ascendancy.

## IX) *1740-1763. Austrian Succession War. Seven Years War*

*1740.* Invasion of Silesia by Frederick II.

*1741. Treaty of Nymphenburg,* based on the partition of Austria (between France, Elector of Bavaria,[a] Spain, August III (of Saxony and Poland), and Prussia). Habsburg saved by Hungarian enthusiasm, and the treacherous policy and half measure of Cardinal Fleury. *1741* (spring). Fred. II marches into Moravia. Sardinia, subsequently gained over to the other side, prepares for the invasion of Milan.

*1742.* England declares for Austria. *June 11* peace at Breslau between Frederick and Austria (he gets Lower Silesia). War between France and Austria goes on in Germany and Italy. *Frankfort* (1742) *Charles VII* (Bavaria) crowned Emperor.

To prevent Russia from rendering aid to Maria Theresia, French bring about a Russo-Swedish war; soon ended to Russia's profit. *1743* peace of Abo; Sweden to cede different places in Finland; to designate, at the behest of the Czarina,[b] the Duke of Holstein Gottorp,[c] successor to the Swedish crown.

*1745.* Treaty of Warsaw between England, Saxony and Austria against Frederick.

(*1743. Treaty of Worms* between Austria, England and Sardinia.) Frederick again enters the French alliance.

(*1744. Spring.* France and England declare war against each other.)[d]

*1745* (December). Peace of Dresden between Frederick and Austria: renewal of the treaty of Breslau, by which Frederick retained Silesia, promising his vote to Francis of Lorraine, consort of Maria Theresia. Emperor Charles Albert of Bavaria had died, his son[e] had made peace with Maria Theresia. (This the second separate Austro-Prussian peace.)

This peace enabled Maria Theresia to send large reinforcements to Italy where Milan, Parma and Piacenza had fallen into the hands of the Gallo-Spanish armies; scale turned.

England victorious in the Indies and the Mediterranean. Philip V of Spain †. Withdrawal of the Spanish troops from Italy. While Belleisle beaten in Italy, victories of Marshal de Saxe[f] and Lowendal in the Netherlands. Saxe in *1747* progresses through the territories of the Dutch Republic, reduction of the fortress Bergen-op Zoom. Maritime victories by the Engl. admirals Anson, Warren and Hawke. Russian army of 40,000 set in motion by Elizabeth, allured by the promise of English subsidies.

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[a] Charles VII (Charles Albert).— *Ed.*

[b] Elizabeth (Petrovna).— *Ed.*

[c] Adolphus Frederick.— *Ed.*

[d] Marx put this after the words "*1745* (December). Peace of Dresden between Frederick and Austria". The editors have transferred it in accordance with Marx's marginal notes.— *Ed.*

[e] Maximilian III Josef.— *Ed.*

[f] Maurice von Saxe.— *Ed.*

*1748. October. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle* which Maria Theresia could not but accept. Restitution of conquests by France and England. France gave up for Cape Breton the places in the Netherlands, and restored to England Madras; dispute about the frontiers in Canada left for subsequent decision. Parma, Piacenza, Gustalla[a] given to Don Philip and his male heirs. Sardinia remains in status quo; Assiento treaty for England prolonged for 4 years, guarantee of the English succession, expulsion of the Stuarts from France. Guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, confirmation of Lower Silesia to Frederick II. Germs of the new war the pending differences between France and England.

*1751-3.* Kaunitz' secret negotiations at Paris. Makes first abbé de Bernis, then Duc de Choiseul Minister.

*1754.* War recommences between France and England in America; dispute about the boundaries of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, ceded to England in the Utrecht treaty[396]; building of French forts along the Ohio, occupation by the French of the neutral islands of the Antilles, Tobago, St. Vincent, St. Lucia.

*January 1756. Anglo-Prussian treaty of Westminster.* Against it *Gallo-Austrian* defensive alliance of Versailles (*May 1756*). At the same time negotiations between Austria, Saxony, and (Elizabeth) Russia. *June 1756.* Capture of Fort Mahon by the French. Frederick defeats the Saxons at Pirna (surrender of 18,000 men) (autumn 1756).

*1757 (winter).* Austria, France, Russia, Sweden, and several "circles" of Germany collect force of 400,000 men against Frederick. Spring 1757 Fred. beats the Austrians at Prague; beaten by Daun at Collin,[b] forced to retreat to Saxony. Defeat of the Hanovero-Hessian troops by Richelieu.[397] (*Convention at Closter Seven,* by which Duke of Cumberland bound to disband the Han. Hess. troops.) Frederick persuades Richelieu to inaction, while he falls upon Soubise and the Germans under Prince Hildburghausen. *November 5 his victory at Rosbach,* while Richelieu remained inactive in his quarters at Halberstadt. Then to Silesia. *Victory at Lissa.*[398]

*1758.* Accession of Pitt (Lord Chatham) to the head of affairs.

*December 1758.* Second Gallo-Austrian treaty at Versailles. Louis XV engages to subsidise the Swedes, to maintain 100,000 army (French) in Germany, and to maintain also the Saxon army—Silesia and Glatz to be restituted to the empress,[c] the Rhenish provinces to be conquered from Prussia, to be ceded to Austria, the revenues, however, during the time of war, to be given to France. France forgot her maritime war,[399] to fight the battles of Austria.

*1759.* Defeat of Prussians at Hochkirchen.

*1759-60.* English victorious in the East Indies, in America (capture of Quebec by Wolfe, hence, the conquest of Canada) and in the West Indies.

Choiseul in Austria's interest.

*1761. Family compact* between the French and Spanish Bourbons. Chatham will anticipate Spain. Supplanted by *Lord Bute.* Invasion of Portugal by Spain.

*January 1762.* † Elizabeth of Russia. *Peter III* emperor. The propositions made to the Czar by *Lord Bute,* through the Russian minister, Prince Golitsin, to reduce Prussia to peace on any conditions, declined.

(Fred. II informed of these despatches by Peter III.)

*Bute's* secret negotiations with Austria for the dismemberment of Prussia met with no better success.

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[a] Guastalla.—*Ed.*

[b] Kolin.—*Ed.*

[c] Maria Theresa.—*Ed.*

*February 1763. Peace between England, France, Spain at Paris.* England received Nova Scotia, Canada, Cape Breton, while France a share in the fisheries of Newfoundland. Mississippi declared the boundary between Louisiana and the British settlements. France yielded to England, in the West Indies, Grenada and the neutral islands of St. Vincent, Domingo,[a] Tobago. In Africa the English restored Gorea, retained Senegal; Menorca restored to England. France recovered her small possessions in the East Indies, but engaged to maintain no troops in Bengal. Spain gave up to England Florida, confirms her right to cut logwood in the bay of Honduras, but Spain replaced in Cuba and Havanah. Portugal in the *status quo ante bellum.*

*Peace at Hubertusburg*[400] between Fred. and Austria (nothing else than a confirmation of the peace at Breslau and Dresden[b]). (Fred.engages to give his vote for Archduke Joseph, son of Maria Theresa, at the pending election of the king of the Roumans.) No territorial change in Europe after the 7 years' war.

If Frederick raised Prussia to the rank formerly occupied by Sweden (since the peace of Westphalia[401]), he is prudent enough to profit by, but too weak to arrest, the *progress of Muscovite ambition....* Fred. II had no great political plan. Silesia his whole and single idea.

*The distinctive character of this period the decline of France.* In the first war the alliances of France with Frederick, twice thrown overboard by him, failed to wrest the German sceptre from dilapidated Austria. In the second war, France, allied with that same Austria, Saxony, Sweden and Russia, failed even to dispossess Frederick of Silesia.

## X) *1763-1774. Partition of Poland. Peace of Kainardji*

*Augustus III,* Saxon king of Poland, †. *June 1762. Catherine* usurps throne of Russia. Catherine and Frederick declare for Poniatowski. *Defensive alliance between them,* contains secret clause not to permit any changes in the anomalous constitution of Poland.[402]

*1764.* Russian troops march into Poland. *September* enthrone Poniatowski. Russian minister[c] at Warsaw real president of the assemblies of Poland. Catherine declares for the dissidents (Greeks and Protestants), also supported by England and Sweden, as the guarantees of the peace of Oliva.

*Diet of 1767.* Prince Repnin, the Russian ambassador, assumes the part of a dictator. *Polish Confederacy of Bar* (in Podolia). War with the Russians; the remnant of the Bar confederates driven into the dominions of the Porte, excited by France to mingle in the Russo-Polish war. At the end of 1768 or the beginning of 1769 the Sultan[d] throws the Russian Ambassador[e] in the 7 towers.

*1770.* Russo-Turkish war.[f]

(*Corsica* sold to France by Genoa.)[g]

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[a] Dominica.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 517.— *Ed.*

[c] Nikolai Vasilyevich Repnin.— *Ed.*

[d] Mustafa III.— *Ed.*

[e] Alexei Mikhailovich Obreskov.— *Ed.*

[f] Marx took this from the chronological table at the end of Szabó's book, p. 386.— *Ed.*

[g] Marx put this after the words "*1772. Partition of Poland*". The editors have transferred it in accordance with the way the material is presented in Szabó's book.— *Ed.*

*1772. Partition of Poland.* By the partition Prussia obtained *West Prussia* (600,000 souls; master of the Vistula, the inlets and outlets of Polish commerce); Catherine: *Lithuania* and the country between the rivers Dvina and Dnieper (1,800,000 souls); Austria: Lodomeria, Gallicia, and other parts surrounding Hungary (3,000,000 souls).

*July 1774. (Peace of Kainardji.) (Independence of the Crimea.)* Azov, Kinburn, Kertch, Yenikale for Russia, etc. The right of Russia to make verbal applications at Constantinople, in behalf of Moldavia and Wallachia.

Austria obtains the *Bukovina* part of Moldavia (Austria, the ally of Turkey).

## XI) *1774-1783. American War of Independence.*[a] *Peace of Paris*

*1763.* Rigorous regulations (British) to prevent smuggling; stamp duty.[403]

*1773.* Boston demonstration (ship-cargoes with tea thrown into the sea).

*December 1776.* (Franklin arrives in France.)

*6 February 1778.* Treaty between France and the revolted Colonies.[b]

*April 1778.* French fleet under Count d'Estaing with a considerable land force sets sail for America.

*Joseph* (of Austria) attempts to annex Lower Bavaria (after the death of the Elector Maximilian Joseph) to Austria.

### Potato war.[404]

He tries also to open by force of arms the free navigation of the Scheldt.

*1779.* Spain joins with France in the war against England.

*1780.* Russia proclaims the Armed Neutrality.[c][405]

*3 September 1783.* Peace of Versailles between France, Spain, America, England.

*May 1784.* Peace between England and Holland.

## XII) *1783-1790. Final annexation of the Crimea to the Russian Empire*

Austria in alliance with Russia, ready to share in the spoil.

*1790.* Prusso-Turkish Alliance.... Congress of Reichenbach (entire conciliation of Prussia and Austria[406]).... Peace of Werila (on the basis of the status quo) between Sweden and Russia[407].... Discontent of the Hungarians and Belgians.... Peace of Szistova between Austria and Turkey[408].... Peace of Jassy (between Russia and Turkey).[409]

Austria, since the days of Charles V, was never able either to conquer, or to recover, a single province.

# [Volume II][410]

## Ia) *1790-1796*

*1791, August 25.* Austro-Prussian declaration of Pilnitz.

*1792* (April 20). French declaration of war against Austria.

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[a] Szabó has "The war of the British-American colonies..." (*The State Policy...*, Vol. I, p. 296).—*Ed.*

[b] Marx took this item from the chronological table at the end of Szabó's book, p. 386.—*Ed.*

[c] Item taken by Marx from Szabó's chronological table (ibid., p. 387).—*Ed.*

*1792 (July 25, Coblenz).* Brunswick's proclamation.
*1793, 21 January.* Louis Capet executed.
*1793, 25 March.* Convention of Pitt with Russia, followed by treaties of alliance and subsidies with Sardinia, Spain, the Bourbon Princes of Italy, Prussia, Austria, Portugal, and several petty states of Germany

(against France).

*1st Coalition.* (While sending his troops into the heart of France, the Prussian king[a] plotted with Catherine a second partition of Poland.)
*July 1793. Second partition of Poland.* Prussia: Danzic and Thorn.

(The new constitution of Poland had been proclaimed May 3, 1791.) (Throne hereditary.) (Russian campaign in Poland 1792.) (Convention between Prussia and Russia of St. Petersburg, January 23, 1793. Prussians enter Poland. Russia got nearly the half of Lithuania (the Palatinates of Podolia, Polotsk and Minsk, the half of Novogrodek,[b] Brest, Volhynia) (3 millions of inhabitants).[c]

Catherine vehemently inveighed against *France,* keeping her forces at home.
*April 1794.* (Subsidiary agreement between Prussia and England.)

*March 24, 1794.* Kościuszko (dictator). Insurrection at Warsaw and Vilna. Austria despatches also an army. *November 9, 1794.* Suworow enters Warsaw.

*3 January 1795.* Separate Declaration of Petersburg between Austria and Russia (relating to the division). *October 24, 1795.* Prussia signs with Austria the convention of Petersburg. Cracow for Austria. Russia obtained the remainder of Poland and Lithuania as far as the Niemen, and the confines of Brest and Novogrodek, greater part of Samogitia, all of Courland and Semigalia. In little Poland that part of the territory of Chelm situated on the right bank of the Bug, and the remainder of Volhynia. (1,200,000.)

Austria [obtains], besides principal part of Cracow, Palatinates of Sandomir and Lublin, part of the district of Chelm, Palatinates of Brest, Podolactia[d] and Masovia (on the left bank of the Bug) (about 1 million of souls).

*Prussia* part of Masovia and Podolactia on the right bank of the Bug, in Lithuania part of the Palatinate of Troki and Samogitia and small district in little Poland, part of the Palatinate of Cracow (about 1 million).

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[a] Frederick William II.— *Ed.*
[b] Novogrudok.— *Ed.*
[c] This paragraph is not based on Szabó's book, but on some other source.— *Ed.*
[d] Podlachia.— *Ed.*

*III partition of Poland*

Russia hitherto the greatest gainer by the French war. The first in impressing upon England, Austria, Prussia the dangers of the revolutionary principles, Catherine pursued her separate interests, without furnishing a single Cossack or a single rouble for the "common cause". Her few vessels sent to the assistance of England had the appearance of mockery.

*5 April 1795.* Basel Peace of France with Prussia. Definite and secret treaty in August. Prussia ceded her possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, to be indemnified by the secularisation of several German bishoprics. Spain follows. (France holds only Spanish part of St. Domingo.[411]) Tuscany [made] peace with France earlier on. Two powers of the Baltic neutral. England now only with Sardinia and Austria. Belgium incorporated into France. Parts of Holland ceded to France.[412]

## IIa) *1796-1801 (peace of Luneville)*

*April 1796.* (3 consecutive battles—Bonaparte—decide the fate of Sardinia.) (France obtained Savoy, Nice and the right to occupy several fortresses.) Bonaparte in Lombardy. The colonies of the Batavian republic had fallen into the hands of Great Britain.

*Catherine † 17 November 1796.*

*18 April 1797.* Peace preliminaries at Leoben signed by Austria.

*Cisalpine Republic* (Modena, Ferrara, Romagna, Mantua). *Ligurian republic* (Genoa, etc.)

*17 October 1797. Peace of Campoformio.* (Austria renounces the Netherlands, consents to the acquisition of the left bank of the Rhine by France. *Receives Venice* and the *Dalmatian part of the Venetian territory.* Albania and the Venetian or Ionian islands become French.)[413]

(*May 19, 1798.* Bonaparte leaves Toulon for Egypt.) (Malta Bonaparte conquers in June 1798.)[a] *March 15, 1798. Rastatt Congress.*[414]

*December 1798. Treaty between England and Russia.* (Both [form] separate alliance with Turkey and Sicily.) Swiss Republic under French Protectorate. Occupation by the French of the Papal states.

*Second Coalition.*

*April 1799.* Dissolution of the Rastatt Congress.

Austria enters *the 2nd coalition.* By and by Portugal, Bavaria, Elector of Mayence,[b] Duke of Württemberg[c] enter it. War in Italy and Germany. Naples overthrown. *Parthenopean Republic.*[415] Piedmont [becomes] French under false pretences (de facto. *Charles Emanuel IV* withdraws to Sardinia.)

(*9 October 1799.* Bonaparte lands in France.)

*June 14, 1799.* Marengo. British take Malta. *Emperor Paul: armed neutrality* with Denmark, Sweden and Prussia.

*March 23, 1801.* Paul †. Alexander I.

*9 February 1801. Peace of Luneville.* (Rhine recognised by Austria as the boundary of France. Division of Venetian territory. Cession of Belgium to France.) (Cisalpine, Ligurian, Helvetian, Batavian republics recognised.)

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[a] Marx took this from the chronological table at the end of Szabó's book.—*Ed.*

[b] Friedrich Karl Joseph, Baron of Erthal.—*Ed.*

[c] Frederick I.—*Ed.*

## IIIa) *1801-1805*

*January 1802.* Bonaparte president of the Italian republic.

*27 March 1802. Peace of Amiens* (France, England, Spain, Holland). (England retains Trinidad and Ceylon.) (Malta to be evacuated by the English, independent.) (France promises to evacuate Naples, Papal states; England all the ports and islands in the Mediterranean and Adriatic. Republic of the Ionian islands, integrity of Turkey guaranteed.)

*May 18, 1803.* England declares war to France.

*May 18, 1804.* Bonaparte Emperor. *2 December 1804* crowned by Pope.[a]

## IVa) *1805-1807. 3d Coalition. Peace of Tilsit*

*Petersburg* the pivot of new combinations against France.

*11 April 1805. Coalition Treaty between England and Russia.* (*Sweden* already bound to England[b] by a treaty of December 1804, by which Stralsund was made the dépôt of the English.)

Declar. Petersburg of August 9, exchanged between Austria with England and Russia.

*17 October 1805.* Capitulation of Ulm. *2 December* Austerlitz.

*26 December 1805. Separate peace of Pressburg* (Austria and Bonaparte). (Napoleon recognised as king of Italy. Austria loses her Venetian part. Cedes Tyrol to Bavaria; other parts to Baden and Württemberg. Bavaria and Württemberg kingdoms, Baden Grand Duchy.)

*January 23, 1806.* Pitt †. Fox negotiates with France. *Russia thwarts the peace negotiations.* September 13, 1806. Fox †.

*July 12, 1806* (*Paris. Confederation of the Rhine,* 16 German princes.)

*6 August 1806.* Austria resigns the title of German Emperor. (*Empire at an end.*)

*October 14, 1806.* Battle of Jena and Auerstädt.

*June 14, 1807.* Battle of Friedland.

*July 7, 1807. Peace of Tilsit.* (Warsaw and part of West Prussia given to *August III* (Saxony) and raised into a kingdom; East Prussia to the Czar. *Secret articles*: Moldavia and Wallachia to Russia, Morea and Candia[c] to France, Continental System. Deposition of Bourbons in Spain.)

## Va) *1807-1814. (Peace of Paris)*

*October 1808.* Congress of Erfurt. Conquests of Russia in Sweden (Finland) and Turkey (Danubian Principalities).

(At the same time the Russians engaged in backstage dealings[d] with Prussia and Austria against France.)

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[a] Pius VII.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx has "Russia", probably a slip of the pen.—*Ed.*

[c] Crete.—*Ed.*

[d] The original is illegible here.—*Ed.*

*March 1809.* Austrian Manifesto calls the Tyroleans to arms. Archduke John into Italy, Ferdinand marched upon Warsaw, Charles into Bavaria.

*12 May 1809.* Napoleon enters Vienna. *5, 6 July* Wagram. *10 Oct.* Peace at Schönbrunn. (Austria cedes Carinthia, part of Tyrol, the territory of Trieste, part of Croatia, Hungarian Adriatic Coast with Fiume. King of Saxony[a] received West Gallicia; *Russia another part of Austrian Poland,* for her tardy and reluctant manoeuvres during the campaign, as the ally of France.) (*Austria had received secret assurances of the neutrality of the Czar.*)

*September 1809.* Peace of Russia with Sweden. *(It obtained Finland and the Aaland isles.)*

*December 1810.* Ukase issued by Russia against the principles of the Continental System.

*By the end of 1811,* the whole of the plots between the northern courts and the court of St. James ripe for execution. Pozzo di Borgo and Prince Luberminski channels between Petersburg and London. Bernadotte already looked upon as a sure card. Prussia and Russia already favoured with arms and ammunition by England. General rising in Italy prepared by Pozzo.

*1812.* Peace of Bucharest under English mediation[b]; acquisition by Russia of Bessarabia and part of Moldavia.

*1813, February.* Prusso-Russian treaty of Kalisch.

*1814, April 12.* Abdication of Napoleon.

*1814, May 30. Peace of Paris.* (France limits of 1792. Certain augmentations on the North side.[c])

## VIa) *May 1814 to November 1815*

*1 November 1814.* Opening of the Congress of Vienna.

*9 January 1815.* Secret treaty between Austria, France, and England.

*1 March 1815.* Bonaparte lands in France.

*June 18, 1815.* Waterloo. (*September 26, 1815.* Holy Alliance.)

*End of June 1815.* Congress of Vienna ends. ("Kingdom of Poland" to Russia; part of the Duchy of Warsaw (Posen) to Prussia. Gallicia to Austria. Prussia received half of Saxony, part of Swedish Pomerania, several provinces of Westphalia, and on the left bank of the Rhine. Belgium and Luxemburg to Holland. *Austria* obtains (in exchange for Belgium) besides its former possessions the whole of Venice, Mantua, etc. (Modena, Tuscany and Parma for other members of the Habsburg family.) Naples restored to Ferdinand.[d] Genoa to Piedmont. Denmark must give up Norway to Sweden. Austria gets president of the Frankfort diet.[416] *Switzerland*: Valois,[e] Neufchatel, Geneva added to it. Several settlements in the Indies, the Cape of Good Hope, Malta, the Ionian islands, Heligoland—spoils from France, Holland, Venice, the Knights of St. John and Denmark to England.)

*26 September 1815. Holy Alliance.*

*20 November 1815. Second Paris Treaty.* France obliged to give up several frontier fortresses on the side of the Rhine, Netherlands, Alps.

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[a] Frederick Augustus I.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx took this sentence from the chronological table at the end of Szabó's book, p. 388.—*Ed.*

[c] Presumably this refers to Holland (see Szabó, *The State Policy...*, Vol. I, p. 92).—*Ed.*

[d] Ferdinand I.—*Ed.*

[e] Valais.—*Ed.*

## VIIa) *1815-1825*

*October 1817.* Festival of the German students at Wartburg. Burschenschaft.[417] Abolition of the constitution (of 1812) of Sicily. Ditto of Cortes in Spain.[418]

*September 1818. Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.* Evacuation of France. The war in Portugal. War between Spain and her American colonies. *Periodical meetings* proposed by Metternich, to keep down the revolutionary spirit. *November 15* protocol signed with relation to those meetings. Castlereagh had signed it. France also taken into the Holy Alliance; [Castlereagh] departs on command of his ministry. (Metternich, Hardenberg, Nesselrode the triumvirate.)

*1819. Congress at Carlsbad* under Austro-Prussian auspices; afterwards transferred to Vienna. Remodelled the German constitution. Police-Commission at Maynz.[419] Carbonari (formed in 1809 around the throne of Emperor Francis[a]).[420] Pope[b] thunders against Carbonarism and Freemasons.

*January 1820. Ferdinand of Spain*[c] forced to restore the constitution of the Cortes, ditto *Ferdinand king of Naples (6 July).* (General William Pepe, leader of the Carbonari.)

*August 1820.* Proclamation issued in Lombard-Venetia by Emp. Francis I against Carbonarism.

*October 1820. Congress at Troppau.* Armed interference against Naples proposed by Metternich. (Dissent of Castlereagh) (who, however, "will leave Austria unembarrassed in her cause"); the congress transferred to

*Laybach (1821).*

*February 1821.* Austrian army enters Naples under Baron Fremont.[d] Outbreak in Sardinia, Wallachia, Greece. Austrian armed intervention in Sardinia.

*1822. September. Congress of Verona.* Protest of Canning. French intervention in Spain.

*28 January 1823.* Crown speech of Louis XVIII. Announces the intervention in Spain. Alexander I distinctly announced his resolve to aid France if attacked by England. (Metternich began to equivocate.)

*Counter-revolution in Portugal.* (1822 House of Braganza had granted constitution similar to that of Spain.[421] (King John VI.) (Made counter-revolution with the aid of his son, Don Miquel and the Count Amarazda.[e]) *Canning* forbids Spanish Intervention; acknowledges the independence of the American Colonies.)

*December 2, 1823. Message to the American Congress of James Monroe,* the President.

*1825.* Mexico acknowledged by Canning.

*September 1824. Louis XVIII* †. Charles X.

*1 October 1825.* Alexander I ("The White Angel" of Madame de Krüdener[f]) †. *Nicolaus.*

## VIIIa) *1825-1834*

*Mohamed II* (Reformer). (Mutiny of the Janissaries, discontent of the Ulemas,[422] defection of several Pashas.) ("Hetäria".) (First established in Moscow.[423]) (Alexander's Ionian minister,[424] Capo d'Istria, chief instrument in the Greek

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[a] Francis I.—*Ed.*

[b] Pius VII.—*Ed.*

[c] Ferdinand VII.—*Ed.*

[d] Johann Maria Philipp Frimont.—*Ed.*

[e] Dom Miguel and Count of Amarante.—*Ed.*

[f] See this volume, p. 138.—*Ed.*

movement.) (Ali Pasha, of Janina, gives in 1821 signal to the general rising of the Greeks.) (Alexander Ypsilanti in Wallachia first rising. Simultaneous risings in the Peloponnesus, the Archipelago, etc. Destruction of the Janissaries.)

*February 1825.* Ibrahim Pasha (son of Mehemet Ali) lands in Morea.

## Quarrel of Turkey with Russia, before Alexander's death.

*4 April 1826.* Anglo-Russian Protocol (of Petersburg) on Greece.

*Treaty of Ackerman October 1826* (between Russia and Turkey). (Stipulations with regard to the Principalities[a] and Servia.)

*March 1826.* King John VI of Portugal †. (His eldest son Don Pedro gives Portugal to his daughter Maria.) Metternich intrigues with and for the Sultan.[b]

*6th July 1827. Treaty* (on Greece) signed in London by France, England, and Russia (mediation upon the belligerents).

*October 20, 1827.* Navarino Disaster. (Canning meanwhile †.)

*Spring 1828.* Russian army crosses the Pruth. Occupies the Principalities. Pozzo, bosom friend of La Ferronnays, French Minister, privy to every secret communication proceeding from Vienna.

*14 September 1829. Treaty of Adrianople*; the mouth of the Danube acquired by Russia. Count Capo d'Istria President of Greece.

*1830, July. Accession of Louis Philippe. September.* Revolution in Belgium.

*1831. Rise of the Poles. Risings in Italy.* Settlement of the Belgian affairs. Settlement of the Greek affairs.[c]

*October 1831.* Finis Poloniae.[d]

*20 January 1831.* Declaration of Belgian independence.

*1833, February.* Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi (*10 July*).[425]

*7 May 1832.* Otto of Bavaria King of Greece.

(Russia which extorted, under the cover of the Greek war, the treaty of Ackerman, and then that of Adrianople, was the sole gainer among the European powers.)

## *1832.* On Metternich's initiative reactionary measures in Germany.

### IXa) *1834-1846*

1828. (Revolt of Don Miquel.) *1832.* Don Pedro lands in Terceira.

*Ferdinand of Spain* † 1833. *July 1, 1833.* (Sir Charles Napier destroys the Miquelite squadrons at Cape St. Vincent.)

*April 1834. Quadruple Alliance* (England, France, Spain, Portugal).[426]

*Treaty of July 15, 1840.*[427]

*6 November 1846.* Cracow incorporated into Austria.

### XIa) *1846-1850*[e]

*Pope Pius IX. Swiss Confederation* wages war [against the Sonderbund[428]].

*Revolution of February 1848.*

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[a] Moldavia and Wallachia.— *Ed.*

[b] Mahmood II.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx took this item from the chronological table at the end of Szabó's book, p. 389.— *Ed.*

[d] See this volume, p. 148.— *Ed.*

[e] Marx omitted Chapter X ("Theories of International Law") of Szabó's book.— *Ed.*

*November 1846.* Pope issues order for the convocation of a "Consulta di Stato".[429]

*Pressburg diet of 1847.*

*9 August 1848. Charles Albert* (Sardinia) forced to buy the *armistice at Solasco* (lasts until *mid-March* 1849).

*25 November 1848.* Flight of Pius.

*May 1848.* Frankfort Assembly.

*March 23, 1849.* Battle of Novara.

*14 April 1849.* Independence of Hungary proclaimed.

*9 February 1849.* Republic proclaimed at Rome.

*30 June 1849.* Rome falls. *13 August 1849.* Hungary surrenders.

*August 22, 1849.* Venice surrenders.

*1848, July. Entry of the Russians into the Principalities.*

Duke of Genoa[a] becomes king of Sicily.

*1849.*[430] *February.* The Russians in Transylvania.

*March 15.* The Russians expelled from Transylvania.

*March 23.* Defeat of the Sardinians at Novara.

*April 14.* Dethronisation (Hungary) of the Habsburgs.

*February 9.* Rome Republic.

*April 1849.* Treaty of Balta Liman.

*April 22.* French embark for Civita Vecchia.

*June.* Russians enter *Hungary.*

*June 30.* Rome surrenders to the French.

*August 13.* Surrender of the chief Hungarian corps to the Russians.

*August 22.* Surrender of Venice.

## XIIa) *1850-1853*

*1850, January.* Greece blockaded by the English.

*May 24.* Three Kings' Treaty (Prussia, Saxony, Hanover).[b]

*October.* Warsaw conferences.

*December.* Austro-Russian conferences at Dresden.

*1851, December 2. Coup d'Etat.*

*1851,* Russians withdraw from the principalities.

*1852, December 2.* French Empire proclaimed.

*December 6.* Its recognition announced in the British Parliament.

*1852, May.* Danish succession treaty.

## XIIIa) *1853-56*[c]

Compiled in June 1860

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* Second Russian Edition, Vol. 44, Moscow, 1977

Printed according to the manuscript in English and German

Published in English for the first time

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[a] Ferdinando Maria Alberto.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick William IV, Frederick Augustus II and Ernest Augustus.—*Ed.*

[c] Here the manuscript breaks off.—*Ed.*

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] This letter is the first document bearing on the Vogt case (see Note 12). In the spring of 1859 Karl Vogt had published his pamphlet *Studien zur gegenwärtige Lage Europas* (Genf und Bern, 1859) in which he put forward a Bonapartist conception of foreign policy. In June 1859, an anonymous pamphlet, *Zur Warnung* (*A Warning*), appeared in London. It was published in the London newspaper *Das Volk*, No. 7, June 18, 1859 under the heading *Warnung zur gefälligen Verbreitung* (*A Warning. With a Request for Circulation*—in *Herr Vogt* and his letters Marx refers to it as *Zur Warnung*) in the column "Reichsverraetherei", and it exposed Vogt's Bonapartist intrigues and his attempts to bribe some journalists to present a Bonapartist picture of developments. As Marx shows, the pamphlet was written by Karl Blind. Wilhelm Liebknecht sent a proof sheet of *Zur Warnung* to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* (see this volume, p. 114) which published it in its No. 173 on June 22, 1859 in the article "Karl Vogt und die deutsche Emigration in London" ("Karl Vogt and the German Emigrés in London"). This induced Vogt to bring an action against the *Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Blind denied authorship of *Zur Warnung* thus making it impossible for the *Allgemeine Zeitung* to refute Vogt's complaint. This caused Marx to send its editors a statement by the compositor Vögele confirming Blind's authorship (see this volume, pp. 117-19).

The present letter by Marx was published by the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 300, October 27, 1859 under the editorial heading "Prozess Vogt gegen die Redaction der *Allgemeinen Zeitung*" ("Vogt's Action against the Editors of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*") in the column "Neuste Posten" alongside the relevant statements by E. Biscamp, A. Vögele and W. Liebknecht. p. 3

[2] The *Volks-Zeitung* and the *Allgemeine Zeitung* did not publish this statement. The *Reform* carried it in the Supplement to its No. 139 on November 19, 1859 under the editorial heading "Zum Prozesse von Carl Vogt contra die Augsburger *Allgemeine Zeitung*" ("Concerning Carl Vogt's Lawsuit against the *Allgemeine Zeitung*"). The statement was prefaced with the following editorial note: "In view of the great interest *Carl Vogt*'s lawsuit against the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* has evoked everywhere, we would not deny Herr K. Marx acceptance of the following letter which casts a new light on the grave and

utterly *unproved* accusations made by *Karl Blind* against the former member of the Frankfurt Parliament." p. 4

[3] Excerpts from *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* first appeared in English in the Chartist *People's Paper* in "A Review of the Literature on the Coup d'état" written by Johann Georg Eccarius, a Communist League member, and published in instalments from October to December 1852 (see this edition, Vol. 11). The last part of the "Review" (*The People's Paper,* Nos. 32 and 33, December 11 and 18) contained passages from the first chapter of *The Eighteenth Brumaire.* p. 5

[4] Here and below Marx refers to the book *Des idées napoléoniennes* written by Louis Bonaparte in England and published in Paris and Brussels in 1839. p. 5

[5] Apart from the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 325, November 21, 1859 (Supplement), this "Declaration" was published in Karl Vogt's *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung,* Genf, 1859 (Dokumente, Nr. 12). p. 8

[6] This declaration, published as a leaflet in London in February 1860, was repeatedly referred to by Marx as a circular because he had sent it, together with the "Declaration" of February 6, 1860 (see this volume, pp. 12-13), to a number of German newspapers. Marx translated the closing part of the circular into German and included it in the main body of his *Herr Vogt* (see this volume, pp. 127-28). He also included this section, in English, in the Appendix (11) to this work. p. 10

[7] Besides the newspapers listed under Marx's text this "Declaration" was published in the Berlin *Publicist* (see Marx's letter to Engels of February 13, 1860, present edition, Vol. 41). Marx also sent copies of the "Declaration" to the *National-Zeitung* and the *Frankfurter Journal* (see his letter to Engels of February 7, 1860) but these papers did not publish it.

*Die Reform* printed the "Declaration" with the editorial note: "The pamphlet is headed 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette' and is available for inspection at the editorial office."

The opening part of the "Declaration" was included by Marx in the Preface to *Herr Vogt* (see this volume, p. 25). p. 12

[8] This letter was not published. A copy of it, written in Marx's hand, is extant. (See Marx's letters to Engels of February 9 and 14, 1860 and to Legal Counsellor Weber of February 24, 1860, present edition, Vol. 41.) p. 14

[9] This refers to the strict twofold censorship imposed by the Prussian Government on the *Rheinische Zeitung,* which was edited by Marx. p. 17

[10] As can be seen from an entry in Marx's notebook for 1860 this declaration was also sent to the Hamburg *Freischütz* which, however, did not publish it. p. 18

[11] Marx sent this "Declaration" to the *Volks-Zeitung* and *Die Reform.* p. 19

[12] Marx's exposé *Herr Vogt* was written in reply to Vogt's pamphlet *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung,* Genf, 1859, which heaped slander on Marx and his associates in the Communist League. Vogt wrote his pamphlet after the

*Allgemeine Zeitung* had reprinted the pamphlet *Zur Warnung,* which exposed Vogt's Bonapartist intrigues (see Note 1). Vogt had brought an action against the newspaper. His complaint was dismissed, and in December 1859 he published his pamphlet. The bourgeois press gave his slanderous accusations the broadest publicity. On January 31, 1860 Marx wrote to Engels: "The jubilation of the bourgeois press is, of course, unbounded" (see present edition, Vol. 41). The Berlin *National-Zeitung* gave a résumé of Vogt's pamphlet in two leading articles (Nos. 37 and 41, January 22 and 25, 1860). A number of European periodicals, notably the Hamburg *Freischütz* (Nos. 17-21, April 1860), the *Breslauer Zeitung,* the London *Daily Telegraph* (February 5, 1860) and the Paris *Revue contemporaine* (XIII, February 15, 1860), also gave it extensive coverage.

In the interests of the proletarian party, then in process of formation, Marx decided to answer Vogt through the press. He did so in his exposé *Herr Vogt.* He also intended to bring an action for libel against the *National-Zeitung.* In late January 1860 he began gathering the material for his book against Vogt and his action against the *National-Zeitung.* With this aim in view he wrote dozens of letters to people with whom he was connected in his political and revolutionary activity and received from them material exposing Vogt. Letters arrived from J. Ph. Becker, G. Lommel (as Marx wrote to Engels on November 13, 1860, Lommel's letter provided the basis for Chapter IX, "Agency", of *Herr Vogt*), S. Borkheim and others. C. A. Dana, C. D. Collet, L. L. Jottrand, J. Lelewel, B. Szemere, M. Perczel, N. I. Sazonov and others sent letters bearing witness to Marx's faultless political record. Marx was also supported by Ernest Jones, which led to the resumption of their old friendship. In mid-February 1860 Marx began sending evidence against Friedrich Zabel, editor of the *National-Zeitung,* to Legal Counsellor Weber, who instituted legal proceedings against Zabel. However, between April and October 1860 Marx's complaint was dismissed at every level of the Prussian judiciary.

While supplying evidence for his action, Marx continued to work on his exposé of Vogt. His preparatory materials for it, contained above all in his notebooks for 1858-60, and the numerous direct and indirect references to various sources in the book itself, testify to the vastness of the factual material Marx had gone through. He studied the political and diplomatic history of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and made copious notes on foreign policy from books and periodicals of different orientations, from Bonapartist pamphlets brought out by the Dentu publishers, from *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates,* from *Blue Books* and from other sources.

In September Marx by and large concluded his work on *Herr Vogt.* However, following the dismissal of his charge against Zabel, he wrote one more chapter, "A Lawsuit", in which he criticised the Prussian judiciary. In a letter to Engels dated October 2, 1860 Marx gave a summary of *Herr Vogt* which, with some alterations, he later incorporated in the book as its table of contents. In the letter, Section 5 of Chapter III was entitled "Central Festival of Workers in Lausanne"; in the book its title is "Central Festival of the German Workers' Educational Associations in Lausanne (June 26 and 27, 1859)"; Chapter VIII bears the title "Vogt's Studies" in the letter, and "Dâ-Dâ Vogt and His Studies" in the book. The latter change accentuates the similarity of views of the Bonapartist Vogt and the contemporary Arab journalist Dâ-Dâ, who translated Bonapartist pamphlets into Arabic on the instructions of the Algerian authorities.

Marx considered several titles for his book. Originally he intended to call it *Ex-Imperial Vogt* or *Dâ-Dâ Vogt* (see his letter to Engels of September 25, 1860). Both versions met with the objections of Engels, and it was at his suggestion that the book was entitled *Herr Vogt* (see Marx's letters to Engels of October 2 and November 13, 1860 and Engels' letters to Marx of October 1 and 5, 1860 in Vol. 41 of the present edition). Originally every chapter had a résumé at the end, but Marx omitted them because the book, as he wrote in his letter to Engels of December 6, 1860, had "grown without my noticing it".

Publication of *Herr Vogt* involved serious difficulties, both financial ones and those connected with the revelations contained in this scathing polemic (see, for instance, Marx's letters to Engels of September 15 and 25 and to Lassalle of September 15, 1860). The book was sent to the printers in September 1860 (Marx to Lassalle, September 15, 1860) and appeared on December 1, 1860. The publisher was A. Petsch (London) and the printer R. Hirschfeld. In his letter to Marx of December 5, 1860 Engels deplored the numerous misprints and spelling mistakes, and also the absence of résumés at the end of chapters. Such résumés, he wrote, would have been "extremely effective" and, at the same time, "brought out the artistry of the whole arrangement which is truly admirable".

Marx took steps to ensure the wide circulation of the book as a means of exposing Vogt and other Bonapartist agents among journalists. Advertisements of its publication were sent to more than 40 newspapers, mostly German ones, in Germany, Switzerland and America, and also to a number of British papers (Marx to Engels, December 12, 1860 and January 22, 1861). But only a few newspapers published them: the *Genfer Grenzpost*, No. 12, December 22, 1860, the Hamburg *Reform* (supplements to Nos. 150 and 152, December 15 and 19, 1860) and *Freischütz*, the Berlin *Publicist* and *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, and the *Kölnische Zeitung* (Marx to Engels, December 26, 1860 and January 8 and 22, 1861, Engels to Marx, January 7, 1861). Most papers ignored the book. In his letter to Engels of January 22, 1861 Marx wrote with bitterness: "The scoundrels ... want to consign it to oblivion." The censorship and the police authorities, in particular those of the Bonapartist Second Empire, reacted guardedly. A report from Paris in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of April 19, 1861 said: "By way of warning to booksellers *Herr Vogt* by Karl Marx was placed on the list of proscribed books, thus frustrating the appearance of a muchabridged French version which is now printing" (Marx to Engels, May 16, 1861).

The book was duly appreciated by Marx's friends and acquaintances. On receiving it Engels wrote to Marx: "That thing is grand. Especially the chapters 'Studies' and 'Agency'; cela est écrasant." Two days later he wrote: "The more I read of the book, the better it pleases me." And still later: "It's certainly the best piece of polemical writing you have ever done" (Engels to Marx, December 3, 5 and 19, 1860). W. Wolff's comment was: "It is a masterpiece from beginning to end." Contemporaries greatly appreciated Marx's closely reasoned arguments. For instance, P. Imandt wrote in January 1861 that it had banished whatever doubts he still had about Vogt's treachery in 1849. Lassalle, who originally objected to the very idea of writing a polemic against Vogt, was forced to admit that there were solid grounds for accusing Vogt of association with Bonapartist circles. This was also granted by people whose views widely differed from Marx's. For instance, L. Bucher, as Marx wrote to Engels on December 19, 1860, admitted the validity of Marx's arguments and that the

book had destroyed "any prejudice he might have had against Marx's agitational activities".

A number of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois journalists attempted to refute Marx's exposé of Vogt as a Bonapartist agent. This was the purpose of Eduard Meyen's libellous article "Die neue Dunciation Karl Vogt's durch K. Marx" ("The New Dunciation of Karl Vogt by Karl Marx") in *Der Freischütz,* Nos. 155 and 156, December 27 and 29, 1860 and No. 1, January 1, 1861 (Marx to Engels, January 3, 1861). Marx was also attacked by Bettziech (pen name of the German petty-bourgeois democrat H. Beta) in the *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes,* No. 2, January 9, 1861. Complimentary notices on the book were published in the *Kölnischer Anzeiger* (Marx to Engels, January 18, 1861).

No second edition of *Herr Vogt* appeared during the lifetime of Marx and Engels. Only a few short excerpts were reprinted. Thus a passage from Chapter X ("Patrons and Accomplices") appeared in the *Breslauer Zeitung,* No. 115, March 9, 1861 under the heading "Zur Charakteristik Kossuth's" ("Concerning Kossuth") and in the Leipzig *Demokratisches Wochenblatt,* Nos. 16-18, April 18 and 25 and May 2, 1868 under the heading "Der enthüllte Kossuth" ("Kossuth Exposed"). Appendix 4 ("The Communist Trial in Cologne") from Chapter XII was reprinted in the Leipzig *Volksstaat,* organ of the Social-Democratic Party, Nos. 7 and 8, January 20 and 22, 1875 under the heading "Enthüllungen über den Kölner Kommunistenprozess" ("Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne"). The same section was reproduced in the Nachtrag (Appendix) to the authorised (second) edition of Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (Leipzig, 1875). Under the heading "Nachtrag aus der Leipziger Auflage von 1875" ("Appendix from the Leipzig Edition of 1875") Engels also included it, with a small addendum, in the third edition of the *Revelations,* which he published in 1885.

*Herr Vogt* appears in English for the first time in these *Collected Works.* Only Appendix 4 ("The Communist Trial in Cologne") appeared in English earlier, in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Cologne Communist Trial,* translated with an Introduction and Notes by Rodney Livingstone, Lawrence and Wishart and International Publishers, London and New York, 1971. p. 21

13 This refers to the war between the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont) and France, on the one hand, and Austria, on the other (April 29 to July 8, 1859). It was launched by Napoleon III, who, under the banner of the "liberation of Italy", strove for aggrandizement and sought to strengthen the Bonapartist regime in France with the help of a successful military campaign. The Piedmont ruling circles hoped that French support would enable them to unite Italy, without the participation of the masses, under the aegis of the Savoy dynasty ruling in Piedmont. The war caused an upsurge of the national liberation movement in Italy. The Austrian army suffered a series of defeats. However, Napoleon III, frightened by the scale of the national liberation movement in Italy, abruptly ceased hostilities. On July 11, the French and Austrian emperors concluded a separate preliminary peace in Villafranca (see Note 126).

In this passage Marx alludes to his differences with Ferdinand Lassalle on the ways of unifying Italy and Germany. In his pamphlet *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preussens. Eine Stimme aus der Demokratie (The Italian War and the Task of Prussia. The Voice of a Democrat)* published in Berlin in 1859, Lassalle

advocated the dynastic unification of Germany under the aegis of Prussia (see the preface to this volume, pp. XVII-XVIII). p. 27

[14] The *Brimstone Gang* (Schwefelbande)—the name of a students' association at Jena University in the 1770s whose members were notorious for their brawls; subsequently the expression "Brimstone Gang" became widespread. p. 28

[15] Marx often puns on the name of Karl Vogt. *Vogt* or *Landvogt* was the name of provincial governors and other administrators in the German Empire in the Middle Ages. The "hereditary Vogt of Noughtborough (Nichilburg)" is an allusion to a character in Johann Fischart's satirical novel *Affentheurliche, Naupengeheurliche Geschichtklitterung: von Thaten und Rahten der vor kurtzen langen und je weilen vollenwolbeschreyten Helden und Herrn: Grandgoschier, Gorgellantua und Pantagruel. Königen inn Utopien, Iedewelt und Nienenreich, Soldan der Neuen Kannarrien und Oudyssen Inseln: auch Grossfürsten im Nubel Nibel Nebelland, Erbvögt auff Nichilburg, und Niderherren zu Nullibingen, Nullenstein und Niergendheym Etwan von M. Franz Rabelais Französisch entworffen.* Achte Ausgabe, 1617. Fischart's work, a German adaptation of François Rabelais' novels *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel*, was published in 1757. Below Marx frequently uses phrases from it. p. 28

[16] By "Magnum Opus" Marx means, here and below, Vogt's book *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, as distinct from Vogt's other, shorter writings on the same subject. p. 28

[17] This refers to the closing stage of the campaign in support of the Imperial Constitution which was adopted by the Frankfurt National Assembly on March 28, 1849. Most German states refused to recognise the Constitution. The people were its sole defender. Led by petty-bourgeois democrats, they launched an armed struggle in its support in the spring of 1849. The most violent uprisings occurred in the Bavarian Palatinate and Baden. However, in July the joint Prussian, Bavarian and Württemberg troops crushed the resistance of the Palatinate and Baden insurgent army and forced the remaining units to withdraw into Switzerland. The Baden and Palatinate events marked the end of the German revolution of 1848-49. Engels described them in *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* and *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* (see present edition, Vols. 10 and 11). p. 29

[18] *In dulci jubilo* (in sweet merriment)—the opening words of a fourteenth-century Christmas carol. Later the phrase occurred in various student songs. p. 30

[19] Engels took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising and on July 12, 1849, after its defeat, crossed over into Switzerland together with the detachment of August Willich, whose adjutant he was. He first settled in Vevey, but later moved to Lausanne. In September he met with members of the Communist League in Berne and Geneva. In early October, after obtaining a permit to leave Switzerland (see present edition Vol. 10, p. 595) he left for London where Marx wanted him to take part in the publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* and in reorganising the Communist League (Marx to Engels, end of July, August 17 and 23, 1849, present edition, Vol. 38). p. 31

[20] The *blue republicans*—bourgeois republicans; *red republicans*—democrats and socialists of various trends. p. 31

[21] The *Frankfurt Parliament* or the German National Assembly, opened in Frankfurt am Main on May 18, 1848. It was convened to unify the country and draw up a Constitution. The liberal deputies, who were in the majority, turned the Assembly into a mere debating club. At the decisive moments of the revolution, the liberal majority condoned the counter-revolutionary forces. In spring 1849, the liberals left the Assembly after the Prussian and other governments had rejected the Imperial Constitution that it had drawn up. What remained of the Assembly (the Rump) moved to Stuttgart and was dispersed by the Württemberg forces on June 18.

The *Regency of the Empire* was formed in Stuttgart on June 6, 1849 by what remained of the Frankfurt National Assembly. The Regency consisted of five deputies representing the Left faction (moderate democrats), including Karl Vogt. Their attempts to ensure by parliamentary means the implementation of the Constitution drawn up by the Frankfurt Assembly and rejected by the German princes ended in total failure. p. 31

[22] The *battle of Idstedt* (June 24-25, 1850) was the closing episode of the war waged by the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein against Denmark. Under the impact of the March 1848 revolution in Germany a national liberation uprising had flared up in the two duchies, which were subject to the King of Denmark but populated mainly by Germans. The uprising became part of the struggle for the unification of Germany. The ruling circles of Prussia, which was at war with Denmark over Schleswig and Holstein, feared a popular outbreak and an intensification of the revolution. They therefore sought an agreement with the Danish monarchy to the detriment of overall German interests, which also had a negative effect on the operations of the Prussian army. The war lasted intermittently until July 1850. The Schleswig-Holstein army was defeated at Idstedt. As a result, the two duchies remained part of the Kingdom of Denmark. p. 32

[23] On September 21, 1848 German refugees led by Struve invaded Baden from Swiss territory. Supported by the local republicans, Struve proclaimed a German Republic in the frontier town of Lörrach and formed a provisional government. The insurgent detachments were soon dispersed by troops, and Struve, Blind and other leaders of the uprising were imprisoned in Bruchsal by decision of a court-martial. They were released during another uprising in Baden in May 1849. p. 32

[24] This refers to attempts by Struve and other German democrats to form a refugee *Democratic Association* and a Central Bureau of the United German Emigration. The activities of the petty-bourgeois democrats were to a considerable extent directed against the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee, then led by Marx and Engels (see Note 25), and aimed at bringing the proletarian sections under their influence. A critical assessment of these activities is given in the "Address of the Central Authority to the League, June 1850", written by Marx and Engels (see present edition, Vol. 10, p. 371) and in Engels' letter to Joseph Weydemeyer of April 22, 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 38). p. 33

[25] The London *German Refugee Committee* was set up on September 18, 1849 on Marx's initiative under the auspices of the German Workers' Educational

Society. Besides Marx and other members of the Communist League, it included a number of petty-bourgeois democrats. At a meeting of the Society on November 18, the Committee was transformed into the *Social-Democratic Refugee Committee,* the aim being to dissociate the proletarian section of the London refugees from the petty-bourgeois elements (the report on the meeting was dated December 3, 1849). The new Committee included only members of the Communist League: Karl Marx (who was elected chairman), Heinrich Bauer, August Willich, Karl Pfänder and Frederick Engels. Besides providing material assistance for the refugees, predominantly those belonging to the proletarian wing, the Committee played an important part in restoring ties between members of the Communist League, in uniting the supporters of Marx and Engels in London and in reorganising the Communist League. In mid-September 1850, following the split in the Communist League, when most members of the Educational Society, to which the Committee was accountable, came under the influence of the Willich-Schapper sectarian group, Marx and Engels, together with their followers, withdrew from the Educational Society and the Committee (for details see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 483 and 632). p. 33

26 *Carbonari*—members of secret political societies in Italy and France in the first half of the nineteenth century. In Italy they fought for national independence, unification of the country and liberal constitutional reforms. In France their movement was primarily directed against the rule of the restored Bourbon dynasty (1815-30). p. 33

27 By calling J. G. Rademacher a doctor of magic, Marx alludes to the former's book *Rechtfertigung der von den Gelehrten misskannten, verstandesrechten Erfahrungsheillehre der alten scheidekünstigen Geheimärzte und treue Mittheilung des Ergebnisses einer 25-jährigen Erprobung dieser Lehre am Krankenbette,* Berlin, 1846-1847 (*Vindication of the Neglected Rational Empirical Science of Medicine of the Old Doctors of Magic, Experts in Analytical Chemistry. With a Truthful Account of the Results of a 25-Year-Long Application of this Science at the Sick-Bed*). p. 33

28 By the *December Gang* Marx means the secret Society of December 10 founded in 1849 and so called to commemorate the election of Louis Bonaparte, the Society's patron, to the Presidency of the French Republic on December 10, 1848. Marx describes the December 10 Society further in the text. The Society played an active part in the Bonapartist coup d'état of December 2, 1851 which established the counter-revolutionary regime of the Second Empire (1852-70) headed by Napoleon III. p. 33

29 In the passage from *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* quoted here Marx consistently substitutes the word "gang" *(Bande)* for "society" *(Gesellschaft).* p. 34

30 *Lazzaroni*—a contemptuous name for declassed proletarians, primarily in the Kingdom of Naples. These people were repeatedly used by reactionary governments against liberal and democratic movements. p. 34

31 This refers to Louis Bonaparte's attempts during the July monarchy to stage a coup d'état by means of a military mutiny. On October 30, 1836 he succeeded, with the help of several Bonapartist officers, in inciting two artillery regiments of the Strasbourg garrison to mutiny, but they were disarmed within a few

hours. Louis Bonaparte was arrested and deported to America. On August 6, 1840, taking advantage of a partial revival of Bonapartist sentiments in France, he landed in Boulogne with a handful of conspirators and attempted to raise a mutiny among the troops of the local garrison. This attempt likewise proved a failure. Louis Bonaparte was sentenced to life imprisonment, but escaped to England in 1846. p. 35

[32] The *National ateliers* (workshops) were instituted by the Provisional Government immediately after the February revolution of 1848. By this means the government sought to discredit Louis Blanc's ideas on the "Organisation of Labour" in the eyes of the workers and, at the same time, to utilise those employed in the national workshops, organised on military lines, against the revolutionary proletariat. Revolutionary ideas, however, continued to gain ground in the national workshops. The government took steps to reduce the number of workers employed in them, to send a large number off to public works in the province and finally to liquidate the workshops. This precipitated a proletarian uprising in Paris in June 1848. After its suppression, the Cavaignac Government issued a decree on July 3 disbanding the national workshops.

For an assessment of the national workshops see Karl Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (present edition, Vol. 10, p. 63).

The *Gardes mobiles* (Mobile Guards), set up by a decree of the Provisional Government on February 25, 1848 with the secret aim of fighting the revolutionary masses, were used to crush the June uprising of the Paris workers. Later they were disbanded on the insistence of Bonapartist circles, who feared that in the event of a conflict between Louis Bonaparte and the republicans, the *Gardes mobiles* would side with the latter. p. 35

[33] This witticism by Countess Lehon and the caustic remark by Madame de Girardin on the Bonapartist regime, both of which Marx quotes at the end of the paragraph, were forwarded to him, together with many other items used in *The Eighteenth Brumaire,* by Richard Reinhardt, a German refugee in Paris and Heinrich Heine's secretary. In his letter to Ferdinand Lassalle of February 23, 1852 Marx quotes a letter to him from Reinhardt, in particular the following passage: "As for de Morny, the minister who resigned with Dupin, he was known as the *escroc* [swindler] of his mistress' (Countess Lehon's) husband, a circumstance which caused Émile de Girardin's wife to say that while it was not unprecedented for governments to be in the hands of men who were governed by their wives, none had ever been known to be in the hands of *hommes entretenus* [kept men]. Well, this same Countess Lehon holds a salon where she is one of Bonaparte's most vociferous opponents and it was she who, on the occasion of the confiscation of the Orleans' estates, let fall '*C'est le premier vol de l'aigle*'. [A pun: "It is the first flight of the eagle" and "It is the first theft of the eagle".] Thanks to this remark of his wife's, Émile de Girardin was expelled" (see present edition, Vol. 39). p. 36

[34] This refers to the Regency of Philippe of Orleans in France from 1715 to 1723 during the minority of Louis XV. p. 36

[35] The *Holy Coat of Trier*—a relic exhibited in the Catholic Cathedral at Trier, allegedly a garment of Christ of which he was stripped at his crucifixion. Generations of pilgrims came to venerate it. p. 37

[36] The *Vendôme Column* was erected in Paris between 1806 and 1810 as a tribute to the military victories of Napoleon I. It was made of bronze from captured enemy guns and crowned by a statue of Napoleon; the statue was removed during the Restoration but re-erected in 1833. In the spring of 1871, by order of the Paris Commune, the Vendôme Column was destroyed as a symbol of militarism. p. 37

[37] *Das Volk*—a German-language weekly published in London from May 7 to August 20, 1859—was founded as the official organ of the German Workers' Educational Society in London. The first issue appeared under the editorship of the German journalist Elard Biscamp, a petty-bourgeois democrat. Beginning with issue No. 2 Marx took an active part in its publication: he gave advice to the editors, edited articles himself and organised material support. In issue No. 6 of June 11, the Editorial Board officially named Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Ferdinand Freiligrath, Wilhelm Wolff and Heinrich Heise as its contributors (see present edition, Vol. 16, p. 624). Marx's first article in the paper—"Spree and Mincio"—was printed on June 25 (see present edition, Vol. 16). Under Marx's influence *Das Volk* began to turn into a militant revolutionary working-class newspaper. In the beginning of July, Marx became its virtual editor and manager.

*Das Volk* carried Marx's preface to his work *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* six of his articles, including the unfinished series *Quid pro Quo,* seven articles by Engels and his review of Marx's *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* and reviews of the *Hermann,* the newspaper of the German petty-bourgeois democrats, by Marx and Biscamp (they appeared in the column "Gatherings from the Press"). Furthermore, many articles and political reviews written by different authors were edited by Marx. In all, sixteen issues appeared. *Das Volk* ceased publication for lack of money.

Articles published in *Das Volk* reflected the elaboration by Marx and Engels of questions of revolutionary theory and the tactics of proletarian struggle, covered the class battles of the proletariat and implacably combated petty-bourgeois ideology. From a position of proletarian internationalism the newspaper analysed the course of the Austro-Italo-French war of 1859 and the issues involved in the unification of Germany and Italy, exposed the foreign policy of Britain, Prussia, France, Russia and other reactionary states and waged a consistent struggle against Bonapartism and its overt and covert supporters. p. 38

[38] *Two Richmonds in the field* is an expression used to denote a second, unexpected adversary. It originates from Shakespeare's *Richard III* (Act V, Scene 4). p. 39

[39] This presumably refers to Abt's pamphlet *Carl Vogt und Carl Marx oder die Bürstenheimer,* Leipzig, Heidelberg. A notice in No. 27 (July 5, 1861) of the *Stimmen der Zeit. Wochenschrift für Politik und Literatur,* a weekly published by Adolph Kolatschek, said that the pamphlet would be published in the supplement to No. 39, and contained the following editorial note: "The work in question reached the editor as early as January of this year. The *delay* in publication is by no means due to any fault on the part of the author."

It is possible that friends had forwarded the manuscript of the pamphlet to Marx. p. 39

[40] In April 1848 a republican uprising took place in Baden. Led by the petty-bourgeois democrats Friedrich Hecker and Gustav Struve, it started with republican detachments invading Baden from Switzerland. The uprising was poorly organised and was crushed by the end of April.

Later some participants in the Baden uprising joined the unit formed by August Willich from German émigré workers and artisans in Besançon, France, in November 1848. Its members received allowances from the French Government, payment of which was, however, discontinued at the beginning of 1849. Later the unit was incorporated in Willich's volunteer detachment which took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising in May-June 1849. p. 40

[41] The great adventure with "the lost drum" is Marx's ironic way of referring to the manoeuvres of Napoleon III and the Bonapartist circles in France aimed at capturing the left bank of the Rhine. Vogt supported these manoeuvres in the press. Marx compares them to a comic episode in Shakespeare's *All's Well That Ends Well* (Act III, Scenes 5 and 6, Act IV, Scenes 1 and 3). By Parolles Vogt is meant. p. 40

[42] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Democratie* appeared in Cologne daily from June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849. The editorial board included Karl Marx (Editor-in-Chief), Heinrich Bürgers, Ernst Dronke, Ferdinand Freiligrath, Georg Weerth, Wilhelm Wolff, Ferdinand Wolff and Frederick Engels.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was founded by Marx as a militant periodical intended to exert a direct influence on the masses, educate and unite them politically and ideologically and pave the way for the creation of a mass party of the German proletariat. As a rule, Marx and Engels wrote the editorials, formulating the paper's stand on the key questions of the revolution.

The consistent revolutionary tendency of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* its active internationalism and its attacks on the government, aroused the displeasure of the bourgeois shareholders and led to the persecution of its editors by the authorities and a smear campaign in the feudal monarchist and liberal bourgeois press. It was particularly the paper's articles in defence of the June 1848 uprising of the Paris proletariat that frightened away the shareholders. Persecution of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* editors by the judicial authorities and the police became particularly severe after the counter-revolutionary coup in Prussia in November-December 1848.

In May 1849, under the conditions of the general counter-revolutionary offensive, the Prussian Government expelled Marx from Prussia on the pretext that he was not a Prussian citizen. Marx's expulsion and new repressive measures against other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* resulted in the paper ceasing publication. The last issue, No. 301, printed in red ink, appeared on May 19, 1849. In their farewell address "To the Workers of Cologne", the editors wrote that "their last word everywhere and always will be *emancipation of the working class*". p. 41

[43] The *arsenal in Prüm* was stormed by democrats and workers from Trier and neighbouring townships on May 17 and 18, 1849. Their aim was to seize the arms and extend the uprising in defence of the Imperial Constitution to the left bank of the Rhine. The insurgents succeeded in capturing the arsenal, but government troops soon arrived on the scene and the movement was suppressed. p. 41

[44] Sazonov obviously had in mind Professor I. K. Babst, who had given a series of lectures in political economy in Moscow. An account of the first lecture was

published in the *Moskovskiye vedomosti,* No. 19, January 24, 1860. In Sazonov's opinion, this lecture reflected some of the ideas contained in the *Preface* of Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* p. 42

45 The *Bundschuh* was a secret revolutionary peasant union active in Germany on the eve of the Peasant War of 1525. Schily uses the name to designate the Communist League, led by Marx and Engels. p. 44

46 An allusion to the *Club of Resolute Progress.* Founded in Karlsruhe on June 5, 1848, it represented the more radical wing of the petty-bourgeois democratic republicans (Struve, Tzschirner, Heinzen and others) discontented with the conciliatory policy of the Brentano government and the increasing strength of the Rightist elements within it. The Club suggested that Brentano should extend the revolution beyond Baden and the Palatinate and introduce radicals into the government. Brentano refused, so the Club tried, on June 6, to force the government's hand by threatening an armed demonstration. The government, however, supported by the civic militia and other armed units, proved the stronger party in the conflict. The Club of Resolute Progress was disbanded. p. 44

47 *Cercle social*—an organisation established by democratic intellectuals in Paris in the first years of the French Revolution. Its chief spokesmen, Claude Fauchet and Nicolas Bonneville, demanded the egalitarian division of the land, restrictions on large fortunes and employment for all able-bodied citizens. p. 46

48 Here Marx has "auch eine schöne Gegend", i.e. "a beautiful landscape too". The phrase originated from a story about a woman who, trying to console the mother of a soldier killed at the Battle of Leipzig (1813), said: "But it was a beautiful landscape." p. 46

49 The *Grütli Association (Grütliverein)* was a Swiss petty-bourgeois reformist organisation founded in 1838 as an educational society for artisans and workers. The name *Grütliverein* was to emphasise the Swiss national character of the association. Legend has it that in 1307 representatives of three Swiss cantons met in Grütli meadow and formed an alliance to fight against the arbitrary rule of the Austrian governors (Vogts). Hence Marx's ironic reference to Karl Vogt. p. 47

50 *Badinguet* was the nickname of Napoleon III. He was called so because in 1846 he escaped from prison disguised in the clothes of the stonemason Badinguet.

*Marianne* was the name of a secret republican society in France founded in 1850. Its aim was to fight against the Bonapartist regime of the Second Empire. p. 49

51 The *Communist League* was the first German and international communist organisation of the proletariat formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847, as a result of the reorganisation of the League of the Just (a secret association of refugee workers and artisans that was set up in Paris in the 1830s and had communities in Germany, France, Switzerland and England). The programme and organisational principles of the Communist League were drawn up with the direct participation of Marx and Engels. The League's members took an active part in the bourgeois-democratic

revolution in Germany in 1848-49. Although the defeat of the revolution dealt a blow to the League, in 1849-50 it was reorganised and continued its activities. In the summer of 1850 disagreements arose in the League between the supporters of Marx and Engels and the sectarian Willich-Schapper group, which tried to impose on the League its tactics of immediately unleashing a revolution without taking into account the actual situation and the practical possibilities. The discord led to a split within the League in September 1850. Because of police persecutions and arrests of League members in May 1851, the activities of the League as an organisation practically ceased in Germany. On November 17, 1852, on a motion by Marx, the League's London District announced the dissolution of the League (see Marx's letter to Engels of November 19, 1852). On February 24, 1860 Marx sent this letter to Legal Counsellor Weber (see present edition, Vol. 41).

The Communist League played an outstanding role as the first proletarian party guided by the principles of scientific communism, as a school of proletarian revolutionaries and as the historical forerunner of the International Working Men's Association. (On the Communist League see this volume, pp. 78-82.) p. 49

52 See Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 445-49). This work was published as a pamphlet in Basle, Switzerland, in January 1853 (the edition used by Vogt). In the USA it was first published in instalments in the democratic Boston *Neu-England-Zeitung* and at the end of April 1853 it was printed in pamphlet form by the same newspaper. In *Herr Vogt* Marx quotes the *Revelations* from the Boston pamphlet. p. 49

53 The *Palais Royal* in Paris was the residence of Jerôme Bonaparte (the youngest brother of Napoleon I) and his son, Prince Joseph (nicknamed Plon-Plon). p. 49

54 The *German-American Revolutionary Loan* was a loan that Gottfried Kinkel and other petty-bourgeois émigré leaders tried to raise in 1851 and 1852 among German refugees and Americans of German origin with a view to immediately inciting a revolution in Germany. To win support for the loan, Kinkel toured the USA in September 1851. The project proved a total failure. In a number of their works Marx and Engels ridiculed the loan as an adventurist and harmful attempt artificially to engineer a revolution during a lull in the revolutionary movement. p. 50

55 At the *battle of Murten* (June 22, 1476), fought in the course of the Burgundian Wars, the troops of Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy were defeated by the Swiss. p. 50

56 In *St. Paul's Church*, Frankfurt am Main, the Frankfurt National Assembly met in 1848 and 1849. p. 51

57 The *Grand Cophta* was the name of the omnipotent and omniscient Egyptian priest who headed the nonexistent Masonic "Egyptian Lodge" which the famous eighteenth-century impostor "Count" Cagliostro (Giuseppe Balsamo) claimed to have founded. p. 53

58 The *Federal Council*—the Government of the Swiss Confederation. p. 54

59 In September 1851 arrests were made in France among members of local communities belonging to the Willich-Schapper group, which was responsible

for the split in the Communist League in September 1850. The petty-bourgeois conspiratorial tactics of the group, ignoring realities and aiming at an immediate uprising, enabled the French and Prussian police, with the help of the agent-provocateur Cherval, who headed one of the group's local communities in Paris, to fabricate the case of the so-called Franco-German plot. Cherval was both an agent of the Prussian envoy in Paris and a French spy. In February 1852 the accused were sentenced on a charge of plotting a coup d'état. With the connivance of the French and Prussian police Cherval was allowed to escape from prison. The attempts of the Prussian police to incriminate the Communist League led by Marx and Engels failed. Konrad Schramm, a League member, arrested in Paris in September 1851, was soon released owing to lack of evidence. Nevertheless, the Prussian Police Superintendent Stieber, one of the organisers of the Cologne Communist trial in 1852, repeated the false police accusations. Marx exposed Stieber's perjury in his *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see the chapter "The Cherval Plot", present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 407-19).

On his arrival in London in May 1852 Cherval was admitted to the German Workers' Educational Society led by Schapper but was soon expelled because of his role of provocateur in the so-called Franco-German plot. p. 55

60 The *Cologne trial* (October 4-November 12, 1852) was organised and stage-managed by the Prussian Government. The defendants were members of the Communist League arrested in the spring of 1851 on charges of "treasonable plotting". The forged documents and false evidence presented by the police authorities were not only designed to secure the conviction of the defendants but also to compromise their London comrades and the proletarian organisation as a whole. Seven of the defendants were sentenced to imprisonment in a fortress for terms ranging from three to six years. The dishonest tactics resorted to by the Prussian police state in fighting the international working-class movement were exposed by Engels in his article "The Late Trial in Cologne" and, in greater detail, by Marx in his pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11). p. 56

61 The *German Workers' Educational Society* in London was founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other members of the League of the Just (an organisation of German craftsmen and workers, and also of emigrant workers of other nationalities). After the reorganisation of the League of the Just in the summer of 1847 and the founding of the Communist League, the latter's local communities played the leading role in the Society. During various periods of its activity, the Society had branches in working-class districts in London. In 1847 and 1849-50, Marx and Engels took an active part in the Society's work, but on September 17, 1850, Marx, Engels and a number of their followers withdrew because the Willich-Schapper sectarian and adventurist faction had temporarily increased its influence in the Society, causing a split in the Communist League (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 483, 632). In the late 1850s, Marx and Engels resumed their work in the Educational Society, which was active up to 1918, when it was closed down by the British Government. p. 56

62 Karl Vogt was one of the five members of the Imperial Regency (see Note 21). p. 58

63 An allusion to the denunciatory prophecies of Zacharias, one of the twelve minor prophets of the Old Testament. p. 60

64 The *Hambach Festival* was a political demonstration held by members of the liberal and radical bourgeoisie at the castle of Hambach (in the Bavarian Palatinate) on May 27, 1832 to urge the unification of Germany, constitutional reforms and the transformation of Germany into a federal republic. p. 60

65 The German socialist Eichhoff was Berlin correspondent of the weekly *Hermann*. In September and October 1859 he anonymously published in it a series of articles headed "Stieber" in which he exposed the part played by Wilhelm Stieber, chief of the Prussian political police, in organising the government-inspired trial of members of the Communist League in Cologne in 1852. Stieber sued Eichhoff for libel. In May 1860 a Berlin court sentenced Eichhoff to 14 months imprisonment (see Marx's letters to Engels of January 31, 1860 and to Freiligrath of February 29, 1860, present edition, Vol. 41). p. 65

66 The *Ladendorf trial*—the trial of Ladendorf, Gercke, Falkenthal, Levy and several other persons arrested in 1853 on the basis of a denunciation by police agent Hentze, a former member of the Communist League. The trial was held in Berlin in 1854. On trumped-up charges of plotting, the defendants were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment (from three to five years).

The *League of the Dead* was a secret conspiratorial organisation in Bremen in the 1840s and early 1850s. It was uncovered by the police in 1852. p. 66

67 Here Marx paraphrases two expressions: "Tranquillity is the first duty of the citizen", a dictum coined by the Prussian minister Schulenburg-Kehnert in his address to the population of Berlin of October 17, 1806, following the defeat at Jena (*Le Moniteur universel*, No. 304, October 31, 1806, "Prusse", Berlin, du 18 octobre), and "In hoc signo vinces" ("By this sign thou shalt conquer"). Legend has it that on the eve of a battle against his rival Maxentius in 312, the Roman Emperor Constantine (274-337) saw in the sky the sign of the Cross and over it the words "In hoc signo vinces". The Church associates this legend with Constantine's "conversion" from the persecution of Christianity to its protection. p. 67

68 At the *battle of Zorndorf*, fought in the course of the Seven Years' War on August 14 (25), 1758, the Prussian army, commanded by Frederick II, clashed with the Russian forces. Both sides suffered heavy losses. The outcome of the battle was inconclusive. p. 69

69 *Kobes I* was the nickname of Jacob Venedey, who was born in Cologne. In the Cologne dialect, Kobes stands for Jacob. Venedey owed the nickname to Heinrich Heine, who in a satirical poem headed "Kobes I" ridiculed him as a model philistine. p. 69

70 An ironic allusion to the book *Kraft und Stoff* (Energy and Matter) (1855) by the German physiologist Ludwig Büchner, a vulgar materialist like Vogt. p. 71

71 This refers to the Second Democratic Congress of representatives of democratic and workers' organisations from various German towns which was held in Berlin from October 26 to 30, 1848. p. 73

72 A reference to the *Revolutionary Centralisation,* a secret organisation founded at the beginning of 1850 by German refugees in Switzerland, mostly petty-bourgeois democrats. Its Central Committee, based in Zurich, was headed by S. E. Tzschirner, a leader of the Dresden uprising in May 1849. Prominent members were P. Fries, T. L. Greiner, F. Sigel, G. A. Techow and J. Ph. Becker, all participants in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising. Members of the Communist League, K. L. J. d'Ester, K. Bruhn and W. Wolff, also belonged to this organisation. In July and August 1850 the leaders of the Revolutionary Centralisation approached the Central Authority of the Communist League with a proposal to amalgamate. On behalf of the League's Central Authority Marx and Engels rejected the proposal as detrimental to the class independence of the proletarian party. By the end of 1850, the Revolutionary Centralisation had disintegrated as a result of the mass expulsion of German refugees from Switzerland. p. 75

73 Beust's letter to Schily of May 1, 1860 was a postscript to Emmermann's letter to Schily part of which Marx quotes immediately above. Marx commented on Emmermann's and Beust's letters (particularly on the latter, which contained derogatory statements about Marx) in his letter to Engels of May 7, 1860 (see present edition, Vol. 41). p. 76

74 The German Workers' Educational Society in Brussels (Deutscher Arbeiter-verein) was founded by Marx and Engels at the end of August 1847 to provide a political education for German workers living in Belgium and spread the ideas of communism among them. With Marx, Engels and their associates at its head, the Society became the legal centre rallying German revolutionary proletarians in Belgium and maintaining direct contact with Flemish and Walloon workers' clubs. Its most active members belonged to the Brussels community of the Communist League. The Society played an important part in founding the Brussels Democratic Association. Its activities ceased after the February 1848 revolution in France when the Belgian police arrested and deported its members. p. 79

75 The reference here is to the Willich-Schapper group, which Marx and Engels called the *Sonderbund*—perhaps an allusion to the separatist union of seven economically backward Catholic cantons of Switzerland formed in the 1840s to resist progressive bourgeois reforms. This sectarian adventurist group split away from the Communist League after September 15, 1850 (see Note 51) and formed an independent organisation with its own Central Authority. In view of the factionalists' refusal to abide by the decision to transfer the Central Authority to Cologne and because of their disorganising activities, the Cologne Central Authority expelled them from the League at the proposal of the League's London District and gave notification of this in its Address of December 1, 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 625-30 and 633). By their activities the Willich-Schapper group helped the Prussian police uncover the League's illegal communities in Germany and fabricate a case in Cologne in 1852 against prominent members of the League (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 445-52). p. 80

76 The *German Confederation (der Deutsche Bund)* was an ephemeral union of German states formed by decision of the Congress of Vienna in June 1815 and originally comprising 35 absolutist feudal states and 4 free cities. The

Confederation aggravated the political and economic fragmentation of Germany and impeded its development.

After the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution, a struggle for hegemony in Germany developed between Prussia and Austria. The latter sought to restore the German Confederation, which had virtually fallen apart during the revolution. Prussia hoped to achieve supremacy by forming a union of German states under its own aegis. In the autumn of 1850 the Austro-Prussian rivalry was intensified by the clash of interests over the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel, where a constitutional conflict had developed between the local Chamber and the Elector as a result of which the Chamber was disbanded and martial law introduced. In this situation Austria and Prussia vied for the right to carry out punitive operations against the Hesse constitutional movement. In early November 1850 Prussian and Austrian troops clashed on the territory of Hesse-Cassel. However, under pressure from Nicholas I, Prussia was forced to yield to Austria and temporarily desist from its plans for establishing hegemony in Germany (see Note 143). p. 81

77 The *Federal Diet (Bundestag)*—the central body of the German Confederation. It consisted of representatives of the member states and held its sessions in Frankfurt am Main. Having no actual power, it nevertheless served as an instrument of monarchist feudal reaction. p. 81

78 The German military association "Self-Help" (Deutscher republikanischer Wehrbund "Hilf Dir") was set up at the initiative of J. Ph. Becker in Gross-Hüningen in October 1848. It was to unite Germans living abroad, particularly political refugees and artisans in Switzerland and France. The Association's Central Committee was in Biel, Berne Canton. Becker was the political leader, A. Willich the military. A German column was formed in Besançon with branches in Nancy, Vesul, Lyons and other towns. The idea of rallying all German unions in Switzerland failed to materialise. p. 82

79 H. L. Miskowsky was burnt to death during a fire in a wooden barracks in Whitechapel in 1854 (see Marx's letter to Engels of May 6, 1854, present edition, Vol. 39). p. 84

80 The meeting in question was held in late August 1850. p. 84

81 In Marx's exposé *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness,* in which this letter is quoted in full, it is dated November 22 (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 504-05). The original of the letter is not extant. p. 86

82 An allusion to *Batrachomyomachia* (The Battle of the Frogs and the Mice), an anonymous Greek poem which parodies Homer's *Iliad.*

Marx and Engels give a detailed description of A. Ruge's Agitation Union and G. Kinkel's Émigré Club (Marx calls it Émigré Society here) and also of the relations between the two émigré petty-bourgeois organisations in their exposé *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 310-25). p. 87

83 This idea was formulated in the "Review, May to October 1850" in a section which Engels later included in Chapter IV of *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850,* 1895 edition (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 509-10 and 134-35). Marx expressed the same idea even earlier in his article "The Revolutionary Movement" (present edition, Vol. 8, p. 214).

"A storm in a teacup" is an expression used by Montesquieu about a series of riots in the republic of San Marino. p. 90

84 Marx quotes from his speech at the trial of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats (see present edition, Vol. 8, p. 336). The minutes of the trial were published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* Nos. 226 and 231-33, February 19, 25, 27 and 28, 1849 and as a separate pamphlet under the heading *Zwei politische Prozesse. Verhandelt vor den Februar-Assisen in Köln,* Köln, 1849. Verlag der Expedition der *Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung.* The pamphlet also included a report on the trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of February 7, 1849. p. 91

85 The *Comité de salut public* (Committee of Public Safety) was established by the Convention on April 6, 1793; during the Jacobin dictatorship (June 2, 1793-July 27, 1794) it was the leading body of the revolutionary government in France. p. 93

86 Ernst Dronke was sent to Switzerland as an emissary of the Communist League in July 1850 after Marx and Engels had learnt about the activity of the Revolutionary Centralisation from a letter by Wilhelm Wolff of May 9, 1850. Dronke wrote about his work in Switzerland and Germany in his letters to the League's Central Authority of July 3, 1850 and to Engels of July 3 and 18, 1850. p. 94

87 This quotation is from the article "Gottfried Kinkel" by Marx and Engels (see present edition, Vol. 10, p. 345).

The article castigated the unworthy conduct of the petty-bourgeois democrat Kinkel before the court-martial in Rastatt which tried him for his part in the campaign for the Imperial Constitution. Speaking in court in his own defence on August 4, 1849 Kinkel denied his involvement in the revolutionary movement and eulogised the Hohenzollern dynasty. Marx and Engels gave a satirical portrayal of Kinkel in their exposé *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11). p. 96

88 Marx probably means the American Revolutionary Union for Europe (*Amerikanischer Revolutionsbund für Europa*), a German-American émigré organisation set up in Philadelphia in the summer of 1852 and consisting mostly of former members of the Agitation Union. p. 98

89 Marx means the polemic between Gustav Adolf Roesler and Franz Heinrich Zitz, former deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly, who attacked each other between July and September 1850 in the German-American newspapers *Deutsche Schnellpost für Europäische Zustände, öffentliches und sociales Leben Deutschlands* (New York) and *New-Yorker Democrat.* p. 98

90 This probably refers to the manuscript "Drei Jahre in Paris" ("Three Years in Paris"), a description of the German emigration in 1849 to 1851 by the petty-bourgeois refugee Leopold Häfner. Marx was familiar with it (see his letter to Adolph Cluss of September 3, 1852, present edition, Vol. 39). p. 99

91 Marx is referring to Vogt's pamphlet *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung* as the *Lausiade* (from the German word *Laus,* i.e. *louse*) by analogy with the *Lousiad,* a satirical epic by the English poet Peter Pindar (pen name of John Wolcot).

*Lusiads* (*Os Lusiadas*) is an epic by Luis de Camoens (c. 1524-1580), the great poet of the Portuguese Renaissance. p. 99

92 Marx ridicules Vogt's ephemeral power as Imperial Regent (see Note 21) by comparing his status to Sancho Panza's imaginary governorship of the island of Barataria (*barato* means "cheap" in Spanish) in Cervantes' *Don Quixote.* p. 100

93 Here and elsewhere, speaking of the Frankfurt National Assembly, Marx used the Assembly's verbatim reports, which were later published in book form under the heading *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen constituirenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main,* Frankfurt am Main, 1848-1849. p. 103

94 On August 26, 1848 Denmark and Prussia concluded an armistice in Malmö which nullified the revolutionary and democratic gains of the peoples of Schleswig and Holstein and virtually sanctioned the continuance of Danish rule there. On September 16, 1848 the Frankfurt National Assembly ratified the armistice. This decision caused an outburst of indignation in Germany's democratic circles. On September 17, 1848 a mass meeting held in the Pfingstweide meadow in the northeast suburb of Frankfurt am Main adopted a resolution demanding that the deputies who had voted for ratification should be declared traitors and urging the Left deputies to walk out of the Assembly (*Stenographischer Bericht...,* Bd. 3, S. 2184). While some extreme Left deputies complied with these demands, Karl Vogt came out against them. On September 18 the popular movement in Frankfurt against the ratification of the Malmö armistice developed into an uprising which was brutally suppressed by government troops. p. 103

95 On October 9, 1848 the Frankfurt National Assembly adopted a "Law for the Protection of the Constituent National Assembly and of the Officials of the Central Authority" ("Gesetz betreffend den Schutz der Konstituierenden Reichsversammlung und der Beamten der Zentralgewalt", *Stenographischer Bericht...,* Bd. 4, S. 2528-29). Under this law, insulting a deputy of the Assembly or a representative of the central authority (an Imperial Regent, a minister or any other official) was punishable by imprisonment. This was one of the repressive measures against the people introduced after the September uprising in Frankfurt. p. 103

96 The *Central March Association,* thus named after the March 1848 revolution in Germany, was founded in Frankfurt am Main at the end of November 1848 by Left-wing deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly and had branches in various towns in Germany. Fröbel, Simon, Ruge, Vogt and other petty-bourgeois democratic leaders of the March associations confined themselves to revolutionary phrase-mongering and showed indecision and inconsistency in the struggle against counter-revolutionaries, for which Marx and Engels sharply criticised them (e.g., in the article "Ein Aktenstück des Märzvereins", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* No. 181, December 29, 1848). p. 103

97 See Engels' works "Elberfeld" and *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (present edition, Vols. 9 and 10). p. 105

98 In November and early December 1848 a coup d'état took place in Prussia

which led to the establishment of the arch-reactionary Brandenburg-Manteuffel Ministry and the dissolution of the National Assembly. p. 105

99 See Note 70. p. 106

100 At the elections to the Frankfurt National Assembly in May 1848, the Silesian district of Striegau (Strzegom) elected Wilhelm Wolff to deputise when necessary for the liberal deputy Stenzel, who obtained a majority vote. When Stenzel and a group of other liberal deputies walked out of the Assembly in May 1849, his seat went to Wolff.

"...the Frankfurt Assembly, which was 'in the process of dissolution'"—Marx ironically quotes the statement in which the liberals in question announced their withdrawal from the Assembly (*Stenographischer Bericht...*, Bd. 9, S. 6746). p. 106

101 The proclamation "The German National Assembly to the German Nation" ("Die deutsche Nationalversammlung an das deutsche Volk") drawn up by the poet J. L. Uhland on behalf of the moderate democrats was dictated by the latter's desire for a political rapprochement with the liberal bourgeoisie. It offered no concrete programme of action and boiled down to an impotent appeal to the German nation to press for the introduction of the Imperial Constitution.

The other proclamation, stemming from the Committee of Thirty, contained an equally ineffectual call to the armies of those German states which refused to recognise the National Assembly, to swear allegiance to the Imperial Constitution.

The Committee of Thirty was set up by the Frankfurt National Assembly on April 11, 1849 to devise steps conducive to the implementation of the Imperial Constitution in view of the ambiguous stand of Frederick William IV, King of Prussia, on the Assembly's offer of the Imperial Crown. Originally Frederick William IV made his acceptance contingent on the attitude of the other German princes, but on April 28, 1849 he rejected the Imperial Constitution and the Imperial Crown. p. 106

102 In early May 1849 Middle Franconia (part of Bavaria) was swept by a wave of protests against the rejection of the Imperial Constitution by the Bavarian Government. The movement culminated in a mass rally in Nuremberg on May 13 attended by 50,000 people. In his address Karl Vogt, under cover of pseudo-revolutionary phrases, urged the people to abstain from resolute action.

*"Wailers" (Heuler)*—the name the republican democrats in Germany applied to the moderate constitutionalists in 1848 and 1849. The latter, in turn, called their opponents "agitators" *(Wühler)*. p. 109

103 An ironic reference to Louis Bonaparte, who was brought up in the Swiss canton of Thurgau. In 1832 he became a citizen of that canton and in 1833 an honorary citizen of the Swiss Republic. p. 111

104 The *Great Exhibition in London,* from May to October 1851, was the first world trade and industrial exhibition. p. 113

105 This refers to Heinrich Heine's political articles for the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* from Paris in the 1830s and 1840s and to the essays published in the same newspaper by the German Orientalist Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer in the early 1840s. Heine published most of the articles in question in book form

under the titles *Französische Zustände* (1832) and *Lutetia* (1854). Fallmerayer's essays appeared in a two-volume edition under the title *Fragmente aus dem Orient* in 1845. p. 114

106 "Bas Empire" (Lower Empire) is the name sometimes given to the Byzantine Empire and also to the late Roman Empire in historical literature. It came to be applied to any state in decline or disintegration. p. 115

107 At the beginning of April 1859 Vogt sent Freiligrath and others his political "Programme" calling on the states of the German Confederation to maintain neutrality in the war France and Piedmont were preparing against Austria. Vogt urged political leaders to support his "Programme" in the press. (See Vogt, *Mein Prozess...*, Dokumente, S. 33.) p. 115

108 In this footnote Marx outlines the history of the publication of his exposé *Lord Palmerston* (see present edition, Vol. 12). It was conceived as a series of articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune,* but not all of the articles were published there. Between October 1853 and January 1854 four instalments appeared as anonymous leading articles, externally unconnected and under different titles.

Simultaneously, betweeen October 22 and December 24, 1853, the Chartist *People's Paper* published eight articles under the common title *Lord Palmerston* with the editorial note: "Written for the *New-York Tribune* by Dr. Marx, and communicated by him to us."

The pamhlet against Palmerston was widely circulated. On November 26, 1853 the *Glasgow Sentinel* reprinted from the *Tribune* the third article of the series under the title "Lord Palmerston and Russia". In December of the same year the London publisher Tucker put out this article in pamphlet form. In early February 1854 a second edition of the pamphlet appeared with Marx's participation, now under the heading *Palmerston and Poland.* Somewhat later Tucker published another pamphlet, *Palmerston and the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi* (the heading on the title page was: *Palmerston, What Has He Done?*), which reproduced, with a number of alterations, the text of the fourth and fifth articles in the series.

Between December 1855 and February 1856 all eight articles were reprinted in *The Free Press,* organ of the London Urquhartists, and, as a separate edition, in No. 5 of *The Free Press Serials.* At about the same time individual articles of the series appeared in the Urquhartist *Sheffield Free Press* and later in a number of other newspapers. p. 116

109 The *Foreign Affairs Committees* were public organisations set up by the Urquhartists in a number of English cities between the 1840s and 1860s, mainly with the aim of opposing Palmerston's policy. p. 117

110 This refers to Marx's unfinished introduction to a work he proposed to write on the history of British and Russian diplomacy in the eighteenth century. The introduction was first published under the title *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* in the *Sheffield Free Press* and the London *Free Press* between June 1856 and April 1857. In 1899 Eleanor Aveling, Marx's daughter, published it in London in book form under the heading *Secret Diplomatic History of the Eighteenth Century.* p. 117

111 The *Manchester School*—a trend in economic thought reflecting the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. It advocated Free Trade and non-interference by the state in economic affairs. In the 1840s and 1850s the Free Traders were an

independent political group; later they constituted the Left wing of the Liberal Party. p. 117

112 *Mormons*—members of a religious sect founded in the United States in 1830 by Joseph Smith (1805-1844) who wrote the *Book of Mormon* (1830) on the basis of alleged divine revelations. In the name of the prophet Mormon the book tells of the migration of the Israelite tribes to America which, it claims, took place in antiquity. p. 118

113 This refers to *La question romaine,* a pamphlet by E. About published in Brussels in 1859. A supplement to the *Schweizer Handels-Courier,* No. 150, June 2, 1859 published an article "Die römische Frage (von E. About. Fortsetzung). Pius IX". p. 118

114 These words are not from Müllner but from Franz Grillparzer's play *Die Ahnfrau* (Act III). p. 120

115 On June 7, 1859 the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (No. 158) carried an article under the editorial heading "Venedey über die Stellung Deutschlands und Preussens zur italienischen Frage" ("Venedey on the Position of Germany and Prussia on the Italian Question") including a letter by Venedey to a friend of his in Prussia which was originally published in the *Zeitung für Norddeutschland.* Among other things, the letter exposed Vogt's ties with Prince Joseph Napoleon. p. 120

116 Marx ironically calls Vogt a "diminisher of the Empire" (*Mindrer des Reichs*) by contrast to "Augmenter of the Empire" (*Mehrer des Reichs*), a title given to German emperors in the Middle Ages. See also p. 166 of this volume.

The *"Little Germany" press*—the press favouring a "Little Germany", i.e. the unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy without Austria. p. 122

117 A copy of the letters by Liebknecht and Blind (of September 8, 1860) is contained in Marx's notebook for 1860. The originals have not been found. The italics are presumably Marx's. p. 122

118 *Eisele* and *Beisele* were a pair of ridiculously stupid characters in the humorous weekly *Fliegende Blätter* started in 1844. They were also the heroes of Johann Wilhelm Christern's anonymously published story *Doktor Eisele's und Baron von Beisele's Landtagsreise im April 1847.* p. 131

119 *Sine studio* means here "without favour". It is part of the phrase "sine ira et studio" ("without anger and prejudice") with which Tacitus declared his intention to write an unbiased history (*Annales,* Liber primus, I).

Marx's use of the phrase with reference to Vogt's *Studien* is clearly ironic. p. 133

120 This refers to the series of pro-Bonapartist pamphlets put out by the Dentu publishing house in Paris in 1859 and 1860. p. 135

121 *Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin*—a theatre company in Paris that catered to low tastes during the Second Empire. p. 135

122 The *Seven Years' War* (1756-63)—a European war in which England and Prussia fought against the coalition of Austria, France, Russia, Saxony and Sweden. In 1756-57, the Prussian troops of Frederick II won a number of victories over the Austrian and French armies; however, the success of the Russian forces in Prussia (1757-60) put Frederick II in a critical position,

nullifying the results of his victories. The war ended with France having to cede some of her colonies (including Canada and almost all of her possessions in the East Indies) to Britain, while Prussia, Austria and Saxony had to recognise the pre-war frontiers. p. 135

123 The *Treaty of Basle* was concluded separately by the French Republic and Prussia, a member of the European Coalition, on April 5, 1795. Prussia was forced to sign it in view of the successes of the French army and the growing differences between the coalition members, above all between Prussia and Austria. Its conclusion marked the beginning of the coalition's disintegration. On July 22, 1795 Spain also signed a separate peace treaty with France in Basle. p. 135

124 The treaty was designed to prevent the seizure by Prussia of the King of Saxony's possessions and the annexation by Russia of all the lands of the former Duchy of Warsaw. p. 135

125 The agreement, concluded in October 1821 during King George IV's visit to Hanover, was directed against Russia's policy on the Greek question. p. 135

126 On July 8, 1859 the emperors of France and Austria held a separate meeting—without the King of Piedmont, France's ally in the war against Austria (see Note 13)—in Villafranca, at which they reached an agreement on an armistice. The meeting was held on the initiative of Napoleon III, who feared that the protracted war might give a fresh impulse to the revolutionary and national liberation movement in Italy and other European states. On July 11 France and Austria signed a preliminary peace treaty under which Austria was to cede to France its rights to Lombardy and France was to transfer this territory to Piedmont. Venetia was to remain under Austrian supremacy (despite the terms of the Plombières agreement, see Note 159) and the princes of the Central Italian states were to be restored to their thrones. A confederation of Italian states was to be formed under the honorary chairmanship of the Pope.

The Villafranca agreements formed the basis of the peace treaty France, Austria and Piedmont concluded in Zurich on November 10, 1859 (see Marx's articles "What Has Italy Gained?", "The Peace" and "The Treaty of Villafranca" in Vol. 16 of the present edition and Engels' letter to Marx of July 14, 1859, present edition, Vol. 40). p. 136

127 This refers to the peace treaty concluded by the Habsburgs and representatives of the Hungarian nobility at Szatmar, Hungary, in April 1711, following the defeat of the national liberation movement in Hungary. Under the peace treaty, Hungary became part of the Habsburg Empire. During the liberation war in Hungary British diplomacy sought to secure an early termination of the hostilities and preserve the integrity of the Habsburg Empire, Britain's ally in the War of the Spanish Succession. p. 136

128 The reference is to the London Convention of July 15, 1840 between Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia on supporting the Turkish Sultan against the Egyptian ruler Mehemet Ali. France, which supported Mehemet Ali, did not participate. The threat of an anti-French coalition made France withdraw her support for the Egyptian ruler. p. 137

129 Under a treaty concluded in 1816 by Britain and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (the Kingdom of Naples) the latter undertook not to grant commercial privileges to third countries prejudicial to Britain's interests. In 1838 the King of Naples granted a French company the monopoly right to mine sulphur in Sicily, which evoked a sharp protest from Britain. To make the King of Naples rescind his decision the British Government in 1840 ordered its navy in the Mediterranean to open hostilities. Naples was forced to comply with Britain's demands. p. 137

130 In 1797 the British Government issued a special *Bank Restriction Act* making banknotes legal tender and suspending the payment of gold for them. To all intents and purposes convertibility was not reintroduced until 1821. The return to convertibility was made possible by a law passed in 1819. p. 138

131 In August 1858 Russia and Piedmont concluded an agreement granting the Russian Steamship and Trading Company the temporary right to use the eastern part of the Villafranca harbour, near Nice, for mooring, refuelling and repairing its ships.

In 1853 Prussia bought from the Duchy of Oldenburg a strip of the shore in the Jade Bay to set up a naval base there. It was built between 1855 and 1869 and named Wilhelmshaven. p. 138

132 This refers to the repercussions of the uprising in the free city of Cracow (the Cracow Republic), which, by decision of the Congress of Vienna, had been placed under the joint control of Austria, Prussia and Russia. On February 22, 1846 the insurgents seized power in Cracow, established a National Government and issued a manifesto abolishing feudal services. The uprising was suppressed at the beginning of March. In November 1846 Austria, Prussia and Russia signed a treaty incorporating Cracow into the Austrian Empire. p. 139

133 This refers to the decree of November 20 (8), 1847, signed by Nicholas I, allowing serfs to buy themselves off, together with their land, when their landlords' estates were put under distraint. (For details see Marx's article "The Emancipation Question", present edition, Vol. 16.) p. 140

134 To strengthen its influence in the Balkans, Russia supported the national liberation movement of the Balkan peoples against Turkish domination. Together with France, which likewise sought to consolidate its influence in the area, Russia backed the striving of Moldavia and Wallachia to unite and form a Romanian state. With French and Russian support Colonel Alexandru Cuza was elected hospodar (ruler) of Moldavia in January 1859 and of Wallachia in early February 1859. A united Romanian state was set up in 1862. p. 141

135 The memorandum was printed in the *Preussisches Wochenblatt zur Besprechung politischer Tagesfragen,* Nos. 23, 24 and 25 of June 9, 16 and 23, 1855. The source of its origin was not indicated. On July 13, 1859 it was reprinted in *The Free Press* under the heading "Memoir on Russia, for the Instruction of the Present Emperor. Drawn up by the Cabinet in 1837". Marx used the document in one of his reports for the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see present edition, Vol. 16). The memorandum attracted his attention in connection with the aggravation of the struggle over the question of German and Italian unification and the fight against Bonapartism. In a letter to Engels of July 19, 1859 Marx wrote that he intended to sum up Russia's role in this tragicomedy and at the

same time expose Bonaparte's intrigues. After familiarising themselves with this document Marx and Engels expressed doubts about the authenticity of certain passages (see Engels' letter to Marx of June 18, 1859 and Marx's letter to Engels of July 19, 1859, present edition, Vol. 40).

Bismarck in his reminiscences (*Gedanken und Erinnerungen von Otto Fürst von Bismarck,* Stuttgart, 1898, Bd. 1, S. 111-12) says that the memorandum was a falsification. p. 141

136 The *Congress of Nemirov*—the peace talks held by Russia, Austria and Turkey in the Ukrainian town of Nemirov between August and November 1737. The congress was convened on Turkey's initiative during the Russo-Turkish war of 1735-39, which Austria entered, on the side of Russia, in 1737. The peace terms put forward by Russia called, among other things, for granting Moldavia and Wallachia the status of independent principalities under Russian protection. Turkey declared most of the terms unacceptable and resumed hostilities.

The *Congress of Focşani* was held at the Romanian town of Focşani in July and August 1772 with a view to ending the Russo-Turkish war started by Turkey in 1768. The Russian delegation proposed, in particular, that Wallachia and Moldavia should be granted independence under the joint protection of the European powers. Turkey rejected Russia's proposals. No agreement was reached and the hostilities were resumed. p. 142

137 The *Peace of Bucharest,* concluded on May 28 (16), 1812, put an end to the Russo-Turkish war of 1806-12. Under its terms, Russia got Bessarabia and certain areas in Transcaucasia. Turkey was to grant internal autonomy to Serbia and confirm its earlier agreements with Russia extending a measure of autonomy to Moldavia and Wallachia. p. 142

138 *Règlement organique* (1831-32)—constitutional acts laying down the socio-political system of the Danubian Principalities (Wallachia and Moldavia) after the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29. The *Règlement,* based on a draft framed by P. D. Kiselev, head of the Russian administration, was adopted by an assembly of boyars and clergymen. Legislative power in each of the Principalities was vested in an assembly elected by the big landowners. Executive power was wielded by the hospodars, rulers elected for life by representatives of the landowners, the clergy and the towns. The *Règlement* envisaged a number of bourgeois reforms: abolition of internal customs duties, introduction of free trade, and the right of peasants to move from one owner to another. However, in view of the preservation of serfdom and concentration of political power in the hands of the big landowners and boyars, the progressive forces in the Principalities regarded the *Règlement* as a symbol of feudal stagnation. It was repealed during the 1848 revolution. p. 142

139 The *Hetairia* (full name: *Philike Hetairia*) was a Greek secret organisation founded in Odessa in 1814. It moved its headquarters to Constantinople in 1818 and soon won a nation-wide following. In 1821 the Hetairia prepared a national liberation uprising in Greece, after the beginning of which it was disbanded. p. 143

140 At its congress in Verona (October to December 1822) the Holy Alliance decided to launch an armed intervention against revolutionary Spain. In 1823 French troops invaded Spain and restored the absolute power of Ferdinand VII. They stayed in the country until 1828. p. 143

141 At *Navarino* (a port in Greece) on October 20, 1827 the Turko-Egyptian navy clashed with the British, French and Russian squadrons sent into Greek waters for armed mediation in the war between Turkey and the Greek insurgents. The battle was fought after the Turkish command had refused to end the massacre of the Greek population. The forces of the three European powers, commanded by the British Vice-Admiral Edward Codrington, routed the Turko-Egyptian fleet. This facilitated the national liberation struggle of the Greeks and Russia's success in its war against Turkey in 1828 and 1829. p. 143

142 *Young Italy* (Giovine Italia) was a secret organisation of Italian revolutionaries (1831-48) founded by Mazzini. It fought for national independence and a united Italian republic. p. 144

143 In October 1850 Emperor Nicholas I of Russia, Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria and Count Frederick William von Brandenburg, the head of the Prussian Government, met in Warsaw. The conference was held on the initiative of Nicholas I in connection with the sharpening struggle between Austria and Prussia for supremacy in Germany. The Russian Tsar, acting as arbiter, used his influence to make Prussia abandon its attempts to form a political confederation of German states under Prussia's aegis. The dispute was settled when the heads of the Austrian and Prussian governments signed an agreement in Olmütz (Olomouc) on November 29, 1850 under which Prussia renounced its claims to supremacy in Germany and yielded on the issues of Schleswig-Holstein and Hesse-Cassel. As a result of the agreement an Austrian army corps was sent to Holstein. p. 145

144 Pozzo di Borgo, Russia's Ambassador to Paris, sent the dispatch in question to Count Nesselrode, the Russian Chancellor, on October 16 (4), 1825 in reply to the latter's circular letter of August 18 (6), 1825. The circular, drawn up at the instructions of Alexander I, asked the Russian Ambassadors abroad for their opinion about the Western Powers' policy vis-à-vis Russia in connection with the Eastern question. Pozzo di Borgo suggested in his dispatch that Russia should resort to armed force in dealing with Turkey. The dispatch was published in *Recueil des documents pour la plupart secrets et inédits et d'autres pièces historiques utiles à consulter dans la crise actuelle (juillet 1853)*, Paris. Marx used the second (1854) edition of the book. p. 145

145 *Finis Poloniae!*—a phrase attributed—without sufficient grounds—to Tadeusz Kościuszko, the leader of the national liberation movement in Poland in 1794. He is supposed to have uttered it after the defeat of the insurgent army at the battle of Maciejowice (October 10, 1794) when he was taken prisoner. p. 148

146 Marx is referring to the map of Slav lands compiled by the Czech Slavonic scholar Pavel Josef Šafařík for his book *Slovanský národopis (Slavonic Ethnography)* published in 1842. p. 151

147 *The Lay of Ludwig (Das Ludwigslied)* was written in the Frankish dialect by an anonymous poet in the late ninth century. It is a panegyric of the West Frankish King Louis III, celebrating his victory over the Normans at Sancourt in 881 (*Hausschatz der Volkspoesie*, Leipzig, 1846). p. 154

148 On June 11, 1849 Ledru-Rollin, the leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats, tabled a motion in the Legislative Assembly calling for the impeachment of President Louis Bonaparte and the government for violating the Constitution by sending French troops to crush the Roman Republic and restore the temporal power of the Pope. After it had been voted down by the conservative majority of the Assembly the petty-bourgeois democrats tried to organise a mass protest demonstration on June 13, which was dispersed by government troops. The leaders of the Montagne, the petty-bourgeois faction in the Assembly, were stripped of their powers as deputies and persecuted. Some of them were forced to emigrate. The June 13 events revealed the Montagne leaders' indecision and inability to head the revolutionary movement of the masses (see Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850,* present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 101-07). p. 155

149 *Napoléon le Petit* (Napoleon the Little)—the nickname given to Louis Bonaparte by Victor Hugo in a speech he made to the French Legislative Assembly in 1851. It gained wide currency after the publication in 1852 of Hugo's *Napoléon le Petit.* p. 156

150 Here Marx uses the words "ein Ende mit Schrecken", apparently an allusion to the dictum "Lieber ein Ende mit Schrecken als ein Schrecken ohne Ende" ("A dreadful end is better than dread without end"). It is attributed to Ferdinand Schill, commander of volunteer units that fought against Napoleon's troops in 1806-07. Schill is believed to have uttered these words in a speech he made in the market-place of Arneburg on the Elbe on May 12, 1809 when he urged Prussia to fight France. p. 156

151 In the early 1850s the French Government drew up a plan for the import of African Negroes, including inhabitants of Portugal's African colonies, for work on plantations in France's West Indian colonies. The implementation of the plan was tantamount to a revival of the slave trade and led to a conflict between France and Portugal. p. 157

152 This refers to the abortive attempt by the Italian revolutionaries Orsini and Pieri to assassinate Napoleon III on January 14, 1858. Marx refers to it in several of his articles, e.g. "The War Prospect in France" and "Quid pro Quo" (see present edition, Vol. 16). p. 157

153 By the *Lois de sûreté publique* (laws on social security) Marx means the *Loi des suspects* (law on suspects) adopted by the Corps Législatif on February 19, 1858. It granted the government and the Emperor the unlimited right to deport persons suspected of hostility towards the regime of the Second Empire to various places in France and Algeria and even to banish them from French territory. p. 157

154 By the decree of January 27, 1858 the territory of the Second Empire was divided into five General Captaincies headed by marshals. This was done on the pattern of Spain, where the captain generals (commanders of military districts) wielded full power.

The decree on the regency and the establishment of the Privy Council was issued on February 1, 1858, soon after Orsini's attempt on the life of Napoleon III. Pélissier was a member of the Council, which was to become the Regency Council if the Emperor's son, a minor, acceded to the throne. p. 157

155 Napoleon III was the son of Napoleon I's brother Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland from 1806 to 1810. By calling Napoleon III the "nephew of the battle of Austerlitz" Marx alludes to the fact that the coup d'état of December 2, 1851 was timed to coincide with the anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz (December 2, 1805) at which Napoleon I defeated the allied Russian and Austrian forces. p. 157

156 At the end of 1858 the French journalist Montalembert was put on trial for writing an article condemning the regime of the Second Empire ("Un débat sur l'Inde au parlement anglais", *Le Correspondant*, nouvelle série, V. IX, octobre 1858). He was pardoned by Napoleon III but rejected the pardon and demanded his acquittal. Marx ironically draws a parallel between this trial and that of John Hampden, a prominent figure in the English seventeenth-century revolution, who in 1636 refused to pay "ship money", a royal tax not authorised by the House of Commons. The Hampden trial increased the opposition to absolutism in England.

In his pamphlet *De la Justice poursuivie par l'Eglise* (Brussels, 1858) Proudhon compares the Bonaparte and Orléans dynasties and gives preference to the principles of government proclaimed by the latter, but makes reservations concerning the need for certain democratic reforms. Marx ironically compares these reservations with the *Acte additionel*, the constitutional regulations introduced by Napoleon I in France in 1815 upon his return from Elba. p. 157

157 This refers to the abortive republican uprising of troops in Chalon-sur-Saône on March 6, 1858 (see Marx's article "Portents of the Day", present edition, Vol. 15). p. 157

158 On January 20, 1858 Count Walewski, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent a Note to the British Government expressing dissatisfaction with Britain's granting asylum to political refugees. In this connection Palmerston tabled the Conspiracy to Murder Bill in the House of Commons on February 8. During its second reading Milner Gibson proposed an amendment censuring the Palmerston Government for not giving an appropriate reply to the Note. The amendment, adopted by the majority of the House, amounted to a vote of no-confidence in the Government and forced it to resign. p. 158

159 On July 21, 1858, at Plombières, Napoleon III and Prime Minister Cavour of the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont) reached a secret agreement envisaging Franco-Sardinian military co-operation against Austria, the abolition of Austrian rule in Lombardy and Venetia and their union with Piedmont, the establishment of a North Italian state to be ruled by the Savoy dynasty, and the cession by Piedmont of Savoy and Nice to France. The agreement was formalised by a Franco-Sardinian treaty concluded in Turin in January 1859. During the Plombières meeting the question of a Franco-Sardinian war against Austria was decided. It started in April 1859.

In the autumn of 1858, Palmerston, then head of the Whig opposition to the Derby-Disraeli Tory Cabinet, was invited by Napoleon III to Compiègne to clarify his position on the impending Franco-Austrian war. At the meeting Palmerston did not object to the Austrians being driven out of Italy, but in his speech at the opening of Parliament on February 3, 1859 he condemned France's action. p. 159

160 On October 10, 1850 Louis Bonaparte, then President of the French Republic, held a general review of troops on the plain of Satory (near Versailles). During the review Bonaparte, who was preparing a coup d'état, treated the soldiers and officers to sausages in order to win their support. p. 163

161 At the Congress of Paris on March 30, 1856 France, Britain, Austria, Sardinia, Prussia and Turkey, on the one hand, and Russia, on the other, signed a peace treaty that concluded the Crimean War (1853-56). Russia, defeated in the war, was forced to cede the estuary of the Danube and part of South Bessarabia, renounce its protection of the Danubian Principalities, and agree to the neutralisation of the Black Sea, which involved the closure of the Straits to foreign warships and a ban on the maintenance by Russia and Turkey of naval arsenals and navies in the Black Sea. In exchange for Sevastopol and the other Crimean towns seized by the Allies, Russia was to return Kars to Turkey. France refused to support Britain's demand for the severance of the Caucasus from Russia and Austria's demand for the incorporation of Bessarabia into Turkey. The Congress marked the beginning of a Franco-Russian rapprochement. p. 163

162 The *Thirty Years' War* (1618-48)—a European war in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the Catholic German princes, rallied under the banner of Catholicism, fought the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands and a number of Protestant German states. The rulers of Catholic France—rivals of the Habsburgs—supported the Protestant camp. Germany was the principal battle area and the main object of plunder and territorial claims. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) sealed the political dismemberment of Germany. p. 168

163 During the Irish uprising of 1798 the town of Kilkenny was occupied by Hessian mercenaries serving in the British army, who used to amuse themselves by watching fights between cats with their tails tied together. One day, a soldier, seeing an officer approaching, cut off the cats' tails with his sword and the cats ran away. The officer was told that the cats had eaten each other and only their tails remained. p. 170

164 The *Treaty of Campoformio,* signed on October 17, 1797, concluded the victorious war of the French Republic against Austria, a member of the first anti-French coalition. Under the treaty, France got Belgium, the Ionian Islands and part of Albania. Austria was to help France annex the left bank of the Rhine, and relinquished its former possessions in Northern Italy. Together with part of the abolished Venetian Republic, these constituted the Cisalpine Republic, a new state under French protection. A big portion of the Venetian Republic, including Venice, and also Istria and Dalmatia, were given to Austria in exchange for concessions made to France on the Rhine frontier. p. 171

165 The *Council of States*—one of the two houses of Switzerland's Federal Assembly (Parliament). The other house is called the National Council. p. 175

166 *Vallée des Dappes*—a mountain valley on the border of the Swiss Canton of Vaud and France. The Congress of Vienna (1814-15) ruled it to be Swiss territory; however France later refused to recognise this decision. Because of its strategic importance the Vallée des Dappes remained a bone of contention

between the two states until Switzerland ceded part of it to France in exchange for territorial compensation in 1862. p. 175

167 In the autumn of 1856 a conflict developed between Prussia and Switzerland over the events in Neuchâtel (in German: Neuenburg). From 1707 to 1806 the principality of Neuchâtel was a dwarf state under Prussian rule. In 1815, by decision of the Vienna Congress, it was incorporated into the Swiss Confederation as its 21st canton, at the same time remaining a vassal of Prussia. In February 1848 a bourgeois revolution in Neuchâtel put an end to Prussian rule and a republic was proclaimed. In 1852 Britain, France and Russia signed a protocol in London which re-affirmed the Prussian King's rights to Neuchâtel. The Prusso-Swiss conflict flared up with fresh violence in September 1856 when the Swiss authorities arrested the participants in an abortive monarchist putsch in Neuchâtel who had the support of the Prussian King. The Swiss Government demanded that Prussia should renounce all its claims to the canton. The conflict was settled in the spring of 1857 thanks to the diplomatic intervention of other powers, notably France. The Prussian King had to waive his claim to Neuchâtel, while the Swiss Government released the arrested royalists. p. 175

168 The *Sonderbund*—a separatist union of the seven economically backward Catholic cantons of Switzerland formed in 1843 to resist progressive bourgeois reforms and to defend the privileges of the Church and the Jesuits. The decree of the Swiss Diet of July 1847 dissolving the Sonderbund was used by the latter as a pretext for starting hostilities against the other cantons early in November. On November 23, 1847 the Sonderbund army was defeated by the federal forces. Attempts by Austria and Prussia to interfere in Swiss affairs in support of the Sonderbund failed. Louis Philippe's Government virtually sided with these powers in protecting the Sonderbund. p. 176

169 In this Note, directed to a number of states, the Federal Council declared that in the event of war in Italy, Switzerland would defend its neutrality and territorial integrity and would, in keeping with the resolutions of the Congress of Vienna, occupy the neutralised area of Savoy (Northern Savoy).

The Congress had proclaimed the "perpetual neutrality" of Switzerland and, in its Final Act, adopted on June 9, 1815, declared Chablais and Faucigny, the provinces of Northern Savoy, a neutralised territory and authorised Switzerland, in the event of war or the threat of war between the neighbouring states, to occupy these provinces, at the same time enjoining the Kingdom of Sardinia to withdraw its troops from there. p. 176

170 Marx quotes from *Klage (Lament)*, an anonymous twelfth-century German poem. It is a kind of supplement to the *Nibelungenlied* (or *Der Nibelunge Not*). Marx probably used the 1826 edition by Karl Lachmann *Der Nibelungen Not mit der Klage*. He quotes from an entry in his notebook of 1860.

*Iwein, oder der Ritter mit dem Löwen (Ywain, or the Knight of the Lion)* is a narrative poem by the medieval German poet Hartmann von Aue. Its central idea is the sacrifice of happiness for the sake of honour. The poem is an adaptation of the novel *Yvain ou le Chevalier au Lion* by the French twelfth-century writer Chrétien de Troyes. Marx presumably used the edition, Hartmann von Aue, *Iwein, Eine Erzählung* (Mit Anmerkungen von G. F. Benecke und K. Lachmann), Berlin, 1843. p. 184

171 *Die Kaiserchronik*—a German epic of the twelfth century telling in semi-legendary form the history of the Roman and German emperors from Caesar to 1147. The extant version is attributed to the twelfth-century German poet Konrad. Marx probably used the edition prepared by Heinrich Kurz, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1857. p. 185

172 Prince Napoleon commanded a division in the Crimea in 1854. Lacking military talent and unpopular with the army, he feigned ill health to stay away from directing military operations and later returned to Paris without official permission. p. 189

173 An allusion to Napoleon III's rumoured illegitimacy. Officially he was the son of King Louis Bonaparte of Holland, a brother of Napoleon I. p. 190

174 See Note 70. p. 190

175 See Note 165. p. 192

176 See Note 159. p. 192

177 *Corybants*—attendants of the goddess Cybele who were supposed to accompany her with wild dances and music; also priests of Cybele who acted as Corybants with orgiastic processions and rites. p. 194

178 The *Crédit Mobilier (Société général du Crédit Mobilier)* was a French joint-stock bank founded in 1852 by the Péreire brothers. Closely connected with and protected by the Government of Napoleon III, it engaged in large-scale speculation. The bank was involved, in particular, in the railway-building business. It went bankrupt in 1867 and was liquidated in 1871. p. 198

179 *Helvetia*—a Swiss student association which in 1859-60 opposed Napoleon III's plans for the annexation of Savoy to France. p. 201

180 See Note 45. p. 204

181 The *Fusionists* advocated fusion of the Legitimists (the supporters of the elder branch of the French Bourbon dynasty) and the Orleanists (the adherents of the younger branch).

*Collège de France*—one of France's oldest higher educational establishments (founded 1530 in Paris).

*L'Institut de France*—France's highest scientific and art centre. It comprises a number of leading academies, including the Académie Française. p. 207

182 This refers to the committee of the party of Order, which sat in the *rue de Poitiers*. The party of Order formed in 1848 was a coalition of monarchist groups: the Legitimists (supporters of the Bourbon dynasty), the Orleanists (supporters of the Orleans dynasty) and the Bonapartists. It was the party of the conservative big bourgeoisie. From 1849 until the coup d'état of December 2, 1851 it held sway in the Legislative Assembly of the Second Republic. p. 208

183 An allusion to the shrine of the three Magi in Cologne Cathedral (cf. Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen*, Chapter VII). p. 210

184 Marx is referring to Vogt's speech in the Frankfurt National Assembly on April 24, 1849 *(Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen constituiren-*

*den Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main).* An excerpt from Vogt's speech was published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* No. 283, April 27, 1849 and is contained in Marx's notebook. p. 211

185 *Mouse Tower*—a tower built on a rock in the middle of the Rhine below the town of Bingen. Hemmed in by rocks, this section of the river is called the Binger Loch (Bingen Hole). According to one version, the name of the tower is associated with Archbishop Hatto II of Mayence. Legend has it that he ordered a number of starving people to be burnt in a barn. When their screams were heard, he jokingly told the bystanders that these were the cries of the mice who had caused the food shortage. This earned him the disfavour of mice, to avoid which he had a tower built for him on a rock in the Binger Loch. However the mice found him out there and devoured him. p. 212

186 An allusion to Vogt's participation in the Genevan joint-stock company La Cimentaire (see this volume, p. 327). p. 212

187 An allusion to the prolonged resistance that the garrison of Komárom fortress, commanded by General Klapka, offered to the besieging Austrian army and the Russian troops sent by Tsar Nicholas I. The fortress held out until the end of September 1849. The defence of Komárom was the closing act of the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49. p. 214

188 This refers to the rising in Milan on February 6, 1853 organised by the followers of the Italian revolutionary Mazzini and supported by Hungarian revolutionary refugees. The aim of the insurgents, mostly Italian patriotic workers, was to overthrow Austrian rule in Italy. However, the leaders' conspiratorial tactics and failure to take into account the actual situation led to the rapid defeat of the insurgents. Marx analysed the rising in a number of articles (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 508-09, 513-16 and 535-37). p. 217

189 Speaking of manifestos issued by Kossuth and Mazzini, Marx based himself on the article "Data by Which to Judge of Kossuth" (*The Free Press,* No. 5, May 27, 1859), which mentioned a manifesto issued by Kossuth in 1855 and added: "The names associated in this with Kossuth were Ledru-Rollin and Mazzini."

The *Central Committee of European Democracy,* set up in London in June 1850 on Mazzini's initiative, was an organisation of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois refugees from different countries. Kossuth played an important part in it, as well as Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin and Ruge. The Committee's Inaugural Manifesto, "Aux peuples!", of July 22, 1850 (*Le Proscrit,* No. 2, August 6, 1850) was criticised by Marx and Engels in their international review for May to October 1850 published in the autumn of that year in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 529-32). Extremely heterogeneous in composition and ideological principles, the Committee virtually disintegrated in March 1852 because of the strained relations between the Italian and French democratic refugees. p. 218

190 Kossuth's lectures of 1858 and a number of his articles were published in Brussels in 1859 under the title: Kossuth L., *L'Europe, l'Autriche et la Hongrie.*

The *Concordats* are agreements between the Pope and the governments of individual countries on the status and privileges of the Catholic Church in these countries. Under the Concordat of 1855 concluded by the Holy See and Vienna, the Catholic Church in Austria was to enjoy autonomy, the right of

direct communication with Rome and the right to own property. It was to act as supreme spiritual censor and wield a vast influence on the schools.

p. 221

191 The facts Marx presents here and further on (p. 222) concerning Kossuth's meeting with Napoleon III and financial dealings with the Bonapartists were related to him by Szemere (see Marx's letter to Engels of September 28, 1859). He also used them in his article "Kossuth and Louis Napoleon", published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5748, September 24, 1859 (see present edition, Vol. 16). The article caused considerable repercussions among Hungarian refugees in the United States. "Hungarians in New York, Chicago, New Orleans, etc., have held meetings at which they resolved to send Kossuth a letter challenging him to justify himself with respect to my article in the *New-York Tribune,*" Marx wrote to Engels on November 19, 1859 (present edition, Vol. 40).

A version of this article, headlined "Particulars of Kossuth's Transactions with Louis Napoleon" was published in *The Free Press,* No. 10, September 28, 1859. On October 8, 1859 Marx wrote to Szemere that "the *Free Press* report was reprinted in English, Scottish and Irish provincial newspapers". A German version of the article appeared in the supplement to the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 276, October 3, 1859. On October 10 Marx informed Engels that it had also been reprinted by the *Weser-Zeitung.* p. 221

192 This refers to Emperor Francis Joseph's diploma of October 20, 1860 (das Kaiserliche Diplom vom 20. Oktober 1860) which granted a measure of autonomy to the non-German parts of the Austrian Empire. It was a half-measure designed to placate the advocates of federalism, particularly the Hungarians. (Engels analysed it in his article "Austria—Progress of the Revolution", see this volume, pp. 499-500.) However the October diploma was rescinded a few months later by the Patent of February 26, 1861, which reintroduced the centralist system in the Austrian Empire. p. 225

193 *In usum Delphini*—literally: "for the use of the Dauphin", in a figurative sense: "with omissions", "bowdlerised". The phrase gained currency after 1668 when the works of ancient classics were published for the son of Louis XIV, the heir to the French throne (the Dauphin), expurgated of all "objectionable" passages. p. 225

194 On August 13, 1849, at Világos, the Hungarian army commanded by Görgey surrendered to the Tsarist troops sent to help the Habsburgs suppress the revolution in Hungary. Although the Hungarian army possessed considerable resources and was able to continue the struggle, Görgey treasonably capitulated to meet the wishes of the conservative nobility who were opposed to a spread of the revolution. p. 226

195 The *ultramontane party* in Switzerland was formed in the 1840s on the initiative of the reactionary Catholic circles in connection with the intensified opposition of the economically backward cantons to the liberal-democratic reforms carried out by the bourgeoisie. This opposition led to the establishment of the Sonderbund (see Note 168) and a civil war in Switzerland. p. 228

196 This refers to one of the charitable educational institutions run by the Herrnhut communities. The first of these communities was set up in Herrnhut, Saxony, in 1722 by followers of a religious fraternity originally known as the Moravian

Brethren. There were a number of Herrnhut communities in Germany, America and South Africa. p. 231

197 *"Laissez aller et laissez faire"* was the formula of the advocates of free trade and non-intervention of the state in economic relations. p. 231

198 This refers to the street riots in Geneva in October 1846 caused by differences between bourgeois radicals and Rightists over the attitude to be adopted towards the Sonderbund and democratic reforms in the administration of the canton of Geneva. p. 231

199 See Note 168. p. 231

200 In January 1849 Mazzini and J. Ph. Becker advanced a plan for establishing a volunteer German-Helvetian republican legion to support the revolutionary movement in Sicily. The Swiss Federal Council banned propaganda of the plan in the Swiss press as prejudicial to Switzerland's neutrality. Becker's attempts to organise the shipment to Italy of the 2,500 volunteers assembled in Marseilles failed because of a ban imposed by the French authorities, who were preparing an intervention against the Roman Republic. p. 232

201 See Note 178. p. 234

202 See Marx's article "The Berlin *National-Zeitung* to the Primary Electors" (present edition, Vol. 8, p. 271).

*Schilda*—the name of a town whose inhabitants, portrayed in *Die Schildbürger,* a German popular satirical book of the late 16th century, have come to be regarded as epitomes of philistine narrow-mindedness and obtuseness. p. 236

203 The original has "denkende Leser" ("thinking readers") here. This ironic reference to the readers of the *National-Zeitung* seems to be an allusion to the title of K. Rotteck's well-known book *Allgemeine Geschichte vom Anfang der historischen Kenntniß bis auf unsere Zeiten; für denkende Geschichtsfreunde (Universal History from the Beginnings of Historical Knowledge to Modern Times; for Thinking Friends of History),* Freiburg und Konstanz, 1813-1818. p. 236

204 These lines (Marx quotes in English and gives the German translation in a footnote) are from Alexander Pope's *The Dunciad. An Heroic Poem,* Book I, written between 1728 and 1743. Pope gives a satirical portrayal of his literary adversaries, relegating them to the realm of Dulness. p. 237

205 The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* was a German bourgeois-democratic daily published under this title in Breslau (Wrocław) from 1849 to 1855.

It started publication in March 1849 following a split in the editorial board of the oppositional Catholic *Allgemeine Oder-Zeitung,* which appeared from 1846. The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* was the most radical newspaper in Germany in the 1850s, and the object of government persecution. Its editorial board was headed by the bourgeois democrats Temme, Stein and Elsner. The last named became Editor-in-Chief in September 1855. In 1855 Marx contributed to the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* as its London correspondent. In view of the almost complete absence of a working-class press in the years of reaction Marx and Engels

considered it essential to use the bourgeois-democratic press in the struggle against the reactionary forces. p. 238

206 See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 390-91 ("Stein"). The italics in this passage were partly changed by Marx.

*Agreers Assembly* (*Vereinbarer-Versammlung*) was Marx's and Engels' ironic way of referring to the Prussian National Assembly, which was guided by the "theory of agreement". Convened in Berlin in May 1848, it was to draw up a Constitution not on the basis of sovereign and constituent rights but "by agreement with the Crown" (the principle formulated by the Camphausen-Hansemann Government and adopted by the majority of the Assembly). The Crown used the theory of agreement to camouflage its preparations for a counter-revolutionary coup d'état. On December 5, 1848 the Prussian National Assembly was disbanded.

The *imposed Constitution* was made public on the same day. It introduced a two-chamber parliament in Prussia. By the imposition of age and property qualifications the First Chamber was made a privileged chamber of the gentry. Under the electoral law of December 6, 1848, the right to vote in the two-stage elections to the Second Chamber was granted only to "independent Prussians". The two Chambers first met on February 26, 1849. However, the Brandenburg-Manteuffel government, displeased with the position of the Left-wing deputies of the Second Chamber, though their opposition was rather moderate, dissolved it on April 27. The pretext for the dissolution was the approval by the Second Chamber of the Imperial Constitution drawn up by the Frankfurt National Assembly. Subsequently, the imposed Constitution was repeatedly revised, on the initiative of the ruling circles of Prussia, in a still more anti-democratic spirit. p. 238

207 The Corn Laws were repealed in June 1846. They imposed high import duties on agricultural produce in the interests of the landowners, in order to maintain high prices on the home market. The repeal of the Corn Laws marked a victory for the industrial bourgeoisie, who opposed them under the slogan of free trade. p. 239

208 The First Democratic Congress, held in Frankfurt am Main from June 14 to June 17, 1848 and attended by delegates of 89 democratic and workers' organisations from different German cities, decided to unite all democratic associations and set up district committees and a Central Committee of German Democrats. The latter had its headquarters in Berlin. p. 239

209 See Note 203. p. 242

210 *Septembrists* was the name given to the Jacobins by their enemies who slanderously accused them of wanton brutality in *September* 1792, during the French Revolution. p. 243

211 *Levites*—Hebrew priests in the service of the Temple of Jerusalem for whose benefit tithes were collected (see *Numbers* 3:39). p. 245

212 The friend in question was Ferdinand Lassalle (see Marx's letters to him of February 23 and March 3, 1860). In reply to Marx's request Lassalle answered that no one in Berlin knew of any *Daily Telegraph* correspondent (Lassalle's

letter to Marx of March 11, 1860, in: Fr. Mehring, *Briefe von Ferdinand Lassalle.—Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle,* 4. Bd., Stuttgart, 1902).

The acquaintance mentioned further in the text was presumably Eduard Fischel. An entry in Marx's notebook for 1860 mentions the dispatch of a letter to him (it has not been found). Marx learned the name of the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent from Fischel's letter of May 30, 1860. p. 246

213 *Magistrat* in German means municipal or city council. p. 247

214 The *Echternach procession* (or leaping procession) has been held annually in the Luxemburg town of Echternach at Whitsun since the Middle Ages in gratitude for the termination of an epidemic of St. Vitus's dance (chorea) which raged in the town in 1374. The participants in the procession perform complicated forward and backward movements. p. 247

215 An allusion to the speculative activities of the Crédit Mobilier bank founded by the Péreire Brothers (see Note 178). p. 249

216 Marx calls Vincke a *knight of the joyful countenance* by analogy with the Knight of the Doleful Countenance (Don Quixote).

*Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche* (knight without fear or reproach)—appellation of the medieval knight Pierre du Terrail seigneur de Bayard. It is used with reference to other people too, both in its literal sense and ironically. p. 250

217 The conservative deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly arranged a banquet in honour of the Regent of the Empire, Archduke John, who arrived in Frankfurt am Main on July 11, 1848. Vincke was present too. The reference is to his speech at the sitting of July 15, 1848 (*Deutsche Reichstags-Zeitung,* No. 49, July 16, 1848).

The couplet quoted lower in the text is from an eighteenth-century student song. p. 251

218 The *Corpus juris civilis,* compiled in the sixth century under the Emperor Justinian, was a code of law regulating property relations in Rome's slave-owning society. It was applied in part in Germany from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. p. 251

219 An allusion to Benda's challenging Vincke to a duel for his provocative anti-Jewish remarks which Benda took as a personal insult. Vincke refused to fight. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* wrote about the incident in its issue No. 184, January 1, 1849.

The *United Diet,* convened by Frederick William IV in Berlin in April 1847, was an assembly of Prussia's eight provincial diets and, like these, was based on the principle of social estates. Its terms of reference were limited to the endorsement of new taxes and loans, a deliberative vote in the discussions of draft laws and the right to petition the king. The first United Diet was dissolved because of its refusal to approve a new loan. p. 251

220 Here and below Marx used the reports on the session of the Frankfurt National Assembly published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.*

An account of Vincke's speech appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 126, October 26, 1848. p. 252

221 This refers to the counter-revolutionary stand of the German and Austrian bourgeoisie during the Vienna uprising in October 1848. It was manifest, in particular, in the actions of the majority of the Frankfurt National Assembly and the central authority which, posing as mediator, virtually sabotaged aid to revolutionary Vienna. Vincke actively supported this attitude (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 126, October 26, 1848). p. 254

222 The Fata Morgana of *Little Germany*—a plan for the unification of Germany from above under Prussia's aegis and excluding Austria. Supported by the majority of the bourgeoisie, it reflected the struggle between Austria and Prussia for supremacy in Germany after unification. p. 254

223 Here Marx summarises Vincke's speeches in the Prussian United Diet on December 29, 1848 and January 3, 1849 (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Nos. 184 and 185, January 1 and 3, 1849). p. 255

224 *Daimios*—powerful feudal barons in medieval Japan. p. 255

225 The *Ministry of Action* (Ministerium der That) was the name given during the 1848-49 revolution to Prussia's Auerswald-Hansemann government (June-September 1848) (see Engels' article "The Fall of the Government of Action", present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 417-19). p. 256

226 These words were spoken by Count von Brandenburg, the Prussian Prime Minister, at a sitting of the Lower Chamber of the Prussian Diet on April 20, 1849 in connection with the proposal to adopt the Imperial Constitution (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 280, April 24, 1849). p. 257

227 See Note 193. p. 259

228 This refers to the *Democratic Association* founded in Brussels in the autumn of 1847. It consisted of proletarian revolutionaries, mainly German revolutionary refugees, and radical bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats. Marx and Engels took an active part in setting up the Association. On November 15, 1847 Marx was elected its Vice-President (the President was Lucien Jottrand, a Belgian democrat), and under his influence the Association became a leading centre of the international democratic movement. During the February 1848 revolution in France, the proletarian wing of the Association pressed for the armament of Belgian workers and an intensification of the struggle for a democratic republic. However after Marx's expulsion from Brussels in early March 1848 and the suppression of the revolutionary elements by the Belgian authorities, the Association's activities assumed a narrower, purely local character and virtually ceased in 1849. p. 264

229 The *Labour Parliament* met in Manchester from March 6 to 18, 1854. It had been called in connection with the rise of the strike movement in Britain in 1853 on the initiative of a group of Chartists headed by Ernest Jones. As early as the end of 1853 (Marx mistakenly gives this as the date of the Labour Parliament's meeting) this group proposed setting up a broad working-class

organisation called The Mass Movement which was to bring together the trade unions and the unorganised workers with a view to co-ordinating strikes in different parts of the country. The organisation was to be headed by a periodically convened Labour Parliament consisting of delegates elected by meetings of unorganised workers and the trade unions affiliated with The Mass Movement. The Labour Parliament adopted the programme of The Mass Movement and formed a five-member executive committee. Marx, elected an honorary delegate to the Parliament, sent a letter which was read out on March 10 (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 57-58). In it he put forward the task of establishing an independent mass working-class party in Britain.

However, the attempt to set up The Mass Movement failed because most trade union leaders rejected political struggle and refused to support the idea of forming a united mass working-class organisation. The decline of the strike movement in the summer of 1854 was a contributing factor. The Labour Parliament did not meet after March 1854. p. 265

230 Marx intended to write a pamphlet entitled *On Prussian Justice* (see his letters to Engels of October 25, 1860 and to Lassalle of October 2, 1860, present edition, Vol. 41). The plan did not materialise. p. 271

231 *Code civil (Code Napoléon)*—French Civil Code published in 1804. It was introduced by Napoleon in the conquered regions of West and Southwest Germany and remained in force in the Rhine Province after its incorporation into Prussia in 1815. p. 271

232 The *Patriots* was a republican society of German refugees in London in the 1850s and 60s. Its members included Blind, Freiligrath and Hollinger.

The *National Association (Deutscher National-Verein)* was a party of the German liberal bourgeoisie which advocated the unification of Germany (without Austria) in a strong centralised state under the aegis of the Prussian monarchy. Its inaugural congress was held in Frankfurt in September 1859.

The open letter of the Patriots to the National Association was published in a number of German newspapers in November 1859. It contained a vaguely formulated plan for the dynastic unification of Germany under Prussia's aegis. p. 274

233 *Quirites*—the citizens of Ancient Rome in their civil capacity. p. 293

234 Schily's letter to Marx is not dated. Presumably it was written at the end of June 1860. It deals with the fate of German refugees, participants in the revolution of 1848-49, who were not members of the Frankfurt National Assembly. p. 296

235 The *Grand Councils* in Switzerland were the legislatures of the city cantons set up under the Constitution of 1803.

The *National Council*—one of the two chambers of the Swiss Federal Assembly formed under the Constitution of 1848 (the other chamber was the Council of States).

The *Federal Council* was the supreme federal executive body, formed under the 1848 Constitution. Its chairman was the president of the republic.

The *Council of States*—see Note 165. p. 297

236 See Note 17. p. 299

237 *Vae victis!* (woe to the vanquished!). Defeated by the Gauls at Allia in 390 the Romans had to pay a ransom of a thousand pounds of gold. When the Romans complained that the weights used by the victors were too heavy, the Gauls' king Brennus exclaimed "Vae victis!" and threw his big sword on the scales too. (Titus Livius, V, 48). p. 301

238 Marx's assumption that Vogt, as the Berne correspondent of the *Frankfurter Journal,* was the author of the articles in question has not been proved. p. 302

239 A reference to the Biblical "fleshpots" of Egypt. During the Jews' exodus from Egypt, the fainthearts among them, depressed by the hardships of the march and by hunger, recalled with longing the days of captivity when they at least had enough to eat. p. 302

240 The protest in question was quoted in Schily's letter to Marx (written after March 6, 1860). p. 303

241 See Note 75. p. 307

242 See Note 59. p. 308

243 See Note 66. p. 311

244 This refers to the book *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts,* Berlin, Erster Theil 1853, Zweiter Theil 1854, compiled by the police officers Wermuth and Stieber. The appendices to the first volume, a "history" of the working-class movement written for the information of the police, contained some documents of the Communist League. The second volume was a blacklist of persons associated with the working-class and democratic movement, complete with biographical data. p. 311

245 See Note 87. p. 314

246 On May 15, 1848 workers led by Blanqui and Barbès staged a revolutionary uprising against the anti-labour and anti-democratic policy of the bourgeois Constituent Assembly, which met on May 4. Participants in the popular demonstration forced their way into its premises and demanded the formation of a Ministry of Labour and a number of other measures. An attempt was made to set up a revolutionary government. However, National Guards from the bourgeois districts and units of the regular army helped restore the Assembly to power. The leaders of the movement were arrested and put on trial. p. 321

247 The New York journal *Putnam's Monthly* published Engels' survey *The Armies of Europe* (see present edition, Vol. 14). It had been written at the request of Marx, who received an order for it through Charles Dana, editor of the *New-York Daily Tribune.* Marx helped Engels in writing the survey by supplying him material from the British Museum. p. 323

248 The Order of St. Gregory the Great was founded by Pope Gregory XVI in 1831. p. 324

249 The meeting of the Russian and Austrian emperors and the Prince Regent of Prussia took place in Warsaw. The attempted rapprochement between Austria, Prussia and Russia was motivated by a desire to prevent the unification of Italy and counteract the foreign policy of Napoleon III, who supported Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia. p. 324

250 *Maronites*—members of the Maronite Christian Church, chiefly in Lebanon. The reference here is to the clashes between Maronite peasants and townspeople, on the one hand, and their feudal lords belonging to the Druse Moslem sect, on the other. Externally a religious conflict between Christians and Moslems, it was essentially a class conflict. See also Note 316. p. 325

251 An allusion to Louis Bonaparte's financial claims on the National Assembly at the time of his Presidency (1848-52).
*Clichy,* in Paris, was a debtors' prison from 1826 to 1867. p. 327

252 The memorandum was sent to Marx by Bertalan Szemere. The covering letter has not been found. It was presumably written in February 1860. The memorandum is an account of a conversation Kossuth had with the British MP Sandford on May 30, 1854. Szemere learned of this conversation from a letter he had received from Richard Cobden, leader of the British Free Traders. p. 328

253 In July 1848 the Austrian Government asked Hungary to provide troops for the suppression of the liberation struggle in Italy. Kossuth readily supported this request and urged the State Assembly to grant it. After winning a victory at Custozza on July 25 Austria consolidated its positions in Italy and threw all its forces against the liberation struggle in Hungary. p. 328

254 According to verified data, the right to raise tithes was first relinquished by Doroczy Zsigmond, the representative of the bishopric of Pecs, who made a statement to this effect in the Lower Chamber. The representatives of other bishoprics followed his example. p. 328

255 On June 16 and 17, 1860, at Baden-Baden, Napoleon III met the Prince Regent William of Prussia, and the princes of other German states. Hoping to realise his ambition of annexing the German lands on the left bank of the Rhine, he sought a deal with Prussia at the expense of the small German states. The meeting ended in failure for Napoleon and helped Prussia secure a key role in Germany's foreign policy. p. 329

256 This article was written by Marx for the *New-York Daily Tribune* to which he contributed from August 1851 to March 1862. On Marx's request many of the articles were written by Engels (see notes 273, 302, 314). By agreement with the *New-York Daily Tribune* editors Marx wrote on some of his articles dealing with different European countries "Paris", "Berlin" or "Vienna" respectively. (See Marx's letters to Engels of November 10, 1858, December 16, 1858 and January 13 and 15, 1859 and also Marx's letter to F. Lassalle of March 28, 1859; present edition, Vol. 40).

The articles which Marx and Engels contributed to the *New-York Daily Tribune* mainly dealt with the most important questions of foreign and home policy, the working-class movement, the economic development of the major European countries, colonial expansion and the national liberation movement in the oppressed and dependent countries. They immediately attracted attention by their profundity, political insight and literary merit. Many of Marx's and Engels' contributions were reprinted in special issues of the *New-York Daily Tribune*—the *New-York Weekly Tribune* and *Semi-Weekly Tribune*—and some of them also in the Chartist *People's Paper*. Other papers, in particular the *New-York Times*, quoted passages from Marx's and Engels' articles.

On many occasions the *New-York Daily Tribune* editors treated these articles quite arbitrarily; they printed them unsigned, as editorials, made insertions and introduced new passages which sometimes ran contrary to what Marx and Engels wanted to say. Marx repeatedly protested against those practices. From the autumn of 1857, when the financial position of the *New-York Daily Tribune* deteriorated due to the economic crisis that gripped the USA, Marx had to reduce the number of his contributions to the paper, and during the American Civil War he stopped sending them altogether, mainly because the *Tribune* had come under the sway of people advocating a compromise with the slave-owning states. p. 330

257 *Quakers* (or *Society of Friends*)—a religious sect founded in England during the seventeenth-century revolution and later widespread in North America. They rejected the Established Church with its rites and preached pacifist ideas. p. 330

258 The reference is to *Société générale du Crédit Mobilier*—see Note 178.

*Crédit Foncier*, a French joint-stock bank, set up in 1852, granted short- and long-term loans on the security of immovable property. Between 1854 and 1859 it granted loans totalling 2,000 million francs to the government of Napoleon III.

By referring to the banks of Napoleonic France as *Crédits ambulants* (travelling credits) Marx emphasised their instability. p. 330

259 Rich gold deposits were discovered in California in 1848 and Australia in 1851. Apart from their great importance for the commercial and industrial development of Europe and America, these discoveries whipped up stock-exchange speculation in the capitalist countries.

The *Tuileries*—the royal palace in Paris, residehce of Napoleon III. p. 331

260 A reference to an imperial decree of Napoleon III on grain reserves of November 16, 1858 (*Le Moniteur universel*, No. 322, November 18, 1858). See Marx's article "Project for the Regulation of the Price of Bread in France", present edition, Vol. 16, and Marx's letter to Lassalle of February 4, 1859, Vol. 40. p. 332

261 *Droit d'octroi*—a right, originating from feudal times, of cities to levy tolls on imported consumer goods. It was repealed in 1791 during the French Revolution, but later reintroduced on some foodstuffs (salt, wine, fish, etc.). These tolls varied from town to town. p. 334

262 A reference to the preparations for an Opium War against China conducted by the British and French governments in early 1860. The war was unleashed in the

summer of the same year with the aim of imposing onerous new terms upon China.

The Anglo-French commercial treaty, signed on January 23, 1860, signified a triumph for the advocates of free trade in both countries and served the interests of the British industrial bourgeoisie (for details see this volume, pp. 341-44).

Marx is referring to the movement for the national unification of Italy, which gained momentum during and after the Austro-Italo-French War of 1859 (see Note 13) and was opposed by a number of European countries. In the spring and summer of 1859 popular insurrections flared up in Tuscany, Modena, Parma and Romagna. The members of the ruling dynasties there fled from their duchies to seek the protection of the Austrian army. The national assemblies set up as the result of the insurrections declared that the population of the duchies wished to be incorporated in Piedmont. This question was finally settled in March 1860 by a plebiscite. p. 335

263 This refers to the second Opium War, waged by Britain and France against China in 1856-60. p. 335

264 The object of the Anglo-Persian War of 1856-57 was to establish British influence in Persia, pave the way for further colonial expansion in the Middle East and Central Asia and prevent the Shah of Persia from establishing his power over the independent principality of Herat. When Persian troops occupied Herat in October 1856 Britain used this as a pretext to open hostilities. The war took an unfavourable turn for Persia. However, the national liberation uprising that flared up in India in 1857 and continued up to 1859 compelled Britain to conclude a peace treaty with Persia in all haste. Under the terms of the treaty signed in Paris in March 1857, Persia repudiated its claims to Herat, which, in 1863, was incorporated into the possessions of the Afghan Emir. p. 336

265 Britain interfered in the civil war in Portugal (1828-34) waged by the liberal nobility, bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, which were supported by the anti-feudal section of the peasantry and fought for the preservation of the constitutional monarchy and against the feudal aristocracy, which sought to restore absolute monarchy and was backed up by the clergy and reaction-influenced peasants in some districts of Spain. The absolutists were led by Dom Miguel, a pretender to the Portuguese throne. In an attempt to consolidate their influence in the Iberian Peninsula and weaken the positions of Austria, which supported the absolutists, the British and French governments sent a fleet to the Portuguese coast (in 1831) to blockade the Tagus and Douro rivers, thus facilitating the victory of the constitutionalists.

The Anglo-Greek conflict referred to occurred in June 1850. When the British Government presented Greece with an ultimatum and sent ships to blockade Piraeus, using as a pretext the burning (in Athens in 1847) of the house of a Portuguese merchant, Pacifico, who was a British subject. The real object of this move, however, was to make Greece surrender several strategically important islands in the Aegean Sea.

The war against Afghanistan was instigated by the British Government in 1838. British troops invaded Afghanistan, but British rule was short-lived. In November 1841 a popular insurrection broke out and the occupying troops

were defeated. In 1842 Britain made another attempt to conquer Afghanistan, but this also ended in total failure. p. 338

266 The Anglo-Chinese Treaty, signed on October 8, 1843, supplemented the Treaty of Nanking (1842), which was concluded after the Anglo-Chinese War of 1840-42 (known as the first Opium War) and was the first of a series of unequal treaties imposed by the Western powers on China and reducing it to the status of a semi-colony.

Under the supplementary treaty of 1843 the British secured further concessions from China, including the right to have special settlements for foreign citizens in the open ports, the right of exterritoriality and most-favoured-nation treatment. p. 338

267 A reference to the Tientsin Russo-Chinese Treaty signed on June 13 (1), 1858. It stipulated among other things that Russian envoys going to Peking could sail up the Peiho River via Daga. p. 338

268 The seizure of a British ship carrying contraband opium by the Chinese authorities in October 1856, followed by the savage bombardment of Canton by the British Navy, served as a pretext for the second Opium War. p. 338

269 A reference to the struggle for power in Ancient Rome waged by the Roman general Lucius Cornelius Sulla supported by the nobility and army veterans. It resulted in the establishment of Sulla's dictatorship in 82 B. C. Here, Marx has in mind Napoleon III. p. 339

270 See Note 262. p. 341

271 Marx is referring to the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty of 1860, a source of intricate political intrigues in the relations between the two countries. He compares this treaty with the "sweet changeling" (Puck) of Oberon, king of the farries, and his wife Titania (Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act II, Scene 1), Puck being the cause of Oberon's wicked tricks. p. 341

272 See Note 207. p. 342

273 The subject of this and several other articles was suggested to Engels by Marx who wrote in his letter of November 3, 1859: "Coudn't you do me an article on the recent changes in the Prussian army?" (see present edition, Vol. 40). The Prussian military reform is also described in the article "Preparations for War in Prussia" (see this volume, pp. 493-96) and in Engels' "The War Question in Prussia and the German Workers' Party" (present edition, Vol. 20). p. 345

274 See Note 13.

The *Crimean War* (1853-56), or the Eastern war, was waged by Russia against the allied forces of Britain, France and Turkey for supremacy in the Middle East and ended with the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty (1856). The war is described by Marx and Engels in the articles included in volumes 13-15 of the present edition. p. 345

275 A reference to the colonial war in Algeria, launched by the French Government in 1830. The Algerian people put up a stubborn resistance to the French colonialists; it took them 40 years to turn Algeria into a French colony. p. 345

276 These battles took place during the Austro-Italo-French War between the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont) and France on the one hand, and Austria on the other (see Note 13). In the battle at *Magenta* (June 4, 1859) the Austrian army was defeated by the French (see Engels' articles "A Chapter of History" and "The Austrian Defeat", present edition, Vol. 16). At *Solferino* (June 24, 1859) the Austrians were again defeated by the French and Piedmontese forces (see Engels' articles "The Battle at Solferino" and "Historical Justice", present edition, Vol. 16). p. 346

277 See Note 76. p. 348

278 The *battle of Austerlitz* between the Russo-Austrian and the French armies on December 2, 1805, ended in victory for the French commanded by Napoleon I.

At the *battle of Jena* on October 14, 1806, the Prussian troops were defeated by Napoleon's army. This resulted in Prussia's capitulation.

At the *battle of Wagram* on July 5-6, 1809, Napoleon defeated the Austrian army commanded by Archduke Charles. p. 349

279 This refers to Marx's articles dealing with the budget proposed by Gladstone: among them are "Feargus O'Connor.—Ministerial Defeats.—The Budget", "L.S.D., or Class Budgets, and Who's Relieved by Them", "Riot at Constantinople.—German Table Moving.—The Budget", "Soap for the People, a Sop for *The Times*.—The Coalition Budget" (see present edition, Vol. 12). p. 351

280 A reference to the "liberal course" proclaimed by Prince William of Prussia (King of Prussia from 1861) in October 1858, when he took up the regency. In the bourgeois press this course was described as a "new era". Actually he did not carry out any of the reforms expected by the bourgeoisie; but in 1860 a previously prepared military reform was effected which abolished the remnants of democratism still surviving in the Prussian army after the national liberation war against Napoleon I in 1813-15. This reform stipulated that henceforth the Landwehr would be used only for garrison duties, and it considerably increased the strength of the army in peacetime. p. 367

281 See notes 13 and 126.

A reference to the diplomatic documents of the Austro-Italo-French War of 1859, published by the Prussian Government in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, Nos. 170, 171, 173 and 174 (July 24, 26, 28 and 29, 1859) and in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 211 (July 30, 1859). For details see Marx's article "Quid pro Quo" in Volume 16 of the present edition. p. 368

282 See notes 123 and 278. p. 368

283 The meeting between Alexander II and William, Prince Regent of Prussia, took place in October 1859 in Breslau (Wrocław). Although no political objects of the meeting were officially mentioned either in Prussia or in Russia, the press of both countries stressed its great political importance for consolidating the alliance of the two sovereigns. p. 368

284 See Note 278. p. 369

285 See notes 65 and 59. p. 369

286 *Siculi*—one of the ancient tribes in Sicily. p. 370

287 A reference to a popular rising in Sicily against the French Anjou dynasty, which conquered Southern Italy and Sicily in 1267. On the evening of March 31, 1282, the population of Palermo took the chimes for vespers as a signal to massacre several thousand French knights and soldiers. As a result, the whole of Sicily was freed from French domination and came under the King of Aragon. p. 371

288 Popular unrest in Sicily against Francis II of Naples and his hirelings began in the autumn of 1859. The uprising that broke out in October was suppressed, but in the spring of 1860 disturbances broke out again. The Palermo uprising in May 1860 was again crushed by the royal forces. Peasant guerrilla units were operating all over the island, however, and they joined Garibaldi after he landed in Sicily with his "Thousand" volunteers. p. 372

289 *Bullier's Correspondance,* a Paris news agency founded in the 1850s and later amalgamated with *Havas.* p. 373

290 The *Zollverein,* a union of German states which established a common customs frontier, was set up in 1834 under the aegis of Prussia. Brought into being by the need to create an all-German market, the Customs Union subsequently embraced all the German states except Austria and a few of the smaller states. p. 373

291 A reference to the Paris peace treaties of 1814 and 1815 signed by France and the main participants of the sixth and seventh anti-French coalitions (Russia, Britain, Austria and Prussia) that defeated Napoleon. Under the terms of the first treaty, signed on May 30, 1814, France lost all the territories won by her in the 1792-1814 wars, with the exception of several border fortresses and Western Savoy. Under the provisions of the second Paris treaty the territory of France was limited by the 1790 borders and she was deprived of strategically important points on her Eastern frontier, including the fortress of Landau. p. 374

292 See Note 280. p. 375

293 A reference to the treaty of alliance and mutual guarantees between Russia and Prussia (Traité d'alliance et de garantie mutuelle conclu à St. Petersbourg entre la Russie et la Prusse) concluded in June 1714 during the Northern War between Russia and Sweden (1700-21) when Russia sought to win Prussia over to her side by promising to divide Swedish possessions in Germany. Under the treaty Prussia was guaranteed the possession of Eastern Pomerania with the town of Stettin (Szczecin). p. 377

294 On the *Seven Years' War* (1756-63) see Note 122.

The death of Empress Elisabeth on January 5, 1762 (December 25, 1761) led to a sudden change in Russia's foreign policy. Her successor, Peter III, concluded a peace treaty with Prussia thereby giving the latter an opportunity to sign, in 1763, the Hubertusburg peace treaty with Austria and Saxony and retain the possession of Silesia. p. 377

295 The three partitions of Poland (by Austria, Prussia and Russia) took place at the end of the eighteenth century (1772, 1793, 1795).

Russia gained Lithuanian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian territories; Polish land, including Pomorze, Great Poland, and part of Mazovia with Warsaw, went over to Prussia; and Austria received the Western Ukraine and part of Smaller Poland. As a result of the third partition Poland ceased to exist as a state. p. 377

296 The *Congress of Vienna* was held by European monarchs and their ministers in 1814-15. They established the borders and status of the European states after the victory over Napoleonic France and sanctioned, contrary to the national interests and will of the peoples, the reshaping of Europe's political map and the restoration of the "legitimate" dynasties. By decision of the Congress of Vienna, territories along the right and left banks of the Rhine, as well as Northern Saxony, were incorporated into Prussia, notwithstanding the opposition of Britain, Austria and France. p. 377

297 See Note 283. p. 377

298 A reference to the claims of Napoleon III to the left bank of the Rhine, which the French ruling circles had considered France's "natural frontier" in the east ever since the seventeenth century. For details see Engels' articles "Po and Rhine" and "Savoy, Nice and the Rhine" (present edition Vol. 16). p. 378

299 The *Olmütz agreement*—see Note 143.

The *Federal Diet*—see Note 77. p. 379

300 In the letter which William, Prince Regent of Prussia, sent to Albert, Prince Consort of England in February 1860, he expressed his readiness to accept Britain's proposal concerning the alliance between Britain, Austria and Prussia, into which he hoped to draw Russia as well. This proposal was called forth by the increasingly aggressive tendencies of the government of Napoleon III with regard to the German lands on the left bank of the Rhine and by France's annexation of Savoy and Nice. p. 382

301 In the spring of 1833 Russian troops were landed at Unkiar-Skelessi, near the Bosporus, to render assistance to the Turkish Sultan against the army of the insurgent Egyptian ruler Mehemet Ali. In May 1833 the Porte, with the mediation of Britain and France, signed a peace treaty with Mehemet Ali, ceding him Syria and Palestine. However, Russian diplomats took advantage of the strained situation and the presence of Russian troops in Turkey and prevailed upon the Porte to sign, on July 8, 1833, the Unkiar-Skelessi Treaty for a defensive alliance with Russia. On the insistence of Russia a secret clause was included in the treaty prohibiting all foreign warships, except those of Russia, to pass through the Dardanelles. This circumstance greatly aggravated the relations between Russia and the West-European countries and, during a new Turko-Egyptian crisis (1839-41), the tsarist government had to comply with their demand that in peacetime the straits should be closed to the warships of all foreign states without exception. p. 382

302 The subject of this article was suggested by Marx who wrote to Engels on June

2, 1860 asking him to write a small article about "the Garibaldi's affair" (see present edition, Vol. 41). p. 386

303 A reference to the defence of the Roman Republic which was virtually directed by Garibaldi from April to July 1849. In April 1849, President Louis Bonaparte and the French Government sent an expeditionary corps to Italy under General Oudinot to intervene against the Roman Republic proclaimed on February 9, 1849, and to restore the secular power of the Pope. On April 30, 1849, the French troops were driven back from Rome. The main blow was dealt by Garibaldi's volunteer corps. Oudinot violated the terms of the armistice signed by the French, however, and on June 3 started a new offensive against the Roman Republic, which had just completed a military campaign against Neapolitan troops in the south and was engaged in rebuffing the Austrians in the north. After a month of heroic defence, Rome was captured by the interventionists and the Roman Republic ceased to exist. p. 387

304 This item and the next one ("Interesting from Prussia") were directed against the Bonapartist agents among the European democrats and exposed the chauvinist nature of About's pamphlet (see this volume, pp. 400-01, as well as Marx's letters to Engels of June 16, 1860 and December 26, 1860, and Marx's letter to J. Ph. Becker of June 23, 1860, present edition, Vol. 41), the publication of which was connected with the forthcoming meeting between Napoleon III and William, Prince Regent of Prussia (see Note 255). Marx used quotations from About's pamphlet to unmask the activity of the Prussian police agents among European democrats. In *Herr Vogt* Marx revealed the connection between About's ideas and Vogt's activity as a secret agent in the pay of Napoleon III (see this volume, pp. 183, 328-29). At Marx's suggestion, Sigismund Borkheim, one of the German democrats, wrote a pamphlet entitled *Napoleon III und Preussen. Antwort eines deutschen Flüchtlings auf "Preussen in 1860" von Edmond About,* London, 1860.

Marx must have used the proofs of About's pamphlet supplied to him by Borkheim, since in both his articles and in the Notebook for 1860 containing passages from About's pamphlet he gives its original title *Napoleon III et la Prusse* (see also this volume, pp. 328-29).

The extracts given by Marx in this article were checked against About's pamphlet. Marx's text is set in large type. While quoting from the pamphlet, Marx often changed punctuation and paragraphs; sometimes, instead of direct quotations, he gave a précis of the text in which case the editors of this volume have omitted quotation marks; omissions in quotations are indicated by omission marks in square brackets. p. 391

305 See Note 190. p. 392

306 See Note 255. p. 397

307 The governments of Britain and the Kingdom of Sardinia flirted with Napoleon III in an effort to secure an exclusive alliance with France. p. 399

308 Alexander II and Napoleon III met in Stuttgart on September 25, 1857. Their meeting testified to the emerging rapprochement between France and Russia after the Crimean War. p. 399

309 The *Rhenish Confederation* (*Rheinbund*) of the states of Western and Southern Germany was founded in 1806 under the protectorate of Napoleon. These

states officially broke with the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, which ceased to exist shortly afterwards. When Napoleon lost the military campaign of 1813 the confederation fell apart. p. 399

310 Speaking of the *Dutch savior of society* Marx has in mind Napoleon III, who was a son of Louis Bonaparte (brother of Napoleon I), King of Holland in 1806-10.

On the Congress of Vienna, see Note 296.

The Congresses of the Holy Alliance (an association of European monarchs founded in September 1815, on the initiative of the Russian Tsar Alexander I and the Austrian Chancellor Metternich to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries) took place in Aix-la-Chapelle (1818), in Troppau (Opava) and Laibach (Ljubljana) (1820-21), and in Verona (1822). The Laibach Congress proclaimed the principle of interference by the Holy Alliance members in the internal affairs of other countries with the aim of maintaining monarchies there; and adopted a decision on sending the Austrian army to Italy to suppress the revolutionary and national liberation movement in that country. The Verona Congress sanctioned French armed intervention against Spain. p. 400

311 In 1857-59 India was the scene of a big popular uprising against the British. It flared up in the spring of 1857 among the Sepoy units of the Bengal army and spread to large areas in Northern and Central India. Its main strength was in the peasants and the poor urban artisans. Directed by local feudal lords it was put down owing to the country's disunity, religious and caste differences and also because of the military and technical superiority of the British. p. 407

312 The letter which Garibaldi sent in the summer of 1860 to Mr. Green, an English acquaintance of Marx, shows that Garibaldi wanted the struggle waged by the Italian people for the national unification of the country and its liberation from foreign rule to be independent of Napoleon III's policy. Marx is referring to this in his letters to Engels of July 9 and to Lassalle of September 15, 1860 (see present edition, Vol. 41). p. 421

313 A reference to the *Società Nazionale Italiana,* a political organisation of a liberal monarchist trend founded in 1856 in Turin and other towns by G. Pallavicino, an Italian political figure, and La Farina, an agent in the pay of Cavour. Its aim was to popularise the ideas of Italy's unification under the aegis of the Savoy dynasty and to enlist the country's national forces for this cause. Garibaldi was an active member of this association and represented its revolutionary wing, but the decisive role in the organisation was played by Cavour's accomplices. p. 423

314 The subject of this and several other articles was suggested by Marx who wrote to Engels on June 25: "I would be grateful if by Friday or Saturday you could write an article for the *Tribune* either on the defences of England, or on Garibaldi, or on the Indian trade" (see present edition, Vol. 41). On July 25 Marx informed Engels that he had received his article "British Defenses" and promised to send him the *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Consider the Defences of the United Kingdom; together with the Minutes of Evidence and Appendix,* London, 1860. Concerning British defences Engels wrote one more article (end of July 1860) entitled "Could the French Sack London?" (this volume, pp. 434-38).

The article "Garibaldi's Movements" was written by Engels on August 8 (this volume, pp. 449-52).

As is evident from Engels' letter of July 26, 1860 (see present edition, Vol. 41) an article on Indian commerce was not written. Marx devoted a few lines to this question in his article "British Commerce" (this volume, pp. 406-09).

p. 425

315 During the Crimean War of 1853-56 Sevastopol was besieged by the British, French, Turkish and Sardinian troops. In the course of the fighting, Sevastopol was badly damaged. p. 426

316 In 1859 Northern Lebanon was the scene of an anti-feudal rebellion started by the Maronite peasants (see Note 250); disturbances spread to the centre of Lebanon and in the spring of 1860 fierce clashes took place between Druses and Maronites. This was largely due to British and French policy. Britain gave support to the Druse feudalists, whereas the Maronite feudal lords and the clergy were backed by France. British and French emissaries incited enmity between rival Druse and Maronite feudal groups and fanned religious strife between Moslems and Christians. The Turkish authorities also played a provocative part. Napoleon III used the massacre of May-June 1860 as a pretext for sending an expeditionary corps to Lebanon. The agreement between Britain, Austria, Russia, France, Prussia and Turkey provided for setting up an international commission and specified the term during which the French troops were to stay in Lebanon. Under pressure from Britain and Austria, the French forces were withdrawn from that country in 1861.

p. 429

317 The conflict was caused by La Guéronnière's pamphlet *Le Pape et le Congrès*, which appeared in France at the close of December 1859 and was inspired by Napoleon III. The clericals saw in it an attempt on the part of the emperor to restrict the secular power of Pius IX. The higher Catholic clergy of France started a campaign against Napoleon III after Pius IX strongly denounced the pamphlet in an Encyclical early in 1860. p. 430

318 A reference to the monarchist parties of Legitimists and Orleanists that formed in the early half of the nineteenth century. The Legitimist Party stood for the big landowners and the restoration of the Bourbons. The Orleanist Party, that ruled during the July monarchy, represented the interests of big financial and industrial capital and supported the restoration of the Orleans, that is, the younger branch of the Bourbons. p. 431

319 See Note 232. p. 431

320 Francis Joseph of Austria, and William, Prince Regent of Prussia, met on July 26, 1860 in Teplitz (Teplice). The Austrian emperor sought Prussia's support in case of a war with France and Sardinia. p. 431

321 In the early 1840s, under pressure from France and Britain, Turkey had to reorganise the administration of Lebanon, which was divided into two sectors. The northern sector, with a Maronite population, was administered by a governor from among the Maronite feudal lords connected with France, while the southern sector, populated by Maronites and Druse Moslems, was ruled by

a governor from among the Druse feudal lords connected with Britain. While remaining within the framework of the Turkish Empire, Lebanon received a certain degree of autonomy in the sphere of judiciary, finance, etc. Seeking to increase their political influence in Lebanon and win the Lebanese market, the European powers fanned religious strife between Maronites and Druses. p. 431

322 A reference to the revolution of 1688-89, after which constitutional monarchy was consolidated in England on the basis of a compromise between the landed aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. The 1689 Bill of Rights and other acts limited the rights of the king still further and extended the rights of Parliament. p. 432

323 Under the Act for the Better Government of India, adopted by the British Parliament on August 2, 1858, India passed under the control of the British crown and the East India Company was liquidated. The Act also provided for the formation of the Indian Council as an advisory body of the Board of Control for India. The Governor-General of India became known as the Viceroy, though he remained virtually functionary of the Secretary of State for India in London. p. 432

324 In a letter to Persigny, the French Ambassador in London, written on July 25, 1860, and published in French papers (*Le Constitutionnel*, "Paris le I^e^ août", No. 215, August 2, 1860), Napoleon III denied a hostile attitude to Britain and sought to dispel suspicion and distrust, prevalent in Britain at the time, of his foreign policy (see this volume, p. 446). p. 439

325 The *will of Peter the Great*—a spurious document circulated by enemies of Russia. The idea of the existence of the "will" was advanced in the West as early as 1797. In 1812 Ch. L. Lesur described the contents of this pseudo-will in his book *Des progrès de la puissance russe, depuis son origine jusqu'au commencement du XIX^e^ siècle*, and in 1836 it was reproduced as a document in T. F. Gaillardet's book *Mémoires du Chevalier d'Eon*. In Marx's and Engels' lifetime many people in Western Europe regarded this document as authentic. p. 440

326 A reference to the *Rhine-song* ("Der deutsche Rhein")—a poem by Nicolaus Becker which was widely used by nationalists in their own interests. It was written in 1840 and set to music by several composers. p. 440

327 The *Liberal Party* was formed in Britain in the late 1850s and early 1860s. It united in its ranks the Whigs, the Manchester men (representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie) and the Peelites (moderate Tories). In the British two-party system the Liberal Party's counterpart was the emerging party of Conservatives (former Tories). p. 444

328 At *St. Stephen's Chapel* (in Westminster Palace) the British House of Commons held its sessions from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth. p. 445

329 A reference to a Bill passed in August 1860. Under the Act for the Reorganisation of the Indian Army, the European contingent of the Indian Army, formerly at the disposal of the East India Company, became part of the British royal armed forces, and the number of British soldiers in the Indian army increased sharply. Adopted after the suppression of the Indian uprising

of 1857-59 (see Note 311) the Act was one of the measures the British Government resorted to in an effort to consolidate British rule in India. p. 445

330 See Note 323. p. 446

331 See Note 316. p. 446

332 *Robert Macaire*—a social comedy staged by the famous French actor Frédérick Lemaître in collaboration with the playwrights Antier and Saint-Amand. Marx is referring to Macaire's words "Foi d'honnête homme ... pas de bêtises!" (Acte II, III tableau, scène VIII). The character of Robert Macaire, portraying a clever swindler, was a biting satire on the domination of the financial aristocracy under the July monarchy. Marx alluded to this character on several occasions. See, for example, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (present edition, Vol. 10, p. 50). p. 447

333 A reference to Lombardy, which France ceded to Piedmont under the Villafranca Peace Treaty (see Note 126), as well as to Romagna and the duchies of Parma, Modena and Tuscany, which were incorporated into Piedmont following the plebiscite of March 1860. p. 453

334 *Partant pour la Syrie* (Departing for Syria)—the opening words of a song sung at the festivities arranged by Napoleon III at the time of the Second Empire. Marx is alluding to the Syrian expedition. p. 455

335 See notes 255 and 320. p. 457

336 The *assemblée des notables*—a consultative body irregularly convened by French kings from the fourteenth century to the eighteenth. It consisted of representatives of the higher clergy and court nobility, and also of mayors of the cities. In 1787, on the eve of the French Revolution, it voted down the government's tax bill and met for the last time in 1788 to discuss the composition of, and elections to, the States General.

The *States General*—a body representing the social estates in medieval France. It consisted of clergymen, nobles and burghers. Convened in May 1789, after a 175-year interval, at a time when the bourgeois revolution was maturing in France, the States General were on June 17 transformed by the decision of the deputies of the third estate into the National Assembly, which on July 9 proclaimed itself the Constituent Assembly and became the supreme organ of revolutionary France. p. 459

337 *Mark Lane*—the grain stock exchange in London. p. 461

338 In 1860 France put forth a project which acknowledged Spain as a great power. Owing to Britain's opposition, the project did not materialise. p. 464

339 See Note 324. p. 464

340 Marx is quoting from "The Oriental Question", an article published in the *Russky Invalid,* Nos. 164 and 165 on July 31 and August 2, 1860, making some changes in the text of the journal. Apparently, he was using a version of this

article printed in the European press. The most important divergences are indicated in the footnotes. p. 467

341 After the defeat of the Roman Republic in 1849 the French interventionist troops did not leave Rome until 1870. p. 471

342 "*Brown Bess*"—the name used by British soldiers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries for a flint-lock musket with a brown walnut stock. p. 477

343 See notes 232 and 249. p. 484

344 On March 3 (February 19), 1859, Russia and France concluded in Paris a secret agreement under which Russia undertook to adopt a "political and military stand which most easily proves its favourable neutrality towards France" (Article 1) and to make no objection to the Kingdom of Sardinia being enlarged in the event of a war between France and Sardinia on the one hand and Austria on the other. France undertook to raise the question of revising those articles of the Paris Peace Treaty of 1856 which restricted Russia's rights in the Black Sea area and robbed her of a part of Bessarabia. p. 486

345 On June 26, 1849, the liberal deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly, who had walked out after the Prussian King's refusal to accept the Imperial Crown, met in Gotha for a three-day conference which resulted in the formation of the Gotha party. It expressed the interests of the pro-Prussian German bourgeoisie and supported the policy of Prussian ruling circles aimed at uniting Germany under the hegemony of Hohenzollern Prussia. p. 486

346 See Note 281. p. 489

347 *Via sacra* (sacred road)—in Ancient Rome victorious troops marched in triumph along this highway. The expression "via sacra" is also used to describe a victorious campaign.

Here an allusion to an appeal sent by Napoleon III to his army from Genoa on May 12, 1859, when he became the commander-in-chief. The appeal said, in part: "Dans la voie sacrée de l'ancienne Rome les inscriptions se pressaient sur le marbre pour rappeler au peuple ses hauts faits: de même aujourd'hui, en passant par Mondovi, Marengo, Lodi, Castiglione, Arcole, Rivoli, vous toucherez dans une autre voie sacrée, au milieu de ces glorieux souvenirs" ("Along the sacred road of Ancient Rome inscriptions were carved on marble to commemorate the people's feats. Today likewise, passing through Mondovi, Marengo, Lodi, Castiglione, Arcole and Rivoli, you will march along another sacred road, amidst these glorious memories"). p. 489

348 *Quirinal*—one of the seven hills on which Rome is situated. p. 490

349 See notes 23 and 259. p. 490

350 This refers to the commercial treaty between Prussia and Austria, concluded in Berlin on February 19, 1853. It eliminated many of the customs barriers that

obstructed the development of trade between the two countries. (See Marx, "Kossuth and Mazzini.—Intrigues of the Prussian Government.—Austro-Prussian Commercial Treaty.—*The Times* and the Refugees", present edition, Vol. 11.)

Concerning the *Zollverein* see Note 290. p. 492

351 See Note 192. p. 493

352 An allusion to the Constitution of the Austrian monarchy (Gesamtmonarchie) introduced by Francis Joseph on *March 4, 1849* (Reichsverfassung für das Kaiserthum Oesterreich. Olmütz, 4 März 1849. In: *Wiener Zeitung,* No. 57, March 8, 1849). Despite the promises of autonomy to the lands inhabited by non-Austrians, the imposed Constitution was conceived in an anti-democratic spirit of centralised bureaucracy and anti-democratic government (the Emperor and his Ministers were to enjoy full powers). The Constitution of March 4 was a step towards restoring absolutism in Austria. Nevertheless the Constitution limited the Emperor's power and it was abrogated by the imperial patent of December 31, 1851. (Concerning thé Constitution of March 4, 1849, see F. Engels' articles "The War in Italy and Hungary", "From the Theatre of War.—Windischgrätz's Comments on the Imposed Constitution", present edition, Vol. 9, pp. 148, 261-64, and "Letters from Germany", Vol. 10, p. 11.) p. 493

353 The reference is to Hungary's unwritten constitution which was the oldest in Europe and based on ancient traditions and legislative acts of the Kingdom. The independence of the Diet was guaranteed in the interests of the Hungarian nobility, as also was the Diet's right to decide the most important state questions, including financial credits and army recruitment. p. 493

354 Lord Strafford, Charles I's favourite and an ardent champion of absolutism, was accused of high treason and executed in 1641 by demand of Parliament supported by the people of London and the suburbs. p. 495

355 An Act to Regulate the Issue of Banknotes, and for Giving to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England Certain Privileges for a Limited Period was introduced by Robert Peel on July 19, 1844. It envisaged the division of the Bank of England into two completely independent departments, each with its own cash account—the Banking Department, dealing exclusively with credit operations and the Issue Department, issuing banknotes.

The Act limited the number of banknotes in circulation and guaranteed them with definite gold and silver reserves which could not be used for the credit operations of the Banking Department. Further issues of banknotes were allowed only in the event of a corresponding increase in the precious metal reserves.

Marx analysed the Act of 1844 and its significance in a number of articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune*: "The Vienna Note.—The United States and Europe.—Letters from Shumla.—Peel's Bank Act" (see present edition, Vol. 12), "The English Bank Act of 1844 and the Monetary Crisis in Britain", "The British Revulsion" (Vol. 15) and "The English Bank Act of 1844" (Vol. 16). A detailed description of the Act was given by Marx later, in *Capital,* Vol. III, Chapter XXXIV. p. 498

356 See Note 192. p. 499

357 The reference is to Austria's provincial constitutions published as a continuation of the "October Diploma" (Der Kaiserliche Diplom von 20. Oktober 1860)—"Landes-Ordnung und Landtags-Wahlordnung für das Herzogthum Steiermark", "Landes-Ordnung und Landtags-Wahlordnung für das Herzogthum Kärnthen", "Landes-Ordnung und Landtags-Wahlordnung für das Herzogthum Salzburg", "Landes-Ordnung und Landtags-Wahlordnung für die gefürstete Grafschaft Tirol", *Verfassung der Oesterreichische Monarchie,* Wien, 1861. p. 499

358 The county assemblies, based on the estate principle, were a form of self-government in Hungary. In 1848, as a result of the revolutionary changes in the country, representatives of the entire population without any estate distinctions were allowed to sit in these assemblies. After the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution the county assemblies were disbanded, and the comitatus as an administrative unit was abolished. p. 500

359 This is Marx's synopsis of Imre Szabó's two-volume study, *The State Policy of Modern Europe, from the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century to the Present Time,* which was published anonymously in London in May-June 1857. Szabó's work, written in English, is a summary of inter-state relations in Europe from the Italian wars of the early 16th century to the Paris Congress of 1856. It reflects the influence of David Urquhart's views. Marx compiled his synopsis in the first half of June 1860 in connection with his work on *Herr Vogt.* He needed this historical investigation to expose the counter-revolutionary nature of Napoleon III's policy. In taking notes he concentrated on the events and fully ignored Szabó's interpretation of them. Some notes refer to events not mentioned in Szabó's work and are probably based on other sources. In the present edition these insertions and Marx's conclusions are set in large type. The names of persons and geographical names are reproduced in Marx's transcription, with their present spelling given in footnotes. Obvious mistakes have been silently corrected.

Marx drew on these notes above all in the chapter "Dâ-Dâ Vogt and His Studies" (see this volume, pp. 133-83). p. 505

360 The Union of Calmar (1397-1523) included Denmark, Norway (with Iceland) and Sweden (with Finland) under the sovereignty of the Danish kings. Sweden virtually broke away in 1449. The attempt of the Danish King Christian II to bring it back into the union by staging a bloodbath in Stockholm led to a final rupture and the restoration of Swedish statehood (1523). p. 505

361 This refers to the League of Cognac formed on May 22, 1526. p. 505

362 *Traité des dames*—an ironic designation of the Peace of Cambray (August 1529), which was concluded with the active co-operation of Louise of Savoy (Francis I's mother) and Margaret (Charles V's aunt). p. 506

363 This refers to the rejection by Charles V and the Augsburg Imperial Diet in 1530 of the Confession of Augsburg, which laid down the principles of Lutheranism and established the ritual aspect. p. 506

364 The *League of Schmalkalden* (February 27, 1531), named after the town in Thuringia where it was formed, was a union of Protestant princes and a number of Imperial towns for the protection of the Reformation against the

Catholic princes headed by Emperor Charles V. From 1546 to 1548 the League and the Emperor were engaged in a war which ended in the latter's victory and the disintegration of the League. p. 506

365 In 1534 Henry VIII broke off relations with the Pope and was proclaimed Head of the Anglican Church by Parliament (Act of Supremacy). p. 506

366 The Augsburg *Interim* was a treaty between the German Catholics and Protestants adopted by the Imperial Diet in Augsburg after the Protestants' defeat in the Schmalkalden War. A compromise that satisfied neither party, it was superseded by the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555). p. 506

367 The *Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis* (1559) put an end to the Italian Wars (1494-1559). It consisted of two treaties: one between France and England and another between France and Spain. France renounced all claims to possessions in Italy. The Savoy Duchy, captured by Francis I in 1536, was restored and given part of Piedmont. p. 506

368 Marx is obviously referring to an international treaty proposed in *Mémoires des sages et royales économies d'Estat, domestiques, politiques et militaires de Henry le Grand,* a book by Sully, Counsellor to Henry IV, published in 1638. Drawn up by Sully (even though he attributes it to Henry IV) at the height of the Thirty Years' War, it was anti-Habsburg in character and advocated the expulsion of the Turks and Tatars from Europe and the establishment of a conglomerate of Christian states under the nominal supremacy of the Pope, but actually led by France. The plan was patently unrealistic. p. 509

369 From 1604 to 1606 Hungary, Hungarian-ruled Slovakia and Transylvania were the scene of an anti-Habsburg liberation movement led by the Hungarian feudal lord Istvan Bocskai. The anti-feudal demands of the peasants taking part in the movement made its leaders accept a compromise with the Habsburgs. The treaty signed by Bocskai and Rudolph II in Vienna in 1606 restored Transylvania's independence, granted religious freedom to the Protestants and replaced a number of the Emperor's counsellors by members of the Hungarian nobility. p. 510

370 The Thirty Years' War (see Note 162) was sparked off by an anti-Habsburg uprising in Bohemia which lasted from 1618 to 1620. The Bohemians were supported by Gábor Bethlen, leader of a similar uprising in Hungary. The insurgents suffered a decisive defeat at Bílá Hora on November 8, 1620. p. 510

371 The anti-Habsburg movement in Hungary led by Gábor Bethlen (1619-26) was one aspect of the Thirty Years' War and ended in the signing of the Pozsony (Bratislava) Peace on December 20, 1626. p. 510

372 The *Edict of Restitution* (1629) provided for the restoration of secularised church land to the German Catholic princes. It was the result of the successes achieved by the Habsburg-Catholic camp in the early stage of the Thirty Years' War. The Edict was officially revoked by the Peace Treaty of Westphalia (October 24, 1648). p. 510

373 The *Truce of Altmark* was concluded by Poland and Sweden with French

mediation for six years on September 26, 1629. It enabled Sweden to open hostilities against the Habsburgs. p. 510

374 This refers to the war of the Mantuan Succession (1628-31), which formed the third stage of the Thirty Years' War. p. 510

375 The *Peace of Prague* was concluded by the German Protestant princes with the Emperor on May 30, 1635. p. 510

376 *Anne of Austria,* consort of Louis XIII of France, was the daughter of Philip III of Spain and tried to pursue a pro-Spanish policy at the time of her regency (1643-61), during the minority of her son Louis XIV. France's virtual ruler at that time was Mazarin. p. 511

377 The *Peace of Westphalia,* signed in Münster on October 24, 1648, consisted of two interlinked peace treaties: the Osnabrück Treaty (between the Holy Roman Emperor and his allies, on the one hand, and Sweden and its allies, on the other) and the Münster Treaty (between the Emperor and France with its allies). Peace negotiations had been under way from 1645. The Peace of Westphalia virtually sealed Germany's political fragmentation (see also Note 162). p. 511

378 This refers to Spain's separate treaty with Holland (one of the series of Westphalian treaties). p. 511

379 Bohemia formed part of the Habsburg Empire (1526-1918).

Speaking of the *amnesty* Marx means the promises Britain, France, Sweden, Denmark and other states made to Bohemia during the Thirty Years' War when it fought on the side of the anti-Habsburg coalition. Under the Peace of Westphalia, the Bohemian lands, the scene of military operations throughout the Thirty Years' War, remained under Habsburg rule. p. 511

380 This refers to the Westminster Peace Treaty of April 14, 1654, which concluded the first Anglo-Dutch war (1652-54). It was waged for mastery of the seas and ended in defeat for Holland. The latter was forced to reconcile itself to the English Navigation Act of 1651, which was directed against the Dutch carrying trade. p. 511

381 After the Peace of Westphalia (1648) France continued its war against Spain. It was concluded by the Treaty of the Pyrenees, signed on Fezan Island on Bidasoa River on November 7, 1659. As a result, hegemony in Western Europe passed from Spain to France. p. 512

382 This refers to the terms of the Peace of Roeskilde concluded on February 26, 1658, which ended the Danish-Swedish War of 1657-58.

*Sound duties*—the money toll exacted from 1425 onwards by Denmark from foreign ships passing through the Sound. p. 512

383 The *Peace of Oliva,* signed on May 3, 1660, by Sweden, on the one hand, and Poland, Emperor Leopold I and Elector Frederick-William of Brandenburg, on the other, was one of the series of treaties that ended the Northern War (1655-60). p. 512

384 The *jus devolutionis* was a legal principle in some of the Netherland provinces under which, in the event of a second marriage of the father, his land passed to his children by the first marriage. It served as a basis for Louis XIV, married to Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip IV of Spain by his first marriage, to launch a war for the Spanish Netherlands (the War of Devolution, 1667-68) against Charles II, King of Spain, son of Philip IV of second marriage. Philip IV died in 1668. p. 512

385 This refers to the Peace of Nijmegen, concluded by France and Sweden with Emperor Leopold I on February 5, 1679. It confirmed the terms of the Peace of Westphalia and was one of the Nijmegen treaties of 1678-79 which ended the war of 1672-78 waged by a coalition of states headed by France against a coalition under the Netherlands. p. 513

386 The *Chambres de réunion* were set up by Louis XIV at the municipal council of Breisach and the Parliaments of Metz and Besançon in 1679-80 to provide legal justification for France's claims to territories in Alsace, Western Lorraine and some other areas. p. 513

387 The Peace of Ryswik (or Rijswijk) concluded the 1688-97 war between France and the Augsburg League (the Netherlands, England, Spain, the German Empire, Savoy, Sweden, and a number of German and Italian principalities). It confirmed, with certain alterations, the pre-war frontiers of the states involved. France was forced to recognise William of Orange as King of Great Britain and Ireland and thus reconcile itself to the coup d'état of 1688-89. p. 513

388 The Grand Alliance—the anti-French coalition formed on September 7, 1701 in The Hague by Emperor Leopold I, Britain and the Netherlands on the eve of the War of the Spanish Succession. Prussia, Denmark, Portugal and several other states joined the alliance later. By calling it the second Grand Alliance, Szabó treats the anti-French coalition of 1688 as the first. p. 514

389 What is meant here is the beginning of the War of the Spanish Succession, in which the first action was the dispatch in 1701 of Imperial troops under Eugene of Savoy to Italy to prevent the capture of the Duchy of Milan by the French. War was officially declared on Louis XIV in 1702. p. 514

390 This refers to the anti-Habsburg liberation movement in Hungary (1703-11) led by Ferenc II Rákóczy. An active part in it, particularly in the early period, was played by the peasants, who put forward anti-feudal demands. The movement ended in the signing of the Treaty of Szatmar (1711) (see Note 127) and the surrender of the insurgent army. Hungary was incorporated into the Habsburg Empire. Rákóczy regarded the Szatmar treaty as a betrayal and refused to recognise it. p. 514

391 The *Aaland Congress* (1718-19)—preliminary peace talks between representatives of Russia and Sweden during the Great Northern War (1700-21). The parties failed to reach agreement. p. 515

392 The *Great Northern War* (1700-21) was concluded by a series of peace treaties: the *Treaty of Stockholm* (*November 9, 1719*) between Sweden and Britain (Hanover); the *Treaty of Stockholm* (*January 21, 1720*) between Sweden and

Prussia; the treaty between Sweden and Denmark (July 3, 1720) and the Treaty of Nystadt (September 10/August 30, 1721) between Russia and Sweden. Marx gives the wrong date, November 1, when referring to the Treaty of Stockholm between Sweden and Britain. p. 515

393 *Quadruple Alliance* (1718)—the alliance formed by France and Britain and later joined by Austria (the Netherlands was expected to join too) to uphold the terms of the Peace of Utrecht in the face of Spain's attempts to recover its possessions in Italy turned over to Austria under the Utrecht peace agreements. The conflict took the form of a war by France and Britain against Spain which ended in Spain's defeat and accession (1720) to the Quadruple Alliance. p. 515

394 This refers to the Hanoverian Alliance formed by France, Britain and Prussia on September 3, 1725 and joined by the Netherlands in 1726 and Denmark and Sweden in 1727. It was directed against Spain and Austria. p. 516

395 The *Pragmatic Sanction* was a law on succession to the throne issued by Charles VI of Habsburg in 1713. It decreed the indivisibility of the Habsburgs' hereditary lands and envisaged the possibility of the Crown of the Austrian Empire passing to Maria Theresa, Charles VI's daughter. p. 516

396 This refers to the treaties (including the Peace of Utrecht and the Peace of Rastatt) concluded between 1713 and 1715 by France and Spain with the members of the anti-French coalition (Britain, the Netherlands, Portugal, Prussia, Savoy and the Austrian Habsburgs) to end the long War of the Spanish Succession. Their major provision was the retention of the Spanish throne by Philip Bourbon, grandson of Louis XIV, but the King of France was forced to renounce his plans for merging the French and Spanish monarchies. A number of French and Spanish colonies in the West Indies and North America, and also Gibraltar and the port of Mahón on Minorca Island were turned over to Britain. It also secured the *asiento,* a monopoly right to import African slaves into the Spanish dominions in America. p. 518

397 A mistake in Szabó's book: the Hanovero-Hessian troops were beaten by a French army under Marshal L. Ch. d'Estrées. Marshal L. F. Richelieu assumed command of this army in 1758. p. 518

398 This refers to the Battle of Leiten (Lutynia) in Silesia on December 5, 1757 at which Frederick II defeated the Austrians and secured the capture of Silesia by Prussia. p. 518

399 An allusion to the fact that one of the main causes of the Seven Years' War (see Note 122) was Anglo-French rivalry over colonies. p. 518

400 The *Hubertusburg Peace,* signed by Austria and Saxony with Prussia on February 15, 1763, was made possible by Peter III, who not only stopped all hostilities against Prussia but pledged himself to Frederick II to use whatever influence Russia could exert on Austria to end the Seven Years' War (1756-63). Under the Hubertusburg Peace, Prussia recovered all the territories it had lost during the war. p. 519

401 This refers to the benefits Sweden gained under the Peace of Westphalia, which gave it control of the main harbours on the Baltic and the North Sea (see also Note 162). p. 519

402 An allusion to the *liberum veto,* the right of every member of the Diet to veto its decisions; introduced in 1652, it aggravated feudal anarchy in Poland. p. 519

403 *Stamp duty*—the duty imposed in North America on commercial and judicial documents and periodicals. It was introduced by the Stamp Act, endorsed by the British Parliament on March 22, 1765. p. 520

404 *Potato War*—ironic name given to the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778-79), waged by Prussia and Saxony against Austria. p. 520

405 The Armed Neutrality, a policy directed against Britain, was based on five principles of international law put forward in 1778 in connection with problems of navigation in the Sound. The Armed Neutrality was also acceded to by Denmark, Sweden and Prussia. p. 520

406 In June and July 1790 representatives of Austria, Prussia, Poland, Britain and the Netherlands conferred in the Silesian town of Reichenbach. Worried by Russia's successes in the Russo-Turkish War (1787-91), they obliged Austria to make peace with Turkey (see Note 408). p. 520

407 The *Peace of Värälä,* signed on August 14, 1790, ended the Russo-Swedish War of 1788-90. Russia recognised the new Swedish Constitution, which curtailed the rights of the Riksdag, strengthened the King's authority and confirmed the privileges of the nobility. The peace treaty recognised Russia's right to the territories it has obtained under the Nystadt and Abo treaties (see this volume, pp. 515, 517). p. 520

408 On August 4, 1791 Austria and Turkey signed a *peace treaty at Sistova,* Bulgaria, terminating the Austro-Turkish War of 1788-90 on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum.* Austria obtained Stara Orsova, but without the right to erect fortifications there. p. 520

409 The *Treaty of Jassy,* signed on December 29, 1791 (January 9, 1792), ended the Russo-Turkish War of 1787-91. It confirmed the annexation of the Crimea to Russia and laid down the Russo-Turkish frontier along the Dniester. p. 520

410 In his synopsis of Volume II of Szabó's book, Marx adds the letter "a" to the numbers of chapters: Ia, IIa, etc. p. 520

411 Under the separate *Treaty of Basle* (July 22, 1795) concluded by France and Spain, the former obtained the Spanish (eastern) part of Haiti. The western part of the island, called Santo Domingo from 1697 to 1803, was owned by France under the Ryswick peace treaty of 1697 (see Note 387). In the nineteenth century the whole of Haiti was sometimes referred to as Santo Domingo. p. 522

412 This refers to the treaty between France and the Batavian Republic, which was formed on the territory of the Dutch Kingdom following the entry of French republican troops into the country and a rising of the local population

(January-March 1795) against the reactionary regime of Stadtholder William V. Signed in May 1795, the treaty provided for the transfer of part of the republic's territory to France. In 1806 Napoleon I transformed the Batavian Republic into the Kingdom of Holland. p. 522

413 See Note 164. p. 522

414 This refers to the negotiations to settle the territorial disputes involving the Holy Roman Empire held by representatives of France, Austria, Prussia and a number of other German states in Rastatt from December 9, 1797. In March 1798 the Imperial delegation approved the transfer of the left bank of the Rhine to France (this seems to be the event Marx had in mind in recording the date in question), and on April 23, 1799 the congress closed because of the outbreak of hostilities between the second coalition and France. p. 522

415 The *Parthenopaean Republic* was proclaimed on the territory of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies on January 22, 1799 by Neapolitan republicans backed by the troops of the French Directory. It only survived until June 23, 1799 when the power of the Bourbons (Ferdinand IV) was restored with British help. p. 522

416 This refers to the Federal Diet, an assembly of representatives of the German states which formed the German Confederation (see Note 76) at the Congress of Vienna on June 8, 1815. p. 524

417 The *Wartburg Festival* was held on the initiative of Jena University students on October 18, 1817 to commemorate the tercentenary of the Reformation and the fourth anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig. The Festival was a demonstration of the students' opposition to the Metternich regime.

The *Burschenschaften* were German student organisations formed during the liberation struggle against Napoleon. They advocated the unification of Germany and combined progressive ideas with extreme nationalism. Szabó mistakenly associates the rise of these organisations with the Wartburg Festival. p. 525

418 Marx refers to the Constitution adopted by the Cortes in Cadiz on March 18, 1812, in the course of the Spanish revolution of 1808-14. It envisaged a series of bourgeois-democratic reforms and was repealed by Ferdinand VII on May 4, 1814. Reintroduced by Riego during the Spanish revolution of 1820-23, it was again repealed on October 1, 1823 by Ferdinand VII, who had earlier sworn allegiance to it. It was again introduced on August 12, 1836 and remained in force until June 18, 1837. p. 525

419 This refers to the Central Commission of Investigation set up at Mainz on August 31, 1819 at a conference of ministers of Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony and other member states of the German Confederation to combat the liberal and revolutionary opposition in Germany. p. 525

420 At an early stage of their activity in the nineteenth century the Carbonari headed the anti-French movement in the Kingdom of Naples (against Murat) and helped Ferdinand I and his son Francis I recover the crown of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The source used by Marx mistakenly calls Francis an emperor. p. 525

[421] I.e., the Constitution of Cadiz (see Note 418). p. 525

[422] The Ulema were Moslem doctors of divine law and theology who controlled the judiciary and the religious institutions and schools in Moslem countries. They enjoyed high prestige in the political life of the Ottoman Empire. p. 525

[423] Hetairia—see Note 139. p. 525

[424] An allusion to the fact that before entering the Russian diplomatic service in 1809 G. Capo d'Istria held a number of posts in the Republic of the Seven United Islands set up on the Ionian Islands under the Russo-Turkish convention of 1800. p. 525

[425] See Note 301. p. 526

[426] This refers to the Convention on the Iberian Peninsula signed by the four powers in London on April 22, 1834 (see Note 265). p. 526

[427] See Note 128. p. 526

[428] See Note 168. p. 526

[429] At the beginning of his pontificate (1846), Pope Pius IX announced a programme of moderate liberal-bourgeois reforms (establishment of a commission on the administrative reorganisation of the Papal States, limited political amnesty and other measures). p. 527

[430] From here on Marx's notes follow not the text of Volume II of Szabó's book but the chronological table appended to it (*State Policy...*, Vol. II, pp. 389-91). p. 527

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*Abdul Mejid* (1823-1861)—Sultan of Turkey (1839-61).—468
*Abel, Karl* (b. 1837)—German philologist and journalist, Berlin correspondent of *The Daily Telegraph*.—246-50
*Aberdeen, George Hamilton Gordon, Earl of* (1784-1860)—British Tory statesman; leader of the Peelites from 1850; Foreign Secretary (1828-30, 1841-46); Prime Minister of the Coalition Government (1852-55).—383
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*Abt*—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; emigrated to Geneva in the early 1850s; expelled from the local German Workers' Association for slander.—38, 39, 41, 44, 47
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*Adolphus Frederick* (1710-1771)—King of Sweden (1751-71) from the Holstein-Gottorp House.—517
*Aeschylus* (525-456 B.C.)—Greek dramatist.—299
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*Alberoni, Giulio* (1664-1752)—Spanish statesman, cardinal; First Minister of King Philip V (from 1717 to 1719).—224, 515
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*Alberts*—secretary of Prussian Embassy in London in the 1850s.—305
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*Ali* (*Ali Pasha*) (1741-1822)—actual ruler of the Albanian and Greek lands belonging to Turkey (1788-1822).—526
*Altenhöfer, August Joseph* (1804-1876)—German journalist, an editor of the

Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.—112
*Alvensleben, Gustav von* (1803-1881)—Prussian general, confidant of the Prince Regent of Prussia who became King William I in 1861.—216, 397
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*Anne* (1665-1714)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1702-14).—514
*Anne* (*Anna*) (1693-1740)—Empress of Russia (1730-40).—142, 516, 517
*Anne* (*Anna Petrovna*) (1708-1728)—daughter of Peter I of Russia; married Charles I, the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, in 1725, mother of Peter III.—515
*Anson, George, Baron* (1697-1762)—British admiral, First Lord of the Admiralty (1751-56, 1757-62); took part in the war of the Austrian Succession (1740-48); carried out reforms in the British navy.—517
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*Argyll, Archibald Campbell, Earl of* (1629-1685)—Scottish aristocrat; headed the rebellion against James II in May and June 1685; executed after the defeat of the rebellion.—73
*Armstrong, William George, Baron Armstrong of Cragside* from 1887 (1810-1900)—English inventor and industrialist; noted for his invention of a special type of rifled cannon.—361-65
*Arndt, Ernst Moritz* (1769-1860)—German writer, historian and philologist; took part in the struggle against Napoleonic rule; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848-49.—134
*Arnim, Harry, Count von* (1824-1881)—German conservative diplomat, Bismarck's opponent, envoy (1871) and Ambassador (1872-74) to Paris; arrested for appropriating diplomatic documents (1874) and expelled from the country.—307
*Arnim-Boitzenburg, Adolf Heinrich, Count von* (1803-1868)—Prussian statesman; Minister of the Interior (1842-45) and Prime Minister (March 19-29, 1848); deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing) in 1849.—252
*Assermann, Ferenc* (1821-1893)—Hungarian army officer, took part in the revolution of 1848-49 in Hungary.—225-26
*August* (*us*) *II* (*the Strong*) (1670-1733)—King of Poland (1697-1706, 1709-33) and Elector of Saxony as Frederick Augustus I (1694-1733).—515, 516
*August* (*us*) *III* (1696-1763)—King of Poland (1734-63) and Elector of Saxony (from 1733) as Frederick Augustus II; son of Augustus II.—516, 517, 519

B

*Babst, Ivan Kondratyevich* (1824-1881)—Russian economist, historian and writer; professor of political economy at the universities of Kazan (from 1851) and Moscow (from 1857); gave public lectures on political economy in the early 1860s.—42
*Badel, Marguerite* (*Rigolboche*) (born c. 1842)—French dancer.—326
*Badinguet*—see *Napoleon III*
*Baerensprung, von*—chief of the Prussian police in Posen in the late 1850s.—394, 395
*Baker, Robert*—British official, factory inspector in the 1850s and 1860s.—410, 416-18, 419, 420
*Balzac, Honoré de* (1799-1850)—French novelist.—36, 266
*Bamberger, Ludwig* (1823-1899)—German democratic journalist; took

part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to France in the 1850s; later a National-Liberal and deputy to the Imperial Diet.—249

*Bangya, János (Johann)* (1817-1868)—Hungarian journalist and army officer; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; after the defeat of the revolution, Kossuth's emissary abroad and at the same time a secret police agent; later served in the Turkish army under the name of Mehemed Bey and was a Turkish agent during the war in the Caucasus (1855-58).—219-21

*Baraguay d'Hilliers, Louis* (1764-1812)—French general; fought in the wars of the French Republic against the coalition of European states and took part in Napoleon I's campaigns.—162-63

*Baroche, Pierre Jules* (1802-1870)—French lawyer and politician; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; procurator-general of the Court of Appeal (1849); Bonapartist; member of several cabinets before and after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—194, 341

*Barreaux (Jacques Vallée, Sieur des)* (1602-1673)—French poet.—91

*Barrot, Camille Hyacinthe Odilon* (1791-1873)—French lawyer and politician, leader of the liberal dynastic opposition until February 1848; from December 1848 to October 1849 headed the monarchist coalition Ministry.—55, 105

*Barthélemy, Emmanuel* (c. 1820-1855)—French worker, Blanquist, member of secret revolutionary societies during the July monarchy and participant in the June 1848 uprising in Paris; a leader of the French society of Blanquist emigrants in London; executed in 1855 on a criminal charge.—83, 84

*Bassermann, Friedrich Daniel* (1811-1855)—German politician; represented the Baden Government in the Federal Diet during the 1848-49 revolution; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre).—105, 302

*Batthyány, Kázmér, Count of* (1807-1854)—Hungarian statesman, liberal aristocrat; Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Hungarian revolutionary Government of Szemere (1849); emigrated first to Turkey and then to France after the suppression of the revolution.—216

*Batthyány, Lajos (Ludwig, Louis), Count of* (1806-1849)—Hungarian statesman, liberal aristocrat; Prime Minister (March-September 1848); pursued a policy of compromise with the Austrian monarchy; shot after the suppression of the revolution.—216, 501

*Bauer, Edgar* (1820-1886)—German writer, Young Hegelian; lived abroad in the 1850s and early 1860s; editor of the London newspaper *Die Neue Zeit* (1858-59).—117

*Bayard, Pierre Terrail, seigneur de* (c. 1475-1524)—French military hero, glorified by his contemporaries as the knight *sans peur et sans reproche* (without fear and without reproach).—250, 251, 253-58

*Bazancourt, César Lécat, baron de* (1810-1865)—French military writer, Bonapartist.—163

*Beauharnais, Eugène de* (1781-1824)—French general, stepson of Napoleon I; fought in the wars of Napoleonic France; Viceroy of Italy (1805-14).—144

*Becher, August*—member of the Baden Provisional Government, one of the five Imperial Regents; emigrated in 1849 after the defeat of the Baden-Palatinate uprising.—210

*Becker, Gottfried* (1827-1865)—German journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to America (1853); fought in the American Civil War; son of Johann Philipp Becker.—61

*Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886)—German revolutionary; took part in the German and Swiss democratic movement in the 1830s and 1840s

and in the 1848-49 revolution; commanded the Baden people's militia during the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; prominent figure in the First International in the 1860s, delegate to all its congresses; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—51, 60, 61, 62, 63, 77, 82, 228, 230-33, 235, 250, 262, 267, 299, 304, 310, 327

*Becker, Max Joseph* (d. 1896)—German engineer, democrat; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; after its defeat emigrated first to Switzerland and then to the USA.—30, 32

*Becker, Nicolaus* (1809-1845)—German poet, author of the song "Der deutsche Rhein".—440

*Beckmann*—Prussian police spy in Paris in the early 1850s, Paris correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.—56, 307

*Belle-Isle, Charles Louis Auguste Fouquet, duc de* (1684-1761)—French military leader and diplomat, Marshal of France (from 1741), War Minister from 1750 (with intervals); fought in the war of the Austrian Succession (1740-48).—517

*Benda, Robert von* (1816-1899)—German liberal politician, member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies from 1859; member of the Imperial Diet from 1867; a National-Liberal.—251

*Bernadotte, Jean Baptiste Jules* (c. 1763-1844)—Marshal of France; was adopted by Charles XIII of Sweden (1810) and became heir to the Swedish throne; fought in the war against Napoleon I (1813); King of Sweden and Norway as Charles XIV John (1818-44).—524

*Bernis, François Joachim Pierre de* (1715-1794)—French statesman, diplomat and writer; cardinal from 1758; Foreign Minister (1757-58).—518

*Berry, Charles Ferdinand* (1686-1714)—grandson of Louis XIV; married (1710) Marie Louise, daughter of Philippe of Orleans.—514

*Berryer, Pierre Antoine* (1790-1868)—French lawyer and politician, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, Legitimist.—157

*Berwick, James Fitzjames, Duke of* (1670-1734)—Marshal of France, natural son of James II of Great Britain; fought in the wars of the Spanish (1701-14) and the Polish (1733-35) Succession.—516

*Bethell, Richard, 1st Lord Westbury* (1800-1873)—British lawyer and liberal statesman; Attorney General (1856-59, 1860-61) and Lord Chancellor (1861-65).—445

*Bethlen, Gábor* (1580-1629)—leader of the anti-Habsburg movement in the Kingdom of Hungary (1619-26), Prince of Transylvania (1613-29) and King of Hungary (1620-21).—510

*Beust, Friedrich von* (1817-1899)—former Prussian army officer; committee member of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848); an editor of the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung* (September 1848-February 1849); took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to Switzerland; professor of pedagogy.—76

*Biedermann, Friedrich Karl* (1812-1901)—German historian and writer, liberal; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Centre) in 1848; later a National-Liberal.—302

*Biscamp, Elard*—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated after the defeat of the revolution; member of the editorial board of *Das Volk*, organ of the German refugees in London published with Marx's collaboration.—17, 117-18, 127, 240, 261, 263, 265, 273, 275, 277, 286, 289, 296-301

*Bixio, Girolamo (Nino)* (1821-1873)—Italian democrat; took part in the 1848-49 national liberation war, the defence of the Roman Republic (April-July 1849) and Garibaldi's revolutionary campaign in Southern Italy (1860); became general of the Italian army in 1862; commanded

the detachment of Garibaldians that captured Rome (1870).—473, 477

*Blanc, Jean Joseph Louis* (1811-1882)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, historian; member of the Provisional Government and President of the Luxembourg Commission (1848); pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie; emigrated to England (August 1848) and became a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees in London.—69, 265

*Blanchenay, Louis* (1800-1881)—Swiss politician, deputy to the National Council (1848-60); customs director (1861-73).—198

*Blanqui, Louis Auguste* (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, utopian communist; organised several secret societies and plots; adhered to the extreme Left of the democratic and proletarian movement during the 1848 revolution.—69

*Blind, Karl* (1826-1907)—German democratic journalist; took part in the Baden revolutionary movement in 1848-49; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in London in the 1850s; National-Liberal in the 1860s.—3, 4, 7-11, 13, 16, 17, 116-18, 119, 122-32, 186, 240, 263, 267, 273, 275-78, 283-86, 289, 315-19

*Blondin* (pseudonym of *Jean François Gravelet*) (1824-1897)—famous French tightrope walker.—225

*Bloomfield, John Arthur Douglas, Baron Bloomfield of Oakhampton and Redwood* (1802-1879)—British diplomat, envoy to Berlin (1851-60) and Ambassador to Vienna (1860-71).—383

*Blum, Robert* (1807-1848)—German democratic journalist; leader of the Left in the Frankfurt National Assembly; took part in the defence of Vienna in October 1848; court-martialled and executed after the fall of the city.—39, 71, 73, 74, 192, 243

*Bluntschli, Johann Caspar* (1808-1881)—Swiss lawyer and politician.—79

*Bobzin, Friedrich Heinrich Karl* (b. 1826)—German artisan, member of the German Workers' Association in Brussels (1847); took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; together with Gustav Struve headed the democratic Association of German Emigrants in London.—33

*Boiardo (Bojardo), Matteo Maria* (c. 1441-1494)—Italian poet of the Renaissance, author of *L'Orlando innamorato*.—313

*Boichot, Jean Baptiste* (1820-1889)—French republican; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849); took part in the demonstration of June 13, 1849; later an émigré and one of the leaders of the French emigrant society in London; returned to Paris (1854) where he was again persecuted by the police and imprisoned; amnestied in 1859.—53

*Bolívar y Ponte, Simon* (1783-1830)—South American politician, one of the chief leaders of the South American Spanish colonies in their war of independence; President of the Republic of Colombia (1819-30).—219, 328

*Bonaparte*—imperial dynasty in France (1804-14, 1815 and 1852-70).—175, 188, 194

*Bonaparte, Jérôme Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul* (1784-1860)—youngest brother of Napoleon I; King of Westphalia (1807-13), Marshal of France from 1850.—170

*Bonaparte, Louis* (1778-1846)—brother of Napoleon I; King of Holland (1806-10); father of Napoleon III.—189-90

*Bonaparte, Louis*—see *Napoleon III*

*Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul (Plon-Plon)* (1822-1891)—son of Jérôme Bonaparte, cousin of Napoleon III; adopted the name of Jérôme after the death of his elder brother (1847); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; commanded a division in the Crimea (1854) and a corps in the Austro-Italo-French war (1859); went by the name of Plon-Plon and the Red Prince.—40, 49, 58, 60, 116, 123,

148, 170, 187-90, 193, 197-99, 205, 206, 211-12, 221, 222, 225, 258, 316

*Bonerius (Boner), Ulrich* (1324-1349)—German poet and preaching monk; author of a collection of fables, *Der Edel Stein,* based on Latin sources.—193

*Boniface, Louis* (b. 1796)—French journalist, Bonapartist.—186, 211

*Bónis, Samu (Samuel)* (1810-1879)—Hungarian lawyer and politician; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; supported Kossuth.—328

*Bonnivet, Guillaume Gouffier, seigneur de* (1488-1525)—French admiral; commanded the French troops (1523-25) during the Italian war; killed in the battle of Pavia.—505

*Borchardt, Louis*—German physician, one of Engels' acquaintances in Manchester.—119

*Borkheim, Sigismund Ludwig* (1825-1885)—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated after its defeat; London merchant from 1851; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels.—29, 30, 31, 32, 41, 42, 61, 329

*Borkmann*—private secretary of William, Prince Regent of Prussia.—397

*Bosco*—Neapolitan general; fought against Garibaldi's revolutionary detachments in South Italy (1860).—475

*Bougeant, Guillaume Hyacinthe* (1690-1743)—French historian and man of letters, Jesuit; his best known works are on the history of the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) and the Peace of Westphalia.—511

*Bourbon, Charles, duc de* (1490-1527)—commander-in-chief of the French army under Francis I; later went over to the side of Charles V; defeated the French troops in the battle of Pavia (1525).—505

*Bourbons*—royal dynasty in France (1589-1792, 1814-15, 1815-30), Spain (1700-1808, 1814-68, 1874-1931 and since 1975), and some of the Italian states.—371, 459, 460, 472, 518, 521, 523

*Brandenburg, Friedrich Wilhelm, Count of* (1792-1850)—Prussian general and statesman; headed the counter-revolutionary Ministry (November 1848-November 1850).—255

*Brass, August* (1818-1876)—German journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to Switzerland after its defeat; editor-in-chief of the *Neue Schweizer Zeitung* (1859-60).—187, 188

*Braun, Karl Johann von Braunthal (Jean Charles)* (1802-1866)—German novelist.—242

*Brentano, Lorenz Peter* (1813-1891)—Baden democrat, lawyer, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; headed the Baden Provisional Government (1849); after the defeat of the Baden-Palatinate uprising emigrated to Switzerland and later to the USA.—51, 254

*Brézé, Urbain de Maillé, marquis de* (1597-1650)—French military leader and diplomat; fought in the Thirty Years' War (1618-48); Marshal of France from 1632.—510

*Briganti* (d. 1860)—Neapolitan general; fought against Garibaldi's revolutionary detachments in South Italy and was killed by the insurgent Neapolitan soldiers (1860).—474, 478

*Brillat-Savarin, Anthelme* (1755-1826)—French lawyer and writer.—197

*Brunnow, Filipp Ivanovich* (1797-1875)—Russian diplomat; took part in the Troppau, Laibach and Verona Congresses of the Holy Alliance; envoy (1840-54, 1858-60) and Ambassador (1860-74) to London.—146

*Brunswick, Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand, Duke of* (1735-1806)—commander-in-chief of the Austro-Prussian army fighting against revolutionary France (1792).—521

*Bucher, Lothar* (1817-1892)—Prussian official and journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; refugee in London

and correspondent of the Berlin *National-Zeitung*; subsequently a National-Liberal.—88, 115

*Büchner, Ludwig* (1824-1899)—German physiologist and vulgar materialist philosopher.—72, 106, 190

*Bullier*—French journalist, Bonapartist.—186

*Bunsen, Christian Karl Josias, Baron von* (1791-1860)—Prussian diplomat, writer and theologian; Ambassador to London (1842-54).—310

*Bürgers, Heinrich* (1820-1878)—German journalist, contributor to the *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842-43); member of the Cologne community of the Communist League (1848); one of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* editors; subsequently a liberal.—262

*Burgoyne, Sir John Fox, Baronet* (1782-1871)—British military engineer, general, field marshal from 1868; military adviser and chief of the engineers in the Crimea (1854-55).—438

*Buss, Franz Joseph von* (1803-1878)—German lawyer and politician; opposed Prussia's hegemony.—107

*Bute, John Stuart, Earl of* (1713-1792)—British Tory statesman, Prime Minister (1762-63).—135, 518

*Butenev, Appollinary Petrovich* (1787-1866)—Russian diplomat, Ambassador to Turkey (1830-40); envoy to Rome (1843-56) and to Turkey (1856-58).—144, 219-20

*Butler, Samuel* (1612-1680)—English satirical poet, author of the poem *Hudibras*.—190

*Byron, George Gordon Noel, Lord* (1788-1824)—English poet.—78, 243

C

*Cabet, Étienne* (1788-1856)—French writer, utopian communist, author of *Voyage en Icarie*.—88, 89

*Cagliostro, Alessandro, Count (Giuseppe Balsamo)* (1743-1795)—Italian impostor.—334

*Cairns, Hugh McCalmont* (1819-1885)—British lawyer and statesman, Tory and later (from the 1860s) a Conservative; Lord Justice of Appeal (from 1858), Lord Chancellor (1868, 1874-80), M.P.—445

*Calderón de la Barca, Pedro* (1600-1681)—Spanish dramatist and poet.—28, 251

*Cambacérès, Jean Jacques Régis, duc de* (1753-1824)—French lawyer and statesman; President of the Convention (1794-95), then consul; counsellor of Napoleon I, one of the compilers of the *Code civil*.—197

*Cambridge, George William Frederick Charles, Duke of* (1819-1904)—British general, commander-in-chief of the British army (1856-95).—432

*Cammarano, Salvatore* (1801-1852)—Italian dramatist, author of several opera libretti.—77

*Camoens (Camões), Luis Vaz de* (c. 1524-1580)—Portuguese poet, author of the epic poem *Os Lusiadas*.—99, 190

*Canning, Charles John* (1812-1862)—British statesman, Tory and subsequently Peelite; Postmaster General (1853-55), Governor-General of India (1856-62).—480

*Canning, George* (1770-1827)—British Tory statesman and diplomat, Foreign Secretary (1807-09, 1822-27), Prime Minister (1827).—337, 525-26

*Capo d'Istria, Giovanni Antonio (Joannes), Count* (1776-1831)—Greek statesman and diplomat; was in the Russian service (1809-22), Second Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Russia (1815-22); President of Greece (1827-31).—143, 525-26

*Carlier, Pierre Charles Joseph* (1799-1858)—Prefect of the Paris police (1849-51), Bonapartist.—55

*Castella*—Swiss radical politician, member of the government of the Freiburg (Fribourg) Canton (1847-56).—53

*Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Marquis of Londonderry, Viscount* (1769-1822)—British Tory statesman, brutally suppressed the uprising in Ireland (1798); Chief Secretary for Ireland

(1799-1801), Secretary for War and for the Colonies (1805-06, 1807-09), Foreign Secretary (1812-22).—135, 525

*Catherine* (1584-1638)—mother of Charles X (Gustavus) of Sweden, sister of Gustavus II (Adolphus) of Sweden.—512

*Catherine II* (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-96).—138, 142, 519-22

*Catherine de Médicis* (1519-1589)—Queen of Henry II of France.—506

*Catiline* (*Lucius Sergius Catilina*) (c. 108-62 B.C.)—Roman politician and conspirator against the aristocratic republic.—59, 68, 180

*Cato, Marcus Porcius* (*"the Elder"*) (234-149 B.C.)—Roman statesman and writer, upheld aristocratic privileges.—244

*Cavaignac, Louis Eugène* (1802-1857)—French general and politician, moderate republican, took part in the conquest of Algeria; War Minister of France from May 1848, directed the suppression of the June uprising; head of the executive (June-December 1848).—55, 154

*Cavalli, Giovanni* (1808-1879)—Italian army officer, general from 1860, military inventor.—356-57

*Cavour, Camillo Benso, conte di* (1810-1861)—Italian statesman, Prime Minister of Piedmont (1852-59, 1860-61); pursued a policy of uniting Italy under the supremacy of the Savoy dynasty relying on the support of Napoleon III; headed the first Government of united Italy in 1861.—53, 180, 181, 195, 421, 423, 424, 489-91

*Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de* (1547-1616)—Spanish writer.—190

*Charles I* (1600-1649)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1625-49); executed during the Revolution.—510

*Charles I* (*Charles Frederick*) (1700-1739)—Duke of Holstein-Gottorp.—515

*Charles I Gonzaga* (1580-1637)—Duke of Nevers and Mantua (1627-37).—510

*Charles II* (1630-1685)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1660-85).—512

*Charles II* (1661-1700)—King of Spain (1665-1700).—512

*Charles III* (1716-1788)—King of Spain (1759-88), King of Naples as Charles VII and of Sicily as Charles IV (1735-59).—516

*Charles V* (1500-1558)—Holy Roman Emperor (1519-56) and King of Spain as Charles I (1516-56), Prince of the Netherlands (1516-55) and King of Sicily (1516-56).—505-06,520

*Charles VI* (1685-1740)—Holy Roman Emperor (1711-40); son of Leopold I.—514-17

*Charles VII* (*Charles Albert*) (1697-1745)—Holy Roman Emperor (1742-45); Elector of Bavaria (1726-45).—517

*Charles IX* (1550-1574)—King of France (1560-74).—509

*Charles X* (1757-1836)—King of France (1824-30).—146, 525

*Charles X* (*Gustavus*) (1622-1660)—King of Sweden (1654-60).—512

*Charles XI* (1655-1697)—King of Sweden (1660-97).—512

*Charles XII* (1682-1718)—King of Sweden (1697-1718).—377, 513-15

*Charles XV* (1826-1872)—King of Sweden and Norway (1859-72).—401

*Charles Albert* (1798-1849)—King of Piedmont (1831-49).—527

*Charles* (*"the Bold"*) (1433-1477)—Duke of Burgundy (1467-77).—50-52, 53-55, 109

*Charles, Duke of Nevers*—see *Charles I Gonzaga*

*Charles Emmanuele III* (1701-1773)—King of Piedmont, Duke of Savoy (1730-73).—516

*Charles Emmanuele IV* (1751-1819)—King of Piedmont, Duke of Savoy (1796-1802).—522

*Charles the Great* (*Charlemagne*) (742-814)—Frankish King from 768 and Emperor of Rome (800-814).—151, 442

*Charles (Karl Ludwig)*—(1771-1847)—Archduke of Austria; general and writer on military science; fought in the wars against Napoleonic France (1792-1809).—524

*Chateaubriand, François René, vicomte de* (1768-1848)—French writer, statesman and diplomat; supported the policy of the Holy Alliance; Foreign Minister (1822-24).—143

*Châtillon*—see *Coligny, Gaspard de*

*Chaves, Manoel de Silveira, Pinto de Fonseca, marquis de, Count of Amarante* (1784-1830)—Portuguese general and politician, supporter of the absolute monarchy, a leader of the revolt that sparked off the Miguelist wars (1823-34).—525

*Chelsea, Viscount*—British diplomat, secretary at the British Embassy in Paris (1859).—160

*Chenu, Adolphe* (born c. 1817)—member of secret revolutionary societies in France during the July monarchy, agent-provocateur of the secret police.—73

*Cherval, Julien* (real name *Joseph Crämer*)—Prussian police spy who had gained entry into the Communist League and led one of the Paris communities belonging to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group; accused of complicity in the so-called Franco-German plot in Paris in February 1852; escaped from prison with the connivance of the police; agent-provocateur in Switzerland under the name of Nugent (1853-54).—44, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 118, 180, 261, 262, 266-67, 276, 278-80, 283, 285, 304-05, 308-09, 311

*Chevalier, Michel* (1806-1879)—French engineer, economist and writer, follower of Saint-Simon; championed Napoleon III's economic policy; contributed to the *Journal des Débats*.—341-42

*Choiseul, Étienne François, duc de, comte de Stainville* (1719-1785)—French statesman and military leader; Foreign Minister (1758-70), and at the same time War and Naval Minister (1761-66).—518

*Christern, Johann Wilhelm*—author of the anonymously published satirical pamphlet *Doctor Eisele's und Baron von Beisele's Landtagsreise im April 1847*.—131, 274

*Christian IV* (1577-1648)—King of Denmark and Norway (1588-1648).—510

*Christina* (1626-1689)—Queen of Sweden (1632-44).—512

*Cialdini, Enrico, Duke of Gaeta* (1811-1892)—Italian general; commanded a brigade of the Sardinian corps in the Crimea (1855).—489

*Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero)* (106-43 B.C.)—Roman statesman, orator and philosopher.—68, 70-71, 297, 371

*Cincinnatus (Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus)* (c. 519-c. 438 B.C.)—Roman politician, patrician; a model of simplicity and valour.—257

*Clairville, Louis François (Nicolaie, dit)* (1811-1879)—French dramatist and journalist.—324

*Claudius, Matthias* (pseudonyms *Asmus* or *der Wandsbecker Bote*) (1740-1815)—German poet and writer, published *Der Wandsbecker Bote* in 1771-75.—242

*Clement VII (Giulio de Medici)* (1478-1534)—Pope (1523-34).—491, 506

*Clossmann, A. von* (d. 1871)—German army officer, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; later emigrated to Switzerland.—188

*Clothilde of Savoy* (1843-1911)—Princess of Savoy, daughter of Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia, wife of Prince Napoleon (Plon-Plon) from 1859.—212

*Cluss, Adolph* (1825-1905)—German engineer, member of the Communist League; secretary of the Workers' Educational Association in Mainz (1848); emigrated to the USA (1848) where, in the 1850s, he was active in the German-American workers' organisations; one of the first propagators of scientific communism in America.—309

*Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865)—English

manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League, M.P.—341-42

*Cohnheim, Max*—German democrat; took part in the Baden revolutionary movement in 1848-49; emigrated after the revolution.—30, 32, 33

*Coligny, Gaspard de* (called *Maréchal de Châtillon*) (1584-1646)—Marshal of France; fought in the Thirty Years' War.—510

*Colins, Jean Guillaume César Alexandre Hippolyte, baron de* (1783-1859)—French petty-bourgeois economist of Belgian descent.—331

*Collet, Collet Dobson*—English radical journalist and public figure; editor of *The Free Press*, organ of Urquhart's followers (1859-65).—8, 9, 124

*Constantine* (*Konstantin Nikolayevich*) (1827-1892)—Russian Grand Duke, second son of Nicholas I, admiral general; head of the Naval Department (1853-81) and commander-in-chief of the Navy (1855-81); took part in preparing and carrying out the Peasant Reform of 1861; Viceroy of Poland (1862-63).—6, 8, 10, 116, 123, 151, 317

*Cosenz, Enrico* (1820-1898)—Italian general; took part in the national liberation movement in Italy; commanded a division during Garibaldi's revolutionary campaign in South Italy (1860); Chief of the General Staff (1882-93).—471, 474

*Cosimo III Medici* (1642-1723)—ruler of Florence (1670-1723).—515

*Cowley, Henry Wellesley, Earl of* (1804-1884)—British diplomat; Ambassador to Paris (1852-67).—134, 158, 160, 172, 189, 192, 193, 194, 196, 341

*Crämer*—see *Cherval, Julien*

*Crawshay, G.*—English journalist, supporter of David Urquhart; editor of *The Free Press* (1856-60).—218

*Créquy, Charles de Blanchefort, marquis de, prince de Poix, duc de Lesdiguières* (1578-1638)—Marshal of France; fought in the Thirty Years' War (1618-48); Ambassador to Rome (1633) and to Venice (1636).—510

*Crispi, Francesco* (1818-1901)—Italian statesman, republican; took part in the 1848-49 Italian revolution and in Garibaldi's revolutionary campaign in South Italy (1860); began to champion the constitutional monarchy after the final unification of Italy (the late 1860s).—421, 423

*Crispi, Rosalie* (née *Montmasson*)—wife of Francesco Crispi; together with her husband, took part in Garibaldi's revolutionary campaign in South Italy (1860).—421

*Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—leader of the English revolution; Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland.—496

*Cumberland*—see *William Augustus*

*Cuvier, Georges Léopold Chrétien Frédéric Dagobert, baron de* (1769-1832)—French naturalist, author of works on comparative anatomy, paleontology and the classification of animals.—73

*Cuza* (*Cusa*), *Alexander* (1820-1873)—Romanian politician; as Alexander Johann I, Hospodar (1859-66) of the Danubian principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, which formed a united Romanian state in 1862; was removed from power as a result of a reactionary plot (1866) and emigrated.—141-42, 161-62, 164

*Cyples, William* (1831-1882)—English journalist, politician and public figure, Urquhartist; contributor to the *Sheffield Free Press* and secretary of the Sheffield Foreign Committee (1856).—315

*Czartoryski, Adam Jerzy, Prince* (1770-1861)—Polish magnate; Foreign Minister of Russia (1804-06); head of the Polish Provisional Government during the 1830-31 insurrection; later leader of the Polish monarchist émigrés in Paris.—395

## D

*Dâ-Dâ Rochaid* (*Dahdah*)—Arabian writer; translated Bonapartist pamphlets into his native tongue on the instruc-

tions of the Algerian authorities (1850s).—182, 183, 184, 187, 206, 324, 328

*Dana, Charles Anderson* (1819-1897)—American journalist, one of the *New-York Daily Tribune* editors (1840s-1860s); later editor of the *Sun*.—265, 323-24

*Dante Alighieri* (1265-1321)—Italian poet.—50, 74, 75, 100, 209, 279

*Daun, Leopold Joseph Maria, Count von* (1705-1766)—Austrian general; fought in the Seven Years' War (1756-63).—518

*Déak, Ferenc* (1803-1876)—Hungarian statesman, representative of the liberal Hungarian aristocracy; advocated compromise with the Austrian monarchy; Minister of Justice in the Batthyány Government (March-September 1848); member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1860.—502

*Delahodde*—see *Hodde, Lucien de la*

*Delarageaz, Louis Henri* (1807-1891)—Swiss radical politician, supporter of Fourier, editor of the *Nouvelliste Vaudois*.—198

*Demosthenes* (c. 384-322 B.C.)—Athenian orator and statesman.—68

*Dentu, Edouard Henry Justin* (1830-1884)—one of the owners of Dentu Publishers in France; Bonapartist.—134, 135, 137, 139, 140, 153, 161-62, 165, 172, 174, 180, 183, 324, 325, 327, 328, 431

*Dentzel, Bernhard Gottlieb* (1773-1838)—German politician, member of the Baden Chamber; emigrated to Switzerland.—41, 299

*Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Earl of* (1799-1869)—British statesman, Tory leader; Prime Minister (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68).—158, 177, 223, 339

*Dickens, Charles John Huffam* (1812-1870)—English novelist.—70, 174

*Dieffenbach, Ernst* (1811-1855)—German naturalist, professor of geology in Giessen (1850).—212

*Dietz, Oswald* (c. 1824-1864)—German architect; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; refugee in London; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group after the split in the League in 1850; subsequently fought in the American Civil War on the side of the Union.—307

*Dietzel, Gustav* (1827-1864)—German scientist, lawyer.—210

*Diogenes of Sinope* (c. 412-c. 323 B.C.)—Greek Cynic philosopher.—46

*Dionysius (the Elder)* (c. 432-c. 367 B.C.)—tyrant of Syracuse (406-367).—371

*Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and writer, a Tory leader; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68), Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80).—245, 342, 344

*Dolgorukov (Dolgoruki, Dolgoroukow), Pyotr Vladimirovich, Prince* (1816-1868)—Russian historian and writer, liberal; emigrated in 1859; published a number of opposition newspapers and journals (1860s); contributed to Herzen's *Kolokol*.—141, 429

*Don Carlos*—see *Charles III*

*Donizetti, Gaetano* (1797-1848)—Italian composer.—77

*Douglas, Sir Howard* (1776-1861)—British general and military writer.—360, 363

*Dréolle, Ernest* (1829-1887)—French journalist and politician, Bonapartist.—430

*Dronke, Ernst* (1822-1891)—German writer; at first a "true socialist", later a member of the Communist League and an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung;* emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; supported Marx and Engels.—41, 45

*Druey, Henri* (1799-1855)—Swiss radical statesman; member of the Federal Council (1848-54); head of the Department of Justice and Police (1848); President of the Swiss Confederation (1850).—44, 45, 52, 53, 54, 296, 297, 299-301

*Ducommun, Elie* (1833-1906)—Swiss radical statesman and journalist, editor of the *Revue de Genève* from 1855.—200

*Dufaure, Jules Armand Stanislas* (1798-1881)—French lawyer and politician, Orleanist; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848); Minister of the Interior in the Cavaignac Government (October-December 1848); inspired the suppression of the Paris Commune.—157

*Dulon, Rudolph* (1807-1870)—German pastor; emigrated to the USA in 1853.—87

*Dumont (Du Mont), Joseph* (1811-1861)—German journalist, moderate liberal; publisher of the *Kölnische Zeitung* from 1831; changed his name to Del Monte (Delmonte).—5, 6, 242

*Dunne*—British army officer; took part in Garibaldi's revolutionary campaign in South Italy (1860).—451

*Duns Scotus, John* (c. 1265-1308)—Scottish scholastic theologian.—251, 255

*Dupin, André Marie Jean Jacques* (1783-1865)—French lawyer and politician, Orleanist, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49) and President of the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); subsequently a Bonapartist.—228

*Dupont, Emile* (b. 1821)—French public figure, member of the co-operative society in Valenciennes; editor of a number of journals, including *La voix du proscrit;* author of articles on the position of the miners.—36

*Dušek, František* (1797-1873)—Hungarian statesman of Bohemian descent; Minister of Finance in the Szemere Government during the 1848-49 revolution.—223

E

*Éber, Nándor* (1825-1885)—Hungarian journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolutionary movement and in Garibaldi's revolutionary campaign in South Italy (1860).—473

*Eichhoff, Karl Wilhelm* (1833-1895)—German socialist journalist; in the late 1850s exposed Stieber as a police spy in the press and was brought to trial for this; refugee in London (1861-66); member of the First International from 1868, and one of its first historians; member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party from 1869.—65

*Eisenmann, Johann Gottfried* (1795-1867)—German physician and writer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Centre, later Left wing) in 1848-49.—103

*Eleanor of Austria* (1498-1558)—sister of Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor; wife of Manuel I of Portugal and from 1530, of Francis I of France.—506

*Eleonora of Portugal*—see *Eleanor of Austria*

*Elizabeth I* (1533-1603)—Queen of England (1558-1603).—506, 509

*Elizabeth of Parma*—see *Farnese, Elizabeth*

*Elizabeth of Valois* (1545-1568)—daughter of Henry II of France; wife of Philip II of Spain from 1559.—506

*Elizabeth (Elizaveta Petrovna)* (1709-1761)—Empress of Russia (1741-61).—517, 518

*Elsner, Karl Friedrich Moritz* (1809-1894)—Silesian radical journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; an editor of the *Neue Oder Zeitung* in the 1850s.—263

*Emmermann, Karl*—chief forester from the Rhine Province; commanded an infantry unit of the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army in 1849; emigrated to Switzerland.—76, 77

*Enfantin, Barthélemy Prosper* (1796-1864)—French utopian socialist, a disciple of Saint-Simon; held leading posts in a number of capitalist enterprises from the mid-1840s.—341

*Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895).—6, 33, 40, 79, 81, 84-86, 88-90, 96-97, 101,

105, 114, 119, 131, 241, 262, 285, 286, 306, 348, 385

*Engländer, Sigmund* (1828-1902)—Austrian journalist; emigrated to England in 1848; secret police agent.—277

*Eötvös, József, Baron* (1813-1871)—Hungarian writer and statesman, representative of the liberal aristocracy; Minister of Religious Worship and Public Education in the Batthyány Government (March-September 1848).—502

*Ephialtes*—Greek, native of Melos; showed the Persian troops a passage through the mountains (480 B.C.), thus enabling them to attack the troops of the Spartan King Leonidas from the rear.—204

*Ermani*—German publisher and bookseller in London.—129, 319

*Ernest Augustus* (1771-1851)—King of Hanover (1837-51).—398, 527

*Ernst II* (1818-1893)—Duke of Saxony, Coburg and Gotha (1844-93).—398

*Erthal, Friedrich Karl Joseph, Baron of* (1719-1802)—Elector and Bishop of Mayence (1774).—522

*Estaing, Jean Baptiste Charles Henri Hector, comte d'* (1729-1794)—French admiral; commanded the French squadron (1778) in the American War of Independence (1775-83).—520

*D'Ester, Karl Ludwig Johann* (1811-1859)—German physician; socialist and democrat; member of the Cologne community of the Communist League; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; member of the Central Committee of German Democrats from October 1848; prominent figure in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to Switzerland.—101, 237

F

*Fallmerayer, Jakob Philipp* (1790-1861)—German historian and traveller.—114

*Farini, Luigi Carlo* (1812-1866)—Italian historian and statesman; championed the unification of Italy under the Savoy dynasty; Minister of Public Education (1851-52); ruler of Modena (1859); Sardinian Minister of the Interior (1860); head of the Italian Government (1862-63).—489

*Farnese, Elizabeth* (1692-1766)—Queen of Spain and Princess of Parma; wife of Philip V of Spain.—515

*Faucher, Julius (Jules)* (1820-1878)—German writer, Young Hegelian; advocate of free trade; refugee in England from 1850 till 1861, when he returned to Germany; contributor to the *Morning Star*.—117-19

*Favre, Jules Gabriel Claude* (1809-1880)—French lawyer and politician; a leader of the republican bourgeois opposition from the late 1850s; Foreign Minister (1870-71), together with Thiers headed the struggle against the Paris Commune; among others, inspired the struggle against the First International.—430, 455

*Fazy, Jean Jacques (James)* (1794-1878)—Swiss journalist and statesman, radical; head of government of the Geneva Canton (1846-53, 1855-61); pursued a pro-Bonapartist policy.—31, 53, 74, 113, 116, 187, 189, 192-97, 198-203, 206, 214, 228-35, 260, 296, 298, 327

*Ferdinand, Prince of Guastalla*—see *Ferrante II*

*Ferdinand I* (1503-1564)—Holy Roman Emperor (1556-64); brother of Charles V.—506-09

*Ferdinand I* (1751-1825)—King of the Two Sicilies (1816-25); King of Naples as Ferdinand IV (1759-1825, with intervals); King of Sicily as Ferdinand III (1759-1825).—524, 525

*Ferdinand II* (1578-1637)—Holy Roman Emperor (1619-37).—458, 510

*Ferdinand III* (1608-1657)—Holy Roman Emperor (1637-57); Archduke of Austria.—510, 511

*Ferdinand VII* (1784-1833)—King of Spain (1808, 1814-33).—143, 337, 525, 526

*Ferdinand (Charles Joseph) of Este* (1781-1850)—Archduke of Austria; commanded troops in Bavaria and Poland during the wars against Napoleonic France.—524

*Ferdinand Philippe Louis Charles Henri, duc d'Orléans* (1810-1842)—eldest son of Louis Philippe of France; took part in the conquest of Algeria (1835-40).—355

*Ferdinando Carlo, Gonzaga di* (1652-1708)—Duke of Mantua (1665-1707), the last of the Gonzaga family.—513

*Ferdinando Maria Alberto* (1822-1855)—Duke of Genoa, brother of Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia; fought in the war against Austria (1848-49); elected King of Sicily (1848) but refused to accept the crown.—527

*Ferrante II* (1563-1630)—Prince of Guastalla (1621-30) from the Gonzaga family; claimed the Duchy of Mantua (1629) after the death of Vincenzo II Gonzaga.—510

*Fialin*—see *Persigny, Jean Gilbert*

*Fink*—German refugee in Geneva.—54

*Fischart, Johann* (c. 1545-1590)—German satirist.—28, 33, 70, 118, 252, 254

*Fischel, Eduard* (1826-1863)—German writer, progressist; assessor of the Berlin Municipal Court from 1858; editor of the Berlin Urquhartist journal *Das Neue Portfolio* (1859-60); sharply criticised the foreign policy pursued by Palmerston and Napoleon III.—246

*Fleury, André Hercule de* (1653-1743)—French cardinal and statesman; became First Minister of Louis XV in 1726.—517

*Fleury, Charles* (real name *Carl Friedrich August Krause*) (b. 1824)—London merchant, Prussian spy and police agent.—55, 66, 305, 306-12

*Flocon, Ferdinand* (1800-1866)—French democratic politician and journalist, an editor of *La Réforme;* member of the Provisional Government (1848).—263, 322

*Flores*—Neapolitan general; commanded troops in Apulia (1860).—472

*Flotte (Deflotte), Paul Louis François René de* (1817-1860)—French naval officer, democrat and socialist, Blanquist; took part in the 1848 revolution in France; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1850-51); took part in Garibaldi's revolutionary campaign in South Italy (1860).—474, 478

*Foscolo, Ugo* (1778-1827)—Italian poet.—203

*Fould, Achille* (1800-1867)—French banker and politician, Orleanist, subsequently Bonapartist; Minister of Finance (1849-52, 1861-67), Minister of the Imperial Court (1852-60).—330, 331, 344

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—38, 88

*Fox, Charles James* (1749-1806)—British statesman, Whig leader; Foreign Secretary (1782, 1783, 1806).—523

*Francesco II Sforza* (1495-1535)—Duke of Milan.—505

*Francis I* (1494-1547)—King of France (1515-47).—173, 174

*Francis I* (1708-1765)—Holy Roman Emperor (1745-65); Duke of Lorraine as Francis III (1729-36); Grand Duke of Tuscany (1737-65).—516, 517

*Francis I* (1768-1835)—Emperor of Austria (1804-35); Holy Roman Emperor as Francis II (1792-1806).—525

*Francis I* (1777-1830)—King of the Two Sicilies (1816-25).—525

*Francis II* (1544-1560)—King of France (1559-60).—471, 474, 488, 506

*Francis II* (1836-1894)—King of Naples and Sicily (1859-60).—372, 392, 421, 458, 459, 471, 474, 488

*Francis Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-1916), King of Hungary (1848-49, 1849-1916).—108, 137, 171-173, 224, 332, 345, 399, 431, 457-60, 493, 494, 499, 501

*Franchini, Viktor Antonovich* (1820-1892)—Russian army officer, later general; fought in the Crimean war

(1853-56) and the war in the Caucasus (1877).—221

*Frank (Franck), Gustav*—Austrian petty-bourgeois democrat; refugee in London in the 1850s.—88

*Franklin, Benjamin* (1706-1790)—American physicist, economist and politician; took part in the American War of Independence.—520

*Frederick I* (1657-1713)—King of Prussia (1701-13); Elector of Brandenburg as Frederick III from 1688.—514

*Frederick I* (1754-1816)—Duke of Württemberg; King of Württemberg (1805-16).—522

*Frederick II ("The Great")* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-1786).—69, 135, 517-19

*Frederick V* (1596-1632)—Elector of the Palatine (1610-23).—510

*Frederick VII* (1808-1863)—King of Denmark (1848-63).—402

*Frederick Augustus I ("the Just")* (1750-1827)—Elector of Saxony as Frederick Augustus III (1763-1806); King of Saxony (1806-27).—524

*Frederick Augustus II* (1797-1854)—King of Saxony (1836-54).—392, 527

*Frederick William* (1620-1688)—Elector of Brandenburg (1640-88).—254, 512

*Frederick William I* (1688-1740)—King of Prussia (1713-1740).—377, 379, 517

*Frederick William III* (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—377

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—257, 347, 367, 373, 496

*Fregoso, Cesare* (d. 1541)—French diplomat from an ancient Genoese family: assassinated by order of Charles V.—506

*Freiligrath, Ferdinand* (1810-1876)—German romantic and later revolutionary poet, member of the Communist League; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49).—8, 115

*Frey-Hérosé (Frei-Herose), Friedrich* (1801-1873)—Swiss military leader and politician, liberal, member of the Federal Council (1848); deputy to the National Council and later President of the Confederation (1854, 1860).—176, 194, 198

*Friedrich I Wilhelm Ludwig* (1826-1907)—Grand Duke of Baden (1856-1907).—398

*Friedrich Wilhelm I* (1802-1875)—Elector of Hesse (1847-75).—379

*Frimont, Johann Maria Philipp, Count of Palota, Prince of Antrodocco* (1759-1831)—Austrian general; commanded the Austrian expeditionary corps that suppressed the 1820-21 Neapolitan revolution.—525

*Fröbel, Julius* (1805-1893)—German radical writer and publisher of progressive literature; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; emigrated to America in 1849; returned to Germany in 1857.—116, 130

G

*Gagern, Heinrich Wilhelm August, Baron von* (1799-1880)—German politician, moderate liberal; deputy to and President of the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre); Prime Minister (December 1848-March 1849); a leader of the Gotha Party after May 1849.—100, 109, 154

*Galeer, Albert Frédéric Jean* (1816-1851)—Swiss teacher and man of letters, democrat; took part in the war against the Sonderbund (1847) and in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; member of the Grand Council of Geneva; at first supported Fazy and later headed the opposition.—31, 231-33

*Galeer, Oskar*—student, brother of the above.—31

*Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; organised the defence of the Roman Republic (April-June 1849); headed the Italian people's struggle for national independence and the unification of the country (the 1850s-60s).—224, 381, 382, 386-91, 421-

24, 449-52, 458, 460, 464, 471-78, 490-91

*Gebert, August*—Mecklenburg joiner; member of the Communist League in Switzerland and later in London; after the split in 1850 belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group. —52

*George I* (1660-1727)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1714-27), Elector of Hanover (1698-1714).—515

*George III* (1738-1820)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1760-1820).—411

*George V* (1819-1878)—King of Hanover (1851-66).—398

*Gerlach, Ernst Ludwig von* (1795-1877)—Prussian lawyer, reactionary politician, one of the founders of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*.—247

*Gibson, Thomas Milner* (1806-1884)—British politician and statesman, Free Trader, President of the Board of Trade (1859-65, 1865-66).—409, 444

*Gipperich, Joseph*—German tailor; member of a Paris community of the Communist League supporting the sectarian Willich-Schapper group after the split in the League in 1850; became a secret agent of the Prussian police; one of the accused at the trial of the so-called Franco-German plot in Paris in February 1852; escaped from prison with the aid of the police; emigrated to England in 1852.—308

*Girardin, Delphine de* (1804-1855)—French authoress; wife of Émile de Girardin.—37

*Girardin, Émile de* (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician; editor of *La Presse* (the 1830s-60s, with intervals); moderate republican, later Bonapartist.—207

*Giusti, Giuseppe* (1809-1850)—Italian satirical poet.—203

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory and later Peelite, leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55, 1859-66), Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—336, 341, 350, 351, 353, 444

*Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton Neithardt von* (1760-1831)—Prussian field marshal-general; one of the organisers of the liberation struggle against Napoleonic rule.—146

*Goegg, Amand* (1820-1897)—German journalist, democrat; member of the Baden Provisional Government (1849); emigrated after the revolution; member of the First International; joined the German Social-Democrats in the 1870s.—98-99, 313

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—71, 74, 91, 183, 251

*Goldheim*—Prussian police officer; a secret agent of the Prussian police in London in the early 1850s.—58, 310-12

*Golitsin, Alexander Mikhailovich, Prince* (1718-1783)—Russian diplomat, Ambassador to London (1755-62), Vice-Chancellor (1762-75).—135, 518

*Goluchowski, Agenor, Count* (1812-1875)—Polish aristocrat, Austrian conservative statesman; Viceroy of Galicia (1849-59, 1866-67, 1871-75); Austrian Minister of the Interior (1859-60).—501

*Gorchakoff (Gorchakov), Alexander Mikhailovich, Prince* (1788-1883)—Russian statesman and diplomat, Ambassador to Vienna (1854-56), Foreign Minister (1856-82), State Chancellor (1867-82).—368, 375, 429, 491

*Görgey (Görgei), Arthur* (1818-1916)—military leader of the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; commander-in-chief of the Hungarian army (April-June 1849); voiced the conservative sentiments of the nobility; advocated agreement with the Habsburgs and, later, capitulation; War Minister from May 1849.—148, 214, 215, 226-27

*Gottfried von Strassburg* (late 12th-early 13th cent.)—German poet, author of *Tristan und Isolde*.—156

*Götze*—Prussian lawyer; Vice-President

of the Prussian High Court in the 1850s.—270

*Grabbe, Pavel Khristoforovich, Count* (1789-1875)—Russian military leader and statesman; took part in suppressing the Polish insurrection of 1830-31 and in the Tsarist troops' intervention against revolutionary Hungary in 1849.—227

*Grandguillot, Alcide Pierre* (1829-1891)—French journalist, Bonapartist; editor-in-chief of *Le Constitutionnel* from 1859; editor-in-chief of *Le Pays* (1863-65).—176, 186, 324, 325

*Granier de Cassagnac, Bernard Adolphe* (1806-1880)—French journalist, Orleanist before the 1848 revolution, later Bonapartist; deputy to the Corps Législatif (1852-70); contributed to *Le Constitutionnel*.—36, 186, 211

*Granville, George Leveson-Gower, Earl of* (1815-1891)—British statesman, Whig and later Liberal, Foreign Secretary (1851-52, 1870-74, 1880-85), President of the Council (1852-54, 1855-58, 1859-65), Secretary of State for the Colonies (1868-70, 1886).—339

*Grégoire* (*Georgi Petrovich Postnikov*) (1784-1860)—Russian theologian, Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Novgorod from 1855.—441

*Gregory XVI* (*Bartolommeo Alberto*, otherwise *Mauro Cappellari*) (1765-1846)—Pope (1831-46).—144

*Greif*—Prussian police officer; one of the chiefs of the Prussian secret service in London in the early 1850s.—55, 57, 305, 306-10

*Greiner, Theodor Ludwig*—German lawyer, petty-bourgeois democrat; member of the Palatinate revolutionary Provisional Government (1849); emigrated first to Switzerland and then to the USA after the defeat of the revolution.—100-01, 110

*Grey, Sir Henry George, Earl of* from 1845 (1802-1894)—British statesman, Whig; Secretary at War (1835-39), Colonial Secretary (1846-52).—194, 335-40

*Griscelli, Jacques François*—Corsican-born Bonapartist police agent.—421, 422, 424, 490

*Grün, Karl* (1817-1887)—German writer, member of the Prussian National Assembly during the 1848-49 revolution.—199

*Grunich*—German democrat; refugee in London in the early 1850s.—33

*Guébriant, Jean Baptiste Budes, comte de* (1602-1643)—Marshal of France; fought in the Thirty Years' War (1618-48).—510

*Guise, Duke of*—see *Henry II of Lorraine*

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman; virtually directed France's foreign and domestic policy from 1840 to the February 1848 revolution; expressed the interests of the financial bourgeoisie.—36, 79, 263

*Gumpert, Eduard* (d. 1893)—German physician resident in Manchester, a friend of Marx and Engels.—119

*Gustav(us) I* (*Gustavus Vasa*) (1496-1560)—King of Sweden (1523-60).—505

*Gustav(us) II* (*Adolphus*) (1594-1632)—King of Sweden (1611-32).—509, 510, 511

*Guthschmidt*—Prussian judicial official.—283, 290, 291

*Guyon, Richard Debaufre* (1803-1856)—British army officer, general of the Hungarian revolutionary army; served in the Turkish army under the name of Khourschid Pasha after the defeat of the Hungarian revolution; commanded Turkish troops in the Caucasus (1853).—214

## H

*Habsburgs* (or *Hapsburgs*)—dynasty of emperors of the Holy Roman Empire (1273-1806, intermittently), of Austria (from 1804) and of Austria-Hungary (1867-1918).—108, 149, 254, 274, 371, 374, 376, 379-80, 487, 494, 506, 509, 512, 517, 524, 527

*Hackländer, Friedrich Wilhelm von* (1816-1877)—German writer.—183

*Hadher Barbarossa* (*Khair-ed-Deen*) (c. 1483-1546)—ruler of Algeria (1519-46).—506

*Hafiz Shams ud-din Mohammed* (c. 1300-c. 1389)—Persian poet of Tajik descent.—44

*Häfner, Leopold* (born c. 1820)—Austrian journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to France.—87, 88, 99, 188

*Hagen, Karl* (1810-1868)—German historian and politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49); professor in Berne from 1855.—100, 108

*Hall, Carl Christian* (1812-1888)—Danish politician; Foreign Minister.—401

*Hampden, John* (1595-1643)—prominent figure in the English revolution, a leader of the parliamentary opposition to the absolutist regime.—157

*Hardenberg, Karl August von* (1750-1822)—Prussian statesman and diplomat, Foreign Minister (1804-06, 1807), Chancellor of State (1810-22); champion of moderate reforms; supported the policy of the Holy Alliance after 1815.—368, 525

*Harney, George Julian* (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the English labour movement, a leader of the Left-wing Chartists, editor of *The Northern Star* and of the *Democratic Review*; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels.—86

*Haro*—see *Mendes de Haro*

*Harris, Edward Alfred John* (1808-1888)—British army officer and diplomat, chargé d'affaires in Berne (1858-67).—176, 177, 179, 192-97

*Hartmann von Aue* (c. 1170-c. 1210)—German poet.—184

*Hartmann, Moritz* (1821-1872)—Austrian writer; a "true socialist" in the mid-1840s; member of the Frankfurt National Assembly (extreme Left) during the 1848-49 revolution.—184

*Hatzfeldt zu Trachenberg-Schönstein, Maximilian Friedrich Karl Franz, Count of* (1813-1859)—Prussian diplomat, envoy to Paris from 1849; took part in the Paris Peace Congress in 1856.—57

*Haug, Ernst*—Austrian army officer, democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; emigrated to England after the revolution.—87

*Haupt, Hermann Wilhelm* (born c. 1833)—German shop assistant, member of the Communist League; turned informer during the Cologne Communist trial, was released by the police during investigation and fled to Brazil.—67, 309

*Havas, August* (1814-1889)—one of the proprietors of *Agence Havas*, son of Charles Havas.—277

*Havas, Charles* (1785-1858)—French journalist, founder of the French information agency *Agence Havas*.—277

*Hawke, Edward Hawke, Baron* (1705-1781)—British admiral; fought in the war of the Austrian Succession (1740-48) and in the Seven Years' War (1756-63); M. P., First Lord of the Admiralty (1765-71).—517

*Haxthausen, August Franz Maria, Baron von* (1792-1866)—Prussian official and economist.—146

*Haynau, Julius Jakob, Baron von* (1786-1853)—Austrian field marshal; brutally suppressed the 1848-49 revolutionary movement in Italy and Hungary.—228

*Hecker, Friedrich Karl Franz* (1811-1881)—German democrat, a leader of the Baden republican uprising in April 1848; after its defeat, emigrated to Switzerland and later to the USA where he fought in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—40, 254

*Heckscher, Martin*—German physician resident in Manchester, Engels' doctor; helped *Das Volk* with money.—119

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—6

*Heiden, Loghin Petrovich (Lodewÿk Sigismund Vincent Gustaaf), Count of* (1772-1850)—admiral of the Russian fleet; commanded a squadron in the battle of Navarino (1827); commander-in-chief of the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29.—143

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—69, 109, 114, 181, 235, 280

*Heinzen, Karl Peter* (1809-1880)—German journalist, radical; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; contributed to the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung;* emigrated to Switzerland, later to England and, in the autumn of 1850, to the USA.—232

*Heise, Heinrich* (d. 1860)—German journalist, democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; an editor of the newspaper *Hornisse* (1848-50); later emigrated to England.—118

*Heliogabalus (Elagabalus)* (204-222)—Roman Emperor (218-22) whose name became a symbol of extravagance, despotism and debauchery.—49, 189

*Henriette Marie of France* (1609-1669)—Queen of Charles I of Great Britain and Ireland (1625-49), daughter of Henry IV of France.—510

*Henry, Sir Thomas* (1807-1876)—English judge.—130, 319, 320

*Henry II* (1519-1559)—King of France (1547-59).—506

*Henry II of Lorraine, 3rd Duke of Guise* (1614-1664)—one of the Fronde leaders.—35

*Henry III* (1551-1589)—King of France (1574-89).—509

*Henry IV* (1553-1610)—King of France from 1589 and of Navarre from 1572.—509

*Henry VIII* (1491-1547)—King of England (1509-47).—505-06

*Herbert, Sidney, Baron of Lea* (1810-1861)—British statesman, at first Tory and later Peelite; Secretary of the Admiralty (1841-45), Secretary at War (1845-46, 1852-55), Secretary for War (1859-60).—363, 404, 435, 436

*Hermann, K.*—German lawyer; Karl Vogt's defence counsel in his lawsuit against the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in 1859.—28, 33, 125, 240

*Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich* (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher and writer; emigrated in 1847.—232

*Hess, Heinrich Hermann Josef, Baron von* (1788-1870)—Austrian general, later field marshal; took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; commanded the Austrian army in the Austro-Italo-French war of 1859 after the defeat at Magenta (June-July 1859).—457

*Hildburghausen, Josef Maria Friedrich Wilhelm, Prince von Sachsen* (1702-1787)—German field marshal.—518

*Hillgärtner, Georg*—German journalist and lawyer, petty-bourgeois democrat; sentenced to death for his participation in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated to the USA.—315

*Hinckeldey, Karl Ludwig Friedrich von* (1805-1856)—Prussian government official, Chief Commissioner of Berlin police from 1848; Chief of the police department in the Ministry of the Interior from 1853.—64, 67, 87, 309, 369

*Hirsch, Wilhelm*—commercial clerk from Hamburg; Prussian police agent in London in the early 1850s.—219, 305-12

*Hodde, Lucien de la (Delahodde,* pseudonym *Duprez)* (1808-1865)—French writer, participant in secret revolutionary societies during the Restoration and July monarchy, police agent.—56, 73, 307

*Hoffmann*—French journalist, Bonapartist.—211

*Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Karl Anton, Prince von* (1811-1885)—Prussian general, Prime Minister (1858-62).—237, 247, 367, 393, 397

*Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors

(1871-1918).—191, 254, 274, 367, 376, 378, 379, 494-96

*Hollinger, Fidelio*—owner of a print-shop in London which printed *Das Volk*.—6-11, 17, 119, 122-26, 128-31, 241, 275, 283, 319-20

*Holstein-Gottorp*—see *Charles I* (*Charles Frederick*)

*Hope, Sir James* (1808-1881)—British admiral; commanded British expeditionary troops in China (1859-60).—340

*Horace* (*Quintus Horatius Flaccus*) (65-8 B. C.)—Roman poet.—26, 136, 214, 247

*Hörfel, Gustav*—Austrian petty-bourgeois democrat; emigrated to Paris in 1850 and became an agent of the French police.—87, 88, 89

*Horner, Leonard* (1785-1864)—English geologist and public figure; factory inspector (1833-59), upheld the workers' interests.—410

*Horsman, Edward* (1807-1876)—British politician, Liberal M. P., Chief Secretary for Ireland (1855-57).—158, 432

*Hsien Fêng* (c. 1831-1861)—Emperor of China (1851-61).—339

*Hudson, Sir James* (1810-1885)—British diplomat, envoy to Tourin (1851-63).—53, 195-96

*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885)—French writer, republican; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848-51); emigrated to Jersey after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, deported by the local authorities at the end of 1855.—156, 162-63, 189-90, 327

*Humboldt, Alexander, Baron von* (1769-1859)—German naturalist, traveller and statesman.—41, 167, 177, 183, 369

*Huntel*—chief of the Bremen police.—305

I

*Ibrahim Pasha* (1789-1848)—Egyptian general and statesman, commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army (1816-41); took part in the struggle against the Greek national liberation uprising (1824-27) and in the wars waged by Egypt against Turkey (1831-33, 1839-41); co-ruler with his father, Mohammed Ali, from 1844; actual ruler of Egypt from 1847; appointed Pasha of Egypt in 1848.—526

*Imandt, Peter*— German teacher, democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated first to Switzerland and, in 1852, to London; member of the Communist League; supporter of Marx and Engels.—39, 43, 44, 296, 301

*Imbert, Jacques* (1793-1851)—French journalist, democrat and socialist; took part in the 1834 uprising of the Lyons weavers; refugee in Belgium in the 1840s; Vice-President of the Brussels Democratic Association.—264

*Ivan III* (1440-1505)—Grand Duke of Muscovy (1462-1505).—189

J

*Jacoby, Abraham* (1830-1919)—German physician, member of the Communist League, one of the accused at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); subsequently emigrated to the USA.—301, 313

*Jagiéllonowie* (*Jagellon*) (1386-1572)—dynasty of Polish kings (1386-1572) and of grand dukes of Lithuania (1377-1572).—509

*Jahn, Friedrich Ludwig* (1778-1852)—German writer, organised the sports movement (Turn- und Sportbewegung) in Germany; prominent in the German people's liberation struggle against Napoleon's rule; nationalist.—134

*James I Stuart* (1566-1625)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1603-25).—509

*James II* (1633-1701)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1685-88).—73, 514

*James Stuart*, so-called *James III* (1688-1766)—son of James II; pretender to the British throne.—514

*Jekelfalussy*—Hungarian clergyman; Bishop of Zips (1848-49).—328

*Jellachich (Jellačić), Josef, Count* (1801-1859)—Austrian general, Ban of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia; took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary and Austria.—82

*John George (Johann Georg) I* (1585-1656)—Elector of Saxe (1611-56.)—510

*John (Johann)* (1782-1859)—Archduke of Austria, field marshal; fought in the wars against Napoleonic France; commanded one of the Austrian armies (1809); Imperial Regent of Germany (June 1848-December 1849).—58, 107-09, 253-54, 524

*John (Johann) Nepomuk Maria Joseph* (1801-1873)—King of Saxony (1854-73).—398

*John VI* (1769-1826)—King of Portugal (1816-26) and Emperor of Brazil (1807-25).—525, 526

*Joinville, François Ferdinand Philippe Louis Marie, duc d'Orléans, prince de* (1818-1900)—son of Louis Philippe; took part in the conquest of Algeria (the 1840s); emigrated to England after the victory of the February 1848 revolution; fought in the American Civil War on the side of the Union (1861-62).—434

*Jones, Ernest Charles* (1819-1869)—prominent figure in the English labour movement, proletarian poet and journalist, leader of the Left-wing Chartists, editor of *Notes to the People* and *The People's Paper*, friend of Marx and Engels.—116, 264-65, 322

*Joseph I* (1678-1711)—King of Hungary (1687-1711), Holy Roman Emperor (1705-11).—332, 520

*Joseph II* (1741-1790)—co-regent of his mother Maria Theresa (1765-80), Holy Roman Emperor (1765-90).—149, 519, 520

*Joseph Ferdinand* (1692-1699)—heir to the throne of the Electorate of Bavaria and proposed heir to the Spanish throne.—513

*Jottrand, Lucien Léopold* (1804-1877)—Belgian lawyer and writer, democrat; President of the Brussels Democratic Association (1847).—264, 321-22

*Jourdan, Louis* (1810-1881)—French journalist, Saint-Simonist and later Bonapartist; editor of the newspaper *Le Siècle*.—186, 206, 211

*Jung, Georg Gottlob* (1814-1886)—German writer, Young Hegelian, one of the responsible publishers of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, democrat; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—255

*Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis)* (c. 60-140)—Roman satirical poet.—44, 273

K

*Kalinikos*—Patriarch of Constantinople.—441

*Kamm, Friedrich* (d. 1867)—German artisan, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to Switzerland after its defeat; member of the German Workers' Association in Geneva; emigrated to the USA (1852).—39, 44, 298

*Kanitz und Dallwitz, Karl, Baron von* (b. 1812)—Prussian diplomat, envoy to Rome (1859-63).—488

*Kannegiesser, Karl Friedrich Ludwig* (1781-1861)—German poet and translator.—74, 100

*Karamzin, Nikolai Mikhailovich* (1766-1826)—Russian historian and writer.—141, 485

*Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand* (1735-1806)—Duke of Brunswick (1780-1806); commander-in-chief of the Austro-Prussian army fighting against revolutionary France (1792).—521

*Károlyi, Countess* (née *Zichy, Karolina*), (1818-1903)—a relative of Lajos Batthyány; lived in Italy and Switzerland after the suppression of the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; gave financial help to Hungarian refugees.—189

*Katakazi, Gavriil Antonovich* (1794-1867)—Russian diplomat of Greek descent; minister in Athens (1833-43), senator.—143

*Kaunitz, Wenzel Anton, Prince von* (1711-1794)—Austrian statesman and diplomat, supporter of enlightened absolutism, rabid opponent of the French Revolution; Chancellor of State (1753-92).—135, 518

*Kern, Johann Conrad* (1808-1888)—Swiss liberal politician, lawyer and diplomat; deputy to the National Council for the Thurgau Canton from November 1848; President of the National Council from July 1850; President of the Federal Court (1853); envoy to Paris (1857-83).—53-54, 177-78, 193-94, 196, 228, 232

*Kincaid, Sir John* (1787-1862)—British official, inspector of factories and prisons in Scotland from 1850.—410, 414, 416

*Kinglake, Alexander William* (1809-1891)—English historian and politician, Liberal M. P. (1857-68).—172, 208

*Kinkel, Johann Gottfried* (1815-1882)—German poet and journalist, democrat; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to London and became a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees; opposed Marx and Engels.—6, 39, 50, 87-88, 117, 313, 314, 315

*Kiselev, Pavel Dmitrievich, Count* (1788-1872)—Russian statesman, participant in the war of 1812;Governor of Moldavia and Wallachia (1829-34); permanent member of all the secret committees on the peasant question from 1835; Minister of Imperial Domains (1837-56), champion of moderate reforms; Ambassador to Paris (1856-62).—142, 144

*Kiss, Miklós* (1820-1902)—Hungarian army officer, democrat, refugee, Kossuth's agent in France and Italy; returned to Hungary after the amnesty in 1867.—217, 221

*Klapka, György (Georg)* (1820-1892)—general of the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49); commandant of the Komorn fortress (June-September 1849); refugee after the revolution; maintained contact with Bonapartist circles in the 1850s; returned to Hungary after the amnesty in 1867.—189, 197, 198, 214, 219, 221, 223-28

*Kolatschek, Adolph* (1821-1889)—Austrian journalist and politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49), petty-bourgeois democrat; publisher of the journals *Deutsche Monatsschrift* (1850-51) and *Stimmen der Zeit* (1858-62); founded the newspaper *Botschafter* (1862).—100, 127, 327

*Kolb, Dr. Gustav Eduard* (1798-1865)—German journalist, editor-in-chief of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* (1837-65).—124

*Korn, Adolf* (1822-1904)—Prussian army officer up to 1845; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to Switzerland after its defeat, and to Argentina in 1857.—30, 32, 51

*Kościuszko, Thaddeus (Andrzej Bonawentura)* (1746-1817)—prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement, leader of the 1794 uprising; took part in the struggle for the independence of the North American colonies (1776-83).—521

*Kossuth, Lajos* (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement; head of the revolutionary government (1848-49); after the defeat of the revolution emigrated first to Turkey and then to England and the USA.—149, 165, 189, 214-25, 314, 328

*Krause, Carl Friedrich August*—see *Fleury, Charles*

*Krause, Friedrich August* (d. 1834)—Dresden shoemaker, then steward of Countess Schönberg's estate, executed for killing her; father of Charles Fleury.—311

*Krüdener, Barbara Juliane, Baroness von* (1764-1824)—Russian author, preacher of pietism; the idea of

creating the Holy Alliance was erroneously ascribed to her in the nineteenth century.—138, 525

*Krüdener, Pavel Alexeyevich* (d. 1858)—Russian envoy to Washington and Berne (1837-58).—299

*Kubesch*—Austrian police counsellor in London.—305

L

*Ladendorf, August*—German democrat, sentenced to five years' imprisonment in 1854 on a trumped-up charge of conspiracy.—66, 67, 311

*La Farina, Giuseppe* (1815-1863)—Italian liberal politician, historian and writer; a leader of the revolutionary movement in Sicily (1848-49); Cavour's emissary in Sicily in 1860 (up to July); adviser to the viceroy of Sicily (October 1860-January 1861).—421, 422-23, 424, 490

*La Fayette, Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier, marquis de* (1757-1834)—general, prominent figure in the French Revolution, a leader of the moderate constitutionalists (Feuillants); took part in the July 1830 revolution.—93

*La Ferronnays, Auguste Pierre Marie Ferron, comte de* (1777-1842)—French politician and diplomat, Ambassador to St. Petersburg (1819-27), participant in the Holy Alliance Congresses, Foreign Minister (1828-29).—526

*La Guéronnière, Louis Étienne Arthur Dubreuil Hélion, vicomte de* (1816-1875)—French writer and politician; Bonapartist (the 1850s), chief censor.—113, 138, 182, 186, 207-11, 212, 373

*Laity, Armand François Ruperch* (1812-1889)—French army officer and politician; took part in Louis Bonaparte's Strasbourg putsch (1836); senator from 1857.—49, 200

*Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louis de* (1790-1869)—French poet, historian and politician; a leader of the moderate republicans in the 1840s; Foreign Minister and virtual head of the Provisional Government in 1848.—207

*Lamoricière, Christophe Léon Louis Juchault de* (1806-1865)—French general and moderate republican politician; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s-40s and in the suppression of the June 1848 uprising in Paris, War Minister in the Cavaignac Government (June-December 1848); expelled from France after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; returned home in 1857.—471-73

*Landi*—Neapolitan general, fought against Garibaldi's revolutionary detachments in South Italy (1860).—387

*Langenschwarz, Maximilian* (born c. 1806)—German poet-improviser, tried to found the theory of improvisation.—224

*Lanza, Ferdinando*—Neapolitan general; fought against Garibaldi's revolutionary detachments in South Italy (1860).—381, 382

*Lapinski, Theophil* (*Łapiński, Teofil*) (1827-1886)—Polish colonel; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; served in the Turkish army under the name of Tevfik Bey; fought against Russia in Circassia (1857-58).—148, 214-15, 219, 225-27

*Las Cases, Emmanuel Augustin Dieudonné Marie Joseph, comte de* (1766-1842)—French historian, accompanied Napoleon to St. Helena (1815-16); published *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène* (1822-23).—143

*Lascy, Pyotr Petrovich, Count* (1678-1751)—Russian field marshal-general of Irish descent; fought in the Northern War (1700-21), the war of Polish Succession (1733-35) and the Russo-Turkish war of 1735-39.—516

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German lawyer and writer, petty-bourgeois socialist; took part in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863); one of the

originators of the opportunist trend among the German Social-Democrats.—27, 246, 249, 309

*La Tour d'Auvergne-Lauraguais, Henri Godefroi Bernard Alphonse, prince de* (1823-1871)—French diplomat, Ambassador to Berlin (1859-62), Rome (1862-63) and London (1863-69).—382, 398

*Laya, Léon* (1811-1872)—French dramatist.—62-63

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French writer and politician, a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats, editor of *La Réforme;* Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government (1848), deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (leader of the Montagnards); emigrated to England after the demonstration of June 13, 1849.—155

*Lehon, Countess*—lived in Paris in the 1830s-50s and was connected with the Orleans dynasty.—36

*Lelewel, Joachim* (1786-1861)—Polish historian and revolutionary; took part in the 1830-31 insurrection in Poland; a leader of the democratic wing of Polish refugees (1847-48); member of the Committee of the Brussels Democratic Association.—264, 322

*Leonidas* (c. 508-480 B.C.)—King of Sparta (c. 488-480 B.C.), hero of the battle of Thermopylae during the Greco-Persian war.—204

*Leopold* (1790-1852)—Grand Duke of Baden (1830-52).—392

*Leopold I* (1640-1705)—Holy Roman Emperor (1658-1705).—512-14

*Leopold I* (1790-1865)—King of Belgium (1831-65).—441

*Leotard, Jules* (1830-1870)—French circus artist.—326

*Leszczynski*—see *Stanislaus I*

*Leuchtenberg, Maximilien Eugène Joseph Napoléon, duc de* (1817-1852)—son of Eugène Beauharnais; married Nicholas I's daughter (1839).—144-45

*Lévy, A.*—182

*Levy, Joseph Moses* (1812-1888)—English journalist, one of the founders and publisher of *The Daily Telegraph.*—130, 243-48, 249-50, 257

*Lichnowski, Felix Maria, Prince von* (1814-1848)—Prussian army officer, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing); killed during the Frankfurt uprising in September 1848.—87, 102, 251, 252

*Liebig, Justus, Baron von* (1803-1873)—German chemist.—243

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League; one of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels,—30, 50, 52-53, 112-14, 117, 119, 122, 124-25, 127, 132, 240, 247, 261, 263, 273, 275, 284-86, 288, 317-20

*Limayrac, Paulin* (1817-1868)—French journalist, contributed to many big French newspapers; editor-in-chief of *Le Constitutionnel* (1861-68); Bonapartist.—324

*Lippe, Leopold, Count zur* (1815-1889)—Prussian lawyer and statesman; Public Prosecutor in Berlin (1860), Minister of Justice (1862-67).—269

*Loë, Heinrich Friedrich Walther Degenhardt, Baron von* (1828-1908)—Prussian army officer, aide-de-camp of the Prince Regent; retained this post when the Prince Regent became King William I.—397

*Loening*—German publisher.—121, 185

*Lommel, Georg*—German petty-bourgeois democrat, took part in the Baden uprising in April 1848; emigrated to Switzerland after its defeat.—68-71, 74, 185, 191-92, 198, 201

*Longinus, Cassius* (c. 213-273)—Greek neo-Platonic philosopher.—120

*Louis* (1661-1711)—Dauphin of Louis XIV.—513

*Louis XII* (1462-1515)—King of France (1498-1515).—505

*Louis XIII* (1601-1643)—King of France (1610-43).—510, 511
*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—135, 225, 512-14
*Louis XV* (1710-1774)—King of France (1715-74).—36, 151, 505
*Louis XVI* (1754-1793)—King of France (1774-92); guillotined.—459, 521
*Louis XVIII* (1755-1824)—King of France (1814-15, 1815-24).—143, 525
*Louis Philippe* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans; King of the French (1830-48).—56, 140, 146, 157, 175-76, 231, 249, 456, 526
*Louise of Savoy* (1476-1531)—Queen Regent, mother of Francis I of France.—505
*Løwendal, Ulrich Frédéric Valdemar, comte de* (1700-1755)—Danish-born general, marshal from 1747; served in the Russian (1735-43) and in the French (1743-55) army; fought in the war of the Austrian Succession (1740-48).—517
*Luberminski (Lubomirski), Prince*—personal representative of Alexander I (1811) at the court of the Prince Regent of Great Britain (afterwards George IV).—524
*Lucullus (Lucius Licinius Lucullus)* (c. 106-c. 57 B.C.)—Roman general, consul of the Roman Republic, famous for his luxurious banquets.—197
*Ludwig III* (1806-1877)—Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt (1848-77).—378, 398
*Lyndhurst, John Singleton Copley the Younger, Baron of* (1772-1863)—British lawyer and statesman; Lord Chancellor (1827-30, 1834-35, 1841-46).—136

M

*McAdam, John*—journalist from Glasgow, supported the national liberation movements in Hungary, Italy and other European countries in the 1850s.—224
*Machiavelli, Niccolò* (1469-1527)—Italian statesman, politician, philosopher and writer.—491
*MacMahon, Marie Edme Patrice Maurice, comte de, duc de Magenta* (1808-1893)—French general, later Marshal of France, senator, Bonapartist; fought in the wars of the Second Empire.—436
*McMurdo, Sir William Montagu Scott* (1819-1894)—British army officer, later general; served in India in the 1840s-50s; Inspector-General of the Volunteers (1860-65).—403, 404, 437
*Maguire, John Francis* (1815-1872)—Irish liberal politician, M.P.—437
*Mahmood II* (1785-1839)—Sultan of Turkey (1808-1839).—143, 525, 526
*Mahomet*—see *Mohammed*
*Maistre, Xavier de* (1763-1852)—French general and writer; emigrated to Russia during the French Revolution.—247
*Malmesbury, James Howard Harris, Earl of* (1807-1889)—British statesman, Tory, later Conservative; Foreign Secretary (1852, 1858-59), Lord Privy Seal (1866-68, 1874-76).—134, 177-79, 181, 193
*Mandeström, Kristoffer Rutger Ludvig* (1806-1873)—Swedish statesman, Foreign Minister (1858-68).—401
*Manilius Brutus*—Roman lawyer.—293
*Manteuffel, Edwin Hans Karl, Baron von* (1809-1885)—Prussian general; chief of the Military Cabinet from 1857; adjutant-general of William I from 1861.—397
*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von* (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman; Minister of the Interior (November 1848-November 1850), Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1850-58).—237-38, 256-57, 266, 369, 379
*Margarita Theresa* (d. 1673)—daughter of Philip IV of Spain; first wife of the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I.—512
*Maria II (da Gloria)* (1819-1853)—Queen of Portugal (1826-28, 1834-53).—337, 526
*Maria Theresa* (1638-1683)—Queen of Louis XIV of France from 1660;

daughter of Philip IV of Spain.—511-12

*Maria Theres(i)a* (*Marie Therese*) (1717-1780)—Archduchess of Austria (1740-80); Holy Roman Empress (1745-80).—222, 516-19

*Marie de Medicis* (1573-1642)—wife of Henry IV of France.—510

*Marilley, Étienne* (1804-1889)—Bishop of Freiburg (1846-79); inspired the anti-democratic revolt in Freiburg (Fribourg) on December 24, 1848.—235

*Mario, Alberto* (1825-1883)—Italian politician and writer; took part in Garibaldi's revolutionary campaign in South Italy (1860).—424

*Marlborough, John Churchill, Duke of* (1650-1722)—British general; commander-in-chief of the British troops (1702-11) in the war of the Spanish Succession.—514

*Martin*—French journalist, contributor to *Le Constitutionnel;* Bonapartist.—186

*Marx, Jenny* (née *von Westphalen*) (1814-1881)—wife of Karl Marx.—73, 264, 322

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883).—3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43-49, 50, 51, 54, 55, 57-61, 67, 69, 111, 113-25, 127-31, 133-39, 141-55, 156-69, 173, 187, 189, 191-204, 205, 207-13, 214, 216-20, 225, 228, 236, 237, 242, 244, 246, 259-95, 296, 303-05, 309-10, 319-20, 321-24, 326, 328, 335, 350, 385

*Maupas, Charlemagne Émile de* (1818-1888)—French lawyer, Bonapartist; Prefect of the Paris police (1851); an organiser of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; Minister of Police (1852-53).—307

*Maurice Saxe, von* (1521-1553)—Elector of Saxony from 1547; Duke from 1541; commander-in-chief of the Imperial troops in the Smalkald war (1546-48).—506

*Maurice Saxe, comte de* (1696-1750)—Marshal of France; fought in the war of the Austrian Succession (1741-48); writer on military science.—517

*Maximilian I* (1459-1519)—Holy Roman Emperor (1493-1519).—505

*Maximilian I* (1573-1651)—Duke of Bavaria from 1597 and Elector (1623).—510

*Maximilian II* (1811-1864)—King of Bavaria (1848-64).—397

*Maximilian III Josef* (1727-1777)—Elector of Bavaria (1745-77).—517, 520

*Mayer, Karl* (1819-1889)—German petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49); emigrated to Switzerland after the defeat of the revolution; editor of the Stuttgart newspaper *Beobachter* in the 1860s.—120, 204-05

*Mazarin, Jules* (1602-1661)—French cardinal and statesman; Prime Minister, virtual ruler of France from 1643 (under Louis XIV).—511-12

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; head of the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850); sought for support among the Bonapartists (the early 1850s); subsequently opposed Bonapartism.—153, 180-81, 217, 218, 221, 232, 395, 423, 489, 490

*Medici del Vacello, Giacomo* (1817-1882)—Italian general; fought in the national liberation war of 1848-49 and defended the Roman Republic in April-July 1849; took part in Garibaldi's revolutionary campaign in South Italy (1860).—421, 449, 473, 477

*Melendez*—Neapolitan general; fought against Garibaldi's revolutionary detachments in South Italy (1860).—474, 478

*Mellinet, François Aimé* (1768-1852)—Belgian general; took part in the democratic movement and the 1830 revolution in Belgium; Honorary President of the Brussels Democratic Association; one of the accused at the Risquons Tout trial.—264

*Mendes de Haro, Luiz, Count* (1598-

1661)—Spanish statesman and diplomat; First Minister of Spain from 1643.—511

*Meszlenyi, Zsuzsánna* (née *Kossuth*) (1806-1856)—sister of Lajos Kossuth; inspector of hospitals during the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary.—222

*Metternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince von* (1773-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat; Foreign Minister (1809-21) and Chancellor (1821-48); one of the founders of the Holy Alliance.—135, 148, 399, 525-26

*Meyen, Eduard* (1812-1870)—German writer, Young Hegelian; emigrated to England after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution.—4-7, 18, 97, 239-42, 308

*Miguel Maria Evaristo* (*Dom Miguel*) (1802-1866)—King of Portugal (1828-34).—143, 337, 525, 526

*Mikhail Fyodorovich* (1596-1645)—first tsar (1613-45) of the Russian Romanov dynasty (1613-1917).—509

*Minié, Claude Étienne* (1804-1879)—French colonel, inventor of a new type of rifle adopted by the French army in 1852.—348

*Miskowsky, Henryk Ludvic* (d. 1854)—Polish army officer; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; emigrated first to Turkey and then to London after the defeat of the revolution.—84-85

*Missori, Giuseppe* (1829-1911)—Italian army officer; took part in the national liberation movement in Italy; fought in Garibaldi's revolutionary detachments in the 1860s.—473, 477

*Mohammed* (or *Muhammad, Mahomet*) (c. 570-632)—founder of Islam.—40

*Mohammed Ali* (or *Mehemet Ali*) (1769-1849)—Viceroy of Egypt (1805-48).—526

*Molé, Louis Mathieu, comte* (1781-1855)—French statesman, Orleanist; Prime Minister (1836-37, 1837-39); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic.—146

*Moll, Joseph* (1813-1849)—German watchmaker; prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; a leader of the League of the Just; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; President of the Cologne Workers' Assosiation and member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats (July-September 1848); killed in battle during the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849.—79

*Monroe, James* (1758-1831)—American statesman; President of the USA (1817-25); issued a declaration (1823) formulating the principles of US foreign policy, known as the Monroe doctrine.—143, 525

*Montalembert, Charles Forbes René de Tryon, comte de* (1810-1870)—French politician and writer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848-51); Orleanist, leader of the Catholic party; supported Louis Bonaparte during the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, but soon afterwards joined the opposition.—157

*Morny, Charles Auguste Louis Joseph, duc de* (1811-1865)—French politician, Bonapartist, half-brother of Napoleon III; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); an organiser of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; Minister of the Interior (December 1851-January 1852); President of the *Corps Législatif* (1854-56, 1857-65).—36, 159

*Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus* (1756-1791)—Austrian composer.—40

*Mucius Scaevola*—Roman lawyer.—293

*Müller, Georg*—German refugee in London in 1860, Chairman of the German Workers' Educational Society.—264

*Müllner, Amandus Gottfried Adolf* (1774-1829)—German poet and literary critic.—120

*Münnich* (*Munich*), *Khristofor Antonovich, Count* (1683-1767)—Russian military leader and statesman, field marshal-general, engineer; commanded Russian troops in the Crimea and in

Bessarabia during the Russo-Turkish war of 1735-39.—516

*Murat, Napoléon Lucien Charles, prince* (1803-1878)—French politician of the Second Republic and Second Empire; cousin of Napoleon III; envoy to Turin (1849-50); pretender to the Neapolitan throne (1851).—372

*Mustafa III* (1717-1774)—Sultan of Turkey (1757-74).—519

N

*Napier, Sir Charles* (1786-1860)—British admiral; fought in the wars against Portugal (1810, 1823-34) and Syria (1840); commanded the British fleet in the Baltic (1854); M.P.—135, 526

*Napoléon, Jérôme, prince*—see *Bonaparte, Jérôme Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul*

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14, 1815).—34, 37, 93, 97, 135, 138, 143, 148, 156-57, 159-60, 161-64, 170, 183, 190, 204, 260-61, 288, 291, 441, 522-24

*Napoleon III* (*Charles Louis Napoléon Bonaparte*) (1808-1873)—nephew of Napoleon I; President of the Second Republic (1848-51); Emperor of the French (1852-70).—97, 109, 132, 133, 134, 138-41, 150, 153-68, 170-76, 178, 195, 198-201, 203, 205, 206, 211, 213, 217, 221-26, 228, 230, 231, 234, 242, 249, 330-36, 339, 341, 344, 355, 368, 369, 372-74, 377, 382, 397-401, 408, 421-22, 430, 431, 438, 439, 446, 448, 457, 459, 464, 486-87, 489-91, 497-98

*Nemours, Louis Charles Philippe Raphaël d'Orléans, duc de* (1814-1896)—second son of Louis Philippe; general of the French army.—441

*Nesselrode, Karl Vasilyevich, Count* (1780-1862)—Russian statesman and diplomat; Foreign Minister (1816-56); State Chancellor from 1845.—525

*Newcastle, Henry Pelham Fiennes Pelham Clinton, Duke of* (1811-1864)—British statesman, Peelite; Secretary for War and the Colonies (1852-54); Secretary for War (1854-55); Colonial Secretary (1859-64).—337-39

*Ney, Michel, duc d'Elchingen, prince de la Moscova* (1769-1815)—Marshal of France; fought in the wars waged by the French Republic and Napoleonic France.—38

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—145, 147, 227, 431, 525

*Niegolewscki* (1819-1885)—Polish lawyer and politician; petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848); member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies for Posen from 1849.—394-95

*Nothjung, Peter* (1823-1866)—German tailor; member of the Cologne Workers' Association and of the Communist League; one of the accused at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); sentenced to six years' imprisonment.—237, 375

*Nugent*—see *Cherval, Julien*

O

*Obreskov, Alexei Mikhailovich* (1718-1787)—Russian diplomat, chargé d'affaires (1751) and resident (1752-68) in Constantinople; took part in signing the peace of Kuchuk Kainarji (1774).—519

*Ochsenbein, Johann Ulrich* (1811-1890)—Swiss general, statesman and politician; at first radical and later liberal; President of the Federal Diet during the Sonderbund war; head of the Federal Government (1847-48); President of the National Council and member of the Federal Council (1848-54).—231-32

*Ohly, Karl Friedrich Christian Hermann* (1825-1881)—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated first to Switzerland and then to London after the defeat of the revolution; correspondent of the

Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.—112, 261, 286

*Olga* (1822-1892)—Grand Duchess of Russia, second daughter of Nicholas I; Queen of Württemberg from 1864.—299

*Oliphant, Laurence* (1829-1888)—English traveller and journalist; correspondent of *The Times* in the Caucasus with Omer Pasha's expeditionary corps (1855).—180

*Olivier, Émile* (1825-1913)—French politician, moderate republican; member of the *Corps Législatif* from 1857; became Bonapartist in the late 1860s; head of the government (January-August 1870).—431

*Oppenheim, Heinrich Bernhard* (1819-1880)—German democratic politician, economist and journalist; an editor of the Berlin newspaper *Die Reform* (1848); refugee (1849-50); subsequently a National-Liberal.—97, 249

*Orges, Hermann* (1821-1874)—German journalist; an editor of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* (1854-64).—124, 210, 263, 317

*Orléans*—royal dynasty in France (1830-48).—36

*Orloff (Orlov), Alexei Fyodorovich, Count, Prince* from 1856 (1786-1861)—Russian military leader, statesman and diplomat; signed the treaties of Adrianople (1829) and Unkiar-Skelessi (1833) with Turkey; headed the Russian delegation to the Paris Congress (1856).—382

*Orsini, Felice* (1819-1858)—Italian democrat, republican; prominent figure in the struggle for Italy's national liberation and unification; executed for his attempt on the life of Napoleon III.—157, 395-96

*Oswald, Eugen* (1826-1912)—German journalist, democrat; took part in the 1848-49 Baden revolutionary movement; emigrated to England after the defeat of the revolution.—33

*Otto I* (1815-1867)—King of Greece (1832-62) from the Bavarian dynasty of Wittelsbachs.—526

*Oudinot, Nicolas Charles Victor* (1791-1863)—French general, Orleanist; commanded troops sent against the Roman Republic (1849).—155

*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—English utopian socialist.—88-89

## P

*Palestrina*—French police officer.—208, 211

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman; at first Tory and, from 1830, Whig; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51); Home Secretary (1852-55); Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-65).—5, 116-17, 136, 139, 143, 158-59, 173, 179, 202, 215-16, 244, 315, 339

*Papinian, Aemilius Papinianus* (c. 140-212)—Roman lawyer.—293

*Paul I* (1754-1801)—Emperor of Russia (1796-1801).—522

*Paul V (Camillo Borghese)* (1552-1621)—Pope (1605-21).—509-10

*Pedro I (Dom Pedro de Alcantara)* (1798-1834)—Emperor of Brazil (1822-31); son of John VI of Portugal; father of Maria II da Gloria of Portugal.—337, 526

*Peel, Sir Robert, Baronet* (1788-1850)—British statesman, moderate Tory; Home Secretary (1822-27, 1828-30); Prime Minister (1834-35, 1841-46).—7, 498

*Peire, Vidal* (12th-13th cent.)—famous Provençal troubadour.—96

*Pélissier, Aimable Jean Jacques, duc de Malakoff* (1794-1864)—French general, Marshal of France from September 1855; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s-50s; corps commander (early 1855) and commander-in-chief of the French army (May 1855-July 1856) in the Crimea; Ambassador to London (1858-59).—157, 349

*Pepe, Guglielmo* (1783-1855)—prominent figure in the Italian national liberation movement, general of the Neapolitan army; sided with the

Carbonari and commanded the army of the rebels during the 1820-21 Neapolitan revolution; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Italy.—525

*Perczel, Mór* (*Moritz*) (1811-1899)—Hungarian general; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; emigrated to Turkey after the defeat of the revolution and, in 1851, to England.—149, 224

*Péreire, Isaac* (1806-1880)—French banker, Bonapartist, deputy to the *Corps Législatif;* founded the joint-stock bank *Crédit Mobilier* together with his brother Émile (1852); author of works on credit.—248, 341

*Perponcher-Sedlnitzki, Wilhelm, Count von* (1819-1893)—Prussian diplomat; envoy to Naples in the early 1860s.—488

*Perrée, Jean Baptiste Emmanuel* (1761-1800)—French naval officer, rear admiral (1798); fought in Napoleon I's campaigns in Venice and Toulon (1796-98); commanded the French fleet in the Adriatic.—163

*Perrier, John*—Swiss radical politician, member of the Grand Council (1852, 1856-60), Fazy's supporter.—196, 199-201

*Persigny, Jean Gilbert Victor Fialin, comte* (1808-1872)—French statesman, Bonapartist, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); an organiser of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; Minister of the Interior (1852-54, 1860-63); Ambassador to London (1855-58, 1859-60).—174, 383, 447

*Persius* (*Aulus Persius Flaccus*) (34-62)—Roman satirist.—243, 245

*Peter I* (*"the Great"*) (1672-1725)—Tsar of Russia (1682-1721), Emperor of Russia (1721-25).—117, 142, 513-16

*Peter the Hermit* (c. 1050-1115)—French monk and preacher; a leader of the peasant volunteer corps in the first crusade (1096-99).—440

*Peter III* (1728-1762)—Emperor of Russia (1761-62).—518

*Petétin, Anselme* (1807-1873)—French writer; at first republican and later Bonapartist; Prefect of Savoy (1860-61).—193

*Pfuel, Ernst Heinrich Adolf von* (1779-1866)—Prussian general; Prime Minister and War Minister (September-October 1848).—256

*Philip* (1720-1765)—Duke of Parma (1748-65).—518

*Philip II* (or *Philip Augustus*) (1165-1223)—King of France (1180-1223); a leader of the third crusade (1189-91).—440

*Philip II* (1527-1598)—King of Spain (1556-98).—506, 509

*Philip III* (1578-1621)—King of Spain (1598-1621).—509, 510

*Philip IV* (1605-1665)—King of Spain (1621-65).—510

*Philip V* (1683-1746)—King of Spain (1700-24, 1724-46), Duke of Anjou.—513-15, 517

*Philippe of Orléans* (1674-1723)—Duke of Chartres; Regent of France (1715-23) during the infancy of Louis XV.—514, 515

*Philipson, Grigory Ivanovich* (1809-1883)—Russian general; fought in the war in the Caucasus (1835-49).—220-21

*Piat, Jean Pierre* (1774-1862)—French general, Bonapartist; organised and headed the Society of December 10.—34

*Pietri, Pierre Marie* (1809-1864)—French politician, Bonapartist, Prefect of the Paris police (1852-58).—49

*Pindar, Peter*—see *Wolcot, John*

*Pitt, William* (*"the Younger"*) (1759-1806)—British statesman, Tory; Prime Minister (1783-1801, 1804-06).—59, 135, 338, 521, 523

*Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham* (1708-1778)—British statesman, Whig; Foreign Secretary and Secretary of State for War (1756-61); Prime Minister (1766-68).—518

*Pius VII* (*Gregorio Luigi Barnaba Chiaramonti*) (1742-1823)—Pope (1800-23).—523, 525

*Pius IX* (*Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti*) (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—141,

154, 430, 458, 460, 485, 526-27

*Plautus, Titus* (*Titus Maccius Plautus*) (c. 254-184 B.C.)—Roman dramatist.—112

*Plümicke, F.C.*—German army officer, author of *Handbuch für die Königlich Preussischen Artillerie-Offiziere.*—65

*Poniatowski*—see *Stanislaus II*

*Pope, Alexander* (1688-1744)—English poet.—237, 247, 250, 327

*Post*—Prussian police officer.—394-95

*Pourtalès, Albert* (1812-1861)—Prussian diplomat; envoy to Constantinople (1850) and Paris (1859).—373

*Pozzo di Borgo, Karl Osipovich, Count* (1764-1842)—Russian diplomat of Corsican descent; envoy to Paris (1814-21); Ambassador to Paris (1821-35) and to London (1835-39).—145, 524, 526

*Prince of Prussia*—see *William I*

*Prince Regent*—see *William I*

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist; a founder of anarchism; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848).—90, 157

*Pückler, Erdmann, Count von* (b. 1792)—Prussian Minister of Agriculture from 1858.—397

*Pulszky, Ferenc* (1814-1897)—Hungarian politician, writer and archaeologist of Polish descent; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; emigrated after its defeat; contributed to the *New-York Daily Tribune* in the 1850s; returned to Hungary in 1867 after an amnesty; deputy to the Diet (1867-76, 1884-97).—224

*Puttkammer*—Oberpräsident of the Prussian province of Posen (1851-60).—395

*Pyat, Félix* (1810-1889)—French journalist, dramatist and politician, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1848 revolution; opposed an independent working-class movement; fought against Marx and the First International for a number of years.—395

*Pythagoras* (c. 571-c. 497 B.C.)—Greek philosopher and mathematician.—239, 295

R

*Rademacher, Johann Gottfried* (1772-1849)—German physician famous for his peculiar classification of diseases according to remedies.—33

*Radetzky, Joseph, Count of Radetz* (1766-1858)—Austrian field marshal; commanded the Austrian forces in North Italy from 1831; suppressed the national liberation movement in Italy (1848-49); Governor-General of the Kingdom of Lombardy and Venice (1850-56).—136

*Radowitz, Joseph Maria von* (1797-1853)—Prussian general and statesman; a leader of the Right wing in the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49).—251-53

*Raisin, Pierre* (1820-1870)—Swiss lawyer and politician, member of the Grand Council.—297

*Rákóczy, Ferenc* (1676-1735)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement against the Habsburgs (early 18th cent.).—225

*Rákóczy, György I* (1593-1648)—Prince of Transylvania; fought against the Habsburgs and the Ottoman Empire for the unification of all Hungarian lands; acted in league with Sweden during the Thirty Years' War.—510

*Rákóczy, György II* (1621-1660)—Prince of Transylvania (1648-60).—511

*Rákóczy, Jozsef* (1700-1738)—one of the last representatives of the ancient Hungarian family of Transylvanian princes; lived in Turkey from 1736; died during the military expedition to Moldavia.—516

*Ranickel*—German bookbinder, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to Switzerland after its defeat.—39, 40, 41, 44, 45, 55, 63, 76, 77, 78, 118, 120, 193, 205-06, 250, 299

*Raspail, François Vincent* (1794-1878)—French naturalist, sociologist and writer close to the revolutionary proletariat; took part in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1869).—69

*Raveaux, Franz* (1810-1851)—German politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848-49; imperial commissioner in Switzerland and one of the five imperial regents in June 1849; member of the Baden Provisional Government; emigrated after the revolution.—210, 253

*Rechberg and Rothenlöwen, Johann Bernhard, Count von* (1806-1899)—Austrian statesman and diplomat; Prime Minister (1859-60); Foreign Minister (1859-64).—368, 491

*Redgrave, Alexander*—English inspector of factories.—410, 414, 416

*Reh, Theodore*—German lawyer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49).—106-08

*Reichardt, Joseph Martin* (1803-1872)—German lawyer, democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly; member of the Palatinate revolutionary Provisional Government (1849); emigrated to the USA after the defeat of the revolution.—255

*Reichenbach, Georg von* (1772-1826)—Bavarian army officer and inventor.—356

*Reichenbach, Oskar, Count* (b. 1815)—Silesian landowner, democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49); emigrated to England (1850) and later to the USA.—315

*Reinach, Arnold* (c. 1820-1870)—German petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; afterwards emigrated to Switzerland.—120, 299

*Rémusat, Charles François Marie, comte de* (1797-1875)—French statesman and writer, Orleanist; Minister of the Interior (1840); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic.—56

*Repnin, Nikolai Vasilyevich, Prince* (1734-1801)—Russian military leader and diplomat; field marshal-general from 1796; took part in the Seven Years' War (1756-63); Ambassador to Poland (1763-69); fought in the Russo-Turkish wars (1768-74, 1787-91).—519

*Reshid Pasha Mustafa Mehemed* (1802-1858)—Turkish statesman; repeatedly held the posts of Grand Vizier and Foreign Minister (May 1853-May 1855, with intervals).—149, 218, 382

*Reuter, Max*—Prussian police agent in London in the early 1850s.—307

*Reuter, Paul Julius, Baron* (1816-1899)—founder of the Reuter telegraph agency in London (1851); German by birth.—277, 307

*Rewitt*—London Refugee Committee emissary to Posen.—395

*Rheinländer, Georg Friedrich*—German revolutionary, member of the Paris Outlaws' League, later refugee in London.—60, 228

*Richelieu, Armand Emmanuel du Plessis, duc de* (1766-1822)—French statesman; emigrated to Russia on the outbreak of the French Revolution; returned to France in 1813; Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1815-18, 1820-21).—143

*Richelieu, Armand Jean du Plessis, duc de* (1585-1642)—French cardinal and statesman.—510, 511

*Richelieu, Louis François Armand du Plessis, duc de* (1696-1788)—French military leader and diplomat; Marshal of France from 1748; fought in the wars of the Spanish, Polish and Austrian Succession and in the Seven Years' War.—518

*Riesser, Gabriel* (1806-1863)—German lawyer and politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (first Right Centre and then, from September 1848, Left Centre) in 1848-49.—109

*Rigolboche*—see *Badel, Marguerite.*

*Rincon, Antonio*—Italian-born French diplomat, envoy to Constantinople; assassinated in Italy on Charles V's order (1530).—506

*Rings, L.W.*—member of the Communist League; refugee in London in the early 1850s; supporter of Marx and Engels.—309

*Roesler, Gustav Adolf* (1818-1855)—

German teacher and journalist; member of the Left wing in the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49); emigrated to the USA in 1850.—98

*Rogier, Charles Latour* (1800-1885)—Belgian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1848-52).—263

*Romanoffs* (*Romanovs*)—dynasty of Russian tsars and emperors (1613-1917).—401

*Roon, Albrecht Theodor Emil, Count von* (1803-1879)—Prussian statesman and military leader; field marshal-general from 1873; War Minister (1859-73) and Naval Minister (1861-71); reorganised the Prussian army.—252

*Rosenblum, Eduard*—German student; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated after its defeat.—30-32

*Röser, Peter Gerhard* (1814-1865)—cigar-maker; prominent figure in the German working-class movement; Vice-President of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848-49); member of the Communist League; one of the accused at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); sentenced to six years' imprisonment; later sided with the Lassalleans.—309

*Rotteck, Karl Wenzeslaus Rodecker von* (1775-1840)—German historian and liberal politician.—236

*Rouher, Eugène* (1814-1884)—French statesman, Bonapartist; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; Minister of Justice (1849-52 with intervals); held a number of government posts during the Second Empire.—341

*Rousseau, Jean Jacques* (1712-1778)—French philosopher and writer of the Enlightenment.—232, 401

*Rudolph II* (1552-1612)—Holy Roman Emperor (1576-1612).—509

*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and Young Hegelian philosopher; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in England in the 1850s.—4, 87, 97-99, 308

*Russell, John Russell, Earl* (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader; Prime Minister (1846-52, 1865-66); Foreign Secretary (1852-53, 1859-65).—53, 177, 193, 194, 195, 196, 368, 373, 375, 378, 383, 439

*Ruyter* or *Ruiter, Michiel Adriaanzoon de* (1607-1676)—Dutch admiral, commander-in-chief of the fleet of the States-General of the Netherlands during the second and third Anglo-Dutch wars (1665-67, 1672-74); chief admiral-lieutenant of the Netherlands from 1673.—512

S

*Sacchi, Gaetano* (1824-1886)—Italian army officer; took part in Garibaldi's campaigns in South Italy; general from 1862.—450

*Saedt, Otto Joseph Arnold* (1816-1886)—Prussian judicial official; Public Prosecutor in Cologne from 1848; prosecutor at the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—66-67

*Šafařík, Pavel Josef* (1795-1861)—Slovak philologist, historian and archaeologist, representative of the liberal wing in the national movement.—151

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—88

*Sandford, William*—British radical parliamentary leader.—328

*Sauernheimer*—German brushmaker; refugee in Switzerland and Chairman of the German Workers' Association in Geneva in the early 1850s.—39, 44

*Saussure, Théodore de* (1824-1903)—Swiss statesman, writer and artist; leader of the opposition aristocratic party; member of the Grand Council (1854-56, 1858-72).—199

*Savoy, dynasty of*—Italian dynasty ruling in the Sardinian Kingdom (1720-1861) and in the united Italian Kingdom (1861-1946).—423

*Sazonov, Nikolai Ivanovich* (1815-1862)—Russian journalist; emigrated

in the early 1840s and contributed to various journals and newspapers.—41-42

*Schabelitz, Jacob* (1827-1899)—Swiss publisher and bookseller; member of the Fraternal Democrats society from 1846, member of the Communist League; maintained contact with Marx and Engels in the late 1840s and the early 1850s.—57, 65

*Schaible, Karl Heinrich* (1824-1899)—German physician and writer; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; afterwards emigrated to England.—130-32, 213, 267, 283, 285

*Schaller, Julien* (1807-1871)—Swiss statesman; head of the government of the Freiburg (Fribourg) Canton (1848-56).—53

*Schapper, Karl* (c. 1812-1870)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; after the revolution, a leader of the sectarian group that split away from the Communist League in 1850; later a member of the General Council of the First International.—50, 80, 266, 307

*Scherzer, Andreas* (1807-1879)—German tailor; member of one of the Paris communities, which joined the Willich-Schapper sectarian group after the split in the Communist League, one of the accused in the case of the so-called Franco-German conspiracy in Paris in February 1852; subsequently emigrated to England and became a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, publisher of *Die Neue Zeit* and contributor to *Das Volk*.—117, 118, 316, 317

*Schiess, Johann Ulrich* (1813-1883)—Swiss politician and diplomat, Chancellor of the Confederation (1848-81).—179, 193

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—8, 35, 39, 40, 48, 65, 71, 101, 187, 192, 258

*Schily, Victor* (1810-1875)—German lawyer, democrat; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to France; member of the First International.—39-46, 51, 76, 77, 101, 296-301

*Schimmelpfennig, Alexander* (1824-1865)—Prussian army officer, democrat; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to the USA; adhered to the Willich-Schapper sectarian group; fought in the American Civil War on the side of the Union.—75-76, 84-88, 91, 93, 97, 99

*Schleinitz, Alexander Gustav Adolf, Baron von* (1807-1885)—Prussian statesman, Foreign Minister (June 1848, 1849-50, 1858-61).—248, 368, 375, 376-79, 382, 383, 398, 489, 491

*Schlickmann*—Prussian judicial official.—294, 295

*Schlöffel, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1800-1870)—Silesian factory owner, democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—107

*Schlöffel, Gustav Adolph* (c. 1828-1849)—German student and journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany and Hungary; correspondent of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in the Frankfurt National Assembly.—102, 105, 107

*Schmerling, Anton von* (1805-1893)—Austrian statesman, liberal; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848-49; Minister of the Interior (July-September 1848), Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (September 1848).—254, 501

*Schneider II, Karl*—German lawyer, democrat; President of the Cologne Democratic Society and member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats; defended Marx and Engels at the trial of the *Neue Rheinische*

*Zeitung* on February 7, 1849; counsel for the defence at the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—57, 262, 267

*Schramm, Konrad* (c. 1822-1858)—German proletarian revolutionary, member of the Communist League; emigrated to London in 1849; responsible editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and *Politisch-ökonomische Revue;* friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—83-86, 285

*Schulenburg, Friedrich Wilhelm, Count von der* (1742-1815)—Prussian statesman, Governor of Berlin (1806).—67

*Schüler, Ernst* (1807-1881)—German politician and writer, democrat; emigrated to Switzerland in 1833 and became a teacher; published the newspaper *Schweizer Handels-Courier* from 1853; disseminated Bonapartist ideas in the 1850s and 1860s.—119

*Schüler, Friedrich* (1791-1873)—deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848); elected one of the five Imperial Regents in June 1849; emigrated after the suppression of the Baden-Palatinate uprising.—210

*Schultze*—Prussian judicial official.—283, 290, 291

*Schurz, Karl* (1829-1906)—German petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to Switzerland; later US statesman.—87, 88, 97, 99

*Schwarck*—Chief Public Prosecutor of the Prussian Court of Appeal.—19, 268-69

*Schwarzenberg, Felix Ludwig Johann Friedrich, Prince zu* (1800-1852)—Austrian conservative statesman and diplomat; envoy to Turin (1838-46) and to Naples (1846-48); after the suppression of the Vienna uprising in October 1848 Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (November 1848-1852).—379

*Schwerin, Maximilian Heinrich Karl, Count* (1804-1872)—Prussian statesman, Minister of Religious Worship, Public Education and Medicine (March-June 1848); deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing); Minister of the Interior (1859-62); National-Liberal.—238, 395

*Scitovszky, János* (b. 1785)—Primate of Hungary.—501

*Scott, Sir Walter* (1771-1832)—Scottish poet and novelist.—97

*Seckendorf, August Heinrich Eduard Friedrich, Baron von* (1807-1885)—Prussian legal official; member of the Second Chamber (Centre) in 1849; public prosecutor at the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—309

*Seidensticker, Georg Friedrich Karl Theodor* (1797-1862)—German lawyer and politician; sentenced to imprisonment for participation in the 1831 Göttingen riot; emigrated to the USA in 1845 and became a journalist there.—97

*Semrau, August* (1816-1893)—German journalist and poet.—238

*Seneca, Lucius Annaeus* (c. 4 B.C.-A.D. 65)—Roman stoic philosopher.—299

*Sepher Pasha*—Circassian prince; served the Turks and took part in the Russo-Turkish war (1826-28); directed the Circassians' military operations against Russia (1855-59).—219

*Sforza*—see *Francesco II Sforza*

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English dramatist and poet.—29, 35, 38, 40, 46, 47, 48, 55, 59, 116, 128, 190, 244-45, 378

*Sigel, Albert* (1827-1884)—Baden army officer, journalist; took part in the Baden revolutionary movement (1848-49); emigrated to the USA in 1853; fought in the American Civil War on the side of the Union.—96, 97

*Sigel, Franz* (1824-1902)—Baden army officer, democrat, one of the military leaders of the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; refugee in Switzerland, England and (from 1852) in the USA; fought in the American Civil War on the side of the Union.—96, 97

*Simon, Édouard* (1824-1897)—Berlin-born French journalist, Bonapartist spy.—42, 93-94, 112-13, 206-11, 236, 240, 245

*Simon, Heinrich* (1805-1860)—German liberal, counsellor-at-law in Breslau (Wrocław); dismissed for his oppositional views in the 1840s; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848); elected one of the five Imperial Regents (June 1849); subsequently emigrated to Switzerland.—210

*Simon, Ludwig* (1810-1872)—German lawyer, democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; emigrated to Switzerland in 1849; lived in Paris in 1855-70.—101, 208, 329

*Solyman* (or *Soliman*) *I* (*"the Magnificent"*) (c. 1496-1566)—Ottoman Sultan (1520-66).—505, 506

*Sommer*—Prussian police agent in Paris in the early 1850s.—56, 307

*Sophia* (*Sophie*) (1805-1872)—Archduchess of Austria, mother of Emperor Francis Joseph I.—222, 243

*Soubise, Charles de Rohan, prince de* (1715-1787)—Marshal of France, favourite of Louis XV, participant in the Seven Years' War (1756-63).—518

*Soulouque, Faustin* (c. 1782-1867)—President of the Republic of Haiti (1849-59); proclaimed himself Emperor Faustin I in 1849.—36

*Stahl, Friedrich Julius* (1802-1861)—German lawyer, philosopher and reactionary politician; became professor of Berlin University in 1840.—247

*Stämpfli, Jakob* (1820-1879)—Swiss politician and statesman, radical; deputy to the National Council for the Berne Canton (1848-54); President of the Swiss Confederation (1856, 1859, 1862).—53, 179, 192, 193, 202-03

*Stanbury*—owner of a printshop in London.—308

*Stanislaus I* (*Leszczynski*) (1677-1766)—King of Poland (1704-11, 1733-34).—516

*Stanislaus II* (*Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski*) (1732-1798)—King of Poland as Stanislaus II Augustus (1764-95).—519

*Stecher, H. C.*—former headmaster of a secondary school in Baden; emigrated after the defeat of the revolution; engaged in lithography.—62, 63,. 304

*Steffen, Wilhelm*—former Prussian army officer, witness for the defence at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); emigrated to England in 1853 and afterwards to the USA; closely associated with Marx and Engels in the 1850s.—86, 87

*Stein, Julius* (1813-1889)—Silesian teacher and journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; deputy to the Second Chamber (extreme Left wing) in 1849.—237, 238

*Stein, Maximilian, Baron* (1811-1860)—Austrian army officer; chief of staff of the revolutionary army during the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; afterwards emigrated to Turkey and assumed the name of Ferhad Pasha; fought in the Caucasus against Russia (1857-58).—220

*Stenzel, Gustav Adolf*—deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly for Breslau (Silesia) in 1849.—106

*Sterne, Laurence* (1713-1768)—British novelist.—245

*Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882)—Prussian police officer, one of the organisers of the Cologne Communist trial (1852) and principal witness for the prosecution; collaborated with Wermuth on the book *Die Kommunisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*; chief of the Prussian political police (1850-60).—52, 55-56, 57, 58, 59, 65, 66, 67, 74, 77, 288, 305, 306, 307, 309, 310-11, 312, 369

*Stolzenberg*—Prussian police officer.—395

*Strabo* (63 B.C.-A.D. c. 20)—Greek geographer and historian.—440

*Strafford, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of* (1593-1641)—English statesman; principal minister to Charles I from 1628; advocate of absolutism.—495

*Stratford de Redcliffe, Stratford Canning, Viscount* (1786-1880)—British diplomat, envoy to Constantinople

(1810-12, 1825-28, 1841-58).—429
*Struve, Amalie* (d. 1862)—wife of Gustav Struve; took part in the democratic movement in Germany in 1848-49.—232
*Struve, Gustav von* (1805-1870)—German journalist, democrat; a leader of the Baden uprisings in April and September 1848, of the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849 and later of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in England; fought in the American Civil War on the side of the Union.—32, 33, 51, 53, 232
*Stuarts* (also *Steuarts, Stewarts*)—royal dynasty in Scotland from 1371 and England (1603-49 and 1660-1714).—514, 518
*Sue, Eugène Marie Joseph* (1804-1857)—French writer, author of sentimental novels dealing with social problems.—306
*Sulla* (*Lucius Cornelius Sulla*) (138-78 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman; consul (88 B.C.); dictator (82-79 B.C.).—339
*Suvorov, Alexander Arkadyevich, Count Suvorov Rimniksky, Prince Italysky* (1804-1882)—Russian military leader and statesman; fought in the Russo-Turkish wars (1826-28, 1828-29); took part in the suppression of the 1830-31 uprising in Poland; Governor-General of the Baltic provinces (1848-61).—384
*Suvorov, Alexander Vasilyevich, Count Suvorov Rimniksky, Prince Italysky* (1729-1800)—Russian field marshal—521
*Szabó, Imre von* (1820-1865)—Hungarian army officer; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; member of the first Hungarian revolutionary government (March-September 1848) and deputy to the State Assembly in Debrecen (1849); after the defeat of the revolution, emigrated to Paris and later to London.—505
*Széchen, Antal, Count* (1819-1896)—Hungarian statesman, conservative; supported the Austrian monarchy during the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; took part in elaborating the 1860 October diploma.—501
*Szemere, Bartholomäus* (*Bertalan*) (1812-1869)—Hungarian politician and writer; Minister of the Interior and head of the revolutionary government (1849); emigrated after the defeat of the revolution.—43, 149, 219, 224, 225, 328, 501
*Szirmay, Pál, Count* (1804-1883)—Hungarian politician; member of the Chamber of Deputies (1848); after the defeat of the revolution refugee and Lajos Kossuth's emissary in Paris; was amnestied in 1855 and returned to Hungary.—217

T

*Tacitus, Publius Cornelius* (c. 55-c. 120)—Roman historian and orator.—156, 285, 300
*Tamisier, François Laurent Alphonse* (1809-1880)—French army officer, military inventor and politician.—357
*Tausenau, Karl* (1808-1873)—Austrian politician, democrat; head of the Central Committee of the Vienna Democratic Societies during the 1848 revolution; emigrated to London in 1849.—97-98
*Taylor, Tom* (1817-1880)—English dramatist and journalist; contributed to several periodicals.—404, 437
*Techow, Gustav Adolf* (1813-1893)—Prussian army officer, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1848 revolutionary events in Berlin; Chief of the General Staff of the Palatinate revolutionary army; emigrated to Switzerland after the defeat of the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising and became a leader of the refugee organisation Revolutionary Centralisation; left for Australia in 1852.—75-77, 83-86, 88-99, 241, 260-61, 283, 285, 287, 291
*Teleki, László* (*Ladislaus*), *Count* (1811-1861)—Hungarian politician and

writer; represented the Hungarian Republic in France during the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; remained in France after the defeat of the revolution.—221

*Temme, Jodocus Donatus Hubertus* (1798-1881)—German lawyer, democrat; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1849.—256

*Thouvenel, Édouard Antoine* (1818-1866)—French statesman and diplomat, Bonapartist; envoy to Athens (1848-50) and to Munich (1850-51); Ambassador to Constantinople (1855-60); Foreign Minister (1852, 1860-62).—175, 194-96, 197, 399

*Totti*—Bonapartist police spy, Corsican by birth.—421, 422, 424, 490

*Tourte, Abraham Louis* (1818-1863)—Swiss statesman and diplomat, envoy to Turin from 1860.—53-54, 235, 297, 298, 299

*Treuille de Beaulieu, Antoine Hector Thésee, baron* (1809-1886)—French general, military inventor.—357

*Trog, Johann von Olten* (1807-1867)—Swiss lawyer; deputy to the National Council for Solothurn Canton (1848-57); Federal Commissar (1852-56).—232, 297, 302

*Tromp, Cornelis* (1629-1691)—Dutch admiral; fought in the second and third Anglo-Dutch wars (1665-67, 1672-74); commander-in-chief of the Dutch fleet from 1676.—512

*Tucker*—London publisher.—116

*Turenne, Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de* (1611-1675)—French general, Marshal of France from 1643; commander-in-chief of the French army in Germany during the Thirty Years' War (1618-48); fought in the wars of the Fronde and in the Devolution War (1667-68); author of memoirs.—510, 512

*Türr, István (Achmed Kiamil Bey)* (1825-1908)—Hungarian army officer; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Italy and Germany; emigrated to Turkey; fought in the Crimean war on the side of the Allies; joined Garibaldi's revolutionary campaign in South Italy (1860); general of the Italian army from 1861.—219, 473, 490, 491

*Tzschirner, Samuel Erdmann* (c. 1812-1870)—German lawyer; leader of the extreme Left in the Saxon Diet during the 1848-49 revolution; one of the leaders of the May 1849 uprising in Dresden; participant in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to Switzerland after the defeat of the revolution and became a member of the Central Committee of the refugee organisation Revolutionary Centralisation; later emigrated to England.—94

U

*Uhland, Ludwig* (1787-1862)—German romantic poet; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848-49.—106-08, 392

*Ulloa, Girolamo* (1810-1891)—Neapolitan general; took part in the national liberation and revolutionary movements in Italy in 1848-49; emigrated to France after the defeat of the revolution; commanded the Tuscan army in the Austro-Italo-French war of 1859.—40

*Ulmer, Johann*—member of the Communist League; refugee in London in the early 1850s; supported Marx and Engels during the split in the Communist League.—309

*Ulpianus (Ulpian), Domitius* (c. 170-228)—Roman lawyer and statesman.—293

*Ulrich* (1487-1550)—Duke of Württemberg from 1498; expelled in 1519; tried to use the peasant movement of 1525 to restore his power; re-established himself on the Württemberg throne in 1534.—204

*Urquhart, David* (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician, Turkophile; went on diplomatic missions to Turkey in the 1830s; Tory M.P. (1847-52); opposed Palmerston's

policy; founder and editor of *The Free Press* (1855-77), which appeared under the heading *Diplomatic Review* from 1866.—5-6, 8, 116, 118, 148, 150, 214-18

V

*Varnhagen von Ense, Karl August* (1785-1858)—German novelist and literary critic of a liberal trend.—369

*Varus, Publius Quintilius* (d. A.D. 9)—Roman politician and general; ruled Germania (6-9); killed in battle in the Teutoburger Wald during the uprising of the German tribes.—251

*Vay, Miklos, Baron* (1802-1894)—Hungarian statesman, conservative; government commissioner in Transylvania (1848); pursued the policy of compromise with the Austrian monarchy.—501

*Vegezzi-Ruscalla, Giovenale*—Italian writer of the midnineteenth century, author of the pamphlet *La nazionalità di Nizza*.—198

*Venedey, Jakob* (1805-1871)—German radical journalist; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; liberal after the 1848-49 revolution.—69, 103, 109, 120, 251

*Véron, Louis Désiré* (1798-1867)—French journalist and politician, Orleanist till 1848 and afterwards Bonapartist; owner and publisher of *Le Constitutionnel* (1844-52).—36

*Vespasian* (*Titus Flavius Sabinus Vespasianus*) (9-79)—Roman Emperor (69-79).—249

*Viale*—Neapolitan general; fought against Garibaldi's revolutionary detachments in South Italy in 1860.—474, 478

*Victor Amadeus I* (1587-1637)—Duke of Savoy from 1630.—510

*Victor Amadeus II* (1666-1732)—Duke of Savoy (1675-1730); King of Sicily (1713-18); first King of Sardinia (1720-30).—513-14

*Victor Emmanuel II* (1820-1878)—Duke of Savoy; King of Sardinia (1848-61); King of Italy (1861-78).—173-74, 200, 212, 382, 392, 399

*Victoria* (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901).—335, 399

*Vidocq, François Eugène* (1775-1857)—French secret police agent; chief of the secret criminal police (*La Sûreté*) (1812-27); his name was used to denote any cunning sleuth and rogue.—395

*Villars, Claude Louis Hector, prince de Martignes* (1653-1734)—French general, Marshal of France from 1702; fought in the wars of the Spanish (1701-14) and the Polish (1733-36) Succession.—516

*Vincenzo II Gonzaga* (1594-1627)—the last of the Gonzaga dukes of Mantua (1626-27); cardinal from 1615.—510

*Vincke, Georg Ernst Friedrich, Baron von* (1811-1875)—Prussian politician; a leader of the Right wing in the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49); deputy to the Second Chamber (Right wing) in 1849; elected to the Chamber of Deputies of the Prussian Diet in the 1850s and 1860s; moderate liberal.—61, 102, 250-58, 393

*Virgil* (*Publius Vergilius Maro*) (70-19 B.C.)—Roman poet.—46, 78, 239, 282, 303

*Visconti, Valentina* (1366-1408)—Duchess, grandmother of Louis XII, came from a noble Milan family.—505

*Vladimirescu, Tudor* (c. 1780-1821)—leader of the 1821 Wallachian popular uprising against rich landowners and the Turkish yoke.—143

*Vögele, A.*—German refugee in London, compositor in Hollinger's printshop in 1859.—3, 10, 11, 119, 123-31, 267, 275, 276, 283-85, 319-20

*Vogt, Adolf* (b. 1823)—Swiss doctor, Karl Vogt's brother.—203

*Vogt, Emil* (1820-1883)—Swiss lawyer, Karl Vogt's brother.—203

*Vogt, Gustav* (1829-1901)—Swiss lawyer, writer and radical politician; director of the statistical bureau

(1860-62); Karl Vogt's brother.—201, 203

*Vogt, Karl* (1817-1895)—German naturalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five Imperial Regents in June 1849; emigrated in 1849; subsequently was subsidised by Napoleon III; slandered Marx and Engels.—4, 9, 10, 11, 25-29, 32, 33, 38, 39, 40-49, 51, 52, 53-78, 86, 100, 102, 103-05, 108, 122, 123-30, 131-42, 145, 147, 148-51, 154-56, 159, 161, 163, 165, 166-67, 170-83, 184-88, 189-93, 195-98, 200-01, 203-06, 208, 212, 214, 225, 228, 235, 238-42, 246, 250-52, 258-61, 264-69, 273-84, 299-302, 304, 313, 316, 317, 318, 327, 328, 329

*Vogt, Philipp Friedrich Wilhelm* (1786-1861)—German doctor; lived in Switzerland from the early 1830s; professor of medicine in the Berne Higher School from 1835; an adherent of the liberals; Karl Vogt's father.—64, 203

W

*Wahrendorff, Martin, Baron von* (1789-1861)—Swedish manufacturer and military inventor.—357

*Walewski, Alexandre Florian Joseph Colonna, comte* (1810-1868)—French diplomat and statesman, son of Napoleon I and the Polish Countess Marie Walewska; took part in the 1830-31 Polish insurrection; emigrated to France after its defeat; French Foreign Minister (1855-60).—193

*Wallenstein, Albrecht Wenzel Eusebius von, Duke of Friedland and Mecklenburg, Prince of Sagan* (1583-1634)—general of the Holy Roman Empire, commander-in-chief during the Thirty Years' War (1618-48); Bohemian by birth.—510

*Walther von der Vogelweide* (c. 1170-c. 1230)—German minnesinger.—108

*Wanner*—Swiss consul in Le Havre.—300

*Warren, Sir Peter* (1703-1752)—British admiral of Irish descent; fought in the war of the Austrian Succession (1740-48); M.P.—517

*Warwick, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury ("the Kingmaker")* (1428-1471)—English feudal lord; fought in the Wars of the Roses (1455-85).—256

*Weber*—Prussian lawyer, Marx's counsel in the trial against the Berlin *National-Zeitung* in 1860.—19, 25, 261, 262, 264, 268, 283, 293-95

*Weerth, Georg Ludwig* (1822-1856)—German poet and journalist, member of the Communist League, a founder of proletarian poetry in Germany; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49.—320

*Weitling, Wilhelm Christian* (1808-1871)—German tailor; one of the early leaders of the working-class movement in Germany and a theoretician of utopian egalitarian communism.—79

*Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of* (1769-1852)—British general and statesman, Tory; Prime Minister (1828-30), Foreign Secretary (1834-35).—352

*Wermuth*—police director in Hanover; an organiser of and witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); collaborated with Stieber on the book *Die Kommunisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*.—58

*Wesendonck, Hugo*—Düsseldorf lawyer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; deputy to the Second Chamber (extreme Left wing) in 1849.—106

*Westphalen, Ferdinand Otto Wilhelm Henning von* (1799-1876)—Prussian statesman; Minister of the Interior (1850-58); stepbrother of Jenny Marx, Karl Marx's wife.—73

*Weydemeyer, Joseph* (1818-1866)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement;

"true socialist" in 1846-47; adopted scientific communism under the influence of Marx and Engels and became a member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; editor of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* (1849-50); emigrated to the USA after the defeat of the revolution.—96, 313

*Whitworth, Sir Joseph, Baronet* (1803-1887)—English manufacturer and military inventor.—361-65

*Wiehe, Johann Friedrich*—German refugee in London, compositor, worked in Hollinger's printshop in 1859.—11, 17, 126, 128-30, 275, 318-20

*William I* (1781-1864)—King of Württemberg (1816-64).—398

*William I* (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia; Prince Regent (1858-61); King of Prussia (1861-88); Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—168, 191, 239, 314, 367, 368, 377-79, 382-84, 397-400, 430, 431, 488, 489, 493, 495, 496

*William III* (1650-1702)—Stadtholder of the Netherlands (1672-1702); King of Great Britain and Ireland (1689-1702).—513-14

*William Augustus* (1721-1765)—Duke of Cumberland, British general; son of George II; commanded the British army at the beginning of the Seven Years' War of 1756-63.—518

*Willich, August* (1810-1878)—Prussian army officer who left the service on political grounds; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; one of the leaders of the sectarian group that broke away from the Communist League in 1850; emigrated to the USA in 1853; fought in the American Civil War on the side of the Union.—33, 40, 45, 50, 65, 82, 83, 84, 89, 241, 260, 266, 305, 307, 310

*Wilson, James* (1805-1860)—Scottish economist and politician, Free Trader; founder and editor of *The Economist;* M.P. (1847-59); Financial Secretary of the Treasury (1853-58) Vice-President of the Board of Trade.—160

*Windischgrätz, Alfred Candidus Ferdinand, Prince zu* (1787-1862)—Austrian field marshal; suppressed the uprisings in Prague and Vienna in 1848; led the Austrian army against the Hungarian revolution in 1848-49.—82, 242

*Winkelried, Arnold von* (d. 1386)—semi-legendary hero of the Swiss war of liberation against the Habsburgs; legend has it that he sacrificed his life to secure victory over Duke Leopold III of Austria in the battle of Sempach on June 9, 1386.—198

*Wittig, E. L.*—German journalist, editor of the *Dresdner Zeitung.*—306, 311

*Wolcot, John* (pseudonym *Peter Pindar*) (1738-1819)—English satirical poet.—99

*Wolfe, James* (1727-1759)—British general; fought in Canada during the Seven Years' War of 1756-63.—518

*Wolff, Bernhard (Benda)* (1811-1879)—German journalist; owner of the Berlin newspaper *National-Zeitung* from 1848; founder of the first telegraph agency in Germany (1849).—276

*Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus)* (1809-1864)—German teacher, proletarian revolutionary, prominent figure in the Communist League; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49); emigrated to England in 1851; associate of Marx and Engels.—54, 72, 73, 79, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 115, 119, 276, 286, 288

*Wolfram von Eschenbach* (c. 1170-c. 1220)—German poet, author of *Parzival,* a poem of chivalry.—213

*Wood, Sir Charles, Viscount Halifax* (1800-1885)—British statesman, Whig; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1846-52); President of the Board of Control of Indian Affairs (1852-55); First Lord of the Admiralty (1855-58); Secretary of State for India (1859-66).—446, 456

*Wrangel, Friedrich Heinrich Ernst, Count von* (1784-1877)—Prussian general; took part in the counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Berlin and in the dissolution of the Prussian National Assembly in November 1848.—255

*Würth*—German politician, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly.—109

*Wyss*—barrister in Berne in the 1850s.—300, 301

Y

*Ypsilanti, Alexander* (1792-1828)—prominent figure in the Greek national liberation movement; major-general of the Russian army, participant in the 1812 war; raised a revolt in Moldavia (1821); fled to Austria after its defeat, was arrested and kept in prison up to 1827; released as a result of Russia's intercession.—143, 526

Z

*Zabel, Friedrich* (1802-1875)—German liberal journalist, editor of the Berlin *National-Zeitung* (1848-75).—19, 20, 236, 246-47, 259-79, 281-95, 308, 324, 327

*Zachariä, Heinrich Albert* (1806-1875)—German lawyer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848-49.—103, 108

*Zápolya, Janos* (*Johann*) (1487-1540)—Transylvanian voivode; suppressed the 1514 peasant uprising in Hungary; King of Hungary (1526-40).—506

*Zerfy, Gustav* (real name *Hirsch*) (born c. 1820)—Hungarian journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; emigrated to Paris in 1852 and to London in early 1853; maintained contact with Marx in the early 1850s; later supported Kinkel.—219

*Zimmermann, Ernst Wilhelm Eduard* (1807-1878)—German historian, democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing).—103, 109

*Zitz, Franz Heinrich* (1803-1877)—German lawyer, democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to the USA.—98

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*Abigail* (Bib.).—247

*Aeolus* (Gr. Myth.)—the god of the winds; hence Aeolian harp—stringed instrument producing musical sounds on exposure to wind.—225

*Ahasuerus* or *The Wandering Jew*—the subject of a medieval legend, condemned to wander until the Day of Judgment for having mocked Christ on the day of Crucifixion.—376

*Aladdin*—a character in the *Arabian Nights*, owner of a magic lamp.—467

*Argonauts* (Gr. Myth.)—heroes who sailed with Jason, on the ship *Argo*, to Colchis for the golden fleece, which was guarded by a dragon. The poet and musician Orpheus participated in this feat, which was described in the 3rd century B.C. by Apollonius of Rhodes in his poem *Argonautica*.—199-201

*Bacchus* (*Dionysus*)—the Greek and Roman god of wine and mirth.—190, 205

*Beisele*—see *Eisele*

*Bottom*—a character in Shakespeare's comedy *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.—35

*Cain* (Bib.)—the eldest son of Adam, who killed his brother Abel out of jealousy.—247

*Cassandra* (Gr. Myth.)—a daughter of Priam, King of Troy, endowed with the gift of prophecy.—470
*Ceres* (Rom. Myth.)—see *Demeter*
*Cipriano*—a character in Calderón's play *El Mágico prodigioso,* an image close to Faust.—251
*Clarin*—a character in Calderón's play *El Mágico prodigioso.*—28
*Crevel*—a character in Balzac's novel *La Cousine Bette,* a parvenu, money-grubber and profligate.—36

*Demeter* (Gr. Myth.)—goddess of agriculture, fertility and marriage.—370
*Don Quixote*—the title character in Cervantes' novel.—190
*Dunce I* and *Dunce II*—characters in Alexander Pope's poem *The Dunciad.*—237, 275

*Egeria* (Rom. Myth.)—a prophetic nymph.—189, 197, 198
*Eisele* and *Beisele*—main characters in an anonymously published satirical pamphlet by J. W. Christern *Doctor Eisele's und Baron von Beisele's Landtagsreise im April 1847.*—131, 274

*Falstaff, Sir John*—a fat, merry, ribald and boastful knight in Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor* and *King Henry IV.*—29, 33, 38, 40, 46, 48, 57, 59, 69, 70, 74, 101, 148, 197, 203, 251, 258
*Faunus* (Rom. Myth.)—the god of nature and fertility, worshipped by shepherds and farmers.—257
*Faust*—the title character of Goethe's tragedy.—71, 251
*Fleur de Marie*—the heroine of Eugène Sue's novel *Les Mystères de Paris,* a girl who grows up amidst criminals but preserves her natural nobility and purity of soul. The author gave her the name of a lily that grows in swamps but has snow-white petals.—306

*George, Saint*—the mythological dragon slayer.—255

*Gorgellantua*—the main character in Johann Fischart's adaptation of Rabelais' *Gargantua et Pantagruel.*—33
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*Hamlet*—the title character of Shakespeare's tragedy.—116, 190, 245
*Harlequin*—a character in the commedia dell'arte, a servant in love who often finds himself in a tight corner but knows how to get out of it.—102, 103, 251
*Henry IV*—the title character of Shakespeare's drama.—49, 55, 74
*Henry Percy* (called *Hotspur*)—a character in Shakespeare's drama *King Henry IV,* a gay, jesting, fiery-tempered soldier.—86
*Hesperides* (Gr. Myth.)—nymphs, daughters of Hesperus, who watched with a dragon over the garden of golden apples in the Isles of the Blest.—443
*Hudibras*—the title character of Samuel Butler's satirical poem, a man inclined to meaningless arguments and debates and capable of proving the most absurd propositions by means of syllogisms.—190

*Iphigenia* (Gr. Myth.)—the daughter of Clytemnestra and Agamemnon, offered as a sacrifice to Artemis to enable the Greek fleet to sail to Troy; title character of Euripides' tragedy.—212

*Janus* (Rom. Myth.)—god represented with two faces looking in opposite directions.—190
*Jaromir*—the main character in Grillparzer's tragedy *Die Ahnfrau.*—120
*Jeremiah*—a prophet who bewails the destruction of Jerusalem.—105
*John*—see *Falstaff*
*John Bull*—the title character in John Arbuthnot's book *The History of John Bull* (18th cent.). His name is often

used to personify England.—344, 439
*Jupiter* (*Jove*)—the supreme god of the Romans, corresponding to the Greek Zeus.—244

*Kobes I*—the title hero of Heinrich Heine's satirical poem; Jakob Venedey's nickname.—69, 109
*Künigunde* (*Cunégonde*)—the heroine of Voltaire's philosophical novel *Candide*.—208, 329

*Lazarillo*—the hero of the anonymous Spanish story, *Lazarillo de Tormes* (mid-16th cent.), a smart fellow.—183
*Leporello*—a character in Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni*, Don Juan's servant.—40, 199

*Mephistopheles*—the Devil in Goethe's tragedy *Faust*.—227
*Moscon*—a character in Calderón's play *El Mágico prodigioso*.—251
*Moses* (Bib.).—245, 247
*Munchausen*—an extravagantly mendacious story-teller.—309

*Oedipus* (Gr. Myth.)—the King of Thebes, who solved the riddle of the Sphinx and saved Thebes from the monster; hero of Sophocles' tragedy *Oedipus Rex*.—199
*Ophelia*—a character in Shakespeare's tragedy *Hamlet*.—245
*Orlando*—the hero of Boiardo's poem *Orlando innamorato* and Ariosto's *L'Orlando furioso*.—313
*Orpheus* (Gr. Myth.)—the Thracian poet and musician whose singing tamed wild beasts and even charmed stones; took part in the Argonauts' expedition in quest of the golden fleece.—199

*Pantaloon* (Ital. *Pantalone*)—a character in the commedia dell'arte; a rich but miserly Venetian merchant, a foolish old man.—251
*Parolles*—a character in Shakespeare's comedy *All's Well That Ends Well*.—40
*Paul* (Bib.)—one of Christ's twelve apostles, originally called "Saul of Tarsus".—77
*Pecksniff*—a character in Charles Dickens' novel *Martin Chuzzlewit*, an unctuous hypocrite talking much of benevolence and other kindly virtues.—174
*Polonius*—a character in Shakespeare's tragedy *Hamlet*, a garrulous courtier.—66, 177
*Polyphemus* (Gr. Myth.)—a Cyclops who lived in a Sicilian cavern and devoured human beings.—370
*Posa, Marquis*—a character in Schiller's tragedy *Don Carlos*, a noble-minded and freethinking courtier who tried to influence the despotic king.—188
*Prometheus* (Gr. Myth.)—a Titan who stole fire from the gods and gave it to men; was chained by Zeus to a rock. The main character of Aeschylus' tragedy *Prometheus Bound*.—299
*Prudhomme, Joseph*—a character of a complacent and narrow-minded philistine created by Henri Monnier.—206
*Puck* (*Robin Goodfellow*)—a character in Shakespeare's play *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.—341
*Punch*—the principal character in the English comic puppet-show *Punch and Judy*, a quarrelsome hook-nosed humpback.—239
*Punchinello*—a character in the commedia dell'arte, a short, stout buffoon.—102

*Quasimodo*—a character in Hugo's novel *Notre Dame de Paris*; his name came to personify ugliness.—210, 221

*Richmond*—a character in Shakespeare's drama *King Richard III*.—39

*Schufterle* and *Spiegelberg*—characters in Schiller's drama *Die Räuber*, robbers and murderers lacking any moral principles.—35
*Sikes, Bill*—a character in Charles Dick-

ens' novel *Oliver Twist*, a burglar.—70

*Silenus* (Gr. Myth.)—one of Bacchus' attendants.—47, 74, 205

*Sirens* (Gr. Myth.)—half women and half birds, living on a rocky isle to which they lured unwary seafarers with enchanting music.—173

*Slawkenbergius*—a character in Laurence Sterne's novel *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gent.*, a stranger who perturbed whole towns by the length of his nose.—245

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*Deutsche Wehrzeitung Militärische Wochenschrift herausgegeben von einer Gesellschaft deutscher Offiziere und Militär Beamten*—a conservative military paper published in Berlin twice weekly from 1848 to 1850.—60

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*The Economist. Weekly Commercial Times, Bankers' Gazette, and Railway Monitor: a Political, Literary, and General Newspaper*—a journal published in London since 1843, organ of the big industrial bourgeoisie.—160, 342, 343, 406, 409, 447, 453, 455, 461, 463, 466, 479-81, 497

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*Der Freischütz*—a German newspaper on literature and art, published in Hamburg from 1825 to 1878.—4, 18, 240-42

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*Journal de Constantinople*—a Turkish newspaper published in French from 1848. Subsidised by the Turkish Government as an official organ, it was actually a vehicle for French influence; appeared 6 times a month.—220

*Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*—a French daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1944; after the 1851 coup d'état, an organ of the moderate Orleanist opposition.—207

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*Journal du tir fédéral*—a Swiss newspaper published by the Shooting Society in French and German.—298

*Kladderadatsch*—an illustrated satirical weekly of liberal and, later, nationalist-liberal trend, published in Berlin from 1848.—239, 290

*Kölnische Zeitung*—a German daily published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; during the 1848-49 revolution and the subsequent period of political reaction, it represented the interests of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie.—5, 17, 56, 127, 128, 242, 243, 248, 306, 311, 321

*Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*—a German moderate liberal newspaper published from 1785; known also as *Vossische Zeitung* after its owner Christian Friedrich Voss.—65, 378, 383

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*Lithographierte Correspondenz*—a German-language daily published in Paris from 1845 to 1849.—186

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*Le Moniteur universel*—a daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1901; appeared under this title after 1811; from 1799 to 1868—an official government publication.—134, 154, 159-62, 183, 195, 325, 330, 431, 455, 465

*Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser*—a German literary daily published in Stuttgart and Tübingen from 1807 to 1865; carried a number of reports by Engels in 1840-41.—113

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*Neue Deutsche Zeitung*—a democratic daily published in Darmstadt from July 1, 1848 to April 1, 1849 and in Frankfurt am Main until it was suppressed on December 14, 1850. One of its editors was Joseph Weydemeyer, a member of the Communist League.—96

*Neue Hannoversche Zeitung*—a German conservative monarchist daily published from 1857 to 1883.—274

*Neue Oder-Zeitung*—a German daily published under this title in Breslau (Wrocław) from 1849 to 1855; in the 1850s it was the most radical of German papers and was persecuted by the Government authorities; in 1855 Marx was its London correspondent.—238, 263

*Neue Preussische Zeitung*—a conservative daily published in Berlin from June 1848 to 1939; mouthpiece of the Prussian junkers and Court circles; known also as the *Kreuz-Zeitung*, because its heading included a cross bearing the motto "Forward with God for King and Fatherland!"—73, 257

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a German daily newspaper, organ of the revolutionary proletarian democrats during the German revolution of 1848-49; published in Cologne under Marx's editorship from June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849 (with an interval from September 27 to October 12, 1848).—29, 41, 55, 73, 102, 103, 104-05, 106, 155, 236, 237, 238, 242, 250, 251, 260, 264, 272, 276, 281, 288, 291, 321

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*—a theoretical and political journal published by Marx and Engels from December 1849 to November 1850 as the organ of the Communist League after the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* which they published in Cologne during the 1848-49 revolution.—81, 90-92, 96, 101, 109, 115

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*Neue Zeit*—a German petty-bourgeois weekly published in New York from 1855 to 1857.—85

*Die Neue Zeit*—the organ of the German refugees published in London between June 1858 and April 1859.—85, 117

*Neue Zürcher-Zeitung*—a Swiss liberal newspaper first published in 1780; in the 1850-60s, expressed Bonapartist views.—198

*New-York Daily Tribune*—a daily published from 1841 to 1924; spoke for the Left wing of the American Whigs until the mid-1850s and subsequently for the Republican Party, held progressive views and denounced slavery. Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862. The newspaper brought out a number of special issues including the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* and the *New-York Weekly Tribune*.—4, 5, 114, 116, 153, 217, 220, 223, 265, 323-24, 407, 409, 421, 479

*New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*—a special issue of the *New-York Daily Tribune*, appearing on Tuesdays and Fridays.—361, 464

*The New-York Times*—a Republican daily founded in 1851.—5

*New-York Weekly Tribune*—a special issue of the *New-York Daily Tribune* published every Saturday.—464

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*New-Yorker Humorist*—a German-language comic journal published in New-York.—32

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*Notes to the People*—a Chartist weekly published in London in 1851 and 1852 and edited by Ernest Jones; supported by Marx and Engels who helped to edit and publish it, and who contributed a number of articles between June 1851 and April 1852.—323

*Nouvelliste Vaudois*—a Swiss newspaper published in Lausanne from 1798 to 1804 and from 1824 to 1914.—198, 211

*L'Opinion nationale*—a daily newspaper published in Paris from 1859 to 1874.—174, 206, 211, 329

*La Patrie*—a French daily published from 1841; mouthpiece of the monarchist bourgeoisie represented by the Party of Order in 1850; after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, took a Bonapartist stand.—196, 208

*Le Patriote savoisien*—a French democratic daily published in Chambéry in 1851-95.—192

*Le Pays, Journal de l'Empire*—a daily founded in Paris in 1849; during the Second Empire (1852-70), was a semi-official newspaper of Napoleon III's Government.—208

*Pensiero ed Azione*—an Italian democratic fortnightly published in London (1858-59) and in Lugano and Genoa (1860) and edited by Giuseppe Mazzini.—153, 180, 221

*The People's Paper*—a Chartist weekly founded by Ernest Jones in London and published from May 1852 to 1858. Marx and Engels contributed to the newspaper and helped to edit it from October 1852 to December 1856. Apart from the articles written by Marx and Engels for *The People's Paper,* it reprinted several of their articles from the *New-York Daily Tribune.*—116

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*Der Postheiri*—a Swiss weekly published in Solothurn in 1845-75.—205

*Prager Zeitung*—an Austrian monarchist daily published from 1814 to 1919.—173

*Preussisches Wochenblatt*—a conservative weekly published in Berlin from 1851 to 1861.—141

*Die Preussische Zeitung*—a daily published in Berlin from 1851 to 1859; organ of the Manteuffel and later of the Hohenzollern-Auerswald Ministries.—248

*Le Propagateur du Nord et du Pas-de-Calais*—a conservative Bonapartist daily published in Lille from 1860 to 1883.—206

*Der Publicist*—a liberal newspaper published in Berlin from 1845 to 1874.—311

*Punch, or the London Charivari*—a liberal comic weekly founded in London in 1840.—239

*Putnam's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science and Art*—a Republican monthly published in New York from 1853 to 1857.—323

*Die Reform*—a German liberal daily published in Hamburg from 1848 to 1892.—4, 5, 25, 72, 124

*Republik der Arbeiter*—a workers' newspaper published in New York from 1850 to 1855 by Wilhelm Weitling; voiced the views of the egalitarian communists.—57

*Revue contemporaine*—a fortnightly published in Paris from 1851 to 1870; during the Second Republic represented the Party of Order; after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851 took a Bonapartist stand.—42, 94, 112, 182, 206, 207, 209, 236

*Revue de Genève et Journal Suisse*—a radical newspaper published in Geneva from 1842; appeared under this title until 1861, when it merged with *La Nation Suisse*. During the Second Empire in France it adopted a Bonapartist stand.—188, 189, 192, 193, 197, 200-03, 206, 233

*Revue des deux Mondes*—a literary and political fortnightly, published in Paris from 1829.—206, 207

*Revue européenne*—a Bonapartist monthly published in Paris from 1859 to 1861; in 1862 merged with the journal *Revue contemporaine*.—207

*Rheinische Volks-Halle*—a German Catholic conservative daily published in Cologne in 1848-49.—243

*Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*—a German daily founded by the Rhenish bourgeois opposition and published in Cologne from January 1, 1842 to March 31, 1843. In April 1842 Marx became its contributor and in October of the same year—one of the editors.—3, 111

*Rummeltipuff*—a weekly published in Geneva in the end of 1849 by the German democratic refugees.—31, 32, 44

*Russky Invalid* («Русский инвалид»)—a military newspaper published in St. Petersburg from 1813 to 1917. Initially the revenue from it was intended as relief to war victims; from 1862 it was an official newspaper of the War Ministry.—467-70

*Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*—a conservative weekly published in London from 1855 to 1938.—200, 244

*Schlesische Zeitung*—a German daily published in Breslau (Wrocław) from 1742 to 1945, organ of the constitutional-monarchist circles before and during the revolution of 1848-49; was conservative in the 1860s.—238

*Schweizer Handels-Courier*—a Swiss daily published in Biel (canton of Berne); appeared under this title from 1853 to 1909; expressed Bonapartist views. In the 1850s-1860s, its editors were closely connected with Karl Vogt.—12, 28, 29, 38, 118, 121, 131, 192, 197, 198, 203, 265

*Schweizerische National-Zeitung*—a Swiss bourgeois daily published in Basle in 1842.—302

*Seeblätter*—a German weekly published in Konstanz (Baden) from 1837 to 1849.—55

*The Sheffield Free Press*—an English newspaper published in Sheffield from 1851 to 1857 by David Urquhart and his supporters.—117

*Le Siècle*—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939; in the 1850s a moderate republican newspaper.—186, 206

*Stimmen der Zeit*—a German petty-bourgeois monthly and later weekly published in 1858-62 by Adolph Kolatschek. It appeared first in Gotha and then in Weimar, Leipzig, Heidelberg and Vienna simultaneously.—127, 327

*Strassburger Korrespondent für West- und Mitteleuropa*—a German Bonapartist newspaper published in Strasbourg up to 1860.—385

*The Tablet*—a Catholic conservative weekly published in London since 1840.—144, 145

*The Times*—a conservative daily newspaper founded in London in 1785.—136, 137, 144, 157, 172, 175, 196, 199, 208, 217, 224, 242, 249, 318, 335, 339, 344, 350, 351, 353, 362, 363-64, 402, 433, 437, 442, 443, 456, 462

*Tribune*—see *New-York Daily Tribune*

*L'Univers réligieux, philosophique, politique, scientifique et littéraire*—a clerical newspaper founded in Paris in 1833; supported Bonaparte's policy in the 1850s.—45

*La Voix du Proscrit*—a weekly of the Central Committee of European Democracy published in Saint-Amand (France) from late October 1850 to September 1851; the continuation of the monthly *Le Proscrit*.—36

*Das Volk*—a German-language weekly published in London from May 7 to August 20, 1859; it was founded as the official organ of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; Marx took part in its publication beginning with issue No. 2, and in early July he virtually became its editor and manager.—6, 9-11, 38, 117-19, 127, 129, 179, 180, 241, 265, 275, 276, 277, 318, 319-20

*Volks-Zeitung*—a democratic daily published in Berlin since 1853.—4, 25, 72, 124, 238

*Volksblatt*—a popular newspaper published in Trier.—209

*Vossische Zeitung*—see *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*

*Weekly Mail*—a Tory periodical published in London from 1858 to 1860.—245

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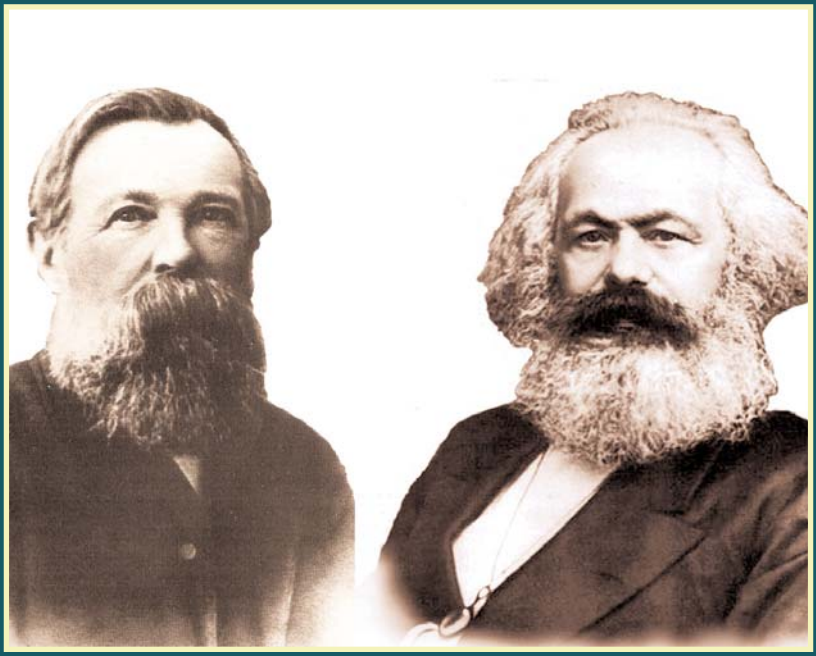

## VOLUME 18

Marx and Engels 1857-62

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 18

## Marx and Engels 1857-62

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TRANSLATORS:

HENRY MINS: An Inspection of English Volunteers

PETER and BETTY ROSS: To the Editor of the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*

BARRIE SELMAN: Summary of John W. Kaye's *History of the War in Afghanistan;* Excerpts from the Article "Blum" Published in *Meyer's Conversations-Lexicon;* Excerpts Made for the Article "Bourrienne"; Excerpts from the Article "Bülow" Published in *Meyer's Conversations-Lexicon*

# Preface

Volume 18 of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels contains mainly military and military-historical works written between 1857 and 1862. It includes a series of articles written by Marx and Engels between July 1857 and November 1860 for *The New American Cyclopaedia*, and the preparatory materials for some of them. A separate section is devoted to articles by Engels for military periodicals, namely the British weekly *The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire* and the German weekly *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* (August 1860 to August 1862).

Marx's and Engels' contributions to *The New American Cyclopaedia* form a notable page in the history of their literary output. From their letters, notebooks and from the preparatory materials for some of the articles it is clear that they took their work for this publication very seriously. As required by such works of reference, their essays, articles and shorter items are concise, factual and clear. Despite the demand of the editors that the contributors refrain from political judgments, Marx and Engels managed even in these articles to express their opinion on social development and historical events, to expound dialectical-materialist views on them, and to evaluate the subjects of their contributions from a revolutionary socialist position.

Most of the articles for the *Cyclopaedia* were written by Engels, although Marx was the official contributor. Engels undertook the bulk of the work in order to leave Marx free for his studies in political economy, the elaboration of which they both regarded at the time as the paramount theoretical task for the working-class movement. By helping to write these articles Engels also sought to alleviate the financial difficulties his friend's family continued to experience. However, many articles were the fruit of close

collaboration between Marx and Engels, which often amounted to co-authorship.

It should be remembered that the work of Marx and Engels for the *Cyclopaedia* and of Engels for the military periodicals ran parallel with their other theoretical and practical activities, and with their efforts to unite the proletarian revolutionaries, which became particularly intense at the end of the 1850s, at the time of the revival of the democratic and proletarian movements in Europe and the United States. The essays and articles for the *Cyclopaedia* and the military periodicals were written concurrently with Marx's economic manuscripts and other works (*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* and *Herr Vogt*), with Engels' pamphlets (*Po and Rhine* and *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*), and with their articles on topical questions for the European and American press (the London newspaper *Das Volk*, the Viennese *Die Presse* and the *New-York Daily Tribune*). A complete picture of the work of Marx and Engels during this period can therefore only be obtained by collating the contents of this volume with those of volumes 16, 17, 19, 29 and 30, and also with the relevant volumes of their correspondence (40 and 41).

* * *

A central place in the volume is held by the writings of Engels on military subjects, like "Army", "Artillery", "Cavalry," "Fortification", "Infantry", "Navy" and "The History of the Rifle". These works, particularly the articles for *The New American Cyclopaedia*, deal with a wide range of military problems and analyse many important events in military history, from the campaigns of ancient times to the wars of Engels' own day. They consider, mainly from the historical standpoint, the problems of the formation, structure and equipping of armies, their recruitment and training, the control of the armed forces, strategy and tactics, the organisation and use of the different fighting services, the various aspects of military engineering, permanent and field fortifications, methods of siege and defence of fortresses, logistical problems and encamping.

The major works are supplemented and illustrated in concrete terms by shorter articles. Some of these, like "Actium", "Albuera", "Alma", "Aspern", "Borodino" and "Bidassoa", analyse specific battles. Others, like "Amusette", "Ammunition", "Bonnet", "Case Shot" and "Bridge-Head", were written by Engels to explain specific military and military-technical terms. The articles "Attack", "Battle" and "Campaign" contain important theoretical statements on the forms and methods of conducting

battle, the use of various battle formations and the employment of reserves.

The volume reflects an important stage in the elaboration of the Marxist theory of war and the army. Particularly after the revolution of 1848-49, Engels had always shown a lively interest in military affairs. He had responded in the press to all the key military events, and in the early 1850s began a systematic study of the various military sciences, creatively absorbing the legacy of the military theorists of the past, and contemporary writings. Marx wrote to Ferdinand Lassalle on February 25, 1859 that, after being in action with the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army in 1849, Engels had "made military matters his special study" (see present edition, Vol. 40). And Lenin called Engels "the great expert on this subject" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 565).

In his earlier works Engels used specific examples to show how the condition of the army and the outcome of military operations are influenced by the level of socio-economic development and the political system of the country in question, how strategy depends on the policy of the ruling classes and on the aims which they pursue in war. He also set down his thoughts about various types of war, defined what he meant by revolutionary, liberation wars, and pointed out many specific features of the tactics of armed uprising and revolutionary armies. The works included in the present volume, particularly the more general *New American Cyclopaedia* articles, systematise and concretise Engels' views on armed struggle and war, and back them up with new conclusions and generalisations. For the first time he applied dialectical-materialist analysis not only to separate periods or episodes in military history but to the evolution of warfare as a whole, on land and sea, including the history of the different fighting services.

In these works Engels cast light on the historical conditions giving rise to wars, and especially to organised armed forces, which he associated with the epoch of the formation of class society and the state. On the basis of a vast amount of factual material he traced the main stages and specific features of the development of armies and noted the changes in their organisation, strategy and tactics through various historical periods. He showed the determining influence of the economic basis and class structure of society on the organisation, equipping and composition of armies, on the methods of conducting armed struggle and on the development of the art of war. His work in this field was based not on isolated examples but on copious factual material covering the main stages of world history. "More graphically

than anything else," Marx wrote to Engels on September 25, 1857, after reading his article "Army", "the history of the *army* demonstrates the rightness of our views as to the connection between the productive forces and social relations" (see present edition, Vol. 40).

The impact of the productive forces on warfare, as Engels showed, manifested itself primarily in the role played in its evolution by changes in the technical means of armed struggle. Engels attached exceptional importance to the technical aspect of warfare. Besides the many pages devoted to the history of military technology in the above-mentioned works, he wrote several shorter items on specific types of weapons ("Arquebuse", "Bayonet", "Carabine", "Carronade", "Catapult", etc.), and on various offensive, defensive and accessory means of armed struggle ("Bastion", "Battery", "Blindage", "Bomb-Proof", "Bomb Vessel", "Bridge, Military", etc.). His numerous examples revealed the revolutionising effect of the major technical discoveries—the invention of gunpowder, the use and improvement of fire-arms, the introduction of the bayonet, which made it possible to combine thrust weapons with the fire-arms, the progress in artillery and military engineering, the use of steam power in navies, etc.—on the development of armed forces and the art of war. The dependence of military tactics on military technology, the emergence of new tactical forms of military operations as a result of the spread of new types of mass weapons, Engels argued in his articles, reflects the determining influence of social production on social life, including the military sphere.

However, Engels did not reduce the cause of the evolution of warfare and the art of war exclusively to technological progress. He pointed to other, primarily social and political, factors that influenced this evolution. Engels overcame the tendency in the military historical writings of his day to isolate military history from that of civil life and to underrate the impact of social conditions on military organisation. He was thus virtually the first to examine the history of warfare on the basis of the Marxist theory of socio-economic formations. He demonstrated that the armed forces of every society were the product of a certain social system, that every social formation tended to have a corresponding type of army and, to some degree, a corresponding way of waging war. Engels established the fact that ever since the army—"the organised body of armed men which a state maintains for purposes of offensive or defensive war" (p. 85)—arose in slave-owning society, its organisation, condition and fighting qualities, as well as its armaments, had

been determined by the socio-political system that engendered it, by the class environment from which it was recruited. The specific features of every social formation had left their mark on the social composition of the army, its level of training, and the psychology and morale of its soldiers.

Nor did the conduct of warfare remain static within the framework of a given social formation. Within these historical limits, Engels noted, armies and the art of war evolved in a way that reflected the internal dynamic of the given social system. The armies of ancient Greece and Macedonia with their phalanx tactics were superseded by the Roman army with its more advanced system of legions. This in turn fell into decline owing to the growing contradictions in slave society, its profound crisis, causing a deterioration of the elements composing the army, which "very soon reacted upon its armament and tactics" (pp. 102-03). The decay of the feudal social system led to the disintegration of the feudal military system, to the disappearance of the no longer battleworthy mounted knights in armour. As capitalism arose, Engels noted, the armed forces underwent a significant evolution, from mercenary troops to mass armies recruited on the basis of universal conscription, an evolution ultimately conditioned by the needs of bourgeois society.

Engels held that a key role in the development of warfare was played by revolutionary periods, which gave a fresh impetus to progress in the military sphere. Moreover, the initiators and carriers of these progressive changes were, he pointed out, the revolutionary classes fighting the decaying forces of society. Engels illustrated this law by the history of the bourgeois revolutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and particularly by the French Revolution of 1789-94. "The war consequent upon the rebellion of the Netherlands," he wrote about the Netherlands revolution of the late sixteenth century, "was of great influence on the formation of armies" (p. 107). In his article "Cavalry" he noted the substantial improvement in this service and in its tactics during the revolution and civil war in England in the mid-seventeenth century (p. 300). He linked the emergence of the new, more complex battle formation (extended order combined with columns as opposed to the linear tactics of the armies of the feudal-absolutist states of the eighteenth century), and other important changes in warfare (more effective use of artillery, the bivouac system of stationing troops, who were thus freed of unwieldy baggage trains, camp equipment, etc.), with the French Revolution of the eighteenth century and partly with the war of England's North-American colonies for independence. When

the war of the coalition of counter-revolutionary states against the French Republic began, he wrote, a new tactical system was called for. "The American revolution had shown the advantage to be gained, with undisciplined troops, from extended order and skirmishing fire. The French adopted it, and supported the skirmishers by deep columns, in which a little disorder was less objectionable, so long as the mass remained well together. In this formation, they launched their superior numbers against the enemy, and were generally successful" (pp. 113-14).

Engels stressed the point that revolutionary wars brought out the military creativity of the masses, the direct participants in the armed struggle. To cope with the new conditions they sought, and found, new forms of combat and tactical formation, which were later formalised in the organisation and regulations of armies and reduced to a system by military leaders, generals, and so on.

Engels attached great importance to the struggle of oppressed peoples against foreign invaders and pointed out that it was often interwoven with action by the working masses against their own exploiting classes. Ever since the Middle Ages this struggle had greatly influenced the conduct of warfare, bringing about progressive changes in it. For example, the revival of infantry in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, after its long decline, when the battlefields were dominated by mounted knights in armour, was the work of the freedom-loving Swiss peasants, who defended their country's independence against incursions by Austrian and Burgundian feudal forces, and also of the urban artisans of Flanders, who resisted the encroachments of the French nobility upon the Flemish lands. "The French chivalry succumbed as much to the weavers and fullers, the goldsmiths and tanners of the Belgian cities, as the Burgundian and Austrian nobility to the peasants and cowherds of Switzerland" (p. 350). In modern times, too, wars of national liberation played an extremely important role in military history, as seen in the resistance of some of the peoples of Europe to the domination of Napoleonic France, the war of the Hungarians against Austrian oppression in 1848-49, and so on. Engels touched upon these wars not only in his major works but also in a number of short articles for the *Cyclopaedia* ("Albuera", "Buda" and others).

Besides giving a Marxist interpretation of the role of the masses in history with reference to the military sphere, Engels set forth scientific principles for assessing the activities of outstanding generals, military reformers, engineers and inventors, and acknowledged their contribution to the development of the art of war. He showed, however, that their activities were also determined by

material factors and by social demands operating independently of their will. In analysing the generalship of many military leaders from ancient times to his own day, and the innovations they made in warfare, he shows how their role lies in the skilful application of the forms and methods of warfare, produced by the objective development of the armed forces resulting from social change and revolution. The service rendered by Napoleon, for example, was that he made the new mode of warfare generated by the French Revolution into a regular system (p. 114).

At the same time Engels criticised the cult of generals and the exaggeration of their role characteristic of idealist military history, and found class limitations and contradictions in the activities of even outstanding military leaders. Frederick II of Prussia, he wrote, though successful in military operations and organising the army, had, "beside laying the foundation for that pedantry and martinetism which have since distinguished the Prussians, actually prepared them for the unparalleled disgrace of Jena and Auerstädt" (p. 359). In Napoleon's strategy and tactics Engels stressed the elements of adventurism and schematicism, such as the use of huge divisional columns, which "lost him many a battle" (p. 313).

Engels exploded the conception cherished by some bourgeois military theoreticians that the basic rules of the art of war are eternal and immutable. His works argue vigorously in favour of the principle of historicism in military science and of the dialectical approach to the various aspects of warfare. Thus, he pointed out that the tactical rules that could be applied in one set of historical circumstances often proved inapplicable in another. In his article "Blenheim", for instance, analysing one of the major battles of the early eighteenth century, he drew attention to the fact that the very circumstances which, with the linear tactics of those days, caused the defeat of the French army would, in the nineteenth century, in the age of extended order supported by columns, have been regarded as "one of the greatest advantages of a defensive position" (p. 250).

* * *

The series of articles which Engels wrote for *The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire,* published in Manchester, was an important contribution to the Marxist elaboration of the problems of military history and theory. Engels was prompted to write for this journal by his desire to support the democratic volunteer movement against the annexationist policies of the Bonapartist circles of the Second Empire, which were seen as a threat to the British Isles. This movement gained a wide response among

the democratic sections of the population, including the workers. Many trade unions demanded that workers should be allowed to join the volunteer units. The progressive forces counted on using the volunteer organisations to promote military reform, reorganise the extremely conservative military system, and get rid of the aristocratic caste practices prevailing in the British army and its still surviving traditions of mercenary service and annexationist colonial wars. Engels took a keen interest in the campaign to organise volunteer units. In addition to his series of articles for *The Volunteer Journal* (the most important of them were also published as a separate book), he popularised the volunteer movement in the columns of the German *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* (pp. 409-16, 535-41). At the same time he openly criticised the defects in the organisation and system of military training of the volunteer units and suggested ways of remedying them. He believed that the volunteers could play an important role in national defence and in reorganising the British armed forces if they acquired real professional skill and learned from the experience of past wars. This was what he sought to promote in his articles.

Engels' articles for *The Volunteer Journal* ("The History of the Rifle", "Volunteer Artillery", "Volunteer Engineers: Their Value and Sphere of Action", "The French Light Infantry", "On the Moral Element in Fighting. By Marshal Bugeaud", "Company Drill", and others) illustrate how the development of military technology and the improvement of weapons lead to changes in the tactics of armed struggle, and show the various methods of raising the morale and fighting capacity of troops. In his articles for the *Cyclopaedia* Engels stressed the importance of bravery and moral and psychological preparedness in armed struggle. In discussing cavalry battles, for instance, Engels observed that at the decisive moment of the clash of cavalry "the moral element, bravery, is here at once transformed into material force" (p. 310). He also emphasised the importance of developing moral and psychological qualities in soldiers and officers.

In his articles for *The Volunteer Journal* Engels focussed attention on the methods and forms of military and physical training, drilling and shooting practice. He spoke of the importance of approximating the conditions of training to those of actual battle and the need to develop the men's initiative, as well as the fostering of a spirit of solidarity and military discipline. Engels was exacting in his demands on officers. He held that in the volunteer units both officers and men should strive to broaden and perfect their military knowledge, to assimilate the military experience of other countries besides their

own, and to know not only how to use their weapons but how those weapons function. "No intelligent soldier ought to be ignorant of the principles on which his arms are constructed, and are expected to act" (p. 459).

Engels urged the readers of *The Volunteer Journal* to keep track of military developments in all countries. Significant in this respect were his articles on the American Civil War ("Lessons of the American War" and "The War in America"). They summed up the results of the military operations in the initial period of this crucial military conflict and touched upon the prospects of the struggle between the Northern states and the slave-owning South (pp. 525-34).

The military works by Engels included in this volume analyse the history of war in various epochs, particularly that of capitalism. Engels discussed the achievements of military theory, from the writers of antiquity to the bourgeois theorists and historians of his own day. He traced the development of the armies of many nations, attempting to show the contribution made by each nation to military science and the art of war in general. His coverage of the military experience of Oriental countries and of Russia was less complete, the military history of the latter being discussed mainly in the biographies of Russian military leaders, written in collaboration with Marx ("Barclay de Tolly" and "Bennigsen"). This may be attributed to the inadequate presentation of the military history of these countries in the writings available to Engels, which moreover often suffered from preconceived notions about the military past of the Russian people. While not claiming to cover the whole military history of mankind, Engels none the less laid the foundation for the dialectical-materialist interpretation and elaboration of military theory and history. His generalisations and conclusions, and also his method of investigating the various spheres of the art of war and military events, have become an integral part of Marxist theory.

The predictions concerning certain trends in the development of the armed forces which Engels made in some of his articles and which have been confirmed by history are significant examples of scientific foresight. They include, for example, his forecast of changes in infantry tactics under the influence of increasingly effective fire-arms ("Infantry"), and also in naval tactics and types of vessels in view of the growing firepower of warships ("Navy").

At the same time it should be remembered that Engels was generalising the experience of wars that preceded the period of the mass employment of machinery and automatic weapons. His propositions and judgments reflecting the peculiarities of warfare

in the pre-imperialist epoch should not therefore be automatically applied to contemporary conditions and accepted unconditionally in modern strategy and tactics. To do this would conflict with the creative spirit of the legacy of military theory left to us by Engels, who firmly opposed any such absolutising of the rules of military art and consistently advocated an historical approach in this as in other spheres.

* * *

The essays on Asian and African countries written by Engels for the *Cyclopaedia*—"Afghanistan", "Algeria" and "Burmah"—make a group of their own in the volume. These are reference articles supplying geographical and ethnographical data and descriptions of the economy, political organisation and the main stages in the historical development of these countries. An important feature, however, is a sharp condemnation of the colonial policies of capitalist powers, the system of enslavement and exploitation of the peoples of Asia and Africa by the West European bourgeoisie, and its colonial annexations and adventures, to which one country after another of these continents fell victim. In this respect these essays rank among the series of denunciations of colonialism that constituted an outstanding page in the journalistic writings of Marx and Engels of that period. They testify to the concern they felt for the destinies of the peoples of the East and their national liberation movements.

In his essay "Burmah" Engels shows how the country's natural resources aroused the annexationist appetites of the British ruling classes and their desire to expand Britain's colonial empire at Burma's expense. As in the case of other countries in Asia and Africa, the colonisers took advantage of Burma's economic backwardness and semi-patriarchal system to turn it into an arena of plunder. Engels noted that as a result of the first and second Anglo-Burmese wars (1824-26 and 1852) "Burmah has been robbed of its most fertile territory" and deprived of its access to the sea (p. 280). This was the prologue to Britain's annexation of the whole country, which occurred in 1885.

The essay on Afghanistan centres on the failure of Britain's ruling circles to subdue the country at the close of the 1830s and in the early 1840s. This attempt was to be followed by further encroachments on the independence of the Afghan people. Engels exposed the machinations of the British agents in Afghanistan, their blatant interference in the country's internal affairs, and the

provocatory methods used to unleash the Anglo-Afghan war of 1838-42, the purpose of which was the annexation of Afghanistan. The invasion of Afghanistan was to be seen as an integral part of Britain's colonial expansion in Central Asia.

The essay on Afghanistan is supplemented by the summary of John W. Kaye's *History of the War in Afghanistan* which Engels made while working on the essay. In contrast to the author's apologetics, Engels found facts in the documents cited in the book that showed what had really been going on. These facts exposed the expansionist aims and ambitions of the organisers of the Afghan expedition that lay behind the fabrications about the threat to British possessions in India from Tsarist Russia, and the cynicism and guile of the British aggressors who, to get what they wanted, had no scruples about using such means as inflaming tribal enmity, bribing venal elements among the feudal-tribal nobility and hiring assassins to dispose of anyone considered dangerous to British domination (pp. 380, 382, 387 and elsewhere).

Engels recorded the collapse of the British adventure in Afghanistan and dwelt in detail on the uprisings of the local population against the aggressors in 1840-41, by which the Afghans, this "brave, hardy, and independent race", resolutely opposed the colonisers and succeeded in driving them from the country.

Engels' description of the French conquest of Algeria vividly illustrated the harsh methods of colonial rule and the grievous consequences of colonial enslavement. "From the first occupation of Algeria by the French to the present time," he wrote, "the unhappy country has been the arena of unceasing bloodshed, rapine, and violence. Each town, large and small, has been conquered in detail at an immense sacrifice of life. The Arab and Kabyle tribes, to whom independence is precious, and hatred of foreign domination a principle dearer than life itself, have been crushed and broken by the terrible razzias in which dwellings and property are burnt and destroyed, standing crops cut down, and the miserable wretches who remain massacred, or subjected to all the horrors of lust and brutality" (p. 67).

Stressing the instability of the colonial regime, Engels noted the continual uprisings of the Algerian people against French rule. He wrote that despite three decades of bloody wars (beginning from 1830), despite the large forces sent to subdue Algeria, and the vast sums expended, "the French supremacy is perfectly illusory, except on the coast and near the towns. The tribes still assert their independence and detestation of the French regime" (p. 69).

Engels' articles on colonial topics are inspired with faith in the mounting strength and invincibility of the anti-colonial liberation movement which, as he showed, had deep roots in the people, who hated colonial oppression and longed for freedom. Although written for a bourgeois publication, these articles reflect the common interest of the proletariat throughout the world, the solidarity of proletarian revolutionaries with participants in the anti-colonial struggle, and the desire to foster feelings of sympathy for the peoples of colonial and dependent countries among the working people of the metropolitan countries.

* * *

In addition to works by Engels *The New American Cyclopaedia* published a number of articles by Marx. They are mostly biographies of military leaders and politicians of the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries. Many of them—"Barclay de Tolly", "Bennigsen", "Bem", "Bosquet", "Blücher" and "Beresford"—were actually written in collaboration with Engels, as were the articles "Armada" and "Ayacucho" (the latter dealt with the decisive battle in the liberation war of the peoples of Latin America against Spanish domination).

The biographical essays included in this volume are graphic character sketches of leading figures in various military and political events. They demonstrate clearly that schematicism is alien to the Marxist approach to history, that Marx and Engels saw the task of historical science not only in revealing the trends that determine social development but also in tracing their concrete embodiment in the varied panorama of historical reality itself, in the actions of real people. In many of their works Marx and Engels portrayed various historical figures and achieved considerable mastery in doing so. In the case of the biographies written for the *Cyclopaedia* they also showed their ability to single out not only individual peculiarities but features that reflected the epoch, and the class attributes of the individuals represented.

Marx's articles "Berthier", "Bourrienne", "Bessières", "Bernadotte" and "Brune" provide us with a gallery of military leaders and statesmen of Napoleonic France. As Marx showed, the careers of many of them reflected the evolution of the sections of the French bourgeoisie who took part in the revolutionary events of 1789-94 and later became pillars of the Bonapartist regime. Most of them owed their military or diplomatic careers solely to the

revolution, which "opened a field for military talents" (p. 56). In the conditions of the supremacy of the counter-revolutionary big bourgeoisie they grew into ruthless money-grubbers and knights of profit (Bourrienne and Brune), ambitious men hungering for rank, title and vacant thrones (Bernadotte), and careerists prepared to serve any regime (Berthier). The biographies of Napoleon's marshals written by Marx offer a striking picture of the morals of the bourgeois coterie of Napoleon I's empire.

In his article "Bugeaud" Marx graphically portrayed a cruel and unscrupulous reactionary, a faithful servant of the July monarchy, whose political and military career was marked by bloody reprisals against French workers, by the treacherous and ferocious methods used to subdue Algeria, and by the colonial adventure in Morocco. Another typical figure of the time was the British General Beresford, who led several colonial expeditions and participated in the suppression of the revolutionary movement in Brazil and Portugal.

The biography of Field Marshal Blücher written by Marx and Engels forms a broad historical canvas. The activities of this outstanding German general and patriot are shown against the backdrop of the war of liberation fought by the German and other peoples against Napoleonic domination. Noting the major role played by Blücher in the campaigns of 1813-15 against Napoleonic France and emphasising that he participated "to the highest degree in the popular hatred against Napoleon" and was "popular with the multitude for his plebeian passions", Marx and Engels maintained that Blücher "was the true general for the military operations of 1813-15, which bore the character half of regular and half of insurrectionary warfare" (p. 187). Linked with the biography of Blücher is a brief biographical note by Marx on Bülow, also a participant in the wars against Napoleonic France.

The articles "Blum" and "Bem" recount the lives of these revolutionaries. The former was composed on the basis of Blum's own autobiographical material, as indicated by the excerpts made by Marx from German encyclopaedias of the 1840s and early 1850s, where it was first reproduced. The character sketch of Robert Blum, a prominent figure in the revolution of 1848 and a victim of the counter-revolutionary terror that followed, shows that Marx, while clearly aware of the limitations and moderation of the German petty-bourgeois democrats as a whole, had a high opinion of those who remained loyal to the interests of the people. The article devoted to Józef Bem described this Polish general, who came to the fore in the revolutionary war of 1849 in

Hungary, as "a first-rate general for the partisan and small mountain warfare" (p. 132).

In his article "Bolivar y Ponte" Marx showed the role of the masses in the struggle of the Latin American countries against Spanish colonial rule (1810-26), stressing the revolutionary, emancipatory nature of this struggle. He was misled, however, by the numerous memoirs and writings of the time, whose authors were hostile to Simon Bolivar, the leader of the national liberation movement, and therefore his assessment of Bolivar's activities and personality is one-sided. To some extent this was due to Marx's and Engels' anti-Bonapartist orientation in those years, and their desire to explode the mystique of Napoleon and his imitators, among whom Marx, on the basis of the sources he was using (he could not have discovered their lack of objectivity at the time), counted Bolivar.

Marx's method of writing the biographical essays for *The New American Cyclopaedia* is illustrated by the preparatory materials for some of them (besides the already mentioned excerpts for the article "Blum", this volume includes excerpts for the articles "Bourrienne" and "Bülow" and the rough draft of the article "Brune"). A comparison of these materials with the text of the articles will introduce the reader to the methods Marx used to deal with the original sources, the notes he made in the course of this work, and also certain facts that he had gathered but that did not appear in the final versions.

* * *

In all, this volume contains 107 works by Marx and Engels, seven of which (including the works comprising the section "From the Preparatory Materials for the Articles in *The New American Cyclopaedia*") are published in English for the first time. Of the remaining works, all of which were written in English, the majority have not been reprinted in that language since their publication during the authors' lifetime.

The works in this volume, including the articles for *The New American Cyclopaedia*, appear in chronological order, according to the date of writing, as distinct from the alphabetical order in which they were printed in the *Cyclopaedia* itself (see the list on page 2 of this volume). The dating of the articles for the *Cyclopaedia* was verified on the basis of references in the Marx-Engels correspondence and entries in Marx's notebooks concerning their dispatch to New York. Overlong paragraphs in

the articles for the *Cyclopaedia* have been divided into paragraphs of more convenient length.

The texts of the articles by Engels that have come down to us in several versions owing to their parallel publication in the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* and *The Volunteer Journal*, or their republication from the latter in the collection *Essays Addressed to Volunteers*, have been collated. Changes in headings and in the form of publication are mentioned in the editorial notes at the end of the volume, and variant readings that alter the meaning are reproduced in footnotes.

The specific features of the publication of the preparatory materials are also noted.

Misprints in quotations, proper and geographical names, numerical data, dates, and so on, have been corrected with reference to the sources used by Marx and Engels. The known literary and documentary sources are referred to in footnotes and in the index of quoted and mentioned literature.

The compilation of the volume, its preface and notes, the subject index, the index of quoted and mentioned literature and the glossary of geographical names, is the work of Tatyana Vasilyeva, under the editorship of Lev Golman (CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism). The name index and the index of periodicals were prepared by Yelizaveta Ovsyannikova (CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism).

The translations were made by Henry Mins, Peter and Betty Ross and Barrie Selman, and edited by J. S. Allen (International Publishers), Nicholas Jacobs (Lawrence and Wishart), Richard Dixon, Lydia Belyakova and Victor Schnittke (Progress Publishers), and Vladimir Mosolov, scientific editor (CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism).

The volume was prepared for the press by the editors Lydia Belyakova, Yelena Chistyakova, Mzia Pitskhelauri and Lyudgarda Zubrilova and the assistant editors Natalia Kim and Lyudmila Mikhailova (Progress Publishers).

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## ARTICLES
## FOR *THE NEW AMERICAN CYCLOPAEDIA*[1]

THE NEW

# AMERICAN CYCLOPÆDIA:

A

## Popular Dictionary

OF

## GENERAL KNOWLEDGE.

EDITED BY

GEORGE RIPLEY AND CHARLES A. DANA.

VOLUME I.

A—ARAGUAY.

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MDCCCLVIII.

Title page of Volume I of *The New American Cyclopaedia*

# Frederick Engels

## ACRE

*Acre, St. Jean d', Acca, Ptolemais,* or *Acco,* a harbor of Syria, at the foot of Mt. Carmel, lat. 32° 54′ N. long. 35° 4′ E., population about 15,000. It is the best bay on that part of the coast, although very shallow. The place is renowned for its desperate sieges and defences. In 1104 it was taken by the Genoese, from whom Saladin retook it in 1187. The assault upon it by Richard Cœur de Lion in 1191 was one of the most daring feats in the Crusades. It remained until 1292 in the custody of the Knights of St. John,[4] who fortified it strongly, but were compelled to evacuate it by the Turks. It was here that the Turks, supported by the chivalric Sydney Smith and a handful of British sailors, kept Napoleon and the French army at bay for sixty days, when he raised the siege and retreated.[5] In 1832 Ibrahim Pasha, after a six months' siege, took it by storm when Mehemet Ali revolted from the Porte, and seized upon Syria. In 1839, however, Syria was restored to Turkey, and Acre again felt the bitterness of war, Ibrahim refusing to evacuate until after a bombardment by the combined British, Austrian, and Turkish fleets, Nov. 4, 1840.[6]

Written between July 11 and 24, 1857

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Reproduced from *The New American Cyclopaedia*

# Frederick Engels

## ACTIUM

*Actium* (Ακτιου, now La Punta), a promontory and village in Acarnania, at the entrance of the Ambracian gulf, near which Caesar Octavius, afterwards the Emperor Augustus, and Mark Antony, had a naval engagement, in which the former was completely victorious, Sept. 2, B.C. 31. This battle decided the question of universal dominion. Octavius had been master of the West, Antony of the East.[7] Both armies were encamped on opposite sides of the Ambracian bay. Octavius had 80,000 men on foot, 12,000 horsemen, and 260 ships of war. Antony had 100,000 foot soldiers, 12,000 horsemen, and 220 ships. Antony's ships were armed with catapults, but were cumbersome. Those of Octavius were small, but had more speed. Cleopatra reinforced Antony with 60 ships, and at her instigation, and against the advice of his own most experienced captains, he offered a naval battle to Octavius. It was accepted. Agrippa, the admiral of Octavius, after the battle had lasted several hours without decisive effect, made a rapid manoeuvre, and Cleopatra took flight with her galleys. The voluptuous Antony could not refrain from following her with a few ships. His fleet, on being deserted by its leader, surrendered, and his army did the like after waiting seven days for his return. The miserable man had fled with his mistress into Egypt. The conqueror, to commemorate his victory, beautified the temple of Apollo which stood at Actium, and erected Nicopolis (city of victory) on the northern side of the gulf.

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# Frederick Engels

## ADJUTANT

*Adjutant,* an assistant officer or *aide-de-camp* attached to commanders of larger or smaller bodies of troops. Generally every commander of a battalion of infantry, or of a regiment of cavalry, has an adjutant; the chiefs of brigades, divisions, *corps d'armée,* and the commander-in-chief, have one or more as the importance of the command may require. The adjutant has to make known the commands of his chief, and to see to their execution, as well as to receive or collect the reports intended for his chief. He has, therefore, in his charge, to a great extent, the internal economy of his body of troops. He regulates the rotation of duty among its component parts, and gives out the daily orders; at the same time, he is a sort of clerk to his chief, carries on the correspondence with detachments and with the superior authorities, arranges the daily reports and returns into tabular form, and keeps the journal and statistical books of his body of troops. Larger bodies of troops now generally have a regular staff attached—taken from the general staff of the army, and under a "chief of the staff," who takes to himself the higher functions of adjutant, and leaves him merely the transmission of orders and the regulation of the internal routine duty of the corps. The arrangements in such cases, however, are so different in different armies, that it is impossible to give even a general view of them. In no two armies, for instance, are the functions of an adjutant to a general commanding a *corps d'armée* exactly alike. Beside these real adjutants, the requirements of monarchical institutions have created in almost all European states hosts of titular adjutants-general to the monarch, whose functions are imaginary, except when called upon to do duty with their master; and even then, these functions are of a purely formal kind.

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# Frederick Engels

## AIREY[8]

*Airey*, Sir Richard, K.C.B.,[a] major-general, and, at present, quartermaster-general of the British army, entered the service in 1821 as ensign, was made a captain 1825, a lieutenant-colonel 1851,[b] and as such took the command of a brigade in the army of the east in 1854. When the Crimean expedition was about to sail from Varna, he was made, Sept. 1854, quartermaster-general of the expeditionary force, and, as such, became one of the 6 or 8 officers who, under the command of Lord Raglan, have been charged with destroying the English army by dint of routine, ostensible fulfilment of duty, and want of common sense and energy. To Airey's share, fell the fixing of the proportions in which the different articles of camp-equipage, tents, great-coats, blankets, boots, should be dealt out to the various regiments. According to his own admission (before the Chelsea commission of inquiry),

> "there never was a period after the first week in Dec. 1854, when there was not at Balaklava a considerable supply of warm clothing, and [...] at that very time there were regiments engaged at the front [...] in the trenches, which were suffering acutely from the want of these very articles, which [...] lay in readiness for them at a distance of 7 or 8 miles."[c]

This, he says, was not his fault; there never having been the slightest difficulty in getting his signature of approval to a requisition for such articles. On the contrary, he gives himself

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[a] Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath.— *Ed.*

[b] Sir Richard Airey was made lieutenant-colonel in 1838; in 1851 he was promoted to the rank of colonel.— *Ed.*

[c] *Opening Address of Major-General Sir Richard Airey, K.C.B.*, p. 149.— *Ed.*

credit for having, as much as possible, abridged and simplified the routine process of approving, reducing, or disapproving the requisition sent to him by divisional and regimental officers.

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# Frederick Engels

## ÅLAND ISLANDS

*Åland Islands,* a group of about 200 rocky islets, of which 80 are inhabited, situated at the entrance of the Bothnian gulf, between lat. 59° and 60° 32″ N. and long. 19° and 21° E. They belong to Russia, having been ceded by Sweden in 1809, and form a part of the government of Abo, in Finland.[9] The population, about 15,000 in number, are of Swedish descent, and are excellent sailors and fishermen. The rocks, covered with a thin soil, produce pines and birches, rye, barley, potatoes, hops, flax, and the inhabitants keep great numbers of cattle, and export cheese, butter, and hides; they also manufacture cloth for home use and for sails. The chief island is named Åland; its area is 28 square miles, its population 10,000; it has a good harbor on the W. side. All the harbors are more or less fortified; foremost among these was the island and harbor of Bomarsund, taken and blown up in 1854 by the allied fleets of England and France during their war against Russia.[10] In 1714, the Russian admiral Apraxin won a decisive naval victory against the Swedes near the cliffs of Signilskar.[11]

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# Frederick Engels

## ALBUERA

*Albuera*, a village and rivulet in the Spanish province of Estremadura, about 12 miles S. E. of Badajos. In the spring of 1811, the British laid siege to Badajos, then in the hands of the French, and were pressing the fortress very hard.[12] Beresford, with about 10,000 British and Germans, and 20,000 Portuguese and Spanish troops, covered the siege at Albuera. Soult advanced with the disposable portion of the army of Andalusia, and attacked him May 16. The English right was posted on a rounded hill, from which a saddle-shaped prolongation extended along the centre and left. In front the position was covered by the Albuera river. Soult at once recognized this round hill as the commanding point and key of the position; he therefore merely occupied the centre and left, and prepared an attack *en masse* upon the English right. In spite of the protestation of his officers, Beresford had posted nearly all the English and German troops on the centre and left, so that the defence of the hill devolved almost exclusively upon Spanish levies. Accordingly, when Soult's infantry advanced in dense concentric columns up this hill, the Spaniards very soon gave way, and the whole British position was at once turned. At this decisive moment, after Beresford had several times refused to send British or German troops to the right, a subordinate staff officer,[a] on his own responsibility, ordered the advance of some 7,000 English troops. They deployed on the back of the saddle-shaped height, crushed the first French battalions by their fire, and on arriving at the hill, found it occupied by a not very orderly mass of deep columns, without space to deploy. Upon

[a] Henry Hardinge.—*Ed.*

these they advanced. The fire of their deployed line told with murderous effect on the dense masses; and when the British, finally, charged with the bayonet, the French fled in disorder down the hill. This supreme effort cost the British line four-fifths of their number very near in killed and wounded; but the battle was decided, and Soult retreated, though the siege of Badajos was raised a few days afterward.

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## ALDENHOVEN

*Aldenhoven,* a small town in Rhenish Prussia, on the road from Jülich to Aix-la-Chapelle, has given its name to a victory of the Austrians, under Coburg, over a part of the French army of Dumouriez, March 1, 1793. After the conquest of Belgium, in 1792, Dumouriez, meditating an invasion of Holland, left 70,000 men between the Maes and the Roer, to besiege Maestricht and Venloo and to cover these sieges, while, with the remainder of the army, he advanced from Antwerp into Holland. The troops on the Maes were necessarily much dispersed; the divisions covering the sieges were cantoned near Aix-la-Chapelle, Aldenhoven, and Eschweiler. Coburg collected 40,000 men, and marched in 2 columns on the 2 latter places, turned the position of Eschweiler, took that of Aldenhoven by a front attack, and threw the French in disorder on Aix-la-Chapelle, which place was taken on the next day. Maestricht was delivered, and the Austrian advanced guard followed the French even across the Maes, and beat them at Tongres. The dispersed French divisions did not rally before arriving at Tirlemont, where they waited for Dumouriez. Thus the road into Belgium was open to the allies, and the conquest of the country completed, a few days afterward, by the further victory of Neerwinden.[13] The loss of the French during the battle of Aldenhoven, and the pursuit, cannot have been less than 10,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, besides 10,000 who deserted immediately afterward; a great amount of *materiel,* too, fell into the hands of the Austrians.[14]

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# Frederick Engels

## ALESSANDRIA [15]

A fortified city in Piedmont, situated on the confluence of the Bormida and Tanaro, a few miles from the Po. It was founded in 1178 by the Milanese, as a bulwark against the invasions of the German emperors, and has in modern times again received significance as a national Italian fortress against Austria, since the campaigns of 1848 and '49. Though up to the beginning of this century its fortifications were but old-fashioned and indifferent, the French in vain besieged it in 1657, and Prince Eugene of Savoy, in 1706, only took it after a protracted defence.[16] The principal strength of the fortifications as they at present exist, consists in the additions made by Napoleon after the annexation of Piedmont to France.[17] It is the only fortress Napoleon built, and in its works Montalembert's new system of casemated batteries for the defence of the ditch, was applied for the first time, though only partly. Napoleon especially strengthened the citadel, a six-fronted bastioned work, with many outworks, and constructed a bridge-head on the opposite side of the Bormida. The Piedmontese government has recently resolved to add more works to the fortress, which, if the passage of the Po at Valenza were properly fortified, might become the nucleus of a vast entrenched camp in a commanding position. The city has a college, theological seminary, 13 churches, including a cathedral, and manufactories of linen, silks, cloths, and wax candles. Population, with the suburbs, 36,000.

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# Frederick Engels

## ALMA[18]

*Alma*, a small river in the Crimea, running from the high ground in the neighborhood of Bakhtchisarai in a westerly direction, and emptying its waters into Kalamita bay, between Eupatoria and Sebastopol. The southern bank of this river, which rises very steep toward its mouth, and everywhere commands the opposite shore, was selected during the late Russo-Turkish war[a] by Prince Mentchikoff as a defensive position in which to receive the onset of the allied armies just landed in the Crimea.

The forces under his command comprised 42 battalions, 16 squadrons, 1,100[b] Cossacks, and 96 guns, in all 35,000 men. The allies landed on Sept. 14, 1854, a little north of the Alma, 28,000 French (4 divisions), 28,000 English (five infantry and one cavalry division), and 6,000 Turks. Their artillery was exactly as numerous as that of the Russians, viz.: 72 French and 24 English guns. The Russian position was of considerable apparent strength, but in reality offered many weak points. Its front extended nearly 5 miles, far too great a distance for the small number of troops at Mentchikoff's disposal. The right wing was completely unsupported, while the left (on account of the allied fleets, the fire from which commanded the coast) could not occupy the position as far as the sea, and therefore labored under the same defect. The plan of the allies was founded on these facts. The front of the Russians was to be occupied by false attacks, while the French, under the cover of the 5 fleets, were to turn the Russian left, and the English, under the cover of their cavalry, to turn their right.

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[a] A reference to the Crimean war of 1853-56 between Russia and the coalition of Britain, France, Turkey and Piedmont.—*Ed.*

[b] Incorrectly given as 100 in *The New American Cyclopaedia.—Ed.*

BATTLE OF THE ALMA, SEPTEMBER 20, 1854

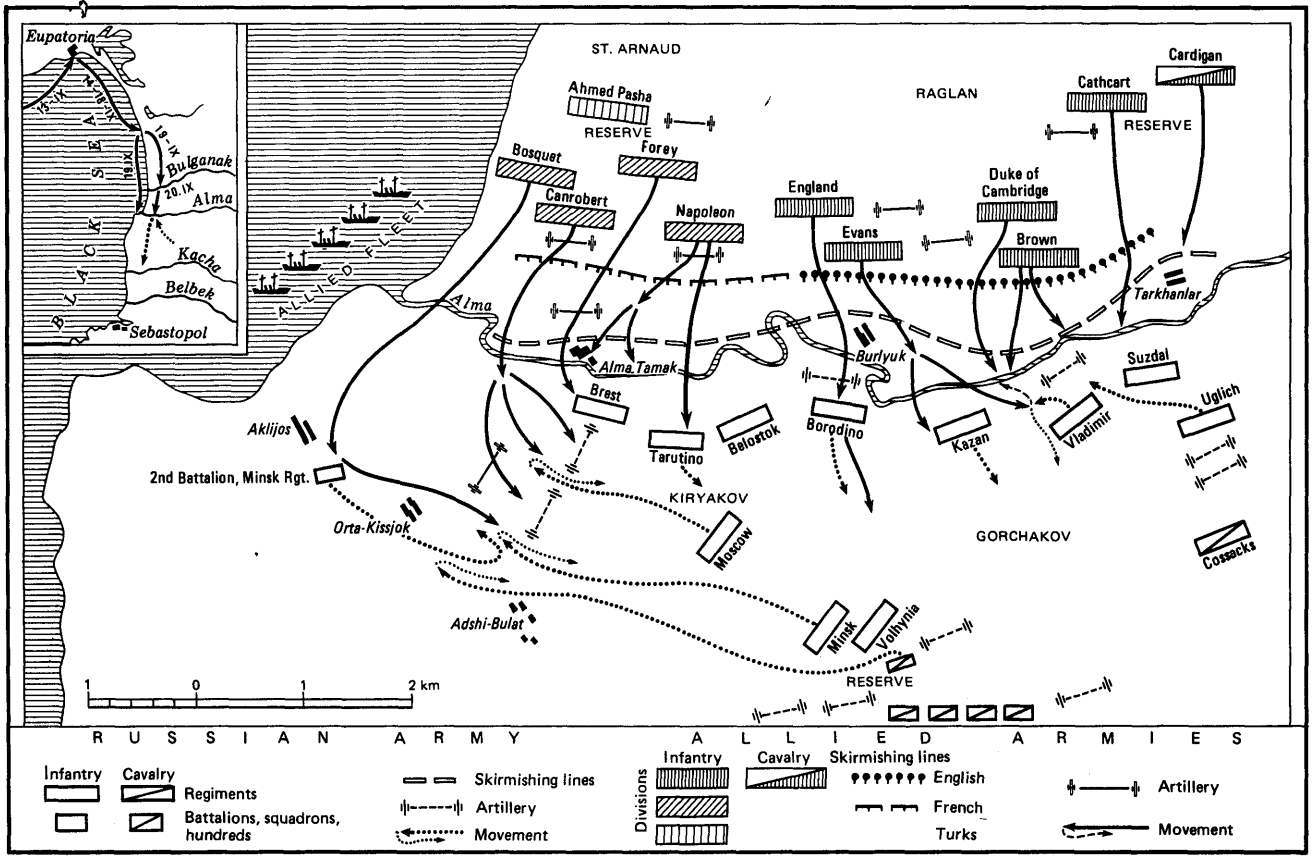

On the 20th the attack took place. It was to be made at daybreak, but owing to the slow movements of the English, the French could not venture to advance across the river before that time. On the French extreme right, Bosquet's division passed the river, which was almost everywhere fordable, and climbed the steep banks of the southern shore without finding any resistance. Means were also found, by vigorous effort, to bring 12 guns up to the plateau. To the left of Bosquet, Canrobert brought his division across the river, and began to deploy on the high ground, while Prince Napoleon's division was engaged in clearing the gardens, vineyards, and houses of the village of Alma from the Russian skirmishers. To all these attacks, made with 29 battalions, Mentchikoff opposed in his first and second lines only 9 battalions, in support of which 7 more soon arrived. These 16 battalions, supported by 40 guns and 4 squadrons of hussars, had to bear the brunt of the immensely superior attack of the French, who were soon supported by the remaining 9 battalions of Forey's division. Thus all St. Arnaud's troops were engaged, with the exception of the Turks, who remained in reserve. The result could not long be doubtful. The Russians slowly gave way, and retired in as good order as could be expected. In the mean time the English had commenced their attack. About 4 o'clock the fire of Bosquet's guns from the height of the plateau at the left of the Russian position had shown the battle to be seriously engaged; in about an hour the English skirmishing line engaged that of the Russians. The English had given up the plan of turning the Russian right, since the Russian cavalry, twice as strong, without Cossacks, as that of the British, covered that wing so as even to menace the English left. Accordingly, Lord Raglan determined to attack the Russians straight before him. He fell upon their centre, having in his first line Brown's light division and Evans' division; the two divisions of the duke of Cambridge and Gen. England formed the second line, while the reserve (Cathcart's division), supported by the cavalry, followed behind the left wing. The first line deployed and charged two villages before its front, and after dislodging the Russians, passed the Alma. Here the reports vary. The English distinctly maintain that their light division reached the breastwork behind which the Russians had placed their heavy artillery, but were then repulsed. The Russians declare that the light division never got well across the river, much less up the steep on which this breastwork was placed. At all events, the second line marched close behind, deployed, had to fall into column again to pass the Alma and to climb up the heights; deployed again, and after

several volleys, charged. It was the duke of Cambridge's division (guards and Highlanders) especially, which came to the rescue of the light division. Evans, though slow in his advance, was not repelled, so that England's division in his rear could scarcely give him any support. The breastwork was taken by the guards and Highlanders, and the position was, after a short but violent struggle, abandoned by the Russians. Eighteen Russian battalions were here engaged against the same number of English battalions; and if the English battalions were stronger than the Russian by some 50 men each, the Russians amply made up for this by their superiority in artillery and the strength of the position. The English infantry fire, however, which is generally reputed as very murderous, was especially so on this occasion. Most of the troops engaged were armed with the Minié rifle, and the impact of their bullets, killing whole files at once, was most destructive to the deep Russian columns. The Russians, having all their infantry, except 6 battalions, engaged, and no hope to stem the advancing tide, broke off the battle, the cavalry and light artillery, together with the small infantry reserve, covering the retreat, which was not molested. The English fought decidedly better than any other troops in this battle, but in their habitual clumsy way of manoeuvring, deploying, forming columns, and deploying again, unnecessarily, under the enemy's fire, by which both time and lives were lost. The consequence of this battle was to the allies the undisputed possession of the open country of the Crimea as long as the Russians remained without reinforcements, and the opening of the road to Sebastopol. By the first advantage they did not profit, but of the second they availed themselves without delay.

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# Frederick Engels

## ALMEIDA [19]

A town of Portugal, in the province of Beira, between the rivers Coa and Duas Casa. Population, 6,200. It is strongly fortified, and was the scene of the defeat of the French, under Masséna, by the duke of Wellington, Aug. 5, 1811.

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## AMUSETTE

*Amusette*, a small light cannon carrying a ball of one pound weight, and formerly used for service in mountainous countries. This gun was highly esteemed by Marshal Saxe, but has now gone entirely out of use.

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## ANTWERP

*Antwerp*, a maritime city of Belgium, the capital of a province bearing the same name. It is situated on the N. bank of the Scheldt, 26 miles N. of Brussels, and 32 miles E. N. E. from Ghent. Population (1855), 79,000. The city has the shape of a bow, the walls forming the semicircle, and the river the cord. The fortifications, which are very complete, have a length, including the citadel, of about $2\,^3/_4$ miles. The strong pentagonal citadel was built by the duke of Alva, in 1567. Antwerp is a very ancient city. It was at the height of its prosperity in the 15th and 16th centuries, at which time it was the commercial centre of Europe, had a widely extended foreign commerce, was frequented by ships of all nations (as many as 2,500 vessels lying in port at one time), and is said to have had a population of 200,000. In 1576 it was sacked and burned by the Spaniards. In 1585 it was taken, after a protracted siege,[20] by Alexander, prince of Parma.[a] Thereafter its trade was removed to Amsterdam, and other towns of the United Provinces. In 1794 it fell into the hands of the French. In 1832, after the revolt of the Belgian provinces, it was retaken, after a memorable siege, by the French Marshal Gérard.[21] Although not so important a city now as in the middle ages, the commerce and manufactures of Antwerp, at the present day, are far from inconsiderable. The river admits vessels of the largest size. The basins erected by Napoleon, and which have been turned into spacious commercial docks, are capable of containing 1,000 vessels. Extensive communication by canal gives to Antwerp an extended inland commerce; 1,970 vessels, of a tonnage of 286,474 tons,

[a] Alexander Farnese.—*Ed.*

arrived here in 1846. It is the point of a regular and much frequented steam communication with England, and has lately become a point of departure for numerous emigrants to the United States. It is one of the most important hide markets in Europe. Its chief manufactures are black silks and velvets. It has also manufactories of cotton, linen, laces, carpets, hats, and cutlery, as well as sugar refineries, and ship-yards. The city retains to the present day much of its ancient splendor. Most of the houses are ancient, and solidly built. It has many fine public buildings, the chief of which is its cathedral, a superb Gothic structure, begun early in the 15th century, and completed in not less than 84 years. There are 3 other churches of note, the exchange, built 1583, the hotel de ville, a palace for the king when he chooses to reside in Antwerp, and the hall of the Hanse towns. It has, beside, an academy of painting, sculpture, and the sciences, a public library containing 15,000 volumes, a picture gallery with 200 very valuable pictures, many of them masterpieces of the old Flemish masters, a botanical garden, and diverse schools, hospitals, and asylums.

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# Frederick Engels

## ARBELA[22]

*Arbela*, now Arbil or Erbil, a small village in Koordistan, which lies on the usual route between Bagdad and Mosul in 36° 11′ N. lat. according to Niebuhr's observations.[a] The houses are built of sun-dried bricks. Arbela was the name of the third and last of the great battles fought between Alexander and Darius 331 B.C.[23] The battle was not actually fought at Arbela, but at a little place 36 miles west by north, called Gaugamela, now Karmeles. After the battle Alexander crossed the Lycus and rested at Arbela.

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[a] *C. Niebuhrs Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern*, Bd. 2, S. 343.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## ARQUEBUSE

*Arquebuse,* sometimes, but incorrectly, written harquebuse, from the French *arquebuse,* and corrupted in English, particularly on the Scottish borders, into hagbut, or hackbut—the earliest form of the musket, which became really serviceable in the field for military purposes. So long ago as the battle of Bosworth, A.D. 1485,[24] it was introduced under the name of a hand-gun, which was nothing more than a short iron cylinder closed with a *quasi*-breech at one end, and provided with a touch-hole, fastened to the end of a stout wooden pole, like the handle of a spear or halberd. This hand-gun or miniature cannon was loaded with slugs or small bullets upon a charge of coarse powder, and was discharged by means of a match applied to the vent, the instrument being supported on the shoulder of the front rank man, who was a pikeman or halberdier, and directed by means of the handle, and fired, though of course without any aim, by the rear rank. Even earlier than this, at the battle of Agincourt,[25] according to Hall's chronicle, the Britons were armed "with fiery hand-guns."[a] So clumsy, however, and slow of operation were these antique firearms, that, in spite of their formidable sound and unaccustomed appearance, they produced little or no effect. In the reign of Henry VIII, although during its earlier years, the battle of Pavia[26] was won by the fire of the Spanish arquebusiers, the longbow still held its own as the superior weapon, in virtue of its

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[a] E. Halle, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrate Families of Lancastre & Yorke.—Ed.*

accuracy of aim, its range, and penetration; and even in the reign of Elizabeth, the longbow is spoken of as "the queen of weapons," although she had musketeers in her army, and assisted Henry IV, of France, with a body of horse arquebusiers, commanded by Col. James, an ancestor of the well-known novelist.[a] During her reign, this arm was greatly improved, although it was still so long and cumbersome that it could only be fired from a forked rest planted in the earth before the marksman, that indispensable instrument being sometimes furnished with a pike or halberd-head, so as, when set obliquely in the ground, to serve as a palisade.

The barrels of these old pieces are extremely long, of very thick metal, usually small-bored, and sometimes, already, rifled; as is the case with the piece still preserved at Hamilton palace, in Scotland, with which the regent Murray was shot by Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh, in the year 1570. They were fired by means of a coil of match, or wick, of prepared hemp, passed through a hammer, like that of a modern firelock, which, being released by the pulling of the trigger, threw down the lighted match into the pan, and discharged the piece. In due time the matchlock gave way to the wheel-lock, in which the flint was fixed so as to be stationary, over the pan, and a toothed wheel, by means of a spring, was set in rapid motion against its edge, so as to project a shower of sparks into the powder below. To the wheel-lock succeeded the snaphance, as it was called. This was the first uncouth rudiment of the flint and steel lock, which was brought to such perfection by Joseph Manton, and which has only, within a few years, been entirely superseded by the percussion cap, than which it is not easy to imagine a quicker and more infallible instrument of ignition. The snaphance came into use for fine pistols, fowling-pieces, and choice musquetoons, during the English civil wars[27]; but their rarity and high price kept them out of general use, except as the arms of gentlemen and officers of rank, while the matchlock still continued the weapon of the rank and file. It is remarkable that there has been far less advancement than one would have imagined, from the first invention of the improved arquebuse until very recent days, in the mere workmanship of the barrel and the accurate flight of the ball. The difficulty of aiming truly seems to have arisen solely from the defective method of firing, the clumsiness of the piece, and the extreme slowness of

[a] George Payne Rainsford James.—*Ed.*

the ignition; for many arquebuse barrels of great antiquity, especially those of Spanish manufacture, having been altered to the percussion principle, new-stocked, and properly balanced, are found to shoot with great accuracy and even unusual penetration, at long ranges.

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## ASPERN

*Aspern* and *Essling*, a town and village on the north side of the Danube, the former about half a league, the latter about 2 leagues below Vienna, situated on the great meadowy plain of the Marchfield, extending from the river to the wooded mountain heights of the Bisamberg, celebrated for the 2 days' terrible fighting between the French and Austrians, on May 21 and 22, 1809, and the first defeat of the emperor Napoleon, who was here beaten and forced to retreat by the archduke Charles.

In the early part of the campaign, Napoleon, with the grand army,[28] had made his way through the Tyrol, up the rivers Inn and Isar; had defeated the archduke at Eckmühl; forced him across the Danube, into the mountains of Bohemia, at Ratisbon,[a] which he took by assault, thus interposing between the Austrian army and capital[29] and then, detaching Davout with 40,000 men to amuse the imperial general, had descended the Danube, and made himself master of Vienna; while from the Italian side his lieutenants, Eugène Beauharnais, and Macdonald, were advancing victoriously through Dalmatia, Carniola, and up the valley of the Muhr, in which Jellachich was severely defeated, to join their commander. In the mean time, the archduke Charles, who since his defeat at Eckmühl had been moving slowly down the river, on the northern side, hoping for an opportunity to fight at advantage and rescue the empire under the walls of the capital itself, took post with his army on the Bisamberg, over against the island of Lobau, and another smaller islet, which here divide the Danube into 4 channels.

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[a] Regensburg.—*Ed.*

The archduke was at the head of 100,000 men, and was in hourly expectation of being joined by his brother, the archduke John, with 40,000 more, which would have been raised to 60,000, had that prince effected his junction, as he was explicitly ordered to do, with Kolowrat at Lintz, and which would have occupied a most commanding position in the rear of Napoleon, and on the principal line of his communications.

It was Napoleon's object, who had concentrated under his own orders 80,000 admirable soldiers ready to take the field, including the imperial guard and the reserve cavalry of Bessières, to cross the Danube and give battle to the archduke, in the hope of crushing him before the arrival of his reinforcements. To this intent, he bridged the river from the right bank to the island of Lobau, with a structure of most solid materials, supported on 68 large boats and 9 huge rafts, and from Lobau to the Marchfield, midway between the villages of Aspern and Essling, with a slighter fabric of pontoons; and on the morning of the 21st began to pass his troops across, with the utmost alacrity and diligence. The Austrian commander, from his mountain position, perceived the rashness of the manoeuvre, by which the emperor was pushing his vast host across a wide and rapid river, by means of a single bridge, which could only admit of a slow and gradual defiling of the men of all arms, over its long and narrow causeway, difficult to cavalry, yet more difficult to artillery; and which, in case of his being forced to retreat, scarcely offered a possibility of saving the army; and perceiving it, resolved at once to avail himself of the opportunity of crushing half the French host on the northern bank, while the rest of the army was either in the act of passing, or on the southern side. Sending orders to Kolowrat, Nordmann, and the other officers in command up the river, to prepare boats laden with heavy materials and combustibles for the destruction of the bridges, when the time should arrive, the archduke kept his great army out of sight, ordering his cavalry and outposts only to make a nominal resistance, and then to fall back before the advance of the French, which was led by Masséna; until at 12 o'clock the movement of the enemy was sufficiently developed, above 40,000 French being already on the northern shore—to justify his assuming the initiative.

At that hour, descending from the wooded heights of the Bisamberg, with 80,000 men, of whom 14,000 were splendid cavalry, and 288 cannons, he precipitated himself upon the enemy, making the 2 villages of Aspern and Essling, on Napoleon's flanks, the principal points of his attack; the central

## BATTLE OF ASPERN, MAY 21-22, 1809

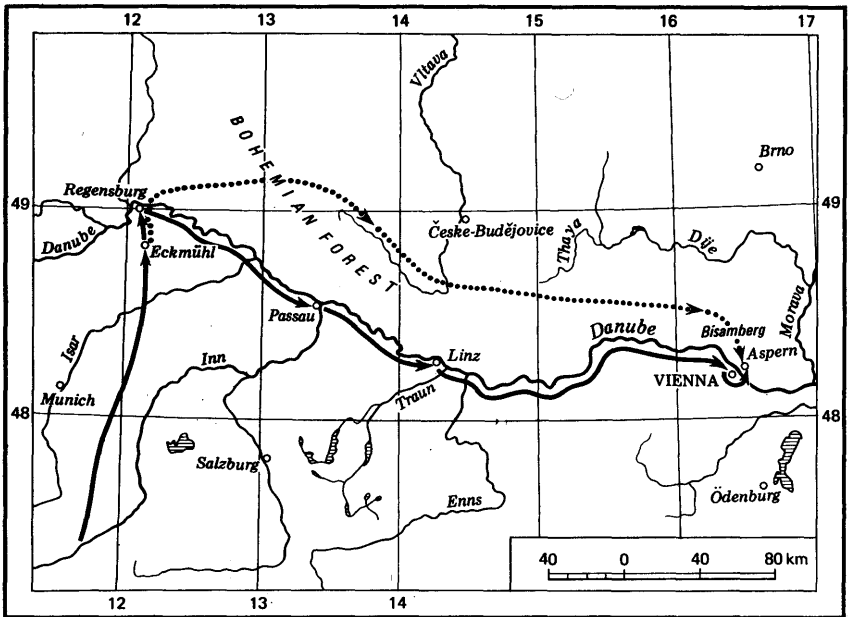


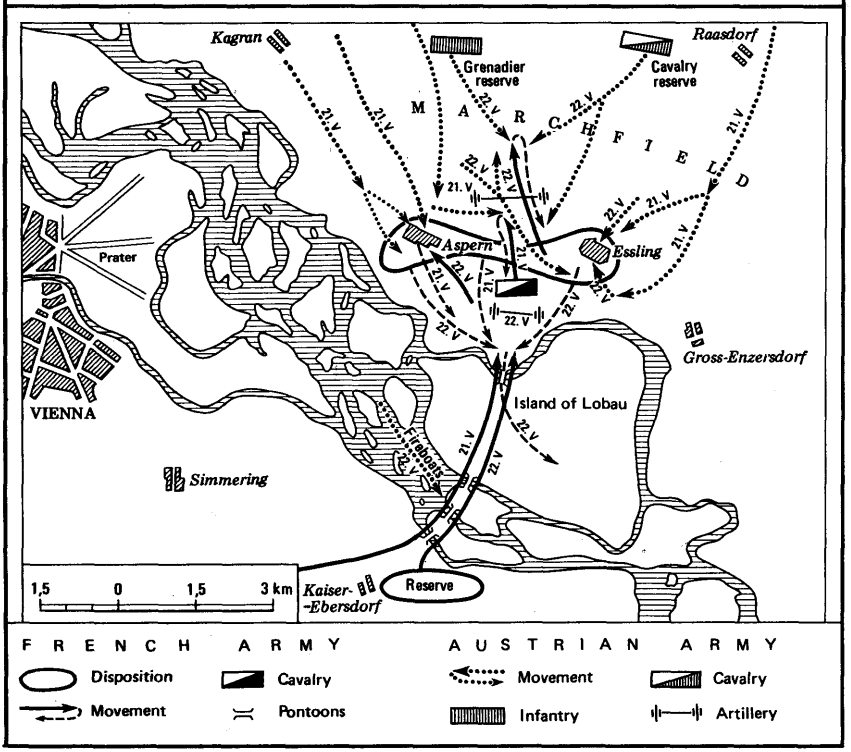

space between these 2 strong places, which were built of stone, with garden walls and many enclosures, was occupied by the tremendous Austrian batteries, guarded chiefly by cavalry, with Hohenzollern's infantry in reserve in the rear. The fighting on both the flank attacks was terrific, and the fury of the assaults and obstinacy of the defence almost unparalleled in the history of war. Both villages were taken and retaken several times, and so terribly did the Austrian artillery devastate the French lines, that Napoleon ordered a grand charge of cavalry to take the batteries, if possible. The superb French cuirassiers of the guard charged with their usual impetuous valor, routed the Austrian horse, and would have carried the guns, but that they were hastily withdrawn, and the infantry formed in squares, which, as at Waterloo[30] afterward, defied all attempts to break their impenetrable formation, and at last defeated the horse, and compelled them to retire, shattered and decimated, into their own lines. In the mean time, Aspern was taken by the imperialists, their centre was gradually but irresistibly gaining ground, in spite of the gallant devotion of the cuirassiers, who charged again and again with constantly diminishing numbers, and who alone prevented the French lines from being broken through.

Night brought a brief cessation of the strife; but the French had suffered a decided defeat in a pitched battle; their left flank was turned, their centre forced back almost to the bridges; and although Essling, on their right, had been defended by the gallantry of Lannes, it was surrounded by the Austrians, who slept on their arms among the French dead, waiting only the return of light to renew their offensive operations.

During the whole night, however, fresh forces were defiling across the bridges, and debouching upon the Marchfield, and at daybreak, after all the losses of the preceding day, Napoleon had full 70,000 men in line, while Davout was beginning to cross over at the head of 30,000 more. The battle began by renewed attacks on the two disputed villages; Essling was carried by the imperialists, and Aspern retaken by the French. Both villages were the scene of desperate fighting all day long, and both were taken and retaken several times with the bayonet, but at last remained in the hands of the Austrians, who, in the evening, advanced their artillery beyond both places, and actually crossed their fire upon the rear of the French. But during these bloody conflicts, Napoleon, who was relieved by his vast accession of forces from the necessity of acting on the defensive, had recourse to his favorite manoeuvre of an overwhelming attack on the centre. At

the head of a huge column of above 20,000 infantry, with 200 cannon preceding them, and a tremendous cavalry force in their rear, he launched Lannes and Oudinot directly on the Austrian centre, where the lines appeared the weakest, between the left of Hohenzollern and the right of Rosenberg. At first, this tremendous attack seemed to be perfectly successful; the Austrian lines were forced; a huge gap made between Rosenberg and Hohenzollern, into which the cavalry burst with appalling fury, and cut their way clear through to the reserves of the prince of Reuss, far in the rear; and already the cry went abroad, that the battle was lost; but the archduke Charles was equal to the emergency; the reserve grenadiers were brought up at double quick time, and formed in a checker of squares; the numerous dragoons of Prince Liechtenstein came galloping up behind them, and, with the colors of Zach's corps in his own hand, the gallant prince restored the battle.

The terrific column of Lannes could advance no further, but halting, began to exchange volleys with the squares, and, unable to deploy, was crushed by the concentrated fire of the batteries, playing on it at half musket shot. In vain the cavalry charged home on the bayonets of the squares, for not a square wavered or was broken; and, at length, the Austrian dragoons of the reserve, coming up with loud shouts, charged the cuirassiers in their turn, routed them, and drove them in confusion back upon their infantry, and completed the disorder. Immediately after this repulse, Hohenzollern broke through the French lines on the right of the centre with 6 Hungarian regiments of grenadiers, and carried all before him, even to the rear of Essling, which, with Aspern, were both carried finally by the imperialists. From these villages, as the Austrian centre was now driving all before it, in spite of the unparalleled exertions of the French army, which was now in full retreat to the island of Lobau, the Austrian batteries crossed their fire, with fatal effect, on the bridges, every shot telling on the crowded masses of men and horses.

Meanwhile, to augment the perils of the French, the bridge connecting the island with the southern shore was broken by the Austrian fireboats and rafts, and all escape from the island was rendered, for the moment, impossible. Still, with unexampled firmness the rear-guard of the French held the Austrians in check, until, at midnight, the last of the enemy having withdrawn from the field of battle into the island, the thunder of the Austrian batteries ceased, and the exhausted artillerists fell asleep beside

their guns, worn out by the fatigues of that unparalleled and glorious day.

Seven thousand French were buried on the field of battle by the victors; 29,793 were carried, wounded and prisoners, into Vienna. Lannes and St. Hilaire were mortally wounded, and died a few days afterward. On the side of the imperialists, 87 superior officers, and 4,200 privates, were killed; beside 16,300 wounded. But the victory, gained under the very walls, and almost within sight of the capital, was complete; the enemy, broken, defeated, and dispirited, were cooped up in the narrow limits of the island of Lobau, and, had the archduke John, in obedience to his orders, made his appearance in the rear of the French with 60,000 fresh men, on the morning following the defeat of Aspern, it were difficult to say what might not have been the result.

But Napoleon's time had not yet arrived, and the nations were yet doomed to suffer 4 years longer, before the final downfall of the military colossus should restore them to their lost freedom, by the fields of Leipsic[31] and Waterloo.

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## ATTACK

*Attack,* in its general, strategetical meaning, is held to signify the taking of the initiative in any particular skirmish, combat, engagement, or pitched battle; in all of which one party must necessarily commence with offensive, the other with defensive, operations. The attack is generally considered the more successful, and consequently, armies acting on the defensive, that is to say, in wars of a strictly defensive nature, often initiate offensive campaigns, and even in defensive campaigns deliver offensive actions. In the former case, the object to be gained is that the defending army, by shifting the place and scene of operation, disturbs the calculations of the enemy, takes him away from his base of operations, and compels him to fight at times and places different from those which he expected, and for which he was prepared; and perhaps, positively disadvantageous to him.

The two most remarkable instances of offensive operations and direct attacks, used in strictly defensive campaigns, occurred in the two wonderful campaigns of Napoleon: that of 1814, which resulted in his banishment to Elba; and that of 1815, which was terminated by the rout of Waterloo and the surrender of Paris.[32] In both these extraordinary campaigns, the leader, who was acting strictly in the defence of an invaded country, attacked his enemies on all sides, and on every occasion; and, being always vastly inferior, on the whole, to the invaders, contrived always to be superior, and generally victorious, on the point of attack. The unfortunate result of both these campaigns detracts nothing from the conception or the details of either. They were both lost from causes entirely independent of their plan or execution, causes both political and strategical, the principal of which were the vast

superiority of the allied means, and the impossibility that any one nation, exhausted by wars of a quarter of a century, should resist the attack of a world in arms against it.

It has been said that when two armies are set face to face in the field, that army which takes the initiative, or in other words, *attacks*, has the decided advantage. It would appear, however, that those who have adopted this view, have been dazzled by the splendid achievements of a few great generals, and of one or two great military nations, which have owed their successes to attacks on the grandest scale; and that the opinion requires much modification. Epaminondas, Alexander, Hannibal, Caesar, and, last not least, Napoleon I, were, emphatically, attacking generals, and won all their great victories, as, in the main, they endured all their great reverses, in actions wherein [they] themselves assumed the initiative. The French owe every thing to the impetuosity of their almost irresistible onset, and to their rapid intelligence in following up successes and converting disasters, on the part of their enemy, into irretrievable ruin. They are by no means equal in the defensive. The history of the greatest battles in the world seems to show that, where the attacked army has solid and obstinate endurance sufficient to make it to resist, unbroken, until the fire of the assailants begins to die out, and exhaustion and reaction to succeed, and can then assume the offensive and attack in its turn, the defensive action is the safest. But there are few armies, or, indeed, races of men, who can be intrusted to fight such battles. Even the Romans, though magnificent in the defence of walled towns, and wonderful in offensive field operations, were never celebrated in the defensive; and their history shows no battle in which, after fighting all day under reverse and on the defensive, they in the end attacked and won. The same is generally characteristic of the French armies and leaders. The Greeks, on the contrary, fought many of their best battles, as those of Marathon, Thermopylae, Plataea,[33] and many others, but the latter especially, on the plan of receiving the assault until it slackens, and then attacking the half-exhausted and surprised assailants. The same has been the English, and, to a great extent, the Swiss and German system for many ages, and generally successful with those troops, as it has been in later days with the Americans. The battles of Crécy, Poitiers, Agincourt,[34] Waterloo, Aspern and Essling[a] and many others, too numerous to be recorded, were fought exactly on the same principle; and it may be added that in the war of

[a] On the battle of Aspern and Essling see this volume, pp. 27-33.—*Ed.*

1812-'14,[35] the Americans successfully retorted on the English, who almost invariably attacked them, and that too—contrary to their usual mode—in column, the plan which they had proved to be so valuable against the French, and which they have still more recently proved against the Russians.[a]

The ordinary modes of attack are the following, when two armies are opposed face to face, in the field, and when both intend to fight. First, and simplest, the direct parallel attack, when the assailing force joins battle, at once, along the whole front, from wing to wing, and fights it out by sheer force. Second, the attack by the wings, either on both simultaneously, or on one first and then on the other, successively, keeping the centre retired. This was Napoleon's favorite battle, by which, having caused the enemy to weaken his centre in order to strengthen his wings, while he kept his own centre retired and fortified by immense reserves of cavalry, he finally rushed into the central gap and finished the action with an exterminating blow. Third, the attack by the centre, keeping the wings retired and in reserve. This is the most faulty of all attacks, and has rarely been adopted, and, it is believed, never successfully. If an army be forced into this position, it is generally surrounded and annihilated, as was the Roman attacking army at Cannae.[36] It is, on the contrary, an admirable position of defence. Fourth, the oblique attack, invented by Epaminondas, and practised by him, with splendid success, at Leuctra and Mantinea.[37] It consists in attacking one wing of the enemy, with one wing secretly and successively reinforced, while the centre and other wing are retired, but are so manoeuvred as to threaten a constant attack, and prevent the defending party from strengthening its own weak point, until it is too late. This was the favorite method of the Austrian Clerfayt, by which he constantly defeated the Turks; and of Frederick the Great, who was wont to say that "he was only fighting Epaminondas his battles over again," in his own finest victories.

It is worthy of remark that the Greeks, the French generally, as well as the Russians and the Austrians, have gained all their best battles by attack of columns; which, when they are not effectually checked and brought to a stand, break through the centre and carry all before them. The Romans, the English, and the Americans, almost invariably, have fought and still fight, whether in attack or on defence, in line; in which formation they have

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[a] A reference to the Crimean war of 1853-56.—*Ed.*

always proved able to resist and hold in check the assaulting column with their centre, until by the advance of their wings they can overlap the enemy's flanks and crush him. It is worthy of remark, that wherever the English have varied from what may be called their national order of attack, in line two deep, and have assailed in column, as at Fontenoy and Chippewa,[38] they have suffered disaster. The inference is nearly irresistible, that the central attack by column is radically faulty against firm and steady troops, although it is sure of success against an enemy of inferior physique and discipline, especially if he be demoralized in spirit.

In attacking a redoubt or field fortification, if it be defended only by infantry, the assailants may march immediately to the attack; if it be defended also by cannon, it is necessary first to silence cannon by cannon. The cannonade is conducted in such a way as to break the palisades, dismount the pieces, and plough up the parapet, and thus to oblige the defending cannon to be withdrawn into the interior. After the attacking artillery has thus produced its effect, the light infantry, principally riflemen, envelop a part of the work, directing their fire upon the crest of the parapet, so as to oblige the defenders either not to show themselves at all, or at least to fire hurriedly. Gradually the riflemen approach, and converge their aim, and the columns of attack are formed, preceded by men armed with axes and carrying ladders. The men in the front rank may also be furnished with fascines which both serve as bucklers and will assist in filling up the ditch. The guns of the work are now brought back and directed against the assailing columns, and the attacking riflemen redouble their fire, aiming particularly upon the artillery men of the defence who may attempt to reload their pieces. If the assailants succeed in reaching the ditch, it is essential that they should in the assault act together, and leap into the work from all sides at once. They therefore wait a moment upon the brim for a concerted signal; and in mounting upon the parapet they are met by howitzer shells, rolling stones, and trunks of trees, and at the top are received by the defenders at the point of the bayonet or with the butt of the musket. The advantage of position is still with the defenders, but the spirit of attack gives to the assailants great moral superiority; and if the work be not defended by other works upon its flanks, it will be difficult, though not quite unprecedented, to repel even at this point a valiant assault. Temporary works may be attacked by surprise or by open force, and in either case it is the first duty of the commander to obtain, by spies or reconnoissance, the fullest possible information concerning the

character of the work, its garrison, defences, and resources. The infantry are often thrown in an attack upon their own resources, when they must rely upon their own fertile invention, firing the abatis by lighted fagots, filling up small ditches with bundles of hay, escalading palisades with ladders under the protection of a firing party, bursting barricaded doors or windows by a bag of powder; and by such measures decisively and boldly used, they will generally be able to overcome any of the ordinary obstructions.

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# Frederick Engels

## ABATIS[39]

*Abatis*, or *abattis*, in military strategy, a bulwark made of felled trees, in frequent use in rude mountain warfare. On emergency, the trees are laid lengthwise, with the branches pointed outwards to repel the invaders, while the trunks serve as a breastwork for the defendants. When the abatis is deliberately employed as the means of defending a mountain pass, for instance, the boughs of the tree are stripped of their leaves and pointed, the trunks are embedded in the ground, and the branches interwoven, so as to form a sort of *chevaux de frise*.

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# Frederick Engels

## AFGHANISTAN[40]

*Afghanistan*, an extensive country of Asia, north-west of India. It lies between Persia and the Indies, and in the other direction between the Hindoo Koosh and the Indian Ocean. It formerly included the Persian provinces of Khorassan and Kohistan, together with Herat, Beloochistan, Cashmere, and Sinde, and a considerable part of the Punjaub. In its present limits there are probably not more than 4,000,000 inhabitants. The surface of Afghanistan is very irregular,—lofty table lands, vast mountains, deep valleys, and ravines. Like all mountainous tropical countries it presents every variety of climate. In the Hindoo Koosh, the snow lies all the year on the lofty summits, while in the valleys the thermometer ranges up to 130°. The heat is greater in the eastern than in the western parts, but the climate is generally cooler than that of India; and although the alternations of temperature between summer and winter, or day and night, are very great, the country is generally healthy. The principal diseases are fevers, catarrhs, and ophthalmia. Occasionally the small-pox is destructive. The soil is of exuberant fertility. Date palms flourish in the oases of the sandy wastes; the sugar cane and cotton in the warm valleys; and European fruits and vegetables grow luxuriantly on the hill-side terraces up to a level of 6,000 or 7,000 feet. The mountains are clothed with noble forests, which are frequented by bears, wolves, and foxes, while the lion, the leopard, and the tiger, are found in districts congenial to their habits. The animals useful to mankind are not wanting. There is a fine variety of sheep of the Persian or large-tailed breed. The horses are of good size and blood. The camel and ass are used as beasts of burthen, and goats, dogs, and cats, are to be found in great numbers. Beside the

Hindoo Koosh, which is a continuation of the Himalayas, there is a mountain chain called the Solyman mountain, on the south-west; and between Afghanistan and Balkh, there is a chain known as the Paropamisan range, very little information concerning which has, however, reached Europe. The rivers are few in number; the Helmund and the Cabool are the most important. These take their rise in the Hindoo Koosh, the Cabool flowing east and falling into the Indus near Attock; the Helmund flowing west through the district of Seiestan and falling into the lake of Zurrah. The Helmund has the peculiarity of overflowing its banks annually like the Nile, bringing fertility to the soil, which, beyond the limit of the inundation, is sandy desert. The principal cities of Afghanistan are Cabool, the capital, Ghuznee, Peshawer, and Candahar. Cabool is a fine town, lat. 34° 10′ N. long. 60° 43′ E., on the river of the same name. The buildings are of wood, neat and commodious, and the town being surrounded with fine gardens, has a very pleasing aspect. It is environed with villages, and is in the midst of a large plain encircled with low hills. The tomb of the emperor Baber is its chief monument. Peshawer is a large city, with a population estimated at 100,000. Ghuznee, a city of ancient renown, once the capital of the great sultan Mahmoud, has fallen from its great estate and is now a poor place. Near it is Mahmoud's tomb. Candahar was founded as recently as 1754. It is on the site of an ancient city. It was for a few years the capital; but in 1774 the seat of government was removed to Cabool. It is believed to contain 100,000 inhabitants. Near the city is the tomb of Shah Ahmed, the founder of the city, an asylum so sacred that even the king may not remove a criminal who has taken refuge within its walls.

The geographical position of Afghanistan, and the peculiar character of the people, invest the country with a political importance that can scarcely be over-estimated in the affairs of Central Asia. The government is a monarchy, but the king's authority over his high-spirited and turbulent subjects, is personal and very uncertain. The kingdom is divided into provinces, each superintended by a representative of the sovereign, who collects the revenue and remits it to the capital. The Afghans are a brave, hardy, and independent race; they follow pastoral or agricultural occupations only, eschewing trade and commerce, which they contemptuously resign to Hindoos, and to other inhabitants of towns. With them, war is an excitement and relief from the monotonous occupation of industrial pursuits. The Afghans are divided into clans,[41] over which the various chiefs exercise a sort of

feudal supremacy. Their indomitable hatred of rule, and their love of individual independence, alone prevents their becoming a powerful nation; but this very irregularity and uncertainty of action makes them dangerous neighbors, liable to be blown about by the wind of caprice, or to be stirred up by political intriguers, who artfully excite their passions. The two principal tribes are the Dooranees and Ghilgies, who are always at feud with each other. The Dooranee is the more powerful; and in virtue of their supremacy their ameer or khan made himself king of Afghanistan. He has a revenue of about $10,000,000. His authority is supreme only in his tribe. The military contingents are chiefly furnished by the Dooranees; the rest of the army is supplied either by the other clans, or by military adventurers who enlist into the service in hopes of pay or plunder. Justice in the towns is administered by cadis, but the Afghans rarely resort to law. Their khans have the right of punishment even to the extent of life or death. Avenging of blood is a family duty; nevertheless, they are said to be a liberal and generous people when unprovoked, and the rights of hospitality are so sacred that a deadly enemy who eats bread and salt, obtained even by stratagem, is sacred from revenge, and may even claim the protection of his host against all other danger. In religion they are Mohammedans, and of the Soonee sect; but they are not bigoted, and alliances between Sheeahs and Soonees[42] are by no means uncommon.

Afghanistan has been subjected alternately to Mogul[43] and Persian dominion. Previous to the advent of the British on the shores of India the foreign invasions which swept the plains of Hindostan always proceeded from Afghanistan. Sultan Mahmoud the Great, Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, and Nadir Shah, all took this road. In 1747 after the death of Nadir, Shah Ahmed, who had learned the art of war under that military adventurer, determined to shake off the Persian yoke. Under him Afghanistan reached its highest point of greatness and prosperity in modern times. He belonged to the family of the Suddosis, and his first act was to seize upon the booty which his late chief had gathered in India. In 1748 he succeeded in expelling the Mogul governor from Cabool and Peshawer, and crossing the Indus he rapidly overran the Punjaub. His kingdom extended from Khorassan to Delhi, and he even measured swords with the Mahratta powers.[44] These great enterprises did not, however, prevent him from cultivating some of the arts of peace, and he was favorably known as a poet and historian. He died in 1772, and left his crown to his son Timour, who, however, was unequal to the weighty charge.

He abandoned the city of Candahar, which had been founded by his father, and had, in a few years, become a wealthy and populous town, and removed the seat of government back to Cabool. During his reign the internal dissensions of the tribes, which had been repressed by the firm hand of Shah Ahmed, were revived. In 1793 Timour died, and Siman succeeded him. This prince conceived the idea of consolidating the Mohammedan power of India, and this plan, which might have seriously endangered the British possessions, was thought so important that Sir John Malcolm was sent to the frontier to keep the Afghans in check, in case of their making any movement, and at the same time negotiations were opened with Persia, by whose assistance the Afghans might be placed between two fires. These precautions were, however, unnecessary; Siman Shah was more than sufficiently occupied by conspiracies, and disturbances at home, and his great plans were nipped in the bud. The king's brother, Mahmud, threw himself into Herat with the design of erecting an independent principality, but failing in his attempt he fled into Persia. Siman Shah had been assisted in attaining the throne by the Bairukshee family, at the head of which was Sheir Afras Khan. Siman's appointment of an unpopular vizier excited the hatred of his old supporters, who organized a conspiracy which was discovered, and Sheir Afras was put to death. Mahmud was now recalled by the conspirators, Siman was taken prisoner and his eyes put out. In opposition to Mahmud, who was supported by the Dooranees, Shah Soojah was put forward by the Ghilgies, and held the throne for some time; but he was at last defeated, chiefly through the treachery of his own supporters, and was forced to take refuge amongst the Sikhs.[45]

In 1809 Napoleon had sent Gen. Gardane to Persia in the hope of inducing the shah[a] to invade India, and the Indian government sent a representative[b] to the court of Shah Soojah to create an opposition to Persia. At this epoch, Runjeet Singh rose into power and fame. He was a Sikh chieftain, and by his genius made his country independent of the Afghans, and erected a kingdom in the Punjaub, earning for himself the title of Maharajah (chief rajah), and the respect of the Anglo-Indian government. The usurper Mahmud was, however, not destined to enjoy his triumph long. Futteh Khan, his vizier, who had alternately fluctuated between Mahmud and Shah Soojah, as ambition or temporary

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[a] Fath Ali.—*Ed.*

[b] Mountstuart Elphinstone.—*Ed.*

interest prompted, was seized by the king's son Kamran, his eyes put out, and afterward cruelly put to death. The powerful family of the murdered vizier swore to avenge his death. The puppet Shah Soojah was again brought forward and Mahmud expelled. Shah Soojah having given offence, however, was presently deposed, and another brother crowned in his stead. Mahmud fled to Herat, of which he continued in possession, and in 1829 on his death his son Kamran succeeded him in the government of that district. The Bairukshee family, having now attained chief power, divided the territory among themselves, but following the national usage quarrelled, and were only united in presence of a common enemy. One of the brothers, Mohammed Khan, held the city of Peshawer, for which he paid tribute to Runjeet Singh; another held Ghuznee; a third Candahar; while in Cabool, Dost Mohammed, the most powerful of the family, held sway.

To this prince, Capt. Alexander Burnes was sent as ambassador in 1835, when Russia and England were intriguing against each other in Persia and Central Asia. He offered an alliance which the Dost was but too eager to accept; but the Anglo-Indian government demanded every thing from him, while it offered absolutely nothing in return. In the mean time, in 1838, the Persians, with Russian aid and advice, laid siege to Herat, the key of Afghanistan and India[46]; a Persian and a Russian agent arrived at Cabool, and the Dost, by the constant refusal of any positive engagement on the part of the British, was, at last, actually compelled to receive overtures from the other parties. Burnes left, and Lord Auckland, then governor-general of India, influenced by his secretary W. McNaghten, determined to punish Dost Mohammed, for what he himself had compelled him to do. He resolved to dethrone him, and to set up Shah Soojah, now a pensioner of the Indian government. A treaty was concluded with Shah Soojah, and with the Sikhs; the shah began collecting an army, paid and officered by the British, and an Anglo-Indian force was concentrated on the Sutlej. McNaghten, seconded by Burnes, was to accompany the expedition in the quality of envoy in Afghanistan. In the mean time the Persians had raised the siege of Herat, and thus the only valid reason for interference in Afghanistan was removed, but, nevertheless, in December 1838, the army marched toward Sinde, which country was coerced into submission, and the payment of a contribution for the benefit of the Sikhs and Shah Soojah.[47] Feb. 20, 1839, the British army passed the Indus. It consisted of about 12,000 men, with above 40,000 camp-followers, beside the new levies of the shah. The Bolan pass was traversed in March; want of

provisions and forage began to be felt; the camels dropped by hundreds, and a great part of the baggage was lost. April 7, the army entered the Khojak pass, traversed it without resistance, and on April 25 entered Candahar, which the Afghan princes, brothers of Dost Mohammed, had abandoned. After a rest of two months, Sir John Keane, the commander, advanced with the main body of the army toward the north, leaving a brigade, under Nott, in Candahar. Ghuznee, the impregnable stronghold of Afghanistan, was taken, July 22, a deserter having brought information that the Cabool gate was the only one which had not been walled up; it was accordingly blown down, and the place was then stormed. After this disaster, the army which Dost Mohammed had collected, at once disbanded, and Cabool too opened its gates, Aug. 6. Shah Soojah was installed in due form, but the real direction of government remained in the hands of McNaghten, who also paid all Shah Soojah's expenses out of the Indian treasury.

The conquest of Afghanistan seemed accomplished, and a considerable portion of the troops was sent back. But the Afghans were noways content to be ruled by the *Feringhee Kaffirs* (European infidels), and during the whole of 1840 and '41, insurrection followed on insurrection in every part of the country. The Anglo-Indian troops had to be constantly on the move. Yet, McNaghten declared this to be the normal state of Afghan society, and wrote home that every thing went on well, and Shah Soojah's power was taking root. In vain were the warnings of the military officers and the other political agents. Dost Mohammed had surrendered to the British in October, 1840, and was sent to India; every insurrection during the summer of '41 was successfully repressed, and toward October, McNaghten, nominated governor of Bombay, intended leaving with another body of troops for India. But then the storm broke out. The occupation of Afghanistan cost the Indian treasury £1,250,000 per annum: 16,000 troops, Anglo-Indian, and Shah Soojah's, had to be paid in Afghanistan; 3,000 more lay in Sinde, and the Bolan pass; Shah Soojah's regal splendors, the salaries of his functionaries, and all expenses of his court and government, were paid by the Indian treasury, and finally, the Afghan chiefs were subsidized, or rather bribed, from the same source, in order to keep them out of mischief. McNaghten was informed of the impossibility of going on at this rate of spending money. He attempted retrenchment, but the only possible way to enforce it was to cut down the allowances of the chiefs. The very day he attempted this, the

chiefs formed a conspiracy for the extermination of the British, and thus McNaghten himself was the means of bringing about the concentration of those insurrectionary forces, which hitherto had struggled against the invaders singly, and without unity or concert; though it is certain, too, that by this time the hatred of British dominion among the Afghans had reached the highest point.

The English in Cabool were commanded by Gen. Elphinstone, a gouty, irresolute, completely helpless old man, whose orders constantly contradicted each other. The troops occupied a sort of fortified camp, which was so extensive that the garrison was scarcely sufficient to man the ramparts, much less to detach bodies to act in the field. The works were so imperfect that ditch and parapet could be ridden over on horseback. As if this was not enough, the camp was commanded almost within musket range by the neighboring heights, and to crown the absurdity of the arrangements, all provisions, and medical stores, were in two detached forts at some distance from camp, separated from it, moreover, by walled gardens and another small fort not occupied by the English. The citadel or Bala Hissar of Cabool would have offered strong and splendid winter quarters for the whole army, but to please Shah Soojah, it was not occupied. Nov. 2, 1841, the insurrection broke out. The house of Alexander Burnes, in the city, was attacked and he himself murdered. The British general did nothing, and the insurrection grew strong by impunity. Elphinstone, utterly helpless, at the mercy of all sorts of contradictory advice, very soon got every thing into that confusion which Napoleon described by the three words, *ordre, contreordre, désordre.* The Bala Hissar was, even now, not occupied. A few companies were sent against the thousands of insurgents, and of course were beaten. This still more emboldened the Afghans. Nov. 3, the forts close to the camp were occupied. On the 9th, the commissariat fort (garrisoned by only 80 men) was taken by the Afghans, and the British were thus reduced to starvation. On the 5th, Elphinstone already talked of buying a free passage out of the country. In fact, by the middle of November, his irresolution and incapacity had so demoralized the troops that neither Europeans nor Sepoys[48] were any longer fit to meet the Afghans in the open field. Then the negotiations began. During these, McNaghten was murdered in a conference with Afghan chiefs. Snow began to cover the ground, provisions were scarce. At last, Jan. 1, a capitulation was concluded. All the money, £190,000, was to be handed over to the Afghans, and bills signed for £140,000 more. All the artillery and ammunition, except 6 six-pounders and 3

mountain guns, were to remain. All Afghanistan was to be evacuated. The chiefs, on the other hand, promised a safe conduct, provisions, and baggage cattle.

Jan. 5, the British marched out, 4,500 combatants and 12,000 camp-followers. One march sufficed to dissolve the last remnant of order, and to mix up soldiers and camp-followers in one hopeless confusion, rendering all resistance impossible. The cold and snow and the want of provisions acted as in Napoleon's retreat from Moscow.[a] But instead of Cossacks keeping a respectful distance, the British were harassed by infuriated Afghan marksmen, armed with long-range matchlocks, occupying every height. The chiefs who signed the capitulation neither could nor would restrain the mountain tribes. The Koord-Cabool pass became the grave of nearly all the army, and the small remnant, less than 200 Europeans, fell at the entrance of the Jugduluk pass. Only one man, Dr. Brydon, reached Jelalabad to tell the tale. Many officers, however, had been seized by the Afghans, and kept in captivity, Jelalabad was held by Sale's brigade. Capitulation was demanded of him, but he refused to evacuate the town, so did Nott at Candahar. Ghuznee had fallen; there was not a single man in the place that understood any thing about artillery, and the Sepoys of the garrison had succumbed to the climate.

In the mean time, the British authorities on the frontier, at the first news of the disaster of Cabool, had concentrated at Peshawer the troops destined for the relief of the regiments in Afghanistan. But transportation was wanting and the Sepoys fell sick in great numbers. Gen. Pollock, in February, took the command, and by the end of March, 1842, received further reinforcements. He then forced the Khyber pass, and advanced to the relief of Sale at Jelalabad; here Sale had a few days before completely defeated the investing Afghan army. Lord Ellenborough, now governor-general of India, ordered the troops to fall back; but both Nott and Pollock found a welcome excuse in the want of transportation. At last, by the beginning of July, public opinion in India forced Lord Ellenborough to do something for the recovery of the national honor and the prestige of the British army; accordingly, he authorized an advance on Cabool, both from Candahar and Jelalabad. By the middle of August, Pollock and Nott had come to an understanding respecting their movements, and Aug. 20, Pollock moved towards Cabool, reached Gundamuck, and beat a body of Afghans on the 23d, carried the Jugduluk pass Sept. 8,

[a] In 1812.—*Ed.*

defeated the assembled strength of the enemy on the 13th at Tezeen, and encamped on the 15th under the walls of Cabool. Nott, in the mean time, had, Aug. 7, evacuated Candahar, and marched with all his forces toward Ghuznee. After some minor engagements, he defeated a large body of Afghans, Aug. 30, took possession of Ghuznee, which had been abandoned by the enemy, Sept. 6, destroyed the works and town, again defeated the Afghans in the strong position of Alydan, and, Sept. 17, arrived near Cabool, where Pollock at once established his communication with him. Shah Soojah had, long before, been murdered by some of the chiefs, and since then no regular government had existed in Afghanistan; nominally, Futteh Jung, his son, was king. Pollock despatched a body of cavalry after the Cabool prisoners, but these had succeeded in bribing their guard, and met him on the road. As a mark of vengeance, the bazaar of Cabool was destroyed, on which occasion the soldiers plundered part of the town and massacred many inhabitants. Oct. 12, the British left Cabool and marched by Jelalabad and Peshawer to India. Futteh Jung, despairing of his position, followed them. Dost Mohammed was now dismissed from captivity, and returned to his kingdom. Thus ended the attempt of the British to set up a prince of their own making in Afghanistan.

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# Frederick Engels

## BARBETTE[49]

In a battery, guns are said to be placed *en barbette* when they stand high enough to fire over the crest of the parapet instead of, as usual, through embrasures. To raise the guns to this height, various means are adopted. In field fortifications, an earthwork platform behind the parapet forms the station for the gun. In a permanent fortification, the common high sliding carriage or the traversing platform raises the gun to the required level. Guns placed *en barbette* have not the same cover from the enemy's fire as those firing through embrasures; they are, therefore, disposed in this manner where the parapet cannot afford to be weakened by the cutting of embrasures, or where it is desirable to extend their range more to the right and left than would be possible with embrasures. On this account, guns are placed *en barbette* in field fortifications; in the salient angles of works; and in strand batteries destined to act against ships, especially if the parapet is of masonry. To protect them from enfilading fire, traverses and bonnets are constructed when necessary.

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## BARCLAY DE TOLLY[50]

*Barclay de Tolly,* Michel, Russian prince and field-marshal, born in Livonia in 1759,[a] died at Insterburg, in East Prussia, May 25, 1818. In 1769, when not yet 11, he entered the Russian army, and served during 29 years in its different campaigns against the Turks, Swedes, and Poles, but did not emerge from the inferior ranks before 1798. He distinguished himself in the campaign of 1806. His military reputation dates from the year 1807, when, at the head of the Russian vanguard, he most gallantly defended Prussian Eylau, making a prolonged stand in the streets, the church, and the churchyard of that town.[51] In 1808 he forced the Swedes back into Carelia, and, in 1809, as general of infantry, imitated, on a much larger scale, the celebrated march of Charles Gustavus over the frozen waters of the Little Belt, by marching 12,000 Russians with artillery, ammunition, provisions, and baggage, over the ice which covered the gulf of Bothnia. He took Umea, accelerated by his appearance the revolution preparing against Gustavus IV, and compelled the Swedes to sue for peace.[52] After 1810 he was intrusted with the direction of the Russian war ministry.

In 1812 he assumed the command of the 1st army of the west. Its principal corps, at the head of which he placed himself, and which official reports had swollen to 550,000 men, proved, in fact, to consist of 104,000 only, while the aggregate of the troops, stationed from the coasts of the Baltic to the banks of the Pruth, did not muster beyond 200,000. Thus the retreat of the Russian army, the original design of which Napoleon, in his memorials of

[a] Barclay de Tolly was born in 1761.—*Ed.*

St. Helena,[a] falsely attributed to Barclay de Tolly, and which, long before the rupture between Russia and France, had been elaborated by the Prussian general, Phull,[53] and after the declaration of war, was again pressed upon Alexander by Bernadotte, had now become not a thing of choice, but of dire necessity. While Barclay de Tolly had the great merit of resisting the ignorant clamors for battle which arose from the Russian rank and file, as well as from headquarters, he executed the retreat with remarkable ability, incessantly engaging some part of his troops in order to afford to Prince Bagration the means of effecting a junction with him, and to Admiral Tschitschagoff the facilities for falling in the rear of the enemy. When forced to a battle, as at Smolensk,[54] he took a position which prevented the battle from becoming decisive. When, not far from Moscow, a decisive battle was no longer to be avoided, he selected the strong position of Gzhatsk, hardly to be assailed in the front, and to be turned only by very extended roundabout ways.[55] He had already posted his army when Kutusoff arrived, in whose hands the intrigues of the Russian generals, and the murmurs of the Muscovite army against the foreigner heading the holy war, had placed the supreme command. Out of spite against Barclay de Tolly, Kutusoff abandoned the lines of Gzhatsk, in consequence of which the Russian army had to accept battle in the unfavorable position of the Borodino. During that battle, Aug. 26,[b] Barclay, commanding the right wing, was the only general who held his post, not retiring until the 27th, thus covering the retreat of the Russian army, which, but for him, would have been completely destroyed. After the retreat from the Borodino, beyond Moscow, it was Barclay de Tolly again who prevented any useless attempt at a defence of the holy city.

During the campaign of 1813, Barclay took the fortress of Thorn,[c] April 4,[d] 1813, vanquished Lauriston at Königswartha, covered, after the defeat of Bautzen, May 8,[e] the retreat of the allied army, won the battle of Görlitz, contributed to Vandamme's

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[a] *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France, sous Napoléon, écrits à Sainte-Hélène.—Ed.*

[b] The date of this battle, as well as the dates of the military events mentioned below, is given according to the Old Style adopted in Russia at that time. According to the New Style the battle took place on September 7, 1812 (see this volume, pp. 251-55).—*Ed.*

[c] Polish name: Toruń.—*Ed.*

[d] April 16.—*Ed.*

[e] May 20.—*Ed.*

capitulation, and distinguished himself in the battle of Leipsic.[56] During the campaign of 1814 he commanded no independent corps, and acted in an administrative and diplomatical, rather than in a military character. By the stern discipline he imposed upon the troops under his immediate control, he won the good opinions of the French people. On Napoleon's return from Elba, he arrived too late from Poland to assist at the battle of Waterloo,[57] but partook in the second invasion of France. He died on a journey to the bath of Carlsbad. The last years of his life were darkened by calumny. He was, beyond question, the best of Alexander's generals, unpretending, persevering, resolute, and full of common sense.

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# Frederick Engels

## BASTION

In ancient fortification, the walls of towns were flanked by round or square towers, from which archers and war machines could direct their projectiles on the storming enemy while he was held in check by the ditch. On the introduction of artillery into Europe, these towers were made considerably larger, and ultimately, in the beginning of the 16th century, the Italian engineers made them polygonal instead of round or square, thus forming a bastion. This is an irregular pentagon, one side of which is turned inward toward the tower, so that the opposite salient angle faces the open field. The 2 longer sides, enclosing the salient angle, are called the faces; the 2 shorter ones, connecting them with the town wall or rampart, are called the flanks. The faces are destined to reply to the distant fire of the enemy, the flanks to protect the ditch by their fire. The first Italian bastions still showed their descent from the ancient towers. They kept close to the main walls; the salient angle was very obtuse, the faces short, and the parapet revetted with masonry to the very top. With such small bastions, the main office of the flank was the defence of the ditch in front of the curtain connecting 2 bastions; consequently, the flanks were placed perpendicular to the curtain. These bastions were distributed either on the angles of the polygon forming the whole *enceinte* of the fortress, or where one side of the polygon was so long that a part was not within effective musket range of the 2 projecting flanks, an intermediate bastion, called *piatta forma,* was erected on its middle.

With the improving siege artillery of the 17th century, larger bastions became necessary, and very soon the curtain lost its importance, the bastions being now the principal points to be

attacked. The office of the flanks was also changed: they now had to enfilade, chiefly, the ditch in front of the face of the opposite bastion, and instead of being erected perpendicular to the curtain, they were made perpendicular to the prolongation of that face, called the line of defence. The height of the masonry revetement was reduced so as to be covered from direct fire by the glacis or the parapet of the lower outworks. Thus bastions, in the hands of the old French and German school, and subsequently in those of Vauban and Coehorn, underwent many changes of form and size, until about 1740, Cormontaigne published a system of bastionary fortification[a] which is generally considered as the most perfect of its kind. His bastions are as large as they can well be made; his flanks are nearly, but not quite, perpendicular to the lines of defence, and great improvements are made in the outworks.

Bastions are either full or empty. In the first case, the whole of the interior is raised to the height of the rampart; in the latter, the rampart goes round the interior side of the bastion with a sufficient breadth for serving the guns, and leaves a hollow in the middle of the work. In full bastions, cavaliers are sometimes erected: works, the sides of which run parallel with those of the bastion, and are elevated high enough to allow of the guns being fired over its parapet. From the commanding height of such cavaliers, guns of the greatest range are generally placed in them in order to annoy the enemy at a distance.

The system of fortification based upon bastions was the only one known from the 16th to the end of the 18th century, when Montalembert put forward several new methods without bastions, among which the polygonal or *caponnière* system for inland fortresses, and the system of casemated forts with several tiers of guns, have found most favor.

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[a] *Architecture militaire, ou l'art de fortifier.—Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## BAYONET

This weapon, now generally introduced for all line infantry, is usually stated to have been invented in France (apparently at Bayonne, whence the name) about the year 1640. According to other accounts, it was adopted by the Dutch from the Malays, who attached their *kris,* or dagger, to a musket, and introduced into France about the year 1679. Up to that time, the musketeers had no effective weapon for close combat, and consequently had to be mixed with pikemen to protect them from a closing enemy. The bayonet enabled musketeers to withstand cavalry or pikemen, and thus gradually superseded the latter arm. Originally, it was fastened to a stick for insertion into the barrel of the musket, but as it thus prevented the soldier from firing with bayonet fixed, the tube passing round the barrel was afterward invented. Still, the pike maintained itself for above half a century as an infantry weapon. The Austrians were the first to exchange it, for all their line infantry, for the musket and bayonet; the Prussians followed in 1689; the French did not do away entirely with the pike until 1703, nor the Russians till 1721. The battle of Spire, in 1703, was the first in which charges of infantry were made with fixed bayonets.[58] For light infantry, the bayonet is now generally replaced by a short, straight and sharp-pointed sword, which can be fixed in a slide on one side of the muzzle of the rifle. It is thus certainly less firmly fixed, but as such infantry are expected to charge in line in exceptional cases only, this drawback is considered to be balanced by the manifold uses in which such an instrument can be employed.

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# Karl Marx

## BERTHIER[59]

*Berthier,* Louis Alexandre, marshal of France, prince and duke of Neufchâtel and Valengin, prince of Wagram, born at Versailles, Nov. 20, 1753, murdered at Bamberg, June 1, 1815. He was educated as a soldier by his father,[a] the chief of the corps of topographical engineers under Louis XVI. From the topographical bureau of the king, he passed to active service, first as lieutenant in the general staff, and subsequently as a captain of dragoons. In the American war of independence[60] he served under Lafayette. In 1789, Louis XVI appointed him major-general of the national guard of Versailles, and on Oct. 5 and 6, 1789, as well as Feb. 19, 1791, he did good service to the royal family.[61] He perceived, however, that the revolution opened a field for military talents, and we find him, in turn, the chief of the general staff, under Lafayette, Luckner, and Custine. During the reign of terror he avoided suspicion by exhibiting zeal in the Vendean war. His personal bravery at the defence of Saumur, June 12, 1793, secured an honorable mention in the reports of the commissaries of the convention.[62] After the 9th Thermidor,[63] he was appointed chief of the general staff of Kellermann,[64] and by causing the French army to take up the lines of Borghetto, contributed to arrest the advance of the enemy. Thus his reputation as a chief of the general staff was established before Bonaparte singled him out for that post. During the campaign of 1796-'7, he also proved himself a good general of division in the battles of Mondovi (April 22, 1796), Lodi (May 10, 1796), Codogno (May 9, 1796), and Rivoli (Jan. 14, 1797).[65]

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[a] Jean Baptiste Berthier.—*Ed.*

Of a weak character, of a tenacious activity, of a herculean strength of constitution, which allowed him to work during 8 consecutive nights, of a stupendous memory for every thing respecting the details of military operations, such as movements of corps, number of forces, cantonments, chiefs; of a promptitude always to be relied upon, orderly and exact, well versed in the use of maps, with an acute appreciation of the peculiarities of the ground, schooled to report in simple and lucid terms on the most complicated military movements, sufficiently experienced and quick-sighted to know on the day of action where to deliver the orders received, and himself attending to their execution, the living telegraph of his chief on the field of battle, and his indefatigable writing machine at the desk, he was the paragon of a staff officer for a general who reserved to himself all the superior staff functions. Despite his remonstrances, Bonaparte placed him, in 1798, at the head of the army destined to occupy Rome, there to proclaim the republic, and to take the pope prisoner.[66] Equally unable to prevent the robberies committed at Rome by French generals, commissaries and purveyors, and to arrest the mutiny in the French ranks, he resigned his command to the hands of Masséna, and repaired to Milan, where he fell in love with the beautiful Madame Visconti; his eccentric and lasting passion for whom caused him during the expedition to Egypt[67] to be nicknamed the chief of the *faction des amoureux*,[a] and cost him the best part of the 40,000,000 francs successively bestowed upon him by his imperial master.

After his return from Egypt, he seconded Bonaparte's intrigues on the 18th and 19th Brumaire,[68] and was appointed minister of war, a post he occupied till April 2, 1800. Acting again as chief of the general staff during the second Italian campaign, he contributed somewhat to the apparently false position in which Bonaparte had placed himself at Marengo, by crediting false reports as to the route and position of the Austrian army.[69] After the victory, having concluded an armistice with Gen. Melas, he was employed on several diplomatic errands, and then reinstated in the war ministry, which he held till the proclamation of the empire. He then became completely attached to the person of the emperor, whom, with the title of major-general of the grand army,[70] he accompanied as chief of the general staff during all his campaigns. Napoleon showered titles, dignities, emoluments, pensions, and donations upon him. May 19, 1804, he was created

[a] Party of lovers.—*Ed.*

marshal of the empire, grand cordon of the legion of honor, grand huntsman of France. Oct. 17, 1805, he had the honor of stipulating with Mack the terms of the capitulation of Ulm.[71] From the Prussian campaign of 1806, he carried home the dignity of sovereign prince of Neufchâtel and Valengin. In 1808 he was ordered to marry the princess Elizabeth Maria of Bavaria-Birkenfeld, the king of Bavaria's[a] niece, and was made vice-constable of France. In 1809, Napoleon placed him as general-in-chief at the head of the grand army destined to operate from Bavaria against Austria. On April 6 he declared war, and on the 15th had already contrived to compromise the campaign. He divided the army into 3 parts, posting Davout with half of the French forces at Regensburg, Masséna with the other half at Augsburg, and between them, at Abensberg, the Bavarians, so that by quickly advancing, the archduke Charles might have vanquished these corps singly. The slowness of the Austrians and the arrival of Napoleon saved the French army. In his more congenial functions, however, and under the eyes of his master, he rendered excellent service in this same campaign, and added to his long list of titles that of prince of Wagram.[72]

During the Russian campaign[b] he broke down even as chief of the general staff. After the conflagration of Moscow he proved unable even to interpret the orders of his master; but in spite of his urgent request to be allowed to return with Napoleon to France, the latter ordered him to stay with the army in Russia. The narrowness of his mind and his devotion to routine were now fully illustrated in the midst of the fearful odds against which the French had to struggle. True to his traditions, he gave to a battalion, sometimes to a company of the rear-guard, the same orders as if that rear-guard was still composed of 30,000 men; assigned posts to regiments and divisions which had long ceased to exist, and, to make up for his own want of activity, multiplied couriers and formulas. During the years 1813-'14 we find him again at his usual post.[c] After the deposition of Napoleon had been proclaimed by the senate,[d] Berthier, under false pretences, slunk away from his patron, sent in his own adhesion to the senate and the provisional government,[73] even before Napoleon's abdication, and proceeded, at the head of the marshals of the empire, to

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[a] Maximilian I Joseph.—*Ed.*
[b] Of 1812.—*Ed.*
[c] Chief of the General Staff.—*Ed.*
[d] The Senate's decision of April 3, 1814 was made public the next day.—*Ed.*

Compiègne, there to address Louis XVIII in the most servile language. On June 4, 1814, Louis XVIII created him peer of France, and captain of a company of the newly established royal guard. His principality of Neufchâtel he resigned to the king of Prussia[a] in exchange for a pension of 34,000 florins. On Napoleon's return from Elba, he followed Louis XVIII to Ghent. However, having fallen into disgrace with the king in consequence of the concealment of a letter received from Napoleon, he withdrew to Bamberg, where, June 1, 1815, he was killed by 6 men in masks, who threw him out of one of the windows of his father-in-law's[b] palace. His memoirs were published in Paris in 1826.[c]

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[a] Frederick William III.— *Ed.*
[b] Prince of Birkenfeld.— *Ed.*
[c] *Mémoires du Maréchal Berthier.*— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## ALGERIA[74]

*Algeria,* a division of northern Africa, formerly the Turkish pashalic of Algiers, but since 1830 included in the foreign dominions of France. It is bounded N. by the Mediterranean, E. by Tunis, W. by Morocco, S. by the Great Sahara. The extreme length is 500 miles from E. to W.; the extreme breadth 200 miles from N. to S. The Atlas ridge constitutes an important physical feature in the country, and divides the arable land of the sea-board from the desert. It also constitutes the northern and southern watershed of the province. The main ridge runs from east to west, but the whole province is intersected in all directions with spurs from the central range. The loftiest of the western mountains is Mount Wanashrees, the Mons Zalacus of Ptolemy; of the eastern the Jurjura and Aurès. These attain a height of nearly 7,000 feet. The principal river is the Sheliff. There are rivers of considerable size also, which flow from the south side of the Atlas, and lose themselves in the desert. None of these rivers are navigable. They are nearly dried up in the summer, but overflow a considerable extent of country in the spring and fertilize the soil.

The climate is not considered unhealthy by some travellers. Ophthalmia and cutaneous diseases are common. It is said there are no endemic fevers, but the great loss of the French troops by disease may perhaps lead to a different conclusion. The atmosphere is pure and bright, the summer very hot; and in the winter severe weather is occasionally experienced, especially in the hill country. On the limits of the desert the soil is arid and sandy, but between the mountain districts it is fertile, and especially so in the

neighborhood of the streams. Grain crops of all kinds, fruits, European and tropical; flowers, and particularly roses, of remarkable beauty; and a species of sugar-cane, said to be the largest and most productive of any known species, grow in Algeria. The domestic animals of every variety are numerous. Horses, of course, are excellent; asses are of fine growth and much used for riding. The camel and dromedary of Algeria are very superior. The merino sheep is indigenous, and Spain was first supplied from Algeria. The Numidian lion, the panther and leopard, ostriches, serpents, scorpions, and other venomous reptiles, are abundant.

The Berbers, Kabyles, or Mazidh, for they are known by the three names, are believed to have been the aboriginal inhabitants. Of their history as a race little is known, further than that they once occupied the whole of north-western Africa, and are to be found also on the eastern coast. The Kabyles live in the mountain district. The other inhabitants are Arabs, the descendants of the Mussulman invaders. Moors, Turks, Kouloughs,[a] Jews, and negroes, and lastly the French, are found in the country. The population in 1852 was 2,078,035, of which 134,115 were Europeans of all nations, beside a military force of 100,000 men. The Kabyles are an industrious race, living in regular villages, excellent cultivators, and working in mines, in metals, and in coarse woollen and cotton factories. They make gunpowder and soap, gather honey and wax, and supply the towns with poultry, fruit, and other provisions. The Arabs follow the habits of their ancestors, leading a nomadic life, and shifting their camps from place to place according as the necessities of pasturage or other circumstances compel them. The Moors are probably the least respectable of the inhabitants. Living in the towns, and more luxurious than either the Arabs or Kabyles, they are, from the constant oppression of their Turkish rulers, a timid race, reserving nevertheless their cruelty and vindictiveness, while in moral character they stand very low.

The chief towns of Algeria are Algiers the capital, Constantine, population about 20,000, and Bona, a fortified town on the sea-coast, population about 10,000 in 1847. Near this are the coral fisheries, frequented by the fishers from France and Italy. Bougiah is on the gulf of the same name. The capture of this place was hastened by the outrages of the Kabyles in the

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[a] *Kouloughs*—the offspring of Turks and Algerian women.—*Ed.*

neighborhood, who wrecked a French brig by cutting her cable and then plundered her and massacred the crew.

There are some remains of antiquity in the interior, especially in the province of Constantine, among others those of the ancient city of Lambessa; with remains of the city gates, parts of an amphitheatre, and a mausoleum supported by Corinthian pillars. On the coast is Coleah [and] Cherchell, the ancient Julia Caesarea, a place of some importance to the French. It was the residence of Juba, and in its neighborhood are ancient remains. Oran is a fortified town. It remained in possession of the Spaniards until 1792. Tlemcen, once the residence of Abd-el-Kader, is situated in a fertile country; the ancient city was destroyed by fire in 1670, and the modern town was almost destroyed by the French. It has manufactures of carpets and blankets. South of the Atlas is the Zaab, the ancient Gaetulia. The chief place is Biscara; the Biscareens are a peaceful race, much liked in the northern ports as servants and porters.

Algeria has been successively conquered by the Roman, the Vandal, and the Arab. When the Moors were driven from Spain in 1492, Ferdinand sent an expedition against Algiers, and seizing on Oran, Bougiah, and Algiers, he threatened the subjugation of the country. Unable to cope with the powerful invader, Selim Cutemi, the emir of the Metidjah, a fertile plain in the neighborhood of Algiers, asked assistance from the Turks, and the celebrated corsair, Barbarossa Horush, was sent to his assistance. Horush appeared in 1516, and having first made himself master of the country and slain Selim Cutemi with his own hand, he attacked the Spaniards, and after a war of varying fortunes, was obliged to throw himself into Tlemcen, where a Spanish army besieged him, and having succeeded in capturing him, put him to death in 1518. His brother, Khair-ed-Deen, succeeded him, sought assistance from the sultan, Selim I, and acknowledged that prince as his sovereign. Selim accordingly appointed him pasha of Algiers, and sent him a body of troops with which he was able to repulse the Spaniards, and eventually to make himself master of the country. His exploits against the Christians in the Mediterranean gained him the dignity of capudan pasha from Solyman I. Charles V made an attempt to reinstate the Spanish authority, and a powerful expedition of 370 vessels and 30,000 men crossed the Mediterranean in 1541. But a terrible storm and earthquake dispersed the fleet, and cut off all communication between it and the army. Without shelter, and exposed to the harassing attacks of a daring enemy, the troops were compelled to reembark, and

make their escape with a loss of 8,000 men, 15 vessels of war, and 140 transports. From this time forward there were unceasing hostilities between the Barbary powers and the knights of Malta; thence sprang that system of piracy which made the Algerine corsairs so terrible in the Mediterranean, and which was so long submitted to by the Christian powers.[75] The English under Blake, the French under Duquesne, the Dutch, and other powers, at various times attacked Algiers; and Duquesne having twice bombarded it, the dey sent for the French consul of Louis XIV, and having learned from him the cost of the bombardment, jeeringly told him that he would himself have burnt down the city for half the money.

The system of privateering was continued in spite of the constant opposition of the European powers; and even the shores of Spain and Italy were sometimes invaded by the desperadoes who carried on this terrible trade of war and plunder. Thousands of Christian slaves constantly languished in captivity in Algiers; and societies of pious men were formed, whose express object was to pass to and from Algiers annually for the purpose of ransoming the prisoners with the funds remitted to their care by relatives. Meanwhile, the authority of the Turkish government had been reduced to a name. The deys were elected by the janizaries,[76] and had declared their independence of the Porte. The last Turkish pasha had been expelled by Dey Ibrahim in 1705; and the janizaries by tumultuous elections appointed new chiefs, whom in their mutinies they often murdered. The janizaries were recruited from the immigrants from Turkey, no native, though the son of a janizary by a woman of the country, being admitted into their ranks. The dey sent occasional presents to Constantinople as a token of his nominal allegiance; but all regular tribute was withdrawn, and the Turks, hampered by their constant struggles with Russia, were too weak to chastise the rebels of a distant province. It was reserved to the young republic of the United States to point the way to an abolition of the monstrous tyranny. During the wars of the French revolution and of Napoleon, the powerful fleets in the Mediterranean had protected commerce, and the Algerines had been compelled to a respite of their lawless exactions. On the renewal of peace, the Algerines commenced their depredations; and the Americans, who in 1795 had been compelled to follow the example of European nations, and to subsidize the dey for peace, now refused the tribute. In 1815, Commodore Decatur encountered an Algerine squadron, took a frigate and a brig, and sailed into the bay of Algiers, where he

forced the dey to surrender all American prisoners, and to abandon all future claims for tribute. This bold example was followed by the English, who, under Lord Exmouth, bombarded the city in 1816, and reduced it to ashes, compelling the dey to surrender his prisoners. This was, however, only a punishment; for piracy was not suppressed, and in 1826 the Algerines openly seized Italian vessels in the Mediterranean, and even carried their incursions into the North sea. In 1818, Hussein dey succeeded to the government; in 1823, the dwelling of the French consul[a] having been plundered, and various outrages having been committed on vessels under the French flag, reparation was demanded without success. At last the dey of Algiers personally insulted the consul of France, and used expressions disrespectful to the king of France, who had not replied to a letter which the dey had written, in respect of a debt due by the French government to Jew merchants who were indebted to Hussein.[77] To enforce an apology, a French squadron was sent, which blockaded Algiers. Negotiations were opened between France, Mehemet Ali, and the Porte, by which Mehemet Ali, with the assistance of France, undertook to conquer Algiers, and to pay a regular tribute to the sultan,[b] from whom he would hold the government. This was broken off partly from the opposition of England, and partly because Mehemet Ali and France could not agree as to the precise arrangements by which the scheme was to be carried into effect. The government of Charles X now undertook an expedition against Algiers single-handed, and on June 13, 1830, an army of 38,000 men, and 4,000 horses, disembarked before Algiers, under command of Gen. Bourmont. Hussein dey had levied an army of 60,000 to oppose them, but having allowed them to land, he could make no effective resistance; and Algiers capitulated July 4, on condition that persons' private property and the religion of the country should be respected, and that the dey and his Turks should retire. The French took possession of the city. Among the spoil, they took 12 ships of war, 1,500 bronze cannon, and nearly $10,000,000 in specie. They immediately garrisoned Algiers, and established a military regency. The government of Charles X had intended to surrender Algiers to the sultan, and instructions to that effect were actually on their way to Constantinople, when the events of July, 1830, deposed Charles X.[78] One of the first acts of

[a] Deval.— *Ed.*
[b] Mahmud II.— *Ed.*

NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN ALGERIA IN THE 1st HALF OF THE 19th CENTURY

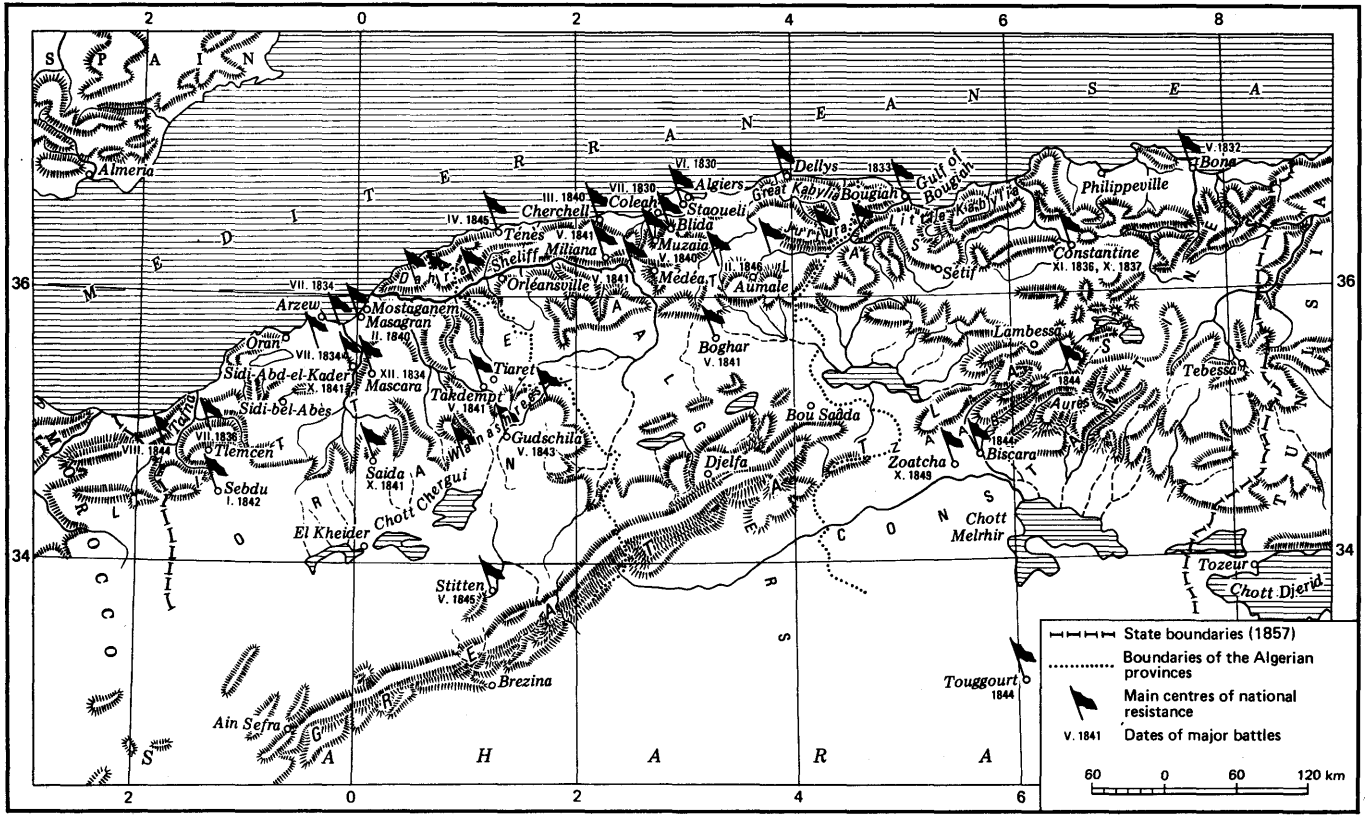

his successor[a] was to decide on retaining the conquest, and Clausel was sent over as general-in-chief in place of Bourmont.

From the first occupation of Algeria by the French to the present time, the unhappy country has been the arena of unceasing bloodshed, rapine, and violence. Each town, large and small, has been conquered in detail at an immense sacrifice of life. The Arab and Kabyle tribes, to whom independence is precious, and hatred of foreign domination a principle dearer than life itself, have been crushed and broken by the terrible razzias in which dwellings and property are burnt and destroyed, standing crops cut down, and the miserable wretches who remain massacred, or subjected to all the horrors of lust and brutality. This barbarous system of warfare has been persisted in by the French against all the dictates of humanity, civilization, and Christianity. It is alleged in extenuation, that the Kabyles are ferocious, addicted to murder, torturing their prisoners, and that with savages lenity is a mistake. The policy of a civilized government resorting to the *lex talionis*[b] may well be doubted. And judging of the tree by its fruits, after an expenditure of probably $100,000,000, and a sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of lives, all that can be said of Algeria is that it is a school of war for French generals and soldiers, in which all the French officers who won laurels in the Crimean war received their military training and education. As an attempt at colonization, the numbers of Europeans compared with the natives show its present almost total failure; and this in one of the most fertile countries of the world, the ancient granary of Italy, within 20 hours of France, where security of life and property alike from military friends and savage enemies alone are wanted. Whether the failure is attributable to an inherent defect in the French character, which unfits them for emigration, or to injudicious local administration, it is not within our province to discuss. Every important town, Constantine, Bona, Bougiah, Arzew, Mostaganem, Tlemcen, was carried by storm with all the accompanying horrors. The natives submitted with an ill grace to their Turkish rulers, who had at least the merit of being co-religionists; but they found no advantage in the so-called civilization of the new government, against which, beside, they had all the repugnance of religious fanaticism. Each governor came but to renew the severities of his predecessor; proclamations

[a] Louis Philippe.—*Ed.*

[b] The law of retaliation, based on the Old Testament precept of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth".—*Ed.*

announced the most gracious intentions, but the army of occupation, the military movements, the terrible cruelties practised on both sides, all refuted the professions of peace and good-will.

In 1831, Baron Pichon had been appointed civil intendant, and he endeavored to organize a system of civil administration which should move with the military government, but the check which his measures would have placed on the governor-in-chief offended Savary, duc de Rovigo, Napoleon's ancient minister of police, and on his representation Pichon was recalled. Under Savary, Algeria was made the exile of all those whose political or social misconduct had brought them under the lash of the law; and a foreign legion, the soldiers of which were forbidden to enter the cities, was introduced into Algeria. In 1833, a petition was presented to the chamber of deputies, stating,

> "for 3 years we have suffered every possible act of injustice. Whenever complaints are preferred to the authorities, they are only answered by new atrocities, particularly directed against those by whom the complaints were brought forward. On that account no one dares to move, for which reason there are no signatures to this petition. O my lords, we beseech you in the name of humanity, to relieve us from this crushing tyranny: to ransom us from the bonds of slavery. If the land is to be under martial law, if there is to be no civil power, we are undone; there will never be peace for us."[a]

This petition led to a commission of inquiry, the consequence of which was the establishment of a civil administration. After the death of Savary, under the *ad interim* rule of Gen. Voirol, some measures had been commenced calculated to allay the irritation; the draining of swamps, the improvement of the roads, the organization of a native militia. This, however, was abandoned on the return of Marshal Clausel, under whom a first and most unfortunate expedition against Constantine was undertaken.[79] His government was so unsatisfactory, that a petition praying inquiry into its abuses, signed by 54 leading persons connected with the province, was forwarded to Paris in 1836. This led eventually to Clausel's resignation. The whole of Louis Philippe's reign was occupied in attempts at colonization, which only resulted in land-jobbing operations; in military colonization, which was useless, as the cultivators were not safe away from the guns of their own block-houses; in attempts to settle the eastern part of Algeria, and to drive out Abd-el-Kader from Oran and the west.[80] The fall of that restless and intrepid chieftain so far pacified the

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[a] Presumably quoted from *Wigand's Conversations-Lexikon,* Bd. 1, S. 253-54.—*Ed.*

country, that the great tribe of the Hamianes Garabas sent in their submission at once.

On the revolution of 1848, Gen. Cavaignac was appointed to supersede the Duke d'Aumale in the governorship of the province, and he and the Prince de Joinville, who was also in Algeria, then retired. But the republic did not seem more fortunate than the monarchy in the administration of this province. Several governors succeeded each other during its brief existence. Colonists were sent out to till the lands, but they died off, or quitted in disgust. In 1849, Gen. Pélissier marched against several tribes, and the villages of the Beni Sillem; their crops and all accessible property were burnt and destroyed as usual, because they refused tribute. In Zaab, a fertile district on the edge of the desert, great excitement having arisen in consequence of the preaching of a marabout,[81] an expedition was despatched against them 1,200 strong, which they succeeded in defeating; and it was found that the revolt was wide-spread, and fomented by secret associations called the Sidi Abderrahman, whose principal object was the extirpation of the French. The rebels were not put down until an expedition under Generals Canrobert and Herbillion had been sent against them; and the siege of Zoatcha, an Arab town, proved that the natives had neither lost courage nor contracted affection for their invaders. The town resisted the efforts of the besiegers for 51 days, and was taken by storm at last. Little Kabylia did not give in its surrender till 1851, when Gen. St. Arnaud subdued it, and thereby established a line of communication between Philippeville and Constantine.

The French bulletins and French papers abound in statements of the peace and prosperity of Algeria. These are, however, a tribute to national vanity. The country is even now as unsettled in the interior as ever. The French supremacy is perfectly illusory, except on the coast and near the towns. The tribes still assert their independence and detestation of the French regime, and the atrocious system of razzias has not been abandoned; for in the year 1857 a successful razzia was made by Marshal Randon on the villages and dwelling-places of the hitherto unsubdued Kabyles, in order to add their territory to the French dominions. The natives are still ruled with a rod of iron, and continual outbreaks show the uncertain tenure of the French occupation, and the hollowness of peace maintained by such means. Indeed, a trial which took place at Oran in August, 1857, in which Captain Doineau, the head of the *Bureau Arabe*,[82] was proved guilty of murdering a prominent and wealthy native, revealed a habitual exercise of the most cruel

and despotic power on the part of the French officials, even of subordinate rank, which justly attracted the attention of the world.

At present, the government is divided into the three provinces of Constantine on the east, Algiers in the centre, and Oran in the west. The country is under the control of a governor-general, who is also commander-in-chief, assisted by a secretary and civil intendant, and a council composed of the director of the interior, the naval commandant, the military intendant, and attorney-general, whose business is to confirm the acts of the governor. The *conseil des contentieux* at Algiers takes cognizance of civil and criminal offences. The provinces where a civil administration has been organized have mayors, justices, and commissioners of police. The native tribes living under the Mohammedan religion still have their cadis; but between them a system of arbitration has been established, which they are said to prefer, and an officer (*l'avocat des Arabes*) is specially charged with the duty of defending Arab interests before the French tribunals.

Since the French occupation, it is stated that commerce has considerably increased. The imports are valued at about $22,000,000, the exports, $3,000,000. The imports are cotton, woollen, and silk goods, grain and flour, lime, and refined sugar; the exports are rough coral, skins, wheat, oil, and wool, with other small matters.

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# Frederick Engels

## AMMUNITION [83]

*Ammunition,* comprises the projectiles, charges, and articles used for priming, required for the use of fire-arms, and, as the word is generally understood, supposes these articles to be made up ready for use. Thus, small-arm ammunition comprises cartridges and percussion caps (the latter, of course, are unnecessary where flint-locks or the needle-gun are in use); field-artillery ammunition is composed of shot, loaded shell, case shot, shrapnell, cartridges, priming tubes, matches, portfires, &c., with rockets for rocket-batteries. In fortresses and for sieges, the powder is generally kept in barrels, and made up in cartridges when required for use; so are the various compositions required during a siege; the hollow shot are also filled on the spot. The proportion of ammunition accompanying an army in the field varies according to circumstances. Generally an infantry soldier carries 60 rounds, seldom more; and a similar quantity per man accompanies the army in wagons, while a further supply follows with the park columns a march or two to the rear. For field-artillery, between 150 and 200 rounds per gun are always with the battery, partly in the gun-limber boxes, partly in separate wagons; another 200 rounds are generally with the ammunition-reserve of the army, and a third supply follows with the park columns. This is the rule in most civilized armies, and applies, of course, to the beginning of a campaign only; after a few months of campaigning, the ammunition-reserves are generally very severely drawn upon, perhaps lost after a disastrous battle, and their replacing is often difficult and slow.

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# Frederick Engels

## BATTLE[84]

The encounter of two hostile bodies of troops is called a battle, when these bodies form the main armies of either party, or at least, are acting independently on their own separate seat of war. Before the introduction of gunpowder, all battles were decided by actual hand-to-hand fight. With the Greeks and Macedonians, the charge of the close phalanx bristling with spears, followed up by a short engagement with the sword, brought about the decision. With the Romans, the attack of the legion disposed in three lines, admitted of a renewal of the charge by the second line, and of decisive manoeuvring with the third. The Roman line advanced up to within 10 or 15 yards of the enemy, darted their *pila,* very heavy javelins, into him, and then closed sword in hand. If the first line was checked, the second advanced through the intervals of the first, and if still the resistance was not overcome, the third line, or reserve, broke in upon the enemy's centre, or fell upon one of his wings. During the middle ages, charges of steel-clad cavalry of the knights had to decide general actions, until the introduction of artillery and small fire-arms restored the preponderance of infantry. From that time the superior number and construction of fire-arms with an army was the chief element in battle, until, in the 18th century, the whole of the armies of Europe had provided their infantry with muskets, and were about on a par as to the quality of their fire-arms. It was then the number of shots fired in a given time, with average precision, which became the decisive element. The infantry was drawn up in long lines, three deep; it was drilled with the minutest care, to insure steadiness and rapid firing, up to 5 times in a minute; the long lines advanced slowly against each other, firing all the while,

and supported by artillery firing grape; finally, the losses incurred by one party caused the troops to waver, and this moment was seized by the other party for an advance with the bayonet, which generally proved decisive. If one of the two armies, before the beginning of the battle, had already taken up its position, the other attempted generally to attack it under an acute angle, so as to outflank, and there to envelop, one of his wings; that wing, and the nearest portion of the centre, were thus thrown into disorder by superior forces, and crowded together in deep masses, upon which the attacking party played with his heavy artillery. This was the favorite manoeuvre of Frederick the Great, especially successful at Leuthen.[85] Sometimes, too, the cavalry was let loose upon the wavering infantry of the enemy, and in many instances with signal success; but upon the whole, the quick fire of the infantry lines gave the decision—and this fire was so effective, that it has rendered the battles of this period the bloodiest of modern times. Frederick the Great lost, at Kolin, 12,000 men out of 18,000, and at Kunersdorf, 17,000 out of 30,000,[86] while in the bloodiest battle of all Napoleon's campaigns, at Borodino,[a] the Russians lost not quite one-half of their troops in killed and wounded.

The French revolution and Napoleon completely changed the aspect of battles. The army was organized in divisions of about 10,000 men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery mixed; it fought no longer in line exclusively, but in column and in skirmishing order also. In this formation it was no longer necessary to select open plains alone for battle-fields; woods, villages, farm-yards, any intersected ground was rather welcome than otherwise. Since this new formation has been adopted by all armies, a battle has become a very different thing from what it was in the 18th century. Then, although the army was generally disposed in three lines, one attack, or at most two or three attacks, in rapid succession, decided its fate; now, the engagement may last a whole day, and even two or three days, attacks, counter-attacks, and manoeuvres succeeding each other, with varying success, all the time through. A battle, at the present day, is generally engaged by the advanced guard of the attacking party sending skirmishers out with their supports. As soon as they find serious resistance, which generally happens at some ground favorable for defence, the light artillery, covered by skirmishers and small bodies of cavalry, advances, and the main body of the advanced guard takes position. A cannonade generally follows, and a deal of ammunition is wasted, in order to facilitate

[a] See this volume, pp. 251-55.—*Ed.*

reconnoitring, and to induce the enemy to show his strength. In the mean time, division after division arrives, and is shown into its fighting position, according to the knowledge so far obtained of the measures of the enemy. On the points favoring an attack, skirmishers are sent forward, and supported where necessary by lines and artillery; flank attacks are prepared, troops are concentrated for the attack of important posts in front of the main position of the enemy, who makes his arrangements accordingly. Some manoeuvring takes place, in order to threaten defensive positions, or to menace a threatening attack with a counter-charge. Gradually the army draws nearer to the enemy, the points of attack are finally fixed, and the masses advance from the covered positions they hitherto occupied. The fire of infantry in line, and of artillery, now prevails, directed upon the points to be attacked; the advance of the troops destined for the charge follows, a cavalry charge on a small scale occasionally intervening. The struggle for important posts has now set in; they are taken and retaken, fresh troops being sent forward in turns by either party. The intervals between such posts now become the battle-field for deployed lines of infantry, and for occasional bayonet charges, which, however, scarcely at any time result in actual hand-to-hand fight, while in villages, farm-yards, intrenchments, &c., the bayonet is often enough actually used. In this open ground, too, the cavalry darts forward whenever opportunities offer themselves, while the artillery continues to play and to advance to new positions. While thus the battle is oscillating, the intentions, the dispositions, and, above all, the strength of the two contending armies are becoming more apparent; more and more troops are engaged, and it soon is shown which party has the strongest body of intact forces in reserve for the final and decisive attack. Either the attacking party has so far been successful, and may now venture to launch his reserve upon the centre or flank of the defending party, or the attack has been so far repulsed and cannot be sustained by fresh troops, in which case the defending party may bring his reserves forward, and by a powerful charge, convert the repulse into a defeat. In most cases, the decisive attack is directed against some part of the enemy's front, in order to break through his line. As much artillery as possible is concentrated upon the chosen point; infantry advances in close masses, and as soon as its charge has proved successful, cavalry dashes into the opening thus made, deploying right and left, taking in flank and rear the enemy's line, and, as the expression is, rolling it up toward its two wings. Such an attack, to be actually decisive, must,

however, be undertaken with a large force, and not before the enemy has engaged his last reserves; otherwise, the losses incurred would be out of all proportion to the very meagre results to be obtained, and might even cause the loss of the battle. In most cases, a commander will rather break off a battle taking a decidedly unfavorable turn, than engage his last reserves, and wait for the decisive charge of his opponent; and with the present organization and tactics, this may in most cases be done with a comparatively moderate loss, as the enemy after a well-contested battle, is generally in a shattered condition also. The reserves and artillery take a fresh position to the rear, under cover of which the troops are gradually disengaged and retire. It then depends upon the vivacity of the pursuit, whether the retreat be made in good order or not. The enemy will send his cavalry against the troops trying to disengage themselves; and cavalry must, therefore, be at hand to assist them. But if the cavalry of the retiring party be routed and his infantry attained before it is out of reach, then the rout becomes general, and the rear-guard, in its new defensive position, will have hard work before it unless night is approaching, which is generally the case.

Such is the average routine of a modern battle, supposing the parties to be pretty equal in strength and leadership; with a decided superiority on one side, the affair is much abridged, and combinations take place, the variations of which are innumerable; but under all circumstances, modern battles between civilized armies will, on the whole, bear the character above described.

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## BENNIGSEN[87]

*Bennigsen,* Levin August Theophile, count, a Russian general, born in Brunswick, Feb. 10, 1745, where his father served as colonel in the guards, died Oct. 3, 1826. As a page, he spent 5 years at the Hanoverian court of George II; entered the Hanoverian army, and having advanced to the rank of captain in the foot guards, participated in the last campaign of the 7 years' war.[88] His excessive passion for the fair sex at that time made more noise than his warlike exploits. In order to marry the daughter of the baron of Steinberg, the Hanoverian minister at the court of Vienna, he left the army, retired to his Hanoverian estate of Banteln, by dint of lavish expenditure got hopelessly in debt, and, on the death of his wife, resolved to restore his fortune by entering the Russian military service. Made a lieutenant-colonel by Catherine II, he served first under Romanzoff, against the Turks, and then under Suwaroff, against the rebel Pugatcheff. During a furlough granted to him he went to Hanover to carry off Mlle. von Schwiehelt, a lady renowned for her beauty. On his return to Russia, the protection of Romanzoff and Potemkin procured for him the command of a regiment. Having distinguished himself at the siege of Otchakov,[89] in 1788, he was appointed brigadier-general. In the Polish campaign of 1793-'94, he commanded a corps of light troops; was created general after the affairs of Oszmiana and Solli; decided the victory of Vilna,[90] by breaking up, at the head of the horse, the centre of the Polish army, and, in consequence of some bold surprises, successfully executed on the banks of the lower Niemen, was rewarded by Catherine II with the order of St. Vladimir, a sabre of honor, and 200 serfs. During his Polish campaign he exhibited the qualities of

a good cavalry officer—fire, audacity, and quickness—but not the higher attainments indispensable for the chief of an army. After the Polish campaign, he was despatched to the army in Persia, where, by means of a bombardment, lasting 10 days, he compelled Derbent, on the Caspian sea, to surrender.[91] The cross of the order of St . George of the third class, was the last gift he received from Catherine II, after whose death he was recalled and disgraced by her successor.[a]

Count Pahlen, military governor of St. Petersburg, was organizing at that time the conspiracy by which Paul lost his life. Pahlen, knowing the reckless character of Bennigsen, let him into the secret, and gave him the post of honor—that of leading the conspirators in the emperor's bedchamber. It was Bennigsen who dragged Paul from the chimney, where he had secreted himself; and when the other conspirators hesitated, on Paul's refusal to abdicate, Bennigsen exclaimed, "Enough talk," untied his own sash, rushed on Paul, and after a struggle, in which he was aided by the others, succeeded in strangling the victim. To shorten the process, Bennigsen struck him on the head with a heavy silver snuff box. Immediately on the accession of Alexander I, Bennigsen received a military command in Lithuania.

At the commencement of the campaign of 1806-'7,[92] he commanded a corps in the first army under Kamenski—the second being commanded by Buxhövden—he tried in vain to cover Warsaw against the French, was forced to retreat to Pultusk on the Narev, and there, Dec. 26, 1806, proved able to repulse an attack of Lannes and Bernadotte, his forces being greatly superior, since Napoleon, with his main force, had marched upon the second Russian army. Bennigsen forwarded vain-glorious reports to the emperor Alexander, and, by dint of intrigues against Kamenski and Buxhövden, soon gained the supreme command of the army destined to operate against Napoleon. At the end of January, 1807, he made an offensive movement against Napoleon's winter quarters, and escaped by mere chance the snare Napoleon had laid for him, and then fought the battle of Eylau. Eylau having fallen on the 7th, the main battle, which, in order to break Napoleon's violent pursuit, Bennigsen was forced to accept, occurred on Feb. 8. The tenacity of the Russian troops, the arrival of the Prussians under L'Estocq, and the slowness with which the single French corps appeared on the scene of action, made the victory doubtful. Both parties claimed it, and at any rate, the field

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[a] Paul I.—*Ed.*

of Eylau—as Napoleon himself said—was the bloodiest among all his battles.[a] Bennigsen had *Te Deums* sung, and received from the czar a Russian order, a pension of 12,000 rubles, and a letter of congratulation, praising him as "the vanquisher of the never vanquished captain."

In the spring, he intrenched himself at Heilsberg, and neglected to attack Napoleon, while part of the French army was still occupied with the siege of Dantzic[93]; but, after the fall of Dantzic, and the junction of the French army, thought the time for attack had arrived. First delayed by Napoleon's vanguard, which mustered the third part only of his own numerical force, he was soon manoeuvred back by Napoleon into his intrenched camp. There Napoleon attacked him in vain June 10, with but two corps and some battalions of the guard, but on the next day induced him to abandon his camp and beat a retreat. Suddenly, however, and without waiting for a corps of 28,000 men, which had already reached Tilsit, he returned to the offensive, occupied Friedland, and there drew up his army, with the river Alle in his rear, and the bridge of Friedland as his only line of retreat. Instead of quickly advancing, before Napoleon was able to concentrate his troops, he allowed himself to be amused for 5 or 6 hours by Lannes and Mortier, until, toward 5 o'clock, Napoleon had his forces ready, and then commanded the attack. The Russians were thrown on the river, Friedland was taken, and the bridge destroyed by the Russians themselves, although their whole right wing stood still on the opposite side. Thus the battle of Friedland, June 14, costing the Russian army above 20,000 men, was lost. It was said that Bennigsen was at that time influenced by his wife, a Polish woman. During this whole campaign Bennigsen committed fault upon fault, his whole conduct exhibiting a strange compound of rash imprudence and weak irresolution.

During the campaign of 1812, his principal activity was displayed at the head-quarters of the emperor Alexander, where he intrigued against Barclay de Tolly, with a view to get his place. In the campaign of 1813, he commanded a Russian army of reserve, and was created count by Alexander, on the battle-field of Leipsic.[94] Receiving afterward the order to dislodge Davout from Hamburg, he beleaguered it until Napoleon's abdication of April, 1814, put an end to hostilities. For the peaceful occupation of Hamburg, then effected by him, he claimed and received new

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[a] A reference to Napoleon's *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France, sous Napoléon, écrits à Sainte-Hélène,* t. 2, p. 67.—*Ed.*

honors and emoluments. After having held the command of the army of the south, in Bessarabia, from 1814 to 1818, he finally retired to his Hanoverian estate, where he died, having squandered most of his fortune, and leaving his children poor in the Russian service.

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# Karl Marx

## BLUM [95]

*Blum,* Robert, one of the martyrs of the German revolution, born at Cologne, Nov. 10, 1807, executed in Vienna, Nov. 9, 1848. He was the son of a poor journeyman cooper, who died in 1815, leaving 3 children and a distressed widow, who, in 1816, again married a common lighterman. This second marriage proved unhappy, and the family misery rose to a climax in the famine of 1816-'17. In 1819 young Robert, belonging to the Catholic confession, obtained an employment as mass-servant; then became apprentice to a gilder, then to a girdler, and, according to the German custom, became a travelling journeyman, but was not up to the requirements of his handicraft, and, after a short absence, had to return to Cologne. Here he found occupation in a lantern manufactory, ingratiated himself with his employer,[a] was by him promoted to a place in the counting-house, had to accompany his patron on his journeys through the southern states of Germany, and, in the year 1829-'30, resided with him at Berlin. During this period he endeavored, by assiduous exertion, to procure a sort of encyclopaedic knowledge, without however betraying a marked predilection or a signal endowment for any particular science. Summoned, in 1830, to the military service, to which every Prussian subject is bound, his relations with his protector were broken off. Dismissed from the army after a six weeks' service, and finding his employment gone, he returned again to Cologne, in almost the same circumstances in which he had twice left it. There the misery of his parents, and his own helplessness, induced him to accept, at the hands of Mr. Ringelhardt, the manager of

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[a] Schmitz.— *Ed.*

the Cologne theatre, the office of man of all work of the theatre. His connection with the stage, although of a subaltern character, drew his attention to dramatic literature, while the political excitement which the French revolution of July had caused throughout Rhenish Prussia, allowed him to mingle in certain political circles, and to insert poetry in the local papers.

In 1831, Ringelhardt, who had meanwhile removed to Leipsic, appointed Blum cashier and secretary of the Leipsic theatre, a post he held until 1847. From 1831 to 1837 he made contributions to the Leipsic family papers, such as the *Comet*, the *Abend-Zeitung*, &c., and published a "Theatrical Cyclopaedia,"[a] the "Friend of the Constitution,"[b] an almanac entitled *Vorwärts*, &c. His writings are impressed with the stamp of a certain household mediocrity. His later productions were, moreover, spoiled by a superfluity of bad taste. His political activity dates from 1837, when, as the spokesman of a deputation of Leipsic citizens, he handed over a present of honor to 2 opposition members of the Saxon estates.[c] In 1840 he became one of the founders, and in 1841 one of the directors of the Schiller associations, and of the association of German authors.[96] His contributions to the *Sächsische Vaterlands-Blätter*, a political journal, made him the most popular journalist of Saxony, and the particular object of government persecution. German catholicism,[97] as it was called, found a warm partisan in him. He founded the German Catholic church at Leipsic, and became its spiritual director in 1845. On Aug. 13, 1845, when an immense meeting of armed citizens and students, assembling before the riflemen's barracks at Leipsic, threatened to storm it in order to revenge the murderous onslaught committed the day before by a company of the riflemen,[98] Blum, by his popular eloquence, persuaded the excited masses not to deviate from legal modes of resistance, and himself took the lead in the proceedings for legal redress. In reward for his exertions, the Saxon government renewed its persecutions against him, which, in 1848, ended in the suppression of the *Vaterlands-Blätter*.

On the outbreak of the revolution of February, 1848, he became the centre of the liberal party of Saxony, founded the "Fatherland's Association,"[99] which soon mustered above 40,000 members, and generally proved an indefatigable agitator. Sent by the city of

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[a] A reference to the *Allgemeines Theater-Lexikon oder Encyklopädie alles Wissenswerthen für Bühnenkünstler, Dilettanten und Theaterfreunde*, published in Leipzig from 1839 by Robert Blum and others.—*Ed.*

[b] *Verfassungsfreund.—Ed.*

[c] Karl Gotthold Todt and Julius Dieskau.—*Ed.*

Leipsic to the "preliminary parliament,"[100] he there acted as vice-chairman, and by preventing the secession *en masse* of the opposition, contributed to sustain that body. After its dissolution, he became a member of the committee it left behind, and afterward of the Frankfort parliament, in which he was the leader of the moderate opposition.[101] His political theory aimed at a republic as the summit of Germany, but as its base the different traditionary kingdoms, dukedoms, &c.; since, in his opinion, the latter alone were able to preserve, intact, what he considered a peculiar beauty of German society, the independent development of its different orders. As a speaker he was plausible, rather theatrical, and very popular.

When the news of the Vienna insurrection[102] reached Frankfort, he was charged, in company with some other members of the German parliament, to carry to Vienna an address drawn up by the parliamentary opposition. As the spokesman of the deputation, he handed the address to the municipal council of Vienna, Oct. 17, 1848.[a] Having enrolled himself in the ranks of the students' corps, and commanded a barricade during the fight, he sat, after the capture of Vienna by Windischgrätz, quietly conversing in a hotel, when the hotel was surrounded by soldiers, and he himself made prisoner. Placed before a court-martial, and not condescending to deny any of his speeches or acts, he was sentenced to the gallows, a punishment commuted to that of being shot. This execution took place at daybreak, in the Brigittenau.

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[a] "An die Wiener", *Wiener Zeitung,* No. 290, October 22, 1848.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## BOURRIENNE[103]

*Bourrienne,* Louis Antoine Fauvelet de, private secretary of Napoleon, born at Sens, July 9, 1769, died near Caen, Feb. 7, 1834. He entered the military school of Brienne in 1778, and was there some 6 years as Napoleon's school-fellow. From 1789 to 1792, he spent his time as attaché to the French embassy at Vienna, as a student of international law and northern languages at Leipsic, and at the court of Poniatowski, at Warsaw. After his return to Paris, he renewed his intimacy with Napoleon, then a poor and friendless officer; but the decisive turn taken by the revolutionary movement after June 20, 1792,[104] drove him back to Germany. In 1795 he again returned to Paris, and there again met Napoleon, who however treated him coldly; but toward the end of 1796, he applied again to him, and was summoned to headquarters, and installed at once as his private secretary. After the second Italian campaign,[105] Bourrienne received the title of councillor of state, was lodged at the Tuileries, and admitted to the first consul's family circle. In 1802 the house of Coulon, army contractors, whose partner Bourrienne had secretly become, and for which he had procured the lucrative business of supplying the whole cavalry equipment, failed with a deficit of 3 millions; the chief of the house disappeared, and Bourrienne was banished to Hamburg. In 1806 he was appointed to oversee at Hamburg the strict execution of Napoleon's continental system.[106] Accusations of peculation rising against him from the Hamburg senate, from which he had obtained 2,000,000 francs, and from the emperor Alexander, whose relative, the duke of Mecklenburg, he had also mulcted, Napoleon sent a commission to inquire into his conduct, and ordered him to refund 1,000,000 francs to the imperial treasury.

Thus, a disgraced and ruined man, he lived at Paris until Napoleon's downfall, in 1814, when he stepped forward, had his million paid back by the French provisional government,[107] was installed its postmaster-general, deposed from this post by Louis XVIII, and at the first rumor of Napoleon's return from Elba, made, by the same prince, prefect of the Paris police, a post he held for 8 days. As Napoleon, in his decree dated Lyons, March 13, had exempted him from the general amnesty, he followed Louis XVIII to Belgium, was thence despatched to Hamburg, and created, on his return to Paris, state councillor, subsequently minister of state. His pecuniary embarrassments forced him in 1828 to seek a refuge in Belgium, on an estate of the duchess of Brancas at Fontaine l'Evêque, not far from Charleroy. Here, with the assistance of M. de Villemarest and others, he drew up his "Memoirs" (10 vols. 8vo), which appeared in 1829, at Paris, and caused a great deal of excitement.[108] He died in a lunatic hospital.

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# Frederick Engels

## ARMY [109]

*Army*, the organized body of armed men which a state maintains for purposes of offensive or defensive war. Of the armies of ancient history the first of which we know any thing positive is that of Egypt. Its grand epoch of glory coincides with the reign of Rhamses II (Sesostris), and the paintings and inscriptions relating to his exploits on the numerous monuments of his reign, form the principal source of our knowledge on Egyptian military matters. The warrior caste of Egypt was divided into two classes, *hermotybii* and *calasirii*, the first 160,000, the other 250,000 strong, in their best times. It appears that these two classes were distinguished from each other merely by age or length of service, so that the calasirii, after a certain number of years, passed into the hermotybii or reserve. The whole army was settled in a sort of military colonies, an ample extent of land being set apart for each man as an equivalent for his services. These colonies were mostly situated in the lower part of the country, where attacks from the neighboring Asiatic states were to be anticipated; a few colonies only were established on the upper Nile, the Ethiopians not being very formidable opponents. The strength of the army lay in its infantry, and particularly in its archers. Beside these latter there were bodies of foot soldiers, variously armed and distributed into battalions,[a] according to their arms; spearmen, swordsmen, clubmen, slingers, &c. The infantry was supported by numerous war-chariots, each manned by 2 men, one to drive and the other to use the bow. Cavalry does not figure on the monuments. One

[a] Engels uses this term to designate tactical units of the ancient Egyptian infantry.— *Ed.*

solitary drawing of a man on horseback is considered to belong to the Roman epoch, and it appears certain that the use of the horse for riding and of cavalry became known to the Egyptians through their Asiatic neighbors only. That at a later period they had a numerous cavalry, acting, like all cavalry in ancient times, on the wings of the infantry, is certain from the unanimity of the ancient historians on this point. The defensive armor of the Egyptians consisted of shields, helmets, and breastplates, or coats-of-mail, of various materials. Their mode of attacking a fortified position shows many of the means and artifices known to the Greeks and Romans. They had the *testudo*, or battering-ram, the *vinea*,[110] and scaling-ladder; that they, however, also knew the use of movable towers, and that they undermined walls, as Sir G. Wilkinson maintains,[a] is a mere supposition. From the time of Psammetichus a corps of Grecian mercenaries was maintained; they were also colonized in lower Egypt.

Assyria furnishes us with the earliest specimen of those Asiatic armies which, for above 1,000 years, struggled for the possession of the countries between the Mediterranean and the Indus. There, as in Egypt, the monuments are our principal source of information. The infantry appear armed similar to the Egyptian, though the bow seems less prominent, and the arms offensive and defensive are generally of better make and more tasteful appearance. There is, beside, more variety of armament, on account of the greater extent of the empire. Spear, bow, sword, and dagger, are the principal weapons. Assyrians in the army of Xerxes are also represented with iron-mounted clubs. The defensive armament consisted of a helmet (often very tastefully worked), a coat-of-mail of felt or leather, and a shield. The war-chariots still formed an important portion of the army; it had 2 occupants, and the driver had to shelter the bowman with his shield. Many of those who fight in chariots are represented in long coats-of-mail. Then there was the cavalry, which here we meet with for the first time. In the earliest sculptures the rider mounts the bare back of his horse; later on, a sort of pad is introduced, and in one sculpture a high saddle is depicted, similar to that now in use in the East. The cavalry can scarcely have been very different from that of the Persians and later eastern nations—light, irregular horse, attacking in disorderly swarms, easily repelled by a well-armed, solid infantry, but formidable to a

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[a] J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. I, pp. 67-68.—*Ed.*

disordered or beaten army. Accordingly, it figured in rank behind the charioteers, who appear to have formed the aristocratic arm of the service. In infantry tactics some progress toward regular movements and formations in ranks and files appears to have been made. The bowmen either fought in advance, where they were always covered, each of them, by a shield-bearer, or they formed the rear rank, the first and second ranks, armed with spears, stooping or kneeling to enable them to shoot. In sieges they certainly knew the use of movable towers and mining; and, from a passage in Ezekiel,[a] it would almost appear that they made some sort of mound or artificial hill to command the walls of the town—a rude beginning of the Roman *agger*.[b] Their movable and fixed towers, too, were elevated to the height of the besieged wall, and higher, so as to command it. The ram and vinea they used also; and, numerous as their armies were, they turned off whole arms of rivers into new beds in order to gain access to a weak front of the attacked place, or to use the dry bed of the river as a road into the fortress. The Babylonians seem to have had armies similar to those of the Assyrians, but special details are wanting.

The Persian empire owed its greatness to its founders, the warlike nomads of the present Farsistan, a nation of horsemen, with whom cavalry took at once that predominant rank which it has since held in all eastern armies, up to the recent introduction of modern European drill. Darius Hystaspes established a standing army, in order to keep the conquered provinces in subjection, as well as to prevent the frequent revolts of the satraps, or civil governors. Every province thus had its garrison, under a separate commander; fortified towns, beside, were occupied by detachments. The provinces had to bear the expense of maintaining these troops. To this standing army also belonged the guards of the king, 10,000 chosen infantry (the Immortals, *Athanatoi*), resplendent with gold, followed on the march by long trains of carriages, with their harems and servants, and of camels with provisions, beside 1,000 halberdiers, 1,000 horse guards, and numerous war-chariots, some of them armed with scythes. For expeditions of magnitude this armament was considered insufficient, and a general levy from all the provinces of the empire took place. The mass of these various contingents formed a truly oriental army, composed of the most heterogeneous parts, varying among themselves in armament and mode of fighting, and

[a] Ezekiel 21:22 and 26:8.—*Ed.*
[b] Rampart.—*Ed.*

accompanied by immense trains of baggage and innumerable camp-followers. It is to the presence of these latter that we must ascribe the enormous numbers of the Persian armies as estimated by the Greeks. The soldiers, according to their respective nationality, were armed with bows, javelins, spears, swords, clubs, daggers, slings, &c. The contingent of every province had its separate commander; they appear, from Herodotus, to have been divided by tens, hundreds, thousands, &c., with officers to command each decimal subdivision.[a] The commands of large corps or of the wings of the army were generally given to members of the royal family. Among the infantry the Persian and the other Aryan nations (Medes and Bactrians) formed the *élite*. They were armed with bows, spears of moderate size, and a short sword; the head was protected by a sort of turban, the body by a coat covered with iron scales; the shield was mostly of wicker-work. Yet this *élite*, as well as the rest of the Persian infantry, was miserably beaten whenever it was opposed to even the smallest bodies of Greeks, and its unwieldy and disorderly crowds appear quite incapable of any but passive resistance against the incipient phalanx of Sparta and Athens; witness Marathon, Plataea, Mycale, and Thermopylae.[111] The war-chariots, which in the Persian army appear for the last time in history, might be useful on quite level ground against such a motley crowd as the Persian infantry themselves were, but against a solid mass of pikemen, such as the Greeks formed, or against light troops taking advantage of inequalities of ground, they were worse than useless. The least obstacle stopped them. In battle the horses got frightened, and, no longer under command, ran down their own infantry. As to the cavalry, the earlier periods of the empire give us little proof of its excellence. There were 10,000 horse on the plain of Marathon—a good cavalry country—yet they could not break the Athenian ranks. In later times it distinguished itself at the Granicus,[112] where, formed in one line, it fell on the heads of the Macedonian columns as they emerged from the fords of the river, and upset them before they could deploy. It thus successfully opposed Alexander's advanced guard, under Ptolemy, for a long while, until the main body arrived and the light troops manoeuvred on its flanks, when, having no second line or reserve, it had to retire. But at this period the Persian army had been strengthened by the infusion of a Greek element, imported by the Greek mercenaries, who, soon after Xerxes, were taken into pay by the king; and the

[a] Herodotus, *History*, Book VII, Ch. 81.—*Ed.*

cavalry tactics displayed by Memnon on the Granicus are so thoroughly un-Asiatic that we may, in the absence of positive information, at once ascribe them to Greek influence.

The armies of Greece are the first of the detailed organization of which we have ample and certain information. With them the history of tactics, especially infantry tactics, may be said to begin. Without stopping to give an account of the warlike system of the heroic age of Greece, as described in Homer,[a] when cavalry was unknown, when the nobility and chiefs fought in war-chariots, or descended from them for a duel with an equally prominent enemy, and when the infantry appears to have been little better than that of the Asiatics, we at once pass to the military force of Athens in the time of her greatness. In Athens every free born man was liable to military service. The holders of certain public offices alone, and, in the earlier times, the fourth or poorest class of freemen, were exempt.[113] It was a militia system based upon slavery. Every youth on attaining his 18th year was obliged to do duty for 2 years, especially in watching the frontiers. During this time his military education was completed; afterward he remained liable to service up to his 60th year. In case of war the assembled citizens fixed the number of men to be called out; in extreme cases only the *levées en masse (panstratia)* were resorted to. The *strategi*, 10 of whom were annually elected by the people, had to levy these troops and to organize them, so that the men of each tribe, or *phyle*, formed a body under a separate *phylarch*. These officers, as well as the *taxiarchs*, or captains of companies, were equally elected by the people. The whole of this levy formed the heavy infantry (*hoplitae*) destined for the phalanx or deep line formation of spearmen, which originally formed the whole of the armed force, and subsequently, after the addition of light troops and cavalry, remained its mainstay—the corps which decided the battle. The phalanx was formed in various degrees of depth; we find mentioned phalanxes of 8, 12, 25 deep. The armature of the hoplitae consisted of a breastplate or corslet, helmet, oval target, spear, and short sword. The *forte* of the Athenian phalanx was attack; its charge was renowned for its furious impetus, especially after Miltiades, at Marathon, had introduced the quickening of the pace during the charge, so that they came down on the enemy with a run. On the defensive, the more solid and closer phalanx of Sparta was its superior. While at Marathon the whole force of the Athenians consisted of a heavy armed phalanx of 10,000 hoplitae,

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[a] In the *Iliad*.— *Ed.*

at Plataea they had, beside 8,000 hoplitae, an equal number of light infantry. The tremendous pressure of the Persian invasions necessitated an extension of the liability to service; the poorest class, that of the thetes, was enrolled. They were formed into light troops (*gymnetae, psili*); they had no defensive armor at all, or a target only, and were supplied with a spear and javelins. With the extension of the Athenian power, their light troops were reinforced by the contingents of their allies,[114] and even by mercenary troops. Acarnanians, Ætolians, and Cretans, celebrated as archers and slingers, were added. An intermediate class of troops, between them and the hoplitae, was formed, the *peltastae*, armed similar to the light infantry, but capable of occupying and maintaining a position. They were, however, of but little importance until after the Peloponnesian war,[115] when Iphicrates reorganized them. The light troops of the Athenians enjoyed a high reputation for intelligence and quickness both in resolution and in execution. On several occasions, probably in difficult ground, they even successfully opposed the Spartan phalanx. The Athenian cavalry was introduced at a time when the republic was already rich and powerful. The mountainous ground of Attica was unfavorable to this arm, but the neighborhood of Thessaly and Boeotia, countries rich in horses, and consequently the first to form cavalry, soon caused its introduction in the other states of Greece. The Athenian cavalry, first 300, then 600, and even 1,000 strong, was composed of the richest citizens, and formed a standing corps even in time of peace. They were a very effective body, extremely watchful, intelligent, and enterprising. Their position in battle, as well as that of the light troops, was generally on the wings of the phalanx. In later times, the Athenians also maintained a corps of 200 mercenary mounted archers (*hippotoxotae*). The Athenian soldier, up to the time of Pericles, received no pay. Afterward 2 oboli (beside 2 more for provisions, which the soldier had to find) were given, and sometimes even the hoplitae received as much as 2 drachms. Officers received double pay, cavalry soldiers three-fold, generals four-fold. The corps of heavy cavalry alone cost 40 talents ($40,000) per annum in time of peace, during war considerably more. The order of battle and mode of fighting were extremely simple; the phalanx formed the centre, the men locking their spears, and covering the whole front with their row of shields. They attacked the hostile phalanx in a parallel front. When the first onset was not sufficient to break the enemy's order, the struggle hand to hand with the sword decided the battle. In the mean time the light troops and cavalry either

attacked the corresponding troops of the enemy, or attempted to operate on the flank and rear of the phalanx, and to take advantage of any disorder manifesting itself in it. In case of a victory they undertook the pursuit, in case of defeat they covered the retreat as much as possible. They were also used for reconnoitring expeditions and forays, they harassed the enemy on the march, especially when he had to pass a defile, and they tried to capture his convoys and stragglers. Thus the order of battle was extremely simple; the phalanx always operated as a whole; its subdivisions into smaller bodies had no tactical[a] significance; their commanders had no other task than to see that the order of the phalanx was not broken, or at least quickly restored. What the strength of Athenian armies was during the Persian wars, we have shown above by a few examples. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the force mustered 13,000 hoplitae for field service, 16,000[b] (the youngest and the oldest soldiers) for garrison duty, 1,200 horsemen, and 1,600 archers. According to Boeckh's calculations the force sent against Syracuse numbered 38,560 men; reinforcements despatched afterward, 26,000 men; in all nearly 65,000 men.[c] After the complete ruin of this expedition,[116] indeed, Athens was as much exhausted as France after the Russian campaign of 1812.

Sparta was the military state, *par excellence*, of Greece. If the general gymnastic education of the Athenians developed the agility as much as the strength of the body, the Spartans directed their attention mostly to strength, endurance, and hardiness. They valued steadiness in the ranks, and military point of honor, more than intelligence. The Athenian was educated as if he was to fight among light troops, yet in war he was fitted into his fixed place in the heavy phalanx; the Spartan, on the contrary, was brought up for service in the phalanx, and nothing else. It is evident that as long as the phalanx decided the battle, the Spartan, in the long run, had the best of it. In Sparta, every freeman was enrolled in the army lists from his 20th to his 60th year. The *ephori*[117] determined the number to be called out, which was generally chosen among the middle-aged men, from 30 to 40. As in Athens, the men belonging to the same tribe or locality were enrolled in the same body of troops. The organization of the army was based upon the confraternities (*enomotiae*) introduced by Lycurgus, 2 of which formed a pentecostys; 2 of these were united into a lochos,

[a] *The New American Cyclopaedia* has "technical" here.— *Ed.*
[b] *The New American Cyclopaedia* has 61,000 here.— *Ed.*
[c] A. Böckh, *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, Bd. 1, S. 287.— *Ed.*

and 8, or 4 lochi, into a mora. This was the organization in Xenophon's time; in former periods it appears to have varied. The strength of a mora is variously stated at from 400 to 900 men, and their number at one time was said to be 600. These various bodies of free Spartans formed the phalanx; the hoplitae forming it were armed with a spear, a short sword, and a shield fastened round the neck. Later on, Cleomenes introduced the large Carian shield, fastened by a string on the left arm, and leaving both hands of the soldier free. The Spartans considered it disgraceful for their men to return, after a defeat, without their shields; the preservation of the shield proved the retreat to have been made in good order and a compact phalanx, while single fugitives, running for their lives, of course had to throw away the clumsy shield. The Spartan phalanx was generally 8 deep, but sometimes the depth was doubled by placing one wing behind the other. The men appear to have marched in step; some elementary evolutions were also in use, such as changing front to the rear by the half-turn of each man, advancing or retiring a wing by wheeling, &c., but they would seem to have been introduced at a later period only. In their best times, the Spartan phalanx, like that of Athens, knew the parallel front attack only. The ranks, on the march, were distant from each other 6 feet, in the charge 3 feet, and in a position receiving the charge, only $1\,^1/_2$ foot, from rank to rank. The army was commanded by one of the kings, who, with his suite (*damosia*), occupied a position in the centre of the phalanx. Afterward, the number of the free Spartans having considerably decreased, the strength of the phalanx was kept up by a selection from the subjected *Periaeci.*[118] The cavalry was never stronger than about 600 men, divided into troops (*ulami*) of 50 men. It merely covered the wings. There was, beside, a body of 300 mounted men, the *élite* of the Spartan youth, but they dismounted in battle, and formed a sort of body-guard of hoplitae around the king. Of light troops, there were the *skiritae,* inhabitants of the mountains near Arcadia, who generally covered the left wing; the hoplitae of the phalanx, beside, had Helot servants,[119] who were expected in battle to do duty as skirmishers; thus, the 5,000 hoplitae at Plataea brought 35,000 Helot light troops with them, but of the exploits of these latter we find nothing stated in history.

The simple tactics of the Greeks underwent considerable changes after the Peloponnesian war. At the battle of Leuctra,[120] Epaminondas had to oppose, with a small force of Thebans, the far more numerous, and hitherto invincible Spartan phalanx. The plain, parallel front attack, here, would have been equivalent to

certain defeat, both wings being outflanked by the longer front of the enemy. Epaminondas, instead of advancing in line, formed his army into a deep column, and advanced against one wing of the Spartan phalanx, where the king[a] had taken his station. He succeeded in breaking through the Spartan line at this, the decisive point; he then wheeled his troops round, and moving on either hand, he himself outflanked the broken line, which could not form a new front without losing its tactical order. At the battle of Mantinea,[121] the Spartans formed their phalanx with a greater depth, but, nevertheless, the Theban column again broke through it. Agesilaus in Sparta, Timotheus, Iphicrates, Chabrias in Athens, also introduced changes in infantry tactics. Iphicrates improved the *peltastae*, a sort of light infantry, capable, however, in case of need, to fight in line. They were armed with a small round target, strong linen corslet, and long spear of wood. Chabrias made the first ranks of the phalanx, when on the defensive, kneel down to receive the enemy's charge. Full squares, and other columns, &c., were introduced, and accordingly deployments formed part of the elementary tactics. At the same time, greater attention was paid to light infantry of all kinds; several species of arms were borrowed from the barbarous and semi-barbarous neighbors of the Greeks, such as archers, mounted and on foot, slingers, &c. The majority of the soldiers of this period consisted of mercenaries. The wealthy citizens, instead of doing duty themselves, found it more convenient to pay for a substitute. The character of the phalanx, as the preeminently national portion of the army, in which the free citizens of the state only were admitted, thus suffered from this admixture of mercenaries, who had no right of citizenship. Toward the approach of the Macedonian epoch, Greece and her colonies were as much a mart for soldiers of fortune, and mercenaries, as Switzerland in the 18th and 19th centuries. The Egyptian kings had at an early time formed a corps of Greek troops. Afterward, the Persian king gave his army some steadiness by the admission of a body of Greek mercenaries. The chiefs of these bodies were regular condottieri, as much as those of Italy in the 16th century. During this period, warlike engines for throwing stones, darts, and incendiary projectiles, were introduced, especially by the Athenians. Pericles already used some similar machines at the siege of Samos.[122] Sieges were carried on by forming a line of contravallation, with ditch, or parapet, round the place, investing it, and by the attempt to place the war-engines in a

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[a] Cleombrotus I.—*Ed.*

commanding position near the walls. Mining was regularly made use of, to bring the walls down. At the assault, the column formed the *synaspismus*, the outer ranks holding their shields before them, and the inner ranks holding them over their heads, so as to form a roof (called by the Romans, *testudo*), against the projectiles of the enemy.

While Greek skill was thus mainly directed toward shaping the flexible material of the mercenary bands into all sorts of novel and artificial formations, and in adopting or inventing new species of light troops, to the detriment of the ancient Doric heavy phalanx, which at that time alone could decide battles, a monarchy grew up, which, adopting all real improvements, formed a body of heavy infantry of such colossal dimensions, that no army with which it came in contact could resist its shock. Philip of Macedon formed a standing army of about 30,000 infantry, and 3,000 cavalry. The main body of the army was an immense phalanx of some 16,000 or 18,000 men, formed upon the principle of the Spartan phalanx, but improved in armament. The small Grecian shield was replaced by the large oblong Carian buckler, and the moderately sized spear by the Macedonian pike (*sarissa*) of 24 feet in length. The depth of this phalanx varied, under Philip, from 8, to 10, 12, 24 men. With the tremendous length of the pikes, each of the 6 front ranks could, on levelling them, make the points project in front of the first rank. The regular advance of such a long front of from 1,000 to 2,000 men, presupposes a great perfection of elementary drill, which in consequence was continually practised. Alexander completed this organization. His phalanx was, normally, 16,384 men strong, or 1,024 in front by 16 deep. The file of 16 (*lochos*) was conducted by a lochagos, who stood in the front rank. Two files formed a dilochy, 2 of which made a tetrarchy, 2 of which a taxiarchy, 2 of which a xenagy or syntagma, 16 men in front by 16 deep. This was the evolutionary unit, the march being made in columns of xenagies, 16 in front. Sixteen xenagies (equal to 8 pentecosiarchies, or 4 chiliarchies, or 2 telarchies) formed a small phalanx, 2 of which a diphalangarchy, and 4 a tetraphalangarchy or phalanx properly so called. Every one of these subdivisions had its corresponding officer. The diphalangarchy of the right wing was called head, that of the left wing, tail, or rear. Whenever extraordinary solidity was required, the left wing took station behind the right, forming 512 men in front by 32 in depth. On the other hand, by deploying the 8 rear ranks on the left of the front ranks, the extent of front could be doubled, and the depth reduced to 8. The distances of ranks and files were

similar to those of the Spartans, but the close order was so compact that the single soldier in the middle of the phalanx could not turn. Intervals between the subdivisions of the phalanx were not allowed in battle; the whole formed one continuous line, charging *en muraille.* The phalanx was formed by Macedonian volunteers exclusively; though, after the conquest of Greece, Greeks also could enter it.[123] The soldiers were all heavy armed hoplitae. Beside shield and pike, they carried a helmet and sword, although the hand-to-hand fight with the latter weapon cannot very often have been required after the charge of that forest of pikes. When the phalanx had to meet the Roman legion, the case indeed was different. The whole phalangite system, from the earliest Doric times down to the breaking up of the Macedonian empire, suffered from one great inconvenience; it wanted flexibility. Unless on a level and open plain, these long, deep lines, could not move with order and regularity. Every obstacle in front forced it to form column, in which shape it was not prepared to act. Moreover, it had no second line or reserve. As soon, therefore, as it was met by an army, formed in smaller bodies and adapted to turn obstacles of ground without breaking line, and disposed in several lines seconding each other, the phalanx could not help going into broken ground, where its new opponent completely cut it up. But to such opponents as Alexander had at Arbela,[a] his 2 large phalanxes must have appeared invincible. Beside this heavy infantry of the line, Alexander had a guard of 6,000 hyraspistae, still more heavily armed, with even larger bucklers and longer pikes. His light infantry consisted of argyraspides, with small silver-plated shields, and of numerous peltastae, both of which troops were organized in demi-phalanxes of normally 8,192 men, being able to fight either in extended order or in line, like the hoplitae; and their phalanx often had the same success. The Macedonian cavalry was composed of young Macedonian and Thessalian noblemen, with the addition, subsequently, of a body of horsemen from Greece proper. They were divided into squadrons (*ilae*), of which the Macedonian nobility alone formed 8. They belonged to what we should call heavy cavalry; they wore a helmet, cuirass with cuissarts of iron scales to protect the leg, and were armed with a long sword and pike. The horse, too, wore a frontlet of iron. This class of cavalry, the cataphracti, received great attention both from Philip and Alexander; the latter used it for his decisive manoeuvre at Arbela, when

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[a] See this volume, p. 23.— *Ed.*

he first beat and pursued one wing of the Persians, and then, passing behind their centre, fell upon the rear of the other wing. They charged in various formations: in line, in common rectangular column, in rhomboid or wedge-shaped column. The light cavalry had no defensive armor; it carried javelins and light short lances; there was also a corps of acrobalistae, or mounted archers. These troops served for outpost duty, patrols, reconnoitring, and irregular warfare generally. They were the contingents of Thracian and Illyrian tribes, which, beside, furnished some few thousands of irregular infantry. A new arm, invented by Alexander, claims our attention from the circumstance that it has been imitated in modern times, the dimachae, mounted troops, expected to fight either as cavalry or as infantry. The dragoons of the 16th and following centuries are a complete counterpart to these, as we shall see hereafter. We have, however, no information as to whether these hybrid troops of antiquity were more successful in their double task than the modern dragoons.

Thus was composed the army with which Alexander conquered the country between the Mediterranean, the Oxus, and the Sutledj. As to its strength, at Arbela, it consisted of 2 large phalanxes of hoplitae (say 30,000 men), 2 semi-phalanxes of peltastae (16,000), 4,000 cavalry, and 6,000 irregular troops, in all about 56,000 men. At the Granicus, his force of all arms was 35,000 men, of whom 5,000 were cavalry.

Of the Carthaginian army we know no details; even the strength of the force with which Hannibal passed the Alps, is disputed. The armies of the successors of Alexander show no improvements on his formations; the introduction of elephants was but of short duration; when terrified by fire, these animals were more formidable to their own troops than to the enemy. The later Greek armies (under the Achaean league[124]) were formed partly on the Macedonian, partly on the Roman system.

The Roman army presents us with the most perfect system of infantry tactics invented during the time when the use of gunpowder was unknown. It maintains the predominance of heavy infantry and compact bodies, but adds to it mobility of the separate smaller bodies, the possibility of fighting in broken ground, the disposition of several lines one behind the other, partly as supports and reliefs, partly as a powerful reserve, and finally a system of training the single soldier which was even more to the purpose than that of Sparta. The Romans, accordingly, overthrew every armament opposed to them, the Macedonian phalanx as well as the Numidian horse.

In Rome every citizen, from his 17th to his 45th or 50th year, was liable to serve, unless he belonged to the lowest class, or had served in 20 campaigns on foot, or 10 campaigns as a horseman. Generally the younger men only were selected. The drill of the soldier was very severe, and calculated to develop his bodily powers in every imaginable way. Running, jumping, vaulting, climbing, wrestling, swimming, first naked, then in full armament, were largely practised, beside the regular drill in the use of the arms and the various movements. Long marches in heavy marching order, every soldier carrying from 40 to 60 lbs., were kept up at the rate of 4 miles an hour. The use of the intrenching tools, and the throwing up of intrenched camps in a short time, also formed part of the military education; and not only the recruits, but even the legions of veterans, had to undergo all these exercises in order to keep their bodies fresh and supple, and to remain inured to fatigue and want. Such soldiers were, indeed, fit to conquer the world.

In the best times of the republic there were generally 2 consular armies, each consisting of 2 legions and the contingents of the allies (in infantry of equal strength, cavalry double the strength of the Romans). The levy of the troops was made in a general assembly of the citizens on the capitol or Campus Martius; an equal number of men was taken from every tribe,[125] which was again equally subdivided among the 4 legions, until the number was completed. Very often citizens, freed from service by age or their numerous campaigns, entered again as volunteers. The recruits were then sworn in and dismissed until required. When called in, the youngest and poorest were taken for the velites, the next in age and means for the hastati and principes, the oldest and wealthiest for the triarii. Every legion counted 1,200 velites, 1,200 hastati, 1,200 principes, 600 triarii, and 300 horsemen (knights),[126] in all 4,500. The hastati, principes, and triarii, were each divided into 10 manipuli or companies, and an equal number of velites attached to each. The velites (*rorarii, accensi, ferentarii*[a]) formed the light infantry of the legion, and stood on its wings along with the cavalry. The hastati formed the 1st, the principes the 2d line; they were originally armed with spears. The triarii formed the reserve, and were armed with the pilum, a short but extremely heavy and dangerous spear, which they threw into the front ranks of the enemy immediately before engaging him sword in hand. Every manipulus was commanded by a centurion, having

[a] Soldiers placed behind the triarii; auxiliaries; skirmishers.— *Ed.*

a 2d centurion for his lieutenant. The centurions ranked through the whole of the legion, from the 2d centurion of the last or 10th manipulus of the hastati to the 1st centurion of the 1st manipulus of the triarii (*primus pilus*), who, in the absence of a superior officer, even took the command of the whole legion. Commonly, the primus pilus commanded all the triarii, the same as the *primus princeps* (1st centurion of 1st manipulus of principes), all the principes, and the *primus hastatus*, and all the hastati of the legion. The legion was commanded in the earlier times in turns by its 6 military tribunes; each of them held the command for 2 months. After the 1st civil war,[127] legates were placed as standing chiefs at the head of every legion; the tribunes now were mostly officers intrusted with the staff or administrative business. The difference of armament of the 3 lines had disappeared before the time of Marius. The pilum had been given to all 3 lines of the legion; it now was the national arm of the Romans. The qualitative distinction between the 3 lines, as far as it was based upon age and length of service, soon disappeared too. In the battle of Metellus against Jugurtha,[128] there appeared, according to Sallust,[a] for the last time hastati, principes, triarii. Marius now formed out of the 30 manipuli of the legion 10 cohorts, and disposed them in 2 lines of 5 cohorts each. At the same time, the normal strength of the cohort was raised to 600 men; the 1st cohort, under the primus pilus, carried the legionary eagle.[129] The cavalry remained formed in turmae of 30 rank and file and 3 decurions, the 1st of whom commanded the turma. The armature of the Roman infantry consisted of a shield of demi-cylindric shape, 4 feet by 2 $^1/_2$, made of wood, covered with leather and strengthened with iron fastenings; in the middle it had a boss (*umbo*) to parry off spear-thrusts. The helmet was of brass, generally with a prolongation behind to protect the neck, and fastened on with leather bands covered with brass scales. The breastplate, about a foot square, was fastened on a leather corslet with scaled straps passing over the shoulder; for the centurions, in consisted of a coat-of-mail covered with brass scales. The right leg, exposed when advanced for the sword-thrust, was protected by a brass plate. Beside the short sword, which was used for thrusting more than for cutting, the soldiers carried the pilum, a heavy spear 4 $^1/_2$ feet wood, with a projecting iron point of 1 $^1/_2$ foot, or nearly 6 feet in all long, but 2 $^1/_2$ inches square in the wood, and weighing about 10 or 11 lbs. When thrown at 10 or 15 paces distance, it

[a] Sallust, *Jugurthine War*, XLVIII-LIII.— *Ed.*

often penetrated shields and breastplates, and almost every time threw down its man. The velites, lightly equipped, carried light short javelins. In the later periods of the republic, when barbaric auxiliaries undertook the light service, this class of troops disappears entirely. The cavalry were provided with defensive armor similar to that of the infantry, a lance and a longer sword. But the Roman national cavalry was not very good, and preferred to fight dismounted. In later periods it was entirely done away with, and Numidian, Spanish, Gallic, and German horsemen, supplanted it.

The tactical disposition of the troops admitted of great mobility. The manipuli were formed with intervals equal to their extent of front; the depth varied from 5 or 6 to 10 men. The manipuli of the 2d line were placed behind the intervals of the lst; the triarii still further to the rear, but in one unbroken line. According to circumstances, the manipuli of each line could close up or form line without intervals, or those of the 2d line could march up to fill the intervals of the 1st; or else, where greater depth was required, the manipuli of the principes closed up each in rear of the corresponding manipulus of the hastati, doubling its depth. When opposed to the elephants of Pyrrhus,[130] the 3 lines all formed with intervals, each manipulus covering the one in its front, so as to leave room for the animals to pass straight through the order of battle. In this formation the clumsiness of the phalanx was in every way successfully overcome. The legion could move and manoeuvre, without breaking its order of battle, in ground where the phalanx durst not venture without the utmost risk. One or two manipuli at most would have to shorten their front to defile past an obstacle; in a few moments, the front was restored. The legion could cover the whole of its front by light troops, as they could retire, on the advance of the line, through the intervals. But the principal advantage was the disposition in a plurality of lines, brought into action successively, according to the requirements of the moment. With the phalanx, one shock had to decide. No fresh troops were in reserve to take up the fight in case of a reverse—in fact that case was never provided for. The legion could engage the enemy with its light troops and cavalry on the whole of his front—could oppose to the advance of his phalanx its first line of hastati, which was not so easily beaten, as at least 6 of the 10 manipuli had first to be broken singly—could wear out the strength of the enemy by the advance of the principes, and finally decide the victory by the triarii. Thus the troops and the progress of the battle remained in the hand of the

general, while the phalanx, once engaged, was irretrievably engaged with all its strength, and had to see the battle out. If the Roman general desired to break off the combat, the legionary organization permitted him to take up a position with his reserves, while the troops engaged before retired through the intervals, and took up a position in their turn. Under all circumstances, there was always a portion of the troops in good order, for even if the triarii were repulsed, the 2 first lines had re-formed behind them. When the legions of Flamininus met Philip's phalanx in the plains of Thessaly,[131] their first attack was at once repulsed; but charge following charge, the Macedonians got tired and lost part of their compactness of formation; and wherever a sign of disorder manifested itself, there was a Roman manipulus to attempt an inroad into the clumsy mass. At last, 20 manipuli attacking the flanks and rear of the phalanx, tactical continuity could no longer be maintained; the deep line dissolved into a swarm of fugitives, and the battle was lost. Against cavalry, the legion formed the *orbis*, a sort of square with baggage in the centre. On the march, when an attack was to be apprehended, it formed the *legio quadrata*, a sort of lengthened column with a wide front, baggage in the centre. This was of course possible in the open plain, only where the line of march could go across the country.

In Caesar's time the legions were mostly recruited by voluntary enlistment in Italy. Since the Social war,[132] the right of citizenship, and with it liability for service, was extended to all Italy, and consequently there were far more men available than required. The pay was about equal to the earnings of a laborer; recruits, therefore, were plentiful, even without having recourse to the conscription. In exceptional cases only were legions recruited in the provinces; thus Caesar had his fifth legion recruited in Roman Gallia,[133] but afterward it received the Roman naturalization *en masse*. The legions were far from having the nominal strength of 4,500 men; those of Caesar were seldom much above 3,000. Levies of recruits were formed into new legions (*legiones tironum*), rather than mixed with the veterans in the old legions; these new legions were at first excluded from battles in the open field, and principally used for guarding the camp. The legion was divided into 10 cohorts of 3 manipuli each. The names of hastati, principes, triarii, were maintained as far as necessary to denote the rank of officers according to the system indicated above; as to the soldiers, these names had lost all significance. The 6 centurions of the first cohort of each legion were, by right, present at councils of war. The centurions rose from the ranks, and seldom attained

higher command; the school for superior officers was in the personal staff of the general, consisting of young men of education, who soon advanced to the rank of *tribuni militum*, and later on to that of *legati*. The armament of the soldier remained the same: pilum and sword. Beside his accoutrements, the soldier carried his personal baggage, weighing from 35 to 60 pounds. The contrivance for carrying it was so clumsy that the baggage had first to be deposited before the soldier was ready for battle. The camp-utensils of the army were carried on the back of horses and mules, of which a legion required about 500. Every legion had its eagle, and every cohort its colors. For light infantry, Caesar drew from his legions a certain number of men (*antesignani*), men equally fit for light service and for close fight in line. Beside these, he had his provincial auxiliaries, Cretan archers, Balearic slingers, Gallic and Numidian contingents, and German mercenaries. His cavalry consisted partly of Gallic, partly of German troops. The Roman velites and cavalry had disappeared some time ago.

The staff of the army consisted of the *legati*, appointed by the senate, the lieutenants of the general, whom he employed to command detached corps, or portions of the order of battle. Caesar, for the first time, gave to every legion a legate as standing commander. If there were not legati enough, the *quaestor*, too, had to take the command of a legion. He was properly the paymaster of the army, and chief of the commissariat, and was assisted in this office by numerous clerks and orderlies. Attached to the staff were the *tribuni militum*, and the young volunteers above mentioned (*contubernales, comites praetorii*), doing duty as adjutants, orderly officers; but in battle they fought in line, the same as private soldiers, in the ranks of the *cohors praetoria*, consisting of the lictors, clerks, servants, guides (*speculatores*), and orderlies (*apparitores*) of the head-quarters. The general, beside, had a sort of personal guard, consisting of veterans who voluntarily had reënlisted on the call of their former chief. This troop, mounted on the march, but fighting on foot, was considered the *élite* of the army; it carried and guarded the *vexillum*, the signal-banner for the whole army. In battle, Caesar generally fought in 3 lines, 4 cohorts per legion in the first, and 3 in the second and third lines each; the cohorts of the second line dressed on the intervals of the first. The second line had to relieve the first; the third line formed a general reserve for decisive manoeuvres against the front or flank of the enemy, or for parrying his decisive thrusts. Wherever the enemy so far outflanked the line that its prolongation became necessary, the army was disposed in two lines only. One single line

(*acies simplex*) was made use of in an extreme case of need only, and then without intervals between the cohorts; in the defence of a camp, however, it was the rule, as the line was still 8 to 10 deep, and could form a reserve from the men who had no room on the parapet.

Augustus completed the work of making the Roman troops a regular standing army. He had 25 legions distributed all over the empire, of which 8 were on the Rhine (considered the main strength, *praecipium robur*, of the army), 3 in Spain, 2 in Africa, 2 in Egypt, 4 in Syria and Asia Minor, 6 in the Danubian countries. Italy was garrisoned by chosen troops recruited exclusively in that country, and forming the imperial guard; this consisted of 12, later on, of 14 cohorts; beside these the city of Rome had 7 cohorts of municipal guards (*vigiles*), formed, originally, from emancipated slaves. Beside this regular army, the provinces had to furnish, as formerly, their light auxiliary troops, now mostly reduced to a sort of militia for garrison and police duty. On menaced frontiers, however, not only these auxiliary troops, but foreign mercenaries, too, were employed in active service. The number of legions increased under Trajan to 30, under Septimius Severus to 33. The legions, beside their numbers, had names, taken from their stations (*L. Germanica, L. Italica*), from emperors (*L. Augusta*), from gods (*L. Primigenia, L. Apollinaris*[a]), or conferred as honorary distinctions (*L. fidelis, L. pia, L. invicta*[b]). The organization of the legion underwent some changes. The commander was now called praefectus. The first cohort was doubled in strength (*cohors milliaria*), and the normal strength of the legion raised to 6,100 infantry and 726 cavalry; this was to be the minimum, and in case of need one or more *cohortes milliariae* were to be added. The *cohors milliaria* was commanded by a military tribune, the others by tribunes or *praepositi;* the rank of *centurio* was thus confined to subalterns. The admission of liberated, or non-liberated slaves, natives of the provinces, and all sorts of people into the legions, became the rule; Roman citizenship being required for the praetorians in Italy only, and even there this was abandoned in later times. The Roman nationality of the army was thus very soon drowned in the influx of barbaric and semi-barbaric, Romanized and non-Romanized elements; the officers alone maintained the Roman character. This deterioration of the elements composing the army very soon

[a] Jupiter's Legion, Apollo's Legion.—*Ed.*
[b] Loyal Legion, Pious Legion, Invincible Legion.—*Ed.*

reacted upon its armament and tactics. The heavy breastplate and pilum were thrown overboard; the toilsome system of drill, which had formed the conquerors of the world, was neglected; camp-followers and luxuries became necessary to the army, and the *impedimenta* (train of baggage) increased as strength and endurance decreased. As had been the case in Greece, the decline was marked by neglect of the heavy line infantry, by a foolish fancy for all sorts of light armament, and by the adoption of barbaric equipments and tactics. Thus we find innumerable classifications of light troops (*auxiliatores, exculcatores, jaculatores, excursatores, praecursatores, scutati, funditores, balistarii, tragularii*[a]), armed with all sorts of projectiles, and we are told by Vegetius that the cavalry had been improved in imitation of the Goths, Alani, and Huns.[b] Finally, all distinction of equipment and armament between Romans and barbarians ceased, and the Germans, physically and morally superior, marched over the bodies of the un-Romanized legions.

The conquest of the Occident by the Germans thus was opposed by but a small remnant, a dim tradition of the ancient Roman tactics; but even this small remnant was now destroyed. The whole of the middle ages is as barren a period for the development of tactics as for that of any other science. The feudal system, though in its very origin a military organization, was essentially opposed to discipline. Rebellions and secessions of large vassals, with their contingents, were of regular occurrence. The distribution of orders to the chiefs turned generally into a tumultuous council of war, which rendered all extensive operations impossible. Wars, therefore, were seldom directed on decisive points; struggles for the possession of a single locality filled up entire campaigns. The only operations of magnitude occurring in all this period (passing over the confused times from the 6th to the 12th century), are the expeditions of the German emperors against Italy, and the crusades,[134] the one as resultless as the other.

The infantry of the middle ages, composed of the feudal retainers and part of the peasantry, was chiefly composed of pikemen, and mostly contemptible. It was great sport for the knights, covered as they were with iron all over, to ride singly into this unprotected rabble, and lay about them with a will. A portion of the infantry was armed, on the continent of Europe, with the

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[a] Auxiliaries, advanced detachments, throwers (of pikes, javelins), reconnoiterers, skirmishers, shield bearers, slingers, ballista men, pikemen.—*Ed.*

[b] Vegetius, *Epitome Institutorum Rei militaris.*—*Ed.*

crossbow, while in England the longbow became the national weapon of the peasantry. This longbow was a very formidable weapon, and secured the superiority of the English over the French at Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt.[135] Easily protected against rain, which rendered the crossbow unserviceable at times, it projected its arrow to distances above 200 yards, or not much less than the effective range of the old smooth-bored musket. The arrow penetrated a one-inch board, and would even pass through breastplates. Thus it long maintained its place even against the first small fire-arms, especially as six arrows could be shot off while the musket of that epoch could be loaded and fired once; and even as late as the end of the 16th century Queen Elizabeth attempted to reintroduce the national longbow as a weapon of war. It was especially effective against cavalry; the arrows, even if the armor of the men-at-arms was proof against them, wounded or killed the horses, and the unhorsed knights were thereby disabled, and generally made prisoners. The archers acted either in skirmishing order or in line.

Cavalry was the decisive arm of the middle ages. The knights in full armor formed the first effective body of heavy cavalry, charging in regular formation, which we meet with in history; for Alexander's cataphracti, though they decided the day at Arbela,[a] were so much an exception that we hear nothing more of them after that day, and during the whole sequel of ancient history, infantry maintains its preeminent rank in battle. The only progress, then, which the middle ages have bequeathed to us, is the creation of a cavalry, from which our modern mounted service descends in a direct line. And yet, what a clumsy thing this cavalry was, is proved by the one fact, that during the whole middle ages the cavalry was the heavy, slow-moving arm, while all light service and quick movements were executed by infantry. The knights, however, did not always fight in close order. They preferred fighting duels with single opponents, or spurring their horses into the midst of the hostile infantry; thus the mode of fighting out a battle was carried back to the Homeric times. When they did act in close order, they charged either in line (one deep, the more lightly-armed esquires forming the second rank) or in deep column. Such a charge was undertaken, as a rule, against the knights (men-at-arms) only of the opposing army; upon its infantry it would have been wasted. The horses, heavily laden with their own as well as their rider's armor, could run but slowly and

[a] See this volume, p. 23.—*Ed.*

for short distances. During the crusades, therefore, and in the wars with the Mongolians in Poland and Silesia,[136] this immovable cavalry was constantly tired out, and, finally, worsted by the active light horsemen of the East. In the Austrian and Burgundian wars against Switzerland,[137] the men-at-arms, entangled in difficult ground, had to dismount and form a phalanx even more immovable than that of Macedon; in mountain defiles, rocks and stumps of trees were hurled down upon them, in consequence of which the phalanx lost its tactical order, and was scattered by a resolute attack.

Toward the 14th century a kind of lighter cavalry was introduced, and a portion of the archers were mounted to facilitate their manoeuvring; but these and other changes were soon rendered useless, abandoned, or turned to different account by the introduction of that new element, which was destined to change the whole system of warfare—gunpowder.

From the Arabs in Spain the knowledge of the composition and the use of gunpowder spread to France and the rest of Europe; the Arabs themselves had received it from nations further east, who again had it from the original inventors, the Chinese. In the first half of the 14th century cannon first was introduced into European armies; heavy, unwieldy pieces of ordnance, throwing stone balls, and unfit for any thing but the war of sieges. Small arms were, however, soon invented. The city of Perugia in Italy supplied itself in 1364, with 500 hand-guns, the barrels not more than eight inches long; they subsequently gave rise to the manufacture of pistols (so called from Pistoja in Tuscany). Not long afterward longer and heavier hand-guns (*arquebuses*) were manufactured, corresponding to our present musket; but short and heavy in the barrel, they had but a restricted range, and the matchlock was an almost absolute hindrance to correct aim, beside having nearly every other possible disadvantage. Toward the close of the 14th century there was no military force in western Europe without its artillery and arquebusiers. But the influence of the new arm on general tactics was very little perceptible. Both large and small fire-arms took a very long time in loading, and what with their clumsiness and costliness, they had not even superseded the crossbow by 1450.

In the mean time the general breaking up of the feudal system, and the rise of cities, contributed to change the composition of armies. The larger vassals were either subdued by central authority, as in France, or had become quasi-independent sovereigns, as in Germany and Italy. The power of the lesser

nobility was broken by the central authority in conjunction with the cities. The feudal armies no longer existed; new armies were formed from the numerous mercenaries whom the ruin of feudalism had set free to serve those who would pay them. Thus, something approaching standing armies arose; but these mercenaries, men of all nations, difficult to keep in order, and not very regularly paid, committed very great excesses. In France, King Charles VII therefore formed a permanent force from native elements. In 1445 he levied 15 *compagnies d'ordonnance* of 600 men each; in all, 9,000 cavalry garrisoned in the towns of the kingdom, and paid with regularity. Every company was divided into 100 lances; a lance consisted of one man-at-arms, 3 archers, an esquire, and a page. Thus they formed a mixture of heavy cavalry with mounted archers, the 2 arms, in battle, acting of course separately. In 1448 he added 16,000 francs-archers, under 4 captains-general, each commanding 8 companies of 500 men. The whole of the archers had the crossbow. They were recruited and armed by the parishes, and free from all taxes. This may be considered the first standing army of modern times.

At the close of this first period of modern tactics, as they emerged from mediaeval confusion, the state of things may be summed up as follows: The main body of the infantry, consisting of mercenaries, was armed with pike and sword, breastplate and helmet. It fought in deep, close masses, but, better armed and drilled than the feudal infantry, it showed greater tenacity and order in combat. The standing levies and the mercenaries, soldiers by profession, were of course superior to the casual levies and disconnected bands of feudal retainers. The heavy cavalry now found it sometimes necessary to charge in close array against infantry. The light infantry was still principally composed of archers, but the use of the hand-gun for skirmishers gained ground. The cavalry remained, as yet, the principal arm; heavy cavalry, men-at-arms encased in iron, but no longer composed, in every case, of the nobility, and reduced from its former chivalrous and Homeric mode of fighting to the more prosaic necessity of charging in close order. But the unwieldiness of such cavalry was now generally felt, and many devices were planned to find a lighter kind of horse. Mounted archers, as has been stated, had in part to supply this want; in Italy and the neighboring countries the *stradioti,* light cavalry on the Turkish plan, composed of Bosnians and Albanian mercenaries, a sort of Bashi-Bozuks,[138] found ready employment, and were much feared, especially in pursuits. Poland and Hungary had, beside the heavy cavalry

adopted from the West, retained their own national light cavalry. The artillery was in its infancy. The heavy guns of the time were, indeed, taken into the field, but could not leave their position after it was once taken up; the powder was bad, the loading difficult and slow, and the range of the stone-balls short.

The close of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century are marked by a double progress; the French improved the artillery, and the Spaniards gave a new character to the infantry. Charles VIII of France so far made his guns movable that, not only could he take them into the field, but make them change their position during battle and follow the other troops in their movements, which, however, were not very quick. He thereby became the founder of field artillery. His guns, mounted on wheeled carriages and plentifully horsed, proved immensely superior to the old-fashioned clumsy artillery of the Italians (drawn by bullocks), and did such execution in the deep columns of the Italian infantry, that Machiavelli wrote his "Art of War"[a] principally in order to propose formations, by which the effect of such artillery on infantry could be counteracted. In the battle of Marignano,[139] Francis I of France defeated the Swiss pikemen by the effective fire and the mobility of this artillery, which, from flanking positions, enfiladed the Swiss order of battle. But the reign of the pike, for infantry, was on the decline. The Spaniards improved the common hand-gun (*arquebuse*) and introduced it into the regular heavy infantry. Their musket (*hacquebutte*) was a heavy, long-barrelled arm, bored for 2-ounce bullets, and fired from a rest formed by a forked pole. It sent its bullet through the strongest breastplate, and was therefore decisive against the heavy cavalry, which got into disorder as soon as the men began falling. Ten or 15 musketeers were placed with every company of pikemen, and the effect of their fire, at Pavia,[140] astonished both allies and enemies. Frundsberg relates that, in that battle a single shot from such a musket used to bring down several men and horses. From that time dates the superiority of the Spanish infantry, which lasted for above 100 years.

The war consequent upon the rebellion of the Netherlands[141] was of great influence on the formation of armies. Both Spaniards and Dutch improved all arms considerably. Hitherto, in the armies of mercenaries, every man offering for enlistment had to come fully equipped, armed, and acquainted with the use of his arms. But in this long war, carried on during 40 years on a small extent

[a] A reference to Niccolò Machiavelli's *I sette libri dell' arte della guerra.—Ed.*

of country, the available recruits of this class soon became scarce. The Dutch had to put up with such able-bodied volunteers as they could get, and the government now was under the necessity of seeing them drilled. Maurice of Nassau composed the first drill-regulations of modern times, and thereby laid the foundation for the uniform instruction of a whole army. The infantry began again to march in step; it gained much in homogeneity and solidity. It was now formed into smaller bodies; the companies, hitherto 400 to 500, were reduced to 150 and 200 men, 10 companies forming a regiment. The improved musket gained ground upon the pike; one-third of the whole infantry consisted of musketeers, mixed in each company with the pikemen. These latter, being required for hand-to-hand fight only, retained their helmet, breastplate, and steel gauntlets; the musketeers threw away all defensive armor. The formation was generally 2 deep for the pikemen, and from 5 to 8 deep for the musketeers; as soon as the first rank had fired, it retired to load again. Still greater changes took place in cavalry, and here, too, Maurice of Nassau took the lead. In the impossibility of forming a heavy cavalry of men-at-arms, he organized a body of light-horse recruited in Germany, armed them with a helmet, cuirass, brassarts for the arms, steel gauntlets, and long boots, and as with the lance they would not have been a match for the heavy-armed Spanish cavalry, he gave them a sword and long pistols. This new class of horsemen, approaching our modern cuirassiers, soon proved superior to the far less numerous and less movable Spanish men-at-arms, whose horses they shot down before the slow mass broke in upon them. Maurice of Nassau had his cuirassiers drilled as well as his infantry; he so far succeeded, that he could venture to execute in battle, changes of front and other evolutions, with large and small bodies of them. Alva, too, soon found the necessity of improving his light horse; hitherto they had been fit for skirmishing and single combat only, but under his direction they soon learned to charge in a body, the same as the heavy cavalry. The formation of cavalry remained still 5 to 8 deep. About this time Henry IV of France introduced a new kind of mounted service, the dragoons, originally infantry, mounted on horses for quicker locomotion only; but very few years after their introduction, they were used as cavalry as well, and equipped for this double service. They had neither defensive armor nor high boots, but a cavalry sword, and sometimes a lance; beside, they carried the infantry musket, or a shorter carbine. These troops did not, however, come up to the expectations which had led to their

formation; they soon became a portion of the regular cavalry, and ceased to fight as infantry. (The emperor Nicholas of Russia attempted to revive the original dragoons by forming a body of 16,000 men strong, fit for dismounted as well as mounted service; they never found occasion to dismount in battle, always fought as cavalry, and are now broken up and incorporated, as cavalry dragoons, with the remaining Russian cavalry.) In artillery the French maintained the superiority they had gained. The prolonge was invented by them about this time, and case-shot introduced by Henry IV. The Spaniards and Dutch, too, lightened and simplified their artillery, but still it remained a clumsy concern, and light, movable pieces of effective calibre and range were still unknown.

With the 30 years' war[142] opens the period of Gustavus Adolphus, the great military reformer of the 17th century. His infantry regiments were composed of two-thirds musketeers, and one-third pikemen. Some regiments consisted of musketeers alone. The muskets were so much lightened, that the rest for firing them became unnecessary. He also introduced paper cartridges, by which loading was much facilitated. The deep formation was done away with; his pikemen stood 6, his musketeers only 3 deep. These latter were drilled in firing by platoons and ranks. The unwieldy regiments of 2,000 or 3,000 men were reduced to 1,300 or 1,400, in 8 companies, and 2 regiments formed into a brigade. With this formation he defeated the deep masses of his opponents, often disposed, like a column or full square, 30 deep, upon which his artillery played with terrible effect. The cavalry was reorganized upon similar principles. The men-at-arms were completely done away with. The cuirassiers lost the brassarts, and some other useless pieces of defensive armor; they were thus made considerably lighter and more movable. His dragoons fought nearly always as cavalry. Both cuirassiers and dragoons were formed only 3 deep, and had strict orders not to lose time with firing, but to charge at once sword in hand. They were divided into squadrons of 125 men. The artillery was improved by the addition of light guns. The leather guns of Gustavus Adolphus are celebrated, but were not long retained. They were replaced by cast-iron 4-pounders, so light that they could be drawn by 2 horses; they could be fired 6 times while a musketeer fired twice; 2 of these were attached to every regiment of infantry. Thus, the division of light and heavy field artillery was established; the light guns accompanied the infantry while the heavy ones remained in reserve, or took up a position for the whole of the battle. The armies of this

time begin to show the increasing preponderance of infantry over cavalry. At Leipsic, in 1631, Gustavus Adolphus had 19,000 infantry and 11,000 cavalry; Tilly had 31,000 infantry and 13,000 cavalry. At Lützen, 1632, Wallenstein had 24,000 infantry and 16,000 cavalry (in 170 squadrons). The number of guns, too, increased with the introduction of light pieces; the Swedes often had from 5 to 12 guns for every 1,000 men; and at the battle of the Lech, Gustavus Adolphus forced the passage of that river under cover of the fire of 72 heavy guns.[143]

During the latter half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century, the pike, and all defensive armor for infantry, was finally done away with by the general introduction of the bayonet. This weapon, invented in France about 1640, had to struggle 80 years against the pike. The Austrians first adopted it for all their infantry, the Prussians next; the French retained the pike till 1703, the Russians till 1721. The flint-lock, invented in France about the same time as the bayonet, was also gradually introduced, before the year 1700, into most armies. It materially abridged the operation of loading, protected, to some degree, the powder in the pan from rain, and thus contributed very much to the abolition of the pike. Yet firing was still so slow that a man was not expected to use more than from 24 to 36 cartridges in a battle; until in the latter half of this period improved regulations, better drill, and further improvement in the construction of small arms (especially the iron ramrod, first introduced in Prussia), enabled the soldier to fire with considerable rapidity. This necessitated a still further reduction of the depth of formation, and infantry was now formed only 4 deep. A species of *élite* infantry was created in the companies of grenadiers, originally intended to throw hand-grenades before coming to close quarters, but soon reduced to fight with the musket only. In some German armies riflemen had been formed as early as the 30 years' war; the rifle itself had been invented at Leipsic in 1498. This arm was now mixed with the musket, the best shots in each company being armed with it; but, out of Germany, the rifle found but little favor. The Austrians had also a sort of light infantry, called *pandours:* Croatian and Servian irregulars from the military frontier[144] against Turkey, useful in roving expeditions and pursuit, but, from the tactics of the day and their absolute want of drill, useless in battle. The French and Dutch created, for similar purposes, irregular infantry called *compagnies franches.* Cavalry, too, was lightened in all armies. There were no longer any men-at-arms; the cuirassiers maintained the breastplate and helmet only; in France and Sweden, the

breastplate was done away with too. The increasing efficiency and rapidity of infantry fire told very much against cavalry. It was soon considered perfectly useless for this latter arm to charge infantry sword in hand; and the opinion of the irresistibility of a firing line became so prevalent that cavalry, too, was taught to rely more on its carbines than on the sword. Thus, during this period, it often occurs that 2 lines of cavalry maintain a firing fight against each other the same as if they were infantry; and it was considered very daring, to ride up to 20 yards from the enemy, fire a volley, and charge at a trot. Charles XII, however, stuck to the rule of his great predecessor.[a] His cavalry never stopped to fire; it always charged, sword in hand, against any thing opposing it, cavalry, infantry, batteries, and intrenchments; and always with success. The French, too, broke through the new system and recommenced relying on the sword only. The depth of cavalry was still further reduced from 4 to 3. In artillery, the lightening of the guns, the use of cartridges and case-shot, became, now, general. Another great change was that of the incorporation of this arm with the army. Hitherto, though the guns belonged to the state, the men serving them were no proper soldiers, but formed a sort of guild, and artillery was considered not an arm but a handicraft. The officers had no rank in the army, and were considered more related to master-tailors and carpenters than to gentlemen with a commission in their pockets. About this time, however, artillery was made a component part of the army, and divided into companies and battalions; the men were converted into permanent soldiers, and the officers ranked with the infantry and cavalry. The centralization and permanence of the armed contingent upon this change, paved the way for the science of artillery, which, under the old system, could not develop itself.

The passage from deep formation to line, from the pike to the musket, from the supremacy of cavalry to that of infantry, had thus been gradually accomplished when Frederick the Great opened his campaigns, and, with them, the classical era of line tactics. He formed his infantry 3 deep, and got it to fire 5 times in 1 minute. In his very first battles at Mollwitz,[145] this infantry deployed in line, and repelled, by its rapid fire, all charges of the Austrian cavalry, which had just totally routed the Prussian horse; after finishing with the cavalry, the Prussian infantry attacked the Austrian infantry, defeated it, and thus won the battle. Formation of squares against cavalry was never attempted in great battles, but

[a] Gustavus II Adolphus.— *Ed.*

only when infantry, on the march, was surprised by hostile cavalry. In a battle, the extreme wings of the infantry stretched round *en potence*,[a] when menaced by cavalry, and this was generally found sufficient. To oppose the Austrian pandours, Frederick formed similar irregular troops, infantry and cavalry, but never relied on them in battle, where they seldom were engaged. The slow advance of the firing-line decided his battles. Cavalry, neglected under his predecessor,[b] was now made to undergo a complete revolution. It was formed only 2 deep, and firing, except on pursuit, was strictly prohibited. Horsemanship, considered, hitherto, of minor importance, was now cultivated with the greatest attention. All evolutions had to be practised at full speed, and the men were required to remain well closed up. By the exertions of Seydlitz, the cavalry of Frederick was made superior to any other then existing or ever existing before it; and its bold riding, close order, dashing charge, and quick rallying, have never yet been equalled by any that succeeded it. The artillery was considerably lightened, and, indeed, so much that some of the heavy-calibred guns were not able to stand full charges, and had, therefore, to be abolished afterward. Yet the heavy artillery was still very slow and clumsy in its movements, owing to inferior and heavy carriages and imperfect organization. In battle, it took up its position from the first, and sometimes changed it for a second position, more in advance, but manoeuvring, there was none. The light artillery, the regimental guns attached to the infantry, were placed in front of the infantry-line, 50 paces in advance of the intervals of the battalions; they advanced with the infantry, the guns dragged by the men, and opened fire with canister at 300 yards. The number of guns was very large, from 3 to 6 guns per 1,000 men. The infantry, as well as the cavalry, were divided into brigades and divisions, but as there was scarcely any manoeuvring after the battle had once begun, and every battalion had to remain in its proper place in the line, these subdivisions had no tactical influence; with the cavalry, a general of brigade might, during a charge, now and then, have to act upon his own responsibility; but with the infantry, such a case could never occur. This line-formation, infantry in 2 lines in the centre, cavalry in 2 or 3 lines on the wings, was a considerable progress upon the deep formation of former days; it developed the full effect of infantry fire, as well as of the charge of cavalry, by allowing as many men as possible to act simultaneously; but its very perfection in this

[a] In T-shaped formation.—*Ed.*
[b] Frederick William I.—*Ed.*

point confined the whole army, as it were, in a strait-waistcoat. Every squadron, battalion, or gun, had its regulated place in the order of battle, which could not be inverted or in any way disturbed without affecting the efficiency of the whole. On the march, therefore, every thing had to be so arranged that when the army formed front again for encampment or battle, every subdivision got exactly into its correct place. Thus, any manoeuvres to be executed, had to be executed with the whole army; to detach a single portion of it for a flank attack, to form a particular reserve for the attack, with superior forces, of a weak point, would have been impracticable and faulty with such slow troops, fit, only, to fight in line, and with an order of battle of such stiffness. Then, the advance in battle of such long lines was executed with considerable slowness, in order to keep up with the alignment. Tents followed the army constantly, and were pitched every night; the camp was slightly intrenched. The troops were fed from magazines, the baking establishments accompanying the army as much as possible. In short, the baggage and other train of the army were enormous, and hampered its movements to a degree unknown nowadays. Yet, with all these drawbacks, the military organization of Frederick the Great was by far the best of its day, and was eagerly adopted by all other European governments. The recruiting of the forces was almost everywhere carried on by voluntary enlistments, assisted by kidnapping; and it was only after very severe losses that Frederick had recourse to forced levies from his provinces.

When the war of the coalition against the French republic[146] began, the French army was disorganized by the loss of its officers, and numbered less than 150,000 men. The numbers of the enemy were far superior; new levies became necessary and were made, to an immense extent, in the shape of national volunteers, of which, in 1793, there must have been at least 500 battalions in existence. These troops were not drilled, nor was there time to drill them according to the complicated system of line-tactics, and to the degree of perfection required by movements in line. Every attempt to meet the enemy in line was followed by a signal defeat, though the French had far superior numbers. A new system of tactics became necessary. The American revolution[147] had shown the advantage to be gained, with undisciplined troops, from extended order and skirmishing fire. The French adopted it, and supported the skirmishers by deep columns, in which a little disorder was less objectionable, so long as the mass remained well together. In this formation, they launched their superior numbers

against the enemy, and were generally successful. This new formation and the want of experience of their troops led them to fight in broken ground, in villages and woods, where they found shelter from the enemy's fire, and where his line was invariably disordered; their want of tents, field-bakeries, &c., compelled them to bivouac without shelter, and to live upon what the country afforded them. Thus they gained a mobility unknown to their enemies, who were encumbered with tents and all sorts of baggage. When the revolutionary war had produced, in Napoleon, the man who reduced this new mode of warfare to a regular system, combined it with what was still useful in the old system, and brought the new method at once to that degree of perfection which Frederick had given to line-tactics—then the French were almost invincible, until their opponents had learnt from them, and organized their armies upon the new model. The principal features of this new system are: the restoration of the old principle that every citizen is liable, in case of need, to be called out for the defence of the country, and the consequent formation of the army, by compulsory levies, of greater or less extent, from the whole of the inhabitants; a change by which the numeric force of armies was at once raised to three-fold the average of Frederick's time, and might, in case of need, be increased to larger proportions still. Then, the discarding of camp utensils, and of depending for provisions upon magazines, the introduction of the bivouac and of the rule that war feeds war; the celerity and independence of an army was hereby increased as much as its numeric force by the rule of general liability to serve. In tactical organization, the principle of mixing infantry, cavalry, and artillery in the smaller portions of an army, in corps and divisions, became the rule. Every division thus became a complete army on a reduced scale, fit to act independently, and capable of considerable power of resistance even against superior numbers. The order of battle, now, was based upon the column; it served as the reservoir, from which sallied and to which returned the swarms of skirmishers; as the wedgelike compact mass to be launched against a particular point of the enemy's line; as the form to approach the enemy and then to deploy, if the ground and the state of the engagement made it desirable to oppose firing-lines to the enemy. The mutual supporting of the 3 arms developed to its full extent by their combination in small bodies, and the combination of the 3 forms of fighting; skirmishers, line, and column, composed the great tactical superiority of modern armies. Any kind of ground, thereby, became fit for fighting in it; and the ability of rapidly

judging the advantages and disadvantages of ground, and of at once disposing troops accordingly, became one of the chief requirements of a captain. And not only in the commander-in-chief, but in the subordinate officers, these qualities, and general aptness for independent command, were now a necessity. Corps, divisions, brigades, and detachments, were constantly placed in situations where their commanders had to act on their own responsibility; the battle-field no longer presented its long unbroken lines of infantry disposed in a vast plain with cavalry on the wings; but the single corps and divisions, massed in columns, stood hidden behind villages, roads, or hills, separated from each other by seemingly large intervals, while but a small portion of the troops appeared actually engaged in skirmishing and firing artillery, until the decisive moment approached. Lines of battle extended with the numbers and with this formation; it was not necessary actually to fill up every interval with a line visible to the enemy, so long as troops were at hand to come up when required. Turning of flanks now became generally a strategical operation, the stronger army placing itself completely between the weaker one and its communications, so that a single defeat could annihilate an army and decide a campaign. The favorite tactical manoeuvre was the breaking through the enemy's centre, with fresh troops, as soon as the state of affairs showed that his last reserves were engaged. Reserves, which in line-tactics would have been out of place and would have deducted from the efficiency of the army in the decisive moment, now became the chief means to decide an action. The order of battle, extending as it did in front, extended also in depth; from the skirmishing line to the position of the reserves the depth was very often 2 miles and more. In short, if the new system required less drill and parade-precision, it required far greater rapidity, exertions, and intelligence from every one, from the highest commander as well as the lowest skirmisher; and every fresh improvement made since Napoleon, tends in that direction.

The changes in the *matériel* of armies were but trifling during this period; constant wars left little time for such improvements the introduction of which requires time. Two very important innovations took place in the French army shortly before the revolution; the adoption of a new model of musket of reduced calibre and windage, and with a curved stock instead of the straight one hitherto in use. This weapon, more accurately worked, contributed a great deal toward the superiority of the French skirmishers, and remained the model upon which with

trifling alterations the muskets in use in all armies up to the introduction of percussion locks, were constructed. The second was the simplification and improvement of the artillery by Gribeauval. The French artillery under Louis XV was completely neglected; the guns were of all sorts of calibres, the carriages were old-fashioned, and the models upon which they were constructed not even uniform. Gribeauval, who had served during the 7 years' war [148] with the Austrians, and there seen better models, succeeded in reducing the number of calibres, equalizing and improving the models, and greatly simplifying the whole system. It was with his guns and carriages that Napoleon fought his wars. The English artillery, which was in the worst possible state when the war with France broke out, was gradually, but slowly, considerably improved; with it originated the block-trail carriage, which has since been adopted by many continental armies, and the arrangement for mounting the foot artillerymen on the limbers and ammunition wagons. Horse-artillery, invented by Frederick the Great, was much cultivated during Napoleon's period, especially by himself, and its proper tactics were first developed. When the war was over, it was found that the British were the most efficient in this arm. Of all large European armies, the Austrian is the only one which supplies the place of horse-artillery by batteries in which the men are mounted on wagons provided for the purpose.

The German armies still kept up the especial class of infantry armed with rifles, and the new system of fighting in extended order gave a fresh importance to this arm. It was especially cultivated, and in 1838 taken up by the French, who felt the want of a long range musket for Algiers. The *tirailleurs de Vincennes,* afterward *chasseurs à pied,* were formed, and brought to a state of efficiency without parallel. This formation gave rise to great improvements in rifles, and by which both range and precision were increased to a wonderful degree. The names of Delvigne, Thouvenin, Minié, became celebrated thereby. For the totality of the infantry, the percussion lock was introduced between 1830 and 1840 in most armies; as usual, the English and the Russians were the last. In the mean time, great efforts were made in various quarters still further to improve small arms, and to produce a musket of superior range which could be given to the whole of the infantry. The Prussians introduced the needle gun, a rifle arm loaded at the breech, and capable of very rapid firing, and having a long range; the invention, originated in Belgium, was considerably improved by them. This gun has been given to all their light battalions; the remainder of the infantry have recently got their

old muskets, by a very simple process, turned into Minié rifles. The English were the first this time to arm the whole of their infantry with a superior musket, viz., the Enfield rifle, a slight alteration of the Minié; its superiority was fully proved in the Crimea, and saved them at Inkermann.[149]

In tactical arrangements, no changes of importance have taken place for infantry and cavalry, if we except the great improvement of light infantry tactics by the French *chasseurs,* and the new Prussian system of columns of companies, which latter formation, with perhaps some variations, will no doubt soon become general from its great tactical advantages. The formation is still 3 deep with the Russians and Austrians, the English have formed 2 deep ever since Napoleon's time; the Prussians march 3 deep, but mostly fight 2 deep, the 3d rank forming the skirmishers and their supports; and the French, hitherto formed 3 deep, have fought 2 deep in the Crimea, and are introducing this formation in the whole army. As to cavalry, the Russian experiment of restoring the dragoons of the 17th century and its failure have been mentioned.

In artillery, considerable improvements of detail and simplification of calibres, and models for wheels, carriages, &c., have taken place in every army. The science of artillery has been greatly improved. Yet no considerable changes have taken place. Most continental armies carry 6 and 12-pounders; the Piedmontese 8 and 16-pounders; the Spanish 8 and 12-pounders; the French, who hitherto had 8 and 12-pounders, are now introducing Louis Napoleon's so-called howitzer gun, a simple light 12-pounder, from which small shells are also fired, and which is to replace every other kind of field gun. The British have 3 and 6-pounders in the colonies, but in their armies sent out from England, now only use 9-pounders, 12-pounders, and 18-pounders. In the Crimea they even had a field battery of 32-pounders, but it always stuck fast.

The general organization of modern armies is very much alike. With the exception of the British and American, they are recruited by compulsory levy, based either upon conscription, in which case the men, after serving their time, are dismissed for life, or upon the reserve system, in which the time of actual service is short, but the men remain liable to be called out again for a certain time afterward. France is the most striking example of the first, Prussia of the second system. Even in England, where both line and militia are generally recruited by voluntary enlistment, the conscription (or ballot) is by law established for the militia

should volunteers be wanting. In Switzerland, no standing army exists; the whole force consists of militia drilled for a short time only. The enlistment of foreign mercenaries is still the rule in some countries; Naples and the Pope still have their Swiss regiments; the French their foreign legion; and England, in case of serious war, is regularly compelled to resort to this expedient. The time of actual service varies very much; from a couple of weeks with the Swiss, 18 months to 2 years with the smaller German states, and 3 years with the Prussians, to 5 or 6 years in France, 12 years in England, and 15 to 25 in Russia. The officers are recruited in various ways. In most armies there are now no legal impediments to advancement from the ranks, but the practical impediments vary very much. In France and Austria a portion of the officers must be taken from the sergeants; in Russia the insufficient number of educated candidates makes this a necessity. In Prussia the examination for officers' commissions, in peace, is a bar to uneducated men; in England advancement from the ranks is a rare exception. For the remainder of the officers, there are in most countries military schools, though with the exception of France, it is not necessary to pass through them. In military education the French, in general education the Prussian officers are ahead; the English and the Russians stand lowest in both. As to the horses required, we believe Prussia is the only country in which the equine population too is subject to compulsory levies, the owners being bought off at fixed rates. With the exceptions named above, the equipment and armament of modern armies is now everywhere nearly the same. There is, of course, a great difference in the quality and workmanship of the material. In this respect, the Russians stand lowest, the English, where the industrial advantages at their command are really made use of, stand highest.

The infantry of all armies is divided into line and light infantry. The 1st is the rule, and composes the mass of all infantry; real light infantry is everywhere the exception. Of this latter, the French have at present decidedly the best in quality and a considerable number: 21 battalions of chasseurs, 9 of Zouaves, and 6 of native Algerian tirailleurs. The Austrian light infantry, especially the rifles, are very good, too; there are 32 battalions of them. The Prussians have 9 battalions of rifles and 40 of light infantry; the latter, however, not sufficiently up in their special duty. The English have no real light infantry, except their 6 battalions of rifles, and are, next to the Russians, decidedly the least fit for that kind of duty. The Russians may be said to be

without any real light infantry, for their 6 rifle battalions vanish in their enormous army.

Cavalry, too, is everywhere divided into heavy and light. Cuirassiers are always heavy, hussars, chasseurs, chevaux-legers, always light horse. Dragoons and lancers are in some armies light, in others heavy cavalry; and the Russians would also be without light cavalry were it not for the Cossacks. The best light cavalry is undoubtedly that of the Austrians, the national Hungarian hussars and Polish hussars. The same division holds good with artillery, with the exception of the French, who as stated now have only one calibre. In other armies there are still light and heavy batteries, according to the calibres attached to them. Light artillery is still subdivided in horse and foot, the lst especially intended to act in company with cavalry. The Austrians, as stated, have no horse-artillery; the English and French have no proper foot-artillery, the men being carried on the limbers and ammunition wagons.

The infantry is formed into companies, battalions, and regiments. The battalion is the tactical unity; it is the form in which the troops fight, a few exceptional cases left aside. A battalion, therefore, must not be too strong to be commanded by the voice and eye of its chief, nor too weak to act as an independent body in battle, even after the losses of a campaign. The strength, therefore, varies from 600 to 1,400 men; 800 to 1,000 forms the average. The division of a battalion into companies has for its object the fixing of its evolutionary subdivisions, the efficiency of the men in the details of the drill, and the more commodious, economical administration. Practically, companies appear as separate bodies in skirmishing only, and with the Prussians, in the formation in columns of companies, where each of the 4 companies forms columns in 3 platoons; this formation presupposes strong companies, and they are in Prussia 250 strong. The number of companies in a battalion varies as much as their strength. The English have 10, of from 90 to 120 men, the Russians and Prussians 4 of 250 men, the French and Austrians 6 of varying strength. Battalions are formed into regiments, more for administrative and disciplinarian purposes and to insure uniformity of drill, than for any tactical object; in formations for war, therefore, the battalions of one regiment are often separated. In Russia and Austria there are 4, in Prussia 3, in France 2 service battalions, beside depots to every regiment; in England, most regiments are formed, in peace, of but 1 battalion. Cavalry is divided into squadrons and regiments. The squadron, from 100 to

200 men, forms the tactical and administrative unity; the English alone subdivide the squadron, for administrative purposes, into 2 troops. There are from 3 to 10 service squadrons to a regiment; the British have, in peace, but 3 squadrons, of about 120 horse; the Prussians 4 of 150 horse; the French 5 of 180 to 200 horse; the Austrians 6 or 8 of 200 horse; the Russians 6 to 10 of 150 to 170 horse. With cavalry the regiment is a body of tactical significance, as a regiment offers the means to make an independent charge, the squadrons mutually supporting each other, and is for this purpose formed of sufficient strength, viz., between 500 and 1,600 horse. The British alone have such weak regiments that they are obliged to put 4 or 5 of them to 1 brigade; on the other hand, the Austrian and Russian regiments in many cases are as strong as an average brigade. The French have nominally very strong regiments, but have hitherto appeared in the field in considerably reduced numbers, owing to their poverty in horses. Artillery is formed in batteries; the formation in regiments or brigades in this arm is only for peace purposes, as almost in every case of actual service the batteries are sure to become separated, and are always used so. Four guns is the least number, and the Austrians have 8; the French and English 6 guns per battery. Riflemen or other real light infantry are generally organized in battalions and companies only, not in regiments; the nature of the arm is repugnant to its reunion in large masses. The same is the case with sappers and miners, they being, beside, but a very small portion of the army. The French alone make an exception in this latter case; but their 3 regiments, sappers and miners, count only 6 battalions in all. With the regiment the formation of most armies in time of peace is generally considered complete. The larger bodies, brigades, divisions, army-corps, are mostly formed when war breaks out. The Russians and Prussians alone have their army fully organized and the higher commands filled up, as if for actual war. But in Prussia this is completely illusory, unless at least a whole army-corps be mobilized, which supposes the calling in of the Landwehr[150] of a whole province; and if in Russia the troops are actually with the regiments, yet the late war[a] has shown that the original divisions and corps very soon got mixed, so that the advantage gained from such a formation is more for peace than for war.

In war, several battalions or squadrons are formed into a brigade; from 4 to 8 battalions for infantry, or from 6 to 20

[a] The Crimean war of 1853-56.—*Ed.*

squadrons for cavalry. With large cavalry regiments these latter may very well stand in lieu of brigade; but they are very generally reduced to smaller strength by the detachments they have to send to the divisions. Light and line infantry may with advantage be mixed in a brigade, but not light and heavy cavalry. The Austrians very generally add a battery to each brigade. A combination of brigades forms the division. In most armies, it is composed of all the 3 arms, say 2 brigades of infantry, 4 to 6 squadrons, and 1 to 3 batteries. The French and Russians have no cavalry to their divisions, the English form them of infantry exclusively. Unless, therefore, these nations wish to fight at a disadvantage, they are obliged to attach cavalry (and artillery respectively) to the divisions whenever the case occurs; which is easily overlooked or often inconvenient or impossible. The proportion of divisionary cavalry, however, is everywhere but small, and therefore the remainder of this arm is formed into cavalry divisions of 2 brigades each, for the purpose of reserve cavalry. Two or 3 divisions, sometimes 4, are, for larger armies, formed into an army-corps. Such a corps has everywhere its own cavalry and artillery, even where the divisions have none; and, where these latter are mixed bodies, there is still a reserve of cavalry and artillery placed at the disposal of the commander of the corps. Napoleon was the first to form these, and, not satisfied therewith, he organized the whole of the remaining cavalry into reserve cavalry-corps of 2 or 5 divisions of cavalry with horse-artillery attached. The Russians have retained this formation of their reserve cavalry, and the other armies are likely to take it up again in a war of importance, though the effect obtained has never yet been in proportion to the immense mass of horsemen thus concentrated on one point. Such is the modern organization of the fighting part of an army. But, in spite of the abolition of tents, magazines, field-bakeries, and bread-wagons, there is still a large train of non-combatants and of vehicles necessary to insure the efficiency of the army in a campaign. To give an idea of this, we will only state the train required, according to the existing regulations, for 1 army-corps of the Prussian service:—

Artillery train: 6 park columns of 30 wagons, 1 laboratory do., 6 wagons.
Pontoon train: 34 pontoon wagons, 5 tool wagons, 1 forge.
Infantry train: 116 wagons, 108 team horses.
Medical train: 50 wagons (for 1,600 or 2,000 sick).
Reserve commissariat train: 159 wagons.
Reserve train: 1 wagon, 75 reserve horses.
In all, 402 wagons, 1,791 horses, 3,000 men.

To enable the commanders of armies, army-corps and divisions to conduct, each in his sphere, the troops intrusted to him, a separate corps is formed in every army except the British, composed of officers exclusively, and called the staff. The functions of these officers are to reconnoitre and sketch the ground on which the army moves or may move; to assist in making out plans for operations, and to arrange them in detail so that no time is lost, no confusion arises, no useless fatigue is incurred by the troops. They are, therefore, in highly important positions, and ought to have a thoroughly finished military education, with a full knowledge of the capabilities of each arm on the march and in battle. They are accordingly taken in all countries from the most able subjects, and carefully trained in the highest military schools. The English alone imagine any subaltern or field-officer selected from the army at large is fit for such a position, and the consequence is that their staffs are inferior, and the army incapable of any but the slowest and simplest manoeuvres, while the commander, if at all conscientious, has to do all the staff work himself. A division can seldom have more than one staff-officer attached, an army-corps has a staff of its own under the direction of a superior or a staff-officer, and an army has a full staff, with several generals, under a chief who, in urgent cases, gives his orders in the name of the commander. The chief of the staff, in the British army, has an adjutant-general and a quartermaster-general under his orders; in other armies the adjutant-general is at the same time chief of the staff; in France the chief of the staff unites both capacities in himself, and has a different department for each under his orders. The adjutant-general is the chief of the *personnel* of the army, receives the reports of all subordinate departments and bodies of the army, and arranges all matters relative to discipline, instruction, formation, equipment, armament, &c. All subordinates correspond through him with the commander-in-chief. If chief of the staff at the same time, he cooperates with the commander in the formation and working out of plans of operation and movements for the army. The proper arrangement of these in detail is the department of the quartermaster-general; the details of marches, cantonments, encampments, are prepared by him. A sufficient number of staff-officers are attached to head-quarters for reconnoitring the ground, preparing projects as to the defence or attack of positions, &c. There is, beside, a commander-in-chief of the artillery, and a superior engineer-officer for their respective departments; a few deputies to represent the chief of the staff on

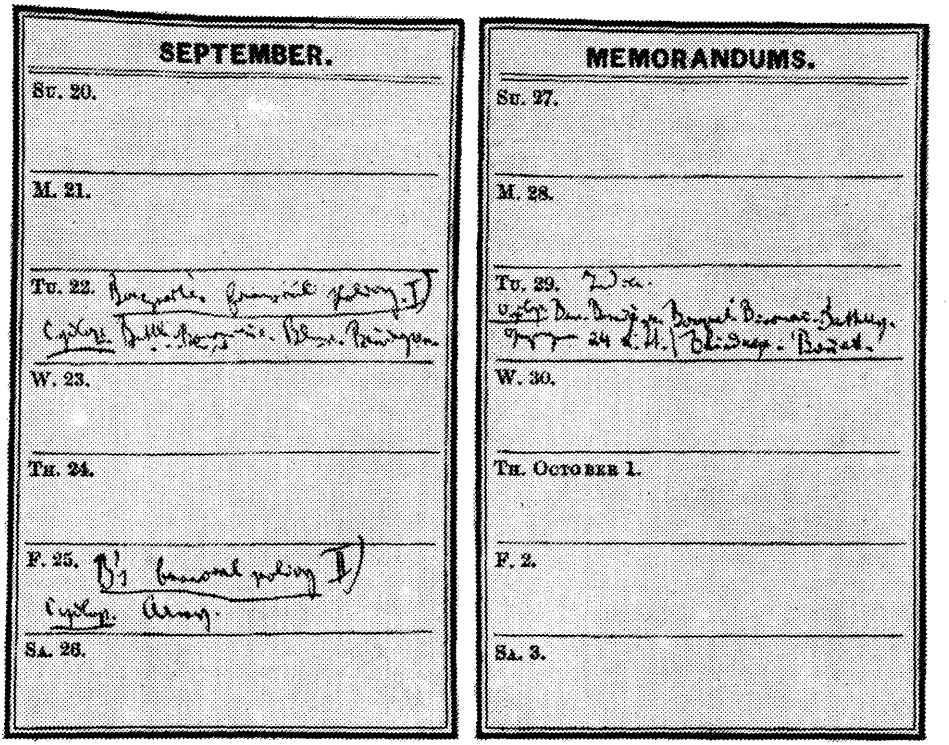

SEPTEMBER.

Su. 20.

M. 21.

Tu. 22.

W. 23.

Th. 24.

F. 25.

Sa. 26.

MEMORANDUMS.

Su. 27.

M. 28.

Tu. 29.

W. 30.

Th. October 1.

F. 2.

Sa. 3.

Pages of Marx's notebook with entries on the dispatch of articles to *The New American Cyclopaedia*

particular points of the battle-field, and a number of orderly officers and orderlies to carry orders and despatches. To the head-quarters are further attached the chief of the commissariat, with his clerks, the paymaster of the army, the chief of the medical department, and the judge-advocate, or director of the department of military justice. The staffs of the army-corps and divisions are regulated on the same model, but with greater simplicity and a reduced *personnel;* the staffs of brigades and regiments are still less numerous, and the staff of a battalion may consist merely of the commander, his adjutant, an officer as paymaster, a sergeant as clerk, and a drummer or bugleman.

To regulate and keep up the military force of a great nation, numerous establishments, beside those hitherto named, are required. There are recruiting and remounting commissioners, the latter often connected with the administration of national establishments for the breeding of horses, military schools for officers and non-commissioned officers, model battalions, squadrons, and batteries, normal riding schools, and schools for veterinary surgeons. There are in most countries national founderies and manufactories for small arms and gunpowder; there are the various barracks, arsenals, stores, the fortresses with their equipments and the staff of officers commanding them; finally, there are the commissariat and general staff of the army, which, for the whole of the armed force, are even more numerous and have more extensive duties to perform than the staff and commissariat of a single active army. The staff especially has very important duties. It is generally divided into a historical section (collecting materials relative to the history of war, the formation of armies, &c., past and present), a topographical section (intrusted with the collection of maps and the trigonometrical survey of the whole country), a statistical section, &c. At the head of all these establishments, as well as of the army, stands the ministry of war, organized differently in different countries, but comprising, as must be evident from the preceding observations, a vast variety of subjects. As an example we give the organization of the French ministry of war. It comprises 7 directions or divisions: 1, of the *personnel;* 2, of the artillery; 3, of the engineers and fortresses; 4, of administrative affairs; 5, of Algeria; 6, war depôt (historical, topographical, &c., and sections of the staff); 7, finances of the war department. Immediately attached to the ministry are the following consultative commissions, composed of generals and field-officers and professional men, viz.: the committees of the staff of infantry, of cavalry, of artillery, of fortification, of medical

affairs, and the commissions for veterinary science and for public works. Such is the vast machinery devoted to recruiting, remounting, feeding, directing, and always reproducing a modern first class army. The masses brought together correspond to such an organization. Though Napoleon's grand army of 1812, when he had 200,000 men in Spain, 200,000 in France, Italy, Germany, and Poland, and invaded Russia with 450,000 men and 1,300 guns, has never yet been equalled; though we shall most likely never see such an army again united for one operation as these 450,000 men, yet the large continental states of Europe, Prussia included, can each of them raise an armed and disciplined force of 500,000 men, and more; and their armies, though not more than from $1\,^1/_2$ to 3 per ct. of their population, have never yet been reached at any former period of history.

The system of the United States bases the defence of the country substantially on the militia of the different states, and on volunteer armies raised as occasion demands; the standing military force, employed mainly in preserving order among the Indian tribes of the West, consisting, according to the report of the secretary of war[a] for 1857, of only about 18,000 men.[151]

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[a] John Buchanan Floyd.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## BATTERY [152]

In field artillery, this expression means a number of guns, from 4 to 12, with the necessary horses, gunners, and equipments, and destined generally to act together in battle. The British and French have 6, the Prussians and Austrians 8, the Russians 8 or 12, guns to a battery. Field batteries are divided into light, heavy, and howitzer batteries; in some countries, there are, beside, mountain batteries. In describing a position for battle, the word battery is also used to indicate any spot where guns are placed. In siege artillery, battery means either any one of the lines of the fortress which is armed with guns, or else, and especially, a number of guns placed in line for the attack of a fortress, and covered by a parapet. The construction of this parapet, and the emplacements for the guns, are what is understood by the construction of a battery. With respect to their profiles, batteries are either elevated, half sunken, or sunken; with respect to their armament, guns, howitzer, mortar batteries; with respect to the shelter afforded, batteries with embrasures, barbette batteries (without embrasures), casemated batteries (covered in bomb proof). With respect to the purpose aimed at, there are dismounting batteries, to dismount the guns in one of the lines of the fortress, parallel to which they are constructed; ricochetting batteries, constructed in the prolongation of a line, and destined to enfilade it, the balls and shells just passing over the parapet and hopping along the line in low jumps; mortar batteries, to bombard the interior of the bastions and the buildings in the fortress; breaching batteries, to bring down the revetement walls of the scarp of the rampart; counter batteries, erected on the crown of the glacis opposite the flanks, to silence the fire of a flank which

protects the ditch in front of the breach. Strand batteries are intrenchments thrown up on particular points of a sea shore to act against hostile men-of-war; they are either permanent, in which case they are generally constructed of masonry, and often casemated, with several tiers of guns, or temporary earthworks, mostly barbette batteries to insure a wider sweep; in either case they are generally closed to the rear against a sudden attack by landed infantry.

To construct an earthwork battery, the principal dimensions are traced, and the earth procured from a ditch in front or rear of the intended parapet. The outer slope of the parapet is left without revetement, but the interior slope and the cheeks or interior sides of the embrasures are revetted with fascines, gabions, hurdles, casks filled with earth, sandbags, or sods of turf, so as to retain the earth in its position, even with a steep slope. A *berme,* or level space, is generally left standing between the outer slope of the parapet and the ditch in front, to strengthen the parapet. A banquette is constructed inside the battery, between the embrasures, high enough for a man to stand on and look over the parapet. An epaulment of parapet forming an obtuse angle with that of the battery is often constructed on one or both flanks, to protect it against flanking fire. Where the battery can be enfiladed, traverses or epaulments between the guns become necessary. In barbette batteries, this protection is strengthened by a further elevation of the traverses several feet above the height of the parapet, which elevation is continued across the parapet to its outer crest, and called a bonnet. The guns are placed on platforms constructed of planks and sleepers, or other timbers, to insure permanency of emplacement. The ammunition is kept partly in recesses under the parapet, partly in a sunken building of timber covered in bomb proof with earth. To shelter the gunners from rifle firing, the embrasures are often closed by blindages of strong planks, to open to either side when the gun is run out, or provided with a hole for the muzzle to pass through. The fire of the enemy is rendered innocuous by blindages of timbers laid with one end on the inner crest of the parapet, and sloping to the ground behind. In batteries where howitzers are used, the soles of the embrasures slope upward instead of downward; in mortar batteries, there are no embrasures at all, the high elevation taken insuring the passage of the shell over the crest of the parapet. To give effective protection against the fire of heavy guns, the parapet should be at least 17 or 18 feet thick; but if the calibre of the enemy is very heavy, and the ground bad, a thickness of 24

feet may be required. A height of 7 or 8 feet gives sufficient protection. The guns should have a clear distance of from 10 to 14 feet; if traverses are necessary, the parapet will have to be lengthened accordingly.

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## BEM [153]

*Bem*, Józef, a Polish general, born at Tarnow, in Galicia, in 1795,[a] died Dec. 10, 1850. The passion of his life was hatred of Russia. At the epoch when Napoleon, by victories and proclamations, was exciting a belief in the resurrection of Poland, Bem entered the corps of cadets at Warsaw, and received his military training at the artillery-school directed by Gen. Pelletier. On leaving this school, he was appointed lieutenant of the horse-artillery; served in that capacity under Davout and Macdonald in the campaign of 1812; won the cross of the legion of honor by his cooperation in the defence of Dantzic [154]; and, after the surrender of that fortress, returned to Poland. As the czar Alexander, affecting a great predilection for the Polish nation, now reorganized the Polish army, Bem entered the latter in 1815, as an officer of artillery, but was soon dismissed for fighting a duel with his superior. However, he was subsequently appointed military teacher at the artillery-school of Warsaw and promoted to the rank of captain. He now introduced the use of the Congreve rocket into the Polish army, recording the experiments made on this occasion in a volume originally published in French and then translated into German.[b] He was querulous and insubordinate, and, from 1820 to 1825, was several times arraigned before courts-martial, punished with imprisonment, released, imprisoned again, and at last sent to Kock, a remote Polish village, there to

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[a] Józef Bem was born in 1794 but because of his ill health was not registered until 1795.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Bem, *Erfahrungen über die Congrevschen Brand-Raketen bis zum Jahre 1819 in der Königl. Polnischen Artillerie gesammelt.*—*Ed.*

vegetate under strict police surveillance. He did not obtain his discharge from the Polish army until the death of Alexander, and the Petersburg insurrection[155] made Constantine lose sight of him. Leaving Russian Poland, Bem now retired to Lemberg, where he became an overseer in a large distillery, and elaborated a book on steam applied to the distillation of alcohol.[a]

When the Warsaw insurrection of 1830 broke out he joined it, after a few months was made a major of artillery, and fought, in May,[b] 1831, at the battle of Ostrolenka, where he was noticed for the skill and perseverance with which he fought against the superior Russian batteries.[156] When the Polish army had been finally repulsed in its attacks against the Russians who had passed the Narev, he covered the retreat by a bold advance with the whole of his guns. He was now created colonel, soon after general, and called to the command-in-chief of the Polish artillery. At the storming of Warsaw by the Russians he fought bravely, but, as a commander, committed the fault of not using his 40 guns, and allowing the Russians to take Vola, the principal point of defence. After the fall of Warsaw he emigrated to Prussia with the rest of the army, urged the men not to lay down their arms before the Prussians, and thus provoked a bloody and unnecessary struggle, called at that time the battle of Fischau. He then abandoned the army and organized in Germany committees for the support of Polish emigrants, after which he went to Paris.

His extraordinary character, in which a laborious fondness for the exact sciences was blended with restless impulses for action, caused him to readily embark in adventurous enterprises, whose failure gave an advantage to his enemies. Thus having in 1833, on his own responsibility, undertaken without success to raise a Polish legion for Don Pedro,[157] he was denounced as a traitor, and was fired at by one of his disappointed countrymen, in Bourges, where he came to engage the Poles for his legion. Travels through Portugal, Spain, Holland, Belgium, and France, absorbed his time during the period from 1834 to 1848.

In 1848, on the first appearance of revolutionary symptoms in Austrian Poland, he hastened to Lemberg and thence, Oct. 14, to Vienna, where all that was done to strengthen the works of defence and organize the revolutionary forces, was due to his personal exertions. The disorderly flight in which, Oct. 25, a sally of the Viennese mobile guard,[158] headed by himself, had resulted,

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[a] J. Bem, *O machinach parowych*, Vol. I.—*Ed.*

[b] *The New American Cyclopaedia* has "June" here.—*Ed.*

wrung from him stern expressions of reproof, replied to by noisy accusations of treason, which, in spite of their absurdity, gained such influence that, but for fear of an insurrection on the part of the Polish legion, he would have been dragged before a court-martial. After his remarkable defence, Oct. 28, of the great barricade erected in the Jägernzeile, and after the opening of negotiations between the Vienna magistrates and Prince Windischgrätz, he disappeared. Suspicion, heightened by his mysterious escape, dogged him from Vienna to Pesth, where, on account of his prudent advice to the Hungarian government, not to allow the establishment of a special Polish legion, a Pole named Kolodjecki fired a pistol on the pretended traitor and severely wounded him.

The war in Transylvania, with the command of which the Hungarian government intrusted Bem, leaving it, however, to his own ingenuity to find the armies with which to carry it on, forms the most important portion of his military life, and throws a great light upon the peculiar character of his generalship. Opening the first campaign toward the end of Dec. 1848, with a force of about 8,000 men, badly armed, hastily collected, and consisting of most heterogeneous elements—raw Magyar levies, Honveds,[159] Viennese refugees, and a small knot of Poles, a motley crew reenforced in his progress through Transylvania by successive drafts from Szeklers,[a] Saxons, Slavs and Roumanians—Bem had about 2 months later ended his campaign, vanquished Puchner with an Austrian army of 20,000 men, Engelhardt with the auxiliary force of 6,000 Russians, and Urban with his freebooters. Compelling the latter to take refuge in the Bukovina, and the two former to withdraw to Wallachia, he kept the whole of Transylvania save the small fortress of Karlsburg. Bold surprises, audacious manoeuvres, forced marches, and the great confidence he knew how to inspire in his troops by his own example, by the skilful selection of covered localities, and by always affording artillery support at the decisive moment, proved him to be a first-rate general for the partisan and small mountain warfare of this first campaign. He also showed himself a master in the art of suddenly creating and disciplining an army; but being content with the first rough sketch of organization, and neglecting to form a nucleus of choice troops, which was a matter of prime necessity, his extemporized army was sure to vanish like a dream on the first serious disasters.

During his hold of Transylvania he did himself honor by preventing the useless and impolitic cruelties contemplated by the

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[a] The Magyar inhabitants of Transylvania.—*Ed.*

Magyar commissioners. The policy of conciliation between the antagonist nationalities aided him in swelling his force, in a few months, to 40,000 or 50,000 men, well provided with cavalry and artillery. If, notwithstanding, some admirable manoeuvres, the expedition to the Banat,[160] which he engaged in with this numerically strong army, produced no lasting effect, the circumstance of his hands being tied by the cooperation of the incapable Hungarian general,[a] must be taken into account.

The irruption into Transylvania of large Russian forces, and the defeats consequently sustained by the Magyars, called Bem back to the theatre of his first campaign. After a vain attempt to create a diversion in the rear of the enemy, by the invasion of Moldavia, he returned to Transylvania, there to be completely routed, July 31,[b] at Schässburg, by the 3 times stronger Russian forces under Lüders, escaping captivity himself only by a plunge into a morass from which some dispersed Magyar hussars happened to pick him up. Having collected the remainder of his forces, he stormed Hermannstadt for the second time, Aug. 5, but for want of reenforcements soon had to leave it, and after an unfortunate fight, Aug. 7, he retraced his steps to Hungary, where he arrived in time to witness the loss of the decisive battle at Temesvár.[161] After a vain attempt to make a last stand at Lugos with what remained of the Magyar forces, he reentered Transylvania, kept his ground there against overwhelming forces, until Aug. 19, when he was compelled to take refuge in the Turkish territory.

With the purpose of opening to himself a new field of activity against Russia, Bem embraced the Mussulman faith, and was raised by the sultan[c] to the dignity of a pasha, under the name of Amurath, with a command in the Turkish army; but, on the remonstrances of the European powers, he was relegated to Aleppo. Having there succeeded in repressing some sanguinary excesses committed during Nov. 1850, on the Christian residents by the Mussulman populace,[162] he died about a month later, of a violent fever, for which he would allow no medical aid.

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[a] Károly Vécsey.— *Ed.*
[b] *The New American Cyclopaedia* has "July 29" here.— *Ed.*
[c] Abdul Mejid.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## BESSIÈRES [163]

*Bessières*, Jean Baptiste, marshal of the French empire, born at Praissac, in the department of Lot, Aug. 6, 1768, killed at Lützen, May 1, 1813. He entered the constitutional guard [164] of Louis XVI, in 1791, served as a non-commissioned officer in the mounted chasseurs of the Pyrénées, and soon after became a captain of chasseurs. After the victory of Roveredo, Sept. 4, 1796, Bonaparte promoted him on the battle-field to the rank of colonel. Commander of the guides [165] of the general-in-chief during the Italian campaign of 1796-'97, colonel of the same corps in Egypt, he remained attached to it for the greater part of his life. In 1802, the rank of general of division was conferred upon him, and, in 1804, that of marshal of the empire. He fought at the battles of Roveredo, Rivoli, St. Jean d'Acre, Aboukir, Marengo—where he commanded the last decisive cavalry charge—Austerlitz, Jena, Eylau, and Friedland.[166] Despatched in 1808 to assume the command of a division of 18,000 men stationed in the Spanish province of Salamanca, he found on his arrival that Gen. Cuesta had taken up a position between Valladolid and Burgos, thus threatening to intersect the line of communication of Madrid with France. Bessières attacked him and won the victory of Medina del Rio Secco. After the failure of the English Walcheren expedition,[167] Napoleon substituted Bessières for Bernadotte, in command of the Belgian army. In the same year (1809), he was created duke of Istria. At the head of a cavalry division he routed the Austrian general, Hohenzollern, at the battle of Essling.[a] During the Russian expedition he acted as chief commander of

[a] See this volume, pp. 27-33.—*Ed.*

the mounted guard, and on the opening of the German campaign of 1813, as the commander of the French cavalry. He died on the battle-field while attacking the defile of Rippach, in Saxony, on the eve of the battle of Lützen.[168] His popularity with the common soldiers may be inferred from the circumstance that it was thought prudent to withhold the news of his death for some time from the army.

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# Frederick Engels

## BIVOUAC

*Bivouac* (Fr., probably from Ger. *bei* and *Wache*[a]), an encampment of troops by night in the open air, without tents, each soldier sleeping in his clothes, with his arms by his side. In the warfare of the ancients, the troops were protected by tents, as by movable cities. In mediaeval times, castles and abbeys were opened to feudal and princely armies as they marched by. The popular masses who, impelled by religious enthusiasm, precipitated themselves in the crusades into Asia, formed rather a mob than an army, and all but the leading knights and princes and their immediate followers bivouacked upon the ground, like the wild nomadic tribes who roam the plains of Asia. With the return of regular warfare tented camps again reappeared, and were common in Europe during the last 2 centuries. But in the gigantic Napoleonic wars it was found that rapid movements were of more importance than the health of soldiers, and the luxury of tents disappeared from the fields of Europe, excepting sometimes in the case of the English armies. Entire armies bivouacked around fires, or, if the neighborhood of the enemy rendered it necessary, without fires, sleeping upon straw, or perhaps upon the naked ground, a part of the soldiers keeping guard. Among historical bivouacs none has been more celebrated by poetry and painting than that of the eve of the battle of Austerlitz.[169]

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[a] *Bei Wache* means "on guard", "on the alert".—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## BLINDAGE

*Blindage*, in fortification, any fixture for preventing the enemy from seeing what is going on in a particular spot. Such are, for instance, the fascines placed on the inner crest of a battery, and continued over the top of the embrasures; they make it more difficult, from a distance, to perceive any thing through the embrasures. More complete blindages are sometimes fixed to the embrasures, consisting of 2 stout boards, moving in slides from either side, so that the embrasure can be completely closed by them. If the line of fire is always directed to the same spot, they need not be opened out when the gun is run out, a hole being cut through them for the muzzle to pass. A movable lid closes the hole, when necessary. Other blindages are used to cover the gunners in a battery from vertical fire; they consist of plain strong timbers, one end of which is laid on the inner crest of the parapet, the other on the ground. Unless the shells are very heavy, and come down nearly in a vertical direction, they do not pass through such a blindage, but merely graze it, and go off at an angle. In trenching, some kinds of blindages are used to protect the sappers from fire; they are movable on trucks, and pushed forward as the work advances. Against musket fire, a wall of strong boards, lined on the outside with sheet iron, supported by strong timbers, is sufficient. Against cannon fire, large square boxes, or frames, filled with earth, sandbags, or fascines, are necessary. The most common kind of sappers' blindage consists of a very large gabion, or cylinder of wicker work, filled with fascines, which is rolled before them by the workmen. Wherever the sap has to be covered in from above, the blindage is constructed by laying square balks across the top, and covering them with fascines, and finally with earth, which renders them sufficiently bomb and shot proof.

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# Frederick Engels

## BONNET [170]

*Bonnet*, in fortification, a transverse elevation of the parapet, or traverse and parapet, used either to prevent the enemy from seeing the interior of a work from some elevated point, or, in barbette batteries, to protect men and guns from flanking fire. In these latter batteries, the guns firing over the crest of the parapet have to be placed on high traversing platforms, on which the gun-carriage rests, recoils, and is run forward. The men are, therefore, partly exposed to the fire of the enemy while they serve the gun; and flanking or ricocheting fire is especially dangerous, the object to be hit being nearly twice as high as in batteries with embrasures and low gun-carriages. To prevent this, traverses or cross parapets are placed between the guns, and have to be constructed so much higher than the parapet, that they fully cover the gunners while mounted on the platform. This superstructure is continued from the traverse across the whole thickness of the parapet. It confines the sweep of the guns to an angle of from 90° to 120°, if a gun has a bonnet on either side.

*Bonnet-à-Prêtre*, or *Queue d'Hirondelle* (swallow tail), in field fortification, is an intrenchment having 2 salient angles, and a reentering angle between them. The latter is always 90°, the 2 salient angles mostly 60°, so that the 2 outer faces, which are longer than the inner ones, diverge to the rear. This work is sometimes used for small bridge heads, or in other situations where the entrance to a defile has to be defended.

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## BOSQUET[171]

*Bosquet*, Marie Joseph, a marshal of France, born in 1810, at Pau, in the department of Basses Pyrénées. He entered the polytechnic school of Paris in 1829, the military school at Metz in 1831, became lieutenant of artillery in 1833, and in that capacity went to Algeria with the 10th regiment of artillery, in 1834. There on one occasion, when a small French detachment found itself in a very critical position, the commanding officer being at a loss how to disengage his troops, young Bosquet stepped forward and proposed a plan which led to the total discomfiture of the enemy. He was appointed lieutenant in 1836, captain in 1839, major in 1842, lieut.-colonel in 1845, colonel, and soon after, under the auspices of the republican government, general of brigade, in 1848. During the campaign of Kabylia in 1851,[a] he was wounded, at the head of his brigade, while storming the defile of Monagal. His promotion to the rank of general of division was put off in consequence of his reserve toward Louis Napoleon, but when troops were sent to the war in Turkey[b] he obtained the command of the second division.

At the battle of the Alma[c] he executed the flanking attack of the French right wing upon the Russian left, with a speed and energy praised by the Russians themselves, and even succeeded in bringing his artillery through pathless and apparently impracticable ravines up to the plateau. It must, however, be added that on this occasion his own numerical force greatly surpassed that of the

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[a] See this volume, p. 69.—*Ed.*
[b] A reference to the Crimean war of 1853-56.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, pp. 14-18.—*Ed.*

enemy. At Balaklava he hastened to disengage the English right wing, so that the remainder of the English light cavalry was enabled to retreat under the cover of his troops, while the Russians were compelled to stop their pursuit.[172] At Inkermann[173] he was ready early in the morning to support the English with 3 battalions and 2 batteries. This offer being declined, he posted as reserves, in the rear of the English right wing, 3 French brigades, with 2 of which, at 11 o'clock, he advanced to the line of battle, thus forcing the Russians to fall back. But for this succor, the English would have been completely destroyed, since they had all their troops engaged and no more reserves to draw upon, while the Russians had 16 battalions not yet touched. As chief of the corps destined to cover the allied forces on the slope of the Tchernaya, Bosquet constantly distinguished himself by quickness, vigilance, and activity. He took part in the storming of the Malakoff,[174] and after that event was made a marshal, and in 1856 a senator.

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# Frederick Engels

## BOMB [175]

*Bomb*, or Shell, a hollow iron shot for heavy guns and mortars, filled with powder, and thrown at a considerable elevation, and intended to act by the force of its fall and explosion. They are generally the largest of all projectiles used, as a mortar, being shorter than any other class of ordnance, can be made so much larger in diameter and bore. Bombs of 10, 11, and 13 inches are now of common use; the French, at the siege of Antwerp [176] in 1832, used a mortar and shells cast in Belgium, of 24 inches calibre. The powder contained in a bomb is exploded by a fuze or hollow tube filled with a slow-burning composition, which takes fire by the discharge of the mortar. These fuzes are so timed that the bomb bursts as short a time as possible after it has reached its destination, sometimes just before it reaches the ground. Beside the powder, there are sometimes a few pieces of Valenciennes composition [177] put into the shell, to set fire to combustible objects, but it is maintained that these pieces are useless, the explosion shattering them to atoms, and that the incendiary effects of shells without such composition are equally great. Bombs are thrown at angles varying from 15° to 45°, but generally from 30° to 45°; the larger shells and smaller charges having the greatest proportional ranges at about 45°, while smaller shells with greater charges range furthest at about 30°. The charges are in all instances proportionally small: a 13-inch bomb weighing 200 lbs., thrown out of a mortar at the elevation of 45°, with a charge of $3\,^1/_2$ lbs. powder, ranges 1,000 yards, and with 20 lbs. or $^1/_{10}$ of its weight, 4,200 yards. The effects of such a bomb, coming down from a tremendous height, are very great if it falls on any thing destructible. It will go through all the floors in a house, and

penetrate vaulted arches of considerable strength; and, though a 13-inch shell only contains about 7 lbs. of powder, yet its bursting acts like the explosion of a mine, and the fragments will fly to a distance of 800 or 1,000 yards if unobstructed. On the contrary, if it falls on soft soil, it will imbed itself in the earth to a depth of from 8 to 12 feet, and either be extinguished or explode without doing any harm. Bombs are therefore often used as small mines, or *fougasses*, being imbedded in the earth about a foot deep in such places where the enemy must pass; to fire them, a slow match or train is prepared. This is the first shape in which they occur in history: the Chinese, according to their chronicles, several centuries before our era used metal balls filled with bursting composition and small pieces of metal, and fired by a slow match. They were employed in the defence of defiles, being deposited there on the approach of the enemy. In 1232, at the siege of Kaï-fong-fu, the Chinese used, against an assault, to roll bombs down the parapet among the assailant Mongols. Mahmood, Shah of Guzerat, in the siege of Champaneer, in 1484, threw bombs into the town. In Europe, not to mention earlier instances of a more doubtful character, the Arabs in Spain, and the Spaniards after them, threw shells and carcasses from ordnance after the beginning of the 14th century, but the costliness and difficulties of manufacturing hollow shot long prevented their general introduction. They have become an important ingredient of siege artillery since the middle of the 17th century only.

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# Frederick Engels

## BOMB KETCH

*Bomb ketch* is now generally used to designate the more old-fashioned sort of mortar vessels (*galiotes à bombes*). They were built strong enough to resist the shock caused by the recoil of the mortar, 60 to 70 feet long, 100 to 150 tons burden; they drew from 8 to 9 feet water, and were rigged usually with 2 masts. They used to carry 2 mortars and some guns. The sailing qualities of these vessels were naturally very inferior. A tender, generally a brig, was attached to them, which carried the artillerymen and the greater part of the ammunition, until the action commenced.

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# Frederick Engels

## BOMB-PROOF

*Bomb-proof*, the state of a roof strong enough to resist the shock of bombs falling upon it. With the enormous calibres now in use, it is almost impossible, and certainly as yet not worth while, to aim at absolute security from vertical fire for most buildings covered in bomb-proof. A circular vault 3 $^1/_2$ feet thick at the keystone, will resist most shells, and even a single 13-inch shell might not break through; but a second one could in most cases do so. Absolutely bomb-proof buildings are therefore confined to powder magazines, laboratories, &c., where a single shell would cause an immense explosion. Strong vaults covered over with 3 or 4 feet of earth, will give the greatest security. For common casemates the vaults need not be so very strong, as the chance of shells falling repeatedly into the same place is very remote. For temporary shelter against shells, buildings are covered in with strong balks laid close together and overlaid with fascines, on which some dung and finally earth is spread. The introduction of casemated batteries and forts, and of casemated defensive barracks, placed mostly along the inner slope of the rampart, at a short distance from it, has considerably increased the number of bomb-proof buildings in fortresses; and with the present mode of combining violent bombardments, continued night and day, with the regular attack of a fortress, the garrison cannot be expected to hold out unless effective shelter is provided in which those off duty can recover their strength by rest. This sort of buildings is therefore likely to be still more extensively applied in the construction of modern fortresses.

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## BOMB VESSEL

*Bomb Vessel*, or *Mortar Boat*, is the expression in use for the more modern class of ships constructed to carry mortars. Up to the Russian war,[a] those built for the British service drew 8 or 9 feet water, and carried, beside their 2 10-inch mortars, 4 68-pounders, and 6 18 lb. carronades. When the Russian war made naval warfare in shallow waters and intricate channels a necessity, and mortar boats were required on account of the strong sea-fronts of the Russian fortresses, which defied any direct attack by ships, a new class of bomb vessels had to be devised. The new boats thus built are about 60 feet long, with great breadth of beam, round bows like a Dutch galliot, flat bottoms, drawing 6 or 7 feet water, and propelled by steam. They carry 2 mortars, 10 or 13-inch calibre, and a few field-guns or carronades to repel boarding parties by grape, but no heavy guns. They were used with great effect at Sveaborg, which place they bombarded from a distance of 4,000 yards.[178]

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[a] The Crimean war of 1853-56.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## BOMBARDIER

*Bombardier*, originally the man having charge of a mortar in a mortar battery, but now retained in some armies to designate a non-commissioned rank in the artillery, somewhat below a sergeant. The bombardier generally has the pointing of the gun for his principal duty. In Austria, a bombardier corps is formed as a training school for non-commissioned officers of the artillery, an institution which has contributed much to the effective and scientific mode of serving their guns, for which that branch of the Austrian service is distinguished.

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# Frederick Engels

## BOMBARDMENT

*Bombardment*, the act of throwing bombs or shells into a town or fortress for incendiary purposes. A bombardment is either desultory, when ships, field batteries, or a proportionally small number of siege batteries, throw shells into a place in order to intimidate the inhabitants and garrison into a hasty surrender, or for some other purpose; or it is regular, and then forms one of the methods of conducting the attack of a fortified place. The attack by regular bombardment was first introduced by the Prussians in their sieges in 1815, after Waterloo,[179] of the fortresses in the north of France. The army and the Bonapartist party being then much dispirited, and the remainder of the inhabitants anxiously wishing for peace, it was thought that the formalities of the old methodical attack in this case might be dispensed with, and a short and heavy bombardment substituted, which would create fires and explosions of magazines, prevent every soul in the place from getting a night's rest, and thus in a short time compel a surrender, either by the moral pressure of the inhabitants on the commander, or by the actual amount of devastation caused, and by out-fatiguing the garrison. The regular attack by direct fire against the defences, though proceeded with, became secondary to vertical fire and shelling from heavy howitzers. In some cases a desultory bombardment was sufficient, in others a regular bombardment had to be resorted to; but in every instance the plan was successful; and it is now a maxim in the theory of sieges, that to destroy the resources, and to render unsafe the interior of a fortress by vertical fire, is as important (if not more so) as the destruction of its outer defences by direct and ricochet firing. A bombardment will be most effective against a

fortress of middling size, with numerous non-military inhabitants, the moral effect upon them being one of the means applied to force the commander into surrender. For the bombardment of a large fortress, an immense *matériel* is required. The best example of this is the siege of Sebastopol, in which quantities of shells formerly unheard of were used.[180] The same war furnishes the most important example of a desultory bombardment, in the attack upon Sweaborg by the Anglo-French mortar boats, in which above 5,000 shells and the same number of solid shot were thrown into the place.[181]

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# Karl Marx

## BERNADOTTE [182]

*Bernadotte,* Jean Baptiste Jules, marshal of the French empire, prince of Ponte Corvo, and, under the name of Charles XIV John, king of Sweden and Norway, was born Jan. 26, 1764, at Pau, in the department of Basses Pyrénées, died March 8, 1844, in the royal palace at Stockholm. He was the son of a lawyer, and was educated for that profession, but his military impulses induced him to enlist secretly, in 1780, in the royal marines, where he had advanced to the grade of sergeant, when the French revolution broke out. Thence his advancement became rapid. In 1792 he served as colonel in Custine's army; commanded a demi-brigade in 1793; was in the same year, through Kléber's patronage, promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, and contributed, as general of division in the army of the Sambre and Meuse, under Kléber and Jourdan, to the victory of Fleurus, June 26, 1794, the success of Jülich, and the capitulation of Maestricht.[183] He also did good service in the campaign of 1795-'96 against the Austrian generals Clerfayt, Kray, and the archduke Charles. Ordered by the directory,[184] at the beginning of 1797, to march 20,000 men as reenforcements to the Italian army, his first interview in Italy with Bonaparte decided their future relations. In spite of his natural greatness, Bonaparte entertained a petty and suspicious jealousy of the army of the Rhine and its generals. He understood at once that Bernadotte aspired to an independent career. The latter, on his part, was too much of a Gascon to justly appreciate the distance between a genius like Bonaparte and a man of abilities like himself. Hence their mutual dislike. During the invasion of Istria[185] Bernadotte distinguished himself at the passage of the Tagliamento, where he led the vanguard, and at the capture of the fortress of Gradisca, March 19, 1797.

After the so-called revolution of the 18th Fructidor,[186] Bonaparte ordered his generals to collect from their respective divisions addresses in favor of that *coup d'état;* but Bernadotte first protested, then affected great reluctance in obeying, and at last sent an address to the directory,[a] but quite the reverse of that asked for, and without conveying it through Bonaparte's hands. The latter on his journey to Paris, whither he repaired to lay before the directory the treaty of Campo Formio,[187] visited and cajoled Bernadotte at his head-quarters at Udine, but the following day, through an order from Milan, deprived him of half his division of the army of the Rhine, and commanded him to march the other half back to France. After many remonstrances, compromises, and new quarrels, Bernadotte was at last prevailed upon to accept the embassy to Vienna. There, acting up to the instructions of Talleyrand, he assumed a conciliatory attitude which the Paris journals, inspired by Bonaparte and his brothers, declared to be full of royalist tendencies; expatiating, in proof of these charges, on the suppression of the tricolored flag at the entrance of his hotel, and of the republican cockade on the hats of his suite. Being reprimanded for this by the directory, Bernadotte, on April 13, 1798, the anniversary of a Viennese anti-Jacobin demonstration, hoisted the tricolored flag with the inscription, "Liberty, equality, fraternity," and had his hotel stormed by a Viennese mob, his flag burnt, and his own life endangered. The Austrian government declining to give the satisfaction demanded, Bernadotte withdrew to Rastadt with all his legation; but the directory, on the advice of Bonaparte, who had himself been instrumental in provoking the scandal, hushed up the affair and dropped their representative.

Bernadotte's relationship to the Bonaparte family consequent upon his marriage, in Aug. 1798, with Mlle. Désirée Clary, the daughter of a Marseilles merchant, and Joseph Bonaparte's sister-in-law, seemed but to confirm his opposition to Napoleon. As commander of the army of observation on the upper Rhine, in 1799, he proved incompetent for the charge, and thus verified beforehand Napoleon's judgment at St. Helena, that he was a better lieutenant than general-in-chief.[b] At the head of the war ministry, after the directorial émeute of the 30th Prairial,[188] his plans

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[a] According to the publication in the *Gazette nationale ou le moniteur universel,* No. 325, August 12, 1797, this address was sent before the coup d'état of the 18th Fructidor and not after it.—*Ed.*

[b] A. H. Jomini, *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon,* t. 2, p. 60.—*Ed.*

of operation were less remarkable than his intrigues with the Jacobins, through whose reviving influence he tried to create for himself a personal following in the ranks of the army. Yet one morning, Sept. 15, 1799, he found his resignation announced in the *Moniteur* before he was aware that he had tendered it.[a] This trick was played upon him by Sieyès and Roger Ducos, the directors allied to Bonaparte.

While commanding the army of the west, he extinguished the last sparks of the Vendean war.[189] After the proclamation of the empire[b] which made him a marshal, he was intrusted with the command of the army of Hanover. In this capacity as well as during his later command of the army of northern Germany, he took care to create for himself, among the northern people, a reputation for independence, moderation, and administrative ability. At the head of the corps stationed in Hanover, which formed the first corps of the grand army,[190] he participated in the campaign of 1805 against the Austrians and Russians. He was sent by Napoleon to Iglau, to observe the movements of Archduke Ferdinand in Bohemia; then, called back to Brünn, he, with his corps, was posted at the battle of Austerlitz[191] in the centre between Soult and Lannes, and contributed to baffle the attempt of the allied right wing at outflanking the French army. On June 5, 1806, he was created prince of Ponte Corvo. During the campaign of 1806-'7 against Prussia, he commanded the first *corps d'armée.* He received from Napoleon the order to march from Naumburg upon Dornburg, while Davout, also stationed at Naumburg, was to march upon Apolda; the order held by Davout adding that, if Bernadotte had already effected his junction with him, they might conjointly march upon Apolda. Having reconnoitred the movements of the Prussians, and made sure that no enemy was to be encountered in the direction of Dornburg, Davout proposed to Bernadotte a combined march upon Apolda, and even offered to place himself under his command. The latter, however, sticking to the literal interpretation of Napoleon's order, marched off in the direction of Dornburg without meeting an enemy during the whole day; while Davout had alone to bear the brunt of the battle of Auerstädt, which, through Bernadotte's absence, ended in an indecisive victory. It was only the meeting of the fugitives of Auerstädt with the fugitives from Jena,[192] and the

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[a] *Gazette nationale ou le moniteur universel,* No. 359, 29 Fructidor an. 7 (1799), p. 1458.—*Ed.*

[b] In 1804.—*Ed.*

strategetical combinations of Napoleon, that counteracted the consequences of the deliberate blunder committed by Bernadotte. Napoleon signed an order to bring Bernadotte before a court-martial, but on further consideration rescinded it. After the battle of Jena, Bernadotte defeated the Prussians at Halle, Oct. 17, conjointly with Soult and Murat, pursued the Prussian general Blücher to Lübeck, and contributed to his capitulation at Ratekau, Nov. 7, 1806. He also defeated the Russians in the plains of Mohrungen, not far from Thorn, Jan. 25, 1807.

After the peace of Tilsit, according to the alliance concluded between Denmark and Napoleon, French troops were to occupy the Danish islands, thence to act against Sweden.[193] Accordingly, March 23, 1808, the very day when Russia invaded Finland, Bernadotte was commanded to move upon Seeland in order to penetrate with the Danes into Sweden, to dethrone its king,[a] and to partition the country between Denmark and Russia; a strange mission for a man destined soon after to reign at Stockholm. He passed the Belt and arrived in Seeland at the head of 32,000 Frenchmen, Dutch, and Spaniards; 10,000 of the latter, however, contriving, by the assistance of an English fleet, to decamp under Gen. de la Romana. Bernadotte undertook nothing and effected nothing during his stay in Seeland. Being recalled to Germany, there to assist in the new war between France and Austria, he received the command of the 9th corps, mainly composed of Saxons.

The battle of Wagram, July 5 and 6, 1809,[194] added new fuel to his misunderstandings with Napoleon. On the first day, Eugène Beauharnais, having debouched in the vicinity of Wagram, and dashed into the centre of the hostile reserves, was not sufficiently supported by Bernadotte, who engaged his troops too late, and too weakly. Attacked in front and flank, Eugène was roughly thrown back upon Napoleon's guard, and the first shock of the French attack was thus broken by Bernadotte's lukewarmness, who, meanwhile, had occupied the village of Adlerklaa, in the centre of the French army, but somewhat in advance of the French line. On the following day, at 6 o'clock in the morning, when the Austrians advanced for a concentric attack, Bernadotte deployed before Adlerklaa, instead of placing that village, strongly occupied, in his front. Judging, on the arrival of the Austrians, that this position was too hazardous, he fell back upon a plateau in the rear of Adlerklaa, leaving the village unoccupied, so that it was

[a] Gustavus IV Adolphus.—*Ed.*

immediately taken by Bellegarde's Austrians. The French centre being thus endangered, Masséna, its commander, sent forward a division to retake Adlerklaa, which division, however, was again dislodged by D'Aspre's grenadiers. At that moment, Napoleon himself arrived, took the supreme command, formed a new plan of battle, and baffled the manoeuvres of the Austrians. Thus Bernadotte had again, as at Auerstädt, endangered the success of the day. On his part, he complained of Napoleon's having, in violation of all military rules, ordered Gen. Dupas, whose French division formed part of Bernadotte's corps, to act independently of his command. His resignation, which he tendered, was accepted, after Napoleon had become aware of an order of the day addressed by Bernadotte to his Saxons, in discord with the imperial bulletin.

Shortly after his arrival at Paris, where he entered into intrigues with Fouché, the Walcheren expedition (July 30, 1809) caused the French ministry, in the absence of the emperor, to intrust Bernadotte with the defence of Antwerp.[195] The blunders of the English rendered action on his part unnecessary; but he took the occasion to slip into a proclamation, issued to his troops, the charge against Napoleon of having neglected to prepare the proper means of defence for the Belgian coast. He was deprived of his command; ordered, on his return to Paris, to leave it for his princedom of Ponte Corvo, and, refusing to comply with that order, he was summoned to Vienna. After some lively altercations with Napoleon, at Schönbrunn,[196] he accepted the general government of the Roman states, a sort of honorable exile.

The circumstances which brought about his election as crown prince of Sweden, were not fully elucidated until long after his death. Charles XIII, after the adoption of Charles August, duke of Augustenburg, as his son, and as heir to the Swedish throne, sent Count Wrede to Paris, to ask for the duke the hand of the princess Charlotte, daughter of Lucien Bonaparte. On the sudden death of the duke of Augustenburg, May 18, 1810, Russia pressed upon Charles XIII the adoption of the duke of Oldenburg, while Napoleon supported the claims of Frederick VI, king of Denmark. The old king himself offered the succession to the brother[a] of the late duke of Augustenburg, and despatched Baron Moerner to Gen. Wrede, with instructions enjoining the latter to bring Napoleon over to the king's choice. Moerner, however, a young man belonging to the very large party in Sweden which then

[a] Frederick Christian.— *Ed.*

expected the recovery of their country only from an intimate alliance with France, on his arrival at Paris, took upon himself, in connection with Lapie, a young French officer in the engineers, with Seigneul, the Swedish consul-general, and with Count Wrede himself, to present Bernadotte as candidate for the Swedish throne, all of them taking care to conceal their proceedings from Count Lagerbjelke, the Swedish minister at the Tuileries, and all firmly convinced by a series of misunderstandings, artfully kept up by Bernadotte, that the latter was really the candidate of Napoleon. On June 29, accordingly, Wrede and Seigneul sent despatches to the Swedish minister of foreign affairs, both announcing that Napoleon would, with great pleasure, see the royal succession offered to his lieutenant and relative. In spite of the opposition of Charles XIII, the diet of the States, at Örebro, elected Bernadotte crown prince of Sweden, Aug. 21, 1810. The king was also compelled to adopt him as his son, under the name of Charles John. Napoleon reluctantly, and with bad grace, ordered Bernadotte to accept the offered dignity. Leaving Paris, Sept. 28, 1810, he landed at Helsingborg, Oct. 21, there abjured the Catholic profession, entered Stockholm Nov. 1, attended the assembly of the States, Nov. 5, and from that moment grasped the reins of the state. Since the disastrous peace of Frederikshamm,[197] the idea prevailing in Sweden was the reconquest of Finland, without which, it was thought, as Napoleon wrote to Alexander, Feb. 28, 1811, "Sweden had ceased to exist," at least as a power independent of Russia.[a] It was but by an intimate alliance with Napoleon that the Swedes could hope to recover that province. To this conviction Bernadotte owed his election. During the king's sickness, from March 17, 1811, to January 7, 1812, Charles John was appointed regent; but this was a question of etiquette only, since from the day of his arrival, he conducted all affairs.

Napoleon, too much of a parvenu himself to spare the susceptibilities of his ex-lieutenant, compelled him, Nov. 17, 1810, in spite of a prior engagement, to accede to the continental system,[198] and declare war against England. He suppressed his revenues as a French prince; declined to receive his despatches directly addressed to him, because he was not "a sovereign his equal"[b]; and sent back the order of the Seraphim, bestowed upon the new-born king of Rome[c] by Charles John. This petty

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[a] Marx may have used G. Lallerstedt's book *La Scandinavie*, Paris, 1856, pp. 89-90.—*Ed.*

[b] ibid., p. 97.—*Ed.*

[c] Duke of Reichstadt, son of Napoleon I.—*Ed.*

chicanery afforded to the latter the pretext only for a course of action long decided upon. Hardly was he installed at Stockholm, when he admitted to a public audience the Russian general, Suchtelen, who was detested by the Swedes for having suborned the commander of Sweaborg, and even allowed that personage to be accredited as ambassador to the Swedish court. On Dec. 18, 1810, he held a conference with Czernicheff, in which he declared himself "to be anxious to win the good opinion of the czar," and to resign Finland forever, on the condition of Norway being detached from Denmark, and annexed to Sweden.[a] By the same Czernicheff, he sent a most flattering letter to the czar Alexander. As he thus drew nearer to Russia, the Swedish generals who had overthrown Gustavus IV, and favored his own election, retired from him. Their opposition, reechoed by the army and the people, threatened to become dangerous, when the invasion of Swedish Pomerania by a French division, Jan. 17, 1812—a measure executed by Napoleon on secret advice from Stockholm—afforded at last to Charles John a plausible pretext for officially declaring the neutrality of Sweden. Secretly, however, and behind the back of the diet, he concluded with Alexander an offensive alliance against France, signed March 24,[b] 1812, at St. Petersburg, in which the annexation of Norway to Sweden was also stipulated.

Napoleon's declaration of war against Russia made Bernadotte for a time the arbiter of the destinies of Europe. Napoleon offered him, on the condition of his attacking Russia with 40,000 Swedes, Finland, Mecklenburg, Stettin, and all the territory between Stettin and Volgast. Bernadotte might have decided the campaign and occupied St. Petersburg before Napoleon arrived at Moscow. He preferred acting as the Lepidus of a triumvirate formed with England and Russia. Inducing the sultan[c] to ratify the peace of Bucharest,[199] he enabled the Russian admiral Tchitchakoff to withdraw his forces from the banks of the Danube and to operate on the flank of the French army. He also mediated the peace of Örebro, concluded July 18, 1812, between England on the one side, and Russia and Sweden on the other.[200] Frightened at Napoleon's first successes, Alexander invited Charles John to an interview, at the same time offering him the command-in-chief of the Russian armies. Prudent enough to decline the latter offer, he

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[a] Lallerstedt, op. cit., p. 95.—*Ed.*
[b] April 5 (New Style).—*Ed.*
[c] Mahmud II.—*Ed.*

accepted the invitation. On Aug. 27 he arrived at Abo, where he found Alexander very low-spirited and rather inclined to sue for peace. Having himself gone too far to recede, he steeled the wavering czar by showing that Napoleon's apparent successes must lead to his ruin. The conference resulted in the so-called treaty of Abo,[201] to which a secret article was appended, giving the alliance the character of a family compact. In fact, Charles John received nothing but promises, while Russia, without the slightest sacrifice, secured the then invaluable alliance of Sweden. By authentic documents it has been recently proved that it depended at that time on Bernadotte alone to have Finland restored to Sweden; but the Gascon ruler, deluded by Alexander's flattery, that "one day the imperial crown of France, when fallen from Napoleon's brow, might rest upon his," already considered Sweden as a mere *pis-aller.*[a]

After the French retreat from Moscow, he formally broke off diplomatic relations with France, and when England guaranteed him Norway by treaty of March 3, 1813,[202] he entered the coalition. Furnished with English subsidies, he landed in May, 1813, at Stralsund with about 25,000 Swedes and advanced toward the Elbe. During the armistice of June 5, 1813,[203] he played an important part at the meeting in Trachenberg, where the emperor Alexander presented him to the king of Prussia,[b] and where the general plan of the campaign was decided upon. As commander-in-chief of the army of the north, composed of Swedes, Russians, Prussians, English, Hanseatic, and north German troops, he kept up very equivocal connections with the French army, managed by an individual who frequented his head-quarters as a friend, and grounded on his presumption that the French would gladly exchange Napoleon's rule for Bernadotte's, if he only gave them proofs of forbearance and clemency. Consequently, he prevented the generals placed under his command from taking the offensive, and when Bülow twice, at Grossbeeren and Dennewitz, had vanquished the French despite his orders, stopped the pursuit of the beaten army. When Blücher, in order to force him to action, had marched upon the Elbe, and effected his junction with him, it was only the threat held out by Sir Charles Stewart, the English commissary in his camp, of stopping the supplies, that induced

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[a] Expedient. The account of the talks between Charles John and Alexander I is given according to Lallerstedt's *La Scandinavie,* p. 122 et seq. Alexander I's words are to be found on p. 130 of this book.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick William III.—*Ed.*

him to move on. Still the Swedes appeared on the battle field of Leipsic[204] for appearance' sake only, and during the whole campaign lost not 200 men before the enemy. When the allies entered France, he retained the army of Sweden on her frontiers. After Napoleon's abdication, he repaired personally to Paris to remind Alexander of the promises held out to him at Abo. Talleyrand cut short his puerile hopes by telling the council of the allied kings, that "there was no alternative but Bonaparte or the Bourbons,—every thing else being a mere intrigue."[a]

Charles John having, after the battle of Leipsic, invaded the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, at the head of an army composed of Swedes, Germans, and Russians, Frederick VI, king of Denmark, in the presence of vastly superior forces, was forced to sign, Jan. 14, 1814, the peace of Kiel, by which Norway was ceded to Sweden. The Norwegians, however, demurring to being so unceremoniously disposed of, proclaimed the independence of Norway under the auspices of Christian Frederick, crown prince of Denmark. The representatives of the nation assembling at Edisvold, adopted, May 17, 1814, a constitution still in force, and the most democratic of modern Europe. Having put in motion a Swedish army and fleet, and seized upon the fortress of Frederickstadt, which commands the access to Christiania, Charles John entered into negotiation, agreed to consider Norway as an independent state and to accept the constitution of Edisvold, carried the assent of the assembled storthing Oct. 7, and Nov. 10, 1814, repaired to Christiania, there, in his own and the king's name, to take the oath upon the constitution.

Charles XIII expiring Feb. 5, 1818, Bernadotte, under the name of Charles XIV John, was acknowledged by Europe as king both of Sweden and Norway. He now attempted to change the Norwegian constitution, to restore the abolished nobility, to secure to himself an absolute veto and the right of dismissing all officers, civil and military. This attempt gave rise to serious conflicts, and led, May 18, 1828, even to a cavalry charge upon the inhabitants of Christiania, who were celebrating the anniversary of their constitution. A violent outbreak seemed imminent, when the French revolution of 1830 caused the king to resort for the moment to conciliatory steps. Still Norway, for the acquisition of which he had sacrificed every thing, remained the constant source of embarrassments throughout his whole reign. After the first days of the French revolution of 1830, there existed a single man

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[a] *Mémoires de M. de Bourrienne,* t. X, p. 42.— *Ed.*

in Europe who thought the king of Sweden a fit pretender for the French throne, and that man was Bernadotte himself. More than once he repeated to the French diplomatic agents at Stockholm, "How does it happen that Laffitte has not thought of me?"[a] The changed aspect of Europe, and, above all, the Polish insurrection,[205] inspired him for a moment with the idea of making front against Russia. His offers in this sense to Lord Palmerston meeting with a flat refusal, he had to expiate his transitory idea of independence by concluding, June 23, 1834, a convention of alliance with the emperor Nicholas, which rendered him a vassal of Russia. From that moment his policy in Sweden was distinguished by encroachments on the liberty of the press, persecution of the crime of *lèse-majesté,* and resistance to improvements, even such as the emancipation of industry from the old laws of guilds and corporations. By playing upon the jealousies of the different orders constituting the Swedish diet, he long succeeded in paralyzing all movement, but the liberal resolutions of the diet of 1844,[206] which were to be converted, according to the constitution, into laws by the diet of 1845, threatened his policy with final discomfiture, when his death occurred.

If Sweden, during the reign of Charles XIV, partly recovered from a century and a half of miseries and misfortunes, this was due not to Bernadotte, but exclusively to the native energies of the nation, and the agencies of a long peace.

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[a] Lallerstedt, *La Scandinavie,* p. 201.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## BRIDGE, MILITARY[207]

The art of constructing temporary bridges for the passage, by troops, of large rivers and narrow arms of the sea, was well known to the ancients, whose works in this respect are sometimes of surprising magnitude. Darius passed the Bosporus and Danube, and Xerxes the Hellespont, by bridges of boats, the description of which we find in Herodotus.[a] The army of Xerxes constructed 2 bridges across the Dardanelles, the first of 360 vessels, anchored head and stern alongside each other, their keels in the direction of the current, the vessels connected with each other by strong cables, over which planks were laid, fastened by a rail on either side, and covered in by a bed of earth. The 2d bridge had 314 vessels, and was similarly constructed. According to Arrian, Alexander had a regular pontoon-train of light boats attached to his army.[b] The Romans had wicker-work vessels, covered with the skins of animals, destined to support the timber platform of a bridge; these formed a part of the train of their armies until the end of the empire. They, however, also knew how to construct a more solid kind of military bridge, whenever a rapid river had to be crossed; witness the famous bridges on piles, on which Caesar passed the Rhine.[208]

During the middle ages we find no notice of bridge equipages, but during the 30 years' war[209] the various armies engaged carried materials with them to form bridges across the large rivers of Germany. The boats used were very heavy, and generally made of oak. The platform of the bridge was laid on trestles standing in

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[a] Herodotus, *History*, Book IV, Ch. 83; Book VII, Ch. 36.—*Ed.*

[b] Flavius Arrianus, *The Anabasis, or Ascent of Alexander.*—*Ed.*

the bottoms of these boats. The Dutch first adopted a smaller kind of vessel, flat-bottomed, with nearly vertical sides, pointed head and stern, and both ends projecting, in an inclined plane, above the surface of the water. They consisted of a framework of wood, covered with sheets of tin, and were called pontoons. The French, too, according to Folard,[a] claim the invention of pontoons made of copper, and are said to have had, about 1672, a complete pontoon train. By the beginning of the 18th century all European armies had provided themselves with this kind of vessels, mostly wooden frames, covered in with tin, copper, leather, or tarred canvas. The latter material was used by the Russians. The boats were small, and had to be placed close together, with not more than 4 or 5 feet clear space between them, if the bridge was to have any buoyancy; the current of the water was thereby greatly obstructed, the safety of the bridge endangered, and a chance given to the enemy to destroy it by sending floating bodies against it.

The pontoons now employed by the continental armies of Europe are of a larger kind, but similar in principle to those 100 years ago. The French have used, since 1829, a flat-bottomed vessel with nearly vertical sides, diminishing in breadth toward the stem, and also, but a little less, toward the stern; the 2 ends rise above the gunwales and are curved like those of a canoe. The dimensions are: length, 31 ft.; breadth, at top, 5 ft. 7 in.; at bottom, 4 ft. 4 in. The framework is of oak, covered with fir planking. Every pontoon weighs 1,658 lbs. and has a buoyancy (weight of cargo which would sink the vessel to the top of the gunwales) of 18,675 lbs. When formed into a bridge, they are placed at intervals of 14 ft. clear space from gunwale to gunwale, and the road of the bridge is 11 ft. wide. For the advanced guard of an army a smaller kind of pontoon is used, for bridging over rivers of less importance. The Austrian pontoons are similar to the larger French pontoon, but divided transversely in the middle, for more convenient carriage, and put together in the water. Two vessels placed close alongside each other, and connected by short timbers, a longitudinal timber supporting the balks of the platform, constitute a floating pier of a bridge. These pontoons, invented by Birago, were introduced in 1825. The Russians have a framework of wood for their pontoons, so constructed that the centre pieces, or thwarts, may be unshipped; over this frame is stretched sail-cloth, covered with tar or a solution of India rubber. They are in length, 21 ft. 9 in.; breadth, 4 ft. 11 in.; depth, 2 ft. 4

[a] *Abregé des commentaires de M. de Folard, sur l'Histoire de Polybe*, t. 3, p. 82.—*Ed.*

in., and weigh 718 lbs. each. Breadth of road of bridge, 10 ft.; distance from pontoon to pontoon, 8 ft. The Russians also have pontoons with a similar framework, covered over with leather. The Prussians are said to have been the first to divide their pontoons transversely into compartments, so as to prevent one leak from sinking them. Their pontoons are of wood and flat-bottomed. The span or clear distance between the pontoons, in their bridges, varies from 8 to 16 ft., according to circumstances. The Dutch, since 1832, and the Piedmontese, have pontoon trains similar to those in the Austrian service. The Belgian pontoon has a pointed head, but is not contracted at the stern. In all continental armies small boats to carry out the anchors accompany the pontoon train.

The British and the U.S. armies have entirely abandoned the use of boats for the formation of their pontoon trains, and adopted hollow cylinders of light material, closed on all sides, to support their bridges. In England the cylindrical pontoons, with conical, hemispherical or paraboloidal ends, as constructed in 1828 by Col. Blanchard, were adopted in 1836 to the exclusion of all other kinds. The larger British pontoon is $24^1/_2$ ft. long and 2 ft. 8 in. in diameter. It is formed of sheet tin, framed round a series of wheels constructed of tin, having hollow cylinders of tin for their spokes; a larger tin cylinder, $1^3/_4$ in. in diameter, forms their common axis, and runs through the entire length of the pontoon.

Experiments have been made in the United States with India rubber cylindrical pontoons. In 1836 Capt. (afterward Col.) Lane constructed bridges over a deep and rapid river in Alabama with such pontoons, and in 1839 Mr. Armstrong submitted similar floats, 18 ft. long, 18 in. in diameter when inflated, and weighing 39 lbs. each, 3 to form 1 link of the bridge. Pontoons of inflated India rubber were, in 1846, introduced in the U.S. army, and used in the war against Mexico.[210] They are very easily carried, from their lightness and the small space they take up when folded; but, beside being liable to be damaged and rendered useless by friction on gravel, &c., they partake the common faults of all cylindrical pontoons. These are, that when once sunk in the water to $^1/_2$ of their depth, their immersion becomes greater and greater with every equal addition of load, the reverse of what should be; their ends, moreover, easily catch and lodge floating matter; and finally, 2 of them must be joined to a raft by a platform before they can be moved in the water, whereas boat pontoons are as capable of independent motion in the water as common boats, and may serve for rowing rapidly across the river a detachment of troops. To

compare the buoyant power of the cylindrical pontoon with that of the boat pontoon, the following may suffice: The French pontoon supports about 20 ft. of bridge, and has a buoyancy (the weight of the superstructure deducted) of more than 150 cwt. A British raft of 2 pontoons, supporting about the same length of bridge, has a buoyancy, superstructure deducted, of only 77 cwt., $^1/_2$ of which is a safe load.

A pontoon train contains, beside the pontoons, the oars, boat-hooks, anchors, cables, &c., necessary to move them about in the water, and to fix them in their position, and the balks and planks (chesses) to form the platform of the bridge. With boat pontoons, every pontoon is generally secured in its place, and then the balks and chesses stretched across; with cylindrical pontoons, 2 are connected to a raft, which is anchored at the proper distance from the end of the bridge, and connected with it by balks and chesses. Where circumstances admit of it, whole links, consisting of 3, 4, or 5 pontoons bridged over, are constructed in sheltered situations above the site fixed on for the bridge, and floated down successively into their positions. In some cases, with very experienced pontoniers, the whole bridge has been constructed on one bank of the river and swung round by the current when the passage was attempted. This was done by Napoleon when crossing the Danube, the day before the battle of Wagram.[211] The whole of this campaign is highly instructive with regard to the passing of large rivers in the face of the enemy by military bridges.

Pontoon trains are, however, not always at hand, and the military engineer must be prepared to bridge over a river, in case of need, without them. For this purpose a variety of materials and modes of construction are employed. The larger kind of boats generally found on navigable rivers are made use of for bridges of boats. If no boats are to be found, and the depth or configuration of bottom of the river renders the use of floating supports necessary, rafts of timber, floats of casks, and other buoyant bodies may be used. If the river is shallow, and has a hard and tolerably level bottom, standing supports are constructed, consisting either of piles, which form the most durable and the safest kind of bridge, but require a great deal of time and labor, or of trestles, which may be easily and quickly constructed. Sometimes wagons loaded with fascines, &c., and sunk in the deeper places of the river, will form convenient supports for the platform of a bridge. Inundations, marshes, &c., are bridged over by means of gabions. For narrow rivers and ravines, where infantry only have

to pass, various kinds of suspension bridges are adopted; they are generally suspended by strong cables.

The construction of a military bridge under the actual fire of the enemy is now a matter of but rare occurrence; yet the possibility of resistance must always be provided for. On this account the bridge is generally constructed in a reentering bend of the river, so that the artillery placed right and left sweeps the ground on the opposite bank close to where the bridge is to land, and thus protects its construction. The concave bank, moreover, is generally higher than the convex one, and thus, in most cases, the advantage of command is added to that of a cross fire. Infantry are rowed across in boats or pontoons, and established immediately in front of the bridge. A floating bridge may be constructed to carry some cavalry and a few light guns across. The division of the river into several branches by islands, or a spot immediately below the junction of some smaller river, also offers advantages. In the latter, and sometimes in the former case, the several links of the bridge may be composed in sheltered water, and then floated down. The attacking party, having commonly to choose between many favorable points on a long line of river, may easily mislead his opponent by false attacks, and then effect the real passage at a distant point; and the danger of scattering the defending forces over that long line is so great, that it is nowadays preferred to keep them concentrated at some distance from the river, and march them in a body against the real point of passage as soon as it has once been ascertained, and before the enemy can have brought over all his army. It is from these causes that in none of the wars since the French revolution has the construction of a bridge on any of the large rivers of Europe been seriously contested.

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# Karl Marx

## BROWN[212]

*Brown, Sir George,* a British general, was born in August, 1790, at Linkwood, near Elgin, Scotland. He entered the army Jan. 23, 1806, as ensign in the 43d regiment of foot, and, as lieutenant in the same regiment, was present at the bombardment of Copenhagen[213]; served in the peninsular war, from its beginning in 1808 to its close in 1814; was severely wounded at the battle of Talavera, and one of the forlorn hope at the storming of Badajos.[214] He was appointed captain in the 85th regiment, June 20, 1811; in Sept. 1814, he was a lieutenant-colonel in Major-General Ross's expedition to the United States, and took part in the battle of Bladensburg, and the capture of Washington.[215] He was appointed commander of a battalion of the rifle brigade, Feb. 6, 1824; colonel, May 6, 1831; major-general, Nov. 23, 1841; deputy adjutant-general in 1842; adjutant-general of the forces in April, 1850, and lieut.-general in 1851. During the Crimean campaign, he led the English light division at the battle of Alma[a] and the battle of Inkermann, and took the command-in-chief of the storming party in the first unsuccessful attack on the Redan.[216] Among the allied armies he became distinguished as a martinet; but, by his personal prowess, and the strict impartiality with which he held the young aristocratic officers to all the duties of field discipline, he became popular among the common

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[a] See this volume, pp. 14-18.—*Ed.*

soldiers. In 1855 he was created a knight commander of the Bath, and April 4, 1856, gazetted "General in the army for distinguished service in the field."[a]

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[a] "War Department, Pall-Mall, April 4. General Order, No. 665", *The Times,* No. 22334, April 5, 1856.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## ARMADA[217]

*Armada, Spanish,* the great naval armament sent by King Philip II of Spain, in 1588, for the conquest of England, in order thereby

"to serve God, and to returne unto his church a great many contrite souls that are oppressed by the heretics, enemies to our holy Catholic faith, which have them subject to their sects, and unhappiness." *(Expedit. Hispan. in Angl. Vera Descriptio, A. D.* 1588.)

The fullest account of this armament is given in a book published, about the time it set sail, by order of Philip, under the title *La Felicisima Armada que el Rey Don Felipe nuestro Señor mando juntar en el Puerto de Lisboa 1588. Hecha por Pedro de Pax Salas.* A copy of this work was procured for Lord Burleigh, so that the English government was beforehand acquainted with every detail of the expedition. (This copy, containing notes up to March, 1588, is now in the British museum.) The fleet is therein stated to have consisted of 65 galleons and large ships, 25 *urcas* of 300 to 700 tons, 19 tenders of 70 to 100 tons, 13 small frigates, 4 galeasses and 4 galleys, in all 130 vessels, with a total tonnage of 57,868 tons. They were armed with 2,431 guns, of which 1,497 were of bronze, mostly full cannon (48 pdrs.), culverines (long 30 and 20 pdrs.), &c.; the ammunition consisted of 123,790 round shot and 5,175 cwt. of powder, giving about 50 rounds per gun, at an average charge of $4^1/_2$ lbs. The ships were manned with 8,052 sailors, and carried 19,295 soldiers and 180 priests and monks. Mules, carts, &c., were on board to move the field artillery when landed. The whole was provisioned, according to the above authority, for 6 months. This fleet, unequalled in its time, was to

proceed to the Flemish coast, where another army of 30,000 foot and 4,000 horse, under the duke of Parma, was to embark, under its protection, in flat-bottomed vessels constructed for the purpose, and manned by sailors brought from the Baltic. The whole were then to proceed to England.

In that country Queen Elizabeth had, by vigorous exertions, increased her fleet of originally 30 ships, to some 180 vessels of various sizes, but generally inferior in that respect to those of the Spaniards. They were, however, manned by 17,500 sailors, and therefore possessed far more numerous crews than the Spanish fleet. The English military force was divided into two armies, one, of 18,500 men, under the earl of Leicester, for immediately opposing the enemy; the other, 45,000, for the defence of the queen's person. According to a MS. in the British museum, entitled "Details of the English Force Assembled to Oppose the Spanish Armada," (MS. Reg. 18th c. xxi.), 2,000 infantry were also expected from the Low Countries.

The armada was to leave Lisbon in the beginning of May, but, owing to the death of the admiral Santa Cruz, and his vice-admiral, the departure was delayed. The duke of Medina Sidonia, a man totally unacquainted with naval matters, was now made captain-general of the fleet; his vice-admiral, Martinez de Ricalde, however, was an expert seaman. Having left Lisbon for Corunna for stores, May 29, 1588, the fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, and, though all the ships joined at Corunna with the exception of four, they were considerably shattered, and had to be repaired. Reports having reached England that the armament was completely disabled, the government ordered its own ships to be laid up; but Lord Howard, the admiral, opposed this order, set sail for Corunna, learned the truth, and, on his return, continued warlike preparations. Soon after, being informed that the armada had hove in sight, he weighed anchor and accompanied it on its way up the channel, harassing the Spanish ships whenever an opportunity presented itself. The Spaniards, in the mean time, proceeded to the coast of Flanders, keeping as close together as possible. In the various minor engagements which took place, the handier ships, more numerous crews, and better seamanship of the English, always gave them the victory over the clumsy and undermanned Spanish galleons, crowded as they were with soldiers. The Spanish artillery, too, was very badly served, and almost always planted too high. Off Calais the armada cast anchor, waiting for the duke of Parma's fleet to come out of the Flemish harbors; but it soon received word that his ships,

being unfit for fighting, could not come out until the armada had passed the straits and driven off the Anglo-Dutch blockading squadron. It accordingly weighed again, but, when in sight of Dunkirk, was becalmed between the English fleet on one side and the Dutch on the other. Lord Howard prepared fire-ships, and when, during the night of Aug. 7, the breeze sprang up again, he sent 8 of them among the enemy. They produced a perfect panic in the Spanish fleet. Some ships weighed anchor, some cut their cables, drifting before the wind; the whole fleet got into confusion, several ships ran foul of each other and were disabled. By morning order was far from being restored, and the several divisions were scattered far and wide. Then Lord Howard, reinforced as he was by the ships equipped by the nobility and gentry, as also by the blockading squadron under Lord Byron, and ably seconded by Sir Francis Drake, engaged the enemy at 4 A.M. The battle, or rather chase (for the English were evidently superior on every point of attack), lasted till dark. The Spaniards fought bravely, but their unwieldy ships were unfit for the navigation of narrow waters, and for a moving fight. They were completely defeated, and suffered severe loss.

The junction with the duke of Parma's transports having thus been foiled, a landing in England by the armada alone was out of the question. It was found that the greater part of the provisions on board had been consumed, and as access to Spanish Flanders was now impossible, nothing remained but to return to Spain to lay in fresh stores. (See "Certain Advertisements out of Ireland Concerning the Losses and Distresses Happened to the Spanish Navie on the Coast of Ireland," London, 1588—Examination of Emanuel Fremosa, who served in the *San Juan,* 1,100 tons, flag-ship of Admiral Ricalde.[a]) The passage through the channel being also closed by the English fleet, nothing remained but to round Scotland on their way home. The armada was but little harassed by the fleet of Lord Seymour sent in pursuit, as that fleet was badly supplied with ammunition and could not venture on an attack. But after the Spaniards had rounded the Orkneys dreadful storms arose and dispersed the whole fleet. Some ships were driven back as far as the coast of Norway, where they fell on the rocks; others foundered in the North sea, or struck on the rocks on the coast of Scotland or the Hebrides. Soon after, fresh storms overtook them on the west coast of Ireland, where above 30

[a] For quoting this source Marx and Engels used, apparently, *The Harleian Miscellany: A Collection of Scarce, Curious, and Entertaining Pamphlets and Tracts, etc.,* Vol. I, London, 1808, p. 129.—*Ed.*

vessels were lost. Those of the crews who escaped on shore were mostly killed; about 200 were executed by command of the lord deputy.[a] Of the whole fleet not more than 60 vessels, and those in the most shattered condition, and with famine on board, reached Santander about the middle of September, when the plan of invading England was definitively given up.

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[a] Sir William Fitzwilliam.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## AYACUCHO[218]

*Ayacucho,* a department in the republic of Peru; pop. 131,921. Near its chief town, also named Ayacucho, the battle was fought which finally secured the independence of Spanish South America. After the battle of Junin (Aug. 6, 1824),[219] the Spanish viceroy, Gen. La Serna, attempted by manoeuvring to cut off the communications of the insurgent army, under Gen. Sucre. Unsuccessful in this, he at last drew his opponent to the plain of Ayacucho, where the Spaniards took up a defensive position on a height. They numbered 13 battalions of infantry, with artillery and cavalry, in all 9,310 men. On Dec. 8, 1824, the advanced guards of both armies became engaged, and on the following day Sucre advanced with 5,780 men to the attack. The 2d Colombian division, under Gen. Córdova, attacked the Spanish left, and at once threw it into disorder. The Peruvian division on the left, under Gen. Lamar, met with a more obstinate resistance, and could make no progress until the reserve, under Gen. Lara, came up. The enemy's retreat now becoming general, the cavalry was launched in pursuit, dispersing the Spanish horse and completing the defeat of the infantry. The Spaniards lost 6 generals killed and 2,600 killed, wounded, and prisoners, among the latter the viceroy. The South American loss was 1 general and 308 officers and men killed, 520 wounded, among them 6 generals. The next day Gen. Canterac, who now commanded the Spanish army, concluded a capitulation, by which not only he and all his troops surrendered prisoners of war, but also all the Spanish troops in Peru, all military posts, artillery, and magazines, and the whole of Peru, as far as they still held it (Cuzco, Arequipa, Puno, Quillca, &c.), were delivered up to the insurgents. The troops thus

delivered up as prisoners of war amounted in all to nearly 12,000. Thus the Spanish dominion was definitively destroyed, and on Aug. 26, 1825, the congress of Chuquisaca proclaimed the independence of the republic of Bolivia.

The name *Ayacuchos* has in Spain been given to Espartero and his military partisans. A portion of the military camarilla grouped around him had served with him in the war against the South American insurrection, where, beside by military comradeship, they were bound together by their common habits of gambling, and mutually pledged themselves to support each other politically when returned to Spain. This pledge they have honestly kept, much to their mutual interests. The nickname of Ayacuchos was conferred on them in order to imply that Espartero and his party had materially contributed to the unfortunate issue of that battle. This, however, is false, though the report has been so assiduously spread that even now it is generally credited in Spain. Espartero not only was not present at the battle of Ayacucho, but he was not even in America when it happened, being on his passage to Spain, whither Viceroy La Serna had sent him with despatches for Ferdinand VII. He had embarked at Quillca, June 5, 1824, in the British brig *Tiber,* arriving in Cadiz Sept. 28, and at Madrid Oct. 12, and again sailed for America from Bordeaux on that very same Dec. 9, 1824, on which the battle of Ayacucho was fought. (See Don José Segundo Flórez, *Espartero,* Madrid, 1844 [-5], 4 vols., and Principe, *Espartero,* Madrid, 1848.)

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## BLÜCHER[220]

*Blücher,* Gebhard Leberecht von, prince of Wahlstadt, Prussian field-marshal, born Dec. 16, 1742, at Rostock, in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, died at Krieblowitz, in Silesia, Sept. 12, 1819. He was sent in 1754, while a boy, to the island of Rügen, and there secretly enlisted in a regiment of Swedish hussars as ensign, to serve against Frederick II of Prussia. Made prisoner in the campaign of 1758, he was, after a year's captivity, and after he had obtained his dismissal from the Swedish service, prevailed upon to enter the Prussian army. March 3, 1771, he was appointed senior captain of cavalry. In 1778, Capt. von Jägersfeld, a natural son of the margrave of Schwedt, being appointed in his stead to the vacant post of major, he wrote to Frederick II:

> "Sire, Jägersfeld, who possesses no merit but that of being the son of the margrave of Schwedt, has been preferred to me. I beg your majesty to grant my dismissal." [a]

In reply Frederick II ordered him to be shut up in prison, but when, notwithstanding a somewhat protracted confinement, he refused to retract his letter, the king complied with his petition in a note to this effect: "Capt. von Blücher may go to the devil." He now retired to Polish Silesia, married soon after, became a farmer, acquired a small estate in Pomerania, and, after the death of Frederick II, reentered his former regiment as major, on the express condition of his appointment being dated back to 1779. Some months later his wife died. Having participated in the bloodless invasion of Holland,[221] he was appointed lieutenant-

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[a] Quoted from *Meyer's Conversations-Lexicon,* Bd. 4, 1845, S. 1210.—*Ed.*

colonel, June 3, 1788. Aug. 20, 1790, he became colonel and commander of the 1st battalion of the regiment of hussars he had entered in 1760.

In 1794 he distinguished himself during the campaign in the Palatinate against republican France as a leader of the light cavalry. Being promoted, May 28, 1794, after the victorious affair of Kirrweiler, to the rank of major-general, the actions of Luxemburg, Kaiserslautern, Morschheim, Weidenthal, Edesheim, Edenkoben, secured him a rising reputation. While incessantly alarming the French by bold *coups de main* and successful enterprises, he never neglected keeping the head-quarters supplied with the best information as to the hostile movements. His diary, written during this campaign, and published in 1796, by Count Goltz, his adjutant, is considered, despite its illiterate style, as a classical work on vanguard service.[a] After the peace of Basel[222] he married again. Frederick William III, on his accession to the throne, appointed him lieutenant-general, in which quality he occupied, and administered as governor, Erfurt, Mühlhausen, and Münster. In 1805 a small corps was collected under him at Bayreuth to watch the immediate consequences for Prussia of the battle of Austerlitz,[223] viz., the occupation of the principality of Anspach by Bernadotte's corps.

In 1806 he led the Prussian vanguard at the battle of Auerstädt.[224] His charge was, however, broken by the terrible fire of Davout's artillery, and his proposal to renew it with fresh forces and the whole of the cavalry, was rejected by the king of Prussia. After the double defeat at Auerstädt and Jena, he retired down the Elbe, while Napoleon drove the main body of the Prussian army in one wild chase from Jena to Stettin. On his retrograde movement, Blücher took up the remnants of different corps, which swelled his army to about 25,000 men. His retreat to Lübeck, before the united forces of Soult, Bernadotte, and Murat, forms one of the few honorable episodes in that epoch of German degradation. Since Lübeck was a neutral territory, his making the streets of that open town the theatre of a desperate fight, which exposed it to a 3 days' sack on the part of the French soldiery, afforded the subject of passionate censure; but under existing circumstances the important thing was to give the German people one example, at least, of stanch resistance. Thrown out of Lübeck, he had to capitulate in the plain of Ratekau, Nov. 7, 1806, on the express condition that the cause of his surrender should be stated

[a] G. L. Blücher, *Kampagne-Journal der Jahre 1793 und 1794.—Ed.*

in writing to be "want of ammunition and provisions."[a] Liberated on his word of honor, he repaired to Hamburg, there, in company with his sons, to kill time by card-playing, smoking, and drinking. Being exchanged for Gen. Victor, he was appointed governor-general of Pomerania; but one of the secret articles of the alliance concluded, Feb. 24, 1812, by Prussia with Napoleon, stipulated for Blücher's discharge from service, like that of Scharnhorst, and other distinguished Prussian patriots. To soothe this official disgrace, the king secretly bestowed upon him the handsome estate of Kunzendorf, in Silesia.

During the years that marked the period of transition between the peace of Tilsit and the German war of independence, Scharnhorst and Gneisenau, the chiefs of the Tugendbund,[225] desiring to extemporize a popular hero, chose Blücher. In propagating his fame among the masses, they succeeded so well, that when Frederick William III called the Prussians to arms by the proclamation of March 17, 1813, they were strong enough to impose him upon the king as the general-in-chief of the Prussian army. In the well-contested, but for the allies unfortunate, battles of Lützen and Bautzen,[226] he acted under the command of Wittgenstein. During the retreat of the allied armies from Bautzen to Schweidnitz, he lay in ambush at Haynau, from which he fell,[b] with his cavalry, on the French advanced guard under Maison, who, in this affair, lost 1,500 men and 11 guns. Through this surprise Blücher raised the spirit of the Prussian army, and made Napoleon very cautious in pursuit.

Blücher's command of an independent army dates from the expiration of the truce of Trachenberg, Aug. 10, 1813.[227] The allied sovereigns had then divided their forces into 3 armies: the army of the north under Bernadotte, stationed along the lower Elbe; the grand army advancing through Bohemia, and the Silesian army, with Blücher as its commander-in-chief, supported by Gneisenau as the chief of his staff, and Müffling as his quartermaster-general. These 2 men, attached to him in the same quality until the peace of 1815, supplied all his strategetical plans. Blücher himself, as Müffling says,

> "understood nothing of the strategetical conduct of a war; so little indeed, that when a plan was laid before him for approval, even relating to some unimportant operation, he could not form any clear idea of it, or judge whether it was good or bad."[c]

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[a] *Meyer's Conversations-Lexicon*, Bd. 4, 1845, S. 1211.—*Ed.*

[b] On May 26, 1813.—*Ed.*

[c] Müffling, *Passages from My Life; together with Memoirs of the Campaign of 1813 and 1814*, p. 225 (the word "strategetical" at the beginning of the quotation, added

Like many of Napoleon's marshals, he was unable to read the maps. The Silesian army was composed of 3 *corps d'armée:* 40,000 Russians, under Count Langeron; 16,000 men under Baron von Sacken; and a Prussian corps of 40,000 men under Gen. York. Blücher's position was extremely difficult at the head of this heterogeneous army. Langeron, who had already held independent commands, and demurred to serving under a foreign general, was, moreover, aware that Blücher had received secret orders to limit himself to the defensive, but was altogether ignorant that the latter, in an interview, on Aug. 11, with Barclay de Tolly, at Reichenbach, had extorted the permission to act according to circumstances. Hence Langeron thought himself justified in disobeying orders, whenever the general-in-chief seemed to him to swerve from the preconcerted plan, and in this mutinous conduct he was strongly supported by Gen. York.

The danger arising from this state of things became more and more threatening, when the battle on the Katzbach secured Blücher that hold on his army which guided it to the gates of Paris. Marshal Macdonald, charged by Napoleon to drive the Silesian army back into the interior of Silesia, began the battle by attacking, Aug. 26, Blücher's outposts, stationed from Prausnitz to Kraitsch, where the Neisse flows into the Katzbach. The so-called battle on the Katzbach consisted, in fact, of 4 different actions, the first of which, the dislodging by a bayonet attack from a plateau behind a ridge on the right bank of the Neisse of about 8 French battalions, which constituted hardly one-tenth of the hostile force, led to results quite out of proportion to its original importance, in consequence of the fugitives from the plateau not being collected at Niedercrayn, and left behind the Katzbach at Kraitsch, in which case their flight would have had no influence whatever on the rest of the French army; in consequence of different defeats inflicted at nightfall upon the enemy by Sacken's and Langeron's corps stationed on the left bank of the Neisse; in consequence of Marshal Macdonald, who commanded in person on the left bank, and had defended himself weakly till 7 o'clock in the evening against Langeron's attack, marching his troops at once after sunset to Goldberg, in such a state of exhaustion that they could no longer fight, and must fall into the enemy's hand; and, lastly, in consequence of the state of the season, violent rains swelling the otherwise insignificant streams the fugitive French had to

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by Engels in his letter to Marx of September 22, was preserved in the final version of the article).— *Ed.*

traverse—the Neisse, the Katzbach, the Deichsel, and the Bober—to rapid torrents, and making the roads almost impracticable. Thus it occurred, that with the aid of the country militia in the mountains on the left flank of the Silesian army, the battle on the Katzbach, insignificant in itself, resulted in the capture of 18,000 to 20,000 prisoners, above 200 pieces of artillery, and more than 300 ammunition, hospital, and baggage wagons, with baggage, &.

After the battle Blücher did every thing to instigate his forces to exert their utmost strength in the pursuit of the enemy, justly representing to them that "with some bodily exertion they might spare a new battle."[a] Sept. 3, he crossed the Neisse, with his army, and on the 4th proceeded by Bischofswerda to concentrate at Bautzen. By this move he saved the grand army, which, routed at Dresden, Aug. 27, and forced to retreat behind the Erzgebirge, was now disengaged,[228] Napoleon being compelled to advance with reenforcements toward Bautzen, there to take up the army defeated on the Katzbach, and to offer battle to the Silesian army. During his stay in the S. E. corner of Saxony, on the right bank of the Elbe, Blücher, by a series of retreats and advances, always shunned battle when offered by Napoleon, but always engaged when encountering single detachments of the French army. Sept. 22, 23, and 24, he executed a flank march on the right of the enemy, advancing by forced marches to the lower Elbe, in the vicinity of the army of the north. Oct. 2, he bridged the Elbe at Elster with pontoons, and on the morning of the 3d his army defiled. This movement, not only bold, but even hazardous, inasmuch as he completely abandoned his lines of communication, was necessitated by supreme political reasons, and led finally to the battle of Leipsic,[229] which, but for Blücher, the slow and overcautious grand army would never have risked.

The army of the north, of which Bernadotte was the commander-in-chief, was about 90,000 strong, and it was, consequently, of the utmost importance that it should advance on Saxony. By means of the close connection which he maintained with Bülow and Wintzingerode, the commanders of the Prussian and Russian corps forming part of the army of the north, Blücher obtained the most convincing proofs of Bernadotte's coquetry with the French, and of the impossibility of inciting him to any activity, so long as he remained alone on a separate theatre of war. Bülow and Wintzingerode declared themselves ready to act in spite of Bernadotte, but to do so they wanted the support of 100,000 men.

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[a] op. cit., p. 327.—*Ed.*

Hence Blücher's resolution to venture upon his flank march, in which he persisted despite the orders he had received from the sovereigns to draw near to them on the left, toward Bohemia. He was not to be diverted from his purpose through the obstacles which Bernadotte systematically threw in his way, even after the crossing of the Elbe by the Silesian army. Before leaving Bautzen, he had despatched a confidential officer to Bernadotte, to inform him that, since the army of the north was too weak to operate alone on the left bank of the Elbe, he would come with the Silesian army, and cross at Elster on Oct. 3; he therefore invited him to cross the Elbe at the same time, and to advance with him toward Leipsic. Bernadotte not heeding this message, and the enemy occupying Wartenburg opposite Elster, Blücher first dislodged the latter, and then, to protect himself in case Napoleon should fall upon him with his whole strength, began establishing an intrenched encampment from Wartenburg to Bleddin. Thence he pushed forward toward the Mulde.

Oct. 7, in an interview with Bernadotte, it was arranged that both armies should march upon Leipsic. On the 9th, while the Silesian army was preparing for this march, Bernadotte, on the news of Napoleon's advance on the road from Meissen, insisted upon retreating behind the Elbe, and only consented to remain on its left bank on condition that Blücher would resolve to cross the Saale in concert with him, in order to take up a position behind that river. Although by this movement the Silesian army lost anew its line of communication, Blücher consented, since otherwise the army of the north would have been effectually lost for the allies. Oct. 10, the whole Silesian army stood united with the army of the north on the left bank of the Mulde, the bridges over which were destroyed. Bernadotte now declared a retreat upon Bernburg to have become necessary, and Blücher, with the single view of preventing him from crossing [to] the right bank of the Elbe, yielded again on the condition that Bernadotte should cross the Saale at Wettin and take up a position there. Oct. 11, when his columns were just crossing the high road from Magdeburg to Halle, Blücher being informed that, in spite of his positive promise, Bernadotte had constructed no bridge at Wettin, resolved upon following that high road in forced marches.

Napoleon, seeing that the northern and Silesian armies avoided accepting battle, which he had offered them by concentrating at Duben, and knowing that they could not avoid it without retreating across the Elbe; being at the same time aware that he had but 4 days left before he must meet the grand army, and thus

be placed between two fires, undertook a march on the right bank of the Elbe toward Wittenberg, in order by this simulated movement to draw the northern and Silesian armies across the Elbe, and then strike a rapid blow on the grand army. Bernadotte, indeed, anxious for his lines of communication with Sweden, gave his army orders to cross without delay to the right bank of the Elbe, by a bridge constructed at Aken, while, on the same day, Oct. 13, he informed Blücher that the emperor Alexander had, for certain important reasons, put him (Blücher) under his orders. He consequently requested him to follow his movements on the right bank of the Elbe with the Silesian army, with the least possible delay. Had Blücher shown less resolution on this occasion and followed the army of the north, the campaign would have been lost, since the Silesian and northern armies, amounting together to about 200,000 men, would not have been present at the battle of Leipsic. He wrote in reply to Bernadotte, that, according to all his information, Napoleon had no intention whatever of removing the theatre of war to the right bank of the Elbe, but only intended to lead them astray. At the same time he conjured Bernadotte to give up his intended movement across the Elbe. Having, meanwhile, again and again solicited the grand army to push forward upon Leipsic, and offered to meet them there, he received at last, Oct. 15, the long-expected invitation. He immediately advanced toward Leipsic, while Bernadotte retreated toward Petersberg. On his march from Halle to Leipsic on Oct. 16, he routed at Möckern the 6th corps of the French army under Marmont, in a hotly contested battle, in which he captured 54 pieces of artillery. Without delay he sent accounts of the issue of this battle to Bernadotte, who was not present on the 1st day of the battle of Leipsic. On its 2d day, Oct. 17, Blücher dislodged the enemy from the right bank of the Parthe, with the exception of some houses and intrenchments near the Halle gate. On the 18th, at daybreak, he had a conference at Breitenfeld with Bernadotte, who declared he could not attack on the left bank of the Parthe unless Blücher gave him for that day 30,000 men of the Silesian army. Keeping the interest of the whole exclusively in view, Blücher consented without hesitation, but on the condition of remaining himself with these 30,000 men, and thus securing their vigorous cooperation in the attack.

After the final victory of Oct. 19, and during the whole of Napoleon's retreat from Leipsic to the Rhine, Blücher alone gave him an earnest pursuit. While, on Oct. 19, the generals in command met the sovereigns in the market-place of Leipsic, and

precious time was spent in mutual compliments, his Silesian army was already marching in pursuit of the enemy to Lützen. On his march from Lützen to Weissenfels, Prince William of Prussia overtook him, to deliver to him the commission of a Prussian field-marshal. The allied sovereigns had allowed Napoleon to gain a start which could never be recovered, but from Eisenach onward, Blücher found himself every afternoon in the room which Napoleon had left in the morning. When about to march upon Cologne, there to cross the Rhine, he was recalled and ordered to blockade Mentz on its left bank; his rapid pursuit as far as the Rhine having broken up the confederation of the Rhine,[230] and disengaged its troops from the French divisions in which they were still enrolled. While the head-quarters of the Silesian army was established at Höchst, the grand army marched up the upper Rhine. Thus ended the campaign of 1813, whose success was entirely due to Blücher's bold enterprise and iron energy.

The allies were divided as to the plan of operations now to be followed; the one party proposing to stay on the Rhine, and there to take up a defensive position; the other to cross the Rhine and march upon Paris. After much wavering on the part of the sovereigns, Blücher and his friends prevailed, and the resolution was adopted to advance upon Paris in a concentric movement, the grand army being to start from Switzerland, Bülow from Holland, and Blücher, with the Silesian army, from the middle Rhine. For the new campaign, 3 additional corps were made over to Blücher, viz., Kleist's, the elector of Hesse's, and the duke of Saxe-Coburg's. Leaving part of Langeron's corps to invest Mentz, and the new reenforcements to follow as a second division, Blücher crossed the Rhine Jan. 1, 1814, on 3 points, at Mannheim, Caub and Coblentz, drove Marmont beyond the Vosges and the Saar, in the valley of the Moselle, posted York's corps between the fortresses of the Moselle, and with a force of 28,000 men, consisting of Sacken's corps and a division of Langeron's corps, proceeded by Vaucouleurs and Joinville to Brienne, in order to effect his junction with the grand army by his left. At Brienne, Jan. 29, he was attacked by Napoleon, whose forces mustered about 40,000, while York's corps was still detached from the Silesian army, and the grand army, 110,000 strong, had only reached Chaumont. Blücher had consequently to face the greatly superior forces of Napoleon, but the latter neither attacked him with his usual vigor, nor hindered his retreat to Trannes, save by some cavalry skirmishes. Having taken possession of Brienne, placed part of his troops in

its vicinity, and occupied Dienville, La Rothière, and Chammenil, with 3 different corps, Napoleon would, on Jan. 30, have been able to fall upon Blücher with superior numbers, as the latter was still awaiting his reenforcements. Napoleon, however, kept up a passive attitude, while the grand army was concentrating by Bar-sur-Aube, and detachments of it were strengthening Blücher's left flank. The emperor's inactivity is explained by the hopes from the negotiations of the peace congress of Châtillon, which he had contrived to start, and through the means of which he expected to gain time.[231] In fact, after the junction of the Silesian army with the grand army had been effected, the diplomatic party insisted that during the deliberations of the peace congress the war should be carried on as a feint only. Prince Schwarzenberg sent an officer to Blücher to procure his acquiescence, but Blücher dismissed him with this answer:

"We must go to Paris. Napoleon has paid his visits to all the capitals of Europe; should we be less polite? In short, he must descend from the throne [...] and [...] until he is hurled from it we shall have no rest."[a]

He urged the great advantages of the allies attacking Napoleon near Brienne, before he could bring up the remainder of his troops, and offered himself to make the attack, if he were only strengthened in York's absence. The consideration that the army could not subsist in the barren valley of the Aube, and must retreat if it did not attack, caused his advice to prevail. The battle was decided upon, but Prince Schwarzenberg, instead of bearing upon the enemy with the united force at hand, only lent Blücher the corps of the crown prince of Württemberg (40,000 men), that of Gyulay (12,000), and that of Wrede (12,000). Napoleon, on his part, neither knew nor suspected any thing of the arrival of the grand army. When about 1 o'clock, Feb. 1, it was announced to him that Blücher was advancing, he would not believe it. Having made sure of the fact, he mounted his horse with the idea of avoiding the battle, and gave Berthier orders to this effect. When, however, between old Brienne and Rothière, he reached the young guard,[232] who had got under arms on hearing the approaching cannonade, he was received with such enthusiasm that he thought fit to improve the opportunity, and exclaimed, "*L'artillerie en avant!*"[b] Thus, about 4 o'clock, the affair of La Rothière commenced in earnest. At the first reverse, however, Napoleon no longer took any personal part in the battle. His

[a] Müffling, op. cit., p. 419.—*Ed.*
[b] op. cit., p. 423.—*Ed.*

infantry having thrown itself into the village of La Rothière, the combat was long and obstinate, and Blücher was even obliged to bring up his reserve. The French were not dislodged from the village till 11 o'clock at night, when Napoleon ordered the retreat of his army, which had lost 4,000 or 5,000 men in killed and wounded, 2,500 prisoners, and 53 cannon. If the allies, who were then only 6 days' march from Paris, had vigorously pushed on, Napoleon must have succumbed before their immensely superior numbers; but the sovereigns, still apprehensive of cutting Napoleon off from making his peace at the congress of Châtillon, allowed Prince Schwarzenberg, the commander-in-chief of the grand army, to seize upon every pretext for shunning a decisive action.

While Napoleon ordered Marmont to return on the right bank of the Aube toward Ramerupt, and himself retired by a flank march upon Troyes, the allied army split into 2 armies, the grand army advancing slowly upon Troyes, and the Silesian army marching to the Marne, where Blücher knew he would find York, beside part of Langeron's and Kleist's corps, so that his aggregate forces would be swelled to about 50,000 men. The plan was for him to pursue Marshal Macdonald, who had meanwhile appeared on the lower Marne, to Paris, while Schwarzenberg was to keep in check the French main army on the Seine. Napoleon, however, seeing that the allies did not know how to use their victory, and sure of returning to the Seine before the grand army could have advanced far in the direction of Paris, resolved to fall upon the weaker Silesian army. Consequently, he left 20,000 men under Victor and Oudinot in face of the 100,000 men of the grand army, advanced with 40,000 men, the corps of Mortier and Ney, in the direction of the Marne, took up Marmont's corps at Nogent, and on Feb. 9 arrived with these united forces at Sézanne. Meanwhile Blücher had proceeded by St. Ouen and Sommepuis on the little road leading to Paris, and established, Feb. 9, his head-quarters at the little town of Vertus. The disposition of his forces was this: about 10,000 men at his head-quarters; 18,000, under York, posted between Dormans and Château Thierry, in pursuit of Macdonald, who was already on the great post road leading to Paris from Epernay; 30,000 under Sacken, between Montmirail and La Ferté-Sous-Jouarre, destined to prevent the intended junction of Sébastiani's cavalry with Macdonald, and to cut off the passage of the latter at La Ferté-Sous-Jouarre; the Russian general, Olsuvieff, cantoned with 5,000 men at Champaubert. This faulty distribution, by which the Silesian army was

drawn up in a very extended position, *en échélon,* resulted from the contradictory motives which actuated Blücher. On the one hand, he desired to cut off Macdonald, and prevent his junction with Sébastiani's cavalry; on the other hand, to take up the corps of Kleist and Kapzewitch, who were advancing from Châlons, and expected to unite with him on the 9th and 10th. The one motive kept him back, the other pushed him on.

Feb. 9, Napoleon fell upon Olsuvieff, at Champaubert, and routed him. Blücher, with Kleist and Kapzewitch, who had meanwhile arrived, but without the greater part of their cavalry, advanced against Marmont, despatched by Napoleon, and followed him in his retreat upon La Fère Champenoise, but on the news of Olsuvieff's discomfiture, returned in the same night, with his 2 corps, to Bergères, there to cover the road to Châlons. After a successful combat on the 10th, Sacken had driven Macdonald across the Marne at Trilport, but hearing on the night of the same day of Napoleon's march to Champaubert, hastened back on the 11th toward Montmirail. Before reaching it he was, at Vieux Maisons, obliged to form against the emperor, coming from Montmirail to meet him. Beaten with great loss before York could unite with him, the two generals effected their junction at Viffort, and retreated, Feb. 12, to Château Thierry, where York had to stand a very damaging rear-guard engagement, and withdrew thence to Oulchy-la-Ville. Having ordered Mortier to pursue York and Sacken on the road of Fismes, Napoleon remained on the 13th at Château Thierry. Uncertain as to the whereabout of York and Sacken and the success of their engagements, Blücher had, from Bergères, during the 11th and 12th, quietly watched Marmont posted opposite him at Etoges. When informed, on the 13th, of the defeat of his generals, and supposing Napoleon to have moved off in search of the grand army, he gave way to the temptation of striking a parting blow upon Marmont, whom he considered Napoleon's rear-guard. Advancing on Champaubert, he pushed Marmont to Montmirail, where the latter was joined on the 14th by Napoleon, who now turned against Blücher, met him at noon at Veauchamps, 20,000 strong, but almost without cavalry, attacked him, turned his columns with cavalry, and threw him back with great loss on Champaubert. During its retreat from the latter place, the Silesian army might have reached Etoges before it grew dark, without any considerable loss, if Blücher had not taken pleasure in the deliberate slowness of the retrograde movement. Thus he was attacked during the whole of his march, and one detachment of his forces, the division of Prince Augustus of

Preussen, was again beset from the side streets of Etoges, on its passage through that town. About midnight Blücher reached his camp at Bergères, broke up, after some hours' rest, for Châlons, arrived there about noon, Feb. 15, and was joined by York's and Sacken's forces on the 16th and 17th. The different affairs at Champaubert, Montmirail, Château Thierry, Veauchamps, and Etoges, had cost him 15,000 men and 27 guns; Gneisenau and Müffling being alone responsible for the strategetical faults which led to these disasters.

Leaving Marmont and Mortier to front Blücher, Napoleon, with Ney, returned in forced marches to the Seine, where Schwarzenberg had driven back Victor and Oudinot, who had retreated across the Yères, and there taken up 12,000 men under Macdonald, and some reenforcements from Spain. On the 16th they were surprised by the sudden arrival of Napoleon, followed on the 17th by his troops. After his junction with the marshals he hastened against Schwarzenberg, whom he found posted in an extended triangle, having for its summits Nogent, Montereau, and Sens. The generals under his command, Wittgenstein, Wrede, and the crown prince of Württemberg, being successively attacked and routed by Napoleon, Prince Schwarzenberg took to his heels, retreated toward Troyes, and sent word to Blücher to join him, so that they might in concert give battle on the Seine. Blücher, meanwhile, strengthened by new reenforcements, immediately followed this call, and entered Méry Feb. 21, and waited there the whole of the 22d for the dispositions of the promised battle. He learned in the evening that an application for a truce had been made to Napoleon, through Prince Liechtenstein, who had met with a flat refusal. Instantly despatching a confidential officer to Troyes, he conjured Prince Schwarzenberg to give battle, and even offered to give it alone, if the grand army would only form a reserve; but Schwarzenberg, still more frightened by the news that Augereau had driven Gen. Bubna back into Switzerland, had already ordered the retreat upon Langres. Blücher understood at once that a retreat upon Langres would lead to a retreat beyond the Rhine; and, in order to draw Napoleon off from the pursuit of the dispirited grand army, resolved upon again marching straight in the direction of Paris, toward the Marne, where he could now expect to assemble an army of 100,000 men, Wintzingerode having arrived with about 25,000 men in the vicinity of Rheims, Bülow at Laon with 16,000 men, the remainder of Kleist's corps being expected from Erfurt, and the rest of Langeron's corps, under St. Priest, from Mentz.

It was this second separation on the part of Blücher from the grand army, that turned the scale against Napoleon. If the latter had followed the retreating grand army instead of the advancing Silesian one, the campaign would have been lost for the allies. The passage of the Aube before Napoleon had followed him, the only difficult point in Blücher's advance, he effected by constructing a pontoon bridge at Anglure on Feb. 24. Napoleon, commanding Oudinot and Macdonald, with about 25,000 men, to follow the grand army, left Herbisse on the 26th, together with Ney and Victor, in pursuit of the Silesian army. On the advice sent by Blücher, that the grand army had now but the 2 marshals before it, Schwarzenberg stopped his retreat, took heart, turned round upon Oudinot and Macdonald, and beat them on the 27th and 28th. It was Blücher's intention to concentrate his army at some point as near as possible to Paris. Marmont, with his troops, was still posted at Sézanne, while Mortier was at Château Thierry. On Blücher's advance, Marmont retreated, united on the 26th with Mortier at La Ferté-Sous-Jouarre, thence to retire with the latter upon Meaux. Blücher's attempt, during 2 days, to cross the Ourcq, and, with a strongly advanced front, to force the 2 marshals to battle, having failed, he was now obliged to march on the right bank of the Ourcq. He reached Oulchy-le-Château March 2, learned in the morning of the 3d [about] the capitulation of Soissons, which had been effected by Bülow and Wintzingerode, and, in the course of the same day, crossed the Aisne, and concentrated his whole army at Soissons. Napoleon, who had crossed the Marne at La Ferté-Sous-Jouarre, 2 forced marches behind Blücher, advanced in the direction of Château Thierry and Fismes, and, having passed the Vesle, crossed the Aisne at Berry-au-Bac, March 6, after the recapture of Rheims by a detachment of his army. Blücher originally intended to offer battle behind the Aisne, on Napoleon's passage of that river, and had drawn up his troops for that purpose. When he became aware that Napoleon took the direction of Fismes and Berry-au-Bac, in order to pass the Silesian army by the left, he decided upon attacking him from Craonne on the flank, in an oblique position, immediately after his debouching from Berry-au-Bac, so that Napoleon would have been forced to give battle with a defile in his rear. Having already posted his forces, with the right wing on the Aisne, with the left on the Lette, half way from Soissons to Craonne, he resigned this excellent plan on making sure that Napoleon had, on the 6th, been allowed by Wintzingerode to pass Berry-au-Bac unmolested, and had even pushed a detachment on the road to Laon. He now

thought it necessary to accept no decisive battle except at Laon.

To delay Napoleon, who, by Corbeny, on the causeway from Rheims, could reach Laon as soon as the Silesian army from Craonne, Blücher posted the corps of Woronzoff between the Aisne and the Lette, on the strong plateau of Craonne, while he despatched 10,000 horse under Wintzingerode, to push on by Fetieux toward Corbeny, with the order to fall upon the right flank and rear of Napoleon, as soon as the latter should be engaged in attacking Woronzoff. Wintzingerode failing to execute the manoeuvre intrusted to him, Napoleon drove Woronzoff from the plateau on the 7th, but himself lost 8,000 men, while Woronzoff escaped with the loss of 4,700, and proved able to effect his retreat in good order. On the 8th, Blücher had concentrated his troops at Laon, where the battle must decide the fate of both armies. Apart from his numerical superiority, the vast plain before Laon was peculiarly adapted for deploying the 20,000 horse of the Silesian army, while Laon itself, situated on the plateau of a detached hill, which has on every side a fall of 12, 16, 20 to 30 degrees, and at the foot of which lie 4 villages, offered great advantages for the defence as well as the attack. On that day, the left French wing, led by Napoleon himself, was repulsed, while the right wing, under Marmont, surprised in its bivouacs at nightfall, was so completely worsted, that the marshal could not bring his troops to a halt before reaching Fismes. Napoleon, completely isolated with his wing, numbering 35,000 men only, and cooped up in a bad position, must have yielded before far superior numbers flushed with victory. Yet on the following morning, a fever attack and an inflammation of the eyes disabled Blücher, while Napoleon yet remained in a provocatory attitude, in the same position, which so far intimidated the men who now directed the operations, that they not only stopped the advance of their own troops which had already begun, but allowed Napoleon to quietly retire at nightfall to Soissons.

Still the battle of Laon had broken his forces, physically and morally. He tried in vain by the sudden capture, on March 13, of Rheims, which had fallen into the hands of St. Priest, to restore himself. So fully was his situation now understood, that when he advanced, on the 17th and 18th, on Arcis-sur-Aube, against the grand army, Schwarzenberg himself, although but 80,000 strong against the 25,000 under Napoleon, dared to stand and accept a battle, which lasted through the 20th and 21st. When Napoleon broke it off, the grand army followed him up to Vitry, and united in his rear with the Silesian army. In his despair, Napoleon took a

last refuge in a retreat upon St. Dizier, pretending thus to endanger, with his handful of men, the enormous army of the allies, by cutting off its main line of communication and retreat between Langres and Chaumont; a movement replied to on the part of the allies by their onward march to Paris. On March 30 took place the battle before Paris, in which the Silesian army stormed Montmartre. Though Blücher had not recovered since the battle of Laon, he still appeared at the battle for a short time, on horseback, with a shade over his eyes, but, after the capitulation of Paris, laid down his command, the pretext being his sickness, and the real cause the clashing of his open-mouthed hatred against the French with the diplomatic attitude which the allied sovereigns thought fit to exhibit. Thus he entered Paris, March 31, in the capacity of a private individual. During the whole campaign of 1814, he alone among the allied army represented the principle of the offensive. By the battle of La Rothière he baffled the Châtillon pacificators; by his resolution at Méry he saved the allies from a ruinous retreat; and by the battle of Laon he decided the first capitulation of Paris.

After the first peace of Paris[233] he accompanied the emperor Alexander and King Frederic William of Prussia on their visit to England, where he was fêted as the hero of the day. All the military orders of Europe were showered upon him: the king of Prussia created for him the order of the iron cross; the prince regent of England[a] gave him his portrait, and the university of Oxford the academical degree of LL. D.[b]

In 1815 he again decided the final campaign against Napoleon. After the disastrous battle of Ligny, June 16, though now 73 years of age, he prevailed upon his routed army to form anew and march on the heels of their victor, so as to be able to appear in the evening of June 18 on the battle field of Waterloo,[234] an exploit unprecedented in the history of war. His pursuit, after the battle of Waterloo, of the French fugitives, from Waterloo to Paris, possesses one parallel only, in Napoleon's equally remarkable pursuit of the Prussians from Jena to Stettin. He now entered Paris at the head of his army, and even had Müffling, his quartermaster-general, installed as the military governor-general of Paris. He insisted upon Napoleon's being shot, the bridge of Jena blown up, and the restitution to their original owners of the treasures plundered by the French in the different capitals of

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[a] George.—*Ed.*
[b] Legum Doctor (Doctor of Laws).—*Ed.*

Europe. His first wish was baffled by Wellington, and the second by the allied sovereigns, while the last was realized. He remained at Paris 3 months, very frequently attending the gambling tables for *rouge-et-noir*.[a] On the anniversary of the battle on the Katzbach, he paid a visit to Rostock, his native place, where the inhabitants united to raise a public monument in his honor. On the occurrence of his death the whole Prussian army went into mourning for 8 days.

*Le vieux diable*,[b] as he was nicknamed by Napoleon, "Marshal Forwards," as he was styled by the Russians of the Silesian army, was essentially a general of cavalry. In this speciality he excelled, because it required tactical acquirements only, but no strategetical knowledge. Participating to the highest degree in the popular hatred against Napoleon and the French, he was popular with the multitude for his plebeian passions, his gross common sense, the vulgarity of his manners, and the coarseness of his speech, to which, however, he knew, on fit occasions, how to impart a touch of fiery eloquence. He was the model of a soldier. Setting an example as the bravest in battle and the most indefatigable in exertion; exercising a fascinating influence on the common soldier; joining to his rash bravery a sagacious appreciation of the ground, a quick resolution in difficult situations, stubbornness in defence equal to his energy in the attack, with sufficient intelligence to find for himself the right course in simpler combinations, and to rely upon Gneisenau in those which were more intricate, he was the true general for the military operations of 1813-'15, which bore the character half of regular and half of insurrectionary warfare.

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[a] Red and black.— *Ed.*
[b] The old devil.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## ARTILLERY[235]

The invention of gunpowder, and its application to throwing heavy bodies in a given direction, are now pretty generally conceded to have been of eastern origin. In China and India, saltpetre is the spontaneous excrescence of the soil, and, very naturally, the natives soon became acquainted with its properties. Fireworks made of mixtures of this salt with other combustible bodies were manufactured at a very early period in China, and used for purposes of war as well as for public festivities. We have no information at what time the peculiar composition of saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal became known, the explosive quality of which has given it such an immense importance. According to some Chinese chronicles, mentioned by M. Paravey in a report made to the French academy in 1850,[a] guns were known as early as 618 B.C.; in other ancient Chinese writings, fire-balls projected from bamboo tubes, and a sort of exploding shell, are described. At all events, the use of gunpowder and cannon for warlike purposes does not appear to have been properly developed in the earlier periods of Chinese history, as the first authenticated instance of their extensive application is of a date as late as 1232 of our era, when the Chinese, besieged by the Mongols in Kaï-fong-fu, defended themselves with cannon throwing stone balls, and used explosive shells, petards, and other fireworks based upon gunpowder.

The Hindoos appear to have had some sort of warlike fireworks as early as the time of Alexander the Great, according to the

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[a] This presumably refers to Ch. H. de Paravey's book *Mémoire sur la découverte très-ancienne en Asie et dans l'Indo-Perse de la poudre à canon et des armes à feu.*—*Ed.*

evidence of the Greek writers Aelian, Ctesias, Philostratus, and Themistius. This, however, certainly was not gunpowder, though saltpetre may have largely entered into its composition. In the Hindoo laws some sort of fire-arms appears to be alluded to; gunpowder is certainly mentioned in them, and, according to Prof. H. H. Wilson, its composition is described in old Hindoo medical works. The first mention of cannon, however, coincides pretty nearly with the oldest ascertained positive date of its occurrence in China. Chased's poems, about 1200, speak of fire-engines throwing balls, the whistling of which was heard at the distance of 10 coss (1,500 yards). About 1258 we read of fireworks on carriages belonging to the king of Delhi. A hundred years later the use of artillery was general in India; and when the Portuguese arrived there, in 1498, they found the Indians as far advanced in the use of fire-arms as they themselves were.

From the Chinese and Hindoos the Arabs received saltpetre and fireworks. Two of the Arabic names for saltpetre signify *China salt*, and *China snow*. Chinese red and white fire is mentioned by their ancient authors. Incendiary fireworks are also of a date almost contemporaneous with the great Arabic invasion of Asia and Africa.[236] Not to mention the *maujanitz*, a somewhat mythical fire-arm said to have been known and used by Mohammed, it is certain that the Byzantine Greeks received the first knowledge of fireworks (afterward developed in the Greek fire) from their Arab enemies. A writer of the 9th century, Marcus Gracchus, gives a composition of 6 parts of saltpetre, 2 of sulphur, 1 of coal, which comes very near to the correct composition of gunpowder.[a] The latter is stated with sufficient exactness, and first of all European writers, by Roger Bacon, about 1216, in his *Liber de Nullitate Magiae*,[237] but yet for fully a hundred years the western nations remained ignorant of its use. The Arabs, however, appear to have soon improved upon the knowledge they received from the Chinese. According to Conde's history of the Moors in Spain,[b] guns were used, 1118, in the siege of Saragossa, and a culverin of 4 lb. calibre, among other guns, was cast in Spain in 1132.[238] Abd-el-Mumen is reported to have taken Mohadia, near Bona, in Algeria, with fire-arms, in 1156, and the following year Niebla, in Spain, was defended against the Castilians with fire-machines throwing bolts and stones. If the nature of the engines used by the Arabs in the 12th century remains still to be investigated, it is

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[a] Marcus Graecus, *Liber ignium ad comburendos hostes.—Ed.*

[b] J. A. Conde, *Historia de la dominacion de los Arabes en España*, t. I-III.—*Ed.*

quite certain that in 1280 artillery was used against Cordova, and that by the beginning of the 14th century its knowledge had passed from the Arabs to the Spaniards. Ferdinand IV took Gibraltar by cannon in 1308. Baza in 1312 and 1323, Martos in 1326, Alicante in 1331, were attacked with artillery, and carcasses were thrown by guns in some of these sieges. From the Spaniards the use of artillery passed to the remaining European nations. The French, in the siege of Puy Guillaume in 1338, had guns, and in the same year the German knights in Prussia used them.[239] By 1350, fire-arms were common in all countries of western, southern, and central Europe. That artillery is of eastern origin, is also proved by the manufacture of the oldest European ordnance. The gun was made of bars of wrought iron welded longitudinally together, and strengthened by heavy iron rings forced over them. It was composed of several pieces, the movable breech being fixed to the flight after loading. The oldest Chinese and Indian guns are made exactly in the same way, and they are as old, or older, than the oldest European guns. Both European and Asiatic cannon, about the 14th century, were of very inferior construction, showing artillery to have still been in its infancy. Thus, if it remains uncertain when the composition of gunpowder and its application to fire-arms were invented, we can at least fix the period when it first became an important engine in warfare; the very clumsiness of the guns of the 14th century, wherever they occur, proves their novelty as regular war-machines. The European guns of the 14th century were very unwieldy affairs. The large-calibred ones could only be moved by being taken to pieces, each piece forming a wagon-load. Even the small-calibred guns were exceedingly heavy, there being then no proper proportion established between the weight of the gun and that of the shot, nor between the shot and the charge. When they were brought into position, a sort of timber framework or scaffolding was erected for each gun to be fired from. The town of Ghent had a gun which, with the framework, measured 50 feet in length. Gun-carriages were still unknown. The cannons were mostly fired at very high elevations, like our mortars, and consequently had very little effect until shells were introduced. The projectiles were generally round shot of stone, for small calibres sometimes iron bolts. Yet, with all these drawbacks, cannon was not only used in sieges and the defence of towns, but in the field also, and on board ships of war. As early as 1386 the English took 2 French vessels armed with cannon. If the guns recovered from the *Mary Rose* (sunk 1545) may serve as a clue, those first ship guns were

simply let into and secured in a log of wood hollowed out for the purpose, so as to be incapable of elevation.

In the course of the 15th century, considerable improvements were made, both in the construction and application of artillery. Cannon began to be cast of iron, copper, or brass. The movable breech was falling into disuse, the whole gun being cast of a piece. The best founderies were in France and Germany. In France, too, the first attempts were made to bring up and place guns under cover during a siege. About 1450 a sort of trench was introduced, and shortly after the first breaching batteries were constructed by the brothers Bureau, with the aid of which the king of France, Charles VII, retook in one year all the places the English had taken from him. The greatest improvements were, however, made by Charles VIII of France. He finally did away with the movable breech, cast his guns of brass and in one piece, introduced trunnions, and gun-carriages on wheels, and had none but iron shot. He also simplified the calibres, and took the lighter regularly into the field. Of these, the double cannon was placed on a 4-wheeled carriage drawn by 35 horses; the remainder had 2-wheeled carriages, the trails dragging on the ground, and were drawn by from 24 down to 2 horses. A body of gunners was attached to each, and the service so organized as to constitute the first distinct corps of field artillery; the lighter calibres were movable enough to shift about with the other troops during action, and even to keep up with the cavalry. It was this new arm which procured to Charles VIII his surprising successes in Italy. The Italian ordnance was still moved by bullocks; the guns were still composed of several pieces, and had to be placed on their frames when the position was reached; they fired stone shot, and were altogether so clumsy that the French fired a gun oftener in an hour than the Italians could do in a day. The battle of Fornovo (1495), gained by the French field artillery,[240] spread terror over Italy, and the new arm was considered irresistible. Machiavelli's *Arte della Guerra* was written expressly, in order to indicate means to counteract its effect by the skilful disposition of the infantry and cavalry. The successors of Charles VIII, Louis XII and Francis I, continued to improve and lighten their field artillery. Francis organized the ordnance as a distinct department, under a grand-master of the ordnance. His field-guns broke the hitherto invincible masses of the Swiss pikemen at Marignano, 1515,[241] by rapidly moving from one flanking position to another, and thus they decided the battle. The Chinese and Arabs knew the use and manufacture of shells, and it is probable that from the latter this

knowledge passed to the European nations. Still, the adoption of this projectile, and of the mortar from which it is now fired, did not take place in Europe before the second half of the 15th century, and is commonly ascribed to Pandolfo Malatesta, prince of Rimia. The first shells consisted of 2 hollow metal hemispheres screwed together, the art of casting them hollow was of later invention.

The emperor Charles V was not behind his French rivals in the improvement of field-guns. He introduced limbers, thus turning the two-wheeled gun, when it had to be moved, into a 4-wheeled vehicle capable of going at a faster pace and of surmounting obstacles of ground. Thus his light guns, at the battle of Renty in 1554,[242] could advance at a gallop.

The first theoretical researches, respecting gunnery and the flight of projectiles, also fall in this period. Tartaglia, an Italian, is said to be the discoverer of the fact that the angle of elevation of 45° gives, *in vacuo*, the greatest range. The Spaniards Collado and Ufano also occupied themselves with similar inquiries. Thus the theoretical foundations for scientific gunnery were laid. About the same time Vannocci Biringoccio's inquiries into the art of casting (1540)[a] produced considerable progress in the manufacture of cannon, while the invention of the calibre scale by Hartmann, by which every part of a gun was measured by its proportion to the diameter of bore, gave a certain standard for the construction of ordnance, and paved the way for the introduction of fixed theoretical principles, and of general experimental rules.

One of the first effects of the improved artillery was a total change in the art of fortification. Since the time of the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchies, that art had made but little progress. But now the new fire-arm everywhere made a breach on the masonry walls of the old system, and a new plan had to be invented. The defences had to be constructed so as to expose as little masonry as possible to the direct fire of the besieger, and to admit of a strong artillery being placed on the ramparts. The old masonry wall was replaced by an earthwork rampart, only faced with masonry, and the small flanking town was turned into a large pentagonal bastion. Gradually the whole of the masonry used in fortification was covered against direct fire by outlying earthworks, and by the middle of the 17th century the defence of a fortified place became once more relatively stronger than the attack, until Vauban again gave the ascendant to the latter.

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[a] V. Biringoccio, *Pirotechnia.—Ed.*

Hitherto the operation of loading had been carried on with loose powder shovelled into the gun. About 1600 the introduction of cartridges, cloth bags containing the prescribed quantity of powder, much abridged the time necessary for loading, and insured greater precision of fire by greater equality of charge. Another important invention was made about the same time, that of grape-shot and case-shot. The construction of field-guns, adapted for throwing hollow shot, also belongs to this period. The numerous sieges occurring during the war of Spain against the Netherlands[243] contributed very much to the improvement of the artillery used in the defence and attack of places, especially as regards the use of mortars and howitzers, of shells, carcasses, and red-hot shot, and the composition of fuzes and other military fireworks. The calibres in use in the beginning of the 17th century were still of all sizes, from the 48-pounder to the smallest falconets bored for balls of $^1/_2$ lb. weight. In spite of all improvements, field artillery was still so imperfect that all this variety of calibre was required to obtain something like the effect we now realize with a few middle-sized guns between the 6-pounder and the 12-pounder. The light calibres, at that time, had mobility, but no effect; the large calibres had effect, but no mobility; the intermediate ones had neither the one nor the other in a degree sufficient for all purposes. Consequently, all calibres were maintained, and jumbled together in one mass, each battery consisting generally of a regular assortment of cannon. The elevation was given to the piece by a quoin. The carriages were still clumsy, and a separate model was of course required for each calibre, so that it was next to impossible to take spare wheels and carriages into the field. The axletrees were of wood, and of a different size for each calibre. In addition to this, the dimensions of the cannon and carriages were not even the same for one single calibre, there being everywhere a great many pieces of old construction, and many differences of construction, in the several workshops of a country. Cartridges were still confined to guns in fortresses; in the field the cannon was loaded with loose powder, introduced on a shovel, upon which a wad and the shot were rammed down. Loose powder was equally worked down the touchhole, and the whole process was extremely slow. The gunners were not considered regular soldiers, but formed a guild of their own, recruiting themselves by apprentices, and sworn not to divulge the secrets and mysteries of their handicraft. When a war broke out, the belligerents took as many of them into their service as they could get, over and above their peace establishment. Each of these

gunners or bombardiers received the command of a gun, had a saddle-horse, and apprentice, and as many professional assistants as he required, beside the requisite number of men for shifting heavy pieces. Their pay was fourfold that of a soldier. The horses of the artillery were contracted for when a war broke out; the contractor also found harness and drivers. In battle the guns were placed in a row in front of the line, and unlimbered; the horses were taken out of the shafts. When an advance was ordered, the limbers were horsed, and the guns limbered up; sometimes the lighter calibres were moved, for short distances, by men. The powder and shot were carried in separate carts; the limbers had not yet any boxes for ammunition. Manoeuvring, loading, priming, pointing, and firing, were all operations of great slowness, according to our present notions, and the number of hits, with such imperfect machinery, and the almost total want of science in gunnery, must have been small indeed.

The appearance of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany, during the 30 years' war,[244] marks an immense progress in artillery. This great warrior did away with the extremely small calibres, which he replaced, first, by his so-called leather guns, light wrought-iron tubes covered with ropes and leather. These were intended to fire grape-shot only, which thus was first introduced into field warfare. Hitherto its use had been confined to the defence of the ditch in fortresses. Along with grape and case shot, he also introduced cartridges in his field artillery. The leather guns not proving very durable, were replaced by light cast-iron 4-pounders, 16 calibres long, weighing 6 cwt. with the carriage, and drawn by two horses. Two of these pieces were attached to each regiment of infantry. Thus the regimental artillery which was preserved in many armies up to the beginning of this century, arose by superseding the old small calibred, but comparatively clumsy guns, and was originally intended for case shot only, though very soon it was also made to fire round shot. The heavy guns were kept distinct, and formed into powerful batteries occupying favorable positions on the wings or in front of the centre of the army. Thus by the separation of the light from the heavy artillery, and by the formation of batteries, the tactics of field artillery were founded. It was General Torstensson, the inspector-general of the Swedish artillery, who mainly contributed to these results by which field artillery now first became an independent arm, subject to distinct rules of its own for its use in battle. Two further important inventions were made about this time: about 1650, that of the horizontal elevating screw, as it was used until Gribeauval's times, and about 1697, that

of tubes filled with powder for priming, instead of working powder into the touchhole. Both pointing and loading became much facilitated thereby. Another great improvement was the invention of the prolonge, for manoeuvring at short distances. The number of guns carried into the field during the 17th century, was very large. At Greifenhagen, Gustavus Adolphus had 80 pieces with 20,000 men, and at Frankfort-on-the-Oder, 200 pieces with 18,000 men.[245] Artillery trains of 100 to 200 guns were of very common occurrence during the wars of Louis XIV. At Malplaquet,[246] nearly 300 pieces of cannon were employed on both sides; this was the largest mass of artillery hitherto brought together on a single field of battle. Mortars were very generally taken into the field about this time. The French still maintained their superiority in artillery. They were the first to do away with the old guild system and enrol the gunners as regular soldiers, forming, in 1671, a regiment of artillery, and regulating the various duties and ranks of the officers. Thus this branch of service was recognized as an independent arm, and the education of the officers and men was taken in hand by the state. An artillery school, for at least 50 years the only one in existence, was founded in France in 1690. A hand-book of artilleristic science, very good for the time, was published in 1697 by Saint-Remy.[a] Still the secrecy surrounding the "mystery" of gunnery was so great that many improvements adopted in other countries were as yet unknown in France, and the construction and composition of every European artillery differed widely from any other. Thus the French had not yet adopted the howitzer, which had been invented in Holland and adopted in most armies before 1700. Limber boxes for ammunition, first introduced by Maurice of Nassau, were unknown in France, and indeed but little adopted. The gun, carriage, and limber were too heavy to admit of their being encumbered with the extra weight of ammunition. The very small calibres, up to 3 lbs. inclusive, had indeed been done away with, but the light regimental artillery was unknown in France. The charges used in the artillery of the times hitherto considered were, for guns, generally very heavy; originally equal in weight to the ball. Although the powder was of inferior quality, these charges were still far stronger in effect than those now in use, thus they were one of the chief causes of the tremendous weight of the cannon. To resist such charges the weight of a brass cannon was

[a] A reference to *Mémoires d'artillerie,* a collection of works by artillery officers compiled and edited by Saint-Remy.— *Ed.*

often from 250 to 400 times the weight of the shot. Gradually, however, the necessity of lightening the guns compelled a reduction of the charge, and about the beginning of the 18th century, the charge was generally only one-half the weight of the shot. For mortars and howitzers the charge was regulated by the distance, and generally very small.

The end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century was the period in which the artillery was in most countries finally incorporated in the army, deprived of its mediaeval character of a guild, recognized as an arm, and thus enabled to take a more regular and rapid development. The consequence was an almost immediate and very marked progress. The irregularity and variety of calibres and models, the uncertainty of all existing empirical rules, the total want of well-established principle, now became evident and unbearable. Accordingly, experiments were everywhere made on a large scale to ascertain the effects of calibres, the relations of the calibre to the charge and to the weight and length of the gun, the distribution of metal in the cannon, the ranges, the effects of recoil on the carriages, &c. Between 1730 and 1740, Bélidor directed such experiments at La Fère in France, Robins in England, and Papacino d'Antoni at Turin. The result was a great simplification of the calibres, a better distribution of the metal of the gun, and a very general reduction of the charges, which were now between $^1/_3$ and $^1/_2$ the weight of the shot. The progress of scientific gunnery went side by side with these improvements. Galileo had originated the parabolic theory, Torricelli his pupil, Anderson, Newton, Blondel, Bernoulli, Wolff, and Euler, occupied themselves with further determining the flight of projectiles, the resistance of the air, and the causes of their deviations. The above-named experimental artillerists also contributed materially to the advancement of the mathematical portion of gunnery.

Under Frederick the Great the Prussian field artillery was again considerably lightened. The short, light, regimental guns, not more than 14, 16, or 18 calibres long, and weighing from 80 to 150 times the weight of the shot, were found to have a sufficient range for the battles of those days, decided principally by infantry fire. Accordingly, the king had all his 12-pounders cast the same proportional length and weight. The Austrians, in 1753, followed this example, as well as most other states; but Frederick himself, in the latter part of his reign, again provided his reserve artillery with long powerful guns, his experience at Leuthen[247] having convinced him of their superior effects. Frederick the Great

introduced a new arm by mounting the gunners of some of his batteries, and thus creating horse artillery, destined to give the same support to cavalry as foot-artillery did to infantry. The new arm proved extremely effective, and was very soon adopted by most armies; some, as the Austrians, mounting the gunners in separate wagons as a substitute. The proportion of guns with the armies of the 18th century was still very large. Frederick the Great had, in 1756, with 70,000 men 206 guns, 1762 with 67,000 men 275 guns, 1778 with 180,000 men 811 guns. These guns, with the exception of the regimental ones which followed their battalions, were organized in batteries of various sizes from 6 to 20 guns each. The regimental guns advanced with the infantry, while the batteries were firing from chosen positions, and sometimes advanced to a second position, but here they generally awaited the issue of the battle; they left, as regards mobility, still very much to be desired, and at Kunersdorf,[248] the loss of the battle was due to the impossibility of bringing up the artillery in the decisive moment. The Prussian general, Tempelhof, also introduced field-mortar batteries, the light mortars being carried on the backs of mules; but they were soon again abolished after their uselessness had been proved in the war of 1792 and '93. The scientific branch of artillery was, during this period, cultivated especially in Germany. Struensee and Tempelhof wrote useful works on the subject,[a] but Scharnhorst was the leading artilleryman of his day. His hand-book of artillery is the first comprehensive really scientific treatise on the subject, while his hand-book for officers, published as early as 1787, contains the first scientific development of the tactics of field artillery.[b] His works, though antiquated in many respects, are still classical. In the Austrian service, Gen. Vega, in the Spanish, Gen. Morla, in the Prussian, Hoyer and Rouvroy, made valuable contributions to artilleristic literature.[c] The French had reorganized their artillery according to the system of Vallière in 1732; they retained 24, 16, 12, 8, and 4-pounders, and adopted the 8-inch howitzer. Still there was a great variety of models of construction; the guns were from 22 to 26 calibres long, and weighed about 250 times as much as the

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[a] K. A. Struensee, *Anfangsgründe der Artillerie,* G. F. Tempelhof, *Le bombardier prussien.*— *Ed.*

[b] G. Scharnhorst, *Handbuch der Artillerie,* Bd. 1-3 and *Handbuch für Officiere.* Erster Theil von der Artillerie.— *Ed.*

[c] G. Vega, *Praktische Anweisung zum Bombenwerfen;* T. Morla, *Tratado de artilleria;* J. G. Hoyer, *Allgemeines Wörterbuch der Artillerie,* Th. 1-2; F. G. Rouvroy, *Vorlesungen über die Artillerie,* Th. 1-3.— *Ed.*

corresponding shot. At length, in 1774, General Gribeauval, who had served with the Austrians in the 7 years' war, and who knew the superiority of the new Prussian and Austrian artilleries, carried the introduction of his new system. The siege artillery was definitively separated from the field artillery. It was formed of all guns heavier than 12-pounders, and of all the old heavy 12-pounder guns. The field artillery was composed of 12-pounder, 8-pounder, and 4-pounder guns, all 18 calibres long, weighing 150 times the weight of the shot, and of a 6-inch howitzer. The charge for the guns was definitely fixed at one-third the weight of the shot, the perpendicular elevating screw was introduced, and every part of a gun or carriage was made according to a fixed model, so as to be easily replaced from the stores. Seven models of wheels, and 3 models of axletrees, were sufficient for all the various vehicles used in the French artillery. Although the use of limber-boxes to carry a supply of ammunition was known to most artillerists, Gribeauval did not introduce them in France. The 4-pounders were distributed with the infantry, every battalion receiving 2 of them; the 8 and 12-pounders were distributed in separate batteries as reserve artillery, with a field-forge to every battery. Train and artisan companies were organized, and altogether this artillery of Gribeauval was the first corps of its kind established on a modern footing. It has proved superior to any of its day, in the proportions by which its constructions were regulated, in its material, and in its organization, and for many years it has served as a model.

Thanks to Gribeauval's improvements, the French artillery, during the wars of the revolution, was superior to any other, and soon became, in the hands of Napoleon, an arm of hitherto unknown power. There was no alteration made, except that the system of regimental guns was definitively done away with in 1799, and that with the immense number of 6-pounder and 3-pounder guns conquered in all parts of Europe, these calibres were also introduced in the service. The whole of the field artillery was organized into batteries of 6 pieces, among which one was generally a howitzer, and the remainder guns. But if there was little or no change in the material, there was an immense one in the tactics of artillery. Although the number of guns was somewhat diminished in consequence of the abolition of regimental pieces, the effect of artillery in a battle was heightened by its skilful use. Napoleon used a number of light guns, attached to the divisions of infantry, to engage battle, to make the enemy show his strength, &c., while the mass of the artillery was held in reserve,

until the decisive point of attack was determined on; then enormous batteries were suddenly formed, all acting upon that point, and thus preparing by a tremendous cannonade the final attack of the infantry reserves. At Friedland 70 guns, at Wagram 100 guns, were thus formed in line[249]; at Borodino,[a] a battery of 80 guns prepared Ney's attack on Semenovka. On the other hand, the large masses of reserve cavalry formed by Napoleon, required for their support a corresponding force of horse artillery, which arm again received the fullest attention, and was very numerously represented in the French armies, where its proper tactical use was first practically established. Without Gribeauval's improvements, this new use of artillery would have been impossible, and with the necessity for the altered tactics, these improvements gradually, and with slight alterations, found their way into all continental armies.

The British artillery, about the beginning of the French revolutionary war, was exceedingly neglected, and much behind that of other nations. They had two regimental guns to each battalion, but no reserve artillery. The guns were horsed in single team, the drivers walking alongside with long whips. Horses and drivers were hired. The *materiel* was of very old-fashioned construction, and except for very short distances, the pieces could move at a walk only. Horse artillery was unknown. After 1800, however, when experience had shown the inadequacy of this system, the artillery was thoroughly reorganized by Major Spearman. The limbers were adapted for double team, the guns brigaded in batteries of 6 pieces, and in general those improvements were introduced which had been in use for some time already on the continent. No expense being spared, the British artillery soon was the neatest, most solidly, and most luxuriously equipped of its kind; great attention was paid to the newly erected corps of horse artillery, which soon distinguished itself by the boldness, rapidity, and precision of its manoeuvres. As to fresh improvements in the *materiel,* they were confined to the construction of the vehicles; the block-trail gun-carriage, and the ammunition wagon with a limber to it have since been adopted in most countries of the continent.

The proportion of artillery to the other components of an army became a little more fixed during this period. The strongest proportion of artillery now present with an army was that of the Prussians at Pirmasens[250]—7 guns for every 1,000 men. Napoleon considered 3 guns per 1,000 men quite sufficient, and this

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[a] See this volume, pp. 251-55.—*Ed.*

proportion has become a general rule. The number of rounds to accompany a gun was also fixed; at least 200 rounds per gun, of which $^1/_4$ or $^1/_5$ were case shot. During the peace following the downfall of Napoleon, the artilleries of all European powers underwent gradual improvements. The light calibres of 3 and 4 lbs. were everywhere abolished, the improved carriages and wagons of the English artillery were adopted in most countries. The charge was fixed almost everywhere at $^1/_3$, the metal of the gun at, or near, 150 times the weight of the shot, and the length of the piece at from 16 to 18 calibres. The French reorganized their artillery in 1827. The field-guns were fixed at 8 and 12 lb. calibre, 18 calibres long, charge $^1/_3$, weight of metal in gun 150 times that of the shot. The English carriages and wagons were adopted, and limber-boxes for the first time introduced into the French service. Two kinds of howitzers, of 15 and 16 centimetres of bore, were attached to the 8 and 12-pounder batteries, respectively. A great simplicity distinguishes this new system of field artillery. There are but 2 sizes of gun-carriages, 1 size of limber, 1 size of wheel, and 2 sizes of axletrees to all the vehicles used in the French field batteries. Beside this, a separate mountain artillery was introduced, carrying howitzers of 12 centimetres bore.

The English field artillery now has for its almost exclusive calibre the 9-pounders of 17 calibres long, weight $1^1/_2$ cwt. to 1 pound weight of shot, charge $^1/_3$ the weight of shot. In every battery there are 2 24-pounder $5^1/_2$-inch howitzers. Six-pounder and 12-pounder guns were not sent out at all in the late Russian war.[a] There are 2 sizes of wheels in use. In both the English and French foot artillery the gunners are mounted during manoeuvres on the limber and ammunition wagons.

The Prussian army carries 6 and 12-pounder guns, 18 calibres long, weighing 145 times, and charged with $^1/_3$ the weight of the shot. The howitzers are $5^1/_2$ and $6^1/_2$-inch bore. There are 6 guns and 2 howitzers to a battery. There are 2 wheels and 2 axletrees, and 1 limber. The gun-carriages are of Gribeauval construction. In the foot artillery, for quick manoeuvres, 5 gunners, sufficient to serve the gun, mount the limber-box and the off-horses; the remaining 3 follow as best they can. The ammunition wagons are not, therefore, attached to the guns, as in the French and British service, but form a column apart, and are kept out of range during action. The improved English ammunition wagon was adopted in 1842.

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[a] The Crimean war of 1853-56.—*Ed.*

The Austrian artillery has 6 and 12-pounder guns, 16 calibres long, weighing 135 times, charged with $^1/_4$ the weight of the shot. The howitzers are similar to those of the Prussian service. Six guns and 2 howitzers compose a battery.

The Russian artillery has 6 and 12-pounder guns, 18 calibres long, 150 times the weight of the shot, with a charge of $^1/_3$ its weight. The howitzers are 5 and 6-inch bore. According to the calibre and destination, either 8 or 12 pieces form a battery, one-half of which are guns, and the other half howitzers.

The Sardinian army has 8-pounder and 16-pounder guns, with a corresponding size of howitzer. The smaller German armies all have 6 and 12-pounders, the Spaniards 8 and 12-pounders, the Portuguese, Swedes, Danes, Belgians, Dutch, and Neapolitans 6 and 12-pounders.

The start given to the British artillery by Major Spearman's reorganization, along with the interest for further improvement thereby awakened in that service, and the wide range offered to artilleristic progress by the immense naval artillery of Great Britain, have contributed to many important inventions. The British compositions for fireworks, as well as their gunpowder, are superior to any other, and the precision of their time fuzes is unequalled. The principal invention latterly made in the British artillery are the shrapnel shells (hollow shot, filled with musket balls, and exploding during the flight), by which the effective range of grape has been rendered equal to that of round shot. The French, skilful as they are as constructors and organizers, are nearly the only army which has not yet adopted this new and terrible projectile; they have not been able to make out the fuze composition, upon which every thing depends.

A new system of field artillery has been proposed by Louis Napoleon, and appears to be in course of adoption in France. The whole of the 4 calibres of guns and howitzers now in use, to be superseded by a light 12-pounder gun, $15^1/_2$ calibres long, weighing 110 times, and charged with $^1/_4$ the weight of the solid shot. A shell of 12 centim. (the same now used in the mountain artillery), to be fired out of the same gun with a reduced charge, thus superseding howitzers for the special use of hollow shot. The experiments made in 4 artillery schools of France have been very successful, and it is said that these guns showed a marked superiority, in the Crimea, over the Russian guns, mostly 6-pounders. The English, however, maintain that their long 9-pounder is superior in range and precision to this new gun, and it is to be observed that they were the first to introduce, but very

soon again to abandon, a light 12-pounder for a charge of $^1/_4$ the shot's weight, and which has evidently served Louis Napoleon as a model. The firing of shells from common guns is taken from the Prussian service, where, in sieges, the 24-pounders are made to fire shells for certain purposes. Nevertheless, the capabilities of Louis Napoleon's gun have still to be determined by experience, and as nothing special has been published on its effects in the late war, we cannot here be expected finally to judge on its merits.

The laws and experimental maxims for propelling solid, hollow, or other projectiles, from cannon, the ascertained proportions of range, elevation, charge, the effects of windage and other causes of deviation, the probabilities of hitting the mark, and the various circumstances that may occur in warfare, constitute the science of gunnery. Though the fact, that a heavy body projected *in vacuo,* in a direction different from the vertical, will describe a parabola in its flight, forms the fundamental principle of this science, yet the resistance of the air, increasing as it does with the velocity of the moving body, alters very materially the application of the parabolic theory in gunnery practice. Thus for guns propelling their shot at an initial velocity of 1,400 to 1,700 feet in a second, the line of flight varies considerably from the theoretic parabola, so much so that with them, the greatest range is obtained at an elevation of only about 20 degrees, while according to the parabolic theory it should be at 45 degrees. Practical experiments have determined, with some degree of precision, these deviations, and thus fixed the proper elevations for each class of guns, for a given charge and range. But there are other circumstances affecting the flight of the shot. There is, first of all, the windage, or the difference by which the diameter of the shot must be less than that of the bore, to facilitate loading. It causes first an escape of the expanding gas during the explosion of the charge, in other words, a reduction of the force, and secondly an irregularity in the direction of the shot, causing deflections in a vertical, or horizontal sense. Then there is the unavoidable inequality in the weight of the charge, or in its condition at the moment it is used, the eccentricity of the shot, the centre of gravity not coinciding with the centre of the sphere, which causes deflections varying according to the relative position of the centres at the moment of firing, and many other causes producing irregularity of results under seemingly the same conditions of flight. For field-guns, we have seen that the charge of $^1/_3$ of the shot's weight, and a length of 16-18 calibres are almost universally adopted. With such charges, the point-blank range (the gun being laid horizontal), the shot will touch the

ground at about 300 yards distance, and by elevating the gun, this range may be increased up to 3,000 or 4,000 yards. Such a range, however, leaves all probability of hitting the mark out of the question, and for actual and effective practice, the range of field-guns does not exceed 1,400 or 1,500 yards, at which distance scarcely 1 shot out of 6 or 8 might be expected to hit the mark. The decisive ranges, in which alone cannon can contribute to the issue of a battle, are, for round shot and shell, between 600 and 1,100 yards, and at these ranges the probability of striking the object is indeed far greater. Thus it is reckoned that at 700 yards about 50 per cent., at 900 yards about 35 per cent., at 1,100 yards 25 per cent., out of the shots fired from a 6-pounder, will hit a target representing the front of a battalion in column of attack (34 yards long by 2 yards high). The 9 and 12-pounder will give somewhat better results. In some experiments made in France in 1850, the 8-pounders and 12-pounders then in use gave the following results, against a target 30 metres by 3 metres (representing a troop of cavalry) at:—

| | 500 met. | 600 met. | 700 met. | 800 met. | 900 met. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12-p'ders, hits | 64 p. ct. | 54 p. ct. | 43 p. ct. | 37 p. ct. | 32 p. ct. |
| 8-p'ders, " | 67 " | 44 " | 40 " | 28 " | 28 " |

Though the target was higher by one-half, the practice here remained below the average stated above. With field-howitzers the charge is considerably less in proportion to the weight of the projectile than with guns. The short length of the piece (7 to 10 calibres) and the necessity of firing it at great elevations, are the causes of this. The recoil from a howitzer fired under high elevation, acting downward as well as backward, would, if a heavy charge was used, strain the carriage so as to disable it after a few rounds. This is the reason why in most continental artilleries several charges are in use in the same field-howitzer, thus making the gunner to produce a given range by different combination of charge and elevation. Where this is not the case, as in the British artillery, the elevation taken is necessarily very low, and scarcely exceeding that of guns; the range-tables for the British 24-pounder howitzer, $2^1/_2$-pound charge, do not extend beyond 1,050 yards, with 4° elevation; the same elevation, for the 9-pounder gun, giving a range of 1,400 yards. There is a peculiar short kind of howitzer in use in most German armies, which is capable of an elevation of from 16 to 20 degrees, thus acting somewhat like a mortar; its charge is, necessarily, but small; it has this advantage

over the common, long howitzer, that its shells can be made to drop into covered positions, behind undulations of ground, &c. This advantage is, however, of a doubtful nature against movable objects like troops, though of great importance where the object covered from direct fire is immovable; and as to direct fire, these howitzers, from their shortness (6 to 7 calibres) and small charge, are all but useless. The charge, to obtain various ranges at an elevation fixed by the purpose intended (direct firing or shelling), necessarily varies very much; in the Prussian field artillery, where these howitzers are still used, not less than twelve different charges occur. Withal, the howitzer is but a very imperfect piece of cannon, and the sooner it is superseded by an effective field shell-gun, the better.

The heavy cannon used in fortresses, sieges, and naval armaments, are of various description. Up to the late Russian war, it was not customary to use in siege-warfare heavier guns than 24-pounders, or, at the very outside, a few 32-pounders. Since the siege of Sebastopol, however, siege-guns and ship-guns are the same, or, rather, the effect of the heavy ship-guns in trenches and land-defences has proved so unexpectedly superior to that of the customary light siege-guns, that the war of sieges will henceforth have to be decided, in a great measure, by such heavy naval cannon. In both siege and naval artillery, there are generally found various models of guns for the same calibre. There are light and short guns, and there are long and heavy ones. Mobility being a minor consideration, guns for particular purposes are often made 22 to 25 calibres long, and some of these are, in consequence of this greater length, as precise as rifles in their practice. One of the best of this class of guns is the Prussian brass 24-pounder of 10 feet 4 inches, or 22 calibres long, weighing 60 cwt.; for dismounting practice in a siege, there is no gun like it. For most purposes, however, a length of 16 to 20 calibres is found quite sufficient, and as, upon an average, size of calibre will be preferable to extreme precision, a mass of 60 cwt. of iron or gun-metal will be more usefully employed, as a rule, in a heavy 32-pounder of 16-17 calibres long. The new long iron 32-pounder, one of the finest guns in the British navy, 9 feet long, 50 cwt., measures but $16^1/_2$ calibres. The long 68-pounder, 112 cwt., pivot-gun of all the large screw 131 gun-ships, measures 10 feet 10 inches, or a trifle more than 16 calibres; another kind of pivot-gun, the long 56-pounder of 98 cwt., measures 11 feet, or $17^1/_2$ calibres. Still a great number of less effective guns enter into naval armaments even now, bored-up guns of merely 11 or 12

calibres, and carronades of 7-8 calibres long. There is, however, another kind of naval gun that was introduced about 35 years ago by General Paixhans, and has since received an immense importance, the shell-gun. This kind of ordnance has undergone considerable improvement, and the French shell-gun still comes nearest to that constructed by the inventor; it has retained the cylindrical chamber for the charge. In the English service the chamber is either a short frustum of a cone, reducing only very slightly the diameter of the bore, or there is no chamber at all; it measures in length from 10 to 13 calibres, and is intended for hollow shot exclusively; but the long 68-pdrs. and 56-pdrs. mentioned above throw solid shot and shell indiscriminately. In the U.S. navy Capt. Dahlgren has proposed a new system of shell-guns, consisting of short guns of very large calibre (11 and 9 inches bore), which has been partly adopted in the armament of several new frigates. The value of this system has still to be fixed by actual experience, which must determine whether the tremendous effect of such enormous shells can be obtained without the sacrifice of precision, which cannot but suffer from the great elevation required at long ranges. In sieges and naval gunnery, the charges are as variable as the constructions of the guns themselves, and the ends to be attained. In laying a breach in masonry, the heaviest charges are used, and these amount, with some very heavy and solid guns, to one-half the weight of the shot. On the whole, however, one-fourth may be considered a full average charge for siege purposes, increased sometimes to one-third, diminished at others to one-sixth. On board ship, there are generally 3 classes of charges to each gun; the high charge, for distant practice, chasing, &c., the medium charge, for the average effective distances of naval engagements; the reduced, for close quarters and double shotting. For the long 32-pdrs. they are equal to $^5/_{16}$, $^1/_4$, and $^3/_{16}$ of the shot's weight. For short light guns and shell-guns, these proportions are of course still more reduced; but with the latter, too, the hollow shot does not reach the weight of the solid one. Beside guns and shell-guns, heavy howitzers and mortars enter into the composition of siege and naval artillery. Howitzers are short pieces intended to throw shell at an elevation up to 12 or 30 degrees, and to be fixed on carriages; mortars are still shorter pieces, fixed to blocks, intended to throw shell at an elevation generally exceeding 20 degrees, and increasing even to 60 degrees. Both are chambered ordnance; *i. e.* the chamber or part of the bore intended to receive the charge, is less in diameter than the flight or general bore. Howitzers are seldom of a calibre

exceeding 8 inches, but mortars are bored up to 13, 15, and more inches. The flight of a shell from a mortar, from the smallness of the charge (1-20th to 1-40th of the weight of the shell), and from its considerable elevation, is less interfered with by the resistance of the air, and here the parabolic theory may be used in gunnery calculations without material deviation from practical results. Shells from mortars are intended to act either by bursting, and, as carcasses, setting fire to combustible objects by the jet of flame from the fuzes, or by their weight as well, in breaking through vaulted and otherwise secured roofs; in the latter case the higher elevation is preferred, giving the highest flight and greatest momentum of fall. Shells from howitzers are intended to act, first by impact, and afterward by bursting. From their great elevation, and the small initial velocity imparted to the shell, and consequent little resistance offered to it by the air, a mortar throws its projectile further than any other kind of ordnance, the object fired at being generally a whole town, there is little precision required; and thus it happens that the effective range of heavy mortars extends to 4,000 yards and upward, from which distance Sveaborg was bombarded by the Anglo-French mortar-boats.[251]

The application of these different kinds of cannon, projectiles, and charges, during a siege, will be treated of under that head[a]; the use of naval artillery constitutes nearly the whole fighting part of naval elementary tactics, and does therefore not belong to this subject; it thus only remains for us to make a few observations on the use and tactics of field artillery.

Artillery has no arms for hand-to-hand fight; all its forces are concentrated in the distant effect of its fire. It is, moreover, in fighting condition as long only as it is in position; as soon as it limbers up, or attaches the prolonge for a movement, it is temporarily disabled. From both causes, it is the most defensive of all the 3 arms; its powers of attack are very limited indeed, for attack is onward movement, and its culminating point is the clash of steel against steel. The critical moment for artillery is therefore the advance, taking position, and getting ready for action under the enemy's fire. Its deployments into line, its preliminary movements, will have to be masked either by obstacles of ground or by lines of troops. It will thus gain a position parallel to the line it has to occupy, and then advance into position straight against the enemy, so as not to expose itself to a flanking fire. The choice of a position is a thing of the highest importance, both as regards

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[a] See this volume, pp. 336-38.—*Ed.*

the effect of the fire of a battery, and that of the enemy's fire upon it. To place his guns so that their effect on the enemy is as telling as possible, is the first important point; security from the enemy's fire the second. A good position must afford firm and level standing ground for the wheels and trails of the guns; if the wheels do not stand level, no good practice is possible; and if the trail digs into the ground, the carriage will soon be broken by the power of recoil. It must, beside, afford a free view of the ground held by the enemy, and admit of as much liberty of movement as possible. Finally, the ground in front, between the battery and the enemy, must be favorable to the effect of our arms, and unfavorable, if possible, to that of theirs. The most favorable ground is a firm and level one, affording the advantage of ricochet practice, and making the shot that go short strike the enemy after the first graze. It is wonderful what difference the nature of the ground will make in artillery practice. On soft ground the shot, on grazing, will deflect or make irregular rebounds, if they do not stick fast in it at once. The way the furrows run in ploughed land, makes a great difference, especially with canister and shrapnel firing; if they run crossways, most of the shot will bury themselves in them. If the ground be soft, undulating, or broken immediately in front of us, but level and hard further on toward the enemy, it will favor our practice, and protect us from his. Firing down or up inclinations of more than 5 degrees, or firing from the top of one hill to that of another, is very unfavorable. As to our safety from the enemy's fire, very small objects will increase that. A thin fence, scarcely hiding our position, a group of shrubs, or high corn, will prevent his taking correct aim. A small abrupt bank on which our guns are placed will catch the most dangerous of his projectiles. A dyke makes a capital parapet, but the best protection is the crest of a slight undulation of ground, behind which we draw our guns so far back that the enemy sees nothing but the muzzles; in this position every shot striking the ground in front, will bound high over our heads. Still better is it, if we can cut out a stand for our guns into the crest, about 2 feet deep, flattening out to the rear with the slope, so as to command the whole of the external slope of the hill. The French under Napoleon were extremely skilful in placing their guns, and from them all other nations have learnt this art. Regarding the enemy, the position should be chosen so as to be free from flank or enfilading fire; regarding our own troops, it should not hamper their movements. The usual distance from gun to gun in line is 20 yards, but there is no necessity to adhere

strictly to any of these rules of the parade-ground. Once in position, the limbers remain close behind their guns, while the wagons, in some services, remain under cover. Where the wagons are used for mounting the men, they too must run the chance of going into effective range. The battery directs its fire upon that portion of the enemy's forces which at the time most menaces our position; if our infantry is to attack, it fires upon either the opposing artillery, if that is yet to be silenced, or upon the masses of infantry if they expose themselves; but if a portion of the enemy advance to actual attack, that is the point to aim at, not minding the hostile artillery which fires on us. Our fire against artillery will be most effective when that artillery cannot reply, *i. e.* when it is limbering up, moving, or unlimbering. A few good shots cause great confusion in such moments. The old rule that artillery, excepting in pressing moments of importance, should not approach infantry to within 300 yards, or the range of small arms, will now soon be antiquated. With the increasing range of modern muskets, field artillery, to be effective, cannot any longer keep out of musket range; and a gun with its limber, horses, and gunners, forms a group quite large enough for skirmishers to fire at, at 600 yards with the Minié or Enfield rifle. The long-established idea, that who wishes to live long must enlist in the artillery, appears to be no longer true, for it is evident that skirmishing from a distance will in future be the most effective way of combating artillery; and where is the battle-field in which there could not be found capital cover for skirmishers within 600 yards from any possible artillery emplacement?

Against advancing lines or columns of infantry, artillery has thus far always had the advantage; a few effective rounds of grape, or a couple of solid shot ploughing through a deep column, have a terribly cooling effect. The nearer the attack comes, the more effective becomes our practice; and even at the last moment we can easily withdraw our guns from an opponent of such slowness, though whether a line of *chasseurs de Vincennes,* advancing at the *pas gymnastique,* would not be down upon us before we had limbered up, must still remain doubtful.

Against cavalry, coolness gives the advantage to artillery. If the latter reserve their grape to within 100 yards, and then give a well-aimed volley, the cavalry will be found pretty far off by the time the smoke has cleared away. At all events, to limber up and try to escape, would be the worst plan; for cavalry would be sure to overtake the guns.

Artillery against artillery, the ground, the calibres, the relative

number of guns, and the use made thereof by the parties, will decide. It is, however, to be noticed, that though the large calibre has an undoubted advantage at long ranges, the smaller calibre approaches in its effects those of the large one as the ranges decrease, and at short distances almost equals them. At Borodino, Napoleon's artillery consisted principally of 3 and 4-pounders, while the Russians exulted in their numerous 12-pounders; yet the French small pop-guns had decidedly the best of it.

In supporting either infantry or cavalry, the artillery will have always to gain a position on its flank. If the infantry advances, it advances by half-batteries or sections on a line with the skirmishers, or rather in advance of it; as soon as the infantry masses prepare to attack with the bayonet, it trots up to 400 yards from the enemy, and prepares the charge by a rapid fire of case shot. If the attack is repelled, the artillery will re-open its fire on the pursuing enemy until compelled to withdraw; but if the attack succeeds, its fire contributes a great deal to the completion of the success, one-half of the guns firing while the other advances. Horse artillery, as a supporting arm to cavalry, imparting to it some of that defensive element which it naturally lacks altogether, is now one of the most favorite branches of all services, and brought to high perfection in all European armies. Though intended to act on cavalry ground, and in company with cavalry, there is no horse artillery in the world which would not be prepared to gallop across a country where its own cavalry would not follow without sacrificing its order and cohesion. The horse artillery of every country forms the boldest and skilfullest riders of its army, and they will take a particular pride, on any grand field-day, in dashing across obstacles, guns and all, before which the cavalry will stop. The tactics of horse artillery consist in boldness and coolness. Rapidity, suddenness of appearance, quickness of fire, readiness to move off at a moment's notice, and to take that road which is too difficult for the cavalry, these are the chief qualities of a good horse artillery. Choice of position there is but little in this constant change of places; every position is good so as it is close to the enemy and out of the way of the cavalry; and it is during the ebbing and flowing of cavalry engagements, that the artillery, skirting the advancing and receding waves, has to show every moment its superior horsemanship and presence of mind in getting clear of this surging sea across all sorts of ground where not every cavalry dares, or likes to follow.

In the attack and defence of posts, the tactics of artillery are

similar. The principal thing is always to fire upon that point from which, in defence, threatens the nearest and most direct danger, or in attack, from which our advance can be most effectually checked. The destruction of material obstacles also forms part of its duties, and here the various calibres and kinds of ordnance are applied according to their nature and effect; howitzers for setting fire to houses, heavy guns to batter down gates, walls, and barricades.

All these remarks apply to the artillery which in every army is attached to the divisions. But the grandest results are obtained by the reserve artillery in great and decisive battles. Held back out of sight and out of range during the greater part of the day, it is brought forward in a mass upon the decisive point as soon as the time for the final effort has come. Formed in a crescent a mile or more in extent, it concentrates its destructive fire upon a comparatively small point. Unless an equivalent force of guns is there to meet it, half an hour's rapid firing settles the matter. The enemy begins to wither under the hailstorm of howling shot; the intact reserves of infantry advance—a last, sharp, short struggle, and the victory is won. Thus did Napoleon prepare Macdonald's advance at Wagram, and resistance was broken before the 3 divisions advancing in a column had fired a shot or crossed a bayonet. And since those great days only can the tactics of field artillery be said to exist.

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# Karl Marx

## BUGEAUD[252]

*Bugeaud de la Piconnerie,* Thomas Robert, duc d'Isly, marshal of France, born at Limoges, in Oct. 1784, died in Paris, June 10, 1849. He entered the French army as a private soldier in 1804, became a corporal during the campaign of 1805, served as sub-lieutenant in the campaign of Prussia and Poland (1806-'7), was present in 1811, as major, at the sieges of Lerida, Tortosa, and Tarragona, and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel after the battle of Ordal, in Catalonia.[253] After the first return of the Bourbons Col. Bugeaud celebrated the white lily[a] in some doggerel rhymes; but these poetical effusions being passed by rather contemptuously, he again embraced, during the Hundred Days,[254] the party of Napoleon, who sent him to the army of the Alps, at the head of the 14th regiment of the line. On the 2d return of the Bourbons he retired to Excideuil, to the estate of his father. At the time of the invasion of Spain by the duke of Angoulême[255] he offered his sword to the Bourbons, but the offer being declined, he turned liberal, and joined the movement which finally led to the revolution of 1830.

He was chosen as a member of the chamber of deputies in 1831, and made a major-general by Louis Philippe. Appointed governor of the citadel of Blaye in 1833, he had the duchess of Berry under his charge, but earned no honor from the manner in which he discharged his mission, and became afterward known by the name of the "ex-gaoler of Blaye." During the debates of the chamber of deputies on Jan. 25,[b] 1834, M. Larabit complaining of Soult's

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[a] Heraldic emblem of the Bourbon dynasty.—*Ed.*

[b] *The New American Cyclopaedia* has "Jan. 16".—*Ed.*

military dictatorship, and Bugeaud interrupting him with the words, "Obedience is the soldier's first duty," another deputy, M. Dulong, pungently asked, "What, if ordered to become a gaoler?" This incident led to a duel between Bugeaud and Dulong, in which the latter was shot.[256] The consequent exasperation of the Parisians was still heightened by his co-operation in suppressing the Paris insurrection of April 13 and 14, 1834.[257] The forces destined to suppress that insurrection were divided into 3 brigades, one of which Bugeaud commanded. In the *rue Transnonain* a handful of enthusiasts who still held a barricade on the morning of the 14th, when the serious part of the affair was over, were cruelly slaughtered by an overwhelming force. Although this spot lay without the circumscription made over to Bugeaud's brigade, and he, therefore, had not participated in the massacre, the hatred of the people nailed his name to the deed, and despite all declarations to the contrary, persisted in stigmatizing him as the "man of the *rue Transnonain.*"

Sent, June 6, 1836, to Algeria, Gen. Bugeaud became invested with a commanding position in the province of Oran, almost independent of the governor-general. Ordered to fight Abd-el-Kader, and to subdue him by the display of an imposing army, he concluded the treaty of the Tafna,[258] allowing the opportunity for military operations to slip away, and placing his army in a critical state before it had begun to act. Bugeaud fought several battles previous to this treaty. A secret article, not reduced to writing, stipulated that 30,000 boojoos (about $12,000) should be paid to Gen. Bugeaud. Called back to France, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general and appointed grand officer of the legion of honor. When the secret clause of the treaty of the Tafna oozed out, Louis Philippe authorized Bugeaud to expend the money on certain public roads, thus to increase his popularity among his electors and secure his seat in the chamber of deputies.

At the commencement of 1841 he was named governor-general of Algeria, and with his administration the policy of France in Algeria underwent a complete change. He was the first governor-general who had an army adequate to its task placed under his command, who exerted an absolute authority over the generals second in command, and who kept his post long enough to act up to a plan needing years for its execution. The battle of Isly (Aug. 14, 1844), in which he vanquished the army of the emperor of Morocco[a] with vastly inferior forces, owed its success

[a] Abd-ur-Rahman II.—*Ed.*

to his taking the Mussulmans by surprise, without any previous declaration of war, and when negotiations were on the eve of being concluded.[259] Already raised to the dignity of a marshal of France, July 17, 1843, Bugeaud was now created duke of Isly. Abd-el-Kader having, after his return to France, again collected an army, he was sent back to Algeria, where he promptly crushed the Arabian revolt. In consequence of differences between him and Guizot, occasioned by his expedition into Kabylia, which he had undertaken against ministerial orders, he was replaced by the duke of Aumale, and, according to Guizot's expression, "enabled to come and enjoy his glory in France."[a 260]

During the night of Feb. 23-24, 1848, he was, on the secret advice of Guizot, ordered into the presence of Louis Philippe, who conferred upon him the supreme command of the whole armed force—the line as well as the national guard. At noon of the 24th, followed by Gens. Rulhière, Bedeau, Lamoricière, De Salles, St. Arnaud, and others, he proceeded to the general staff at the Tuileries, there to be solemnly invested with the supreme command by the duke of Nemours. He reminded the officers present that he who was about to lead them against the Paris revolutionists "had never been beaten, neither on the battle-field nor in insurrections," and for this time again promised to make short work of the "rebel rabble." Meantime, the news of his nomination contributed much to give matters a decisive turn. The national guard, still more incensed by his appointment as supreme commander, broke out in the cry of "Down with Bugeaud!" "Down with the man of the *rue Transnonain*!" and positively declared that they would not obey his orders. Frightened by this demonstration, Louis Philippe withdrew his orders, and spent the 24th in vain negotiations. On Feb. 24, alone of Louis Philippe's council, Bugeaud still urged war to the knife; but the king already considered the sacrifice of the marshal as a means to make his own peace with the national guard. The command was consequently placed in other hands, and Bugeaud dismissed. Two days later he placed, but in vain, his sword at the command of the provisional government.[261]

When Louis Napoleon became president he conferred the command-in-chief of the army of the Alps upon Bugeaud, who was also elected by the department of Charente-Inférieure as representative in the national assembly. He published several

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[a] Quoted from D. Stern's *Histoire de la révolution de 1848* (p. 55). The quotations in the next paragraph are also from this book (pp. 147, 150).—*Ed.*

literary productions, which treat chiefly of Algeria.[a] In Aug. 1852, a monument was erected to him in Algiers, and also one in his native town.

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[a] Th. R. Bugeaud, *L'Algérie. Des moyens de conserver et d'utiliser cette conquête; De la colonisation de l'Algérie,* and others.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## BRUNE[262]

*Brune*, Guillaume Marie Anne, a marshal of the French empire, born at Brives-la-Gaillarde, March 13, 1763, died, in Avignon, Aug. 2, 1815. His father sent him to Paris to study the law, but on leaving the university, financial difficulties caused him to become a printer. In the beginning of the revolution, together with Gauthier and Jourgniac de St. Méard, he published the *Journal général de la Cour et de la Ville*. He soon embraced the party of the revolution, enlisted in the national guard, and became an ardent member of the club of the *cordeliers*.[263] His grand figure, martial air, and boisterous patriotism, rendered him one of the military leaders of the people in the demonstration of 1791 in the Champ de Mars, which was crushed by La Fayette's national guards.[264] Thrown into prison, and the rumor spreading that the partisans of the court had attempted to get rid of him by odious means, Danton was instrumental in procuring his release. To the protection of the latter, among whose partisans he became prominent, he owed a military appointment during the famous days of Sept. 1792,[265] and his sudden promotion, in Oct. 12, 1792, to the rank of colonel and adjutant-major. He served under Dumouriez in Belgium; was sent against the federalists of Calvados, advancing under Gen. Puisaye upon Paris, whom he easily defeated. He was next made a general of brigade, and participated in the battle of Hondschoote.[266] The committee of public safety intrusted him with the mission of putting down the insurrectionary movements in the Gironde, which he did with the utmost rigor.[267]

After Danton's imprisonment, he was expected to rush to the rescue of his friend and protector, but keeping prudently aloof during the first moments of danger, he contrived to shift through

the reign of terror. After the 9th Thermidor he again joined the now victorious Dantonists,[268] and followed Fréron to Marseilles and Avignon. On the 13th Vendémiaire (Oct. 5, 1795) he acted as one of Bonaparte's under-generals against the revolted sections of Paris.[269] After having assisted the directory in putting down the conspiracy of the camp at Grenelle (Sept. 9, 1796),[270] he entered the Italian army in the division of Masséna, and distinguished himself during the whole campaign by great intrepidity. Wishing to propitiate the chiefs of the *cordeliers,* Bonaparte attributed part of his success at Rivoli[271] to the exertions of Brune, appointed him general of division on the battle-field, and induced the directory to instal him as commander of the second division of the Italian army, made vacant by Augereau's departure for Paris.

After the peace of Campo Formio[272] he was employed by the directory on the mission of first lulling the Swiss into security, then dividing their councils, and finally, when an army had been concentrated for that purpose, falling upon the canton of Bern, and seizing its public treasury; on which occasion Brune forgot to draw up an inventory of the plunder. Again, by dint of manoeuvres, bearing a diplomatic rather than a military character, he forced Charles Emmanuel, the king of Sardinia, and the apparent ally of France, to deliver into his hands the citadel of Turin (July 3, 1798). The Batavian campaign,[273] which lasted about 2 months, forms the great event of Brune's military life. In this campaign he defeated the combined English and Russian forces, under the command of the duke of York, who capitulated to him, promising to restore all the French prisoners taken by the English from the commencement of the anti-Jacobinic war. After the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire,[274] Bonaparte appointed Brune a member of the newly created council of state, and then despatched him against the royalists of Brittany.

Sent in 1800 to the army of Italy, Brune occupied 3 hostile camps, intrenched on the Volta, drove the enemy beyond this river, and took measures for crossing it instantly. According to his orders, the army was to effect its passage at 2 points, the right wing under Gen. Dupont between a mill situated on the Volta and the village of Pozzolo, the left wing under Brune himself at Monbazon. The second part of the operations meeting with difficulties, Brune gave orders to delay its execution for 24 hours, although the right wing, which had commenced crossing on the other point, was already engaged with far superior Austrian forces. It was only due to Gen. Dupont's exertions that the right wing was not destroyed or captured, and thus the success of the

whole campaign imperilled. This blunder led to his recall to Paris.

From 1802 to 1804 he cut a sorry figure as ambassador at Constantinople, where his diplomatic talents were not, as in Switzerland and Piedmont, backed by bayonets. On his return to Paris, in Dec. 1804, Napoleon created him marshal in preference to generals like Lecourbe. Having for a while commanded the camp at Boulogne,[275] he was, in 1807, sent to Hamburg as governor of the Hanseatic towns, and as commander of the reserve of the grand army.[276] In this quality he vigorously seconded Bourrienne in his peculations. In order to settle some contested points of a truce concluded with Sweden at Schlatkow, he had a long personal interview with King Gustavus, who, in fact, proposed to him to betray his master. The manner in which he declined this offer raised the suspicions of Napoleon, who became highly incensed when Brune, drawing up a convention relating to the surrender of the island of Rügen to the French, mentioned simply the French and the Swedish armies as parties to the agreement, without any allusion to his "imperial and royal majesty."[a] Brune was instantly recalled by a letter of Berthier, in which the latter, on the express order of Napoleon, stated

"that such a scandal had never occurred since the days of Pharamond."[b]

On his return to France, he retired into private life. In 1814 he gave his adhesion to the acts of the senate,[277] and received the cross of St. Louis from Louis XVIII. During the Hundred Days[278] he became again a Bonapartist, and received the command of a corps of observation on the Var, where he displayed against the royalists the brutal vigor of his Jacobin epoch. After the battle of Waterloo[279] he proclaimed the king.[c] Starting from Toulon for Paris, he arrived at Avignon, on Aug. 2, at a moment when that town had for 15 days been doomed to carnage and incendiary fires by the royalist mob. Being recognized by them, he was shot, the mob seizing his corpse, dragging it through the streets, and throwing it into the Rhône.

"Brune, Masséna, Augereau, and many others," said Napoleon at St. Helena, "were intrepid depredators."[d]

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[a] "Capitulation de l'isle de Rugen, en date du 7 Sept. 1807" (G. F. Martens, *Recueil des principaux Traités,* I, t. VIII, pp. 695-96).—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted from the article "Brune" published in *Biographie universelle (Michaud) ancienne et moderne,* t. 6, p. 19.—*Ed.*

[c] Louis XVIII.—*Ed.*

[d] Las Cases, *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène.* Probably quoted from the article "Brune" published in *Biographie des célébrités militaires,* t. 1, p. 243.—*Ed.*

In regard to his military talents he remarks:

"Brune was not without a certain merit, but, on the whole, he was a *général de tribune* rather than a terrible warrior."[a]

A monument was erected to him in his native town in 1841.

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[a] A. H. Jomini, *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon,* t. 2, ch. VII, p. 64.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## BOLIVAR Y PONTE[280]

*Bolivar y Ponte, Simon,* the "liberator" of Colombia, born at Caracas, July 24, 1783, died at San Pedro, near Santa Martha, Dec. 17, 1830. He was the son of one of the *familias Mantuanas,* which, at the time of the Spanish supremacy, constituted the creole nobility in Venezuela. In compliance with the custom of wealthy Americans of those times, at the early age of 14 he was sent to Europe. From Spain he passed to France, and resided for some years in Paris. In 1802 he married in Madrid, and returned to Venezuela, where his wife died suddenly of yellow fever. After this he visited Europe a second time, and was present at Napoleon's coronation as emperor, in 1804, and at his assumption of the iron crown of Lombardy, in 1805.[281] In 1809 he returned home, and despite the importunities of Joseph Felix Ribas, his cousin, he declined to join in the revolution which broke out at Caracas, April 19, 1810[282]; but, after the event, he accepted a mission to London to purchase arms and solicit the protection of the British government. Apparently well received by the marquis of Wellesley, then secretary for foreign affairs, he obtained nothing beyond the liberty to export arms for ready cash with the payment of heavy duties upon them. On his return from London, he again withdrew to private life, until, Sept. 1811, he was prevailed upon by Gen. Miranda, then commander-in-chief of the insurgent land and sea forces, to accept the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the staff, and the command of Puerto Cabello, the strongest fortress of Venezuela.

The Spanish prisoners of war, whom Miranda used regularly to send to Puerto Cabello, to be confined in the citadel, having succeeded in overcoming their guards by surprise, and in seizing

the citadel, Bolivar, although they were unarmed, while he had a numerous garrison and large magazines, embarked precipitately in the night, with 8 of his officers, without giving notice to his own troops, arrived at daybreak at La Guayra, and retired to his estate at San Mateo. On becoming aware of their commander's flight, the garrison retired in good order from the place, which was immediately occupied by the Spaniards under Monteverde. This event turned the scale in favor of Spain, and obliged Miranda, on the authority of the congress, to sign the treaty of Vittoria, July 26, 1812, which restored Venezuela to the Spanish rule. On July 30 Miranda arrived at La Guayra, where he intended to embark on board an English vessel. On his visit to the commander of the place, Col. Manuel Maria Casas, he met with a numerous company, among whom were Don Miguel Peña and Simon Bolivar, who persuaded him to stay, for one night at least, in Casas's house. At 2 o'clock in the morning, when Miranda was soundly sleeping, Casas, Peña, and Bolivar entered his room, with 4 armed soldiers, cautiously seized his sword and pistol, then awakened him, abruptly told him to rise and dress himself, put him into irons, and had him finally surrendered to Monteverde, who dispatched him to Cadiz, where, after some years' captivity, he died in irons. This act, committed on the pretext that Miranda had betrayed his country by the capitulation of Vittoria, procured for Bolivar Monteverde's peculiar favor, so that when he demanded his passport, Monteverde declared,

> "Col. Bolivar's request should be complied with, as a reward for his having served the king of Spain by delivering up Miranda."[a]

He was thus allowed to sail for Curaçoa, where he spent 6 weeks, and proceeded, in company with his cousin Ribas, to the little republic of Carthagena. Previous to their arrival, a great number of soldiers, who had served under Gen. Miranda, had fled to Carthagena. Ribas proposed to them to undertake an expedition against the Spaniards in Venezuela, and to accept Bolivar as their commander-in-chief. The former proposition they embraced eagerly; to the latter they demurred, but at last yielded, on the condition of Ribas being the second in command. Manuel Rodriguez Torrices, the president of the republic of Carthagena, added to the 800 soldiers thus enlisted under Bolivar, 500 men under the command of his cousin, Manuel Castillo. The expedition started in the beginning of Jan. 1813. Dissensions as to the

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[a] Quoted from *Memoirs of General Miller*, Vol. 2, pp. 277-78.—*Ed.*

supreme command breaking out between Bolivar and Castillo, the latter suddenly decamped with his grenadians. Bolivar, on his part, proposed to follow Castillo's example, and return to Carthagena, but Ribas persuaded him at length to pursue his course at least as far as Bogota, at that time the seat of the congress of New Granada. They were well received, supported in every way, and were both made generals by the congress, and, after having divided their little army into 2 columns, they marched by different routes upon Caracas. The further they advanced, the stronger grew their resources; the cruel excesses of the Spaniards acting everywhere as the recruiting sergeants for the army of the independents. The power of resistance on the part of the Spaniards was broken, partly by the circumstance of $^3/_4$ of their army being composed of natives, who bolted on every encounter to the opposite ranks, partly by the cowardice of such generals as Tiscar, Cajigal, and Fierro, who, on every occasion, deserted their own troops. Thus it happened that San Iago Mariño, an ignorant youth, had contrived to dislodge the Spaniards from the provinces of Cumana and Barcelona, at the very time that Bolivar was advancing through the western provinces. The only serious resistance, on the part of the Spaniards, was directed against the column of Ribas, who, however, routed Gen. Monteverde at Lostaguanes, and forced him to shut himself up in Puerto Cabello with the remainder of his troops.

On hearing of Bolivar's approach, Gen. Fierro, the governor of Caracas, sent deputies to propose a capitulation, which was concluded at Vittoria; but Fierro, struck by a sudden panic, and not expecting the return of his own emissaries, secretly decamped in the night, leaving more than 1,500 Spaniards at the discretion of the enemy. Bolivar was now honored with a public triumph. Standing in a triumphal car, drawn by 12 young ladies, dressed in white, adorned with the national colors, and all selected from the first families of Caracas, Bolivar, bareheaded, in full uniform, and wielding a small baton in his hand, was, in about half an hour, dragged from the entrance of the city to his residence. Having proclaimed himself "dictator and liberator of the western provinces of Venezuela"—Mariño had assumed the title of "dictator of the eastern provinces"—he created "the order of the liberator," established a choice corps of troops under the name of his body-guard, and surrounded himself with the show of a court. But, like most of his countrymen, he was averse to any prolonged exertion, and his dictatorship soon proved a military anarchy, leaving the most important affairs in the hands of favorites, who

squandered the finances of the country, and then resorted to odious means in order to restore them. The new enthusiasm of the people was thus turned to dissatisfaction, and the scattered forces of the enemy were allowed to recover. While, in the beginning of Aug. 1813, Monteverde was shut up in the fortress of Puerto Cabello, and the Spanish army reduced to the possession of a small strip of land in the north-western part of Venezuela, 4 months later, in December, the liberator's prestige was gone, and Caracas itself threatened, by the sudden appearance in its neighborhood of the victorious Spaniards under Boves. To strengthen his tottering power, Bolivar assembled, Jan. 1, 1814, a junta of the most influential inhabitants of Caracas, declaring himself to be unwilling any longer to bear the burden of dictatorship. Hurtado Mendoza, on the other hand, argued, in a long oration,

> "the necessity of leaving the supreme power in the hands of Gen. Bolivar, until the congress of New Granada could meet, and Venezuela be united under one government." [a]

This proposal was accepted, and the dictatorship was thus invested with some sort of legal sanction.

The war with the Spaniards was, for some time, carried on in a series of small actions, with no decisive advantage to either of the contending parties. In June, 1814, Boves marched with his united forces from Calabozo on La Puerta, where the two dictators, Bolivar and Mariño, had formed a junction, met them, and ordered an immediate attack. After some resistance, Bolivar fled toward Caracas, while Mariño disappeared in the direction of Cumana. Puerto Cabello and Valencia fell into the hands of Boves, who then detached 2 columns (1 of them under the command of Col. Gonzales), by different roads, upon Caracas. Ribas tried in vain to oppose the advance of Gonzales. On the surrender of Caracas to Gonzales, July 17, 1814, Bolivar evacuated La Guayra, ordered the vessels lying in the harbor of that town to sail for Cumana, and retreated with the remainder of his troops upon Barcelona. After a defeat inflicted on the insurgents by Boves, Aug. 8, 1814, at Arguita, Bolivar left his troops the same night secretly to hasten, through by-roads, to Cumana, where, despite the angry protests of Ribas, he at once embarked on board the *Bianchi*, together with Mariño and some other officers. If Ribas, Paez, and other generals had followed the dictators in their flight,

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[a] Quoted from Ducoudray Holstein, *Memoirs of Simon Bolivar,* Vol. I, pp. 170-71.—*Ed.*

every thing would have been lost. Treated by Gen. Arismendi, on their arrival at Juan Griego, in the island of Margarita, as deserters, and ordered to depart, they sailed for Carupano, whence, meeting with a similar reception on the part of Col. Bermúdez, they steered toward Carthagena. There, to palliate their flight, they published a justificatory memoir,[a] in high-sounding phraseology.

Having joined a plot for the overthrow of the government of Carthagena, Bolivar had to leave that little republic, and proceeded to Tunja, where the congress of the federalist republic of New Granada was sitting.[283] At that time the province of Cundinamarca stood at the head of the independent provinces which refused to adopt the Granadian federal compact, while Quito, Pasto, Santa Martha, and other provinces, still remained in the power of the Spaniards. Bolivar, who arrived at Tunja Nov. 22, 1814, was created by the congress commander-in-chief of the federalist forces, and received the double mission of forcing the president of the province of Cundinamarca to acknowledge the authority of the congress, and of then marching against Santa Martha, the only fortified seaport the Spaniards still retained in New Granada. The first point was easily carried, Bogota, the capital of the disaffected province, being a defenceless town. In spite of its capitulation, Bolivar allowed it to be sacked during 48 hours by his troops. At Santa Martha, the Spanish general Montalvo, having a feeble garrison of less than 200 men, and a fortress in a miserable state of defence, had already bespoken a French vessel, in order to secure his own flight, while the inhabitants of the town sent word to Bolivar that on his appearance they would open the gates and drive out the garrison. But instead of marching, as he was ordered by the congress, against the Spaniards at Santa Martha, he indulged his rancor against Castillo, the commander of Carthagena, took upon himself to lead his troops against the latter town, which constituted an integral part of the federal republic. Beaten back, he encamped upon La Papa, a large hill, about gun-shot distance from Carthagena, and established a single small cannon as a battery against a place provided with about 80 guns. He afterward converted the siege into a blockade, which lasted till the beginning of May without any other result than that of reducing his army, by desertion and malady, from 2,400 men to about 700. Meanwhile a great Spanish expedition from Cadiz had arrived, March 25, 1815,

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[a] On September 30, 1814.—*Ed.*

under Gen. Morillo, at the island of Margarita, and had been able to throw powerful reenforcements into Santa Martha, and soon after to take Carthagena itself. Previously, however, Bolivar had embarked for Jamaica, May 10, 1815, with about a dozen of his officers, on an armed English brig. Having arrived at the place of refuge, he again published a proclamation,[a] representing himself as the victim of some secret enemy or faction, and defending his flight before the approaching Spaniards as a resignation of command out of deference for the public peace.

During his 8 months' stay at Kingston, the generals he had left in Venezuela, and Gen. Arismendi in the island of Margarita, stanchly held their ground against the Spanish arms. But Ribas, from whom Bolivar had derived his reputation, having been shot by the Spaniards after the capture of Maturin, there appeared in his stead another man on the stage, of still greater abilities, who, being as a foreigner unable to play an independent part in the South American revolution, finally resolved to act under Bolivar. This was Louis Brion. To bring aid to the revolutionists, he had sailed from London for Carthagena with a corvette of 24 guns, equipped in great part at his own expense, with 14,000 stand of arms and a great quantity of military stores. Arriving too late to be useful in that quarter, he reembarked for Cayes, in Hayti,[284] whither many emigrant patriots had repaired after the surrender of Carthagena. Bolivar, meanwhile, had also departed from Kingston to Porte au Prince, where, on his promise of emancipating the slaves, Pétion, the president of Hayti, offered him large supplies for a new expedition against the Spaniards in Venezuela. At Cayes he met Brion and the other emigrants, and in a general meeting proposed himself as the chief of the new expedition, on the condition of uniting the civil and military power in his person until the assembling of a general congress. The majority accepting his terms, the expedition sailed April 16, 1816, with him as its commander and Brion as its admiral. At Margarita the former succeeded in winning over Arismendi, the commander of the island, in which he had reduced the Spaniards to the single spot of Pampatar. On Bolivar's formal promise to convoke a national congress at Venezuela, as soon as he should be master of the country, Arismendi summoned a junta in the cathedral of La Villa del Norte, and publicly proclaimed him the commander-in-chief of the republics of Venezuela and New Granada. On May 31, 1816, Bolivar landed at Carupano, but did not dare prevent Mariño and

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[a] On May 9, 1815.—*Ed.*

Piar from separating from him, and carrying on a war against Cumana under their own auspices. Weakened by this separation, he set sail, on Brion's advice, for Ocumare, where he arrived July 3, 1816, with 13 vessels, of which 7 only were armed. His army mustered but 650 men, swelled, by the enrolment of negroes whose emancipation he had proclaimed, to about 800. At Ocumare he again issued a proclamation, promising

"to exterminate the tyrants" and to "convoke the people to name their deputies to congress."[a]

On his advance in the direction of Valencia he met, not far from Ocumare, the Spanish general Morales at the head of about 200 soldiers and 100 militia men. The skirmishers of Morales having dispersed his advanced guard, he lost, as an eye-witness records,

"all presence of mind, spoke not a word, turned his horse quickly round, and fled in full speed toward Ocumare, passed the village at full gallop, arrived at the neighboring bay, jumped from his horse, got into a boat, and embarked on the *Diana*, ordering the whole squadron to follow him to the little island of Buen Ayre, and leaving all his companions without any means of assistance."[b]

On Brion's rebukes and admonitions, he again joined the other commanders on the coast of Cumana, but being harshly received, and threatened by Piar with trial before a court-martial as a deserter and a coward, he quickly retraced his steps to Cayes. After months of exertion, Brion at length succeeded in persuading a majority of the Venezuelan military chiefs, who felt the want of at least a nominal centre, to recall Bolivar as their general-in-chief, upon the express condition that he should assemble a congress, and not meddle with the civil administration. Dec. 31, 1816, he arrived at Barcelona with the arms, munitions of war, and provisions supplied by Pétion. Joined, Jan. 2, 1817, by Arismendi, he proclaimed on the 4th martial law and the union of all powers in his single person; but 5 days later, when Arismendi had fallen into an ambush laid by the Spaniards, the dictator fled to Barcelona. The troops rallied at the latter place, whither Brion sent him also guns and reenforcements, so that he soon mustered a new corps of 1,100 men. April 5, the Spaniards took possession of the town of Barcelona, and the patriot troops retreated toward the charity-house, a building isolated from Barcelona, and

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[a] This quotation from Bolivar's proclamation of July 6, 1816, "To the Inhabitants of Venezuela", is given according to Ducoudray Holstein's book, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 6.—*Ed.*

[b] Ducoudray Holstein, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 10-11.—*Ed.*

intrenched on Bolivar's order, but unfit to shelter a garrison of 1,000 men from a serious attack. He left the post in the night of April 5, informing Col. Freites, to whom he transferred his command, that he was going in search of more troops, and would soon return. Trusting this promise, Freites declined the offer of a capitulation, and, after the assault, was slaughtered with the whole garrison by the Spaniards.

Piar, a man of color and native of Curaçao, conceived and executed the conquest of the provinces of Guiana; Admiral Brion supporting that enterprise with his gun-boats. July 20, the whole of the provinces being evacuated by the Spaniards, Piar, Brion, Zea, Mariño, Arismendi, and others, assembled a provincial congress at Angostura, and put at the head of the executive a triumvirate, of which Brion, hating Piar and deeply interested in Bolivar, in whose success he had embarked his large private fortune, contrived that the latter should be appointed a member, notwithstanding his absence. On these tidings Bolivar left his retreat for Angostura, where, emboldened by Brion, he dissolved the congress and the triumvirate, to replace them by a "supreme council of the nation," with himself as the chief, Brion and Antonio Francisco Zea as the directors, the former of the military, the latter of the political section. However, Piar, the conqueror of Guiana, who once before had threatened to try him before a court-martial as a deserter, was not sparing of his sarcasms against the "Napoleon of the retreat," and Bolivar consequently accepted a plan for getting rid of him. On the false accusation of having conspired against the whites, plotted against Bolivar's life, and aspired to the supreme power, Piar was arraigned before a war council under the presidency of Brion, convicted, condemned to death, and shot, Oct. 16, 1817. His death struck Mariño with terror. Fully aware of his own nothingness when deprived of Piar, he, in a most abject letter, publicly calumniated his murdered friend, deprecated his own attempts at rivalry with the liberator, and threw himself upon Bolivar's inexhaustible fund of magnanimity.

The conquest by Piar of Guiana had completely changed the situation in favor of the patriots; that single province affording them more resources than all the other 7 provinces of Venezuela together. A new campaign, announced by Bolivar through a new proclamation,[a] was, therefore, generally expected to result in the

[a] The proclamation of February 7, 1818 entitled "To the Inhabitants of the Plains". The proclamation and a passage from it that follows below are quoted from Ducoudray Holstein's book, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 74-75.—*Ed.*

final expulsion of the Spaniards. This first bulletin, which described some small Spanish foraging parties withdrawing from Calabozo as "armies flying before our victorious troops," was not calculated to damp these hopes. Against about 4,000 Spaniards, whose junction had not yet been effected by Morillo, he mustered more than 9,000 men, well armed, equipped, and amply furnished with all the necessaries of war. Nevertheless, toward the end of May, 1818, he had lost about a dozen battles and all the provinces lying on the northern side of the Orinoco. Scattering as he did his superior forces, they were always beaten in detail. Leaving the conduct of the war to Paez and his other subordinates, he retired to Angostura. Defection followed upon defection, and every thing seemed to be drifting to utter ruin. At this most critical moment, a new combination of fortunate accidents again changed the face of affairs. At Angostura he met with Santander, a native of New Granada, who begged for the means of invading that territory, where the population were prepared for a general rise against the Spaniards. This request, to some extent, he complied with, while powerful succors in men, vessels, and munitions of war, poured in from England, and English, French, German, and Polish officers, flocked to Angostura. Lastly, Dr. German Roscio, dismayed at the declining fortune of the South American revolution, stepped forward, laid hold of Bolivar's mind, and induced him to convene, Feb. 15, 1819, a national congress, the mere name of which proved powerful enough to create a new army of about 14,000 men, so that Bolivar found himself enabled to resume the offensive.

The foreign officers suggested to him the plan of making a display of an intention to attack Caracas, and free Venezuela from the Spanish yoke, and thus inducing Morillo to weaken New Granada and concentrate his forces upon Venezuela, while he (Bolivar) should suddenly turn to the west, unite with Santander's guerillas, and march upon Bogota. To execute this plan, he left Angostura Feb. 24, 1819, after having nominated Zea president of the congress and vice-president of the republic during his absence. By the manoeuvres of Paez, Morillo and La Torre were routed at Achaguas, and would have been destroyed if Bolivar had effected a junction between his own troops and those of Paez and Mariño. At all events, the victories of Paez led to the occupation of the province of Barima, which opened to Bolivar the way into New Granada. Every thing being here prepared by Santander, the foreign troops, consisting mainly of Englishmen, decided the fate of New Granada by the successive victories won July 1 and 23, and

Aug. 7, in the province of Tunja.[285] Aug. 12, Bolivar made a triumphal entry into Bogota, while the Spaniards, all the Granadian provinces having risen against them, shut themselves up in the fortified town of Mompox.

Having regulated the Granadian congress at Bogota, and installed Gen. Santander as commander-in-chief, Bolivar marched toward Pamplona, where he spent about 2 months in festivals and balls. Nov. 3, he arrived at Montecal, in Venezuela, whither he had directed the patriotic chieftains of that territory to assemble with their troops. With a treasury of about $2,000,000, raised from the inhabitants of New Granada by forced contributions, and with a disposable force of about 9,000 men, the 3d part of whom consisted of well disciplined English, Irish, Hanoverians, and other foreigners, he had now to encounter an enemy stripped of all resources and reduced to a nominal force of about 4,500 men, $^2/_3$ of whom were natives, and, therefore, not to be relied upon by the Spaniards. Morillo withdrawing from San Fernando de Apure to San Carlos, Bolivar followed him up to Calabozo, so that the hostile head-quarters were only 2 days' march from each other. If Bolivar had boldly advanced, the Spaniards would have been crushed by his European troops alone, but he preferred protracting the war for 5 years longer.

In October, 1819, the congress of Angostura had forced Zea, his nominee, to resign his office, and chosen Arismendi in his place. On receiving this news, Bolivar suddenly marched his foreign legion toward Angostura, surprised Arismendi, who had 600 natives only, exiled him to the island of Margarita, and restored Zea to his dignities. Dr. Roscio, fascinating him with the prospects of centralized power, led him to proclaim the "republic of Colombia," comprising New Granada and Venezuela, to publish a fundamental law for the new state, drawn up by Roscio, and to consent to the establishment of a common congress for both provinces. On Jan. 20, 1820, he had again returned to San Fernando de Apure. His sudden withdrawal of the foreign legion, which was more dreaded by the Spaniards than 10 times the number of Colombians, had given Morillo a new opportunity to collect reenforcements, while the tidings of a formidable expedition to start from Spain under O'Donnell raised the sinking spirits of the Spanish party. Notwithstanding his vastly superior forces, Bolivar contrived to accomplish nothing during the campaign of 1820. Meanwhile the news arrived from Europe that the revolution in the Isla de Leon[286] had put a forcible end to O'Donnell's intended expedition. In New Granada 15 provinces

out of 22 had joined the government of Colombia, and the Spaniards now held there only the fortresses of Carthagena and the isthmus of Panama. In Venezuela 6 provinces out of 8 obeyed the laws of Colombia. Such was the state of things when Bolivar allowed himself to be inveigled by Morillo into negotiations resulting, Nov. 25, 1820, in the conclusion at Truxillo of a truce for 6 months. In the truce no mention was made of the republic of Colombia, although the congress had expressly forbidden any treaty to be concluded with the Spanish commander before the acknowledgment on his part of the independence of the republic.

Dec. 17, Morillo, anxious to play his part in Spain, embarked at Puerto Cabello, leaving the command-in-chief to Miguel de la Torre, and on March 10, 1821, Bolivar notified La Torre, by letter, that hostilities should recommence at the expiration of 30 days. The Spaniards had taken a strong position at Carabobo, a village situated about half-way betwen San Carlos and Valencia; but La Torre, instead of uniting there all his forces, had concentrated only his 1st division, 2,500 infantry and about 1,500 cavalry, while Bolivar had about 6,000 infantry, among them the British legion, mustering 1,100 men, and 3,000 llaneros[287] on horseback, under Paez. The enemy's position seemed so formidable to Bolivar, that he proposed to his council of war to make a new armistice, which, however, was rejected by his subalterns. At the head of a column mainly consisting of the British legion, Paez turned through a footpath the right wing of the enemy, after the successful execution of which manoeuvre, La Torre was the first of the Spaniards to run away, taking no rest till he reached Puerto Cabello, where he shut himself up with the remainder of his troops. Puerto Cabello itself must have surrendered on a quick advance of the victorious army, but Bolivar lost his time in exhibiting himself at Valencia and Caracas. Sept. 21, 1821, the strong fortress of Carthagena capitulated to Santander. The last feats of arms in Venezuela, the naval action at Maracaibo, in Aug. 1823, and the forced surrender of Puerto Cabello, July, 1824, were both the work of Padilla. The revolution of the Isla de Leon, which prevented O'Donnell's expedition from starting, and the assistance of the British legion, had evidently turned the scale in favor of the Colombians.

The Colombian congress opened its sittings in Jan. 1821, at Cucuta, published, Aug. 30, a new constitution, and after Bolivar had again pretended to resign, renewed his powers. Having signed the new constitution, he obtained leave to undertake the campaign of Quito (1822), to which province the Spaniards had retired after

their ejection by a general rising of the people from the isthmus of Panama.[288] This campaign, ending in the incorporation of Quito, Pasto, and Guayaquil into Colombia, was nominally led by Bolivar and Gen. Sucre, but the few successes of the corps were entirely owed to British officers, such as Col. Sands. During the campaigns of 1823-'24, against the Spaniards in upper and lower Peru,[a] he no longer thought it necessary to keep up the appearance of generalship, but leaving the whole military task to Gen. Sucre, limited himself to triumphal entries, manifestos, and the proclamation of constitutions. Through his Colombian body-guard, he swayed the votes of the congress of Lima, which, Feb. 10, 1823, transferred to him the dictatorship, while he secured his reelection as president of Colombia by a new tender of resignation. His position had meanwhile become strengthened, what with the formal recognition of the new state on the part of England, what with Sucre's conquest of the provinces of upper Peru, which the latter united into an independent republic, under the name of Bolivia. Here, where Sucre's bayonets were supreme, Bolivar gave full scope to his propensities for arbitrary power, by introducing the "Bolivian Code," an imitation of the *Code Napoléon.*[289] It was his plan to transplant that code from Bolivia to Peru, and from Peru to Colombia—to keep the former states in check by Colombian troops, and the latter by the foreign legion and Peruvian soldiers. By force, mingled with intrigue, he succeeded indeed, for some weeks at least, in fastening his code upon Peru. The president and liberator of Colombia, the protector and dictator of Peru, and the godfather of Bolivia, he had now reached the climax of his renown. But a serious antagonism had broken out in Colombia, between the centralists or Bolivarists and the federalists, under which latter name the enemies of military anarchy had coalesced with his military rivals. The Colombian congress having, at his instigation, proposed an act of accusation against Paez, the vice-president of Venezuela, the latter broke out into open revolt, secretly sustained and pushed on by Bolivar himself, who wanted insurrections, to furnish him a pretext for overthrowing the constitution and reassuming the dictatorship. Beside his body-guard, he led, on his return from Peru, 1,800 Peruvians, ostensibly against the federalist rebels. At Puerto Cabello, however, where he met Paez, he not only confirmed him in his command of Venezuela, and issued a proclamation of amnesty to all the rebels, but openly took their part and rebuked

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[a] See this volume, pp. 170-71.—*Ed.*

the friends of the constitution; and by decree at Bogota, Nov. 23, 1826, he assumed dictatorial powers.

In the year 1826, from which the decline of his power dates, he contrived to assemble a congress at Panama, with the ostensible object of establishing a new democratic international code.[290] Plenipotentiaries came from Colombia, Brazil, La Plata, Bolivia, Mexico, Guatemala, &c. What he really aimed at was the erection of the whole of South America into one federative republic, with himself as its dictator. While thus giving full scope to his dreams of attaching half a world to his name, his real power was rapidly slipping from his grasp. The Colombian troops in Peru, informed of his making arrangements for the introduction of the Bolivian code, promoted a violent insurrection. The Peruvians elected Gen. Lamar as the president of their republic, assisted the Bolivians in driving out the Colombian troops, and even waged a victorious war against Colombia, which ended in a treaty reducing the latter to its primitive limits, stipulating the equality of the 2 countries, and separating their debts.[291] The congress of Ocaña, convoked by Bolivar, with a view to modify the constitution in favor of his arbitrary power, was opened March 2, 1828, by an elaborate address, insisting on the necessity of new privileges for the executive. When, however, it became evident that the amended project of the constitution would come out of the convention quite different from its original form, his friends vacated their seats, by which proceeding the body was left without a quorum, and thus became extinct. From a country-seat, some miles distant from Ocaña, to which he had retreated, he published another manifesto,[a] pretending to be incensed at the step taken by his own friends, but at the same time attacking the convention, calling on the provinces to recur to extraordinary measures, and declaring that he was ready to submit to any load of power which might be heaped upon him. Under the pressure of his bayonets, popular assemblies at Caracas, Carthagena, and Bogota, to which latter place he had repaired, anew invested him with dictatorial power. An attempt to assassinate him in his sleeping room at Bogota, which he escaped only by leaping in the dark from the balcony of the window, and lying concealed under a bridge, allowed him for some time to introduce a sort of military terrorism. He did not, however, lay hands on Santander, although he had participated in the conspiracy, while he put to death Gen. Padilla, whose guilt was not proved at all, but who, as a man of color, was not able to resist.

[a] On June 12, 1828.—*Ed.*

Violent factions disturbing the republic in 1829, in a new appeal to the citizens,[a] Bolivar invited them to frankly express their wishes as to the modifications to be introduced into the constitution. An assembly of notables at Caracas answered by denouncing his ambition, laying bare the weakness of his administration, declaring the separation of Venezuela from Colombia, and placing Paez at the head of that republic. The senate of Colombia stood by Bolivar, but other insurrections broke out at different points. Having resigned for the 5th time, in Jan. 1830, he again accepted the presidency, and left Bogota to wage war on Paez in the name of the Colombian congress. Toward the end of March, 1830, he advanced at the head of 8,000 men, took Caracuta, which had revolted, and then turned upon the province of Maracaibo, where Paez awaited him with 12,000 men, in a strong position. As soon as he became aware that Paez meant serious fighting, his courage collapsed. For a moment he even thought to subject himself to Paez, and declare against the congress; but the influence of his partisans at the congress vanished, and he was forced to tender his resignation, notice being given to him that he must now stand by it, and that an annual pension would be granted to him on the condition of his departure for foreign countries. He accordingly sent his resignation to the congress, April 27, 1830. But hoping to regain power by the influence of his partisans, and a reaction setting in against Joachim Mosquera, the new president of Colombia, he effected his retreat from Bogota in a very slow manner, and contrived, under a variety of pretexts, to prolong his sojourn at San Pedro, until the end of 1830, when he suddenly died.

The following is the portrait given of him by Ducoudray Holstein:

"Simon Bolivar is 5 feet 4 inches in height, his visage is long, his cheeks hollow, his complexion livid brown; his eyes are of a middle size, and sunk deep in his head, which is covered thinly with hair. His mustaches give him a dark and wild aspect, particularly when he is in a passion. His whole body is thin and meagre. He has the appearance of a man 65 years old. In walking, his arms are in continual motion. He cannot walk long, but becomes soon fatigued. He likes his hammock, where he sits or lolls. He gives way to sudden gusts of resentment, and becomes in a moment a madman, throws himself into his hammock, and utters curses and imprecations upon all around him. He likes to indulge in sarcasms upon absent persons, reads only light French literature, is a bold rider, and passionately fond of waltzing. He is fond of hearing himself talk and giving toasts. In adversity, and destitute of aid from without, he is perfectly free from passion and violence of temper. He then becomes mild, patient, docile, and even submissive. In a great

[a] Of January 20, 1830.—*Ed.*

measure he conceals his faults under the politeness of a man educated in the so-called *beau monde,* possesses an almost Asiatic talent for dissimulation, and understands mankind better than the mass of his countrymen."[a]

By decree of the congress of New Granada, his remains were removed in 1842 to Caracas, and a monument erected there in his honor.

See *Histoire de Bolivar, par le Gén. Ducoudray Holstein; continuée jusqu'a sa mort par Alphonse Viollet* (Paris, 1831), *Memoirs of Gen. John Miller* (*in the service of the Republic of Peru*)[292]; Col. Hippisley's "Account of his Journey to the Orinoco" (Lond. 1819).

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[a] op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 232-36.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## CAMPAIGN[293]

This term is very often used to denote the military operations which are carried on during a war within a single year; but if these operations take place on 2 or more independent seats of war, it would be scarcely logical to comprise the whole of them under the head of one campaign. Thus what may be loosely called the campaign of 1800 comprises 2 distinct campaigns, conducted each quite independently of the other: the campaign of Italy (Marengo), and the campaign of Germany (Hohenlinden).[294] On the other hand, since the almost total disuse of winter quarters, the end of the year does not always mark the boundary between the close of one distinct series of warlike operations and the commencement of another. There are nowadays many other military and political considerations far more important in war than the change of the seasons. Thus each of the campaigns of 1800 consists of 2 distinct portions: a general armistice extending over the time from July to September divides them, and although the campaign of Germany is brought to a close in Dec. 1800, yet that of Italy continues during the first half of Jan. 1801. Clausewitz justly observes that the campaign of 1812 does evidently not end with Dec. 31 of that year, when the French were still on the Niemen, and in full retreat, but with their arrival behind the Elbe in Feb. 1813, where they again collected their forces, the impetus which drove them homeward having ceased.[a] Still, winter remaining always a season during which fatigue and exposure will, in our latitudes, reduce active armies at an excessive rate, a mutual suspension of operations and recruiting of strength

[a] C. Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege* (*Hinterlassene Werke,* Bd. 2, 1833, S. 6).—*Ed.*

very often coincide with that time of the year; and although a campaign, in the strict sense of the word, means a series of warlike operations closely connected together by one strategical plan and directed toward one strategetical object, campaigns may still in most cases very conveniently be named by the year in which their decisive actions are fought.

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## CANNONADE

*Cannonade,* in a general sense, the act of firing artillery during a battle or a siege. As a technical expression in tactics, a cannonade means an engagement between 2 armies in which the artillery alone is active, and the other arms are either passive or do not, at least, overstep the bounds of mere demonstration. The most celebrated instance of this kind is the cannonade of Valmy, in 1792.[295] Kellermann awaited the attack of the Prussian army on a range of heights, his artillery placed in front of his troops. The Prussians drew up on the opposite range of the hills, brought forward their artillery, and the cannonade began. Several times the Prussian infantry formed for the attack and advanced a little; but, the French remaining firm, the Prussians withdrew again before coming within musket range. Thus the day passed, and the next day the Prussian army began their general retreat. In most general engagements such cannonades occur. They often form the 1st act of the performance; they serve to fill up the intervals between a repulsed attack and another attempt to dislodge the enemy; and they form the *finale* of most drawn battles. In most cases they serve more for purposes of demonstration than for any thing else, causing by a great waste of ammunition at long ranges that almost incredibly small proportion of hits to misses which characterizes the artillery practice of modern battles.

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# Frederick Engels

## CAPTAIN

*Captain,* the rank designating a commander of a company in infantry, or of a squadron or troop in cavalry, or the chief officer of a ship of war. In most continental armies in Europe captains are considered subalterns; in the British army they form an intermediate rank between the field officer and the subaltern, the latter term comprising those commissioned officers only whose rank does not imply a direct and constant command. In the U.S. army the captain is responsible for the arms, ammunition, clothing, &c., of the company under his command. The duties of a captain in the navy are very comprehensive, and his post is one of great responsibility. In the British service he ranks with a lieut.-colonel in the army, until the expiration of 3 years from the date of his commission, when he takes rank with a full colonel. In the old French service he was forbidden to leave his ship under pain of death, and was to blow it up rather than let it fall into the hands of an enemy. The title of captain is also applied to masters of merchant or passenger vessels, and to various petty officers on ships of the line, as captain of the forecastle, of the hold, of the main and fore tops, &c. The word is of Italian origin, meaning a man who is at the head of something, and in this sense it is often used as synonymous with a general-in-chief, especially as regards his qualities for command.

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# Frederick Engels

## CARABINE [296]

*Carabine*, or *carbine*, a short barrelled musket adapted to the use of cavalry. In order to admit of its being easily loaded on horseback, the barrel ought not to be more than 2 feet 6 inches long, unless it be breech-loading; and to be easily managed with one hand only, its weight must be less than that of an infantry musket. The bore, too, is in most services rather less than that of the infantry fire-arm. The carabine may have either a smooth or a rifled bore; in the first case, its effect will be considerably inferior to that of the common musket; in the second, it will exceed it in precision for moderate distances. In the British service, the cavalry carry smooth-bored carabines; in the Russian cavalry, the light horse all have rifled carabines, while of the cuirassiers $^1/_4$ have rifled, and the remaining $^3/_4$ smooth barrels to their carabines. The artillery, too, in some services (French and British especially), carry carabines; those of the British are on the principle of the new Enfield rifle.[a] Carabine-firing was at one time the principal mode of cavalry fighting, but now it is principally used on outpost duty, and with cavalry skirmishing. In French military works, the expression *carabine* always means an infantry rifle, while for a cavalry carabine the word *mousqueton* is adopted.

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[a] On the Enfield rifle see Engels' work *The History of the Rifle* in this volume. — *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## CARCASS

*Carcass,* a shell filled with inflammable composition, the flame of which issues through 3 or 4 holes, and is so violent that it can scarcely be extinguished. They are thrown from mortars, howitzers, and guns, in the same way as common shells, and burn from 8 to 10 minutes. The composition is either melted over a fire, and poured hot into the shell, or it is worked into a compact mass by the aid of liquid grease, and then crammed into the shell. The fuse holes are stopped with corks or wooden stoppers, through which a tube, filled with fuse-composition, passes into the shell. Formerly these carcasses were cast with a partition or diaphragm, like the present shrapnell shells, the bottom part being destined to receive a bursting charge of gunpowder; but this complication is now done away with. Another kind of carcasses was formerly in use, constructed like a light ball, on two circular iron hoops, crossing each other at right angles, over which canvas was spread, thus forming an imperfectly spheroidal body, which was filled with a similar composition, containing mostly gunpowder and pitch. These carcasses, however, have been abandoned, because their great lightness made it almost impossible to throw them to any distance, or with any precision. The compositions for filling our modern carcasses vary considerably, but they each and all consist chiefly of saltpetre and sulphur, mixed with a resinous or fatty substance. Thus the Prussian service uses 75 parts saltpetre, 25 parts sulphur, 7 parts mealed powder, and 33 parts colophony. The British use saltpetre 100 parts, sulphur 40 parts, rosin 30 parts, antimony 10 parts, tallow 10 parts, turpentine 10 parts. Carcasses are chiefly used in bombardments, and sometimes

against shipping, though in this latter use they have been almost entirely superseded by red-hot shot, which is easier prepared, of greater precision and of far more incendiary effect.

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## CARRONADE

*Carronade,* a short piece of iron ordnance, first constructed at the Carron foundery, Scotland, in 1779, for the use of the British navy, and first employed against the United States.[297] The carronades have no trunnions, but a loop under the middle of the piece, by which they are fastened to the carriage. The bore has a chamber, and the muzzle is scooped out like a cup. They are very short and light, there being about 60 or 70 lbs. of the gun to 1 lb. of the weight of the solid shot, the length varying from 7 to 8 calibres. The charge, consequently, cannot but be weak, and ranges from $^1/_{16}$ to $^1/_8$ the weight of the shot.

Carronades, on their first introduction, found great favor with naval men. Their lightness and insignificant recoil allowed great numbers of them to be placed on board the small men-of-war of those times. Their ranges appeared proportionably great, which was caused: 1, by a reduced windage, and, 2, by their great angle of dispart, arising from the thickness of metal around the breech, and the shortness of the gun; and the great weight of metal projected by them rendered them at close quarters very formidable. They were adopted in the U.S. service about 1800. It was, however, soon discovered that this kind of cannon could not compete with longer and heavier guns, throwing their projectiles with full charge and at low elevations. Thus, it has been ascertained that the common long guns of the British service have at 2° elevation, and the shell guns at 3°, the same range as the carronades of corresponding calibre at 5° (viz., about 1,200 yards). And, as the chance of hitting decreases as the elevation increases, the use of carronades beyond 1,200 yards and an elevation of 5° is completely out of the question; whereas, long guns may with

considerable effect be used at ranges up to a mile, and even 2,000 yards. This was strikingly exemplified by the 2 contending squadrons on Lakes Erie and Ontario, during the Anglo-American war of 1812-'14.[298] The American vessels had long guns, while the British were mainly armed with carronades. The Americans manoeuvred so as to keep just out of range of the British carronades, while their own long guns told heavily on the hulls and rigging of their opponents. In consequence of these defects, carronades have now become almost obsolete. On shore they are used by the British, now and then, on the flanks of bastions and in casemates, where but a short extent of ditch is to be flanked by grape principally. The French navy possesses a carronade with trunnions (*carronade à tourillons*); but this is in reality a powerful gun.

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## CARTOUCH

*Cartouch* (Fr. *cartouche*), in old military works, used sometimes as synonymous with case or grape shot. It is also now and then used to designate the cartridge-box of the infantry soldier.—In architecture and sculpture, a block or modillion in a cornice, and generally an ornament on which there is some device or inscription.

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## CARTRIDGE

*Cartridge*, a paper, parchment, or flannel case or bag containing the exact quantity of gunpowder used for the charge of a fire-arm, and to which, in some instances, the projectile is attached. Blank cartridge, for small arms, does not contain a bullet; ball cartridge does. In all small-arm cartridge the paper is used as a wad, and rammed down. The cartridge for the French Minié and British Enfield rifle is steeped in grease at one end, so as to facilitate ramming down. That of the Prussian needle gun contains also the fulminating composition exploded by the action of the needle.[a] Cartridges for cannon are generally made of flannel or other light woollen cloth. In some services, those for field service at least have the projectile attached to the cartridge by means of a wooden bottom whenever practicable; and the French have partially introduced this system even into their naval service. The British still have cartridge and shot separated, in field as well as in naval and siege artillery.

An ingenious method of making paper cartridges without seams has been lately introduced into the royal arsenal, Woolwich, England. Metallic cylindrical hollow moulds, just large enough for a cartridge to slip over, are perforated with a multitude of small holes, and being introduced into the soft pulp of which cartridge paper is made, and then connected with an exhausted receiver of an air-pump, are immediately covered with a thin layer of the pulp. This, on being dried, is a complete paper tube. The moulds are arranged many together; and each one is provided with a

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[a] On the Minié and Enfield rifles and the needle gun see Engels' work *The History of the Rifle* in this volume.—*Ed.*

worsted cover, like the finger of a glove, upon which the pulp collects, and this being taken off with it serves as the lining with which the best cartridges are provided.

A kind of cartridge is in use for sporting pieces, made of a network of wire containing the shot only. It is included in an outer case of paper. The charge of shot is mixed with bone dust to give compactness. When the piece is fired, the shot are carried along to a much greater distance without scattering than if charged in any other way.

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## CASE SHOT

*Case shot,* or *canister shot,* consists of a number of wrought-iron balls, packed in a tin canister of a cylindrical shape. The balls for field service are regularly deposited in layers, but for most kinds of siege and naval ordnance they are merely thrown into the case until it is filled, when the lid is soldered on. Between the bottom of the canister and the charge a wooden bottom is inserted. The weights of the balls vary with the different kinds of ordnance, and the regulations of each service. The English have, for their heavy naval guns, balls from 8 oz. to 3 lbs.; for their 9-pound field-gun, $1\,^1/_2$ oz. and 5 oz. balls, of which respectively 126 and 41 make up a canister for one discharge. The Prussians use 41 balls, each weighing $^1/_{32}$ of the weight of the corresponding round shot. The French had up to 1854 nearly the same system; how they may have altered it since the introduction of the new howitzer gun, we are unable to tell. For siege and garrison artillery, the balls are sometimes arranged round a spindle projecting from the wooden bottom, either in a bag in the shape of a grape (whence the name grape shot), or in regular layers with round wooden or iron plates between each layer, the whole covered over with a canvas bag.

The most recently introduced kind is the spherical case shot, commonly called from their inventor, the British general Shrapnel, shrapnel shells. They consist of a thin cast-iron shell (from $^1/_3$ to $^3/_4$ inch thickness of iron), with a diaphragm or partition in the middle. The lower compartment is destined to receive a bursting charge, the upper one contains leaden musket balls. A fuse is inserted containing a carefully prepared composition, the accuracy of whose burning off can be depended upon. A composition is run between the balls, so as to prevent them from shaking. When

used in the field, the fuse is cut off to the length required for the distance of the enemy, and inserted into the shell. At from 50 to 70 yards from the enemy the fuse is burnt to the bottom, and explodes the shell, scattering the bullets toward the enemy precisely as if common case shot had been fired on the spot where the shell exploded. The precision of the fuses at present attained in several services is very great, and thus this new projectile enables the gunner to obtain the exact effect of grape at ranges where formerly round shot only could be used. The common case is most destructive up to 200 yards, but may be used up to 500 yards; its effect against advancing lines of infantry or cavalry at close quarters is terrible; against skirmishers it is of little use; against columns round shot is oftener applicable. The spherical case, on the other hand, is most effective at from 600 to 1,400 yards, and with a proper elevation and a long fuse, may be launched at still greater ranges with probability of effect. From its explosion near the enemy, by which the hailstorm of bullets is kept close together, it may successfully be used against troops in almost any but the skirmishing formation. After the introduction of the spherical case shot, it was adopted in almost all European services as soon as a proper fuse composition was invented by each, this forming the only difficulty; and of the great European powers, France is the only one which has not yet succeeded in this particular. Further experiments, accidents, or bribes will, however, no doubt soon place this power in possession of the secret.

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## BERME [299]

*Berme,* in fortification, a horizontal bank of ground left standing between the upper interior edge of the ditch and the exterior slope of the parapet of a work. It is generally made about 3 feet wide. Its principal object is to strengthen the parapet, and to prevent the earth of which it is composed from rolling down into the ditch, after heavy rain, thaw, &c. It may also serve sometimes as an exterior communication round the works. It is, however, not to be overlooked that the berme serves as a very convenient resting and collecting place for storming and scaling parties, in consequence of which it is entirely done away with in many systems of permanent fortification, and in others protected by a crenellated wall, so as to form a covered line of fire for infantry. In field fortification, or the construction of siege-batteries, with a ditch in front, a berme is generally unavoidable, as the scarp of the ditch is scarcely ever revetted, and without such an intermediate space, both scarp and parapet would soon crumble under the changes of the weather.

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## BLENHEIM [300]

*Blenheim*, or *Blindheim*, a village about 23 miles from Augsburg, in Bavaria, the theatre of a great battle, fought Aug. 13, 1704, between the English and Austrians, under Marlborough and Prince Eugene, and the French and Bavarians, under Marshal Tallard, Marsin, and the elector of Bavaria.[a] The Austrian states being menaced by a direct invasion on the side of Germany, Marlborough marched from Flanders to their assistance. The allies agreed to act on the defensive in Italy, the Netherlands, and the lower Rhine, and to concentrate all their available forces on the Danube. Marlborough, after storming the Bavarian intrenchments on the Schellenberg, passed the Danube, and effected his junction with Eugene, after which both at once marched to attack the enemy. They found him behind the Nebel brook, with the villages of Blenheim and Kitzingen strongly occupied in front of either flank. The French had the right wing, the Bavarians held the left. Their line was nearly 5 miles in extent, each army having its cavalry on its wings, so that a portion of the centre was held by both French and Bavarian cavalry. The position had not yet been properly occupied according to the then prevailing rules of tactics. The mass of the French infantry, 27 battalions, was crammed together in Blenheim, consequently in a position completely helpless for troops organized as they were then, and adapted for line fighting in an open country only. The attack of the Anglo-Austrians, however, surprised them in this dangerous condition, and Marlborough very soon drew all the advantages from it which the occasion offered. Having in vain attacked

[a] Maximilian II Maria Emanuel.—*Ed.*

Blenheim, he suddenly drew his main strength toward his centre, and with it broke through the centre of his opponents. Eugene made light work of the thus isolated Bavarians, and undertook the general pursuit, while Marlborough, having completely cut off the retreat of the 18,000 Frenchmen blocked up in Blenheim, compelled them to lay down their arms. Among them was Marshal Tallard. The total loss of the Franco-Bavarians was 30,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners; that of the victors, about 11,000 men. The battle decided the campaign, Bavaria fell into the hands of the Austrians, and the prestige of Louis XIV was gone.

This battle is one of the highest tactical interest, showing very conspicuously the immense difference between the tactics of that time and those of our day. The very circumstance which would now be considered one of the greatest advantages of a defensive position, viz., the having [of] 2 villages in front of the flanks, was with troops of the 18th century the cause of defeat. At that time, infantry was totally unfit for that skirmishing and apparently irregular fighting which now makes a village of masonry houses, occupied by good troops, almost impregnable. This battle is called in France, and on the continent generally, the battle of Höchstädt, from a little town of this name in the vicinity, which was already known to fame by a battle fought there on Sept. 20 of the preceding year.[301]

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# Frederick Engels

## BORODINO[302]

*Borodino,* a village on the left bank of the river Kolotcha, in Russia, about 2 miles above its junction with the Moskva. From this village the Russians name the great battle, in 1812, which decided the possession of Moscow; the French call it the battle of the Moskva, or of Mozhaisk. The battle-field is on the right bank of the Kolotcha. The Russian right wing was covered by that river from its junction with the Moskva to Borodino; the left wing was drawn back, *en potence,* behind a brook and ravine descending from the extreme left, at Utitsa, toward Borodino. Behind this ravine, 2 hills were crowned with incomplete redoubts, or lunettes, that nearest the centre called the Rayevski redoubt, those on the hill toward the left, 3 in number, called the Bagration lunettes. Between these 2 hills, another ravine, called from a village behind it that of Semionovskoye, ran down from the Russian left toward the former ravine, joining it about 1,000 yards before it reached the Kolotcha. The main road to Moscow runs by Borodino; the old road, by Utitsa, to Mozhaisk, in rear of the Russian position. This line, about 9,000 yards in extent, was held by about 130,000 Russians, Borodino being occupied in front of the centre. Gen. Kutusoff was the Russian commander-in-chief; his troops were divided into 2 armies, the larger, under Barclay de Tolly, holding the right and centre, the smaller, under Bagration, occupying the left. The position was very badly chosen; an attack on the left, if successful, turned the right and centre completely; and if Mozhaisk had been reached by the French before the Russian right had retreated, which was possible enough, they would have been hopelessly lost. But Kutusoff, having once rejected the capital position of Tsarevoye Zaimishtche, selected by Barclay, had no other choice.[303]

The French, led by Napoleon in person, were about 125,000 strong: after driving the Russians, Sept. 5, 1812, N. S. (Aug. 24,

O. S.), from some slight intrenchments on their left, they were arranged for battle on the 7th. Napoleon's plan was based upon the errors of Kutusoff; merely observing the Russian centre, he concentrated his forces against their left, which he intended to force, and then cut his way through toward Mozhaisk. Prince Eugène was accordingly ordered to make a false attack upon Borodino, after which Ney and Davout were to assail Bagration and the lunettes named from him, while Poniatowski was to turn the extreme left of the Russians by Utitsa; the battle once well engaged, Prince Eugène was to pass the Kolotcha, and attack the Rayevski lunette. Thus the whole front actually attacked did not exceed in length 5,000 yards, which allowed 26 men to each yard of front, an unprecedented depth of order of battle, which accounts for the terrible losses of the Russians by artillery fire. About day-break Poniatowski advanced against Utitsa, and took it, but his opponent, Tutchkoff, again expelled him; subsequently, Tutchkoff having had to send a division to the support of Bagration, the Poles retook the village. At 6 o'clock Davout attacked the proper left of the Bagration intrenchments. Under a heavy fire from 12-pounders, to which he could oppose only 3 and 4-pounders, he advanced. Half an hour later, Ney attacked the proper right of these lunettes. They were taken and retaken, and a hot and undecided fight followed.

Bagration, however, well observed the great force brought against him, with their powerful reserves, and the French guard in the background. There could be no mistake about the real point of attack. He accordingly called together what troops he could, sending for a division of Rayevski's corps, for another of Tutchkoff's corps, for guards and grenadiers from the army reserve, and requesting Barclay to despatch the whole corps of Baggehufvud. These reenforcements, amounting to more than 30,000 men, were sent at once; from the army reserve alone, he received 17 battalions of guards and grenadiers, and 2 12-pound batteries. They could not, however, be made available on the spot before 10 o'clock, and before this hour Davout and Ney made their second attack against the intrenchments, and took them, driving the Russians over the Semionovskoye ravine. Bagration sent his cuirassiers forward; an irregular struggle of great violence followed, the Russians regaining ground as their reenforcements arrived, but again driven beyond the ravine as soon as Davout engaged his reserve division. The losses on both sides were immense; almost all the general officers were killed or wounded, and Bagration himself was mortally hit. Kutusoff now at last took

some part in the battle, sending Dokhturoff to take the command of the left, and his own chief of the staff, Toll, to superintend the arrangements for defence on the spot. A little after 10 the 17 battalions of guards and grenadiers, and the division of Vasiltchikoff, arrived at Semionovskoye; the corps of Baggehufvud was divided, one division being sent to Rayevski, another to Tutchkoff, and the cavalry to the right. The French, in the mean time, continued their attacks; the Westphalian division advanced in the wood toward the head of the ravine, while Gen. Friant passed this ravine, without, however, being able to establish himself there. The Russians now were reenforced ($^1/_2$ past 10) by the cuirassiers of Borosdin from the army reserve, and a portion of Korff's cavalry; but they were too much shattered to proceed to an attack, and about the same time the French were preparing a vast cavalry charge. On the Russian centre Eugène Beauharnais had taken Borodino at 6 in the morning, and passed over the Kolotcha, driving back the enemy; but he soon returned, and again crossed the river higher up in order to proceed, with the Italian guards, the division of Broussier (Italians), Gérard, Morand, and Grouchy's cavalry, to the attack on Rayevski, and the redoubt bearing his name. Borodino remained occupied. The passage of Beauharnais's troops caused delay; his attack could not begin much before 10 o'clock. The Rayevski redoubt was occupied by the division Paskiewitch, supported on its left by Vasiltchikoff, and having Dokhturoff's corps for a reserve. By 11 o'clock, the redoubt was taken by the French, and the Paskiewitch division completely scattered, and driven from the field of battle. But Vasiltchikoff and Dokhturoff retook the redoubt; the division of Prince Eugene of Württemberg arrived in time, and now Barclay ordered the corps of Ostermann to take position to the rear as a fresh reserve. With this corps the last intact body of Russian infantry was brought within range; there remained now, as a reserve, only 6 battalions of the guard. Eugène Beauharnais, about 12 o'clock, was just going to attack the Rayevski redoubt a second time, when Russian cavalry appeared on the left bank of the Kolotcha.[304] The attack was suspended, and troops were sent to meet them. But the Russians could neither take Borodino, nor pass the marshy bottom of the Voina ravine, and had to retreat by Zodock,[a] without any other result than having to some extent crossed Napoleon's intentions.

[a] Engels treats Zodock as a geographical name. Actually it is a distorted form of the Russian word *zadok*, which means *rear, back*, and should here be interpreted as "the back fields" (or "pasture").— *Ed.*

In the mean time, Ney and Davout, posted on the Bagration hill, had maintained a hot fire across the Semionovskoye ravine on the Russian masses. All at once the French cavalry began to move. To the right of Semionovskoye, Nansouty charged the Russian infantry with complete success, until Sievers's cavalry took him in flank and drove him back. To the left, Latour-Maubourg's 3,000 horse advanced in 2 columns; the first, headed by 2 regiments of Saxon cuirassiers, rode twice over 3 Russian grenadier battalions just forming square, but they were also taken in flank by Russian cavalry; a Polish cuirassier regiment completed the destruction of the Russian grenadiers, but they too were driven back to the ravine, where the second column, 2 regiments of Westphalian cuirassiers, and 1 of Polish lancers, repelled the Russians. The ground thus being secured, the infantry of Ney and Davout passed the ravine. Friant occupied Semionovskoye, and the remainder of the Russians who had fought here, grenadiers, guards, and line, were finally driven back and their defeat completed by the French cavalry. They fled in small disorderly bands toward Mozhaisk, and could only be collected late at night; the 3 regiments of guards alone preserved a little order. Thus the French right, after defeating the Russian left, occupied a position directly in rear of the Russian centre as early as 12 o'clock, and then it was that Davout and Ney implored Napoleon to act up to his own system of tactics, and complete the victory, by launching the guards by Semionovskoye on the Russian rear. Napoleon, however, refused, and Ney and Davout, themselves dreadfully shattered, did not venture to advance without reenforcements.

On the Russian side, after Eugène Beauharnais had desisted from the attack on the Rayevski redoubt, Eugene of Württemberg was sent to Semionovskoye, and Ostermann, too, had to change front in that direction so as to cover the rear of the Rayevski hill toward Semionovskoye. When Sorbier, the French chief of artillery, saw these fresh troops, he sent for 36 12-pounders from the artillery of the guard, and formed a battery of 85 guns in front of Semionovskoye. While these guns battered the Russian masses, Murat drew forward the hitherto intact cavalry of Montbrun and the Polish lancers. They surprised Ostermann's troops in the act of deploying, and brought them into great danger, until the cavalry of Kreutz repelled the French horse. The Russian infantry continued to suffer from the artillery fire; but neither party ventured to advance. It was now about 2 o'clock, and Eugène Beauharnais, reassured as to the hostile cavalry on his left, again attacked the Rayevski redoubt. While the infantry attacked it

in front, cavalry was sent from Semionovskoye to its rear. After a hard struggle, it remained in the hands of the French; and a little before 3 o'clock the Russians retreated. A general cannonade from both sides followed, but the active fighting was over. Napoleon still refused to launch his guard, and the Russians were allowed to retreat as they liked. The Russians had all their troops engaged, excepting the 2 first regiments of the guards, and even these lost by artillery fire 17 officers and 600 men. Their total loss was 52,000 men, beside slightly wounded and scattered men who soon found their way back; but on the day after the battle their army counted only 52,000 men. The French had all their troops engaged, with the exception of the guards (14,000 infantry, 5,000 cavalry and artillery); they thus beat a decidedly superior number. They were, beside, inferior in artillery, having mostly 3 and 4-pounders, while $^1/_4$ of the Russian guns were 12-pounders, and the rest 6-pounders. The French loss was 30,000 men; they took 40 guns, and only about 1,000 prisoners. If Napoleon had launched his guard, the destruction of the Russian army, according to Gen. Toll, would have been certain.[a] He did not, however, risk this last reserve, the nucleus and mainstay of his army, and thus, perhaps, missed the chance of having peace concluded in Moscow.

The above account, in such of its details as are at variance with those commonly received, is mainly based upon the "Memoirs of Gen. Toll," whom we have mentioned as Kutusoff's chief of the staff. This book contains the best Russian account of the battle, and is indispensable for its correct appreciation.

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[a] See Th. Bernhardi, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben des kaiserl. russ. Generals von der Infanterie Carl Friedrich Grafen von Toll*, Bd. 2, S. 117-18. The account of the battle mentioned below is on pp. 58-119 of this book.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## BRIDGE-HEAD[305]

*Bridge-Head*, or *tête-de-pont*, in fortification, a permanent or field work, thrown up at the further end of a bridge in order to protect the bridge, and to enable the party holding it to manoeuvre on both banks of the river. The existence of bridge-heads is indispensable to those extensive modern fortresses situated on large rivers or at the junction of 2 rivers. In such a case the bridge-head is generally formed by a suburb on the opposite side and regularly fortified; thus, Castel is the bridge-head of Mentz, Ehrenbreitstein that of Coblentz, and Deutz that of Cologne. No sooner had the French got possession, during the revolutionary war, of Kehl, than they turned it into a bridge-head for Strasbourg. In England, Gosport may be considered the bridge-head of Portsmouth, although there is no bridge, and though it has other and very important functions to fulfil. As in this latter case, a fortification on the further side of a river or arm of the sea is often called a bridge-head, though there be no bridge; since the fortification, imparting the power of landing troops under its protection and preparing for offensive operations, fulfils the same functions, and comes, strategetically speaking, under the same denomination. In speaking of the position of an army behind a large river, all the posts it holds on its opposite bank are called its bridge-heads, whether they be fortresses, intrenched villages, or regular field works, inasmuch as every one of them admits of the army debouching in safety on the other side. Thus, when Napoleon's retreat from Russia, in 1813, ceased behind the Elbe, Hamburg, Magdeburg, Wittenberg, and Torgau were his bridge-heads on the right bank of that river. In field fortification, bridge-heads are mostly very simple works, consisting of a *bonnet à*

*prêtre*,[a] or sometimes a horn-work or crown-work, open toward the river, and with a redoubt close in front of the bridge. Sometimes a hamlet, a group of farm-houses, or other buildings close to a bridge, may be formed into a sufficient bridge-head by being properly adapted for defence; for, with the present light-infantry tactics, such objects, when at all capable of defence, may be made to offer a resistance as great, or greater, than any field works thrown up according to the rules of the art.

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[a] See this volume, p. 138.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## BUDA[306]

*Buda*, or *Ofen*, a city on the west bank of the Danube, formerly the capital of Hungary, and now that of the circle of Pesth; pop. of the town and its 7 suburbs, including that of Alt Ofen, which was annexed in 1850, 45,653, exclusive of the garrison and the students. It is distant from Vienna, in a straight line, 135 miles S. E., and from Belgrade 200 miles N. W. It was formerly connected with the city of Pesth, which lies on the opposite side of the river, by a bridge of boats, and since 1849 by a suspension bridge 1,250 feet long; a tunnel to connect the bridge with the fortress has been in course of construction since 1852. Buda is about 9 miles in circuit, and built around the Schlossberg, an isolated and shelving rock. Its central and highest part, called the fortress, is the most regular portion of the town, and contains many fine buildings and squares. This fortress is surrounded by walls, from which the several suburbs extend toward the river. The principal edifices of the city are the royal palace, a quadrangular structure 564 feet in length, and containing 203 apartments; the church of the ascension of the virgin, and the garrison church, both Gothic structures; the arsenal, the state palace, and the town hall. Buda contains 12 Roman Catholic churches, a Greek church, and a synagogue, several monasteries and convents, a theatre, and many important military, educational, and benevolent institutions. There are several publishing houses and 3 journals established here. The observatory, with the printing establishment of the university of Pesth,[307] is built upon an eminence to the south of the town, 516 feet above the level of the Mediterranean, and no expense has been spared to furnish it with the best instruments. There are in various parts of the

suburbs sulphurous hot springs, and relics remain of baths constructed here by the Romans and Turks, the former tenants of the place. The principal trade of the town is in the wines (chiefly red wines, resembling those of Burgundy) which are produced from the vineyards upon the neighboring heights, to the amount, it is computed, of 4,500,000 gallons annually. There are also cannon founderies, and a few manufactures of silk, velvet, cottons, woollens, and leather. The boats of the Danube steamboat navigation company are built here, giving employment to about 600 persons. Buda is the usual residence of the governor of Hungary, and of the public authorities.

It has been thought that this city occupies the site of the old Aquincum mentioned in the "Itinerary" of Antoninus.[308] During the Hungarian monarchy, Buda was the residence of its kings, by whom it was enlarged and adorned, especially by Matthias the Great. It was taken by the Turks under Solyman the Magnificent in 1526, but was recovered the next year. It fell again into the hands of the Turks in 1529, and remained in their possession till 1686, when it was finally recovered by Charles of Lorraine, and in 1784 was again made the seat of government.

Buda has been beleaguered not less than 20 times in the course of her history. The last siege took place in May, 1849, when the Hungarian army under Görgey had driven back the Austrian troops to the western frontier of the kingdom. Two plans were discussed as to further operations: first, to follow up the advantages gained, by a vigorous pursuit of the enemy on his own ground, to disperse his forces before the Russians, then marching on Hungary, could arrive, and to attempt to revolutionize Vienna; or, to remain on the defensive in front of Comorn, and to detach a strong corps for the siege of Buda, where the Austrians on their retreat had left a garrison. Görgey maintains that this latter plan was insisted on by Kossuth and Klapka[a]; but Klapka professes to know nothing of Kossuth having sent such an order, and denies that he himself ever advised this step.[b] From a comparison of Görgey's and Klapka's writings we must, however, confess that there still remains considerable doubt as to who is to be blamed for the march on Buda, and that the evidence adduced by Klapka is by no means conclusive. Görgey also says that his resolution was further determined by the total want of field-gun ammunition and

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[a] A. Görgei, *Mein Leben und Wirken in Ungarn in den Jahren 1848 und 1849,* S. 56-59.—*Ed.*

[b] G. Klapka, *Memoiren,* S. 14, 10-11.—*Ed.*

other stores, and by his own conviction that the army would refuse to pass the frontier. At all events, all offensive movements were arrested, and Görgey marched with 30,000 men to Buda. By this move the last chance of saving Hungary was thrown away. The Austrians were allowed to recover from their defeats, to reorganize their forces, and 6 weeks afterward, when the Russians appeared on the borders of Hungary, they again advanced, 127,000 strong, while 2 reserve corps were still forming. Thus, the siege of Buda forms the turning point of the Hungarian war of 1848-'49, and if there ever really were treasonable relations between Görgey and the Austrians, they must have taken place about this time.

The fortress of Buda was but a faint remnant of that ancient stronghold of the Turks, in which they so often had repulsed all attacks of the Hungarian and imperial armies. The ditches and glacis were levelled; there remained but the main ramparts, a work of considerable height, faced with masonry. It formed in its general outline an oblong square, the sides of which were more or less irregularly broken so as to admit of a pretty efficient flanking fire. An intrenchment of recent construction led down from the eastern front to the Danube, and protected the waterworks supplying the fortress with water. The garrison consisted of 4 battalions, about a company of sappers, and the necessary allotment of gunners, under Major-Gen. Hentzi, a brave and resolute officer. Seventy-five guns were mounted on the ramparts. On May 4, after having effected the investment of the place, and after a short cannonade from heavy field-guns, Görgey summoned the garrison to surrender. This being refused, he ordered Kmety to assail the water-works; under the protection of the fire of all disposable guns, his column advanced, but the artillery of the intrenchment, enfilading its line of march, soon drove it back. It was thus proved that an attack by main force would never carry the place, and that an artillery attack was indispensable in order first to form a practicable breach. But there were no guns at hand heavier than 12-pounders, and even for these the ammunition was deficient. After some time, however, 4 24-pounders and 1 18-pounder, and subsequently 6 mortars, arrived from Comorn. A breaching battery was constructed on a height 500 yards from the N. W. angle of the rampart, and began its fire, May 15. Previous to that day, Hentzi had bombarded the town of Pesth[a] without any provocation, or without the chance of deriving any advantage

[a] Pesth was bombarded on May 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

from this proceeding. On the 16th the breach was opened, though scarcely practicable; however, Görgey ordered the assault for the following night, one column to assault the breach, 2 others to escalade the walls, and a 4th, under Kmety, to take the waterworks. The assault was everywhere unsuccessful. The artillery attack was resumed. While the breaching battery completed its work, the palisadings around the waterworks were shattered by 12-pounders, and the interior of the place was bombarded. False attacks were made every night to alarm the garrison. Late on the evening of the 20th another assault was prepared. The 4 columns and their objects of attack remained the same, and before daybreak on the 21st they advanced on the fortress. After a desperate struggle, during which Hentzi himself led the defence of the breach and fell mortally wounded, the breach was carried by the 47th Honved[309] battalion, followed by the 34th, while Kmety stormed the waterworks, and the troops of the 3d army corps under Knezich escaladed the walls near the Vienna gate. A severe fight in the interior of the fortress ensued, but soon the garrison surrendered. Of 3,500 men, about 1,000 were killed, the rest were made prisoners. The Hungarians lost 600 men during the siege.

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# Frederick Engels

## CAMP[310]

*Camp,* a place of repose for troops, whether for one night or a longer time, and whether in tents, in bivouac, or with any such shelter as may be hastily constructed. Troops are cantoned when distributed among villages, or when placed in huts at the end of a campaign. Barracks are permanent military quarters. Tents were deemed unwholesome by Napoleon, who preferred that the soldier should bivouac, sleeping with his feet toward the fire, and protected from the wind by slight sheds and bowers. Major Sibley, of the American army, has invented a tent which will accommodate 20 cavalry soldiers, with their accoutrements, all sleeping with their feet toward a fire in its centre. Bivouac tents have been introduced into the French service since 1837. They consist of a tissue of cotton cloth impregnated with caoutchouc, and thus made water-proof. Every man carries a portion of this cloth, and the different pieces are rapidly attached together by means of clasps. In the selection of a camp, good water within a convenient distance is essential, as is the proximity of woods for firewood and means of shelter. Good roads, canals, or navigable streams are important to furnish the troops with the necessaries of life, if they are encamped for a long period. The vicinity of swamps or stagnant water is to be avoided. The ground to be suitable for defence must admit of manoeuvres of troops. As far as possible the cavalry and infantry should be established on a single line, the former upon the wings, the latter in the centre. The shelters or huts are arranged, as nearly as the nature of the ground admits, in streets perpendicular to the front, and extending from one end of the camp to the other. In arranging a camp, however, no universal rule can be laid down, but the commander must decide according to circumstances whether to form his army in 1 or 2

lines, and upon the relative positions of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The guards of camps are: 1, the camp-guard, which serves to keep good order and discipline, prevent desertions, and give the alarm; 2, detachments of infantry and cavalry, denominated pickets, stationed in front and on the flanks, which intercept reconnoitring parties of the enemy, and give timely notice of a hostile approach; and 3, grand guards, or outposts, which are large detachments posted in surrounding villages, farm-houses, or small field works, from which they can watch the movements of the enemy. They should not be so far from the camp as to be beyond succor in case of attack. Immediately after arriving on the ground, the number of men to be furnished for guards and pickets are detailed; the posts to be occupied by them are designated; the places for distribution of provisions mentioned; and, in general, all arrangements made concerning the interior and exterior police and service of the camp.

One of the most ancient camps mentioned in history is that of the Israelites at their exodus from Egypt. It formed a large square, divided for the different tribes, had in the middle the camp of the Levites with the tabernacle,[311] and a principal gate or entrance, which, with an adjacent open space, was at the same time a forum and market-place.[a] But the form, the dimensions, and the intrenchments of the regular military camps of the Hebrews, or their enemies, can scarcely be traced.

The camp of the Greeks before Troy was close upon the sea-shore, to shelter their ships drawn upon the land, divided into separate quarters for the different tribes, and fortified with ramparts fronting the city and the sea, and externally with a high mount of earth, strengthened with wooden towers against the sallies of the besieged. The bravest of their chiefs, as Achilles and Ajax, were posted at the extremities.[b] The camp of the Lacedæmonians was circular, and not without the regular precautions of sentries and videttes.

The Roman camp varied according to the season of the year, the length of time it was to be occupied, the number of legions, as well as the nature of the ground, and other circumstances. A historian of the time of the empire mentions camps of every shape, circular, oblong, &c.[c]; but the regular form of the Roman

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[a] Numbers, 1:2.—*Ed.*

[b] Homer, *The Iliad.*—*Ed.*

[c] Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War,* Book III, Ch. 5. Engels used the German edition, *Des Flavius Josephus Geschichte des jüdischen Krieges,* Stuttgart, 1856, in which the relevant passage occurs on p. 365.—*Ed.*

camp was quadrangular. Its place was determined by augurs and according to the 4 quarters, with the front to the rising sun; it was measured with a gnomon[312]; a square of 700 feet was regarded as sufficient for 20,000 men. It was divided into an upper and lower part, separated by a large open space, and by 2 chief lines (*decumana* and *cardo*), running from E. to W., and from N. to S., and by several streets. It had 4 gates, the principal of which were the decuman and the prætorian, which no soldier could pass without leave, under pain of death, and was surrounded with a rampart, separated by a space of 200 feet from the inner camp, a ditch, and a mound of earth. All these intrenchments were made by the soldiers themselves, who handled the pickaxe and the spade as dexterously as the sword or the lance; they levelled the ground, and fixed the palisades, which they carried along, around the intrenchments into a kind of hedge of irregular points. In the middle of the upper division was the pavilion of the general (*praetorium*), forming a square of 200 feet; around it the *auguraculum*, the *quaestorium*, or quarters of the treasurers of the army, the *forum*, serving as a market and meeting place, and the tents of the *legati*, those of the tribunes opposite their respective legions, and of the commanders of foreign auxiliary troops. In the lower division were the tents of the inferior officers and the legions, the Roman horse, the *triarii*, the *principes*, the *hastati*,[a] &c.; and on the flanks the companies of foreign horse and foot, carefully kept apart. The tents were covered with skins, each containing 10 soldiers, and their *decanus;* the centurions and standard-bearers at the head of their companies. In the space between the 2 divisions, which was called *principia*, were the platform of the general, for the exercise of justice as well as for harangues, the altar, the sacred images, and the not less sacred military ensigns. In exceptional cases the camp was surrounded with a wall of stones, and sometimes even the quarters of the soldiers were of the same material. The whole camp offered the aspect of a city; it was the only fortress the Romans constructed. Among the most permanent memorials of the Roman occupation of Britain is the retention of the Latin *castra* (camp), as, in whole or part, the name of a great number of places first occupied by them as military posts, as Doncaster, Leicester, Worcester, Chester, Winchester, &c.

The camps of the barbarous nations of antiquity were often surrounded with a fortification of wagons and carts, as for

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[a] See this volume, pp. 97-98.—*Ed.*

instance, that of the Cimbri, in their last battle against the Romans (101 B. C.), which camp was so fiercely defended, after their defeat, by their wives.[313]

An *Intrenched Camp* is a camp surrounded by defensive works, which serves also as a fortification, and is intended accordingly for prolonged use.

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# Frederick Engels

## CATAPULT

*Catapult* (Gr. κατά, against, and πάλλω, to hurl), an ancient military engine for throwing stones, darts, and other missiles, invented in Syracuse, in the reign of Dionysius the elder. It acted upon the principle of the bow, and consisted of wood frame-work, a part of which was elastic, and furnished with tense cords of hair or muscle. Catapults were of various sizes, being designed either for field-service or bombardments. The largest of them projected beams 6 feet long and weighing 60 lbs. to the distance of 400 paces, and Josephus gives instances of their throwing great stones to the distance of $^1/_4$ of a mile.[a] The Romans employed 300 of them at the siege of Jerusalem.[314] From the time of Julius Caesar it is not distinguished by Latin authors from the *ballista*, which was originally used only for throwing masses of stone.

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[a] Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Book V, Ch. 6. Engels used the German edition, *Des Flavius Josephus Geschichte des jüdischen Krieges*, Stuttgart, 1856, in which the relevant passage occurs on p. 558.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## COEHORN[315]

*Coehorn*, or *Cohorn*, *Menno van*, baron, a Dutch general and engineer, born in Friesland in 1641, died at the Hague, May 17, 1704. At the age of 16 he received a captain's commission, distinguished himself at the siege of Maestricht, and afterward at the battles of Senef, Cassel, St. Denis, and Fleurus.[316] During the intervals of active duty he devoted much attention to the subject of fortification, with the view of equalizing the chances between besiegers and besieged, the new system of his contemporary Vauban having given great advantages to the latter. While comparatively a young man he gained a name as an engineer, and by the time he had reached middle life was recognized as the best officer of that arm in the Dutch service. The prince of Orange promised him a colonelcy, but being rather remiss in fulfilling the pledge, he retired in disgust with the intention of offering his services to the French. His wife and 8 children, however, were arrested by the order of the prince as hostages for his return, which quickly brought him back, whereon he received the promised rank, and was afterward appointed, successively, as general of artillery, director-general of fortifications, and governor of Flanders.

His whole life was spent in connection with the defences of the Low Countries. At the siege of Grave, in 1674, he invented and for the first time made use of the small mortars, called cohorns, for throwing grenades, and in the succeeding year elicited the applause of Vauban by successfully crossing the Meuse, and carrying a bastion which was considered as protected by the river. After the peace of Nimeguen (1678),[317] he was employed in strengthening various already strong places; Nimeguen, Breda, Mannheim, since dismantled, and Bergen-op-Zoom attest the value

of his system. The last-named place he considered his masterpiece, although it was taken after a long siege in 1747, by Marshal de Lowendal. During the campaigns from 1688 to 1691,[318] he was in active service. The siege of Namur, in 1692, gave him an opportunity to test his system against that of Vauban, for these two great engineers were there opposed to each other, Coehorn in defending a work which he had constructed to protect the citadel, and Vauban in attempting to reduce it. Coehorn made an obstinate defence, but being dangerously wounded, was compelled to surrender to his rival, who handsomely acknowledged his bravery and skill. He was afterward engaged at the attack on Trarbach, Limburg, and Liège, and in 1695 aided in retaking Namur. In the war of the Spanish succession[319] he besieged successively Venloo, Stephensworth, Ruremonde, Liège, and in 1703 took Bonn, on the Rhine, after 3 days' cannonade of heavy artillery aided by a fire of grenades from 500 cohorns. Next he passed into Dutch Flanders, where he gained several successes over the French, and directed the siege of Huy. This was his last service, for he died soon afterward of apoplexy, while waiting a conference with the duke of Marlborough on the plan of a new campaign.

Coehorn's greatest work, *Nieuwe Vestingbouw,* was published at Leeuwarden, in folio, 1685, and translated into several foreign languages. His plans are mostly adapted to the Dutch fortresses, or to those which are similarly situated on ground but a few feet above water level. Wherever it was practicable, he encircled his works with two ditches, the outermost full of water; the inner dry, and usually of the width of about 125 feet, serving as a *place d'armes* for the besieged, and in some cases for detachments of cavalry. The theory of his system, both of attack and defence, was the superiority of a combined mass over isolated fire. Professionally, Coehorn was accused of wasteful expenditure of life, in which respect he contrasted unfavorably with Vauban, who was sparing of men. Personally, he was blunt, honest, brave, and a hater of adulation. He refused inducements offered by several foreign governments. Charles II of England knighted him. He was buried at Wijkel, near Sneek, in Friesland, and a monument was dedicated there to his memory.

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# Frederick Engels

## BIDASSOA [320]

*Bidassoa*, a small river of the Basque provinces of Spain, noted for the battles fought upon its banks, between the French under Soult and the English, Spaniards, and Portuguese, under Wellington. After the defeat of Vittoria in 1813,[321] Soult collected his troops in a position, the right of which rested on the sea opposite Fuenterrabia, having the Bidassoa in front, while the centre and left extended across several ridges of hills toward St. Jean de Luz. From this position he once attempted to relieve the blockaded garrison of Pampeluna, but was repulsed. San Sebastian, besieged by Wellington, was now hard pressed, and Soult resolved to raise the siege. From his position of the lower Bidassoa it was but 9 miles to Oyarzun, a village on the road to San Sebastian; and if he could reach that village the siege must be raised. Accordingly, toward the end of Aug. 1813, he concentrated 2 columns on the Bidassoa. The one on the left, under Gen. Clausel, consisting of 20,000 men and 29 guns, took a position on a ridge of hills opposite Vera (a place beyond which the upper course of the river was in the hands of the allies), while Gen. Reille with 18,000 men, and a reserve of 7,000 under Foy, took his station lower down, near the road from Bayonne to Irun. The French intrenched camp to the rear was held by d'Erlon with 2 divisions, to ward off any turning movement of the allied right.

Wellington had been informed of Soult's plan, and had taken every precaution. The extreme left of his position, sheltered in front by the tidal estuary of the Bidassoa, was well intrenched, though but slightly occupied; the centre, formed by the extremely strong and rugged ridges of San Marcial, was strengthened with field-works, and held by Freire's Spaniards, the lst British division

standing as a reserve on their left rear near the Irun road. The right wing, on the rocky descents of the Peña de Haya mountain, was held by Longa's Spaniards and the 4th Anglo-Portuguese division; Inglis's brigade of the 7th division connecting it with the light division at Vera, and with the troops detached still further to the right among the hills. Soult's plan was, that Reille should take San Marcial (which he intended forming into a bridge-head for ulterior operations), and drive the allies toward their right, into the ravines of Peña de Haya, thus clearing the high road for Foy, who was to advance along it straight on Oyarzun, while Clausel, after leaving a division to observe Vera, should pass the Bidassoa a little below that place, and drive whatever troops opposed him up the Peña de Haya, thus seconding and flanking Reille's attack.

On the morning of Aug. 31, Reille's troops forded the river in several columns, carried the first ridge of San Marcial with a rush, and advanced toward the higher and commanding ridges of that group of hills. But in this difficult ground his troops, imperfectly managed, got into disorder; skirmishers and supports became mingled, and in some places crowded together in disordered groups, when the Spanish columns rushed down the hill and drove them back to the river. A second attack was at first more successful, and brought the French up to the Spanish position; but then its force was spent, and another advance of the Spaniards drove them back into the Bidassoa in great disorder. Soult having learned in the mean time that Clausel had made good his attack, slowly conquering ground on Peña de Haya, and driving Portuguese, Spaniards, and British before him, was just forming columns out of Reille's reserves and Foy's troops for a third and final attack, when news came that d'Erlon had been attacked in his camp by strong forces. Wellington, as soon as the concentration of the French on the lower Bidassoa left no longer any doubt of the real point of attack, had ordered all troops in the hills on his extreme right to attack whatever was before them. This attack, though repulsed, was very serious, and might possibly be renewed. At the same time, a portion of the British light division was drawn up on the left bank of the Bidassoa so as to flank Clausel's advance. Soult now gave up the intended attack, and drew Reille's troops back across the Bidassoa. Those of Clausel were not extricated till late in the night, and after a severe struggle to force the bridge at Vera, the fords having become impassable by a heavy fall of rain on the same day, the allies took San Sebastian, except the citadel, by storm, and this latter post surrendered on Sept. 9.

The second battle of the Bidassoa took place Oct. 7, when

## BATTLES OF THE BIDASSOA, AUGUST 31 AND OCTOBER 7, 1813

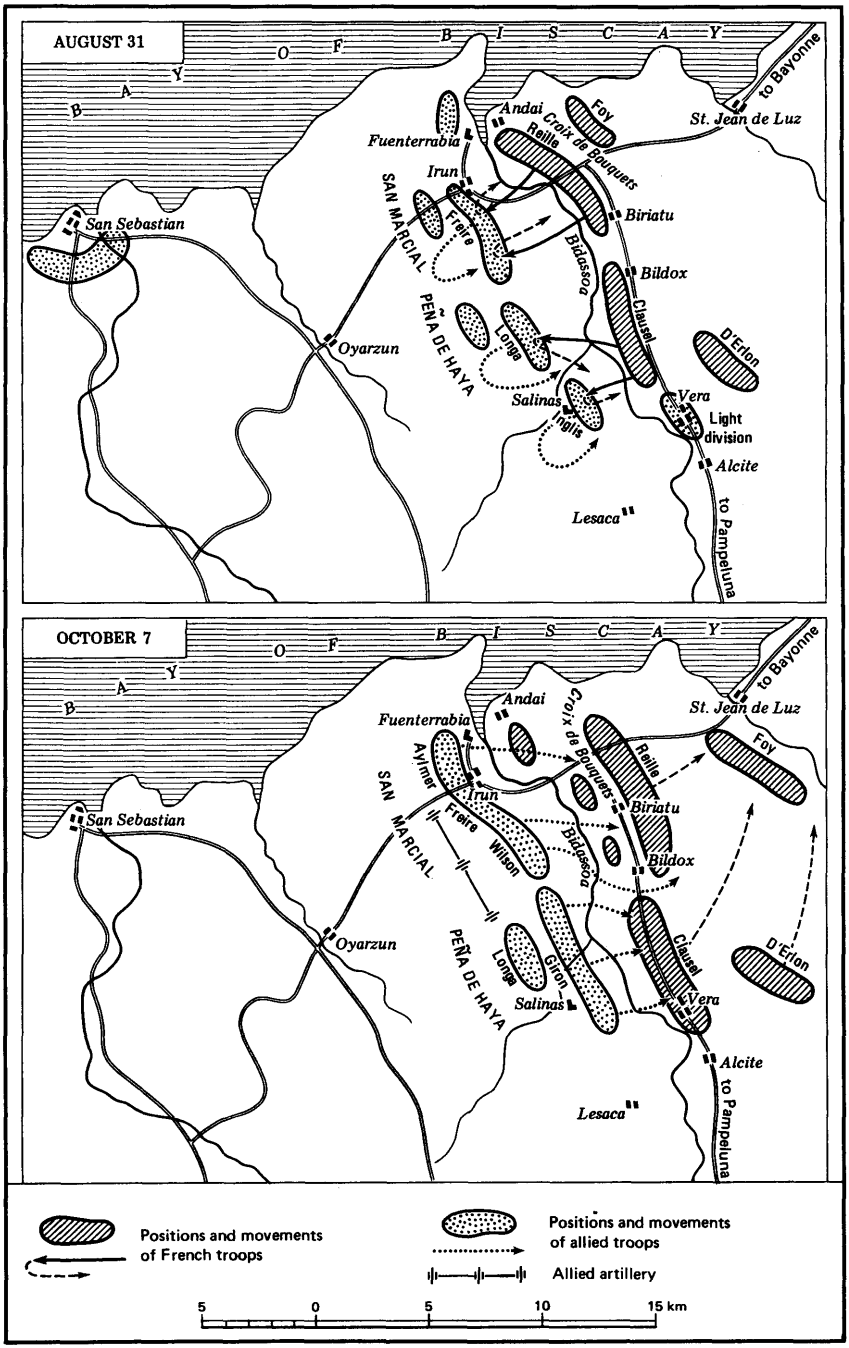

Wellington forced the passage of that river. Soult's position was about the same as before; Foy held the intrenched camp of St. Jean de Luz, d'Erlon held Urdax and the camp of Ainhoa, Clausel was posted on a ridge connecting Urdax with the lower Bidassoa, and Reille stood along that river from Clausel's right down to the sea. The whole front was intrenched, and the French were still employed in strengthening their works. The British right stood opposed to Foy and d'Erlon; the centre, composed of Girón's Spaniards and the light division, with Longa's Spaniards and the 4th division in reserve, in all 20,000 men, faced Clausel; while on the lower Bidassoa Freire's Spaniards, the lst and 5th Anglo-Portuguese divisions, and the unattached brigade of Aylmer and Wilson, in all 24,000 men, were ready to attack Reille. Wellington prepared every thing for a surprise. His troops were drawn up well sheltered from the view of the enemy during the night before Oct. 7, and the tents of his camp were not struck. Beside, he had been informed by smugglers of the locality of 3 fords in the tidal estuary of the Bidassoa, all passable at low water, and unknown to the French, who considered themselves perfectly safe on that side.

On the morning of the 7th, while the French reserves were encamped far to the rear, and of the one division placed in lst line many men were told off to work at the redoubts, the 5th British division and Aylmer's brigade forded the tidal estuary, and marched toward the intrenched camp called the Sansculottes. As soon as they had passed to the other side, the guns from San Marcial opened, and 5 more columns advanced to ford the river. They had formed on the right bank before the French could offer any resistance; in fact, the surprise completely succeeded; the French battalions, as they arrived singly and irregularly, were defeated, and the whole line, including the key of the position, the hill of Croix de Bouquets, was taken before any reserves could arrive. The camp of Biriatu and Bildox, connecting Reille with Clausel, was turned by Freire's taking the Mandale hill, and abandoned. Reille's troops retreated in disorder until they were stopped at Urogne by Soult, who arrived in haste with the reserves from Espelette. While still there, he was informed of an attack on Urdax; but he was not a moment in doubt about the real point of attack, and marched on the lower Bidassoa, where he arrived too late to restore the battle. The British centre, in the mean time, had attacked Clausel, and gradually forced his positions by both front and flank attacks. Toward evening he was confined to the highest point of the ridge, the Grande Rhune, and that hill he abandoned next day. The loss of the French was about 1,400, that of the allies

about 1,600 killed and wounded. The surprise was so well managed that the real defence of the French positions had to be made by 10,000 men only, who, on being vigorously attacked by 33,000 allies, were driven from them before any reserves could come to their support.

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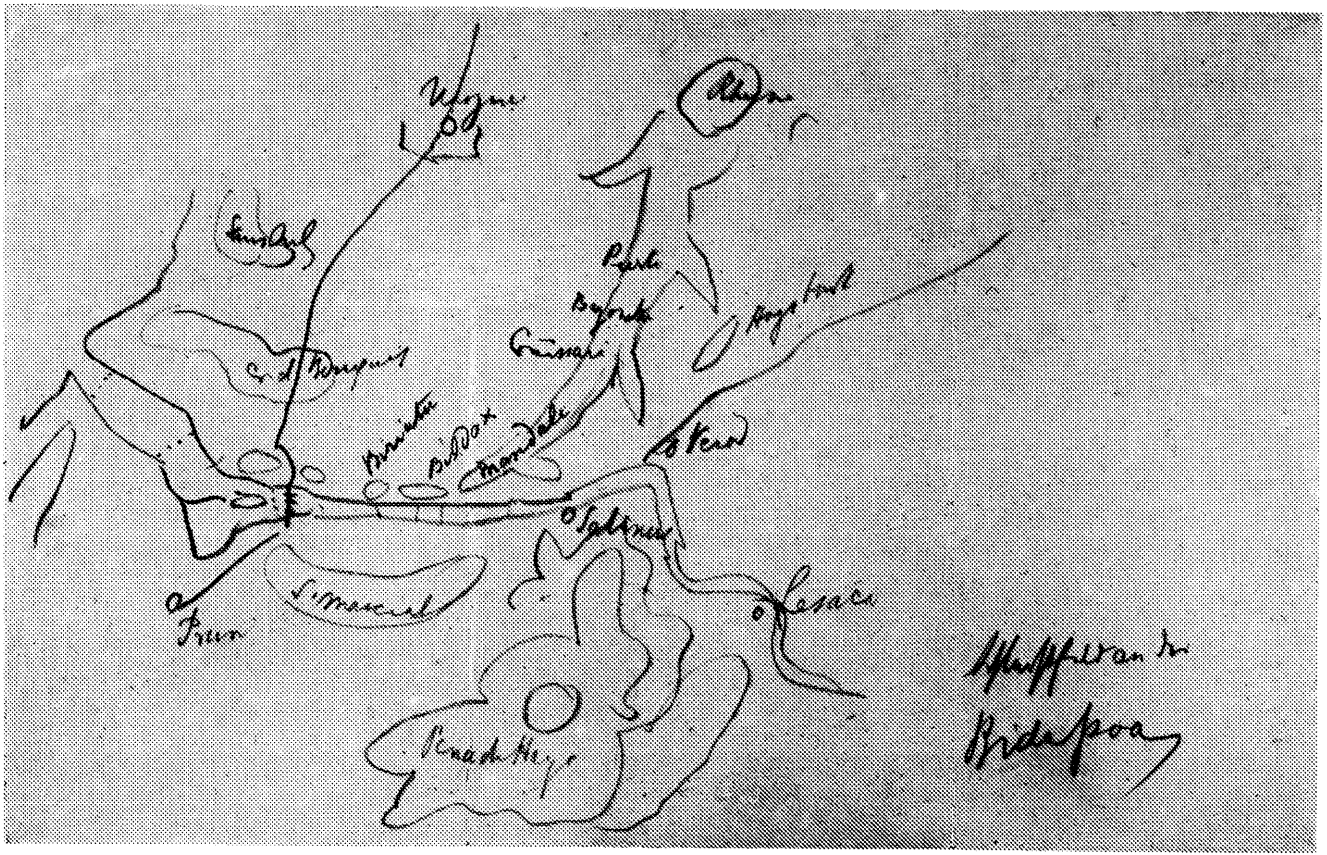

Chart of the battle of the Bidassoa made by Frederick Engels[322]

# Frederick Engels

## BRESCIA [323]

*Brescia*, a province of Lombardy, bounded N. by Bergamo and Tyrol, W. by Verona and Mantua, S. by Cremona, E. by Lodi and Bergamo. Area, 1,300 sq. m.; pop. 350,000. The fertility of the soil is favorable to the choicest productions, and one of the most important branches of industry is the trade in silk, of which 1,000,000 pounds are annually produced; the number of silk manufactories is 27, and of silk weaving establishments 1,046. About 70,000 lbs. of very superior wool are raised annually, and there are not less than 45 woollen manufactories, 40 manufactories of woollen and cotton goods, 13 of cloth, 27 of gold, silver, and bronze, 12 of hardware and porcelain, 7 printing establishments, 137 manufactories of iron and other metals (Brescia steel enjoying a world-wide reputation), and 77 of fire-arms and weapons, the excellency of which gave to Brescia, in former times, the name of *l'Armata*.[a] Butter, cheese, wheat, maize, hay, flax, chestnuts, oil, and wine, afford additional elements of prosperity. The trade of the province is principally carried on in the capital of the same name.

The town (anc. *Brixia*) has a population of 40,000, and is situated on the rivers Mella and Garza, at the foot of a hill. The strong castle on the top of the hill was in former times called the falcon of Lombardy. It is a well-built, pleasant, and animated town, noted for its abundant supply of fountains, of which there are not less than 72 in the streets and squares, beside some 100 in private houses. The ancient cathedral, and the other churches, contain many paintings of the great Italian masters. The new

[a] Armoury, arsenal.—*Ed.*

cathedral, or *Duomo Nuovo*, was begun in 1604, but the vaulting of the cupola was only completed in 1825. The chief ornament of the church of Santa Afra is "The Woman Taken in Adultery," by Titian. There are, on the whole, over 20 churches, all noted for their treasures of art. Among the remarkable public buildings, is the *Palazzo della Loggia* in the *Piazza Vecchia*, intended for the town hall, the beautiful façade of which suffered much from the bombardment in April, 1849. The Palazzo Tosi was presented to the town by Count Tosi, and contains, among many famous pictures, the celebrated "Saviour," by Raphael. The picture galleries in the Palazzo Averoldi, Fenaroli, Lecchi, Martinengo, and in other palaces, are equally noted for their artistic attractions. A whole street, *Il Corso del Teatro*, has the fronts of the 2d stories decorated with scriptural, mythological, and historical paintings. The *Biblioteca Quirinina*, founded in the middle of the 18th century by Cardinal Quirini, contains upward of 80,000 volumes, beside a vast collection of curious manuscripts and objects of antiquity. The most unique monument of Brescia is the cemetery (*Campo Santo*), the finest in Italy, built in 1810, consisting of a semi-circular area in front, surrounded by tombs, and a row of cypresses. Brescia is the seat of the provincial government, of a bishopric, of a tribunal of commerce, and of other courts of law. There are various charitable institutions, a theological seminary, 2 gymnasiums, a lyceum, a botanical garden, a cabinet of antiquities and one of natural history, an agricultural society, several academies, the philharmonic being one of the oldest in Italy, a casino, a fine theatre, and a large booth outside of the town for the annual fair—a period of great activity and rejoicing. The weekly journal of Brescia is called *Giornale della provincia Bresciana.* A Roman temple of marble was excavated in the vicinity in 1822. Brescia is connected by railway with Verona, and other Italian cities.

The town is supposed to have been founded by the Etruscans. After the fall of the Roman empire it was pillaged by the Goths, and eventually passed into the hands of the Franks. Otho the Great raised it to the rank of a free imperial city, but the contests between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines[324] became a source of trouble to the town. Having been for some time under the sway of the lords of Verona, it fell in 1339 into the power of the Milanese. In 1426 it was taken by Carmagnola; in 1438 besieged by Piccinino; in 1509 it surrendered to the French; in 1512 it was captured by the Venetian general Gritti, but eventually liberated by Gaston de Foix. Subjected to 3 more sieges during the 16th

century, it remained in the possession of Venice until the fall of that republic.[325] During the Napoleonic era it was the capital of the department of Mella. In the revolution of 1849, the Brescians rose in arms against the power of Austria, to which they had been subjected since 1814. The town was bombarded, March 30, by General Haynau, and held out until the noon of April 2, when it was compelled to surrender, and to pay a ransom of $1,200,000, in order to avert utter destruction.

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# Frederick Engels

## BURMAH[326]

*Burmah*, or the *Kingdom of Ava*, an extensive state in the S. E. of Asia, beyond the Ganges, formerly much larger than at present. Its former limits were between lat. 9° and 27° N., ranging upward of 1,000 miles in length, and over 600 in breadth. At present the Burmese territory reaches from lat. 19° 25′ to 28° 15′ N., and from long. 93° 2′ to 100° 40′ E.; comprising a space measuring 540 miles in length from N. to S., and 420 miles in breadth, and having an area of about 200,000 sq. m. It is bounded on the W. by the province of Aracan, surrendered to the British by the Burmese treaty of 1826, and by the petty states of Tiperah, Munnipoor, and Assam, from which countries it is separated by high mountain ridges; on the S. lies the newly acquired British province of Pegu,[327] on the N. upper Assam and Thibet, and on the E. China. The population, according to Capt. Henry Yule, does not exceed 3,000,000.[a]

Since the cession of Pegu to the British, Burmah has neither alluvial plains nor a seaboard, its southern frontier being at least 200 miles from the mouths of the Irrawaddy, and the country rising gradually from this frontier to the north. For about 300 miles it is elevated, and beyond that it is rugged and mountainous. This territory is watered by three great streams, the Irrawaddy, its tributary the Khyen-dwem, and the Salwin. These rivers have their sources in the northern chain of mountains, and run in a southerly course to the Indian ocean.

Though Burmah has been robbed of its most fertile territory,

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[a] H. Yule, *A Narrative of the Mission Sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava in 1855*, p. 290.—*Ed.*

that which remains is far from unproductive. The forests abound in valuable timber, among which teak, used for ship building, holds a prominent place. Almost every description of timber known in India is found also in Burmah. Stick lac of excellent quality, and varnish used in the manufacture of lacquered ware, are produced. Ava, the capital, is supplied with superior teak from a forest at 15 days' distance. Agriculture and horticulture are everywhere in a remarkably backward state; and were it not for the wealth of the soil and the congeniality of the climate, the state would be very poor. Fruits are not cultivated at all, and the crops are managed with little skill. Of garden vegetables, the onion and the capsicum are the most generally cultivated. Yams and sweet potatoes are also found, together with inconsiderable quantities of melons, cucumbers, and egg-plants. The young shoots of bamboo, wild asparagus, and the succulent roots of various aquatic plants, supply to the inhabitants the place of cultivated garden fruits. Mangoes, pineapples, oranges, custard-apples, the jack (a species of breadfruit), the papaw, fig, and the plantain (that greatest enemy of civilization), are the chief fruits, and all these grow with little or no care. The chief crops are rice (which is in some parts used as a circulating medium), maize, millet, wheat, various pulses, palms, sugar-cane, tobacco, cotton of short staple, and indigo. Sugar-cane is not generally cultivated, and the art of making sugar is scarcely known, although the plant has been long known to the people. A cheap, coarse sugar is obtained from the juice of the Palmyra palm, of which numerous groves are found, especially south of the capital. Indigo is so badly managed as to be entirely unfit for exportation. Rice in the south, and maize and millet in the north, are the standard crops. Sesamum is universally raised for cattle. On the northern hills the genuine tea-plant of China is cultivated to considerable extent; but, singularly, the natives, instead of steeping it, as they do the Chinese tea, eat the leaf prepared with oil and garlic. Cotton is raised chiefly in the dry lands of the upper provinces.

The dense forests of Burmah abound in wild animals, among which the chief are the elephant, the one-horned rhinoceros, the tiger and leopard, the wild hog, and several species of deer. Of birds, the wild cock is common; and there are also varieties of pheasants, partridges, and quails. The domestic animals are the ox, the horse, and the buffalo. The elephant also is used as a draught animal. The camel is not known. A few goats and sheep are found, but the breed is little cared for. Asses are also little used. Dogs are neglected in the Burmese economy, but cats are

numerous. Horses are used exclusively for riding, and are rarely more than thirteen hands high. The ox is the beast of draught and burden in the north; the buffalo in the south.

Of minerals, gold, carried down in the sands of the mountains, is found in the beds of the various streams. Silver mines are wrought at Bor-twang, on the Chinese frontier. The amount of gold and silver obtained annually has been estimated to approach $1,000,000. Iron is abundant in the eastern portion of Laos, but is so rudely wrought that from 30 to 40 per cent. of the metal is lost in the process of forging. The petroleum pits on the banks of the Irrawaddy produce 8,000,000 pounds per annum. Copper, tin, lead, and antimony are known to exist in the Laos country, but it is doubtful if any of these metals are obtained in considerable quantities, owing to the ignorance of the people of the methods of working ores. The mountains near the city of Ava furnish a superior quality of limestone; fine statuary marble is found 40 miles from the capital, on the banks of the Irrawaddy; amber exists so plentifully that it sells in Ava at the low price of $1 per pound; and nitre, natron, salt, and coal are extensively diffused over the entire country, though the latter is little used. The petroleum, which is produced in such abundance, is used by all classes in Burmah for burning in lamps, and as a protection against insects. It is dipped up in buckets from narrow wells sunk to a depth of from 210 to 300 feet; it bubbles up at the bottom like a living spring of water. Turpentine is found in various portions of the country, and is extensively exported to China. The oriental sapphire, ruby, topaz, and amethyst, beside varieties of the chrysoberyl and spinelle, are found in 2 districts in the beds of rivulets. All, over $50 in value, are claimed by the crown, and sent to the treasury; and no strangers are allowed to search for the stones.

From what has been said, it is evident that the Burmese have made but little advance in the practice of the useful arts. Women carry on the whole process of the cotton manufacture, using a rude loom, and displaying comparatively little ingenuity or skill. Porcelain is imported from China; British cottons are imported, and even in the interior undersell the native products; though the Burmese melt iron, steel is brought from Bengal; silks are manufactured at several places, but from raw Chinese silk; and while a very great variety of goods is imported, the exports are comparatively insignificant, those to China, with which the Burmese carry on their most extensive commerce, consisting of raw cotton, ornamental feathers, chiefly of the blue jay, edible

swallows' nests, ivory, rhinoceros and deer's horns, and some minor species of precious stones. In return for this, the Burmese import wrought copper, orpiment, quicksilver, vermilion, iron pans, brass wire, tin, lead, alum, silver, gold and gold leaf, earthenware, paints, carpets, rhubarb, tea, honey, raw silk, velvets, Chinese spirits, musk, verdigris, dried fruits, paper, fans, umbrellas, shoes, and wearing apparel. Gold and silver ornaments of a very rude description are made in various parts of the country; weapons, scissors, and carpenters' tools are manufactured at Ava; idols are sculptured in considerable quantities about 40 miles from Ava, where is found a hill of pure white marble. The currency is in a wretched condition. Lead, silver, and gold, all uncoined, form the circulating medium. A large portion of the commerce is carried on by way of barter, in consequence of the difficulties attending the making of small payments. The precious metals must be weighed and assayed at every change of hands, for which bankers charge about $3\,^1/_2$ per cent. Interest ranges from 25 to 60 per cent. per annum. Petroleum is the most universal article of consumption. For it are exchanged saltpetre, lime, paper, lacquer ware, cotton and silk fabrics, iron and brass ware, sugar, tamarinds, &c. The yonnet-ni (the standard silver of the country) has generally an alloy of copper of 10 or 15 per cent. Below $^{85}/_{100}$ the mixture does not pass current, that degree of fineness being required in the money paid for taxes.

The revenues of the empire proceed from a house tax, which is levied on the village, the village authorities afterward assessing householders according to their respective ability to pay. This tax varies greatly, as from 6 tikals per householder in Prome to 27 tikals in Tongho. Those subject to military duty, the farmers of the royal domain, and artificers employed on the public works, are exempt. The soil is taxed according to crops. The tobacco tax is paid in money; other crops pay 5 per cent. in kind. The farmers of the royal lands pay over one-half their crops. Fishing ports on lake and river are let either for a stated term or for a proportion of dried fish from the catch. These various revenues are collected by and for the use of the officers of the crown, each of whom receives, according to his importance, a district greater or less, from the proceeds of which he lives. The royal revenue is raised from the sale of monopolies of the crown, among which cotton is the chief. In the management of this monopoly, the inhabitants are forced to deliver certain articles at certain low prices to the crown officers, who sell them at an enormous advance. Thus, lead is delivered by the producers at the rate of 5 tikals per bis, or 3.6

lbs., and his majesty sells it at the rate of 20 tikals. The royal revenues amount, so it is stated, to about 1,820,000 tikals, or £227,500 per annum, to which must be added a further sum of £44,250, the produce of certain tolls levied in particular districts. These moneys keep the royal household. This system of taxation, though despotic, is singularly simple in its details; and a further exemplification of simplicity in government, is the manner in which the army is made to maintain itself, or, at least, to be supported by the people. The modes of enlistment are various; in some districts the volunteer system being adhered to, while in others, every 16 families are forced to furnish 2 men armed and equipped. They are further obliged to furnish to these recruits, monthly, 56 lbs. of rice and 5 rupees. In the province of Padoung every soldier is quartered upon 2 families, who receive 5 acres of tax-free land, and have to furnish the man of war with half the crops, and 25 rupees per annum, beside wood and other minor necessities. The captain of 50 men receives 10 tikals (the tikal is worth $1 $^1/_4$, or 2 $^1/_2$ rupees) each from 6 families, and half the crop of a 7th. The bo, or centurion, is maintained by the labor of 52 families, and the bo-gyi, or colonel, raises his salary from his own officers and men. The Burman soldier fights well under favoring circumstances, but the chief excellence of a Burman army corps lies in the absence of the *impedimenta;* the soldier carries his bed (a hammock) at one end of his musket, his kettle at the other, and his provisions (rice) in a cloth about his waist.

In physical conformation, the Burmese appear to be of the same race which inhabits the countries between Hindostan and China, having more of the Mongolian than of the Hindoo type. They are short, stout, well proportioned, fleshy, but active; with large cheek-bones, eyes obliquely placed, brown but never very dark complexion, coarse, lank, black hair, abundant, and more beard than their neighbors, the Siamese. Major Allen, in a memoir to the East India government,[a] gives them credit for frankness, a strong sense of the ridiculous, considerable readiness of resource, little patriotism, but much love of home and family; comparatively little prejudice against strangers, and a readiness to acquire the knowledge of new arts, if not attended with too much mental exertion. They are sharp traders, and have a good deal of a certain kind of enterprise; are temperate, but have small powers of endurance; have more cunning than courage; though not

[a] Major Allen, *Report on the Northern Frontier of Pegu, dated 18th July, 1854* (H. Yule, op. cit., pp. 250-51).—*Ed.*

blood-thirsty by nature, have borne phlegmatically the cruelties of their various kings; and without being naturally liars and cheats, are yet great braggarts and treacherous.

The Burmese are Buddhists by faith, and have kept the ceremonies of their religion freer from intermixture with other religions than elsewhere in India and China. The Burmese Buddhists avoid, to some extent, the picture worship practised in China, and their monks are more than usually faithful to their vows of poverty and celibacy. Toward the close of the last century, the Burman state religion was divided by 2 sects, or offshoots from the ancient faith. The first of these entertained a belief similar in some respects to pantheism, believing that the godhead is diffused over and through all the world and its creatures, but that it appears in its highest stages of development in the Buddhists themselves. The other rejects entirely the doctrine of the metempsychosis, and the picture worship and cloister system of the Buddhists; considers death as the portal to an everlasting happiness or misery, according to the conduct of the deceased, and worships one supreme and all-creating spirit (*Nat*). The present king,[a] who is a zealous devotee to his faith, has already publicly burned 14 of these heretics, both parties of whom are alike outlawed. They are, nevertheless, according to Capt. Yule, very numerous, but worship in secret.

The early history of Burmah is but little known. The empire attained its acme of power in the 11th century, when the capital was in Pegu. About the beginning of the 16th century the state was split into several minor and independent governments, which made war upon each other; and in 1554, when the king Tshen-byoo Myayen took Ava, he had subdued to himself all the valley of the Irrawaddy, and had even subjected Siam. After various changes, Alompra, the founder of the present dynasty (who died in 1760), once more raised the empire to something like its former extent and power. Since then the British have taken from it its most fertile and valuable provinces.

The government of Burmah is a pure despotism, the king, one of whose titles is lord of life and death, dispensing imprisonment, fines, torture, or death, at his supreme will. The details of the government are carried out by the hlwot-dau, or council of state, whose presiding officer is the pre-nominated heir-apparent to the throne, or if there is no heir named, then a prince of the blood

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[a] Mindon.—*Ed.*

royal. In ordinary times the council is composed of 4 ministers, who have, however, no distinct departments, but act wherever chance directs. They form also a high court of appeal, before whom suits are brought for final adjudication; and in their individual capacity, they have power to give judgment on cases which are not brought up to the collective council. As they retain 10 per cent. of the property in suit for the costs of the judgment, they derive very handsome incomes from this source. From this and other peculiarities of the Burmese government, it is easily seen that justice is rarely dealt out to the people. Every office-holder is at the same time a plunderer; the judges are venal, the police powerless, robbers and thieves abound, life and property are insecure, and every inducement to progress is wanting. Near the capital the power of the king is fearful and oppressive. It decreases with distance, so that in the more distant provinces the people pay but little heed to the behests of the lord of the white elephant, elect their own governors, who are ratified by the king, and pay but slight tribute to the government. Indeed, the provinces bordering on China display the curious spectacle of a people living contentedly under two governments, the Chinese and Burmese taking a like part in the ratification of the rulers of these localities, but, wisely, generally settling on the same men. Notwithstanding various British embassies have visited Burmah, and although missionary operations have been carried on there more successfully than elsewhere in Asia, the interior of Burmah is yet a complete *terra incognita*, on which modern geographers and map-makers have ventured some wild guesses, but concerning which they know very little in detail.

(See "Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-General of India, to the Court of Ava, 1855," by Capt. Henry Yule. London, 1858.)

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# Frederick Engels

## BOMARSUND[328]

*Bomarsund,* a narrow channel between the island of Ålands[a] and Vardo, at the entrance of the gulf of Bothnia. The Russian fortifications to the harbor of Bomarsund were destroyed by the British and French fleets during the war of 1854.[b] The channels leading up to Bomarsund were blockaded at the end of July by 4 British ships and a few small steamers. Shortly afterward strong detachments of the allied fleets arrived, with the admirals Napier and Parseval-Deschênes, followed, Aug. 7, by the line-of-battle ships with Gen. Baraguay d'Hilliers and 12,000 troops, mostly French. The Russian commander, Gen. Bodisco, was compelled to surrender on Aug. 16, the allies continuing to occupy the island until the end of the month, when the whole of the fortification was blown up. The trophies of the victors were 112 mounted guns, 79 not mounted, 3 mortars, 7 field guns, and 2,235 prisoners. The principal military interest offered by this siege is its setting completely at rest the question as to the employment of uncovered masonry in fortifications with land-fronts.

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[a] See this volume, p. 9.—*Ed.*
[b] During the Crimean war of 1853-56.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## BÜLOW[329]

*Bülow,* Friedrich Wilhelm, Count von Dennewitz, a Prussian general, born Feb. 16, 1755, died Feb. 25, 1816. At the earliest period of Napoleon's European wars, he was engaged against him. In 1808 he was made a general of brigade. In 1813 he was ennobled for his victories at Möckern,[a] Luckau, Gros-Beeren, and Dennewitz.[b] He subsequently distinguished himself in Westphalia, Holland, and Belgium, and contributed essentially (as Wellington warmly acknowledged[c]) to the victorious close of the battle of Waterloo,[330] in which he commanded the 4th division of the allied army.

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[a] Known also as the battle of Dannigkow.—*Ed.*

[b] For details on this battle see this volume, pp. 156, 402 and 403.—*Ed.*

[c] A. Wellington, "To Earl Bathurst, Waterloo, June 19th, 1815" (*Selections from the Dispatches and General Orders of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington,* p. 860).—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## BERESFORD[331]

*Beresford,* William Carr, viscount, British general, born in Ireland, Oct. 2, 1768, died in Kent, Jan. 8, 1854. The illegitimate son of George, lst marquis of Waterford, he entered the army at the age of 16, and served in Nova Scotia until 1790. During this period, he lost one of his eyes from an accidental shot by a brother officer. He served at Toulon, Corsica, the West Indies (under Abercromby), the East Indies, and Egypt, under Baird. On his return, in 1800, he was made colonel by brevet. He subsequently was employed in Ireland, at the conquest of the Cape of Good Hope, and (as brigadier-general) against Buenos Ayres, in 1806, where he was compelled to surrender, but finally escaped. In 1807 he commanded the forces which captured Madeira, and was made governor of that island.[332] In 1808 he became major-general, and, having arrived in Portugal with the English forces, was intrusted with the whole organization of the Portuguese army, including the militia. He was one of the commissioners for adjusting the terms of the celebrated convention of Cintra; was present during the retreat on, and battle of, Coruña, where he covered the embarkation of Sir John Moore's troops[333]; and, in March, 1809, was appointed marshal and generalissimo of the Portuguese army, soon raised by him into an excellent force, whether of attack or defence. He fought all through the Peninsular war, until its close in 1814, vigorously supporting Wellington. On the only considerable occasion, however, when he held the chief command, at the battle of Albuera, in 1811, he displayed very poor generalship, and the day would have been lost

but for the act of a subaltern[a] in disobedience of his orders.[b] He took part in the victories of Salamanca, Vittoria, Bayonne, Orthes, and Toulouse.[334] For these services he was created a field-marshal of Portugal, duke of Elvas, and marquis of Santo Campo. In 1810 he was chosen member of parliament for the county of Waterford (he never took his seat), and, in 1814, was created Baron Beresford of Albuera and Dungannon; in 1823 he was advanced to the dignity of viscount.

In 1814 he went on a diplomatic mission to Brazil, where, in 1817, he repressed a conspiracy.[335] On his return, he successively became lieutenant-general of the ordnance, general of the army, and (from 1828 to 1830) master-general of the ordnance. Having assisted Don Miguel, in 1823[336], he was deprived of his baton as field-marshal of Portugal. In politics, he was actively, though silently, a decided tory. His military efficiency chiefly consisted in his successful reorganization of the Portuguese troops, whom, by great skill and unwearied exertions, he finally rendered sufficiently firm and well disciplined to cope even with the French. In 1832 he married his cousin, Louisa, daughter of the archbishop of Tuam, and widow of Thomas Hope, the millionaire banker, and author of "Anastasius." He left no children, and the title became extinct at his death.

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[a] Henry Hardinge.— *Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 10-11.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## CAVALRY[337]

*Cavalry* (Fr. *cavalerie,* from *cavalier,* a horseman, from *cheval,* a horse), a body of soldiers on horseback. The use of the horse for riding, and the introduction of bodies of mounted men into armies, naturally originated in those countries to which the horse is indigenous, and where the climate and gramineous productions of the soil favored the development of all its physical capabilities. While the horse in Europe and tropical Asia soon degenerated into a clumsy animal or an undersized pony, the breed of Arabia, Persia, Asia Minor, Egypt, and the north coast of Africa attained great beauty, speed, docility, and endurance. But it appears that at first it was used in harness only; at least in military history the war chariot long precedes the armed horseman. The Egyptian monuments show plenty of war chariots, but with a single exception no horsemen; and that exception appears to belong to the Roman period. Still it is certain that at least a couple of centuries before the country was conquered by the Persians,[a] the Egyptians had a numerous cavalry, and the commander of this arm is more than once named among the most important officials of the court. It is very likely that the Egyptians became acquainted with cavalry during their war with the Assyrians; for on the Assyrian monuments horsemen are often delineated, and their use in war with Assyrian armies at a very early period is established beyond a doubt. With them, also, the saddle appears to have originated. In the older sculptures the soldier rides the bare back of the animal; at a later epoch we find a kind of pad or cushion introduced, and finally a high saddle similar to that now used all

[a] In 525 B.C.—*Ed.*

over the East. The Persians and Medians, at the time they appear in history, were a nation of horsemen. Though they retained the war chariot, and even left to it its ancient precedence over the younger arm of cavalry, yet the great numerical strength of the mounted men gave the latter an importance it had never possessed in any former service. The cavalry of the Assyrians, Egyptians, and Persians consisted of that kind which still prevails in the East, and which, up to very recent times, was alone employed in northern Africa, Asia, and eastern Europe, irregular cavalry. But no sooner had the Greeks so far improved their breed of horses by crosses with the eastern horse, as to fit them for cavalry purposes, than they began to organize the arm upon a new principle. They are the creators of both regular infantry and regular cavalry. They formed the masses of fighting men into distinct bodies, armed and equipped them according to the purpose they were intended for, and taught them to act in concert, to move in ranks and files, to keep together in a definite tactical formation, and thus to throw the weight of their concentrated and advancing mass upon a given point of the enemy's front. Thus organized, they proved everywhere superior to the undrilled, unwieldy, and uncontrolled mobs brought against them by the Asiatics. We have no instance of a combat of Grecian cavalry against Persian horsemen before the time the Persians themselves had formed bodies of a more regular kind of cavalry; but there can be no doubt that the result would have been the same as when the infantry of both nations met in battle. Cavalry, at first, was organized by the horse-breeding countries of Greece only, such as Thessalia and Boeotia; but, very soon after, the Athenians formed a body of heavy cavalry, beside mounted archers for outpost and skirmishing duty. The Spartans, too, had the *élite* of their youth formed into a body of horse-guards; but they had no faith in cavalry, and made them dismount in battle, and fight as infantry. From the Greeks of Asia Minor, as well as from the Greek mercenaries serving in their army, the Persians learned the formation of regular cavalry, and there is no doubt that a considerable portion of the Persian horse that fought against Alexander the Great were more or less trained to act in compact bodies in a regular manner. The Macedonians, however, were more than a match for them. With that people horsemanship was an accomplishment indispensable to the young nobility, and cavalry held a high rank in their army. The cavalry of Philip and Alexander consisted of the Macedonian and Thessalian nobility, with a few squadrons recruited in Greece proper. It was composed

of heavy horsemen—*cataphractae*—armed with helmet and breastplate, cuisses, and a long spear. It usually charged in a compact body, in an oblong or wedge-shaped column, sometimes also in line. The light cavalry, composed of auxiliary troops, was of a more or less irregular kind, and served like the Cossacks now-a-days for outpost duty and skirmishing.

The battle of the Granicus (334 B.C.) offers the first instance of an engagement in which cavalry played a decisive part. The Persian cavalry was placed at charging distance from the fords of the river. As soon as the heads of columns of the Macedonian infantry had passed the river, and before they could deploy, the Persian horse broke in upon them and drove them headlong down again into the river. This manoeuvre, repeated several times over with perfect success, shows at once that the Persians had regular cavalry to oppose to the Macedonians. To surprise infantry in the very moment of its greatest weakness, viz., when passing from one tactical formation into another, requires the cavalry to be well in hand, and perfectly under the control of its commanders. Irregular levies are incapable of it. Ptolemy, who commanded the advanced guard of Alexander's army, could make no headway until the Macedonian cuirassiers passed the river, and charged the Persians in flank. A long combat ensued, but the Persian horsemen being disposed in one line without reserves, and being at last abandoned by the Asiatic Greeks in their army, were ultimately routed. The battle of Arbela (331 B.C.)[a] was the most glorious for the Macedonian cavalry. Alexander in person led the Macedonian horse, which formed the extreme right of his order of battle, while the Thessalian horse formed the left. The Persians tried to outflank him, but in the decisive moment Alexander brought fresh men from the rear so as to overlap them in their turn; they at the same time left a gap between their left and centre. Into this gap Alexander at once dashed, separating their left from the remainder of the army, rolling it up completely, and pursuing it for a considerable distance. Then, on being called upon to send assistance to his own menaced left, he rallied his horse in a very short time, and passing behind the enemy's centre fell upon the rear of his right. The battle was thus gained, and Alexander from that day ranks among the first of the cavalry generals of all times. And to crown the work, his cavalry pursued the fugitive enemy with such ardor that its advanced guard stood the next day 75 miles in advance of the battle-field. It is very

[a] See this volume, p. 23.— *Ed.*

curious to observe that the general principles of cavalry tactics were as well understood at that time as they are now. To attack infantry in the formation of the march, or during a change of formation; to attack cavalry principally on its flank; to profit by any opening in the enemy's line by dashing in and wheeling to the right and left, so as to take in flank and rear the troops placed next to such a gap; to follow up a victory by a rapid and inexorable pursuit of the broken enemy—these are among the first and most important rules that every modern cavalry officer has to learn. After Alexander's death we hear no more of that splendid cavalry of Greece and Macedon. In Greece infantry again prevailed, and in Asia and Egypt the mounted service soon degenerated.

The Romans never were horsemen. What little cavalry they had with the legions was glad to fight on foot. Their horses were of an inferior breed, and the men could not ride. But on the southern side of the Mediterranean a cavalry was formed, which not only rivalled, but even outshone that of Alexander. The Carthaginian generals, Hamilcar and Hannibal, had succeeded in forming, beside their Numidian irregular horsemen, a body of first-rate regular cavalry, and thus created an arm which almost everywhere insured them a victory. The Berbers of north Africa are, up to the present day, a nation of horsemen, at least in the plains, and the splendid Barb horse which carried Hannibal's swordsmen into the deep masses of the Roman infantry, with a rapidity and vehemence unknown before, still mounts the finest regiments of the whole French cavalry, the *chasseurs d'Afrique,* and is by them acknowledged to be the best war-horse in existence. The Carthaginian infantry was far inferior to that of the Romans, even after it had been long trained by its two great chiefs; it would not have had the slightest chance against the Roman legions, had it not been for the assistance of that cavalry which alone made it possible for Hannibal to hold out 16 years in Italy[338]; and when this cavalry had been worn out by the wear and tear of so many campaigns, not by the sword of the enemy, there was no longer a place in Italy for him. Hannibal's battles have that in common with those of Frederick the Great, that most of them were won by cavalry over first-rate infantry; and, indeed, at no other time has cavalry performed such glorious deeds as under those two great commanders. From what nation, and upon what tactical principles, Hamilcar and Hannibal formed their regular cavalry, we are not precisely informed. But as their Numidian light horse are always clearly distinguished from the heavy or regular cavalry, we may

conclude that the latter was not composed of Berber tribes. There were very likely many foreign mercenaries and some Carthaginians; the great mass, however, most probably consisted of Spaniards, as it was formed in their country, and as even in Caesar's time Spanish horsemen were attached to most Roman armies. Hannibal being well acquainted with Greek civilization, and Greek mercenaries and soldiers of fortune having before his time served under the Carthaginian standards, there can scarcely be a doubt that the organization of the Grecian and Macedonian heavy cavalry served as the basis for that of the Carthaginian. The very first encounter in Italy settled the question of the superiority of the Carthaginian horse. At the Ticinus (218 B.C.), the Roman consul Publius Scipio, while reconnoitring with his cavalry and light infantry, met with the Carthaginian cavalry led by Hannibal on a similar errand. Hannibal at once attacked. The Roman light infantry stood in first line, the cavalry formed the second. The Carthaginian heavy horse charged the infantry, dispersed it, and then fell at once on the Roman cavalry in front, while the Numidian irregulars charged their flank and rear. The battle was short. The Romans fought bravely, but they had no chance whatever. They could not ride; their own horses vanquished them; frightened by the flight of the Roman skirmishers, who were driven in upon them and sought shelter between them, they threw off many of their riders and broke up the formation. Other troopers, not trusting to their horsemanship, wisely dismounted and attempted to fight as infantry. But already the Carthaginian cuirassiers were in the midst of them, while the inevitable Numidians galloped round the confused mass, cutting down every fugitive who detached himself from it. The loss of the Romans was considerable, and Publius Scipio himself was wounded. At the Trebia, Hannibal succeeded in enticing the Romans to cross that river, so as to fight with this barrier in their rear. No sooner was this accomplished than he advanced with all his troops against them and forced them to battle. The Romans, like the Carthaginians, had their infantry in the centre; but opposite to the 2 Roman wings formed by cavalry, Hannibal placed his elephants, making use of his cavalry to outflank and overlap both wings of his opponents. At the very outset of the battle, the Roman cavalry, thus turned and outnumbered, was completely defeated; but the Roman infantry drove back the Carthaginian centre and gained ground. The victorious Carthaginian horse now attacked them in front and flank; they compelled them to desist from advancing, but could not break them. Hannibal, however, knowing the

solidity of the Roman legion, had sent 1,000 horsemen and 1,000 picked foot soldiers under his brother Mago by a roundabout way to their rear. These fresh troops now fell upon them and succeeded in breaking the second line; but the first line, 10,000 men, closed up, and in a compact body forced their way through the enemy, and marched down the river toward Placentia, where they crossed it unmolested. In the battle of Cannae (216 B.C.), the Romans had 80,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry; the Carthaginians, 40,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry. The cavalry of Latium formed the Roman right wing, leaning on the river Aufidus; that of the allied Italians stood on the left, while the infantry formed the centre. Hannibal, too, placed his infantry in the centre, the Celtic and Spanish levies again forming the wings, while between them, a little further back, stood his African infantry, now equipped and organized on the Roman system. Of his cavalry, he placed the Numidians on the right wing, where the open plain permitted them, by their superior mobility and rapidity, to evade the charges of the Italian heavy horse opposed to them; while the whole of the heavy cavalry, under Hasdrubal, was stationed on the left, close to the river. On the Roman left, the Numidians gave the Italian cavalry plenty to do, but from their very nature as irregular horse could not break up their close array by regular charges. In the centre, the Roman infantry soon drove back the Celts and Spaniards, and then formed into a wedge-shaped column in order to attack the African infantry. These, however, wheeled inward, and charging the unwieldy mass in line, broke its impetus; and there the battle, now, became a standing fight. But Hasdrubal's heavy horse had, in the mean time, prepared the defeat of the Romans. Having furiously charged the Roman cavalry of the right wing, they dispersed them after a stout resistance, passed, like Alexander at Arbela, behind the Roman centre, fell upon the rear of the Italian cavalry, broke it completely, and, leaving it an easy prey to the Numidians, formed for a grand charge on the flanks and rear of the Roman infantry. This was decisive. The unwieldy mass, attacked on all sides, gave way, opened out, was broken, and succumbed. Never was there such complete destruction of an army. The Romans lost 70,000 men; of their cavalry, only 70 men escaped. The Carthaginians lost not quite 6,000, $^2/_3$ of whom belonged to the Celtic contingents, which had had to bear the brunt of the first attack of the legions. Of Hasdrubal's 6,000 regular horse, which had won the whole of the battle, not more than 200 men were killed and wounded.

The Roman cavalry of later times was not much better than that

of the Punic wars.[339] It was attached to the legions in small bodies, never forming an independent arm. Beside this legionary cavalry, there were in Caesar's time Spanish, Celtic, and German mercenary horsemen, all of them more or less irregular. No cavalry serving with the Romans ever performed things worthy of mention; and so neglected and ineffective was this arm, that the Parthian irregulars of Khorassan remained extremely formidable to Roman armies. In the eastern half of the empire, however, the ancient passion for horses and horsemanship retained its sway; and Byzantium remained, up to its conquest by the Turks,[a] the great horse mart and riding academy of Europe. Accordingly, we find that during the momentary revival of the Byzantine empire, under Justinian, its cavalry was on a comparatively respectable footing; and in the battle of Capua, in A.D. 554, the eunuch Narses is reported to have defeated the Teutonic invaders of Italy principally by means of this arm.[340]

The establishment, in all countries of western Europe, of a conquering aristocracy of Teutonic origin, led to a new era in the history of cavalry. The nobility took everywhere to the mounted service, under the designation of men-at-arms (*gens d'armes*), forming a body of horse of the heaviest description, in which not only the riders but also the horses were covered with defensive armor of metal. The first battle at which such cavalry appeared was that at Poitiers, where Charles Martel, in 732, beat back the torrent of Arab invasion. The Frankish knighthood, under Eudes, duke of Aquitania, broke through the Moorish ranks and took their camp. But such a body was not fit for pursuit; and the Arabs, accordingly, under shelter of their indefatigable irregular horse, retired unmolested into Spain. From this battle dates a series of wars in which the massive but unwieldy regular cavalry of the West fought the agile irregulars of the East with varied success. The German knighthood measured swords, during nearly the whole of the 10th century, with the wild Hungarian horsemen, and totally defeated them by their close array at Merseburg in 933, and at the Lech in 955.[341] The Spanish chivalry, for several centuries, fought the Moorish invaders of their country, and ultimately conquered them. But when the occidental "heavies" transferred the seat of war, during the crusades,[342] to the eastern homes of their enemies, they were in their turn defeated, and in most cases completely destroyed; neither they nor their horses could stand the climate, the immensely long marches, and the

[a] Byzantium was finally conquered by the Turks in 1453.—*Ed.*

want of proper food and forage. These crusades were followed by a fresh irruption of eastern horsemen into Europe, that of the Mongols. Having overrun Russia, and the provinces of Poland, they were met at Wahlstatt in Silesia, in 1241, by a combined Polish and German army.[343] After a long struggle, the Asiatics defeated the worn-out steel-clad knights, but the victory was so dearly bought that it broke the power of the invaders. The Mongols advanced no further, and soon, by divisions among themselves, ceased to be dangerous, and were driven back. During the whole of the middle ages, cavalry remained the chief arm of all armies: with the eastern nations the light irregular horse had always held that rank; with those of western Europe, the heavy regular cavalry formed by the knighthood was in this period the arm which decided every battle. This preeminence of the mounted arm was not so much caused by its own excellence, for the irregulars of the East were incapable of orderly fight, and the regulars of the West were clumsy beyond belief in their movements; it was principally caused by the bad quality of the infantry. Asiatics as well as Europeans held that arm in contempt; it was composed of those who could not afford to appear mounted, principally of slaves or serfs. There was no proper organization for it; without defensive armor, with a pike and sword for its sole weapons, it might now and then by its deep formation withstand the furious but disorderly charges of eastern horsemen; but it was resistlessly ridden over by the invulnerable men-at-arms of the West. The only exception was formed by the English infantry, which derived its strength from its formidable weapon, the long-bow. The numerical proportion of the European cavalry of these times to the remainder of the army was certainly not as strong as it was a few centuries later, nor even as it is now. Knights were not so exceedingly numerous, and in many large battles we find that not more than 800 or 1,000 of them were present. But they were generally sufficient to dispose of any number of foot soldiers, as soon as they had succeeded in driving from the field the enemy's men-at-arms. The general mode of fighting of these men-at-arms was in line, in single rank, the rear rank being formed by the esquires, who wore, generally speaking, a less complete and heavy suit of armor. These lines, once in the midst of the enemy, soon dissolved themselves into single combatants, and finished the battle by sheer hand-to-hand fighting. Subsequently, when firearms began to come into use, deep masses were formed, generally squares; but then the days of chivalry were numbered.

During the 15th century, not only was artillery introduced into the field of battle, while part of the infantry, the skirmishers of those times, were armed with muskets, but a general change took place in the character of infantry. This arm began to be formed by the enlistment of mercenaries who made a profession of military service. The German *Landsknechte* and the Swiss were such professional soldiers, and they very soon introduced more regular formations and tactical movements. The ancient Doric and Macedonian phalanx was, in a manner, revived; a helmet and a breastplate somewhat protected the men against the lance and sword of the cavalry; and when, at Novara (1513),[344] the Swiss infantry drove the French knighthood actually from the field, there was no further use for such valiant but unwieldy horsemen. Accordingly, after the insurrection of the Netherlands against Spain,[345] we find a new class of cavalry, the German *Reiters* (*reitres* of the French), raised by voluntary enlistment, like the infantry, and armed with helmet and breastplate, sword and pistols. They were fully as heavy as the modern cuirassiers, yet far lighter than the knights. They soon proved their superiority over the heavy men-at-arms. These now disappear, and with them the lance; the sword and short firearms now form the general armature for cavalry. About the same time (end of the 16th century) the hybrid arm of dragoons was introduced, first in France, then in the other countries of Europe. Armed with muskets, they were intended to fight, according to circumstances, either as infantry or as cavalry. A similar corps had been formed by Alexander the Great under the name of the *dimachae,* but it had not yet been imitated. The dragoons of the 16th century had a longer existence, but toward the middle of the 18th century they had everywhere lost their hybrid character, except in name, and were generally used as cavalry. The most important feature in their formation was that they were the first body of regular cavalry which was completely deprived of defensive armor. The creation of real hybrid dragoons was again attempted, on a large scale, by the emperor Nicholas of Russia; but it was soon proved that, before the enemy, they must always be used as cavalry, and consequently Alexander II very soon reduced them to simple cavalry, with no more pretensions to dismounted service than hussars or cuirassiers. Maurice of Orange, the great Dutch commander, formed his *Reiters* for the first time in something like our modern tactical organization. He taught them to execute charges and evolutions in separate bodies, and in more than one line; to wheel, break off, form column and line, and change front, without disorder, and in

separate squadrons and troops. Thus a cavalry fight was no longer decided by one charge of the whole mass, but by the successive charges of separate squadrons and lines supporting each other. His cavalry was formed generally 5 deep. In other armies it fought in deep bodies, and where a line formation was adopted it was still from 5 to 8 deep.

The 17th century, having completely done away with the costly men-at-arms, increased the numerical strength of cavalry to an enormous extent. At no other period was there so large a proportion of that arm in every army. In the 30 years' war[346] from $^2/_5$ to nearly $^1/_2$ of each army was generally composed of cavalry; in single instances there were 2 horsemen to 1 foot soldier. Gustavus Adolphus stands at the head of cavalry commanders of this period. His mounted troops consisted of cuirassiers and dragoons, the latter fighting almost always as cavalry. His cuirassiers, too, were much lighter than those of the emperor, and soon proved their incontestable superiority. The Swedish cavalry were formed 3 deep; their orders were, contrary to the usage of the cuirassiers of most armies, whose chief arm was the pistol, not to lose time in firing, but to charge the enemy sword in hand. At this period the cavalry, which during the middle ages had generally been placed in the centre, was again placed, as in antiquity, on the wings of the army, where it was formed in 2 lines. In England, the civil war[347] gave rise to 2 distinguished cavalry leaders. Prince Rupert, on the royalist side, had as much "dash" in him as any cavalry general, but he was almost always carried too far, lost his cavalry out of hand, and was himself so taken up with what was immediately before him, that the general always disappeared in the "bold dragoon." Cromwell, on the other hand, with quite as much dash where it was required, was a far better general; he kept his men well in hand, always held back a reserve for unforeseen events and decisive movements, knew how to manoeuvre, and thus proved generally victorious over his inconsiderate opponent. He won the battles of Marston Moor and Naseby by his cavalry alone.

With most armies the use of the firearm still remained the chief employment of cavalry in battle, the Swedes and English alone excepted. In France, Prussia, and Austria, cavalry was drilled to use the carabine exactly as infantry used the musket. They fired on horseback, the line standing still all the while, by files, platoons, ranks, &c.; and when a movement for a charge was made, the line advanced at a trot, pulled up at a short distance from the enemy, gave a volley, drew swords, and then charged. The effective fire of the long lines of infantry had shaken all confidence in the charge

of a cavalry which was no longer protected by armor; consequently, riding was neglected, no movements could be executed at a quick pace, and even at a slow pace accidents happened by the score to both men and horses. The drill was mostly dismounted work, and their officers had no idea whatever of the way of handling cavalry in battle. The French, it is true, sometimes charged sword in hand, and Charles XII of Sweden, true to his national tradition, always charged full speed without firing, dispersing cavalry and infantry, and sometimes even taking field works of a weak profile. But it was reserved for Frederick the Great and his great cavalry commander, Seydlitz, to revolutionize the mounted service, and to raise it to the culminating point of glory. The Prussian cavalry, heavy men on clumsy horses, drilled for firing only, such as Frederick's father[a] had left them to his son, were beaten in an instant at Mollwitz (1741). But no sooner was the first Silesian war[348] brought to a close than Frederick entirely reorganized his cavalry. Firing and dismounted drill were thrown into the background, and riding was attended to.

"All evolutions are to be made with the greatest speed, all wheels to be done at a canter. Cavalry officers must above all things form the men into perfect riders; the cuirassiers to be as handy and expert on horseback as a hussar, and well exercised in the use of the sword."[b]

The men were to ride every day. Riding in difficult ground, across obstacles, and fencing on horseback, were the principal drills. In a charge, no firing at all was allowed until the 1st and 2d lines of the enemy were completely broken.

"Every squadron, as it advances to the charge, is to attack the enemy sword in hand, and no commander shall be allowed to let his troops fire under penalty of infamous cashiering; the generals of brigades to be answerable for this. As they advance, they first fall into a quick trot, and finally into a full gallop, but well closed; and if they attack in this way, his majesty is certain that the enemy will always be broken." "Every officer of cavalry will have always present to his mind that there are but 2 things required to beat the enemy: 1, to charge him with the greatest possible speed and force, and 2, to outflank him."

These passages from Frederick's instructions sufficiently show the total revolution he carried out in cavalry tactics. He was

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[a] Frederick William I.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Engels is freely quoting from Frederick II's instructions, in particular from "Instruction für die Cavallerie im Falle eines Gefechts" of March 17, 1742, "Instruction für die Obersten und sämmtliche Officiere von Regimentern der Husaren" of March 21, 1742, "Disposition, wie sich die Officiere von der Cavallerie in einem Treffen gegen den Feind zu verhalten haben" of July 25, 1744, and others.—*Ed.*

seconded admirably by Seydlitz, who always commanded his cuirassiers and dragoons, and made such troops of them that, for vehemence and order of charge, quickness of evolutions, readiness for flank attacks, and rapidity in rallying and reforming after a charge, no cavalry has ever equalled the Prussian cavalry of the 7 years' war.[349] The fruits were soon visible. At Hohenfriedberg the Baireuth regiment of dragoons, 10 squadrons, rode down the whole left wing of the Austrian infantry, broke 21 battalions, took 66 stand of colors, 5 guns, and 4,000 prisoners. At Zorndorf, when the Prussian infantry had been forced to retreat, Seydlitz, with 36 squadrons, drove the victorious Russian cavalry from the field, and then fell upon the Russian infantry, completely defeating it with great slaughter. At Rossbach, Striegau, Kesselsdorf, Leuthen, and in 10 other battles, Frederick owed the victory to his splendid cavalry.[350]

When the French revolutionary war broke out, the Austrians had adopted the Prussian system, but not so the French. The cavalry of the latter nation had, indeed, been much disorganized by the revolution, and in the beginning of the war the new formations proved almost useless. When their new infantry levies were met by the good cavalry of the English, Prussians, and Austrians, they were, during 1792 and '93, almost uniformly beaten. The cavalry, quite unable to cope with such opponents, was always kept in reserve until a few years' campaigning had improved them. Since 1796 and afterward every division of infantry had cavalry as a support; still, at Würzburg, the whole of the French cavalry was defeated by 59 Austrian squadrons (1796).[351] When Napoleon took the direction of affairs in France, he did his best to improve the French cavalry. He found about the worst material that could be met with. As a nation, the French are decidedly the worst horsemen of Europe, and their horses, good for draught, are not well adapted for the saddle. Napoleon himself was but an indifferent rider, and neglected riding in others. Still he made great improvements, and after the camp of Boulogne,[352] his cavalry in great part, mounted on German and Italian horses, was no despicable adversary. The campaigns of 1805 and 1806-'7 allowed his cavalry to absorb almost all the horses of the Austrian and Prussian armies, and beside, reenforced Napoleon's army by the excellent cavalry of the confederation of the Rhine and the grand duchy of Warsaw.[353] Thus were formed those enormous masses of horsemen with which Napoleon acted in 1809, 1812, and the latter part of 1813, which, though generally designated as French, were in great part composed of

Germans and Poles. The cuirass, which had been entirely done away with in the French army shortly before the revolution, was restored to a portion of the heavy cavalry by Napoleon. In other respects the organization and equipment remained nearly the same, except that with his Polish auxiliaries he received some regiments of light horse, armed with the lance, the costume and equipment of which were soon imitated in other armies. But in the tactical use of cavalry he introduced a complete change. According to the system of composing divisions and army corps of all 3 arms, a portion of the light cavalry was attached to each division or corps; but the mass of the arm, and especially all the heavy horse, were held together in reserve for the purpose of striking at a favorable moment a great decisive blow, or, in case of need, of covering the retreat of the army. These masses of cavalry, suddenly appearing on a given point of the battle-field, have often acted decisively; still, they never gained such brilliant successes as the horsemen of Frederick the Great. The cause of this is to be looked for partly in the changed tactics of infantry, which, by selecting chiefly broken ground for its operations, and always receiving cavalry in a square, made it more difficult for the latter arm to achieve such great victories as the Prussian horsemen had obtained over the long, thin infantry lines of their opponents. But it is also certain that Napoleon's cavalry was not equal to that of Frederick the Great, and that Napoleon's cavalry tactics were not in every instance an improvement upon those of Frederick. The indifferent riding of the French compelled them to charge at a comparatively slow pace, at a trot or a collected canter; there are but few instances where they charged at a gallop. Their great bravery and close ranks made up often enough for the curtailed impetus, but still their charge was not what would now be considered good. The old system of receiving hostile cavalry standing, carabine in hand, was in very many cases retained by the French cavalry, and in every such instance were they defeated. The last example of this happened at Dannigkow (April 5, 1813),[354] where about 1,200 French cavalry thus awaited a charge of 400 Prussians, and were completely beaten in spite of their numbers. As to Napoleon's tactics, the use of great masses of cavalry with him became such a fixed rule, that not only was the divisional cavalry weakened so as to be completely useless, but also in the employment of these masses he often neglected that successive engagement of his forces which is one of the principal points in modern tactics, and which is even more applicable to cavalry than to infantry. He introduced the cavalry charge in

column, and even formed whole cavalry corps into one monster column, in such formations that the extrication of a single squadron or regiment became an utter impossibility, and that any attempt at deploying was entirely out of the question. His cavalry generals, too, were not up to the mark, and even the most brilliant of them, Murat, would have cut but a sorry figure if opposed to a Seydlitz. During the wars of 1813, '14, and '15, cavalry tactics had decidedly improved on the part of Napoleon's opponents. Though to a great extent following Napoleon's system of holding cavalry in reserve in large masses, and therefore very often keeping the greater portion of the cavalry entirely out of an action, still in many instances a return to the tactics of Frederick was attempted. In the Prussian army the old spirit was revived. Blücher was the first to use his cavalry more boldly, and generally with success. The ambuscade of Haynau (1813),[a] where 20 Prussian squadrons rode down 8 French battalions and took 18 guns, marks a turning point in the modern history of cavalry, and forms a favorable contrast to the tactics of Lützen,[355] where the allies held 18,000 horse entirely in reserve until the battle was lost, although a more favorable cavalry ground could not be found.

The English had never adopted the system of forming large masses of cavalry, and had therefore many successes, although Napier himself admits that their cavalry was not so good at that time as that of the French.[b] At Waterloo[356] (where, by the way, the French cuirassiers for once charged at full speed), the English cavalry was admirably handled and generally successful, except where it followed its national weakness of getting out of hand. Since the peace of 1815, Napoleon's tactics, though still preserved in the regulations of most armies, have again made room for those of Frederick. Riding is better attended to, though still not at all to the extent it should be. The idea of receiving the enemy carabine in hand is scouted; Frederick's rule is everywhere revived, that every cavalry commander who allows the enemy to charge him, instead of charging himself, deserves to be cashiered. The gallop is again the pace of the charge; and the column attack has made way for charges in successive lines, with dispositions for flank attack, and with a possibility of manoeuvring with single detachments during the charge. Still much remains to be done. A greater attention to riding, especially across country, a nearer approach in

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[a] See this volume, p. 174.—*Ed.*

[b] W. F. P. Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France, from the Year 1807 to the Year 1814*, Vol. III, p. 272.—*Ed.*

the saddle and the seat to those of the hunting-field, and above all, a reduction of the weight carried by the horse, are improvements called for in every service without exception.

From the history of cavalry let us now turn to its present organization and tactics. The recruiting of cavalry, as far as the men are concerned, is not different upon the whole from the way the other arms recruit themselves in each country. In some states, however, the natives of particular districts are destined to this service: thus in Russia, the Malorussians (natives of Little Russia)[a]; in Prussia, the Poles. In Austria, the heavy cavalry is recruited in Germany and Bohemia, the hussars exclusively in Hungary, the lancers mostly in the Polish provinces. The recruiting of the horses, however, deserves especial notice. In England, where the whole cavalry does not require in time of war above 10,000 horses, the government finds no difficulty in buying them; but in order to insure to the service the benefit of horses not worked till nearly 5 years old, 3-year-old colts, mostly Yorkshire bred, are bought and kept at government expense in depots till they are fit to be used. The price paid for the colts (£20 to £25), and the abundance of good horses in the country, make the British cavalry certainly the best mounted in the world. In Russia a similar abundance of horses exists, though the breed is inferior to the English. The remount officers buy the horses by wholesale in the southern and western provinces of the empire, mostly from Jewish dealers; they re-sell those that are unfit, and hand over to the various regiments such as are of its color (all horses being of the same color in a Russian regiment). The colonel is considered as it were proprietor of the horses; for a round sum paid to him he has to keep the regiment well mounted. The horses are expected to last 8 years. Formerly they were taken from the large breeding establishments of Volhynia and the Ukraine, where they are quite wild; but the breaking them for cavalry purposes was so difficult that it had to be given up. In Austria the horses are partly bought, but the greater portion have of late been furnished by the government breeding establishments, which can part every year with above 5,000 5-year-old cavalry horses. For a case of extraordinary effort, a country so rich in horses as Austria can rely upon the markets of the interior. Prussia, 60 years ago, had to buy almost all her horses abroad, but now can mount the whole of her cavalry, line and Landwehr,[357] in the interior. For the line, the horses are bought at 3 years old, by remount commissaries, and sent into depots until

[a] The Ukrainians.—*Ed.*

old enough for service; 3,500 are required every year. In case of mobilization of the Landwehr cavalry, all horses in the country, like the men, are liable to be taken for service; a compensation of from $40 to $70 is however paid for them. There are 3 times more serviceable horses in the country than can be required. France, of all European countries, is the worst off for horses. The breed, though often good and even excellent for draught, is generally unfit for the saddle. Government breeding studs (*haras*) have been long established, but not with the success they have had elsewhere; in 1838 these studs, and the remounting depots connected with them, could not furnish 1,000 horses to the service, bought or government bred. Gen. La Roche-Aymon considered that there were not altogether 20,000 horses in France between 4 and 7 years old, fit for cavalry service.[a] Though the depots and studs have of late been much improved, they are still insufficient to fully supply the army. Algeria furnishes a splendid breed of cavalry horses, and the best regiments of the service, the *chasseurs d'Afrique,* are exclusively mounted with them, but the other regiments scarcely get any. Thus in case of a mobilization, the French are compelled to buy abroad, sometimes in England, but mostly in northern Germany, where they do not get the best class of horses, though each horse costs them nearly $100. Many condemned horses from German cavalry regiments find their way into the ranks of the French, and altogether the French cavalry, the *chasseurs d'Afrique* excepted, is the worst mounted in Europe.

Cavalry is essentially of 2 kinds: heavy and light. The real distinctive character of the 2 is in the horses. Large and powerful horses cannot well work together with small, active, and quick ones. The former in a charge act less rapidly, but with greater weight; the latter act more by the speed and impetuosity of the attack, and are moreover far more fit for single combat and skirmishing, for which heavy or large horses are neither handy nor intelligent enough. Thus far the distinction is necessary; but fashion, fancy, and the imitation of certain national costumes, have created numerous subdivisions and varieties, to notice which in detail would be of no interest. The heavy cavalry, at least in part, is in most countries furnished with a cuirass, which, however, is far from being shot proof; in Sardinia, its first rank carries a lance. Light cavalry is partly armed with the sword and carabine,

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[a] La Roche-Aymon, *De la cavalerie, ou des changements nécessaires dans la composition, l'organisation et l'instruction des troupes à cheval,* première partie, p. 140.—*Ed.*

partly with the lance. The carabine is either smooth-bored or rifled. Pistols are added in most cases to the armature of the rider; the United States cavalry alone carries the revolver. The sword is either straight, or curved to a greater or less degree; the first preferable for thrusts, the second for cuts. The question as to the advantages of the lance over the sword is still under discussion. For close encounter the sword is undoubtedly preferable; and in a charge the lance, unless too long and heavy to be wielded, can scarcely act at all, but in the pursuit of broken cavalry it is found most effective. Of nations of horsemen, almost all trust to the sword; even the Cossack abandons his lance when he has to fight against the expert swordsmen of Circassia. The pistol is useless except for a signal shot; the carabine is not very effective, even if rifled, and never will be of much real use until a breech-loading one is adopted; the revolver in skilful hands is a formidable weapon for close encounter; still the queen of weapons for cavalry is a good, sharp, handy sword.

Beside the saddle, bridle, and armed rider, the cavalry horse has to carry a valise with reserve clothing, camp utensils, grooming tackle, and in a campaign also food for the rider and forage for itself. The sum total of this burden varies in different services and classes of cavalry, between 250 and 300 lbs. for the heavy marching order, a weight which will appear enormous when compared with what private saddle horses have to carry. This overweighting the horses is the weakest point of all cavalry. Great reforms are everywhere required in this respect. The weight of the men and accoutrements can and must be reduced, but as long as the present system lasts, this drag upon the horses is always to be taken into account whenever we judge of the capabilities of exertion and endurance of cavalry. Heavy cavalry, composed of strong but, if possible, comparatively light men, on strong horses, must act principally by the force of a well-closed, solid charge. This requires power, endurance, and a certain physical weight, though not as much as would render it unwieldy. There must be speed in its movements, but no more than is compatible with the highest degree of order. Once formed for the attack, it must chiefly ride straight forward; but whatever comes in its path must be swept away by its charge. The riders need not be, individually, as good horsemen as those of light cavalry; but they must have full command over their horses, and be accustomed to ride straight forward and in a well-closed mass. Their horses, in consequence, must be less sensible to the leg, nor should they have their haunches too much under them; they should step out well in their

trot, and be accustomed to keep well together in a good, long hand gallop. Light cavalry, on the contrary, with nimbler men and quicker horses, has to act by its rapidity and ubiquity. What it lacks in weight must be made up by speed and activity. It will charge with the greatest vehemence; but when preferable, it will seemingly fly in order to fall upon the enemy's flank by a sudden change of front. Its superior speed and fitness for single combat render it peculiarly fit for pursuit. Its chiefs require a quicker eye and a greater presence of mind than those of heavy horse. The men must be, individually, better horsemen; they must have their horses perfectly under control, start from a stand into a full gallop, and again stop in an instant; turn quick, and leap well; the horses should be hardy and quick, light in the mouth, and obedient to the leg, handy at turning, and especially broken in for working at a canter, having their haunches well under them. Beside rapid flank and rear attacks, ambuscades, and pursuit, the light cavalry has to do the greater part of the outpost and patrolling duty for the whole army; aptness for single combat, the foundation of which is good horsemanship, is therefore one of its principal requirements. In line, the men ride less close together, so as to be always prepared for changes of front and other evolutions.

The English have nominally 13 light and 13 heavy regiments (dragoons, hussars, lancers; the 2 regiments of life-guards alone are cuirassiers); but in reality all their cavalry, by composition and training, are heavy cavalry, and little different in the size of men and horses. For real light cavalry service they have always used foreign troops—Germans in Europe, native irregulars in India. The French have 3 kinds: light cavalry, hussars and chasseurs, 174 squadrons; line cavalry, lancers and dragoons, 120 squadrons; reserve cavalry, 78 squadrons, cuirassiers and carabineers. Austria has 96 squadrons of heavy cavalry, dragoons and cuirassiers; and 192 squadrons of light, hussars and lancers. Prussia has, of the line, 80 squadrons of heavy horse, cuirassiers and lancers; and 72 squadrons of light horse, dragoons and hussars; to which may be added, in case of war, 136 squadrons of lancers of the first levy of the Landwehr. The second levy of the Landwehr cavalry will scarcely ever be formed separately. The Russian cavalry consists of 160 heavy squadrons, cuirassiers and dragoons; and 304 light squadrons, hussars and lancers. The formation of the dragoon corps for alternate mounted and infantry duty has been abandoned, and the dragoons incorporated with the heavy cavalry. The real light cavalry of the Russians, however, are the Cossacks, of

whom they always have more than enough for all the outpost, reconnoitring, and irregular duties of their armies. In the U.S. army there are 2 regiments of dragoons, 1 of mounted riflemen, and 2 styled cavalry; all of which regiments, it has been recommended, should be called regiments of cavalry. The U.S. cavalry is really a mounted infantry.

The tactical unity in cavalry is the squadron, comprising as many men as the voice and immediate authority of one commander can control during evolutions. The strength of a squadron varies from 100 men (in England) to 200 men (in France); those of the other armies also being within these limits. Four, 6, 8, or 10 squadrons form a regiment. The weakest regiments are the English (400 to 480 men); the strongest the Austrian light horse (1,600 men). Strong regiments are apt to be unwieldy; too weak ones are very soon reduced by a campaign. Thus the British light brigade at Balaklava,[358] not 2 months after the opening of the campaign, numbered in 5 regiments of 2 squadrons each scarcely 700 men, or just half as many as one Russian hussar regiment on the war footing. Peculiar formations are: with the British the troop or half squadron, and with the Austrians the division or double squadron, an intermediate link which alone renders it possible for one commander to control their strong regiments of horse.

Until Frederick the Great, all cavalry was formed at least 3 deep. He first formed his hussars, in 1743, 2 deep, and at the battle of Rossbach had his heavy horse formed the same way. After the 7 years' war this formation was adopted by all other armies, and is the only one now in use. For purposes of evolution the squadron is divided into 4 divisions; wheeling from line into open column of divisions, and back into line from column, form the chief and fundamental evolution of all cavalry manoeuvres. Most other evolutions are only adapted either for the march (the flank march by threes, &c.), or for extraordinary cases (the close column by divisions or squadrons). The action of cavalry in battle is eminently a hand-to-hand encounter; its fire is of subordinate importance; steel—either sword or lance—is its chief weapon; and all cavalry action is concentrated in the charge. Thus the charge is the criterion for all movements, evolutions, and positions of cavalry. Whatever obstructs the facility of charging is faulty. The impetus of the charge is produced by concentrating the highest effort both of man and horse into its crowning moment, the moment of actual contact with the enemy. In order to effect this, it is necessary to approach the enemy with a gradually increasing velocity, so that

the horses are put to their full speed at a short distance from the enemy only. Now the execution of such a charge is about the most difficult matter that can be asked from cavalry. It is extremely difficult to preserve perfect order and solidity in an advance at increasing pace, especially if there is much not quite level ground to go over. The difficulty and importance of riding straight forward is here shown; for unless every rider rides straight to his point, there arises a pressure in the ranks, which is soon rolled back from the centre to the flanks, and from the flanks to the centre; the horses get excited and uneasy, their unequal speed and temper comes into play, and soon the whole line is straggling along in any thing but a straight alignment, and with any thing but that closed solidity which alone can insure success. Then, on arriving in front of the enemy, it is evident that the horses will attempt to refuse running into the standing or moving mass opposite, and that the riders must prevent their doing so; otherwise the charge is sure to fail. The rider, therefore, must not only have the firm resolution to break into the enemy's line, but he must also be perfectly master of his horse. The regulations of different armies give various rules for the mode of advance of the charging cavalry, but they all agree in this point, that the line, if possible, begins to move at a walk, then trot, at from 300 to 150 yards from the enemy canter, gradually increasing to a gallop, and at from 20 to 30 yards from the enemy full speed. All such regulations, however, are subject to many exceptions; the state of the ground, the weather, the condition of the horses, &c., must be taken into consideration in every practical case. If in a charge of cavalry against cavalry both parties actually meet, which is by far the most uncommon case in cavalry engagements, the swords are of little avail during the actual shock. It is the momentum of one mass which breaks and scatters the other. The moral element, bravery, is here at once transformed into material force; the bravest squadron will ride on with the greatest self-confidence, resolution, rapidity, *ensemble,* and solidity. Thus it is that no cavalry can do great things unless it has plenty of "dash" about it. But as soon as the ranks of one party are broken, the swords, and with them individual horsemanship, come into play. A portion at least of the victorious troop has also to give up its tactical formation, in order to mow with the sword the harvest of victory. Thus the successful charge at once decides the contest; but unless followed up by pursuit and single combat, the victory would be comparatively fruitless. It is this immense preponderance of the party which has preserved its tactical compactness and formation,

over the one which has lost it, which explains the impossibility for irregular cavalry, be it ever so good and so numerous, to defeat regular cavalry. There is no doubt that so far as individual horsemanship and swordsmanship is concerned, no regular cavalry ever approached the irregulars of the nations of horse-warriors of the East; and yet the very worst of European regular cavalries has always defeated them in the field. From the defeat of the Huns at Châlons (451) to the sepoy mutiny of 1857,[359] there is not a single instance where the splendid but irregular horsemen of the East have broken a single regiment of regular cavalry in an actual charge. Their irregular swarms, charging without concert or compactness, cannot make any impression upon the solid, rapidly moving mass. Their superiority can only appear when the tactical formation of the regulars is broken, and the combat of man to man has its turn; but the wild racing of the irregulars toward their opponents can have no such result. It has only been when regular cavalry, in pursuit, have abandoned their line formation and engaged in single combat, that irregulars, suddenly turning round and seizing the favorable moment, have defeated them; indeed, this stratagem has made up almost the whole of the tactics of irregulars against regulars, ever since the wars of the Parthians and the Romans. Of this there is no better example than that of Napoleon's dragoons in Egypt, undoubtedly the worst regular cavalry then existing, which defeated in every instance the most splendid of irregular horsemen, the Mamelukes.[360] Napoleon said of them, 2 Mamelukes were decidedly superior to 3 Frenchmen; 100 Frenchmen were a match for 100 Mamelukes; 300 Frenchmen generally beat 300 Mamelukes; 1,000 Frenchmen in every instance defeated 1,500 Mamelukes.[a]

However great may be the superiority in a charge of that body of cavalry which best preserves its tactical formation, it is evident that even this body must, after the successful charge, be comparatively disordered. The success of the charge is not equally decisive on every point; many men are irretrievably engaged in single combat or pursuit; and it is comparatively but a small portion, mostly belonging to the second rank, which remains in some kind of line. This is the most dangerous moment for cavalry; a very small body of fresh troops, thrown upon it, would snatch the victory from its hands. To rally quickly after a charge is therefore the criterion of a really good cavalry, and it is in this

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[a] *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France, sous Napoléon, écrits à Sainte-Hélène,* Tome premier, p. 262.—*Ed.*

point that not only young but also otherwise experienced and brave troops are deficient. The British cavalry, riding the most spirited horses, are especially apt to get out of hand, and have almost everywhere suffered severely for it (*e.g.*, at Waterloo and Balaklava). The pursuit, on the rally being sounded, is generally left to some divisions or squadrons, specially or by general regulations designated for this service; while the mass of the troops re-form to be ready for all emergencies. For the disorganized state, even of the victors, after a charge, is inducement enough to always keep a reserve in hand which may be launched in case of failure in the first instance; and thus it is that the first rule in cavalry tactics has always been, never to engage more than a portion of the disposable forces at a time. This general application of reserves will explain the variable nature of large cavalry combats, where the tide of victory ebbs and flows to and fro, either party being beaten in his turn until the last disposable reserves bring the power of their unbroken order to bear upon the disordered, surging mass, and decide the action. Another very important circumstance is the ground. No arm is so much controlled by the ground as cavalry. Heavy, deep soil will break the gallop into a slow canter; an obstacle which a single horseman would clear without looking at it, may break the order and solidity of the line; and an obstacle easy to clear for fresh horses will bring down animals that have been trotted and galloped about without food from early morning. Again, an unforeseen obstacle, by stopping the advance and entailing a change of front and formation, may bring the whole line within reach of the enemy's flank attacks. An example of how cavalry attacks should not be made, was Murat's great charge at the battle of Leipsic.[361] He formed 14,000 horsemen into one deep mass, and advanced on the Russian infantry which had just been repulsed in an attack on the village of Wachau. The French horse approached at a trot; about 600 or 800 yards from the allied infantry they broke into a canter; in the deep ground the horses soon got fatigued, and the impulse of the charge was spent by the time they reached the squares. Only a few battalions which had suffered severely were ridden over. Passing round the other squares, the mass galloped on through the second line of infantry, without doing any harm, and finally arrived at a line of ponds and morasses which put a stop to their progress. The horses were completely blown, the men in disorder, the regiments mixed and uncontrollable; in this state two Prussian regiments and the Cossacks of the guard, in all less than 2,000 men, surprised their

flanks and drove them all pell mell back again. In this instance there was neither a reserve for unforeseen emergencies, nor any proper regard for pace and distance; the result was defeat.

The charge may be made in various formations. Tacticians distinguish the charge *en muraille,* when the squadrons of the charging line have none or but very small intervals between each other; the charge with intervals, where there are from 10 to 20 yards from squadron to squadron; the charge *en échelon,* where the successive squadrons break off one after the other from one wing, and thus reach the enemy not simultaneously but in succession, which form may be much strengthened by a squadron in open column on the outward rear of the squadron forming the first *échelon;* finally, the charge in column. This last is essentially opposed to the whole of the former modes of charging, which are all of them but modifications of the line attack. The line was the general and fundamental form of all cavalry charges up to Napoleon. In the whole of the 18th century, we find cavalry charging in column in one case only, *i.e.* when it had to break through a surrounding enemy. But Napoleon, whose cavalry was composed of brave men but bad riders, had to make up for the tactical imperfections of his mounted troops by some new contrivance. He began to send his cavalry to the charge in deep columns, thus forcing the front ranks to ride forward, and throwing at once a far greater number of horsemen upon the selected point of attack than could have been done by a line attack. The desire of acting with masses, during the campaigns succeeding that of 1807, became with Napoleon a sort of monomania. He invented formations of columns which were perfectly monstrous, and which, happening to be successful in 1809, were adhered to in the later campaigns, and helped to lose him many a battle. He formed columns of whole divisions either of infantry or of cavalry, by ranging deployed battalions and regiments one behind the other. This was first tried with cavalry at Eckmühl,[362] in 1809, where 10 regiments of cuirassiers charged in column, 2 regiments deployed in front, 4 similar lines following at distances of about 60 yards. With infantry, columns of whole divisions, one battalion deployed behind the other, were formed at Wagram.[363] Such manoeuvres might not be dangerous against the slow and methodical Austrians of the time, but in every later campaign, and with more active enemies, they ended in defeat. We have seen what a pitiable end the great charge of Murat at Wachau, in the same formation, came to. The disastrous issue of d'Erlon's great infantry attack at Waterloo was caused by its being

made with this formation.[364] With cavalry the monster column appears especially faulty, as it absorbs the most valuable resources into one unwieldy mass, which, once launched, is irretrievably out of hand, and, whatever success it may have in front, is always at the mercy of smaller bodies well in hand that are thrown on its flanks. With the materials for one such column, a second line and one or two reserves might be prepared, the charges of which might not have such an effect at first, but would certainly by their repetition ultimately obtain greater results with smaller losses. In most services, indeed, this charge in column has either been abandoned, or it has been retained as a mere theoretical curiosity, while for all practical purposes the formation of large bodies of cavalry is made in several lines at charging intervals, supporting and relieving each other during a prolonged engagement. Napoleon, too, was the first to form his cavalry into masses of several divisions, called corps of cavalry. As a means of simplifying the transmission of commands in a large army, such an organization of the reserve cavalry is eminently necessary; but when maintained on the field of battle, when these corps had to act in a body, it has never produced any adequate results. In fact, it was one of the main causes of that faulty formation of monster columns which we have already mentioned. In the present European armies, the cavalry corps is generally retained, and in the Prussian, Russian, and Austrian services, there are even established normal formations and general rules for the action of such a corps on the field of battle, all of which are based on the formation of a first and second line and a reserve, together with indications for the placing of the horse artillery attached to such a body.

We have hitherto spoken of the action of cavalry so far only as it is directed against cavalry. But one of the principal purposes for which this arm is used in battle, in fact its principal use now-a-days, is its action against infantry. We have seen that in the 18th century infantry, in battle, scarcely ever formed square against cavalry. It received the charge in line, and if the attack was directed against a flank, a few companies wheeled back, *en potence*, to meet it. Frederick the Great instructed his infantry never to form square except when an isolated battalion was surprised by cavalry; and if in such a case it had formed square,

> "it may march straight against the enemy's horse, drive them away, and, never heeding their attacks, proceed to its destination."

The thin lines of infantry in those days met the cavalry charge with full confidence in the effect of their fire, and indeed repelled

it often enough; but where they once got broken, the disaster was irreparable, as at Hohenfriedberg and Zorndorf. At present, when the column has replaced the line in so many cases, the rule is that infantry always, where it is practicable, form square to receive cavalry. There are indeed plenty of instances in modern wars where good cavalry has surprised infantry in line and has to fly from its fire; but they form the exception. The question now is, whether cavalry has a fair chance of breaking squares of infantry. Opinions are divided; but it appears to be generally admitted that, under ordinary circumstances, a good, intact infantry, not shattered by artillery fire, stands a very great chance against cavalry, while with young foot soldiers, who have lost the edge of their energy and steadiness by a hard day's fighting, by heavy losses and long exposure to fire, a resolute cavalry has the best of it. There are exceptions, such as the charge of the German dragoons at Garcia Hernandez (in 1812),[365] where each of 3 squadrons broke an intact French square; but as a rule, a cavalry commander will not find it advisable to launch his men on such infantry. At Waterloo, Ney's grand charges with the mass of the French reserve cavalry on Wellington's centre, could not break the English and German squares, because these troops, sheltered a good deal behind the crest of the ridge, had suffered very little from the preceding cannonade, and were almost all as good as intact. Such charges, therefore, are adapted for the last stage of a battle only, when the infantry has been a good deal shattered and exhausted both by actual engagement and by passivity under a concentrated artillery fire. And in such cases they act decisively, as at Borodino[a] and Ligny,[366] especially when supported, as in both these cases, by infantry reserves.

We cannot enter here into the various duties which cavalry may be called upon to perform on outpost, patrolling, and escorting service, &c. A few words on the general tactics of cavalry, however, may find a place. Infantry having more and more become the main stay of battles, the manoeuvres of the mounted arm are necessarily more or less subordinate to those of the former. And as modern tactics are founded upon the admixture and mutual support of the 3 arms, it follows that for at least a portion of the cavalry, all independent action is entirely out of the question. Thus the cavalry of an army is always divided into 2 distinct bodies: divisional cavalry and reserve cavalry. The first consists of horsemen attached to the various divisions and corps of

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[a] See this volume, pp. 251-55.—*Ed.*

infantry, and under the same commander with them. In battle, its office is to seize any favorable moments which may offer themselves to gain an advantage, or to disengage its own infantry when attacked by superior forces. Its action is naturally limited, and its strength is not sufficient to act any way independently. The cavalry of reserve, the mass of the cavalry with the army, acts in the same subordinate position toward the whole infantry of the army as the divisional cavalry does toward the infantry division to which it belongs. Accordingly, the reserve cavalry will be held in hand till a favorable moment for a great blow offers itself, either to repel a grand infantry or cavalry attack of the enemy, or to execute a charge of its own of a decisive nature. From what has been stated above, it will be evident that the proper use of the cavalry of reserve is generally during the latter stages of a great battle; but then it may be and often has been decisive. Such immense successes as Seydlitz obtained with his horse are completely out of the question now; but still, most great battles of modern times have been very materially influenced by the part cavalry has played in them. But the great importance of cavalry lies in pursuit. Infantry supported by artillery need not despair against cavalry so long as it preserves its order and steadiness; but once broken, no matter by what cause, it is a prey to the mounted men that are launched against it. There is no running away from the horses; even on difficult ground, good horsemen can make their way; and an energetic pursuit of a beaten army by cavalry is always the best and the only way to secure the full fruits of the victory. Thus, whatever supremacy in battles may have been gained by infantry, cavalry still remains an indispensable arm, and will always remain so; and now, as heretofore, no army can enter the lists with a fair chance of success unless it has a cavalry that can both ride and fight.

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# Frederick Engels

## FORTIFICATION[367]

This subject is sometimes divided into defensive fortification, which provides the means of rendering a given locality, permanently or for a short time only, capable of defence; and offensive fortification, which contains the rules for conducting a siege. We shall, however, treat of it here under the three heads of *permanent fortification*, or the mode of putting a locality, in time of peace, in such a state of defence as to compel the enemy to attack it by a regular siege; the art of *sieges*; and *field fortification*, or the construction of temporary works to strengthen a given point in consequence of the momentary importance which it may acquire under the peculiar circumstances of a campaign.

### I. PERMANENT FORTIFICATION

The oldest form of fortification appears to be the stockade, which up to the end of the 18th century was still the national system with the Turks (*palanka*), and is even now in full use in the Indo-Chinese peninsula among the Burmese. It consists of a double or triple row of stout trees, planted upright and near each other in the ground, forming a wall all around the town or camp to be defended. Darius in his expedition among the Scythians, Cortes at Tabasco in Mexico, and Capt. Cook in New Zealand, all came in contact with such stockades. Sometimes the space between the rows of trees was filled up with earth; in other instances the trees were connected and held together by wicker work. The next step was the erection of masonry walls instead of stockades. This plan secured greater durability, at the same time that it rendered the assault far more difficult; and from the days of Nineveh and

Babylon down to the close of the middle ages, masonry walls formed the exclusive means of fortification among all the more civilized nations. The walls were made so high that escalade was rendered difficult; they were made thick enough to offer a lengthened resistance to the battering ram, and to allow the defenders to move about freely on the top, sheltered by a thinner masonry parapet with battlements, through the embrasures of which arrows and other missiles might be shot or thrown against the assailants. To increase the defence, the parapet was soon built overhanging, with holes between the projecting stones on which it rested, so as to allow the besieged to see the foot of the wall and reach an enemy who might have got so far by direct missiles from above. The ditch, no doubt, was also introduced at an early period, surrounding the whole wall, and serving as the chief obstacle against access to it. Finally, the defensive capabilities of masonry walls were developed to the highest point by adding at intervals towers which projected from the wall, thus giving it a flanking defence by missiles thrown from them at such troops as assailed the space between two towers. Being in most cases higher than the wall, and separated from its top by cross parapets, they commanded it and formed each a small fortress, which had to be taken singly after the defenders had been driven from the main wall itself. If we add to this, that in some cities, especially in Greece, there was a kind of citadel, on some commanding height inside the walls (acropolis), forming a reduit and second line of defence, we shall have indicated the most essential points of the fortification of the masonry epoch.

But from the 14th to the end of the 16th century the introduction of artillery fundamentally changed the modes of attacking fortified places. From this period dates that immense literature on fortification which has produced systems and methods innumerable, part of which have found a more or less extensive practical application, while others, and not always the least ingenious, have been passed over as merely theoretical curiosities, until at later periods the fruitful ideas contained in them have been again drawn into daylight by more fortunate successors. This has been the fate, as we shall see, of the very author who forms, if we may say so, the bridge between the old masonry system and the new system of earthworks merely revetted with masonry in those places which the enemy cannot see from a distance.[a] The first effect of the introduction of artillery was an

[a] This refers to the German engineer Daniel Speckle and his book *Architectura von Vestungen.— Ed.*

increase in the thickness of the walls and in the diameter of the towers at the expense of their height. These towers were now called roundels (*rondelli*), and were made large enough to hold several pieces of cannon. To enable the besieged to work cannon on the wall too, a rampart of earth was thrown up behind it so as to give it the necessary width. We shall soon see how this earthwork gradually encroached on the wall, so as in some cases to supersede it altogether. Albert Dürer, the celebrated German painter, developed this system of roundels to its highest perfection. He made them perfectly independent forts, intersecting the continuity of the wall at certain intervals, and with casemated batteries enfilading the ditch; of his masonry parapets, not more than 3 feet high is uncovered (visible to the besieger and subject to his direct fire); and in order to complete the defence of the ditch, he proposed *caponnières*, casemated works on the sole of the ditch, hidden from the eyes of the besiegers, with embrasures on either side so as to enfilade the ditch as far as the next angle of the polygon. Almost all these proposals were new inventions; and if none except the casemates found favor with his age, we shall see that in the latest and most important systems of fortification they have all been adopted and developed according to the altered circumstances of modern times.

About the same time, a change was adopted in the shape of the enlarged towers from which modern systems of fortification may be considered to date. The round shape had the disadvantage that neither the curtain (the piece of wall between two towers) nor the next adjoining towers could reach with their fire every point in front of an intermediate tower; there were small angles close to the wall, where the enemy, if he once reached them, could not be touched by the fire of the fortress. To avoid this, the tower was changed into an irregular pentagon, with one side turned toward the interior of the fortress, and 4 toward the open country. This pentagon was called a bastion. To prevent repetitions and obscurity, we shall now at once proceed to give the description and nomenclature of bastionary defence, based on one of those systems which show all its essential particulars.

Fig. 1 (see next page) represents 3 fronts of a hexagon fortified according to Vauban's first system. The left side represents the mere outline as used in the geometrical delineation of the work; the right gives the ramparts, glacis, &c., in detail. The entire side of the polygon $f'f''$ is not formed by a continuous rampart; at each end, the portions $d'$ $f'$ and $e''$ $f''$ are left open and the space thus arising is closed by the projecting pentagonal bastion

*d′ b′ a′ c′ e′*. The lines *a′ b′* and *a′ c′* form the faces, the lines *b′ d′* and *c′ e′* the flanks of the bastion. The points where faces and flanks meet are called the shoulder points. The line *a′ f′*, which goes from the centre of the circle to the point of the bastion, is called the capital. The line *e″ d′*, forming part of the original circumference of the hexagon, is the curtain. Thus every polygon will have as many bastions as sides. The bastion may be either full, if the whole pentagon is filled up with earth as high as the *terreplein* of the rampart (the place where the guns stand), or hollow (empty) if the rampart slopes down, immediately behind the guns, into the interior. In fig. 1, *d b a c e* is a full bastion; the

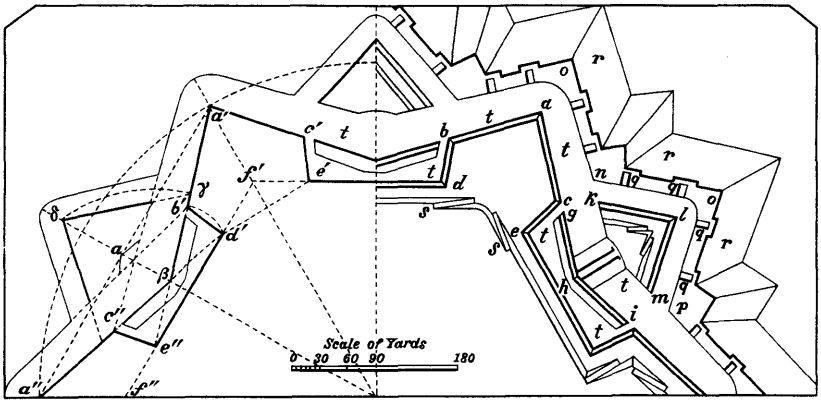


FIG. 1

next one to the right, of which one half only is seen, is a hollow one. Bastions and curtains together constitute the enceinte, or body of the place. In them we notice, on the terreplein, first the parapet, constructed in front so as to shelter the defenders, and then the ramps, on the interior slope (*s s*), by which the communications with the interior are kept up. The rampart is high enough to cover the houses of the town from direct fire, and the parapet thick enough to offer lengthened resistance to heavy artillery. All round the rampart is the ditch *t t t t*, and in it are several classes of outworks. First, the ravelin or demilune *k l m*, in front of the curtain, a triangular work with two faces, *k l* and *l m*, each with a rampart and parapet to receive artillery. The open rear of any work is called the gorge; thus in the ravelin, *k m*, in the bastion *d e*, is the gorge. The parapet of the ravelin is about 3 or 4 feet lower than the parapet of the body of the place, so that it is commanded by it, and the guns of the latter may in case of need

fire away over it. Between the curtain and ravelin there is a long and narrow detached work in the ditch, the *tenaille, g h i,* destined principally to cover the curtains from breaching fire; it is low and too narrow for artillery, and its parapet merely serves for infantry to flank the ditch fire into the lunette in case of a successful assault. Beyond the ditch is the covered way, *n o p,* bounded on the inner side by the ditch and on the outer side by the interior slope of the glacis, *r r r,* which from its highest inner boundary line or crest (*crête*) slopes very gradually down into the field. The crest of the glacis is again 3 feet or more lower than the ravelin, so as to allow all the guns of the fortress to fire over it. Of the slopes in these earthworks the exterior one of the body of the place and of the outworks in the ditch (scarp), and the exterior one of the ditch (from the covered way downward) or counterscarp, are generally revetted with masonry. The salient and reentering angles of the covered way form large, roomy, sheltered spots, called places of arms; they are called either salient (*o*) or reentering (*n p*), according to the angles at which they are situated. To prevent the covered way from being enfiladed, traverses or cross parapets are constructed across it at intervals, leaving only small passages at the end nearest the glacis. Sometimes there is a small work constructed to cover the communication across the ditch from the tenaille to the ravelin; it is called a *caponnière,* and consists of a narrow pathway covered on either side by a parapet, the exterior surfaces of which slope down gradually like a glacis. There is such a caponnière between the tenaille *g h i* and the ravelin *k l m,* fig. 1.

The section given in fig. 2 will assist in rendering this description clearer. A is the terreplein of the body of the place, B is the parapet, C the masonry revetment of the scarp, D the ditch, E the *cunette,*[a] a smaller and deeper ditch drawn across the middle of the larger one, F the masonry revetment of the counterscarp, G the covered way, H the glacis. The steps shown behind the parapet and glacis are called banquettes, and serve as stands for infantry to step on and fire over the protecting parapet. It will be readily observed from the diagram that the guns placed on the flanks of the bastions sweep the whole ditch in front of the adjoining bastions. Thus the face $a'$ $b'$ is covered by the fire of the flank $c''$ $e''$, and the face $a'$ $c'$ by the flank $b$ $d$. On the other hand, the inner faces of two adjoining bastions cover the faces of the ravelin between them, by keeping the ditch in front of

[a] Or cuvette.—*Ed.*

the ravelin under their fire. Thus there is no portion of the ditch unprotected by a flanking fire; in this consists the original and great step in advance by which the bastionary system inaugurates a new epoch in the history of fortification.

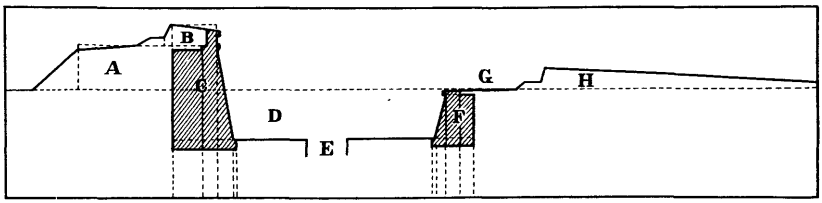


FIG. 2

The inventor of bastions is not known, nor is the precise date at which they were introduced; the only thing certain is that they were invented in Italy, and that San Michele in 1527 constructed two bastions in the rampart of Verona. All statements respecting earlier bastions are doubtful. The systems of bastionary fortification are classed under several national schools; the first to be mentioned is of course that which invented bastions, the Italian. The first Italian bastions bore the stamp of their origin; they were nothing but polygonal towers or roundels; they scarcely altered the former character of the fortification, except as regarded the flanking fire. The enceinte remained a masonry wall, exposed to the direct fire of the enemy; the rampart of earth thrown up behind served chiefly to give room to place and handle artillery, and its inner slope was also revetted with masonry, as in the old town walls. It was not till a later day that the parapet was constructed of earthworks, but even then the whole of its outer slope up to the top was revetted with masonry exposed to the direct fire of the enemy. The curtains were very long, from 300 to 550 yards. The bastions were very small, the size of large roundels, the flanks always perpendicular to the curtains. Now as it is a rule in fortification that the best flanking fire always comes from a line perpendicular to the line to be flanked, it is evident that the chief object of the old Italian flank was to cover, not the short and distant face of the adjoining bastion, but the long straight line of the curtain. Where the curtain became too long, a flat, obtuse-angled bastion was constructed on the middle of it, and called a platform (*piatta forma*). The flanks were not constructed on the shoulder point, but a little retired behind the

rampart of the faces, so that the shoulder points projected and were supposed to shelter them; and each flank had two batteries, a lower one, and a higher one a little to the rear; sometimes even a casemate in the scarp wall of the flank on the bottom of the ditch. Add to this a ditch, and you have the whole of the original Italian system; there were no ravelins, no tenailles, no covered way, no glacis. But this system was soon improved. The curtains were shortened, the bastions were enlarged. The length of the inner side of the polygon ($f'$ $f'$, fig. 1) was fixed at from 250 to 300 yards. The flanks were made longer, $^1/_6$ of the side of the polygon, $^1/_4$ of the length of the curtain. Thus, though they remained perpendicular to the curtain and had other defects, as we shall see, they now began to give more protection to the face of the next bastion. The bastions were made full, and in their centre a cavalier was often erected, that is, a work with faces and flanks parallel to those of the bastion, but with a rampart and parapet so much higher as to admit of its firing over the parapet of the bastion. The ditch was very wide and deep, the counterscarp running generally parallel to the face of the bastion; but as this direction of the counterscarp prevented the part of the flank nearest the shoulder from seeing and flanking the whole of the ditch, it was subsequently done away with, and the counterscarp was traced so that its prolongation passed through the shoulder point of the next bastion. The covered way was then introduced (first in the citadel of Milan, in the 2d quarter of the 16th century, first described by Tartaglia in 1554[a]). It served as a place of concentration as well as of retreat for sallying parties, and from its introduction the scientific and energetic use of offensive movements in the defence of fortresses may be said to date; to increase its utility the places of arms were introduced, which give more room, and of which the reentering angles also give a capital flanking fire to the covered way. To render the access to the covered way still more difficult, rows of palisades were erected on the glacis, one or two yards from its crest, but in this position they were soon destroyed by the enemy's fire; after the middle of the 17th century, therefore, they were placed, at the suggestion of the Frenchman Maudin, on the covered way, covered by the glacis. The gates were in the middle of the curtain; to cover them, a crescent-shaped work was placed in the middle of the ditch in front of them; but for the same reason that the towers were transformed into bastions, the half-moon (*demi-lune*) was soon

[a] A reference to Book 6 of Nicolò Tartaglia's *Quesiti, et inventioni di verse.*— *Ed.*

changed into a triangular work—the present ravelin. This was still very small, but became larger when it was found that not only did it serve as a bridge-head across the ditch, but also covered flanks and curtains against the enemy's fire, gave a cross fire in front of the capitals of the bastions, and effectually flanked the covered way. Still they were made very small, so that the prolongation of their faces reached the body of the place in the curtain point (the extremity of the curtain). The principal faults of the Italian mode of fortification were the following: 1. The bad direction of the flank. After the introduction of ravelins and covered ways, the curtain became less and less the point of attack; the faces of the bastions now were chiefly assailed. To cover these well, the prolongation of the faces should have met the curtain at the very point where the flank of the next bastion was erected, and this flank should have been perpendicular or nearly so to this prolonged line (called the line of defence). In that case there would have been an effective flanking fire all along the ditch and front of the bastion. As it was, the line of defence was neither perpendicular to the flanks nor did it join the curtain at the curtain point; it intersected the curtain at $^1/_4$, $^1/_3$, or $^1/_2$ of its length. Thus, the direct fire of the flank was more likely to injure the garrison of the opposite flank than the assailants of the next bastion. 2. There was an evident want of provision for a prolonged defence after the enceinte had been breached and successfully assaulted at one single point. 3. The small ravelins but imperfectly covered the curtains and flanks, and received but a poor flanking fire from them. 4. The great elevation of the rampart, which was all faced or revetted with masonry, exposed, in most cases, a height of 15 to 20 feet of masonry to the direct fire of the enemy, and of course this masonry was soon destroyed. We shall find that it took almost two centuries to eradicate this prejudice in favor of uncovered masonry, even after the Netherlands had proved its uselessness. The best engineers and authors belonging to the Italian school were: San Michele (died 1559), fortified Napoli di Romania in Greece, and Candia, and built Fort Lido near Venice; Tartaglia (about 1550); Alghisi da Carpi, Girolamo Maggi, and Giacomo Castriotto, who about the end of the 16th century all wrote on fortification.[a] Paciotto of Urbino built the citadels of Turin and Antwerp (1560-'70). The later Italian authors on fortification, Marchi, Busca, Floriani, Rossetti,

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[a] G. Alghisi, *Delle fortificationi*; G. Maggi and G. Castriotto, *Della fortificatione delle citta.—Ed.*

introduced many improvements, but none of these were original. They were mere plagiarists of more or less skill; they copied most of their devices from the German Daniel Speckle, and the remainder from the Netherlanders. They all belong to the 17th century, and were completely eclipsed by the rapid development of fortificatory science which at that time took place in Germany, the Netherlands, and France.

The defects of the Italian system of fortification were soon discovered in Germany. The first man to point out the chief defect of the elder Italian school, the small bastions and long curtains, was a German engineer, Franz, who fortified for Charles V the town of Antwerp. In the council held to try the plan, he insisted upon larger bastions and shorter curtains, but was outvoted by the duke of Alva and the other Spanish generals, who believed in nothing but the routine of the old Italian system. Other German fortresses were distinguished by the adoption of casemated galleries upon the principle of Dürer, as Küstrin, fortified in 1537-'58, and Jülich, fortified a few years later by an engineer known under the name of Master John (*Meister Johann*). But the man who first broke completely through the fetters of the Italian school and laid down the principles on which the whole of the subsequent systems of bastionary fortification are founded, was Daniel Speckle, engineer to the town of Strasbourg (died 1589). His chief principles were: 1. That a fortress becomes stronger the more sides there are to the polygon which forms the enceinte, the different fronts being thereby enabled to give a better support to each other; consequently, the nearer the outline to be defended comes to a straight line, the better. This principle, demonstrated as an original discovery with a great show of mathematical learning by Cormontaigne, was thus very well known to Speckle 150 years earlier. 2. Acute-angled bastions are bad; so are obtuse-angled; the salient angle should be a right one. Though correct in his opposition to acute salients (the smallest admissible salient angle is now generally fixed at 60°), the partiality of his time for right-angled salients made him hostile to the obtuse salient, which is indeed very advantageous and unavoidable in polygons with many sides. In fact, this appears to have been merely a concession to the prejudices of his time, for the diagrams of what he considers his strongest method of fortification all have obtuse-angled bastions. 3. The Italian bastions are far too small; a bastion must be large. Consequently, Speckle's bastions are larger than those of Cormontaigne. 4. Cavaliers are necessary in every bastion and on every curtain. This was a consequence of the

system of siege of his time, in which high cavaliers in the trenches played a great part. But in Speckle's intention, the cavaliers were to do more than resist these; they are real *coupures* provided beforehand in the bastion, forming a second line of defence after the enceinte has been breached and stormed. The whole of the credit generally given to Vauban and Cormontaigne for cavaliers forming permanent coupures, is therefore in reality due to Speckle. 5. A portion, at least, of the flank, and better still the whole of the flank of a bastion, must be perpendicular to the line of defence, and the flank be erected in the point where the line of defence crosses the curtain. This important principle, the alleged discovery of which forms the greater part of the glory of the French engineer Pagan, was thus publicly proclaimed 70 years before Pagan. 6. Casemated galleries are necessary for the defence of the ditch; consequently Speckle has them both on the faces and flanks of the bastion, but only for infantry; if he had made them large enough for artillery, he would in this respect have been fully up to the latest improvements. 7. To be useful, the ravelin must be as large as possible; accordingly, Speckle's ravelin is the largest ever proposed. Now, Vauban's improvements upon Pagan consist partly, and Cormontaigne's improvements upon Vauban consist almost entirely, in the successive enlargement of the ravelin; but Speckle's ravelin is a good deal larger than even Cormontaigne's. 8. The covered way is to be strengthened as much as possible. Speckle was the first to see the immense importance of the covered way, and he strengthened it accordingly. The crests of the glacis and of the counterscarp were formed *en crémaillère* (like the edge of a saw), so as to render enfilading fire ineffective. Cormontaigne, again, took up this idea of Speckle's; but he retained the traverses (short ramparts across the covered way against enfilading fire), which Speckle rejected. Modern engineers have generally come to the conclusion that Speckle's plan is better than Cormontaigne's. Speckle, beside, was the first to place artillery on the places of arms of the covered way. 9. No piece of masonry is to be exposed to the eye and direct fire of the enemy, so that his breaching batteries cannot be established before he has arrived on the crest of the glacis. This most important principle, though established by Speckle in the 16th century, was not generally adopted until Cormontaigne; even Vauban exposes a good deal of his masonry. (See C, fig. 2.) In this short abstract of Speckle's ideas the fundamental principles of all modern bastionary fortification are not only contained but plainly stated, and his system, which even now would afford very good defensive works,

is truly wonderful considering the time in which he lived. There is not a celebrated engineer in the whole history of modern fortification who cannot be proved to have copied some of his best ideas from this great original source of bastionary defence. Speckle's practical engineering skill was shown in the construction of the fortresses of Ingolstadt, Schlettstadt, Hagenau, Ulm, Colmar, Basel, and Strasbourg, all of which were fortified under his direction.

About the same epoch, the struggle for the independence of the Netherlands[368] gave rise to another school of fortification. The Dutch towns, whose old masonry walls could not be expected to resist a regular attack, had to be fortified against the Spaniards; there was, however, neither time nor money for the erection of the high masonry bastions and cavaliers of the Italian system. But the nature of the ground offered other resources in its low elevation above the water horizon, and consequently the Dutch, expert in canal and dike building, trusted to the water for their defence. Their system was the exact counterpart of the Italian: wide and shallow wet ditches, from 14 to 40 yards across; low ramparts without any masonry revetment, but covered by a still lower advanced rampart (*fausse-braie*) for the stronger defence of the ditch; numerous outworks in the ditch, such as ravelins, half moons (ravelins in front of the salient of the bastion), horn and crown works*; and finally, a better use of the accidents of the ground than with the Italians. The first town fortified entirely by earthworks and wet ditches was Breda (1533). Subsequently the Dutch method received several improvements: a narrow zone of the scarp was revetted with masonry, as the wet ditches, when frozen over in winter, were easily passed by the enemy; locks and sluices were constructed in the ditch, so as to let the water in at the moment when the enemy had begun to sap the hitherto dry bottom; and finally, sluices and dikes were constructed for a systematic inundation of the country around the foot of the glacis. The writers on this elder Dutch method of fortification are

* A horn work is a bastionary front, two half bastions, a curtain, and a ravelin advanced in front of the main ditch and closed on each side by a straight line of rampart and ditch, which is aligned upon the faces of the bastions of the enceinte so as to be completely flanked by their fire. A crown work consists of two such advanced fronts (one bastion flanked by two half bastions); a double crown work has three fronts. In all these works it is necessary that their rampart should be at least as much lower than that of the enceinte as the rampart of the ravelin to maintain the command of the enceinte over them. The adoption of such outworks, which of course were exceptions, was regulated by the nature of the ground.

Marolois (1627), Freitag (1630), Völker (1666), Melder (1670). An application of Speckle's maxims to the Dutch method was attempted by Scheither, Neubauer, Heidemann, and Heer (all from 1670 to 1690, and all of them Germans).

Of all the different schools of fortification, the French has enjoyed the greatest popularity; its maxims have found practical application in a greater number of still existing fortresses than those of all the other schools put together. Still, there is no school so poor in original ideas. There is neither a new work nor a new principle in the whole of the French school which is not borrowed from the Italians, the Dutch, or the Germans. But the great merit of the French is the reduction of the art to precise mathematical rules, the symmetrical arrangement of the proportions of the different lines, and the adaptation of the scientific theory to the varied conditions given by the locality to be fortified. Errard of Bar-le-Duc (1594), commonly called the father of French fortification, has no claim to the appellation; his flanks form an acute angle with the curtain, so as to be still more ineffective than those of the Italians. A more important name is Pagan (1645). He was the first to introduce in France, and to popularize, Speckle's principle that the flanks should be perpendicular to the lines of defence. His bastions are roomy; the proportions between the lengths of faces, flanks, and curtains are very good; the lines of defence are never longer than 240 yards, so that the whole of the ditch, but not the covered way, is within musket range from the flanks. His ravelin is larger than that of the Italians, and has a *reduit* or keep in its gorge, so as to admit of resistance when its rampart has already been taken. He covers the faces of the bastions with a narrow detached work in the ditch, called a counter-guard, a work which had already been used by the Dutch (the German Dilich appears to have first introduced it). His bastions have a double rampart on the faces, the second to serve as a coupure; but the ditch between the two ramparts is entirely without flanking fire. The man who made the French school the first in Europe was Vauban (1633-1707), marshal of France. Although his real military glory rests upon his two great inventions in the attack of fortresses (ricochet fire and parallels), still he is popularly better known as a constructor of them. What we have said of the French school is true of Vauban's method in the highest degree. We see in his constructions as great a variety of forms as is compatible with the bastionary system; but there is nothing original among them, much less any attempt to adopt other forms than the bastionary. But the arrangement of the

details, the proportions of the lines, the profiles, and the adaptation of the theory to the ever-varying requirements of the locality, are so ingenious, that they appear perfection in comparison to the works of his predecessors, so that scientific and systematic fortification may be said to date from him. Vauban, however, did not write a line on his method of fortification, but from the great number of fortresses constructed by him the French engineers have tried to deduce the theoretical rules he followed, and thus have been established 3 methods, called Vauban's first, second, and third system.

Fig. 1 gives the first system in its greatest simplicity. The chief dimensions were: the outer side of the polygon, from the point of one bastion to that of the next, 300 yards (on an average); on the middle of this line, a perpendicular $\alpha\,\beta$, $^1/_6$ of the first; through $\beta$, the lines of defence from $a''$ and $a'$, $a''$ $d'$ and $a'$ $e''$. From the points $a''$ and $a'$, $^2/_7$ of $a''$ $a'$ measured on the lines of defence gives the faces $a''$ $c''$ and $a'$ $b'$. From the shoulder points $c''$ and $b'$ arcs with the radius $c''$ $d'$ or $b'$ $e''$ were drawn between the lines of defence, giving the flanks $b'$ $d'$ and $c''$ $e''$. Draw $e''$ $d'$, the curtain. The ditch: with radius 30 yards, an arc in front of the point of the bastion, prolonged by tangents drawn to this arc from the shoulder points of the adjoining bastions, gives the counterscarp. The ravelin: from the curtain point $e''$, with radius $e''$ $\gamma$ ($\gamma$, a point on the opposite face 11 yards beyond the shoulder-point), draw the arc $\gamma\,\delta$, until it crosses the prolongation of the perpendicular $\alpha\,\beta$; this gives the point of the ravelin; the chord to the arc just described gives the face, which is continued from the point until it reaches the prolongation of the tangent forming the counterscarp of the main ditch; the gorge of the ravelin is fixed by this line equally, so that the whole of the ditch remains free for the fire of the flanks. In front of the curtain, and there alone, Vauban retained the Dutch *fausse-braie*; this had already been done by the Italian Floriani before him, and the new work had been called *tenaille (tenaglia).* Its faces were in the direction of the lines of defence. The ditch in front of the ravelin was 24 yards wide, the counterscarp parallel to the faces of the ravelin, and the point rounded off. In this manner Vauban obtained roomy bastions, and kept his flanked salient angles well within musket range; but the simplicity of these bastions renders the defence of the place impossible as soon as the face of one bastion is breached. His flanks are not so good as Speckle's or Pagan's, forming an acute angle with the lines of defence; but he does away with the 2 and 3 tiers of uncovered guns which figure

in most of the Italian and early French flanks, and which were never very useful. The tenaille is intended to strengthen the defence of the ditch by infantry fire, and to cover the curtain from direct breaching fire from the crest of the glacis; but this is very imperfectly done, as the breaching batteries in the reentering place of arms (*n*, fig. 1) have a full view of the piece of the curtain next to the flank at *e*. This is a great weakness, as a breach there would turn all the coupures prepared in the bastion as a second line of defence. It arises from the ravelin being still too small. The covered way, constructed without *crémaillères*, but with traverses, is much inferior to Speckle's; the traverses prevent not only the enemy, but also the defence, from enfilading the covered way. The communications between the different works are on the whole good, but still not sufficient for energetic sallies. The profiles are of a degree of strength which is still generally adopted. But Vauban still clung to the system of revetting the whole of the outside of the rampart with masonry, so that at least 15 feet high of masonry was uncovered. This mistake is made in many of Vauban's fortresses, and once made can only be remedied at an enormous expense by widening the ditch in front of the faces of the bastions, and constructing earthwork counterguards to cover the masonry. During the greater part of his life Vauban followed his first method; but after 1680 he introduced two other methods, having for their object to admit of a prolonged defence after the bastion was breached. For this purpose he took up an idea of Castriotto's, who had proposed to modernize the old tower and wall fortification by placing detached bastions, isolated, in the ditch, in front of the towers. Both Vauban's second and third methods agree in this. The ravelin is also made larger, the masonry is a little better covered; the towers are casemated, but badly; the fault that the curtain may be breached between bastion and tenaille is maintained, and renders the detached bastion partly illusory. Still, Vauban considered his second and third methods as very strong. When he handed over to Louis XIV the plan for the fortification of Landau (second system), he said:

> "Sire, here is a place that all my art would not suffice to take."[a]

This did not prevent Landau from being taken 3 times during Vauban's life (1702, 1703, 1704), and again shortly after his death (1713).[369]

The errors of Vauban were rectified by Cormontaigne, whose

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[a] A. Zastrow, *Geschichte der beständigen Befestigung*, S. 168.—*Ed.*

method may be considered as the perfection of the bastionary system. Cormontaigne (1696-1752) was a general of engineers. His larger bastions permit the construction of permanent coupures and second lines of defence; his ravelins were nearly as large as those of Speckle, and fully covered that portion of the curtain which Vauban had left exposed. In polygons of 8 and more sides his ravelins were so far advanced that their fire took in the rear the besiegers' works against the next bastion as soon as he reached the crest of the glacis. In order to avoid this, two ravelins have to be conquered before one bastion can be breached. This mutual support of the large ravelins becomes more and more effective the more the line to be defended approaches a straight one. The reentering place of arms was strengthened by a reduit. The crest of the glacis is drawn *en crémaillère,* as with Speckle, but traverses are maintained. The profiles are very good, and the masonry is always covered by the earthworks in front. With Cormontaigne the French school closes, as far as the construction of bastionary defences, with outworks within the ditch, is concerned. A comparison of the gradual development of bastionary fortification from 1600 to 1750, and of its final results as laid down by Cormontaigne, with the principles of Speckle, as stated above, will tend to elucidate the wonderful genius of the German engineer; for although outworks in the ditch have been multiplied to an enormous degree, yet not a single important principle has been discovered during all these 150 years which had not been already clearly and distinctly enunciated by Speckle.

After Cormontaigne, the school of engineers of Mézières (about 1760) made some slight alterations in his system, the principal of which is the return to Speckle's old rule that the flanks must be perpendicular to the lines of defence. But the principal point for which the school of Mézières is remarkable is that they for the first time construct outworks beyond the covered way. On fronts particularly open to attack they place at the foot of the glacis, on the capital of the bastion, a detached ravelin called a lunette, and thereby approach for the first time to the modern system of permanent intrenched camps. In the beginning of the 19th century Bousmard, a French emigrant who served in Prussia and was killed at Dantzic in 1807,[370] tried still to improve upon Cormontaigne; his ideas are rather complicated, and the most remarkable is that his ravelin, which is very large, is advanced to the foot of the glacis almost so as to take the place and functions, to a certain degree, of the lunette just described.

A Dutch engineer of Vauban's time, who more than once

opposed him in siege warfare with equal honor, Baron Coehorn,[a] gave a further development to the old Dutch method of fortification. His system gives a stronger defence even than Cormontaigne's, by the clever combination of wet and dry ditches, the great facilities offered to sorties, the excellent communications between the works, and the ingenious reduits and coupures in his ravelins and bastions. Coehorn, a great admirer of Speckle, is the only engineer of note who was honest enough to acknowledge how much he owed to him.

We have seen that even before the introduction of bastions, Albert Dürer used caponnières to afford a stronger flanking fire. In his fortified square he even entirely trusts to these caponnières for the defence of the ditch; there are no towers on the corner of the fort; it is a plain square with none but salient angles. To make the enceinte of a polygon entirely coincident with its outline, so as to have all salient and no reentering angles, and to flank the ditch by caponnières, constitutes what is called polygonal fortification, and Dürer must be considered as its father. On the other hand, a star-shaped enceinte, in which salient and reentering angles follow upon each other regularly, and in which each line is both flank and face at once, flanking the ditch of the next line with the portion next to the reentering angle, and commanding the field with the portion next the salient—such an outline constitutes tenaille fortification. The older Italians and several of the older Germans had proposed this form, but it was not developed till afterward. The system of George Rimpler (engineer to the emperor of Germany,[b] killed in defending Vienna against the Turks in 1683[371]) forms a kind of intermediate stage between the bastionary and tenaille system. What he calls intermediate bastions constitute in reality a perfect line of tenailles. He declared himself energetically against open batteries with a mere earth parapet in front, and insisted on casemated batteries wherever they could be erected; especially on the flanks, where 2 or 3 tiers of well covered guns would thus have a far greater effect than the 2 or 3 tiers of guns in open flank batteries, which could never act together. He also insisted on batteries, that is, *reduits,* in the places of arms of the covered way, which Coehorn and Cormontaigne adopted, and especially a double and triple line of defence behind the salient angles of the enceinte. In this manner his system is remarkably in advance of his time; the whole of his enceinte consists of

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[a] See this volume, pp. 267-68.—*Ed.*
[a] Leopold I.—*Ed.*

independent forts, each of which has to be taken separately, and large defensive casemates are used in a manner which reminds us, almost in the details even of their application, of the more recent constructions in Germany. There is no doubt that Montalembert owed as much to Rimpler as the bastionary system of the 17th and 18th century to Speckle. The author who first fully developed the advantages of the tenaille over the bastionary system was Landsberg (1712); but it would lead us too far if we were to enter into his arguments or describe his fortificatory outline. Of the long series of skilful German engineers who followed Rimpler and Landsberg, we may name the Mecklenburg colonel Buggenhagen (1720), the inventor of blockhouse traverses, or traverses hollowed out and adapted for casemated musketry fire; and the Württemberg major Herbort (1734), inventor of defensive barracks, large barracks in the gorge of salient works, proof against vertical fire, with embrasured casemates on the side facing the enceinte, and barracks and store rooms on the side facing the town. Both these constructions are now very largely used.

Thus we see that the German school, with almost the only exception of Speckle, was from its origin adverse to bastions, which it sought to replace chiefly by tenailles, and that it attempted at the same time to introduce a better system of inner defence, chiefly by the use of casemated galleries, which again were considered as the height of absurdity by French engineering authorities. One of the greatest engineers, however, that France ever produced, the marquis de Montalembert (1713-'99), major-general of cavalry, passed over with drums beating and colors flying into the camp of the German school, to the great horror of the whole French engineering corps, who, up to the present date, decry every word he has written. Montalembert severely criticized the defects of the bastionary system[a]; the ineffectuality of its flanking fire; the almost certainty it offered to the enemy that his shots if they missed one line must do harm in another; the want of protection against vertical fire; the perfect uselessness of the curtain as to fire; the impossibility of having good and large coupures in the gorges of the bastions, proved by the fact that no fortress of his time had any of the multifarious permanent coupures proposed by the theorists of the school; and the weakness, bad connection, and want of mutual support of the

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[a] M. R. Montalembert, *La fortification perpendiculaire, ou essai Sur plusieurs manieres de fortifier la ligne droite, le triangle, le quarré, & tous les polygônes*, t. 1, pp. 73-88.—*Ed.*

outworks. Montalembert therefore preferred either the tenaille or the polygonal system. In either case the body of the place consisted of a row of casemates, with one or two tiers of guns, the masonry of which was covered from direct fire by a counterguard of *couvre-face* of earthwork extending all around and having a second ditch in its front; this ditch was flanked by casemates in the reentering angles of the couvre-face covered by the parapet of the reduit or lunette in the reentering place of arms. The whole system was based upon the principle of opposing, by means of casemated guns, such an overwhelming fire to the enemy the moment he reached the crest of the glacis, or of the couvre-face, that he could not possibly succeed in erecting his breaching batteries. That casemates could do this he maintained against the unanimous condemnation of French engineers, and he afterward even compiled systems of circular and tenaille fortifications in which all earthworks were rejected and the whole defence intrusted to high casemated batteries with from 4 to 5 tiers of guns, the masonry of which was to be protected by the fire of its batteries only. Thus, in his circular system, he contrives to concentrate 348 guns on any point 500 yards from the fortress, and expects that such an immense superiority of fire would put the possibility of erecting siege batteries entirely out of the question. In this, however, he has found no adherents, except in the construction of the sea fronts of coast forts; here the impossibility of breaching strong casemated walls by the guns of ships was pretty well demonstrated by the bombardment of Sebastopol.[372] The splendid forts of Sebastopol, Cronstadt, Cherbourg, and the new batteries on the entrance of Portsmouth harbor (England), and almost all modern forts for harbor defence against fleets, are constructed according to Montalembert's principle. The partly uncovered masonry of the Maximilian towers at Lintz (Austria)[373] and of the reduits of the detached forts of Cologne are imitated from Montalembert's less happy projects. In the fortification of steep heights (Ehrenbreitstein in Prussia, for instance) the uncovered masonry forts have also been sometimes adopted, but what resistance they will be able to make must be decided by actual experience.

The tenaille system has never, to our knowledge at least, found practical application, but the polygonal system is in great favor in Germany, and has been applied to most modern constructions there; while the French tenaciously cling to Cormontaigne's bastions. The enceinte, in the polygonal system, is generally a plain earthwork rampart with revetted scarp and counterscarp,

with large caponnières in the middle of the fonts, and with large defensive barracks behind the rampart and covered by it to serve as coupures. Similar defensive barracks have also been erected as coupures in many bastionary works, to close the gorges of the bastions; the rampart serving as a counterguard to protect the masonry from distant fire.

Of all Montalembert's proposals, however, that of detached forts has had the greatest success, and initiated a new era, not only in fortification, but in the attack and defence of fortresses, and even in general strategy. Montalembert proposed to surround large fortresses in important situations by a single or double chain of small forts, on commanding elevations, which, though isolated in appearance, would still support each other by their fire, and, by the facility they gave for large sorties, would render a bombardment of the place impossible, and when required form an intrenched camp for an army. Vauban had already introduced permanent intrenched camps under the guns of fortresses, but their intrenchments consisted of long continuous lines, which, if broken through at one point only, were completely at the mercy of the enemy. But these intrenched camps of Montalembert's were capable of a far greater resistance, for each fort had to be taken singly, and before 3 or 4 at least were conquered, no enemy could open his trenches against the place. Moreover, the siege of each of the forts could be interrupted at every moment by the garrison, or rather the army encamping behind the forts, and thus a combination of active campaigning and regular fortress warfare was secured, which must greatly strengthen the defence. When Napoleon led his armies hundreds of miles through the enemy's country, never heeding the fortresses which had all been constructed according to the old system, and when in return the allies (1814 and 1815) marched straight on toward Paris, leaving almost unnoticed in their rear the triple belt of fortresses with which Vauban had endowed France, it became evident that a system of fortification was antiquated which confined its outworks to the main ditch or at the outside to the foot of the glacis. Such fortresses had lost their power of attraction over the large armies of modern times. Their means of doing harm did not extend beyond the range of their cannon. It thus became necessary to find some new means to break the impetuous movement of modern invading armies, and Montalembert's detached forts were applied on a large scale. Cologne, Coblentz, Mentz, Rastadt, Ulm, Königsberg, Posen, Lintz, Peschiera, and Verona were severally transformed into large intrenched camps, capable of holding from

60,000 to 100,000 men, but defensible, in case of need, by far smaller garrisons. At the same time, the tactical advantages of the locality to be fortified were placed in the background by the strategetical considerations which now decided the situation of fortresses. Such places only were fortified as might directly or indirectly stop the progress of a victorious army, and which, being large towns in themselves, offered great advantages to an army by being the centre of the resources of whole provinces. Situations on large rivers, especially at the points of junction of two considerable rivers, were chosen in preference, as they compelled the attacking army to divide its forces. The enceinte was simplified as much as possible, and outworks in the ditch were almost entirely done away with; it was sufficient to have the enceinte safe against an irregular attack. The principal battle-field lay around the detached forts, and they were to be defended not so much by the fire from their ramparts, as by the sallies of the garrison of the fortress itself. The largest fortress constructed upon this plan is Paris; it has a simple bastioned enceinte with bastioned forts, almost all squares; there is no outwork, not even a ravelin, in the whole fortification. No doubt, the defensive strength of France has gained 30 per cent. by this new and immense intrenched camp, large enough to afford a refuge for three beaten armies. The intrinsic value of the different methods of fortification has lost a great deal of its importance by this improvement; the cheapest will now be the best; for the defence is now based, not upon the passive system of awaiting the enemy behind the walls until he opens his trenches, and then cannonading them, but upon the active one of taking the offensive with the concentrated strength of the garrison against the necessarily divided forces of the besieger.

## II. SIEGES

The art of sieges had been brought to a certain perfection by the Greeks and Romans. They tried to breach the walls of fortresses by the battering ram, and approached them under cover of strongly roofed galleries, or in case of need by a lofty construction which was to command walls and towers by its greater height, and offer a safe approach to the storming columns. The introduction of gunpowder did away with these contrivances; the fortresses having now ramparts of less elevation, but a fire effective at long distances, the approaches were made by trenches, leading in zigzags or curved lines toward the glacis; batteries being erected at various spots so as to silence if possible the fire of the

besieged and to batter down his masonry. Once arrived on the crest of the glacis, a high trench cavalier was erected, with the intention of commanding the bastions and their cavaliers, and then by a crushing fire to complete the breach and prepare for the assault. The curtain was the point generally attacked. There was, however, no system in this mode of attack until Vauban introduced parallels of ricochet firing, and regulated the process of sieges in the manner which is in use even now, and still denominated Vauban's attack. The besieger, after investing the place with a sufficient force on all sides, and choosing the fronts to be attacked, opens the first parallel during the night (all siege works are chiefly carried on at night) at about 600 yards from the fortress. A trench parallel to the sides of the besieged polygon is drawn around at least 3 of these sides and fronts; the earth, being thrown up on the side toward the enemy and propped upon the sides of the ditch with gabions (willow-work baskets filled with earth), forms a kind of parapet against the fire of the fortress. In this first parallel the ricochet batteries for enfilading the long lines of the attacked fronts are constructed. Taking for the object of the siege a bastioned hexagon, there should be ricochet batteries to enfilade the faces of 2 bastions and 3 ravelins, in all the batteries, one for each face. These batteries throw their shot so as to pass just over the parapet of the works and along the faces in their whole length, taking them in flank and endangering guns and men. Similar batteries are constructed to enfilade the branches of the covered way, and mortars and howitzers are placed in battery to throw shells into the interior of the bastions and ravelins. All these batteries are covered by earthwork parapets. At the same time, at two or more places, zigzag trenches are pushed forward toward the place, taking care to avoid all enfilading fire from the town; and so soon as the fire of the place shows signs of slacking, the second parallel, about 350 yards from the works, is opened. In this parallel the dismounting batteries are constructed. They serve to completely destroy the artillery and embrasures on the faces of the fortress; there will be 8 faces to attack (2 bastions and their ravelins, and the inner faces of the adjoining ravelins), for each of which there is a battery, constructed parallel to the attacked faces, and each embrasure exactly opposite to an embrasure of the fortress. From the second parallel fresh zigzags are pushed toward the town; at 200 yards the half parallel is constructed, forming new enlargements of the zigzags armed with mortar batteries; and at last, at the foot of the glacis, the third parallel. This is armed with heavy mortar batteries. By this time the fire of the place will

have been nearly silenced, and the approaches, in varied forms of curved or angular lines, to avoid ricochet fire, are carried up to the crest of the glacis, which it reaches opposite the points of the two bastions and of the ravelin. A lodgment or trench and parapet is then formed in the salient place of arms to enfilade the ditch by infantry fire. If the enemy is active and daring in his sorties, a 4th parallel connecting the salient places of arms across the glacis becomes necessary. Otherwise a sap is pushed from the 3d parallel to the reentering places of arms, and the crowning of the glacis, or the construction of a trench all along the covered way on the crest of the glacis, is completed. Then the counter batteries are constructed in this *couronnement* in order to silence the fire of the flank, which enfilades the ditch, and after them the breaching batteries against the point and faces of the bastions and ravelin. Opposite the points to be breached, a mining gallery is constructed leading down from the trenches through the glacis and counterscarp into the ditch; the counterscarp is blown in, and a fresh trench constructed across the ditch to the foot of the breach, covered on the side whence the enfilading fire of the flank comes by a parapet. As soon as both breach and passage of the ditch are complete, the assault takes place. This is in the case of a dry ditch; across a wet ditch, a dike has to be constructed with fascines, covered equally by a parapet on the side of the flank of the adjoining bastion. If on taking the bastion it is found that there is a further intrenchment or coupure in the rear, a lodgment has to be effected, fresh batteries to be constructed on the breach, and a fresh breach, descent, and passage of the ditch and assault to be made. The average resistance of a bastioned hexagon of Vauban's first method against such a siege is calculated to be from 19 to 22 days if there are no coupures, and 27 or 28 days if it is provided with coupures. Cormontaigne's method is expected to hold out 25 or respectively 35 to 37 days.

## III. FIELD FORTIFICATION

The construction of field works is as old as the existence of armies. The ancients were even far more expert in this art than our modern armies; the Roman legions, before an enemy, intrenched their camp every night. During the 17th and 18th centuries we see also a very great use of field works, and in the wars of Frederick the Great pickets on outpost duty generally threw up slightly profiled redans. Yet even then, and it is still more the case now, the construction of field works was confined to

the strengthening of a few positions selected beforehand with a view to certain eventualities during a campaign. Thus Frederick the Great's camp at Bunzelwitz, Wellington's lines at Torres Vedras, the French lines of Weissenburg, and the Austrian intrenchments in front of Verona in 1848.[374] Under such circumstances, field works may exercise an important influence upon the issue of a campaign by enabling an inferior army successfully to resist a superior one. Formerly the intrenched lines, as in Vauban's permanently intrenched camps, were continuous; but from the defect that if pierced and taken at one point the whole line was useless, they are now universally composed of one or more lines of detached redoubts, flanking each other by their fire, and allowing the army to fall upon the enemy through the intervals as soon as the fire of the redoubts has broken the energy of his assault. This is the principal use of field works; but they are also employed singly, as bridge-heads to defend the access to a bridge, or to close an important pass to small parties of the enemy. Omitting all the more fanciful shapes of works which are now out of date, such fortifications should consist of works either open or closed at the gorge. The former will either be redans (two parapets with a ditch in front forming an angle facing the enemy) or lunettes (redans with short flanks). The latter may be closed at the gorge by palisadings. The principal closed field work now in use is the square redoubt, either as a regular or an irregular quadrangle, closed by a ditch and parapet all round. The parapet is made as high as in permanent fortification (7 to 8 feet), but not so thick, having to resist field artillery only. As none of these works has a flanking fire in itself, they have to be disposed so that they flank each other within musket range. To do this effectually, and strengthen the whole line, the plan now most generally adopted is to form an intrenched camp by a line of square redoubts flanking each other, and also a line of simple redans, situated in front of the intervals of the redoubts. Such a camp was formed in front of Comorn, south of the Danube, in 1849, and was defended by the Hungarians for 2 days against a far superior army.[375]

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# Frederick Engels

## INFANTRY[376]

*Infantry*, the foot soldiers of an army. Except among nomadic tribes, the great mass, if not the entire strength of all armies, has always consisted of foot soldiers. Thus even with the first Asiatic armies, with the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, infantry made up, numerically at least, the main body. With the Greeks at first the whole army was composed of infantry. What little we know of the composition, organization, and tactics of ancient Asiatic infantry, has already been stated in the article *Army*,[a] to which we refer for many details which it would be useless to repeat here. In this article, we shall restrict ourselves to the most important tactical features only in the history of the arm; we therefore at once begin with the Greeks.

### I. GRECIAN INFANTRY

The creators of Grecian tactics were the Dorians[377]; among them, the Spartans brought to perfection the ancient Doric order of battle. Originally, the whole of the classes which composed a Dorian community were subjected to military service; not only the full citizens who formed the aristocracy, but also the subject *periaeci*,[378] and even the slaves. They were all formed into the same phalanx, but each in a different position. The full citizens had to appear heavily armed, with defensive armor, with helmet, cuirass, and cuissarts of brass, with a large wooden shield covered with leather, high enough to protect the whole person, and with a lance and sword. They formed, according to their numbers, the first or

[a] See this volume, pp. 85-89.—*Ed.*

first and second ranks of the phalanx. Behind them stood the subjects and slaves, so that every Spartan squire had his retainers in his rear; these were without the costly defensive armor, relying on the protection afforded to them by the front ranks and their shields; their offensive weapons were slings, javelins, knives, daggers, and clubs. Thus the Doric phalanx formed a deep line, the hoplites or heavy infantry in front, the *gymnetae* or light infantry in the rear ranks. The hoplites had to bear down the enemy by the charge of their spears; once in the midst of the hostile body, they drew their short swords, and worked their way forward at close quarters, while the gymnetae, who first prepared the charge by throwing stones and javelins over the heads of the front ranks, now assisted the onward pressure of the hoplites by disposing of the wounded and straggling enemies. The tactics of such a body were thus very simple; tactical manoeuvring there was scarcely any; the courage, tenacity, bodily strength, and individual agility and skill of the men, especially the hoplites, decided every thing.

This patriarchal union of all classes of the nation in the same phalanx disappeared soon after the Persian wars,[379] principally from political causes; the consequence was that the phalanx was now formed exclusively of hoplites, and that the light infantry, where it continued to exist, or where a new light infantry was formed, fought separately as skirmishers. In Sparta, the Spartan citizens along with the *periaeci* formed the heavy armed phalanx; the helots[380] now followed with the baggage, or as shield-bearers (*hypaspistae*). For a while this phalanx was made to suffice for all the exigencies of battle; but soon the skirmishers of the Athenians, in the Peloponnesian war,[381] compelled the Spartans to provide themselves with troops of a similar kind. They did not, however, form gymnetae of their own, but sent out the younger portion of their men on skirmishing duty. When, toward the end of that war, the number of citizens and even of periaeci had become greatly reduced, they were compelled to form phalanxes of heavily armed slaves, commanded by citizens. The Athenians, after banishing from the phalanx the gymnetae, formed of the poorer citizens, of retainers and slaves, created special corps of light infantry, consisting of gymnetae or *psiles*, destined for skirmishing, and armed exclusively for distant fighting, slingers (*sphendonetae*), archers (*toxotae*), and javelin-throwers (*akontistae*), the latter also called *peltastae* from the small shield (*pelta*) which they alone carried. This new class of light infantry, originally recruited from the poorer citizens of Athens, very soon came to be formed almost

exclusively of mercenaries and the contingents of the allies of Athens.[382] From the moment these skirmishers were introduced, the clumsy Doric phalanx was no longer fit to act alone in battle. Its materials, too, had been constantly deteriorating; in Sparta, by the gradual extinction of the warlike aristocracy; in the other towns, by the influence of commerce and wealth, which gradually undermined the ancient contempt of death. Thus, the phalanx, formed of a not very heroic militia, lost most of its old importance. It formed the background, the reserve of the line of battle, in front of which the skirmishers fought, or behind which they retired when pressed, but which scarcely ever was expected to come itself to close quarters with the enemy. Where the phalanx was formed of mercenaries, its character was not much better. Its clumsiness made it unfit for manoeuvring, especially in ground but lightly broken, and its whole use was passive resistance. This led to two attempts at reform made by Iphicrates, a general of mercenaries. This Grecian *condottiere*[383] exchanged the old, short spears of the hoplites (from 8 to 10 feet long) for considerably longer ones, so that, with closed ranks, the lances of 3 or 4 ranks projected in front and could act against the enemy; thus, the defensive element of the phalanx was considerably strengthened. On the other hand, to create a force fit for deciding battles by close yet rapid attack, he armed his peltastae with light defensive armor and a good sword, and drilled them in the evolutions of the phalanx. When ordered to charge, they advanced at a pace unattainable by the phalanx of hoplites, gave a volley of javelins at 10 or 20 yards, and broke into the enemy with the sword. The simplicity of the ancient Doric phalanx had thus made way for a far more complicated order of battle; the action of the general had become an important element of victory; tactical manoeuvres had become possible. Epaminondas was the first to discover the great tactical principle which up to the present day decides almost all pitched battles: the unequal distribution of the troops on the line of front, in order to concentrate the main attack on one decisive point. Hitherto the battles of the Greeks had been delivered in parallel order; the strength of the front line was the same on all points; if one army was superior in numbers to the one opposed to it, either it formed a deeper order of battle, or it overlapped the other army on both wings. Epaminondas, on the contrary, destined one of his wings for attack and the other for defence; the attacking wing was composed of his best troops, and of the mass of his hoplites, formed in a deep column and followed by light infantry and by the cavalry. The other wing was of course

considerably weaker, and was kept back, while the attacking one broke through the enemy, and the column, either deploying or wheeling into line, rolled them up with the assistance of the light troops and horsemen.

The progress established by Iphicrates and Epaminondas was still further developed when Macedonia had taken the lead of the Hellenic race and led them against Persia. The long lances of the hoplites appear still further lengthened in the Macedonian *sarissa*. The *peltastae* of Iphicrates appear again in an improved form in Alexander's *hypaspistae*. Finally, the economy of forces, as applied to the order of battle by Epaminondas, was extended by Alexander to a combination of the various arms such as Greece with her insignificant cavalry could never have produced. Alexander's infantry was composed of the phalanx of hoplites, which formed the defensive strength of the order of battle; of the light skirmishing infantry, which engaged the enemy all along the front, and also contributed to the following up of the victory; and of the hypaspistae, to which belonged his own body guard, which, though lightly equipped, were still capable of regular phalangitic manoeuvring, and formed that kind of average infantry which is more or less adapted to both close and extended order. Still, neither Greece nor Macedonia had produced a movable infantry which could be relied upon when opposed to a solid phalanx. Here, Alexander brought in his cavalry. The attacking wing was formed by the mass of his heavy cavalry, chosen from the Macedonian nobility, and with them acted the hypaspistae; they followed the charge of the horsemen, and rushed into the gap they had made, securing the success obtained by them, and establishing themselves in the midst of the enemy's position. After the conquest of the centre of the Persian empire, Alexander used his hoplites chiefly for garrisoning the conquered towns. They soon disappeared from the army which subdued by its bold and rapid marches the tribes of Asia to the Indus and Jaxartes. That army was formed chiefly of cavalry, hypaspistae, and light infantry; the phalanx, which could not have followed on such marches, became at the same time superfluous from the nature of the enemy to be conquered. Under the successors of Alexander, his infantry, as well as his cavalry and tactics, were completely and rapidly deteriorated. The two wings of the order of battle were formed exclusively of cavalry, and the centre of infantry; but the latter was so little relied on, that it was covered by elephants. In Asia, the prevailing Asiatic element soon got the upper hand, and rendered the armies of the Seleucidae all but worthless; in

Europe, the Macedonian and Greek infantry regained some solidity, but with it came a return to the former exclusive phalangitic tactics. Light troops and cavalry never recovered, while much trouble and ingenuity were wasted in vain attempts to give to the phalanx that mobility which from its very nature it could never attain; until finally the Roman legion put an end to the whole system.

The tactical organization and manoeuvres of the phalanx were simple enough. Being generally 16 deep (under Alexander), a line of 16 files formed a complete square, and this, the *syntagma*, formed the unit of evolutions; 16 syntagmas, or 256 files, formed a phalangarchy of 4,096 men, 4 of which again were to form the complete phalanx. The phalangarchy, in order of battle, formed in line 16 deep; it passed into the order of march by facing right or left, or by wheeling into syntagmas, in each case forming a close column 16 in front. When in line, the depth could be increased and front decreased by double files, the even files placing themselves behind the odd ones; and the opposite movement was performed by double ranks, reducing the depth from 16 to 8 men per file. Countermarching by files was employed when the enemy suddenly appeared in the rear of the phalanx; the inversion caused by this (every file being in a wrong place in its own section or syntagma) was sometimes set right by a countermarch by ranks in each section. Add to this the handling of the lance, and we have enumerated the various items of the drill of the ancient hoplites. It is a matter of course that the lighter troops, though not exactly destined to fight in close order, still were exercised in the phalangitic movements.

## II. ROMAN INFANTRY

The Latin word *legio* was originally used to express the totality of the men selected for field service, and thus was synonymous with army. Subsequently, when the extent of the Roman territory and the power of the enemies of the republic required larger armies, they were divided into several legions, each of which had a strength similar to that of the original Roman army. Up to the time of Marius, every legion was composed of both infantry and cavalry, the latter about $^1/_{10}$ of the former in strength. Originally the infantry of the Roman legion appears to have been organized similarly to the ancient Doric phalanx, fighting in a deep line, the patricians and richer citizens in heavy armor forming the front ranks, the poorer and lighter armed plebeians behind them. But

about the time of the Samnite wars the legion began to undergo a change of organization, which soon placed it in perfect contrast to the Grecian phalanx, and of which, after it had attained its full development in the Punic wars,[384] Polybius gives us a full account.[a] The legion, of which 4 were generally levied for each campaign, was now composed of 4 classes of infantry, *velites, hastati, principes,* and *triarii;* the first, formed from recruits, were light infantry; the triarii, from veterans, were the reserve of the army; the other two classes, forming the main fighting body or infantry of the line, composed the remainder of the army, and differed in this, that the principes were selected from those men who, after the triarii, had seen most service. The velites wore leather caps, light round shields for defensive armor, and carried swords and a number of light javelins; the remaining 3 classes had brass helmets, leather body armor covered with brass plates, and brass cuissarts. The hastati and principes, beside a short sword, carried two *pila* or javelins, a light one and a very heavy one; this latter formed the specific arm of attack of the Roman infantry. It was of thick, heavy wood, with a long iron point, weighing in all at least 10 pounds, and with the point nearly 7 feet long. It could be thrown at very short distances only, say 8 or 12 yards, but from its weight its effect was formidable to the light defensive armor of those times. The triarii, beside the sword, carried lances instead of pila. Every legion contained 1,200 hastati, divided into 10 *manipuli* or companies of 120 men each; the same number of principes, similarly divided; 600 triarii, in 10 manipuli of 60 each; and 1,200 velites, 40 of whom were attached to each of the 30 manipuli, and formed the rear ranks unless otherwise employed. The hastati formed the first line, each manipulus being deployed in line, probably 6 deep, with an interval from the next manipulus equal to its front, which, as the room allotted for every man in a rank was 6 feet, extended about 120 feet, the whole line extending 2,400 feet. Behind them, in second line, were placed the 10 manipuli of the principes, covering the intervals of the manipuli of the first line, and behind the principes the triarii, each line at an appropriate distance from the one in front of it. The velites skirmished before the front and flanks. By doubling files, the order of battle could be reduced to one half its original extent of front, or 1,200 feet. The whole of this order of battle was calculated for attack.

Capable, by the smallness of the tactical units and by the great

[a] Polybius, *Histories,* Book 6.—*Ed.*

liberty thereby secured to all its movements, of fighting in almost any kind of ground, it was immensely superior to the Grecian phalanx, which required a level plain, and had been very soon reduced by its own clumsiness to a mere formation for defense. The legion advanced; at 8 or 12 yards the hastati, probably doubling their ranks for the occasion, threw their heavy pila into the phalanx, whose lances could not yet reach the Romans, and, having thereby broken the closed order of the phalangites, rushed upon them sword in hand. If a single manipulus got into disorder, the effect was not transmitted to the neighboring companies; if the combat continued without immediate decision, the principes marched up into the intervals, threw their pila, and broke in upon the enemy with the sword, thus giving the hastati an opportunity of disentangling themselves and reforming behind the triarii. In an extreme case, these latter advanced, either to finally decide the victory or to secure an orderly retreat. The velites, in company with the cavalry, did outpost duty, engaged the enemy in the beginning of the battle by skirmishing, and followed up the pursuit. The light pilum of the hastati and principes appears to have been principally used in defensive positions, to create disorder in the ranks of an advancing enemy before he was close enough for the heavy pilum. Marches to the front were begun from either wing, the first manipulus of hastati in front, followed by the first respectively of principes and triarii, then the 3 second manipuli in the same order, and so forth; marches to a flank were made in 3 columns, each of the 3 classes of infantry forming a column; the baggage was on the side furthest from the enemy. If the latter appeared from the side where the triarii marched, the army halted, and faced toward the enemy, the principes and hastati passing through the intervals of the manipuli of the triarii and taking up their proper positions.

When, after the second Punic war, the continued wars and extended conquests of the Romans, combined with important social changes in Rome and Italy generally, rendered the universal liability to military service almost impracticable, the Roman armies began gradually to be composed of voluntary recruits from the poorer classes, thus forming soldiers by profession instead of the old militia in which all the citizens were included. The army hereby entirely changed its character; and, the elements from which it was composed becoming deteriorated, a new organization became more and more a necessity. Marius carried out this new organization. The Roman horse ceased to exist. What little cavalry remained was composed of barbarian mercenaries or allied

contingents.[385] The distinction of the 4 classes of infantry was done away with. The velites were replaced by allied contingents or barbarians, and the remainder of the legion formed of one and the same class of infantry of the line, armed like the hastati or principes, but without the light pilum. The manipulus was replaced, as a tactical unit, by the cohort, a body averaging 360 men, and formed originally by the fusion of 3 manipuli into one; so that the legion was now divided into 10 cohorts, which were generally disposed in 3 lines (4, 3, and 3 cohorts respectively). The cohort was formed 10 deep, with 3 to 4 feet front for each file, so that the total extent of front of the legion was very much reduced (about 1,000 feet). Thus, not only were the tactical movements much simplified, but the influence of the commander of the legion was made much more immediate and powerful. The armament and equipment of every soldier was lightened, but on the other hand he was made to carry the greater part of his baggage on wooden forks invented for the purpose by Marius (*muli Mariani*); the *impedimenta* of the army were thus considerably reduced. On the other hand, the concentration of 3 manipuli into one cohort could not but reduce the facility of manoeuvring in broken ground; the absence of the light pilum reduced the capability for defence; and the abolition of the velites, not always fully replaced by foreign auxiliaries or mercenaries, or by the *antesignani* (men selected from the legion for light infantry service by Caesar, but left without arms for distant fighting), diminished the chances of maintaining an engagement and still evading a decision. Rapid, resolute attack became the only form of combat fitted for these legions. Still the Roman infantry continued to consist of Romans, or at least Italians; and in spite of the decline of the empire under the Caesars, it maintained its ancient renown so long as the national character was left intact. But when Roman citizenship was no longer a necessary condition for admission into a legion, the army soon lost its standing. As early as the times of Trajan, barbarians, partly from the Roman provinces, partly from unconquered countries, formed the main force of the legions, and from that moment the character of the Roman infantry was lost. The heavy armor was thrown away; the pilum was replaced by the lance; the legion, organized into cohorts, was again fused into an unwieldy phalanx; and as a general unwillingness to come to close quarters was a characteristic of the infantry of this period, the bow and javelin were now used, not for skirmishing only, but also for the closed order of infantry of the line.

## III. THE INFANTRY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

The decline of the Roman infantry found a continuation in that of the Byzantine foot soldiers. A kind of forced levy was still maintained, but with no other result than to form the very dregs of the army. Barbarian auxiliaries and mercenaries composed its better portions, but even these were of no great value. The hierarchic and administrative organization of the troops was perfected to an almost ideal state of bureaucracy, but with the same result that we now see in Russia: a perfect organization of embezzlement and fraud at the expense of the state, with armies costing enormous sums and existing in part only on paper. The contact with the irregular horse of the East reduced both the importance and quality of the infantry more and more. Mounted archers became the favorite arm; the greater part if not all of the infantry were also equipped with the bow beside the lance and sword. Thus, fighting at a distance became the fashion, hand-to-hand encounters being regarded as out of date. The infantry was considered such rubbish that it was intentionally kept away from the field of battle, and used for garrison duty principally; most of the battles of Belisarius were fought by the cavalry exclusively, and when the infantry partook in them, it was sure to run away. His tactics were entirely based upon the principle of avoiding a combat at close quarters, and of tiring out the enemy. If he succeeded in this against the Goths, who had no distance arms at all, by choosing broken ground in which their phalanx could not act, he was beaten by the Franks, whose infantry had something of the old Roman mode of fighting about them, and by the Persians, whose cavalry was certainly superior to his.

The German invaders of the Roman empire originally consisted for the greater part of infantry, and fought in a kind of Doric phalanx, the chiefs and wealthier men in the front ranks, the others behind them. Their arms were the sword and lance. The Franks, however, carried short, double-edged battle axes, which they threw, like the Roman pilum, into the hostile mass the moment before they charged sword in hand. They and the Saxons retained for some time a good and respected infantry; but gradually the Teutonic conquerors everywhere took to cavalry service, and left the duty of the foot soldiers to the conquered Roman provincials; thus the infantry service became despised as an attribute of slaves and serfs, and the character of the foot soldier necessarily sunk in proportion. By the end of the 10th century cavalry was the only arm which really decided battles all

over Europe; infantry, though far more numerous in every army than cavalry, was nothing better than an ill-armed rabble with hardly any attempt at organization. A foot soldier was not even considered a soldier; the word *miles* became synonymous with horseman. The only chance for maintaining a respectable infantry lay with the towns, especially in Italy and Flanders. They had a militia of their own which was necessarily formed of infantry; and as its service for the protection of the towns, in the midst of the never-ending feuds among the surrounding nobles, was a permanent one, it was soon found convenient to have a force of paid mercenaries instead of a militia composed of the citizens, this latter force being reserved for extraordinary occasions. Still, we do not find that the contingents of the towns showed any marked superiority over the rabble of footmen collected by the nobles, and in battle always left to protect the baggage. This holds good, at least, for the classic period of chivalry. In the cavalry of these times, every knight appeared armed cap-à-pied,[a] covered all over with armor, and mounting a similarly armed horse. He was accompanied by an esquire rather more lightly armed, and by sundry other mounted men without any armor and armed with bows. In order of battle, these forces were ranged upon a principle similar to that of the ancient Doric phalanx—the heavily armed knights in the first, the esquires in the second rank, the mounted archers behind them. These last, from the nature of their arm, were soon employed in dismounted fighting, which became more and more the rule with them, so that their horses were mainly used for locomotion, not for a charge. The English archers, armed with the long-bow, while those of southern Europe carried the cross-bow, especially excelled in this mode of fighting on foot, and it was very likely this circumstance which soon led to an extension, in this service, of dismounted fighting. No doubt, in their long campaigns in France, the horses of the heavily armed knights got soon knocked up and unfit to serve for more than means of transport. In this plight it was natural that the worst mounted *gendarmes* should dismount and form a phalanx of lances, to be filled up by the better portion of the footmen (especially the Welsh); while those whose horses were still fit for a charge, now formed the actual fighting cavalry. Such an arrangement appeared very well adapted for defensive battles, and upon it were based all the battles of the Black Prince,[b] and, as is well

[a] From head to foot.—*Ed.*
[b] Edward, Prince of Wales.—*Ed.*

known, with perfect success. The new mode of fighting was soon adopted by the French and other nations, and may be considered as almost the normal system of the 14th and 15th centuries. Thus, after 1,700 years, we are brought back almost to the tactics of Alexander; with this difference only, that with Alexander cavalry was a newly introduced arm which had to strengthen the declining capabilities of the heavy infantry, while here the heavy infantry, formed by dismounted horsemen, was a living proof that cavalry was on the decline, and that a new day had dawned for infantry.

## IV. THE REVIVAL OF INFANTRY

From the Flemish towns, then, the first manufacturing district of the world, and from the Swiss mountains, arose the first troops which, after centuries of decline, again deserved the name of infantry. The French chivalry succumbed as much to the weavers and fullers, the goldsmiths and tanners of the Belgian cities, as the Burgundian and Austrian nobility to the peasants and cowherds of Switzerland. Good defensive positions and a light armament did the most, supported as they were in the case of the Flemish by numerous fire-arms, and in that of the Swiss by a country almost impracticable to the heavily armed knights of the time. The Swiss carried principally short halberts, which might be used as well for thrusting as for striking, and were not too long for hand-to-hand fight; subsequently they also had pikes, and cross-bows and fire-arms; but in one of their most celebrated battles, at Laupen (1339),[386] they had no arms for distant fighting but stones. From defensive encounters in their inaccessible mountains, they soon came to offensive battles in the plain, and with these to more regular tactics. They fought in a deep phalanx; defensive armor was light, and in general confined to the front ranks and the flank files, the centre being filled up by men without armor; the Swiss phalanx, however, was always formed in 3 distinct bodies, an advanced guard, a main body, and a rear guard, so that greater mobility and the chance of varied tactical arrangements were secured. They soon became expert in taking advantage of the accidents of ground, which, coupled with the improvement in fire-arms, protected them against the onslaught of cavalry, while against infantry armed with long lances they devised various means to work an entrance somewhere through the forest of lances, after which their short heavy halberts gave them an immense advantage, even against men cased in armor. They very soon learned, especially when assisted by artillery and small

fire-arms, to hold out in squares or cross-shaped bodies against the charges of cavalry; and as soon as an infantry was again capable of doing that, the days of chivalry were numbered.

About the middle of the 15th century the struggle of the cities against the feudal nobility had been everywhere taken up by the princes of the larger monarchies now consolidating, and consequently the latter had begun to form armies of mercenaries both for putting down the nobles and for carrying out independent objects of foreign policy. Beside the Swiss, the Germans, and soon after them most other European nations, began to furnish large contingents of mercenaries, raised by voluntary enlistment, and selling their services to the highest bidder without any regard to nationality. These bands formed themselves tactically upon the same principle as the Swiss; they were armed chiefly with pikes, and fought in large square battalions, as many men deep as there were in the front rank. They had to fight, however, under different circumstances from the Swiss who defended their mountains; they had to attack as well as to hold out in defensive positions; they had to encounter the enemy in the plains of Italy and France as well as in the hills; and they very soon found themselves face to face with the now rapidly improving small-arms. These circumstances caused some deviations from the old Swiss tactics, which were different according to the different nationalities; but the chief characteristics, the formation in 3 deep columns, figuring in name, if not always in reality, as advanced guard, main body, and rear guard or reserve, remained common to all. The Swiss retained their superiority until the battle of Pavia,[387] after which the German *Landsknechte,* who had already for some time been nearly if not fully equal to them, were considered the first infantry of Europe. The French, whose infantry had as yet never been good for any thing, tried very hard during this period to form a serviceable national body of foot soldiers; but they succeeded with the natives of two provinces only, the Picards and the Gascons. The Italian infantry of this period never counted for any thing. The Spaniards, however, among whom Gonsalvo de Córdova during the wars with the Moors of Granada[388] first introduced the Swiss tactics and armament, very soon rose to considerable reputation, and after the middle of the 16th century began to pass for the best infantry of Europe. While the Italians, and after them the French and Germans, extended the length of the pike from 10 to 18 feet, they retained shorter and more handy lances, and their agility made them very formidable with sword and dagger in close encounter. This reputation they upheld in

western Europe—France, Italy, and the Netherlands at least—to the close of the 17th century.

The contempt of the Swiss for defensive armor, based upon traditions of a different time, was not shared by the pikemen of the 16th century. As soon as a European infantry was formed in which the different armies were becoming more and more equal to each other in military qualities, the system of lining the phalanx with a few men covered with breastplates and helmets proved to be insufficient. If the Swiss had found such a phalanx impenetrable, this was no longer the case when it was met by another phalanx quite its equal. Here a certain amount of defensive armor became of some importance; so long as it did not too much impede the mobility of the troops, it was a decided advantage. The Spaniards, moreover, had never participated in this contempt for breastplates, and they began to be respected. Accordingly, breastplates, helmets, cuissarts, brassarts, and gauntlets began again to form a part of the regular equipment of every pikeman. To it was added a sword, shorter with the Germans, longer with the Swiss, and now and then a dagger.

## V. THE INFANTRY OF THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

The long-bow had for some time disappeared from the continent of Europe, excepting Turkey; the cross-bow made its last appearance among the French Gascons in the first quarter of the 16th century. It was everywhere replaced by the matchlock musket, which, in different degrees of perfection, or rather imperfection, now became the second arm of the infantry. The matchlocks of the 17th century, unwieldy and defectively constructed machines, were of very heavy caliber, to secure, beside range, at least some precision, and the force to penetrate the breastplate of a pikeman. The form generally adopted about 1530 was the heavy musket fired off from a fork, as a man could not have taken aim without such a support. The musketeers carried a sword, but no defensive armor, and were used either for skirmishing or in a kind of open order, to hold defensive positions or to prepare the charge of the pikemen for the attack of such positions. They soon became very numerous in proportion to the pikemen; in the battles of Francis I in Italy they were far inferior to the pikemen in numbers, but were at least in equal numbers with them 30 years later. This increase in the number of musketeers compelled the invention of some tactical method of regularly encasing them in the order of battle. This was done in

the system of tactics called the Hungarian ordinance, invented by the imperial troops in their wars with the Turks in Hungary. The musketeers, being unable to defend themselves at close quarters, were always placed so as to be able to retire behind the pikemen. Thus they were sometimes placed on either wing, sometimes on the 4 corners of the wings; very often the whole square or column of pikemen was surrounded by a rank of musketeers, who found protection under the pikes of their rear men. Finally, the plan of having the musketeers on the flanks of the pikemen got the upper hand in the new tactical system introduced by the Dutch in their war of independence.[389] This system is distinguished especially by the subdivision of the 3 great phalanges in which every army was formed according to both the Swiss and Hungarian tactics. Each of them was formed upon 3 lines, the middle one of which was again subdivided into a right and a left wing, separated from each other by a distance equal at least to the extent of front of the first line. The whole army being organized in half regiments, which we will call battalions, each battalion had its pikemen in the centre and its musketeers on the flanks. The advanced guard of an army, consisting of 3 regiments, would thus be formed as follows: two half regiments in contiguous line in the first line; behind each of their wings another half regiment; further to the rear, and covering the first line, the remaining two half regiments also in contiguous line. The main body and rear guard might be placed either on the flank or behind the advanced guard, but would be formed on the same plan. Here we have a return in a certain degree to the old Roman formation in 3 lines and distinct small bodies.

The imperialists, and with them the Spaniards, had found the necessity of dividing their large armies into more than the 3 masses already mentioned; but their battalions or tactical units were much larger than the Dutch, fought in column or square instead of in line, and had not had a regular formation for order of battle until during the Dutch war of independence the Spaniards began to form them in what is known as a Spanish brigade. Four of these large battalions, each consisting often of several regiments, formed in square, surrounded with a rank or two of musketeers, and having wings of musketeers at the corners, were disposed at proper intervals on the 4 corners of a square, one corner being turned toward the enemy. If the army was too large to be comprised in one brigade, two could be formed; and thus arose 3 lines, having 2 battalions in the first, 4 (sometimes only 3) in the second, and 2 in the third. As in the Dutch system,

we find here the attempt to return to the old Roman system of 3 lines.

Another great change took place during the 16th century; the heavy cavalry of the knights was broken up and replaced by a mercenary cavalry, armed similarly to our modern cuirassiers, with cuirass, helmet, sword, and pistols. This cavalry, greatly superior in mobility to their predecessors, became thereby more formidable to infantry also; still the pikemen of the time were never afraid of it. By this change cavalry became a uniform arm, and entered in a far larger proportion into the composition of armies, especially during the period we now have to consider, viz., the 30 years' war.[390] At this time the system of mercenary service was universal in Europe; a class of men had been formed who lived upon war and by war; and though tactics might have gained thereby, the character of the men, the material composing armies as well as their *morale*, had certainly suffered. Central Europe was overrun by *condottieri* of all kinds, who took religious and political quarrels for their pretext to plunder and devastate the whole country. The character of the individual soldier had entered upon that degradation which went on increasing until the French revolution finally swept away this system of mercenary service. The imperialists formed their battles upon the Spanish brigade system, having 4 or more brigades in line, thus forming 3 lines. The Swedes under Gustavus Adolphus formed in Swedish brigades, each consisting of 3 battalions, one in front and two a little to the rear, each deployed in line, and having the pikes in the centre and the musketeers on the wings. They were so disposed (both arms being represented in equal numbers) that by forming a contiguous line either could cover the other. Supposing the order given to form a contiguous line of musketeers, the two wings of that arm of the centre or front battalion would cover their own pikes by stepping before them, while those of the two other battalions would, each on its flank, advance into alignment with the first. If an attack of cavalry was apprehended, all the musketeers retired behind the pikemen, while the two wings of these latter advanced into alignment with the centre, and thus formed a contiguous line of pikes. The order of battle was formed of two lines of such brigades, composing the centre of the army, while the numerous cavalry was stationed on the two wings, and intermixed with small bodies of musketeers. The characteristic of this Swedish system is that the pikemen, who in the 16th century had been the great offensive arm, had now lost all capacity of attack. They had become a mere means of defence, and their office was to screen

the musketeers from a charge of cavalry; it was this latter arm again which had to do all the attacking work. Thus, infantry had lost, cavalry had regained ground. But then Gustavus Adolphus put an end to the firing which had become a favorite mode of fighting for cavalry, and ordered his horse always to charge at full speed and sword in hand; and from that time to the resumption of fighting in broken ground every cavalry which adhered to these tactics was able to boast of great successes over infantry. There can be no greater condemnation of the mercenary infantry of the 17th and 18th centuries than that; and yet it was, for all purposes of battle, the most disciplined infantry of all times.

The general result of the 30 years' war upon European tactics was that both the Swedish and the Spanish brigades disappeared, and armies were now disposed in two lines, the cavalry forming the wings and the infantry the centre. The artillery was placed before the front or in the intervals of the other arms. Sometimes a reserve of cavalry, or of cavalry and infantry, was retained. The infantry was deployed in line, 6 deep; the muskets were so much lightened that the fork could be dispensed with, and cartridges and cartridge boxes had been everywhere adopted. The mixing up of musketeers and pikemen in the same infantry battalions now gave rise to the most complicated tactical movements, all founded upon the necessity of forming what was called defensive battalions, or what we should call squares against cavalry. Even in a simple square, it was no trifle to get the 6 ranks of pikemen from the centre so drawn asunder that they completely surrounded on all sides the musketeers, who, of course, were defenceless against cavalry; but what must it have been to form in a similar way the battalion into a cross, an octagon, or other fanciful shapes! Thus it happened that the drilling system of this period was the most complicated ever seen, and nobody but a soldier for life ever had any chance of attaining even the commonest proficiency in it. At the same time, it is obvious that, before the enemy, all these attempts at forming a body capable of resisting cavalry were perfectly useless; any decent cavalry would have been in the midst of such a battalion before one fourth of the movements could have been gone through.

During the latter half of the 17th century, the number of pikemen was very much reduced in proportion to that of musketeers; for from the moment that they had lost all power of attack, the musketeers were the really active part of the infantry. Moreover, it was found that the Turkish cavalry, the most formidable of the time, very often broke into the squares of

pikemen, while they were quite as often repulsed by the well aimed fire of a line of musketeers. In consequence, the imperialists did away with all pikes in their Hungarian army, and replaced them sometimes by *chevaux de frise*, which were put together on the field, the musketeers carrying the blades as part of their regular equipment. In other countries, too, cases occurred of armies being sent into the field without a single pikeman, the musketeers trusting to their fire and the assistance of their own cavalry when threatened with a charge of horse. Still, two inventions were required to do away entirely with the pike: the bayonet, invented in France about 1640, and improved in 1699 so far as to be the handy weapon now in use; and the flint lock, invented about 1650.[a] The former, though certainly an imperfect substitute for the pike, enabled the musketeer to give himself, to a certain degree, that protection which he had hitherto been supposed to find in the pikemen; the second, by simplifying the process of loading, enabled him to do much more than make up by rapid firing for the imperfections of the bayonet.

## VI. THE INFANTRY OF THE 18TH CENTURY

With the superseding of the pike, all defensive armor disappeared from infantry equipment, and this arm was now composed of one class of soldiers only, armed with the flint-lock musket and bayonet. This change was accomplished in the first years of the Spanish war of succession,[391] coinciding with the first years of the 18th century. At the same time, we now find everywhere standing armies of considerable magnitude, recruited as much as possible by voluntary enlistment coupled with kidnapping, but in case of need also by forced conscription. These armies were now regularly organized in battalions of from 500 to 700 men, as tactical units, subdivided for special purposes into companies; several battalions forming a regiment. Thus the organization of infantry now began to take a more stable and settled form. The handling of the flint lock requiring far less space than that of the old matchlock, the old open order was done away with, and the files were closed well up to each other, in order to have as many firing men as possible in the same space. For the same reason, the intervals between the various battalions in line of battle were reduced to a minimum, so that the whole front formed one stiff and uninterrupted line, the infantry, in two lines, in the centre, the cavalry on the wings.

[a] *The New American Cyclopaedia* has 1670 here.—*Ed.*

Firing, formerly done by ranks, every rank after having fired retiring to the rear to reload, was now done by platoons or companies, the 3 front ranks of each platoon firing simultaneously as the word of command was given. Thus an uninterrupted fire could be maintained by every battalion against the enemy in front of it. Every battalion had its distinct place in this long line, and the order giving to each its place was called the order of battle. The great difficulty now was to organize the marching order of the army so that it could always with facility pass from the marching to the fighting order, every portion of the line getting at once and quickly into its proper place. Encampments within reach of the enemy were arranged with a view to the same object. Thus the art of marching and encamping armies made great progress during this epoch; still the stiffness and unwieldiness of the order of battle formed a heavy clog upon all the movements of an army. At the same time, its formality, and the impossibility of handling such a line in any but the most level plains, still more restricted the choice of ground for battle fields; but as long as both parties were bound by the same fetters, this was no disadvantage for either. From Malplaquet[392] to the outbreak of the French revolution, a road, a village, or a farm yard was tabooed to infantry; even a ditch or a hedge was considered almost a drawback by those who had to defend them.

The Prussian infantry is the classic infantry of the 18th century. It was principally formed by Prince Leopold of Dessau. During the war of the Spanish succession, the line of infantry had been reduced from 6 deep to 4 deep. Leopold did away with the 4th rank, and formed the Prussians 3 deep. He also introduced the iron ramrod, which enabled his troops to load and fire 5 times in a minute, while other troops scarcely fired 3 times. At the same time they were drilled to fire while advancing, but as they had to stop for firing, and as the alignment of the whole long line had to be maintained, the step was but slow—what is called the goose step. Firing began at 200 yards from the enemy; the line advanced at the goose step, stepping shorter and redoubling fire the nearer it got to the enemy, until the latter either gave way, or was so far shaken that a cavalry charge from the wings, and an advance with the bayonet of the infantry, drove him from his position. The army was always ranged on two lines, but, there being scarcely any intervals in the first line, it became very difficult for the second to come to the aid of the first when wanted. Such was the army and such were the tactics which Frederick II of Prussia found at his disposal on his accession. There appeared to be very little chance

for a man of genius to improve upon this system, unless he broke through it, and that Frederick, in his position and with the material he had for soldiers, could not do. Still he contrived to organize his mode of attack and his army so that he could, with the resources of a kingdom less than Sardinia now is, and with scanty pecuniary support from England, carry on a war against almost all Europe. The mystery may be easily explained. Hitherto the battles of the 18th century had been parallel battles, both armies being deployed on lines parallel to each other, struggling in a plain, fair, stand-up fight, without any stratagems or devices of art; the only advantage accruing to the stronger party being that his wings overlapped those of his opponent. Frederick applied to the line order of battle the system of oblique attack invented by Epaminondas. He chose one wing of the enemy for the first attack, and brought against this one of his wings, overlapping that of the enemy, and part of his centre, at the same time keeping back the rest of his army. Thus not only had he the advantage of outflanking the enemy, but also of crushing by superior forces the troops exposed to his attack. The other troops of the enemy could not come to the assistance of those attacked; for not only were they tied to their places in the line, but as the attack on the one wing proved successful, the remainder of the army entered into line and engaged the hostile centre in front, while the original attacking wing fell upon its flank after disposing of the wing. This was indeed the only imaginable method by which it was possible, while maintaining the system of lines, to bring a superior force upon any one part of the enemy's line of battle. Every thing, then, depended upon the formation of the attacking wing; and as far as the rigidity of the order of battle admitted of it, Frederick always strengthened it. He very often placed in front of the first line of infantry of the attacking wing an advanced line formed of his grenadiers or élite troops, so as to insure success as much as possible at the first onset.

The second means which Frederick took to improve his army was the reorganization of his cavalry. The teachings of Gustavus Adolphus had been forgotten; cavalry, instead of relying on the sword and the impetuosity of the charge, with rare exceptions had returned to fighting with the pistol and the carbine. The wars in the beginning of the 18th century had thus not been rich in successful charges of horsemen; the Prussian cavalry was especially neglected. But Frederick returned to the old plan of charging sword in hand and at full gallop, and formed a cavalry unequalled in history; and to this cavalry he owed a very great part of his

successes. When his army became the model of Europe, Frederick, in order to blind the military men of other nations, began to complicate to an astonishing degree the system of tactical evolutions, all of them unfit for actual war, and intended only to hide the simplicity of the means which had procured him victory. He succeeded so well in this that nobody was more blinded than his own subordinates, who actually believed that these complex methods of forming line were the real essence of his tactics; and thus Frederick, beside laying the foundation for that pedantry and martinetism which have since distinguished the Prussians, actually prepared them for the unparalleled disgrace of Jena and Auerstädt.[393]

Beside the infantry of the line, which we have so far described, and which always fought in closed ranks, there was a certain class of light infantry, but this did not appear in great battles. Its task was the war of partisans; for this the Austrian Croats were admirably adapted, while for every other purpose they were useless. Upon the model of these half savages from the military frontier against Turkey,[394] the other European states formed their light infantry. But skirmishing in great battles, such as was practised by the light infantry of antiquity and of the middle ages, even up to the 17th century, had completely disappeared. The Prussians alone, and after them the Austrians, formed a battalion or two of riflemen, composed of gamekeepers and forest guards, all dead shots, who in battle were distributed over the whole front and fired at officers; but they were so few that they scarcely counted. The resuscitation of skirmishing is the product of the American war of independence.[395] While the soldiers of European armies, held together by compulsion and severe treatment, could not be trusted to fight in extended order, in America they had to contend with a population which, untrained to the regular drill of line soldiers, were good shots and well acquainted with the rifle. The nature of the ground favored them; instead of attempting manoeuvres of which at first they were incapable, they unconsciously fell into skirmishing. Thus, the engagement of Lexington and Concord[396] marks an epoch in the history of infantry.

## VII. THE INFANTRY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND OF THE 19TH CENTURY

When the European coalition invaded revolutionary France, the French were in a similar position to that of the Americans a short time before, except that they had not the same advantages of ground. In order to fight the numerous armies, invading or

threatening to invade the country, upon the old line principle, they would have required well drilled men, and these were scarce, while undrilled volunteers were plentiful. As far as time allowed, they were exercised in the elementary evolutions of linear tactics; but as soon as they got under fire, the battalions deployed in line dissolved themselves, unconsciously, into thick swarms of skirmishers, seeking protection against fire from all accidents of ground, while the second line formed a kind of reserve which often enough was involved in the fight from the very beginning of the engagement. The French armies, moreover, were very differently organized from those opposed to them. They were formed, not into an unbending monotonous line of battalions, but into army divisions, each of which was composed of artillery, cavalry, and infantry. The great fact was all at once rediscovered that it matters not whether a battalion fights in its "correct" place in the order of battle, so that it advances into line when ordered, and fights well. The French government being poor, tents and the immense baggage of the 18th century were done away with; bivouacking was invented, and the comforts of the officers, which in other armies formed a large portion of the impediments, were reduced to what they could carry on their backs. The army, instead of being fed from magazines, had to depend upon requisitions on the country passed through. Thus the French attained a mobility and a facility of forming order of battle quite unknown to their enemies. If beaten, they were out of the reach of pursuit in a few hours; if advancing, they could appear on unexpected points, on the flanks of the enemy, before he got notice. This mobility, and the jealousy among themselves of the chiefs of the coalition, gave them breathing time to drill their volunteers, and to elaborate the new tactical system which was rising among them.

From the year 1795 we find this new system taking the definite form of a combination of skirmishers and close columns. The formation in line was subsequently added, though not for a whole army as hitherto, but for single battalions only, which deployed in line whenever an opportunity appeared to require it. It is evident that this latter manoeuvre, requiring more steadiness of drill, was the last to be resumed by the irregular bands of the French revolution. Three battalions formed a demi-brigade, 6 a brigade; 2 or 3 brigades of infantry a division, to which were added 2 batteries of artillery and some cavalry; several such divisions formed an army. Whenever a division met the enemy, the skirmishers of its advanced guard established themselves in a

defensive position, the advanced guard forming their reserve until the division came up. The brigades then formed upon two lines and a reserve, but every battalion in column, and with no stated intervals; for the protection of rents in the order of battle there was the cavalry and the reserve. The line of battle was no longer necessarily a straight and uninterrupted one; it might be bent in all directions, as the ground required, for now there was no longer a selection of naked level plains for battle fields; on the contrary, the French preferred broken ground, and their skirmishers, forming a chain in front of the whole line of battle, threw themselves into every village, farm yard, or copse that they could get hold of. If the battalions of the first line deployed, they generally all turned now soon skirmishers; those of the second line always remained in column, and generally charged in this formation against the thin lines of the enemy with great success. Thus, the tactical formation of a French army for battle gradually came to consist of two lines, each formed of battalions in close column, placed *en échiquier*,[a] with skirmishers before the front, and a compact reserve in the rear.

It was at this stage of development that Napoleon found the tactics of the French revolution. As soon as his accession to political power allowed him to do so, he began to develop the system still further. He concentrated his army in the camp of Boulogne,[397] and there gave them a regular course of drill. He especially practised them in the formation of compact reserve masses on a small space of ground, and in the quick deployment of these masses for entering into line. He formed 2 or 3 divisions into one army corps so as to simplify the command. He invented and brought to its highest perfection the new marching order, which consists in spreading the troops over so great an extent of ground that they can subsist on the stores it contains, still keeping so well together that they can be united on any given point before the part which is attacked can be crushed by the enemy. From the campaign of 1809, Napoleon began to invent new tactical formations, such as deep columns of entire brigades and divisions, which however signally failed and were never again revived. After 1813 this new French system became the common property of all nations on the continent of Europe. The old line system, and the system of recruiting mercenaries, had both been abandoned. Everywhere the liability of every citizen to military service was acknowledged, and everywhere the new tactics were introduced.

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[a] Chequer-wise.— *Ed.*

In Prussia and Switzerland every one had actually to serve; in the other states a conscription was introduced, the young men drawing lots to determine who should serve; everywhere reserve systems were introduced, by dismissing a portion of the men, when drilled, to their homes, so as to have a large number of drilled men at disposal in case of war, with little expense in peace.

Since that time several changes have occurred in the armament and organization of infantry, produced partly by the progress of the manufacture of small arms, partly by the collision of French infantry with the Arabs of Algeria. The Germans, always fond of the rifle, had increased their battalions of light riflemen; the French, driven by the necessity of having in Algeria an arm of greater range, at last in 1840 formed a battalion of riflemen armed with an improved rifle of great precision and range. These men, drilled to perform all their evolutions and even long marches in a kind of trot (*pas gymnastique*), soon proved themselves of such efficiency that new battalions were formed. In this manner a new light infantry was created, not from sporting shots and gamekeepers, but from the strongest and most agile men; precision of fire and long range were combined with agility and endurance, and a force was formed which, as far as it went, was certainly superior to any other infantry in existence. At the same time, the *pas gymnastique* was introduced into the infantry of the line, and what even Napoleon would have considered the height of folly, running, is now practised in every army as an essential part of infantry drill.

The success of the new rifle of the French riflemen (Delvigne-Poncharra) soon produced new improvements.[a] The conical bullet was introduced for rifled arms. New means were invented by Minié, Lorenz, and Wilkinson, to make the bullet glide down easily into the bore, and still to expand it, when once down, so as to fill up the grooves with its lead, and thus to give it the lateral rotation and force on which the effect of the rifle depends; on the other hand, Dreyse invented the needle gun, to be loaded at the breech, and not requiring a separate priming. All these rifles were capable of hitting at 1,000 yards, and quite as easily loaded as a common smooth-bore musket. Then the idea arose of arming the whole of the infantry with such rifles. England was the first to carry out this idea; Prussia, which had prepared for this step long before, followed; then Austria and the smaller German states; at last

[a] For details on the rifles mentioned here and below see Engels' *The History of the Rifle*, this volume, pp. 436-39.— *Ed.*

France. Russia, and the Italian and Scandinavian states, are still behind. This new armament has completely changed the aspect of warfare, but not in the way expected by tactical theorists, and for a very simple mathematical reason. It can be easily proved, by constructing the flight of these bullets, that an error of 20 or 30 yards in the estimation of the distance of the object will destroy all chance of hitting beyond 300 or 350 yards. Now, while on the practice ground the distances are known, on the battle field they are not, and they change every moment. Infantry posted in a defensive position, and having had time to pace off the distances of the most conspicuous objects before the front, will thus have an immense advantage, at from 1,000 to 300 yards, over an attacking force. This can only be obviated by advancing rapidly and without firing, at full trot, to some 300 yards, when the fire of the two parties will be equally effective. At this distance firing will become so murderous between two well posted lines of skirmishers, and so many bullets will hit the pickets and reserves, that a plucky infantry can do no better than seize the first opportunity to make a rush at the enemy, giving a volley at 40 or 50 yards. These rules, first proved theoretically by the Prussian Major Trotha,[a] have been practically tried by the French in their late war against the Austrians,[398] and with success. They will, therefore, form part and parcel of modern infantry tactics, especially if they prove to be of equally good effect when tried against such a rapidly loading arm as the Prussian needle gun. The arming of all infantry with one and the same rifle gun will tend to do away with the distinctions, still existing, of light and line infantry, by forming an infantry capable of any service. In this will evidently consist the next improvement of this arm.

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[a] Trotha, *Beitrag zur Erörterung der Frage: Welchen nothwendigen Einfluss haben die jetzt gebräuchlichen weittragenden Handfeuerwaffen auf das Gefecht der Infanterie?—Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## NAVY[399]

*Navy,* a collective term for the vessels of war belonging to a sovereign or nation. The war fleets of the ancients, though often numerous, were insignificant when compared with those of the present day, in regard to the size of the ships, their powers of locomotion, and their aptitude for offence. The sea-going vessels of Phoenicia and Carthage, of Greece and Rome, were flat-bottomed barges, unable to live in a gale of wind; sea room, in a squall, was destruction to them; they crept along the coasts, casting anchor at night in some cove or creek. To cross over from Greece to Italy, or from Africa to Sicily, was a dangerous operation. The ships, unfit to carry the press of sail to which our modern men-of-war are accustomed, were provided with but little canvas; the oars were relied upon to propel them sluggishly through the waves. The compass had not yet been discovered; latitudes and longitudes were unknown; and landmarks and the pole star were the only guides in navigation. The implements for offensive warfare were equally inefficient. Bows and arrows, javelins, clumsy ballistas and catapults, were the only arms that could be used at a distance. No serious harm could be done to an enemy at sea until the two fighting ships came into actual contact. Thus, there were but two modes of naval fighting possible: to manoeuvre so that the sharp, strong, iron-pointed prow of your own ship should be driven with full force against the enemy's broadside in order to run him down; or else to run on broadside to broadside, fasten the two ships together, and board the enemy at once. After the first Punic war, which destroyed the naval superiority of the Carthaginians,[400] there is not a single naval engagement in ancient history offering the slightest professional interest, and Roman

dominion soon put an end to the possibility of further naval contests in the Mediterranean.

The real birthplace of our modern navies is the German ocean.[a] About the time when the great mass of the Teutonic tribes of central Europe rose to trample down the decaying Roman empire and to regenerate western Europe, their brethren on the northern shores, the Frisians, Saxons, Angles, Danes, and Northmen, began to take to the sea. Their vessels were firm, stout sea boats, with a prominent keel and sharp lines, relying mostly on sails alone, and not afraid to face a gale in the middle of that rough northern sea. It was with this class of vessels that the Anglo-Saxons passed from the mouths of the Elbe and Eider to the shores of Britain, and that the Northmen undertook their roving expeditions, extending to Constantinople on the one side and America on the other. With the construction of ships that dared cross the Atlantic, navigation underwent a complete revolution; and before the middle ages had passed away, the new sharp-bottomed sea boats had been adopted on all the coasts of Europe. The vessels in which the Northmen made their excursions were probably of no very large size, perhaps not exceeding 100 tons burden in any case, and carrying one or at the outside two masts, fore-and-aft rigged.

For a long time both ship building and navigation appear to have remained stationary; during the whole of the middle ages vessels were small; and the bold spirit of the Northmen and the Frisians had passed away; whatever improvements were made were owing to Italians and Portuguese, who now became the boldest sailors. The Portuguese discovered the route by sea to India; two Italians in foreign service, Columbus and Cabot, were the first since the times of Leif the Northman to cross the Atlantic. Long sea voyages now became a necessity, and they required large ships; at the same time the necessity of arming vessels of war and even merchantmen with heavy artillery, equally tended to increase size and tonnage. The same causes which had produced standing armies on land, now produced standing navies afloat; and it is from this time only that we can properly speak of navies. The era of colonial enterprise which now opened for all seafaring nations, also witnessed the formation of large fleets of war to protect the newly formed colonies and their trade; and a period followed richer in naval struggles and more fruitful to the development of naval armaments than any that preceded it.

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[a] North Sea.—*Ed.*

The foundation of the British navy was laid by Henry VII, who built the first ship called *The Great Harry*. His successor[a] formed a regular standing fleet, the property of the state, the largest ship of which was called the *Henry Grace de Dieu*. This vessel, the largest ever built up to that time, carried 80 guns, partly on two regular flush gun decks, partly on additional platforms both forward and astern. She was provided with 4 masts; her tonnage is variously stated at from 1,000 to 1,500. The whole of the British fleet, at the death of Henry VIII, consisted of about 50 sail, with an aggregate tonnage of 12,000, and manned by 8,000 sailors and marines. The large ships of the period were clumsy contrivances, deep-waisted, that is to say, provided with towering forecastles and poops, which rendered them exceedingly top-heavy. The next large ship we hear of is the *Sovereign of the Seas*, afterward called the *Royal Sovereign*, built in 1637. She is the first vessel of whose armament we get something like an accurate account. She had 3 flush decks, a forecastle, a half deck, a quarter deck, and a round house; on her lower deck she carried 30 guns, 42 and 32-pounders; 30 on her middle deck, 18 and 9-pounders; on her upper deck 26 lighter guns, probably 6 and 3-pounders. Beside these, she carried 20 chase guns and 26 guns on her forecastle and half deck. But on her regular home establishment this armament was reduced to 100 guns, the full complement being evidently too much for her. As to the smaller vessels, our information is very scanty.

In 1651 the navy was classed in 6 rates; but beside them there continued to exist numerous classes of unrated ships, such as shallops, hulks, and later bombs, sloops, fire ships, and yachts. In 1677 we find a list of the whole English navy; according to which, the largest first rate three-decker carried 26 42-pdrs., 28 24-pdrs., 28 9-pdrs., 14 6-pdrs., and 4 3-pdrs.; and the smallest two-decker (fifth rate) carried 18 18-pdrs., 8 6-pdrs., and 4 4-pdrs., or 30 guns in all. The whole fleet consisted of 129 vessels. In 1714, we find 198 vessels; in 1727, 178; and in 1744, 128. Afterward, as the number of vessels increases, their size also gets larger, and the heaviness of the armament is augmented with the tonnage.

The first English ship answering to our modern frigate was built by Sir Robert Dudley, as early as the end of the 16th century; but it was not till fully 80 years later that this class of ships, first used by the southern European nations, was generally adopted in the

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[a] Henry VIII.—*Ed.*

British navy. The particular fast-sailing qualities of frigates were little understood, for some time, in England. British ships were generally overgunned, so that their lower ports were but 3 feet from the water's edge, and could not be opened in a rough sea, and the sailing capacities of the vessels were also greatly impaired. Both the Spaniards and the French allowed more tonnage in proportion to the number of guns; the consequence was that their ships could carry heavier caliber and more stores, had more buoyancy, and were better sailers. The English frigates of the first half of the 18th century carried as many as 44 guns, of 9, 12, and a few of 18 lbs. caliber, with a tonnage of about 710. By 1780 frigates of 38 guns (mostly 18-pdrs.) and of 946 tons were built: the improvement here is obvious. The French frigates of the same epoch, with a similar armament, averaged 100 tons more. About the same time (the middle of the 18th century) the smaller men-of-war were more accurately classed in the modern way as corvettes, brigs, brigantines, and schooners.

In 1779 a piece of ordnance was invented (probably by the British Gen. Melville) which changed to a great extent the armaments of most navies. It was a very short gun, with a large caliber, approaching in its shape a howitzer, but intended to throw solid shot, with small charges, at short ranges. From these guns being first manufactured by the Carron iron company, in Scotland, they were called carronades. The shot from this gun, useless at long ranges, had fearful effects upon timber at close quarters; from its reduced velocity (by the reduced charge), it made a larger hole, shattered the timber far more, and made numerous and more dangerous splinters. The comparative lightness of the guns, too, made it easy to find room for a few of them on the quarter deck and forecastle of vessels; and as early as 1781 there were 429 ships in the British navy provided with from 6 to 10 carronades over and above their regular complement of guns. In reading the accounts of naval engagements during the French and American wars, it should be borne in mind that the British never include the carronades in the number of guns given as a ship's complement: so that, for instance, a British frigate, stated to be a 36-gun frigate, may in reality have carried 42 or more guns, including the carronades. The superior weight of metal which the carronades gave to the British broadsides, helped to decide many an action fought at close quarters during the war of the French revolution. But after all, carronades were merely a makeshift to increase the strength of the comparatively small-sized men-of-war of 80 years ago. As soon as the size of the ships was increased for

each rating, they were again cast aside, and are now comparatively superseded.

In this particular, the construction of men-of-war, the French and Spaniards were decidedly ahead of the English. Their ships were larger and designed with far better lines than the British; their frigates especially were superior both in size and sailing qualities; and for many years the English frigates were copied from the French frigate *Hebe*, captured in 1782. In the same proportion as the vessels were lengthened, the high towering erections at the bow and stern, the forecastles, quarter decks, and poops, were reduced in height, the sailing qualities of the ships being increased thereby; so that gradually the comparatively elegant and swift-sailing lines of the present men-of-war came to be adopted. Instead of increasing the number of guns to these larger ships, the caliber was increased, and so were the weight and length of each gun, in order to admit of the use of full charges, and to receive the greatest point-blank range, so as to allow of the fire being opened at long distances. The small calibers below 24 lbs. disappeared from the larger vessels, and the remaining calibers were simplified, so as to have no more than two calibers, or at the outside three, on board of any one vessel. In ships of the line, the lower deck, being the strongest, was armed with guns of the same caliber as the upper decks, but of greater length and weight, in order to have at least one tier of guns available for the greatest possible range.

About 1820 the French Gen. Paixhans made an invention which has been of great importance in naval armaments. He constructed a gun of large caliber provided with a narrow chamber at the breech for the insertion of the powder, and began to fire hollow shot, at low elevations, from these "shell guns" (*canons obusiers*). Hitherto hollow shot had been fired against ships from howitzers in shore batteries only; though in Germany the practice of firing shell horizontally from short 24-lb. and even 12-lb. guns had been long in use against fortifications. The destructive effects of shells against the wooden sides of vessels were well known to Napoleon, who at Boulogne[401] armed most of his gun boats for the expedition to England with howitzers, and laid it down as a rule that ships must be attacked with projectiles which will burst after hitting. Now, Paixhans' shell guns gave the means of arming ships with cannon which, by throwing their shells as nearly as possible horizontally, could be used at sea, ship against ship, with nearly the same probability of hitting as the old round-shot guns. The new gun was soon introduced into all navies, and, after

undergoing various improvements, now constitutes an essential portion of the armament of all large men-of-war.

Shortly afterward the first attempts were made to apply steam to the propulsion of ships of war, as it had already been applied by Fulton to that of commercial vessels. The progress from the river steamer to the coasting steamer, and gradually to the ocean steamer, was slow; in the same ratio was the progress of war steamers retarded. As long as paddle boats were the only steamers in existence, this was justifiable. The paddles and part of the engine were exposed to the enemy's shot, and could be disabled by a single lucky hit; they took up the best portion of the broadside room of the vessel; and the weight of engine, paddles, and coal so much reduced the capacity of the ship, that a heavy armament of numerous long guns was entirely out of the question. A paddle steamer, therefore, could never be a ship of the line; but its superior speed might permit it to compete with frigates, which are expected to hover on the flanks of an enemy, to collect the fruits of a victory, or to cover a retreat. Now a frigate has just the size and armament which enable it to go fearlessly on any independent roving errand, while its superior sailing qualities enable it to withdraw in time from an unequal contest. The sailing qualities of any frigate were far outstripped by the steamer; but without a good armament the steamer could not fulfil its mission. Regular broadside fighting was out of the question; the number of guns must, for want of space, be always inferior to that of a sailing frigate. Here, if anywhere, the shell gun was in its place. The diminished number of guns on board a steam frigate was counterbalanced by their weight of metal and caliber. Originally these guns were intended to throw shells only, but recently they have been made so heavy, especially the chase guns (at the bow and stern of the vessel), that they can, with full charges, throw solid shot also to considerable distances. Moreover, the reduced number of guns admits of traversing platforms and railways being laid down on the deck, by means of which all or most of the guns can be brought to bear in almost any direction; a provision by which the strength of a steam frigate for an attack is nearly doubled, and a 20-gun steam frigate can bring at least as many guns into action as a 40-gun sailing frigate with but 18 working guns for each single broadside. Thus the large modern paddle-steamer frigate is a most formidable ship; the superior caliber and range of her guns, added to her velocity, enable her to cripple an opponent at a distance where scarcely any effective return of fire is possible to the sailing vessel; while the weight of her metal

comes in with crushing power when it is to her advantage finally to force the fighting. Still the disadvantage remains that her whole motive force is exposed to direct fire, and offers a large object to aim at.

For smaller vessels, corvettes, advice boats and other light craft, not counting in a naval battle, but very useful throughout a campaign, steam was at once found of great advantage, and there were many such paddle boats constructed in most navies. It was the same with transport ships. Where landings were intended, steamers not only reduced the length of passage to a minimum, but permitted one to calculate to a moral certainty the time of arrival at any given place. The transport of bodies of troops was now made a matter of great simplicity, especially as every naval country had a large fleet of commercial steamers to fall back upon for transport vessels in case of necessity. It was on these considerations that Prince de Joinville, in his well known pamphlet, ventured to maintain that steam had altered the condition of naval warfare to such an extent as to render an invasion of England by France no longer an impossibility.[402] Still, so long as the ships used for decisive action, the ships of the line, remained exclusively sailing vessels, the introduction of steam could work but little change in the conditions under which great naval battles were fought.

The invention of the screw propeller was destined to supply the means of revolutionizing naval warfare entirely, and to transform all war fleets into steam fleets. It was fully 13 years after the invention of the screw before the first step in this direction was made. The French, always superior to the English in naval design and construction, were the first to do it. Finally in 1849 the French engineer Dupuy-Delôme constructed the first screw line-of-battle ship, the *Napoléon,* of 100 guns and 600 horse power. This ship was not intended to depend upon steam only; unlike the paddles, the screw allowed a ship to retain all the lines and rigging of a sailing vessel, and to be moved, at will, by steam alone, by sails alone, or by both combined. She could, therefore, always save her coal for emergencies by having recourse to her sails, and was thus far less dependent upon the proximity of coaling stations than the old paddle-wheel steamer. On this account, and because her steam power was too weak to give her the full speed of a paddle steamer, the *Napoléon* and other vessels of this class were called auxiliary steam vessels; since then, however, ships of the line have been constructed which have steam power enough to give them all the speed of which the screw propeller is capable. The success of the

*Napoléon* soon caused screw ships of the line to be built both in France and England. The Russian war[a] gave a new impulse to this radical change in naval construction; and when it was found that most strong-built ships of the line could, without too much difficulty, be fitted with a screw and engines, the transformation of all navies into steam fleets became only a matter of time. No large naval power now thinks of constructing any more large sailing vessels; almost all ships newly laid down are screw steamers, excepting the few paddle steamers which for certain purposes are still required; and before 1870 sailing ships of war will be almost as completely antiquated as the spinning wheel and the smooth-bore musket are now.

The Crimean war called into existence two new naval constructions. The first of these is the steam gun boat or mortar boat, originally constructed by the English for the contemplated attack on Cronstadt; it is a small vessel drawing from 4 to 7 feet of water, and armed with one or two heavy long-range guns or a heavy mortar; the former to be used in shallow and intricate waters generally, the latter in the bombardment, from a long distance, of fortified naval arsenals. They answered exceedingly well, and will no doubt play an important part in future naval campaigns. The mortar boat, as proved at Sveaborg,[403] totally alters the relations of attack and defence between fortresses and ships, by giving the ships that power of bombarding the former with impunity which they never before possessed; at 3,000 yards, from which the shells of the mortar boats can hit an object as large as a town, they are themselves quite secure from their smallness of surface. The gun boats, on the contrary, when acting in concert with coast batteries, will strengthen the defence, and will also provide naval warfare with those light skirmishers which were hitherto wanting to it.

The second innovation is the iron-sided, shot-proof floating batteries, first constructed by the French, for the attack of coast defences. They were tried at Kinburn only, and their success, even against the rickety parapets and rusty cannon of that little place, was not so very signal.[404] Still, the French appeared to be so well satisfied with them, that they have gone on ever since experimenting upon steel-plated vessels. They have constructed gun boats with a kind of shot-proof steel parapet on the forecastle, which shelters the gun and its crew; but if the floating batteries were unwieldy and had to be towed, these gun boats always had their

[a] The Crimean war of 1853-56.—*Ed.*

heads in the water and were not at all seaworthy. They have however produced a steel-plated steam frigate called *La Gloire,* which is said to be shot-proof, of very good speed, and quite capable of living in a gale. The most exaggerated statements are made with regard to the probable revolution these shot-proof frigates will create in naval warfare. We are told that ships of the line are antiquated, and that the power to decide great naval actions has passed over to these frigates with a single battery of guns, covered in shot-proof on all sides, against which no wooden three-decker can stand. This is not the place to argue these questions; but we may observe that it is far easier to invent and put on board ship rifled artillery heavy enough to smash iron or steel plates, than it is to construct vessels cased with metal thick enough to withstand the shot or shell from these guns. As to the *Gloire,* it is not certain after all that she is fit to live in a gale, and from her incapacity for holding coal it is said that she cannot keep the sea under steam for more than 3 days. What her British competitor, the *Warrior,* will do, remains to be seen. No doubt, by reducing the armament and coal, and by altering the mode of construction, it may be possible to render a ship entirely shot-proof at long and medium ranges, and a fair steamer; but in an age when the science of artillery makes such rapid strides, it is very doubtful whether such ships will be worth constructing in the long run.[405]

The revolution in artillery which the rifled gun is now effecting appears to be a far more important matter for naval warfare than any thing that can be effected by steel-plated ships. Every rifled gun that deserves the name gives such a precision at long ranges that the ancient inefficiency of naval firing at such ranges appears to be fast becoming a matter of the past. Moreover, the rifled cannon, by admitting elongated shot and reduced charges, allows a considerable reduction in the bore and weight of broadside guns; or otherwise, the bore remaining the same, gives results far greater. The elongated shot from a 56 cwt. rifled 32-pounder will surpass the round shot from a 113 cwt. smooth-bore 10-inch gun, not only in weight, but also in penetration, range, and precision. The power of attack of every vessel is at least tripled if it be armed with rifled ordnance. Moreover, the great desideratum has always been to invent a useful percussion shell which should explode the very moment it penetrates a ship's side. The rotation of round shot has rendered this impracticable; the percussion fuze was not always in the proper position when the shell struck, and then it did not go off. But an elongated shot from a rifled cannon,

rotating round its longitudinal axis, must always strike head foremost; and a simple percussion cap on the fuze head bursts the shell the moment it enters the ship's side. It is not probable that any steel-clad ship yet invented can brave two such broadsides from a two-decker with impunity; not to speak of the shells which enter the ports and must explode between decks. Rifled ordnance must to a great degree put a stop to such close-fought actions as were those in which carronades could be useful; manoeuvring will once more regain the ascendant; and as steam now makes the contending vessels independent of wind and tide, naval warfare will in future much more approach the method and be subject to the tactics of land battles.

The vessels of war of which modern navies are composed are classed in various ratings, from first to sixth rates; but as these ratings are both variable and arbitrary, it will be better to class them in the common way as ships of the line, frigates, sloops, brigs, schooners, &c. Ships of the line are the largest men-of-war afloat, destined to form the line of battle in a general action, and to decide the struggle by the weight of metal thrown into the enemy's ships. They are either 3-deckers or 2-deckers; that is to say, they have either 3 or 2 covered decks armed with guns. These decks are called the lower, middle, and main or upper deck. The upper deck, which was formerly covered in at the quarter deck and forecastle only, is now covered in by a continuous open deck from stem to stern. This open deck, which is still called the quarter deck and forecastle (the position amidships being called the gangway), also carries artillery, mostly carronades; so that in reality a 2-decker carries 3, and a 3-decker 4 tiers of guns. The heaviest guns are, of course, placed on the lower deck; and the guns become lighter in proportion as the batteries are more elevated above the water. The caliber being mostly the same, this is obtained by reducing the weight of the guns themselves, in consequence of which those on the upper decks can only stand reduced charges, which implies that they can be used only at shorter ranges. The only exception to this rule is in the case of chase guns, which are placed at the bow and stern of a ship, and which, even if placed on the forecastle or quarter deck, are still as long and heavy as possible, as they are required to act at the longest ranges practicable. Thus, the bow and stern guns of English ships of the line are composed either of 8 or 10-inch shell guns, or of 56-pdr. (bore 7.7 inches) or 68-pdr. (bore 8.13 inches) solid shot guns, one of which is placed on the forecastle on a traversing platform. There are in the English navy generally 6

stern and 5 bow guns to a first rate; the remaining armament of such a ship is as follows:

| Position. | Description. | W'ght. | Length. | No. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lower deck | 8-inch shell guns. | 65 cwt. | 9 ft. 0 in. | 4 |
| " " | 32-pounder guns. | 56 " | 9 6 | 28 |
| Middle deck | 8-inch shell guns. | 65 " | 9 0 | 2 |
| " " | 32-pounder guns. | 50 " | 9 0 | 32 |
| Upper deck | " " | 42 " | 8 0 | 34 |
| Forecastle and quarter deck. | " " | 45 " | 8 6 | 6 |
| | " carronades | 17 " | 4 0 | 14 |
| Total | ..... | ..... | ..... | 120 |

The armament of the smaller ratings of vessels of the line is arranged upon the same principle. For the sake of comparison, we also give that of a French first rate, viz.: lower deck, 32 long 30-lb. guns; middle deck, 4 80-lb. shell guns, and 30 short 30-lb. guns; upper deck, 34 30-lb. shell guns; forecastle and quarter deck, 4 30-lb. shell guns, and 16 30-lb. carronades; in all, 120 guns. The French 80-lb. shell gun has a larger bore than the 8-inch English gun by 0.8 inch; the 30-lb. shell gun and the 30-lb. gun have a slightly larger bore than the English 32-pdr., so that the advantage of weight of metal would lie with the French. The smallest ship of the line now carries 72 guns; the largest frigate carries 61.

A frigate is a ship with only one covered deck carrying guns, and another open deck above it (forecastle and quarter deck) which is equally provided with guns. The armament, in the English service, is generally of 30 guns (either all shell guns or part shell guns and part long 32-pdrs.) on the gun deck, and 30 short 32-pdrs. on the forecastle and quarter deck, with a heavy pivot gun on a traversing platform at the bow. Frigates being mostly sent on detached service, where they are always likely to become engaged single-handed against hostile frigates sent on the same errand, it has been a great point with most naval nations to make them as large and powerful as possible. In no class of vessels is the increase in size so remarkable as in this. The United States, requiring a cheap navy strong enough to enforce respect, were the first to see the great advantage to be drawn from a fleet of large frigates, each of them superior to any frigate which other nations could bring against it. The superiority of the American ship builders in producing swift vessels was also taken advantage of, and the last war against England (1812-'14)[406] showed in many

well contested engagements what formidable antagonists these American frigates were. Up to the present day the U.S. frigates are considered models of this class of vessels, although the difference in size when compared with other navies is not by far so marked as it was 30 or 40 years ago.

The next class of men-of-war are called corvettes. They have but one tier of guns, placed on an open deck; but the larger class are provided with a forecastle and quarter deck (not connected, however, by a continuous deck amidships), where they carry a few guns more. Such corvettes, therefore, almost correspond to what a frigate was 80 years ago, before the two elevated extremities of the vessel were connected by a flush deck. These corvettes are still strong enough to carry the same caliber of guns as the larger vessels. They also carry 3 masts, all square-rigged. Of smaller vessels, brigs and schooners carry from 20 guns to 6. They have but two masts, square-rigged in brigs, fore-and-aft rigged in schooners. The caliber of their guns is necessarily smaller than that of the larger ships, and does not generally exceed 18 or 24-pdrs. going down as low as 12 and 9-pdrs. Vessels of this small power of offence cannot be sent where serious resistance is anticipated. In European waters they are becoming generally superseded by small steamers, and they can be of actual service only on such coasts as those of South America, China, &c.,where they have to meet powerless antagonists, and where they merely serve to represent the flag of a powerful naval nation.

The armaments given above are merely those adopted at present, but they will undoubtedly be changed in every respect during the next 10 years by the general adoption of rifled ship guns.[407]

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# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS FOR THE ARTICLES IN *THE NEW AMERICAN CYCLOPAEDIA*[408]

# Frederick Engels

## SUMMARY OF JOHN W. KAYE'S *HISTORY OF THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN*[409]

AFGHANISTAN WAR. J. W. KAYE, *HISTORY OF THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN*, 1851, 2 Vols.

From 1818 Dost Mohammed Khan of the Barukzye tribe (Douranee tribe, as also the Populzyes, then the dynasty of the Suddozyes, but ousted by Dost Mohammed) ruled in Kabul after many civil wars. In Peshawar and Kandahar brothers of Dost Mohammed also ruled. The one in Peshawar, Azim Khan, attacked the Sikhs but Runjeet Singh defeated him and seized Peshawar from him so that it further became a tributary of the Sikhs.

Herat alone remained under an ancient Suddozye dynasty. This was attacked by Mohamed Shah of Persia with Russian advice and aid. Agitation among the English. Fear of a Russian invasion of India, for Persia had been completely played into the hands of the Russians by English policy.

Even earlier, in 1835, Lord Auckland, Governor-General [of India], sent Alexander Burnes to Kabul as ambassador, under the pretext of a trade mission. The Persians wanted to have Dost Mohammed also on their side, but Dost was for the English alliance. But when it came to particulars the English demanded everything and would promise nothing in return. The Pole Vitkievicz intervened, promised everything and demanded little, and Burnes finally had to leave, whereupon Vitkievicz and the Persians momentarily gained the upper hand (garbled "blue books"[410]).

The Indian Governor, in Simla at the time, under the influence not of the Indian Council, but of W. H. Macnaghten, secretary to

the Government, Henry Torrens and J. Colvin, his private secretaries. Macnaghten and Colvin very ambitious, particularly the former. In its Russophobia this conclave decided to restore Shah Soojah, who had been ousted back in 1809 and was living on pension in Loodhianah, to the throne of Afghanistan and to conclude an alliance with the Sikhs to this end. This was done. The army gathered. Runjeet Singh was ready. Shah Soojah began to organise a recruited army under English officers.

Meanwhile small expedition to Karrak (near Bushire) in the Persian Gulf was enough at the very last moment, September 4-9, 1838, when Herat had almost fallen, to push the Persians back. They retired, and now *au fond* no more fear of Russian power in Afghanistan. But the English had advanced too far, and so the expedition was undertaken, although only with a few troops.

October 1, 1838 proclamation containing the Governor-General's declaration of war—scarcely public, when the news of the relief of Herat arrived.

The army which actually marched: 2 brigades Bengal army, 13th Queen's Infantry Regiment, 16th, 31st, 35th, 37th, 42nd, 48th native infantry under Sir W. Cotton, 16th Lancers and Indian irregular cavalry, 9,500 men in all.

One brigade Bombay army, 4th Dragoons, 2nd and 17th Queen's regiments, a native infantry regiment and some artillery via the Indus.

Shah Soojah's army: 2 cavalry, 4 infantry regiments, 1 mounted battery—6,000 men under Major-General Simpson (Crimea?[a]).

The Bengal troops and Shah Soojah's troops marched through Sindh, on which a levy was imposed for the benefit of Runjeet Singh and Shah Soojah, to Shikarpur, where they were to meet the Bombay troops. Sir J. Keane commander-in-chief.[b]—The Sikhs, with Shah Soojah's son Timur Khan, through the Khyber Pass towards Kabul. Having marched off from Lahore in mid-December, by February 20 Cotton in Shikarpur, where the Shah's army was already. The English Bengal army 9,500 men, 3,800 camp-followers,[b] 30,000 pack-camels.

Macnaghten's political agents and emissaries with Shah Soojah.[c] Burnes among them.

Many camels already lost in Shikarpur.

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[a] This remark refers to Simpson's participation in the Crimean war of 1853-56.—*Ed.*

[b] Engels uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[c] Macnaghten himself joined the army as British envoy at the Shah's Court.—*Ed.*

Beginning of March through the *Bolan* Pass. To Dadur 146 miles, 16 marches. The camels were dropping for want of forage. Food supplies ditto. The Baluchistan robbers on flank and at rear. Particularly from Dadur to Quetta, 60 miles through the pass. In Quetta on March 26. Here the cavalry was due to stop, but nothing to eat. Burnes set out to Mehrab Khan of Khelat, who promised everything, but said that the land was poor.

On March 7 the Shah's troops marched from Shikarpur. The Bombay brigade also followed, and Sir J. Keane, who arrived with it in Quetta on April 6. Nothing for it but forthwith to Kandahar. Left on April 7, over the Kodjuk Pass. Kohun-dil-Khan and his brothers fled, and the army entered Kandahar on April 25.

The army paid for everything and nationalised very liberally. In the process Macnaghten squandered a lot of money on bribery[a] but to no avail. No enthusiasm for Shah Soojah.[b]

June 27 from Kandahar for Kabul via Ghuznee, which was the impregnable fortress of Afghanistan, and was reached on July 21. Through treachery it came to Keane's knowledge that one gate, the Kabul, was not walled up on the inside. He had left his siege guns in Kandahar, and had only light field guns. This news alone made capture possible. While mock assaults on the impregnable façade and a bombardment deceived the garrison, the gate was blown up with sacks of gunpowder and stormed by the 13th Regiment (under Dennie and Sale). After fierce resistance the fortress fell.

Dost Mohammed moved to Maidan, a very strong position, and then even closer to the English. But his army broke up, and Dost Mohammed fled to Bokhara, where the Khan had him seized.

The Sikhs did nothing, but as Dost Mohammed did not support the Afridis, they allowed Timur Khan through with a very few motley[a] troops (under Capt. Wade). Arrived in Kabul on September 3.

On August 6 Shah Soojah and the English had entered Kabul. On September 18 the Bombay brigade marched back. On October 3 three companies of infantry, the 16th Lancers, 3rd Bengal Cavalry, 4th Local Horse[c] and one battery of artillery of the Bengal division were also repulsed. Distribution of the rest: Kabul: 13th Queen's Infantry, 35th Native Infantry, 3 cannon light foot.

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[a] Engels uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[b] This sentence is in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[c] Engels uses the English words "Local Horse".—*Ed.*

Jellalabad: 48th Native Infantry, some cavalrymen and sappers.

Ghuznee: 16th Native Infantry, 1 squadron irregular cavalry and what was available of Shah Soojah's troops.

Kandahar: 42nd and 43rd Native Infantry, 1 squadron irregular cavalry, 1 battery and some of Shah Soojah's troops available (Nott in command).

What had become of the 31st and 37th Native Infantry *non liquet*.[a] Bameean particularly through the Shah's good Gurkha Regiment[411] and one battery mounted artillery (!! taken in hand!).

The Afghans furious at the invasion by the Kafirs, Shah Soojah hated or indifferent. English intervention in government and administration makes things even worse. The Douranees around Kandahar had reckoned on Shah Soojah giving them back their former preponderance and rights of plunder suppressed by Dost Mohammed. This was not permitted by the English. The Douranees furious about this. The Afridis in the Khyber Pass irritated instead of being paid. In Khelat, Mehrab Khan was attacked at Macnaghten's instigation for being a traitor (!), and Khelat stormed by Willshire, who seemed to have remained in the area with the 2nd and 17th Queen's and 31st Native Infantry together with cavalry and artillery. Mehrab Khan fell and part of the country annexed by Shah Soojah.

Rewards now showered from England.

In winter Macnaghten checked the revenue.[b] Very bad. Almost everything had to be met by English subsidies. The Russian expedition to Khiva now known, and its strength greatly exaggerated because of the success in Afghanistan.[412] Runjeet Singh died in Punjab, having already been fatally ill when the [English] expedition set out, and his sons and grandsons intrigued against each other and against the English. In Herat, Yar Mohamed, Shah Kamran's vizier, let the English pay him, and intrigued against them in Afghanistan. In Afghanistan itself the Douranees not pacified, and Khelat in open rebellion. In Bokhara, Stoddart, English envoy, arrested, maltreated and forced to embrace Islam. In the northern mountains on the other side of the Hindu Kush near Khulum the supporters of Dost Mohammed among the Uzbek tribes in unrest (hitherto they had been dubious vassals of Afghanistan).

Admittedly, the Russian expedition was a failure, as Macnaghten ascertained in *July*, but it was now also established that Nao Nehal

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[a] Not clear (Engels' remark).—*Ed.*

[b] Here, in the left margin, Engels made the following note: "Book IV. 1840 Jan."—*Ed.*

Singh, heir apparent and actual ruler of the Sikhs, was in direct correspondence and intrigues with the enemies of Shah [Soojah], that he had given asylum to Ghilzye refugees, etc., and was at the same time preparing the betrayal by Yar Shah, who was on intimate terms with the Persians and made himself out to be the most obedient servant of the Shah in Shah.[a]

Auckland had returned to Calcutta, where Sir Jasper Nicolls was commander-in-chief[b] and at the same time a member of the Council. The latter proved that the armed forces in India were already extremely weak. Macnaghten continued to demand that Herat should be conquered and Peshawar taken from the Sikhs, but now of course in vain. He wanted to macadamise the Punjab to enable troops to march through and to create a direct link with India, and continued to demand money and reinforcements, the latter, however, always being denied him. Macnaghten blamed all bad luck on Herat and the Sikhs; in Afghanistan, he claimed, all was in vain since Shah Soojah was very popular!

Meanwhile, in Afghanistan constant insurrections. The Ghilzyes rose again in spring 1840. Captain Anderson, Bengal artillery, defeated them May 16 on the Turnuk river, and Macnaghten promised them a subsidy of £3,000 p.a., yet still they persisted in unrest.

In Khelat the Baluchis rose and recaptured Khelat.

By now all the Englishmen in Afghanistan convinced of the untenability of the position, only Macnaghten obstinately maintained all was well.

In August Conolly sent to Khokand and Khiva.

In the Hindu Kush Azim Khan, Dost Mohammed's son, and shortly afterwards Jubbar Khan, Dost Mohammed's brother, came with Dost Mohammed's family, respectively surrendering and submitting to the English in Bameean. At the same time various engagements with the Uzbeks in the mountains between Bameean and Kamurd, with varying success. Finally Dost Mohammed escaped from Bokhara and went to Khulum, where he gathered an army. Bajgah, a weak outpost in the mountains beyond Kamurd, had to be evacuated August 30 by the Gurkha Regiment of Shah Soojah. A newly formed Afghan regiment went over to Dost Mohammed 2-3 days later. Kabul was ready to break away, the Sikhs were intriguing these directly against the English and giving financial support to Dost Mohammed.

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[a] Mohamed Shah of Persia.— *Ed.*

[b] Engels uses the English word.— *Ed.*

On September 14 Brig. Dennie arrived in Bameean with the 35th Native Infantry. On the 18th he attacked Dost Mohammed's Uzbeks, etc., who were debouching from the mountains on Bameean, and utterly routed them. The wullee (chief) of Khulum pledged not to give Dost Mohammed asylum and concluded peace.

But Dost Mohammed reappeared in Kohistan (in the eastern Hindu Kush). At the end of September Sale marched towards the Ghorebund Pass against him. On September 29 a number of fortifications in the pass captured (near Tootundurrah), on October 3 Joolgah (a fortified village) stormed but repulsed. Dost Mohammed was everywhere and nowhere, it was often said 40-50 miles from Kabul, where the Balahissar were being armed. At length Dost Mohammed turned up with a fair-sized army in Nijrow (where?). Sale marched against him, encountered him at Purwandurrah and pursued him with his cavalry (Natives[a]) as he retreated. The latter, attacked by Dost Mohammed's horsemen, fled immediately (November 2) and were pursued as far as Kamurd. Thereupon Sale broke off the engagement.

After this victory, however, Dost Mohammed rode to Kabul and surrendered to Macnaghten.

In October-November unrest in Zemindawer (north-west[a] of Kandahar) among the Parsewan inhabitants because of the collection of taxes due from the time of Dost Mohammed, and the cavalry escort of Shah Soojah's army defeated by these inhabitants.

End of December 1840 Nott sent troops from Kandahar against them, and on January 3, 1841 the Zemindawer Douranees beaten. (This insurrection directly instigated by Yar Mohamed in Herat,[b] who promised to come.) Todd (envoy in Herat) now left his post, as nothing more could be done with Yar Mohamed, who was openly admitting his treachery and just demanding more money—but Auckland disavowed Todd and dismissed him!

The Douranees continued in unrest, and the Ghilzyes also rose again. The English decided to fortify Khelat in Ghilzye once again; the Ghilzyes refused to suffer this and banded together. Nott sent 400 men of the 38th Native Infantry. On May 19 the Ghilzyes were defeated at Assiai-Ilmee but this failed to bring calm.

Aktur Khan of Zemindawer with 3,000 men defeated outside Ghiresk by Woodburn with chiefly Afghan troops (5th Afghan

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[a] Engels uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[b] Here, in the left margin, Engels has "1841".—*Ed.*

Infantry, 2 guns, and a few Afghan cavalrymen, who absconded) (in July).

Aktur Khan and another Douranee chief, Akrum Khan, back into the field. Defeated on August 17. This pacified the Douranees for some time.

On August 5 Chambers also defeated the Ghilzyes with Indian cavalry, and Macnaghten was triumphant.

"All quiet from Dan to Beersheba."[a]

The English in Kabul encamped outside the town, the camp miserably fortified, untenable, dominated everywhere. Elphinstone, an old, sick general, had been in command since early 1841, when Cotton resigned. The ramparts could be surmounted on horseback! All around: gardens, houses and defile paths. The stores were kept separately in a fort, and between it and the camp lay an empty fort with a walled garden, which seemed to be made for a hostile party[b] to cut off the communications. All this through the fault of the politicals[c] who would not permit the occupation of the Bala Hissar.[d]

The English officers and soldiers had intrigued a good deal with the women of Kabul, and the men of Kabul could get no redress.[e] Widespread fury of the Mohammedans, who finally decided to seek revenge. This at the heart of the fury against the invaders.[c]

Macnaghten saw everything, as he wrote September 20, 1841, in "*couleur de rose*".[f] Meanwhile in September another minor insurrection suppressed in Kohistan.

The Indian finances ruined by the Afghan war. Every year £1 1/4 million went to Afghanistan, and Nicolls maintained that either the Punjab had to be conquered or the force in Afghanistan to be brought up to 25,000. A new Indian loan issued. 9,000 Indian troops encamped between Karachi and Quetta, 16,000 infantry and Shah troops in Afghanistan itself. Now a ministerial crisis in England, prospects of a Tory administration opposed to all trans-Indus expeditions. (Macnaghten so blind that when the loan was issued he asked if it was intended for the Chinese

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[a] From Macnaghten's letter to Robertson, August 20, 1841 (J. W. Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan*, Vol. I, p. 602).—*Ed.*

[b] Engels uses the English words "hostile party".—*Ed.*

[c] Engels uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[d] Kabul's citadel which became Shah Soojah's residence.—*Ed.*

[e] Engels uses the English words "could get no redress" (paraphrase of Kaye's words).—*Ed.*

[f] J. W. Kaye, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 616-17.—*Ed.*

war![a])—The 44th Queen's Regiment under Shelton sent to Kabul in the spring.

Macnaghten appointed Governor of Bombay. Before departing he saw the necessity of restricting expenditure. Firstly by curtailing the subsidies to the chieftains of the Ghilzyes, Kohistanees, Momunds, Kaubulees, Kuzzilbashes. *This* decided it. The summoning of the chieftains to Kabul resulted immediately in a conspiracy, and they decided that the Ghilzyes in the mountains to the south of Jellalabad should rise first. This they did.

Macnaghten, however, decided, *as all was quiet*, to send some of the troops to India. One regiment in Kabul and one in Kandahar were sufficient succour[b] [to Shah Soojah's troops]. So he set out, on his return joining up with troops who were to take punitive measures on the way.

On October 9 the 35th Regiment Native Infantry, a cavalry squadron and two guns set out.... At Bootkhak the camp attacked. On the 10th Sale followed [Monteith] with the 13th Infantry Regiment and on October 13 arrived at the pass of Khurd-Kabul. Heavy fighting, but the English pushed through and Sale returned to Bootkhak. Monteith with the 35th Native Infantry was attacked every night in the mountains and robbed of all his camels. Admittedly peace concluded with the chieftains and promised to continue paying the old subsidies, but no go.[c] The tribes went on fighting and the chieftains laughed up their sleeves. From Tezeen to Gundamuck continual fighting, and it flared up again on the other side of the Jugdulluck. There the outlet from the defile was captured.

Sale was in Gundamuck. *Macnaghten* still considered it unimportant.

Kaye, *War in Afghanistan*, Vol. II.

The conspiracy of the chieftains in Kabul was known to Burnes and Macnaghten (the latter had not yet left) but nothing was done. On the evening of November 1 a meeting of the conspirators, decision to start an insurrection in the town in the morning, beginning with an attack on the residence of Burnes, who lived in the town.

*November 2* Burnes' house destroyed and he and his guards

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[a] Cf. Macnaghten's letter to Major Rawlinson of April 20, 1841 (J. W. Kaye, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 620-21). The Chinese war—the war waged by England against China from 1840 to 1842 (so-called First Opium War).—*Ed.*

[b] Engels uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[c] Engels uses the English expression.—*Ed.*

murdered. The English did nothing. *Ordre, contre-ordre, désordre.*[a] Elphinstone weak. Shah Soojah wanted no troops in the Bala Hissar! and they gave in to him!

*November 3.* Not until 3 p.m. **three** companies and **2** guns sent against the town! Repulsed, of course.[b]

The fortified camp of the English (bastioned stockade continued[c]!) much too big for the few troops there, moreover dominated. Food supplies in a fort 400 yards removed from the S.W. corner of the camp!! Between the two lay an old earth fort with walled gardens, which was not occupied, and Macnaghten forbade its occupation!! This place (Mohamed Sheriff's Fort) immediately occupied by the Afghans, the camp fired upon and the commissariat fort attacked (only 80 men inside!).

*November 4* three **rei**[d] companies sent to the commissariat fort forced to turn back. Likewise a cavalry expedition sent to *fetch* (!) the garrison out of the commissariat fort. In the night the garrison evacuated the commissariat fort, which was immediately plundered. All the medical stores, beer, wine, etc., were lost together with the food supplies. A more distant fort where corn had been stored had already been evacuated the night of the 3rd on account of the weakness of the garrison and water shortage.

The Kohistan Regiment of Shah Soojah in Kardurrah rebelled and killed their officers.

*November 5* Elphinstone already talking of *bribing* the enemy and of negotiations!

*November 6* Mohamed Sheriff's Fort finally captured and destroyed. Otherwise nothing happened. Some corn purchased in the surrounding villages. Elphinstone writes to Macnaghten:

> "Our case is not yet desperate [...] but it goes very fast."[e]

*Mohun* Lal, Burnes' moonshee, sent as negotiator to the mountain tribes, in order to *bribe* the chieftains. But also secretly to pay rewards *for the heads of the most furious* (10,000 rupees a piece[f]).

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[a] Napoleon's words.—*Ed.*

[b] Engels uses the English expression "of course".—*Ed.*

[c] Engels uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[d] The abbreviation "rei" used by Engels may stand for the English "reinforced".—*Ed.*

[e] From Elphinstone's letter to Macnaghten of November 6, 1841 (J. W. Kaye, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 39). The quotation is in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[f] Engels uses the English words "rupees a piece".—*Ed.*

Elphinstone quite ill, at a loss, undecided, depending on whoever spoke last, *ordre, contre-ordre, désordre.*

*November 9* Brig. Shelton, who was in the Bala Hissar with the Shah's troops, called to the camp as second in command[a] and as *ad latus*[b] of Elphinstone, but the two constantly at loggerheads.

Sale's brigade was now to return from Gundamuck, to relieve them.

November 10 the Afghans *en masse* on the dominating foothills, fired into the camp. At Macnaghten's insistence, 1,000 men were to attack. No sooner were they assembled than counter-order from Elphinstone. Eventually sent however. A small fort captured, but the troops in the open field fled from the Afghan horsemen (Europeans! and natives[c]). However, the enemy finally repulsed.

November 13 the Afghans again on the mountain, bombarding the camp from the heights of Beh-meru with 2 guns. Macnaghten wanted to attack, Shelton did not, overruled,[c] and 16 companies, $2^1/_2$ squadrons, 2 guns sent out, among them Shelton himself. The Afghan horsemen charged again and again through the English infantry, repulsing them and being repulsed themselves by the cavalry. The infantry then followed and took the heights and the 2 guns. *Last success of the English.*

November 15 Pottinger arrived from Kohistan wounded: the Shah's Gurkha Regiment *annihilated* by the mountain tribes.

November 17 news that Sale was marching towards Jellalabad. Last hope gone west. Now only a choice between occupation of the Bala Hissar, retreat or capitulation. Shelton succeeded in asserting his view that the Bala Hissar should *not* be occupied (his reasons childish), which alone would have made wintering possible.

*November 23* second engagement at Beh-meru. The English marched out, totally defeated, lost 2 guns. The artillery alone fought well, the infantry, Europeans and Sepoys, **cowardly**. Chased back in disorder over the plain into the camp by the Afghans.

Now they could no longer (in Elphinstone's opinion) enter the Bala Hissar without sacrificing some of the 700 wounded and sick and almost all the stores,[c] ammunition and food. On half rations for the past few days! Therefore negotiations. The Afghan chieftains demand (November 24) unconditional surrender. Rejected.

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[a] Engels uses the English phrase.—*Ed.*

[b] Assistant.—*Ed.*

[c] Engels uses the English word.—*Ed.*

Mahomed Akbar Khan, Dost Mohammed's son, arrived in Kabul and became chief of the Afghans. He immediately took steps to cut off all the supplies[a] of the English, and succeeded.

Abdullah Khan and Meer Musjedee, the two chieftains on whose heads the English had placed a reward, eliminated before the end of November. The first was wounded at Beh-meru by a dubious shot (second engagement) and was then allegedly given poison; the second probably poisoned or suffocated. The rewards claimed, but the English refused payment.

December 1-8 shortages in camp. Horses dying. March on Jellalabad declared impossible. Likewise a capitulation, which, it was said, could provide no protection against the tribes in the mountains. Macnaghten now wants [to move to] the Bala Hissar. December 5 the Afghans burnt the English bridge over the Kabul, $^1/_4$ mile from the camp, without the English attempting to prevent them. December 6 Mohamed Sheriff's Fort evacuated. (5,000 men still fit for duty.[b]) [The garrison of the fort consisting] of 100 men [were put to flight by] 20 Afghans who had climbed up the walls of the fort!!

The generals pressed for capitulation or retreat, which was admittedly almost impossible. Macnaghten hesitated. On the 10th news that the relief force from Kandahar, for which they had been hoping, could not get through. On the 11th everything eaten up down to the last scrap. The soldiers had become so cowardly that they were no longer fit for fighting.

December 11 capitulation. *The whole of Afghanistan to be evacuated.* The British troops in Kabul to go to Peshawar. Shah Soojah to accompany them or remain, as he chooses. Dost Mohammed returns. 4 British officers as hostages. Nevertheless, peace and friendship between Afghanistan and England (even a clause inserted stating that the Afghans were not to enter into any alliance without the consent of the English). The treaty accepted in the main by word of mouth.

During the entire period of the English defensive and sluggish offensive the Afghans distinguished by their use of long-range long flintlocks (jezails). They were always out of range of the poor smoothbore muskets of the English.

December 13 the Bala Hissar evacuated by the English.

December 16 the forts round the camp (small Afghan fortifications) evacuated in return for deliveries of supplies, which proved

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[a] Engels uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[b] Engels uses the English expression "fit for duty".—*Ed.*

to be very scanty.[a] The Afghans suspicious, sent nothing and scoffed at the treaty.

December 18 *snow.* December 19 dispatch of Macnaghten's order that Ghuznee, Kandahar, Jellalabad should be evacuated. The chieftains disunited and suspicious. On December 22 Mahomed Akbar Khan had the proposal put to them that they should associate with the English, leave Shah Soojah on the throne, make him, Mahomed Akbar Khan, vizier and immediately defeat the other Afghan tribes, and let the English remain until the spring, when they should retire peacefully. Macnaghten walked into the trap, arrived on the 23rd to conclude the matter—and was *murdered.* The generals sat back and let this happen!

January 1 [1842] the treaty at last. The English to march, as soon as they have cattle, accompanied by Afghan chieftains. The troops in Jellalabad to march even earlier. Those in Ghuznee via Kabul, those in Kandahar direct [to India]. 6 British officers as hostages. The Afghans to conclude no alliance without the consent of the English, but may, in return, claim English help too (if this not ratified, the Afghans to do as they like). All guns except 6 horse-drawn and three small mule-drawn (mountain) guns to remain, likewise all remaining similar weapons, ammunition and stores.[a]

In addition all the cash[a] (19 lakhs) remains, and bills of exchange for 14 lakhs signed for individual chieftains, to whom Macnaghten was alleged to have promised this.

Immediate warning from all parties that they would be attacked during the march. But *que faire?*[b] At first Pottinger refused to conclude this treaty, since reinforcements were on the way from India and there was great dissension among the chieftains, nor did the treaty offer any guarantee of a safe withdrawal. But a council of war (December 25) ordered it.

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Translated from the German

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[a] Engels uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[b] What was to be done?—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## EXCERPTS FROM THE ARTICLE "BLUM" PUBLISHED IN *MEYER'S CONVERSATIONS-LEXICON*[413]

*Mr. (Meyer)—Popular* (i.e. pulpit) *eloquence. Steger.*

*Blum* (Robert) born in Cologne, November 10, 1807. His father (unsuccessful budding theologian) [became a] journeyman[a] cooper. "Mother, a servant from the country, earned additional income by sewing." Father † 1815: "entire responsibility for supporting the 3 children fell to the mother". In 1816 she married an absolutely brutal bargee[b] (first smuggler, later a soldier in the service of Spain and Portugal). Unhappy marriage. Appalling peak of distress in the famine year of 1816-17. 1817 [Robert Blum] sent to elementary school. 1819 communion; then employed as acolyte, "which entailed free tuition in the church school" as well as bringing in money. Clash with the priests because of embezzlement and over transubstantiation. Breach of the sacred seal of confession. End of his religious activity. Artisan first as goldsmith, then girdler; journeyman's travels; "finally had to return to Cologne. There found work in a lantern factory". "The boss, F. W. Schmitz, [...] transferred him to the office", took him on trips to London, Württemberg, Bavaria; lived for six months in Munich. Then to Berlin; studied there diligently (1829-30). *Self-taught.*[c] Military service in the meantime. "In April 1830 Blum had to join the fusilier battalion of the 24th Infantry Regiment in Prenzlau, [...] only for 6 weeks, [...] was placed on the reserve." Meanwhile Schmitz to Belgium and France. Blum had to return to Cologne, where his father ill and unable to earn. Becomes a theatre employee (to help the family[a]) under director Ringelhardt. "As such he had to handle all the dealings between director and actors, [...] to deliver parts and money, to announce performances and rehearsals." "In addition" Blum "was a poet, and was in touch with several respected editorial boards.[...] The then precarious times allowed him to be less sensitive at times to this [in]congruity, earned him a standing in the social life of Cologne far exceeding his material circumstances at the time". Blum one of those who set the tone for the politicising circles of Cologne. Writes for freedom "in the face of the 'tremendous'[d] obstacles raised by censorship".... "His own studies at this time

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[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*
[b] Kaspar Gd. Schilder.—*Ed.*
[c] In the manuscript this word is written above the line.—*Ed.*
[d] This word is given in quotes by Marx.—*Ed.*

included nothing less than the entire dramatic literature insofar as it was available at the Cologne Theatre Library." In 1831 Ringelhardt left Cologne. Blum a bailiff's clerk. In the winter again a theatre employee. Became theatre secretary and assistant cashier for Ringelhardt in Leipzig; after a few years head cashier. Writes contributions to *Komet, Abend-Zeitung* and *Elegante Zeitung*.[a] The *Theaterlexikon* with Herlossohn and Marggraff, *Verfassungsfreund* with Steger (3rd issue confiscated, and that was the end of that), the pocket book *Vorwärts.*

Blum's political activity began in 1837, when, as spokesman of the deputation at the Leipzig citizens' celebration for deputies Todt and Dieskau, he presented them with cups of honour. In 1840 among the first founders of the Schiller Association, from 1841 its president, promoter of this "fine annual celebration". "In 1840 takes part in the initial preparations for the Writers' Association, its co-president from 1841." *Sächsische Vaterlands-Blätter.* "Buys himself a property which, according to the stipulations of the Constitution, makes him eligible to the town council and the Provincial Diet." *Ronge's letter calling for a reform* of the Catholic Church[b]; Blum supported it in the *Vaterlands-Blätter;* from 1845 heads a community of the German-Catholic Society.

(Up to here *Blum*'s own biography both in *Meyer* and *Steger.*)

*On August 12, 1845* a detachment of riflemen (Leipzig) fired on a crowd in the midst of which excesses against a prince of the royal house[c] had earlier been committed, 7 people killed, not one of them a rioter; the civil guard partly not summoned, partly held aside on the square itself. Terrible unrest in the morning meetings of citizens and students to storm the riflemen's barracks.

"Blum [...] spoke in favour of observing the legal procedures. Everyone followed him to the riflemen's house, where for several days orderly discussions took place on how to exact atonement for the blood that had been shed." Blum taken to court for various speeches. The *Sächsische Vaterlands-Blätter* suppressed. In 1847 Blum also prosecuted for a protest of the Leipzig citizens against the extraordinary assembly of the estates of 1847 as being unconstitutional. Blum gives up his job as theatre cashier and founds a bookseller's. Writes *Weihnachtsbaum* (biographies of free-thinking Germans) and a *Staatslexikon für das deutsche Volk.* "In autumn 1847 elected an unpaid member of the municipal council by the Leipzig city councilmen. The district board withheld its confirmation"; written appeal by Blum. "His political activity in Leipzig now devoted to the *'Oratory Society'*, which he founded with men of like mind." *February 1848* worked ["to overthrow the government"]. "Central figure of his party for all Saxony." Founds the *Fatherland Association,* soon more than 40,000 members; resumes publication of the *Vaterlands-Blätter.* Blum vice-president in the Preliminary Parliament, averts the threatening breach between north and south. "Opposed to the mass withdrawal of the Left." Member of the Committee of Fifty. Elected to the Frankfurt Parliament. Blum's "coquetry in all directions" and vacillation. In his report on his activity in parliament [he wrote]: "We want, then, the *republic* at the head of the whole state. But while we want this, we decidedly reject the idea of ever laying a hand on the transformation of conditions in

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[a] *Zeitung für die elegante Welt.—Ed.*

[b] A reference to the open letter of Johannes Ronge, founder of the "German Catholics" movement, to Bishop Arnoldi of Trier, dated October 16, 1844.—*Ed.*

[c] Johann of Saxony.—*Ed.*

the individual states—we would consider that a misfortune and a piece of folly. Our fatherland is constructed in such a way that its tribes must remain independent; on this rests its most beautiful life. And there is not a man in Germany who would commit the folly, if he could, of intervening in the conditions of the individual states in favour of republican forms.... No, my fellow citizens! It is a lie that has made us think of the creation of individual republics; we would be the first to oppose efforts of an entirely republican National Assembly to intervene in the individual states."

"When the news of the Vienna rising reached Frankfurt, Blum was the first to propose issuing an address. [...] Extreme Left and Left came together. [...] Blum, Fröbel, Dr. Trampusch and Moritz Hartmann were chosen to deliver the address. On *October 13* they left Frankfurt, [...] 17th October in Vienna. The City Council received them at a plenary meeting. Blum acts as spokesman. [...] From his reports in the *Reichstagszeitung* one sees that the movement completely captivated him." Glowing admiration for the Viennese; enters the hall armed. "Commands a barricade in the days of the fighting. [...] After the storming of Vienna Blum stays calmly in his hotel when it is surrounded by soldiers", he is taken prisoner. "Blum denied not a single speech or action" in front of his judges. On November 8 death by the rope, the bullet substituted out of mercy. Early on November 9 shot in the Brigittenau. Leaves a widow[a] and 4 children. Solemn memorial ceremony. Collection of 40,000 talers for them. *"Stormy meeting of the National Assembly on November 14"; von Schmerling:* "Those who venture into peril perish in it."[b] "Stern features."[c]

Excerpts made in late August and September 1857

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Translated from the German

[a] Eugenie Blum.—*Ed.*

[b] Schmerling quoted this dictum of Jesus Sirach (3:27) in his speech in the National Assembly (November 17, 1848) on the occasion of Robert Blum's shooting.—*Ed.*

[c] This concerns an extant portrait of Blum.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## EXCERPTS MADE FOR THE ARTICLE "BOURRIENNE"[414]

(*BIOGRAPHIE UNIVERSELLE. SCHLOSSER.*)
(*ENGLISH CYCLOPAEDIA 1856*)

*Bourrienne* (Louis Antoine Fauvelet de), biographer of Napoleon Bonaparte,[a] "born in Sens, July 9, 1769, the same year as Napoleon, also entered the same year, 1778, the military school in Brienne". Approximately 6 years together in this house. "Of the 2, Bourrienne, [...] the more promising scholar: [...] in 1783, when Bonaparte, then about to leave the school, took a prize for mathematics, Bourrienne gained 7 premiums for languages and other accomplishments."[b]

We find the signs of Bonaparte's future greatness most clearly disclosed in Bourrienne in the very passages where the latter thrusts himself forward and leads us to believe that luck favoured Bonaparte when it really ought to have favoured the author of the memoirs. Bourrienne brings the greatness of his hero into full relief by constantly thrusting himself alongside him or in front of him.

"Adopting diplomacy, 1789, to Vienna as clerk or attaché to the embassy of the Marquis de Noailles, ambassador of Louis XVI, at the court of the Austrian Emperor Joseph; after a few months to Leipzig, to study international law and the English and German languages"; then to Warsaw, well received (1791) at the court of King Poniatowski; translates there, in literary fit, Kotzebue's *L'Inconnu; 1792* return to Paris[c]; again he meets up with Bonaparte; both of them fare poorly; talks pitifully of Napoleon's financial difficulties. Bourrienne obtains post as *secrétaire d'ambassade à* Stuttgart, but scarcely arrived there, "when the overthrow of Louis XVI's throne caused him to lose this post".

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[a] The words "biographer of Napoleon Bonaparte" are in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes in English from *The English Cyclopaedia.—Ed.*

[c] Here Marx paraphrases, partly in English and partly in German, a passage from *The English Cyclopaedia.—Ed.*

Bourrienne evaded the dangers of the terror by a prolonged stay abroad.

Placed on the list of émigrés. 1794 marries in Leipzig. 1795 returns to Paris with his wife, Bonaparte then out of employment[a] as *général de brigade à l'armée d'Italie.*

With his customary pettiness Bourrienne again misrepresents his meeting with Bonaparte in Paris.

October 5, 1795 (13th Vendémiaire[415]) gives power[b] to Bonaparte, "placed at the head of the army of the interior" (i.e. of Paris); Bourrienne reproaches Bonaparte saying that he "had become colder towards his friends".[c]

On Bourrienne's own admission this applies only to people like him, who boasted about their acquaintanceship with Bonaparte or desired to obtain through it in an underhand way offices and posts which they did not deserve.

Bourrienne arrested (February 1796) as an "émigré, his name not having been crossed off the fatal list". His wife turns to Bonaparte; the latter very cold. "The pity of a justice of the peace saved Bourrienne." Bonaparte (1796) commander-in-chief of the army in Italy; Bourrienne writes to him; Bonaparte invites him[d]; "it was at the end of the campaign of 1797, at the moment when the preliminaries of Léoben were being signed,[416] that Bourrienne arrived at the headquarters at Gratz". From the first day writes[b] at the dictation of Napoleon, follows him after the Peace of Campo Formio to Rastatt, Paris, Egypt, "returns with him", with him during the Marengo campaign,[417] "received the title of Councillor of State. Lodged at the Tuileries in the same apartment and almost the same room as the first consul, at all hours of the day and night he had to answer his call and the orders of the most active man", etc. No money "was enough for the insatiable Bourrienne; he abused [...] his credit in order to obtain unlawful gains". Bonaparte "reproaches him severely". "Bankruptcy of the firm of Coulon, [...] who thanks to him had been charged with supplying all the equipment of the cavalry." Bankruptcy to the tune of 3 million. The head of the firm disappeared. "Bourrienne accused of causing his flight, and even his death, either in order to share the deficit with him or to appropriate it all for himself. A criminal action was about to be brought against him by the creditors when he was saved by the pretended disgrace with which Bonaparte punished him, and by an honourable exile to Hamburg"—1802, with the "title of French chargé d'affaires in the district of Lower Saxony. His mission in this post, according to the instructions of the Minister of Police, was above all to observe the actions and the secret relations of the royalist agents in the different cabinets of the Continent with England" (army contractors[e] of Coulon). Later Bourrienne in Hamburg, his mission being to

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[a] Marx uses the English words "out of employment".—*Ed.*
[b] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*
[c] Marx quotes in English from *The English Cyclopaedia.*—*Ed.*
[d] Marx uses the English words "Bonaparte invites him".—*Ed.*
[e] Marx uses the English words.—*Ed.*

implement the continental system,[a] i.e. "to stop and seize all merchandise and capital suspected of coming from England". "Complaints against Bourrienne for extortion and embezzlement" (among the claimants Emperor Alexander himself on behalf of the Duke of Mecklenburg). Bonaparte sends M. Augier de la Sauzaye as "commissary to inquire and report".[b] His report "that one could safely make the chargé d'affaires return 2 millions; he [...] had apparently laid the Duke of Mecklenburg under contribution [...] for 40,000 friedrichsdors and 2 bonds for a similar amount; [...] Hamburg senate 750,000 marks banco (about 2 millions[c])—Napoleon reduced it [...] to 1 million". "Bourrienne [...] had to refund to the Imperial Treasury"[b] "but he did not have much of it left; a taste for excessive expenditure, [...] imprudent speculations in commerce and on the Stock Exchange"; utterly disgraced and ruined.[d]

## Showed great joy at the fall of Napoleon.

"Was one of the first to hasten over to Talleyrand, who made him postmaster-general[e] on April 1. [...] The Provisional Government[418] also refunds him the million." "Louis XVIII dismisses him from that post."[b] But March 1815, at the rumour of Napoleon's return from Elba, Louis XVIII's prefect of police; "after a week has to flee"; by decree of Lyons March 13 Napoleon includes him among the members of the Provisional Government not affected by the amnesty. Follows Louis XVIII to Belgium, "appointed his minister in Hamburg, probably again with an observation mission". "On his return to Paris appointed"[b] councillor; then minister of state; elected member of the *Chambre introuvable*[419] by the department of Yonne; likewise 1821 to the Chamber, member and spokesman of the budget commission, seeming very strange that "a man known for his corruption and extravagance is charged with examining the finances of the state. [...] His affairs so bad that obliged to flee to avoid the legal proceedings of his creditors" (1828). At the home of the Duchess de Brancas, at Fontaine-l'Evêque, near Charleroi, here "writes his memoirs, put in order and edited by Max de Villemarest, Paris 1829, 10 vols. in 8*vo*". Went mad after the July revolution. † February 7 in a lunatic asylum (hospital for the insane)[f] in Normandy, near Caen. "He could never write the word 'Millions' without a kind of nervous agitation, and fidgeting in his chair."[b]

*(Biographie universelle. English Cyclopaedia No. 5—entirely copied from this.)*

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[a] Marx uses the English words "continental system".—*Ed.*
[b] Marx quotes in English from *The English Cyclopaedia.*—*Ed.*
[c] Marx uses the English words.—*Ed.*
[d] Marx uses the English words "disgraced" and "ruined".—*Ed.*
[e] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*
[f] Marx uses the English words "in a lunatic asylum (hospital for the insane)".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## ROUGH DRAFT OF THE ARTICLE "BRUNE"[420]

*Brune* (Guillaume-Marie-Anne), Marshal, was born at Brives-la-Gaillarde, in the department of Corrèze, in 1763. His father, an advocate, sent him to Paris, there to study the law. On leaving the university, financial difficulties induced him to become an apprentice-compositor, and in such quality, in 1788, he printed a literary essay of his own entitled: "Voyage pittoresque et sentimental dans plusieurs provinces occidentales de la France". Having acquired a small press of his own (*Setzerei*[a]), he published, in the first time of the Revolution, together with Jourgniac de St.-Méard and Gauthier, the *Journal général de la Cour et de la Ville,* one of the aristocratic papers which disappeared after the 10th of August.[421] Brune, however, soon turned his back to this aristocratic print, enlisted in the guard-national, there drew attention upon himself by his martial figure and the ardour of his patriotism, became an adept of the club of the Jacobins, and decided partizan of Danton. To the protection of the latter he owed, during the famous days of September 1792, his appointment as adjunct to the *adjutants généraux* of the Interior, and his sudden promotion (on October 12, 1792) to the rank of colonel-adjutant-general. In this quality he first served under Dumouriez in Belgium. Sent afterwards against the federalists of Calvados, advancing under General Puisaye, he carried an easy victory since the federalist army, from different causes, melted down to a handful of men. In reward for his exploit, he wanted now to be created minister-of-war, but was put off with the advancement to the rank of general of brigade, in which quality he assisted at the battle of Hondschoote. The Committee of the Public Weal called him back,

[a] Composing-room.— *Ed.*

and intrusted him with the mission of putting down the symptoms of insurrection manifesting themselves in the Gironde, a task he vigorously executed.

After Danton's imprisonment, Brune was expected to put himself at the head of a mob in order to deliver his friend, but he stood prudently aloof. The storm having passed away, he insinuated himself with the family Duplays, with whom Robespierre lived, and thus contrived to be not molested during the reign of terror. After the 9th Thermidor, he again appeared on the public stage in company of Robespierre's deadliest enemy, Fréron, whom he followed as "pacificator" to Marseilles and Avignon. On the 13th Vendémiaire he was employed by Barras as one of the under-generals (*mitraillade*[a]), commanding the royalist sections of Paris under the command-in-chief of Bonaparte. After the affair of September 9, 1796, in which he had displayed all his energy against the Babouvists, he joined Bonaparte in Italy, and commanded a brigade of division under Masséna. He distinguished himself by his intrepidity during the whole of this campaign. (Sieh[b] Schlosser.[422]) Brune's old connexion with the Dantonists, whose ranks were composed of bold adventurers, made it desirable to Bonaparte to secure him as one of his tools. Hence he made him general-of-division on the battle-field of Rivoli, mentioned him honourably in the bulletins, and induced the Directory to confide him the second division of the Italian army, become vacant by the depart of Augereau.

After the peace of Campo Formio he was sent by the Directory to lull the Swiss into security, to divide their councils, to fall at the proper moment upon the canton of Berne with an army concentrated for this purpose, and there to plunder the treasury of Berne, which latter delicate mission peculiarly answered Brune's rapacious instincts. In plundering the treasury of Berne, Brune took care to forget drawing up an inventory of it. It was again by manoeuvres of a diplomatic rather than a military character that, as commander of the army in Italy, he persuaded Charles Emmanuel, the king of Sardinia, then the apparent ally of France, to deliver into his hands the citadel of Turin (3 July 1798).

The Batavian campaign against the Anglo-Russians who had invaded Holland,—a campaign lasting 2 months, opened on 22 Août[c] 1799, the capitulation of the Duke of York, signed on the

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[a] Grape-shot fire.—*Ed.*
[b] See.—*Ed.*
[c] August.—*Ed.*

18th October of the same year—forms the great event in Brune's military life. An English squadron debarked on the coasts of Holland with 45,000 men under the Duke of York; Brune's army 25,000 men only; Brune charged the generals Daendels and Dumonceau, the one of the defence of the province of Holland, the other of the Eastern provinces, reserving for himself a reserve with which he would be able to turn on any points menaced. The Anglo-Russians having disembarked their *matériel* after a lively combat with Daendels, entered the Texel, occupied the Helder and seized upon the Dutch fleet, Brune concentrated his forces before Alkmaar and attacked the allied on the 9th September, but without success. On the 18th, the Anglo-Russians, in their turn, attempted dislodging him, but a Russian column being cut off and forced to capitulate, the Duke of York retreated, and both armies re-occupied their prior positions. (This battle at Bergen.) Both armies did nothing from the battle of Bergen to the 2nd of October. This inactivity a great fault on the part of the army which was more numerous and which received its provisions by the sea only. Brune profited by it for strengthening his position and swelling his army. The vigorous attack made by the enemy under Abercromby, on the 2nd of October, in which Brune was near being cut off his retreat, he lost 4,000 men, and was obliged to transfer his headquarters to Beverwikcop-Zee and Kiommen-Dig, where Brune occupied an excellent position. It was only on the 6th that the Gallo-Batavian lines were again attacked. York took Limmen and Askerloot, while the Russians rendered themselves masters of Bakkum; but when they had arrived before Castricum, Brune routed them completely. A cavalry charge completed their defeat, and threw them back into their positions. (This: battle of Beverwyk.) York retired to his encampment behind the Zyp. Having destroyed the maritime establishments, cut upon the *digues,*[a] laid fire to the buildings of the East India Company,[423] he embarked himself for England; and in order to see this operation not troubled, he negotiated a capitulation, ignominious for the English, which stipulated, among other things, the free and unconditional *renvoi*[b] of 8,000 French made prisoners before this campaign.

In 1800 he was sent to the army of Italy *en remplacement de Masséna.*[c] After the battle of Marengo an armistice had been

[a] Dams.—*Ed.*
[b] Return, delivery.—*Ed.*
[c] In the place of Masséna.—*Ed.*

concluded with the Austrians. The hostilities recommenced on 24 November. Brune seized upon 3 entrenched (*retranchés*) camps at the Volta, threw the enemy beyond this river, and prepared instantly to traverse it. According to his orders, his army ought to pass at two points, one between the *moulin*[a] of the Volta and the village of Pozzolo, the other at Monbazon. This second part of the operation having encountered difficulties, Brune gave order to delay it for 24 hours, although the right wing, which had commenced to pass at the other point, had already engaged with the Austrians. It was but due to the exertions of General Dupont that the whole right wing was not captured or destroyed, and Brune forced to retreat without ever crossing the Mincio. Napoleon says that from this moment it had become evident that Brune was not made for the command-in-chief of armies.

Returned to the state-council, a member of which he had been since its creation, he was nominated president of the section of war. From 1802 to 1804, as French ambassador at Constantinople, he cut a sad figure. Recalled in December 1804, he was, on his return to Paris, appointed marshal of the Empire. He commanded for a while the camp at Boulogne. Being sent to Hamburg in 1807 as governor of the Hanseatic towns and commander of the reserve of the grand army, he vigorously seconded Bourrienne in his extortions and "concussions". A truce having been concluded at Schlatkow now between the French and the King of Sweden, he had, with regard to some contested points, a long interview with Gustavus, King of Sweden, near Anklam, in Pomerania, which seems to have given rise to suspicions on the part of Napoleon. When, afterwards, in the surrender of the island of Rügen by the Swedish general Toll, agreeably to a convention with Brune, the latter omitted in the text of the convention the titles of the Emperor Napoleon, and mentioned simply the French army and the Swedish army as parties to the agreement, Napoleon highly incensed. Berthier, by express order, had to write him that "no such scandal had ever been since the time of Pharamond".[b] (He made mention of the "French army" instead of "the army of his Imperial and Royal Majesty".[c]) He lost his commandment, and retired to the department of Escaut to preside over an electoral college. One moment his indiscreet complaints of the imperial

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[a] Mill.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes from the article "Brune" published in *Biographie universelle (Michaud) ancienne et moderne,* t. 6, p. 19.—*Ed.*

[c] "Capitulation de l'isle de Rugen, en date du 7 Sept. 1807" (G. F. Martens, *Recueil des principaux Traités,* I, t. VIII, pp. 695-96).—*Ed.*

injustice threatened him with being ordered to restitute part of his *plunder.* Now cajoled Berthier, *courtisait*[a] the emperor.

In 1814 he sent his adhesion to the acts of the senate against Napoleon and act of adhesion to Louis XVIII,[b] who gave him the cross of St. Louis; but as the royal favours went not farther, Brune became again Bonapartist. During the "Hundred Days", he commanded under Napoleon a corps of observation on the Var, in which quality he developed all his brutal vigour against the Royalists. After the battle of Waterloo he proclaimed the king, and leaving his corps, was travelling from Toulon to Avignon on the way to Paris, when a furious mob forced its way into the inn at Avignon, where Brune was, insulted him as one of the Septembriseurs of 1792, blocked him up, removed the obstacles which he had thrown up, penetrated to his room, and shot him. The mob seized up his cadaver, dragged it through the streets, and threw it into the Rhône.

Nothing more notorious than his cupidity and greed.[c]

"For more than a fortnight Avignon was consigned to turmoil, carnage and fire when, on August 2, 1815, Brune arrived there with two aides-de-camp and stopped for breakfast at the Hotel Palais-Royal where the horse relay station was. Recognised by an army veteran who had pointed him out to the curious, he regained his carriage about an hour later. A hundred steps from the town gates, where his passport was checked, the populace set upon him, throwing stones at his carriage and forcing him to return to the hotel he had just left. The crowd in the square kept swelling, and clamoured for the head of the man who had been pointed out to it as the assassin of the Princesse de Lamballe.'[d]

Napoleon said at Saint Helena:

"Brune, Masséna, Augereau, and many others were intrepid depredators."[e]

Written in December 1857

Published for the first time

Reproduced from the manuscript

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[a] Flattered.— *Ed.*

[b] *Le Moniteur universel,* Nos. 94 and 98, April 4 and 8, 1814.— *Ed.*

[c] The beginning of this sentence is in German, the end is in French; the remaining part of the manuscript is also in French.— *Ed.*

[d] *Les Événements d'Avignon,* Paris, 1818. Quoted from *Biographie universelle (Michaud) ancienne et moderne,* t. 6, p. 19.— *Ed.*

[e] Las Cases, *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène.* Probably quoted from the article "Brune" published in *Biographie des célébrités militaires,* t. 1, p. 243.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## EXCERPTS FROM THE ARTICLE "BÜLOW" PUBLISHED IN *MEYER'S CONVERSATIONS-LEXICON*[424]

*Bülow* (Friedrich Wilhelm, Baron von, from 1814 Count of Dennewitz, Royal Prussian general of infantry, etc.) born February 16, 1755 at the Bülow family estate of Falkenberg in the Altmark. In his 14th year he entered the regiment of Count Lottum in Berlin as a Junker. 1772 ensign, 1777 second, 1786 first lieutenant. 1793 staff captain and tutor of Prince Ludwig Ferdinand of Prussia,

in which capacity he took part in the 1793 campaign, soon promoted to major. During the siege and capture of Mainz (1793) he provided brilliant proof of his courage.

In 1806, as lieutenant-colonel, to which rank he was promoted in 1805, he took part in the defence of Thorn under General L'Estocq and at the battle of Waltersdorf found the opportunity to bring himself and his battalion to the fore. In 1808 he became major-general

and commander of a Pomeranian brigade which he had been given temporarily at the beginning of the year as colonel. 1811 he was posted to the West Prussian brigade at Marienwerder and at the outbreak of the Franco-Russian war[a] he was made interim Governor-General of East and West Prussia.

At the beginning of the 1813 campaign lieutenant-general, entrusted with the siege of Stettin. Relieved by General Tauenzien, he then allied himself with generals York and Wittgenstein, marching to confront the French army detachment that had moved to the right bank of the Elbe under the viceroy of Italy.[b] He fought the first successful battle at Möckern[c] on April 5, shortly afterwards capturing Halle,

which, however, he was soon forced to evacuate again owing to the retreat of the allied army.

[a] Of 1812.—*Ed.*

[b] Eugène Beauharnais.—*Ed.*

[c] Known also as the battle of Dannigkow.—*Ed.*

Withdrew across the Elbe in order to take over the defence of Berlin, which Oudinot was threatening.

Victory at Luckau on June 4 crowned the enterprise.

"After the ceasefire commanded the 3rd Prussian Army Corps under the supreme command of the Crown Prince of Sweden."[a] At the head of the 3rd Prussian Army Corps "saved Berlin a second time by the battle of Grossbeeren on August 23"; shielded Berlin for the third time by the battle of Dennewitz, September 6,

in which he forced Marshal Ney to retreat to Wittenberg.

"After laying siege to Wittenberg he fought with the northern army in the battle of Leipzig. [...] While the allied armies advanced over the Rhine he broke into Holland, took Doesburg, Jütphen, Arnheim by storm, setting up his headquarters in Utrecht on December 2, and invested Gorkum and Herzogenbusch. In 1814 he marched from Breda, was victorious at Hogstraten on January 11, bombarded Antwerp, entered Brussels, captured la Fère and Soissons, joined up with the Silesian army, commanded the centre at the battle of Laon, March 9 and 10." Knight of the Order of the Black Eagle, appointed general of infantry. "After the peace he was made Governor-General of West and East Prussia and on the renewed outbreak of war in 1815 was given the 4th Prussian Army Corps. Owing to a delayed order not present at the battle of Ligny (June 15),[b] but after his union with Blücher, achieved by a forced march, he helped to decide the outcome of the battle of Belle Alliance.[425] For this the Boor[c] appointed him Honorary Colonel of the 15th Regiment of the Line, which he had led so bravely and which was to bear his name. January 11, 1816 Bülow returned to his governorship, † February 25 of inflammation of the liver at Königsberg."

King made him a Grand Knight of the Iron Cross, elevating him and his descendants to the rank of counts in Paris in 1814. Took part in the Battle of the Nations.[426] Then departed for Holland, from which country he expelled the French.

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[a] Bernadotte.— *Ed.*

[b] The *Conversations-Lexicon* is inaccurate here: the battle of Ligny between the Prussian army under Blücher and the French took place on June 16, 1815.— *Ed.*

[c] The *Conversations-Lexicon* has "the King". Here and below Marx refers to Frederick William III.— *Ed.*

# FREDERICK ENGELS

## ARTICLES
## FOR THE *ALLGEMEINE MILITÄR-ZEITUNG* AND *THE VOLUNTEER JOURNAL, FOR LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE*

Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung.
Herausgegeben von einer Gesellschaft deutscher Offiziere und Militärbeamten.

# TO THE EDITOR OF THE *ALLGEMEINE MILITÄR-ZEITUNG*[427]

6, Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road,
Manchester, August 24, 1860

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *ALLGEMEINE MILITÄR-ZEITUNG*
IN DARMSTADT

As a subscriber to your esteemed journal and encouraged by the appreciative review of my pamphlet *Po and Rhine* (Duncker, Berlin)[a] published therein last year,[428] I take the liberty of sending you herewith an article that may be of interest to your readers.[b] If I could help you in any way with news items, occasional articles and so forth, I should be glad to do so; I might soon be in a position to supply you with interesting information on the Whitworth gun, etc.[429] That England's rapid military progress is also of significance to Germany is something of which you will in any case be aware: save for Russia, England is, in the final count, our only natural and necessary ally against Bonapartism.

If you ask a service-record of your contributors, then I am truly in poor case. As a one-year volunteer in the Artillery Brigade of the Prussian Guard I did not rise above the rank of bombardier. Later, in Baden, I took part in the campaign of 1849 on the side of the insurgents.[430] Since my period of service, however, I have constantly busied myself with military matters.

Should you find my paper worthy of acceptance, I should be much obliged if you would at once mail me a proof copy in a

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[a] "*Po und Rhein.* Berlin, 1859. Verlag von Franz Duncker", *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung,* Nos. 95-96, November 26, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 409-16.—*Ed.*

wrapper, and I shall immediately publish it in translation in English newspapers as an excerpt from the *Allgemeine M.-Z.*, which could not but be of benefit to your journal; otherwise I would beg you to return the manuscript to me. Since my copy of the *A. M.-Z.* comes to me through a bookseller and never arrives till a month after publication, any other course would mean undue delay and the article would lose all interest here.

Might I recommend that my most recent pamphlet, *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine,*[a] published in April, should be accorded an early if impartial review in your paper?

I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient servant

*Frederick Engels*

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

Printed according to the original

Translated from the German

Published in English for the first time

[a] See present edition, Vol. 16.—*Ed.*

THE VOLUNTEER JOURNAL,

For Lancashire and Cheshire.

No. 2. MANCHESTER, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1860. PRICE THREEPENCE.

# A REVIEW OF ENGLISH VOLUNTEER RIFLEMEN[a] [431]

England, as well as Germany, is arming to repel the attack with which Bonapartism threatens her; the British volunteer riflemen arose from the same cause which made Prussia double the number of her battalions of the line. It will, therefore, be of interest to the German military public, to receive some detailed information on the present state and the fitness for actual service of the British volunteer army; for this army, from its very origin, and in virtue of its fundamental idea, is an enemy of Bonapartism, an ally of Germany.

A very few battalions excepted, this army of volunteers dates from the latter half of last year (1859); the great body has not been put in uniform and drilled more than a twelvemonth. At present its strength, on paper, is 120,000 men; but if we may draw conclusions from what is the fact in some districts, there will not be more than 80,000 men really effective and drilled; the

[a] In *The Volunteer Journal* this article has the following introductory note,[432] written by the author himself: "The *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung,* published at Darmstadt, and considered the first military paper in Germany, in its number of the 8th September, gives an account, by a correspondent, of the Newton Review, and of the rifle movement in general. The following is a translation of this article (prepared specially for the *Volunteer Journal*), which no doubt will prove interesting to the volunteers of Lancashire and Cheshire, and especially to those who were present at the review. As may be expected, this account is not made up of that unqualified praise which the British press generally gives as its contribution to the movement; still the character of the contemporary in question ought to be a sufficient guarantee that it is not written by an incompetent hand, and the sympathetic tone of the whole article proves that the writer had no inclination for wanton fault-finding. As to the suggestions contained in the article, we shall leave our readers to form their own opinion upon them."—*Ed.*

remainder take no interest in the matter, and had better be erased from the lists.

The organisation is very simple. Wherever 60 to 100 volunteers (in the artillery 50 to 80) are brought together, in any locality, they form themselves into a company, subject to the consent of the Lord-Lieutenant of the county. They elect candidates for officers (a captain, a lieutenant, and an ensign), on whom the Lord-Lieutenant, in most cases, confers their respective commissions; but there have also been instances of rejection. Several companies may form themselves into a battalion, in which case the Lord-Lieutenant appoints the major and lieutenant-colonel, mostly according to the wishes of the officers, or according to seniority among the captains. Thus there are corps varying from one to eight companies and more, numbered in the order of their formation in their respective counties; but only full battalions of eight companies receive a lieutenant-colonel. The officers may, all of them, be appointed from among the volunteers, and they are not subjected to any examination. The adjutant,[433] however, must be an officer from the line or militia, and he alone receives regular pay.* The volunteers find their own clothing, &c., but if desired, the Government furnishes them with rifle and bayonet by way of loan. The colour and cut of the uniform is fixed by the various corps themselves, subject to the approval of the Lord-Lieutenant. The corps have also, upon the whole, to find their own drill and practice grounds, ammunition, instructors, and music.

The uniforms of the various infantry or rifle corps are mostly dark green, dark or light grey, or brown drab. The shape is something intermediate between the French and English pattern; for a head-dress they mostly wear the French *kepi,* or the French or English officer's cap. The artillery is dressed in dark blue, and has adopted, for appearance's sake, the rather unserviceable and lumbering fur-cap or busby of the horse artillery. There are also a few mounted rifles whose uniform imitates that of the English cavalry, but they are a mere article of luxury.

At the time when the formation of these rifle corps was first agitated, the whole matter savoured very strongly of our own national and civic guards[434]; there was a great deal of playing at

* To the allowance of £180 granted by the Government, most of the battalions add considerable sums; I know adjutants, lieutenants of the line, who receive £300 or 2,000 talers and even more. [Engels' note in the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung.*]

soldiers; the way in which officers were manufactured,[a] and the appearance and helplessness of some of these[b] officers, when on duty, were rather amusing. It may well be imagined, the men did not always elect the most capable, or even those who had the movement most at heart. During the first six months, almost all battalions and companies made the same effect upon the beholder as our own defunct civic guard of 1848.

This, then, was the material handed over to the drill-sergeants, in order to shape it into a body of serviceable field troops. The manual and platoon was gone through mostly[c] at nights, between seven and nine o'clock, in covered rooms and by gas-light, twice or three times a week. On Saturday afternoons, if possible, the whole body made a short march, and went through company movements. To drill on Sunday was forbidden both by law and custom. The instructors were sergeants and corporals of the line, the militia, or pensioners; and they, too, had to form the officers into shape. But the English non-commissioned officer is an excellent man in his way. There is, on duty, less swearing and coarse language in the English army than in any other; on the other hand, punishment is so much the more certain to be applied. The non-commissioned imitates the commissioned officer, and thus adopts manners far superior to those of our German sergeants. Then he does not serve because of the prospect of some pettifogging office in the civil service being held out to him, as is the case with us; he has engaged himself voluntarily for twelve years, and promotion, up to the rank of sergeant-major even, offers him considerable fresh advantages at every step; in every battalion one or two commissions (adjutant and paymaster) are mostly reserved to old non-commissioned officers; and, on active service, every sergeant may attach the golden star to his collar by distinguishing himself before the enemy. The drill-sergeants belonging to this class of men have, indeed, upon the whole, made the volunteers what it was possible to make them in so short a time; they have not only made them steady in company movements, but also licked the officers into shape.

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[a] Instead of the words "the way in which officers were manufactured" the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* has "favouritism [*Klüngel*] in the election of officers", with an editorial footnote explaining the word *Klüngel:* "An expression which is not quite clear to many of our readers, although our correspondent in Manchester has not forgotten it. It is of old-Cologne origin and means the connection of the most notable families with the city regiment."—*Ed.*

[b] The *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* has "new" instead of "some of these".—*Ed.*

[c] The *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* has here: "Drilling was exercised usually".—*Ed.*

In the meantime, the single companies, at least in the large towns, formed themselves into battalions, and received adjutants from the regular troops. Similar to the Austrian, the English subaltern is far less theoretically educated than the North German; but, same as the Austrian, if he likes his profession, he knows his duty exceedingly well. Among the adjutants who have passed over from the line to the volunteers, there are men who, as instructors, could not be better; and the results which they obtained in a very short time in their battalions are surprising indeed. Up to the present time, however, only a minority of the volunteers have been formed into permanent battalions, and, as a matter of course, these are considerably superior to the mass of companies not so formed.

The volunteers of Lancashire and Cheshire had organised a review at Newton, half way between Manchester and Liverpool, for the 11th of August, the commanding general of the district, Sir George Wetherall, taking the command. The volunteers who met here were the contingents of the manufacturing districts around Manchester; there were not very many present either from Liverpool or from the neighbouring agricultural districts of Cheshire. To judge from our own German recruiting experience, these corps must have been physically below the average; but it is not to be forgotten that by far the minority of the volunteers belong to the working classes.

The soil of Newton race-course, of itself spongy enough, had been considerably softened by the continuous rains; it was very uneven and very sticky. On one side of it there is a small brook, with here and there some thick gorse on its banks. The ground was just right for a parade of young volunteers; they most of them stood ankle deep in water and mud, and the officers' horses often sank into the clay until above the fetlock-joint.

The 57 corps which had sent in their adhesion were divided into four brigades; the first of four, the remainder of three battalions each; every battalion of eight companies. Lieutenant-colonels of the line commanded the brigades; officers of volunteers were appointed to the battalions. The first brigade had three battalions deployed, the fourth in column behind the centre. The three remaining brigades stood in second line, nine battalions in contiguous columns of companies at quarter distance, right in front.

After saluting the general, a change of front to the left was to be effected, under shelter of the battalion which stood in column behind the first line. To effect this, the two centre companies of

the battalion deployed in front of it, wheeled outwards, upon which the column passed through the opening thus formed, and then extended along the watercourse,—four companies skirmishing, and four forming the supports. The ground and the gorse were both so wet that the men could not be expected to take a correct advantage of the ground; besides, most battalions of volunteers are still occupied with the ABC only of skirmishing and outpost duty, so that it would not be fair to measure them by too high a standard in this respect. In the meantime, the deployed line effected its change of front around its own centre as a pivot; the two centre companies of the middle battalions wheeled a quarter of a circle,—the one forwards, the other backwards,—after which the remaining companies took up the new alignment. The two battalions on the wings of the first line formed columns at quarter distance,[a] marched into the alignment, and deployed again. It may be imagined what a time was occupied by this complicated and rather clumsy manoeuvre. At the same time, the right battalion of the line of columns advanced straight on until halted behind the new right wing of the first line; the remaining battalions faced to the right and followed in double files (fours right), each battalion turning to the front, and following the right battalion as soon as arrived on the spot originally occupied by this right battalion. When the last column has thus arrived upon the new alignment, each column independently wheeled to the left, and thus restored the front of the line of columns.

The third brigade now advanced from the centre of this line of columns; arrived about two hundred paces behind the first or deployed line, the three battalions opened out to deploying distance and deployed in their turn. The chain of skirmishers, in the meantime, having gained considerable ground, both deployed lines advanced a couple of hundred paces, upon which the first line was relieved by the second. This is effected by the first line forming fours right, and the head of each company disengaging and wheeling to the right; files in the second line give way, thus affording room for the first line to pass through[b]; after which, companies form front and wheel into line. This is one of those

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[a] The *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* has here the following text in brackets: "the closest column known to the English".—*Ed.*

[b] In the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* after the words "This is effected by" the following text is given: "the two lines facing to the right and forming double files, fours right, in the first line the head of each company wheeling right and in the second the head of each company wheeling left, and so the two lines passing through each other".—*Ed.*

drill-ground movements which are superfluous wherever they are practicable, and which are not practicable where they would be necessary. After this, the four brigades were drawn together again[a] into a mass of columns, and the troops marched past the general in open column of companies (25 to 35 files front).

We shall not attempt to criticise this system of evolutions[b] which, no doubt, will appear rather old-fashioned to our readers. It is evident that, whatever may be its value in an army of the line, with twelve years' service, it is certainly less adapted than any other for volunteers who can afford a few spare hours per week only for their drill. What interests us most on this occasion, is the manner in which these movements were performed by the volunteers; and here we must say that, although there was a slight hitch here and there, upon the whole, these evolutions were gone through steadily and without confusion. The most defective parts were, the wheeling in column and the deployments, which latter were done very slowly; in both evolutions, it was visible that the officers were not sufficiently formed and not yet at home in their duty. But, on the other hand, the advance in line, this chief and cardinal movement of British tactics, was good beyond all expectation; the English appear, indeed, to have quite an exceptional talent for this movement, and to learn it uncommonly quick. The marching-past also came off, upon the whole, very well,—and what was most amusing, it came off under a drenching shower of rain. There were a few mistakes against British military etiquette,[c] and besides, by the fault of the officers, distances were very badly kept.

Excepted a sham-fight[d] organised in London, by some over-sanguine commanders of volunteers, and gone through rather wildly, this was the first time that a larger body of volunteers performed evolutions which had something more in view than eventual marching-past. If we consider that the great mass of the troops present at Newton consisted of corps which, counting one, two, or at the outside three companies, are not formed into permanent battalions, have no officers from the regulars, have been drilled by drill-sergeants alone, and have only now and then been brigaded together in a battalion, we shall have to allow that

[a] The *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* has here: "in a similar way corresponding to the line tactics".—*Ed.*

[b] The *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* has "this kind of elementary tactics" instead of "this system of evolutions".—*Ed.*

[c] The *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* has here: "the rather complex English military etiquette".—*Ed.*

[d] Instead of "a sham-fight" the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* has "a series of manoeuvres with an enemy".—*Ed.*

the volunteers have done everything that was possible, and that they are no longer on the same level with our civic guards. As a matter of course, the corps which form permanent battalions, and are directed by adjutants from the line (for the adjutants, so far, are the virtual commanders of battalions), were also those which went most steadily through their evolutions at the review.

The men upon the whole looked well. There were, indeed, some companies as puny as Frenchmen, but others surpassed in stature the average of the present British line. Mostly, however, they were very unequal in size and breadth of chest. The pallor peculiar to the inhabitants of towns gave to most of them a rather unpleasantly unwarlike look, but eight days' encampment would soon get the better of that. The uniforms, some of them a little over-ornamental, made a very good effect in the mass.

The first year's drill has taught the volunteers so much of the elementary movements, that they may now enter upon skirmishing and rifle practice. They will be far more handy at both these kinds of work than the English line, so that by summer, 1861, they would form a very useful army, if only their officers knew more about their business.

This is the weak point of the whole formation. Officers cannot be manufactured in the same time and with the same means as privates. Up to now it has been proved that the willingness and the zeal of the mass may be relied upon, as far as is required for making every man a soldier as far as necessary. But this is not sufficient for the officers. As we have seen, even for simple battalion movements, wheeling in column, deployments, keeping distance (so important in the English system of evolutions, where open columns are very often employed[a]), the officers are not by far sufficiently formed. What is to become of them on outpost and skirmishing duty, where judgment of ground is everything, and where so many other difficult matters are to be taken into consideration? How can such men be entrusted with the duty of taking care of the safety of an army on the march? Government has made it binding upon every officer of volunteers to go to Hythe for three weeks, at least. So far, so good; but that will neither teach him to conduct a patrol, nor to command a picket. And yet the volunteers are chiefly to be used for light infantry service—for that very kind of duty which requires the cleverest and most reliable of officers.

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[a] The *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* has here: "(so important in the English line tactics)". — *Ed.*

If the whole movement is to lead to something, this is the point where Government will have to step in. All companies which are still existing,—singly, or by twos and threes,—ought to be compelled to combine together in permanent battalions, to engage adjutants from the regulars. These adjutants should be bound to give to all the officers of their respective battalions a regular course of instruction in elementary tactics, light infantry service in all its branches, and the regulations affecting the internal routine of service in a battalion. The officers should be bound, besides attending Hythe,[a] to do duty, for at least three weeks, with a regiment of the line or militia[b] in some encampment; and, finally, they should, after a certain time, be all made to pass an examination, proving that they have learnt at least the most indispensable part of their business. Such a course of instruction and examination of the officers; further, a medical examination of the men, in order to weed out those who are physically unfit for field-service (and there is not a few); and an annual revision of the company-lists, for the removal of those men who do not attend drill, who only play at soldiers and will not learn their duty;—if this was done, the 120,000 men now existing on paper would be considerably reduced, but you would have an army worth three times the one which now counts 120,000 men on paper.

Instead of that, it is reported that the military authorities[c] are busy discussing the important question, whether it would not be desirable to clothe, at the first opportunity, all rifle volunteers in the so very desirable brick colour of the line.

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[a] The *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* has "the shooting school" instead of "Hythe".—*Ed.*

[b] The words "or militia" do not occur in the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

[c] The *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* has "the War Ministry" instead of "the military authorities".—*Ed.*

# THE FRENCH LIGHT INFANTRY[435]

If ever our volunteers should have to exchange bullets with an enemy, that enemy will be,—everybody knows it,—French infantry; and the finest type, the *beau idéal* of a French foot-soldier, is the light infantry soldier, especially the *chasseur.*

The French chasseur is not only the model for his own army; the French give the law, to a certain degree, to all European armies in matters regarding light infantry service; thus the chasseur becomes, in a certain sense, a model for all European light infantry.

In both these qualities, as a possible opponent, and as, hitherto, the most perfect specimen of a light infantry soldier, the French chasseur is a subject of high interest to the British volunteer. The sooner our volunteer gets acquainted with him the better.

## CHAPTER I

Up to 1838 there was not a rifle in use in the French army. The old rifle, with its close-fitting bullet, which had to be hammered down, and made loading a difficult and slow operation, was no weapon for the French. When Napoleon once examined the firelocks of a German battalion of rifles, he exclaimed:—"Surely this is the most unfortunate arm to give into the hands of a soldier." The old rifle was, certainly, unfit for the great mass of the infantry. In Germany and Switzerland, a few chosen battalions were always armed with it, but they were exclusively used as sharpshooters, to pick off officers, to fire on sappers constructing a bridge, &c.; and great care was taken to form these corps from the sons of gamekeepers, or other young men who had been

trained to the use of the rifle long before they entered the army. The chamois-hunters of the Alps, the keepers of the great deer forests of Northern Germany, formed excellent material for these battalions, and they, too, were the model for the rifles of the English line.

What the French formerly used to call light infantry, were men equipped and drilled exactly the same as the regiments of the line; consequently, in 1854, a decree of Louis Napoleon deprived these 25 regiments of the name of light infantry, and embodied them in the line, where they now number from the 76th to the 100th regiment.

There was, indeed, in every battalion of infantry a company of *voltigeurs*, formed of the best and most intelligent soldiers of small stature; the *élite* of the taller men being formed into the company of grenadiers. They are the first to extend when skirmishers are required, but in every other respect they are armed and drilled like the remainder of the battalion.

After the conquest of Algiers, in 1830,[a] the French found themselves face to face with an enemy armed with the long musket, common to most Eastern nations. The smooth-bore muskets of the French were inferior to them in range. The French columns, on the march, were surrounded on every side by mounted Bedouins in the plains, by Kabyle skirmishers in the mountains; the bullets of these enemies told on the columns, while they themselves were out of effective range of the French fire. Skirmishers, in the plains, could not move far from their columns, for fear of being surprised and cut up by the rapid Arab horsemen.

When the English army got into Afghanistan,[b] it made acquaintance with these same long muskets. The Afghan shots, though from matchlocks only, did fearful execution in the English ranks, both in the camp at Kabul and during the retreat through the hills, at distances utterly unattainable to poor old Brown Bess.[436] The lesson was a severe one[c]; protracted conflicts with the tribes on the north-western frontier of British India might be expected; yet nothing was done to arm the English soldiers sent to that frontier with a weapon able to cope at long range with the Eastern matchlock.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 64-67.—*Ed.*

[b] On the Anglo-Afghan war of 1838-42 see this volume, pp. 44-48.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Volunteer Journal* has here one more sentence: "the war was to be renewed", probably inserted by the editors. Engels deleted it when printing the article in the *Essays Addressed to Volunteers*.—*Ed.*

Not so the French. No sooner was the defect found out than steps were taken to remedy it. The Duke of Orleans, the son of Louis Philippe, on his matrimonial tour through Germany in 1836, took occasion to study the organisation of the two battalions of rifles of the Prussian guard. He saw at once that here was a starting point, issuing from which he might succeed in forming the very class of troops required for Algeria. He occupied himself at once with the subject. The old French prejudice against the rifle placed many obstacles in his way. Fortunately, the inventions of Delvigne and Poncharra, in his own country, came to his help; they had produced a rifle which could be loaded almost as quickly and easily as the smooth-bore musket, while it exceeded the latter by far, both in range and precision. In 1838, the Duke obtained permission to form a company according to his own ideas; in the same year this company was increased to a full battalion; in 1840 it was sent to Algeria to prove what it could do in actual war; and it stood the test so well, that in the same year nine more battalions of chasseurs were formed. Finally, in 1853, ten other battalions were organised, so that the whole chasseur force of the French army now consists of twenty battalions.

The peculiar military qualities of the Bedouins and Kabyles, who undoubtedly were models of light horsemen and of infantry skirmishers, very soon induced the French to try the enlistment of natives, and to conquer Algeria by setting Arab to fight Arab. This idea gave origin, among others, to the corps of the Zouaves. They were formed principally of natives, as early as 1830, and remained a chiefly Arab corps up to 1839, when they deserted in masses into the camp of Abd-el-Kader, who had just raised the standard of holy war.[437] There remained, then, merely the cadres and the twelve French soldiers of each company, besides the two exclusively French companies attached to each battalion. The vacancies had to be filled up by Frenchmen, and since that date the Zouaves have remained an exclusively French corps, destined to take permanent garrison in Africa. But the original stock of old French Zouaves had adopted so much of the native character that the whole corps has ever since remained, in its entire spirit and habits, a specially Algerian corps, endowed with a nationality of its own, and quite distinct from the remainder of the French army. They are recruited mostly from substitutes,[438] and thus they are most of them professional soldiers for life. They, too, essentially belong to the light infantry of the army, and have, therefore, been long since provided with rifles. There are now three regiments or nine battalions of them in Africa, and one regiment (two battalions) of

Zouaves of the Guard.

Since 1841, new attempts were made to enlist native Algerians for the local army. Three battalions were formed, but they remained weak and incomplete till 1852, when more encouragement was given to native enlistment; and this succeeded so far that, in 1855, three regiments, or nine battalions, could be formed. These are the *Turcos* or *Tirailleurs indigènes*, of whom we have heard so much during the Crimean and Italian wars.[439]

Thus, not counting the foreign legion (now disbanded, but to all appearances re-forming) and the three penal battalions, the French army contains 38 battalions, especially formed and trained for light service. Of these, the chasseurs, the Zouaves, and the Turcos, each have their distinguishing characteristics. Troops like the last two classes have too strongly marked a local character ever to exercise a great influence upon the mass of the French army; still, their furious onslaught—during which they still, as has been proved in Italy, remain perfectly in hand, and even anticipate by their own military tact the orders of their chief—will always remain a brilliant example to the remainder of the troops. It is also a fact that the French, in their practice of the detail of skirmishing, and their mode of taking advantage of ground, have adopted a great deal from the Arabs. But that class of light infantry which has remained essentially French, and has thereby become, as we said before, a model to the army, are the chasseurs.[a]

## CHAPTER II[b]

The very first page of the French Drill Regulations of 1831, proves what little men the French army is composed of.

> Slow time, each step 65 centimètres (25 inches), and 76 paces in a minute.
> Quick time, same length of step, and 100 paces in a minute.
> Charging time (*pas de charge*), same length of step, and 130 paces in a minute.

The step of 25 inches is undoubtedly the shortest, and the celerity of 100 paces in a minute the most sluggish adopted in any army for field-movements. While the French battalion moves over 208 feet of ground in a minute, an English, Prussian, or Austrian battalion would move over 270 feet, or thirty per cent. more. Our long step of 30 inches would be too much for the short legs of Frenchmen. The same at a charge: the French advance, in a

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[a] *The Volunteer Journal* further has: "of whom more in our next number".—*Ed.*

[b] *The Volunteer Journal* has the sub-heading "The Chasseurs".—*Ed.*

minute, 271 feet, or as much as the English at simple quick time, while the English, at their double of 36 inches, and 150 per minute, would get over 450 feet, or sixty per cent. more. This fact alone shows that the standard size of the men cannot be reduced beyond a certain limit without affecting the efficiency and mobility of an army.

With such short legs, short steps, and slow marching time, no light infantry could be formed. When the chasseurs were first organised, care was taken from the very beginning to select the best infantry material in the country; they were all well-built, broad-shouldered, active men, from 5ft. 4in. to 5ft. 8in. in height, and mostly chosen from the mountainous parts of the country. By the regulations for chasseur drill and evolutions (published in 1845), the length of the step for the quick march was retained, but the time increased to 110 in a minute; the double (*pas gymnastique*) was regulated at 33 inches (83 centimètres) each step, and 165 in a minute; but for deployments, formation of square, or other urgent occasions, its time is to be increased to 180 in a minute. Even at this latter pace, the chasseur would cover but 45 feet more ground in a minute than the English soldier at his double. But it is less by extraordinary rapidity of motion that extraordinary results are attained, than by the length of time for which the chasseurs can continue this accelerated motion; besides, in cases of great urgency, rallying, &c., they are ordered to run as fast as they can.

The double is the principal thing practised in the chasseur battalions. The men are first taught to mark the time at 165 and 180 per minute, during which they shout One! Two! or Right! Left! which is supposed to regulate the action of the lungs, and to prevent inflammations. They are then made to march forward at the same rate, and the distance is gradually increased until they can go over a French league of 4,000 metres (two miles and a half) in twenty-seven minutes. If some of the recruits are found too weak in wind and limb for such exercise, they are sent back to the infantry of the line. The next step is the practice of leaping and running, in which latter pace the greatest possible rapidity has to be obtained for short distances; both the *pas gymnastique* and the running being practised first on the level drill-ground, or on the road, and afterwards across country, with jumping over rails and ditches. After such preparation only are the men entrusted with their arms, and now the whole course of double, running, and leaping is again gone through with rifle in hand, and in heavy marching order, the knapsack and pouch weighted to the same extent as in the field; and thus they are

made to continue for a full hour at the *pas gymnastique*, during which time they have to cover at least five miles of ground. A foreign officer in plain clothes once attempted to keep pace with such a battalion of chasseurs in heavy marching order; but, untrained as he was, he could scarcely keep up for one hour; the chasseurs marched on, alternately at quick time and at the *pas gymnastique*, and went that day over twenty-two miles of country.

The whole of the field movements and evolutions have to be gone through at the double; advance in line, forming column and square, wheeling, deployments, and everything, so that the men keep in their places as steadily at this pace as at the ordinary quick time. The time for all evolutions is 165 in a minute, only in deployments and wheelings it is accelerated to 180.

The following is the opinion of a Prussian field officer of the chasseurs:—

"On the Champ-de-Mars, I saw a few companies of chasseurs manoeuvring at the side of a regiment of the line. What a contrast, from their mobility, from the whole style of their movements, to that regiment! At the first glance you see that they are a picked body, chosen from the best men of the wood and mountain districts; they are all well-knit, compact, strong, and yet so wonderfully nimble. As they flit about with astonishing rapidity, you recognise their enterprising spirit, their daring pluck, their quick intellect, their indefatigable endurance, though, certainly, you also recognise their immense conceit and French vanity. And wherever you see them, in Strasbourg, in Paris, or in any other garrison, they always make the same impression, they look as if cast in the same mould. At their head I saw none but young officers; a few only of the captains appeared thirty-five; most of them less, and even the field-officers not older. Their rapid mobility shows neither constraint nor effort; constant exercise appears to have made it their second nature, with such ease and freedom do these battalions go through their movements. Their blood has a more tranquil flow, their breath is less disturbed than with others. Single orderlies in a street would pass, in a short time, all persons walking before them; and at the same quick pace, whole battalions, at the merry sound of the bugle, defile through the streets. Whenever you see them, on the drill-ground, on the march out or home, never did they appear tired to me. Ambition, in this matter, may go hand in hand with habit.

"If quickness of motion and steadiness of aim appear to be irreconcilable, the chasseurs seem to have overcome this apparent incompatibility. I have not myself seen them practising at the target; but, according to the judgment of experienced officers, their performances in this line are not to be thought little of. If their steadiness of aim is at all disturbed, it certainly must be so in a degree very little affecting their efficiency on the field of battle. In Africa, where many an engagement was preceded by similar marches at the double, they have always known how to hit their opponents; and this proves that the special system of training to which they are subjected, tends to properly develop the powers of the body, and does not destroy steadiness of aim. With troops not so trained, this would, of course, be very different.

"The great advantages of this system of training are evident. Many are the cases in war in which it may be of decisive importance that your infantry should be capable of quicker locomotion than it is at present; for instance, in preceding the

enemy in the occupation of an important position; in rapidly attaining a commanding point; in supporting a body attended by superior forces; or in surprising the enemy by making a detachment suddenly appear in a direction quite unexpected by him."

The Algerian war had made evident to the French military authorities the immense superiority of an infantry trained in this long-continued running. Since 1853, the question was debated whether this system should not be applied to the whole army. General de Lourmel (killed before Sebastopol,[440] 5th November, 1854) had specially drawn the attention of Louis Napoleon to it. Soon after the Crimean war, the *pas gymnastique* was introduced in all French infantry regiments. The time, indeed, is slower, and probably the step, too, shorter, than with the chasseurs; besides, the long-continued runs of the chasseurs are much reduced in the line. This was a necessity; the unequal bodily strength and size of the line made the capabilities of the weaker and smaller men the standard of the performance of the whole. But, still, the old sluggish rate of marching can now be overcome at an emergency; a mile or so may now and then be trotted, and, especially, the aptitude of the men to go through their evolutions at the double, admits of that charge, at a run, for some six or eight hundred yards, which carried the French, last year, in a few instants, over those very distances at which the excellent Austrian rifles were most dangerous. The *pas gymnastique* has done a great deal towards the winning of Palestro, Magenta, and Solferino.[441] The run itself gives a vigorous moral impulse to the men; a battalion charging might hesitate when marching at quick time, but the same battalion, trained so as not to arrive out of breath, will, in most cases, go on fearlessly, will arrive comparatively unscathed, and will certainly make a far greater moral impression on a standing enemy, if it charges at a run.

The extreme perfection of the chasseurs in running may pass for a special arm like theirs, but it would be both impracticable and useless to the mass of the infantry of the line. Nevertheless, the English line, with its better material of men, might easily be made to far surpass the French line in this respect; and, like every healthy exercise, this would have a capital effect on the men, bodily and morally. An infantry which cannot alternately run a mile and walk a mile for a couple of hours, will soon be considered slow. As to the volunteers, the great difference of age and bodily strength existing in their ranks, would make it difficult to obtain even this result, but there can be no doubt that gradual training for the double, at distances from half a mile to a mile,

would hurt nobody's health, and improve wonderfully their efficiency for the field.

## CHAPTER III

Nothing is neglected in France to develop the physical, mental, and moral powers of every individual recruit, and especially of every chasseur, in such a manner as to form him into as perfect a soldier as possible. Everything is attended to that can make him strong, active, and nimble, that can give him a rapid glance for advantages of ground, or quickness of decision in difficult situations; everything that will heighten his confidence in himself, his comrades, his arms. Drill, therefore, is but a small portion of a soldier's duties in France; and to our notions, a French battalion on the drill-ground marches, wheels, and does the manual in a shockingly loose manner. But this appears to be a consequence of the national character, and has not, so far, been attended with any bad results. English or German troops seem, themselves, to prefer a stricter system of drill; they obey the command more instantaneously, and, after a certain amount of drilling, will always exhibit more precision in all their movements than the French will ever attain. For the remainder, the system of tactical movements for the drill-ground is nearly the same in France as in England, though it is vastly different on a field of battle.

One of the chief occupations of the French soldier is gymnastic exercise. There is a central military gymnasium in Paris, which forms the teachers for the whole army. There are fifteen to twenty officers from different regiments, and besides, one sergeant from every regiment of the line or battalion of chasseurs, who remain for six months, and are then relieved by others. The course of exercises gone through is not very different from what is practised in other countries; there appears to be only one original exercise, the escalading of walls, either by putting hands and feet in holes produced by cannon-balls, or by a pole leaned against the wall, or else by means of a rope with a hook thrown over it. This kind of exercise is undoubtedly of practical value, and will contribute a great deal to make the men rely on the use of their hands and feet. The bayonet exercise is also taught in this school; but it is confined to the practising of the various points and guards; the men are never made to actually defend themselves one against the other or against cavalry.

Every garrison, in France, has the necessary conveniences for gymnastic exercise. There is, first of all, a piece of ground set

apart for the more common gymnastics, with all the necessary appliances; to this the whole of the soldiers are marched in turns, and have to go through a regular course of instruction as part of their duty. The introduction of this kind of exercise is not yet very old, and is entirely imitated from the chasseurs, who were the first to be put to gymnastics; after the system had answered so well with them, it was extended to the whole army.

There is, besides, in every barracks a fencing-room and a dancing-room. In the first, fencing with the small-sword and broad-sword is taught; in the other, dancing and wrestling which the French call *"la boxe."* Every soldier may choose which of these exercises he will be taught, but one of them he must learn. Dancing and the small-sword are generally preferred. Single-stick is also taught now and then.

All these exercises, as well as gymnastics, properly so called, are not taught because they are considered necessary in themselves; they are practised because they develop the bodily strength and agility of the soldier generally, and give him greater self-confidence. The fencing and dancing-rooms, so far from being the scenes where tedious duty is performed, are, on the contrary, an attraction, tending to keep the soldier in the barracks even in his leisure hours; he will go there for amusement; if, in the ranks, he was but a machine, here, sword in hand, he is an independent man, trying his individual skill against his comrades; and whatever confidence in his own quickness and agility he gains here, it is so much gain for outpost and skirmishing duty, where he is, also, more or less reduced to his own resources.

The new system of skirmishing adopted by the chasseurs has not only been adopted in the whole French army since, but it has also served as a model for many European armies, among others, for the improved practice adopted in the British army during and after the Crimean war. We shall, therefore, notice but a few of the principal traits, especially as in an engagement the French very often act quite differently, partly in accordance with general orders (as in 1859, in Italy), partly because every latitude is left to officers to act entirely according to circumstances, and partly because all drill regulations must undergo considerable alterations in battle. The skirmishers act in groups of four, each group deploying into one single line, with five paces interval from man to man. The interval between the groups is at least five paces (forming a continuous line, with one man at every five paces), and at most forty paces from group to group. The non-commissioned officers take up a position ten paces behind their sections; the

officers, each attended by a guard of four men and a bugler, twenty or thirty paces to the rear. If only part of a company is extended, the captain takes his station half-way between the skirmishers and the support. Taking advantage of cover is the principal thing to be attended to; the dressing of the line as well as the exactness of the intervals are sacrificed to it. The whole line of skirmishers is directed by the bugle alone, the signals numbering twenty-two; besides which, each chasseur battalion, and every company in it, has a distinctive signal of its own, which is made to precede the signal of command. The officers carry a whistle, which they are, however, to use in extreme cases only; it gives five signals—Caution! Advance! Halt! Retire! Rally!—and is the original of the whistle which some volunteers have adopted as part and parcel of every man's accoutrements, thus depriving their officers of the use of the whistle when it might be necessary. The skirmishers rally by groups of four, if attacked by skirmishing cavalry; by sections and sub-divisions, in irregular compact masses; on the support, where they form a kind of company square; or on the battalion, in case the latter is to act in line or to form square. These various forms of rallying are practised very much, and the French excel in them; and their variety does not create any confusion, as the men are instructed to get rallied any way they can in case of imminent danger, and then to profit of favourable movements to join the larger body to which the signal had called them. The squares are sometimes two, sometimes four deep.

Compared to the old-fashioned system, as adopted in almost all armies before the chasseurs were organised, this new method had an immense superiority. But it is not to be forgotten that it is, after all, nothing but a set of drill-ground regulations. There is no room in it, as far as it goes, for the intelligence of the individual soldier; and if it was practised on a level plain, it would be compatible with as great pedantry as might satisfy the stiffest martinet. The lines are formed with regular intervals,—they advance, retire, change front and direction same as any battalion in line, and the men are moved by the bugle as so many puppets by a wire. The real practice ground for skirmishers is before the enemy, and here the French had a splendid school for their light infantry in the fearfully broken ground of Algeria, defended by the Kabyles, the bravest, most tenacious, and most wary skirmishers the world ever saw. Here it was that the French developed to the highest degree that instinct for extended fighting and taking advantage of cover which they have shown in every war since 1792; and here the Zouaves especially turned to the best

account the lessons given to them by the natives, and served as models to the whole army. Generally a chain of skirmishers is supposed to advance in something like a deployed line, crowding together, perhaps, on points offering good cover, and thinning where they have to pass open ground; occupying the enemy's skirmishers in front, only now and then taking advantage of a hedge or so to put in a little flank fire, and, withal, not expected nor even attempting to do much besides occupying their opponents. Not so the Zouaves. With them, extended order means the independent action, subordinate to a common object, of small groups; the attempt at seizing advantages as soon as they offer; the chance of getting near the enemy's masses, and disturbing them by a well-sustained fire; and, in small engagements, the possibility of deciding them without calling in the masses at all. With them, surprise and ambush are the very essence of skirmishing. They do not use cover merely to open fire from a comparatively sheltered position; they principally use it to creep, unseen, close up to the enemy's skirmishers, jump up suddenly, and drive them away in disorder; they use it to get on the flanks of their opponents, and there to appear unexpectedly in a thick swarm, cutting off part of their line, or to form an ambush, into which they entice the hostile skirmishers, if following too quick upon their simulated retreat. In decisive actions, such artifices will be applicable in the many pauses occurring between the great efforts to bring on decision; but in petty warfare, in the war of detachments and outposts, in collecting information respecting the enemy, or securing the rest of their own army, such qualities are of the highest importance. What the Zouaves are one example will show. In outpost duty, in all armies, the rule is that, especially during the night, the sentries must not sit, nor much less lay down, and are to fire as soon as the enemy approaches, in order to alarm the pickets. Now read the Duke of Aumale's description of a camp of Zouaves*:—

"At night, even the solitary Zouave placed on the brow of yonder hill, and overlooking the plain beyond, has been drawn in. You see no videttes; but wait till the officer goes his rounds, and you will find him speak to a Zouave who is lying flat on the ground, just behind the brow, and watchful of everything. You see yonder group of bushes; I should not be at all surprised if on examination you were to find there ensconced a few couples of Zouaves; in case a Bedouin should creep up into these bushes in order to espy what is going on in the camp, they will not fire, but despatch him quietly with the bayonet, in order not to shut the trap."

* *Revue des deux Mondes,* 15th March, 1855.

What are soldiers who have learnt their outpost duty in peace garrisons only, and who cannot be trusted to keep awake except standing or walking, to men trained in a war of ruse and stratagem, against Bedouins and Kabyles? And with all these deviations from the prescribed system, the Zouaves have been surprised only once by their wary enemies.

England has, in the north-west frontier of India, a district very similar, in its military features, to Algeria. The climate is nearly the same, so is the nature of the ground, and so is the border population. Frequent forays and hostile encounters do occur there; and that district has formed some of the best men in the British service. But that these long and highly instructive encounters should not have had any lasting influence upon the mode in which all kinds of light service are carried on in the British army; that after twenty and more years of fighting with Afghans and Beloochees, that part of the service should have been found so defective that French examples had to be hurriedly imitated in order to bring the infantry, in this respect, into a state of efficiency; this is, certainly, strange.

The French chasseurs have introduced into the French army:—1. The new system of dress and accoutrements; the tunic, the light shako, the waist belts, instead of the cross belts. 2. The rifle, and the science of its use; the modern school of musketry. 3. The prolonged application of the double, and its use in evolutions. 4. The bayonet exercise. 5. Gymnastics; and, 6. Together with the Zouaves, the modern system of skirmishing. And if we will be sincere, for how much of all this, so far as it exists in the British army, are we not indebted to the French?

There is still plenty of room for improvements. Why should not the British army come in for its share? Why should not the north-western frontier of India, even now, form the troops employed there into a corps capable of doing that for the English army which the chasseurs and Zouaves have done for the French?

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# VOLUNTEER ARTILLERY[442]

The subject of volunteer artillery is one of great importance, and ought to be widely discussed; the more so, as the part which the volunteer artillery is to take in the defence of the country does not appear to have been, as yet, very clearly defined.[a]

Now, it is evident that the first question to be settled is the proper sphere of action of the volunteer artillery. Unless this be done, there will never be any uniform system of training in the different corps; and as the science of artillery comprises the most multifarious subjects, the whole of which it would be difficult indeed, theoretically and practically, to teach to all the volunteer officers and privates, the different corps, when wanted for action, would arrive with very different qualifications for the duties to be performed by them; and many a company, on being put to a particular task, would be found to be very little qualified to carry it out.

In the following observations we do not by any means profess to say what volunteer artillery ought, or ought not to be; we merely wish to point out some of the conditions under which volunteer, as

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[a] In *The Volunteer Journal* the first paragraph reads as follows (its text is, probably, partially or wholly written by the editors): "We give, in another column of this week's journal, some remarks from the London correspondent of the *Manchester Weekly Express,* on volunteer artillery. The subject is one of great importance, and ought to be widely discussed; the more so, as the part which the volunteer artillery is to take in the defence of the country, does not appear to have been, as yet, very clearly defined. The very article to which we refer, while it wishes to see the formation of artillery corps confined to the sea-board, still expects volunteer gunners to act as a kind of field artillery, not confining themselves to the attendance upon heavy guns in fortified places, but also galloping about with 'light six-pounders or Whitworth's twelves'."—*Ed.*

well as any other artillery, has to be formed, to open the field for that discussion which we invite, and from which, ultimately, an understanding must arise, as to the proper sphere of action of volunteer artillery corps.

All artillery is divided into field artillery which has to operate with the infantry and cavalry in the field, and is provided with horsed guns; and into siege or fortress artillery which works heavy guns in stationary and protected batteries, for the attack or defence of fortified places. If in a regular army, the length of service of the men, and the special scientific education of the officers, renders it possible to train the whole body to both branches of the service, so far, at least, that on an emergency every company can be put to any duty; this is not the case with volunteers, who, officers as well as men, can devote but a portion of their time to their military duties. In France, in Austria, in Prussia, field artillery is kept quite distinct from garrison or siege artillery. If this is the case in regular standing armies, surely there must be some reason for it which will operate far stronger in an army of volunteers.

The fact is this: the mere handling of a field gun is not so different from that of a heavy gun in battery that the privates of a volunteer company could not easily learn both. But the nature of the duties of the officers in either case is so very different, that nothing less than a professional education and long practice could qualify a man to do both equally well. In an officer of field artillery, a rapid military glance, a thorough judgment of ground and of distances, a perfect knowledge of the effect of his guns, enabling him to hold out against an attack to the last moment without losing any guns, a long experience of what horses can do, and of the way to treat them in a campaign; and, finally, a good deal of dash combined with prudence, are the chief qualities. In an officer of garrison or siege artillery, scientific acquirements, theoretical knowledge of artillery in all its branches, of fortification, mathematics, and mechanics, an ability of turning everything into use, a patient and strict attention to the erection and repair of earthworks, and to the effects of a concentrated fire, and a courage more tenacious than dashing will be required. Give the command of a bastion to a captain of a 9-pounder battery, and it will take the best man a deal of training before he is up to the work; put an officer who has attended for a couple of years to nothing but siege guns, at the head of a battery of horse artillery, and it will take a long while before he has worn off his methodical slowness and recovered the dash required for his new arm. With

non-commissioned officers lacking the scientific education of their superiors, the difficulty will be still greater.

Of the two, the garrison artillerist seems to be the easiest formed. Civil engineers possess all the preliminary scientific knowledge required for the business, and will very soon learn the application to artillery of the scientific principles with which they are conversant. They will easily learn the handling of the different machines used in moving heavy ordnance, the construction of batteries, and the rules of fortification. They will, therefore, form the class from which volunteer artillery officers should be chiefly selected, and will be especially adapted for garrison artillery. It will be the same with the non-commissioned officers and gunners. All men who have had much to do with machinery, such as engineers, mechanics, blacksmiths, will form the best material, and on this ground the great manufacturing centres ought to form the best corps. Practice with heavy guns may be an impossibility in the interior of the country, but the sea is not so very far from our Lancashire and Yorkshire inland towns that occasional trips to the sea-side might not be organised for the purpose; besides, with heavy guns in battery, where the first graze of every shot can be seen, and the men can correct themselves, actual target practice is not of such paramount importance.

There is another thing against the attempt at getting up volunteer field artillery—the expense of the guns and the horsing of them. A few companies combining amongst themselves may, indeed, be able to raise the expense of horsing a couple of guns for the summer months, and drill with them in turns, but neither men nor officers will thereby be formed into efficient field artillerists. The expense of equipping a field-battery of six guns is generally reckoned about equal to that of getting up a whole battalion of infantry; no company of volunteer artillery could afford such an outlay; and considering the disgrace attached to the loss of a gun on the battle-field, it may well be doubted whether any government would ever be inclined, in case of invasion, to entrust volunteer artillery with field guns, horses and drivers, on the terms on which rifle volunteers are supplied with small arms.

On these and other grounds, we cannot but come to the conclusion that the proper sphere for the volunteer artillery is the manning of heavy guns in stationary batteries on the coast. An attempt at field artillery may be inevitable in inland towns, to keep up the interest in the movement, and it will certainly do no harm to either officers or men to be made acquainted, as far as possible,

with the handling of horsed light guns; but we confess we have, from our own personal experience in the arm, our great doubts as to their eventual proficiency in field service. Still, they will have learned a great many things which will be quite as useful to them in the use of heavy guns, and they will soon be up to the mark when placed in charge of them.

There is another point we wish to allude to. Artillery, far more than infantry and cavalry, is an essentially scientific arm, and as such its efficiency will chiefly depend upon the theoretical and practical knowledge of the officers. We have no doubt that by this time Major Griffiths' *Artillerist's Manual* will be in the hands of every officer of volunteer artillery. The contents of that book show with what a variety of subjects an artillery officer, and even a non-commissioned officer, has to make himself familiar before he can lay claim to any proficiency in his arm; yet that book is merely a short abstract of what an efficient artillerist ought to know. Besides the regular company and battalion drill, common to infantry and artillery, there is the knowledge of the many different calibres of ordnance, their carriages and platforms, charges, ranges, and various projectiles; there is the construction of batteries, and the science of sieges; permanent and field fortification; the manufacture of ammunition and fireworks; and, finally, that science of gunnery which, at the present moment, is receiving such wonderful and new additions by the introduction of rifled guns. All these things have to be learnt both theoretically and practically, and they are all of equal importance; for whenever the volunteer artillery are embodied for active service, they will come to a dead lock unless all these branches have been attended to. Of all volunteer corps, therefore, the artillery is the one in which the efficiency of the officers is of the greatest importance; and we do hope and trust that they will exert themselves to the utmost to attain that practical experience and theoretical knowledge without which they must be found wanting on the day of trial.

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# THE HISTORY OF THE RIFLE[443]

## I

The rifle is a German invention, dating as far back as the close of the fifteenth century. The first rifles were made with apparently no other object than to facilitate the loading of the arm with an almost tight-fitting bullet. To this end, the grooves were made straight, without any spiral turning, and merely served to diminish the friction of the bullet in the bore. The bullet itself was surrounded by a piece of greased woollen or linen cloth (the plaster), and was thus hammered down without too much difficulty. These rifles, primitive as they were, must have given far better results than the smooth-bore small arms of the period, with their bullets of considerably smaller diameter than the bore.

Later on, the character of the arm was totally altered by the spiral turn given to the grooves, which transformed the bore of the barrel into a sort of female screw; the bullet, by the tight-fitting plaster, being made to follow the grooves, took the spiral turn as well, and thus retained a spiral rotation round its line of flight. It was soon found that this mode of fixing the rotation of the bullet vastly increased both the range and accuracy of the arm, and thus the spiral grooves very soon superseded the straight ones.

This, then, was the kind of rifle which remained in general use for more than two hundred years. If we except hair-triggers and more carefully worked sights, it scarcely underwent any improvement up to 1828. It was greatly superior to the smooth-bore musket in accuracy, but not so very much in range; beyond 400 or 500 yards, it could not be relied upon. At the same time, it was comparatively difficult to load; the hammering down of the bullet was a very tedious operation; the powder and plastered bullet had each to be put separately into the barrel, and not more than one

round per minute could be fired. These drawbacks made it unfit for the generality of an army, especially at a time like the eighteenth century, when all battles were decided by the rapid firing of deployed lines. With such tactics, the old smooth-bore musket, with all its glaring imperfections, was still a far preferable arm. Thus we find that the rifle remained the favourite implement of the deer-stalker and chamois-hunter, and that it was used as an exceptional arm of war, for a few battalions of sharpshooters, in such armies only as could recruit these battalions from a sufficient number of trained sportsmen among the population.

The wars of the American and French Revolutions[444] created a great change in tactics. Henceforth extended order was introduced in every engagement; the combination of skirmishers with lines or columns became the essential characteristic of modern fighting. The masses, during the greater part of the day, are kept back; they are held in reserve or employed in manoeuvring so as to concentrate on the weak point of the enemy; they are only launched in decisive moments; but, in the meantime, skirmishers and their immediate supports are constantly engaged. The mass of the ammunition is spent by them, and the objects they fire at are seldom larger than the front of a company; in most cases, they have to fire at single men well hidden by covering objects. And yet, the effect of their fire is most important; for every attack is both prepared, and, in the first instance, met by it; they are expected to weaken the resistance of detachments occupying farm houses or villages, as well as to take the edge off the attack of a charging line. Now, with old "Brown Bess,"[445] none of these things could be done effectively. Nobody can ever have been under the fire of skirmishers, armed with smooth-bore muskets, without taking home an utter contempt for its efficiency at medium ranges. Still, the rifle in its old shape was not fitted for the mass of skirmishers. The old rifle, in order to facilitate the forcing down of the bullet, must be short, so short that it was but a poor handle to a bayonet; consequently, riflemen were used in such positions only when they were safe against an attack with the bayonet, or by cavalry.

Under these circumstances, the problem at once presented itself: to invent a gun which should combine the range and accuracy of the rifle, with the rapidity and ease of loading, and with the length of barrel of the smooth-bore musket; an arm, which is at the same time a rifle and a handy arm of war, fit to be placed into the hands of every infantry soldier.

Thus we see that with the very introduction of skirmishing into modern tactics, arose the demand for such an improved arm of war. In the nineteenth century, whenever a demand for a thing arises, and that demand be justified by the circumstances of the case, it is sure to be supplied. It was supplied in this case. Almost all improvements in small arms made since 1828 tended to supply it.

Before, however, we attempt to give an account of those improvements which have created such great and numerous changes in rifled fire-arms, by dropping the old system of forcing the bullet home, we may be allowed to cast a glance at the attempts made to improve the rifle while maintaining the old method of loading.

The rifle with oval bore which is known in England as the Lancaster rifle, has been in use on the Continent for more than forty years. We find it mentioned in a German military book printed in 1818. In Brunswick, Colonel Berner improved it and had the whole infantry of that duchy armed with it in 1832. The ovality was but slight, and the oval bullet was forced home in the old fashion. This oval bullet, however, was to be used in skirmishing only. For volley firing, the men were provided with spherical bullets of smaller calibre, which rolled down the barrel quite as easy as any musket ball. Still, the inconveniences of this system are obvious. It is merely remarkable as the first instance of giving rifled muskets to the whole of the infantry in any one army.

In Switzerland, a civil engineer and officer of rifles, M. Wild, improved the rifle considerably. His bullet was smaller in proportion to the bore than usual, and was made to take the rifling by means of the plaster only; a disk on the ramrod prevented it from entering the bore too deep, and thus driving the bullet so close on the charge that the powder got crushed; the spirality of the grooves was reduced and the charge increased. Wild's rifle gave very good results up to above 500 yards, with a very flat trajectory; besides, it allowed of more than 100 shots being fired without fouling. It was adopted in Switzerland, Württemberg, and Baden, but is now, of course, antiquated and relinquished.[a]

The most modern and the best rifle constructed upon the forcing principle is the new Swiss sharpshooters' regulation rifle. This arm has adopted the American principle of a very small

[a] In *The Volunteer Journal* the word "superseded" is used here.—*Ed.*

calibre; its bore is not more than 10.50 millimètres, or 0.42 of an inch. The barrel is but 28 inches long, and has eight flat grooves (one turn in 34 inches). The ramrod is provided with the disk as introduced by Wild. The bullet is cylindro-ogival, and very long; it is forced home by means of a greased plaster. The charge is comparatively strong, and of a very coarse-grained powder. This arm has shown the most astonishing effects; and in the trial of various rifles recently made by the Dutch Government, its range, accuracy, and lowness of trajectory, were found to be unequalled. In fact, at a range of 600 yards, the highest point of its trajectory is only 8 feet 6 inches, so that the whole of the flight, at that range, is dangerous space for cavalry, and that even for infantry the last 100 yards of the trajectory are dangerous space; in other words, an error in judging distance of 100 yards, at 600 yards range, would not prevent the bullet from hitting an object six feet high. This is a result far surpassing that of any other rifled musket; the very best of them require an elevation, which raises the highest points of the trajectory, for 600 yards, to 13 to 20 feet, and reduces the dangerous space to from 60 to 25 yards. This extraordinary flatness of trajectory is produced by the small calibre of the arm, which admits of a very elongated bolt-shaped shot, and of a comparatively powerful charge; with a small bore, the rifle may be made very strong, without being clumsy, the shot may be long, without being heavy, and the charge may be powerful, relatively, without producing too severe a recoil. It is certain that the forced loading has nothing to do with the admirable shooting of the arm; indeed, it forms its only drawback, and prevents it from being used as the general arm of infantry. The Swiss have, therefore, restrained it to their companies of sharpshooters, in whose hands, no doubt, it will answer uncommonly well.

We shall next show how the rifle came to be made into a weapon fit to be placed into the hands of every infantry soldier.

## II

Delvigne, a French officer, was the originator of the first attempt to make the rifle a weapon fit for general infantry use. He saw clearly that to do this, the bullet must slip down the barrel as easy, or nearly so, as the bullet of a smooth-bore musket, and be made, afterwards, to change its shape so as to enter into the grooves.

To obtain this end, he constructed, as early as 1828, a rifle with a chamber at the breech; that is to say, the extreme end of the bore at the breech, where the powder lies, was made of considerably smaller diameter than the remaining part of the barrel. This chamber was adopted from howitzers and mortars which had always been so constructed; but while, in ordnance, it merely served to keep well together the small charges used for mortars and howitzers, it answered quite a different purpose in Delvigne's rifle. The powder having been dropped down into the chamber, the bullet, smaller than the bore, was made to roll down after it; but, arrived on the edge of the chamber, it could not pass any further, and remained supported on it; and a few smart blows with the ramrod were sufficient to force the soft lead of the bullet sideways into the grooves, and to enlarge its diameter so much that it fitted tight in the barrel.

The greatest inconvenience in this system was, that the bullet lost its spherical shape, and became somewhat flattened, in consequence of which it was apt to lose the lateral rotation impressed upon it by the grooves, which impaired its precision considerably. To remedy this, Delvigne invented elongated shot (cylindro-conical), and although the experiments with this kind of shot were not, at first, very successful in France, it answered very well in Belgium, Austria, and Sardinia, in which countries Delvigne's rifle, with various improvements, was given to the Chasseur battalions instead of the old rifle. Although his rifle is at present almost everywhere superseded, Delvigne's improvements embrace the two great principles on which all succeeding inventors have been obliged to rely. Firstly, that in muzzle-loading rifles, the shot must go down with a certain windage, so as to admit of easy loading, and must change its shape, so as to enter the grooves, only after it has been rammed home; and secondly, that elongated shot are the only projectiles adapted for modern rifles. Delvigne thus at once put the question on its proper footing, and fully deserves the name of the father of the modern rifle.

The advantages of elongated shot over spherical bullets are numerous, so long as their lateral rotation (around its longitudinal axis) can be secured to the former, which is accomplished in a satisfactory manner by almost every modern rifle. The elongated shot offers a far smaller section, in proportion to its weight, to the resistance of the atmosphere than the spherical bullet. Its point can be so shaped as to reduce that resistance to a minimum. Like a bolt or an arrow, it is to a certain degree supported by the air below it. The consequence is, that it loses far less of its initial

velocity by the resistance of the air, and that, consequently, it will reach a given distance with a far lower trajectory (that is to say, with a line of flight far more dangerous to the enemy) than any round shot of the same diameter.

Another advantage is, that the elongated shot offers a far greater surface of contact to the sides of the barrel than the round shot. This makes the former take the rifling far better, and therefore admits of a reduced pitch of the rifling as well as of a reduced depth of groove. Both these circumstances facilitate the cleaning of the arm, and at the same time permit the use of full charges without increasing the recoil of the gun.

And finally, as the weight of the elongated shot is so much greater than that of the round bullet, it follows that the calibre, or diameter of bore, of the gun can be considerably reduced, while it still remains capable of firing a projectile equal in weight to the old round bullet. Now, if the weight of the old smooth-bore musket and that of its bullet be considered as the standard weights, a rifle for elongated shot of this weight can be made stronger than the old musket in the same proportion as the bore has been reduced, and it will still not exceed the weight of the old musket. The gun being stronger, it will stand the charge so much the better; it will have less recoil, and, consequently, the reduced bore will admit of relatively stronger charges, whereby a greater initial velocity, and, consequently, a lower line of flight will be secured.

The next improvement was made by another French officer, Colonel Thouvenin. He clearly perceived the inconvenience of leaving the shot, while being rammed into the grooves, supported on a circular projection touching its edges. He therefore did away with the edges of the chamber, boring out the whole of the bore to one uniform diameter as heretofore. In the middle of the screw closing the bore, he fixed a short strong steel pin, or peg, which projected into the bore, and around which the powder was to fall; on the blunt top of this peg the shot was to be supported while the ramrod hammered it into the grooves. The advantages of this system were considerable. The expansion of the shot, by the blows of the ramrod, was far more regular than in Delvigne's rifles. The arm could afford a greater windage, which facilitated loading. The results obtained with it were so satisfactory that, as early as 1846, the French *Chasseurs à pied* were armed with Thouvenin's rifles; the Zouaves and other light African infantry followed; and as it was found that the old smooth-bore muskets could, with little expense, be transformed into Thouvenin's rifles, the carbines of

the French foot-artillery were all altered accordingly. The Prussian rifles were armed with Thouvenin's rifle in 1847; those of Bavaria in 1848; and most of the smaller States of Northern Germany followed the example, in some cases arming even portions of the line with this excellent weapon. In all these rifles there is visible a certain approach to unity of system, in spite of all their variations as to calibre, &c.; the number of grooves is reduced (mostly to 4), and the pitch generally is from three-quarters of a turn to one turn in the whole length of the barrel.

Still, Thouvenin's rifle had its drawbacks. The force required to drive, by repeated blows, the lead of the shot, laterally, into the grooves was incompatible with that length of barrel which the common musket of infantry of the line must always have as an effective handle to a bayonet. It was, besides, very difficult for skirmishers, crawling or kneeling, to apply that force. The resistance offered to the explosive force by the shot, jammed as it is in the grooves just in front of the powder, increases the recoil, and thereby restricts the gun to a comparatively small charge. Finally, the peg always remains an undesirable complication of the arm; it renders the cleaning of the space around it very difficult, and is liable to get out of order.

Thus the principle of compressing the shot by blows from the ramrod gave very satisfactory results, for the time being, in the system of Delvigne, and better results, again, in that of Thouvenin. Still it could not assert its superiority, for an arm for general infantry use, over the old smooth-bore gun. Other principles had to be resorted to before a rifle fit for every soldier's hands could be produced.

## III

Delvigne, whose rifle we described in the preceding article, found it advisable to hollow out his elongated bullets from the base, in order to reduce their weight to something like that of the old spherical bullet. Though he very soon found that this hollow projectile was incompatible with the system of expanding the shot by mechanical blows, his experiments sufficed to prove to him that the gas developed by the explosion, on entering the cavity formed in the bullet, had a tendency to expand the walls of this hollow portion so as to make the bullet fit the barrel exactly and take the rifling.

It was this discovery which was taken up in 1849 by the then Captain Minié. He did entirely away with the peg or pillar at the

bottom of the bore, and restored to the rifle the simplicity which it had possessed before Delvigne and Thouvenin; relying entirely upon the expansive action of the explosion upon the hollow portion of his bullet. This bullet was cylindro-ogival, with two ring-shaped indentations round the cylindrical portion,* and hollowed out conically from the base; a cup-shaped hollow iron plug (*culot*) closed the hollow portion, and was driven into it by the force of the explosion, thereby effectively expanding the lead. The bullet had sufficient windage to go easily down, even when surrounded by the greased paper cartridge.

Here, then, we have at last a rifle and a bullet constructed upon principles which render it possible to give this arm to every foot soldier. The new arm loads as easily as the smooth-bore musket, and has an effect far superior to that of the old rifle, which it equals in precision, but far exceeds in range. The rifle with expansion bullet is undoubtedly—of all muzzle-loaders—the best arm for general use as well as for sharpshooters, and it is owing to this circumstance that it owes its very great success, its adoption in so many services, and the many attempts that have been made to improve the shape of the shot or the grooving of the rifle. The Minié bullet, in consequence of its being hollowed out, can be made but little heavier than the old round bullet of the same calibre; the bullet lying loose on the powder, and being only gradually expanded as it passes through the barrel, the recoil is far less than with either the old or the Delvigne and Thouvenin rifles, in every one of which the shot is jammed fast in the barrel, and has to be dislodged by the full force of the explosion; consequently the Minié rifle can apply a relatively stronger charge. The grooves have to be made very shallow, which facilitates the cleaning of the barrel; the length of axis in which one full turn of the grooves is made has to be pretty great, in consequence of which the number of rotations, and also the friction with the air (which takes place at every rotation), is diminished, whereby the initial velocity is better preserved. The hollow base-end of the shot also brings its centre of gravity more forward; and all these circumstances combine to produce a comparatively low trajectory.

The general adoption of the Minié rifle was, in fact, owing to another circumstance: That, by a very simple process, all old smooth-bore muskets could be transformed into rifles fit for Minié

* These indentations (*cannelures*) had been invented by Tamisier, another French officer. Besides reducing the weight of the bullet and the friction in the barrel, they were found to balance the shot in the air, similar to the wings of an arrow, and thus to lower the trajectory.

bullets. When the Crimean war[446] made it desirable, in Prussia, that the whole infantry should at once be armed with rifled muskets, and the requisite number of needle-guns had not yet been manufactured, 300,000 old muskets were rifled and rendered fit for Minié ammunition in less than a year.

The French Government were the first to arm a few battalions with the Minié rifle; but the grooves were progressive, that is to say, they were deeper at the breech than at the muzzle, so that whatever lead had entered the grooves at the breech, was again compressed by the shallowing grooves during its progress through the barrel, while at the same time from within the expanding force of the powder continued to act. Thus such an amount of friction was created that very often the solid point of the shot was torn off and sent out of the barrel while the hollow base-end remained fast in the grooves. This, and other defects, induced the Government to renounce any further attempt to introduce the Minié rifle.

In England, as early as 1851, 28,000 of these rifles were constructed, similar to those tried in France; the bullets were slightly conical, with ogival point, with a round hollow plug, and without indentations, as it was intended to *press* them. The results were very unsatisfactory, chiefly in consequence of the shape of the bullet; until, in 1852, new experiments were made, from which, finally, the Enfield rifle and bullets proceeded, which will be again alluded to hereafter. The Enfield rifle is but one of the modifications of the Minié. It has, since 1854, definitively superseded all smooth-bore muskets in the British army.

In Belgium, the Minié rifle, with slight alterations, has been adopted since 1854 for riflemen, and latterly for the line also.

In Spain, in 1853, the rifles received the Minié, which has since also been given to the line.

In Prussia, in 1855-56, the Minié rifle was provisionally given to the line, as already stated. It has since been completely superseded by the needle-gun.

In the smaller German States, the Minié rifle was also adopted, with very few exceptions.

In Switzerland, the Prélat rifle, destined to arm the whole of the infantry with the exception of the sharpshooters, is but a modification of the Minié.

And in Russia, finally, the Government is just now occupied in replacing the old smooth-bore muskets by Minié rifles of a very good model.

In almost every one of these countries has the number, depth, and pitch of the grooves, and the shape of the bullet, undergone

various modifications of detail, to describe the most important of which will be the purport of our next chapter.

IV

We again recapitulate the principle of Minié's system: A rifled musket, with shallow grooves, is loaded with an elongated bullet, which is so much smaller in diameter than the bore, that it glides down easily. This bullet is hollowed out from its base, that is to say, from the end resting on the powder. On firing, the gas suddenly developed by the explosion enters into this hollow part, and by its pressure against its comparatively thin sides, *expands* the lead so as to make it fit the bore and enter into the grooves; the bullet, therefore, must follow the turn of these grooves, and retain the lateral rotation characteristic of all rifle bullets. This is the principle, the essential part in all the different rifles firing expansion bullets; and it is common to them all. But in matters of detail, a great many modifications have been made by various inventors.

Minié himself adopted the plug. This plug was a little, round, cup-shaped piece of sheet-iron, driven into the mouth of the hollow part of the bullet. It was intended to be driven deeper into the hollow by the explosion, and thus to assist and render more certain the expansion of the shot. It was, however, soon found that this cup-shaped plug had great inconveniences. It separated very often from the bullet on leaving the muzzle, and in its irregular line of flight it slightly wounded sometimes troops belonging to the firing party and placed a little in advance laterally. It also sometimes turned over while being driven into the lead, and thus caused an irregular expansion, and thereby a deviation of the shot from the line of aim. As it had been proved that the expansion of the shot might be obtained without any plugs at all, experiments were made to fix the best shape of an expansion bullet without plug. The Prussian Captain Neindorff appears to have been the first to propose such a bullet (in 1852). The hollow of this projectile is cylindrical, but widened out towards the base, in the shape of a tun-dish. This shot gave very good results as to range and precision, but it was soon found that the plug served another purpose besides expansion—it preserved the thin sides of the hollow shot from getting crushed during transport and rough handling; while Neindorff's bullets became deformed during transport, and then gave very bad results. In most German services, therefore, the hollow iron plug was

maintained, but it was made of a long, pointed, sugar-loaf shape, and then answered very well, never turned over, and scarcely ever got separated from the leaden shot. The Enfield bullet, as is well known, has a solid wooden plug.

In some States, however, the experiments with bullets without plugs were continued, and such bullets adopted for the service. This was the case in Belgium, France, Switzerland, and Bavaria. The chief object in all these experiments was to fix a shape for the hollow part of the bullet which would prevent crushing while it allowed expansion. Thus the hollow was formed in the shape of a bell (Timmerhans, in Belgium), of a three-sided prism (Nessler, in France), with a cross-shaped section (Plönnies, in Darmstadt), &c. But it appears almost impossible to unite the two elements, solidity and expansibility, in any modification of an expansion shot without a plug, unless the calibre be considerably reduced.[a] The new Bavarian projectile (Major Podewils'), which has a plain cylindrical hollow, and very strong sides to it, appears, so far, to answer best, but the Bavarian rifle also has a small bore.[b]

In countries where old smooth-bore muskets were rifled for Minié bullets, the large calibre of the old musket became, of course, compulsory. But where entirely new rifles were provided for the army, the calibre was considerably reduced, from considerations to which we have alluded in a former article. The English Enfield rifle has a calibre of 14.68 millimètres, the South-German rifle (adopted in Württemberg, Bavaria, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt) of 13.9 mm. The French alone, in their rifles for the guard, retained the calibre of their smooth-bore muskets (17.80 mm.).

The Enfield rifle is a very fair specimen of the expansion system. Its calibre is small enough to admit of a shot twice the length of its diameter, and still not much heavier than the old round musket bullet. Its workmanship is very good, and superior to that of almost all rifles served out to Continental troops. The bullet has very good proportions; against the wooden plug it is objected that it may either swell, and thereby increase the diameter of the shot, or shrink, and then fall out; but we think these objections futile. If the swelling of the plug presented any inconvenience, it would have been found out long since; and in case of its shrinking, the make of the cartridge prevents its falling

[a] The words "unless the calibre be considerably reduced" do not occur in *The Volunteer Journal.—Ed.*

[b] The words "but the Bavarian rifle also has a small bore" do not occur in *The Volunteer Journal.—Ed.*

out. The results obtained with the Enfield rifle are about on a par with those of the best Continental expansion rifles.

The objections to the Enfield, as a rifle with expansion bullets, are these: That the calibre might still be smaller, giving a longer bullet for the same weight and a stronger barrel with the same weight; that five grooves are proved to be better than three; that the barrel of the long Enfield, at least, is too delicate, towards the muzzle, to be used as a handle for a bayonet; that the bullet, from having no ring-shaped indentations, must suffer an enormous amount of friction in the barrel, and thereby runs the risk of having the solid point torn off, while the ring-shaped hollow part sticks fast to the grooves.

To change the calibre is a very serious matter; and without that it will be very difficult to give the muzzle end of the barrel more solidity. This appears to us the most serious objection. All other objections appear unimportant; the number of grooves, and the shape of the bullet may be altered any time without inconvenience; and even as it is, the Enfield has proved itself a very useful arm of war.

We have, so far, compared the Enfield with such rifles only which use expansion bullets; the comparison with rifles based upon different principles we must reserve for a future occasion, when we shall have examined the various other constructions now in use.

## V

In 1852, an English gun-maker, Mr. Wilkinson, and an Austrian officer of artillery, Capt. Lorenz, simultaneously, but each independently of the other, invented another method of making a loose-fitting elongated bullet increase its diameter by the force of the explosion, so as to make it fit the bore closely, and follow the turn of the grooves. This method consisted in making the explosion *compress* the bullet lengthways instead of expanding it.

Take a soft or elastic ball, place it on a table, and make it fly off with a smart blow of the hand. The first effect of the blow, even before it starts the ball, will be a change in its shape. Light as it is, the weight of the ball offers resistance enough to become flattened on the side where it receives the blow; it is compressed in one direction, and, consequently, its size must increase in another direction, similar to what it does when you completely flatten it. As the blow acts upon the elastic ball, so is the explosion of the powder expected to act upon the *compression bullet* of Lorenz and Wilkinson. The weight, the *vis inertiae* of the bullet is made the

means, which, by its resistance to the force of the explosion, compresses the bullet lengthways, and thereby makes it larger sideways; when the shot comes out, it is shorter and thicker than when it was put in.

An elongated bullet of solid lead, in order to offer sufficient resistance, and thus to be sufficiently compressed to take the grooves, would have to be very heavy—in other words, very long in proportion to its thickness. Even with a small calibre such a bullet would be too heavy for war, as the men would be overweighted with ammunition if they carried the usual number of rounds. To remedy this, two very deep ring-shaped indentations are cut into the cylindrical part of the bullet. Take an Enfield bullet, remove the plug, fill the cavity with molten lead, and when cold, cut these two indentations, close to each other and close to the flat end, into the cylindrical part of the projectile, leaving the three remaining portions of the bullet strung, as it were, upon a common axis of solid lead. The bullet will then consist of two very flat truncated cones, pointing forward, and of the heavy solid point, all of which are solidly connected with each other. This bullet will answer as a compression bullet. The resistance against the explosion will be offered by the heavy fore part or point of the bullet; the head of the rear cone will be driven, by the force of the powder, into the base of the cone in front of it, whose head, again, will be driven into the rear end of the point; and thus the shot, being shortened and compressed in the direction of its length, will be made so much thicker that it closes on all sides to the bore and takes the rifling.

From this it is evident that the solid point is the principal portion of the compression bullet. The longer and heavier it is, the more resistance will it offer, and, consequently, the more certain will be the compressive effect of the explosion. So long as the calibre of the rifle is small, say rather less than the Enfield, it will be possible to make compression bullets not heavier in metal than expansion bullets; but with the calibre grows the surface of the base of the bullet, or in other words the surface exposed to the immediate action of the powder; and this is the cause why, with large calibres, compression bullets will always have to be too heavy to be of any use; otherwise the force of the explosion, by overcoming the resistance of the bullet, would throw it out of the barrel before it had time to become properly compressed. Large calibred, smooth-bore muskets may, therefore, be altered into rifles for expansion shot, but they will never do for compression bullets.

With small calibres and flat grooves, the compression system gives excellent results. The forward position of the centre of gravity is very favourable to a low trajectory. The compression bullet has all the advantages of the expansion system, as far as regards ease and rapidity of loading, and smallness of recoil. The bullet is solid, and can stand transport and rough usage well enough; its shape allows of its being pressed, instead of cast. The only drawback is that it requires a very small windage, of not more than about 0·01 of an inch, and a great regularity both in the size of the bores and that of the bullets, as evidently the compressive effect does not increase the circumference of the shot by near as much as the expansive effect; and thus, with a greater windage, or old barrels, it would be doubtful whether the bullet becomes compressed enough to take the rifling. But this small windage is no great objection, as many rifles with expansion shot have no greater windage (the Enfield, too, for instance, has only 0·01 of an inch), and there is now no difficulty in constructing both barrels and bullets of very exact and regular dimensions.

The Austrian army has adopted the compression bullet for the whole of the infantry. The calibre is small, 13·9 millimètres, or 0·546 of an inch (0·031 less than the Enfield); the barrel has four very flat grooves (an even number of grooves, though decidedly objectionable in expansion rifles, is found to answer better in compression rifles than an odd number), with one turn in about six feet six inches (almost the same as the Enfield). The bullet weighs about 480 grains (50 grains less than the Enfield), and the charge is 1-6th of its weight (with the Enfield, about 1-8th of the weight of the bullet). This arm stood its trial in the Italian campaign of 1859,[447] and the great number of French soldiers, and especially officers, who succumbed to it, testify to its excellence. It has a considerably lower trajectory than the Enfield, which is owing to the proportionally stronger charge, to the smaller calibre producing a more elongated shot, and, may be, to the action of the two ring-shaped indentations.

Saxony, Hanover, and one or two small German States have also adopted, for their light infantry, rifles from which compression bullets constructed on Lorenz's principle are fired.

In Switzerland, besides the sharpshooters' rifle mentioned before, there has been adopted a rifle of the same calibre (10·51 millimètres or 0·413 of an inch, 0·164 smaller than the Enfield) for compression shot. This rifle is used by the light companies of the infantry battalions. The bullet is on Lorenz's model, and the results given by this rifle, in lowness of trajectory, range and

precision, class it second only to the Swiss sharpshooters' rifle above alluded to, whose bullet, forced home in the old fashion, has the flattest trajectory of any known rifle. At 500 yards, the Swiss compression bullet fired from this rifle gives a dangerous space of 130 yards! *

So far, there can be no doubt that the compression-system has given better results than the expansion system, as it has hitherto certainly produced the lower trajectory. It is, however, equally doubtless that this is not owing to the system in itself, but to other causes, among which the smallness of the calibre is the principal one. With an equally small calibre, the expansion bullet must produce as low a line of flight as its hitherto more successful competitor. This will soon be made evident. The rifles of the four States of South-Western Germany (Bavaria, &c.) have the same calibre as those of Austria, so that they may in case of need use Austrian ammunition, and *vice versa.* But, in adopting the same diameter of bore, they have all of them adopted expansion bullets; and the practice tables of both classes of shot will thus afford a fair test of the merits of either. If, as we expect, the expansion bullet will then give as good results as its competitor, it will deserve the preference; for—1st, it is more certain of taking the rifling, under any circumstances; 2nd, it may be made lighter, with the same bore, than compression shot; and, 3rd, it is less affected by the enlargement of the bore, which takes place in all gun-barrels after having been in use for a certain time.

## VI

All the rifles which we have hitherto described, were muzzle-loaders. There have been, however, in former times, a great many kinds of fire-arms which were loaded at the breech. Breech-loading in cannon preceded muzzle-loading; and most old armouries will contain rifles and pistols two or three hundred years old, with a moveable breech, into which the charge could be introduced without being passed through the barrel by a ramrod. The great difficulty always was to join the moveable breech in

* By dangerous space is understood that portion of the flight of a bullet in which it is never higher than the height of a man, say six feet. Thus, in this instance, a shot aimed at the bottom of a target six feet high and 500 yards distant, would hit any object, six feet high, standing in the line of aim anywhere between 370 and 500 yards from the man firing. In other words, with the 500 yards sight, an error of 130 yards in judging the distance of the object may be made, and still the object will be hit if the line of aim was taken correctly.

such a way to the barrel that it could be easily separated and put on again, and that the mode of fixing it was solid enough to stand the explosion. With the deficient mechanical contrivances of those times, it was no wonder that these two requisites could not be combined. Either the parts fixing the breech on to the barrel were deficient in solidity and durability, or the process of unfixing and re-fixing it was fearfully slow. No wonder, then, that these arms were thrown aside, that muzzle-loading did its work quicker, and that the ramrod ruled supreme.

When, in modern times, military men and gun-makers were bent upon the construction of a fire-arm which should combine the quick and easy loading of the old musket with the range and precision of the rifle, it was natural that breech-loading should again receive attention. With a proper system of fixing the breech, all difficulties were overcome. The shot, a little larger in diameter than the bore, could then be placed, together with the charge, in the breech, and on being pushed forward by the explosion, would press itself through the bore, fill the grooves with its excess of lead, take the rifling, and exclude all possibility of windage. The only difficulty was the mode of fixing the breech. But what was impossible in the 16th and 17th centuries need not be despaired of now.

The great advantages of a breech-loader, supposing that difficulty overcome, are obvious. The time required for loading is considerably reduced. No drawing, turning round, and returning ramrod. One motion opens the breech, another brings the cartridge into its place, a third closes the breech again. A rapid fire of skirmishers, or a quick succession of volleys, so important in many decisive circumstances, are thus secured in a degree which no muzzle-loader can ever equal.

With all muzzle-loaders the art of loading is rendered difficult as soon as the soldier, in skirmishing, is kneeling or laid down behind some covering object. If he keeps behind his shelter he cannot hold his gun in a vertical position, and a great part of his charge will stick on to the sides of the bore while running down; if he holds his gun straight up he has to expose himself. With a breech-loader he can load in any position, even without turning his eye from the enemy, as he can load without looking at his gun. In line, he can load while advancing; pour in volley after volley during the advance, and still arrive upon the enemy with a gun always loaded. The bullet can be of the simplest construction, perfectly solid, and will never run any of the chances by which both compression and expansion shots miss taking the grooves, or

experience other unpleasant accidents. The cleaning of the gun is uncommonly facilitated. The chamber, or place where the powder and bullet lie, which is the part always most exposed to fouling, is here laid completely open, and the barrel or tube, open at both ends, can be easily inspected and cleaned to perfection. The parts about the breech being necessarily very heavy, as otherwise they could not withstand the explosion, bring the centre of gravity of the rifle nearer the shoulder, and thereby facilitate a steady aim.

We have seen that the only difficulty consisted in the proper closing of the breech. There can be no doubt that this difficulty has now been fully overcome. The number of breech-loaders brought out during the last twenty years is wonderful, and some of them, at least, fulfil all reasonable expectations, both as to the efficiency and solidity of the breech-loading apparatus, and as to the ease and rapidity with which the breech can be fixed and unfixed. As arms of war, however, there are at present only three different systems in use.

The first is the gun now used by the infantry in Sweden and Norway. The breech-loading apparatus appears to be sufficiently handy and solid. The charge is fired by a percussion cap, both cock and piston being at the *under* side of the chamber piece. Of the practice made by this gun we have not been able to obtain any particulars.

The second is the revolver. The revolver, same as the rifle, is a very old German invention. Centuries ago, pistols with several barrels were made, provided with a revolving apparatus, which, after every shot, made a fresh barrel turn into the position required for the action of the lock upon it. Colonel Colt, in America, again took up the idea. He separated the chambers from the barrels, so that one barrel did for all the revolving chambers, thus making the arm breech-loading. As most of our readers will have handled one of these Colt's pistols, it will be unnecessary to describe them; besides, the complicated nature of the mechanism would render any detailed account impossible without diagrams. This arm is fired by percussion caps; and the round bullet, rather larger than the bore of the barrel, takes the grooves while being pressed through it. Colt's invention having become popular, a great number of revolving small-arms have been invented, but only Deane and Adams have really simplified and improved it as an arm of war. Still, the whole thing is extremely complicated, and applicable, for war purposes, to pistols only. But, with a few improvements, this revolver will become a necessity for all cavalry, and for sailors when boarding, while for artillery it will be far

more useful than any carbine. As it is, its effects at close quarters are terrible; and not only have the American cavalry been provided with them, but they have also been introduced into the British, American, French, Russian, and other navies.

The Swedish gun, as well as the revolver, is fired from without by common percussion caps. The third class of breech-loaders, the much talked-of Prussian needle-gun, does entirely away with these too; the charge is fired from within.

The needle-gun was invented by a civilian, Mr. Dreyse, of Sömmerda, in Prussia. After having first invented the method of firing a gun by means of a needle suddenly penetrating an explosive substance fixed in the cartridge, he completed his invention, as early as 1835, by constructing a breech-loader, supplied with this needle-firing apparatus. The Prussian Government at once bought up the secret, and succeeded in keeping it to themselves up to 1848, when it became public; in the meantime they resolved upon giving this arm, in case of war, to all their infantry, and commenced manufacturing needle-guns. At present, the whole infantry of the line, and the greater portion of the Landwehr[448] are armed with it, while all the light cavalry are at this moment receiving breech-loading needle-carbines.

Of the breech-loading mechanism we will only say that it seems to be the simplest, handiest, and most durable of all those that have, so far, been proposed. It has now been tried for years, and the only fault that can be found with it is this, that it does not last quite so long, and will not bear quite so many rounds as the fixed breech of a muzzle-loader. But this is a fault which appears unavoidable in all breech-loaders, and the necessity of renewing, a little sooner than with the old arms, a few pieces of the breech, cannot in any way detract from the great merits of the arm.

The cartridge contains bullet, powder, and the explosive composition, and is placed, *unopened*, into the chamber, which is slightly wider than the rifled barrel. A simple motion of the hand closes the breech, and at the same time cocks the gun. There is, however, no cock outside. Behind the charge, in a hollow iron cylinder, lies a strong, pointed steel needle, acted upon by a spiral spring. The cocking of the gun consists in merely drawing back, compressing, and holding fast this spring; when the trigger is drawn, it sets the spring loose, which at once sends the needle quickly forward into the cartridge, which it pierces, instantaneously explodes the explosive composition, and thus fires the charge. Thus, loading and firing with this gun consists of five motions only: opening the breech, placing the cartridge in it, closing the

breech, presenting, and firing. No wonder that, with such a gun, five well-aimed rounds can be fired in a minute.

The projectiles first used for the needle-gun had a very unfavourable shape, and, consequently, gave a very high trajectory. This defect has been very successfully remedied a short time ago. The shot is now much longer, and has the shape of an acorn taken from its cup. It is of considerably smaller diameter than that of the bore; its rear-end is embedded in a kind of cup, or bottom, of a soft material, so as to give it the requisite thickness. This cup sticks on to the bullet while in the barrel, takes the rifling, and thus gives the shot the lateral rotation, while at the same time it considerably diminishes friction in the barrel, and yet does away with all windage. The practice of the gun has been so much improved thereby, that the same sight, which formerly served for 600 paces (500 yards), now serves for 900 (750 yards); certainly an immense lowering of the trajectory.

Nothing is further from the truth than that the needle-gun is of a very complicated construction. The pieces composing the breech-loading apparatus and the needle-lock are not only far less numerous, but also far stronger than those composing a common percussion-lock, which yet nobody thinks too intricate for war and rough usage. Moreover, while the taking to pieces of a common percussion-lock is an affair requiring considerable time and sundry instruments, a needle-lock can be taken to pieces and refitted in an incredibly short time, and with no other instruments than the soldier's ten fingers. The only piece liable to break is the needle itself. But every soldier carries a reserve-needle, which he can fit to the lock at once, without having to take it to pieces, and even during an action. We are also informed that Mr. Dreyse has rendered the breaking of the needle a very unlikely thing, by an improvement in the lock, which makes the needle go back to its sheltered position as soon as it has done its work of exploding the charge.

The trajectory of the present Prussian needle-gun will be about the same as that of the Enfield rifle; its calibre is a little larger than that of the Enfield. With a reduction of calibre to that of the Austrian, or better still, the Swiss sharpshooters' rifle, there is no doubt that it would equal any of these arms in range, precision, and flatness of trajectory, while its other enormous advantages would remain to it. The breech-loading apparatus could even be made much stronger than at present, and the centre of gravity of the gun would be brought still nearer to the shoulder of the aiming soldier.

The introduction into an army of an arm capable of such rapid firing will necessarily produce many speculations as to what changes this will produce in tactics; especially among people so fond of speculating as the North Germans. There has been no end of controversies on the pretended revolution in tactics which the needle-gun was to produce. The majority of the military public, in Prussia, at last came to the result that no charge could be made against a battalion firing needle-gun volleys in rapid succession, and that consequently it was all up with the bayonet. If this foolish notion had prevailed, the needle-gun would have brought upon the Prussians many a severe defeat. Fortunately, the Italian war proved to all who could see, that the fire from modern rifles is not necessarily so very dangerous to a battalion charging with spirit, and Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia has taken occasion therefrom to remind his comrades that passive defence, if ever so well armed, is always sure of defeat. The tide of military opinion has turned. People again begin to see that men, and not muskets, must win battles; and if any real change in tactics will be made by the new gun, it will be a return to a greater use of deployed lines (where the ground admits of it), and even to that charge in line which, after having won most of the battles of Frederick the Great, had become almost unknown to the Prussian infantry.

## VII

Having now passed in review the different systems upon which the various rifles, now in use in European armies, are constructed, we cannot take leave of our subject without saying a few words with respect to a rifle which, although not introduced into any service, enjoys a well-deserved popularity for its astonishing precision at long ranges. We mean, of course, the Whitworth rifle.

Mr. Whitworth, if we are not mistaken, claims as original two principles in the construction of his fire-arms—the hexagonal bore and the mechanical fit of the projectile in the bore. The bore, instead of having a circular, has a hexagonal section throughout, and a very strong pitch or turn, as is shown on the surface of one of the hexagonal bullets. The bullet itself is of a hard metal, fits the bore as nice as possible, and is not expected to alter its shape in consequence of the explosion, as its six corners make it follow the twist of the grooves with unerring certainty. To prevent windage, and to lubricate the bore, a cake or bottom of greasy matter is inserted between the powder and the charge; this

grease melts from the heat of the explosion, while travelling, behind the bullet, towards the muzzle.

Now, in spite of the undeniably excellent results which Mr. Whitworth has obtained with his rifle, we believe that this principle is inferior to either that of expansion, or of compression, or of breech-loading with a bullet larger in diameter than the bore. That is to say, we believe that either a rifle for expansion-shot, or one for compression-shot, or one constructed on the system of the Prussian needle-gun, would beat a Whitworth rifle if the workmanship was equally good, the calibre equally small, and all other circumstances alike. Mr. Whitworth's mechanical fit may be ever so nice, he cannot make it as close as the change in the shape of the bullet during and after the explosion makes it. There is in his rifles with hard bullets always that which a rifle is meant radically to avoid, namely, windage and consequent escape of gas; even the melting grease cannot entirely do away with that, especially in a rifle which, from long use, has become a trifle larger in the bore. There is a very distinct limit to all mechanical fit in such a case, and that is, the fit must be loose enough to let the bullet go down easily and quickly, even after a couple of dozen rounds. The consequence is that these hexagonal bullets do fit but loosely, and although we do not know exactly what the amount of windage is, still the fact that they will go down quite easily without any grease and with a piece of paper wrapped round them, makes it probable that it is not much less (if less at all) than that of the Enfield bullet, which is the one-hundredth part of an inch. Mr. Whitworth, in contriving this rifle, seems to have had chiefly two leading ideas: firstly, to do away with all possibility of getting the grooves loaded; and, secondly, to do away with all the accidents which may prevent a cylindrical bullet from taking the rifling—because they prevent either expansion or compression taking place—by adapting the shape of the bore and that of the shot to each other beforehand. The obstruction of the grooves by particles of lead torn off from the bullet may occur in *all* rifles with soft leaden bullets; the accidents preventing a bullet from taking the grooves in the correct way may occur in either compression or expansion rifles, but not in breech-loaders on the Prussian principle. But neither of these inconveniences is so great that they cannot be overcome, and that, in order to avoid them, the first principle in rifle making should be sacrificed, viz., that the bullet takes the rifling without leaving any windage.

In saying so, we are backed by an excellent authority, namely by Mr. Whitworth himself. We are informed that Mr. Whitworth has

dropped his principle of mechanical fit as far as his rifle is concerned, and certain it is that at present most people fire from his rifle not a hard, solid, hexagonal bullet, but a soft, leaden, cylindrical bullet. This bullet is hollowed out at its base similar to the Enfield bullet, but it has no plug; it is very long (the one 480 grains, three times as long as its diameter, the other, 530 grains, three and a half times its diameter), and *takes the rifling by the effect of the explosion.* Here, then, we have Mr. Whitworth's principle of *mechanical fit* entirely abandoned for that of *expansion,* and the Whitworth rifle turned into a subordinate species of the genus Minié quite as much as the Enfield ever was. Remains the hexagonal bore; and how will that answer for an expansion rifle?

The hexagonal bore has, of course, six grooves, and we have seen that an even number of grooves has been found to answer, for expansion bullets, not so well as an uneven one, as it is not desirable that two grooves should be diametrically opposite to each other. Then the grooves in most expansion-rifles are very shallow—in the Enfield, for instance, scarcely visible. In the hexagon the difference between the diameter of the inner circle (representing the bore at large) and that of the outer circle (drawn through the six corners) is about 2-13ths, or rather less than one-sixth part of the former; or, in other words, the lead has to expand nearly one-sixth of its diameter before it can properly close to the corners of the hexagonal bore. From this it would appear that the hexagonal bore, although exceedingly ingenious for the system of mechanical fit, is about the most unlikely to answer for the system of expansion.

Still it answers, as the results of almost every rifle contest prove. How is this possible, if Mr. Whitworth has abandoned the essential point of his principle, and now applies a principle for which his rifle is not adapted?

First of all, there is the excellence of the workmanship. It is well known that for accuracy in the most minute and even micrometrical details, Mr. Whitworth stands unrivalled. As his engineering tools, so are his rifles; perfect models in the construction of their detail. Look at the sight on the muzzle of his rifles, and at that of any other class! There is no comparison: and in rifles firing at 1,000 yards range, this is an immense advantage.

Secondly, and chiefly: the calibre of the Whitworth rifle is 0.451 of an inch minimum bore (what we have called the inner circle). The Enfield is 0.577; the Swiss sharpshooters' rifle, which we have more than once mentioned as giving the lowest trajectory known, is 0.413. Now, look at the difference in the shape of the bullet.

The Whitworth expansion bullet of 530 grains is about three-eighths of an inch longer than the Enfield bullet of the same weight; while the former is about three and a half times its own diameter in length, the latter is scarcely twice its own diameter. It is evident that a bullet of the same weight and with the same charge will cut better through the air, that is, give a lower trajectory if it is thin and long, than if it is short and thick. Then, the charge of the Enfield is 68 grains of powder; for the Whitworth, charges of 60, 70, and 80 grains are used, but we have been told by good shots who are in the habit of using this rifle that 80 grains are required to make the bullet expand well and give good results at long ranges. Thus we have a charge for the Whitworth fully one-sixth stronger than for the Enfield, and that charge would act better (even with equal weight), as it explodes in a more confined space and acts upon a far smaller surface of the bullet.

Here, then, we have another specimen of the immense advantage of a small bore, which gives a long, thin, bolt-shaped shot. Whoever of my readers has attentively followed our inquiries into the advantages of the various rifles, will have long since come to the conclusion that the shape of the bullet is of far more importance than the system on which either shot or rifle is designed; and that in order to have a portable soldier's bullet of the best shape, we must have a *small bore.* This is the lesson the Whitworth rifle again teaches us.

We may also learn from it that, with a small bore, the long, heavy point of the bullet offers resistance enough to allow the hollow tail end to expand with certainty, and without the assistance of a plug. The Whitworth bullet has but a small cavity at its base, and no plug; it has to expand at least three times as much as any other expansion bullet; and still, with 80 grains of powder (which the rifle stands without too much kicking), it does take the rifling quite sufficiently.

That Mr. Whitworth's rifle will ever become a weapon of war, we very much doubt; indeed, we think the hexagonal bore will soon go out altogether. If volunteers who had become practically convinced of the superior shooting of the Whitworth rifle as compared with the present Enfield, have proposed that they should be armed with the former, they have certainly far overshot the mark. We think it utterly unfair to compare the two species of arms. The Whitworth is an arm of luxury, which costs at least twice as much as the Enfield to produce. In its present state it is too delicate a weapon to be placed into every soldier's hands; but

take, for instance, the delicate sight from the muzzle, replacing it by one fit for rough usage, and its accuracy at long ranges will be considerably diminished. To arm both army and volunteers with the Whitworth, one of two things must be done; either the calibre of the regulation small-arms must remain the same as now, and then a Whitworth, with the bore of the present Enfield, would give far worse results than the present Whitworth, or the bore must be reduced, say to that of the present Whitworth, and then it is probable that an Enfield with that reduced bore, on the making of which as much had been spent as on a Whitworth, would give as good or better results.

## VIII

We conclude with a short recapitulation of the different systems of rifles now in use, and of the principles which we may consider as established with regard to this arm.

The different systems of rifles are as follows:—

1. The system of forcible loading, the tight fitting bullet and plaster being hammered down by strong blows of the ramrod. This is the oldest plan of making a bullet take the rifling. It has now been almost universally abandoned for arms of war; the principal and very remarkable exception being the new Swiss sharpshooters' rifle, which has a very small calibre and a long, bolt-shaped shot, and which gives, of all rifles now in use, the lowest trajectory. It is not intended for an arm for the mass of the infantry, but for select bodies only, and requires careful loading in order to give the highly favourable results which distinguish it above all other rifles now known.

2. The system of flattening the loose fitting bullet against some obstacle at the bottom of the breech (either the rim of a narrowing chamber—Delvigne—or a peg placed in the middle of the chamber—Thouvenin) and thus driving it into the grooves. This plan, for a time very generally favoured, is now becoming more or less superseded by the following systems. Let us observe, at the same time, that it requires a rather large calibre, as otherwise the chamber becomes too narrow.

3. The system of expansion, the loose fitting, elongated shot being hollowed out from the base, and the gas created by the explosion entering into the cavity and blowing it up, so to say, to a sufficient degree to make the bullet fit the bore and take the rifling. This system now is in general favour, and is still capable of great improvement, as has latterly been shown by the excellent

result which Mr. Whitworth obtained with his rifle since he adopted the principle of expansion.

4. The system of compression, in which the same result is obtained by providing the bullets with deep, circular indentations, which allow the explosive force, while opposed by the weight of the heavy fore part of the projectile, to compress it lengthways, and thereby give it the required increase of diameter. This plan, although evidently less safe than the expansion principle, has given excellent results with small calibres, as has been proved in Austria and Switzerland. Still, the compression-bullet, fired from the Swiss sharpshooters' rifle above alluded to, does not give quite as good results as the tight-fitting plaster bullet from the same arm.

5. The breech-loading system, which has advantages of its own over all other systems of rifles in the mode of loading and firing, offers, at the same time, the greatest certainty of the bullet taking the rifling, as the chamber and bullet may be made slightly larger than the rest of the bore, and thus the bullet cannot get to the muzzle without being pressed into the grooves. This system, indeed, appears to be destined gradually to supersede all other systems.

We do not count Mr. Whitworth's system of mechanical fit, as it has been abandoned as far, at least, as small arms are concerned; and with these alone we have now to do. If the various systems are classed according to their intrinsic merits, we should say that the breech-loading needle-gun stands highest; next, the expansion system; then the compression system. The two first systems may be considered to be superseded; for even if forcible loading, in Switzerland, so far gives better results, with the same calibre, than compression, we should not at all be inclined to give *to the system* the credit of these results without a very searching examination; and, besides, the Swiss sharpshooters' plaster bullet is acknowledged to be unfit for the mass of the infantry.

At the same time, we have seen that since the introduction of elongated bullets, the system on which either rifle or shot is constructed is of but secondary importance in obtaining great range, low trajectory, and accuracy of flight. As long as bullets were round, the system of rifling was of greater importance, for then all bullets were met by the resistance of the air under nearly equal circumstances, and the influences of a stronger pitch of rifling, of deeper or more numerous grooves, &c., were comparatively far more important than now. But with elongated shot, a new element appears on the ground. The bullet may be made

longer or shorter, within pretty wide limits, and now the question is which shape of bullet is most advantageous? On theoretical grounds it is clear that the same mass of lead, started with the same initial velocity, will better retain that velocity if its shape is long and thin, than if it is short and thick; supposing always that the lateral rotation which a rifle would give it, is there to prevent its going head over heels. The resistance of the air is the retarding force; it gradually diminishes the original velocity imparted to the bullet by the powder, and thus gives the ever-increasing force of gravity, so to speak, a greater hold upon the projectile. The initial velocity depends upon the charge, and in some degree upon the construction of the arm; this we may, therefore, consider to be fixed; the force of gravity is also fixed, and a given quantity; remains, as variable, the shape of the bullet to enable it to dart through the air with the least amount of resistance; and to evade atmospheric resistance, as we have said, a long and thin shot is far better fitted than a short and thick one of the same weight.

Now, the maximum weight of the bullet for military purposes is also a given quantity. A man must be able to carry, at least, sixty rounds over and above his arms and accoutrements. To produce the best-shaped bullet, therefore, out of this given weight of lead (say 530 grains), the length must be increased and the thickness diminished;—in other words, the bore of the rifle must be made less. Up to a certain point this will hold good without exception. Look at the 530 grains in the Enfield and at the same weight in the Whitworth bullet; a single glance explains why the latter has a so much lower trajectory (that is, retains its initial velocity so much better), and will, therefore, hit a target at a 1,000 yards with ease, while the Enfield cannot be trusted at that distance. And yet, the two are both expansion bullets, and the general construction of the Whitworth is certainly not the best adapted for expansion. Or look at the Swiss sharpshooters' rifle, with a bore still smaller than the Whitworth, and giving still better results and a still lower trajectory, be its bullet rammed home with a plaster, or let down loosely and compressed by the explosion. Or take the Prussian needle-gun; by reducing the diameter and increasing the length of the bullet, and guiding it in the wide bore by a bottom or wad, the same sight which formerly marked the 600 yards' range, now carries the bullet to 900 yards. We shall, therefore, be pretty safe in considering it as an established fact that, in a general way, the efficiency of rifles, no matter on what system they are constructed, will be in the inverse ratio of the diameters of their bores. The smaller the bore, the better the rifle, and *vice versa.*

With these observations we take leave of a subject which may have appeared rather dry to many of our readers. Still its importance is very great. No intelligent soldier ought to be ignorant of the principles on which his arms are constructed, and are expected to act. What we have attempted to expose here, the non-commissioned officers of most continental armies are expected to know; and surely, the majority of the volunteers, "the intelligence of the country," ought to be as well up in the knowledge of their fire-arms as they!

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# VOLUNTEER ENGINEERS: THEIR VALUE AND SPHERE OF ACTION[449]

The volunteer army has had, for some time, its infantry and artillery in considerable numbers; it has had its small complement of cavalry too; and now, the last branch of military service, the engineering branch, is gradually being taken up. The subject of volunteer engineers is at present very widely discussed, and it deserves the attention it enjoys. The corps of Royal Engineers is too weak already for the numerous duties it has to perform at home and in the colonies. What will it be in case of a war, and anticipated invasion? Then the numerous fortifications which now are in course of erection, and by means of which the dockyards are being surrounded by vast entrenched camps, will require a considerable number of engineer officers and men for their garrison; and the army in the field, swelled to twice or three times its present number by the addition of the volunteers, will also be in want of a certain complement of engineers, to give it its full liberty of action before the enemy. Unless the corps of Royal Engineers is considerably increased, the duties of this branch of the service must either be imperfectly performed, or they must be performed by volunteers trained for them beforehand.

The number of engineers to be attached to an army in the field is, after all, not very numerous; three or four companies to an army corps of two divisions (16 to 24 battalions of infantry, with a due proportion of cavalry and artillery) would be quite sufficient. Supposing a field-army of 40,000 of the line, 20,000 militia, and

100,000 volunteers, in all 160,000, or 200 battalions, this would give from eight to ten corps, and require about thirty companies of engineers. We will suppose ten companies to be furnished by the Royal Engineers; this would leave twenty companies to be supplied by the volunteer movement. About the same number more volunteer engineers would be sufficient to assist the royals in the defence of the fortified dockyards; so that something like forty companies of volunteer engineers would appear an ample complement for the present strength of the volunteer infantry and artillery. If the number of volunteers should so far increase as to enable them to appear in the field, after deducting garrisons, with more than 100,000 men, one additional engineer for every hundred additional riflemen would be enough; giving 200 engineers (or three companies) for every army corps of 20,000 men.

For the present, then, forty companies, or about 3,000 effectives, would be the maximum engineer force which it might be advisable to create. And it will require a great deal of energy to make them engineers not only in name, but also in reality. We find already now that among artillery volunteers a great deal of time is devoted to company and battalion drill, carbine in hand, although all this work serves for parade purposes only, and will never avail them one jot on active service, be it with field-guns, or be it in fortifications. And we are afraid it will be the same with the engineers. They should, above all things, bear in mind that every hour spent on company drill, beyond what is required to give them a military bearing, a ready and instantaneous obedience to orders, and the capability of moving in good order on a march, is an hour lost to them; that they have quite different things to learn, and that on these, and not on steady marching past, depends their efficiency. They will have to acquaint themselves—men as well as officers—with the elements of field and permanent fortification; they will have to practise the construction of trenches and batteries, and the making and repairing of roads. If means can be found, they will have to construct military bridges, and even to dig mines. Some of these branches, it is to be feared, can only be taught theoretically, as fortresses in England are scarce, and pontoons also; and not every volunteer can be expected to go to Portsmouth or Chatham to study fortification or assist at the laying down of a pontoon bridge. But there are others which it is in the power of every company to practise. If there was a company of engineers formed here in Manchester, we could show them plenty of lanes in as bad a state as any to be passed by a column in

war, and where those whom it concerns would very likely be only too glad to allow them to practise road-making to their heart's content. It would not be very difficult for them to find a plot of land on which they could construct a few field-works, dig trenches, and erect batteries; especially as such a plot of land would offer both the artillery and rifle volunteers an opportunity of practising such parts of their service as they could otherwise not be made to go through. They might even find spots where they would be allowed occasionally to throw a small bridge of *chevalets*[a] over one of those high-banked rivers of our neighbourhood, which offer such capital facilities for this kind of bridges wherever their bottom is firm. Such things, and many others of the same kind, should constitute their chief practice; company drill should be gone through rapidly at first, and only taken up again when the corps have got on fairly with their real engineering business; then, in the second winter, the nights may be used for drill with advantage. But if the engineers make it a point, from the beginning, to compete with the rifles in the style of marching past, and in battalion evolutions, to the detriment of their specific education; if the attention of the officers is directed more towards the duties of an infantry officer than to professional education—then the volunteer engineers may depend upon it that in a campaign they will far oftener be used as infantry than as engineers.

There will be little difficulty in finding very efficient officers, if they are selected from the only class fit for the post—the civil engineers. A few months' theoretical study, and an occasional journey to Chatham, Portsmouth, or Aldershot, will soon make them conversant with most branches of military engineering, and the military education of their companies will help them on. They will learn by teaching. Their own profession compels them to know all the principles of military engineering, and as they *must* be very intelligent and well-informed men, the application of these principles to military subjects will give them but little difficulty.

We have read a statement in the *Army and Navy Gazette*[b] respecting some immense military engineering organisation, which is to comprise all the lines of railway in the country, and to

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[a] Piers.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Transport Service", *The Army and Navy Gazette,* November 10, 1860.—*Ed.*

promise vast results in case of an invasion.[a] The shape in which this plan is presented before the public is excessively vague; so far we do not see the immense advantages that are ascribed to it, and rather think that two different things have been mixed up together. No doubt it is of the highest importance to study the strategical bearings of every single line of railway in the kingdom, as well as of the whole network of railways combined. This is so important that we should consider it a grave delinquency if it had not been done long ago, and if there were not now lying in the archives of the Horse Guards,[450] as well as of the various district commanders, very extensive papers embodying the results of these studies. But this is the duty of the staff, and not of the engineers. As to forming the engineers, firemen, platelayers, and navvies of every railway line into a corps of military engineers, we do not see the great advantage of this. These men have already, so to say, a military organisation, and are under stricter discipline than any volunteer corps in the country. What they are expected to do in their quality as volunteer engineers, they are quite as capable of doing in their present capacity. And as in time of war their presence at their present posts would be far more indispensable than now, there can be no earthly use in training them to special branches of military engineering.

These remarks apply to the plan only as far as it has been made public; if it should turn out, hereafter, that it contains other features, we must, of course, reserve our opinion. We may be permitted, however, to point out another advantage to which the vast amount of engineering intelligence in this country may be turned. Most armies have, besides the officers connected with the Sappers and Miners, a number of engineer officers unattached to any companies, and doing special duties. Why not give the civil engineers of England a chance of preparing themselves for this service? The College of Civil Engineers might be made the means to effect this purpose. A few courses of lectures on military engineering, and a short practical course with a company of engineers would do all that is required; an examination, strictly confined to military subjects, and which in this case would be absolutely necessary, might be made the principal test of admission to the Corps of Unattached Volunteer Engineer Officers; the Government to have, of course, the power to reject candidates

[a] *The Volunteer Journal* has here: "The principal features of the plan are reproduced in last week's *Volunteer Journal*." The reference is to the article "A Volunteer Engineer Corps" in issue No. 11 for November 17, 1860.—*Ed.*

considered ineligible. Such officers would be of great service, for it is upon the intelligence of the officers that in this case everything depends; and on an emergency they would better get on with a few volunteer riflemen or artillerymen, placed under their command for the execution of some engineering work, than regular engineer officers with a section or two of infantry of the line told off to them for the same kind of duty.

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# FRENCH ARMAMENTS[451]

According to the *Almanach de Gotha*,[a] which is as good an authority on the subject as can be found anywhere, the war footing of the French army for 1860-61 has been fixed as follows:—

| | Men. |
|---|---|
| 1. *Infantry: Guards*—12 battalions of Grenadiers, 16 ditto of Voltigeurs, 2 of Zouaves, 1 of Chasseurs; in all 31 battalions. *Line*—103 regiments of 4 battalions, in all 412 battalions; 3 regiments of *Zouaves*, 2 of the *Foreign Legion*, 3 of *Turcos* (or native Algerian rifles), at 3 battalions each, 24 battalions; *Chasseurs*, 20 battalions; *Zephyrs*, or light African (disciplinary) battalions, 3; *Pompiers* (firemen) of Paris, 1 battalion. In all 491 battalions; or in time of war | 515,037 |
| 2. *Cavalry:* 6 regiments, or 37 squadrons, of the *Guard;* 58 regiments, or 358 squadrons, of the *Line;* in all 395 squadrons | 100,221 |
| 3. *Artillery:* 22 regiments—227 batteries (of which 146 are batteries of 6 guns—876 guns are field artillery) | 66,007 |
| 4. *Engineers* | 15,443 |
| 5. *Train:* Sanitary troops, commissariat | 24,561 |
| 6. *Gendarmes* | 24,172 |
| 7. Staffs, invalids, military schools, &c. | 17,324 |
| Total | 762,765 |

[a] "Armée française en 1860-1861", *Almanach de Gotha. Annuaire diplomatique et statistique pour l'année 1861*, pp. 507-10.—*Ed.*

This is the war footing. The peace establishment is as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Infantry | 255,248 |
| Cavalry | 61,023 |
| Artillery | 39,023 |
| Engineers | 7,467 |
| Train, &c. | 11,489 |
| Gendarmes, invalids, &c. | 41,496 |
| | 415,746 men. |

In January, 1859, a short time before the Italian war[452] broke out, the *Constitutionnel* published an official *status* of the French army, showing a war establishment of 568,000 men, with a peace establishment of 433,000.[a] How, then, has it been possible within two years to augment the war footing by 200,000 men, while the peace footing has been actually reduced?

Again, the annual contingent of able-bodied young men disposable for the army is about 160,000. Of these, under Louis Philippe, between 40,000 and 60,000 were actually enrolled, and found sufficient to keep the army up, in spite of the losses in Algeria. Later on, 80,000, and even 100,000 and more, have been enrolled; the Empire which is peace[b] consumed twice the amount of food for powder than the constitutional monarchy or the republic had required. The time of service is seven years; but, even supposing that of late 100,000 men had been enrolled annually (which is above the average), this would, for seven years, give 700,000 men only; and deducting from these the losses during campaigns and from other causes, there would be scarcely as many as 600,000 men. How, then, are the remaining 163,000 found?

The answer to these two questions is comprised in the late acts of the French Emperor. Before the Italian war, the regiments, hitherto formed in three battalions of eight companies each, are formed in four battalions of six companies each; thus, by merely changing the distribution of the 24 companies of a regiment, four battalions are got instead of three. The size of a battalion has a maximum; above 1,000 men it becomes too strong for one man to command it with his voice, and too unwieldy for quick manoeuvr-

[a] See L. Boniface, "Paris, 29 janvier", *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 30, January 30, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] A reference to Louis Bonaparte's words "L'Empire c'est la paix" ("The Empire is peace") from his speech made at Bordeaux on October 9, 1852.—*Ed.*

ing. But the size of a company is far more variable; whether 100 or 250 men, is a matter of choice, not of necessity. By forming the fourth battalions in the way indicated, with the same number of officers and sergeants, the regiment was enabled to muster 4,000 instead of 3,000 strong, as soon as the men were found. During the war, the regiments went out in the strength of three fighting battalions, the fourth forming the depôt. Thus, in the fourth battalions of the 100 regiments of the line, the means were found to place 100,000 men more than the old *cadres* could employ. After the war, the fourth battalions were dissolved, but they have been reinstated again a short time ago. Three more infantry regiments (101st, 102nd, 103rd) have been formed, offering room for 17,000 men more. These new formations account for 112,000 men; and the 51,000 men which remain to be accounted for may constitute the figure to which the army in January, 1859, in consequence of previous losses, was short of its full war complement. This would show that there are *cadres* now, in the French infantry alone, sufficient to organise the enormous number of men stated above, without any recourse to new formations. But where are the men to be found who are to fill up these *cadres*?

The regular enrolments of the last seven years will have left on the rolls from 550,000 to 600,000 men. The annual contingent available is about 160,000 men. One year's levy would leave but 50,000 men short, in the worst case; and in case of need, there are the young men who, during the last six years, have been entirely liberated from service by drawing favourable lots at the conscription.[453] These might be made available to the tune of some 300,000 at least, but as long habit has made such men consider themselves freed for ever from the obligation to serve, as they are partly married, partly scattered all over the country and hard to find, such a measure would be both unpopular and difficult to carry out.

How, then, does Louis Napoleon make up for the deficiency? By introducing a modification of the Prussian reserve system. Of the 160,000 men available every year, a portion, say one-half, is taken to fill up the vacancies of the standing army. The remainder is enrolled on the reserve list; they are embodied and drilled, the first year two months, the second and third years one month each; they remain liable to be called out for seven years in all, same as the line. Now, we have some reason to believe that if the military surgeons are not over strict in passing the men, and in time of war they get often exceedingly lenient, the annual contingent of

160,000 able-bodied men might, by a stretch, be raised to 200,000; but that we will for the present leave out of the question. In seven years, 160,000 men annually would give an army of 1,112,000 men, and deducting a good round number for losses, there would be fully *one million of soldiers.* Thus we see that by the new reserve system lately introduced, Louis Napoleon's troops will in a couple of years outgrow the organised bodies ready to receive them. That eventuality, however, is also provided for. In future the four battalions of a regiment are *all* to be fighting battalions; a fifth battalion is now forming under the name of battalion of instruction, and under the pretext of drilling the men put on the reserve list. This new organisation finds room for 103,000 men more, raising the number of men which can be usefully employed by existing corps or cadres to 863,000 men.

Not satisfied with this, the French Government propose to form one more regiment of guards and 17 of infantry of the line; these 18 regiments represent 90 more battalions, or 90,000 men.

Thus, before this year is out, we are sure, from what is known even now, that the French army will be so organised as to be able to stow away comfortably in its battalions, squadrons, and batteries, not less than 953,000 men. And as to finding the men to fill up these organisations, we have seen that up to 700,000 men can be found even this year, without falling back upon men liberated in former years; but, if the universal liability to service, either in the line or reserve, be once acknowledged, it will be easy enough to apply the same principle to the men liberated in the last six years (Napoleon has done the same over and over again in his time); and then there can be no doubt that the full 953,000 men will be soon together.

Here, then, we have the man who unintentionally caused the volunteer movement, responding to it by quietly and noiselessly organising an army of a million of men, and at the same time laying down twenty iron-cased frigates on the stocks, maybe to escort a fraction of that army across the Channel.

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# ON THE MORAL ELEMENT IN FIGHTING. BY MARSHAL BUGEAUD[454]

[*The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire,* No. 23, February 9, 1861]

The following lines are translated from the instructions which the then Colonel Bugeaud,[a] of the 56th French regiment, wrote down for his officers. It is, without any exception, the best thing the Marshal has ever written. It lays down, with a masculine energy unsurpassed in the military literature of any country, and with a clearness such as only long experience in war can give, those principles of infantry-fighting which even now are invariably acted upon by the French; and which, so far, have given them the victory over armies which, from long habits of peace, appear to have trusted more to scientific tactics than to arousing all the moral energies of the soldiers. These principles are not new, nor are they in any way exclusively French; but they are here grouped well together, and expressed in fine manly language. They do not in any way supersede the science of tactics, but they form a very necessary complement to it; and they are, besides, most of them so self-evident, and require so little military science to be understood, that they will be perfectly intelligible to the majority of the volunteers.

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Gentlemen,—The art of engaging a body of troops has a powerful influence on the issue of a combat; by it, good dispositions are crowned with success, and defective ones deprived of their worst consequences. There is between troops of highly developed moral faculties, energetically conducted, penetrated with the real principles of fighting, and troops constituted and instructed as most European troops are, the same difference which exists between adults and children. That is a

[a] A reference to the section "Principes phisiques et moraux du combat de l'infanterie" of the book *Aperçus sur quelques détails de la guerre.—Ed.*

truth of which I have been convinced by twenty engagements. You will recognise it like myself, I hope, and you will assist me, with all the means in your power, to raise the 56th to that high elevation of both soul and instruction that no imperial or royal guards in the world could resist us for five minutes on ground equally fair to both parties.

Most of you, gentlemen, have seen engagements of infantry which amounted merely to a timid exchange of fire, at very long range, by troops placed parallel to each other.

Either party appeared to expect victory from chance, or from the fright which its bullets might cause to their opponents. Millions of cartridges were fired away without any other results but killed and wounded on either side, until some circumstance or other, mostly independent of the troops engaged, determined the retreat of one of the two lines. Men who have thus exhausted their fire and seen their ranks decimated, are but little disposed to new efforts, and easily put to flight by fresh troops, acting upon better principles.

That is not the way of fighting of solidly instructed infantry. We shall now try to establish those principles which must give us an immense superiority over all infantries of Europe.

These principles, gentlemen, are not mere bookworm speculations; experience has made me adopt them ever since the commencement of the Peninsular war, in 1808, and they have always ensured success to me, against the Spaniards, the English,* and the Austrians. I hope you will adopt them, because they are in harmony with what you must have yourselves observed in the engagements where you were present; you will do your best to penetrate your subordinates with them; and when these principles are in the very soul of the whole regiment, from the drummers to the colonel, the 56th may consider itself invincible; it may be defeated by the re-union of several arms acting at once against it, but never by infantry alone, though that infantry should far outnumber its strength.

Fighting has its moral and its physical part. The first appears to me the most essential; but let us begin by treating of the second.

*To fire at long range is the type of bad infantry; good infantry saves its fire.* It is because this fire constitutes its greatest strength that an infantry should not throw it away, and should be taught to aim with the greatest accuracy. If the moment for firing has not arrived, keep yourself out of range, or hide your troops. When that moment arrives, march on to meet your enemy with an energy and coolness that permit you to execute anything. If your opponent, against all probability, should stand firm and allow you to come very near him without firing himself, then you give the first volley, and take good care that your men always load two bullets to a round. I have owed, more than once, success to the use of the two bullets. In the heat of action I might forget to order it, but you will think of it; I attach great importance to this. With that cool determination, and with this fire of two bullets to the round, you will seldom have to fire a second volley, whether in attacking a position or in repelling a body of troops charging you.

Whoever knows a little about war, will know that it cannot be otherwise. If you arrive close upon your enemy with loaded arms, when they have exhausted their fire, how could they resist? Their moral courage is terror-struck by the fear of a volley at close quarters, which cannot but be terrible, and they will give way. Then

* Marshal Bugeaud commanded, as major or lieutenant-colonel, a battalion in the army of Marshal Suchet, in Catalonia. It is well known that this portion of the French force in Spain was the most successful, and maintained its position longer than any other.

give your volley, enter into their ranks, and *make prisoners*, which is better than killing; *while you kill one man with the bayonet, you might have taken six prisoners.* These struggles cost the conqueror but little; you lose a few men in advancing, but as soon as you have closed upon and upset your enemy, you don't lose a man. This system of tactics, gentlemen, will guarantee to you the victory, and if the whole army were penetrated with them, it would conquer, no matter how bad the general dispositions might be. These dispositions are not within our province; but when we are told the point where we are to strike, we must strike so as to crush everything before us. That was the tactics of Duguay-Trouin, and this mode of fighting contributed more than all his other talents towards forcing his brilliant reputation. He arrived close upon the enemy's vessel with all his guns loaded, and his men laid down on deck; as soon as he touched his opponent, his men sprang up, and swept the hostile decks by a superior fire, which made boarding an easy matter.

[*The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire,* No. 24, February 16, 1861]

Besides the above-mentioned, we must employ still other means, for we ought to have as many odds as possible in our favour. A good use of skirmishers will be a powerful auxiliary; their actions must always precede that of the masses, be it for attack or for defence. When you attack, they will find out such accidents of ground as the eye could not reconnoitre from a distance; they will throw upon the enemy's ranks a shower of bullets which will disturb them, and prevent them from aiming with precision upon the line which advances without firing. They will have to be directed as much as possible towards those points where the decisive combat will *not* take place. If, however, they should be required to act in front of the attacking line, they will finally withdraw towards its flanks, in order not to impede its action, and then attempt to gain the flanks of the enemy, in order to demoralise him and to make prisoners, or else they will retire by the intervals of the battalions, or lay down flat on the ground, in order to let the line pass over them.

The fire of skirmishers should no more be thrown away than that of lines. It is not a question of merely exchanging bullets: these bullets should contribute towards success. To this effect, a moment before the attack of the line, the skirmishers will be shown the positions they will have to occupy, before they commence firing; and as soon as they have commenced firing, the line will advance to the attack. You will feel that if the skirmishers were left to themselves for any length of time very near the enemy's forces, they would be driven back, and the end in view would not be attained; you would have to reinforce them in order to repel the enemy's skirmishers, who had driven them in, and that would be a serious inconvenience. It is, then, of the highest importance never to engage skirmishers but *apropos;* and the proper moment will almost invariably be that of the attack. In case the enemy incommodes us before that moment by his skirmishers, we shall drive them in by sudden and short, but rough, attacks. You will be sure of making them give way if, instead of opposing to them a parallel line of skirmishers, as is generally done, you out-flank and turn them; or if you pierce their line by a company running at them in a cluster. This is the consequence of a moral effect, which I try to explain to myself in this way:—

Skirmishers cannot have that moral force, that sense of cohesion, which results from the contact of elbow to elbow, and from the unity of command. Every skirmisher, to a certain degree, commands himself, and consults his own forces only. He sees a numerous cluster of men running at him; he is too weak to resist; he gives way. His neighbours, right and left, do the same; and are followed again

by their neighbours, who run from unconscious imitation, or because they fear to be cut off; they rally farther to the rear, in order to recommence firing.

Our charging company will not return this fire; it will either retire again, or take shelter behind some accident of ground. *Nothing is so stupid, so damaging, as these everlasting engagements of skirmishers, which lead to nothing at all; you use up your men and your ammunition, without advancing matters, and often, at the decisive moment, you lack the means which you have thus squandered.* I insist upon this because waste of ammunition is the greatest fault of our infantry, as well as of all others. Many times, after half-an-hour's firing, and before anything is decided, you have everywhere the cry that cartridges are running short; men leave the ranks to get some, and that often is the cause of defeat. Sixty rounds per man should suffice for the greatest battle. In 1815, the 14th of the line, then commanded by Colonel Bugeaud, was under fire in the Alps for eight hours, and kept one-third of its cartridges. The enemy fired all the eight hours long, but the 14th never replied but by single volleys, and that only when the Austrians, who attacked us, were close to its position. *The volley was invariably, and at once, followed by a charge with the bayonet,* which settled that attack, without further skirmishing and stray firing. Both parties returned to their previous positions, which were very near each other; the Austrians continued to fire, but the 14th abstained until again attacked.

This example has also for its object to make you appreciate the true principles of fighting when defending a position, viz., always to attack, yourself, at the last decisive moment; but here, as much as when you are attacking, there is another extremely effective means to determine the victory, and that is, to avoid, as much as ever possible, parallel fighting, which equalises advantages in a certain manner, and cannot be decided in our favour except by moral superiority, and our better-fed fire of two bullets to each round. We shall, therefore, at the decisive moment, try to envelop the flanks of the enemy. When on the defensive, in broken ground, this is easy enough. As soon as the enemy's attack is well developed, we send a portion of our reserves, in column, towards the flanks of the position, and at the decisive moment these troops show themselves, advance, and deploy, so as to take the enemy in flank; we detach skirmishers towards his rear, and as soon as each battalion or wing has deployed, it charges at once, so as not to give the enemy the time to ward off the attack. Charged at the same time both in front and flank, he ought to be quickly defeated.

The same means may be employed when we are attacking. Two small columns would march behind the two flanks of the deployed line, and, when arrived near enough to the enemy, would form in line, too, so as to prolong it and form a sort of crescent, overlapping and embracing his line; or, if you have not troops enough for that purpose, the flank battalions of the advancing line might wheel into open column while on the march, gain the flanks of the enemy, re-form line, and charge, the intervals left by them being filled up by skirmishers. This movement appears to me very well adapted for the purpose, and very practicable, if the commander of the battalion knows well how to judge his distance, so as to commence it neither too soon nor too late. Of course, if darkness or broken ground permit you to gain, unseen, the flanks of your enemy, that is to be taken advantage of in preference.

When retreating, be particularly sparing of your ammunition. While you defend yourself by firing, you lose ground—you do not get any nearer to your destination. There are even occasions *when you will have to run* in order to get out of your opponent's reach. This is often the only means of escaping destruction. How many bodies of troops have been annihilated for having made a slow and measured retreat, which was falsely called methodical? The only sensible method is

to do everything to attain your end: on a retreat, this end is to get quickly out of reach of your opponent, because circumstances do not any longer permit you to fight; but your end can never be to involve yourselves, through a misunderstood feeling of honour, into a struggle which cannot but be disastrous, and from which you often will find it impossible again to disentangle yourselves. In this case, flight is the only methodical course of proceeding. There is an example of it from the history of one of our greatest modern captains.

During Marshal Masséna's retreat from Portugal, Marshal Ney was ordered to keep back the English with the rear-guard, in order to give the baggage-train time to pass a *défilé*. He performed this task with his usual energy; but the English army receiving reinforcement after reinforcement, the position was no longer tenable. On leaving it he would have to descend into a narrow valley, and to re-ascend another hill-side beyond it; during this time his troops would have remained under the fire of the enemy, who, of course, would at once have occupied the abandoned position. The marshal thought that a slow retreat would subject him to great losses; he therefore ordered the colours of the battalions, the orderlies of the staff, &c., to mark out on the hill to the rear a new line to be traced by officers of the staff. No sooner was this done than he sent his battalions, at a run, across the valley to fill up this line, which was thus re-formed as if by enchantment. Without this admirable precaution we should have lost many men, and probably the affair would have ended in our being routed. At the same time, it is evident that this manoeuvre is inapplicable wherever you have to fear any cavalry; in such a case, you will have to get on as quick as you can, all the while maintaining a respectable order in your ranks.

I have often heard it said by pretended tacticians that a retreat ought to be made at slow time; this principle has always appeared to me false. No doubt there are occasions when a portion of the army will have to stop the enemy, in order to give the remainder time to get out of the way; but, then, you will not have to march at slow time, you will have to fight, and very often to advance and charge, in order to restore the moral courage of your men, and to diminish that of the enemy. But when that portion of the army has performed its part, when the end is gained, when the growing accumulation of the enemy's forces render it impossible to that portion to fight on, then it will soon have to retire as quick as circumstances will permit.

We shall, therefore, learn to run away methodically, though in disorder, and to reform our ranks promptly; to form in line at the double, on one of the flanks of the enemy, in inverted or correct order; and always to aim with the utmost precision.

[*The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire,* No. 26, March 2, 1861]

Moral force has always appeared to me to be superior to physical force. You prepare this moral force by elevating the soul of the soldier, by imparting to him a love of glory, a feeling for the honour of his regiment, and especially in developing that patriotism, the germ of which lies in every man's breast. With men thus trained, you can with ease perform great things, if you have known how to gain their confidence. To obtain that, you will have to fulfil towards them all your duties, to make them your friends, to talk often with them on war and warfare, and to prove to them that you are capable of leading them well. Under fire, you will have to give to them a brilliant example of courage and coolness.

You should pay every attention to whatever circumstance may tend to raise the moral courage of your own men and to weaken that of your opponents. It is for

this purpose that *the 56th will never permit itself to be attacked; it will always, at the decisive moment, take the initiative of the fight, and charge.* For the defensive, it will place itself in rear of the line on which it intends the struggle to take place, in order to advance to it at the decisive moment. In such a case you see the power of moral influences; every physical advantage is in favour of a troop posted in a locality strong both by nature and art; and yet, this posted troop will almost invariably be dislodged if it confines itself to a stand-still fight. Morally as well as physically, it may be said that *a good defensive must always be carried on offensively.* Offensive movements on the flanks and rear of your opponent, tell almost invariably; even if executed by a mere handful of men, they singularly affect the *morale* of the enemy. For these movements there can be no better manoeuvre than the formation of close columns in rear of the flanks of the charging line, which columns deploy and envelop the enemy as soon as you come to close quarters. And because these manoeuvres are so very telling, you will have to put your own men on their guard against them, by pointing out to them that they themselves may be attacked in this manner, and by showing to them how this will be guarded against. You will also have to tell them that cries of alarm may be raised in the rear, such as—"We are surrounded," "We are cut off," &c.; you will inform them that the supernumeraries, and besides them, sections of picked men to the rear, have strict orders to bayonet or shoot down any emissaries of the enemy or any bad soldier of our own who should raise such cries; that such hostile detachments as might venture to threaten our flanks and rear, will soon be disposed of by our reserves, and that your own men, for the moment, have nothing to think of but how to conquer that enemy who is straight before them.

By raising the *morale* of your men, you will further make sure that your ranks will not be thinned by men pretending to look after the wounded. When the fight is over, if we are at hand, we shall take every care of them; but our first task and our first duty is to conquer. The wounded of a victorious army are never abandoned; those of a beaten army are made to undergo a thousand evils. To occupy ourselves with the wounded during battle is therefore false mercy, and generally a mere cloak for cowardice. The officers here again will have to give the example of devotion in repelling, if wounded, any attentions offered to them by soldiers who ought to fight.

At the battle of Austerlitz,[455] a great number of our wounded privates were seen sending back to their battalions their comrades who offered to take them to the dressing places.

One of the best means of maintaining the moral courage of the soldier is the brilliant conduct of the officers, in every phase of an engagement. Is the regiment halted under the fire of artillery? they should walk up and down proudly in front of their men, and keep their spirits up by merry talk or by words of energy. Is it time to rush upon the enemy? they should prepare them for it, repeat to them the principles laid down above on the use of their fire, and recommend them to keep together as much as possible in hand to hand fighting, and to rally promptly at the first signal.

There is one good means to prevent your men from beginning to fire too soon; it is simply this, that the mounted officers march in front of the line. "Soldiers," the colonel might say, "you will not fire on your officers! I shall not pass to your rear until it will be time to commence firing." Troops thus led will always be brave, and will rarely be vanquished, because they will rarely find an enemy having their moral firmness and their principles of fighting.

If cavalry presents itself, the soldiers should be reminded of the strength of our square, which renders them invulnerable. As far as I am concerned, I declare to

you I heartily wish that at the first engagement at which we may assist, we may be charged by cavalry, so sure am I that this would be an opportunity of glory for the 56th.

The moral courage of soldiers is never more severely tried than on a retreat. It has often been said that the French are little fitted for this kind of fighting, which would be tantamount to saying that the French are bad soldiers. This is absurd. Numberless facts have proved, during the last forty years, that the French, when well commanded, can make brilliant retreats. The national character has often been accused when the fault ought to have been laid at the door of the generals who make bad dispositions, or were unfit to call forth the moral energy of the troops.

An old proverb says: "Make a sheep of yourself, and you will be shorn." You must make lions of yourselves on a retreat; and when you will have given three or four hard knocks to an enemy who pursues you too hard, you will be respected. With a little experience of warfare it is easy to have some of those rear-guard successes which tend so much to revive the moral courage of a retreating army, and to make the pursuers excessively timid. On a retreat, you have always the choice of the ground on which to fight; there you mass and group your forces, so as easily to envelop the head of the enemy's column, which will have become very long during the pursuit. The part to be performed by every one must be well traced beforehand, and the fighting must be quick and dashing. No indecision or hesitation must be shown; the head of the enemy's column must be crushed, and then you retire quickly, in order not to become engaged with the reinforcements which will be continually arriving.

Gentlemen, I have said enough to make you appreciate the power of moral force. This moral force arises from the confidence an officer knows how to inspire to his subordinates; it is made to grow by acts of tact, of intelligence, and of courage. You will take care to give to your soldiers, in time of peace, a good opinion of what you will be capable of in time of war. You will attain this if you do not confine yourselves to inspections and reviews, or to a mere dreary drill—all matters, no doubt, very useful, but without any influence upon the *morale* of the soldier. You will reason with your men on our past wars, recount to them the distinguished actions of our brave army, excite in them the wish to emulate them, and, in one word, do everything in order to inspire them with the love of glory.

Written in February 1861

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# PREFACE TO THE COLLECTION *ESSAYS ADDRESSED TO VOLUNTEERS*[456]

The following articles were originally written for *The Volunteer Journal for Lancashire and Cheshire,* and are now republished, in their present shape, at the desire of the Proprietors of that paper, who seem to consider them worthy of a larger circulation among the Volunteers, than could be given to them in a periodical of a more or less local character. Whether this opinion be correct, remains for the public to decide.

It will hardly be necessary to premise that the facts contained in articles such as those on the Rifle, on French Light Infantry, &c., are neither new nor original; on the contrary, such articles are necessarily, to a great extent, compilations from other sources, which it will, however, not be necessary to enumerate; the only portion of these papers which may be considered original, are the conclusions at which the author arrives and the opinions he expresses.

*F. E.*

Manchester, March 9th, 1861

First published in the collection *Essays Addressed to Volunteers,* London-Manchester, 1861

Reproduced from the collection

# ESSAYS

## ADDRESSED TO VOLUNTEERS.

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## FOR LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

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The following are among the Contents of the first volume of the *Journal*, viz.:—from September, 1860, to February, 1861.

DESCRIPTIVE PAPERS AND REPORTS.

The Review of Lancashire Volunteers at Knowsley.
The Cheshire County Rifle Contest on Leasowe Common.
The Newton Review Rifle Contest at Southport.
The Lancashire County Contest at Hightown.
A German Account of the Newton Review. Translated by the Author from the *Allgemeine Militär Zeitung*.
The Inaugural Meeting of the First Engineer Corps in Lancashire.
Cheshire County Rifle Association at Chester.
Lancashire County Rifle Association at Preston.
The Annual Rifle Contests at Chester, Blackburn, Wigan, Frodsham, Southport, Accrington, &c.

ESSAYS AND EDITORIAL ARTICLES.

The History of the Rifle: Eight Chapters.
French Armaments.
The French Light Infantry: Three Chapters.

First page of an advertisement giving the contents of the first volume of *The Volunteer Journal*

# VOLUNTEER GENERALS[457]

There has been one thing wanting to the volunteer movement, and that is a fair and intelligent, but plain and outspoken criticism by competent outsiders. The volunteers have been to such a degree the pets of the public and the press, that such a criticism became an absolute impossibility. Nobody would have listened to it; everybody would have declared it unfair, ungenerous, untimely. The shortcomings of volunteer performances were almost invariably passed over in silence, while every corps was extolled to the skies for whatever it did go through tolerably well. The politeness of people, with any regard for impartiality, was most fearfully taxed; everywhere they had to give their opinion upon some volunteer affair or other, and unless they were prepared to utter the most fulsome and unqualified praise, they were lucky if they escaped being thought conceited snobs. How often have the volunteers been insulted by the stupid piece of flattery that they were fit to fight any troops in the world? How often have they been told that no division of the line could have done better what they did at Hyde Park, Edinburgh, Newton, or Knowsley?

Now, setting aside such absurd flattery, which at all times would have been ridiculous, we are quite prepared to admit that a fair trial had to be given to the volunteers before a fair opinion could be passed on their proficiency. But that time has passed long ago. If the volunteer movement, after nearly two years' existence, cannot yet bear criticism, it will never be able to bear it. The great reviews of last summer, in our opinion, mark the period at which the movement passed from infancy into adolescence; by these reviews the volunteers themselves actually provoked criticism; and yet that criticism, with one or two exceptions, was not publicly exercised by those who ought to have done so.

The effects, as well of this absence of plain and outspoken criticism as of this unmitigated adulation, are now visible enough. There will be scarcely a single volunteer corps of eighteen months' standing which does not consider itself, in the silence of its own conviction, quite as good as it has any business to be. The men, after having gone through the simplest battalion movements, through the routine work of skirmishing on a level piece of ground, and through a little rifle shooting, will be but too apt to say that they can do all these things as well as the line; and what the officers think of themselves has been shown by the race for promotion to captaincies, majorities, and lieutenant-colonelcies, which has been going on in almost every corps. Everybody considered himself perfectly fit for any commission he might be able to procure; and, as in the majority of cases, it was certainly not merit which made the man, we need not wonder that, in a good many instances, we have anything but the right man in the right place. Officers and men so firmly believed in what a benevolent press and public chose to call the perfection of their performances, that they began to think soldiering an uncommonly easy thing; and it is a wonder their own mushroom-perfection did not make them consider a standing army, composed of long-trained officers and soldiers, quite unnecessary in a country where perfect soldiers could be manufactured far easier on the volunteer plan.

The first distinct proof of the damage done to the movement by its friends in the press, was the sham fight last summer in London. Some enterprising colonels of volunteers thought the time had come to give their men a foretaste of what fighting looked like. Of course, the wiseacres among the regulars shook their heads, but that did not signify. These regulars bore an ill-will to the volunteer movement; they were envious of them; the success of the Hyde Park review almost made them go mad; they feared the sham fight would come off better than anything the line had ever done in that branch, &c. Had not the men gone through the manual and platoon, battalion drill, and skirmishing? And the officers, though mere civilians a short time ago, were they not now efficient captains, majors, and colonels? Why should they not lead a brigade or a division, as well as a battalion? Why should they not play a little at generals, having so well succeeded in the lower grades?

Thus did the sham fight come off, and a regular sham it was, according to all accounts. The thing was gone through with a supreme contempt for all accidents of ground, with a splendid

disregard for the effects of fire, and with a perfectly ludicrous exaggeration of all the impossibilities which are inherent in every sham fight. The men learned nothing by it; they took home with them an idea of fighting totally the reverse of reality, an empty stomach, and tired legs: the latter two, perhaps, the only things which might be considered in any way useful to incipient warriors.

Such childishness was pardonable in the boyhood of the movement. But what shall we say to the return of similar attempts at this present time? Our indefatigable London self-made volunteer generals are at work again. Their own laurels of last summer do not let them rest. A mere sham fight on an ordinary scale no longer satisfies their ambition. This time a great decisive action is to be fought. An army of 20,000 volunteers will be thrown from London upon the south coast, will repel an invasion, and return to London the same evening, so as to be able to attend to business next morning. All this, as the *Times*[a] very properly observes, without any organisation, without staff, commissariat, land transport, regimental train—nay, without knapsacks, and without all those necessaries for campaigning which a line soldier carries in that receptacle! However, this is but one side of the question; it shows only one striking feature of the incredible self-confidence which our volunteer generals have the satisfaction of possessing. How the mere tactical knowledge, the art of handling the troops, is to be procured, the *Times* does not inquire. Yet this is quite as important a point. The drill of volunteers, so far, has been gone through on level ground only; but battle-fields generally are anything but level and unbroken, and it is just the taking advantage of this broken and undulating ground which forms the basis of all practical tactics, of the whole art of disposing troops in action. Now, this art, which has to be learned theoretically and practically, how are the volunteer generals, colonels, and captains to know it? Where have they been taught it? So little has this groundwork of practical tactics been attended to, that we do not know of a single corps which has been instructed, practically, in skirmishing in broken ground. What, then, can become of all such attempts at sham fights but a performance, which, satisfactory, perhaps, to ignorant spectators, will be most certainly useless to the men made to go through it, and which cannot but tend to make the volunteer movement look ridiculous in the eyes of military men assisting at such a spectacle.

[a] A reference to the article on the volunteer movement beginning with the words "It would be nothing less than a misfortune" and published in *The Times*, No. 23879, March 13, 1861.—*Ed.*

To our astonishment, we find that even in practical Manchester an attempt is made to manufacture volunteer generals. No doubt we are not quite so advanced as our friends the Cockneys; we are not to have a sham fight, but a mere field-day of all the Manchester volunteers—something, it appears, in the style of the Newton review; and the affair is to come off on some comparatively level piece of ground. Now we wish it to be understood that, so far from disapproving this, we think, on the contrary, that half-a-dozen such field-days every year would do the Manchester volunteers a deal of good. We would add, that we should even consider it desirable that these field-days should come off in ground a little more broken, so as to allow the manoeuvres (against a supposed enemy) to come off with more variation, and to gradually give officers and men the habit of manoeuvring in broken ground. Such manoeuvres would give the adjutants excellent opportunities for afterwards connecting with them, at officers' drill, a few practical lectures on the mode of taking advantage of ground in fighting. So far, then, we not only approve of the plan, but should even wish to see it extended and regularised. But, then, we are informed by a paragraph, which appeared last Saturday[a] in a local paper, that on this occasion the volunteers will do everything for themselves. That is to say, they are going to have a volunteer commander-in-chief, volunteer generals of brigade, and a volunteer staff. Here, then, we have the attempt to import into Manchester the London system of manufacturing volunteer generals, and to that we decidedly object. With all due respect to the commanding officers of regiments in Manchester, we say they have yet a great deal to learn before they become—and we make here no exception—fully efficient commanders of battalions; and if, before they have made themselves fully equal to the responsibility already undertaken by them, they aspire to act for a day in higher commands, we say that they do that which would be the greatest curse to the volunteer movement, namely, playing at soldiers, and that they degrade the movement. At the head of their battalions they would be in their places, they would be able to look after their men, and they would learn something themselves. As Brummagem generals, they would be of no real use, neither to their men nor to themselves. All honour to the adjutants[458] of our Manchester regiments, who deserve the greater part of the credit of having made their regiments what they are; but their place is with their respective regiments, where,

[a] March 9, 1861.—*Ed.*

as yet, they cannot be spared, while they would be of no real use to those regiments if they played, for a day, at adjutant, general, and brigade-major—a thing which surely would not give them, personally, any particular satisfaction.

When we have in Manchester the head-quarters of the northern division of the army, with a numerous and efficient staff—when we have an infantry and a cavalry regiment garrisoned here—surely there is no necessity of recurring to such extraordinary pranks. We think it would be both more conformable to military subordination, and also more in the interest of the volunteers themselves, not to collect in such numbers, under arms, without offering the command to the general of the district, and leaving to him the choice of appointing staff and line officers to the division and brigades. No doubt the volunteers would be met in the same friendly spirit as they have been on former occasions. They would then have men at the head of the division and brigades who understand their business, and can point out mistakes when they occur; and they would also preserve their own organisation unbroken. No doubt this would preclude colonels from acting as generals, majors as colonels, and captains as majors; but it would have the great advantage of keeping out of Manchester that manufacture of Brummagem generals for which London is now getting an unenviable notoriety.

Written between March 13 and 16, 1861

Reproduced from the journal

First published in *The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire*, No. 28, March 16, 1861

# BRIGHTON AND WIMBLEDON[459]

The performances of the volunteer forces of London and neighbourhood on Easter Monday[a] appear to have fully borne out our anticipations expressed in the article on "Volunteer Generals."[b] The attempt of Lord Ranelagh to gather for a day, under his own command, all the volunteers of his district at once created a split among the different corps. An opposition candidate for the commandership-in-chief started up in the person of Lord Bury; to the sham fight at Brighton he opposed a field day at Wimbledon. Great was the division among the various corps; and the consequence was, that some went to Brighton under Lord Ranelagh, some to Wimbledon under Lord Bury, some to the same place, but independently, some to Richmond, and some to Wanstead. There would be no harm in this dispersion alone. Every corps is quite independent of the other, and has a right to enjoy its holiday after its own fashion. But there must arise, and has arisen, a great deal of harm from the acrimonious debates, the personal bickerings, and animosities which have preceded this split, and which are sure to continue for some time. Commanding officers have taken their post for one side or the other; their men have equally taken part, and not always with their commanders; so that the majority of the London volunteers are broken up into two great parties—the Ranelagh and the Bury faction. At Brighton, a great many men of the corps which had been ordered to Wimbledon appeared without arms, but in uniform, to protest against the decision and order of their own immediate superiors;

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[a] April 1, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 479-83.—*Ed.*

and Lord Ranelagh, enjoying this mark of sympathy amazingly, had them even formed into a provisional battalion, and, with an exquisite military taste not hitherto met with in any army, allowed them to march past with his own men. So, at least, reports the *Daily Telegraph.*[a]

Now, we ask, what right have either Lord Ranelagh or Lord Bury to put themselves forward as candidates for volunteer generals, and thereby to cause dissensions among bodies hitherto acting harmoniously together? Both these officers have served in the regulars; if they had the ambition to become generals, there was for them, as for others, the usual way of aspiring to that position; and, from their social position, they stood a chance ten times better than the great bulk of their other comrades. They knew very well, when entering the volunteers, that the highest active rank compatible with that service is that of lieutenant-colonel; that in case the volunteers were ever called out to act, they would be brigaded together with the line and militia, and placed under the command of brigadiers from the line; that the very nature of the British military organisation renders it impossible to appoint general officers from any other branch of the forces than the line. In aspiring to the position of temporary volunteer generals, they aspire to places which neither they nor any other volunteer officer will ever be called on to fill, and which they, from want of experience in the handling of masses of troops, must be incapable of filling. But if, in order to play the general for a day, they disturb the harmony between the various corps of their district, and risk to do the movement serious harm, they deserve even stronger and more unequivocal condemnation.

In all large gatherings of volunteers, hitherto, it has been the usage of offering the command in chief and the appointment of brigadiers and divisionary generals, to the military commander of the district. We have said in our previous article that we fully approve of this proceeding, because it is in accordance with military etiquette and subordination, and because it ensures efficient commanders. Now we see that it does more. Had the command of the Easter performance been entrusted to the proper authorities, there would have been no split, and all this bickering would have been saved. But the London commanders appear to have imbued their men with a highly ludicrous fear of the Horse Guards.[460] "For God's sake, keep the Horse Guards out!" is their cry. We in the north have not been so particular. We have always

[a] "The Sham Fight at Brighton", *The Daily Telegraph,* April 2, 1861.—*Ed*

been on capital terms with our natural military superiors, and have found the benefit of it; we hope, too, that the old system may be continued, and save us from those ridiculous quarrels now dividing the London force.

How jealous the Londoners were of the Horse Guards is shown by the uproar created by the presence at Brighton of General Scarlett, who was deputed by the Horse Guards to report upon the proceedings. The wise men of the different corps shook their heads in the most serious manner. To send that general here was an attempt on the part of the Horse Guards to put in the thin end of the wedge. The most fearful consequences were predicted if this were allowed to pass as a matter of course. The volunteers ought to protest; and, indeed, it was proposed that General Scarlett was not entitled to the salute which was due to the lord-lieutenant of the county only. The matter was finally settled by both coming up and receiving the salute in common. But that such questions could be discussed, shows how much some volunteers do mistake their position.

Thus we see, that neither as regards discipline within the corps, nor subordination or even deference to superior officers, has this Easter affair been of any benefit to the London volunteers.

In turning to the various field days, we must premise that we can only go by the reports of the London press, which are exceedingly incomplete and obscure as to military features; and if we should make mistakes in facts, it cannot, therefore, be laid to our charge.

Lord Ranelagh's five brigades took up a position east of Brighton, facing the town, after having marched past. They were very small, each numbering three battalions of 400 men on an average. With this force a ridge of hills was to be occupied, which was far too extensive for such a small number. Now, in this case, if 7,000 men accept a combat, the supposition is, that the enemy is not of a very great superiority in numbers, as otherwise they would retire on their reserves. Consequently, the commander would form his troops in a first and second line, and a reserve, as usual; supporting his flank as best he could, and trusting to his reserves and to the main body (supposed to be in his rear) for the repulse of any outflanking movements on the part of the enemy. But as it would appear by almost all reports, Lord Ranelagh extended the whole of his 7,000 men in one single line! He had a programme made out for three times that number, and as only 7,000 had come instead of 20,000, he made the small number occupy the whole extent of ground marked out for the expected

larger number. If this has been actually done, it would settle at once and for ever Lord Ranelagh's claims to generalship, volunteer or other. We are most unwilling to believe that he should have committed such an absurdity, but we have never seen the almost unanimous statement of the press contradicted, and, therefore, must believe it to be the case. We are even told that there *was* a small reserve of a few companies, but that two-thirds of it were at once called into the first line, so that scarcely the ghost of a second line, or reserve, was on the field.

This first line, with its *supposed* second line and *supposed* reserve, was attacked by a supposed enemy who was received by skirmishers, and after these had been thrown back, by file-firing from the right of companies. Why the volunteers are taught file-firing in sham-fights is more than we can tell. We believe that all soldiers who have seen service will agree with us that file-firing, of some use at the time when the lines advanced at the goose-step, is now completely antiquated, that it never can be of any good in front of the enemy, and that there is no useful intermediate link between the fire of skirmishers and the volley.

The imaginary enemy repulsed the defensive line. How the action of the second line and reserves (which must, after all, have been *supposed* to support the first line) was represented, we are at a loss to understand. The battalions had to suppose, not only that they were repulsed, but also that they were relieved. A second line of hills to the rear was then occupied and lost, but at a third accident of ground matters took a turn, and imaginary reinforcements coming up, the enemy was beaten back but not seriously pursued.

We are told by the *Times* that the movements gone through were of the simplest nature.[a] The following is a summary which the correspondent of the *Telegraph* got from an officer, as a report of the movements of his battalion:—

"Having arrived in fours, the ranks formed quarter-distance column in front of No. 1; column wheeled to the left and deployed again on No. 1, advanced in line, covered by No. 1, halted, the assembly was sounded and the skirmishers came in; firing from the right of companies; line retired, and from the proper right of companies passed by fours to the rear; front turn into column; formed quarter-distance column in rear of No. 1; marched by sub-divisions round the centre; opened out to wheeling distance from the rear; left wheeled into line and fired a volley; moved in column of companies from the right along the rear; lined to the front on No. 1; formed quarter-distance column in front of No. 1; deployed on No. 2; then No. 1 advanced to the front, and the remainder right wheeled; formed quarter-distance column in rear of No. 1; fours left, and so left the hill."

[a] A reference to the article "The Review at Brighton", *The Times*, No. 23896, April 2, 1861.—*Ed.*

Of the way in which these movements were carried out, we only know that, as usual with volunteers, distances very often were lost, and companies got asunder when forming line.

At Wimbledon, Lord Grosvenor manoeuvred his battalion early in the morning, and marched off when Lord Bury's two brigades (under 4,000) arrived. These went through a very simple performance, but very well adapted to give the men an idea of events and evolutions such as will occur in actual war. The whole is so well described in Colonel M'Murdo's address[a] that we have merely to add that here, too, we find file-firing used to fill up the interval between the retreat of the skirmishers and the opening of volley firing—a thing we most decidedly consider faulty in every respect. The Duke of Wellington rather let his men lie flat down in such moments than stand up to be shot at by artillery and return a weak, ineffectual, and, to themselves, demoralising file-fire.

For the remainder, we concur entirely with Colonel M'Murdo's admirable address, with which we conclude these remarks. We hope all volunteers will note and bear in mind what he says on company drill. The elementary instruction of volunteers must necessarily be less perfect than that of the regular soldier, but it is nevertheless of the highest importance in giving solidity to battalions. The greatest attention to company drill alone can make up in some degree for this unavoidable defect.

Colonel M'Murdo says:—

Volunteers, to men of understanding it is not necessary that the movements which you have gone through to-day should be fully explained, but I think it necessary to call your attention to the nature of the two positions which you have taken up in the course of the field movements through which you have gone. The first position which you took up was naturally one of very great strength—so great that two-thirds of the enemy would have been non-effective. His cavalry could not have acted with effect, nor could his artillery have injured you except by a vertical fire. It was supposed that the enemy, finding that too strong a position, endeavoured to reach the plateau on which we now stand by turning our flank up one of those long valleys in the direction of Wimbledon. It was necessary, therefore, that you should quit the strong position which you formerly held by changing your front to the left. The enemy had a double object in view. He desired to come upon plain level ground, by which means he could bring both his artillery and his cavalry to bear in the action, as well as his infantry; he also desired, by turning your left flank, to reach the Wimbledon Road, by which he could march through you on London. It is my desire to point out to you the difference in the two positions which you held. It was a very different thing when

[a] This refers to McMurdo's speech at Wimbledon on April 1, 1861, which was quoted in the article "Field Day at Wimbledon" (*The Times*, No. 23896, April 2, 1861). Below Engels freely quotes from this speech.—*Ed.*

you were along that rugged crest of a hill, where neither cavalry nor artillery could reach you. You checked the enemy there, and any number of bold men could have checked an enemy there; but here you are brought, as it were, on a sort of billiard table, where you might be exposed to the operations of, perhaps, the best troops in Europe. I observed, in forming the line here, that some battalions were a little unsteady. I do not blame them for it, because they have as yet had very little practice. Still they were unsteady; and if they were unsteady in coming into line to-day, what would be the case if this plain were swept by the artillery of an enemy, if you were choking with thirst, many of your comrades falling around you, and suddenly, through the dust and smoke, you felt the very ground shake under you by a heavy charge of the enemy's cavalry. Consider how liable young troops would be to be unsteady under such circumstances. What is it that overcomes all this? It is discipline, and discipline alone. By the term discipline I do not mean the correction of bad conduct—I mean that habitual union, that combination of mind and body brought to bear upon a certain object; that combination of mind and body that sets the whole in action, and makes a company, a battalion, or a brigade, act like a machine. Now this can only be acquired by company drill; it can only be acquired by paying great attention to individual drill, because I consider a company to be the unit of an army, and when individuals are well drilled and steady the company is steady, and the whole army will be steady. All that you have learned in the way of shooting, all your zeal, all your patriotism, will be of no avail in the day of battle without a thorough knowledge of your company drill. Company drill and nothing but company drill will do, and therefore I beg you to consider that excellence in shooting is not everything, because nothing will do unless you have perfect steadiness of formation under fire. Gentlemen, you have had a hard day's work on the wet ground, and therefore I will no longer detain you, but leave you to return to those homes which you are so well able to protect.

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Signed: *F. E.*

# COMPANY DRILL

In our last number but one we called the especial attention of volunteers to the remarks of Colonel M'Murdo on company drill.[a] We now recur to the subject as we think it is high time that its importance should be fully appreciated by every rifleman in the country.

The other day we took occasion to witness the battalion drill of a volunteer corps, which, on the whole, stands decidedly above the average of the force of this district in proportionate number of effectives, good attendance at drill, attention to duty on the part of officers, and, consequently, in general efficiency. To our great surprise, we found that there was very little progress beyond what we had seen this same corps perform some six months ago. The battalion movements came off slightly better than at the close of last season, but the manual and platoon were gone through in a rather slovenly manner. Even in shouldering arms, every man looked as if acting without any consciousness that he was to act in concert with some 400 men right, left, and in rear of him. In making ready and presenting, every rifle seemed to take a pride in coming to the proper position independently of its neighbours; and, altogether, a quiet disregard of the one—two, or one—two—three, by which the execution of each word of command is to be characterised, appeared the general order of the day.

In one corner of the barrack-yard in which this took place, we happened to see a squad of a line regiment fall in for drill under a sergeant. They were, we suppose, the awkward squad of the battalion, ordered for extra drill. What a difference! The men

[a] See this volume, pp. 488-89.—*Ed.*

stood like statues; not a limb moved till the word was given, and then those limbs only moved which had to execute the command—the remainder of the body remained perfectly still. When the command struck their ears, every arm moved simultaneously, every motion into which the execution of the command was divided was perfectly distinct, and was gone through at the same moment by every man. The whole squad, in fact, moved like one man. Those gentlemen who are so fond of boasting that the volunteers can do all their work quite as well as the line, would do well to go and study the line a little; they would then soon find out that between the best volunteers and the worst drilled line regiment there is still an enormous difference.

But what, it will be said, is the use of such perfection of drill to the volunteers? They are not intended to have it, they cannot be expected to have it, and they will not require it. No doubt this is quite correct. The very attempt to make volunteers emulate the line in perfection of drill would be the ruin of the movement. But drilled the volunteers must be, and so far drilled that common simultaneous action shall become quite mechanical, quite a matter of course with them; so far, that all their movements and motions can be gone through steadily, simultaneously, by all, and with a certain degree of military bearing. In all these points the line will remain the model which they will have to look up to, and company drill will have to be the means by which the required efficiency can alone be obtained.

Take the manual and platoon. That on any given word of command, the whole of the rifles in the battalion should be moved simultaneously, and in the manner prescribed, is not a mere matter of appearance. We must suppose that all volunteer corps are now so far advanced that the men can go through this exercise without positively hurting each other, or knocking their rifles together. But even beyond this, a mere slovenly way of going through the different motions has, undoubtedly, a great moral effect upon the battalion under drill. Why should any one man be particularly attentive to the command, if he has blunders committed right and left, and rifles coming up or down in a straggling way long after he has performed the command? What confidence, before the enemy, can a man on the left wing have in his comrades on the right wing, unless he knows they will load, make ready, and present together with him on the command being given, and will be ready again, as soon as he himself shall be, either to fire again or to charge? Moreover, every experienced soldier will tell you that the habit of such simultaneous action—

the certainty of the officer's command being responded to by those two or three round distinct sounds, denoting that every man acts at the same time as his comrades—has a very great moral influence on the battalion. It brings home to the senses of the men the fact that they really are like one body; that they are perfectly in the hand of the commander, and that he can employ their strength at the shortest notice and with the greatest effect.

Again, take the movements of large or small bodies of troops. Unless every man is so far confirmed in his drill that every movement he may be required to go through is done almost mechanically on the word being given, a battalion will never move steadily. A soldier who has still to ransack his memory or his intellect to make out what kind of thing the command given asks him to do, will do more harm than good in a battalion. So will a man who, either from habit or some other cause, is apt to think that certain movements will necessarily be followed by others; he will often receive a command quite different to what he expected, and then he will very probably blunder. Now, these defects can only be overcome by constant company drill. There the officer in command can put the small body under his orders, in a quarter of an hour's time, through so many different movements and formations, and can vary the order of passing from one to the other to such an extent, that the men, never knowing what is to come, will soon learn to be attentive and to respond quite mechanically to the word of command. In a battalion, all movements are necessarily much slower, and therefore on the whole less instructive to the men, though more so to the officers; but it is an acknowledged fact that men, perfect in their company drill, will, under good officers, learn their battalion movements perfectly in a very short time. The more the men are tossed about in company movements by a competent quick-eyed instructor, the steadier will they afterwards be in the battalion. And it requires no pointing out how important perfect steadiness in a battalion is: a volley may be given rather irregularly, and still take effect; but a battalion thrown into disorder in forming square, deploying, wheeling in column, &c., may at any time be hopelessly lost if in front of an active and intelligent enemy.

Then there is the important point of distances. It is an indispensable fact that no volunteer officer or soldier has an eye for distances. In marching in open or quarter distance column, in deploying, every battalion drill shows how difficult to the officers it is to keep the correct distance. In re-forming column from square, the men of the centre sections almost always lose their

distance; they step back too far or too little, and the wheel backwards is consequently done in a very irregular way. The officers can learn to keep distance in the battalion only, though company movements in sub-divisions and sections will tend to improve them; but the men, to learn how to re-form column from square (a movement of the greatest importance before the enemy), will have to practise it in their companies.

There is another point to be considered, and that is the military bearing of the men. We do not only mean the erect, proud, and yet easy position of each individual man under arms, but also that quick simultaneous action in company and battalion movements which is as necessary to a body on the move as to a battalion handling its rifles at a stand-still. Volunteers appear quite satisfied if they manage, somehow or other, to get into their proper places in something like the prescribed time, including, generally, a few seconds of respite. No doubt this is the principal point, and in the first year of the existence of a volunteer corps anybody would be perfectly satisfied with it. But there is for every move a certain fixed mode of doing it, prescribed by the regulations, and this is supposed to be that mode by which the object in view can be attained in the shortest possible time, with the greatest convenience to all concerned, and, consequently, with the highest degree of order. The consequence is, that every deviation from the prescribed mode is necessarily connected by a slight degree of disorder and want of regularity, which not only makes an impression of slovenliness upon the beholder, but also implies a certain loss of time, and makes the men think that the detail of the regulations is mere humbug. Let any man see a body of volunteers advance by double files from the centre and front, form company, or go through any other change of formation, and he will at once see what kind of negligent habits we are attaining. But such faults, which may be suffered in an old line regiment, which has a good sub-stratum of solid drill, and will be made to go through the same drill again and shake off its easy ways, are far more dangerous in a body of volunteers, where that solid foundation of detail-drill is unavoidably wanting. Their slovenly habits, which have to be tolerated in the beginning, as the men *must* be hurried through all elementary work, will increase and multiply unless regularly and assiduously checked by strict company drill. It will be impossible to drive such habits out entirely, but at all events they may be, and ought to be, so far checked as not to gain ground. As to the individual bearing of the men, that we suppose will gradually improve, though we very much doubt whether that

peculiar waving of a line, marking time, seen in all volunteer drills, will ever disappear. We allude to a certain habit of moving the upper part of the body in marking time, which appears common to all volunteers we have yet seen. No sooner goes up the right foot, than up goes the right shoulder and down goes the left; with the left foot, the left shoulder moves upwards, and thus the whole line waves to and fro like a ripe corn-field under a mild zephyr, but not very much like a body of sturdy soldiers prepared to meet the enemy.

We believe we have said enough to call attention to the subject. Every volunteer who has the movement at heart, will agree with us as to the necessity of regular and diligent company drill; for, let us repeat it, the volunteer force has been unavoidably neglected in its elementary education, and it requires great attention and a deal of work to make up in some manner for this defect.

Written in mid-April 1861

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Signed: *F. E.*

# RIFLES AND RIFLE-SHOOTING

## THE LANCASTER AND ENFIELD RIFLES

The recent contest between Lieut. Wallinger and the sergeants of the Royal Engineers, reported in our numbers for April 6th and 13th,[a] has recalled public attention to the merits of the Lancaster rifle, especially as a service weapon. In the match at Chatham the sergeants fired with the ordinary military 577 oval-bore Lancaster carbine of the Royal Engineers, the cost of which is about £4. To match such a weapon with the highly-finished Whitworth, costing about £25, is evidently unfair. A more equal comparison might be instituted between the Lancaster and the ordinary Enfield, because the difference in the cost of these two weapons is not very material, and the price of the Lancaster would probably be reduced to an equality with the Enfield if it were manufactured in as great numbers at the Government factories. The question then remains, is it a better rifle? A writer in the *London Review,* reasoning from general principles, and judging also from actual experience, answers in the affirmative; and we invite attention to the following passages from his article on the subject:—

The law which governs accurate rifle-shooting or practice is very simple. It is only necessary to establish an equation between the length and diameter of the ball, and to give to that ball an adequate rotatory motion around its polar axis, when unfailing accuracy must be the result, irrespective of the precise method by which

[a] A reference to the articles "Lancaster v. Whitworth Rifles" and "Lancaster or Whitworth", published in *The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire,* Nos. 31 and 32, April 6 and 13, 1861. This reference is probably made by the *Volunteer Journal* editors.—*Ed.*

the rotatory or rifle motion is given. That is to say, the interior of the rifle barrel may be cut into any number or any shape of grooves, or no grooves at all, so long as the equation is preserved, and the bullet acquires a proper rotatory motion, and then the accuracy in every case will be equal. The consideration, however, that must determine the proper arm for a soldier involves as first conditions that the weapon should not exceed a certain weight and dimension, and that it should be easily loaded and easily cleaned. It therefore follows, that to be easily loaded, the bearing surface, in the act of loading, should be as small as possible; and that, in the shape given to the rifling, as far as practicable, all angles should be avoided. We know no other form that so perfectly carries out this proposition as the spiral oval, inasmuch as the bearing surfaces in the act of loading are but two, and no form offers so great facilities for cleaning with the unavoidably scanty means at the disposition of the soldier during active service. This opinion seems to be borne out by the results of the Indian campaign,[461] and by the trials at Malta, Gibraltar, and other foreign stations. In India the Enfield rifle is said to have completely "shut up" at many critical periods of the campaign. The papers and private letters and official reports teemed with complaints; yet with the same ammunition, under the same circumstances, the oval-bore rifles with which the Royal Engineers were armed never failed to perform their duty to the satisfaction of both officers and men.

When the Enfield rifle is made with a diminished bore and an elongated bullet is used, comparably with the Whitworth the effect is just as good; yet the Enfield service-rifle, as it now exists, must be regarded as an attempt to satisfy impossible conditions. The officers charged with the construction of this arm were not permitted to reduce the calibre of the weapon below a given limit. Hence the adoption of the standard bore of ·577. As a consequence of this too great diameter of bore, an inherent difficulty presented itself, namely, that of securing a perfectly and unfailingly hermetical fit between the interior of the bore and the ball when driven from the barrel by the explosion of the powder. Let us examine the actual result of the imperfect conditions exhibited in the Enfield rifle. The weight of the ball is fixed at 530 grains, the charge of powder at 70 grains, the calibre, as before stated, at ·577. Now, the effect of 70 grains of powder acting on the large cross-section of the ball, will not and does not give pressure sufficient to produce in every case sufficient expansion of the ball into the grooves. Careful experiment shows that not 10 per cent. of the bullets are equally and fully expanded on every side. Sometimes one groove is distinctly marked, sometimes two, and in only one-tenth of the total rounds are they fully expanded, hence the inaccuracy of the shooting of the ·577 bore service-rifle.

Now, the perfect conditions of accurate practice from rifles grooved in *any form* may be described as follows:—That the bore should be ·5 inch, the length of ball 1·12 inches, rotation or twist 1 in 18 inches, charge of powder 90 to 100 grains (No. 6), weight of ball identical, namely 530 grains. The force exerted under this condition upon the cross-section of the ball may be considered as plus, therefore there is an unfailing and unerring fit between the ball and the bore, and it arises in this way: the diminished diameter of the bore gives increased length of ball, and no wooden plug is necessary as in the service bullets to drive out the metal. The bullet is therefore an homogeneous solid of about three diameters long. In the explosion the expansive force of the powder is first exerted on the rear or posterior section of the ball (*a*), and the transmission of the motive force, although almost instantaneous, is nevertheless met by the *vis inertiae* of the mass of metal constituting the ball, exerted in the whole length (from *a* to *b*), and backed by the counter resistance of the air in the barrel.

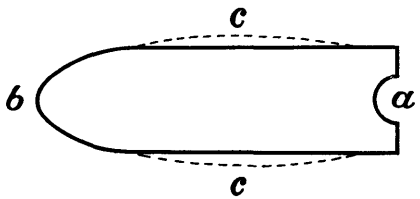


*Bullet for small-bore rifle*

It is at a glance evident that this resistance must be evinced in the middle portion of the bullet or part of greatest resistance (*c*), and consequently, by a perfectly natural expansion there, the bullet would be slightly shortened, say about one-tenth of an inch, while the central portion would be increased in diameter sufficiently to fit hermetically the form of the interior of the barrel, whatever its shape might be.

When these more perfect conditions are fulfilled, not once in 500 times is there any defective expansion, the ball invariably taking the form of the rifle, and thus there results the most excellent rifle practice.

These remarks apply to all rifles of every description.

What is it these favourable conditions do for a rifle, and why do they give more accurate shooting? Having shown how the interior of the bore is perfectly fitted by the bullet, we will endeavour to trace its results. One of the main achievements in the construction of a rifle is to get a "low trajectory," that is, that the curve the bullet describes in its flight should be as near an approach to a straight line as possible, and, as a necessary sequence, a high velocity is absolutely necessary, so that gravitation may have the minimum of effect in depressing the ball in its passage. Now, the effect of diminution of the calibre achieves the first result, and by the employment of a larger charge of powder on the small cross-section of the ball, the highest velocity and the most accurate results are obtained.

With respect to the methods of rifling, it will be inferred from what we have already said that so long as the ball gets a proper "spin" on leaving the barrel, it matters not in itself how that rotation is given, whether by an hexagonal bore, as in the Whitworth, an oval, as in the Lancaster, or by three grooves, as in the Enfield. Neither is a number of grooves necessary, for if *one* has a sufficient grip on the bullet to turn it, the requisite condition is fulfilled. Still, there are inherent defects in the manners of grooving which may easily be shown. If the rifling be angular, there is a loss of power in effecting the expansion necessary to fill up the angles, besides the probable escape there of the propelling gas. Moreover each angle is a line of weakness to the barrel; so with any number of grooves, and proportionably to their depths are the same defects manifested. The spiral oval, therefore, of the Lancaster gun is theoretically the best, as presenting the form to which the bullet will most readily adapt itself with the slightest expansion.

That the Lancaster rifle must have great merits appears from the fact, that, before the adoption of the Enfield pattern, the Lancaster rifle, then in competition with it, was recommended in preference by four separate and distinct committees. It was submitted for approval to the Commander-in-Chief, and by him sent for final decision to Hythe. The first report from the officers of the School of Musketry there was most favourable; the second report decided in favour of the Enfield. The reason then assigned for this decision was that the balls "stripped." Subsequently, however, the following facts are said to have transpired. The first 10,000 rounds of Pritchett ammunition, with which the first trials there were

conducted, were of the proper standard diameter. With these cartridges admirable shooting resulted. In the second experiment the same ammunition was not employed, the former having been made in 1853, the latter in 1854; the experimenting officers at Hythe being entirely unconscious of any difference in the ammunition, not having been informed that in the bullets made in the latter year there was a difference of ·007 less in the diameter, as compared with the bullet of 1853.

This fact was not detected until a year and a-half after the final decision in favour of the Enfield, when Colonel (then Captain) Fitzroy Somerset tested the pattern of the Royal Engineer oval-bore carbine. It is easy to see that the diameter of the diminished Pritchett bullet being less than the proper standard, it would, in many instances, especially when there was any excess of hardness in the lead, pass out of the barrel without acquiring a rotatory motion, that is, it would not sufficiently expand to fill the interior of the barrel, whether of a Lancaster or any other rifle.

That the Whitworth is too expensive for army use, and requires more delicate treatment than it is likely to get in actual service, we think few will question, and the tests should therefore be applied to the Lancaster and Enfield or other patterns respectively, which are fitted for the rough usage of warfare. The way of doing this, however, will not be by rifle-matches, but by firing from a fixed rest, with equal quantities of powder, and with bullets of the same weight and cast, thus making all such conditions equal, and leaving the test open only to the respective merits of the weapons themselves.

The preceding remarks refer to two different questions: 1. Which is the best proportion between the diameter and the length of an elongated rifle-shot to be fired from *any* rifle? And, 2. What are the merits of the Lancaster or oval-bore rifle?

As to question No. 1, we are far from agreeing with the author, that the proportions of his best bullet are preferable to all others. The rifles which, so far, have given the best results—the Swiss and the Whitworth—have both a smaller calibre than 0·5, and a greater proportional length of shot. We cannot, however, here enter into a discussion on a point of such a general nature.

As to question No. 2, we cannot see what positive evidence the author gives of *any* superiority of the Lancaster rifle over the Enfield. That the carbines of the Engineers "shut up" less often than the Enfield rifles of the infantry, is easily explained by the fact that the infantry are a hundred times more numerous, in any army, than the Engineers; and that the latter do not use their carbines once when the line use their rifles a hundred times; because Engineers are there for other purposes altogether than to act as infantry.

That a long and heavy expansion-shot, hollowed out sufficiently at the rear end, with a full charge, can be made to take almost any shape of rifling, is proved in the instance of the Whitworth; here the amount of expansion required is extremely great, and still the

bullet takes the hexagonal shape at its rear end. No doubt, therefore, such a bullet can be made to expand sufficiently to fill up an oval bore, if the difference of the two diameters be not too great. But why on that account the Engineer carbine should be better than the Enfield is more than we can perceive. The ideal bullet of our author has nothing whatever to do with this carbine—it would not fit it; and if even with a reduction of calibre, our author considers an increased charge of 90 to 100 grains of powder necessary to make his bullet fully take the oval bore, we think that looks much like a silent admission that the present charge of 70 grains does *not* always ensure a full expansion of the bullet in the oval bore of the Engineers' carbine. Our author does not say what is to become of the increased recoil from the increased charge; still we know that 80 to 90 grains give, in the Whitworth, a not very pleasant amount of recoil, which, in rapid firing, very soon affects the steadiness of aim.

The uncommonly good results given by the Engineers' carbine in the Chatham match, as well as some exceedingly good shooting with Lancaster rifles by private gentlemen, mentioned at times in the press, make it desirable that the capabilities of the oval-bore expansion rifle, and its fitness for a service weapon, should again be tried. We, for our part, believe that it will be found to have its faults too, and that the principle of the rifling is a very secondary matter indeed in military muskets. Instead of quibbling with the Enfield about such minor matters, why not come to the point at once, and say that its greatest and most important defect is its *large calibre*? Change that, and you will find all other improvements but matters of detail.

Written at the end of April 1861

Reproduced from the journal

First published in *The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire,* No. 35, May 4, 1861

Signed: *F. E.*

# ALDERSHOT AND THE VOLUNTEERS

The Duke of Cambridge, in his speech at the London Rifle Brigade dinner,[a] said he should be very glad to see the volunteers at Aldershot.[462] The only difficulty, to him, appeared to be, how to get them there. We propose to venture a few suggestions how to overcome this difficulty.

It is, undoubtedly, quite out of the question to send to Aldershot, or any other camp, whole corps of volunteers. The elements of which they are composed preclude every chance of it. There is no company, much less a battalion, a majority of whose members could spare as much as a fortnight, at one and the same time, for such a purpose.

But if we cannot get the volunteers to Aldershot in bodies, could they not go there singly, and yet learn a great deal? We think they could, if the thing was arranged so as to offer every facility to volunteers to avail themselves of the opportunity.

We believe the great majority of the volunteers to be composed of men who can, now and then, get relieved from their usual avocations for a fortnight in a year. A great many take a regular holiday of that duration, and even longer. Among these there are certainly a considerable number who would not at all object—on the contrary—to spend, for once, their time and their money at Aldershot, if they were received there. Thus, there would be no difficulty whatever, between May and the end of September, to keep at Aldershot a floating population of volunteers amounting, at all times, to the strength of a decent battalion at least. If we can,

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[a] The Duke of Cambridge's speech (of April 13, 1861) is quoted in the second leading article in *The Times,* No. 23907, April 15, 1861.—*Ed.*

then, get this floating population to the camp, how can this be utilised?

We propose that a range of huts or tents be set apart for say 600 volunteers, and that a captain, or, better still, a major, from the line be appointed to the command of this volunteer camp, with an adjutant and sergeant-major to assist him. The camp to be opened say in May, as soon as a sufficient number of volunteers have given in their names; if the camp is full, further applicants to be admitted as there may be room for them, the whole of such volunteers to be formed into a battalion; a blouse of a prescribed cut and colour to be worn over the tunics, so as to give the whole a uniform look. As there is sure to be an excess of officers, there will be no other chance but to make officers do duty, for the time being, as sergeants and even privates. Far from considering this a drawback, we should consider it an advantage. No volunteer officer is so well grounded in his personal drill that such a momentary relapse into the ranks would be useless to him; let him recollect that every line officer has to shoulder the rifle for a certain period year after year. The distribution of the temporary officers' posts in the battalion might be easily regulated: the senior captains present might begin, and afterwards others might take their posts by rotation. The major in command could perhaps be intrusted with a deal of discretionary power in nominating to these appointments, in order to ensure a lively emulation among the officers present. These, however, are matters of detail, the arrangement of which would cause but little trouble if the idea was once taken up in good earnest.

Such a battalion, with its floating population, would never attain any very great efficiency, and the major in command, as well as his assistants, would have no easy post of it. But it would ensure one object: that among the volunteer army generally, and among the officers and sergeants specially, a nucleus would be formed of men who have at all events really been soldiers, if only for a fortnight. This may look a contemptibly short period; yet we have no doubt that every man would feel immensely different on leaving, to what he did on reaching Aldershot. There is an immense difference between drilling once or twice a week after the whole day has been spent on business and other matters, and drilling, even for a fortnight only, morning, noon, and night in a camp. During that fortnight, every volunteer present will have no other business to look after but his military education; he will be confirmed in his drill to a degree which no length of the present volunteer drill can raise him up to; and, besides, he will see a

great deal more of soldiering than he ever could expect to see in his own corps, unless it encamped on purpose. On leaving Aldershot, every man will think that he has learned during that fortnight at least as much as during the whole of his preceding volunteer service. In due time there will be scarcely a company of volunteers in which one or more members have not been down to Aldershot; and everybody must see to what an extent such an infusion of better educated elements will improve the steadiness and the military manners, too, of the various corps.

We have supposed that the course of instruction for every man is to be a fortnight, merely because almost everybody might find means to spare that short time. But there could be nothing to prevent allowing such volunteers as can afford it, to stop at the camp for a full month.

As a matter of course, the volunteers in camp would have to keep themselves. The Government ought to find tents and camping utensils, and might, perhaps, make arrangements for the delivery of rations, to be paid for by the men. In this way, without costing the country anything to speak of, the affair would be cheap for the volunteers, and everything put upon a regular camp footing.

We have no doubt that, were the experiment once made, the volunteers would at once cordially respond to it; the batallion would be kept up always to its full complement, and, perhaps, the necessity for similar battalions, at other camps, or at Aldershot, would soon arise. If the excess of officers became very considerable, a special "officers' battalion" might be formed at one of the camps, with a somewhat longer period of attendance, and we believe such a battalion would answer well for at least one season.

There is, however, another mode of making the camps, and the line generally, useful for volunteer officers: by attaching, temporarily, such officers to battalions of the regulars. This might be done without taking the officers too far from their homes; during the period of such attachment (say a month) the volunteer officer to do duty as if actually serving in the regiment. No doubt means might be found to allow at least one volunteer officer at a time to be thus attached to a battalion, without in any way infringing upon the habits and position of the line officers, who have always shown the best possible spirit towards the volunteers. If this point was taken up, we should consider it advisable to allow no volunteer officer to be attached to the line who had not shown, in some manner or other, that he was fit to profit by it; for he would go there, not to be taught the rudiments, but to be confirmed and

perfected in what he knows already, and to learn matters which he cannot learn in his corps.

Both our suggestions—the formation of floating battalions at the camps, and the permission for duly qualified volunteer officers to be attached to the line for a month—have in view the education of the officers chiefly. We repeat, again and again, that the officers form the weak points of the volunteer army; we add, that it now must be evident to all that the present system of volunteer education *cannot make the officers, as a body, efficient,* and that, therefore, new means of instruction must be found if the force is, not only not to retrograde, but to improve.

We throw out these suggestions for no other purpose but to invite attention to the question. We have no wish to lay before the public a fixed plan, with all details worked out, all eventualities provided for, ready to be put into practice at once. That would be the business of others, if the matter was taken up seriously. But we mean to say, the whole volunteer movement was an experiment, and unless people are prepared to experimentalise a little more in order to find out the proper way to improve the new army which has resulted from that experiment, the movement must ultimately come to a dead lock.

Written at the end of April and the beginning of May 1861

First published in *The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire,* No. 36, May 11, 1861

Signed: *F. E.*

Reproduced from the journal

# THE WAR OFFICE AND THE VOLUNTEERS

We believe that in all Great Britain, nowhere has there been among volunteers a greater readiness and alacrity to conform to all War Office orders and regulations, to take up a proper position with regard to the regular army, to work the movement in harmony with the authorities, than in Lancashire, and among other towns, in Manchester. When armouries were ordered to be provided, the order was carried out, although it unavoidably implied great inconvenience in a large town. Whatever orders were sent down were obeyed at once and without a murmur. When our volunteers met in large masses, they anticipated the Duke of Cambridge's desire, and requested the military authorities of the district to take the command and organise the brigades. The desire for efficiency made our Lancashire volunteers criticise all Government interference with a favourable eye; they knew that uniformity and regularity were above all things requisite, and they looked upon every War Office circular as a step towards ensuring these requisites. The *Volunteer Journal*, from its very first number, has not ceased to recommend a willing and cheerful obedience to War Office orders, and to advocate the great advantages of perfect harmony between the volunteers and the military authorities, both local and central. While in other localities, especially in London, there were mysterious rumours abroad respecting the baneful influence of the Horse Guards,[463] the attempts of the authorities to get in the thin end of the wedge, &c., we have never been swayed by such considerations for a single moment. We have given the Commander-in-Chief, the Secretary for War, and all their subordinates, full credit for sincerity when they asserted their

willingness to support the movement in every possible shape and form.

But we cannot close our eyes to the fact, that latterly one or two little matters have occurred which look as if there really had been some change in the view men in authority take of the volunteer movement, especially since Lord de Grey and Ripon gave up the Under-Secretaryship for War. A few weeks ago, we believe it was on Whit-Monday,[a] Lord Ranelagh reviewed in Regent's Park such of the London volunteers as would come on his invitation. Now, we have more than once strongly condemned Lord Ranelagh's attempts at playing general.[b] He might have applied to Colonel M'Murdo, the inspector-general of volunteers, to review his men, or to recommend another qualified officer for the purpose. However, right or wrong as regards propriety, he went with his men to the park; the affair had been publicly announced, and was so well known that a large crowd of spectators assembled. There were among this crowd people who behaved in a most shameful manner; they pressed round the volunteers, broke their ranks, rendered evolutions impossible, threw stones, and some even, it is stated, attempted to wound the officers' horses with pointed instruments. When this commenced, the officers in charge naturally looked out for the police, but out of the 6,000 men constituting the army of Sir Richard Mayne, we are told that *not one man was there*! The consequence was, that Lord Ranelagh's review was a total failure, owing to the interference of the crowd. Now, if the matter had been allowed to take its course, it is quite possible that it would have proved as much a failure on its own merits, as Lord Ranelagh's previous attempts had invariably done. As it was, Lord Ranelagh was made a martyr of, and strongly recommended to the sympathy of all volunteers.

There can be no doubt that the total absence of the police from this publicly-announced review was not quite accidental. It has been stated in the press that they must have had orders to keep away; and we know that in London, among volunteers, it is very generally believed that the Horse Guards had something to do with this affair, and that it is desired at the Horse Guards to undermine the volunteer movement in every possible way. The feeling in London is very strong upon the matter, and we confess the facts of the case—which, as far as we are aware, it has never

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[a] May 20, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 479-83 and 484-89.—*Ed.*

been attempted to excuse or explain away—are well adapted to create such a feeling.

This week we have to record another affair which certainly does not look as if the authorities intended to do, as they promised, everything in their power to assist the volunteers. It has been announced, some time ago, that one of our Manchester regiments intended to go into camp for a short period. We believe this announcement was not made before it had been ascertained that it could be carried out. It is commonly reported that verbal application was made to the authorities for tents, &c., and that this application was granted; and that, moreover, the terms had been fixed upon which it had been granted. We believe these arrangements were come to not more than two or three weeks ago. On the strength of this, all other arrangements as to the ground for encampment, canteen, officers' mess, and other matters, were entered into; and when everything is straight, and the formal application for the tents is made, the Government all at once draw back, and declare they cannot furnish any tents at all!

As a matter of course, this upsets the whole plan, and the expense and trouble incurred by the regiments has all been wasted; and we all know that volunteer regiments have every reason to be careful of their small balance, if any, at the banker's. We are told that so many volunteer regiments are said to have applied for tents that the Government cannot possibly find tents for all, and that therefore none can be furnished to any corps. Whether this be correct or not, the Government ought to know that a bargain is a bargain, and that posterior events could not relieve them from engagements already undertaken. But rumour, which is now beginning to do its work in Manchester quite as much as in London, says that this is a mere idle pretext, and that the Government do not want the volunteers to go under canvas at all; that even if the corps in question were to provide tents or huts at their own expense, and from an independent source, the encampment would not be looked on with a favourable eye in high quarters.

Such occurrences are certainly not adapted to promote that cordiality between the authorities and the volunteers which is so essential to the further success of the movement. The movement is too powerful for any Government to put down; but want of confidence in the authorities on the part of the volunteers, and hidden opposition on the part of the authorities, can very soon create considerable confusion, and hamper its progress for a time.

This ought not to be allowed. There are a great many volunteer officers in Parliament. Let them get up in their places and take care that the Government give such explanations as will at once put the matter right, and show the volunteers that they will have to expect cordial support instead of hidden hostility.

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Signed: *F. E.*

# WALDERSEE ON THE FRENCH ARMY[464]

[*The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire,* No. 42, June 22, 1861]

A short time ago there was published, in Berlin, a book on "The French Army on the Drill-ground and in the Field,"[a] which created a great sensation, and rapidly passed through several editions. Although the author merely calls himself "an old officer," it is no mystery that the book is written by General Count Waldersee, late Minister of War in Prussia. He is a man of very high standing in the Prussian army, where he has particularly distinguished himself by revolutionising the old pedantic system of teaching the soldier skirmishing, patrolling, outpost, and light infantry duty generally. His new method, to which we may revert on some other occasion, is now introduced in that army. It is remarkable for doing away with all pedantry of forms, and exclusively appealing to the intellectual resources of the soldier in the performance of a duty which can only be carried out well by the intelligent and harmonious co-operation of a number of men. An officer who lays so much stress on the intellectual training of every individual soldier, very naturally took great interest, at all times, in the French army, as the one which is most famous for the individual military intelligence of its men; and we need not, therefore, be astonished if we find that he has made that army the especial object of his studies, and that he has many friends and acquaintances in its ranks, from whom he can obtain valuable information. After the successes of the French against one of the best and bravest European armies, in the Italian campaign of 1859,[465] it became a question of European interest to what circumstances such extraordinary and unvaried victories were

[a] *Die französische Armee auf dem Exercirplatze und im Felde,* Berlin, 1861.—*Ed.*

owing; and in the above publication General Waldersee gives what he considers to be an elucidation of the subject.

The following is taken from an account of the general character of the French army:—

It partakes of all the good qualities, but also of all the faults and weaknesses, of the French character. Animated by a genuine warlike spirit, it is full of combativeness, thirst for action and for glory, brave and plucky, as it has shown at all times, and more recently on the battle-fields of Algeria, the Crimea, and Italy. Everywhere there have been occasions on which both officers and soldiers—particularly among the picked troops—have performed wonders of bravery; and the performances of the French soldiers generally, in these campaigns, are worthy of the highest respect.

Of great bodily and mental mobility—which, however, is often enough increased to a continuous restlessness—the French soldier is indefatigable and persevering in battle, as well as in hard work of all kinds.

Self-confident in the highest degree, full of ambition and vanity, every individual soldier has but one desire—to march upon the enemy. He knows no difficulties; he goes by the old French proverb, "If the thing is possible, it is as good as done; if it is impossible, it will be done somehow." Without much reflection—often, indeed, very inconsiderately—he advances, convinced there are no difficulties he cannot overcome. Thus, with the dash and impetuosity inherent to his nation, he always presses for the attack, in which is his chief strength. Besides this, the French soldier is intelligent, handy, particularly adapted for individual fighting, and accustomed to act on his own responsibility. He is inventive and clever in embarrassing situations; he has a peculiar knack of making himself comfortable in a bivouac; of improving bridges, &c., under fire; of putting, at a moment's notice, houses and villages into a defensible state, and of defending them afterwards with the greatest tenacity.

War is the life-element of an army. The French Government very wisely consider war as the normal state of the troops, and, therefore, at all times and under all circumstances treat them with the same strictness and severity as if actually on a campaign. The regiments are concentrated in camp as frequently as possible, and besides are made to change garrisons constantly, so as not to allow any peace habits to grow up among them. In the same spirit, the drill of the men is exclusively adapted for the purposes of war, and nothing whatever is done for purposes of parade. No corps is ever judged from its style of marching past, and it is, therefore, rather surprising to foreign officers to see French battalions march past—even before the Emperor[a]—with a slovenly gait, in undulating front lines, the men stepping with different feet, and marching at ease with sloped arms.

But the picture has its dark as well as its bright side. All these good military qualities which urge on the French soldier to advance impetuously, show their brilliant effects *only so long as you allow him to advance.* The *sentiment individuel,* which is at the root of all his qualifications for attack, has its great disadvantages too. The soldier, being principally busied with himself, goes along with the mass as long as it advances successfully; but if this mass be forcibly, and, perhaps, unexpectedly, made to retire, its cohesion, the connection of every individual with his comrade, is soon severed, and the more so as, in such a case, the careless tactical training of the troops—of which, more hereafter—renders all steadiness impossible, and leads to confusion and utter dissolution.

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[a] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

Add to this that the French are naturally given to envy, and, with all their national levity in critical moments, are apt to be suspicious of others. The French soldier follows his officers eagerly and willingly into battle, but only so long as these officers are in front of him, and literally lead him on. This is what the soldiers expect, and when advancing under fire they express it by shouting, "Epaulettes to the front!" Thus field officers and generals have generally to march to the charge in front of their troops—the very place, certainly, for a general—and this explains the excessive losses the French always have had in officers. But if a retreat becomes inevitable, confidence in the officers will soon disappear, and, in extreme cases, make room for open disobedience. From these causes, a retreat, energetically forced upon a French army, has always been disastrous to it, and will ever be so.

General Waldersee might have added a great deal more on the facility with which the confidence of the French soldier in his officers melts away under adverse circumstances. The confidence of the men in their immediate superiors, even after repeated unsuccess, is the best standard of discipline. Measured by this, the French are not much better than totally undisciplined levies. It is a matter of course for them that they never can be beaten except by "treachery"; and whenever they lost a battle and had to retreat more than a few hundred yards—whenever the enemy surprised them by an unexpected move, they regularly raised the cry, "We are betrayed!" So much is this part and parcel of the national character, that Napoleon, in his memoirs (written long after the fact, at St. Helena),[a] could impute, by insinuation, some kind of treacherous action to most of his generals; and that French historians—military and otherwise—could amplify these insinuations into the most wonderful romances. As the nation of the generals, so does the soldier think of his regimental and company officers. A few hard knocks, and discipline is completely at an end; and thus it is that, of all armies, the French have made the most disastrous retreats.

[*The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire,* No. 44, July 6, 1861]

Of the mode of recruiting the soldiers and officers, Waldersee gives the following account:—

The French soldier is recruited by drawing lots among the young men of the country; but every man has the right of paying a sum fixed by Government for a substitute. This sum flows into a fund administered by the Government, from which the substitute receives a small sum as bounty on enlisting, and the remainder on the expiration of his term, the interest being paid to him during his time of

[a] *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France, sous Napoléon, écrits à Sainte-Hélène,* Paris, 1823.—*Ed.*

service. The sum owing to him may, however, be partially or totally forfeited by crime or bad conduct. Thus the Government have the selection of substitutes entirely in their own hands, and are in the habit of enlisting, as much as possible, men only who have already served one term of seven years, and who have proved themselves reliable and well conducted. A great many old soldiers are thus secured to the army, and from them most of the non-commissioned officers are selected. The term of service is seven years; of this time, however, the greater portion of the men are but four or five years actually with the colours, spending the remainder on furlough.

The non-commissioned officers are selected with great care and tested with great regard by the officers. They are mostly distinguished, not only by an excellent character and a perfect knowledge of the details of their duty, but also by intelligence, independence, a fine soldier-like bearing, and a certain dignity, especially in their relations with the privates, over whom they know very well how to maintain the great authority which the regulations have given them. As every non-commissioned officer is eligible for a commission, they manage to keep the privates at a respectful distance, while, on the other hand, they use every effort to distinguish themselves and give a good example to their subordinates.

At present the majority of the non-commissioned officers consist of substitutes. A few only are made corporals and sergeants during their first term of service, and among them, particularly those young men who, having had a good education, and finding themselves excluded by the great throng of candidates from the military schools, enlist voluntarily in the army in order to try for a commission. Such young men very soon advance to the position of non-commissioned officers, and on passing the practical military examination prescribed for sergeants before they can be made sub-lieutenants, very often receive a commission after having served from two to four years.

The generality of officers promoted from the ranks receive their commissions after from 9 to 12, and often after from 15 to 20 years only. Of 170 such officers, taken at random, 16 received commissions after from 2 to 4, 62 after 5 to 8, 62 after 9 to 12, and 30 after from 13 to 20 years' service. The first 16 belonged to the class of educated young men; the 62 who received commissions after from 5 to 8 years, were promoted for distinction before the enemy. Thus, in time of peace, promotion from the ranks, even in France, is slow work.

The officers recruit themselves partly from the ranks, as stated above, and partly (in times of peace principally), from the military schools, where the young men have to attend for two years, after which, on passing a severe examination, they at once receive commissions. These two classes of officers keep at a great distance from each other; the pupils of the military colleges and the educated men promoted from the ranks, looking down with disrespect upon the old sub-lieutenants and lieutenants who gained their epaulettes by long service; the officers, even of the same battalion, form anything but that compact body which they do in almost every other army. Yet those men who were raised from the comparatively less educated portion of the ranks (and who now, after the heavy losses in the Crimea and Italy, form the greater portion of the subalterns), are very useful in their way. Though very often positively ignorant, and sometimes rough, and scarcely above the sergeant in character or manners, they are generally clever within their sphere of action, perfectly at home in their duty, conscientious, strict, and punctual; they know exceedingly well how to treat the soldier, how to take care of him, how to stimulate him by their example, both in garrison life and under fire. Besides this, they at present mostly possess a good deal of experience in camp life, marching and fighting.

On the whole, the French officer is intelligent and eager for war; he knows what he is about, and—especially under fire—he knows how to act on his own responsibility, and how to excite the men by the example of his own bravery. Add to this—for the majority of them—a good deal of campaigning and fighting experience, and we must say that they are possessed of qualities which place them very high in their profession.

Promotion is given either by seniority or by selection. In peace, two by seniority to one by selection; in war, the reverse. But selection is generally limited to the educated class of officers, while the mass of those raised from the ranks are promoted by seniority only, and thus attain their captaincy at a rather advanced age. This is about the highest step they ever reach, and they are generally quite satisfied to be able to retire on a captain's pension.

Thus it happens that in the French army you see a good many subalterns of from 30 to 40, and a good many captains approaching 50; while among field-officers and generals there are a great many comparatively young men. This is no doubt a great advantage; and the continued wars in Africa, the Crimea, and Italy, having considerably quickened promotion, have brought still more young men into high commands.

To show the proportion in which promotion to the higher grades is dealt out to the two classes of officers, the following statement of officers killed and wounded, or employed in high commands in Italy, will be read with interest:—From the military schools: 34 generals, 25 colonels commanding regiments, 28 other field-officers, 24 captains, 33 lieutenants and sub-lieutenants. From the ranks: 3 generals, no colonels commanding, 8 field-officers, 66 captains, 95 subalterns.

The generals proceed less from the staff and the scientific or select corps than from the generality of the field-officers. They therefore are mostly wanting in military instruction of a higher order; a few among them only have *les vues larges*.[a] Badly up in strategy, they are rather clumsy in handling large bodies of troops, and therefore much in want of superior orders or scientific assistance; so that very often in the field, as on the drill-ground, they receive a regular programme of the movements to be gone through for engaging in action. On the other hand, they are full of common sense, and ready at inventing expedients; they know the practical part of their duty, are zealous, ambitious, and devoted to the service. Their habit of acting independently gives them the necessary vigour under fire. They know no difficulties; act at once on every emergency, without awaiting or sending for orders; are not afraid of responsibility; and, brave like every Frenchman, they always personally lead on their troops.

Most of them have fought in Algeria, the Crimea, and Italy, and, therefore, are in possession of a valuable store of warlike experience. Of the generals engaged in Italy in 1859 there were twenty-eight old Africans, eighteen of whom had also fought in the Crimea. One general alone (Partouneau) made his first campaign in Italy.

This continued fighting has endowed the French army with a younger body of generals than any other army can boast of. To keep this up in time of peace, lieutenant-generals retire on half-pay at 65, and major-generals at 60 years of age.

In short, the French generals must be regarded as comparatively young and bodily active, intelligent, energetic, experienced in war and well adapted for it, though but a few have, so far, shown themselves unusually clever and well acquainted with the handling of large bodies of troops, and though neither the Crimean nor the Italian war have developed any extraordinary military genius.

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[a] Broad views.—*Ed.*

[*The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire,* No. 46, July 20, 1861]

Passing to the drill-practice of the French, our author says:—

The recruit, boorish and clumsy as he is when joining his regiment, nevertheless often enough, before a fortnight is over, and before even he may have received his full equipment, stands sentry with the dignity and authority of an old trooper, and very soon becomes formed by the careful *individual training* which he is made to go through. Though company and battalion drill leave very much to be desired, every individual soldier is carefully trained to gymnastic and bayonet exercise, fencing with the small sword, and long running at double-quick time.... On the drill-ground the infantry is generally without steadiness, loose, and therefore rather slow; but on a march it is exceedingly quick, and broken to long marches, great portions of which are made at the double; which pace is very often used in action, and to no mean advantage. These are the performances by which the excellence of a body of troops is judged in France; it is never judged by its drill, much less by mere marching past. The fact is, the French cannot march past in good order, because they are defective in that drill in detail which, after all, is necessary to every good body of troops.

Talking about drill, our author gives the following anecdote of Napoleon I:—

Napoleon was well aware of the drawbacks inherent to this loose system of drill, and did his best to redress it. Under his iron rod, precision of drill was adhered to as much as it was possible with Frenchmen—though he himself was no very good drill-master. One day, at Schönbrunn, in 1809, he had the idea of drilling himself a battalion of his guards; to make them *faire la théorie,* as the French call it. He drew his sword, and gave the word; but after having ordered a few movements, he got his men into such utter confusion that he called out, putting his sword back into the scabbard, "The devil take your——theory! Set that mess right again." *(Que le diable emporte votre f——théorie! Redressez cette cochonnerie!)*

About the "Turcos," the native Algerian troops, we find the following remarkable statement:—

According to reports received from French officers, the Turcos above all disliked an engagement with the Austrian Rifles. Whenever they met them, they not only refused to advance, but threw themselves down, and, like the camels of the desert, could not be induced either by threats or by blows, to rise to the attack.

On the drill-ground of an infantry regiment—

Recruit-drill is gone through in a very pedantic manner, but still very superficially; little attention is paid to the bearing of the individual men, and thus, the regulations are carried out (in company and battalion-drill) in a positively slovenly manner. Very little care is taken that the men stand properly at attention, that the dressing is good, the line well closed up, or even that the men step out with the same foot. It appears to be sufficient that the men be *there,* and arrive

together, somehow or other. An army accustomed to such a loose system of drill will certainly not show to any great extent the disadvantages it entails, so long as it continues to advance. Still, this system must exercise a very bad influence on discipline and order in action; and whenever a retreat under fire becomes inevitable, it may bring on the most serious consequences. This is the reason why the attempt at a retreat in good order has so often proved dangerous to the French, and why a retreat forced upon them by a solid, well-schooled army will always prove disastrous to them.

After disposing of the drill, General Waldersee gives an epitome of Marshal Bugeaud's principles of fighting (the same which we have in great part translated in preceding numbers of the *Volunteer Journal,* under the heading, "On the moral elements in fighting").[a] With these principles he fully coincides, attempting at the same time to prove—and not without success—that most of them are old practical rules, to be found already in the instructions of Frederick the Great. We pass over this, as well as over a lengthy strategical criticism of the campaign in Italy in 1859 (in which not less than eighteen distinct blunders of General Gyulay are shown up), in order to come to the observations on the mode of fighting of the French in that campaign.

The most essential principles of this method are:

1. To act on the offensive whenever this is in any way possible.
2. To treat protracted firing with contempt, and to pass as soon as ever possible to a charge with the bayonet, at the double.

This being once known, it has been very generally concluded that the French always and everywhere, with a complete disregard of all tactical forms, had rushed upon the Austrians, and that they had always instantly, and without further ado, run them down or driven them away.

But the history of the campaign is there to prove that this was far from being the case. On the contrary, it shows:

1. That the French certainly did in most cases, not always, attack their opponents impetuously in double quick time, but that scarcely ever did they conquer them at the first charge. Not only were they generally unsuccessful in this, but in most cases they were defeated with loss in several repeated attacks, so that during action they retreated nearly as often as they advanced.
2. That often enough they charged without firing, but, once repelled, they were obliged to carry on the engagement by firing, which firing lasted for some time, though interrupted by repeated bayonet charges. At Magenta and Solferino[466] such firing engagements lasted several hours.

The author now gives, from reports received both from French and Austrian officers, an account of the tactical formations applied by the French during the Italian campaign, by extracts from which we shall conclude this article.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 469-75.—*Ed.*

[*The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire,* No. 62, November 8, 1861]

Our author, after describing the general character and principles of fighting of the French army, proceeds to give an account of the tactical formations employed by them in the Italian campaign of 1859.

A French army division is composed of two brigades, the first of which has a battalion of chasseurs, and two regiments (of three battalions each) of the line, while the second has only two regiments (or six battalions) of the line. Each battalion has six companies.

In the line of battle, the first brigade forms the first line, the battalions being formed in columns at half distance with full deploying intervals between them, and covered by a line of skirmishers. The second brigade stands in second line, 250 yards to the rear, the battalions equally in columns at half distance, but with only half deploying intervals between them; they are generally placed behind one of the *wings* of the first line.

The formation of column generally adopted in the Italian war was what the French call column of divisions—two companies with them being called a division. The six companies are ranged two in front, two at half-distance behind them, and again two companies at half-distance behind the second pair of companies. This column may either be formed on the two centre companies or on the two extreme companies of either wing. With the Guards, who were all picked men, it was always formed on the two centre companies, and thereby (same as in the English double column on the two centre sub-divisions) the time both for forming column and for deployment was abridged by one-half; but with the line it was generally formed on the two right companies. The reason was, that by this method the "grenadier" company (No. 1) was placed in the front of the column, while the light or "voltigeur" company (No. 6) came to the rear. Thus these two companies, consisting of picked men, formed, so to speak, a framework in which the less reliable four "centre companies" were encompassed; and, moreover, in case the two rear companies were ordered to extend as skirmishers, the light company was one of them, while the grenadier company, in the front line, remained together unless the whole battalion had to extend.

For an army fighting chiefly, not in line, but by a combination of skirmishes and columns, this formation offers great advantages. One-third of the men (the two front companies) are always in a position to make use of their fire-arms, while at the same time deployment is simple and can be got through very quickly. The great distance between the component parts of the column (half company distance or about 40 yards) tends very much to reduce the ravages which artillery makes in closer columns; and when it is borne in mind that, as a rule, two companies were extended, so that the whole column consisted of two companies in front, and two at 40 yards behind them, it is seen that this formation approaches the line as much as possible; the two rear companies acting rather as a reserve or second line to the two front ones than as that bodily support which is generally supposed to be given by the rear men to the front line in continental columns of attack. Moreover, although deployments into line did now and then occur in the Italian campaign, the ground in Lombardy is such that fighting in line is positively impossible. In these small fields, intersected by hedges, ditches, and stone walls, and covered, besides the corn, with mulberry trees connected one with another by vine branches; in a country where the lanes, running between high walls, are so narrow that two

carts can scarcely pass each other—in such a country all regular formations often cease so soon as troops advance to close with the enemy. The only thing necessary is to have plenty of skirmishers in front, and to dash with the compact masses on to the most important points. Now, for such a purpose, there could be no better formation than that selected by the French. One-third of the battalion skirmishing—no supports, the column at 100 yards to the rear being support enough—the whole advancing rapidly, the skirmishers, when near enough, clearing the front of the battalion and hovering on its wings; the first line giving a volley and charging; the second, 40 yards to the rear, following as a reserve and keeping as much order as the ground will allow. We must admit that this method seems very well adapted for all purposes of attack in such ground, and will keep the men as much as possible together, and under the control of their officers.

Wherever the ground was open enough to admit of regular movements, the attack was carried out in this way—the skirmishers engaged the enemy until the order was given for the column to advance; the supports—if supports there were—forming on the flanks of the line of skirmishers, and extending themselves to the front of either wing, in order to envelop and give cross-fire to an advancing enemy; when the column came up to the line of skirmishers, the latter crowded in the intervals of battalions, advancing in a line with the head of the column; at twenty yards from the enemy the head of the column fired a volley and charged. When the ground was very thickly covered, as many as three or four companies of a battalion were extended, and cases are reported (at Magenta, the Turcos) where whole battalions extended as skirmishers.

Against an Austrian bayonet attack, a method similar to that prescribed by the British regulations for street firing (battalion drill, section 62) was sometimes employed. The leading companies of the column gave a volley, faced outwards, and filed to the rear, where they re-formed; the succeeding companies did the same, until, after the rear companies had fired their volley and cleared the front, the whole battalion charged the enemy.

In decisive moments, the soldiers were ordered to deposit their knapsacks on the ground, but to provide themselves with some bread and all the ammunition they contained, which they stored away about their persons as best they could. This is the origin of the fable, "That the Zouaves carried their cartridges habitually in their breeches' pockets."

At Magenta, the Zouaves and the 1st Grenadier Guards deployed for a time, and fired by files and by ranks; at Solferino, too, the division of Voltigeurs of the Guards (twelve battalions) deployed in a single line before going into action, but when actually engaged, they seem to have been in the usual column. As both these deployments were made under the immediate command and in the presence of Louis Napoleon, there can scarcely be any doubt that he ordered them from some recollection of English line manoeuvres; but in both cases the predilection of the French officers for their own national mode of fighting and the nature of the ground, appear to have prevailed as soon as the real tug of war came on.

In the attack of a village, several columns, preceded by thick swarms of skirmishers, were launched; the weaker column, destined to attack the front of the position, was held back to the last, while stronger columns turned the flanks of the village. The troops who *took* the place at once occupied and fortified it, while *the reserves* pursued the enemy. To defend a village, the French trusted more to the reserves behind it or on its flanks than to a strong garrison in the houses themselves.

With this abstract of the tactical formations of the French army of Italy in 1859, we take leave of Count Waldersee's work.

Although England is far less rough ground for fighting than Lombardy, still her numerous fences, ditches, clusters of trees, and coppices, combined with the undulating nature of the ground, and the deep wooded ravines cut into it, make her a far rougher battle-field than the large uninterrupted plains of Northern France, Belgium, and Germany. If ever a French army should attempt a descent on English soil, there can be little doubt that the formations of its infantry would be very similar to those employed in Italy; and that is the reason why we think these formations not without interest to English volunteers.

Written between the second half of June and the beginning of November 1861

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Signed: *F. E.*

Reproduced from the journal

# A MILITARY CRITICISM OF THE NEWTON REVIEW[467]

Last year's Newton review[a] was a great success, the greater because beset by difficulties of all kinds. It was the first attempt to bring together the volunteers of Lancashire in a body; the railway arrangements were anything but what they should have been; the ground was in an execrable state; the weather was very bad. In spite of all this, the thing went off uncommonly well, and our volunteers went home, wet, hungry, thirsty, but with the proud consciousness that they had surprised everybody by the cool, steady, and soldierlike manner in which they had gone through their work.

Can as much be said of this year's review? We are afraid it cannot. The railway arrangements were excellent; the ground was in capital order; the weather was fine; the volunteers had gone through another year's drill; and yet, we are sure, most of them went home less satisfied with their day's work and their day's success than last year. Whose fault was that?

When the troops arrived on the ground, the flags marking out the positions of the various brigades were in their places, and generally the battalion aids were at once placed. But a good many of the battalions, especially those which arrived first, were moved about, halted, again moved, and again halted for a long time before they were brought to their proper places. The consequence was that corps which were from half an hour to an hour on the ground before the review commenced, could not find time to pile arms and dismiss their men for even a few minutes to get refreshment. This was certainly not the fault of the commanders of battalions.

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[a] August 11, 1860.—*Ed.*

After the general salute, the evolutions commenced. But there were scarcely any evolutions. The first brigade deployed, and went through a series of firings one round by companies from centre to flank, one volley by battalions, three rounds file-firing. In the meantime the second brigade deployed, and after the firing was over, relieved the first line. This was done by both lines forming fours deep, and the fours of the second line passing through the spaces of the first. The regulations themselves characterise this movement as one adapted for *parade purposes* only, and never to be applied on service (p. 113). Then the second brigade went through the same course of firing, while the third brigade deployed to form a second line, and the first brigade fell back to the rear in column. We noticed that the first brigade was a very long while over this, and only got out of the way when the firing of the second brigade was nearly over. Then the third, and afterwards the fourth brigade advanced and took their turn of firing, after which the whole body formed in mass of columns and marched past.

Thus, it is evident, instead of evolutions, there were but two points in which the volunteers present could show their proficiency—the firing and the marching past. Now, we protest against blank cartridge firing being made a test by which to judge such a body as the volunteers assembled at Newton. There were regiments which have fired immense numbers of blank cartridges, and which, consequently, long ago obtained considerable success in sharp, round volleys. There were others which are quite as well, perhaps better, up in their company and battalion drill and in target practice, but which scarcely ever fired blank cartridge before. And there were a great number of the small country corps, formed into battalions for the occasion, which never had a chance of firing a battalion volley, for the very simple reason that, so far, they have not been able to go even through battalion drill. Volley-firing, as far as it is to be judged by the sound only, and not by the effect, is of all the duties of a soldier by far the easiest; an otherwise steady battalion will learn it in a very short time, and if the great majority of the battalions present gave very bad volleys, indeed, we must say we are more pleased with it than otherwise, inasmuch as it shows that they have not wasted their time with practising an art which they can learn in a week at any time, and which is very apt to be indulged in as a plaything and an advertisement.

The only good point in the programme was that it gave the whole of the infantry present something to do. Otherwise it was

very poor indeed. There was no skirmishing, scarcely any evolutions, and there was a test of efficiency set up which was not only delusive, but positively unfair to the mass of the corps present. As to the gallant cavalry charge which concluded the manoeuvres, we better say nothing of it. The public took it for a capital joke.

In the marching past we noticed again the everlasting weakness of volunteers—the utter disregard to distances. Only one regiment came past with anything like proper distances, and it was *not* the one which had distinguished itself so much by its volleys. Now, we think that proper distance-keeping is both more difficult and more important, in the present style of volunteer drill, than sharp volleys. Upon the whole, the marching past showed less improvement upon last year than one had a right to expect; but we are bound to say that in this respect the smaller corps from the country had made the greatest progress. This deserves so much the more a public acknowledgment as these small corps have to struggle against the greatest difficulties, are mostly deprived of the assistance of adjutants, and have no higher military authority to go by than their drill-sergeant.

We noticed with regret the progress of the scarlet coat, and even the bear-skin cap, among the Lancashire volunteers; it seems to indicate a hankering after show, which cannot do the movement any good. This is a subject, however, which would bear us too far away from Newton, and we shall, therefore, return to it on some other occasion.

Written between August 3 and 10, 1861

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Signed: *F. E.*

# VOLUNTEER OFFICERS

"Lieutenant A. B., dishonourably discharged; Second Lieutenant C. D., struck off the list; Captain E. F., dismissed the United States service,"—such are a few specimens of the latest items of military news we receive by wholesale from America.

The United States have had a very large volunteer army in the field for the last eight months; they have spared neither trouble nor expense to make this army efficient; and, moreover, it has had the advantage of being posted, almost all that time, in sight of the outposts of an enemy who never dared to attack it in a mass or pursue it after a defeat.[468] These favourable circumstances ought to make up, to a very large extent, for the disadvantages under which the United States volunteers were organised; for the poor support they got from a very small army of the line, forming their nucleus; and for the want of experienced adjutants and drill instructors. For we must not forget that in America there were many men both fit and ready to assist in the organisation of the volunteers—partly German officers and soldiers who had undergone regular training and seen service in the campaigns of 1848-49, partly English soldiers emigrated during the last ten years.

Now, if under these circumstances a regular weeding of the officers becomes necessary, there must be some weakness inherent, not to the volunteer system in itself, but to the system of officering volunteers by men chosen indiscriminately by themselves from among themselves. It is only after an eight months' campaign in the face of the enemy that the United States Government ventures to call upon volunteer officers to qualify themselves, in some degree, for the duties they undertook to perform when they

accepted their commissions; and see what an amount of voluntary or forced resignations, what a heap of dismissals, more or less dishonourable, is the consequence. No doubt, if the United States army of the Potomac were opposed to a force steadied and kept together by a due proportion of professional soldiers, it would have been dispersed long ago, in spite of its numbers and of the undoubted individual bravery of the men composing it.

These facts may well serve as a lesson to the volunteers of England. Some of our readers may recollect that, from the very starting of the *Volunteer Journal*,[a] we maintained that the officers were the weak point of the volunteer system, and insisted upon an examination, after a certain time, calling upon the officers to prove that they were at least in a fair way of becoming fit for performing the duties they had undertaken. Most of the gentlemen who had taken upon themselves to command and to instruct men in a line of business of which they were as perfectly ignorant at the time as the men themselves—most of these gentlemen scorned the idea. That was the time when all Government assistance and Government interference were equally scorned. But since then the call upon the pockets of these same gentlemen has been heavy enough to make them apply for pecuniary assistance from Government; and, as Governments run, this means, at the same time, a call for Government interference. Moreover, a two years' experience has brought out pretty plainly the defects of the present system of officering volunteer corps; and we are now informed by a metropolitan commanding officer,[b] and apparently upon authority, that before long the volunteer officers will be called upon to prove their fitness for command before a board of examination.

We heartily wish this to be the case. The fact is, the English volunteer officers, too, do require weeding to a certain extent. Look at a line regiment at drill, and compare it to a volunteer battalion. What it takes the volunteers an hour and a half to go through, the line men go through in less than half an hour. We have seen a deal of square-forming by some of the best volunteer regiments in the country, and we cannot help saying they must be wretched cavalry that would not have cut them up each time before they had their flanks ready for firing. That was not the fault of the men. They appeared to know their duty as well as could be expected, and to do it sometimes even as mechanically as

[a] See this volume, pp. 415-16.—*Ed.*
[b] Colonel Money.—*Ed.*

you see in a line regiment. But the men had to wait for the company officers, who appeared to hesitate about the word of command to be given, and about the moment when they ought to give it. Thus, hesitation and sometimes confusion was thrown into a formation which, above all others, requires a promptness, both of command and of execution, imparted by long practice only. Now, if this be the case after two years' practice, is this not a proof that there are plenty of volunteer officers holding responsible situations which they are not fit to hold?

Again, the commanders of battalions have lately received some very high praise from the hands of highly competent authority.[a] It was said that they appeared to be up to their work, while the company officers were not always so. We are not at all inclined, as will have been seen above, to dispute the latter statement; but we must say that if the high authority alluded to had seen the lieutenant-colonels and majors, not at a great review, but at plain battalion drill, the opinion given would probably have been slightly different. At a great review, no field officer in command of a battalion, if not perfectly up to his work, would attempt to act on his own responsibility. He has his adjutant—who knows what he is about—for a prompter; and he is prompted by him accordingly, and goes through his work creditably, while the poor captain has to bungle through his performance without any prompter at all. But look at the same field officer at battalion drill. There he has no vigilant general's eye watching him; there he reigns supreme; and there the adjutant, often enough, has to take the post assigned to him by the Queen's[b] regulations, and must keep his advice to himself until asked for it, or until the mess is complete. This is the place where you see the volunteer field officer in his true light. He is there to instruct his men in battalion drill; but not being himself perfect in that science, he profits of their being there to instruct himself in it. As the old saying goes, *docendo discimus.*[c] But if the teacher is not well on his legs in the art he has to teach, blunders and confusion are apt to occur, and, unfortunately, do occur often enough. It will not contribute either to the proficiency in drill of a volunteer battalion, or to its confidence in its commander, if the men find out that battalion drill, for them, means nothing but giving their field officer in command an opportunity of learning his drill himself, while they are tossed

[a] The reference is probably to General George Wetherall.—*Ed.*
[b] Victoria.—*Ed.*
[c] We learn by teaching.—*Ed.*

about here and there, without any purpose even, and expected to rectify, by their superior knowledge, the blunders of their superior officer.

We do not mean to say that commanding officers of volunteers have not put themselves to some trouble to learn their duty; but we do mean to say that if company officers cannot be manufactured out of civilians as easily as private soldiers, field officers are far more difficult to manufacture. We must come to the conclusion, on the mere ground of battalion drill experience, that none but professional soldiers are fit to command battalions. And if we consider that drill is but one part of a field officer's duty, that the commander of a battalion, being liable to be detached for independent duty, where he has to act on his own responsibility, requires a knowledge of higher tactics, we must say that we should be very sorry to see the lives of 600 or 1,000 men entrusted to the guidance of such civilians as now form the great majority of commanders of battalions.

Depend upon it, if the English volunteers ever will have to face an enemy, it will not be under the favourable circumstances which now permit the American Government to clear the ranks of their volunteer officers from the most incapable subjects. If the English volunteers are called out, it will be to fight, not a volunteer army like themselves, but the most highly disciplined and most active army in Europe. The very first engagements will be decisive; and, depend upon it, if any hesitation or confusion arises, either by the wrong commands of the colonels, or by the uncertainty of the captains, that will be taken advantage of at once. There will be no time for weeding when once before the enemy, and therefore we hope it will be done while there is time.

Written in mid-November 1861

Reproduced from the journal

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Signed: *F. E.*

# LESSONS OF THE AMERICAN WAR

When, a few weeks back, we drew attention to the process of weeding which had become necessary in the American volunteer army,[a] we were far from exhausting the valuable lessons this war[469] is continually giving to the volunteers on this side of the Atlantic. We therefore beg leave again to revert to the subject.

The kind of warfare which is now carried on in America is really without precedent. From the Missouri to Chesapeake Bay, a million of men, nearly equally divided into two hostile camps, have now been facing each other for some six months without coming to a single general action. In Missouri, the two armies advance, retire, give battle, advance, and retire again in turns, without any visible result; even now, after seven months of marching and counter-marching, which must have laid the country waste to a fearful degree, things appear as far from any decision as ever. In Kentucky, after a lengthened period of apparent neutrality,[470] but real preparation, a similar state of things appears to be impending; in Western Virginia, constant minor actions occur without any apparent result; and on the Potomac, where the greatest masses on both sides are concentrated, almost within sight of each other, neither party cares to attack, proving that, as matters stand, even a victory would be of no use at all. And unless circumstances foreign to this state of things cause a great change, this barren system of warfare may be continued for months to come.

How are we to account for this?

The Americans have, on either side, almost nothing but volunteers. The little nucleus of the former United States' regular

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[a] See this volume, pp. 521-24.—*Ed.*

army has either dissolved, or it is too weak to leaven the enormous mass of raw recruits which have accumulated at the seat of war. To shape all these men into soldiers, there are not even drill-sergeants enough. Teaching, consequently, must go on very slow, and there is really no telling how long it may take until the fine material of men collected on both shores of the Potomac will be fit to be moved about in large masses, and to give or accept battle with its combined forces.

But even if the men could be taught their drill in some reasonable time, there are not officers enough to lead them. Not to speak of the company officers—who necessarily cannot be taken from among civilians—there are not officers enough for commanders of battalions, even if every lieutenant and ensign of the regulars were appointed to such a post. A considerable number of civilian colonels are therefore unavoidable; and nobody who knows our own volunteers will think either M'Clellan or Beauregard over timid if they decline entering upon aggressive action or complicated strategical manoeuvres with civilian colonels of six months' standing to execute their orders.

We will suppose, however, that this difficulty was, upon the whole, overcome; that the civilian colonels, with their uniforms, had also acquired the knowledge, experience, and tact required in the performance of their duties—at least, as far as the infantry is concerned. But how will it be for the cavalry? To train a regiment of cavalry, requires more time, and more experience in the training officers, than to get a regiment of infantry into shape. Suppose the men join their corps, all of them, with a sufficient knowledge of horsemanship—that is to say, they can stick on their horses, have command over them, and know how to groom and feed them—this will scarcely shorten the time required for training. Military riding, that control over your horse by which you make him go through all the movements necessary in cavalry evolutions, is a very different thing from the riding commonly practised by civilians. Napoleon's cavalry, which Sir William Napier ("History of the Peninsular War" [Vol. III, p. 272]) considered almost better than the English cavalry of the time, notoriously consisted of the very worst riders that ever graced a saddle; and many of our best cross-country riders found, on entering mounted volunteer corps, that they had a deal to learn yet. We need not be astonished, then, to find that the Americans are very deficient in cavalry, and that what little they have consists of a kind of Cossacks or Indian irregulars (rangers), unfit for a charge in a body.

For artillery, they must be worse off still; and equally so for engineers. Both these are highly scientific arms, and require a long and careful training in both officers and non-commissioned officers, and certainly more training in the men too, than infantry does. Artillery, moreover, is a more complicated arm than even cavalry; you require guns, horses broken in for this kind of driving, and two classes of trained men—gunners and drivers; you require, besides, numerous ammunition-waggons, and large laboratories for the ammunition, forges, workshops, &c.; the whole provided with complicated machinery. The Federals[471] are stated to have, altogether, 600 guns in the field; but how these may be served, we can easily imagine, knowing that it is utterly impossible to turn out 100 complete, well-appointed, and well-served batteries out of nothing in six months.

But suppose, again, that all these difficulties had been overcome, and that the fighting portion of the two hostile sections of Americans was in fair condition for their work, could they move even then? Certainly not. An army must be fed; and a large army in a comparatively thinly-populated country such as Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, must be chiefly fed from magazines. Its supply of ammunition has to be replenished; it must be followed by gunsmiths, saddlers, joiners, and other artisans, to keep its fighting tackle in good order. All these requisites shone by their absence in America; they had to be organised out of almost nothing; and we have no evidence whatever to show that even now the commissariat and transport of either army has emerged from babyhood.

America, both North and South, Federal and Confederate, had no military organisation, so to speak. The army of the line was totally inadequate, by its numbers, for service against any respectable enemy; the militia was almost non-existent. The former wars of the Union never put the military strength of the country on its mettle; England, between 1812 and 1814, had not many men to spare, and Mexico defended herself chiefly by the merest rabble.[472] The fact is, from her geographical position, America had no enemies who could anywhere attack her with more than 30,000 or 40,000 regulars at the very worst; and to such numbers the immense extent of the country would soon prove a more formidable obstacle than any troops America could bring against them; while her army was sufficient to form a nucleus for some 100,000 volunteers, and to train them in reasonable time. But when a civil war called forth more than a million of fighting men, the whole system broke down, and

everything had to be begun at the beginning. The results are before us. Two immense, unwieldy bodies of men, each afraid of the other, and almost as afraid of victory as of defeat, are facing each other, trying, at an immense cost, to settle down into something like a regular organisation. The waste of money, frightful as it is, is quite unavoidable, from the total absence of that organised groundwork upon which the structure could have been built. With ignorance and inexperience ruling supreme in every department, how could it be otherwise? On the other hand, the return for the outlay, in efficiency and organisation, is extremely poor; and could that be otherwise?

The British volunteers may thank their stars that they found, on starting, a numerous, well-disciplined, and experienced army to take them under its wings. Allowing for the prejudices inherent to all trades, that army has received and treated them well. It is to be hoped that neither the volunteers nor the public will ever think that the new service can ever supersede, in any degree, the old one. If there are any such, a glance at the state of the two American volunteer armies ought to prove to them their own ignorance and folly. No army newly formed out of civilians can ever subsist in an efficient state unless it is trained and supported by the immense intellectual and material resources which are deposited in the hands of a proportionately strong regular army, and principally by that organisation which forms the chief strength of the regulars. Suppose an invasion to threaten England, and compare what would be then done with what is unavoidably done in America. In England, the War-office, with the assistance of a few more clerks, easily to be found among trained military men, would be up to the transaction of all the additional labour an army of 300,000 volunteers would entail; there are half-pay officers enough to take, say three or four battalions of volunteers each under their special inspection, and, with some effort, every battalion might be provided with a line-officer as adjutant[473] and one as colonel. Cavalry, of course, could not be improvised; but a resolute reorganisation of the artillery volunteers—with officers and drivers from the Royal Artillery—would help to man many a field-battery. The civil engineers in the country only wait for an opportunity to receive that training in the military side of their profession which would at once turn them into first-rate engineer officers. The commissariat and transport services are organised, and may soon be made to supply the wants of 400,000 men quite as easily as those of 100,000. Nothing would be disorganised, nothing upset; everywhere there would be aid and assistance for

the volunteers, who would nowhere have to grope in the dark; and—barring some of those blunders which England cannot do without when first she plunges into a war—we can see no reason why in six weeks everything should not work pretty smoothly.

Now, look to America, and then say what a regular army is worth to a rising army of volunteers.

Written at the end of November and the beginning of December 1861

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Signed: *F. E.*

Reproduced from the journal

# THE WAR IN AMERICA[474]

The real opening of the campaign in this war dates from the advance of the Union forces in Kentucky. Not before Missouri and Western Virginia had been finally reconquered did this advance commence. The Secessionist[475] troops held three strong positions—entrenched camps—in the State of Kentucky: Columbus, on the Mississippi, on their left; Bowling Green, in the centre; Mill Springs, on the Cumberland River, on their right. Their line thus extended fully 250 miles as the crow flies. By road, the distance certainly was 300 miles east and west. Such an extended line precluded all possibility of these corps supporting each other, and gave the Federal forces a chance of attacking each of them separately with superior forces. There was no great risk in such a course, as none of the three Secessionist corps were strong enough to advance, even if unopposed, beyond the Ohio River. The great mistake in the Secessionist position was the attempt to occupy everything, and the consequent dissemination of the troops. One strong central entrenched camp, destined to be the prepared battle-field for a decisive action, and held by the main body, would have defended Kentucky far more efficiently; for it must either have attracted the main body of the Federals, or placed them in a disadvantageous position if they attempted to march past it without noticing this strong concentration of troops. As it was, the Federals attempted to attack these three camps one after another, and to manoeuvre their enemy out of them, so as to compel him to fight in the open. This plan was completely in accordance with the rules of military art, and it was executed with a vigour and rapidity which deserves much commendation, as well as the perfect success obtained. Towards the middle of January, a body

of 15,000 Federals moved upon Mill Springs, which was held by about 10,000 Confederates. The Federals manoeuvred so as to make their adversaries believe that but a weak force was in the neighbourhood, and the Confederate general, Zollicoffer, at once took the bait thrown out to him. He marched out of his works, attacked the first Federal body he met, but very soon found that he had to do with a force superior to his own in numbers, and at least its equal in spirit and discipline. He fell, and his troops were as completely routed as the Federals had been at Bull Run.[476] But this time the victory was followed up far differently. The beaten army were pursued very closely until they arrived, broken, demoralised, and deprived of their field artillery and baggage, at their camp of Mill Springs. The camp was constructed on the northern shore of the Cumberland River, so that the troops, in case of another defeat, had no retreat but by a few steamers and boats across the river. We shall find that almost all these Secessionist camps were thus placed on the enemy's side of a river. Such an encampment is perfectly correct, and of the greatest utility—when there is a bridge. The camp, in that case, serves as a bridge-head, and gives to its occupants the chance of throwing their forces at will on either bank of the river, by which alone they obtain a perfect command over it. But to do the same thing when there is no bridge, is to place your troops in a position where they have no retreat after an unlucky engagement, and when, therefore, they will either have to surrender or to be massacred and drowned, same as the Federals were whom General Stone's treachery had sent across the Potomac at Balls Bluff.[477]

Accordingly, when the defeated Secessionists reached their camp at Mill Springs, the fact at once became patent to them that unless they could beat off an attack on their entrenchments, they would have to surrender very speedily. After the experience of the morning, they had no longer any confidence in their powers of resistance; and when the Federals, next morning, advanced to attack the entrenched camp, they found that the enemy had taken advantage of the night to cross the river, abandoning camp, baggage, artillery, and stores. Thus the extreme right of the Confederate line was driven back into Tennessee; and Eastern Kentucky, where the population are chiefly Union men, was reconquered for the Union.

About the same time—the second half of January—the preparations for dislodging the Secessionists from Columbus and Bowling Green were commenced. A strong fleet of mortar-boats and iron-clad gunboats had been got ready, and the news was

spread everywhere that they were to accompany the march of a strong army down the Mississippi, from Cairo to Memphis and New Orleans. A ridiculously conspicuous reconnaissance was made towards Columbus. The retreat of this strong body of troops, which did not effect anything, even looked like a serious check to the Union troops. But it seems that all these demonstrations on the Mississippi were mere blinds. When everything was ready, the gunboats were quietly removed into the Ohio, and thence into the Tennessee River, which they steamed up to Fort Henry. This place, together with Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland River, formed a second line of defence of the Secessionists in Tennessee. The position was well chosen; for if they had retreated behind the Cumberland River, this would have covered their front, and the Tennessee River their left flank, while the narrow strip of land between the two would have been sufficiently covered by the two camps just named. But the rapid action of the Federals broke through the second line before even the left and centre of the first was attacked.

In the first week of February, the Federal gunboats appeared before Fort Henry, and shelled it with such effect that it at once surrendered. The garrison escaped to Fort Donelson, the land force of the expedition not being strong enough to invest the place. Then the gunboats steamed down the Tennessee again, up the Ohio, and up the Cumberland, towards Fort Donelson; only one gunboat boldly steamed up the Tennessee, right through the heart of the State of Tennessee, skirting the State of Mississippi, and penetrating as far as Florence, in Northern Alabama, where a series of flats and swamps (the so-called mussel shoals) stop further navigation. The single fact of one gunboat performing this long journey (at least 150 miles) and returning without ever being attacked, proves in itself that there must be, along this river at least, a strongly prevailing Union sentiment, which no doubt will tell very powerfully if the Federals should penetrate so far.

The naval expedition up the Cumberland now concerted its movements with those of the land forces under Generals Halleck and Grant. The Secessionists at Bowling Green were deceived as to the Federal movements, and remained quiet and confident in their camp, while a week after the fall of Fort Henry, Fort Donelson was invested on the land side by 40,000 Federals and menaced on the river by a powerful fleet of gunboats. Same as Mill Springs and Fort Henry, the entrenched camp of Fort Donelson was constructed with its rear to the river and no bridge for a retreat. It was the strongest place the Federals had as yet attacked. The

works were not only constructed with much greater care, but, besides, it was large enough to shelter the 20,000 men which held it. On the first day of the attack, the gunboats silenced the fire of the batteries facing the river and shelled the interior of the works, while the land forces drove in the enemy's outposts and compelled the main body to take shelter close under the guns of their works. On the second day, the gunboats, having suffered severely the day before, appear to have done little work, but the land forces had to fight a long and sometimes severe battle with the columns of the garrison, which tried to break through their right in order to keep open the line of retreat towards Nashville. But a vigorous attack of the Federal right upon the Secessionist left, and strong reinforcements sent to the Federal left, decided the victory in favour of the assailants. Several outworks had been stormed; the garrison, hemmed in within their inner lines of defence, without any chances of retreat, and evidently not in a condition to resist an assault next morning, surrendered on the third day unconditionally. General Floyd escaped on the evening of the second day, it is said, with 5,000 men. It is not quite clear how that was possible; the number is too large to have been stowed away on steamers during the night; but still they may have successively crossed the river, and escaped along its right bank. The whole of the artillery, baggage, and stores, together with 13,300 prisoners, fell into the hands of the Unionists; 1,000 more prisoners were made next day, and on the appearance of the Federal advanced guard, Clarksville, a town higher up the river, surrendered with great quantities of stores, collected there for the Secessionist troops.

Whether Nashville has also fallen, appears very uncertain, and we can scarcely believe it. As it is, these successes of the Federals, in the short space of three weeks, are quite enough for them to be satisfied with. Columbus, the only place the Secessionists now hold in Kentucky, they can continue to hold at very great risks only. If they lose a decisive battle in Tennessee, the garrison of Columbus cannot escape being compelled to surrender, unless the Federals commit very great blunders. And that the Confederates are now compelled to fight a decisive battle in Tennessee, is one of the great results of the Federal victories. They have concentrated, we are told, 65,000 men at and about Nashville; it may be that they have succeeded in collecting even a larger force. But the combined troops of Halleck, Grant, Buell, and Thomas, together with the reserve now hurrying up from the camps of instruction in Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, will enable the Federals to outnumber them; and with their *morale* necessarily much raised

above that of their adversaries by the late successes, and with a strong Union party among the population to keep them well informed of the movements of the enemy, we do not see that they have any reason to be afraid of the issue.

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# AN INSPECTION OF ENGLISH VOLUNTEERS[478]

[*Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*,
No. 44, November 1, 1862]

Two years have passed since you permitted me to report in your journal on the review of volunteers in Newton in August 1860.[a] It may be of interest to your readers to learn something further, after such a lapse of time, on the strength and tactical training of the *English militia.*

On a suitable occasion, perhaps soon, I shall go into the strength and present organisation of the volunteers; I limit myself today to saying that the official effective strength of the volunteer army is 162,800 men, stronger, that is, than ever before, and I proceed at once to describe, by an example, the tactical training of this army.

On August 2 Colonel McMurdo, Inspector General of all volunteers, held a review at Heaton Park, one hour from Manchester, of the contingent raised by that city. The troops consisted of the First, Second and Third Manchester "regiments" (6th, 28th and 40th Lancashire Corps) and the "regiments" raised by the suburbs of Ardwick and Salford (33rd and 56th Lancashire). Only three of these so-called "regiments" (the First and Third Manchester and the Ardwick Corps) were in battalion strength; the other two together made up a battalion; these battalions varied from 18 to 21 squads per company, each battalion was made up of eight companies and was about 400 strong on the average, including officers. Also present were the volunteer cavalry (32 men) and artillery (two amusette one-pounders lent by Mr. Whitworth and about 150 men, constituted as infantry to guard the guns), likewise from Manchester. In most

[a] See this volume, pp. 409-16.—*Ed.*

of the battalions the infantry could have been stronger by 100-150 men, but the commanders seem to have seen to it that the untrained men stayed at home.

The terrain (the southern portion of the park belonging to the Earl of Wilton, where horse races were previously held) is a hilly ridge dropping from west to east; it is bounded by valley bottoms on the right and left which, in front of the eastern foot of the hill, combine to form a flat meadow some 800 paces square. The brook running along the northern foot of the hill, beyond which the land rises again, limited the terrain on that side; in every other direction it was enclosed by the woods up against the park wall. The terrain is quite open in character except for fenced or free-standing shrubbery as well as isolated trees and a swampy place here and there.

Colonel McMurdo's reviews, contrary to most usual reviews of volunteers, are always conducted without a programme prepared in advance and known to the troops; the gentlemen never know in advance what they will be called on to do. Accordingly, the manoeuvres they are ordered to perform are only such as are actually employed in face of the enemy, excluding any kind of tactical sophistication. McMurdo, the son-in-law of Sir Charles Napier, the conqueror of Sind,[479] and his chief of staff in India, is no pedant but a thoroughly practical soldier, and all his actions with the volunteers prove that he is just the man for his present position.

The brigade received the inspector in line, as usual. After the initial formalities, he had quarter-distance columns formed (the usual column in England for manoeuvres of bodies of troops outside the range of enemy fire), then had the ranks closed to centre and the front of the line of the column shifted forward to the right, so that the flat meadow mentioned above and the woods of the eastern wall of the park lay to the front. During these manoeuvres, which were executed rapidly and without disorder, the cavalry deployed in extended formation, went through the woods and opened fire on the supposed enemy, but soon drew back. Now the battalion on the right wing (6th Lancashire) was sent forward, four companies deployed and four in support; the next two battalions (the combined 28th and 56th Lancashire and the 33rd Lancashire) deployed, while the battalion on the left wing (40th Lancashire) remained in column formation and took up a position, along with the cavalry, 200 paces to the rear, as reserve. The two guns were placed on the edge of a hill on the right wing of the line of skirmishers. Until the order to advance

was given, the skirmishers, the supporting troops and the deployed line lay flat on the ground. In this posture the brigade made a genuinely military impression such as one is not accustomed to find in usual volunteer manoeuvres; one could see that a real soldier was in command.

The signal to advance and fire sounded for the line of skirmishers. The combat in loose order was not executed particularly well. The men, accustomed to deploying to a pattern on the open plain of their drill-ground, were much too anxiously concerned with their alignment to think of cover. Natural features and thickets were so much Greek to them. Besides, there were the fenced bushes, which were not to be entered and completely confused the men; one company remained halted before one such thicket in the narrow valley and fired into it with the utmost composure, while the rest of the line had long since gone around and was already beyond it. In addition, the line of skirmishers swung gradually all the way over to the left flank, so that the woods into which the cavalry had charged were attacked very little or not at all and the front of the deployed line was more and more exposed. Since the initial disposition and course of the manoeuvre did not seem in any way to call for this movement, I must presume that it was due to a misunderstanding. The artillery advanced, firing, with the right wing of the skirmishers, laid itself for the most part open; and if my field glasses did not deceive me, the wheels of the gun carriages were often tilted on the slope.

The skirmishers were also reinforced for a moment by deployment of the supporting troops and then called back; the deployed line had gone forward in the meantime and opened fire by squads. The fire of the right wing, especially the 28th Lancashire, was very heavy and almost too fast; in the centre, at the right wing of the 33rd Lancashire, it was sluggish and interrupted by long pauses, and rather irregular on the left wing. Here one part of the line stood just behind an undulation of the ground almost twice the height of a man, but that did not stop them from rattling away at it merrily. Meanwhile, the 40th Lancashire had come up from its position in the reserve to 200 paces behind the line, and deployed; to the right of it, the reassembled 6th Lancashire spread out. Both let the left-wing sections of the companies swing back to the rear in order to make room for the passage through of the first line, now breaking off by companies in double files and falling back. I must say that I have never been able to take kindly to this manoeuvre prescribed

in the regulations; on this occasion it made a worse impression than ever on me. The regulations prescribe that the first line, as it draws back, wheels about and goes up in line, up to a company in frontage, to the second line, which is likewise deployed; the first line then breaks off by companies and passes through the gaps formed as described above. If the first line is pulling back only because it is out of ammunition, is little unnerved and need not fear any immediate attack, such a manoeuvre can be executed at the double; for an active adversary, however, this would certainly be the moment to send in his main body. Here, however, the thing was not even done according to the regulations. The first line broke off at once in companies and had to retire a full two hundred paces in this formation, which was rather untidily executed into the bargain, without being covered by skirmishers.

The 6th and 40th Lancashire regiments for their part now opened up fire by squads, which was considerably more uniform and better sustained than that of the two other battalions. After perhaps four or five cartridges per man had been shot off—the artillery had kept up a continuous fire from the right wing of whatever unit formed the first line at the time—halt was sounded and this ended the first act of the manoeuvres. So far Colonel McMurdo had handled his brigade as a detached body engaged in independent combat with a supposed enemy; the positions and movements were all related to the opposite terrain held by the enemy. From this point on he drew up the four battalions in a single line, operating as the first line of a larger unit. The limited space no longer made it possible to take the terrain opposite into account, and in order to keep the men together in mass movement, there was no further deployment of skirmishers.

[*Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*, No. 45, November 8, 1862]

At the beginning, the first line changed front forward to the left, which brought it into the prolongation of the above-mentioned northern valley. The other battalions deployed to the left of it and the entire line opened fire by squads. It was then extended more and more to the left, while from the right wing on the battalions broke off in companies one after another, marched behind the front to the left wing, and reformed there. After the left wing had in this way been shifted almost to the woods of the western wall of the park, the front was drawn back 90 degrees to

the right, with the left wing as pivot. With the exception of the battalion on the left wing, this manoeuvre was executed, as usual, by assembling the battalions in quarter-distance columns, marching along the line of the new direction and deploying, and was done very quickly and in perfect order, even though on a steep slope. As the battalions deployed again, I went right along the front of the 40th Lancashire Corps and saw each company come up into the line of direction, and I must say that our best-drilled continental troops of the line might have done this more elegantly and "smartly" but certainly not more calmly or quickly. In the course of the manoeuvre Colonel McMurdo expressed his appreciation out loud several times to the battalion. The 6th Lancashire Corps too deployed rapidly and in order; I have seen French troops of the line execute this manoeuvre much more carelessly.

After some squad firing the brigade advanced in echelons from the left flank with 100 paces distance between the battalions, halted and formed a square at the double. This was not executed particularly well since the march through the thickets had separated the men to some extent. The battalions deployed again, advanced into alignment with the battalion on the left wing, each gave a salvo, which by and large was solid enough, and now the entire brigade advanced in a single line. I could wish that some of the officers, so numerous in Germany, who hold that movements in line cannot be executed with young troops, could have seen the frontal march of this line of 640 squads. The terrain was as rugged as one could wish. The front ran across a hilly ridge that fell off rather steeply on three sides, the ground was full of holes and humps, and there were many single trees. None the less the line went forward several hundred paces in perfect order, fairly well aligned, in close order and without deviation, especially the two centre battalions (6th and 40th), and Colonel McMurdo, both on the spot and later to his staff officers, expressed his complete satisfaction with this manoeuvre. Finally he had the attack sounded, and now off they went, as volunteer troops do, running at top speed a hundred paces or so down the slope into the open field, more like a race than an attack. When the halt was sounded, the 40th Lancashire Corps was compact and in order, though poorly aligned, the Sixth not in such good order. On the wings, however, especially the left, things were very disorderly; the men were badly disarrayed, many had fallen, and one man in the front rank was wounded in the calf, since at that point part of the second rank had also fixed bayonets. This ended the

manoeuvres; the troops formed up to defile, defiled and went home.

I believe that an example like this will give the readers of the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* a much more vivid picture of the character and the degree of training of these volunteers than any doctrinaire discussions. Although the number of troops concentrated there was small, just for that reason it was possible to execute more practical manoeuvres than would otherwise be possible here with larger masses of volunteers; sufficient space for the latter is never to be found here. In addition, the battalions present constituted a very good average sample of the English volunteer corps: two of them, as will have been seen, were considerably more advanced than the other two and represented the consolidated battalions of the larger cities; the other two, which were more backward in their training if only because of their less homogeneous composition, were more representative of the units formed in the country and smaller towns. On the whole it can be said that the volunteers have adequately learned the principal battalion manoeuvres; they form columns and deploy, and they move in columns and in line with sufficient, and occasionally great assurance. On the other hand, it would be well to spare them the artificial marches and counter-marches still contained in the English regulations, as in so many others. Open-order combat, always the weak side of the English, is known to the volunteers only to the extent that it could be taught them on the drill-ground, but in this respect too there are significant differences among the various battalions. The errors that came to light in this inspection do not differ in any way, as we have seen, from the errors seen daily in the training exercises of our continental peacetime armies, even though those armies have the advantage of being led by officers who have grown grey on the field of manoeuvre. In this connection it should not be overlooked that the officers of the English volunteers are still the weak side of the entire corps, although here too considerable improvement can be seen. One who rejoices in the *march past* will find that the volunteers are further advanced in this art too than he would have expected. Finally, as to their performance on the firing range, they can beyond question bear comparison with any standing army in Europe and certainly have an average of more good shots per battalion than most troops of the line. All in all, the experiment is to be regarded, after three years, as completely successful. Almost without any expense to the Government, England has created an organised army of 163,000 men for the country's defence—an

army that has gone so far in its training that, depending on the varying degree of training of the battalions, it needs only three to six weeks of encampment and exercises to become a thoroughly dependable field force. And in the worst of cases any attempt at invasion would be bound to give the English at least that much time!

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Signed: *F. E.*

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# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] In April 1857 Charles Dana, one of the founders of *The New American Cyclopaedia*, invited Marx to contribute to it. On Engels' advice, Marx agreed to write a number of articles, and Engels promised to help him with those on military and military-historical subjects. Subsequently Engels undertook most of these articles so that Marx could complete his economic research. Marx wrote primarily biographical essays on military figures and on politicians, for which Engels also helped him to elucidate the military aspect. Marx's and Engels' work together for the *Cyclopaedia*, like their joint reporting for the *New-York Daily Tribune*, is an example of the close collaboration between the founders of scientific communism.

*The New American Cyclopaedia* was "a popular dictionary of general knowledge" prepared by a group of progressive bourgeois journalists and publishers on the *New-York Daily Tribune* editorial board and edited by Charles Dana and George Ripley. It was published in 16 volumes by D. Appleton and Company, New York, in 1858-63 and reprinted in 1868 and 1869. A number of prominent US and European scholars wrote for it. Despite the eclecticism typical of this and other bourgeois encyclopaedias, many articles in *The New American Cyclopaedia* reflected progressive democratic views. Marx and Engels wrote their articles from revolutionary-proletarian, materialist positions notwithstanding the editors' demand not to express their party point of view. But because of this demand Marx limited the range of his subjects mainly to military problems and to the study of different countries, giving up the idea of writing essays on the history of German philosophy, the Napoleonic Code, Chartism, socialism and communism, which he thought it inadmissible to deal with even in a spirit of apparent neutrality. It may have been for this reason also that Marx did not contribute the article "Aesthetics" as originally planned.

The articles in *The New American Cyclopaedia* were published anonymously, and only volumes II, V and XVI contained lists of the authors of major articles. Marx is also mentioned as the author of the articles "Army", "Artillery", "Bernadotte", "Bolivar", "Cavalry", "Fortification", "Infantry", and "Navy" (actually these articles were written by Engels, except for "Bernadotte" and "Bolivar"). Marx's and Engels' authorship of other articles has been established on the basis of the Marx-Engels correspondence, Charles Dana's letters to Marx, Marx's notebooks, where the dispatch of articles to New York was

entered, and other material (conspectuses, extracts for articles, etc.). In all, the authorship of 81 articles has been established. Some of them may have been abridged by the *Cyclopaedia*'s editors, who in some cases interfered with the text.

Marx and Engels contributed to *The New American Cyclopaedia* from July 1857 to November 1860, and their articles (those known to us) were published in volumes I-V, VII, IX and XII. They were also included, unchanged, in the 1868-69 edition of the *Cyclopaedia* but were not reprinted any more during their authors' lifetime. A collection of them was not published until 1933 in the Soviet Union in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XI, Part II.

The most complete publication of these articles was in volumes 14 (1959) and 44 (1977) of the Second Russian Edition of the *Works* of Marx and Engels. However, this publication left out some articles—"Austerlitz", "Augereau", and "Badajos", of which Engels was erroneously regarded as the author. When preparing the Russian edition, the editors established the true authorship of a number of articles wrongly attributed to Marx and Engels by some bibliographers. Thus the articles "Abd-el-Kader" and "Chartism" were written by William Humphrey, "Austerlitz" by Henry W. Herbert, "Epicurus" by Hermann Raster, "Socialism" by Parke Godwin, and "Hegel" by Henry Smith. The article "Aesthetics" could not have been by Marx either, for it conflicts with the views expressed by Marx on the subject in his works.

In the present English edition, the articles by Marx and Engels from *The New American Cyclopaedia* are published on the basis of research carried out during the preparation of the Second Russian Edition of their *Works*.

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2 "Abensberg" is the first in the provisional list of articles for *The New American Cyclopaedia* written by Engels overleaf his letter to Marx of May 28, 1857, to be agreed on with Dana with respect to his initial request (see present edition, Vol. 40). Besides this theme Engels listed the following: Aboukir, Axle (artillery), Acre (St. Jean d'Acre, its siege), Actium (battle of), Adjutant, Afghanistan (invasion by English), Åland Isles—see Bomarsund, Albuera (battle of), Aldenhoven, Alessandria (fortress and sieges), Algeria (French conquest of and English bombardment of), Almeida (siege of in Peninsular war), Amusette (artillery), Anglesey (Marquis of), Attack (in battle and siege), Antwerp (fortress and sieges), Approaches, Arbela (battle of), Arquebuse, Aspern and Essling (battle of 1809), Augereau (Marshal), Advanced Guard. In his letter to Marx, July 11, 1857, Engels said that he had begun writing articles according to the list (by that time it had probably been slightly changed) and promised to send him by July 14 the articles "Abensberg", "Adjutant", "Alma" and "Ammunition" (the last two were not mentioned in the list), "and more such stuff, thus finishing off the whole of A (except 'Algeria' and 'Afghanistan') up to Ap and Aq". On July 14 Marx thanked Engels for the first, and on July 24 for the second, batch of articles he had received. Judging by an entry in Marx's notebook about the dispatch of the first batch, this material was sent off to New York on July 24. Some articles mentioned in the list ("Axle", "Approaches", "Advanced Guard") were not published in the *Cyclopaedia* and were probably not written by Engels. There is no indication that Engels wrote the articles "Anglesey" and "Augereau". p. 3

3 The defeat of the Austrian army at Abensberg was an episode in the five-day *battle of Regensburg* (from April 19 to 23) during the Austro-French war of 1809 (a war waged by France against the fifth European coalition: Austria, Britain,

Portugal and Spain). It was followed by the Austrians' defeat at Landshut on April 21 and at Eckmühl on April 22, and their retreat from Regensburg on April 23 under pressure from French troops. Nevertheless, the Austrian army retained its fighting capacity and put up a stubborn resistance to the French advance on Vienna. p. 3

4 Acre was captured by Richard Coeur de Lion in 1191 during the third crusade (1189-92). The *crusades* were military colonialist expeditions by the big West European feudal lords and Italian trading cities under the religious banner of recovering Jerusalem and other "Holy Lands" from the Mohammedans. Peasants also took part in the crusades, hoping thus to be freed from feudal oppression. History knows eight main crusades (1096-99, 1147-49, 1189-92, 1202-04, 1217-21, 1228-29, 1248-54 and 1270). Not only Mohammedan states in Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Tunisia but also the Christian Byzantine Empire were the objects of the crusaders' aggressive strivings. The crusaders' conquests in the Eastern Mediterranean were not lasting, and were recovered by the Mohammedans.

The *Knights of St. John* (also Hospitallers)—members of a Catholic military order founded by the crusaders in Palestine early in the twelfth century. After the defeat at Acre in 1291 they transferred their seat to Cyprus, then, early in the fourteenth century, to Rhodes and in 1530 to Malta (from that time on it was also called the order of Malta); since the nineteenth century its seat has been in Rome. p. 4

5 The abortive siege of Acre by the French (from March 21 to May 20, 1799) was an episode in the Egyptian expedition of the French army and navy under General Bonaparte, started in 1798 with a view to conquering Egypt and Syria from Turkey and preparing a base for a blow against the British possessions in India. Napoleon's successes in Egypt were reduced to naught by the destruction of the French fleet by the British squadron under Admiral Nelson at Aboukir on August 1, 1798, the victories of the Russo-Austrian forces under Suvorov over the French in Northern Italy, and the successful actions of the Russian squadron under Admiral Ushakov in the Mediterranean. Napoleon returned to France in the autumn of 1799 and the army left in Egypt was forced to capitulate to the British in 1801. p. 4

6 A reference to the military clashes between Turkey and the Egyptian ruler Mehemet Ali, who revolted against the Sultan. Syria was seized by Egypt during the Turkish-Egyptian war of 1831-33, but was restored to Turkey with the military support of the European powers during the war of 1839-41. p. 4

7 Under the *Brundisium agreement* concluded by Octavian, Mark Antony and Lepidus in 40 B.C. the Roman state was divided among these triumvirs. Antony received the Eastern provinces, Octavian the Western provinces (together with Illyria), and Lepidus became ruler of Africa (in 36 B.C. he was ousted from power by Octavian). The agreement remained in force until the open conflict between Antony and Octavian in 31 B.C. p. 5

8 Engels informed Marx of his intention to write this article ("Airey") in a letter dated May 28, 1857. The letter contained a list of themes planned for the beginning of their contribution to *The New American Cyclopaedia* (the theme in question was not in the list). In this letter Engels asked Marx for information about Airey's military career prior to the Crimean campaign. Marx's extracts

from several sources have survived, in particular from the *Opening Address of Major-General Sir Richard Airey, K.C.B., Quartermaster-General of the Forces. Before the Board of General Officers Assembled at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea*, London, 1856, which were used in this article.

Marx may have put the finishing touches to the text sent to New York, and the article can be regarded as written jointly by Marx and Engels. But it is also possible that Engels himself used the extracts made for him by Marx.

p. 7

9 Under the *Frederikshamm Peace Treaty* of September 1809, which concluded the Russo-Swedish war of 1808-09, Sweden ceded Finland and the Åland Islands to Russia. p. 9

10 The *battle of Bomarsund* in August 1854, during the Crimean war, is described by Engels in two articles in the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 379-88) and in an item in *The New American Cyclopaedia* (see this volume, p. 287). p. 9

11 A reference to the *battle of Hangut*, a peninsula at the exit of the Gulf of Finland, which took place on July 25-27, 1714, between the Russian and Swedish fleets during the Northern war (1700-21). The battle ended in a victory for the Russians. p. 9

12 During the Peninsular war between Britain and Napoleonic France (1808-14), the fortress of *Badajos* (Southwestern Spain) was three times besieged by the Anglo-Spanish-Portuguese allied army under Wellington. Alongside the regular hostilities, the Spanish and Portuguese peoples waged a national liberation war against the French invaders. Captured by the French in March 1811, Badajos was besieged by the allies on May 4. The siege lasted 10 days and was raised in view of Soult's approaching army. At the end of this article Engels says that the siege of Badajos was raised a few days after the battle of Albuera (May 16, 1811), an inaccuracy which was revealed after publication of the article and which is explained (see Engels' letter to Marx of February 18, 1858) by a mistake in one of the sources used by Engels. On May 25, following the victory at Albuera, the allies resumed the siege but on June 17 they lifted it because of the approaching French reserves. The allies laid siege to Badajos for a third time on March 16, 1812 and took it on April 6 after successfully storming it.

p. 10

13 The *battle of Neerwinden* (Belgium) on March 18, 1793 was fought between the French army and an Austrian force advancing after the victory at Aldenhoven during the war of revolutionary France against the anti-French European coalition (Austria, Prussia, Britain and others). It ended in a victory for the Austrians. p. 12

14 Engels' letter to Marx of May 28, 1857 shows that in this article he also intended to describe the battle of Aldenhoven of October 2, 1794, in which the French defeated the Austrians. Either Engels did not do so or the editors of the *Cyclopaedia* abridged the text. p. 12

15 *The New American Cyclopaedia* has two items under this title. The first item reads as follows: "ALESSANDRIA. I. A division of Piedmont, containing about 550,000 inhabitants, growing maize, wine, silk, madder, and flax."

Item II is by Engels (who in his letter to Marx of May 28, 1857 said that he was going to write about fortresses and sieges) and is the one reproduced in this volume. p. 13

16 The unsuccessful siege of *Alessandria* by the French in 1657 was an episode in the Franco-Spanish war of 1635-59. Northern Italy, the greater part of which (the Duchy of Milan) had fallen into the hands of the King of Spain by 1635, was one of its theatres.

The seizure of Alessandria by Prince Eugene of Savoy in October 1706 was a military operation by the allied Austrian and Savoy troops against the French in the *War of the Spanish Succession* (1701-14) caused by the struggle for the division of the then decaying feudal Spain's European and colonial possessions, and by the naval and colonial rivalry between Britain and France. France and Spain, whose crown passed to Philip Bourbon, grandson of Louis XIV, after the extinction of the male line of the Spanish Habsburgs, were opposed by a coalition of Britain, the Austrian Habsburgs (to which dynasty the Emperor of Germany also belonged), the Netherlands, the Duchy of Savoy, Portugal, Prussia and other German states. As a result of the war the Spanish possessions in Northern Italy passed to the Austrian Habsburgs while the fortress of Alessandria was ceded to the Duchy of Savoy. p. 13

17 Annexed to France in September 1802 Piedmont was ruled, together with Genoa annexed in 1805, by a French military governor. In 1814 the independence of Piedmont was restored under the rule of the Savoy dynasty. The territory of the former Genoese Republic was united to it by decision of the Vienna Congress of 1815. p. 13

18 "Alma" did not figure in the provisional list of articles for *The New American Cyclopaedia* contained in Engels' letter to Marx of May 28, 1857. But on July 11, 1857 Engels wrote to Marx that in a few days he was going to send him an item on this subject, together with other articles under A. Marx apparently sent it to New York with the first batch of articles on July 24, 1857. Charles Dana acknowledged receipt in a letter of September 2, 1857. p. 14

19 There are three items bearing this title in *The New American Cyclopaedia:* "ALMEIDA. I. A town of Portugal", "II. A seaport town of Brazil" and "ALMEIDA, Francisco de, the first Portuguese viceroy of India". The provisional list of articles in Engels' letter to Marx of May 28, 1857, contains the note: "Almeida (siege of in Peninsular war)", which provides grounds for regarding Engels as the author of the first item. The battle mentioned in it was fought during the Peninsular war of 1808-14 (see Note 12). p. 19

20 The events mentioned in the text belong to the period of the bourgeois revolution in the Netherlands (1566-1609), in which the struggle of the bourgeoisie and the masses against the feudal system was linked with the war of national liberation against absolutist Spain which had subjugated the Netherlands (now Belgium and Holland) in the sixteenth century. In the course of the war with Spain, the Northern Provinces formed the Dutch Republic (the United Provinces of the Netherlands) and won independence, while the Southern Netherlands remained under the Spaniards. In 1576 Antwerp was burned down by the Spaniards, the following year it was recaptured by the insurgents, and in 1579 it joined the anti-Spanish United Northern Provinces. However, in 1585 it was retaken by the Spaniards. p. 21

[21] In the autumn of 1832 the Anglo-French fleet blockaded the Dutch ports, and the French army laid siege to the fortress of *Antwerp* to force Holland to fulfil the terms of the London Treaty of 1831. The treaty provided for recognition of the independence of Belgium which had separated from the Kingdom of the Netherlands as a result of the bourgeois revolution of 1830, and for the transfer of Antwerp to the Belgians. The fortress capitulated in late December 1832. p. 21

[22] Evidence indicates that the articles "Arbela", "Arquebuse", "Aspern" and "Attack" belong to the second batch of articles beginning with A (according to the provisional list in Engels' letter to Marx of May 28, 1857), which he forwarded to Marx immediately after the first batch "up to Ap and Aq" received by Marx on July 14, 1857. On July 24 Marx wrote to Engels that he had received the new material, and judging by an entry in his notebook, he dispatched it, together with the first batch of articles, to New York.

Among the preparatory materials collected by Engels for the article "Army" there is an extract from the article "Arbela", published in the third volume of *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Edinburgh, 1853), which he probably used when writing this article. p. 23

[23] The *battle of Arbela* on October 1, 331 B.C. completed the military rout of the Persia of the Achaemenids and the conquest of its territories by Alexander of Macedon. It was preceded by two big battles between the Macedonian and Persian armies: in May 334 B.C. on the Granicus river (Northwestern Asia Minor) and in November 333 B.C. at Issus (a town in Cilicia on the road from Asia Minor to Syria). These battles were won by the Macedonians. p. 23

[24] The *battle of Bosworth* (Leicestershire, England) on August 22, 1485 was fought between the soldiers of Henry Tudor, distant relative of the House of Lancaster, and the army of Richard III, of the House of York. Richard III was defeated and killed and Henry Tudor was proclaimed King Henry VII. This battle ended the War of the Roses (1455-85) between the House of York, whose emblem was a white rose, and the Lancastrians with a red rose as their emblem. p. 24

[25] The *battle of Agincourt* (Azincourt) on October 25, 1415 was fought during the Hundred Years' War, a series of wars between England and France lasting from 1337 to 1453, and ended in a victory for the English. The cause of the war was the struggle of the two countries over the possession of the commercial and industrial towns of Flanders, the main consumer of English wool, and the English kings' claims to the French throne. In the first period of the war the English managed to seize a considerable part of Southwestern France, but during the 1360s and 1370s almost the whole of this territory was liberated. In 1415 the English feudal lords resumed hostilities and soon seized all of Northern France, including Paris. However, as a result of a popular war against the foreign invaders, the English were driven out of the whole of France with the exception of Calais. p. 24

[26] The *battle of Pavia* (Northern Italy) took place on February 24, 1525 between the armies of Francis I of France, then an ally of Henry VIII of England, and of Charles V (Emperor of Germany and King of Spain). The French were defeated and Francis I himself taken prisoner. The battle was one of the major events in the Italian wars waged (with intervals) from 1494 to 1559 between France, on the one hand, and Spain and the German (Holy Roman) Empire, on

the other, over the possession of Italy. As a result of these wars France was forced to give up its claims to Italy, the greater part of which fell into the hands of the Spanish Habsburgs. p. 24

[27] The *English civil wars* during the bourgeois revolution of the mid-seventeenth century were waged between the Royalists, who strove to restore the absolute power of Charles I, and the Parliamentarians. At the beginning of the first civil war (1642-46) the Parliamentary army, whose leaders favoured compromise with the Royalists, suffered defeats. But after the reorganisation of the armed forces by Oliver Cromwell, and thanks to the activity of the masses, there was a turn in the war and the King was defeated. In the spring of 1648 a second civil war broke out following Royalist revolts and the actions in support of Charles I by the Scottish feudal aristocracy. It ended in August 1648 with new victories by the revolutionary army. In 1649 Charles I was beheaded, and a republic was established in England. p. 25

[28] Engels refers here to the campaign against Austria during the war of Napoleonic France against the fifth anti-French coalition (Britain, Austria, Spain and Portugal) in 1809.

The *grand army* (*grande armée*)—the name given in 1805 to the group of the armed forces of the French Empire operating in the main theatres of the Napoleonic wars. Besides French troops, it included contingents from various countries conquered by Napoleon (Italy, Holland, the German states and Poland). p. 27

[29] On the five-day *battle of Regensburg* (Bavaria), April 19-23, 1809 see Note 3. p. 27

[30] In the *battle at Waterloo* (Belgium) on June 18, 1815 Napoleon's army was routed by the Anglo-Dutch and Prussian armies under Wellington and Blücher, and this decided the final victory of the seventh anti-French coalition (Britain, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Spain and other states). Victory was ensured by the endurance of the British infantrymen who rebuffed the numerous attacks of the French, and by Blücher's army which came in time to the aid of the Anglo-Dutch forces. p. 31

[31] A reference to the *battle of Leipzig* on October 16-19, 1813 between the armies of the sixth European coalition (Russia, Austria, Prussia, Britain, Sweden, Spain and other states) and of Napoleonic France. This "battle of the nations" ended in victory for the anti-French coalition and led to Germany's liberation from Napoleon's rule. p. 33

[32] This refers to the continued hostilities between the armies of the sixth European coalition (Russia, Austria, Prussia, Britain, Sweden, Spain and other states) and of Napoleonic France on French territory from the beginning of 1814. Despite a series of defeats, the allies occupied Paris at the end of March 1814, and Napoleon abdicated and was exiled to Elba. His restoration to power in March 1815 led to the formation of the seventh anti-French coalition. There followed his defeat at Waterloo (see Note 30), his second abdication (on June 22, 1815) and his exile to St. Helena. p. 34

[33] Engels mentions the major battles fought during the Greco-Persian wars (500-449 B.C.) in which the Greek city-states managed to uphold their independence and to repulse the Persian state which had undertaken a number

of predatory campaigns in the Balkans. Under the peace treaty of 449 B.C. the King of Persia was compelled to give up his claims to the territories in the Aegean Sea and to recognise the independence of the Greek cities in Asia Minor which had been conquered by the Persians.

At the *battle of Marathon* (a plain in Attica), September 490 B.C., the army of the Athenians and Plataeans under Miltiades defeated the Persians.

In July 480 B.C. a small allied army of Greeks under Leonidas, King of Sparta, blocked the way to Central Greece, through the *Pass of Thermopylae*, for the many-thousand-strong Persian army under Xerxes. However, the Persians managed to outflank the Greeks. Leonidas withdrew his main forces, but three hundred Spartans headed by him continued to defend the passage and fell heroically in an unequal battle.

At the *battle of Plataea* (Central Greece) in the autumn of 479 B.C., the united Greek army under the Spartan Pausanias and the Athenian Aristides defeated the Persians. p. 35

34 At the *battle of Crécy* on August 26, 1346 and that of *Poitiers* on September 19, 1356, the English, using a combination of knights and archers, defeated the French army whose main force consisted of cavalry. These battles, like that of *Agincourt* (see Note 25), were fought during the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) between England and France. p. 35

35 In 1812 the English ruling classes began a war against the USA with a view to restoring their domination in North America, lost as a result of the eighteenth-century American bourgeois revolution. At first the war favoured the English but in 1813 the Americans managed to drive them out of the state of Michigan, bordering on Canada. Though the English temporarily seized Washington in 1814, they suffered considerable losses, owing to the successful actions of the American fleet, and were forced to conclude a peace treaty in Ghent in December 1814 on the basis of recognition of the *status quo ante bellum*. Military operations ceased in January 1815. p. 36

36 On August 2, 216 B.C., at *Cannae* (Southeastern Italy), the Carthaginian general Hannibal defeated the Romans. This major battle of the Second Punic war between Rome and Carthage (218-01 B.C.) is described in detail by Engels in his article "Cavalry" (see this volume, p. 296). p. 36

37 The *battle of Leuctra* (Boeotia) between the Theban and Spartan armies was fought in 371 B.C., during the Boeotian war (378-362 B.C.). In this war Thebes, where democratic elements had come to power, opposed the supremacy of oligarchic Sparta in Greece. The defeat at Leuctra undermined Sparta's might and led to the decline of the Peloponnesian Alliance headed by it.

At *Mantinea* (Peloponnesus) the Thebans and their allies under Epaminondas defeated the Spartan army in 362 B.C. But the Thebans' heavy losses and the death of their general prevented them from consolidating their success. Thus Thebes failed to maintain its supremacy in Greece. p. 36

38 At the *battle of Fontenoy* (Belgium) on May 11, 1745, during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48), the French army under Maurice of Saxony defeated the allied Anglo-Hanoverian, Dutch and Austrian armies. The war was caused by the claims of some European states, primarily Prussia, to the Austrian Habsburgs' possessions which, after the death of Charles VI, passed to his daughter Maria Theresa, there being no male heir. Prussia's allies were

France, Bavaria (until 1742) and Saxony. England, which strove to weaken France—its commercial and colonial rival—fought on the side of Austria, also supported by the Netherlands, Sardinia and Russia. As a result of the war, Prussia seized and annexed Silesia, but the rest of the Habsburgs' possessions remained in the hands of Maria Theresa.

*Chippewa* was the site of a battle (July 5, 1814) won by the Americans during the 1812-14 war between England and the United States. p. 37

[39] On August 11, 1857 Marx made in his notebook the following entry concerning the dispatch of this item to New York: "Cyclopaedia. Afghanistan. Abatis." This item seems to belong to the *"militaria"* which Engels (at the time undergoing medical treatment at Liverpool) had promised Marx, in a letter dated July 30, 1857, he would send him as soon as possible (see present edition, Vol. 40). Charles Dana acknowledged receipt of the item in a letter to Marx of September 2, 1857. p. 39

[40] That Engels wanted to write an article on Afghanistan (with emphasis on the Anglo-Afghan war of 1838-42) is evident from the fact that he included this topic in the provisional list of articles for *The New American Cyclopaedia* in his letter to Marx of May 28, 1857. On July 11, 1857, however, Engels informed Marx that the article would not be ready by July 14, as agreed. The work on it apparently took longer than expected. Marx had received it by August 11 and, as can be seen from the entry in his notebook for this date, sent it off to New York. In a letter to Marx of September 2, 1857 Charles Dana acknowledged receipt of "Invasion of Afghanistan".

When working on this article Engels used J. W. Kaye's *History of the War in Afghanistan*, vols. I-II, London, 1851 (see this volume, pp. 379-90). p. 40

[41] Engels uses the term "clan", widespread in Western Europe, to designate *heli* (tribal groups) into which Afghan tribes were divided. p. 41

[42] *Soonees* (*Sunnites*) and *Sheeahs* (*Shiites*)—members of the two main Mohammedan sects which appeared in the seventh century as the result of conflicts between the successors of Mohammed, founder of Islam. p. 42

[43] The *Moguls*—invaders of Turkish descent, who came to India from the east of Central Asia in the early sixteenth century and in 1526 founded the Empire of the Great Moguls (named after the ruling dynasty of the Empire) in Northern India. Contemporaries regarded them as the direct descendants of the Mongol warriors of Genghis Khan, hence the name "Moguls". In the mid-seventeenth century the Mogul Empire included most of India and part of Afghanistan. Later on, however, the Empire began to decline due to peasant rebellions, the growing resistance of the Indian people to the Mohammedan conquerors, and increasing separatist tendencies. In the early half of the eighteenth century the Empire of the Great Moguls virtually ceased to exist. p. 42

[44] The *Mahrattas* (*Marathas*)—an ethnic group who lived in Northwestern Deccan. In the mid-seventeenth century they began an armed struggle against the Empire of the Great Moguls, thus contributing to its decline. In the course of the struggle the Mahrattas formed an independent state of their own, whose rulers soon embarked on wars of conquest. At the close of the seventeenth century their state was weakened by internal feudal strife, but early in the eighteenth century a powerful confederation of Mahratta principalities was formed under a supreme governor, the peshwa. In 1761 they suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Afghans in the struggle for supremacy in

India. Weakened by this struggle and internal feudal strife, the Mahratta principalities fell a prey to the East India Company and were subjugated by it as a result of the Anglo-Mahratta war of 1803-05. p. 42

45 The *Sikhs*—a religious sect which appeared in the Punjab (Northwestern India) in the sixteenth century. Their belief in equality became the ideology of the peasants and lower urban strata in their struggle against the Empire of the Great Moguls and the Afghan invaders at the end of the seventeenth century. Subsequently a local aristocracy emerged among the Sikhs and its representatives headed the Sikh principalities. In the early nineteenth century these principalities united under Ranjit Singh whose Sikh state included the Punjab and some neighbouring regions. The British authorities in India provoked an armed conflict with the Sikhs in 1845 and in 1846 succeeded in turning the Sikh state into a vassal. The Sikhs revolted in 1848, but were subjugated in 1849. p. 43

46 The *siege of Herat* by the Persians lasted from November 1837 to August 1838. Intent on increasing Britain's influence in Afghanistan and weakening Russia's in Persia, the British Government declared the Shah's actions to be hostile to Britain and demanded that he should lift the siege. Threatening him with war, it sent a squadron into the Persian Gulf in 1838. The Shah was forced to submit and to agree to a one-sided trade treaty with Britain. Marx described the siege of Herat in his article "The War against Persia" (see present edition, Vol. 15). p. 44

47 During the Anglo-Afghan war the East India Company resorted to threats and violence to obtain the consent of the feudal rulers of Sind, a region in the northwest of India (now in Pakistan) bordering on Afghanistan, to the passage of British troops across their territory. Taking advantage of this, the British demanded in 1843 that the local feudal princes proclaim themselves vassals of the Company. After crushing the rebel Baluchi tribes (natives of Sind), they declared the annexation of the entire region to British India. p. 44

48 *Sepoys*—mercenary troops in the British-Indian army recruited from the Indian population and serving under British officers. They were used by the British to subjugate India and to fight the wars of conquest against Afghanistan, Burma and other neighbouring states. However, the Sepoys shared the general discontent of the Indian people with the colonial regime and took part in the national liberation insurrection in India in 1857-59. p. 46

49 This is one of a number of articles beginning with B for which Marx received a request in the summer of 1857. He forwarded this request to Engels in his letter of August 26, 1857 (see present edition, Vol. 40). The list of articles asked for by Charles Dana has not survived, but later, in connection with an additional request from New York for articles beginning with B, Marx repeated it in his letter to Engels of February 1, 1858, reminding him of the work already done. The list included: "Barbette", "Bastion", "Bayonet", "Barclay de Tolly", "Battery", "Battle", "Bem", "Bennigsen", "Berthier", "Bernadotte", "Bessières", "Bivouac", "Blindage", "Blücher", "Blum", "Bolivar y Ponte", "Bomb", "Bombardier", "Bombardment", "Bomb (-ketch, -proof, -vessel)", "Bonnet", "Bosquet", "Bourrienne", "Bridge (pontoon)", "Brown (Sir George)", "Brune", and "Bugeaud". There is also a list of articles beginning with B (with some of the items crossed out) at the end of Marx's notebook for 1857.

In his letter of August 26, 1857 Marx asked Engels to send articles for the *Cyclopaedia* as soon as possible. By September 15 he had received three articles which, together with the articles "Barclay de Tolly" and "Berthier", he dispatched to New York on that day, as seen from his notebook entry for September 15: "Barclay. Berthier. Bayonet. Barbet. Bastion für die Cyclopaedia". On the same day Marx wrote to Engels that besides these articles he had forwarded to Dana the articles "Blum" and "Bourrienne", but according to his notebook they were dispatched to New York a week later, with other material. p. 49

50 Engels' letter to Marx of September 10, 1857 and his biographical sketches of Bennigsen and Barclay enclosed in it show that the article "Barclay de Tolly" was a joint work of Marx and Engels, though the final editing was done by Marx. Besides reference books the authors used the following sources when writing this article: Martens' collected treatises and conventions, A. H. Jomini's *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon* (Vol. 4, Paris, 1827) and Th. von Bernhardi's *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben des ... Grafen von Toll* (Vol. 2, Leipzig, 1856). In these books Russia's Patriotic War of 1812 against Napoleon's invasion is described tendentiously, which was bound to tell on the elucidation of some of its aspects in the articles written by Marx and Engels, who did not have more objective sources to hand at the time. This article, for example, contains inaccuracies in explaining why Mikhail Kutuzov was appointed commander-in-chief of the Russian army and why he abandoned the position at Gzhatsk (more precisely at Tsarevo-Zaimishche). His role in subsequent Russian military operations is also presented inaccurately. Barclay de Tolly is wrongly opposed to Kutuzov, for the former, though an outstanding Russian military leader and patriot, was far inferior to Kutuzov as regards strategic talent, the understanding of the character of the war, military experience and popularity among the army and the people. These were precisely the reasons why Kutuzov was appointed commander-in-chief under pressure from public opinion and despite Alexander I's dislike for him.

On this article's dispatch to New York see the previous note. p. 50

51 A reference to the *battle of Preussisch-Eylau* (East Prussia) on February 7-8, 1807 between the French and the Russian army (which also included Prussian units) during the war of the fourth coalition (Britain, Russia, Prussia and Sweden) against France. After the defeat of the Prussian army by Napoleon in 1806 the main theatre of war shifted to East Prussia, where Napoleon came up against stubborn resistance from the allied army of Russia and Prussia. This battle was indecisive (see also Marx and Engels' article "Bennigsen", this volume, pp. 77-78). p. 50

52 In March 1809 (during the Russo-Swedish war of 1808-09), Russian forces under Barclay de Tolly entered Swedish territory from Finland. This accelerated the carrying out of the Swedish aristocracy's plot against Gustavus Adolphus to limit the King's power in favour of the aristocratic oligarchy. In March 1809 Gustavus Adolphus was deposed and soon after his uncle, the Duke of Zudermanland, was proclaimed king under the name of Charles XIII. In September Sweden was compelled to sign the Fredericksham Peace Treaty with Tsarist Russia (see Note 9).

A similar operation had earlier been undertaken by the Swedes themselves during the Danish-Swedish war of 1657-58: in January 1658, the Swedish army under Charles X invaded Denmark across the ice-bound straits of the Little and

the Great Belt and forced it to conclude a peace treaty advantageous to Sweden. p. 50

[53] According to Phull's plan, if Napoleon invaded Russia, the Russian armed forces were to be divided into three armies. One army was to repulse the enemy's main blow relying on an entrenched camp in Drissa built for the purpose in 1811-12, while the other two armies (protecting the southwestern frontier) were to manoeuvre on the enemy flanks and in his rear. This plan scattered the Russian forces and doomed them to piecemeal defeat by the superior enemy forces. However, the Russian command, including Barclay de Tolly, adopted a timely decision to leave the Drissa camp and withdraw to the interior so as to unite their armies. p. 51

[54] The *battle of Smolensk* between Napoleon's army and the Russian troops covering the withdrawal of the main forces of Bagration's and Barclay de Tolly's armies, which had united on August 3, 1812, took place on August 16-18, 1812. At the cost of heavy losses Napoleon captured the city which had been abandoned by the Russian rearguard after the withdrawal of the main Russian forces. p. 51

[55] Russian troops reached *Tsarevo-Zaimishche* (southwest of Gzhatsk) on August 29, 1812. This position was abandoned by the Russian army by decision of Kutuzov who had been appointed commander-in-chief shortly before. He intended to give decisive battle to the French when there was a more favourable alignment of forces, for which it was necessary to win time and bring up reinforcements. The Russians therefore retreated to Borodino, which on September 7 became the scene of a great battle, which was to bring about a turn of the tide in Russia's favour in the Patriotic War of 1812, despite the forced but expedient abandonment of Moscow. p. 51

[56] Marx and Engels mention a number of battles between the armies of the sixth European coalition (Britain, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Spain and other states) and Napoleonic France.

The *siege of Thorn* (Toruń), a Polish fortress on the Vistula held by a French garrison, was begun by the Russians under Barclay de Tolly in the middle of February 1813. On April 16 the fortress ceased resistance and on April 18 an agreement was signed on its capitulation and transfer to Prussia, Russia's ally.

At the *battle of Königswartha* (Saxony) on May 19, 1813 the allied Russo-Prussian forces under Barclay de Tolly defeated the French. Lauriston's Corps suffered most.

At the *battle of Bautzen* (Saxony) on May 20-21, 1813 Napoleon's army won a victory over the allied Russo-Prussian forces, who, however, withdrew in perfect order, covered by the Russian rearguard under Barclay de Tolly. The following day a rearguard battle took place at *Görlitz* between the French and the Russians retreating from Bautzen, who emerged victorious.

On August 30, 1813, as a result of the *battle at Kulm* (Khlumeč, Bohemia) between the Austro-Prusso-Russian forces under Barclay de Tolly and the French army, Vandamme's Corps was cut off from the main body and was forced to capitulate.

At the *battle of Leipzig* on October 16-19, 1813 (see Note 31), Barclay de Tolly commanded the central group of the allied forces. p. 52

[57] See Note 30. p. 52

[58] At the *battle of the Speyerbach* (Palatinate) on November 15, 1703 the French army won a victory over the German imperial army, the outcome being decided by a French bayonet attack. The battle took place during the War of the Spanish Succession (see Note 16) which was fought in Italy, Spain, Western and Southwestern Germany, and in the Netherlands. p. 55

[59] When writing the article "Berthier" Marx used information on his life and military activity contained in Engels' letter of September 11 or 12, 1857. p. 56

[60] The American War of Independence (1775-83)—a revolutionary war fought by 13 British colonies in North America. As a result of their victory an independent state was formed, the United States of America. France fought on the side of the Americans. p. 56

[61] On *October 5 and 6, 1789,* during the French Revolution, the masses who had come to Versailles from Paris clashed with the King's guard and forced Louis XVI to return to Paris, thus thwarting a counter-revolutionary plot prepared by the Court against the Constituent Assembly.

On *February 19, 1791* Paris was the scene of popular unrest caused by an attempt of the King's female relatives to flee abroad. p. 56

[62] *Vendée*—a department in Western France; during the French Revolution of 1789-94 the centre of a royalist revolt raised in March 1793 in which the local peasant masses took part. In June 1793 the Vendeans besieged and captured the town of *Saumur* from the republican forces, but later sustained a number of defeats. The revolt was suppressed in 1795 but attempts to revive it were made in 1799 and later. p. 56

[63] The *9th Thermidor* (July 27, 1794)—a coup d'état which led to the overthrow of the Jacobin revolutionary government. p. 56

[64] After the 9th Thermidor Kellermann commanded the Alpine and Italian armies of the French Republic which were to defend the southern borders, including the passes over the Alps, against Austrian and Piedmontese troops threatening invasion. p. 56

[65] Marx lists a number of battles of the 1796-97 campaign in which the French army under General Bonaparte routed the allied Austrian and Piedmontese (Sardinian) armies in Northern Italy. At the *battle of Mondovi* Bonaparte's army defeated the Piedmontese troops, forcing the King of Piedmont to conclude a separate peace treaty with France. The Austrians' defeat at *Lodi* led to Bonaparte's capture of Milan. The *battle of Rivoli* (January 14-15, 1797), also won by Bonaparte, finally determined the outcome of the entire campaign in favour of France. The conclusion of a peace treaty between France and Austria in October 1797 completed the collapse of the first anti-French coalition (1792-97). p. 56

[66] Under the pretext of helping the Italian republicans, Bonaparte sought to establish French rule in Italy by setting up "daughter" republics. In March 1798 a Roman Republic was proclaimed, with the help of the French forces, and Pius VI fled. But in 1799, following the invasion of Italy by the armies of the second anti-French coalition, the Italian republics were abolished and the Pope's power restored in the Roman Papal States. With the restoration of French rule in Italy Napoleon incorporated the Papal States into the French

Empire in 1809, having previously united part of their territory to the vassal Kingdom of Italy. p. 57

67 See Note 5. p. 57

68 The *18th and 19th Brumaire* (November 9-10, 1799)—a coup d'état which led to the establishment of the military dictatorship of Napoleon Bonaparte, who was proclaimed Emperor of the French in 1804. p. 57

69 At the *battle of Marengo* (Northern Italy) on June 14, 1800 the army of Napoleon, who had received incorrect information on the disposition of the Austrian forces, was unexpectedly attacked by the Austrians who were nevertheless defeated. The French victory at Marengo and successful operations on the other fronts led to the collapse of the second anti-French coalition, formed at the end of 1798 by Britain, Austria, Russia, Spain, Naples and Turkey. As a result Napoleon's rule was consolidated. p. 57

70 See Note 28. p. 57

71 On October 17, 1805, during the war of the third European coalition (Britain, Austria, Russia and the Kingdom of Naples) against Napoleonic France, the Austrian army under General Mack, surrounded by the French near Ulm, was compelled to capitulate. p. 58

72 Berthier was given the title of Prince of Wagram in honour of the victory of Napoleon's army over the Austrians at Wagram on July 5-6, 1809, during the war against the fifth coalition (Austria, Britain, Spain and Portugal). After this defeat the Austrians were forced to accept a harsh peace treaty with Napoleon in October 1809. p. 58

73 A reference to the *provisional government* under Talleyrand set up by the Senate in April 1814, after the defeat of Napoleon's army and the entry of the Allies into Paris. It promoted the restoration of the Bourbons. p. 58

74 As can be seen from the list contained in Engels' letter to Marx of May 28, 1857, Engels intended to write the article "Algeria" together with the first batch of articles beginning with A. But by the middle of July 1857 it was not ready, perhaps not even begun (see Engels' letter to Marx of July 11, 1857). Engels finished it only by the middle of September. On September 18 Marx made an entry in his notebook on the dispatch of "Algiers, Ammunition" to New York, and also informed Engels of this on September 21.

The editors of *The New American Cyclopaedia* made some changes in the article. As Engels' letter to Marx of September 22, 1857 shows, the no longer extant original text contained an account of the war of liberation of the Algerian people under Abd-el-Kader (see Note 80) and a characterisation of Marshal Bugeaud's colonialist activity. They were probably omitted by the editors because the *Cyclopaedia* already contained a special item on Abd-el-Kader and was to include an article on Bugeaud from Marx (see this volume, pp. 211-14). There are other signs of the editors' interference with the text.

In his article Engels managed to overcome the tendentious approach to the history of Algeria in the historical literature and reference books available to him at the time (in particular he made use of the article "Algeria" in *Wigand's Conversations-Lexikon,* Vol. I, Leipzig, 1846). Nevertheless, some outdated and one-sided ideas on particular questions in Engels' sources are reflected in his article, for example, on the role of Christian countries in fighting Algerian

piracy (these countries themselves engaged in privateering on a large scale), and on the circumstances and motives of the first French occupation of Algeria. p. 60

75 *Barbary powers*—a name given by Europeans in the past to the Moslem states along the Mediterranean coast of North Africa.
On the *Knights of Malta* see Note 4. p. 63

76 *Janizaries*—the main body of the feudal Turkish footguards, formed of young prisoners of war and Christian subjects of the Sultan converted to Islam. They took part in wars of conquest and performed garrison duties in conquered countries. Forming an isolated body, the janizaries came to play an independent role in political life and participated in feudal strife both at the centre and in the provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The janizaries' corps was abolished in 1826. p. 63

77 On April 30, 1827, at a reception in his residence, Hussein, Dey of Algiers, had an argument with the French Consul-General Deval over the French Government's non-payment of a debt to his subjects. In reply to Deval's defiant attitude Hussein slapped him in the face with his fan. This incident served as a pretext for Charles X to blockade the Algerian shores in 1827-29, following which the French colonialists began the conquest of the country in 1830. p. 64

78 The government of Charles X intended to transfer the administration of Algeria formally to the Porte under terms which actually established French control over the country and at the same time increased the Ottoman Empire's financial dependence on France. France was to receive four Algerian ports and 20 million francs from the Sultan for "aid" in "returning" Algeria to him. But the negotiations with the Porte were interrupted by the July 1830 revolution in France, which led to the replacement of the Bourbons by the Orleans. The July monarchy began the process of establishing direct French rule in Algeria. p. 64

79 In the autumn of 1836 a French expedition under Marshal Clausel against the province of Constantine, which was in the hands of the Algerian insurgents, proved a failure. The following autumn a second expedition was organised under General Damrémont, who had succeeded Clausel as Governor-General of Algeria. This time, at the cost of heavy losses, the French managed to take Constantine by storm. p. 68

80 The liberation struggle of the Algerians led by Emir Abd-el-Kader lasted with short intervals from 1832 to 1847. Between 1839 and 1844, the French used their considerable military superiority to conquer Abd-el-Kader's state in Western Algeria. However, he continued guerrilla warfare relying on support from the Sultan of Morocco. When the latter was defeated in the Franco-Moroccan war of 1844, Abd-el-Kader retreated to the Sahara oases. The last stage of this struggle was an insurrection in Western Algeria in 1845-47, which was put down by the French colonialists.
In 1847 Abd-el-Kader was taken prisoner, but even after that the Algerians' anti-colonialist revolts continued both in Western and Eastern Algeria. p. 68

81 *Marabouts*—Moslim hermits or monks; they took an active part in the liberation struggle of the North African peoples against the European colonialists. p. 69

82 *Bureaux Arabes*—French military administrative bodies in Algeria dealing with questions that directly concerned the local population. They were set up in all occupied provinces and had wide powers. p. 69

83 Engels intended to write the article "Ammunition" in July 1857, as is evident from his letter to Marx of July 11-12 of that year. But being busy with other articles for *The New American Cyclopaedia* he did not begin writing it until the middle of September. It was dispatched to New York on September 18, 1857, as is shown by an entry in Marx's notebook. p. 71

84 In a letter to Marx of September 18, 1857 Engels promised to send him "Battle", "Battery" and, time permitting, other articles beginning with B in accordance with Dana's request (see Note 49). However, by that time only the first of these articles was ready, and Marx sent it off to New York on September 22, 1857, together with the articles "Blum", "Bourrienne" and "Bennigsen". Marx's notebook contains an entry on the dispatch of these articles on that day. p. 72

85 At the *battle of Leuthen* (Lutynia), Silesia, on December 5, 1757, during the Seven Years' War, the army of Frederick II of Prussia defeated the Austrians.

The *Seven Years' War* (1756-63)—a war of Britain and Prussia against Austria, France, Russia, Saxony and Sweden. In 1756 and 1757 the Prussians won a number of victories over Austrian and French troops, but the results achieved were nullified by the Russian successes in Prussia (1757-60). As a result of the war France ceded many of its colonies (including Canada and almost all its possessions in the East Indies) to Britain, while Prussia, Austria and Saxony had largely to recognise the pre-war frontiers. p. 73

86 At the *battle of Kolin* (Bohemia) on June 18, 1757, during the Seven Years' War, the army of Frederick II of Prussia was routed by the Austrians.

At *Kunersdorf* (Prussia, east of Frankfort on the Oder) the Russian and Austrian armies under the general command of Pyotr Saltykov inflicted a heavy defeat on Frederick II's army on August 12, 1759. As the result of their victories, the Russians temporarily occupied Berlin in 1760. p. 73

87 The rough draft of this article was made by Engels and enclosed in his letter to Marx of September 10, 1857. It was based largely on A. H. Jomini's book *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon* (vols. 1-4, Paris, 1827). Marx edited this draft and supplemented it with data from *Biographie universelle (Michaud) ancienne et moderne* (Vol. 3, Paris, 1854), Napoleon's *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1823), Fr. Chr. Schlosser's *Zur Beurtheilung Napoléon's und seiner neusten Tadler und Lobredner* (Frankfurt am Main, 1835) and other books. He sent off the final version to New York on September 22, 1857, as can be seen from an entry in his notebook. p. 76

88 See Note 85. p. 76

89 This refers to the long siege and capture by the Russians in December 1788 of the *fortress of Ochakov*, a stronghold of the Turks in the north of the Black Sea during the Russo-Turkish war of 1787-91. p. 76

90 At *Oszmiana* and *Solli* in June 1794, during the Polish national liberation uprising under Kosciusko, Bennigsen's corps inflicted a defeat on Polish troops. In August the Russians broke the resistance of the Polish army defending Vilna (Vilnius) and entered the city.

The suppression of the uprising resulted in the third partition of Poland in 1795 (the first and second partitions took place in 1772 and 1793) among Austria, Prussia and Russia. This partition put an end to the existence of Poland as an independent state. p. 76

91 The siege and capture by the Russians of the town of *Derbent* (formerly belonging to Persia) in 1796 was a reply to the invasion of Georgia by the Shah of Persia, Aga Mohammed, in 1795, which was accompanied by the mass slaughter and enslavement of many Georgians. p. 77

92 A reference to the war of the fourth coalition (Britain, Russia, Prussia and Sweden) against Napoleonic France (see Note 51). p. 77

93 The French began the *siege of Danzig* (Gdańsk) in March 1807. The garrison consisting of Prussian troops and an allied Russian detachment offered stubborn resistance. An attempt to relieve it was made by another Russian detachment. The fortress surrendered to superior enemy forces at the end of May 1807. p. 78

94 See Note 31. p. 78

95 On August 26, 1857 Marx wrote to Engels telling him, among other things, that in the list of articles beginning with B requested by Dana for *The New American Cyclopaedia* "there are only two non-military articles"—"Blum" and "Bourrienne"—and on September 15 he informed Engels that he had dispatched them to New York together with other material. However as can be seen from his notebook Marx finished them only a week later and sent them to the United States on September 22, 1857.

When writing his article on Blum Marx made excerpts from the detailed biographical article "Blum" in *Meyer's Conversations-Lexicon* (second Supplement Volume, 1853, pp. 240-46) (see this volume, pp. 391-93), and from Fr. Steger's *Ergänzungs-Conversationslexicon* (Vol. 1, Leipzig, 1846, pp. 153-60), and other sources. p. 80

96 The Leipzig *Schiller Association* and the *Association of German Authors* in the 1840s united German writers to fight for freedom of the press and spread liberal ideas in Germany. p. 81

97 *German Catholicism*—a religious movement which arose in a number of German states in 1844. The "German Catholics" did not recognise the supremacy of the Pope, rejected many dogmas and rites of the Roman Catholic Church and sought to adapt Catholicism to the needs of the German bourgeoisie. p. 81

98 The meeting of Leipzig citizens before the riflemen's barracks was held the day after Saxon troops opened fire on a popular demonstration in Leipzig on August 12, 1845. The demonstration took place at the time of the military parade on the occasion of the arrival of Crown Prince John and was in protest against the Saxon Government's persecution of the "German Catholics" movement (see Note 97). Prince John of Saxony was believed to be chiefly responsible for the persecution. Engels described this event in his article "The Late Butchery at Leipzig.—The German Working Men's Movement" (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 645-48). p. 81

99 The *Fatherland's Association* (*Vaterlandsverein*) was a broad democratic organisation founded in Leipzig at the end of March 1848, during the growing revolutionary movement prompted by the February revolution in France and

the March revolution in the German states. It was headed by petty-bourgeois and bourgeois republicans—Blum, Ruge, Jaeckel and others. p. 81

100 The *Preliminary parliament* or *Preparliament*, which met in Frankfurt am Main from March 31 to April 4, 1848, consisted of representatives of the German states, most of them constitutional monarchists. After the rejection of a proposal to establish a federal republic in Germany and to turn the Preparliament into a constituent organ, a group of republicans headed by Hecker and Struve walked out. A more moderate section of the republican-democratic opposition, headed by Blum, took part in setting up a Committee of Fifty which was proposed by the liberals to secure the convocation of all-German National Assembly by agreement with the Federal Diet (organ of the German Confederation). p. 82

101 The *Frankfurt Parliament*, or the German National Assembly, which opened on May 18, 1848, in St. Paul's Church in the free city of Frankfurt am Main, was intended to unify the country and draw up a Constitution. The liberal majority turned the Assembly into a mere debating club, and at the decisive moments of the revolution it yielded to the counter-revolutionary forces. In spring 1849, the liberals left the Assembly after the Prussian and other governments rejected the Imperial Constitution they had drawn up. The rest of the Assembly moved to Stuttgart and was dispersed by the Württemberg authorities on June 18, 1849.

Robert Blum was one of the leaders of the Left minority, which consisted of a moderate and a radical faction. p. 82

102 The *Vienna uprising of October 6-7, 1848* was in response to the Austrian Government's order for the dissolution of the Hungarian Sejm and the dispatch of Austrian troops against Hungary. Headed by petty-bourgeois democrats, the masses prevented the Vienna garrison from marching to Hungary and seized control of the city after a fierce struggle. However, the insurgents did not receive the necessary support from other revolutionary forces in Austria and Germany. On November 1 their resistance was broken by Windischgrätz's counter-revolutionary forces which dealt out harsh treatment to the participants in the uprising.

The students' corps mentioned below in the text or the *Academic Legion*—an armed organisation founded after the March 1848 revolution in Austria—played an active part in the October uprising. p. 82

103 On Marx's work on the article "Bourrienne" see Note 95 and pp. 394-96 of this volume. p. 83

104 On *June 20, 1792*, a mass manifestation took place in Paris in front of the Legislative Assembly and the royal palace of the Tuileries. The participants demanded the cancellation of the royal veto on the decree establishing a camp of Marseilles volunteers (*fédérés*) near Paris, and restoration to their ministerial posts of the Girondist leaders (representatives of the moderate republican bourgeoisie) dismissed by the King. The refusal to meet these demands made the atmosphere still more tense. Subsequent events led to a popular uprising on August 10, 1792, which overthrew the monarchy and established a republic in France. p. 83

105 A reference to Napoleon's campaign in Northern Italy in 1800, during the war against the second anti-French coalition which ended in a victory for the French at Marengo (see Note 69). p. 83

106 The *Continental System*, or the *Continental Blockade*, proclaimed by Napoleon I in 1806, prohibited trade between the countries of the European Continent and Great Britain. p. 83

107 See Note 73. p. 84

108 Marx has in mind *Mémoires de M. de Bourrienne, Ministre d'État, sur Napoléon, le directoire, le consulat, l'empire et la restauration* (vols. I-X, Paris, 1829). Most of these memoirs are assumed to have been written by the former Napoleonic diplomat Villemarest, who specialised in fabrications of this kind. p. 84

109 The "Army" was listed among the first articles which Dana requested for *The New American Cyclopaedia* and which Engels undertook to write. On May 8, 1857 Dana wrote to Marx: "The principal article is that on *Army*. This should be historical, giving an account of the organization of the antique armies, and of the progressive changes made down to the present day, with notices of peculiarities in the different leading armies of the world. I have marked ten pages as the limit, but if it can be done in less so much the better. This article will not include the statistics of the military force of the different powers, as they will be given under the head of these powers,—Austria for instance. I have marked for you, while the remainder of that article has been given to another." It was all the more difficult to write such a comprehensive article within the time stipulated as Engels was still working on a number of articles beginning with A and had started on those beginning with B. Nevertheless, Engels began collecting the necessary material in July 1857, started writing the article in August and finished it not later than September 24. He kept Marx informed of the course of his work (see his letters of July 11, August 21, and September 8 and 22, 1857, present edition, Vol. 40). Marx did all he could to help Engels collect material for the article: he sent him books and excerpts from reference books and other works (see his letter to Engels of July 16 and Jenny Marx's letter to Engels sent in mid-August 1857).

Engels made use of many sources, beginning with the works of ancient historians and military writers (Herodotus, Xenophon, Sallust, Polybius, Vegetius, and others) and ending with those of nineteenth-century authors (Wilkinson, Clausewitz, Jomini, Rüstow, and others), and consulted various reference books. He mentions some of these sources in the article itself. The following excerpts are extant: from Rüstow's *Heerwesen und Kriegführung C. Julius Cäsars* (Gotha, 1855) and from the article "Army" published in the seventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1842, Vol. III). Marx, in his turn, also made excerpts on some aspects of the history of war, in particular from Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft in alphabetischer Ordnung* (vols. 2-6, Stuttgart, 1842-52), *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste. Herausgegeben von J. S. Ersch und J. G. Gruber* (published in Leipzig from 1818), from Wilkinson's three-volume *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1837).

In the article "Army" Engels summarised to a certain extent his long and thorough study of military science and history, and the experience of contemporary wars. Marx praised the article in his letter to Engels of September 25, 1857 and sent it off the same day to New York, as can be seen from an entry in his notebook (Dana acknowledged receipt in a letter of October 9, 1857). Marx also made some critical remarks to Engels concerning the origins of mercenary armies in antiquity (among the Carthaginians), the

development of military science in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy, and among the Eastern peoples. Marx thought these questions had not been adequately dealt with in the article. Engels took most of these remarks into consideration later when he wrote the articles "Artillery", "Cavalry", "Fortification" and "Infantry", which supplement his "Army". p. 85

110 *Testudo* (literally: tortoise)—a shelter used to protect soldiers in siege operations. On the Roman *testudo* see this volume, p. 94.

*Vinea* (literally: vineyard)—a wicker shelter covered with moist pelts or turf; used in antiquity by the besiegers of fortresses. p. 86

111 On the *battles of Marathon, Plataea* and *Thermopylae* see Note 33.

Greek troops landed on *Mycale* (Asia Minor) in 479 B.C., defeated the Persians and destroyed their ships which had been dragged on shore and used for erecting an entrenched camp. The Greek victories at Plataea and Mycale removed the threat of a Persian invasion of the Balkans. p. 88

112 See Note 23. p. 88

113 Solon's reforms (594 B.C.) divided the free citizens of the Athenian Republic into four groups according to the size of their annual income from their land. The first two groups enjoyed considerable political privileges but were liable to military service entailing great expenses (the first had to build warships and the second to supply mounted soldiers). The third group had restricted political rights, but it made up the backbone of the army, its heavy infantry. The fourth or poorest group, that of the "thetes", was for a long time deprived of the right to hold public offices and originally was exempt from military service; later on, however, light infantry was recruited from among it. p. 89

114 By the *allies of Athens* Engels means the Greek city-states, mainly on the islands in the Aegean Sea and the coast of Asia Minor, which were members of the Athenian Naval Alliance (originally called Delian League) founded in 478 B.C., during the Greco-Persian wars. As Athens grew in power it subdued the allies and made them its tributaries. The Athenian Naval Alliance was dissolved in the late fifth century B.C. Athens managed to restore it partially in 378 B.C. but the new alliance existed only until 355. p. 90

115 The *Peloponnesian war* (431-04 B.C.)—a war between two groups of Greek states: the Athenian Naval Alliance and the Peloponnesian Alliance headed by Sparta. It was caused by the struggle for hegemony in Greece, commercial rivalry among the Greek city-states and political contradictions between the Athenian slave-owning democracy and the aristocratic oligarchy of Sparta. The war was won by Sparta. Under the treaty of 404 B.C. Athens had to acknowledge Sparta's supremacy and surrender almost all its ships. p. 90

116 The *Sicilian expedition* was undertaken by the Athenians in 415 B.C. to subdue the Greek city-states of Sicily, above all Syracuse. Athens hoped thus to establish its supremacy in the west of the Mediterranean and to increase its resources in order to deliver a blow at its main rival, Sparta. The military operations in Sicily continued until 413 B.C. and ended in a complete defeat for the Athenian naval and land forces unsuccessfully besieging Syracuse. p. 91

117 *Ephori*—a body of five Spartan magistrates chosen annually by an assembly of free citizens. They were granted wide powers, including the right to dispose of the treasury, appoint military commanders and control the actions of the kings. p. 91

118 *Periaeci*—a social group in Ancient Sparta. They possessed land and property, and the richest of them had slaves. Personally free, they even enjoyed self-government to some extent but were deprived of many political rights. p. 92

119 *Helots*—agricultural population of Southern Peloponnesus enslaved by Sparta. Being the property of the Spartan state, the Helots cultivated plots of land granted to individual Spartans to whom they paid rent (usually half of the produce). They frequently raised revolts, which were brutally suppressed by the slave-owners. p. 92

120 See Note 37. p. 92

121 See Note 37. p. 93

122 The town of *Samos* (on the Island of Samos, in the southeast of the Aegean Sea) was besieged by an Athenian naval expedition under Pericles in 440 B.C. The population of the island, which belonged to the Athenian Naval Alliance, had revolted with the intention of seceding from the Alliance. After a siege of many months the town was forced to capitulate, and Athenian rule was restored on the island. p. 93

123 By the *conquest of Greece* Engels means the subjugation of the Greek city-states by Philip II of Macedon, under whose rule Macedonia greatly increased its influence. An anti-Macedonian coalition headed by Athens was formed in 339 B.C., but its forces were defeated by Philip's army in 338 B.C. The all-Hellenic congress held in Corinth in 337 B.C. proclaimed the King of Macedon commander-in-chief of all the Greek armed forces and confirmed Macedonian rule over the Greek city-states, which continued to be formally regarded as independent. p. 95

124 The *Achaean League*—a confederation of Peloponnesian city-states formed in 280 B.C. against Macedonia. It had considerable armed forces which were routed by the Romans in 146 B.C. and its territory was incorporated into Macedonia, which became a Roman province in 148 B.C. p. 96

125 *Tribe* (Rom. Hist.)—a territorial-administrative unit. King Servius Tullius (6th cent. B.C.) introduced reforms under which the city of Rome was divided into four tribes on a territorial basis instead of the earlier division according to the clan or family principle. At the same time several country tribes were formed. All free citizens possessing land within the territory of a given tribe were included in that tribe. p. 97

126 *Horsemen* (*knights*)—in early Roman history—equites, or rich citizens constituting a privileged class liable for service in the cavalry. Subsequently this name was given to Roman slave-owning merchants and usurers belonging to the class of equites. p. 97

127 The *First Civil War* (88-82 B.C.)—a struggle for power between two antagonistic groups of Roman slave-owners. One group was headed by Lucius Cornelius Sulla, representing the slave-holding aristocracy (*nobilitas*), and the other by Gaius Marius who relied on merchants and usurers and tried to use the urban and rural plebeians. The war ended in the defeat of Marius' followers and the establishment of Sulla's dictatorship—a step towards the abolition of the Roman Republic and the founding of the empire. p. 98

128 A reference to the *battle of the Muthul* (Northern Africa), 109 B.C., in which the Roman army under Quintus Caecilius Metellus defeated the army of King Jugurtha of Numidia. This was the first Roman victory in the Jugurthine war (111-05 B.C.). Rome proved victorious at the end. p. 98

129 Roman military units of each grade had their own badges. Thus since the time of Gaius Marius a silver eagle attached to the shaft was the badge of a legion. p. 98

130 The war between Rome and Pyrrhus, King of Epirus (Northwestern Greece), over the Greek towns in the south of Italy took place in 280-75 B.C. At the beginning Rome suffered two major defeats but later, supported by Carthage, it crushed the mercenary army of Pyrrhus and drove him out of the Peninsula. p. 99

131 A reference to the *battle of Kynoskephalae* (Thessaly) in 197 B.C., during the Second Macedonian war (200-197 B.C.), in which the Roman army under Titus Quinctius Flamininus routed the army of Philip V of Macedon. As a result, the Romans consolidated their influence in Greece, later establishing their rule there. p. 100

132 The *Social War* (90-88 B.C.)—a war of Rome's Italian allies (*socii*) against the rule of the Roman Republic ("alliance" was a form by which the Roman slave-owners subjugated conquered tribes and peoples). The movement of the Italians who had seceded from Rome was suppressed but in the course of the war Rome was forced to grant them the rights of Roman citizens, initially with certain reservations. p. 100

133 *Roman Gallia* (corresponding to Provence, a historical region in the south of France)—part of Gallia (Gaul) conquered by the Romans at the end of the second century B.C. p. 100

134 The *expeditions of the German emperors against Italy* were started by King Otto I who was invested with the crown of the Holy Roman Empire in Rome in 962. These expeditions were especially frequent from the tenth to the thirteenth century and continued until the sixteenth century despite the decline of the Emperor's power and the increasing feudal dismemberment in Germany itself.
On the *crusades* see Note 4. p. 103.

135 On the *battles of Crécy* and *Poitiers* see Note 34; on the *battle of Agincourt* see Note 25. p. 104

136 A reference to the wars against the Mongols during their invasion of Central Europe in 1241-42, after their incursions into the Russian lands in 1237-40. Apart from Poland, Moravia, Hungary and Dalmatia were the scene of these wars. The advanced detachments nearly reached Venice, but, weakened by the resistance of the Russian principalities, they were compelled to withdraw to their East-European and Asian territories. p. 105

137 Engels refers to the liberation wars of the Swiss cantons against the Austrian Habsburgs in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and to the Swiss war of 1474-77 against Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, who tried to seize lands belonging to the Swiss Confederation. The Swiss upheld their independence due to the superiority of their infantry of free peasants and townspeople over the knights. p. 105

138 *Bashi-Bazouks*—soldiers of Turkish irregular cavalry in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. p. 106

139 At the *battle of Marignano* (Northern Italy) on September 13-14, 1515 the army of Francis I of France, supported by his Venetian allies, defeated the Swiss mercenary troops of the Duke of Milan. This was one of the major battles in the Italian wars of 1494-1559 (see Note 26). p. 107

140 See Note 26. p. 107

141 This refers to the bourgeois revolution of 1566-1609 (see Note 20). p. 107

142 The *Thirty Years' War* (1618-48)—a general European war in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the Catholic German princes fought against the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands, and a number of German states. The rulers of Catholic France, being rivals of the Habsburgs, supported the Protestants. Germany was the main arena of the struggle, the object of pillage and territorial claims. The treaty of Westphalia (1648) sealed its political dismemberment. p. 109

143 The *battles of Leipzig, Lützen* and *the Lech* were fought in the Thirty Years' War. At the *battles of Leipzig* (or Breitenfeld) on September 17, 1631 and of *the Lech* (Bavaria) on April 15, 1632 Gustavus Adolphus' army routed the Imperial-Catholic troops under Tilly. At *Lützen* (Saxony) Gustavus Adolphus defeated Wallenstein's Imperial army on November 16, 1632. p. 110

144 The *Military Frontier* or the *Military Border Area*—the southern border regions of the Austrian Empire, where military settlements began to be set up in the sixteenth century for protection against Turkish invasions. The inhabitants of these regions—Serbs, Croats, Romanians, Szeklers, Saxons, and others—were allotted plots of land by the state, for which they had to serve in the army, pay taxes and perform certain public duties. The soldiers of these regions were called borderers. p. 110

145 *At Mollwitz* (Malujowice, Silesia) Frederick II's army defeated the Austrians on April 10, 1741, during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48) (see Note 38). p. 111

146 This was the first European coalition against revolutionary France. In February 1792, supported by Britain and Russia, Prussia and Austria concluded a military alliance and began intervention in France. After the proclamation of the French Republic and the execution of Louis XVI in January 1793, Britain, the Netherlands, Spain, Naples, Sardinia and several small German and Italian states openly joined the anti-French coalition. France's war against this coalition continued until 1797. p. 113

147 See Note 60. p. 113

148 See Note 85. p. 116

149 At the *battle of Inkerman* on November 5, 1854, during the Crimean war of 1853-56, the Anglo-French forces defeated the Russian army, but the Russians' vigorous action prevented the enemy from storming Sevastopol and instead the city was besieged. Engels described the battle in detail in his article "The Battle of Inkerman" (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 528-35). p. 117

150 *Landwehr*—the army second reserve formed in Prussia during the struggle against Napoleon. In the 1840s it consisted of men under forty who had done three years' active service and had been in the reserve not less than two years. In contrast to the regular army, the Landwehr was called up only in case of extreme necessity (war, or threat of war). p. 120

151 This paragraph was apparently added by the editors of *The New American Cyclopaedia.* p. 126

152 "Battery" belongs to a group of articles written in accordance with Dana's first request for articles beginning with B (see Note 49). On September 18, 1857 Engels informed Marx of his intention to send him this article in a few days. But on September 24 he wrote to Marx that he would start writing it, and perhaps some others, the next day, i.e. September 25. Engels finished "Battery" by the end of September. Marx recorded the dispatch of the new material to New York in the following entry in his notebook on September 29, 1857: "Cyclopaedia. Bem. Bessières. Bosquet. Bivouac. Battery. Blindage. Bonnet."

When publishing Engels' article the editors of the *Cyclopaedia* supplemented it with a special section, the article "Floating Batteries" by another author, containing data on the building of warships of this class in the USA. p. 127

153 The greater part of the article "Bem" was written by Marx. He gave a political characterisation of Bem and did the final editing. At the same time he reproduced, almost textually, the description of Bem's military activity during the Polish insurrection of 1830-31 and the 1848-49 revolutionary war in Transylvania contained in Engels' letters to Marx of September 11 or 12 and 18, 1857 (see present edition, Vol. 40). Marx's excerpts from articles about Bem have been preserved, including those from *The English Cyclopaedia* (Vol. V, London, 1856) and *Meyer's Conversations-Lexicon* (Vol. 4D, Hildburghausen, Amsterdam, Paris and Philadelphia, 1845). p. 130

154 A reference to the *defence of Danzig* (Gdańsk) in 1813. Held by Napoleonic troops, it was besieged by the Prussians and Russians by land and sea for eleven and a half months. During that time the garrison sustained three regular sieges but finally had to capitulate. The allies entered the city on January 2, 1814. p. 130

155 The insurrection of units of the St. Petersburg garrison on *December 14, 1825* was headed by a secret society of Russian revolutionary nobles opposed to the autocracy and the feudal-serf system. They are known in history as the Decembrists. The Decembrists sought to prevent the taking of the oath to the new Emperor, Nicholas I, and to secure the introduction of civic liberties and the convocation of a Constituent Assembly to decide the question of a Constitution. The insurrection was suppressed by Tsarist troops and its participants were subjected to severe reprisals. Five of its leaders were hanged and 121 participants were sentenced to hard labour and exile in Siberia. p. 131

156 By the "Warsaw insurrection of 1830" Marx and Engels mean the *Polish national liberation uprising of November 1830-October 1831.* The majority of its participants were revolutionary gentry (*szlachta*) and its leaders came mainly from the aristocracy. It was suppressed by Russian troops, with the support of Prussia and Austria. The uprising was of major international significance

because it diverted the forces of counter-revolution and thwarted their plans for an offensive against the bourgeois revolutions of 1830 in France and of 1830-31 in Belgium.

At the *battle of Ostrolenka* on May 26, 1831 Tsarist troops under Dibich defeated the Polish insurgents. The final blow was delivered when the Russians captured Warsaw in September 1831, after storming its suburb Vola on September 6 (see below in the text). The remnants of the insurgent army fled to Prussia and Austria. p. 131

157 Bem planned to take part in the civil war in Portugal (1828-34) between the absolutists (the feudal-clerical party), headed by Dom Miguel who had seized the Portuguese throne in 1828, and the constitutionalists (the liberal-bourgeois party) grouped around Queen Maria da Gloria and her father, Dom Pedro. Bem's plan did not materialise. p. 131

158 The *Viennese Mobile Guard,* consisting mainly of workers and artisans, was formed by Bem during the October 1848 uprising in Vienna (see Note 102) as the most disciplined and efficient part of the insurgent armed forces. p. 131

159 *Honveds* (literally: "defenders of the homeland")—the name of the soldiers of the Hungarian revolutionary army of 1848-49, which was formed by decision of the Hungarian revolutionary government on May 7, 1848. p. 132

160 The *expedition of Bem's army to the Banat* (a region in the Serbian Voivodina, then part of Hungary) was undertaken in the spring of 1849. At the beginning of the 1848 revolution the Voivodina was the scene of the Serbs' growing national movement and of anti-feudal actions by democratic strata in town and country. However, the Serbian movement for autonomy was influenced by the liberal bourgeoisie, the nobility and the clergy and used by the Habsburgs against the Hungarian revolution. Military operations between the Voivodina Serbs and the Hungarians began in May 1848. In the Banat, inhabited by Hungarians, Germans and Romanians as well as Serbs, they were complicated by clashes between the Serbian and non-Serbian population. The struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces in the Serbian Voivodina, Transylvania, and other ethnic regions then included in Hungary, was hampered by the erroneous stand on the nationalities question adopted by the Hungarian bourgeois and aristocratic revolutionaries. Only shortly before the fall of the Hungarian Republic on July 28, 1849 did they officially agree to recognise the equality of all nationalities inhabiting Hungary. p. 133

161 At the *battle of Temesvár* (Timişoara) on August 9, 1849, during the Hungarian national liberation war, the Austrian army under Haynau defeated the Hungarian Southern army which was trying to hold its positions until joining up with the Northern army of the Hungarian Commander-in-Chief Görgey. Four days later the Northern army capitulated to the Russians. The revolution in Hungary was suppressed. p. 133

162 In the autumn of 1850 the Arab population of the city of Aleppo (Haleb) rose against the local Christians and the Turkish authorities. This rising grew into a rebellion against Turkish rule, which was put down by Turkish troops. p. 133

163 When working on biographical essays on military leaders, Bessières in particular, Marx wrote to Engels on September 17, 1857 inquiring about their military records and their role in individual battles. Marx took into account

the description of Bessières as a brave cavalry general contained in Engels' letter to him of September 21. Marx's excerpts on Bessières from the following reference books are extant: C. Mullié, *Biographie des célébrités militaires des armées de terre et de mer de 1789 à 1850* (Vol. 1, Paris), *The English Cyclopaedia* (Vol. V, London, 1856), *Meyer's Conversations-Lexicon* (Vol. 4D, 1845), and *Biographie universelle (Michaud) ancienne et moderne* (Vol. 4, Paris, 1854). It seems that Marx also used extracts from A. H. Jomini's book *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon* (vols. 1-4, Paris, 1827) enclosed by Engels in his letter of September 11 or 12, 1857. p. 134

164 The *Constitutional Guard* was charged, in accordance with the Constitution adopted in 1791, during the French Revolution, with protecting the King and his palace. It was formed after the disbandment of the Royal Guard. In May 1792 the Legislative Assembly, under pressure from the democratic movement, decreed its dissolution. p. 134

165 The *guides*—special sub-units in a number of European armies used for guiding troops. In the French army during the Napoleonic wars they protected Napoleon's headquarters and served as his bodyguard. p. 134

166 The battles mentioned were fought during the wars of France against the first, second, third and fourth European coalitions.

On September 4, 1796, during the campaign in the north of Italy, the French army under Bonaparte defeated the Austrians at *Roveredo.*

On the *battle of Rivoli* in the same campaign see Note 65.

On the siege of the fortress of *St. Jean d'Acre* (*Acca*) during the French expedition to Egypt see Note 5.

At the *battle of Aboukir* on July 25, 1799, during the same expedition, the French destroyed a Turkish force landed by the Anglo-Turkish fleet on the Egyptian coast.

On the *battle of Marengo* see Note 69.

The *battle of Austerlitz* (Moravia) on December 2, 1805 between the Russo-Austrian and French armies was won by Napoleon I. After this defeat Austria withdrew from the third anti-French coalition and concluded a peace treaty with Napoleon. Russia and Britain formed a new, fourth, coalition in 1806 and continued the war.

At the *battle of Jena* (Thuringia) on October 14, 1806, the French troops under Napoleon routed the Prussians. The same day Marshal Davout's troops defeated the main Prussian forces at *Auerstädt.* The defeat of Prussia—a member of the fourth anti-French coalition—in these two battles (often united in one as the battle of Jena) led to the occupation of most of Prussia by the French.

On the *battle of Preussisch-Eylau* see Note 51.

The *battle of Friedland* between the French and the Russians on June 14, 1807 is described in this volume, pp. 78 and 199. p. 134

167 A reference to the British naval expedition to the mouth of the Scheldt in July 1809 during the war of the fifth coalition against Napoleonic France. It was undertaken when Napoleon's main forces were engaged against Austria. The British captured Walcheren island, but failed to use it as a base for military operations against Antwerp and other French strong points in Belgium and Holland. They had to evacuate it in December 1809. p. 134

168 The *battle of Lützen* (Saxony) between Napoleon's army and Russo-Prussian armies took place on May 2, 1813. Napoleon forced the enemy to retreat, but the retreat was orderly. p. 135

169 See Note 166. p. 136

170 In writing this item Engels made use of Marx's excerpts from Burn's *A Naval and Military Technical Dictionary of the French Language* (London, 1852) which Marx sent him in his letter of September 15, 1857 (see present edition, Vol. 40). These excerpts are extant. p. 138

171 The first part of this article was written by Marx, as is seen from the extant excerpts; they are in the main from *The English Cyclopaedia* (Vol. V, London, 1856) and Steger's *Ergänzungs-Conversationslexikon* (Vol. 10, Leipzig and Meissen).

The passage on Bosquet's participation in the Crimean war of 1853-56 belongs to Engels. It reproduces almost word for word part of a letter to Marx of September 22, 1857, in which Engels described Bosquet's role in the major Crimean operations, in compliance with Marx's request in his letters of September 17 and 21, 1857. p. 139

172 The *battle of Balaklava* (Crimea) between the Russian army and the allied Anglo-French and Turkish forces took place on October 25, 1854. Units of the Russian army tried to cut off the British and Turkish forces besieging Sevastopol from their base in Balaklava. They succeeded in inflicting serious losses on them, especially on the British cavalry, but failed to achieve the main objective. For a description of this battle see Engels' article "The War in the East" (present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 518-27). p. 140

173 See Note 149. p. 140

174 A reference to the storming of the Sevastopol fortifications by French and British troops on September 8, 1855, as a result of which the French managed to capture the Malakhov (Malakoff) Hill, the defenders' main strong point. After an eleven months defence the Russian garrison abandoned Sevastopol by order of the command which considered its further defence useless. The storming of Sevastopol on September 8 is described by Engels in his articles "The Fall of Sevastopol" and "The Great Event of the War" (see present edition, Vol. 14, pp. 519-23 and 546-52). p. 140

175 The article "Bomb" is the first of a new batch of articles beginning with B which Engels wrote in accordance with Dana's request (see Note 49). Marx made excerpts from reference books in the library of the British Museum, in particular from *The British Cyclopaedia of Arts and Sciences* by Ch. F. Partington and sent them to Engels, presumably on September 16, 1857, together with excerpts on bridges. On October 6 Marx made an entry in his notebook: "*Cyclopaedia.* Bomb. Bombardment. Bomb-Ketch. Bomb-Vessel. Bombardier. Bomb-Proof", which shows that Marx dispatched the articles listed to New York on that day. p. 141

176 See Note 21. p. 141

177 *Valenciennes composition*—an incendiary mixture of saltpetre, sulphur and powder first used in 1793, during the siege of the French-held town of Valenciennes by Austro-British forces (an episode in the French Republic's war against the first European coalition). p. 141

178 *Sveaborg* (Suomenlinna) was a Russian fortress situated on a group of islands at the entrance to the Helsinki harbour in the Gulf of Finland. The bombardment

of Sveaborg by British and French ships took place on August 9 and 10, 1855, during the Crimean war, 1853-56. For more on this event see Marx and Engels' article "The Anglo-French War Against Russia" (present edition, Vol. 14, pp. 484-89). p. 145

179 See Note 30. p. 147

180 The *siege of Sevastopol* (during the Crimean war, 1853-56) by the allied forces of France, Britain, Turkey and Sardinia lasted from September 25, 1854 to September 9, 1855. p. 148

181 On the *bombardment of Sveaborg* see Note 178. p. 148

182 Engels helped Marx considerably in his work on this article. In his letters to Marx of September 11 or 12, and particularly of September 21 and 23, 1857, he adduced many facts on Bernadotte's military record, especially during Napoleon's campaigns against the third, fourth and fifth European coalitions (1805, 1806-07 and 1809). Engels' account of Bernadotte's role in these campaigns was founded mainly on A. H. Jomini's *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon* (vols. 1-4, Paris, 1827). It was reproduced by Marx almost word for word.

Marx sought to give a complete picture of Bernadotte, above all as a politician and diplomat. He collected a vast amount of biographical data, as can be seen from his letter to Engels of September 17, 1857 (in which he wrote about the different appraisals of Bernadotte by various historians) and from the extant excerpts from the *Biographie universelle (Michaud) ancienne et moderne, The English Cyclopaedia, Meyer's Conversations-Lexicon* and Fr. Chr. Schlosser's *Zur Beurtheilung Napoleon's und seiner neusten Tadler und Lobredner.*

On October 15, 1857, Marx made the following entry in his notebook: "*Cyclopaedia.* Military Bridges. Brown. Bernadotte", which shows that he sent off these articles to New York on that day. On Dana's request for articles beginning with B see Note 49. p. 149

183 At *Fleurus* (Belgium) on June 26, 1794, the French under General Jourdan routed the Austrian army of the Prince of Coburg. This victory enabled the French revolutionary army to occupy Belgium and start offensive operations in Holland and on the western bank of the Rhine. Early in October 1794 the French crossed the Ruhr and took possession of the fortress of Jülich, and on November 4 they compelled the fortress of Maestricht to capitulate. p. 149

184 The *Directory* (consisting of five directors of whom one was re-elected every year) was the leading executive body in France set up under the 1795 Constitution, adopted after the fall of the Jacobin revolutionary dictatorship in the summer of 1794. It governed France until Bonaparte's coup d'état of 1799 and expressed the interests of the big bourgeoisie. p. 149

185 The 1797 invasion of Istria (Balkan province of the Republic of Venice) was undertaken on General Bonaparte's initiative during the campaign against the Austrians in Northern Italy in 1796-97 (see Note 65). p. 149

186 On the *18th Fructidor* (September 4, 1797), by order of the Directory supported by General Bonaparte, government troops occupied the premises of the Corps législatif and arrested royalist deputies who were preparing a monarchist coup d'état. The Directory itself was renewed. The events of the 18th Fructidor revealed the instability of the Directory's bourgeois regime and its vacillations

either to the left, in face of royalist danger, or to the right, for fear of the democratic movement. p. 150

187 The *Treaty of Campo Formio* was concluded by General Bonaparte with Austrian representatives on October 17, 1797. It formalised Austria's withdrawal from the first anti-French coalition and sanctioned its relinquishment of its possessions in Northern Italy where the Cisalpine Republic was formed under French protectorate. Belgium, the Ionian Islands and some of Austria's possessions on the Rhine were ceded to France. At the same time a large part of the territory of the abolished Republic of Venice and its possessions in Istria and Dalmatia went to Austria. p. 150

188 During the *coup d'état of the 30th Prairial* (June 18, 1799) the Corps législatif succeeded in changing the composition of the Directory, from which three outright reactionaries were dismissed. This was done under the influence of growing public discontent over French defeats in Germany and Italy and the republic's worsened economic and financial situation. p. 150

189 See Note 62. p. 151

190 See Note 28. p. 151

191 See Note 166. p. 151

192 A reference to the *battles of Auerstädt* and *Jena*—see Note 166. p. 151

193 The *treaties of Tilsit* were signed on July 7 and 9, 1807 by Napoleonic France and Russia and Prussia, members of the fourth anti-French coalition. In an attempt to split the defeated powers, Napoleon made no territorial claims on Russia and even succeeded in transferring some of the Prussian monarchy's eastern lands to Russia. The treaty imposed harsh terms on Prussia, which lost nearly half its territory to the German states dependent on France, was made to pay indemnities, and had its army reduced. However, Russia, like Prussia, had to break its alliance with Britain and, to its disadvantage, join Napoleon's Continental System. Napoleon formed the vassal Duchy of Warsaw on Polish territory seized by Prussia during the partitions of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century, and planned to use it as a springboard in the event of war with Russia.

The military alliance between France and Denmark against Sweden was concluded on October 31, 1807 in Fontainebleau. France's operations against Sweden coincided with the Russo-Swedish war of 1808-09. p. 152

194 See Note 72. p. 152

195 See Note 167. p. 153

196 *Schönbrunn*—the imperial summer residence in Vienna where, in the autumn of 1809, Napoleon I dictated peace terms to Austria after its defeat in the 1809 campaign. p. 153

197 See Note 9. p. 154

198 See Note 106. p. 154

199 The *peace of Bucharest*, concluded on May 28, 1812, ended the Russo-Turkish war of 1806-12. Under this treaty Bessarabia and several Transcaucasian

regions were to go to Russia. Turkey was to grant Serbia autonomy in domestic matters and to seal its former agreements with Russia acknowledging a number of autonomous rights for Moldavia and Wallachia. The peace treaty with Turkey, achieved owing to the victories of the Russian army and the diplomacy of its Commander-in-Chief Mikhail Kutuzov, enabled Russia to free considerable forces for the war against Napoleonic France. p. 155

200 A reference to the peace treaties and treaties of alliance between Russia and Britain and between Britain and Sweden directed against Napoleonic France. p. 155

201 This refers to a convention signed by Russia and Sweden in Abo (Turku) on August 30, 1812. It virtually formalised their military alliance against Napoleonic France. The convention also contained a provision obliging Russia to render military assistance to Sweden against Denmark if the latter refused to cede Norway to the King of Sweden. In return, Sweden agreed to support the Tsarist Government's territorial claims, in particular to the Duchy of Warsaw then subject to Napoleon. p. 156

202 The military treaty of March 3, 1813, signed in Stockholm between Britain and Sweden, provided for the dispatch of Swedish troops to take part in the war against Napoleon's army, and for British subsidies for this purpose. Article 2 of the treaty obliged Britain to support Sweden's claims to Norway. p. 156

203 The armistice of June 5, 1813 was concluded by Russia and Prussia with Napoleon I until July 20, but later it was prolonged up to August 10. During the armistice Alexander I, Frederick William III and Bernadotte met in the castle of Trachenberg (Silesia) on July 12, 1813 to decide upon further military operations. When the peace negotiations failed Austria officially joined the coalition. Hostilities resumed in August 1813. p. 156

204 See Note 31. p. 157

205 See Note 156. p. 158

206 Under pressure from liberal opposition the Swedish Diet (*Riksdag*) of 1844-45 abrogated the law allowing the government to close down newspapers. It issued a law on the convocation of the Diet every three years, established the equal right of men and women to inherit land, and approved the principles of liberal reforms of the penal code. A parliamentary committee was set up to carry out an electoral reform. p. 158

207 Engels began to work on this article in the first half of September 1857, but he could not obtain all the necessary source material in Manchester. He therefore wrote to Marx on September 11 or 12 asking him to collect the information he needed in London, including data on pontoons in different armies contained in the third edition of H. Douglas' *An Essay on the Principles and Construction of Military Bridges, and the Passage of Rivers in Military Operations* (London, 1853).

Marx made extracts from various reference books in the library of the British Museum, in particular from Burn's *A Naval and Military Technical Dictionary of the French Language* (London, 1852), and sent them to Engels. "Many thanks for the thing on bridges. Wholly adequate," Engels wrote to Marx on September 18, 1857. He did not finish the article until the middle of October, as can be seen from the entry in Marx's notebook on its dispatch to New York. p. 159

208 In 55 B.C., during Caesar's conquest of Gallia (Gaul) (58-51 B.C.), the Romans, pursuing the defeated Teutons, crossed the Middle Rhine and stayed on its right bank for eighteen days. This crossing, undertaken to demonstrate Rome's military power, is described by Caesar in the fourth book of his commentaries on the Gallic war. p. 159

209 See Note 142. p. 159

210 A reference to the war of 1846-48 between the United States and Mexico, as a result of which the USA seized almost half of Mexico, including Texas, Upper California and New Mexico. p. 161

211 See Note 72. p. 162

212 The article "Brown" was asked for in Dana's first request for articles beginning with B, of which Marx informed Engels on August 26, 1857. On September 17 and 21 he asked Engels for his opinion of Brown and other military leaders, probably intending to begin writing this article. Soon after, Marx made the relevant extracts from *The English Cyclopaedia* (Vol. V, London, p. 948), and edited and used them extensively in his article; he left out the laudatory comments on Brown's role in the Crimean war and added an account of Brown's military qualities that made him popular among the soldiers (probably based on a letter from Engels which has not survived). On October 15, according to the entry in Marx's notebook (see Note 182), the article was dispatched to New York. However, the original was probably lost and, as can be judged from Marx's letter to Engels of February 1, 1858 and from the entry in his notebook on April 17, Marx had to send either a copy or another version, and it was this that the *Cyclopaedia* published. p. 164

213 The British bombarded Copenhagen in September 1807 to prevent Denmark from joining the Continental Blockade (see Note 106). p. 164

214 At the *battle of Talavera* (Toledo province, Spain) on July 27-28, 1809, the allied Anglo-Spanish forces under Wellington and Le Cuesta repulsed the attacks of the French, who suffered heavy losses and were compelled to abandon their positions.

On the *storming of Badajos* on April 6, 1812, see Note 12. p. 164

215 The events mentioned belong to the final stage of the Anglo-American war of 1812-14 (see Note 35).

In August 1814, an English detachment 4,000-strong, under Major-General Ross, landed in the Chesapeake Bay. At the village of Bladensburg, six miles from Washington, they routed an American volunteer corps defending the capital and temporarily took possession of it. They set fire to the Capitol, the White House and other government buildings, and returned to their ships. p. 164

216 On the *battle of Inkerman* see Note 149.

When referring to "the first unsuccessful attack on the Redan" (the 3rd bastion of Sevastopol's defences) Marx has in mind one of the major battles of the Crimean war fought at Sevastopol that ended in defeat for the Allies—their full-scale assault on the southern (Korabelnaya) part of the city on June 18, 1855 launched on the fortieth anniversary of the battle of Waterloo (see Note 30). The assault was repulsed at every point. Marx gave a detailed account of the battle in his report "The Mishap of June 18.—Reinforcements"

and Engels described it in his articles "From Sevastopol" and "The Late Repulse of the Allies" (see present edition, Vol. 14, pp. 297-301, 313-19 and 328-32). p. 164

217 Engels conceived the idea of writing an essay on the Spanish Armada of 1588 when thinking out subjects for the first articles beginning with A, as we see from his letter to Marx of May 28, 1857. Marx undertook to collect material and began to send it to Engels in July 1857 (see Jenny Marx's letter to Engels of August 12 or 13). But the main portion of the material was evidently prepared later, for Marx himself only mentions it in his letter to Engels of September 21. It consisted of carefully edited excerpts from various sources, including the article "Elizabeth" in *The English Cyclopaedia* (Vol. V, London, 1856, pp.761-64) and works of some contemporaries of the events. The final version of the article mentions only part of the sources originally given by Marx. In particular, it does not contain reference to *Orders Set down by the Dyke of Medina, etc. to Be Observed in the Voyage toward England* (London, 1588) or to the English translation (published in London in 1590) of the work by the Florentine writer Petruccio Ubaldino, *A Discourse, Concerninge the Spanishe Fleete Invadinge Englande in the Yeare 1588, and Overthrowne by Her Majestie's Navy* (Marx used a reprint in *The Harleian Miscellany: A Collection of Scarce, Curious, and Entertaining Pamphlets and Tracts, etc.* (Vol. I, London, 1808). Engels worked on the article between September 21 and October 19: he abridged the material prepared by Marx, edited it again and added some facts. When he sent the manuscript to Marx on October 19, Engels asked him to insert some names which he had been unable to make out in the excerpts. Marx put the finishing touches to the text and, judging by the entry in his notebook, sent it off to New York on October 23, 1857, together with the article "Ayacucho". p. 166

218 Engels informed Marx of his intention to write an article on Ayacucho on May 28, 1857, but he only began work on it about September 21, when Marx told him about the material he had collected. Extant are Marx's excerpts from the article "Ayacucho" in the *Encyclopédie des Gens du Monde* (Vol. 2, Paris, 1833), from *A View of South America* (New York, 1826), from J. S. Florez' *Espartero. Historia de su vida Militar y Politica* (vols. 1-4), and from M. A. Príncipe, R. Giron, R. Satorres, A. Ribot, *Espartero: Su pasado, su presente, su porvenir* (Madrid, 1848).

The battle of Ayacucho was most likely described by Engels. The concluding part belongs to Marx. The portrayal of Espartero and his followers conforms to that contained in Marx's article "Espartero" written in 1854 for the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 340-46). The article was sent off to New York on October 23, together with "Armada". p. 170

219 At the *battle of Junin* (Peru) on August 6, 1824, Colombian, Chilean and Peruvian troops under Simon Bolivar defeated the Spanish army after a daring crossing of the Andes. The battle took place during the final stage of the Latin American countries' liberation struggle against Spanish colonial rule. The struggle began in 1810 and gained particularly in scope in 1816, when an independent republic was proclaimed on the territory of the former Viceroyalty of La Plata (subsequently the Argentine Republic). With the support of its troops, Chile was proclaimed independent in 1817 and Peru in 1821. The war for the independence resumed by Bolivar, led to the establishment in 1819-22 of the Republic of Greater Colombia. The liberation war of Mexico resumed in 1821. The 1824 campaign of Bolivar's Colombian army in support of the Peruvian republicans dealt the final

blow to Spanish rule in Latin America. In 1826 remnants of the Spanish forces were driven out of Peru. The following independent republics were proclaimed on the territory of the former Spanish possessions: Mexico, the United States of Central America (subsequently split up into five republics—see Note 288), Greater Colombia (later divided into Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador), Bolivia, Argentina, Paraguay, Peru and Chile. p. 170

220 Like the previous one, the article "Blücher" was the result of Marx's and Engels' joint work, as is seen in particular from Marx's letters to Engels of September 17 and 21, and Engels' letters to Marx of September 18, 21 and 22, 1857.

The bulk of the biographical material on Blücher was obtained by Marx. Extant are his excerpts from *The English Cyclopaedia* (Vol. V, London, 1856), *Meyer's Conversations-Lexicon* (Vol. 4, 1845) and *Biographie universelle (Michaud) ancienne et moderne* (Vol. 4, Paris, 1854), and from several works, in particular "Der Feldzug von 1813 bis zum Waffenstillstand und der Feldzug von 1814 in Frankreich" (in *Hinterlassene Werke des Generals Carl von Clausewitz über Krieg und Kriegführung* (vols. 7-8, Berlin, 1835-36) and Fr. Müffling's *Passages from My Life: Together with Memoirs of the Campaign of 1813 and 1814* (London, 1853). Marx also did the final editing and polishing up of the text. Marx included in the respective passages extracts from Engels' letter of September 22, 1857 describing Blücher as a military leader and evaluating his activities in the major campaigns. This description, supplemented by factual material collected by Marx, forms the core of the article. Engels' participation in the work on the article is also proved by the inclusion of his extracts from the above-mentioned book by Müffling, which was Marx's main source. Marx's notebook has the following crossed-out entry concerning the dispatch of the article to New York on October 30, 1857: "Blücher (8 $^1/_2$ columns Cyclopaedia) (Campaigns of 1813 and 1814)." Marx informed Engels of the dispatch of the article to Dana in his letter of October 31, 1857 (see present edition, Vol. 40). p. 172

221 Prussia's intervention in Holland in 1787, supported and subsidised by the British Government, was undertaken to restore the power of the Stadtholder William V of Orange. The latter had been driven out of the country in 1784 as a result of the revolutionary movement directed against the bloc of the nobility and the trading oligarchy, and headed by the bourgeois party of "patriots", advocates of an active struggle against Britain, their colonial rival. The armed forces of the Dutch bourgeoisie were unable to offer any serious resistance to the Prussian army, which restored the power of the Stadtholder and the oligarchic system. p. 172

222 Under the *peace of Basle* concluded separately by Prussia and the French Republic on April 5, 1795, Prussia acknowledged the cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France. The treaty was not only the result of the French victories but also of the deepening contradictions among members of the anti-French coalition, Prussia and Austria above all. Peace with Prussia meant the beginning of the coalition's disintegration; on July 22, 1795 a separate peace with France was also signed in Basle by Spain. p. 173

223 See Note 166. p. 173

224 On the *battles of Auerstädt* and *Jena*, mentioned below, see Note 166. p. 173

225 The *Tugendbund* ("Union of Virtue")—one of the patriotic societies founded in Prussia after the defeat by Napoleonic France in 1806-07. It united

representatives of the liberal nobility and the bourgeois intelligentsia and aimed at spreading the idea of an anti-Napoleonic liberation war and supporting moderate liberal reforms. The Tugendbund was banned on Napoleon's demand on December 31, 1809 by Frederick William III, who also feared its activities. However, it continued to exist secretly until the end of the Napoleonic wars.

On the *peace of Tilsit* see Note 193. p. 174

226 On these two battles see notes 168 and 56 respectively. p. 174

227 See Note 203. p. 174

228 At the *battle of Dresden* on August 26-27, 1813 Napoleon's army routed the allied forces of Austria, Prussia and Russia (the Bohemian or chief army), commanded by the Austrian Field Marshal Schwarzenberg. p. 176

229 On the *battle of Leipzig* and its influence on the outcome of the 1813 campaign, see Note 31. The events that led up to the battle are described below in the text. p. 176

230 The *Confederation of the Rhine* (*Rheinbund*)—a union of sixteen states in Southern and Western Germany (Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden and others) established in July 1806 under the protection of Napoleon I, after he had defeated Austria in 1805. Later on twenty other states in Western, Central and Northern Germany joined the Confederation. It fell apart in 1813 after the defeat of Napoleon's army. p. 179

231 The peace negotiations at Châtillon (on the Seine) between representatives of the allied powers, members of the sixth anti-French coalition, and Napoleon I's representative took place from February 4 to March 19, 1814. The Allies' main condition for concluding peace was Napoleon's renunciation of all conquered territories and France's return to the 1792 borders. The negotiations were broken off because of Napoleon's categorical rejection of this condition. p. 180

232 The *Young Guard*—the name given to regiments of Napoleon's Imperial Guard formed in 1807 and later, as distinct from earlier formed regiments, which were called the Old Guard. Conditions of admission of officers and men to the Young Guard were not so strict as for the Old Guard, for which it provided reinforcements. p. 180

233 The first *peace of Paris* was concluded on May 30, 1814 between the main members of the sixth anti-French coalition (Russia, Austria, Britain and Prussia) and France after Napoleon's defeat. Under this treaty France was deprived of all territories conquered since 1792, except for several border fortresses and Western Savoy, which were taken away by the second peace of Paris. This was signed between the same countries on November 20, 1815, after the short-lived restoration of Napoleon's rule and his second deposition. The second peace treaty of Paris restored France to its frontiers as of January 1, 1790. p. 186

234 At the *battle of Ligny* (Belgium) on June 16, 1815 the Prussian army under Blücher, marching to join up with the Anglo-Dutch army of Wellington, was defeated by Napoleon. But Blücher's troops escaped from their pursuers commanded by Marshal Grouchy and reached the battlefield of Waterloo at the decisive moment on June 18 (see Note 30), thereby determining the outcome of the battle in favour of the Allies. p. 186

235 When ordering this article for *The New American Cyclopaedia* Charles Dana wrote to Marx on May 8, 1857: "*Artillery* should give the whole science and practice of that arm, and everything relating to it, with the single exception of what relates to the casting of guns, which will come under another head."

As we see from Engels' letter to Marx of July 11, 1857, he was going to start writing the article "Artillery", as well as the article "Army", immediately after finishing smaller articles beginning with A from Dana's first requested batch. But busy with the "Army" and articles beginning with B, he did not begin "Artillery" till after October 19. On that day he wrote to Marx: "Now I set to writing 'The History of Cannon'." In subsequent letters (Engels to Marx, October 29 and November 15 and 17, and Marx to Engels, October 31, November 13, 1857 and January 23, 1858) the article in question was also called "The History of Cannon" or simply "Cannon". Marx and Engels apparently did not expect that it could still be inserted in the respective volume of articles beginning with A. However, it was finished by the end of November and sent to New York on the 27th of that month, as can be seen from Marx's notebook, and was therefore in time for inclusion in Volume II of the *Cyclopaedia* under its original title "Artillery".

Some of the sources Engels used when writing the article are mentioned in the text. The article "Artillery" in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Vol. III, Edinburgh, 1853) and German encyclopaedic publications were of great help to him. Engels' notes on the calibres of guns used in the Prussian artillery, presumably compiled from a military reference book, are extant. p. 188

236 A reference to the seventh-century Arab conquest of Mesopotamia, Persia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and other countries, and the formation of the Arabian Caliphate. p. 189

237 This refers to *Epistolae fratris Rogerii Baconis, de secretis operibus artis et naturae et de nullitate magiae.* The date of its writing has not yet been exactly established, though in nineteenth-century literature on the history of the art of war it is often dated 1216 (Engels also gives this date). In later researches, however, this work is believed to date to the 1240s. The first edition of the book was published in Paris in 1542. p. 189

238 In 1118 the army of Alfonso I of Aragon besieged the city of *Saragossa* (Aragon), held by the Mohammedans from 712, and captured it. This was a stage in the reconquest of the territories on the Iberian Peninsula seized by the Arabs and African Berbers (Moors) during the Arab conquests in the early eighth century. The main role in this reconquest, which began in the eighth to ninth centuries, belonged to the Spanish kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, and to Portugal. In the second half of the twelfth century it was interrupted by the invasion of the peninsula by the Almohads, a Mohammedan sect that had united around itself mountain Berber tribes and subdued Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco and Mohammedan Southern Spain under its first Imam, Caliph Abd-el-Mumen. Early in the thirteenth century, Castile and Aragon, supported by the crusaders, defeated the Almohads and resumed the reconquest. In 1236 the Castilians captured Cordova, capital of the former Cordovan Caliphate (which had disintegrated in 1031), and by the end of the thirteenth century only the Emirate of Granada in the south remained in the possession of the Mohammedans. In 1492 it was conquered by the Spaniards. Later in the text Engels mentions some episodes from the history of the reconquest. p. 189

239 The siege of the Puy Guillaume castle (Western France) by the English took place at the beginning of the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) between England and France (see Note 25).

The *German knights in Prussia*—knights of the Teutonic Order founded in 1190, during the third crusade. In the thirteenth century it conquered Eastern Prussia by subjugating and annihilating the local Lithuanian population and this land became the Order's base for aggression against Poland, Lithuania and Russian principalities. In 1237 the Teutonic Order united with the Livonian Order, another German Order, that had settled in the Baltic area. After the battle of Chudskoye Lake (Ice Battle) in 1242 and still more after that of Grünwald in 1410, the Order declined and subsequently retained only a small part of its possessions. p. 190

240 At the *battle of Fornovo* (Northern Italy) on July 6, 1495 the forces of the feudal states of Northern Italy attacked the army of Charles VIII of France returning from its expedition to Italy. The battle, which was won by the French, belongs to the initial stage of the Italian wars of 1494-1559 (see Note 26). p. 191

241 See Note 139. p. 191

242 The *battle of Renty* (Flanders) took place on August 13, 1554, during the war of Henry II of France, in alliance with the German Protestant princes, against Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and King of Spain. The Spanish army forced the French to raise the siege of Renty and retreat to their frontiers. p. 192

243 See Note 20. p. 193

244 See Note 142. p. 194

245 The battles mentioned were fought between the army of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden and the German imperial army during the Thirty Years' War (see Note 142). In December 1630 Gustavus Adolphus' army approached the fortress of *Greifenhagen an der Oder* and after storming it twice compelled its garrison to leave it. In April 1631 Gustavus Adolphus' troops took Frankfort on the Oder by storm. p. 195

246 At the *battle of Malplaquet* on September 11, 1709—one of the major battles in the War of the Spanish Succession (see Note 16)—the allied armies of Britain, Austria and the Netherlands under Prince Eugène of Savoy and the Duke of Marlborough defeated the French army under Marshal Villars. p. 195

247 See Note 85. p. 196

248 See Note 86. p. 197

249 On the *battle of Friedland* between the French and Russian armies on June 14, 1807, see this volume, p. 78.

On the *battle of Wagram* see Note 72. p. 199

250 At the *battle of Pirmasens* (Rhenish Palatinate) on September 14, 1793, during the war of the first European coalition against the French Republic, the Prussians defeated the French Moselle army. p. 199

251 On the *bombardment of Sveaborg* see Note 178. p. 206

252 Having undertaken to write about some military leaders and politicians in accordance with Dana's request for articles beginning with B (see Note 49), Marx

asked Engels' opinion of them, including Bugeaud (see his letters to Engels of September 17 and 21, 1857). In his letter of September 22, 1857 Engels described Bugeaud's military activities in Algeria. Marx took this into account when working on the article later, probably in November. The article was finished by the end of that month and sent off to New York on the 27th, together with Engels' "Artillery", as is seen from the entry in Marx's notebook.

Extant excerpts show that Marx used the following sources: M. Wagner, *The Tricolor on the Atlas; or, Algeria and the French Conquest* (London, Edinburgh and New York, 1854) and D. Stern, *Histoire de la révolution de 1848* (Vol. I, Paris, 1850). Marx possibly also used the data on Bugeaud's activities in Algeria contained in Engels' first version of the article "Algeria" and left out by the *Cyclopaedia* editors (see Note 74). p. 211

253 The *sieges* and *battle of Ordal* took place during the Peninsular war of 1808-14 (see Note 12). p. 211

254 The *Hundred Days*—the period of the short-lived restoration of Napoleon's empire, which lasted from the moment of his arrival in Paris from Elba on March 20, 1815 to his second deposition on June 22 following his defeat at Waterloo. p. 211

255 The French invasion of Spain was undertaken by decision of the Verona Congress of the Holy Alliance (an alliance of European monarchs founded in 1815 by Russia, Austria and Prussia) for the purpose of suppressing the second bourgeois revolution in Spain, 1820-23. French troops under the Duke of Angoulême entered Spain in 1823 and restored the absolutist regime of Ferdinand VII. They remained in the country until 1828. p. 211

256 In the official report of the debates in the Chamber of Deputies on January 25, 1834, published in *Le Moniteur universel* (No. 26, January 26, 1834), the editors omitted Dulong's remark on Bugeaud's statement. But on January 30 (Issue No. 30) they had to explain references made by other newspapers to the incident between the two generals and reports on the duel between them. p. 212

257 The Paris republican uprising against the July monarchy on April 13-14, 1834, like the revolutionary actions in some other French towns, was in response to the powerful proletarian uprising that had begun in Lyons. As in Lyons, the uprising in Paris was directed by the secret republican-democratic Society of the Friends of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. For two days the Paris workers, the main participants in the uprising, carried on bitter barricade fighting against government troops. p. 212

258 The *treaty of Tafna* between Bugeaud and Abd-el-Kader was signed on May 30, 1837, after the French resumed military operations against Abd-el-Kader in 1835, in violation of the peace treaty concluded a year earlier. The French were forced to conclude the new peace (the treaty of Tafna) since they had failed to achieve substantial results and required military forces to subdue the insurgent regions of Eastern Algeria. Under the treaty of Tafna France again recognised the independence of Abd-el-Kader's state in Western Algeria, except for Algiers, Oran, Arzew and other coastal towns. In 1839 the peace was again violated by the French, and the Algerian liberation struggle under Abd-el-Kader (see Note 80) was resumed. p. 212

259 By 1844 Bugeaud and other French generals had subdued Western Algeria by bribing the local feudal lords and terrorising the Algerian tribes. Taking

advantage of the Sultan of Morocco's refusal to extradite Abd-el-Kader who had crossed into Morocco, Bugeaud invaded that country. On August 14, 1844 he defeated the Moroccans in the battle of the Isly. Under the Tangiers treaty of September 10, 1844, Bugeaud made the Sultan drive Abd-el-Kader out of Morocco and disband the frontier detachments. But the threat of interference by Britain, worried by the prospect of French expansion in North Africa, prompted Bugeaud to withdraw his troops from Morocco. p. 213

260 The differences between Bugeaud and Guizot were caused by the former's intention to use the suppression of the Algerian revolt of 1845-47 for further conquests in North Africa (his expedition of May 1847 to Kabylia also served this purpose), and for a new invasion of Morocco. Though a supporter of an active colonial policy in general, on this occasion Guizot feared that Bugeaud's actions would aggravate the already sharp Anglo-French contradictions. p. 213

261 The posts in the Provisional Government of the French Republic set up on February 24, 1848 were held mainly by moderate republicans (Lamartine, Dupont de l'Eure and others). There were also three representatives of the *Réforme* social-democratic party—Ledru-Rollin, Flocon and Louis Blanc, and a worker, Albert (real name Martin). p. 213

262 Marx informed Engels of his intention to write an essay on Brune in his letter of September 17, 1857. But he apparently did not begin working on it before the end of November. There is no entry in Marx's notebook about its dispatch to New York. One can only assume that the word "etc." in the entry of January 8, 1858 about the dispatch to Dana of Marx's "Bolivar" and Engels' "Campaign", "Cannonade" and "Captain" refers to this essay. On February 1, 1858, in a letter to Engels, Marx mentioned it among the articles beginning with B already written and sent off to the United States.

Marx's excerpts on the subject from Fr. Chr. Schlosser's book *Zur Beurtheilung Napoleon's und seiner neusten Tadler und Lobredner,* Frankfurt am Main, 1835 (probably made long before Marx started writing the essay), and a rough draft (more detailed than the final version) of the essay based mainly on Schlosser's book and on relevant articles in the *Biographie universelle (Michaud) ancienne et moderne* (Vol. 6, Paris, 1854) and *The English Cyclopaedia* (Vol. V, London, 1856) are extant (see this volume, pp. 397-401). p. 215

263 The *Club of the Cordeliers*—a popular club founded in Paris in July 1790, during the French Revolution. It derived its name from the former convent of Franciscan Cordeliers where its members met. Its official name was the *Société des amis des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* (Society of the Friends of the Rights of Man and the Citizen). With the Jacobin Club it played an important part in France's political life. Originally it united representatives of various trends which later on made up the Right (Dantonist) and the Left (Hébertist) wing of the Jacobins. With the growth of the revolution the Left elements prevailed. During the revolutionary-democratic Jacobin dictatorship the club was the stronghold of the Hébertists, existing until March 1794. p. 215

264 The anti-monarchist demonstration of Paris artisans and workers in the *Champ de Mars* took place on July 17, 1791. It was directed by the leaders of the Club of the Cordeliers who drew up a petition to the Constituent Assembly demanding the abdication of the King. The demonstration was fired on by government troops and the National Guard of the city's bourgeois districts

commanded by La Fayette with the support of big bourgeois constitutional-monarchist circles. p. 215

265 On September 2-5, 1792 Paris was the scene of popular unrest caused by foreign intervention and internal counter-revolution. The people seized prisons and staged improvised trials of imprisoned counter-revolutionaries, many of whom were executed. This Red Terror was an act of revolutionary self-defence. p. 215

266 At the *battle of Hondschoote* on September 6-8, 1793, during the war of revolutionary France against the first European coalition, the French defeated the allied armies of Britain, Hanover, the Netherlands and Austria. p. 215

267 Counter-revolutionary insurrections in the Gironde, Calvados and many other departments of Western, Southwestern and Southeastern France were raised in the summer of 1793 by the Girondists (the party of the big commercial and industrial bourgeoisie) allied with the royalists. The Girondists revolted against the Jacobin government and the revolutionary masses on the pretext of defending the rights of the departments to autonomy and federation. In the autumn of 1793 the counter-revolutionary "federalist" movement was suppressed by troops of the French Republic.

The *Committee of Public Safety* (*Le Comité de salut public*)—the leading body of the revolutionary government of France, established in April 1793. During the Jacobin dictatorship (from June 2, 1793 to July 27, 1794) it headed the struggle against home and foreign counter-revolution and supervised the carrying out of revolutionary measures. p. 215

268 A reference to Dantonists who survived after the execution of Danton and his comrades-in-arms and who expressed the interests of the so-called new bourgeoisie which emerged during the revolution. With other counter-revolutionary forces they took an active part in the coup d'état of the 9th Thermidor (see Note 63). p. 216

269 On the 12th and 13th Vendémiaire (October 4-5), 1795 government troops under General Bonaparte suppressed a royalist revolt in Paris. p. 216

270 In May 1796 Babeuf and his closest associates, who sought to overthrow the existing regime by revolution and to establish the community of goods, were arrested. In the autumn of that year, the Babouvists made an attempt to release them and to raise a revolt in the Grenelle military camp under the slogan of overthrowing the Directory (see Note 184) and restoring the Jacobin Constitution of 1793. The revolt was put down by government troops. p. 216

271 See Note 65. p. 216

272 See Note 187. p. 216

273 At the end of August 1799, during the war of the French Republic against the second anti-French coalition, an Anglo-Russian corps under the Duke of York landed at Helder (Northern Holland) for the purpose of abolishing the Batavian Republic which was dependent on France, restoring the pre-revolutionary regime and seizing the Dutch fleet. But in October the allied troops were routed by the Franco-Dutch army commanded by Brune. On October 18 the Duke had to sign the Alkmar capitulation which, besides the return of French

and Dutch prisoners-of-war, provided for the withdrawal of the anti-French coalition troops from Holland. p. 216

274 See Note 68. p. 216

275 The *camp at Boulogne* was set up by Napoleon I in 1803-05 as a base for invading England across the Channel. Napoleon was compelled to abandon his plan by the defeat of the French fleet in the war with Britain and the formation in Europe of a new, third, anti-French coalition including Britain, Russia and Austria. p. 217

276 See Note 28. p. 217

277 A reference to the act of the French Senate deposing Napoleon and restoring the Bourbon dynasty. It was passed after the entry of the armies of the sixth anti-French coalition into Paris on March 31, 1814. p. 217

278 See Note 254. p. 217

279 See Note 30. p. 217

280 Marx wrote the article on Bolivar at a time when the history of the Latin American countries' war for independence (1810-26) had not yet been adequately studied. Books and memoirs by European adventurers who had taken part in the war out of mercenary motives were widely read at the time. Many of these authors, having failed to achieve their aims in Latin America, gave a distorted idea of the war of independence. Examples of such books are *Memoirs of Simon Bolivar* by Ducoudray Holstein, a Frenchman who was at one time Bolivar's chief of staff and had become his personal enemy, *A Narrative of the Expedition to the Rivers Orinoco and Apuré* by G. Hippisley, an English deserter from Bolivar's army, and *Memoirs of General Miller* by John Miller, which dealt unscrupulously with the notes of William Miller (John Miller's brother) who fought for the independence of Peru. Marx's excerpts from the first two books are extant. The third is mentioned in Marx's preparatory materials for the article and in the article itself. The authors of these books attributed numerous imaginary vices to Bolivar (perfidy, arrogance, cowardice) and greatly exaggerated his actual shortcomings (love of the spectacular and ambition). Bolivar's struggle against federalist and separatist elements and for the unification of Latin American republics was presented as a striving for dictatorship. There were also downright factual inaccuracies, such as Ducoudray Holstein's statement that in 1810 Bolivar refused to take part in the struggle for the independence of Venezuela, or the allegation that his participation in Miranda's arrest was motivated by personal considerations (in fact he was convinced of the latter's presumed betrayal).

In reality, as later objective researches confirmed, Simon Bolivar played an outstanding role in Latin America's struggle for independence, rallying for a time the patriotic elements among the landowning creoles (Latin Americans of Spanish descent), the bourgeoisie and the masses, including Indians and Negroes. His activity, contradictory though it was, helped to liberate several Latin American countries from the Spanish yoke, to establish republican forms of government, and to carry out progressive bourgeois reforms.

Marx had only the above-mentioned sources at his disposal. Hence his one-sided view of Bolivar's personality in this article, in his letter to Engels of February 14, 1858, and in *Herr Vogt* written later (see present edition, Vol. 17,

pp. 219, 328). His attitude to Bolivar was to a certain extent determined by the fact that the sources he used exaggerated Bolivar's striving for personal power, and over-emphasised the Bonapartist features of his policy, against which Marx and Engels waged a relentless struggle. Nevertheless, Marx pointed out the progressive aspects of Bolivar's activity, such as his liberation of Negro slaves, and on the whole appreciated the revolutionary anti-colonial struggle for national liberation in Latin America.

There is an entry in Marx's notebook on the dispatch of "Bolivar" to New York on January 8, 1858, together with some articles beginning with C by Engels. In his letter to Marx of January 25, Charles Dana acknowledged receipt of the article. At Dana's request Marx had also enclosed a list of sources used. p. 219

281 Emperor Napoleon I was proclaimed King of the Kingdom of Italy formed in Northern Italy in 1805 in place of the Italian Republic. His stepson Eugène Beauharnais was appointed Viceroy. p. 219

282 On April 19, 1810, the colonial regime was overthrown in the city of Caracas and a new government set up consisting of creole landowners, merchants and intellectuals. Under the influence of the radical Patriotic Society headed by Miranda and Bolivar, an independent Venezuelan Republic was proclaimed at a congress in Caracas on July 5, 1811. The Caracas events served as a signal for uprisings against the Spanish colonial authorities in other Latin American countries (on the general course of this struggle see Note 219). In New Granada, bordering on Venezuela, Spanish rule was overthrown in the capital city of Bogota, in the seaport city of Cartagena and in Quito, the main city of the province of Quito (now Ecuador). In this last, however, it was soon restored. When the Venezuelan Republic fell in July 1812, Cartagena became one of the strongholds of struggle for its restoration. The further struggle, in which the establishment of a second Venezuelan Republic (August 1813-July 1814) was a remarkable episode, ended in a temporary restoration of Spanish rule in the former colonies except La Plata. At this stage the liberation struggle was hampered by the narrow class policy of the creole landowners who would not satisfy the peasants' demands and preserved Negro slavery and the inequality of Indians. p. 219

283 The federal *Republic of New Granada* was established in 1813 as a result of anti-Spanish uprisings in various towns and provinces of the New Granada viceroyalty. It united the insurgent regions which were bound by a federal treaty and acknowledged the supremacy of the Congress of New Granada. The Republic fell in 1816 owing to superior Spanish forces and discord among the autonomous governments of the different regions. p. 223

284 A reference to the *Republic of Haiti* (Hayti) established as a result of the uprising of Negro slaves and mulattos on the island of Hispaniola (the western part belonged to France and the eastern part to Spain, which was obliged to cede it to France in 1795) and their liberation struggle against the French, British and Spanish colonialists which had lasted since 1790. In 1804 the island was proclaimed independent and its old Indian name—Haiti—restored. p. 224

285 A reference to the battles between the Venezuelan insurgent army and Spanish forces in New Granada. In the summer of 1819 Bolivar's army marched over the Andes to liberate New Granada. The Spaniards were defeated in a decisive

battle on the river Boyaca on August 7. Bolivar's victories led to the liberation of the most of New Granada and to the establishment in December 1819 of a united republic of Greater Colombia, which included Venezuela and New Granada and was joined by Quito (Ecuador) in 1822, after the Spaniards had been driven out. p. 228

286 The *revolution on the Isle of Leon*—an uprising against the absolutist regime in Spain, raised in January 1820 by army officers headed by Colonels Riego and Quiroga. Its aim was to restore the 1812 Constitution abrogated by the government of Ferdinand VII in 1814. The leaders of the uprising made use of the discontent among the soldiers of the expeditionary army concentrated in Cadiz (seaport on the Isle of Leon) to be sent against the Latin American patriots. These events sparked off a second bourgeois revolution in Spain (1820-23) which thwarted the government's plans to send large military contingents to suppress the liberation movement in its Latin American colonies. The revolution was put down by the forces of internal reaction and by French intervention (see Note 255). p. 228

287 *Llaneros*—inhabitants of the llanos, vast grassy plains in the north of South America, mostly free mestizo cattle-breeders. Boves, a Spanish agent, exploited their hostile attitude to the creole landowners to recruit mestizo troops to fight against the patriots of Venezuela and New Granada in 1813-14. But in 1816 the llaneros, under their new, mestizo leader Joseph Antonio Paez, joined the liberation army of Bolivar who promised to give them land. The llanero horsemen took part in many of Bolivar's operations, including the victorious battle of Carabobo mentioned in the text (June 24, 1821), which led to the almost complete expulsion of the Spaniards from Venezuela. p. 229

288 In 1821, a number of countries of Central America overthrew the rule of the Spanish colonialists, proclaimed their independence and were for a short time incorporated in Mexico, but in 1823 formed a federation—the United States of Central America. In 1839 the federation split into five republics—Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica. Panama, which was part of the New Granada viceroyalty, was incorporated in the Republic of Greater Colombia as a consequence of the 1821 uprising. p. 230

289 The *"Bolivian Code"*—a reference to the Constitution of the Republic of Bolivia adopted by the Bolivian inaugural congress on November 6, 1826.

The *Code Napoléon*—the code of French civil law promulgated in 1804—exerted a great influence on legislation in many European and a number of Latin American countries. p. 230.

290 The Pan-American congress in Panama met from June 22 to July 25, 1826. It adopted a resolution on the "perpetual confederation" of Latin American republics, a mutual defence treaty and a military convention. But not one of the republics ratified the congress decisions. The plan for establishing a Latin American Confederation, as well as Bolivar's later, less extensive plan for an Andes Federation (comprising three republics governed by him—Peru, Bolivia and Greater Colombia), fell through because they lacked an economic basis, and because of divisions between and among the ruling landowners and bourgeoisie of the various states. The sharpening of these contradictions resulted in the overthrow of Bolivar's rule in Peru in 1827 and in Bolivia in 1828, and in the disintegration of Greater Colombia, from which Venezuela separated in 1829 and Ecuador in 1830. p. 231

291 These are the basic terms of the peace treaty between Peru and Colombia concluded in Guayaquil in September 1829. p. 231

292 The list of the sources attached by Marx to this article at Dana's request (see Note 280) contains the 1831 French edition of Ducoudray Holstein's book, whereas Marx's excerpts show that he used the two-volume English edition published in London in 1830. There is also an inaccuracy as regards the second book (published in two volumes in London in 1828-29). Its author is John Miller, but it was not he but his brother General William Miller who was in the service of the Republic of Peru and who is supposed to be telling the story. p. 233

293 Having finished his share of Dana's first request for articles beginning with B and the essay "Artillery", Engels began writing articles beginning with C, the first of which is "Campaign". Dana's C list has not come down to us. From Engels' letter to Marx of January 28, 1858 one can see that this list did not satisfy Engels, who asked his friend to send Dana the C list he himself had drawn up (see present edition, Vol. 40). By that time Engels had already written several articles beginning with C and begun collecting material for others, "Cavalry" in particular. On January 7, 1858 he sent Marx, in London, the three articles "Campaign", "Cannonade" and "Captain", which, according to Marx's entry in his notebook, were dispatched to New York on January 8, together with the article "Bolivar". A fortnight later, Engels sent some more articles beginning with C to Marx, who forwarded them to the United Sates on January 22. Meanwhile a new request for articles beginning with B had arrived from Dana and as it was urgent Engels had to put off his articles beginning with C.

In writing the article "Campaign" Engels made use of Clausewitz's *Vom Kriege,* which he told Marx he was studying in his letter of January 7, 1858. p. 234

294 On the *battle of Marengo* see Note 69.

At the *battle of Hohenlinden* (Bavaria) on December 3, 1800 the French army under Moreau defeated the army of Archduke John of Austria. The outcome of these two battles was of great importance for France's victory over the forces of the second European coalition. p. 234

295 On September 20, 1792 *at Valmy* (Northeastern France), the French revolutionary forces under Dumouriez and Kellermann halted the Austro-Prussian interventionists, under the Duke of Brunswick, and a detachment of French émigré nobles accompanying him. The interventionists were compelled to retreat and on October 5 were thrown back over the French border. p. 236

296 The "Carabine" belongs to the second group of short articles beginning with C Engels sent to Marx after the dispatch of the first three articles of this group on January 7, 1858 (see Note 293). On January 22 Marx made an entry in his notebook about the dispatch of the following seven articles he had received from Engels by then: "Carabine", "Carabineers", "Carcass", "Carronade", "Cartouch", "Cartridge" and "Case Shot". The second article was not published in *The New American Cyclopaedia* and the manuscript is not extant.

In *The New American Cyclopaedia* the article "Carabine" ends with the sentence: "Several improvements in breech-loading carabines have recently been made in the United States, and submitted for trial to an ordnance board at West

Point (July, 1858)." The date quoted shows that this was added by the editors. p. 238

297 A reference to the American War of Independence (see Note 60). p. 241

298 See Note 35. p. 242.

299 The article "Berme" was written by Engels in compliance with Dana's second request for articles beginning with B contained in his letter of January 8, 1858. On January 23, Marx forwarded Dana's letter to Engels and asked him to return it. Reproducing the list of articles beginning with B in his letter to Engels of February 1, 1858, Marx wrote: "New B's are: 'Bidassoa' (battle of), 'Blenheim' (ditto), 'Burmah' (war in), 'Bomarsund' (siege), 'Borodino' (battle), 'Brescia' (assault), 'Bridge-Head', 'Bülow', 'Buda' (siege of), 'Beresford', 'Berme'. When Dana says, 'most of them I asked you before', he is mistaken, and is confusing *your* list of B's with *his* own" (see present edition, Vol. 40). Dana also requested for an article on Bengal Rebellion (i. e. on the Indian national liberation uprising of 1857), but Engels found it impossible to do it within the time stipulated (see his letter to Marx of January 25, 1858. The description of this uprising was included in the article "Hindoostan" published in *The New American Cyclopaedia* later). Engels started the other articles beginning with B and by January 29 he had three—"Berme", "Blenheim" and "Borodino"—ready. Marx sent them off to New York the same day, as can be seen from his notebook. In February and March Engels continued to fulfil this order and at the same time resumed work on the articles beginning with C which he had been forced to interrupt. p. 248

300 For this item Engels made excerpts from the article "Höchstädt" in Brockhaus' *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste* edited by I. S. Ersch and I. G. Gruber. These excerpts are extant. p. 249

301 At the *battle of Höchstädt* on September 20, 1703 the allied French and Bavarian troops under Villars, Marshal of France, defeated the Austrian army. This battle and that of Blenheim were fought in the War of the Spanish Succession (see Note 16). p. 250

302 In the article on the battle of Borodino (1812), which was a major event in Russia's Patriotic War against Napoleon's invasion, Engels gave an idea of the scale of the battle and of the stubbornness and staunchness displayed by the two belligerent armies, and presented a more objective picture than the authors of many West European works on military history, but he did not avoid inaccuracies in elucidating some of its aspects. Engels was influenced to a certain extent by the German historian Bernhardi's book about General Toll, which he mentions at the end of the article and which contains a number of tendentious assertions emanating from Toll himself and from his biographer (Th. von Bernhardi, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben des ... Grafen von Toll*, vols. 1-4, Leipzig, 1856. Engels' notes from the second volume are extant). In the main the inaccuracies concern the evaluation of the results of the battle, which Engels was inclined to consider a victory for Napoleon's army, according to the tradition in the West, and the role of Mikhail Kutuzov, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army. Kutuzov was not passive during the battle but constantly influenced its course by countering and thwarting Napoleon's plans. In particular, it was on his orders that the Russian cavalry made a successful raid into the rear of the French left wing. The outcome of the battle was highly

unfavourable for Napoleon: he failed to destroy the main forces of the Russian army and himself sustained heavy losses. This led to a turn in the course of the war in favour of Russia and to the defeat of Napoleon's army, despite the fact that the Russians had temporarily to leave Moscow.

Later researches led to substantial corrections concerning the correlation of forces and the losses sustained by the two armies. They showed that at the time of the battle the French had 135,000 men and 587 guns, and the Russians 120,000 men and 640 guns. French losses amounted to 58,000 killed and wounded, while the Russians lost about 44,000 men.

There is an entry in Marx's notebook on the dispatch of this article to New York on January 29, 1858. p. 251

303 See Note 55. p. 251

304 A reference to the raid of Uvarov's cavalry corps and Platov's Cossack corps sent by Kutuzov to outflank the advancing French troops. Their appearance on the flank and in the rear of the French made Napoleon hold back the attacks in the centre, thus enabling Kutuzov to regroup the Russian forces to repulse subsequent attacks. p. 253

305 The "Bridge-Head", "Buda" and other articles beginning with B were written by Engels in fulfilment of Dana's second request for B articles (see Note 299). The time of writing of these two articles can be established only approximately. On February 12, 1858 Marx wrote in his notebook: "French bank, etc. Buda, Bidassoa, Bridge-Head." This presumably means that, according to the accepted form of settling accounts with the editorial board of the *New-York Daily Tribune* (including accounts for the articles for *The New American Cyclopaedia* published under its aegis), Marx had drawn a bill on it on account of the fee for these articles, although it is known from other sources that the article "Bidassoa" was still not finished by the last week in February. However, we may assume that the other two articles were either ready or nearing completion by that time. p. 256

306 In this article Engels gives a short account of some results of his study of the 1848-49 revolutionary war in Hungary. He had already written about the course of this war in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see present edition, vols. 8 and 9) and in the early 1850s intended to devote a special work to it and to the military events of the Italian revolution. The sources Engels used—memoirs of the Hungarian generals Görgey and Klapka—are mentioned in the article itself. On when it was written see Note 305. p. 258

307 The printing establishment of the University of Pest was accommodated in the observatory building from 1810 to 1927. p. 258

308 A reference to the *Itinerarium Antonini* compiled about 300 B.C. and showing the most important routes of the Roman Empire, populated points along them, and the distance between them. p. 259

309 See Note 159. p. 261

310 Engels planned to write the articles "Camp" and "Catapult" in January 1858 but at first he did not have the necessary sources. On January 7 and 14 he asked Marx to go to the British Museum and collect the necessary material. Marx's letter to Engels of February 1 shows that Marx complied with this request a little later. No direct information is available about the progress of

work on these articles, nor is there any entry in Marx's notebook on their dispatch to New York. In a letter to Marx of February 18, 1858 Engels wrote that he had enclosed "a few small pieces for Dana". It can be assumed that this refers to the articles in question and probably to the article "Coehorn" on which Engels was working about the same time, as can be seen from the Marx-Engels correspondence. p. 262

311 *Levites*—members of the tribe of Levi who assisted the priests of the Hebrew temple.
*Tabernacle*—a tent used as a temple. p. 263

312 *Augurs*—Roman religious officials who foretold the future by observing the flight, cries and entrails of birds, etc., before all important state acts.
*Gnomon*—an ancient astronomical instrument. p. 264

313 A reference to the *battle of Vercellae* (Northern Italy) in 101 B.C., at which the Roman general Marius defeated the Germanic Cimbri tribe. This victory ended Rome's war against the Cimbri and Teutons (113-101 B.C.), who had invaded South Gaul and Italy several times. p. 265

314 The *siege of Jerusalem* by the Roman general Vespasian and later, after he became Emperor, by his son Titus, took place in A.D. 68-70, during the Judaean war (A.D. 66-73) caused by the Jewish uprising against Roman domination. After the capture of the city walls the besieged inhabitants continued fighting for a long time in the Temple of Jerusalem and in the streets. p. 266

315 Letters exchanged by Marx and Engels on January 14, 1858 show that originally it was Marx who intended to write this article. But owing to lack of time he could not obtain the necessary sources, whereas Engels had comprehensive material on Coehorn collected when studying problems of military history. Engels therefore undertook to write the article. No precise data is available when he wrote it. It might have been written with "Camp" and "Catapult" and finished by February 18 (see Note 310). p. 267

316 The unsuccessful siege of the French-held fortress of *Maestricht* in the Netherlands by the Dutch under William III of Orange in July and August 1676 and the *battles of Senef, Cassel, St. Denis* and *Fleurus* took place during the war of 1672-79 waged by France, in alliance with Britain (who withdrew in 1674) and Sweden, against the Netherlands and the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs. The war, caused by commercial rivalry between France and the Netherlands, and by Louis XIV's desire to seize the South (Spanish) and North Netherlands, led to the territorial expansion of the French monarchy but failed to achieve its main purpose—the conquest of Holland. p. 267

317 The *peace of Nimeguen*, concluded by Louis XIV's government with Holland and Spain in 1678 and with the Austrian Habsburgs in 1679, ended the war between them and France started in 1672. By this peace France received the Franche Comté and several towns in the Spanish Netherlands. Holland recovered the fortress of Maestricht and the hereditary lands of the House of Orange but in return acknowledged the French colonial conquests in Guiana and Senegal. p. 267

318 The French captured the fortress of *Bergen-op-Zoom* in 1747, during the War of the Austrian Succession (see Note 38).

The campaigns from 1688 to 1691 took place during the war of 1688-97 between France and the so-called Augsburg League comprising Holland, Britain, Spain, the German Empire under the Austrian Habsburgs, Savoy, Sweden and a number of German and Italian princes. The war ended with the Treaty of Ryswijk (1697), which confirmed the prewar boundaries with a few alterations. France had to acknowledge the revolution of 1688 in England which brought the Dutch Stadtholder William III of Orange to the throne. p. 268

319 See Note 16. p. 268

320 In a letter to Marx dated January 25, 1858 Engels wrote that he had "to do some preliminary research on 'Bidassoa'". On February 12 Marx drew a bill on the editorial board of the *New-York Daily Tribune* on account of the fee for a few articles beginning with B, including "Bidassoa" (see Note 305). At that time Engels was still working on the article, and it was not received by Marx in London till about February 22-23 (see his letter to Engels of March 2, 1858, present edition, Vol. 40). There is no entry in Marx's notebook on the dispatch of the article to New York.

The main source used by Engels when writing "Bidassoa" was Napier's *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France, from the Year 1807 to the Year 1814* (vols. I-VI, London, 1828-40). p. 269

321 At the *battle of Vittoria* on June 21, 1813, during the Peninsular war (1808-14), the allied British, Spanish and Portuguese army under Wellington defeated the army of Joseph Bonaparte, who then had to hand over the command to Marshal Soult. p. 269

322 This sketch was drawn by Engels on the basis of the description and the plans of the battles of the Bidassoa of August 31 and October 7, 1813 given in Napier's *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France* (Vol. VI, London, 1840, "Explanatory Sketch No. 5"). The following names are written on it: "Urogne, Rhune, Sans Cullotes, Puerto, Bayonnette, Hogsback, Comissari, Croix de Bouquets, Biriatu, Bildox, Mandale, Vera, Salinas, Irun, San Marcial, Lesaca, Peña de Haya." In the bottom right-hand corner is the inscription: "Battle-field on the Bidassoa." p. 275

323 Engels enclosed the article "Brescia" in his letter to Marx dated February 24, 1858. But it was not sent to New York until March 9 together with his article "Burmah". On that date Marx's notebook has the entry: "Burman War. Brescia (battle of)." p. 277

324 The *Guelphs* and the *Ghibellines*—political parties in Italy in the twelfth-fifteenth centuries, in the period of struggle between the Roman Popes and the German Emperors. The Guelphs, supporters of the Pope, belonged to the top urban merchants and artisans. The Ghibellines, supporters of the Emperor, represented mainly the feudal aristocracy. p. 278

325 The Republic of Venice existed from the fifth century and was abolished as a result of its occupation by General Bonaparte in 1797 and the division of its territory between France and Austria under the Treaty of Campo Formio (see Note 187). p. 279

326 In his letters of February 11, 18 and 24, 1858 Engels informed Marx of his work on "Burmah" and his difficulties in obtaining material on the history of

that country and particularly the Anglo-Burmese war of 1852. On March 4 he wrote telling Marx that he had almost finished the article but was compelled to make "sundry necessary additions from another source". An entry in Marx's notebook shows that "Burmah" was sent to New York on March 9 (see Note 323) though Marx did not inform Engels that he had received it until March 15. p. 280

327 Burma became a victim of Britain's colonial policy in the first decades of the nineteenth century. In the first Anglo-Burmese war (1824-26) troops of the East India Company seized the Province of Assam bordering on Bengal, and the coastal districts of Aracan and Tenasserim which were ceded by Burma under the Yandabo peace treaty of February 24, 1826 imposed upon it by the British. Besides, Burma was forced to pay an indemnity of £1,000,000. The second Anglo-Burmese war (1852) resulted in the British capture of the Province of Pegu, where the guerrilla movement against the invaders lasted until 1860. In the 1860s Britain imposed a number of unequal treaties on Burma and in 1885, at the end of the third Anglo-Burmese war, it annexed the whole of the country. p. 280

328 Engels informed Marx of his work on "Bomarsund" on February 24 and March 4, 11, 16 and 17, 1858. In Marx's notebook there is an entry on the dispatch of this article to New York on March 19, 1858. p. 287

329 As can be seen from Marx's letter to Engels of February 22 and Engels' letters to Marx of February 24 and March 4, 11, 16 and 17, 1858, they intended to write the article "Bülow" together. Engels, who as usual had undertaken to elucidate the military aspect of the biography, looked through several works on the history of the Napoleonic wars (including those of A.H. Jomini, G. Cathcart and W. Siborne) but did not find enough information there. On March 19 Marx told Engels to cease collecting material for the article, informing him that he would write it himself since he had sufficient material about the man for a brief biography. Marx's excerpts from *Meyer's Conversations-Lexicon* (Vol. 6, Hildburghausen, Amsterdam, Paris and Philadelphia, 1843) are extant (see this volume, pp. 402-03). p. 288

330 See Note 30. p. 288

331 Marx and Engels had agreed that Engels would write about Beresford's military activity while Marx was to elucidate other aspects of his life (see Marx's letter to Engels of February 22, 1858). On March 11 Engels sent his version of the article to London, telling Marx that he could not find anything about Beresford's expedition to Buenos Aires in 1806 and other important aspects of his career.

Engels' version was substantially supplemented by Marx and dispatched to New York on April 9, 1858, according to an entry in Marx's notebook. For this article Engels mainly used Napier's *History of the War in the Peninsula,* and Marx used reference books and encyclopaedias (in particular, he made excerpts from the article "Beresford" in *The English Cyclopaedia,* London, Vol. V). p. 289

332 Here Marx and Engels mention some colonial expeditions in which Beresford took part.

In 1806 the British took advantage of the uprising of the Boer colonists against the Dutch colonial authorities and seized South African lands around the Cape of Good Hope (Cape Colony) under the pretext that Holland, being a

vassal of Napoleon, was taking part in his wars against Britain. Officially the Cape Colony was annexed to Britain after the end of the Napoleonic wars.

In the same year a British expedition was sent to take possession of Buenos Aires, which belonged to Spain, then an ally of Napoleonic France. Meeting with no serious resistance from the Spanish colonial authorities, Beresford's detachment seized Buenos Aires but was surrounded and compelled to surrender by the Argentine patriots. A new British expedition to the Rio de la Plata in 1807 also failed.

The Portuguese island of Madeira was seized by Beresford's troops at the end of 1807 under the pretext of defending it against the French. It remained in the hands of the British until 1814. p. 289

333 The *Convention of Cintra* (Portugal) was signed on August 30, 1808 by Dalrymple and Junot, commanders-in-chief of the British and French armies in Portugal. It was the result of the defeat of French troops by the Anglo-Portuguese army, and of the popular uprising in the Peninsula against Napoleon's rule. The French agreed to evacuate Portugal (where they had been since autumn 1807), and the British undertook to ship Junot's troops to France where they were included by Napoleon in the 200,000-strong army with which he invaded the Peninsula for the second time in November 1808.

At the *battle of Coruña* (Spain) on January 16, 1809, the retreating British army of General Sir John Moore repulsed attacks by Marshal Soult's French army and on January 17 and 18, covered by Beresford's division, it embarked at Coruña for Britain. p. 289

334 At the *battle of Salamanca* on July 22, 1812, the allied armies of Britain, Spain and Portugal under Wellington repulsed the French army of Marshal Marmont, which suffered heavy losses. As the result of the *battle of Vittoria* on June 21, 1813 (see Note 321) the main French forces were pushed back to the Pyrenees and by the end of 1813 the war had been carried onto French territory. At *Bayonne* (Southwestern France), on December 9-13, 1813, Wellington's troops mounted an offensive against the entrenched camp of Marshal Soult's army and pressed it hard.

In 1814, during a general offensive of the armies of the sixth anti-French coalition in France, Wellington's advancing army won victories over Soult's army (on February 27 at *Orthes* and on April 10 at *Toulouse*). On April 18, after Napoleon's abdication, Soult concluded an armistice with Wellington. p. 290

335 A reference to Beresford's participation in suppressing the national liberation uprising against the Portuguese colonialists that began in 1817 in the Northeastern Brazilian province of Pernambuco under the slogan of the struggle for an independent republic. The movement for separation from Portugal was subsequently led by local landowners and aristocrats, who succeeded in proclaiming Brazil an empire in 1822. p. 290

336 Beresford supported the feudal-clerical party of absolutists, headed by Prince Dom Miguel, which crushed the Portuguese bourgeois revolution of 1820-23 and restored absolutism. But Dom Miguel did not succeed in holding power and was forced to emigrate in 1824. In 1828 he seized the Portuguese throne, and this led to the resumption of the civil war, which lasted until 1834 (see Note 157). p. 290

337 Engels began working on "Cavalry" in January 1858 (see his letter to Marx of January 14). But the need to write articles beginning with B (see notes 293 and 299) constantly compelled him to interrupt this work. From Engels' letters to Marx of March 26 and April 22, we see that he prepared more intensively for the article on "Cavalry" at the end of March. Besides the sources he had used for the "Army" (see Note 109), Engels collected a large amount of new material, in particular from Theodor Mommsen's *Römische Geschichte* (about the actions of Hannibal's cavalry in the second Punic war), from documents and works on military history reflecting the role of cavalry in modern wars (the Seven Years' War, the Peninsular and other Napoleonic wars). Engels mentions some of the sources in the text.

The article was ready by June 22, 1858, when it was sent to New York, as is seen from an entry in Marx's notebook. p. 291

338 The Carthaginian general Hannibal turned Italy into the main theatre of the second Punic war (218-201 B.C.). In 218 B.C. Hannibal made an expedition with his mercenary army from Spain to Northern Italy, across the Alps. At the *battle of the Ticino* in October 218 B.C. he defeated the advance guard of one of the two Consular armies sent against him, and in December he routed them both on the *Trebia*. Having penetrated into Central Italy, Hannibal completely defeated the Romans at *Cannae* in Apulia in August 216 B.C. (Engels describes these battles in detail later in the text). His successes, however, were brought to naught by Roman victories in Spain and Sicily and a landing of Roman troops in North Africa, which prompted the Carthaginian Senate to recall Hannibal from Italy. In 202 B.C. he was defeated at Zama. The war ended with the conclusion of a peace treaty which imposed harsh terms on Carthage. p. 294

339 The *Punic wars* (264-241, 218-201 and 149-146 B.C.)—wars between Rome and Carthage, the two largest slave-owning states of antiquity, for domination in the Western Mediterranean and the conquest of new territories and slaves. As a result of the first Punic war Carthage was compelled to cede Sicily and the adjoining islands to Rome; in the second it lost its fleet and all its other non-African territories including Spain and the Balearic Islands, and had to pay an enormous indemnity to Rome. Having broken the might of the Carthaginian state, the Romans put an end to it by the third war; the city of Carthage was destroyed. p. 297

340 A reference to the *battle of the Casilinum* (near the city of Capua, Southwestern Italy) in A.D. 554, in which the Byzantine general Narses defeated the Germanic tribes of the Franks and the Alemanni. Having repulsed the invasion of the Franks and Alemanni and destroyed the remnants of the Italian Kingdom of the Ostrogoths (493-554), whose main forces had already been smashed before in an encounter with the Franks, Narses' army established the rule of the Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantium) for a short time in Italy. p. 297

341 At the *battles of Merseburg* (933) and *Lech* (955) the armies of the German kings Henry I the Fowler and Otto I, his successor, defeated the Hungarians who had invaded Germany. p. 297

342 See Note 4. p. 297

343 On April 9, 1241, at the *battle of Wahlstatt* near Liegnitz (Legnica) the allied forces of Polish and German feudal lords were defeated by the Mongol invaders (see Note 136). p. 298

344 At the *battle of Novara* (Northern Italy) on June 6, 1513, Swiss mercenary troops in the service of the Duke of Milan defeated the French army whose main force consisted of mounted knights. This led to the failure of Louis XII's Italian campaign in 1513, one of the numerous invasions of Italy during the Italian wars of 1494-1559 (see Note 26). p. 299

345 See Note 20. P. 299

346 See Note 142. p. 300

347 On the *Civil War in England* see Note 27.

At the end of the paragraph Engels mentions two major battles of this war—at *Marston Moor* (Yorkshire) on July 2, 1644 and *Naseby* (Northamptonshire) on June 14, 1645—where the parliamentary army defeated the army of Charles I. Cromwell's cavalry, the core of which consisted of detachments recruited from among the yeomen and artisans, played a decisive role in these battles. Their outcome, particularly of the battle of Naseby, decided the final victory of the parliamentary forces. p. 300

348 On the *battle of Mollwitz* see Note 145.

*Silesian wars*—part of the War of the Austrian Succession (see Note 38). The first Silesian war embraced military operations between Prussia and Austria in 1740-42, beginning with the invasion of Silesia by Frederick II and ending with the conclusion of the first separate peace treaty between him and Austrians. The second Silesian war was fought by Prussia against Austria allied with Saxony in 1744-45, from the resumption of the war in August 1744 to the conclusion of a new separate peace treaty by Frederick II. p. 301

349 See Note 85. P. 302

350 Engels mentions a number of battles fought during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48) and the Seven Years' War (1756-63), in which cavalry played an important role.

At the *battle of Hohenfriedberg* in Silesia (sometimes called the *battle of Striegau*) on June 4, 1745, the troops of Frederick II of Prussia defeated the allied armies of Austria and Saxony. At *Kesselsdorf* (Saxony) on December 15, 1745 the Prussians defeated the Saxons, which made it possible for Frederick II to sign the peace treaty with Austria and Saxony which put an end to the second Silesian war (see Note 348).

At the *battle of Rossbach* (Prussia) on November 5, 1757, Frederick II defeated the combined forces of the French and the German states hostile to Prussia.

On the *battle of Leuthen* (December 5, 1757) see Note 85.

At *Zorndorf* (Sarbinovo) on August 25, 1758, Frederick II gave battle to the Russian army, as a result of which both sides sustained heavy losses. The battle was not decisive, however, and did not prevent a new Russian offensive the following year. p. 302

351 At the *battle of Würzburg* (Bavaria) on September 3, 1796, during the war of the French Republic against the first European coalition, Austrian troops under

Archduke Charles defeated the French army of General Jourdan and forced it to retreat beyond the Rhine. p. 302

352 See Note 275. p. 302

353 The *Grand Duchy of Warsaw*—a vassal state set up by Napoleon I in 1807 under the peace treaty of Tilsit (see Note 193) and comprising some of the Polish lands earlier annexed to Prussia. In 1809, after Austria's defeat, some of the Polish lands under its rule were also incorporated into the duchy. By decision of the Congress of Vienna (1814-15) the duchy was divided among Prussia, Austria and Russia.

On the *Confederation of the Rhine* see Note 230. p. 302

354 At *Dannigkow* (Möckern), in Saxony, on April 5, 1813 the Russo-Prussian troops under the Russian general Wittgenstein defeated a French army under the Viceroy of Italy, Prince Eugène Beauharnais. On the participation of the Prussian general Bülow in this battle see this volume, pp. 402-03. p. 303

355 See Note 168. p. 304

356 See Note 30. p. 304

357 See Note 150. p. 305

358 See Note 172. p. 309

359 In 451, on the *Catalaunian Plains*, near the site of the chief town of the Catalauni, now occupied by Châlons-sur-Marne, the army of Huns, conquerors of Turk descent under Attila (and also men from many tributary tribes), was defeated by the army of the West Roman general Aetius, consisting of soldiers of different nationalities: Germans, Romans, Gauls, etc. Dissension among the victors prevented the utter defeat of the Huns.

The *Sepoy mutiny*—the Indian national liberation uprising of 1857-59 against British rule. It started in the spring of 1857 among the Sepoy units (see Note 48) of the Bengal army and spread to vast regions of Northern and Central India. Peasants and poor artisans from the towns took an active part in the uprising, but the leaders were, as a rule, local feudal lords. The uprising was defeated because of India's lack of unity and its religious and caste differences and the military and technical superiority of the British. p. 311

360 *Mamelukes*—Turkish, Georgian, Circassian and some other Caucasian slaves from among whom the ruling dynasty in Egypt began recruiting its guard in the twelfth century. In 1250 the Mameluke top commanders seized power and set up their own state supported by a strong army. Early in the sixteenth century the state was subjugated by the Ottoman Empire and incorporated in it. But with the decay of the Empire at the end of the seventeenth century, the Mameluke feudal aristocracy in fact restored its domination in Egypt and was only under the nominal control of the Turkish Sultan. Irregular horsemen made up the bulk of the Mameluke army.

On *Napoleon's expedition to Egypt* see Note 5. p. 311

361 See Note 31. p. 312

362 See Note 3. p. 313

363 See Note 72. p. 313

364 At the *battle of Waterloo* on June 18, 1815 General d'Erlon's corps was ordered by Napoleon to attack the left wing of Wellington's allied army with his four divisions each formed in column. In the very first attack the corps suffered heavy losses. p. 314

365 At *Garcia Hernandez* on July 23, 1812, during the Peninsular war (1808-14), dragoons of the German legion in Wellington's army attacked the rearguard of the French, retreating after the defeat at Salamanca (see Note 334), and broke and dispersed the infantry square. p. 315

366 On the *battle of Ligny* see Note 234. p. 315

367 After Engels had written his articles beginning with C, his work for *The New American Cyclopaedia* was interrupted. But on March 15, 1859, Charles Dana asked Marx to write articles "Fortification" and "Infantry". They were in fact written by Engels.

On June 10, 1859 Marx acknowledged receipt of Engels' "Fortification", which he described as "splendid". He wrote: "I must say I feel some twinges of conscience about having made such demands on the little spare time you have." Dana acknowledged receipt of the article in a letter to Marx of July 30.

Engels' excerpts from the article "Fortification" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Vol. IX, Edinburgh, 1855) survive. This was however far from Engels' only source for his article (some of them are mentioned in the text).

"Fortification" was published in 1859 in Vol. VII of the *Cyclopaedia*. The editors added, with an explanatory note, a table of US fortifications. p. 317

368 See Note 20. p. 327

369 During the *War of the Spanish Succession* (1701-14) (see Note 16) the French-held fortress of *Landau* (Palatinate) was recaptured by German imperial troops in 1702. In the following year the French retook it but in 1704 the Germans again laid siege to it and forced its capitulation after three months. In 1713 the French recaptured it. p. 330

370 On the military operations at Danzig in 1807 see Note 93. p. 331

371 The defence of Vienna against the Turkish army that besieged it in July 1683 ended in the rout of the Turks on September 12 by Austro-German-Polish forces. The Poles under John Sobieski, who came to the relief of Vienna, played a decisive role in this rout. p. 332

372 See Note 180. p. 334

373 The *Maximilian towers*—32 towers of special construction by Archduke Maximilian d'Este of Austria, erected around Lintz in 1826-36. They were to serve as independent forts in defensive operations. p. 334

374 The entrenched *camp at Bunzelwitz* (Boleslawice)—a system of field-type fortifications whose construction was begun by order of Frederick II of Prussia in 1760, during the Seven Years' War (1756-63). In 1760-62 his army took up defensive positions several times in this camp against the Austrian and Russian armies.

The *lines at Torres Vedras* (near Lisbon) were built by order of Wellington in 1810 to protect the Anglo-Portuguese army against the French. Consisting of three rows of powerful fortifications, these lines played an important role in

the Peninsular war (1808-14). In 1810-11 they helped to halt the offensive of Marshal Masséna's army on Lisbon.

The French *lines of Weissenburg* (Alsace) were fortifications built in 1706, during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14), by the army of Marshal Villars as a defensive position against the German imperial forces. Subsequently the lines were improved by Louis de Cormontaigne. A particularly fierce battle for these fortifications developed between the French and the Austrians during the war of the French Republic against the first European coalition (1792-97).

On the *Austrian entrenchments before Verona* and their role in the military operations of the counter-revolutionary Austrian army against Piedmontese troops in 1848, see Engels' work *Po and Rhine* and his article "The Austrian Hold on Italy" (present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 211-55 and 183-89). p. 339

375 In late 1848 and early 1849, during an Austrian offensive, the entrenched camp and fortress of Komorn (Komárom), Northwestern Hungary, remained in the hands of the Hungarians in the rear of the Austrians. From January to April 1849 the fortress withstood a siege by the Austrians. After the siege was lifted on April 19, as a result of a successful Hungarian offensive and the restoration of the entrenched camp at Komorn, the Hungarians twice resisted superior Austrian forces—on July 2 and 11, 1849. Though in the end the Austrian enemy managed to take only part of the Komorn fieldworks, the general war situation prompted the Hungarian army to retreat from the fortress, whose defence was entrusted to General Klapka's corps. The garrison held out until September 27, 1849. p. 339

376 Marx received Dana's request for the "Infantry" and "Fortification" articles in the spring of 1859 (see Note 367). Engels undertook to write both. However, he could not begin work on "Infantry" until the end of August, after finishing "Fortification" and writing articles for the London *Das Volk* and the *New-York Daily Tribune,* as well as a review of Marx's book *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (see present edition, Vol. 16). In his letters to Marx of September 23-27 and of October 3 he informed him of the progress of work on "Infantry". Marx acknowledged receipt of the article on October 10, 1859.

In writing the article Engels made extensive use of W. Rüstow's *Geschichte der Infanterie* (vols. I-II, Gotha, 1857-58) and other sources, including a work by the Prussian Major Trotha on the influence of improved rifles on infantry tactics, etc. p. 340

377 The *Dorians*—one of the main groups of ancient Greek tribes which moved from the North to the Peloponnese and the southern islands of the Aegean Sea in the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C. As compared to tribes which settled in Greece earlier (Achaeans, Ionians and Aeolians), the Dorians preserved more of the archaic patriarchal characteristics. But the break-up of the primitive communal system led to the emergence of a hereditary aristocracy among the Dorians too, and to the formation in the eighth-sixth centuries B.C. of slave-owning states, among which Sparta was the most powerful. p. 340

378 See Note 118. p. 340

379 See Note 33. p. 341

380 See Note 119. p. 341

381 See Note 115. p. 341

382 See Note 114. p. 342

383 *Condottieri*—leaders of mercenary troops in the service of various sovereigns and Popes in Italy in the fourteenth-sixteenth centuries. p. 342

384 The *Samnite wars* (343-341, c. 327-304 and 298-290 B.C.)—wars between the Romans and the Samnites (a group of Italic tribes in the Central Apennines) during Rome's struggle for domination over Central Italy. The victory over the Samnites was an important stage in uniting the various Italic tribes under Rome.

On the *Punic wars* see Note 339. p. 345

385 See Note 132. p. 347

386 At the *battle of Laupen* (near Berne) on June 21, 1339, Swiss infantry defeated an allied army of Austrian, German and Italian feudal lords. This was an important stage in the Swiss cantons' struggle for independence (see Note 137). p. 350

387 At the *battle of Pavia* on February 24, 1525 (see Note 26) the German Landsknechts in the service of Emperor Charles V and the Spanish infantry successfully fought the French mounted knights and Swiss mercenaries of Francis I of France. p. 351

388 A reference to the war of 1481-92 waged between the united Kingdom of Castile and Aragon (Spanish monarchy) and the Emirate of Granada, the final stage in the reconquest of the Peninsula from the Moors (see Note 238). The war ended with the Spaniards' capture of Granada. p. 351

389 See Note 20. p. 353

390 See Note 142. p. 354

391 See Note 16. p. 356

392 See Note 246. p. 357

393 See Note 166. p. 359

394 See Note 144. p. 359

395 See Note 60. p. 359

396 At *Lexington* and *Concord* (Massachusetts) on April 19, 1775, British regular forces were defeated by American insurgent skirmishers. These battles marked the beginning of the war of the British North-American colonies for independence. p. 359

397 See Note 275. p. 361

398 The war of France and the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont) against Austria lasted from April 29 to July 8, 1859. It was unleashed by Napoleon III who, under the pretext of "liberating" Italy, sought to acquire new territories and strengthen his regime at home. The Italian big bourgeoisie and liberal nobility, on the other hand, hoped in the course of the war to unify Italy under the Savoy dynasty ruling in Piedmont. Napoleon III, however, was worried by the scope of the Italian national liberation movement against the Austrian oppressors and, after several victories won by Franco-Piedmontese forces,

concluded a separate peace treaty with Austria in Villafranca on July 11, behind Sardinia's back. France received Savoy and Nice, Lombardy was annexed to Sardinia, and the Venetian Republic remained under Austrian rule. p. 363

399 During preliminary discussions Marx asked Dana to place the order for the article "Navy" with another author. Nevertheless, in his letter of September 8, 1860 Dana asked Marx to send him the article urgently. Marx passed the letter on to Engels on September 25, requesting him to write the article if at all possible. Engels began working on it early in October, as can be seen from his letter to Marx of October 1. On November 23 Marx acknowledged receipt of the draft copy (see present edition, Vol. 41).

Engels made use of various sources, including Howard Douglas' *Treatise on Naval Gunnery* (4th ed., London, 1855); the article "Navy" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Vol. XVI, 8th ed.); Prince de Joinville's works on the condition of France's steam fleet (see Note 402); W. James' *The Naval History of Great Britain, from the Declaration of War by France in 1793, to the Accession of George IV* (1st edition, 1822-24), and Zweytinger's *Die Seemacht Englands und Frankreichs militärisch-statistisch* (Leipzig, 1854). p. 364

400 During the first Punic war, 264-241 B.C. (see Note 339), the Romans, who initially had had no means for fighting the Carthaginian navy, built a comparatively large fleet which inflicted a number of defeats on the Carthaginian navy. p. 364

401 A reference to Napoleon's *camp at Boulogne* (see Note 275). p. 368

402 In 1844 Prince de Joinville published an article entitled "Notes sur l'état des forces navales de la France" in the *Revue des deux Mondes*. It came out the same year as a separate pamphlet on the same subject. The article evoked a lively response. It developed the idea that, by improving its steam fleet, France could attain the same naval might as Britain. In 1859 the *Revue* printed Joinville's article "Le marine à vapeur dans les guerres continentales", in which he argued that if France possessed a powerful steam fleet the impregnability of the British Isles in the event of an Anglo-French war would be called in question. Both articles were included in Joinville's book *Etudes sur la marine*, which appeared the same year. It is probable that Engels had this book in mind. p. 370

403 On the *bombardment of Sveaborg* see Note 178. p. 371

404 On October 17, 1855, during the Crimean war (1853-56), the small Russian fortress of *Kinburn*, defending the entrance to the Dnieper-Bug estuaries, was bombarded by the Anglo-French fleet. Three French iron-clad floating batteries took part in the bombardment. p. 371

405 Engels changed this viewpoint when studying the naval battles of the American Civil War (1861-65). In the articles "The American Civil War and Armoured and Ram Vessels" and "Artillery News from America" (see present edition, Vol. 19) he pointed to the use of armoured vessels with turret armament as a most important trend in the future development of navies and naval warfare. p. 372

406 See Note 35. p. 374

407 At this point *The New American Cyclopaedia* has a passage, added by the editors, containing information on the history of the US navy and its condition in 1861, when Volume XII of the *Cyclopaedia* was published. p. 375

408 A whole group of preparatory materials by Marx and Engels for their articles in *The New American Cyclopaedia* survives. These manuscripts are either summaries of or extracts from various sources, or preliminary rough drafts of articles which contain details omitted in the final version. This volume includes a selection of different types of such material showing the various stages in the work of Marx and Engels on their articles. By comparing them with the final text, the reader can obtain an idea of how Marx and Engels used the sources and prepared for writing the articles. p. 377

409 The summary of John W. Kaye's *History of the War in Afghanistan* (vols. I-II, London, 1851) was made by Engels as a basis for his article "Afghanistan" (see this volume, pp. 40-48 and Note 40). Engels managed to summarise the contents of a two-volume work abounding in quotations from various sources and with the documents appended totalling 1,346 pages. As a rule, he presented a selection of the facts in very concise German, generally following the chronological order of the book. Only on rare occasions did he reproduce passages, phrases or words from Kaye's book in English, French or other languages. (In the present edition the use of the English expressions is mentioned in footnotes while the French and other foreign words are given as in the original.) Since on the whole the text of the original summary is neither a translation into German nor a version of passages from Kaye's book, but is largely an original work, it is given in ordinary and not small type, as is usually the case. Words abridged by Engels are printed in full; explanations by the editors are given in square brackets. p. 379

410 *Blue Books*—a series of parliamentary and foreign-policy documents. Here the reference is to the *Correspondence Relating to Persia and Afghanistan* (London, 1839), comprising the reports submitted to Parliament on the negotiations between Alexander Burnes, the British representative in Kabul, and the Emir of Afghanistan, Dost Mohammed. As a result of the negotiations the British Government, at Palmerston's insistence, declared war on Afghanistan in 1838. The reports were submitted to Parliament in 1839 but, as subsequently transpired, the most important papers were not produced, which made it possible to claim that Dost Mohammed was the initiator of the Anglo-Afghan conflict. Marx wrote about the falsifications contained in this publication in the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 606-07). p. 379

411 *Gurkhas*—general name given to a number of peoples in Nepal from whom the British colonial authorities in India recruited soldiers for special regiments in their army. p. 382

412 The Russian expedition to the Khanate of Khiva in November 1839 was undertaken under V. A. Perovsky, Military Governor of Orenburg. His 5,000-strong detachment, with artillery and a food convoy, proved unprepared for a winter march through the barren steppes and lost half its men through mass disease. Failing to reach Khiva, Perovsky was forced to return to Orenburg. p. 382

413 These excerpts were made by Marx when working on the article "Blum" for *The New American Cyclopaedia* (see this volume, pp. 80-82 and Note 95). They

are from the article of the same title published in *Meyer's Conversations-Lexicon,* second Supplement Volume, Hildburghausen, 1853, pp. 240-46. As can be seen from Marx's notes he compared the text of this article with that of "Robert Blum" in Fr. Steger's *Ergänzungs-Conversationslexicon,* Vol. 1, Leipzig, 1846, pp. 153-60. In the latter source Blum's biography, up to 1845, is set forth in greater detail, but in the main the texts of the two articles coincide. This gives grounds for assuming either that both articles were written by the same author or that Robert Blum's own autobiographical material was used in both cases. Marx chose *Meyer's Conversations-Lexicon,* where Blum's biography is given up to his death, as the main source for his own article on this revolutionary leader.

Direct quotations and summaries of the text from *Meyer's Conversations-Lexicon* are given in this volume in small type, in the case of direct quotations the text is printed in editorial quotation marks. Marx's own notes are in ordinary type. p. 391

414 These excerpts for the article "Bourrienne" (see this volume, pp. 83-84 and notes 95 and 103) are the result of Marx's primary work on three sources. The bulk of them were made from "Bourrienne" in the *Biographie universelle (Michaud) ancienne et moderne* (Vol. 5, Paris, 1854) and from the article bearing the same title in *The English Cyclopaedia* (Vol. V, Biography, London, 1856). Marx remarked that the two articles closely resembled each other textually. Marx made some additions and notes based on Fr. Chr. Schlosser's *Zur Beurtheilung Napoleon's und seiner neusten Tadler und Lobredner* (Frankfurt am Main, 1835).

Excerpts from the *Biographie universelle* are made mostly in French and those from *The English Cyclopaedia* in English, with German words inserted here and there. Marx's own remarks and the summary of some of Schlosser's propositions are written in German. They are given in ordinary type in this volume. The rest of the text is published in small type and in cases of direct quotations in editorial quotation marks. The use of English quotations and expressions is mentioned in footnotes. p. 394

415 See Note 269. p. 395

416 The *preliminaries of Léoben* (Styria) were signed by Napoleon Bonaparte and Austria's representative in April 1797 following the defeats of the Austrians by the French army of Italy. Their signing preceded the conclusion of the peace treaty of Campo Formio (see Note 187) mentioned later in the text. p. 395

417 See Note 69. p. 395

418 See Note 73. p. 396

419 The *Chambre introuvable*—a nickname given by Louis XVIII to the Chamber of Deputies in 1815-16, the majority of whose members were ultra-royalists. p. 396

420 The rough draft of the article "Brune" is written in English, with some French and German words inserted here and there and a few French quotations at the end. Some aspects of Brune's activity are given in more detail than in the final version. In the manuscript there is hardly any division into paragraphs, and in the present publication this has been done mostly by the editors. p. 397

421 The *10th of August 1792* is the day when the monarchy in France was overthrown as a result of a popular uprising in Paris. p. 397

422 Marx presumably refers to the following excerpt from Fr. Chr. Schlosser's *Zur Beurtheilung Napoleon's und seiner neusten Tadler und Lobredner* (Frankfurt am Main, 1835):

"*Brune.* In the campaign of 1796-97 Napoleon fetters him to himself for political reasons.

"Lavallette says of this: 'Brune was one of the heads of the *Cordeliers,* he was, it was said, the man who had led the popular movement on the Champ de Mars (in 1791 after the flight of the King), which Bailli later dispersed by having martial law proclaimed. He was arrested, thrown into gaol, and the rumour spread that the supporters of the Court had attempted to get rid of him by odious means. At the beginning of the war Brune was employed in fairly insignificant posts, and, either because the Directory feared a man of his immense daring, or because he felt that his courage would be better employed in the army, he received a recommendation for an appointment in Italy. General Bonaparte, who *foresaw* that one day he would have a lot of trouble with the Jacobins, attributed to General Brune a share of the honour for the victory of Rivoli ("*he did honour to General Brune for part of the success of the battle of Rivoli*"), either because he had discovered talents in him, which he moreover displayed on several occasions, or because he wanted to tie to his person the heads of [...] a party to which belonged men of merit who had distinguished themselves by their energy. [...] He made Brune general of a division and a few years [later] [...] commander-in-chief of an army of whose generals he had been one of the least distinguished' (*Lavallette in Schlosser*)". Marx used here passages from *Mémoires et Souvenirs du Comte Lavallette* (Vol. 1, Paris, London, 1831, p. 196) quoted by Schlosser on pp. 58-59 of the first part of his book.

p. 398

423 A reference to the buildings of the Dutch East India Company founded in 1602. The Company had a monopoly of trade with the eastern countries and played an important role in Holland's colonial expansion, particularly in the area of the Indian Ocean. It carried on a bitter competitive struggle against the British East India Company. In 1798 the Dutch East India Company was abolished and the whole of its property went over to the Batavian Republic, which was virtually a French protectorate. p. 399

424 These excerpts from the article "Bülow" in *Das Grosse Conversations-Lexicon für die gebildeten Stände, herausgegeben von J. Meyer* (Vol. 6, Hildburghausen, 1843, pp. 732-33) served as preparatory material for Marx's short article on Bülow for *The New American Cyclopaedia* (see this volume, p. 288 and Note 329). In the present edition the text quoted or summarised from the *Conversations-Lexicon* is in small type, with direct quotations in editorial quotation marks. Marx's own remarks and generalisations are in ordinary type (in some cases they contain information taken from other sources to supplement the text of the article). p. 402

425 *La Belle Alliance*—a village in Belgium about two and a half miles south of Waterloo which served as Napoleon's headquarters during the battle of Waterloo on June 18, 1815 (see Note 30). In German literature this battle is sometimes called the battle of Belle Alliance.

On the *battle of Ligny,* which preceded the battle of Waterloo, see Note 234.

p. 403

426 The *Battle of the Nations*—the name given to the battle of Leipzig on October 16-19, 1813 (see Note 31). p. 403

427 This letter to the editor of the Darmstadt *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* obtained for Engels the opportunity to publish his military articles in this weekly.

The editor's reply survives, dated October 11, 1860, making it clear that Engels was allowed to contribute provided he abstained from a political appraisal of military events. It reads as follows:

"Darmstadt, October 11, 1860

"Dear Sir,—Immediately upon our return from a long journey to Berlin, Danzig, etc., we found your kind letter of August 24 of this year, to which we hasten to reply.

"It would be very desirable for us and the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* to receive literary contributions from you from time to time, but we would ask you above all to include in your accounts only facts (not mere political observations, etc.). To this end we beg to suggest that you should send us informal 'Letters from and about Great Britain' (say, one every six weeks) and to deal with one or several definite themes in each. Especially welcome would be accurate accounts of the results of shooting exercises, military establishments (*Woolwich Arsenal,* for example), military schools, etc., similar to those we published about France last year and the year before.

"It would be also desirable for us to know exactly your conditions as regards payments.

"With the highest regard

"Yours faithfully

"The Editorial Board of the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*"

Engels contributed to this weekly from 1860 to 1864, during which time several military items were published, beginning with the one suggested in the above letter. Some of his reports for the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* were not published and have come down to us in manuscript form. This volume contains Engels' articles published in the newspaper in 1860-62. His articles for 1863 and 1864 are included in Volume 19. p. 407

428 The review, in particular, appreciated Engels' view on the unsoundness of the theory according to which Germany should be master of Northern Italy in order to protect its own security. p. 407

429 Engels did not carry out this intention. He had described the Whitworth gun shortly before in a series of articles, "On Rifled Cannon", published in April and May 1860 in the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see present edition, Vol. 17). p. 407

430 On Engels' participation in the campaign of the revolutionary Baden-Palatinate army in the summer of 1849 see his work *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 147-239) and his letter to Jenny Marx of July 25, 1849 (Vol. 38, pp. 202-04). p. 407

431 This article was written for the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* and was first published there under the heading "Eine Musterung englischer freiwilliger Jäger (Correspondenz aus Manchester)". Engels translated it into English and it was published with some changes in *The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire* as "A German Account of the Newton Review" and with an introductory note by the author himself. In the spring of 1861 it was included in the collection of Engels' articles *Essays Addressed to Volunteers* under the title given in this volume. An editorial note to it said: "Translated for *The Volunteer*

*Journal* by the author of the original article, which appeared in the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*, September, 8th, 1860."

Besides *The Volunteer Journal* Engels sent the translated article, with the introductory note, to other periodicals, many of which published it in abridged versions. On September 21, 1860 it appeared in *The Morning Herald, The Standard, The Sun* and *The Manchester Guardian*, and the next day in *The Morning Advertiser*. Extracts from the article were published in *The Times*, which described it as of "very high standing" and "very accurate" (September 24, 1860). Other newspapers also printed excerpts from it. In his letter to Ferdinand Lassalle of October 2, 1860 Marx wrote that the "entire London press" had reprinted and discussed the article (see present edition, Vol. 41). Its popularity made a strong impression on Marx's and Engels' friends and acquaintances. Sigismund Borkheim wrote to Marx on September 27, 1860: "Let's promote Engels to 'General'! Moreover, no longer ago than last week I read a lengthy note about this, either in the *Observer* or the *London Review*, not knowing, of course, that Engels was the author of the article in the *Militär-Zeitung*."

With the printing of the article in *The Volunteer Journal* (No. 2, September 14, 1860) Engels became a constant contributor to this progressive Manchester periodical. He had been invited to write for the journal already in August 1860, when it was being prepared for publication.

On August 11, 1860, Nodal, one of the editors, addressed the following request to Engels: "My dear Sir. If you see the volunteer parade today, I should be glad of a *few words* from your pen on their military appearance, possible efficiency, etc." A few days later Engels received a letter from another editor, Isaac Hall: "Dear Engels, Sam Moore tells me that you don't intend to write in the review because if you do you will have to *pitch into them*.—Never mind that—all the better—it will do us all good to be severely criticized. Yours truly *Isaac Hall*."

Engels regularly published in it articles and essays on various military subjects. He also revised for it some articles written for the *New-York Daily Tribune*. In all, 18 works by Engels, including several series of articles, were printed in the journal during the time of its existence (August 1860-March 1862).

Engels' first article published in *The Volunteer Journal* was unsigned, but beginning with the second article ("The French Light Infantry") his articles were usually preceded by the editorial remarks: "By the Author of 'A German Account of the Newton Review'", and later: "By the Author of 'The History of the Rifle'" or "By the Author of 'Essays Addressed to Volunteers'." Some of the articles were published anonymously. From the beginning of April 1862 ("Brighton and Wimbledon") they were signed "F.E.", except for the article "The War in America", which was again preceded by the editorial: "By the Author of 'Essays Addressed to Volunteers'." p. 409

432 In *The Volunteer Journal* this article, with the introductory note, was published under the general title "A German Account of the Newton Review". p. 409

433 The *adjutant* in a volunteer unit was a military instructor; he was a regular officer and was appointed by the General Staff on the recommendation of the district command. p. 410

434 The *civic guard* or *civic militia*, formed in Prussia after the March 1848 revolution, consisted of members of the bourgeoisie. Its main function was to

preserve order, and it was poorly organised and trained. It was disbanded during the offensive of the counter-revolutionary forces in November 1848. p. 410

435 In *The Volunteer Journal* the words "By the Author of 'A German Account of the Newton Review'" were added to the headings of sections II and III published in Nos. 5 and 7 for 1860. In 1861 the article was included with some changes in the collection of Engels' works *Essays Addressed to Volunteers.* In this volume the changes are mentioned in footnotes. The sections, merely numbered in Roman figures in *The Volunteer Journal,* were called chapters in the *Essays.*

The editors and many readers of the journal valued the essay highly. In September 1860, after the publication of the first section, Isaac Hall wrote to Engels: "My dear Engels, I have never had an opportunity of thanking you for your very good and very instructive article on French Light Infantry. It is highly appreciated by the proprietors and has been most favourably spoken of by many people. As we are all here this week will you kindly send the next contribution to Mr. Nodal at Jackson 62 Corporation Street. Won't you come and have a look at us. Yours faithfully (in haste). *Isaac Hall.*" p. 417

436 *Brown Bess*—the flintlock, smooth-bore musket used in the British army in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The name derived from the brown walnut stock. p. 418

437 On the Algerian war of liberation under Abd-el-Kader see Note 80. p. 419

438 The substitution system was for a long time practised in the French army. It was a privilege of the propertied classes allowing their members to buy themselves free from military service by hiring substitutes. During the French Revolution this practice was banned but Napoleon I legalised it again. Under the 1853 law, substitutes were selected in the main by government bodies and the payment for them contributed to a special "army donation" fund. The substitution system was abolished in 1872. p. 419

439 The Crimean war of 1853-56, a war between Russia and a coalition of Britain, France, Turkey and the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont), is dealt with in this volume in the articles "Bosquet" by Marx and Engels, "Brown" by Marx and "Bomarsund" by Engels. Some episodes are also mentioned in other articles written for *The New American Cyclopaedia.*

On the *Italian war of 1859* between France and the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont) on the one hand and Austria on the other see Note 398. p. 420

440 On the *siege of Sevastopol* see Note 180. p. 423

441 At the *battle of Palestro* (May 20-31, 1859), *Magenta* (June 4) and *Solferino* (June 24), between the Franco-Sardinian and the Austrian troops during the Italian war of 1859 (see Note 398), the Austrian army was defeated. Engels made a thorough analysis of the course of these battles in his military essays "Strategy of the War", "A Chapter of History", "The Battle at Solferino", and others (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 349-53, 372-79, 392-95). p. 423

442 Engels wrote this article at the request of Alfred Walmsley, one of the editors of *The Volunteer Journal.* His letter to Engels survives, as follows: "My dear Engels,—I enclose you a few remarks, I think from the *Times,* in reference to

Volunteer Artillery.—We very much desire a few lines on the subject, and as I find the Volunteer Artillery officers in Manchester have no very great literary abilities, I shall have to venture to ask you to give us a paragraph on the subject. As you are aware the Artillery in Manchester is progressing but slowly. And an article on the subject may do great good; though my opinion is that inland artillery corps are not so very much required. I am, dear Sir, Yours truly, Alfred Walmsley."

Engels included the article in the collection *Essays Addressed to Volunteers,* abridging and changing the first paragraph. p. 429

443 Engels conceived the idea of a work on the history of the rifle in the summer of 1860. Originally, he intended to publish it in the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see his letter to Marx of August 1, 1860, present edition, Vol. 41). When he began contributing to *The Volunteer Journal* he carried out his intention by printing his "History of the Rifle" in a series of eight articles. Each article was marked: "By the Author of 'A German Account of the Newton Review'." In the spring of 1861 the series was reproduced in the collection *Essays Addressed to Volunteers.* Engels made slight changes in the text.

On December 20, 1860 Nodal, one of the editors of *The Volunteer Journal,* wrote to Engels telling him of the impression his articles had produced on Major Preston, a large manufacturer of rifles. Nodal wrote: "I have seen Major Preston today. He is an immense admirer of your 'History of the Rifle'".

Part of the seventh article was published in *The Army and Navy Gazette,* No. LVI, January 26, 1861, under the title "The Whitworth Rifle, from the *Volunteer Journal*". (Nodal sent this issue to Engels together with his letter of January 28, 1861.) p. 433

444 A reference to the American War of Independence, 1775-83 (see Note 60), and the war of the French Republic against the counter-revolutionary European coalition begun in 1792 (see Note 146). p. 434

445 See Note 436. p. 434

446 See Note 439. p. 441

447 See Note 398. p. 446

448 See Note 150. p. 450

449 This article was written at the request of Nodal who wrote to Engels on November 19, 1860: "I should feel much obliged, at some future time, if you could let us have a paper on *Volunteer Engineers,* a subject which is just now attracting much attention. Yours very faithfully. J. H. Nodal."

The article was published in *The Volunteer Journal* under the title "Volunteer Engineers", with no indication of Engels' authorship. In the *Essays Addressed to Volunteers* the words: "Their Value and Sphere of Action" were added to the title. The title in this volume is the same as in the *Essays.* p. 460

450 The *Horse Guards*—the headquarters of the Royal Horse Guards, thus called ever since it began to be used to accommodate commanders of a number of cavalry regiments of the Guards. p. 463

451 This article was first intended for the *New-York Daily Tribune,* but when Nodal asked Engels to write an article for *The Volunteer Journal* Engels revised it for

that periodical. It was preceded by the editorial remark: "By the Author of 'The History of the Rifle'." p. 465

452 See Note 398. p. 466

453 Besides the substitution system (see Note 438), it was a practice in the French army at regular call-ups to transfer some of the conscripts to the reserve by drawing lots. When the number of conscripts reached the necessary figure, transfer to the reserve by lots was virtually equal to being freed from military service. p. 467

454 Engels selected passages from Marshal Bugeaud's book *Aperçus sur quelques détails de la guerre* (Paris, 1832), translated them into English, and supplied them with a short introduction. The work was published in *The Volunteer Journal* without any indication of the compiler or author of the introduction. Engels' authorship is clear from his reference to this publication in the article "Waldersee on the French Army" published later (see this volume, pp. 508-17).

On Marshal Bugeaud as a military leader and politician see Marx's article "Bugeaud" (this volume, pp. 211-14). p. 469

455 See Note 166. p. 474

456 The initiative of publishing Engels' articles from *The Volunteer Journal* as a separate book belongs to the editors of that periodical. On December 20, 1860 Nodal wrote to Engels: "Has Mr. Hall informed you of our intention of republishing 4 of your essays, contributed to *V. Journal*? I send you the proofs of all but the German Zeitung article, which I will forward hereafter. If there is any alteration you would wish making, please mark, and return proofs at convenience. I propose altering the title page to Essays Addressed to Volunteers, etc. Would you like your name attached or any *nom de plume*, or will you give the credit entirely to the Journal, and publish anonymously? The Essays will be sold throughout England. Of course we will append an advertisement of the *V. Journal*, so as to make our little paper more widely known."

Engels accepted the proposal and included five of his articles in the *Essays Addressed to Volunteers*. But he did not arrange them in chronological order. The collection contained "The History of the Rifle", "The French Light Infantry", "Volunteer Artillery", "Volunteer Engineers: Their Value and Sphere of Action" and "A Review of English Volunteer Riflemen". Some editorial alterations were made in the text. The short preface was signed "F. E." The collection was published in March 1861.

On March 23, 1861, the London *United Service Gazette* carried a review of the *Essays*. Having examined the contents of some of the articles and emphasised in particular the merits of such works as "The History of the Rifle" and "Volunteer Artillery", the reviewer concluded: "We may say of the whole brochure that it is modestly and carefully written, with evident zeal and interest in the subject matter, and will be a most acceptable offering to every intelligent and thinking Volunteer." p. 476

457 In *The Volunteer Journal* this article was marked: "By the Author of 'Essays Addressed to Volunteers'." p. 479

458 See Note 433. p. 482

459 *The Volunteer Journal* gives the following editorial footnote to the heading: "By the Author of 'Essays Addressed to Volunteers', whose contributions to the *Journal* in future will be distinguished by the initials placed at the end of the present article." p. 484

460 See Note 450. p. 485

461 A reference to the Indian national liberation uprising of 1857-59 (the Sepoy mutiny) brutally suppressed by British troops (see Note 359). p. 496

462 *Aldershot*—a town some 40 miles southwest of London; site of a large military training camp established in 1855, during the Crimean war. p. 500

463 See Note 450. p. 504

464 This work was published in instalments in four issues of *The Volunteer Journal* for 1861 (Nos. 42, 44, 46 and 62). The final instalment appeared with the following editorial footnote: "The conclusion of this paper has been unavoidably delayed." The delays in publication were presumably due to Engels' delay in supplying the translations of passages from Waldersee's book, and his comments on them, and because he was busy writing another article for *The Volunteer Journal*, "A Military Criticism of the Newton Review". p. 508

465 See Note 398. p. 508

466 On the *battles of Magenta* and *Solferino* see Note 441. p. 514

467 The Newton review described by Engels took place on August 3, 1861.
Though the article was signed "F. E.", the editors of *The Volunteer Journal* inserted "By the Author of 'A German Account of the Newton Review', 1860" after the heading. p. 518

468 Engels refers to the military operations between the armies of the Union (the North) and the Confederacy (the South) during the first eight months of the American Civil War, started in April 1861 by the open revolt of the slave-owning South against the American Union. The main cause of the war was the struggle between two social systems—the capitalist system of wage labour in the North and the slave system in the South. The war, which had the character of a bourgeois-democratic revolution, passed through two stages: constitutional war for the preservation of the Union and revolutionary war for the abolition of slavery. The emancipation of Negro slaves proclaimed by the Lincoln Administration in September 1862 was a turning point in the war. Workers, farmers and the Negro population played a decisive role in the defeat of the slave-owners of the South and the termination of the war in April 1865 in favour of the North. The causes and nature of the events in America are analysed in articles published in the Vienna newspaper *Die Presse* (see present edition, Vol. 19). p. 521

469 See previous note. p. 525

470 At the beginning of the Civil War, Kentucky—one of the frontier states (those adjoining the 38th parallel separating the slave-owning South from the North)—declared its neutrality. The state itself was the scene of a bitter struggle between the supporters of the Union and of the Confederacy, whose troops invaded Kentucky in violation of its "neutrality". In September 1861 the state's legislative assembly declared its adhesion to the Union despite the Governor's resistance. p. 525

471 The *Federals* or *Unionists* in the American Civil War were supporters of the North, opposed to the Secessionists or Confederates, supporters of the Confederacy of the Southern States. p. 527

472 A reference to the wars between Britain and the USA in 1812-14 and between the USA and Mexico in 1846-48 (see notes 35 and 210). p. 527

473 See Note 433. p. 528

474 This is an abridged version of the series of articles about the American Civil War (see Note 468) which Engels wrote in the first half of March 1862 for the *New-York Daily Tribune.* For an idea of Engels' work on the series, see his letter to Marx of March 8, 1862 and Marx's reply of March 15 (present edition, Vol. 41). Engels, however, did not manage to publish the articles in the *Tribune* (by that time a break had occurred between Marx and its editors, among whom supporters of a compromise with the Southern plantation owners increased influence). Marx translated Engels' work into German, supplemented it with his own text, and sent it to the Vienna newspaper *Die Presse* where it was printed on March 26 and 27, 1862 under the heading "The Civil War in America" (see present edition, Vol. 19). The text of *The Volunteer Journal* version in this volume and that of *Die Presse* therefore largely coincide, though the latter is naturally more complete and informative, in particular as regards details of the capture of Nashville by the Northerners, news of which was received after the article for *The Volunteer Journal* had been written.

In *The Volunteer Journal* the article was published unsigned, but with the editorial remark: "By the Author of 'Essays Addressed to Volunteers'." p. 530

475 On the *Secessionists* and *Federals* (the latter term is used later in the text) see Note 471. p. 530

476 The *Bull Run,* a river near Manassas (southwest of Washington), was the scene of the first major battle in the Civil War. At this battle, on July 21, 1861, the Southerners defeated the Northerners, who were numerically superior but badly trained. However, the Southerners did not pursue the defeated enemy and thus failed to consolidate their victory. p. 531

477 At the *battle of Balls Bluff* (northwest of Washington) on October 21, 1861, the Southerners routed several regiments of General Stone's army which had crossed to the right bank of the Potomac and were left without reinforcements. p. 531

478 This article was most probably written by Engels immediately after the military review of Lancashire volunteers at Heaton Park on August 2, 1862. Judging by the text, Engels must have been present. It was presumably in this content that he informed Marx on August 8 of his resumed contact with the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* editorial board after a two-year interval (see present edition, Vol. 41). The article was printed in two issues, with the comment "Correspondenz aus Manchester". Engels' initials were placed at the beginning of the text in square brackets, as was the practice of the newspaper.

A letter survives dated November 14, 1862, from the editorial board of the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* to Engels, informing him of the dispatch of the issues containing his article and requesting him to send more contributions.

p. 535

479 See Note 47. p. 536

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*Blücher, Caroline* (née *Pottlitz*) (1756-1791)—first wife of Gebhard Blücher (from 1773).—172

*Blücher, Gebhard Leberecht von* (1742-1819)—Prussian field marshal-general took part in wars against the French Republic and Napoleonic France.—152, 156, 172-87, 304, 403

*Blum, Engelbert* (1780-1815)—German theologian, later cooper's apprentice; father of Robert Blum.—80, 391

*Blum, Eugenie* (née *Günther*)—second wife of Robert Blum.—393

*Blum, Kath* (née *Brabender*)—mother of Robert Blum.—80, 391

*Blum, Robert* (1807-1848)—German democratic journalist, Left leader in the Frankfurt National Assembly; took part in the defence of insurgent Vienna in October 1848; court-martialled and executed after the fall of the city.—80-82, 391-93

*Böckh, August* (1785-1867)—German philologist, author of works on ancient literature and history.—91

*Bodisco, Yakov Andreyevich* (b. 1794)—Russian army officer, subsequently general; commandant of the Bomarsund fortress at the beginning of the Crimean war (1853-56).—287

*Bolivar, Maria Teresa* (d. January 1803)—wife of Simon Bolivar.—219

*Bolivar y Ponte, Simon* (1783-1830)—leader in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America, President of the Republic of Colombia (1819-30).—219-33

*Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon I*

*Bonaparte, Joseph* (1768-1844)—eldest brother of Napoleon I, King of Naples (1806-08) and Spain (1808-13).—150

*Bonaparte, Lucien, Prince of Canino* (1775-1840)—brother of Napoleon I.—153

*Bonaparte, Prince Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul* (1822-1891)—cousin of Napoleon III; adopted the name of Jérôme after the death of his elder brother (1847); commanded a divi-

sion in the Crimea in 1854, nicknamed Plon-Plon and the Red Prince.—17

*Borosdin, Nikolai Mikhailovich* (1777-1830)—Russian general, fought against Napoleon.—253

*Bosquet, Pierre Jean François Marie Joseph* (1810-1861)—Marshal of France; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s-1850s, commanded a division and then a corps in the Crimea (1854-55).—17, 139-40

*Bourbons*—royal dynasty in France (1589-1792, 1814-15 and 1815-30).—157, 211

*Bourmont, Louis Auguste Victor de* (1773-1846)—French general, Marshal of France from 1830, commanded the French expeditionary corps in Algeria in 1830.—64, 67

*Bourrienne*—wife of Louis Antoine Fauvelet de Bourrienne.—395

*Bourrienne, Louis Antoine Fauvelet de* (1769-1834)—French diplomat and politician, personal secretary of Napoleon Bonaparte (1797-1802), chargé d'affaires in Hamburg (1804-13), went over to the side of the Bourbons.—83, 84, 157, 217, 394-96, 400

*Bousmard, Henri Jean Baptiste de* (1749-1807)—French military engineer; emigrated in 1792, served in the Prussian army, in charge of the defence of Danzig against Napoleonic troops (1807).—331

*Boves, José Tomas* (c. 1770-1814)—Spanish army officer; leader of llanero detachments which fought against the Creole landowners and were used (up to 1814) by Spain to suppress the national liberation movement in South America.—222

*Brancas, Countess*—Belgian aristocrat.—84, 396

*Brion, Louis* (1782-1821)—participant in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America, supporter of Bolivar, admiral of the Colombian navy; Dutch by birth.—224-26

*Broussier, Jean Baptiste, comte* (1766-1814)—French general, fought in Napoleonic wars.—253

*Brown, Sir George* (1790-1865)—British lieutenant-general, commanded a division on the Danube and in the Crimea (1854-55).—17, 164-65

*Brune, Étienne*—French lawyer, father of Marshal Brune.—397

*Brune, Guillaume Marie Anne* (1763-1815)—Marshal of France, fought in wars of the French Republic and Napoleonic France.—215-18, 397-401

*Brydon, William* (1811-1873)—English army doctor, took part in the Afghan campaign of 1838-42.—47

*Bubna Littić, Ferdinand, Count of* (1768-1825)—Austrian general and later field marshal, Czech by birth; fought against Napoleon.—183

*Buell, Don Carlos* (1818-1898)—American general, fought in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—533

*Bugeaud, Jean Ambroise*—father of Marshal Bugeaud.—211

*Bugeaud de la Piconnerie, Thomas Robert, duc d'Isly* (1784-1849)—Marshal of France, Orleanist; an organiser of the wars of conquest in Algeria and Morocco; Governor-General of Algeria in 1841-47.—211-14, 469, 470, 472, 514

*Buggenhagen* (18th cent.)—German military engineer, colonel in Mecklenburg.—333

*Bülow, Friedrich Wilhelm, Baron von, Count of Dennewitz* (1755-1816)—Prussian general, fought against Napoleon.—156, 176, 179, 183, 184, 288, 402-03

*Bureau, Gaspard* (d. 1469)—French military engineer.—191

*Bureau, Jean* (d. 1463)—French military engineer, brother of Gaspard Bureau.—191

*Burleigh*—see *Cecil, William, Lord Burleigh (Burghley)*

*Burnes, Sir Alexander* (1805-1841)—British lieutenant-colonel, an organiser of the colonial expansion in Central Asia; adviser at the British headquarters during the Anglo-Afghan war of 1838-42.—44, 46, 379, 380, 386, 387

*Bury, William Coutts Keppel, Viscount* (1832-1894)—British politician, M.P., helped establish the Volunteer Force.—484, 485, 488

*Busca, Gabrio* (c. 1540-c. 1601)—Italian military engineer.—324

*Buxhövden, Fyodor Fyodorovich, Count of* (1750-1811)—Russian general, fought against Napoleon.—77

*Byron, Lord*—commander of a British naval force against the Spanish Armada in 1588.—168

C

*Cabot, John (Caboto, Giovanni)* (c. 1450-1498)—Italian navigator in the service of England; discovered the mainland of North America in 1497.—365

*Caesar (Gaius Julius Caesar)* (c. 100-44 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman.—35, 100, 101, 159, 266, 295, 297, 347

*Cajigal, Juan Manuel* (1757-1823)—Spanish general, commanded troops fighting against the national liberation movement of the Spanish colonies in South America (1813-15).—221

*Cambridge, George William Frederick Charles, Duke of* (1819-1904)—British general; commanded a division in the Crimea (1854), commander-in-chief of the British army (1856-95).—17, 18, 500, 504

*Canrobert, François Certain* (1809-1895)—French general, Marshal of France from 1856, Bonapartist; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s; divisional commander (1854) and then commander-in-chief of the French army in the Crimea (1854-55).—17, 69

*Canterac, José* (c. 1779-1835)—Spanish general, took part in the war against the national liberation movement of the Spanish colonies in South America.—170

*Carmagnola, Francesco Bussone da* (c. 1380-1432)—Italian condottiere, commanded the allied forces of Venice and Florence against Milan (1426-32).—278

*Castillo, Manuel* (d. 1816)—Colombian general, fought in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America.—220-21, 223

*Castriotto, Giacomo* (d. 1562)—Italian military engineer.—324, 330

*Cathcart, Sir George* (1794-1854)—British general, divisional commander in the Crimea (1854).—17

*Catherine II* (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-96).—76, 77

*Cavaignac, Louis Eugène* (1802-1857)—French general and politician, moderate republican; took part in the conquest of Algeria, Governor of Algeria (from March 1848); War Minister (from May 1848); directed the suppression of the June uprising, head of the executive (from June to December 1848).—69

*Cecil, William, Lord Burleigh (Burghley)* (1520-1598)—British statesman, principal minister (1572-98).—166

*Chabrias* (died c. 357 B.C.)—Athenian military leader.—93

*Chambers*—British army officer, fought in the Afghan campaign of 1838-42.—385

*Charles II* (1630-1685)—King of Eng-

land, Scotland and Ireland (1660-85).—268

*Charles V* (1500-1558)—Holy Roman Emperor (1519-56) and King of Spain under the name of Charles I (1516-56).—62, 192, 325

*Charles V, Duke of Lorraine* (1643-1690)—Austrian field marshal, in 1683-88 fought in the Austro-Turkish war of 1683-99.—259

*Charles VII* (1403-1461)—King of France (1422-61).—106, 191

*Charles VIII* (1470-1498)—King of France (1483-98).—107, 191

*Charles X* (*Gustavus*) (1622-1660)—King of Sweden (1654-60).—50

*Charles X* (1757-1836)—King of France (1824-30).—64

*Charles XII* (1682-1718)—King of Sweden (1697-1718).—111, 301

*Charles XIII* (1748-1818)—King of Sweden (from 1809) and of Sweden and Norway (1814-18).—153, 154, 157

*Charles XIV*—see *Bernadotte, Jean Baptiste Jules*

*Charles Emmanuel II* (1751-1819)—King of Sardinia (1796-1802).—216, 398

*Charles Louis* (*Karl Ludwig*) (1771-1847)—Archduke of Austria, field marshal, fought in wars against the French Republic and Napoleonic France, War Minister (1805-09).—27, 28, 32, 58, 149

*Charles Martel* (c. 688-741)—Frankish mayor of the palace, in 715 became the virtual ruler of the Frankish state.—297

*Charlotte, princesse* (1796-1865)—daughter of Lucien Bonaparte.—153

*Chased*—Indian poet of the early 13th cent.—189

*Christian Frederick* (1786-1848)—Danish prince, Viceroy (1813-14) and King of Norway (1814), King of Denmark under the name of Christian VIII (1839-48).—157

*Clary, Eugenie Bernardine Désirée* (1777-1860)—wife of Jean Baptiste Jules Bernadotte.—150

*Clausel, Bertrand, comte* (1772-1842)—French general, Marshal of France from 1831, fought in the Peninsular war (1809-14), Governor of Algeria (1830-31 and 1835-37).—67, 68, 269, 270, 273

*Clausewitz, Karl von* (1780-1831)—Prussian general and military theorist.—234

*Cleombrotus I*—King of Sparta (380-371 B.C.).—93

*Cleomenes III* (255-219 B.C.)—King of Sparta (235-221 B.C.).—92

*Cleopatra VII* (69-30 B.C.)—last Queen of Egypt of the Ptolemy dynasty.—5

*Clerfayt, Karl, Count* (1733-1798)—Austrian field marshal, fought in the Austro-Turkish war (1788-89) and the war against the French Republic (1792-97).—36, 149

*Coburg-Saalfeld, Friedrich Josias, Prince* (1737-1815)—Austrian field marshal, fought in the Seven Years' War (1756-63) and in the war against the French Republic (1792-97).—12

*Coehorn* (*Cohorn* or *Coehoorn*), *Magdalena van Scheltinga*—wife of Menno Coehorn.—267

*Coehorn* (*Cohorn* or *Coehoorn*), *Menno van, Baron* (1641-1704)—Dutch general and military engineer.—54, 267-68, 332

*Collado, Luis* (16th cent.)—Spanish military engineer.—192

*Colt, Samuel* (1814-1862)—American manufacturer and military inventor.—449

*Columbus, Christopher* (1451-1506)—Genoese-born navigator, discoverer of America.—365

*Colvin, John Russell* (1807-1857)—British colonial official in India, an organiser of the Afghan campaign of 1838-42.—380

*Conde, José Antonio* (1765-1820)—Spanish historian, Arabist.—189

*Congreve, William* (1772-1828)—British army officer and military inventor.—130

*Conolly, Arthur* (1807-1842)—British army officer, envoy to Khiva in 1840, arrested and killed in Bukhara.—383

*Constantine (Konstantin) Pavlovich* (1779-1831)—Russian Grand Duke, commander of the Polish army, virtual Viceroy of Poland (1814-31).—131

*Cook, James* (1728-1779)—English navigator.—317

*Córdova*—see *Fernández, de Córdova Gonsalvo*

*Córdova (Cordoba), José María* (1799-1829)—Colombian general, fought in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America.—170

*Cormontaigne, Louis de* (c. 1696-1752)—French general, military engineer, author of works on fortification.—54, 325-26, 330-32, 334, 338

*Cortes, Hernan* (1485-1547)—Spanish conqueror of Mexico (1519-21).—317

*Cotton, Sir Willoughby* (1783-1860)—British general, fought in the Afghan campaign of 1838-42.—380, 385

*Coulon*—French business firm in the late 18th and early 19th cent.—83, 395

*Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—leader in the English Revolution, Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653.—300

*Ctesias* (mid-5th to early 4th cent. B.C.)—Greek historian and physician.—189

*Cuesta*—see *García de la Cuesta, Gregorio*

*Custine, Adam Philippe, comte de* (1740-1793)—French general, fought in the war of the French Republic against the first European coalition.—56, 149

*Czernicheff (Chernyshov), Alexander Ivanovich, Prince* (1786-1857)—Russian army officer, general from 1812, fought against Napoleon; Russian military and diplomatic representative at Napoleon's headquarters in 1809-12.—155

D

*Daendels, Hermann Willem* (1762-1818)—Dutch general, fought in wars of the French Republic and its allies against European coalitions.—399

*Dahlgren, John Adolf* (1809-1870)—American naval officer and military inventor, admiral from 1863.—205

*Danton, Georges Jacques* (1759-1794)—leader of the Right-wing Jacobins in the French Revolution.—215, 397, 398

*Darius I Hystaspes* (550-486 B.C.)—King of Persia (522-486 B.C.).—23, 87, 159, 317

*D'Aspre*—see *Aspre, d', Konstantin, Baron*

*Davout, Louis Nicolas, duc d'Auerstädt, prince d'Eckmühl* (1770-1823)—Marshal of France, fought in Napoleonic wars.—27, 31, 58, 78, 130, 151, 173, 252, 254

*Deane*—English military inventor (mid-19th cent.).—449

*Decatur, Stephen* (1779-1820)—American naval officer, commanded a squadron against Algeria, Tunisia and Tripoli (1815).—63

*Delvigne, Henri Gustavus* (1799-1876)—French army officer and military inventor.—116, 362, 419, 436-40, 456

*Dennie, William* (1785-1842)—British army officer, fought in the Afghan campaign of 1838-42.—381, 384

*Deval*—French consul in Algeria (1815-27).—64

*Dieskau, Julius*—deputy to the Saxon Diet, member of the opposition.—81, 392

*Dilich* (real name *Schäffer*), *Wilhelm* (c. 1575-1655)—German military writer.—328

*Dionysius* (*the Elder*) (c. 432-367 B.C.)—tyrant of Syracuse (405-367 B.C.).—266

*Doineau, Auguste Edouard* (b. 1824)—French official in Algeria; was given the death sentence, commuted to life imprisonment for killing an Algerian (1856), pardoned in 1859.—69

*Dokhturoff, Dmitri Sergeyevich* (1756-1816)—Russian general, fought against Napoleon.—253

*Dost Mohammed Khan* (1793-1863)—Emir of Afghanistan (1826-39 and 1842-63).—44-45, 48, 379, 381-84, 389

*Drake, Sir Francis* (c. 1540-1596)—English admiral, took part in the destruction of the Spanish Armada (1588).—168

*Dreyse, Johann Nikolaus von* (1787-1867)—Prussian military inventor and manufacturer.—362, 450, 451

*Drouet d'Erlon, Jean Baptiste, comte* (1765-1844)—French general, later Marshal of France, fought in Napoleonic wars.—269, 270, 273, 313

*Ducos, Roger* (1747-1816)—leading figure in the French Revolution, member of the Directory (1797-99); took part in the Bonapartist coup (1799).—151

*Ducoudray Holstein*—French army officer, fought in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America, author of a tendentious book on Bolivar.—222, 225, 226, 232-33

*Dudley, Robert* (1574-1649)—British naval officer and inventor.—366

*Duguay-Trouin, René* (1673-1736)—French corsair, fought in France's wars against England and Holland, later general of the French army.—471

*Dulong, François Charles* (1792-1834)—French lawyer and liberal politician, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1831.—212

*Dumonceau, Jean Baptiste* (1760-1821)—French general, held commanding posts in the Dutch army allied with France; Marshal of France from 1806.—399

*Dumouriez, Charles François du Périer* (1739-1823)—French general and politician, commanded the Northern army in 1792-93, betrayed the French Republic in March 1793.—12, 215, 397

*Duncker, Franz* (1822-1888)—Berlin publisher and politician.—407

*Dupas, Pierre Louis* (1761-1823)—French general, fought in Napoleonic wars.—153

*Duplay, Maurice* (1738-1820)—owner of a joiner's shop; took part in the French Revolution, Jacobin, supporter of Robespierre.—398

*Dupont de l'Étang, Pierre Antoine, comte* (1765-1840)—French general, fought in Napoleonic wars.—216, 400

*Dupuy de Lôme, Stanislas Charles Henri Laurent* (1816-1885)—French military shipbuilder.—370

*Duquesne, Abraham, marquis* (1610-1688)—French admiral, commanded operations against Algeria and Tripoli in 1680-83.—63

*Dürer, Albrecht* or *Albert* (1471-1528)—German painter and engraver; expert in fortification.—319, 325, 332

E

*Edward, Prince of Wales* (called "the Black Prince") (1330-1376)—son of Edward III of England; a leader in

the Hundred Years' War between England and France.—349

*Elizabeth I* (1533-1603)—Queen of England and Ireland (1558-1603).—25, 104, 167

*Elizabeth Maria of Bavaria-Birkenfeld, Princess* (1784-1849)—daughter of Bavarian Prince Wilhelm von Birkenfeld, wife of Marshal Berthier.—58

*Ellenborough, Edward Law, Earl of* (1790-1871)—British Tory statesman, Governor-General of India (1842-44).—47

*Elphinstone, George William Keith* (1782-1842)—British general, fought in the Afghan campaign of 1838-42.—46, 385, 387-88

*Elphinstone, Mountstuart* (1779-1859)—British diplomat, East India Company official; ambassador to Kabul (1808-09), Governor of Bombay (1819-26).—43

*Engelhardt, Anton Yevstafyevich* (1795-1872)—Russian general, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—132

*Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895).—407-08, 476, 489, 494, 499, 503, 507, 517, 520, 524, 529, 541

*England, Sir Richard* (1793-1883)—British general, divisional commander in the Crimea in 1854-55.—17, 18

*Epaminondas* (c. 420-362 B.C.)—military leader and statesman of ancient Thebes.—35, 36, 92-93, 342-43, 358

*d'Erlon*—see *Drouet d'Erlon, Jean Baptiste, comte*

*Ernest III* (*Ernest Anton Karl Ludwig*) (1784-1844)—Duke of Saxe-Coburg (1806-26) and Saxe-Coburg-Gotha under the name of Ernest I (1826-44); fought against Napoleon.—179

*Errard* (*Érard*), *Jean* (1554-1610)—French military engineer and mathematician.—328

*Espartero, Baldomero, Duke* (1793-1879)—Spanish general and politician, leader of the Progresista Party, Regent of Spain (1841-43), head of government (1854-56).—171

*Eudes* (*Eudon, Odo*) (665-735)—Duke of Aquitaine, took part in the Franks' struggle against the Arab invasion.—297

*Eugène, Prince*—see *Beauharnais, Eugène de*

*Eugène, Prince of Savoy* (*François Eugène de Savoie-Carignan*) (1663-1736)—Austrian general and statesman.—13, 249, 250

*Euler, Leonhard* (1707-1783)—mathematician, expert in mechanic and physicist of Swiss descent, worked at the St. Petersburg (1727-41 and 1766-83) and Berlin (1741-66) Academies of Sciences.—196

*Evans, Sir George de Lacy* (1787-1870)—British general and liberal politician, divisional commander in the Crimea in 1854.—17, 18

*Exmouth, Edward Pellew, Viscount* (1757-1833)—British admiral, fought against Algeria, Tunisia and Tripoli in 1816.—64

F

*Farnese, Alexander, Prince and Duke of Parma* (1545-1592)—Spanish general and statesman, Viceroy of the Netherlands (1578-92).—21, 167, 168

*Fath Ali* (*Feth Ali, Futteh Ali*) (1762-1834)—Shah of Persia (1797-1834).—43

*Ferdinand IV* (1285-1312)—King of Castile and Leon (1295-1312).—190

*Ferdinand V* (*the Catholic*) (1452-1516)—King of Aragon under the name of Ferdinand II (1479-1516); his marriage in 1469 to Isabella, future Queen of Castile, completed the unification of Spain.—62

*Ferdinand VII* (1784-1833)—King of

Spain (1808 and 1814-33).—171

*Ferdinand, Karl Josef von Este, Archduke* (1781-1850)—Austrian field marshal, fought against Napoleon.—151

*Ferdinand Philippe Louis Charles Henri, duc d'Orléans* (1810-1842)—eldest son of Louis Philippe of France; took part in the conquest of Algeria in 1835-40.—419

*Fernández de Córdova, Gonsalvo* (1453-1515)—Spanish general, fought in the war against the Kingdom of Granada (1481-92).—351

*Fierro, Manuel*—Spanish general, fought against the national liberation movement of the Spanish colonies in South America, Governor of Caracas in July-August 1813.—221

*Fitzwilliam, Sir William* (1526-1599)—Viceroy of Ireland (1572-75 and 1588-94).—169

*Flamininus, Titus Quinctius* (c. 228-174 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman, Consul (198 B.C.), led the Roman army in the second Macedonian war (200-197 B.C.).—100

*Flórez, José Segundo* (b. 1789)—Spanish historian and publicist.—171

*Floriani, Pierre Paolo* (1584-1638)—Italian military engineer.—324, 329

*Floyd, John Buchanan* (1807-1863)—American general and statesman, War Minister (1857-60), fought for the Confederacy in the Civil War.—126, 533

*Foix, Gaston, duc* (1489-1512)—French general, fought in the wars in Italy.—278, 279

*Folard, Jean Charles* (1669-1752)—French army officer, military author.—160

*Forey, Elie Frédéric* (1804-1872)—French general, later Marshal of France, Bonapartist, took part in the conquest of Algeria (1830s and 1840s) and in the Crimean campaign (1854-55).—17

*Fouché, Joseph, duc d'Otranto* (1759-1820)—prominent figure in the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire; Minister of Police (1799-1810); notorious for his unscrupulousness.—153

*Foy, Maximilien Sébastien* (1775-1825)—French general, fought in the Peninsular war (1808-14).—269, 270, 273

*Francis I* (1494-1547)—King of France (1515-1547).—107, 191, 352

*Franz* (16th cent.)—German military engineer.—325

*Frederick II (the Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-1786).—36, 73, 111-14, 116, 172, 196, 197, 294, 301, 303, 304, 309, 314, 338, 357-59, 452, 514

*Frederick VI* (1768-1839)—Prince Regent of Denmark and Norway (1784-1808), King of Denmark and Norway (1808-14), then King of Denmark (1814-39).—153, 157

*Frederick Charles (Friedrich Karl Nikolaus), Prince* (1828-1885)—Prussian general, later field marshal-general.—452

*Frederick Christian* (1765-1814)—Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, elder brother of the Duke of Augustenburg.—153

*Frederick William I* (1688-1740)—King of Prussia (1713-40).—112, 301, 302

*Frederick William III* (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—59, 156, 173, 174, 186, 403

*Freire, Manuel* (1765-1834)—Spanish general, fought in the liberation war against Napoleonic France (1808-14).—269, 273

*Freitag, Adam* (17th cent.)—Dutch military engineer.—328

*Freites, Pedro María* (d. 1817)—Venezuelan officer, fought in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America.—226

*Fremosa, Emanuel*—participant in the expedition of the Spanish Armada in

1588; taken prisoner by the British.—168

*Fréron, Louis Marie Stanislas* (1754-1802)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, later a leader of the Thermidor coup (July 1794).—216, 398

*Friant, Louis* (1758-1829)—French general, fought in Napoleonic wars.—253, 254

*Fröbel, Julius* (1805-1893)—German radical journalist and publisher of progressive literature; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—393

*Frundsberg, Georg von* (1473-1528)—commander of German mercenaries, fought in the Italian wars (in the service of the German Emperor) and against the peasant insurrection in Germany in 1525-26.—107

*Fulton, Robert* (1765-1815)—American engineer and inventor; designed and built early steamboats.—369

*Futteh Jung*—son of Afghan Shah Soojah, ruled Afghanistan for several months in 1842.—48

*Futteh Khan* (d. 1818)—Vizier of Shah Mahmud of Afghanistan.—43

G

*Galileo Galilei* (1564-1642)—Italian physicist and astronomer, elaborated the principles of mechanics.—196

*García de la Cuesta, Gregorio* (1741-1811)—Spanish general, fought in the war against Napoleonic France (1808-14).—134

*Gardane, Mathieu Claude, comte* (1766-1817)—French general and diplomat, fought in Napoleonic wars; sent to Teheran on a special mission in 1807-08.—43

*Gauthier, Jean Louis*—French journalist, royalist.—215, 397

*Genghis Khan* (c. 1155-1227)—Mongol military leader and conqueror, founder of the Mongol Empire.—42

*George II* (1683-1760)—King of Great Britain and Ireland, Elector of Hanover (1727-60).—76, 77

*George IV* (1762-1830)—Prince Regent (1811-20), King of Great Britain and Ireland (1820-30).—186

*Gérard, Étienne Maurice, comte* (1773-1852)—French general, later Marshal of France, Orleanist; took part in Napoleonic wars and the campaign against Holland in 1832.—21, 253

*Girón, Pedro Agustin, marqués de las Amarillas* (1778-1842)—Spanish general, fought in the war against Napoleonic France (1808-14).—273

*Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton, Count Neithardt von* (1760-1831)—Prussian field marshal-general, an organiser of the liberation struggle against Napoleon's rule; helped draw up and carry out Prussian army reforms.—174, 183, 187

*Goltz, Karl Heinrich Friedrich* (1772-1822)—Prussian general and diplomat, fought in wars against the French Republic and Napoleonic France.—173

*Gonsalvo de Córdova*—see *Fernández de Córdova, Gonsalvo*

*Gonzales*—Spanish officer, fought against the national liberation movement of the Spanish colonies in South America.—222

*Görgey (Görgei), Arthur* (1818-1916)—military leader of the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; commander-in-chief of the Hungarian army (April-June 1849), War Minister from May 1849; advocated agreement with the Habsburgs and, later, capitulation.—259-61

*Grant, Ulysses Simpson* (1822-1885)—American general and statesman, fought in the Civil War on the side of the Union, commander-in-chief from March 1864; War Minister

(1867-68), President of the United States (1869-77).—532, 533

*Grey and Ripon, George Frederick Samuel Robinson, Count of* (1827-1909)—British liberal statesman, Under-Secretary for War (1859-January 1861 and July 1861-63), Secretary for War (1863-66).—505

*Grey de Wilton, Charles William, Earl* (1804-1870)—British general, participant in the Volunteer movement.—536

*Gribeauval, Jean Baptiste Vaquette de* (1715-1789)—French general, inspector of the French artillery from 1764 to 1789 (with an interval).—116, 194, 198-99, 200

*Griffiths, Frederick Augustus* (d. 1869)—British army officer and military writer.—432

*Gritti, Andrea* (c. 1455-1538)—Venetian military leader and statesman, Doge of Venice (1523-38).—278

*Grosvenor, Hugh Lupus, Count* (1825-1899)—British liberal politician, took part in the Volunteer movement.—488

*Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de* (1766-1847)—French general, Marshal of France from 1815, fought in Napoleonic wars.—253

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman; virtually directed France's home and foreign policy from 1840 to the February 1848 revolution.—213

*Gustavus II Adolphus* (1594-1632)—King of Sweden (1611-32), general and military reformer.—109-11, 194, 195, 300, 354, 355, 358, 400

*Gustavus IV Adolphus* (1778-1837)—King of Sweden (1792-1809), deposed in 1809 by a military coup.—50, 152, 155, 217

*Gyulay, Ferenc, Count* (1798-1868)—Austrian general, War Minister (1849-50), commander-in-chief of the Austrian army in the war against France and Piedmont (1859).—180

*Gyulay, Ignatius, Count* (1763-1831)—Austrian general, fought against Napoleon.—514

H

*Hall,* or *Halle, Edward* (c. 1498-1547)—English chronicler and lawyer.—24

*Halleck, Henry Wager* (1815-1872)—American general, fought in the Civil War on the side of the Union, commander-in-chief (July 1862-March 1864).—532, 533

*Hamilcar Barca* (*Barcas*) (c. 270-c. 228 B.C.)—Carthaginian general and statesman, father of Hannibal.—294

*Hamilton, James* (d. 1580)—Scottish nobleman, supporter of Mary Stuart.—25

*Hannibal* (c. 247-183 B.C.)—Carthaginian general.—35, 96, 294-96

*Hardinge, Sir Henry, Viscount* (1785-1856)—British general, field marshal from 1855; fought in the Peninsular war (1808-14), Secretary at War (1828-30 and 1841-44), commander-in-chief of the British army (1852-56).—10, 290

*Hartmann, Georg* (1489-1564)—German physicist and expert in mechanics.—192

*Hartmann, Moritz* (1821-1872)—Austrian writer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49.—393

*Hasdrubal* (*Asdrubal*)—Carthaginian general, fought in the second Punic war (218-201 B.C.).—296

*Haynau, Julius Jakob, Baron von* (1786-1853)—Austrian field marshal, brutally suppressed the 1848-49 revolutionary movement in Italy and Hungary.—279, 304

*Heer, Christoph* (d. 1701)—German mathematician and military engineer.—328

*Heidemann, Christoph* (17th cent.)—German military engineer, worked in Holland.—328

*Henry IV* (1553-1610)—King of France (1589-1610).—25, 108, 109

*Henry VII* (1457-1509)—King of England (1485-1509).—366

*Henry VIII* (1491-1547)—King of England (1509-47) and Ireland (from 1541).—24, 366

*Hentzi, Heinrich* (1785-1849)—Austrian general, commanded the Austrian garrison of the Buda fortress besieged by the Hungarian revolutionary army in 1849.—260-61

*Herbillion, Émile* (1794-1866)—French general, took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1840s.—69

*Herbort, Johann Anton* (18th cent.)—military engineer in Württemberg.—333

*Herlossohn, Karl Georg Reginald* (1804-1849)—German writer.—392

*Herodotus* (c. 484-c. 425 B.C.)—Greek historian.—88, 159

*Hesse, Elector of*—see *William I*

*Hippisley, Gustavus*—British army officer, one of the expedition of British volunteers to South America (1817-18) to help the national liberation movement there; wrote *A Narrative of the Expedition*.—233

*Hohenzollern-Hechingen, Friedrich Franz, Count* (1757-1844)—Austrian general, later field marshal, took part in wars against Napoleonic France.—31, 32, 134

*Homer*—semi-legendary Greek epic poet.—89, 104

*Hope, Thomas* (c. 1770-1831)—English banker, antiquarian and author.—290

*Howard, Charles, Baron, Earl of Nottingham* (1536-1624)—British admiral, commander-in-chief of the British fleet which defeated the Spanish Armada in 1588.—167-68

*Hoyer, Johann Gottfried* (1767-1848)—Prussian general, military author and historian.—197

*Hurtado de Mendoza*—Venezuelan politician, took part in the national liberation movement in South America, supporter of Bolivar.—222

*Hussein* (c. 1773-1838)—last Dey of Algiers (1818-30).—64

I

*Ibrahim*—Dey of Algiers who refused, early in the 18th century, to submit to the Sultan of Turkey.—63-64

*Ibrahim Pasha* (1789-1848)—foster-son of the Viceroy of Egypt Mehemet Ali; Egyptian commander-in-chief during the wars against Turkey (1831-33 and 1839-41); virtual ruler of Egypt from 1847.—4

*Inglis, Sir William* (1764-1835)—British general, took part in the Peninsular war in 1809-14.—270

*Iphicrates* (c. 419-c. 353 B.C.)—Athenian general.—90, 93, 342, 343

J

*Jägersfeld*—Prussian army officer (second half of 18th cent.).—172

*James*—British army officer under Elizabeth I.—25

*James, George Payne Rainsford* (1799-1860)—English author of historical novels.—25

*Jellachich (Jellačič) de Bužim, Franz* (1746-1810)—Austrian general, lieutenant field marshal, Croat by birth, fought in wars against the French Republic and Napoleonic France.—27

*Johann (John)*—German engineer, helped fortify Jülich in the mid-16th cent.—325

*Johann Nepomuk Maria Joseph* (1801-1873)—Prince of Saxony, King of Saxony (1854-73).—392

*John (Johann)* (1782-1859)—Archduke of Austria, field marshal, fought against Napoleon; Imperial Regent from June 1848 to December 1849.—28, 33

*Joinville, François Ferdinand Philippe Louis Marie, duc d'Orléans, prince de* (1818-1900)—son of Louis Philippe; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1840s.—69, 370

*Jomini, Antoine Henri, Baron* (1779-1869)—Swiss-born general in the French and later in the Russian army; writer on strategy and military history.—150, 218

*Joseph II* (1741-1790)—Holy Roman Emperor (1765-90).—394

*Josephus Flavius* (c. 37-c. 95)—Jewish historian and general.—263, 266

*Jourdan, Jean Baptiste* (1762-1833)—French general, Marshal of France from 1804; fought in the war of the French Republic against the first European coalition.—149

*Jourgniac Saint-Méard, François de* (1745-1827)—French army officer and journalist, royalist.—215, 397

*Juba I* (d. 46 B.C.)—King of Numidia, fought with Pompey and his followers against Caesar (49-46 B.C.).—62

*Jubbar Khan*—relative of Emir Dost Mohammed Khan of Afghanistan.—383

*Jugurtha* (c. 160-104 B.C.)—King of Numidia, waged war against Rome in 111-106 B.C.—98

*Justinian I* (483-565)—Emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire (527-65).—297

K

*Kamenski, Mikhail Fedotovich, Count* (1738-1809)—Russian field marshal-general; in 1806 commander-in-chief in the war against Napoleonic France.—77

*Kamran*—son of Shah Mahmud of Afghanistan, ruler of Herat from 1829.—44, 382

*Kapzewich, Pyotr Mikhailovich* (1772-1840)—Russian general, fought in Napoleonic wars.—182

*Kaye, Sir John William* (1814-1876)—British colonial official and historian.—379, 385, 386, 387

*Keane, John* (1781-1844)—British general, fought in the Afghan campaign of 1838-42.—45, 380, 381

*Kellermann, François Christophe* (1735-1820)—French general, Marshal of France from 1804, fought in wars of the French Republic against European coalitions.—56, 236

*Khair-ed-Deen (Cheireddin Barbarossa)* (c. 1467-1546)—Turkish corsair, ruler of Algeria (1518-46).—62

*Klapka, György (Georg)* (1820-1892)—general of the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49); commandant of the Komorn fortress (June-September 1849).—259

*Kléber, Jean Baptiste* (1753-1800)—French general, fought in the war of the French Republic against the first European coalition.—149

*Kleist (Kleist von Nollendorf), Friedrich Heinrich Ferdinand Emil, Count* (1762-1823)—Prussian general, subsequently field marshal-general, fought against Napoleon.—179, 181-83

*Kmety, György (George)* (1810-1865)—general of the Hungarian revolutionary army in 1848-49, later served in the Turkish army, fought in the Crimean war (1853-56) under the name of Ismail Pasha.—260, 261

*Knezich, Károly* (c. 1808-1849)—general of the Hungarian revolutionary army in 1848-49.—261

*Kohun-Dil-Khan*—chief of an Afghan tribe.—381

*Kolodjecki, Xawer* (b. 1829)—participant in the Polish national liberation movement and the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49; made an attempt on the life of Józef Bem.—132

*Kolowrat-Krakowsky, Johann Nepomuk, Count* (1748-1816)—Austrian general, field marshal from 1809, fought in wars against the French Republic and Napoleonic France.—28

*Korff, Fyodor Karlovich, Baron* (1774-1826)—Russian general, fought against Napoleon.—253

*Kossuth, Lajos* (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement; head of the revolutionary government (1848-49).—259

*Kotzebue, August Friedrich Ferdinand von* (1761-1819)—German writer and journalist, extreme monarchist.—394

*Kray von Krajova, Paul, Baron* (1735-1804)—Austrian general of Hungarian descent, fought in wars against the French Republic and Napoleonic France.—149

*Kreutz, Kiprian Antonovich, Count* (1777-1850)—Russian general, fought against Napoleon.—254

*Kutusoff (Kutuzov), Mikhail Illarionovich, Prince of Smolensk* (1745-1813)—Russian military leader, field marshal, fought in wars against Turkey and Napoleonic France, commander-in-chief of the Russian army in 1812.—51, 251, 252, 255

L

*Lafayette (La Fayette), Marie Joseph Paul, marquis de* (1757-1834)—French general; in 1775-79 fought in the American War of Independence; prominent figure in the French Revolution, a leader of the moderate constitutionalists (Feuillants).—56, 215

*Laffitte, Jacques* (1767-1844)—French banker and liberal politician, headed the government in the early period of the July monarchy (1830-31).—158

*Lagerbjelke, Gustaf, Count* (1777-1837)—Swedish diplomat, plenipotentiary in Paris in 1810-13.—154

*Lallerstedt, Sven Gustaf* (1816-1864)—Swedish writer and historian.—154-56, 158

*Lamar (Lamar y Cortezar), José* (1778-1830)—Peruvian general; fought in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America; an opponent of Bolivar; President of Peru (1827-29).—170, 231

*Lamballe, Maria Thérèse Louise de Savoie-Carignan, princesse de* (1749-1792)—French noblewoman in attendance on Queen Marie Antoinette, killed during the popular unrest in Paris in September 1792.—401

*Lamoricière, Christophe Léon Louis Juchault de* (1806-1865)—French general and moderate republican politician; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s and in the suppression of the June 1848 uprising in Paris.—213

*Lancaster, Charles William* (1820-1878)—English gunsmith, modernised the rifle.—435, 495, 497-99

*Landsberg, Hermann* (1670-1746)—German military engineer.—333

*Lane*—American army officer, military bridge builder.—161

*Langeron, Louis Alexandre Andrault, de (Alexander Fyodorovich), Count* (1763-1831)—general of French descent in the service of Russia; fought against Napoleon.—175, 179, 181, 183

*Lannes, Jean, duc de Montebello* (1769-1809)—Marshal of France, fought in

Napoleonic wars.—31, 32, 33, 77, 78, 151

*Lapie, Pierre* (1779-1850)—French military engineer and topographer.—154

*Lara, Juan Jacinto* (1778-1859)—Venezuelan general, fought in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America.—170

*Larabit, Marie Denis* (1792-1876)—French liberal, member of the Chamber of Deputies under the July monarchy; later a Bonapartist.—211

*La Roche-Aymon, Antoine Charles Étienne Paul, comte de* (1772-1849)—French general and military author.—306

*Las Casas, Manuel Maria*—Venezuelan army officer, fought in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America, supporter of Bolivar.—220

*Las Cases, Emmanuel Augustin Dieudonné (Marie Joseph), comte de* (1766-1842)—French historian, accompanied Napoleon to St. Helena (1815-16); published *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène* (1822-23).—217, 401

*Latour-Maubourg, Marie Victor Nicolas* (1768-1850)—French general, fought in Napoleonic wars.—254

*Lauriston, Jacques Alexandre Bernard Law, marquis de* (1768-1828)—French general, later Marshal of France, fought in Napoleonic wars.—51

*Lecourbe, Claude* (1759-1815)—French general, fought in the wars of the French Republic against European coalitions.—217

*Leicester, Earl of* (title of *Dudley, Robert*) (c. 1532-1588)—favourite of Queen Elizabeth of England, commanded the forces mustered for the defence of England against Spanish invasion (1588).—167

*Leif, Ericsson* (c. 975-c. 1020)—Norwegian navigator, reached the shores of North America at the beginning of the 11th cent.—365

*Leopold I* (1640-1705)—Holy Roman Emperor (1658-1705).—332

*Leopold, Prince of Anhalt-Dessau* (1676-1747)—Prussian field marshal, reorganised Prussian infantry.—357

*Lepidus (Marcus Aemilius Lepidus)* (89-12 B.C.)—Roman statesman, member of the second triumvirate (43-36 B.C.), played a secondary role to Octavian and Antonius; was stripped of his powers in 36 B.C.—155

*L'Estocq (Lestocq), Anton Wilhelm von* (1738-1815)—Prussian general, fought against Napoleon in 1806-07.—77, 402

*Liechtenstein, Johann Joseph, Prince of* (1760-1836)—Austrian general, field marshal from 1809, fought against Napoleon.—32

*Liechtenstein, Wenzel, Prince of* (1767-1842)—Austrian army officer, subsequently general, fought against Napoleon.—183

*Longa, Francisco*—Spanish army officer, subsequently general, took part in the war against Napoleonic France (1808-14).—270, 273

*Lorenz, Josef* (1814-1879)—Austrian army officer and military inventor.—362, 444, 446

*Lottum, Friedrich Albrecht Charles, Count* (1720-1797)—Prussian army officer, subsequently general, took part in the Seven Years' War.—402

*Louis XII* (1462-1515)—King of France (1498-1515).—191

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—63, 195, 250, 330

*Louis XV* (1710-1774)—King of France (1715-74).—116

*Louis XVI* (1754-1793)—King of France (1774-92), executed during the French Revolution.—56, 134, 394

*Louis XVIII* (1755-1824)—King of France (1814-15 and 1815-24).—59, 84, 217, 396, 401

*Louis Napoleon*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Philippe* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of France (1830-48).—67, 68, 211-13, 419, 466

*Lourmel, Frédéric Henri Lenormand de* (1811-1854)—French general, fought in the Crimean war (1853-56).—423

*Løwendal, Ulrich Frédéric Valdemar, comte de* (1700-1755)—Danish-born general, Marshal from 1747; served in the Russian (1735-43) and the French (1743-55) army; fought in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48).—268

*Luckner, Nikolas, comte* (1722-1794)—Marshal of France, took part in the war of the French Republic against the first European coalition.—56

*Lüders, Alexander Nikolayevich, Count* (1790-1874)—Russian general, commanded a corps in the war against revolutionary Hungary; fought in the Crimean war (1853-56).—133

*Ludwig Ferdinand, Prince of Prussia* (1772-1806).—402

M

*McClellan, George Brinton* (1826-1885)—American general, commander-in-chief of the Union army (November 1861-March 1862); advocated a compromise with the Confederacy.—526

*Macdonald, Étienne Jacques Joseph Alexandre, duc de Tarente* (1765-1840)—Marshal of France from 1809, fought in Napoleonic wars.—27, 130, 175, 181-84, 210

*Machiavelli, Niccolò* (1469-1527)—Italian politician, historian, military theorist and writer.—107, 191

*Mack, Charles* (1752-1828)—Austrian general, in 1805 fought against Napoleon.—58

*McMurdo, Sir William Montagu Scott* (1819-1894)—British army officer, later general; Inspector-General of the Volunteers (1860-65).—488, 490, 505, 535, 536, 538-39

*Macnaghten, Sir William Hay* (1793-1841)—British colonial officer and diplomat; one of the principal organisers of the Afghan campaign of 1838-42.—44, 45, 46, 379, 380-90

*Maggi, Girolamo* (c. 1523-1572)—Italian military engineer and writer.—324

*Mago* (d. 203 B.C.)—Carthaginian general, brother of Hannibal; fought in the second Punic war (218-201 B.C.).—296

*Mahmood Shah*—head of the Gujarat state (1458-1511).—142

*Mahmud II* (1785-1839)—Sultan of Turkey (1808-39).—64, 155

*Mahmud* (d. 1829)—Shah of Afghanistan (1800-03 and 1809-18), later ruler of Herat.—43, 44

*Mahmud (Mahmoud) of Ghazni* (971-1030)—head of the Ghazni empire, which included Khorasan, Seistan and Afghanistan (998-1030).—41, 42

*Mahomed Akbar Khan*—son of Emir Dost Mohammed Khan of Afghanistan.—389, 390

*Maison, Nicolas Joseph, marquis de* (1771-1840)—French general, later Marshal of France, fought in Napoleonic wars.—174

*Malatesta, Sigismondo Pandolfo di Rimini* (1417-1468)—Italian condottiere.—192

*Malcolm, Sir John* (1769-1833)—British colonial official and diplomat, later Governor of Bombay (1826-30).—43

*Manton, Joseph* (c. 1766-1835)—English gunsmith and inventor.—25

*Marchi, Francesco da* (1504-1577)—Italian military engineer.—324

*Marcus Gracchus*—Byzantine medieval alchemist.—189

*Marggraff, Hermann* (1809-1864)—German author and journalist.—392

*Mariño, Santiago* (1788-1854)—Venezuelan general, a leader in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America.—221-22, 224, 226, 227

*Marius* (*Gaius Marius*) (c. 156-86 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman.—98, 344, 346, 347

*Marlborough, John Churchill, Duke of* (1650-1722)—British general, in 1702-11 commander-in-chief of the British forces in the War of the Spanish Succession.—249, 250, 268

*Marmont, Auguste Fréderic Louis Viesse, duc de* (1774-1852)—Marshal of France, fought in Napoleonic wars.—178, 179, 181-85

*Marolois, Samuel*—French mathematician in the Netherlands in the first half of the 17th cent.—328

*Marsin* (*Marchin*), *Ferdinand, comte de* (1656-1706)—Marshal of France and diplomat, fought in the War of the Spanish Succession.—249

*Martens, Georg Friedrich* (1756-1821)—German lawyer and diplomat; from 1776 published collections of international treaties.—217, 400

*Martinez de Ricalde, Juan* (d. 1588)—Spanish admiral, second in command of the Spanish Armada in 1588.—167, 168

*Masséna, André, duc de Rivoli, prince de Essling* (1756-1817)—Marshal of France, fought in wars of the French Republic and Napoleonic France.—19, 28, 57, 58, 153, 216, 217, 398, 399, 401, 473

*Matthias Corvinus* (*Matthias I*) (1443-1490)—King of Hungary (1458-90).—259

*Maudin* (17th cent.)—French military engineer.—323

*Maurice* (*Moritz*) *of Nassau, Prince of Orange and Count of Nassau* (1567-1625)—Stadtholder of the Netherlands (1585-1625); military leader in the war of independence.—108, 195, 299

*Maximilian, Josef von Österreich-Este* (1782-1863)—Archduke of Austria, general, invented a special type of fortification.—334

*Maximilian I Joseph* (1756-1825)—Elector (from 1799) and King of Bavaria (1806-25); fought in Napoleonic wars, joined the anti-French coalition in 1813.—58

*Maximilian II* (*Maximilian II Maria Emanuel*) (1662-1726)—Elector of Bavaria (1679-1726), fought in the War of the Spanish Succession.—249

*Mayne, Sir Richard* (1796-1868)—Chief Police Commissioner in London (from 1850).—505

*Mecklenburg, Friedrich Ludwig, Duke of* (1778-1819)—German prince, married to the sister of Alexander I of Russia.—83, 396

*Medina Sidonia, Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, Duke of* (1550-1615)—Spanish aristocrat, commanded the Spanish Armada in 1588.—167

*Meer Musjedee*—chief of an Afghan tribe.—389

*Mehemet Ali* (or *Mohammed Ali*) (1769-1849)—Egyptian ruler (1805-49), waged wars against the Sultan of Turkey (1831-33 and 1839-40).—4, 64

*Mehrab Khan*—chief of a tribe in South Afghanistan (Baluchistan).—381, 382

*Melas, Michael, Baron von* (1729-1806)—Austrian general, fought in wars against the French Republic, commander-in-chief of the Austrian troops in Italy.—57

*Melder, Gerard* (b. 1693)—Dutch military engineer.—328

*Melville, Robert* (1723-1809)—British general and military inventor.—367

*Memnon of Rhodes* (d. 333 B.C.)—leader of the Greek mercenaries in the army of Darius III, King of Persia.—89

*Mentchikoff (Menshikov), Alexander Sergeyevich, Prince* (1787-1869)—Russian general and statesman, commander-in-chief of the army and navy in the Crimea (1853-55).—14, 17

*Metellus (Quintus Coecilius Metellus) Numidicus* (2nd-1st cent. B.C.)—Roman military leader, in 109-107 B.C. commanded Roman troops in the Jugurthine war of 111-105 B.C.—98

*Meyer, Joseph* (1796-1856)—German publisher; in 1826 founded the bibliographic institute which published several editions of the Meyer encyclopaedia.—172, 174, 391, 392, 402

*Miguel, Maria Evarist (Don* or *Dom Miguel)* (1802-1866)—head of the clerical-absolutist party and pretender to the Portuguese throne; King of Portugal (1828-34).—290

*Miller, John*—brother of the British general William Miller; published William Miller's memoirs.—220, 233

*Miller, William* (1795-1861)—British general, fought in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America.—220, 233

*Miltiades* (c. 550 or 540-489 B.C.)—Athenian general and statesman.—89

*Mindon*—King of Burma (1853-78).—285

*Minié, Claude Étienne* (1804-1879)—French army officer, inventor of a new type of rifle.—18, 116-17, 208, 244, 362, 439-43, 454

*Miranda, Francisco Antonio Gabriel* (1750-1816)—Venezuelan general and politician, a leader in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America.—219-20

*Moerner (Mörner), Karl Otto, Baron* (1781-1868)—Swedish army officer, contributed to the election of Bernadotte as heir to the Swedish throne.—153

*Mohamed (Mohammed) Shah* (1810-1848)—Shah of Persia (1834-48).—383

*Mohammed* (or *Muhammad, Mahomet*) (c. 570-632)—founder of Islam.—189

*Mohammed Khan*—member of the Afghan dynasty of the Barukzyes, ruler of Peshawar (1818-34).—44, 379

*Mohun Lal (Mohan Lal)*—Afghan interpreter for the British.—387

*Money*—British army officer, took part in the Volunteer movement.—522

*Montalembert, Marc René, marquis de* (1714-1800)—French general and military engineer, fortification specialist.—13, 54, 333-35

*Montalvo, Francisco* (1754-1822)—Spanish general, Viceroy of New Granada in 1812-16.—223

*Montbrun, Louis Pierre, comte* (1770-1812)—French general, fought in Napoleonic wars.—254

*Monteith*—British army officer, fought in the Afghan campaign of 1838-42.—386

*Monteverde, Juan Domingo* (1772-1832)—Spanish naval officer, fought against the national liberation movement of the Spanish colonies in South America.—220-22

*Moore, Sir John* (1761-1809)—British general, commanded the British troops in Portugal in 1808-09.—289

*Morales, Tomás* (1781-1844)—Spanish general, fought against the national liberation movement of the Spanish colonies in South America.—225

*Morand, Charles Antoine Louis Alexis, comte* (1771-1835)—French general, fought in Napoleonic wars.—253

*Morillo, Pablo, conde de Cartagena y marqués de la Puerta* (1778-1837)—Spanish general, took part in the liberation war against Napoleonic France (1808-14), commanded troops fighting against the national liberation movement of the Spanish colonies in South America (1815-20).—224, 227-29

*Morla, Tomás de* (1752-1820)—Spanish general, went over to the French occupation army, author of a work on artillery.—197

*Mortier, Édouard Adolphe Casimir Joseph, duc de Trévise* (1768-1835)—Marshal of France, fought in Napoleonic wars.—78, 181-84

*Mosquera, Joachim* (1787-1877)—Colombian politician, fought in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America, President of Colombia (1830).—232

*Müffling, Friedrich Ferdinand Karl, Baron* (1775-1851)—Prussian general, later field marshal-general, military writer; fought against Napoleon.—174, 183, 186

*Murat, Joachim* (1767-1815)—Marshal of France, fought in Napoleonic wars; King of Naples (1808-15).—152, 173, 254, 304, 312-13

*Murray (Moray), James Stuart, Earl of* (c. 1531-1570)—brother of Mary Stuart of Scotland; Regent of Scotland from 1567, fought against Mary and her allies.—25

N

*Nadir Shah (Kuli Khan)* (1688-1747)—Shah of Persia (1736-47).—42

*Nansouty, Étienne Marie Antoine Champion, comte de* (1768-1815)—French general, fought in Napoleonic wars.—254

*Nao Nehal Singh*—son and heir of Runjeet Singh, ruler of Punjab.—382-83

*Napier, Sir Charles* (1786-1860)—British admiral, commanded the British Baltic fleet (1854).—287

*Napier, Sir Charles James* (1782-1853)—British general, commanded the troops that conquered the Sind in 1842-43; ruler of the Sind (1843-47).—536

*Napier, Sir William Francis Patrick* (1785-1860)—British general and military historian, fought in the Peninsular war (1808-14).—304, 526

*Napoleon, Prince*—see *Bonaparte, Prince Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul*

*Napoleon I (Bonaparte)* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—3, 4, 13, 21, 27-28, 31-36, 43, 46-47, 50, 52, 56-59, 63, 73, 77-78, 83, 84, 114, 115-16, 117, 121, 126, 130, 134, 147, 149-57, 162, 173-87, 198-200, 207, 209-11, 216-19, 226, 251-56, 262, 279, 302-04, 311, 313, 314, 335, 361-62, 368, 387, 394-96, 398, 400, 401, 417, 468, 510, 513, 526

*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—nephew of Napoleon I, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—117, 139, 201, 202, 213, 418, 423, 467-68, 509, 516

*Narses* (c. 472-568)—Byzantine general, Armenian by birth.—297

*Neindorff*—Prussian army officer and military inventor (mid-19th cent.).—442

*Nemours, Louis Charles Philippe Raphaël, d'Orléans, duc de* (1814-1896)—second son of Louis Philippe of France; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s.—213

*Nessler*—French army officer and military inventor (mid-19th cent.).—443

*Neubauer* (17th cent.)—German military engineer.—328

*Newton, Sir Isaac* (1642-1727)—English physicist, astronomer and mathematician, founder of classical mechanics.—196

*Ney, Michel, duc d'Elchingen, prince de la Moskova* (1769-1815)—Marshal of France, fought in Napoleonic wars.—181, 183, 184, 199, 252, 254, 315, 403, 473

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—109, 158, 299

*Nicolls, Sir Jasper*—British colonial official, commanded the British troops in India during the Anglo-Afghan war of 1838-42.—383, 385

*Niebuhr, Carsten* (1733-1815)—German traveller, Orientalist.—23

*Noailles, Emmanuel Marie Louis, marquis de* (1743-1822)—French diplomat, ambassador to Vienna (1783-92).—394

*Nordmann, Joseph Armand*(1759-1809)—Austrian general, fought against Napoleon.—28

*Nott, Sir William* (1782-1845)—British general, fought in the Afghan campaign of 1838-42.—45, 47-48, 382, 384

O

*Octavianus*—see *Augustus* (*Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus*)

*O'Donnell, Enrique Josè* (1769-1834)—Spanish general, fought in the liberation war against Napoleonic France (1808-14); commander of the expeditionary corps in Cádiz (1819) intended for suppressing the national liberation movement in South America.—228, 229

*Oldenburg, Georg Peter Friedrich* (*Georgy Petrovich*), *Prince* (1784-1812)—brother-in-law of Alexander I of Russia; held important military and administrative posts (1809-12).—153

*Olsuvieff, Zahar Dmitrievich* (1773-1835)—Russian general, fought against Napoleon.—181, 182

*Orange, Prince of*—see *William III*

*Orléans, duc d'*—see *Ferdinand Philippe Louis Charles Henri*

*Osten-Sacken, Fabian Wilhelm* (*Fabian Vilgelmovich*) *von, Prince* (1752-1837)—Russian general, subsequently field marshal-general, fought against Napoleon.—175, 179, 181-83

*Ostermann-Tolstoy, Alexander Ivanovich, Count* (1770-1857)—Russian general, fought against Napoleon.—253, 254

*Otho* (*Otto*) *I* (*Otho the Great*) (912-973)—King of Germany (936-73) and Holy Roman Emperor (962-73).—278

*Oudinot, Nicolas Charles, duc de Reggio* (1767-1847)—French general, Marshal of France from 1809, fought in Napoleonic wars.—32, 181, 183, 184, 403

P

*Paciotto, Francesco* (1521-1591)—Italian military engineer.—324

*Padilla, Josè* (1778-1828)—Colombian general, fought in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America.—229, 231

*Páez, Josè Antonio* (1790-1873)—Venezuelan general, a leader in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America; opposed Bolivar in 1826-30; led the struggle for Venezuela's separation from Colombia; President of Venezuela from 1831 to 1863 (with intervals).—222, 227, 229, 230, 232

*Pagan, Blaise François, comte de* (1604-1665)—French military engineer.—326, 328-29

*Pahlen, Pyotr Alexeyevich, Baron* (1745-1826)—Russian general, military Governor of St. Petersburg (1798-

1801), an organiser of the plot against Emperor Paul I.—77

*Paixhans, Henri Joseph* (1783-1854)—French general, military engineer and inventor.—205, 368

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman; at first Tory and from 1830 Whig; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41 and 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55), and Prime Minister (1855-58 and 1859-65).—158

*Papacino d'Antoni, Alessandro Vittorio* (1714-1786)—Sardinian military engineer.—196

*Paravey, Charles Hippolyte de* (1787-1871)—French engineer and orientalist.—188

*Parma, Prince of*—see *Farnese, Alexander*

*Parseval-Deschênes, Alexandre Ferdinand* (1790-1860)—French admiral, a squadron commander in the Baltic in 1854.—287

*Partouneau*—French general, fought in the war waged by France and Piedmont against Austria.—512

*Paskiewitch (Paskevich), Ivan Fyodorovich, Prince* (1782-1856)—Russian general, later field marshal-general; fought against Napoleon; took part in suppressing the Polish insurrection of 1830-31 and the Hungarian revolution (1849).—253

*Paul I* (1754-1801)—Emperor of Russia (1796-1801).—77

*Pax (Paz) Salas, Pedro de* (16th cent.)—author of a report on the Spanish Armada.—166

*Pedro I* (1798-1834)—Emperor of Brazil (1822-31), King of Portugal under the name of Pedro IV (1826); abdicated in favour of his daughter, Maria II da Gloria.—131

*Pélissier, Aimable Jean Jacques, duc de Malakoff* (1794-1864)—French general, Marshal of France from 1855; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s-1850s; commander-in-chief in the Crimea (May 1855-July 1856).—69

*Pelletier, Jean Baptiste* (1777-1862)—French general, head of a number of artillery schools in France.—130

*Peña, Miguel* (1781-1833)—Venezuelan lawyer, fought in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America.—220

*Pericles* (c. 490-429 B.C.)—Athenian statesman and military leader.—90, 93

*Pétion, Alexandre Sabès* (1770-1818)—West-Indian politician and general; President of the Republic of Haiti (1807-18).—224, 225

*Philip II* (1527-1598)—King of Spain (1556-98).—166

*Philip II of Macedon* (c. 382-336 B.C.)—King of Macedon (359-336 B. C.); father of Alexander the Great.—94, 95, 292

*Philip V* (c. 237-179 B.C.)—King of Macedon (221-179 B.C.).—100

*Philostratus* (c. 170-245)—Greek rhetorician, sophist philosopher and writer.—189

*Phull, Karl Ludwig August, Baron* (1757-1826)—Prussian general, chief of the general staff of the Prussian army in 1806; served in the Russian army in 1806-12.—51

*Piar, Manuel Carlos* (1782-1817)—Venezuelan and Colombian general, fought in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America.—225-26

*Piccinino, Niccolo* (1386-1444)—Italian condottiere, commanded the Milan forces in wars between Italian city-states in 1426-43.—278

*Pichon, Louis André, baron* (1771-1850)—French politician, civilian commissary in Algiers in the early 1830s.—68

*Pius VI* (*Giovanni Angelo Braschi*) (1717-1799)—Pope (1775-99).—57

*Plönnies, Wilhelm von* (1828-1871)—Hessian army officer and military inventor.—443

*Podewils, Philipp, Baron* (1809-1885)—Bavarian army officer and military inventor.—443

*Pollock, Sir George* (1786-1872)—British general, subsequently field marshal, fought in the Afghan campaign of 1838-42.—47, 48

*Polybius* (c. 201-c. 120 B.C.)—Greek historian.—345

*Poncharra, Charles Louis César du Port, marquis de* (1787-1860)—French army officer and military inventor.—362, 419

*Poniatowski, Joseph Anthony, Prince* (1763-1813)—Polish politician and general, fought in Napoleonic wars in 1809-13.—252

*Poniatowski, Stanislaus Augustus II* (1732-1798)—King of Poland under the name of Stanislaus II Augustus (1764-95).—83, 394

*Potemkin, Grigory Alexandrovich, Prince* (1739-1791)—Russian statesman, field marshal-general, commander-in-chief in the Russo-Turkish war of 1787-91.—76

*Pottinger, Eldred*—British army officer, fought in the Afghan campaign of 1838-42.—388, 390

*Prélat, Joseph* (b. 1819)—Swiss gunsmith, modernised the Minié rifle in 1854.—441

*Príncipe y Vidaud, Miguel Agustín* (1811-1866)—Spanish liberal writer and historian.—171

*Psammetichus I*—Egyptian Pharaoh (663-610 B.C.), military leader.—86

*Ptolemy* (*Claudius Ptolemaeus*) (2nd cent.)—Greek mathematician, astronomer and geographer.—60

*Ptolemy Lagi* (*Ptolemy I*) (c. 360-283 B.C.)—general under Alexander of Macedon, ruler (from 323) and then King of Hellenistic Egypt (305-285 B.C.).—88, 293

*Puchner, Anton, Baron* (1779-1852)—Austrian general, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—132

*Pugatcheff* (*Pugachov*), *Yemelian Ivanovich* (c. 1742-1775)—leader of an anti-feudal peasant and Cossack uprising in Russia in 1773-75.—76

*Puisaye, Joseph Geneviève, comte de* (1755-1827)—French general, royalist, a leader of the counter-revolutionary Chouan revolt (1793-97).—215, 397

*Pyrrhus* (319-272 B.C.)—King of Epirus (307-302 and 296-272 B.C.), military leader.—99

## Q

*Quirini, Angelo Maria* (1680-1755)—Italian cardinal and writer.—278

## R

*Raglan, Lord Fitzroy James Henry Somerset, Baron* (1788-1855)—British field marshal, commander-in-chief of the British army in the Crimea (1854-55).—7, 17

*Ramses II* (*Sesostris*)—Egyptian Pharaoh (1317-1251 B.C.), military leader.—85

*Randon, Jacques Louis César Alexandre, comte de* (1795-1871)—French general, Marshal of France from 1856; Governor-General of Algeria (1851-58).—69

*Ranelagh, Thomas Heron John, Viscount* (b. 1812)—British army officer, took part in the Volunteer movement.—484-87, 505

*Raphael Sanzio* (*Raffaello Santi*) (1483-1520)—Italian painter.—278

*Rawlinson*—British army officer.—386

*Rayevski, Nikolai Nikolayevich* (1771-1829)—Russian general, fought against Napoleon.—251-54

*Reichstadt, Napoleon François-Joseph Charles, duc de* (1811-1832)—son of Napoleon I and Marie Louise, a claimant to the French throne.—154

*Reille, Honoré Charles Michel Joseph, comte* (1775-1860)—French general, subsequently Marshal of France, fought in the Peninsular war (1808-14).—269, 270, 273

*Reuss-Plauen, Heinrich, Prince of* (1751-1825)—Austrian general, fought against Napoleon.—32

*Ribas, Joseph Felix* (1775-1814)—Venezuelan general, fought in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America.—219-22, 224

*Ricalde*—see *Martinez de Ricalde, Juan*

*Richard I (Coeur de Lion)* (1157-1199)—King of England (1189-99).—4

*Rimpler, George* (1636-1683)—German military engineer.—332, 333

*Ringelhardt*—manager of a theatre in Cologne and, from 1832, in Leipzig.—80-81, 391-92

*Robertson*—385

*Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de* (1758-1794)—Jacobin leader in the French Revolution, head of the revolutionary government (1793-94).—398

*Robins, Benjamin* (1707-1751)—English mathematician and military engineer.—196

*Rodríguez Torrices, Manuel* (1788-1815)—Colombian politician, fought in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America.—220

*Romana, Pedro Caro y Sureda, marqués de la* (1761-1811)—Spanish general, commanded a Spanish corps on the shores of the North and Baltic seas (1807-08), fought Napoleon in the war of liberation (1808-14).—152

*Romanzoff*—see *Rumyantsev, Pyotr Alexandrovich*

*Ronge, Johannes* (1813-1887)—German clergyman, founder of the "German Catholics" movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution.—392

*Roscio, Juan German* (1769-1821)—Venezuelan lawyer, fought in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America, Vice President of Venezuela (1819-20) and the United States of Colombia (1820-21).—227-28

*Rosenberg-Orsini, Franz Seraph, Prince* (1761-1832)—Austrian general, fought against Napoleon.—32

*Ross, Robert* (1766-1814)—British general, took part in wars against France and the USA.—164

*Rossetti, Domenico* (17th cent.)—Italian military engineer.—324

*Rouvroy, Friedrich Gustav* (1771-1839)—Saxon officer, author of works on artillery.—197

*Rulhières, Joseph Marcelin* (1787-1862)—French general and politician, took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s.—213

*Rumyantsev, Pyotr Alexandrovich, Count (Rioomantsof-Zadoonaiski, Rumiancov)* (1725-1796)—Russian field marshal-general, commander in the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-74.—76

*Runjeet Singh* (1780-1839)—ruler of Punjab (1797-1839).—43, 44, 379, 380, 382

*Rupert, Prince* (1619-1682)—English general and admiral, royalist, cavalry commander during the English Revolution.—300

S

*Sacken*—see *Osten-Sacken, Fabian Wilhelm von, Prince*

*Saint-Arnaud, Armand Jacques Leroy de Achille* (1801-1854)—French general, Marshal of France from 1852, Bonapartist; took part in the conquest of Algeria in 1836-51; commander-in-chief of the French army in the Crimea in 1854.—17, 69, 213

*Saint-Hilaire, Louis Vincent Joseph le Blond, comte de* (1766-1809)—French general, fought in Napoleonic wars.—33

*Saint-Priest, Guillaume Emmanuel Guignard, comte de* (1776-1814)—French-born general in the service of Russia, fought against Napoleon.—183, 185

*Saint Remy, Pierre Surirey de* (c. 1650-1716)—French general, second in command of the French artillery from 1703.—195

*Saladin* (full name *Salah-al-Din Yusuf ibn-Ayyub*) (1138-1193)—Sultan of Egypt (1171-93), founder of the Ayyubid dynasty.—4

*Sale, Sir Robert Henry* (1782-1845)—British colonel, fought in the Afghan campaign of 1838-42.—47, 381, 384, 386, 388

*Salles, Charles Marie, comte de* (c. 1804-1858)—French general, took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s-1850s.—213

*Sallust* (*Gaius Sallustius Crispus*) (86-c. 35 B.C.)—Roman historian.—98

*Sands*—British colonel, fought in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America.—230

*San Michele* (*Sanmicheli*), *Michele* (1484-1559)—Italian architect and military engineer.—322, 324

*Santa Cruz, Don Alvarez de Bassano, Marquis de* (1526-1588)—Spanish admiral, commanded the Spanish navy in 1576-88.—167

*Santander, Francisco de Paula* (1792-1840)—Colombian general, fought in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America, Vice-President of the United States of Colombia (1821-28), participant in the conspiracy against Bolivar.—227, 228, 229, 231

*Savary, Anne Jean Marie René, duc de Rovigo* (1774-1833)—French general and politician, Minister of Police (1810-14), Governor-General of Algeria (1831-33).—68

*Saxe, Hermann Maurice, comte de* (1696-1750)—Marshal of France and military writer.—20

*Saxe-Coburg, Duke of*—see *Ernest III* (*Ernest Anton Karl Ludwig*)

*Scarlett, Sir James Yorke* (1799-1871)—British general, took part in the Crimean war, adjutant-general in 1860.—486

*Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von* (1755-1813)—Prussian general, War Minister (1807-10) and Chief of Staff (1807-13); reorganised the Prussian army; an organiser of the liberation struggle against Napoleonic rule.—174, 197

*Scheither, Johann Bernhard* (17th cent.)—German military engineer.—328

*Schilder, Kaspar Gd.*—lighterman, Robert Blum's stepfather.—391

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—81

*Schlosser, Friedrich Christoph* (1776-1861)—German historian, democrat.—394, 398

*Schmerling, Anton von* (1805-1893)—Austrian politician, in 1848 deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre), Imperial Minister and, from September to December 1848, Prime Minister.—393

*Schmitz*—owner of a lantern factory in Cologne.—80, 391

*Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp, Prince* (1771-1820)—Austrian field marshal, fought against Napoleon, commander-in-chief of the allied armies of the European coalition in 1813-14.—180-81, 183, 184, 185

*Schwedt, Heinrich Friedrich* (1709-1788)—last margrave of Brandenburg-Schwedt (1771-88).—172

*Schwiehelt*—see *Bennigsen, Amalie Oelgarde*

*Scipio* (*Publius Cornelius Scipio*) (d. 211 B.C.)—Roman general, consul (218 B.C.) and proconsul in Spain (217-11 B.C.).—295

*Sébastiani, Horace François Bastien, comte* (1772-1851)—French general, later Marshal of France and diplomat; took part in Napoleonic wars.—181, 182

*Seigneul*—Swedish consul-general in Paris (early 19th cent.).—154

*Seleucidae*—royal dynasty of the Hellenistic state formed in Asia Minor after the collapse of Alexander of Macedon's empire; ruled from 312 to 64 B.C.—343

*Selim I* (1467-1520)—Sultan of Turkey (1512-20).—62

*Selim Cutemi* (d. 1515)—Emir of Metija (Algeria).—62

*Serna y Hinojosa, José de la* (1769-1833)—Spanish general, fought against the national liberation movement of the Spanish colonies in South America.—170, 171

*Severus* (*Lucius Septimius Severus*) (146-211)—Roman Emperor (193-211) and general.—102

*Seydlitz, Friedrich Wilhelm von* (1721-1773)—Prussian general, cavalry commander in the Seven Years' War (1756-63.)—112, 301, 302, 304, 316

*Seymour*—British admiral, commanded the squadron sent to pursue the Spanish Armada in 1588.—168

*Sheir Afras Khan* (d. 1800)—leader of the conspiracy against Zaman Shah of Afghanistan.—43

*Shelton, John* (d. 1845)—British general, fought in the Afghan campaign of 1838-42.—386, 388

*Shrapnel, Henry* (1761-1842)—British general and military inventor.—246

*Sibley, Henry Hopkins* (1816-1886)—American army officer, designed an army tent.—262

*Sievers, Karl Karlovich, Count* (1772-1856)—Russian general, fought against Napoleon.—254

*Sieyès, Emmanuel Joseph, comte de* (1748-1836)—French priest, participant in the French Revolution, moderate constitutionalist, member of the Directory (1799), helped organise the Bonapartist coup of 1799.—151

*Siman Shah*—Shah of Afghanistan (1793-1800).—43

*Simpson, Sir James* (1792-1868)—British general, served in the Bengal army during the Anglo-Afghan war of 1838-42; commander-in-chief of the British army in the Crimea (June-November 1855).—380

*Smith, Sir William Sidney* (1764-1840)—British admiral.—4

*Solyman* (or *Soliman*) *I* ("*the Magnificent*") (c. 1496-1566)—Sultan of Turkey (1520-66).—62, 259

*Somerset, Fitzroy Molyneux Henry*—

British army officer, served in the engineers in the 1850s.—498

*Soojah Shah* (d. 1842)—Shah of Afghanistan (1803-09 and 1839-41); henchman of the British.—43-45, 46, 48, 380-84, 385-87, 389-90

*Sorbier, Jean Barthélemy* (1762-1827)—French general, commander of the guards artillery in 1810-12.—254

*Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu, duc de Dalmatie* (1769-1851)—Marshal of France and statesman; commanded the French forces in Spain in 1808-14; War Minister (1830-34 and 1840-45), Minister of Foreign Affairs (1839-40) and Prime Minister (1832-34, 1839-40 and 1840-47).—10-11, 151, 152, 173, 211, 269, 270, 273

*Spearman*—British army officer, reorganised British field artillery in the early 19th cent.—199, 201

*Speckle* (*Specklin*), *Daniel* (1536-1589)—German military engineer, a founder of bastion fortification.—318, 325-28, 329-32, 333

*Steger, Friedrich* (1811-1874)—German writer, historian and publisher.—391, 392

*Steinberg*—see *Bennigsen, Amalie Luise*

*Steinberg, Baron*—Hanoverian ambassador to Vienna, father of Bennigsen's first wife.—76

*Stewart, Charles William, Marquis* (1778-1854)—British general and diplomat.—156

*Stoddart, Charles* (1806-1842)—British army officer and diplomat; in 1838 was appointed envoy to Bukhara where he was killed.—382

*Stone, Charles Pomeroy* (1824-1887)—American general, commanded the Union troops in Virginia in 1861, convicted of high treason after their defeat at Bols Bluff in October 1861; released at the end of 1862.—531

*Struensee, Karl August von* (1735-1804)—Prussian mathematician, economist and statesman.—197

*Suchet, Louis Gabriel, duc d'Albufera da Valencia* (1770-1826)—Marshal of France, fought in the Peninsular war (1808-14).—470

*Suchtelen, Pyotr Kornilovich* (1751-1836)—Russian general and diplomat, Dutch by birth; commanded the siege of the Sveaborg fortress in 1808; ambassador to Stockholm from 1809.—155

*Sucre, Antonio Josè de* (1795-1830)—leader in the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in South America, supporter of Bolivar, President of Bolivia (1826-28).—170, 230

*Suwaroff* (*Suvorov*), *Alexander Vasilyevich, Count Suvorov Rimniksky, Prince Italiisky* (1729 or 1730-1800)—Russian field marshal and military theorist.—76

T

*Tallard, Camille d'Hostun, duc de* (1652-1728)—Marshal of France, fought in the war of the Spanish Succession.—249, 250

*Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de* (1754-1838)—French diplomat; Foreign Minister (1797-99, 1799-1807 and 1814-15); France's representative at the Vienna Congress (1814-15).—150, 157, 396

*Tamerlane* (or *Timur*) (1336-1405)—Central Asian military leader and conqueror, founder of a vast state in Asia with Samarkand as its capital.—42

*Tamisier, François Laurent Alphonse* (1809-1880)—French army officer and military inventor.—440

*Tartaglia* (*Tartalea*), *Nicolò* (c. 1499-

1557)—Italian mathematician.—192, 323, 324

*Tauenzien, Bogislaw Friedrich Emanuel, Count Tauenzien von Wittenberg* (1760-1854)—Prussian general, fought against Napoleon.—402

*Tempelhof, Georg Friedrich von* (1737-1807)—Prussian general and military writer.—197

*Themistius* (c. 317-c. 388)—Greek philosopher, commentator of Aristotle.—189

*Thomas, George Henry* (1816-1870)—American general, fought in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—533

*Thouvenin, Louis Étienne de* (1791-1882)—French army officer and military inventor.—116, 438-40, 456

*Tilly, Johann Tserclaes, Count von* (1559-1632)—commander of the Catholic League's army in the Thirty Years' War, and also of the forces of the German Emperor in 1630-32.—110

*Timmerhans, Charles Frédéric Théodore* (1800-1865)—Belgian army officer and military inventor.—443

*Timotheus* (d. 354 B.C.)—Athenian general and statesman.—93

*Timour* (1746-1793)—Shah of Afghanistan (1773-93).—42-43

*Timur Khan*—eldest son of Soojah Shah of Afghanistan.—380, 381

*Tiscar, Antonio* (d. 1845)—Spanish naval officer, fought against the national liberation movement of the Spanish colonies in South America.—221

*Titian* (*Tiziano Vecellio*) (1477-1576)—Italian painter.—278

*Todd, Elliott D'Arcy* (1808-1845)—British army officer and colonial official, formally political agent at Herat from January 1841.—384

*Todt, Karl Gotthold* (1803-1852)—deputy to the Saxon Landtag, member of the opposition.—81, 392

*Toll, Johan Kristoffer, Count* (1743-1817)—Swedish general and politician, marshal from 1800.—400

*Toll, Karl Fyodorovich* (*Karl Friedrich*), *Count* (1777-1842)—Russian colonel, general from the autumn of 1812, fought against Napoleon.—253, 255

*Torre* (*La Torre*), *Miguel de la* (d. 1838)—Spanish general; in 1820-22 commander-in-chief of the forces fighting against the national liberation movement in the Spanish colonies in South America.—227, 229

*Torrens, Henry Whitelock* (1806-1852)—British colonial official in India, an organiser of the Afghan campaign (1838-42).—380

*Torricelli, Evangelista* (1608-1647)—Italian physicist and mathematician.—196

*Torstenson* (*Torstensson*), *Lennart, Count* (1603-1651)—Swedish general in the Thirty Years' War, commander-in-chief of the Swedish troops in 1641-45.—194

*Trajan* (*Marcus Ulpius Traianus*) (53-117)—Roman Emperor (98-117) and general.—102, 347

*Trampusch, Albert*—deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848.—393

*Trotha, von* (19th cent.)—Prussian army officer and military writer.—363

*Tschitschagoff* (*Tchitchakoff, Chichagov*), *Pavel Vasilyevich* (1767-1849)—Russian admiral and statesman, commander-in-chief of the Moldavian (Danubian) army and the Black Sea fleet in 1812; in November com-

manded the forces that attacked the rear of Napoleon I's retreating army.—51, 155

*Tshen-byoo-Myayen*—see *Bayinnaung*

*Tuam, Archbishop of*—see *Beresford, William*

*Tutchkoff (Tuchkov), Nikolai Alexeyevich* (1761-1812)—Russian general, fought against Napoleon.—252, 253

U

*Ufano, Diego de* (16th-early 17th cent.)—Spanish military engineer.—192

*Urban, Karl, Baron von* (1802-1877)—Rumanian colonel, later lieutenant field marshal in the service of Austria; Right-wing leader of the national movement in Transylvania; fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—132

V

*Vallière, Jean Florent de* (1667-1759)—French general, artillery commander in 1720-47.—197

*Vandamme, Dominique René, comte d'Unebourg* (1770-1830)—French general, fought in Napoleonic wars.—51

*Vasiltchikoff, Larion Vasilyevich* (c. 1777-1847)—Russian general, fought against Napoleon.—253

*Vauban, Sébastien Le Prêtre (Prestre) de* (1633-1707)—Marshal of France, military engineer, economist; worked out a method of fortification and siege.—54, 192, 267, 268, 319, 326, 328-31, 335, 337, 338

*Vécsey, Károly, Count* (1807-1849)—Hungarian general, fought in the revolutionary war of 1848-49.—133

*Vega, Georg, Baron von* (1756-1802)—Austrian army officer and mathematician.—197

*Vegetius (Flavius Vegetius Renatus)* (late 4th cent.)—Roman military writer.—103

*Victor (Victor-Perrin), Claude Victor Perrin* (1764-1841)—French general, Marshal of France from 1807; fought in Napoleonic wars.—174, 181, 183, 184

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# GLOSSARY OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES[a]

| | |
|---|---|
| Abo | Turku |
| Aboukir | Bukyr |
| Åland | Ahvenanmaa |
| Alba Julia | Karlsburg, Tepenec |
| Aleppo (Haleb) | Aleppo or Halebes-Shabba |
| Alle | Lyna |
| Aquincum, Ofen | Budapest |
| Arbela | Erbil |
| Arzew | Árzevna, Arzaw |
| Aufidus | Ofanto |
| Austerlitz | Slavkov |
| Balch | Balkh |
| Beni Sillem | Beni Sliman |
| Bidassoa | Baztán |
| Bona | Annaba |
| Bougiah | Buddzsája, Bidjaya, Bejaia |
| Brescia | Brixia |
| Brünn | Brno |
| Bunzelwitz | Boleslawice |
| Carlsbad | Karlovy Vary |
| Carniola | Kraina |
| Christiania | Oslo |
| Chuquisaca | Sucre |
| Coleah | Koléa |
| Comorn | Komárno (Komárom) |
| Constantine | Konstantyna, Kasr Tina |
| Constantinople | Istanbul |
| Culm | Chlumec |
| Dantzic (Danzig) | Gdansk, Gdańsk |
| Deichsel, Schnelle Deichsel | Skora |
| Farsistan | Fars |
| Fischau | Fiszewo |
| Frederikshamm | Hamina |
| Friedland | Pravdinsk |
| Goldberg | Zlotoryje |
| Gorkum | Gorinchem |
| Greifenhagen | Gryfino |
| Gzhatsk | Gagarin |
| Haynay, Haynau | Chojnów |
| Heilsberg | Lidybark Warmiński |
| Hellespont | Dardanelles |
| Hermannstadt | Sibiu |
| Hohenfriedberg | Dobromierz |

[a] This glossary includes geographical names occuring in Marx's and Engels' articles in the form customary in the press of the time but differing from the national names or from those given on modern maps. The left column gives geographical names as used in the original (when they differ from the national names of the time, the latter are given in brackets); the right column gives corresponding names as used on modern maps and in modern literature.—*Ed.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Iglau | Jihlava |
| Insterburg | Csernyahovzk |
| Jaxartes | Syr Darya |
| Julia Caesarea | Cherchell, Szerczel |
| Kandia | Iraclion |
| Katzbach | Kocaba, Kaczawa |
| Kock | Kozk |
| Königsberg | Kaliningrad |
| Krieblowitz | Krobielowice |
| Kroitsch | Krotoszyce, Krotoszyn |
| Kunersdorf | Kunowice |
| Kunzendorf | Drogoslaw, Mokrzeszów |
| Küstrin | Kostrzyn |
| Laibach | Ljubljana |
| Lemberg, Lvow, Lwów | Lvov |
| Leuthen | Lutynia |
| Lycus | Gt Zab |
| Marienwerder | Kwidzyn |
| Marignano | Melegnano |
| Mohrungen | Morag |
| Mollwitz | Malujowice |
| Mostaganem | Musztagánem |
| Mykale | Samsan Dagh |
| Napoli di Romania | Nauplia |
| Neisse | Nysa |
| Niedercrayn | Krain, Krajów |
| Nimeguen, Nimmegen | Nijmegen |
| Ofen, Buda | Budapest |
| Oxys | Amu Darya |
| Persia | Iran |
| Placentia | Piacenza |
| Prausnitz | Pruśnica |
| Preussisch-Eylau | Bagrationovsk |
| Ratisbona | Regensburg |
| Reichenbach | Dzierzoniów |
| St. Jean d'Acre | Acca |
| Schässburg (Segesvar) | Sighişoara |
| Schweidnitz | Swidnica |
| Siam | Thailand |
| Sommepuis | Sommepuits |
| Stettin | Szczecin |
| Striegau | Strzegom |
| Sund | Oeresund |
| Sweaborg (Sveaborg) | Suomenlinna |
| Temesvár | Timişoarä, Timişoara |
| Thorn | Torún |
| Ticinus | Tessin |
| Tilsit | Sovetsk |
| Tirlemon | Tienen |
| Tlemcen, Tlemsen | Talmacan |
| Trachenberg | Zmigród |
| Urogne | Urrugne |
| Vahlstadt, Wahlstatt | Legnickie Pole |
| Vilna, Wilna | Vilnius |
| Wartenburg | Gartenberg |
| Zaab | Saab, Zab |
| Zarrah | Gaud-i Zirreh |
| Zorndorf | Sarbinowo |

# MARX & ENGELS
# COLLECTED WORKS

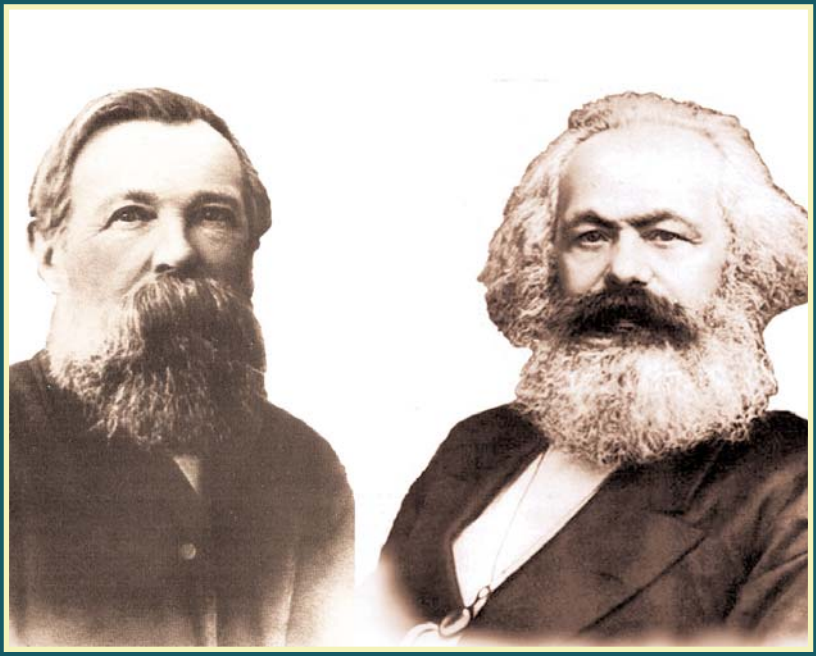

## VOLUME 19

Marx and Engels 1861-64

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 19

## Marx and Engels 1861-64

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TRANSLATORS:

RODNEY LIVINGSTONE: Items 56, 73

HENRY MINS: Items 13, 14, 23, 24, 32, 36, 47-49, 52, 54, 55, 57, 59, 61, 62, 65, 66, 68, 69, 72, 75-80

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# Preface

Volume 19 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains articles, letters and documents written between the end of January 1861 and the beginning of June 1864, except for Engels' articles for *The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire,* which are published in Volume 18 with other works of his on military subjects.

The first half of the 1860s saw the continued rise of the bourgeois-democratic and national liberation movements that began in Europe and America after the world economic crisis of 1857. In Germany and Italy, which had yet to complete their bourgeois revolutions, the movement for national unity gained fresh impetus; in Russia peasant unrest continued, and revolutionary ideas spread in progressive circles after the abolition of serfdom in February 1861; in the USA civil war broke out between North and South (1861-65); there was growing opposition to the régime of the Second Empire in France; centrifugal tendencies intensified in the Austrian monarchy; in Mexico the bourgeois revolution triumphed; in China the Taiping peasant uprising entered its closing stage.

The industrial revolution in the economically advanced countries led to a great increase in the numerical strength of the proletariat and far-reaching changes in its composition and class-

consciousness. The world economic crisis of 1857, the first of such magnitude in the history of capitalism, and the strikes that followed, vividly demonstrated the opposing economic and political interests of proletariat and bourgeoisie. The working-class movement began to pursue an independent struggle and this created conditions for its liberation from the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie. In the first half of the 1860s this showed itself in the growth of the British trade-union movement and the awakening of political activity of the British proletariat, in particular its demonstrations in defence of the national liberation movements and its opposition to the attempts by the British and French ruling classes to intervene in the US Civil War on behalf of the slave-owning Southern states. This process of working-class emancipation from bourgeois ideology was also expressed in the awakening of class consciousness among the French proletariat; in the attempts by the German workers to shake off the influence of the liberal bourgeoisie, and the foundation in 1863 of the General Association of German Workers; and in the active support by workers of various nationalities of the struggle for greater freedom and democracy in the USA (against the South in the Civil War) and of Garibaldi in Italy. The workers' realisation that their interests were in opposition to those of the ruling classes, an increased sense of proletarian solidarity, and the strengthening of international contacts, finally led to the foundation of the International Working Men's Association (the First International) on September 28, 1864.

Marx's and Engels' theoretical work and political activities during these years were many-sided. As before, Marx's main concern was political economy. From August 1861 to July 1863 he wrote *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*; from the end of July or beginning of August 1863, to the summer of 1864, he worked on Book I of *Capital*—"The Process of Capitalist Production". Meanwhile, Engels continued with the theoretical development of the proletarian party's military strategy and tactics. At the same time they both pursued their interests in problems of philosophy and world history.

At the end of the 1850s, Marx and Engels began their attempts to restore old contacts—and to establish new ones—with German, French, Polish and Italian revolutionary democratic emigrants in London, and above all with the working-class and democratic movements in Britain, Germany, France, Austria and the USA. These efforts, both to consolidate the forces of the working class and to establish contacts with progressive

democratic circles, were dictated by the general revolutionary upsurge.

Marx and Engels were above all guided by the objective interests of the proletariat: the bourgeois-democratic transformation of the countries of Europe and America, and the creation of legal conditions for the development of the working-class and democratic movement. The revolution of 1848-1849 had shown that in the more economically developed capitalist countries of Europe, the liberal bourgeoisie did not want, while the democratic and radical petty bourgeoisie proved unfit, to carry the bourgeois revolution through to the end. So in the 1860s the fulfilment of this historic task was becoming more and more the cause of the working class. Marx and Engels favoured the unification by revolutionary means of Germany and Italy, and the transition to revolutionary methods of conducting the US Civil War. They attached particular importance to the revolutionary movement in France and Russia, regarding Bonapartism and tsarism as the chief obstacles to the national liberation of the oppressed peoples of Europe.

The many-sided activity by Marx and Engels during this period is partly reflected in this volume. Their journalistic work is represented most fully. Until March 1862 Marx continued writing for the progressive American bourgeois newspaper, the *New York Tribune*; from October 1861 to December 1862 he contributed to the Viennese liberal newspaper *Die Presse.* Engels helped Marx in his work as correspondent for these newspapers; furthermore, as has been mentioned above, Engels wrote a great deal about military matters for the English magazine *The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire,* and for the German newspaper *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung.*

A theme central to the journalistic writings of Marx and Engels during these years was the US Civil War, which they saw as a crucial turning-point in the history of the USA, and of overall progressive significance. Their articles provided the first systematic account of its history, its political and social ramifications, its economic consequences, and the diplomatic struggles that resulted not only in America, but in Europe and especially in Britain. Most of the works on this subject were written by Marx and published in *Die Presse* and the *New-York Daily Tribune* in 1861-62.

For the American paper, Marx wrote mainly about the impact of the Civil War on Great Britain's economy, foreign policy and public opinion. *Die Presse,* which was read not only in Austria, but in Germany, carried articles mainly about the Civil War itself, its

character, motive forces and historical significance. Marx endeavoured to give the European reader more exact information, based on American sources. He wrote to Engels on April 28, 1862 about the need to "disseminate correct views on this important matter in the land of the Teutons" (this edition, Vol. 41).

In the very first articles for European readers—"The North American Civil War" and "The Civil War in the United States"—and in his article for the *Tribune,* "The American Question in England", Marx demonstrated the groundlessness of the claims by the British bourgeois press (*The Times* and other newspapers) that the war between North and South was not a war over slavery, but over tariffs, the political rivalry of North and South for supremacy in the Union and the like. For Marx the conflict between the Northern and Southern states was the struggle between "two social systems"—slavery and wage labour (p. 50). He regarded the Civil War as an inevitable consequence of the long struggle of the industrial North and the slave-owning South, a struggle which "was the moving power of its [America's] history for half a century" (p. 11). Marx saw this war as a form of bourgeois-democratic revolution, the inevitability of which was conditioned by economic and political factors and, above all, by the "growth of the North-West, the immense strides its population has made from 1850 to 1860" (p. 10).

Analysis in depth of social-political relations in the United States throughout the first half of the 19th century enabled Marx to reveal in his articles the contradictory essence of American plantation slavery. A pre-capitalist form of exploitation, slavery was also closely linked with the world capitalist market; cotton produced by slave labour became one of the "monstrous pivots" of British industry (p. 19).

Studying the conditions under which plantation slavery and its primitive technology could exist, Marx wrote: "The cultivation of the Southern export articles, cotton, tobacco, sugar, etc., carried on by slaves, is only remunerative as long as it is conducted with large gangs of slaves, on a mass scale and on wide expanses of a naturally fertile soil, which requires only simple labour" (p. 39). Given the extensive nature of a plantation economy based on slave labour, unlimited reserves of free land were necessary, which resulted in the "continual expansion of territory and continual spread of slavery beyond its old limits" (p. 39).

Analysis of the economic structure of the plantation economy and the conditions for its survival enabled Marx to expose the groundlessness of the claims by the bourgeois press about the

peaceful nature of the Secession (the withdrawal of the Southern states from the Union), and to rebuff attempts to portray the slave-owners of the South as defending the rights of individual states from the encroachments of the Federal Government. Marx stressed that it was the Southern Confederacy that "assumed the offensive in the Civil War" (p. 43). He repeatedly noted that the Secession was a form of aggression by the slave-owning planters against the lawful government, that the "war of the Southern Confederacy is in the true sense of the word a war of conquest for the spread and perpetuation of slavery" (p. 49). He warned against the real danger of slavery spreading all over the Republic: "The slave system would infect the whole Union" (p. 50).

Marx showed that the perpetuation and further spread of slavery would have fatal social consequences. "In the Northern States, where Negro slavery is in practice unworkable, the white working class would gradually be forced down to the level of helotry" (p. 50). In the Southern states, he pointed out, the numerically small slave-owning oligarchy was opposed by the disadvantaged "poor whites", whose numbers "have been constantly growing through concentration of landed property" (p. 40). These déclassé groups of the population, corrupted by the slave-owning ideology, could only be kept in subjection by flattery of their own hopes of obtaining new territory and by "the prospect of one day becoming slaveholders themselves" (41).

Marx and Engels repeatedly emphasised that the existence of slavery was retarding the development of the American working-class movement, was serving as a foundation for the intensified exploitation of the free workers of the North, and was a threat to the constitutional rights of the American workers.

Marx showed that although slavery partially facilitated the development of capitalism in the USA—as some of the bourgeoisie in the North were living off the trade in cotton and other products of slave labour—it was becoming more and more incompatible with the capitalist development of the Northern states. It was the problem of slavery, as Marx emphasised, that was at the root of the US Civil War: "The whole movement was and is based ... on the *slave question.* Not in the sense of whether the slaves within the existing slave states should be emancipated outright or not, but ... whether the vast Territories of the republic should be nurseries for free states or for slavery" (p. 42).

Using a wealth of factual material, Marx was already pointing out in his first articles on the US Civil War that the more

advanced social system, namely, that of the Northern States, must win. While noting the progressive nature of the war as fought by the North, he also condemned the indecision and vacillation shown in the war by Union bourgeois circles in proclaiming the abolition of slavery. In his articles "The Dismissal of Frémont", "A Criticism of American Affairs" and others, Marx showed the reluctance of the bourgeois Republican Government to make it a popular and revolutionary war. This, in his opinion, showed up the limitations of American bourgeois democracy. The Lincoln government "fights shy of every step that could mislead the 'loyal' slaveholders of the border states" (p. 87), as a result of which the war as a struggle against slavery was being blunted (p. 227). It was this policy of the Northern government during the initial stages of the war that Marx saw as the main reason for the military failures of the Unionists, in spite of their superiority in economic potential and in manpower reserves.

In a series of articles written in 1862, Marx indicated the process of differentiation in the ruling Republican Party under the influence of the growth and consolidation of the forces favouring the immediate abolition of slavery ("Abolitionist Demonstrations in America", "The Election Results in the Northern States"). He noted changes in the balance of forces within the Republican Party, forced under pressure from the general public to take a more decisive stand over the emancipation of the slaves. After analysing the results of the voting in the states, Marx demonstrated that the failure of the Republicans at the elections was caused above all by the discontent of the farmers in the North with the former methods of conducting the war and by a shift to the left of the masses who followed the Republicans: "They came out emphatically for immediate emancipation, whether for its own sake or as a means of ending the rebellion" (p. 264). Summing up the first stage of the war, Marx wrote: "So far, we have only witnessed the first act of the Civil War—the *constitutional* waging of war. The second act, the *revolutionary* waging of war, is at hand" (p. 228).

Marx and Engels followed the increasingly revolutionary nature of the Civil War closely and noted the revolutionary-democratic measures to which the Lincoln government was compelled to resort and which ultimately led to the victory of the North. Marx attached special importance to two social measures: the Homestead Act, which gave a great many American farmers the chance of acquiring land, and the Proclamation that the black slaves of the rebellious planters were free. Marx valued the latter as "the most

important document in American history since the establishment of the Union", pointing out that it was "tantamount to the tearing up of the old American constitution" (p. 250).

In the initial period of the war, Marx criticised Lincoln for vacillation and indecision, and for the bourgeois limitations of certain of his measures and legal enactments (see, e.g., p. 87). Items in the volume show, however, that the Lincoln government's revolutionary measures gradually changed the attitude of Marx and Engels to the President himself. In October 1862, Marx gave high praise to Lincoln's activity, declaring that "Lincoln's place in the history of the United States and of mankind will ... be next to that of Washington" (p. 250).

In their *New-York Daily Tribune* and *Die Presse* articles, the leaders of the proletariat tried to help the struggle of the revolutionary-democratic forces for a fuller and more consistent solution to the pressing historical tasks during the war. The consolidation of the forces of revolutionary democracy, which was pushing the bourgeois to the left, was regarded by Marx and Engels as an important task for the American working class. The farming and working-class population of the North played a major role in the struggle against slavery. Marx wrote: "New England and the Northwest, which have provided the main body of the army, are determined to force on the government a revolutionary kind of warfare and to inscribe the battle-slogan of 'Abolition of Slavery' on the star-spangled banner" (p. 228). Marx noted that although the consolidation of "the parties of the North which are consistent in point of principle", i.e. confirmed Abolitionists, takes place very slowly, they all nevertheless "are being pushed ... into the foreground by events" (p. 233).

Marx and Engels set great store by the participation of the Black masses in the liberation struggle and severely criticised the policy of the Northern states over the "Negro question". Fearing revolutionary disturbances, the American government could not at first make up its mind whether or not to admit Blacks into the army. The recruitment of Blacks into the army of the North would, in Marx's opinion, have had a tremendous influence on the course of the war; it would have considerably increased the North's chances by weakening the rear of the South. A single Black regiment, he wrote on August 7, 1862, "would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves" (this edition, Vol. 41). Marx had a high estimation of the new officers brought into being in the course of the Civil War, since they were the ones actually solving the problem of abolition, declaring the slaves free and

demanding that they be armed (see this volume, pp. 115-16).

Even early in the Civil War, Marx perceived the social-economic factors that subsequently, after the victory of the Republicans and the abolition of slavery, favoured the preservation of racial discrimination and of national and social oppression in the USA. Marx stressed the direct interest of the commercial and finance bourgeoisie in preserving the remnants of slave ownership. In his article, "The Election Results in the Northern States", he wrote that it was New York, "the seat of the American money market and full of holders of mortgages on Southern plantations", a city "actively engaged in the slave trade until recently", that had been, immediately before and during the Civil War, the main bulwark of the Democratic party (p. 263).

Much space in Marx's and Engels' articles on the Civil War is taken up by its military aspects. Engels pointed out the decisive role of the masses and the interrelation of economic, political and moral factors in the military operations. "The American Civil War," he wrote, "given the inventive spirit of the nation and the high technical level of engineering in America, would lead to great advances ... in the technical side of warfare..." (p. 289). At the same time, while acknowledging the role of war in technical development, Marx and Engels condemned the social role of the "human slaughter industry" (see letters from Marx to Engels, July 7, 1866, and Engels to Marx, July 12, 1866, this edition, Vol. 42).

In his article, "Artillery News from America", after analysing, on the evidence of individual operations, the forms and methods of conducting the war, Engels demonstrated the natural tendency of military equipment to become obsolete very quickly and the necessity for its continual improvement. Study of the Civil War enabled Engels to plot the main trends in the development of artillery, in the art of fortification and especially in the development of the navy, and to specify and elaborate certain points made in his earlier articles in *The New American Cyclopaedia* (see this edition, Vol. 18). Fundamentally significant, in particular, was Engels' forecast of the predominance in future naval armed forces of armoured vessels with gun turrets (p. 291).

In their jointly written articles, "The American Civil War", "The Situation in the American Theatre of War" and others, Marx and Engels developed the idea, important for military science, of the influence exerted by the character of a war on the methods by which it is conducted. Marx and Engels pointed out the negative role of the cadre officers under McClellan who were

sympathetic to the South. Marx wrote that there was a strong *esprit de corps* among them and that they were more or less closely connected with their old comrades in the enemy camp. "In their view, the war must be waged in a strictly businesslike fashion, with constant regard to the restoration of the Union on its *old* basis, and therefore must above all be kept free from revolutionary tendencies and tendencies affecting matters of principle" (p. 179). Marx and Engels considered that the dismissal from the Northern army of reactionary officers sympathetic to the South was a military measure of the utmost priority. They also demonstrated that the strategic plan of the McClellan command (the North's "Anaconda Plan" envisaged a slowly contracting ring of troops round the rebellious slave-owning states) was not only intended to avoid a true revolutionary war of the people, but was untenable in military terms (pp. 193-95).

In the article "The American Civil War", Marx and Engels put forward their own strategic plan, taking into consideration the class content, the political and social aims of the war, and demanding revolutionary methods of conducting it. This consisted of a decisive blow by concentrated forces against the vitally important enemy centres and envisaged first and foremost the occupation of Georgia, as a result of which the territory of the Confederation would be cut into two parts (pp. 194-95). The subsequent course of the war showed that this plan was the only right one. A turning point in military operations occurred and the North achieved final victory in 1865, but only after the Northern command had carried out a similar plan (General Sherman's "march to the sea") in the second half of 1864 and had taken revolutionary measures the necessity of which Marx and Engels had been indicating all through 1861 and 1862.

The denunciation of bourgeois diplomacy and the reactionary designs of the ruling classes against the revolutionary democratic and national liberation movements were regarded by Marx and Engels as one of the most important tasks of the proletarian revolutionaries. The events of the US Civil War gave Marx the opportunity to denounce in his articles the foreign policy of the British ruling oligarchy which, in spite of Britain's declared neutrality, was secretly supporting the Southern rebels and was preparing an armed intervention to help the slave-owners. In connection with the seizure in November 1861 by an American warship of the British packet boat *Trent* with emissaries of the Confederacy on board, there was a real threat of armed conflict between Britain and the United States. In his articles "The

Anglo-American Conflict", "Controversy over the *Trent* Case", "The Washington Cabinet and the Western Powers" and others, Marx irrefutably demonstrated the groundlessness of the arguments put forward by British ruling circles and their allies on the continent, who were trying to use this incident as a pretext for unleashing a war on the side of the slave-owners.

Marx and Engels considered that the attitude of the European and American proletariat to the US Civil War should be determined by the prospects of the revolutionary movement in Europe and America and that the war against slavery in the USA would increase the political activity of the working class. Regarding an active influence on the foreign policy of the ruling classes as one of the most important tasks of the revolutionary proletariat, and as part of its general struggle for the liberation of the working people, Marx and Engels set great store by the demonstrations of the English workers against their government's intention to create a coalition of reactionary European states to provide armed help to the South. These demonstrations, in Marx's opinion, played a large part in educating the proletarian masses in the spirit of international solidarity and as a counterweight to the chauvinistic propaganda of the ruling classes, and, above all, of the Palmerston press. Marx demonstrated that the masses in Britain, France, Germany and, indeed, all Europe, considered the defence of the North as their cause, the cause of freedom "now to be defended sword in hand, from the sordid grasp of the slaveholder" (p. 29).

Marx's articles "The Opinion of the Newspapers and the Opinion of the People", "English Public Opinion", "A London Workers' Meeting", "Anti-Intervention Feeling" and others, taught the workers how to work out their own revolutionary line and stand up for it in international conflicts. Marx was particularly delighted by the actions of the British proletariat; he considered that "the English working class has won immortal historical honour for itself", having by means of mass protest meetings foiled the attempts of the ruling classes to organise an intervention on behalf of the South, although the continuation of the US Civil War and also the crisis in the cotton industry connected with it subjected "a million English workers to the most fearful sufferings and privations" (p. 297).

Marx described the appalling poverty of the Lancashire weavers left unemployed by the closure of many cotton mills. He denounced the attempts by the ruling classes (the articles "On the Cotton Crisis", "Workers' Distress in England", etc.) to attribute the stagnation in the British cotton industry exclusively to the cessation of the import of cotton from the USA as a result of the Civil War, to

the protectionist measures of the North and to its blockade of the secessionist South. Marx showed that the disastrous plight of this industry was first and foremost caused by a crisis of overproduction (pp. 160-62, 239). He condemned the pathetic system of social charity in Britain (pp. 241-42). Marx wrote with indignation about the inhuman selfishness of the ruling classes, of the "strange dispute" between the landed and industrial aristocracy "as to which of them grinds the working class down the most, and which of them is least obliged to do something about the workers' distress" (p. 241).

The position of the British workers during the US Civil War, their demonstrations in defence of the Italian national liberation movement and their stand on other issues, enabled Marx to conclude that in the political life of Britain the actions of the working class were acquiring national significance for the first time since the defeat of Chartism. In his article, "Garibaldi Meetings.—The Distressed Condition of Cotton Workers", Marx wrote: "Anyone who has the slightest knowledge of English conditions and the attitude prevailing here knows, in addition, that any interference on the part of the present cabinet with the popular demonstrations can only end in the fall of the government" (p. 246).

Marx also noted that in its political demonstrations the working class was beginning to play an increasingly independent role, pursuing its aims and not acting simply as members of "the chorus" (p. 153). The demonstrations of the British proletariat in connection with international conflicts enabled Marx and Engels further to develop the theory of class struggle, to substantiate the position of the proletariat in problems of foreign policy and to define the strategic and tactical tasks of the proletarian party. Marx became still more convinced of his conclusion that even before the winning of political power, the working class, by influencing the foreign policy of the government of its own country, could compel it to renounce an aggressive course aimed at the enslavement of other peoples. As is known, this conclusion found expression in one of the first programme documents of the International, the Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association, written by Marx in October 1864 (see this edition, Vol. 20).

The problems of international relations and the colonial policy of the European powers are discussed in a group of articles about the beginning of the Anglo-French-Spanish intervention in Mexico in 1861. ("The Intervention in Mexico", "The Parliamentary Debate on the Address" and others). Marx disclosed the true aims of the participants in the "Mexican Expedition" and

denounced its colonial character. Describing the intervention in Mexico as "one of the most monstrous enterprises ever chronicled in the annals of international history" (p. 71), Marx stressed that the real purpose of the intervention was to render assistance to the Mexican reactionaries in the struggle against the progressive Juárez government, to consolidate the anti-popular party of the clericals with the aid of French and Spanish bayonets, and once again to provoke a civil war. In articles filled with deep sympathy for the Mexican people and its liberation struggle, Marx sternly condemned the actions of the interventionists, who had perfidiously started a war against a peace-loving country under the false pretence of a struggle against anarchy. The articles on the intervention in Mexico are a vivid manifestation of the irreconcilable struggle waged by Marx and Engels against colonialism and national oppression, against exploitation and the enslavement of economically backward and dependent countries by European states more developed in the capitalist sense.

Interference by the "European armed Areopagus" in the internal affairs of American countries was seen by Marx as an attempt at the "transplantation of the Holy Alliance to the other side of the Atlantic" (p. 77).

Marx also pointed out another danger associated with the Anglo-French-Spanish intervention. For Palmerston and Napoleon III, the Mexican intervention was a means of provoking an armed conflict with the United States. In his articles "Progress of Feeling in England", "The Mexican Imbroglio" and others, Marx denounced the efforts of the British ruling circles to use the events in Mexico as a pretext, and the territory of Mexico as a base of operations, for the interference of Britain and France in the US Civil War on the side of the Southern slave-owning states. "Decembrist France, bankrupt, paralysed at home, beset with difficulty abroad, pounces upon an Anglo-American War as a real godsend and, in order to buy English support in Europe, will strain all her power to support 'Perfidious Albion' on the other side of the Atlantic" (p. 111).

In his articles "The London *Times* and Lord Palmerston", "The Intervention in Mexico" and others, Marx strips the mask off British diplomacy. Marx and Engels noted during this period an undoubted intensification of the counter-revolutionary role which bourgeois-aristocratic Britain had long played in international affairs. Britain's conversion in the 19th century into the "workshop of the world", and her efforts to preserve her industrial and

colonial monopoly, inevitably made her ruling classes a bulwark of reaction not only in Europe but all over the world.

Exposing the aggressive foreign policy of the European powers—Britain, Austria and France—directed at the suppression of national liberation movements and the enslavement of other peoples, Marx demonstrated the grave consequences of the Palmerston government's colonial expansion for the peoples of China, India, Persia, Afghanistan and other countries (pp. 18-20, 23, 78, 209, 216).

Marx also paid attention to the social and political movements in these countries, especially in his article "Chinese Affairs", in which he discussed the causes and the contradictory nature of the Taiping movement. In this, Marx noted a combination of revolutionary tendencies—the striving for the overthrow of the reactionary system and the domination of the alien Manchurian dynasty—with conservative tendencies, the latter becoming especially pronounced in the last years of the Taiping state, within which a bureaucratic top layer had grown. Marx associated the conservative features of the movement with religious fanaticism, cruel customs inculcated in the army, the aggrandisement and even deification of the leaders, and "destruction without any nucleus of new construction" (p. 216).

A large part of the volume is made up of newspaper articles which Marx and Engels wrote on European problems. The articles about the economic position of Britain and France show that in analysing the internal and foreign policy of the European powers (and also of the USA), Marx and Engels were invariably guided by the principles of historical materialism.

In analysing the state of industry in Britain and its prospects of further development and influence on the world market, Marx took into account the situation that had developed in the cotton industry as a result of the blockade of the Southern states, the stopping of shipments of American cotton, and also the internal laws of capitalist production ("The Crisis in England", "British Commerce", "Economic Notes", "On the Cotton Crisis" and others). Marx noted the growth of economic contradictions between the metropolitan country and its colonies, the attempts of the latter to resort for the defence of their economy to protectionism, which they "find ... better suited to their interests" (p. 162).

Examining the condition of the British working class, Marx not only disclosed the horrors of unemployment among the cotton workers, but also described the ruthless capitalist exploitation of

the workers, including children, in other branches of industry, and the inhuman working conditions in the baking industry (p. 254). He showed how in Britain, the country of machines and steam, there were branches of industry that had hardly experienced the influence of large-scale industry and in which obsolete techniques and heavy manual labour still predominated. Touching on the contradictory nature of technical progress under capitalism, Marx stressed that one of its positive sides was the supplanting of archaic, semi-artisan forms of production organisation. "The triumph of machine-made bread," he wrote, "will mark a turning point in the history of large-scale industry, the point at which it will storm the hitherto doggedly defended last ditch of medieval artisanship" (p. 255).

Marx drew on various examples to illustrate the disgraceful relics of domination by the landed aristocracy in the social life of England (his article "A Scandal"), and the true essence of bourgeois democracy. In his article "A Suppressed Debate on Mexico and the Alliance with France", he disclosed the voting procedure in the House of Commons, which allowed it not to put to the vote any motion that was "equally irksome to *both* oligarchical factions, the *Ins* and the *Outs* (those in office and those in opposition)..." (p. 223).

In his articles, "Economic Notes", "France's Financial Situation" and others, Marx analysed France's economic plight, revealing the causes of the financial, commercial and agricultural crisis and the growth of corruption; he demonstrated that the Bonapartist regime, with its predatory interference in the economy, was the cause of disruption in French finance and economy (pp. 83-84). In the autumn of 1861 Marx forecast that Napoleon III would seek a way out of his internal difficulties in foreign policy escapades (pp. 62-63, 83-84); the very next year, France took an active part in the punitive expedition against the Mexican Republic. In April 1861, in his article "An International *Affaire* Mirès", Marx explained the participation of France in the military intervention as a necessity for supporting "the gambling operations of certain *rouge-et-noir* politicians" (p. 198), i.e. the direct interest of the financial circles of the Second Empire, to extricate themselves by means of the Mexican escapade from the increasingly critical situation.

During the period covered by this volume, Marx and Engels wrote a number of articles about the struggle for national unity in Germany and in Italy ("German Movements", "A Meeting for Garibaldi", "Garibaldi Meetings.—The Distressed Condition of

Cotton Workers" and others), advocating its pursuit by revolutionary-democratic means. The struggle for unification in Germany and Italy by revolutionary means came up against resistance from reactionary forces in Germany itself, especially in Prussia and Austria, and also against countermeasures by the governments of other European powers, particularly Bonapartist France, which was endeavouring to keep Germany disunited and was actively obstructing the final unification of Italy. In his articles "The Strength of the Armies in Schleswig", "Artillery News from America", "England's Fighting Forces as against Germany", written in connection with the exacerbation of the conflict between Denmark and the German Confederation in 1863-1864, Engels analysed the military aspects of the country's unification from the viewpoint of the revolutionary camp's interests.

Marx and Engels also regarded the Polish national liberation movement as closely associated with that in Germany. Written in connection with the Polish national liberation uprising of 1863-64, the "Proclamation on Poland by the German Workers' Educational Society in London" disclosed the significance of the uprising for the future of Germany.

Marx's work on the theory of political economy is only indirectly represented in this volume in the articles on the economic position of Britain, France and the USA, and also in the manuscript, "Ground Rent". This is evidently a draft plan for one of the lectures on political economy that Marx delivered to the London German Workers' Educational Society at the end of the 1850s and the beginning of the 1860s. In it, Marx treated ground rent as the excess of the market price of the agricultural product over the cost of production. This definition echoes the corresponding formulations of the *Theories of Surplus-Value* (part of the above-mentioned manuscript of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* on which Marx worked from August 1861 to July 1863) and Volume III of *Capital*, which he began writing at the end of summer, 1864.

In addition to the above-mentioned articles on military matters by Engels, the present volume contains his unfinished manuscript "Kinglake on the Battle of the Alma". He attacks the nationalistic tendencies and prejudices typical of bourgeois military historiography, expressed in the exaggerated portrayal of the armed forces of one's own country and in minimising the fighting qualities of the armies of other states. Engels debunked the myth, created by British military writers, about the invincibility of the

British troops during the Crimean War. The ultimate aim of Kinglake's book, writes Engels, was the "glorification, carried to absurdity, of the English army", for the sake of which he filled his work with "embellishments, rodomontades and conjectures" (p. 274).

In his manuscript "The English Army", Engels, discussing the organisation, recruitment and training of the British armed forces, highlighted the conservative features of the British military system. He noted, in particular, the caste spirit prevalent in the officers' corps, the pernicious practice of selling commissions, the archaic forms of recruitment and the barbaric use of corporal punishment for breaches of discipline by the soldiers. Engels concluded that the customs of the British army were typical of the obsolescent régime of a bourgeois-aristocratic oligarchy and testified to the necessity for profound reforms, including radical military changes, in the country's social and political system.

The Appendices to this volume include applications by Marx for the restoration of his Prussian citizenship after the 1861 Amnesty. These steps were taken by him in connection with the rise of the working-class movement and the approaching revolutionary crisis in Germany, so that he could return at the necessary moment to active political work in his homeland. The Berlin Police President rejected Marx's applications (p. 353).

* * *

The volume contains 82 works by Marx and Engels, of which 52 were printed in *Die Presse* and 11 in the *New-York Daily Tribune.* Engels' article "England's Fighting Forces as against Germany" was published in the German *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*, and three more works by Engels, "Artillery News from America", "Kinglake on the Battle of the Alma" and "The English Army", also included in this volume, were intended for the same newspaper. Twenty-eight items are being published in English for the first time. Two items, "German Movements" and "British Commerce", have never been reproduced in English since their publication by the *New-York Daily Tribune.* English publications of individual articles by Marx and Engels in various editions, especially in the collection *The Civil War in the United States*, London, 1937 and New York, 1937, are mentioned in the notes.

Most of the articles in this volume were published unsigned in the *New-York Daily Tribune;* the articles in *Die Presse* were also

published anonymously but, as a rule, with a special note "Orig.-Corr.", "Von unserem Londoner Correspondenten". The authorship of the unsigned articles is confirmed by the correspondence between Marx and Engels, by cross references and also by other documents.

When the articles were in preparation, the dates were checked and most of the sources used by the authors were identified. The results of this work will be found at the end of each article and in the editorial notes. Headings given by the editors of the volume are in square brackets.

Obvious errors discovered in the text, in personal and geographical names, figures, dates and so on, have been silently corrected, by reference to sources used by Marx and Engels. The personal and geographical names in the English texts are reproduced as spelled in the originals, which were checked with 19th-century reference books; in translated articles, the modern spelling is given. The use of English words in the German text is indicated in the footnotes. In quoting from newspapers and other sources, Marx sometimes gives a free rendering rather than the exact words. In this edition quotations are given in the form in which they occur in Marx's text.

The volume was compiled, the greater part of the texts prepared and the preface and notes written by Yevgenia Dakhina. The articles from the *New-York Daily Tribune* were prepared and notes to them written by Alexander Zubkov. The volume was edited by Valentina Smirnova except the articles "Kinglake on the Battle of the Alma", "The English Army" and "England's Fighting Forces as against Germany" which were prepared by Tatyana Vasilyeva and edited by Lev Golman. The name index and the index of periodicals were prepared by Tatyana Nikolayeva; the index of quoted and mentioned literature by Alexander Zubkov and the subject index by Marlen Arzumanov (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The translations were made by Henry Mins (International Publishers), Rodney Livingstone, Peter and Betty Ross and Barrie Selman (Lawrence & Wishart) and Salo Ryazanskaya and Victor Schnittke (Progress Publishers). Items 8, 10, 11, 19, 25-28, 30, 31, 33-35, 37, 40, 42, 46, 50 and 64 were reproduced from the collection *The Civil War in the United States,* International Publishers, N. Y., 1937. Items 6, 7, 15-17, 20, 39, 41, 43-45, 51, 53, 60 and 63 were reproduced from the collection *Marx and Engels on the United States,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979. The translations, including those from the two collections, were

checked with the German and edited for the present edition by James S. Allen (International Publishers), Nicholas Jacobs (Lawrence & Wishart) and Richard Dixon, Glenys Ann Kozlov, Tatiana Grishina and Victor Schnittke (Progress Publishers) and Norire Ter-Akopyan, scientific editor (USSR Academy of Sciences).

The volume was prepared for the press by editors Nadezhda Rudenko, Anna Vladimirova, and assistant editor Tatyana Bannikova.

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## WORKS

January 1861-June 1864

New-York Daily Tribune.

Vol. XX.....No. 6.178. NEW-YORK, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1861. PRICE TWO CENTS.

# Frederick Engels

## GERMAN MOVEMENTS[1]

The year 1861, it appears, has not yet troubles enough to bear. We have our Secessionist Revolution in America; there is the Rebellion in China[2]; the advance of Russia in Eastern and Central Asia; the Eastern question, with its corollaries of the French occupation of Syria and the Suez Canal; the breaking up of Austria, with Hungary in almost open insurrection; the siege of Gaëta,[3] and Garibaldi's promise of liberating Venice on the first of March; and last, but not least, the attempt to restore Marshal MacMahon to his ancestral throne of Ireland.[4] But all this is not enough. We are now promised, besides, a fourth Schleswig-Holstein campaign.[5]

The King of Denmark,[a] in 1851, voluntarily entered into certain obligations to Prussia and Austria with regard to Schleswig.[b] He promised that the Duchy should not be incorporated with Denmark; that its Representative Assembly should remain distinct from that of Denmark; and that both the German and Danish nationalities in Schleswig should receive equal protection. Beside this, so far as regards Holstein, the rights of its Representative Assembly were expressly guaranteed. Upon these conditions, the federal troops which had occupied Holstein were withdrawn.

The Danish Government executed its promises in a most evasive way. In Schleswig, the southern half is exclusively German; in the northern half, all the towns are German, while the country people

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[a] Frederick VII.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederik R., *Proclamation du roi de Danemark relative à l'organisation de la monarchie danoise y compris les Duchés de Schleswig, de Holstein et de Lauenbourg, signée le 28 janvier 1852.*—*Ed.*

speak a corrupted Danish dialect, and the written language, from time immemorial, has almost everywhere been German. By the consent of the population, a process of Germanization has been going on there for centuries; so much so that, with the exception of the most northerly border districts, even that portion of the peasantry who speak a Danish dialect (which is, however, so far distant from the written Danish as to be easily intelligible to the German inhabitants of the South), understand the written High German better than the written Danish language. After 1851, the Government divided the country into a Danish, a German, and a mixed district. In the German district, German; in the Danish district, Danish was to be the exclusive official language of the Government, the courts of law, the pulpit, and the schools. In the mixed districts, both languages were to be equally admissible. This looks fair enough, but the truth is that, in establishing the Danish district, the written Danish language was forced upon a population the great majority of whom did not even understand it, and only desired to be governed, tried, educated, christened, and married in the German language. However, the Government now opened a regular crusade for the weeding out of all traces of Germanism from the district, forbidding even private tuition in families in any other than the Danish language; and sought at the same time, by more indirect means, in the mixed district to give the Danish language the preponderance. The opposition created by these measures was very violent, and an attempt was made to put it down by a series of petty acts of tyranny. In the small town of Eckernförde, for instance, about $4,000 fines were at once inflicted for the crime of unlawfully petitioning the Representative Assembly; and all the parties fined were, as *convicts,* declared to be deprived of their right of voting. Still, the population and the Assembly persisted and now persist in their opposition.

In Holstein, the Danish Government found it impossible to make the Representative Assembly vote any taxes unless they granted concessions in a political and national sense. This they would not do; neither would they do without the revenues of the Duchy. In order, therefore, to manufacture some legal ground on which to levy them, they convoked a Council of the Kingdom, an assembly without any representative character, but supposed to represent Denmark proper, Schleswig-Holstein, and Lauenburg. Although the Holsteiners refused to attend, this body voted the taxes for the whole monarchy, and, based upon this vote, the Government assessed the taxes to be paid in Holstein. Thus Holstein, which was to be an independent and separate Duchy,

was deprived of all political independence, and made subject to an Assembly preeminently Danish.

These are the grounds on which the German press, for five or six years past, have called on the German Governments to employ coercive measures against Denmark. The grounds, in themselves, are certainly good. But the German press—that press which was allowed to exist during the reactionary period after 1849—merely used Schleswig-Holstein as a means of popularity. It was indeed very cheap to hold forth in high indignation against the Danes, when the Governments of Germany allowed it—those Governments which at home tried to emulate Denmark in petty tyranny. War against Denmark was the cry when the Crimean war broke out. War against Denmark again, when Louis Napoleon invaded Austrian Italy. Now, then, they will have it all their own way. The "new era" in Prussia,[6] hitherto so coy when called upon by the liberal press, in this instance chimes in with it. The new King of Prussia proclaims to the world that he must bring this old complaint to a settlement;[a] the decrepit Diet at Frankfort puts all its clumsy machinery in motion for the salvation of German nationality,[b] and the liberal press—triumphs? No such thing. The liberal press, now at once put to the test, eats its words, cries out, Caution! discovers that Germany has no fleet wherewith to fight the ships of a naval power, and, especially in Prussia, shows all the symptoms of cowardice. What a few months ago was an urgent patriotic duty, is now all of a sudden an Austrian intrigue, which Prussia is warned not to give way to.

That the German Governments, in their sudden enthusiasm for the cause of Schleswig-Holstein, are in the least sincere, is, of course, out of the question. As the Danish *Dagbladet* says:

> "We all know that it is one of the old tricks of the German Governments to take up the Schleswig-Holstein question as soon as they feel themselves to be in want of a little popularity, and to cover their own manifold sins by drawing bills upon the fanaticism against Denmark."

This has been decidedly the case in Saxony, and to a certain extent it is now the case in Prussia. But in Prussia the sudden starting of this question also signifies, evidently, an alliance with Austria. The Prussian Government behold Austria breaking to pieces from within, while she is menaced from without by a war

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[a] William I [Speech to the Chambers, January 14, 1861], *The Times*, No. 23832, January 17, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] A report on the subject appeared under the heading "Frankfort-on-the-Main, Thursday", *The Times*, No. 23833, January 18, 1861.—*Ed.*

with Italy. It certainly is not the interest of the Prussian Government to see Austria annihilated. At the same time, the Italian war, to which Louis Napoleon would not long remain an impartial spectator, would scarcely again come off without touching the territory of the German Confederation, in which case Prussia is bound to interfere. Then the war with France on the Rhine would certainly be combined with a Danish war on the Eider; and while the Prussian Government cannot afford to have Austria broken down, why wait till Austria is again defeated? Why not engage in the quarrel of Schleswig-Holstein, and thereby interest in the war all North Germany which would not fight for the defence of Venetia? If this be the reasoning of the Prussian Government, it is logical enough, but it was quite as logical in 1859, before Austria was weakened by Magenta and Solferino,[7] and by her internal convulsions. Why was it not then acted upon?

It is not at all certain that this great war will come off next Spring. But if it does come off, although neither party deserves any sympathy, it must have this result, that whichsoever be beaten in the beginning, there will be a revolution. If Louis Napoleon be defeated, his throne is sure to fall; and if the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria[a] be worsted, they will have to give way before a German revolution.

Written on January 23, 1861

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6178, February 12, 1861 as a leader

[a] Francis Joseph.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE AMERICAN QUESTION IN ENGLAND

London, Sept. 18, 1861

Mrs. Beecher Stowe's letter to Lord Shaftesbury,[8] whatever its intrinsic merit may be, has done a great deal of good, by forcing the anti-Northern organs of the London press to speak out and lay before the general public the ostensible reasons for their hostile tone against the North, and their ill-concealed sympathies with the South, which looks rather strange on the part of people affecting an utter horror of Slavery. Their first and main grievance is that the present American war is "not one for the abolition of Slavery," and that, therefore, the high-minded Britisher, used to undertake wars of his own, and interest himself in other people's wars only on the basis of "broad humanitarian principles," cannot be expected to feel any sympathy with his Northern cousins.

"In the first place [...]," says *The Economist*, "the assumption that the quarrel between the North and South is a quarrel between Negro freedom on the one side and Negro Slavery on the other, is as impudent as it is untrue."[a] "The North," says *The Saturday Review*, "does not proclaim abolition, and never pretended to fight for Anti-Slavery. The North has not hoisted for its *oriflamme* the sacred symbol of justice to the Negro; its *cri de guerre*[b] is not unconditional abolition."[c] "If," says *The Examiner*, "we have been deceived about the real significance of the sublime movement, who but the Federalists themselves have to answer for the deception?"[d]

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[a] "American Complaints against England", *The Economist*, No. 942, September 14, 1861.— *Ed.*

[b] War-cry.— *Ed.*

[c] "Mrs. Beecher Stowe's Wounded Feelings", *The Saturday Review*, No. 307, September 14, 1861.— *Ed.*

[d] "Mrs. Stowe on the American War", *The Examiner*, No. 2798, September 14, 1861.— *Ed.*

Now, in the first instance, the premiss must be conceded. The war has not been undertaken with a view to put down Slavery, and the United States authorities themselves have taken the greatest pains to protest against any such idea. But then, it ought to be remembered that it was not the North, but the South, which undertook this war; the former acting only on the defense. If it be true that the North, after long hesitations, and an exhibition of forbearance unknown in the annals of European history, drew at last the sword, not for crushing Slavery, but for saving the Union, the South, on its part, inaugurated the war by loudly proclaiming "the peculiar institution" as the only and main end of the rebellion. It confessed to fight for the liberty of enslaving other people, a liberty which, despite the Northern protests, it asserted to be put in danger by the victory of the Republican party[9] and the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidential chair. The Confederate Congress boasted that its new-fangled constitution,[10] as distinguished from the Constitution of the Washingtons, Jeffersons, and Adams's,[11] had recognized for the first time Slavery as a thing good in itself, a bulwark of civilization, and a divine institution.[a] If the North professed to fight but for the Union, the South gloried in rebellion for the supremacy of Slavery. If Anti-Slavery and idealistic England felt not attracted by the profession of the North, how came it to pass that it was not violently repulsed by the cynical confessions of the South?

*The Saturday Review* helps itself out of this ugly dilemma by disbelieving the declarations of the seceders themselves. It sees deeper than this, and discovers *"that Slavery had very little to do with Secession;"* the declarations of Jeff. Davis and company to the contrary being mere "conventionalisms" with "about as much meaning as the conventionalisms about violated altars and desecrated hearths, which always occur in such proclamations."

The staple of argument on the part of the anti-Northern papers is very scanty, and throughout all of them we find almost the same sentences recurring, like the formulas of a mathematical series, at certain intervals, with very little art of variation or combination.

"Why," exclaims *The Economist,* "it is only yesterday, when the Secession movement first gained serious head, on the first announcement of Mr. Lincoln's election, that the Northerners offered to the South, if they would remain in the Union, every conceivable security for the performance and inviolability of the obnoxious institution—that they disavowed in the most solemn manner all

[a] Marx is giving the burden of the speech A. H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederacy, made at a meeting in Savannah on March 21, 1861.—*Ed.*

intention of interfering with it—that their leaders proposed compromise after compromise in Congress, all based upon the concession that Slavery should not be meddled with." "How happens it," says *The Examiner,* "that the North was ready to compromise matters by the largest concessions to the South as to Slavery? How was it that a certain geographical line was proposed in Congress within which Slavery was to be recognized as an essential institution? The Southern States were not content with this."

What *The Economist* and *The Examiner* had to ask was not only why the Crittenden[12] and other compromise measures were *proposed* in Congress, but why they were not *passed*? They affect to consider those compromise proposals as accepted by the North and rejected by the South, while, in point of fact, they were baffled by the Northern party, that had carried the Lincoln election. Proposals never matured into resolutions, but always remaining in the embryo state of *pia desideria,*[a] the South had of course never any occasion either of rejecting or acquiescing in. We come nearer to the pith of the question by the following remark of *The Examiner:*

"Mrs. Stowe says: 'The Slave party, finding they could no longer use the Union for their purposes, resolved to destroy it.' There is here an admission that up to that time the Slave party had used the Union for their purposes, and it would have been well if Mrs. Stowe could have distinctly shown where it was that the North began to make its stand against Slavery."

One might suppose that *The Examiner* and the other oracles of public opinion in England had made themselves sufficiently familiar with the contemporaneous history to not need Mrs. Stowe's information on such all-important points. The progressive abuse of the Union by the slave power, working through its alliance with the Northern Democratic party,[13] is, so to say, the general formula of the United States history since the beginning of this century. The successive compromise measures mark the successive degrees of the encroachment by which the Union became more and more transformed into the slave of the slave-owner. Each of these compromises denotes a new encroachment of the South, a new concession of the North. At the same time none of the successive victories of the South was carried but after a hot contest with an antagonistic force in the North, appearing under different party names with different watchwords and under different colors. If the positive and final result of each single contest told in favor of the South, the attentive observer of history could not but see that every new advance of the slave

[a] Pious wishes.—*Ed.*

power was a step forward to its ultimate defeat. Even at the times of the Missouri Compromise the contending forces were so evenly balanced that Jefferson, as we see from his memoirs,[a] apprehended the Union to be in danger of splitting on that deadly antagonism.[14] The encroachments of the slaveholding power reached their maximum point, when, by the Kansas-Nebraska bill,[15] for the first time in the history of the United States, as Mr. Douglas himself confessed, every legal barrier to the diffusion of Slavery within the United States territories was broken down, when, afterward, a Northern candidate bought his Presidential nomination by pledging the Union to conquer or purchase in Cuba a new field of dominion for the slaveholder[16]; when, later on, by the Dred Scott decision,[17] diffusion of Slavery by the Federal power was proclaimed as the law of the American Constitution, and lastly, when the African slave-trade was de facto reopened on a larger scale than during the times of its legal existence. But, concurrently with this climax of Southern encroachments, carried by the connivance of the Northern Democratic party, there were unmistakable signs of Northern antagonistic agencies having gathered such strength as must soon turn the balance of power. The Kansas war,[18] the formation of the Republican party, and the large vote cast for Mr. Frémont during the Presidential election of 1856,[19] were so many palpable proofs that the North had accumulated sufficient energies to rectify the aberrations which United States history, under the slaveowners' pressure, had undergone, for half a century, and to make it return to the true principles of its development. Apart from those political phenomena, there was one broad statistical and economical fact indicating that the abuse of the Federal Union by the slave interest had approached the point from which it would have to recede forcibly, or *de bonne grace*.[b] That fact was the growth of the North-West, the immense strides its population had made from 1850 to 1860, and the new and reinvigorating influence it could not but bear on the destinies of the United States.

Now, was all this a secret chapter of history? Was "the *admission*" of Mrs. Beecher Stowe wanted to reveal to *The Examiner* and the other political illuminati[20] of the London press the carefully hidden truth that "up to that time the Slave party had used the Union for their purposes?" Is it the fault of the

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[a] Th. Jefferson, *Memoirs, Correspondence, and Private Papers...*, Vol. IV, London, 1829, p. 333.—*Ed.*

[b] Of its own accord.—*Ed.*

American North that the English pressmen were taken quite unawares by the violent clash of the antagonistic forces, the friction of which was the moving power of its history for half a century? Is it the fault of the Americans that the English press mistake for the fanciful crotchet hatched in a single day what was in reality the matured result of long years of struggle? The very fact that the formation and the progress of the Republican party in America have hardly been noticed by the London press, speaks volumes as to the hollowness of its Anti-Slavery tirades. Take, for instance, the two antipodes of the London press, *The London Times* and *Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper,* the one the great organ of the respectable classes, and the other the only remaining organ of the working class. The former, not long before Mr. Buchanan's career drew to an end, published an elaborate apology for his Administration and a defamatory libel against the Republican movement. Reynolds, on his part, was, during Mr. Buchanan's stay at London,[a] one of his minions, and since that time never missed an occasion to write him up and to write his adversaries down. How did it come to pass that the Republican party, whose platform[b] was drawn up on the avowed antagonism to the encroachments of the Slaveocracy and the abuse of the Union by the slave interest, carried the day in the North? How, in the second instance, did it come to pass that the great bulk of the Northern Democratic party, flinging aside its old connexions with the leaders of Slaveocracy, setting at naught its traditions of half a century, sacrificing great commercial interests and greater political prejudices, rushed to the support of the present Republican Administration and offered it men and money with an unsparing hand?

Instead of answering these questions *The Economist* exclaims:

> "Can we forget [...] that Abolitionists have habitually been as ferociously persecuted and maltreated in the North and West as in the South? Can it be denied that the testiness and half-heartedness, not to say insincerity, of the Government at Washington, have for years supplied the chief impediment which has thwarted our efforts for the effectual suppression of the slave trade on the coast of Africa; while a vast proportion of the clippers actually engaged in that trade have been built with Northern capital, owned by Northern merchants and manned by Northern seamen?"

This is, in fact, a masterly piece of logic. Anti-Slavery England cannot sympathize with the North breaking down the withering

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[a] As US Minister to London in 1853-56.—*Ed.*

[b] The election platform of the Republicans was published in the article "The Platform" in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5950, May 19, 1860.—*Ed.*

influence of slaveocracy, because she cannot forget that the North, while bound by that influence, supported the slave-trade, mobbed the Abolitionists, and had its Democratic institutions tainted by the slavedriver's prejudices. She cannot sympathize with Mr. Lincoln's Administration, because she had to find fault with Mr. Buchanan's Administration. She must needs sullenly cavil at the present movement of the Northern resurrection, cheer up the Northern sympathizers with the slave-trade, branded in the Republican platform, and coquet with the Southern slaveocracy, setting up an empire of its own, because she cannot forget that the North of yesterday was not the North of to-day. The necessity of justifying its attitude by such pettifogging Old Bailey[21] pleas proves more than anything else that the anti-Northern part of the English press is instigated by hidden motives, too mean and dastardly to be openly avowed.

As it is one of its pet maneuvers to taunt the present Republican Administration with the doings of its Pro-Slavery predecessors, so it tries hard to persuade the English people that *The N. Y. Herald* ought to be considered the only authentic expositor of Northern opinion. *The London Times* having given out the cue in this direction, the *servum pecus*[a] of the other anti-Northern organs, great and small, persist in beating the same bush. So says *The Economist:*

> "In the height of the strife, New-York papers and New-York politicians were not wanting who exhorted the combatants, now that they had large armies in the field, to employ them, not against each other, but against Great Britain—to compromise the internal quarrel, the slave question included, and invade the British territory without notice and with overwhelming force."

*The Economist* knows perfectly well that *The N. Y. Herald's* efforts, which were eagerly supported by *The London Times,* at embroiling the United States into a war with England,[b] only intended securing the success of Secession and thwarting the movement of Northern regeneration.

Still there is one concession made by the anti-Northern English press. *The Saturday* snob tells us:

> "What was at issue in Lincoln's election, and what has precipitated the convulsion, was *merely the limitation of the institution of Slavery to States where that institution already exists.*"

And *The Economist* remarks:

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[a] Crowd of slaves.—*Ed.*

[b] "Southampton, Friday", *The Times,* No. 24032, September 7, 1861.—*Ed.*

"It is true enough that it was the aim of the Republican party which elected Mr. Lincoln to prevent Slavery from spreading into the unsettled Territories.... It may be true that the success of the North, if complete and unconditional, would enable them to confine Slavery within the fifteen States which have already adopted it, and might thus lead to its eventual extinction—though this is rather probable than certain."

In 1859, on the occasion of John Brown's Harper's Ferry expedition,[22] the very same *Economist* published a series of elaborate articles with a view to prove that, by dint of an *economical law,* American Slavery was doomed to gradual extinction from the moment it should be deprived of its power of expansion.[a] That "economical law" was perfectly understood by the Slaveocracy.

"In 15 years more," said Toombs "without a great increase in Slave territory, either the slaves must be permitted to flee from the whites, or the whites must flee from the slaves."

The limitation of Slavery to its constitutional area, as proclaimed by the Republicans, was the distinct ground upon which the menace of Secession was first uttered in the House of Representatives on December 19, 1859. Mr. Singleton (Mississippi) having asked Mr. Curtis (Iowa), "if the Republican party would never let the South have another foot of slave territory while it remained in the Union," and Mr. Curtis having responded in the affirmative, Mr. Singleton *said this would dissolve the Union.* His advice to Mississippi was the sooner it got out of the Union the better—"gentlemen should recollect that [...] Jefferson Davis led our forces in Mexico, and [...] still he lives, perhaps to lead the Southern army."[b] Quite apart from the *economical law* which makes the diffusion of Slavery a vital condition for its maintenance within its constitutional areas, the leaders of the South had never deceived themselves as to its necessity for keeping up their *political* sway over the United States. *John Calhoun,* in the defense of his propositions to the Senate, stated distinctly on Feb. 19, 1847, "that the Senate was the only balance of power left to the South in the Government," and that the creation of new Slave States had become necessary "for the retention of the equipoise of power in the Senate."[c] Moreover, the Oligarchy of the 300,000

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[a] "Harper's Ferry", "The Impending Crisis in the Southern States of America", "English Sympathy with the Slavery Party in America", *The Economist,* Nos. 845, 852, 853, November 5, December 24, 31, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] O. Singleton [Speech in the House of Representatives on December 19, 1859], *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5822, December 20, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] J. C. Calhoun [Speech in the Senate on February 19, 1847], *Congressional Globe: New Series: Containing Sketches of the Debates and Proceedings of the Second Session of Twenty-Ninth Congress,* Washington, 1847.—*Ed.*

slave-owners could not even maintain their sway at home save by constantly throwing out to their white plebeians the bait of prospective conquests within and without the frontiers of the United States. If, then, according to the oracles of the English press, the North had arrived at the fixed resolution of circumscribing Slavery within its present limits, and of thus extinguishing it in a constitutional way, was this not sufficient to enlist the sympathies of Anti-Slavery England?

But the English Puritans seem indeed not to be contented save by an explicit Abolitionist war.

"This," says *The Economist* "therefore, not being a war for the emancipation of the Negro race, [...] on what other ground can we be fairly called upon to sympathize so warmly with the Federal cause?" "There was a time," says *The Examiner,* "when our sympathies were with the North, thinking that it was really in earnest in making a stand against the encroachments of the Slave States," and in adopting "emancipation as a measure of justice to the black race."

However, in the very same numbers in which these papers tell us that they cannot sympathize with the North because its war is no Abolitionist war, we are informed that "the desperate expedient of proclaiming Negro emancipation and summoning the slaves to a general insurrection," is a thing "the mere conception of which [...] is repulsive and dreadful," and that "a compromise" would be "far preferable to success purchased at such a cost and *stained by such a crime.*"[a]

Thus the English eagerness for the Abolitionist war is all cant. The cloven foot peeps out in the following sentences:

"Lastly, [...]" says *The Economist,* "is the *Morrill Tariff,*[23] a title to our gratitude and to our sympathy, or is the certainty that, in case of Northern triumph, that Tariff should be extended over the whole Republic, a reason why we ought to be clamorously anxious for their success?" "The North Americans," says *The Examiner,* "are in earnest about nothing but a selfish protective Tariff. The Southern States were tired of being robbed of the fruits of their slave-labor by the protective tariff of the North."

*The Examiner* and *The Economist* comment each other. The latter is honest enough to confess at last that with him and his followers sympathy is a mere question of tariff, while the former reduces the war between North and South to a tariff war, to a war between Protection and Free-Trade. *The Examiner* is perhaps not aware that even the South Carolina Nullifiers of 1832,[24] as Gen. Jackson testifies, used Protection only as a pretext for secession;[b]

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[a] "The Probable Continuance of the American Conflict", *The Economist,* No. 941, September 7, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] *President Jackson's proclamation against the Nullification Ordinance of South Carolina,* December 11, 1832.—*Ed.*

but even *The Examiner* ought to know that the present rebellion did not wait upon the passing of the Morrill tariff for breaking out. In point of fact, the Southerners could not have been tired of being robbed of the fruits of their slave labor by the Protective tariff of the North, considering that from 1846-1861 a Free-Trade tariff had obtained.

*The Spectator* characterizes in its last number the secret thought of some of the Anti-Northern organs in the following striking manner:

"What, then, do the Anti-Northern organs really profess to think desirable, under the justification of this plea of deferring to the inexorable logic of facts?" They argue that disunion is desirable, just because, as we have said, it is the only possible step to a conclusion of this "causeless and fratricidal strife;" and next, of course, only as an afterthought, and as an humble apology for Providence and "justification of the ways of God to man," now that the inevitable necessity stands revealed—for further reasons discovered as beautiful adaptations to the moral exigencies of the country, when once the issue is discerned. It is discovered that it will be very much for the advantage of the States to be dissolved into rival groups. They will mutually check each other's ambition; they will neutralize each other's power, and if ever England should get into a dispute with one or more of them, more jealousy will bring the antagonistic groups to our aid. This will be, it is urged, a very wholesome state of things, for it will relieve us from anxiety and it will encourage political 'competition,' that great safeguard of honesty and purity, among the States themselves.

"Such is the case—very gravely urged—of the numerous class of Southern sympathizers now springing up among us. Translated into English—and we grieve that an English argument on such a subject should be of a nature that requires translating—it means that we deplore the present great scale of this "fratricidal" war, because it may concentrate in one fearful spasm a series of chronic petty wars and passions and jealousies among groups of rival States in times to come. The real truth is, and this very un-English feeling distinctly discerns this truth, though it cloaks it in decent phrases, that rival groups of American States could not live together in peace or harmony. The chronic condition would be one of malignant hostility rising out of the very causes which have produced the present contest. It is asserted that the different groups of States have different tariff interests. These different tariff interests would be the sources of constant petty wars if the States were once dissolved, and Slavery, the root of all the strife, would be the spring of innumerable animosities, discords and campaigns. No stable equilibrium could ever again be established among the rival States. And yet it is maintained that this long future of incessant strife is the providential solution of the great question now at issue—the only real reason why it is looked upon favorably being this, that whereas the present great-scale conflict may issue in a restored and stronger political unity, the alternative of infinitely multiplied small-scale quarrels will issue in a weak and divided continent, that England cannot fear.

"Now we do not deny that the Americans themselves sowed the seeds of this petty and contemptible state of feeling by the unfriendly and bullying attitude they have so often manifested to England, but we do say that the state of feeling on our part is petty and contemptible. We see that in a deferred issue there is no hope of a deep and enduring tranquillity for America, that it means a decline and fall of the American nation into quarrelsome clans and tribes, and yet we hold up our

hands in horror at the present "fratricidal" strife because it holds out hopes of finality. We exhort them to look favorably on the indefinite future of small strifes, equally fratricidal and probably far more demoralizing, because the latter would draw out of our side the thorn of American rivalry."

Written on September 18, 1861

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Reproduced from the *New-York Daily Tribune*

# Karl Marx

## THE BRITISH COTTON TRADE[25]

London, Sept. 21, 1861

The continual rise in the prices of raw cotton begins at last to seriously react upon the cotton factories, their consumption of cotton being now 25 per cent less than the full consumption. This result has been brought about by a daily lessening rate of production, many mills working only four or three days per week, part of the machinery being stopped, both in those establishments where short time has been commenced and in those which are still running full time, and some mills being temporarily altogether closed. In some places, as at Blackburn, for instance, short time has been coupled with a reduction of wages. However, the short-time movement is only in its incipient state, and we may predict with perfect security that some weeks later the trade will have generally resorted to three days working per week, concurrently with a large stoppage of machinery in most establishments. On the whole, English manufacturers and merchants were extremely slow and reluctant in acknowledging the awkward position of their cotton supplies.

"The whole of the last American crop," they said, "has long since been forwarded to Europe. The picking of the new crop has barely commenced. Not a bale of cotton could have reached us more than has reached us, even if the war and the blockade[26] had never been heard of. The shipping season does not commence till far in November, and it is usually the end of December before any large exportations take place. Till then, it is of little consequence whether the cotton is retained on the plantations or is forwarded to the ports as fast as it is bagged. If the blockade ceases any time *before the end of this year,* the probability is that by March or April we shall have received just as full a supply of cotton as if the blockade had never been declared."[a]

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[a] "The Probable Continuance of the American Conflict", *The Economist,* No. 941, September 7, 1861.—*Ed.*

In the innermost recesses of the mercantile mind the notion was cherished that the whole American crisis, and, consequently, the blockade, would have ceased before the end of the year, or that Lord Palmerston would forcibly break through the blockade. The latter idea has been altogether abandoned, since, beside all other circumstances, Manchester became aware that two vast interests, the monetary interest having sunk an immense capital in the industrial enterprises of Northern America, and the corn trade, relying on Northern America as its principal source of supply, would combine to check any unprovoked aggression on the part of the British Government. The hopes of the blockade being raised in due time, for the requirements of Liverpool or Manchester, or the American war being wound up by a compromise with the Secessionists, have given way before a feature hitherto unknown in the English cotton market, viz., American operations in cotton at Liverpool, partly on speculation, partly for reshipment to America. Consequently, for the last two weeks the Liverpool cotton market has been feverishly excited, the speculative investments in cotton on the part of the Liverpool merchants being backed by speculative investments on the part of the Manchester and other manufacturers eager to provide themselves with stocks of raw material for the Winter. The extent of the latter transactions is sufficiently shown by the fact that a considerable portion of the spare warehouse room in Manchester is already occupied by such stocks, and that throughout the week beginning with Sept. 15 and ending with Sept. 22, Middling Americans had increased 3/8d. per lb, and fair ones 5/8d.

From the outbreak of the American war the prices of cotton were steadily rising, but the ruinous disproportion between the prices of the raw material and the prices of yarns and cloth was not declared until the last weeks of August. Till then, any serious decline in the prices of cotton manufactures, which might have been anticipated from the considerable decrease of the American demand, had been balanced by an accumulation of stocks in first hands, and by speculative consignments to China and India. Those Asiatic markets, however, were soon overdone.

"Stocks," says *The Calcutta Price Current* of Aug. 7, 1861, "are accumulating, the arrivals since our last being no less than 24,000,000 yards of plain cottons. Home advices show a continuation of shipments in excess of our requirements, and so long as this is the case, improvement cannot be looked for.... The Bombay market, also, has been greatly oversupplied."

Some other circumstances contributed to contract the Indian market. The late famine in the north-western provinces has been

succeeded by the ravages of the cholera, while throughout Lower Bengal an excessive fall of rain, laying the country under water, seriously damaged the rice crops. In letters from Calcutta, which reached England last week, sales were reported giving a net return of $9^1/_4$d. per pound for 40s twist, which cannot be bought at Manchester for less than $11^3/_8$d., while sales of 40-inch shirtings, compared with present rates at Manchester, yield losses at $7^1/_2$d., 9d., and 12d. per piece. In the China market, prices were also forced down by the accumulation of the stocks imported. Under these circumstances, the demand for the British cotton manufactures decreasing, their prices can, of course, not keep pace with the progressive rise in the price of the raw material; but, on the contrary, the spinning, weaving, and printing of cotton must, in many instances, cease to pay the costs of production. Take, as an example, the following case, stated by one of the greatest Manchester manufacturers, in reference to coarse spinning:

| | Per lb. | Margin. | Cost of spinning per lb |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Sept.* 17, 1860. | | | |
| Cost of cotton ..... | $6^1/_4$d. | 4d. | 3d. |
| 16s warp sold for ..... | $10^1/_4$d. | .. | .. |
| Profit, ld. per lb. | | | |
| *Sept.* 17, 1861. | | | |
| Cost of cotton ..... | 9d. | 2d. | $3^1/_2$d. |
| 16s warp sold for ..... | 11 | .. | .. |
| Loss, $1^1/_2$d. per lb. | | | |

The consumption of Indian cotton is rapidly growing, and with a further rise in prices, the Indian supply will come forward at increasing ratios; but still it remains impossible to change, at a few months' notice, all the conditions of production and turn the current of commerce. England pays now, in fact, the penalty for her protracted misrule of that vast Indian empire. The two main obstacles she has now to grapple with in her attempts at supplanting American cotton by Indian cotton, is the want of means of communication and transport throughout India, and the miserable state of the Indian peasant, disabling him from improving favorable circumstances. Both these difficulties the English have themselves to thank for. English modern industry, in general, relied upon two pivots equally monstrous. The one was the *potato* as the only means of feeding Ireland and a great part of

the English working class. This pivot was swept away by the potato disease and the subsequent Irish catastrophe.[27] A larger basis for the reproduction and maintenance of the toiling millions had then to be adopted. The second pivot of English industry was the slave-grown cotton of the United States. The present American crisis forces them to enlarge their field of supply and emancipate cotton from slave-breeding and slave-consuming oligarchies. As long as the English cotton manufactures depended on slave-grown cotton, it could be truthfully asserted that they rested on a twofold slavery, the indirect slavery of the white man in England and the direct slavery of the black men on the other side of the Atlantic.

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# Karl Marx

## THE LONDON *TIMES* AND LORD PALMERSTON[28]

London, Oct. 5, 1861

"English people participate in the government of their own country by reading *The Times* newspaper." This judgment, passed by an eminent English author[a] on what is called British self-government, is only true so far as the foreign policy of the Kingdom is concerned. As to measures of domestic reform, they were never carried by the support of *The Times,* but *The Times* never ceased attacking and opposing them until after it had become aware of its utter inability to any longer check their progress. Take, for instance, the Catholic Emancipation, the Reform bill, the abolition of the Corn laws, the Stamp Tax, and the Paper Duty.[29] When victory had unmistakably declared on the side of the Reformers, *The Times* wheeled round, deserted the reactionary camp, and managed to find itself, at the decisive moment, on the winning side. In all these instances, *The Times* gave not the direction to public opinion, but submitted to it, ungraciously, reluctantly, and after protracted, but frustrated, attempts at rolling back the surging waves of popular progress. Its real influence on the public mind is, therefore, confined to the field of foreign policy. In no part of Europe are the mass of the people, and especially of the middle-classes, more utterly ignorant of the foreign policy of their own country than in England, an ignorance springing from two great sources. On the one hand, since the glorious Revolution of 1688,[30] the aristocracy has always monopolized the direction of foreign affairs in England. On the

[a] R. Lowe, "The Part of *The Times* in the Government of the Country", *The Free Press,* No. 8, August 7, 1861.—*Ed.*

other hand, the progressive division of labor has, to a certain extent, emasculated the general intellect of the middle-class men by the circumscription of all their energies and mental faculties within the narrow spheres of their mercantile, industrial and professional concerns. Thus it happened that, while the aristocracy *acted* for them, the press *thought* for them in their foreign or international affairs; and both parties, the aristocracy and the press, very soon found out that it would be their mutual interest to combine. One has only to open Cobbett's Political Register to convince himself that, since the beginning of this century, the great London papers have constantly played the part of attorneys to the heaven-born managers of English foreign policy. Still, there were some intermediate periods to be run through before the present state of things had been brought about. The aristocracy, that had monopolized the management of foreign affairs, first shrunk together into an oligarchy, represented by a secret conclave, called the cabinet, and, later on, the cabinet was superseded by one single man, Lord Palmerston, who, for the last thirty years, has usurped the absolute power of wielding the national forces of the British Empire, and determining the line of its Foreign Policy. Concurrently with this usurpation, by the law of concentration, acting in the field of newspaper-mongering still more rapidly than in the field of cotton-spinning, *The London Times* had attained the position of being the national paper of England, that is to say, of representing the English mind to Foreign nations. If the monopoly of managing the Foreign affairs of the nation had passed from the aristocracy to an oligarchic conclave, and from an oligarchic conclave to one single man, *the* Foreign Minister of England, viz: Lord Palmerston, the monopoly of thinking and judging for the nation, on its own Foreign relations, and representing the public mind in regard to these relations, had passed from the press to one organ of the press, to *The Times.* Lord Palmerston, who secretly and from motives unknown to the people at large, to Parliament and even to his own colleagues, managed the Foreign affairs of the British Empire, must have been very stupid if he had not tried to possess himself of the one paper which had usurped the power of passing public judgment in the name of the English people on his own secret doings. *The Times,* in whose vocabulary the word virtue was never to be found, must, on its side, have boasted more than Spartan virtue not to ally itself with the absolute ruler in fact of the national power of the Empire. Hence, since the French *coup d'état,*[a]

[a] The reference is to the *coup d'état* in France on December 2, 1851.—*Ed.*

when the Government by faction was in England superseded by the Government by the coalition of factions,[31] and Palmerston, therefore, found no longer rivals endangering his usurpation, *The Times* became his mere slave. He had taken care to smuggle some of its virtue into the subordinate posts of the cabinet, and to cajole others by their admission into his social circle.[32] Since that time, the whole business of *The Times,* so far as the foreign affairs of the British Empire are concerned, is limited to manufacturing a public opinion to conform to Lord Palmerston's Foreign policy. It has to prepare the public mind for what he intends doing, and to make it acquiesce in what he has done.

The slavish drudgery which, in fulfilling this work, it has to undergo, was best exemplified during the last session of Parliament. That session proved anything but favorable to Lord Palmerston. Some independent members of the H. of C., Liberals and Conservatives, rebelled against his usurped dictatorship, and, by an exposure of his past misdeeds, tried to awaken the nation to a sense of the danger of continuing the same uncontrolled power in the same hands. Mr. Dunlop, opening the attack by a motion for a Select Committee on the Afghan Papers,[a] which Palmerston had laid on the table of the House in 1839, proved that Palmerston had actually forged these papers.[33] *The Times,* in its Parliamentary report, suppressed all the passages of Mr. Dunlop's speech which it considered most damaging to its master. Later on, Lord Montagu, in a motion for the publication of all papers relating to the Danish Treaty of 1852, accused Palmerston of having been the principal in the maneuvers intended to alter the Danish succession in the interest of a foreign power,[34] and of having misled the House of Commons by deliberate misstatements.[b] Palmerston, however, had come to a previous understanding with Mr. Disraeli to baffle Lord Montagu's motion by a count-out of the House, which in fact put a stop to the whole proceeding. Still, Lord Montagu's speech had lasted one hour and a half before it was cut off by the count-out. *The Times* having been informed by Palmerston that the count-out was to take place, its editor specially charged with the task of mutilating and cooking the Parliamentary reports had given himself a holiday, and thus

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[a] A. M. Dunlop's speech in the House of Commons on March 19, 1861, *The Times,* No. 23885, March 20, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] R. Montagu's speech in the House of Commons on June 18, 1861, *The Times,* No. 23963, June 19, 1861.—*Ed.*

Lord Montagu's speech appeared unmutilated in *The Times's* columns. When, on the following morning, the mistake was discovered, a leader was prepared telling John Bull that the count-out was an ingenious institution for suppressing bores, that Lord Montagu was a regular bore, and that the business of the nation could not be carried on if Parliamentary bores were not disposed of in the most unceremonious way.[a] Again Palmerston stood on his trial last session, when Mr. Hennessy moved for a production of the Foreign office dispatches during the Polish revolution of 1831.[b] Again *The Times* recurred, as in the case of Mr. Dunlop's motion, to the simple process of suppression. Its report of Mr. Hennessy's speech is quite an edition *in usum delphini.*[35] If one considers how much painstaking it must cause to run through the immense Parliamentary reports the same night they are forwarded to the newspaper office from the House of Commons, and in the same night mutilate, alter, falsify them so as not to tell against Palmerston's political purity, one must concede that whatever emoluments and advantages *The Times* may reap from its subserviency to the noble Viscount, its task is no pleasant one.

If, then, *The Times* is able by misstatement and suppression thus to falsify public opinion in regard to events that happened but yesterday in the British House of Commons, its power of misstatement and suppression in regard to events occurring on a distant soil, as in the case of the American war, must, of course, be unbounded. If in treating of American affairs it has strained all its forces to exasperate the mutual feelings of the British and Americans, it did not do so from any sympathy with the British Cotton Lords nor out of regard for any real or supposed English interest. It simply executed the orders of its master. From the altered tone of *The London Times* during the past week, we may, therefore, infer that Lord Palmerston is about to recede from the extremely hostile attitude he had assumed till now against the United States. In one of its to-day leaders, *The Times,* which for months had exalted the aggressive powers of the Secessionists, and expatiated upon the inability of the United States to cope with them, feels quite sure of the military superiority of the North.[c] That this change of tone is dictated by the master, becomes quite

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[a] "We are at last enjoying...", *The Times,* No. 23963, June 19, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] J. P. Hennessy's speech in the House of Commons on July 2, 1861, *The Times,* No. 23975, July 3, 1861.—*Ed.*

[c] "The time is now approaching...", *The Times,* No. 24056, October 5, 1861.—*Ed.*

evident from the circumstance that other influential papers, known to be connected with Palmerston, have simultaneously veered round. One of them, *The Economist,* gives rather a broad hint to the public-opinion-mongers that the time has come for "carefully watching" their pretended "feelings toward the United States."[a] The passage in *The Economist* which I allude to, and which I think worth quoting as a proof of the new orders received by Palmerston's pressmen, runs thus:

"On one point we frankly avow that the Northerners have a right to complain, and on one point also we are bound to be more upon our guard than perhaps we have uniformly been. Our leading journals have been too ready to quote and resent as embodying the sentiments and representing the position of the United States, newspapers notorious at all times for their disreputable character and feeble influence, and now more than suspected of being Secessionists at heart, of sailing under false colors, and professing extreme Northern opinions while writing in the interests and probably the pay of the South. Few Englishmen can, for example, with any decent fairness, pretend to regard *The N. Y. Herald* as representing either the character or views of the Northern section of the Republic. Again: we ought to be very careful lest our just criticism of the Unionists should degenerate by insensible gradation into approval and defense of the Secessionists. The tendency in all ordinary minds to *partisanship* is very strong. [...] Now, however warmly we may resent much of the conduct and the language of the North, [...] we must never forget that the Secession of the South was forced on with designs and inaugurated with proceedings which have our heartiest and most rooted disapprobation. We, of course, must condemn the protective tariff of the Union as an oppressive and benighted folly. [...] Of course, we reciprocate the wish of the South for low duties and unfettered trade. Of course, we are anxious that the prosperity of States which produce so much raw material and want so many manufactured goods should suffer no interruption or reverse. [...] But, at the same time, it is impossible for us to lose sight of the indisputable fact that the real aim and ultimate motive of secession was *not* to defend their right to hold slaves in their own territory (which the Northerners were just as ready to concede as they to claim), but to extend Slavery over a vast, undefined district, hitherto free from that curse, but into which the planters fancied they might hereafter wish to spread. This object we have always regarded as unwise, unrighteous and abhorrent. The state of society introduced in the Southern States by the institution of domestic servitude appears to English minds more and more detestable and deplorable the more they know of it. And the Southerners should be made aware that no pecuniary or commercial advantage which this country might be supposed to derive from the extended cultivation of the virgin soils of the planting States, and the new Territories which they claim, will ever in the slightest degree modify our views on these points, or interfere with the expression of those views, or warp or hamper our action whenever action shall become obligatory or fitting. [...][b] It is believed that they (the Secessionists) still entertain the extraordinary notion that by *starving* France and England—by the loss and suffering anticipated as the consequences of

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[a] "English Feeling towards America", *The Economist,* No. 944, September 28, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] Thus far from the article. "English Feeling towards America.".—*Ed.*

an entire privation of the American supply—they will compel those Governments to interfere on their behalf, and force the United States to abandon the blockade.... There is not the remotest chance that either Power would feel justified for a moment in projecting such an act of decided and unwarrantable hostility against the United States.... We are less dependent on the South than the South is upon us, as they will ere long begin to discover. [...][a] We, therefore, pray them to believe that Slavery, so long as it exists, must create more or less of a moral barrier between us, and that even tacit approval is as far from our thoughts as the impertinence of an open interference: that Lancashire is not England; and, for the honor and spirit of our manufacturing population be it said also, that even if it were, *Cotton would not be King.*"[b]

All I intended to show for the present was that Palmerston, and consequently the London press, working to his orders, is abandoning his hostile attitude against the United States. The causes that have led to this *revirement*,[c] as the French call it, I shall try to explain in a subsequent letter. Before concluding, I may still add that Mr. Forster, M.P. for Bradford, delivered last Tuesday,[d] in the theater of Bradford Mechanics' Institute,[36] a lecture "On the Civil War in America," in which he traced the true origin and character of that war, and victoriously refuted the misstatements of the Palmerstonian press.[e]

Written on October 5, 1861

Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] "The Last Movements of the Northern and the Southern Confederation", *The Economist,* No. 943, September 21, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] "English Feeling towards America".—*Ed.*

[c] Radical change.—*Ed.*

[d] October 1, 1861.—*Ed.*

[e] W. E. Forster's lecture "On the Civil War in America" was reported in *The Times,* No. 24054, October 3, 1861.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE LONDON *TIMES* ON THE ORLEANS PRINCES IN AMERICA

London, Oct. 12, 1861

On the occasion of the King of Prussia's[a] visit at Compiegne,[37] *The London Times* published some racy articles, giving great offense on the other side of the Channel.[b] The *Pays, Journal de l'Empire,* in its turn, characterized *The Times* writers as people whose heads were poisoned by gin, and whose pens were dipped into mud.[c] Such occasional exchanges of invective are only intended to mislead public opinion as to the intimate relations connecting Printing-House Square to the Tuileries.[38] There exists beyond the French frontiers no greater sycophant of the Man of December[d] than *The London Times,* and its services are the more invaluable, the more that paper now and then assumes the tone and the air of a Cato censor toward its Caesar. *The Times* had for months heaped insult upon Prussia. Improving the miserable Macdonald affair,[39] it had told Prussia that England would feel glad to see a transfer of the Rhenish Provinces from the barbarous sway of the Hohenzollern to the enlightened despotism of a Bonaparte.[e] It had not only exasperated the Prussian dynasty, but the Prussian people. It had written down the idea of an Anglo-Prussian alliance in case of a Prussian conflict with France. It had strained all its powers to convince Prussia that she had

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[a] William I.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx refers to the following leading articles: "The popularity of a Government...", *The Times,* No. 24057, October 7, 1861; "The King of Prussia is welcomed to Compiègne...", *The Times,* No. 24058, October 8, 1861; "It is, perhaps, a mistake to attribute...", *The Times,* No. 24059, October 9, 1861.—*Ed.*

[c] "Paris, Thursday, Oct. 10, 7 A. M.", *The Times,* No. 24061, October 11, 1861.—*Ed.*

[d] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

[e] "We trust we have now heard...", *The Times,* No. 23928, May 9, 1861, leading article.—*Ed.*

nothing to hope from England, and that the next best thing she could do would be to come to some understanding with France.[a] When at last the weak and trimming monarch of Prussia resolved upon the visit at Compiegne, *The Times* could proudly exclaim: *"quorum magna pars fui;"*[b] but now the time had also arrived for obliterating from the memory of the British the fact that *The Times* had been the pathfinder of the Prussian monarch. Hence the roar of its theatrical thunders. Hence the counter roars of the *Pays, Journal de l'Empire.*

*The Times* had now recovered its position of the deadly antagonist of Bonapartism, and, therefore, the power of lending its aid to the Man of December. An occasion soon offered. Louis Bonaparte is, of course, most touchy whenever the renown of rival pretenders to the French crown is concerned. He had covered himself with ridicule in the affair of the Duke d'Aumale's pamphlet[40] against Plon Plon,[c] and, by his proceedings, had done more in furtherance of the Orleanist cause than all the Orleanist partisans combined. Again, in these latter days, the French people were called upon to draw a parallel between Plon Plon and the Orleans princes.[d] When Plon Plon set out for America, there were caricatures circulated in the Faubourg St. Antoine representing him as a fat man in search of a crown, but professing at the same time to be a most inoffensive traveler, with a peculiar aversion to the smell of powder. While Plon Plon is returning to France with no more laurels than he gathered in the Crimea and in Italy, the Princes of Orleans cross the Atlantic to take service in the ranks of the National army. Hence a great stir in the Bonapartist camp. It would not do to give vent to Bonapartist anger through the venal press of Paris. The Imperialist fears would thus only be betrayed, the pamphlet scandal renewed, and odious comparisons provoked between exiled Princes who fight under the republican banner against the enslavers of working millions, with another exiled Prince, who had himself sworn in as an English special constable to share in the glory of putting down an English workingmen's movement.[41]

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[a] "The tone in which the outrage on Captain Macdonald...", *The Times,* No. 23926, May 7, 1861, leading article; "We trust we have now heard...", *The Times,* No. 23928, May 9, 1861, leading article.—*Ed.*

[b] "Much of the credit for this belongs to me", Virgil, *Aeneid,* II, 6.—*Ed.*

[c] Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon.—*Ed.*

[d] François Ferdinand Philippe Louis Marie d'Orléans, Prince de Joinville; Robert Philippe Louis Eugène Ferdinand d'Orléans, duc de Chartres; Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, comte de Paris.—*Ed.*

Who should extricate the Man of December out of this dilemma? Who but *The London Times*? If the same *London Times,* which, on the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th of October, 1861, had roused the furies of the *Pays, Journal de l'Empire,* by its rather cynical strictures on the visit at Compiegne—if that very same paper should come out on the 12th of October, with a merciless onslaught on the Orleans Princes, because of their enlistment in the ranks of the National Army of the United States,[a] would Louis Bonaparte not have proved his case against the Orleans Princes? Would *The Times* article not be done into French, commented upon by the Paris papers, sent by the *Préfet de Police* to all the journals of all the departments, and circulated throughout the whole of France, as the impartial sentence passed by *The London Times,* the personal foe of Louis Bonaparte, upon the last proceedings of the Orleans Princes? Consequently, *The Times* of to-day has come out with a most scurrilous onslaught on these princes.

Louis Bonaparte is, of course, too much of a business man to share the judicial blindness in regard to the American war of the official public opinion-mongers. He knows that the true people of England, of France, of Germany, of Europe, consider the cause of the United States as their own cause, as the cause of liberty, and that, despite all paid sophistry, they consider the soil of the United States as the free soil of the landless millions of Europe, as their land of promise, now to be defended sword in hand, from the sordid grasp of the slaveholder. Louis Napoleon knows, moreover, that in France the masses connect the fight for the maintenance of the Union with the fight of their forefathers for the foundation of American independence, and that with them every Frenchman drawing his sword for the National Government appears only to execute the bequest of Lafayette.[42] Bonaparte, therefore, knows that if anything be able to win the Orleans Princes good opinions from the French people, it will be their enlistment in the ranks of the national army of the United States. He shudders at this very notion, and consequently *The London Times,* his censorious sycophant, tells to-day the Orleans princes that "they will derive no increase of popularity with the French nation from stooping to serve on this *ignoble field of action.*" Louis Napoleon knows that all the wars waged in Europe between hostile nations since his *coup d'état,* have been mock wars, groundless, wanton, and carried on on false pretenses. The Russian war, and

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[a] "Perhaps there is no position which an erring mortal...", *The Times,* No. 24062, October 12, 1861, leading article.—*Ed.*

the Italian war, not to speak of the piratical expeditions against China, Cochin-China,[43] and so forth, never enlisted the sympathies of the French people, instinctively aware that both wars were carried on only with the view to strengthening the chains forged by the *coup d'état.* The first grand war of contemporaneous history is the American war.

The peoples of Europe know that the Southern slaveocracy commenced that war with the declaration that the continuance of slaveocracy was no longer compatible with the continuance of the Union. Consequently, the people of Europe know that a fight for the continuance of the Union is a fight against the continuance of the slaveocracy—that in this contest the highest form of popular self-government till now realized is giving battle to the meanest and most shameless form of man's enslaving recorded in the annals of history.

Louis Bonaparte feels, of course, extremely sorry that the Orleans Princes should embark in just such a war, so distinguished, by the vastness of its dimensions and the grandeur of its ends, from the groundless, wanton and diminutive wars Europe has passed through since 1849. Consequently, *The London Times* must needs declare:

> "To overlook the difference between a war waged by hostile nations, and this most groundless and wanton civil conflict of which history gives us any account, is a species of offense against public morals."[a]

*The Times* is, of course, bound to wind up its onslaught on the Orleans Princes because of their "stooping to serve on such an ignoble field of action." With a deep bow before the victor of Sevastopol and Solferino, "it is unwise," says *The London Times,* "to challenge a comparison between such actions as Springfield and Manassas,[44] and the exploits of Sevastopol and Solferino."

The next mail will testify to the premeditated use made of *The Times's* article by the Imperialist organs. A friend in times of need is proverbially worth a thousand friends in times of prosperity, and the secret ally of *The London Times* is just now very badly off.

A dearth of cotton, backed by a dearth of grain; a commercial crisis coupled with an agricultural distress, and both of them combined with a reduction of Custom revenues and a monetary embarrassment compelling the Bank of France to screw its rate of discount to six per cent, to enter into transactions with Rothschilds and Baring for a loan of two millions sterling on the London

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[a] "Perhaps there is no position..."—*Ed.*

market, to pawn abroad French Government stock, and with all that to show but a reserve of 12,000,000 against liabilities amounting to more than 40,000,000. Such a state of economical affairs prepares just the situation for rival pretenders to stake double. Already there have been bread-riots in the Faubourg St. Antoine, and this of all times is therefore the most inappropriate time for allowing Orleans Princes to catch popularity. Hence the fierce forward rush of *The London Times.*

Written on October 12, 1861

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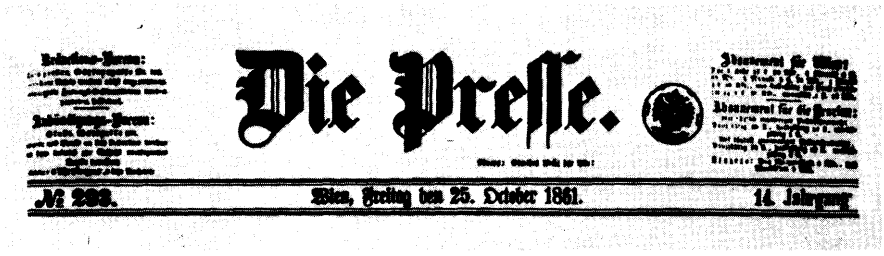
Die Presse.

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# Karl Marx

## THE NORTH AMERICAN CIVIL WAR[45]

London, October 20, 1861

For months the leading weekly and daily papers of the London press have been reiterating the same litany on the American Civil War. While they insult the free states of the North, they anxiously defend themselves against the suspicion of sympathising with the slave states of the South. In fact, they continually write two articles: one article, in which they attack the North, and another article, in which they excuse their attacks on the North. *Qui s'excuse s'accuse.*

In essence the extenuating arguments read: The war between the North and South is a tariff war. The war is, further, not for any principle, does not touch the question of slavery and in fact turns on Northern lust for sovereignty. Finally, even if justice is on the side of the North, does it not remain a vain endeavour to want to subjugate eight million Anglo-Saxons by force! Would not separation of the South release the North from all connection with Negro slavery and ensure for it, with its twenty million inhabitants and its vast territory, a higher, hitherto scarcely dreamt-of, development? Accordingly, must not the North welcome secession as a happy event, instead of wanting to overrule it by a bloody and futile civil war?

Point by point we will probe the plea of the English press.

The war between North and South—so runs the first excuse—is a mere tariff war, a war between a protectionist system and a free trade system, and Britain naturally stands on the side of free trade. Shall the slave-owner enjoy the fruits of slave labour in their entirety or shall he be cheated of a portion of these by the protectionists of the North? That is the question which is at issue in this war. It was reserved for *The Times* to make this brilliant

discovery. *The Economist, The Examiner, The Saturday Review* and *tutti quanti*[a] expounded the theme further.[b] It is characteristic of this discovery that it was made, not in Charleston, but in London. Naturally, in America everyone knew that from 1846 to 1861 a free trade system prevailed, and that Representative Morrill carried his protectionist tariff through Congress only in 1861,[46] after the rebellion had already broken out. Secession, therefore, did not take place because the Morrill tariff had gone through Congress, but, at most, the Morrill tariff went through Congress because secession had taken place. When South Carolina had its first attack of secession in 1831,[47] the protectionist tariff of 1828 served it, to be sure, as a pretext, but only as a pretext, as is known from a statement of General Jackson.[c] This time, however, the old pretext has in fact not been repeated. In the Secession Congress at Montgomery[48] all reference to the tariff question was avoided, because the cultivation of sugar in Louisiana, one of the most influential Southern states, depends entirely on protection.

But, the London press pleads further, the war of the United States is nothing but a war for the forcible maintenance of the Union. The Yankees cannot make up their minds to strike fifteen stars from their standard.[49] They want to cut a colossal figure on the world stage. Yes, it would be different if the war was waged for the abolition of slavery! The question of slavery, however, as *The Saturday Review* categorically declares among other things, has absolutely nothing to do with this war.

It is above all to be remembered that the war did not originate with the North, but with the South. The North finds itself on the defensive. For months it had quietly looked on while the secessionists appropriated the Union's forts, arsenals, shipyards, customs houses, pay offices, ships and supplies of arms, insulted its flag and took prisoner bodies of its troops. Finally the secessionists resolved to force the Union government out of its passive attitude by a blatant act of war, and *solely for this reason* proceeded to the bombardment of Fort Sumter near Charleston. On April 11 (1861) their General Beauregard had learnt in a

[a] All such.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx means the articles "Few have pretended to give...", *The Times*, No. 24033, September 9, 1861, leading article; "American Complaints against England", *The Economist*, No. 942, September 14, 1861; "Mrs. Stowe on the American War", *The Examiner*, No. 2798, September 14, 1861; "Mrs. Beecher Stowe's Wounded Feelings", *The Saturday Review*, No. 307, September 14, 1861.—*Ed.*

[c] President Jackson's proclamation against the Nullification Ordinance of South Carolina, December 11, 1832 (see Note 24).—*Ed.*

meeting with Major Anderson, the commander of Fort Sumter, that the fort was only supplied with provisions for three days more and accordingly must be peacefully surrendered after this period. In order to forestall this peaceful surrender, the secessionists opened the bombardment early on the following morning (April 12), which brought about the fall of the fort in a few hours. News of this had hardly been telegraphed to Montgomery, the seat of the Secession Congress, when War Minister Walker publicly declared in the name of the new Confederacy: "No man can say where *the war opened today* will end."[a] At the same time he prophesied "that before the first of May the flag of the Southern Confederacy will wave from the dome of the old Capitol in Washington and within a short time perhaps also from the Faneuil Hall in Boston".[50] Only now ensued the proclamation in which Lincoln called for 75,000 men to defend the Union.[b] The bombardment of Fort Sumter cut off the only possible constitutional way out, namely the convocation of a general convention of the American people, as Lincoln had proposed in his inaugural address.[c] For Lincoln there now remained only the choice of fleeing from Washington, evacuating Maryland and Delaware and surrendering Kentucky, Missouri and Virginia, or of answering war with war.

The question of the principle of the American Civil War is answered by the battle slogan with which the South broke the peace. Stephens, the Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, declared in the Secession Congress that what essentially distinguished the Constitution newly hatched at Montgomery from the Constitution of the Washingtons and Jeffersons was that now for the first time slavery was recognised as an institution good in itself, and as the foundation of the whole state edifice, whereas the revolutionary fathers, men steeped in the prejudices of the eighteenth century, had treated slavery as an evil imported from England and to be eliminated in the course of time.[d] Another matador of the South, Mr. Spratt, cried out: "For us it is a question of founding a great slave republic."[e] If, therefore, it was

[a] Quoted in the report "How the War News Is Received", *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6231, April 15, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Lincoln, *A Proclamation* [April 15, 1861], *New-York Daily Tribune,* same issue.—*Ed.*

[c] A. Lincoln, "The Inaugural Address" [March 4, 1861], *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6196, March 5, 1861.—*Ed.*

[d] Stephens's speech in Savannah on March 21, 1861.—*Ed.*

[e] Marx gives the English words "a great slave republic" in brackets after the German equivalent.—*Ed.*

indeed only in defence of the Union that the North drew the sword, had not the South already declared that the continuance of slavery was no longer compatible with the continuance of the Union?

Just as the bombardment of Fort Sumter gave the signal for the opening of the war, the election victory of the *Republican* Party of the North, the election of Lincoln as President, gave the signal for secession. On November 6, 1860, Lincoln was elected. On November 8, 1860, a message telegraphed from South Carolina said: "Secession is regarded here as a settled thing"[a]; on November 10 the legislature of Georgia occupied itself with secession plans, and on November 13 a special session of the legislature of Mississippi was convened to consider secession. But Lincoln's election was itself only the result of a split in the *Democratic* camp. During the election struggle the Democrats of the North concentrated their votes on *Douglas,* the Democrats of the South concentrated their votes on *Breckinridge,* and to this splitting of the Democratic votes the Republican Party owed its victory. Whence came, on the one hand, the preponderance of the *Republican* Party in the North? Whence, on the other, the disunion *within* the *Democratic* Party, whose members, North and South, had operated in conjunction for more than half a century?

Under the presidency of Buchanan the sway that the South had gradually usurped over the Union through its alliance with the Northern Democrats attained its zenith. The last Continental Congress of 1787 and the first Constitutional Congress of 1789-90 had legally excluded slavery from all Territories of the republic northwest of the Ohio.[b] (Territories, as is known, is the name given to the colonies lying within the United States itself which have not yet attained the level of population constitutionally prescribed for the formation of autonomous states.[51]) The so-called Missouri Compromise (1820), in consequence of which Missouri became one of the States of the Union as a slave state, excluded slavery from every remaining Territory north of 36°30′ latitude and west of the Missouri.[52] By this compromise the area of slavery was advanced several degrees of longitude, whilst, on the other hand, a geographical boundary-line to its future spread

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[a] Quoted in the report "Columbia, S. C. Thursday, Nov. 8, 1860", *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6098, November 9, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] *An Ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States, north-west of the River Ohio,* adopted by the 1787 Congress, and *An Act to provide for the government of the territory north-west of the River Ohio,* adopted by the 1789-90 Congress.—*Ed.*

seemed quite definitely drawn. This geographical barrier, in its turn, was thrown down in 1854 by the so-called Kansas-Nebraska Bill, the initiator of which was St[ephen] A. Douglas, then leader of the Northern Democrats. The Bill, which passed both Houses of Congress, repealed the Missouri Compromise, placed slavery and freedom on the same footing, commanded the Union government to treat them both with equal indifference and left it to the sovereignty of the people, that is, the majority of the settlers, to decide whether or not slavery was to be introduced in a Territory. Thus, for the first time in the history of the United States, every geographical and legal limit to the extension of slavery in the Territories was removed. Under this new legislation the hitherto free Territory of New Mexico, a Territory five times as large as the State of New York, was transformed into a slave Territory, and the area[a] of slavery was extended from the border of the Mexican Republic to 38° north latitude. In 1859 New Mexico received a slave code that vies with the statute-books of Texas and Alabama in barbarity. Nevertheless, as the census of 1860 proves,[b] among some 100,000 inhabitants New Mexico does not count even half a hundred slaves. It had therefore sufficed for the South to send some adventurers with a few slaves over the border, and then with the help of the central government in Washington and of its officials and contractors in New Mexico to drum together a sham popular representation to impose slavery and with it the rule of the slaveholders on the Territory.

However, this convenient method did not prove applicable in other Territories. The South accordingly went a step further and appealed from Congress to the Supreme Court of the United States. This Court, which numbers nine judges, five of whom belong to the South, had long been the most willing tool of the slaveholders. It decided in 1857, in the notorious Dred Scott case,[53] that every American citizen possesses the right to take with him into any Territory any property recognised by the Constitution.[c] The Constitution, it maintained, recognises slaves as property and obliges the Union government to protect this property. Consequently, on the basis of the Constitution, slaves could be forced to labour in the Territories by their owners, and

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[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[b] Its data were cited in a report date-lined "New York, March 26", *The Times,* No. 23903, April 10, 1861.—*Ed.*

[c] The ruling of the US Supreme Court on the Dred Scott case was quoted in the article "The Dred Scott Case Decided", *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 4955, March 7, 1857.—*Ed.*

so every individual slaveholder was entitled to introduce slavery into hitherto free Territories against the will of the majority of the settlers. The right to exclude slavery was taken from the Territorial legislatures and the duty to protect pioneers of the slave system was imposed on Congress and the Union government.

If the Missouri Compromise of 1820 had extended the geographical boundary-line of slavery in the Territories, if the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854 had erased every geographical boundary-line and set up a political barrier instead, the will of the majority of the settlers, now the Supreme Court of the United States, by its decision of 1857, tore down even this political barrier and transformed all the Territories of the republic, present and future, from nurseries of free states into nurseries of slavery.

At the same time, under Buchanan's government the severer law on the surrendering of fugitive slaves enacted in 1850 was ruthlessly carried out in the states of the North.[54] To play the part of slave-catchers for the Southern slaveholders appeared to be the constitutional calling of the North. On the other hand, in order to hinder as far as possible the colonisation of the Territories by free settlers, the slaveholders' party frustrated all the so-called free-soil[a] measures, i. e., measures which were to secure for the settlers a definite amount of uncultivated state land free of charge.[55]

In the foreign, as in the domestic, policy of the United States, the interests of the slaveholders served as the guiding star: Buchanan had in fact obtained the office of President through the issue of the Ostend Manifesto, in which the acquisition of Cuba, whether by purchase or by force of arms, was proclaimed as the great task of national policy.[56] Under his government northern Mexico was already divided among American land speculators, who impatiently awaited the signal to fall on Chihuahua, Coahuila and Sonora.[57] The unceasing piratical expeditions of the filibusters against the states of Central America were directed no less from the White House at Washington. In the closest connection with this foreign policy, whose manifest purpose was conquest of new territory for the spread of slavery and of the slaveholders' rule, stood the *reopening of the slave trade*,[58] secretly supported by the Union government. St[ephen] A. Douglas himself declared in the American Senate on August 20, 1859: During the last year more Negroes have been imported from Africa than ever before in any single year, even at the time when the slave trade was still legal.

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[a] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*

The number of slaves imported in the last year totalled fifteen thousand.[a]

Armed spreading of slavery abroad was the avowed aim of national policy; the Union had in fact become the slave of the 300,000 slaveholders who held sway over the South. A series of compromises, which the South owed to its alliance with the Northern Democrats, had led to this result. On this alliance all the attempts, periodically repeated since 1817, to resist the ever increasing encroachments of the slaveholders had hitherto come to grief. At length there came a turning point.

For hardly had the Kansas-Nebraska Bill gone through, which wiped out the geographical boundary-line of slavery and made its introduction into new Territories subject to the will of the majority of the settlers, when armed emissaries of the slaveholders, border rabble from Missouri and Arkansas, with bowie-knife in one hand and revolver in the other, fell upon Kansas and sought by the most unheard-of atrocities to dislodge its settlers from the Territory colonised by them. These raids were supported by the central government in Washington. Hence a tremendous reaction. Throughout the North, but particularly in the Northwest,[59] a relief organisation was formed to support Kansas with men, arms and money.[60] Out of this relief organisation arose the *Republican Party*, which therefore owes its origin to the struggle for Kansas. After the attempt to transform Kansas into a *slave Territory* by force of arms had failed, the South sought to achieve the same result by political intrigues. Buchanan's government, in particular, exerted its utmost efforts to have Kansas included in the States of the Union as a *slave state* with a slave constitution imposed on it.[b] Hence renewed struggle, this time mainly conducted in Congress at Washington. Even St[ephen] A. Douglas, the chief of the Northern Democrats, now (1857-58) entered the lists against the government and his allies of the South, because imposition of a slave constitution could have been contrary to the principle of sovereignty of the settlers passed in the Nebraska Bill of 1854. Douglas, Senator for Illinois, a Northwestern state, would naturally have lost all his influence if he had wanted to concede to the South the right to steal by force of arms or through acts of Congress Territories colonised by the North. As the struggle for

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[a] Douglas's statement, made at a reception in Washington on August 19, 1859, was reported in the article "Douglas Sure of the South", *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5720, August 23, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] Its basic provisions were set forth in the article "The Great Swindle", *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5171, November 16, 1857.—*Ed.*

Kansas, therefore, called the *Republican Party* into being, it at the same time occasioned the first *split within the Democratic Party* itself.

The Republican Party put forward its first platform for the presidential election in 1856. Although its candidate, John Frémont, was not victorious, the huge number of votes cast for him at any rate proved the rapid growth of the Party, particularly in the Northwest. At their second National Convention for the presidential elections (May 17, 1860), the Republicans again put forward their platform of 1856, only enriched by some additions.[a] Its principal contents were the following: Not a foot of fresh territory is further conceded to slavery. The filibustering policy abroad must cease. The reopening of the slave trade is stigmatised. Finally, free-soil[b] laws are to be enacted for the furtherance of free colonisation.

The vitally important point in this platform was that not a foot of fresh terrain was conceded to slavery; rather it was to remain once and for all confined within the boundaries of the states where it already legally existed. Slavery was thus to be formally interned; but continual expansion of territory and continual spread of slavery beyond its old limits is a law of life for the slave states of the Union.

The cultivation of the southern export articles, cotton, tobacco, sugar, etc., carried on by slaves, is only remunerative as long as it is conducted with large gangs of slaves, on a mass scale and on wide expanses of a naturally fertile soil, which requires only simple labour. Intensive cultivation, which depends less on fertility of the soil than on investment of capital, intelligence and energy of labour, is contrary to the nature of slavery. Hence the rapid transformation of states like Maryland and Virginia, which formerly employed slaves in the production of export articles, into states which raise slaves to export them into the deep South. Even in South Carolina, where the slaves form four-sevenths of the population, the cultivation of cotton has been almost completely stationary for years due to the exhaustion of the soil. Indeed, by force of circumstances South Carolina has already been transformed in part into a slave-raising state, since it already sells slaves to the sum of four million dollars yearly to the states of the extreme South and Southwest. As soon as this point is reached, the acquisition of new Territories becomes necessary, so that one section of the slaveholders with their slaves may occupy new fertile

[a] Both platforms were cited in the article "The Platform", *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5950, May 19, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*

lands and that a new market for slave-raising, therefore for the sale of slaves, may be created for the remaining section. It is, for example, indubitable that without the acquisition of Louisiana, Missouri and Arkansas by the United States, slavery in Virginia and Maryland would have become extinct long ago. In the Secessionist Congress at Montgomery, Senator Toombs, one of the spokesmen of the South, strikingly formulated the economic law that commands the constant expansion of the territory of slavery.

"In fifteen years," said he, "without a great increase in slave territory, either the slaves must be permitted to flee from the whites, or the whites must flee from the slaves."

As is known, the representation of the individual states in the Congress House of Representatives depends on the size of their respective populations. As the populations of the free states grow far more quickly than those of the slave states, the number of Northern Representatives was bound to outstrip that of the Southern very rapidly. The real seat of the political power of the South is accordingly transferred more and more to the American Senate, where every state, whether its population is great or small, is represented by two Senators. In order to assert its influence in the Senate and, through the Senate, its hegemony over the United States, the South therefore required a continual formation of new slave states. This, however, was only possible through conquest of foreign lands, as in the case of Texas, or through the transformation of the Territories belonging to the United States first into slave Territories and later into slave states, as in the case of Missouri, Arkansas, etc. *John Calhoun,* whom the slaveholders admire as their statesman *par excellence,* stated as early as February 19, 1847, in the Senate, that the Senate alone placed a balance of power in the hands of the South, that extension of the slave territory was necessary to preserve this equilibrium between South and North in the Senate, and that the attempts of the South at the creation of new slave states by force were accordingly justified.

Finally, the number of actual slaveholders in the South of the Union does not amount to more than 300,000, a narrow oligarchy that is confronted with many millions of so-called poor whites,[a] whose numbers have been constantly growing through concentration of landed property and whose condition is only to be compared with that of the Roman plebeians in the period of

[a] Marx gives the English words "poor whites" in parenthesis after their German equivalent.— *Ed.*

Rome's extreme decline. Only by acquisition and the prospect of acquisition of new Territories, as well as by filibustering expeditions, is it possible to square the interests of these "poor whites" with those of the slaveholders, to give their restless thirst for action a harmless direction and to tame them with the prospect of one day becoming slaveholders themselves.

A strict confinement of slavery within its old terrain, therefore, was bound according to economic law to lead to its gradual extinction, in the political sphere to annihilate the hegemony that the slave states exercised through the Senate, and finally to expose the slaveholding oligarchy within its own states to threatening perils from the "poor whites". In accordance with the principle that any further extension of slave Territories was to be prohibited by law, the Republicans therefore attacked the rule of the slaveholders at its root. The Republican election victory was accordingly bound to lead to open struggle between North and South. And this election victory, as already mentioned, was itself conditioned by the split in the Democratic camp.

The Kansas struggle had already caused a split between the slaveholders' party and the Democrats of the North allied to it. With the presidential election of 1860, the same strife now broke out again in a more general form. The Democrats of the North, with Douglas as their candidate, made the introduction of slavery into Territories dependent on the will of the majority of the settlers. The slaveholders' party, with Breckinridge as their candidate, maintained that the Constitution of the United States, as the Supreme Court had also declared,[a] brought slavery legally in its train; in and of itself slavery was already legal in all Territories and required no special naturalisation. Whilst, therefore, the Republicans prohibited any extension of slave Territories, the Southern party laid claim to all Territories of the republic as legally warranted domains. What they had attempted by way of example with regard to Kansas, to force slavery on a Territory through the central government against the will of the settlers themselves, they now set up as law for all the Territories of the Union. Such a concession lay beyond the power of the *Democratic* leaders and would only have occasioned the desertion of their army to the Republican camp. On the other hand, Douglas's "settlers' sovereignty" could not satisfy the slaveholders' party. What it wanted to effect had to be effected within the next four years under the new President, could only be effected by the

[a] In its ruling on the Dred Scott case.—*Ed.*

resources of the central government and brooked no further delay. It did not escape the slaveholders that a new power had arisen, the *Northwest*, whose population, having almost doubled between 1850 and 1860, was already pretty well equal to the white population of the slave states—a power that was not inclined either by tradition, temperament or mode of life to let itself be dragged from compromise to compromise in the manner of the old Northeastern states. The Union was still of value to the South only so far as it handed over Federal power to it as a means of carrying out the slave policy. If not, then it was better to make the break now than to look on at the development of the Republican Party and the upsurge of the Northwest for another four years and begin the struggle under more unfavourable conditions. The slaveholders' party therefore played *va banque*! When the Democrats of the North declined to go on playing the part of the "poor whites" of the South, the South secured Lincoln's victory by splitting the vote, and then took this victory as a pretext for drawing the sword from the scabbard.

The whole movement was and is based, as one sees, on the *slave question*. Not in the sense of whether the slaves within the existing slave states should be emancipated outright or not, but whether the 20 million free men of the North should submit any longer to an oligarchy of 300,000 slaveholders; whether the vast Territories of the republic should be nurseries for free states or for slavery; finally, whether the national policy of the Union should take armed spreading of slavery in Mexico, Central and South America as its device.

In another article we will probe the assertion of the London press that the North must sanction secession as the most favourable and only possible solution of the conflict.

Written on October 20, 1861

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# Karl Marx

## THE CIVIL WAR IN THE UNITED STATES[61]

"Let him go, he is not worth your anger!"[a] Again and again English statesmanship cries—recently through the mouth of Lord John Russell[b]—to the North of the United States this advice of Leporello to Don Juan's deserted love. If the North lets the South go, it then frees itself from any association with slavery, from its historical original sin, and creates the basis of a new and higher development.

In reality, if North and South formed two independent countries, like, for example, England and Hanover, their separation would be no more difficult than was the separation of England and Hanover.[62] *"The South"*, however, is neither a territory closely sealed off from the North geographically, nor a moral unity. It is not a country at all, but a battle slogan.

The advice of an amicable separation presupposes that the Southern Confederacy, although it assumed the offensive in the Civil War, at least wages it for defensive purposes. It is believed that the issue for the slaveholders' party is merely one of uniting the territories it has hitherto dominated into an independent group of states and withdrawing them from the supreme authority of the Union. Nothing could be more false. "*The South needs its entire territory.* It will and must have it." With this battle-cry the secessionists fell upon Kentucky. By their "entire territory" they

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[a] From Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni.—Ed.*

[b] Russell's speech in Newcastle on October 14, 1861. Reported in *The Times*, No. 24064, October 15, 1861.—*Ed.*

understand in the first place all the so-called *border states*[a]—Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and Arkansas. Besides, they lay claim to the entire territory south of the line that runs from the nortwest corner of Missouri to the Pacific Ocean. What the slaveholders, therefore, call the South, embraces more than three-quarters of the territory hitherto comprised by the Union. A large part of the territory thus claimed is still in the possession of the Union and would first have to be conquered from it. None of the so-called border states, however, not even those in the possession of the Confederacy, were ever *actual slave states.* Rather, they constitute the area of the United States in which the system of slavery and the system of free labour exist side by side and contend for mastery, the actual field of battle between South and North, between slavery and freedom. The war of the Southern Confederacy is, therefore, not a war of defence, but a war of conquest, a war of conquest for the spread and perpetuation of slavery.

The chain of mountains that begins in Alabama and stretches northwards to the Hudson River—the spinal column, as it were, of the United States—cuts the so-called South into three parts. The mountainous country formed by the Allegheny Mountains with their two parallel ranges, the Cumberland Range to the west and the Blue Mountains[b] to the east, divides wedge-like the lowlands along the western coast of the Atlantic Ocean from the lowlands in the southern valleys of the Mississippi. The two lowlands separated by the mountainous country, with their vast rice swamps and far-flung cotton plantations, are the actual area of slavery. The long wedge of mountainous country driven into the heart of slavery, with its correspondingly clear atmosphere, an invigorating climate and a soil rich in coal, salt, limestone, iron ore, gold, in short, every raw material necessary for a many-sided industrial development, is already for the most part free country. In accordance with its physical constitution, the soil here can only be cultivated with success by free small farmers. Here the slave system vegetates only sporadically and has never struck root. In the larger part of the so-called border states, the dwellers of these highlands comprise the core of the free population, which sides with the North if only for the sake of self-preservation.

Let us consider the contested territory in detail.

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[a] Marx gives the English words "border states" in parenthesis after their German equivalent.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English names: "Cumberland Range" and "Blue Mountains".—*Ed.*

*Delaware*, the most northeastern of the border states, is factually and morally in the possession of the Union. All the attempts of the secessionists at forming even one faction favourable to them have since the beginning of the war suffered shipwreck on the unanimity of the population. The slave element of this state has long been in process of dying out. From 1850 to 1860 alone the number of slaves diminished by half, so that with a total population of 112,218 Delaware now numbers only 1,798 slaves.[a] Nevertheless, Delaware is demanded by the Southern Confederacy and would in fact be militarily untenable for the North as soon as the South possessed itself of Maryland.

In *Maryland* itself the above-mentioned conflict between highlands and lowlands takes place. Out of a total population of 687,034 there are here 87,188 slaves. That the overwhelming majority of the population is on the side of the Union has again been strikingly proved by the recent general elections to the Congress in Washington. The army of 30,000 Union troops which holds Maryland at the moment, is intended not only to serve the army on the Potomac as a reserve, but, in particular, also to hold in check the rebellious slave-owners in the interior of the country. For here we observe a phenomenon similar to what we see in other border states where the great mass of the people stands for the North and a numerically insignificant slaveholders' party for the South. What it lacks in numbers, the slaveholders' party makes up in the means of power that many years' possession of all state offices, hereditary engagement in political intrigue and concentration of great wealth in few hands have secured for it.

*Virginia* now forms the great cantonment where the main army of secession and the main army of the Union confront each other. In the northwest highlands of Virginia the number of slaves is 15,000, whilst the twenty times as large free population consists mostly of free farmers. The eastern lowlands of Virginia, on the other hand, count well-nigh half a million slaves. Raising Negroes and the sale of the Negroes to the Southern states form the principal source of income of these lowlands. As soon as the ringleaders of the lowlands had carried through the secession ordinance by intrigues in the state legislature at Richmond[b] and had in all haste opened the gates of Virginia to the Southern army, northwest Virginia seceded from the secession, formed a

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[a] Here and below Marx cites data of the 1860 US census contained in a report datelined "New York, March 26", *The Times*, No. 23903, April 10, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] On April 17, 1861.—*Ed.*

new state, and under the banner of the Union now defends its territory arms in hand against the Southern invaders.

*Tennessee,* with 1,109,847 inhabitants, 275,784 of whom are slaves, finds itself in the hands of the Southern Confederacy, which has placed the whole state under martial law and under a system of proscription which recalls the days of the Roman Triumvirates. When in the winter of 1861 the slaveholders proposed a general convention of the people which was to vote for secession or non-secession, the majority of the people rejected any convention, in order to remove any pretext for the secession movement. Later, when Tennessee was already militarily overrun and subjected to a system of terror by the Southern Confederacy, more than a third of the voters at the elections still declared themselves for the Union. Here, as in most of the border states, the mountainous country, *east Tennessee,* forms the real centre of resistance to the slaveholders' party. On June 17, 1861, a General Convention of the people of east Tennessee assembled in Greeneville, declared itself for the Union, deputed the former governor of the state, Andrew Johnson, one of the most ardent Unionists, to the Senate in Washington and published a "declaration of grievances",[a] which lays bare all the means of deception, intrigue and terror by which Tennessee was "voted out" of the Union.[b] Since then the secessionists have held east Tennessee in check by force of arms.

Similar relationships to those in West Virginia and east Tennessee are found in the north of Alabama, in northwest Georgia and in the north of North Carolina.

Further west, in the border state of *Missouri,* with 1,173,317 inhabitants and 114,965 slaves—the latter mostly concentrated in the northwest of the state—the people's convention of August 1861 decided for the Union.[c] Jackson, the governor of the state and the tool of the slaveholders' party, rebelled against the legislature of Missouri, was outlawed and took the lead of the armed hordes that fell upon Missouri from Texas, Arkansas and Tennessee, in order to bring it to its knees before the Confederacy and sever its bond with the Union by the sword. Next to Virginia, Missouri is at the present moment the main theatre of the Civil War.

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[a] Marx uses the English expression and gives the German equivalent.—*Ed.*

[b] The resolutions of the Convention were reported by the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6308, July 4, 1861, in the item "The Knoxville (Tenn.) Whig...".—*Ed.*

[c] The convention actually adopted this decision on March 9, 1861.—*Ed.*

*New Mexico*—not a state, but merely a Territory, into which 25 slaves were imported during Buchanan's presidency in order to send a slave constitution after them from Washington—had no craving for the South, as even the latter concedes. But the South has a craving for New Mexico and accordingly spewed an armed gang of adventurers from *Texas* over the border. New Mexico has implored the protection of the Union government against these liberators.

It will have been observed that we lay particular emphasis on the numerical proportion of slaves to free men in the individual border states. This proportion is in fact decisive. It is the thermometer with which the vital fire of the slave system must be measured. The soul of the whole secession movement is *South Carolina.* It has 402,541 slaves and 301,271 free men. *Mississippi,* which has given the Southern Confederacy its dictator, Jefferson Davis, comes second. It has 436,696 slaves and 354,699 free men. *Alabama* comes third, with 435,132 slaves and 529,164 free men.

The last of the contested border states, which we have still to mention, is *Kentucky.* Its recent history is particularly characteristic of the policy of the Southern Confederacy. Among its 1,135,713 inhabitants Kentucky has 225,490 slaves. In three successive general elections by the people—in the winter of 1861, when elections to a congress of the border states were held; in June 1861, when elections to the Congress in Washington took place; finally, in August 1861, in elections to the legislature of the State of Kentucky—an ever increasing majority decided for the Union. On the other hand, Magoffin, the Governor of Kentucky, and all the high officials of the state are fanatical supporters of the slaveholders' party, as is Breckinridge, Kentucky's representative in the Senate in Washington, Vice-President of the United States under Buchanan and candidate of the slaveholders' party in the presidential elections of 1860. Too weak to win over Kentucky for secession, the influence of the slaveholders' party was strong enough to make this state amenable to a declaration of neutrality on the outbreak of war. The Confederacy recognised the neutrality as long as it served its purposes, as long as the Confederacy itself was engaged in crushing the resistance in east Tennessee. Hardly was this end attained when it knocked at the gates of Kentucky with the butt of a gun to the cry of: "*The South needs its entire territory.* It will and must have it!"

From the southwest and southeast its corps of free-booters simultaneously invaded the "neutral" state. Kentucky awoke from its dream of neutrality, its legislature openly sided with the Union,

surrounded the traitorous Governor with a committee of public safety, called the people to arms, outlawed Breckinridge and ordered the secessionists to evacuate the invaded territory immediately. This was the signal for war. An army of the Southern Confederacy is moving on Louisville, while volunteers from Illinois, Indiana and Ohio flock hither to save Kentucky from the armed missionaries of slavery.

The attempts of the Confederacy to annex Missouri and Kentucky, for example, against the will of these states, prove the hollowness of the pretext that it is fighting for the rights of the individual states against the encroachments of the Union. On the individual states that it considers to belong to the "South" it confers, to be sure, the right to secede from the Union, but by no means the right to remain in the Union.

Even the slave states proper, however much external war, internal military dictatorship and slavery give them everywhere for the moment a semblance of harmony, are nevertheless not without oppositional elements. A striking example is *Texas*, with 180,388 slaves out of 601,039 inhabitants. The law of 1845,[a] by virtue of which Texas became a State of the Union as a slave state, entitled it to form not merely one, but five states out of its territory. The South would thereby have gained ten new votes instead of two in the American Senate, and an increase in the number of its votes in the Senate was a major object of its policy at that time. From 1845 to 1860, however, the slaveholders found it impracticable to cut up Texas, where the German population plays an important part, into even two states without giving the party of free labour the upper hand over the party of slavery in the second state.[63] This furnishes the best proof of the strength of the opposition to the slaveholding oligarchy in Texas itself.

*Georgia* is the largest and most populous of the slave states. It has 462,230 slaves out of a total of 1,057,327 inhabitants, therefore nearly half the population. Nevertheless, the slaveholders' party has not so far succeeded in getting the Constitution imposed on the South at Montgomery[b] sanctioned by a general vote of the people in Georgia.

In the State Convention of *Louisiana*, meeting on March 21, 1861, at New Orleans, Roselius, the political veteran of the state, declared:

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[a] *Joint Resolution for annexing Texas to the United States* [1845].—*Ed.*

[b] *Constitution of the Confederate States of America* (*New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6206, March 16, 1861).—*Ed.*

"The Montgomery Constitution is not a constitution, but a conspiracy. It does not inaugurate a government of the people, but *an odious and unmitigated oligarchy*. The people were not permitted to have any say in this matter. The Convention at Montgomery has dug the grave of political liberty, and now we are called upon to attend its funeral." [a]

Indeed, the oligarchy of three hundred thousand slaveholders utilised the Congress of Montgomery not only to proclaim the separation of the South from the North. It exploited it at the same time to reshape the internal constitutions of the slave states, to subjugate completely the section of the white population that had still preserved some independence under the protection and the democratic Constitution of the Union. Between 1856 and 1860 the political spokesmen, jurists, moralists and theologians of the slaveholders' party had already sought to prove, not so much that Negro slavery is justified, but rather that colour is a matter of indifference and the working class is everywhere born to slavery.

One sees, therefore, that the war of the Southern Confederacy is in the true sense of the word a war of conquest for the spread and perpetuation of slavery. The greater part of the border states and Territories are still in the possession of the Union, whose side they have taken first through the ballot-box and then with arms. The Confederacy, however, counts them for the *"South"* and seeks to conquer them from the Union. In the border states which the Confederacy has occupied for the time being, it is holding the relatively free highlands in check by martial law. Within the actual slave states themselves it is supplanting the hitherto existing democracy by the unrestricted oligarchy of the 300,000 slaveholders.

Were it to relinquish its plans of conquest, the Southern Confederacy would relinquish its capacity to live and the purpose of secession. Secession, indeed, only took place because within the Union the transformation of the border states and Territories into slave states seemed no longer attainable. On the other hand, were it to cede the contested territory peacefully to the Southern Confederacy, the North would surrender to the slave republic more than three-quarters of the entire territory of the United States. The North would lose the whole of the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean, except the narrow strip from Penobscot Bay to Delaware Bay, and would even cut itself off from the Pacific Ocean. Missouri, Kansas, New Mexico, Arkansas and Texas would draw California after them.[64] Incapable of wresting the mouth of

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[a] Reported in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6217, March 29, 1861.—*Ed.*

the Mississippi from the hands of the strong, hostile slave republic in the South, the great agricultural states in the basin between the Rocky Mountains and the Alleghenies, in the valleys of the Mississippi, the Missouri and the Ohio, would be compelled by their economic interests to secede from the North and enter the Southern Confederacy. These northwestern states,[65] in their turn, would draw after them into the same whirlpool of secession all the Northern states lying further east, with perhaps the exception of the states of New England.[66]

What would in fact take place would be not a dissolution of the Union, but a *reorganisation* of it, a *reorganisation on the basis of slavery,* under the recognised control of the slaveholding oligarchy. The plan of such a reorganisation has been openly proclaimed by the principal speakers of the South at the Congress of Montgomery and explains the paragraph of the new Constitution which leaves it open to every state of the old Union to join the new Confederacy. The slave system would infect the whole Union. In the Northern states, where Negro slavery is in practice impossible, the white working class would gradually be forced down to the level of helotry.[67] This would fully accord with the loudly proclaimed principle that only certain races are capable of freedom, and as the actual labour is the lot of the Negro in the South, so in the North it is the lot of the German and the Irishman, or their direct descendants.

The present struggle between the South and North is, therefore, nothing but a struggle between two social systems, the system of slavery and the system of free labour. The struggle has broken out because the two systems can no longer live peacefully side by side on the North American continent. It can only be ended by the victory of one system or the other.

If the border states, the disputed areas in which the two systems have hitherto contended for domination, are a thorn in the flesh of the South, there can, on the other hand, be no mistake that, in the course of the war up to now, they have constituted the chief weakness of the North. One section of the slaveholders in these districts simulated loyalty to the North at the bidding of the conspirators in the South; another section found that in fact it was in accordance with their real interests and traditional ideas to go with the Union. The two sections have equally crippled the North. Anxiety to keep the "loyal" slaveholders of the border states in good humour; fear of throwing them into the arms of secession, in a word, tender regard for the interests, prejudices and sensibilities of these ambiguous allies, has smitten the Union

government with incurable weakness since the beginning of the war, driven it to half measures, forced it to dissemble away the principle of the war, and to spare the foe's most vulnerable spot, the root of the evil—*slavery itself.*

When, only recently, Lincoln pusillanimously revoked[a] Frémont's Missouri proclamation on the emancipation of Negroes belonging to the rebels,[68] this was done solely out of regard for the loud protest of the "loyal" slaveholders of Kentucky. However, a turning point has already been reached. With Kentucky, the last border state has been pushed into the series of battlefields between South and North. With the real war for the border states in the border states themselves, the question of winning or losing them is withdrawn from the sphere of diplomatic negotiations and parliamentary discussions. One section of slaveholders will throw off the mask of loyalty; the other will content itself with the prospect of a financial compensation such as Great Britain gave the West Indian planters.[69] Events themselves drive to the promulgation of the decisive slogan—*emancipation of the slaves.*

That even the most hardened Democrats and diplomats of the North feel themselves drawn to this point, is shown by some announcements of very recent date. In an open letter, General Cass, Secretary of State for War under Buchanan and hitherto one of the most ardent allies of the South, declared emancipation of the slaves the *conditio sine qua non* of the Union's salvation.[b] In his last *Review* for October, Dr. *Brownson,* the spokesman of the Catholic party of the North, on his own admission the most energetic adversary of the emancipation movement from 1836 to 1860, publishes an article *for* Abolition.

"If we have opposed Abolition heretofore," he says among other things, "because we would preserve the Union, we must *a fortiori* now oppose slavery whenever, in our judgement, its continuance becomes incompatible with the maintenance of the Union, or of our nation as a free republican state."[c]

Finally, the *World,* a New York organ of the diplomats of the Washington Cabinet, concludes one of its latest blustering articles against the Abolitionists with the words:

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[a] In a letter to Frémont of September 11, 1861, (*New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6380, September 15, 1861).—*Ed.*

[b] Cass's statement was quoted in a leading article in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6381, September 16, 1861.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx presumably quotes from the leading article in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6401, October 9, 1861, which contains this passage from the article in *Brownson's Quarterly Review.*—*Ed.*

"On the day when it shall be decided that either slavery or the Union must go down, on that day sentence of death is passed on slavery. If the North cannot triumph *without* emancipation, it will triumph *with* emancipation."

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# Karl Marx

## THE CRISIS IN ENGLAND[70]

Today, as fifteen years ago, England faces a catastrophe that threatens to strike at the root of her entire economic system. As is known, the *potato* formed the exclusive food of Ireland and a not inconsiderable section of the English working people when the potato blight of 1845 and 1846 struck the root of Irish life with decay. The results of this great catastrophe are known. The Irish population declined by two million, of whom one part died of starvation and the other fled across the Atlantic Ocean. At the same time, this dreadful misfortune helped the English Free Trade party to triumph; the English landed aristocracy was compelled to sacrifice one of its most lucrative monopolies, and the abolition of the Corn Laws[a] assured a broader and sounder basis for the reproduction and maintenance of the working millions.

What the *potato* was to Irish agriculture, *cotton* is to the dominant branch of Great Britain's industry. On its manufacture depends the subsistence of a mass of people greater than the total number of inhabitants of Scotland and than two-thirds of the present number of inhabitants of Ireland. For according to the census of 1861, the population of Scotland consisted of 3,061,117 persons, that of Ireland now only 5,764,543,[b] whilst more than four millions in England and Scotland live directly or indirectly by the cotton industry. Now the cotton plant is not, indeed, diseased. Just as little is its production the monopoly of a few regions of the earth. On the contrary, no other plant that yields clothing material

[a] "An Act to Amend the Laws Relating to the Importation of Corn" [1846].—*Ed.*

[b] *Population of the United Kingdom according to the Census of 1861* (*The Times*, No. 23992, July 23, 1861).—*Ed.*

thrives in equally extensive areas of America, Asia and Africa. The cotton monopoly of the slave states of the American Union is not a natural, but an historical monopoly. It grew and developed simultaneously with the monopoly of the English cotton industry on the world market. In the year 1793, shortly after the time of the great mechanical inventions in England, a Quaker[71] of Connecticut, Ely Whitney, invented the cotton gin,[a] a machine for cleaning cotton, which separates the cotton fibre from the cotton seed. Prior to this invention, a day of a Negro's most intensive labour barely sufficed to separate a pound of cotton fibre from the cotton seed. After the invention of the cotton gin, an old Negrowoman could comfortably supply fifty pounds of cotton daily, and gradual improvements have subsequently doubled the efficiency of the machine. The fetters on the cultivation of cotton in the United States were now burst asunder. Hand in hand with the English cotton industry, it grew swiftly to a great commercial power. Now and then in the course of development, England seemed to take fright at the monopoly of American cotton, as at a spectre that threatened danger. Such a moment occurred, for example, at the time when the emancipation of the Negroes in the English colonies was purchased for £20,000,000.[72] It was a matter for misgiving that the industry in Lancashire and Yorkshire should rest on the sovereignty of the slave-whip in Georgia and Alabama, whilst the English nation imposed on itself so great a sacrifice to abolish slavery in its own colonies. Philanthropy, however, does not make history, least of all commercial history. Similar doubts arose as often as a cotton crop failure occurred in the United States and as, in addition, such a natural phenomenon was exploited by the slaveholders to artificially raise the price of cotton still higher through combination. The English cotton spinners and weavers then threatened rebellion against "King Cotton". Manifold projects for procuring cotton from Asiatic and African sources came to light. This was the case, for example, in 1850.[b] However, the following good crop in the United States triumphantly dispelled such yearnings for emancipation. Indeed, in the last few years the American cotton monopoly attained dimensions scarcely dreamt of before, partly in consequence of the free trade legislation, which repealed the hitherto existing differential tariff on the cotton grown by slaves; partly in

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[a] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*

[b] This may refer to articles on cotton cultivation published in *The Economist*, Nos. 370, 371 and 372, September 28, October 5 and 12, 1850.—*Ed.*

consequence of the simultaneous giant strides made by the English cotton industry and American cotton cultivation during the last decade. In the year 1857 the consumption of cotton in England already amounted to nearly 1,500 million pounds.

Now, all of a sudden, the American Civil War menaces this great pillar of English industry. Whilst the Union blockades the harbours of the Southern states, in order to cut off the secessionists' chief source of income by preventing the export of their cotton crop of this year, the Confederacy lends compelling force to this blockade with the decision not to export a bale of cotton of its own accord, but rather to compel England to come and fetch her cotton from the Southern harbours herself. England is to be driven to the point of forcibly breaking through the blockade, of then declaring war on the Union and so of throwing her sword into the scale of the slave states.

From the beginning of the American Civil War the price of cotton in England rose continuously; for a considerable time, however, to a less degree than was to be expected. On the whole, the English commercial world appeared to look down very phlegmatically on the American crisis. The cause of this cold-blooded way of viewing things was unmistakable. The whole of the last American crop was long ago in Europe. The yield of a new crop is never shipped before the end of November, and this shipment seldom attains considerable dimensions before the end of December. Till then, therefore, it remained pretty much a matter of indifference whether the cotton bales were held back on the plantations or forwarded to the harbours of the South immediately after their packing. Should the blockade cease at any time before the end of the year, England could safely count on receiving her customary cotton imports in March or April, quite as if the blockade had never taken place. The English commercial world, in large measure misled by the English press, succumbed, however, to the delusion that a spectacle of about six months' war would end with recognition of the Confederacy by the United States. But at the end of August, North Americans appeared in the market of Liverpool to buy cotton, partly for speculation in Europe, partly for reshipment to North America. This unheard-of event opened the eyes of the English. They began to understand the seriousness of the situation. The Liverpool cotton market has since been in a state of feverish excitement; the prices of cotton were soon driven 100 per cent above their average level; the speculation in cotton assumed the same wild features that characterised the speculation in railways in 1845.[73] The spinning

and weaving mills in Lancashire and other seats of the British cotton industry limited their labour time to three days a week; a number of mills stopped their machines altogether; the disastrous reaction on other branches of industry was not wanting, and at this moment all England trembles at the approach of the greatest economic catastrophe that has yet threatened her.

The consumption of *Indian* cotton is naturally increasing, and the rising prices will ensure further increase of importation from the ancient home of cotton. Nevertheless, it remains impossible radically to change the conditions of production and the course of trade at, so to speak, a few months' notice. England is, in fact, now expiating her long mismanagement of India. Her present spasmodic attempts to replace American cotton by Indian encounter two great obstacles: the lack of means of communication and transport in India, and the miserable condition of the Indian peasant, which prevents him from taking advantage of the momentarily favourable circumstances. But, apart from this, apart from the process of improvement that Indian cotton has still to go through to be able to take the place of American, even under the most favourable circumstances it will be *years* before India can produce for export the requisite quantity of cotton. It is statistically established, however, that in *four months* the stocks of cotton in Liverpool will be exhausted. They will hold out even as long as this only if the limitation of the labour time to three days a week and the complete stoppage of a part of the machinery is effected by the British cotton spinners and weavers to a still greater extent than hitherto. Such a procedure is already exposing the factory districts to the greatest social sufferings. But if the American blockade continues over January! What then?

Written about November 1, 1861

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# Karl Marx

## BRITISH COMMERCE

London, Nov. 2, 1861

The English Board of Trade Returns for the nine months ending Sept. 30, 1861, show in exports a large diminution, and in imports a still larger increase. A comparison between the export lists of the last three years gives the following general result:

*Value of Exports for the nine months ending Sept. 30.*

1859 ..... £98,037,311
1860 ..... 101,724,346
1861 ..... 93,795,332[a]

Consequently the exports of this year, if compared to the corresponding period of 1860, have decreased by £7,929,014; of which total decrease the by far larger portion, viz.: £5,671,730, is accounted for by the sudden contraction of the American trade. The rates in which the general loss derived from this source has affected the different branches of British industry may be seen from the annexed table:

*Value of Exports to the United States in the nine months ending Sept. 30.*

| | 1859. £ | 1860. £ | 1861. £ |
|---|---|---|---|
| Beer and ale ..... | 78,060 | 76,843 | 25,642 |
| Coals and culm ..... | 144,556 | 156,665 | 200,244 |
| Cottons ..... | 2,753,782 | 2,776,472 | 1,130,973 |
| Earthenware and porcelain ..... | 448,661 | 518,778 | 191,606 |

[a] Here and below the tables are quoted from "The Board of Trade Returns", *The Economist,* No. 949, November 2, 1861.—*Ed.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Haberdashery and millinery | 1,204,085 | 1,083,438 | 542,312 |
| Linens | 1,486,276 | 1,337,778 | 493,654 |
| Hardwares and cutlery | 865,066 | 776,772 | 446,095 |
| Metals—Iron—Pig | 205,947 | 165,052 | 79,086 |
| Bar, bolt, and rod | 642,822 | 546,493 | 148,587 |
| Railway of all kinds | 744,505 | 665,619 | 168,657 |
| Cast | 16,489 | 17,056 | 9,239 |
| Wrought of all kinds | 357,162 | 378,842 | 125,752 |
| Steel, unwrought | 372,465 | 457,490 | 216,246 |
| Copper, sheets and nails | 99,422 | 44,971 | 10,005 |
| Lead, pig | 53,451 | 66,015 | 1,451 |
| Tin plates | 935,692 | 833,644 | 274,488 |
| Oil Seed | 122,570 | 72,915 | 1,680 |
| Salt | 63,876 | 84,818 | 59,809 |
| Silk stuffs, handkerchiefs, and ribbons | 197,605 | 102,393 | 88,360 |
| Other silk articles | 129,557 | 93,227 | 22,984 |
| Soda | 439,584 | 399,153 | 142,311 |
| Spirits, (British) | 53,173 | 56,423 | 12,430 |
| Woolens—Cloths of all kinds | 586,701 | 535,130 | 250,023 |
| Mixed stuffs, flannels, blankets, etc. | 1,732,224 | 1,612,284 | 652,399 |
| Worsted Stuffs | 1,052,053 | 840,507 | 377,597 |
| Total | 15,785,784 | 13,698,778[74] | 5,671,730 |

Beyond the diminution due to the decrease of the American trade, the general exports show, moreover, a decline of £2,257,284. The greater part of this loss was incurred during the month of September, when the high price of cotton, and the consequent rise in cotton manufactures and yarns, had begun to powerfully react on the markets of British North America,[a] East India, and Australia. During the whole period of nine months ended September, 1861, Turkey and Germany were, next to the United States, the countries foremost in restraining their absorption of British merchandise. The export trade to France has not grown in any observable degree, the only striking instance of increase being limited to an agricultural article, viz., sheeps' and lambs' wool. During the first nine months of 1860, England exported to France 4,735,150 pounds of wool, worth £354,047.[b]

[a] Canada.—*Ed.*

[b] The figures here and below are quoted from the *Accounts relating to Trade and Navigation for the Nine Months ended September 30, 1861* (*The Economist*, No. 949, November 2, 1861).—*Ed.*

During the corresponding period of this year, that export has risen to 8,716,082 pounds, valued at £642,468. The only other remarkable feature in the export returns refers to Italy. British exports to the new kingdom are evidently enlarging, which fact will go a great length in accounting for English sympathies with Italian liberty.[75] Thus, for instance, the export of British cottons to Sardinia, Tuscany, Naples, and Sicily, has increased from £756,892 in 1860, to £1,204,287 in 1861; the export of cotton yarns from £348,158 in 1860 to £538,373 in 1861; the export of irons from £120,867 in 1860, to £160,912 in 1861.

The import tables extend only to the first *eight months* of the current year. Their general result is shown by the subsequent figures:

*Real Value of Imports.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1859 | £ 88,993,762 |
| 1860 | 106,894,278 |
| 1861 | 114,588,107 |

The principal part of that increase of imports is due to a large addition in the purchase of foreign wheat, which, from £6,796,131 in the first eight months of 1860, had risen to £13,431,487 in the corresponding period of 1861. As to raw cotton, the quantity imported had, during the period referred to, only slightly fallen off, while the price of the article had largely increased, as will be seen from the annexed figures:

*Quantity of Cotton imported (during the first eight months).*

| | Cwts.[a] | Value. |
|---|---|---|
| 1859 | 8,023,082 | £24,039,197 |
| 1860 | 10,616,347 | 28,940,676 |
| 1861 | 9,616,087 | 30,809,279 |

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There exist no general politics at the present moment in England. Everything and everybody are absorbed in the industrial question and the American crisis. I called your attention in a former letter to the feverish state of the Liverpool cotton market.[b] For the last two weeks it has exhibited, in fact, all the symptoms of the railway mania in 1845.[76] Surgeons, dentists, physicians, barristers, cooks, workingmen, clerks and lords, comedians and parsons, soldiers and sailors, newspaper writers and boarding-

[a] The figures in this column are given for the period of nine months.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 17-20.—*Ed.*

school mistresses, males and females, all were speculating in cotton. Many of the lots purchased, sold and resold amounted to only one, two, three, or four bales. More considerable quantities remained in the same warehouses, although changing their proprietors twenty times. One who had purchased cotton at 10 o'clock offered it for sale at 11 o'clock, and realized a profit of $^1/_2$d. on one pound. Many lots circulated in this way through several hands in 12 hours. This week, however, a sort of reaction has taken place, due to the single circumstance that a shilling is a round number, being composed of 12d., and that most people had resolved upon selling out so soon as the price of the pound of cotton should have been pushed to one shilling; consequently, there set in suddenly a great increase in the offers of cotton, and hence a reaction in its price. This, however, can be only transitory.

The British mind once become familiar with the idea that a pound of cotton may cost 15d., the temporary barrier to speculation will break down, and the speculating mania reappear with redoubled fury. There is one thing favorable to the United States in this movement. It is hostile to the breaking-of-blockade party. Already there have been published protests on the part of the speculators, in which it is reasonably said that any warlike movement by the British Government would be an act of direct injustice to those merchants who, on the faith of the British Government's adherence to its recognized and avowed principle of non-interference, had made their calculations, speculated at home, sent out their orders abroad and purchased cotton on an estimate of the price which it would reach under the operation of natural, probable and foreseeable courses.

This day's *Economist* publishes a very foolish article, in which, from statistics given as to the population and the area of the United States, he arrives at the conclusion that there would be room enough for the establishment of at least seven vast empires, and that, consequently, "the dream of universal dominion" ought to be banished from the hearts of the Unionists.[a] The only rational inference which *The Economist* might have drawn from its own statistical statements, viz., that the Northerners, even if they liked to do so, could not desist from their claims without sacrificing to Slavery the vast States and Territories "in which Slavery still lingers, but cannot maintain itself as a permanent institution"—this only rational conclusion he successfully contrives not even to touch upon.

[a] "Motives of the Federalists in Coercing the Secessionists", *The Economist*, No. 949, November 2, 1861.—*Ed.*

Apart from its own commercial difficulties, England is simultaneously bothered by the critical state of the French finances. The maneuvers of the Bank of France to stay the bullion drain to England by accommodation bills, obtained from the Rothschilds and other great firms, have, as was to be foreseen, resulted in a but temporary mitigation of her embarrassments. She has now successively applied for succor to the banks at Berlin, Hamburg, and St. Petersburg; but all these tentatives, instead of procuring relief, have only betrayed despair. The straits to which the French Government is actually put appear from two measures recurred to in the course of a fortnight. The interest on the Treasury bills, in order to keep them afloat, had to be raised to 7 $^1/_2$ per cent, while Victor Emmanuel was commanded to partially postpone the instalments of the new Italian loan, of which French capitalists hold a very large amount. He, of course, acceded to the application of his patron.

In the Tuileries there are now two opposite influences, proposing two opposite nostrums for the temporary cure of the financial disease. The real Bonapartists, Persigny, and the Crédit Mobilier,[77] cherish a project by which to subject the Bank of France to the direct and complete control of the Government, to convert her into a mere dependency on the Treasury, and to use the power thus obtained for the unrestricted emission of inconvertible State paper money. The other party, represented by Fould, and other renegades of former regimes, propose a new loan, whose amount is variously estimated by the most modest at £16,000,000, by the more daring at £30,000,000.

Written on November 2, 1861

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6440, November 23, 1861

# Karl Marx

## ECONOMIC NOTES[78]

London, November 3

At the present moment general politics are non-existent in England. The interest of the country is absorbed in the French financial, commercial and agricultural crisis, the British industrial crisis, the dearth of cotton and the American question.

Competent circles here are not for a moment deceived concerning the Bank of France's bill-jobbing with a few big houses on both sides of the Channel being a palliative of the weakest sort.[a] All that could be achieved and has been achieved thereby was a *momentary* abatement of the drain of gold to England. The repeated attempts of the Bank of France to raise metallic auxiliary troops in Petersburg, Hamburg and Berlin damage its credit, without filling its coffers. The raising of the rate of interest on treasury bills, in order to keep them in currency, and the necessity of securing a remission of the payments for the new Italian loan from Victor Emmanuel—both are held here to be serious symptoms of French financial sickness. It is known, moreover, that at the present moment two projects contend in the Tuileries for precedence. The full-blooded Bonapartists, with Persigny and Péreire (of the Crédit Mobilier)[b] at their head, want to make the Bank of France completely subject to governmental authority, to reduce it to a mere office of the Finance Ministry, and to use the institution, thus transformed, as an assignat factory.

It is known that this principle was originally at the bottom of the organisation of the Crédit Mobilier. The less adventurous party,

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[a] See this volume, p. 61.—*Ed.*

[b] The Crédit Mobilier bank was founded by the brothers Émile and Isaac Péreire. Marx presumably means the latter.—*Ed.*

represented by Fould and other renegades of Louis Philippe's time, proposes a *new national loan,* which is to amount to 400 million francs, according to some; to 700 million, according to others. *The Times,* in a leading article today, probably reflects the view of the City[79] when it states that France is completely paralysed by her economic crisis and robbed of her European influence.[a] Nevertheless, *The Times* and the City are wrong. Should the December power[80] succeed in outlasting the winter without great internal storms, it will then blow the war trumpet in the spring. The internal distress will not thereby be remedied, but its voice will be drowned.

In an earlier letter[b] I pointed out that the cotton swindle in Liverpool during the last few weeks fully reminds one of the maddest days of the railway mania of 1845. Dentists, surgeons, barristers, cooks, widows, workers, clerks and lords, comedians and clergymen, soldiers and tailors, journalists and persons letting apartments, man and wife, all speculated in cotton. Quite small quantities of from 1 to 4 bales were bought, sold and sold again. More considerable quantities lay for months in the same warehouse, although they changed owners twenty times. Whoever had bought cotton at 10 o'clock, sold it again at 11 o'clock with an addition of a halfpenny a pound. Thus the same cotton often circulated from hand to hand six times in ten hours. This week, however, there came a lull, and for no more rational reason than that a pound of cotton (namely, middling Orleans cotton) had risen to a shilling, that 12 pence make a shilling and are therefore a round figure. So everyone had purposed selling out, as soon as this maximum was reached. Hence sudden increase of the supply, and consequent reaction. As soon as the English make themselves conversant with the possibility that a pound of cotton can rise *above* a shilling, the St. Vitus's dance will return more madly than ever.

The last official monthly report of the *Board of Trade*[c] on British exports and imports[d] has by no means dispelled the gloomy feeling. The *export tables* cover the nine months' period from January to September 1861. In comparison with the same period of 1860, they show a falling-off of about £8,000,000. Of this,

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[a] "To those who concern themselves with French politics...", *The Times,* No. 24080, November 2, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 53-56.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English name.—*Ed.*

[d] *Accounts relating to Trade and Navigation for the Nine Months ended September 30, 1861* (*The Economist,* No. 949, November 2, 1861, Supplement).—*Ed.*

£5,671,730 fall to exports to the United States alone, whilst the remainder is distributed over British North America,[a] the East Indies, Australia, Turkey and Germany. Only in Italy is an increase shown. Thus, for example, the export of British cotton commodities to Sardinia, Tuscany, Naples and Sicily has risen from £756,892 for the year 1860 to £1,204,287 for the year 1861; the export of British cotton yarn from £348,158 to £538,373; the export of iron from £120,867 to £160,912, etc. These figures are not without weight in the scale of British sympathy for Italian freedom.[81]

Whilst the export trade of Great Britain has thus declined by nearly £8,000,000 her *import trade* has *risen* in still higher proportion, a circumstance that by no means facilitates the adjustment of the balance. This rise in imports stems, in particular, from the increase in wheat imports. Whereas for the first *eight* months of 1860 the value of the wheat imported amounted to only £6,796,131, for the same period of the present year it totals £13,431,487.

The most remarkable phenomenon revealed by the *import tables* is the rapid increase of *French imports* which have now attained a volume of nearly £18,000,000 (yearly), whilst English exports to France are not much bigger than, perhaps, those to Holland. Continental politicians have hitherto overlooked this entirely new phenomenon of modern commercial history. It proves that the economic dependence of France on England is, perhaps, six times as great as the economic dependence of England on France, if, that is, one not only considers the English export and import tables, but also compares them with the French export and import tables. It then follows that England has now become the principal export market for France, whereas France has remained a quite secondary export market for England. Hence, despite all chauvinism and all Waterloo[82] rodomontade, the nervous dread of a conflict with "perfidious Albion".[83]

Finally, one more important fact emerges from the latest English export and import tables. Whilst in the first *nine* months of this year English exports to the *United States* declined by more than 65 per cent[b] in comparison with the same period of 1860, the port of New York alone has *increased* its exports to England by

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[a] Canada.— *Ed.*

[b] The original mistakenly says 25 per cent. Marx took the figure from *The Economist,* No. 949, November 2, 1861, where an error had been made in the calculation.— *Ed.*

£6,000,000 during the first *eight* months of the present year. During this period the export of American gold to England had almost ceased, while now, on the contrary, gold has been flowing for weeks from England to New York. It is in fact England and France whose crop failures cover the North American deficit, while the Morrill tariff[84] and the economy inseparable from a civil war have simultaneously decimated the consumption of English and French manufactures in North America. And now one may compare these statistical facts with the jeremiads of *The Times* on the financial ruin of North America!

Written on November 3, 1861

First published in *Die Presse,* No. 308, November 9, 1861

Printed according to the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## INTERVENTION IN MEXICO[85]

London, November 7

*The Times* of today has a leading article[a] in its well-known, confusedly kaleidoscopic, affectedly humorous style, on the French government's invasion of Dappenthal and on Switzerland's protest against this violation of territory.[86] The oracle of Printing House Square[87] recalls how, at the time of most acute struggle between English manufacturers and landowners, little children employed in the factories were led to throw needles into the most delicate parts of the machinery to upset the motion of the whole powerful automaton. The machinery is Europe, the little child is Switzerland and the needle that *she* throws into the smoothly running automaton is—*Louis Bonaparte's* invasion of her territory or, rather, her outcry at his invasion. Thus the needle is suddenly transformed into the outcry at the needle's prick and the metaphor into a piece of buffoonery at the expense of the reader who expects a metaphor. *The Times* is further enlivened by its own discovery that Dappenthal consists of a single village called Cressonnières. It ends its short article with a complete contradiction of its beginning. Why, it exclaims, make so much ado about this infinitely small Swiss bagatelle, when every quarter of Europe will be ablaze next spring? One may not forget that, shortly before, Europe was a well regulated automaton. The whole article appears sheer nonsense and yet it has its sense. It is a declaration that Palmerston has given *carte blanche* in the Swiss incident to his ally on the other side of the Channel. The explanation of this

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[a] "Some of our middle-aged readers may recollect the time...", *The Times*, No. 24083, November 6, 1861.—*Ed.*

declaration is found in the dry notice in the *Moniteur*[a] that on October 31 England, France and Spain concluded a convention on joint *intervention in Mexico.*[88] The article of *The Times* on Dappenthal and the note of the *Moniteur* on Mexico stand as close together as the Canton of Waadt and Vera Cruz lie far apart.

It is credible that Louis Bonaparte counted on intervention in Mexico among the many possibilities which he continually has ready to divert the French people. Surely Spain, whose cheap successes in Morocco and St. Domingo [89] have gone to her head, dreams of a Restoration in Mexico. But it is certain that France's project had not yet matured and that both France and Spain were opposed to a crusade against Mexico under *English* command.

On September 24, Palmerston's private *Moniteur,* the *Morning Post,* announced the details of an agreement that England, France and Spain had reached for joint intervention in Mexico.[b] The following day the *Patrie* denied the existence of any such agreement. On September 27 *The Times* refuted the *Patrie,* without naming it. According to *The Times'* article, Lord Russell had *communicated* the English decision on intervention to the French government, whereupon M. Thouvenel had answered that the Emperor of the French had arrived at a like conclusion. It was now the turn of Spain. In a semi-official organ the Spanish government declared that it purposed an intervention in Mexico, but by no means an intervention alongside of England. It rained *dementis. The Times* had categorically announced that "the full assent of the American President had been given to the planned expedition". Hardly had the report reached the other side of the Atlantic Ocean when all the organs of the American government branded it as a lie, since President Lincoln was going with and not against Mexico. From all this it follows that the plan of intervention in its present form originated in the Cabinet of St. James.[90]

No less puzzling and contradictory than the statements concerning the origin of the convention were the statements concerning its points at issue. One organ of Palmerston, the *Morning Post,* announced that Mexico was not an organised state, with an established government, but a mere robbers' nest. It was to be treated as such. The expedition had only one object—the satisfaction of the Mexican state's creditors in England, France and

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[a] "Bulletin", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 309, November 5, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx draws on the press review published in *The Free Press,* No. 10, October 2, 1861 ("The Projected Intervention in Mexico").—*Ed.*

Spain. To this end the combined forces would occupy the principal ports of Mexico, collect the import and export duties on her coast and hold this "material guarantee" [a] till all debt claims were satisfied.

The other organ of Palmerston, *The Times,* declared, on the contrary, that England was "steeled against plunderings on the part of bankrupt Mexico by long experience". It was not a question of the private interests of the creditors, but "they hope that the mere presence of a combined squadron in the Gulf of Mexico and the seizure of certain ports, will urge the Mexican government to *new* exertions in keeping the internal peace, and will compel the malcontents to confine themselves to some form of opposition more constitutional than brigandage".

According to this, the expedition would therefore take place to support the official government of Mexico. At the same time, however, *The Times* intimates that "the City of Mexico was sufficiently healthy, should it be necessary to penetrate so far".

The most original means of consolidating a government indisputably consists in the sequestration of its revenues and its territories by force. On the other hand, mere occupation of the ports and collection of the duties in them can only cause the Mexican government to set up a more inland-lying line of custom houses. Import duties on foreign commodities, export duties on American commodities would in this way be doubled; the intervention would in fact satisfy the claims of European creditors by extortions from European-Mexican trade. The Mexican government can become solvent only by internal consolidation, but it can consolidate itself at home only so long as its independence is respected abroad.

If the expedition's ostensible ends are so contradictory, then the ostensible means to these ostensible ends are still more contradictory. The English government organs themselves admit that if one thing or another would be attainable by a unilateral intervention of France or England or Spain, everything becomes unattainable by a *joint* intervention of these states.

One may recall that the Liberal Party in Mexico under Juárez, the official President of the republic, has now the upper hand at almost all points; that the Catholic Party under General Márquez has suffered defeat after defeat, and that the robber band organised by it has been driven back to the sierras of Queretaro and is dependent on an alliance with Mejía, the Indian chief there. The last hope of the Catholic Party was *Spanish* intervention.

[a] The phrase occurs in an item published in the column "Great Britain" in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6462, December 19, 1861.—*Ed.*

"The only point," says *The Times,* "on which there may possibly be a difference between ourselves and our allies, regards the *government of the republic.* England will be content to see it remain in the hands of the Liberal Party, while France and Spain are suspected of a partiality for the ecclesiastical rule which has recently been overthrown. It would be strange, if France were, in both the old and the new world, to make herself the protector of priests and bandits. Just as in Italy the partisans of Francis II at Rome are being equipped for their work of making Naples ungovernable, so in Mexico the highways, indeed, the streets of the capital, are infested with robbers, whom the church party openly declares to be its friends."

And just for this reason England strengthens the Liberal government; in undertaking a crusade against it with France and Spain she seeks to suppress anarchy by supplying the clerical party lying at its last gasp with fresh allied troops from Europe!

Save during the short winter months the coasts of Mexico, pestilential as they are, can only be held by conquest of the country itself. But a third English government organ, *The Economist,* declares the conquest of Mexico to be impossible.

"If it is desired," says this paper, "to thrust upon her a British prince with an English army, then the fiercest wrath of the United States is excited. France's jealousy would make such a conquest impossible, and a motion to this effect would be rejected almost unanimously by an English parliament the moment it was submitted to it. England, for her part, cannot entrust the government of Mexico to France. Of Spain there can be no question whatever."[a]

The whole expedition is therefore a mystification, the key to which the *Patrie* gives in these words:

"The convention recognises the necessity of installing in Mexico a strong government that can maintain tranquillity and order there."[b]

The question is simply one of applying to the states of America through a new Holy Alliance the principle according to which the Holy Alliance held itself called on to interfere in the internal governmental affairs of the countries of Europe.[91] The first plan of this sort was drawn up by Chateaubriand for the Bourbons of Spain and France at the time of the Restoration.[92] It was frustrated by *Canning* and *Monroe,* the President of the United States, who declared any European interference in the internal affairs of American states to be forbidden. Since then the American Union has constantly asserted the Monroe Doctrine[93] as an international law. The present Civil War, however, created the right situation for securing to the European monarchies an

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[a] "The Case of Mexico", *The Economist,* No. 947, October 19, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx presumably quotes this passage (*La Patrie,* October 29, 1861) from a reprint in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6434, November 16, 1861.—*Ed.*

intervention precedent on which they can build later. That is the real object of the English-French-Spanish intervention. Its immediate result can only be and is only intended to be the *restoration* of the anarchy just dying out in Mexico.

Apart from all standpoints of international law in general, the affair has the great significance for Europe that by concessions in the domain of Continental politics England has purchased the support of Louis Bonaparte in the Mexican expedition.

Written on November 6-7, 1861

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Printed according to the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## THE INTERVENTION IN MEXICO

London, Nov. 8, 1861

The contemplated intervention in Mexico by England, France, and Spain, is, in my opinion, one of the most monstrous enterprises ever chronicled in the annals of international history. It is a contrivance of the true Palmerston make, astounding the uninitiated by an insanity of purpose and an imbecility of the means employed which appear quite incompatible with the known capacity of the old schemer.

It is probable that, among the many irons which, to amuse the French public, Louis Bonaparte is compelled to always keep in the fire, a Mexican Expedition may have figured. It is sure that Spain, whose never overstrong head has been quite turned by her recent cheap successes in Morocco and St. Domingo, dreams of a restoration in Mexico. But, nevertheless, it is certain that the French plan was far from being matured, and that both France and Spain strove hard against a joint expedition to Mexico under English leadership.

On Sept. 24, Palmerston's private Moniteur, *The London Morning Post,* first announced in detail the scheme for the joint intervention, according to the terms of a treaty just concluded, as it said, between England, France, and Spain.[a] This statement had hardly crossed the Channel, when the French Government, through the columns of the Paris *Patrie,* gave it the lie direct. On Sept. 27, *The London Times,* Palmerston's national organ, first broke its silence

[a] Here and below Marx makes use of the press review from the article "The Projected Intervention in Mexico", *The Free Press,* No. 10, October 2, 1861.—*Ed.*

on the scheme in a leader contradicting, but not quoting, the *Patrie*. *The Times* even stated that Earl Russell had communicated to the French Government the resolution arrived at on the part of England of interfering in Mexico, and that M. de Thouvenel replied that the Emperor of the French had come to a similar conclusion. Now it was the turn of Spain. A semi-official paper of Madrid, while affirming Spain's intention to meddle with Mexico, repudiated at the same time the idea of a joint intervention with England. The *dementis* were not yet exhausted. *The Times* had categorically asserted that "the full assent of the American President had been given to the Expedition." All the American papers taking notice of *The Times* article, have long since contradicted its assertion.

It is, therefore, certain, and has even been expressly admitted by *The Times*, that the joint intervention in its present form is of English—i.e., Palmerstonian—make. Spain was cowed into adherence by the pressure of France; and France was brought round by concessions made to her in the field of European policy. In this respect, it is a significant coincidence that *The Times* of November 6, in the very number in which it announces the conclusion at London of a convention for the joint interference in Mexico,[a] simultaneously publishes a leader, pooh-poohing and treating with exquisite contumely the protest of Switzerland against the recent invasion of her territory—viz., the Dappenthal—by a French military force.[b] In return for his fellowship in the Mexican expedition, Louis Bonaparte has obtained *carte blanche* for his contemplated encroachments on Switzerland and, perhaps, on other parts of the European continent. The transactions on these points between England and France have lasted throughout the whole of the months of September and October.

There exist in England no people desirous of an intervention in Mexico save the Mexican bondholders, who, however, had never to boast the least sway over the national mind. Hence the difficulty of breaking to the public the Palmerstonian scheme. The next best means was to bewilder the British elephant by contradictory statements, proceeding from the same laboratory, compounded of the same materials, but varying in the doses administered to the animal.

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[a] "Paris, Tuesday, Nov. 5, 7 A.M.", *The Times*, No. 24083, November 6, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] "Some of our middle-aged readers may recollect the time...", *The Times*, No. 24083, November 6, 1861.—*Ed.*

*The Morning Post,* in its print of September 24, announced that there would be "no territorial war on Mexico," that the only point at issue was the monetary claims on the Mexican exchequer; that "it would be impossible to deal with Mexico as an organized and established Government," and that, consequently, "the principal Mexican ports would be temporarily occupied and their customs revenues sequestered."[a]

*The Times* of September 27 declared, on the contrary, that "to dishonesty, to repudiation, to the legal and irremediable plunder of our countrymen by the default of a bankrupt community, we were steeled by long endurance," and that, consequently, "the private robbery of the English bondholders" lay not, as *The Post* had it,[b] at the bottom of the intervention. While remarking, *en passant,* that "the City of Mexico was sufficiently healthy, should it be necessary to penetrate so far," *The Times* hoped, however, that "the mere presence of a combined squadron in the Gulf, and the seizure of certain ports, will urge the Mexican Government to *new* exertions in keeping the peace, and will convince the malcontents that they must confine themselves to some form of opposition more constitutional than brigandage."

If, then, according to *The Post,* the expedition was to start because there "exists no Government in Mexico," it was, according to *The Times,* only intended as encouraging and supporting the *existing* Mexican Government. To be sure! The oddest means ever hit upon for the consolidation of a Government consists in the seizure of its territory and the sequestration of its revenue.

*The Times* and *The Morning Post* having once given out the cue, John Bull was then handed over to the minor ministerial oracles, systematically belaboring him in the same contradictory style for four weeks, until public opinion had at last become sufficiently trained to the idea of a joint intervention in Mexico, although kept in deliberate ignorance of the aim and purpose of that intervention. At last, the transactions with France had drawn to an end; the *Moniteur* announced that the convention between the three interfering powers had been concluded on October 31;[c] and the *Journal des Débats,* one of whose coproprietors is appointed to the command of one of the vessels of the French squadron, informed the world that no permanent territorial conquest was intended;

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[a] Here and below Marx draws on the press review given in the article "The Projected Intervention in Mexico", *The Free Press,* No. 10, October 2, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Morning Post.*—*Ed.*

[c] "Bulletin", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 309, November 5, 1861.—*Ed.*

that Vera Cruz and other points on the coast were to be seized, an advance to the capital being agreed upon in case of non-compliance by the constituted authorities in Mexico with the demands of the intervention; that, moreover, a strong government was to be imported into the Republic.[a]

*The Times,* which ever since its first announcement on September 27,[b] seemed to have forgotten the very existence of Mexico, had now again to step forward. Everybody ignorant of its connection with Palmerston, and the original introduction in its columns of his scheme, would be induced to consider the to-day's leader of *The Times* as the most cutting and merciless satire on the whole adventure. It sets out by stating that "the expedition is a *very remarkable* one" [later on it says *a curious one*].

"Three States are combining to coerce a fourth into good behavior, *not so much by way of war as by authoritative interference in behalf of order.*"[c]

Authoritative interference in behalf of order! This is literally the Holy Alliance[94] slang, and sounds very *remarkable* indeed on the part of England, glorying in the non-intervention principle! And why is "the way of war, and of declaration of war, and all other behests of international law," supplanted by "an authoritative interference in behalf of order?" Because, says *The Times,* there "exists no Government in Mexico." And what is the professed aim of the expedition? "To address demands to the constituted authorities at Mexico."

The only grievances complained of by the intervening Powers, the only causes which might give to their hostile procedure the slightest shade of justification, are easily to be summed up. They are the monetary claims of the bondholders and a series of personal outrages said to have been committed upon subjects of England, France and Spain. These were also the reasons of the intervention as originally put forth by *The Morning Post,* and as some time ago officially indorsed by Lord John Russell in an interview with some representatives of the Mexican bondholders in England. The to-day's *Times* states:

"England, France, and Spain have concerted an expedition to bring Mexico to the *performance of her specific engagements,* and to *give protection to the subjects of the respective crowns.*"

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[a] "France. Paris, 3 novembre", *Journal des Débats,* November 6, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] "The assurance, in spite of the denial of the *Patrie...*", *The Times,* No. 24049, September 27, 1861, leading article.—*Ed.*

[c] "In a very short time...", *The Times,* No. 24085, November 8, 1861.—*Ed.*

However, in the progress of its article, *The Times* veers round, and exclaims:

"We shall, no doubt, succeed *in obtaining* at least *a recognition of our pecuniary claims;* in fact, *a single British frigate could have obtained that amount of satisfaction at any moment.* We may trust, too, that the more scandalous of the outrages committed will be expiated by more immediate and substantial atonements; but *it is clear that, if only this much was to be brought about, we need not have resorted to such extremities as are now proposed.*"

*The Times,* then, confesses in so many words that the reasons originally given out for the expedition are shallow pretexts; that for the attainment of redress nothing like the present procedure was needed; and that, in point of fact, the "recognition of monetary claims, and the protection of European subjects" have nothing at all to do with the present joint intervention in Mexico. What, then, is its real aim and purpose?

Before following *The Times* in its further explanations, we will, *en passant,* note some more *"curiosities"* which it has taken good care not to touch upon. In the first instance, it is a real "curiosity" to see Spain—Spain out of all other countries—turn crusader for the sanctity of foreign debts! Last Sunday's[a] *Courrier du Dimanche* already summons the French Government to improve the opportunity, and compel Spain, "into the eternally delayed performance of her old standing engagements to French bondholders."

The second still greater "curiosity" is, that the very same Palmerston who, according to Lord John Russell's recent declaration, is about invading Mexico to make its Government pay the English bondholders, has himself, voluntarily, and despite the Mexican Government, *sacrificed* the treaty rights of England and the security mortgaged by Mexico to her British creditors.[b]

By the treaty concluded with England in 1826, Mexico became bound to not allow the establishment of Slavery in any of the territories constituting her then empire.[c] By another clause of the same treaty, she tendered England, as a security for the loans obtained from British capitalists, the mortgage of 45,000,000 acres of the public lands in Texas. It was Palmerston who, ten or twelve years later,[d] interfered as the mediator for Texas against Mexico. In the treaty then concluded by him with Texas, he sacrificed not

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[a] November 3, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Times,* No. 24049, September 27, 1861.—*Ed.*

[c] Here and below Marx draws on documents cited in the article "Annexation of the Texas, a Case of War between England and the United States", *The Portfolio; Diplomatic Review* (new series), London, 1844, Vol. III, No. XI.—*Ed.*

[d] In 1840.—*Ed.*

only *the Anti-Slavery cause,* but also the *mortgage on the public lands,* thus robbing the English bondholders of their security. The Mexican Government protested at the time, but meanwhile, later on, Secretary John C. Calhoun could permit himself the jest of informing the Cabinet of St. James that its desire "of seeing Slavery abolished in Texas would be" best realized by annexing Texas to the United States. The English bondholders lost, in fact, any claim upon Mexico, by the voluntary sacrifice on the part of Palmerston of the mortgage secured to them in the treaty of 1826.

But, since *The London Times* avows that the present intervention has nothing to do either with monetary claims or with personal outrages, what, then, in all the world, is its real or pretended aim?

*"An authoritative interference in behalf of Order."*[a]

England, France, and Spain, planning a new Holy Alliance, and having formed themselves into an armed areopagus for the restoration of order all over the world, "Mexico," says *The Times, "must be rescued from anarchy,* and put in the way of self-government and peace. A strong and stable government must be established" there by the invaders, and that government is to be extracted from "some Mexican party."

Now, does any one imagine that Palmerston and his mouthpiece, *The Times,* really consider the joint intervention as a means to the professed end, viz: The extinction of anarchy, and the establishment in Mexico of a strong and stable government? So far from cherishing any such chimerical creed, *The Times* states expressly in its first leader of September 27:

"The only point on which there may possibly be a difference between ourselves and our allies, regards *the government of the Republic.* England will be content to see it *remain* in the hands of the *liberal party which is now in power,* while France and Spain are suspected of a partiality for the *ecclesiastical rule which has recently been overthrown....* It would, indeed, be strange, if France were, in both the old and new world, to make herself the protector of priests and bandits."

In its to-day's leader, *The Times* goes on reasoning in the same strain, and resumes its scruples in this sentence:

"It is *hard to suppose* that the intervening powers could all concur in the absolute preference of either of the two parties between which Mexico is divided, and *equally hard to imagine* that a compromise would be found practicable between enemies so determined."

Palmerston and *The Times,* then, are fully aware that there "exists a government in Mexico," that "the Liberal party,"

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[a] *The Times,* No. 24085, November 8, 1861.—*Ed.*

ostensibly favored by England, "is now in power," that "the ecclesiastical rule has been overthrown;"[a] that Spanish intervention was the last forlorn hope of the priests and bandits; and, finally, that Mexican anarchy was dying away. They know, then, that the joint intervention, with no other avowed end save the rescue of Mexico from anarchy, will produce just the opposite effect, weaken the Constitutional Government, strengthen the priestly party by a supply of French and Spanish bayonets, rekindle the embers of civil war, and, instead of extinguishing, *restore* anarchy to its full bloom.

The inference *The Times* itself draws from those premises is really "remarkable" and "curious."

Although, it says, "these considerations may induce us to look with some anxiety to the results of the expedition, they do not militate against *the expediency of the expedition itself.*"[b]

It does, consequently, not militate against the expediency of the expedition itself, that the expedition militates against its only ostensible purpose. It does not militate against the means that it baffles its own avowed end.

The greatest "curiosity" pointed out by *The Times,* I have, however, still kept in petto.

"If," says it, "President *Lincoln* should accept the invitation, which is provided for by the convention, to participate in the approaching operations, *the character of the work would become more curious still.*"

It would, indeed, be the greatest "curiosity" of all if the United States, living in amity with Mexico, should associate with the European order-mongers, and, by participating in their acts, sanction the interference of a European armed Areopagus with the internal affairs of American States. The first scheme of such a transplantation of the Holy Alliance to the other side of the Atlantic was, at the time of the restoration, drawn up for the French and Spanish Bourbons by *Chateaubriand.*[95] The attempt was baffled by an English Minister, Mr. *Canning,* and an American President, Mr. *Monroe.* The present convulsion in the United States appeared to Palmerston an opportune moment for taking up the old project in a modified form. Since the United States, for the present, must allow no foreign complication to interfere with their war for the Union, all they can do is to *protest.* Their best well-wishers in Europe hope that they will protest, and thus,

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[a] *The Times,* No. 24049, September 27, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below, *The Times,* No. 24085, November 8, 1861.—*Ed.*

before the eyes of the world, firmly repudiate any complicity in one of the most nefarious schemes.

This military expedition of Palmerston's, carried out by a coalition with two other European powers, is started during the prorogation, without the sanction, and against the will of the British Parliament. The first extra Parliamentary war of Palmerston's was the Afghan war softened and justified by the production of *forged papers.*[a] [96] Another war of that sort was his Persian war of 1856-1857.[97] He defended it at the time on the plea that "the principle of the previous sanction of the House did not apply to *Asiatic* wars."[b] It seems that it does neither apply to *American* wars. With the control over foreign wars, Parliament will lose all control over the national exchequer, and Parliamentary government turn to a mere farce.

Written on November 8, 1861

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6440, November 23, 1861

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[a] *Correspondence Relating to Persia and Afghanistan,* London, 1839.—*Ed.*

[b] H. J. Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on July 16, 1857, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates,* Third series, Vol. CXLVI, London, 1857.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## MONSIEUR FOULD[98]

Paris, November 16

Art experts in the field of high political comedy find a source of the purest pleasure in the French *Moniteur* of November 14. As in the ancient classical drama, Fate invisibly, irresistibly enmeshes the heroes—Fate in the form of a thousand million-franc deficit. As in ancient drama, the dialogue is only between two persons, Oedipus-Bonaparte and Teiresias-Fould. The tragedy turns into comedy, however, since Teiresias says only what Oedipus has whispered to him in advance.[a]

One of the most characteristic tricks of Bonapartist comedy is to put its old, worn *dramatis personae* on stage over and over again as brand-new heroes. Billault comes on in place of Persigny, and then Persigny comes on in place of Billault! And likewise in the Decembrist press![b] Grandguillot, Cassagnac, Limayrac are tossed to and fro between the *Constitutionnel,* the *Pays* and the *Patrie.* Monsieur Véron, the "Bourgeois de Paris",[c] is replaced by Cesena as director of the *Constitutionnel,* Cesena by Cucheval, Cucheval by Cassagnac, Cassagnac by Renée, Renée by Grandguillot, and after six years Véron comes on again in his old spot—as a brand-new hero.

Likewise under the constitutional system Thiers became new as soon as Guizot was worn out, and Molé new as soon as Thiers was worn out, and then the round was repeated. However, these

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[a] An allusion to Napoleon III's message to Fould and the latter's "Mémoire à l'Empereur", both published in *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 318, November 14, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] The press of Louis Bonaparte, who staged a *coup d'état* on December 2, 1851.—*Ed.*

[c] An allusion to L. Véron's book *Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris.*—*Ed.*

different men represented different parties and tendencies. If they pushed one another out, in order to follow one another, and followed one another in order to push one another out again, then their toing and froing only showed the oscillations in the balance of the parties that in general formed the *pays légal*[a] under Louis Philippe. But Billault or Persigny, Walewski or Thouvenel, Laroquette or Fould, Grandguillot or Limayrac? It is what the English call "a distinction without a difference".[b] They all represent the same thing—the *coup d'état.* They do not represent different interests and parties among the people. They only represent different facial features of the Emperor. They are only different masks, behind which the same head is hidden.

*The Times,* whose weak point is comparisons, compares Louis Bonaparte with Louis XVI and Fould with Turgot.[c] Fould and Turgot! It is like trying to compare M. Vaillant with Carnot, because both of them were Ministers of War. Turgot was the head of the new economic school of the eighteenth century, the Physiocratic School.[99] He was one of the intellectual heroes who overthrew the old regime, while Louis XVI was the incarnation of that old regime. But who is Fould? Fould, a member of the dynastic opposition[100] under Louis Philippe, was always passed over on principle despite the most obtrusive solicitation, whenever the dynastic opposition was in a position to nominate a Finance Minister. Fould was held to be a *"financier dangereux",* a reputation he had earned owing to his various unlucky financial operations. He needed only to defend a proposal, and the Chambers rejected it. Then came the provisional government. It had hardly been proclaimed, when Fould rushed to Ledru-Rollin, offered his services as Finance Minister and—proposed *national bankruptcy.* The courtship was unsuccessful, and the rejected suitor got his revenge by writing the pamphlet, *Pas d'assignats!* Finally Fould recognised in Louis Bonaparte the man who was foolhardy enough to hand the French treasury over to Mr. Fould.

Fould was closely involved in the manoeuvres that ensured the "nephew's"[d] election to the presidency on December 10, 1848. Fould was a very active friend and made the financial preparations for the *coup d'état.* December 2, 1851 was not only the victory of

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[a] The section of the people having the right to vote.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English phrase and gives the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

[c] "The hour of reckoning has at length overtaken France...", *The Times,* No. 24091, November 15, 1861, leading article.—*Ed.*

[d] Louis Bonaparte's.—*Ed.*

Louis Bonaparte but also the victory of Fould. Fould became all-powerful. Fould became Minister of State. Fould could raise even his *menus plaisirs*[a] to the level of affairs of state. He seized hold of the dictatorship of the theatre along with the dictatorship of finances. Like other notorious men of *haute finance,*[b] Fould shared a passion for the dollar with a passion for the heroines of the wings. Fould became a sultan of the wings. Fould, with Péreire, is the inventor of imperialist finance. He is the direct cause of nine-tenths of the current deficit. Finally, in 1860, the great Fould withdrew into private life, to reappear in 1861 as "a new man" ("a brand new man")[c] in the imperialist finance comedy. Fould appears again as Turgot, Fould as Marquis Posa! *Applaudite, amici!*[101]

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[a] Lesser pleasures.— *Ed.*
[b] High finance.— *Ed.*
[c] Marx uses the English phrase "a new man" and adds "a brand new man" in German in brackets.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## FRANCE'S FINANCIAL SITUATION

The *Times,* which at first praised the imperialist *coup d'éclat*[a] moderately and then lauded it in hyperboles, makes a sudden switch today from panegyrics to criticism.[b] The way in which this manoeuvre is executed is typical of the Leviathan of the English press:

"We will leave to others the task of congratulating Caesar on his admission that he is a finite and fallible being, and that, indisputably reigning by the power of the sword, he does not pretend to rule by virtue of Divine right. We had rather inquire what have been the financial results of ten years of Imperial sway, which are better worth thinking of than the phrases in which those results have been made known.... The Executive did what it pleased; the Ministers were responsible to the Emperor alone; the state of the finances was entirely concealed from the public and the Chambers. The annual form of voting a budget, instead of a check, was a mask; instead of a protection, a delusion. What, then, have the French people achieved by placing their liberties and their possessions at the disposal of a single man?... M. Fould himself admits that between 1851 and 1858 extraordinary credits have been opened to the amount of 2,800,000,000 francs, and that the deficit for the present year amounts to no less than 1,000,000,000 francs.

"We do not know how these sums were raised, but assuredly it has not been by taxation. We are told that four millions paid by the Bank of France for the renewal of its privileges have been spent, that five millions and a half of the Army Dotation Fund have been borrowed, and that securities of different kinds have been thrown into circulation. *As to the present state of affairs,* our Correspondent in Paris assures us *that there is not money in the Treasury to pay the half-yearly dividends due next month.* Such is the disastrous, the disgraceful state of French Finance, after ten years of brilliant and successful Imperialism, and it is only now, at a moment when it is unable to discharge its current obligations, that the French Government has taken the nation in some degree into its confidence and shown it a little of the reality that

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[a] Glorious exploit.—*Ed.*

[b] "The extraordinary frankness of M. Fould...", *The Times,* No. 24093, November 18, 1861, leading article.—*Ed.*

has lain hidden behind the glamorous phantasmagoria of the financial prosperity of which it has been so often assured. Nay, at this very moment the *Revue des Deux Mondes* is being prosecuted for making statements with regard to the financial position of France, the only fault of which is that they are far too rosy."

*The Times* goes on to enquire into the causes of this collapse. During the imperialist decade France's exports have more than doubled. Agriculture has developed along with industry, and the railway system with both. The credit system, only incipient before 1848, has shot up in all directions. All these developments did not arise from any decree of the Emperor's, but from the revolutionary changes in the world market since the discovery of gold in California and Australia. Then what has caused the catastrophe?

*The Times* mentions the extraordinary expenditures on the army and navy, the natural fruit of Louis Bonaparte's efforts to play Napoleon in Europe. It mentions the wars, and finally the gigantic outlays on public works in order to occupy the entrepreneurs and the proletariat and keep them in good humour.

"But," it continues, "all this is insufficient to account for this frightful deficit, the largest of which the history of mankind furnishes us with an example.... To the aggressive military and naval armaments, public works, and occasional wars, has been added a *shameless and universal system of pillage.* A shower of gold has descended upon the *Empire* and its supporters. The enormous fortunes suddenly and unaccountably acquired have been the cause of scandal and wonder till scandal grew dumb and wonder weak from the frequency, indeed the universality, of the phenomenon. Modern France has taught us better to understand those passages in Juvenal's satires which treat suddenly acquired wealth as a crime against the people.[a] The splendid mansions, the brilliant equipages, the enormous wastefulness of men who till the *coup d'état* notoriously starved, have been in every one's mouth. The Court has been conducted on a scale of almost incredible wastefulness. New palaces have arisen as by the wand of an enchanter, and the splendours of the *ancien régime*[b] have been surpassed. Extravagance has had no limits but public money and public credit; the one is gone and the other shattered. *This is what ten years of Imperialism have done for France.*"

The most important question for Europe is without doubt whether the imperialist finance system *can be converted* into a constitutional finance system, as the correspondence between Louis Bonaparte and Fould contemplates.[c] What is involved here is not the momentary intentions of persons. It is the economic *conditions for the life* of the restored empire. The financial fraud

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[a] Juvenal, *Satires,* XIV, 173-78.—*Ed.*

[b] The political and social system of France before the revolution of 1789.—*Ed.*

[c] This refers to Napoleon III's message to A. Fould and the latter's "Mémoire à l'Empereur...", published in *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 318, November 14, 1861.—*Ed.*

system could only be converted into a prosaic finance system by eliminating corruption as a general means of government; by reducing the army and navy to a peace footing, and therefore by *abandoning the Napoleonic character* of the present regime; finally, by complete renunciation of the plan followed hitherto of binding a part of the middle class and of the city proletariat to the existing government by means of great government construction projects and other public works. Would not meeting all these conditions mean: *Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas?*[a] Is it actually believed that the modest system of Louis Philippe can be brought into being again under Napoleonic auspices? As little as that the July monarchy could be established under the *drapeau blanc.*[102]

We therefore called the *coup d'éclat* of November 14 a comedy[b] from the outset, and did not doubt for a moment that this comedy had only two aims in view: remedying the immediate difficulty and—getting through the winter. Once these two goals had been achieved, the war bugles would blow in the spring and the attempt would be undertaken to make the war pay its own way this time. It should not be forgotten that up to now—and this was a necessary consequence of a merely *simulated* Napoleonism—Decembrist France has paid for all its glory out of the French state treasury.

After a brief period of wavering, the English press has arrived at the same conclusions with respect to the *seriousness* of the November 14 promises and the *possibility* of their being carried out.

Thus, *The Times* of to-day says in the leader cited above:

"The Emperor gives up the power of originating extraordinary credits. This is exactly one of those pieces of self-denying virtue which usually precede, but seldom survive, a new French loan."

And its Stock Exchange article says:

"Whether the financial sanctity suddenly adopted at the crisis of the Treasury sickness will outlast the fit for a long time after the Exchequer has been replenished and a new loan secured, is now the question.... Public opinion, it is asserted, will force the Emperor, whether he will or not, to carry out Fould's programme. Would it not be more correct to say that every one is prepared to accept this self-delusion, while army and navy contractors and speculators firmly rely on it that in the spring, after the present danger has been weathered, the *Moniteur* will find sufficient reasons, in 'the changed circumstances of Europe', or the necessity of rectifying something that somewhere threatens French honour, the Catholic faith, or the civilisation and liberty of the human race, for a recurrence to the old financial system, which can never be permanently abandoned in any

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[a] "And for life's sake, destroy the very basis of life" (Juvenal, *Satires,* VIII, 84).—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 79-81.—*Ed.*

country under military dictatorship, and unpossessed of constitutional rights that are universal and inviolable?"[a]

*The Economist* expresses itself similarly. It concludes its analysis with the following words:

"Despite the decree, *political risk* must still be the first thought of a man who looks to his dynasty as something which any incidental failure may uproot."[b]

So far, Louis Bonaparte has only exposed Europe to dangers because he himself has been continually exposed to danger in France. Is it believed that his danger to Europe will decrease to the same extent as the danger to himself in France increases? Only if the internal danger is given time to explode.

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[a] "Money-Market and City Intelligence", *The Times,* No. 24093, November 18, 1861.— *Ed.*

[b] "The Constitutional Change in France", *The Economist,* No. 951, November 16, 1861.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE DISMISSAL OF FRÉMONT[103]

Frémont's dismissal from the post of Commander-in-Chief in Missouri forms a turning point in the history of the development of the American Civil War. Frémont has two great sins to expiate. He was the first candidate of the Republican Party for the presidential office (1856), and he is the first general of the North to have threatened the slaveholders with emancipation of slaves (August 30, 1861).[a] He remains, therefore, a rival of candidates for the presidency in the future and an obstacle to the makers of compromises in the present.

During the last two decades the singular practice developed in the United States of not electing to the presidency any man who occupied an authoritative position in his own party. The names of such men, it is true, were utilised for election demonstrations, but as soon as it came to actual business, they were dropped and replaced by unknown mediocrities of merely local influence. In this manner Polk, Pierce, Buchanan, etc., became Presidents. Likewise Abraham Lincoln. General Andrew Jackson was in fact the last President of the United States who owed his office to his personal importance, whilst all his successors owed it, on the contrary, to their personal unimportance.

In the election year 1860, the most distinguished names of the Republican Party were Frémont and Seward. Known for his adventures during the Mexican War,[104] for his intrepid exploration of California and his candidacy of 1856, Frémont was too striking a figure even to come under consideration as soon as it was no longer a question of a Republican demonstration, but of a

[a] See this volume, pp. 51-52.—*Ed.*

Republican success. He did not, therefore, stand as a candidate. It was otherwise with Seward, a Republican Senator in the Congress of Washington, Governor of the State of New York and, since the rise of the Republican Party, unquestionably its leading orator. It required a series of mortifying defeats to induce Mr. Seward to renounce his own candidacy and to give his oratorical patronage to the then more or less unknown Abraham Lincoln. As soon, however, as he saw his attempt to stand as a candidate fail, he imposed himself as a Republican Richelieu on a man whom he considered a Republican Louis XIII. He contributed towards making Lincoln President, on condition that Lincoln made him Secretary of State, an office which is in some measure comparable with that of a British Prime Minister. As a matter of fact, Lincoln was hardly President-elect, when Seward secured the Secretaryship of State. Immediately a singular change took place in the attitude of the Demosthenes of the Republican Party, whom the prophesying of the "irrepressible conflict"[a] between the system of free labour and the system of slavery had made famous.[b] Although elected on November 6, 1860, Lincoln took up office as President only on March 4, 1861. In the interval, during the winter session of Congress, Seward made himself the central figure of all attempts at compromise; the Northern organs of the South, such as the *New-York Herald,* for example, whose *bête noire* Seward had been till then, suddenly extolled him as the statesman of reconciliation and, indeed, it was not his fault that peace at any price was not achieved. Seward manifestly regarded the post of Secretary of State as a mere preliminary step, and busied himself less with the "irrepressible conflict" of the present than with the presidency of the future. He has provided fresh proof that virtuosos of the tongue are dangerously inadequate statesmen. Read his state dispatches! What a repulsive mixture of magniloquence and petty-mindedness, of simulated strength and real weakness!

For Seward, therefore, Frémont was the dangerous rival who had to be ruined; an undertaking that appeared so much the easier since Lincoln, in accordance with his legal tradition, has an aversion for all genius, anxiously clings to the letter of the Constitution and fights shy of every step that could mislead the "loyal" slaveholders of the border states. Frémont's character

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[a] Marx gives the English phrase.—*Ed.*

[b] W. H. Seward [Speech at Rochester, October 25, 1858], *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5466, October 28, 1858.—*Ed.*

offered another hold. He is manifestly a man of pathos, somewhat pompous and haughty, and not without a touch of the melodramatic. First the government attempted to drive him to voluntary retirement by a succession of petty chicaneries. When this did not succeed, it deprived him of his command at the very moment when the army he himself had organised came face to face with the enemy in southwest Missouri and a decisive battle was imminent.

Frémont is the idol of the states of the Northwest, which sing his praises as the "pathfinder".[a] They regard his dismissal as a personal insult. Should the Union government meet with a few more mishaps like those of Bull Run and Ball's Bluff,[105] it has itself given the opposition, which will then rise up against it and smash the hitherto prevailing diplomatic system of waging war, its leader in John Frémont. We shall return later to the indictment of the dismissed general[b] published by the War Department in Washington.

Written about November 19, 1861

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Printed according to the newspaper

[a] Marx uses the English word.— *Ed.*

[b] The reference is to Brigadier General A. Thomas's report on the investigation of General Frémont's activity as Commander of the Western military area, published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6419, October 30, 1861.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE *TRENT* CASE[106]

London, November 28

The conflict of the English mail ship *Trent* with the North American warship *San Jacinto* in the narrow passage of the Old Bahama Channel is the lion among the events of the day. In the afternoon of November 27 the mail ship *La Plata* brought the news of the incident to Southampton, whence the electric telegraph at once flashed it to all parts of Great Britain. The same evening the London Stock Exchange was the stage of stormy scenes similar to those at the time of the announcement of the Italian war. Quotations for government stock sank $^3/_4$ to 1 per cent. The wildest rumours circulated in London. The American Ambassador, *Adams,* was said to have been given his passports, an embargo to have been imposed on all American ships in the Thames, etc. At the same time a protest meeting of merchants was held at the Stock Exchange in Liverpool, to demand measures from the British Government for the satisfaction of the violated honour of the British flag. Every sound-minded Englishman went to bed with the conviction that he would go to sleep in a state of peace but wake up in a state of war.

Nevertheless, the fact is well-nigh categorically established that the conflict between the *Trent* and the *San Jacinto* brings *no war* in its train. The semi-official press, like *The Times* and *The Morning Post,* strikes a peaceful note and pours juridically cool deductions on the flickerings of passion.[a] Papers like the *Daily Telegraph,* which at the faintest *mot d'ordre*[b] roar for the British

[a] The reference is to the leading articles "It requires a strong effort...", *The Times,* No. 24102, November 28, 1861 and "The Government of the United States has taken a step...", *The Morning Post,* No. 27440, November 28, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] Watchword.—*Ed.*

lion, are true models of moderation. Only the Tory opposition press, *The Morning Herald* and *The Standard,* hits out. These facts force every expert to conclude that the ministry has already decided not to make a *casus belli* out of the "untoward event".[a]

It must be added that the event, if not the details of its enactment, was anticipated. On October 12, Messrs. Slidell, Confederacy emissary to France, and Mason, Confederacy emissary to England, together with their secretaries Eustis and MacFarland, had run the blockade of Charleston on the steamship *Theodora* and sailed for Havana, there to seek the opportunity of a passage to Europe under the British flag. In England their arrival was expected daily. North American warships had set out from Liverpool to intercept the gentlemen, with their dispatches, on this side of the Atlantic Ocean. The British ministry had already submitted the question whether the North Americans were entitled to take such a step to its official jurisconsults for their opinion. Their answer is said to have been in the affirmative.

The legal question turns in a narrow circle. Since the foundation of the United States, North America has adopted *British* maritime law in all its rigour. A major principle of this maritime law is that all *neutral merchantmen* are subject to *search* by the belligerent parties.

"This right," said Lord Stowell in a judgment which has become famous, "offers the sole security that no contraband is carried on neutral ships."[b]

The greatest American authority, *Kent,* states in the same sense:

"The right of self-preservation gives belligerent nations this right. The doctrine of the *English* admiralty on the right of visitation and search ... has been recognised in its fullest extent by the courts of justice in this country."[c]

It was not opposition to the right of search, as is sometimes erroneously suggested, that brought about the Anglo-American War of 1812 to 1814.[107] Rather, America declared war because England *unlawfully* presumed to search even American *warships,* on the pretext of catching deserters from the British Navy.

The *San Jacinto,* therefore, had the right to search the *Trent* and to confiscate any contraband stowed aboard her. That *dispatches* in the possession of Mason, Slidell and Co. come under

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[a] Marx uses the English expression here and below, and gives the German translation in brackets in the first case.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted from the leading article "It requires a strong effort...", *The Times,* No. 24102, November 28, 1861.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibidem; *The Times* quotes from J. Kent's book *Commentaries on American Law*—*Ed.*

the category of contraband even *The Times, The Morning Post,* etc., admit. There remains the question whether Messrs. Mason, Slidell and Co. were themselves contraband and might consequently be confiscated! The point is a ticklish one and differences of opinion prevail among the doctors of law. *Pratt,* the most distinguished British authority on "Contraband", in the section *"Quasi-Contraband—Dispatches, Passengers"* specifically refers to "communication of information and orders from a belligerent government to its officers abroad, or the conveyance of military passengers".[a] Messrs. Mason and Slidell, if not officers, were just as little ambassadors, since their governments are recognised neither by Britain nor by France. What are they, then? In justification of the very broad conceptions of contraband asserted by Britain in the Anglo-French wars,[108] *Jefferson* already remarks in his memoirs that contraband, by its nature, precludes any exhaustive definition and necessarily leaves great scope for arbitrariness.[b] In any event, however, one sees that from the standpoint of English law the *legal question* dwindles to a Duns Scotus controversy,[109] the explosive force of which will not go beyond exchange of diplomatic notes.

The *political* aspect of the North American procedure was estimated quite correctly by *The Times* in these words:

> "Even Mr. Seward himself must know that the voices of the Southern commissioners, sounding from their captivity, are a thousand times more eloquent in London and in Paris than they would have been if they had been heard in St. James's and the Tuileries."[c]

And is not the Confederacy already represented in London by Messrs. Yancey and Mann?

We regard this latest operation of Mr. Seward as a characteristic act of tactlessness by self-conscious weakness simulating strength. If the naval incident hastens Seward's removal from the Washington Cabinet, the United States will have no reason to record it as an "untoward event" in the annals of its Civil War.

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[a] F. Th. Pratt, *Law of Contraband of War...,* London, 1856, pp. LIV-LV.—*Ed.*

[b] Th. Jefferson, *Memoirs, Correspondence, and Private Papers...,* Vol. III, London, 1829, p. 488.—*Ed.*

[c] "It requires a strong effort...".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CONFLICT[110]

London, November 29

The law officers of the Crown[a] had yesterday to give their opinion on the naval incident in the Bahama Channel.[b] Their records of the case consisted of the written reports of the British officers who have remained on board the *Trent* and of the oral testimony of Commodore Williams, who was on board the *Trent* as Admiralty agent, but disembarked from the steamer *La Plata* on November 27 at Southampton, whence he was immediately summoned by telegraph to London. The law officers of the Crown acknowledged the right of the *San Jacinto* to visit and search the *Trent.* Since Queen Victoria's proclamation of neutrality on the outbreak of the American Civil War[c] expressly lists *dispatches* among articles of contraband,[d] there could be no doubt on this point either. There remained, then, the question whether Messrs. Mason, Slidell and Co. were themselves contraband and therefore confiscable. The law officers of the Crown appear to hold this view, for they have dropped the *material* legal question entirely. According to the report of *The Times,*[e] their opinion blames the commander of the *San Jacinto*[f] only for an *error in procedure.* Instead of Messrs. Mason, Slidell and Co., he should have taken

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[a] The Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General. At the time, the posts were held by R. Palmer and W. Atherton.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 89-91.—*Ed.*

[c] Victoria, R. *A Proclamation* [May 13, 1861], *The Times,* No. 23933, May 15, 1861.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 105-107.—*Ed.*

[e] "Wherever two or three men met together yesterday...", *The Times,* No. 24103, November 29, 1861, leading article.—*Ed.*

[f] Ch. Wilkes.—*Ed.*

the *Trent* herself in tow as a prize, brought her to the nearest American port and there submitted her to the judgment of a North American prize court.[111] This is incontestably the procedure corresponding to British and therefore to North American maritime law.

It is equally incontestable that the British frequently violated this rule during the anti-Jacobin war and proceeded in the summary fashion of the *San Jacinto.* However that may be, the whole conflict is reduced by this opinion of the law officers of the Crown to a *technical error* and consequently deprived of any immediate import. Two circumstances make it easy for the Union government to accept this point of view and therefore to afford formal satisfaction. In the first place, Captain Wilkes, the commander of the *San Jacinto,* could have received no direct instructions from Washington. On the voyage home from Africa to New York, he called on November 2 at Havana, which he left again on November 4, whilst his encounter with the *Trent* took place on the high seas on November 8. Captain Wilkes's stay of only two days in Havana did not permit any exchange of notes between him and his government. The consul of the Union[a] was the only American authority with whom he could deal. In the second place, however, he had obviously lost his head, as his failure to insist on the surrender of the dispatches proves.

The importance of the incident lies in its moral effect on the English people and in the political capital that can easily be made out of it by the British cotton friends of secession. Characteristic of the latter is the Liverpool protest meeting organised by them and previously mentioned by me.[b] The meeting took place on November 27 at three in the afternoon, in the cotton auction-rooms of the Liverpool Exchange, an hour after the alarming telegram from Southampton had arrived.

After vain attempts to press the chairmanship on Mr. Cunard, the owner of the Cunard steamships laying between Liverpool and New York, and other high trade officials, a young merchant named *Spence,* notorious for a work he wrote in support of the slave republic,[c] took the chair. Contrary to the rules of English meetings, he, the chairman, himself proposed the motion to

> "call upon the government to assert the dignity of the British flag by requiring prompt reparation for this outrage".[d]

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[a] Charles J. Helm.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 89.—*Ed.*

[c] J. Spence, *The American Union...,* London, 1861.—*Ed.*

[d] "Liverpool, Wednesday", *The Times,* No. 24102, November 28, 1861.—*Ed.*

Tremendous applause, clapping and cheers upon cheers! The main argument of the opening speaker for the slave republic was that slave ships had hitherto been protected by the American flag from the right of search claimed by Britain. And then this philanthropist launched a furious attack on the slave trade! He admitted that England had brought about the war of 1812-14 with the United States by insisting on searching Union warships for deserters from the British Navy.

"But," he continued with wonderful dialectic, "there is a difference between the right of search to recover deserters from the British Navy and the right to seize passengers, like Mr. Mason and Mr. Slidell, men of the highest respectability, regardless of the fact that they were protected by the British flag!"

He played his highest trump, however, at the close of his diatribe.

"The other day," he bellowed, "while I was on the European Continent, I heard observations made as to our conduct in regard to the United States which made me blush. What is the feeling of every intelligent man upon the Continent? That we would slavishly submit to any outrage and suffer every indignity offered to us by the Government of the United States. What could I reply to this? I could only blush. But the pitcher goes so often to the well that it is broken at last. Our patience had been exercised long enough—as long as it was possible to control it. At last we have arrived at facts [!]: this is a very hard and startling fact [!] and it is the duty of every Englishman to apprise the Government of how strong and unanimous is the feeling of this great community of the outrage offered to our flag."

This senseless rigmarole was greeted with a peal of applause. Opposing voices were howled down and hissed down and stamped down. To the remark of a Mr. Campbell that the whole meeting was "irregular", the inexorable Spence replied: "So may it be, but the fact that we have met to consider is rather an irregular fact." To the proposal of a Mr. Turner to adjourn the meeting to the following day, in order that "the city of Liverpool can have its say and not a clique of cotton brokers usurp its name", cries of "Collar him, throw him out!" resounded from all sides. Unperturbed, Mr. Turner repeated his motion, which, however, was not put to the vote, again contrary to all the rules of English meetings. Spence triumphed. But, as a matter of fact, nothing has done more to cool London's temper than the news of Mr. Spence's triumph.

Written on November 29, 1861

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# Karl Marx

## THE NEWS AND ITS EFFECT IN LONDON

London, Nov. 30, 1861

Since the declaration of war against Russia I never witnessed an excitement throughout all the strata of English society equal to that produced by the news of the *Trent* affair, conveyed to Southampton by the *La Plata* on the 27th inst. At about 2 o'clock p.m., by means of the electric telegraph, the announcement of the "untoward event" was posted in the news-rooms of all the British Exchanges. All commercial securities went down, while the price of saltpeter went up. Consols declined $^3/_4$ per cent, while at Lloyds[112] war risks of five guineas were demanded on vessels from New-York. Late in the evening the wildest rumors circulated in London, to the effect that the American Minister[a] had forthwith been sent his passports, that orders had been issued for the immediate seizure of all American ships in the ports of the United Kingdom, and so forth. The cotton friends of Secession at Liverpool improved the opportunity for holding, at ten minutes' notice, in the cotton salesroom of the Stock Exchange, an indignation meeting, under the presidency of Mr. Spence, the author of some obscure pamphlet in the interest of the Southern Confederacy.[b] Commodore Williams, the Admiralty Agent on board the *Trent,* who had arrived with the *La Plata,* was at once summoned to London.

On the following day, the 28th of November, the London press exhibited, on the whole, a tone of moderation strangely contrasting with the tremendous political and mercantile excitement of the previous evening. The Palmerston papers, *Times, Morning Post,*

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[a] Ch. Adams.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Spence, *The American Union...,* London, 1861.—*Ed.*

*Daily Telegraph, Morning Advertiser,* and *Sun,* had received orders to calm down rather than to exasperate. *The Daily News,* by its strictures on the conduct of the *San Jacinto,* evidently aimed less at hitting the Federal Government than clearing itself of the suspicion of "Yankee prejudices," while *The Morning Star,* John Bright's organ, without passing any judgment on the policy and wisdom of the "act," pleaded its lawfulness. There were only two exceptions to the general tenor of the London press. The Tory-scribblers of *The Morning Herald* and *The Standard,* forming in fact one paper under different names, gave full vent to their savage satisfaction of having at last caught the "republicans" in a trap, and finding a *casus belli,* ready cut out. They were supported by but one other journal, *The Morning Chronicle,* which for years had tried to prolong its checkered existence by alternately selling itself to the poisoner Palmer and the Tuileries.[113] The excitement on the Exchange greatly subsided in consequence of the pacific tone of the leading London papers. On the same 28th of Nov., Commander Williams attended at the Admiralty, and reported the circumstances of the occurrence in the old Bahama Channel. His report, together with the written depositions of the officers on board the *Trent,* were at once submitted to the law officers of the Crown,[a] whose opinion, late in the evening, was officially brought under the notice of Lord Palmerston, Earl Russell and other members of the Government.

On the 29th of November there was to be remarked some slight change in the tone of the ministerial press. It became known that the law officers of the Crown, on a technical ground, had declared the proceedings of the frigate *San Jacinto illegal,* and that later in the day, the Cabinet, summoned to a general council, had decided to send by next steamer to Lord Lyons instructions to conform to the opinion of the English law officers. Hence the excitement in the principal places of business, such as the Stock Exchange, Lloyd's, the Jerusalem, the Baltic,[114] etc., set in with redoubled force, and was further stimulated by the news that the projected shipments to America of saltpeter had been stopped on the previous day, and that on the 29th a general order was received at the Custom-House prohibiting the exportation of this article to any country except under certain stringent conditions. The English funds further fell $^3/_4$, and at one time a real panic prevailed in all the stock markets, it having become impossible to transact any business in some securities, while in all descriptions a

[a] R. Palmer and W. Atherton.—*Ed.*

severe depression of prices occurred. In the afternoon a recovery in the stock market was due to several rumors, but principally to the report that Mr. Adams had expressed his opinion that the act of the *San Jacinto* would be disavowed by the Washington Cabinet.

On the 30th of November (to-day) all the London papers, with the single exception of *The Morning Star,* put the alternative of reparation by the Washington Cabinet or—*war.*

Having summed up the history of the events from the arrival of the *La Plata* to the present day, I shall now proceed to recording opinions. There were, of course, two points to be considered—on the one hand the law, on the other hand the policy, of the seizure of the Southern Commissioners[a] on board an English mail steamer.

As to the legal aspect of the affair, the first difficulty mooted by the Tory press and *The Morning Chronicle* was that the United States had never recognized the Southern Secessionists as belligerents, and, consequently, could not claim belligerent rights in regard to them.

This quibble was at once disposed of by the Ministerial press itself.

"We," said *The Times,* "have already recognized these Confederate States as a belligerent power, and we shall, when the time comes, recognize their Government. Therefore we have imposed on ourselves all the duties and inconveniences of a power neutral between two belligerents."[b]

Hence, whether or not the United States recognize the Confederates as belligerents, they have the right to insist upon England submitting to all the duties and inconveniences of a neutral in maritime warfare.

Consequently, with the exceptions mentioned, the whole London press acknowledges the right of the *San Jacinto* to overhaul, visit, and search the *Trent,* in order to ascertain whether she carried goods or persons belonging to the category of "contraband of war." *The Times's* insinuation that the English law of decisions[115] "was given *under circumstances very different from* those which now occur;" that "steamers did not then exist," and mail vessels, "carrying letters wherein all the nations of the world have immediate interest, were unknown;" that "we (the English) were *fighting for existence,* and did in those days *what we should not* allow others to do," was not seriously thrown out. Palmerston's private

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[a] J. Mason and J. Slidell.—*Ed.*

[b] "It requires a strong effort...", *The Times,* No. 24102, November 28, 1861, leading article.—*Ed.*

Moniteur, *The Morning Post,* declared on the same day that mail steamers were simple merchantmen, not sharing the exemption from the right of search of men-of-war and transports.[a] The *right of search,* on the part of the *San Jacinto,* was in point of fact, conceded by the London press as well as the law officers of the Crown. The objection that the *Trent,* instead of sailing from a belligerent to a belligerent port, was, on the contrary, bound from a neutral to a neutral port, fell to the ground by Lord Stowell's decision that the right of search is intended to ascertain the destination of a ship.[b]

In the second instance, the question arose whether by firing a round shot across the bows of the *Trent,* and subsequently throwing a shell, bursting close to her, the *San Jacinto* had not violated the usages and courtesies appurtenant to the exercise of the right of visitation and search. It was generally conceded by the London press that, since the details of the event have till now been only ascertained by the depositions of one of the parties concerned, no such minor question could influence the decision to be arrived at by the British Government.

The right of search, exercised by the *San Jacinto,* thus being conceded, what had she to look for? For *contraband of war,* presumed to be conveyed by the *Trent.* What is contraband of war? Are the *dispatches* of a belligerent Government contraband of war? Are the *persons* carrying those dispatches contraband of war? And, both questions being answered in the affirmative, do those dispatches and the bearers of them continue to be contraband of war, if found on a merchant ship bound from a neutral port to a neutral port? The London press admits that the decisions of the highest legal authorities on both sides of the Atlantic are so contradictory, and may be claimed with such appearance of justice for both the affirmative and the negative, that, at all events, a *prima facie*[c] case is made out for the *San Jacinto.*

Concurrently with this prevalent opinion of the English press, the English Crown lawyers have altogether dropped the material question, and only taken up the formal question. They assert that the law of nations was not violated in *substance,* but in *form* only. They have arrived at the conclusion that the *San Jacinto* failed in seizing, on her own responsibility, the Southern Commissioners,

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[a] "The Government of the United States has taken a step...", *The Morning Post,* No. 27440, November 28, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] "It requires a strong effort...".—*Ed.*

[c] Plausible.—*Ed.*

instead of taking the *Trent* to a Federal port and submitting the question to a Federal Prize-Court, no armed cruiser having a right to make himself a Judge at sea. A violation in the *procedure* of the San Jacinto is, therefore, all that is imputed to her by the English Crown lawyers, who, in my opinion, are right in their conclusion. It might be easy to unearth precedents, showing England to have similarly trespassed on the formalities of maritime law; but violations of law can never be allowed to supplant the law itself.

The question may now be mooted, whether the reparation demanded by the English Government—that is, the restitution of the Southern Commissioners—be warranted by an injury which the English themselves avow to be of *form* rather than of *substance?* A lawyer of the Temple,[116] in the to-day's *Times,* remarks, in respect to this point:

> "If the case is not so clearly in our favor as that a decision in the American Court condemning the vessel would have been liable to be questioned by us as manifestly contrary to the laws of nations, then the irregularity of the American Captain[a] in allowing the *Trent* to proceed to Southampton, clearly redounded to the advantage of the British owners and the British passengers. Could we in such a case find a ground of international quarrel in an error of procedure which in effect told in our own favor?"[b]

Still, if the American Government must concede, as it seems to me, that Capt. Wilkes has committed a violation of maritime law, whether formal or material, their fair fame and their interest ought alike to prevent them from nibbling at the terms of the satisfaction to be given to the injured party. They ought to remember that they do the work of the Secessionists in embroiling the United States in a war with England, that such a war would be a godsend to Louis Bonaparte in his present difficulties, and would, consequently, be supported by all the official weight of France; and, lastly, that, what with the actual force under the command of the British on the North American and West Indian stations, what with the forces of the Mexican Expedition,[c] the English Government would have at its disposal an overwhelming maritime power.

As to the policy of the seizure in the Bahama Channel, the voice not only of the English but of the European press is unanimous in expressions of bewilderment at the strange conduct of the

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[a] Ch. Wilkes.—*Ed.*

[b] Justitia, "To the Editor of *The Times*", *The Times,* No. 24104, November 30, 1861.—*Ed.*

[c] See pp. 71-78 of this volume.—*Ed.*

American Government, provoking such tremendous international dangers, for gaining the bodies of Messrs. Mason, Slidell & Co., while Messrs. Yancey and Mann are strutting in London. *The Times* is certainly right in saying:

"Even Mr. Seward himself must know that the voices of these Southern Commissioners, sounding from their captivity, are a thousand times more eloquent in London and in Paris than they would have been if they had been heard at St. James's and the Tuileries." [a]

The people of the United States having magnanimously submitted to a curtailment of their own liberties in order to save their country, will certainly be no less ready to turn the tide of popular opinion in England by openly avowing, and carefully making up for, an international blunder the vindication of which might realize the boldest hopes of the rebels.

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First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6462, December 19, 1861

[a] "It requires a strong effort...", *The Times,* No. 24102, November 28, 1861, leading article.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE PRINCIPAL ACTORS IN THE *TRENT* DRAMA[117]

London, December 4

At the present moment it is of interest to get acquainted in some measure with the leading figures in the *Trent* drama. On one side stands the active hero, Captain *Wilkes,* the commander of the *San Jacinto;* on the other, the passive heroes, *J. M. Mason* and *John Slidell.* Captain Charles Wilkes is a direct descendant of the brother of the celebrated English demagogue, [John] Wilkes, who threatened for a moment to shake the throne of George III.[118] The struggle with the North American colonies saved the Hanoverian dynasty at that time from the outbreak of an English revolution, symptoms of which were alike perceptible in the cry of a Wilkes and the letters of a Junius. Captain Wilkes, born in New York in 1798, forty-three years in the service of the American navy, commanded the squadron that from 1838 to 1842 explored the North and South Pacific Ocean by order of the Union government. He has published a report on this expedition in five volumes.[a] He is also the author of a work on *Western America,* which contains some valuable information on California and the Oregon district.[b] It is now certain that Wilkes improvised his *coup de main*[c] independently and without instructions from Washington.

The two intercepted commissioners of the Southern Confederacy—Messrs. *Mason* and *Slidell*—form a contrast in every respect. *Mason,* born in 1798, is descended from one of those old

[a] Ch. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition...,* Vols. I-V, Philadelphia, 1845.—*Ed.*

[b] Ch. Wilkes, *Western America, including California and Oregon...,* Philadelphia, 1849.—*Ed.*

[c] An impetuous and unexpected attack.—*Ed.*

aristocratic families of Virginia that fled from England after the Royalists had been defeated at the battle of Worcester.[119] The grandsire of our hero[a] belongs to the circle of men who, along with Washington, Jefferson, etc., are designated by the Americans as "the revolutionary fathers".[b] John Slidell is neither, like Mason, of aristocratic lineage, nor, like his colleague, a slaveholder by birth. His native town is New York, where his grandfather and his father lived as honest tallow-chandlers.[c] *Mason,* after he had occupied himself for some years with the study of law, stepped on the political stage. He figured repeatedly since 1826 as a member of the House of Representatives of Virginia; made his appearance in 1837 in the House of Representatives of the American Congress for a session; but his importance only dates from 1847. In that year Virginia elected him to the American Senate, in which he held his seat until the spring of 1861. *Slidell,* who is now sixty-eight years old, was obliged to leave New York as a young man in consequence of adultery and a duel, in short, of a scandal. He betook himself to New Orleans, where he lived first by gambling, later by practising law. Having become first a member of the legislature of Louisiana, he soon made his way to the House of Representatives and finally to the Senate of the American Congress. As a director of election rogueries during the presidential election of 1844 and, later, as a participant in a swindle in state lands, he had even somewhat shocked the sort of morals that prevail in Louisiana.

Mason inherited influence; Slidell acquired it. The two men found and supplemented each other in the American Senate, the bulwark of the slave oligarchy. In accordance with the American Constitution, the Senate elects a special Committee of Foreign Relations, which plays about the same role as the Privy Council[d] [120] formerly played in England, before the so-called Cabinet, a quantity theoretically unknown to the English Constitution, usurped the Privy Council's functions. Mason was for a long time chairman of this committee; Slidell, a prominent member of it.

Mason, firmly convinced that every Virginian is a demi-god and every Yankee a plebeian rascal, never sought to conceal his contempt for his Northern colleagues. Haughty, overbearing,

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[a] G. Mason.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English expression and gives the German translation in parenthesis.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English words "tallow-chandlers" and gives the German translation in parenthesis.— *Ed.*

[d] Marx gives the English name in brackets after its German equivalent.— *Ed.*

insolent, he knew how to knit his brows in a somber, Zeus-like frown and in fact transported to the Senate the manners native to the plantation. A fanatical eulogist of slavery, a shameless slanderer of the North and particularly of the Northern working class, a blusterer against England, Mason wearied the Senate with the prolix importunity of a persistent flow of speech that vainly sought to hide its complete vacuity under a hollow pomp. As a sort of demonstration, he went around in recent years in Virginian home-made gray linen; but, and this is characteristic of the man, the gray coat was adorned with loud buttons, all of which came from a state of New England, from Connecticut.

Whilst Mason played the *Jupiter Tonans*[a] of the slave oligarchy on the proscenium, Slidell worked behind the scenes. With a rare talent for intrigue, tireless perseverance and an unscrupulous lack of regard, but at the same time wary, covert, never strutting, but always insinuating himself, Slidell was the soul of the Southern conspiratorial conclave. One may judge the man's repute from the fact that when in 1845, shortly before the outbreak of war with Mexico, he was sent there as Ambassador, Mexico refused to treat with such an individual.[121] Slidell's intrigues made Polk President. He was one of the most pernicious counsellors of President Pierce and the evil genius of Buchanan's administration. The two, Mason and Slidell, were the chief sponsors of the law on runaway slaves[122]; they brought about the bloodbath in Kansas,[123] and both were wirepullers for the measures whereby Buchanan's administration smuggled all the means to secession into the hands of the South, whilst it left the North defenceless.[124]

As early as 1855 Mason declared on a public occasion in South Carolina that "for the South only one way lies open—immediate, absolute and eternal separation".[b] In March 1861 he declared in the Senate that "he owed the Union government no *allegiance*",[c] but retained his seat in the Senate and continued to draw his senatorial salary as long as the safety of his person allowed—a spy in the supreme council of the nation and a fraudulent parasite on the public exchequer.

Mason's great-grandmother was a daughter of the celebrated Sir William Temple. He is therefore a distant relative of Palmerston.

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[a] Jupiter the thunderer.—*Ed.*

[b] J. M. Mason [Statement urging the separation of the South], *New-York Times,* October 14, 1856.—*Ed.*

[c] J. M. Mason [Speech in the Senate on March 11, 1861], *The New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6202, March 12, 1861. In quoting, Marx uses the English word "allegiance" and gives the translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

Mason and Slidell appeared to the people of the North not merely as their political opponents, but as their *personal enemies.* Hence the general jubilation over their capture, which in its first days even overwhelmed regard for the danger threatening from England.

Written on December 4, 1861

First published in *Die Presse,* No. 337, December 8, 1861

Printed according to the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## [CONTROVERSY OVER THE *TRENT* CASE][125]

London, December 7

The Palmerston press—and on another occasion I will show that in foreign affairs Palmerston's control over nine-tenths of the English press is just as *absolute* as Louis Bonaparte's over nine-tenths of the French press[a]—the Palmerston press feels that it works among "pleasing hindrances".[b] On the one hand, it admits that the law officers of the Crown[c] have reduced the accusation against the United States to a *mere mistake in procedure,* to a *technical error.* On the other hand, it boasts that on the basis of such a legal quibble a *compelling ultimatum* has been presented to the United States, such as can only be justified by a gross violation of law, but not by a formal error in the exercise of a recognised right. Accordingly, the Palmerston press now pleads the question of *material* right again. The great importance of the case appears to demand a brief examination of the question of *material* right.

By way of introduction, it may be observed that not a single English paper ventures to reproach the *San Jacinto* for the visitation and search of the *Trent.* This point, therefore, falls outside the controversy.

First, we again call to mind the relevant passage in Queen Victoria's proclamation of neutrality of May 13, 1861. The passage reads:

"*Victoria R.*

"As we are at peace with the United States ... we warn all our beloved subjects ... to abstain from contravening our Proclamation ... by breaking the legally

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[a] See this volume, pp. 127-30.—*Ed.*

[b] Heinrich Heine, "Neuer Frühling", Prolog.—*Ed.*

[c] R. Palmer and W. Atherton.—*Ed.*

recognised blockade or by *carrying officers* ... *dispatches* ... or any other contraband of war. All persons so offending will be liable to the various penalties imposed in that behalf by the English municipal law and by the law of nations.... Such persons will in no way receive our *protection* against the consequences of their conduct but will, on the contrary, incur our displeasure."[a]

This proclamation of Queen Victoria, therefore, in the first place declares *dispatches* to be contraband and makes the ship that carries such contraband liable to the "penalties of the law of nations". What are these penalties?

*Wheaton,* an American writer on international law whose authority is recognised on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean alike, says in his *Elements of International Law,* p. 565[b]:

"The carrying of dispatches of the enemy subjects the *neutral* vessel in which they are transported to *capture* and *confiscation.* The consequences of such a service are infinitely beyond the effect of conveying ordinary contraband.... As Sir *W. Scott,* the *English* judge, says, the carrying of military stores is necessarily of limited nature, while the carrying of dispatches is an act that may defeat the entire plan of campaign of the other belligerent.... The confiscation of the noxious article, which constitutes the usual penalty for contraband, would be ridiculous when applied to dispatches. There would be no freight dependent on their transportation. Therefore, their confiscation does not affect the shipowner and hence does not punish the ship carrying them. The vehicle, in which they are carried, must, therefore, be *confiscated.*"

*Walker,* in his *Introduction to American Law,* says:

"Neutrals may not be concerned in bearing *hostile dispatches,* under the penalty of confiscation of the vehicle, and of the cargo also."

*Kent,* who is accounted a decisive authority in English courts, states in his *Commentaries:*

"If, on search of a ship, it is found that she carries *enemy dispatches,* she incurs the penalty of capture and of confiscation by judgment of a prize court."

*Dr. Robert Phillimore,* Advocate of Her Majesty in Her Office of Admiralty,[c] says in his latest work on international law, p. 370:

"Official communications from an official person[d] on the affairs of a belligerent Government are such *dispatches* as impress an hostile character upon the carriers of them. The mischievous consequences of such a service cannot be estimated, and extend far beyond the effect of any Contraband that can be conveyed, for it is manifest that by the carriage of such dispatches the most important plans of a

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[a] Here and below Marx quotes from the article "The Capture of Mason and Slidell", *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6435, November 18, 1861.— *Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx gives the English titles of the books and the German translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx gives the English designation and supplies the German translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

[d] Marx gives the English words "official" and, below, "carriers" in brackets after their German equivalents.— *Ed.*

Belligerent may be forwarded or obstructed.... The penalty is confiscation of the ship which conveys the dispatches and of the cargo."[a]

Two points are therefore established. Queen Victoria's proclamation of May 13, 1861, subjects *English* ships that carry dispatches of the Confederacy to the penalties of international law. International law, according to its English and American interpreters, imposes the *penalty* of capture and confiscation on such ships.

Palmerston's organs consequently *lied* on orders from above—and we were naive enough to believe their lie—in affirming that the captain of the *San Jacinto* had neglected to seek for *dispatches* on the *Trent* and therefore had of course found none; and that the *Trent* had consequently become shot-proof through this oversight. The American journals of November 17 to 20, which *could not* yet have been aware of the English lie, *unanimously* state, on the contrary, that the dispatches *had been seized* and were already in print for submission to Congress in Washington. This changes the whole state of affairs. Because of these dispatches, the *San Jacinto* had the right to take the *Trent* in tow and every American prize court had the duty to confiscate her and her cargo. With the *Trent,* her passengers also naturally came within the pale of American jurisdiction.

Messrs. Mason, Slidell and Co., as soon as the *Trent* had touched at Monroe, came under American jurisdiction as rebels. If, therefore, instead of towing the *Trent* herself to an American port, the captain of the *San Jacinto* contented himself with seizing the dispatches and their bearers, he in no way worsened the position of Mason, Slidell and Co., whilst, on the other hand, his *error in procedure* benefited the *Trent,* her cargo and her passengers. And it would be indeed unprecedented if Britain wished to declare war on the United States because Captain Wilkes committed an *error in procedure* harmful to the United States, but profitable to Britain.

The question whether Mason, Slidell and Co. were themselves contraband, was only raised and could only be raised because the Palmerston journals had broadcast the *lie* that Captain Wilkes had neither searched for dispatches, nor seized dispatches. For in this case Mason, Slidell and Co. in fact constituted the sole objects on the ship *Trent* that could possibly fall under the category of contraband. Let us, however, disregard this aspect for the moment. Queen Victoria's proclamation designates *"officers"*[b] of a belligerent party as contraband. Are *"officers"* merely military

[a] R. Phillimore, *Commentaries upon International Law.*—*Ed.*

[b] Here and further on Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

officers? Were Mason, Slidell and Co. *"officers"* of the Confederacy? *"Officers,"* says *Samuel Johnson* in his dictionary of the English language, are "men employed by the public",[a] that is, in German: *öffentliche Beamte. Walker* gives the same definition. (See his dictionary, 1861 edition.)

According to the usage of the English language, therefore, Mason, Slidell and Co., these emissaries, *id est,* officials of the Confederacy, come under the category of "officers", whom the royal proclamation declares to be *contraband.* The *Trent* captain *knew* them in this capacity and therefore rendered himself, his ship and his passengers confiscable. If, according to Phillimore and all other authorities, a ship becomes confiscable as the carrier[b] of an enemy dispatch because it violates neutrality, in a still higher degree is this true of the *person* who carries the dispatches. According to *Wheaton,* even an enemy *ambassador,* so long as he is *in transitu,* may be intercepted. In general, however, the basis of all international law is that any member of the belligerent party may be regarded and treated as "belligerent" by the opposing party.

"So long as a man," says *Vattel,* "continues to be a citizen of his own country, he is the enemy of all those with whom his nation is at war."[c]

One sees, therefore, that the law officers of the English Crown reduced the point of contention to a mere *error in procedure,* not an error *in re,*[d] but an error *in forma,*[e] because, actually, no *violation of material right* is to hand. The Palmerston organs chatter about the question of material right again because a mere error in procedure, *in the interest of the "Trent"* at that, gives no plausible pretext for a haughty-toned ultimatum.

Meanwhile, important voices have been raised in this sense from diametrically opposite sides: on the one side, Messrs. *Bright* and *Cobden;* on the other, *David Urquhart.* These men are enemies on grounds of principle and personally: the first two, peaceable cosmopolitans; the third, the *"last of the Englishmen"*[126]; the former always ready to sacrifice all international law to international trade; the other hesitating not a moment: *"Fiat justitia, pereat mundus",*[f] and by "justice" he understands "English" justice. The

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[a] Marx gives the definition in English.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English word and gives the German translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

[c] E. de Vattel, *Le Droit des gens...,* Tome II, livre III, chapitre V, § 71.— *Ed.*

[d] In substance.— *Ed.*

[e] In form.— *Ed.*

[f] Let justice be done, though the world perish.— *Ed.*

voices of *Bright* and *Cobden* are important because they represent a powerful section of middle-class interests and are represented in the ministry by Gladstone, Milner Gibson and also, more or less, by Sir Cornewall Lewis. The voice of Urquhart is important because international law is his life-study and everyone recognises him as an *incorruptible* interpreter of this international law.

The usual newspaper sources will communicate Bright's speech in support of the United States and Cobden's letter, which is conceived in the same sense.[a] Therefore I will not dwell on them.

*Urquhart's* organ, *The Free Press,* states in its latest issue, published on December 4:

"'We must bombard New York!' Such were the frantic sounds which met the ears of every one who traversed the streets of London on the evening of this day week, on the arrival of the intelligence of a trifling warlike incident. The act was one which, *in every war,* England has committed *as a matter of course*—namely, the seizure on board of a neutral of the persons and property of her enemies."

*The Free Press* further argues that, in 1856 at the Congress of Paris, Palmerston, without any authority from the Crown or Parliament, sacrificed English maritime law *in the interest of Russia,* and then says:

"In order to justify this sacrifice, Palmerston's organs stated at that time that if we *maintained the right of visitation and search,* we should assuredly be *involved in a war with the United States* on the occasion of the first war in Europe. And now he calls on us through the same organs of public opinion to bombard New York because the United States act on those laws which are theirs no less than our own."[b]

With regard to the utterances of the "organs of public opinion", *The Free Press* remarks:

"The bray of Baron Munchausen's thawing post-horn was nothing to the clangour of the British press on the capture of Messrs. Mason and Slidell."[c]

Then humorously, it places side by side, in "strophe" and "antistrophe", the contradictions by which the English press seeks to convict the United States of a "breach of law".

Written on December 7, 1861

First published in *Die Presse,* No. 340, December 11, 1861

Printed according to the newspaper

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[a] J. Bright's speech and R. Cobden's letter were reported in the note, "Mr. Bright on America", *The Times,* No. 24109, December 6, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and above Marx quotes from the article, "'We must bombard New York!' Such were...", *The Free Press,* No. 12, December 4, 1861.—*Ed.*

[c] "'Public Opinion' on the *San Jacinto* Affair", *The Free Press,* same issue.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## PROGRESS OF FEELING IN ENGLAND

London, Dec. 7, 1861

The friends of the United States on this side of the Atlantic anxiously hope that conciliatory steps will be taken by the Federal Government. They do so not from a concurrence in the frantic crowing of the British press over a war incident, which, according to the English Crown lawyers themselves, resolves itself into a mere error of procedure, and may be summed up in the words that there has been a breach of international law, because Capt. Wilkes, instead of taking the *Trent,* her cargo, her passengers, and the Commissioners,[a] did only take the Commissioners. Nor springs the anxiety of the well-wishers of the Great Republic from an apprehension lest, in the long run, it should not prove able to cope with England, although backed by the civil war; and, least of all, do they expect the United States to abdicate, even for a moment, and in a dark hour of trial, the proud position held by them in the council of nations. The motives that prompt them are of quite a different nature.

In the first instance, the business next in hand for the United States is to crush the rebellion and to restore the Union. The wish uppermost in the minds of the Slaveocracy and their Northern tools was always to plunge the United States into a war with England. The first step of England as soon as hostilities broke out would be to recognize the Southern Confederacy, and the second to terminate the blockade. Secondly, no general, if not forced, will accept battle at the time and under the conditions chosen by his enemy.

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[a] J. Mason and J. Slidell.—*Ed.*

"A war with America," says *The Economist,* a paper deeply in Palmerston's confidence, "must always be one of the most lamentable incidents in the history of England; but if it is to happen, *the present is certainly the period at which it will do us the minimum of harm, and the only moment* in our *joint annals at which it would confer on us an incidental and partial compensation.*"[a]

The very reasons accounting for the eagerness of England to seize upon any decent pretext for war at this "only moment" ought to withhold the United States from forwarding such a pretext at this "only moment." You go not to war with the aim to do your enemy *"the minimum of harm,"* and, even to confer upon him by the war, *"an incidental and partial compensation."* The opportunity of the moment would all be on one side, on the side of your foe. Is there any great strain of reasoning wanted to prove that an internal war raging in a State is the least opportune time for entering upon a foreign war? At every other moment the mercantile classes of Great Britain would have looked upon a war against the United States with the utmost horror. Now, on the contrary, a large and influential party of the mercantile community has for months been urging on the Government to violently break the blockade, and thus provide the main branch of British industry with its raw material. The fear of a curtailment of the English export trade to the United States has lost its sting by the curtailment of that trade having already actually occurred. "They" (the Northern States), says *The Economist,* "are wretched customers, instead of good ones." The vast credit usually given by English commerce to the United States, principally by the acceptance of bills drawn from China and India, has been already reduced to scarcely a fifth of what it was in 1857. Last, not least, Decembrist France, bankrupt, paralyzed at home, beset with difficulty abroad, pounces upon an Anglo-American war as a real godsend, and, in order to buy English support in Europe, will strain all her power to support "Perfidious Albion" on the other side of the Atlantic. Read only the French newspapers. The pitch of indignation to which they have wrought themselves in their tender care for the "honor of England," their fierce diatribes as to the necessity on the part of England to revenge the outrage on the Union Jack, their vile denunciations of everything American, would be truly appalling, if they were not ridiculous and disgusting at the same time. Lastly, if the United States give way in this instance, they will not derogate one iota of their dignity. England has reduced her complaint to a mere *error of procedure, a technical blunder* of which

[a] "The Effect of an American War upon English Commerce", *The Economist,* No. 954, December 7, 1861.—*Ed.*

she has made herself systematically guilty in all her maritime wars, but against which the United States have never ceased to protest, and which President Madison, in his message inaugurating the war of 1812,[a] expatiated upon as one of the most shocking breaches of international law. If the United States may be defended in paying England with her own coin, will they be accused for magnanimously disavowing, on the part of a single American captain,[b] acting on his own responsibility, what they always denounced as a systematic usurpation on the part of the British Navy! In point of fact, the gain of such a procedure would be all on the American side. England, on the one hand, would have acknowledged the right of the United States to capture and bring to adjudication before an American prize court every English ship employed in the service of the Confederation. On the other hand, she would, once for all, before the eyes of the whole world, have practically resigned a claim which she was not brought to desist from either in the peace of Ghent, in 1814,[c] or the transactions carried on between Lord Ashburton and Secretary Webster in 1842.[127] The question then comes to this: Do you prefer to turn the "untoward event" to your own account, or, blinded by the passions of the moment, turn it to the account of your foes at home and abroad?

Since this day week, when I sent you my last letter,[d] British consols have again lowered, the decline, compared with last Friday, amounting to 2 per cent, the present prices being $89^3/_4$ to $^7/_8$ for money and 90 to $90^1/_8$ for the new account on the 9th of January. This quotation corresponds to the quotation of the British consols during the first two years of the Anglo-Russian war.[e] This decline is altogether due to the warlike interpretation put upon the American papers conveyed by the last mail, to the exacerbating tone of the London press, whose moderation of two days' standing was but a feint, ordered by Palmerston, to the dispatch of troops for Canada, to the proclamation forbidding the export of arms and materials for gunpowder[f] and lastly, to the

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[a] J. Madison, *To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States* [Washington, June 1, 1812].— *Ed.*

[b] Ch. Wilkes.— *Ed.*

[c] *A Treaty of Peace and Amity between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America; signed at Ghent, December 24, 1814.— Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 95-100.— *Ed.*

[e] The Crimean War of 1853-56.—*Ed.*

[f] Victoria, R., *A Proclamation* [December 4, 1861], *The Times,* No. 24108, December 5, 1861.— *Ed.*

daily ostentatious statements concerning the formidable preparations for war in the docks and maritime arsenals.

Of one thing you may be sure, Palmerston wants a legal pretext for a war with the United States, but meets in the Cabinet councils with a most determinate opposition on the part of Messrs. Gladstone and Milner Gibson, and, to a less degree, of Sir Cornwall Lewis. "The noble viscount" is backed by Russell, an abject tool in his hands, and the whole Whig Coterie. If the Washington Cabinet should furnish the desired pretext, the present Cabinet will be sprung, to be supplanted by a Tory Administration. The preliminary steps for such a change of scenery have been already settled between Palmerston and Disraeli. Hence the furious war-cry of *The Morning Herald* and *The Standard,* those hungry wolves howling at the prospect of the long-missed crumbs from the public almoner.

Palmerston's designs may be shown up by calling into memory a few facts. It was he who insisted upon the proclamation, acknowledging the Secessionists as belligerents, on the morning of the 14th of May, after he had been informed by telegraph from Liverpool that Mr. Adams would arrive at London on the night of the 13th May. He, after a severe struggle with his colleagues, dispatched 3,000 men to Canada, an army ridiculous, if intended to cover a frontier of 1,500 miles, but a clever sleight-of-hand if the rebellion was to be cheered, and the Union to be irritated. He, many weeks ago, urged Bonaparte to propose a joint armed intervention "in the internecine struggle," supported that project in the Cabinet council, and failed only in carrying it by the resistance of his colleagues. He and Bonaparte then resorted to the Mexican intervention as a *pis aller.*[a] That operation served two purposes, by provoking just resentment on the part of the Americans, and by simultaneously furnishing a pretext for the dispatch of a squadron, ready, as *The Morning Post* has it, "to perform whatever duty the hostile conduct of the Government of Washington may require us to perform in the waters of the Northern Atlantic."[b] At the time when that expedition was started, *The Morning Post,* together with *The Times* and the smaller fry of Palmerston's press slaves, said that it was a very fine thing, and a philanthropic thing into the bargain, because it would expose the slaveholding Confederation to two fires—the Anti-

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[a] The last means.—*Ed.*

[b] "We are glad to be able to inform our readers...", *The Morning Post,* No. 27442, November 30, 1861.—*Ed.*

Slavery North and the Anti-Slavery force of England and France. And what says the very same *Morning Post,* this curious compound of Jenkins and Rhodomonte, of plush and swash, in its to-day's issue, on occasion of Jefferson Davis's address?[a] Hearken to the Palmerston oracle:

"We must look to this intervention as one that may be in operation during a considerable period of time; and while the Northern Government is too distant to admit of its attitude entering materially into this question, the Southern Confederation, on the other hand, stretches for a great distance along the frontier of Mexico, so as to render its friendly disposition to the authors of the insurrection of no slight consequence. The Northern Government has invariably railed at our neutrality, but the Southern with statesmanship and moderation has recognized in it all that we could do for either party; and whether with a view to our transactions in Mexico, or to our relations with the Cabinet at Washington, the *friendly forbearance* of the Southern Confederacy is an important point in our favor."[b]

I may remark that the *Nord* of December 3—a Russian paper, and consequently a paper initiated into Palmerston's designs—insinuates that the Mexican expedition was from the first set on foot, not for its ostensible purpose, but for a war against the United States.[c]

Gen. Scott's letter had produced such a beneficent reaction in public opinion, and even on the London Stock Exchange, that the conspirators of Downing street and the Tuileries[128] found it necessary to let loose the *Patrie,* stating with all the airs of knowledge derived from official sources that the seizure of the Southern Commissioners from the *Trent* was directly authorized by the Washington Cabinet.

Written on December 7, 1861 — Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6467, December 25, 1861

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[a] J. Davis, "*To the Congress of the Confederate States.* Richmond, Nov. 18, 1861", *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6441, November 25, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] "The principal intelligence conveyed by the Edinburgh...", *The Morning Post,* No. 27448, December 7, 1861.—*Ed.*

[c] "Résumé politique", *Le Nord,* No. 337, December 3, 1861.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE CRISIS OVER THE SLAVERY ISSUE[129]

London, December 10

The United States has evidently entered a critical stage with regard to the *slavery question,* the question underlying the whole Civil War. General Frémont has been dismissed for declaring the slaves of *rebels* free.[a] A directive to General Sherman, the commander of the expedition to South Carolina, was a little later published by the Washington Government, which goes further than Frémont, for it decrees that fugitive slaves even of *loyal* slave-owners should be welcomed and employed as workers and paid a wage, and under certain circumstances armed, and consoles the "loyal" owners with the prospect of receiving compensation later.[b] Colonel Cochrane has gone even further than Frémont, he demands the arming of all slaves as a military measure.[c] The Secretary of War Cameron publicly approves of Cochrane's "views".[d] The Secretary of the Interior,[e] on behalf of the government, then repudiates the Secretary of War. The Secretary of War expresses his "views" even more emphatically at a public meeting stating that he will vindicate these views in his report to Congress.[f] General Halleck, Frémont's successor in Missouri, and General Dix in east Virginia have driven fugitive Negroes from their military camps and forbidden them to appear in future in the vicinity of the positions held by their armies. General Wool at the same time has received the black "contraband" with open

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[a] See this volume, pp. 86-88. Frémont's proclamation was published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6366, September 1, 1861.— *Ed.*

[b] The directive was discussed in the item "Instructions to Gen. Sherman", *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6445, November 29, 1861.— *Ed.*

[c] Cochrane's message to soldiers, *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6433, November 15, 1861.— *Ed.*

[d] Cameron's speech to soldiers, *New-York Daily Tribune,* same issue.— *Ed.*

[e] C. B. Smith.— *Ed.*

[f] The Smith-Cameron polemic was discussed in a report from Washington and published in *The Times,* No. 24111, December 9, 1861.— *Ed.*

arms at Fort Monroe.[130] The old leaders of the *Democratic* Party, Senator Dickinson and Croswell (a former member of the so-called Democratic regency[131]), have published open letters in which they express their agreement with Cochrane and Cameron,[a] and Colonel *Jennison* in Kansas has surpassed all his military predecessors by an address to his troops which contains the following passage:

"No temporising with rebels and those sympathising with them.... I have told General Frémont that I would not have drawn my sword had I thought that slavery would outlast this struggle. The slaves of rebels will always find protection in this camp and we will defend them to the last man and the last bullet. I want no men who are *not Abolitionists,*[b] I have no use for them and I hope that there are no such people among us, for everyone knows that slavery is the basis, the centre and the vertex of this infernal war.... Should the government disapprove of my action it can take back my patent, but in that case I shall act on my own hook even if in the beginning I can only count on six men."[c]

The slavery question is being solved in practice in the border slave states even now, especially in *Missouri* and to a lesser extent in Kentucky, etc. A large-scale dispersal of slaves is taking place. For instance 50,000 slaves have disappeared from Missouri, some of them have run away, others have been transported by the slave-owners to the more distant southern states.

It is rather strange that a most important and significant event is not mentioned in any English newspaper. On November 18, delegates from 45 North Carolina counties met on Hatteras Island, appointed a provisional government, revoked the Ordinance of Secession and proclaimed that North Carolina was returning to the Union. The counties of North Carolina represented at this convention have been called together to elect their Representatives to Congress at Washington.[d]

Written on December 10, 1861

First published in *Die Presse,* No. 343, December 14, 1861

Printed according to the newspaper

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[a] Croswell's letter in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6441, November 25, 1861. In a postscript to it Dickinson declared himself in agreement with Croswell.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx gives the beginning of this sentence in English in brackets, after the German equivalent. In the same manner he gives the phrase "on my own hook" further in this paragraph.— *Ed.*

[c] Jennison's address was reproduced in the item "Camp Jennison. Kansas City, Tuesday, Nov. 12, 1861", *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6441, November 25, 1861.— *Ed.*

[d] These events were reported in the item "Hatteras Inlet, N.C., Nov. 18, 1861", *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6438, November 21, 1861.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## AMERICAN MATTERS

London, December 13

The news of the fate of the *Harvey Birch* and the visit of the cruiser *Nashville* in Southampton harbour reached New York on November 29, but does not seem to have provoked the sensation that was every bit as expected in certain circles here as it was feared in others, hostile to the war.[132] This time, one wave broke on another. For New York was stirred up by the campaign for the election of the Mayor on December 3. The Washington correspondent of *The Times,* Mr. Russell, who spoils his Celtic talent by affecting English ways, pretends to shrug his shoulders in wonder at this excitement over the mayoral election.[a] Of course, Mr. Russell is flattering the illusion of the London cockney that the election of the Mayor in New York is the same kind of old-fashioned tomfoolery as the election of a Lord Mayor in London. It is well known that the Lord Mayor of London has nothing to do with the greater part of London. He is the nominal ruler of the City, a story-book character who strives to prove his reality by producing good turtle soups at banquets and bad judgments in cases of violation of police regulations. A Lord Mayor of London is a government figure only in the imagination of Paris writers of vaudeville and *faits divers.*[b] The Mayor of New York, on the contrary, is a real power. At the beginning of the secession movement the then Mayor, the notorious *Fernando Wood,* was on the point of proclaiming New York an independent city republic,[133] in collusion, of course, with Jefferson Davis. His plan

[a] [W. H. Russell] "Washington, Nov. 29", *The Times,* No. 24115, December 13, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] Local news items.—*Ed.*

foundered owing to the energy of the Republican Party of the Empire City.[134]

On November 27, Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, a member of the American Senate, where he had been beaten with a stick by a Southern senator[a] at the time of the Kansas affair,[135] delivered a brilliant speech before a large meeting in Cooper Union[136] in New York on the origin and secret motives of the slaveholder rebellion.[b] After his speech the meeting adopted the following resolution:

"The doctrine enunciated by General Frémont, with respect to the emancipation of the slaves of rebels, and the more recent utterances of General Burnside, Senator Wilson,[c] George Bancroft (the famous historian), Colonel Cochrane and Simon Cameron, foreshadowing the eventual rooting out of slavery as the cause of the rebellion, indicate a moral, political, and military necessity. In the judgment of this meeting, the public sentiment of the North is now fully in sympathy with any practicable scheme which may be presented for the extirpation of this national evil, and it regards such a result as the only consistent issue of this contest between civilisation and barbarism."[d]

The *New-York Tribune* comments, in particular, on Sumner's address:

"The allusion of Mr. Sumner to the coming discussions of Congress on the subject of slavery will kindle a hope that that body will at last understand where Southern weakness and Northern strength really lie, and will seize the instrumentality by which alone the rebellion is to be brought to a speedy and final extirpation."[e]

A private letter from *Mexico* states among other things:

"The English ambassador[f] pretends to be a warm friend of the administration of President Juárez. Persons well acquainted with the Spanish intrigues assure us that General Marquez has been instructed by Spain to bring the scattered forces of the Clerical party together again, its Mexican as well as Spanish elements. This party is then to take advantage of the opportunity soon to be offered to beg Her Catholic Majesty[g] to provide a king for the Mexican throne. An uncle of the

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[a] P. S. Brooks.—*Ed.*

[b] Sumner's speech was published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6444, November 28, 1861.—*Ed.*

[c] Presumably Henry Wilson.—*Ed.*

[d] "The Sentiment of the Cooper Institute Meeting Last Night", *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6444, November 28, 1861.—*Ed.*

[e] "It is certainly an indicative and important fact...", *New-York Daily Tribune,* same issue, leading article.—*Ed.*

[f] Th. Murphy.—*Ed.*

[g] Isabella II.—*Ed.*

Queen[a] is said to have been selected for the position already. As he is an old man, he would soon leave the stage in the natural course of events, and since any clause concerning the nomination of his successor is to be avoided, Mexico would thus revert to Spain—so that the same policy would triumph in Mexico as in Haiti." [137]

Written on December 13, 1861

First published in *Die Presse,* No. 346, December 17, 1861

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] Francisco de Paula Antonio de Borbón.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## A SLANDER TRIAL

London, December 19

The ancient Egyptians are known to have developed the *division of labour* to a high degree, so far as it extended to the whole of society and not to the individual workshop. With them almost every particular part of the body had its own special physician, whose therapy was confined by law to this particular region. Theft was the occupation of a special trade, the head of which was an officially recognised person. But how inadequate the ancient Egyptian division of labour appears when compared to that of modern England! The strange nature of some trades in London amazes us no less than the extent to which they are carried on.

One of these curious industries is *espionage.* It divides into two big branches, *civil* espionage and *political* espionage. We leave the latter entirely out of account here. Civil espionage is again broken down into two large subdivisions—*official* and *private* espionage.

The *official* sort is carried on, on the one hand, by detectives, who are paid either by the government or the municipal authorities, and on the other hand, by common informers, who spy on their own and are paid by jobwork[a] by the police.

*The business of private espionage* breaks down into many subtypes, which may be united under two major headings. One comprises *non-commercial* private relations, the other *commercial.* Under the first heading, in which espionage on marital infidelity plays an important part, the establishment of *Mr. Field* has won European fame. The business of *commercial* espionage will be better understood from the following incident.

Last Tuesday[b] the Court of Exchequer[138] dealt with a suit for

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[a] Marx uses the English words "detectives", "common informers" and "jobwork" and gives the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

[b] December 17.—*Ed.*

slander, in which a local weekly paper, *Lloyd's Weekly News,* was the defendant and Stubbs and Comp. the plaintiff. Stubbs and Comp. publish a weekly under the title of *Stubbs' Gazette,* the organ of *Stubbs' Trade Protection Company.* The paper is sent privately to subscribers, who pay 3 guineas a year, but is not sold by single copies, as other newspapers are, in stationers'[a] shops, on the street, at railway stations, and so on. Actually, it is a proscription list of bad debtors, whatever their position in life. Stubbs' "Protection Company" spies out the solvency of private individuals, *Stubbs' Gazette* records them in black and white. The number of subscribers runs to 20,000.

Well, *Lloyd's Weekly News* had published an article in which the following statement appeared: "It is the duty of every honourable man to put an end to this disgraceful system of *espionage.*" Stubbs demanded judicial revenge for this slander.

After the attorney for the plaintiff, Serjeant Shee, had poured out the stream of his Irish eloquence, the plaintiff Stubbs underwent a cross examination[b] (in effect, the cross fire to which the witnesses are subjected during the hearing) by Serjeant Ballantine, the attorney for *Lloyd's Weekly News.* The following comical dialogue ensued.[c]

*Ballantine:* "Do you ask your subscribers for information?"

*Stubbs:* "I invite the subscribers to send me the names of persons they consider to be swindlers. We then investigate these cases. I do not investigate them myself. I have agents in London and other large cities. I have 9 or 10 agents in London, who get a yearly salary."

*Ballantine:* "What do these gentlemen receive for hunting out information?"

*Stubbs:* "From 150 to 200 pounds sterling."

*Ballantine:* "And a new suit? Well, when one of these well-paid gentlemen catches a swindler, what happens then?"

"We publish his name."

*Ballantine:* "When he is a thorough swindler?"

"Yes."

"But if he is only half a swindler?"

"Then we enter it in our register."

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[a] Marx uses the English word.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English words "serjeant", "cross examination" and, below, "solicitor".— *Ed.*

[c] Marx draws on a report published in *The Times,* No. 24119, December 18, 1861.— *Ed.*

"Until he is in full bloom, and then you publish it?"

"Yes."

"Do you publish autographs of swindlers?"

"Yes."

"And you go to even greater expense for the benefit of trade. You publish photographs of swindlers?"

"Yes."

"Do you not have a secret police agency? Are you not connected with Mr. Field?"

"I am glad to be able to say No!"

"What is the difference?"

"I decline to answer that."

"What do you mean by your 'legal agents'?"

"That concerns collection of debts. I mean by it solicitors (something between attorney and bailiff) who take care of subscribers' business according to the conditions stated in the prospectus."

"So, you are a collector of debts, too?"

"I collect debts through 700 solicitors."

"Good Lord, you have 700 solicitors, and the world still exists! Do you keep the solicitors or do the solicitors keep you?"

"They keep themselves."

"Have you had other court cases?"

"Yes, half a dozen."

"Did you ever contest them?"

"Yes."

"Was the decision ever in your favour?"

"Once."

"What do you mean by the heading in your paper, 'Addresses Wanted', followed by a long list of names?"

"Absconding debtors whose whereabouts neither we nor our subscribers could trace."

"How is your business organised?"

"Our central office is in London, with branch offices in Birmingham, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dublin. My father left me the business. He carried it on in Manchester originally."

Attorney Ballantine in his plea pounced mercilessly on Stubbs, whose "smiling and self-complacent attitude during his testimony proved at any rate that he had no more idea than a dung-beetle of the filth of the material he moved in". English trade must have sunk deep indeed, if it needed such a protector. This unworthy spy system would give Stubbs a fearful weapon for extortion, etc.

The Lord Chief Baron,[139] who was sitting as judge,[a] threw his summing-up into the balance for the defence. He concluded with the words:

"The jury owe much to the freedom of the press; but juries are not independent because the press is free, but the press is free because the juries are independent. You must consider whether the incriminated article goes beyond the bounds of honest criticism. Stubbs is a public character and as such is subject to criticism. Should you believe that *Lloyd's Weekly News* has gone beyond the bounds of honest criticism, then it is up to you to award the plaintiff *appropriate* damages."

The jurors withdrew to the jury room to deliberate. After debating for a quarter of an hour they reappeared in the courtroom with the verdict: Plaintiff Stubbs is in the right; damages for his wounded honour—*one farthing*. The farthing is the smallest English coin, corresponding to the French centime and the German pfennig. Stubbs left Guildhall amidst the loud laughter of the large audience, escorted by a number of admirers, from whose urgent ovations only speedy flight could save his modest dignity.

Written on December 19, 1861

First published in *Die Presse*, No. 353, December 24, 1861

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] J. F. Pollock, the Chief Justice of the Court of Exchequer. Marx gives the English title: "Lord Chief Baron".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE WASHINGTON CABINET AND THE WESTERN POWERS[140]

One of the most striking surprises of a war so rich in surprises as the Anglo-French-Turkish-Russian[a] was incontestably the declaration on maritime law agreed at Paris in the spring of 1856.[141] When the war against Russia began, England suspended her most formidable weapons against Russia: confiscation of enemy-owned goods on neutral ships and privateering. At the conclusion of the war, England broke these weapons in pieces and sacrificed the fragments on the altar of peace. Russia, the ostensibly vanquished party, received a concession that, by a series of "armed neutralities",[142] wars and diplomatic intrigues, she had tried in vain to extort since Catherine II. England, the ostensible victor, renounced, on the other hand, the great means of attack and defence that had grown up out of her sea power and that she had maintained for a century and a half against a world in arms.

The humanitarian grounds that served as a pretext for the Declaration of 1856 vanish before the most superficial examination. Privateering is no greater *barbarism* than the action of volunteer corps or guerillas in land warfare. The privateers are the guerillas of the sea. Confiscation of the private goods of a belligerent nation also occurs in land warfare. Do military requisitions, for example, hit only the cash-box of the enemy government and not the property of private persons also? The nature of land warfare safeguards enemy possessions that are on neutral soil, therefore under the sovereignty of a neutral power. The nature of sea warfare obliterates these barriers, since the sea,

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[a] The Crimean War.—*Ed.*

as the common highway of the nations, cannot fall to the sovereignty of any neutral power.

As a matter of fact, however, the Declaration of 1856 veils under its philanthropic phrases a great inhumanity. In principle it transforms war from a war of peoples into a war of governments. It endows property with an inviolability that it denies to persons. It emancipates trade from the terrors of war and thereby makes the classes carrying on trade and industry callous to the terrors of war. For the rest, it is self-understood that the humanitarian pretexts of the Declaration of 1856 were only addressed to the European gallery, just like the religious pretexts of the Holy Alliance.

It is a well-known fact that Lord *Clarendon,* who signed away Britain's maritime rights at the Congress of Paris, acted, as he subsequently confessed in the Upper House, without the fore-knowledge or instructions of the Crown. His sole authority consisted in a *private letter* from Palmerston. Up to the present Palmerston has not dared to demand the sanction of the British Parliament for the Declaration of Paris and its signature by Clarendon. Apart from the debates on the contents of the Declaration, there was fear of debates on the Constitutional question whether, independently of Crown and Parliament, a British minister might usurp the right to sweep away the old basis of English sea power with a stroke of the pen. That this ministerial *coup d'état* did not lead to stormy interpellations, but, rather, was silently accepted as a *fait accompli,* Palmerston owed to the influence of the Manchester school.[143] It found to be in accordance with the interests represented by it, and therefore also with philanthropy, civilisation and progress, an innovation which would allow English commerce to continue to pursue its business with the enemy undisturbed on neutral ships, whilst sailors and soldiers fought for the honour of the nation. The Manchester men were jubilant over the fact that by an unconstitutional *coup de main* the minister had bound England to international concessions whose attainment in the constitutional parliamentary way was wholly improbable. Hence the present indignation of the Manchester party in England over the disclosures of the Blue Book submitted by Seward to the Congress in Washington!

As is known, the United States was the only great power that refused to accede to the Paris Declaration of 1856. If they had renounced privateering, then they would have to create a great state navy. Any weakening of their means of war at sea simultaneously threatened them with the dreadful prospect of

having to maintain a standing land army on the European scale. Nevertheless, President Buchanan stated that he was ready to accept the Declaration of Paris provided that the same inviolability would be assured to all property, enemy or neutral, found on ships, with the exception of contraband of war. His proposal was rejected. From Seward's Blue Book it now appears that Lincoln, immediately after his assumption of office, offered England and France the adhesion of the United States to the Declaration of Paris, so far as it abolishes privateering, on condition that the prohibition of privateering should be extended to the parts of the United States in revolt, that is, the Southern Confederacy. The answer that he received amounted in practice to recognition of the belligerent rights of the Southern Confederacy.[a]

"Humanity, progress and civilisation" whispered to the Cabinets of St. James's and the Tuileries that the prohibition of privateering would extraordinarily reduce the chances of secession and therefore of dissolution of the United States. The Confederacy was therefore recognised in all haste as a belligerent party, in order afterwards to reply to the Cabinet at Washington that England and France could naturally not recognise the proposal of one belligerent party as a binding law for the other belligerent party. The same "noble uprightness" inspired all the diplomatic negotiations of England and France with the Union government since the outbreak of the Civil War, and had the *San Jacinto* not held up the *Trent* in the Bahama Channel, any other incident would have sufficed to provide a pretext for the conflict that Lord Palmerston aimed at.

Written about December 20, 1861

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[a] The reference is to Queen Victoria's proclamation of neutrality of May 13, 1861 (see this volume, pp. 92).—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE OPINION OF THE NEWSPAPERS AND THE OPINION OF THE PEOPLE[144]

London, December 25

Continental politicians, who imagine that in the London press they possess a thermometer for the temper of the English people, inevitably draw false conclusions at the present moment. With the first news of the *Trent* case the English national pride flared up and the call for war with the United States resounded from almost all sections of society.[a] The London press, on the other hand, affected moderation and even *The Times* doubted whether a *casus belli* existed at all.[b] Whence this phenomenon? Palmerston was uncertain whether the Crown lawyers were in a position to contrive any legal pretext for war. For, a week and a half before the arrival of the *La Plata* at Southampton, agents of the Southern Confederacy had turned to the English Cabinet from Liverpool, denounced the intention of American cruisers to put out from *English* ports and intercept Messrs. Mason, Slidell, etc., on the high seas, and demanded the intervention of the English government. In accordance with the opinion of its Crown lawyers, the latter refused the request. Hence, in the beginning, the peaceful and moderate tone of the London press in contrast to the warlike impatience of the people. So soon, however, as the Crown lawyers—the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General,[c] both themselves members of the Cabinet[d]—had worked out a *technical* pretext for a quarrel with the United States, the relationship

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[a] See this volume, pp. 89-94.— *Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the article "It requires a strong effort...", *The Times*, No. 24102, November 28, 1861.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx gives the titles in English.— *Ed.*

[d] W. Atherton and R. Palmer.— *Ed.*

between the people and the press turned into its opposite. The war fever increased in the press in the same measure as the war fever abated in the people. At the present moment a war with America is just as unpopular with all sections of the English people, the friends of cotton and the country squires excepted, as the war-howl in the press is overwhelming.

But now, consider the London press! At its head stands *The Times,* whose leading editor, *Bob Lowe,* was formerly a demagogue in Australia, where he agitated for separation from England. He is a subordinate member of the Cabinet, a kind of minister for education, and a mere creature of Palmerston. *Punch* is the court jester of *The Times* and transforms its *sesquipedalia verba*[a] into flat jokes and spiritless caricatures. A principal editor of *Punch* was accommodated by Palmerston with a seat on the Board of Health[b] and an annual salary of a thousand pounds sterling.

The *Morning Post* is in part Palmerston's private property. Another part of this singular institution is sold to the French Embassy. The rest belongs to the *haute volée*[c] and supplies the most precise reports for court flunkeys and ladies' tailors. Among the English people the *Morning Post* is accordingly notorious as the *Jenkins* (the stock figure for the lackey) of the press.

The *Morning Advertiser* is the joint property of the "licensed victuallers",[d] that is, of the public houses, which, besides beer, may also sell spirits. It is, further, the organ of the English *Pietists*[145] and ditto of the sporting characters, that is, of the people who make a business of horse-racing, betting, boxing and the like. The editor of this paper, Mr. *Grant,* previously employed as a stenographer by the newspapers and quite uneducated in a literary sense, has had the honour to get invited to Palmerston's private *soirées.* Since then he has been enthusiastic for the "truly English minister"[146] whom, on the outbreak of the Russian war, he had denounced as a "Russian agent". It must be added that the pious patrons of this liquor-journal stand under the ruling rod of the Earl of Shaftesbury and that Shaftesbury is Palmerston's son-in-law. Shaftesbury is the pope of the Low Churchmen,[147] who

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[a] Words of a foot and a half long (Horace, *Art of Poetry,* 97).— *Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English name and gives the German translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

[c] High society.— *Ed.*

[d] Here and below Marx uses the English expressions "licensed victuallers", "sporting characters", "Low Churchmen", "truly English minister" (he translates the last phrase into German in brackets).— *Ed.*

blend the *spiritus sanctus*[a] with the profane spirit of the honest *Advertiser.*

The *Morning Chronicle! Quantum mutatus ab illo!*[b] For well-nigh half a century the great organ of the Whig Party and the not unfortunate rival of *The Times,* its star paled after the Whig war.[148] It went through metamorphoses of all sorts, turned itself into a penny paper[c] and sought to live by "sensations",[149] thus, for example, by taking the side of the poisoner, *Palmer.* It subsequently sold itself to the French Embassy, which, however, soon regretted throwing away its money. It then threw itself into anti-Bonapartism, but with no better success. Finally, it found the long missing buyer in Messrs. Yancey and Mann—the agents of the Southern Confederacy in London.

The *Daily Telegraph* is the private property of a certain *Levy.* His paper is stigmatised by the English press itself as *Palmerston's* mob paper. Besides this function it conducts a *chronique scandaleuse.*[d] It is characteristic of this *Telegraph* that, on the arrival of the news about the *Trent,* by *ordre* from above it declared *war to be impossible.* In the dignity and moderation dictated to it, it seemed so strange to itself that since then it has published half-a-dozen articles about this instance of moderation and dignity displayed by it. As soon, however, as the *ordre* to change its line reached it, the *Telegraph* has sought to compensate itself for the constraint put upon it by outbawling all its comrades in howling loudly for war.

The *Globe* is the ministerial evening paper which receives official subsidies from all Whig ministries.

The Tory papers, *The Morning Herald* and *The Evening Standard,* both belonging to the same *boutique,* are governed by a double motive: on the one hand, hereditary hate for "the *revolted* English colonies"[e]; on the other hand, a chronic ebb in their finances. They know that a war with America must shatter the present coalition Cabinet and pave the way for a Tory Cabinet. With the Tory Cabinet official subsidies for *The Herald* and *The Standard* would return. Accordingly, hungry wolves cannot howl louder for prey than these Tory papers for an American war with its ensuing shower of gold!

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[a] Holy Spirit.—*Ed.*

[b] How changed from what he once was! (Virgil, *Aeneid,* II, 274).—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English expression "penny paper" and, below, "mob paper", the latter with the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

[d] Chronicle of scandal.—*Ed.*

[e] An allusion to the leading article "Let those who believe...", *The Times,* No. 24122, December 21, 1861.—*Ed.*

Of the London daily press, *The Daily News* and *The Morning Star* are the only papers left that are worth mentioning; both work counter to the trumpeters of war. *The Daily News* is restricted in its movement by a connection with Lord John Russell; *The Morning Star* (the organ of Bright and Cobden) is diminished in its influence by its character as a "peace-at-any-price paper".

Most of the London weekly papers are mere echoes of the daily press, therefore overwhelmingly warlike. *The Observer* is in the ministry's pay. *The Saturday Review* strives for *ésprit* and believes it has attained it by affecting a cynical elevation above "humanitarian" prejudices.[a] To show *"ésprit"*, the corrupt lawyers, parsons and schoolmasters that write this paper have smirked their approbation of the slaveholders since the outbreak of the American Civil War. Naturally, they subsequently blew the war-trumpet with *The Times.* They are already drawing up plans of campaign against the United States displaying a hair-raising ignorance.

*The Spectator, The Examiner* and, particularly, *MacMillan's Magazine* must be mentioned as more or less respectable exceptions.

One sees: On the whole, the London press—with the exception of the cotton organs, the provincial papers form a commendable contrast—represents nothing but Palmerston and again Palmerston. Palmerston wants war; the English people don't want it. Imminent events will show who will win in this duel, Palmerston or the people. In any case, he is playing a more dangerous game than Louis Bonaparte at the beginning of 1859.[150]

Written on December 25, 1861

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Printed according to the newspaper

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[a] An allusion to the article "Unblessed Peacemakers", *The Saturday Review,* No. 320, December 14, 1861.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## FRENCH NEWS HUMBUG.— ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF WAR[151]

London, December 31

The belief in miracles seems to be withdrawn from one sphere only in order to settle in another. If it is driven out of nature, it now rises up in politics. At least, that is the view of the Paris newspapers and their confederates in the telegraph agencies and the newspaper-correspondence shops. Thus, Paris evening papers of yesterday announce: Lord Lyons has stated to Mr. Seward that he will wait until the evening of December 20, but then depart for London, in the event of the Cabinet at Washington refusing to surrender the prisoners.[a] Therefore, the Paris papers already knew *yesterday* the steps that Lord Lyons took *after* receiving the dispatches transmitted to him on the *Europa.* Up to *today,* however, news of the arrival of the *Europa* in New York has not yet reached Europe. The *Patrie* and its associates, *before* they are informed of the arrival of the *Europa* in America, publish in Europe news of the events that ensued on the heels of the *Europa's* arrival in the United States. The *Patrie* and its associates manifestly believe that legerdemain requires no magic. One journal over here remarks in its stock exchange article that these Paris inventions, quite like the provocatory articles in some English papers, serve not only the political speculations of certain persons in power, but just as much the *stock exchange speculations* of certain private individuals.

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[a] J. Mason and J. Slidell. Marx cites the statement according to *The Times,* No. 24130, December 31, 1861.—*Ed.*

*The Economist,* hitherto one of the loudest bawlers of the war party, publishes in its last number a *letter from a Liverpool merchant* and a leading article in which the English public is warned not on any account to underestimate the dangers of a war with the United States.[a] England imported grain worth £15,380,901 during 1861; of the whole amount nearly £6,000,000 fell to the United States.[b] England would suffer more from the inability to buy American grain than the United States would suffer from the inability to sell it. The United States would have the advantage of *prior information.* If they decided for war, then telegrams would fly forthwith from Washington to San Francisco, and the American ships in the Pacific Ocean and the China seas would commence war operations many weeks before England could bring the news of the war to India. .

Since the outbreak of the Civil War the American-Chinese trade, and the American-Australian trade quite as much, has diminished to an enormous extent. So far, however, as it is still carried on, it buys its cargoes in most cases with English letters of credit, therefore with English capital. English trade from India, China and Australia, always very considerable, has, on the contrary, grown still more since the interruption of the trade with the United States. American privateers would therefore have a great field for privateering; English privateers, a relatively insignificant one. English investments of capital in the United States are greater than the whole of the capital invested in the English cotton industry. American investments of capital in England are nil. The English navy eclipses the American, but not nearly to the same extent as during the war of 1812 to 1814.[152]

If at that time the American privateers already showed themselves far superior to the English, then how about them now? An effective blockade of the North American ports, particularly in winter, is quite out of the question. In the inland waters between Canada and the United States—and superiority here is decisive for the land warfare in Canada—the United States would, with the opening of the war, hold absolute sway.

In short, the Liverpool merchant comes to the conclusion:

"Nobody in England dares to recommend war for the sake of mere cotton. It would be cheaper for us to feed the whole of the cotton districts for three years at

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[a] "The Mercantile Realities of an American War", signed "A Liverpool Merchant", and the article "Operation of a War with America on England" published in *The Economist,* No. 957, December 28, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Board of Trade Tables", *The Economist,* same issue.—*Ed.*

state expense than to wage war with the United States on their behalf for one year."

*Ceterum censeo*[a] that the *Trent* case will not lead to war.

Written on December 31, 1861

First published in *Die Presse*, No. 4, January 4, 1862

Printed according to the newspaper

[a] "Ceterum censeo Carthaginem esse delendam" ("By the way, I believe that Carthage should be destroyed", Plutarch, *Life of Cato the Elder*)—the words with which Cato, Roman soldier and statesman (234-149 B.C.) usually concluded, refrain-like, his speeches in the Senate. Here the phrase means, roughly: "I repeat".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## A PRO-AMERICA MEETING [153]

London, January 1

The anti-war movement among the *English people* gains from day to day in energy and extent. Public meetings in the most diverse parts of the country insist on settlement *by arbitration* of the dispute between England and America. Memoranda in this sense rain on the chief of the Cabinet,[a] and the independent *provincial press* is almost unanimous in its opposition to the war-cry of the London press.

Subjoined is a detailed report of the meeting held last Monday[b] in *Brighton,* since it emanated from the working class, and the two principal speakers, Messrs. *Coningham* and *White,* are influential members of Parliament who both sit on the *ministerial* side of the House.

Mr. *Wood* (a worker) proposed the first motion, to the effect

"that the dispute between England and America arose out of a misinterpretation of international law, but not out of an intentional insult to the British flag; that accordingly this meeting is of the opinion that the whole question in dispute should be referred to a neutral power for decision by arbitration; that under the existing circumstances a war with America is not justifiable, but rather merits the condemnation of the English people".

In support of his motion Mr. Wood, among other things, remarked:

"It is said that this new insult is merely the last link in a chain of insults that America has offered to England. Suppose this to be true, what would it prove in regard to the cry for war at the present moment? It would prove that so long as America was undivided and strong, we submitted quietly to her insults; but now, in

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[a] H. J. Palmerston.—*Ed.*

[b] December 30, 1861.—*Ed.*

the hour of her peril, we take advantage of a position favourable to us, to revenge the insult. Would not such a procedure brand us as cowards in the eyes of the civilised world?"

Mr. *Coningham:*

"...At this moment there is developing in the midst of the Union an avowed *policy of emancipation (Applause),* and I express the earnest hope that no intervention on the part of the English government will be permitted *(Applause)....* Will you, freeborn Englishmen, allow yourselves to be embroiled in an anti-republican war? For that is the intention of *The Times* and of the party that stands behind it.... I appeal to the workers of England, who have the greatest interest in the preservation of peace, to raise their voices and, in case of need, their hands for the prevention of so great a crime *(Loud applause)... The Times* has exerted every endeavour to excite the warlike spirit of the land and by bitter scorn and slanders to engender a hostile mood among the Americans.... I do not belong to the so-called peace party.[154] *The Times* favoured the policy of Russia and put forth (in 1853) all its powers to mislead our country into looking on calmly at the military encroachments of Russian barbarism in the East. I was amongst those who raised their voices against this false policy. At the time of the introduction of the *Conspiracy Bill,* whose object was to facilitate the extradition of political refugees, no expenditure of effort seemed too great to *The Times,* to force this Bill through the Lower House. I was one of the 99 members of the House who withstood this encroachment on the liberties of the English people and brought about the minister's downfall[155] *(applause).* This minister is now at the head of the Cabinet. I prophesy to him that should he seek to embroil our country in a war with America without good and sufficient reasons, his plan will fail ignominiously. I promise him a fresh ignominious defeat, a worse defeat than was his lot on the occasion of the Conspiracy Bill *(Loud applause)....* I do not know the official communication that has gone to Washington; but the opinion prevails that the Crown lawyers[a] have recommended the government to take its stand on the quite narrow legal ground that the Southern commissioners might not be seized without the ship that carried them. Consequently the handing over of Slidell and Mason is to be demanded as the *conditio sine qua non.*

"Suppose the people on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean does not permit its government to hand them over. Will you go to war for the bodies of these two envoys of the slavedrivers?... There exists in this country an anti-republican war party. Remember the last Russian war. From the secret dispatches published in Petersburg it was clear beyond all doubt that the articles published by *The Times* in 1855 were written by a person who had access to the secret Russian state papers and documents. At that time Mr. Layard read the striking passages in the Lower House,[b] and *The Times,* in its consternation, immediately changed its tone and blew the war-trumpet next morning[c]... *The Times* has repeatedly attacked the Emperor Napoleon and supported our government in its demand for unlimited credits for land fortifications and floating batteries. Having done this and raised the alarm cry against France, does *The Times* now wish to leave our coast exposed to the French emperor by embroiling our country in a trans-Atlantic war...? It is to be feared that

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[a] W. Atherton and R. Palmer.— *Ed.*

[b] A. H. Layard [Speech in the House of Commons on March 31, 1854], *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates,* Third series, Vol. CXXXII, London, 1854.— *Ed.*

[c] "To whatever quarter...", *The Times,* No. 21704, April 1, 1854, leading article.— *Ed.*

the present great preparations are intended by no means only for the *Trent* case but for the eventuality of a recognition of the government of the slave states. If England does this, then she will cover herself with everlasting shame."

Mr. *White:*

"It is due to the working class to mention that they are the originators of this meeting and that all the expenses of organising it are borne by their committee.... The present government never had the good judgment to deal honestly and frankly with the people.... I have never for a moment believed that there was the remotest possibility of a war developing out of the *Trent* case. I have said to the face of more than one member of the government that not a single member of the government believed in the possibility of a war on account of the *Trent* case. Why, then, these massive preparations? I believe that England and France have reached an understanding to recognise the independence of the Southern states next spring. By then Great Britain would have a fleet of superior strength in American waters. Canada would be completely equipped for defence. If the Northern states are then inclined to make a *casus belli* out of the recognition of the Southern states, Great Britain will then be prepared...."

The speaker then went on to develop the dangers of a war with the United States, called to mind the sympathy that America showed on the death of General Havelock, the assistance that the American sailors rendered to the English ships in the unlucky Peiho engagement,[156] etc. He closed with the remark that the Civil War would end with the abolition of slavery and England must therefore stand unconditionally on the side of the North.

The original motion having been unanimously adopted, a memorandum for Palmerston was submitted to the meeting, debated and adopted.

Written on January 1, 1862

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Printed according to the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## ENGLISH PUBLIC OPINION

London, Jan. 11, 1862

The news of the pacific solution of the *Trent* conflict[157] was, by the bulk of the English people, saluted with an exultation proving unmistakably the unpopularity of the apprehended war and the dread of its consequences. It ought never to be forgotten in the United States that at least the *working classes* of England, from the commencement to the termination of the difficulty, have never forsaken them. To them it was due that, despite the poisonous stimulants daily administered by a venal and reckless press, not one single public war meeting could be held in the United Kingdom during all the period that peace trembled in the balance. The only war meeting convened on the arrival of the *La Plata,* in the cotton salesroom of the Liverpool Stock Exchange, was a corner meeting where the cotton jobbers had it all to themselves. Even at Manchester, the temper of the working classes was so well understood that an insulated attempt at the convocation of a war meeting was almost as soon abandoned as thought of.

Wherever public meetings took place in England, Scotland, or Ireland, they protested against the rabid war-cries of the press, against the sinister designs of the Government, and declared for a pacific settlement of the pending question. In this regard, the two last meetings held, the one at Paddington, London, the other at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, are characteristic. The former meeting applauded Mr. Washington Wilkes's argumentation that England was not warranted in finding fault with the seizure of the Southern Commissioners[a]; while the Newcastle meeting almost unanimously carried the resolution—firstly, that the Americans

[a] J. Mason and J. Slidell.—*Ed.*

had only made themselves guilty of a *lawful* exercise of the right of search and seizure; secondly, that the captain of the *Trent*[a] ought to be punished for his violation of English neutrality, as proclaimed by the Queen.[b] In ordinary circumstances, the conduct of the British workingmen might have been anticipated from the natural sympathy the popular classes all over the world ought to feel for the only popular Government in the world.

Under the present circumstances, however, when a great portion of the British working classes directly and severely suffers under the consequences of the Southern blockade; when another part is indirectly smitten by the curtailment of the American commerce, owing, as they are told, to the selfish "protective policy" of the Republicans; when the only remaining democratic weekly, *Reynolds's* paper, has sold itself to Messrs. Yancey and Mann, and week after week exhausts its horse-powers of foul language in appeals to the working classes to urge the Government, for their own interests, to war with the Union—under such circumstances, simple justice requires to pay a tribute to the sound attitude of the British working classes, the more so when contrasted with the hypocritical, bullying, cowardly, and stupid conduct of the official and well-to-do John Bull.

What a difference in this attitude of the people from what it had assumed at the time of the Russian complication![c] Then *The Times, The Post,* and the other Yellowplushes of the London press, whined for peace, to be rebuked by tremendous war meetings all over the country. Now they have howled for war, to be answered by peace meetings denouncing the liberticide schemes and the Pro-Slavery sympathy of the Government. The grimaces cut by the augurs of public opinion at the news of the pacific solution of the *Trent* case are really amusing.

In the first place, they must needs congratulate themselves upon the dignity, common sense, good will, and moderation, daily displayed by them for the whole interval of a month. They *were* moderate for the first two days after the arrival of the *La Plata,* when Palmerston felt uneasy whether any legal pretext for a quarrel was to be picked. But hardly had the crown lawyers[d] hit upon a legal quibble, when they opened a charivari unheard of since the anti-Jacobin war.[158] The dispatches of the English

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[a] Moir.—*Ed.*

[b] Victoria, R., *A Proclamation* [May 13, 1861], *The Times,* No. 23933, May 15, 1861.—*Ed.*

[c] I.e., of the Crimean War.—*Ed.*

[d] R. Palmer and W. Atherton.—*Ed.*

Government left Queenstown in the beginning of December. No official answer from Washington could possibly be looked for before the commencement of January. The new incidents arising in the interval told all in favor of the Americans. The tone of the Transatlantic Press, although the Nashville affair[159] might have roused its passions, was calm. All facts ascertained concurred to show that Capt. Wilkes had acted on his own hook. The position of the Washington Government was delicate. If it resisted the English demands, it would complicate the civil war by a foreign war. If it gave way, it might damage its popularity at home, and appear to cede to pressure from abroad. And the Government thus placed, carried, at the same time, a war which must enlist the warmest sympathies of every man, not a confessed ruffian, on its side.

Common prudence, conventional decency, ought, therefore, to have dictated to the London press, at least for the time separating the English demand from the American reply, to anxiously abstain from every word calculated to heat passion, breed ill-will, complicate the difficulty. But no! That "inexpressibly mean and groveling" press, as William Cobbett, and he was a *connoisseur,* calls it, really boasted of having, when in fear of the compact power of the United States, humbly submitted to the accumulated slights and insults of Pro-Slavery Administrations for almost half a century, while now, with the savage exultation of cowards, they panted for taking their revenge on the Republican Administration, distracted by a civil war. The record of mankind chronicles no self-avowed infamy like this.

One of the yellow-plushes, Palmerston's private *Moniteur—The Morning Post*—finds itself arraigned on a most ugly charge from the American papers. John Bull has never been informed—on information carefully withheld from him by the oligarchs that lord it over him—that Mr. Seward, without awaiting Russell's dispatch, had disavowed any participation of the Washington Cabinet in the act of Capt. Wilkes. Mr. Seward's dispatch arrived at London on December 19. On the 20th December, the rumor of this "secret" spread on the Stock Exchange. On the 21st, the yellow-plush of *The Morning Post* stepped forward to gravely herald that "the dispatch in question does not in any way whatever refer to the outrage on our mail packet."[a]

In *The Daily News, The Morning Star,* and other London

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[a] "In the present state of the public mind...", *The Morning Post,* No. 27460, December 21, 1861, leading article.—*Ed.*

journals, you will find yellow-plush pretty sharply handled, but you will not learn from them what people out of doors say. They say that *The Morning Post* and *The Times,* like the *Patrie* and the *Pays,* duped the public not only to politically mislead them, but to fleece them in the monetary line on the Stock Exchange, in the interest of their patrons.

The brazen *Times,* fully aware that during the whole crisis it had compromised nobody but itself, and given another proof of the hollowness of its pretensions of influencing the real people of England, plays to-day a trick which here, at London, only works upon the laughing muscles, but on the other side of the Atlantic, might be misinterpreted.[a] The "popular classes" of London, the "mob", as the yellow-plush call them, have given unmistakable signs—have even hinted in newspapers—that they should consider it an exceedingly seasonable joke to treat Mason (by the by, a distant relative of Palmerston, since the original Mason had married a daughter of Sir W. Temple), Slidell & Co. with the same demonstrations Haynau received on his visit at Barclay's brewery.[160] *The Times* stands aghast at the mere idea of such a shocking incident, and how does it try to parry it? It admonishes the people of England not to overwhelm Mason, Slidell & Co. with any sort of public *ovation! The Times* knows that its to-day's article will form the laughing-stock of all the tap-rooms of London. But never mind! People on the other side of the Atlantic may, perhaps, fancy that the magnanimity of *The Times* has saved them from the affront of public ovations to Mason, Slidell & Co., while, in point of fact, *The Times* only intends saving those gentlemen from public insult!

So long as the *Trent* affair was undecided, *The Times, The Post, The Herald, The Economist, The Saturday Review,* in fact the whole of the fashionable, hireling press of London, had tried its utmost to persuade John Bull that the Washington Government, even if it willed, would prove unable to keep the peace, because the Yankee mob would not allow it, and because the Federal Government was a mob Government. Facts have now given them the lie direct. Do they now atone for their malignant slanders against the American people? Do they at least confess the errors which yellow-plush, in presuming to judge of the acts of a free people, could not but commit? By no means. They now unanimously discover that the American Government, in not anticipating England's demands,

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[a] "A turn of the wheel, which the American Cabinet has managed to make...", *The Times,* No. 24140, January 11, 1862, leading article.— *Ed.*

and not surrendering the Southern traitors as soon as they were caught, missed a great occasion, and deprived its present concession of all merit. Indeed, yellow plush! Mr. Seward disavowed the act of Wilkes before the arrival of the English demands, and at once declared himself willing to enter upon a conciliatory course[a]; and what did you do on similar occasions? When, on the pretext of impressing English sailors on board American ships—a pretext not at all connected with maritime belligerent rights, but a downright, monstrous usurpation against all international law—the *Leopard* fired its broadside at the *Chesapeake,* killed six, wounded twenty-one of her sailors, and seized the pretended Englishmen on board the *Chesapeake,* what did the English Government do? That outrage was perpetrated on the 20th of June, 1807. The real satisfaction, the surrender of the sailors, &c., was only offered on November 8, 1812, five years later. The British Government, it is true, disavowed at once the act of Admiral Berkeley, as Mr. Seward did in regard to Capt. Wilkes; but, to punish the Admiral, it removed him from an inferior to a superior rank. England, in proclaiming her Orders in Council,[161] distinctly confessed that they were outrages on the rights of neutrals in general, and of the United States in particular; that they were forced upon her as measures of retaliation against Napoleon, and that she would feel but too glad to revoke them whenever Napoleon should revoke his encroachments on neutral rights.[b] Napoleon did revoke them, as far as the United States were concerned, in the Spring of 1810. England persisted in her avowed outrage on the maritime rights of America. Her resistance lasted from 1806 to 23d of June, 1812—after, on the 18th of June, 1812, the United States had declared war against England. England abstained, consequently, in this case for six years, not from atoning for a confessed outrage, but from discontinuing it. And this people talk of the magnificent occasion missed by the American Government! Whether in the wrong or in the right, it was a cowardly act on the part of the British Government to back a complaint grounded on pretended technical blunder, and a mere error of procedure, by an ultimatum, by a demand for the surrender of the prisoners. The American Government might have reasons to accede to that demand; it could have none to anticipate it.

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[a] "New York, Dec. 28", *The Times,* No. 24139, January 10, 1862.—*Ed.*

[b] *Order in Council. At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 11th of November, 1807, present, the King's most Excellent Majesty in Council.—Ed.*

By the present settlement of the *Trent* collision, the question underlying the whole dispute, and likely to again occur—the belligerent rights of a maritime power against neutrals—has not been settled. I shall, with your permission, try to survey the whole question in a subsequent letter. For the present, allow me to add that, in my opinion, Messrs. Mason and Slidell have done great service to the Federal Government. There was an influential war party in England, which, what for commercial, what for political reasons, showed eager for a fray with the United States. The *Trent* affair put that party to the test. It has failed. The war passion has been discounted on a minor issue, the steam has been let off, the vociferous fury of the oligarchy has raised the suspicions of English democracy, the large British interests connected with the United States have made a stand, the true character of the civil war has been brought home to the working classes, and last, not least, the dangerous period when Palmerston rules single-headed without being checked by Parliament, is rapidly drawing to an end. That was the only time in which an English war for the slaveocrats might have been hazarded. It is now out of question.

Written on January 11, 1862

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6499, February 1, 1862

# Karl Marx

## MORE ON SEWARD'S SUPPRESSED DISPATCH [162]

London, January 14

The defunct *Trent* case is resurrected, this time, however, as a *casus belli* not between England and the United States, but between the English people and the English government. The new *casus belli* will be decided in Parliament, which assembles next month. Without doubt you have already taken notice of the polemic of *The Daily News*[a] and *The Star* against *The Morning Post* over the suppression and denial of Seward's peace dispatch of November 30,[b] which on December 19 was read to Lord John Russell by the American Ambassador, Mr. Adams. Permit me, now, to return to this matter. With the assurance of *The Morning Post* that Seward's dispatch had not the remotest bearing on the *Trent* affair,[c] stock exchange securities fell and property worth millions changed hands, was lost on the one side, won on the other. In commercial and industrial circles, therefore, the wholly unjustifiable semi-official lie of *The Morning Post* disclosed by the publication of Seward's dispatch of November 30 arouses the most tremendous indignation.

On the afternoon of January 9 the peace news reached London. The same evening *The Evening Star* (the evening edition of *The Morning Star*) interpellated the government concerning the suppression of Seward's dispatch of November 30. The following morning, January 10, *The Morning Post* replied as follows:

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[a] The reference is to the leading article in *The Daily News*, No. 4890, January 11, 1862 ("As the rising of the sun after a night of troublous watchings...").—*Ed.*

[b] Seward's dispatch was published in the item "Southampton, Jan. 12", *The Times*, No. 24141, January 13, 1862.—*Ed.*

[c] "In the present state of the public mind...", *The Morning Post*, No. 27460, December 21, 1861, leading article.—*Ed.*

"It is asked why nothing has been heard sooner of Mr. Seward's dispatch, which reached Mr. Adams some time in December. The explanation of this is very simple. It is that the dispatch received by Mr. Adams was *not communicated*[a] *to our government.*"[b]

On the evening of the same day *The Star* gave the lie to the *Post* completely and declared its "rectification" to be a miserable subterfuge. The dispatch, it wrote, had in fact not been *"communicated"* to Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell by Mr. Adams, but had been *"read out"*.

Next morning, Saturday, January 11, *The Daily News* entered the lists and proved from *The Morning Post's* article of December 21 that the *Post* and the government had been fully acquainted with Seward's dispatch at that time and deliberately falsified it. The government now prepared to retreat. On the evening of January 11 the semi-official *Globe* declared that Mr. Adams had, to be sure, communicated Seward's dispatch to the government on December 19; this, however, "contained no offer by the Washington Cabinet" any more than "a direct apology for the outrage on the British flag". This shamefaced admission of a deliberate deception of the English people for three weeks only fanned the flame higher, instead of quenching it. A cry of anger resounded through all the organs of the industrial districts of Great Britain, which yesterday finally found its echo even in the Tory newspapers. The whole question, one should note, was placed on the order of the day, not by politicians, but by the commercial public. Today's *Morning Star* remarks on the subject:

"Lord John Russell is undoubtedly an accomplice in that suppression of the truth; he allowed the *Morning Post's* lie to circulate uncontradicted, but he is incapable of having dictated that mendacious and incalculably pernicious article which appeared in *The Morning Post* on the 21st of December. This could only be done by *one* man. The Minister who fabricated the Afghan war is alone capable of having suppressed Mr. Seward's message of peace.[163] The foolish leniency of the House of Commons condoned the one offence. Will not Parliament and people unite in the infliction of punishment for the other?"

Written on January 14, 1862

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Printed according to the newspaper

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[a] Marx gives the English words "not communicated" in brackets after the German translation.— *Ed.*

[b] "We have it in our power to state...", *The Morning Post,* No. 27476, January 10, 1862, leading article.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## A COUP D'ÉTAT BY LORD JOHN RUSSELL[164]

London, January 17

Lord John Russell's position during the recent crisis was a thoroughly vexatious one, even for a man whose whole parliamentary life proves that he has seldom hesitated to sacrifice real power for official position. No one forgot that Lord John Russell had lost the Premiership to Palmerston, but no one seemed to remember that he had gained the Foreign Office from Palmerston. All the world considered it a self-evident axiom that Palmerston directed the Cabinet in his own name and foreign policy under the name of Russell. On the arrival of the first peace news from New York,[a] Whigs and Tories vied with one another in trumpet-blasts to the greater glory of Palmerston's statesmanship, whilst the Foreign Secretary, Lord John Russell, was not even a candidate for praise as his assistant. He was absolutely ignored. Hardly, however, had the scandal over the *suppressed* American dispatch of November 30[b] broken out, when Russell's name was resurrected from the dead.

Attack and defence now made the discovery that the *responsible* Foreign Secretary was called Lord *John Russell!* But now even Russell's patience gave way. Without waiting for the opening of Parliament and contrary to every ministerial convention, he published forthwith in the official *Gazette* of January 14 his own

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[a] "New York, Dec. 27, Evening", *The Times*, No. 24138, January 9, 1861.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 143-44.— *Ed.*

correspondence with Lord Lyons.[a] This correspondence proves that Seward's dispatch of November 30 was read by Mr. Adams to Lord John Russell on December 19; that Russell expressly acknowledged this dispatch as an *apology* for the act of Captain Wilkes, and that Mr. Adams, after Russell's disclosures, considered a peaceful outcome of the dispute as certain. After this *official* disclosure, what becomes of the *Morning Post* of December 21, which denied the arrival of any dispatch from Seward relating to the *Trent* case[b]; what becomes of the *Morning Post* of January 10, which blamed Mr. Adams for the suppression of the dispatch,[c] what becomes of the entire war racket of the Palmerston press from December 19, 1861, to January 8, 1862? Even more! Lord John Russell's dispatch to Lord Lyons of December 19, 1861, proves that the English Cabinet presented *no war ultimatum;* that Lord Lyons did *not* receive instructions to leave Washington seven days after delivering "this ultimatum"; that Russell ordered the ambassador to avoid every semblance of a threat, and, finally, that the English Cabinet had decided to make a *definitive decision* only *after receipt* of the American answer. The whole of the policy trumpeted by the Palmerston press, which found so many servile echoes on the Continent, is therefore a mere chimera. It has never been carried out in real life. It only proves, as a London paper states today, that Palmerston "sought to thwart the declared and binding policy of the *responsible* advisers of the Crown".

That Lord John Russell's *coup de main* struck the Palmerston press like a bolt from the blue, one fact proves most forcibly. *The Times* of yesterday *suppressed* the Russell correspondence and made no mention of it whatever. Only today a reprint from the *London Gazette* figures in its columns, introduced and prefaced by a leading article that carefully avoids the real issue, *the issue between the English people and the English Cabinet,* and touches on it merely in the ill-humoured phrase that "Lord John Russell has exerted all his ingenuity to extract an *apology* out of Seward's dispatch of November 30".[d] On the other hand, the wrathful *Jupiter Tonans*[e]

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[a] "Foreign Office, January 14, 1862. Copies of Correspondence...", *The London Gazette,* No. 22589, January 14, 1862.— *Ed.*

[b] "In the present state of the public mind...", *The Morning Post,* No. 27460, December 21, 1861, leading article.— *Ed.*

[c] "We have it in our power to state...", *The Morning Post,* No. 27476, January 10, 1862, leading article.— *Ed.*

[d] "The following additional correspondence...", *The Times,* No. 24144, January 16, 1862, leading article.— *Ed.*

[e] Jupiter the thunderer.— *Ed.*

of Printing House Square[165] lets off steam in a second leading article, in which Mr. Gilpin, a member of the ministry, the President of the Board of Trade[a] and a partisan of the Manchester school,[166] is declared to be unworthy of his place in the ministry.[b] For last Tuesday,[c] at a public meeting in Northampton, whose parliamentary representative he is, Gilpin, a former bookseller, a demagogue and an apostle of moderation, whom nobody will take for a hero, criminally urged the English people to prevent by public demonstrations an untimely recognition of the Southern Confederacy, which he inconsiderately stigmatised as an offspring of slavery. As if, *The Times* indignantly exclaims, as if Palmerston and Russell—*The Times* now remembers the existence of Lord John Russell once more—had not fought all their lives to put down slavery![d] It was surely an indiscretion, a *calculated* indiscretion on the part of Mr. Gilpin, to call the English people into the lists against the pro-slavery longings of a ministry to which he himself belongs. But Mr. Gilpin, as already mentioned, is no hero. His whole career evidences little capacity for martyrdom. His indiscretion occurred on the *same day* as Lord John Russell carried out his *coup de main.* We may therefore conclude that the Cabinet is not a "happy family"[e] and that its individual members have already familiarised themselves with the idea of "separation".

No less noteworthy than the English ministerial sequel to the *Trent* drama is its *Russian epilogue.* Russia, which during the entire racket stood silently in the background with folded arms, now springs to the proscenium, claps Mr. Seward on the shoulders—and declares that the moment for the definitive regulation of the maritime rights of neutrals has at last arrived. Russia, as is known, considers herself called on to put the urgent questions of civilisation on the agenda of world history at the right time and in the right place. Russia becomes unassailable by the maritime powers the moment the latter give up, with their belligerent rights against neutrals, their power over Russia's export trade. The Paris Convention of April 16, 1856, which is in part a *verbatim* copy of

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[a] Marx gives the English name.—*Ed.*

[b] "The true and just instinct of the House of Commons...", *The Times,* same issue.—*Ed.*

[c] January 14.—*Ed.*

[d] "Mr. Gilpin, M. P., and Lord Henley, M. P., on America and England", *The Times,* No. 24143, January 15, 1862.—*Ed.*

[e] Marx uses the English phrase.—*Ed.*

the *Russian* "Armed" Neutrality Treaty of 1780 against England,[a] is meanwhile not yet *law* in England. What a trick of destiny if the *Anglo-American* dispute ended with the British Parliament and the British Crown sanctioning a concession that two British ministers made to Russia on their own authority at the end of the *Anglo-Russian* war.

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[a] Here Marx probably drew on the excerpts from documents on the law of the sea published in *The Free Press,* No. 1, January 1, 1862.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## STATISTICAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE RAILWAY SYSTEM

The English railways are a generation old, 30 years. Except for the national debt, no other branch of the national wealth has developed so rapidly to such an enormous size. According to a recently published Blue Book, the capital invested in the railways until 1860 came to £348,130,127, of which £190,791,067 were raised by common stock, £67,873,840 by preferred stock, £7,576,878 by bonds, and £81,888,546 by current loans. The total capital amounts to about half the national debt and is five times the yearly revenue from all the real estate in Great Britain. This parvenu form of wealth, the most colossal offspring of modern industry, a remarkable economic hybrid whose feet are rooted in the earth and whose head lives on the Stock Exchange, has given aristocratic landowning a powerful rival, and the middle class an army of new auxiliary troops.

In 1860, the steel rails stretched for 22,000 English miles, counting double-track and branch lines. On average, therefore, 733 miles of track have been laid every year over the last 30 years. This sort of average figure, however, is even more deceptive in this branch of industry than in any other, as regards expressing the actual living process. Some years of the railway mania,[167] such as 1844 and 1845, conquered the bulk of the territory at the double. The other years fill things out gradually, connect the major lines, branch out, expand relatively slowly. During these years the production of railways falls below the average level.

An enormous amount of work precedes the laying of the rails. According to the data provided by Robert Stephenson as early as

1854 some 70 miles of railway tunnels had been driven through, there were 25,000 railway bridges and numerous viaducts, one of which, near London, was more than 11 miles long. The earthworks, 70,000 cubic yards per mile, would fill an area of 550 million cubic yards. Piled up in the form of a pyramid, the diameter would be half an (English) mile and the height a mile and a half, a mountain of earth beside which St. Paul's Cathedral would shrink to Lilliputian size. But since the time of Robert Stephenson's estimate the length of railways has increased by a third.

The "eternal way", as the English have baptised the railway, is not immortal by any means. It is subject to constant metabolism. The iron, which is continually being lost by wear, oxidation, and new manufacture, has constantly to be replaced. It has been calculated that a locomotive wears off 2.2 pounds in a run of 60 miles, every empty car $4^1/_2$ ounces, every ton of freight an ounce and a half, and that the railways like the London-North Western Line will last about 20 years. The yearly total of iron worn off is estimated at half a pound per yard; 24,000 tons of iron are required for replacements over the whole system in its present extent every year and 240,000 tons for the annual installation. But the rails form the bones and need to be replaced much more slowly than the wooden supports of the rails. The wood part of the apparatus of the network requires an annual input of 300,000 trees, which need an area of 6,000 acres to grow in.

When the railway is completed, it needs locomotives, coal, water, railway cars, and finally working personnel to operate it. The number of locomotives was 5,801 in 1860, or more than one locomotive for every two miles. Like most machines in their infancy, locomotives were at first clumsy-looking, awkward in motion, still bound up to a certain extent in reminiscences of the old-fashioned instrument they replaced, and relatively cheap. The first English locomotive, four-wheeled, weighing barely 6 tons and priced at £550, has gradually been replaced by steam engines priced at £3,000, which pull 30 passenger cars, each weighing $5^1/_2$ tons, at 30 miles an hour, or 500 tons of goods at 20 miles per hour. Like their predecessors, the horses, individual locomotives have their own names and have attained varying degrees of fame for their names.

The *Liverpool,* belonging to the North Western Line, pours out 1,140 horsepower at full load. A monster like this consumes a ton of coal and 1,000 to 1,500 gallons of water daily. The organism of these iron horses is extremely delicate. It has no less than 5,416 parts,

which are assembled as carefully as the parts of a watch. A railway train going 50 (English) miles per hour has a sixth of the velocity of a cannon ball. Reckoning the average cost of a locomotive at £2,200, the outlay on 5,801 locomotives comes to over £12,700,000. Every minute of the year 4 to 5 tons of coal turn 20 to 25 tons of water into steam. Stephenson remarks that the water thus converted into steam would be an adequate daily water supply for the entire population of Liverpool. The quantity of fuel consumed is almost as much as Britain's total coal exports four years ago, more than half the entire consumption of London.

The 5,801 locomotives are followed, as baggage, by 15,076 passenger cars and 180,574 goods wagons, which represent a total capital of £20 million. A train made up of all the locomotives and cars would take the entire line from Brighton to Aberdeen, over 600 miles.

More than 7,000 trains run every day, over seven trains every minute throughout the twenty-four hours. Last year passengers and goods travelled over 100 million miles, more than four thousand times the circumference of the earth. Every second of the year over 3 miles of railway are covered by trains. Twelve millions cattle, sheep, and pigs made railway journeys; 90 million tons of goods and minerals were transported. The minerals came to twice the quantity of all the other goods.

The gross revenue totalled £28 million. The production costs, apart from the wear of the railway itself, came to 41 per cent of the revenue for the Midland Company, 42 per cent for the Yorkshire and Lancashire railway line, 46 per cent for the West Midland Line and 55 to 56 per cent for the Great Northern Line; the average outlay for all the lines came to £13,187,368, or 47 per cent of revenue.

The London and North Western Line ranks first in size. Originally limited to the London and Birmingham Line, the Grand Junction, the Manchester and Liverpool Line, it now extends with its branch lines from London to Carlisle and from Peterborough to Leeds in the east and to Holyhead in the west. Its management controls over a thousand miles of railways and is at the head of an industrial army of about 20,000 men. Construction of the railway line costs over £36 million. Every hour of the day and night its gross revenue is £500; its weekly law costs are £1,000. The net yield of this railway, as of most of the others, fell relatively as their extent increased to cover less populous and less industrial districts. Their shares, issued at £100, gradually sank from £240 to £92-93, and dividends from 10 per cent to $3^3/_4$ per

cent. As the scale of operations grew enormously, for this as well as other railways, control by the shareholders decreased, the management gained greater power and mismanagement ensued.

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# Karl Marx

## A LONDON WORKERS' MEETING[168]

London, January 28

The working class, so preponderant a part of a society that within living memory has no longer possessed a *peasantry,* is known not to be represented in Parliament. Nevertheless, it is not without political influence. No important innovation, no decisive measure has ever been carried through in this country without pressure from without,[a] whether it was the opposition that required such pressure against the government or the government that required the pressure against the opposition. By pressure from without the Englishman understands great, extra-parliamentary popular demonstrations, which naturally cannot be staged without the lively participation of the working class. *Pitt* understood how to use the masses against the Whigs in his anti-Jacobin war. The Catholic emancipation, the Reform Bill, the abolition of the Corn Laws, the Ten Hours Bill, the war against Russia, the rejection of Palmerston's Conspiracy Bill,[169] all were the fruit of stormy extra-parliamentary demonstrations, in which the working class, sometimes artificially incited, sometimes acting spontaneously, played the principal part only as a *persona dramatis,* only as the chorus or, according to circumstances, performed the noisy part. So much the more striking is the attitude of the English working class in regard to the American Civil War.

The misery that the stoppage of the factories and the shortening of the labour time, *motivated* by the blockade of the slave states, has produced among the workers in the northern manufacturing districts is incredible and in daily process of growth. The other

[a] Marx uses the English words "pressure from without" and gives the German translation in brackets. He also uses the English phrase further in the text.— *Ed.*

component parts of the working class do not suffer to the same extent; but they suffer severely from the reaction of the crisis in the cotton industry on the other industries, from the curtailment of the export of their own products to the North of America in consequence of the Morrill tariff[170] and from the loss of this export to the South in consequence of the blockade. At the present moment, English interference in America has accordingly become a knife-and-fork question[171] for the working class. Moreover, no means of inflaming its wrath against the United States is scorned by its "natural superiors".[a] The sole great and widely circulating workers' organ still existing, *Reynolds's Newspaper,* has been purchased expressly in order that for six months it might reiterate weekly in raging diatribes the *ceterum censeo*[b] of English intervention. The working class is accordingly fully conscious that the government is only waiting for the intervention cry from below, the pressure from without, to put an end to the American blockade and English misery. Under these circumstances, the persistence with which the working class keeps silent, or breaks its silence only to raise its voice against intervention and *for* the United States, is admirable. This is a new, brilliant proof of the indestructible staunchness of the English popular masses, of that staunchness which is the secret of England's greatness and which, to speak in the hyperbolic language of Mazzini, made the common English soldier seem a demi-god during the Crimean War and the Indian insurrection.

The following report on a great *workers' meeting* that took place yesterday in Marylebone, the most populous district of London, may serve to characterise the "policy" of the working class:

Mr. *Steadman,* the chairman, opened the meeting with the remark that the question was one of a decision on the part of the English people in regard to the *reception of Messrs. Mason and Slidell.*

"It has to be considered whether these gentlemen were coming here to free the slaves from their chains or to forge a new link for these chains."

Mr. *Yates:*

"On the present occasion the working class dare not keep silent. The two gentlemen who are sailing across the Atlantic Ocean to our country are the agents of slaveholding and tyrannical states. They are in open rebellion against the lawful Constitution of their country and come here to induce our government to recognise the independence of the slave states. It is the duty of the working class to

[a] Marx uses the English phrase and gives the German translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

[b] See p. 133, footnote *a.*— *Ed.*

pronounce its opinion now, if the English government is not to believe that we regard its foreign policy with indifference. We must show that the money expended by this people on the emancipation of slaves cannot be allowed to be uselessly squandered.[172] Had our government acted honestly, it would have supported the Northern states heart and soul in suppressing this fearful rebellion."

After a detailed defence of the Northern states and the observation that "Mr. Lovejoy's violent tirade against England[a] was called forth by the slanders of the English press", the speaker proposed the following motion:

"This meeting resolves that the agents of the rebels, Mason and Slidell, now on the way from America to England, are absolutely unworthy of the moral sympathies of the working class of this country, since they are slaveholders as well as the confessed agents of the tyrannical faction that is at this very moment in rebellion against the American republic and the sworn enemy of the social and political rights of the working class in all countries."

Mr. *Whynne* supported the motion. It was, however, self-understood that every personal insult to Mason and Slidell must be avoided during their stay in London.

Mr. *Nichols,* a resident "*of the extreme North* of the United States", as he announced, who was in fact sent to the meeting by Messrs. Yancey and Mann as the *advocatus diaboli,*[b] protested against the motion.

"I am here, because here freedom of speech prevails. With us at home, the government has permitted no man to open his mouth for three months. Liberty has been crushed not only in the South, but also in the North. The war has many opponents in the North, but they dare not speak. No less than two hundred newspapers have been suppressed or destroyed by the mob. The Southern states have the same right to secede from the North as the United States had to separate from England."

Despite the eloquence of Mr. Nichols, the first motion was carried unanimously. He now sprang up afresh:

"If they reproached Messrs. Mason and Slidell with being slaveholders, the same thing would apply to Washington and Jefferson, etc."

Mr. *Beales* refuted Nichols in a detailed speech and then brought forward a second motion:

"In view of the ill-concealed efforts of *The Times* and other misleading journals to misrepresent English public opinion on all American affairs; to embroil us in

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[a] In his speech in Congress on January 14, 1862, Lovejoy called on the government to declare war on England after the suppression of the Southern rebellion.— *Ed.*

[b] *Advocatus diaboli* (the devil's advocate)—a participant in the canonisation procedure of the Catholic Church whose task is to point out defects in the character of the person for whom the honour is sought; figuratively, an implacable accuser.— *Ed.*

war with millions of our kinsmen on any pretext whatever, and to take advantage of the perils currently threatening the republic to defame democratic institutions, this meeting regards it as the very special duty of the workers, since they are not represented in the Senate of the nation, to declare their sympathy with the United States in their titanic struggle for the maintenance of the Union; to denounce the shameful dishonesty and advocacy of slaveholding on the part of *The Times* and kindred aristocratic journals; to express themselves most emphatically in favour of the strictest policy of non-intervention in affairs of the United States and in favour of the settlement of all matters that may be in dispute by commissioners or arbitration courts nominated by both sides; to denounce the war policy of the organ of the stock exchange swindlers[a] and to express the warmest sympathy with the strivings of the Abolitionists for a final solution of the slave question."

This motion was unanimously adopted, as well as the final motion

"to forward to the American government *per medium* of Mr. Adams a copy of the resolutions framed, as an expression of the feelings and opinions of the working class of England".

Written on January 28, 1862

First published in *Die Presse,* No. 32, February 2, 1862

Printed according to the newspaper

[a] *The Economist.—Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## ANTI-INTERVENTION FEELING[173]

London, January 31

*Liverpool's* commercial greatness derives its origin from the *slave trade.* The sole contributions with which Liverpool has enriched the poetic literature of England are odes to the slave trade. Fifty years ago *Wilberforce* could set foot on Liverpool soil only at the risk of his life. As in the preceding century the slave trade, so in the present century the trade in the product of slavery—cotton—formed the material basis of Liverpool's greatness. No wonder, therefore, that Liverpool is the centre of the English friends of secession. It is in fact the *sole* city in the United Kingdom where during the recent crisis it was possible to organise a quasi-public meeting in favour of a war with the United States.[a] And what does Liverpool say now? Let us hearken to one of its great daily organs, the *Daily Post.*

In a leading article entitled "The Cute Yankees"[b] it is stated among other things:

"The Yankees, with their usual adroitness, have converted an apparent loss into a real gain and made England subservient to their advantage.... Great Britain has in fact displayed her power, but to what end? Since the foundation of the United States the Yankees have always claimed for a neutral flag the privilege that passengers sailing under it are protected from any intervention and attack by the belligerents. We contested this privilege to the limit during the Anti-Jacobin War, the Anglo-American War of 1812 to 1814, and again, more recently, in 1842, during the negotiations between Lord Ashburton and the Secretary of State, Daniel Webster.[174] Now our opposition must cease. *The Yankee principle has triumphed.* Mr. Seward registers the fact and declares that we have given way in principle and that

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[a] See this volume, pp. 93-94, 95.— *Ed.*

[b] *The Daily Post,* No. 2061, January 13, 1862. Marx gives the title in English and supplies the German translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

through the *Trent* case the United States have obtained a concession from us to secure which they had hitherto exhausted every means of diplomacy and of war in vain."

More important still is the *Daily Post's* admission of the shift in public opinion even in Liverpool.

"The Confederates", it says, "have certainly done nothing to forfeit the good opinion entertained of them. Quite the contrary. They have fought manfully and made dreadful sacrifices. If they do not obtain their independence everyone must admit that they deserve it. Public opinion, however, has now run counter to their claims. They are no longer the fine fellows[a] they were four weeks ago. They are now pronounced a very sorry set. ...A reaction has indeed commenced. The anti-slavery people, who shrank into their shoes during the recent popular excitement, now come forth to thunder big words against man-selling and the rebellious slave-owners.... Are not even the walls of our town posted with large placards full of denunciations and angry invectives against Messrs. Mason and Slidell, the authors of the accursed Fugitive Slave Law? The Confederates have lost by the *Trent* affair. It was to be their gain; it has turned out to be their ruin. The sympathy of this country will be withdrawn from them, and they will have to realise as soon as possible their peculiar situation. They have been very ill-used but they will have no redress."

After this admission by such a friend of secession as the Liverpool daily paper it is easy to explain the altered language that some important organs of Palmerston now suddenly make use of before the opening of Parliament. Thus *The Economist* of last Saturday has an article entitled, "Shall the Blockade be Respected?"[b]

It proceeds in the first place from the *axiom* that the blockade is a mere *paper blockade* and that its violation is therefore permitted by international law. France demanded the blockade's forcible removal. The practical decision of the question lay accordingly in the hands of England, who had great and pressing motives for such a step. In particular she was in need of American cotton. One may remark incidentally that it is not quite clear how a "mere paper blockade" can prevent the shipping of cotton.

"But nevertheless," cries *The Economist,* "England *must* respect the blockade." Having motivated this judgment with a series of sophisms, it finally comes to the gist of the matter.[c]

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[a] Marx quotes in German but gives a number of phrases in English in brackets after their German equivalents: "fine fellows", "a very sorry set", "they will have no redress".—*Ed.*

[b] *The Economist,* No. 961, January 25, 1862.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx has: "des Pudels Kern", an allusion to the saying, "Das also war des Pudels Kern", in Goethe's *Faust* (Der Tragödie erster Theil, "Studierzimmer").—*Ed.*

"In a case of this kind," it says, "the government would have to have the whole country behind it. The great body of the British people are not yet *prepared* for any interposition which would even have the semblance of aiding the establishment of a slave republic. The social system of the Confederacy is based on slavery; the Federalists have done what they could to persuade us that slavery lay at the root of the Secession movement, and that they, the Federalists, were hostile to slavery; and slavery is our especial horror and detestation.... The real error of the popular sentiment is here. The dissolution, not the restoration, of the Union, independence, not the defeat of the South, is the only sure path to the emancipation of the slaves. We hope soon to make this clear to our readers. But *it is not clear yet. The majority of Englishmen still think otherwise;* and as long as they persist in this prejudice, any intervention on the part of our government which should place us in active opposition to the North, and inferential alliance with the South, would scarcely be supported by the hearty cooperation of the British nation."

In other words: the attempt at such intervention would cause the downfall of the ministry. And this also explains why *The Times* pronounces itself so decidedly against any intervention and for England's neutrality.

Written on January 31, 1862

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Printed according to the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## ON THE COTTON CRISIS[175]

Some days ago[a] the annual meeting of the *Chamber of Commerce of Manchester* took place. It represents Lancashire, the greatest industrial district of the United Kingdom and the chief seat of British cotton manufacture. The chairman of the meeting, Mr. E. Potter, and the principal speakers at it, Messrs. Bazley and Turner, represent Manchester and a part of Lancashire in the Lower House. From the proceedings of the meeting, therefore, we learn *officially* what attitude the great centre of the English cotton industry will adopt in the "Senate of the nation" in face of the American crisis.[b]

At the meeting of the Chamber of Commerce *last year* Mr. Ashworth, one of England's biggest cotton barons, had celebrated with Pindaric extravagance the unexampled expansion of the cotton industry during the last decade.[c] In particular he stressed that even the commercial crises of 1847 and 1857 had produced no falling off in the export of English cotton yarns and textile fabrics. He explained the phenomenon by the wonder-working powers of the free trade system introduced in 1846.[d] Even then it sounded strange that this system, though unable to spare England the crises of 1847 and 1857, should be able to withdraw a

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[a] January 30, 1862.—*Ed.*

[b] Below Marx makes use of the article "Indian Import Duties and the American Question", published in *The Times,* No. 24157, January 31, 1862.—*Ed.*

[c] The meeting was held on January 30, 1860. A report on it appeared in *The Times,* No. 23530, on January 31, 1860, under the title "Manchester Chamber of Commerce".—*Ed.*

[d] The system was introduced by "An Act to Amend the Laws Relating to the Importation of Corn".—*Ed.*

*particular* branch of English industry—the cotton industry—from the influence of those crises. But what do we hear to-day? All the speakers, Mr. Ashworth included, confess that since 1858 an unprecedented glutting of the Asian markets has taken place and that in consequence of steadily continuing *overproduction* on a mass scale the present stagnation was bound to occur, even without the American Civil War, the Morrill tariff[176] and the blockade. Whether without these aggravating circumstances the falling off in last year's exports would have been as much as £6,000,000, naturally remains an open question, but does not appear improbable when we hear that the principal markets of Asia and Australia are stocked with English cotton manufactures for twelve months.

Thus, according to the admission of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, which in *this* matter speaks with authority, the crisis in the English cotton industry has so far been the result not of the American blockade, but of English overproduction. But what would be the consequences of a continuation of the American Civil War? To this question we again receive an unanimous answer: Measureless suffering for the working class and ruin for the smaller manufacturers.

"It is said in London," observed Mr. Cheetham, "that we have still plenty of cotton to go on with; but it is not a question of cotton, but a question of *price*, and at present prices the capital of the millowners is being destroyed."

The Chamber of Commerce, however, declares itself to be decidedly *against any intervention* in the United States, although most of its members are sufficiently swayed by *The Times* to consider the dissolution of the Union to be unavoidable.

"The last thing," says Mr. Potter, "that we could recommend is intervention. The last place whence such a proposal could issue is Manchester. Nothing will tempt us to suggest anything that is morally wrong."

Mr. *Bazley:*

"Our attitude to the American quarrel must be one of strict non-intervention. The people of that vast country must be allowed to settle their own affairs."

Mr. *Cheetham:*

"The leading opinion in this district is wholly opposed to any intervention in the American dispute. It is necessary to make this clear, because strong pressure would be put by the other side upon the Government if there was any doubt of it."

What, then, does the Chamber of Commerce recommend? The English government ought to remove all the obstacles of an administrative character that still impede cotton cultivation in *India.* In particular, it ought to lift the import duty of 10 per cent

with which English cotton yarns and textile fabrics are burdened in India. The régime of the East India Company[177] had hardly been done away with, East India had hardly been incorporated in the British Empire, when Palmerston introduced this import duty on *English* manufactures through Mr. Wilson, and that at the same time as he sold Savoy and Nice for the Anglo-French commercial treaty.[178] Whilst the French market was opened to English industry to a certain extent, the East Indian market was closed to it to a greater extent.

With reference to the above, Mr. Bazley remarked that since the introduction of this duty great quantities of English machinery had been exported to Bombay and Calcutta and factories had been erected there in the English style. These were preparing to snatch the best Indian cotton from them. If 15 per cent for freight are added to the 10 per cent import duty, the rivals artificially called into being through the initiative of the English government enjoy a protective duty of 25 per cent.

In general, bitter resentment was expressed at the meeting of magnates of English industry at the protectionist tendency that was developing more and more in the colonies, in Australia in particular. The gentlemen forget that for a century and a half the colonies protested in vain against the "colonial system" of the mother country. At that time the colonies demanded free trade. England insisted on prohibition. Now England preaches free trade, and the colonies find protection against England better suited to their interests.

Written in early February 1862

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# Karl Marx

## ENGLISH [179]

"Eccentricity" or "individuality" are the marks of insular John Bull in the minds of continentals. On the whole, this notion confuses the Englishman of the past with the Englishman of the present. Intense class development, extreme division of labour and what is called "public opinion", manipulated by the Brahmins of the press, have, on the contrary, produced a monotony of character that would make it impossible for a Shakespeare, for example, to recognise his own countrymen. The differences no longer belong to the individuals but to their "profession" and class. Apart from his profession, in everyday life one "respectable" Englishman is so like another that even Leibniz could hardly discover a difference, a *differentia specifica,* between them.[a] The individuality, so highly praised, is banished from every sphere of politics and society and finds its last refuge in the crotchets and whims of private life, asserting itself there now and then *sans-gêne*[b] and with unconscious humour. Hence it is chiefly in the *courts of justice*—those great public arenas in which private whims clash with one another—that the Englishman still appears as a being *sui generis.*[c]

This is the preface to a diverting courtroom scene that took place a few days ago in the Court of Exchequer.[d] The *dramatis personae* were, on one side, Sir Edwin Landseer, the greatest

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[a] See G. W. Leibniz, *Nouveaux essais sur l'entendement humain.* Livre deuxième "Des idées", chapitre XXVII "Ce que c'est qu'identité ou diversité."—*Ed.*

[b] Brusquely.—*Ed.*

[c] Unique of its kind.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx uses the English name.—*Ed.*

English painter of the present time, and, on the other, Messrs. Haldane, first-rate London tailors; Sir Edwin was the defendant, Messrs. Haldane the plaintiffs. The *corpus delicti* consisted of an overcoat and a frock-coat, valued at £12, for which the painter refused to pay. Sergeant[a] Ballantine pleaded for Landseer, Mr. Griffiths for Haldane.

Haldane testifies: Sir Edwin Landseer ordered the two coats. They had been sent to him to try on and he had complained about the height of the collars. They were altered. Now he complained that he could not wear them without feeling hot and uncomfortable in them. In addition, they rubbed against the hair of his head. To please the defendant, various alterations were made. Finally, the plaintiffs refused to make any more alterations unless they were specially paid for. At that point Landseer sent the two coats back by his servant. The plaintiffs then sent him the following letter:[b]

"We beg respectfully to send you two coats, having again altered them according to the direction you last gave. The many alterations you speak of as being unsuccessful arise from your own fault. The coats when first tried on fitted remarkably well, but if you will place your body into the most unreasonable positions it will require something more than human science to fit you. (Laughter.) We have most unwillingly made the alterations you have required, believing them to be unnecessary and contrary to the rules of our craft, and we now find it impossible to please you. With reference to your demand that we should take the coats back, we cannot think of doing so. We therefore annex the enclosed statement and request prompt payment."

Sergeant *Ballantine:* You would not assert that the coats fit now?
*Haldane:* That is what I assert.

*Ballantine:* Were they not better before they were altered?
*Haldane:* Yes.

*B.:* Coats are not your speciality. You are big in the trousers field, aren't you?

*H.:* Well, we are better known for trousers.

*B.:* But not for coats? Did not Mr. Alfred Montgomery, who introduced Sir Edwin Landseer to you, warn him about your coats?

*H.:* Yes, he did.

*B.:* Did not you or your brother tell Sir Edwin that you would rather make the coats for nothing than not make them at all?

*H.:* We said nothing of the sort.

*B.:* What do you mean by "weakening" the collar?

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[a] Here and below Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted from the report "Court of Exchequer, Feb. 1" published in *The Times,* No. 24159, February 3, 1862.—*Ed.*

*H.:* Sir Edwin complained that the coat collar irritated his neck. So we weakened the collar, that is, we reduced it to a smaller size.

*B.:* And how much are you charging for this reduction?

*H.:* Two or three pounds.

Sergeant *Ballantine:* Sir Edwin Landseer considered it necessary to complain of Haldane's insulting letter. Mr. Montgomery advised Sir Edwin to entrust the lower part of his body to the Haldane firm, but by no means the upper portion. Although Sir Edwin is a great artist, he is a mere child in these things and so took the risk, and the jury sees what the consequences were. The plaintiff, whom the jurors have just seen on the witness stand, is also a great artist. But would a great artist ever remodel his work? He must stand or fall on his feeling of its excellence; but Haldane did not stand up for the excellence of his work. He acceded to alterations so long as they corresponded to his own principles. And then to ask two or three pounds for his botching! I have the honour of addressing a tribunal that wears coats; I ask it whether there is any greater torture in the world than a stiff collar on the neck? I hear that when Sir Edwin put on one of these coats, his neck was in a vice and England was in danger of losing one of its greatest artists. Sir Edwin consents to put the coats in question on before the court, and the gentlemen of the jury can then decide for themselves. I now call Sir Edwin as a witness, and he will tell you the story of the two coats.

*Sir Edwin Landseer:* ... When I put the coats on—the collar was like this. (At this point Sir Edwin turned around and to loud laughter presented his back to the jurors, leaving the impression in their minds that he had suddenly suffered an apoplectic fit.) ... I offered to leave the decision to the arbitration of any tailor; but all the same any one must know best how his coat fits or where his shoe pinches.

Mr. *Griffiths:* What did Mr. Montgomery say when he introduced you to the Haldane firm?

He said to me: "Sir Edwin, you are usually not so fortunate with your trousers as your coats."

*Griffiths:* Would you try the coats on here?

Why not? (Puts one of the coats on.) Now look! (Laughter.)

Baron *Martin* (the judge): There is a tailor among the jurors. Will the gentleman be good enough to look carefully at the *corpus delicti?*

The aforesaid tailor leaves the jury box and goes over to Sir Edwin, has him put on the frock-coat and the overcoat, examines them expertly and shakes his head.

*Griffiths:* Sir Edwin, do you consider the frock-coat too tight?

Yes! (Laughter.)

Too narrow? I ask.

Well, I would have to take it off, if I had to eat luncheon *in it.*

*Ballantine:* Then, Sir Edwin, you need not be stuck in it any longer. Emancipate yourself from it.

I am much obliged to you. (Takes the coats off.)

After moving pleas by the two attorneys and a comical summing-up by the judge, who stressed in particular that English comfort should not be sacrificed to the artistic ideals of the firm of Haldane, the jury found for Sir Edwin Landseer.

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Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx

## THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS[180]

London, February 7

The opening of Parliament was a lusterless ceremony. The absence of the Queen and the reading of the Speech from the Throne[a] by the Lord Chancellor[b] banished every theatrical effect. The Speech from the Throne itself is short without being striking. It recapitulates the *faits accomplis*[c] of foreign politics and, for an estimation of these facts, refers to the documents submitted to Parliament.[d] Only one remark created a certain sensation, the one in which the Queen "trusts[e] there is no reason to apprehend any disturbance of the peace of Europe". It in fact implies that European peace is relegated to the domain of hope and faith.

In accordance with parliamentary practice, the gentlemen who moved the Reply to the Speech from the Throne in the two Houses had already been commissioned by the ministers with this business three weeks before. In conformity with the usual procedure, their Reply consists of a broad echo of the Speech from the Throne and of fulsome praises that the ministers bestow upon themselves in the name of Parliament. When Sir *Francis Burdett* anticipated the official movers of the Address in 1811 and seized the opportunity to subject the Speech from the Throne to a

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[a] Victoria [Speech from the Throne on the opening of Parliament], *The Times*, No. 24163, February 7, 1862.—*Ed.*

[b] R. Bethell.—*Ed.*

[c] Accomplished facts.—*Ed.*

[d] The reference is to *Convention, conclue à Londres, le 31 octobre 1861, entre l'Espagne, la France et la Grande-Bretagne pour combiner une action commune contre le Mexique* and *Convention entre la Grande-Bretagne et le Maroc relative à un emprunt à faire à Londres par le Maroc; signée à Tanger, le 24 octobre 1861.*—*Ed.*

[e] Marx uses the English word and gives the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

cutting criticism,[a] Magna Charta[181] itself appeared to be imperilled. Since that time no further enormity of the kind has happened.

The interest of the debate on the Speech from the Throne is therefore limited to the "hints" of the official Opposition clubs and the "counter-hints" of the ministers. This time, however, the interest was more academic than political. It was a question of the best funeral oration on Prince Albert, who during his life found the yoke of the English oligarchy by no means light. According to the *vox populi,* Derby and Disraeli have borne off the academic palm, the first as a natural speaker, the other as a rhetorician.

The "business" part of the debate turned on the *United States, Mexico,* and *Morocco.*

With regard to the *United States,* the *Outs* (those out of office) eulogised the policy of the *Ins*[b] (the *beati possidentes*[c]). *Derby,* the Conservative leader in the House of Lords, and *Disraeli,* the Conservative leader in the Lower House, opposed not the Cabinet, but each other.

*Derby* in the first place gave vent to his dissatisfaction[d] over the absence of *"pressure from without".*[e] He "admired", he said, the stoical and dignified bearing of the factory workers. As far as the millowners were concerned, however, he ought to exclude them from his commendation. For them the American disturbance had come in extraordinarily handy, since overproduction and glutting of all markets had in any case imposed on them a restriction of trade.

*Derby* went on to make a violent attack on the Union government, "which had exposed itself and its people to the most undignified humiliation" and had not acted like "gentlemen", because it had not taken the initiative and voluntarily surrendered Mason, Slidell and company and made amends. His seconder in the Lower House, Mr. *Disraeli,* at once grasped how very damaging Derby's onslaught was to the Conservatives' aspirations to the Ministry. He therefore declared to the contrary:

"When I consider the great difficulties which the statesmen of North America have had to encounter ... I would venture to say they have met these manfully and courageously."[f]

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[a] In his speech in the House of Commons of February 12, 1811.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English words "Ins" and "Outs" here and below.—*Ed.*

[c] Blessed possessors.—*Ed.*

[d] E. Derby [Speech in the House of Lords on February 6, 1862], *The Times,* No. 24163, February 7, 1862.—*Ed.*

[e] Marx uses the English phrase.—*Ed.*

[f] B. Disraeli [Speech in the House of Commons, February 6, 1862], *The Times,* same issue.—*Ed.*

On the other hand—with the consistency customary to him—*Derby* protested against the "new doctrines" of maritime law. England had at all times upheld belligerents' rights against the pretensions of neutrals. Lord Clarendon, it was true, had made a "dangerous" concession at Paris in 1856.[182] Happily, this had not yet been ratified by the Crown, so that "it did not alter the state of international law". Mr. *Disraeli,* on the contrary, manifestly in collusion with the ministry here, avoided touching on this point at all.

Derby approved of the non-intervention policy of the ministry. The time to recognise the Southern Confederacy had not *yet* come, but he demanded authentic documents for the purpose of judging "how far the blockade is effective and therefore legally binding". Lord *John Russell,* on the other hand, declared that the Union government had employed a sufficient number of ships in the blockade, but had not everywhere carried this out consistently. Mr. *Disraeli* will permit himself no judgment on the nature of the blockade, but demands ministerial papers for enlightenment. He gives such emphatic warning against any premature recognition of the Confederacy since England is compromising herself at the present moment by threatening an American state (Mexico), the independence of which she herself was the first to recognise.

After the *United States,* it was *Mexico's* turn. No member of Parliament condemned a war without declaration of war,[183] but they condemned interference in the internal affairs of a country under the shibboleth of a "non-intervention policy", and the coalition of England with France and Spain in order to intimidate a semi-defenceless country. As a matter of fact, the *Outs* merely indicated that they reserve Mexico to themselves for party manoeuvres. *Derby* demands documents on both the Convention between the three powers and the mode of carrying it out. He approves of the Convention because—in his view—the right way was for each of the contracting parties to enforce its claims *independently* of the others. Certain public rumours caused him to fear that at least one of the powers—Spain—purposed operations going beyond the provisions of the treaty. As if Derby really believed the great power, Spain, capable of the audacity of acting *counter* to the will of England and France! Lord *John Russell* answered: The three powers pursued *the same* aim and would anxiously avoid hindering the Mexicans from regulating their own political affairs.

In the Lower House, Mr. *Disraeli* defers any judgment prior to scrutinising the documents submitted. However, he finds "the announcement of the government *suspicious*". The independence

of Mexico was first recognised by England. This recognition recalls a notable policy—the anti-Holy-Alliance policy—and a notable man, *Canning*. What singular occasion, then, drove England to strike the first blow against this independence? Moreover, the intervention has changed its pretext within a very short time. Originally it was a question of satisfaction for wrong done to English subjects. Now there are rumours about the introduction of new governmental principles and the setting up of a new dynasty. Lord *Palmerston* refers to the papers submitted, to the Convention that prohibits the "subjugation" of Mexico by the Allies or the imposition of a form of government distasteful to the people. At the same time, however, he opens a diplomatic loophole. He has it from hearsay that a party in Mexico desires the transformation of the republic into a monarchy. The strength of this party he does not know. He, "for his part, only wishes that there shall be established *some form of government* in Mexico with which foreign governments may treat". He wishes, therefore, to establish a "new" form of government. He declares the *non-existence of the present government*. He claims for the alliance of England, France and Spain the prerogative of the Holy Alliance to decide over the existence or non-existence of foreign governments. "That is the utmost," he adds modestly, "which the government of Great Britain is desirous of obtaining." Nothing more!

The last "open question" of foreign policy concerned *Morocco*. The English government has concluded a convention with Morocco in order to enable her to pay off her debt to Spain, a debt with which Spain could never have saddled Morocco without England's leave. Certain persons, it appears, have advanced Morocco money with which to pay her instalments to Spain, thus depriving the latter of a pretext for further occupation of Tetuan and resumption of war.[184] The British government has in one way or another guaranteed these persons the interest on their loan and, in its turn, takes over the administration of Morocco's customs houses as security. Derby found this manner of ensuring the independence of Morocco *"rather strange"*,[a] but elicited no answer from the ministers. In the Lower House Mr. *Disraeli* went into the transaction further: it was "to some extent unconstitutional", since the ministry had saddled England with new financial obligations behind Parliament's back. *Palmerston* simply referred him to the "documents" submitted.

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[a] Marx uses the English words "rather strange" and gives the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

Home affairs were hardly mentioned. Derby merely warned members, out of regard "for the state of mind of the Queen", not to raise "disturbing" controversial questions like parliamentary reform. He is ready to pay his tribute of admiration regularly to the English working class, on condition that it suffers its exclusion from popular representation with the same restraint and stoicism as it suffers the American blockade.

It would be a mistake to infer from the idyllic opening of Parliament an idyllic future. Quite the contrary! Dissolution of Parliament or dissolution of the ministry is the motto of this year's session. Opportunity to substantiate these alternatives will be found later.

Written on February 7, 1862

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Printed according to the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## THE MEXICAN IMBROGLIO[185]

London, Feb. 15, 1862

The Blue Book on the intervention in Mexico,[a] just published, contains the most damning exposure of modern English diplomacy with all its hypocritical cant, ferocity against the weak, crawling before the strong, and utter disregard of international law. I must reserve for another letter the task of forwarding, by a minute analysis of the dispatches exchanged between Downing street and the British representatives of Mexico, the irrefragable proof that the present imbroglio is of English origin, that England took the initiative in bringing about the intervention, and did so on pretexts too flimsy and self-contradictory to even veil the real but unavowed motives of her proceedings. This infamy of the means employed in starting the Mexican intervention is only surpassed by the anile imbecility with which the British government affect to be surprised at and slink out of the execution of the nefarious scheme planned by themselves. It is the latter part of the business I propose dealing with for the present.[b]

On the 13th December, 1861, Mr. Istúriz, the Spanish Ambassador at London, submitted to John Russell a note including the instructions sent by the Captain-General of Cuba[c] to the Spanish commanders, at the head of the expedition to Mexico. John Russell shelved the note and kept silent. On the 23d December, Mr. Istúriz addresses him a new note, professing to explain the

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[a] *Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Mexico.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, 3 parts, London, 1862.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx draws on material published under the heading "Papers Relating to Mexican Affairs" in *The Times,* No. 24168, February 13, 1862.—*Ed.*

[c] F. Serrano y Dominguez.—*Ed.*

reasons that had induced the Spanish expedition to leave Cuba before the arrival of the English and French forces. John Russell again shelves the note and persists in his taciturn attitude. Mr. Istúriz, anxious to ascertain whether that protracted restraint of speech so unusual in the verbose upshoot of the house of Bedford, means possibly mischief, urges a personal interview, which is granted to him, and takes place on the 7th of January. John Russell had now for more than a month been fully acquainted with the onesided opening of the operations against Mexico on the part of Spain. A month had almost passed since the event had been officially communicated to him by Mr. Istúriz. With all that, in his personal interview with the Spanish Ambassador, John Russell breaks no word breathing the slightest displeasure or astonishment at "the precipitate steps taken by Gen. Serrano," nor leave his utterances the faintest impression on the mind of Mr. Istúriz that all was not right, and that the Spanish proceedings were not fully approved of by the British Government. The Castilian pride of Mr. Istúriz shuns, of course, any notion of Spain being played with by her powerful allies and made a mere catspaw of. Yet, the time of the meeting of Parliament approached, and John Russell had now to pen a series of dispatches, especially intended, not for international business, but for Parliamentary consumption. Accordingly, on the 16th of January, he pens a dispatch inquiring, in rather angry tones, about the onesided initiative ventured upon by Spain. Doubts and scruples, which for longer than a month had slumbered in his bosom, and had not even matured into symptoms of existence, on the 7th of January, during his personal interview with Mr. Istúriz, all at once disturb the serene dream of that confident, sincere and unsuspecting statesman. Mr. Istúriz feels thunderstruck, and in his reply, dated January 18, somewhat ironically reminds his Excellency of the opportunities missed by him of giving vent to his posthumous spleen. He pays in fact his Excellency in his own coin, assuming in his justification of the initiative taken by Spain, the same air of *naïveté* Lord John Russell affected in his request for an explanation.

"The Captain-General of Cuba," says Mr. Istúriz, "came too early because he was fearful of arriving too late at Vera Cruz." "Besides," and here he pinches Lord John, "the expedition had been for a long time ready on every point," although the Captain-General, till the middle of December, was "unacquainted with the details of the treaty, and with the point fixed for the meeting of the squadrons."

Now, the treaty was not concluded before the 20th of November. If, then, the Captain-General had his expedition for a

long time "ready in every point before the middle of December," the orders originally sent out to him from Europe for starting the expedition, had not waited upon the treaty. In other words, the original agreement between the three Powers, and the steps taken in its execution, did not wait upon the treaty, and differed in their "details" from the clauses of the treaty, which, from the beginning, were intended not as a rule of action, but only as decent formulas, necessary to conciliate the public mind to the nefarious scheme. On the 23d January, John Russell replies to Mr. Istúriz in rather a bluff note, intimating to him that "the British Government was *not entirely* satisfied with the explanation offered," but, at the same time would not suspect Spain of the fool-hardiness of presuming to act in the teeth of England and France. Lord John Russell, so sleepy, so inactive, for a whole month, becomes all life and wide awake as the Parliamentary session rapidly draws near. No time is to be lost. On the 19th of January he has a personal interview with Count Flahaut, the French Ambassador at London. Flahaut broaches to him the ill-omened news that his master considered it necessary "to send an additional force to Mexico," that Spain by her precipitate initiative had spoiled the mess; that

> "the allies must now advance to the interior of Mexico, and that not only the forces agreed upon would now prove insufficient for the operation, but that the operation itself would assume a character in regard to which Louis Bonaparte could not allow the French forces to be in a position of inferiority to those of Spain, or run the risk of being compromised."

Now, Flahaut's argumentation was anything but conclusive. If Spain had overstepped the convention, a single note to Madrid from the quarters of St. James and the Tuileries would have sufficed to warn her off her ridiculous pretensions, and drive her back to the modest part imposed upon her by the convention. But no. Because Spain has broken the convention—a breach merely formal and of no consequence, since her premature arrival at Vera Cruz changed nothing in the professed aim and purpose of the expedition—because Spain had presumed to cast anchor at Vera Cruz in the absence of the English and French forces, there remained no other issue open to France but to follow in the track of Spain, break also the convention, and augment, not only her expeditionary forces, but change the whole character of the operation. There was, of course, no pretext needed for the Allied Powers to let the murder out, and, on the very outset of the expedition, set at naught the pretexts and purposes upon which it was ostensibly started. Consequently, John Russell, although he

"regrets the step" taken by France, indorses it by telling Count Flahaut that "he had no objection to offer, on behalf of her Majesty's Government, to the *validity* of the French *argument.*" In a dispatch dated January 20, he forwards to Earl Cowley, the English Ambassador at Paris, the narrative of this his interview with Count Flahaut. The day before, on the 19th January, he had penned a dispatch to Sir F. Crampton, the English Ambassador at Madrid—that dispatch being a curious medley of hypocritical cant addressed to the British Parliament, and of sly hints to the Court of Madrid as to the intrinsic value of the liberal slang so freely indulged in. "The proceedings of Marshal Serrano," he says, "are calculated to produce some uneasiness," not only because of the precipitate departure of the Spanish expedition from Havana, but also "of the tone of the proclamations issued by the Spanish Government." But, simultaneously, the *bon homme* suggests to the Madrid Court a plausible excuse for their apparent breach of the Convention. He is fully convinced that the Madrid Court means no harm; but, then, commanders, at a distance from Europe, are sometimes "rash," and require "to be very closely watched." Thus, good man Russell volunteers his services, in order to shift the responsibility from the Court at Madrid to the shoulders of indiscreet Spanish commanders "at a distance," and even out of the reach of good man Russell's sermonizing. Not less curious is the other part of his dispatch. The Allied forces are not to preclude the Mexicans from their right "of choosing their own Government," thus intimating that there exists "no Government" in Mexico; but that, on the contrary, not only new governors, but even "a new form of Government," must so be chosen by the Mexicans under the auspices of the Allied invaders. Their "constituting a new Government" would "delight" the British Government; but, of course, the military forces of the invaders must not falsify the general suffrage which they intend calling the Mexicans to for the installation of a new Government. It rests, of course, with the commanders of the armed invasion to judge what form of new government is or is not "repugnant to the feelings of Mexico." At all events, good man Russell washes his hands in innocence. He dispatches foreign dragoons to Mexico, there to force the people into "choosing" a new Government; but he hopes the dragoons will do the thing gently, and be very careful in sifting the political feelings of the country they invade. Is it necessary to expatiate one moment upon this transparent farce? Apart from the context of good man Russell's dispatches, read *The Times* and *The Morning Post* of October, six weeks before the

conclusion of the sham convention of Nov. 30,[a] and you will find the English Government prints to foretell all the very same untoward events Russell feigns to discover only at the end of January, and to account for by "the rashness" of some Spanish Ambassadors at a distance from Europe.

The second part of the farce Russell had to play was the putting on the tapis of the Archduke Maximilian of Austria as the Mexican King held in petto by England and France.

On the 24th of January, about ten days before the opening of Parliament, Lord Cowley writes to Lord Russell that not only Paris gossip was much busied with the Archduke, but that the very officers going with the re-enforcements to Mexico, pretended that the expedition was for the purpose of making the Archduke Maximilian King of Mexico. Cowley thinks it necessary to interpellate Thouvenel upon the delicate subject. Thouvenel answers him, that it was not the French Government, but Mexican emissaries, "come for the purpose, and gone to Vienna," that had set on foot such negotiations with the Austrian Government.

Now, at last, you expect unsuspecting John Russell, who even five days ago, in his dispatch to Madrid, had harped upon the terms of the convention, who even later yet, in the Royal speech of Feb. 6, had proclaimed "the redress" of wrongs sustained by European subjects the exclusive motive and purpose of the intervention[b]—you expect him now at last to fly into a passion and to fret and foam at the very idea of his kind-natured confidence having been played such unheard-of pranks with. Nothing of the sort! Good man Russell receives Cowley's gossip on the 26th of January, and on the following day he hastens to sit down and write a dispatch volunteering his patronage of the Archduke Maximilian's candidature for the Mexican throne.[c]

He informs Sir C. Wyke, his representative at Mexico, that the French and Spanish troops will march "at once" to the City of Mexico; that Archduke Maximilian "is said" to be the idol of the Mexican people, and that, if such be the case, "there is nothing in the convention to prevent his advent to the throne of Mexico."

There are two things remarkable in these diplomatic revelations: first, the fool Spain is made of; and secondly, that there never passes the slightest thought through Russell's mind that he cannot

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[a] This probably refers to the treaty signed on November 20, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Russell [Speech in the House of Lords on February 6, 1862], *The Times*, No. 24163, February 7, 1862.—*Ed.*

[c] Presumably, a slip of the pen in the text. Russell received Cowley's report on the 25th, Russell's dispatch was sent on the 27th.—*Ed.*

wage war upon Mexico without a previous declaration of war, and that he can form no coalition for that war with foreign Powers, except on the ground of a treaty binding upon all parties. And such is the people who have fatigued us for two months with their hypocritical cant on the sacredness of, and their homage to, the strict rules of international law! [186]

Written on February 15, 1862

Reproduced from the newspaper

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# Karl Marx

## AMERICAN AFFAIRS[187]

*President Lincoln* never ventures a step forward before the tide of circumstances and the general call of public opinion forbid further delay. But once "Old Abe"[a] realises that such a turning point has been reached, he surprises friend and foe alike by a sudden operation executed as noiselessly as possible. Thus, in the most unassuming manner, he quite recently carried out a coup that half a year earlier would possibly have cost him his presidential office and only a few months ago would have called forth a storm of debate. We mean the *removal of McClellan* from his post of Commander-in-Chief[b] of all the Union armies. Lincoln first of all replaced the Secretary of War, Cameron, by an energetic and ruthless lawyer, Mr. *Edwin Stanton.* An order of the day was then issued by Stanton to generals Buell, Halleck, Butler, Sherman and other commanders of whole areas or leaders of expeditions, notifying them that in future they would receive all orders, open and secret, from the War Department direct and, on the other hand, would have to report directly to the War Department. Finally, Lincoln issued some orders which he signed as "Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy", an attribute to which he was constitutionally entitled. In this "quiet" manner "the young Napoleon"[188] was deprived of the supreme command he had hitherto held over *all* the armies and restricted to the command of the army on the Potomac, although the *title* of "Commander-in-Chief" was left to him. The successes in Kentucky,

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[a] Marx uses the English nickname.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx uses the English title.—*Ed.*

Tennessee and on the Atlantic coast propitiously inaugurated the assumption of the supreme command by President Lincoln.

The post of Commander-in-Chief hitherto occupied by *McClellan* was bequeathed to the United States by Britain and corresponds roughly to the dignity of a Grand Connetable[a] in the old French army. During the Crimean War even Britain discovered the inexpediency of this old-fashioned institution. A compromise was accordingly effected by which part of the attributes hitherto belonging to the Commander-in-Chief were transferred to the War Ministry.

The requisite material for an estimate of McClellan's Fabian tactics[189] on the Potomac is still lacking. That his influence, however, acted as a brake on the general conduct of the war, is beyond doubt. One can say of McClellan what Macaulay says of Essex:

"The military errors of Essex were produced for the most part by political timidity. He was honestly, but by no means warmly, attached to the cause of Parliament; and next to a great defeat he dreaded nothing so much as a great victory."[b]

McClellan and most of the officers of the regular army who got their training at West Point[190] are more or less bound by *esprit de corps*[c] to their old comrades in the enemy camp. They are inspired by the same jealousy of the *parvenus* among the "civilian soldiers". In their view, the war must be waged in a strictly businesslike fashion, with constant regard to the restoration of the Union on its *old* basis, and therefore must above all be kept free from revolutionary tendencies and tendencies affecting matters of principle. A fine conception of a war which is essentially a war of principles. The first generals of the English Parliament fell into the same error.

"But," said *Cromwell* in his speech to the Rump on July 4, 1653, "how changed everything was as soon as men took the lead who professed a principle of godliness and religion!"[d]

The Washington *Star*,[e] McClellan's special organ, declares in one of its latest issues:

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[a] Grand Constable.—*Ed.*

[b] Th. B. Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays Contributed to the Edinburgh Review*, Vol. I, *John Hampden*.—*Ed.*

[c] Common spirit pervading the members of a body as a whole.—*Ed.*

[d] Th. Carlyle, *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, with elucidations*, Vol. II. Marx partly quotes in English: "a principle of godliness, etc.".—*Ed.*

[e] *Evening Star*.—*Ed.*

"The end and aim of all General McClellan's military combinations is the restoration of the Union *just* as it existed before the Rebellion began."[a]

No wonder, therefore, that on the Potomac, under the eyes of the general-in-chief, the army was trained to catch slaves! Only recently, by a special order, McClellan expelled the Kutchinson family of musicians from the camp because they sang anti-slavery songs.

Apart from such "anti-tendency" demonstrations, McClellan covered the traitors in the Union army with his saving shield. Thus, for example, he promoted Maynard to a higher post, although Maynard, as the papers made public by the committee of inquiry of the House of Representatives prove, was active as an agent of the secessionists. From General Patterson, whose treachery determined the defeat at Manassas, to General Stone, who *brought about* the defeat at Ball's Bluff in direct agreement with the enemy,[191] McClellan managed to save every military traitor from court martial, and in most cases even from dismissal. The Congress committee of inquiry has revealed the most surprising facts in this respect. Lincoln resolved to prove by an energetic step that with his assumption of the supreme command the hour of the traitors in epaulets had struck and a *turning point* in the war policy had been reached. By his order, General Stone was arrested in his bed at two o'clock in the morning of February 10 and taken to Fort Lafayette. A few hours later, the order for his arrest, signed by *Stanton,* appeared; in this the charge of high treason was formulated, to be judged by court martial. Stone's arrest and putting on trial took place without any previous communication to General McClellan.

As long as he himself remained in a state of inaction and merely wore his laurels in advance, McClellan was obviously determined to allow no other general to forestall him. Generals Halleck and Pope had resolved on a combined movement to force General Price, who had already been saved once from Frémont by the intervention of Washington, to a decisive battle. A telegram from McClellan forbade them to deliver the blow. General Halleck was "ordered back" by a similar telegram from the capture of Fort Columbus, at a time when this fort stood half under water. McClellan had expressly forbidden the generals in the West to correspond with one another. Each of them was obliged first to apply to Washington whenever a combined movement was

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[a] Quoted from an item in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6508, February 12, 1862, beginning with the words: "*The Washington Star,* in an article...".—*Ed.*

intended. President Lincoln has now restored to them the necessary freedom of action.

How advantageous to secession McClellan's general military policy was is best proved by the panegyrics that the *New-York Herald* continually lavishes upon him. He is a hero after the *Herald*'s own heart. The notorious *Bennett,* proprietor and editor-in-chief of the *Herald,* had formerly held the administrations of Pierce and Buchanan in his power through his "special representatives", alias correspondents, in Washington. Under Lincoln's Administration he sought to win the same power again in a roundabout way, by having his "special representative", Dr. *Ives,* a man of the South and brother of an officer who had deserted to the Confederacy, worm himself into McClellan's favour. Under McClellan's patronage, great liberties must have been allowed this Ives at the time when Cameron was at the head of the War Department. He evidently expected Stanton to guarantee him the same privileges and accordingly presented himself on February 8 at the War Office, where the Secretary of War, his chief secretary and some members of Congress were discussing war measures. He was shown the door. He got up on his hind legs and finally beat a retreat, threatening that the *Herald* would open fire on the present War Department in the event of its withholding from him his "special privilege" of having, in particular, Cabinet deliberations, telegrams, public communications and war news confided to him in the War Department. Next morning, February 9, Dr. Ives had assembled the whole of McClellan's General Staff at a champagne breakfast with him. Misfortune, however, moves fast.[a] A non-commissioned officer entered with six men, seized the mighty Ives and took him to Fort McHenry, where, as the order of the Secretary of War expressly states, he "is to be kept under strict watch *as a spy*".[b]

Written in late February 1862

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[a] A line from Schiller's *Lied von der Glocke.—Ed.*

[b] "War Department, Washington, Feb. 10, 1862", *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6507, February 11, 1862.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE SECESSIONISTS' FRIENDS IN THE LOWER HOUSE.—RECOGNITION OF THE AMERICAN BLOCKADE[192]

London, March 8

*Parturiunt montes!*[a] Since the opening of Parliament the English friends of *Secessia* had threatened a "motion" on the American blockade. The resolution has at length been introduced in the Lower House[b] in the very modest form of a motion in which the government is urged "to submit further documents on the state of the blockade"—and even this insignificant motion was rejected without the formality of a division.

Mr. *Gregory,* the member for Galway, who moved the resolution, had in the parliamentary session of last year, shortly after the outbreak of the Civil War, already introduced a motion for recognition of the Southern Confederacy.[c] To his speech[d] of this year a certain sophistical adroitness is not to be denied. The speech merely suffers from the unfortunate circumstance that it falls into two parts, of which the one cancels the other. One part describes the disastrous effects of the blockade on the English cotton industry and *therefore* demands removal of the blockade. The other part proves from the papers submitted by the ministry, two memorials by Messrs. Yancey and Mann and by Mr. Mason among them, that the blockade does not *exist* at all, except on paper, and *therefore* should no longer be recognised. Mr. Gregory spiced his argument with successive citations from *The Times. The Times,* for whom a reminder of its oracular pronouncements is at

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[a] Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus!—The mountains are in labour, a ridiculous mouse will be born! (Horace, *Art of Poetry,* 139.)—*Ed.*

[b] W. H. Gregory [Speech in the House of Commons, March 7, 1862], *The Times,* No. 24188, March 8, 1862.—*Ed.*

[c] W. H. Gregory [Speech in the House of Commons, May 28, 1861], *The Times,* No. 23945, May 29, 1861.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx gives the English word.—*Ed.*

this moment thoroughly inconvenient, thanks Mr. Gregory with a *leader*[a] in which it holds him up to public ridicule.[b]

Mr. Gregory's motion was supported by Mr. *Bentinck,*[c] an ultra-Tory who for two years has laboured in vain to bring about a secession from Mr. Disraeli in the Conservative camp.

It was a ludicrous spectacle in and by itself to see the alleged interests of English industry represented by Gregory, the representative of Galway, an unimportant seaport in the West of Ireland, and by Bentinck, the representative of Norfolk, a purely agricultural district.

Mr. *Forster,* the representative of Bradford, a centre of English industry, rose to oppose them both. Forster's speech deserves closer examination, since it strikingly proves the vacuity of the phrases concerning the character of the American blockade given currency in Europe by the friends of secession. In the first place, he said, the United States have observed all formalities required by international law. They have declared no port in a state of blockade without previous proclamation, without special notice of the moment of its commencement or without fixing the fifteen days after the expiration of which entrance and departure shall be forbidden to foreign neutral ships.

The talk of the legal "inefficacy" of the blockade rests, therefore, merely on the allegedly frequent cases in which it has been broken through. Before the opening of Parliament it was said that 600 ships had broken through it. Mr. Gregory now reduces the number to 400. His evidence rests on two lists handed the government, the one on November 30 by the Southern commissioners *Yancey* and *Mann,* the other, the supplementary list, by *Mason.* According to Yancey and Mann, more than 400 ships broke through between the proclamation of the blockade and August 20, running the blockade either inwards or outwards. According to official customs-house reports, however, the total number of the incoming and outgoing ships amounts to only 322. Of this number, 119 departed *before* the declaration of the blockade, 56 *before* the expiration of the time allowance of fifteen days. There remain 147 ships. Of these 147 ships, 25 were river boats that sailed from inland to New Orleans, where they lie idle; 106 were coasters; with the exception of three ships, all were, in

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[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[b] "The demand which Mr. Gregory makes...", *The Times,* No. 24188, March 8, 1862.—*Ed.*

[c] The speeches of Bentinck and other members of the House of Commons on March 7, 1862 are cited according to *The Times,* same issue.—*Ed.*

the words of Mr. Mason himself, "quasi-inland"[a] vessels. Of these 106, 66 sailed between Mobile and New Orleans. Anyone who knows this coast is aware how absurd it is to call the sailing of a vessel behind lagoons, so that it hardly touches the open sea and merely creeps along the coast, a breach of the blockade. The same holds of the vessels between Savannah and Charleston, where they sneak between islands and narrow tongues of land. According to the testimony of the English consul, Bunch, these flat-bottomed boats only appeared for a few days on the open sea. After deducting 106 coasters, there remain 16 departures for foreign ports; of these, 15 were for American ports, mainly Cuba, and one for Liverpool. The "ship" that berthed in Liverpool was a schooner, and so were all the rest of the "ships", with the exception of a sloop. There has been much talk, exclaimed Mr. Forster, of sham blockades. Is this list of Messrs. Yancey and Mann not a sham list? He subjected the supplementary list of Mr. Mason to a similar analysis, and showed further that the number of cruisers that slipped out only amounted to three or four, whereas in the last Anglo-American war[b] no less than 516 American cruisers broke through the English blockade and harried the English seaboard.

"The blockade, on the contrary, has been wonderfully effective from its commencement."

Further proof is provided by the reports of the English consuls; above all, however, by the Southern price lists. On January 11 the price of cotton in New Orleans offered a premium of 100 per cent for export to England; the profit on import of salt amounted to 1500 per cent and the profit on contraband of war was incomparably higher. Despite this alluring prospect of profit, it was just as impossible to ship cotton to England as salt to New Orleans or Charleston. In fact, however, Mr. Gregory does not complain that the blockade is inefficacious, but that it is too efficacious. He urges us to put an end to it and with it to the crippling of industry and commerce. One answer suffices:

"Who urges this House to break the blockade? The representatives of the suffering districts? Does this cry resound from Manchester, where the factories have to close, or from Liverpool, where from lack of freight the ships lie idle in the docks? On the contrary. It resounds from Galway and is supported by Norfolk."

On the side of the friends of secession Mr. *Lindsay,* a large shipbuilder of North Shields, made himself conspicuous. Lindsay

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[a] Marx gives the English words: "quasi-inland".— *Ed.*

[b] Of 1812-14.— *Ed.*

had offered his shipyards to the Union, and, for this purpose, had travelled to Washington, where he experienced the vexation of seeing his business propositions rejected. Since that time he has turned his sympathies to the land of *Secessia.*

The debate was concluded with a circumstantial speech by Sir *R. Palmer,* the Solicitor-General,[a] who spoke in the name of the government. He furnished well grounded juridical proof of the validity of the blockade in international law and of its sufficiency. On this occasion he in fact tore to pieces—and was taxed with so doing by Lord Cecil—the "new principles" proclaimed at the Paris Convention of 1856.[193] Among other things, he expressed his astonishment that in a British Parliament Gregory and his associates ventured to appeal to the authority of Monsieur *de Hautefeuille.* The latter, to be sure, is a brand-new "authority" discovered in the Bonapartist camp. Hautefeuille's compositions in the *Revue contemporaine* on the maritime rights of neutrals[b] prove the completest ignorance or *mauvaise foi*[c] at higher command.

With the complete fiasco of the parliamentary friends of secession in the blockade question, all prospect of a breach between Britain and the United States is eliminated.

Written on March 8, 1862

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Printed according to the newspaper

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[a] Marx gives the English title.— *Ed.*

[b] L. B. Hautefeuille, "Nécessité d'une loi maritime...", "Le règlement du 31 janvier 1862 sur l'asile maritime..." and "Le droit maritime international devant le parlement britannique", *Revue contemporaine,* 2e série, Tomes 25, 27, Paris, 1862.— *Ed.*

[c] Unconscientiousness.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR[194]

From whatever standpoint one regards it, the American Civil War presents a spectacle without parallel in the annals of military history. The vast extent of the disputed territory; the far-flung front of the lines of operation; the numerical strength of the hostile armies, the creation of which hardly drew any support from a prior organisational basis; the fabulous cost of these armies; the manner of commanding them and the general tactical and strategic principles in accordance with which the war is being waged, are all new in the eyes of the European onlooker.

The secessionist conspiracy, organised, patronised and supported long before its outbreak by Buchanan's administration, gave the South a head-start, by which alone it could hope to achieve its aim. Endangered by its slave population and by a strong Unionist element among the whites themselves, with two-thirds less free men than in the North, but readier to attack, thanks to the multitude of adventurous idlers that it harbours—for the South everything depended on a swift, bold, almost foolhardy offensive. If the Southerners succeeded in taking St. Louis, Cincinnati, Washington, Baltimore, and perhaps Philadelphia, they might then count on a panic, during which diplomacy and bribery could secure recognition of the independence of all the slave states. If this first onslaught failed, at least at the decisive points, their position must then become worse from day to day, while the North was gaining in strength. This point was rightly understood by the men who in truly Bonapartist spirit had organised the secessionist conspiracy. They opened the campaign in the corresponding manner. Their bands of adventurers overran

Missouri and Tennessee, while their more regular troops invaded eastern Virginia and prepared a *coup de main*[a] against Washington. If this coup were to miscarry, the Southern campaign was lost *from a military point of view.*

The North came to the theatre of war reluctantly, sleepily, as was to be expected considering its higher industrial and commercial development. The social machinery there was far more complicated than in the South, and it required far more time to get it moving in this unusual direction. The enlistment of volunteers for three months was a great, but perhaps unavoidable mistake. It was the policy of the North to remain on the defensive in the beginning at all decisive points, to organise its forces, to train them through operations on a small scale and without risk of decisive battles, and, as soon as the organisation had become sufficiently strong and the traitorous element had simultaneously been more or less removed from the army, to go on to an energetic, unflagging offensive and, above all, to reconquer Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina. The transformation of civilians into soldiers was bound to take more time in the North than in the South. Once effected, one could count on the individual superiority of the Northern men.

By and large, and allowing for the mistakes that arose more from political than from military sources, the North acted in accordance with those principles. The guerilla warfare in Missouri and West Virginia, while protecting the Unionist population, accustomed the troops to field service and to fire without exposing them to decisive defeats. The great disgrace of Bull Run[195] was, to a certain extent, the result of the earlier error of enlisting volunteers for three months. It was absurd to let raw recruits attack a strong position, on difficult terrain and having an enemy scarcely inferior in numbers. The panic, which seized the Union army at the decisive moment, and the cause of which has yet to be established could surprise no one who was at all familiar with the history of people's wars. Such things happened to the French troops very often from 1792 to 1795; this did not, however, prevent these same troops from winning the battles of Jemappes and Fleurus, Montenotte, Castiglione and Rivoli.[196] The *only* excuse for the silliness of the jests of the European press with regard to the Bull Run panic is the previous bragging of a section of the North American press.

The six months' respite that followed the defeat at Manassas was

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[a] A surprise attack.—*Ed.*

utilised to better advantage by the North than by the South. Not only were the Northern ranks replenished in greater measure than the Southern ones. Their officers received better instructions; the discipline and training of the troops did not encounter the same obstacles as in the South. Traitors and incompetent interlopers were increasingly removed, and the period of the Bull Run panic is a thing of the past. The armies on both sides are naturally not to be measured by the standard of the great European armies or even of the former regular army of the United States. Napoleon could in fact train battalions of raw recruits in the depots during the first month, have them on the march during the second and during the third lead them against the enemy, but then every battalion received a sufficient reinforcement of experienced officers and non-commissioned officers, every company some old soldiers, and on the day of the battle the new troops were brigaded together with veterans and, so to speak, framed by the latter. All these conditions were lacking in America. Without the considerable amount of people of military experience who had immigrated to America in consequence of the European revolutionary unrest of 1848-49, the organisation of the Union army would have required a much longer time still. The very small number of killed and wounded in proportion to the total of the troops engaged (usually one in every twenty) proves that most of the engagements, even the most recent ones in Kentucky and Tennessee, were fought mainly with firearms at fairly long range, and that the occasional bayonet charges either soon halted in the face of enemy fire or put the adversary to flight before it came to a hand-to-hand encounter. Meanwhile, the new campaign has been opened under more favourable auspices with the successful advance of Buell and Halleck through Kentucky and Tennessee.[a]

After the reconquest of Missouri and West Virginia, the Union opened the campaign with the advance on Kentucky. Here the secessionists held three strong positions, fortified camps: Columbus on the Mississippi to their left, Bowling Green in the centre, and Mill Springs on the Cumberland River to the right. Their line stretched for 300 miles from west to east. The extent of this line prevented the three corps from rendering each other support and offered the Union troops the chance of attacking each individually with superior forces. The great mistake in the disposition of the secessionists sprang from their attempt to occupy all the ground.

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[a] From here on the text is practically identical with that of Engels' article "The War in America" (present edition, Vol. 18).—*Ed.*

A single fortified, strong central camp, chosen as the battlefield for a decisive engagement and held by the main body of the army, would have defended Kentucky far more effectively. It was bound either to attract the main force of the Unionists or put them in a dangerous position, had they attempted to march on, disregarding so strong a concentration of troops.

Under the given circumstances the Unionists resolved to attack those three camps one after another, to manoeuvre their enemy out of them and force him to fight in open country. This plan, which conformed to all the rules of the art of war, was carried out with energy and dispatch. Towards the middle of January a corps of about 15,000 Unionists marched on Mill Springs, which was held by 10,000 secessionists. The Unionists manoeuvred in a manner that led the enemy to believe he only had to deal with a weak reconnoitring body. General Zollicoffer at once fell into the trap, sallied from his fortified camp and attacked the Unionists. He soon realised that a superior force confronted him. He fell and his troops suffered as complete a defeat as the Unionists at Bull Run. This time, however, the victory was exploited in quite another fashion. The defeated army was hard pressed until it arrived broken, demoralised, without field artillery or baggage, in its encampment at Mill Springs. This camp was pitched on the north bank of the Cumberland River, so that in the event of another defeat the troops had no retreat open to them save across the river by way of a few steamers and river boats. We find in general that almost all the secessionist camps were pitched on the *enemy* side of the river. To take up such a position is not only according to rule, but also very practical if there is a bridge in the rear. In such a case, the encampment serves as the bridgehead and gives its holders the chance of throwing their fighting forces at will on both banks of the river and so maintaining complete command of these banks. Without a bridge in the rear a camp on the enemy side of the river, on the contrary, cuts off the retreat after an unsuccessful engagement and compels the troops to capitulate, or exposes them to massacre and drowning, a fate that befell the Unionists at Ball's Bluff on the enemy side of the Potomac, whither the treachery of General Stone had sent them.[197]

When the beaten secessionists reached their camp at Mill Springs, they at once understood that an enemy attack on their fortifications must be repulsed or capitulation must follow in a very short time. After the experience of the morning, they had lost confidence in their powers of resistance. Accordingly, when the Unionists advanced to attack the camp next day, they found

that the enemy had taken advantage of the night to cross the river, leaving the camp, the baggage, the artillery and stores behind him. In this way, the extreme right of the secessionist line was pushed back to Tennessee, and east Kentucky, where the mass of the population is hostile to the slaveholders' party, was reconquered for the Union.

At about the same time—towards the middle of January—the preparations for dislodging the secessionists from Columbus and Bowling Green commenced. A strong fleet of mortar vessels and ironclad gunboats was held in readiness, and the news was spread in all directions that it was to serve as a convoy to a large army marching along the Mississippi from Cairo to Memphis and New Orleans. All the demonstrations on the Mississippi, however, were merely mock manoeuvres. At the decisive moment, the gunboats were brought to the Ohio and thence to the Tennessee, up which they sailed as far as Fort Henry. This place, together with Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River, formed the second line of defence of the secessionists in Tennessee. The position was well chosen, for in case of a retreat beyond the Cumberland the latter river would have covered its front, the Tennessee its left flank, while the narrow strip of land between the two rivers was sufficiently covered by the two forts mentioned above. But the swift action of the Unionists broke through even the second line before the left wing and the centre of the first line had been attacked.

In the first week of February the Unionists' gunboats appeared in front of Fort Henry, which surrendered after a short bombardment. The garrison escaped to Fort Donelson, since the land forces of the expedition were not strong enough to encircle the spot. The gunboats now sailed down the Tennessee again, upstream to the Ohio and thence up the Cumberland as far as Fort Donelson. A single gunboat sailed boldly up the Tennessee through the very heart of the State of Tennessee, skirting the State of Mississippi and pushing on as far as Florence in northern Alabama, where a series of swamps and banks (known by the name of the Muscle Shoals) prevented further navigation. The fact that a single gunboat made this long voyage of at least 150 miles and then returned, without experiencing any attack, proves that Union sentiment prevails along the river and will be very useful to the Union troops should they push forward as far as that.

The boat expedition on the Cumberland now combined its movements with those of the land forces under generals Halleck and Grant. The secessionists at Bowling Green were deceived over

the movements of the Unionists. Accordingly they remained quietly in their camp, while a week after the fall of Fort Henry, Fort Donelson was surrounded on the land side by 40,000 Unionists and threatened on the river side by a strong fleet of gunboats. Just as in the case of the camp at Mill Springs and Fort Henry, the river lay beyond Fort Donelson, without a bridge for retreat. It was the strongest place the Unionists had attacked up to the present. The works had been carried out with greater care; moreover, the place was capacious enough to accommodate the 20,000 men who occupied it. On the first day of the attack the gunboats silenced the fire of the batteries trained towards the river side and bombarded the interior of the defence works, while the land troops drove back the enemy outposts and forced the main body of the secessionists to seek shelter close under the guns of their own defence works. On the second day, the gunboats, which had suffered severely the day before, appear to have accomplished but little. The land troops, on the other hand, had to fight a long and, in places, hard battle with the columns of the garrison, which sought to break through the right wing of the enemy in order to secure their line of retreat to Nashville. However, an energetic attack by the Unionist right wing on the left wing of the secessionists and considerable reinforcements received by the left wing of the Unionists decided the victory in favour of the assailants. Various outworks had been stormed. The garrison, pressed back into its inner lines of defence, without the chance of retreat and manifestly not in a position to withstand an assault next morning, surrendered unconditionally on the following day.

[II][a]

With Fort *Donelson* the enemy's artillery, baggage and military stores fell into the hands of the Unionists; 13,000 secessionists surrendered on the day of its capture[b]; 1,000 more the next day, and as soon as the advance guard of the victors appeared before Clarksville, a town that lies further up the Cumberland River, it opened its gates. Here, too, considerable supplies had been accumulated for the secessionists.

The capture of Fort Donelson presents only *one* riddle: the

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[a] Here *Die Presse* has the editorial note, "Conclusion of yesterday's feuilleton".—*Ed.*

[b] February 16, 1862.—*Ed.*

flight of General Floyd with 5,000 men on the second day of the bombardment. These fugitives were too numerous to be smuggled away in steamers during the night. If certain precautions had been taken by the assailants, they could not have got away.[a]

Seven days after the surrender of Fort Donelson, Nashville was occupied by the Federals. The distance between the two places is about 100 English miles, and a march of 15 miles a day, on very bad roads and in the most unfavourable season of the year, redounds to the honour of the Unionist troops. On receipt of the news that Fort Donelson had fallen, the secessionists evacuated Bowling Green; a week later, they abandoned Columbus and withdrew to a Mississippi island, 45 miles south. Thus, Kentucky was completely reconquered for the Union. Tennessee, however, can be held by the secessionists only if they give and win a big battle. They are said in fact to have concentrated 65,000 men for this purpose. Meanwhile, nothing prevents the Unionists from bringing a superior force against them.[b]

The leadership of the Kentucky campaign from Somerset to Nashville deserves the highest praise. The reconquest of so extensive a territory, the advance from the Ohio to the Cumberland in a single month, evidence energy, resolution and speed such as have seldom been attained by regular armies in Europe. One may compare, for example, the slow advance of the Allies from Magenta to Solferino in 1859[198]—without pursuit of the retreating enemy, without endeavour to cut off his stragglers or in any way to outflank and encircle whole bodies of his troops.

Halleck and Grant, in particular, offer good examples of resolute military leadership. Without the least regard either for Columbus or Bowling Green, they concentrate their forces on the decisive points, Fort Henry and Fort Donelson, launch a swift and energetic attack on these and precisely thereby render Columbus and Bowling Green untenable. Then they march at once to Clarksville and Nashville, without allowing the retreating secessionists time to take up new positions in northern Tennessee. During this rapid pursuit the corps of secessionist troops in Columbus remains completely cut off from the centre and right wing of its army. The English papers have criticised this operation unjustly. Even if the attack on Fort Donelson had failed, the secessionists kept busy by General Buell at Bowling Green could not dispatch

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[a] End of the passage identical with Engels's article.—*Ed.*

[b] The last two sentences are identical with the corresponding passage in Engels's article.—*Ed.*

sufficient men to enable the garrison to follow the repulsed Unionists into the open country or to endanger their retreat. Columbus, on the other hand, lay so far off that it could not interfere with Grant's movements at all. In fact, after the Unionists had cleared Missouri of the secessionists, Columbus became an entirely useless post for the latter. The troops that formed its garrison had greatly to hasten their retreat to Memphis or even to Arkansas in order to escape the danger of ingloriously laying down their arms.

In consequence of the clearing of Missouri and the reconquest of Kentucky, the theatre of war has so far narrowed that the different armies can co-operate to a certain extent along the whole line of operations and work to achieve definite results. In other words, for the first time the war is now assuming a *strategic* character, and the geographical configuration of the country is acquiring a new interest. It is now the task of the Northern generals to find the Achilles' heel of the cotton states.

Before the capture of Nashville, no concerted strategy between the army of Kentucky and the army on the Potomac was possible. They were too far apart from each other. They stood in the same front line, but their lines of operation were entirely different. Only with the victorious advance into Tennessee did the movements of the army of Kentucky become important for the entire theatre of war.

The American papers influenced by McClellan are full of talk about the "anaconda" envelopment plan. According to it, an immense line of armies is to wind round the rebellion, gradually tighten its coils and finally strangle the enemy. This is sheer childishness. It is a rehash of the so-called *cordon system*[199] devised in Austria about 1770, which was employed against the French from 1792 to 1797 with such great obstinacy and with such constant failure. At Jemappes, Fleurus and, more especially, at Montenotte, Millesimo, Dego,[200] Castiglione and Rivoli, the final blow was dealt at this system. The French cut the "anaconda" in two by attacking at a point where they had concentrated superior forces. Then the coils of the "anaconda" were cut to pieces one after another.

In densely populated and more or less centralised states there is always a centre, with the occupation of which by the enemy the national resistance would be broken. Paris is a brilliant example.[201] The slave states, however, possess no such centre. They are sparsely populated, with few large towns and all these on the seacoast. The question therefore arises: Does a military centre of

gravity nevertheless exist, with the capture of which the backbone of their resistance will be broken, or are they, just as Russia still was in 1812, not to be conquered without occupying every village and every plot of land, in short, the entire periphery?[202]

Cast a glance at the geographical shape of the secessionists' territory, with its long stretch of coast on the Atlantic Ocean and its long stretch of coast on the Gulf of Mexico. So long as the Confederates held Kentucky and Tennessee, the whole formed a great compact mass. The loss of both these states drives an enormous wedge into their territory, separating the states on the North Atlantic Ocean from the States on the Gulf of Mexico. The direct route from Virginia and the two Carolinas to Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi and even, in part, to Alabama leads through Tennessee, which is now occupied by the Unionists. The *sole* route that, after the complete conquest of Tennessee by the Union, connects the two sections of the slave states goes through Georgia. This proves that *Georgia is the key to the secessionists' territory.* With the loss of Georgia the Confederacy would be cut into two sections, which would have lost all connection with one another. A reconquest of Georgia by the secessionists, however, would be almost unthinkable, for the Unionist fighting forces would be concentrated in a central position, while their adversaries, divided into two camps, would have scarcely sufficient forces to put in the field for a joint attack.

Would the conquest of all Georgia, with the seacoast of Florida, be required for such an operation? By no means. In a land where communication, particularly between distant points, depends much more on railways than on highways, the seizure of the railways is sufficient. The southernmost railway line between the States on the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic coast goes through Macon and Gordon near Milledgeville.

The occupation of these two points would accordingly cut the secessionists' territory in two and enable the Unionists to beat one part after another. At the same time, one gathers from the above that no Southern republic is viable without the possession of Tennessee. Without Tennessee, Georgia's vital spot lies only eight or ten days' march from the frontier; the North would constantly have its hand at the throat of the South, and, at the slightest pressure, the South would have to yield or fight for its life anew, under circumstances in which a single defeat would cut off every prospect of success.

From the foregoing considerations it follows:

The Potomac is *not* the most important position in the war

theatre. The seizure of Richmond and the advance of the Potomac army further south—difficult on account of the many rivers that cut across the line of march—could produce a tremendous moral effect. From a purely military standpoint, they would decide *nothing.*

The outcome of the campaign depends on the Kentucky army, now in Tennessee. On the one hand, this army is nearest to the decisive points; on the other hand, it occupies a territory without which secession cannot survive. This army would accordingly have to be strengthened at the expense of all the rest and the sacrifice of all minor operations. Its next points of attack would be Chattanooga and Dalton on the Upper Tennessee, the most important railway junctions of the entire South. After their occupation, the link between the eastern and western states of *Secessia* would be limited to the lines of communication in Georgia. The further problem would then be to cut off another railway line, with Atlanta and Georgia, and finally to destroy the last link between the two sections by the capture of Macon and Gordon.

On the contrary, should the anaconda plan be followed, then, despite all the successes gained at particular points and even on the Potomac, the war may be prolonged indefinitely, while the financial difficulties together with diplomatic complications acquire fresh scope.

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# Karl Marx

## AN INTERNATIONAL *AFFAIRE* MIRÈS[203]

London, April 28

A main theme of diplomatic circles here is France's conduct on the Mexican scene. People are puzzled by the fact that Louis Bonaparte should have increased the expeditionary troops at the moment when he promised to reduce them, and that he should want to go forward whilst England draws back. Here people are well aware that the impulse for the Mexican expedition[204] came from the Cabinet of St. James and not from that of the Tuileries. It is equally well known that Louis Bonaparte likes to carry out all his undertakings, and particularly the overseas adventures, under England's aegis. As is known, the restored Empire has not yet emulated the feat of its original[a] in quartering the French armies in the capital cities of modern Europe. As a *pis aller,*[b] on the other hand, it has led them to the capital cities of ancient Europe, to Constantinople, Athens and Rome, and, over and above that, even to Peking.[205] Should the theatrical effect of a jaunt to the capital city of the Aztecs be lost, and the opportunity for military archaeological collections *à la* Montauban[206]? If, however, one considers the present state of French finance and the future serious conflicts with the United States and England to which Louis Bonaparte's actions in Mexico may lead, one is then obliged to reject without further question the foregoing interpretation of his doings which is popular with various British papers. I believe I can give you the real explanation.

At the time of the Convention of July 17, 1861,[207] when the claims of the English creditors were to be settled, but the English

[a] The empire of Napoleon I.—*Ed.*
[b] As a *pis aller*—here: instead.—*Ed.*

plenipotentiary simultaneously demanded that the entire register of the Mexican debts or misdeeds should be examined, Mexico's Foreign Minister[a] put the debt to France at $200,000, i.e., a mere bagatelle of some £40,000. The account *now* drawn up by France, on the other hand, does not confine itself to these modest limits by any means.

Under the Catholic administration of Zuloaga and Miramón, an issue of Mexican state bonds to the amount of $14,000,000 was contracted through the Swiss banking house of J. B. Jecker and Co. The whole sum that was realised by the first issue of these bonds came to only 5 per cent of the nominal amount or to $700,000. The sum total of the bonds issued very soon fell into the hands of prominent Frenchmen, among them relatives of the Emperor and fellow string-pullers of *"haute politique"*.[b] The house of Jecker and Co. let these gentlemen have the aforesaid bonds for far less than their original nominal price.

Miramón contracted this debt at a time when he was in possession of the capital city. Later, after he had come down to the role of a mere guerilla leader, he again caused state bonds to the nominal value of $38,000,000 to be issued through his so-called Finance Minister, Señor Peza-y-Peza. Once more it was the house of Jecker and Co. which negotiated the issue, but, on this occasion, it limited its advances to the modest sum of barely $500,000, or from one to two per cent to the dollar. Once more, the Swiss bankers knew how to dispose of their Mexican property as quickly as possible, and once more the bonds fell into the hands of those "prominent" Frenchmen, among whom were some *habitués* of the imperial court whose names will live on in the annals of the European stock exchanges as long as the *affaire* Mirès.

This debt, then, of $52,000,000, of which not even $4,200,000 have hitherto been advanced, the administration of President Juárez declines to recognise, on the one hand, because it knows nothing about it and, on the other hand, because it claims that Messrs. Miramón, Zuloaga and Peza-y-Peza were possessed of no constitutional authority to contract such a state debt. The abovementioned "prominent" Frenchmen, however, had to carry the contrary view at the decisive place. Lord Palmerston was, for his part, opportunely instructed by some members of Parliament that the whole affair would lead to highly objectionable interpellations in the Lower House. Among other things to be feared, it was said,

[a] M. de Zamacona.—*Ed.*
[b] High politics.—*Ed.*

was the question whether British land and sea power might be employed to support the gambling operations of certain *rouge-et-noir*[a] politicians on the other side of the Channel. Accordingly, Palmerston caught eagerly at the Conference of Orizaba[208] to withdraw from a business that threatens us with the filth of an international *affaire* Mirès.

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[a] Red and black, a game of chance.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE ENGLISH PRESS AND THE FALL OF NEW ORLEANS[209]

London, May 16

On the arrival of the first rumours of the fall of New Orleans,[210] *The Times, The Herald, The Standard, The Morning Post, The Daily Telegraph,* and other English "sympathisers"[a] with the Southern "nigger-drivers" proved strategically, tactically, philologically, exegetically, politically, morally and fortificationally that the rumour was one of the "canards" which Reuter, Havas, Wolff[211] and their understrappers so often let fly. The natural means of defence of New Orleans, it was said, had been augmented not only by newly constructed forts, but by submarine infernal machines of every sort and ironclad gunboats. Then there was the Spartan character of the citizens of New Orleans and their deadly hatred of Lincoln's mercenaries. Finally, was it not at New Orleans that England suffered the defeat that brought her second war against the United States (1812 to 1814) to an ignominious end? Consequently, there was no reason to doubt that New Orleans would immortalise itself as a second Saragossa or a Moscow of the "South".[212] Besides, it harboured 15,000 bales of cotton, with which it could so easily have kindled an inextinguishable fire to destroy itself, quite apart from the fact that in 1814 the duly damped cotton bales proved more indestructible by cannon fire than the earthworks of Sevastopol. It was therefore as clear as daylight that the fall of New Orleans was a case of the familiar Yankee bragging.

When the first rumours were confirmed two days later by steamers arriving from New York, the bulk of the English

[a] Marx uses English words: "sympathisers" and, below, "nigger-drivers", and "understrappers".—*Ed.*

pro-slavery press persisted in its scepticism. *The Evening Standard,* especially, was so positive in its unbelief that in the same number it published a first leader which proved the Crescent City's[213] impregnability in black and white, whilst its "latest news" announced the impregnable city's fall in large type. *The Times,* however, which has always held discretion for the better part of valour,[a] veered round. It still doubted, but, at the same time, it made ready for every eventuality, since New Orleans was a city of "rowdies"[b] and not of heroes.[c] On this occasion, *The Times* was right. New Orleans is a settlement of the dregs of the French *bohème,* in the true sense of the word, a French *convict colony*—and never, with the changes of time, has it belied its origin. Only, *The Times* came *post festum*[d] to this pretty widespread realisation.

Finally, however, the *fait accompli*[e] struck even the blindest Thomas. What was to be done? The English pro-slavery press now proves that the fall of New Orleans means a gain for the Confederates and a defeat for the Federals.

The fall of New Orleans allowed General Lovell to reinforce Beauregard's army with his troops; Beauregard was all the more in need of reinforcements, since 160,000 men (surely an exaggeration!) were said to have been concentrated on his front by Halleck and, on the other hand, General Mitchel had cut Beauregard's communications with the East by breaking the railway connection between Memphis and Chattanooga, that is, with Richmond, Charleston and Savannah. After his communications had been cut (which we indicated as a necessary strategical move long *before* the battle of Corinth[f]), Beauregard had no longer any railway connections from Corinth, save those with Mobile and New Orleans. After New Orleans had fallen and he was only left with the single railway to Mobile to rely on, he naturally could no longer procure the necessary provisions for his troops. He therefore fell back on Tupelo and, in the estimation of the English pro-slavery press, his provisioning capacity has, of course, been increased by the entry of Lovell's troops!

On the other hand, the same oracles remark, the yellow fever

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[a] Shakespeare, *King Henry IV,* Part I, Act V, Scene 4.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[c] "The spirit in which the fall of New-Orleans has been met...", leading article in *The Times,* No. 24244, May 13, 1862.—*Ed.*

[d] Too late. From the Latin saying, "Post festum venire miserum est"—"It is a wretched thing to arrive after the feast" (Plato, *Gorgias,* 1).—*Ed.*

[e] Accomplished fact.—*Ed.*

[f] See this volume, p. 194—*Ed.*

will take a heavy toll of the Federals in New Orleans and, finally, if the city itself is no Moscow, is not its mayor[a] a Brutus? Only read (cf. New York[b]) his melodramatically valorous epistle to Commodore Farragut, "Brave words, Sir, brave words!"[c] But hard words break no bones.

The press organs of the Southern slaveholders, however, do not construe the fall of New Orleans so optimistically as their English comforters. This will be seen from the following extracts:

The Richmond *Dispatch* says:

"What has become of the ironclad gunboats, the *Mississippi* and the *Louisiana*, from which we expected the salvation of the Crescent City? In respect of their effect on the foe, these ships might just as well have been ships of glass. It is useless do deny that the fall of New Orleans is a heavy blow. The Confederate government is thereby cut off from West Louisiana, Texas, Missouri and Arkansas."

The Norfolk *Day Book* observes:

"This is the most serious reverse since the beginning of the war. It augurs privations and want for all classes of society and, what is worse, it threatens our army supplies."[d]

The Atlantic *Intelligencer* laments:

"We expected that the outcome would be different. The approach of the enemy was no surprise attack; it has long been foreseen, and we had been promised that, should he even pass by Fort Jackson, fearful artillery contrivances would force him to withdraw or ensure his annihilation. In all this, we have deceived ourselves, as on every occasion when the defences were supposed to guarantee the safety of a place or town. It appears that modern inventions have destroyed the defensive capacity of fortification. Ironclad gunboats destroy them or sail past them unceremoniously. Memphis, we fear, will share the fate of New Orleans. Would it not be folly to deceive ourselves with hope?"[e]

Finally, the Petersburg *Express*:

"The capture of New Orleans by the Federals is the most extraordinary and fateful event of the whole war."

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[a] J. F. Monroe.—*Ed.*

[b] This parenthesis, added by the editors of *Die Presse*, referred the reader to the report from New York, "Des Bürgermeisters von Neuorleans Erklärung", published in the same issue of the paper.—*Ed.*

[c] Paraphrase of Falstaff's words ("Rare words! brave world!") from Shakespeare's *King Henry IV*, Part I, Act III, Scene 3.—*Ed.*

[d] Quoted from the report, "From Fortress Monroe", the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6575, May 1, 1862.—*Ed.*

[e] Quoted from the report, "Washington, Thursday, May 1, 1862", the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6576, May 2, 1862.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## A TREATY AGAINST THE SLAVE TRADE[214]

London, May 18

The Treaty on the suppression of the slave trade concluded between the United States and Britain on April 7 of this year in Washington[a] is now communicated *in extenso*[b] by the American newspapers. The main points of this important document are the following: The right of search is reciprocal, but can be exercised only by such warships on either side as have received special authority for this purpose from one of the contracting powers. From time to time, the contracting powers supply one another with complete statistics concerning the sections of their navies that have been appointed to keep watch on the traffic in Negroes. The right of search can be exercised only against merchantmen within a distance of 200 miles from the African coast and south of 32° north latitude, and within 30 nautical miles of the coast of Cuba. Search, whether of British ships by American cruisers or of American ships by British cruisers, does not take place in that part of the sea which is British or American territory (therefore within three nautical miles of the coast); no more does it take place just outside the ports or settlements of foreign powers.

Mixed courts, composed half of Englishmen, half of Americans, and resident in Sierra Leone, Capetown and New York will pass judgment on the prize vessels. In the event of a ship's conviction, her crew will be handed over to the jurisdiction of the nation under whose flag the ship sailed, so far as this can be done without great cost. Not only the crew (including the captain, mate, etc.), but also the owners of the vessel will then incur the penalties customary in the country. Compensation to owners of merchantmen that have been acquitted by the mixed courts is to be paid within a year by the power under whose flag the capturing

[a] "Treaty between the United States of America and Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, for the Suppression of the African Slave-Trade. Concluded at Washington, April 7, 1862".—*Ed.*

[b] In detail.—*Ed.*

warship sailed. Not only the presence of captive Negroes is regarded as affording legal grounds for the seizure of ships, but also special equipment in the ship for the traffic in Negroes, manacles, chains and other instruments for guarding the Negroes and, lastly, stores of provisions that greatly exceed the requirements of the ship's company. A ship on which such suspicious articles are found has to furnish proof of her innocence and even in the event of acquittal can claim no compensation.

The commander of a cruiser who oversteps the authority conferred on him by the Treaty, is liable to punishment by his respective government. Should the commander of a cruiser of one of the contracting powers harbour a suspicion that a merchant vessel under escort by one or more warships of the other contracting power is carrying Negroes on board, or was engaged in the African slave trade, or is equipped for this trade, he has then to communicate his suspicion to the commander of the escort and search the suspected ship in his presence; the latter is to be conducted to the place of residence of one of the mixed courts if, according to the Treaty, it comes under the category of suspicious ships. The Negroes found on board convicted ships are placed at the disposal of the government under whose flag the capture was made. They are to be set at liberty at once and remain free under guarantee of the government in whose territory they find themselves. The Treaty can only be terminated after ten years. It remains in force for a full year from the date of the notice given by one of the contracting parties.

A mortal blow has been dealt the Negro trade by this Anglo-American Treaty—the result of the American Civil War. The effect of the Treaty will be completed by the Bill recently introduced by Senator Sumner,[a] which repeals the law of 1808 dealing with the traffic in Negroes on the coasts of the United States and punishes the transport of slaves from one port of the United States to another as a crime.[215] This Bill does, to a large extent, paralyse the trade that the states raising Negroes (border slave states[b]) are carrying on with the states consuming Negroes (the slave states proper).

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[a] A report on the Bill date-lined "Senate. Washington, May 2, 1862" appeared in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6577, May 3, 1862.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx gives the English words in brackets.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## THE SITUATION IN THE AMERICAN THEATRE OF WAR[216]

The capture of New Orleans, as the detailed reports now to hand show, is distinguished as an almost unparalleled act of valour on the part of the fleet. The Unionists' fleet consisted merely of wooden ships: about six warships, each having from 14 to 25 guns, supported by a numerous flotilla of gunboats and mortar vessels. This fleet had before it two forts which blocked the passage of the Mississippi. Within range of the 100 guns of these forts the river was barred by a strong chain, beyond which there was a mass of torpedoes, fire-floats and other instruments of destruction. These first obstacles had therefore to be overcome in order to pass between the forts. On the other side of the forts, however, was a second formidable line of defence, formed by ironclad gunboats, among them the *Manassas,* an iron ram, and the *Louisiana,* a powerful floating battery. After the Unionists had bombarded the two forts, which completely command the river, for six days without any effect, they resolved to brave their fire, force the iron barrier in three divisions, sail up the river and risk battle with the "ironsides".[a] The hazardous enterprise succeeded. As soon as the flotilla effected a landing before New Orleans, the victory was naturally decided.

Beauregard now had nothing more to defend in Corinth. His position there only made sense so long as it covered Mississippi and Louisiana, and especially New Orleans. He now finds himself strategically in the position that a lost battle would leave him no other choice than to disband his army into guerillas, for without a

[a] The authors use the English word.—*Ed.*

large town, where railways and supplies are concentrated, in the rear of his army, he can no longer hold masses of men together.

McClellan has irrefutably proved that he is a military incompetent who, having been raised by favourable circumstances to a commanding and responsible position, wages war not to defeat the foe, but rather not to be defeated by the foe and thus forfeit his own usurped greatness. He bears himself like the old so-called "manoeuvring generals", who excused their anxious avoidance of any tactical decision with the plea that, by strategic flanking manoeuvres, they obliged the enemy to give up his positions. The Confederates always escape him, because at the decisive moment he never attacks them. Thus, although their plan of retreat had already been announced ten days before even by the New York papers (for example, the *Tribune*[a]), he let them retire unmolested from Manassas to Richmond. He then divided his army and flanked the Confederates strategically by establishing himself with one body of troops near Yorktown. Siege warfare always affords an excuse for wasting time and avoiding battle. As soon as he had concentrated a military force superior to the Confederates, he let them retire from Yorktown to Williamsburg and from there further, without forcing them to give battle. A war has never yet been so wretchedly waged. If the rearguard action at Williamsburg ended in defeat for the Confederate rearguard instead of in a second Bull Run[217] for the Union troops, McClellan was in no way responsible for this result.

After a march of about twelve miles (English) in a twenty-four hours' downpour and through veritable seas of mud, 8,000 Union troops under General *Heintzelman* (of *German* descent, but born in Pennsylvania) arrived in the vicinity of Williamsburg and met with only weak enemy pickets. As soon, however, as the enemy had assured himself of their numerically inferior strength, he dispatched from his picked troops at Williamsburg reinforcements that gradually increased the number of his men to 25,000. By nine o'clock in the morning, battle was being waged in earnest; at half past twelve General Heintzelman discovered that the engagement was going in favour of the foe. He sent messenger after messenger to General Kearny, who was eight miles to his rear, but could only push forward slowly since the road had been completely "dissolved" by the rain. For a whole hour Heintzelman remained without reinforcements and the 7th and 8th Jersey

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[a] "Movements of the Manassas Rebels", *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6517, February 22, 1862.—*Ed.*

regiments, which had expended their stock of powder, began to run for the woods on either side of the road. Heintzelman now made Colonel Menill with a squadron of Pennsylvanian cavalry take up positions on both edges of the forest, under the threat of firing on the fugitives. This brought the latter once more to a standstill.

Order was further restored by the example of a Massachusetts regiment, which had likewise expended its powder, but now fixed bayonets to its muskets and calmly awaited the enemy. At length, Kearny's vanguard under Brigadier *Berry* (from the State of Maine) came in sight. Heintzelman's army welcomed its rescuers with a wild "Hurrah"; he ordered the regimental band to strike up *Yankee Doodle*[a] and Berry's fresh forces to form a line almost half a mile in length in front of his exhausted troops. After preliminary musket fire, Berry's brigade made a bayonet charge at the double and drove the enemy off the battlefield to his earthworks, the largest of which after repeated attacks and counter-attacks remained in the possession of the Union troops. Thus, the equilibrium of the battle was restored. Berry's arrival had saved the Unionists. The arrival of the brigades of Jameson and Birney at four o'clock decided the victory. At nine o'clock in the evening the retreat of the Confederates from Williamsburg began; on the following day they continued it—in the direction of Richmond—hotly pursued by Heintzelman's cavalry. On the morning after the battle, between six and seven o'clock, Heintzelman ordered Williamsburg to be occupied by General Jameson. The rearguard of the fleeing enemy had evacuated the town from the opposite end only half an hour before. Heintzelman's battle was an infantry battle in the true sense of the word. Artillery hardly came into action. Musket fire and bayonet attack were decisive. If the Congress at Washington wanted to pass a vote of thanks, it should have been to General Heintzelman, who saved the Yankees from a second Bull Run, and not to McClellan, who in his wonted fashion avoided "the tactical decision" and let the numerically weaker adversary escape for the third time.

The Confederate army in Virginia has better chances than Beauregard's army, first because it is facing a McClellan instead of a Halleck, and then because the many rivers on its line of retreat flow crosswise from the mountains to the sea. However, to avoid breaking up into bands *without a battle,* its generals will sooner or later be forced to accept a decisive battle, just as the Russians were

[a] English title in the original.—*Ed.*

obliged to fight at Smolensk and Borodino[218] *against* the will of the generals, who judged the situation correctly. Lamentable as McClellan's manner of conducting the war has been, the constant withdrawals, accompanied by abandonment of artillery, munitions and other military stores, and simultaneously the small unsuccessful rearguard engagements, have at any rate badly demoralised the Confederates, as will become manifest on the day of a decisive battle. To sum up:

Should Beauregard or Jefferson Davis lose a decisive battle, their armies will then break up into bands. Should one of them win a decisive battle, which is most unlikely, at best the disbanding of their armies will be deferred. They are not in a position to draw the least lasting benefit even from a victory. They cannot advance 20 English miles without coming to a standstill and again awaiting the renewed offensive of the enemy.

It still remains to examine the chances of a guerilla war. But precisely in respect of the present war of the slaveholders it is most amazing how slight or rather how wholly lacking is the participation of the population in it. In 1813, the communications of the French were continually cut and harassed by Colomb, Lützow, Chernyshev and twenty other leaders of partisans and Cossacks. In 1812, the population in Russia vanished completely from the French line of march; in 1814, the French peasants armed themselves and slew the patrols and stragglers of the Allies. But here nothing happens at all. People resign themselves to the *fate of the big battles* and console themselves with *"Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni"*.[a] The tall talk of war even with knives is going up in smoke. There can be hardly any doubt, it is true, that the *white trash,*[b] as the planters themselves call the "poor whites", will attempt guerilla warfare and brigandage. Such an attempt, however, will very quickly transform the propertied planters into *Unionists.* They will even call the Yankee troops to their aid. The alleged burnings of cotton, etc., on the Mississippi rest exclusively on the testimony of two Kentuckians who are said to have come to Louisville—certainly not on the Mississippi. The conflagration in New Orleans was easily organised. The fanaticism of the New Orleans merchants is explained by the fact that they were obliged to take a quantity of Confederate treasury bonds for hard cash. The conflagration at New Orleans will be repeated in other towns;

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[a] "The conquering cause pleased the gods, but the conquered one pleased Cato" (Lucan, *Pharsalia,* I, 128).—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below the English phrase is used.—*Ed.*

assuredly, also, there will be a lot more burning; but theatrical coups like this can only bring the dissension between the planters and the "white trash" to a head and therewith—*finis secessiae!*[a]

Written on May 23-25, 1862

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[a] The end of secession.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## ENGLISH HUMANITY AND AMERICA[219]

London, June 14

Humanity in England, like liberty in France, has now become an export article for the traders in politics.[a] We recollect the time when Tsar Nicholas had Polish ladies flogged by soldiers and when Lord Palmerston found the moral indignation of some parliamentarians over the event "impolitic". We recollect that about a decade ago a revolt took place on the Ionian Islands[220] which gave the English governor[b] there occasion to have a fairly considerable number of Grecian women flogged. *Probatum est,*[c] said Palmerston and his Whig colleagues who at that time were in office. Just a few years ago proof was furnished to Parliament from official documents that the tax collectors in India employed means of coercion against the wives of the ryots,[221] the infamy of which forbids giving further details. Palmerston and his colleagues did not, it is true, dare to justify these atrocities, but what an outcry they would have raised, had a *foreign* government dared to publicly proclaim its indignation over these English infamies and distinctly indicate that it would step in if Palmerston and colleagues did not at once disavow the Indian tax officials. But Cato the Censor himself could not watch over the morals of the Roman citizens more anxiously than the English aristocrats and their ministers over the "humanity" of the war-waging Yankees!

The ladies of New Orleans, yellow beauties, tastelessly bedecked with jewels and comparable, perhaps, to the women of the old Mexicans, save that they do not devour their slaves *in natura,*[d] are

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[a] Marx gives the English words: "traders in politics".— *Ed.*
[b] G. Colborne.— *Ed.*
[c] Approved.— *Ed.*
[d] Alive.— *Ed.*

this time—previously it was the harbours of Charleston—the occasions for the British aristocrats' display of humanity. The English women who are starving in Lancashire (they are, however, not ladies, nor do they possess any slaves), have inspired no parliamentary utterance hitherto; the cry of distress from the Irish women, who, with the progressive eviction of the small tenant farmers in green Erin,[a] are flung half naked on the street and driven from house and home quite as if the Tartars had descended upon them, has hitherto called forth only one echo from the Lords, the Commons, and Her Majesty's government[b]—homilies on the absolute rights of landed property.[222] But the ladies of New Orleans! That, to be sure, is another matter. These ladies were far too enlightened to participate in the tumult of war, like the goddesses of Olympus, or to cast themselves into the flames, like the women of Saguntum.[223] They have invented a new and safe mode of heroism, a mode that could have been invented only by female slaveholders and, what is more, only by female slaveholders in a land where the free part of the population consists of shopkeepers by vocation, tradesmen in cotton or sugar or tobacco, and does not keep slaves, like the *cives*[c] of the ancient world. After their men had run away from New Orleans or had crept into their back closets, these ladies rushed into the streets in order to spit in the faces of the victorious Union troops or to stick out their tongues at them or, like Mephistopheles, to make in general "an unseemly gesture",[d] accompanied by insulting words. These Magaeras imagined they could be ill-mannered "with impunity".

This was their heroism. General Butler issued a proclamation[e] in which he notified them that they should be treated as street-walkers, if they continued to act as street-walkers. Butler has, indeed, the makings of a lawyer, but does not seem to have undertaken the requisite study of English statute law.[224] Otherwise, by analogy with the laws imposed on Ireland under Castlereagh,[225] he would have prohibited them from setting foot on the streets at all. Butler's warning to the "ladies" of New Orleans has aroused

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[a] Old name of Ireland.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx gives the English words: "Lords," "Commons" and "Her Majesty's government".—*Ed.*

[c] Citizens.—*Ed.*

[d] Cf. Goethe, *Faust,* Der Tragödie erster Teil, "Hexenküche".—*Ed.*

[e] B. F. Butler, *A Proclamation* [May 15, 1862], *The Times,* No. 24272, June 14, 1862.—*Ed.*

such moral indignation in Earl Carnarvon, Sir. J. Walsh (who played so ridiculous and odious a role in Ireland) and Mr. Gregory, who was already demanding recognition of the Confederacy a year ago,[a] that the Earl in the Upper House, the knight and the man "without a handle to his name"[b] in the Lower House, interrogated the Ministry to learn what steps it intended to take in the name of outraged "humanity". Russell and Palmerston both castigated Butler, both expected that the government at Washington would disavow him; and the so very tender-hearted Palmerston, who behind the Queen's[c] back and without the foreknowledge of his colleagues recognised the *coup d'état* of December 1851[226] (on which occasion "ladies" were actually shot dead, whilst others were violated by Zouaves[227]) merely out of "human admiration"—the same tender-hearted Viscount declared Butler's warning to be an "infamy".[d] Ladies, indeed, who actually own slaves—such ladies were not even to be able to vent their anger and their malice on common Union troops, peasants, artisans and other rabble with impunity! It is "infamous".

Among the public here, no one is deceived by this humanity farce. It is meant partly to call forth, partly to fortify the feeling in favour of intervention, in the first place on the part of France. After the first melodramatic outbursts, the knights of humanity in the Upper and Lower House, as if by word of command, discarded their emotional mask. Their declamation served merely as a prologue to the question whether the Emperor of the French[e] had communicated with the English government in the matter of mediating, and whether the latter, as they hoped, had received such an offer favourably. Russell and Palmerston both declared they did not know of the offer. Russell declared the present moment extremely unfavourable for any mediation. Palmerston, more guarded and reserved, contented himself with saying that at the *present* moment the English government had no intention of mediating.

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[a] W. Gregory [Speech in the House of Commons, May 28, 1861], *The Times,* No. 23945, May 29, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx gives the English phrase.—*Ed.*

[c] Victoria's.—*Ed.*

[d] The reference is to the speeches of H. Carnarvon and J. Russell in the House of Lords and of J. Walsh, W. Gregory and H. Palmerston in the House of Commons on June 13, 1862 published in *The Times,* No. 24272, June 14, 1862.—*Ed.*

[e] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

The plan is that during the recess of the English Parliament France should play her role of mediator and, in the autumn, if Mexico is secure, should open her intervention. The lull in the American theater of war has resuscitated the intervention speculators in St. James and the Tuileries from their marasmus. This lull is itself due to a strategic error on the part of the North. If, after its victory in Tennessee, the Kentucky army had rapidly advanced on the railway junctions in Georgia, instead of letting itself be drawn South down the Mississippi on a side track, Reuter and Co. would have been cheated of their business in "intervention" and "mediation" rumours. However that may be, Europe can wish nothing more fervently than that the *coup d'état*[a] should attempt "to restore order in the United States" and "to save civilisation" there too.

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[a] An allusion to Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR AND THE IRONCLADS AND RAMS[228]

About three and a half months ago, on March 8, 1862, the naval battle between the *Merrimac* and the frigates *Cumberland* and *Congress* in Hampton Roads ended the long era of wooden men-of-war. On March 9, 1862, the naval battle between the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor* in the same waters opened the era of war between ironclad ships.[a]

Since then the Congress in Washington has approved considerable sums for building various ships armoured with iron and completing the large iron floating battery of Mr. Stevens (in Hoboken, near New York). In addition, Mr. Ericsson is engaged in completing six ships built on the pattern of the *Monitor,* but larger and with two mobile turrets, each flanked with two heavy cannons. The *Galena,* a second ironclad, not constructed by Mr. Ericsson, and of different design to the *Monitor,* has been completed and has joined the *Monitor,* at first to watch the *Merrimac* and then to clear the banks of the James River of rebel forts; this task has been performed to within seven or eight miles of Richmond. The third ironclad in the James River is the *Bengaluche,* first named the *Stevens* after its inventor and former owner.

A fourth ironclad, the *New Ironsides,* is being built in Philadelphia and should be ready to go to sea in a few weeks. The *Vanderbilt* and another large steamer have been converted into rams; a large number of other wooden men-of-war, such as the *Roanoke,* are to be reborn as ironclads. In addition, the Union government had 4 or 5 ironclad gunboats built on the Ohio, which did good service at Fort Henry, Fort Donelson and Pittsburg

[a] See this volume, pp. 289-95.—*Ed.*

Landing. Finally, Colonel *Ellet* and his friends fitted out various rams by levelling down and ironcladding the bows of old steamships at Cincinnati and other places on the Ohio. He did not arm them with cannons but with sharpshooters, in which the West abounds. He then offered the rams, the crews and his own services to the Union government. We shall come back later to the first feat of arms of these improvised rams.

On the other side, the Confederates did not remain inactive. They began to build new iron ships and remodel old ones at Norfolk. Before they had finished their work there, Norfolk fell to the Union troops and all those ships were destroyed. In addition, the Confederates built three very strong iron rams at New Orleans, and a fourth ironclad of enormous size with excellent armament was nearing completion when New Orleans fell. According to Union naval officers, the last-named ship, when ready for battle, would have exposed the entire Union navy to the greatest peril, since the government in Washington had nothing equal to opposing this monster. Its cost came to two million dollars. As we know, the rebels themselves destroyed the ship.

At *Memphis,* the Confederates had built no fewer than eight rams, each of which carried four or six guns of large caliber. It was at Memphis that the first *"battle of the rams"* took place on the Mississippi on June 6. Although the Union flotilla, coming down the Mississippi, had five ironclad gunboats, it was two of Colonel *Ellet's rams,* the *Queen* and the *Monarch,* that essentially decided the combat. Of the eight enemy rams, four were destroyed, three were captured and one escaped. After the gunboats of the Union flotilla had opened a lively cannonade against the rebel ships and kept it up for some time, the *Queen* and the *Monarch* sailed into the midst of the enemy squadron. The fire of the gunboats ceased almost completely, since Colonel Ellet's rams were tied up in such a knot with the enemy ships that the gunners could not distinguish friend from foe.

Ellet's rams, as already mentioned, carried no cannons but a host of sharpshooters. Their engines and boilers were protected only by timber work. Powerful steam engines and a sharp oak bow covered with iron constituted the entire equipment of these rams. Men, women and children streamed out of Memphis by the thousands to the steep banks of the Mississippi, at some points hardly half an English mile from the scene of battle, to watch the "battle of the rams" in anxious suspense. The conflict lasted little more than an hour. While the rebels lost 7 ships and 100 men, about 40 of them by drowning, only one Union ship was seriously

damaged, only one man wounded and none killed.

Apart from the one iron ram that escaped from the naval engagement at Memphis, the Confederates may still have a couple of rams and ironclads at Mobile. Except for these, and the few gunboats at Vicksburg, which are, simultaneously, threatened by Farragut, sailing up the river, and Davis, sailing down it, their navy has already seen the end of its days.

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# Karl Marx

## CHINESE AFFAIRS

A little while before tables started to dance,[229] *China,* that living fossil, began to revolutionise.[230] In itself, there was nothing extraordinary about this phenomenon, for the Oriental empires demonstrate constant immobility in their social substructure, with unceasing change in the persons and clans that gain control of the political superstructure. China is dominated by a foreign dynasty.[231] Why should not a movement to overthrow this dynasty make its appearance after 300 years? The movement had a religious tinge right from the outset; but it had this in common with all the Oriental movements. The immediate causes giving rise to the movement were evident: European intervention, the opium wars,[232] the resultant undermining of the existing regime, outflow of silver abroad, disturbance of the economic equilibrium by the importation of foreign goods, etc. To me it seemed a paradox that opium, instead of lulling, stimulated. Actually, the only thing novel about this Chinese revolution are those who are making it. They are aware of no task except changing the dynasty. They have no slogans. They are an even greater abomination for the masses of the people than for the old rulers. They seem to have no other vocation than, as opposed to conservative stagnation, to produce destruction in grotesquely detestable forms, destruction without any nucleus of new construction. The following excerpts from a letter of Mr. *Harvey* (English consul at Ningpo) to Mr. *Bruce,* the English ambassador in Peking,[a] may help to give one an idea of these "scourges of God".

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[a] Harvey [Letter to Mr. Bruce], *The Times,* No. 24274, June 17, 1862.—*Ed.*

For three months, Mr. Harvey writes, Ningpo has been in the hands of the revolutionary *Taipings.* Here, as everywhere else where these robbers had extended their domination, devastation has been the only result. Have they any other aims? In point of fact, the power of unbridled and boundless licentiousness seems to be as important to them as the destruction of other people's lives. This view of the Taipings is, of course, at odds with the illusions of English missionaries, who fabricated stories about the "salvation of China", the "rebirth of the empire", the "saving of the people", and the "introduction of Christianity" by the Taipings. After ten years of tumultuous pseudo-activity they have destroyed everything and produced nothing.

At any rate, Mr. Harvey says, the Taipings show to advantage, as compared to the mandarins, in their official dealings with foreigners because of a certain openness of conduct and energetic crudeness; but that is their entire catalogue of virtues.

How do the Taipings pay their troops? They receive no pay but live off booty. If the captured cities are rich, they swim in plenty. If they are poor, the soldier holds out with exemplary patience. Mr. Harvey asked a well-dressed Taiping soldier how he liked his trade. "Why shouldn't I like it?" he answered. "I take what I like; if there is any resistance, then—" and he made the gesture with his hand of cutting off a head. And this is his manner of speech. A human head means no more than a head of cabbage to a Taiping.

The revolutionary army has a core of regular troops, old, veteran and tested partisans. The rest consists of younger recruits or peasants drafted for service on raids. The leaders systematically send conscripts from a conquered province into a different province far off. Thus, at the present time, forty different dialects are spoken among the rebels in Ningpo, while the Ningpo dialect is now being heard for the first time in remote districts. All the riffraff, vagabonds and bad characters in a district join up voluntarily. Discipline extends only to obedience in the service. Marriage and opium smoking are forbidden to the Taipings under penalty of death. Marrying will only come "when the empire has been established". As compensation, the Taipings get *carte blanche* for the first three days after capturing a city whose inhabitants did not flee in good time, to perpetrate every conceivable act of violence on women and girls. At the end of the three days all females are driven out of the cities by force.

To produce terror is the entire tactics of the Taipings. Their success is based solely on the operation of this mechanism. The

means of producing the terror are: first of all, the overwhelming masses in which they appear at a given point. Emissaries are sent out first to feel the way out in secret, spread alarming rumours, start some fires. If these emissaries are seized by the mandarins and executed, others follow immediately, until either the mandarins flee with the population of the city or, as was the case at Ningpo, the demoralisation that has set in makes the victory of the insurgents much easier.

One important means of causing terror is the variegated clownish attire of the Taipings. They would make a comical impression on Europeans. On the Chinese they work like a talisman. This buffoon-like clothing gives the rebels a greater advantage in battle than rifled cannons would afford them. Added to this is their long, unkempt hair, black or dyed black, their wild looks, their melancholy howls and an affectation of anger and raving, enough to frighten to death the polite, tame, ordinary Chinese, moving within the pale of his traditional way of life.

If the emissaries have spread panic, they are followed by purposely chased fugitive villagers, who exaggerate the number and power and frightfulness of the advancing army. While the flames rise inside the city and, perhaps, its troops take the field under the impression of these scenes of terror, they see in the distance, dizzying their minds, a few of the harlequin hellhounds, whose appearance has a magnetic effect. Then, at the right moment a hundred thousand Taipings, armed with knives, spears and fowling-pieces, rush wildly at their half-dismayed adversaries and overrun everything, unless, as was recently the case at Shanghai, they meet with resistance.

"The essence of the Taipings," says Mr. Harvey, "is a huge mass of nothingness.[a]"

Obviously, the Taiping represents the devil *in persona,* as the Chinese fantasy must represent him. But also, only in China was this sort of devil possible. It is the product of a fossil social life.

Written between June 17 and early July, 1862

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[a] Marx uses the English word and gives the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## A SCANDAL

At the moment London is absorbed in one of those characteristic scandals that are only possible in a country where old aristocratic tradition flourishes in the midst of the most modern bourgeois society. The *corpus delicti* is a Blue Book of the Parliamentary committee set up to report on the embankment of the Thames and a road to be built along its bank within the city, which is to connect Westminster Bridge with Blackfriars Bridge.[a] The project, very costly, kills several birds with one stone—making London more attractive, cleaning up the Thames, creating more salubrious conditions, a splendid promenade, and finally a new way of communication intended to free the Strand, Fleet Street, and the other streets running parallel to the Thames from the flood of traffic overwhelming them and becoming more dangerous every day, a flood that almost reminds us of the satire of Juvenal's in which a Roman makes his will before leaving the house, because he is almost sure of being run over or knocked down.[b] Now, on the section of the bank of the Thames which is to undergo this metamorphosis, on the north bank, east of Westminster Bridge and at the end of Whitehall there are the city residences of some major aristocrats, with their palaces and gardens stretching down to the Thames. Naturally, these gentlemen welcome the project by and large, because it would improve

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[a] *Correspondence relating to the Works under the Thames Embankment Bill...*, London, 1862.—*Ed.*

[b] Juvenal, *Satires*, III, 270-74.—*Ed.*

the immediate surroundings of their mansions[a] at *government expense* and raise their value. They have only one reservation.

The projected construction should be *interrupted* at those points where it would directly cause the public road to run along their own estates and thus bring them into contact with the *"misera contribuens plebs"*.[b] The Olympian seclusion of the *"fruges consumere nati"*[c] should not be disturbed by the sight, or the noise or the breath of the busy world of commoners. At the head of these noble Sybarites is the *Duke of Buccleuch,* who, as the richest and most powerful, went furthest in his "modest" demands. And lo and behold, the Parliamentary committee draws up its report in the spirit of the wishes of the Duke of Buccleuch! The new constructions are to be *interrupted*—where they would *inconvenience* the Duke of Buccleuch. On that committee of the Lower House are *Lord Robert Montagu,* a *relative* of the Duke, and *Sir John Shelley,* member for a part of London, Westminster. He may as well start looking for a suit of armour to protect him from the Armstrong bombs in the shape of rotten apples and eggs full of hydrogen sulphide that he is already threatened with at the coming elections.

On the committee's report itself, *The Times* says:

"That Blue Book is a maze of ravellings. It consists of eight lines of Report, the rest being a chaos of, for the most part, worthless partisan opinions of members of the public and experts. There is no index, no analysis, no argument. We wander through a wishy-washy, everlasting flood of twaddle, without meeting with facts which we can test or estimates in which we can confide. When we think we are coming at last to some real expert testimony, the Committee suddenly interposes and refuses to hear any evidence discordant with the wishes of the Duke of Buccleuch. The book is a vast and ponderous *suppressio veri.*[d] It has obviously been compiled with the object of making any substantive Parliamentary debate impossible. For this purpose, even the plan drawings have been suppressed, and are to be published *post festum,*[e] probably *after* the debate."[f]

In the wake of this scandal, the Londoner has raised two questions. First, who is this *Duke of Buccleuch,* this mighty man whose private caprices run counter to the interests of three million people? Who is this giant who single-handed challenges all of

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[a] Here and below Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[b] Wretched taxpaying rabble.—*Ed.*

[c] Those born to eat the fruits of the field. (Horace, *Epistles,* Book I, II, 27.)—*Ed.*

[d] Suppression of the truth.—*Ed.*

[e] Literally: after the feast. From the Latin saying "Post festum venire miserum est"—"It is a wretched thing to arrive after the feast" (Plato, *Gorgias,* 1).—*Ed.*

[f] "That Blue Book which has just emanated...", *The Times,* No. 24287, July 2, 1862, leading article.—*Ed.*

London to a duel? Nobody knows the name of this man from *any* parliamentary battle. He sits in the Upper House but takes as little part in its work as a eunuch in the joys of the seraglio. The answers he gave before the committee suggest an abnormal lack of phosphorus in the substance of his brain. And so who is "that man Buccleuch",[a] as the London cockney says in his unceremonious manner? Answer: A descendant of the bastards that the "merry monarch" Charles II gave to the world with Lucy *Parsons,* the most shameless and notorious of his mistresses. That is "that man Buccleuch"! The second question that the Londoner raised was: How did this Duke of Buccleuch come to own his "mansion" on the Thames? For the Londoner remembers that the land on which this "mansion" is built belongs to the crown and only eight years ago was managed by the royal Department of Lands and Woods.

The answer to this second question was not long in coming. In these matters the press here does not mince words. To characterise not only the case itself but also the manner in which the English press handles such delicate subjects I quote *verbatim* from last Saturday's *Reynolds's Newspaper:*[b]

"The Duke of Buccleuch's privilege of obstructing the proposed improvements in London is not seven or eight years old. In 1854, the duke became the lessee of Montagu House, Whitehall, by a stroke of sharp practice which in all probability would have brought a poor man face to face with a criminal judge at the Old Bailey.[233] But the duke has a yearly income of 300,000*l* and, in addition, the advantage of being the descendant of Lucie Parsons, the brazen paramour of the Merry Monarch. Montagu House was Crown property, and it was well known in 1854 that the site on which it stood would be required for public improvements. For this reason, *Mr. Disraeli,* who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, refused to sign the lease drawn up for the duke. But, *d'une manière ou d'une autre,*[c] the lease was signed. Mr. Disraeli was indignant at this, and denounced his successor, Mr. Gladstone, in the House of Commons for sacrificing the interests of the public to the private interests of a duke. Mr. Gladstone, in his usual ironically suave manner, owned that it was wrong to sign the duke's lease, but thought there must be some special reason for it. A Parliamentary investigation ensued, when, lo! it was discovered that the signer of the lease was none other than—Mr. *Disraeli himself.*

"Here, then, comes the above-mentioned sharp practice, reeking of the criminal gang at the Old Bailey, by the noble descendant of Lucie Parsons. Mr. Disraeli declared that he was utterly unconscious of *his* having signed the lease. But he admitted the genuineness of his signature. No one doubts Mr. Disraeli's veracity. What then is the explanation of the mystery? The noble descendant of Lucie Parsons used some tool or friend of his to *smuggle in* the lease for Montagu House

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[a] Here and below Marx uses the English phrases "that man Buccleuch", "cockney" and "lands and woods". He also uses the English nickname "Merry Monarch" and gives the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

[b] *Reynolds's Newspaper* appeared on Sundays.—*Ed.*

[c] Somehow or other.—*Ed.*

among the mass of papers submitted to Mr. Disraeli for signature as part of his routine duties. Thus he signed it, not having the slightest idea of its contents. And thus Lucie Parsons' descendant obtained the power to oppose his whims to the welfare of 3 million Londoners. The Parliamentary Committee has become the servile tool of his arrogance. If the dwellings of a thousand workmen, instead of the ill-gotten mansion of *one* Duke of Buccleuch, had been in the way, they would be instantly and remorselessly razed to the ground and their owners bundled out, without one farthing of compensation."[a]

Written not earlier than July 2, 1862

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Published in English for the first time

[a] "The Duke of Buccleuch Stops the Way", *Reynolds's Newspaper*, No. 620, June 29, 1862.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## A SUPPRESSED DEBATE ON MEXICO AND THE ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE[234]

London, July 16

One of the most curious of English parliamentary devices is the count out.[a] What is the count out? If less than 40 members are present in the Lower House, they do not form a *quorum,* that is, an assembly competent to adopt resolutions. If a motion is introduced by an independent parliamentarian, which is equally irksome to *both* oligarchical factions, the *Ins* and the *Outs*[b] (those in office and those in opposition), they then come to an agreement that on the day of the debate parliamentarians from both sides will gradually slip off, *alias* absent themselves. When the emptying of the benches has reached the necessary maximum, the government whip,[c] that is, the parliamentarian entrusted with party discipline by the ministry of the day, then tips the wink to a brother previously chosen for this purpose. The brother parliamentarian gets up and quite nonchalantly requests the chairman to have the house counted. The counting takes place and, behold, it is discovered that there are less than 40 members assembled. Herewith the proceedings come to an end. The obnoxious motion is *got rid of* without the government party or the opposition party having put itself in the awkward and compromising position of being obliged to vote it down.

At yesterday's sitting the count out was brought up in an interesting manner. Lord *R. Montagu* had given notice of a motion for that day which dealt with the communication of new

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[a] Marx uses the English term "count out", and gives the German translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx uses the English terms "Ins" and "Outs".— *Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English terms "government whip" and, below, "chairman", giving the German translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

diplomatic documents on *intervention in Mexico.* He began his speech[a] with the following words:

"Last Saturday the latest Blue Book on Mexico[b] was presented to the House, which therefore ought to be in a position to debate the Mexican question. I *know* that Government and Opposition have agreed to dispose of my motion by means of a count out. I expect that the House, conscious of its duty, will not tolerate such a manoeuvre in so important a matter."

But Lord R. Montagu had reckoned without his host. After he himself had spoken, *Layard* had replied to him on behalf of the government and *Fitzgerald* had delivered himself of some official chatter on behalf of the Tories, *Kinglake* (a Liberal member) rose. The *exordium* of his speech concluded with the following words:

"The whole series of negotiations disclosed by the papers presented is a striking illustration of the way in which the French government uses its relations with this country as a means to prop the Imperial throne.

"It is of decisive moment to the French government to divert the attention of the French people from affairs at home by causing it to be seen that the French government is engaged in great transactions abroad, and it is still more important for it to show that it is engaging in them in concert with one of the great respectable powers."

Hardly had *Kinglake* uttered these words when an *"honourable"* member of the House moved that the House be *"counted."* And behold! The House had dwindled to just 33 members. Lord *Montagu's* motion had been killed by the same count out against which he had protested at the beginning of the debate.

Apart from Kinglake's interrupted speech, only that of Lord Montagu was of any material interest. Lord R. Montagu's speech contains the following important analysis of the facts of the case:

"Sir Charles Wyke had concluded a treaty with Mexico. Out of servility to Louis Bonaparte, this treaty was not ratified by Lord John Russell. Sir Charles Wyke concluded the said treaty after France, through her connection with Almonte, the leader of the reactionary party, had entered upon a path that abrogated the joint convention between England, France and Spain.[c] Lord John Russell himself declared in an official dispatch that that treaty satisfied all England's legitimate demands. In his correspondence with Thouvenel, however, he promised, in compliance with Bonaparte's wish, *not* to ratify the treaty for the time being. He allowed Thouvenel to communicate this decision to the *Corps législatif.* Indeed, Lord John Russell lowered himself so far as to promise Thouvenel that he would break off all communication with Sir Charles Wyke until July 1, 1862—a date that gave Thouvenel time to answer. Thouvenel answered that Bonaparte did not

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[a] The deputies' speeches in the House of Commons on July 15, 1862, are cited according to the reports published in *The Times,* No. 24299, July 16, 1862.—*Ed.*

[b] *Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Mexico,* London, 1862.—*Ed.*

[c] *Convention, conclue à Londres, le 31 octobre 1861, entre l'Espagne, la France et la Grande-Bretagne pour combiner une action commune contre le Mexique.—Ed.*

contest England's right to act in isolation, but disapproved of the Anglo-Mexican treaty concluded by Sir Charles Wyke. Thereupon Russell ordered Wyke to withhold the ratification of the treaty."

England, added Lord Montagu, lends her influence to enforce the fraudulent claims on the Mexican Treasury with which *Morny* "and *perhaps persons of higher standing* in France" have provided themselves per medium of the Swiss bourse-swindler *Jecker.*

"The whole Mexican business," he continued, "was launched without the foreknowledge of Parliament. The first extra-Parliamentary war was waged in 1857.[235] Palmerston defended that on the ground that it was an Asiatic war.[a] The same principle is now being applied to America. It will ultimately be applied to Europe. The Parliamentary system thus becomes a mere farce, for, in losing control over wars, the people's representatives lose control over their purse."

Lord *Montagu* wound up with the words:

"I accuse the Ministry of having made us accomplices in the murder of liberty in France and of enabling that unscrupulous adventurer[b] to plant despotism in a foreign country. It ties our future to that of one doomed to the abhorrence of man and the vengeance of Heaven."

Written on July 16, 1862

First published in *Die Presse,* No. 198, July 20, 1862

Printed according to the newspaper

[a] H. J. Palmerston [Speech in The House of Commons on July 16, 1857], *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates,* Third series, Vol. CXLVI, London, 1857.—*Ed.*

[b] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## A CRITICISM OF AMERICAN AFFAIRS[236]

The crisis, which at the moment reigns in the United States has been brought about by two causes: military and political.

Had the last campaign been conducted according to a *single* strategic plan, the main army of the West was then bound, as previously explained in these columns,[a] to exploit its successes in Kentucky and Tennessee to make its way through north Alabama to Georgia and to seize the railway junctions there at Decatur, Milledgeville, etc. The link between the Eastern and Western armies of the secessionists would thereby have been broken and their mutual support rendered impossible. Instead of this, the Kentucky army marched south down the Mississippi in the direction of New Orleans and its victory near Memphis had no other result than to dispatch the greater part of Beauregard's troops to Richmond, so that the Confederates, with a superior army in a superior position, here now suddenly confronted McClellan, who had not exploited the defeat of the enemy's troops at Yorktown and Williamsburg and, moreover, had from the first split up his own forces. McClellan's generalship, already described by us previously,[b] was in itself sufficient to ensure the ruin of the biggest and best disciplined army. Finally, War Secretary Stanton committed an unpardonable error. To make an impression abroad, he suspended recruiting after the conquest of Tennessee and so condemned the army to be constantly weakened, just when it was most in need of reinforcements for a rapid, decisive offensive. Despite the strategic blunders and despite McClellan's generalship, with a steady influx of recruits the war, if not

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[a] See this volume, pp. 194, 212.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 179-81, 205-08.—*Ed.*

decided, had hitherto been rapidly nearing a victorious end. Stanton's step was all the more disastrous since the South had at that precise moment enlisted every man from 18 to 35 years old and therefore staked everything on a *single* card. It is those men, who have been trained in the meantime, that give the Confederates the upper hand almost everywhere and secure them the initiative. They held Halleck fast, dislodged Curtis from Arkansas, beat McClellan, and under Stonewall Jackson gave the signal for the guerilla raids that are now already pushing forward as far as the Ohio.

In part, the military causes of the crisis are connected with the political ones. It was the influence of the Democratic Party that elevated an incompetent like McClellan to the position of Commander-in-Chief[a] of all the military forces of the North, because he had been a supporter of Breckinridge. It is anxious regard for the wishes, advantages and interests of the spokesmen of the *border slave states*[b] that has so far broken off the Civil War's point of principle and deprived it of its soul, so to speak. The "loyal" slaveholders of these border states saw to it that the fugitive slave laws[c] dictated by the South[237] were maintained and the sympathies of the Negroes for the North forcibly suppressed, that no general could venture to put a company of Negroes in the field and that slavery was finally transformed from the Achilles' heel of the South into its invulnerable horny hide. Thanks to the slaves, who do all the productive work, all able-bodied men in the South can be put into the field!

At the present moment, when secession's stocks are rising, the spokesmen of the border states are making even greater claims. However, Lincoln's appeal[d] to them, in which he threatens them with inundation by the Abolition party, shows that things are taking a revolutionary turn. Lincoln knows what Europe does not know, that it is by no means apathy or giving way under pressure of defeat that causes his demand for 300,000 recruits[e] to meet

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[a] Marx uses the English term.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx gives the English designation in brackets after the German equivalent.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English words "fugitive slave laws" and gives the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

[d] A. Lincoln [Address to the Representatives and Senators of the Border Slaveholding States, July 12, 1862], *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6643, July 19, 1862.—*Ed.*

[e] A. Lincoln, *Executive Mansion.* Washington, July 1, 1862. Ordinance on the enlistment of 300,000 recruits, *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6628, July 2, 1862.—*Ed.*

with such a cold response. New England and the Northwest, which have provided the main body of the army, are determined to force on the government a revolutionary kind of warfare and to inscribe the battle-slogan of "Abolition of Slavery!" on the star-spangled banner. Lincoln yields only hesitantly and uneasily to this pressure from without,[a] but he knows that he cannot resist it for long. Hence his urgent appeal to the border states to renounce the institution of slavery voluntarily and under advantageous contractual conditions. He knows that only the continuance of slavery in the border states has so far left slavery untouched in the South and prohibited the North from applying its great radical remedy. He errs only if he imagines that the "loyal" slaveholders are to be moved by benevolent speeches and rational arguments. They will yield only to force.

So far, we have only witnessed the first act of the Civil War—the *constitutional* waging of war. The second act, the *revolutionary* waging of war, is at hand.

Meanwhile, during its first session Congress, now adjourned, decreed a series of important measures that we shall briefly summarise here.

Apart from its financial legislation, it passed the Homestead Bill,[b] which the Northern masses had long striven for in vain; in accordance with this Bill, part of the state lands is given gratis to the colonists, whether indigenous or new-comers, for cultivation.[238] It abolished slavery in Columbia and the national capital, with monetary compensation for the former slaveholders.[239] Slavery was declared "forever impossible" in all the *Territories* of the United States.[c] The Act, under which the new State of West Virginia is admitted into the Union, prescribes abolition of slavery by stages and declares that all Negro children born after July 4, 1863, are born free. The conditions of this emancipation by stages are on the whole borrowed from the law that was enacted 70 years ago in Pennsylvania for the same purpose.[240] By a fourth Act all the slaves of rebels are to be emancipated, as soon as they fall into the hands of the republican army.[d] Another law, which is now being put into effect *for the first time,* provides that these emancipated

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[a] Marx uses the English words: "pressure from without".—*Ed.*

[b] Marx gives the English name.—*Ed.*

[c] *An Act to secure Freedom to all Persons within the Territories of the United States.—Ed.*

[d] *An Act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of Rebels, and for other purposes.—Ed.*

Negroes may be militarily organised and put into the field against the South. The independence of the Negro republics of Liberia and Haiti[241] has been recognised and, finally, a treaty on the abolition of the slave trade has been concluded with Britain.[a]

Thus, no matter how the dice may fall in the fortunes of war, even now it can safely be said that Negro slavery will not long outlive the Civil War.

Written in early August, 1862

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Printed according to the newspaper

[a] "Treaty between the United States of America and Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, for the Suppression of the African Slave-Trade".— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## RUSSELL'S PROTEST AGAINST AMERICAN RUDENESS.— THE RISE IN THE PRICE OF GRAIN.— ON THE SITUATION IN ITALY[242]

London, August 20

Lord John Russell is known as a "letter writer"[a] among the English. In his last missive to Mr. Stuart[b] he complains of the insults to "Old England"[c] in the North American papers. *Et tu, Brute!*[d] It is impossible to speak privately with a respectable Englishman who will not throw up his hands in astonishment at this *tour de force*.[e] It is well known that from 1789 to 1815 English journalism broke all records in its scurrilous hate attacks on the French nation. And yet it has broken its own record this past year by its "malignant brutality"[f] against the United States! A few recent examples may suffice.

"We owe all our moral support," says *The Times*, "to our kin" (the Southern slaveholders), "who are fighting so bravely and staunchly for their freedom, against a mixed race of robbers and oppressors."

To this the New York *Evening Post* (the Abolitionist organ) remarks:

"Are these English lampoon-writers, these descendants of Britons, Danes, Saxons, Celts, Normans and Dutchmen, of such *pure* blood that all other peoples are mixed races as compared with them?"

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[a] Marx uses the English phrase and gives the German translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

[b] J. Russell [Letter to W. Stuart], "Foreign-office, July 28, 1862", *The Times*, No. 24323, August 13, 1862.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English phrase.— *Ed.*

[d] Caesar's exclamation at seeing Marcus Brutus, his relative and favourite, among his assassins (Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, Act III, Scene I).— *Ed.*

[e] Feat of strength or skill.— *Ed.*

[f] Marx uses the English phrase and gives the German translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

Shortly after the foregoing passage was published, *The Times*, in bold Garamond type, called President Lincoln "a respectable buffoon", his cabinet ministers "a gang of rogues and riffraff", and the army of the United States "an army whose officers are Yankee swindlers and whose privates are German thieves". And Lord John Russell, not content with the laurels of his epistles to the Bishop of Durham and Sir James Hudson in Turin,[a] [213] dares to speak, in his letter to Stuart, of the "insults of the North American press" to England.

Yet there is a limit to everything. In spite of malignant impertinence and nasty rancour, official England will keep the peace with the "Yankee swindlers" and confine its deep sympathies with the high-minded vendors of human blood in the South to blotting-paper phrases, and isolated smuggling ventures, for a rise in the price of grain is no joke, and any conflict with the Yankees would now add a food famine to the cotton famine.

England has long since ceased to live off its own grain production. In 1857, 1858 and 1859 it imported grain and flour to the amount of 66 million pounds sterling, and in 1860, 1861 and 1862 for 118 million pounds sterling. As for the quantity of grain and flour imported, it was 10,278,774 quarters[b] in 1859, 14,484;976 quarters in 1860 and 16,094,914 quarters in 1861. In the last five years alone, therefore, grain imports have risen by 50 per cent.

England is now in fact already satisfying half of its grain requirements with imports. And there is every probability that next year will add at least 30 per cent to this importation, we mean 30 per cent to the cost price, since the very large harvest in the United States will prevent any excessive rise in grain prices. The extensive reports from all the farming districts that the *Mark Lane Express*[c] and *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette* have just published virtually prove that the grain harvest of this year will be from $^1/_4$ to $^1/_5$ below the average harvest. Just as after the peace treaty of 1815 Lord Brougham said that England, by its national debt of a thousand million, gave Europe a pledge of

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[a] J. Russell, "To the Right Reverend the Bishop of Durham. Downing Street, Nov. 4", *The Times*, No. 20640, November 7, 1850; [Despatch addressed to the British Minister at Turin], "Foreign-office, Oct. 27", *The Times*, No. 23769, November 5, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] A quarter is 12.7 kilograms.—*Ed.*

[c] "Review of the British Corn Trade, during the Past Week", *The Mark Lane Express and Agricultural Journal*, No. 1599, August 18, 1862.—*Ed.*

"good behaviour",[a] so this year's grain deficit gives the United States the best security that England "will not break the Queen's peace".[b]

I have been shown a letter from one of Garibaldi's best friends in Genoa, from which I give some excerpts.

Among other things, it says:

"The last letters of Garibaldi and various officers in his camp arrived here yesterday (August 16). They are dated August 12. All of them breathe the unshakable determination of the general to keep to his programme: 'Rome or death!' and contain peremptory orders to this effect to his friends. On the other side, *positive* orders went out yesterday from Turin to General Cugia to proceed to the ultimate acts of violence, i.e. to attack the volunteers with guns and bayonets and to capture Garibaldi and his friends, if he should refuse to lay down his arms in twenty-four hours. If the troops obey orders, a grave catastrophe is imminent. The decision to resort to extreme measures was taken as the result of a telegram from Paris, whose tenor is: 'The Emperor will not condescend to negotiation with the Italian Government until Garibaldi is disarmed.' If Rattazzi had loved his country more than his office, he would have resigned and let Ricasoli or some other less unpopular minister take his place. He would have considered the fact that taking Louis Bonaparte's side against Italy, instead of Italy's side against Bonaparte, means endangering the monarchy he professes to serve. If Italian blood is shed at Italian hands in Sicily, that is not Garibaldi's fault, for his slogan is: 'Long live the Italian army!', and the enthusiastic manner in which this army is received everywhere proves what obedience there is to Garibaldi. But, if the army should shed the blood of the volunteers, who would dare to count on quiet tolerance on the part of the people?"

Written on August 20, 1862

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[a] Marx uses the English phrase and gives the German translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx gives the quoted passage in English and supplies the German translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## ABOLITIONIST DEMONSTRATIONS IN AMERICA[244]

It was previously observed in these columns[a] that President *Lincoln,* legally cautious, constitutionally conciliatory, by birth a citizen of the border slave state of *Kentucky,* is escaping only with difficulty from the control of the "loyal" slaveholders, seeking to avoid any open breach with them and precisely thereby provoking a conflict with the parties of the North which are consistent in point of principle and are being pushed more and more into the foreground by events. The speech that *Wendell Phillips* delivered at Abington, *Massachusetts,*[b] on the occasion of the anniversary of the slaves' emancipation in the British West Indies,[245] may be regarded as a prologue to this conflict.

Together with *Garrison* and *G. Smith, Wendell Phillips* is the leader of the Abolitionists in New England. For 30 years he has without intermission and at the risk of his life proclaimed the emancipation of the slaves as his battle-cry, regardless alike of the persiflage of the press, the enraged howls of paid rowdies[c] and the conciliatory representations of solicitous friends. Even his opponents acknowledged him as one of the greatest orators of the North, as combining iron character with forceful energy and purest conviction. The London *Times*—and what could characterise this magnanimous paper more strikingly—today *denounces* Wendell Phillips' speech at Abington to the government in Washington. It says it is an "abuse" of freedom of speech.

"Anything more violent it is impossible to imagine," says *The Times,* "and anything more daring in a time of Civil War was never said in any country by any

[a] See pp. 178-79, 227-28 of this volume.—*Ed.*

[b] On August 1, 1862. The source from which Marx quotes is unknown.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

sane man who valued his life or liberty. In reading the speech it is scarcely possible to avoid coming to the conclusion that the speaker's object was to force the government to prosecute him."[a]

And *The Times,* in spite of, or perhaps because of, its hatred of the Union government, appears not at all disinclined to assume the role of public prosecutor!

In the present state of affairs Wendell Phillips' Abington speech is of greater importance than a battle bulletin. We therefore summarise its most striking passages.

"The government," he says among other things, "is fighting for the preservation of slavery, and therefore it is fighting in vain. Lincoln is waging a political war. Even now he is more afraid of Kentucky than of the entire North. He believes in the South. The Negroes on the Southern battlefields, when asked whether the rain of cannon-balls and bombs that tore up the earth all round and split the trees asunder did not terrify them, answered: 'No, massa; we know that they are not meant for us!' The rebels could speak of McClellan's bombs in the same way. They know that they are not meant for them, to do them harm. I do not say that McClellan is a traitor; but I say that, if he were a traitor, he would have had to act exactly as he has done. Have no fear for Richmond; McClellan will not take it. If the war is continued in this fashion, without a rational aim, then it is a useless squandering of blood and gold. It would be better were the South independent today than to hazard one more human life for a war based on the present execrable policy. To continue the war in the fashion prevailing hitherto, requires 125,000 men a year and a million dollars a day. But you cannot get rid of the South. As Jefferson said of slavery:

"The Southern states have the wolf by the ears, but they can neither hold him nor let him go." In the same way, we have the South by the ears and can neither hold it nor let it go. Recognise it tomorrow and you will have no peace. For 80 years it has lived with us, in fear of us the whole time, with hatred for us half the time, ever troubling and abusing us. Made presumptuous by a concession of its present claims, it would not keep within an imaginary border-line a year—nay, the moment that we speak of conditions of peace, it will cry victory! We shall never have peace until slavery is uprooted. So long as you retain the present tortoise[b] at the head of our government, you make a hole with one hand in order to fill it with the other. Let the entire nation endorse the resolutions of the New York Chamber of Commerce[246] and then the army will have something for which it is worth while fighting. Had Jefferson Davis the power, he would not capture Washington. He knows that the bomb that fell in this Sodom would rouse the whole nation.

"The entire North would thunder with one voice! 'Down with slavery, down with everything that stands in the way of saving the republic!' Jefferson Davis is quite satisfied with his successes. They are greater than he anticipated, far greater! If he can continue to swim on them till March 4, 1863, England will then, and this is in order, recognise the Southern Confederacy.... The President has not put the Confiscation Act[c] into effect. He may be honest, but what has his honesty to do with the matter? He has neither insight nor foresight. When I was in Washington, I

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[a] "New York, Aug. 8", *The Times,* No. 24331, August 22, 1862.—*Ed.*

[b] An allusion to Abraham Lincoln.—*Ed.*

[c] *An Act to confiscate the property of Rebels for the payment of the expenses of the present rebellion, and for other purposes [1862].*—*Ed.*

ascertained that three months ago Lincoln had written the proclamation for general emancipation of the slaves and that McClellan bullied him out of his decision and that the representatives of Kentucky bullied him into the retention of McClellan, in whom he places no confidence. It will take years for Lincoln to learn to combine his legal scruples as an attorney with the demands of the Civil War. This is the appalling state of a democratic government and its greatest evil.

"In France a hundred men, convinced of the righteousness of their cause, would carry the nation with them; but in order that our government may take a step, 19 million people must previously put themselves in motion. And to how many of these millions has it been preached for years that slavery is an institution ordained by God! With these prejudices, with paralysed hands and hearts, you entreat the President to save you from the Negro! If this theory is correct, then only slaveholding despotism can bring a temporary peace.... I know Lincoln. I have taken his measure in Washington. He is a first-rate second-rate man.[a] He waits honestly, like a new broom, for the nation to take him in hand and sweep away slavery through him.... In past years, not far from the platform from which I now speak, the Whigs[247] fired small mortars in order to smother my voice. And what is the result?

"The sons of these Whigs now fill their own graves in the marshes of Chickahominy![248] Dissolve this Union in God's name and replace it with another, on the corner-stone of which is written: 'Political equality for all the citizens of the world'... During my stay in Chicago I asked lawyers of Illinois, among whom Lincoln had practised, what sort of man he was. Whether he could say No. The answer was: 'He lacks backbone. If the Americans wanted to elect a man absolutely incapable of leadership, of initiative, then they were bound to elect Abraham Lincoln.... Never has a man heard him say No!' I asked: 'Is McClellan a man who can say No?' The manager of the Chicago Central Railroad, on which McClellan was employed, answered: 'He is incapable of making a decision. Put a question to him and it takes an hour for him to think of the answer. During the time that he was connected with the administration of the Central Railroad, he never decided a single important controversial question.'

"And these are the two men who, above all others, now hold the fate of the Northern Republic in their hands! Those best acquainted with the state of the army assure us that Richmond could have been taken five times, had the do-nothing at the head of the army of the Potomac allowed it; but he preferred to dig up dirt in the Chickahominy swamps, in order to ignominiously abandon the locality and his dirt ramparts. Lincoln, out of a cowardly fear of the border slave states, keeps this man in his present position; but the day will come when Lincoln will confess that he has never believed in McClellan.... Let us hope that the war lasts long enough to make men of us, and then we shall soon triumph. God has put the thunderbolt of emancipation into our hands in order to crush this rebellion..."

Written on August 22, 1862

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[a] Marx gives the English phrase in brackets after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## A MEETING FOR GARIBALDI

Preparations are being made for a Garibaldi meeting in London[249]; another was held yesterday in Gateshead, a third one in Birmingham is announced, while *Newcastle* began the cycle of these popular demonstrations last Tuesday.[a] A brief report on the Newcastle meeting may serve to indicate the characteristic mood prevailing here. Such a meeting is always a curious event. The one in question took place in Newcastle Town Hall. Mr. *Newton* (a town councillor) opened the proceedings with a speech in which he said, among other things:

"As long as Italy is not free, no freedom is possible in Europe. As long as France keeps a great army in the heart of Europe, there is no guarantee even of the freedoms we now boast. It should not be forgotten for an instant that the true cause of the disaster that has befallen Garibaldi is to be found not so much in Italy as in Paris. The French ruler[b] is the true author of that misfortune. *(Loud applause.)* It is the same force that has silenced the press and the rostrum, that has suffocated, gagged, and unmanned the whole of France. I do not doubt that a day of reckoning will come, that the *coup d'état*[c] will be punished, that Providence will demand atonement for its sins and crimes! Great self-control is needed to speak calmly of France's behaviour towards Italy. Ever since the time of Charles VIII it has made it its business to destroy Italy and make Italy the pretext for breaking the peace of Europe.[250]... I have read somewhere that the old Romans did not dare to proceed with the trial of Manlius in view of the Capitol.[251] Is there an inch of Italian soil that could bear a trial of Garibaldi?..."

*Jos. Cowen* moved that a memorandum be sent to Lord Russell demanding that the British government should urge the French Emperor to evacuate Rome.

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[a] September 9, 1862.—*Ed.*
[b] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*
[c] Of December 2, 1851.—*Ed.*

"Rome," he said, "is the old and honourable capital of Italy.... How does this ancient seat of civilisation come to be held prisoner by the troops of a foreign despot? What more right do French troops have to Rome than to Naples, Turin or London? *(Loud applause.)* The Pope[a] had fled, refused to return, and left Rome without a government for three months. At that point, the Romans elected their own government. While they were still engaged in setting up the new organisation, they were attacked by the same French who had set them an example a year earlier.[252]

"Inconsistency is too weak an expression to describe such conduct. It was infamous *(furious applause),* and history will brand every Frenchman who took part in this nefarious deed.... With the possible exception of the partition of Poland,[253] there has never been a more shameless violation of every principle of national independence and the law of nations than that committed by the French bands of pretorians[254] in murdering the Roman Republic! Rome fell in June 1849, and Louis Bonaparte holds it to this day, a full 13 years!... When his ministers explained to the French National Assembly that the expedition was due to anarchy in Rome, they were lying. (Hear, hear![b]) When his officers explained to the troops in Toulon, who objected to the annihilation of a sister republic, that the struggle was not against Rome but against Austria, they were lying. After the army had landed in Civitavecchia, they lied again, proclaiming to the people that they came not as enemies but as friends, and deceitfully interweaving French and Italian flags! The French plenipotentiary and his underlings lied when they gained admission to the triumvirs[c] on the pretext of negotiations but actually for the purpose of studying the state of the defences. General Oudinot lied when he promised not to attack the city before June 4 but actually attacked it on the 2nd, and thus took the Romans by surprise. The entire conduct of the French in this infamous action was deliberate and hypocritical guile. *(Loud applause.)*

"From Louis Bonaparte down to his lowest agents, they all deceived Rome, the French people and Europe. Louis Bonaparte never wanted a free Italy. What he wants is a Sardinian kingdom in the north, another kingdom in the south under Murat, and a third in the centre for cousin Plon-Plon. *(Applause and laughter.)* These three small monarchies, all linked to the house of Bonaparte by family ties, all seeking their inspiration in the Tuileries, would assure Louis Bonaparte of a great increase of his power in Europe. The plan was not a bad one, and its execution would have done honour to his dexterity, but Garibaldi thwarted it. *(Storm of applause.)* For the moment Garibaldi is disarmed. This makes it all the more the duty of the English people to put an end to the encroachments of French despotism and to close the gates of Rome to the pretorian hordes of the *coup d'état....* Bonapartism is the source of all the evil in Europe. But the days of its power are numbered.... An implacable will, hundreds of thousands of soldiers, all the deadly instruments of war in profusion, a senate packed full of servile place-seekers, a house of representatives drummed up by gendarmes and prefects—but on the other side stands human nature, which has to defend its eternal rights!" *(Storm of applause.)*

Mr. *Cowen* then argued in favour of and read the memorandum to Lord Russell, which was adopted unanimously, after the attempt of a certain Mr. Rule to take the part of "our noble ally

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[a] Pius IX.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx gives the English phrase.—*Ed.*

[c] G. Mazzini, A. Saffi and C. Armellini.—*Ed.*

across the Channel" was buried under a storm of hisses, yells, catcalls and laughter.

Mr. *Rutherford* (A Protestant minister) then made the second motion, to this effect:

"This meeting invites General Garibaldi to take up residence in England and assures him of the constant and growing admiration of the English people."

In supporting his motion Mr. Rutherford remarked, among other things:

"If the Pope should find Rome too hot, he too will find asylum in England. We will even welcome him, not as a secular prince but as the head of an enormous church."

The motion was adopted unanimously. The chairman closed the proceedings with a violent apostrophe against "the despot of Paris".

"Let him remember ancient Italy with its Brutus and Cassius; let him remember the Nemesis that dogs his heels; let him reflect, like Macbeth, that an armed hand and a helmeted head can spring from the earth,[a] and let him not forget that not all the Orsinis have had their heads cut off."

Thus spoke Town Councillor Mr. *Newton.*

The present language of English newspapers and meetings is reminiscent of the first days after the *coup d'état,* in such vivid contrast to the later hymns to the "saviour of society".[b]

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[a] Shakespeare, *Macbeth,* Act II, Scene I, and Act IV, Scene I.— *Ed.*
[b] Napoleon III.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## WORKERS' DISTRESS IN ENGLAND

For the last two months a polemic has been going on in the local press whose records should be of much more interest to the future historian of English society than all the catalogues of the Great Exhibition,[255] illustrated or not illustrated.

It will be recalled that shortly before the closing of Parliament a bill was rushed through both houses in great haste, at the insistence of the big industrialists, which raises the tax for the poor in the municipalities of Lancashire and Yorkshire.[a] This measure, very limited in itself, in the main affects the lower middle classes in the factory districts, while it hardly touches the landlords and the cotton lords.[b] During the debate on the Bill, Palmerston used harsh language towards the cotton lords, whose workers were starving in the streets while they themselves were heaping up riches by speculative buying and selling of cotton.[c] He explained their "masterly inaction" during the crisis likewise on "speculative" grounds. Even at the opening of the session, Lord Derby had declared that the cotton shortage had been like a *deus ex machina*[d] for the manufacturers, since an enormous flooding of the markets would have caused a frightful crisis if the American Civil War had

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[a] *An Act to enable Boards of Guardians of certain Unions to obtain temporary Aid to meet the extraordinary Demands for Relief therein.—Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx uses the English words "landlords", "cotton lords" and "masterly inaction", and gives the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

[c] Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on July 30, 1862 (*The Times*, No. 24312, July 31, 1862).—*Ed.*

[d] Literally: "a deity from a machine" (in the ancient Greek and Roman theatre, the intervention of a god, brought in suddenly by stage machinery, to resolve an apparently insoluble conflict).—*Ed.*

not suddenly cut off imports of raw materials.[a] Cobden, as spokesman for the industrialists, answered with a three-day diatribe against Palmerston's foreign policies.[b]

After the prorogation of Parliament, the fight went on in the press. Appeals to the English public for relief for the suffering working population, and the constantly growing dimensions of impoverishment in the factory districts, gave new occasions daily for continuing the fight. The *Morning Star* and other organs of the industrial press recalled that the Earl of Derby and a whole gang of aristocrats owed their yearly rents of 300,000 and more pounds sterling on their real estate holdings in the factory districts solely to industry, in which they had never invested anything, and which had given their previously worthless land its present price. The *Morning Star* went so far as to set a figure for the charitable contributions that Derby and other big landlords should give. It set Derby's contribution, e.g., at 30,000 pounds. In fact, Lord Derby called a meeting in Manchester shortly after Parliament adjourned, to collect charitable contributions. He taxed himself at 1,000 pounds and the other large landholders signed for corresponding amounts. The result was not brilliant, but the landed aristocracy had done something at least. They beat their breasts with a *"salvavi animam meam"*.[c]

The high dignitaries of the cotton industry, meanwhile, persisted in their "stoic" attitude. They are nowhere to be found, neither in the local committees that were formed to alleviate the distress nor in the London committee. "They are neither here nor there, but they are on the Liverpool market",[d] says a London paper. The Tory journals and *The Times* fulminate daily against the cotton despots who have sucked millions "out of the flesh and blood of the workers" and now refuse even to contribute a few pennies to preserve "the source of their wealth".[e] *The Times* has sent its reporters into the factory districts; their highly detailed reports are in no way calculated to make the "cotton lords" popular.[f] On the other hand, the industrial organs of the

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[a] E. G. Derby's speech in the House of Lords on February 6, 1862 (*The Times*, No. 24163, February 7, 1862).—*Ed.*

[b] Cobden spoke about foreign policy on August 1, 1862, i.e. on the third day of his long House of Commons address (*The Times*, No. 24314, August 2, 1862).—*Ed.*

[c] "I have delivered my soul" (cf. *Ezekiel*, 3:19, 33:9).—*Ed.*

[d] Marx gives this sentence in English and supplies the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

[e] "It must tend to relieve...", *The Times*, No. 24333, August 25, 1862.—*Ed.*

[f] Reports from Blackburn, Wigan, Stockport and Ashton-under-Lyne published in *The Times* on August 30 and September 2, 5, 12 and 16, 1862.—*Ed.*

press—the *Morning Star, Economist,*[a] *Manchester Guardian,* etc.—accuse *The Times* of fomenting the class struggle in order to cover up the guilt of the government, its mismanagement in India, etc. Indeed, *The Times* is even charged with "communist tendencies". *The Times,* obviously much pleased at this chance to win back its popularity, replies with biting sarcasm: While the "cotton lords" act in a highly economistic manner, on the one hand, in that they take speculative advantage of the present cotton shortage, on the other hand, they are hardened communists, and indeed "communists of the most loathsome kind". These rich gentlemen demanded that England open its pockets in order to preserve the most valuable portion of their capital, without any cost to themselves, whatsoever. For their capital does not consist solely of factories, machinery and bank balances, but, to an even greater extent, of the well-disciplined armies of workers in Lancashire and Yorkshire. And while the gentlemen close down their factories in order to sell the raw material at 500 per cent profit, they demanded that the English people keep their discharged armies going!

During this strange dispute between the landed aristocracy and the industrial aristocracy, as to which of them grinds the working class down the most, and which of them is least obliged to do something about the workers' distress, things are happening to the patients themselves that the continental admirers of the "Great Exhibition"[b] have no inkling of. The incident that I describe in the following lines is officially confirmed.

In a small cottage[c] at Gauxholme, near Todmorden (West Riding of Yorkshire), there lived a father and his two daughters; the father was old and feeble, and the girls earned their living as workers at the Halliwells' cotton mill. They lived in a miserable room on the ground floor, a few feet from a filthy little brook, and past their window a staircase, used by the people who lived upstairs, cut off the light from their dreary habitation. At the best of times, they earned just enough to "keep body and soul together", but for the last 15 weeks they had lost the only source of their livelihood. The factory had been closed down; the family could no longer earn the means to buy food. Step by step, poverty dragged them into its abyss. Every hour brought them nearer to the grave. Their pitiful savings were soon exhausted. Next came

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[a] See, e.g., "Distress and Relief in Lancashire", *The Economist,* No. 994, September 13, 1862.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English name.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

their few sticks of furniture, clothing, linen, and whatever could be sold or pawned—to be converted into bread. It is a fact that during the 14 weeks in which they did not earn a farthing, they never asked for help from the parish.

To add to their troubles, the old man had been sick for a month and unable to leave his bed. The tragedy of Ugolino and his sons[a] was repeated, without their cannibalism, in the cottage at Todmorden. In desperation, about a week ago (on the 12th) the stronger of the two girls pulled herself together, went to the head of the poorhouse and told him the pitiful story. This gentleman, hard though it may be to believe, told her he could do nothing for the family until the following Wednesday. The three poor sufferers would have to perish for five more days until the mighty bailiff would condescend to give them some help. The family waited—there was nothing else they could do. When the appointed Wednesday finally arrived on which official charity was to throw a crumb to the starving family, the village was horrified by the report that one of the sisters had died of starvation. The terrible news was all too true. Stretched out on a wretched plank bed, among the signs of the most terrible poverty, lay the corpse of the starved girl, while her father, worn and helpless, sobbed on his bed and the surviving sister had just enough strength to tell the story of her woe. We know, by experience, where this horrible case, by no means an exception today, will lead. An inquest will be held. The coroner[b] will dwell at length on the charitable spirit of the English poor law; he will again adduce the excellence of the machinery for administering it as *prima facie*[c] proof that the law cannot possibly be responsible for the deplorable event. The head of the poorhouse will be whitewashed, and if not warmly complimented by the court, will at any rate learn, to his comfort, that there is not the slightest stain on him. Finally, the jury will crown the solemn comedy by the verdict: "Died by the visitation of God."[d]

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[a] Dante, *La Divina Commedia*. Inferno, Canto XXXIII.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English word and gives the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

[c] Self-evident.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx uses the English phrase and gives the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## A NOTE ON THE AMNESTY[256]

*Wilhelm Wolff*, former editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and at present a teacher in Manchester, sent an application to the Breslau[a] authorities on January 4, 1862. In it he requested the restoration of his Prussian citizenship in accordance with the recently proclaimed amnesty.[257] Nine months later he received the following piece of writing in reply:

"In response to your applications of January 4 and June 4 of this year,[b] we have to inform you that since you have by your flight withdrawn from the further continuation of the judicial proceedings brought against you in 1845 and 1848, we are not in a position to accede to your request to be reinstated in your rights as a Prussian subject (!). Furthermore, if you believe that the Royal Decree of January 12 renders the case against you *null and void*, this rests on a false interpretation of that Decree, according to which it is your duty to *present* yourself (!) to the authorities in *these states* so that the proceedings against you may be resumed and whose outcome you must await.

"Breslau, September 5, 1862

H. M. Government,
Ministry of the Interior,
(signed) *Stich*

"To Mr. Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Wolff, student of philosophy, in Manchester."

We may note in passing the curious circumstance that, although Wolff has lost his citizenship "in these states", his status as "student" lives on in them for ever. But to the matter in hand.

Since the Breslau authorities took three months to compose the document we have just cited, might we not have expected, at the very least, *factual accuracy* in the justification of their refusal?

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[a] Wrocław.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 335.—*Ed.*

However, the Breslau authorities appear to "believe" that the administration shares with the law the privilege of *"fictiones juris"*.[a]

Wolff became a refugee in *1846* (not 1845), after the press trial launched against him had gone through *all the stages of investigation,* after he had himself undergone all the interrogations and not long before judgment was due. He withdrew by his flight, therefore, from the *judgment,* and not from "the further continuation of the judicial *proceedings* brought against him".

Furthermore, in 1848 the people wrested from the authorities a general amnesty as a result of which Wolff returned in the first place to Breslau. In April 1848 he was summoned to appear before the criminal court in Breslau in order to declare in writing—which he actually did—that he accepted the amnesty on his own behalf.

The Breslau authorities appear to "believe", therefore, that the amnesty of 1848 and the *rights obtained* in consequence of it have been *annulled* by the amnesty of 1861. This type of "retroactive" legislation would certainly inaugurate a new era in the annals of law.

It is no less a "fiction" on the part of the Breslau authorities that Wolff "withdrew by his flight from the further continuation of the judicial proceedings brought against him in 1848". Wolff became a refugee not in 1848 but in 1849 and this was in fact *before* any proceedings against him had begun. The latter related to his participation in the Rump Parliament.[258] In the summer of 1849 Wolff made his way to Switzerland. At that time, no proceedings against him were in progress and he could not therefore "withdraw" from them. The *warrant for his arrest* was issued in the autumn of 1849, long after he had been abroad. Judicial proceedings that *precede* the flight and a warrant that *follows* it seem to be identical things in the eyes of the Breslau authorities.

What do government bodies pay a legal adviser[259] for, if such crude schoolboy violations of the simplest and most ordinary rules in interpreting the law are possible?

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[a] Legal fictions.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## GARIBALDI MEETINGS.— THE DISTRESSED CONDITION OF COTTON WORKERS

London, September 30

After the Garibaldi meeting in Newcastle which I described in a previous letter,[a] similar meetings were held in Sunderland, Dundee, Birmingham, London, and other places. The tone of the meetings was the same everywhere and their last word was always: "Removal of the French from Rome". At this moment, it is intended to choose delegates in every London district and send them *en masse* to Lord John Russell to compel him to take steps against the continuing occupation of Rome by French troops. "Pressure from without"[b] is the *ultima ratio*[c] of the Englishman against his government.

In the meanwhile, the Tuileries cabinet[d] neither feels easy about nor is indifferent to the demonstrations of the British people, as the following excerpt from the *Newcastle Journal* will show:

"The Emperor of the French has called the attention of the English government to the language prevailing at the last Garibaldi meeting in Newcastle. It was emphasised that two speakers, including the chairman, Town Councillor Newton, alluded to plots to assassinate the Emperor and, in the most unmistakable way, threatened him with death because of his Italian policy. The government therefore felt itself obliged to take steps in this matter and to declare that the laws of England are to be applied rigorously to prevent and punish any such conspiracies, like those of Orsini, Dr. Bernard, and others, particularly since a repetition of Orsini's attempt at assassination was announced so openly at the meeting. This warning by the government is based on the fact that in Mazzini circles speeches have recently been made, threats uttered and dark hints dropped

[a] See this volume, pp. 236-38.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English phrase and gives the German translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

[c] Last resort.— *Ed.*

[d] The government of Napoleon III.— *Ed.*

similar to those that foreshadowed the Orsini conspiracy. Finally, we are able to inform the public that the first legal steps arising out of the Newcastle meeting have already been taken."

This is what the *Newcastle Journal* had to say about it. Anyone who has the slightest knowledge of English conditions and the attitude prevailing here knows, in addition, that any interference on the part of the present cabinet with the popular demonstrations can only end in the fall of the government, as at the time of the Orsini attempt.[260]

As winter approaches, the conditions in the factory districts grow more menacing every day. *The Morning Star* warns today that, if the present method of "official charity" is continued, next winter will see the violent scenes of 1842-43[261] far exceeded. The immediate occasion for its Cassandra cry is a declaration, which appeared in all the English papers, of a Manchester worker previously employed at a machine (cotton) weaving mill and now out of a job. In order to understand this declaration, which I will summarise briefly further on, it is necessary to know what the "labour test"[a] is. The English poor law of 1834,[b] which aimed at eliminating pauperism by punishing it as a disgraceful crime, requires the applicant for help to prove his "willingness to work", before his application is granted, by breaking stones or "picking oakum",[c] useless operations with which criminals condemned to "hard labour" are punished in English prisons. After this "labour test", the applicant receives a shilling a week for each member of his family, that is, half a shilling in cash and half a shilling in bread per capita.

Now to the "declaration" of the English weaver. His family consists of six persons. Previously he earned good wages. For 18 weeks, however, he had been cut down to half-time and quarter-time. During this period the weekly income of the family hardly came to 8 shillings. Last week the factory he worked at was closed down completely. His rent is 2 sh. 3d. a week. He had pawned everything that was not nailed or riveted down; he had nothing more to sell, not a penny in his pocket; hunger was staring him and his family in the face. He was therefore forced to

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[a] Marx uses the English term and gives the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

[b] *An Act for the amendment and better administration of the laws relating to the poor in England and Wales* [1834].—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English expression and gives the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

look for help from the poor board. Early last Monday[a] he went to the "guardians".[b]

After "pointed questioning", they gave him a note to the relief officer of his district. It took an hour for the official to allow him into his august presence. Then he underwent questioning again—and was denied relief on the grounds that he had earned 3 shillings in the preceding week, although "the patient" had given a detailed accounting of the way in which this "fortune" had been spent. He and his family had to go hungry until the following Wednesday. He went back to the office of the "guardians". There he learned that he had to go through the "labour test" before help could be given him. And so he marched to the workhouse (a Bastille for the poor) and there, on an empty stomach, he had to pick oakum until half past five, packed in together with 300 other workers in a narrow room about 30 yards [long]. There, squeezed tightly together on benches, in the stifling summer heat, choking with smoke and dust, the "patients of the labour test", skilled workers, pillars of England's national wealth, had to perform the meanest operations that can be imposed on a human being. One could just as well require a watchmaker to hammer horseshoes, or an organist to blow his own bellows. At the end of this operation, he received exactly 5 shillings, half in bread, half in money. After paying the rent, there was hardly 2 pence (about 2 Prussian silbergroschen) for the daily consumption of 6 persons. And the following Wednesday he would have to go through the "ordeal" again, since it is repeated every week. The "weaver" now declares publicly that he would rather starve to death with his family than have that ignominy repeated.

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[a] September 22, 1862.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx uses the English word. He also uses, further on, the English words "workhouse", "oakum" and "labour test".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## COMMENTS ON THE NORTH AMERICAN EVENTS[262]

The short campaign in Maryland[263] has decided the fate of the American Civil War, however much the fortune of war may still vacillate between the opposing parties for a shorter or longer time. As we have already stated in this newspaper, the fight for the possession of the border slave states is a fight for the domination over the Union,[a] and the Confederacy has been defeated in this fight, which it started under extremely favourable circumstances that are not likely ever to occur again.

*Maryland* was rightly considered the head and Kentucky the arm of the slaveholders' party in the border states. Maryland's capital, Baltimore, has been kept "loyal" up to now only by martial law. It was a dogma not only in the South but also in the North that the arrival of the Confederates in Maryland would be the signal for a popular rising *en masse* against "Lincoln's satellites". Here it was not only a question of a military success but also of a moral demonstration which was expected to electrify the Southern elements in all the border states and to draw them forcefully into the vortex.

With Maryland Washington would fall, Philadelphia would be menaced and New York would no longer be safe. The invasion of Kentucky,[264] the most important of the border states owing to the size of its population, its situation and its economic resources, which took place simultaneously, was, considered in isolation, merely a diversion. But supported by decisive success in Maryland,

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[a] See pp. 43-52, 226-29 of this volume.—*Ed.*

it could have crushed the Union party in Tennessee, outflanked Missouri, protected Arkansas and Texas, threatened New Orleans, and above all shifted the theatre of war to Ohio, the central state of the North, whose possession spells the subjugation of the North just as the possession of Georgia spells that of the South. A Confederate army in Ohio would cut off the West of the Northern states from the East and fight the enemy from his own centre. After the fiasco of the rebels' main army in Maryland, the invasion of Kentucky which was not pressing ahead with sufficient drive and was nowhere supported by popular sympathy, was reduced to an insignificant guerilla attack. Even the occupation of Louisville would now only unite the "Great West",[265] the legions from Iowa, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, so that they would form an "avalanche" similar to that which crashed down on the South during the first glorious Kentucky campaign.[266]

The Maryland campaign has thus proved that the waves of secession lack the power to roll over the Potomac and reach the Ohio. The South has been reduced to the defensive, but *offensive operations* were its *only* chance of success. Deprived of the border states and hemmed in by the Mississippi in the west and the Atlantic in the east, the South has conquered nothing—but a graveyard.

One must not forget even for a moment that, when the Southerners hoisted the banner of rebellion, they held the border states and dominated them politically. What they demanded were the Territories. They have lost both the Territories and the border states.

Nevertheless, the invasion of Maryland was risked at a most favourable conjuncture. The North had suffered a disgraceful series of quite unprecedented defeats, the Federal army was demoralised, Stonewall Jackson the hero of the day, Lincoln and his government a universal laughing-stock, the Democratic Party, strong again in the North and people expecting Jefferson Davis to become president, France and England were openly preparing to proclaim the legitimacy—already recognised at home—of the slaveholders. *"E pur si muove."*[a] Reason nevertheless prevails in world history.

Lincoln's proclamation[b] is even more important than the

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[a] "But it does move"—the words Galileo is supposed to have said after recanting his theory on the rotation of the Earth.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Lincoln, *A Proclamation* [September 22, 1862], *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6699, September 23, 1862.—*Ed.*

Maryland campaign. Lincoln is a *sui generis*[a] figure in the annals of history. He has no initiative, no idealistic impetus, no cothurnus, no historical trappings. He gives his most important actions always the most commonplace form. Other people claim to be "fighting for an idea", when it is for them a matter of square feet of land. Lincoln, even when he is motivated by an idea, talks about "square feet". He sings the bravura aria of his part hesitatively, reluctantly and unwillingly, as though apologising for being compelled by circumstances "to act the lion". The most redoubtable decrees—which will always remain remarkable historical documents—flung by him at the enemy all look like, and are intended to look like, routine summonses sent by a lawyer to the lawyer of the opposing party, legal chicaneries, involved, hidebound *actiones juris*.[b] His latest proclamation, which is drafted in the same style, the manifesto abolishing slavery,[267] is the most important document in American history since the establishment of the Union, tantamount to the tearing up of the old American Constitution.

Nothing is simpler than to show that Lincoln's principal political actions contain much that is aesthetically repulsive, logically inadequate, farcical in form and politically contradictory, as is done by the English Pindars of slavery, *The Times, The Saturday Review* and *tutti quanti*.[c] But Lincoln's place in the history of the United States and of mankind will, nevertheless, be next to that of Washington! Nowadays, when the insignificant struts about melodramatically on this side of the Atlantic, is it of no significance at all that the significant is clothed in everyday dress in the new world?

Lincoln is not the product of a popular revolution. This plebeian, who worked his way up from stone-breaker to Senator in Illinois,[268] without intellectual brilliance, without a particularly outstanding character, without exceptional importance—an average person of good will, was placed at the top by the interplay of the forces of universal suffrage unaware of the great issues at stake. The new world has never achieved a greater triumph than by this demonstration that, given its political and social organisation, ordinary people of good will can accomplish feats which only heroes could accomplish in the old world!

Hegel once observed that comedy is in fact superior to tragedy

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[a] Unique.—*Ed.*

[b] Juridical acts.—*Ed.*

[c] The rest.—*Ed.*

and humourous reasoning superior to grandiloquent reasoning.[a] Although Lincoln does not possess the grandiloquence of historical action, as an average man of the people he has its humour. When does he issue the proclamation declaring that from January 1, 1863, slavery in the Confederacy shall be abolished? At the very moment when the Confederacy as an independent state decided on "peace negotiations" at its Richmond Congress.[b] At the very moment when the slave-owners of the border states believed that the invasion of Kentucky by the armies of the South had made "the peculiar institution"[c] just as safe as was their domination over their compatriot, President Abraham Lincoln in Washington.[d]

Written on October 7, 1862

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Printed according to the newspaper

[a] Marx presumably refers to Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Aesthetik*, Bd. III, Theil III, Abschnitt III, Kapitel III "Das Princip der Tragödie, Komödie und des Drama".— *Ed.*

[b] On September 19, 1862.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English phrase and gives the German translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

[d] Lincoln was born in Kentucky, a border state.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## BREAD MANUFACTURE

Garibaldi, the American Civil War, the revolution in Greece, the cotton crisis, Veillard's bankruptcy[269]—everything is overshadowed for the moment in London by the—*question of bread,* but the question of bread in the literal sense. The English, who are so proud of their "ideas in iron and steam", have suddenly discovered that they have been making the "staff of life"[a] in the same antediluvian manner as at the time of the Norman Conquest. The only essential progress consists in the adulteration of the foodstuffs that modern chemistry has facilitated. It is an old British proverb that every man, even the best, must eat "a peck of dirt" in his lifetime. This was meant in the moral sense. John Bull has not the slightest suspicion that he is eating, in the coarsest physical sense, an incredible *mixtum compositum*[b] of flour, alum, cobwebs, black beetles, and human sweat. Being the Bible reader he is, he knew, of course, that man earns his bread in the sweat of his brow[c]; but it was something brand-new to him that human sweat must enter into bread dough as a seasoning.

The sequence of steps in which big industry appropriates the various territories in which it finds handiwork, artisanship and manufacture established seems preposterous at first sight. Producing wheat, for example, is a rural occupation, and baking bread an urban one. Should it not be expected that industrial production would take over the urban trade earlier than the rural one? And

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[a] Marx uses the English phrase and gives the German translation in brackets. Further on he uses the English phrases "a peck of dirt" and "black beetles" and giving the German translation in the first case.—*Ed.*

[b] Hodge-podge.—*Ed.*

[c] *Genesis,* 3:19.—*Ed.*

yet things have gone in the opposite direction. Wherever we look, we shall find that the most immediate needs have thus far avoided the influence of large-scale industry, with more or less obstinacy, and their satisfaction depends upon the hopelessly detailed craft methods of ancient tradition. It is not England but North America that first made a breach in this tradition, and that only in our times. The Yankee was the first to apply machinery to tailoring, bootmaking, etc., and even transferred them from the factory into the private house. The phenomenon can easily be explained, however. Industrial production calls for mass production, on a large scale, for commerce, instead of for private consumption, and by the nature of things raw materials and semi-manufactured goods are the *first* things it takes over, and finished goods destined for immediate consumption the *last*.

Now, however, the hour of the downfall of the *master* bakers and of the rise of the bread *manufacturer* seems to have struck in England. The disgust and loathing evoked by Mr. *Tremenheere's* disclosures as to the "mysteries of bread"[a] would not by themselves have been sufficient to produce such a revolution if it were not for the added circumstance that capital, in large amounts driven by the American crisis out of domains it has long monopolised, is anxiously looking around for new fields to settle down in.

The journeymen at the London bakeries had flooded Parliament with petitions protesting their exceptionally wretched condition. The Home Secretary[b] appointed Mr. Tremenheere investigator and a kind of examining magistrate into these complaints. Mr. Tremenheere's report was the signal for the storm to begin.

Mr. Tremenheere's report is divided into two main sections. The first describes the wretched state of the workers in the bakeries; the second reveals the disgusting mysteries of breadmaking itself.

The first part portrays the journeymen in the bakeries as "the white slaves of civilisation". Their usual working hours begin at 11 in the evening and last until 3 or 4 in the afternoon. The work increases towards the weekend. In most London bakeries it continues without a break from 10 o'clock Thursday evening till Saturday night. The average life-span of these workers, most of whom die of consumption, is 42 years.

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[a] This refers to the *Report Addressed to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, Relative to the Grievances Complained of by the Journeymen Bakers.* London, 1862.—*Ed.*

[b] G. Grey.—*Ed.*

As for the breadmaking itself, it takes place for the most part in cramped underground vaults either ventilated badly or not at all. In addition to lack of ventilation, there are the pestilential vapours from bad outlet ducts, "and the fermenting bread gets impregnated with the noxious gases surrounding it". Cobwebs, black beetles, rats and mice are "incorporated with the dough".

"It was with the utmost reluctance," says Mr. Tremenheere, "that I came to the conclusion that a batch of dough is rarely made without having more or less of the perspiration, and often of the more morbid secretions, of the men who make it mixed up with it."

Even the finest bakeries are not free from these revolting abominations, but they reach an indescribably low point in the holes where the bread of the poor is baked, and where too the adulteration of the flour with alum and bone-earth is practised most freely.

Mr. Tremenheere proposes stricter laws against adulteration of bread, as well as putting the bakeries under government supervision, limiting the working hours for "young people" (i.e., those who have not reached the age of 18) from 5 in the morning to 9 at night, and so forth, but very reasonably does not expect the elimination of the abuses, which arise out of the old method of production itself, to come from Parliament, but from large-scale industry.

As a matter of fact, the *Stevens* machine for preparing dough has already been installed in certain places. There is another, similar machine at the industrial exhibition. Both still leave too much of the baking process to manual work. On the other hand, Dr. *Dauglish* has revolutionised the entire process of making bread. From the moment the flour leaves the hopper to the time the bread goes into the oven, no human hand touches it in this system. Dr. Dauglish does away with yeast entirely and effects fermentation by the use of carbonic acid. He reduces the entire operation of making bread, including the baking, from eight hours to 30 minutes. Night work is entirely done away with. The employment of carbonic acid gas interdicts any admixture of adulterants. A great saving is made by the changed method of fermentation, and also in particular by combining the new machinery with an American invention, by which the gritty coating of the grain is removed without, as previously, destroying three-fourths of the bran, which is the most nutritious part of the grain, according to the French chemist, Mége Mouriès. Dr. Dauglish calculates that his process would save England 8 million pounds sterling in flour every year. Another saving is in coal

consumption. The cost of coal, including the steam engine, for the oven is reduced from 1 shilling to 3 pence. The carbonic acid gas, prepared from the best sulfuric acid, costs about 9 pence per sack, while at the present time the yeast comes to over a shilling for the bakers.

A bakery on the now much improved method of Dr. Dauglish was installed some time ago in a part of London, at Dockhead, Bermondsey, but went out of business because of the unfavourable location of the shop. At the present time, similar plants are operating in Portsmouth, Dublin, Leeds, Bath, and Coventry, and, it is said, with very satisfying results. The plant recently installed in Islington (a suburb of London) under Dr. Dauglish's personal supervision is aimed more at training the workers than at sales. Preparations for introducing the machinery on a large scale are being made at the municipal bakery of Paris.

General adoption of the Dauglish method will turn most of today's English master bakers into mere agents of a few large bread manufacturers. They will only be engaged in retail selling thereafter, not with production; and for most of them that will not be a particularly painful metamorphosis, since in point of fact they are already only agents of the large millers. The triumph of machine-made bread will mark a turning point in the history of large-scale industry, the point at which it will storm the hitherto doggedly defended last ditch of medieval artisanship.

Written on October 26, 1862

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Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx

## THE SITUATION IN NORTH AMERICA[270]

London, November 4

General Bragg, who commands the Southern army in Kentucky—the other fighting forces of the South there are restricted to guerilla bands—on invading this border state issued a proclamation which throws considerable light on the latest combined moves of the Confederacy.[a] Bragg's proclamation, addressed to the states of the Northwest, presupposes his success in Kentucky as a matter of course, and obviously reckons on the eventuality of a victorious advance into Ohio, the central state of the North. In the first place, he declares the readiness of the Confederacy to guarantee freedom of navigation on the Mississippi and the Ohio. This guarantee only makes sense the moment the slaveholders are in possession of the border states. At Richmond, therefore, it was assumed that the simultaneous invasions of Lee in Maryland and Bragg in Kentucky would secure possession of the border states at one sweep. Bragg then goes on to vindicate the South, which is only fighting for its independence, but, for the rest, wants peace. The real, characteristic point of the proclamation, however, is the offer of a separate peace with the Northwestern states, the invitation to them to secede from the Union and join the Confederacy, since the economic interests of the Northwest and the South coincide just as much as those of the Northwest and the Northeast are inimically opposed. The following can be seen: No sooner did the South fancy itself safely in possession of the border states, than it officially boasted of its ulterior motive of reconstructing the Union but without the states of New England.

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[a] B. Bragg, "Address to the People of the Northwest...", September 26, 1862.—*Ed.*

Like the invasion of Maryland, however, that of Kentucky came to grief: just like the former in the battle of Antietam Creek, so it happened to the latter in the battle of Perryville, near Louisville.[271] The Confederates were on the offensive here, just as they were there, having attacked the advance guard of Buell's army. The Federals owe their victory to General McCook, the commander of the advance guard, who held his ground against the enemy's considerably superior forces long enough to give Buell time to bring his main body into the field. There is not the slightest doubt that the defeat at Perryville will entail the evacuation of Kentucky. The most considerable guerilla band, formed of the most fanatical partisans of the slave system in Kentucky and led by General Morgan, was annihilated at Frankfort (between Louisville and Lexington) at almost the same time.[272] Finally, there comes the decisive victory of Rosecrans at Corinth, which makes imperative the hastiest retreat of the beaten invasion army commanded by General Bragg.[273]

Thus, the Confederate campaign for the reconquest of the lost border slave states which was undertaken on a large scale, with military skill and with the most favourable chances, has come utterly to grief. Apart from the immediate military results, these battles contribute in another way to the removal of the main difficulty. The hold of the slave states proper on the border states naturally rests on the slave element of the latter, the same element that enforces diplomatic and constitutional considerations on the Union government in its struggle against slavery. However, in the border states, the principal theatre of the Civil War, this element is in practice being destroyed by the Civil War itself. A large section of the slaveholders, with their "black chattels",[a] are constantly migrating to the South, in order to bring their property to a place of safety. With each defeat of the Confederates this migration is renewed on a larger scale.

One of my friends, a German officer, who fought under the star-spangled banner in Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky and Tennessee in turn,[b] writes to me that this migration is wholly reminiscent of the exodus from Ireland in 1847 and 1848.[274] Furthermore, the energetic sections of the slaveholders, the young people, on the one hand, and the political and military leaders, on the other, separate themselves from the bulk of their class, since they either form guerilla bands in their own states and, as guerilla

[a] Here and below Marx uses the English phrase. In the first instance he gives the German translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

[b] Joseph Weydemeyer.— *Ed.*

bands, are annihilated, or they leave home and join the army or the administration of the Confederacy. Hence the result: on the one hand, a tremendous dwindling of the slave element in the border states, where it had always to contend with the "encroachments"[a] of its competitor, free labour; on the other hand, removal of the energetic section of the slaveholders and its white following. Only a sediment of "moderate" slaveholders is left, who will soon grasp greedily at the pile of money offered them by Washington for the redemption of their "black chattels", whose value will in any case be lost as soon as the Southern market is closed to their sale. Thus, the war itself brings about a solution by, in fact, radically changing the form of society in the border states.

For the South the most favourable season for waging war is over; for the North it is beginning, since the inland rivers are now navigable once more and the combination of land and sea warfare already attempted with so much success is again possible. The North has used the interval to good advantage. "Ironclads", ten in number, for the rivers of the West, are rapidly nearing completion; to which must be added twice as many semi-armoured vessels for shallow waters. In the East many new armoured vessels have already left the yards, whilst others are still under the hammer. All will be ready by January 1, 1863. Ericsson, the inventor and builder of the *Monitor*,[b] is directing the building of nine new ships after the same model. Four of them are already "afloat".

On the Potomac, in Tennessee and Virginia, as well as at different points in the South—Norfolk, New Bern, Port Royal, Pensacola and New Orleans—the army daily receives fresh reinforcements. The first levy of 300,000 men, which Lincoln announced in July, has been fully provided and is in part already at the theatre of war. The second levy of 300,000 men for nine months is gradually being raised. In some states conscription has been replaced by voluntary enlistment; in none does it encounter serious difficulties. Ignorance and hatred have decried conscription as an unheard-of occurrence in the history of the United States. Nothing can be more mistaken. Large numbers of troops were conscripted during the War of Independence[275] and the second war with England (1812-15),[276] indeed, even in sundry small wars with the Indians, without this ever encountering opposition worth mentioning.

[a] Marx uses the English word and gives the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 213.—*Ed.*

It is a noteworthy fact that during the present year Europe supplied the United States with an emigrant contingent of approximately 100,000 souls and that half of these emigrants consist of Irishmen and Britons. At the recent congress of the English Association for the Advancement of Science[a] at Cambridge, the economist Merivale was obliged to remind his countrymen of a fact that *The Times, The Saturday Review, The Morning Post* and *The Morning Herald,* not to mention the *dii minorum gentium,*[b] have so completely forgotten, or want to make England forget, namely, that the majority of the English surplus population finds a new home in the United States.

Written on November 4, 1862

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Printed according to the newspaper

[a] Marx gives the English name.—*Ed.*

[b] Literally: "gods of humbler lineage", i.e., in this context, less important newspapers.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## SYMPTOMS OF DISINTEGRATION IN THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY[277]

The English press is more Southern than the South itself. While it sees everything black in the North, and everything white in the land of the "nigger",[a] people in the slave states themselves do not by any means lull themselves with the "certainty of victory" that *The Times* celebrates.

The Southern press, with one voice, raises cries of dismay at the defeat at Corinth and accuses Generals Price and Van Dorn of "incompetence and conceit".[278] The *Mobile Advertiser* speaks of a regiment, the 42nd Alabama, that went into battle on Friday[b] 530 men strong, numbered 300 men on Saturday and consisted of only 10 men on Sunday evening. The rest were killed, captured, wounded or otherwise lost in the meantime.[c] The Virginia papers use similar language.

"It is clear," says the *Richmond Whig,* "that the immediate purpose of our Mississippi campaign has not been attained." "It is to be feared," says the *Richmond Enquirer,* "that the outcome of this battle will have the most harmful effect on our campaign in the West."

This foreboding has come true, as the evacuation of Kentucky by Bragg and the defeat of the Confederates at Nashville (Tennessee) show.[279]

From the same source, the newspapers of Virginia, Georgia and Alabama, we are getting interesting disclosures concerning the conflict between the central government in Richmond and the governments of the individual slave states. The occasion for the conflict arose out of the last Conscription Act, in which the

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[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[b] October 3.—*Ed.*

[c] *Mobile Advertiser and Register,* October 10, 1862.—*Ed.*

Congress extended military service far beyond the normal age.[a] A certain Levingood was enrolled in Georgia under this Act and arrested by an agent of the Confederacy, J. P. Bruce, because he refused to serve. Levingood appealed to the highest court of Elbert County (Georgia), which ordered his immediate release. The extensive substantiation of the ruling says inter alia:

"The preamble to the constitution of the Confederacy is careful to emphasise explicitly that the individual states are sovereign and independent. How can this be said of Georgia if any militiaman can be forcibly removed from the control of his commander? If the Congress in Richmond can pass a conscription act with exceptions, what is to prevent it from passing a conscription act without exceptions and thus enrolling the Governor, the Legislature, the judges, and thereby putting an end to the entire state government?... For these and other reasons, it is hereby ordered and decreed that the Conscription Act of the Congress is null and void and has no force of law..."

Thus, the State of Georgia has forbidden conscription within its borders, and the Confederate government did not dare to revoke the prohibition.

Similar friction occurred in Virginia between the "individual state" and the "league of individual states". The source of the dispute is the refusal of the state government to grant the agents of Mr. Jefferson Davis the right to conscript the militiamen of Virginia and enrol them in the Confederate army. The incident led to an exchange of caustic letters between the Secretary of War[b] and General J. B. Floyd, the notorious character who as Secretary of War of the Union under President Buchanan prepared the secession and in the process managed to "secede" notable portions of the Treasury funds into his private coffers. This chief of the secession, known in the North as "Floyd the thief",[c] now appears as the champion of the rights of Virginia as against the Confederacy. The *Richmond Examiner* comments, among other things, on the correspondence between Floyd and the Secretary of War:

"The entire correspondence is a good illustration of the resistance and hostility that our state (Virginia) and its army have to suffer at the hands of those who abuse the power of the Confederacy in Richmond. Virginia has been plagued with endless burdens. But everything has limits, and the state will no longer tolerate the repetition of injustice.... Virginia supplied almost all the arms, ammunition and military supplies that won the battles of Bethel and Manassas.[280] It gave the

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[a] The Conscription Act was an amendment to the earlier Act to provide further for the public defence.— *Ed.*

[b] E. M. Stanton.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English nickname and gives the German translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

Confederate service, out of its own armouries and arsenals, 75,000 rifles and muskets, 233 pieces of artillery and a magnificent arms factory. Its manpower capable of bearing arms has been drained to the dregs in the service of the Confederacy; it had to drive the enemy from its western frontier unaided, and is it not a cause for indignation if the creatures of the Confederate government now dare to make sport of it?"

In Texas, too, the repeated drawing-off of its adult male population to the east has aroused antagonism towards the Confederacy. On September 30, Mr. Oldham, the Texas representative, protested to the Congress in Richmond:

"In the wild-goose expedition of Sibley, 3,500 picked troops were sent out from Texas to perish in the arid plains of New Mexico. The result was to bring the enemy to our borders, which he will cross in the winter. You have transported Texas' best troops east of the Mississippi, dragged them to Virginia, used them at the points of greatest danger, where they were decimated. Three-fourths of every Texas regiment sleep in the grave or have had to be discharged because of illness. If this government continues to draw the able-bodied men out of Texas in this manner in order to keep those regiments up to normal strength, Texas will be ruined, irrevocably ruined. This is unjust and impolitic. My constituents have families, property and their homeland to defend. I protest in their name against transporting men from west of the Mississippi to the east and thus laying their own country open to invasion by enemies from the north, east, west and south."

Two things emerge from the foregoing quotations taken from Southern journals. The coercive measures of the Confederate government to swell the ranks of the army have gone too far. The military resources are giving out. Secondly, and this is even more decisive, the doctrine of the "states' rights",[a] (the sovereignty of states) with which the usurpers in Richmond gave the secession a constitutional colouring,[281] is already beginning to turn against itself. That is how little Mr. Jefferson Davis has succeeded in "making a nation of the South",[b] as his English admirer Gladstone boasted.

Written on November 7, 1862

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Printed according to the newspaper

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[a] Marx uses the English phrase.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to Gladstone's speech in Newcastle on October 7, 1862, reported in *The Times,* No. 24372, October 9, 1862.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE ELECTION RESULTS IN THE NORTHERN STATES][282]

The elections have in fact been a defeat for the Washington government.[283] The old leaders of the Democratic Party have skilfully exploited the dissatisfaction over the financial clumsiness and military ineptitude, and there is no doubt that the State of New York, officially in the hands of the Seymours, Woods and Bennetts, can become the centre of dangerous intrigues. At the same time, the practical importance of this reaction should not be exaggerated. The existing Republican House of Representatives continues, and its recently elected successors will not replace it until December 1863. For the time being, therefore, the elections are nothing more than a demonstration, so far as the Congress in Washington is concerned. No gubernatorial elections have been held except in New York. The Republican Party thus retains the leadership in the individual states. The electoral victories of the Republicans in Massachusetts, Iowa, Illinois and Michigan more or less balance the losses in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana.

A closer analysis of the "Democratic" gains leads to an entirely different result than the one trumpeted by the English papers. New York *City,* strongly corrupted by Irish rabble, actively engaged in the slave trade until recently, the seat of the American money market and full of holders of mortgages on Southern plantations, has always been decidedly "Democratic", just as Liverpool is still Tory. The *rural districts* of New York State voted Republican this time, as they have since 1856, but not with the same fiery enthusiasm as in 1860. Moreover, a large part of their men entitled to vote is in the field. Reckoning the urban and rural

districts together, the Democratic majority in New York State comes to only 8,000-10,000 votes.

In Pennsylvania, which has long wavered, first between Whigs[284] and Democrats, and later between Democrats and Republicans, the Democratic majority was only 3,500 votes. In Indiana it is still smaller, and in Ohio, where it numbers 8,000, the Democratic leaders known to sympathise with the South, such as the notorious Vallandigham, have lost their seats in Congress. The Irishman sees the Negro as a dangerous competitor. The efficient farmers in Indiana and Ohio hate the Negro almost as much as the slaveholder. He is a symbol, for them, of slavery and the humiliation of the working class, and the Democratic press threatens them daily with a flooding of their territories by "niggers".[a] In addition, the dissatisfaction with the miserable way the war in Virginia is being waged was strongest in those states which had provided the largest contingents of volunteers.

All this, however, is by no means the main thing. At the time Lincoln was elected (1860) there was no civil war, nor was the question of Negro emancipation on the order of the day. The Republican Party, then quite independent of the Abolitionist Party, aimed its 1860 electoral campaign solely at protesting against the extension of slavery into the Territories, but, at the same time, it proclaimed non-interference with the institution in the states where it already existed legally.[b] If Lincoln had had *Emancipation of the Slaves* as his motto at that time, there can be no doubt that he would have been defeated. Any such slogan was vigorously rejected.

Matters were quite different in the latest election. The Republicans made common cause with the Abolitionists. They came out emphatically for immediate emancipation, whether for its own sake or as a means of ending the rebellion. If this circumstance is taken into account, the majority in favour of the government in Michigan, Illinois, Massachusetts, Iowa and Delaware, and the very significant minority vote it obtained in the states of New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania, are equally surprising. Before the war such a result would have been impossible, even in Massachusetts. All that is needed now is energy, on the part of the government and of the Congress that meets next month, for the Abolitionists, now identical with the Republicans, to have the upper hand everywhere, both morally and numerically. Louis

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[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Platform", *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5950, May 19, 1860.—*Ed.*

Bonaparte's hankering to intervene[285] strengthens the Abolitionists' case "from abroad". The only danger lies in the retention of such generals as McClellan, who are, apart from their incompetence, avowed pro-slavery men."[a]

Written on November 18, 1862

First published in *Die Presse*, No. 321, November 23, 1862

Printed according to the newspaper

[a] Marx uses the English words "pro-slavery men".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE DISMISSAL OF McCLELLAN [286]

*McClellan's dismissal!* That is Lincoln's answer to the election victories of the Democrats.[a]

The Democratic journals had stated with the most positive assurance that the election of *Seymour* as Governor of New York State would entail the immediate revocation of the *proclamation* in which Lincoln declared slavery abolished in *Secessia* from January 1, 1863.[b] The paper that took this prophetic imprint had hardly left the press when their favourite general—their favourite because "next to a great defeat he most dreaded a decisive victory"[c]—was deprived of his command and went back to private life.

We recall that McClellan replied to this proclamation of Lincoln with a counter-proclamation, an order of the day to his army, in which he indeed forbade any demonstration against the President's measure, but at the same time let slip the fatal words: "...It is the task of citizens through the polls to remedy the government's errors or to pass judgement on its actions."[d] McClellan, at the head of the main army of the United States, therefore appealed from the President to the impending elections. He threw the weight of his

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[a] See this volume, pp. 263-65.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Lincoln, *A Proclamation* [September 22, 1862], *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6699, September 23, 1862.—*Ed.*

[c] Th. B. Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays Contributed to the Edinburgh Review,* Vol. I, John Hampden.—*Ed.*

[d] G. B. McClellan [Order, Enjoining on his Officers and Soldiers Obedience to the President's Proclamation of Freedom], *Headquarters Army of the Potomac. Camp near Sharpsburg, Md. Oct. 7, 1862, New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6713, October 9, 1862.—*Ed.*

position into the scales. A *pronunciamento* in the Spanish manner aside, he could not have demonstrated his hostility to the President's policy more strikingly. Accordingly, after the election victory of the Democrats the only choice left to Lincoln was either to sink to the level of a tool of the pro-slavery compromise party or with McClellan to remove from under it its point of support in the army.

McClellan's dismissal at *this* moment is accordingly a political demonstration. In any case, however, it had become indispensable. *Halleck,* the Commander-in-Chief,[a] in a report to the Secretary of War,[b] had charged McClellan with direct insubordination.[c] For, shortly after the defeat of the Confederates in Maryland, on October 6, Halleck ordered the crossing of the Potomac, particularly as the low water-level of the Potomac and its tributaries favoured military operations at the time. In defiance of this order, McClellan remained immobile, under the pretext of his army's inability to march due to lack of provisions. In the report mentioned, Halleck proves that this was a hollow subterfuge, that, compared with the Western army, the Eastern army enjoyed great privileges in respect of the commissariat and that the supplies still lacking could have been received just as well south as north of the Potomac. A second report links up with this report of Halleck's; in it the committee appointed to inquire into the surrender of Harper's Ferry[287] to the Confederates accuses McClellan of having concentrated the Union troops stationed near that arsenal in an inconceivably slow fashion—he let them march only six English miles (about one and a half German miles) a day—for the purpose of its relief.[d] Both reports, that of Halleck and that of the committee, were in the President's hands *before* the election victory of the Democrats.

McClellan's generalship has been described in these columns so repeatedly[e] that it is sufficient to recall how he sought to substitute strategic envelopment for tactical decision and how indefatigable he was in discovering considerations of general-staff discretion which forbade him either to take advantage of victories

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[a] Marx gives the title in English.—*Ed.*

[b] E. M. Stanton.—*Ed.*

[c] H. W. Halleck [Report to E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War], *Headquarters of the Army, Washington, October 28, 1862, New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6740, November 10, 1862.—*Ed.*

[d] [Report of the Investigating Commission...], *New-York Daily Tribune,* same issue.—*Ed.*

[e] See this volume, 179-81, 205-08, 226-27, 234-35.—*Ed.*

or to anticipate defeats. The brief Maryland campaign cast a false halo about his head. Here, however, we have to consider the fact that he received his general marching orders from General *Halleck,* who also drew up the plan of the first Kentucky campaign, and that the victory on the battlefield was due exclusively to the bravery of the subordinate generals, in particular, of General *Reno,* who fell, and of *Hooker,* who has not yet recovered from his wounds. Napoleon once wrote to his brother Joseph that on the battlefield there was danger at all points and one ran into its jaws most surely when one sought to avoid it. McClellan seems to have grasped this axiom, but without giving it the practical application that Napoleon suggested to his brother. During the whole of his military career McClellan has *never* been on the battlefield, has *never* been under fire, a peculiarity that General *Kearny* strongly stresses in a letter, which his brother published, after Kearny, fighting under Pope's command, fell in one of the battles near Washington.[a]

McClellan understood how to conceal his mediocrity under a mask of restrained earnestness, laconic reticence and dignified reserve. His very defects secured him the unshakable trust of the Democratic Party in the North and the "loyal acknowledgement" of the secessionists. Among the higher officers of his army he gained supporters through the formation of a general staff of dimensions hitherto unprecedented in the annals of military history. Some of the older officers, who had belonged to the former army of the Union and had received their training at West Point Academy, found in him a point of support for their rivalry with the newly-sprung-up "civilian generals" and for their secret sympathies with the "comrades" in the enemy camp. The soldiers, finally, knew of his military qualities only by hearsay; for the rest they ascribed to him all the merits of the commissariat and could tell many a glorious tale of his reserved affability. McClellan possessed one single gift of the supreme commander—that of assuring himself of popularity with his army.

McClellan's successor, *Burnside,* is too little known to pronounce a judgement on him. He belongs to the Republican Party. *Hooker,* on the other hand, who is assuming command of the army corps serving specifically under McClellan, is incontestably one of the best warriors in the Union. "Fighting Joe",[b] as the troops call him,

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[a] Ph. Kearney [Letter to O. S. Halstead, Jr., August 4, 1862], *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6719, October 16, 1862.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx gives the English nickname, and the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

played the biggest part in the successes in Maryland. He is an *Abolitionist.*

The same American papers which bring us the news of McClellan's dismissal, contain utterances of Lincoln in which he resolutely declares that he will not deviate a hair's breadth from his proclamation.

"[*Lincoln*]," *The Morning Star*[a] observes quite justly, "has taught the world to know him as a slow, but solid man, who advances with exceeding caution, but does not go back. Each step of his administrative career has been in the right direction and has been stoutly maintained. Starting from the resolution to exclude slavery from the Territories, he has at last arrived at the ultimate purpose of all 'anti-slavery movements'—the uprooting of this evil from the soil of the Union—and has already reached the high vantage point on which the *Union* has ceased to be responsible in any way for the continuance of slavery."

Written on November 24, 1862

First published in *Die Presse,* No. 327, November 29, 1862

Printed according to the newspaper

[a] Of November 22, 1862.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## ENGLISH NEUTRALITY.— THE SITUATION IN THE SOUTHERN STATES[288]

London, November 29

The negotiations between the Cabinet here and the government at Washington on the corsair *Alabama*[289] are still pending, whilst fresh negotiations on the renewed fitting out of Confederate warships in English ports have already begun. Professor *Francis W. Newman,* one of the theoretical representatives of English radicalism, publishes a letter in today's *Morning Star* in which, among other things, he says:

"After the American Consul at Liverpool[a] had been assured by an English lawyer that the *Alabama* affair was illegal, he directed a formal protest to Lord John Russell. The law officers of the Crown[b] were consulted on the matter and likewise declared the fitting out of the *Alabama* illegal; but so much time was lost in the process that the pirate meanwhile escaped. At this moment a flotilla of more or less ironclad ships is ready at Liverpool, prepared to break through the American blockade. Apart from this, a swarm of pirate ships is waiting to follow the *Alabama* in its infamous progress any moment. Is our government a second time going to wink at the successors of the *Alabama* escaping? I fear that it is. Mr. *Gladstone,* in his speech at Newcastle,[c] said he had been informed that the rebel President,[d] whom he panegyrised, *was soon to have a navy.* Did this allude to the navy his Liverpool friends have built?.. Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell, as much as the Tory Party, are animated by a hatred of republicanism strong enough to overbear all scruples and doubts; while Mr. Gladstone, a probable future Prime Minister, avows himself an admirer of the perjured men who have leagued together to perpetuate and extend slavery."[e]

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[a] T. H. Dudley.—*Ed.*

[b] W. Atherton and R. Palmer.—*Ed.*

[c] W. E. Gladstone [Speech in Newcastle on October 7, 1862], *The Times,* No. 24372, October 9, 1862.—*Ed.*

[d] J. Davis.—*Ed.*

[e] F. W. Newman [To the editor of the *Morning Star*], *The Morning Star* November 29, 1862.—*Ed.*

Of the papers that arrived from America today, the *Richmond Examiner,* an organ of the Confederates, is perhaps the most interesting. It contains a detailed article on the situation, the most important features of which I summarise in the following extract:

"The extraordinary and sudden increase in the enemy's sea power threatens to make our prospects gloomy. This weapon has acquired such a range that in many respects it seems more dangerous to us than the power of the enemy on land. The Yankees now command 200 more warships than at the outbreak of the war. Great preparations have been made for naval operations during the coming winter and, apart from the vessels already fit for service, some 50 ironclad warships are in process of construction. We have every reason to believe that, in the armament and construction of its ships, the Yankee fleet, which will descend upon our coast this winter, far surpasses its predecessors. The objectives of the forthcoming expeditions are of the greatest importance. It is intended to capture our last seaports, complete the blockade and, finally, open up points of invasion in Southern districts, in order to put the Emancipation Acts into practical operation from the beginning of the new year. It would be foolish to deny the advantages which must accrue to our enemy from the capture of our last seaports, or to dismiss such misfortune lightly with the consoling thought that we can still always beat the foe by waging war in the interior.... With Charleston, Savannah and Mobile in the enemy's hands, the blockade would be carried out with a severity of which even our sufferings hitherto have given no idea. We would have to give up all thought of building a fleet on this side of the Atlantic Ocean and submit anew to the humiliation of surrendering our shipbuilding to the enemy or destroying it ourselves. Our great system of railroad connections in the cotton states would be more or less broken through, and, perhaps too late, we would make the discovery that the land warfare, on which such great hopes are built, would have to be continued under circumstances which forbade the maintenance, provisioning and concentration of great armies.... These disastrous results arising from the capture of our seaports became insignificant, however, before a greater danger, the greatest danger of this war—the occupation of points in the cotton states from which the enemy can carry out his emancipation plan. Great efforts are naturally being made to safeguard this pet measure of the Abolitionists from falling through and to prevent the spirit of revenge, which Mr. Lincoln has corked in a bottle till January 1,[290] from fizzling out in the harmless hissing of soda-water.... The attempt is now being made on our most defenceless side; the heart of the South is to be poisoned.... Prediction of future misfortune sounds bad to the ears of the masses, who blindly believe in the government and consider boasting to be patriotism.... We do not assert that *Charleston, Savannah* and *Mobile* are in no state to defend themselves. In the South there are naturally scores of military authorities, asserting that these ports are more impregnable than Gibraltar; but military men and their mouthpieces have too often lulled our people into false security.... We heard the same story with regard to New Orleans. According to their description, its defences surpassed those of Tyre against Alexander.[a] Nevertheless, the people woke up one fine morning to see the enemy's flag flying over its harbour.... The state of our ports' defences is a secret of the official circles. But the indications of the immediate past are not comforting. A few weeks ago, *Galveston* fell into the enemy's hands almost without a struggle. The local newspapers had been forbidden to write about the town's means of defence. No cry for help resounded, save that

[a] Alexander of Macedon.—*Ed.*

which fell on the deaf ear of the government. The people were not stirred to action. Their patriotism was requested to remain in ignorance, to trust the leaders and to submit to the decrees of providence. In this way, another prize fell into the lap of the enemy.... The method of wrapping all military matters in a mantle of secrecy has borne bad fruit for the South. It may have reduced criticism to dead silence and drawn a veil over the mistakes of the government. But it has not blinded the foe. He always seems thoroughly instructed on the state of our defences, whilst our people first learn of their weakness when they have fallen into the hands of the Yankees.

Written on November 29, 1862

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Printed according to the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## [LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF THE *BERLINER REFORM*][291]

The anecdote related in No. 83 of your paper referring to my stay in Berlin in 1861[a] has only "one drawback", that it is a fabrication. This is just to keep the record straight.

*Karl Marx*

London, April 13, 1863

First published in *Berliner Reform*, No. 89, April 17, 1863

Printed according to the manuscript and checked with the text in the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] "Wie wir hören, ist Lassalle...", *Berliner Reform*, No. 83, April 10, 1863.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## KINGLAKE ON THE BATTLE OF THE ALMA[292]

Kinglake's book on the Crimean War has caused a great stir in England and outside, and deservedly. It contains a great deal of valuable, new material, and it could hardly be otherwise, since the author was able to use the papers of the English headquarters, many notes by senior English officers, and not a few memoirs prepared especially for him by Russian generals.[293] Nonetheless, so far as the military presentation is concerned, this is not a history but a novel; its hero is Lord Raglan, the English commander-in-chief, its ultimate aim is glorification, carried to absurdity, of the English army.

Kinglake's account is likely to produce a great effect in Germany; while it reduces the share of the French in the victory on the Alma to a minimum, it treats the Russians with ostensible respectful impartiality, refers to the already known sources of all three nations involved, and steers clear of the specifically French variety of bragging that we find as offensive in Thiers and his consorts as it is laughable. At the same time, our friends the English can brag, too, and, although they are slightly more accomplished in praising themselves than the French are, the colours are laid on at least as thick. If for no other reason, this makes it worthwhile to strip off the fictional cover from the description of the only military event in the two volumes which have appeared up to now, the battle of the Alma, and to separate the real new historical material from the embellishments, rodomontades and conjectures with which Mr. Kinglake fills out his picture.

An additional factor is that the battle of the Alma is of very special tactical interest, an aspect that has been inadequately appreciated thus far. In this battle, for the first time since Waterloo,[294] two different tactical formations clashed, one of them

practised by preference by all the armies of Europe, the other rejected by all but one—the English. On the Alma, the English line advanced against the Russian columns and routed them without any particular difficulty. This is at least an indication that the old line is not yet as obsolete as the continental textbooks on tactics assert, and it is at least worth the trouble of looking a little more closely into the matter.

I

Kinglake lists the forces engaged on the two sides very carelessly. For the English he had the official data at his disposal and from them establishes the number of combatants as 25,404 infantrymen and artillerymen, something more than 1,000 cavalrymen and 60 guns. This may be regarded as authentic. He gives a round number for the French, 30,000 men and 68 cannons; there were also 7,000 Turks. In round numbers, this makes 63,500 allies with 128 guns, which may be fairly correct by and large. But Mr. Kinglake begins to have difficulties with the Russians. Now, we have in Anichkov's *Feldzug in der Krim* (German translation, Berlin, Mittler, 1857, first part) an account that is obviously based on official sources and that has never been contested until now in any essential point, with the names and numbers of the regiments, battalions, squadrons, and batteries. According to this account, the Russians had 42 battalions, 16 squadrons, 11 Cossack squadrons,[a] and 96 guns in ten and a half batteries on the Alma, 35,000 men in all. But this does not satisfy Mr. Kinglake at all. He puts together a special reckoning, constantly referring to Anichkov as his authority, but arriving at quite different conclusions, without however thinking it worth the trouble to cite evidence in favour of his divergent data. In general, it is characteristic of the entire book that it constantly cites authorities when reporting notorious facts but carefully avoids doing so when making new and risky assertions.

The two accounts differ little with respect to the infantry. Anichkov gives 40 battalions of the line, 1 battalion of skirmishers and $^1/_2$ battalion of marine sharpshooters; Kinglake transforms this last half-battalion into two battalions and, to support this, refers to Chodasiewicz (major in the Tarutino infantry regiment), who is said to have seen them.[b] The point is unimportant, since Kinglake

[a] Engels uses the Russian word "Sotnien" (hundreds).—*Ed.*

[b] R. Hodasevich, *A Voice from within the Walls of Sebastopol,* London, 1856, pp. 59-60.—*Ed.*

himself concedes that the Russians themselves think very little of these troops. He also transforms the 2 companies of engineers that appear in Anichkov into an entire battalion and always counts them as infantry.

In the case of the cavalry, however, Kinglake's exaggeration is more marked. Throughout the account of the battle it is emphasised on every occasion that the Russians had "3,400 lances" in the field, and on every map there appears an enormous column behind the Russian right wing with a note that the Russian cavalry, 3,000 strong, was held in this region. We are reminded continually of the remarkable inactivity of these 3,000 men and the danger their proximity constituted for the English, who had only just over 1,000 horsemen. Kinglake is very careful not to call our attention to the fact that over a third of this cavalry consisted of Cossacks, of whom everyone knows that they are incapable of fighting in close order against regular cavalry. Given the great ignorance of all military matters that pervades the entire book, this gross blunder should be attributed to a lack of knowledge rather than to malice.

Kinglake's critical judgement fails him completely, when he comes to the artillery. Anichkov, as has been said, gives 96 guns in all, in 10 specified light and heavy field batteries, supplemented by 4 horse-drawn naval guns. He knows exactly where each of these batteries was located during the battle. All these batteries appear in Kinglake (with a few minor discrepancies in the numbers), but three additional ones are given. The 5th battery of the 17th brigade, which Anichkov also lists, figures *twice* in Kinglake in the original position, once on the left wing (p. 231 [a]) and immediately thereafter again in the main reserve (p. 235)! Similarly, the 3rd battery of the same 17th brigade, which, according to Anichkov, *was not there at all*, appears *twice* in Kinglake, once on the left wing (p. 231) and again—but as a "fixed battery"—in the centre! The fact that, in accordance with the well-known organisation of the Russian artillery at the time of the Crimean War (cf. Haxthausen, *Studien über Russland*[b]) there was only one heavy battery of 12 guns in every artillery brigade, and that later, when the batteries were set up with 8 guns each, there could therefore be a 1st and a 2nd heavy battery in a brigade *but never a 3rd*

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[a] Here and below the references are to pages in the second volume of Kinglake's book.—*Ed.*

[b] A. F. Haxthausen, *Studien über die innern Zustände, das Volksleben und insbesondere die ländlichen Einrichtungen Russlands,* Dritter Theil, Berlin, 1852, S. 255-92.—*Ed.*

heavy battery—all this does not disturb our historian. What he is concerned with is presenting the heroic deeds of the English on the Alma as prodigiously as possible; and for that he required as many Russian cannons as possible. Hence, wherever he finds a battery listed in Russian reports (all of which, with the exception of Anichkov's, are more or less useless in terms of such details) that Anichkov does not mention, he assumes Anichkov forgot it and calmly adds it to the batteries listed by Anichkov. If he finds the same battery listed in different sources at two different points on the battlefield, he calmly counts it twice and at best assumes that a light battery is meant in one case and a heavy battery in the other.

All this sleight of hand notwithstanding, Kinglake can only scrape up 13 $^1/_2$ batteries with 8 guns each, a total of 108 guns, and since he fails to see that, according to Anichkov, the three batteries of the 16th brigade were still organised on the old basis of 12 guns (we see how superficially the man works), that still gives, as against Anichkov, only an addition of 12 guns. Hence, Kinglake must make an extraordinary effort in order to stud the heights of the Alma with Russian cannons. He is helped in this task by the fieldworks which the English bombastically call "the great redoubt". Of this Anichkov says simply:

"To the right of the road, Battery No. 1 of the same (16th) brigade was drawn up in an advantageous position and protected by an epaulement."

Kinglake describes this insignificant work quite correctly, but cannot imagine that simple twelve-pounders would be stationed behind it; he asserts they were heavy guns from Sevastopol. Chodasiewicz states, to be sure, that the guns of the 2nd battery of the 16th brigade were emplaced there (he confuses the 1st and 2nd battery), but the calibre of the cannon and *howitzer,* which, he said, are still in Woolwich, proved that these guns were not part of the regular field artillery (p. 233). Kinglake is even better informed. He says very definitely (p. 229):

"They were 32-pounders and 24-pound *howitzers.*"

In 1849, during the uprising in the Palatinate,[295] some officers of the volunteers always justified the continual backwards movements of their units by claiming that they had been under fire from "red-hot 24-pound bombshot". This writer certainly never expected that the howitzer from which these terrible balls were shot would be captured by Mr. Kinglake on the Alma. As for these 24-lb. balls....[a]

[a] The next two pages of the manuscript are missing.—*Ed.*

[II]

...guns separated by a distance of 1,500 paces from Canrobert, whose division was neutralised by the Russian cannons while his own artillery tried to reach him by a circuitous route of at least half a German mile[a]; finally, Prince Napoleon was held down in the valley, 1,200 paces away from Canrobert and hesitating to cross the river. This scattering of his troops on a front of 6,000 paces and especially Bosquet's exposed position finally caused Marshal Saint-Arnaud such anxiety that he resorted to the desperate measure of sending his entire reserve forward. Lourmel's brigade was sent to Bouat, while d'Aurelle's brigade reinforced Prince Napoleon. By sending both of his reserves precisely into the two defiles that were already choked with troops, Saint-Arnaud completed the scattering of his forces. If this were not all stated in the official French report (the *Atlas historique de la guerre d'Orient*), it would be hard to believe.

What was it like on the Russian side, and what saved the French from this perilous situation?

The Russian left wing was commanded by Kiryakov. Over against Canrobert and Prince Napoleon he had in the first line 4 reserve battalions (Brest and Bialystok regiments), indifferent troops; in the second line the 4 battalions of the Tarutino regiment, in reserve the 4 Moscow battalions and the 2nd battalion of the Minsk regiment, which with 4 guns (4th battery of 17th art. brigade) was detached to the left to observe the seacoast. The 4 Borodino battalions, which were also under his command, were placed further east, right by the Sevastopol road, and when they

[a] The German mile is 7.420 km.—*Ed.*

were not engaged as skirmishers, they fought almost exclusively against the English. All in all, the French were therefore opposed by 13 battalions with 8 guns.

When Bosquet's flanking column appeared on the plateau south of the Alma, Prince Menshikov himself came to the left wing, bringing with him from the main reserve the remaining 3 battalions of the Minsk regiment, one foot- and two horse-batteries, and 6 squadrons of hussars. Up to that point the fighting had been limited to skirmishing and cannonade; the main bodies of Russians had pulled back somewhat, for the most part, and the French—Napoleon and Canrobert—had not yet appeared on the plateau at all or were so far off (Bosquet, Bouat, Lourmel) that they could not for the moment enter into combat. Now since the troops of Prince Napoleon had got stuck in the defile so thoroughly that they had not yet debouched, the Russians had no other point to attack than the Canrobert division covered beyond the edge of the plateau. Against him, Menshikov now formed a monster column of the 8 Minsk and Moscow battalions—two battalions in the front and four battalions deep, all in attack columns against the middle. Called away to his centre, he turned this unwieldy mass over to Kiryakov with the order to attack at once. When the column came to within gunshot range of the French, the latter

> "no longer bore up under the weight that is laid upon the heart of a Continental soldier by the approach of a great column of infantry" (p. 400).

They withdrew a little further down the slope. At this moment, however, Canrobert's two batteries, along with those of Bosquet, came up rapidly a little further to the right through a depression in the terrain; they positioned their cannons quickly and opened fire against the left flank of the massive Russian force, with such effect that the latter quickly took cover. The French infantry did not follow them up.

Kiryakov's four reserve battalions had "dissolved", as Chodasiewicz puts it, under the skirmisher and artillery fire; the four Tarutino battalions had also suffered heavy losses; the eight battalions of the monster column were certainly not in any shape to renew the attack too soon. The French infantry of d'Aurelle and Canrobert now deployed on the plateau under cover of their artillery, and Bosquet had come close to them; Prince Napoleon's troops (whose 2nd Zouave regiment[296] had already joined Canrobert) finally began to climb the heights. The superiority had grown out of all proportion; the Russian battalions, concentrated

on Telegraph Hill, melted away under the crossfire of the French artillery; finally, the Russian right wing had "entered into a very definite movement of withdrawal", as Kiryakov himself says. In these circumstances, it retreated, "not pursued by the enemy" (Kiryakov's manuscript memoir).

In French accounts the general forward rush of the French that followed at this point is crowned by an alleged storming of the telegraph tower in hand-to-hand combat, which gives the fray a neatly melodramatic conclusion. The Russians are unaware of this combat, and Kiryakov flatly denies that it took place. It is indeed likely that the tower was occupied by sharpshooters and had to be taken by storm, and there may also have been some other Russian skirmishers in the vicinity who had to be driven off; but that did not, of course, require the storming, or rather the race, of an entire division, and even the account given in the *Atlas historique* is grossly exaggerated anyway.

This marked the end of the battle, and Saint-Arnaud declined to pursue when Raglan called on him to do so, on the grounds that

> "the troops had left their knapsacks on the other side of the river" (p. 492).

The heroic deeds recounted to us by Saint-Arnaud after the battle, and by Bazancourt later,[a] shrink considerably according to this description. The entire French army, 37,000 strong with the Turks, and with 68 guns, had....[b]

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[a] The reference is to Saint-Arnaud's reports of September 21 and 22, 1854, published in the *Moniteur universel,* Nos. 280 and 281, October 7 and 8, 1854, and to C. L. Bazancourt's *L'expédition de Crimée jusqu'à la prise de Sébastopol.—Ed.*

[b] The next page of the manuscript is missing.—*Ed.*

III

The English advanced on the allied left flank. Their first battle-line consisted of the Evans division and Brown's light division; the second line was made up of the England and Duke of Cambridge divisions. The Cathcart division, from which one battalion had been detached, and the cavalry brigade followed on the left as reserve behind the left wing which was dangling in the air. Each division had 6 battalions in two brigades. The attack front of the English, which linked up with Prince Napoleon's left wing at the village of Burliuk, was about 3,600 paces long, so that each of the 12 battalions of a line had a front of 300 paces.

After reaching the gentle slope down to the Alma, the columns came under the fire of the Russian batteries positioned opposite, and, in conformity with English custom, the first line deployed at once. However, because the width of the front had been too narrowly reckoned, it came about that the right wing of the light division was overlapped by the left of the Evans division; in this way an entire battalion (7th regiment) was forced out of the line of battle. The artillery was placed before the front. In the second line, the Cambridge division likewise deployed, and since its battalions (Guards and Highlanders) were stronger, by themselves they formed an almost adequately extended second line; the England division remained out of range of the artillery fire in columns, as did the reserve. The Russians began to fire at about half past one. Until the French attack developed, the English lay flat on the ground to minimise losses from the fire. The skirmishers were engaged in the thickets and vineyards in the valley, pressing the Russians back slowly; as the Russians were

withdrawing, they set the village of Burliuk on fire, thereby making the English attack front still narrower.

The English faced all the rest of the Russian army, i.e. 25 $^1/_2$ (Anichkov) or 27 battalions (Kinglake), and 64 guns. They attacked with 29 battalions and 60 guns; their battalions were stronger than the Russian ones. The Russians had, in their first line, the Suzdal (extreme right wing) and Kazan (or Grand Duke Mikhail Nikolayevich, right centre) regiments, to which the Borodino regiment was added. In the second line was the Vladimir regiment, in the special reserve the Uglich regiment; the Volhynia regiment remained available in the main reserve; each of these regiments had 4 battalions, besides a skirmisher battalion and the marine skirmishers.

Towards three o'clock the French attack had developed to such an extent that the Bosquet and Canrobert columns had come to a halt on the plateau, and Prince Napoleon's were halted in the valley; the reserves, as we saw, had already been ordered forward. Now Raglan had the English go forward. The first line stood up and moved down into the valley in the line it had formed. The vineyards and thickets soon disrupted the order of the troops, even where they formed into double-file columns in squads, as is prescribed in England for such conditions. Evans's division sent two battalions and a battery to the right around the burning village, while the rest went to the left of it alongside the Sevastopol road. Here they soon came under the fire at close range of the two Russian batteries protecting the road; the two batteries, although under fire from 18 English guns, brought the English troops to a halt. The Russian infantry opposite them were the 4 Borodino battalions and the 6th skirmisher battalion; we learn nothing of their action.

The light division advanced further to the left. Facing it were the 4 Kazan battalions to the right and left of the 1st battery of the 16th artillery brigade emplaced behind an epaulement; in the second line were the 4 Vladimir battalions, all in column formation, and, according to Kinglake's data, in columns of two battalions each. The English crossed the river by the numerous fords, as best they could, and found on the south bank a natural ledge fifteen paces wide protected by a steep drop 8 to 10 feet high, under whose cover they could reform. Beyond the drop, the terrain rose gently and was open to the battery some 300 paces away. Here they were bothered by skirmishers only at a few points; their own thinly scattered skirmishers had gone far off to the left and cleared the entire front. But they did not send

skirmishers forward themselves nor did they reform; Brown himself abandoned the attempt and ordered the advance, "relying on the courage of the troops" (p. 315). While the brigadier of the left flank kept two battalions in hand to meet any possible flank attacks by the Russian cavalry, the other four, with a battalion of Evans's division that joined them (95th regiment), advanced on the battery, half in line, half in irregular bunches.

They had hardly climbed the slope, when the two columns of the Kazan regiment marched on them. And here our author begins one of his most glowing dithyrambs on the inimitability of the British troops.

"Here it came to be seen that now, after near forty years of peace, our soldiery were still gifted with the priceless quality which hinders them from feeling the weight of an infantry column in the same way as foreigners ... In their English way, ... they began, half jesting, half annoyed, shooting easy shots into the big, solid mass of infantry which was solemnly marching against them. The column was not unsteady, but it was perhaps an over-drilled body of men, unskilfully or weakly handled. At all events, their chiefs were unable to make its strength tell against clusters of English lads,[a] who marched on it merrily and vexed it with bullets. Soon the column came to a halt, retreated and lapsed out of sight behind an undulation of the terrain" (p. 325).

We will not go any further into this bragging and boasting than to point out that these "lads" and "young troops", as Kinglake likes to call them, and whom we saw often enough (the 33rd regiment, which fought here, only a short time before it left for the Crimea), were at that time at least 27 years old on average, given the 12-year enlistment period in England and the frequent reenlistments for 9 years more, and that since the Crimean War and the East Indian mutiny,[297] where these fine regiments were wiped out, every English officer wishes in vain that he had such old "lads" under his command again. Suffice it to say that this column (the one to the east, on the Russians' right wing) seems, after a weak attempt at a bayonet attack, to have been forced to give way by the fire even of the irregular line. The other column advanced against the 7th regiment, soon was engaged in immobile musketry combat, and persisted in that for a long time without deploying, naturally suffering enormous losses in the process.

The three English battalions in the middle advanced on the battery, whose fire seems to have been slow and did not hold up the attackers. When they were close enough to rush the guns, the battery fired a salvo, limbered up and went off. A 7-pounder howitzer was found in the trench; a 32-pounder with only three

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[a] Engels gives the English word "lads" in brackets after the corresponding German word.— *Ed.*

horses harnessed to it was stopped by Captain Bell of the 23rd regiment and brought back. The English occupied the outer breastwork of the epaulement and remained assembled to the right and the left. The Vladimir regiment now approached, but, instead of driving into the confused mass with the bayonet, they let themselves get into a firefight again and came to a halt. Under the fire of the English, who were still extended along a much longer front, the dense column would probably have shared the fate of the Kazan regiment—when the signal to retreat was sounded twice in succession among the English and repeated twice all along the line; the troops began the retreat at some points, and then generally, in part calmly but in part in complete disorder. The four battalions engaged here lost 46 officers and 819 men altogether.

The second line (Cambridge) had been slow in coming up and during this entire action had just crossed the river and stayed under the cover of the above-mentioned ledge. Now it went forward for the first time. The centre battalion of the brigade on the right, the Royal Scots Fusiliers, advanced at first, but its left wing was overrun by the fugitives of the light division pressing back, its right wing could not resist the fire of the Vladimir regiment, and this battalion too, left without any timely support, fell back in disorder. It was at about the same time that the French attack had come to a standstill and the column of eight battalions was forming against Canrobert.

This instant, when everything was going badly for the allies, is just the right moment for Mr. Kinglake to treat us to a miracle that can only find a parallel in the 1001 Nights, and lets Lord Raglan appear in hitherto unsuspected glory. We would pass this circumstance by if it had not in point of fact had a certain effect on the course of the battle and if it had not been given a certain significance by the fact that Kinglake is speaking here as an *eyewitness,* though an extremely inexpert one.

As the English line started moving to cross the river, Raglan rode across the Alma with his staff at the point where the English and French lines met and up a hollow on the far side of the river, without being molested by any more than a couple of sniper shots. He soon found before him a dome-shaped hill, which he ascended and from which he could see the entire length of the Russian formation against the English, and could even detect their reserves. As strange as it may seem that the general of an attacking army should station himself, without any protection, on a hill on the enemy's flank, the fact is confirmed by many witnesses

and cannot be called into doubt. But Kinglake, not content with stationing his hero just in front of or in the extension of the enemy flank, transfers the hill in question *behind* the enemy front, between the latter and the Russian reserves, and from that point has Lord Raglan paralyse the entire Russian army by his mere appearance. On this point, the text of the book is not a whit more melodramatic than the map, on which a red star representing Lord Raglan, 1,200 paces in front of the English right wing, in the midst of the green Russian columns, which immediately show him respect as "Lord Zeus of the thundercloud", directs the battle.

This hill, whose exact location we cannot be expected to clarify here, but which is in any case not where Kinglake puts it—this hill did indeed provide a good position for artillery, and Raglan sent for guns at once, as well as for infantry. Somewhat later, two guns came up, at about the same time as the battery was captured by the English. One of these guns is said to have dispersed the Russians' main reserve (which, according to Kinglake, was only 1,100 paces away!), the other attacked the flank of the battery defending the bridge on the Sevastopol road. After a few shots this battery, which had been under the frontal fire of superior artillery (18 guns) for a long time, limbered up and thus the way was opened up for Evans's division to cross [the river]. That division slowly pushed back the Russian infantry, which, for the most part, fought in dispersed order here, and, followed by the England division, whose artillery combined with Evans's, brought its guns into play on the first ridge of hills.

In the meantime, further to the left, the Cambridge division was engaged in the decisive action. Of the three Guards battalions on its right wing, the centre one, the Scots Fusiliers, had advanced too soon and had been thrown back in disorder. Now the Grenadier Guards on the right and the Coldstream Guards on the left went forward in line against the epaulement, which the Vladimir regiment had retaken; between them was the interval of the battalion front that should have been occupied by the Scots Fusiliers but was now only covered more or less by the remnants of that battalion and of the light division, now reassembling to the rear. To the left of the Coldstream, the three Highlands battalions of Colin Campbell, also in line, advanced in perfect order in echelons from the right wing.

Opposite the Grenadier Guards were the two left Kazan battalions, which had already been driven back by the fire of the 7th regiment, and the two left Vladimir battalions, which now advanced towards the gap between the Grenadiers and the

Coldstreams. The Grenadiers came to a halt, wheeled the left flank back a little, and stopped the column immediately with their fire. In a short time, of course, the column was so shaken by the fire of the line that even Prince Gorchakov, who commanded the Russian right wing, could no longer get them to attack with the bayonet. A slight change in the front by the English Grenadiers brought the column under the fire of their entire line; the column wavered and fell back, as the English advanced. The two other Vladimir battalions were exchanging fire with the Coldstreams meanwhile, after the Scottish brigade finally drew level with them. The four Suzdal battalions posted on the Russian extreme right wing now came closer to the point of decisive action, the battery breastwork, but during this flanking march suddenly came under the fire of the Scottish lines and fell back without offering any serious resistance.

General Kwizinski, chief of the 16th division, was now in command of the Russian right wing after Prince Gorchakov had withdrawn because of a fall when his horse was shot under him. The English line formation was so new to him that it deprived him of all judgment as to the strength of his enemy. In his memorandum, which Kinglake had, he says himself that he saw the English advance in three overlapping lines (these were evidently the three Scottish echelons) and had to give way before such superior forces after the attacks of the four Vladimir battalions had been repulsed. It is sufficient to say that the four Uglich battalions only advanced as far as was necessary to gather up the fugitives; the artillery and cavalry were not used any further, and the Russians went into retreat unmolested by the English, who wanted to spare their cavalry. The Cambridge division lost some 500 men.

Here then the 6 battalions of the Cambridge division, supported by the remnants of the light division, a total of 11 battalions, were in action at the decisive moment (the two left-wing battalions of the light division did not advance even later) against the twelve Kazan, Vladimir and Suzdal battalions of the Russians; and if we add the 4 Uglich battalions, whose actual participation in the fight is highly problematical, they engaged 16 Russian battalions and routed them completely after a very brief combat.

The author even asserts that the entire action of the infantry in the ranks did not last more than 35 minutes; at any rate, the outcome was completely decided towards four o'clock. How are we to explain these swift successes against at least equal, perhaps stronger masses of infantry in a strong defensive position?

The English were certainly not commanded in the best possible way. Apart from the fact that Evans did not make the slightest attempt to attack the enemy's left flank but limited himself to a lustreless frontal action, it must be clear to everyone that the Duke of Cambridge did not do what he should have done as commander of the second line. When the first line had stormed the battery breastworks, the second was not there to back it up; it only arrived after the first had been thrown back, and so it had to do the work over again. But as soon as any English leader came up against the enemy and had no definite orders to the contrary, he attacked—if possible, in cooperation with adjacent troops—and that gave each of the two main assaults the decisiveness that assured success.

The Russians, on the other hand, showed great uncertainty in their leadership. It is true that Menshikov was unfortunate enough to be far away from the crucial point during the short period of decision; but neither Gorchakov nor Kwizinski, according to their own accounts, took any steps whatsoever to meet the attack with energy. The first attack was launched by the 4 Kazan battalions against five English [battalions] and failed; the second, again by 4 battalions (Vladimir), likewise failed; we do not hear of any serious attack by the 4 Uglich battalions, and the 4 Suzdal battalions allowed themselves to be surprised by enemy fire during their flanking march. The Volhynia regiment, in the main reserve, does not seem to have been ordered forward at all. The artillery soon fell silent, and the cavalry did nothing at all. Whether it was fear of responsibility, or orders not to risk the army, in any event on the English wing the Russians did not act with the energy and vigour that alone can guarantee victory to the weaker side either.

There certainly was another cause, however, that facilitated the English victory. The Russians fought in deep, thick columns, the English in line. The Russians suffered enormous losses from artillery fire, the English very little up to the grape-shot range. When the masses of infantry came close to one another, only the most vigorous pressing home of a bayonet attack could save the columns from the murderous fire of the lines, but everywhere we see the attack bog down and end as a fire-fight. What then? If one deploys under enemy fire, no one can tell how that will turn out, and if one remains in a column—*one* rifle firing against *four* enemy ones—the column is certain to be routed. This was the outcome in every single case on the Alma. More than that. The column, once under fire, could *never again* be brought to the decisive charge; the firing line could *in every case.* Both adversaries—Russians and English—were notoriously poor in open-

order fighting; accordingly, the battle was decided exclusively by the masses; unless we wish to assume, with Kinglake, that the English are sort of demigods, we shall have to admit that in more or less open terrain the line has significant advantages over the column for both attack and defence.

The entire recent military history of the English....[a]

Written in late June 1863

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[a] The manuscript breaks off here.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## ARTILLERY NEWS FROM AMERICA[298]

That the American Civil War, given the inventive spirit of the nation and the high technical level of engineering in America, would lead to great advances and usher in a new epoch in the technical side of warfare was only to be expected. The battle between *Monitor* and *Merrimac*,[a] to which the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* again returned,[b] has justified this expectation. We now have some new facts to put on record.

### I

Although the final outcome was in favour of the turret ship, the battle between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* still did nothing to decide the question of which class of battleships was superior: turret ships or broadside battery ships. A short while ago,[c] however, a battle took place which will, to all appearances, settle the matter once and for all, and which we are all the more pleased to examine since it is, to our knowledge, hardly known in England and France, and not at all in Germany.

The Confederates had had a commercial steamer of Scottish construction, the *Fingal*, armoured with 4-inch deal, 4-inch oak and 4-inch iron, in the harbour of Savannah. The iron plating

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[a] See this volume, p. 213.—*Ed.*

[b] Engels probably means the article "Verlauf und Bedeutung des diesjährigen Feldzugs in Nordamerika" (*Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*, No. 41, October 11, 1862) and the editorial note to the article "Der Angriff auf Charleston am 7. April 1863" in the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*, No. 20, May 16, 1863.—*Ed.*

[c] On June 17, 1863.—*Ed.*

consisted of two layers of 6″ wide and 2″ thick slabs, the bottom layer horizontal and the top layer vertical, secured with strong bolts. After the fashion of the *Merrimac* the armour plating was laid aslant or roof-like over the ship, though flattened out on top, so that the ship resembled a lopped-off pyramid. It carried 4 six-inch broadside and two 7-inch pivot cannons (fore and aft).

The *Atlanta,* as the ship was called, came sailing down the Savannah River early one morning and soon ran into the two blockade ships, two turret ships, the *Weehawken* and the *Nahant,* which immediately headed for her. (For our description of the battle, we follow the report in the New York *Harper's Weekly* of July 11.[a]) The *Atlanta* opened the engagement by firing three shots at the *Weehawken,* which came closer without firing and then replied with solid shells of 440 lbs (English) from her 15-inch Dahlgren gun.* The first shot went right through *both sides* of the *Atlanta* and laid low about 40 men partly with the splinters, partly with shock. Among the latter was a lieutenant, who afterwards said that he had not been able to stand up for ten minutes. The second shot smashed through the iron cover of a gun port, killing or injuring 17 men. The third shell smashed the upper section of the armoured bridge on the upper deck, killing both pilots and knocking down the two helmsmen. The fourth hit the edge, where the side of the ship meets the deck, and seems to have bounced off without causing any damage. The fifth went through the funnel just as the *Atlanta* was hoisting the white flag to surrender,

* The Dahlgren gun is a comparatively short gun of some 12-14 calibre length. Its external shape was determined by Dahlgren (now admiral in command of Charleston) in the following way: at equal distances from one another, holes of rifle calibre were drilled perpendicularly on the axis of the bore from the outside, and loaded with rifle bullets, while the gun was loaded and fired as usual. The initial velocity of the individual bullets was established in the normal way and taken as a measure of the pressure of the explosion gases at the corresponding spot on the wall of the gun barrel. The corresponding abscissas were drawn on the axis of the bore as ordinates, and the curve connecting these indicated the external shape of the gun. Guns constructed on this principle are very thick at the breech and in the region of the trunnions, and only taper sharply towards the muzzle. They look rather like a soda water bottle. They are smoothbored and are cast hollow, over a hollow plug through which cold water runs during cooling. This cooling from inside gives the guns such strength—even in cast iron—that it is possible to cast guns of 15″ and even 20″ bore which are able to withstand 500 shots with a powerful charge without danger. Initially intended only for hollow shells, they have subsequently been strengthened so that solid shells can be fired from them, too. These reinforced guns are called *Columbiads.*

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[a] The report was entitled "The Capture of the Rebel Iron-clad *Atlanta* by the *Weehawken* captain Rodgers".—*Ed.*

before the *Nahant,* which had just arrived on the scene, could even fire a single shot. In a quarter of an hour it was all over.

Yesterday the writer of this article visited the English Channel fleet lying in Liverpool harbour. There were the *Warrior,* the *Black Prince,* the *Royal Oak,* the *Defence,* the *Resistance*—all of them battleships with broadside guns (smoothbore 68-pounders, 8″ calibre and 110 lb Armstrong, 7″ calibre) armoured with 18-24″ timber and $4^1/_2$-5″ iron; undeniably the most beautiful and powerful armoured fleet now afloat, which, its draught permitting, could steam unmolested in between any *European coastal forts, as these are at present armed,* and into the harbour behind them. But how would the best of these ships fare against one of these American turret ships with its 440 lb gun? To judge by the trials made by the English themselves, a much smaller calibre is sufficient to pierce their sides; what havoc would a 440 lb shell not wreak in their innards? One single hit on the waterline would be bound to sink the ship, since a leak like that cannot be plugged. At the sight of these splendid ships, each one of which must have cost close on £1 million sterling, including the experiments, one cannot help thinking that all of them were already condemned and completely outdated.

Henceforth, it would seem to be an absolute necessity to equip battleships with the heaviest calibres that a ship can carry. These guns, however, cannot be broadside guns; the largest ship can only carry a few of them, and these have to be positioned *in the middle* of the ship. But this is only possible with *turret ships,* and for this reason turret ships will, from now on, constitute the decisive strength of any navy.

True, the turret ships built hitherto have only been seaworthy in a certain qualified sense. This was because they were constructed in America for a specific purpose: for operations in shallow coastal waters. If they are built bigger and given a greater draught they will certainly prove at least as seaworthy as the broadside battleships, which still leave much to be desired on this score. But, even if we restrict ourselves to the experience we have at present, the following points are quite definite:

1) Turret ships with heavy guns (10-15″ calibre) are incomparably the strongest ships both for defence proper and for offensive operations on neighbouring coasts.

2) Armoured battleships with $2^1/_2$-5″ iron plating and broadside guns of 8″ calibre can be of great advantage for operations over a longer distance, against coasts, if one has *coaling stations,* and, above all, if one does not have to fight against turret ships.

3) For true mobile tactics on the open sea wooden ships continue to be the only ones suitable. They alone are able to hold enough provisions, coal and ammunition to carry their own base of operations around with them for several months; they alone are able to carry out the necessary repairs after a battle themselves. In India and China, for instance, armour-plated ships of any kind would be helpless, even in the hands of the English.

What are the conclusions as far as Germany is concerned?

1) Learn to cast guns of American calibre and build turret ships. Two such ships in the Elbe or Weser will keep the entire North Sea coast clear. Four of them in the Baltic will bring the sea under our control and, if necessary, force Copenhagen to capitulate; then no one will take the present Danish Navy seriously any longer.[299] Even if improvements are introduced making really seaworthy turret ships possible, the old ones will still remain the best harbour defence there is. They are cheap in any case.

2) Broadside armoured ships of 6-7,000 tons like the English and French ones each cost as much as six turret ships, while two turret ships are sufficient to beat one of them. They are not worth the money. On the other hand, *very fast* screw steamers of moderate dimensions armoured with $2^1/_2$-3″ of the very best (e.g. Styrian) iron plating and with a few guns, but heavy ones, can be of considerable service against the *existing* navies. They are able to evade the large, unwieldy armoured frigates and are well able to cope with a wooden ship of the line.

3) For long-distance operations wooden ships—both sailing vessels and screw steamers—are indispensable. We already have the Chinese station[300]; it is bound to become more important every year. As long as we have no coaling station there, sailing vessels are the only ones that can be used; for the time being, they are sufficient too. Stations in the West Indies, on the east and west coasts of North and South America and in the Levant have long been needed; everywhere German trade must be protected and respect won for the name of Germany. Twenty-five per cent steamers to seventy-five per cent sailing vessels would be enough there. At home, however, many large wooden ships are of no use; in fact, there is now no point whatever in having ships larger than 60-gun frigates, as the present-day ships of the line are outdated while those of the future have yet to be invented.

II

According to established practice, when laying siege to fortified ramparts the breach batteries were placed on the crest of the glacis, about fifty paces from the wall that was to be bombarded. When Montalembert's casemated works with uncovered stone walls were proposed,[301] and especially when such uncovered masonry was used in many places in Germany, there was much discussion whether or not such stone walls could be breached even at a distance; as far as actual experiments are concerned, however, the only one known to us is that of Wellington in 1823, when a detached wall covered by a contregarde was breached at 500 and 600 paces by indirect hits. The Crimean War only proved that stone-built coastal forts were safe against ships; Bomarsund[302] only proved that the Russian government had been dreadfully swindled by the building contractors. The Italian War[303] proved nothing, since it never came to siege operations. Until then one could assume that, with the artillery means available at the time, the uncovered stone walls of casemates could, in certain circumstances, make possible such superior firepower against siege batteries that it was worth its expense.[a] The trials at Juliers have proved that rifled guns with percussion shells, even of a light calibre, are able to breach brick fortifications at 1,200 paces, even by an indirect hit. And in America things are now happening that have quite different lessons to teach us.

During the attack on Port Pulaski (outside Savannah) General Gillmore (indisputably the foremost living American artilleryman) had only heavy Columbiads, smoothbore guns up to 15″ calibre for solid shells and powerful charges.[304] He set up his batteries 1,200 paces away and turned the casemated fortification made of strong masonry into a heap of rubble in just a few days. Nevertheless, this experiment convinced him that at greater distances his guns would not be able to knock down stone-wall fortifications. Unfortunately, we have no data as to the charges, since all American reports are framed in an extremely superficial way; but it is obvious that $^1/_3$ shot heavy charges are quite out of the question with such guns.

Gillmore therefore demanded rifled guns of heavy calibre for the assault on Charleston, and got them. They were so-called Parrott guns, breech-loading guns with 4-7 grooves according to the calibre. The rifling is flat and has less twist than the Armstrong guns. The guns are of *cast iron* with a wrought-iron

[a] Here Engels crossed out the words: "How do things stand now?"—*Ed.*

ring welded on above the breech which reaches as far as the trunnions, and are the same shape as the ordinary guns. Hundredweight for hundredweight they are said to cost exactly one quarter of what the heavy English Armstrongs cost. The shells were cylindro-ogival and had a coating of soft metal to be pressed into the rifling.

With these guns Gillmore attacked Fort Wagner[305] (see the plan of Charleston recently printed in the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*[a]). But this fortification, built out of light sand from the dunes, stood up to it. The bombproof covered shelters kept the garrison safe and several assaults were repulsed. It was necessary to mount a proper attack, and for this the heavy guns were too good. Gillmore therefore had them drawn up in three new batteries which he had set up against Fort Sumter, the latter lying in the middle of the harbour entrance. These batteries, one of which was *in the swamp,* were 3,300 to 4,200 yards (4,000 to 5,000 paces) away from Fort Sumter.

Fort Sumter was built on an artificial island of special, very hard brick. The walls were 6-7′ thick, at the base up to 12′, the casemate arches and buttresses 8-9′ thick. It had two floors of casemates and one floor of guns on the roof, which fired from the barbette. Its shape was that of a truncated lunette; it was chiefly the gorge and one of the flanks that were exposed to Gillmore's batteries. The fort contained 140 gun emplacements.

The bombardment lasted for 8 days, from 16 to 23 August; from time to time the navy joined in, though without much success. But the rifled 200-pounders did their job. The gorge and flank walls fell first, and then the fronts taken *à revers.*[b] At the end of the bombardment the fort was, as Gillmore put it, a shapeless mass of ruins.[c] All in all 7,551 shots were fired, of which 5,626 were hits (at these enormous distances!); 3,495 of these hit the outer wall area, 2,130 the inner. After the walls had been subjected to fire for a while many shells went right through both of them.

Gillmore also had a rifled 300-pounder but it burst on the seventh shot. The first six shells, however, are said to have gone through both walls and caused collapses of brickwork up to 20 feet high in places.

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[a] The plan was published as a supplement to the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung,* No. 20, May 16, 1863.—*Ed.*

[b] From the other side.—*Ed.*

[c] Engels gives Gillmore's words in English, followed by the German translation.—*Ed.*

Understandably, the fort returned the fire on a small scale only. The batteries could not have provided any visible targets at a distance of half a German mile, even if there had been guns with such a range. As it was situated under the close fire of many Confederate batteries, no attempt was made to occupy it immediately, but now that Fort Wagner and Cunnings Point have fallen, this will probably already have happened.[306]

From the same batteries Gillmore launched 15 incendiary bombs on to the town of Charleston—over one German mile away—and only discontinued the bombardment because, after such a long journey, his percussion shells, not landing on their noses, failed to explode.

What should we in Germany make of all this shooting? What should we think of our uncovered stone-wall fortifications? What about the detached forts, 800-1,200 paces before the main rampart, which are supposed to protect the place against bombardment? What of the redoubts of the Cologne forts, the flanking gates of Coblenz, and what about Ehrenbreitstein? Our enemies, who are naval powers, will soon have enough rifled artillery of the very heaviest calibre, and railways to carry it are everywhere. On the other hand, as far as we know, the biggest rifled calibre yet introduced is that of the 24-pounder, roughly $4^1/_2''$—a veritable dwarf gun compared with what our enemies will pitch against us; and, if we had the same artillery in our casemates, it would not be possible to hit batteries 5,000 paces anyway. Our Rhine fortresses, however inadequately fortified the river line might be, have hitherto been our main strength against the first French attack; but what are they worth after experiences such as those described above?

This is no time for reflection. We must act, and straight away. Any delay may cost us a campaign. *Videant consules, ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat.*[a]

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[a] Let the Consuls see to it that the republic suffers no harm. (The traditional formula addressed by the Roman Senate to the Consuls in time of danger to the state.)—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [PROCLAMATION ON POLAND BY THE GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY IN LONDON][307]

The *London German Workers' Educational Society*,[308] in agreement with an agent of the Polish national government,[309] has authorised the undersigned committee to organise a collection of funds for Poland among the German workers in England, Germany, Switzerland and the United States. Even if only little material help can be given Poland in this manner, great moral assistance can be rendered.

The Polish question is the German question. Without an independent Poland there can be no independent and united Germany, no emancipation of Germany from the Russian domination that began with the first partition of Poland.[310] The German aristocracy long since recognised the Tsar as secret supreme sovereign. The German bourgeoisie looks on, silent, passive and indifferent, at the slaughter of the heroic nation which alone still shields Germany from the Muscovite deluge. Part of the bourgeoisie realises the danger, but is willing to sacrifice German interests to those of the individual German states, whose existence depends on the dismemberment of Germany and the maintenance of the Russian hegemony. Another section of the bourgeoisie regards the autocracy in the east as it does the reign of the coup d'etat[a] in the west, as a necessary buttress of *order*. Finally, a third part is so absolutely obsessed by the important business of making money that it has completely lost understanding of and insight into major historical relations. The Germans of 1831 and 1832, by their open demonstration in support of Poland,[311] at least forced the Federal Diet to take strong measures. Today Poland finds its

[a] The reign of Napoleon III.— *Ed.*

most eager opponents, and hence Russia finds its most useful tools, among the liberal masterminds of the so-called *National Association.*[312] Everyone is free to decide for himself how far this liberal Russophilism is linked to the *Prussian upper crust.*

In this fateful moment, the German working class owes it to the Poles, to foreign countries and to its own honour to raise a loud protest against the German betrayal of Poland, which is at the same time treason to Germany and to Europe. It must inscribe the *Restoration of Poland* in letters of flame on its banner, since bourgeois liberalism has erased this glorious motto from its own flag. The English working class has won immortal historical honour for itself by thwarting the repeated attempts of the ruling classes to intervene on behalf of the American slaveholders by its enthusiastic mass meetings, even though the prolongation of the American Civil War subjects a million English workers to the most fearful suffering and privations.

If police restrictions prevent the working class in Germany from conducting demonstrations on such a scale for Poland, they do not in any way force them to brand themselves in the eyes of the whole world as accomplices in the betrayal, through apathy and silence.

The undersigned committee requests that money be sent to Mr. *Bolleter,* the occupant of the Society's premises at 2 Nassau Street, Soho, London. The expenditure of the money is controlled by the Society and public account thereof will be given as soon as the purpose of this collection permits.

*Bolleter, Berger, Eccarius, Krüger,*
*Lessner, Limburg, Linden, Matzrath,*
*Tatschky, Toups, Wolff*

Written in late October 1863

Printed according to the leaflet

First published as a leaflet in London in November 1863

# Frederick Engels

## THE ENGLISH ARMY[313]

In a detailed review of the small work by Petrie and James, the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* recently described the organisation of the English army,[a] and since then, in another article, the position of this army in the English state.[b] What remains is only to consider this army itself in its historical development in the last seventy years, its present form, its materiel, its internal service organisation, its tactical training and its characteristic forms of combat. This is the purpose of the present lines.

The English army is especially interesting to the military observer. It is the only one in the world that still keeps unbendingly to the old line tactics, at least in so far as it has never known columns within the range of infantry fire (except for actions in defiles). Not only does it fire in line, its bayonet attacks, too, are made only in line. Nonetheless—or perhaps precisely for that reason—it is undeniably the army that has suffered fewest defeats. In any event, it is worthwhile taking a closer look at the battle methods of such an army, particularly now, when, to the astonishment of the whole world, what was believed to be impossible has become possible: that England threatens to make war on us Germans.[314]

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[a] This refers to the review of the pamphlet *Organization, composition and strength of the Army of Great Britain. (Compiled by Captain Martin Petrie and Colonel James.)* The review appeared in the literary supplement to the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*, Nos. 34-39, August 22 and 29 and September 5, 12, 19 and 26, 1863, under the correspondent's sign [16.].—*Ed.*

[b] "Die englische Armee und Verfassung", *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*, Nos. 44-46, October 31 and November 7 and 14, 1863.—*Ed.*

Die englische Armee.

**F.E.** Die allg. Mil. Ztg. hat vor Kurzem in einem ausführlichen Aufsatze über die Verhältnisse der Infanterie und Cavalerie der englischen Armee, es früher in einem andern Artikel die Allg. Militärzeitung die englische Marine geschildert. Es blieb nur noch übrig, diese Armee selbst in ihrer Gesammtheit, ihre geschichtliche Entwicklung in den letzten fünfzig Jahren, in ihrer jetzigen Zusammensetzung, ihrem innern Dienstbetriebe, ihrer kriegerischen Tüchtigkeit & ihrem eigenthümlichen Geschlechtsleben zu betrachten. Dies ist der Zweck der gegenwärtigen Zeilen.

Die englische Armee bietet für den militärischen Beobachter ganz besonderes Interesse. Sie ist die einzige der Welt, die ~~einzige~~ einzige neben der alten Linienarmee Ludwigs XV. Frankreichs, in solchem Umfange, daß sie keine Colonne im Heerbrieb der Infanterie (und gemischten in Bataillonsgroße) wie gelaufen stets die Fronte nicht nur in Linie, sie geht auf mit dem Gewehr nur in Linie an. Vielleicht – oder richtiger ausgedrückt – ist sie außerdem diejenige Armee die die wenigsten Niederlagen erlitten hat. Es ist jedenfalls der Mühe wert die Kampfweise einer solchen Armee näher zu untersuchen, namentlich jetzt, wo zum Exercieren Regeln Welt der unmöglich Gestalten möglich wird: daß Exercieren und Dreschen nicht Krieg heißt.

I.

Wir fangen natürlich mit der Infanterie an. Der robust pedestrian ist die Hauptstärke & der Hauptstolz der englischen Armee. Die Wilhelm Sieger ist ein Heldenartikel geworden in ganz England, daß das & Alles, seiner englischen Linie drei jeder andern Truppe überlegen ist, & daß die britische Infanterie unwiderstehlich ist. Und noch ist es, daß die Engländer, wie freilich andere Leute auch, ihre Siege von allem der Infanterie verdanken.

Die englische Infanterie hat 3 Garderegimenter mit 7 Bataillonen, 109 Linienregimenter, wovon N° 1 bis 25 zwei Bataillone N° 60 (Jäger) 4 Bataillone haben, & die übrigen jedes nur ein Bataillon haben. Dazu die Jägerbrigade mit 4 Bataillonen, im Ganzen 141 Bataillone. Die Stärke der Bataillone in Regimentslinien regimenter, 8 und oder zwei, richtet sich lediglich auf dem Bedürfniß; sobald die Mannschaft es erlaubt, werden die zweiten Bataillone

First page of Engels's manuscript of "The English Army"

I

We begin with the *infantry,* naturally. The *robur peditum*[a] is the chief strength and the pride of the English army. Ever since William Napier it has been an article of faith for all England that the massed fire of an English line is superior to that of any other troops, and that the British bayonet is irresistible, and true it is that the English, like other people, to be sure, owe their victories above all to their infantry.

The English infantry has 3 Guards regiments with 7 battalions, 109 line regiments, of which Nos. 1 to 25 have two battalions, No. 60 (Rifles) 4 battalions, and the remainder only one battalion each. In addition, there is the Rifle Brigade with 4 battalions, making a total of 141 battalions. Whether there are one or two battalions in a line regiment is determined exclusively by requirements; as soon as circumstances permit, the second battalions of the first 25 regiments will certainly be disbanded again. The promotion of the officers likewise takes place in the regiment, which often gives rise to absurd disarrangements, e.g. when, as at present, the first battalion of the 13th Regiment is stationed in Jamaica and the second in New Zealand.

The reserve and elite troops are primarily the Guards and the eight Highland regiments, who have always honoured their reputation. Nine so-called "light" and 5 "fusilier" regiments count as light infantry, but differ in only a few respects from the [regiments of the] line, and only 8 rifle battalions are true light infantry. Regiments Nos. 101 to 109, formerly European regiments of the East India Company,[315] serve only in India.

Apart from these 141 battalions of British infantry, there are also various corps in the home country, to which we shall return later, and in the colonies:

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| In North America: 1 battalion and 2 companies of British troops | 1,350 men |
| In the West Indies: 4 battalions of Negroes and mulattoes | 3,700 " |
| In St. Helena: 1 British battalion | 560 " |
| In Malta: native fortress artillery | 640 " |
| At the Cape of Good Hope: mounted rifles, $^5/_6$ Hottentots, $^1/_6$ Europeans, mainly Germans and Swiss | 900 " |
| In Ceylon: 3 battalions of native rifles | 1,460 " |
| | 8,610 men |

[a] Elite infantry.—*Ed.*

Finally, the native army in India, 151 battalions with a total of 110,000 men. With few exceptions, these troops are commanded by British officers and their entire organisation is very similar to the English line. But the Indian army still retains many characteristics from the time of the East India Company; e.g., commissions cannot be bought there,[316] at least not officially, although similar things are done indirectly there, too.

On February 5 of this year[a] there were 58 battalions of English infantry in India, 3 in China, 2 in Mauritius (Isle-de-France), 4 at the Cape, 12 in Canada and the other North American possessions, 1 in Bermuda, 2 in the West Indies, 10 in New Zealand (because of the war with the natives),[317] 5 in Gibraltar, 4 in the Ionian islands, 5 in Malta, 42 in England and on the way home. Of the latter, there were 6 in London, 9 in the Aldershot camp,[318] 10 in Portsmouth, Plymouth and Dover, 1 in Jersey, 2 in inland England, 2 in Scotland, 10 in Ireland, 2 on the way back home. We see from this what strong support the navy gives the army; without its protection and the rapid means of transportation it affords, these weak garrisons would be far from adequate. Where the navy can provide only slight protection, however, as in India and Canada, we find strong garrisons, and likewise so in the strategic positions in the Mediterranean, where it is necessary to be prepared for conflicts with European troops.

It was formerly the rule to send the Guards out of the country only in case of war; but there are now two battalions in Canada.

The total strength of the infantry on active service at the present time comes to 133,500 men; this averages 884 men per battalion, divided into 10 companies, each with a captain, a lieutenant, and an ensign[b] (equivalent to our second lieutenant). In addition, each battalion, with the exception of the Guards, has two depot companies for training recruits; 6 to 8 of these depots are combined into a depot battalion, of which there are 23, with a total strength of about 18,000 men. These depots are all in the home country, usually by or near the sea. Thus, the total strength of the English infantry is something over 150,000 men.

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[a] 1863.—*Ed.*
[b] Engels uses the English word.—*Ed.*

II

The officers are recruited from all the educated classes of the nation. Not much theoretical schooling is demanded of the aspirants; the prescribed examinations pose questions that would make a Prussian ensign smile. However, increasing efforts are being made to get young men from the military school at Sandhurst[319] into the army, in particular by giving commissions as ensigns *without purchase* to those who come out top in the examinations. Not much is required by way of foreign languages, and the aspirant has great freedom of choice among a number of European and Indian languages; the mathematical requirements are extremely low; on the other hand, much more emphasis is laid on good, clear, simple expression in practical English composition than among us, where almost every German army writes its own kind of German, and not always good common sense German at that. In a country where the two principal parties are almost equally represented in the aristocracy, it goes without saying that no inquiry is made into political opinions; the greatest military family in England, the Napiers, consisted and consists almost entirely of Radicals. In general more stress is laid on manly character than on knowledge, and since the English officer can be certain that he will be sent to all corners of the world and will soon come under fire, it stands to reason that the English army cannot be, to the extent that many others can, an almshouse for people who are lacking in almost every physical and moral quality required in a soldier. This last, however, is the best guarantee of a good officer corps; for despite all the fine rules mentioned above,

nowhere is there more nepotism and family influence than in the English army. No one can get into the officer corps without influential connections, and no one gets promotion without money, unless he has the good fortune to have the man ahead of him killed in action. Here, too, there are honourable exceptions, of course; a certain shoemaker's son from Glasgow died last year as Field Marshal Lord Clyde, after he had reconquered the India that had been lost; but poor Colin Campbell, to get that far, had to take part as an officer in the campaign against Buenos Aires as early as 1807,[320] and in 1854, when he went to the Crimea, he was only a colonel. And without a distant relative, who commanded a regiment, he would never have become an officer.

English officers form a very exclusive corps, especially in England itself. They even have a dialect or rather an accent of their own, as in Prussia, and have very little contact with the citizens of their garrison town. This isolation is enhanced by the circumstance that the unmarried officers live in barracks (or rather a separate building in the barracks compound) and have to eat at the officers' mess. In a country where the army is under civilian jurisdiction for all offences that are not of a strictly military nature, this living together in barracks is a necessity. Young officers are punished severely for pranks in town that could bring them into conflict with the civilian authorities; as compensation, they have fairly broad freedom in the barracks themselves. Female visitors of all sorts come and go, there is heavy drinking and gambling, and the young gentlemen play the heartiest practical jokes on one another. If a sneak gets in among them, so much the worse for him. A few years ago these practical jokes,[a] carried to excess in some regiments, led to scandalous courts martial, and since then strict orders prohibiting them have been issued; actually, however, this sort of amusement is regarded with indulgence, so long as public scandal is avoided. The government contributes 25 pounds sterling per annum per company to the officers' mess, which should be decent but economical and never place officers with limited means in a position where they are compelled to spend more money than they can afford. Nonetheless, there are occasions enough to lay out money, and the usurers ruin as many young officers with bills and I.O.U.s as elsewhere.

This way of life leaves its mark on the outward demeanor of the English officer. With civilians—although when off duty he

[a] Engels uses the English expression here: "practical jokes".—*Ed.*

almost always wears civilian clothes—he is usually dignified and reserved; arrogant overbearing behaviour towards the citizens occurs as exceptions in such garrison cities as Portsmouth, or in marksmanship schools, where many officers are together and set the tone. In general, the officer has to show that he is "an officer and a gentleman"; at any time he can be called up before a court martial, discharged and even cashiered "for conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman", and no mercy is shown if an officer has caused a scandal by his behaviour in public, unless, of course, he resigns first. Cover-ups of scandalous public incidents, such as we know have occurred in Germany, are impossible in England, and the spirit of the army can only gain from that.

The officers' right to wear civilian clothing off duty, unusual as it may seem to us Germans, has its excellent aspects, and England provides abundant proof that it has not the slightest ill effects on the military spirit of the officers. It should be noted, into the bargain, that in the main garrison towns, such as Chatham, Portsmouth, etc., where there is a good deal of military activity, the officers wear civilian clothing less frequently.

The duel has disappeared entirely from the English army. The last duel involving officers took place twenty years ago between two brothers-in-law, a major and a lieutenant; the major was killed, and the lieutenant was acquitted by the jury because of the shocking provocation leading up to the affair. The ideas of honour that have been implanted in the English officer corps—and by no one more energetically than Wellington himself—are based on the fundamental principle that anyone who insults another without cause dishonours himself, not the person he has insulted; and that he can only restore his honour by making amends for his injustice so far as he is able. Anyone who is the first to insult a comrade is therefore liable to the charge of conduct unbecoming a gentleman, unless he makes amends, or if the insult is of such a nature that it cannot be amended, a court martial soon settles the matter. This way of thinking may seem strange enough in some circles, particularly the Prussian army, but it certainly has more common sense on its side than the fantastically exaggerated duel *point d'honneur*[a] of some people. That this is thoroughly consistent with the feeling of military honour is proved by the English officers themselves, who need fear no comparison in this respect.

Advancement in the regiment is exclusively by seniority, coupled

[a] Point of honour.—*Ed.*

with purchase of rank, as follows: As soon as a vacancy occurs, the senior officer of the next lower rank has the choice of whether he will purchase the place or not; if he turns it down, which happens only because of lack of money, the choice goes to the next in seniority, and so forth. This purchase of commissions is without a doubt one of the worst institutions in the English army, something foreign soldiers will never reconcile themselves to. It is absurd and reprehensible, even if one allows all the mitigations that the English plead in its defence: that it enables younger officers to reach higher places more quickly, that it is an old-established custom, one hard to eradicate, etc. It is and remains a shame to the English army that it has not been able to supersede this system, and it undoubtedly does the greatest harm to the spirit of the officer corps that able officers must grow rusty in lower ranks because they have only their pay and no capital.

The price of a commission as ensign (i.e. second lieutenant) is 450 pounds sterling (3,000 thalers) in the line infantry; if the ensign wants to advance to lieutenant, he must pay a further 250 pounds (1,700 thalers); for the captain's commission, 1,100 pounds more (7,030 thalers); major's commission, 1,400 pounds more (9,030 thalers); lieutenant colonel's commission, a further 1,300 pounds (8,700 thalers). This commission is thus worth a grand total of 4,500 pounds sterling, or over 30,000 thalers, which the owner gets back from his successor when he advances to colonel. In the Guards and the cavalry the prices are still higher; there is no purchase of commissions in the artillery and the engineers. If the officer dies, all the capital invested is lost, and the next in seniority takes his place without purchase. From colonel on, purchase no longer applies; every lieutenant colonel who has been on active service in that rank for 3 years, becomes a colonel by right. It is forbidden, under penalty of being cashiered, to pay more than the set price for a position as officer, but this happens very often.

Since the requirements for the ensign's examination do not comprise any military knowledge, a special examination is set before advancing to lieutenant and captain, which is limited to practical service, service regulations, military law and drill. Theoretical attainments in tactics are *not* required.

The officers in the Guards have higher rank: the ensign that of the lieutenant, the lieutenant that of the captain, the captain that of the lieutenant colonel. This causes a great deal of resentment in the line.

Advancement of non-commissioned officers to officer rank

occurs only in exceptional cases. In every battalion the bulk of the routine work falls on three officers: the adjutant, the quartermaster, and the paymaster. Old dependable non-commissioned officers are frequently appointed to these posts, but they never get beyond the rank of lieutenant, which is granted them gratis. Otherwise, promotion to officer rank takes place rarely, for exceptional distinction in the face of the enemy. The nature of the English recruited army, which produces a very strong admixture of low and rough elements, the resulting tone prevailing among the troops and the discipline consequently required, makes it necessary for the officers to belong to a higher class of society than the soldiers, as a matter of course. Accordingly, the distance between officer and soldier is greater in England than anywhere else. And, likewise, advancement upward from the ranks is made very difficult and will always remain a rare exception so long as the purchase of commissions, on the one hand, and the recruitment system, on the other, continue. For educated young men to enlist in the army as volunteers, to serve with the prospect of advancement, as so often happens in Prussia and France, is something that cannot occur in England; the nature of the troops is such that it would be generally believed that the young man took to the soldier's trade for quite different motives, about which he would prefer to remain silent. This makes it quite understandable that the English officer corps consists almost entirely of men who have been brought up as gentlemen, and that the mass of soldiers has more respect for officers who are from the outset their "natural superiors", as the saying goes in England.

Correspondingly, the tone prevailing between officers and soldiers is cold and businesslike. The two classes are linked only by the bond of command and obedience. There are neither intimacies and jokes nor outbreaks of passion. Praise and blame are seldom communicated directly to the soldiers by the officers, and then only in the same calm businesslike voice. Naturally, this applies only to the official relationships in drilling, etc.; in private English officers can curse ... as to which their lads have plenty to say.

One very peculiar institution in the English army is that an officer can have a double rank: a lower one in his regiment and a higher one in the army. This second rank, when it is conferred permanently and unconditionally, is known as brevet rank. Thus, a captain may be a brevet major or a brevet lieutenant colonel in the army; there have even been cases (especially with commanders of Indian irregular troops) where they have been only lieutenants

in their regiments but were majors in the army. Such a captain and brevet major performs the duties of a captain in his regiment, but counts as a staff officer for service in the garrison or camp. This higher rank can also be conferred for only a certain time or for a given colony or theatre of war. Thus, in the last ten years many colonels were named "brigadier generals" or even "major generals" for the duration of the Crimean War or of their stay in the Levant, and similarly in India. This system provides a way of promoting specially favoured or specially useful men to higher positions despite seniority; it is obvious, however, that it entails many unpleasantnesses and much confusion. In the Crimea, the English could never make it comprehensible to the French that a man can be a captain and a major at the same time.

One of the rules for promotion is that no one can become captain who has not had two years of full service as an ensign and lieutenant, nor can any one become a major who has not been an officer for six years.

The military training of officers who do not come from the Sandhurst school is conducted in platoon and company drill, just like that of the soldiers; it is only after examination before the battalion commander that they are released from drill and admitted to serve as officers. All the subaltern officers of a battalion are brought together into a unit under the command of a staff officer once a year before the spring training course of the battalion, and in this form, with rifle on shoulder, they go through the complete individual, platoon and company drill. No doubt this is usually done very superficially.

III

As we know, the numbers of non-commissioned officers and privates are replenished by enlistment, and exclusively in Great Britain and Ireland. Only the 100th Regiment is recruited in Canada. The recruiting is under the adjutant general of the army and is conducted in two ways: In the first place, the individual regiments and depot battalions can take enlistments in their own garrisons. Secondly, apart from this, there is an organised recruiting service throughout the country, which is divided into nine recruiting districts for the purpose (England 4, Scotland 2, Ireland 3). Each district is under a supervisory staff officer (usually a brevet colonel) and, where necessary, is subdivided into smaller regions under lieutenants or captains.—All in all, the following are employed in this service: 8 staff officers, 9 adjutants, 9 paymasters, 9 physicians, 11 recruiting subaltern officers (on half-pay), 8 sergeant-majors, 48 sergeants and an appropriate number of privates. In addition to this, the Guards also recruit, exclusively to boost their own ranks. Every recruit has the right to choose the corps he wants to join. The pious wish is expressed that every corps be recruited as far as possible in the county whose name it bears. Foreigners are to be taken in only with special permission, for which reason they are often passed through as "Scots".

In wartime the militia must serve primarily as a seedbed for the line; for a certain number of men passing over into the line from the militia (the number being set on each occasion) one officer of the militia regiment involved receives a commission in the line.

During the Indian Mutiny in 1857[321] the authorities went so far as to give a commission as lieutenant colonel to every serving or retired staff officer who brought in 1,000 recruits.

Every recruit or re-enlisted soldier receives his full equipment gratis and a bounty varying with the need for recruits but never less than 1 pound and very seldom more than 10 pounds sterling (67 thalers). It is often different for different arms; the largest amount is paid for engineers, since only the best men can be used there. The bounty is paid in part at the time of certification, but most of it is paid upon entering the regiment and after the recruit has been received by the commander of the regiment. This certification consists in having the recruit brought before the police magistrate not earlier than 24 hours after the recruitment and his stating under oath that he enlisted voluntarily and that there are no legal obstacles to his joining the army.

For the cavalry, artillery drivers, engineers, service corps, and the infantry stationed in India, China, Australia and St. Helena, recruits are accepted between the ages of 18 and 25; for the rest of the artillery and infantry, from 17 to 25. The height is set as follows:

Cavalry: cuirassier Guards: 5′ 10″ to 6′
heavy dragoon regiments: 5′ 8″ to 5′ 11″
medium dragoons and lancers: 5′ 7″ to 5′ 9″
hussars: 5′ 6″ to 5′ 8″

Artillery: cannoneers: minimum 5′ 7″, if under 18 years of age, 5′ 6″
drivers: 5′ 4″ to 5′ 6″
mechanics: minimum 5′ 6″

Infantry: minimum
Guards: 5′ 8 1/2″
line 5′ 6″

But this minimum varies greatly; any serious danger of war compels the government to lower it at once, and even the circumstance that the reduction of the length of service from 12 to 10 years will release very many soldiers in the near future was enough to induce the government a few weeks ago to reduce the minimum for the infantry to 5′ 5″. In general, here as elsewhere the measurements are increasingly being reduced, although, as might be expected, taller soldiers can always be obtained on average with a recruited army than with universal military service or conscription. It will be seen from the above figures that this

applies in England, too; the figures can easily be converted to Rhenish measurements with sufficient accuracy if we deduct $2^1/_4$ inches from 5′ to 5′ 6″, and $2^1/_2$″ from 5′ 7″ to 6′.

In addition to the height, a minimum chest circumference is also set: from 5′ 6″ to 5′ 8″, 33 inches; [5′] 8″ to [5′] 10″, 34 inches; over 5′ 10″, 35 inches. Driver cannoneers, service corps soldiers and marksmen must always have 34″ chest measurement. However, driver cannoneers will be accepted even if they do not fully meet these standards, provided that they are experienced in handling horses.

Boys of at least 14 are enlisted as drummers and buglers with the permission of their parents. They receive no enlistment bounty.

The length of service is 10 years for the infantry, 12 for the cavalry, artillery, engineers and service corps; at the end of the period the soldier can re-enlist for 11 years more in the infantry and 9 years in the other branches, if he is found to be still fit. At the end of this re-enlistment he can continue in the service on three months' notice. If the unit is abroad when the enlistment period expires, the officer commanding the station has the right to extend it up to two years.

Every soldier with good conduct is, as a rule, permitted to buy himself out. The redemption amount is based on the time of service already rendered and the time remaining, on the conduct, etc., and is a maximum of 30 pounds in the cavalry, 20 pounds in the infantry, and for coloured soldiers in the colonial corps 12 pounds.

After 21 years of service every soldier is entitled to a pension. The amount of the pension is based on the length of service, his conduct and the physical infirmities incurred during service; for privates and non-commissioned officers it is at least 8 pence (6 Sgr. 8 Pf.) and at most 3 shillings 6 pence (1 thaler 5 Sgr.) per diem. Under certain circumstances, pensions are granted for shorter service, too.

The recruiting sergeants, with the soldiers assigned to them, usually stay in the worst districts of the big cities and keep their eyes chiefly on the public houses. They often parade through the streets with bands on their caps, to the accompaniment of some drummers and pipers, attract a crowd and try to fish in it. If the prey they are looking for is there, he is enticed into a pub as soon as possible and every kind of trick is put into play to get the victim to accept the symbolic shilling, which seals the contract. Once the new candidate for glory has taken the shilling, he can free himself

by paying "smart-money"[a] of a pound sterling before a police magistrate. The law requires that the budding hero must declare before the magistrate, at least 24 hours later, that he is enlisting voluntarily and is firm in his decision. The assumption of the law, and quite a correct one, is that the recruit is not sober, as a rule, when he takes the shilling, and the purpose is to give him a chance to sober up. But it would have to be a poor sort of recruiting sergeant that would let his prey get away from him so easily. He and his men do not let the recruit out of their sight, and before he comes before the magistrate, spirits and beer have had a chance to do their work. The best of it is that a large part of the reckoning is usually paid by the recruit himself, the sergeant advancing the money freely against the bounty. Given these circumstances, it is naive, but prudent, for the regulations to say expressly: Only unmarried soldiers and drummers should be selected for recruiting duty, and only in cases of extreme necessity married sergeants, but in any case only healthy, vigorous men. Anyone who is not a good drinker is unsuited to this duty.

One has the feeling of having been taken back quite into the eighteenth century when one sees this sort of recruiting. Despite the formal safeguards with which the law has surrounded this practice, it remains a fact that by far the largest part of the "English army entirely made up of volunteers" enters into that institution most unwillingly; whether for their own eventual good on the whole, is another question.

It is clear enough what sections of the nation come into the army in this manner. To a large extent, the army, like our recruited armies of former days, remains a *refugium peccatorum,*[b] in which the larger and better part of all the adventurous elements of the people are brought together and are restrained by an exacting course of training and very strict discipline. As a result, the English army, so far as its moral and intellectual character is concerned, is far below all those that are formed by conscription (even with substitution) or by universal military service without substitution. Only the French Foreign Legion[322] and those other French corps formed chiefly from substitutes, such as the Zouaves,[323] can be put on anything like a par with it; although it cannot be denied that the entire French army, by the increasing preference shown for the career soldier in the rank and file, is

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[a] Engels gives the term "smart-money" in brackets after the corresponding German word.— *Ed.*

[b] Refuge of sinners.— *Ed.*

coming closer and closer to the character of the English army. But even the French *remplaçant*[a] is far better educated and has better manners than the rough, wild lads from the dregs of the big cities who set the tone in English barracks. An educated young man can still enter the French army as a volunteer to serve for advancement, without the training time as common soldier being too intolerable for him; in England, a man would have to be out of his mind to do that. As proud as the Englishman is of his army as a whole, he is equally contemptuous of the individual common soldier; even in the lower orders of society it is still rather discreditable to be enlisted or to have a soldier as a relative. In general, the quality of the recruits has undoubtedly improved a great deal in the last ten years. An effort is made to get as much information as possible on the antecedents of the recruits and steer clear of definitely bad characters. The heavy enlistments that were made necessary by the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny soon exhausted the degenerate class from which the army had filled its ranks as a rule during the long period of peace. Not only had the height requirements to be reduced (down to 5′ 3″ for the infantry at one point), but the soldier's life had to be made more attractive and steps had to be taken to improve the tone in the barracks, so that the more reliable members of the working class could also be drawn into the sphere of recruitment. An additional factor was the shortage of suitable candidates for the many new positions as non-commissioned officers (in the Crimean War the battalions were raised to almost double strength). It was also realised that warfare like Wellington's in Spain,[324] with the inevitable looting of all the captured fortresses, is no longer suitable in the Europe of today. The press took up the cause of the soldiers, and it soon became the rule among senior officers to extend philanthropy to the troops. Steps were taken to make life more agreeable for the soldiers, to provide them with facilities for recreation and activities in the barracks or camp, and to keep them away from the pubs. Thus, especially in the last seven years and for the most part by private subscription, libraries, reading rooms, clubrooms with all kinds of games, soldiers' clubs, etc., have been set up. In the camps some land has been assigned to the soldiers for gardens, where possible, as the French do; experiments have been made with theatrical performances and lectures; and from time to time exhibitions have been arranged of various small pieces of art works, etc., that they have produced. All

[a] Substitute.—*Ed.*

these things are still in their infancy but are becoming more and more general. They are extremely necessary. During the campaigns in the Crimea and in India the recruits were undoubtedly of a much higher level than previously, since both wars were very popular among the masses of people. The tone of the army has improved considerably. Contact with the French soldiers in the Crimea also played a part. The job now is to keep that spirit up, so that even during a long period of peace it will be possible to obtain recruits of a similar high level and not be limited again exclusively to the disorderly elements of the population which are always the first to apply in peacetime.

These last, nonetheless, still constitute the larger part of the army, and all the arrangements are made accordingly. An English barracks with its auxiliary buildings and courtyard is surrounded by high walls on all sides, usually with only one gate. There is a separate building for the officers' quarters, and one or more for the soldiers. Where the soldiers' quarters have windows on the street, this part of the building is usually secured, in recent installations, by a deep ditch with a strong iron fence along its outer edge. In large cities, especially in the case of militia barracks, which include an armoury (the militia is called into service for only 4 weeks in the year), the entire street front of the building has loopholes instead of windows, and the corners of the wings are provided with turrets for flanking fire—proof that uprisings of workers are not considered as so unlikely. The soldier spends his life in this huge barracks prison, with the exception of his time off. The admission of civilians is strictly supervised and the entire structure is carefully guarded against view from the outside, so that the soldier may be kept under maximum control and separated from civilians. Here there is none of the easy association between citizens and soldiers that is so common in Germany, or ease of entry into the barracks for all people, and to ensure that no lasting relationships are formed, the garrisons are shifted every year, as a rule.

The most common disciplinary offences can be readily inferred from the character of the army. They are drunkenness, absence without leave after roll-call, theft from comrades, fighting, insubordination and actual acts of violence against a superior. Minor offences are punished summarily by the battalion commander. He has the exclusive power of punishment but can delegate the power to company commanders, up to three days detention in barracks. His own power of punishment extends to: 1) imprisonment up to 7 days, with or without solitary confinement, with or

without hard labour; soldiers given this sentence have the *right* to appeal from the battalion commander to a court martial: 2) imprisonment in a dark cell (black-hole[a]) for up to 48 hours; 3) detention in barracks for up to a month, during which the prisoner must perform all his service and in addition any extra work imposed on him by the commander; confinement to barracks also entails punitive drill with full pack for up to 14 days; the punitive drill must not last for more than an hour at a time but may be repeated up to four times daily. In cases 2) and 3) the commander *may* grant an appeal to a court martial. Solitary confinement or the black-hole are to be reserved, so far as possible, for cases of drunkenness, brawling and insolence towards superiors, and in serious cases may be combined with confinement to barracks, but in such a way that the entire period of arrest does not exceed one month.

As we can see, an English battalion commander has means enough at his disposal to keep order among his wild young fellows. If these means do not suffice, a court martial provides the remedy, the rebellious fellow getting the cat-o'-nine-tails as a last resort. This is one of the most barbarous instruments of punishment that exists: a short-handled whip with nine long, hard, knotted thongs. The offender, stripped to the waist, is tied to a three-cornered frame and the strokes are delivered with the utmost force. Even the first stroke breaks the skin and draws blood. After a few strokes the whip and the flogger are changed in order not lo let up on the delinquent. The doctor is of course always present. Fifty strokes of this kind always make a long recovery in hospital necessary. And yet there are often men who endure these fifty strokes without a cry of pain, since it counts as more shameful to show pain than to earn the strokes.

Twelve years ago the cat was still used very frequently, and up to 150 strokes were ordered. If I am not mistaken, the regimental commander could hand out a certain number of strokes summarily until that time. Then the number was limited to 50 strokes and the power to order them given exclusively to courts martial. Finally, after the Crimean War, and particularly at the urging of Prince Albert, the Prussian division of the soldiers into two classes was introduced and it was decided that only soldiers who had already been put into the second class for *previous* offences and had not got back into the first class by virtue of a year of faultless service could be given corporal punishment for a fresh

[a] Engels gives the English term.— *Ed.*

offence. This distinction does not apply in the face of the enemy; there any common soldier is subject to flogging. In 1862, 126 men were flogged in the army, 114 of them being given the highest legal number of 50 strokes.

In general, it will be seen that both the need and the desire to use the whip have greatly declined, and since the same causes are still operative in the army, it is to be presumed that this will continue to be the case and that the cat will be used increasingly as an exceptional, extreme method of deterrence, reserved for the worst cases in the face of the enemy. For it has been realised that appeals to the soldiers' feeling of honour are more effective than degrading punishments, and on that subject the entire English army says with one voice that a flogged soldier is never worth anything after that. Nonetheless, complete abolition of the cat will not come so soon in England. We all know how strong the prejudices in favour of corporal punishment have been and, to some extent, still are, even in armies that are made up of much better elements of society than the English; and in a recruited army such an extreme instrument of terror is still more excusable than elsewhere. However, the English are certainly right in holding that, if there is to be corporal punishment, it should be used only as a last resort, but in that case very severely. The eternal mild canings that are still given in many armies, including German armies, unfortunately, and which can only have the effect of weakening the fear of that punishment...[a]

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Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] The manuscript breaks off here.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE STRENGTH OF THE ARMIES IN SCHLESWIG

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *MANCHESTER GUARDIAN*

Sir,

There are most absurd reports afloat as to the relative strength of the contending armies in the Danish war.[325] It is generally supposed that the Danes are outnumbered in the proportion of one Dane to at least three Germans. To show how little this is in accordance with facts, I propose to give a detailed statement of the strength of each army, as far at least as its infantry is concerned; for as to cavalry and artillery it would at present be very difficult to get precise information.

Before the outbreak of hostilities, the Danes had the following troops in Schleswig, viz.:

| | Battalions |
|---|---|
| First Division; Commander, Lieutenant-General Gerlach: | |
| 1st Brigade, 2nd and 22nd Infantry Regiments | 4 |
| 2nd Brigade, 3rd and 18th Infantry Regiments | 4 |
| 3rd Brigade, 17th and 19th Infantry Regiments | 4 |
| Second Division; Major General Du Plat: | |
| 4th Brigade, 4th and 6th Infantry Regiments | 4 |
| 5th Brigade, 7th and 12th Infantry Regiments | 4 |
| 6th Brigade, 5th and 10th Infantry Regiments | 4 |
| Third Division; Major General Steinmann: | |
| 7th Brigade, 1st and 11th Infantry Regiments | 4 |
| 8th Brigade, 9th and 20th Infantry Regiments | 4 |
| 9th Brigade, 16th and 21st Infantry Regiments | 4 |
| Total Battalions | 36 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Or, at 800 men for a battalion (the full complement is 870 men and officers), say | 28,800 men |
| Cavalry, 4 1/2 regiments, at 560 men | 2,500 " |
| Artillery, about | 3,000 " |
| Total Danish forces | 34,300 men |

Exclusive of several battalions, both of line and reserve, which were sent to Schleswig in the first days of February, but as to which it has been impossible to ascertain any particulars.

The Austrians have sent to the seat of war the sixth army corps, consisting of the following troops:

| | Battalions |
|---|---|
| General Gondrecourt's Brigade: | |
| Infantry Régiment, King of Prussia | 3 |
| Ditto Baron Martini | 3 |
| Chasseur Battalion, No. 18 | 1 |
| General Nostitz's Brigade: | |
| Infantry Regiment, King of the Belgians | 3 |
| Ditto Grand Duke of Hesse | 3 |
| Chasseur Battalion, No. 9 | 1 |
| General Thomas's Brigade: | |
| Infantry Regiment, Count Coronini | 3 |
| Ditto Prince Holstein | 3 |
| A Chasseur Battalion, number not stated | 1 |
| General Dormus's Brigade: | |
| Two Infantry Regiments and one battalion of Chasseurs, numbers and names not stated | 7 |
| Total battalions | 28 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Or at 800 men per battalion (which is a high estimate for the present organisation of the Austrian army) | 22,400 men |
| Cavalry, about | 2,000 " |
| Artillery, about | 2,600 " |
| Total, about | 27,000 men |

The Prussians have sent the following contingent:

I.—Combined army corps of Prince Frederick Charles

| | Battalions |
|---|---|
| Sixth Division: | |
| 11th Brigade, 20th and 60th Regiments | 6 |
| 12th Brigade, 24th and 64th Regiments | 6 |
| Besides the 35th Light Infantry Regiment | 3 |
| Thirteenth Division: | |
| 25th Brigade, 13th and 53rd Regiments | 6 |
| 26th Brigade, 15th and 55th Regiments | 6 |
| 7th Chasseur Battalion | 1 |
| 2.—Division of Guards; General Mulbe: | |
| 1st Brigade, 3rd and 4th Foot Guards | 6 |
| 2nd Brigade, 3rd and 4th Grenadier Guards | 6 |
| Chasseurs of the Guard | 1 |
| Total | 41 |
| Or at 800 men per battalion | 32,800 men |
| Cavalry | 3,000 " |
| Artillery | 3,000 " |
| | 38,800 " |
| With Austrians | 27,000 " |
| Total allied army | 65,800 men |

Or less than two allied soldiers to one Dane. If the strength of the Danish defences at the Dannevirke, at Düppel, and at Fridericia is taken into account, such a numerical superiority is not more than required to ensure success. It is almost precisely the same proportion of superiority which Wellington and Blücher, in 1815, had over Napoleon.[326]

Written after February 7, 1864

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the *Manchester Guardian*, February 16, 1864
Signed: *F. E.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## OBITUARY

On May 9 of this year

WILHELM WOLFF,

of Tarnau, near Schweidnitz, Silesia, died in Manchester of a brain hemorrhage at the age of almost 55 years. He was Associate Editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne and deputy to the German National Assembly in Frankfurt and Stuttgart in 1848 and 1849, and a private tutor in Manchester from 1853.

*Manchester*, May 13, 1864

*Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Ernst Dronke,*
*Louis Borchardt,* M.D.,
*Eduard Gumpert,* M.D.

Written on May 13, 1864

First published in *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 144, May 23, 1864, Supplement

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# Frederick Engels

## ENGLAND'S FIGHTING FORCES AS AGAINST GERMANY

Manchester, June 27

The incredible is taking place: England is threatening Germany with war.[327] According to the *United Service Gazette* orders have already gone out to the depot in Pimlico (London) and the Arsenal at Woolwich to have the equipment and arms needed for thirty thousand men ready for immediate use, and we may expect to hear in a few days' time that the Channel fleet has sailed for the Sound or the Belts.[a]

The *Army and Navy Gazette* informs us of the fighting forces available to England at the moment. It says, in its June 25 issue:

"The naval force which we have at hand and which can weigh anchor immediately is as follows:

| | *Horse-power* | *Guns* | *Tonnage* | *Men* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Edgar,* wooden ship | 600 | 71 | 3,094 | 810 |
| *Warrior,* ironcased | 1,250 | 40 | 6,109 | 705 |
| *Black Prince,* ironcased | 1,250 | 41 | 6,109 | 705 |
| *Prince Consort,* ironcased | 1,000 | 35 | 4,045 | 605 |
| *Hector,* ironcased | 800 | 28 | 4,089 | 530 |
| *Defence,* " | 600 | 16 | 3,720 | 457 |
| *Aurora,* wooden frigate | 400 | 35 | 2,558 | 515 |
| *Galatea,* " | 800 | 26 | 3,227 | 515 |
| *Wolverene,* wooden corvette | 400 | 21 | 1,703 | 275 |
| *Research,* ironcased | 200 | 4 | 1,253 | 135 |
| *Enterprise,* " | 160 | 4 | 993 | 121 |

[a] The Great Belt and the Little Belt straits.—*Ed.*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Geyser,* paddle-wheel wooden steam vessel | 280 | 6 | 1,054 | 175 |
| *Assurance,* wooden steam vessel | 200 | 4 | 681 | 90 |
| *Salamis,* paddle-wheel wooden steam vessel | 250 | 2 | ? | 65 |
| *Trinculo,* wooden gunboat | 60 | 2 | 268 | 24 |

"In addition, in order to have special vessels of smaller draught for the shallow and narrow waters of the Baltic and the Danish coasts, the Admiralty has ordered the following ships to be made ready for sea:

| | *Horse-power* | *Guns* | *Tonnage* | *Men* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Cordelia,* wooden corvette | 150 | 11 | 579 | 130 |
| *Fawn,* " | 100 | 17 | 751 | 175 |
| *Racer,* " | 150 | 11 | 579 | 130 |

"Moreover, the following new-built ships will be ready shortly:

| | *Horse-power* | *Guns* | *Tonnage* | *Men* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Achilles,* ironcased | 1,250 | 30 | 6,121 | 705 |
| *Royal Sovereign,* cupola ironcased ship | 800 | 5 | 3,963 | 500 |
| *Caledonia,* ironcased | 1,000 | 35 | 4,125 | 605 |
| *Ocean,* " | 1,000 | 35 | 4,047 | 605 |

"In addition there are the numerous ships of the steamer reserve, and finally those of the Coast Guard, including 15 gunboats of 60 horsepower and mounting two heavy pieces of ordnance."

The latter, the *Army and Navy Gazette* believes, would be as troublesome to an enemy as blow flies to a horse; it would be impossible to shake them off. (As if the Prussians did not have 22 such blow flies in the Baltic, too!)

So much for the *Army and Navy Gazette* on the fleet. We were on board several ships of the ironclad fleet last year[a] and in addition have carefully followed their ups and downs and their test cruises. These have shown that none of these ironclads can hold the high seas in stormy weather; last winter the *Prince Consort* almost foundered in the Irish Channel during a storm, which all the wooden ships easily rode out. Thus, these ships are only usable in definite previously planned undertakings (sea battles or attacks against land fortifications), and will then have to return to port

[a] See this volume, pp. 289-95.— *Ed.*

each time. They are of no use for blockades, etc. Their armour is usually a $4^1/_2$-inch rolled iron of varying quality and applied in varying ways; in every case with a wood backing two feet thick, even in the ships otherwise made entirely of iron. None of this armour resists the seventy-pound flat-nosed steel Whitworth shell, most of them not even the seventy-pound steel Whitworth bomb of the same form as the shell. Rifled guns are now being cast in Prussia with the bore of the old 48-pounders, which are more or less equivalent to the above-mentioned Whitworth cannon. Flat-nosed cylindrical steel shells (*without a conical point*) from such guns will penetrate this armour, even if their rear half is hollow and carries an explosive charge. These explosive shells *do not require a fuse* (as Whitworth's tests have shown) when they are fired against iron armour; penetrating the armour produces so much heat that the shells become white-hot and the powder inside them is ignited.

The armament of the ironclads usually consists of smooth-bore sixty-eight-pounders (eight-inch calibre) as broadside cannons and hundred-ten-pound Armstrongs (seven-inch calibre) as pivoted cannons on the bow and the stern. Some of these ships also had Armstrong forty-pounders and seventy-pounders on the broadside, but it may be that these are being replaced by sixty-eight-pounders. The old sixty-eight-pounder is a very respectable, solid and, for its calibre, manageable cannon, very effective up to at least two thousand paces and certainly the best cannon of the entire English fleet. On the other hand, the Armstrong breech-loading guns are very unreliable, since the rifling grooves soon become obstructed with lead by reason of the faulty attachment of the lead coating of the shell, and in particular because the breech block is useless. It consists of a quadrilateral piece of iron inserted from above extending to somewhat below the bottom of the bore, and screwed into place and secured from behind. If we consider that in the seven-inch calibre the shell weighs 110 pounds and the breech block only 135 pounds, we shall see that, after a few shots, the powder residues will prevent the block from fitting closely and it must fly out and high in the air as soon as the explosion gases work on it from below. This happens regularly, so that these Armstrong guns, despite their otherwise good effectiveness, have a very bad reputation in the navy.

The *Royal Sovereign* will carry five very heavy guns in her four cupolas or turrets; the nature of the ordnance is not yet known. Her armour has no wood backing. It remains to be seen whether this ship is of any value on the high seas.

The smaller ships, and the wooden ships in general, have as broadside guns mainly smooth-bore thirty-two-pounders 9 feet 6 inches and 10 feet in length, very good cannon which can take charges of up to $^1/_3$ the weight of the shell, which the sixty-eight-pounders do not, and which therefore have very sure aim, for their length. Still, even on heavy ships there are some light eight-inch bomb-shell guns on the broadsides. The pivot guns are either eight-inch smooth-bore of lighter or heavier construction or Armstrong guns firing long shells weighing 40, 70 or 110 pounds.

The draught of the large ironclads is at least 25 feet, so that they are on a par with ships of the line and very heavy frigates in this respect. This makes them useless in narrow and shallow waters, but they could serve in the deep channels of narrow creeks and estuaries to attack shore batteries and coastal forts. There they are dangerous if the cannon of the defence are too light and their shells are not made of steel. It is doubtful whether the Prussian rifled twenty-four-pounder could penetrate their armour with steel shells. The rifled forty-eight-pounder can do it, in any event, if its shell is of steel and flattened at the nose, if it has a charge of a sixth to a fourth of the shell weight and if the shot can be fired at from six to eight hundred paces. Rifled guns of from seven to eight inches, which we could have made so easily of Krupp cast steel, if emplaced at suitable points, even in small numbers, would soon enough make the heavy English ironclads narmless to our coasts. Only, the shell must be of steel and cylindrical, and must not have a conical or rounded nose so that it will catch the iron armour with its sharp edge even if the impact is oblique. Whitworth has penetrated the armour with such shells even at an angle of incidence of over fifty degrees. Further, with such heavy guns it is best to leave any experiments with breech-loading quite out of consideration; beyond a certain calibre they are certainly worthless, and there is no more time for protracted tests.

So much concerning the navy; now let us hear what the *Army and Navy Gazette* can tell us about the available land forces:

"*Cavalry.* 4th, 5th, 6th regiments of Guards Dragoons; 1st and 2nd (Dragoon); 3rd, 4th, 8th (Hussar); 9th (Lancer); 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th (Hussar) regiments. Each has 650 men, including officers, a total of 10,700 men.

"*Artillery.* Ten batteries of horse-artillery (six guns each), 26 field batteries (horse-borne) also of six guns each and 25 fortress batteries. In all, 216 field guns and 13,700 men.

"*Engineers.* 20 companies and two train companies, in all 2,700 men.

"*Infantry.* The first battalions of the 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 6th, 8th, 10th, 11th, 13th, 14th, 24th, 26th, 29th, 31st, 32nd, 37th, 41st, 45th, 49th, 53rd, 58th, 59th, 60th,

61st, 64th, 69th, 73rd, 74th, 75th, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th regiments; the second battalions of the 1st, 12th and 60th regiments. To this should be added the first battalions of the 21st, 39th, and 62nd regiments, now on the way from America, making a total of 39 battalions. Excluding the depot companies, about 780 men per battalion are left ready to turn out, or a total force of 30,000 trained men. In addition, there are the depots of the entire army, a total of 18,000 men as first reserves, and finally the Guards (1,300 men of the cavalry and 6,000 infantry).

"In all: cavalry 12,000; artillery 13,700; engineers 2,700; infantry 54,000. Grand total: 82,000 men. But in estimating the number of troops we could send into the field, we must first deduct the depots with 18,000 men and a further 25% for those not available for service, and those who must be employed at home. We should then have some 48,000 well-drilled and well-seasoned troops, ready to go anywhere and do anything, if properly aided by the auxiliary and administrative departments. A first reserve of recruits would come to about half this number. We do not know the actual strength of the *militia* assembled at the training which has just concluded, but it should be a larger number than in 1863, when it turned out 102,000 strong for inspection. Finally, the volunteers amount to about 160,000."

This is what the *Army and Navy Gazette* reports. These statistics may suffice for today, since we plan to give your readers an exact report on the English forces on land anyway.[328] However, your German troops should realise one thing: If they come up against Englishmen, they will be facing quite a different opponent than the brave, but badly-trained, slow Danes.

Written on June 27, 1864

First published in the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung,* No. 27, July 6, 1864

Signed: *F. E.*

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# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

# Karl Marx

## GROUND RENT

1) We have already seen that

in order to understand ground rent correctly two things must be distinguished from [...][a]

1) *Firstly,* the portion paid to the landowner for *improvements* made to the land, i.e. for the *capital* invested in and *merged* with it. This is the [...] interest. Whether I have invested 1,000 thalers in a cotton-machine or in [...] canals on the land is immaterial to the source of the income [...] I derive from these 1,000 thalers. For that is and remains the interest on capital productively used.

2) *Secondly,* the form which the ground rent [assumes] as a money rent. Supposing a plot of land brings in 20 thalers rent annually. Suppose further that the land[owner sells] this plot of land, i.e. that he sells the annual ground rent of 20 thalers. How is the purchase price of the ground rent or the plot of land [fixed?...] The land only has value in so far as these 20 thalers [...] are taken into account.

The question thus is:

How much capital must I pay the landowner [in order] to purchase an annual rent of 20 thalers? In other words the

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[a] Here and below leaders in square brackets indicate damaged or completely faded, illegible places in the manuscript. The words in square brackets have been inserted by the Editors.— *Ed.*

question is: how large a capital is required to yield 20 thalers annually in our [...] social conditions? To answer this question I have to know the rate of interest in general and how much interest on average a capital of [...]

If the rate of interest is 5% this means that the 100 thalers I invest bring in 5 thalers interest. The question is:

If 100 thalers yield 5 thalers annually how large a capital must I have to produce 20 thalers annually? If 100 thalers bring in 5 thalers annually, then 400 thalers yield 20 thalers interest p.a.

Thus, if the rate of interest stands at 5%, the landowner will sell a plot of land that brings in 20 thalers p.a. for 400 thalers. In 20 years the purchaser would have replaced his capital. $20 \times 20 = 400$.

Thus, the farmer pays 20 thalers rent p.a., but the [purchaser] who has bought the land for 400 thalers receives 20 thalers rent p.a. In his eyes the 20 thalers which the farmer pays him are nothing but interest paid to him on the 400 thalers which he has laid out as the purchase price of the land. In many regions the capital invested in land may yield a lower interest than the capital invested in other branches of industry. It is therefore possible that capital invested in land may only bring in $2^1/_2$%, while if employed in trade or industry, it [...] In that event, a plot of land yielding [20 thalers] rent p.a. would be [sold] for 800 thalers instead of 400. [The purchaser] will then need 40 years to recover his capital. If a farmer pays out [...] rent of 20 thalers p.a. for a morgen[a] of land, it may very easily be that the landlord who receives these 20 thalers only [...] $2^1/_2$ thalers.

[A high or] low level of ground rent bears no [relation to] the high or low interest which capital [...] on the purchase of the ground rent, i.e. of the land [...]

[...] furthermore, that the land has a price, that it can be sold because there is such a thing as ground rent and not the other way round, i.e. that there is such a thing as ground rent because a price is paid for the land.

[...] in general that the price of the land is [nothing] but *capitalised ground rent.* What is meant by *capitalised ground rent*? It means that I regard ground rent as the interest on the capital invested in the purchase of the land. The rent on a morgen of land may be 20 thalers; but for the man who buys the land the 20 thalers can never be more than the 5 or 3 or $2^1/_2$%, i.e. the going

[a] German measure of land varying from 0.6 to 0.9 acres.—*Ed.*

Beginning of Marx's notes for a lecture on ground rent

rate of interest on capital. If interest rates are 5%, I can recover my capital in 20 years. Thus, in order to capitalise the ground rent, i.e. to exchange it for capital, it must be multiplied by the number of years it takes, at the prevailing rate of interest, to replace the capital, to restore it to the lender.

c) The sale of land *presupposes ground rent* and hence does not explain it.

3) *Thirdly.*

Ground rent is the annual sum paid to the landowner by the farmer or the manufacturer of the products of the earth. If a manufacturer, an industrial capitalist, is to invest his money in farming, it must bring him on average the same profits as any other industry. Otherwise no capitalist would cultivate the land. If the farmer, i.e. the manufacturer of farm produce, lays out a sum of 100 thalers annually to cultivate the land, to buy seed and manure, to make good the damage caused by the wear and tear to the instruments of labour or to replace them, to pay wages, etc., he will need to obtain 110 thalers from the sale of his produce, as interest and profit. Whatever the sale of his produce yields over and above 110 thalers goes to the landowner and constitutes the ground rent. Thus, if he obtains 120 thalers, the ground rent is equal to 10 thalers. Thus, ground rent is equal to *the surplus of the market price of the produce of the land over its price of production.* The price of production here includes the farmer's interest and profit.

Where does this surplus of the market price of the produce of the land over its price of production come from? What is it that enables the manufacturer of farm produce, apart from receiving interest and profit, paying wages and meeting the other costs of production, also to pay ground rent to the man who leases the land to him? How does it come about that the selling price of farm produce is sufficiently high to yield a rent in addition to the wages, interest and profit—something which is not the case in other branches of industry?

In the first place, it cannot be argued that this arises from the special *productivity* of agriculture or of the soil itself. Nor can it be said to stem from the fact that the land is *limited* in extent. To assert that agriculture is more *productive* than any other industry might mean nothing beyond the fact that in no other industry is it possible to extract more produce at the same cost. But, since the price of a product is governed basically by the cost of its production, this would imply that the price of farm produce should be lower than that of all the other products—a fact which

cannot possibly help to explain the *surplus of its market price over the price of production.*

We come now to the question of the *limited* area of land.[a]

Written in late 1861

First published in: *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe,* Abt. II, Bd. 2, Berlin, 1980

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] The manuscript breaks off here.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON WILHELM WOLFF][329]

*1809, June 21.* Born in Tarnau, Schweidnitz[a] District.

*1813.* Russians.

*1834-38.* $4^1/_2$ years in *Silberberg.*[330] "*Casemate Wolf[f]*" wishes to see his dying father, even if accompanied by a gendarme. Refused.

*1843-February 1846, in Breslau.*[b]

*1846.* Wolff flees because of press prosecution. Article on uprising of Silesian weavers.[c]

*1846-48.* Brussels. "Bureau de Correspondance".[331] Jailed in Brussels. (Arrested between February 26 and 28.)

*1848, April to June,* in Breslau.

*1848, September, Cologne.* Lupus presents himself [for trial].[332] Warrant of arrest withdrawn.

*October 22, 1848.* Warrant of arrest issued by Hecker. Withdrawn March 8, 1849.

*June 1848 to May 10, 1849, in Cologne.* Thence to Frankfurt.

*May 26, 1849.* Scene in German Parliament (Frankfurt).[333]

*1849,* with Lupus already in Switzerland, warrant of arrest issued in connection with Rump in Stuttgart.[334]

*July 5, 1849,* to Basle. Thence to Berne, interned. $1^3/_4$ of year teacher in Zurich. *March 31, 1851,* written order of expulsion from Zurich. (*September 10, 1850 in Zurich.* Lupus protests against being assigned to Lucerne Canton in consequence of Federal Council decision on refugees.)

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[a] Swidnica.— *Ed.*

[b] Wrocław.— *Ed.*

[c] Wolff, W., "Das Elend und der Aufruhr in Schlesien". In: *Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1845,* Darmstadt, 1845.— *Ed.*

*June 4, 1851-1853.* Arrival[a] in London. Stays about 2 years there.

*January 12, 1861.* Prussian Amnesty Decree.[335] *January 4, 1862,* application to the Prussian government. No answer for 5 months. Another application on *June 4, 1862. August 1, 1862* Schweidnitz Municipal Council requires him to name his last place of residence in Prussia.

*September 5, 1862.* Prussian government answers that amnesty implies resumption of investigation.[b]

Written in late May and early June 1864

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Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 243.—*Ed.*

# APPENDICES

# [APPLICATION BY MARX FOR RESTORATION OF HIS PRUSSIAN CITIZENSHIP][336]

To the Royal Police President
His Excellency Baron von Zedlitz-Neukirch

Your Excellency,

I hereby respectfully inform you that, on the strength of the Royal amnesty, I have returned to Prussia from London, where I have lived as a political refugee since 1849, with the intention of taking up residence here in Berlin to begin with.

In this connection I respectfully request Your Excellency:

1. on the basis of the Royal order of the amnesty[337] and the law of December 31, 1842 (Ges. S. 15-18)[a] to issue a confirmation of my reintegration into the status of a Prussian subject, for which Your Excellency is the competent authority under § 5 of the aforesaid law, and

2. to be good enough to forward to me the certificate mentioned in § 8 of the law of December 31, 1842, on the reception of newly-arrived persons (Ges. S. 5), to the effect that I have reported my entry into this community to the Royal police authorities; and I declare with respect to the latter that, upon request, I can show that I have fully independent means of subsistence through contracts as co-editor of the *New-York Tribune,* published in New York, as well as otherwise.

To begin with, I have taken up residence with a friend of mine,

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[a] "Gesetz über die Erwerbung und den Verlust der Eigenschaft als Preussischer Unterthan ... Vom 31. Dezember 1842", *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preussischen Staaten,* Berlin, 1843, No. 2.—*Ed.*

Herr F. Lassalle, 13 Bellevuestr., and request that the two documents asked for be sent to me there.

With best respects

Your Excellency's devoted
*Dr Karl Marx*

Berlin, March 19, 1861

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# [MARX'S STATEMENT ON THE RESTORATION OF HIS PRUSSIAN CITIZENSHIP][338]

To the Royal Police President
His Excellency Baron von Zedlitz

Your Excellency,

I have the honour in reply to your letter of the 21st inst. to state that I am surprised that my letter of March 19 did not seem quite clear. In the words of my application, my request was:

"on the basis of the Royal order of the amnesty and the law of December 31, 1842, to issue a confirmation of my reintegration into the status of a Prussian subject".[a]

It is this application that appears not quite clear to Your Excellency and seems to contain a contradiction insofar as I referred therein to Your Excellency's being the competent authority to issue that confirmation, pursuant to § 5 of the law of December 31, 1842.

Under the Royal order of amnesty "unimpeded return to the Prussian states" has been granted to all political refugees not condemned by military courts.[b]

Since I am one of those refugees and am a native Prussian, with reference to which I attach for Your Excellency as official proof my birth certificate in the form of an extract from the Register of Civil Status of the City of Trier (May 7, 1818), moreover as I left the fatherland in 1849, up to which time I had lived in Cologne as editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,*[339] and had not been prosecuted in actions in military courts, but only in several political press suits, which I drew upon myself in my aforesaid capacity as editor, it is clear therefore that I am included in the above-mentioned amnesty.

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[a] See this volume, p. 339.—*Ed.*

[b] "Gesetz über die Erwerbung und den Verlust der Eigenschaft als Preussischer Unterthan... Vom 31. Dezember 1842", *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preussischen Staaten,* Berlin, 1843, No. 2.—*Ed.*

At the same time, the foregoing provides Your Excellency with an answer to the particular questions that you addressed to me in your rescript.

But it seems possible that another question may be raised. The Royal amnesty not only declares that pardon has been extended to those already convicted under the law and those not yet convicted, but at the same time grants refugees "unimpeded return to the Prussian states".

Does this signify, apart from remission of the criminal penalty, that the status of a Prussian citizen, which they had lost by residing abroad for more than ten years, is likewise restored to the refugees?

According to *my* interpretation and that of *all* jurists, according to the unanimous conception of public opinion and the entire press, it does. And there are two arguments that prove this incontrovertibly.

First, that the amnesty order guarantees not only remission of the penalty but also *expressly* "unimpeded return to the Prussian states".

Secondly, because the entire amnesty would otherwise be a completely *illusory* one, *only* on paper. For, since all the refugees have lived abroad since 1848 and 1849, i.e., twelve years, this would mean that all of them have lost their status as Prussians, and if that status were not reinvigorated by the amnesty, the "unimpeded return" alleged to be granted would actually be granted to no one.

Accordingly, there can be no doubt that, in spite of the loss of Prussian nationality due to an absence of ten years, this right is to be revived by the Royal amnesty.

However, although this is my interpretation and that of the jurists, in practice only the interpretation of the authorities is decisive and provides an adequate basis for practical actions.

How then will the Royal authorities please to interpret the Royal amnesty?

Will they interpret it in the sense that the amnesty is an amnesty, and unimpeded return is unimpeded return? Or will they interpret it in the sense that the granting of unimpeded return impedes return and that the refugees are to remain deprived of the fatherland despite the decree? Upon unprejudiced consideration of the circumstances, Your Excellency cannot fail to see that this scepticism can hardly be regarded as totally unfounded.

So much has been decreed in the last twelve years and so much

astonishing interpretation has been referred to these decrees that by now no interpretation can any longer be regarded as positively sure nor can any interpretation be regarded as absolutely impossible.

Accordingly, the only positively sure basis remaining on which practical steps can be taken seems to be the interpretation given by the *authorities themselves* to the particular *individual.*

Will Your Excellency grant that, despite my loss of the status of a Prussian by virtue of the law, I have regained it through the Royal amnesty?

That is the very simple and clear question that I wanted to, and had to, address to Your Excellency.

I am all the more forced to do so, since I cannot bring my wife and children from London until this question is decided, for obviously I cannot be expected to undertake a problematical change of residence with my entire household and family and only *thereafter* engage in a contest which, on the contrary, I should *previously* bring to a termination, if it is to be engaged in at all, *before* I take the costly step of moving and bring my wife and children back to the fatherland.

My question is all the more justified as a very natural and simple one in view of the fact that Your Excellency yourself has raised the question in your letter of the 21st inst.: on what basis do I claim "not to have lost the status of a Prussian despite absence for ten years".

Your Excellency will have seen from the foregoing the basis on which I rest my claim.

The justification for my addressing my question to Your Excellency is found in § 5 of the law of December 31, 1842, which I have adduced. For, since, according to that, Your Excellency is the competent authority to grant naturalisation, so you are *a fortiori*[a] the competent authority to explain *interpretando*[b] whether by virtue of the amnesty I have regained the lost status of a Prussian. It is only in *this* sense that I have referred to § 5 of the law in question.

Furthermore it is particularly appropriate for me to turn to Your Excellency with this question because it is in *Berlin* that I wish to take up domicile, my ability to do so depending on that confirmation as a legal *condition,* and hence Your Excellency, as chief of the police of this city, is the person on whose view in the

[a] All the more certainly.— *Ed.*

[b] By interpreting the law.— *Ed.*

question posed the decision on the matter of residence will depend.

It can surely not be in Your Excellency's interest, nor can it be expected of me, that I should wait three or four months or longer in complete *uncertainty* and with no possibility of taking practical steps to achieve my end until I receive notice, along with a definitive decision as to domicile, of what interpretation you give the Royal amnesty and whether thereby you will confirm my reinstatement as a Prussian or not.

Such uncertainty, lasting for months, would *be extremely damaging to me in all my plans, arrangements and economic relationships.*

It is, of course, also my *right* to know whether the competent authority *will* or *will not* confirm that status for me, and that authority will not regard a refusal or postponement of a reply thereto as either legitimate or worthy of itself.

Accordingly, I freely, openly and loyally put this question to Your Excellency:

whether or not you confirm that the Royal amnesty restores me to the status of a Prussian?

and I look forward to an equally free, open and loyal reply.

I am all the more eager to have this answer as soon as possible since only then will it be possible for me, in the most improbable case of an unfavourable decision, to appeal to the Chambers while they are still in session, during which, in any case, a proposal for an amnesty law evoked by doubts as to the interpretation of the amnesty order will be discussed, and since, on the other hand, I can stay here only for *a short time* now, as family affairs call me back to London.

I therefore request Your Excellency kindly to let me have the requested open and definite answer by return of post, for *only then* will I be able to submit, in due form, my application for settlement in this city.

I have the honour to remain,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,
*Dr Karl Marx*

Berlin, March 25, 1861

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# [MARX'S STATEMENT ON THE REJECTION OF HIS APPLICATION FOR RESTORATION OF HIS PRUSSIAN CITIZENSHIP][340]

Berlin, April 6, 1861

To His Excellency the Royal Police President
Baron von Zedlitz, Knight p.p.

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to reply to your letter dated March 30 and received yesterday that the facts, referred to by Your Excellency, relating to my discharge from my Prussian citizenship in 1845 cannot be fully known to Your Excellency, since otherwise Your Excellency's decision of March 30 would certainly not have been taken.

The following facts and legal grounds will convince Your Excellency that the status of a Prussian cannot be denied me at the present time.

1. In 1844, during my residence in Paris, an order for my arrest was issued by the Royal Governor of the Rhine Province, on the grounds of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* edited by me, and was sent to the border police authorities to be carried out as soon as I set foot on Prussian soil.

This placed me in the position of a political refugee from that time on.

But the Royal Prussian government was not content with that. In January 1845 it obtained my expulsion from France from the Guizot ministry.[a]

I went to Belgium. But the persecution of the Royal Prussian government followed me there too. Still on the pretext that I was a Prussian, which entitled the Prussian government to take steps concerning me via their embassies abroad, here too my expulsion was demanded by the Prussian government.

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[a] Marx left Paris for Brussels on February 3, 1845.—*Ed.*

Prevented from returning to my fatherland by the order of arrest, the only thing left me of my nationality as a Prussian was the capacity for being persecuted; the only thing left me was to be persecuted and expelled everywhere abroad at the instance of the Prussian government.

This made it necessary for me to deprive the Prussian government of that period of the possibility to persecute me further, and for this reason I asked in 1845 for that discharge from Prussian citizenship.

Even at that time, it was not in the least my intention to give up my Prussian nationality. This *can be formally proved.* Anyone who gives up his nationality can only do that with the intention of getting himself admitted to another nationality. I have *never* done this. I have not had myself naturalised anywhere, and, when the provisional government of France *offered* me naturalisation in 1848, I refused it.[341]

That application in 1845 for discharge from Prussian citizenship was therefore not, as Your Excellency writes in error, a surrender, "by my own free will", of my status as a Prussian, but merely a device, *forced* on me by extreme persecution, to free myself from the continuing device of this persecution. It was a *pretext* employed against another pretext, not at all a serious intention to give up my status as a Prussian.

Your Excellency will see from the foregoing that it is impossible for you to rely on that proceeding in 1845.

To try to rely on it would mean supporting the era of the worst absolutist persecutions of German writers, perpetuating them in their effects, and trying to take advantage of them. It would mean trying, on the basis of the political oppression of that period and the means thereby forced on me of saving myself from unbounded persecution, to deprive me of my Prussian nationality, which I never seriously intended to give up.

Finally, with reference to the expulsion in 1849 mentioned by Your Excellency, I will remark by way of supererogation that I returned to Prussia immediately after March 1848[a] and took up my domicile in Cologne and was admitted as a citizen by the municipality of Cologne without further ado. To be sure, the Manteuffel ministry ordered my expulsion in 1849 as an alleged foreigner. But this action is one of the most illegal deeds of violence of that ministry and hence cannot in any way be adduced

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[a] Marx and Engels left Paris and returned to Germany about April 6, 1848.—*Ed.*

as a decisive precedent, and even at that time I would not have yielded to it had not a number of political press prosecutions forced me to go abroad as a refugee, quite apart from that expulsion.

After the foregoing explanations, I regard Your Excellency as just as unable to wish to rely on those facts as it is objectively impossible to deduce from them anything against me.

However, this is also

2. quite impossible because of the Royal decree on the amnesty. By it "unimpeded return to the Prussian states" is assured all political refugees. That is, unimpeded return even if they had in the meantime legally lost their status as Prussians. Unimpeded return, whatever the way in which they might have lost that status, whether by the law itself[a] as the result of absence for ten years or by reason of an added verbal declaration of withdrawal from Prussian citizenship. The amnesty *does not distinguish* between these two modes of loss of the status of a Prussian. Neither does it distinguish between the refugees of 1848-49 and those of an earlier period; it does not distinguish between those who lost the rights of native-born Prussians as a result of the conflicts in 1848 and those who lost them as a result of the political conflicts of earlier years.

"Unimpeded return" is assured all political refugees, from whatever time their political conflicts and the resulting loss of their rights as native-born [Prussians] may date; all these are thereby restored to their previous rights as native-born.

Since the Royal amnesty does not distinguish whether those rights were lost by virtue of the law itself because of absence for ten years or because of an added declaration, it is absolutely impermissible to try, by *interpretation,* to introduce a limitation and a distinction into the Royal amnesty which it never makes itself.

Your Excellency will be aware of this firmly-established principle, that an amnesty *may never be interpreted restrictively.* This principle has been consecrated by the jurisprudence of all times and all countries with unanimity like no other principle. If this has been the inviolable principle of every tribunal that has had to apply and interpret amnesty decrees, it must equally be the principle of administrative authorities when it behoves them to make this interpretation. Any restrictive interpretation would

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[a] This refers to the "Gesetz über die Erwerbung und den Verlust der Eigenschaft als Preussischer Unterthan... vom 31. Dezember 1842".—*Ed.*

signify: *abbreviating the amnesty after the event and repealing it in part.*

This will certainly not be Your Excellency's intention. If I refrain from adducing the juridical materials on this matter that are at my disposal, the reason is that it will suffice to call Your Excellency's attention to the fact that any other interpretation of the Royal amnesty than mine would contain a restriction thereof.

Your Excellency will see from the foregoing that in fact everything comes down to whether, as I stated in my latest memorandum,[a] the refugees are reintegrated into the status of native-born Prussians by the Royal amnesty, although all of them had lost the same under the law in view of their staying abroad for ten years without permission. If this is conceded, and Your Excellency yourself accepts this in your rescript dated March 30, it is a matter of total indifference if there has been, in addition to this legal loss of native-born status, which is set aside by the amnesty, a declaration by the individual in question in the past, and posing such a distinction would constitute an impermissible restriction of the amnesty.

But this is the case not only because of the *wording* of the amnesty and of the favourable *spirit* in which amnesties must always be interpreted, but likewise

3. in conformity with the legal nature of the situation under consideration. For in fact, what difference should it make to the Royal amnesty whether the rights as native-born, which the amnesty restores, as Your Excellency yourself does not dispute, were lost under the law itself or by reason of an added declaration on the part of the individual? As little as an individual declaration by a refugee of unwillingness to lose his status as a native-born Prussian, despite the law, would change his losing it under the law, just so little could that declaration either set this losing aside or reinforce it. The declaration by an individual that something should take place which would have taken place in any event by virtue of the law—discharge from Prussian citizenship—remains a *déclaration surérogatoire,*[b] a totally indifferent, superfluous declaration, whose absence is no hindrance and whose presence is ineffectual.

Your Excellency seems to wish to see a distinction in that the status of a Prussian was allegedly given up by me "of my own free will", whereas for the other refugees it was brought about

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[a] See this volume, pp. 341-44.—*Ed.*

[b] Supererogatory declaration.—*Ed.*

involuntarily by a ten-year absence. But this too is incorrect. Formally, the refugee's remaining out of the country for ten years likewise constitutes a *voluntary* abandonment of the status of a Prussian, for as a matter of fact none of the refugees was prevented from returning before this time had elapsed and presenting himself before the Prussian courts. Inasmuch as he did not do this, he voluntarily preferred to lose the status of a Prussian. The *last day* of the ten-year stay abroad without permission is thus completely the equivalent of a written declaration to the Prussian government of a desire to relinquish Prussian citizenship. Since this absence is *just as free an act of the will* as a document addressed to the government, the same declaration was submitted by *voluntas tacita*[a] on the last day of this ten-year absence by all the refugees as the one that you have in your files submitted by me in 1845.

So far as *form* is concerned, there is just as voluntary a surrender of the rights of the native-born on the part of all the refugees as there is on mine.

It is true that in point of fact those refugees were prevented from returning unless they wanted to expose themselves to the harm of arrest and a criminal procedure, and hence they were, *in point of fact,* under compulsion. But the same *real* compulsion was present in my case as well, as Your Excellency will have seen from Point 1. I too was, *in point of fact,* prevented in the same way from returning by the warrants of arrest that had been issued and I gave up the status of a Prussian only under exactly the same compulsion as that under which the other refugees surrendered it on the last day of their ten-year absence. Indeed, I was also compelled to this ostensible surrender by the persecution extending into foreign countries.

Thus, whether Your Excellency takes the formal or the real side of the question into consideration, that affects me in precisely the same way as it does all other refugees, and if, as Your Excellency does not deny, the native-born status lost by ten-year absence has been restored to the refugees by the amnesty, it is equally restored to me despite the enforced disavowal, which is completely equivalent to this loss under the law.

As has been shown, my having declared in writing that I desired to lose the status of a Prussian, which I had lost anyway by virtue of the law, this declaration, which is totally without effect after the

[a] Tacit consent.—*Ed.*

loss incurred *lege ipsa,*[a] is not the essential point. It could at best only be seen as constituting a difference, although not a valid one, if I had assumed a new nationality elsewhere. This and only this would have been a *voluntary* action. The mere surrender of Prussian citizenship was enforced and would have taken place anyway *lege ipsa.* But I have never and nowhere had myself naturalised. Very many refugees did in fact do this. If even for these cases the Royal amnesty must be regarded as unconditionally sufficient grounds for granting them renaturalisation, in the event that they desire it, then in the case of myself, who have never taken out naturalisation in any other state, the restoration of the status of a native-born [Prussian] must of necessity be recognised as effected by the amnesty itself.

4. In the foregoing I have explained to Your Excellency that I have undoubtedly[b] regained my status as a native-born Prussian, even if I had lost it in 1845, by virtue of the Royal amnesty. But an equally decisive ground for my claim is the circumstance that I have already *won back my rights as a Prussian citizen by the decision of the Federal Diet dated March 30, 1848.*[c]

That decision declared that all the political refugees *had the right to vote* and to be elected to the German National Assembly who were to return to Germany and declare that they desired to regain the rights as citizens of the state. By this decision, which is binding on Prussia and towards which the Prussian government contributed, all political refugees were thus restored to their rights as citizens of the state in the state to which they had previously belonged or in the one in which they now wished to take it out.

As a consequence of this decision I went from Paris to Cologne at once, there reassumed my rights as a citizen of the Prussian state, obtained permission without difficulty from the Cologne City Council to take up domicile there and hence was undoubtedly *in lawful possession from then on of the status of a native-born Prussian,* which cannot in any way be altered by the unlawful coup, in violation of the Federal Diet's decision, of the expulsion attempted by the Manteuffel ministry.

This fact of law is so decisive that it would be superfluous to add even a single word to it.

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[a] By the law itself.—*Ed.*

[b] The word "undoubtedly" *(jedenfalls)* has been underlined in the manuscript, obviously by von Zedlitz. The margin has a note "not at all" *(keineswegs).—Ed.*

[c] Cf. *Protokolle der Deutschen Bundesversammlung vom Jahre 1848,* Frankfurt am Main, 1848.—*Ed.*

Your Excellency will be as convinced of this as I am and will equally regard it as not in the interest of the Prussian government to force me to appeal to the Federal Diet against a violation of its decisions by the Prussian government. It would be too contradictory a position if Prussia, which continues to recognise the *reactivated* Federal Diet, should wish to change over to refusing to recognise the few scattered decisions of the *old, original Federal Diet* that were issued in the interest of the people and in a liberal direction.

Such a procedure would be, juridically and politically, too exorbitant a monstrosity to be taken into consideration even tentatively.

As Your Excellency will see, it is not even necessary for me to refer to the decision, independent of the Federal Diet decision, of the Preparliament,[342] likewise recognised de facto by the Prussian government, according to which even those German refugees who had been *naturalised* in other countries in the interim were also entitled to reassume their previous rights as citizens.

Pursuant to the decision of the Federal Diet dated March 30, 1848, to my removal to Cologne as a consequence thereof, and my declaration to the Prussian ministry dated August 22, 1848,[343] which is in Your Excellency's files, I have therefore been once more in possession of the rights of a native-born Prussian since 1848, even if I did lose them in 1845.

Accordingly, I am still in possession thereof today since, as Your Excellency yourself does not deny, the loss thereof which ensued by reason of the subsequent ten-year absence has been cancelled again by the present amnesty.

Although the foregoing demonstration that I already am in possession of the rights of a native-born Prussian and require only recognition of that status is so clear and irrefutable I have, in returning to my fatherland, only a practical purpose in mind and not that of a fruitless juridical-theoretical conflict.

If Your Excellency should, as it seems, conceive the relevant situation in such a way that I must first obtain a new naturalisation, that can and should be a matter of indifference to me provided that Your Excellency, since you are the competent authority to do this pursuant to § 5 of the law of December 31, 1842, declares your willingness to grant the naturalisation. Only *then* and only *insofar* can I yield up my already existing full right, *if* and *insofar as* Your Excellency prefers to issue a new naturalisation without difficulties. Up to that point I must maintain my rights and therefore request you, in

this sense and reserving all rights, to treat this letter, in that case, also as a possible request to obtain a new naturalisation.[a]

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

*Dr Karl Marx*

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[a] The rest is written in Marx's hand.—*Ed.*

# [ANSWER TO MARX'S APPLICATION FOR RESTORATION OF HIS PRUSSIAN CITIZENSHIP][a]

In reply to your request dated April 6 of this year,[b] I inform you that the conviction that you are to be regarded as a foreigner is not in any way refuted even by the considerations stated therein.

§ 20 of the law of December 31, 1842, on the acquisition and loss of the status of a Prussian subject rules that that status is lost at the issuance of the document waiving it.[c] Accordingly, neither the motive for your seeking that waiver nor whether you have obtained citizenship elsewhere is relevant. Further, you have not regained the status of a Prussian either in virtue of the Federal Diet's decision of March 30, 1848,[d] or by His Majesty's act of grace of January 12 *cr.*[e] What is determinant for the elections to the German National Assembly is not that decision but the order of April 11, 1848, which is not in your favour in any way. His Majesty's decree of January 12 *cr.* is an act of grace and hence relates only to remission or reduction of punishment (Art. 49 of the Constitution[f]). But the loss of the status of a Prussian is never incurred by a conviction and is therefore not cancelled by acts of grace.

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[a] Text on the envelope of the letter: "815. To Dr Carl Marx, Esq., Here, 13 Bellevuestr. *Today, immediately!*".—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 345-52.—*Ed.*

[c] "Gesetz über die Erwerbung und den Verlust der Eigenschaft als Preussischer Unterthan... Vom 31. Dezember 1842".—*Ed.*

[d] In *Protokolle der Deutschen Bundesversammlung vom Jahre 1848*, Frankfurt am Main, 1848.—*Ed.*

[e] *Currentis*—of this year.—*Ed.*

[f] "Verfassungsurkunde für den Preussischen Staat. Vom 31. Januar 1850", in *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*, No. 32, February 2, 1850.—*Ed.*

Consequently, the Police Presidium can only regard you as a foreigner. If you intend to apply for Prussian citizenship, it will be necessary for you, in order to meet the requirements prescribed in § 7 of the law of December 31, 1842, to make your application in the customary manner at the suitable police precinct, and no assurance can be given you in advance as to the prospects of success.

Royal Police Presidium
von Zedlitz

Berlin, April 10, 1861

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# [MARX'S APPLICATION FOR NATURALISATION AND RIGHT OF DOMICILE IN BERLIN][344]

## *Official Opinion of the 33rd Police Precinct*

Done at Berlin, April 10, 1861

*Dr Karl Marx* arrived here on *March 1, 1861.*[a] After *he* had declared that *he* wished to settle here and obtain the status of a Prussian citizen by *naturalisation, he* gave the following information as to *his* personal situation:

I was born on *May 5, 1818,* at *Trier* in *the Prussian Rhine Province,* profess the Evangelical religion and am legally competent according to the laws of my previous homeland. I have resided in *England* for the last *twelve* years, supported myself there by *literary work* and have *not* been aided by public relief funds. I have *several times* been under investigation because of *political press prosecutions* and *refer to the existing files* for my conduct. I have not applied to any other Prussian authority for naturalisation or domiciliation and have never been rejected in this respect. In this connection, I have been notified that failure to report an investigation made of me or my dependents as well as incorrect data concerning my situation in general, or failure to report an application for naturalisation made to another Prussian authority will entail the cancellation and the withdrawal of the certificate of naturalisation, that the decision as to my application for domiciliation regardless of the declaration of the municipal authorities and acceptance of the filing fees, is made *exclusively* by the Royal Police Presidium, and I am therefore to refrain before obtaining the naturalisation and domiciliation certificates from any steps whatsoever to establish myself.

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[a] The document is obviously incorrect here: Marx came to Berlin on March 17, 1861.— *Ed.*

I have *not yet* rented any dwelling place *of my own* here—I have found lodging with *Dr Lassalle, Bellevuestr. No. 13*—and will support myself and my family *by my literary work.*

My income comes to *about 2,000 reichsthaler;* neither I nor my wife have any property.

With respect to my military status, I am already exempt from all service in the army because of my age.

I have no decorations.

I request:

that the certificate of naturalisation be issued me and that I be permitted to take up residence here.

Read aloud, accepted, signed.

*Dr Karl Marx*[a]

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 15, Moscow, 1959

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[a] Marx's authentic signature is followed by the illegible signature of an official.—*Ed.*

# [LETTER FROM MARX TO POLICE PRESIDENT VON ZEDLITZ]

To His Excellency Herr von Zedlitz
Royal Police President

Your Excellency,

I received your esteemed letter of April 10[a] last evening.

Although in Your Excellency's last letter[b] you were of the opinion that because of the application in 1845 it would be of no effect in my case even if the amnesty should have cancelled the loss of the status of a Prussian due to absence for ten years, Your Excellency now, in view of my latest arguments, takes rather the opposite opinion that the amnesty, because as such it allegedly can only contain a pardon of penalties, cannot cancel the *loss* of the status of a Prussian, *no matter for what reason that loss has ever been incurred.*

In order not to prejudice my rights, I am forced to remark that this letter, according to the legal opinion of the undersigned, would present 1) a partial annulment of the Royal amnesty, 2) a non-recognition of the Federal Diet and its decisions and hence a violation of the German constitutional principles, as laid down in the Federal Act,[345] 3) finally, an equally emphatic negation of all public law in Prussia.

Mindful, however, of the practical purpose by which I am guided, *I will not weary* Your Excellency by a demonstration of these three legally unassailable theses, but agree, in the sense in which I expressed it to Your Excellency at the end of my last

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[a] See this volume, pp. 353-54.—*Ed.*

[b] Of March 30, 1861.—*Ed.*

memorandum,[a] to receive what is my right and what I must hold fast as such, even in the form of a new naturalisation from Your Excellency.

Being compelled to leave here in haste because of news from my family, I applied early yesterday in this sense *in omnem eventum*[b] for the new naturalisation at the police precinct of my district.[c]

At the same time, I respectfully inform Your Excellency that because of my departure I empower Mr. F. Lassalle, of this city, to receive the naturalisation certificate for me, to make and take note on my behalf of all the necessary applications and steps in this matter, and in general to exercise my rights to the same extent as is in my power.

Respectfully requesting Your Excellency to kindly address the final decision to Mr. F. Lassalle, of this city, I remain,

Your Excellency's obedient servant

*Dr Karl Marx*[d]

Berlin, April 11, 1861

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[a] See this volume, p. 351.—*Ed.*

[b] In any event.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 355-56. At this point there is a note in the margin of the manuscript, in an unknown hand: "This request of Marx has been refused."—*Ed.*

[d] The signature is in Marx's hand.—*Ed.*

# [POWER OF ATTORNEY GIVEN BY MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE FOR THE RESTORATION OF HIS PRUSSIAN CITIZENSHIP][a]

I hereby empower Mr. Ferdinand Lassalle of Berlin, on my departure from that city, to vindicate my rights in the matter, now pending before the Royal Police Presidium, relating to the recognition of my status as a Prussian, restored to me under the Royal Amnesty of January 12 of this year or, alternatively, the possible granting of new naturalisation and permission to reside in Berlin. I further empower him to submit applications, to lodge petitions and appeals with the Royal Prussian Government as also with the German Federal Diet,[346] and to avail himself of every right to which I am entitled, in the same measure to which I myself am entitled thereto.

*Dr Karl Marx*

Berlin, April 12, 1861

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] The whole manuscript is written in Marx's hand.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## TO THE DIRECTORATE OF THE SCHILLER INSTITUTE[347]

[Draft]

I have the honour to enclose as Appendix I a copy of a communication from the Librarian which was handed to me not long since.[348] When I took the liberty of making a few observations to Mr Stössel regarding certain expressions used therein, his reply, as I had expected, was that the communication was merely a copy of the set form laid down by the Literary Section of the Directorate.

If, therefore, I now feel compelled to bring the said observations to the attention of the Directorate, I should first of all emphasise that these do not in any way apply to the substance of the communication as such. Everyone will, no doubt, subscribe to this last, to a strict adherence to the time limit prescribed for the loan of books, to the levying of "fines" should that limit be exceeded, and to the observance of the Institute's rules and regulations generally. What I am concerned with here is merely the tone of this document. That tone is so very different from that customary in correspondence between educated persons that I must confess I am not used to receiving such letters, nor, from what Mr. Stössel tells me, am I the first to have been struck by this, to put it mildly, uncouth form of address.

Indeed, when I had read this missive, it was as though I had been suddenly transported home. It was as though, instead of a communication from the Librarian of the Schiller Institute, I were holding a peremptory summons from a German inspector of police ordering me, on pain of a heavy penalty, to make amends for some kind of violation "within 24 hours". The otherwise very innocuous uniform of the beadle who served this writ on me could not on this occasion but help to complete the illusion.

Immediately after this incident I took occasion to reread the manifesto dated November 12, 1859, and issued, so to speak, as the programme of the incipient Schiller Institute. Seen alongside the afore-mentioned communication from the Librarian, that programme now appears in a somewhat peculiar light. In it we read that the Schiller Institute was intended to be such

"that a young German ... should at once feel *more at home* here... find himself *better looked after and provided for*, both morally and intellectually ... and, above all, should return to the fatherland *in no way estranged from it*".

No doubt, the bureaucratic style of such official communications is the very thing to make the recipient instantly feel that he is on his *home* ground, and to instil in him the belief that he is just as well if not "better looked after *and provided for*" than he would be at home, in the dear, old patriarchal police state, that great institution looking after and making provision for little children; nor, so long as such official communications continue to flourish, can there possibly be the remotest danger of any member of the Schiller Institute's becoming *estranged from the fatherland*. Indeed if, once in a way, there should happen to be some member of the Schiller Institute who had not had occasion to become acquainted at home with the forms of bureaucracy and the imperious language of officialdom, the Schiller Institute would seem to offer him an excellent opportunity to do so; again, this presumably is the construction to be put upon the programme's undertaking that the Schiller Institute will help ensure

"that even he of advanced years, who decides to return home and settle down there again, should, along with the German language and culture, *also preserve and even develop to a higher degree, his capacity for public service as a German man and citizen*".

Indeed, it would hardly have occurred to many members that "the German spirit in the fullest sense of the term", for the nurturing of which the Schiller Institute was to be a rallying-point, should *inter alia* also comprise that spirit of bureaucracy in whose hands, alas, almost all political power at home is still vested but against which the whole of Germany is fighting and over which, at this very moment, it is scoring victory after victory. This hectoring tone, these categorical demands that an order be obeyed within 24 hours are, at all events, out of place here, and if they entail, not a fortnight's imprisonment on a diet of bread and water, but the fearsome threat of a half-crown fine, then the effect is comical into the bargain.

Among its members the Schiller Institute numbers not only

Germans, but also Englishmen, Dutchmen and Danes, for whom this tone will certainly not have the ring of "home". I permit myself to ask what such members are likely to think of the "German spirit" upon receiving missives of this kind?

It so happens that I myself do at present belong to the Literary Section of another society[349] here which does not boast a librarian and, in similar cases, it often falls to me to send out circulars to members. I enclose herewith the customary form (Appendix II),[350] not because of any pretence it might have to serve as a model, but rather because it may, perhaps, show that the same object can be attained without infringing on that deference which one educated person owes another.

I repeat that while *fortiter in re*[a] is certainly most commendable, members would also seem to me to be entitled to some *suaviter in modo*.[b] By all means, let the iron hand of the Literary Section descend on the head of every member, but let it also wear a velvet glove. And that is why I would request the Directorate to be so kind as to ensure that the Literary Section's official correspondence with members should be modelled, not so much on orders issued by German administrative offices to those they administer, as on what is proper in correspondence between educated persons.

Written about May 3, 1861

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[a] Firmness in doing what is to be done.—*Ed.*

[b] Inoffensiveness in manner.—*Ed.*

# [POWER OF ATTORNEY ISSUED BY MARX TO ENGELS TO TAKE OVER WILHELM WOLFF'S ESTATE][a]

23 May, 1864

1, Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, London, N.W.

My dear Sir,

I hereby request you and give you full power to act as my representative at, and take all the necessary steps for, the execution of the will of our common friend, Wilhelm Wolff.

KARL MARX, Dr. Ph.

First published in: *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe,* Dritte Abteilung, Bd. 3, 1930

Printed according to the manuscript

[a] The whole manuscript is written in Marx's hand. The address on the envelope reads: "Fr. Engels, Esq. 6, Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Street, *Manchester.*"—*Ed.*

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] Marx and Engels began to contribute to the *New-York Daily Tribune* in 1851 (see Vol. 11, Note 2). 1861 and 1862 were the last two years of their work for the *Tribune*. With the outbreak of the US Civil War interest in European affairs in America declined. The *Tribune* cancelled its contracts with all its European correspondents except Marx, who was asked to reduce the number of his contributions from two to one a week. Between February 1861 and March 1862 the paper published ten items by Marx and one by Engels. One appeared as a leading article, nine were marked "From an Occasional Correspondent" and one was marked "From Our Own Correspondent". Marx's final break with the newspaper occurred in the spring of 1862 (see Vol. 12, Note 1 and Vol. 39, Note 4).

The theme and basic content of this article were suggested to Engels by Marx, who in a letter dated January 22, 1861 (Vol. 41 of the present edition) asked Engels to write on the Schleswig-Holstein question for the *NYDT*. Engels wrote the article on January 23. On the following day Marx sent it to New York by the steamer *Anglo-Saxon*. p. 3

[2] This refers to the secession of the Southern slave states from the North American Union in late 1860 and early 1861. The armed rebellion of the secessionist States in April 1861 marked the beginning of the US Civil War (1861-65).

In 1850 popular disturbances occurred in several southern provinces of China and developed into a large-scale peasant war. The rebels (called Taipings) established a state of their own embracing a considerable part of China's territory. Its leaders put forward a utopian programme for the transformation of feudal China into a military-patriarchal state based on the egalitarian principle in production and consumption. The movement, which was also anti-colonial, was weakened by inner divisions and the rise of an aristocracy among the Taipings. The rebellion was suppressed in 1864, mainly as a result of British and French intervention. p. 3

[3] Construction of the *Suez Canal* was begun in 1859 and completed in 1869.

The Fortress of *Gaëta*, the last stronghold of Francis II, King of the Two Sicilies (the Kingdom of Naples), was seized by the Piedmont troops on February 12, 1861, as a result of which the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies became part of the united Kingdom of Italy. p. 3

[4] In July 1860 a pamphlet entitled *MacMahon, King of the Irish* appeared in France, where an anti-British campaign was in full swing. The pamphlet urged the Irish to end British rule and set up the French Marshal MacMahon, a descendant of Irish emigrants, as King of Ireland. Engels is probably referring to this pamphlet. p. 3

[5] The three preceding stages of the Danish-Prussian war of 1848-50 were: the period from the outbreak of hostilities on March 23, 1848 to the truce of August 26, 1848; the period from this truce to that of July 10, 1849, and finally the period from the second truce to the signing of the peace treaty in Berlin on July 2, 1850. p. 3

[6] This refers to the "liberal" course proclaimed by William, Prince of Prussia (King of Prussia from 1861), in October 1858 when he assumed the regency. Actually, not one of the reforms expected by the bourgeoisie was carried out. William's policy aimed at consolidating the Prussian monarchy and Junkerdom. p. 5

[7] At *Magenta* and *Solferino* the decisive battles of the 1859 Austro-Italo-French war were fought on June 4 and June 24 respectively. The Austrians were defeated on both occasions. p. 6

[8] On September 9, 1861 *The Times* (No. 24033) published a letter by the US Abolitionist writer Harriet Beecher Stowe to Lord Shaftesbury, the English philanthropist politician, urging Britons to give moral support to the North. p. 7

[9] The US Republican Party was formed in the north-eastern States in 1854 by a broad coalition of industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, farmers, workers and handicraftsmen in opposition to the Democratic Party. Its establishment reflected the antagonistic contradictions between the capitalism developing in the North and the system of slave labour prevalent in the South. The Republican Party, controlled by the Northern bourgeoisie, advocated the restriction of slavery to the Southern States, the free settlement of the Western Territories, and protectionist tariffs to stimulate the development of national industry. In 1860 Abraham Lincoln, the Republican candidate, was elected US President. He polled 1,866,352 votes as against 1,375,157 votes obtained by S. A. Douglas, the Democratic candidate (see Note 13). p. 8

[10] This refers to the *Constitution of the Confederate States of America*, adopted in Montgomery, Alabama, on March 11, 1861 at a congress of the seven secessionist states (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas). The full text of the Constitution appeared in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6206, March 16, 1861. p. 8

[11] *The Constitution, as formed for the United States, by the Federal Convention, held at Philadelphia, in the year 1787...* consolidated the rule of the bourgeoisie and planters in the form of a federal bourgeois republic. p. 8

[12] The *Crittenden compromise*, a project for the peaceful settlement of the North-South conflict, was submitted by Kentucky Senator Crittenden to the US Congress on December 18, 1860. It envisaged six amendments to the US Constitution calling, in particular, for a ban on slavery in states north of the 36°30′ boundary line fixed by the Missouri Compromise (see Note 14) and the legalisation of slavery south of that line. The project denied the Congress the right to abolish or alter the slave system in the Southern States. A special

Senate committee rejected the Crittenden compromise on December 22, 1860. p. 9

[13] In the mid-1850s, following the adoption of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill (see Note 15), the US Democratic Party (founded in 1828) split up into two factions, Northern and Southern. Basically, both favoured the preservation and spread of slavery, but the Northern faction took a more flexible stand, declaring that the issue should be submitted to the US Supreme Court. The Southern faction urged the right of the Territories to make their own decisions on the matter, and pressed for the free importation of slaves into the Territories. The most reactionary among the Southern Democrats prepared the ground for the rebellion and the establishment of the separatist slaveholding Confederacy. p. 9

[14] The *Missouri Compromise,* embodied in the Act to Authorise the People of the Missouri Territory to Form a Constitution and State Government, was reached in 1820, after a period of bitter struggle waged in the US Congress and throughout the country between the supporters and opponents of slavery. The Missouri agreement laid down a boundary between the free and slaveholding states, outlawing slavery north of the 36°30′ N line. The agreement was superseded by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, adopted by the US Congress in 1854 (see Note 15). p. 10

[15] The *Kansas-Nebraska Bill* (An Act to Organise the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas), passed by the US Congress in May 1854 after a fierce debate, granted the white population of Kansas and Nebraska, which were being admitted to the Union, the right to permit or prohibit slavery within their boundaries. The Bill abolished the frontier line laid down by the Missouri Compromise between the free and slaveholding states (see Note 14) and allowed every state to introduce slavery, regardless of geographical position. The adoption of the Bill gave rise to an armed struggle in Kansas between the supporters and opponents of slavery (see Note 18). p. 10

[16] This refers to a memorandum drawn up in October 1854 at the Belgian resort of Ostend by the US Minister to London Buchanan jointly with US diplomatic representatives in France and Spain. It recommended the US government to purchase or seize the island of Cuba, then in Spanish possession, with a view to extending slavery to it. It was not until March 1855 that the memorandum became public knowledge, causing indignation in the United States and abroad. p. 10

[17] The Black slave Dred Scott had lived for four years in the non-slave States of Illinois and Wisconsin. In 1848 he brought a lawsuit, claiming freedom. In 1857 it was turned down by the US Supreme Court. The ruling implied that a slave remained the property of his master even in the free States—an example of the slaveholders' efforts to have slavery legalised throughout the country. p. 10

[18] Marx means the armed struggle in Kansas (1854-56) between the supporters and opponents of slavery sparked off by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill (see Note 15). Despite the successes of the anti-slavery forces, Kansas fell under the sway of the pro-slavery faction, supported by the Federal government. However, the majority of the population continued the struggle and secured the admission of Kansas to the Union as a free state in 1861. p. 10

[19] At the 1856 Presidential election, Buchanan, the Democratic candidate, polled 1,838,169 votes, as against the 1,341,264 votes for Frémont, put up by the Republican Party, which was contesting a Presidential election for the first time (see Note 9). p. 10

[20] An ironical reference to the London press. The *Illuminati* were members of a secret Masonic society in Bavaria (1776-84). p. 10

[21] A street in London, in which the Central Criminal Court is situated. p. 12

[22] In October 1859 an 18-strong group of insurgents (including five Blacks), led by John Brown, seized a government arsenal in Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in an attempt to provoke a slave uprising in the Southern states. The group was encircled and almost totally wiped out by regular troops. Brown was severely wounded. He was tried and hanged in Charleston. p. 13

[23] This refers to the protectionist tariff tabled in Congress by the Republican Justin Smith Morrill and passed by the Senate on March 2, 1861. It raised customs duties considerably. p. 14

[24] In November 1832 the South Carolina Convention nullified the 1828 and 1832 Federal tariff acts, which imposed high import duties. The Ordinance of Nullification adopted by the Convention on November 24 proclaimed the resolve of the State's citizens to uphold their independence vis-à-vis the Federal government and threatened South Carolina's secession from the Union. President Andrew Jackson, with Congressional approval, sent troops to South Carolina, but, under pressure from the slaveholding planters, endorsed a compromise lower tariff on March 2, 1833. South Carolina soon repealed the Ordinance of Nullification. p. 14

[25] In this article Marx probably used data he had received from Engels while staying in Manchester in the first half of September 1861. p. 17

[26] President Lincoln's blockade of the ports of the rebel States was imposed on April 19, 1861 and lifted in August 1865. During this period, the Northern navy detained 1,500 enemy vessels and seized 31 million dollars' worth of property. p. 17

[27] Between 1845 and 1847 potato blight was the occasion of widespread famine in Ireland. The poverty of the small tenants ruthlessly exploited by the big landowners made the mass of the population almost entirely dependent on a diet of potatoes grown on their own little patches. About one million people starved to death, and the wave of emigration caused by the famine swept away another million. Large areas of Ireland were depopulated. The deserted land was turned by English and Irish landlords into pastures. p. 20

[28] The *New-York Daily Tribune* carried the following editorial note on this article in the same issue: "An occasional correspondent in London furnishes us with a most interesting letter, printed this morning, concerning the London *Times* and the influence upon it of Lord Palmerston". p. 21

[29] *Catholic Emancipation*—in 1829 the British Parliament, under pressure of a mass movement in Ireland, lifted some of the restrictions curtailing the political rights of the Catholic population. Catholics were granted the right to be elected to Parliament and hold certain government posts. Simultaneously the property qualification for electors was raised fivefold. The British ruling classes hoped that this manoeuvre would bring the élite of the Irish bourgeoisie and Catholic

landowners to their side and cause a split in the Irish national movement.

The *Reform Act* passed by the British Parliament in June 1832 was directed against the political monopoly of the landed and finance aristocracy and enabled the industrial bourgeoisie to be duly represented in Parliament. The proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, the main forces in the struggle for reform, remained disfranchised.

The Bill repealing the *Corn Laws* was passed in June 1846. The English Corn Laws imposed high import duties on agricultural products in order to maintain high prices on the home market for the benefit of the landowners. Their repeal marked a victory for the industrial bourgeoisie, who favoured free trade. At the same time it had an adverse effect on Irish grain exports, aggravating Ireland's economic plight.

The *Stamp Tax* was imposed on newspapers in Britain in 1711 as a means of raising state revenue and combating the opposition press. It made newspapers exceedingly expensive, thus placing them beyond the reach of the mass reader and reducing their circulation. In 1836 Parliament was forced to reduce the Stamp Tax, and in 1855 to abolish it.

The *Paper Duty*, introduced in Britain in 1694, evoked widespread public protests in the mid-19th century as an obstacle for the reduction of the price of printed matter. It yielded the state about £1,400,000 annually. A campaign against the Paper Duty, waged over a number of years, led to its repeal in 1861. p. 21

30 *Glorious Revolution*—the term used by bourgeois historians for the coup d'état of 1688-89 that established a constitutional monarchy in Britain based on a compromise between the landed aristocracy on the one hand, and the bourgeoisie and new nobility on the other. p. 21

31 This refers to John Aberdeen's Coalition Ministry of 1852-55 (the Cabinet of All the Talents), which included Whigs, Peelites and representatives of the Irish faction in Parliament. p. 23

32 Owing to Palmerston's patronage, *The Times*' leading observer, R. Lowe, held the posts of Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Paymaster-General between 1855 and 1858, and was Vice-President of the Committee of the Privy Council for Education from 1859 to 1864. The Editor of *The Times*, Thomas Delane, was introduced by Palmerston to London's high society. p. 23

33 In 1839 the British Parliament issued a Blue Book on Persia and Afghanistan (*Correspondence Relating to Persia and Afghanistan*) containing, among other documents, a number of letters by A. Burnes, the British representative in Kabul, on the British-Afghan war of 1838-42 (see Note 96). The letters had been selected and presented by the Foreign Office in such a way as to conceal Britain's part in provoking the war. Shortly before his death Burnes sent duplicates of his letters to London. Those not included in the Blue Book were published by his family [A. Burnes, Cabool, Being a Personal Narrative of a Journey to and Residence in That City, in the Years 1836, 7 and 8..., London, 1842; J. Burnes' Notes on His Name and Family (Including a Memoir of Sir Alexander Burnes), Edinburgh, 1851]. p. 23

34 On May 8, 1852 representatives of Austria, Britain, France, Norway-Sweden, Prussia and Russia jointly with representatives of Denmark signed in London a protocol on the integrity of the Danish monarchy. It was based on a protocol establishing the principle of the indivisibility of the domains of the King of Denmark, including the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which was

adopted on July 4, 1850 and finally signed on August 2, 1850 by the above-mentioned participants in the London Conference (with the exception of Prussia). In the London Protocol the Tsar of Russia, being a descendant of Duke Karl Peter Ulrich of Holstein-Gottorp who reigned in Russia under the name of Peter III (1761-62), was referred to as one of the lawful pretenders to the throne of Denmark who had renounced their rights in favour of Duke Christian of Glücksburg, proclaimed successor to King Frederick VII. This created a precedent for the Tsar of Russia to claim the Danish throne in the event of the extinction of the Glücksburg dynasty. p. 23

35 *In usum delphini* (édition dauphine) means, literally, "for use by the Dauphin" and, figuratively, "abridged" or "distorted". The phrase was coined in connection with the publication in 1668, in the reign of Louis XIV, of an expurgated version of Latin classics for the heir to the French throne. p. 24

36 The Mechanics' Institute in Bradford, West Riding, Yorkshire (founded in 1825). p. 26

37 King William I of Prussia was Napoleon III's guest at Compiègne (France) from October 6 to 8, 1861. p. 27

38 During the period in question, *The Times* had its editorial offices in *Printing-House Square,* London.

The *Tuileries,* a palace in Paris, was the residence of French monarch. In political parlance the Tuileries meant the French government. p. 27

39 In September 1860 Captain Macdonald of the British Army, while travelling in Germany, was detained in Bonn for six days and fined by a court on charges of insubordination to the local authorities. p. 27

40 This refers to the polemic pamphlet by Henri d'Orléans (the Duke d'Aumale) *Lettre sur l'histoire de France,* written in reply to a speech by Prince Napoleon made in the French Senate in the spring of 1861. On Napoleon III's orders, the pamphlet was confiscated and the publisher fined and imprisoned. p. 28

41 An allusion to Napoleon III, who in 1848, when in exile in Britain, volunteered for the Special Constabulary (a police reserve made up of civilians) which helped the police disperse a Chartist-organised workers' demonstration on April 10, 1848. p. 28

42 During the American War of Independence (1775-83) France, in an attempt to weaken Britain, aided the latter's insurgent American colonies with money and arms. The American liberation struggle was followed with special sympathy by France's democratic and liberal sections. The Marquis de La Fayette was prominent among the French volunteers fighting on the American side. He was also active in the French revolutions of 1789 and 1830. p. 29

43 From the mid-19th century, France, like other European powers, sought to establish itself in China and Indochina. Between 1857 and 1860, the united forces of Britain and France inflicted a series of defeats on the Chinese. The imperial government was compelled to sign several treaties reducing China to a semi-colony. In 1858 Napoleon III's government in cooperation with Spain unleashed a colonial war in Indochina. It ended in 1862, with France seizing three eastern provinces of South Vietnam (Cochin-China). p. 30

[44] On July 21, 1861 the Union army was defeated by the Confederate forces on the Bull Run river near Manassas, Virginia, in the first major battle of the US Civil War.

On August 10, 1861, the Union army, defeated at Wilson's Creek, was forced to abandon the town of Springfield, Missouri. p. 30

[45] This is Marx's first contribution to the Viennese liberal daily, *Die Presse*. Max Friedländer, an associate editor of *Die Presse* from 1856, was previously publisher of the bourgeois-democratic *Neue Oder-Zeitung* in Breslau, to which Marx contributed in 1855 as its London correspondent. In 1859 Friedländer invited Marx to write for *Die Presse*, a welcome opening to Marx, as his collaboration with the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see Note 1) was diminishing and he badly needed another source of income. Apart from that, owing to its anti-Bonapartist stance, *Die Presse* had a fairly large readership (30,000 subscribers) which gave Marx a good opportunity for the propagation of his views in Germany and Austria. However, it was not until September 1861 that he agreed to contribute, having first made sure that in the domestic sphere the paper opposed the government of Anton von Schmerling (a Liberal) as well as the reactionary forces (see Marx's letters to Engels of 28 September and 30 October 1861 in Vol. 41 of this edition).

Marx's articles for *Die Presse*, most of which were printed with the editorial subheading "From Our London Correspondent", dealt with key issues of the foreign and home policy of Britain, France and the United States and with the condition of the working class and the democratic movement in these countries. In his articles on military matters Marx, as a rule, drew on material supplied by Engels. He contributed to *Die Presse* for somewhat over a year, during which the paper published 52 articles signed by Marx (two of these were written jointly with Engels, and one by Engels). Many of Marx's articles and reports for *Die Presse* were not published. This was the main reason why, in late 1862, he stopped contributing to the paper.

Marx presumably drafted the two articles "The North American Civil War" and "The Civil War in the United States" as early as June or July 1861, after receiving Friedländer's second request for contributions. In writing the articles Marx made use of data Engels sent him in a letter of June 12, 1861 (see Vol. 41 of this edition). The text of the articles was finalised on October 20. An introductory editorial note to the first article read: "The war, of which the great North American Republic has been the seat for more than half a year, already begins to react on Europe. France, which loses a market for her commodities through these troubles, and Britain, whose industry is threatened with partial ruin through stagnation in the export of cotton from the slave states, follow the development of the Civil War in the United States with feverish intensity. Though until recently Europe and, indeed, the Americans themselves still hoped for a peaceful solution, the war is assuming ever greater dimensions, spreading further and further over the vast territories of North America and, the longer it lasts, threatening this part of the world, too, with a crisis. It will first seize and shake Britain and France, and the panic on the British and French markets will in like manner react on the rest of the European markets. Apart from the historical aspect, we have, therefore, a very positive interest in getting our bearings with regard to the causes, the significance and the import of the transatlantic events. We have received from London a first communication on the North American Civil War from one of the leading German journalists, who knows Anglo-American relations from long years of observation. As events on the other side of the ocean develop, we

shall be in a position to present communications, deriving from the same competent pen, which will outline the salient features of the war."

Marx's later articles for *Die Presse* were much shorter than "The North American Civil War" and "The Civil War in the United States". Following Friedländer's letter of October 25, 1861 asking Marx to send shorter articles, more suitable for a newspaper, his contributions did not, as a rule, exceed four handwritten pages. p. 32

46 See Note 23. p. 33

47 Marx means the 1831 campaign to prepare the Nullification in South Carolina, carried through in 1832 by US Vice-President John Caldwell Calhoun, an ideologist of slavery (see also Note 24). p. 33

48 See Note 10. p. 33

49 This refers to the fifteen slave states which, according to the plans of the secessionists, were to make up the Southern Confederacy. Initially the Confederacy included seven states: South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas. Later they were joined by Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina and Tennessee. The remaining four—Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland and Delaware—declared themselves neutral. p. 33

50 *Faneuil Hall* was donated to the city of Boston in 1742 by the merchant P. Faneuil. During the War of Independence (1775-83) patriotic meetings were held in the building, earning it the name of "the cradle of American liberty". p. 34

51 The first *Continental Congress,* an assembly of representatives of Britain's thirteen North American colonies, was convened in September 1774. The second, convoked in May 1775, effectively was America's government until 1787.

A 1787 Congressional Ordinance stipulated that sections (Territories) of the Northwest area ceded by Virginia to the Union would be admitted to the Union as full-fledged states once their population had reached 60,000. All the US states except the original thirteen and Vermont, Kentucky, Maine, Texas, California and West Virginia initially had the status of Territories. p. 35

52 For the *Missouri Compromise* see Note 14. p. 35

53 See Note 17. p. 36

54 Under the *Fugitive Slave Act,* passed by the US Congress in 1850 as a supplement to the 1793 law on the surrender of fugitive slaves, a slaveholder's evidence under oath, given to a competent official, was enough to establish his title to a runaway slave and for the latter's restitution, without a legal investigation, to his master. Every US common court of justice had special commissioners appointed for the express purpose of capturing slaves. A commissioner refusing to issue a warrant of arrest was liable to a $1,000 fine, and one responsible for a slave's escape had to pay his cost. Infringement of the Act was punishable by a $1,000 fine, six months' imprisonment and the payment of a $1,000 compensation for every fugitive. The Act caused a rise of the Abolitionist movement and became practically unenforceable even before the Civil War. It was repealed in 1864. p. 37

55 This refers to the *free homestead* demand which became the motto of the mass anti-slavery Free Soil Party, formed in 1848 in connection with the struggle over the status of the lands seized from Mexico. The Free Soil Party later

merged with the Republican Party (see Note 9). The Free Soilers' demand was "no more slave states and no more slave territory". The Free Homestead Bill was first put to the vote in Congress in 1852, passed the House, but was rejected by the Senate. A Bill providing for the allotment of land to settlers at a moderate price (25 cents an acre) was at last adopted by Congress in 1860, but vetoed by President Buchanan. It was only after the secession of the Southern states (see Note 2) and the Republicans' victory in the 1862 election that the Homestead Act was passed. p. 37

56 On the *Ostend Manifesto* see Note 16. p. 37

57 *Chihuahua, Coahuila* and *Sonora*—Northern states of Mexico that bordered on the USA. p. 37

58 The import of slaves into the United States was banned under the 1787 US Constitution and Acts of Congress passed in 1808 and 1820. p. 37

59 This refers to the "Old Northwest", i.e. the Northwest Territory formed by Congress in 1787 (the area north of the Ohio and west of the Mississippi). It embraced the area of what later became the states of Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio and part of Minnesota. p. 38

60 Marx means the emigrant aid companies and societies formed, with the participation of the Free Soilers (see Note 55), in several Northern states in 1854 and 1855 to promote the settlement of Kansas by free small farmers, and prevent the spread of slavery to new US Territories. They raised funds and recruited settlers, giving them financial aid and otherwise helping them start farms in Kansas. They also sent arms to keep at bay "border ruffians" from Missouri and the South.

The aid movement attained maximum scope in the summer of 1856 in connection with the intensified armed struggle in Kansas (see Note 18). In July of that year the National Kansas Committee was formed at a congress in Buffalo. The aid societies' practical activity, limited as it was, exerted a strong influence on national public opinion and contributed to the consolidation of the forces that formed the Republican Party (see Note 9). It was not until January 1861 that Kansas was granted the status of a free state. p. 38

61 This article was prefaced in *Die Presse* with the following editorial note: "We have received another report from our London correspondent on the events in North America which presents the motives behind the policy of the secessionist South in an entirely new light. But let our reporter speak for himself."

Actually, however, as can be seen from Marx's letter to Engels of October 30, 1861 (present edition, Vol. 41), Marx sent the article to Vienna together with his previous one, "The North American Civil War" (see Note 45).

This article was first published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 71-83. p. 43

62 This refers to the cessation, in 1837, of Great Britain's personal union with the Kingdom (originally, Duchy) of Hanover. Established in 1714, the union was dissolved because Victoria, who succeeded William IV on the British throne, was not eligible to the throne of Hanover as a woman. p. 43

63 Germans accounted for 20 per cent of the white population in Texas in 1850. Most of them were political refugees who had been forced to leave Germany after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution in Europe (they were called

"forty-eighters"). The majority of the German immigrants opposed slavery and secession, and stayed loyal to the Union government after the outbreak of the Civil War. p. 48

64 In the winter of 1860-61 pro-Southern circles tried to wrest California from the Union by setting up a "neutral" Pacific Republic. The conspirators failed for lack of support within the state. p. 49

65 See Note 59. p. 50

66 *New England*—the area in the northeast of the USA (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut) originally settled mainly by Puritans, in the seventeenth century. New England was the centre of the Abolitionist movement. p. 50

67 The *Helots*—peasants in ancient Sparta attached to the land and obliged to perform certain services for the Spartan landowners. Unlike slaves, they were the property of the state, and the landowners were not allowed to grant them freedom, sell them separately from the land or raise their annual payments. p. 50

68 The *Missouri proclamation*, issued by General Frémont on August 31, 1861 (published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6366, September 1, 1861), called for the confiscation of the property of persons in Missouri supporting the Confederacy and proclaimed the emancipation of the rebels' slaves. Lincoln instructed Frémont to bring the proclamation into conformity with the Confiscation Act (passed by Congress on August 6, 1861, the Act only envisaged the liberation of slaves used by the rebels in the fighting) by deleting the passage on the emancipation. Frémont refused to comply and, in October 1861, was dismissed from his post as commander of the army in Missouri. p. 51

69 In 1833, after an uprising of Black slaves in Jamaica, the British Parliament adopted an Act, which came into force on August 1, for the abolition of slavery throughout the British colonies. The slaveholding planters in the West Indies and other colonies were paid £20 million in compensation. p. 51

70 First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States*, New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 83-87. p. 53

71 *Quakers* (or *Society of Friends*)—a religious sect founded in England during the seventeenth-century revolution and later widespread in North America. They rejected the Established Church with its rites, preached pacifist ideas and were noted for simple living. p. 54

72 See Note 69. p. 54

73 In 1844, Parliament passed an Act for the regulation of railways, which placed railway companies under government control, and an Act for the registration, incorporation and regulation of joint-stock companies, which made railway projects liable to registration by the Railway Department of the Board of Trade and endorsement by Parliament. The Acts intensified competition among railway companies, causing a veritable "railway mania", with the number of projects more than trebling within a short time. To complete the drawings on time, companies lured away draftsmen and lithographers from each other, imported them by the hundred and made them work practically round the clock. Special clerks spied on rival companies and interfered with the delivery of their documents, hiring away and hiding horses and denying the competitors

railway carriage. On the last day of registration, November 30, 1845, hundreds of clerks besieged the Railway Department of the Board of Trade, even throwing documents in through the windows. As a result, more than 600 projects had been deposited by midday, when registration ceased. p. 55

[74] Here Marx has "16,200,711", the error occurs in *The Economist*, from which Marx reproduced this table. p. 58

[75] Marx means the attitude of the British government to the 1859-60 bourgeois revolution in Italy, which culminated in the establishment of a single Italian state. Worried by Napoleon III's hegemonic ambitions in Europe, Britain's ruling circles favoured Italian unity under the aegis of the Sardinian dynasty. p. 59

[76] See Note 73. p. 59

[77] The *Société générale du Crédit Mobilier*—a big French joint-stock bank founded by the Péreire brothers in 1852. It was closely associated with Napoleon III's government and, under the latter's protection, engaged in large-scale speculation. It went bankrupt in 1867 and was liquidated in 1871 (see Marx's articles on *Crédit Mobilier* in Vol. 15 of the present edition). p. 61

[78] First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States*, New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 88-91. p. 62

[79] The *City*—the central part of London. Leading banks and industrial, commercial, transport and insurance companies have their offices there. It is a synonym for the British financial oligarchy. p. 63

[80] An allusion to the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, which established the Second Empire in France. p. 63

[81] See Note 75. p. 64

[82] At the battle of *Waterloo* (June 18, 1815) the British and Prussian forces defeated the army of Napoleonic France. p. 64

[83] *Albion*—the traditional name of the British Isles (without Ireland) since antiquity. The phrase "perfide Angleterre" (perfidious England) was coined by Bishop J.-B. Bossuet, the famous French theologian, who used it in a sermon in 1652. Napoleon quoted it when being taken into exile from Britain to St. Helena. p. 64

[84] See Note 23. p. 65

[85] First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States*, New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 92-97. p. 66

[86] After France had incorporated Savoy and Nice as a result of the 1859 Austro-Italo-French war (see Note 303) Napoleon III made an attempt to seize a section of Swiss territory. On October 28, 1861 a French detachment invaded the Dapp valley in Vaud Canton and occupied the village of Cressonière. The Swiss government lodged a protest, which was supported by several European powers. Under an agreement signed in December 1862, part of the Dapp valley was ceded to France in exchange for an equal section of French territory. p. 66

[87] See Note 38. p. 66

[88] On October 31, 1861, the three powers concluded a convention on joint action against Mexico to overthrow the progressive Juárez government and turn the

Mexican republic into a colony of European powers. The pretext for this move was an Act of the Mexican Congress of July 17, 1861 suspending for two years the payment of interest on the country's foreign debt. The Palmerston government undertook to organise a punitive expedition. p. 67

89 In November 1859 Spain, which was looking for colonies in Northern Africa, declared war on Morocco. The hostilities lasted until March 1860, bringing little success to the Spanish forces, which encountered stiff resistance from the freedom-loving Moroccans. Under the peace signed in April 1860 Spain received a monetary contribution and minor territorial concessions.

*St. Domingo,* the eastern part of the island of Hispaniola (Haiti), a Spanish colony until 1821, proclaimed the independent Dominican Republic in 1844; was re-annexed by Spain after the pro-Spanish party gained the upper hand in St. Domingo and, in March 1861, proclaimed the country's "voluntary" incorporation in Spain's West Indian possessions. The Spaniards were finally driven from the country in 1865. p. 67

90 Marx means the British government. St. James's Palace in London used to be a royal residence. p. 67

91 The *Holy Alliance*—an association of European monarchs formed in 1815 to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries. Their famous declaration laid down that the monarchs would "on all occasions and in all places, lend each other aid and assistance", while "regarding themselves towards their subjects and armies as fathers of families" (Art. I). p. 69

92 In 1823, French Foreign Minister Chateaubriand attempted to organise an armed intervention against a number of Latin American countries with a view to restoring Spain's colonial domination there and expanding France's colonial possessions. The Spanish colonies were to become autonomous kingdoms ruled by Bourbon princes, including members of the French line. The plan failed mainly because of opposition from Britain and the USA, both of which sought to exploit the national liberation movement in the Spanish colonies in order to establish their influence there. p. 69

93 The *Monroe Doctrine*—a set of principles proclaimed by US President James Monroe in his message to Congress on December 2, 1823. Originally intended to prevent a restoration of Spanish colonial rule in Latin America in connection with the threat of intervention by the Holy Alliance, the message described interference by European powers in the affairs of any state in the Western Hemisphere as "a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States". Later the Monroe Doctrine was used to justify US striving for hegemony on the American continent. p. 69

94 See Note 91. p. 74

95 See Note 92. p. 77

96 This refers to the first *Anglo-Afghan war* (1838-42), in which Britain sought to establish its colonial rule in Afghanistan. Both invasions of British troops, in 1838 and 1842, failed.

On the *forged papers* see Note 33. p. 78

97 The immediate occasion of the Anglo-Persian war of 1856-57 was an attempt by Persia's rulers, in October 1856, to capture the Herat principality. The British government exploited it as an excuse for launching an armed

intervention against Afghanistan and Persia to establish its domination in that region. It declared war on Persia and sent troops to Herat, but the national liberation uprising in India (1857-59) compelled Britain to seek an accommodation with Persia. Under the peace treaty signed in Paris in March 1857, Persia renounced its claims to Herat. p. 78

98 This article, date-lined Paris, was written by Marx in London. p. 79

99 The *Physiocratic school*—a trend in bourgeois classical political economy that emerged in France in the 1750s. The Physiocrats held Nature to be the only source of wealth, and agriculture the only sphere of the economy where value was created. Although they underestimated the role of industry and commerce, the Physiocrats rendered an important service by shifting the search for the origins of surplus-value from the sphere of circulation to that of production, thereby laying the basis for the analysis of capitalist production. Advocates of large-scale capitalist farming, they showed the moribund nature of the feudal economy and thus contributed to the ideological preparation of the bourgeois revolution in France. Marx gave a critical analysis of the Physiocrats' views in the second chapter of the *Theories of Surplus-Value* (see Vol. 34 of this edition). p. 80

100 The *dynastic opposition*—the group of Odilon Barrot in the French Chamber of Deputies during the July monarchy (1830-48). It spoke for the liberal industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, which favoured moderate electoral reform as a means of preventing revolution and preserving the Orleans dynasty. p. 80

101 *Applaudite, amici!* (Applaud, friends!)—with these words actors in ancient Rome concluded their performances. p. 81

102 *Drapeau blanc* (white flag)—France's national flag under the Bourbon monarchy (up to 1792) and during the Restoration period (1816-30). During the bourgeois revolution and the reign of Napoleon I (1792-1815), blue, white and red were France's colours. They were re-adopted in 1830 after the enthronement of the Orléans dynasty (the bourgeois July monarchy). p. 84

103 Marx's article was published in the Foreign News column under the heading "America. (The Dismissal of Frémont). Our London Correspondent writes".

The article was first published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 97-100. p. 86

104 This refers to the United States' 1846-48 war against Mexico. It was provoked by the slaveholding planters and big bourgeoisie for expansionist ends. As a result of the war, the US appropriated almost half of Mexico's territory, including Texas, Upper California and New Mexico. Frémont, who had been exploring California from the early 1840s, joined in the fighting with his team. p. 86

105 On the battle of *Bull Run* see Note 44.

The battle of *Ball's Bluff* (northwest of Washington) was fought on October 21, 1861. The Southern forces defeated several regiments commanded by General Stone which had crossed to the right bank of the Potomac and were left without reinforcements.

The two battles revealed serious shortcomings in the organisation and tactics of the Northern army. p. 88

106 First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 100-05. p. 89

107 The Anglo-US war, started in 1812, was caused by Britain's refusal to recognise the United States' sovereignty and by its attempts to re-establish its domination in North America. The US was provoked to declare war on Britain by the latter's unlawful seizures of US ships and seamen. The American armed forces had the support of the people, who saw Britain poised to restore the colonial system, and regarded this struggle as another war of independence. The land fighting in 1812-14 developed unfavourably to the Americans. Their naval operations were somewhat more successful. Considerable damage was caused to the British by the numerous US privateers. The US was also benefiting by Britain's involvement in the war against Napoleonic France. Despite the temporary capture of Washington in August 1814, Britain was forced, in December of that year, to conclude the Ghent peace treaty predicated on recognition of the prewar state of affairs. News of the peace reached the troops with considerable delay. Meanwhile they continued to fight. The hostilities ceased in January 1815, after the US forces had inflicted a devastating defeat on the British at New Orleans. p. 90

108 This refers to France's wars against the various European coalitions between 1792 and 1815, when Britain and France were involved in a bitter struggle for political and economic supremacy in Europe. In retaliation against Napoleon's Continental System (1806) which prohibited European countries from trading with Britain, the latter imposed its control over the maritime trade of the neutral states. Britain also had recourse to contraband trade and made a practice of seizing the ships of France and other countries on the high seas. p. 91

109 *Duns Scotus controversy*—a method of pleading a case in scholastic disputes by juxtaposing a series of contradictory arguments ("pro et contra") which was widely applied by the mediaeval Scottish Nominalist philosopher Duns Scotus. p. 91

110 Marx's article was preceded by the following editorial note: "If added proof were needed that no one would be more delighted by the *Trent* case erupting in a large-scale Anglo-American naval war than the Paris Cabinet, it is provided by the attitude of the official and semi-official Paris press. No sooner had the *Patrie* triumphantly informed its readers that the population of the Northern states was demonstrating in favour of vigorous opposition to any English demand for satisfaction, than it was able to report no less bellicose actions from London. It writes, in particular, that a council of ministers held in London on November 30 decided to recognise the Southern states and accredit a chargé d'affaires with President Jefferson Davis, if the message Lord Lyons intended to hand to the Cabinet in Washington met with an unfavourable reception. The *Patrie* is not alone in doing its utmost to foment trouble. The *Moniteur* is acting in a similar fashion. It carries the following report from Southampton: 'It is held in Southampton that this event could have the direst consequences, which is also the view held generally. There is a great deal of sympathy for the Southern states in England, and this incident cannot fail to increase further the number of their supporters.'

"So far there are no positive indications whatever as to how the French government intends to exploit the war that may arise between England and the American Union. But the Job's messages circulated from Paris at any rate prove that such a war would be most welcome to, and is indeed desired by, the Tuileries. France's attitude is a sign to the Cabinet of Saint James's and one can hardly assume that the latter is unaware of it. Significantly, too, with the

exception of the *Morning Post,* the London press, particularly *The Times,* takes a very moderate and cautious stand. Our *London* correspondent, who is well informed about the state of Anglo-American relations, has sent us an article dated November 29 which makes the *Trent* case appear far less dangerous to world peace than one was bound to assume on the basis of the first dispatches from London and the statements of *Morning Post* and the semi-official Paris papers. To begin with, our London correspondent throws light on the *verdict of the law officers of the Crown.* He denies that in forcibly arresting Messrs Mason, Slidell and Co. the *San Jacinto* was, in any way, acting on the instructions of the Washington Cabinet, and brings the much discussed Liverpool indignation meeting down to its true significance. But let our correspondent speak for himself. He writes:".

The article was first published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 105-10. p. 92

111 *Prize courts* are set up by belligerent countries in their ports to adjudge upon *prizes,* i.e. merchant ships and cargoes seized from the enemy and neutral countries. A special feature of prize jurisdiction is that the ruling is handed down by a court of the state that has captured the prize. Its principle is that the prize belongs to that state, unless the owners of ship and cargo can prove that the seizure was incorrect. p. 93

112 *Lloyd's* is an insurance and shipping intelligence centre in London set up in the late 17th century by Edward Lloyd, the owner of a coffee-house where marine insurance deals were made. p. 95

113 See Note 38. p. 96

114 The *Baltic* (the Baltic Mercantile and Shipping Exchange, Limited)—an international freight and commodity market, so named after the mid-18th-century Baltic Coffee-House, which was frequented by merchants trading with Baltic ports. p. 96

115 The *law of decisions, applied in Britain and some other countries,* regards legal precedent as a source of justice. This principle underlies the entire judicial system of the Anglo-Saxon countries.

The decision handed down by a court on a previous case is taken as an authoritative ruling in similar or analogous cases by courts of the same or lower instance. p. 97

116 The *Temple*—two buildings, or ranges of buildings, occupied by two of the four inns of court in London (Inner Temple and Middle Temple), on the site of a monastic establishment of the Knights Templars. p. 99

117 First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 110-13. p. 101

118 John Wilkes, whom Marx describes as a demagogue (i.e. a leader of a popular faction), was an English radical politician and journalist. In 1763, in his paper, *The North Briton,* he criticised King George III's speech from the throne, for which he was deprived of his seat in the House of Commons and outlawed. Forced to flee to France, he returned in 1768 and was four times elected to Parliament, but each time the Commons refused to recognise the vote. He was only admitted after his fifth election. Wilkes opposed the war against the North American colonies.

The Wilkes case was publicised in a series of letters that appeared between

1769 and 1772 in *The Public Advertiser* over the signature of Junius. The author, later established to be Sir Philip Francis, advocated Wilkes' rehabilitation and the democratisation of Britain's political system. In 1772 the letters appeared in book form. p. 101

119 At the battle of Worcester on September 3, 1651 the English troops under Cromwell inflicted a crushing defeat on the Scottish royalist army under Charles II, after which the latter fled to France. The Republicans' victory at Worcester removed the threat of a Stuart restoration for several years. p. 102

120 The *Privy Council* originated in England in the 13th century and initially consisted of members of the feudal nobility and higher clergy. As the King's highest consultative body, it played an important part in governing the state until the 17th century. As Parliament and the Cabinet established their ascendancy, the Privy Council's power declined, although formally it remains the supreme royal government body. p. 102

121 In November 1845 Slidell was sent by President James Knox Polk to Mexico to negotiate the purchase by the US of New Mexico and Upper California. After the Mexican government's refusal to receive Slidell as a Minister Plenipotentiary, the United States opened hostilities against Mexico (in April 1846) and captured the two territories. p. 103

122 See Note 54. p. 103

123 See Note 18. p. 103

124 On the eve of the Civil War, the pro-Southern members of Buchanan's administration abused their powers to strengthen the South and weaken the North. Secretary of the Treasury Cobb helped the secessionists (see Note 2) with money and credits. Secretary of War Floyd had weapons and equipment shipped from Northern forts and arsenals to the South, financed the arming of the Southern militia with Congressional funds and transferred pro-Northern officers to remote garrisons. Secretary of the Navy Toucey placed a large number of warships at the disposal of the Southerners, and Secretary of the Interior Thompson took the plotters under his wing. p. 103

125 *Die Presse* published this article with the following editorial introduction:

"The Anglo-American quarrel has plunged the European business world, as well as the public at large, into a state of frantic agitation. There is a premonition of the dangers, of the crises and catastrophes, that an armed clash between the world's two biggest commercial and industrial nations, the two nations with the greatest business experience, would bring with it, a feeling bordering on certainty that Britain's power, tied up in a transatlantic conflict, would cease to be a pillar, a guarantee of European peace, that Italy would succumb entirely to the disastrous influence, indeed the sway, of Napoleon's policy, and that the tragic duel between Faust and Valentine, who wields the sword for Mephistopheles, would be resumed, though without the certainty that Valentine would be defeated this time. The whole of Britain is clamouring about the infringement perpetrated by the Americans, and international law, the treaties, are looming large in the English papers just now. But even granted that an infringement did take place, which is by no means an established fact, must it lead to war, as almost the whole of Britain maintains? Is there no possibility of a compromise, no milder method of releasing Messrs Mason, etc.,

as demanded by Britain? Let us hope that a way out will be found. Even in Britain, the mediation party is already raising its voice; in the United States, the captain of the *San Jacinto* declares that he was acting entirely on his own responsibility when he arrested the *Trent* passengers, and as regards the message John Russell sent to Washington, we hear that it is almost begging the Washington Cabinet to display flexibility. Lastly, opinions are divided in the Ministries of London and Washington, and for all the sabre-rattling, we still believe that, unless Palmerston wants war at any price, unless he had already decided on war even before the *Trent* incident, the chances of a peaceful solution outweigh the danger of war.

"The emphasis now placed in Britain on the legal aspect impels the *Wiener Zeitung* today to draw a conclusion which suggests itself to any reader of the Palmerston papers. 'Is it not like an old fairy-tale,' the *Wiener Zeitung* says, 'when we hear people in Britain today talking of the binding principles of international law, of existing treaties, of positive Constitutional law, indeed of the word and letter of this or that stipulation which have to be upheld even with the sword? Formal right in its most immediate sense, defined by the nation's leading legal authorities, is being invoked; we can expect a reply formulated in similar terms. All of England is a party in this great lawsuit. It swears by its own good right and is prepared to avenge the infringement of that right, to stake its power and its blood for it; England appeals to the world and to history to back it with their verdict in the battle to uphold that right! With what feelings these enthusiasts of justice must have received the news from Turin that Rome has to be taken because it is essential for maintaining control over the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and that Venetia will be invaded as soon as the army has been brought up to 300,000 men!!"

"But is it really an established fact that international law, the letter of treaties and formal right are on Britain's side in the *Trent* affair? Weighty voices contest this view, and from our *London* correspondent we have received a communication today which exhaustively answers the above question."

The article was first published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 113-20. p. 105

126 *"Last of the Englishmen"*—paraphrase of the expression "last of the Romans" (Ultimus Romanorum), the traditional description of Brutus and Cassius, who conspired against Caesar and remained loyal to the ideals of early republican Rome at a time when the Roman Republic was in decline. p. 108

127 *Ghent peace*—see Note 107.

In 1842, Lord Ashburton and Daniel Webster conducted talks on behalf of Britain and the United States, which ended in the signing, on August 9, of a treaty laying down the frontier between the US and Britain's possessions in America, banning the slave trade and providing for the extradition of criminals. However, it contained no stipulation entitling Britain to search US ships suspected of slave trafficking. p. 112

128 On December 6, 1861 *The Times* carried a letter on the *Trent* incident by the US General Winfield Scott. He urged a peaceful settlement of the conflict, saying the US wanted no war with Britain.

*Downing Street*—the official residence of the Prime Minister of Britain. p. 114

[129] First published in English in: *Political Affairs,* New York, 1959, No. 2, pp. 17-18. p. 115

[130] *Black contraband* was, during the US Civil War, a designation for runaway slaves seeking refuge at Northern army camps. Contrary to the instructions of the Washington administration, some Northern generals refused, even in the early months of the war, to hand such Blacks over to their former masters on the grounds that, being the property of rebels, they must be regarded as military contraband. In the autumn of 1861 there was a massive influx of fugitive slaves at Fort Monroe, Louisiana. General Wool used the able-bodied Blacks as free labourers and withheld part of their earnings to support disabled and sick Blacks. p. 116

[131] The *Democratic* or *Albany regency*—the leading group of the Democratic Party in New York State. With its headquarters in Albany, the capital of New York State, it existed until 1854 and was the unofficial governing body of the US Democratic Party (see also Note 13). p. 116

[132] On November 19, 1861 the *Nashville,* a Confederate privateer, attacked the Unionist merchant ship *Harvey Birch,* arrested her crew, seized her cargo and burnt the ship. On November 21, the *Nashville,* with the consent of the British authorities, took cover in the port of Southampton. She was overtaken there by the Unionist cruiser *Tuscarora,* which was watching the movements of pirate ships. Not wishing to be accused of a breach of neutrality, the British authorities on February 3, 1862 ordered both ships to leave port, but detained the *Tuscarora* for 24 hours to enable the *Nashville* to escape. p. 117

[133] At the beginning of January 1861, Fernando Wood, Mayor of New York City, proposed that in the event of disunion New York should constitute itself a free city and retain commerce with both sections. p. 117

[134] *Empire City* was a popular name for New York, the largest city in the Union. New York State, then the most populous, richest and politically most powerful State of the USA, was called the *Empire State.* p. 118

[135] During the debate on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, May 19 and 20, 1856 (see Note 15) the Republican Senator Charles Sumner made a speech ("The Crime against Kansas") exposing the slave-owners' schemes in Kansas and deriding the pro-slavery posture of Senator A. R. Butler of South Carolina. On May 22, the latter's nephew, slave-owning Congressman P. S. Brooks, attacked Sumner in the Senate, causing him serious bodily harm. It was only in 1859 that Sumner was able to return to politics. p. 118

[136] The *Cooper Union*—a higher educational establishment in New York, founded in 1859 by the philanthropist Peter Cooper, a manufacturer and inventor. p. 118

[137] From 1849 to 1861, the Dominican Republic (in the West Indian island of Hispaniola, or Haiti), which had freed itself from Spanish domination in 1821, was, owing to a succession of coups d'état, alternately governed by a pro-Spanish party and one favouring union with the neighbouring state of Haiti. Spain re-annexed the republic at the invitation of President P. Santa Ana in 1861, but had to withdraw its troops in 1865, following an anti-Spanish uprising. p. 119

[138] The *Court of Exchequer,* one of England's oldest courts, initially dealt mainly with financial matters. In the 19th century it became one of the country's

highest judicial bodies. In 1875 the Court of Exchequer was merged in the High Court of Judicature. p. 120

139 The *Lord Chief Baron* was one of the *Barons of the Exchequer,* the six judges to whom the administration of justice was committed. The title became obsolete in 1875 when the Court of Exchequer was merged in the High Court of Judicature. p. 123

140 First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* New York; 1937, London, 1937, pp. 120-23. p. 124

141 Marx refers to the *Déclaration réglant divers points de droit maritime, signée ... à Paris, le 14 avril 1856,* which banned privateering and safeguarded the merchant shipping of neutral states against attack by the belligerents. p. 124

142 The principles of *armed neutrality* were first formulated in a declaration by Catherine II of February 28 (March 11), 1780, during the War of American Independence. It proclaimed the right of neutral states to carry on trade with belligerent ones and the inviolability of enemy property (except war contraband) that was under a neutral flag. The declaration, supported by Austria, Denmark, Holland, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Portugal, Prussia and Sweden, provided the basis for the first Armed Neutrality (1780-83).

In 1800, when Britain was at war with Napoleonic France, the second Armed Neutrality was formed by Denmark, Prussia, Russia and Sweden. p. 124

143 The *Manchester School*—a trend in political economy reflecting the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. It favoured free trade and non-interference by the state in the economy. The Free Traders' stronghold was Manchester, where the movement was led by textile manufacturers Richard Cobden and John Bright. In the early 1860s the Free Traders joined the Liberal Party. Speaking for the industrial bourgeoisie that strove to end the cotton monopoly of the Southern slave states, they opposed Britain's intervention in the US Civil War on the side of the South. p. 125

144 First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 123-27. p. 127

145 Marx uses the term ironically. The *Pietists* were adherents of a mystical Lutheran trend that arose in Germany in the 17th century. It placed religious feeling above dogma and was opposed to the rationalist philosophy of the Enlightenment. Nineteenth-century pietism was distinguished by extreme mysticism and hypocrisy. p. 128

146 *"Truly English minister"*—an ironic reference to Lord Palmerston based on a passage from Lord Russell's speech in the House of Commons on June 20, 1850. Referring to Palmerston, he said: "So long as we continue the government of this country, I can answer for my noble friend that he will act not as the Minister ... of any other country, but as the Minister of England." On June 25, 1850, Palmerston, then Foreign Secretary, addressing the Commons, quoted the Latin phrase "civis romanus sum" ("I am a Roman citizen") saying that just as this formula ensured general respect and prestige to the citizens of ancient Rome, so British citizenship should guarantee the personal security and property of British subjects everywhere. The British bourgeoisie enthusiastically applauded this statement. p. 128

147 *Low Churchmen*—members of the Church of England who assigned a low place to the episcopate and priesthood and to matters of ecclesiastical organisation. p. 128

148 The *Whig war*—the Crimean war (1853-56) which was started by the Aberdeen Coalition Cabinet (see Note 31). p. 129

149 *Penny paper*—a new type of cheap, mass-circulation daily that emerged in Britain after the lifting of the Stamp Tax (see Note 29) in 1855. The penny papers mainly carried sensational news and scandal. p. 129

150 An allusion to the war-mongering campaign launched by Napoleon III in January 1859 in connection with the preparations for the Austro-Italo-French war. Marx and Engels described these events in detail in their articles "The War Prospect in Europe", "The Money Panic in Europe" and "Louis Napoleon's Position" (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 154-57, 162-70). p. 130

151 First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 128-30. p. 131

152 See Note 107. p. 132

153 First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 130-33. p. 134

154 The "peace party" means the Free Traders or the Manchester School (see Note 143). p. 135

155 An allusion to Palmerston who, taking advantage of the Italian revolutionary Orsini's attempt on the life of Napoleon III, tabled a Conspiracy Bill in Parliament in February 1858 to facilitate the extradition of political refugees living in Britain. The Bill was voted down and the Palmerston Cabinet was forced to resign. p. 135

156 This refers to an incident during the Anglo-French-Chinese war (the second Opium War) of 1856-60. In June 1859 a British squadron, reinforced by one US and two French warships, attempted to seize the Dagha fortifications on the Peiho River. The attempt was repulsed, the attackers suffering heavy losses. p. 136

157 On December 26, 1861 the US government decided to release Mason and Slidell, the Confederate emissaries arrested on board the steamer *Trent.* In early January 1862, Mason,Slidell and their secretaries were brought to an English steamer. When informed of this, Russell declared that the British government was satisfied and considered the *Trent* incident closed. p. 137

158 See Note 108. p. 138

159 See Note 132. p. 139

160 During his stay in London in 1850, Julius Haynau, an Austrian marshal notorious for his cruel repressive measures against participants in the revolutionary movement in Hungary and Italy, visited the brewery of Barclay, Perkins & Co., was physically attacked by its indignant workers and was forced to flee. The workers' action was warmly approved by the people of London. p. 140

161 *Order in Council*—in Great Britain, an order issued by the sovereign on the advice of the Privy Council (on the latter see Note 120). p. 141

[162] First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States*, New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 134-36. p. 143

[163] The suppression of Seward's message is here compared to the tendentious selection of documents in the Blue Book on Persia and Afghanistan published in 1839, when Palmerston was Foreign Secretary (see Note 33). On the Afghan war see Note 96. p. 144

[164] First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States*, New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 136-39. p. 145

[165] See Note 38. p. 147

[166] See Note 143. p. 147

[167] See Note 73. p. 149

[168] First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States*, New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 139-43. p. 153

[169] *Anti-Jacobin war*—see Note 108.
*Catholic Emancipation*—see Note 29.
*Reform Bill* (Act)—see Note 29.
*Corn Laws*—see Note 29.
The *Ten Hours' Bill*, limiting the working day for women and children to ten hours, was passed by the British Parliament on June 8, 1847.
The *war against Russia*—the Crimean war (1853-56).
*Conspiracy Bill*—see Note 155. p. 153

[170] See Note 23. p. 154

[171] The *knife-and-fork question* was a plank of the social programme of Chartism. It was first put forward as a slogan by J. R. Stephens in his speech at a Chartist meeting in Kersall Moor, near Manchester, on September 24, 1838 (published in *The Northern Star*, No. 46, September 29, 1838).
The *People's Charter*, which contained the Chartists' demands, was published in the form of a Parliamentary Bill on May 8, 1838. It contained six points: universal suffrage (for men of 21 and over), annual parliaments, vote by ballot, equal electoral districts, abolition of the property qualification for MPs, and payment of MPs. Petitions urging the adoption of the People's Charter were turned down by Parliament in 1839, 1842 and 1848. p. 154

[172] See Note 69. p. 155

[173] First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States*, New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 144-47. p. 157

[174] See Notes 107, 108, 127. p. 157

[175] First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States*, New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 147-50. p. 160

[176] See Note 23. p. 161

[177] The British East India Company, founded in 1600, enjoyed monopoly rights in trade with India, China and other Asian countries for a long time. In India, it also maintained an army and performed administrative functions. It was one of the principal initiators of colonial expansion and oppression. After the 1857-59 popular insurrection in India the British government changed the form of colonial administration. In 1858 the East India Company was liquidated and the administration of India was transferred to the Crown. p. 162

178 The *Anglo-French commercial treaty,* concluded in January 1860, envisaged the reduction and partial lifting of tariffs for British and French goods. Under the March 1860 Turin treaty, the Kingdom of Sardinia ceded *Savoy and Nice* to Napoleon III in compensation for France's help in freeing Italy from Austrian rule. p. 162

179 *Die Presse* published this article, marked "From Our London Correspondent", in the Feuilleton section. Max Friedlander had asked Marx to write for this section, too, in his letter of January 7, 1862. p. 163

180 First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 150-55. p. 167

181 *Magna Charta Libertatum*—the charter signed by King John of England on June 15, 1215 under pressure from his insurgent barons supported by knights and townspeople. It restricted the king's rights, mostly to the benefit of the barons, and contained certain concessions to the knights and towns. Even in the 19th century, the British bourgeoisie regarded it as the mainstay of the Constitutional system. p. 168

182 This refers to the *Déclaration réglant divers points de droit maritime* (see Note 141). p. 169

183 On the intervention in Mexico see Note 88. p. 169

184 Under the peace treaty concluded after the 1859-60 Spanish-Moroccan war (see Note 89) the town of Tetuan was to remain under Spanish occupation until Morocco had paid out the entire contribution imposed by Spain. p. 170

185 The last article by Marx to be published in the *New-York Daily Tribune.* Engels' last contribution to the *Tribune*—an article on the progress of the US Civil War written on about March 7, 1862 at Marx's request (see Note 194)—was not published by that newspaper. p. 172

186 An allusion to the debates on the *Trent* incident in the British Parliament and in the press (see this volume, pp. 89-114, 127-48). p. 177

187 First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 155-60. p. 178

188 "The young Napoleon" was the name given to George McClellan by his Democratic supporters. McClellan was the first American general to become commander-in-chief at the early age of 34. p. 178

189 *Fabian tactics*—dilatory tactics, so named after the Roman general Fabius, surnamed Cunctator ("the Delayer"), who adopted this tactic against Hannibal in 217 B.C., during the Second Punic War. p. 179

190 *West Point,* near New York, is the site of a United States Military Academy. Founded in 1802, it was the only higher military educational establishment in the US in the mid-19th century. The complete isolation of the cadets from the external world fostered elitist and caste tendencies within the officer corps. p. 179

191 On the battles of Manassas and Ball's Bluff, see Notes 44 and 105. p. 180

192 First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 160-64. p. 182

193 See Note 111. p. 185

194 On March 7, 1862 Engels wrote the first part of an article on the progress of the US Civil War for the *New-York Daily Tribune* at Marx's request. It is possible that on March 18 he wrote the second, concluding part (see Marx's letters to Engels of March 3 and 15, and Engels's letters to Marx of March 5 and 8, 1862 in Vol. 41 of this edition). However, the *Tribune* did not publish this article (see Note 185). Engels made use of the first part for his article "The War in America" published in *The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire,* March 14, 1862 (see present edition, Vol. 18, pp. 530-34). The text intended for the *New-York Daily Tribune* was translated by Marx into German. He added more recent data and sent the text to *Die Presse.* In this volume the article is given according to *Die Presse.* The beginning and the end of the section published in *The Volunteer Journal* and included in this article are indicated in footnotes. The version from *Die Presse* was first published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. *The Civil War in the United States,* New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 164-77. p. 186

195 See Note 44. p. 187

196 At *Jemappes* (November 6, 1792) and *Fleurus* (June 26, 1794) the French revolutionary army defeated the forces of the first coalition of European counter-revolutionary monarchies. At the battles of *Montenotte, Castiglione* and *Rivoli,* during the 1796-97 Italian campaign, the French army defeated the Austrian and Piedmontese forces. p. 187

197 See Note 105. p. 189

198 See Note 7. p. 192

199 The *cordon system,* devised by the Austrian Field Marshal F. Lassy and broadly applied in Western Europe in the 18th century, called for the even distribution of the forces along the line of hostilities. p. 193

200 At the battles of *Millesimo* and *Dego* (Northern Italy), fought between April 13 and 15, 1796, Bonaparte's army defeated an Austrian contingent attached to the Piedmontese troops, and an Austrian force sent to its relief. Following this, the French inflicted a series of defeats on the Piedmontese army, compelling the King of Piedmont to conclude a separate peace. p. 193

201 This refers to the occupation of Paris by the troops of the Sixth Coalition (Britain, Prussia, Russia, Sweden and other states) on March 31, 1814 and the deposition of Napoleon I on April 2, 1814. p. 193

202 A reference to Russia's war of liberation against Napoleonic France's aggression in 1812. p. 194

203 An ironic allusion to the trial in Paris during summer 1861 of the eminent banker Jules Isaak Mirès, who was accused of fraudulent stock exchange practices. The trial revealed the complicity of high-ranking officials of the Second Empire in scandalous financial machinations.

The article was first published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 177-79. p. 196

204 See Note 88. p. 196

205 Marx means the occupation of Rome by French troops in July 1849, which continued until 1870, and the stationing of French troops in Athens and

Constantinople during the Crimean war (1853-56). In October 1860, British and French troops occupied Peking. p. 196

206 During the second Opium War (1856-60) unleashed by Britain and France to impose crippling new terms on China, the British and French interventionist forces under General Montauban in October 1860 seized Peking, the Chinese capital, and plundered and burnt down Yüanmingyüan, the famous summer residence of the Ch'ing emperors, the greatest treasure-house of Chinese art. The plundered property was valued at tens of millions of francs. An incalculable number of valuables were barbarously destroyed. p. 196

207 On July 17, 1861 the Mexican Congress decreed a two-year suspension of payments on foreign debts, which was exploited by Britain, France and Spain as a pretext for launching an intervention in Mexico (see Note 88). To avoid war, the Mexican government of Benito Pablo Juárez in November 1861 repealed the July 17 decree and agreed to satisfy the claims of the three powers. p. 196

208 The conference of British, French and Spanish representatives in Orizaba, Mexico, held on April 9, 1862, was to outline a plan for the three interventionist powers' further action in Mexico. However, serious disagreements came to light, with the French representative refusing to negotiate with the Mexican government and declaring the preliminary peace treaty, concluded in La Soledad on February 19, 1862, null and void. The British and Spanish representatives declared that France was interfering in Mexico's internal affairs and their countries therefore refused to participate further in the intervention. Soon after the Orizaba conference, the British and Spanish troops were withdrawn from Mexico. p. 198

209 First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States*, New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 180-83. p. 199

210 New Orleans was surrendered on April 29, 1862, shortly after the fall of the forts protecting the approaches to the city from the Mississippi. The Northern troops entered New Orleans on May 1. p. 199

211 *Reuter, Havas, Wolff*—news agencies in Britain, France and Germany. p. 199

212 For the Anglo-US war of 1812-14 see Note 107.

*Saragossa* achieved fame with its part in Spain's national liberation struggle against Napoleon's troops. It resisted a siege in 1808, and held out for two months against another one the following year, but fell on February 21, 1809.

*Moscow* was the heart of the nationwide resistance in Russia to Napoleon's invasion in 1812. The battle fought on September 7 at Borodino, near Moscow, largely predetermined the collapse of Napoleon's aggressive plans. p. 199

213 The *Crescent City*—New Orleans, so called because the older part of the city was built within a bend of the Mississippi. p. 200

214 First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States*, New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 183-85. p. 202

215 The Act to prohibit the importation of slaves into any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States, which came into force on January 1, 1808 (see Note 58), did not ban the slave trade within the territory of the United States. This trade, carried on between the slave states of the South and Southwest, was mostly confined to the coastal cities of the South. The ban on the importation of slaves from without was accompanied by an expansion of the internal slave trade, with

the Southern states of Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina supplying large numbers of slaves for sale. p. 203

216 First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 185-90. p. 204

217 See Note 44. p. 205

218 This refers to the battles fought at *Smolensk,* August 16 to 18, and *Borodino,* September 7, 1812 in the course of Russia's liberation war against aggression by Napoleonic France. p. 207

219 First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 191-94. p. 209

220 The Ionian Islands had been a British protectorate from 1815. The 1848-49 revolt of the islands' Greek population, to which Marx refers, aimed at union with Greece. It was brutally crushed by the British. p. 209

221 *Ryots*—hereditary lessees of state-owned lands in India. Here Indian peasants. p. 209

222 The various *Landlord and Tenant Bills* envisaging easier terms for the tenants, first submitted to the British Parliament in the 1850s, were stubbornly resisted by the big landowners. In 1860 a half-hearted *Landlord and Tenant Act* was adopted which failed to solve the problem. Marx discussed the Act in his articles "From the Houses of Parliament.—Bulwer's Motion.—The Irish Question" and "General Simpson's Resignation.—From Parliament" (see present edition, Vol. 14, pp. 340-43 and 470-71). p. 210

223 *Saguntum* was a town in ancient Spain. Allied with Rome, it was attacked and seized after an eight-month siege by Hannibal's troops in 219 B.C. The people of the town rejected all proposals for surrender and immolated themselves. p. 210

224 *Statute law*—a system of legal regulations based on the statutes, or Acts, of the British Parliament. p. 210

225 In the wake of the Irish national liberation uprising of 1798 the British Parliament, on Castlereagh's initiative, passed a series of acts in 1801 placing Ireland in a state of siege and suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, under which persons under arrest had to be brought before a court and presented with formal charges. p. 210

226 Shortly after the December 2, 1851 coup d'état in France Palmerston, then British Foreign Secretary, approved of Louis Bonaparte's usurpation of power in a conversation with the French Ambassador to London. He did so without previously notifying the Cabinet, which led to his resignation in December 1851, although in principle the British government took a view identical to Palmerston's and was the first in Europe to recognise the Bonapartist regime. p. 211

227 *Zouaves* was the name given to some French infantry regiments originally recruited from among the Berber tribe of the Zouaves in Algeria. p. 211

228 The article was published with the editorial superscription "Our London correspondent writes:". p. 213

229 An allusion to the mania for spiritualist practices that swept Europe, especially Germany, in the early 1850s. p. 216

230 See Note 2. p. 216

231 In the early seventeenth century China was invaded by the Manchu tribes, which put the country under the rule of the Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1912). p. 216

232 The *Opium wars*—aggressive wars waged against China by Britain, 1840 to 1842, and by Britain and France, 1856 to 1860. p. 216

233 See Note 21. p. 221

234 First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 195-98. p. 223

235 Marx means the *1856-57 Anglo-Persian war* (see Note 97). p. 225

236 In writing this article, in early August 1862, Marx drew on factual material contained in a letter to him by Engels of July 30, 1862. At the time, Marx and Engels differed to a degree in assessing the prospects of the US Civil War. Cf. the above-mentioned letter by Engels with Marx's letter to him of August 7, 1862 (present edition, Vol. 41).

The article was first published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 198-201. p. 226

237 See Note 54. p. 227

238 The *Homestead Act,* adopted by the Lincoln Administration under popular pressure, was one of the revolutionary measures that turned the scales in the US Civil War in favour of the North. It provided a democratic solution to the agrarian problem by making available, for the nominal charge of $10, 160 acres of state-owned land to every US citizen and every person declaring that he wanted to become one. The land became the farmer's property after five years of cultivation, or earlier, if he paid $1.25 per acre. p. 228

239 The Federal District of Columbia, comprising the US capital Washington and its environs, is an independent administrative unit. The abolition of slavery in the US capital had been one of the principal demands of the anti-slavery forces ever since the War of Independence (1775-83). The Act for the release of certain persons held to service or labour in the District of Columbia, passed on April 16, 1862, set free 3,000 Blacks, the government undertaking to pay $300 in compensation for every released slave to the former owner. p. 228

240 Under a law passed in Pennsylvania on March 1, 1780, all slaves born there after the passage of that law were to become free at the age of 28. p. 228

241 *Liberia*—a West African republic formed in 1847 on the basis of settlements set up by the American Colonisation Society to encourage emigration of free Blacks from the United States.

*Haiti*—a state in the western part of Hispaniola (Haiti) Island, a republic since 1859.

The establishment, in June 1862, of diplomatic relations with the Black republics of Liberia and Haiti, which by then had been recognised by other states, was a victory for the Abolitionists. At the same time, the Act to authorise the President of the United States to appoint diplomatic representatives to the Republics of Haiti and Liberia, respectively, aimed at encouraging the emigration of Blacks from the United States to these countries. The establishment of colonies

of free Blacks outside the US, a plank of Lincoln's programme, was emphatically opposed by revolutionary Abolitionists. p. 229

242 This article, except for the passage relating to Garibaldi (p. 232), was first published in English in: Karl Marx, *On America and the Civil War,* New York, 1972, pp. 213-14. p. 230

243 In a "Letter to the Bishop of Durham" published on November 4, 1850, Russell, then Prime Minister, attacked "Papal usurpation" in connection with a Bull of Pope Pius IX in which he claimed the right to appoint Catholic bishops and archbishops in England. For details see Marx's exposé "Lord John Russell" (present edition, Vol. 14, pp. 371-93).

In a message of October 27, 1860 to Sir James Hudson, British minister in Turin, Russell, who was Foreign Secretary at the time, condemned the attitude of Austria, France, Prussia and Russia and approved of Southern Italy's union with the Kingdom of Sardinia and of the policy of Victor Emmanuel II, who exploited the Italian people's revolutionary movement for his own dynastic ends. The message also said that peoples were entitled to depose their rulers, which was a sally against Napoleon III. p. 231

244 First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 201-29. p. 233

245 See Note 69. p. 233

246 *Chambers of commerce,* in the USA, are regional associations of businessmen. The Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, set up in 1768, is the oldest. p. 234

247 The *Whig party* in the USA (1834-54) spoke for the Northern bourgeoisie and the Southern planters economically linked with it. It opposed the strengthening of Federal power and favoured protective tariffs and industrial development in the South, as well as in the North. Whig candidates won twice at Presidential elections, in 1840 (William H. Harrison) and 1848 (Zachary Taylor). Composed of motley elements, the party disintegrated in the early 1850s, the Northern Whigs flocking to the new Republican Party (see Note 9) in 1854, and the "cotton Whigs" joining the pro-slavery Democratic Party (see Note 13). p. 235

248 A reference to the *Seven Days' Battle* (June 25-July 1, 1862) fought on the approaches to Richmond, by the river Chickahominy whose marshy banks were unsuitable for military operations. It ended in the retreat of the Northern army commanded by McClellan. p. 235

249 This refers to events connected with Garibaldi's military campaign in July-August 1862 aimed at freeing Rome from Papal rule and French occupation (see also p. 232 of this volume). Under pressure from Napoleon III, the King of Italy, Victor Emmanuel II, sent troops against Garibaldi. On August 29 Garibaldi was seriously wounded in a skirmishing action near Aspromonte and taken prisoner. He was kept under arrest for a long time. The attack on Italy's national hero caused indignation in many countries, including Britain. p. 236

250 The 1494 Italian campaign of King Charles VIII of France ushered in a series of wars for possession of Italy and hegemony in Europe between France on the one hand and Spain and the Holy Roman Empire on the other. Fought mostly on Italian soil, these wars were brought to an end in 1559 by the peace of

Cateau-Cambrésis, where two treaties were concluded. France renounced its claims to Italian possessions. Spain's supremacy in the Italian peninsula was consolidated and Italy's political fragmentation hardened. p. 236

251 According to Roman tradition, the patrician general Manlius Capitolinus was awakened at night by the cackling of the geese sacred to Juno just in time to repulse an attack on the Capitol by the Gauls. Later he sided with the plebeians against the patricians and was accused of seeking to establish a dictatorship. For the trial, a place was chosen from which no one could see the Capitol that Manlius had saved. He was sentenced to death and hurled down from the Tarpeian rock. p. 236

252 An allusion to the February 1848 revolution in France. p. 237

253 There were three *partitions of Poland* (1772, 1793 and 1795) by Prussia, tsarist Russia and Austria (which did not take part in the second one). As a result of the third partition the Polish state ceased to exist. p. 237

254 *Praetorians*—a privileged section of the army in imperial Rome, originally the generals' guards; in a figurative sense, mercenary troops propping up a system of government based on brute force. p. 237

255 This refers to the second Great Exhibition, held in London from May to November 1862. p. 239

256 The article is based on data sent to Marx by Wilhelm Wolff from Manchester in a letter written between September 10 and 12, 1862. It reveals the demagogic nature of the 1861 political amnesty in Prussia (see Note 257) and was rather widely read in Germany. The article appeared in the *Barmer Zeitung* and was reprinted in the *Niederrheinische Volks-Zeitung* and the *Märkische Volks-Zeitung*. p. 243

257 In connection with the enthronement of King William I of Prussia, an amnesty was granted on January 12, 1861 ("Supreme Decree on Amnesty for Political Crimes and Transgressions, January 12, 1861", *Königlich-Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger,* January 13, 1861) guaranteeing all political refugees unhindered return to the domains of the Prussian state. p. 243

258 This refers to the *Frankfurt Parliament* or the German Assembly, which opened in Frankfurt am Main on May 18, 1848. It was convened to unify the country and draw up a Constitution. The liberal deputies, who were in the majority, turned the Assembly into a virtual debating club. At the decisive moment of the revolution, the liberal majority condoned the counter-revolutionary forces. In spring 1849, the liberals left the Assembly after the Prussian and other governments had rejected the Imperial Constitution that it had drawn up. The remainder of the Assembly moved to Stuttgart and was dispersed by the Württemberg forces on June 18. Marx calls it the Rump by analogy with the remainder of the Long Parliament after it had been purged by Cromwell during the English Revolution of the 17th century. p. 244

259 Marx means legal advisers on the staff of government bodies. p. 244

260 An allusion to the resignation of Palmerston's Cabinet in February 1858 over the Commons' rejection of his Conspiracy Bill (see Note 155). p. 246

261 This refers to the rise of the Chartist movement in the summer and autumn of 1842 in connection with the aggravation of the economic crisis in the spring of

that year. In early August 1842, workers downed tools at a firm in Staleybridge, near Manchester, the strike soon spreading to the country's main industrial areas. The workers' initial demands were economic, but the strike rapidly grew into a political struggle for the Charter. It was only by bringing in the army that the ruling classes were able to quash the strike. Government repressions followed, and the Chartist movement subsided for a time. A slight improvement of business was a contributing factor. These events were described in detail by Engels in *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 520-23). p. 246

262 *Die Presse* published this article with the following editorial introduction: "The defeat at Hagerstown of the Confederate forces that had invaded Maryland from Virginia across the Potomac, a defeat which compelled them to pull back to Virginia, and President Lincoln's September 22 Proclamation, which abolishes slavery as of January 1, 1863, constitute a turning-point in the North American events. Our London correspondent, whose judgment is not biased by the language of the English papers, which are almost without exception sympathetic to the South and the cause of slavery, has the following to say about the new situation in North America:".

Marx discussed the problems dealt with in the article in his letters to Engels of September 10 and October 29, 1862 (see present edition, Vol. 41).

The article was first published in English in *Political Affairs*, No. 2, 1959, pp. 18-21. p. 248

263 The Confederates' offensive in Maryland launched on September 4, 1862 ended in their defeat at Antietam Creek near Sharpsburg on September 17. p. 248

264 The Confederate forces that invaded Kentucky on September 12, 1862 were defeated by Unionist troops at Perryville on October 8. p. 248

265 The *Great West*—the western states of the USA. The Western farmers decided the outcome of the struggle against slavery in the Civil War (1861-65). p. 249

266 This refers to the Confederates' successful advance into Kentucky in early September 1861, which resulted in Kentucky's joining the Confederacy in December. p. 249

267 Lincoln's *Emancipation Proclamation*, published on September 22, 1862, declared all Black slaves in the rebellion-ridden areas free as of January 1, 1863. All Blacks were granted the right to enrol in the army and navy. The emancipation of the Blacks, carried out under popular pressure after a series of military setbacks, marked the adoption of revolutionary methods of warfare by the North. At the same time, the Proclamation was half-hearted and inconsistent, since it withheld emancipation from slaves in areas controlled by the Federal forces. p. 250

268 One of Lincoln's occupations as a young man was splitting fence rails, which earned him the nickname of Rail Splitter among his Republican supporters during the 1860 Presidential campaign. Lincoln was a member of the House of Representatives (not a Senator) from 1847 to 1849. p. 250

269 The revolutionary events in Greece, from February 1862 onwards, were a reaction to the country's exceedingly grave economic position, the aftermath of the Anglo-French occupation of 1854-57. The struggle, headed by the national bourgeoisie, was directed against foreign domination of the economy and

political life. On October 22, 1862 the Athens garrison mutinied and was supported by the city's entire population. A provisional government was formed which proclaimed the deposition of King Otho (Othon) of Bavaria. However, in June 1863, Britain, France and Russia, Greece's protectors under the 1832 convention, signed a protocol enthroning Prince William of Denmark as King of Greece under the name of George I of the Hellenes.

Veillard was a French businessman connected with the organising committee of the Great Exhibition in London (see Note 255). His bankruptcy, announced in September 1862, shortly before the closure of the Exhibition, caused a sensation in the press. p. 252

270 Marx set forth the basic ideas of this article in his letter to Engels of October 29, 1862. In his reply (Nov. 5) Engels agreed with Marx's overall assessment of the Southerners' defeat in Maryland and his other statements, but was more critical of the Northerners' policy (see present edition, Vol. 41).

The article was first published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States*, New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 206-10. p. 256

271 On the battles of *Antietam Creek* and *Perryville* see Notes 263 and 264. p. 257

272 This passage is based on inaccurate reports published, e.g. in the *New-York Daily Tribune* of October 20, 1862. Actually, it was in July 1863 that Morgan's detachment was beaten and Morgan taken prisoner. p. 257

273 At the *battle of Corinth* (Mississippi), fought on October 3 and 4, 1862, the Unionist forces under General Rosecrans defeated the Confederates commanded by generals Van Dorn, Price and Lovell. p. 257

274 In 1845-47 there was famine in Ireland due to the ruin of farms and the pauperisation of the peasants. Although blight had caused a great shortage of potatoes, the principal diet of the Irish peasants, the English landlords continued to export food from the country, condemning the poorest sections of the population to starvation. About a million people starved to death and the new wave of emigration caused by the famine swept away another million. As a result, large areas of Ireland were depopulated and the deserted land was turned into pasture by the Irish and English landlords. p. 257

275 The *War of Independence* (1775-83)—the revolutionary liberation war against Britain of its thirteen North American colonies which culminated in the establishment of the independent United States of America. p. 258

276 See Note 107. p. 258

277 This article was published in the column "America" with the editorial note: "Our *London* correspondent writes on the 7th inst.:". Since the editors of the present publication have no access to the Confederate newspapers used by Marx, the quotations from them have been retranslated from the German.

The article was first published in English in: Karl Marx, *On America and the Civil War*, New York, 1972, pp. 227-29. p. 260

278 See Note 273. p. 260

279 This refers to the Confederates' abortive attempt, on October 20, 1862, to recapture Nashville, surrendered at the end of February. p. 260

280 At *Bethel* (near Hampton, Virginia) a five-hour battle was fought on June 10, 1861, with the Southerners carrying the day.

On the battle of *Bull Run,* near Manassas, see Note 44. p. 261

281 As a political or constitutional principle *states' rights* may be found in the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution adopted in 1791: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively or to the people." p. 262

282 This article was included in a large editorial review, "Peace Prospects in America", published on November 23, 1862. The article was introduced by the following editorial note: "As regards the latest election in the Northern states of the Union, to which so much importance is attached in Paris and London, we present here an account from our London correspondent, who is well informed on American affairs:".

Marx outlined the basic content of this article in a letter to Engels of November 17, 1862 (see present edition, Vol. 41).

The article was first published in English in: Karl Marx, *On America and the Civil War,* New York, 1972, pp. 230-31. p. 263

283 This refers to the Congressional elections in the Northern states and the election of the Governor of New York State, both held on November 4, 1862. The Republicans won in most states, but lost a considerable number of votes to the Democrats in New York and the Northwest. The New York governorship went to Democrat Horatio Seymour. p. 263

284 See Note 247. p. 264

285 Marx means the French government's message to the governments of Britain and Russia of October 30, 1862 calling for joint action by the three powers to impose a ceasefire, lift the blockade and open the Southern ports to European trade. Britain and Russia rejected this proposal for interference in the internal affairs of the United States. p. 265

286 This article was published by *Die Presse* in the column "America", with the editorial note: "Our London correspondent writes:".

It was first published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 210-14. p. 266

287 During their invasion of Maryland, the Southern troops under General T. J. Jackson on September 15, 1862, after three days' fighting, seized Harper's Ferry, an important town on the Potomac with a garrison of 10,000 and a large arsenal, burned down all the government buildings and withdrew four days later. p. 267

288 First published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* New York, 1937, London, 1937, pp. 214-17. p. 270

289 The cruiser *Alabama* was built and fitted in England under a Confederacy contract. On June 23, 1862, soon after she was launched, Charles Francis Adams, the US envoy to London, lodged a protest with the British government. Nevertheless, the latter allowed the cruiser to sail to the Azores, where she was armed. Between 1862 and 1864 the cruiser destroyed about 70 North American ships. The talks with the British government on compensation for the damage caused by the *Alabama* and other privateers built in England lasted until 1872, ending in the signing of an agreement obliging Britain to pay $15.5 million to the USA. p. 270

290 An allusion to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation (see Note 267). p. 271

291 Marx's letter was written in connection with the publication in the *Berliner Reform,* on April 10, 1863, of a note giving a distorted account of Marx's negotiations with Lassalle on the joint publication of a newspaper during Marx's stay in Berlin in the spring of 1861 (see his letter to Engels of May 7, 1861 in Vol. 41 of the present edition). The Editors of the *Berliner Reform* introduced the letter with the words: "We have received the following note from *Karl Marx* in *London:*". p. 273

292 This work was intended for the Darmstadt weekly *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung,* to which Engels contributed from August 1860 to July 1864. His articles for the weekly written between 1860 and 1862 (they were signed F. E.) dealt with the Volunteer movement in Britain. In the present edition they are in Volume 18, as are his articles written for the *Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire.* Of Engels's articles for the *AMZ* written in 1863 and 1864, only one, "England's Fighting Forces as against Germany", was published in the weekly (see this volume). Three more articles remained in manuscript.

The present one deals with A. W. Kinglake's book *The Invasion of the Crimea,* published in the first half of 1863. As can be seen from Engels's letters to Marx of June 11 and 24 (present edition, Vol. 41), Engels was very critical of the book, especially of Kinglake's description of the battle of the Alma. It was probably then that he decided to write a critical review of the book. Apparently, he worked on the article "Kinglake on the Battle of the Alma" until the end of the month. It exists in the form of a rough draft, which has reached us incomplete. The end of section I and the beginning and end of section II (pages 5, 6 and 9 of the manuscript) are missing. The manuscript breaks off on page 17. Page 1 bears the initials "F. E.". The article was not finished and not sent to the *AMZ,* presumably because Engels discovered in the weekly's literary supplement (Nos. 15, 23 and 24, April 11, and June 6 and 13) a critical review of Kinglake's book by another writer, marked "5" (its conclusion appeared in Nos. 30 and 31, on July 25 and August 1, 1863).

The *battle of the Alma* took place on September 20, 1854. The Russian forces were commanded by A. S. Menshikov, and the numerically superior forces of the French, British and Turks by Saint-Arnaud and Raglan. It was the first battle after the Allies' landing in the Crimea (at Eupatoria) on September 14. The defeat and withdrawal of the Russian troops opened up the way to Sevastopol for the Allies. Engels described the battle in his article "Alma" written for the *New American Cyclopaedia* (see present edition, Vol. 18). p. 274

293 In the preface to his book Kinglake says he had, in manuscript English translation made by a Russian officer (whom he does not name), the following memoirs of Russian generals that had fought on the Alma:

O. Kwizinski, "More Details on the Alma", Letter to the Editor of the *Russki invalid* (*Russki invalid,* No. 84, April 12, 1856);

P. Gorchakov, "Remarks on the Article 'More Details on the Battle of the Alma', published in *Russki invalid,* No. 84" (*Russki invalid,* No. 101, May 8, 1856);

V. Kirjakow, "More Details on the Battle of the Alma" (*Russki invalid,* No. 136, June 21, 1856). p. 274

294 See Note 82. p. 274

295 In 1849, the Bavarian Palatinate, along with Saxony, Prussia and Baden, was a centre of the struggle in defence of the Imperial Constitution adopted by the

Frankfurt National Assembly on March 27, 1849 and rejected by the King of Prussia and other German monarchs. Engels fought in the ranks of the Baden-Palatinate insurgents against the Prussian troops, but sharply criticised the political and military blunders of the petty-bourgeois leaders of the uprising. He described these events in *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* and *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* (present edition, Vols. 10 and 11). p. 277

296 See Note 227. p. 279

297 This refers to the national liberation uprising of 1857-59 against British rule in India. It flared up among the Sepoy units of the Bengal army (the Sepoys were Indian mercenaries commanded by British officers) and spread to vast regions of Northern and Central India. Peasants and poor artisans from the towns took an active part in the movement, but the leaders were, as a rule, local feudal lords. The uprising was defeated because of communal differences among the insurgents and the military and technical superiority of the British. p. 283

298 This article, intended for the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*, was not published in that paper. Each of the two sections of the manuscript bears the superscription "F. E.", in keeping with the paper's practice of giving only the contributors' initials. In all probability, Engels wrote the article in September 1863, since he mentions military events in the USA which took place in late August and news of which could not have reached Europe until the next month. In Europe, an armed conflict was brewing between the states of the German Confederation and Denmark in which other European powers could get involved, including the Bonapartist Second Empire, which was claiming the left bank of the Rhine. The first section of the article is, in content, a sequel to Engels' article "The American Civil War and the Ironclads and Rams", published in *Die Presse* at the beginning of July 1862 (this volume, pp. 213-15). p. 289

299 Engels means the possibility of war between the German Confederation and Denmark in connection with the aggravation, in the latter half of 1863, of the German-Danish dispute over the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein which, though populated mostly by Germans, were subject to the Danish Crown. During the 1848-49 revolution, an anti-Danish national liberation movement spread in the duchies which was, however, suppressed. The London protocol of May 8, 1852 on the integrity of Denmark, signed by Austria, Britain, Denmark, France, Russia and Sweden, declared the duchies to be associated with the Danish Crown in personal union. Prussia's ruling circles were seeking the duchies' union with Germany as the first step towards establishing a united Germany under Prussia's aegis. The constant attempts of Denmark's ruling classes fully to subject the duchies by depriving them of their autonomy provided Prussia with a pretext for starting war preparations, ostensibly acting on behalf of the German Confederation. In February 1864, Prussia and Austria opened hostilities against Denmark, which ended in the latter's defeat. The Vienna peace treaty of October 30, 1864 proclaimed Schleswig, Holstein and Lauenburg co-possessions of Austria and Prussia, thus setting the stage for disputes between the two. p. 292

300 Presumably an allusion to the rights obtained by Prussia, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, the Hanseatic towns and other member states of the German Customs Union under the treaty with China signed in Tientsin on September 2, 1861 and ratified in Shanghai on January 14, 1863. It granted German subjects the same privileges as had been secured by the British and

French as a result of the Anglo-Franco-Chinese war of 1856-60 (extraterritoriality, the right of trade and anchorage in a number of ports, etc.). At the time, German firms were trading in Hong Kong and other open Chinese ports. p. 292

301 Engels discusses Montalembert's fortification system in greater detail in the article "Fortification", written for the *New American Cyclopaedia* (present edition, Vol. 18). p. 293

302 The hostilities in the Bomarsund Strait (off the Åland Islands in the Baltic) during the Crimean war were described by Engels in the two articles "The Capture of Bomarsund" written for the *New-York Daily Tribune* (present edition, Vol. 13) and in the article "Bomarsund" written for the *New American Cyclopaedia* (present edition, Vol. 18). p. 293

303 The *Italian war*—the war of France and the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont) against Austria, which lasted from April 29 to July 8, 1859. It was unleashed by Napoleon III who, under the pretext of "liberating" Italy, sought to seize new territories and consolidate his regime at home. The Italian liberal bourgeoisie hoped in the course of the war to unify Italy under the Savoy dynasty ruling in Piedmont. Napoleon III, however, was worried by the scope of the Italian national liberation movement against the Austrian oppressors and, after several victories by the Franco-Piedmontese forces, concluded a separate peace treaty with Austria in Villafranca on July 11, behind Sardinia's back. France obtained Savoy and Nice, Lombardy was annexed to Sardinia, while Venetia remained under Austrian rule. p. 293

304 General Gillmore bombarded Fort Pulaski, held by the Confederates, on April 10 and 11, 1862. As Engels says further in the article, the information at his disposal was unreliable. Actually, Gillmore used rifled, not smoothbore, guns at Fort Pulaski. p. 293

305 Fort Wagner, which covered Fort Sumter, was first bombarded by the Unionists on July 10, 1863. The regular siege and bombardment of the fort began on July 18. The Confederates evacuated it on the night of September 6. p. 294

306 Fort Sumter covered the approaches to Charleston from the sea. The Unionist forces, commanded by Dahlgren, attempted to seize it on September 8, 1863, after the bombardment described by Engels. Their landing having failed, the Unionists abandoned their plan for capturing Charleston from the sea. It was not taken until February 1865. p. 295

307 The Proclamation on Poland was written by Marx at the request of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 308), which had set up a committee to raise funds for the participants in the Polish uprising of 1863-64.

The Proclamation was first published in English in: Karl Marx, *Surveys from Exile,* Vol. 2, Harmondsworth, 1973, pp. 354-56. p. 296

308 The *German Workers' Educational Society* in London was founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other members of the League of the Just (an organisation of German craftsmen and workers, and also of emigrant workers of other nationalities). After the League of the Just was reorganised into the Communist League in the summer of 1847, the latter's local communities played the leading role in the Society. During various periods of its activity, the Society had branches in working-class districts in London. In

1847 and 1849-50, Marx and Engels took an active part in its work, but on September 17, 1850, they and a number of their followers withdrew because the Willich-Schapper adventurist sectarian faction had temporarily increased its influence in the Society, causing a split in the Communist League. In the 1850s, Marx and Engels resumed their work in the Educational Society, which existed until 1918, when it was closed down by the British government. p. 296

309 This refers to the Central National Committee, which in January 1863 headed the national liberation uprising in the parts of Poland held by Tsarist Russia. Though inspired by the striving to end tsarist oppression, the 1863-64 uprising also reflected the crisis of feudal relations in the Kingdom of Poland. At the beginning of the uprising the National Committee announced a programme of struggle for Poland's independence and put forward a number of democratic agrarian demands. In May 1863, the Committee assumed the name of National Government. However, its inconsistency and indecision, in particular its failure to abolish the privileges of the big landowners, alienated the peasants, the majority of whom stayed away from the uprising. This was one of the main causes of its defeat. The movement was, by and large, crushed by the Tsarist government in the autumn of 1863, though some units of the insurgents continued the struggle until the end of 1864. p. 296

310 See Note 253. p. 296

311 Under the impact of the July 1830 revolution in France and the 1830-31 uprising in Poland, there was an upsurge of opposition feeling almost in all the states of the German Confederation in 1831-32. On May 27, 1832, a political demonstration by members of the South German liberal and radical bourgeoisie took place at the castle of Hambach, in the Bavarian Palatinate. As well as demanding Constitutional reforms and urging German unity, the participants in the "Hambach Festival" hoisted the Polish national flag in solidarity with the fighting Poles. In retaliation, the reactionary Federal Diet, the central body of the German Confederation, in June and July 1832 adopted six articles banning political demonstrations of any kind, introducing strict censorship of the press and severer punishment for political crimes, and calling for other repressive measures. The articles evoked widespread protests. p. 296

312 The *National Association* was formed at a congress of bourgeois liberals from different German states meeting in Frankfurt am Main on September 15 and 16, 1859. The Association's aim was the union of Germany under Prussia's aegis. It was disbanded in November 1867. p. 297

313 Engels presumably conceived this article in late 1863, after reading a series of items on the organisation of the British army in the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* published between August and November. He, for his part, intended to review the British army's development and contemporary condition. He must have started work on the article at the end of 1863 and written part of the text in early 1864. The article was not published in the paper. The manuscript consists of seven sheets covered with writing on both sides and numbered by the author. The end is missing. The first page is superscribed "F. E.", as in other manuscripts by Engels intended for the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* (see Notes 292 and 298). p. 298

314 An allusion to the demarches of the British government (its messages of November 25 and December 31, 1863) in connection with the aggravation of the German-Danish dispute after the death of King Frederick VII of Denmark

on November 15, 1863 and the promulgation of a new Constitution proclaiming the final incorporation of Schleswig and Holstein into the domains of the Danish monarch (see Note 299). p. 298

315 The British East India Company was set up at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It had the monopoly of trade with the East Indies and played a decisive part in establishing the British colonial empire. The Company was liquidated in 1858, during the 1857-59 national liberation uprising in India (see Note 297). Marx characterised the Company in his article "The East India Company.—Its History and Results" (present edition, Vol. 12). p. 301

316 The sale of officers' commissions in Britain originated at the end of the seventeenth century and was later legalised by Royal sanction. In 1719-20, an official rate was introduced, which was repeatedly modified in later years. The system existed until 1871. p. 302

317 An allusion to the wars the British had waged from 1843 against New Zealand's indigenous Maori population, who had inflicted a series of defeats on the colonial troops. It was not until 1872 that the British succeeded in pushing the Maoris back to the most infertile lands, thus dooming them to starvation. p. 302

318 *Aldershot*—a military camp about 50 miles from London set up as a drill ground in 1855, during the Crimean war. p. 302

319 The *military school at Sandhurst,* some 50 miles from London, was established in 1802. It trained officers for the infantry and cavalry. p. 303

320 In 1806, a British expedition led by General Beresford and Captain Popham was sent to capture Buenos Aires, which belonged to Spain, then an ally of Napoleonic France. Meeting with no serious resistance from the Spanish colonial forces, Beresford's detachment seized the city, but was encircled and compelled to surrender by patriotic Argentine militias. Another British expedition, sent to the mouth of the River Plate in 1807, also failed. p. 304

321 See Note 297. p. 310

322 The *French Foreign Legion,* formed in 1831, was recruited mainly from criminal and other déclassé elements of foreign extraction living in France.

The *substitution system* was for a long time practised in the French army. It was a privilege for the propertied classes, allowing them to buy themselves out of military service by hiring substitutes. The practice was banned during the French Revolution but legalised again by Napoleon I. Under a law passed in 1853, substitutes were selected mainly by the authorities and the payment for them contributed to a special "army donation" fund. The substitution system was abolished in 1872. p. 312

323 See Note 227. p. 312

324 This refers to the *Peninsular,* or *Spanish, war* (1808-14) fought by Britain against Napoleonic France on Spanish and Portuguese territory. Meanwhile, the Spanish and Portuguese peoples were fighting a war of independence against France. p. 313

325 See Note 299. p. 317

326 Engels means the battle of *Waterloo* (see Note 82). p. 319

[327] See Note 314. p. 321

[328] No such report by Engels appeared in the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung.* p. 325

[329] Marx wrote these notes in late May and early June 1864, after Wilhelm Wolff's death on May 9. He intended to write a detailed biography of Wolff, one of his closest friends and associates, and collected data on his life. However, the project failed to materialise. In 1876, Engels carried it out, in part, by writing an extensive article titled "Wilhelm Wolff", which appeared in the journal *Neue Welt,* Nos. 27, 28, 30, 31, 40-45 and 47 (see Vol. 24 of the present edition). p. 335

[330] *Silberberg* was the prison in Silesia to which Wolff was confined for being a member of a student association and for "crimes against His Majesty, the King of Prussia". He was nicknamed Casemate Wolf for his article "Die Kasematten", describing the slums of Breslau, which was published in the *Breslauer Zeitung,* No. 271, on November 18, 1843, and caused a public outcry. p. 335

[331] The *Bureau de Correspondance,* set up by the German democratic journalist Sebastian Seiler (later a member of the Communist League) in Brussels in 1845, gathered, translated and forwarded to German newspapers news items and articles from the British, French and Belgian press, giving them, as far as possible, a Social-Democratic tendency, a fact later noted by Engels in his article "Wilhelm Wolff" (present edition, Vol. 24). The Bureau maintained close links with the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee established by Marx and Engels. In October 1847, when Seiler for unknown reasons withdrew from the Bureau, it was headed by Wolff and Louis Heilberg. p. 335

[332] Following the imposition of martial law in Cologne on September 26, 1848, publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was suspended and a number of its editors (Engels, Wolff, Bürgers and others) were charged with sedition. To evade arrest Wolff went into hiding in Dürkheim, Palatinate, but soon secretly returned to Cologne and resumed his work with the newspaper. p. 335

[333] Addressing the Frankfurt National Assembly (see Note 258) on May 26, 1849, Wolff, a deputy for Silesia, demanded the outlawing of Archduke John (the Imperial Regent) and his Ministers as the worst traitors to the nation (see Engels's article "Wilhelm Wolff" in Vol. 24 of the present edition). p. 335

[334] See Note 258. p. 335

[335] See Note 257. p. 336

[336] In connection with the amnesty granted by the Prussian government (see Note 257) Marx, during his stay in Berlin, March 17 to April 12, 1861, submitted an application to the Prussian government requesting the restoration of his Prussian citizenship (on his earlier steps in this matter see Vol. 7, pp. 407-10). With the working-class movement on the rise and a revolutionary crisis brewing in Germany, Marx probably wished to resume his political activity in Germany when the time was ripe for it. Marx's applications, published in the Appendices to this volume, were written for him by Ferdinand Lassalle and signed by Marx. His request was refused by the Berlin Police President and, in November of the same year, by the Prussian Minister of the Interior. p. 339

[337] See Note 257. p. 339

[338] This document exists in two versions: a rough draft, written in Lassalle's hand, and a clean copy written in an unknown hand. The latter bears Marx's signature and, also in his hand, the inscription "Berlin, March 25, 1861". It also bears notes by a police officer. p. 341

[339] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Democratie*—organ of the proletarian revolutionary democrats during the German revolution of 1848-49, published under Marx's editorship. All the editors were members of the Communist League. As a rule, Marx and Engels wrote the editorials formulating the newspaper's stand on the most important questions of the revolution.

The consistent revolutionary line of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* its militant internationalism and political accusations against the government displeased its bourgeois shareholders in the very first months of the paper's existence; its editors were persecuted by the government and attacked in the feudal-monarchist and liberal-bourgeois press. Persecution by the legal authorities and police was intensified after the counter-revolutionary coup in Prussia in November and December 1848.

In May 1849, when the counter-revolution went over to the offensive throughout Germany, the Prussian government expelled Marx from Prussia on the grounds that he was not a Prussian citizen. Because of Marx's expulsion and the stepped-up repressions against other editors, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had to cease publication. Its last issue (No. 301), printed in red ink, came out on May 19, 1849. In their farewell address to the workers, the editors stated that "their last word will everywhere and always be: emancipation of the working class!" (see present edition, Vol. 9, p. 467). p. 341

[340] The Statement exists in three versions: one penned by Lassalle and two others, which are copies made by an unknown person. One of the fair copies bears the words, in Marx's hand, "Your Excellency's obedient servant, Dr. Karl Marx". It also bears von Zedlitz's refusal, in his hand, which was copied by a clerk and sent to Marx (see this volume, p. 353). p. 345

[341] After the February 1848 revolution in France, F. Flocon, a member of the provisional government of the French Republic, in an official message of March 1 informed Marx that the Guizot government's January order on the expulsion of Marx from Paris had been rescinded and he invited Marx to return to France. p. 346

[342] The *Preparliament* (Preliminary Parliament), which met in Frankfurt am Main from March 31 to April 4, 1848, consisted of representatives of the German states, most of them constitutional monarchists. The Preparliament passed a resolution to convoke an all-German National Assembly and produced a draft of the "Fundamental Rights and Demands of the German People". Although this document proclaimed certain rights and liberties, including the right of all-German citizenship for the residents of all German states, it did not touch the basis of the semi-feudal absolutist system in Germany. p. 351

[343] See the article "The Conflict between Marx and Prussian Citizenship" in Vol. 7 of the present edition, pp. 407-10. p. 351

[344] This document is a handwritten form with the blanks filled in, presumably at Marx's dictation, in an unknown hand. In the present edition these insertions are indicated by italics. p. 355

[345] This refers to the German Federal Act (Bundesakte—Verordnung über die zu

bildende Repräsentation des Volks. Vom 22sten Mai 1815) adopted by the Congress of Vienna on June 8, 1815. The Act proclaimed the formation of a German Confederation consisting initially of 34 independent states and four free cities. The Federal Act hardened the political disunity of Germany and preserved the absolutist feudal regime in the German states. p. 357

346 The *Federal Diet* (Bundestag)—the central body of the German Confederation (see Note 345) which consisted of representatives of the German states and held its sessions in Frankfurt am Main. Having no actual power, it nevertheless served as an instrument of monarchist feudal reaction. The formation in 1867 of the North German Confederation under Prussia's hegemony put an end to the German Confederation and the Diet. p. 359

347 The *Schiller Institute* in Manchester was set up in November 1859 in connection with the centenary of Friedrich Schiller's birth. Its founders intended it as a cultural and social centre for Manchester's German community. Initially Engels took no part in the Institute's activities as it bore the stamp of Prussian bureaucracy and pedantic formalism. In July 1864, after the Institute's rules had been amended, Engels became a member of its Directorate, and eventually its chairman. In these capacities he gave much of his time to the Institute and exerted an important influence on its activities. p. 360

348 Engels means the following communication:

"Manchester, May 2, 1861

"Mr. Engels

is herewith requested, in keeping with § 34 of the Supplementary Regulations, to return No. 14, V. Vogt, *Altes und Neues,* 2ter Bd., to the Library within 24 hours.

"The fine amounts to 1/7d. Failure to comply with this request within 24 hours entails an increase of this sum by 2/6d.

Yours sincerely,

By authorisation of the Directorate,
V. Stössel, Librarian"

p. 360

349 This may refer to the Athenaeum Club, whose members were mostly men of letters and scholars. Athenaeum clubs existed in London, Manchester and other English cities. p. 362

350 Appendix II has not been preserved. p. 362

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*Bennett, James Gordon* (1795-1872)—American journalist; adhered to the Democratic Party; founder and publisher of the newspaper *New-York Herald;* during the Civil War came up for a compromise with Southern slave-owners.—181, 263

*Bentinck, G. W. P.*—British parliamentary figure, Tory.—183

*Berger*—German refugee in Britain; a member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; was on the committee raising funds for Polish insurgents during the Polish uprising of 1863-64.—297

*Berkeley, George Cranfield* (1753-1818)—British admiral, Tory M. P.—141

*Bernard, Simon François* (1817-1862)—French politician, Republican; emigrated to Britain after the defeat of the revolution (1848); was accused by the French Government of being an accomplice in Orsini's attempt on the life of Napoleon III; acquitted by the British Court.—245

*Berry, Hiram Gregory* (1824-1863)—American general; fought in the US Civil War on the side of the Northerners; commanded a brigade (1862-beginning of 1863), and then a division of the Potomac Army.—206

*Bethell, Richard, 1st Baron Westbury* (1800-1873)—British lawyer and politician, Liberal; Lord Chancellor (1861-65).—167

*Billault, Augustin Adolphe Marie* (1805-1863)—French politician and lawyer; an Orleanist and after 1849 a Bonapartist; Minister of the Interior (1854-58 and 1859-60).—79, 80

*Birney, David Bell* (1825-1864)—American general, Abolitionist; commanded a brigade of the Army on the Potomac during the Civil War (1862).—206

*Blücher, Gebhard Leberecht von, Prince of Wahlstatt* (1742-1819)—Prussian field marshal-general; took part in wars against Napoleonic France.—319

*Bolleter, Heinrich*—German refugee in London, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London and subsequently of the General Council of the First International (1864-65); was on the committee raising funds for Polish insurgents during the Polish uprising of 1863-64; owner of a small restaurant in Soho where the workers used to meet.—297

*Bonaparte, Joseph* (1768-1844)—the eldest brother of Napoleon I; King of Naples (1806-08) and Spain (1808-13).—268

*Bonaparte, Louis*—see Napoleon III

*Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul* (1822-1891)—son of Jérôme Bonaparte, cousin of Napoleon III; commanded a division in the Crimea in 1854; known under the nicknames of Plon-Plon and the Red Prince.—28, 237, 278, 279, 281, 282

*Borbón, Francisco de Paula Antonio de* (1794-1865)—uncle of Isabella II, Queen of Spain.—119

*Borchardt, Louis*—German physician, one of Engels' acquaintances in Manchester.—320

*Bosquet, Pierre* (1810-1861)—French general, marshal from 1856; commanded a division and then a corps in the Crimea (1854-55).—278

*Bouat*—French general; in 1854, commanded a brigade during the Crimean war (1853-56).—278, 279

*Bourbons*—royal dynasty in France (1589-1792, 1814-15 and 1815-30).—69, 77

*Bourbons*—royal dynasty in Spain (1700-1808, 1814-68, 1874-1931 and since 1975), in the Kingdom of Naples (1735-1805, 1814-60), and in Parma (1748-1802, 1847-59).—69, 77

*Bragg, Braxton* (1817-1876)—American general; in 1862 commanded the Southern Army in Kentucky during the Civil War.—256, 257

*Breckinridge, John Cabell* (1821-1875)—American statesman, Democrat; Vice-President (1857-61); in 1860 was nominated for the presidency; a leader of the rebellion of Southern slave-owners; general of the Southern army during the Civil War; Secretary of War for the Confederacy (1865).—35, 41, 47, 48, 227

*Bright, John* (1811-1889)—English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and a founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; M. P. (from 1843); leader of the Left wing of the Liberal Party from the early 1860s; held several ministerial posts.—96, 108-09, 130

*Brooks, Preston Smith*—Southern slave-owner, member of the US Congress from the South Carolina.—118

*Brougham and Vaux, Henry Peter, 1st Baron* (1778-1868)—British statesman, lawyer and writer, Whig; Lord Chancellor (1830-34); from the 1850s was not active in politics.—231

*Brown, George* (1790-1865)—British general; in 1854 commanded a division during the Crimean war (1853-56).—281, 283

*Brown, John* (1800-1859)—American farmer, a revolutionary leader in the Abolitionist movement; in 1855-56 fought against slave-owners in Kansas; tried to organise an uprising of Negro slaves in Virginia in 1859; was put on trial and executed.—13

*Brownson, Orestes Augustus* (1803-1876)—American theologian, Democrat; published several magazines; championed the preservation of the Union during the Civil War.—51

*Bruce, Frederick William Adolphus* (1814-1867)—British diplomat, ambassador in Peking (1858-65).—216

*Bruce, J. P.*—an agent of the Confederacy.—261

*Brutus (Marcus Junius Brutus)* (c. 85-42 B.C.)—Roman politician, Republican, an organiser of the conspiracy against Julius Caesar.—201, 230, 238

*Buccleuch, Walter Francis Montagu Douglas Scott, Duke of* (1806-1884)—British aristocrat, Tory; held the posts of Lord Privy Seal (1842-46) and Lord President of the Council (1846).—220-22

*Buchanan, James* (1791-1868)—American statesman, Democrat; Secretary of State (1845-49); Minister to London (1853-56); President of the USA (1857-61); pursued a policy in the interests of slave-owners.—11, 12, 35, 37, 38, 47, 51, 86, 103, 126, 181, 186, 261

*Buell, Don Carlos* (1818-1898)—American general; fought in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners; commanded an army in Tennessee and Kentucky (1862).—178, 188, 192, 257

*Bunch, R.*—British consul in Charleston (1861-62).—184

*Burdett, Sir Francis* (1770-1844)—British Radical and later Tory politician, member of the House of Commons.—167

*Burnside, Ambrose Everett* (1824-1881)—American general, Republican; commanded the Northern army on the Potomac during the Civil War (November 1862-January 1863).—118, 268

*Butler, Benjamin Franklin* (1818-1893)—American politician and general, Democrat; during the Civil War commanded the expeditionary Northern Army which occupied New Orleans; military Governor of New Orleans (1862).—210, 211

C

*Caesar, Gaius Julius* (c. 100-44 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman.—27

*Calhoun, John Caldwell* (1782-1850)—American statesman, a leader of the Democratic Party; Secretary of War (1817-25); Vice-President (1825-32); Senator (1832-43, 1845-50); Secretary of State (1843-45).—13, 40, 76

*Cambridge, George William Frederick Charles, Duke of* (1819-1904)—British general; commanded a division in the Crimean war (1854); Commander-in-Chief of the British Army (1856-95).—281, 284, 285, 286-87

*Cameron, Simon* (1799-1889)—American politician, Republican, Senator; Secretary of War in Lincoln's Cabinet (1861-January 1862).—115, 116, 118, 178, 181

*Campbell, Sir Colin, Baron Clyde* from 1858 (1792-1863)—British general, field marshal since 1862; fought in the Crimean war (1853-56); Commander-in-Chief of the British Army which suppressed the Indian mutiny (1857-59).—285, 304

*Campbell.*—94

*Canning, George* (1770-1827)—British statesman and diplomat, Tory; Foreign Secretary (1807-09, 1822-27), Prime Minister (1827).—69, 77, 170

*Canrobert, François Certain* (1809-1895)—French general, Marshal of France from 1856; Senator, Bonapartist, an active participant in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; commanded a division in the Crimean war in 1854; Commander-in-Chief of the French Army (September 1854-May 1855).—278-79, 282, 284

*Carnarvon, Henry Howard Molyneux Herbert, Earl of* (1831-1890)—British statesman, Conservative, Secretary for the Colonies (1866-67 and 1874-78).—211

*Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite* (1753-1823)—French mathematician; political and military leader of the French Revolution, Jacobin; member of the Directory (1795-97), War Minister during the Consulate.—80

*Cass, Lewis* (1782-1866)—American statesman, general and diplomat; Democrat; Secretary of War (1831-36), Minister to France (1836-42); Secretary of State (1857-60).—51

*Cassagnac—see Granièr de Cassagnac, Bernard Adolphe*

*Cassius (Gaius Cassius Longinus)* (d. 42 B.C.)—Roman politician and general, Republican, people's tribune; together with Brutus organised the assassination of Julius Caesar.—238

*Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Marquis of Londonderry, Viscount Castlereagh* (1769-1822)—British statesman, Tory; Chief Secretary for Ireland (1799-1801), Secretary for War and the Colonies (1805-06, 1807-09) and Foreign Secretary (1812-22).—210

*Cathcart, Sir George* (1794-1854)—British general; commanded a division in the Crimean war (1854).—281

*Catherine II* (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-96).—124

*Cato (Marcus Porcius), Cato the Elder* (234-149 B.C.)—Roman statesman and writer, upheld aristocratic privileges; censor in 184 B.C.—27, 133, 209

*Cato (Marcus Porcius Cato Uticensis)* (95-46 B.C.)—great grandson of Cato the Elder, Roman statesman, head of aristocratic Republican Party, people's tribune (62 B.C.) praetor in 54 B.C.. After Caesar's victory at Thapsus (46 B.C.) he stabbed himself in Utica.—207

*Cecil, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne, Viscount Cranborne, Marquis of Salisbury* (1830-1903)—British statesman, Conservative M.P.; held the posts of Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary several times.—185

*Cesena, Amédée Barthélemy Gayet de* (1810-1889)—French journalist, Bonapartist during the Second Empire, editor-in-chief of *Le Constitutionnel* (1852-57).—79

*Charles II* (1630-1685)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1660-85).—221

*Charles VIII* (1470-1498)—King of France (1483-98).—236

*Chartres, Robert Philippe Louis Eugène Ferdinand d'Orléans, duc de* (1840-1910)—Louis Philippe's grandson; took part in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners (1862).—28-31

*Chateaubriand, François René, vicomte de* (1768-1848)—French writer, statesman and diplomat; supported the policy of the Holy Alliance; Foreign Minister (1822-24).—69, 77

*Cheetham, John* (b. 1802)—British manufacturer, Liberal politician.—161

*Chernyshev, Alexander Ivanovitch* (1786-1857)—Russian general and statesman; fought in the wars against Napoleonic France; Minister of War (1832-52).—207

Ch'ing—Manchurian dynasty of the Chinese emperors (1644-1911).—216

*Clarendon, George William Frederick Villiers, 4th Earl of, 4th Baron Hyde* (1800-1870)—British statesman, Whig, later Liberal; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1847-52), Foreign Secretary (1853-58, 1865-66, 1868-70).—125, 169

*Clyde*—see *Campbell, Sir Colin*

*Cobbett, William* (1762-1835)—British politician and radical writer.—139

*Gobden, Richard* (1804-1865)—English manufacturer, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League.—108-09, 130, 240

*Cochrane, John* (1813-1898)—American

army officer and politician, Congressman from the Republican Party's Left wing (1857-61); fought on the side of the Northerners in the Civil War; brigadier-general from 1862.—115, 116, 118

*Colborne, Sir John, 1st Baron Seaton* (1778-1863)—general, Governor of the Ionian Islands (1843-49).—209

*Colomb, Friedrich August von* (1775-1854)—Prussian army officer, subsequently general; fought against Napoleonic France.—207

*Coningham, William* (b. 1815)—English liberal M.P.; took part in the anti-interventionist meeting in Brighton in December 1861.—134, 135

*Cooper, James Fenimore* (1789-1851)—American novelist.—88

*Cooper, Peter* (1791-1883)—American manufacturer, inventor, philanthropist; founded Cooper Union in New York City (1857-59) for the advancement of science and art.—118

*Cousin-Montauban, Charles Guillaume Marie Apollinaire Antoine, comte de Palikao* (1796-1878)—French general. Bonapartist; commanded the Anglo-French expeditionary force during the second Opium war in China (1856-60).—196

*Cowen, Joseph* (1831-1900)—British politician and radical journalist; supported the Chartists; an organiser of the meeting in defence of Garibaldi in Newcastle in September 1862.—236, 237

*Cowley, Henry Richard Charles Wellesley, 1st Earl of* (1804-1884)—British diplomat, ambassador at Paris (1852-67).—175, 176

*Crampton, Sir John Fiennes Twisleton, Baronet* (1805-1886)—British diplomat, ambassador at Madrid (1860-69).—175

*Crittenden, John Jordan* (1787-1863)—American lawyer and statesman, Senator from the Whig Party, a Unionist member of Congress (1861-63); advocated a compromise with Southern slave-owners.—9

*Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—leader of the English Revolution, Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653.—179

*Croswell, Edwin* (1797-1871)—American journalist and politician; in the 1830s-40s a leader of the Democratic Party in New York State; gave up politics in the mid-1850s.—116

*Cucheval-Clarigny, Philippe Athanase* (1821-1895)—French journalist, Bonapartist; contributed to the newspaper *La Patrie* and other periodicals; held leading posts on the editorial boards of *Le Constitutionnel* and *Le Pays*.—79

*Cugia*—a general.—232

*Cunard, Sir Samuel, Baronet* (1787-1865)—British shipowner, founder of a steamship company which carried mail between Britain and the USA.—93

*Curtis, Samuel Ryan* (1807-1866)—American army officer and politician, general since 1861; Congressman from the Republican Party (1857-61); commanded the Northern troops in Arkansas and Missouri in 1861-62 during the Civil War.—13, 227

D

*Dahlgren, John Adolphus Bernard* (1809-1870)—American navy officer and military inventor; supported the Northerners during the Civil War.—290

*Dante, Alighieri* (1265-1321)—Italian poet.—242

*Dauglish John* (1824-1866)—English inventor in bread-baking, physician.—254, 255

*Davis, Charles Henry* (1807-1877)—American navy officer, admiral from 1863; fought in the Civil War on the

side of the North; commanded the Mississippi fleet (1862).—215

*Davis, Jefferson* (1808-1889)—American politician, Democrat; fought in the war against Mexico (1846-48); Secretary of War (1853-57); an organiser of the rebellion of the Southern slave-owners; President of the Confederacy (1861-65).—8, 13, 47, 114, 117, 207, 234, 249, 261, 262, 270

*Demosthenes* (384-322 B.C.)—Greek orator and politician; Athens leader of the Anti-Macedonian Party; champion of democracy in slave-owning society.—87

*Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Earl of* (1799-1869)—English statesman, Tory leader; Prime Minister (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68).—168-71, 239, 240

*Dickinson, Daniel Stevens* (1800-1866)—American lawyer and politician, Senator (1844-51), a leader of the Democratic Party (1840s); supported the Northerners during the Civil War.—116

*Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and author, a Tory leader; a founder and ideologist of the Conservative Party; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68); Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80).—23, 113, 168-70, 183, 221, 222

*Dix, John Adams* (1798-1879)—American politician and general; Democrat of the North, Senator; commanded the Northern army in Maryland and Virginia (1861-63).—115

*Dormus*—Austrian general; commanded a brigade of the Sixth Army Corps (1864).—318

*Douglas, Stephen Arnold* (1813-1861)—American politician, a leader of the Democratic Party of the North; championed a compromise with the Southern slave-owners; Chairman of the Committee on Territories in the Senate (1847-58); author of Kansas-Nebraska Bill (1854); candidate to the presidency (1860).—10, 35, 37, 38, 41

*Dronke, Ernst* (1822-1891)—German journalist; at first a "true socialist", in later years a member of the Communist League and an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung;* emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; supporter of Marx and Engels.—320

*Dudley, T. H.*—US consul at Liverpool (1862-63).—270

*Dunlop, Alexander Colquhoun-Stirling-Murray* (1798-1870)—British lawyer and politician, Liberal M.P.—23, 24

*Duns Scotus, John* (c. 1265-c. 1308)—Scottish mediaeval scholastic philosopher, Nominalist.—91

*Du Plat*—Danish major-general; commanded Second Division of the Danish Army (1864).—317

E

*Eccarius, Johann Georg* (1818-1889)—German tailor, prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; member of the League of the Just and later of the Communist League; member of the General Council of the First International; subsequently took part in the British trade union movement.—297

*Ellet, Charles* (1810-1862)—American engineer and military inventor; fought in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—214

*Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895).—291, 293, 295, 299, 317, 320, 360-62, 363

*England, Sir Richard* (1793-1883)—British general, commanded a division (1854) during the Crimean war.—281, 285

*Ericsson, John* (1803-1889)—American engineer and military inventor, Swede by birth.—213, 258

*Essex, Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of* (1591-1646)—British general and politician, member of the Presbyterian Party; Commander-in-Chief of the Parliamentary army (1642-45) during the English Revolution.—179

*Eustis, George* (1828-1872)—American diplomat, Congressman, Slidell's secretary.—90

*Evans, Sir George de Lacy* (1787-1870)—British general and politician; Liberal M.P.; fought in the Crimean war (1853-56).—281-83, 285, 287

F

*Fabius (Quintus Fabius Maximus Verrucosus Cunctator)* (c. 275-203 B.C.)—Roman general who defeated Hannibal by avoiding a full-scale battle; for his delaying tactics he was nicknamed Cunctator.—179

*Farragut, David Glasgow* (1801-1870)—American naval officer, admiral; fought in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners; commanded a squadron during the seizure of New Orleans (April 1862).—201, 215

*Fitzgerald, Sir William Robert Seymour Vesey* (1818-1885)—British statesman, Tory M.P.; Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1858-59); Governor of Bombay (1866-72).—224

*Flahaut de la Billarderie, Auguste Charles Joseph, comte de* (1785-1870)—French diplomat, ambassador to London (1860-62).—174, 175

*Floyd, John Buchanan* (1806-1863)—American statesman, Democrat; Governor of Virginia (1849-52); Secretary of War (1857-60); fought in the Civil War on the side of the Southerners.—192, 261

*Forcade-Laroquette, Jean Louis Victor Adolphe de* (1820-1874)—French statesman, Bonapartist, Minister of Finance (1860-61).—80

*Forster, William Edward* (1818-1886)—British manufacturer and politician, Liberal M.P.—26, 183, 184

*Fould, Achille* (1800-1867)—French banker and politician, Orleanist, subsequently Bonapartist; Minister of Finance (1849-52, 1861-67).—61, 63, 79-81, 83, 84

*Francis (Francesco) II* (1836-1894)—King of Naples and Sicily (1859-60).—69

*Francis (Franz) Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-1916).—6

*Francis, Sir Philip* (1740-1818)—British journalist and radical politician; author of pamphlets against absolutist rule of George III; the probable author of the *Letters of Junius*.—101

*Frederick VII* (1808-1863)—King of Denmark (1848-63).—3

*Frederick Charles* (1828-1885)—Prussian prince, general, subsequently field marshal-general.—319

*Frémont, John Charles* (1813-1890)—American traveller and politician, Left-wing Republican; took an active part in the conquest of California during the Mexican war of 1846-48; candidate to the presidency (1856); commanded the Northern troops in Missouri (up to November 1861) and Virginia (1862) during the Civil War.—10, 39, 51, 86-88, 115, 116, 118, 180

G

*Galilei, Galileo* (1564-1642)—Italian physicist and astronomer, founder of mechanics.—249

*Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, Democrat; in the 1830s and 1840s took part in the revolutionary movement in South America; chief organiser of the defence of the Roman Republic in April-June 1849; in the 1850s and 1860s headed the struggle of the

Italian people for national liberation and the unification of the country.—3, 232, 236-38, 252

*Garrison, William Lloyd* (1805-1879)—American journalist and public figure; a leader of the Abolitionist movement in the USA, founder of the American Anti-Slavery Society (1833); advocated revolutionary methods of struggle for the liberation of Negroes during the Civil War.—233

*George III* (1738-1820)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1760-1820).—101

*Gerlach*—lieutenant-general; commanded the First Division of the Danish Army (1864).—317

*Gibson, Thomas Milner* (1806-1884)—British politician and statesman, Free Trader and later Liberal; President of the Board of Trade (1859-65 and 1865-66).—109, 113

*Gillmore, Quinsy Adams* (1825-1888)—American general and military engineer; fought in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—293-95

*Gilpin, Charles* (1815-1874)—British politician, Free Trader; held a portfolio in Palmerston's cabinet (1859-65).—147

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory and later Peelite; leader of the Liberal Party (1868-1894); Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55 and 1859-66); Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—109, 113, 221, 262, 270

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—158, 210

*Gondrecourt*—general; commanded a brigade of the Sixth Army Corps of the Austrian Army (1864).—318

*Gorchakov, Pyotr Dmitrievich, Prince* (1785-1868)—Russian general; commanded a corps (1854) during the Crimean war (1853-56).—286, 287

*Grandguillot, Alcide Pierre* (1829-1891)—French journalist, Bonapartist; from 1859 was editor-in-chief of *Le Constitutionnel* and in 1863-65 of *Le Pays*.—79, 80

*Granièr de Cassagnac, Bernard Adolphe* (1806-1880)—French journalist and politician, Orleanist until the 1848 revolution, subsequently Bonapartist; deputy to the Legislative Corps during the Second Empire; contributed to *Le Constitutionnel*.—79

*Grant, James* (1802-1879)—British radical journalist and writer, editor of the newspaper *The Morning Advertiser* (1850-71).—128

*Grant, Ulysses Simpson* (1822-1885)—American general and statesman, Republican; commanded the Northern troops in Kentucky and Tennessee in 1861-62; commander-in-chief from March 1864, Secretary of War (1867-68), President of the USA (1869-77).—190, 192-93

*Gregory, William Henry* (1817-1892)—Irish politician; was close to Liberals, M.P.—182-85, 211

*Grey, Sir George* (1799-1882)—British Whig statesman; Home Secretary (1846-52, 1855-58, 1861-66) and Colonial Secretary (1854-55).—253

*Griffiths, J. O.*—British lawyer.—166

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman; virtually directed home and foreign policy of France from 1840 to the February revolution of 1848.—345

*Gumpert, Eduard* (d. 1893)—German physician in Manchester, friend of Marx and Engels.—320

H

*Halleck, Henry Wager* (1815-1872)—American general, moderate Republican; commander of the Mo. Department (November 1861-March 1862)

and the Mississippi army (March-July 1862); Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Army (July 1862-March 1864).—115, 178, 180, 188, 190, 192, 200, 206, 227, 267

*Halliwell*—owner of a cotton mill in Yorkshire.—241

*Hanover, House of*—English royal dynasty (1714-1901).—101

*Harvey*—British consul in Ningpo (China) in the early 1860s.—216-18

*Hautefeuille, Laurent Basele* (1805-1875)—French lawyer, Bonapartist; author of works on international maritime law.—185

*Havas, Charles* (1785-1858)—French journalist, founder of the French news agency *Agence Havas*.—199

*Havelock, Henry* (1795-1857)—British major-general; took part in the Anglo-Afghan war (1838-42) and the Anglo-Sikh war (1845-46); suppressed the national liberation uprising in India (1857).—136

*Haxthausen, August Franz Ludwig Maria, Baron von* (1792-1866)—Prussian official and writer; author of works on the agrarian system and the peasant commune in Russia.—276

*Haynau, Julius Jacob, Baron von* (1786-1853)—Austrian general; took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; commanded the Austrian troops in Hungary (1849-50); initiated violent repressions against Hungarian revolutionaries.—140

*Hecker*—Prussian official.—335

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—251

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—105

*Heintzelman, Samuel Peter* (1805-1880)—American general; took part in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners; commanded a corps of the army on the Potomac (1862).—205-06

*Helm, Charles John* (1817-1868)—US General Consul in Habana (1858-61); represented the interests of the Confederacy from July 1861 to the end of the Civil War.—93

*Hennessy, John Pope* (1834-1891)—Irish conservative politician, M.P.—24

*Hodasevich (Chodasiewicz), R.*—Russian army officer; served in the Tarutino infantry regiment; fought in the Crimean war (1853-56); author of *A Voice from within the Walls of Sebastopol*.—275, 277

*Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—27

*Homer*—semi-legendary epic poet of ancient Greece, author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.—193, 227

*Hooker, Joseph* (1814-1879)—American general, Abolitionist, Republican; first commanded a corps of the Northern army on the Potomac (1862) and then the whole army (January-June, 1863).—268

*Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus)*—(65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—182, 220

*Hudson, Sir James* (1810-1885)—British diplomat, envoy in Turin (1851-63).—231

I

*Isabella II* (1830-1904)—Queen of Spain (1833-68).—118

*Istúriz, Francisco Javier de* (1790-1871)—Spanish politician, Liberal; took part in the War of Independence (1808-14) and the bourgeois revolution of 1820-23; Foreign Minister (1836, 1846-47) and Prime Minister (1858); envoy in London (1848, 1858-62).—172-74

*Ives, Malcom*—American journalist, Democrat; contributed to the *New-York Herald* from the late 1850s.—181

## J

*Jackson, Andrew* (1767-1845)—American general and statesman, founder of the Democratic Party (1828); during the Anglo-American war (1812-15) defeated the British army near New Orleans; President of the USA (1829-37).—14, 33, 86

*Jackson, Claiborne Fox* (1806-1862)—American politician, Democrat, Governor of the Missouri state (1860-61).—46

*Jackson, Thomas Jonathan* (1824-1863)—American general; commanded the Southern troops in Virginia (1861-63); was nicknamed Stonewall Jackson after the battle at Bull Run (July 1861).—227, 249

*James, Henry* (1803-1877)—British army officer, chief of the topographical-statistical department in the War Ministry (1857-70).—298

*Jameson, Charles Davis* (1827-1862)—American general; fought in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners; commanded a brigade of the Northern army on the Potomac (1861-62).—206

*Jecker, Jean Baptiste* (c. 1810-1871)—Swiss banker; became citizen of France in 1862; was close to the ruling circles of Bonapartist France; assisted the French intervention in Mexico; shot by Paris communards as a hostage.—197, 225

*Jefferson, Thomas* (1743-1826)—US statesman and author, Enlightener; leader of democratic circles during the War of Independence; President of the USA (1801-09).—8, 10, 34, 91, 102, 155, 234

*Jennison, C. R.*—American army officer, Abolitionist, colonel of the Northern Army during the Civil War.—116

*Johnson, Andrew* (1808-1875)—American statesman, Democrat, Governor of the Tennessee (1853-57 and 1862-65), Senator; supported the Northerners during the Civil War, Vice-President (March-April 1865); President of the USA (1865-69); pursued a policy of compromise with Southern planters.—46

*Johnson, Samuel* (1709-1784)—British writer and linguist; compiler of English explanatory dictionary (1755).—108

*Joinville, François Ferdinand Philippe Louis Marie d'Orléans, prince de* (1818-1900)—son of Louis Philippe; emigrated to England after the victory of the February 1848 revolution; fought in the US Civil War on the side of the Union (1862).—28-31

*Juárez, Benito Pablo* (1806-1872)—Mexican statesman; fought for national liberation; leader of the Liberal Party during the Civil War (1858-60) and the intervention in Mexico (1861-67); President of Mexico (1861-72).—68, 118, 197

*Junius*—see *Francis, Sir Philip*

*Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis)* (b. c. 60 A.D.-d. c. 140)—Roman satirist and poet.—83, 84, 219

## K

*Kearny, Philip* (1814-1862)—American general; fought in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners, commanded units of the Northern army on the Potomac (1861-62).—206, 268

*Kent, James* (1763-1847)—American lawyer and politician, professor of the Columbia College.—90, 106

*Kinglake, Alexander William* (1809-1891)—British historian and politician, Liberal M. P. (1857-68).—224, 274-77, 282-88

*Kirjakov, Vasily Yakovlevich*—Russian general, during the Crimean war commanded a division (1854).—278-80

*Krüger*—German refugee in Britain, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; was on the committee raising funds for insurgents of the Polish uprising of 1863-64.—297

*Kutchinson*—family of musicians.—180

*Kwizinski (Kvitsinsky), Onufry Aleksandrovich* (1794-1862)—Russian general; during the Crimean war commanded a division (1854).—286, 287

L

*Lafayette, (La Fayette), Marie Joseph Paul Ives Roch Gilbert Motier, marquis de* (1757-1834)—French general; took part in the American War of Independence (1775-83); prominent figure in the French Revolution, a leader of the moderate constitutionalists (Feuillants); participated in the July revolution of 1830.—29

*Landseer, Sir Edwin Henry* (1802-1873)—English painter.—163-66

*Laroquette*—see *Forcade-Laroquette*

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German writer and lawyer, petty-bourgeois socialist; founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863); initiator of the opportunist trend within the German Social-Democratic movement.—340, 356, 358, 359

*Layard, Sir Austen Henry* (1817-1894)—British archaeologist and politician; Liberal M.P.—135, 224

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician, a petty-bourgeois Democrat leader; editor of *La Réforme;* Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government (1848); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative assemblies (leader of the Montagnards); emigrated to England after the demonstration of June 13, 1849.—80

*Lee, Robert Edward* (1807-1870)—American general; took part in the war against Mexico (1846-48); suppressed the uprising of John Brown (1859); during the Civil War commanded the Confederate Army in Virginia (1862-65); Commander-in-Chief of the Southern army from February to April 1865.—256

*Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, Baron von* (1646-1716)—German philosopher and mathematician.—163

*Lessner, Friedrich* (1825-1910)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, member of the Communist League and later of the General Council of the First International; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; was prosecuted at the Cologne communist trial in 1852; friend and comrade-in-arms of Marx and Engels.—297

*Levingood*—US citizen from Georgia; refused to serve in the army of the Confederacy.—261

*Levy, Joseph Moses* (1812-1888)—a founder and publisher of the English newspaper *The Daily Telegraph.*—129

*Lewis, Sir George Cornewall* (1806-1863)—British statesman; Whig; Secretary to the Treasury (1850-52), Chancellor of the Exchequer (1855-58), Home Secretary (1859-61) and Secretary for War (1861-63).—109, 113, 253

*Limayrac, Paulin* (1817-1868)—French journalist, Bonapartist; contributed to *La Patrie* and *Le Pays;* editor-in-chief of *Le Constitutionnel* (1861-68).—79, 80

*Limburg, W.*—German shoe-maker; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; was on the committee raising funds for insurgents of the Polish uprising (1863-64); member of the General Council of the First International (1868-69).—297

*Lincoln, Abraham* (1809-1865)—

American statesman, a leader of the Republican Party, President of the USA (1861-65); under the influence of the masses, carried out important bourgeois-democratic reforms during the Civil War, thus making possible the adoption of revolutionary methods of warfare; was shot by an agent of slave-owners in April 1865.—8, 9, 13, 34, 35, 42, 51, 67, 72, 77, 86-87, 126, 178-81, 199, 227, 228, 231, 233-35, 248-51, 258, 264, 266-67, 269, 271

*Linden*—German refugee in Britain, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; was on the committee raising funds for insurgents of the Polish uprising in 1863-64.—297

*Lindsay, William Schaw* (1816-1877)—English shipowner and merchant, Free Trader, member of the House of Commons.—184

*Louis XIII* (1601-1643)—King of France (1610-43).—87

*Louis XVI* (1754-1793)—King of France (1774-92); guillotined during the French Revolution.—80

*Louis Napoleon*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orléans, King of France (1830-48).—63, 80, 84

*Lourmel, Frédéric Henri Lenormand de* (1811-1854)—French general; during the Crimean war commanded a brigade (1854).—278, 279

*Lovejoy, Owen* (1811-1864)—American clergyman and politician; Abolitionist, Congressman (1857-64).—155

*Lovell, Mansfield* (1822-1884)—American general; fought in the Civil War on the side of the Southerners; was in command at New Orleans (1861-April 1862).—200

*Lowe, Robert, 1st Viscount Sherbrooke* (1811-1892)—British statesman and journalist, contributor to *The Times*; Whig and later Liberal M. P.; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1868-73); Home Secretary (1873-74).—21, 128

*Lucan (Marcus Annaeus Lucanus)* (39-65 A.D.)—Latin poet.—207

*Lützow, Ludwig Adolf Wilhelm, Baron von* (1782-1834)—Prussian army officer, later general; took part in wars against Napoleonic France.—207

*Lyons, Richard Bickerton Pemell, 2nd Baron and 1st Earl Lyons* (1817-1887)—British diplomat, ambassador in Washington (1858-65).—96, 131, 146

M

*Macaulay, Thomas Babington, Baron* (1800-1859)—English historian and politician, Whig M.P.; as member of the Supreme Council of India (1834-38) took part in drafting a penal code for India, which was adopted in 1860.—179, 266

*McClellan, George Brinton* (1826-1885)—American general and big railway businessman; was close to the Democrats; championed a compromise with Southern slave-owners; Commander-in-Chief of the army of the Northerners (November 1861-March 1862) and Commander of the army on the Potomac (March 1862-November 1862); candidate to the presidency (1864).—178-81, 193, 205-07, 226-27, 234-35, 265, 266-69

*McCook, Alexander McDowell* (1831-1903)—American general; fought in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners; commanded a corps in Kentucky (1862)—257

*Macdonald*—British army officer, arrested in Bonn and charged with insubordination to local authorities (September 1860).—27

*MacFarland*—American diplomat, secretary of George Mason.—90

*MacMahon, Marie Edmé Patrice Maurice, comte de, duc de Magenta* (1808-1893)—French general and politi-

cian, marshal, Bonapartist; a butcher of the Paris Commune.—3

*Madison, James* (1751-1836)—American statesman; played a prominent part in the American War of Independence (1775-83), Secretary of State (1801-09), President of the USA (1809-17).—112

*Magoffin, Beriah* (1815-1885)—American lawyer and politician; Democrat of the South; Governor of the Kentucky (1859-62).—47

*Manlius (Marcus Manlius Capitolinus)*—Roman patrician, general, consul (392 B.C.).—236

*Mann, Ambrose Dudley* (1801-1889)—American diplomat; commissioner of the Confederacy in London (1861-62).—91, 100, 129, 138, 155, 182-84

*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von* (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (November 1848-November 1850); deputy to the First and Second Chambers (1849); Prime Minister (1850-58).—346, 350

*Márquez, Leonardo* (b.c. 1820)—Mexican general, a leader of the Conservative Party and head of the 1857 counter-revolutionary mutiny against the Liberal government; in 1862-67 supported the French interventionists and Maximilian, their protégé emperor (from 1864).—68, 118

*Martin, Sir Samuel* (1801-1883)—British lawyer, member of the Treasury Court (1850-74).—165

*Marx, Eleanor* (1855-1898)—Karl Marx's youngest daughter.—343

*Marx, Jenny* (née *von Westphalen*) (1814-1881)—Karl Marx's wife.—343, 356

*Marx, Jenny* (1844-1883)—Karl Marx's eldest daughter.—343

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883).—17, 25, 26, 32, 63, 77, 84, 95, 97, 105, 142, 143, 172, 196, 232, 252, 271, 273, 320, 329, 332, 333, 339-62, 363

*Marx, Laura* (1845-1911)—Karl Marx's second daughter.—343

*Mason, George* (1725-1792)—American politician; played a prominent part in the American War of Independence (1775-83); author of the Virginia Declaration of Rights (1776), which contained a number of bourgeois-democratic freedoms.—101, 102

*Mason, James Murray* (1798-1871)—American politician, big slave-owning planter, Chairman of the Senate commission on foreign affairs; advocate of secession; commissioner of the Confederacy in London (1862-65).—90-92, 97-98, 100, 101-03, 107, 108, 109, 110, 127, 135, 137, 140, 142, 154, 155, 158, 168, 182-84

*Matzrath*—German refugee in Britain, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; was on the committee raising funds for insurgents of the Polish uprising in 1863-64.—297

*Maximilian Habsburg (Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph)* (1832-1867)—Austrian archduke, Governor-General in Italy (1857-59); proclaimed emperor of Mexico by French interventionists (1864); in 1867 was shot by Mexican republicans.—176

*Maynard*—American army officer, agent of the Southerners during the Civil War.—180

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, bourgeois democrat, head of the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London in 1850; in the early 1850s sought support of the Bonapartists but later opposed them.—154, 237, 245

*Mége Mouriès, Hippolyte* (1817-1880)—French chemist.—254

*Mejía, Tomas* (c. 1815-1867)—Mexican general, American Indian by birth; took part in the counter-revolutionary mutiny against the Lib-

eral government in 1857; supported the French interventionists and their protégé emperor Maximilian (1862-67); was shot by Mexican republicans.—68

*Menill*—American army officer; fought in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—206

*Menshikov, Alexander Sergeyevich, prince* (1787-1869)—Russian general and statesman; Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army and navy in the Crimea (1853-55).—279, 287

*Merivale, Herman* (1806-1874)—British economist and statesman, Liberal; Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (1848-59); Under-Secretary for India (1859-74).—259

*Mikhail Nikolayevich* (1832-1909)—Russian Grand Duke, fourth son of Emperor Nicholas I of Russia.—282

*Milner Gibson*—see *Gibson, Thomas Milner*

*Miramón, Miguel* (1832-1867)—Mexican general; a leader of the Conservative Party; led the counter-revolutionary mutiny against the Liberal government (1857); head of the insurgents' government (1859-60); supported French interventionists and their protégé Maximilian in 1862-67; was shot by Mexican republicans.—197

*Mirès, Jules Isaak* (1809-1871)—French banker, owner of several newspapers; was put on trial on a charge of stock-exchange machinations (1861).—196-98

*Mitchel, Ormsby MacKnight* (1809-1862)—American astronomer, general of the Northern army in 1861-62, during the Civil War.—200

*Moir*—captain of the *Trent*.—138

*Molé, Louis Mathieu, comte* (1781-1855)—French statesman, Orleanist, Prime Minister (1836-37, 1837-39); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic.—79

*Monroe, James* (1758-1831)—American statesman, President of the USA (1817-25); issued a declaration (1823) formulating the principles of US foreign policy, known as the Monroe doctrine.—69, 77

*Monroe, John F.*—Mayor of New Orleans (1862).—201

*Montagu, Lord Robert* (1825-1902)—British politician, Conservative M.P.—23, 24, 220-21, 223-25

*Montalembert, Marc René, marquis de* (1714-1800)—French general, military engineer; elaborated a new fortification system largely used in the nineteenth century.—293

*Montauban*—see *Cousin-Montauban, Charles Guillaume Marie-Apollinaire Antoine, comte de Palikao*

*Montgomery, Alfred*.—164

*Morgan, John Hunt* (1825-1864)—American army officer; fought in the war against Mexico (1846-48) and in the Civil War on the side of the South.—257

*Morny, Charles Auguste Louis Joseph, duc de* (1811-1865)—French politician, Bonapartist, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); an organiser of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; Minister of the Interior (December 1851-January 1852); President of the *Corps législatif* (1854-65), helped to organise French intervention in Mexico, half-brother of Napoleon III.—225

*Morrill, Justin Smith* (1810-1898)—American politician, Republican, Congressman from Vermont (1855-67); author of law on protectionist tariffs (1861).—14, 15, 33, 65, 154, 161

*Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus* (1756-1791)—Austrian composer.—43

*Mulbe*—commander of the Guards divi-

sion of the Prussian army in 1864.—319

*Murat, Napoleon Lucien Charles, prince* (1803-1878)—French politician, Bonapartist, cousin of Napoleon III.—237

*Murphy, Thomas*—British envoy in Mexico (1858-62).—118

N

*Napiers*—family of hereditary military in Britain.—303

*Napier, William Francis Patrick* (1785-1860)—British general and military historian.—299

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—83, 84, 141, 188, 196, 268, 319

*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoléon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—nephew of Napoleon I, President of the Second Republic (1848-51); Emperor of the French (1852-70).—5, 6, 27-30, 66, 67, 70-72, 79-85, 99, 105, 113, 130, 135, 174, 196, 211, 224, 225, 232, 236-37, 245, 264-65

*Napoléon*—see *Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul*

*Newman, Francis William* (1805-1897)—English professor of philology and writer, radical.—270

*Newton*—member of Newcastle (England) council; presided at the meeting in defence of Garibaldi (September 1862).—236, 238, 245

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—209

*Nichols*.—155

*Nostitz*—commanded a brigade of the Sixth Army Corps of the Austrian army (1864).—318

O

*Oldham, Williamson Simpson* (1813-1868)—American lawyer and politician, Democrat; took part in the rebellion of Southern slave-owners; a member of the Confederacy Congress.—262

*Orsini, Felice* (1819-1858)—Italian democrat, Republican; executed for his attempt to assassinate Napoleon III.—238, 245, 246

*Oudinot, Nicholas Charles Victor* (1791-1863)—French general, Orleanist; in 1849 commanded troops dispatched against the Roman Republic.—237

P

*Palmer, Roundell, 1st Earl of Selborne* (1812-1895)—British statesman, Peelite, later Liberal, Lord Chancellor (1872-74 and 1880-85).—92, 96, 98, 105, 127, 135, 138, 185

*Palmer, William* (1824-1856)—English physician; to receive insurance money he poisoned his wife, brother and friend, for which he was sentenced to death by hanging.—96, 129

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman; at the beginning of his career Tory, from 1830 Whig; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-65).—18, 21-26, 66, 68, 71, 72, 74-78, 95-97, 103, 105, 107, 108-09, 111-14, 125-30, 134, 136, 138-40, 142, 144, 145-47, 170, 197-98, 209, 211, 225, 239, 240, 270

*Paris, Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, comte de* (1838-1894)—head of the Legitimist Party in France and claimant of the French throne. In 1862 he served as captain with the US Civil War volunteers under General G.B. McClellan; author of *Histoire de la guerre civile en Amérique*.—27-31

*Parrott, Robert Parker* (1804-1877)—American naval officer, inventor of a type of cannon widely used in the USA during the Civil War.—293

*Parsons, Lucie*—mistress of Charles II, King of Great Britain and Ireland.—221

*Patterson, Robert* (1792-1881)—American businessman, general of the Northern army at the beginning of the Civil War; after the battle at Bull Run (July 1861) was removed from the command.—180

*Péreire, Isaac* (1806-1880)—French banker, Bonapartist, deputy to the *Corps législatif*; in 1852, together with his brother Emile Péreire, founded the joint-stock bank *Crédit Mobilier*, author of works on credit.—62, 81

*Péreire, Jacob Émile* (1800-1875)—French banker, adhered to the Saint-Simonists (1825-31), later a Bonapartist; a founder and director of the *Crédit Mobilier*.—62, 81

*Persigny, Jean Gilbert Victor Fialin, comte de* (1808-1872)—French statesman, Bonapartist; an organiser of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; Minister of the Interior (1852-54, 1860-63).—61, 62, 79, 80

*Petrie, Martin* (1823-1892)—British army officer, author of works on organisation and equipment of European armies.—298

*Peza-y-Peza, Carlos*—took part in the counter-revolutionary mutiny in Mexico (1858-60); Finance Minister in the insurgent government.—197

*Phillimore, Sir Robert Joseph* (1810-1885)—British lawyer, Liberal conservative, M.P. (1852-57); expert on international law.—106, 108

*Phillips, Wendell* (1811-1884)—American public figure and politician, a leader of the revolutionary wing of Abolitionist movement during the Civil War; President of the American Anti-Slavery Society (1865-70); in the 1870s joined the labour movement; championed the foundation of an independent labour party; joined the First International (1871).—233-35

*Pierce, Franklin* (1804-1869)—American statesman, Democrat; President of the USA (1853-57); pursued a policy in the interests of slave-owners.—86, 103, 181

*Pindar* (c. 518-c. 442 B.C.)—Greek poet, famous for his odes.—160, 250

*Pitt, William* (1759-1806)—British statesman, Tory, Prime Minister (1783-1801, 1804-06).—153

*Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti)* (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—237

*Plato* (c. 427-c. 347 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—200

*Plon-Plon*—see *Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul*

*Plutarch* (c. 46-c. 127)—Greek writer and philosopher.—133

*Polk, James Knox* (1795-1849)—American statesman, Democrat, President of the USA (1845-49); an organiser of the war against Mexico (1846-48).—86, 103

*Pollock, Sir Jonathan Frederick* (1783-1870)—British statesman, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer (1844-66).—123

*Pope, John* (1822-1892)—American general, Republican; fought in the Civil War; in 1862 commanded a Northern army on the Mississippi and then in Virginia.—180, 268

*Potter, Edmund*—British manufacturer and politician, Free Trader; at the early 60s Chairman of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, M.P.—160-61

*Pratt, Frederick Thomas*—English lawyer, author of works on international maritime law.—91

*Price, Sterling* (1809-1867)—American general, Governor of Missouri (1853-57); fought in the Civil War on the side of the Southerners; commanded troops in Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee and Mississippi in 1861-62.—180, 260

*Prince of Prussia*—see *William I*

R

*Raglan, Lord Fitzroy James Henry Somerset, Baron* (1788-1855)—British field marshal, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in the Crimea (1854-55).—274, 280, 282, 284, 285

*Rattazzi, Urbano* (1808-1873)—Italian statesman, representative of liberal-monarchical bourgeoisie, Minister of the Interior in the Kingdom of Sardinia (1855-58 and 1859-60), head of the Italian government (1862 and 1867).—232

*Renée, Lambert Amédée* (1808-1859)—French journalist, Bonapartist, from 1857 held leading posts on the editorial boards of *Le Constitutionnel* and *Le Pays*.—79

*Reno, Jesse Lee* (1823-1862)—American general; fought in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners; commanded a corps in Virginia and Maryland (1862).—268

*Reuter, Paul Julius* (1821-1899)—founder and head of the telegraphic agency in London (from 1851).—199, 212

*Reynolds, George William MacArthur* (1814-1879)—British politician and journalist, founder of *Reynolds's Newspaper* (1850).—11

*Ricasoli, Bettino* (1809-1880)—Italian statesman, representative of the liberal-monarchical bourgeoisie, head of the Italian government (1861-62 and 1866-67).—232

*Richelieu, Armand Jean Du Plessis, duc de* (1585-1642)—French statesman during the period of absolutism, Cardinal.—87

*Rosecrans, William Starke* (1819-1898)—American general, during the Civil War commanded Northern troops in Mississippi and Tennessee (1862-63).—257

*Roselius, Christian* (1803-1873)—American lawyer and politician, Whig, professor of Louisiana University; championed preservation of the Union.—48-49

*Rothschilds*—dynasty of bankers with banks in many European countries.—30, 61

*Rule*.—237

*Russell, John Russell, 1st Earl* (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader, Prime Minister (1846-52, 1865-66), Foreign Secretary (1852-53, 1859-65).—43, 67, 72, 74, 75, 96, 113, 130, 139, 144, 145-47, 169, 172-76, 211, 224, 225, 230, 231, 236, 237, 245, 270

*Russell, Sir William Howard* (1820-1907)—English journalist, correspondent of *The Times* in Washington (1861-62).—117

*Rutherford*—English pastor, participant in the meeting in defence of Garibaldi in Newcastle (September 1862).—238

S

*Saffi, Aurelio* (1819-1890)—Italian writer and member of the national liberation movement; Mazzini's companion-in-arms; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; member of the triumvirate of the Roman Republic; emigrated to England in 1851.—237

*Saint-Arnaud, Armand Jacques Achille Leroy de* (1801-1854)—Marshal of France, Bonapartist; an organiser of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; War Minister (1851-54), Commander-in-Chief of the French Army in the Crimea (1854).—278, 280

*Schaper, Justus Wilhelm Eduard von* (1792-1868)—Prussian official, Lord-Lieutenant of the Rhine Province (1842-45).—345

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, drama-

tist, historian and philosopher.—81, 181

*Scott, Dred* (c. 1810, according to other sources, 1795-1858)—American Negro slave; tried in vain to free himself from slavery through American courts (1848-57).—10, 36

*Scott, William, Lord Stowell* (1745-1836)—English lawyer, Tory; expert on international maritime law; member of the Admiralty Court (1798-1828).—90, 98, 106

*Scott, Winfield* (1786-1866)—American general; took part in the Anglo-American war of 1812-15, Commander-in-Chief of the US Army (1841-November 1861).—114

*Serrano y Dominguez, Francisco, conde de San Antonio, duque de la Torre* (1810-1885)—Spanish general and statesman; Minister of War (1843); took part in the coup d'état in 1856; Foreign Minister (1862-63), Prime Minister (1868-69, 1871, 1874) and Regent (1869-71).—172-75

*Seward, William Henry* (1801-1872)—American statesman, a Right-wing leader of the Republican Party; Governor of the New York state (1838-42); Senator from 1849; candidate to the presidency (1860); Secretary of State (1861-69); advocated a compromise with Southern slave-owners.—86, 87, 91, 100, 125, 131, 139-41, 143, 144, 146-47, 157

*Seymour, Horatio* (1810-1886)—American politician, a leader of the Democratic Party of the North; Governor of the New York state (1853-55, 1863-65); advocated a compromise with Southern slave-owners during the Civil War.—263, 266

*Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of* (1801-1885)—British politician, head of the parliamentary group of Tory philanthropists in the 1840s; from 1847 a Whig.—7, 128

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English poet and dramatist.—163, 200-01, 230, 238

*Shee, Sir William* (1804-1868)—Irish lawyer and Liberal politician; member of the House of Commons.—121

*Shelley, John Villiers* (1808-1867)—British statesman, Free Trader, M.P.—220

*Sherman, Thomas West* (1813-1879)—American general; fought in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners; commanded the expeditionary army in South Carolina and Florida (October 1861-March 1862).—115, 178

*Sibley, Henry Hopkins* (1816-1886)—American general; took part in the Civil War on the side of the Southerners; commanded the Department of New Mexico (1861-62).—262

*Singleton, Otho Robards* (1814-1889)—American politician, Democrat in the South, member of the Congress of the USA and in 1861-65 of the Confederacy Congress.—13

*Slidell, John* (1793-1871)—American politician, member of the Senate Commission for Foreign Affairs; advocate of secession; commissioner of the Confederacy in Paris (1862-65).—90-92, 97-104, 107, 108, 109, 110, 127, 135, 137, 140, 142, 154, 155, 158

*Smith, Caleb Blood* (1808-1864)—lawyer, Congressman, Secretary of the Interior under Lincoln (1861-62).—115

*Smith, Gerrit* (1797-1874)—American public figure and politician, an active member of the Anti-Slavery Society, a leader of the revolutionary wing of Abolitionist movement.—233

*Sophocles* (c. 497-406 B.C.)—Greek dramatist.—79

*Spence, James*—English merchant, Chairman of the Interventionist meeting in Liverpool (November 1861), repeatedly came out in de-

fence of Southern slave-owners during the Civil War.—93-95

*Spratt*—participant in the Congress of Southern states in Montgomery (February 1861).—34

*Stanton, Edwin McMasters* (1814-1869)—American lawyer and statesman, Democrat; opposed slavery; Attorney-General (1860-61); Secretary of War (January 1862-68); championed revolutionary methods of struggle against Southern slave-owners.—178, 180, 181, 226, 227, 261, 267

*Steadman*—Chairman of the anti-interventionist workers' meeting in London (January 1862).—154

*Steinmann*—major-general, commander of the third division of the Danish army (1864).—317

*Stephens, Alexander Hamilton* (1812-1883)—American politician, Democrat, participant in the rebellion of Southern slave-owners; Congressman (1843-59); Vice-President of the Confederacy (1861-65).—8, 34

*Stephenson, Robert* (1803-1859)—English engineer and politician, Tory M.P.—149, 151

*Stevens, Ebenezer*—inventor of a dough-making machine.—254

*Stevens, Edwin Augustus* (1795-1868)—American businessman, engineer and inventor; suggested the use of armour for battleships.—213

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*Stone, Charles Pomeroy* (1824-1887)—American general; commanded the Northern troops in Virginia (1861); after the defeat at Ball's Bluff (October 1861) arrested on suspicion of high treason; released in August 1862.—180, 189

*Stössel*—librarian in the Schiller society in Manchester (1861).—360

*Stowe, Harriet Elizabeth Beecher* (1811-1896)—American writer, authoress of the novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Life Among the Lowly*; was active in the Abolitionist movement.—7, 9, 10

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*Sumner, Charles* (1811-1874)—American politician; a Left-wing leader of the Republican Party, Senator from 1851; Chairman of the Senate Commission for Foreign Affairs (1861-71); advocate of the revolutionary methods of struggle against Southern slave-owners; after the Northerners' victory in the Civil War campaigned for granting political rights to Negroes.—118, 203

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*Taylor, John Edward*—editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Manchester Guardian* (1861-72).—317

*Temple, Sir William* (1628-1699)—British diplomat and politician; the private counsellor of William III, Prince of Orange.—103, 140

*Thackerey, William Makepeace* (1811-1863)—English writer, author of *The Yellowplush Papers*.—138-41

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French statesman and historian, Prime Minister (1836, 1840); head of the Orleanist monarchist party after 1848; organised the suppression of the Paris Commune.—79, 274

*Thomas, Lorenzo* (1804-1875)—

adjutant-general and brigadier general; fought in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—88

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*Toombs, Robert* (1810-1885)—American politician, Democrat; State Secretary of the Confederacy (1861); general of the Southern army during the Civil War.—13, 40

*Toups*—member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; was on the committee raising funds for insurgents during the Polish uprising (1863-64).—297

*Tremenheere, Hugh Seymour* (1804-1893)—English official and journalist; was member of several government commissions inspecting the workers' labour conditions.—253, 254

*Turgot, Anne Robert Jacques, baron de l'Aulne* (1727-1781)—French statesman and economist, Physiocrat, Director-General of Finance (1774-76).—80, 81

*Turner, James Aspinall* (1797-1867)—English cotton manufacturer, President of the Manchester Commercial Association, member of the House of Commons.—94, 160

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*Urquhart, David* (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician; Tory M.P. (1847-52).—108, 109

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*Vaillant, Jean Baptiste Philibert, comte* (1790-1872)—Marshal of France, Senator, Bonapartist, War Minister (1854-59).—80

*Vallandigham, Clement Laird* (1820-1871)—American politician, a leader of Democrats in the North; Congressman (1858-63); advocate of slave-owners.—264

*Van Dorn, Earl* (1820-1863)—American general; took part in the Civil War on the side of the Southerners; commanded the Southern troops in Mississippi (1862).—260

*Vattel, Emerich von (Emer de Vattel)* (1714-1767)—Swiss lawyer and diplomat in Saxon service, theoretician of international law.—108

*Veillard*—French merchant.—252

*Véron, Louis Désiré* (1798-1867)—French journalist and politician, up to 1848 Orleanist, then Bonapartist; owner and publisher of *Le Constitutionnel* (1844-52).—79

*Victor Emmanuel II (Vittorio Emanuele* II) (1820-1878)—King of Piedmont (Sardinia) (1849-61), King of Italy (1861-78).—61

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*Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro)* (70-19 B.C.)—Roman poet.—28, 129

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*Walker, John* (1732-1807)—English linguist, author of works on phonetics and grammar.—108

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*Washington, George* (1732-1799)—American statesman; Commander-in-Chief of the American Army during the War of Independence (1775-83), first President of the USA (1789-97).—8, 34, 101, 155, 250

*Webster, Daniel* (1782-1852)—American statesman, a leader of the Whigs, State Secretary (1841-43 and 1850-52).—112, 157

*Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of* (1769-1852)—British general and statesman, Tory; commanded the British forces in the wars against Napoleon I (1808-14, 1815); Commander-in-Chief (1827-28, 1842-52); Prime Minister (1828-30).—305, 313, 319

*Weydemeyer, Joseph* (1818-1866)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement; adopted scientific communism under the influence of Marx and Engels and became a member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA after the defeat of the revolution; Colonel of the Northern army during the Civil War; was the first to propagate Marxism in the USA.—257

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*Wilberforce, William* (1759-1833)—British public figure and politician, philanthropist, M.P.; campaigned against slave-trade and slavery in British colonies.—157

*Wilkes, Charles* (1798-1877)—American navy officer and traveller; took part in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners; captain of the battleship *San Jacinto* (1861), captured J. M. Mason and J. Slidell from the British ship *Trent*.—92, 93, 99, 101, 107, 110, 112, 139, 141, 146

*Wilkes, John* (1727-1797)—British journalist and politician, radical M.P.; author of pamphlets against the absolutist regime of George III.—101

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*William I (Wilhelm I)* (1797-1888)—King of Prussia (1861-88), German Emperor (1871-88).—5, 6, 27

*Williams*—English navy officer, representative of the Admiralty on board the *Trent* in 1861.—92, 95, 96

*Wilson, Henry* (1812-1875)—American politician, Senator (1855-73), supported the policy pursued by President Lincoln.—118

*Wilson, James* (1805-1860)—British economist and politician, Free Trader, founder and editor of *The Economist*.—162

*Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus)* (1809-1864)—German proletarian revolutionary,

teacher, prominent in the Communist League; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—243-44, 320, 335, 363

*Wolff*—member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; was on the committee raising funds for insurgents of the Polish uprising (1863-64).—297

*Wood*—English worker; took part in the anti-interventionist meeting in Brighton (December, 1861).—134-35

*Wood, Fernando* (1812-1881)—American politician, Congressman, a leader of Democrats in the North; Mayor of New York (1854, 1856, 1859 and 1861); championed a compromise with the Southern slave-owners during the Civil War.—117, 263

*Wool, John Ellis*—(1784-1869)—American general, Abolitionist; commanded the Northern troops in Virginia during the Civil War (August 1861-May 1862).—115

*Wyke, Sir Charles Lennox* (1815-1897)—British diplomat, minister plenipotentiary (1860-61) and special representative in Mexico (1862-63).—176, 224-25

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*Yancey, William Lowndes* (1814-1863)—American politician, Democrat in the South, commissioner of the Confederacy in London (1861-62).—91, 100, 129, 138, 155, 182-83

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*Zedlitz-Neukirch, Constantin* (b. 1813)—Prussian official, Polizei-Präsident of Berlin.—339-54, 357-58

*Zollicoffer, Felix Kirk* (1812-1862)—American journalist, Congressman; took part in the Civil War on the side of the Southerners; commanded Southern troops in Tennessee and Kentucky (1861-62).—189

*Zuloaga, Félix* (1814-1876)—Mexican general, a leader of the Conservative Party and a leader of the counter-revolutionary rebellion against the Liberal government (1857); head of the insurgent government (1858-59).—197

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*Cassandra* (Gr. Myth.)—daughter of Priam, King of Troy (Homer's *Iliad*), a prophetess whose prophecies nobody believed though they always came true.—246

*Don Juan (Don Giovanni)*—the title character in Mozart's opera.—43

*Ezekiel* (Bib.)—prophet of the Old Testament.—240

*Jenkins*—name which came to personify flattery and servility.—114, 128

*Jeremiah* (Bib.)—a prophet who in his Lamentations mourns the destruction of Jerusalem.—65

*John Bull*—the title character in John Arbuthnot's *The History of John Bull* (1712); the name is used to personify England.—24, 73, 138, 140, 163, 252

*Jupiter (Jove)*—supreme god of the

Romans, corresponding to the Greek god Zeus.—103, 146, 285

*Leporello*—a character from Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni:* Don Juan's servant.—43

*Leviathan* (Bib.)—a sea monster.—82

*Macbeth*—the title hero in Shakespeare's tragedy.—238

*Mephistopheles*—the Devil in Goethe's tragedy *Faust.*—210

*Münchausen, Baron*—character from German humorous adventure stories collected into book form by the German writer Rudolf Erich Raspe (second half of the 18th century) and published in English as the hero's recollections; main character of Karl Immermann's novel *Münchausen, eine Geschichte in Arabesken* (1838).—109

*Nemesis* (Gr. Myth.)—goddess of retributive justice.—238

*Oedipus* (Gr. Myth.)—King of Thebes who solved the enigma of the Sphinx's riddle and saved Thebes from the monster; hero of Sophocles' tragedies *Oedipus Rex (Tyrannus)* and *Oedipus at Colonus.*—79

*Posa Marquis*—a character in Schiller's tragedy *Don Carlos,* a noble-minded and freethinking courtier who tried to influence the despotic King.—81

*Rodomonte*—a character in Ariosto's poem *L'Orlando furioso,* a boastful knight.—64, 114, 274

*Teiresias*—a character in Sophocles' tragedy *Oedipus Rex,* a prophet.—79

*Thomas*—according to Biblical tradition, an apostle of Christ who refused to believe his resurrection and was called the doubting Thomas.—200

*Ugolino*—a character in Dante's *La Divina Commedia* (Inferno, Canto XXXIII); being confined by Pisan bishop Ruggieri in the "Hunger Tower" together with his sons and grandchildren, Ugolino, seeking salvation from death, ate the dead bodies of his children. The prototype of the character was a real historic person—Ugolino della Gherardesca, count Donoratico, the tyrant of Pisa (d. in March 1289).—242

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*Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*—a newspaper published as the organ of the German Officers' and Soldiers' Society from 1826 to 1902, first in Darmstadt and later in Leipzig; Engels contributed to it in 1860-64.—289, 294, 298

*Allgemeine Zeitung*—a conservative daily founded in 1798; it was published in Augsburg in 1810-82.—298

*The Army and Navy Gazette*—an official weekly published by the British War Office in London from 1860 to 1939 under various titles.—321-22, 324-25

*Barmer Zeitung*—a German liberal daily published in Berlin from 1834 to 1931.—244

*Berliner Reform*—a Berlin daily (1861-68); organ of German petty-bourgeois democracy.—274

*Brownson's Quarterly Review*—American Catholic journal; appeared under various titles in Boston in 1838-42 and in 1844-55, and in New York in 1856-65 and in 1872-75.—51

*Calcutta Price Current*—Indian weekly published under various titles from 1818.—18

*Cobbett's (Weekly) Political Register*—a radical weekly published in London from 1802 to 1835; it came out under various titles.—22

*Le Constitutionnel*—a daily published in Paris in 1815-70; it voiced the views of the monarchist bourgeoisie (the Thiers party) during the 1848 revolution and those of the Bonapartists after the 1851 coup d'état.—79

*Courrier du Dimanche*—an anti-Bonapartist weekly published in Paris in 1858-66.—75

*Dagbladet*—Danish conservative daily published in Copenhagen from 1851.—5

*Daily Dispatch*—American newspaper published in Richmond (Virginia) in 1850-1903; it voiced the views of slaveholders in the 1850s and 1860s.—201

*Daily Express*—American newspaper published in Petersburg (Virginia) in 1852-69; it voiced the slaveholders' views.—201

*The Daily Intelligencer*—American newspaper speaking for the slaveholders; it was published in Atlanta (Georgia) in 1854-71.—201

*The Daily News*—a liberal daily of the British industrial bourgeoisie published in London in 1846-1930.—96, 130, 139, 143, 144

*The Daily Post*—British newspaper representing the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie; it was published in Liverpool in 1855-79.—157-58

*The Daily Telegraph*—a newspaper published in London since 1855; took a liberal stand in 1850s; after its merger with *The Morning Post* in 1937, it came out as *The Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*.—89, 96, 129, 199

*Day Book*—American daily voicing the views of the slaveowners in the 1850s and 1860s; it was published in Norfolk (Virginia) in 1857-80.—201

*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*—a German-language yearbook published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge; only the first issue, a double one, came out in February 1844. The issue carried several works by Marx and Engels.—345

*Dispatch*—see *Daily Dispatch.*

*The Economist. Weekly Commercial Times, Bankers' Gazette, and Railway Monitor: a Political, Literary, and General Newspaper*—an economic and political weekly published in London since 1843, mouthpiece of the big industrial bourgeoisie; appeared with various subtitles.—7-9, 11-14, 17, 25, 33, 54, 57-60, 63-64, 69, 85, 111, 132, 140-41, 158-59, 241

*The Evening Post*—a daily published under various titles in New York in 1801-1934; organ of the Republican Party from 1856.—230

*The Evening Standard*—see *The Standard.*

*Evening Star*—American daily published in Washington from 1852.—179

*The Examiner*—a liberal weekly published in London in 1808-81.—7, 9-10, 15, 33, 130

*Express*—see *Daily Express.*

*The Free Press. Journal of the Foreign Affairs Committees*—a journal on questions of foreign policy opposing the Palmerston government; it was published by David Urquhart and his supporters in London from 1855 to 1865 (weekly until April 1858 and later monthly) and was renamed *Diplomatic Review* in 1866; the journal carried several works by Marx.—21, 67, 68, 109, 148

*The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*—an agricultural weekly published in London since 1841.—231

*Gazette*—see *The London Gazette.*

*The Globe*—see *The Globe and Traveller.*

*The Globe and Traveller*—a daily published in London in 1803-1921; Whig until 1866, later Conservative.—129, 144

*Harper's Weekly. A Journal of Civilisation*—American weekly published in New York in 1857-1916.—290

*Herald*—see *The Morning Herald.*

*Intelligencer*—see *The Daily Intelligencer.*

*Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*—a daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1944; spoke for the moderate Orleanist opposition after the 1851 coup d'état.—73-74

*Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*—a liberal paper founded in 1842; appeared in London under various titles in 1843-1931.—121, 123

*The London Gazette*—British government newspaper published twice a week since 1665; appeared under the title of *The Oxford Gazette* in 1665-66.—145, 146

*Macmillan's Magazine*—a liberal magazine published in London in 1859-1907.—130

*The Manchester Guardian*—Free Traders' newspaper founded as a weekly in Manchester in 1821; a daily since 1857; organ of the Liberal Party since the middle of the 19th century.—241, 317, 319

*The Mark Lane Express and Agricultural Journal,* etc.—British weekly voicing the views of the commercial bourgeoisie; appeared under various titles in London in 1832-1929.—231

*Mobile Advertiser and Register*—American newspaper published in Mobile (Alabama) in 1862-63.—260

*Le Moniteur universel*—a daily published in Paris in 1789-1901; appeared under this title from 1811 and was an official government publication in 1799-1869.—67, 73, 79, 83, 280

*The Morning Advertiser*—a daily published in London from 1794; it voiced the views of the radical bourgeoisie in the 1850s.—96, 128-29

*The Morning Chronicle*—a daily published in London in 1770-1862; Whig in the 1840s, Peelite in the early 1850s, and Conservative afterwards.—96, 97, 129

*The Morning Herald*—a conservative daily published in London in 1780-1869.—90, 96, 113, 129, 139, 199, 259

*The Morning Post*—a daily founded in London in 1772; in the mid-19th century, organ of the pro-Palmerston Right-wing Whigs; merged with *The Daily Telegraph* in 1937 to form *The Daily Telegraph and Morning Post.*—67, 71, 73, 74, 89, 91, 95-98, 113, 114, 128, 138-40, 143-44, 146, 175, 199, 259

*The Morning Star*—a daily of the English Free Traders published in London in 1856-69.—96, 97, 130, 139, 143, 144, 240, 246, 269, 270

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Democratie*—a daily newspaper of the German revolutionary-proletarian democrats during the 1848-49 German revolution; it was published in Cologne under Marx's editorship from June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849 with an interval between September 27 and October 12, 1848; Engels was also one of its editors.—243, 320, 341-42

*Newcastle Daily Journal*—British conservative paper founded in 1832; it came out under this title from 1861 to 1920.—245-46

*Newcastle Journal*—see *Newcastle Daily Journal.*

*New-York Daily Tribune*—newspaper founded by Horace Greeley, published in 1841-1924; organ of the US Left-wing Whigs till the mid-1850s, later voicing

the views of the Republican Party. Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862. The paper had several special issues, among them the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* and the *New-York Weekly Tribune,* which printed articles by Marx and Engels as well.—6, 10, 11, 13, 16, 20, 26, 31, 34-39, 41, 46, 48-49, 51, 61, 68, 69, 78, 88, 100, 103-08, 114-16, 118, 142, 177, 180, 181, 201, 205, 227, 228, 266, 267, 339-40

*The New-York Herald*—US daily published in 1835-1924; it favoured compromise with the slaveowners of the South during the Civil War.—12, 25, 87, 181

*The New-York Times*—a Republican daily founded in 1851.—103

*Le Nord. Journal International*—Russian semi-official daily published in Paris and Brussels in 1855-92 and 1894-99.—114

*The Observer*—a Conservative weekly published in London since 1791.—130

*La Patrie*—French daily published in Paris from 1841, organ of the monarchist bourgeoisie represented by the Party of Order in 1850; it took a Bonapartist stand after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—67, 69, 71, 72, 79, 114, 131, 140

*Le Pays. Journal de l'Empire*—a daily founded in Paris in 1849; it was a semi-official newspaper of Napoleon III's government in 1852-70.—27, 29, 79, 140

*Post*—see *The Morning Post.*

*Die Presse*—a liberal daily published in Vienna in 1848-96; opposed Bonapartism, published articles and news reports by Marx in 1861 and 1862.—42, 52, 56, 65, 70, 81, 85, 88, 91, 94, 104, 109, 116, 119, 123, 126, 130, 133, 136, 144, 148, 152, 156, 159, 162, 166, 171, 181, 185, 195, 198, 201, 203, 208, 212, 215, 218, 222, 225, 226, 229, 232, 233, 235, 238, 242, 247, 248, 251, 255, 259, 262, 265, 267-68, 269, 272

*Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*—newspaper published in Berlin from 1819, semi-official organ of the Prussian government until April 1848; the paper changed its title several times.—353

*Punch, or the London Charivari*—a liberal comic weekly founded in London in 1841.—128

*Revue contemporaine*—a fortnightly published in Paris in 1851-70; represented the Party of Order during the Second Republic; took a Bonapartist stand after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—185

*Revue des deux Mondes*—a literary and political fortnightly published in Paris since 1829.—83

*Reynolds's Newspaper. A Weekly Journal of Politics, History, Literature and General Intelligence*—a radical newspaper published by George Reynolds in London from 1850; appeared under various titles; was closely connected with the labour movement supporting the Chartists in the early 1850s.—11, 138, 154, 221-22

*Richmond Enquirer*—American newspaper which came out under various titles and with different intervals in Richmond (Virginia) in 1804-77.—260

*Richmond Examiner*—American daily published in Richmond (Virginia) from 1848 to 1866; appeared under various titles.—261-62, 271-72

*Richmond Whig*—American newspaper which came out under various titles in

Richmond (Virginia) in 1824-88; it had daily, semi-weekly and weekly issues.—260

*The Saturday Review*—see *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art.*

*The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*—a Conservative weekly published in London in 1855-1938.—7, 8, 12, 33, 130, 140, 250, 259

*The Spectator*—British weekly published in London since 1828, first Liberal and later Conservative.—15-16, 130

*The Standard*—British Conservative daily founded in London in 1827.—90, 96, 113, 129, 199, 200

*Star* (London)—see *The Morning Star.*

*Star* (Washington)—see *Evening Star.*

*Stubbs' Weekly Gazette and List of Creditors*—British weekly founded in 1853; published by *Stubbs and Co,* it carried lists of insolvents.—121

*The Sun*—a liberal daily published in London in 1798-1876.—96

*Telegraph*—see *Daily Telegraph.*

*The Times*—a conservative daily founded in London in 1785.—5, 11, 12, 21-31, 33, 36, 43, 45-48, 53, 63, 65-69, 72, 74-76, 80, 82-85, 89-93, 95-100, 103, 112, 113, 115, 117, 121-23, 127-31, 135, 138, 140, 141, 143, 145-47, 155, 156, 159-62, 164-76, 182-85, 199-201, 210, 211, 216-18, 220, 224-25, 230, 231, 233-34, 239-41, 250, 259, 260, 262, 270.

*Tribune*—see *New-York Daily Tribune.*

*The World*—US daily published in New York in 1860-1931.—51

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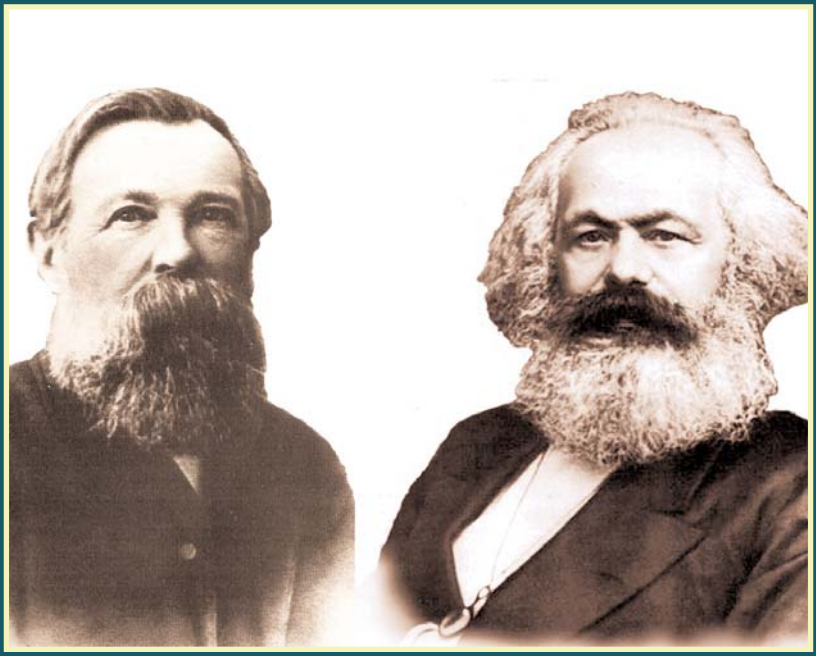

## VOLUME 20

### Marx and Engels 1864-68

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 20

## Marx and Engels 1864-68

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# Preface

Volume 20 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains works written between September 1864 and July 1868. It is the first in a group of volumes that reflect the activity of Marx and Engels as the leaders of the International Working Men's Association (the First International). The volume includes documents of the International drawn up by them, reports, pamphlets, articles, statements, records of speeches, drafts, etc., written up to November 1867, the period of the setting up of the international proletarian organisation and the beginning of the struggle to establish socialist principles in its programme. Extending slightly beyond this chronological framework are the notes and reviews written by Marx and Engels in connection with the publication of the first volume of *Capital* in September 1867, and also Engels' synopsis of this volume, which are published in a special section.

The founding of the Association, the first mass international organisation of the proletariat, heralded a new stage in the development of the working-class movement and in the history of Marxism. It marked the beginning of the international proletarian movement and created new conditions and opportunities for the broad dissemination of the ideas of scientific communism. "It is unforgettable, it will remain for ever in the history of the workers' struggle for their emancipation," Lenin wrote of the First International (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 29, Moscow, 1980, p. 240).

The International was set up when the working-class movement began to gain momentum in the late 1850s. The world economic crisis of 1857 and the growing strike movement that followed it

were awakening in the workers' consciousness an understanding of the importance of their fraternal solidarity in the struggle against capital. The activity of the working class was also stimulated by the revolutionary events of the time: the struggle for the unification of Italy, the Civil War in the United States of America, the Polish national liberation uprising of 1863-64, and others. All this drew broad masses of workers into political life and strengthened the desire for concerted action by the proletariat of the different countries.

However, the spontaneous urge to establish international connections was not in itself enough for the creation of an independent international working-class organisation. Of decisive importance for its formation and activity was the participation of Marx and his supporters, including former members of the Communist League. It was the influence of Marx and the proletarian revolutionaries who managed to express the vital interests of the workers of all countries, that ensured the development of the International Working Men's Association as a truly proletarian association, and made it possible to overcome such obstacles to this as the ideological dependence of many workers on bourgeois democracy, the widespread nationalistic prejudices among them, and the reformist and sectarian dogmas of petty-bourgeois socialism.

The works published in this and the three subsequent volumes, and the relevant correspondence volumes, illustrate clearly the leading role which Marx played in the International Working Men's Association. He was the author of all its programmatic documents and most of its addresses and statements. Personally or through his colleagues he guided the work of the congresses and conferences of the International Association and drafted their most important resolutions. He was in fact the head of the Central (General) Council of the International, the headquarters of the international proletarian organisation, and directed the activity of its executive body, the Standing Committee or Sub-Committee. On behalf of the General Council Marx drew up the political programme of the International, thereby outlining the strategy and tactics of the whole international working-class movement.

Marx was greatly assisted by Engels in the guidance of the International. Until his move from Manchester to London in the autumn of 1870 Engels could not participate directly in the work of the General Council, but even before then he assisted with all its main undertakings, explaining in the press and in letters to active members of the working-class movement, particularly in

Germany, the position of the International Working Men's Association on many theoretical and tactical questions.

In guiding the International Marx had to take into account the differing conditions for the struggle of the proletariat and the varying degrees of its organisation and ideological level in the individual countries. He saw the prime task of the international organisation as being to unite the different streams of the proletarian movement, and to single out the proletariat from the general democratic camp and to ensure its class independence. Marx sought step by step to bring the workers to accept a common theoretical programme and general tactical principles, thus promoting the combination of scientific communism and the mass working-class movement. "In uniting the labour movement of various countries, striving to channel into joint activity the various forms of non-proletarian, pre-Marxist socialism (Mazzini, Proudhon, Bakunin, liberal trade-unionism in Britain, Lassallean vacillations to the right in Germany, etc.), and in combating the theories of all these sects and schools, Marx hammered out a uniform tactic for the proletarian struggle of the working class in the various countries" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 21, Moscow, 1977, p. 49).

Marx's consistently revolutionary and at the same time flexible line as leader of the International manifested itself already in the drafting of the organisation's first programme documents—the "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association" and the "Provisional Rules of the Association", with which the present volume opens. Here Marx succeeded in resisting attempts to impose on the Association a declaration of principles written in a bourgeois-democratic spirit and Mazzini's rules for Italian working-men's mutual aid societies that were full of sectarian-conspiratorial tendencies. Thanks to his efforts the International Working Men's Association based its programme and rules according to the theoretical and organisational principles of scientific socialism.

Working on the Inaugural Address and Rules Marx sought to reflect in them the sum total of social development since the Revolution of 1848 and the further development of revolutionary theory, particularly his economic teaching. In this respect the inaugural documents of the International are a step forward from the first programmatic work—the *Manifesto of the Communist Party.* On the other hand, not all the propositions of the *Communist Manifesto* could be reproduced in the new documents, and Marx

had to expound some of its ideas in a form comprehensible to the members of the proletarian movement of his day. International unification of the various detachments of the working class, and ensurance of the mass nature of the organisation being set up, were possible at that time only on a platform which, without making any concessions to reformist and sectarian trends, did not simultaneously close the door on British trade-unionists, French, Belgian and Swiss Proudhonists, and German Lassalleans. "It was very difficult to frame the thing so that our view should appear in a form which would make it acceptable to the present outlook of the workers' movement," Marx wrote to Engels in this connection on November 4, 1864. "It will take time before the revival of the movement allows the old boldness of language to be used. We must be *fortiter in re, suaviter in modo* [forcible in deed, gentle in manner]." Marx believed that as the influence of reformist and sectarian trends was overcome and the working class accumulated practical experience, the programme of the International would be extended and, first and foremost, supplemented by propositions concretising the socialist aims of the working-class movement and ways of achieving them.

The first programmatic documents of the International stressed that the contradictions between labour and capital would inevitably deepen as capitalism developed. Hence the conclusion that the radical transformation of society was the only way to free the proletariat and all working people from oppression. The abolition of all class rule was proclaimed as the aim of the working-class movement. "The emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves" (this volume, p. 14). These opening words of the preamble to the Provisional Rules express the idea that the political and ideological independence of the working-class movement is the most important condition for the successful outcome of the proletariat's struggle against capitalism.

In the Inaugural Address Marx noted two great victories won by the working class: the passing of the Ten-Hours' Bill in Britain and the development of the co-operative movement. However, he pointed out that neither legislative restriction of the working day nor experiments with the creation of workers' cooperatives could lead to a transformation of the economic foundations of bourgeois society under capitalism. An insuperable obstacle to this is the exploiting classes'—the magnates of land and the magnates of capital—monopoly of political power. "To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes" (this

volume, p. 12). Pointing out that the workers possessed one of the elements of success—numbers—Marx emphasised that "numbers weigh only in the balance, if united by combination and led by knowledge" (ibid.). This idea helped members of the working-class movement to understand the importance of creating a proletarian party armed with revolutionary theory.

The principles of proletarian internationalism were profoundly substantiated in the first documents of the International. "Past experience has shown," wrote Marx in the Inaugural Address, "how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts" (this volume, p. 12). The summons "Proletarians of all countries, Unite!" put forward by Marx and Engels on the founding of the Communist League, became the new organisation's watchword. As one of the International's main tasks the Inaugural Address put forward the struggle against the aggressive foreign policy of the ruling classes, calling on workers "to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations" (this volume, p. 13).

In working out the organisational structure of the International Marx also took account of the historically developed forms of the working-class movement. The International Working Men's Association did not oppose existing workers' organisations, but sought to base itself on them and lead their activity to a common goal. The Rules provided for both individual membership of the Association and collective membership by craft, trade, co-operative, educational and other societies and unions. The truly democratic structure of the organisation, recognition of congresses as the supreme bodies, in the intervals between which leadership was concentrated in the hands of the Central Council, the elective nature of all posts, accountability, collective decision-taking, the granting of extensive rights to local sections with observance of a certain degree of centralisation necessary for unity of action—all these propositions in the Rules were in keeping with the truly emancipatory nature of the struggle of the working class and with the task of drawing the broad proletarian masses into this struggle.

The resolutions on the composition of the Provisional Central Council, the records of a number of speeches delivered by Marx at meetings of the Council, and also of proposals made by his

colleagues on his initiative, the English text of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations passed at the Geneva Congress in 1866 and prepared for publication with Marx's assistance, and other documents, testify to the attention which he devoted to perfecting the structure and organisational forms of the activity of the International Working Men's Association.

The new organisation became the centre of the international mutual assistance of the proletariat in the struggle for its economic interests. "It is one of the great purposes of the Association," Marx stated, "to make the workmen of different countries not only *feel* but *act* as brethren and comrades in the army of emancipation" (this volume, p. 186). Already in the early years of the Association's existence its support enabled the workers of a number of countries to hold successful strikes. The leaders of the Association frequently succeeded in thwarting factory owners' plans to use foreign workers as strike-breakers. A characteristic document in this respect is the Central Council's appeal, written by Marx, entitled "A Warning". Addressing German tailors whom employers were trying to recruit for work in Scotland so as to break strikes, Marx urged them not to become the *"obedient mercenaries of capital"* (this volume, p. 163).

Marx devoted a special paper to the theoretical substantiation of the importance of the economic struggle. He considered it essential to refute mistaken views on this subject, including those of the Lassalleans and Proudhonists who denied the role of strikes and trade unions. In the Central Council itself the Owenist John Weston tried to argue the futility of the workers' struggle for higher wages. In reply to this attempt Marx presented a report on June 20 and 27, 1865 to the Central Council, which is published in this volume under the title of *Value, Price and Profit* (also known under the title of *Wages, Price and Profit*). In this report Marx demonstrated most convincingly the invalidity of Weston's arguments. The tendency of capital, Marx explained, to make the working day as long as possible and reduce wages to a minimum, that is, to the cost of the means of subsistence physically necessary for the worker and his family to stay alive, is by no means a kind of fatal, "iron" law. The cost of labour power, he noted, is variable, and depends not only on physical, but also on social factors, the standard of living in this or that country, the different phases of the economic cycle and, in particular, the degree of resistance offered by the workers to the capitalists. Without this resistance, which stimulates the workers to organise themselves for struggle, "they would be degraded to one level mass of broken

wretches past salvation" (this volume, p. 148). However, the proletariat cannot be content with mere improvements in the conditions for selling labour power, Marx stressed, and also attacked the British trade-unionists' attempts to limit the working-class movement to achieving economic concessions. The daily "guerilla war" against the consequences and not the causes of the exploitation of the workers must, he taught, be subordinated to the final aim of the working class—to overthrow the exploitatory system, destroy the system of wage labour itself (ibid., p. 149).

Marx's report did not contain only his polemic with Weston and those who supported his views. In it, two years before the publication of the first volume of *Capital,* Marx set out in popular form some of the main propositions of his economic teaching, revealing, first and foremost, how surplus value, the source of all types of unearned income, is formed and thereby explaining the true nature of the relations between capitalists and wage workers. *Value, Price and Profit* is one of the most important works of Marxist political economy.

A splendid example of how revolutionary theory can be used to define the practical tasks of the working-class movement is the document entitled "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions", drawn up by Marx, which served as the basis for the work and resolutions of the Geneva Congress of the International Working Men's Association in 1866. Developing and expanding the first programmatic documents of the International, the Instructions concretised the broad programme of its activity.

The Instructions orientated members of the working-class movement to all-round international mutual assistance in the economic struggle. Marx endeavoured to give the highly important task of strengthening international proletarian solidarity a concrete content, by searching at each stage of the activity of the International for new ways of uniting the proletariat of different countries. In order to put the struggle for the workers' economic interests on a scientific basis, Marx advanced the idea of a statistical inquiry into the condition of the working class and outlined a general scheme for such an inquiry. The Instructions attached special importance to the restriction of the working day. Having substantiated the demand for an eight-hour working day, Marx turned this demand into a common slogan for the proletariat of the whole capitalist world.

Outlining measures against the capitalist exploitation of female and child labour, Marx at the same time showed the progressive

nature of drawing women and adolescents into material production. He advanced a number of propositions concerning the education and upbringing of the younger generation which served as a point of departure for the development of the theory and practice of socialist education. The main thing here was the idea of polytechnical training, the combining of the mental and physical education of children and adolescents with a study of the main principles of production, and the initiation in productive labour. Marx saw this as a means of raising the intellectual level of the working class and, in future socialist society, as a way for ensuring the formation of the harmoniously developed individual.

In the section of the Instructions on co-operative labour, Marx, unlike the Proudhonists and other petty-bourgeois reformers, showed that the co-operative movement in itself could not transform the capitalist social system. Radical changes in the social system could never "be realised save by the transfer of the organised forces of society, viz., the state power, from capitalists and landlords to the producers themselves" (this volume, p. 190).

Of particular importance is the section on trades' unions. Here thoughts concerning the place and role of the trade-union movement in the revolutionary emancipatory process expressed by Marx at different times, and his ideas on the need to combine the economic and political struggle of the working class, were systematised and developed. Lenin subsequently remarked that, after the Geneva Congress adopted the resolution on trade unions reproducing the corresponding propositions in the Instructions, "the conviction that the class struggle must necessarily combine the political and the economic struggle into one integral whole has entered into the flesh and blood of international Social-Democracy" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 4, Moscow, 1977, p. 177). Outlining the ways of turning the trade unions into schools of revolutionary education for the proletarian masses and training them for decisive battles with capital, Marx pointed out that professional organisations should not limit themselves to the narrow everyday requirements of their members, and that they were obliged to take part in any social and political movement aimed at the emancipation of the working class.

A considerable number of works and documents included in this volume reflect the position of the International, led by Marx, on the most important political questions of the day. Marx believed that the consistent carrying out of urgent bourgeois-democratic transformations would facilitate the task of organising the forces of the proletariat and be a step towards its emancipation.

Therefore, unlike the supporters of Proudhon and other petty-bourgeois utopians who maintained that intervention in politics distracts the workers from the solution of social problems, Marx sought to turn the International Working Men's Association into an influential political force, a vanguard fighter for democracy, peace between peoples and the liberation of oppressed nations.

In the congratulatory address of the Central Council to Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, on the occasion of his re-election to this post in autumn 1864, drafted by Marx, the International expressed its solidarity with the struggle of the revolutionary-democratic forces of the United States against the Southern slave-holders (see this volume, pp. 19-21). Marx was also the author of the address of the International Working Men's Association to President Andrew Johnson in May 1865 in connection with the murder of Lincoln by an agent of the slave-holders (ibid., pp. 99-100). Marx orientated his supporters in Germany towards unification of the country by democratic, revolutionary means. He regarded the struggle against the Bonapartist regime as the most important task of the International in France. In reply to the obstacles which the French authorities raised to the activity of the International Working Men's Association, Marx suggested intensifying the denunciatory campaign against the Bonapartist regime (see his speech on this question at the meeting of the General Council on November 27, 1866, this volume, p. 414).

The note to Hermann Jung about Ernest Jones' letter, and the brief records of speeches at meetings of the Central Council, in particular, those of January 24, February 14 and 28 and April 25, 1865, testify to the efforts which Marx was making to induce the leading body of the International to assume the role of organiser of a mass movement for democratic parliamentary reform in Britain and to exert an influence on the activity of the Reform League, founded in spring 1865, as a centre of this movement. Under the influence of Marx and the Central Council, the League advanced the demand for universal male suffrage. The movement for reform did not live up to Marx's expectations, however. The trade-union leaders, who were members of the Council of the League and inclined to compromise, renounced the platform which the Central Council of the International had outlined for the League. Taking advantage of the League's weakness, the government passed a moderate reform in 1867, leaving most of the workers without the right to vote.

Already in the early years of the activity of the International Working Men's Association Marx and Engels devoted considerable attention to substantiating the internationalist position of the working class in relation to the national liberation movement. In this period they spoke out with particular frequency on the Polish question. Marx and Engels regarded support of the fighters for the freedom of the Polish people and other oppressed nations as a most important task of the proletarian organisation, proceeding from the conviction that the solution of urgent national problems in a revolutionary-democratic manner was a condition of the successful development of the working-class movement. This idea runs through the Central Council's "Correction", written by Marx in April 1865, in connection with the silence of the British liberal press concerning the position of the International on the Polish question, and Marx's speech at a meeting in London on January 22, 1867 to mark the anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1863-64 (see this volume, pp. 97-98, 196-201).

Marx was compelled to defend the internationalist line with respect to Poland in a struggle against the Proudhonists, who had inherited from their teacher a nihilistic attitude to the national liberation movements and denied their progressive nature. He also had to contend with the misunderstanding about the real ways of liberating Poland, with the allegation made by the right wing of the Polish emigration, that the policy of the ruling classes of the Western powers, in particular bourgeois France, was in keeping with the national aspirations of the Poles. On the Central Council the English democrat Peter Fox sought to defend this point of view. It was refuted in a number of speeches by Marx at meetings of the Standing Committee and Central Council in December 1864-January 1865 (see this volume, pp. 311-27, 354-56). On the matter of liberating Poland Marx took the view that one should look not to the so-called "help" of the Western powers, but to internal revolutionary-democratic forces, a union of the popular masses of Poland and Russia (he had already expressed this idea in letters to Engels during the Polish insurrection of 1863-64) and support from the European proletariat.

Engels also criticised Proudhonist views on the Polish question. In a series of articles entitled *What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?* he showed that in the interests of its own emancipation the working class should irreconcilably oppose the policy of national oppression and be at the forefront of the struggle for the national independence of enslaved peoples. At the same time Engels warned of the danger of reactionary forces

making use of national movements, especially those of small peoples, an example of which was the speculation of ruling circles in the Bonapartist Second Empire on the "principle of nationalities".

Marx regarded the international solidarity of the proletariat as a powerful means of combating militarism, the unleashing of bloody wars by the ruling classes. He stressed that "the union of the working classes of the different countries must ultimately make international wars impossible" (this volume, p. 426). At the same time Marx sought to teach the working-class movement to combine the struggle for peace with the class approach to war, with an ability to analyse the nature of this or that military conflict. This aspect of Marx's activity was seen during the discussion in the Central Council on the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, an analysis of which from the military strategic point of view was provided by Engels in the series of articles entitled *Notes on the War in Germany.* In spite of their laconic nature, the notes in the Council Minute Book give an idea of the active part which Marx took in this discussion. The resolution passed by the Council under his influence shows his deep understanding of the contradictory nature of the war in which objectively progressive aims—the unification of Germany—were intertwined with the dynastic and territorial claims of the ruling classes of the belligerent states. The International recommended workers to adopt a neutral stand, and at the same time placed responsibility for the military conflict on the governments of the belligerent parties (ibid., p. 411).

In the Resolution on the Attitude of the International Working Men's Association to the Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom and the speech on this subject at the meeting of the General Council on August 13, 1867, Marx formulated a number of propositions concerning joint action by workers and members of the bourgeois pacifist movement (see this volume, pp. 204, 426-27). While supporting in principle collaboration with all progressive forces in the struggle against the growing military danger, Marx stressed that this collaboration should take forms which did not threaten the working class with the loss of its own independent, class line and with ideological submission to bourgeois democracy. The proletarian organisation could not assume responsibility for all the weaknesses and illusions of the pacifist movement, which, although it really did reflect the anti-military mood of the broad masses, was characterised by an abstract approach to war, a reluctance to see the capitalist system as its source, and a tendency

to replace real struggle for peace by high-flown declarations.

The materials and documents published in the volume reflect the intense activity of Marx and Engels to create and strengthen local organisations of the International and to draw into its ranks the workers of Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland and the USA.

In Britain Marx sought to make such mass working-class organisations as the trade unions a bulwark for the International. To this end he drafted the resolutions on terms for the admission of workers' organisations to membership of the International Working Men's Association and the Address of the Central Council to working men's societies, based on these resolutions (see this volume, pp. 18, 372-73). The Minute Book of the General Council contains a report of a speech by Marx on July 23, 1867, from which it is clear that he played an active part in defending trade unions against attacks by reactionary forces trying to ban or restrict their activity (see this volume, pp. 424-25).

In seeking to use the organisational experience and influence among the masses of trade-union leaders of the day in the interests of strengthening the position of the International, Marx did not overlook their characteristic reformist interpretation of the aims of the working-class movement, their respect for bourgeois authorities, their uncritical acceptance of pacifist rhetoric, and their compliance with respect to bourgeois radicals. Marx considered it his duty to combat the manifestation of such tendencies. Thus, on his initiative, the General Council dissociated itself from the panegyric of Bismarck made by George Odger, an eminent trade unionist (see this volume, p. 416).

The Central Council's resolutions on the conflict in the Paris section and a number of preparatory materials for this document (see present volume, pp. 82-83, 329-36) throw light on Marx's endeavours to strengthen the International's sections in France. Rejecting in these resolutions the claims of bourgeois democrats to a leading role in the French sections of the International Working Men's Association and denying their ill-founded accusations levelled at members of the Paris Administration (Proudhonist workers), Marx at the same time sought to complement it with revolutionary-proletarian elements. He hoped to induce the Administration to turn from propagating utopian Proudhonist projects of social reform to organisational work among the proletarian masses.

Marx showed constant concern for the creation of a massive base for the International in Germany. This task could be solved

by the affiliation to the International Working Men's Association of the General Association of German Workers, the foundation of which in 1863 was an important step towards emancipating German workers from the political tutelage of the liberal bourgeoisie. However, the General Association's programme, drawn up by its first president Ferdinand Lassalle, contained utopian dogmas (in particular, on solving the social question by setting up producer associations with state help) diametrically opposed to the principles of the International. Lassalle oriented the Association towards support of the Prussian government's policy of uniting Germany under the aegis of Prussia in return for the promise of universal suffrage.

By drawing the General Association of German Workers into the ranks of the International Marx hoped to influence the former and bring about a revision of its reformist programme and a change in its tactics. Not possessing at that time any means for the wide propagation of their own ideas and for their criticism of Lassalle's views in Germany, Marx and Engels agreed to collaborate on the *Social-Demokrat,* a newspaper founded by one of the leaders of the General Association of German Workers Johann Baptist von Schweitzer. The newspaper published the authorised translation of the "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association", and also the German text of the Association's Provisional Rules.

In connection with the death of Proudhon in January 1865, Marx wrote an article about him for the *Social-Demokrat.* He paid tribute to Proudhon's services—his attack on capitalist property, his critique of religion and the church, and his courageous defence of the June insurgents in 1848. At the same time he exposed the petty-bourgeois essence of Proudhon's views, the contradictory, utopian nature of the projects for social transformations advanced by him. In Proudhon's writings and ideas Marx detected features characteristic also of other reformist and sectarian trends of petty-bourgeois socialism, including Lassalleanism—superficial playing with philosophical and economic categories instead of the scientific analysis of reality, apriori formulae for solving social questions, which were dogmatically presented as universal panaceas for social ills (see this volume, p. 29). Without mentioning Lassalle's name, he suggested that, like Proudhon's proposals, Lassalle's recipes were also the result of indulging in hare-brained social schemes. Marx's sharp criticism in this article of Proudhon's attempts to justify the coup d'état of 1851 and the Bonapartist regime in France contain a direct

condemnation of the flirting by Lassalle and his supporters with Bismarck.

Publishing in the *Social-Demokrat* a translation of the old Danish folk song "Herr Tidmann" with a commentary (see this volume, pp. 34-35), Engels stressed the importance of the revolutionary traditions of the peasant movement, unlike the Lassalleans who regarded peasantry as "one reactionary mass".

The collaboration on the *Social-Demokrat* did not last for long. The paper's content soon convinced Marx and Engels that Schweitzer and Lassalle's other successors had no intention of renouncing Lassallean doctrines and tactics of accommodation to the Bismarck regime. It became clear to Marx and Engels that the Lassallean leaders were preventing the German workers from joining the International. This induced Marx and Engels not only to break off relations with the *Social-Demokrat,* but also to make the breach public. In their statement of February 23, 1865, to the editors, contained in this volume, they strongly criticised the tenor that the Lassalleans had given the newspaper, and characterised Lassalleanism itself as "royal Prussian governmental socialism" (this volume, p. 80). A number of other letters by Marx to the press published in this volume (his "Statement regarding the causes of the breach with the *Social-Demokrat*", "To the Editor of the *Berliner Reform*", and "The 'President of Mankind'") also denounced the paper's editor, Schweitzer, and other Lassallean leaders.

Engels' pamphlet *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* which substantiates the tactics of the German proletariat on the major questions of political life in Germany, was also full of criticism of Lassalleanism. The pamphlet analysed the alignment of class forces in the constitutional conflict that had arisen between the Prussian government and the liberal bourgeoisie in connection with the government's proposals for reorganising the army. In the prevailing circumstances, the pamphlet's author made it clear, the need to create an independent workers' party in Germany was most acute. Outlining its tactical line, Engels, unlike the Lassalleans, argued the need not only to criticise the inconsistency and cowardice of the bourgeois Party of Progress, but also to wage an unrelenting battle against the military-bureaucratic monarchy and its social bulwark—the reactionary class of Junker landowners.

In the struggle against Junker-monarchistic forces, the workers' party, Engels stressed, must be able to expose the social demagogy of the head of the Prussian state, Bismarck, his feigned willingness

to grant concessions to the working class, which concealed his intention to use it to put pressure on the bourgeois opposition. Comparing Bismarck's actions with the political methods of the bourgeois ruling circles in the Second Empire in France, Engels reveals the reactionary nature of Bonapartism, pointing out such characteristic features of it as manoeuvring between classes with the aim of suppressing all resistance to the reactionary regime, savage repression of the workers' movement under the pretence of protecting the workers, the transformation of a democratic institution, universal suffrage, into a means of deceiving the masses, and consolidating the military-police dictatorship (ibid., pp. 72-73). In so doing Engels warned German workers against the Lassallean idealisation of universal suffrage, showing that its real value for the working class was determined by the social and political conditions under which it took effect.

The writings of Marx and Engels promoted the disillusionment of the German workers with Lassallean dogmas and the tactics of the leaders of the General Association of German Workers. Opposition to the Lassallean leaders grew within the organisation itself. The workers became increasingly drawn to the International, to creating its sections in Germany. Marx followed these changes in the German working-class movement closely. At the meeting of the General Council on October 8, 1867 he reported as a great victory for the German working class the election to the North German Imperial Diet of Wilhelm Liebknecht who, together with August Bebel, supported the policies of the International (see this volume, p. 438). On October 22, 1867, Marx considered it necessary to acquaint members of the Council with extracts from Liebknecht's speech in the Imperial Diet, in which he criticised Bismarck's foreign policy (ibid.).

In September 1867 a great event took place in the history of social thought and the international working-class movement: the publication of Volume One of Marx's main work, *Capital.* "As long as there have been capitalists and workers on earth," Engels wrote, "no book has appeared which is of as much importance for the workers as the one before us. The relation between capital and labour, the axis on which our entire present system of society turns, is here treated scientifically for the first time" (this volume, p. 231). By revealing in *Capital* the laws of development of the capitalist mode of production, Marx made a revolution in economic science. His work was a tremendous step forward in the

development of other component parts of Marxist teaching also—dialectical and historical materialism and the theory of scientific communism. *Capital* was a theoretical weapon for the working class in its struggle against capitalist slavery.

Marx's book played an exceptionally important role in the activity of the International. In *Capital* the international proletarian organisation acquired an ideological source for elucidating the revolutionary aims of its struggle, and an indispensable guide for determining its position on many questions of vital importance for the working-class movement. The propaganda of the ideas contained in *Capital,* in which eminent members of the International Association joined, accelerated the development of the class consciousness of participants in the working-class movement and their liberation from the influence of petty-bourgeois utopians, helping the proletarian masses to master revolutionary socialist teaching and turn to scientific communism. For Marx and his colleagues this process helped to solve the task which they had set at this stage of the International's activity, namely, that of bringing the workers in its ranks to a clear understanding of the need for socialist revolution and the communist transformation of society and inserting corresponding propositions in the programme of the international proletarian organisation.

The works by Marx and Engels, published in a special section of this volume and dealing with the publication of Volume One of *Capital,* reflect the initial stage of the popularisation of this work and also the ideological struggle around it, when bourgeois ideologists abandoned their tactics of silence and sought to belittle its importance and distort its content.

A great role was played by Engels in breaking the "conspiracy of silence" with which official academic circles and the bourgeois press met the appearance of *Capital.* He wrote a number of reviews for liberal and democratic newspapers as if considering the book from the viewpoint of a bourgeois scholar sufficiently objective, however, to assess its scientific merits. "The studies made in this book are of the greatest scientific subtlety," Engels wrote in a review for the *Zukunft* newspaper (this volume, p. 208). "... it is a most scholarly work which has a claim to be regarded as most strictly scientific," he remarked in a review for the *Elberfelder Zeitung* (ibid., pp. 214-215). One of the devices that Engels used in his reviews was to compare the theoretical level of Marx's work with the academic level of bourgeois, particularly German, economists, in order under the guise of lamenting the deplorable state of official economic thought in Germany to show the

superiority of Marxist political economy to bourgeois political economy.

Addressing himself in the above-mentioned reviews primarily to a bourgeois audience, Engels sought to dispel the idea widespread among it that Marx's teaching was a type of utopian socialism. He emphasised that by his economic theory Marx had provided "the scientific basis for socialist aspirations which neither Fourier nor Proudhon nor even Lassalle had been able to do" (ibid., p. 215). In a review for the *Beobachter* Engels described the basic difference between the Marxist and the Lassallean approach to the major questions of the day as follows: "If Lassalle had big ideas about Bismarck's fitness to introduce the socialist Millennium, Herr Marx refutes his wayward pupil loudly enough" (ibid., p. 225).

Engels frequently drew attention to Marx's application of the dialectical method, and his consistent historical approach to events, hailing this as a great scientific achievement of the author of *Capital.* "We must confess," he wrote, "that we are much impressed by the sense of history which pervades the whole book and forbids the author to take the laws of economics for eternal truths, for anything but the formulations of the conditions of existence of certain transitory states of society" (this volume, p. 208). Thus Engels led the reader to the conclusion that from the scientific point of view the capitalist system was just as historically transient as the feudal and slave-owning systems before it, and that it would inevitably be succeeded by a different, higher organisation of society. In his review for the liberal *Rheinische Zeitung* Engels states unambiguously in this connection that the representatives of revolutionary Social-Democracy should see Marx's work as "their *theoretical bible,* as the armoury from which they will take their most telling arguments" (ibid., p. 210). It was evidently no accident that the editors of this newspaper refused to publish it. Engels' long article for the British journal *The Fortnightly Review* was not published either (ibid., pp. 238-59).

Engels' review for the workers' newspaper *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* was of a different nature. Here he could express openly his solidarity with the author's views. In his exposition of the fundamentals of Marx's economic teaching he laid emphasis on the pinpointing of the exploitative nature of the relations between capitalists and workers, the mechanism of extracting surplus value by entrepreneurs, the inevitable aggravation of the class antagonisms inherent in bourgeois society and the growing struggle between labour and capital. Engels expounded clearly

Marx's idea that the very development of capitalism creates the material prerequisites for the revolutionary transition to a communist system. "Capitalist production is the first to create the wealth and the productive forces necessary for this, but at the same time it also creates, in the numerous and oppressed workers, the social class which is compelled more and more to claim the utilisation of this wealth and these productive forces for the whole of society—instead of their being utilised, as they are today, for a monopolist class" (this volume, p. 237).

The synopsis of Volume One of Marx's *Capital* which Engels may have written as an outline for a special pamphlet, covers the content of almost four of the six chapters in the first edition of the book (see this volume, pp. 263-308). This work is a fine example of the popular exposition of the complex economic problems examined in Marx's work.

The volume also contains Marx's article "Plagiarism" and the manuscript outline of his article "My Plagiarism of F. Bastiat". The first of these works criticises the misuse and crude distortion by Lassallean leaders and publicists of individual propositions of *Capital* (see this volume, pp. 219-23). In this article Marx warns against the danger of debasing Marxist political economy. In the second work, having refuted the assertion by bourgeois reviewers of *Capital* that he had borrowed his theory of value from Bastiat, one of the French vulgar economists (ibid., pp. 260-62). Marx refuted attempts by his opponents to belittle the scientific value of his economic teaching by false references to its alleged lack of originality.

The section "From the Preparatory Materials" contains drafts and notes by Marx that show his preparations for various speeches in the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association and other aspects of his activity as a leader of the Council, and Marx's minutes of the Central Council meeting on January 16, 1866. It also contains notes made by Engels during his travels round Sweden and Denmark in July 1867.

The Appendices contain records of Marx's speeches published according to the Minute Book of the General Council or newspaper reports, and also extracts from the Minute Book that throw light on the discussion of various matters in the Council in which Marx took part. Here too are extracts from the minutes of the London Conference of the International in 1865 which was held under Marx's leadership, and also documents of the Central (later General) Council drawn up with his assistance, including the

Council Report to the Lausanne Congress of the International. The Appendices also include some contributions by Marx's associates edited by him and letters from Jenny Marx to Johann Philipp Becker with information that came from Marx and was intended for publication. Also published here are circulars from the Schiller Institute in Manchester, of which Engels was Chairman at the time.

* * *

This volume contains 55 works by Marx and Engels, of which 21 are published in English for the first time, among them the statement by Marx and Engels to the *Social-Demokrat* of February 6, 1865, a number of other statements and letters from Marx to the editors of German newspapers, and also his articles "The 'President of Mankind'", "Plagiarism" and "My Plagiarism of F. Bastiat". Of Engels' works the pamphlet *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* and most of the reviews of Volume One of *Capital* are published in English for the first time. Of the documents contained in the Appendices nine are appearing in English for the first time.

In cases where documents of the International written by Marx or with his participation have survived in more or less authentic versions in several languages, the English version—manuscript or printed—is reproduced in this volume. Significant differences in reading with versions in other languages are indicated in the footnotes.

All the texts have been translated from the German except where otherwise stated. Headings supplied by the editors where none existed in the original are given in square brackets. The asterisks indicate footnotes by the author; the editors' footnotes are indicated by index letters.

Misprints in quotations, proper and geographical names, figures, dates, and so on, have been corrected with reference to the sources used by Marx and Engels. The known literary and documental sources are referred to in footnotes and in the index of quoted and mentioned literature. Words written in English in the original are given in small caps.

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The volume was prepared for the press by the editors Natalia Karmanova, Margarita Lopukhina and Alla Varavitskaya.

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## WORKS

September 1864-July 1868

# ADDRESS

AND

# PROVISIONAL RULES

OF THE

## WORKING MEN'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION,

ESTABLISHED SEPTEMBER 28, 1864,

AT A PUBLIC MEETING HELD AT ST. MARTIN'S HALL, LONG ACRE, LONDON.

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Title page of the first edition
of the Inaugural Address and Provisional Rules
of the Working Men's International Association

# Karl Marx

## INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE WORKING MEN'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION

ESTABLISHED SEPTEMBER 28, 1864
AT A PUBLIC MEETING HELD
AT ST. MARTIN'S HALL, LONG ACRE, LONDON[1]

Working Men,[a]

It is a great fact that the misery of the working masses has not diminished from 1848 to 1864, and yet this period is unrivalled for the development of its industry and the growth of its commerce. In 1850, a moderate organ of the British middle class, of more than average information, predicted that if the exports and imports of England were to rise 50 per cent, English pauperism would sink to zero.[2] Alas! on April 7th, 1864, the Chancellor of the Exchequer[b] delighted his Parliamentary audience by the statement that the total import and export trade of England had grown in 1863

"to £443,955,000! that astonishing sum [...] about three times the trade of the [...] comparatively recent epoch of 1843!"

With all that, he was eloquent upon "poverty".

"Think," he exclaimed, "of those who are on the border of that region", upon "wages ... not increased"; upon "human life ... in nine cases out of ten but a struggle for existence!"

He did not speak of the people of Ireland, gradually replaced by machinery in the north, and by sheep-walks in the south, though even the sheep in that unhappy country are decreasing, it is true, not at so rapid a rate as the men. He did not repeat what then had been just betrayed by the highest representatives of the upper ten thousand in a sudden fit of terror. When the garotte[3]

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[a] The pamphlet published in London in 1866 has "Fellow Working Men".—*Ed.*

[b] William Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on April 7, 1864, *The Times*, No. 24841, April 8, 1864.—*Ed.*

panic had reached a certain height, the House of Lords caused an inquiry to be made into, and a report to be published upon, transportation and penal servitude. Out came the murder in the bulky Blue Book[4] of 1863,[a] and proved it was, by official facts and figures, that the worst of the convicted criminals, the penal serfs of England and Scotland, toiled much less and fared far better than the agricultural labourers of England and Scotland. But this was not all. When, consequent upon the Civil War in America, the operatives of Lancashire and Cheshire were thrown upon the streets,[5] the same House of Lords sent to the manufacturing districts a physician commissioned to investigate into the smallest possible amount of carbon and nitrogen, to be administered in the cheapest and plainest form, which on an average might just suffice to "avert starvation diseases". Dr. Smith, the medical deputy, ascertained that 28,000 grains of carbon, and 1,330 grains of nitrogen were the weekly allowance that would keep an average adult ... just over the level of starvation diseases, and he found furthermore that quantity pretty nearly to agree with the scanty nourishment to which the pressure of extreme distress had actually reduced the cotton operatives.* But now mark! The same learned Doctor was later on again deputed by the medical officer of the Privy Council to inquire into the nourishment of the poorer labouring classes. The results of his researches are embodied in the "Sixth Report on Public Health", published by order of Parliament in the course of the present year.[b] What did the Doctor discover? That the silk weavers, the needle women, the kid glovers, the stocking weavers, and so forth, received,[c] on an average, not even the distress pittance of the cotton operatives, not even the amount of carbon and nitrogen "just sufficient to avert starvation diseases".

"Moreover," we quote from the report, "as regards the examined families of the agricultural population, it appeared that more than a fifth were with less than the

* We need hardly remind the reader that, apart from the elements of water and certain inorganic substances, carbon and nitrogen form the raw materials of human food. However, to nourish the human system, those simple chemical constituents must be supplied in the form of vegetable or animal substances. Potatoes, for instance, contain mainly carbon, while wheaten bread contains carbonaceous and nitrogenous substances in a due proportion.

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[a] The reference is to the *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the operation of the acts* (16 & 17 Vict. c. 99 and 20 & 21 Vict. c. 3) *relating to transportation and penal servitude,* vols. I-II, London, 1863.—*Ed.*

[b] *Public Health. Sixth Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council with Appendix. 1863,* London, 1864.—Below Marx quotes this report, pp. 13-15.—*Ed.*

[c] In the German text the words "year after year" have been added.—*Ed.*

estimated sufficiency of carbonaceous food, that more than one-third were with less than the estimated sufficiency of nitrogenous food, and that in three counties (Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Somersetshire) insufficiency of nitrogenous food was the average local diet." "It must be remembered," adds the official report, "that privation of food is very reluctantly borne, and that, as a rule, great poorness of diet will only come when other privations have preceded it.... Even cleanliness will have been found costly or difficult, and if there still be self-respectful endeavours to maintain it, every such endeavour will represent additional pangs of hunger." "These are painful reflections, especially when it is remembered that the poverty to which they advert is not the deserved poverty of idleness; in all cases it is the poverty of working populations. Indeed, [...] the work which obtains the scanty pittance of food is for the most part excessively prolonged."

The report brings out the strange, and rather unexpected fact, "That of the divisions of the United Kingdom", England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, "the agricultural population of England", the richest division, "is considerably the worst fed"; but that even the agricultural labourers of Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Somersetshire, fare better than great numbers of skilled indoor operatives of the East of London.

Such are the official statements published by order of Parliament in 1864, during the millennium of free trade, at a time when the Chancellor of the Exchequer told the House of Commons that:

"The average condition of the British labourer has [...] improved [...] in a degree [...] we know to be extraordinary and [...] unexampled [...] in the history of any country or any age."[a]

Upon these official congratulations jars the dry remark of the official Public Health Report:

"The public health of a country means the health of its masses, and the masses will scarcely be healthy unless, to their very base, they be at least moderately prosperous."

Dazzled by the "Progress of the Nation" statistics dancing before his eyes, the Chancellor of the Exchequer exclaims in wild ecstasy:

"From 1842 to 1852 the taxable income of the country [...] increased by 6 per cent; [...] in the eight years from 1853 to 1861, it has increased from the basis taken in 1853 20 per cent! the fact is so astonishing to be almost incredible!... This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power," adds Mr. Gladstone, "is entirely confined to classes of property!"[6]

If you want to know under what conditions of broken health, tainted morals, and mental ruin, that "intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power entirely confined to classes of property" was,

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[a] Here and below Marx quotes Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on April 16, 1863.—*Ed.*

and is being, produced by the classes of labour, look to the picture hung up in the last "Public Health Report" of the workshops of tailors, printers, and dressmakers![a] Compare the "Report of the Children's Employment Commission" of 1863, where it is stated, for instance, that:

"The potters as a class, both men and women, [...] represent a much degenerated population, both physically and mentally", that "the unhealthy child is an unhealthy parent in his turn", that "a progressive deterioration of the race must go on", and that "the degenerescence of the population of Staffordshire would be even greater were it not for the constant recruiting from the adjacent country, and the intermarriages with more healthy races."[b]

Glance at Mr. Tremenheere's Blue Book on the "Grievances complained of by the Journeymen Bakers"[c]! And who has not shuddered at the paradoxical statement made by the inspectors of factories, and illustrated by the Registrar General, that the Lancashire operatives, while put upon the distress pittance of food, were actually improving in health, because of their temporary exclusion by the cotton famine from the cotton factory, and that the mortality of the children was decreasing, because their mothers were now at last allowed to give them, instead of Godfrey's cordial, their own breasts.

Again reverse the medal! The Income and Property Tax Returns laid before the House of Commons on July 20, 1864, teach us that the persons with yearly incomes, valued by the tax-gatherer at £50,000 and upwards, had, from April 5th, 1862, to April 5th, 1863, been joined by a dozen and one, their number having increased in that single year from 67 to 80. The same returns disclose the fact that about 3,000 persons divide amongst themselves a yearly income of about £25,000,000 sterling, rather more than the total revenue doled out annually to the whole mass of the agricultural labourers of England and Wales. Open the census of 1861, and you will find that the number of the male landed proprietors of England and Wales had decreased from 16,934 in 1851, to 15,066 in 1861, so that the concentration of land had grown in 10 years 11 per cent. If the concentration of the soil of the country in a few hands proceeds at the same rate, the land question will become singularly simplified, as it has

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[a] The reference is to the above quoted *Sixth Report*, pp. 25-27.—*Ed.*

[b] *Children's Employment Commission (1862). First Report of the Commissioners*, London, 1863, p. 24.—*Ed.*

[c] *Report addressed to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, relative to the Grievances complained of by the Journeymen Bakers*, London, 1862.—*Ed.*

become in the Roman Empire, when Nero grinned at the discovery that half the Province of Africa was owned by six gentlemen.

We have dwelt so long upon these "facts so astonishing to be almost incredible", because England heads the Europe of commerce and industry.[a] It will be remembered that some months ago one of the refugee sons of Louis Philippe publicly congratulated the English agricultural labourer on the superiority of his lot over that of his less florid comrade on the other side of the Channel. Indeed, with local colours changed, and on a scale somewhat contracted, the English facts reproduce themselves in all the industrious and progressive countries of the Continent. In all of them there has taken place, since 1848, an unheard-of development of industry, and an undreamed-of expansion of imports and exports. In all of them "the augmentation of wealth and power entirely confined to classes of property" was truly "intoxicating". In all of them, as in England, a minority of the working classes got their real wages[b] somewhat advanced; while in most cases the monetary rise of wages denoted no more a real access of comforts than the inmate of the metropolitan poor-house or orphan asylum, for instance, was in the least benefited by his first necessaries costing £9 15s. 8d. in 1861 against £7 7s. 4d. in 1852. Everywhere the great mass of the working classes were sinking down to a lower depth, at the same rate, at least, that those above them were rising in the social scale. In all countries of Europe it has now become a truth demonstrable to every unprejudiced mind, and only denied by those, whose interest it is to hedge other people in a fool's paradise, that no improvement of machinery,[c] no appliance of science to production, no contrivances of communication, no new colonies, no emigration, no opening of markets, no free trade, nor all these things put together, will do away with the miseries of the industrious masses; but that, on the present false base, every fresh development of the productive powers of labour must tend to deepen social contrasts and point social antagonisms. Death of starvation rose almost to the rank of an institution, during this "intoxicating" epoch of economical progress, in the metropolis of the British Empire. That epoch is

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[a] In the German text the following words have been added: "and in fact represents it on the world market".—*Ed.*

[b] In the German text the following words been added: "i.e. the foodstuffs bought with money wages".—*Ed.*

[c] In the German text the following words have been added: "no chemical discoveries".—*Ed.*

marked in the annals of the world by the quickened return, the widening compass, and the deadlier effects of the social pest called a commercial and industrial crisis.

After the failure of the revolutions of 1848, all party organisations and party journals of the working classes were, on the Continent, crushed by the iron hand of force, the most advanced sons of labour fled in despair to the Transatlantic Republic, and the short-lived dreams of emancipation vanished before an epoch of industrial fever, moral marasme, and political reaction. The defeat of the continental working classes, partly owed to the diplomacy of the English Government, acting then as now in fraternal solidarity with the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, soon spread its contagious effects on this side of the Channel. While the rout of their continental brethren unmanned the English working classes, and broke their faith in their own cause, it restored to the landlord and the money-lord their somewhat shaken confidence. They insolently withdrew concessions already advertised. The discoveries of new goldlands led to an immense exodus, leaving an irreparable void in the ranks of the British proletariat. Others of its formerly active members were caught by the temporary bribe of greater work and wages, and turned into "political blacks". All the efforts made at keeping up, or remodelling, the Chartist Movement, failed signally; the press organs of the working class died one by one of the apathy of the masses, and, in point of fact, never before seemed the English working class so thoroughly reconciled to a state of political nullity. If, then, there had been no solidarity of action between the British and the continental working classes, there was, at all events, a solidarity of defeat.

And yet the period passed since the revolutions of 1848 has not been without its compensating features. We shall here only point to two great facts.

After a thirty years' struggle, fought with most admirable perseverance, the English working classes, improving a momentaneous split between the landlords and money-lords, succeeded in carrying the Ten Hours' Bill.[7] The immense physical, moral, and intellectual benefits hence accruing to the factory operatives, half-yearly chronicled in the reports of the inspectors of factories, are now acknowledged on all sides. Most of the continental governments had to accept the English Factory Act in more or less modified forms, and the English Parliament itself is every year compelled to enlarge its sphere of action. But besides its practical import, there was something else to exalt the marvellous success of this working men's measure. Through their most notorious organs

of science, such as Dr. Ure, Professor Senior, and other sages of that stamp, the middle class had predicted, and to their heart's content proved, that any legal restriction of the hours of labour must sound the death knell of British industry, which, vampire like, could but live by sucking blood, and children's blood, too. In olden times, child murder was a mysterious rite of the religion of Moloch, but it was practised on some very solemn occassions only, once a year perhaps, and then Moloch had no exclusive bias for the children of the poor. This struggle about the legal restriction of the hours of labour raged the more fiercely since, apart from frightened avarice, it told indeed upon the great contest between the blind rule of the supply and demand laws which form the political economy of the middle class, and social production controlled by social foresight, which forms the political economy of the working class. Hence the Ten Hours' Bill was not only a great practical success; it was the victory of a principle; it was the first time that in broad daylight the political economy of the middle class succumbed to the political economy of the working class.

But there was in store a still greater victory of the political economy of labour over the political economy of property.[a] We speak of the co-operative movement, especially the co-operative factories raised by the unassisted efforts of a few bold "hands". The value of these great social experiments cannot be over-rated. By deed, instead of by argument, they have shown that production on a large scale, and in accord with the behests of modern science, may be carried on without the existence of a class of masters employing a class of hands; that to bear fruit, the means of labour need not be monopolised as a means of dominion over, and of extortion against, the labouring man himself; and that, like slave labour, like serf labour, hired labour is but a transitory and inferior[b] form, destined to disappear before associated labour plying its toil with a willing hand, a ready mind, and a joyous heart. In England, the seeds of the co-operative system were sown by Robert Owen; the working men's experiments, tried on the Continent, were, in fact, the practical upshot of the theories, not invented, but loudly proclaimed, in 1848.

At the same time, the experience of the period from 1848 to 1864 has proved[c] beyond doubt that, however excellent in

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[a] The German text reads: "the political economy of capital".—*Ed.*

[b] In the German text the word "social" has been added.—*Ed.*

[c] In the German text the following has been added: "what the most intelligent leaders of the working class asserted about the co-operative movement in England already in 1851 and 1852".[8]—*Ed.*

principle, and however useful in practice, co-operative labour, if kept within the narrow circle of the casual efforts of private workmen, will never be able to arrest the growth in geometrical progression of monopoly, to free the masses, nor even to perceptibly lighten the burden of their miseries. It is perhaps for this very reason that plausible noblemen, philanthropic middle-class spouters, and even keen political economists, have all at once turned nauseously complimentary to the very co-operative labour system they had vainly tried to nip in the bud by deriding it as the Utopia of the dreamer, or stigmatising it as the sacrilege of the Socialist. To save the industrious masses, co-operative labour ought to be developed to national dimensions, and, consequently, to be fostered by national means. Yet, the lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies. So far from promoting, they will continue to lay every possible impediment in the way of the emancipation of labour. Remember the sneer with which, last session, Lord Palmerston put down the advocates of the Irish Tenants' Right Bill. The House of Commons, cried he, is a house of landed proprietors.[a9]

To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes. They seem to have comprehended this, for in England, Germany, Italy, and France there have taken place simultaneous revivals, and simultaneous efforts are being made at the political reorganisation of the working men's party.

One element of success they possess—numbers; but numbers weigh only in the balance, if united by combination and led by knowledge. Past experience has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts. This thought prompted the working men of different countries assembled on September 28, 1864, in public meeting at St. Martin's Hall, to found the International Association.

Another conviction swayed that meeting.

If the emancipation of the working classes requires their fraternal concurrence,[b] how are they to fulfil that great mission with a foreign policy in pursuit of criminal designs, playing upon

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[a] John Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on June 23, 1863, *The Times*, No. 24593, June 24, 1863.—*Ed.*

[b] The German text reads: "requires fraternal concurrence of different nations".—*Ed.*

national prejudices, and squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure? It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working classes of England that saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic.[10] The shameless approval, mock sympathy, or idiotic indifference, with which the upper classes of Europe have witnessed the mountain fortress of the Caucasus falling a prey to, and heroic Poland being assassinated by, Russia; the immense and unresisted encroachments of that barbarous power, whose head is at St. Petersburg, and whose hands are in every Cabinet of Europe, have taught the working classes the duty to master themselves the mysteries of international politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective Governments; to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power; when unable to prevent, to combine in simultaneous denunciations, and to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations.

The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes.

Proletarians of all countries, Unite!

Written between October 21 and 27, 1864

First published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 160, November 5, 1864 and in the pamphlet *Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association...*, London, November 1864. Author's translation into German was published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, Nos. 2 and 3, December 21 and 30, 1864

Reproduced from the text of the pamphlet checked with that in *Der Social-Demokrat*

# Karl Marx

## PROVISIONAL RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION[11]

Considering,

That the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class rule;

That the economical subjection of the man of labour to the monopoliser of the means of labour, that is, the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence;

That the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means;

That all efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labour in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries;

That the emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries;

That the present revival of the working classes in the most industrious countries of Europe, while it raises a new hope, gives solemn warning against a relapse into the old errors and calls for the immediate combination of the still disconnected movements;

For these reasons—

The undersigned members of the committee, holding its powers by resolution of the public meeting held on Sept. 28, 1864, at St. Martin's Hall, London, have taken the steps necessary for founding the Working Men's International Association;

They declare that this International Association and all societies and individuals adhering to it, will acknowledge truth, justice, and morality, as the basis of their conduct towards each other, and towards all men, without regard to colour, creed, or nationality;

They hold it the duty of a man to claim the rights of a man and a citizen, not only for himself, but for every man who does his duty. No rights without duties, no duties without rights[12];

And in this spirit they have drawn up the following Provisional Rules of the International Association:—

1. This Association is established to afford a central medium of communication and co-operation between Working Men's Societies existing in different countries, and aiming at the same end, viz., the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation of the working classes.

2. The name of the Society shall be: "The Working Men's International Association".

3. In 1865 there shall meet in Belgium a General Working Men's Congress, consisting of representatives of such working men's societies as may have joined the International Association. The Congress will have to proclaim before Europe the common aspirations of the working classes, decide on the definitive rules of the International Association, consider the means required for its successful working, and appoint the Central Council of the Association.[13] The General Congress is to meet once a year.

4. The Central Council shall sit in London, and consist of working men belonging to the different countries represented in the International Association. It shall from its own members elect the officers necessary for the transaction of business, such as a president, a treasurer, a general secretary, corresponding secretaries for the different countries, &c.

5. On its annual meetings, the General Congress shall receive a public account of the annual transactions of the Central Council. The Central Council, yearly appointed by the Congress, shall have power to add to the number of its members. In cases of urgency, it may convoke the General Congress before the regular yearly term.

6. The Central Council shall form an international agency between the different co-operating associations, so that the working men in one country be constantly informed of the

movements of their class in every other country; that an inquiry into the social state of the different countries of Europe be made simultaneously, and under a common direction; that the questions of general interest mooted in one society be ventilated by all; and that when immediate practical steps should be needed, as, for instance, in case of international quarrels, the action of the associated societies be simultaneous and uniform. Whenever it seems opportune, the Central Council shall take the initiative of proposals to be laid before the different national or local societies.

7. Since the success of the working men's movement in each country cannot be secured but by the power of union and combination, while, on the other hand, the usefulness of the International Central Council must greatly depend on the circumstance whether it has to deal with a few national centres of working men's associations, or with a great number of small and disconnected local societies; the members of the International Association shall use their utmost efforts to combine the disconnected working men's societies of their respective countries into national bodies, represented by central national organs. It is self-understood, however, that the appliance of this rule will depend upon the peculiar laws of each country, and that, apart from legal obstacles, no independent local society shall be precluded from directly corresponding with the London Central Council.

8. Until the meeting of the first Congress, the committee chosen on September 28th, 1864, will act as a Provisional Central Council, try to connect the different national working men's associations, enlist members in the United Kingdom, take the steps preparatory to the convocation of the General Congress, and discuss with the national and local societies the main questions to be laid before that Congress.

9. Each member of the International Association, on removing his domicile from one country to another, will receive the fraternal support of the Associated Working Men.

10. While united in a perpetual bond of fraternal co-operation, the working men's societies, joining the International Association, will preserve their existent organisations intact.

Written between October 21 and 27, 1864

First published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 161, November 12, 1864 and in the pamphlet *Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association...*, London, November 1864

Reproduced from the pamphlet

# Karl Marx

## [RESOLUTIONS ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE PROVISIONAL CENTRAL COUNCIL[14]]

### I

That persons residing in any part of England can join the Association, but that no member can be elected upon the General Committee who is unable to attend its meetings, and assist in its deliberations.[a]

### II

That no one be elected on the Central Council who has not previously paid his annual subscription as a member of this Association.

### III

That nominations for the Central Council shall be made at least a week previous to the election, such election to take place in the absence of the candidate, and that the person to be elected shall before his nomination have taken a card of membership.

Adopted by the Central Council on November 8 and 29, 1864 and January 24, 1865

Resolution I was first published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper,* No. 161, November 12, 1864; resolutions II and III were first published, in Russian, in *Generalny Sovet Pervogo Internatsionala. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1961

Resolution I is reproduced from the newspaper, resolutions II and III from the Minute Book of the General Council

[a] As entered in the Minute Book of the General Council, see this volume, p. 353—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [RESOLUTIONS ON THE TERMS OF THE ADMISSION OF WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS TO THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION [15]]

### I

That organised bodies of working men be invited to join this Association in their co-operative capacity, the amount of their contributions to be left to their means and discretion.

### II

That societies joining this Association shall have the power to elect a representative to sit on the Central Council, the Council reserving to itself the power to accept or reject such delegates.[a]

Adopted by the Central Council on November 22, 1864

First published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 163, November 26, 1864

Reproduced from the text in the Minute Book of the General Council checked with that in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*

[a] In *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* (No. 163, November 26, 1864) report of this meeting, the Resolution II is formulated as follows: "It was also decided that societies in London who join the Association shall have the power to elect a representative to sit on the Central Council, the Council reserving to itself the power to receive or reject such representative. With regard to societies in the provinces who may join, it was decided that they should have the power to elect a corresponding member of the Association".— *Ed.*

THE
BEE-HIVE NEWSPAPER.
A JOURNAL OF GENERAL INTELLIGENCE, ADVOCATING INDUSTRIAL INTERESTS

Karl Marx

# TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA[16]

Sir,

We congratulate the American people upon your re-election by a large majority.

If resistance to the Slave Power was the reserved watchword of your first election, the triumphant warcry of your re-election is, Death to Slavery.

From the commencement of the Titanic-American strife the working men of Europe felt instinctively that the star-spangled banner carried the destiny of their class. The contest for the territories which opened the dire epopee, was it not to decide whether the virgin soil of immense tracts should be wedded to the labour of the emigrant, or prostituted by the tramp of the slave-driver?

When an oligarchy of 300,000 slave-holders dared to inscribe, for the first time in the annals of the world, "slavery" on the banner of Armed Revolt; when on the very spots where hardly a century ago the idea of one great Democratic Republic had first sprung up, whence the first Declaration of the Rights of Man[17] was issued, and the first impulse given to the European revolution of the 18th century; when on those very spots counter-revolution, with systematic thoroughness, gloried in rescinding "the [...] ideas entertained [...] at the time of the formation of the old Constitution", and maintained "slavery to be a beneficent institution", indeed the only solution of the great problem of "the relation of labour to capital", and cynically proclaimed property in man "the corner-stone of the new edifice",[a] then the working

[a] From the speech of A. Stephens, a leading Southern slave-holder, made in Savannah on March 21, 1861. See report in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6215, March 27, 1861.—*Ed.*

classes of Europe understood at once, even before the fanatic partisanship of the upper classes for the Confederate gentry had given its dismal warning, that the slave-holders' rebellion was to sound the tocsin for a general holy crusade of property against labour, and that for the men of labour, with their hopes for the future, even their past conquests were at stake in that tremendous conflict on the other side of the Atlantic. Everywhere they bore therefore patiently the hardships imposed upon them by the cotton crisis,[18] opposed enthusiastically the pro-slavery intervention, importunities of their betters—and, from most parts of Europe, contributed their quota of blood to the good cause.

While the working men, the true political power of the North, allowed slavery to defile their own republic; while before the Negro, mastered and sold without his concurrence, they boasted it the highest prerogative of the white-skinned labourer to sell himself and choose his own master; they were unable to attain the true freedom of labour or to support their European brethren in their struggle for emancipation, but this barrier to progress has been swept off by the red sea of civil war.

The working men of Europe feel sure that, as the American War of Independence initiated a new era of ascendancy for the middle class, so the American Anti-Slavery War will do for the working classes. They consider it an earnest of the epoch to come that it fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln, the single-minded son of the working class, to lead his country through the matchless struggle for the rescue of an enchained race and the reconstruction of a social world.

Signed on behalf of the International Working Men's Association

The Central Council

*Le Lubez,* Corresponding Secretary for France, *F. Rybczińsky* (Pole), *Emile Holtorp* (Pole), *J. B. Bocquet, H. Jung,* Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland; *Morisot, Georgy W. Wheeler, J. Denoual, P. Bordage, Leroux, Talandier, Jourdain, Dupont, R. Gray, D. Lama, Setacci, F. Solustri, P. Aldovrandi, D. G. Bagnagatti, G. P. Fontana,* Corresponding Secretary for Italy; *G. Lake, J. Buckley, G. Howell, J. Osborne, J. D. Stainsby, J. Grossmith, G. Eccarius, Friedrich Lessner, L. Wolff, K. Kaub, Henry Bolleter, Ludwig Otto, N. P. Hansen* (Dane), *Karl Pfänder, Georg Lochner, Peter Petersen, Karl Marx,* Corresponding Secretary for Germany, *A. Dick, J. Wolff, J. Whitlock, J. Carter, W. Morgan, William Dell, John Weston, Peter Fox,*

*Robert Shaw, John H. Longmaid, Robert Henry Side, William C. Worley, Blackmoor W., R. Hartwell, W. Pidgeon, B. Lucraft, J. Nieass,*[a]

*G. Odger,* President of Council,
*William R. Cremer,* Honorary General Secretary[b]

Written between November 22 and 29, 1864

First published in *The Daily News,* No. 5813, December 23, 1864

Reproduced from the manuscript checked with the newspaper's text

[a] *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* and *The Miner and Workman's Advocate* have here "Nusperli, Schantzenbach, Smales, Cornelius".—*Ed.*

[b] *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* has here: "18, Greek Street, Soho".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE *BEOBACHTER*[19]]

November 28, 1864
1, Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, London

Dear Sir,

I beg you to accept for publication the enclosed letter concerning Herr *Karl Blind.*

I have sent the same statement in the same form—as a letter to the Stuttgart *Beobachter*—to some Prussian newspapers for publication, and will also arrange for it to be reproduced in a *German newspaper here* so that responsibility for it rests solely with me.

Yours faithfully,
K. Marx

First published in *Der Beobachter,* No. 282, December 3, 1864

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF THE STUTTGART *BEOBACHTER*[20]

Sir,

Through his man-of-straw in Bradford, Dr. Bronner, *Herr Karl Blind* has sent you a long epistle by, for, and about *Herr Blind,* into which, among other curiosities, the following passage slips:

"*I do not wish in this connection to return* to that old *dispute*" in respect of the leaflet *"Zur Warnung" against Vogt* "which was *settled by statements from all concerned,* and which the editorial office has brought up anew."[a]

He "does not wish to return"! What magnanimity!

As evidence that the pompous vanity of Herr Karl Blind occasionally propels Herr Karl Blind beyond the bounds of pure comedy, you make mention of *my work* against *Vogt.* From Blind's reply you and your readers must draw the conclusion that the accusations made in that work against Herr Karl Blind have been *settled by "statements from all concerned".* In actual fact since the appearance of my work, that is for four years, the otherwise so prolific Herr Karl Blind has *never once* dared to "return to the old dispute" with so much as a word, much less with "statements from all concerned".

On the contrary, *Herr Karl Blind* has been content to remain branded an *"infamous liar"* (see pp. 66, 67 of my work[b]). Herr Karl Blind has repeatedly declared in public that he did not *know* by *whom* the leaflet against Vogt had been cast into the world, that *"he had absolutely no part in the affair",* etc. In addition, Herr Karl Blind published a statement by the printer *Fidelio Hollinger,* flanked by another statement by the compositor *Wiehe,* to the effect that the leaflet had neither been printed in Hollinger's printing-shop nor had it emanated from Herr Karl Blind. In my

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[a] "Bradford, 25. Oct.", *Der Beobachter,* No. 268, November 17, 1864. Marx's italics.— *Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 128-29.— *Ed.*

work against Vogt may be found the *affidavits* (statements made under oath) of the compositor Vögele and of *Wiehe* himself made before the *Bow Street Magistrates Court, London,* proving that the same Herr Karl Blind *wrote the manuscript* of the leaflet, *had* it *printed* by Hollinger, *personally corrected* the proofs, *fabricated a false certificate* to refute these facts, and *deviously obtained the signature of the compositor Wiehe* for this false certificate by proffering promises of money from Hollinger, and future gratitude on his own part, and finally sent this false document fabricated by himself, along with the signature he himself had dishonestly obtained, to the *Augsburg Allgemeine*[a] and other German newspapers as morally outraged evidence of my *"malicious invention"*.

Thus publicly pilloried, Herr *Karl Blind* kept silent. Why? Because (see p. 69 of my work[b]) he could only refute the *affidavits* by me by means of *counter-affidavits,* but he found himself "under the grave jurisdiction of England", where *"felony is no joking matter"*.

In the aforementioned letter to your newspaper there are also some strange statements about Herr *Karl Blind*'s American industriousness. In order to clear up this point allow me to cite an extract from a letter from *J. Weydemeyer* that arrived here a few days ago. You will recall that *J. Weydemeyer* used to edit the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* in Frankfurt along with O. Lüning, and was always one of the most stalwart champions of the German workers' party. Shortly after the outbreak of the American Civil War he entered the ranks of the Federals. Summoned by Frémont to St. Louis, he served initially as a captain in the Engineer Corps there, then as lieutenant-colonel in an artillery regiment, and when Missouri was again recently threatened with enemy invasion, he was suddenly given the task of organising the 41st Missouri Volunteer Regiment, which he now commands with the rank of colonel. *Weydemeyer* writes from St. Louis, the capital of Missouri, where his regiment is stationed, as follows[c]:

"You will find enclosed a cutting from a newspaper here, the *Westliche Post,* in which the literary pirate *Karl Blind* is again strutting and swaggering with all his might at the expense of the 'German republicans'. Of course here it is rather irrelevant how he distorts *Lassalle*'s aspirations and agitations; anyone who has read the works of the latter knows what to think of *Blind's harlequinades;* anyone who has not taken the trouble of becoming somewhat better acquainted with that

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[a] This refers to Blind's *Allgemeine Zeitung* statements published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* Nos. 313 and 345. November 9 and December 11, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 130-31.—*Ed.*

[c] Joseph Weydemeyer to Engels, October 1864.—*Ed.*

agitation, may gullibly admire the wisdom and 'staunchness of spirit' of the great man of Baden, conspirator *par excellence* and member of every secret society and future provisional government; such a judgment is of no consequence. *Also people have other things to do here at present than to concern themselves with Blind's protests.* But it would surely be appropriate to rap this *pompous ass* strongly over the knuckles at home, and so I am sending you the article, which is only a small specimen of similar earlier products."

The cutting from the *Westliche Post* sent by J. Weydemeyer is headed: *"A Republican Protest, London, September 17, 1864"*, and is the *American edition* of the *"Republican Protest"* which the same unavoidable *Herr Karl Blind* simultaneously sent under the same title to the *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung*,[a] and then with his customary, assiduous ant-like industriousness forwarded to the London *Hermann*[b] as a reproduction from the *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung*.

A comparison of the two versions of Blind's clumsy handiwork would show how the same Herr Karl Blind, while protesting in Frankfurt and London with a respectable, republican, Cato-like woeful countenance, simultaneously gives free rein in far-off St. Louis to the most malicious idiocy and the vilest impudence. A comparison of the two versions of the "Protest", for which there is no space here, would also result in a new amusing contribution to the method of fabricating letters, circulars, leaflets, protests, provisos, defences, proclamations, appeals, and other similar headshakingly solemn Blindian political recipés, from which there is as little chance of escaping as from Mr. Holloway's pills or Mr. Hoff's malt extract.

Nothing could be further from my mind than to seek to explain a man such as *Lassalle* and the real tendency of his agitation to a grotesque Mazzini-Scapin[c] with nothing behind him but his own shadow. On the contrary, I am convinced that Herr *Karl Blind* is only fulfilling the calling imposed on him by nature and by Aesop in stepping behind the *dead lion*.[d]

*Karl Marx*

*London*, November 28, 1864 1, Modena Villas, Maitland Park

First published in the *Nordstern*, No. 287, December 10, 1864

Published in English for the first time

Printed according to the copy in Mrs. Marx's hand, corrected by the author and collated with the newspaper

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[a] Published in the *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung*, No. 270, September 29, 1864.—*Ed.*
[b] Published in the *Hermann*, No. 2407, October 8, 1864.—*Ed.*
[c] The *Nordstern* has "a grotesque buffoon".—*Ed.*
[d] An allusion to an ass in Aesop's fable "Leo senio confectus".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## ON PROUDHON

### [LETTER TO J. B. SCHWEITZER][21]

[*Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 16, February 1, 1865]

London, January 24, 1865

Dear Sir,

Yesterday I received a letter in which you demand from me a detailed judgment of *Proudhon.* Lack of time prevents me from fulfilling your desire. Added to which I have *none* of his works to hand. However, in order to assure you of my good will I will quickly jot down a brief outline. You can then complete it, add to it or cut it—in short do anything you like with it.[a]

Proudhon's earliest efforts I no longer remember. His school work about the *Langue universelle*[b] shows how unceremoniously he tackled problems for the solution of which he still lacked the first elements of knowledge.

His first work, *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?,* is undoubtedly his best. It is epoch-making, if not because of the novelty of its content, at least because of the new and audacious way of expressing old ideas. In the works of the French socialists and communists he knew *"propriété"* had, of course, been not only criticised in various ways but also *"abolished"* in an utopian manner. In this book Proudhon stands in approximately the same relation to Saint-Simon and Fourier as Feuerbach stands to Hegel. Compared with Hegel, Feuerbach is certainly poor. Nevertheless he was epoch-making *after* Hegel because he laid *stress* on certain points which were disagreeable to the Christian consciousness but important for the progress of criticism, points which Hegel had left in mystic *clair-obscur.*[c]

In this book of Proudhon's there still prevails, if I may be

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[a] The editors of *Der Social-Demokrat* supplied a footnote here: "We found it better to print the letter *without any changes.*"—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to Proudhon's *Essai de grammaire générale.*—*Ed.*

[c] Semi-obscurity.—*Ed.*

allowed the expression, a strong muscular style. And its style is in my opinion its chief merit. It is evident that even where he is only reproducing old stuff, Proudhon discovers things in an independent way—that what he is saying is new to him and is treated as new. The provocative defiance, which lays hands on the economic "holy of holies", the ingenious paradox which made a mock of the ordinary bourgeois understanding, the withering criticism, the bitter irony, and, revealed here and there, a deep and genuine feeling of indignation at the infamy of the existing order, a revolutionary earnestness—all these electrified the readers of *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* and provided a strong stimulus on its first appearance. In a strictly scientific history of political economy the book would hardly be worth mentioning. But sensational works of this kind have their role to play in the sciences just as much as in the history of the novel. Take, for instance, *Malthus*'s book on *Population.*[a] Its first edition was nothing but a "SENSATIONAL PAMPHLET" and *plagiarism* from beginning to end into the bargain. And yet what a stimulus was produced by this *lampoon on the human race*!

If I had Proudhon's book before me I could easily give a few examples to illustrate his *early style.* In the passages which he himself regarded as the most important he imitates *Kant*'s treatment of the *antinomies*—Kant was at that time the only German philosopher whose works he had read, in translations—and he leaves one with a strong impression that to him, as to Kant, the resolution of the antinomies is something *"beyond"* human understanding, i.e., something that remains obscure to him himself.

But in spite of all his apparent iconoclasm one already finds in *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* the contradiction that Proudhon is criticising society, on the one hand, from the standpoint and with the eyes of a French small-holding peasant (later *petit bourgeois*) and, on the other, that he measures it with the standards he inherited from the socialists.

The deficiency of the book is indicated by its very title. The question is so badly formulated that it cannot be answered correctly. *Ancient "property relations"* were superseded by *feudal* property relations and these by *"bourgeois"* property relations. Thus history itself had expressed its criticism upon past *property relations.* What Proudhon was actually dealing with was *modern bourgeois property* as it exists today. The question of what this is

[a] T. R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population.—Ed.*

could have only been answered by a critical analysis of *"political economy"*, embracing the totality of these *property relations,* considering not their *legal* aspect as *relations of volition* but their real form, that is, as *relations of production.* But as Proudhon entangled the whole of these economic relations in the general legal concept of *"property", "la propriété"*, he could not get beyond the answer which, in a similar work published before 1789,[a] *Brissot* had already given in the same words: *"La propriété c'est le vol."*[b]

The upshot is at best that the bourgeois legal conceptions of *"theft"* apply equally well to the *"honest"* gains of the bourgeois himself. On the other hand, since *"theft"* as a forcible violation of property *presupposes the existence of property,* Proudhon entangled himself in all sorts of fantasies, obscure even to himself, about *true bourgeois property.*

During my stay in Paris in 1844 I came into personal contact with Proudhon. I mention this here because to a certain extent I am also to blame for his *"SOPHISTICATION"*, as the English call the adulteration of commercial goods. In the course of lengthy debates often lasting all night, I infected him very much to his detriment with Hegelianism, which, owing to his lack of German, he could not study properly. After my expulsion from Paris Herr *Karl Grün* continued what I had begun. As a teacher of German philosophy he also had the advantage over me that he himself understood nothing about it.

Shortly before the appearance of Proudhon's second important work, the *Philosophie de la misère, etc.,*[c] he himself announced this to me in a very detailed letter in which he said, among other things: *"J'attends votre férule critique."*[d] This criticism, however, soon dropped on him (in my *Misère de la philosophie, etc.,* Paris, 1847), in a way which ended our friendship for ever.

[*Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 17, February 3, 1865]

From what I have said here you can see that Proudhon's *Philosophie de la misère ou Système des contradictions économiques* first contained the real answer to the question *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* In fact it was only after the publication of this work that he had begun his economic studies; he had discovered that the question

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[a] J. P. Brissot de Warville, *Recherches philosophiques sur le droit de propriété et sur le vol, considérés dans la nature et dans la société.—Ed.*

[b] "Property is theft."—*Ed.*

[c] P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou philosophie de la misère.—Ed.*

[d] "I await your severe criticism."—*Ed.*

he had raised could not be answered by *invective,* but only by an *analysis* of modern *"political economy".* At the same time he attempted to present the *system* of economic categories dialectically. In place of *Kant's* insoluble *"antinomies", the Hegelian "contradiction"* was to be introduced as the means of development.

For an estimate of his book, which is in two fat volumes, I must refer you to the refutation I wrote. There I have shown, among other things, how little he had penetrated into the secret of scientific dialectics and how, on the contrary, he shares the illusions of speculative philosophy, for instead of regarding *economic categories as the theoretical expression of historical relations of production, corresponding to a particular stage of development in material production,* he garbles them into pre-existing *eternal ideas,* and how in this roundabout way he arrives once more at the standpoint of bourgeois economy.*

I show furthermore how extremely deficient and at times even schoolboyish is his knowledge of "political economy" which he undertook to criticise, and that he and the utopians are hunting for a so-called *"science"* by means of which a formula for the "solution of the social question" is to be devised *a priori,* instead of deriving science from a critical knowledge of the historical movement, a movement which itself produces the *material conditions of emancipation.* My refutation shows in particular that Proudhon's view of *exchange-value,* the basis of the whole theory, remains confused, incorrect and superficial, and that he even mistakes the utopian interpretation of *Ricardo's* theory of value for the basis of a new science. With regard to his general point of view I have summarised my conclusions thus:

"Every economic relation has a good and a bad side; it is the one point on which M. Proudhon does not give himself the lie. He sees the good side expounded by the economists; the bad side he sees denounced by the socialists. He borrows from the economists the necessity of eternal relations; he borrows from the socialists the illusion of seeing in poverty nothing but poverty (instead of seeing in it the revolutionary, destructive aspect which will

* "When the economists say that present-day relations—the relations of bourgeois production—are *natural,* they imply that these are the relations in which wealth is created and productive forces developed in conformity with the laws of nature. These relations therefore are themselves *natural laws* independent of the influence of time. They are *eternal laws* which must always govern society. Thus there has been history, but there is no longer any" (p. 113 of my work).[a]

[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, p. 174.—*Ed.*

overthrow the old society).[a] He is in agreement with both in wanting to fall back upon the authority of science. Science for him reduces itself to the slender proportions of a scientific formula; he is the man in search of formulas. Thus it is that M. Proudhon flatters himself on having given a criticism of both political economy and of communism: he is beneath them both. Beneath the economists, since as a philosopher who has at his elbow a magic formula, he thought he could dispense with going into purely economic details; beneath the socialists, because he has neither courage enough nor insight enough to rise, be it even speculatively, above the bourgeois horizon....

"He wants to soar as the man of science above the bourgeois and the proletarians; *he is merely the petty bourgeois,* continually tossed back and forth between capital and labour, political economy and communism." *

Severe though the above judgment may sound I must even now endorse every word of it. At the same time, however, one has to bear in mind that when I declared his book to be the code of socialism of the *petit bourgeois* and proved this theoretically, Proudhon was still being decried as an ultra-arch-revolutionary both by political economists and by socialists. That is why later on I never joined in the outcry about his *"treachery"* to the revolution. It was not his fault that, originally misunderstood by others as well as by himself, he failed to fulfil unjustified hopes.

[*Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 18, February 5, 1865]

In the *Philosophie de la misère* all the defects of Proudhon's method of presentation stand out very unfavourably in comparison with *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* The style is often what the French call *ampoulé.*[c] High-sounding speculative jargon, purporting to be German-philosophical, appears regularly on the scene when his Gallic astuteness fails him. A noisy, self-glorifying, boastful tone and especially the twaddle about *"science"* and sham display of it, which are always so unedifying, are continually jarring on one's ears. Instead of the genuine warmth which permeates his first work, he here systematically works himself up into a sudden flush of rhetoric in certain passages. There is in addition the clumsy repugnant show of erudition of the self-taught, whose natural pride in his original reasoning has already

* l. c., pp. 119, 120.[b]

[a] The phrase in brackets was added by Marx in this article.—*Ed.*
[b] See present edition, Vol. 6, p. 178.—*Ed.*
[c] Bombastic.—*Ed.*

been broken and who now, as a *parvenu* of science, feels it necessary to give himself airs with what he neither is nor has. Then the mentality of the petty bourgeois who for instance makes an indecently brutal attack, which is neither shrewd nor profound nor even correct, on a man like *Cabet*—worthy of respect for his practical attitude towards the French proletariat,[22] and on the other hand pays compliments to a man like *Dunoyer* (a "State Councillor", it is true) although the whole significance of this Dunoyer lay in the comic zeal with which, throughout three fat, unbearably boring volumes,[a] he preached a rigorism characterised by Helvétius as follows: *"On veut que les malheureux soient parfaits"* (It is demanded that the unfortunate should be perfect).

The February Revolution certainly came at a very inconvenient moment for Proudhon, who had irrefutably proved only a few weeks before that *"the era of revolutions"* was past for ever. His speech in the National Assembly, however little insight it showed into existing conditions, was worthy of every praise. *After* the June insurrection it was an act of great courage.[23] In addition it had the fortunate consequence that M. *Thiers,* by his reply opposing Proudhon's proposals, which was then issued as a special booklet,[b] proved to the whole of Europe what infantile catechism served this intellectual pillar of the French bourgeoisie as a pedestal.[24] Compared with M. *Thiers, Proudhon* indeed swelled to the size of an antediluvian colossus.

Proudhon's discovery of *"crédit gratuit"*[c] and the *"people's bank"* (banque du peuple), based upon it, were his last economic "deeds". My book *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, Part I, Berlin, 1859* (pp. 59-64) contains the proof that the theoretical basis of his idea arises from a misunderstanding of the basic elements of bourgeois "political economy", namely of the relation between *commodities* and *money,* while the practical superstructure was simply a reproduction of much older and far better developed schemes. That under certain economic and political conditions the credit system can be used to accelerate the emancipation of the working class, just as, for instance, at the beginning of the eighteenth, and again later, at the beginning of the nineteenth century in England, it facilitated the transfer of

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[a] Ch. Dunoyer, *De la liberté du travail ou simple exposé des conditions dans lesquelles les forces humaines s'exercent avec le plus de puissance,* t. I-III, Paris, 1845.—*Ed.*

[b] *Rapport du citoyen Thiers, précédé de la proposition du citoyen Proudhon relative a l'impôt sur le revenu, et suivi de son discours prononcé à l'Assemblée nationale, le 31 juillet 1848.—Ed.*

[c] Free credit.—*Ed.*

wealth from one class to another, is quite unquestionable and self-evident. But to regard *interest-bearing capital* as the *main form of capital* and to try to make a particular form of the credit system, comprising the alleged abolition of interest, the basis for a transformation of society is an out-and-out *petty-bourgeois* fantasy. This fantasy, further diluted, can therefore actually already be found among the *economic spokesmen of the English petty bourgeoisie in the seventeenth century.* Proudhon's polemic with Bastiat (1850) about interest-bearing capital[a] is on a far lower level than the *Philosophie de la misère.* He succeeds in getting himself beaten even by Bastiat and breaks into burlesque bluster when his opponent drives his blows home.

A few years ago Proudhon wrote a prize essay on *Taxation,*[b] the competition was sponsored, I believe, by the government of Lausanne. Here the last flicker of genius is extinguished. Nothing remains but the *petit bourgeois tout pur.*[c]

So far as Proudhon's political and philosophical writings are concerned they all show the same contradictory, dual character as his economic works. Moreover their value is purely local, confined to France. Nevertheless his attacks on religion, the church, etc., were of great merit locally at a time when the French socialists thought it desirable to show by their religiosity how superior they were to the bourgeois Voltairianism of the eighteenth century and the German godlessness of the nineteenth. Just as Peter the Great defeated Russian barbarism by barbarity, Proudhon did his best to defeat French phrase-mongering by phrases.

His work on the *Coup d'état,*[d] in which he flirts with Louis Bonaparte and, in fact, strives to make him palatable to the French workers, and his last work, written against *Poland,*[e] in which for the greater glory of the tsar he expresses moronic cynicism, must be described as works not merely bad but base, a baseness, however, which corresponds to the petty-bourgeois point of view.[25]

*Proudhon* has often been compared to *Rousseau.* Nothing could be more erroneous. He is more like *Nicolas Linguet,* whose *Théorie des loix civiles,* by the way, is a very brilliant book.

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[a] *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon,* Paris, 1850.—*Ed.*

[b] P. J. Proudhon, *Théorie de l'impôt...,* Brussels and Paris, 1861.—*Ed.*

[c] Petty bourgeois pure and simple.—*Ed.*

[d] P. J. Proudhon, *La Révolution sociale démontrée par le coup d'état du 2 décembre,* Paris, 1852.—*Ed.*

[e] P. J. Proudhon, *Si les traités de 1815 ont cessé d'exister? Actes du futur congrès,* Paris, 1863.—*Ed.*

Proudhon had a natural inclination for dialectics. But as he never grasped really scientific dialectics he never got further than sophistry. This is in fact connected with his petty-bourgeois point of view. Like the historian *Raumer,* the petty bourgeois is made up of on-the-one-hand and on-the-other-hand. This is so in his economic interests and *therefore* in his politics, religious, scientific and artistic views. And likewise in his morals, IN EVERYTHING. He is a living contradiction. If, like Proudhon, he is in addition an ingenious man, he will soon learn to play with his own contradictions and develop them according to circumstances into striking, ostentatious, now scandalous now brilliant paradoxes. Charlatanism in science and accommodation in politics are inseparable from such a point of view. There remains only one governing motive, the *vanity* of the subject, and the only question for him, as for all vain people, is the success of the moment, the éclat of the day. Thus the simple moral sense, which always kept a Rousseau, for instance, from even the semblance of compromise with the powers that be, is bound to disappear.

Posterity will perhaps sum up the latest phase of French development by saying that Louis Bonaparte was its Napoleon and Proudhon its Rousseau-Voltaire.

You yourself have now to accept responsibility for having imposed upon me the role of a judge of the dead so soon after this man's death.

Yours very respectfully,

*Karl Marx*

Written on January 24, 1865

First published in *Der Social-Demokrat,* Nos. 16, 17 and 18, February 1, 3 and 5, 1865

Printed according to the newspaper text checked with the rough manuscript which has survived in part

## Frederick Engels

### HERR TIDMANN

OLD DANISH FOLK SONG[26]

Early one morning, when it was day,
Herr Tidmann dressed beside his bed,
And he put on his shirt so fine.
That all the Süder people praise.

And he put on his shirt so fine,
His green silk coat did bravely shine,
Buckskin boots he laced on his legs.
That all the Süder people praise.

Buckskin boots he laced on his legs,
Buckled on gilded spurs so neat,
And went to the Süder district Thing.
That all the Süder people praise.

He went to the Süder district Thing,
Demanded the tax from each *edeling,*
Seven bushels of rye from each man's plough.
That all the Süder people praise.

Seven bushels of rye from each man's plough,
One pig in four from the fattening woods—
But then up stood an aged man.
That all the Süder people praise.

But then up stood an aged man:
"Pay such taxes none of us can.
Before so heavy a tax we pay—"
That all the Süder people praise.

"Before so heavy a tax we pay,
None from this Thing shall go away.
You Süder peasants, stand in a ring."
That all the Süder people praise.

"You Süder peasants, stand in a ring,
Herr Tidmann alive shan't leave the Thing."
The old man struck the very first blow.
That all the Süder people praise.

The old man struck the very first blow,
Down to the ground did Herr Tidmann go.
There lies Herr Tidmann, he streams with blood.
That all the Süder people praise.

There lies Herr Tidmann, he streams with blood,
But the plough goes free on the black soil.
The pigs go free in the fattening woods.
That all the Süder people praise.[a]

This piece of medieval peasant war takes place in the Süder Harde (*harde* means judicial district) north of Aarhus in Jutland. The Thing, the assembled court of the district, handled questions of taxation and administration, as well as court matters. The song shows how the rising nobility confronted the *edelings,* i.e. the free peasants, and also how the peasants put an end to the nobility's arrogance. In a country like Germany, where the propertied class includes as much feudal nobility as bourgeoisie, and the proletariat includes as many agricultural labourers as industrial workers, if not more—the zestful old peasant song will be eminently apposite.

Written not later than January 27, 1865

First published in *Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 18, February 5, 1865

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English in full for the first time

[a] Translated by Alex Miller.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## TO THE EDITOR OF THE *SOCIAL-DEMOKRAT*

### STATEMENT[27]

In No. 16 of your newspaper Herr M. Hess from Paris casts suspicion on *the French members,* with whom he is entirely unacquainted, of *the London Central Committee* of the International Working Men's Association with the words:

"There is really no knowing whether it would matter *if some friends of the Palais-Royal*[a] *also belonged to the London Association,* since it is a public one, etc."

In an earlier issue,[b] while prattling about the newspaper *L'Association,* the same Herr M. H. made similar insinuations about the *Paris friends* of the London Committee. We declare his insinuations to be preposterous slander.

For the rest, we are glad to find in this incident confirmation of our conviction that the Paris proletariat is as irreconcilably opposed as ever to Bonapartism in both its forms, the Tuileries form[c] and the form of the Palais-Royal, and never for a moment considered the plan of selling its historical honour (or should we, instead of *"its historical honour",* say "its historical birthright as bearer of revolution"?) for a mess of pottage. We recommend this example to the German workers.

London and Manchester

Written on February 6, 1865

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx,* Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the rough manuscript

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[a] An allusion to Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon III's cousin nicknamed Plon-Plon. Palais-Royal was his residence.— *Ed.*

[b] *Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 8, January 13, 1865.— *Ed.*

[c] An allusion to Napoleon III whose residence was the Tuileries.— *Ed.*

# FREDERICK ENGELS

## THE PRUSSIAN MILITARY QUESTION AND THE GERMAN WORKERS' PARTY[28]

Written between the end of January and February 12, 1865

First published as a separate pamphlet

Printed according to the pamphlet

Published in English for the first time

Die

# preußische Militärfrage

und die

# deutsche Arbeiterpartei.

Von

Friedrich Engels.

Hamburg.

Otto Meißner.

1865.

Title page of the first edition
of *The Prussian Military Question*
*and the German Workers' Party* by Engels

Until now the debate on the military question has merely been conducted between the government and the feudal party on the one hand, and the liberal and radical bourgeoisie on the other. Now, as the crisis approaches, it is time for the workers' party to make its position known too.

In attempting a critique of the military situation in question, we can only proceed from the actual condition facing us. As long as present conditions persist in Germany and Europe we cannot expect the Prussian government to act with any other interests in mind than those of Prussia herself. No more can we seriously expect the bourgeois opposition to proceed from any other standpoint than that of its own bourgeois interests.

The workers' party, which in all questions at issue between reaction and bourgeoisie stands outside the actual conflict, enjoys the advantage of being able to treat such questions quite cold-bloodedly and impartially. It alone can treat them scientifically, historically, as though they were already in the past, anatomically, as though they were already corpses.

## I

After the attempts at mobilisation in 1850 and 1859[29] there can be but one verdict on the condition of the Prussian army under the old system. Since 1815 the absolute monarchy had been bound by a public promise: not to raise new taxes, nor to float loans without obtaining prior approval from the future representative assembly of the country. It was impossible to break this promise; no loan had the smallest chance of success without such approval. The general system of taxation was however so organised that the increase in yield quite failed to keep pace with the growth of the country's wealth. Absolutism was poor, poor indeed, and the extraordinary expenditure consequent upon the storms of 1830[30] was enough to oblige it to practise the utmost economy. Hence the introduction of two-year military service, and hence a system of economy in all branches of military administration which reduced the equipment to be held in readiness for mobilisation to the very lowest level, with regard both to quantity and quality. Despite this, Prussia's position as a great power was to be maintained; to this end the first field army needed to be as strong as possible at the outbreak of a war and therefore also included the first levy of the *Landwehr*.[31] The necessity for mobilisation at the very first threat of war was thereby ensured and with it the collapse of the whole edifice. This duly occurred in 1850, resulting in a complete and utter fiasco for Prussia.

In 1850 only the material shortcomings of the system became evident; the whole affair was over before the adverse effects on morale could emerge. The funds the Chambers had approved were used to alleviate the material shortcomings as far as possible. As far as possible; for under no circumstances will it be possible to

hold matériel in such a state of readiness as would within 14 days see the called-up reserves and after 14 days the whole of the first levy of the *Landwehr* fully equipped for battle. It should not be forgotten that while the soldiers of the line represented the recruitment of 3 years at most, the reserve and the first levy together represented 9 years' recruitment, and that for every 3 soldiers of the line in battle order therefore, at least 7 called-up men had to be equipped in 4 weeks. Then came the Italian war of 1859 and with it another general mobilisation. On this occasion too a goodly number of material shortcomings were still evident, but they paled into insignificance beside the adverse effects the system had on morale, which were only uncovered now that the state of mobilisation was prolonged. Undeniably the *Landwehr* had been neglected; its battalion-cadres for the most part simply did not exist and had first to be built up; of the existing officers many were unfit for service in the field. But even if all this had not been so, the fact still remained that the officers could not be other than quite estranged from their men, particularly regarding their military ability, and that this military ability was in most cases insufficient for battalions with such officers to be sent with confidence against seasoned troops. If the *Landwehr* officers gave an excellent account of themselves in the Danish war,[32] one should not forget that there is a great difference between a battalion which has $^4/_5$ officers of the line and $^1/_5$ *Landwehr* officers, and the reverse. But there was a further point that was decisive. As might have been realised beforehand, it became obvious at once that the *Landwehr* can certainly be used to fight, especially in defence of their own country, but under no circumstances can they be used for a show of force. The *Landwehr* is a defensive institution which only lends itself to offensive warfare after repelling an invasion, as in 1814 and 1815. A levy consisting for the most part of married men aged from 26 to 32 cannot be stationed idly at the frontiers for months whilst letters from home come in daily telling of the hardship suffered by their wives and children; for the support given to the families of the men called out also proved to be woefully inadequate. Then there was the fact that the men did not know whom they had to fight, the French or the Austrians—neither of whom had at that time injured Prussia in any way. How could such troops, demoralised by months of inactivity, be expected to attack highly organised and battle-hardened armies?

That a change was inevitable is obvious. In the prevailing circumstances, Prussia's first field army needed to be more strongly organised. How was this achieved?

The 36 regiments of conscripted infantry of the *Landwehr* were allowed to continue in existence for the time being, but were gradually transformed into new regiments of the line. Little by little the cavalry and artillery were also expanded until they achieved equivalent strength to the reinforced infantry; and finally the siege-artillery was detached from the field artillery, which was an improvement in any event, especially for Prussia. In a nutshell, the infantry was doubled and the cavalry and artillery expanded by about one half. In order to maintain this increased standing army, it was proposed to extend the period of service in the line from 5 years to 7—3 years with the colours (in the case of the infantry), 4 in the reserve; on the other hand, liability for the second levy of the *Landwehr* was to be cut by 4 years; and finally annual recruitment was to be increased from the previous figure of 40,000 to 63,000. In the meantime, the *Landwehr* was completely neglected.

The increased battalions, squadrons and batteries thus decreed corresponded almost exactly to the increase in Prussia's population from 10 million in 1815 to 18 million in 1861; since Prussia's wealth has meanwhile grown faster than her population, and since the other major European states have strengthened their armies to a much greater degree since 1815, such an increase in the number of cadres was undoubtedly not excessive. At the same time, of all the obligations borne by conscripts, the proposal added only to those of the youngest age-groups—the liability to serve in the reserve—but reduced liability for *Landwehr*-service for the oldest age-groups by twice as much and in fact almost totally did away with the second levy, the first levy more or less taking over the function the second formerly had.

On the other hand, the following objections could be made to the plan:

Universal conscription—incidentally the sole democratic institution existing in Prussia, albeit only on paper—marks such an enormous advance on all previous forms of military organisation that, having once existed, even if its implementation left much to be desired, it cannot again be permanently reversed. An army today must be based on one of the two clearly defined systems: either the recruitment of volunteers—which is antiquated and only possible in exceptional cases such as England—or universal conscription. All conscriptive systems and ballots[33] are after all no more than very imperfect forms of the latter. The basic idea behind the Prussian law of 1814 is that every citizen who is physically capable of bearing arms thereby has the obligation to do

so personally in defence of his country, during his years of military fitness; this basic idea is far superior to the principle of purchasing substitutes which we find in every other country having a conscriptive system, and having existed for fifty years it will undoubtedly not succumb to the bourgeoisie's burning desire for the introduction of the "trade in human flesh", as the French call it.

However once we accept that the Prussian military system is founded on universal, compulsory service without substitution, the only way it can be further improved without its own spirit being breached is for its basic principle to be put increasingly into practice. Let us consider how things stand in that respect.

40,000 conscripts for 10 million inhabitants in 1815 makes 4 per thousand. 63,000 conscripts for 18 million inhabitants in 1861 makes $3^1/_2$ per thousand. This represents a deterioration, although it is an improvement compared with the position prior to 1859 when only $2^2/_9$ per thousand were conscripted. Merely to restore the 1815 percentage, 72,000 men would have to be conscripted. (We shall see that every year approximately this number of men or more do indeed enter the army.) But is the fighting potential of the Prussian people exhausted if 4 per 1,000 of the population are recruited each year?

The Darmstadt *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* has time and again shown from the statistics of the middle states that in Germany *a full half* of the young men presenting themselves for recruitment are fit for service. Now according to the *Zeitschrift des preussischen statistischen Bureaus* (March 1864) the number of young men registering in 1861 was 227,005.[a] This would make 113,500 recruits fit for service each year. Of these we will discount 6,500 as not available or morally incapable, which still leaves us with 107,000. Why do only 63,000 of these, or at most 72,000-75,000 actually serve?

In the 1863 session, the Minister for War, von Roon, presented[b] the following analysis of the 1861 levy to the Military Commission of the Assembly:

| | |
|---|---|
| Total population (1858 census) | 17,758,823 |
| Twenty-year-olds liable for military service class of 1861 | 217,438 |

[a] The figures are taken from Dr. Engel, "Resultate des Ersatz-Aushebungsgeschäfts im preussischen Staate in den Jahren von 1855 bis mit 1862".—*Ed.*

[b] On February 10, 1863.—*Ed.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Men liable for military service carried over from previous years, pending final decision | | 348,364 | 565,802 |
| Of these: | | | |
| 1. Untraced | | 55,770 | |
| 2. Moved to other districts and required to register for service there | | 82,216 | |
| 3. Failed to register without being excused | | 10,960 | |
| 4. Enlisted as 3-year volunteers | | 5,025 | |
| 5. Entitled to serve as 1-year volunteers | | 14,811 | |
| 6. Theologians, deferred or exempted | | 1,638 | |
| 7. Liable for naval service | | 299 | |
| 8. Struck off as morally unfit | | 596 | |
| 9. Rejected by the Regional Commission as manifestedly unfit | | 2,489 | |
| 10. Rejected by the Regional Commission as permanently unfit | | 15,238 | |
| 11. Transferred to the Supplementary Reserve[34]: | | | |
| a) Below 5 foot after three musters | 8,998 | | |
| b) Below 5 foot $1^1/_4$ inches after three musters | 9,553 | | |
| c) Temporarily unfit after three musters | 46,761 | | |
| d) By reason of domestic circumstances after three musters | 4,213 | | |
| e) Available after five musters | 291 | 69,816 | |
| 12. Allocated to the Service Corps, not including those recruited for the Service Corps | | 6,774 | |
| 13. Deferred for one year: | | | |
| a) Temporarily unfit | 219,136 | | |
| b) By reason of domestic circumstances | 10,013 | | |
| c) By reason of loss of civil rights and under investigation | 1,087 | 230,236 | 495,868 |
| Remainder available for recruitment | | | 69,934 |
| Actually recruited | | | 59,459 |
| Remainder still available | | | 10,475 |

However imperfect these statistics are, however much they confuse the whole issue under every heading from 1 to 13 by amalgamating the men from the class of 1861 and those from the two previous classes who are still available, they do nevertheless contain some very valuable admissions.

59,459 men were conscripted. 5,025 enlisted as 3-year volunteers. 14,811 were entitled to serve for one year; as it is common knowledge that the authorities are not so punctilious about the fitness of the one-year volunteers because they cost nothing, we may assume that at least half of them, that is, 7,400, did actually enlist. That is a very low estimate; the class of men who qualify for one-year service in any case consists chiefly of people fit for service; those who are unfit at the outset do not even go to the trouble of qualifying. But let us assume 7,400. By this count a total of 71,884 men entered the army in 1861.

Let us take this further. 1,638 men were deferred or exempted as theologians. Why theologians should be too grand to serve is incomprehensible. On the contrary, a year's army service, living in the open air, and contact with the outside world can only benefit them. So without more ado we will recruit them; $^1/_3$ of the total number for the current year, with $^3/_4$ unfit, still leaves 139 men to be included.

18,551 men were rejected for not being of sufficient stature. Note: not rejected for service altogether but "passed *to the reserve*". Therefore, in the event of war they should serve after all. They are only excused parade-service in peace-time, being insufficiently imposing for that. It is thus admitted that these short men are quite good enough for service, and it is intended to use them even in emergencies. *The fact that* these short men can be quite good soldiers is demonstrated by the French army, which includes men down to 4 feet 8 inches. We therefore have no hesitation in counting them in with the military resources of the country. The above figure merely includes those who were finally rejected after three musters as being too short; it is thus a number that recurs each year. We will discount half of them as unfit for other reasons and we are then left with 9,275 little fellows whom a capable officer would no doubt soon knock into splendid soldiers.

Then we find 6,774 allocated to the Service Corps, *not including* the men recruited for the Service Corps. The Service Corps is however also part of the army, and there is no evident reason why these men should not spend the short six-month period of service with the Service Corps, which would be of benefit both to them and to the Service Corps.

We thus have:

| | |
|---|---|
| Men actually serving | 71,884 |
| Theologians | 139 |
| Men who are fit but not tall enough | 9,275 |
| Men allocated to the Service Corps | 6,774 |
| Total | 88,072 men, |

who on the *admission* of von Roon's *own* statistics could join the army each year if universal conscription were seriously implemented.

Now let us examine those who are unfit.

| | |
|---|---|
| Deferred for one year as temporarily unfit | 219,136 men |
| Transferred to the reserve after three musters as ditto | 46,761 " |
| Struck off as permanently unfit *only* | 17,727 " |
| Total | 283,624 men, |

so that the men *permanently* unfit on account of *real* physical defects do not even constitute 7% of all the group rejected as unfit and not even 4% of the total number of men appearing annually before the Recruitment Commissions. Almost 17% of the temporarily unfit are transferred each year to the reserve after three musters. These men are thus 23 years old, men at an age when the body's constitution is already beginning to settle down. We are surely not being too optimistic if we assume that of these a third will be quite fit for service by the time they are 25; that makes 15,587 men. The least that may be demanded of these men is that for two years they should serve in the infantry for three months each year, in order to receive at least basic training. This would be the equivalent of an addition of 3,897 men to the peace-time army.

However the whole way in which recruits are medically examined in Prussia has taken a peculiar turn. There were always more recruits than could be enlisted, and yet no one wanted to abandon the appearance of universal conscription. What could have been more convenient than to select the desired number of the best men and to declare the rest unfit on some pretext or other? In these circumstances, which, it should be noted, have obtained in Prussia since 1815 and still obtain today, the concept of unfitness has been extended there quite beyond normal usage, a fact that can best be demonstrated by comparison with the

middle states. There, where there is the possibility of buying out and selection by ballot, there was no reason to declare more people unfit than really were unfit. Conditions are the same as in Prussia; in some states, e.g., Saxony, even worse because the percentage of the industrial population is higher there. Now as we have said, it has been demonstrated time and time again in the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* that in the middle states *fully one half* of the men registering for service are fit, and that must also be so in Prussia. As soon as a war breaks out in earnest, the notion of fitness will undergo drastic revision in Prussia, and the authorities will then discover, too late, to their cost, how many fit men have been allowed to slip away.

Now comes the most wonderful part of all. Of the 565,802 men liable for service about whom a decision has to be reached, we find:

| | |
|---|---|
| Untraced | 55,770 men |
| Moved to other districts *or* required to register for service there | 82,216 " |
| Failed to register without being excused | 10,960 " |
| Total | 148,946 men. |

So for all Prussia's much vaunted system of controls—and anyone who has ever been liable for the army in Prussia knows what that means—a full 27% of men liable for service disappear each year. How is that possible? And what has become of the 82,216 men who are struck off the list because they have "moved to other districts or required to register for service there"? Does one only need to move from Berlin to Potsdam these days in order to escape liability for service? We will assume that here—after all, even Homer nods off at times—the officials have simply blundered in their statistics, that is, that these 82,216 figure *twice* in the grand total of 565,802: firstly in their native district and secondly in the district to which they have migrated. This point really ought to be clarified—the Military Commission of the Chamber has the best opportunity of doing so—since if the number of men really liable for military service is reduced to 483,586 this would have a significant effect on all the percentages. Let us meanwhile assume that such is the case: there still remain 66,730 men who disappear into thin air every year and neither the Prussian system of controls nor the police manages to get them into uniform. This represents nearly 14% of those liable for service. The implication of this is that all the restrictions on

freedom of movement which are imposed in Prussia on the pretext of controlling those liable for military service, are *totally superfluous.* It is well known that real emigration from Prussia is *very small* and bears no comparison with the number of missing recruits. Nor do these men, numbering almost 67,000, all emigrate. The majority of them either never leave the country or go abroad only for a short time. Indeed all the measures designed to prevent evasion of military duty are quite ineffective and at best an incitement to emigration. The overwhelming majority of young people cannot emigrate in any case. All that is needed is to insist strictly and without mercy that men who have avoided recruitment should make up the time afterwards, and then the whole rigmarole of harassment and paperwork would be unnecessary and there would be more recruits than previously.

In order to be quite certain of our position, we shall by the way only take as proven those facts which emerge from Herr von Roon's own statistics: in other words that not counting the one-year volunteers, 85,000 young men can be recruited each year. Now the strength of the present peace-time army is approximately 210,000 men. If the period of service is two years, 85,000 men per year together will make 170,000 men, to which must be added officers, non-commissioned officers and re-enlisted soldiers, some 25,000-35,000 men, making a total of 195,000 to 205,000 men, or 202,000 to 212,000 men including the one-year volunteers. With two-year service for the infantry and foot-artillery (we shall deal with the cavalry later), even taking the government's own figures, the total strength of the reorganised army could be brought up to its full peace-time level. If universal conscription were *really* implemented, with two-year service there would very probably be 30,000 more men; it would therefore be possible to release some of the men after just 1 or $1^1/_2$ years, to avoid exceeding the figure of 200,000 to 210,000 men. As a reward for keenness, such early release would be of more use to the army as a whole than an extra six months' service.

War-time strength would then be as follows:

The reorganisation plan envisages 4 years' annual intake of 63,000 men, which makes 252,000 reservists. 3 years' annual intake of 85,000 men produce 255,000 reservists. This is surely just as good as the reorganisation plan. (As it is here only a question of the *relative numbers,* it makes no difference that we are here completely ignoring the reduction in the year-groups serving in the reserve.)

It is in this that the weakness of the reorganisation plan resides.

Whilst in appearance reverting to the original concept of universal conscription, which cannot of course function without a large army-reserve in the form of a *Landwehr,* it in fact executes an about-turn in the direction of the Franco-Austrian cadre-system,[35] and thereby introduces an element of uncertainty into the Prussian military system which cannot fail to have the direct consequences. The two systems cannot be mixed, one cannot have the advantages of both systems at the same time. It is undeniable and has never been disputed that a cadre-system with a long period of service and liability for immediate mobilisation confers great advantages at the outbreak of war. The men know each other better; even those on leave, and leave is mostly only granted for short periods at a time, regard themselves as soldiers throughout their leave and are constantly ready to be called to the colours at a moment's notice, which the Prussian reservists are certainly not; consequently battalions are necessarily a great deal steadier when they come under fire for the first time. Against this it may be argued that, if one considers this system best, one might just as well adopt the English system of ten years' service with the colours; that the French undoubtedly gained far more from their Algerian campaigns and the wars in the Crimea and Italy[36] than from long service; and finally that by this system only some of the men fit to bear arms can be trained, in other words by no means all of the nation's potential is exploited. Furthermore, experience shows that the German soldier readily accustoms himself to being under fire, and three hard-fought and at least partially successful engagements do as much for an otherwise good battalion as a whole year of extra service. For a state such as Prussia the cadre-system is an impossibility. With the cadre-system, Prussia could attain an army of 300,000 to 400,000 men *at the very most* with a peace-time strength of 200,000 men. But if she is to maintain herself as a Great Power, she requires as many as this simply to move the first field army out, in other words, for any serious war, she needs 500,000 to 600,000 men, including fortress garrisons, reinforcements, etc. If the 18 million Prussians are to put forward in time of war an army approaching the numbers of the 35 million French, 34 million Austrians and 60 million Russians, this can only be done by universal conscription, a short but intensive period of service and a comparatively long period of liability for the *Landwehr.* With this system inevitably some of the immediate striking-power and even battle-worthiness of the troops at the outbreak of war will have to be sacrificed; the state and its policies will become neutral and defensive in character; but we

ought also to remember that the attacking élan of the cadre-system led from Jena to Tilsit and the defensive modesty of the *Landwehr* system with universal conscription led from the Katzbach to Paris.[37] This therefore means: Either a conscriptive system involving substitution with 7-8 year service, of which about half would be with the colours, and then no subsequent liability for *Landwehr* service; or alternatively universal conscription with 5 or at the most 6 year service, of which two would be with the colours, and then liability for *Landwehr* service, as in Prussia or Switzerland.[38] But for the mass of the people first to have the burden of a conscriptive system and then additionally that of the *Landwehr* system is more than any European nation can take, not even the Turks, who in their military barbarism are still prepared to endure the most. A large number of trained men with short service and long-term liability for recall, or a small number with long service and a short period of liability for recall—that is the question; but the choice has to be either one or the other.

William Napier, who naturally declares the British soldier to be the best in the world, says in his *History of the Peninsular War* that after three years' service the British infantryman is fully trained in every respect.[a] Now it should be realised that the elements constituting the British army at the beginning of this century were the lowest from which an army can possibly be formed. The British army today comprises vastly superior elements, but even these are still infinitely worse, both morally and intellectually, than the elements that make up the Prussian army. And is it suggested that what those British officers achieved in three years with such riff-raff should not be attainable in two years in Prussia, where the raw material for recruitment is so exceptionally receptive to education and in some cases already so highly educated, and is at the outset morally sound?

It is true that soldiers today have more to learn. But that has never been seriously used as an argument against two-year service. The argument always used has been the cultivation of *true military spirit,* which is said only to emerge in the third year. If these gentlemen were to be perfectly honest and if we discount the increased battalion effectiveness which was conceded above, this is far more of a political issue than a military one. True military spirit is intended to prove itself in face of the enemy within[39] rather than abroad. It has never been our experience that the

[a] W. F. P. Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France, from the Year 1807 to the Year 1814,* Vol. III, London, 1833, p. 271.—*Ed.*

individual Prussian soldier learnt anything in his third year except boredom and how to extort schnaps from the recruits and tell bad jokes about his superiors. If the majority of our officers had served as privates or non-commissioned officers even for a year, this could not possibly have escaped their notice.—Experience shows that "true military spirit", insofar as it is a political quality, very rapidly goes to the dogs, never to be revived. Military virtues remain, even after two years' service.

Two years' service is thus perfectly adequate to train our soldiers for infantry duty. Since the field-artillery was detached from the siege-artillery, the same is true of the foot-artillery; any individual difficulties that may emerge here can be overcome either by further division of labour, or else by simplification of the field-artillery's equipment, which is desirable in any case. The enrolment of a larger number of re-enlisted soldiers would similarly raise no problems, but it is particularly in the Prussian army that this category of men is most unwelcome if they are not fitted to be non-commissioned officers—what a *condemnation* of long service! Only in the siege-artillery, with their great variety of equipment, and in the engineers, with their multiplicity of trades, which of course can never be kept entirely apart, will intelligent re-enlisted soldiers be valuable and yet a rarity. The mounted artillery will require the same length of service as the cavalry.

With regard to the cavalry, men born into the saddle need only a short period of service, whilst for those trained to it long service is indispensable. As we have few men born into the saddle, we undoubtedly need the four-year period of service envisaged by the reorganisation plan. The only form of warfare proper to mounted troops is the massed attack with drawn swords, for the execution of which extreme courage and complete confidence of the men in each other are necessary. The men must therefore know that they can rely on each other and on their commanders. This requires long service. But cavalry is useless if the rider has no confidence in his horse; the man must of course be able to ride, and long service is also necessary for him to be able to ensure control over his horse—i.e., more or less any horse which is assigned to him. In this branch of the service, re-enlisted soldiers are highly desirable, and the more like real mercenaries they are, the better, provided they enjoy the trade. We shall be criticised by members of the opposition on the grounds that this would mean a cavalry made up exclusively of mercenaries who would lend themselves to any coup d'état. We would reply: that may well be. But in present conditions the cavalry will always be reactionary (think of the

Baden dragoons in 1849[40]), just as the artillery will always be liberal. That is in the nature of things. A few re-enlisted soldiers more or less will make no difference. And cavalry is useless on the barricades anyway; and it is the barricades in the big cities, and especially the attitude of the infantry and artillery towards them, which nowadays decide the outcome of any coup d'état.

However, besides increasing the number of re-enlisted soldiers, there are also other means of strengthening the striking power and inner cohesion of a short-service army, such as for instance training camps, which the Minister for War, von Roon, himself described as a way of compensating for the reduction in the length of service. Then there is also the rational organisation of training, with regard to which a great deal remains to be done in Prussia. The whole superstitious notion that if you have short service it has to be compensated for by exaggerated precision on the parade-ground, "clockwork" drilling and ridiculously high leg-lift—"swinging from the hip" to kick nature in the teeth—this whole superstitious notion is based on nothing but exaggeration. The Prussian army has repeated this to itself so often that it has finally become an article of faith. What is gained by men thumping their rifles so violently against their shoulders when doing rifle drill that they almost fall over and a most unmilitary shudder, such as is seen in no other army, passes along the whole rank? Finally, improved physical education of youth must be regarded as counter-balancing the reduction in service—and in the most fundamental way. But it will then also be necessary to make quite certain that something really is done. It is true that in every village school parallel and horizontal bars have been set up, but our poor schoolmasters have little idea of what to do with them. At least one retired non-commissioned officer qualified as a gymnastics teacher should be placed in every district and given charge of physical education; care should be taken to see that young people at school are taught over a period of time to march in formation, to move as a platoon and as a company, and to understand the appropriate commands. In 6-8 years this will pay abundant dividends—there will be more recruits and they will be stronger.

In this critique of the reorganisation plan we have, as we said, confined ourselves solely to the military and political facts of the situation as it is. Among them is the assumption that in present circumstances the legal stipulation of two years' service for infantry and foot-artillery was the maximum reduction in the term of service feasible. We are even of the opinion that a state such as Prussia would commit a blunder of the greatest magnitude—

regardless of which party was in power—if it further reduced the normal term of service at the present moment. As long as we have the French army on the one side, the Russian on the other and the possibility of a combined attack by both at the same time, we need troops who will not have to learn the fundamentals of the art of war when they first face the enemy. We therefore totally discount the fantastic notion of a militia army with as it were no term of service at all; for a country of 18 million inhabitants and very exposed frontiers, such an idea is impossible today, and even if circumstances were different, it would not be possible in this form.

Taking all this into account: could an Assembly having Prussia's interests at heart accept the basic features of the reorganisation plan? Our opinion, which is based on military and political factors, is that to strengthen the cadres in the manner in which this was done, to increase the peace-time army to 180,000-200,000 men, to relegate the first levy of the *Landwehr* to the main army reserve or the second field army-cum-fortress garrisons, was acceptable on condition *that universal conscription was strictly implemented, that a two-year term of service with the colours, three with the reserve and up to the 36th birthday with the Landwehr, was fixed by law* and, finally, that *the cadres of the first levy of the Landwehr were re-established.* Were these conditions obtainable? Only few people who have followed the debates will deny that this was possible in the "New Era"[41] and perhaps even after that.

So what attitude did the bourgeois opposition adopt?

## II

The Prussian bourgeoisie, which, as the most advanced section of the whole German bourgeoisie, has a right here to be taken as representative of that whole class, is setting a term to its political existence, thanks to a lack of courage which is without parallel in the history even of that pusillanimous class and which is only excused to some extent by contemporary international events. In March and April 1848 it had the whip-hand; but hardly did the first independent stirrings of the working class begin when the bourgeoisie at once took fright and hastily retreated to shelter behind the self-same bureaucracy and the self-same feudal aristocracy which it had but a moment before conquered with the aid of the workers. The Manteuffel era[42] was the inevitable consequence. At last came the "New Era" — which the bourgeois opposition had done nothing to bring about. This unexpected piece of good fortune turned the heads of the bourgeoisie. It quite forgot the position it had created for itself by its repeated revisions of the constitution, its subordination to the bureaucracy and the feudal aristocracy (even to the extent of restoring the feudal Provincial and District Estates[43]) and its constant retreats from one position to the next. It now believed it had the whip-hand again, and quite forgot that it had itself restored all the powers hostile to it, which, subsequently reinvigorated, held the real power in the state in their possession, just as before 1848. Then the reorganisation of the army went off in its midst like a bombshell.

There are only two ways in which the bourgeoisie can gain political power for itself. Since it is an army of officers without any soldiers and can only acquire these soldiers from the ranks of the workers, it must either ensure that the workers are its allies, or it

must buy political power piecemeal from the powers opposing it from above, in particular from the monarchy. The history of the English and French bourgeoisie shows that there is no other way.

But the Prussian bourgeoisie had lost all its enthusiasm—and what is more quite without reason—for forming a sincere alliance with the workers. In 1848 the German workers' party, then still at a rudimentary stage of development and organisation, was prepared to do the bourgeoisie's work for it at a very modest price, but the latter was more afraid of the slightest independent stirring of the proletariat than it was of the feudal aristocracy and the bureaucracy. Peace bought at the price of servitude appeared more desirable to it than even the mere *prospect* of a freedom-struggle.[44] From that time on, this holy fear of the workers had become a habit with the bourgeoisie, until finally Herr Schulze-Delitzsch began his savings-box campaign.[45] The purpose of this was to show the workers that there could be no greater happiness for them than to be exploited industrially by the bourgeoisie for the rest of their lives, and even for generations to come; and indeed, that they should themselves contribute to this exploitation by themselves supplementing their income through all manner of industrial associations, thereby enabling the capitalists to reduce their wages. But although no doubt the industrial bourgeoisie is the most uneducated of the classes that constitute the German nation, apart from the junior cavalry officers, such a campaign had from the outset no prospect of lasting success with such an intellectually advanced people as the Germans. The more intelligent of the bourgeoisie themselves could not fail to perceive that nothing could come of this, and the alliance with the workers collapsed once more.

Which left bargaining with the government for political power, to be paid for in cash—from the pockets of the people, naturally. The bourgeoisie's *real* power in the state consisted only in the right to approve taxation, and even that was much hedged about with ifs and buts. This, then, is where the lever needed to be applied, and a class so skilled in bargaining could surely not fail to be at an advantage here.

But no. The bourgeois opposition in Prussia—in complete contrast especially to the classical bourgeoisie of England in the 17th and 18th centuries—saw the situation like this: they would bargain for power *without* paying any money for it.

Simply from the bourgeois point of view and taking full account of the circumstances in which the reorganisation of the army was put forward, what policy ought the bourgeois opposition to have

adopted now? If it appraised its own strength correctly, it could not have been unaware that having only just risen again from its humiliation at the hands of Manteuffel—and indeed without exerting itself to that end in the slightest—it was certainly powerless to prevent the plan being put into *actual practice,* a process which was in fact initiated. It could not be unaware that with every session that passed fruitlessly, the new, actually existing arrangement would be harder to abolish; that with each passing year the government would therefore offer less in exchange for the Chamber's approval. It could not be unaware that it was very far from being able to appoint and dismiss ministers, and that the longer the conflict lasted, therefore, the fewer would be the ministers it faced who would be inclined to compromise. Finally, it could not be unaware that it was above all in its own interest not to push the matter to the extreme. For at that stage in the development of the German workers, a serious conflict with the government could not fail to give rise to an independent workers' movement and thereby in the extreme case present it once again with the dilemma: either an alliance with the workers, but this time under far less favourable conditions than in 1848, or alternatively to go on bended knees before the government and confess: *pater, peccavi!*[a]

The liberal and progressist bourgeoisie[46] ought consequently to have subjected the reorganisation of the army and the necessarily concomitant increase in peace-time strength to a cool and objective examination, in which case they would probably have come to approximately the same conclusions as we ourselves. In so doing they should not have forgotten that after all they could not prevent the provisional introduction of the new system and could only delay its eventual consolidation, as long as the plan contained so many correct and useful elements. Above all therefore they ought to have taken good care not to adopt from the outset a directly hostile attitude to reorganisation; they ought on the contrary to have used this reorganisation and the finance that needed to be approved for it to obtain for themselves as much reimbursement from the "New Era" as possible, to convert the 9 or 10 million in new taxation into as much political power for themselves as possible.

And there were certainly enough things to be done in that regard! There was all Manteuffel's legislation concerning the press and the right of association; there were all the powers accorded to

[a] Father, I have sinned! (Luke 15:21).—*Ed.*

the police and bureaucracy which had been taken over unchanged from the absolute monarchy; the emasculation of the courts by disputing their competence; the Provincial and District Estates; above all, the way in which the constitution was interpreted under Manteuffel, which needed to be countered by a new constitutional practice; the attrition of local self-government in the towns by the bureaucracy; and a hundred and one other things for which any other bourgeoisie in the same situation would gladly have paid a tax-increase of $^1/_2$ Taler per head of population and all of which they could have obtained if they had proceeded with a modicum of skill. But the bourgeois opposition thought otherwise. As far as freedom of the press, association and assembly were concerned, Manteuffel's laws had hit upon precisely that degree of freedom under which the bourgeoisie felt comfortable. It could demonstrate gently against the government without let or hindrance; any increase in freedom would have brought less advantage to it than to the workers, and rather than give the workers freedom for an independent movement, the bourgeoisie preferred to submit to a little more coercion on the part of the government. Precisely the same thing applied to the limitation of the powers enjoyed by the police and bureaucracy. The bourgeoisie believed that with the "New Era" ministry it had already got the better of the bureaucracy, and it approved of this bureaucracy keeping a free hand to deal with the workers. It quite forgot that the bureaucracy was far stronger and more vigorous than any ministry that might be well disposed towards the bourgeoisie. And then it imagined that with the fall of Manteuffel the millennium had arrived for the bourgeoisie and that all that was left to do was to reap the ripe harvest of bourgeois hegemony, without paying a penny for it.

But what about all the finance that would have to be approved, when those few years after 1848 had cost so much money, so increased the national debt and raised taxation to such heights?—Gentlemen, you are the representatives of the youngest constitutional state in the world, and you do not know that constitutional government is the most expensive form of government in the world? Almost more expensive than Bonapartism even, which—*après moi le déluge*[a]—pays off old debts by constantly incurring new ones and thus mortgages a century's resources in ten years? The golden days of limited absolutism, whose memory still haunts you, are gone forever.

But what about the clauses in the constitution relating to the

[a] After me the deluge (attributed to Louis XV and Mme. Pompadour).—*Ed.*

continued levying of taxes once they have been approved?—Everyone knows how coy the "New Era" was about asking for money. It would not have been a great loss to have included the costs of reorganisation in the budget, in exchange for a cast-iron guarantee of concessions. It was a question of approving new taxation to cover these costs. Here was an opportunity for being miserly, and for that no better ministry could have been hoped for than that of the "New Era". You would have retained the whip-hand insofar as you had previously held it, and you would have won new instruments of power in other areas.

But would one not have strengthened reaction if one had doubled the army which is its chief weapon?—This is an issue where the progressist bourgeoisie runs into indissoluble conflict with itself. It asks of Prussia that it should play the part of the Piedmont of Germany. This requires a strong army with striking-power. It has a "New Era" ministry which secretly shares the same ideas, the best ministry which in the circumstances it can have. It *denies* this ministry army reinforcements.—Day after day, from morn till night, it talks about nothing but the glory of Prussia, the greatness of Prussia, the growth of Prussia's power; but it *denies* the Prussian army reinforcements which would only be of the same order as those which the other great powers have themselves introduced since 1814.—What is the reason for all this? The reason is that it is afraid these reinforcements might benefit only reaction, might revive the decayed officer-aristocracy and in general give the feudal and bureaucratic-absolutist party the power to inter all constitutional government with a coup d'état.

Admittedly, the progressist bourgeoisie was right not to strengthen reaction, and the army was the surest bastion of reaction. But was there ever a better opportunity to bring the army under the control of the Chamber than this very reorganisation, proposed by the ministry most well-disposed towards the bourgeoisie that Prussia had ever experienced in peaceful times? As soon as the reinforcement of the army had been declared approved on certain conditions, was not this the precise moment in which to try to settle the matter of the cadet-schools, the preferential treatment of the aristocracy and all the other grievances, and to obtain guarantees which would give the officer-corps a more bourgeois character? The "New Era" was clear about one thing only: that the reinforcement of the army had to be pushed through. The devious paths and subterfuges by which it carried reorganisation through proved more than anything its bad conscience and its fear of the deputies. This

opportunity needed to be seized with both hands; such a chance for the bourgeoisie could not be expected again in a hundred years. What might not be extracted from this ministry, in point of detail, if the progressist bourgeoisie viewed the situation not as misers but as great speculators!

And then what about the practical consequences of reorganisation on the officer-corps itself! Officers had to be found for twice the number of battalions. The cadet-schools became totally inadequate. There had never been such liberality before in peace-time; lieutenant's commissions were positively offered as bounty to students, probationary lawyers and all educated young men. Anyone seeing the Prussian army again after reorganisation found the officer-corps unrecognisable. We say this not from hearsay but from our own observation. That dialect peculiar to lieutenants had been pushed into the background, the younger officers spoke their natural mother-tongue, they were by no means members of an exclusive caste but more than at any time since 1815 represented all educated classes and all provinces in the state. Here, then, the force of events had enabled this position to be won; it was now just a matter of maintaining and making full use of it. Instead, all this was ignored and talked away by the progressist bourgeoisie, as though all these officers were aristocratic cadets. And yet since 1815 there had never been more bourgeois officers in Prussia than at that very moment.

And incidentally we would attribute the gallant conduct of the Prussian officers before the enemy in the Schleswig-Holstein war[47] chiefly to this infusion of new blood. The old class of junior officers by themselves would not have dared to act so often on their own responsibility. In this connection the government is right in saying that reorganisation had an important influence on the "panache" of these successes; in what other respect reorganisation struck terror into the hearts of the Danes is not apparent to us.

Finally, the main point: would reinforcement of the peace-time army facilitate a coup d'état?—It is perfectly true that armies are the instrument by which coups d'état are effected, and that any reinforcement of an army therefore also increases the feasibility of a coup d'état. But the strength of army required by a great power is not determined by the greater or lesser likelihood of a coup d'état but by the size of the armies of the other great powers. In for a penny, in for a pound. If one accepts a mandate as a Prussian deputy, if one emblazons the Greatness of Prussia and Her Power in Europe on one's escutcheon, then one must also

agree to the means being procured without which there can be no question of Prussia's greatness and power. If these means cannot be procured without facilitating a coup d'état, so much the worse for these gentlemen of Progress. Had they not conducted themselves in such an absurdly cowardly and clumsy fashion in 1848, the era of coups d'état would probably have been long past. In the circumstances obtaining, however, they have no choice but finally to accept the reinforcement of the army in one form or another after all and to keep their anxieties about coups d'état to themselves.

However, there are yet other aspects to the matter. Firstly, it would always have been more advisable to negotiate approval of the means for a coup d'état with a "New Era" ministry than with a ministry headed by Bismarck. Secondly, it is self-evident that every further step towards the real implementation of universal conscription makes the Prussian army a less fitting instrument for a coup d'état. As soon as the demand for self-government and the necessity of the struggle against all recalcitrant elements had once penetrated the whole mass of the people, even 20-21-year-old young men would inevitably have been caught up in the movement, and even under feudal and absolutist officers, they would necessarily have lent themselves less and less readily to the making of a coup d'état. The further the political education of the country progresses, the more intractable will become the mood of the called-up conscripts. Even the present struggle between the government and bourgeoisie must already have provided testimony of this.

Thirdly, the two-year term of service sufficiently outweighs the increase in the army. To the extent that reinforcement of the army increases the government's material capacity for coups d'état, to that extent will the two-year term of service lessen its moral capacity to do so. In the third year of service the continual inculcation of absolutist doctrines and the habit of obedience may bear some immediate fruit among the soldiers, and for the duration of their service. In the third year of service, when the individual soldier has scarcely anything more of a military nature to learn, our compulsory conscript already begins somewhat to resemble the long-serving soldier of the Franco-Austrian system. He acquires some of the characteristics of the professional soldier and as such is always far more compliant than the younger soldier. The retirement of the men in their third year of service would undoubtedly compensate for the recruitment of 60,000 to 80,000 extra men, from the point of view of a coup d'état.

But there is yet another point, which is crucial. We would not deny that circumstances might arise—we know our bourgeoisie too well for that—in which a coup d'état might nevertheless be possible, even without mobilisation and simply using the standing peace-time army. However that is unlikely. In order to carry out a large-scale coup, it will almost always be necessary to mobilise. And this is what will tip the balance. The Prussian peace-time army may in certain circumstances become a mere tool in the government's hands, for domestic use; the Prussian war-time army would certainly never do so. Anyone who has ever had the opportunity of seeing a battalion first on its peace-time footing and then on a war footing will be familiar with the enormous difference in the whole attitude of the men, in their collective character. The men who had joined the army as little more than boys now return to it as men; they bring with them a fund of self-respect, self-confidence, solidity and character which benefits the whole battalion. The relationship of men to officers and officers to men is at once different. Militarily the battalion is substantially stronger for this, but politically it becomes—for absolutist purposes—totally untrustworthy. This could be seen even during the entry to Schleswig, where to the great astonishment of English newspaper-correspondents Prussian soldiers everywhere openly took part in political demonstrations and fearlessly expressed their by no means orthodox views. And this result—the political decomposition of the mobilised army for absolutist purposes—we chiefly owe to the Manteuffel period and to the "Newest" Era. In 1848 the situation was still quite different.

And that is in fact one of the most positive aspects of the Prussian military system, both before and after reorganisation: that with *this* military system Prussia can neither wage an unpopular war nor carry out a coup d'état which has any prospect of permanence. For even if the peace-time army did allow itself to be used for a small coup d'état, then the first mobilisation and the first threat of war would suffice to call all these "achievements" in question once more. Without the ratification of the war-time army, the heroic deeds of the peace-time army against the "enemy within" would be merely of temporary significance; and the longer this ratification takes, the harder it will be to obtain. Reactionary papers have stated that the "army", as opposed to parliament, truly represents the people. By this they meant of course only the officers. If it should ever happen that the gentlemen of the *Kreuz-Zeitung* were to carry out a coup d'état, for which they would need the *mobilised* army, these people's representatives

would give them the shock of their lives, they may be sure of that.

Ultimately however that is not the main safeguard against a coup d'état either. That is to be found in the fact that no coup d'état can enable a government to convene a Chamber which will approve new taxation and loans for it; and that, even if it did manage to find a Chamber willing to do so, no banker in Europe would give it credit on the basis of resolutions passed by such a Chamber. In most European states the position would be different. But it so happens that, since the promises made in 1815[48] and the many futile manoeuvres aimed at raising money from then up until 1848, it is generally accepted that no one may lend Prussia a penny without the legal and unimpeachable approval of the Chamber. Even Herr Raphael von Erlanger, who after all did lend money to the American Confederates,[49] would scarcely entrust cash to a government that had come to power in Prussia through a coup d'état. Prussia owes this simply and solely to the narrow-mindedness of absolutism.

And this is where the strength of the bourgeoisie lies: that if the government gets into financial difficulties—which sooner or later it is bound to do—it is *itself* obliged *to turn to the bourgeoisie for money,* and this time not to the political representatives of the bourgeoisie who are ultimately aware that they exist to provide money, but to the great financiers, who would like a profitable transaction with the government, who measure the credit-worthiness of a government by the same token as they would any private individual and are quite indifferent to the question of whether the Prussian state needs more soldiers or less. These gentlemen only discount bills of exchange which bear three signatures, and if one has only been signed by the Upper House, in addition to the government, and not by the House of Deputies, or by a House of Deputies consisting of puppets, they regard this as unsound practice and decline the deal.

It is at this point that the military question ends and the constitutional question begins. It is immaterial by what errors and complications the bourgeois opposition is now forced into the following position: it must fight the military question through to the end, or it will lose the remnants of political power it still possesses. The government has already called in question its whole right to approve budgets. But if the government sooner or later nevertheless *has to* make its peace with the Chamber, is not the best policy in this situation simply to remain adamant until that moment arrives?

Now that the conflict has in fact been taken to these lengths—the answer can only be yes. The possibility of coming to an agreement on an acceptable basis with this government is more than doubtful. By overestimating its own strength, the bourgeoisie has got itself into the situation of having to use this military question as a test-case to see whether it is the decisive force in the state or nothing at all. If it wins, it will simultaneously acquire the power of appointing and dismissing ministers, such as the English Lower House possesses. If it is vanquished, it will never again achieve any kind of significance by constitutional means.

But no one familiar with our German bourgeoisie will expect such perseverance from it. The courage of the bourgeoisie in political matters is always exactly proportional to the importance that it enjoys in the civil society of the country in question. In Germany the social power of the bourgeoisie is far less than in England and even in France; it has neither allied itself with the old aristocracy as in England, nor destroyed it with the help of the peasants and workers as in France. The feudal aristocracy in Germany is still a power, a power hostile to the bourgeoisie and, what is more, allied to government. Factory industry, the basis of all social power of the modern bourgeoisie, is far less developed in Germany than in France and England, enormous though its progress has been since 1848. The colossal accumulations of capital that frequently occur in individual classes in England and even France are rarer in Germany. This is the reason for the petty-bourgeois character of our bourgeoisie as a whole. The circumstances in which it lives and the range of thought of which it is capable are of a petty kind; is it surprising that its whole mentality is equally petty! How could it be expected to find the courage to fight an issue through to the bitter end? The Prussian bourgeoisie knows very well how dependent it is on the government for its own industrial activity. Concessions[50] and administrative checks weigh down on it like a bad dream. The government can make difficulties for it in any new enterprise, and nowhere more so than in the political sphere! In the course of the dispute over the military question, the bourgeois Chamber can only adopt a negative stance, it is driven purely on to the defensive; meanwhile the government moves over to the attack, interprets the constitution in its own way, disciplines liberal officials, annuls liberal municipal elections, sets all the wheels of bureaucratic power in motion to impress on the bourgeoisie its status as subjects; in fact overruns one line of defence after another and thus conquers for itself a position such as even Manteuffel did not have. Meanwhile the unbudgeted spending of money and levying of taxes quietly

continues, and the reorganisation of the army gains new strength with every year of its existence. In short, the prospect of an eventual victory for the bourgeoisie takes on a more revolutionary character with each passing year, and the government's tactical victories in every field, as they multiply day by day, increasingly assume the form of faits accomplis. On top of this there is a workers' movement completely independent of bourgeoisie and government alike, which compels the bourgeoisie either to make the most ominous concessions to the workers, or to face up to having to act without the workers at the decisive moment. Can the Prussian bourgeoisie be expected in these circumstances to have the courage to remain adamant, come what may? It would have to have changed remarkably for the better since 1848—by its own lights—and the yearning for compromise which has found expression daily in the sighs of the Party of Progress since the opening of this session, is not an auspicious sign. We fear that on this occasion too the bourgeoisie will have no scruples in betraying its own cause.

## III

"What attitude then does the workers' party adopt towards this reorganisation of the army and the ensuing conflict between government and bourgeois opposition?"

For its political activity to develop fully, the working class needs a far wider arena than is offered by the separate states of today's fragmented Germany. Particularism will hamper the free movement of the proletariat, but its existence will never be justified and will never merit serious consideration. The German proletariat will never have any truck with Imperial Constitutions, Prussian hegemonies, tripartite systems[51] and the like, unless it be to sweep them away; it is indifferent to the question of how many soldiers the Prussian state needs in order to prolong its vegetable existence as a great power. Whether reorganisation means some slight increase to the military burden or not, will make little difference to the working class as a *class*. On the other hand it certainly cannot remain indifferent to the question of whether or not universal conscription is fully implemented. The more workers who are trained in the use of weapons the better. Universal conscription is the necessary and natural corollary of universal suffrage; it puts the voters in the position of being able to enforce their decisions gun in hand against any attempt at a coup d'état.

The only aspect of army reorganisation in Prussia which is of interest to the German working class is the increasingly thorough implementation of universal conscription.

More important is the question: what attitude should the

workers' party adopt to the ensuing conflict between government and Chamber.

The modern worker, the proletarian, is a product of the great industrial revolution which has totally revolutionised the whole mode of production in all civilised countries, first in industry and subsequently in agriculture too, especially in the last hundred years, and as a result of it only two classes are still involved in production: the class of capitalists, who are in possession of the tools of labour, raw materials and means of subsistence, and the class of workers who possess neither the tools of labour, nor raw materials, nor food, but must first buy the latter from the capitalists with their labour. The modern proletarian therefore only has direct dealings with *one* class of society, which is hostile to him and exploits him: the class of capitalists, the bourgeoisie. In countries where this industrial revolution is complete, as in England, the worker really does have dealings only with capitalists, for even on the land the large tenant-farmer is nothing other than a capitalist; the aristocrat, who merely lives off the rent from his estates, has no points of social contact with the workers at all.

It is different in countries where this industrial revolution is only now taking place, such as in Germany. Here there are still numerous social elements which have survived from former feudal and post-feudal conditions, and which, if we may so express ourselves, cloud the solution (medium) that is society and deny the social condition of Germany that simple, clear, classical character which distinguishes England's stage of development. Here, in an atmosphere of daily modernisation, and amongst thoroughly modern capitalists and workers, we find the most wonderful antediluvian fossils alive and active: feudal lords, seignorial courts, country squires, birching, central government officials, local government officials, craft corporations, conflicts of authority, bureaucracy with penal powers, etc. And we find that in the struggle for political power all these living fossils are banding themselves together against the bourgeoisie, whose property makes it the most powerful class of the new epoch and who is demanding that the former should surrender political power to it in the name of the new epoch.

Apart from the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the large industry of today also gives rise to a kind of intermediate class between the two, the petty bourgeoisie. This consists partly of the relics of the former semi-medieval burghers and partly of workers who have risen somewhat in the world. Its function consists less in the production than in the distribution of goods; the retail trade is its

main activity. Whilst the old burghers were the most stable class in society, the modern petty bourgeoisie is the most changeable; bankruptcy has become one of its institutions. With its slender capital it shares the status of the bourgeoisie, but by the insecurity of its livelihood it shares that of the proletariat. Its political position is as contradictory as its social being; in general however "pure democracy" is its most proper expression. Its political vocation is to encourage the bourgeoisie in its struggle against the relics of the old society and especially against its own weakness and cowardice, and to help win those freedoms—freedom of the press, freedom of association and assembly, universal suffrage, local self-government—without which, despite its bourgeois character, a timid bourgeoisie can manage passably well but without which the workers can never win their emancipation.

In the course of the struggle between the relics of the old, antediluvian society and the bourgeoisie, sooner or later the time always comes when both combatants turn to the proletariat and seek its support. This mpment usually coincides with the first stirrings of the working class itself. The feudal and bureaucratic representatives of the declining society appeal to the workers to join them in attacking the blood-suckers, the capitalists, the sole foes of the worker; the bourgeoisie make it clear to the workers that they jointly represent the new social era and therefore have a common interest at least with regard to the declining, *old* form of society. At about this time the working class then gradually becomes aware that it is a class in its own right with its own interests and its own independent future; and that gives rise to the question, which has forced itself upon their attention in England, in France and in Germany successively: what attitude should the workers' party adopt towards the combatants?

Above all this will depend on what kind of aims the workers' party, i.e., that part of the working class which has become aware of its common class interests, is striving for in the interests of that class.

It seems that the most advanced workers in Germany are demanding the emancipation of the workers from the capitalists by the transfer of state capital to associations of workers, so that production can be organised, without capitalists, for general account; and as a means to the achievement of this end: the conquest of political power by universal direct suffrage.[52]

This much is now clear: neither the feudal-bureaucratic party, which for the sake of brevity is customarily referred to as *reaction,*

nor the liberal-radical bourgeois party, will be inclined to concede these demands of their own volition. But the proletariat will become a power from the moment when an independent workers' party is formed, and a power has to be reckoned with. Both warring parties know this and will at the appropriate moment therefore tend to make apparent or real concessions to the workers. From which side can the workers wring the greatest concessions?

The mere existence of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is a thorn in the flesh of the reactionary party. Its power is based on suppressing or at least obstructing present-day social development. Otherwise all the possessing classes will gradually be transformed into capitalists and all the oppressed classes into proletarians, and in the process the reactionary party will disappear of its own accord. To be consistent, reaction will indeed attempt to dispose of the proletariat, however not by proceeding to association but by turning the present-day proletarians back into guild-journeymen or restoring them to a state of complete or semi- peasant serfdom. Is such a restoration in the interest of our proletarians? Do they wish to return to the paternal discipline of the guild-master and "his lordship", if such were possible? Surely not. For it is only when the working class became divorced from all these sham possessions and sham privileges of former times and the naked conflict between capital and labour became apparent that the very existence of a single great working class with common interests, a workers' movement and a workers' party became possible at all. And what is more, it is simply impossible to turn back the clock of history in this way. The steam-engines, the mechanical spinning and weaving looms, the steam-ploughs and threshing machines, the railways and electric telegraphs and the steam-presses of the present day do not permit such an absurd backward step, on the contrary, they are gradually and remorselessly destroying all the relics of feudal and guild conditions and are reducing all the petty social contradictions surviving from former times to the one contradiction of world-historical significance: that between capital and labour.

The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, has no other historical function than to proliferate in every field the aforesaid gigantic forces of production and means of communication in present-day society and intensify them to the utmost; to use their credit institutions to take over the means of production handed down from former times as well, landed property in particular; to operate every branch of production by modern means; to destroy

all relics of feudal forms of production and feudal conditions and thus reduce the whole of society to the simple contradiction that exists between a class of capitalists and a class of unpropertied workers. As these contradictions between classes in society are simplified, so the power of the bourgeoisie grows, but at the same time the proletariat's power, class-consciousness and potential for victory grow even more; it is only this increase in the power of the bourgeoisie that gradually enables the proletariat to become the majority, the dominant majority in the state, as it already is in England, but by no means yet in Germany, where in the country peasants of every kind and in the towns small craftsmen and shopkeepers, etc., are still outnumbering it.

Hence: every victory by reaction impedes social development and inevitably delays the time when the workers will be victorious. Every victory by the bourgeoisie over reaction on the other hand is at the same time in one sense a victory for the workers, contributes to the final downfall of capitalist rule and brings the moment closer when the workers will defeat the bourgeoisie.

Let us compare the position of the German workers' party in 1848 and now. There are in Germany still plenty of veterans who were involved in the initial stages of founding a German workers' party before 1848, and who after the revolution helped develop it for as long as the conditions of the time permitted. They all know the trouble it took, even in those agitated times, to set up a workers' movement, to keep it going and to get rid of reactionary guild-minded elements, and how a few years later the whole movement went back to sleep. If a workers' movement has now sprung up as it were of its own accord, what is the explanation? It is that since 1848 large-scale bourgeois industry has made unprecedented advances in Germany, because it has eliminated a great number of small craftsmen and other intermediaries between worker and capitalist, has brought a great number of workers into direct conflict with the capitalists, and in short has created a significant proletariat where previously one did not exist or did so only on a small scale. This development of industry has made a workers' party and workers' movement a necessity.

That is not to say that there may not be times when it appears advisable to reaction to make concessions to the workers. But these concessions are always of a very particular kind. They are never of a political nature. Feudal-bureaucratic reaction will neither extend the franchise nor grant freedom of the press, association and assembly, nor restrict the power of the bureaucracy. The concessions which it does make are always aimed directly against

the bourgeoisie, and are such as do not increase the political power of the workers at all. Thus in England the ten-hour law for factory-workers was passed against the wishes of the manufacturers.[53] Thus in Prussia the strict observance of the regulations concerning working hours in the factories—which exist at present only on paper—and in addition the right of association for workers,[54] etc., could be demanded from the government and possibly obtained. But it is clear that all these concessions on the part of reaction are obtained without anything being offered in return by the workers, and rightly so, for simply by aggravating the bourgeoisie reaction has gained its ends, and the workers owe it no debt of gratitude, nor do they ever express any.

But there is another form of reaction which has enjoyed much success in recent times and is becoming highly fashionable in certain circles; this is the form nowadays called Bonapartism. Bonapartism is the necessary form of state in a country where the working class, at a high level of its development in the towns but numerically inferior to the small peasants in rural areas, has been defeated in a great revolutionary struggle by the capitalist class, the petty bourgeoisie and the army. When the Parisian workers were defeated in the titanic struggle of June 1848 in France, the bourgeoisie had at the same time totally exhausted itself in this victory. It was aware it could not afford a second such victory. It continued to rule in name, but it was too weak to govern. Control was assumed by the army, the real victor, basing itself on the class from which it preferred to draw its recruits, the small peasants, who wanted peace from the rioters in the towns. The form this rule took was of course military despotism, its natural leader the hereditary heir to the latter, Louis Bonaparte.

As far as both workers and capitalists are concerned, Bonapartism is characterised by the fact that it prevents them coming to blows with each other. In other words, it protects the bourgeoisie from any violent attacks by the workers, encourages a little gentle skirmishing between the two classes and furthermore deprives both alike of the faintest trace of political power. No freedom of association, no freedom of assembly, no freedom of the press; universal suffrage under such bureaucratic pressure that election of the opposition is almost impossible; police-control of a kind that had previously been unknown even in police-ridden France. Besides which, sections of the bourgeoisie and of the workers are simply *bought*; the former by colossal credit-swindles, by which the money of the small capitalists is attracted into the pockets of the

big ones; the latter by colossal state construction-schemes which concentrate an artificial, imperial proletariat dependent on the government in the big towns alongside the natural, independent proletariat. Finally, national pride is flattered by apparently heroic wars, which are however always conducted with the approval of the high authorities of Europe against the general scapegoat of the day and only on such conditions as ensure victory from the outset.

The most that such a government can do either for the workers or for the bourgeoisie is to allow them to recuperate from the struggle, to allow industry to develop strongly—other circumstances being favourable—, to allow the elements of a new and more violent struggle to evolve therefore, and to allow this struggle to erupt as soon as the need for such recuperation has passed. It would be the absolute height of folly to expect any more for the workers from a government which exists simply and solely for the purpose of holding the workers in check as far as the bourgeoisie is concerned.

Let us now turn to the specific issue we have before us. What can reaction in Prussia offer the workers' party?

Can this reaction offer the working class a real share of political power?—Definitely not. Firstly no reactionary government has ever done so in recent history, either in England or in France. Secondly, the present struggle in Prussia is concerned precisely with whether the government is to unite all real power in itself or to share it with parliament. And the government will certainly not use every means available to it to wrest power from the bourgeoisie, merely to make a present of that power to the proletariat!

The feudal aristocracy and the bureaucracy can retain their real power in Prussia even without parliamentary representation. Their traditional position at the court, in the army and in the civil service guarantees them this power. They may even not want any special representation, since after all there can be no question in Prussia nowadays of permanent chambers of the nobility and bureaucracy such as existed under Manteuffel. They would therefore dearly like to consign parliament and all its trappings to oblivion.

On the other hand the bourgeoisie and workers can only exercise real, organised, political power through parliamentary representation; and such parliamentary representation is valueless unless it has a voice and a share in making decisions, in other words, unless it holds the "purse-strings". That however is

precisely what Bismarck on his own admission is trying to prevent. We ask: is it in the interests of the workers that this parliament should be robbed of all power, this parliament which they themselves hope to enter by winning universal direct suffrage and in which they hope one day to form the majority? Is it in their interests to set all the wheels of agitation in motion in order to enter an assembly whose words ultimately carry no weight? Surely not.

But what if the government were to overturn the present electoral law and decree universal direct suffrage? Yes, *if*! *If* the government were to carry out such a Bonapartist trick and the workers swallowed it, they would thereby from the start have acknowledged the government's right to suspend universal direct suffrage again by a new edict whenever it thought fit, and what would all this universal direct suffrage be worth then?

*If* the government decreed universal direct suffrage, it would from the outset hedge it about with so many ifs and buts that it would in fact not be universal direct suffrage at all any more.

And regarding universal direct suffrage itself, one has only to go to France to realise what tame elections it can give rise to, if one has only a large and ignorant rural population, a well-organised bureaucracy, a well-regimented press, associations sufficiently kept down by the police and no political meetings at all. How many workers' representatives does universal direct suffrage send to the French chamber, then? And yet the French proletariat has the advantage over the German of far greater concentration and longer experience of struggle and organisation.

Which brings us to yet another point. In Germany the rural population is twice the size of the urban population, i.e., $^2/_3$ earn their living from agriculture and $^1/_3$ from industry. And since in Germany the big landowner is the rule and the small peasant with his strips the exception, put another way that means: if $^1/_3$ of the workers are at the beck and call of the capitalists, $^2/_3$ are *at the beck and call of the feudal lords.* Let those who never stop railing at the capitalists but never utter a word in anger against the feudalists take that to heart![55] The feudalists exploit twice as many workers in Germany as the bourgeoisie; in Germany they are just as directly opposed to the workers as the capitalists. But that is by no means all. The patriarchal economic system on the old feudal estates generates a hereditary dependence of the rural day labourer or cottager on "his lordship" which makes it far more difficult for the agricultural proletarian to enter the urban

workers' movement. The clergy, the systematic obscurantism in the country, the bad schooling and the remoteness of the people from the world at large do the rest. The agricultural proletariat is the section of the working class which has most difficulty in understanding its own interests and its own social situation and is the last to do so, in other words, it is the section which remains the longest as an unconscious tool in the hands of the privileged class which is exploiting it. And which class is that? Not the bourgeoisie, in Germany, but the *feudal aristocracy.* Now even in France, where after all virtually all the peasants are free and own their land, and where the feudal aristocracy has long been deprived of all political power, universal suffrage has not put workers into the Chamber but has almost totally excluded them from it. What would be the consequence of universal suffrage in Germany, where the feudal aristocracy is still a real social and political power and where there are two agricultural day labourers for every industrial worker? The battle against feudal and bureaucratic reaction—for the two are inseparable in our country—is in Germany identical with the struggle for the intellectual and political emancipation of the rural proletariat—and until such time as the rural proletariat is also swept along into the movement, the urban proletariat cannot and will not achieve anything at all in Germany and universal direct suffrage will not be a weapon for the proletariat but a *snare.*

Perhaps this exceptionally candid but necessary analysis will encourage the feudalists to espouse the cause of universal direct suffrage. So much the better.

Or do we imagine that the government is only stultifying the press, the right of association and the right of assembly, as far as the bourgeois opposition is concerned (if indeed there is much left to be stultified in present conditions) in order to make a present of a free press and free rights of association and assembly to the workers? Is not the workers' movement in fact calmly continuing on its own untroubled way?

But that is precisely the crux of the matter. The government *knows,* and the bourgeoisie knows too, that the whole German workers' movement today is only *tolerated,* only survives, for as long as the government *chooses.* For as long as it serves the government's purpose for this movement to exist and for the bourgeois opposition to be faced with new, independent opponents, thus long will it tolerate this movement. From the moment that this movement turns the workers into an independent force, and thereby becomes a danger to the government, there will be an

abrupt end to it all. The whole manner in which the men-of-Progress agitation in the press, associations and assemblies has been put down, should serve as a warning to the workers. The same laws, edicts and measures which were applied in that case, can be applied against them at any time and deal a lethal blow to their agitation; and they will be so applied as soon as this agitation becomes dangerous. It is of the greatest importance that the workers should be clear about this point, and do not fall prey to the same illusion as the bourgeoisie in the "New Era", when they were similarly only *tolerated* but imagined they were already in the saddle. And if anyone should imagine the present government would free the press, the right of association and the right of assembly from their present fetters, he is clearly among those to whom there is no point in talking. And unless there is freedom of the press, the right of association and the right of assembly, no workers' movement is possible.

The present government in Prussia is not so naive as to be likely to cut its own throat. And if it should ever happen that reaction were to throw a few sham political concessions to the German proletariat as a bait—then let us hope the German proletariat will answer with the proud words of the old *Lay of Hildebrand*[56]:

> "Mit gêrû scal man geba infâhan, ort widar orte."
> With the spear one should accept gifts, point against point.

Concerning the *social* concessions which reaction could offer to the workers—reduction of working hours in the factories, improved operation of the factory acts, the right of association, etc.—experience in every country has shown that reaction makes such propositions without the workers having to offer the slightest thing in return. Reaction needs the workers, but the workers do not need reaction. Therefore as long as the workers insist on these points in their own independent agitation, they can rest assured that the moment will come when reactionary elements will make the same demands merely in order to provoke the bourgeoisie; and in this way the workers will make gains over the bourgeoisie, without owing reaction any debt of gratitude.

But if the workers' party can expect nothing from reaction except small concessions which will come to it anyway without it needing to go begging for them—what then can it expect from the bourgeois opposition?

We have seen that the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are both progeny of a new era and that in their social function both are

striving to eliminate the remnants of the bric-à-brac left over from earlier times. It is true that there is a most serious conflict to be settled between them, but this conflict can only be fought out when they are facing each other alone. Only by jettisoning the old lumber can the "decks be cleared for battle"—except that this time the battle will be fought not between two ships but on board the one ship, between officers and crew.

The bourgeoisie cannot win political power for itself nor give this political power constitutional and legal forms without at the same time putting weapons into the hands of the proletariat. As distinct from the old Estates, distinguished by birth, it must proclaim human rights, as distinct from the guilds, it must proclaim freedom of trade and industry, as distinct from the tutelage of the bureaucracy, it must proclaim freedom and self-government. To be consistent, it must therefore demand universal, direct suffrage, freedom of the press, association and assembly and the suspension of all special laws directed against individual classes of the population. And there is nothing else that the proletariat needs to demand from it. It cannot require that the bourgeoisie should cease to be a bourgeoisie, but it certainly can require that it practises its own principles consistently. But the proletariat will thereby also acquire all the weapons it needs for its ultimate victory. With freedom of the press and the right of assembly and association it will win universal suffrage, and with universal, direct suffrage, in conjunction with the above tools of agitation, it will win everything else.

It is therefore in the interests of the workers to support the bourgeoisie in its struggle against all reactionary elements, *as long as it remains true to itself.* Every gain which the bourgeoisie extracts from reaction, eventually benefits the working class, if that condition is fulfilled. And the German workers were quite correct in their instinctive appreciation of this. Everywhere, in every German state, they have quite rightly voted for the most radical candidates who had any prospect of getting in.

But what if the bourgeoisie is untrue to itself and betrays its own class interests, together with the principles these imply?

Then there are two paths left to the workers!

Either to drive the bourgeoisie on against its will and compel it as far as possible to extend the suffrage, to grant freedom of the press, association and assembly and thereby to create an arena for the proletariat in which it can move freely and organise. This is what the English workers have done since the Reform Bill of 1832

and the French workers since the July Revolution of 1830, furthering their own development and organisation precisely through and with this movement, whose immediate aims were purely bourgeois in nature, more than by any other method. There will always be cases like this, for with its lack of political courage the bourgeoisie everywhere will occasionally be untrue to itself.

Or alternatively, the workers might withdraw entirely from the bourgeois movement and leave the bourgeoisie to its fate. This was what happened in England, France and Germany after the failure of the European workers' movement from 1848 to 1850. It can only happen after violent and temporarily fruitless exertions, after which the class needs to rest. It cannot happen when the working class is in a healthy condition, for it would be the equivalent of total political abdication, and a class which is courageous by nature, a class which has nothing to lose and everything to gain, is incapable of that in the long term.

Even if the worst came to the worst and the bourgeoisie was to scurry under the skirts of reaction for fear of the workers, and appeal to the power of those elements hostile to itself for protection against them—even then the workers' party would have no choice but, notwithstanding the bourgeoisie, to continue its campaign for bourgeois freedom, freedom of the press and rights of assembly and association which the bourgeoisie had betrayed. Without these freedoms it will be unable to move freely itself; in this struggle it is fighting to establish the environment necessary for its existence, for the air it needs to breathe.

We are taking it for granted that in all these eventualities the workers' party will not play the part of a mere appendage to the bourgeoisie but of an independent party quite distinct from it. It will remind the bourgeoisie at every opportunity that the class interests of the workers are directly opposed to those of the capitalists and that the workers are aware of this. It will retain control of and further develop its own organisation as distinct from the party organisation of the bourgeoisie, and will only negotiate with the latter as one power with another. In this way it will secure for itself a position commanding respect, educate the individual workers about their class interests and when the next revolutionary storm comes—and these storms now recur as regularly as trade crises and equinoctial storms—it will be ready to act.

The policy of the workers' party in the Prussian constitutional conflict emerges therefore self-evidently:

above all to preserve the organisation of the workers' party as far as present conditions permit;

to drive the Party of Progress on to make *real* progress, as far as possible; to compel it to make its own programme more radical and to keep to it; to chide it and ridicule it mercilessly for all its inconsistencies and weaknesses;

to let the military question itself go the way that it will, in the knowledge that the workers' party will one day also carry out its own, '*German* "army-reorganisation";

but to reply to the hypocritical enticements of reaction with the words:

"With the spear one should accept gifts, point against point."

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## TO THE EDITOR OF THE *SOCIAL-DEMOKRAT*[57]

The undersigned promised to contribute to the *Social-Demokrat* and permitted their being named as contributors on the express condition that the paper would be edited in the spirit of the brief programme submitted to them. They did not for a moment fail to appreciate the difficult position of the *Social-Demokrat* and therefore made no demands that were inappropriate to the meridian of Berlin. But they repeatedly demanded that the language directed at the ministry and the feudal-absolutist party should be at least as bold as that aimed at the men of Progress.[58] The tactics pursued by the *Social-Demokrat* preclude their further participation in it. The opinion of the undersigned as to the royal Prussian governmental socialism and the correct attitude of the workers' party to such deception has already been set out in detail in No. 73 of the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* of September 12, 1847, in reply to No. 206 of the *Rheinischer Beobachter*[a] (then appearing in Cologne), in which the alliance of the "proletariat" with the "government" against the "liberal bourgeoisie" was proposed. We still subscribe today to every word of the statement we made then.

London and Manchester,
February 23, 1865

First published in the *Barmer Zeitung*, No. 60 and the *Elberfelder Zeitung*, No. 60, February 26, 1865

Printed according to the newspaper text checked against the original

[a] A reference to Marx's article "The Communism of the *Rheinischer Beobachter*" (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 220-34).—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [NOTICE CONCERNING *THE PRUSSIAN MILITARY QUESTION AND THE GERMAN WORKERS' PARTY*][59]

A pamphlet by *Frederick Engels* entitled *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* will shortly be published by Otto Meissner in Hamburg (price 6 Sgr.); unlike the most recent "social-democratic" party tactics,[a] this pamphlet bases itself once more on the standpoint adopted by the literary representatives of the proletariat of 1846-1851 and develops this standpoint as against both reaction and the progressist bourgeoisie with regard to the currently topical question of the army and the budget.

Written on February 27, 1865

First published in the *Berliner Reform*, No. 53, the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*, No. 62 and the *Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 62, March 3, 1865

Printed according to the text in the *Berliner Reform* checked with the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*

Published in English for the first time

[a] In the text which Engels sent to Siebel on February 27, 1865, these tactics are described as follows: "the pro-Bismarck direction adopted by the latest 'Social-Democracy' furthermore made it impossible for the people at the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* to collaborate with the organs of *this particular* 'Social-Democracy'." The wording of the notice in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* also contains this variant.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## RESOLUTIONS OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL ON THE CONFLICT IN THE PARIS SECTION[60]

I) *Resolution.* Whereas citizen Tolain has several times tendered his resignation, and the Central Council has as often refused to accept it, the said Council now leaves it to Citizen Tolain and the Paris Administration to reconsider, whether or not under present circumstances, this resignation be opportune. The Central Council confirms beforehand whatever resolution the administration may come to on this point.[61]

II) *Resolution.* In deference to the wishes of a meeting of 32 members of the Working Men's International Association held at Paris February 24,[62] and in obedience to the principles of popular sovereignty and self-government, the Central Council cancels its resolution relating to the appointment of an official vindicator for the French press. At the same time the Council seizes this opportunity of expressing its high esteem for Citizen Lefort, in particular as one of the initiators of the Working Men's International Society and in general for his approved public character,[63] and further it protests that it does not sanction the principle that none but an *ouvrier* is admissible as an official in our society.[64]

III) *Resolution.* The Council resolves that the present Administration with the addition of citizen Vinçard be confirmed.[a 65]

IV. *Resolution*: The Central Council earnestly requests the Administration at Paris to come to an understanding with citizens Lefort and Beluze, so as to admit them, and the group of ouvriers

[a] In the Minute Book (March 7, 1865) this resolution reads: "The Council resolves that citizens Fribourg, Limousin and Tolain be confirmed in their anterior positions and that the addition to the Administration of Citizen Vinçard is acknowledged".— *Ed.*

they represent, to be represented in the Administration by three members, but the Council while emitting such a wish, has no power nor design to dictate.

V. The Administration at Paris having expressed its readiness to acknowledge a direct delegation from the Central Council, the Council accordingly appoints Citizen Schily to be its delegate to the said Administration.[66]

*Private instruction to Schily*

"In case no compromise be arrived at, the Council declare that the group Lefort, **after** *having taken out their cards of membership,* will have the Power under our Statutes (see § 7[a]) to form a Local branch Society."

*This to be held out in terrorem*[b] but confidentially, to Fribourg et Co., in order to induce them to make the necessary concessions, supposed Lefort and Beluze (the director of the Banque du Peuple[67]) are earnest in inducing their group to become members.

Adopted by the Central Council on March 7, 1865

First published in: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe,* Abt. 3, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

Reproduced from the manuscript checked with the Minute Book of the General Council

[a] See this volume, p. 16.— *Ed.*
[b] As a warning.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [SYNOPSIS OF ENGELS' PAMPHLET *THE PRUSSIAN MILITARY QUESTION AND THE GERMAN WORKERS' PARTY*[68]]

*The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party.* By Frederick Engels. (Hamburg, Otto Meissner)

We can warmly commend this pamphlet to our readers as it treats the most urgent issues of the day in Germany with great incisiveness, impartiality and expert knowledge. The old organisation of the Prussian army, the aims behind its reorganisation, the origins of the constitutional conflict in Prussia,[69] the conduct of the opposition by the Party of Progress and the simultaneous feuding between the Party of Progress and the Workers' Party—all this is presented here in a brief, but original and exhaustive account.

Written in the middle of March 1865

First published in the *Londoner Anzeiger*, March 17, 1865

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx

## [REVIEW OF ENGELS' PAMPHLET *THE PRUSSIAN MILITARY QUESTION AND THE GERMAN WORKERS' PARTY*[70]]

*The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party. By Frederick Engels.* (Hamburg, Otto Meissner)

This most important pamphlet falls into three sections.

In the first the author subjects the reorganisation of the Prussian army to the critique of military science. Its main fault he finds in the fact that the reorganisation plan "whilst in appearance reverting to the original concept of *universal conscription*, which cannot ... function without a large army-reserve in the form of a *Landwehr*, ... in fact executes an about-turn in the direction of the *Franco-Austrian cadre-system*".[a]

The second section sharply criticises the *bourgeois opposition*'s handling of the military question. The author comes to the conclusion:

"It is immaterial by what errors and complications the bourgeois opposition is now forced into the following position: it must fight the military question through to the end, or it will lose the remnants of political power it still possesses... Can the Prussian bourgeoisie be expected ... to have the courage to remain adamant, come what may? It would have to have changed remarkably for the better since 1848, ... and the yearning for compromise which has found expression daily in the sighs of the Party of Progress since the opening of this session, is not an auspicious sign."[b]

In the third section the author examines the attitude adopted by "the workers' party towards this reorganisation of the army" and

[a] See this volume, p. 51.— *Ed.*

[b] ibid., pp. 64-66.— *Ed.*

the "ensuing constitutional conflict". His answer is summarised in the following sentences:

"The only aspect of army reorganisation in Prussia which is of interest to the German working class is the increasingly thorough implementation of universal conscription."[a]

The policy which the working class must pursue in the constitutional conflict is: "above all to preserve the organisation of the workers' party as far as present conditions permit; to drive the Party of Progress on to make *real* progress, as far as possible; ...but to reply to the hypocritical enticements of reaction with the words:

'With the spear one should accept gifts, point against point.'"[b]

Written earlier than March 13, 1865

First published in *Hermann*, March 18, 1865

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] ibid., p. 67.— *Ed.*
[b] ibid., p. 79.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## STATEMENT [REGARDING THE CAUSES OF THE BREACH WITH THE *SOCIAL-DEMOKRAT*[71]]

Into his postscript to the statement of resignation of Herren *Rüstow* and *Herwegh* (No. 31 of the *Social-Demokrat*) Herr von Schweitzer incorporates an article dispatched from London to the *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung*[a] as proof of "how *inconsistent* and *utterly unprincipled* the conduct of Herren *Marx* and *Engels* is". He attempts to falsify the facts. Hence the following factual information.

On *November 11, 1864* Herr v. Schweitzer informed me by letter of the foundation of the *Social-Demokrat, organ of the General Association of German Workers* and stated at the time, among other things:

> "We have approached 6-8 proven members of the Party, or at least men standing close to it, in order to gain their collaboration and there seems to be virtually no doubt that these gentlemen will give their consent. Only we consider it *incomparably more important* that *you, the founder of the German Workers' Party*" (these words are underlined by Herr v. Schweitzer himself) "*and its first champion, honour* us with your participation. *We cherish the hope that* after the great loss that has befallen it, you will stand by the side of *an association that may,* if only indirectly, *be traced back to your own activity,* in its hour of dire struggle."

Along with this letter of invitation was enclosed a *prospectus, "printed as a manuscript"*. Far from "Lassalle's words dominating", or "Lassalle's name being inscribed on the banner", as Herr v. Schweitzer now lyingly informs the *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung,* Lassalle is neither quoted nor even mentioned in it. The prospectus contained only three points: "Solidarity of the peoples' interests", "the whole of mighty Germany—a free people's state",

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[a] A reference to Karl Blind's article published in the *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung,* No. 64, March 5, 1865.—*Ed.*

"abolition of the rule of capital". With express reference to *this* prospectus Engels and I agreed to contribute.

On *November 19, 1864* Herr v. Schweitzer wrote to me:

"If you should have any remarks to make regarding the issuing of the prospectus, this should be done *by return.*"

I made no remarks.

Herr v. Schweitzer went on to ask whether,

"we" (the editorial board) "may expect an article from you now and then and whether we might also be *permitted to announce this to our readers*".

Engels and I demanded to know first in what company we were to figure publicly. Herr v. Schweitzer then enumerated them, adding:

"If you should take exception to one or the other of these gentlemen we hope that this will be outweighed by the consideration that no very strict solidarity exists between the contributors to a newspaper."

On *November 28* Herr v. Schweitzer wrote:

"The consent of yourself and Engels has *produced the happiest sentiments in the Party* insofar as it *knows about it.*"

The two first sample issues already contained a good deal of dubious material. I remonstrated. And, *among other things,* I expressed my indignation that from a private letter which I had written to Countess Hatzfeldt[a] on receiving the news of Lassalle's death, a few words of condolence had been torn out, published without my consent with my signature and disgracefully *abused* in order to *"ring in and out"* a servile panegyric of Lassalle.[b] He replied on December 30:

"Dear Sir, Have *patience* with us—matters will *gradually improve,* our position is very difficult. All good things take their time, and *so I hope* that *you will be reassured and wait a while.*"

This *already on December 30, 1864,* when I still only had the first sample issues in my hand!

At the beginning of *January 1865,* after the confiscation of one of the first issues of the *Social-Demokrat,* I congratulated Herr v. Schweitzer on this event, adding that he must publicly break with the Ministry.

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[a] Marx to Sophie von Hatzfeldt, September 12, 1864. See present edition, Vol. 41.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to the article "Ferdinand Lassalle" printed in *Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 1, sample issue, December 15, 1864. The epigraph to this article contained the words from Marx's letter to Countess Hatzfeldt: "'He died young in triumph—as Achilles'. K. Marx."—*Ed.*

On the news of *Proudhon's* death he requested an article on Proudhon. I met his wish by return of post, but took this opportunity of characterising now in his own newspaper "even the *semblance of compromise* with the powers that be" as a contravention of "simple moral sense", and Proudhon's flirtation with Louis Bonaparte after the coup d'état as "baseness".[a] At the same time *Engels* sent him a translation of an Old Danish peasant ballad,[b] in order, in a marginal note, to impress on the readers of the *Social-Demokrat* the necessity of struggle against the rural squirearchy.

But during the same month of *January* I again had to protest against Herr v. Schweitzer's "tactics".[72] He replied on *February 4*:

"As regards *our tactics*, I beg you to consider how difficult our position is. We must definitely seek to *gain strength* first, etc."

*At the end of January* an insinuation by the Paris correspondent of the *Social-Demokrat*[c] prompted Engels and myself to make a statement[d] saying, among other things, that we were glad to find our view confirmed that "the Paris proletariat is as irreconcilably opposed as ever to Bonapartism in both its forms, the Tuileries form and the form of the Palais-Royal, and never for a moment considered the plan of selling its historical honour as the vanguard of the revolution for a mess of pottage". The statement concluded with the words: "We recommend this example to the German workers."

In the meantime, in No. 21 of the *Social-Demokrat*, the Paris correspondent had corrected his earlier allegation[e] and deprived our statement of its immediate pretext. We therefore accepted Herr v. Schweitzer's refusal to print it. But at the same time I wrote to him[f] that "we would express our opinion in detail elsewhere about the relationship of the workers to the Prussian Government". Finally I made one last attempt to demonstrate to him the wretchedness of his *"tactics"*, however honestly they might be meant, with a *practical example, the coalition question.*[73] He replied on February 15:

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[a] See this volume, p. 32.— *Ed.*

[b] ibid., pp. 34-35.— *Ed.*

[c] M. Hess, "Paris, 28. Januar", *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 16, February 1, 1865.— *Ed.*

[d] See this volume, p. 36.— *Ed.*

[e] M. Hess, "Paris, 7. Febr.", *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 21, February 12, 1865.— *Ed.*

[f] On February 13, 1865.— *Ed.*

"If you wish to enlighten me, as in your last letter, on *theoretical (!) questions,* I would *gratefully* accept such *instruction* on your part. But as regards the *practical questions of immediate tactics* I beg you to consider that in order to assess these things one must be in the centre of the movement. You are therefore doing us an injustice if you *express your dissatisfaction with our tactics anywhere and anyhow.* You should only do this if you were absolutely familiar with conditions. Do not forget either that the General Association of [German] Workers is a consolidated body and remains to a certain extent bound to *its traditions.* Things *in concreto* always drag around some kind of *weight about their feet.*"

To this ultimatum from Schweitzer Engels and I replied with our public statement of resignation.[a]

*Karl Marx*

London, March 15, 1865

First published in the *Berliner Reform,* No. 67, March 19, 1865

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[a] See this volume. p. 80.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF THE *BERLINER REFORM*[74]

From No. 68 of the *Reform* and No. 37 of the *Social-Demokrat*[a] forwarded to me here, I see that Herr v. Schweitzer is making embarrassed and mendacious attempts to extricate himself from the "fair impediments"[b] he has prepared for himself. *Habeat sibi!*[c] However, I will not permit him to distort my statement of March 15,[d] in which I simply let him describe himself, into a *statement on Lassalle.* The correspondence between myself and Lassalle in my possession, spanning about fifteen years, totally deprives the Schweitzers and company of the power to misrepresent our personal relationship or to cast suspicion on the motives for my neutral attitude to Lassalle's agitation. The relationship of Lassalle's theoretical works to mine, on the other hand, is a matter for scientific criticism. An occasion may perhaps arise later for discussing individual points. But under any circumstances, reverence prohibits me from making such matters the object of a polemic in the press with sycophants.

Zalt-Bommel, March 28, 1865

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Published in English for the first time

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[a] J. B. Schweitzer, "Der Redacteur des *Social-Demokraten* übersendet uns nachfolgende", *Berliner Reform,* No. 68, March 21, 1865 and "In Betreff der bekannten...", *Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 37, March 22, 1865.— *Ed.*

[b] H. Heine, *Neuer Frühling,* Prolog.— *Ed.*

[c] I don't care!— *Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 87-90.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE "PRESIDENT OF MANKIND"[75]

On my return from Holland to London No. 39 of the *Social-Demokrat* presents me with an asafoetida cake baked by the hand of Herr Bernhard Becker,[a] mainly consisting of Vogtian crumbs of slander. The legally documented refutation of Vogt's lying fairy-tales may be found in my work *Herr Vogt,* London, 1860.[b] But this time, quite contrary to his custom, Herr Bernhard Becker, the "President of Mankind", does not merely content himself with plagiarism. For the first time in his life he attempts to come up with something of his own as well.

"In fact," says the "President of Mankind", "through Dronke Marx pawned for 1,000 Tlr. a manuscript which was redeemed by the Prussian police inspector, Stieber, who was in London spying among the refugees."

And three times during the course of his personal presidential address our Bernhard Becker returns to this "fact" with ever increasing merriment.

On page 124 of my *Herr Vogt* I state in a footnote[c]:

"I myself had made the acquaintance of Bangya in London in 1850, together with his friend at the time, the present General Türr. His underhand dealings with parties of every complexion, Orleanists, Bonapartists, etc., and his association with policemen of every 'nationality' made me suspect him, but he dispelled my suspicions quite simply by showing me a document in *Kossuth*'s

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[a] "Rede des Vereins-Präsidenten Bernhard Becker, gehalten in der Versammlung der Hamburger Mitglieder des Allgemeinen deutschen Arbeiter-Vereins am 22. März 1865", *Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 39, supplement, March 26, 1865.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 17.—*Ed.*

[c] ibid., p. 219.—*Ed.*

own hand in which he (who had formerly been provisional chief commissioner of the police in Komorn under Klapka) was appointed chief commissioner of the police *in partibus*.[a] As a secret chief of police in the service of the revolution he naturally had to keep in 'touch' with police in the service of the governments. In the course of the summer of 1852 I discovered that he had appropriated a manuscript[b] I had asked him to convey to a bookseller in Berlin and steered it into the hands of a German government. After I had written to a Hungarian" (Szemere) "in Paris[76] describing this incident and a number of other striking peculiarities of the man's, and after the Bangya mystery had been completely cleared up thanks to the intervention of a third person well-informed in the matter, I sent an open denunciation, signed by myself, to the *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung* early in 1853."[c]

The "President of Mankind" has obviously not read the detailed denunciation of Bangya (at that time still resident in London) published by me 13 years ago in the *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*. Otherwise he would probably have made his fiction fit the facts somewhat better. So he surrenders himself entirely to the play of his fair fantasy, and what was closer to it than the pleasant association of ideas between London and pawning? But I vouch for the fact that Bernhard Becker has never pawned his manuscripts.

The "President of Mankind" deigns to add:

> "that on the foundation of the Vienna *Botschafter*, the semi-official organ of the Austrian government, Marx sought to win me" (just the same Bernhard Becker) "over as a correspondent for the same by concealing the semi-official character of the nascent journal, which, he said, had been sent to him, emphasising on the contrary that I should deliver out and out red articles."

Herr Bernhard Becker, who at that time was not yet "President of Mankind", was also possessed by the unfailing habit of scribbling "quite colourless articles" in the London *Hermann*, surprised me one fine evening (I had previously chanced to see him once or twice only) with a visit in person to my house, shortly before quietly sneaking away—for good reasons—from London. He pitiably bemoaned his ill-fortune to me and asked if I could

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[a] The phrase *in partibus infidelium* (literally: in the land of infidels) was added to the title of Catholic bishops appointed to purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries. Here it means "in exile".—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11).—*Ed.*

[c] The reference is to K. Marx's article "Hirsch's Confessions" (see present edition, Vol. 12).—*Ed.*

obtain correspondences for him to help him out of his bitter distress. I replied that a few days before Herr Kolatschek had announced the foundation of a new, allegedly "very liberal" Vienna newspaper to Herr S. Borkheim, a political refugee and merchant in the City, sending him some sample issues and requesting him to recruit a London correspondent. At the earnest entreaty of Bernhard Becker I promised to take up the matter on his behalf with Herr Borkheim, who is always willing to oblige refugees. Bernhard Becker also wrote, as far as I remember, one or more sample articles for Vienna. And his unsuccessful attempt to become the correspondent of the *Botschafter* proves my alliance with the Austrian government! Herr Bernhard Becker obviously believes that because Countess Hatzfeldt has given him a post, the Lord God has also given him the intelligence necessary for it!

"Liebknecht," continues Bernhard Becker, "is now systematically working on Countess Hatzfeldt, to whom Marx, too, sends telegrams and letters in order to turn her against the Association."

Herr Bernhard Becker imagines that I take the importance he acquired by bequest[77] quite as "systematically" seriously as he does himself! My letters to Countess Hatzfeldt after the death of Lassalle[a] consisted of a message of condolence, of answers to various questions put to me on account of the planned Lassalle brochure and of discussions on a refutation against a libeller of Lassalle that I had been requested to, and subsequently did, undertake.[b] So as to avoid misunderstandings, however, I thought it very much to the point to remind the Countess in a letter of December 22, 1864 that I did not agree with Lassalle's politics. That concluded our correspondence, in which not a syllable was uttered about the Association. The Countess had requested me among other things to let her know by return whether the release of certain portraits for the planned brochure seemed appropriate to me. I replied by telegraph: No! This single telegram is put into the plural by Herr Bernhard Becker, who is no less eminent a grammarian than he is poet and thinker.

He relates that I also took part in a campaign directed against him at a later date. The sole step on my part in this all-important affair was this: I had heard from Berlin that Bernhard Becker was being persecuted from a certain quarter because he was not willing to allow the *Social-Demokrat* and the Association to be misused in

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[a] Marx's letters to Sophie Hatzfeldt of September 12, October 16, November 26 and 28 and December 22, 1864.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 23-25.— *Ed.*

order to agitate for the incorporation of Schleswig-Holstein into Prussia.[78] At the same time I had been asked to bring this "intrigue" to the notice of Herr Klings in Solingen, over whom a certain degree of influence was attributed to me on account of some earlier contacts, and Herr Philipp Becker in Geneva, in order to give them due warning. I did both things, the former through a Barmen friend,[a] the latter through my friend Schily in Paris, who was labouring, as I was, under the delusion that something human had happened to the "President of Mankind" and that he had actually behaved decently for once. He now naturally distorts the facts of the matter into the exact opposite—being a dialectician.

The "President of Mankind" is, however, not only an eminent writer, thinker, grammarian and dialectician. He is a pathologist of the first water, to boot. My eighteen-month-old carbuncle complaint, which happened to last six months after Lassalle's death, this blood-red disease he explains as due to "pale envy at Lassalle's greatness".

"But," he emphatically adds, "he did not dare to oppose Lassalle in public because he knew full well that Lassalle would have struck him stone dead, like he did Bastiat-Schulze, with his giant's club."

Now precisely in this his last work on "Bastiat-Schulze"[b] Lassalle praises my *Critique of Political Economy,* Berlin, 1859, to the skies, calling it "epoch-making", a "masterpiece", and placing it in line with the works of A. Smith and Ricardo. From this, Herr Bernhard Becker, with that capacity for thought, peculiar to himself, concludes that Lassalle might strike me dead, as he did Bastiat-Schulze. Incidentally Lassalle had quite different ideas of what I "dare". When I wrote to him on an occasion which this is not the place to discuss, saying that Engels and I would, for reasons which I enumerated, be forced to make a public attack on him,[79] he replied at length in a letter lying here before me at this moment, first setting out his objections and then concluding in these terms:

"Consider all this before you speak out loud and publicly. Dissension and breach between us would be a deplorable event for our particular party, which is not a big one as it is!"[c]

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[a] Karl Siebel.—*Ed.*

[b] F. Lassalle, *Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch, der ökonomische Julian, oder: Capital und Arbeit,* Berlin, 1864.—*Ed.*

[c] Lassalle's letter to Marx written in mid-June 1859.—*Ed.*

Herr Bernhard Becker sees a complete contradiction in the fact that I wished to have nothing to do with an obscure international association in which he, Bernhard Becker, is supposed to have figured,[80] while on the contrary participating with great keenness in the International Association formed last September by the leaders of the London trade unions.

Herr Bernhard Becker's gift for discrimination obviously provides support for his power of reasoning. His association, he boasts, comprised all of "400 men" in its heyday, while our Association shows so little modesty that it already numbers 10,000 members in England alone. It is, in fact, impermissible that anything of this sort should take place behind the back as it were of the "President of Mankind".

All in all, and with particular respect to Herr Bernhard Becker's abundance of abilities only briefly suggested by me, one finds that he is hardly justified in his complaints that people have sought to impose too much at once on a man like him; that people have not only forced on him the job of exercising autocratic power as his main field, but also the lesser office of "buying eggs and butter for the house",[81] "on the side". It would seem, however, that a better domestic order could be achieved by re-arranging his dual functions. May his main task in future be the "buying of eggs and butter for the house", and, conversely, let him preside over mankind solely "on the side".

London, April 8, 1865

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# Karl Marx

## A CORRECTION [82]

After the two motions of Messrs. Beales and Leverson, mentioned in No. 30 of your newspaper, had been carried by the Polish meeting in London on March 1, *Mr. Peter Fox* (an Englishman), on behalf of the *International Working Men's Association,* proposed

"that an integral and independent Poland is an indispensable condition of democratic Europe, and that so long as this condition is unfulfilled, revolutionary triumphs on the Continent are short-lived [...] preludes to prolonged periods of counter-revolutionary rule."

After briefly outlining the history of the evils which had befallen Europe as a result of the loss of liberty by Poland, and of Russia's policy of conquest, Mr. P. Fox said that the stand of the *Liberal* party on this question did not coincide with that of the *democratic* society for which he was speaking. The motto of conservative Europe was: an enslaved Europe with an enslaved Poland as a basis. The motto of the International Working Men's Association was, on the contrary: a free Europe based upon a free and independent Poland.

*Mr. Eccarius* (a German worker, Vice-President of the International Working Men's Association) seconded the motion, referring in detail to the share Prussia had taken in the various partitions of Poland. In conclusion he said:

"*The downfall of the Prussian monarchy* is the conditio sine qua non for the establishment of Germany and the re-establishment of Poland."

*Mr. Le Lubez,* a French member of the *International Working Men's Association,* likewise spoke in support of the motion, which was *carried unanimously, amid the continuous cheering of the meeting.*

*The Daily News* and a few other "liberal" London dailies *omitted* this part of the report,[a] being vexed by the triumph of the *International Working Men's Association,* without whose collaboration, incidentally, the Polish meeting at St. Martin's Hall could not have taken place at all. On behalf of the International Working Men's Association, I request you to print this correction.[b]

London, etc.

*H. Jung,*
Corresponding Secretary
of the International Working Men's Association
for Switzerland

Written on April 13, 1865

First published in *Der weiße Adler,* No. 48, April 22, 1865

Printed according to the manuscript checked against the newspaper

[a] "The Late Polish Insurrection", *The Daily News,* March 2, 1865.— *Ed.*

[b] The newspaper editors placed this request at the beginning of the article.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [ADDRESS FROM THE WORKING MEN'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON[83]]

### TO ANDREW JOHNSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Sir,

The demon of the "peculiar institution",[a] for the supremacy of which the South rose in arms, would not allow his worshippers to honourably succumb in the open field. What he had begun in treason, he must needs end in infamy. As Philip II's war for the Inquisition bred a Gérard, thus Jefferson Davis's pro-slavery war a Booth.

It is not our part to call words of sorrow and horror, while the heart of two worlds heaves with emotion. Even the sycophants who, year after year, and day by day, stick to their Sisyphus work of morally assassinating Abraham Lincoln, and the great Republic he headed, stand now aghast at this universal outburst of popular feeling, and rival with each other to strew rhetorical flowers on his open grave. They have now at last found out that he was a man, neither to be browbeaten by adversity, nor intoxicated by success, inflexibly pressing on to his great goal, never compromising it by blind haste, slowly maturing his steps, never retracing them, carried away by no surge of popular favour, disheartened by no slackening of the popular pulse, tempering stern acts by the gleams of a kind heart, illuminating scenes dark with passion by the smile of humour, doing his titanic work as humbly and homely as Heaven-born rulers do little things with the grandiloquence of pomp and state; in one word, one of the rare men who succeed in becoming great, without ceasing to be good. Such, indeed, was the

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[a] This is how A. Stephens, a Southern leader, referred to the slave-owning system defending it in his speech at Savannah on March 21, 1861 (see *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6215, March 27, 1861).—*Ed.*

modesty of this great and good man, that the world only discovered him a hero after he had fallen a martyr.

To be singled out by the side of such a chief, the second victim to the infernal gods of slavery, was an honour due to Mr. Seward. Had he not, at a time of general hesitation, the sagacity to foresee and the manliness to foretell "the irrepressible conflict"?[84] Did he not, in the darkest hours of that conflict, prove true to the Roman duty to never despair of the Republic and its stars? We earnestly hope that he and his son[a] will be restored to health, public activity, and well-deserved honours within much less than "90 days".[85]

After a tremendous civil war, but which, if we consider its vast dimensions, and its broad scope, and compare it to the Old World's 100 years' wars, and 30 years' wars, and 23 years' wars,[86] can hardly be said to have lasted 90 days. Yours, Sir, has become the task to uproot by the law what has been felled by the sword, to preside over the arduous work of political reconstruction and social regeneration. A profound sense of your great mission will save you from any compromise with stern duties. You will never forget that, to initiate the new era of the emancipation of labour, the American people devolved the responsibilities of leadership upon two men of labour—the one Abraham Lincoln, the other Andrew Johnson.

Signed, on behalf of the International Working Men's Association, London, May 13th, 1865, by the Central Council—

*Charles Kaub, Edward Coulson, F. Lessner, Carl Pfänder, N. P. Hansen, Karl Schapper, William Dell, George Lochner, George Eccarius, John Osborne, P. Petersen, A. Janks, H. Klimosch, John Weston, H. Bolleter, B. Lucraft, J. Buckley, Peter Fox, N. Salvatella, George Howell, Bordage, A. Valltier, Robert Shaw, J. H. Longmaid, W. Morgan, G. W. Wheeler, J. D. Nieass, W. C. Worley, D. Stainsby, F. de Lassassie, J. Carter, Emile Holtorp,* Secretary for Poland; *Carl Marx,* Secretary for Germany; *H. Jung,* Secretary for Switzerland; *E. Dupont,* Secretary for France; *J. Whitlock,* Financial Secretary; *G. Odger,* President; *W. R. Cremer,* Hon. Gen. Secretary.

Written between May 2 and 9, 1865

First published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper,* No. 188, May 20, 1865

Reproduced from *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*

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[a] Frederick William Seward.—*Ed.*

# KARL MARX

## [VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT[87]]

Written between the end of May and June 27, 1865

First published as a separate pamphlet in London in 1898

Reproduced from the manuscript

## [PRELIMINARY]

*Citizens,*

Before entering into the subject-matter, allow me to make a few preliminary remarks.

There reigns now on the Continent a real epidemic of strikes, and a general clamour for a rise of wages. The question will turn up at our Congress.[88] You, as the head of the International Association, ought to have settled convictions upon this paramount question. For my own part, I considered it, therefore, my duty to enter fully into the matter, even at the peril of putting your patience to a severe test.

Another preliminary remark I have to make in regard to Citizen Weston. He has not only proposed to you, but has publicly defended, in the interest of the working class, as he thinks, opinions he knows to be most unpopular with the working class. Such an exhibition of moral courage all of us must highly honour. I hope that, despite the unvarnished style of my paper, at its conclusion he will find me agreeing with what appears to me the just idea lying at the bottom of his theses, which, however, in their present form, I cannot but consider theoretically false and practically dangerous.

I shall now at once proceed to the business before us.

## 1) [PRODUCTION AND WAGES]

Citizen Weston's argument rested, in fact, upon two premises: firstly, that the *amount of national production* is a *fixed thing,* a *constant* quantity or magnitude, as the mathematicians would say;

secondly, that the *amount of real wages,* that is to say, of wages as measured by the quantity of the commodities they can buy, is a *fixed* amount, a *constant* magnitude.

Now, his first assertion is evidently erroneous. Year after year you will find that the value and mass of production increase, that the productive powers of the national labour increase, and that the amount of money necessary to circulate this increasing production continuously changes. What is true at the end of the year, and for different years compared with each other, is true for every average day of the year. The amount or magnitude of national production changes continuously. It is not a *constant* but a *variable* magnitude, and apart from changes in population it must be so, because of the continuous change in the *accumulation of capital* and the *productive powers of labour.* It is perfectly true that if a *rise in the general rate of wages* should take place today, that rise, whatever its ulterior effects might be, would, *by itself,* not *immediately* change the amount of production. It would, in the first instance, proceed from the existing state of things. But if *before* the rise of wages the national production was *variable,* and not *fixed,* it will continue to be variable and not fixed *after* the rise of wages.

But suppose the amount of national production to be *constant* instead of *variable.* Even then, what our friend Weston considers a logical conclusion would still remain a gratuitous assertion. If I have a given number, say eight, the *absolute* limits of this number do not prevent its parts from changing their *relative* limits. If profits were six and wages two, wages might increase to six and profits decrease to two, and still the total amount remains eight. Thus the fixed amount of production would by no means prove the fixed amount of wages. How then does our friend Weston prove this fixity? By asserting it.

But even conceding him his assertion, it would cut both ways, while he presses it only in one direction. If the amount of wages is a constant magnitude, then it can be neither increased nor diminished. If then, in enforcing a temporary rise of wages, the working men act foolishly, the capitalists, in enforcing a temporary fall of wages, would act not less foolishly. Our friend Weston does not deny that, under certain circumstances, the working men *can* enforce a rise of wages, but their amount being naturally fixed, there must follow a reaction. On the other hand, he knows also that the capitalists *can* enforce a fall of wages, and, indeed, continuously try to enforce it. According to the principle of the constancy of wages, a reaction ought to follow in this case not less than in the former. The working men, therefore, reacting against

the attempt at, or the act of, lowering wages, would act rightly. They would, therefore, act rightly in enforcing *a rise in wages,* because every *reaction* against the lowering of wages is an *action* for raising wages. According to Citizen Weston's own principle of the *constancy of wages,* the working men ought, therefore, under certain circumstances, to combine and struggle for a rise of wages.

If he denies this conclusion, he must give up the premise from which it flows. He must not say that the amount of wages is a *constant quantity,* but that, although it cannot and must not *rise,* it can and must *fall,* whenever capital pleases to lower it. If the capitalist pleases to feed you upon potatoes instead of upon meat, and upon oats instead of upon wheat, you must accept his will as a law of political economy, and submit to it. If in one country the rate of wages is higher than in another, in the United States, for example, than in England, you must explain this difference in the rate of wages by difference between the will of the American capitalist and the will of the English capitalist, a method which would certainly very much simplify, not only the study of economic phenomena, but of all other phenomena.

But even then, we might ask, *why* the will of the American capitalist differs from the will of the English capitalist? And to answer the question you must go beyond the domain of *will.* A parson may tell me that God wills one thing in France, and another thing in England. If I summon him to explain this duality of will, he might have the brass to answer me that God wills to have one will in France and another will in England. But our friend Weston is certainly the last man to make an argument of such a complete negation of all reasoning.

The *will* of the capitalist is certainly to take as much as possible. What we have to do is not to talk about his *will,* but to inquire into his *power,* the *limits of that power,* and the *character of those limits.*

## 2) [PRODUCTION, WAGES, PROFITS]

The address Citizen Weston read to us might have been compressed into a nutshell.

All his reasoning amounted to this: If the working class forces the capitalist class to pay five shillings instead of four shillings in the shape of money wages, the capitalist will return in the shape of commodities four shillings' worth instead of five shillings' worth. The working class would have to pay five shillings for what, before the rise of wages, they bought with four shillings. But why is this

the case? Why does the capitalist only return four shillings' worth for five shillings? Because the amount of wages is fixed. But why is it fixed at four shillings' worth of commodities? Why not at three, or two, or any other sum? If the limit of the amount of wages is settled by an economic law, independent alike of the will of the capitalist and the will of the working man, the first thing Citizen Weston had to do was to state that law and prove it. He ought then, moreover, to have proved that the amount of wages actually paid at every given moment always corresponds exactly to the necessary amount of wages, and never deviates from it. If, on the other hand, the given limit of the amount of wages is founded on the *mere will* of the capitalist, or the limits of his avarice, it is an arbitrary limit. There is nothing necessary in it. It may be changed *by* the will of the capitalist, and may, therefore, be changed *against* his will.

Citizen Weston illustrated his theory by telling you that when a bowl contains a certain quantity of soup, to be eaten by a certain number of persons, an increase in the broadness of the spoons would not produce an increase in the amount of soup. He must allow me to find this illustration rather spoony. It reminded me somewhat of the simile employed by Menenius Agrippa. When the Roman plebeians struck against the Roman patricians, the patrician Agrippa told them that the patrician belly fed the plebeian members of the body politic.[89] Agrippa failed to show that you feed the members of one man by filling the belly of another. Citizen Weston, on his part, has forgotten that the bowl from which the workmen eat is filled with the whole produce of the national labour, and that what prevents them fetching more out of it is neither the narrowness of the bowl nor the scantiness of its contents, but only the smallness of their spoons.

By what contrivance is the capitalist enabled to return four shillings' worth for five shillings? By raising the price of the commodity he sells. Now, does a rise and more generally a change in the prices of commodities, do the prices of commodities themselves, depend on the mere will of the capitalist? Or are, on the contrary, certain circumstances wanted to give effect to that will? If not, the ups and downs, the incessant fluctuations of market prices, become an insoluble riddle.

As we suppose that no change whatever has taken place either in the productive powers of labour, or in the amount of capital and labour employed, or in the value of the money wherein the values of products are estimated, but *only a change in the rate of wages,* how could that *rise of wages* affect the *prices of commodities?*

Only by affecting the actual proportion between the demand for, and the supply of, these commodities.

It is perfectly true that, considered as a whole, the working class spends, and must spend, its income upon *necessaries.* A general rise in the rate of wages would, therefore, produce a rise in the demand for, and consequently in the *market prices of, necessaries.* The capitalists who produce these necessaries would be compensated for the risen wages by the rising market prices of their commodities. But how with the other capitalists, who do *not* produce necessaries? And you must not fancy them a small body. If you consider that two-thirds of the national produce are consumed by one-fifth of the population—a member of the House of Commons stated it recently to be but one-seventh of the population—you will understand what an immense proportion of the national produce must be produced in the shape of luxuries, or be *exchanged* for luxuries, and what an immense amount of the necessaries themselves must be wasted upon flunkeys, horses, cats, and so forth, a waste we know from experience to become always much limited with the rising prices of necessaries.

Well, what would be the position of those capitalists who do *not* produce necessaries? For the *fall in the rate of profit,* consequent upon the general rise of wages, they could not compensate themselves by a *rise in the price of their commodities,* because the demand for those commodities would not have increased. Their income would have decreased, and from this decreased income they would have to pay more for the same amount of higher-priced necessaries. But this would not be all. As their income had diminished they would have less to spend upon luxuries, and therefore their mutual demand for their respective commodities would diminish. Consequent upon this diminished demand the prices of their commodities would fall. In these branches of industry, therefore, *the rate of profit would fall,* not only in simple proportion to the general rise in the rate of wages, but in the compound ratio of the general rise of wages, the rise in the prices of necessaries, and the fall in the prices of luxuries.

What would be the consequence of *this difference in the rates of profit* for capitals employed in the different branches of industry? Why, the consequence that generally obtains whenever, from whatever reason, *the average rate of profit* comes to differ in the different spheres of production. Capital and labour would be transferred from the less remunerative to the more remunerative branches; and this process of transfer would go on until the supply in the one department of industry would have risen

proportionately to the increased demand, and would have sunk in the other departments according to the decreased demand. *This change effected,* the *general rate of profit* would again be *equalised* in the different branches. As the whole derangement originally arose from a mere change in the proportion of the demand for, and the supply of, different commodities, the cause ceasing, the effect would cease, and *prices* would return to their former level and equilibrium. Instead of being limited to some branches of industry, the *fall in the rate of profit* consequent upon the rise of wages would have become *general.* According to our supposition, there would have taken place no change in the productive powers of labour, nor in the aggregate amount of production, but *that given amount of production would have changed its form.* A greater part of the produce would exist in the shape of necessaries, a lesser part in the shape of luxuries, or what comes to the same, a lesser part would be exchanged for foreign luxuries, and be consumed in its original form, or, what again comes to the same, a greater part of the native produce would be exchanged for foreign necessaries instead of for luxuries. The general rise in the rate of wages would, therefore, after a temporary disturbance of market prices, only result in a general fall of the rate of profit without any permanent change in the prices of commodities.

If I am told that in the previous argument I assume the whole surplus wages to be spent upon necessaries, I answer that I have made the supposition most advantageous to the opinion of Citizen Weston. If the surplus wages were spent upon articles formerly not entering into the consumption of the working men, the real increase of their purchasing power would need no proof. Being, however, only derived from an advance of wages, that increase of their purchasing power must exactly correspond to the decrease of the purchasing power of the capitalists. The *aggregate demand* for commodities would, therefore, not *increase,* but the constituent parts of that demand would *change.* The increasing demand on the one side would be counterbalanced by the decreasing demand on the other side. Thus the aggregate demand remaining stationary, no change whatever could take place in the market prices of commodities.

You arrive, therefore, at this dilemma: Either the surplus wages are equally spent upon all articles of consumption—then the expansion of demand on the part of the working class must be compensated by the contraction of demand on the part of the capitalist class—or the surplus wages are only spent upon some articles whose market prices will temporarily rise. Then the

consequent rise in the rate of profit in some, and the consequent fall in the rate of profit in other branches of industry will produce a change in the distribution of capital and labour, going on until the supply is brought up to the increased demand in the one department of industry, and brought down to the diminished demand in the other departments of industry. On the one supposition there will occur no change in the prices of commodities. On the other supposition, after some fluctuations of market prices, the exchangeable values of commodities will subside to the former level. On both suppositions the general rise in the rate of wages will ultimately result in nothing else but a general fall in the rate of profit.

To stir up your powers of imagination Citizen Weston requested you to think of the difficulties which a general rise of English agricultural wages from nine shillings to eighteen shillings would produce. Think, he exclaimed, of the immense rise in the demand for necessaries, and the consequent fearful rise in their prices! Now, all of you know that the average wages of the American agricultural labourer amount to more than double that of the English agricultural labourer, although the prices of agricultural produce are lower in the United States than in the United Kingdom, although the general relations of capital and labour obtain in the United States the same as in England, and although the annual amount of production is much smaller in the United States than in England. Why, then, does our friend ring this alarum bell? Simply to shift the real question before us. A sudden rise of wages from nine shillings to eighteen shillings would be a sudden rise to the amount of 100 per cent. Now, we are not at all discussing the question whether the general rate of wages in England could be suddenly increased by 100 per cent. We have nothing at all to do with the *magnitude* of the rise, which in every practical instance must depend on, and be suited to, given circumstances. We have only to inquire how a general rise in the rate of wages, even if restricted to one per cent., will act.

Dismissing friend Weston's fancy rise of 100 per cent., I propose calling your attention to the real rise of wages that took place in Great Britain from 1849 to 1859.

You are all aware of the Ten Hours' Bill, or rather Ten-and-a-Half Hours' Bill, introduced since 1848.[90] This was one of the greatest economic changes we have witnessed. It was a sudden and compulsory rise of wages, not in some local trades, but in the leading industrial branches by which England sways the markets of the world. It was a rise of wages under circumstances singularly

unpropitious. Dr. Ure, Professor Senior, and all the other official economical mouthpieces of the middle class, *proved,* and I must say upon much stronger grounds than those of our friend Weston, that it would sound the death-knell of English industry. They proved that it not only amounted to a simple rise of wages, but to a rise of wages initiated by, and based upon, a diminution of the quantity of labour employed. They asserted that the twelfth hour you wanted to take from the capitalist was exactly the only hour from which he derived his profit. They threatened a decrease of accumulation, rise of prices, loss of markets, stinting of production, consequent reaction upon wages, ultimate ruin. In fact, they declared Maximilien Robespierre's Maximum Laws[91] to be a small affair compared to it; and they were right in a certain sense. Well, what was the result? A rise in the money wages of the factory operatives, despite the curtailing of the working day, a great increase in the number of factory hands employed, a continuous fall in the prices of their products, a marvellous development in the productive powers of their labour, an unheard-of progressive expansion of the markets for their commodities. In Manchester, at the meeting, in 1861, of the Society for the Advancement of Science, I myself heard Mr. *Newman*[a] confess that he, Dr. Ure, Senior, and all other official propounders of economic science had been wrong, while the instinct of the people had been right.[92] I mention Mr. W. Newman, not Professor Francis Newman, because he occupies an eminent position in economic science, as the contributor to, and editor of, Mr. Thomas Tooke's *History of Prices,* that magnificent work which traces the history of prices from 1793 to 1856. If our friend Weston's fixed idea of a fixed amount of wages, a fixed amount of production, a fixed degree of the productive power of labour, a fixed and permanent will of the capitalists, and all his other fixedness and finality were correct, Professor Senior's woeful forebodings would have been right, and Robert Owen, who already in 1815 proclaimed a general limitation of the working day the first preparatory step to the emancipation of the working class[b] and actually in the teeth of the general prejudice inaugurated it on his own hook in his cotton factory at New Lanark, would have been wrong.

In the very same period during which the introduction of the Ten Hours' Bill, and the rise of wages consequent upon it,

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[a] Here and below inaccuracy in the manuscript. Should be W. Newmarch.—*Ed.*

[b] R. Owen, *Observations on the Effect of the Manufacturing System,* London, 1815.—*Ed.*

occurred, there took place in Great Britain, for reasons which it would be out of place to enumerate here, *a general rise in agricultural wages.*

Although it is not required for my immediate purpose, in order not to mislead you, I shall make some preliminary remarks.

If a man got two shillings weekly wages, and if his wages rose to four shillings, the *rate of wages* would have risen by 100 per cent. This would seem a very magnificent thing if expressed as a rise in the *rate of wages,* although the *actual amount of wages,* four shillings weekly, would still remain a wretchedly small, a starvation pittance. You must not, therefore, allow yourselves to be carried away by the high-sounding per cents in the *rate* of wages. You must always ask, What was the *original* amount?

Moreover, you will understand, that if there were ten men receiving each 2s. per week, five men receiving each 5s. and five men receiving 11s. weekly, the twenty men together would receive 100s., or £5, weekly. If then a rise, say by 20 per cent., upon the *aggregate* sum of their weekly wages took place, there would be an advance from £5 to £6. Taking the average, we might say that the *general rate of wages* had risen by 20 per cent., although, in fact, the wages of the ten men had remained stationary, the wages of the one lot of five men had risen from 5s. to 6s. only, and the wages of the other lot of five men from 55s. to 70s. One-half of the men would not have improved at all their position, one-quarter would have improved it in an imperceptible degree, and only one-quarter would have bettered it really. Still, reckoning by the *average,* the total amount of the wages of those twenty men would have increased by 20 per cent., and as far as the aggregate capital that employs them, and the prices of the commodities they produce, are concerned, it would be exactly the same as if all of them had equally shared in the average rise of wages. In the case of agricultural labour, the standard wages being very different in the different counties of England and Scotland, the rise affected them very unequally.

Lastly, during the period when that rise of wages took place counteracting influences were at work, such as the new taxes consequent upon the Russian war,[a] the extensive demolition of the dwelling-houses of the agricultural labourers,[93] and so forth.

Having premised so much, I proceed to state that from 1849 to 1859 there took place a *rise of about 40 per cent.* in the average rate of the agricultural wages of Great Britain. I could give you ample

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[a] The Crimean War of 1853-56.—*Ed.*

details in proof of my assertion, but for the present purpose think it sufficient to refer you to the conscientious and critical paper read in 1859 by the late Mr. *John C. Morton* at the London Society of Arts,[94] on *The Forces Used in Agriculture.* Mr. Morton gives the returns, from bills and other authentic documents, which he had collected from about one hundred farmers, residing in twelve Scotch and thirty-five English counties.

According to our friend Weston's opinion, and taken together with the simultaneous rise in the wages of the factory operatives, there ought to have occurred a tremendous rise in the prices of agricultural produce during the period 1849 to 1859. But what is the fact? Despite the Russian war, and the consecutive unfavourable harvests from 1854 to 1856, the average price of wheat, which is the leading agricultural produce of England, fell from about £3 per quarter for the years 1838 to 1848 to about £2 10s. per quarter for the years 1849 to 1859. This constitutes a fall in the price of wheat of more than 16 per cent. simultaneously with an average rise of agricultural wages of 40 per cent. During the same period, if we compare its end with its beginning, 1859 with 1849, there was a decrease of official pauperism from 934,419 to 860,470, the difference being 73,949; a very small decrease, I grant, and which in the following years was again lost, but still a decrease.

It might be said that, consequent upon the abolition of the Corn Laws,[95] the import of foreign corn was more than doubled during the period from 1849 to 1859, as compared with the period from 1838 to 1848. And what of that? From Citizen Weston's standpoint one would have expected that this sudden, immense, and continuously increasing demand upon foreign markets must have sent up the prices of agricultural produce there to a frightful height, the effect of increased demand remaining the same, whether it comes from without or from within. What was the fact? Apart from some years of failing harvests, during all the period the ruinous fall in the price of corn formed a standing theme of declamation in France; the Americans were again and again compelled to burn their surplus of produce; and Russia, if we are to believe Mr. Urquhart, prompted the Civil War in the United States[96] because her agricultural exports were crippled by the Yankee competition in the markets of Europe.[a]

*Reduced to its abstract form,* Citizen Weston's argument would come to this: Every rise in demand occurs always on the basis of a

[a] D. Urquhart, "The Right of Search: Two Speeches (January 20 and 27, 1862)", London, March 1862.—*Ed.*

given amount of production. It can, therefore, *never increase the supply of the articles demanded,* but can *only enhance their money prices.* Now the most common observation shows that an increased demand will, in some instances, leave the market prices of commodities altogether unchanged, and will, in other instances, cause a temporary rise of market prices followed by an increased supply, followed by a reduction of the prices *to* their original level, and in many cases *below* their original level. Whether the rise of demand springs from surplus wages, or from any other cause, does not at all change the conditions of the problem. From Citizen Weston's standpoint the general phenomenon was as difficult to explain as the phenomenon occurring under the exceptional circumstances of a rise of wages. His argument had, therefore, no peculiar bearing whatever upon the subject we treat. It only expressed his perplexity at accounting for the laws by which an increase of demand produces an increase of supply, instead of an ultimate rise of market prices.

## 3) [WAGES AND CURRENCY]

On the second day of the debate[a] our friend Weston clothed his old assertions in new forms. He said: Consequent upon a general rise in money wages, more currency will be wanted to pay the same wages. The currency being *fixed,* how can you pay with this fixed currency increased money wages? First the difficulty arose from the fixed amount of commodities accruing to the working man, despite his increase of money wages; now it arises from the increased money wages, despite the fixed amount of commodities. Of course, if you reject his original dogma, his secondary grievance will disappear.

However, I shall show that this currency question has nothing at all to do with the subject before us.

In your country the mechanism of payments is much more perfected than in any other country of Europe. Thanks to the extent and concentration of the banking system, much less currency is wanted to circulate the same amount of values, and to transact the same or a greater amount of business. For example, as far as wages are concerned, the English factory operative pays his wages weekly to the shopkeeper, who sends them weekly to the banker, who returns them weekly to the manufacturer, who again

[a] Presumably the meeting of the Central Council on May 23, 1865.—*Ed.*

pays them away to his working men, and so forth. By this contrivance the yearly wages of an operative, say of £52, may be paid by one single sovereign turning round every week in the same circle. Even in England the mechanism is less perfect than in Scotland, and is not everywhere equally perfect; and therefore we find, for example, that in some agricultural districts, as compared with the mere factory districts, much more currency is wanted to circulate a much smaller amount of values.

If you cross the Channel, you will find that the *money wages* are much lower than in England, but that they are circulated in Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and France by a *much larger amount of currency.* The same sovereign will not be so quickly intercepted by the banker or returned to the industrial capitalist; and, therefore, instead of one sovereign circulating £52 yearly, you want, perhaps, three sovereigns to circulate yearly wages to the amount of £25. Thus, by comparing continental countries with England, you will see at once that low money wages may require a much larger currency for their circulation than high money wages, and that this is, in fact, a merely technical point, quite foreign to our subject.

According to the best calculations I know, the yearly income of the working class of this country may be estimated at £250,000,000. This immense sum is circulated by about £3,000,000. Suppose a rise of wages of 50 per cent. to take place. Then, instead of £3,000,000 of currency, £4,500,000 would be wanted. As a very considerable part of the working man's daily expenses is laid out in silver and copper, that is to say, in mere tokens, whose relative value to gold is arbitrarily fixed by law, like that of inconvertible money paper, a rise of money wages by 50 per cent. would, in the extreme case, require an additional circulation of sovereigns, say to the amount of one million. One million, now dormant, in the shape of bullion or coin, in the cellars of the Bank of England, or of private bankers, would circulate. But even the trifling expense resulting from the additional minting or the additional wear and tear of that million might be spared, and would actually be spared, if any friction should arise from the want of the additional currency. All of you know that the currency of this country is divided into two great departments. One sort, supplied by bank-notes of different descriptions, is used in the transactions between dealers and dealers, and the larger payments from consumers to dealers, while another sort of currency, metallic coin, circulates in the retail trade. Although distinct, these two sorts of currency intermix

with each other. Thus gold coin, to a very great extent, circulates even in larger payments for all the odd sums under £5. If tomorrow £4 notes, or £3 notes, or £2 notes were issued, the gold filling these channels of circulation would at once be driven out of them, and flow into those channels where it would be needed from the increase of money wages. Thus the additional million required by an advance of wages by 50 per cent. would be supplied without the addition of one single sovereign. The same effect might be produced, without one additional bank-note, by an additional bill circulation, as was the case in Lancashire for a very considerable time.

If a general rise in the rate of wages, for example, of 100 per cent., as Citizen Weston supposed it to take place in agricultural wages, would produce a great rise in the prices of necessaries, and, according to his views, require an additional amount of currency not to be procured, *a general fall in wages* must produce the same effect, on the same scale, in an opposite direction. Well! All of you know that the years 1858 to 1860 were the most prosperous years for the cotton industry, and that peculiarly the year 1860 stands in that respect unrivalled in the annals of commerce, while at the same time all other branches of industry were most flourishing. The wages of the cotton operatives and of all the other working men connected with their trade stood, in 1860, higher than ever before. The American crisis[97] came, and those aggregate wages were suddenly reduced to about one-fourth of their former amount. This would have been in the opposite direction a rise of 300 per cent. If wages rise from five to twenty, we say that they rise by 300 per cent.; if they fall from twenty to five, we say that they fall by 75 per cent., but the amount of rise in the one and the amount of fall in the other case would be the same, namely, fifteen shillings. This, then, was a sudden change in the rate of wages unprecedented, and at the same time extending over a number of operatives which, if we count all the operatives not only directly engaged in but indirectly dependent upon the cotton trade, was larger by one-half than the number of agricultural labourers. Did the price of wheat fall? It *rose* from the annual average of 47s. 8d. per quarter during the three years of 1858 to 1860 to the annual average of 55s. 10d. per quarter during the three years 1861-63. As to the currency, there were coined in the mint in 1861 £8,673,232, against £3,378,102 in 1860. That is to say, there were coined £5,295,130 more in 1861 than in 1860. It is true the bank-note circulation was in 1861 less by £1,319,000 than in 1860. Take this off. There remains still an overplus of currency

for the year 1861, as compared with the prosperity year, 1860, to the amount of £3,976,130, or about £4,000,000; but the bullion reserve in the Bank of England had simultaneously decreased, not quite to the same, but in an approximating proportion.

Compare the year 1862 with 1842. Apart from the immense increase in the value and amount of commodities circulated, in 1862 the capital paid in regular transactions for shares, loans, etc., for the railways in England and Wales amounted alone to £320,000,000, a sum that would have appeared fabulous in 1842. Still, the aggregate amounts in currency in 1862 and 1842 were pretty nearly equal, and generally you will find a tendency to a progressive diminution of currency in the face of an enormously increasing value, not only of commodities, but of monetary transactions generally. From our friend Weston's standpoint this is an unsolvable riddle.

Looking somewhat deeper into this matter, he would have found that, quite apart from wages, and supposing them to be fixed, the value and mass of the commodities to be circulated, and generally the amount of monetary transactions to be settled, vary daily; that the amount of bank-notes issued varies daily; that the amount of payments realised without the intervention of any money, by the instrumentality of bills, checks, bookcredits, clearing houses, varies daily; that, as far as actual metallic currency is required, the proportion between the coin in circulation and the coin and bullion in reserve or sleeping in the cellars of banks varies daily; that the amount of bullion absorbed by the national circulation and the amount being sent abroad for international circulation vary daily. He would have found that his dogma of a fixed currency is a monstrous error, incompatible with the everyday movement. He would have inquired into the laws which enable a currency to adapt itself to circumstances so continually changing, instead of turning his misconception of the laws of currency into an argument against a rise of wages.

### 4) [SUPPLY AND DEMAND]

Our friend Weston accepts the Latin proverb that repetitio est mater studiorum, that is to say, that repetition is the mother of study, and consequently he repeated his original dogma again under the new form that the contraction of currency, resulting from an enhancement of wages, would produce a diminution of capital, and so forth. Having already dealt with his currency

crotchet, I consider it quite useless to enter upon the imaginary consequences he fancies to flow from his imaginary currency mishap. I shall proceed to at once reduce his *one and the same dogma,* repeated in so many different shapes, *to its simplest theoretical form.*

The uncritical way in which he has treated his subject will become evident from one single remark. He pleads against a rise of wages or against high wages as the result of such a rise. Now, I ask him, What are high wages and what are low wages? Why constitute, for example, five shillings weekly low, and twenty shillings weekly high, wages? If five is low as compared with twenty, twenty is still lower as compared with two hundred. If a man was to lecture on the thermometer, and commenced by declaiming on high and low degrees, he would impart no knowledge whatever. He must first tell me how the freezing-point is found out, and how the boiling-point, and how these standard points are settled by natural laws, not by the fancy of the sellers or makers of thermometers. Now, in regard to wages and profits, Citizen Weston has not only failed to deduce such standard points from economical laws, but he has not even felt the necessity to look after them. He satisfied himself with the acceptance of the popular slang terms of low and high as something having a fixed meaning, although it is self-evident that wages can only be said to be high or low as compared with a standard by which to measure their magnitudes.

He will be unable to tell me why a certain amount of money is given for a certain amount of labour. If he should answer me, "This was settled by the law of supply and demand," I should ask him, in the first instance, by what law supply and demand are themselves regulated. And such an answer would at once put him out of court. The relations between the supply and demand of labour undergo perpetual change, and with them the market prices of labour. If the demand overshoots the supply wages rise; if the supply overshoots the demand wages sink, although it might in such circumstances be necessary to *test* the real state of demand and supply by a strike, for example, or any other method. But if you accept supply and demand as the law regulating wages, it would be as childish as useless to declaim against a rise of wages, because, according to the supreme law you appeal to, a periodical rise of wages is quite as necessary and legitimate as a periodical fall of wages. If you do *not* accept supply and demand as the law regulating wages, I again repeat the question, why a certain amount of money is given for a certain amount of labour?

But to consider matters more broadly: You would be altogether mistaken in fancying that the value of labour or any other commodity whatever is ultimately fixed by supply and demand. Supply and demand regulate nothing but the temporary *fluctuations* of market prices. They will explain to you why the market price of a commodity rises above or sinks below its *value,* but they can never account for that *value* itself. Suppose supply and demand to equilibrate, or, as the economists call it, to cover each other. Why, the very moment these opposite forces become equal they paralyse each other, and cease to work in the one or the other direction. At the moment when supply and demand equilibrate each other, and therefore cease to act, the *market price* of a commodity coincides with its *real value,* with the standard price round which its market prices oscillate. In inquiring into the nature of that *value,* we have, therefore, nothing at all to do with the temporary effects on market prices of supply and demand. The same holds true of wages and of the prices of all other commodities.

## 5) [WAGES AND PRICES]

Reduced to their simplest theoretical expression, all our friend's arguments resolve themselves into this one single dogma: *"The prices of commodities are determined or regulated by wages."*

I might appeal to practical observation to bear witness against this antiquated and exploded fallacy. I might tell you that the English factory operatives, miners, shipbuilders, and so forth, whose labour is relatively high-priced, undersell, by the cheapness of their produce, all other nations; while the English agricultural labourer, for example, whose labour is relatively low-priced, is undersold by almost every other nation, because of the dearness of his produce. By comparing article with article in the same country, and the commodities of different countries, I might show, apart from some exceptions more apparent than real, that on an average the high-priced labour produces the low-priced, and the low-priced labour produces the high-priced commodities. This, of course, would not prove that the high price of labour in the one, and its low price in the other instance, are the respective causes of those diametrically opposed effects, but at all events it would prove that the prices of commodities are not ruled by the prices of labour. However, it is quite superfluous for us to employ this empirical method.

It might, perhaps, be denied that Citizen Weston has put forward the dogma: *"The prices of commodities are determined or regulated by wages."* In point of fact, he has never formulated it. He said, on the contrary, that profit and rent form also constituent parts of the prices of commodities, because it is out of prices of commodities that not only the working man's wages, but also the capitalist's profits and the landlord's rents must be paid. But how, in his idea, are prices formed? First by wages. Then an additional percentage is joined to the price on behalf of the capitalist, and another additional percentage on behalf of the landlord. Suppose the wages of the labour employed in the production of a commodity to be ten. If the rate of profit was 100 per cent. to the wages advanced, the capitalist would add ten, and if the rate of rent was also 100 per cent. upon the wages, there would be added ten more, and the aggregate price of the commodity would amount to thirty. But such a determination of prices would be simply their determination by wages. If wages in the above case rose to twenty, the price of the commodity would rise to sixty, and so forth. Consequently all the superannuated writers on political economy, who propounded the dogma that wages regulate prices, have tried to prove it by treating profit and rent *as mere additional percentages upon wages.* None of them were, of course, able to reduce the limits of those percentages to any economic law. They seem, on the contrary, to think profits settled by tradition, custom, the will of the capitalist, or by some other equally arbitrary and inexplicable method. If they assert that they are settled by the competition between the capitalists, they say nothing. That competition is sure to equalise the different rates of profit in different trades, or reduce them to one average level, but it can never determine the level itself, or the general rate of profit.

What do we mean by saying that the prices of the commodities are determined by wages? Wages being but a name for the price of labour, we mean that the prices of commodities are regulated by the price of labour. As *"price"* is exchangeable value—and in speaking of value I speak always of exchangeable value—is exchangeable *value expressed in money,* the proposition comes to this, that "the *value of commodities is determined by the value of labour*", or that "the *value of labour is the general measure of value*".

But how, then, is the *"value of labour"* itself determined? Here we come to a standstill. Of course, to a standstill if we try reasoning logically. Yet the propounders of that doctrine make short work of logical scruples. Take our friend Weston, for example. First he told us that wages regulate the price of

commodities and that consequently when wages rise prices must rise. Then he turned round to show us that a rise of wages will be no good because the prices of commodities had risen, and because wages were indeed measured by the prices of the commodities upon which they are spent. Thus we begin by saying that the value of labour determines the value of commodities, and we wind up by saying that the value of commodities determines the value of labour. Thus we move to and fro in the most vicious circle, and arrive at no conclusion at all.

On the whole it is evident that by making the value of one commodity, say labour, corn, or any other commodity, the general measure and regulator of value, we only shift the difficulty, since we determine one value by another, which on its side wants to be determined.

The dogma that "wages determine the prices of commodities", expressed in its most abstract terms, comes to this, that "value is determined by value", and this tautology means that, in fact, we know nothing at all about value. Accepting this premise, all reasoning about the general laws of political economy turns into mere twaddle. It was, therefore, the great merit of Ricardo that in his work *On the Principles of Political Economy,* published in 1817, he fundamentally destroyed the old, popular, and worn-out fallacy that "wages determine prices", a fallacy which Adam Smith and his French predecessors had spurned in the really scientific parts of their researches, but which they reproduced in their more exoterical and vulgarising chapters.

## 6) [VALUE AND LABOUR]

Citizens, I have now arrived at a point where I must enter upon the real development of the question. I cannot promise to do this in a very satisfactory way, because to do so I should be obliged to go over the whole field of political economy. I can, as the French would say, but *effleurer la question,* touch upon the main points.

The first question we have to put is: What is the *value* of a commodity? How is it determined?

At first sight it would seem that the value of a commodity is a thing quite *relative,* and not to be settled without considering one commodity in its relations to all other commodities. In fact, in speaking of the value, the value in exchange of a commodity, we mean the proportional quantities in which it exchanges with all other commodities. But then arises the question: How are the

proportions in which commodities exchange with each other regulated?

We know from experience that these proportions vary infinitely. Taking one single commodity, wheat, for instance, we shall find that a quarter of wheat exchanges in almost countless variations of proportion with different commodities. Yet, *its value remaining always the same,* whether expressed in silk, gold, or any other commodity, it must be something distinct from, and independent of, these *different rates of exchange* with different articles. It must be possible to express, in a very different form, these various equations with various commodities.

Besides, if I say a quarter of wheat exchanges with iron in a certain proportion, or the value of a quarter of wheat is expressed in a certain amount of iron, I say that the value of wheat and its equivalent in iron are equal *to some third thing,* which is neither wheat nor iron, because I suppose them to express the same magnitude in two different shapes. Either of them, the wheat or the iron, must, therefore, independently of the other, be reducible to this third thing which is their common measure.

To elucidate this point I shall recur to a very simple geometrical illustration. In comparing the areas of triangles of all possible forms and magnitudes, or comparing triangles with rectangles, or any other rectilinear figure, how do we proceed? We reduce the area of any triangle whatever to an expression quite different from its visible form. Having found from the nature of the triangle that its area is equal to half the product of its base by its height, we can then compare the different values of all sorts of triangles, and of all rectilinear figures whatever, because all of them may be dissolved into a certain number of triangles.

The same mode of procedure must obtain with the values of commodities. We must be able to reduce all of them to an expression common to all, distinguishing them only by the proportions in which they contain that identical measure.

As the *exchangeable values* of commodities are only *social functions* of those things, and have nothing at all to do with their *natural* qualities, we must first ask, What is the common *social substance* of all commodities? It is *Labour.*To produce a commodity a certain amount of labour must be bestowed upon it, or worked up in it. And I say not only *Labour,* but *social Labour.* A man who produces an article for his own immediate use, to consume it himself, creates a *product,* but not a *commodity.* As a self-sustaining producer he has nothing to do with society. But to produce a *commodity,* a man must not only produce an article satisfying some

*social* want, but his labour itself must form part and parcel of the total sum of labour expended by society. It must be subordinate to the *Division of Labour within Society.* It is nothing without the other divisions of labour, and on its part is required to *integrate* them.

If we consider *commodities as values,* we consider them exclusively under the single aspect of *realised, fixed,* or, if you like, *crystallised social labour.* In this respect they can *differ* only by representing greater or smaller quantities of labour, as, for example, a greater amount of labour may be worked up in a silken handkerchief than in a brick. But how does one measure *quantities of labour*? By the *time the labour lasts,* in measuring the labour by the hour, the day, etc. Of course, to apply this measure, all sorts of labour are reduced to average or simple labour as their unit.

We arrive, therefore, at this conclusion. A commodity has *a value,* because it is a *crystallisation of social labour.* The *greatness* of its value, or its *relative* value, depends upon the greater or less amount of that social substance contained in it; that is to say, on the relative mass of labour necessary for its production. The *relative values of commodities* are, therefore, determined by the *respective quantities* or *amounts of labour, worked up, realised, fixed in them.* The *correlative* quantities of commodities which can be produced in the *same time of labour* are *equal.* Or the value of one commodity is to the value of another commodity as the quantity of labour fixed in the one is to the quantity of labour fixed in the other.

I suspect that many of you will ask, Does then, indeed, there exist such a vast, or any difference whatever, between determining the values of commodities by *wages,* and determining them by the *relative quantities of labour* necessary for their production? You must, however, be aware that the *reward* for labour, and *quantity* of labour, are quite disparate things. Suppose, for example, *equal quantities of labour* to be fixed in one quarter of wheat and one ounce of gold. I resort to the example because it was used by *Benjamin Franklin* in his first Essay published in 1729, and entitled, *A Modest Inquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency,* where he, one of the first, hit upon the true nature of value. Well. We suppose, then, that one quarter of wheat and one ounce of gold are *equal values* or *equivalents,* because they are *crystallisations of equal amounts of average labour,* of so many days' or so many weeks' labour respectively fixed in them. In thus determining the relative values of gold and corn, do we refer in any way whatever to the *wages* of the agricultural labourer and the miner? Not a bit. We leave it quite *indeterminate how* their day's or

week's labour was paid, or even whether wages labour was employed at all. If it was, wages may have been very unequal. The labourer whose labour is realised in the quarter of wheat may receive two bushels only, and the labourer employed in mining may receive one-half of the ounce of gold. Or, supposing their wages to be equal, they may deviate in all possible proportions from the values of the commodities produced by them. They may amount to one-half, one-third, one-fourth, one-fifth, or any other proportional part of the one quarter of corn or the one ounce of gold. Their *wages* can, of course, not *exceed,* not be *more* than the values of the commodities they produced, but they can be *less* in every possible degree. Their *wages* will be *limited* by the *values* of the products, but the *values of their products* will not be limited by the wages. And above all, the values, the relative values of corn and gold, for example, will have been settled without any regard whatever to the value of the labour employed, that is to say, to *wages.* To determine the values of commodities by the *relative quantities of labour fixed in them,* is, therefore, a thing quite different from the tautological method of determining the values of commodities by the value of labour, or by *wages.* This point, however, will be further elucidated in the progress of our inquiry.

In calculating the exchangeable value of a commodity we must add to the quantity of labour *last* employed the quantity of labour *previously* worked up in the raw material of the commodity, and the labour bestowed on the implements, tools, machinery, and buildings, with which such labour is assisted. For example, the value of a certain amount of cotton-yarn is the crystallisation of the quantity of labour added to the cotton during the spinning process, the quantity of labour previously realised in the cotton itself, the quantity of labour realised in the coal, oil and other auxiliary substances used, the quantity of labour fixed in the steam engine, the spindles, the factory building, and so forth. Instruments of production properly so-called, such as tools, machinery, buildings, serve again and again for a longer or shorter period during repeated processes of production. If they were used up at once, like the raw material, their whole value would at once be transferred to the commodities they assist in producing. But as a spindle, for example, is but gradually used up, an average calculation is made, based upon the average time it lasts, and its average waste or wear and tear during a certain period, say a day. In this way we calculate how much of the value of the spindle is transferred to the yarn daily spun, and how much, therefore, of the total amount of labour realised in a pound of yarn, for

example, is due to the quantity of labour previously realised in the spindle. For our present purpose it is not necessary to dwell any longer upon this point.

It might seem that if the value of a commodity is determined by the *quantity of labour bestowed upon its production,* the lazier a man, or the clumsier a man, the more valuable his commodity, because the greater the time of labour required for finishing the commodity. This, however, would be a sad mistake. You will recollect that I used the word "*Social* labour", and many points are involved in this qualification of *"Social"*. In saying that the value of a commodity is determined by the *quantity of labour* worked up or crystallised in it, we mean *the quantity of labour necessary* for its production in a given state of society, under certain social average conditions of production, with a given social average intensity, and average skill of the labour employed. When, in England, the power-loom came to compete with the hand-loom, only one half of the former time of labour was wanted to convert a given amount of yarn into a yard of cotton or cloth. The poor hand-loom weaver now worked seventeen or eighteen hours daily, instead of the nine or ten hours he had worked before. Still the product of twenty hours of his labour represented now only ten social hours of labour, or ten hours of labour socially necessary for the conversion of a certain amount of yarn into textile stuffs. His product of twenty hours had, therefore, no more value than his former product of ten hours.

If then the quantity of socially necessary labour realised in commodities regulates their exchangeable values, every increase in the quantity of labour wanted for the production of a commodity must augment its value, as every diminution must lower it.

If the respective quantities of labour necessary for the production of the respective commodities remained constant, their relative values also would be constant. But such is not the case. The quantity of labour necessary for the production of a commodity changes continuously with the changes in the productive powers of the labour employed. The greater the productive powers of labour, the more produce is finished in a given time of labour, and the smaller the productive powers of labour, the less produce is finished in the same time. If, for example, in the progress of population it should become necessary to cultivate less fertile soils, the same amount of produce would be only attainable by a greater amount of labour spent, and the value of agricultural produce would consequently rise. On the other hand, if with the modern means of production, a single spinner converts into yarn,

during one working day, many thousand times the amount of cotton which he could have spun during the same time with the spinning wheel, it is evident that every single pound of cotton will absorb many thousand times less of spinning labour than it did before, and, consequently, the value added by spinning to every single pound of cotton will be a thousand times less than before. The value of yarn will sink accordingly.

Apart from the different natural energies and acquired working abilities of different peoples, the productive powers of labour must principally depend:

Firstly. Upon the *natural* conditions of labour, such as fertility of soil, mines, and so forth;

Secondly. Upon the progressive improvement of the *Social Powers of Labour,* such as are derived from production on a grand scale, concentration of capital and combination of labour, subdivision of labour, machinery, improved methods, appliance of chemical and other natural agencies, shortening of time and space by means of communication and transport, and every other contrivance by which science presses natural agencies into the service of labour, and by which the social or co-operative character of labour is developed. The greater the productive powers of labour, the less labour is bestowed upon a given amount of produce; hence the smaller the value of this produce. The smaller the productive powers of labour, the more labour is bestowed upon the same amount of produce; hence the greater its value. As a general law we may, therefore, set it down that:—

*The values of commodities are directly as the times of labour employed in their production, and are inversely as the productive powers of the labour employed.*

Having till now only spoken of *Value,* I shall add a few words about *Price,* which is a peculiar form assumed by value.

*Price,* taken by itself, is nothing but the *monetary expression of value.* The values of all commodities of this country, for example, are expressed in gold prices, while on the Continent they are mainly expressed in silver prices. The value of gold or silver, like that of all other commodities, is regulated by the quantity of labour necessary for getting them. You exchange a certain amount of your national products, in which a certain amount of your national labour is crystallised, for the produce of the gold and silver producing countries, in which a certain quantity of *their* labour is crystallised. It is in this way, in fact by barter, that you learn to express in gold and silver the values of all commodities, that is, the respective quantities of labour bestowed upon them.

Looking somewhat closer into the *monetary expression of value,* or what comes to the same, the *conversion of value into price,* you will find that it is a process by which you give to the *values* of all commodities an *independent* and *homogeneous form,* or by which you express them as quantities of *equal* social labour. So far as it is but the monetary expression of value, price has been called *natural price* by Adam Smith, *"prix nécessaire"* by the French physiocrats.

What then is the relation between *value* and *market prices,* or between *natural prices* and *market prices*? You all know that the *market price* is the *same* for all commodities of the same kind, however the conditions of production may differ for the individual producers. The market price expresses only the *average amount of social labour* necessary, under the average conditions of production, to supply the market with a certain mass of a certain article. It is calculated upon the whole lot of a commodity of a certain description.

So far the *market price* of a commodity coincides with its *value.* On the other hand, the oscillations of market prices, rising now over, sinking now under the value or natural price, depend upon the fluctuations of supply and demand. The deviations of market prices from values are continual, but as *Adam Smith* says:

> "The natural price ... is [...] the central price, to which the prices of all commodities are continually gravitating. Different accidents may sometimes keep them suspended a good deal above it, and sometimes force them down even somewhat below it. But whatever may be the obstacles which hinder them from settling in this centre of repose and continuance, they are constantly tending towards it."[a]

I cannot now sift this matter. It suffices to say that *if* supply and demand equilibrate each other, the market prices of commodities will correspond to their natural prices, that is to say, to their values, as determined by the respective quantities of labour required for their production. But supply and demand *must* constantly tend to equilibrate each other, although they do so only by compensating one fluctuation by another, a rise by a fall, and vice versa. If instead of considering only the daily fluctuations you analyse the movement of market prices for longer periods, as Mr. Tooke, for example, has done in his *History of Prices,* you will find that the fluctuations of market prices, their deviations from values, their ups and downs, paralyse and compensate each other; so that,

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[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Vol. I, Edinburgh, 1814, p. 93.—*Ed.*

apart from the effect of monopolies and some other modifications I must now pass by, all descriptions of commodities are, on the average, sold at their respective *values* or natural prices. The average periods during which the fluctuations of market prices compensate each other are different for different kinds of commodities, because with one kind it is easier to adapt supply to demand than with the other.

If then, speaking broadly, and embracing somewhat longer periods, all descriptions of commodities sell at their respective values, it is nonsense to suppose that profit, not in individual cases, but that the constant and usual profits of different trades, spring from *surcharging* the prices of commodities, or selling them at a price over and above their *value.* The absurdity of this notion becomes evident if it is generalised. What a man would constantly win as a seller he would as constantly lose as a purchaser. It would not do to say that there are men who are buyers without being sellers, or consumers without being producers. What these people pay to the producers, they must first get from them for nothing. If a man first takes your money and afterwards returns that money in buying your commodities, you will never enrich yourselves by selling your commodities too dear to that same man. This sort of transaction might diminish a loss, but would never help in realising a profit.

To explain, therefore, the *general nature of profits,* you must start from the theorem that, on an average, commodities are *sold at their real value,* and that *profits are derived from selling them at their values,* that is, in proportion to the quantity of labour realised in them. If you cannot explain profit upon this supposition, you cannot explain it at all. This seems paradox and contrary to everyday observation. It is also paradox that the earth moves round the sun, and that water consists of two highly inflammable gases. Scientific truth is always paradox, if judged by everyday experience, which catches only the delusive appearance of things.

## 7) LABOURING POWER

Having now, as far as it could be done in such a cursory manner, analysed the nature of *Value,* of the *Value of any commodity whatever,* we must turn our attention to the specific *Value of Labour.* And here, again, I must startle you by a seeming paradox. All of you feel sure that what they daily sell is their Labour; that, therefore, Labour has a Price, and that, the price of

a commodity being only the monetary expression of its value, there must certainly exist such a thing as the *Value of Labour.* However, there exists no such thing as the *Value of Labour* in the common acceptance of the word. We have seen that the amount of necessary labour crystallised in a commodity constitutes its value. Now, applying this notion of value, how could we define, say, the value of a ten hours' working day? How much labour is contained in that day? Ten hours' labour. To say that the value of a ten hours' working day is equal to ten hours' labour, or the quantity of labour contained in it, would be a tautological and, moreover, a nonsensical expression. Of course, having once found out the true but hidden sense of the expression *"Value of Labour",* we shall be able to interpret this irrational, and seemingly impossible application of value, in the same way that, having once made sure of the real movement of the celestial bodies, we shall be able to explain their apparent or merely phenomenal movements.

What the working man sells is not directly his *Labour,* but his *Labouring Power,* the temporary disposal of which he makes over to the capitalist. This is so much the case that I do not know whether by the English Laws, but certainly by some Continental Laws, the *maximum time* is fixed for which a man is allowed to sell his labouring power. If allowed to do so for any indefinite period whatever, slavery would be immediately restored. Such a sale, if it comprised his lifetime, for example, would make him at once the lifelong slave of his employer.

One of the oldest economists and most original philosophers of England—Thomas Hobbes—has already, in his *Leviathan,* instinctively hit upon this point overlooked by all his successors. He says:

> "*The value* or *worth of a man* is, as in all other things, his *price*: that is, so much as would be given for the *Use of his Power.*" [a]

Proceeding from this basis, we shall be able to determine the *Value of Labour* as that of all other commodities.

But before doing so, we might ask, how does this strange phenomenon arise, that we find on the market a set of buyers, possessed of land, machinery, raw material, and the means of subsistence, all of them, save land in its crude state, the *products of labour,* and on the other hand, a set of sellers who have nothing to sell except their labouring power, their working arms and brains? That the one set buys continually in order to make a profit and enrich themselves, while the other set continually sells in order to earn their livelihood? The inquiry into this question would be an

[a] *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes,* Vol. III, London, 1839, p. 76.—*Ed.*

inquiry into what the economists call *"Previous,* or *Original Accumulation"*, but which ought to be called *Original Expropriation.* We should find that this so-called *Original Accumulation* means nothing but a series of historical processes, resulting in a *Decomposition of the Original Union* existing between the Labouring Man and his Instruments of Labour. Such an inquiry, however, lies beyond the pale of my present subject. The *Separation* between the Man of Labour and the Instruments of Labour once established, such a state of things will maintain itself and reproduce itself upon a constantly increasing scale, until a new and fundamental revolution in the mode of production should again overturn it, and restore the original union in a new historical form.

What, then, is the *Value of Labouring Power?*

Like that of every other commodity, its value is determined by the quantity of labour necessary to produce it. The labouring power of a man exists only in his living individuality. A certain mass of necessaries must be consumed by a man to grow up and maintain his life. But the man, like the machine, will wear out, and must be replaced by another man. Beside the mass of necessaries required for *his own* maintenance, he wants another amount of necessaries to bring up a certain quota of children that are to replace him on the labour market and to perpetuate the race of labourers. Moreover, to develop his labouring power, and acquire a given skill, another amount of values must be spent. For our purpose it suffices to consider only *average* labour, the costs of whose education and development are vanishing magnitudes. Still I must seize upon this occasion to state that, as the costs of producing labouring powers of different quality differ, so must differ the values of the labouring powers employed in different trades. The cry for an *equality of wages* rests, therefore, upon a mistake, is an *insane* wish never to be fulfilled. It is an offspring of that false and superficial radicalism that accepts premises and tries to evade conclusions. Upon the basis of the wages system the value of labouring power is settled like that of every other commodity; and as different kinds of labouring power have different values, or require different quantities of labour for their production, they *must* fetch different prices in the labour market. To clamour for *equal or even equitable retribution* on the basis of the wages system is the same as to clamour for *freedom* on the basis of the slavery system. What you think just or equitable is out of the question. The question is: What is necessary and unavoidable with a given system of production?

After what has been said, it will be seen that the *value of labouring power* is determined by the *value of the necessaries* required to produce, develop, maintain, and perpetuate the labouring power.

## 8) PRODUCTION OF SURPLUS-VALUE

Now suppose that the average amount of the daily necessaries of a labouring man require *six hours of average labour* for their production. Suppose, moreover, six hours of average labour to be also realised in a quantity of gold equal to 3s. Then 3s. would be the *Price,* or the monetary expression of the *Daily Value* of that man's *Labouring Power.* If he worked daily six hours he would daily produce a value sufficient to buy the average amount of his daily necessaries, or to maintain himself as a labouring man.

But our man is a wages labourer. He must, therefore, sell his labouring power to a capitalist. If he sells it at 3s. daily, or 18s. weekly, he sells it at its value. Suppose him to be a spinner. If he works six hours daily he will add to the cotton a value of 3s. daily. This value, daily added by him, would be an exact equivalent for the wages, or the price of his labouring power, received daily. But in that case *no surplus-value* or *surplus-produce* whatever would go to the capitalist. Here, then, we come to the rub.

In buying the labouring power of the workman, and paying its value, the capitalist, like every other purchaser, has acquired the right to consume or use the commodity bought. You consume or use the labouring power of a man by making him work as you consume or use a machine by making it run. By paying the daily or weekly value of the labouring power of the workman, the capitalist has, therefore, acquired the right to use or make that labouring power work during the *whole day or week.* The working day or the working week has, of course, certain limits, but those we shall afterwards look more closely at.

For the present I want to turn your attention to one decisive point.

The *value* of the labouring power is determined by the quantity of labour necessary to maintain or reproduce it, but the *use* of that labouring power is only limited by the active energies and physical strength of the labourer. The daily or weekly *value* of the labouring power is quite distinct from the daily or weekly *exercise* of that power, the same as the food a horse wants and the time it can carry the horseman are quite distinct. The quantity of labour

by which the *value* of the workman's labouring power is limited forms by no means a limit to the quantity of labour which his labouring power is apt to perform. Take the example of our spinner. We have seen that, to daily reproduce his labouring power, he must daily reproduce a value of three shillings, which he will do by working six hours daily. But this does not disable him from working ten or twelve or more hours a day. But by paying the daily or weekly *value* of the spinner's labouring power, the capitalist has acquired the right of using that labouring power during the *whole day or week.* He will, therefore, make him work daily, say, *twelve* hours. *Over and above* the six hours required to replace his wages, or the value of his labouring power, he will, therefore, have to work *six other hours,* which I shall call hours of *surplus-labour,* which surplus labour will realise itself in a *surplus-value* and a *surplus-produce.* If our spinner, for example, by his daily labour of six hours, added three shillings' value to the cotton, a value forming an exact equivalent to his wages, he will, in twelve hours, add six shillings' worth to the cotton, and produce *a proportional surplus of yarn.* As he has sold his labouring power to the capitalist, the whole value or produce created by him belongs to the capitalist, the owner *pro tempore* of his labouring power. By advancing three shillings, the capitalist will, therefore, realise a value of six shillings, because, advancing a value in which six hours of labour are crystallised, he will receive in return a value in which twelve hours of labour are crystallised. By repeating this same process daily, the capitalist will daily advance three shillings and daily pocket six shillings, one-half of which will go to pay wages anew, and the other half of which will form *surplus-value,* for which the capitalist pays no equivalent. It is *this sort of exchange between capital and labour* upon which capitalistic production, or the wages system, is founded, and which must constantly result in reproducing the working man as a working man, and the capitalist as a capitalist.

*The rate of surplus-value,* all other circumstances remaining the same, will depend on the proportion between that part of the working day necessary to reproduce the value of the labouring power and the *surplus-time* or *surplus-labour* performed for the capitalist. It will, therefore, depend on the *ratio in which the working day is prolonged over and above that extent,* by working which the working man would only reproduce the value of his labouring power, or replace his wages.

## 9) VALUE OF LABOUR

We must now return to the expression, *"Value, or Price of Labour"*.

We have seen that, in fact, it is only the value of the labouring power, measured by the values of commodities necessary for its maintenance. But since the workman receives his wages *after* his labour is performed, and knows, moreover, that what he actually gives to the capitalist is his labour, the value or price of his labouring power necessarily appears to him as the *price* or *value of his labour itself.* If the price of his labouring power is three shillings, in which six hours of labour are realised, and if he works twelve hours, he necessarily considers these three shillings as the value or price of twelve hours of labour, although these twelve hours of labour realise themselves in a value of six shillings. A double consequence flows from this.

*Firstly. The value or price of the labouring power* takes the semblance of the *price or value of labour itself,* although, strictly speaking, value and price of labour are senseless terms.

*Secondly.* Although one part only of the workman's daily labour is *paid,* while the other part is *unpaid,* and while that unpaid or surplus-labour constitutes exactly the fund out of which *surplus-value* or *profit* is formed, it seems as if the aggregate labour was paid labour.

This false appearance distinguishes *wages labour* from other *historical* forms of labour. On the basis of the wages system even the *unpaid* labour seems to be *paid* labour. With the *slave,* on the contrary, even that part of his labour which is paid appears to be unpaid. Of course, in order to work the slave must live, and one part of his working day goes to replace the value of his own maintenance. But since no bargain is struck between him and his master, and no acts of selling and buying are going on between the two parties, all his labour seems to be given away for nothing.

Take, on the other hand, the peasant serf, such as he, I might say, until yesterday existed in the whole East of Europe. This peasant worked, for example, three days for himself on his own field or the field allotted to him, and the three subsequent days he performed compulsory and gratuitous labour on the estate of his lord. Here, then, the paid and unpaid parts of labour were visibly separated, separated in time and space; and our Liberals overflowed with moral indignation at the preposterous notion of making a man work for nothing.

In point of fact, however, whether a man works three days of

the week for himself on his own field and three days for nothing on the estate of his lord, or whether he works in the factory or the workshop six hours daily for himself and six for his employer, comes to the same, although in the latter case the paid and unpaid portions of labour are inseparably mixed up with each other, and the nature of the whole transaction is completely masked by the *intervention of a contract* and the *pay* received at the end of the week. The gratuitous labour appears to be voluntarily given in the one instance, and to be compulsory in the other. That makes all the difference.

In using the expression *"value of labour"*, I shall only use it as a popular slang term for *"value of labouring power"*.

## 10) PROFIT IS MADE BY SELLING A COMMODITY *AT* ITS VALUE

Suppose an average hour of labour to be realised in a value equal to sixpence, or twelve average hours of labour to be realised in six shillings. Suppose, further, the value of labour to be three shillings or the produce of six hours' labour. If, then, in the raw material, machinery, and so forth, used up in a commodity, twenty-four hours of average labour were realised, its value would amount to twelve shillings. If, moreover, the workman employed by the capitalist added twelve hours of labour to those means of production, these twelve hours would be realised in an additional value of six shillings. The *total value of the product* would, therefore, amount to thirty-six hours of realised labour, and be equal to eighteen shillings. But as the value of labour, or the wages paid to the workman, would be three shillings only, no equivalent would have been paid by the capitalist for the six hours of surplus-labour worked by the workman, and realised in the value of the commodity. By selling this commodity at its value for eighteen shillings, the capitalist would, therefore, realise a value of three shillings, for which he had paid no equivalent. These three shillings would constitute the surplus-value or profit pocketed by him. The capitalist would consequently realise the profit of three shillings, not by selling his commodity at a price *over and above* its value, but by selling it *at its real value.*

The value of a commodity is determined by the *total quantity of labour* contained in it. But part of that quantity of labour is realised in a value for which an equivalent has been paid in the form of wages; part of it is realised in a value for which *no*

equivalent has been paid. Part of the labour contained in the commodity is *paid* labour; part is *unpaid* labour. By selling, therefore, the commodity *at its value,* that is, as the crystallisation of the *total quantity of labour* bestowed upon it, the capitalist must necessarily sell it at a profit. He sells not only what has cost him an equivalent, but he sells also what has cost him nothing, although it has cost his workman labour. The cost of the commodity to the capitalist and its real cost are different things. I repeat, therefore, that normal and average profits are made by selling commodities not *above* but *at their real values.*

## 11) THE DIFFERENT PARTS INTO WHICH SURPLUS-VALUE IS DECOMPOSED

The *surplus-value,* or that part of the total value of the commodity in which the *surplus-labour* or *unpaid labour* of the working man is realised, I call *Profit.* The whole of that profit is not pocketed by the employing capitalist. The monopoly of land enables the landlord to take one part of that *surplus-value,* under the name of *rent,* whether the land is used for agriculture, buildings or railways, or for any other productive purpose. On the other hand, the very fact that the possession of the *means of labour* enables the employing capitalist to produce a *surplus-value,* or, what comes to the same, to *appropriate to himself a certain amount of unpaid labour,* enables the owner of the means of labour, which he lends wholly or partly to the employing capitalist—enables, in one word, the *money-lending capitalist* to claim for himself under the name of *interest* another part of that surplus-value, so that there remains to the employing capitalist *as such* only what is called *industrial* or *commercial* profit.

By what laws this division of the total amount of surplus-value amongst the three categories of people is regulated is a question quite foreign to our subject. This much, however, results from what has been stated.

*Rent, Interest, and Industrial Profit* are only *different names for different parts* of the *surplus-value* of the commodity, or the *unpaid labour enclosed in it,* and they are *equally derived from this source, and from this source alone.* They are not derived from *land* as such or from *capital* as such, but land and capital enable their owners to get their respective shares out of the surplus-value extracted by the employing capitalist from the labourer. For the labourer himself it is a matter of subordinate importance whether that

surplus-value, the result of his surplus-labour, or unpaid labour, is altogether pocketed by the employing capitalist, or whether the latter is obliged to pay portions of it, under the name of rent and interest, away to third parties. Suppose the employing capitalist to use only his own capital and to be his own landlord, then the whole surplus-value would go into his pocket.

It is the employing capitalist who immediately extracts from the labourer this surplus-value, whatever part of it he may ultimately be able to keep for himself. Upon this relation, therefore, between the employing capitalist and the wages labourer the whole wages system and the whole present system of production hinge. Some of the citizens who took part in our debate were, therefore, wrong in trying to mince matters, and to treat this fundamental relation between the employing capitalist and the working man as a secondary question, although they were right in stating that, under given circumstances, a rise of prices might affect in very unequal degrees the employing capitalist, the landlord, the moneyed capitalist, and, if you please, the tax-gatherer.

Another consequence follows from what has been stated.

That part of the value of the commodity which represents only the value of the raw materials, the machinery, in one word, the value of the means of production used up, forms *no revenue* at all, but replaces *only capital.* But, apart from this, it is false that the other part of the value of the commodity *which forms revenue,* or may be spent in the form of wages, profits, rent, interest, is *constituted* by the value of wages, the value of rent, the value of profits, and so forth. We shall, in the first instance, discard wages, and only treat industrial profits, interest, and rent. We have just seen that the *surplus-value* contained in the commodity or that part of its value in which *unpaid labour* is realised, *dissolves* itself into different fractions, bearing three different names. But it would be quite the reverse of the truth to say that its value is *composed* of, or *formed* by, the *addition* of the *independent values of these three constituents.*

If one hour of labour realises itself in a value of sixpence, if the working day of the labourer comprises twelve hours, if half of this time is unpaid labour, that surplus-labour will add to the commodity a *surplus-value* of three shillings, that is, a value for which no equivalent has been paid. This surplus-value of three shillings constitutes the *whole fund* which the employing capitalist may divide, in whatever proportions, with the landlord and the money-lender. The value of these three shillings constitutes the limit of the value they have to divide amongst them. But it is not

the employing capitalist who adds to the value of the commodity an arbitrary value for his profit, to which another value is added for the landlord and so forth, so that the addition of these arbitrarily fixed values would constitute the total value. You see, therefore, the fallacy of the popular notion, which confounds the *decomposition of a given value* into three parts, with the *formation* of that value by the addition of three *independent* values, thus converting the aggregate value, from which rent, profit, and interest are derived, into an arbitrary magnitude.

If the total profit realised by a capitalist be equal to £100, we call this sum, considered as *absolute* magnitude, the *amount of profit.* But if we calculate the ratio which those £100 bear to the capital advanced, we call this *relative* magnitude, the *rate of profit.* It is evident that this rate of profit may be expressed in a double way.

Suppose £100 to be the capital *advanced in wages.* If the surplus value created is also £100—and this would show us that half the working day of the labourer consists of *unpaid* labour—and if we measured this profit by the value of the capital advanced in wages, we should say that the *rate of profit* amounted to one hundred per cent., because the value advanced would be one hundred and the value realised would be two hundred.

If, on the other hand, we should not only consider the *capital advanced in wages,* but the *total capital* advanced, say for example £500, of which £400 represented the value of raw materials, machinery, and so forth, we should say that the *rate of profit* amounted only to twenty per cent., because the profit of one hundred would be but the fifth part of the *total* capital advanced.

The first mode of expressing the rate of profit is the only one which shows you the real ratio between paid and unpaid labour, the real degree of the *exploitation* (you must allow me this French word) *of labour.* The other mode of expression is that in common use, and is, indeed, appropriate for certain purposes. At all events, it is very useful for concealing the degree in which the capitalist extracts gratuitous labour from the workman.

In the remarks I have still to make I shall use the word *Profit* for the whole amount of the surplus-value extracted by the capitalist without any regard to the division of the surplus-value between different parties, and in using the words *Rate of Profit,* I shall always measure profits by the value of the capital advanced in wages.

## 12) GENERAL RELATION OF PROFITS, WAGES AND PRICES

Deduct from the value of a commodity the value replacing the value of the raw materials and other means of production used upon it, that is to say, deduct the value representing the *past* labour contained in it, and the remainder of its value will dissolve into the quantity of labour added by the working man *last* employed. If that working man works twelve hours daily, if twelve hours of average labour crystallise themselves in an amount of gold equal to six shillings, this additional value of six shillings is the *only* value his labour will have created. This given value, determined by the time of his labour, is the only fund from which both he and the capitalist have to draw their respective shares or dividends, the only value to be divided into wages and profits. It is evident that this value itself will not be altered by the variable proportions in which it may be divided amongst the two parties. There will also be nothing changed if in the place of one working man you put the whole working population, twelve million working days, for example, instead of one.

Since the capitalist and workman have only to divide this limited value, that is, the value measured by the total labour of the working man, the more the one gets the less will the other get, and vice versa. Whenever a quantity is given, one part of it will increase inversely as the other decreases. If the wages change, profits will change in an opposite direction. If wages fall, profits will rise; and if wages rise, profits will fall. If the working man, on our former supposition, gets three shillings, equal to one half of the value he has created, or if his whole working day consists half of paid, half of unpaid labour, the *rate of profit* will be 100 per cent., because the capitalist would also get three shillings. If the working man receives only two shillings, or works only one-third of the whole day for himself, the capitalist will get four shillings, and the rate of profit will be 200 per cent. If the working man receives four shillings, the capitalist will only receive two, and the rate of profit would sink to 50 per cent., but all these variations will not affect the value of the commodity. A general rise of wages would, therefore, result in a fall of the general rate of profit, but not affect values.

But although the values of commodities, which must ultimately regulate their market prices, are exclusively determined by the total quantities of labour fixed in them, and not by the division of that quantity into paid and unpaid labour, it by no means follows

that the values of the single commodities, or lots of commodities, produced during twelve hours, for example, will remain constant. The *number* or mass of commodities produced in a given time of labour, or by a given quantity of labour, depends upon the *productive power* of the labour employed, and not upon its *extent* or length. With one degree of the productive power of spinning labour, for example, a working day of twelve hours may produce twelve pounds of yarn, with a lesser degree of productive power only two pounds. If then twelve hours' average labour were realised in the value of six shillings, in the one case the twelve pounds of yarn would cost six shillings, in the other case the two pounds of yarn would also cost six shillings. One pound of yarn would, therefore, cost sixpence in the one case, and three shillings in the other. This difference of price would result from the difference in the productive powers of the labour employed. One hour of labour would be realised in one pound of yarn with the greater productive power, while with the smaller productive power, six hours of labour would be realised in one pound of yarn. The price of a pound of yarn would, in the one instance, be only sixpence, although wages were relatively high and the rate of profit low; it would be three shillings in the other instance, although wages were low and the rate of profit high. This would be so because the price of the pound of yarn is regulated by the *total amount of labour worked up* in it, and not by the *proportional division of that total amount into paid and unpaid labour.* The fact I have before mentioned that high-priced labour may produce cheap, and low-priced labour may produce dear commodities, loses, therefore, its paradoxical appearance. It is only the expression of the general law that the value of a commodity is regulated by the quantity of labour worked up in it, and that the quantity of labour worked up in it depends altogether upon the productive powers of the labour employed, and will, therefore, vary with every variation in the productivity of labour.

## 13) MAIN CASES OF ATTEMPTS AT RAISING WAGES OR RESISTING THEIR FALL

Let us now seriously consider the main cases in which a rise of wages is attempted or a reduction of wages resisted.

1. We have seen that the *value of the labouring power,* or in more popular parlance, the *value of labour,* is determined by the value of

necessaries, or the quantity of labour required to produce them. If, then, in a given country the value of the daily average necessaries of the labourer represented six hours of labour expressed in three shillings, the labourer would have to work six hours daily to produce an equivalent for his daily maintenance. If the whole working day was twelve hours, the capitalist would pay him the value of his labour by paying him three shillings. Half the working day would be unpaid labour, and the rate of profit would amount to 100 per cent. But now suppose that, consequent upon a decrease of productivity, more labour should be wanted to produce, say, the same amount of agricultural produce, so that the price of the average daily necessaries should rise from three to four shillings. In that case the *value* of labour would rise by one-third, or $33^1/_3$ per cent. Eight hours of the working day would be required to produce an equivalent for the daily maintenance of the labourer, according to his old standard of living. The surplus-labour would therefore sink from six hours to four, and the rate of profit from 100 to 50 per cent. But in insisting upon a rise of wages, the labourer would only insist upon getting the *increased value of his labour,* like every other seller of a commodity, who, the costs of his commodities having increased, tries to get its increased value paid. If wages did not rise, or not sufficiently rise, to compensate for the increased values of necessaries, the *price* of labour would sink *below the value of labour,* and the labourer's standard of life would deteriorate.

But a change might also take place in an opposite direction. By virtue of the increased productivity of labour, the same amount of the average daily necessaries might sink from three to two shillings, or only four hours out of the working day, instead of six, be wanted to reproduce an equivalent for the value of the daily necessaries. The working man would now be able to buy with two shillings as many necessaries as he did before with three shillings. Indeed, the *value of labour* would have sunk, but that diminished value would command the same amount of commodities as before. Then profits would rise from three to four shillings, and, the rate of profit from 100 to 200 per cent. Although the labourer's absolute standard of life would have remained the same, his *relative* wages, and therewith his *relative social position,* as compared with that of the capitalist, would have been lowered. If the working man should resist that reduction of relative wages, he would only try to get some share in the increased productive powers of his own labour, and to maintain his former relative position in the social scale. Thus, after the abolition of the Corn

Laws, and in flagrant violation of the most solemn pledges given during the anti-corn law agitation, the English factory lords generally reduced wages ten per cent. The resistance of the workmen was at first baffled, but, consequent upon circumstances I cannot now enter upon, the ten per cent. lost were afterwards regained.

2. The *values* of necessaries, and consequently the *value of labour,* might remain the same, but a change might occur in their *money prices,* consequent upon a previous *change* in the *value of money.*

By the discovery of more fertile mines and so forth, two ounces of gold might, for example, cost no more labour to produce than one ounce did before. The *value* of gold would then be depreciated by one half, or fifty per cent. As the *values* of all other commodities would then be expressed in twice their former *money prices,* so also the same with the *value of labour.* Twelve hours of labour, formerly expressed in six shillings, would now be expressed in twelve shillings. If the working man's wages should remain three shillings, instead of rising to six shillings, the *money price of his labour* would only be equal to *half the value of his labour,* and his standard of life would fearfully deteriorate. This would also happen in a greater or lesser degree if his wages should rise, but not proportionately to the fall in the value of gold. In such a case nothing would have been changed, either in the productive powers of labour, or in supply and demand, or in values. Nothing could have changed except the money *names* of those values. To say that in such a case the workman ought not to insist upon a proportionate rise of wages, is to say that he must be content to be paid with names, instead of with things. All past history proves that whenever such a depreciation of money occurs the capitalists are on the alert to seize this opportunity for defrauding the workman. A very large school of political economists assert that, consequent upon the new discoveries of gold lands, the better working of silver mines, and the cheaper supply of quicksilver, the value of precious metals has been again depreciated. This would explain the general and simultaneous attempts on the Continent at a rise of wages.

3. We have till now supposed that the *working day* has given limits. The working day, however, has, by itself, no constant limits. It is the constant tendency of capital to stretch it to its utmost physically possible length, because in the same degree surplus-labour, and consequently the profit resulting therefrom, will be increased. The more capital succeeds in prolonging the working

day, the greater the amount of other people's labour it will appropriate. During the seventeenth and even the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century a ten hours' working day was the normal working day all over England. During the anti-Jacobin war, which was in fact a war waged by the British barons against the British working masses[98] capital celebrated its bacchanalia, and prolonged the working day from ten to twelve, fourteen, eighteen hours. *Malthus,* by no means a man whom you would suspect of a maudlin sentimentalism, declared in a pamphlet, published about 1815, that if this sort of things was to go on the life of the nation would be attacked at its very source.[a] A few years before the general introduction of the newly-invented machinery, about 1765, a pamphlet appeared in England under the title, *An Essay on Trade.*[b] The anonymous author, an avowed enemy of the working classes, declaims on the necessity of expanding the limits of the working day. Amongst other means to this end, he proposes *working houses,* which, he says, ought to be *"Houses of Terror".* And what is the length of the working day he prescribes for these *"Houses of Terror"*? *Twelve hours,* the very same time which in 1832 was declared by capitalists, political economists, and ministers to be not only the existing but the necessary time of labour for a child under twelve years.[99]

By selling his labouring power, and he must do so under the present system, the working man makes over to the capitalist the consumption of that power, but within certain rational limits. He sells his labouring power in order to maintain it, apart from its natural wear and tear, but not to destroy it. In selling his labouring power at its daily or weekly value, it is understood that in one day or one week that labouring power shall not be submitted to two days' or two weeks' waste or wear and tear. Take a machine worth £1,000. If it is used up in ten years it will add to the value of the commodities in whose production it assists £100 yearly. If it be used up in five years it would add £200 yearly, or the value of its annual wear and tear is in inverse ratio to the quickness with which it is consumed. But this distinguishes the working man from the machine. Machinery does not wear out exactly in the same ratio in which it is used. Man, on the contrary, decays in a greater ratio than would be visible from the mere numerical addition of work.

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[a] Th. R. Malthus, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent, and the Principles by which it is regulated,* London, 1815.—*Ed.*

[b] *An Essay on Trade and Commerce: Containing Observations on Taxes,* London, 1770.—*Ed.*

In their attempts at reducing the working day to its former rational dimensions, or, where they cannot enforce a legal fixation of a normal working day, at checking overwork by a rise of wages, a rise not only in proportion to the surplus-time exacted, but in a greater proportion, working men fulfil only a duty to themselves and their race. They only set limits to the tyrannical usurpations of capital. Time is the room of human development. A man who has no free time to dispose of, whose whole lifetime, apart from the mere physical interruptions by sleep, meals, and so forth, is absorbed by his labour for the capitalist, is less than a beast of burden. He is a mere machine for producing Foreign Wealth, broken in body and brutalised in mind. Yet the whole history of modern industry shows that capital, if not checked, will recklessly and ruthlessly work to cast down the whole working class to the utmost state of degradation.

In prolonging the working day the capitalist may pay *higher wages* and still lower the *value of labour,* if the rise of wages does not correspond to the greater amount of labour extracted, and the quicker decay of the labouring power thus caused. This may be done in another way. Your middle-class statisticians will tell you, for instance, that the average wages of factory families in Lancashire have risen. They forget that instead of the labour of the man, the head of the family, his wife and perhaps three or four children are now thrown under the Juggernaut wheels[100] of capital, and that the rise of the aggregate wages does not correspond to the aggregate surplus-labour extracted from the family.

Even with given limits of the working day, such as now exist in all branches of industry subjected to the factory laws, a rise of wages may become necessary, if only to keep up the old standard *value of labour.* By increasing the *intensity* of labour, a man may be made to expend as much vital force in one hour as he formerly did in two. This has, to a certain degree, been effected in the trades, placed under the Factory Acts, by the acceleration of machinery, and the greater number of working machines which a single individual has now to superintend. If the increase in the intensity of labour or the mass of labour spent in an hour keeps some fair proportion to the decrease in the extent of the working day, the working man will still be the winner. If this limit is overshot, he loses in one form what he has gained in another, and ten hours of labour may then become as ruinous as twelve hours were before. In checking this tendency of capital, by struggling for a rise of wages corresponding to the rising intensity of labour, the

working man only resists the depreciation of his labour and the deterioration of his race.

4. All of you know that, from reasons I have not now to explain, capitalistic production moves through certain periodical cycles. It moves through a state of quiescence, growing animation, prosperity, overtrade, crisis, and stagnation. The market prices of commodities, and the market rates of profit, follow these phases, now sinking below their averages, now rising above them. Considering the whole cycle, you will find that one deviation of the market price is being compensated by the other, and that, taking the average of the cycle, the market prices of commodities are regulated by their values. Well! During the phase of sinking market prices and the phases of crisis and stagnation, the working man, if not thrown out of employment altogether, is sure to have his wages lowered. Not to be defrauded, he must, even with such a fall of market prices, debate with the capitalist in what proportional degree a fall of wages has become necessary. If, during the phases of prosperity, when extra profits are made, he did not battle for a rise of wages, he would, taking the average of one industrial cycle, not even receive his *average wages,* or the *value* of his labour. It is the utmost height of folly to demand that while his wages are necessarily affected by the adverse phases of the cycle, he should exclude himself from compensation during the prosperous phases of the cycle. Generally, the *values* of all commodities are only realised by the compensation of the continuously changing market prices, springing from the continuous fluctuations of demand and supply. On the basis of the present system labour is only a commodity like others. It must, therefore, pass through the same fluctuations to fetch an average price corresponding to its value. It would be absurd to treat it on the one hand as a commodity, and to want on the other hand to exempt it from the laws which regulate the prices of commodities. The slave receives a permanent and fixed amount of maintenance; the wages labourer does not. He must try to get a rise of wages in the one instance, if only to compensate for a fall of wages in the other. If he resigned himself to accept the will, the dictates of the capitalist as a permanent economical law, he would share in all the miseries of the slave, without the security of the slave.

5. In all the cases I have considered, and they form ninety-nine out of a hundred, you have seen that a struggle for a rise of wages follows only in the track of *previous* changes, and is the necessary offspring of previous changes in the amount of production, the productive powers of labour, the value of labour, the value of

money, the extent or the intensity of labour extracted, the fluctuations of market prices, dependent upon the fluctuations of demand and supply, and consistent with the different phases of the industrial cycle; in one word, as reactions of labour against the previous action of capital. By treating the struggle for a rise of wages independently of all these circumstances, by looking only upon the change of wages, and overlooking all the other changes from which they emanate, you proceed from a false premise in order to arrive at false conclusions.

## 14) THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOUR AND ITS RESULTS

1. Having shown that the periodical resistance on the part of the working men against a reduction of wages, and their periodical attempts at getting a rise of wages, are inseparable from the wages system, and dictated by the very fact of labour being assimilated to commodities, and therefore subject to the laws regulating the general movement of prices; having, furthermore, shown that a general rise of wages would result in a fall in the general rate of profit, but not affect the average prices of commodities, or their values, the question now ultimately arises, how far, in this incessant struggle between capital and labour, the latter is likely to prove successful.

I might answer by a generalisation, and say that, as with all other commodities, so with labour, its *market price* will, in the long run, adapt itself to its *value*; that, therefore, despite all the ups and downs, and do what he may, the working man will, on an average, only receive the value of his labour, which resolves into the value of his labouring power, which is determined by the value of the necessaries required for its maintenance and reproduction, which value of necessaries finally is regulated by the quantity of labour wanted to produce them.

But there are some peculiar features which distinguish the *value of the labouring power,* or *the value of labour,* from the values of all other commodities. The value of the labouring power is formed by two elements—the one merely physical, the other historical or social. Its *ultimate limit* is determined by the *physical* element, that is to say, to maintain and reproduce itself, to perpetuate its physical existence, the working class must receive the necessaries absolutely indispensable for living and multiplying. The *value* of

those indispensable necessaries forms, therefore, the ultimate limit of the *value of labour.* On the other hand, the length of the working day is also limited by ultimate, although very elastic boundaries. Its ultimate limit is given by the physical force of the labouring man. If the daily exhaustion of his vital forces exceeds a certain degree, it cannot be exerted anew, day by day. However, as I said, this limit is very elastic. A quick succession of unhealthy and short-lived generations will keep the labour market as well supplied as a series of vigorous and long-lived generations.

Besides this mere physical element, the value of labour is in every country determined by a *traditional standard of life.* It is not mere physical life, but it is the satisfaction of certain wants springing from the social conditions in which people are placed and reared up. The English standard of life may be reduced to the Irish standard; the standard of life of a German peasant to that of a Livonian peasant. The important part which historical tradition and social habitude play in this respect, you may learn from Mr. Thornton's work on *Over-population,* where he shows that the average wages in different agricultural districts of England still nowadays differ more or less according to the more or less favourable circumstances under which the districts have emerged from the state of serfdom.

This historical or social element, entering into the value of labour, may be expanded, or contracted, or altogether extinguished, so that nothing remains but the *physical limit.* During the time of the *anti-Jacobin war,* undertaken, as the incorrigible tax-eater and sinecurist, old George Rose, used to say, to save the comforts of our holy religion from the inroads of the French infidels, the honest English farmers, so tenderly handled in a former chapter of ours, depressed the wages of the agricultural labourers even beneath that *mere physical minimum,* but made up by *Poor Laws*[101] the remainder necessary for the physical perpetuation of the race. This was a glorious way to convert the wages labourer into a slave, and Shakespeare's proud yeoman into a pauper.

By comparing the standard wages or values of labour in different countries, and by comparing them in different historical epochs of the same country, you will find that the *value of labour* itself is not a fixed but a variable magnitude, even supposing the values of all other commodities to remain constant.

A similar comparison would prove that not only the *market rates of profit* change but its *average rates.*

But as to *profits,* there exists no law which determines their

*minimum.* We cannot say what is the ultimate limit of their decrease. And why cannot we fix that limit? Because, although we can fix the *minimum* of wages, we cannot fix their *maximum.* We can only say that, the limits of the working day being given, the *maximum of profit* corresponds to the *physical minimum of wages*; and that wages being given, the *maximum of profit* corresponds to such a prolongation of the working day as is compatible with the physical forces of the labourer. The maximum of profit is, therefore, limited by the physical minimum of wages and the physical maximum of the working day. It is evident that between the two limits of this *maximum rate of profit* an immense scale of variations is possible. The fixation of its actual degree is only settled by the continuous struggle between capital and labour, the capitalist constantly tending to reduce wages to their physical minimum, and to extend the working day to its physical maximum, while the working man constantly presses in the opposite direction.

The matter resolves itself into a question of the respective powers of the combatants.

2. As to the *limitation of the working day* in England, as in all other countries, it has never been settled except by *legislative interference.* Without the working men's continuous pressure from without that interference would never have taken place. But at all events, the result was not to be attained by private settlement between the working men and the capitalists. This very necessity of *general political action* affords the proof that in its merely economic action capital is the stronger side.

As to the *limits* of the *value of labour,* its actual settlement always depends upon supply and demand. I mean the demand for labour on the part of capital, and the supply of labour by the working men. In colonial countries the law of supply and demand favours the working man. Hence the relatively high standard of wages in the United States. Capital may there try its utmost. It cannot prevent the labour market from being continuously emptied by the continuous conversion of wages labourers into independent, self-sustaining peasants. The position of a wages labourer is for a very large part of the American people but a probational state, which they are sure to leave within a longer or shorter term. To mend this colonial state of things, the paternal British Government accepted for some time what is called the modern colonisation theory, which consists in putting an artificial high price upon colonial land, in order to prevent the too quick conversion of the wages labourer into the independent peasant.[102]

But let us now come to old civilised countries, in which capital domineers over the whole process of production. Take, for example, the rise in England of agricultural wages from 1849 to 1859. What was its consequence? The farmers could not, as our friend Weston would have advised them, raise the value of wheat, nor even its market prices. They had, on the contrary, to submit to their fall. But during these eleven years they introduced machinery of all sorts, adopted more scientific methods, converted part of arable land into pasture, increased the size of farms, and with this the scale of production, and by these and other processes, diminishing the demand for labour by increasing its productive power, made the agricultural population again relatively redundant. This is the general method in which a reaction, quicker or slower, of capital against a rise of wages takes place in old, settled countries. Ricardo has justly remarked that machinery is in constant competition with labour, and can often be only introduced when the price of labour has reached a certain height, but the appliance of machinery is but one of the many methods for increasing the productive powers of labour.[a] This very same development which makes common labour relatively redundant simplifies on the other hand skilled labour, and thus depreciates it.

The same law obtains in another form. With the development of the productive powers of labour the accumulation of capital will be accelerated, even despite a relatively high rate of wages. Hence, one might infer, as *Adam Smith,* in whose days modern industry was still in its infancy, did infer, that the accelerated accumulation of capital must turn the balance in favour of the working man, by securing a growing demand for his labour. From this same standpoint many contemporary writers have wondered that English capital having grown in the last twenty years so much quicker than English population, wages should not have been more enhanced. But simultaneously with the progress of accumulation there takes place a *progressive change* in the *composition of capital.* That part of the aggregate capital which consists of fixed capital, machinery, raw materials, means of production in all possible forms, progressively increases as compared with the other part of capital, which is laid out in wages or in the purchase of labour. This law has been stated in a more or less accurate manner by Mr. Barton, Ricardo, Sismondi, Professor Richard Jones, Professor Ramsay, Cherbuliez, and others.

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[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* London, 1821, p. 479.—*Ed.*

If the proportion of these two elements of capital was originally one to one, it will, in the progress of industry, become five to one, and so forth. If of a total capital of 600, 300 is laid out in instruments, raw materials, and so forth, and 300 in wages, the total capital wants only to be doubled to create a demand for 600 working men instead of for 300. But if of a capital of 600, 500 is laid out in machinery, materials, and so forth, and 100 only in wages, the same capital must increase from 600 to 3,600 in order to create a demand for 600 workmen instead of 300. In the progress of industry the demand for labour keeps, therefore, no pace with accumulation of capital. It will still increase, but increase in a constantly diminishing ratio as compared with the increase of capital.

These few hints will suffice to show that the very development of modern industry must progressively turn the scale in favour of the capitalist against the working man, and that consequently the general tendency of capitalistic production is not to raise, but to sink the average standard of wages, or to push the *value of labour* more or less to its *minimum limit.* Such being the tendency of *things* in this system, is this saying that the working class ought to renounce their resistance against the encroachments of capital, and abandon their attempts at making the best of the occasional chances for their temporary improvement? If they did, they would be degraded to one level mass of broken wretches past salvation. I think I have shown that their struggles for the standard of wages are incidents inseparable from the whole wages system, that in 99 cases out of 100 their efforts at raising wages are only efforts at maintaining the given value of labour, and that the necessity of debating their price with the capitalist is inherent in their condition of having to sell themselves as commodities. By cowardly giving way in their everyday conflict with capital, they would certainly disqualify themselves for the initiating of any larger movement.

At the same time, and quite apart from the general servitude involved in the wages system, the working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate working of these everyday struggles. They ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction; that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady. They ought, therefore, not to be exclusively absorbed in these unavoidable guerilla fights incessantly springing up from the never-ceasing encroachments of capital or changes of the market. They ought to

understand that, with all the miseries it imposes upon them, the present system simultaneously engenders the *material conditions* and the *social forms* necessary for an economical reconstruction of society. Instead of the *conservative* motto, *"A fair day's wage for a fair day's work!"* they ought to inscribe on their banner the *revolutionary* watchword, *"Abolition of the wages system!"*

After this very long and, I fear, tedious exposition which I was obliged to enter into to do some justice to the subject-matter, I shall conclude by proposing the following resolutions:

Firstly. A general rise in the rate of wages would result in a fall of the general rate of profit, but, broadly speaking, not affect the prices of commodities.

Secondly. The general tendency of capitalist production is not to raise, but to sink the average standard of wages.

Thirdly. Trades Unions work well as centres of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power. They fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organised forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages system.

# Karl Marx

## [RESOLUTION ON THE CONVOCATION OF A GENERAL CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL IN 1866]

The Standing Committee recommended to the Central Council to agree to the following as a recommendation to the conference [103]:

The Central Council shall in 1866 convoke a general congress unless unforeseen circumstances shall necessitate its further postponement.

Adopted by the Central Council on September 19, 1865

Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council

First published, in Russian, in *Generalny Sovet Pervogo Internatsionala. 1864-1866*, Moscow, 1961

# Karl Marx

## [RESOLUTION ON THE PROCEDURE OF DISCUSSING THE PROGRAMME OF THE CONGRESS[104]]

That the general purposes and ruling principles of the Association as laid down in the Address and Statutes be first defined before entering upon the discussion of the questions proposed by the conference.

Adopted by the Central Council on January 23, 1866

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# Frederick Engels

## WHAT HAVE THE WORKING CLASSES TO DO WITH POLAND?[105]

### I.

### TO THE EDITOR OF *THE COMMONWEALTH.*

[*The Commonwealth,* No. 159, March 24, 1866]

Sir,—Wherever the working classes have taken a part of their own in political movements, there, from the very beginning, their foreign policy was expressed in the few words—*Restoration of Poland.* This was the case with the Chartist movement so long as it existed; this was the case with the French working men long before 1848, as well as during that memorable year, when on the 15th of May they marched on to the National Assembly to the cry of *"Vive la Pologne!"*—Poland for ever![106] This was the case in Germany, when, in 1848 and '49, the organs of the working class[a] demanded war with Russia for the restoration of Poland.[107] It is the case even now;—with one exception—of which more anon—the working men of Europe unanimously proclaim the restoration of Poland as a part and parcel of their political programme, as the most comprehensive expression of their foreign policy. The middle-class, too, have had, and have still, "sympathies" with the Poles; which sympathies have not prevented them from leaving the Poles in the lurch in 1831, in 1846, in 1863,[108] nay, have not even prevented them from leaving the worst enemies of Poland, such as Lord Palmerston, to manage matters so as to actually assist Russia while they talked in favour of Poland. But with the working classes it is different. They mean intervention, not non-intervention; they mean war with Russia while Russia meddles with Poland; and they have proved it every time the Poles rose against their oppressors. And recently, the International Working Men's Association has given a fuller expression to this universal

[a] A reference to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and other democratic and workers' newspapers.—*Ed.*

instinctive feeling of the body it claims to represent, by inscribing on its banner, "Resistance to Russian encroachments upon Europe—Restoration of Poland."[109]

This programme of the foreign policy of the working men of Western and Central Europe has found a unanimous consent among the class to whom it was addressed, with one exception, as we said before. There are among the working men of France a small minority who belong to the school of the late P. J. Proudhon. This school differs *in toto* from the generality of the advanced and thinking working men; it declares them to be ignorant fools, and maintains, on most points, opinions quite contrary to theirs. This holds good in their foreign policy also. The Proudhonists, sitting in judgment on oppressed Poland, find the verdict of the Staleybridge jury, "Serves her right." They admire Russia as the great land of the future, as the most progressive nation upon the face of the earth, at the side of which such a paltry country as the United States is not worthy of being named. They have charged the Council of the International Association with setting up the Bonapartist principle of nationalities, and with declaring that magnanimous Russian people without the pale of civilised Europe; such being a grievous sin against the principles of universal democracy and the fraternity of all nations. These are the charges.[110] Barring the democratic phraseology at the wind-up, they coincide, it will be seen at once, verbally and literally with what the extreme Tories of all countries have to say about Poland and Russia. Such charges are not worth refuting; but, as they come from a fraction of the working classes, be it ever so small a one, they may render it desirable to state again the case of Poland and Russia, and to vindicate what we may henceforth call the foreign policy of the united working men of Europe.

But why do we always name Russia alone in connection with Poland? Have not two German Powers, Austria and Prussia, shared in the plunder? Do not they, too, hold parts of Poland in bondage, and, in connection with Russia, do they not work to keep down every national Polish movement?

It is well known how hard Austria has struggled to keep out of the Polish business; how long she resisted the plans of Russia and Prussia for the partition. Poland was a natural ally of Austria against Russia. When Russia once became formidable, nothing could be more in the interest of Austria than to keep Poland alive between herself and the newly-rising Empire. It was only when Austria saw that Poland's fate was settled, that with or without her,

the other two Powers were determined to annihilate her, it was only then that in self-protection she went in for a share of the territory. But as early as 1815 she held out for the restoration of an independent Poland; in 1831 and in 1863 she was ready to go to war for that object, and give up her own share of Poland, provided England and France were prepared to join her. The same during the Crimean war. This is not said in justification of the general policy of the Austrian Government. Austria has shown often enough that to oppress a weaker nation is congenial work to her rulers. But in the case of Poland the instinct of self-preservation was stronger than the desire for new territory or the habits of Government. And this puts Austria out of court for the present.

As to Prussia, her share of Poland is too trifling to weigh much in the scale. Her friend and ally, Russia, has managed to ease her of nine-tenths of what she got during the three partitions.[111] But what little is left to her weighs as an incubus upon her. It has chained her to the triumphal car of Russia, it has been the means of enabling her Government, even in 1863 and '64, to practise unchallenged, in Prussian-Poland, those breaches of the law, those infractions of individual liberty, of the right of meeting, of the liberty of the press, which were so soon afterwards to be applied to the rest of the country; it has falsified the whole middle-class Liberal movement which, from fear of risking the loss of a few square miles of land on the eastern frontier, allowed the Government to set all law aside with regard to the Poles. The working men, not only of Prussia, but of all Germany, have a greater interest than those of any other country in the restoration of Poland, and they have shown in every revolutionary movement that they know it. Restoration of Poland, to them, is emancipation of their own country from Russian vassalage. And this, we think, puts Prussia out of court, too. Whenever the working classes of Russia (if there is such a thing in that country, in the sense it is understood in Western Europe) form a political programme, and that programme contains the liberation of Poland—then, but not till then, Russia as a nation will be out of court too, and the Government of the Czar will remain alone under indictment.

## II.

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE COMMONWEALTH.*

[*The Commonwealth,* No. 160, March 31, 1866]

Sir,—It is said that to claim independence for Poland is to acknowledge the "principle of nationalities", and that the principle of nationalities is a Bonapartist invention concocted to prop up the Napoleonic despotism in France. Now what is this "principle of nationalities"?

By the treaties of 1815 the boundaries of the various States of Europe were drawn merely to suit diplomatic convenience, and especially to suit the convenience of the then strongest continental Power—Russia. No account was taken either of the wishes, the interests, or the national diversities of the populations. Thus, Poland was divided, Germany was divided, Italy was divided, not to speak of the many smaller nationalities inhabiting south-eastern Europe, and of which few people at that time knew anything. The consequence was that for Poland, Germany, and Italy, the very first step in every political movement was to attempt the restoration of that national unity without which national life was but a shadow. And when, after the suppression of the revolutionary attempts in Italy and Spain, 1821-23, and again, after the revolution of July, 1830, in France, the extreme politicians of the greater part of civilised Europe came into contact with each other, and attempted to work out a kind of common programme, the liberation and unification of the oppressed and subdivided nations became a watchword common to all of them.[112] So it was again in 1848, when the number of oppressed nations was increased by a fresh one, viz., Hungary. There could, indeed, be no two opinions as to the right of every one of the great national subdivisions of Europe to dispose of itself, independently of its neighbours, in all internal matters, so long as it did not encroach upon the liberty of the others. This right was, in fact, one of the fundamental conditions of the internal liberty of all. How could, for instance, Germany aspire to liberty and unity, if at the same time she assisted Austria to keep Italy in bondage, either directly or by her vassals? Why, the total breaking-up of the Austrian monarchy is the very first condition of the unification of Germany!

This right of the great national subdivisions of Europe to political independence, acknowledged as it was by the European democracy, could not but find the same acknowledgment with the working classes especially. It was, in fact, nothing more than to

recognise in other large national bodies of undoubted vitality the same right of individual national existence which the working men of each separate country claimed for themselves. But this recognition, and the sympathy with these national aspirations, were restricted to the large and well-defined historical nations of Europe; there was Italy, Poland, Germany, Hungary. France, Spain, England, Scandinavia, were neither subdivided nor under foreign control, and therefore but indirectly interested in the matter; and as to Russia, she could only be mentioned as the detainer of an immense amount of stolen property, which would have to be disgorged on the day of reckoning.

After the *coup d'état* of 1851, Louis Napoleon, the Emperor "by the grace of God and the national will", had to find a democraticised and popular-sounding name for his foreign policy. What could be better than to inscribe upon his banners the "principle of nationalities"? Every nationality to be the arbiter of its own fate—every detached fraction of any nationality to be allowed to annex itself to its great mother-country—what could be more liberal? Only, mark, there was not, now, any more question of *nations,* but of *nationalities.*

There is no country in Europe where there are not different nationalities under the same government. The Highland Gaels and the Welsh are undoubtedly of different nationalities to what the English are, although nobody will give to these remnants of peoples long gone by the title of nations, any more than to the Celtic inhabitants of Brittany in France. Moreover, no state boundary coincides with the natural boundary of nationality, that of language. There are plenty of people out of France whose mother tongue is French, same as there are plenty of people of German language out of Germany; and in all probability it will ever remain so. It is a natural consequence of the confused and slow-working historical development through which Europe has passed during the last thousand years, that almost every great nation has parted with some outlying portions of its own body, which have become separated from the national life, and in most cases participated in the national life of some other people; so much so, that they do not wish to rejoin their own main stock. The Germans in Switzerland and Alsace do not desire to be reunited to Germany, any more than the French in Belgium and Switzerland wish to become attached politically to France. And after all, it is no slight advantage that the various nations, as politically constituted, have most of them some foreign elements within themselves, which form connecting links with their neigh-

bours, and vary the otherwise too monotonous uniformity of the national character.

Here, then, we perceive the difference between the "principle of *nationalities*" and the old democratic and working-class tenet as to the right of the great European *nations* to separate and independent existence. The "principle of nationalities" leaves entirely untouched the great question of the right of national existence for the historic peoples of Europe; nay, if it touches it, it is merely to disturb it. The principle of nationalities raises two sorts of questions; first of all, questions of boundary between these great historic peoples; and secondly, questions as to the right to independent national existence of those numerous small relics of peoples which, after having figured for a longer or shorter period on the stage of history, were finally absorbed as integral portions into one or the other of those more powerful nations whose greater vitality enabled them to overcome greater obstacles. The European importance, the vitality of a people is as nothing in the eyes of the principle of nationalities; before it, the Roumans of Wallachia, who never had a history, nor the energy required to have one, are of equal importance to the Italians who have a history of 2,000 years, and an unimpaired national vitality; the Welsh and Manxmen, if they desired it, would have an equal right to independent political existence, absurd though it would be, with the English.[113] The whole thing is an absurdity, got up in a popular dress in order to throw dust in shallow people's eyes, and to be used as a convenient phrase, or to be laid aside if the occasion requires it.

Shallow as the thing is, it required cleverer brains than Louis Napoleon's to invent it. The principle of nationalities, so far from being a Bonapartist invention to favour a resurrection of Poland, is nothing but a *Russian invention concocted to destroy Poland.* Russia has absorbed the greater part of ancient Poland on the plea of the principle of nationalities, as we shall see hereafter. The idea is more than a hundred years old, and Russia uses it now every day. What is Panslavism but the application, by Russia, and in Russian interest, of the principle of nationalities to the Serbians, Croats, Ruthenes,[114] Slovaks, Czechs, and other remnants of bygone Slavonian peoples in Turkey, Hungary, and Germany? Even at this present moment, the Russian Government have agents travelling among the Lapponians in Northern Norway and Sweden, trying to agitate among these nomadic savages the idea of a "great Finnic nationality", which is to be restored in the extreme North of Europe, under Russian protection, of course. The "cry

of anguish" of the oppressed Laplanders is raised very loud in the Russian papers—not by those same oppressed nomads, but by the Russian agents—and indeed it is a frightful oppression, to induce these poor Laplanders to learn the civilised Norwegian or Swedish language, instead of confining themselves to their own barbaric, half Esquimaux idiom! The principle of nationalities, indeed, could be invented in Eastern Europe alone, where the tide of Asiatic invasion, for a thousand years, recurred again and again, and left on the shore those heaps of intermingled ruins of nations which even now the ethnologist can scarcely disentangle, and where the Turk, the Finnic Magyar, the Rouman, the Jew, and about a dozen Slavonic tribes, live intermixed in interminable confusion. That was the ground to work the principle of nationalities, and how Russia has worked it there, we shall see by-and-by in the example of Poland.[a]

## III.

## THE DOCTRINE OF NATIONALITY APPLIED TO POLAND.

[*The Commonwealth,* No. 165, May 5, 1866]

*Poland,* like almost all other European countries, is inhabited by people of different nationalities. The mass of the population, the nucleus of its strength, is no doubt formed by the Poles proper, who speak the Polish language. But ever since 1390 Poland proper has been united to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,[115] which has formed, up to the last partition in 1794, an integral portion of the Polish Republic. This Grand Duchy of Lithuania was inhabited by a great variety of races. The northern provinces, on the Baltic, were in possession of *Lithuanians* proper, people speaking a language distinct from that of their Slavonic neighbours; these Lithuanians had been, to a great extent, conquered by German immigrants, who, again, found it hard to hold their own against the Lithuanian Grand Dukes. Further south, and east of the present kingdom of Poland, were the *White Russians,* speaking a language betwixt Polish and Russian, but nearer the latter; and finally the southern provinces were inhabited by the so-called *Little Russians,*[b] whose language is now by most authorities considered as perfectly distinct from the Great Russian (the language we

[a] Here follows an editor's note: (To be continued).—*Ed.*
[b] Ukrainians.—*Ed.*

commonly call Russian). Therefore, if people say that, to demand the restoration of Poland is to appeal to the principle of nationalities, they merely prove that they do not know what they are talking about, for the restoration of Poland means the re-establishment of a State composed of at least four different nationalities.

When the old Polish State was thus being formed by the union with Lithuania, where was then Russia? Under the heel of the Mongolian conqueror, whom the Poles and Germans combined, 150 years before, had driven back east of the Dnieper. It took a long struggle until the Grand Dukes of Moscow finally shook off the Mongol yoke, and set about combining the many different principalities of Great Russia into one State.[116] But this success seems only to have increased their ambition. No sooner had Constantinople fallen to the Turk,[a] than the Moscovite Grand Duke[b] placed in his coat-of-arms the double-headed eagle of the Byzantine Emperors, thereby setting up his claim as their successor and future avenger; and ever since, it is well known, have the Russians worked to conquer Czaregrad, the town of the Czar, as they call Constantinople in their language. Then, the rich plains of Little Russia excited their lust of annexation; but the Poles were then a strong, and always a brave people, and not only knew how to fight for their own, but also how to retaliate; in the beginning of the seventeenth century they even held Moscow for a few years.[117]

The gradual demoralisation of the ruling aristocracy, the want of power to develop a middle class, and the constant wars devastating the country, at last broke the strength of Poland. A country which persisted in maintaining unimpaired the feudal state of society, while all its neighbours progressed, formed a middle class, developed commerce and industry, and created large towns—such a country was doomed to ruin. No doubt the aristocracy *did* ruin Poland, and ruin her thoroughly; and after ruining her, they upbraided each other for having done so, and sold themselves and their country to the foreigner. Polish history, from 1700 to 1772, is nothing but a record of Russian usurpation of dominion in Poland, rendered possible by the corruptibility of the nobles. Russian soldiers were almost constantly occupying the country, and the Kings of Poland, if not willing traitors themselves, were placed more and more under the thumb of the

[a] in 1453.—*Ed.*
[b] Ivan III.—*Ed.*

Russian Ambassador. So well had this game succeeded, and so long had it been played, that, when Poland at last was annihilated, there was no outcry at all in Europe, and, indeed, people were astonished at this only, that Russia should have the generosity of giving such a large slice of the territory to Austria and Prussia.

The way in which this partition was brought about, is particularly interesting. There was, at that time, already an enlightened "public opinion" in Europe. Although the *Times* newspaper had not yet begun to manufacture that article, there was that kind of public opinion which had been created by the immense influence of Diderot, Voltaire, Rousseau, and the other French writers of the eighteenth century. Russia always knew that it is important to have public opinion on one's side, if possible; and Russia took care to have it, too. The Court of Catherine II was made the head-quarters of the enlightened men of the day, especially Frenchmen; the most enlightened principle was professed by the Empress and her Court, and so well did she succeed in deceiving them that Voltaire and many others sang the praise of the "Semiramis of the North", and proclaimed Russia the most progressive country in the world, the home of liberal principles, the champion of religious toleration.

Religious toleration—that was the word wanted to put down Poland. Poland had always been extremely liberal in religious matters; witness the asylum the Jews found there while they were persecuted in all other parts of Europe. The greater portion of the people in the Eastern provinces belonged to the Greek faith, while the Poles proper were Roman Catholics. A considerable portion of these Greek Catholics had been induced, during the sixteenth century, to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, and were called United Greeks[118]; but a great many continued true to their old Greek religion in all respects. They were principally the serfs, their noble masters being almost all Roman Catholics, they were Little Russians by nationality. Now, this Russian Government, which did not tolerate at home any other religion but the Greek, and punished apostasy as a crime; which was conquering foreign nations and annexing foreign provinces right and left; and which was at that time engaged in riveting still firmer the fetters of the Russian serf—this same Russian Government came soon upon Poland in the name of religious toleration, because Poland was said to oppress the Greek Catholics; in the name of the principle of nationalities, because the inhabitants of these Eastern provinces were *Little* Russians, and ought, therefore, to be annexed to *Great* Russia; and in the name of the right of revolution arming the

serfs against their masters. Russia is not at all scrupulous in the selection of her means. Talk about a war of class against class as something extremely revolutionary;—why, Russia set such a war on foot in Poland nearly 100 years ago, and a fine specimen of a class-war it was, when Russian soldiers and Little Russian serfs went in company to burn down the castles of the Polish lords, merely to prepare Russian annexation, which being once accomplished, the same Russian soldiers put the serfs back again under the yoke of their lords.

All this was done in the cause of religious toleration, because the principle of nationalities was not then fashionable in Western Europe. But it was held up before the eyes of the Little Russian peasants at the time, and has played an important part since in Polish affairs. The first and foremost ambition of Russia is the union of all Russian tribes under the Czar, who calls himself the Autocrat of all the Russias (*Samodergetz vseckh Rossyiskikh*), and among these she includes White and Little Russia. And in order to prove that her ambition went no further, she took very good care, during the three partitions, to annex none but White and Little Russian provinces; leaving the country inhabited by Poles, and even a portion of Little Russia (Eastern Galicia) to her accomplices. But how do matters stand now? The greater portion of the provinces annexed in 1793 and 1794 by Austria and Prussia are now under Russian dominion, under the name of the Kingdom of Poland, and from time to time hopes are raised among the Poles, that if they will only submit to Russian supremacy, and renounce all claims to the ancient Lithuanian provinces, they may expect a reunion of all other Polish provinces and a restoration of Poland, with the Russian Emperor for a King. And if at the present juncture Prussia and Austria came to blows, it is more than probable that the war will not be, ultimately, for the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia, or of Venice to Italy, but rather of Austrian, and at least a portion of Prussian, Poland to Russia.

So much for the principle of nationalities in Polish affairs.

Written at the end of January and before April 6, 1866

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Signed: *Frederic Engels*

Reproduced from the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## A WARNING[119]

Some time ago the London journeymen tailors formed a general association[120] to uphold their demands against the London master tailors, who are mostly big capitalists. It was a question not only of bringing wages into line with the increased prices of means of subsistence, but also of putting an end to the exceedingly harsh treatment of the workers in this branch of industry. The masters sought to frustrate this plan by recruiting journeymen tailors, chiefly in Belgium, France and Switzerland. Thereupon the secretaries of the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association published in Belgian, French and Swiss newspapers a warning which was a complete success.[121] The London masters' manoeuvre was foiled; they had to surrender and meet their workers' just demands.

Defeated in England, the masters are now trying to take counter-measures, starting in *Scotland.* The fact is that, as a result of the London events, they had to agree, initially, to a 15 per cent. wage rise in Edinburgh as well. But secretly they sent agents to Germany to recruit journeymen tailors, particularly in the Hanover and Mecklenburg areas, for importation to Edinburgh. The first group has already been shipped off. The purpose of this importation is the same as that of the importation of Indian[a] COOLIES to Jamaica, namely, *perpetuation of slavery.* If the Edinburgh masters succeeded, through the import of German labour, in nullifying the concessions they had already made, it would inevitably lead to repercussions in England. *No one would suffer more than the German workers themselves,* who constitute in Great

[a] "Asiatic" in the original.—*Ed.*

Britain a larger number than the workers of all the other Continental nations. And the newly-imported workers, being completely helpless in a strange land, would soon sink to the level of pariahs.

Furthermore, it is a point of honour with the German workers to prove to other countries that they, like their brothers in France, Belgium and Switzerland, know how to defend the common interests of their class and will not become *obedient mercenaries of capital* in its struggle against labour.

On behalf of the Central Council[a]
of the International Working Men's Association,

*Karl Marx*

London, May 4, 1866

German journeymen tailors who wish to know more about conditions in Britain are requested to address their letters to the German branch committee of the London Tailors' Association, c/o *Albert F. Haufe,* Crown Public House, Hedden Court, Regent Street, *London.*

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Printed according to the newspaper text checked against the manuscript

[a] "General Council" in the original.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## NOTES ON THE WAR IN GERMANY[122]

### No. I

[*The Manchester Guardian,* No. 6190, June 20, 1866]

The following notes are intended to comment impartially, and from a strictly military point of view, upon the current events of the war, and, as far as possible, to point out their probable influence upon impending operations.

The locality where the first decisive blows must be struck is the frontier of Saxony and Bohemia. The war in Italy can scarcely lead to any decisive results so long as the Quadrilateral[123] remains untaken, and to take that will be rather a lengthy operation. There may be a good deal of warlike action in Western Germany, but from the strength of the forces engaged, it will be altogether subordinate in its results to the events on the Bohemian frontier. To this neighbourhood, therefore, we shall, for the present, exclusively direct our attention.

In order to judge of the strength of the contending armies it will suffice, for all practical purposes, if we take into account the infantry only, keeping in mind, however, that the strength of the Austrian cavalry will be to the Prussian as three to two. The artillery will be, in both armies, in about the same proportion as the infantry, say three guns per 1,000 men.

The Prussian infantry consists of 253 battalions of the line, 83 $^1/_2$ depot battalions, and 116 battalions of the Landwehr (first levy, containing the men from 27 to 32 years of age).[124] Of these, the depot battalions and Landwehr form the garrisons of the fortresses, and are intended, besides, to act against the smaller German states, while the line is massed in and around Saxony to oppose the Austrian army of the north. Deducting about 15 battalions occupying Schleswig-Holstein, and another 15 battalions—the late garrisons of Rastatt, Mainz, and Frankfurt, now

concentrated at Wetzlar—there remain about 220 battalions for the main army. With cavalry and artillery, and such Landwehr as may be drawn from the neighbouring fortresses, this army will contain about 300,000 men, in nine army corps.

The Austrian army of the north counts seven army corps, each of which is considerably stronger than a Prussian one. We know very little at present of their composition and organisation, but there is every reason to believe that they form an army of from 320,000 to 350,000 men. Numerical superiority, therefore, seems assured to the Austrians.

The Prussian army will be under the command-in-chief of the King[a]—that is to say, of a parade soldier of at best very mediocre capacities, and of weak, but often obstinate, character. He will be surrounded, firstly, by the general staff of the army, under General Moltke, an excellent officer; secondly, by his "private military cabinet", composed of personal favourites; and, thirdly, by such other unattached general officers as he may call to his suite. It is impossible to invent a more efficient system for ensuring defeat at the very headquarters of an army. Here is, at the very beginning, the natural jealousy between the staff of the army and the Cabinet of the King, each of which sections will struggle for supreme influence and will concoct and advocate its own pet plan of operations. This alone would render almost impossible all singleness of purpose, all consistent action. But then come the interminable councils of war, which are unavoidable under such circumstances, and which, in nine cases out of ten, end in the adoption of some half measure—the very worst course in war. The orders of to-day, in such cases, generally contradict those of yesterday, and when matters become complicated or threaten to go wrong, no orders at all are given out, and things take their own course. *"Ordre, contre-ordre, désordre,"* as Napoleon used to say. Nobody is responsible, because the irresponsible King takes all responsibility upon himself, and, therefore, nobody does anything until distinctly ordered to do so. The campaign of 1806 was commanded in a similar way by the father of the present King[b]; the defeat of Jena and Auerstädt, and the destruction of the whole Prussian army within three weeks,[125] was the consequence. There is no reason to suppose that the present King is superior in mettle to his father; and if he has found in Count Bismarck a man whose political direction he can implicitly follow, there is no man of

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[a] William I.—*Ed.*
[b] Frederick William III.—*Ed.*

sufficient standing in the army to take exclusive charge, in a similar way, of military matters.

The Austrian army is under the unconditional command of General Benedek, who is an experienced officer and who, at least, knows his mind. The superiority of supreme command is decidedly on the side of the Austrians.

The Prussian troops are subdivided into two "armies"; the first, under Prince Frederick Charles, composed of the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 7th, and 8th corps; the second, under the Crown Prince,[a] of the 5th and 6th corps. The Guards, forming the general reserve, will probably join the first army. Now this subdivision not only breaks the unity of command, but it also induces, very often, the two armies to move on two different lines of operation, to make combined movements, to lay their mutual point of junction within the reach of the enemy; in other words, it tends to keep them separated whereas they ought, as much as possible, to keep together. The Prussians in 1806, and the Austrians in 1859, under very similar circumstances, followed the same course, and were beaten.[126] As to the two commanders, the Crown Prince is an unknown magnitude as a soldier; and Prince Frederick Charles certainly did not show himself to be a great commander in the Danish war.[127]

The Austrian army has no such subdivision; the commanders of the army corps are placed directly under General Benedek. They, are, therefore, again superior to their opponents as far as the organisation of the army goes.

The Prussian soldiers, especially the men of the reserve and such Landwehr men as had to be taken to fill up vacancies in the line (and there are many) go to war against their will; the Austrians, on the contrary, have long wished for a war with Prussia, and await with impatience the order to move. They have, therefore, also the advantage in the *morale* of the troops.

Prussia has had no great war for fifty years; her army is, on the whole, a peace army, with the pedantry and martinetism inherent to all peace armies. No doubt a great deal has been done latterly, especially since 1859, to get rid of this; but the habits of forty years are not so easily eradicated, and a great number of incapable and pedantic men must still be found, particularly in the most important places—those of the field officers. Now the Austrians have been fundamentally cured of this complaint by the war of 1859, and have turned their dearly-bought experience to the very

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[a] Frederick William.—*Ed.*

best use. No doubt, in organisation of detail, in adaptation for, and experience in, warfare, the Austrians again are superior to the Prussians.

With the exception of the Russians the Prussians are the only troops whose normal formation for fighting is the deep close column. Imagine the eight companies of an English battalion in a quarter-distance column, but two companies instead of one forming the front, so that four rows of two companies each form the column, and you have the "Prussian column of attack". A better target for rifled fire-arms than this could not be imagined, and, since rifled cannon can throw a shell into it at 2,000 yards range, such a formation must render it almost impossible to reach the enemy at all. Let one single shell explode in the midst of this mass, and see whether that battalion is fit for anything afterwards on that day.

The Austrians have adopted the loose open column of the French, which is scarcely to be called a column; it is more like two or three lines following each other at 20 or 30 yards distance, and is scarcely, if anything more exposed to losses by artillery than a deployed line. The advantage of tactical formation is, again, on the side of the Austrians.

Against all these advantages the Prussians have but two points to set off. Their commissariat is decidedly better, and the troops will therefore be better fed. The Austrian commissariat, like all Austrian Administration, is one den of bribery and peculation scarcely better than in Russia. Even now we hear of the troops being badly and irregularly fed; in the field and in the fortresses it will be worse still, and the Austrian Administration may happen to be a more dangerous enemy to the fortresses in the Quadrilateral than the Italian artillery.

The second set-off the Prussians have is their superior armament. Although their rifled artillery is decidedly better than that of the Austrians, this will make very little difference in the open field. The range, trajectory, and accuracy of the Prussian and Austrian rifles will be about on a par; but the Prussians have breech-loaders, and can deliver a steady well-aimed fire in the ranks at least four times in a minute. The immense superiority of this arm has been proved in the Danish war, and there is no doubt the Austrians will experience it in a far higher degree. If they, as it is said Benedek has instructed them to do, will not lose much time with firing, but go at the enemy at once with the bayonet, they will have enormous losses. In the Danish war, the loss of the Prussians was never more than one fourth, sometimes only one

tenth, of that of the Danes; and, as a military correspondent of *The Times* a short time ago very correctly pointed out, the Danes were almost everywhere beaten by a minority of troops actually engaged.[a]

Still, in spite of the needle gun, the odds are against the Prussians; and if they refuse to be beaten in the first great battle by the superior leadership, organisation, tactical formation, and *morale* of the Austrians, and last, not least, by their own commanders, then they must certainly be of a different mettle from that of which a peace army of 50 years' standing may be expected to be.

## No. II

[*The Manchester Guardian*, No. 6194, June 25, 1866]

People begin to grow impatient at the apparent inactivity of the two great armies on the Bohemian frontier. But there are plenty of reasons for this delay. Both the Austrians and the Prussians are perfectly aware of the importance of the impending collision, which may decide the result of the whole campaign. Both are hurrying up to the front whatever men they can lay their hands on; the Austrians from their new formations (the fourth and fifth battalions of the infantry regiments), the Prussians from the Landwehr, which at first was intended for garrison duty only.

At the same time, there appears to be on either side an attempt to out-manoeuvre the opposing army, and to enter upon the campaign under the most favourable strategical conditions. To understand this, we shall have to look at the map and examine the country in which these armies are placed.

Taking it for granted that Berlin and Vienna are the normal points of retreat of the two armies, and that therefore the Austrians will aim at the conquest of Berlin and the Prussians at that of Vienna, there are three routes by which they might operate. A large army requires a certain extent of country from the resources of which it has to live on the march, and is compelled, in order to move quick, to march in several columns on as many parallel roads; its front will, therefore, be extended on a line which may vary between, say, sixty and sixteen miles, according to the proximity of the enemy and the distance of the roads from each other. This will have to be kept in mind.

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[a] "Austrian *and* Prussian Armaments", *The Times*, No. 25507, May 25, 1866, p. 5, c. 4.— *Ed.*

The first route would be on the left bank of the Elbe and Moldau, by Leipzig and Prague. It is evident that on this route each of the belligerents would have to cross the river twice, the second time in the face of the enemy. Supposing either army to attempt to turn, by this route, the flank of its opponent, the latter, having the shorter, because straighter road, could still anticipate the turning force on the line of the river, and if successful in repelling it, could march straight upon the enemy's capital. This route, equally disadvantageous to both parties, may therefore be dismissed from consideration.

The second route is on the right bank of the Elbe, between it and the Sudetic mountain chain which divides Silesia from Bohemia and Moravia. This is almost on the straight line from Berlin to Vienna; the portion now lying between the two armies is marked out by the railway from Löbau to Pardubitz. This railway passes through that portion of Bohemia which is bounded by the Elbe to the south and west, and the mountains to the north-east. It has plenty of good roads, and if the two armies were to march straight at each other, here would be the point of collision.

The third route is that by Breslau, and thence across the Sudetic chain. This chain, of no considerable elevation, on the Moravian frontier, where it is crossed by several good roads, rises to greater elevation and abruptness in the Riesengebirge, which forms the boundary of Bohemia. Here there are but few roads across; in fact, between Trautenau and Reichenberg, a distance of forty miles, the whole north-eastern portion of the range is not traversed by a single military road. The only road in existence there, that from Hirschberg to the valley of the Iser, stops short at the Austrian frontier. It follows, then, that this whole barrier of forty miles in length, is impassable, at least for a large army, with its innumerable impediments, and that an advance upon or by Breslau must pass the mountains to the south-west of the Riesengebirge.

Now, what are the relative positions of the two armies, with regard to their communications, if engaged on this route?

The Prussians, by advancing due south from Breslau, lay open their communications with Berlin. The Austrians might, if strong enough to command the almost absolute certainty of victory, leave them to advance as far as the intrenched camp of Olmütz, which would stop them, while they themselves could march upon Berlin, trusting to re-open any temporarily-interrupted communications by a decisive victory; or they might meet the Prussian columns singly as they debouch from the mountains, and, if successful,

drive them back upon Glogau and Posen, whereby Berlin and the greater portion of the Prussian states would be at their mercy. Thus an advance by Breslau would be advisable for the Prussians in case of a great numerical superiority only.

The Austrians are in a far different position. They have the advantage that the bulk of the monarchy lies south-east of Breslau; that is, in the *direct prolongation* of a line drawn from Berlin to Breslau. Having fortified the northern bank of the Danube near Vienna, so as to shelter the capital from a surprise, they may, temporarily and even for a length of time, sacrifice their direct communication with Vienna, and draw their supplies of men and stores from Hungary. They can, therefore, with equal safety operate by way of Löbau and by way of Breslau, to the north or to the south of the hills; they have far greater freedom in manoeuvring than their opponents.

The Prussians, moreover, have further reasons to be cautious. From the northern frontier of Bohemia, the distance to Berlin is not much more than half of that to Vienna; Berlin is so much more exposed. Vienna is sheltered by the Danube, behind which a beaten army can find protection; by the fortifications erected to the north of that river; and by the intrenched camp of Olmütz, which the Prussians could not pass unnoticed with impunity, if the mass of the Austrian army, after a defeat, were to take up a position there. Berlin has no protection of any kind, except the army in the field. Under these circumstances, and those detailed in our first number, the part destined for the Prussians appears to be clearly marked out as a defensive one.

The same series of circumstances, and strong political necessity besides, almost compels Austria to act on the offensive. A single victory may ensure to her great results, while her defeat would not break her power of resistance.

The strategical plan of the campaign in its fundamental features is necessarily very simple. Whichever of the two attacks first, he has only this alternative: either a false attack *north-west* of the Riesengebirge, and the true attack south-east of it, or *vice versa.* The forty-mile barrier is the decisive feature of the seat of war, and round it the armies must gravitate. We shall hear of fighting at both its extremities, and a very few days afterwards will clear up the direction of the true attack, and probably the fate of the first campaign. Yet, with two such unwieldy armies opposed to each other, we feel inclined to think that the most direct route is the safest, and that the difficulty and danger of moving such large bodies of troops in separate columns on different roads through a

difficult mountain country, will almost naturally draw both opposing armies on the route Löbau-Pardubitz.

The actual movements which have taken place are as follows:—The Prussians, in the first week of June, massed their army of Saxony along the Saxon frontier, from Zeitz to Görlitz, and their Silesian army from Hirschberg to Neisse. By the 10th June they drew nearer together, having their right wing on the Elbe near Torgau, and their extreme left near Waldenburg. From the 12th to the 16th, the army of Silesia, now consisting of the 1st, 5th, and 6th corps and the Guards, were again extended to the east, this time as far as Ratibor, that is to say, into the extreme south-eastern corner of Silesia. This looks like a feint, especially the parading of the Guards, which are supposed to be always with the main army. If it be more than a feint, or if measures have not been taken to move these four corps back towards Görlitz at the shortest notice and in the shortest time, then this massing of more than 120,000 men in a remote corner is a palpable mistake; they may be cut off from all possibility of retreat and certainly from all connection with the remainder of the army.

Of the Austrians we know little more than that they were concentrated around Olmütz. The *Times* correspondent in their camp states that their sixth corps, 40,000 strong, arrived on the 19th from Weisskirchen at Olmütz indicating a movement to the westward. He adds that on the 21st headquarters were to be shifted to Trübau, on the frontier between Moravia and Bohemia.[a] This move would point in the same direction, if it did not look exceedingly like a *canard* sent on to London with the intention of being thence telegraphed to the Prussian headquarters in order to mislead them. A general who acts with such secrecy as Benedek, and who has such objections to newspaper correspondents, is not likely to inform them on the 19th where his headquarters will be on the 21st, unless he has his reasons for it.

Before concluding, we may be allowed to cast a glance at the operations in North-western Germany. The Prussians had more troops here than was at first known. They had 15 battalions disposable in Holstein, 12 in Minden, and 18 in Wetzlar. By rapid concentric moves, during which the troops showed a quite unexpected capability of supporting forced marches, they took possession in two days of all the country north of a line from

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[a] "The Austrian Army (from our military correspondent). Headquarters of the Army of the North, Olmütz, June 19", *The Times*, No. 25532, June 23, 1866, p. 9, c. 4.—*Ed.*

Coblenz to Eisenach, and of every line of communication between the eastern and western provinces of the kingdom. The Hessian troops, about 7,000 strong, managed to escape, but the Hanoverians, 10,000 or 12,000, had their direct line of retreat towards Frankfurt cut off, and already on the 17th the rest of the 7th Prussian army corps, 12 battalions, together with the two Coburg battalions, arrived in Eisenach from the Elbe. Thus the Hanoverians appear to be hemmed in on all sides, and could escape only by a miracle of stupidity on the part of the Prussians. As soon as their fate will be settled, a force of 50 Prussian battalions will be available against the Federal army which Prince Alexander of Darmstadt is forming at Frankfurt, and which will consist of about 23,000 Württembergers, 10,000 Darmstadters, 6,000 Nassauers, 13,000 Badeners (only mobilising now), 7,000 Hessians, and 12,000 Austrians, now on the road from Salzburg; in all about 65,000 men, who may be possibly reinforced by from 10,000 to 20,000 Bavarians. About 60,000 men of these are now reported as already concentrated at Frankfurt, and Prince Alexander has ventured upon a forward move by re-occupying Giessen on the 22d. This, however, is of no consequence. The Prussians will not advance against him until they are well concentrated, and then, with 70,000 men of all arms, and their superior armament, they ought to make short work of this motley army.

## No. III

[*The Manchester Guardian*, No. 6197, June 28, 1866]

The first great battle has been fought, not in Bohemia, but in Italy, and the Quadrilateral has again given the Italians a lesson in strategy. The strength of this famous position, as indeed of all fortified positions of any value, consists, not so much in the high defensive capabilities of its four fortresses, but in their being so grouped in a country with strongly-marked military features that the attacking force is almost always induced, and often compelled, to divide itself and attack on two different points, while the defending force can send its whole combined strength against one of these attacks, crush it by superior numbers, and then turn against the other. The Italian army has been induced to commit this fault. The King stood with eleven divisions on the Mincio, while Cialdini with five divisions faced the Lower Po, near Ponte

Lagoscuro and Polesella. An Italian division counts 17 battalions of 700 men each; consequently, Victor Emmanuel would have, with cavalry and artillery, at least 120,000 or 125,000 men, and Cialdini about half that number. While the King crossed the Mincio on the 23d, Cialdini was to cross the Lower Po and act upon the rear of the Austrians; but up to the moment we write, no certain news has arrived of this latter movement having been effected. At all events, the 60,000 men whose presence might, and probably would, have turned the scale on Sunday last at Custozza,[128] cannot, so far, have obtained any advantage at all commensurate to the loss of a great battle.

The Lake of Garda lies encased between two spurs of the Alps, forming, to the south of it, two clusters of hills, between which the Mincio forces its way towards the lagoons of Mantua. Both of these groups form strong military positions; their slopes towards the south overlook the Lombard plain, and command it within gun-range. They are well known in military history. The western group, between Peschiera and Lonato, was the scene of the battles of Castiglione and Lonato in 1796, and of Solferino in 1859[129]; the eastern group, between Peschiera and Verona, was contested during three days in 1848,[130] and again in the battle of last Sunday.

This eastern group of hills slopes down on one side towards the Mincio, where it ends in the plain at Valeggio; on the other side, in a long arc, facing south-east, towards the Adige, which it reaches at Bussolengo. It is divided, from north to south, in two about equal portions by a deep ravine, through which flows the rivulet Tione; so that a force advancing from the Mincio will have first to force the passage of the river, and immediately afterwards find itself again arrested by this ravine. On the edge of the slope, facing the plain, and east of the ravine, are the following villages: Custozza, on the southern extremity; further north, in succession, Somma Campagna, Sona, and Santa Giustina. The railway from Peschiera to Verona crosses the hills at Somma Campagna, the high road at Sona.

In 1848, after the Piedmontese had taken Peschiera, they blockaded Mantua and extended their army from beyond that place to Rivoli, on the Lake of Garda, their centre occupying the hills in question. On the 23d July Radetzky advanced with seven brigades from Verona, broke through the centre of this over-extended line, and occupied the hills himself. On the 24th and 25th the Piedmontese tried to re-take the position, but were decisively beaten on the 25th, and retreated at once through Milan

beyond the Ticino. This first battle of Custozza decided the campaign of 1848.

The telegrams from the Italian headquarters about last Sunday's battle are rather contradictory; but, with the assistance of those from the other side, we get a pretty clear insight into the circumstances under which it was fought. Victor Emmanuel intended his 1st corps (General Durando, four divisions or 68 battalions), to take up a position between Peschiera and Verona, so as to be able to cover a siege of the former place. This position must, of course, be Sona and Somma Campagna. The 2d corps (General Cucchiari, three divisions or 51 battalions) and 3d corps (General Della Rocca, of the same strength as the second) were to cross the Mincio at the same time, to cover the operations of the 1st. The 1st corps must have crossed near or south of Saliongo, and taken the road of the hills at once; the 2d seems to have crossed at Valeggio, and the 3d at Goito, and advanced in the plain. This took place on Saturday the 23d. The Austrian brigade Pulz, which held the outposts on the Mincio, fell slowly back on Verona; and on Sunday,[a] the anniversary of Solferino, the whole of the Austrian army debouched from Verona to meet the enemy. They appear to have arrived in time to occupy the heights of Sona and Somma Campagna, and the eastern edge of the ravine of the Tione before the Italians. The struggle then would principally be fought for the passage of the ravine. At the southern extremity the two corps in the plain could co-operate with the 1st Italian corps in the hills, and thus Custozza fell into their hands. Gradually the Italians in the plain would advance more and more in the direction of Verona, in order to act upon the Austrian flank and rear, and the Austrians would send troops to meet them. Thus the front lines of the two armies, which were originally facing east and west respectively, would wheel round a quarter circle, the Austrians facing south and the Italians north. But, as the hills retreat from Custozza to the north-east, this flank movement of the Italian 2d and 3d corps could not immediately affect the position of their 1st corps in the hills, because it could not be extended far enough without danger to the flanking troops themselves. Thus the Austrians appear merely to have occupied the 2d and 3d corps by troops sufficient to break their first impetus, while they launched every available man upon the 1st corps, and crushed it by superior numbers. They were perfectly successful; the first corps was repulsed, after a gallant struggle,

[a] June 24, 1866.—*Ed.*

and at last Custozza was stormed by the Austrians. By this, the Italian right wing advanced east and north-east beyond Custozza, appears to have been seriously endangered; consequently a new struggle for the village took place, during which the lost connection must have been restored, and the Austrian advance from Custozza checked, but the place remained in their hands, and the Italians had to re-cross the Mincio the same night.

We give this sketch of the battle, not as a historical account—for which every detail is as yet wanting—but merely as an attempt, map in hand, to reconcile the various telegrams relating to it amongst each other, and with military common sense; and if the telegrams were anything like correct and complete, we feel confident that the general outline of the battle would appear to be not very different from what we have stated.

The Austrians lost about 600 prisoners, the Italians 2,000, and a few guns. This shows the battle to have been a defeat, but no disaster. The forces must have been pretty equally matched, although it is very probable that the Austrians had less troops under fire than their opponents. The Italians have every reason to congratulate themselves that they were not driven back into the Mincio; the position of the 1st corps between that river and the ravine, on a strip of land between two and four miles wide, and a superior enemy in front, must have been one of considerable danger. It was undoubtedly a mistake to send the main body of the troops into the plain; while the commanding heights, the decisive points, were neglected; but the greatest mistake was, as we pointed out before, to divide the army, to leave Cialdini with 60,000 men on the Lower Po, and to attack with the remainder alone. Cialdini could have contributed to a victory before Verona, and then, marching back to the Lower Po, have effected his passage much more easily, if this combined manoeuvre was to be insisted upon at all hazards. As it is, he seems no further advanced than on the first day, and may now have to meet stronger forces than hitherto. The Italians ought, by this time, to know that they have a very tough opponent to deal with. At Solferino, Benedek, with 26,000 Austrians, held the whole Piedmontese army of fully double that number at bay for the whole day, until he was ordered to retreat in consequence of the defeat of the other corps by the French. That Piedmontese army was much superior to the present Italian army; it was better schooled, more homogeneous, and better officered. The present army is but of very recent formation and must suffer from all the disadvantages inherent to such; while the Austrian army of to-day is much superior to that of 1859.

National enthusiasm is a capital thing to work upon, but until disciplined and organised, nobody can win battles with it. Even Garibaldi's "thousand"[131] were not a crowd of mere enthusiasts, they were drilled men who had learnt to obey orders and to face powder and shot in 1859. It is to be hoped that the staff of the Italian army, for their own good, will refrain from taking liberties with an army which, if numerically inferior, is intrinsically superior to theirs, and, moreover, holds one of the strongest positions in Europe.

## No. IV

[*The Manchester Guardian*, No. 6201, July 3, 1866]

Suppose a young Prussian ensign or cornet, under examination for a lieutenancy, to be asked what would be the safest plan for a Prussian army to invade Bohemia? Suppose our young officer were to answer,—"Your best way will be to divide your troops into two about equal bodies, to send one round by the east of the Riesengebirge, the other to the west, and effect their junction in Gitschin." What would the examining officer say to this? He would inform the young gentleman that this plan sinned against the two very first laws of strategy:—Firstly, never to divide your troops so that they cannot support each other, but to keep them well together; and, secondly, in case of an advance on different roads, to effect the junction of the different columns at a point which is not within reach of the enemy; that, therefore, the plan proposed was the very worst of all; that it could only be taken into consideration at all in case Bohemia was quite unoccupied by hostile troops; and that, consequently, an officer proposing such a plan of campaign was not fit to hold even a lieutenant's commission.

Yet, this is the very plan which the wise and learned staff of the Prussian army have adopted. It is almost incredible; but it is so. The mistake for which the Italians had to suffer at Custozza, has been again committed by the Prussians, and under circumstances which made it ten-fold worse. The Italians knew at least that, with ten divisions, they would be numerically superior to the enemy. The Prussians must have known that if they kept their nine corps together they would be at best barely on a par, as far as numbers went, with Benedek's eight corps; and that by dividing their troops they exposed the two armies to the almost certain fate of being crushed in succession by superior numbers. It would be completely

inexplicable how such a plan could ever be discussed, much less adopted, by a body of such unquestionably capable officers as form the Prussian staff—if it was not for the fact of King William being in chief command. But nobody could possibly expect that the fatal consequences of kings and princes taking high command would come out so soon and so strong. The Prussians are now fighting, in Bohemia, a life-and-death struggle. If the junction of the two armies at or about Gitschin is prevented, if each of the two, being beaten, has to retire out of Bohemia, and, by retiring, to get further away again from the other then the campaign may be said to be virtually over. Then Benedek may leave the army of the Crown Prince[a] unnoticed while it retires towards Breslau, and follow up, with all his forces, the army of Prince Frederick Charles, which can hardly escape utter destruction.

The question is, Will this junction have been prevented? Up to the moment we write we have no news of events later than Friday evening, the 29th. The Prussians, beaten out of Gitschin (the name of the place, in Bohemian, is spelt Jičin) on the 28th by General Edelsheim, claim to have stormed the town again on the 29th, and this is the last information we possess. The junction was not then effected; at least four Austrian and parts of the Saxon army corps had then been engaged against about five or six Prussian corps.

The various columns of the army of the Crown Prince, as they descended into the valley on the Bohemian side of the hills, were met by the Austrians at favourable points where the valley, widening out, allowed them to offer a larger front to the Prussian columns, and to attempt to prevent them from deploying; while the Prussians would send troops, wherever practicable, through the lateral valleys, to take their opponents in flank and rear. This is always the case in mountain warfare, and accounts for the great number of prisoners that are always made under such circumstances. On the other side, the armies of Prince Frederick Charles and Herwarth von Bittenfeld appear to have got through the passes almost unopposed; the first engagements took place on the line of the Iser river, that is almost midway between the starting points of the two armies. It would be idle to try to disentangle and bring into harmony the fearfully contradictory, and often totally unauthenticated, telegrams which have come to hand these last three or four days.

The fighting has been necessarily very much chequered in its results: as new forces came up, victory favoured first one and then

[a] Frederick William.—*Ed.*

the other side. Up to Friday, however, the general result appears to have been, so far, in favour of the Prussians. If they maintained themselves in Gitschin, no doubt the junction was effected on Saturday or Sunday, and then their greatest danger would be passed. The final fight for the junction would probably be fought with concentrated masses on both sides, and decide the campaign for some time, at least. If the Prussians were victorious, they would be at once out of all their self-begotten difficulties, but they might have obtained the same, and even greater, advantages without exposing themselves to such unnecessary dangers.

The fighting appears to have been very severe. The very first Austrian brigade which met the Prussians in battle, was the "black and yellow" brigade, which, in Schleswig, stormed the Königsberg, near Oberselk, the day before the evacuation of the Dannevirke. It is called black and yellow after the facings of the two regiments composing it, and was always considered one of the best brigades in the service. They were, however, beaten by the needle-gun, and above 500 men of one of its regiments (Martini) were taken prisoners after they had charged the Prussian lines five times in vain. In a later engagement, the colours of the 3d battalion, of the Deutschmeister regiment were taken. This regiment, recruited in Vienna exclusively, is considered the best in the whole army. Thus the very best troops have been already in action. The Prussians must have behaved splendidly for an old peace army. When war was actually declared, a totally different spirit came over the army, brought on, chiefly, by the clearing-out of the small fry of potentates in the north-west.[132] It gave the troops—rightly or wrongly, we merely register the fact—the idea that they were asked to fight, this time, for the unification of Germany, and the hitherto sullen and sulky men of the reserve and Landwehr then crossed the frontier of Austria with loud cheers. It is owing to this chiefly that they fought so well; but at the same time we must ascribe the greater portion of whatever success they have had to their breech-loaders; and if they ever get out of the difficulties into which their generals so wantonly placed them, they will have to thank the needle-gun for it. The reports as to its immense superiority over the muzzle-loaders are again unanimous. A sergeant from the Martini regiment, taken prisoner, said to the correspondent of the *Cologne Gazette*[a]:

"We have surely done whatever may be expected from brave soldiers, but no man can stand against that rapid fire."

[a] "Reichenberg, 27. Juni, Mittags", *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 179, June 29, 1866.—*Ed.*

If the Austrians are beaten, it will be not so much General Benedek or General Ramming as General Ramrod who is to blame for the result.

In the north-west, the Hanoverians, brought to a sense of their position by a sharp attack from General Manteuffel's advanced guard under General Flies, have surrendered, and thereby 59 Prussian battalions will be at liberty to act against the Federal troops. It was high time, too, that this should be done before Bavaria had completed all her armaments, for otherwise much stronger forces would be required to subdue South-western Germany. Bavaria is notoriously always slow and behindhand with her military arrangements, but when they are complete, she can bring into the field from 60,000 to 80,000 good troops. We may now soon hear of a rapid concentration of Prussians on the Main and of active operations against Prince Alexander of Hesse Darmstadt and his army.

## No. V

[*The Manchester Guardian,* No. 6204, July 6, 1866]

The campaign which the Prussians opened with a signal strategic blunder has been since carried on by them with such a terrible tactical energy that it was brought to a victorious close in exactly eight days.

We said in our last note that the only case in which the Prussian plan of invading Bohemia by two armies separated by the Riesengebirge could be justified was that in which Bohemia was unoccupied by hostile troops. The mysterious plan of General Benedek appears to have mainly consisted in creating a situation of that sort. There appear to have been but two Austrian army corps—the 1st (Clam-Gallas) and the 6th (Ramming)—in the north-western corner of Bohemia, where, from the beginning, we expected the decisive actions would be fought. If this was intended to draw the Prussians into a trap, Benedek has succeeded so well that he got caught in it himself. At all events, the Prussian advance on two lines, with from forty to fifty miles of impassable ground between them, towards a point of junction two full marches from the starting points, and within the enemy's lines,—this advance remains a highly dangerous manoeuvre under all circumstances, and one which would have been followed by signal defeat but for Benedek's strange slowness, for the unexpected dash of the Prussian troops, and for their breech-loading rifles.

The advance of Prince Frederick Charles took place with three corps (the 3d, 4th, and 2d, the latter in reserve) by Reichenberg, north of a difficult range of hills, on the southern side of which General Herwarth advanced with a corps and a half (the 8th and one division of the 7th). At the same time, the Crown Prince stood, with the 1st, 5th, and 6th corps, and the Guards, in the mountains about Glatz. Thus the army was divided into three columns—one on the right, of 45,000, one in the centre, of 90,000, and one on the left, of 120,000 men—none of which could support either of the others for at least several days. Here, if ever, there was a chance for a general commanding at least an equal number of men to crush his opponents in detail. But nothing appears to have been done. On the 26th Prince Frederick Charles had the first serious engagement, at Turnau, with a brigade of the 1st corps, by which he established his communication with Herwarth; on the 27th, the latter took Münchengrätz, while, of the army of the Crown Prince, a first column, the 5th corps, advanced beyond Nachod, and beat the 6th Austrian corps (Ramming) severely; on the 28th, the only slightly unlucky day for the Prussians, Prince Frederick Charles's advance guard took Gitschin, but was again dislodged by General Edelsheim's cavalry, while the 1st corps of the army of the Crown Prince was checked with some loss at Trautenau by the 10th Austrian corps of Gablenz, and only disengaged by the advance of the Guards towards Eipel, on an intermediate road between the 1st and 5th Prussian corps. On the 29th, Prince Frederick Charles stormed Gitschin, and the army of the Crown Prince totally defeated the 6th, 8th, and 10th Austrian corps. On the 30th, a fresh attempt of Benedek's to re-take Gitschin by the 1st corps and the Saxon army was signally foiled, and the two Prussian armies effected a junction. The Austrian loss represents men to the number of at least a corps and a half, while that of the Prussians is less than one fourth that number.

Thus we find that on the 27th there were only two Austrian army corps, of about 33,000 men each, at hand; on the 28th, three; on the 29th, four, and if one Prussian telegram be correct, part of a fifth (the 4th corps); while on the 30th the Saxon army corps only had been able to come up in support. There were, then, two, if not three, corps absent from the contested ground during all that time, while the Prussians brought every man down into Bohemia. In fact, up to the evening of the 29th, the whole of the Austrian troops on the spot were barely superior in numbers to either of the two Prussian armies, and being brought into line

successively, the supports arriving after the defeat only of the troops first engaged, the result was disastrous.

The 3d army corps (Archduke Ernst), which fought at Custozza, is reported to have been sent to the north by rail immediately after that battle, and is, in some accounts, set down among Benedek's available forces. This corps, which would make the whole force, including the Saxons, nine corps, could not have been up in time for the battles in the latter days of June.

The Prussians, whatever the faults of their plan of operations were, made up for them by their rapidity and energy of action. No fault can be found with the operations of either of their two armies. Short, sharp, and decisive were all their blows, and completely successful. Nor did this energy forsake them after the two armies were joined; on they marched, and already on the 3d they met Benedek's combined forces with the whole of theirs, and gave them a last crushing blow.[133]

It is hardly possible to suppose that Benedek accepted this battle of his own free will. No doubt the rapid pursuit of the Prussians compelled him to take a strong position with all his army, in order to re-form his troops, and to give a day's start to his retiring army train, expecting not to be attacked in force during the day, and to be able to draw off during the night. A man in his position, with four of his corps completely shattered, and after such tremendous losses, cannot have desired, there and then, to deliver a decisive battle, if he could draw off in safety. But the Prussians appear to have compelled him to fight, and the result was the complete rout of the Austrians, who, if the armistice be not granted, will now be trying to make towards Olmütz or Vienna, under the most disadvantageous circumstances, for the slightest out-flanking movement of the Prussians on their right must cut off numerous detachments from the direct road, and drive them into the hills of Glatz, to be made prisoners. The "army of the north", as splendid a host as there was in Europe ten days ago, has ceased to exist.

No doubt the needle-gun, with its rapid fire, has done a great part of this. It may be doubted whether without it the junction of the two Prussian armies could have been effected; and it is quite certain that this immense and rapid success could not have been obtained without such superior fire, for the Austrian army is habitually less subject to panic than most European armies. But there were other circumstances co-operating. We have already mentioned the excellent dispositions and unhesitating action of the two Prussian armies, from the moment they entered Bohemia. We may add that they also deviated, in this campaign, from the

column system, and brought their masses forward principally in deployed lines, so as to bring every rifle into activity, and to save their men from the fire of artillery. We must acknowledge that the movements both on the march and before the enemy were carried out with an order and punctuality which no man could have expected from an army and administration covered with the rust of fifty years' peace. And, finally, all the world must have been surprised at the dash displayed by these young troops in each and every engagement without exception. It is all very well to say the breech-loaders did it, but they are not self-acting, they want stout hearts and strong arms to carry them. The Prussians fought very often against superior numbers, and were almost everywhere the attacking party; the Austrians, therefore, had the choice of ground. And in attacking strong positions and barricaded towns, the advantages of the breech-loader almost disappear; the bayonet has to do the work, and there has been a good deal of it. The cavalry, moreover, acted with the same dash, and with them cold steel and speed of horse are the only weapons in a charge. The French *canards* of Prussian cavalry lines first peppering their opponents with carbine fire (breech-loading or otherwise) and then rushing at them sword in hand, could only originate among a people whose cavalry has very often been guilty of that trick, and always been punished for it by being borne down by the superior impetus of the charging enemy. There is no mistaking it, the Prussian army has, within a single week, conquered a position as high as ever it held, and may well feel confident now to be able to cope with any opponent. There is no campaign on record where an equally signal success, in an equally short time, and without any noteworthy check, has been obtained, except that campaign of Jena which annihilated the Prussians of that day, and, if we except the defeat of Ligny,[134] the campaign of Waterloo.

Written between June 19 and July 5, 1866

First published in *The Manchester Guardian,* Nos. 6190, 6194, 6197, 6201 and 6204, June 20, 25 and 28, July 3 and 6, 1866

Reproduced from the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## [PROPOSALS OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON THE PROGRAMME OF THE GENEVA CONGRESS[135]]

1. They recommend the order as published in the French programme with the single amendment that the last question be amalgamated with the first.[136]

2. That the Secretary be instructed to make out a report of the number of members and a general statement of income and expenditure.

3. They recommend the Congress to make an enquiry into the condition of the working classes according to the following schedule of enquiries[137]:

1) Occupation,[a] name of.
2) Age and sex of the employed.
3) Number of the employed.
4) Hiring and wages. A. Apprentices. B. Wages, day or piece work. Whether paid by middlemen, etc. Weekly, yearly average earnings.
5) Hours of labour. In factories. Hours of small employers and home work if the business carried on in those modes. Nightwork, daywork.
6) Meal times and treatment.
7) State of place and work, overcrowding, defective ventilation, want of sunlight, use of gaslight, etc., cleanliness, etc.
8) Nature of the occupation.
9) Effect of employment upon the physical condition.

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[a] In the Minute Book this word is written instead of "Industry" which is crossed out.— *Ed.*

10) Moral condition. Education.

11) State of trade, whether season trade or more or less uniformly distributed over year, whether greatly fluctuating, whether exposed to foreign competition, whether destined principally for home or foreign consumption, etc.

[4] That a yearly contribution of $^1/_2$ [d.] per member be paid by societies joining, cost price of cards or *livrets* to be charged extra. The Secretary to have power to negotiate with poor societies on easier terms.[a]

[5] The Committee recommends that the Council advise members to found benefit societies and to organise an international exchange between benefit societies.[b]

[6] That the local committees keep reports of the state of trade in their districts and act as intelligence officers for working men.

Adopted by the Central Council on July 31, 1866 with certain alterations

First published in *The Commonwealth*, No. 180, August 18, 1866

Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council checked with the newspaper

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[a] In *The Commonwealth* this para reads: "They also recommend to the Congress the election of a General Secretary who shall be permanently engaged on the business of the Association, which has now assumed such proportions as to make the above a necessity. They also recommend that the rate of contributions for organised bodies be at the rate of one half-penny per member per year, the cost price of cards (livrets) to be charged extra."—*Ed.*

[b] After this the Minute Book has: "A debate arose on this point. The recommendation was amended so as to require that the Swiss members take the initiative at the Congress on this question.

"The resolution in its amended form was carried unanimously."—*Ed.*

THE INTERNATIONAL COURIER
ENGLISH PART.
Published every Wednesday.

Nos 6 & 7. Vol. IV. (Registered for transmission abroad.) LONDON, FEBRUARY 20, 1867. ONE PENNY.

# Karl Marx

## INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE DELEGATES OF THE PROVISIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL. THE DIFFERENT QUESTIONS[138]

### 1.—ORGANISATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION

Upon the whole, the Provisional Central Council recommend the *plan of Organisation* as traced in the Provisional Statutes. Its soundness and facilities of adaptation to different countries without prejudice to unity of action have been proved by two years' experience. For the next year we recommend London as the seat of the Central Council, the Continental situation looking unfavourable for change.

The members of the Central Council will of course be elected by Congress (5 of the Provisional Statutes) with power to add to their number.

The *General Secretary* to be chosen by Congress for one year and to be the only paid officer of the Association. We propose £2 for his weekly salary.[a]

The uniform *annual contribution of each individual member of the Association* to be *one half penny* (perhaps one penny). The cost price of cards of membership (carnets) to be charged extra.

While calling upon the members of the Association to form benefit societies and connect them by an international link, we leave the initiation of this question (établissement des sociétés de secours mutuels. Appui moral et matériel accordé aux orphelins de l'association[b]) to the Swiss who originally proposed it at the conference of September last.

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[a] In the French text the following paragraph has been added: "The *Standing Committee,* which is in fact an executive of the Central Council, to be chosen by Congress, the function of any of its member to be defined by the Central Council." The same paragraph is given in the German text.— *Ed.*

[b] foundation of benefit societies; moral and material assistance to the Association's orphans.— *Ed.*

## 2.—INTERNATIONAL COMBINATION OF EFFORTS, BY THE AGENCY OF THE ASSOCIATION, IN THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN LABOUR AND CAPITAL

(*a*) From a general point of view, this question embraces the whole activity of the International Association which aims at combining and generalising the till now disconnected efforts for emancipation by the working classes in different countries.

(*b*) To counteract the intrigues of capitalists always ready, in cases of strikes and lockouts, to misuse the foreign workman as a tool against the native workman, is one of the particular functions which our Society has hitherto performed with success. It is one of the great purposes of the Association to make the workmen of different countries not only *feel* but *act* as brethren and comrades in the army of emancipation.

(*c*) One great "International combination of efforts" which we suggest is a *statistical inquiry into the situation of the working classes of all countries to be instituted by the working classes themselves.* To act with any success, the materials to be acted upon must be known. By initiating so great a work, the workmen will prove their ability to take their own fate into their own hands. We propose therefore:

That in each locality, where branches of our Association exist, the work be immediately commenced, and evidence collected on the different points specified in the subjoined scheme of inquiry.

That the Congress invite all workmen of Europe and the United States of America to collaborate in gathering the elements of the statistics of the working class; that reports and evidence be forwarded to the Central Council. That the Central Council elaborate them into a general report, adding the evidence as an appendix.

That this report together with its appendix be laid before the next annual Congress, and after having received its sanction, be printed at the expense of the Association.

### GENERAL SCHEME OF INQUIRY, WHICH MAY OF COURSE BE MODIFIED BY EACH LOCALITY

1. Industry, name of.
2. Age and sex of the employed.
3. Number of the employed.
4. Salaries and wages: (*a*) apprentices; (*b*) wages by the day or piece work; scale paid by middlemen. Weekly, yearly average.
5. (*a*) Hours of work in factories. (*b*) The hours of work with

small employers and in home work, if the business be carried on in those different modes. (*c*) Nightwork and daywork.

6. Meal times and treatment.

7. Sort of workshop and work: overcrowding, defective ventilation, want of sunlight, use of gaslight. Cleanliness, etc.

8. Nature of occupation.

9. Effect of employment upon the physical condition.

10. Moral condition. Education.

11. State of trade: whether season trade, or more or less uniformly distributed over year, whether greatly fluctuating, whether exposed to foreign competition, whether destined principally for home or foreign competition,[a] etc.[139]

## 3.—LIMITATION OF THE WORKING DAY

A preliminary condition, without which all further attempts at improvement and emancipation must prove abortive, is the *limitation of the working day.*

It is needed to restore the health and physical energies of the working class, that is, the great body of every nation, as well as to secure them the possibility of intellectual development, sociable intercourse, social and political action.

We propose *8 hours work* as the *legal limit* of the working day. This limitation being generally claimed by the workmen of the United States of America,[140] the vote of the Congress will raise it to the common platform of the working classes all over the world.

For the information of continental members, whose experience of factory law is comparatively short-dated, we add that all legal restrictions will fail and be broken through by Capital if the *period of the day* during which the 8 working hours must be taken, be not fixed. The length of that period ought to be determined by the 8 working hours and the additional pauses for meals. For instance, if the different interruptions for meals amount to *one hour,* the legal period of the day ought to embrace 9 hours, say from 7 a.m. to 4 p.m., or from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., etc. Nightwork to be but exceptionally permitted, in trades or branches of trades specified by law. The tendency must be to suppress all nightwork.

This paragraph refers only to adult persons, male or female, the latter, however, to be rigorously excluded from all *nightwork whatever,* and all sort of work hurtful to the delicacy of the sex, or

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[a] The Minute Book of the General Council has "consumption".— *Ed.*

exposing their bodies to poisonous and otherwise deleterious agencies. By adult persons we understand all persons having reached or passed the age of 18 years.

## 4.—JUVENILE AND CHILDREN'S LABOUR (BOTH SEXES)

We consider the tendency of modern industry to make children and juvenile persons of both sexes co-operate in the great work of social production, as a progressive, sound and legitimate tendency, although under capital it was distorted into an abomination. In a rational state of society *every child whatever,* from the age of 9 years, ought to become a productive labourer in the same way that no able-bodied adult person ought to be exempted from the general law of nature, viz.: to work in order to be able to eat, and work not only with the brain but with the hands too.

However, for the present, we have only to deal with the children and young persons of both sexes divided into *three classes,* to be treated differently[a]; the first class to range from 9 to 12; the second, from 13 to 15 years; and the third, to comprise the ages of 16 and 17 years. We propose that the employment of the first class in any workshop or housework be legally restricted to *two*; that of the second, to *four*; and that of the third, to *six* hours. For the third class, there must be a break of at least one hour for meals or relaxation.

It may be desirable to begin elementary school instruction before the age of 9 years; but we deal here only with the most indispensable antidotes against the tendencies of a social system which degrades the working man into a mere instrument for the accumulation of capital, and transforms parents by their necessities into slave-holders, sellers of their own children. The *right* of children and juvenile persons must be vindicated. They are unable to act for themselves. It is, therefore, the duty of society to act on their behalf.

If the middle and higher classes neglect their duties toward their offspring, it is their own fault. Sharing the privileges of

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[a] Instead of this sentence the French and German texts have two sentences ending the preceding paragraph and beginning a new one: "However, for the present, we have only to deal with the children and young persons belonging to the working class.

"We deem it necessary, basing on physiology, to divide children and young persons of both sexes" and then as in the English text.—*Ed.*

these classes, the child is condemned to suffer from their prejudices.

The case of the working class stands quite different. The working man is no free agent. In too many cases, he is even too ignorant to understand the true interest of his child, or the normal conditions of human development. However, the more enlightened part of the working class fully understands that the future of its class, and, therefore, of mankind, altogether depends upon the formation of the rising working generation. They know that, before everything else, the children and juvenile workers must be saved from the crushing effects of the present system. This can only be effected by converting *social reason* into *social force,* and, under given circumstances, there exists no other method of doing so, than through *general laws,* enforced by the power of the state. In enforcing such laws, the working class do not fortify governmental power. On the contrary, they transform that power, now used against them, into their own agency. They effect by a general act what they would vainly attempt by a multitude of isolated individual efforts.

Proceeding from this standpoint, we say that no parent and no employer ought to be allowed to use juvenile labour, except when combined with education.

By education we understand three things.

Firstly: *Mental education.*

Secondly: *Bodily education,* such as is given in schools of gymnastics, and by military exercise.

Thirdly: *Technological*[a] *training,* which imparts the general principles of all processes of production, and, simultaneously initiates the child and young person in the practical use and handling of the elementary instruments of all trades.

A gradual and progressive course of mental, gymnastic, and technological training ought to correspond to the classification of the juvenile labourers. The costs of the technological[a] schools ought to be partly met by the sale of their products.

The combination of paid productive labour, mental education, bodily exercise and polytechnic training, will raise the working class far above the level of the higher and middle classes.

It is self-understood that the employment of all persons from 9 and to 17 years (inclusively) in nightwork and all health-injuring trades must be strictly prohibited by law.

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[a] The German text has "polytechnical".—*Ed.*

## 5. CO-OPERATIVE LABOUR

It is the business of the International Working Men's Association to combine and generalise the *spontaneous movements* of the working classes, but not to dictate or impose any doctrinary system whatever. The Congress should, therefore, proclaim no *special system* of co-operation, but limit itself to the enunciation of a few general principles.

(*a*) We acknowledge the co-operative movement as one of the transforming forces of the present society based upon class antagonism. Its great merit is to practically show, that the present pauperising, and despotic system of the *subordination of labour* to capital can be superseded by the republican and beneficent system of *the association of free and equal producers.*

(*b*) Restricted, however, to the dwarfish forms into which individual wages slaves can elaborate it by their private efforts, the co-operative system will never transform capitalist society. To convert social production into one large and harmonious system of free and co-operative labour, *general social changes* are wanted, *changes of the general conditions of society,* never to be realised save by the transfer of the organised forces of society, viz., the state power, from capitalists and landlords to the producers themselves.

(*c*) We recommend to the working men to embark in *co-operative production* rather than in *co-operative stores.* The latter touch but the surface of the present economical system, the former attacks its groundwork.

(*d*) We recommend to all co-operative societies to convert one part of their joint income into a fund for propagating their principles by example as well as by precept, in other words, by promoting the establishment of new co-operative fabrics, as well as by teaching and preaching.

(*e*) In order to prevent co-operative societies from degenerating into ordinary middle-class joint stock companies (sociétés par actions), all workmen employed, whether shareholders or not, ought to share alike. As a mere temporary expedient, we are willing to allow shareholders a low rate of interest.

## 6. TRADES' UNIONS. THEIR PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

(*a*) Their past.

Capital is concentrated social force, while the workman has only to dispose of his working force. The *contract* between capital and labour can therefore never be struck on equitable terms, equitable even in the sense of a society which places the ownership of the material means of life and labour on one side and the vital productive energies on the opposite side. The only social power of the workmen is their number. The force of numbers, however, is broken by disunion. The disunion of the workmen is created and perpetuated by their *unavoidable competition among themselves.*

Trades' Unions originally sprang up from the *spontaneous* attempts of workmen at removing or at least checking that competition, in order to conquer such terms of contract as might raise them at least above the condition of mere slaves. The immediate object of Trades' Unions was therefore confined to everyday necessities, to expediences for the obstruction of the incessant encroachments of capital, in one word, to questions of wages and time of labour. This activity of the Trades' Unions is not only legitimate, it is necessary. It cannot be dispensed with so long as the present system of production lasts. On the contrary, it must be generalised by the formation and the combination of Trades' Unions throughout all countries. On the other hand, unconsciously to themselves, the Trades' Unions were forming *centres of organisation* of the working class, as the mediaeval municipalities and communes did for the middle class. If the Trades' Unions are required for the guerilla fights between capital and labour, they are still more important as *organised agencies for superseding the very system of wages labour and capital rule.*

(*b*) Their present.

Too exclusively bent upon the local and immediate struggles with capital, the Trades' Unions have not yet fully understood their power of acting against the system of wages slavery itself. They therefore kept too much aloof from general social and political movements. Of late, however, they seem to awaken to some sense of their great historical mission, as appears, for instance, from their participation, in England, in the recent political movement,[141] from the enlarged views taken of their function in the United States,[142] and from the following resolution passed at the recent great conference of Trades' delegates at Sheffield:

"That this Conference, fully appreciating the efforts made by the International Association to unite in one common bond of brotherhood the working men of all countries, most earnestly recommend to the various societies here represented, the advisability of becoming affiliated to that body, believing that it is essential to the progress and prosperity of the entire working community."[143]

(*c*) Their future.

Apart from their original purposes, they must now learn to act deliberately as organising centres of the working class in the broad interest of its *complete emancipation.* They must aid every social and political movement tending in that direction. Considering themselves and acting as the champions and representatives of the whole working class, they cannot fail to enlist the non-society men into their ranks. They must look carefully after the interests of the worst paid trades, such as the agricultural labourers, rendered powerless[a] by exceptional circumstances. They must convince the world at large[b] that their efforts, far from being narrow and selfish, aim at the emancipation of the downtrodden millions.

## 7. DIRECT AND INDIRECT TAXATION

(*a*) No modification of the form of taxation can produce any important change in the relations of labour and capital.

(*b*) Nevertheless, having to choose between two systems of taxation, we recommend the *total abolition of indirect taxes,* and the *general substitution of direct taxes.*[c]

Because indirect taxes enhance the prices of commodities, the tradesmen adding to those prices not only the amount of the indirect taxes, but the interest and profit upon the capital advanced in their payment;

Because indirect taxes conceal from an individual what he is paying to the state, whereas a direct tax is undisguised, unsophisticated, and not to be misunderstood by the meanest capacity. Direct taxation prompts therefore every individual to control the governing powers while indirect taxation destroys all tendency to self-government.

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[a] The French text here reads: "incapable of organised resistance".—*Ed.*

[b] The French and German texts read: "convince the broad masses of workers".—*Ed.*

[c] In Marx's rough manuscript, the French and German texts here follows: "because direct taxes are cheaper to collect and do not interfere with production".—*Ed.*

## 8. INTERNATIONAL CREDIT

Initiative to be left to the French.

## 9. POLISH QUESTION[a]

(*a*) Why do the workmen of Europe take up this question? In the first instance, because the middle-class writers and agitators conspire to suppress it, although they patronise all sorts of nationalities, on the Continent, even Ireland. Whence this reticence? Because both, aristocrats and bourgeois, look upon the dark Asiatic power in the background as a last resource against the advancing tide of working class ascendency. That power can only be effectually put down by the restoration of Poland upon a democratic basis.

(*b*) In the present changed state of central Europe, and especially Germany, it is more than ever necessary to have a democratic Poland. Without it, Germany will become the outwork of the Holy Alliance,[144] with it, the co-operator with republican France. The working-class movement will continuously be interrupted, checked, and retarded, until this great European question be set at rest.

(*c*) It is especially the duty of the German working class to take the initiative in this matter, because Germany is one of the partitioners of Poland.

## 10. ARMIES[b]

(*a*) The deleterious influence of large standing armies upon *production,* has been sufficiently exposed at middle-class congresses of all denominations, at peace congresses, economical congresses, statistical congresses, philanthropical congresses, sociological congresses. We think it, therefore, quite superfluous to expatiate upon this point.

(*b*) We propose the general armament of the people and their general instruction in the use of arms.

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[a] The French reads: "Necessity of annihilating Russian influence in Europe by implementing the right of nations to self-determination and restoring Poland on a democratic and social basis." The German has a similar subtitle in a somewhat altered wording.— *Ed.*

[b] The French and the German read: "Standing armies; their relation to production".— *Ed.*

(*c*) We accept as a transitory necessity small standing armies to form schools for the officers of the militia; every male citizen to serve for a very limited time in those armies.

## 11. RELIGIOUS QUESTION[a]

To be left to the initiative of the French.

Written at the end of August 1866

First published in *Der Vorbote,* Nos. 10 and 11, October and November 1866 and *The International Courier,* Nos. 6/7, February 20, and Nos. 8/10, March 13, 1867

Reproduced from *The International Courier* checked with Marx's partly extant rough manuscript, *Le Courrier international* and *Der Vorbote*

[a] The French and the German read: "Religious ideas; their influence on the social, political and intellectual movement".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [RESOLUTION OF GRATITUDE TO THE DELEGATES OF THE CENTRAL (GENERAL) COUNCIL TO THE GENEVA CONGRESS[145]]

Citizen *Marx* moved, and *Dell* seconded, a vote of thanks to the delegates for the able manner in which they had represented the Central Council at Geneva.

Adopted by the General Council on September 18, 1866

Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council

First published in *The Commonwealth,* No. 185, September 22, 1866

# Karl Marx

## SPEECH AT THE POLISH MEETING IN LONDON

JANUARY 22, 1867[146]

Ladies and Gentlemen,[a]

Some 30 years ago, a Revolution broke out in France.[b] It was an event not foreseen by the St. Petersburg providence which had just concluded a secret treaty with Charles X for the better administration and geographical arrangement of Europe. On the arrival of the awkward news, the Czar Nicholas summoned the officers of his horseguard and addressed them a short, warlike speech, culminating in the words: à cheval, Messieurs![147] This was no empty threat. Paskiewitch was despatched to Berlin there to settle the invasion of France. A few months later, all was ready. The Prussians were to concentrate on the Rhine, the Polish army to march into Prussia, and the Muscovites[c] to follow in the rear. But then, as Lafayette said in the French Chamber of Deputies—"l'avant garde tournait contre le gros de l'armée" (the advanced guard turned round upon the main body).[d] The insurrection of Warsaw saved Europe from a second Anti-Jacobin war.

Eighteen years later, there was another eruption of the revolutionary volcano, or rather an earthquake shaking the whole

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[a] The *Głos Wolny* prefaces Marx's speech with the words: "At the beginning Dr. Marx, a German, presented a short, but extremely significant resolution: 'That liberty cannot be established in Europe without the independence of Poland.'"—*Ed.*

[b] Revolution of July 1830.—*Ed.*

[c] Here and below this word is used in the sense of "champions of the reactionary policy of Csarist autocracy".—*Ed.*

[d] From Lafayette's speech made in the French Chamber of Deputies on January 16, 1831 on the occasion of the Polish insurrection of November 1830 (*Le Moniteur universel,* January 17, 1831).—*Ed.*

continent. Even the Germans began to fidget, despite the maternal leading-strings in which Russia had kept them ever since their so-called war of independence.[a] Still more strange. Of all German cities, Vienna was the first to try its hands at barricade building, and successfully too. This time, and, perhaps, for the first time in his history, the Russ lost his temper. The Czar Nicholas did no longer address his horseguard. He issued a manifesto to his people, telling them that the French plague had infected even the Germans, that it approached the frontiers of the Empire and that Revolution, in its madness, casts its delirious eyes upon Holy Russia. No wonder! he exclaimed. This same Germany has been the hotbed of infidelity for many years past. The cancer of a sacrilegious philosophy has eaten into the vitals of that apparently solid people. And then, he winds up with the following apostrophe to the Germans:

"With us is God! Know that, ye heathens, and submit to us, for God is with us!"[b]

Very soon after, through the hands of his trusted servant Nesselrode, he sent another bull to the Germans, but quite overflowing with tenderness for that heathenish people.[c] Whence this change?

Why, the Berliners had not only made a Revolution, they had proclaimed the restoration of Poland, and the Prussian Poles deceived by the popular enthusiasm were forming military camps in Posnania. Hence the courtesies of the Czar. It was again Poland, the immortal Knight of Europe, that had warned off the Mongol! Only after the betrayal of the Poles by the Germans, especially the German National Assembly at Frankfurt,[148] Russia recovered her forces and waxed strong enough to stab the Revolution of 1848 in its last asylum, Hungary. And even here, the last man who bestrode the battlefield against her, was a Pole, General Bem.

Now there are many people silly enough to believe that all this has changed, that Poland has ceased to be "une nation nécessaire", as a French writer calls it, and dwindled to a sentimental souvenir, and you know that sentiments and souvenirs are not quoted at the Stock Exchanges. When the last Russian ukases for

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[a] A reference to the war of 1813-14 against Napoleonic rule.—*Ed.*

[b] *Severnaya Pchela,* No. 59, March 15, 1848.—*Ed.*

[c] Nesselrode's circular to all Russian Embassies in "St. Petersburg, 6. Juli. Die russische Note", *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung,* No. 210 (second supplement), July 28, 1848. See also "The Russian Note", present edition, Vol. 7 pp. 307-13.—*Ed.*

the abolition of Poland became known in this country,[149] the organ of the leading purses exhorted the Poles to turn into Muscovites.[a] Why should they not, if it were only to give further security for the six mill. 1. st. just lent to the Czar by the English capitalists?[150] A mere *Times*-reading Englishman may tell me that, let the worst arrive to the worst, and Russia seize Constantinople, England will then appropriate Egypt and thus secure the road to her great Indian market.[b] Lastly, as to *The Times* saying that Russia may seize Constantinople, if she does not prevent England from seizing upon Egypt, what does it all mean? That England will surrender Constantinople to Russia, if Russia allows England to have a fight with France over Egypt. This is the comfortable vista opened to you by *The Times.* As to Russian love for England, fond as she is of British £.s.d., it suffices to quote the words of the *Gazette de Moscou,* d.d. Dec. 1831:

"Non, il faut que le tour de perfide Albion vienne, et dans quelque temps nous ne devons plus faire de traite avec ce peuple qu'à Calcutta." (No, it is necessary that the turn of perfidious Albion come, and soon we shall conclude no more treaty with that people, save at Calcutta.)[c]

But I ask you, what has changed? Has the danger grown less? No. Only the judicial blindness of the governing classes of Europe has reached its climax.

In the first instance, the policy of Russia is unchangeable, as averred by her official historian, the Muscovite Karamzin.[d] Her methods, her tactics, her *manoeuvring* may change, but the leading star of her policy is a fixed star—the empire of the world. Only a civilised government[e] swaying barbarian masses can nowadays

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[a] Here and below the reference is to the leading article in *The Times,* No. 25701, January 7, 1867. In Marx's rough manuscript this and the next phrase are at the beginning of the speech and crossed with a vertical line.— *Ed.*

[b] In the rough manuscript this phrase is at the end of the paragraph beginning "A continental European" and crossed with a vertical line. In the *Głos Wolny* the beginning of the phrase reads: "If the worst comes to the worst, *The Times* wrote, let Russia take Constantinople after all, England..."— *Ed.*

[c] Marx quotes from *Polonia,* No. IV, November 1832. In the rough manuscript the text from the words "Lastly, as to *The Times* saying ..." makes up the last paragraph but one and is crossed with a vertical line. The *Głos Wolny* reads: "In other words, let England hand Constantinople over to Russia, if Russia kindly allows England to dispute France's right to Egypt. The Muscovite, *The Times* writes, likes to raise loan in England, and is a good payer. He loves English money. He really does love it. But the extent to which he loves the English themselves you may best gauge from the *Gazette de Moscou* of December 1831:"— *Ed.*

[d] Н. М. Карамзинъ, *Исторія Государства Россійскаго,* т. XI, Спб., 1835, стр. 23.— *Ed.*

[e] The *Głos Wolny* has "cunning government".— *Ed.*

hatch such a plan, and execute it. As the greatest Russian diplomatist of modern times, Pozzo di Borgo, wrote to Alexander I, at the epoch of the Vienna Congress,[151] Poland is the great tool for the execution of the world-embracing schemes of Russia, but also her invincible obstacle, until the Pole, fatigued by the accumulated treacheries of Europe, becomes her scourge in the hand of the Muscovite.

Now, apart from the dispositions of the Polish people, has anything happened to thwart the plans of Russia or paralyse her action?

I need not tell you that in Asia, her progress of conquest is continuous. I need not tell you that the so-called Anglo-French war against Russia[a] handed over to her the mountain fortresses of Caucasus, the domination of the Black Sea, and the maritime rights which Catherine II, Paul and Alexander I had vainly tried to wrest from England. Railways are connecting and concentrating her vastly disseminated bonds. Her material resources in Congress Poland,[152] which forms her entrenched camp in Europe, have enormously increased. The fortifications of Warsaw, Modlin, Ivangorod—points singled out by the first Napoleon—domineer the whole course of the Vistula and constitute a formidable basis of attack to the North, West and South. The Panslavonian propaganda has kept pace with the enfeeblement of Austria and Turkey, and what that Panslavonian propaganda means, you had some foretaste in 1848-49, when Hungary was overrun, Vienna laid waste, Italy countered by the Slavs, fighting under the banners of Jellachich, Windischgrätz and Radetzky! And besides all this, England's wrongs against Ireland have raised a new powerful ally of Russia on the other side of the Atlantic.

The plan of Russian policy remains unchangeable, her means of action have wonderfully increased even since 1848, but as yet there is one thing out of reach, and Peter the First hit the weak point when he exclaimed that to conquer the world, the Muscovites wanted nothing but souls. Well, this living spirit, which Russia lacks, will be infused into her carcass the moment the Poles turn into Russian subjects. What then will you have to throw into the opposite balance?[b]

A continental European will, perhaps, answer that Russia, by the emancipation of the serfs, has entered the family of civilised

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[a] The Crimean war of 1853-56.—*Ed.*

[b] In the rough manuscript this paragraph is crossed with a vertical line. In the *Głos Wolny* the first sentence reads: "Peter I once said that in order to conquer the world the Muscovites lacked nothing but souls."—*Ed.*

nations, that the German power recently concentrated in Prussian hands can stand any Asiatic shock, and, lastly, that Social Revolution in Western Europe will do away with all "international" conflicts.[a]

In the first instance, the emancipation of the serfs has emancipated the supreme government from the impediments the nobles were able to oppose to its centralised action. It has created a vast recruiting place for its army, broken up the common property of the Russian peasants, insulated them, and, above all, strengthened their faith in their pope-autocrat. It has not *deodorised* their Asiatic barbarism, the slow growth of centuries.[b] Any attempt at raising their moral standard is punished as a crime. I remind you only of the official provocations against the temperance societies which had undertaken to wean the Muscovite from what Feuerbach calls the practical substance of his religion, namely brandy. However it may work in the future, for the present the serf emancipation has increased the disposable forces of the Czar.

Now, as to Prussia. Once a vassal of Poland, she has but grown into a first rate power under the auspices of Russia, and by the partition of Poland. If she lose to-morrow her Polish booty, she would merge into Germany instead of absorbing it. To maintain herself as a power distinct from Germany, she must fall back upon the Muscovite. Her recent access of domain, instead of loosening these ties, has rendered them indissoluble, because it has heightened her antagonism to France and Austria. At the same time Russia is the prop upon which the arbitrary rule of the Hohenzollern dynasty and its feudal retainers rest. This is their safeguard against popular disaffection. Prussia is, therefore, not a bulwark against the Muscovite but his predestined tool for the invasion of France and the enslavement of Germany.

As to social revolution, what does it mean if not a struggle of classes? It is possible that the struggle between the workmen and the capitalist will be less fierce and bloody than the struggles between the feudal lord and the capitalist proved in England and in France.

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[a] In the rough manuscript this paragraph is crossed with a vertical line. The *Głos Wolny* here reads: "People reply to this question from different points of view. Some say that after the emancipation of the serfs, Russia has entered the family of civilised nations. German power, recently concentrated in the hands of the Prussians, could, claim others, defy all Asiatic attacks. Still others, more radical, place their hope in the internal social transformation in Western Europe".—*Ed.*

[b] The *Głos Wolny* has "for civilisation is created over centuries".—*Ed.*

We will hope so. But at all events, although such a social crisis may rouse the energies of the Western peoples, it will, like all internal feuds, also invite aggression from abroad. It will clothe anew Russia with the character she bore during the Anti-Jacobin war and since the Holy Alliance, that of the predestined saviour of order. It will enlist in her ranks all the privileged classes of Europe. Already during the revolution of February it was not only the Count of Montalembert, who laid his ear to the ground to listen whether there was a distant troop of Cossack horses.[a] It was not only Prussian squires who proclaimed in the midst of German representative bodies the Czar their "*Oberlandesvater*".[b] It was all the Stock Exchanges of Europe that rose with every Russian victory over the Magyars[c] and fell at every Russian defeat.

There is only one alternative left for Europe. Asiatic barbarism under Muscovite leadership will burst over her head like a lawine,[d] or she must restore Poland, thus placing between herself and Asia 20 millions of heroes, and gaining breathing time for the accomplishment of her social regeneration.

First published in Polish in the *Głos Wolny*, No. 130, February 10, 1867

Reproduced from the rough manuscript; arranged according to the text in the *Głos Wolny*

[a] An allusion to Victor Hugo's speech made in the French Legislative Assembly on July 17, 1851 and published in *Le Moniteur officiel*, July 18, 1851.—*Ed.*

[b] Supreme sovereign.—*Ed.*

[c] In the *Głos Wolny* the words "over the Magyars" are omitted.—*Ed.*

[d] An avalanche.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [A CORRECTION [153]]

I request the esteemed Editorial Board of the *Zeitung für Norddeutschland* to print the following correction:

Your obedient servant,
*Karl Marx*

TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD
OF THE *ZEITUNG FÜR NORDDEUTSCHLAND*

It seems to me that the notice

"Dr. Marx, who is living in London ... seems to have been chosen to tour the continent to make propaganda for this affair" ("the next" Polish "insurrection"),

which probably found its way into your paper No. 5522 [a] by an oversight, must be a fabrication hatched by the police, I don't know for what "affair".

London, February 18, 1867

*Karl Marx*

First published in *Die Neue Zeit,* Bd. 2, No. 3, 1901

Printed according to Marx's manuscript as copied by Kugelmann

Published in English for the first time

[a] February 15, 1867.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING THE AGENDA OF THE LAUSANNE CONGRESS[154]]

### I

On the practical means by which to enable the International Working Men's Association to fulfil its function of a common centre of action for the working classes, female and male, in their struggle tending to their complete emancipation from the domination of capital.

### II

That our Congress programme be published in the *Courrier Français,* that no branch has a right to put forth a programme of its own, that the Council alone is empowered to draw up the Congress programme, and that the General Secretary be instructed to send the Council programme to the *Courrier* and communicate the foregoing resolution to the Paris Committee.

Adopted by the General Council on July 9 and 23, 1867

Resolution I first published as a leaflet and in *The Working Man,* No. 16, *The Bee-Hive Newspaper,* No. 300, and *The Commonwealth,* No. 75, July 13, 1867

Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council

# Karl Marx

## [RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION TO THE CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM[a]]

That the delegates of the Council be instructed not to take any official part in the Peace Congress, and to resist any motion that might be brought forward at the Working Men's Congress tending to take an official part.[155]

Adopted by the General Council on August 13, 1867

First published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper,* No. 305, and *The Working Man,* No. 21, August 17, 1867

Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council

[a] The record of Marx's speech before proposing the resolution see on pp. 426-27 of this volume.— *Ed.*

# ARTICLES AND REVIEWS WRITTEN IN CONNECTION WITH THE PUBLICATION OF VOLUME ONE OF *CAPITAL*

(October 1867-July 1868)

# Frederick Engels

## [REVIEW OF VOLUME ONE OF *CAPITAL* FOR THE *ZUKUNFT*[156]]

K. Marx. *Capital.* Volume One.
Hamburg, Meissner, 1867. 784 pp., octavo

For every German it is a saddening fact that we, the nation of thinkers, have so far achieved so little in the field of political economy. Our famous men in this line are at best compilers like Rau and Roscher and, where anything original is produced, we have protectionists like List (who, however, is said to have copied a Frenchman[a]) or socialists like Rodbertus and Marx. Our standard political economy actually seems to have set itself the aim of driving into the arms of socialism all who treat the science of political economy seriously. Have we not seen the whole of official economics daring to oppose a Lassalle on the well-known and recognised[b] law on the determination of wages, and leaving it to Lassalle to defend people like Ricardo against Schulze-Delitzsch and others[c]! Alas, it is true that scientifically they could not even cope with Lassalle and, whatever recognition their practical endeavours may have won, had to endure the charge that their entire science consists in watering down a Bastiat's harmonies[d] which gloss over all contradictions and difficulties. Bastiat as an authority and Ricardo disowned—that is our official political economy in Germany today! But indeed, how could it be otherwise? Alas, with us political economy is a field in which nobody takes a scientific interest; it is

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[a] A reference to F. L. Ferrier, a French economist, and his book *Du gouvernement considéré dans ses rapports avec le commerce,* propositions of which were widely used by F. List in his book *Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie* (cf. present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 290-93).—*Ed.*

[b] *Die Zukunft* has omitted the word "recognised".—*Ed.*

[c] An allusion to F. Lassalle's *Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch, der ökonomische Julian, oder: Capital und Arbeit,* Berlin, 1864.—*Ed.*

[d] F. Bastiat, *Harmonies économiques,* Paris, 1850.—*Ed.*

either a breadwinning study for the examinations in cameralistics or an aid to political agitation for which the merest smattering is thought sufficient. Is that the fault of our political dismemberment, our unfortunately still so little developed industry, or our traditional dependence for this branch of science on foreign countries?

In these circumstances it is always a pleasure when a book like the above comes to hand, in which the author, indignantly referring the current watered down or, as he aptly terms it, *"vulgar political economy"* back to its classical models concluding with Ricardo and Sismondi, also takes a critical attitude to the classics, but always endeavours to retain the path of strictly scientific analysis. Marx's earlier writings, in particular the treatise on money published in 1859 by Duncker in Berlin,[a] were already distinguished by a strictly scientific spirit as much as by ruthless criticism, and to our knowledge our entire official political economy has not produced anything to refute them. But if it could not cope with the treatise of those days, how will it fare with the 49 sheets about capital now? Understand us rightly: we do not say that no objections can be made to the conclusions of this book, that Marx has brought forward proofs that are complete; we merely say: We do not believe that among all our political economists one can be found capable of refuting them. The studies made in this book are of the greatest scientific subtlety. We refer in particular to the masterly, dialectical arrangement of the whole, to the manner in which the concept of the commodity is already presented as implying money existing in itself and how capital is developed out of money. We acknowledge that we regard the newly introduced category of *surplus-value* as an advance; that we do not see what can be objected to the statement that not *labour* but labour-*power* appears on the market as a commodity; that we regard as quite in order the correction to Ricardo's law of the rate of profit, that surplus-value must be substituted for profit. We must confess that we are much impressed by the sense of history which pervades the whole book and forbids the author to take the laws of economics for eternal truths, for anything but the formulations of the conditions of existence of certain transitory states of society; we would, alas, look in vain among our official economists for that scholarship and acumen with which the various historical states of society and their conditions of existence are here presented.

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* see present edition, Vol. 30.— *Ed.*

Studies like that on the economic conditions and laws of slavery, the various forms of serfdom and bondage and the origin of free labour have hitherto remained quite alien to our economic specialists. We would also like to hear the opinion of these gentlemen on the expositions given here of co-operation, division of labour and manufacture, machinery and large-scale industry in their historical and economic connections and effects; at any rate, they could here learn much that is new. And what in particular will they say of the fact which runs counter to all traditional theories of free competition and which is here nevertheless substantiated from official material, namely that in England, the fatherland of free competition, there is almost no industry left in which the daily working hours are not strictly prescribed by government intervention and which is not supervised by factory inspectors? And that nevertheless, not only do the individual industries prosper, in line with the reduction in working hours, but the individual worker also produces more in the shorter hours than he did previously in the longer hours?

Alas, we cannot deny that the particularly bitter tone which the author uses against the *official German* economists is not without justification. They more or less all belong to the "vulgar economists"; they have prostituted their science for the sake of momentary popularity and denied its great classical exponents. They speak of "harmonies" and wallow in the most banal contradictions. May the severe lesson given them in this book serve to awaken them from their lethargy, to recall to them that political economy is not merely a milchcow providing us with butter but a science demanding serious and zealous application.

Written on October 12, 1867

First published in the supplement to *Die Zukunft*, No. 254, October 30, 1867

Printed according to the manuscript checked with the newspaper text

Published in English for the first time

# Frederick Engels

## [REVIEW OF VOLUME ONE OF *CAPITAL* FOR THE *RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*[157]]

Karl Marx. *Capital.* Critique of Political Economy. Volume I. The Process of Production of Capital. Hamburg, O. Meissner, 1867

Universal suffrage has added to our present parliamentary parties a new one, the *Social-Democratic* Party. At the last elections to the North German Imperial Diet it put up its own candidates in most big cities and in all factory districts, and succeeded in getting six or eight representatives elected.[158] Compared with the last but one election it deployed much greater strength and we can therefore assume that, at least for the time being, it is still growing. It would be foolish to continue to treat the existence, activity and doctrines of such a party with genteel silence in a country where universal suffrage has placed the final decision into the hands of the most numerous and poorest classes.

However much the few social-democratic parliamentarians may be at loggerheads with each other, we can be sure that all factions of this party will welcome the present book as their *theoretical bible,* as the armoury from which they will take their most telling arguments. For this reason alone it deserves special attention. But it is also bound to cause a stir by its own content. If *Lassalle's* main argumentation—and in political economy Lassalle was only a pupil of Marx—was confined to repeating again and again the Ricardo so-called law of wages, we here have before us a work which with undeniably rare scholarship presents the whole relationship of capital and labour in its connection with economic science as a whole, and which makes it its final goal "to reveal *the economic law of motion* of modern society", and comes, after obviously sincere studies unmistakably conducted with expert knowledge, to the conclusion that the whole "capitalist mode of production" must be abolished. Moreover, we would like to draw particular attention to the fact that, in addition to the conclusions of the work, the author

in its course represents a whole series of major points of political economy in quite a new light, and comes in purely scientific questions to results which markedly depart from hitherto current political economy, and which orthodox economists will have to criticise seriously and refute scientifically if they do not wish to see their hitherto current doctrines founder. In the interest of science it is desirable that the polemic on these particular points should develop very soon in the specialist literature.

Marx begins with the presentation of the relationship between commodity and money, the essence of which was already published some time ago in a special work.[a] He then passes on to capital, and here we soon come to the crucial point of the whole work. What is capital? Money which changes into a commodity in order to change from a commodity into more money than the original amount. When I buy cotton for 100 talers and sell this for 110 talers, I establish my 100 talers as capital, self-expanding value. Now the question arises: whence do the ten talers come which I earn in this process, how does it happen that by two simple exchanges 100 talers become 110 talers? For political economy presupposes that in all exchanges equal value is exchanged for equal value. Marx now runs through all possible cases (variations in the price of commodities, etc.) to prove that under the presuppositions assumed by political economy the formation of 10 talers *surplus-value* from an original sum of 100 talers is *impossible.* Nevertheless, this process takes place daily, and the economists still owe us an explanation for this. Marx provides the explanation as follows: The riddle can only be solved if we find on the market a commodity of a very peculiar kind, a commodity the use-value of which consists in creating exchange-value. This commodity exists: it is *labour-power.* The capitalist buys labour-power on the market and makes it work for him so as to sell its product again. We must therefore in the first instance examine labour-power.

What is the value of labour-power? According to a well-known law it is the value of the means of subsistence necessary to maintain and reproduce the worker in the manner historically established in the given country and epoch. We assume that the worker's labour-power is paid for at its full value. We assume further that this value is represented in *six* hours' work a day, or *half* a working day. But the capitalist claims that he has bought the labour-power for a *whole* day and makes the worker work 12

[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.—Ed.*

hours or more. Hence with 12 hours of work he has acquired the product of six hours working-time without payment. Marx concludes: *All surplus-value,* whichever way it may be distributed, as capitalist gain, rent, tax, etc., is *unpaid labour.*

The struggle for the length of the working day arises from the interest of the factory owner to gain every day as much unpaid labour as possible and the opposite interest of the worker. Marx describes the course of this struggle in an illustration well worth reading, which fills about a hundred pages, taken from English large-scale industry; in spite of the protest of the factory owner, who was a champion of free trade, this struggle ended last spring in not only all factory industry, but all the small-scale and even domestic industry being brought under the restraints of the factory act which limits the daily work of women and children under 18 years of age—and therewith indirectly also that of men—in the most important industries to at most $10\,^1/_2$ hours.[159] He also explains why English industry has not suffered, but on the contrary, gained thereby: since the work of every individual worker became more intense as its duration was shortened.

Surplus-value can, however, also be raised by another method than that of extending working-time beyond that needed to produce the necessary means of subsistence or their value. According to our previous assumption, a given working day of, say, 12 hours, contains six hours of necessary work and six hours of work used to produce surplus-value. If by some means we succeed in reducing the necessary working-time to five hours, there remain seven hours during which surplus-value is produced. This can be achieved by shortening the working-time needed to produce the necessary means of subsistence, in other words, by reducing their cost, and this again only by improvements in production. On this point Marx gives again a detailed illustration, examining and describing the three main levers by which these improvements are brought about: 1. *co-operation,* or the multiplication of the forces which results from the simultaneous and planned working together of many individuals; 2. the *division of labour* as it was developed in the period of manufacture properly so-called, i.e. up to about 1770; and, lastly, 3. *machinery* with the aid of which large-scale industry has developed since then. These descriptions are also of great interest, and reveal amazing expert knowledge, up to technical details...[a]

We cannot go more deeply into the details of the studies on

[a] The following page, where evidently surplus-value and wages were analysed, is missing.— *Ed.*

surplus-value and wages; to avoid misunderstandings we merely remark that wages are less than the total product of labour, as Marx proved by a number of quotations, and which is a fact not unknown to orthodox economics either. We must hope that this book will provide the opportunity for the gentlemen of the orthodox tradition to give us more enlightenment on this really strange point. It is most commendable that all factual examples given by Marx are taken from the best sources, mostly official parliamentary reports. We take this opportunity to support the author's plea made indirectly in the preface: that in Germany, too, working conditions in the various industries should be thoroughly investigated by government commissioners—who, however, should not be biassed bureaucrats—and their reports submitted to the Imperial Diet and the public.

The first volume concludes with a discourse on the accumulation of capital. Much has already been written on this point, but we must confess that here too there is much given that is new, while the old is presented from new angles. Most original is the attempt to prove that the accumulation of a redundant population of workers goes hand in hand with the concentration and accumulation of capital, and that eventually both make a social revolution on the one hand necessary, on the other possible.

Whatever the reader may think of the author's socialist views, we believe to have shown above that he has here before him a work which stands way above the current social-democratic literature of the day. We add that except for the somewhat stark dialectical style on the first 40 pages and in spite of its scientific strictness, the work is very easy to follow and is made most interesting by the author's sarcastic manner of writing which spares no one.

Written on October 12, 1867

Printed according to the manuscript

First published in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Russian edition, Book II, Moscow, 1927

# Frederick Engels

## [REVIEW OF VOLUME ONE OF *CAPITAL* FOR THE *ELBERFELDER ZEITUNG*[160]]

### Karl Marx on Capital
### (Hamburg, Otto Meissner, Volume I, 1867)

Fifty sheets of learned treatise to prove to us that the entire capital of our bankers, merchants, manufacturers and large landowners is nothing but the accumulated and unpaid labour of the working class! We recall that in 1849 the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* raised the demand for a "Silesian milliard" in the name of the Silesian peasants.[a] A thousand million talers, it was claimed, were illegally withdrawn from the Silesian peasants alone, to flow into the pockets of the large landowners when serfdom and feudal services were abolished, and this amount was demanded back. But the gentlemen of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of old are like the late Sibyl with her books: the less they are offered, the more they ask. What are a thousand million talers compared with the colossal amount now demanded back in the name of the working class as a whole—for that is, surely, how we must understand it! If the entire accumulated capital of the propertied classes is nothing but "unpaid labour", it would appear to follow directly that this labour is to be paid later, that is, the entire capital in question is to be transferred to labour. That would indeed raise the question *who* in particular would be entitled to receive it. But joking apart! However radically socialist the present book is in its approach, however blunt and unsparing on all hands its treatment of people who as a rule are regarded as authorities, we must confess that it is a most scholarly work which has a claim to be regarded as most

[a] A reference to the series of articles *Die schlesische Milliarde* written by Wilhelm Wolff, an associate of Marx and Engels, and published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Nos. 252, 255, 256, 258, 264, 270-72 and 281, from March 22 to April 25, 1849.—*Ed.*

strictly scientific. The press has already frequently mentioned Marx's intention to sum up the results of his many years' studies in a critique of the whole of political economy to date and thereby to provide the scientific basis for socialist aspirations which neither Fourier nor Proudhon nor even Lassalle had been able to do. This work has already long since and frequently been announced in the press. In 1859 a "first part"[a] appeared at Duncker's in Berlin, which, however, dealt only with matters without immediate practical interest and which therefore caused hardly a stir. The following parts did not appear and the new socialist science seemed destined not to survive its birthpangs. How many jokes were not made about this new revelation which was announced so often and yet never once seemed actually about to appear in public! Well and good, here is at last the "first volume"—fifty sheets as we have said—and nobody can maintain that it does not contain enough and more than enough that is new, bold and audacious and that this is not presented in thoroughly scientific form. This time Marx appeals with his unusual propositions not to the masses but to the men of science. It is up to them to defend their economic theories which are here attacked at their foundations, and give proof that capital is indeed accumulated labour but not accumulated *unpaid* labour. Lassalle was a practical agitator, and it could suffice to oppose him in practical agitation, in the daily press and at meetings. But here we have a systematic scientific theory, and here the daily press cannot help to decide, here only science can speak the last word. It is to be hoped that people like Roscher, Rau, Max Wirth, etc., will seize the opportunity to defend the up till now generally recognised political economy against this new and certainly not contemptible attack. The social-democratic seed has sprouted among the younger generation and the working population of many a place—through this book it will in any case find plenty of new nourishment.

Written on October 22, 1867

First published in the *Elberfelder Zeitung*, No. 302, November 2, 1867

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] A reference to Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [REVIEW OF VOLUME ONE OF *CAPITAL* FOR THE *DÜSSELDORFER ZEITUNG*[161]]

Karl Marx. *Capital.* Critique of Political Economy. Volume One. Hamburg, Meissner, 1867

This book will disappoint many a reader. In certain circles its appearance had been anticipated for years. Here the true secret socialist teaching and panacea was at last to be revealed, and many may have imagined, when at last they saw it announced, that they would now learn what the communist Millennium would actually be like. Anyone who had keenly awaited this pleasure made a great mistake. Indeed, he learns here how things should not be, and this he is told in detail with very outspoken bluntness on 784 pages, and he who has eyes to see will find here the demand for a social revolution clearly enough presented. Here it is not a question of workers' associations with state capital, as with Lassalle of old; here it is a question of *abolishing capital* altogether.

Marx is and remains the same revolutionary he has always been, and in a scientific work he would assuredly be the last to hide his views in this respect. But as for what is going to happen after the social revolution—on that he gives us only *very* dark hints. We learn that large-scale industry "matures the contradictions and antagonisms of the capitalist form of the production process and thereby at the same time the elements for the formation of a new society and the elements for exploding the old one",[a] and further that the abolition of the capitalist form of production "restores individual property but on the basis of the acquisitions of the capitalist era: i.e., of co-operation of free workers and the

[a] Quoted from the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital,* pp. 492-93. Cf. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, translated by S. Moore and E. Aveling and edited by F. Engels, London, 1887, Chapter XV, "Machinery and Modern Industry", Section 9, p. 512.—*Ed.*

common ownership of the land and the means of production produced by labour itself".[a]

With this we must rest content, and to judge by the present volume the promised second and third will also tell us little on this interesting point. For the present we must be contented with the "Critique of Political Economy", and there we get into a very wide field indeed. Here, of course, we cannot enter into the scientific consideration of the detailed conclusions presented in this voluminous book, we cannot even briefly repeat the main propositions put forward there. The more or less well-known principles of the socialist theory can all be reduced to the fact that in modern society the worker does not obtain the full value of the product of his labour. This proposition is also the red thread which runs through the present work, but it is made more acutely precise followed more consistently in all its implications, and knitted more closely into the main propositions of political economy or more directly placed in opposition to them than hitherto. This part of the work is distinguished to great advantage from all similar earlier writings we know by its attempt to be strictly scientific, and we see that the author takes seriously not only his own theory but science as a whole.

We found particularly striking in this book the author's conception of the propositions of political economy not, as is usual, as eternally valid truths but as the results of certain historical developments. While even the natural sciences are being transformed more and more into historical sciences—compare Laplace's astronomical theory, the whole of geology and the works of Darwin—political economy has hitherto been just as abstract and universally valid a science as mathematics. Whatever may be the fate of the remaining propositions of this book, we regard it as a lasting merit of Marx to have put an end to this narrow-minded concept. After this work it will no longer be possible to treat slave labour, serf labour and free wage labour, for example, as economically alike, or to apply laws which are valid for modern large-scale industry, conditioned by free competition, without further ado to the conditions of antiquity or the guilds of the Middle Ages, or, when these modern laws do not fit ancient conditions, simply to declare the ancient conditions as heretical. The Germans of all nations have the

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[a] Quoted from the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital*, p. 745. Cf. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, London, 1887, Chapter XXXII, "Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation", p. 789.—*Ed.*

greatest, nay, even a unique historical sense, and thus it is quite natural that it is again a German who traces the historical connections also in the sphere of political economy.

Written between November 3 and 8, 1867

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# Karl Marx

## PLAGIARISM [162]

*Social-Demokrat* of November 29. General Meeting of the General Association of German Workers

*Debate on the Working Day*

Speaker: v. Hofstetten (Owner of the *Social-Demokrat*):

1) "*Labour-power* is today a commodity. [...] The purchase price" (read: *the value*) "of a thing" (read: *commodity*) "is determined by the working-time necessary to its production. The worker must work a certain number of hours to reproduce the value he has received for his labour-power: that is the *necessary part of the working day,* but by no means the *working day itself.* To reproduce this, an indetermined part must" (why?) "be added; although it is *indetermined,* it has its *necessary limits.*"

Karl Marx: *Capital.* Critique of Political Economy, 1867. Section: "The Working Day"

1) "We started with the supposition that *labour-power* is bought and sold at its *value.* Its value, like that of all other commodities, is determined by the working-time necessary to its production. If the production of the average daily means of subsistence of the labourer takes up six hours, he must work, on the average, six hours every day, to produce his daily labour-power, or to reproduce the *value* received as the result of its sale. The *necessary part of his working day* amounts to six hours, and is, therefore, *caeteris paribus,* a *given quantity.* But with this, *the extent of the work-*

*ing day* itself is not yet given... One of its parts, certainly, is determined by the working-time required for the continual reproduction of the labourer himself. But its total amount varies with the length or the duration of the *surplus-labour*... Although the working day is not a fixed, but a fluent quantity, it can, on the other hand, only vary *within certain limits*" (pp. 198, 199 [214-15]).

2) "One of these" (limits), "the *maximum limit,* rests *in* the physical possibility" (how can a limit rest *in* a possibility!) "of how long a man is able at all to work, as in order to keep alive he must also sleep, rest, dress and wash himself. The *minimum limit* is given by the demands of the prevailing *level of culture* of an epoch. The duration of the working day and of the surplus-labour also differ in accordance with this level and with the existing legislation. Accordingly, there are eight, twelve, sixteen, yes even 18-hour working days."

2) "The *minimum limit*" (of the working day) "is, however, not determinable; of course, if we make the surplus-labour=0, we have a minimum limit, i. e., the part of the day which the labourer must necessarily work for his own maintenance. On the basis of the capitalist mode of production, however, this necessary labour can form a part only of his working day; the working day itself can never be reduced to this minimum. On the other hand, the working day has a *maximum limit.* It cannot be prolonged beyond a certain point. This maximum limit is determined by two things. First, by the *physical bounds of labour-power.* Within the 24 hours of the natural day a man can expend only a definite quantity of his vital force and the extent of this expenditure of force is a measure for his physically possible working-time. A horse, in

like manner, can only work from day to day for 8 hours. During part of the day this force must rest, sleep; during another part the man has to satisfy other physical needs, to feed, wash and clothe himself, etc. Besides these *purely physical limitations,* the extension of the working day encounters *moral ones.* The labourer needs time for satisfying his intellectual and social wants, the extent and number of which are determined by the general *level of culture...* But both these limits" (the physical and moral maximum limits) "are of a very elastic nature, and allow the greatest latitude. So we find working days of 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18 hours" (p. 199 [215]).

Herr v. Hofstetten makes nonsense of the passage he plagiarises. Thus, for example, he lets the *maximum limit* of the working day be determined by purely *physical,* and the *minimum limit* by *moral* limitations, although he himself has earlier mechanically repeated that the *necessary part of the working day,* i.e., its absolute minimum limit, is determined by the *working-time necessary* to maintain the labour-power!

3) "Experience in England has shown that with a shorter working day the same surplus-labour is achieved, as in that case labour is greatly intensified."

3) On the intensification of labour and the achievement of equal or greater "surplus-labour" by the enforced legal restriction of the working day in England see pp. 401-09 [407-17].

4) "The *endeavour* of the capitalists therefore is to *aim* at the longest possible working day." (What nonsense! The endeavour to aim!) "But the worker possesses as sole commodity only his labour-power, and if in that a

4) "The capitalist maintains his rights as a purchaser when he tries to make the working day as long as possible, and to make, whenever possible, two

certain point is overstepped" (what does that mean: *a point is* overstepped *in the labour-power*?) "he must say I *am used up* (!), I have been killed." (Well done! He is still supposed to say that after he has already been killed!) "Hence," (because he must say that!) "the extent of his labour must be fixed in the interest of the labourer, so that his commodity, labour-power, is maintained and can be *exploited* as long as possible. Therewith he demands only his due." (He has just complained that he has been *used up*; now he demands as his due to be exploited!)

working days out of one. On the other hand, the peculiar nature of the commodity sold implies a limit to its consumption by the purchaser, and the labourer maintains his right as seller when he wishes to reduce the working day to a definite normal duration... I will" (he says) "husband my sole wealth, labour-power... The *use* of my labour-power and the *spoliation* of it are quite different things... You pay me for one day's labour-power, whilst you use that of three days. That is against our contract and the law of commodity exchange. I demand, therefore, a working day of *normal* length, etc." (pp. 202, 201 [218, 217]).

5) "In England this measure" (for the working day) "is fixed by law at 10 hours(!) and there are factory inspectors who report on the observance of this law to the Home Secretary. In many countries there are also laws limiting the labour of children: in Austria, in Switzerland, in America and in *Belgium* (!) similar laws are *in preparation* (!). In *Prussia* there are also the same laws, but there they exist only on paper and have never been put into practice. In America, since the end of the Civil War which led to the emancipation of the slaves, an eight-hour day has even been demanded. The 'International Working Men's Congress' also proposed an eight-hour day, in 1866."

5) "The Factory Act of 1850 now in force" (not *in England,* but in *specific* industries of the United Kingdom named by Marx) "allows for the average working day of 10 hours... Certain guardians of the law are appointed, *Factory Inspectors,* directly under the Home Secretary, whose reports are published half-yearly by order of Parliament" (p. 207 [223]).

...Limitations of the working day for minors exist in certain States of North America in reality, not just in preparation (p. 244 [256]), limitation of the working day in general in France (p. 251 [262]), for children in some cantons of Switzerland (p. 251 [262-63]), in

> Austria (p. 252 [263]), in Belgium *nothing* of the kind (ibid.). The ordinances of Messrs. v. d. Heydt and Manteuffel, etc., would be praiseworthy if they were put into practice (ibid.). "In the United States of North America, every independent movement of the workers was paralysed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic... But out of the death of slavery a new young life at once arose. The first fruit of the Civil War was the *eight hours agitation.* At the same time the *"The International Working Men's Congress",* made the following resolution: "...We propose eight hours work as the legal limit of the working day"[163] (pp. 279, 280 [287]).

In the same manner as Herr v. Hofstetten, the speaker who followed him, Herr *Geib* of Hamburg, bowdlerised the history of the English factory legislation given by Marx. Both gentlemen take the same care not to divulge the source of their wisdom.

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# Frederick Engels

## [REVIEW OF VOLUME ONE OF *CAPITAL* FOR THE *BEOBACHTER*[164]]

Karl Marx. *Capital.* Critique of Political Economy. Volume One. Hamburg, Meissner, 1867

Whatever one may think of the tendency of the book before us, we believe we may say that it is one of those achievements which do honour to the German spirit. It is indicative that while the author is a Prussian, he is one of the Rhenish Prussians, who until recently liked to describe themselves as "compulsory Prussians", and, moreover, a Prussian who has spent the last few decades far from Prussia, in exile. Prussia itself has long ceased to be a country of any scientific initiative whatsoever, and especially in historical, political or social subjects such an initiative would be impossible there. One could say of it that it represents the Russian rather than the German spirit.

As for the book itself, one must distinguish clearly between two very disparate aspects of it: between, firstly, its solid, positive expositions and, secondly, the tendential conclusions the author draws from them. The first are to a great extent a direct enrichment of science. The author there treats economic relations with a quite new, materialistic, natural-historic method. In this way he represents money and very expertly traces in detail the various successive forms of industrial production: co-operation, the division of labour and with it manufacture in the narrower sense, and lastly machinery, large-scale industry and the corresponding social combinations and relations which naturally grow one from the other.

As for the author's tendencies, we can here, too, discern again a two-fold trend. In so far as he endeavours to show that present-day society, economically considered, is pregnant with

another, higher form of society, he merely strives to present as law in the social sphere the same process which Darwin traced in natural history, a process of gradual evolution. Up to now such a gradual transformation has indeed taken place in social relations from antiquity through the Middle Ages to the present; and as far as we know it has never been seriously claimed from any scientific quarters that Adam Smith and Ricardo have said the last word on the future development of present-day society. On the contrary, liberal teaching on progress also includes progress in the social sphere, and it is one of the arrogant paradoxes of so-called socialists to pretend that they alone have a lien on social progress. By contrast to the run-of-the-mill socialists we must recognise it as a merit of Marx that he also traces progress where the extremely one-sided development of present-day conditions is accompanied by directly abhorrent consequences, as everywhere in the presentation of the great extremes of wealth and poverty resulting from the factory system as a whole, etc. Just by this critical conception of the subject the author has brought forward—certainly against his will—the strongest arguments against all socialism by the book.

It is quite a different matter with the other tendency, the author's subjective conclusions, with the manner in which he represents to himself and others the ultimate result of the present course of social developments. These have nothing to do with what we have called the positive part of the book; nay, if space permitted we could perhaps show that his *subjective* whims are refuted by his own *objective* exposition.

If Lassalle's entire socialism consisted in abusing the capitalists and flattering the Prussian rural squires, here we find the diametrical opposite. Herr Marx explicitly proves the historical necessity of the capitalist mode of production, as he calls the present social phase, and equally the superfluous nature of the merely consuming land-holding squirearchy. If Lassalle had big ideas about Bismarck's fitness to introduce the socialist Millennium, Herr Marx refutes his wayward pupil loudly enough. He not only explicitly declares that he will have nothing to do with any "Royal Prussian government socialism",[a] he says straight out on p. 762 ff. that the system now prevailing in France and Prussia would shortly bring about the rule of the Russian knout over Europe if it were not stopped in time.[165]

Finally, we remark that above we have only been able to con-

[a] See this volume, p. 80.—*Ed.*

sider the main features of this big volume; in detail there is still much that could be said about it, but here we must pass it by. For this purpose there exist enough specialist journals, which will doubtless enter into this most remarkable phenomenon.

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# Frederick Engels

## [REVIEW OF VOLUME ONE OF *CAPITAL* FOR THE *STAATS-ANZEIGER FÜR WÜRTTEMBERG*[166]]

Karl Marx. *Capital.* Critique of Political Economy. Volume One. Hamburg, Meissner, 1867

When we take the above work into consideration we certainly do not do so on account of the specifically socialist tendency which the author openly displays already in the preface.

We do so because, apart from this tendency, the work contains scientific expositions and factual material which deserve every consideration. We shall not enter into the scientific part either, since this is far from our purpose, and confine ourselves to the factual matters alone.

We do not believe that any work exists—either in German or a foreign language—in which the analytical fundamentals of more recent industrial history from the Middle Ages to the modern day are so clearly and completely summed up as on pages 302-495 of the present book in the three chapters: Co-operation, Manufacture and Large-scale Industry. Every single aspect of industrial progress is here emphasised in its proper place, according to merit, and even if the specific tendency comes through here and there, one must do the author justice for never moulding the facts to suit his theory but, on the contrary, seeking to present his theory as the result of the facts. He takes these facts always from the best sources, and where the latest state of affairs is concerned, from sources which are as authentic as they are at present unknown in Germany: the English Parliamentary Reports. German businessmen who consider their industry not merely from the standpoint of day-to-day business but regard it as an essential link in the whole development of large-scale modern industry in all countries and hence also take an interest in matters not directly concerning their own industry, will here find a copious source of instruction and will thank us for having directed their attention to it. For the time when every trade existed singly and quietly for itself alone has indeed long passed, now they all depend on one another and on the progress being made in distant lands as well as in the closest neighbourhood and on the changing economic

situation of the world market. And if, as may well be, the new Customs Union agreements[167] lead to a reduction in the present protective tariffs, all our manufacturers are likely to ask to be made better acquainted with the history of modern industry in general, so as to learn in advance how best to conduct themselves when such changes occur. Higher education, which up to now has saved us Germans again and again, in spite of the political dismemberment, would also in this case be the best weapon we could use against the crude materialism of the English.

This leads us to another point. With the new Customs Union legislation the moment may soon arrive when a uniform regulation of the working hours in the factories of the Union states will be demanded by the manufacturers themselves. It would be obviously unfair if in one state the working hours, especially of women and children, were entirely at the discretion of the manufacturer, while in another they were subject to considerable limitations. It will be difficult to avoid coming to an understanding on common regulations in this respect, and the more so if the protective tariffs were actually lowered. In this respect, however, we Germans have greatly insufficient, one could even say, no experience at all, and are entirely dependent on the lessons to be drawn from the legislation of other countries, particularly England, and from its fruits. And here the author has done a great service to German industry by giving the history of English factory legislation and its results in the greatest detail from official documents. (Cf. pp. 207-81 and 399-496,[a] and passim.) This whole aspect of English industrial history is as good as unknown in Germany, and one will be surprised to learn that since a Parliamentary Act of the current year placed no fewer than a million and a half workers under government control, not only almost all industrial but even most of domestic and part of agricultural labour in England are now subjected to the supervision of officials and direct or indirect time limits. We ask our manufacturers not to be deterred by the tendency of this book from seriously studying particularly this part of it; sooner or later the same question will surely be put before them!

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[a] See 1887 English edition, pp. 223-88 and 407-515.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [REVIEW OF VOLUME ONE OF *CAPITAL* FOR THE *NEUE BADISCHE LANDESZEITUNG*[168]]

Karl Marx. *Capital.* Critique of Political Economy. Volume One. Hamburg, Meissner, 1867

We must leave it to others to deal with the theoretical and strictly scientific part of this work and criticise the new view the author gives of the origin of capital. But we cannot fail to draw attention to the great mass of most valuable historical and statistical material with which the author at the same time presents us and which almost without exception is taken from the official Commission Reports which have been put before the English Parliament. He is quite right to emphasise the importance of such commissions of inquiry for the study of the internal social conditions of a country. Provided the right people are found for them, they are the best means for a nation to learn to know itself; and Herr Marx is surely not wrong in saying that similar investigations conducted in Germany would lead to results which would definitely horrify us. Before they were introduced, there was not an Englishman either who knew how the poorer classes of his country lived!

It stands to reason, moreover, that without such investigations all social legislation will be made with only half the knowledge of facts available and often quite in the dark, as they now say in Bavaria. The so-called "inquiries" and "investigations" of German authorities have not remotely the same value. We know the bureaucratic routine only too well: forms are sent round, one is glad if they are returned filled in some way or another; the information thus supplied is all too often sought precisely among those who are interested in hushing up the truth. Compare with that the investigations of English commissions on working conditions in individual industries, for example. Not only the manufacturers and masters, but also the workers down to the little girls are interviewed, and not only these, but doctors, Justices of the Peace, clergymen, teachers, and moreover anyone

who can give any kind of information on the matter. Every question and every answer is taken down in shorthand and printed word for word, and is attached to the whole material on which the commission report with its conclusions and proposals is based. The report and its material at the same time proves in detail whether and how the commissioners have fulfilled their duty and makes things very difficult for individual bias. The details as well as innumerable examples can be read in the above book itself. Here we want only to emphasise the one point, that in England the expansion of the freedom of trade and business has gone hand in hand with the expansion of the legal limitation of the working hours for women and children, and therewith the placing of almost all industries under the supervision of the government. Herr Marx gives us a detailed historical presentation of this development, showing how first, since 1833, spinning and weaving mills were in this way limited to a 12-hour working day; how after a long struggle between manufacturers and workers the working hours were at long last fixed at $10^1/_2$—$6^1/_2$ for children—and then, beginning in 1850, one industry after another became subject to this factory law. First the cotton printers (already in 1845), then in 1860 the dying and bleaching works, in 1861 the lace and hosiery manufactures, in 1863 the potteries, wallpaper factories, etc., and eventually in 1867 almost all the remaining industries of any importance. One can form a picture of the significance of this last Act of 1867 when one learns that it places no fewer than *a million and a half* women and children under the protection and the control of the law. We emphasise this point particularly because in this respect things are, alas, bad indeed with us in Germany, and we must thank the author for having dealt with it in such detail and made the facts accessible to the German public for the first time. This will be the view of every friend of humanity, whatever he may think of the theoretical propositions of Herr Marx.

Space does not permit us to enter into other valuable materials from the history of industry and agriculture, but we are of the opinion that no one interested in political economy, industry, workers' condition, the history of culture and social legislation, whatever standpoint he may hold, should leave this book unread.

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Demokratisches Wochenblatt.

Organ der deutschen Volkspartei.

No. 12. Leipzig, den 21. März. 1868.

Frederick Engels

# [REVIEW OF VOLUME ONE OF *CAPITAL* FOR THE *DEMOKRATISCHES WOCHENBLATT*[169]]

## Marx's *Capital* *

## I

[*Demokratisches Wochenblatt,* No. 12, March 21, 1868]

As long as there have been capitalists and workers on earth no book has appeared which is of as much importance for the workers as the one before us. The relation between capital and labour, the axis on which our entire present system of society turns, is here treated scientifically for the first time, and at that with a thoroughness and acuity such as was possible only for a German. Valuable as the writings of an Owen, Saint-Simon or Fourier are and will remain—it was reserved for a German first to reach the height from which the whole field of modern social relations can be seen clearly and in full view just as the lower mountain scenery is seen by an observer standing on the top-most peak.

Political economy up to now has taught us that labour is the source of all wealth and the measure of all values, so that two objects whose production has cost the same labour time possess the same value and must also be exchanged for each other, since on the average only equal values are exchangeable for one another. At the same time, however, it teaches that there exists a kind of stored-up labour, which it calls capital; that this capital, owing to the auxiliary sources contained in it, raises the productivity of living labour a hundred and a thousandfold, and in return claims a certain compensation which is termed profit or gain. As we all know, this occurs in reality in such a way that the profits of stored-up, dead labour become ever more massive, the capitals of the capitalists become ever more colossal, while the

* *Das Kapital.* Kritik der politischen Oekonomie, von Karl Marx. Erster Band. Der Produktionsprozess des Kapitals. Hamburg, O. Meissner, 1867.

wages of living labour become ever smaller and the mass of the workers living solely on wages becomes ever more numerous and poverty-stricken. How is this contradiction to be solved? How can there remain a profit for the capitalist if the worker receives in compensation the full value of the labour he adds to his product? Yet this ought to be the case, since only equal values are exchanged. On the other hand, how can equal values be exchanged, how can the worker receive the full value of his product, if, as is admitted by many economists, this product is divided between him and the capitalist? Political economy up to now has been helpless in the face of this contradiction, and writes or stutters embarrassed meaningless phrases. Even the previous socialist critics of political economy have not been able to do more than to emphasise the contradiction; no one resolved it, until now at last Marx has traced the process by which this profit arises right to its birthplace and has thereby made everything clear.

In tracing the development of capital, Marx starts out from the simple, notoriously obvious fact that the capitalists increase the value of their capital through exchange: they buy commodities for their money and afterwards sell them for more money than they cost them. For example, a capitalist buys cotton for 1,000 talers and resells it for 1,100, thus "earning" 100 talers. This excess of 100 talers over the original capital Marx calls *surplus-value.* Where does this surplus-value come from? According to the economists' assumption, only equal values are exchanged and in the sphere of abstract theory this, of course, is correct. Hence the purchase of cotton and its resale can just as little yield surplus-value as the exchange of a silver taler for thirty silver groschen and the re-exchange of the small coins for a silver taler,[a] a process by which one becomes neither richer nor poorer. But surplus-value can just as little arise from sellers selling commodities above their value, or purchasers buying them below their value, because each one is in turn buyer and seller and things would therefore again balance. Just as little can it arise from buyers and sellers reciprocally overreaching each other, for this would create no new or surplus-value, but only divide the existing capital differently among the capitalists. In spite of the fact that the capitalist buys the commodities at their value and sells them at their value, he gets more value out than he puts in. How does this happen?

The capitalist finds on the commodity market under present social conditions *a commodity* which has the peculiar property that

[a] One silver taler equals 30 silver groschen.— *Ed.*

*its use is a source of new value, is a creation of new value,* and this commodity is *labour-power.*

What is the value of labour-power? The value of every commodity is measured by the labour required for its production. Labour-power exists in the form of the living worker who requires a definite amount of means of subsistence for his existence as well as for the maintenance of his family, which ensures the continuance of labour-power also after his death. The labour-time necessary for producing these means of subsistence represents, therefore, the value of the labour-power. The capitalist pays for it weekly and purchases thereby the use of one week's labour of the worker. So far messieurs the economists will be pretty well in agreement with us as to the value of labour-power.

The capitalist now sets his worker to work. In a certain period of time the worker will have performed as much labour as was represented by his weekly wages. Supposing that the weekly wages of a worker represent three workdays, then, if the worker begins on Monday, he has by Wednesday evening *replaced* to the capitalist the *full value of the wages paid.* But does he then stop working? Not at all. The capitalist has bought his *week*'s labour and the worker must go on working during the last three days of the week too. This *surplus-labour* of the worker, over and above the time necessary to replace his wages, is the *source of surplus-value,* of profit, of the steadily growing increase of capital.

Do not say it is an arbitrary assumption that the worker works off in three days the wages he has received, and works the remaining three days for the capitalist. Whether he takes exactly three days to replace his wages, or two or four, is to be sure quite immaterial here and hence varies according to circumstances; the main point is that the capitalist, besides the labour he pays for, also extracts labour that he *does not pay for,* and this is no arbitrary assumption, for the day the capitalist were to extract from the worker in the long run only as much labour as he paid him in wages, on that day he would shut down his workshop, since indeed his whole profit would come to nought.

Here we have the solution of all those contradictions. The origin of surplus-value (of which the capitalists' profit forms an important part) is now quite clear and natural. The value of the labour-power is paid for, but this value is far smaller than that which the capitalist manages to extract from the labour-power, and it is precisely the difference, the *unpaid labour,* that constitutes the share of the capitalist, or, more accurately, of the capitalist class. For even the profit that the cotton dealer made on his cotton

in the above example must consist of unpaid labour, if cotton prices did not rise. The trader must have sold [it] to a cotton manufacturer, who is able to extract a profit for himself from his product besides the 100 talers, and therefore shares with him the unpaid labour he has pocketed. In general it is this unpaid labour which maintains all the non-working members of society. The state and municipal taxes, as far as they affect the capitalist class, as also the rent of the landowners, etc., are paid from it. On it rests the whole existing social system.

It would, however, be absurd to assume that unpaid labour arose only under present conditions where production is carried on by capitalists on the one hand and wage-workers on the other. On the contrary, the oppressed class at all times has had to perform unpaid labour. During the whole long period when slavery was the prevailing form of the organisation of labour, the slaves had to perform much more labour than was returned to them in the form of means of subsistence. The same was the case under the rule of serfdom and right up to the abolition of peasant corvée labour; here in fact the difference stands out palpably between the time during which the peasant works for his own maintenance and the surplus-labour for the feudal lord, precisely because the latter is carried out separately from the former. The form has now been changed, but the substance remains and as long as "a part of society possesses the monopoly of the means of production, the labourer, free or not free, must add to the working-time necessary for his own maintenance an extra working-time in order to produce the means of subsistence for the owners of the means of production" (Marx, p. 202 [218]).

## II

[*Demokratisches Wochenblatt,* No. 13, March 28, 1868]

In the previous article we saw that every worker employed by a capitalist performs two kinds of labour: during one part of his working-time he replaces the wages advanced to him by the capitalist, and this part of his labour Marx terms the *necessary labour.* But afterwards he has to go on working and during that time he produces *surplus-value* for the capitalist, an important part of which constitutes profit. That part of the labour is called surplus-labour.

Let us assume that the worker works three days of the week to replace his wages and three days to produce surplus-value for the

capitalist. In other words, it means that, with a twelve-hour working day, he works six hours daily for his wages and six hours for the production of surplus-value. One can get only six days out of the week, and even by including Sunday only seven at the most, but one can extract six, eight, ten, twelve, fifteen or even more hours of work out of every single day. The worker sells the capitalist a working day for his day's wages. But, *what is a working day*? Eight hours or eighteen?

It is in the capitalist's interest to make the working day as long as possible. The longer it is, the more surplus-value it produces. The worker correctly feels that every hour of labour which he performs over and above the replacement of his wages is unjustly taken from him; he learns from bitter personal experience what it means to work excessive hours. The capitalist fights for his profit, the worker for his health, for a few hours of daily rest, to be able to engage in other human activities as well, besides working, sleeping and eating. It may be remarked in passing that it does not depend at all upon the good will of the individual capitalists whether they desire to embark on this struggle or not, since competition compels even the most philanthropic among them to join his colleagues and to fix working hours to be as long as theirs.

The struggle for the fixing of the working day has lasted from the first appearance of free workers in the arena of history down to the present day. In various trades various traditional working days prevail; but in reality they are seldom observed. Only where the law fixes the working day and supervises its observance can one really say that there exists a normal working day. And up to now this is the case virtually solely in the factory districts of England. Here the ten-hour working day (ten and a half hours on five days, seven and a half hours on Saturday) has been fixed for all women and for youths of thirteen to eighteen, and since the men cannot work without them, they also come under the ten-hour working day.[170] This law has been won by English factory workers by years of endurance, by the most persistent, stubborn struggle with the factory owners, by freedom of the press, the right of association and assembly, as well as by adroit utilisation of the divisions in the ruling class itself. It has become the palladium of the English workers, it has gradually been extended to all important branches of industry and last year *to* almost *all trades*, at least to all those employing women and children. The present work contains most exhaustive material on the history of this legislative regulation of the working day in England. The next "North German Imperial Diet" will also have

factory regulations to discuss and in connection therewith the regulation of factory labour. We expect that none of the deputies that have been elected by German workers will proceed to discuss this bill without previously making themselves thoroughly conversant with *Marx*'s book. *There is much to be achieved here.* The divisions within the ruling classes are more favourable to the workers than they ever were in England, because *universal suffrage compels the ruling classes to court the favour of the workers.* Under these circumstances, four or five representatives of the proletariat[171] are *a power*, if they know how to use their position, if above all they know what is at issue, which the bourgeois do not know. And for this purpose, Marx's book gives them all the material in ready form.

We will pass over a number of further excellent investigations of more theoretical interest and will pause only at the final chapter which deals with the accumulation or amassing of capital. Here it is first shown that the capitalist mode of production, i.e. that inaugurated by capitalists on the one hand and wage-workers on the other, not only continually regenerates capital for the capitalist, but at the same time also continually produces the poverty of the workers; thereby it is provided for a constant regeneration of, on the one hand, capitalists who are the owners of all means of subsistence, all raw materials and all instruments of labour, and, on the other hand, the great mass of the workers, who are compelled to sell their labour-power to these capitalists for a quantum of the means of subsistence which at best just suffices to keep them able-bodied and to bring up a new generation of able-bodied proletarians. But capital does not merely reproduce itself: it is continually increased and multiplied—and thereby its power over the propertyless class of workers. And just as it itself is reproduced on an ever greater scale, so the modern capitalist mode of production reproduces the class of propertyless workers also on an ever greater scale, in ever greater numbers. "...Accumulation of capital reproduces the capital-relation on a progressive scale, more capitalists or larger capitalists at this pole, more wage-workers at that.... *Accumulation of capital is, therefore, increase of the proletariat*" (p. 600 [627]). Since, however, owing to the progress of machinery, owing to improved agriculture, etc., fewer and fewer workers are necessary in order to produce the same quantity of products, since this perfecting, that is, this making the workers superfluous, is more rapid than even the growth of capital, what becomes of this ever-increasing number of workers? They form an industrial reserve army, which, when

business is bad or middling, is paid *below* the value of its labour and is irregularly employed or is left to be cared for by public charity, but which is indispensable to the capitalist class at times when business is especially lively, as is palpably evident in England—but which *under all circumstances* serves to break the power of resistance of the regularly employed workers and to keep their wages down. "The greater the social wealth ... the greater is the relative surplus-population, or industrial reserve-army. But the greater this reserve-army in proportion to the active (regularly employed) labour-army, the greater is the mass of a consolidated (permanent) surplus-population, or strata of workers, whose misery is in inverse ratio[a] to its torment of labour. The more extensive, finally, the lazarus-layers of the working class, and the industrial reserve-army, the greater is official pauperism. *This is the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation*" (p. 631 [659-60]).

These, strictly scientifically-proved—and the official economists are taking great care not to make even an attempt at a refutation—are some of the chief laws of the modern, capitalist, social system. But does this tell the whole story? By no means. Marx sharply stresses the bad sides of capitalist production but with equal emphasis clearly proves that this social form was necessary to develop the productive forces of society to a level which will make possible an equal development worthy of human beings for *all* members of society. All earlier forms of society were too poor for this. Capitalist production is the first to create the wealth and the productive forces necessary for this, but at the same time it also creates, in the numerous and oppressed workers, the social class which is compelled more and more to claim the utilisation of this wealth and these productive forces for the whole of society—instead of their being utilised, as they are today, for a monopolist class.

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[a] Should be "in direct proportion". Marx made this change in the French edition of Volume One of *Capital*.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [REVIEW OF VOLUME ONE OF *CAPITAL* FOR *THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW*[172]]

### *Karl Marx on Capital.**

### I.

Mr. Thomas Tooke, in his inquiries on currency, points out the fact that money, in its function as capital, undergoes a reflux to its point of issue, while this is not the case with money performing the function of mere currency.[a] This distinction (which, however, had been established long before by Sir James Steuart)[b] is used by Mr. Tooke merely as a link in his argumentation against the "Currency men" and their assertions as to the influence of the issue of paper-money on the prices of commodities.[173] Our author, on the contrary, makes this distinction the starting point of his inquiry into the nature of capital itself, and especially as regards the question: How is money, this independent form of existence of value, converted into capital?

All sorts of businessmen—says Turgot—have this in common, that they *buy in order to sell*; their purchases are an advance which afterwards is returned to them.[c]

*To buy in order to sell,* such is indeed the transaction in which money functions as capital, and which necessitates its return to its point of issue, in contradistinction to *selling in order to buy,* in which process money *may* function as currency only. Thus it is seen that the different order in which the acts of selling and buying follow upon each other, impress upon money two different motions of

* *Das Kapital.* Von Karl Marx. Erster Band, Hamburg, Meissner, 1867.

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[a] Th. Tooke, *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle,* London, 1844, pp. 69-70.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy.*—*Ed.*

[c] Turgot, "Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses" in *Oeuvres,* Tome premier, Paris, 1844, p. 43.—*Ed.*

circulation. In order to illustrate these two processes, our author gives the following formulae:

To sell in order to buy: a commodity *C* is exchanged for money *M*, which is again exchanged for another commodity *C*; or: *C—M—C*.

To buy in order to sell: money is exchanged for a commodity and this is again exchanged for money: *M—C—M*.

The formula *C—M—C* represents the simple circulation of commodities, in which money functions as means of circulation, as currency. This formula is analysed in the first chapter of our book [174] which contains a new and very simple theory of value and of money, extremely interesting scientifically, but which we here leave out of consideration as, on the whole, immaterial to what we consider the vital points of Mr. Marx's views on capital.

The formula *M—C—M*, on the other hand, represents that form of circulation in which money resolves itself into capital.

The process of buying in order to sell: *M—C—M*, may evidently be resolved into *M—M*; it is an indirect exchange of money against money. Suppose I buy cotton for £1,000.—and sell it for £1,100.—; then, *in fine*, I have exchanged £1,000 for £1,100, money for money.

Now, if this process were always to result in returning to me the same sum of money which I had advanced, it would be absurd. But, whether the merchant, who [had] advanced £1,000, realises £1,100, or £1,000, or even £900 only, his money has gone through a phase essentially different from that of the formula *C—M—C*; which formula means, to sell in order to buy, to sell what you do not want in order to be able to buy that what you do want. Let me compare the two formulae.

Each process is composed of two phases or acts, and these two acts are identical in both formulae; but there is a great difference between the two processes themselves. In *C—M—C*, money is merely the mediator; the Commodity, useful value, forms the starting and the concluding point. In *M—C—M*, the commodity is the intermediate link, while money is the beginning and the end. In *C—M—C* the money is spent once for all; in *M—C—M* it is merely advanced, with the intention to recover it; it returns to its point of issue, and in this we have a first palpable difference between the circulation of money as *currency* and of money as *capital*.

In the process of selling in order to buy, *C—M—C*, the money can return to its point of issue on the condition only that the whole process be repeated, that a fresh quantity of commodity be

sold. The reflux, therefore, is independent of the process itself. But in $M—C—M$, this reflux is a necessity and intended from the beginning; if it does not take place, there is a hitch somewhere and the process remains incomplete.

To sell in order to buy, has for its object the acquisition of *useful* value; to buy in order to sell, that of *exchangeable* value.

In the formula $C—M—C$, the two extremes are, economically speaking, identical. They are both commodities; they are, moreover, of the same quantitative value, for the whole theory of value implies the supposition that, normally, equivalents only are exchanged. At the same time, these two extremes $C—C$ are two useful values different in quality, and they are exchanged on that very account.—In the process of $M—C—M$, the whole operation, at the first glance, appears meaningless. To exchange £100 for £100, and that by a roundabout process, appears absurd. A sum of money can differ from another sum of money by its quantity only. $M—C—M$, therefore, can only have any meaning by the quantitative difference of its extremes. There must be more money drawn out from circulation than had been thrown into it. The cotton bought for £1,000 is sold for £1,100=£1,000+£100; the formula representing the process, thus, changes to $M—C—M'$, in which $M'=M+\Delta M$, $M$ plus an increment. This $\Delta M$, this increment, Mr. Marx calls *surplus-value.** The value originally advanced not only maintains itself, it also adds to itself an increment, it *begets value,* and *it is this process which changes money into capital.*

In the form of circulation $C—M—C$, the extremes *may,* certainly, also differ in value, but such a circumstance would here be perfectly indifferent; the formula does not become absurd if both extremes are equivalents. On the contrary, it is a condition of its normal character that they should be so.

The repetition of $C—M—C$ is limited by circumstances entirely extraneous to the process of exchange itself: by the requirements of consumption. But in $M—C—M$, beginning and end are identical as to quality, and by that very fact the motion is, or may be, perpetual. No doubt, $M+\Delta M$ is different in quantity from $M$; but still it is a mere limited sum of money. If you spend it, it will cease to be capital; if you withdraw it from circulation, it will be a stationary hoard. The inducement once admitted for the process of making value beget value, this inducement exists as much for $M'$ as it existed for $M$; the motion of capital becomes

* Wherever *"value"* is here used without qualification, it always means *value in exchange.*

perpetual and endless, because at the close of each separate transaction its end is no more attained than before. The performance of this endless process transforms the owner of money into a *capitalist.*

Apparently, the formula $M—C—M$ is applicable to merchants' capital alone. But the manufacturer's capital, too, is money which is exchanged for commodities and re-exchanged for more money. No doubt, in this case, a number of operations intervene between purchase and sale, operations which are performed outside of the sphere of mere circulation; but they do not change anything in the nature of the process. On the other hand, we see the same process in its most abbreviated form in capital lent on interest. Here the formula dwindles down to $M—M'$, value which is, so to say, greater than itself.

But whence does this increment of $M$, this surplus-value arise? Our previous inquiries into the nature of commodities, of value, of money, and of circulation itself, not only leave it unexplained, but appear even to exclude any form of circulation which results in such a thing as a surplus-value. The whole difference between the circulation of commodities ($C—M—C$) and the circulation of money as capital ($M—C—M$) appears to consist in a simple reversion of the process; how should this reversion be capable of producing such a strange result?

Moreover: this reversion exists for *one* only of the three parties to the process. I, as a capitalist, buy a commodity from A, and sell it again to B. A and B appear as mere sellers and buyers of commodities. I myself appear, in buying from A, merely as an owner of money, and in selling to B, as owner of a commodity; but in neither transaction do I appear as a capitalist, as the representative of something which is *more* than either money or commodity. For A the transaction began with a sale, for B it began with a purchase. If from my point of view there is a reversion of the formula $C—M—C$, there is none from theirs. Besides, there is nothing to prevent A from selling his commodity to B without my intervention, and then there would be no occasion for any surplus-value.

Suppose A and B buy their respective requirements from each other directly. As far as useful value is concerned they may both be gainers. A may even be able to produce more of his particular commodity than B could produce in the same time, and *vice versa,* in which case they both would gain. But it is different with regard to value in exchange. In this latter case equal quantities of value are exchanged, whether money serves as the medium or not.

Considered in the abstract, that is to say excluding all circumstances which are not deducible from the inherent laws of the simple circulation of commodities, there is in this simple circulation, besides the fact of one useful value being replaced by another, a mere change of form of the commodity. The *same* value in exchange, the same quantity of social labour fixed in an object, remains in the hands of the owner of the commodity, be it in the shape of this commodity itself, or in that of the money it is sold for, or in that of the second commodity bought for the money. This change of form does not in any way involve any change in the quantity of the value, as little as the exchange of a five pound note for five sovereigns. Inasmuch as there is merely a change in the *form* of the value in exchange, there must be exchange of equivalents, at least whenever the process takes place in its purity and under normal conditions. Commodities *may* be sold at prices above or below their values, but if they are, the law of the exchange of commodities is always violated. In its pure and normal form, therefore, the exchange of commodities is not a means of creating surplus-value. Hence arises the error of all economists who attempt to derive surplus-value from the exchange of commodities, such as Condillac.[a]

We will, however, suppose that the process does not take place under normal conditions, and that non-equivalents are exchanged. Let every seller, for instance, sell his commodity 10 per cent above its value. *Caeteris paribus*,[b] everybody loses again as a buyer what he had gained as a seller. It would be exactly the same as if the value of money had fallen 10 per cent. The reverse, with the same effect, would take place if all buyers bought their goods 10 per cent below their value. We do not get an inch nearer to a solution by supposing that every owner of commodities sells them above their value in his quality as a producer, and buys them above their value in his quality as a consumer.

The consistent representatives of the delusion that surplus-value arises from a nominal addition to the price of commodities presuppose always the existence of a class which buys without ever selling, which consumes without producing. At this stage of our inquiry, the existence of such a class is as yet inexplicable. But admit it. Whence does that class receive the money with which it keeps buying? Evidently from the producers of commodities—on the strength of no matter what legal or compulsory titles, without

[a] E. B. Condillac, "Le commerce et le gouvernement" in *Mélanges d'economie politique*, Paris, 1847, pp. 267 and 290-91.—*Ed.*

[b] Other things being equal.—*Ed.*

exchange. To sell, to such a class, commodities above their value, means nothing but to recover a portion of the money which had been given away gratuitously. Thus the cities of Asia Minor, while paying a tribute to the Romans, recovered part of this money by cheating the Romans in trade; but after all, these cities were the greatest losers of the two. This, then, is no method of creating surplus-value.

Let us suppose the case of cheating. A sells to B wine of the value of £40 for corn of the value of £50. A has gained £10 and B has lost £10, but betwixt them, they have only £90 just as before. Value has been transferred but not created. The whole capitalist class of a country cannot, by cheating one another, increase their collective wealth.

Therefore: If equivalents are exchanged, there arises no surplus-value, and if non-equivalents are exchanged, there arises no surplus-value either. The circulation of commodities creates no new value. This is the reason why the two oldest and most popular forms of capital, commercial capital and interest-bearing capital, are here left entirely out of consideration. To explain the surplus-value appropriated by these two forms of capital otherwise than as the result of mere cheating, a number of intermediate links are required which are still wanting at this stage of the inquiry. Later on we shall see that they both are secondary forms only and shall also trace the cause why both appear in history long before modern capital.

Surplus-value, then, cannot originate from the circulation of commodities. But can it originate outside of it? Outside of it, the owner of a commodity is simply the producer of that commodity, the value of which is established by the amount of his labour contained in it and measured by a fixed social law. This value is expressed in money of account, say, in a price of £10. But this price of £10 is not at the same time a price of £11; this labour contained in the commodity creates value, but no value which begets new value; it can add new value to existing value, but merely by adding new labour. How, then, should the owner of a commodity, outside the sphere of circulation, without coming into contact with other owners of commodities—how should he be able to produce surplus-value, or in other words, to change commodities or money into capital?

"Capital, then, cannot originate from the circulation of commodities, and no more can it *not* originate from it. It has to find its source in it, and yet *not* in it. The change of money into capital has to be explained on the basis of the laws inherent to the

exchange of commodities, *the exchange of equivalents forming the starting-point.* Our owner of money, as yet the mere chrysalis of a capitalist, has to buy his commodities at their value, to sell them at their value, and yet to extract more money from this process than he had invested in it. His development into the capitalist butterfly has to take place within the sphere of the circulation of commodities, and yet *not* within it. These are the terms of the problem. *Hic Rhodus, hic salta*"[a] [144-45].

And now for the solution:

"The change in the value of the money, which is to be transformed into capital, cannot take place in that money itself; for, as means of purchase and means of payment, it merely *realises* the price of the commodity which it buys or pays for, while if it remained in its money-form, without being exchanged, it could never change its value at all. No more can the change arise from the second act of the process, the re-sale of the commodity; because this merely changes the commodity from its natural form into the form of money. *The change must take place with the commodity* which is bought in the first act *M—C*; but it cannot take place in its value in exchange, because we exchange equivalents; the commodity is bought at its value. *The change can only arise from its value in use,* that is *from the use which is made of it.* In order to extract value in exchange from the use of a commodity, our owner of money must have the good luck to discover, within the sphere of circulation, in the market, a commodity, *the useful value of which is endowed with the peculiar quality of being a source of exchangeable value, the using-up of which is the realisation of labour and therefore the creation of value.* And the owner of money finds, in the market, such a specific commodity: the power to work, *the labour-power.*

"By power to work, or labour-power, we understand the sum total of the physical and mental faculties which exist in the living person of a human being and which he puts into motion when he produces useful values.

"But in order to enable the owner of money to meet the labour-power as a commodity in the market, several conditions have to be fulfilled. In itself, the exchange of commodities does not include any other relations of dependence except such as arise from its own nature. On this supposition, labour-power can

[a] "Here is Rhodes, leap here!"—words addressed to a Swaggerer (in a fable by Aesop, "The Boasting Traveller") who claimed that he had made tremendous leaps in Rhodes. Figuratively means: "Here is the main point, now show us what you can do."—*Ed.*

appear as a commodity, in the market, so far only as it is offered for sale, or sold, by its own owner, the person whose labour-power it is. In order to enable its owner to sell it as a commodity, he must be able to dispose of it, he must be the free proprietor of his labour-power, of his person. He and the owner of money meet in the market, and transact business, as each other's peers, as free and independent owners of commodities, so far different only, that the one is the buyer and the other the seller. This relation of equality before the law must continue; the owner of the labour-power can, therefore, sell it for a limited time only. If he were to sell it in a lump, once for all, he would sell himself, he would from a free man change into a slave, from an owner of a commodity into a commodity... The second essential condition to enable the money-owner to meet labour-power as a commodity in the market, is this: that the owner of the labour-power, instead of selling commodities in which his labour has been embodied, be compelled to sell this, his labour-power itself, such as it exists in his own personality.

"No producer can sell commodities different from his own labour-power, unless possessed of means of production, raw materials, instruments of labour, etc. He can make no boots without leather. Moreover, he requires the means of subsistence. Nobody can feed upon future products, upon useful values the production of which he has not yet completed; as on the first day of his appearance on the stage of the world, man is compelled to consume before and while he produces. If his products are produced as *commodities,* they must be sold *after* production, and can satisfy his wants after the sale only. The time of production is lengthened by the time required for sale.

"The change of money into capital, thus, requires that the money-owner meet in the market the *free labourer,* free in that double sense, that he, as a free person, can dispose of his labour-power; and that, on the other hand, he have no other commodities to sell; that he be entirely unencumbered with, perfectly free from, all the things necessary for putting his labour-power into action.

"The question why this free labourer meets him in the market, has no interest for the money-owner. For him, the labour-market is only one of the various departments of the general market for commodities. And, for the moment, it has no interest for us either. We stick to the fact theoretically, as he sticks to it practically. One thing, however, is clear. It is not nature which produces, on the one hand, owners of money and of commodities,

and on the other, owners of nothing but their own labour-power. This relation does not belong to natural history; nor is it a social relation common to all historical periods. It is evidently the result of a long historical process, the product of a number of economical revolutions, of the destruction of a whole series of older [...[a]] strata of social production.

"The economical categories which we have previously analysed bear in the same manner the impress of their historical origin. The existence of a product in the form of a commodity involves certain historical conditions. In order to become a commodity, the product must not be produced as the immediate means of subsistence of the producer. Now, if we had inquired: How and under what circumstances do all, or at least the great majority of products adopt the form of commodities?—we should have found that this occurs exclusively on the basis of a specific system of production, the *capitalistic* mode of production. But this inquiry was entirely foreign to the analysis of commodity. The production and circulation of commodities may take place, while the overwhelming mass of products—produced for immediate domestic self-use—is never changed into commodities; while, thus, the process of social production, in all its breadth and depth, is, as yet, far from being ruled by value in exchange... or, in analysing money, we find that the existence of money presupposes a certain development of the circulation of commodities. The peculiar forms of existence of money, such as the form of simple equivalent, or of means of circulation, means of payment, hoard, or universal money, as either one or the other may prevail, point to very different stages of the process of social production. Still, experience shows that a relatively crude state of the circulation of commodities suffices to produce all these forms. But with capital it is quite different. The historical conditions necessary for its existence are far from being created simultaneously with the mere circulation of commodities and money. Capital can originate when the owner of the means of production and subsistence meets, in the market, the free labourer offering for sale his labour-power, and this one condition implies ages of historical development. Thus capital at once heralds itself as a specific epoch of the process of social production." [145-149]

We have now to examine this peculiar commodity, the labour-power. It has a value in exchange, as all other commodities; this value is determined in the same way as that of all other

[a] Here the word "formations" is deleted in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

commodities: by the time of labour required for its production, which includes reproduction. The value of labour-power is the value of the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of its owner in a normal state of fitness for work. These means of subsistence are regulated by climate and other natural conditions, and by a standard historically established in every country. They vary, but for a given country and a given epoch they are also given. Moreover, they include the means of subsistence for the substitutes of worn-out labourers, for their children, so as to enable this peculiar species of owners of a commodity to perpetuate itself. They include, finally, for skilled labour, the expense of education.

The minimal limit of the value of labour-power is the value of the physically absolute necessaries of life. If its price falls to this limit, it falls below its value, as the latter involves labour-power of normal, not of inferior quality.

The nature of labour makes it evident that labour-power is used *after* the conclusion of the sale only;—and in all countries with capitalist mode of production, labour is paid after having been performed. Thus everywhere the labourer gives credit to the capitalist. Of the practical consequences of this credit given by the labourer, Mr. Marx gives some interesting examples from Parliamentary papers, for which we refer to the book itself.—

In consuming labour-power, its purchaser produces at once commodities and surplus-value; and in order to examine this, we have to leave the sphere of circulation for that of production.

Here we find at once that the process of labour is of a double nature. On the one hand it is the simple process of production of useful value; as such, it can and must exist under all historical forms of social existence; on the other hand, it is this process carried on under the specific conditions of capitalistic production, as before stated. These we have now to inquire into.

The process of labour, on a capitalistic basis, has two peculiarities. Firstly, the labourer works under the control of the capitalist who takes care that no waste is made and that no more than the socially indispensable amount of labour is spent upon each individual piece of work. Secondly, the product is the property of the capitalist, the process itself being carried on between two things belonging to him: the labour-power and the means of work.

The capitalist does not care for the useful value, except so far as it is the incorporation of exchangeable value, and above all, of

surplus-value. His object is to produce a commodity of a value higher than the sum of value invested in its production. How can this be done?

Let us take a given commodity, say cotton yarn, and analyse the quantity of labour embodied in it. Suppose that for the production of 10 lbs of yarn we require 10 lbs of cotton, value 10/- (leaving waste out of consideration). There are further required certain means of work, a steam-engine, carding-engines and other machinery, coal, lubricants, etc. To simplify matters, we call all these "spindle" and suppose that the share of wear and tear, coal, etc., required for spinning 10 lbs of yarn, is represented by 2/-. Thus we have 10/- cotton+2/- spindle=12/-. If 12/- represent the product of 24 working hours or two working days, then the cotton and spindle in the yarn incorporate two days' labour. Now, how much is added in the spinning?

We will suppose the value, *per diem*,[a] of labour-power to be 3/-, and these 3/- to represent the labour of six hours. Further, that six hours are required to spin 10 lbs of yarn by one labourer. In this case 3/- have been added to the product by labour, the value of the 10 lbs yarn is 15/- or 1/6d. per lb.

This process is very simple, but it does not result in any surplus-value. Nor can it, as in capitalistic production things are not carried on in this simple way.

"We supposed the value of labour-power was 3/- *per diem* and that 6 hours' labour was represented by that sum. But if *half*-a-day's labour is required to maintain a labourer for 24 hours, there is nothing in that to prevent the same labourer from working a *whole* day. The exchangeable value of labour-power, and the value which it may produce, are two entirely different quantities, and it was this difference which the capitalist had in his eye when he invested his money in that commodity. That it has the quality of producing useful value, was a mere *conditio sine qua non* inasmuch as labour must be invested in a useful form in order to produce value. But our capitalist looked beyond that; what attracted him was the specific circumstance that this labour-power is the source of exchangeable value, and of more exchangeable value than is contained in itself. This is the peculiar 'service' which he expects from it. And in doing so, he acts in accordance with the eternal laws of the exchange of commodities. The seller of the labour-power realises its exchangeable, and parts with its useful value. He cannot obtain the one without giving away the other.

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[a] Daily.— *Ed.*

The useful value of the labour-power, labour itself, no more belongs to its seller, than the useful value of sold oil to an oil-merchant. The capitalist has paid the value *per diem* of the labour-power; to him, therefore, belongs its use during the day, a day's labour. The circumstance that the maintenance of the labour-power for one day costs half a day's labour only, although this labour-power can be made to work a whole day; that, therefore, the value created by its use during a day, is twice as great as its own daily value—this circumstance is a peculiar piece of good luck for the buyer, but not at all a wrong inflicted upon the seller.

"The labourer, then, works 12 hours, spins 20 lbs of yarn representing 20/- in cotton, 4/- in spindle, etc., and his labour costs 3/-,—total, 27/-. But if 10 lbs of cotton absorbed 6 hours of labour, 20 lbs of cotton have absorbed 12 hours of labour, equal to 6/-. The 20lbs of yarn now represent 5 days of labour; 4 in the shape of cotton and spindle, etc., 1 in the shape of spinning labour; the expression, in money, for 5 days' labour, is 30/-; consequently the price of the 20 lbs yarn is 30/-, or 1/6d. per lb. as before. But the sum total of the value of the commodities invested in this process was 27/-. The value of the product has increased beyond the value of the commodities invested in its production by one-ninth. Thus 27/- have been transformed into 30/-. They have produced a surplus-value of 3/-. The trick has, at last, succeeded. Money has been converted into capital.

"All the conditions of the problem have been solved, and the laws of the exchange of commodities have in no way been violated. Equivalent has been exchanged against equivalent. The capitalist, as purchaser, has paid every commodity at its value: cotton, spindles, etc., labour-power. After which, he did what every buyer of commodities does. He consumed their useful value. The process of consumption of the labour-power, at the same time process of production of the commodity, resulted in a product of 20 lbs of yarn, value 30/-. Our capitalist returns to the market and sells the yarn at 1/6 d. per lb., not a fraction above or below its value, and yet he extracts 3/- more from circulation than he originally invested in it. The whole of this process, the transformation of his money into capital, passes within the sphere of circulation, and at the same time *not* within it. By the intervention of circulation, because the purchase, in the market, of the labour-power was its indispensable condition. Not within the sphere of circulation, because this merely initiates the process of value begetting value, which is performed in the sphere of

production. And thus *tout est pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes possibles.*"[a] [174-176]

From the demonstration of the mode in which surplus-value is produced, Mr. Marx passes to its analysis. It is evident, from what precedes, that only one portion of the capital invested in any productive undertaking directly contributes to the production of surplus-value, and that is the capital laid out in the purchase of labour-power. This portion only produces *new* value; the capital invested in machinery, raw material, coal, etc., does indeed re-appear in the value of the product *pro tanto,*[b] it is maintained and reproduced, but no surplus-value can proceed from it. This induces Mr. Marx to propose a new subdivision of capital into *constant* capital, that which is merely reproduced—the portion invested in machinery, raw materials and all other accessories to labour;—and *variable* capital, that which is not only reproduced, but is, at the same time, the direct source of surplus-value—that portion which is invested in the purchase of labour-power, in wages. From this it is clear, that however necessary constant capital may be to the production of surplus-value, yet it does not directly contribute to it; and, moreover, the amount of constant capital invested in any trade has not the slightest influence upon the amount of surplus-value produced in that trade.* Consequently, it ought not to be taken into consideration in fixing the *rate* of surplus-value. That can be determined only by comparing the amount of surplus-value to the amount of capital directly engaged in creating it, that is to say, the amount of *variable* capital. Mr. Marx, therefore, determines the rate of surplus-value by its proportion to variable capital only: if the daily price of labour be 3/-, and the surplus-value created daily be also 3/-, then he calls the rate of surplus-value 100 per cent. What curious blunders may result from reckoning, according to usual practice, constant capital as an active factor in the production of surplus-value, is shown in an example from Mr. N. W. Senior,[c] "when that Oxford professor, noted for his scientific attainments and his beautiful diction, was invited, in 1836, to Manchester, in order to learn political economy there (from the cotton spinners) instead of teaching it in Oxford."—[207][175]

The working-time in which the labourer reproduces the value of

* We must observe here, that *surplus-value* is not at all identical with *profit.*

[a] "All is for the best in the best of possible worlds" (Voltaire, *Candide*).—*Ed.*

[b] For so much.—*Ed.*

[c] N. W. Senior, *Letters on the Factory Act,* London, 1837.—*Ed.*

his labour-power, Mr. Marx calls *"necessary labour"*; the time worked beyond that, and during which surplus-value is produced, he calls *"surplus-labour"*. Necessary labour and surplus-labour combined form the *"working day"*.—

In a working day, the time required for necessary labour is given; but the time employed in surplus-labour is not fixed by any economical law; it may be longer or shorter, within certain limits. It can never be zero, as then the inducement for the capitalist to employ labour would have ceased; nor can the total length of the working day ever attain 24 hours, for physiological reasons. Between a working day of, say, six hours, and one of 24, there are, however, many intermediate stages. The laws of the exchange of commodities demand that the working day have a length not exceeding that which is compatible with the normal wear and tear of the labourer. But what is this normal wear and tear? How many hours of daily labour are compatible with it? Here the opinions of the capitalist and those of the labourer differ widely, and, as there is no higher authority, the question is solved by *force*. The history of the determination of the length of the working day is the history of a struggle about its limits, between the collective capitalist and the collective labourer, between the two classes of capitalists and working men.

"Capital, as has been stated before, has not invented surplus-labour. Wherever a portion of society holds the exclusive monopoly of the means of production, there the labourer, slave, serf, or free, has to add, to the labour necessary for his own subsistence, an increment of labour in order to produce the means of subsistence for the owner of the means of production, be that owner an Athenian καλὸς κἀγαθός,[a] an Etruscan theocrat, a *civis Romanus*,[b] a Norman baron, an American slave-owner, a Wallachian boyar, a modern landlord or capitalist." [218].

It is, however, evident that in any form of society where the value in use of the product is more important than its value in exchange, surplus-labour is restrained by the narrower or wider range of social wants; and that under these circumstances there does not exist necessarily a desire for surplus-labour for its own sake. Thus we find that in the classical period surplus-labour in its extremist form, the working to death of people, existed almost exclusively in gold and silver mines, where value in exchange was produced in its independent form of existence: money.

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[a] Aristocrat.— *Ed.*

[b] Roman citizen.— *Ed.*

"But wherever a nation whose production is carried on in the more rudimentary forms of slavery or serfage, lives in the midst of a universal market dominated by capitalist production, and where therefore the sale of its products for exports forms its chief purpose—there to the barbarous infamies of slavery or serfdom are superadded the civilised infamies of over-working. Thus in the Southern States of America slave-labour preserved a moderate and patriarchal character while production was directed to immediate domestic consumption chiefly. But in the same measure as the export of cotton became a vital interest to those states, the over-working of the negro, in some instances even the wearing-out of his life in seven working years, became an element in a calculated and calculating system... Similar with the *corvées* of the serfs in the Danubian principalities." [219]

Here the comparison with capitalist production becomes particularly interesting, because, in the *corvée,* surplus-labour has an independent, palpable form.

"Suppose the working day counts six hours of necessary and six hours of surplus-labour; then the labourer furnishes the capitalist with 36 hours of surplus-labour a week. He might as well have worked three days for himself and three days for the capitalist. But this is not at once visible. Surplus-labour and necessary labour are more or less mixed together. I might express the same relation thus, that, in every minute, the labourer works 30 seconds for himself and 30 more for the capitalist. But with the serfs' *corvée* it is different. The two kinds of labour are separated in space. The labour, which, for instance, a Wallachian peasant performs for himself, he performs on his own field, his surplus-labour for the boyar he performs on the boyar's estate. The two portions of his labour exist independent of each other, surplus-labour, in the shape of *corvée,* is completely separated from necessary labour." [219-220]

We must refrain from quoting the further interesting illustrations from the modern social history of the Danubian principalities, by which Mr. Marx proves the boyars there, aided by Russian intervention, to be quite as clever extractors of surplus-labour as any capitalist employers. But what the *Règlement organique,*[176] by which the Russian General Kisseleff presented the boyars with almost unlimited command over the peasants' labour, expresses positively, the English Factory Acts express negatively.

"These acts oppose the inherent tendency of capital to an unlimited exploitation—we ask pardon for introducing this

French term, but there does not exist any English equivalent[a]—of the labour-power, by forcibly putting a limit to the length of the working day by the power of the State, and that a State ruled by landlords and capitalists. Not to speak of the working class movement which was daily gaining greater dimensions, this limitation of factory labour was dictated by the same necessity which brought Peruvian guano on the fields of England. That same blind rapacity which in the one case had exhausted the soil, in the other case had attacked the vitality of the nation at its root. Periodical epidemics here spoke as plainly, as in France and Germany, the necessity for constantly reducing the standard of height for soldiers." [229]

To prove the tendency of capital to extend the working day beyond all reasonable limits Mr. Marx quotes amply from the Reports of the Factory Inspectors, of the Children's Employment Commission, the Reports on Public Health[b] and other Parliamentary Papers, and sums up in the following conclusions:

"What is a working day? How long is the time during which capital may be allowed to consume the working power on paying for its value *per diem*? How far may the working day be extended beyond the time necessary for reproducing the working power itself? Capital, as we have seen, replies: the working day counts full 24 hours, excepting those few hours of rest without which the labour-power absolutely refuses to renew its services. It is a matter of course that the labourer during the whole of the live-long day is nothing but labour-power; that all his disposable time is working-time and belongs to value-begetting capital... But in this madly blind race after surplus-labour, capital outruns not only the moral, but also the purely physical maximum limits of the working day... Capital does not care for the duration of life of the working power... it produces its premature exhaustion and death, it effects the prolongation of the working-time during a given period by shortening the labourer's life." [249-251]

But is not this against the interest of capital itself? Has capital, in the long run, not to replace the cost of this excessive wear and tear? That may be the case theoretically. Practically, the organised slave trade in the interior of the Southern States had raised the practice of using up the working power of the slave in seven years

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[a] This is Engels' addition to the quotation.—*Ed.*

[b] *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department* (for the 1840s-60s); *Children's Employment Commission* (1862). *Reports* (I-VI); *Public Health. Reports of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council* (for the 1860s).—*Ed.*

to an acknowledged economical principle; practically, the English capitalist relies upon the supply of labourers from the agricultural districts.

"He sees a constant over-population, that is, an over-population as compared with the capacity of capital to absorb living labour, though this over-population be formed by a constant current of crippled, quickly fading generations of men, pressing upon their successors and plucked before maturity. Certainly, to an uninterested observer, experience would show on the other hand how soon capitalist production, though dating, historically speaking, from yesterday only, has attacked the vital root of national strength, how the degeneration of the industrial population is retarded only by the constant absorption of agricultural elements, and how even these agricultural labourers, in spite of fresh air and that principle of natural selection which is so specially powerful amongst them, have already begun to decline. Capital, which has such capital motives to deny the sufferings of the working classes in the midst of which it exists, capital will be disturbed in its practical activity as little and as much by the prospect of future degeneracy of the human race and of inevitable ultimate depopulation, as by the possible fall of the earth into the sun. In every joint-stock 'limited' swindle, every participator knows that the thunderstorm will come sooner or later, but every one expects that the lightning will fall on the head of his neighbour, after he himself shall have had time to collect the golden rain and store it up safely. *Après moi le déluge!*[a] is the battle-cry of every capitalist and of every capitalist nation. Capital, therefore, is reckless of the health and life of the labourer, unless society compels it to act otherwise [...] And, upon the whole, this disregard of the labourer does not depend upon the good or bad will of the individual capitalist. Free competition imposes the immanent laws of capitalist production upon every individual capitalist in the shape of extraneous compulsory laws." [254-255]

The determination of the normal working day is the result of many centuries of struggle between employer and labourer. And it is curious to observe the two opposing currents in this struggle. At first, the laws have for their end to compel the labourers to work longer hours; from the first statute of labourers 23rd Edward III (1349) up to the eighteenth century, the ruling classes never succeeded in extorting from the labourer the full amount of

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[a] After me the deluge—the words attributed to Louis XV and Mme. de Pompadour.— *Ed.*

possible labour. But with the introduction of steam and modern machinery, the tables were turned. So rapidly did the introduction of the labour of women and children break down all traditional bounds to working hours, that the nineteenth century began with a system of overworking which is unparalleled in the history of the world, and which, as early as 1803, compelled the legislation to enact limitations of working hours. Mr. Marx gives a full account of the history of English factory legislation up to the Workshops Act of 1867, and draws from it these conclusions:

1) Machinery and steam cause overwork, at first, in those branches of industry where they are applied, and legislative restrictions are, therefore, first applied to these branches; but in the sequel we find that this system of overwork has spread also to almost all trades even where no machinery is used, or where the most primitive modes of production continue in existence. (*Vide* Children's Employment Commission's Reports.)

2) With the introduction of the labour of women and children in the factories, the individual "free" labourer loses his power of resistance to the encroachments of capital and has to submit unconditionally. Thus he is reduced to collective resistance; the struggle of class against class, of the collective workmen against the collective capitalists begins.

If we now look back to the moment when we supposed our "free" and "equal" labourer to enter into a contract with the capitalist, we find that, under the process of production, a good many things have changed considerably. That contract, on the part of the labourer, is not a free contract. The daily time during which he is at liberty to sell his working power is the time during which he is compelled to sell it; and it is merely the opposition of the labourers, as a mass, which forcibly obtains the enactment of a public law to prevent them from selling themselves and their children, by a "free" contract, into death and slavery. "In the place of the grandiloquent catalogue of the inalienable rights of man, he has now nothing but the modest *Magna Charta* of the Factory Act."—[288]

We have next to analyse the *rate* of surplus-value and its relation to the *total quantity* of surplus-value produced. In this inquiry, as we have done hitherto, we suppose the value of labour-power to be a determinate constant quantity.

Under this supposition, the rate of surplus-value determines at the same time the quantity furnished to the capitalist by a single labourer in a given time. If the value of our labour-power be 3/- a day representing six hours' labour, and the rate of surplus-value

be 100 per cent, then the variable capital of 3/- produces every day a surplus-value of 3/-, or the workman furnishes six hours of surplus-labour every day.

Variable capital being the expression in money of all the labour-power employed simultaneously by a capitalist, the sum total of the surplus-value produced by the labour-power is found by multiplying that variable capital by the rate of surplus-value; in other words it is determined by the proportion between the number of working powers simultaneously employed, and the degree of exploitation. Either of these factors may vary, so that the decrease in the one may be compensated by the increase of the other. A variable capital required to employ 100 labourers with a rate of surplus-value of 50 per cent (say 3 hours of daily surplus-labour) will produce no more surplus-value than half that variable capital, employing 50 labourers at a rate of surplus-value of 100 per cent (say six hours of daily surplus-labour). Thus, under certain circumstances and within certain limits, the supply of labour at the command of capital may become independent of the actual supply of labourers.

There is, however, an absolute limit to this increase of surplus-value by increasing its rate. Whatever may be the value of labour, whether it be represented by two or by ten hours of necessary labour, the total value of the work performed, day after day, by any labourer, can never attain the value representing 24 hours' labour. In order to obtain equal quantities of surplus-value, variable capital may be replaced by prolongation of the working day within this limit only. This will be an important element in explaining, hereafter, various phenomena arising from the two contradictory tendencies of capital: 1) to reduce the number of labourers employed, i.e. the amount of variable capital, and 2) yet to produce the greatest possible quantity of surplus-labour.

It follows further: "The value of labour being given, and the rate of surplus-value being equal, the quantities of surplus-value produced by two different capitals are in direct proportion to the quantities of variable capital contained in them. [...] This law flatly contradicts all experience founded upon the *appearance* of facts. Everybody knows that a cotton spinner who [...] works with a relatively large constant, and a relatively small variable capital, does not, on that account, obtain a lesser ratio of profit than a baker who puts in motion relatively little constant and relatively much variable capital. To solve this apparent contradiction, a good many intermediate links are required, just as, starting from elementary algebra, a great number of intermediate links are

required in order to understand that $\frac{0}{0}$ may represent a real quantity." [293]

For a given country and a given length of working day, surplus-value can be increased only by increasing the number of labourers, i.e. by an increase of population; this increase forms the mathematical limit for the production of surplus-value by the collective capital of that country. On the other hand, if the number of labourers be determined, this limit is fixed by the possible prolongation of the working day. It will be seen hereafter that this law is valid for that form only of surplus-value which has been hitherto analysed.

We find, at this stage of our inquiry, that not every amount of money is capable of being converted into capital; that there is an extreme minimum for it: the cost of a unit of labouring power and of the means of labour necessary to keep it going. Suppose the rate of surplus-value to be 50 per cent, our infant-capitalist would be required to be able to employ two workmen in order to live, himself, as a workman lives. But this would prevent him from saving anything; and the end of capitalist production is not merely preservation, but also and chiefly increase of wealth.

"To live twice as well as a common labourer, and to re-transform one half of the surplus-value produced into capital, he would have to be able to employ eight workmen. He might certainly take his share of the work, along with his workmen, but he would still remain a small master, a hybrid between capitalist and labourer. Now, a certain development of capitalist production renders it necessary that the capitalist should devote the whole of the time during which he acts as a capitalist, as capital personified, to the appropriation and control of other people's labour, and to the sale of its products. The restrictive guilds of the Middle Ages attempted to check the transformation of the small master into a capitalist by fixing a very low maximum to the number of workmen which each was allowed to employ. The owner of money or commodities changes into a real capitalist only then, when he is able to advance, for the purpose of production, a minimum sum far higher than this medieval maximum. Here, just as in the natural sciences, the correctness is proved of the law discovered by Hegel that mere quantitative changes, at a certain point, imply a qualitative difference."[a] [295-296]

The minimum amount of value required to change an owner of money or commodities into a capitalist varies for different stages

[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik.—Ed.*

of the development of capitalist production, and for a given stage of development, it varies for different branches of industry.

"During the process of production detailed above, the relation of capitalist and labourer has changed considerably. First of all, capital has been developed into command of labour, i.e. into command over the labourer himself. Personified capital, the capitalist, takes care that the labourer performs his work regularly, carefully and with the required degree of intensity.

"Further, capital has been developed into a compulsory relation which obliges the working class to perform more labour than is prescribed by the narrow circle of their own requirements. And as a producer of other people's industry, as an extortioner of surplus-labour and exploiter of labour-power, capital far exceeds in energy, recklessness, and efficiency all former systems of production, though they were based upon direct forced labour.

"Capital, at first, takes the command of labour under such technological conditions as it finds historically established. It does not, therefore, necessarily at once change the mode of production. The production of surplus-value, in the form hitherto analysed, that is to say by mere prolongation of the working day, appeared independent of every change in the mode of production itself. It was quite as efficient in the primitive baking trade as in modern cotton-spinning.

"In the process of production considered as a mere process of labour, the relation between the labourer and his means of production is not that of labour and capital, but that of labour and the mere instrument and raw material of productive action. In a tannery, for instance, he treats the skins as a mere object for labour. It is not the capitalists whose skin he tans. But things change as soon as we look upon the process of production as a process of creating surplus-value. The means of production at once change into means of absorbing other people's labour. It is no longer the workman who employs the means of production, it is the means of production which employ the workman. It is not he who consumes *them* as material elements of his productive action; it is they which consume *him* as the ferment of their own vital process; and the vital process of capital consists in nothing but its progressive motion as value begetting value. Furnaces and workshops which have to stand idle at night, without absorbing labour, are a pure loss to the capitalist. Therefore furnaces and workshops constitute a 'title upon the night-work of the hands'. (See Reports of Children's Employment Commission, 4th Report,

1865, pages 79 to 85.)[a] The mere change of money into means of production changes the latter into legal and compulsory titles upon other people's labour and surplus-labour." [296-297]

There is, however, another form of surplus-value. Arrived at the utmost limit of the working day, another means remains to the capitalist for increasing surplus-labour: by increasing the productivity of labour, by thereby reducing the value of labour, and thus shortening the period of necessary labour. This form of surplus-value will be examined in a second article.

Written on about May 22-June 28, 1868

Signed: *Samuel Moore*

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, No. 1, 1926

Reproduced from the manuscript

[a] The reference is given by Engels.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## MY PLAGIARISM OF F. BASTIAT[177]

In . . . . . .[a] a Bastiatite discovers that I have pinched the definition of the *magnitude of value* of commodities as being the *"socially necessary labour-time"* required for their production from F. Bastiat, and in bowdlerised form to boot. I could easily put up with this quid pro quo. For if that Bastiatite No. I finds Bastiat's definition of value and my own to be basically identical, Bastiatite No. II declares almost simultaneously in the *Leipzig Literarisches Centralblatt* of . . . . . .:" . . . . . ."[b]

The sum total of Bastiatite No. I added to Bastiatite No. II would be that the whole army of Bastiatites would have forthwith to transfer to my camp and accept wholesale my exposition on capital. One will understand that it is only after much mental strife that I deny myself the pleasure of such an annexation.

The definition of value contained in my work *Capital,* published in 1867, is to be found two decades earlier in my work attacking Proudhon: *Misère de la Philosophie,* Paris 1847 (p. 49

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[a] This space is left in the manuscript for the title *Vierteljahrschrift für Volkswirtschaft und Kulturgeschichte.—Ed.*

[b] This space is left in the manuscript for the date—July 4, 1868—and the following quotation: "Rejecting the theory of value is the only task facing anyone who opposes Marx; for if one concedes this axiom, then one must grant Marx nearly all the conclusions based on it, which he reaches by applying the strictest logic."—*Ed.*

seqq.[a]). Bastiat's words of wisdom on value did not see the light of day until some years later.[b] I could not therefore have copied from Bastiat, though Bastiat could well have copied from me.

However, in fact Bastiat gives absolutely no analysis of value. He only dilates upon empty notions as consoling proof that "the world abounds in great and excellent daily services".[c] It is well known that the German Bastiatites are all national liberals.[178] I shall therefore do them also a "great and excellent service" by pointing out the *specifically Prussian origin* of Bastiat's store of wisdom. Old *Schmalz* was in fact a councillor to the Prussian government, if I am not mistaken, even a Prussian privy councillor. In addition he was a Demagogue hunter.[179] In *1818* in Berlin this old Schmalz published a *Handbuch der Staatswirthschaftslehre.* The French edition of his handbook appeared in 1826 in Paris under the title of *Économie politique.* The translator, Henri Jouffroy, appeared on the title as *"conseiller au service de Prusse"*.[d] In the following quotation one will find Bastiat's notion of value in its essentials, not only as far as its content is concerned but even as regards its wording:

"Le travail d'autrui en général ne produit jamais pour nous qu'une *économie de temps,* et [que] cette économie de temps est tout ce qui constitue *sa valeur* et *son prix.* Le menuisier, par exemple, qui me fait une table, et le domestique qui me porte mes lettres à la poste, qui me bat mes habits, ou qui cherche pour moi les choses qui me sont necessaires, me rendent l'un et l'autre *un service* absolument de même nature; l'un et l'autre m'*epargne* et le temps que je serais obligé d'employer moi-même à ces occupations, et celui qu'il m'aurait fallu consacrer à acquérir l'aptitude et les talents qu'elles exigent"[e] (*Schmalz,* l.c., t. I, p. 304).

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, p. 138 et seqq.— *Ed.*

[b] A reference to Bastiat's *Harmonies économiques* (1850).— *Ed.*

[c] From Martin Luther's *An die Pharrherrn Wider den Wucher zu predigen.* Vermanung, Wittemberg, 1540, p. 9.— *Ed.*

[d] Adviser to the Prussian Government.— *Ed.*

[e] "The work of others only serves to *save us time,* and this time-saving is all that constitutes *its value,* and *its price.* The carpenter, for example, who makes me a table, and the servant who posts my letters, cleans my clothes or brings me the things I need, both render me the same *service*; they *save* me both the time which I would otherwise have to use to do those things myself, and the time I would otherwise have had to devote to acquiring the necessary skills." — *Ed.*

Now we know where Bastiat learnt his lesson,[a] I nearly said his "Schmalz".

Written on about July 11, 1868

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Published in English for the first time

[a] The German phrase used by Marx here contains the word *Fett* (English, fat), making a word play with the name Schmalz (fat or grease).— *Ed.*

# FREDERICK ENGELS

## [SYNOPSIS OF VOLUME ONE OF *CAPITAL* BY KARL MARX[180]]

Written in spring-summer 1868

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Printed according to the manuscript

# *CAPITAL* BY KARL MARX, VOL. I. BOOK ONE—THE PROCESS OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION [181]

## Chapter I

## COMMODITIES AND MONEY [a]

### 1. COMMODITIES AS SUCH

The wealth of societies in which capitalist production prevails consists of *commodities.* A commodity is a thing that has *use-value*; the latter exists in all forms of society, but in capitalist society, use-value is, in addition, the material depository of *exchange-value.*

Exchange-value presupposes a *tertium comparationis* [b] by which it is measured: labour, the common social substance of exchange-values, to be precise, the *socially necessary labour-time* embodied in it.

Just as a commodity is something twofold: use-value and exchange-value, so the labour contained in it is twofold determined: on the one hand, as *definite productive activity,* weaving labour, tailoring labour, etc.—*useful labour*; on the other, as the *simple expenditure of human labour-power, precipitated abstract labour.* The former produces use-value, the latter exchange-value; only the latter is quantitatively comparable (the differences between SKILLED and UNSKILLED, complex and simple labour *confirm* this).

Hence the substance of exchange-value is abstract labour and its magnitude is the measure of time of abstract labour. Now to consider the form of exchange-value.

(1) $x$ commodity $a = y$ commodity $b$; value of a commodity expressed in the use-value of another is its *relative value.* The expression of the equivalence of two commodities is the simple form of relative value. In the above equation *y commodity b* is the

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[a] This chapter corresponds to Part I of the 1887 English edition (Chapter I.—Commodities, Chapter II.—Exchange, Chapter III.—Money, or the Circulation of Commodities).—*Ed.*

[b] Literally: a third something for comparison; here a standard.—*Ed.*

*equivalent.* In it *x commodity a* acquires its value-form in contrast to its [the commodity's] natural form, while *y commodity b* acquires at the same time the property of direct exchangeability, even in its natural form. Exchange-value is impressed upon the use-value of a commodity by definite historical relations. Hence the commodity cannot express its exchange-value in its own use-value, but only in the use-value of another commodity. Only in the equation of two concrete products of labour does the property of the concrete labour contained in both come to light as abstract human labour, i.e., a commodity cannot be related to the concrete labour contained in itself, as the mere form of realisation of abstract labour, but it can be so related to the concrete labour contained in other kinds of commodities.

The equation $x$ commodity $a = y$ commodity $b$ necessarily implies that $x$ commodity $a$ can also be expressed in other commodities, thus:

(2) $x$ commodity $a = y$ commodity $b = z$ commodity $c = v$ commodity $d = u$ commodity $e =$, etc., etc. This is the *expanded* relative form of value. Here $x$ commodity $a$ no longer refers to one, but to *all* commodities as the mere forms of manifestation of the labour represented in it. But through simple reversal it leads to

(3) the converse second form of relative value:

$y$ commodity $b = x$ commodity $a$
$v$ commodity $c = x$ commodity $a$
$u$ commodity $d = x$ commodity $a$
$t$ commodity $e = x$ commodity $a$

etc., etc.

Here the commodities are given the *general relative form of value,* in which all of them are abstracted from their use-values and equated to *x commodity a* as the materialisation of abstract labour; $x$ commodity $a$ is the generic form of the equivalent for all other commodities; it is their *universal equivalent*; the labour materialised in it at once represents in itself the realisation of abstract labour, general labour. Now, however,

(4) *every* commodity of the series can take over the role of universal equivalent, but only one of them can do so *at a time,* since if *all* commodities were universal equivalents, each of them would in turn exclude the others from that role. Form 3 is not obtained by $x$ commodity $a$, but by the other commodities, objectively. Hence a definite commodity must take over the role—for a time, it can change—and only in this way does a commodity become a commodity completely. This special com-

modity, with whose natural form the universal equivalent form becomes identified, is *money.*

The *difficulty* with a *commodity* is that, like all categories of the capitalist mode of production, it represents a personal relationship under a material wrapping. The producers relate their different kinds of labour to one another as general human labour by relating their products to one another as *commodities*—they cannot accomplish it without this mediation of things. The relation of *persons* thus *appears* as the relation of *things.*

For a society in which commodity production prevails, Christianity, particularly Protestantism, is the fitting religion.

### 2. THE PROCESS OF COMMODITY EXCHANGE

A commodity proves that it is a commodity in exchange. The owners of two commodities must be willing to exchange their respective commodities and therefore to recognise each other as *private owners.* This legal relation, the *form* of which is the contract, is only a relation of wills, reflecting the economic relation. Its *content* is given by the economic relation itself. (P. 45.)

A commodity is a use-value for its non-owner, a non-use-value for its owner. Hence the need for exchange. But every commodity owner wants to get in exchange specific use-values that he needs—to that extent the exchange is an individual process. On the other hand, he wants to realise his commodity as value, that is, in any suitable commodity, whether or not *his* commodity is use-value to the owner of the other commodity. To that extent the exchange is for him a generally social process. But one and the same process cannot be simultaneously both individual and generally social for all commodity owners. Every commodity owner regards *his own* commodity as the universal equivalent, while all other commodities are so many particular equivalents of his own. Since *all* commodity owners do the same, *no* commodity is the universal equivalent, and hence *no* commodity possesses a general relative form of value, in which they are equated as values and compared as magnitudes of value. Therefore they do not confront each other at all as commodities, but only as products. (P. 47.)

Commodities can be related as values and hence as commodities only by comparison with some other commodity as the universal equivalent. But only the *social act can make a particular commodity the universal equivalent—money.*

The immanent contradiction in a commodity as the direct unity of use-value and exchange-value, as the product of useful private

labour ... and as the direct social materialisation of abstract human labour—this contradiction finds no rest until it results in duplicating the commodity into commodity and money. (P. 48.)

Since all other commodities are merely particular equivalents of money, and money is their universal equivalent, they are related to money as *particular* commodities to the universal commodity. (P. 51.) The process of exchange gives the commodity which it converts into money, not its *value,* but its value-*form.* (P. 51.) Fetishism: a commodity does not seem to become money only because the other commodities all express their values in it, but conversely, they seem to express their values in it because it *is money.*

### 3. MONEY, OR THE CIRCULATION OF COMMODITIES

#### A. *The Measure of Values (Assuming Gold=Money)*

Money, as the measure of value, is the necessary *form of manifestation* of the measure of value *immanent* in commodities, i.e., *labour-time.* The simple, relative expression of the value of commodities in money, $x$ commodity $a = y$ money, is their price. (P. 55.)

The price of a commodity, its money-form, is expressed in *imaginary money*; hence money is the *measure of values* only ideally. (P. 57.)

Once the change from value to price is effected, it becomes technically necessary to develop the measure of values further, into the *standard of prices*; i.e., a quantity of gold is fixed, *by which different quantities of gold are measured.* This is quite different from the measure of values, which itself depends upon the value of gold, while the latter is immaterial for the standard of prices. (P. 59.)

Once prices are expressed in accounting names of gold, money serves as *money of account.*

If price, as the exponent of the magnitude of a commodity's value, is the exponent of its exchange ratio with money it does *not* follow conversely that the exponent of its exchange ratio with money is *necessarily* the exponent of the magnitude of its value. Assuming that circumstances permit or compel the sale of a commodity above or below its value, these selling prices do not correspond to its value, but they are none the less *prices* of the commodity, for they are (1) its value-form, money, and (2) exponents of its exchange ratio with money.

The possibility, therefore, of quantitative incongruity between price and magnitude of value is *given in the price-form itself.* That is no defect of this form, but on the contrary makes it the adequate form of a mode of production in which the rule can impose itself only as a blindly-acting law of averages of irregularity. The price-form, however, can also ... harbour a qualitative contradiction, so that price ceases altogether to be an expression of value... Conscience, honour, etc., can ... acquire the form of commodities through their price. (P. 61.)

Measurement of values in money, the price-form, implies the necessity of alienation, the ideal pricing implies the actual. Hence circulation.

### B. *The Medium of Circulation*

#### a. The Metamorphosis of Commodities

Simple form: $C—M—C$. Its material content $=C—C$. Exchange-value is alienated and use-value appropriated.

α) First phase: $C—M=$ sale, for which two persons are required, hence the possibility of failure, i.e., of sale below value, or even below the cost of production, if the social value of the commodity changes. "The division of labour converts the product of labour into a commodity, and thereby makes *necessary* its further conversion into money."[a] At the same time it also makes the accomplishment of this transubstantiation quite *accidental.* (P. 67.) But, considering the phenomenon in its *pure* form, $C—M$ presupposes that the possessor of the money (unless he is a producer of gold) previously got his money through exchange for another commodity; hence it is not only conversely $M—C$ for the *buyer,* but it presupposes that he made a previous sale, etc., so that we have an endless series of purchases and sales.

β) The same takes place in the second phase, $M—C$, i.e., *purchase,* which is, at the same time, a sale for the other party.

γ) The total process hence is a circuit of purchases and sales. *The circulation of commodities.* This is quite different from the direct exchange of products; first, the individual and local bounds of the direct exchange of products are broken through, and the interchange of matter of human labour is effected; on the other hand, here it already appears that the whole process depends upon

[a] See K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, London, 1887, p. 81.—*Ed.*

social relations spontaneous in their growth and independent of the actors. (P. 72.) Simple exchange was extinguished in the one act of exchange, where each exchanges non-use-value for use-value; circulation proceeds indefinitely.

(P. 73.) Here the false economic dogma: *the circulation of commodities involves a necessary equilibrium of purchases and sales, because every purchase is also a sale and vice versa—which is to say that every seller also brings his buyer to market with him.* (1) Purchase and sale are, on the one hand, an identical act of two polarly opposite persons; on the other hand, they are two polarly opposite acts of one and the same person. Hence the identity of purchase and sale implies that the commodity is useless unless it is sold, and likewise that this case *can* occur. (2) $C—M$, as a partial process, is similarly an independent process and implies that the acquirer of money can choose the time when he again converts this money into a commodity. He can *wait.* The inner unity of the independent processes $C—M$ and $M—C$ moves in external antitheses precisely because of the independence of these processes; and when these dependent processes reach a certain limit of independence, *their unity asserts itself in a crisis.* Hence the *possibility* of the latter is already given here.

Being the intermediary in commodity circulation, money is the *medium of circulation.*

### b. The Currency of Money

Money is the medium by which each individual commodity goes into, and out of, circulation; it always remains therein itself. Hence, although the circulation of money is merely the *expression* of commodity circulation, the circulation of commodities *appears* to be the result of money circulation. Since money always remains within the sphere of circulation, the question is: *how much* money is present in it?

The quantity of money in circulation is determined by the *sum of the prices of commodities* (money-value remaining the same), and the latter by the *quantity of commodities* in circulation. Assuming that this quantity of commodities is given, the circulating quantity of money fluctuates with the *fluctuations* in the prices of commodities. Now, since one and the same piece of money always mediates a number of transactions in succession in a given time, for a given interval of time we have:

$$\frac{\text{Sum of the prices of commodities}}{\text{Number of moves made by a piece of money}} = \text{Quantity of money functioning as the circulation medium. (P. 80.)}$$

Hence paper money can displace gold money if it is thrown into a saturated circulation.

Since the currency of money only *reflects* the process of commodity circulation, its rapidity reflects that of the change in the form of the commodities, its stagnation, the separation of purchase from sale, the stagnation of social interchange of matter. The origin of this stagnation cannot, of course, be seen from circulation itself, which merely puts in evidence the phenomenon itself. The philistines attribute it to a deficient quantity of the circulation medium. (P. 81.)

*Ergo*: (1) If the prices of commodities remain constant, the quantity of money circulating rises when the quantity of circulating commodities increases or the circulation of money is retarded; and drops *vice versa.*

(2) With a general rise in the prices of commodities, the quantity of money circulating remains constant if the quantity of commodities decreases or the velocity of circulation increases in the same proportion.

(3) With a general drop in the prices of commodities, the converse of (2).

In general, there is a fairly constant average from which significant deviations occur almost exclusively as a result of *crises.*

### c. Coin: Symbol of Value

The standard of prices is fixed by the state, as are also the denomination of the particular piece of gold—the coin, and its coining. In the world market the respective national uniforms are doffed again (seigniorage is disregarded here), so that coin and bullion differ only in form. But *a coin wears away* during circulation; gold as a circulation medium differs from gold as a standard of prices. The coin becomes more and more a *symbol* of its official content.

Herewith the latent possibility is given of replacing metallic money by tokens or symbols. Hence: (1) small coinage of copper and silver tokens, the permanent establishment of which in place of real gold money is prevented by limiting the quantity in which they are LEGAL TENDER. Their metallic content is determined purely

arbitrarily by law, and thus their function as coinage becomes independent of their *value.* Hence the further step to *quite worthless* symbols is possible. (2) *Paper money,* i.e., *paper money issued by the state, having compulsory rate* (credit money not to be discussed here as yet). So far as this paper money actually circulates in place of gold money, it is subject to the laws of gold circulation. Only the proportion in which paper replaces gold can be the object of a special law, which is that the issue of paper money is to be limited to the quantity in which the gold represented by it would actually have to circulate. The degree of saturation of the circulation fluctuates, to be sure, but everywhere experience determines a minimum below which it never falls. This minimum can be issued. If more than the minimum is issued, a portion becomes superfluous as soon as the degree of saturation drops to the minimum. In that case the total amount of paper money within the commodity world still represents only the quantity of gold fixed by that world's immanent laws, and hence alone representable.

Thus, if the amount of paper money represents twice the absorbable amount of gold, each piece of paper money is depreciated to half its nominal value. Just as if gold were changed in its function as the measure of prices, in its value. (P. 89.)

### C. *Money*

#### a. Hoarding

With the earliest development of commodity circulation there develops the need, and the passionate desire, to hold fast the product of *C—M,* money. From a mere agency of interchange of matter, this change of form becomes an *end in itself.* Money petrifies into a *hoard*; the commodity seller becomes a *money hoarder.* (P. 91.)

This form was dominant precisely in the beginnings of commodity circulation. *Asia.* With further development of commodity circulation every producer of commodities must secure for himself the *nexus rerum,*[a] the social pledge—money. Thus HOARDS accumulate everywhere. The development of commodity circulation increases the power of money, the absolutely social form of wealth always ready for use. (P. 92.) The urge for hoarding is by

[a] The bond between things.—*Ed.*

nature boundless. *Qualitatively,* or with respect to its form, money is unrestricted, i.e., the universal representative of material wealth, because it is directly convertible into any other commodity. But *quantitatively,* every actual sum of money is limited, and therefore of only limited efficacy as a means of purchasing. This contradiction always drives the hoarder back, again and again, to the Sisyphus-like labour of accumulation.

Besides, the accumulation of gold and silver IN PLATE creates both a new market for these metals and a latent source of money.

Hoarding serves as a *conduit for supplying or withdrawing circulating money* with the continuous fluctuations in the degree of saturation of the circulation. (P. 95.)

### b. Means of Payment

With the development of commodity circulation new relations appear: the alienation of a commodity can be separated in time from the realisation of its price. Commodities require different periods of time for their production; they are produced in different seasons; some must be sent to distant markets, etc. Hence *A* can be a seller before *B,* the buyer, is able to pay. Practice regulates the conditions of payment in this way: *A* becomes a *creditor, B a debtor*; money becomes a *means of payment.* Thus the relation of *creditor and debtor* already becomes *more antagonistic.* (This can also occur independently of commodity circulation, e.g., in antiquity and the Middle Ages.) (P. 97.)

In this relation, money functions: (1) as the measure of value in the determination of the price of the commodity sold; (2) as an ideal means of purchase. In the hoard, money was *withdrawn* from circulation; here, being a means of payment, money enters circulation, but only after the commodity has left it. The indebted buyer sells in order to be able to *pay,* or he will be put up for auction. Therefore, money now becomes *the sale's end in itself* through a social necessity arising out of the relations of the very circulation process. (Pp. 97-98.)

The lack of simultaneity of purchases and sales, which gives rise to the function of money as a means of payment, at the same time effects an economy of the circulation media, payments being concentrated at a definite place. The *virements*[a] in Lyons in the Middle Ages—a sort of CLEARING-HOUSE, where only the net balance of the mutual claims is paid. (P. 98.)

In so far as the payments balance one another, money functions

[a] Remittance by draft from own account to another.—*Ed.*

only ideally, as *money of account* or measure of values. In so far as actual payments have to be made, it does not appear as a circulation medium, as only the vanishing and mediating form of interchange of matter, but as the individual embodiment of social labour, as the independent existence of exchange-value, as the *absolute commodity.* This *direct contradiction* breaks out in that moment of production and commercial crises *that is called a monetary crisis.* It occurs only where the progressing chain of payments, and an artificial system of settling them, are fully developed. With more general disturbances of this mechanism, no matter what their origin, money changes suddenly and immediately from its merely ideal shape of *money of account into hard cash*; profane commodities can no longer replace it. (P. 99.)

*Credit money* originates in the function of money as a means of payment; certificates of debt themselves circulate in turn to transfer these debts to others. With the system of credit the function of money as a means of payment again expands; in that capacity money acquires its own forms of existence, in which it occupies the sphere of large-scale commercial transactions, while coin is largely relegated to the sphere of retail trade. (P. 101.)

At a certain stage and volume of commodity production the function of money as a means of payment spreads beyond the sphere of circulation of commodities; it becomes the *universal commodity of contracts. Rents, taxes, and the like are transformed from payments in kind into money payments. Cf.* France under Louis XIV. (Boisguillebert[a] and Vauban)[182]; on the other hand, Asia, Turkey, Japan, etc. (P. 102.)

The development of money into a means of payment necessitates the accumulation of money against the date when payment is due. Hoarding which, as a distinct form of acquiring riches, vanished as society further developed, again appears as a reserve fund of the means of payment. (P. 103.)

### c. World Money

In world trade the local forms of coin, small coinage, and tokens of value are discarded and only the bullion form of money is valid as *world money. Only in the world market does money function to the full extent as the commodity whose natural form* is *at the same time the immediate social materialisation of human labour in the abstract.* Its mode of existence becomes adequate to its concept. (P. 104; details p. 105.)

[a] A reference to P. Boisguillebert, "Dissertation sur la nature..." in *Économistes financiers du XVIII-e siècle,* Paris, 1843, pp. 413, 419 and 417.—*Ed.*

# Chapter II

## THE TRANSFORMATION OF MONEY INTO CAPITAL[a]

### 1. THE GENERAL FORMULA FOR CAPITAL

Commodity circulation is the starting point of capital. Hence commodity production, commodity circulation and the latter's developed form, commerce, are always the historical groundwork from which capital arises. The modern history of capital dates from the creation of modern world trade and the world market in the sixteenth century. (P. 106.)

If we consider only the economic forms produced by commodity circulation, we find that its final product is money, and the latter is the *first form in which capital appears.* Historically, capital invariably confronts landed property at first as *moneyed wealth,* merchant capital or usurer's capital, and even today all new capital first comes on the stage in the shape of *money* that by definite processes has to be transformed into capital.

Money as money and money as capital differ, to begin with, only in their **form** *of circulation.* Alongside *C—M—C,* the form *M—C—M,* buying in order to sell, also occurs. Money that describes this form of circulation in its movement *becomes* capital, is already capital in itself (i.e., by its destination).

The result of *M—C—M* is *M—M,* the indirect exchange of money for money. I buy cotton for £100 and sell it for £110; ultimately I have exchanged £100 for £110, money for money.

If this process yielded at its outcome the same money-value that was originally put into it, £100 out of £100, it would be absurd. Yet whether the merchant realises £100, £110, or merely £50 for

[a] This chapter corresponds to Part II of the 1887 English edition (Chapter IV.—The General Formula for Capital, Chapter V.—Contradictions in the General Formula of Capital, Chapter VI.—The Buying and Selling of Labour-Power).—*Ed.*

his £100, his money has described a specific movement quite different from that of commodity circulation, *C—M—C*. From the examination of the differences in form between this movement and *C—M—C* the difference in content will also be found.

The two phases of the process taken separately are the same as in *C—M—C*. But there is a great difference in the process as a whole. In *C—M—C* money constitutes the intermediary, the commodity the starting point and the finish; in this case the commodity is the intermediary, with money the starting point and the finish. In *C—M—C* the money is spent once for all; in *M—C—M* it is merely *advanced,* it is to be got back again. *It flows back to its starting point.* Here, therefore, is already a palpable difference between the circulation of money as money and money as capital.

In *C—M—C* money can return to its starting point only through the *repetition of the whole process,* through the sale of *fresh* commodities. Hence the reflux is independent of the process itself. In *M—C—M,* on the other hand, it is conditioned from the outset by the structure of the process itself, which is incomplete if the reflux fails. (P. 110.)

The ultimate object of *C—M—C* is use-value, that of *M—C—M* *exchange-value itself.*

In *C—M—C* both extremes possess the same definiteness of economic form. Both are *commodities,* and of *equal value.* But at the same time they are qualitatively different use-values, and the process has social interchange of matter as its content. In *M—C—M* the operation, at first glance, seems tautological, meaningless. To exchange £100 for £100, and in a roundabout way to boot, seems absurd. One sum of money is distinguishable from another only by its *size*; *M—C—M* acquires its meaning, therefore, only through the *quantitative difference* in the extremes. More money is withdrawn from circulation than has been thrown into it. The cotton bought for £100 is sold, say, for £100+£10; the process thus follows the formula $M—C—M'$, where $M'=M+\Delta M$. This $\Delta M$, *this increment is* **surplus-value.** The value originally advanced not only *remains intact* in circulation, but adds to itself a surplus-value, *expands itself*—and *this movement* **converts money into capital.**

In *C—M—C* there may also be a difference in the value of the extremes, but it is purely accidental in this form of circulation, and *C—M—C* does not become absurd when the extremes are equivalent—on the contrary, this is rather the necessary condition for the normal process.

The repetition of $C—M—C$ is regulated by an ultimate object outside itself: consumption, the satisfaction of definite needs. In $M—C—M$, on the other hand, the beginning and the end are the same, money, and that already makes the movement endless. Granted, $M+\Delta M$ differs quantitatively from $M$, but it too is merely a *limited* sum of money; if it were spent, it would no longer be capital; if it were withdrawn from circulation, it would remain stationary as a hoard. Once the need for expansion of value is given, it exists for $M'$ as well as for $M$, and the movement of capital is boundless, because its goal is as much unattained at the end of the process as at the beginning. (Pp. 111-13.) As the representative of this process, the owner of money becomes a *capitalist.*

If in commodity circulation the exchange-value attains at most a form independent of the use-value of a commodity, *it suddenly manifests itself here as a substance in process, endowed with motion of its own, for which commodity and money are mere forms. More than that, as original value it is differentiated from itself as surplus-value.* It becomes money in process, and as such, capital. (P. 116.)

$M—C—M'$ appears indeed to be a form peculiar to merchant capital alone. But industrial capital, too, is money which is converted into commodities, and by the latter's sale reconverted into more money. Acts that take place *between purchase and sale, outside the sphere of circulation,* effect no change in this. Lastly, in interest-bearing capital, the process appears directly as $M—M'$, value that is, as it were, greater than itself. (P. 117.)

## 2. CONTRADICTIONS IN THE GENERAL FORMULA

The form of circulation by which money becomes capital contradicts all previous laws bearing on the nature of commodities, of value, of money and of circulation itself. Can the purely formal difference of inverted sequence cause this?

What is more, this inversion exists only for one of the three transacting persons. As a capitalist I buy commodities from $A$ and sell them in turn to $B$. $A$ and $B$ appear merely as simple buyer and seller of commodities. In each of the two cases I confront them merely as a simple owner of money or owner of commodities, confronting one as buyer or money, the other as seller or commodity, but neither of them as a capitalist or a representative of something that is more than money or commodity. For $A$ the transaction began with a *sale;* for $B$ it ended with a

*purchase,* hence, just as in commodity circulation. Moreover, if I base the right to surplus-value upon the inverted sequence, *A* could sell to *B directly* and the chance of surplus-value would be eliminated.

Assume that *A* and *B* buy commodities from each other directly. As far as *use-value* is concerned, *both* may profit; *A* may even produce more of his commodity than *B* could produce in the same time, and *vice versa,* whereby both would profit again. But otherwise with *exchange-value.* Here *equal values* are exchanged for each other, even if money, as the medium of circulation, intervenes. (P. 119.)

Abstractly considered, only a *change in form* of the commodity takes place in simple commodity circulation, if we except the substitution of one use-value for another. So far as it involves only a change in form of its exchange-value, it involves the *exchange of equivalents,* if the phenomenon proceeds in a *pure* form. Commodities can, indeed, be sold at prices differing from their values, but only when the law of commodity exchange is violated. In its pure form it is an exchange of equivalents, hence no medium for enriching oneself. (P. 120.)

Hence the error of all endeavours to derive surplus-value from commodity circulation. Condillac[a] (p. 121), Newman[b] (p. 122).

But let us assume that the exchange does not take place in a pure form, that *non-equivalents are exchanged.* Let us assume that each seller sells his commodity at 10 per cent above its value. Everything remains the same; what each one gains as a seller, he loses in turn as a buyer. Just as if the value of money had changed by 10 per cent. Likewise if the *buyers* bought everything at 10 per cent *below* value. (P. 123, Torrens.[c])

The assumption that surplus-value arises from a rise in prices presupposes that a class exists which *buys and does not sell,* i.e., **consumes and does not produce,** which constantly receives money *gratis.* To sell commodities above their value to this class means merely to get back, by cheating, part of the money given away gratis (Asia Minor and Rome). Yet the seller always remains the cheated one and cannot grow richer, cannot form surplus-value thereby.

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[a] E. B. Condillac, "Le commerce et le gouvernement" (1776) in *Mélanges d'économie politique,* Paris, 1847, pp. 267 and 290-91.—*Ed.*

[b] S. P. Newman, *Elements of Political Economy,* Andover and New York, 1835, p. 175.—*Ed.*

[c] R. Torrens, *An Essay on the Production of Wealth,* London, 1821, p. 349.—*Ed.*

Let us take the case of **cheating.** *A* sells to *B* wine worth £40 in exchange for grain worth £50. *A* has gained £10. But *A* and *B* together have only 90. *A* has 50 and *B* only 40; value has been transferred but not *created.* The capitalist class, as a whole, in any country cannot cheat itself. (P. 126.)

Hence: if equivalents are exchanged, no surplus-value results; and if non-equivalents are exchanged, still no surplus-value results. Commodity circulation creates no new value.

That is why the oldest and most popular forms of capital, merchant capital and usurers' capital, are not considered here. If the expansion of merchant capital is not to be explained by mere *cheating,* many intermediate factors, lacking here as yet, are required. Even more so for usurers' and interest-bearing capital. It will later be seen that both are derived forms, and why they occur historically *before* modern capital.

Hence surplus-value cannot originate in circulation. But outside it? Outside it the commodity owner is the simple producer of his commodity, the value of which depends upon the quantity of his own labour contained in it, measured according to a definite social law; this value is expressed in money of account, e.g., in a price of £10. But this value is not at the same time a value of £11; his labour creates values, but not self-expanding values. It can add more value to existing value, but this occurs only through the addition of *more labour.* Thus the commodity producer *cannot produce surplus-value outside the sphere of circulation* without coming in contact with other commodity owners.

Hence capital must originate **in** commodity circulation and yet **not in** it. (P. 128.)

Thus: the transformation of money into capital has to be explained on the basis of the laws inherent in the exchange of commodities, the exchange of equivalents forming the starting point. Our owner of money as yet the mere chrysalis of a capitalist, has to buy his commodities at their value, to sell them at their value, and yet at the end of this process to extract more value than he put into it. His development into a butterfly must take place in the sphere of circulation and yet not in it. These are the conditions of the problem. *Hic Rhodus, hic salta!*[a] (P. 129.)

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[a] "Here is Rhodes, leap here!" (figuratively meaning: here is the main point, now show us what you can do!)—words addressed to a Swaggerer in a fable by Aesop, "The Boasting Traveller" who claimed that he had made tremendous leaps in Rhodes.—*Ed.*

### 3. THE BUYING AND SELLING OF LABOUR-POWER

The change in value of money that is to be converted into capital cannot take place in money itself, for in buying, it merely realises the price of the commodity, and on the other hand, as long as it *remains money,* it does not change the magnitude of its value; and in selling, too, it merely converts the commodity from its natural form into its money-form. The change must, therefore, take place in the *commodity* of $M—C—M$; but not in its *exchange-value,* since equivalents are exchanged; it can only arise from its *use-value as such,* that is, from its *consumption.* For that purpose a commodity is required *whose use-value possesses the property of being the source of exchange-value*—and this does exist—**labour-power.** (P. 130.)

But for the owner of money to find labour-power in the market as a *commodity,* it must be sold by its own possessor, that is, it must be **free** labour-power. Since buyer and seller as contracting parties are both *juridically equal* persons, labour-power must be sold only *temporarily,* since in a sale *en bloc* the seller no longer remains the seller, but becomes a commodity himself. But then the owner, instead of being able to sell *commodities* in which his labour is embodied, must rather be in a position where he has to sell **his labour-power itself as a commodity.** (P. 131.)

For the conversion of his money into capital, therefore, the owner of money must find in the commodity market the *free* labourer, free in the double sense that as a free man he can dispose of his labour-power as *his* commodity and that, on the other hand, he has no *other* commodities to sell, has got rid of, is free of all *things* necessary for the realisation of his labour-power. (P. 132.)

Parenthetically, the relation between money owner and labour-power owner is not a natural one, or a social one common to all ages, but a *historical* one, the product of many economic revolutions. So, too, do the economic categories considered up to now bear their historical stamp. To become a commodity, a product must no longer be produced as the immediate means of subsistence. The mass of products can assume commodity-form only *within a specific mode of production,* the *capitalist mode,* although commodity production and circulation can take place even where the mass of products never become commodities. Likewise, money can exist in all periods that have attained a certain level of commodity circulation; the specific money-forms, from mere equivalent to world money, presuppose various stages of develop-

ment; nevertheless, a very slightly developed circulation of commodities can give rise to all of them. *Capital,* on the other hand, arises only under the above condition, and this one condition comprises a world's history. (P. 133.)

Labour-power has an exchange-value which is determined, like that of all other commodities, by the labour-time required for its production, and hence for its reproduction as well. The value of labour-power is the value of the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of its owner, that is, his maintenance in a state of normal capacity for work. This depends upon *climate, natural conditions,* etc., and also on the given *historical* STANDARD OF LIFE in each country. These vary, but they are *given* for each particular country and for each particular epoch. Moreover, his maintenance includes the means of subsistence for his *substitutes,* i.e., his *children,* in order that the race of these peculiar commodity owners may perpetuate itself. Furthermore, for skilled labour, the cost of *education.* (P. 135.)

The minimum limit of the value of labour-power is the value of *the physically indispensable means of subsistence.* If the price of labour-power falls to this minimum, it falls below its *value,* since the latter presupposes *normal,* not stunted, quality of labour-power. (P. 136.)

The nature of labour implies that labour-power is consumed only *after* conclusion of the contract, and, as money is usually the *means of payment* for such commodities in all countries with the capitalist mode of production, the labour-power is paid for only after it is *consumed.* Everywhere, therefore, *the labourer gives credit to the capitalist.* (Pp. 137, 138.)

The process of consuming labour-power is at the same time *the process of producing commodities and surplus-value* and this consumption takes place outside *the sphere of circulation.* (P. 140.)

# Chapter III

## THE PRODUCTION OF ABSOLUTE SURPLUS-VALUE[a]

### 1. THE LABOUR PROCESS AND THE PROCESS OF PRODUCING SURPLUS-VALUE

The purchaser of labour-power consumes it by setting its seller to work. This labour to produce commodities at first turns out use-values, and in this property it is independent of the specific relation between capitalist and labourer... Description of the labour process as such. (Pp. 141-49.)

The labour process, on a capitalist basis, has two peculiarities. 1. The labourer works under the capitalist's control. 2. The product is the capitalist's property, since the labour process is now only a process between two *things* purchased by the capitalist: labour-power and means of production. (P. 150.)

But the capitalist does not want the use-value produced *for its own sake,* but only as the depository of exchange-value and especially of *surplus-value.* Labour under this condition—where the commodity was a unity of use-value and exchange-value—becomes

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[a] This chapter corresponds to Part III of the 1887 English edition (Chapter VII.—The Labour-Process and the Process of Producing Surplus-Value, Chapter VIII.—Constant Capital and Variable Capital, Chapter IX.—The Rate of Surplus-Value, Chapter X.—The Working-Day, Chapter XI.—Rate and Mass of Surplus-Value).—*Ed.*

the *unity of the production process and of the process of creating value.* (P. 151.)

Thus the quantity of labour objectified in the product is to be investigated.

Yarn, for example. Let 10 lbs. of cotton be necessary for making it, say 10 shillings, and instruments of labour, whose wear and tear are inevitable in the spinning—here denoted in brief as spindle share—say 2 shillings. Thus, there are 12 shillings' worth of means of production in the product, i.e., inasmuch as 1) the product has become *an actual use-value,* in this case yarn; and 2) *only* the socially necessary labour-time was represented in these instruments of labour. How much is added to it by the labour of spinning?

Thus, the labour process is here viewed from an altogether different angle. In the value of the product the labours of the cotton-planter, of the spindle-maker, etc., and of the spinner, are commensurable, qualitatively equal parts of general, human, necessary *value-creating* labour, and therefore distinguishable only quantitatively, and for that very reason *quantitatively comparable* by the length of time, presupposing that it is *socially necessary* labour-time, for only the latter is value-creating.

Assumed the value of a day's labour-power is 3 shillings, and that it represents 6 hours of labour, that $1\,^2/_3$ lbs. of yarn are made per hour, hence in 6 hours: 10 lbs. of yarn from 10 lbs. of cotton (as above); then 3 shillings of value have been added in 6 hours, and the value of the product is 15 shillings (10+2+3 shillings) or a shilling and a half per pound of yarn.

But in this case there is no surplus-value. This is of no use to the capitalist. (Vulgar-economic humbug,[183] p. 157.)

We assumed that the value of a day's labour-power was 3 shillings, because $^1/_2$ working-day, or 6 hours, is incorporated in it. *But* the fact that *only $^1/_2$ working-day is required to maintain the worker for 24 hours does not in any way prevent him from working a whole day.* The *value* of labour-power and *the value it creates* are two different quantities. Its *useful* property was only a *conditio sine qua non*; but what was decisive was the *specific* use-value of labour-power *in being the source of more exchange-value than it has itself.* (P. 159.)

Hence, the labourer works 12 hours, spins 20 lbs. of cotton worth 20 shillings and 4 shillings' worth of spindles, and his labour costs 3 shillings: total—27 shillings. But in the product there are embodied: four days' labour in the shape of spindles and cotton, and one day's labour of the spinner, in all five days at 6 shillings

totalling *30 shillings' value of product. We have a surplus-value of 3 shillings: money has been converted into capital.* (P. 160.) All the conditions of the problem are fulfilled. (Details p. 160.)

As a value-creating process, the labour process becomes a *process of producing surplus-value* the moment it is *prolonged beyond* the point where it delivers a simple *equivalent* for the paid-for value of labour-power.

The value-creating process differs from the simple labour process in that the latter is considered *qualitatively,* the former *quantitatively,* and only to the extent that it comprises socially necessary labour-time. (P. 161, details p. 162.)

As the unity of labour process and *value-creating* process, the production process is the *production of commodities*; as the unity of labour process and the process *of producing surplus-value* it is the *process of capitalist production of commodities.* (P. 163.)

Reduction of complex labour to simple labour. (Pp. 163-65.)

### 2. CONSTANT AND VARIABLE CAPITAL

The labour process adds *new* value to the object of labour, but at the same time it *transfers* the value of the object of labour to the product, thus *preserving* it by merely adding new value. This double result is attained in this manner: the *specifically useful qualitative character* of labour converts one use-value into another use-value and *thus preserves value*; the *value-creating, abstractly general, quantitative character* of labour, however, *adds value.* (P. 166.)

E.g., let the productivity of spinning labour multiply sixfold. As *useful* (qualitative) labour it *preserves* in the same period of time six times as many instruments of labour. But it adds only the same *new* value as before, i.e., in each pound of yarn there is only $^1/_6$ of the new value previously added. As *value-creating* labour it accomplishes no more than before. (P. 167.) Conversely, if the productivity of spinning labour remains the same, but the value of the instruments of labour rises. (P. 168.)

The instruments of labour transfer to the product only *that* value which they *lose themselves.* (P. 169.) This is the case in differing degree. Coal, LUBRICANTS, etc., are consumed completely, raw materials take on a new form. Instruments, machinery, etc., transmit value only slowly and by parts, and the wear and tear are calculated by experience. (Pp. 169-70.) But the instrument remains

continually *as a whole* in the labour process. Therefore, the same instrument counts *as a whole in the labour process* but only partly in the *process of producing surplus-value,* so that the difference between the two processes is reflected here in material factors. (P. 171.) Conversely, the raw material, which forms waste, enters wholly into the process of producing surplus-value, and only [partly] into the labour process, since it appears in the product minus the waste. (P. 171.)

But in no case can an instrument of labour transfer *more* exchange-value than it possessed itself—in the labour process it acts only as a use-value and hence can give only the exchange-value that it possessed previously. (P. 172.)

This preserving of value is very advantageous to the capitalist but costs him nothing. (Pp. 173, 174.)

Yet the preserved value *only reappears,* it was already present, and only the labour process *adds new value.* That is, in capitalist production, *surplus-value, the excess of the product's value over the value of the consumed elements of the product* (means of production and labour-power). (Pp. 175, 176.)

Herewith have been described the forms of existence which the original capital value takes on in dropping its money-form, in being converted into factors of the labour process: (1) in the purchase of *instruments of labour*; (2) in the purchase of *labour-power.*

The capital invested in *instruments* of labour does *not* therefore alter the magnitude of its value in the production process. We call it *constant capital.*

The portion invested in labour-*power does change* its value; it produces: 1) its *own* value, and 2) *surplus-value*—it is *variable capital.* (P. 176.)

(Capital is *constant* only in relation to the production process specifically given, in which it does not change; it can consist sometimes of more, sometimes of fewer instruments of labour, and the purchased instruments of labour may rise or fall in value, but that does not affect their relationship to the production process. P. 177. Likewise, the percentage in which a given capital is subdivided into constant and variable capital may change, but in any given case the $c$ remains constant and the $v$ variable. P. 178.)

### 3. THE RATE OF SURPLUS-VALUE

$C = £500 = \overset{c}{410} + \overset{v}{90}$. At the end of the labour process in which $v$ is turned into labour-power we get $\overset{c}{410} + \overset{v}{90} + \overset{s}{90} = 590$. Let us assume $c$ consists of 312 raw material, 44 auxiliary material, and 54 wear and tear of machinery, in all 410. Let the value of *all* the machinery be 1,054. If this were entered as a *whole,* we would get 1,410 for $c$ on both sides of our calculation; the surplus-value would remain 90 as before. (P. 179.)

Since the value of $c$ merely *re-appears* in the product, the *value of the product* we get differs from the *value* created in the process; the latter, therefore, equals not $c+v+s$, but $v+s$. Hence the magnitude of $c$ is immaterial to the process of producing surplus-value, i.e., $c=o$. (P. 180.) This also takes place in practice in commercial accounting, e.g., in calculating a country's profit from its industry, imported raw material is deducted. (P. 181.) *Cf.* Vol. III[184] for the ratio of surplus-value to total capital.

Hence: the rate of surplus-value is $s:v$, in the above case $90:90=100\%$.

The labour-time during which the labourer reproduces the value of his labour-power—under capitalist or other conditions—is the *necessary* labour;what goes beyond that,producing surplus-value for the capitalist, *surplus-labour.* (Pp. 183, 184.) Surplus-value is congealed surplus-labour, and only the *form of extorting* it differentiates the various social formations.

Examples of the incorrectness of including $c$, pp. 185-96. (*Senior.*)[a]

The sum of the necessary labour and the surplus-labour equals the *working day.*

### 4. THE WORKING DAY

The *necessary* labour-time is *given.* The *surplus*-labour is *variable,* but within certain limits. It can never be reduced to nil, since then capitalist production ceases. It can never go as high as 24 hours for physical reasons, and, moreover, the maximum limit is always affected by moral grounds as well. But these limits are very elastic. The economic demand is that the working-day should be no

[a] N. W. Senior, *Letters on the Factory Act,* London, 1837, pp. 12 and 13.—*Ed.*

longer than for normal wear and tear of the worker. But what is *normal*? An antinomy results and only force can decide. Hence the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class for the *normal working day.* (Pp. 198-202.)

Surplus-labour in earlier social epochs. As long as the exchange-value is not more important than the use-value, surplus-labour is milder, e.g., among the ancients; only where direct exchange-value—gold and silver—was produced, surplus-labour was terrible. (P. 203.) Likewise in the slave states of America until the mass production of cotton for export. Likewise *corvée* labour, e.g., in Romania.

*Corvée* labour is the best means of comparison with capitalist exploitation, because the former fixes and shows the surplus-labour as a specific labour-time to be performed—*Règlement organique*[185] of Wallachia. (Pp. 204-06.)

The English FACTORY ACTS are negative expression of the greed for surplus-labour, just as the foregoing was its positive expression.

*The* FACTORY ACTS. That of 1850—(p. 207). 10 1/2 hours and 7 1/2 on Saturdays=60 hours per week. Millowners' profit through evasion. (Pp. 208-11.)

*Exploitation in unrestricted* or only later restricted branches: *lace industry* (p. 212), POTTERIES (p. 213), *lucifer matches* (p. 215), *wall-paper* (pp. 215-17), *baking* (pp. 217-22), *railway employees* (p. 223), *seamstresses* (pp. 223-25), *blacksmiths* (p. 226), *day and night workers* IN SHIFTS: (a) *metallurgy and the metal industry* (pp. 227-36).

These facts prove that capital regards the labourer as nothing else than *labour-power,* all of whose time is labour-time as far as this is at all possible at a given moment, and that the length of life of labour-power is immaterial to the capitalist. (Pp. 236-38.) But is this not against the interests of the capitalist? What about the replacement of what is rapidly worn out? The organised slave trade in the interior of the United States has raised the rapid wearing out of slaves to an economic principle, exactly like the supply of labourers from the rural districts in Europe, etc. (P. 239.) POORHOUSE SUPPLY. (P. 240.) The capitalist sees only the continuously available surplus-population and wears it out. Whether the race perishes—*après moi le déluge.*[a] *Capital is reckless of the health and length of life of the labourer, unless it is forced by society to*

[a] After me the deluge—the words attributed to Louis XV of France and Mme. de Pompadour.—*Ed.*

*show consideration ... and free competition makes the inherent laws of capitalist production hold good as external coercive laws for every individual capitalist.* (P. 243.)

Establishment of *a normal working day—the result of centuries of struggle between capitalist and worker.*

At the beginning laws were made to *raise* working-time; now to lower it. (P. 244.) The first STATUTE OF LABOURERS, 23rd Edward III, 1349, was passed under the pretext that the plague had so decimated the population that everyone had to do more work. Hence maximum wages and limit of the working day were fixed by law. In 1496, under Henry VII, the working day of agricultural labourers and all ARTIFICERS continued from 5 a.m. to between 7 and 8 p.m. in summer—March to September, with 1 hour, 1 $^1/_2$ hours and $^1/_2$ hour, in all 3 hours' break. In winter it was from 5 a.m. to dark. This statute was never strictly enforced. In the 18th century the *whole* week's labour was not yet available to capital (with the exception of agricultural labour). *Cf.* controversies of that time. (Pp. 248-51.) Only with modern large-scale industry was this, and more, achieved; it broke down *all* bounds and exploited the workers most shamelessly. The proletariat resisted as soon as it recovered consciousness. The five acts of 1802-33 were only nominal, since there were no inspectors. Only the Act of 1833 created a normal working day in the four textile industries: from 5.30 a.m. to 8.30 p.m., during which time YOUNG PERSONS from 13 to 18 years of age could be employed only 12 hours with 1 $^1/_2$ hours' pause, children from 9 to 13 years of age only 8 hours, while night work of children and YOUNG PERSONS was prohibited. (Pp. 253-55.)

The *relay system* and its abuse for purposes of evasion. (P. 256.) Finally, the Act of 1844 which put *women of all ages* on the same basis as YOUNG PERSONS. Children limited to 6 $^1/_2$ hours; the relay system curbed. On the other hand, children permitted from *8 years* on. At last in 1847 the *ten-hour bill* forced through for women and YOUNG PERSONS. (P. 259.) The capitalists' efforts against it. (Pp. 260-68.) A FLAW in the Act of 1847 led to the compromise Act of 1850 (p. 269), which fixed the working day for YOUNG PERSONS and WOMEN—5 days of 10 $^1/_2$, 1 day of 7 $^1/_2$=60 hours per week, and that *between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m.* Otherwise the Act of 1847 in force for children. The exception for the silk industry. (P. 270.) In 1853 the working-time *for children* also limited to between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. (P. 272.)

PRINTWORKS ACT in 1845 limits almost nothing—children and women can work 16 hours!

Bleaching and dyeing works 1860. Lace factories 1861; potteries and many other branches 1863 (under the Factory Act, special acts passed the same year for bleaching in the open air and baking). (P. 274.)

Large-scale industry thus at first creates the need for limiting working-time, but it is later found that the same overwork has gradually taken possession of all other branches as well. (P. 277.)

History further shows that the *individual* "free" labourer is defenceless against the capitalist and succumbs, especially with the introduction of women's and children's labour, so that it is here that the class struggle develops between the workers and the capitalists. (P. 277.)

In France, the twelve-hour day law for all ages and branches of work was passed only in 1848. (*Cf.*, however, p. 253, footnote on the French child labour law of 1841, which was really enforced only in 1853, and then only in the *Département du Nord.*) Complete "freedom of labour" in Belgium. The eight-hour movement in America. (P. 279.)

Thus, the labourer comes out of the production process quite different than he entered. The labour contract was not the act of a *free agent*; the time for which he *is free* to sell his labour[-power] is the time for which he *is forced* to sell it, and only the *mass* opposition of the workers wins for them *the passing of a law* that shall prevent the workers from selling, by voluntary contract with capital, themselves and their generation into slavery and death. In place of the pompous catalogue of the inalienable rights of man comes the modest *Magna Charta* of the Factory Act. (Pp. 280, 281.)

### 5. RATE AND MASS OF SURPLUS-VALUE

With the *rate,* the *mass* is also given. If the daily value of *one* labour-power is 3 shillings, and the rate of surplus-value is 100 per cent, its daily mass=3 shillings for one labourer.

I. Since the *variable capital* is the money expression of the value of *all* the labour-powers simultaneously employed by one capitalist, the *mass* of the surplus-value produced by them is equal to the variable capital multiplied by the rate of surplus-value. Both factors can vary, different combinations thus arising. The *mass* of surplus-value can grow, even with decreasing variable capital, if the rate rises, that is, if the working day is *lengthened.* (P. 282.)

II. This increase in the rate of surplus-value has its *absolute limit* in that the working day can never be prolonged to the full 24 hours; hence the total value of *one* worker's daily production can *never* equal the value of 24 working hours. Thus, in order to obtain the *same* mass of surplus-value, variable capital can be replaced by increased exploitation of labour only *within these limits.* This is important for the explanation of various phenomena arising from the contradictory tendency of capital: (1) to *reduce* the variable capital and the number of workers employed; and (2) to produce the greatest possible mass of surplus-value nonetheless. (Pp. 283, 284.)

III. The masses of value and surplus-value produced by different capitals, with the given value and equally high degree of exploitation of labour-power, *are related directly as the magnitudes of the variable components of these capitals.* (P. 285.) This seems to contradict all facts.

For a given society and a given working day, surplus-value can be increased only by increasing the number of workers, i.e., the population; with a given number of workers, only by lengthening the working day. This is important, however, only for *absolute* surplus-value.

It now turns out that not *every* sum of money can be transformed into capital—that a minimum exists: the cost price of *a single* labour-power and of the necessary instruments of labour. In order to be able to live *himself* like a worker, the capitalist would have to have two workers, with a rate of surplus-value of 50 per cent, and yet save nothing. Even with eight he is still a small master. Hence, in the Middle Ages people were forcibly hampered in transformation from craftsmen into capitalists by limitation of the number of journeymen to be employed by one master. The minimum of wealth required to form a real capitalist varies in different periods and branches of business. (P. 288.)

Capital has evolved into *command over labour,* and sees to it that work is done regularly and intensively. Moreover, it *compels* the workers to do more work than is necessary for their sustenance; and in pumping out surplus-value it surpasses all earlier production systems based upon *direct* compulsory labour.

Capital took over labour with the given technical conditions, and at first does not change them. Hence, with the production process considered as a *labour process,* the worker stands in relation to the means of production not as to capital, but as to the means of his own appropriate activity. But, considered as a process of *creating surplus-value,* otherwise. The means of production become means

of *absorbing the labour of others.* It is *no longer the worker who employs the means of production, but the means of production that employ the worker.* (P. 289.) Instead of being consumed *by him ... they consume him* as the leaven necessary to their own life-process, and the life-process of capital consists only in its movement *as value constantly multiplying itself....* The simple transformation of money into means of production transforms the latter into a *right by law* and a right by coercion *to the labour and surplus-labour of others.*

# Chapter IV

# PRODUCTION OF RELATIVE SURPLUS-VALUE[a]

## 1. THE CONCEPT OF RELATIVE SURPLUS-VALUE

For a given working day, surplus-labour can be increased only by reducing the *necessary* labour; this can in turn be obtained—apart from lowering wages below value—only by reducing the value of labour[-power], that is, by reducing the price of the necessary means of subsistence. (Pp. 291-93.) This, in turn, is to be attained only by *increasing the productive power of labour, by revolutionising the mode of production itself.*

The surplus-value produced by lengthening the working day is *absolute,* that produced by shortening the necessary labour-time is *relative* surplus-value. (P. 295.)

In order to lower the value of labour[-power], the increase in productive power must seize upon those branches of industry whose products determine the value of labour-power—ordinary means of subsistence, substitutes for the same, and their raw materials, etc. Proof of how competition makes the increased productive power manifest in a lower commodity price. (Pp. 296-99.)

The *value* of commodities is in *inverse ratio* to the productive power of labour, as is also *the value of labour-power,* because it is determined by the value of commodities. *Relative surplus-value,* on the contrary, is *directly proportional* to the productive power of labour. (P. 299.)

The capitalist is not interested in the *absolute* value of commodities, but only in the *surplus-value* incorporated in them.

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[a] This chapter corresponds to Part IV of the 1887 English edition (Chapter XII.—The Concept of Relative Surplus-Value, Chapter XIII.—Co-operation, Chapter XIV.—Division of Labour and Manufacture, Chapter XV.—Machinery and Modern Industry).—*Ed.*

Realisation of surplus-value implies refunding of the value advanced. Since, according to p. 299, the same process of increasing productive power lowers the value of commodities and increases the surplus-value contained in them, it is clear why the capitalist, whose sole concern is the production of exchange-value, continually strives to depress the exchange-value of commodities. (*Cf.* Quesnav,[a] p. 300.)

Hence in capitalist production, economising labour through developing productive power by no means aims at shortening the working day—the latter may even be *lengthened.* We may read, therefore, in economists of the stamp of McCulloch, Ure, Senior and *tutti quanti,* on one page *that the labourer owes a debt of gratitude to capital for developing the productive forces,* and on the next page that he *must prove his gratitude by working in future for 15 hours instead of 10.* The object of this development of productive forces is only to shorten the *necessary labour* and to lengthen the labour for the capitalist. (P. 301.)

## 2. CO-OPERATION

According to p. 288, capitalist production requires an individual capital big enough to employ a fairly large number of workers at a time; only when he himself is wholly released from labour does the employer of labour become a full-grown capitalist. The activity of a large number of workers, at the same time, in the same field of work, for the production of the same kind of commodity, under the command of the same capitalist, constitutes, *historically and logically, the starting point of capitalist production.* (P. 302.)

At first, therefore, there is only a *quantitative* difference compared to the past, when *fewer* labourers were employed by one employer. But a modification takes place at once. The large number of labourers already guarantees that the employer gets *real average labour,* which is not the case with the small master, who must pay the average value of labour[-power] none the less; in the case of small shops, the inequalities are compensated for society at large, but not for the individual master. Thus the *law of the production of surplus-value* is fully realised for the individual producer only when he produces *as a capitalist,* and sets many labourers to work at the same time—hence *from the outset average social labour.* (Pp. 303-04.)

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[a] F. Quesnay, *Dialogues sur le commerce et sur les travaux des artisans.—Ed.*

Moreover: economy in means of production is achieved through large-scale operation alone, less transfer of value to the product by constant capital components arises solely from their joint consumption in the labour process of many workmen. That is how the *instruments* of labour acquire a social character before the labour *process* itself acquires it (up to this time merely similar processes side by side). (P. 305.)

The economy in the means of production is to be considered here only in so far as it cheapens commodities and thus *lowers the value* of labour [-power]. The extent to which it alters the ratio of surplus-value to the *total capital* advanced $(c+v)$ will not be considered until Book III.[186] This splitting up is quite in keeping with the spirit of capitalist production; since it makes the working conditions confront the worker independently, economy in the means of production appears to be a distinct operation, which does not concern him and is therefore detached from the methods by which the productivity of the labour-power consumed by the capital is increased.

The form of labour of many persons, methodically working together and alongside one another in the same production process or in related production processes, is called co-operation. (P. 306.) (*Concours de forces.* Destutt de Tracy.[a])

The sum-total of the mechanical forces of individual workers differs substantially from the *potential* mechanical *force* developed when many hands *act together* at one time in the same undivided operation (lifting of weight, etc.). Co-operation, from the very start, creates a productive power that is, in and of itself, a *mass power.*

Furthermore, in most productive work, *mere social contact* creates a *spirit of emulation* which raises the individual efficiency of each, so that 12 workers turn out more work in a joint working day of 144 hours than 12 workers in 12 distinct working days, or one worker in 12 successive days. (P. 307.)

Although many may be doing the same or similar things, the individual labour of each may still represent a different phase of the labour process (chain of persons passing something along), whereby co-operation again saves labour. Likewise, when a building is started from several sides at once. The combined worker, or collective worker, has hands and eyes before and behind and is, to a certain degree, omnipresent. (P. 308.)

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[a] A. L. C. Destutt de Tracy, *Traité de la volonté et de ses effets,* Paris, 1826, p. 80.—*Ed.*

In complicated labour processes co-operation permits the special processes to be distributed and to be done simultaneously, thus shortening the labour-time for manufacturing the whole product. (P. 308.)

In many spheres of production there are *critical periods* when many workers are needed (harvesting, herring catches, etc.). Here only co-operation can be of aid. (P. 309.)

On the one hand, co-operation *extends* the field of production and thus becomes a necessity for work requiring great spatial continuity of the working arena (drainage, roadbuilding, dam construction, etc.); on the other hand, it *contracts* the arena by concentrating the workers in one work-place, thus cutting down costs. (P. 310.)

In all these forms, co-operation is the specific productive power of the combined working-day, social productive power of labour. The latter arises from co-operation itself. In systematic joint work with others, the worker sheds his individual limitations and develops the capacities of his species.

Now, wage-labourers cannot co-operate unless *the same capitalist* employs them simultaneously, pays them and provides them with instruments of labour. Hence the scale of co-operation depends upon *how much capital a capitalist has.* The requirement that a certain amount of capital be present to make its owner a capitalist now becomes the *material* condition for the conversion of the numerous fragmented and independent individual operations into one combined social labour process.

In a like manner, capital's *command* over labour was up to now only the formal result of the relation between capitalist and labourer; now it is the *necessary prerequisite* for the labour process itself; the capitalist represents precisely combination in the labour process. In co-operation, *control* of the labour process becomes the *function of capital,* and as such it acquires specific characteristics. (P. 312.)

In accordance with the aim of capitalist production (the greatest possible self-expansion of capital), this control is at the same time the function of the greatest possible exploitation of a social labour process, and hence involves the inevitable antagonism between exploiter and exploited. Moreover, control of proper utilisation of the instruments of labour. Finally, the connection between the various workers' functions lies *outside them,* in capital, so that their own unity confronts them as the *capitalist's authority,* as an outside will. Capitalist control is thus *twofold* (1. a social labour process for producing a product; 2. a process of expansion of capital), and in its

form *despotic.* This despotism now evolves its own peculiar forms: the capitalist, just relieved from actual labour himself, now hands over immediate supervision to an organised band of officers and non-coms, who themselves are wage-labourers of capital. In *slavery,* the economists count these supervision expenses as *faux frais,*[a] but in capitalist production they bluntly identify control, so far as it is conditioned by exploitation, with the same function, so far as it arises from the nature of the social labour process. (Pp. 313, 314.)

The supreme command of industry becomes the attribute of capital, just as in feudal times the supreme command in war and in the law-courts was the attribute of landed property. (P. 314.)

The capitalist buys 100 individual labour-powers, and gets in return a combined labour-power of 100. He does *not* pay for the combined labour-power of the 100. When the labourers enter the combined labour process, they already cease to belong to themselves; they are incorporated in capital. Thus the *social productive power of labour* appears as the *productive power immanent in capital.* (P. 315.)

Examples of co-operation among the ancient Egyptians. (P. 316.)

The natural co-operation at the beginnings of civilisation, among hunting peoples, nomads, or in Indian communities, is based: (1) on common ownership of the means of production; (2) on the natural attachment of the individual to the tribe and the primeval community.—The sporadic co-operation in antiquity, the Middle Ages, and in modern colonies is based upon direct rule and violence, mostly slavery.—Capitalist co-operation, on the contrary, presupposes the free wage-labourer. Historically, it appears in direct opposition to peasant economy and the independent handicrafts (whether in guilds or not), and in this connection, as a historical form peculiar to, and distinguishing, the capitalist production process. It is the first change experienced by the labour process when subjected to capital. Thus, here at once: (1) the capitalist mode of production presents itself as a historical necessity for the transformation of the labour process into a social process; (2) this social form of the labour process presents itself as a method of capital to exploit labour more profitably by increasing its productivity. (P. 317.)

Co-operation, as considered so far, in its *elementary* form, coincides with production on a large scale, but it does not constitute a fixed form characteristic of a particular epoch of capitalist production, and it still exists today, when capital operates

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[a] Overhead costs.—*Ed.*

on a large scale without division of labour or machinery playing an important part. Thus, although co-operation is the basic form of the whole capitalist production, its *elementary* form reappears, as a particular form, alongside its more developed forms. (P. 318.)

### 3. DIVISION OF LABOUR AND MANUFACTURE

Manufacture, the classic form of co-operation based upon division of labour, prevails from about 1550 to 1770.

It arises:

(1) Either through the throwing together of different crafts, each of which performs a detail operation (e.g., vehicle building), whereby the individual craftsman in question very soon loses his ability to pursue his *whole* handicraft, on the other hand doing his detail work so much better; and thus the process is converted into a division of the whole operation into its component parts. (Pp. 318, 319.)

(2) Or many craftsmen doing the same or similar work are united in the same factory, and the individual operations, instead of being performed successively by one worker, are gradually separated and done simultaneously by several workers (needles, etc.). Instead of being the work of one craftsman, the product is now the work of a union of craftsmen, each of whom performs only a detail operation. (Pp. 319, 320.)

In both cases its result is a *production mechanism whose organs are human beings.* The work retains a *handicraft nature*; each detail process through which the product goes must be performable *by hand*; hence any *really scientific analysis of the production process is excluded.* Each individual worker is completely chained to a detail function *because* of its handicraft nature. (P. 321.)

In this way labour is saved, as compared to the craftsman, and this is increased still more by transmission to succeeding generations. Thus the division of labour in manufacture corresponds to the tendency of former societies to make a trade hereditary. Castes, guilds. (P. 322.)

Subdivision of tools through adaptation to the various partial operations—500 kinds of hammers in Birmingham. (Pp. 323-24.)

Manufacture, considered from the standpoint of its *total* mechanism, has two aspects: either merely mechanical assembly of independent detail products (watch), or a series of related processes in *one* workshop (needle).

In manufacture, each group of workers supplies another with its

raw material. Hence the basic condition is that each group **produces** *a given quantum in a given time*; thus a continuity, regularity, uniformity and intensity of labour of quite a different kind are created than in co-operation proper. *Thus here we have the* **technological** *law of the* **production process:** *that the labour be socially necessary labour.* (P. 329.)

The inequality of the time required for the individual operations stipulates that the different groups of workers be of different *size* and number (in type founding: four founders and two breakers to one rubber). Thus manufacture sets up a mathematically fixed ratio for the quantitative extent of the separate organs of the collective worker, and production can be expanded only by employing an additional multiple of the whole group. Moreover, only after a definite level of production has been reached does it pay to make certain functions independent: supervision, transporting the products from place to place, etc. (Pp. 329, 330.)

Combination of various manufactures into a united manufacture also occurs, but as yet it always lacks real technological unity, which arises only with machinery. (P. 331.)

Machines appeared in manufacture at an early date—sporadically—grain and stamping mills, etc., but only as something subordinate. The chief machinery of manufacture is the *combined collective worker,* who possesses a much higher degree of perfection than the old individual craft worker, and in whom all the imperfections, such as are often necessarily developed in the detail worker, appear as perfection. (P. 333.) Manufacture evolves differences among these detail workers, SKILLED and UNSKILLED, and even a complete hierarchy of workers. (P. 334.)

Division of labour: 1) general (into agriculture, industry, shipping, etc.); 2) particular (into species and subspecies); 3) in detail (in the workshop). The social division of labour also develops from different starting points. 1) Within the family and the tribe the natural division of labour according to sex and age, plus slavery through violence against neighbours, which extends it. (P. 335.) 2) Different communities according to location, climate, and level of culture, turn out different products which are *exchanged where these communities come in contact.* (P. 49.) Exchange with strange communities is then one of the chief means of breaking off the natural association of the community itself through further development of the natural division of labour. (P. 336.)

Division of labour in manufacture thus presupposes a certain degree of development of the social division of labour; on the

other hand, it develops the latter further—as in the territorial division of labour. (Pp. 337, 338.)

For all that, there is always this difference between social division of labour and division of labour in manufacture that the former necessarily produces *commodities,* whereas in the latter the detail worker does *not* produce commodities. Hence concentration and organisation in the latter, scattering and disorder of competition in the former. (Pp. 339, 341.)

Earlier organisation of the Indian communities. (Pp. 341, 342.) The guilds. (Pp. 343-44.) Whereas in all these there exists division of labour in *society,* the division of labour in manufacture is a *specific creation of the capitalist mode of production.*

As in co-operation, the functioning working body is a *form of existence of capital* in manufacture as well. Hence the productive power arising from the combination of labours appears as the *productive power of capital.* But whereas co-operation leaves the individual's mode of working on the whole unchanged, manufacture revolutionises it, *cripples* the worker; unable to make a product independently, he is now a mere *appendage* of the capitalist's workshop. The intellectual faculties of labour disappear as far as the many are concerned, to expand in scope for the one. It is a result of the division of labour in manufacture that the labourers *are confronted* with the intellectual faculties of the labour process as *the property of another and as a ruling power.* This process of separation, which begins as early as co-operation and develops in manufacture, is completed in large-scale industry, which separates science as an independent productive force from labour and presses it into the service of capital. (P. 346.)

Illustrative quotations.[187] (P. 347.)

Manufacture, in one aspect a definite organisation of social labour, is in another only a particular *method of begetting relative surplus-value.* (P. 350.) Historical significance precisely in this.

Obstacles to the development of manufacture even during its classical period are limitation of the number of unskilled workers owing to the predominance of the skilled; limitation of the work of women and children owing to the men's resistance; the insistence on the LAWS OF APPRENTICESHIP up to recent times, even where superfluous; continual insubordination of the workers, since the collective worker as yet possesses no framework independent of the workers; emigration of the workers. (Pp. 353, 354.)

Besides, manufacture itself was unable to revolutionise the whole of social production or even merely to dominate it. Its narrow technical basis came into conflict with the production

requirements that it had itself created. The machine became necessary, and manufacture had already learned how to make it. (P. 355.)

## 4. MACHINERY AND LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRY

### a. Machinery as Such

The revolution in the mode of production, starting in manufacture with labour-*power,* here starts with the *instruments* of labour.

All fully-developed machinery consists of 1) the motor mechanism; 2) the transmitting mechanism; 3) the machine tool. (P. 357.) The industrial revolution of the eighteenth century started with the *machine tool.* What characterises it is that the tool—in a more or less modified form—is transferred from man to the machine, and is worked by the machine under the operation of man. At the outset it is immaterial whether the motive *power* is human or a natural one. The specific difference is that man *uses* only his *own organs while the machine can, within certain limits, employ as many tools as demanded.* (Spinning-wheel, 1 spindle; jenny, 12 to 18 spindles.)

So far, in the spinning-wheel it is not the treadle, the power, but the spindle that is affected by the [industrial] revolution—at the beginning man is still motive power and tender at the same time everywhere. The revolution of the machine tool, on the contrary, first made the perfecting of the steam-engine a necessity, and then also carried it out. (Pp. 359-60; also pp. 361-62.)

Two kinds of machinery in large-scale industry: either (1) co-operation of similar machines (POWER-LOOM, ENVELOPE-MACHINE, which combines the work of a number of detail workers through the combination of various tools), in this case technological unity already, through the transmission and the motive power; or 2) machine system, combination of different detail machines (spinning-mill). The natural basis for this is the division of labour in manufacture. But at once an essential difference. In manufacture every detail process had to be adapted to the *labourer;* this is no longer necessary here—the labour process can be *objectively* dissected into its component parts, which are then left to science, or to experience based upon it, to be mastered by machines.—Here the quantitative ratio of the several groups of workers is repeated as the ratio of the several groups of machines. (Pp. 363-66.)

In both cases the factory constitutes a *huge automaton* (moreover perfected to that stage only recently) and this is its adequate form.

(P. 367.) And its most perfect form is the *machine-building automaton,* which abolished the handicraft and manufacture foundation of large-scale industry, and thus first provided the consummate form of machinery. (Pp. 369-72.)

Connection between the revolutionising of the various branches up to the means of communication. (P. 370.)

In manufacture the combination of workers is subjective. Here there is an objective *mechanical* production organism, which the worker finds ready at hand, and which can function only through collective labour; the co-operative character of the labour process is now a *technological necessity.* (P. 372.)

The productive forces arising from co-operation and the division of labour cost capital nothing; the natural forces: steam, water, also cost nothing. Neither do the forces discovered by science. But the latter can be realised only with suitable apparatus, which can be constructed only at great expense; likewise the machine tools cost much more than the old tools. But these machines have a much longer life and a much greater field of production than the tool; they therefore transfer a much smaller portion of value, comparatively, to the product than a tool, and hence the *gratuitous service* performed by the machine (which does *not* re-appear in the value of the product) is much greater than in the case of the tool. (Pp. 374, 375, 376.)

Reduction in cost through concentration of production is much greater in large-scale industry than in manufacture. (P. 375.)

The prices of finished goods prove how much the machine has cheapened production, and that the portion of value due to the instruments of labour grows relatively but declines absolutely. The productivity of the machine is measured by the extent to which it *replaces human labour-power.* Examples. (Pp. 377-79.)

Assumed a steam plough takes the place of 150 workers getting an annual wage of £3,000, this annual wage does *not* represent *all the labour performed by them,* but only the *necessary* labour—however, they also perform *surplus-labour* in addition. If the steam plough costs £3,000, however, that is the expression in money of *all* labour embodied in it. Thus, if the machine costs as much as the labour-power it replaces, the human labour embodied in it is always *much less* than that which it replaces. (P. 380.)

As *a means of cheapening* production, the machine must *cost less labour than it replaces.* But *for capital its value* must be less than *that of the labour-power supplanted by it.* Therefore, machines that do not pay in England may pay in America (e.g., for stonebreaking). Hence, as a result of certain legal restrictions, machines that

formerly did not pay for capital may suddenly make their appearance. (Pp. 380-81.)

### b. Appropriation of Labour-Power Through Machinery

Since machinery itself contains the power driving it, muscular power drops in value.—*Labour of women and children*; immediate *increase in the number of wage-labourers* through the enrolling of members of the family who had not previously worked for wages. Thus *the value of the man's labour-power is spread over the labour-power of the whole family,* i.e., *depreciated.*—Now four persons must perform not only labour, but also *surplus-labour* for capital that one family may live, where only one did previously. Thus the *degree* of exploitation is increased together with the *material* of exploitation. (P. 383.)

Formerly the sale and purchase of labour-power was a relation between *free persons*; now *minors or children* are bought; the worker now sells wife and child—he becomes a *slave-dealer.* Examples (pp. 384-85).

Physical deterioration—mortality of workers' children (p. 386), in industrialised agriculture as well. (GANG SYSTEM.[a]) (P. 387.)

Moral degradation. (P. 389.) Educational clauses and manufacturers' resistance to them. (P. 390.)

The entrance of women and children into the factory finally breaks down the *male worker's resistance to the despotism of capital.* (P. 391.)

If machinery *shortens* the labour-time necessary to produce an object, in the hands of capital it becomes the most powerful weapon for *lengthening* the working day *far beyond its normal bounds.* It creates, on the one hand, *new conditions* that enable capital to do so, and on the other, *new motives* for so doing.

Machinery is capable of perpetual motion, and limited only by the weakness and limitations of the assisting human labour-power. The machine that is worn out in seven and a half years, working twenty hours daily, absorbs *just as much surplus-labour* for the capitalist, **but in half the time,** as another that is worn out in fifteen years working ten hours daily. (P. 393.)

The moral depreciation of the machine—BY SUPERSEDING—is in this way risked still less. (P. 394.)

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[a] Here means women and adolescents working in a group for wages.—*Ed.*

Moreover, a larger quantity of labour is absorbed *without increasing the investments* in buildings and machines; thus not only does surplus-value grow with a lengthened working day, but the outlay required to obtain it diminishes relatively. This is more important in so far as the proportion of *fixed* capital greatly predominates, as is the case in large-scale industry. (P. 395.)

During the first period of machinery, when it possesses a *monopoly* character, profits are enormous, and hence the thirst for more, for boundless lengthening of the working day. With the general introduction of machinery this monopoly profit vanishes, and the law asserts itself that surplus-value arises, not from the labour *supplanted* by the machine, but from the labour *employed* by it, that is, from the variable capital. But under machine production the latter is necessarily *reduced* by the large outlays. Thus there is an inherent contradiction in the capitalist employment of machinery: for a given mass of capital it *increases* one factor of surplus-value, its *rate,* by *reducing* the other, the *number of workers.* As soon as the value of a machine-made commodity becomes the regulating social value of that commodity, this contradiction comes to light, and *again drives towards lengthening the working day.* (P. 397.)

But at the same time machinery, by setting free supplanted workers, as well as by enrolling women and children, produces a *surplus working population,* which must let capital dictate the law to it. Hence machinery overthrows all the moral and natural bounds of the working day. Hence the paradox that the most powerful means of shortening labour-time is the most infallible means of converting the whole lifetime of the worker and of his family into available labour-time for expanding the value of capital. (P. 398.)

We have already seen how the social reaction occurs here through the fixing of the normal working day; on this basis there now develops the *intensification of labour.* (P. 399.)

At the beginning, with the speeding-up of the machine, the intensity of labour increases simultaneously with the lengthening of labour-time. But soon the point is reached where the two exclude each other. It is different, however, when labour-time is restricted. Intensity can now grow; in 10 hours as much work can be done as ordinarily in 12 or more, and now the more intensive working-day counts as *raised to a higher power,* and labour is measured not merely by its length of time, but by its intensity. (P. 400.) Thus, in 5 hours of necessary and 5 hours of surplus-labour, the same surplus-value can be attained as in 6

hours of necessary and 6 hours of surplus-labour at lower intensity. (P. 400.)

*How* is labour intensified? In **manufacture** it has been proved (note 159, p. 401), pottery, for instance, etc., that *mere shortening of the working day* is sufficient to raise productivity enormously. In *machine labour* this was far more doubtful. But R. Gardner's proof. (Pp. 401-02.)[188]

As soon as the shortened working day becomes *law,* the machine becomes a means of squeezing more intensive labour out of the worker, either by GREATER SPEED OR LESS HANDS IN RELATION TO MACHINE. Examples. (Pp. 403-07.) Evidence that enrichment and expansion of the factory grew simultaneously therewith. (Pp. 407-09.)

### c. The Whole Factory in Its Classical Form

In the factory the *machine* takes care of the proper manipulation of the tool; thus the qualitative differences of labour developed in manufacture are here abolished; labour is *levelled out* more and more; at most, difference in age and sex. The division of labour is here a *distribution of workers among the specialised machines.* Here division is only between *principal workers,* who are really employed at the tool, and *FEEDERS* (this is true only for the self-acting mule, scarcely so for the THROSTLE, and still less for the CORRECTED POWER LOOM), in addition, supervisors, ENGINEERS and STOCKERS, MECHANICS, JOINERS, etc., a class only outwardly aggregated to the factory. (Pp. 411-12.)

The necessity for adapting the worker to the continuous motion of an automaton requires training from childhood, but by no means that a worker be any longer chained to one detail function all his life, as in manufacture. Change of personnel can take place at the same machine (RELAY SYSTEM), and because of the slight effort required to learn, the workers can be shifted from one kind of machine to another. The work of the attendants is either very simple or is taken over more and more by the machine. None the less, at the beginning, the division of labour dictated by manufacture persists traditionally, and itself becomes a greater weapon for exploitation by capital. The worker becomes a lifelong part of a detail machine. (P. 413.)

All capitalist production, in so far as it is not only a labour process but also a process for expanding the value of capital, has this in common that it is not the worker who makes use of the

conditions of labour, but *vice versa, the conditions of labour which make use of the worker*; but only through machinery does this perversion acquire technological, *palpable reality.* Through its conversion into an *automaton,* the instrument of labour *itself confronts the labourer,* during the labour process, *as capital,* as dead labour that dominates and sucks dry the living labour-power. Ditto the intellectual faculties of the production process as the power of capital over labour... The detail skill of the individual, pumped-out machine operator vanishes as a tiny secondary thing alongside science, the tremendous natural forces and social mass labour which are embodied in the machine system. (Pp. 414, 415.)

Barracks-like discipline of the factory, factory code. (P. 416.)

Material conditions of the factory. (Pp. 417-18.)

### c' or d. The Workers' Struggle Against the Factory System and Machinery

This struggle, existing since the origin of the capitalist relationship, first occurs here as a revolt against the machine as the material basis of the capitalist mode of production. Ribbon looms. (P. 419.) Luddites.[189] (P. 420.) Only later do the workers distinguish between the material means of production and the social form of their exploitation.

In manufacture the improved division of labour was rather a means of *virtually* replacing the labourers. (P. 421.) (Digression on agriculture, displacement p. 422.) But in machinery the worker is *actually displaced*; the machine competes with him directly. HAND-LOOM WEAVERS. (P. 423.) Likewise India. (P. 424.) This effect is permanent, since machinery continually seizes upon new fields of production. The self-dependent and estranged form that capitalist production gives the instrument of labour as against the labourer is developed by *machinery* into a thorough *antagonism*—hence now the labourer's revolt first against the instrument of labour. (P. 424.)

Details of the displacement of workers by machines. (Pp. 425, 426.) The machine as a means of breaking the workers' resistance to capital by displacing them. (Pp. 427, 428.)

Liberal political economy maintains that the machine, displacing workers, at the same time releases capital that can employ these workers. On the contrary, however, every introduction of machines *ties up* capital, diminishes its *variable* and increases its constant components; it can, therefore, merely *restrict* capital's

capacity for employment. In fact—and this is what these apologists[190] also mean—in this manner not capital is set free; but *the means of subsistence* of the displaced workers are set free; *the workers are set free from the means of subsistence,* which the apologist expresses by saying that *the machine sets free means of subsistence for the worker.* (Pp. 429-30.)

This further developed (*very good for "Fortnightly"*[191]) (pp. 431-32): the antagonisms inseparable from the capitalist employment of machinery *do not exist for the apologists, because they do not arise out of machinery as such, but out of its capitalist employment.* (P. 432.)

Expansion of production by machines directly and indirectly, and thus *possible* increase in number of workers hitherto employed: miners, slaves IN COTTON STATES, etc. On the other hand, displacement of Scotch and Irish by sheep to suit the requirements of the woollen factories. (Pp. 433, 434.)

Machine production carries the *social* division of labour much further than manufacture did. (P. 435.)

### c″ or e. Machinery and Surplus-Value

The first result of machinery: *increasing surplus-value* together with the mass of products in which it is embodied and on which the capitalist class and its hangers-on live, thus increasing the number of capitalists; new luxury wants together with the means of satisfying them. *Luxury production* grows. Likewise *means of communication* (which, however, absorb only little labour-power in the more developed countries) (evidence p. 436)—finally, the *servant class* grows, the *modern domestic slaves,* whose material is supplied by the *releasing* [of workers]. (P. 437.) **Statistics.**

Economic contradictions. (P. 437.)

Possibility of *absolute increase* in the mass of labour in one branch of business owing to machines, and the modalities of this process. (Pp. 439-40.)

Enormous elasticity, capacity for sudden extension by leaps of large-scale industry at a high degree of development. (P. 441.) Reaction upon the countries producing raw materials. Emigration owing to release of workers. International division of labour of the industrial and agricultural countries—periodicity of crises and prosperity. (P. 442.) Workers thrown back and forth in this process of expansion. (P. 444.)

Historical data on this. (Pp. 445-49.)

Displacement of co-operation and manufacture by machinery (and the intermediate stages, pp. 450-51). Also change in branches of industry not run on factory lines but in the spirit of large-scale industry—domestic industry, an outside department of the factory. (P. 452.) In domestic industry and modern manufacture, exploitation still more shameless than in the factory proper. (P. 453.) Examples: London print-shops (p. 453), book-binding, rag-sorting (p. 454), brick-making (p. 455). Modern manufacture in general. (P. 456.) *Domestic industry*: *lace making* (pp. 457-59), *straw plaiting* (p. 460). Conversion into factory production with achievement of ultimate limit of exploitability: WEARING APPAREL by the *sewing-machine* (pp. 462-66). Speeding-up of this conversion by extension of the compulsory Factory Acts, which put an end to the old routine based upon unlimited exploitation. (P. 466.) *Examples*: *pottery* (p. 467), lucifer matches (p. 468). Furthermore, effect of the Factory Acts upon irregular work, owing to the workers' irregular habits, as well as to seasons and fashions. (P. 470.) Overwork alongside idleness, owing to the seasons, in domestic industry and manufacture. (P. 471.)

Sanitary clauses of the Factory Acts. (P. 473.) Educational clauses. (P. 476.)

Discharge of workers merely because of *age,* as soon as they are grown up and are no longer fitted for the work, and can no longer live on a child's wages, while at the same time they have learned no new trade. (P. 477.)

Dissolution of the MYSTERIES and of the traditional ossification of manufacture and handicraft, by large-scale industry, which converts the production process into a conscious application of natural forces. Hence it alone is *revolutionary,* as against all earlier forms. (P. 479.) But as a capitalist form it lets the ossified division of labour *persist for the worker,* and since it daily revolutionises the former's basis, it ruins the worker. On the other hand, in this very thing, in this necessary change of activities of one and the same worker lies the requirement of his being as versatile as possible and the possibilities of the social revolution. (Pp. 480-81.)

Need for extending factory legislation to all branches not operated on factory lines. (P. 482 ff.) Act of 1867. (P. 485.) Mines (note, p. 486 ff.).

Concentrating effect of the Factory Acts; generalisation of factory production and thus of the classical form of capitalist production; accentuation of its inherent contradictions, maturing

of the elements for overturning the old society, and of the elements for forming the new. (Pp. 488-93.)

*Agriculture.* Here release of workers by machines is even more acute. Replacement of the peasant by the wage-labourer. Destruction of rural domestic manufacture. Accentuation of the antithesis between town and country. Dispersion and weakening of the rural labourers, whereas the urban workers become concentrated; hence wages of agricultural workers are reduced down to a minimum. At the same time robbing of *the soil*: the acme of the capitalist mode of production is the undermining of the *sources of all wealth*: the soil and the labourer. (Pp. 493-96.)[a]

[a] Here follows the title of the next chapter: Chapter V.—Further Investigations of the Production of Surplus-Value, and the manuscript breaks off.—*Ed.*

# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

# Karl Marx

## [DRAFT FOR A SPEECH ON FRANCE'S ATTITUDE TO POLAND (POLEMICS AGAINST PETER FOX)[192]]

Mr. Fox has rolled up a rather phantastic picture of the foreign policy of the French Ancient Regime. According to his view, France allied herself with Sweden, Poland, and Turkey in order to protect Europe from Russia. The truth is that France contracted those alliances in the 16th and 17th centuries, at a time when Poland was still a powerful state and when Russia, in the modern sense of the word, did not yet exist. There existed then a Grand Duchy of Muscovy, but there existed not yet a Russian Empire. It was therefore not *against Russia* that France concluded those alliances with the Turks, the Magyars, the Poles, and the Swedes. She concluded them against *Austria* and against the *German Empire,* as a means of extending the power, the influence, and the territorial possessions of France over Germany, Italy, Spain. I shall not enter upon details. It will suffice for my purpose to say, that France used those alliances in the midst of the 17th century to bring about the *treaty of Westphalia,*[193] by which Germany was not only dismembered, one part of it being given to France and the other to Sweden, but every little German prince and baron obtained the treaty right to sell his country and France obtained a *protectorate* over Germany. After the treaty of Westphalia, in the second part of the 17th century, Louis XIV, the true representative of the old Bourbon policy at the time of its strength, bought the king of England, Charles II, in order to ruin the Dutch republic.[194] His *system of vandalism and perfidy* then carried out against Holland, Belgium, Spain, Germany and Piedmont—during about 40 years, cannot be better characterised than by the one fact, that *in a memorandum,* drawn up in 1837 by the Russian chancellery for the information of *the present Czar,*[195] the system of

war and diplomacy of Louis XIV from the middle to the end of the 17th century *is recommended as the model system* to be followed by Russia.

Modern Russia dates only from the 18th century, and it is therefore from that time alone that resistance to Russia could have entered into the policy of France or any other European state.

I proceed at once to *the time of Louis XV* which Mr. Fox has justly pointed out as the epoch when the French foreign policy was most favourable to Poland and most hostile to Russia.

Now there happened three great events under the regime of Louis XV—in regard to Russia and Poland, 1) the so-called *Polish succession war,* 2) *the Seven Years' War,* and 3) *the first partition of Poland.* I shall consider the attitude taken by the French government in regard to these events.

### 1. *The So-called Polish Succession War*

After the death of *Augustus II* (king of Poland and elector of Saxony), in *September 1733,* one party of the Polish aristocracy wanted to elect his son[a] as king. He was supported by Russia and Austria, because he had promised to the Czarina[b] not to reclaim Courland,[196] formerly a fief of Poland, and because he had promised to the Emperor[c] the guarantee of the pragmatic sanction.[197] The other party, instigated by France, elected *Stanislaus Leszczinski,* who had formerly been made Polish king by Charles XII of Sweden and who was at that time the father-in-law of Louis XV. There broke consequently a war out between France on the one hand, Russia and Austria on the other. This is *the only war which France has ever professedly carried on behalf of Poland.* France made war in Germany and Italy, but as far as her Polish protégé was concerned, limited herself to sending 1,500 men to Dantzick, then a Polish town.[198] The war having lasted two years, what was its upshot? A *treaty of peace* (*Peace of Vienna, October 1735*),[199] by which the *duchy of Lorraine,* a German fief, was *incorporated into France,* and the Bourbon dynasty planted in *Naples* and *Sicily,* the same dynasty of which king Bomba[d] was the last lively representative. In all other respects this *"war about the throne of Poland"* ended in acknowledging the *Russian candidate,* Augustus III, as king of Poland, but securing to Louis XV's

[a] Frederick Augustus II (later King Augustus III of Poland).—*Ed.*

[b] Anna Ivanovna.—*Ed.*

[c] Charles VI.—*Ed.*

[d] Ferdinand II (nicknamed "Bomba" for the bombardment of Messina in September 1848).—*Ed.*

father-in-law the prerogative of being called king and a very large yearly pension to be paid by Poland. This war instigated and carried on by France under false pretences, ended in the humiliation of Poland, the extension of the Russian power, and great disadvantages to Turkey and Sweden, which France had also driven into a false position and then left in the lurch. But I shall not enter upon these details.

The conduct of the French government cannot be excused on the plea that the British government prevented it during this so-called *Polish succession war* of acting in the right direction. On the contrary. When the Emperor Charles VI appealed to England, the latter clung to the Anglo-French alliance which had continued since 1716 and was barren of any good results whatever. At all events: this time the French government's good designs for Poland were not baffled by England.

Before leaving the subject, I must mention that the *peace between Turkey and Russia,* brought about by French mediation (*Villeneuve,* French ambassador) in 1739, was a great blow to Poland.[200] I quote *Rulhière*; he says:

> "it *annulled* the *treaty of the Pruth, the only shield that remained to the Poles*" ("cet unique bouclier qui restait à la Pologne"), et le nouveau traité, signé à Belgrad, in 1739, déclara dans son dernier article "que toutes les conventions antérieures n'auraient *plus aucune force*".[a]

## 2. *The Seven Years' War (1756-1763)*

I come now to the 7 Years' War.[201]

Mr. Fox has told you that that war was very unhappy for France, because it deprived her, to the benefit of England, of most of her colonies. But this is not the question before us. What we have to inquire into is, what part France played during that war in regard to Poland and Russia.

You must know that from *1740 to 1748,* during the so-called Austrian succession war,[202] France had allied herself with *Frederick II of Prussia* against *Russia, Austria and England.* During the *Seven Years' War* she allied herself with *Austria and Russia* against *Prussia and England,* so that, at all events, during this war England was the official enemy, and France the avowed ally of Russia.

It was first in *1756* under the Abbé Bernis, and then again *1758* under the duke of Choiseul, that France concluded her treaty with Austria (and Russia), against Prussia.

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[a] and the last article of the new treaty signed in Belgrade in 1739 declared "that all previous conventions will have *power no more*". Cl. Rulhière, *Histoire de l'Anarchie de Pologne,* t. I, Paris, 1819.—*Ed.*

Let us hear *Rulhière.* (*Histoire de l'Anarchie de Pologne* etc. Paris, 1819. 2nd edit.)

"When *Count Broglie* arrived in *1752 as ambassador at Varsovie, France had no party in Poland.* People thought of the promises which France had already so often failed to fulfil (auxquelles la France avait déjà si souvent manqué). They had not forgotten that three times since a century, France had rallied around her powerful Polish factions... but that after having formed them with passion (ardeur), she had always abandoned them with levity (elle les avait chaque fois abandonnées avec légèreté). She had left in distress the majority of those who had trusted to the seductions of her pretended projects for the welfare of the republic" (*t. I, 213*). ("Elle avait laissé dans l'infortune la plupart de ceux qui s'étaient livrés à la séduction de ces prétendus projets pour le salut de la république.")

"The Duke of Broglie, after three years' activity, had formed a counterparty against the Czartoryski,[a] won over the Polish court, put into motion the Swedes, the Tartars, the Turks, opened a connection with the Cossacks of the Ukraine" etc. "*Frederick II* contributed to call into life this formidable coalition against the Russians, from which he expected himself his own security. The Russian minister[b] had lost all influence at Warsaw. In one word, in the first months of 1756, at the moment when the hostilities between England and France, first opened in America, were on the point of embracing the whole of Europe, Count Broglie had it in his power to form in Poland a confederation which, supported by the subsidies of France, provided by her with arms and munitions, and protected by so many border nations would have altogether withdrawn Poland from the yoke of Russia and restored to that republic laws, government, and power. But France suspended all the help (secours) she had promised, and upset all the measures of her ambassador." (*Rulhière,* t. I, p. 225.)

The levity with which France abused her influence may be seen—en passant—from the way in which she treated *Sweden.* First she goaded her into a war with Prussia against Russia (in the Austrian succession war), and then into a war with Russia against Prussia, Sweden being both times the victim of those French intrigues, and Russia gaining both times in that quarter.

Well. What were the consequences of the Seven Years' War which France carried on as the *ally of Russia* (and Austria) against *Prussia* (and England)?

That the material resources of Poland were exhausted, that Russia founded her supremacy in Germany, that Prussia was made her slave, that Catherine II became the most powerful sovereign in Europe, and that the *first partition of Poland* took place. Such were the *immediate consequences* of the *French policy during the Seven Years' War.*

1) During the Seven Years' War the *Russian* armies treated Poland as their property, took there their winter-quarters etc. I shall quote *Favier*:

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[a] Fryderyk Michał Czartoryski.—*Ed.*

[b] Heinrich Gross.—*Ed.*

"The peril was that Russia, improving the pretext of the war against the king of Prussia, enforced, on the territory of Poland, the passage of her troops, appropriated herself the means of subsistence, and even took her winter-quarters in Poland. By allowing her to employ anew those arbitrary means, that vast country was surrendered to the greediness of the Russian generals, the despotism of their court, and all the projects of future usurpations which Russia would be tempted to form, from the facility of exercising all sorts of vexations against a nation divided, insulated, and abandoned." (*Politique de tous les cabinets de l'Europe* etc. *2nd edit. par L. P. Ségur, Ex-ambassadeur.* Paris, 1801, t. I, p. 300.)

France discredited herself by giving the Russians such free scope.

"That weakness on her part seemed the less pardonable (excusable) because ... she was then in a position to make the law to Russia and Austria, and not at all to receive it from them."

Count Broglie had made in vain proposals to that effect... France allowed Russia to treat Poland like her own property... *The Polish nation, from that moment, considered France as a mere instrument in the hands of the courts of Vienna and Petersburg.*

"*This was the origin of our discredit, of our nullity* at the time of the election of Count Poniatowski, and of the bad success of everything we attempted or favoured since that epoch". (303, 304, l. c. *Ségur.*) ("la nation polonaise ne vit plus dès lors la France que comme un instrument des cours de Vienne et de Pétersbourg. [...] Voilà l'origine de notre discrédit, de notre nullité etc.")

France was bound, by the *treaty of Oliva* (1660)[203] to protect the Polish Republic.

2) During the 7 Years' War the Russians used *Poland,* although she was ostensibly neutral,[204] as their basis of operations against *Prussia.* This the Poles *allowed under the diplomatic pressure of France.* It was thus that the Russians were enabled during 7 years to devastate Prussia proper, Silesia, Pomerania, Brandenburg, and even sack Berlin. They in fact ravaged the Prussian monarchy like wild beasts, while the French acted in the same style in Hanover, Westphalia, Saxony, Thuringia etc. Now, Poland was by the *treaty of Wehlau* (1660 or so)[205] obliged to defend Prussia, against Russia. Frederick II insisted upon the fulfilment of this treaty. That he was right in asking the Poles to observe at least a complete neutrality, and not allowing the Russians to use their country etc., is proved by the fact that on all the *diets* kept in Poland since the opening of the Seven Years' War, it was impossible to come to any resolution, because the *patriotic party* declared, the Poles could not deliberate as long as Russian armies occupied the Polish soil and acted against Prussia. In the last year of the war (1762) the nobility of Posen (Great Poland) had even formed a confederation against the Russians.

If f. i. Belgium allowed Prussia to use it during 7 years, despite its neutrality, as a basis of warlike operations against France, would France not be entitled to treat Belgium as an enemy, and, if she could, to incorporate Belgium, or destroy its independence?

3) The immediate upshot of the 7 Years' War was a treaty between Prussia and Russia, by which the king of Prussia professed himself the *vassal of Russia, Poniatowski king of Poland* but was allowed, in compensation, to share in the *partition of Poland.* That the latter was already convened upon in the treaty of *1764* between Russia and Frederick II[206] is shown by the fact that in the same year Frederick II's and Catherine II's ambassadors at Warsaw[a] solemnly *protested* against that *"calumny",* and that a few years later the English resident at Berlin[b] wrote to his court that Austria, although at first protesting, would be compelled by her proper interests to share in the partition of Poland.

Mr. *Favier* says:

"Our exclusive alliance with the court of Vienna deprived Frederick II of all hope, and reduced him to the necessity of joining that very court which had let loose France upon him, in order to destroy him."[c]

The same *Favier* avers that the secret of all the future successes of *Catherine II* and of the first partition of Poland is to be found in the infeodation to her of Prussia. (*Frederick II.*)

Such was the result of the French policy during the 7 Years' War. It cannot be said that England this time prevented her good designs for Poland, because France was then the ally of Russia, while England stood on the other side.

### [3.] *First Partition of Poland*

Now I must say that even if France had acted more energetically during the Polish war which ended in the first partition of Poland than she really did, it would not have made up for the immense services she had rendered to Russia during the Seven Years' War. The sending of some French officers and subsidies to Poland during the war of the *Confederation of Bar*[207] could in the best case only prolong a useless resistance. It is true that France incited (1768) Turkey to a war against Russia, but only to betray Turkey as usually, and prepare for her the "treaty of *Kudjuk Kainardji*" (1774),[208] from which the supremacy of Russia over Turkey must really be dated.

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[a] Gedeon Benoît and Heinrich Gross.—*Ed.*

[b] Andrew Mitchell.—*Ed.*

[c] L. P. Ségur, op. cit., t. I, p. 295.—*Ed.*

*1770. Russian Expedition into the Mediterranean.* The then almost dying republic of Venice showed much more courage than France. In that year *Choiseul* still French foreign minister. It was only at the end of 1770 (beginning of 1771) that he was replaced by the *Duke d'Aiguillon.*

"How," says Favier, "did it happen that, while France was at peace with England, no step was taken for a convention of neutrality for the Mediterranean? Or why did France alone not oppose this Russian enterprise in a quarter so important for her interests?"

The opinion of Favier is, that

"the *destruction of the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean by the French* [which] might have been easily effected, would probably have changed the whole course of events both in Turkey and Poland, and would, moreover, have taught Austria to respect the French Alliance" (*Ségur etc. Politique de tous les cabinets etc.,* v. II, p. 174).

But France who had goaded Turkey into the war against Russia did not move one finger against the Russian expedition of 1770, the only one which was of any import. (The *Turkish fleet* destroyed in the narrow bay of Tschesmé.[209]) *The same Choiseul* had English bluster (*Chatham* himself) not allowed to prevent him a year ago from buying Corsica from the Genoese. You must not forget that at that time *North* was minister, and could only keep himself in office by keeping the peace at any price. He was one of the most unpopular ministers. At that time revolutionary, antidynastic movement in England. It is true that *in 1773* (the Russians made then a new naval expedition which, however, remained without any influence upon the war with Turkey) the duke of Aiguillon allowed himself to be prevented by the English Ambassador at Paris, Lord *Stormont,* from attacking the Russian fleet *in the Baltic* (and Mediterranean). At that time the first partition of Poland was already consummated. The true object of the French demonstration was not Poland, but Sweden, and France so far succeeded, that *Gustave III* was not forced by Russia to rescind his *coup d'état* (1772).[210]

Moreover, what sort of fellow this d'Aiguillon was?

*Ségur says* in his notes to *Favier*:

"When the rumour got first afloat as to the partition which was to give Prussia an increase of territory which Austria was afraid of, the court of Vienna warned France, and gave her to understand that she would oppose herself, if the court of Versailles would support her. Louis XV, at that time only occupied by his pleasures, and M. d'Aiguillon by his intrigues, the Austrian cabinet received no re-assuring answer and liked better to concur to the partition of Poland than to maintain alone a war against the Prussians and Russians combined." ([t. I], 147, Note.) "Count *Mercy*—Austrian ambassador—has publicly given out" (répandu dans le public) "that the king of Prussia had communicated to the Austrian

minister[a] the answers of the Duke of Aiguillon, by which that minister assured His Prussian Majesty that France was indifferent to all that could be done in Poland and that she would not consider a *casus foederis*" (case of war) "anything that might be agreed upon, in regard to that subject, by the courts of Berlin and Vienna" (243, Note).

Now, although I do not put any confidence whatever in the assurances of the Austrian court, which was then acting with the utmost perfidy, the very fact, that a *French ambassador* of Louis XVI (Ségur), published this at Paris, shows the estimation Louis XV and his d'Aiguillon enjoyed—and were worth enjoying.

## [4.] *French Republic*

*From September 21, 1792 to November 11, 1799* (the day after 19 Brumaire, when the Executive Directory[211] was overthrown)[b]

The second partition treaty *between* Russia and Prussia *on 4 January 1793.*[c]

The first crusade against France *1792* had taken such an unfortunate turn, that already in the beginning of winter the Austrian Netherlands (*Belgium*) were occupied by the French. Prussia withdrew her troops from the field of action; the condition insisted upon by her *on the Congress of Verdun*[212] for continuing her participation in the Anti-Jacobin war was that she should be allowed to make with Russia *a second partition of Poland.* Austria was to be compensated by indemnities in the Alsace.

At the end *of 1793 (September)* Prussia again withdrew her troops to march them, under the king,[d] to the Polish frontier (to "secure" his Polish possession), because some differences had broken out, in regard to some definitive stipulations, between Prussia and Russia, the latter seeming to turn against Prussia her influence over the expiring diet of the traitors of Targowicze.[213] The result of this second withdrawal of Prussia, to take real possession of her Polish provinces, forces the Austrians to *withdraw from the Alsace.*

*In the spring of 1794* Kościuszko's revolutionary rising. Prussia marched at once her troops against Poland. Beaten. In *September 1794,* while forced to retreat from Warsaw, at the same time rising

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[a] Gottfried van Swieten.—*Ed.*

[b] The text in brackets is in French in the original.—*Ed.*

[c] More accurately: January 23, 1793.—*Ed.*

[d] Frederick William II.—*Ed.*

in Posen. Then the king of Prussia declared his intention to withdraw from the contest carried on against France. Austria also, in the autumn 1794, detached a body of troops for Poland, by which circumstance the success of the French arms on the Rhine and so forth was secured. Already towards the end of 1794 Prussia commenced negotiations with France.[214] Withdrew. Consequence: *Holland* succumbed to the French (conquest of Holland through Pichegru).

Those diversions facilitated by turns the conquest of Belgium, the success on the Alps, the Pyrenees, the left bank of the Rhine, and, 1795, the conquest of Holland by Pichegru. In the very months October, *November* (1794) everywhere French successes when Kościuszko succumbed, Praga was taken by Suvorov etc., immense murdering etc.

*Third Partition of Poland signed: 24 October 1795.*

By the outbreak of the French Revolution Catherine got the opportunity quietly first to carry on her war with Turkey,[215] while all Europe was turned to the West.

As the Pope has issued bulls for crusades against the infidels, so Catherine II against the Jacobins. Even while *Leopold II* chased the *French Emigrés* from his states and forbade them to assemble on the French frontiers, Catherine, through her agent Rumjanzev, provided them with money and quartered them in the frontier provinces, bordering upon France, and ruled by ecclesiastic princes.

After the conclusion of her war with Turkey, Catherine II did not commence her hostilities against Poland before she had been informed that the National Assembly had *declared war to Austria.* This news arrived at Vienna on *30 April 1792,* and on the *18 May* the Russian ambassador Boulgakov *presented a declaration of war to the Polish king Stanislaus.*[a] The first in impressing upon England, Austria and Prussia the dangers of the revolutionary principles, Catherine steadily pursued her own separate interests (in Turkey and Poland) without furnishing a single Cossack or subscribing a single rouble for the "common cause".

*Poland was blotted out under cover of the French Revolution and the Anti-Jacobin war.*

Rev. *L. K. Pitt* (a nephew or cousin of the English minister), chaplain to the British factory at St. Petersburg, writes in a *secret document*: *"Account of Russia during the Commencement of the Reign of the Emperor Paul"*:

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[a] Poniatowski.— *Ed.*

"She" (the Czarina) "was not perhaps displeased to see every European power exhausting itself in a struggle, which raised in proportion to its violence her own importance ... the state of the newly acquired provinces in Poland was likewise a point which had considerable influence over the political conduct of the Czarina. The fatal effects resulting from an apprehension of revolt on the late seat of conquest, seem to have been felt in a very great degree by the combined powers who, in the early period of the revolution, were so near re-instating the regular government in France. The same dread of revolt deterred likewise the late Empress of Russia from entering on the great theatre of war."

The question is now: How behaved revolutionary France towards this useful ally.

Let us first hear a French historian, *Lacretelle* (t. XII, p. 261 sqq.):

"The Republic", says he, "had shown itself very indifferent to the troubles and misfortunes of Poland. It was on the contrary a great motive of security for it to *see the Empress of Russia occupy all the forces of her powerful empire* for *the conquest and dismemberment of* that *unfortunate country.* Very soon the French Republic became aware that Poland freed it of its most ardent enemy, the king of Prussia etc."[a]

But republican France actually betrayed Poland.

"The Polish agent *Bars* at Paris presented to the government", says *Ogiński,* an eye-witness, "the plan of the revolution which was preparing in Poland, and which was received with a general enthusiasm and approbation. He enumerated the assistance of every kind which would be necessary for that important and daring enterprise. The *Comité du Salut Public*[216] found his demand very just and promised to do every thing possible; but to promises all the negotiation was limited." (*Michel Ogiński: Mémoires sur la Pologne etc., from 1788 to the end of 1815. Paris, 1826,* t. I, p. 358.)

"The comité of public welfare had promised to general Kościuszko a sum of 3 millions of livres and some officers of artillery; but we did receive neither one single sou nor one single officer",

we are told by an aide-de-camp of *Kościuszko, J. Niemcewicz: Notes sur ma captivité à St. Pétersbourg, en 1794-1796. Paris, 1843.* (V. p. 90.)[b]

*On 5 April 1795* the directory (which had then replaced the comité du salut public) concluded with Prussia the *Peace of Basel.* By this peace *Holland and the left bank of the Rhine were surrendered to France.* The *northern part of Germany,* designed by a line of demarcation, was *neutralised,* Prussia to be indemnified by the secularisation of several German bishoprics. That treaty of Basel

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[a] Marx quotes Lacretelle's *Histoire de France, pendant le XVIII-ème siècle* from L. L. Sawaszkiewicz's *Tableau de l'influence de la Pologne sur les destinées de la Révolution française et de l'Empire,* 3rd ed., Paris, 1848, p. 37, note.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes both Ogiński and Niemcewicz according to Sawaszkiewicz, op. cit., pp. 33-34.— *Ed.*

"by *guaranteeing the respective possessions* of the two contracting powers, and including no clause whatever in regard to the newly invaded provinces of Poland, granted their possession to the king of Prussia".[a]

*Ogiński* tells us that when the Poles were informed of the peace-negotiations, their agent *Bars* addressed the members of the directory peculiarly friendly to Poland, and asked for a clause obliging the king of Prussia to renounce etc.

"He was answered that the condition was not acceptable since it would retard the negotiations with Prussia, that France wanted to restore her forces, that the peace with Prussia would not last long, that the Poles should keep themselves ready for new efforts which would be asked from them in the cause of liberty and their country etc."

The same *Ogiński,* t. II, p. 133 and 223, tells us:

"The treaty concluded between the French Republic and the king of Prussia had made a very bad impression upon the Divan, which pretended that if France had been unable to obtain anything for Poland in her negotiations with the court of Berlin, it was impossible that the Turcs alone could act in favour of Poland."

After the *third division* Russia was forced to keep quiet for a few years. The Poles now participated in all the campaigns of the *French Republic,* principally in Italy. (See: *Chodźko: Histoire des Légions Polonaises en Italie, dè 1795 à 1802. Paris, 1829.*)

*Before the conclusion of the Peace of Campo-Formio (17 October 1797),*[217] after a plan mutually agreed upon, and with the consent of Bonaparte, General *Dombrowski* was to march through Croatia and Hungary, into Galicia, and thus make a diversion in favour of Bonaparte, who would have marched upon Vienna. *Charles de la Croix,* minister of foreign affairs (see *Ogiński,* t. II, p. 272-278) proposed to Ogiński *"to insurge Galicia".* Ogiński was afraid lest the Poles should be treated as mere tools thrown away after having been used. He therefore demanded a positive assurance that those sacrifices would earn for them French assistance for the recovery of their country. Lacroix played then the irritated bully. The French government did not want them; if they had no confidence, they might try their fortune somewhere else etc. He gave Ogiński three days' time for considering, after which they were to accept or [to] refuse, but without putting *any conditions* whatever. The poor Poles declared ready for whatever the French government wanted. But that government wanted only their formal acceptance in order to intimidate Austria by it and so to hasten the conclusion of peace. *Armistice at Leoben, 18 April 1797.*

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[a] Here and below Marx quotes Ogiński's *Mémoires sur la Pologne* in the free rendering given in Sawaszkiewicz's book (op. cit., p. 40).—*Ed.*

*Treaty of Campo-Formio* in which the Poles were again sacrificed in the same way as they had been in the *treaty of Basel.*

In *1799* at last *Suvorov,* the effect of the disappearance of Poland made itself felt to the French republic. *Russian armies* appeared in Holland and in *Italy.* Suvorov penetrates to the very frontiers of France.

When on *27 July*[a] *1799* the French surrendered Mantua to the *Russian* general Vielhorski,[218] there was a *secret article* in the capitulation by which the Austrians got back their deserters, viz. the Austrian *Poles* who had entered the legions. After the surrender of Mantua, the 2nd legion fell into the hands of the enemy; the first legion, under Dombrowski, joined the Great Army,[219] and was almost entirely annihilated in the great battles against the Russo-Austrian armies.

### [5.] *Consulate*

*9 November 1799* (18 Brumaire) *Consulate.* Bonaparte authorizes the formation of new Polish legions, one at Marseilles under Dombrowski, one on the Danube under general Kniaziewicz. These legions assist at Marengo and Hohenlinden.[220] See order of the day of general Moreau, where he renders justice

> "to the stern constancy of general Kniaziewicz and his Polish soldiers".[b]

*Treaty of Lunéville* with *Austria, 9 February*[c] *1801.*[221] No article relating to Poland.

*Treaty of Paris, October 1801,* with Paul I of Russia.[222] In this treaty Paul I and Bonaparte promised each other

> "not to allow that any of their subjects should be allowed to entertain any correspondence, whether direct or indirect, with the internal enemies of the actual governments of the two states, there to propagate principles contrary to their respective constitutions, or to foment troubles".[d]

This article related to the Poles on the [one] hand, to the Bourbons and their partisans on the other.

In 1801 there appeared in the *Moniteur* a series of articles written by Bonaparte himself and justifying the ambition of France, because her conquests were hardly an equivalent for the acquisitions which Russia, Austria and Prussia had made by the partition of Poland. (*Thiers, Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire, t. III, p. 153.*)

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[a] Inaccuracy in the manuscript: April 28.—*Ed.*
[b] Quoted from Sawaszkiewicz, op. cit., p. 57, note.—*Ed.*
[c] Inaccuracy in the manuscript: January 26.—*Ed.*
[d] Quoted from Sawaszkiewicz, op. cit., p. 58.—*Ed.*

During the peace the Polish legions were treated as an encumbrance. Part of them were, like Mamelucks, given by Bonaparte as a present to the queen of Etruria.[a]

*Treaty of Amiens. 27 March 1802.*[223] The first consul made embark, by force, for *St. Domingo* part of the Polish legions and made present of the other part to the new *king of Naples.*[b] Threatened by the fire of artillery, they were embarked at Genoa and Livorno to find their graves in St. Domingo.[224]

## [6.] *Empire*

*May 1804* (crowned *2 December 1804*) *until 1815.*

*1806-1807.* During his war with Prussia, supported by Russia, Napoleon sent the remainders of the Polish legions under Dombrowski into Prussian Poland, where they conquered Dantzick for him, and insurged the country.

*18 December 1806.* Napoleon himself in Warsaw, then Prussian. Great enthusiasm of the Poles. In his autobiography *Thomas Ostrowski* (Paris 1836), *president of the Senate,* narrates that Napoleon, at the first audience he gave to the members of the administration, received them with the words:

> "Gentlemen, I want to-day 200,000 bottles of wine, and as many portions of rice, meat and vegetables. No excuses; if not, I leave you to the Russian knout... I want proofs of your devotion; *I stand in need of your blood*" ("j'ai besoin de votre sang").[c]

He enrolled a Polish army. The campaign lasted until *6 May 1807.*

*25 and 26 June 1807.* Fraternisation between Napoleon and Alexander on the Niemen.

*Treaty of Tilsit, signed 7 July 1807* (*9 July* with Prussia).[225]

*Art. V* of that treaty proclaimed the foundation of *the duchy of Warsaw* which Napoleon cedes

> "*in all property* and *sovereignty* to the king of Saxony,[d] to be ruled by constitutions, which, while securing the liberties and privileges of the duchy, were compatible with the *tranquillity of the neighbouring states*".

This duchy was cut out of *Prussian Poland.*

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[a] Marie-Louise-Joséphine, wife of Duke Louis Bourbon of Parma.—*Ed.*

[b] Joseph Bonaparte.—*Ed.*

[c] Tomasz Ostrowski's account of Napoleon's speech was rendered by Antoni Ostrowski in *Żywot Tomasza Ostrowskiego,* Paris, 1836. Marx quotes from Sawaszkiewicz, op. cit., p. 66.—*Ed.*

[d] Frederick August I.—*Ed.*

*Art. IX* cedes to Russia a part of Poland, the circle of Byalistock, recently conquered from Prussia, and which

"*shall* be united in perpetuity to the Russian empire, in order to establish the natural limits between Russia and the duchy of Warsaw".[a]

*Dantzic,* on the pretext of being made a free town, was made a French maritime fortress.

*Many large estates* in the new duchy were made a present of by Napoleon to the French generals.

*Lelewel* calls this justly the *Fourth Division of Poland.*[b]

Having beaten the Prussians and the Russians by the assistance of the Poles, Napoleon disposed of Poland, as if she was a conquered country and his private property, and he disposed of her to the advantage of Russia.

The duchy of Warsaw was small, without position in Europe. A large civil list; *civil* government by Saxony, *military* by Napoleon. *Davout* ruled like a Pasha at Warsaw. He made in fact of the duchy a recruiting place for France, a military depôt.

(*Sawaszkiewicz, Tableau de l'influence de la Pologne sur les destinées de la Révolution française. Paris, 1848, 3ème édit.*)

The duchy of Warsaw was for Napoleon not only an advanced post against Russia. Napoleon had possessed himself of those very points which would serve him as a basis of offensive operations against Prussia and Austria. *Nicholas* acted in his spirit when he fortified those points by a chain of fortresses.

(By inserting at the head of the *treaty of Tilsit* the declaration that *only out of courtesy for Alexander* he restored to the king of Prussia[c] *half of his old territories,* Napoleon proclaimed that king, and Prussia, a mere appendage to Russia.)

By the *secret articles* of the *treaty of Tilsit* the public ones were partly revoked. Thus f. i. only to deceive Austria, the public treaty contained articles for the *integrity of Turkey.* By the secret articles Napoleon sacrificed *Turkey and Sweden* to the Czar who surrendered to him *Portugal, Spain, Malta, and the North African coast*; promised his accession to the continental system, and the surrender of the Ionian islands to France.[226] The *partition of Turkey* was only prevented by the opposition of Austria. All the arrangements for a partition of Turkey were beginning after the conclusion of the Tilsit treaty. In *August 1808* Alexander handed

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[a] Articles of the Treaty of Tilsit are quoted from Sawaszkiewicz, op. cit., p. 68.— *Ed.*

[b] J. Lelevel, *Histoire de Pologne.*— *Ed.*

[c] Frederick William III.— *Ed.*

over to Napoleon the strong places of Dalmatia, also the protectorate over the Ionian islands; while the *Danubian principalities* were occupied by his troops, Napoleon ordered *Marmont,* the French commander in Dalmatia, to prepare the march upon Albania and Macedonia. The negotiations about the *partition of Turkey* were continued at Petersburg, whither Napoleon had sent *Savary,* the head of his gendarmes and mouchards. The *Report* on his *negotiations with Rumjanzev,* the Russian foreign minister, has been recently published. Even *Thibaudeau,* one of Napoleon's senators and admirers, says about the negotiations of Savary with Alexander I and Rumjanzev:

"Putting aside every diplomatical form, they transacted their business in the impudent and reckless way of robber-chiefs dividing their booty".[a]

According to the negotiations between Napoleon and Alexander at Tilsit, *Sweden* and Denmark were to be forced to join the continental system. Napoleon ceded to Alexander *Finland* (which the Russians occupied in 1808, and have ever kept since), and besides Denmark was interested in the robbery of Sweden by making Norway over to her. Thus Napoleon succeeded in completely breaking *down this old antagonist* of Russia.

*27 September 1808. Napoleon and Alexander at the Erfurt Congress.*

Never before had any man done so much to exalt the Russian power as Napoleon did from *1807-1812. From 1808 to 1811 the Poles were consumed by Napoleon in Spain.* For the first time in their history they were prostituted as the mercenaries of despotism. Of the army of *90,000,* formed in the duchy, so many were despatched to Spain, that the duchy was denuded of troops when the Austrian archduke Ferdinand invaded it in *1809.*

*1809, April.* While Napoleon marched upon Vienna, the archduke Ferdinand upon Warsaw. The Poles invade Galicia, force the archduke to withdraw from Warsaw (1 June); the Russians, Napoleon's allies, enter Galicia *to assist in fact the Austrians against the Poles.*

*14 October 1809*: The Polish provinces called by the Austrians *"New Galicia",* together with the district of Zamojsk, was reunited to the duchy of Warsaw. Napoleon left to Austria *old Galicia,* after having separated from it, in *order to make it over to Russia,* the district of *Tarnopol,* part of *old Podolia.*[227] What we have to think of this *Fifth Partition* (Lelewel) may be seen from a satirical letter of Czar Alexander I to *prince Kourakin,* published at the time in

[a] A. C. Thibaudeau, *Le Consulat et l'Empire, ou Histoire de la France et de Napoléon Bonaparte de 1799 à 1815,* t. 6 (Empire—t. 3), p. 222, Paris, 1835.—*Ed.*

*the gazettes of Petersburg and Moscow,*[a] d. d. *Petersburg 1/13 November 1809.* The Czar writes:

"The treaty is being ratified between France and Austria, and consequently our hostile movements against the latter cease simultaneously. According to the principles of that peace, Austria remains, as before, our neighbour by her possession of Galicia, and the Polish provinces, instead of being united into one single body, are divided for ever between the three crowns. Thus the dreams of a political revolution in Poland have vanished. The present order of things fixes the limits between Poland and Russia who has not only not suffered any loss in this affair, but on the contrary extends her dominion" (au sein de la Pologne) "in the very heart of Poland."[b]

The *Poles* now demanded the restoration of the name of *Poland* for the duchy. The Czar opposed. On *October 20, 1809, Champagny,* minister of foreign affairs, addressed a note, by order of Napoleon, to the Russian government, in which it was stated that he approved the *effacing* [*of*] *the name of Pole and Poland,* not only from *every public act, but even from history.* This was to prepare his proposal—after his divorce with Joséphine—for the hand of the Czar's sister.[c]

*4 January 1810:* Secret convention between Napoleon's ambassador *Caulaincourt* and count *Rumjanzev,* to this effect:

"*Art. 1.* The kingdom of Poland shall never be re-established. *Art. 2.* The *name of Poland and Pole* shall never be applied to any of the parties that previously constituted that kingdom, and they shall disappear from every public or official act." Besides "the Grand duchy shall never be aggrandised by the annexation of any of the old Polish provinces; the orders of Polish chivalry shall be abolished; and, finally, all these engagements shall be binding on the king of Saxony, Grand Duke of Warsaw, as on Napoleon himself." (*Thiers, Consulat et l'Empire,* XI, [357, 358].)

It was after the negotiations for that convention that Napoleon proposed for the hand of Alexander's sister.[228] Napoleon's irritation and wounded self-love at the hesitation of the Czar (who delayed declaring himself from middle of December to middle of January, under various pretexts), and the repugnance of the Czar's mother,[d] made Napoleon look elsewhere for a wife, and break off negotiations.

"The Emperor Napoleon," says *Crétineau-Joly: "Histoire de l'église Romaine en face de la Révolution",* "did not allow his policy to lose itself in a phraseology sentimentally revolutionary. With one stroke of the pen his minister effaced, even

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[a] *Sankt-Peterburgskiye vedomosti,* November 9, 1809 and *Moskovskiye vedomosti,* November 17, 1809.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted from Sawaszkiewicz, op. cit., pp. 82-83.—*Ed.*

[c] Anna Pavlovna.—*Ed.*

[d] Maria Fedorovna.—*Ed.*

from history, the *name of Poland,* and a treaty, which subsequent events rendered null, struck out that name as if it were a geographical superfetation."

After his *marriage with* the *daughter of the Austrian Emperor,*[a] Napoleon had a new opportunity for the *restoration of* Poland. I quote from a French author, whose history is an apotheosis of Napoleon. *Norvins* says:

"Napoleon was enabled, in 1810, to realise, at last, that noble project", viz. the restoration of Poland, "because Austria offered him both the Galicias, but he refused, in order not to have a war with Russia who prepared war against him the very day after the conclusion of the treaty of Tilsit."[b]

After what has preceded, it is almost superfluous to say that Napoleon made his *war of 1812* against Russia not out of any regard for Poland. He was forced into it by Russia who on *19/31 December 1810* allowed the import of colonial commodities in neutral ships, prohibited some French commodities, hardly taxed others, and made not the least concession despite all the diplomatic efforts of Napoleon at preventing the war. He must either resign his *continental system,* or make war against Russia.

*28 June 1812.* Day of entry of Napoleon at Vilna. On that day the existence of *confederate Poland* (that is Poland united to Lithuania) was proclaimed at the diet of Warsaw, and a *national war.* Napoleon told the deputies of Warsaw, that he did not want a *national war.* (*Charras* tells[c] us that by his hatred of such a war etc. 100 days.)[229]

Written in December 1864

Reproduced from the manuscript

First published in K. Marx, *Manuskripte über die polnische Frage,* S.-Gravenhage, 1961

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[a] Marie Louise, daughter of Francis I.— *Ed.*

[b] J. M. Norvins' *Histoire de Napoléon* is quoted from Sawaszkiewicz, op. cit., p. 84.— *Ed.*

[c] J. B. Charras, *Histoire de la campagne de 1815. Waterloo,* Londres, 1858.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [DRAFT FOR A REPORT TO THE CENTRAL COUNCIL]

JANUARY 24, 1865[230]

As to the accession of the General Federation of German Working Men's Societies, it will declare in one way or another the identity of its purposes with those of the International Association, but the adhesion cannot take place directly, through a formal resolution passed by the [representatives] of the General German Association, because such a step would be in contravention to the Prussian laws regulating associations.

From the same reason the Berlin Society of Printers and Composers, which takes the greatest interest in your proceedings, is disabled from adhering to the London society by way of a formal resolution.

However, even the latter society is sure to send a deputy to the Congress to be convoked by the London Committee.[231]

Moreover, you must not forget, that our journal,[a] the organ of the German Federation of Working Men's Societies, has been put at the entire disposal of the International Committee.

Written on January 24, 1865

Reproduced from the manuscript

First published, in Russian, in *Generalny Sovet Pervogo Internatsionala. 1864-1866*, Moscow, 1961

[a] *Der Social-Demokrat.—Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [NOTES CONCERNING THE CONFLICT IN THE PARIS SECTION[232]]

*21 Febr. (Tuesday).* Central Council resolves to send Le Lubez over there. Leaves.

*Wednesday. 22 Febr.* (Evening.) Lubez leaves.

*Paris. 23 Febr.* Invitation to a meeting with Lefort at Fribourg's, etc. (See *Letter of Fribourg.) Lefort's reply in Schily's letter* (p. 2).

*24 Febr.*[233] **Evening.** *Meeting Fribourg,* etc.

*25 Febr. Morning. Lefort and Lubez visit Schily.*

Leaving Lefort in the vicinity for the time being, Schily then goes to Fribourg's, where they found different friends, amongst others a friend of Leforts. All were decidedly against his intrusion. Schily then went away to fetch him, and did not conceal from him that he considered his claim such as formulated by him untenable (p. 2). Lefort was deceived on this occasion (l.c.).[234] Steps taken to meet Lefort halfway (2, 3).

*25 (!) Febr. Evening. Meeting.* Le Lubez absent; went to Lefort's soirée (3, 4).

Description of this meeting of 25 Febr. (pp. 4, 5, 6).

Written on about March 4, 1865

Printed according to the original

First published, in Russian, in *Generalny Sovèt Pervogo Internatsionala. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1961

# Karl Marx

## [ORIGINAL DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE CONFLICT IN THE PARIS SECTION[235]]

I propose the following resolutions to the Sub-Committee.[a]

1) The present Paris branch Administration, consisting of Citizens Tolain, Fribourg, and Limousin, is confirmed in its functions by the London Central Council, which also expresses them its thanks for their zeal and activity;

2) The adjunction of Citizen *Pierre Vinçard* to the Paris branch Administration is thought desirable[236];

3) While thanking Citizen Lefort for the part he took in the foundation of the International Society, and earnestly wishing for his collaboration, as *homme de conseil,* with the Paris branch Administration, the London Central Council at the same time consider themselves not entitled to impose Citizen Lefort in any official capacity upon the Paris branch Administration.

4) Citizen *Victor Schily* is appointed the Paris *delegate* of the London Central Council.

In this character he has to act only with the Paris branch *Administration.* He will exercise that *droit de surveillance* which the Paris branch themselves have thought proper to acknowledge as a necessary attribute of the Central Council under the present political conjuncture.[237]

Written on March 4, 1865

Reproduced from the manuscript

First published in Marx and Engels, *Works,* Second Russian Edition, Vol. 16, Moscow, 1960

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[a] This phrase is in German in the original.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [MEMORANDUM TO HERMANN JUNG ABOUT THE CONFLICT IN THE PARIS SECTION[238]]

*Sub-Committee Sitting. 4 March.* He[a] wanted already to move his resolution, according to which the Paris Administration was to be composed as follows: Fribourg, Vinçard, Limousin, 3 members to be designated by Lefort, *Schily* as a sort of *umpire.*

*Sub-Committee Sitting. 6 March.* He reproduces that motion.

*Sitting of the Central Council. 7 March.* He allowed the appointment of Schily to pass *without division,* that is, he *accepted* it, speaking in a parliamentary sense.

After this had taken place, he writes in hot-haste to Paris, even before he had the *Resolutions* in his hand. He expected, as he said (14 March), that the *Paris Administration* would *protest* against Schily. As by Resolution V (*Resolution V. The Administration* at *Paris having expressed its readiness to acknowledge a direct delegation* from the Central Council, the Council accordingly appoints Citizen Schily to be its delegate to the said Administration.[b]) Schily was only accredited to *that* Administration, his appointment could only be protested against by them.

Having failed with them, Lubez conspires with the brothers of his lodge, to declare Schily's appointment the cause of their withdrawal.[239]

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[a] Victor Le Lubez.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 83.—*Ed.*

He puts himself in this awkward position: He protests against the Paris Administration in the name of Lefort, and he protests against Schily in the name of the Paris Administration which *represents* the French branch, etc.

On the remark of Mr. Fox (last sitting of Central Council) that this forgetfulness of Schily's nationality on 4 and 6 March, and his *vivid* recollection of it on March 14 could only be accounted for by his wish to revenge himself because of the slight he thought Mr. Lefort was put to, he accepted *this plain* explanation.

His *mean insinuations*:

1-stly) As if the introductory words of Resolution V had been inserted as a catch-vote on false pretences. These words rest upon facts, Mr. *Schily's open letter,* brought over by Lubez, read on March 7 in presence of Tolain, etc.; secondly Mr. *Schily's report,* communicated to the Sub-Committee; lastly the *resolutions passed by the meeting of 24th February* at Paris.[240] The words were only inserted to avoid even the appearance of dictatorship on the part of the Central Council.

2-ndly) There had on March 7 time been killed by personal altercations in order to hurry the acceptance of the 3 last resolutions; carry them by surprise.

3-rdly) Mr. Schily was no *ouvrier.* Rejected as *principle* by Resolution II.[a] Schily had only to act *privately* with the Paris Administration; Lefort was to act upon the *public stage* before the world in the name of the Association. The cases *not analogous.*

*As to Lefort.*

He asks us to appoint him Defender General in the French press. We do so because we suppose him to act in understanding, and in concurrence with Tolain, etc. This nomination so obtained, he turns afterwards *against* us into a legal title. On Tolain's letter, and *before* Lubez was sent to Paris, we *cancel* this appointment, as far as Mr. Lefort's *name* and *public position* is concerned. (We reduce it to this: he is allowed to write articles *not* signed by *himself,* but by *an ouvrier*—a thing which he might have done without our consent.) That such is the case, results from an angry letter he then wrote to Lubez, but he yielded. The Paris meeting of February 24th committed only this blunder that it *protested*

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[a] The concluding part of Resolution II reads: the Council "protests that it does not sanction the principle that none but an *ouvrier* is admissible as an official in our Society".—*Ed.*

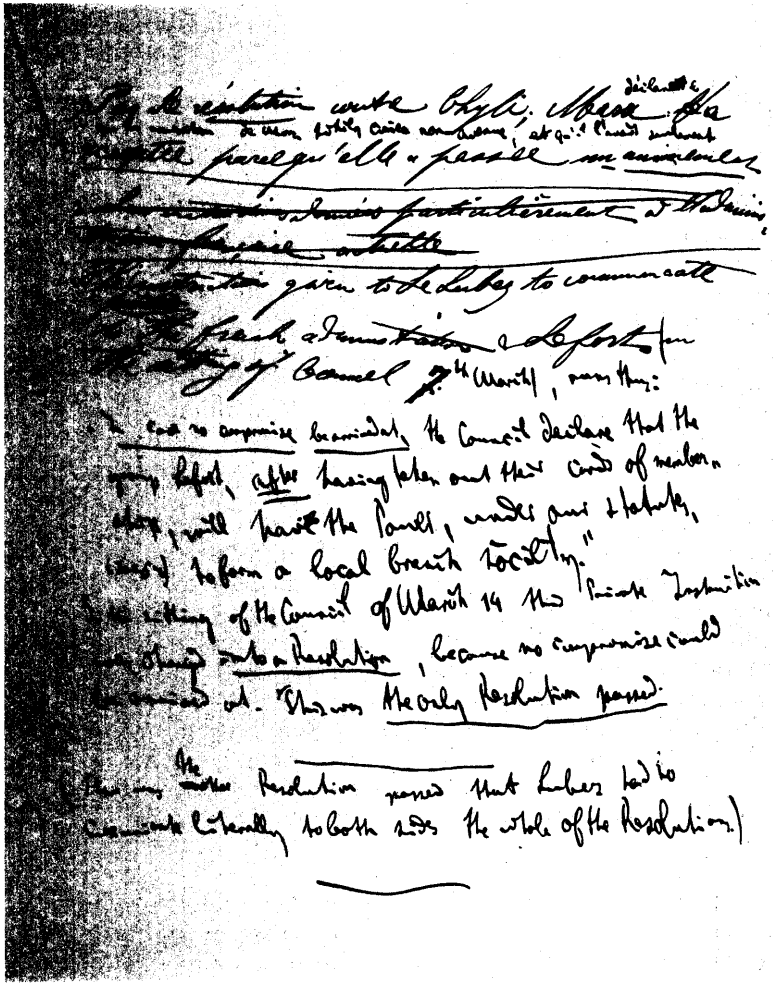

The last page of Marx's memorandum to Jung
about the conflict in the Paris Section

against a resolution that had ceased to exist. And *upon this* Mr. Lefort, or his friends at London, feign to forget that he had already given up the post he was named to. He even menaces us to *warn all democrats against us,* forgetting that *we* can warn *against* him, if necessary.

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He and his man Lubez say that he is not moved by personal ambition. He only wants a political guarantee. Well. We appoint *Vinçard,* a man who represents more guarantees than Lefort et Le Lubez put together. Having been appointed, *Mr. Vinçard* turns into a nonentity for Lefort and Lubez. The only thing they could say against his proposal by Tolain, etc., afterwards confirmed by us, is this: that it was not at the right time communicated to Lefort. Thus this miserable point of etiquette is their last pretence of opposition, etc.

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*International character of the Society endangered,* and power of the Council to appoint *ambassadors.*

*The class character of this movement. Républicains* formalistes.

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1) Pas de *résolution* contre Schily; Marx déclare la nomination de Mons. Schily comme non-avenue et qu'il l'avait seulement acceptée parce qu'elle a passé *unanimement.*[a]

2) The instructions given to Le Lubez to communicate to the French Administration and Lefort (in the sitting of Council,[b] 7th March), run thus: *"In case no compromise be arrived at,* the Council declare that the group Lefort, **after** having taken out their cards of membership, will have the power, under our Statutes (see §7), to form a local branch society."[c]

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[a] "No *resolution* against Schily; Marx declares that appointment of M. Schily is cancelled and that he accepted it only because it was passed *unanimously.*" The phrase is written in French in Jung's hand; the words "declares that appointment of M. Schily is cancelled and that" is written by Marx.— *Ed.*

[b] This part of the phrase is written in Jung's hand; the word "private" at its beginning is crossed out; the rest of the paragraph is in Marx's hand.— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 83.— *Ed.*

In the sitting of the Council of March 14 this private instruction was changed *into a resolution,* because no compromise could be arrived at. This was *the only resolution passed.*

(There was the other resolution passed that Lubez had to communicate literally to both sides the whole of the resolution.)

Written on March 16-18, 1865

Reproduced from the manuscript

First published, in Russian, in *Generalny Sovet Pervogo Internatsionala. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1961

# Karl Marx

## [NOTE TO HERMANN JUNG ABOUT ERNEST JONES' LETTER TO THE CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING MARCH 21, 1865[241]]

*Ernest Jones* writes to Marx (d.d. March 16, Manchester) that he will support the delegation sent to the Manchester Conference.[242] The middle class had sent to him and Hooson to sign the Circular convening the Manchester Conference. He had not accepted it at the date of the letter. He writes moreover[a]:

"We are going to hold district meetings in Manchester to organise the Manhood Suffrage movement in support of the London one."

Give *Mr. Cremer* (privately) the address of *E. Jones*: 55, Cross Street, Manchester.

Written on March 18, 1865

Reproduced from the manuscript

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[a] These words are in German in the original.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [NOTES FOR THE REPORT ON VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT[243]]

1) A general rise in the rate of wages will, broadly speaking, produce a general fall in the rate of profits, leaving the values of commodities unaltered.

2) Under very exceptional circumstances, only a general rise of wages could be realised. If obtained, it could only [be] lost under very exceptional circumstances. The general tendency of production, upon its present basis, is not to raise, but to lower wages. Even if a general rise in the rate of wages should obtain for any longer period, it would not abolish but only mitigate the slavery of the wages' labourer, that is, of the mass of the people.

3) Trades' Unions work well as far as they counteract, if even temporarily, the tendency to a fall in the general rate of wages, and as far as they tend to shorten and regulate the time of labour, in other words, the extent of the working day. They work well as far as they are a means of organising the working class as a class. They fail accidentally, by an injudicious use of their power, and they fail generally by accepting the present relations of capital and labour as permanent instead of working for their abolition.

Written in June 1865

Reproduced from the manuscript

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# Karl Marx

## [RECORD OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING[244]]

JANUARY 16, 1866

*Eccarius* in the chair.

Minutes read and confirmed.

Citizens Longuet et Crespelle were nominated members of the Council.

*Marx* communicated to the Council the receipt by Fox of a letter of thanks by Mrs. O'Donovan for his articles in the *Workman's Advocate*[a] on Fenianism,[245] and the reprint, in the same paper, of the appeal for the support of the convicted Fenians.[b]

*Marx* proposed Citizen Longuet's nomination in his place as correspondent for Belgium. Seconded by *Jung*. Accepted.

*Jung* read a letter of Dujonquoy (Hotel de New York) requesting the payment of £7 17s. owed to him from the times of the Conference.[c]

A discussion followed in which *Le Lubez, Jung, Dupont, Wheeler, Lessner,* and others took part.

*Cremer*: The members of the Council and the Association ought [to] pay their cards immediately.

*Jung* proposes: That Dupont should tell Dujonquoy that the Council having not been largely attended, part of the bill be paid on Wednesday next and a definite answer given. *Seconded by Lessner.*

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[a] P. Fox, "The British Coup d'État in Ireland", "The Influence of Irish National Feeling Upon the Relations Between Great Britain and the United States", "The Irish Difficulty Continued", *The Workman's Advocate,* Nos. 136-138, October 14, 21, 28, 1865.—*Ed.*

[b] "The State Prisoners. An Appeal to the Women of Ireland", *The Workman's Advocate,* No. 148, January 6, 1866.—*Ed.*

[c] The London Conference, September 25-29, 1865.—*Ed.*

*Jung reads*: *Talbot, of Caen, letter,* and one pound (for 20 cards) (to Dupont).

Propaganda in different towns of the departments of Calvados, Orne, La Manche.

Mr. *Wheeler* moves: That notice be given that everyone who does not (renew) pay his card until 15th February, will cease to be member of the Association. (To be advertised in the *Advocate.*) *Seconded by Citizen Jung.* Carried.

*Werecki* (as *delegate of the Poles*) explains their absence on the Standing Committee. On Monday they had a meeting and got the necessary money together. After some discussion, as to the place of meeting, *St. Martin's Hall,* next *Monday* (*22 January*), 8 o'clock in the evening.[246]

*Cremer* read the *Appeal to the British Members.* Accepted Address. Difficulty as to the signature of the names. *Moved* subscription-sheets to be printed. Carried on the motion of Wheeler.

Recorded on January 16, 1866

Reproduced from the manuscript

First published, in Russian, in *Generalny Sovet Pervogo Internatsionala. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1961

Minutes of the Central Council Meeting of January 16, 1866 recorded by Marx

# Frederick Engels

## [SWEDEN AND DENMARK. TRAVEL NOTES][247]

6 July, 9 a.m., *Hero* on the Humber, 11 a.m. at sea, fresh westerly breeze, 12 km per hour, wind rising, heavy sea after midday, wind veering more and more to the North, in the evening HALF A GALE, heavy rolling of the long ship, Captain Soulsby falls and breaks a rib, an English passenger badly hurts his face in similar circumstances, the MAINSAIL breaks loose from the lower block.

7 July, impossible to set foot on deck, heavy rolling until, towards evening, the wind at last abates and we can go on deck, with the Holmen light-house in view. Sea subsides more and more, but choppy.

8 July, 7 a.m. Vingan, then entrance to the Götaälv skerries, *roches moutonnées* everywhere, the effect of the ice visible at 1,000 paces. Soon the river gets narrower, with green valleys between the granite rocks, then a few trees too, finally the approaches to Göteborg, lovely and strange because of the squat spaciousness of the broad houses.

Göteborg proper, a modern city amid old-Swedish surroundings; all stone inside, all wood outside. Dutch canals with Dutch stench in the streets. The Swedes look far more German than English; foreign Finnish element among them. By and large, the women's complexions are poor; coarse, but not repulsive features; men more attractive, but also more reminiscent of the inland German philistine. People in their forties all look like Baden philistines.

English is tolerated. German predominates. The commercial and literary dependence on Germany very apparent. Railway stations, public buildings, private houses, villas, everything in the German style, with minor variations for climatic reasons. Of England, only

the parks and their tidiness, and a church in the English neo-Gothic style. One can speak German in every shop, even in hotel English speakers are requested to speak German if possible.

Pinks and hawthorn in full bloom, everything as on 8 May. Beautiful kinds of elms along with ashes predominate in the foliage. Green as an English spring. Interspersed everywhere with bare granite *moutonnées.*

The way of life quite Continental, not English at all despite the drinking of false port and cherry brandy. The style of the hotels—rooms, breakfast, cuisine—everything Continental. Similarly the mixing of classes in public houses. Aperitifs (Appetitsup) and Hors d'oeuvres (smörbrödsborden) (25 öre).

People's stature: medium height and stocky, 5′6″ (Rhenish). Soldiers of horse artillery (värfvade) taller. Both officers and men rather militia-like, reminiscent of the Swiss. The Hull sailors look more like Holsteiners, Lower Saxons, Frisians, Angles and Danes than like Swedes. The Swedes *here* lack a manly expression of the face, mostly flabby bloated features, except for some seamen with Frisian physiognomy and sinewy build. The soldiers look like Westphalians, the officers too, NEITHER PRIVATE NOR OFFICIOUS.

As always, one can't help thinking how much is done everywhere on the Continent for the health and recreation of the *populus* as compared with aristocratic England.

Comic effect produced by the 2 English SWELL LADIES, stared at by all the Swedish women.

Voyage to Stockholm. Lay-out of the steamer: back cabin for sleeping, front cabin for taking meals. Substantial fare. Salad with cream. Sweets. People further inland showing more character in their features, the men more handsome, stronger and taller, the women PLAIN BUT HOMELY AND NOT UNPLEASANT, also tall and sturdily built. Their character increasingly reminds one of Black Forest people, Swiss and Tyroleans (Steub's Tyrolean Goths?). Country squires. The language too sounds very much like High German without gutturals.

Country at Götaälv lovely, but subdued, up to Trollhättan. Four waterfalls straight above one another. Mountains not over 600 to 800 feet high, but impressive. Then Lake Väner with Kinnekullen [a], flat and monotonous. Vättern likewise. Karlsborg's fortifications not badly laid out, long lines, polygonal, but isn't the mountain behind dominant now? The lakes beautiful but all alike. Endless forests of fir

[a] The name of a hill.—*Ed.*

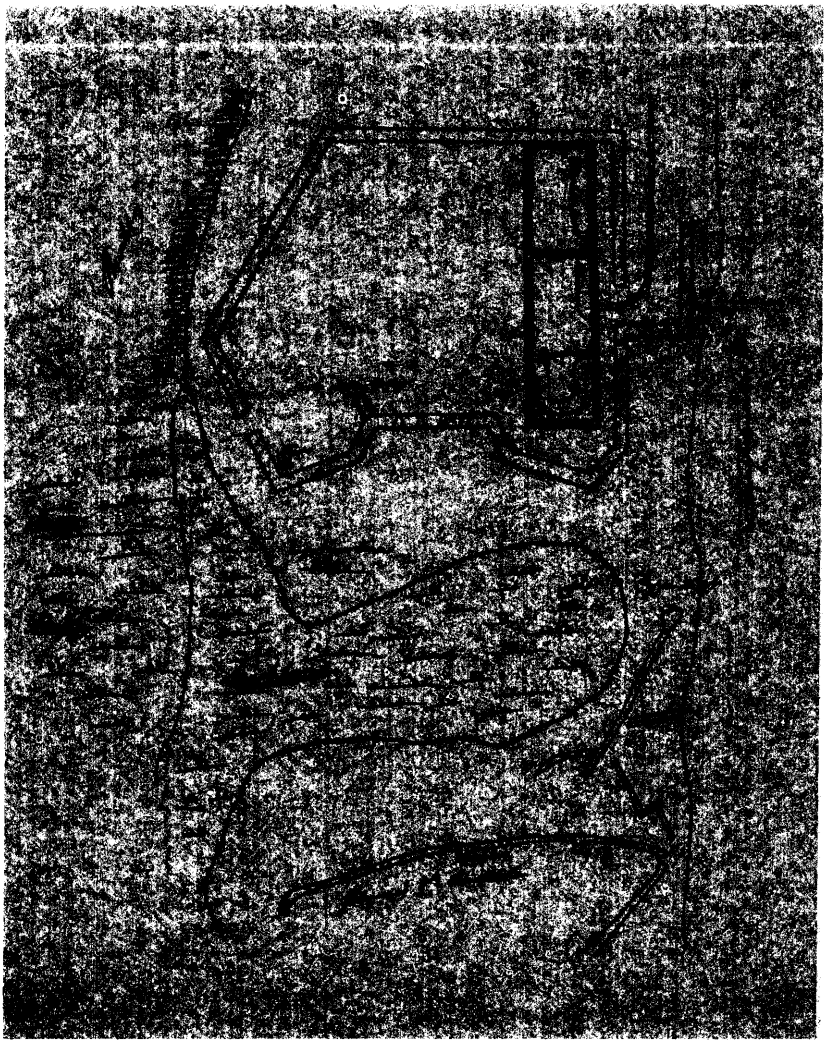

Plan of the Swedish fortress of Karlsborg.
*Drawing by Engels*

trees, damaged at that. None of the stately heavy firs of Switzerland. SCOTCH FIR.

Motalaälv valley again partly cultivated, beautiful in places where trees—elms and birches—line the canal.

The skerry-dotted sea gets more and more beautiful towards Stockholm. Change in formation—limestone here and there and greater weathering, hence more gentle slopes and Alpine meadows rising direct from the sea. Marble quarries on two islands. The skerries become higher and more beautiful the closer one gets to Stockholm. Lovely scenery along Lake Mälar; forests, fields and villas alternating.

Stockholm's Norrbro [North Bridge] reminiscent of the Pont des Bergues in Geneva. Mosebacken splendid. Fine view from observatory too. Steam sloops to the Djurgården [zoo]. The latter most beautiful as a park. Many restaurants and cafés. French style with small tables *à la carte,* no *table-d'hôte.* Stockholmers' custom of eating in restaurants. Brännvinsbordet [snack with brandy] everywhere. Paiestko-öl [beer] better than in Germany. Exceedingly sweet drinks and food (kårger). Swedish beer not worse, but either too sweet or too sour. Wines—Bordeaux hyper-hermitagé, petit bourgogne with an addition of South French wine—main drink at table. Otherwise, the standard cuisine more German than French.

Stockholm has more the air of a capital city, foreign languages less *coulant,* but German spoken in every shop. Men's fashions, decidedly English in Göteborg, predominantly French here. Hypocrisy concerning *brännvinsbordet* when ladies around; childish entertainments: merry-go-rounds, puppet shows, tight-rope walkers and bad music. Boat parties still the best "mekanismen". And yet serious or hypocritical Lutheran character of the people, which tolerates no Tivoli-type public entertainments on a large scale.

Soldiers, even Guards, SLOVENLY in the militia manner, officers ditto. NO LIFE IN THEM. Not very tall either, no match to the men of the 69th. Eclectic uniform and old-fashioned leathers. Sentries chat. Beards. The Malmö hussars—as heavy as troopers of the line—are the most handsome of the men.

The trains—dear me. Three times ringing, once whistling. 5 minutes=15 à 20. Simple but good buffets, everything costs 1 riksdaler. Landscape picturesque, but after the first two hours monotonous and ultimately boring through perpetual repetition. The abundance of lakes readily explained by the effect of the ice. The valleys are mostly former seabed or peat moors.

Smart trick this sending the people to Malmö to bring a series of diplomatic negotiations to an end.[248]

Copenhagen. Really more like a *hovedstaden* [capital] in size and life-style than Stockholm, but still small and modest. Decided preponderance of Germans, even on the streets. Cheerful children, all kinds of entertainments, above all for children. At least a hundred merry-go-rounds. The adults infantile too; ballet, circus, etc.; even the children's cruelty, which takes the greatest satisfaction in tormenting children. Tivoli of the most characteristic kind.

Lovely trees everywhere in Copenhagen. Impressive entrance to the port. Old warships—very picturesque. The atmosphere of a peasant capital city that exploits 1.5 million peasants unmistakable everywhere.

Written between July 6 and 18, 1867

First published in the collection Friedrich Engels, *Auf Reisen*, Berlin, 1966

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# APPENDICES

# FROM THE MINUTE BOOK OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL[249]

## CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETINGS

(October-November 1864)

### *October 5, 1864*

The first meeting of the Committee, elected by the public meeting held at St. Martin's Hall on the 28th of September 1864, was held at 18, Greek St., Soho, on October 5th, 1864, and on the motion of Mr. *Weston,* seconded by Mr. *Whitlock,* Mr. Odger was voted to the chair.

The *Chairman* said the first business was the appointment of a secretary to the Committee when Dr. *Marx* proposed and Mr. *Whitlock* seconded that Mr. Cremer be appointed.

Mr. *Cremer* would prefer the appointment of M. Le Lubez who was he believed in every way qualified to fill the office.

M. Le Lubez having for various reasons declined the office, Mr. Cremer was unanimously elected. [...]

A very long and animated discussion then took place with regard to the principles on which the Association should be based, and ultimately on the motion of Mr. *Dell,* seconded by Mr. *Trimlett,* a sub-committee of 9 were appointed to draw up a platform of principles, such principles to be discussed at the next meeting of the General Committee.

The following were then elected as the Sub-Committee: Messrs. Whitlock, Weston, Dr. Marx, M. Le Lubez, Major Wolff, Mr. Holtorp, and Mr. Pidgeon, the Chairman and Secretary to be members by virtue of their offices.

### *November 1, 1864*

Dr. *Marx* then read the Preamble, Address and Rules which the Sub-Committee had definitely agreed on and which they recommended to the Central Council for adoption.

Mr. *Whitlock* thought some explanation (in the form of a footnote) should be given as to the terms "nitrogen" and "carbon".

Messrs. *Carter, Grossmith* and others spoke in favour of the Address.

Mr. *Whitlock* proposed, Mr. *Carter* seconded: *That the Address do pass as read.*

As an amendment Mr. *Worley* proposed and Mr. *Wheeler* seconded: *That the word "profitmongers" be erased.*

For amendment—11, for resolution—10. The amendment being carried, the word "profitmongers" was struck out and the Address was unanimously agreed to.

Dr. *Marx* then read the Preamble, and on the motion of Mr. *Wheeler,* seconded by *Blackmore,* it was carried unanimously.

The Rules were then discussed, and on the proposition of Mr. *Dell,* seconded by *Whitlock,* the Preamble, Address and Rules were unanimously agreed to.[a]

Mr. *Wheeler* then proposed and Mr. *Dell* seconded that the thanks of the Central Council be given to Dr. Marx, Mr. Weston and M. Le Lubez for their exertions and the production of so admirable an address. Carried unanimously.

First published, in Russian, in *Osnovaniye Pervogo Internatsionala,* Moscow, 1934

Reproduced from the Minute Book

[a] See this volume, pp. 5-16.— *Ed.*

# FROM THE MINUTE BOOK OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL

## CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETINGS[250]

(November-December 1864)

### *November 8, 1864*

Dr. *Marx* proposed, Mr. *Jung* seconded, that any person not being able to attend the meetings cannot be a member of this Council.[a]

Dr. *Marx* called attention to the reports in the *Morning Star* and *Bee-Hive*[b] of the last meeting and complained that in such reports one of the fundamental principles of the Association, viz., truth, had been violated; he also complained of the Address having been published without the sanction of the Committee.[251]

The *Secretary*[c] explained that he had nothing to do with the reports, at which he was very much surprised; he believed Mr. Hartwell had supplied the reports in question.

To obviate the recurrence of such erroneous reports Dr. *Marx* proposed, Mr. *Fontana* seconded:

That the Secretary purchase a manifold writer and for the future all reports for the press be sent through the Secretary.

Mr. *Aldovrandi* proposed and Mr. *Carter* seconded:

That Dr. Marx be requested to correct the typographical errors in the Address and that 500 copies of the Address, Programme[d] and Rules be printed. Carried unanimously.

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[a] This resolution as published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* see on p. 17 of this volume.—*Ed.*

[b] Reports on the Central Council meeting of November 1, 1864 in *The Morning Star*, No. 2703, November 2, 1864 and *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 160, November 5, 1864.—*Ed.*

[c] W. R. Cremer.—*Ed.*

[d] A reference to the Preamble of the Provisional Rules of the International.—*Ed.*

*November 15, 1864*

Mr. *Cremer* then proposed, M. *Le Lubez* seconded: That 1,000 [copies of the] Address and Rules be printed. Carried unanimously. [...]

A long discussion then took place with regard to the terms on which organised bodies should be received into the Association, and ultimately on the motion of Dr. *Marx,* seconded by Mr. *Blackmore,* the question was adjourned to the next meeting.[a]

*November 29, 1864*

Dr. *Marx* then brought up the report of the Sub-Committee, also a draft of the address which had been drawn up for presentation to the people of America congratulating them on their having re-elected Abraham Lincoln as President. The address is as follows and was unanimously agreed to[b]: [...]

Mr. *Wheeler* proposed, *Le Lubez* seconded:

That the names of all those who are present be appended to the address, also those who are absent and are willing to endorse the views set forth in the address.[c]

*December 13, 1864*

Mr. *Fox* then read the address which he proposed should be adopted by the British Section of the Association and then transmitted to the National Government of Poland.[252]

A long discussion took place consequent on certain statements contained in the address and which statements were opposed by Mr. *Jung, Le Lubez,* Dr. *Marx* and supported by Mr. *Carter.*

Mr. *Fox* replied defending the statement that the traditional foreign policy of France had been favourable to the restoration and independence of Poland.

Mr. *Cremer* thought it important that the truth of this statement should be ascertained and would propose that the further

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[a] Resolution on this point proposed by Marx and adopted by the Central Council on November 22, 1864 see on p. 18 of this volume.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 19-21.— *Ed.*

[c] The report on this meeting, published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper,* No. 164, December 3, 1864, states that the resolution was also supported by Marx.— *Ed.*

consideration of the address be deferred till the next meeting.[a]

Mr. *Morgan* seconded the motion. Carried unanimously.

*December 20, 1864*

Mr. *Cremer* read a letter from Mr. Adams, the United States Minister, suggesting that the address to President Lincoln be sent to him, Mr. Adams, instead of being brought.

Dr. *Marx* proposed, Mr. *Fontana* seconded, that the Secretary send the address to Mr. Adams.

Mr. *Worley* proposed, Mr. *Wheeler* seconded, that Mr. Adams be again appealed to receive the deputation.

For amendment—5, for resolution—13.

Mr. *Fox* then resumed his defence of the address to the Polish National Government and in an able address contended for the truth of the assertions therein contained, after some discussion it was agreed to adjourn the question till next meeting.

*December 29, 1864*

Mr. *Fox* stated in the absence of Dr. Marx he should defer any discussion on the address to the National Government of Poland.

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Reproduced from the Minute Book

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[a] The report about this Central Council meeting, published in *The Bee-Hive,* No. 166, December 17, 1864, has:

"Mr. *Fox* then brought up the address from the British Section of the Association to the National Government of Poland, when a very long and animated discussion took place, in which the following members took part—Messrs. *Le Lubez, Holtorp, Cremer, Marx, Carter, Weston, Jung,* the latter opposing a statement set forth in the address, viz., that the traditional foreign policy of France had been favourable to the restoration and independence of Poland. *Karl Marx* and *Mr. Le Lubez* also agreeing that while the foreign policy of France had appeared to favour such an object, in reality [it] had not, especially during the time of the first Napoleon, when the Poles had been used for his military ambition, and then cast aside. *Mr. Fox* defended the address and ably contended for the retention of the passage referring to the traditional foreign policy of France towards Poland, and it was ultimately agreed as the question was an important one that its further consideration be deferred till the next meeting."—*Ed.*

# FROM THE MINUTE BOOK OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL

## CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETINGS

(January-February 1865)

### *January 3, 1865*

Dr. *Marx* handed in a German translation of the Address and Rules of the Association and stated that 50,000 copies had been circulated in Germany[253]; he also stated that a branch of the Association was being formed in Switzerland. [...]

Dr. *Marx* resumed the adjourned debate on the Address which it is proposed to send to the National Government of Poland, and in a very able historical resumé argued that the traditional foreign policy of France had not been favourable to the restoration and independence of Poland.[a] The Address of Dr. Marx was pregnant with important historical facts which would be very valuable in a published form.

Mr. *Fox* in reply stated he did not defend the foreign policy of modern France; all he contended for was that the foreign policy of old France had been favourable to the Independence of Poland.

The following was then proposed by Mr. *Jung,* seconded by *Le Lubez* and unanimously adopted:

That the views expressed in the address concerning the French foreign policy towards Poland not being borne out by historical facts, that it be amended so as to accord with the truths of history.

### *January 24, 1865*

Correspondence was read [...] by Dr. *Marx* from the Compositors' Society of Berlin, also from the General German Working Men's Association, both expressing their entire concurrence with the principles of the International Working Men's Association and

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[a] See this volume, pp. 311-27.—*Ed.*

regretting that there were legal impediments which prevented them from becoming affiliated members of the Association, but promising to send representatives to the congress.[a]

Dr. *Marx* also read a very interesting letter from the military commander[b] of St. Louis,[254] and a letter from M. Tolain having reference to the position they occupied in Paris in relation to International Working Men's Association.

A discussion then took place concerning certain statements or rumours in regard to M. Tolain, and it was agreed that before any cards of membership were sent to Paris that the truth of such rumours should be investigated.[255]

*January 31, 1865*

A discussion then took place regarding the period when the subscriptions of members should begin and end when Citizen *Marx* proposed and Citizen *Whitlock* seconded: That subscriptions begin on the First of January and end on the 31st of December.

Citizen *Cremer* then proposed and Citizen *Fontana* seconded: That those who have been elected members of the Central Council but have not taken out their cards of membership by the 1st of March next, shall after that date be considered as excluding themselves from the Central Council. [...]

Citizen *Marx* then read an extract from the *St. Louis Daily Press* eulogistic of our Address and Rules and expressing their regret at not being able to publish the whole.[c][256] [...]

The *Secretary*[d] then introduced the question of the suffrage, stating there was an attempt being made to organise a meeting for manhood suffrage and he thought the Council ought to watch the preliminary proceedings and for that purpose would propose that a deputation be appointed to attend the preliminary meeting which will be shortly held.

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[a] The author's draft of this report see on p. 328 of this volume.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Weydemeyer.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 173, February 4, 1865 has: "Dr. *Marx* also read an extract from the *St. Louis Daily Press* (America) approving the Address, and rules of the International, and regretting their limited space would not allow the entire publication of the Address, which, however, they printed in part, in proof of the deep interest which the Association has excited. It may be mentioned that hundreds of cards have been sent for from Paris, Belgium, &c.; and, although in some places on the Continent working men are prohibited from openly associating together for such principles as the International has in view, yet even in those places they are exerting themselves to find some plan whereby they may affiliate themselves to the Association without coming within the power of the law."—*Ed.*

[d] W. R. Cremer.—*Ed.*

A long discussion took place in which Citizens *Marx, Whitlock, Wheeler, Le Lubez, Carter* took part. Citizen *Wheeler* seconded the resolution which was carried unanimously.[257]

*February 7, 1865*

Citizen *Cremer* gave the report of the Sub-Committee; they recommended to the Central Council the following:

[1] That separate cards be issued to societies forming the Association, such cards to be of a general character stating that the society whose name it bore had affiliated itself to the International Association[a];

2nd. That all the money subscribed in England for individual cards be sent to the Central Council, but if any branch of the Association shall incur any legitimate expense, the Central Council may, if they deem it judicious, grant a sum for the liquidation of such debt;

3rd. That our Continental brethren be supplied with cards at 1s. each, which sums to be sent to the Central Council.

They were proposed by Citizen *Cremer*, seconded by Citizen *Marx* and carried unanimously. [...]

Citizen *Marx* then proposed and Citizen *Wheeler* seconded, that Citizen Lefort be appointed as our literary defence in Paris. Carried unanimously.

*February 14, 1865*

Citizen *Marx* then stated that a branch of the International Working Men's Association had been formed in Manchester, he also read a letter from Mr. Ernest Jones on the subject of manhood suffrage.[258]

The letter was fully discussed.

Citizen *Marx* also read an extract from the German *Star*[b] which stated that the Swiss were interesting themselves on behalf of the Association and that a meeting of the Republican League and French Swiss Society had been held; they had accepted the rules and would form branches throughout Switzerland with a central council in Geneva.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 369-70.— *Ed.*

[b] A reference to J. Ph. Becker's "Muthiges Kämpfen" in *Nordstern*, No. 296, February 11, 1865.— *Ed.*

*February 21, 1865*

On the motion of *Whitlock,* seconded by Citizen *Marx,* Citizen *Le Lubez* then read some correspondence from Paris which referred to unpleasant proceedings having taken place there, and as it was generally agreed that it would be difficult to settle the differences by correspondence, it was decided on the proposition of Citizen *Whitlock,* seconded by *Fontana,* that Le Lubez be sent to Paris to investigate the differences existing between Citizen Lefort and Citizen Fribourg.

Citizen *Marx* proposed, Citizen *Lessner* seconded, that Mr. Schily be appointed to co-operate with Citizen Le Lubez in settling the differences.[a] Carried unanimously.

It was also agreed that the delegates be invested with power to act as circumstances may determine.

*February 28, 1865*

Citizen *Marx* read correspondence from Manchester regarding the suffrage,[259] he also stated that he had withdrawn from any connection with the *Social-Demokrat.*[b]

First published, in Russian, in *Generalny Sovet Pervogo Internatsionala. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1961

Reproduced from the Minute Book

[a] See this volume, p. 329.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 87-90.— *Ed.*

# [REPORT OF A SPEECH BY KARL MARX AT THE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF THE GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY IN LONDON[260]]

[...] Of the speeches made at the anniversary celebration I shall only report some remarks by Karl Marx. Concerning the dispute about self-help versus state-help he said that both parties were mistaken. In bourgeois society all the means of subsistence and of labour belong to the capitalists and therefore self-help is nonsense. On the other hand, it is obvious that under a Bismarckian government state assistance is out of the question.—The workers cannot sell themselves to the Bismarck government. State assistance can only proceed from a state in which the proletariat exercises supreme power. To preach the emancipation of labour within the Prussian monarchy would be to raise a storm in a teacup. The emancipation of labour implies the liberation of Germany and this in turn entails the restoration of Poland and the overthrow of the Prussian monarchy. Turning to the Progress Party's[261] criticisms of the behaviour of the workers towards the bourgeoisie, Marx said that at the time when he had written that the workers must unite with the bourgeoisie against absolutism, it had been assumed that the German bourgeoisie would achieve at least as much as the English bourgeoisie had achieved in its time, but this had not happened in fact. In Germany, and particularly in Prussia, a press law was in force which freely permitted people high up in society to abuse and slander those beneath them. He added that the workers' newspapers and the workers' movement itself could only exist with police authorisation and that the government could only be attacked with kid gloves. In such conditions joint action by the workers and the bourgeoisie was impossible, particularly since the bourgeoisie was too cowardly to carry out its own programme.

Reported by Johann George Eccarius

First published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 24, February 19, 1865

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# AGREEMENT
# BETWEEN MR. KARL MARX AND MR. OTTO MEISSNER, PUBLISHER AND BOOKSELLER[262]

1. We, the undersigned, jointly undertake to publish the first and all subsequent editions of the work entitled "**Capital.** A Critique of Political Economy" by Karl Marx on the following terms. The book will be approximately 50 signatures in length and will appear in two volumes. Each of the contracting parties will receive one half of the net earnings which are arrived at after deducting $33^1/_3$ per cent discount for the retailers from the gross receipts and after deducting the costs of paper, printing, binding, transport and advertisement, etc., from the remainder.

2. The accounts will be drawn up each August for the copies sold during the preceding year and the profit will be shared out at the same time. The Publisher reserves the right, however, to pay one-third of the sum not more than three months later.

3. The cost of paper, printing and binding will be calculated on the basis of the original invoices. To cover the costs of advertising, transport, circulars, postage, etc., *Otto Meissner* will debit the production costs with the round sum of 100 Thalers for each edition, irrespective of whether the actual sum be greater or less.

4. Should the work yield no profit, any resulting loss will be borne by the Publisher, *Otto Meissner,* alone.

5. Neither of us may transfer his rights in the publication to a third party without the consent of the other, except in the event of death, when the ownership passes to the heirs without the need for an additional deed of assignment.

6. The size of the edition and the format of the work shall be determined by mutual agreement. The Publisher shall have the discretion to determine the price and the method of sale of the work.

7. Each of the contracting parties has the right to receive ten free copies of the work for his own private purposes and these, together with the review copies to be sent to newspapers, will be deducted from the edition when the accounts are presented.

8. The Author undertakes to deliver the complete manuscript of the work to the Publisher on or before the last day of *May* of this year, while the latter undertakes to publish the work in its entirety by *October* of this year at the latest, and to dispatch the first volume sooner if possible.

We regard the above eight points as binding upon us and our heirs.

Hamburg and *Otto Meissner* in Hamburg

Drawn up not later than March 21, 1865

First published in the book: *Karl Marx. Dokumente Seines Lebens,* Leipzig, 1970

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Published in English for the first time

# FROM THE MINUTE BOOK OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL

## CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETINGS

(March-early July 1865)

### *March 7, 1865*

Citizen *Fox* then read to the Council the report of the Committee and the resolutions recommended by it in reference to the imbroglio in Paris.[263]

It was agreed to consider the resolutions *seriatim*.[a]

### *March 14, 1865*

Citizen *Le Lubez* read a letter from Citizen Lefort. He also stated it was a mistake to suppose he had been or was now in any way prejudiced in favour of Lefort or Tolain. He also read a letter signed by Citizens Bocquet, Denoual, and himself, protesting against the former decision of the Central Council in turning out Citizen Lefort, and another letter signed by Citizens Bordage, Leroux, Denoual, Bocquet, and himself, protesting against the appointment by the Central Council of anyone not a Frenchman as the delegate to the Administration in Paris.

Citizen *Marx* stated the protest was unnecessary as he, Citizen Marx, was certain that Citizen Schily would not accept the appointment if there was the slightest opposition to him: it was against Citizen Schily's wish that he had been elected.[264]

The *President* suggested the re-opening of the whole question. This was opposed by Citizens *Howell, Kaub* and *Cremer.*

The following resolution was then proposed by Citizen *Weston,* seconded by Citizen *Morgan* and carried unanimously:

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[a] Here follows the text of the five resolutions on the conflict in the Paris section drawn up by Marx on behalf of the Standing Committee (see this volume, pp. 82-83) and record of the discussion on each of them.— *Ed.*

That the Central Council having the fullest confidence in Citizen Lefort, earnestly requests him to retain the card of membership he has in his possession and hopes that he will use his great influence to form a branch in France. [...]

Citizen *Weston* gave notice of the following propositions for discussion at the earliest opportunity:

1st. Would not an advance of wages of any particular section of industry be secured at the cost of the other sections.

2nd. Would not the supposed advantages of a general rise in wages be negatived by the corresponding advance in prices.

*April 11, 1865*

The situations of corresponding secretary for France, also for Belgium, having become vacant consequent on the resignation of Citizen Lubez, Citizen *Jung* proposed, *Morgan* seconded, that Citizen Marx be corresponding secretary *pro tem* for Belgium.[265] Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Marx* proposed, Citizen *Cremer* seconded, that Citizen Dupont be appointed corresponding secretary for France. Carried unanimously. [...]

Citizen *Marx* stated that one of the 32 members who had met recently in Paris had been prosecuted by the French Government for publishing a pamphlet.[a 266] [...]

Citizen *Longmaid* proposed and Citizen *Marx* seconded:

That the Secretary write to those members of the Central Council who have not taken their cards of membership and inform them that unless they do so on or before April 25, that they will be considered as wishing to withdraw and their names will accordingly be struck off the roll of Councilmen. This resolution was considered by the Central Council necessary inasmuch as complaints had been made that a former resolution of a similar character had never been communicated officially to absentee members.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

It was then agreed to that the proposition of Citizen Weston on the question of wages[b] should come on for discussion on May 2nd and that members of the Association were eligible to attend the discussion, also that any member of the Central Council is at liberty to introduce a friend.[267]

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[a] Ch. Longuet, "La Dynastie des la Palice", *La Rive Gauche,* March 12, 1865.—*Ed.*

[b] See this page, above.—*Ed.*

*April 25, 1865*

Citizen *Wheeler* proposed, Citizen *Marx* seconded, that Continental corresponding members be *ex officio* members of the Central Council. Carried unanimously. [...]

Citizen *Marx* read a letter from Ernest Jones on the suffrage,[268] he also read a letter from Citizen Fontaine asking for a declaration of principles. Questions in said letter referred to Sub-Committee.[269] He also read a letter from the compositors at Leipsic referring to their strike and expressing a hope that the London compositors would assist them.[270]

Citizens Fox, Marx and Cremer were deputed to attend the Compositors' Society.

*May 2, 1865*

*Marx* gave a report from Paris stating there were changes about being made there in the Administration which when made would be fully reported to the Central Council.[271][...]

*Cremer* referred to the assassination of President Lincoln and proposed that an address should be drawn up and sent to the American people expressing the views of the Central Council on recent events in America, more particularly referring to the murder of Mr. Lincoln.

The resolution was seconded by *Lucraft* and carried unanimously.

*Weston* then read a portion of his paper on the question of wages; the remainder was adjourned to the next sitting.

*May 9, 1865*

Citizen *Fox* read a letter from Citizen Vinçard who had been appointed on the Paris Administration, stating that the state of his health would preclude him from accepting the appointment, also expressing his best wishes for the success of the Association and regretting that he could not assist to make it so.

*Jung* proposed, *Marx* seconded:

That the General Secretary write to Citizen Vinçard thanking him for his past services and hoping that he will, as far as [is] consistent with his health, do his utmost for the interest of the Association. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Marx* read the address to President Johnson in reference to the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.[a]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 99-100.—*Ed.*

*Cremer* proposed, *Weston* seconded:

That the address be adopted, written on parchment, signed by the Central Council and transmitted to President Johnson through the United States Legation. Carried unanimously.

Citizen Howell, who had been appointed to attend with Citizen Cremer the Reform Conference in Manchester on the 15th and 16th of May, having been elected by the Reform League as its secretary and being deputed by that body to attend said conference,[272] his appointment from this Council was therefore on the proposition of Citizen *Wheeler,* seconded by Citizen *Marx,* cancelled and Citizen Odger was elected in his stead. [...]

Citizen *Fox* proposed, *Bolleter* seconded:

That Weston's question for discussion stand adjourned to Saturday, May 20th, at 8 o'clock, the entire sitting to be devoted to the discussion.[273] Carried unanimously.

## *May 16, 1865*

Cit. *Marx* stated that he had sent to the *New-York Tribune* a copy of the Society's address to President Johnson.[274] He also mentioned that there had been an immense public meeting in Geneva in regard to the assassination of the late lamented President of the United States; that the Society's correspondent, Philipp Becker, had spoken at the same, and remarked upon the international character of the meeting.

Cit. Becker then proceeded to state that the Working Men's International Association was at the head of the new movement for popular rights,[a] which statement was received with cheers by the meeting.

## *May 23, 1865*

Citizen *Weston* resumed the adjourned debate on his proposition regarding wages. He was followed by Citizen *Marx* who opposed Citizen Weston's views as did Citizen *Wheeler,* after which *Cremer* proposed the adjournment of the debate till the 30th.[b] Carried unanimously.

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[a] The reference is to the electoral reform movement in England.—*Ed.*

[b] The point was not debated on that date.—*Ed.*

*May 30, 1865*

Citizen *Marx* recommended that the Council should concentrate its efforts upon promoting the success of the Working Men's Congress to be held in Belgium this year.[275]

*June 6, 1865*

Citizen *Marx* stated that when Citizen Weston's propositions are again discussed he should read a paper in reply and propose a series of counter-resolutions.

*June 20, 1865*

Citizen *Marx* then read a part of his paper in reply to Citizen Weston's propositions on the question of *wages*.[a]

Citizen *Weston* thought that in the part of the paper read by Citizen Marx nothing had been advanced or proved which in any way affected the principles *he* affirmed.

Citizen *Cremer* thought Citizen Marx had given two or three practical illustrations or rather facts which completely destroyed the positions affirmed by Citizen Weston.

The question was adjourned till June 27th at 9 o'clock. Citizen Marx will then read the latter part of his paper and propose a series of counter-resolutions.

*June 27, 1865*

Citizen *Marx* then, after recapitulating the principal points in the first part of his paper which he had read at the last sitting, proceeded to read the latter part, at the conclusion of which Citizen *Cremer* said there were many who would like to have both papers—of Citizen Weston and Citizen Marx's reply—printed, but he hardly knew how the expense was to be met.

Citizen *Weston* questioned the correctness of the statement contained in Citizen Marx's paper having reference to agricultural labourers.

On the motion of Citizen *Eccarius* the debate was adjourned to the next sitting to be opened by Citizen Eccarius.

*July 4, 1865*

Citizen *Eccarius* resumed the adjourned debate on Citizen Weston's propositions, arguing against Citizen Weston's views.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 101-49.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Fox* slightly differed with Citizen Eccarius as to the continued intellectual progress which Citizen Eccarius asserted had been made by mankind.

Citizen *Carter* altogether ignored the statistics of political economists and preferred to look at and judge man by what we knew of him.

Citizen *Kaub* proposed the adjournment of the debate till the next sitting. Carried unanimously.[276]

First published, in Russian, in *Generalny Sovet Pervogo Internatsionala. 1864-1866*, Moscow, 1961

Reproduced from the Minute Book

# [A CARD ISSUED TO SOCIETIES FORMING THE ASSOCIATION[277]]

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION
FOUNDED ON 28th SEPTEMBER, 1864,
AT A PUBLIC MEETING HELD AT ST. MARTIN'S HALL,
LONDON

Central Council,
18 Greek Street, London, W.

The Address and Statutes issued by the Provisional Central Council fully explain the Association's objects and aspirations, which, however, may be summed up in a few words. It aims at the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation, economical and political, of the Working Classes. As a means to this great end it will promote the establishment of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labour in EACH COUNTRY, and the co-operation of the Working Classes of DIFFERENT COUNTRIES.

Its Organisation, with a Central Medium at London, and numerous affiliated Branches in Europe and America, will assist in uniting the Working Classes of all countries in a perpetual bond of fraternal co-operation. Annual Congresses of Delegates, elected by the affiliated Working Men themselves, will create for the Working Classes a public and powerful European representation.

The *Executive Council on behalf of the Operative Bricklayers' Society,* assembled at the *25, Hatfield Street, Blackfriars, London,*[a] having subscribed to the principles, and applied to enter the fraternal bond, are hereby admitted as an affiliated Branch of the Association.

Dated the *21st of February 1865*

*G. Odger,* President of Council
*G. W. Wheeler,* Honorary Treasurer

*E. Dupont,* Corresponding Secretary for France.
*K. Marx,* do Germany.

[a] Italicised words and "21st of February 1865" are in handwriting.—*Ed.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *E. Holtorp,* | do | Poland. |
| *H. Jung,* | do | Switzerland. |
| *L. Lewis,* | do | America. |

*W. R. Cremer,* Honorary General Secretary.

Published as a leaflet in London in the summer of 1865

Reproduced from the leaflet

# International Working Men's Association.

## CENTRAL COUNCIL,

## 18 GREEK STREET, LONDON, W.

Trade, Friendly, or any Working Men's Societies are invited to join in their corporate capacity, the only conditions being that the Members subscribe to the principles of the Association, and pay for the declaration of their enrolment (which is varnished and mounted on canvas and roller), the sum of 5s. No contributions are *demanded* from Societies joining, it being left to their means and discretion to contribute or not, or as they may from time to time deem the *efforts* of the *Association worthy of support.*

The Central Council will be pleased to send the Address and Rules. which fully explain the principles and aims of the Association, to any Society applying for them: and, if within the London district, deputations will gladly attend to afford any further information that may be required. Societies joining are entitled to send a representative to the Central Council. The amount of contribution for individual members is 1s. per annum, with 1d. for Card of Membership; which may be obtained; with every information concerning the Association, by applying to the Honorary Secretary, or at the Central Council's Meetings, which are held every Tuesday Evening, at 18 Greek Street, from Eight to Ten o'clock.

E. DUPONT, *Corresponding Secretary for* France.
K. MARX, " " Germany.
E. HOLTORP, " " Poland.
H. JUNG, " " Switzerland.
L. LEWIS, " " America.

G. ODGER, *President of Central Council.*
G. W. WHEELER, *Hon. Treasurer.*
W. R. CREMER, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*

Central Council's Address to working men's societies[278]

# FORM OF APPLICATION

FOR SOCIETIES WISHING TO JOIN THE

## International Working Men's Association.

We, the Members of the _____

_____ assembled

at the _____

declare our entire concurrence with the principles and aims of the International Working Men's Association, and pledge ourselves to disseminate and reduce them to practice; and as an earnest of our sincerity we hereby apply to the Central Council to be admitted into the fraternal bond as an affiliated Branch of the Association.

Signed on behalf of the Members, _____ in number.

_____ *Secretary.*

_____ *President.*

_____ 186

# REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE QUESTIONS OF A CONGRESS AND CONFERENCE AS AMENDED AND PASSED BY THE CENTRAL COUNCIL AT A SUMMONED MEETING ON THE 25TH OF JULY, 1865[279]

In consequence of the urgent representations of our French and Swiss correspondents who call upon the Central Council to take some steps in fulfilment of the pledge given at the time of the foundation of the Association that a congress would be held in Brussels in the present year to discuss questions of general interest to the proletarians of Europe, your Committee have taken the whole subject into their consideration and submit to you the following series of proposals:

1. That it is not possible to assemble a congress in Brussels or London at the present time. In lieu thereof we propose a conference which shall assemble in London on Monday, September 25th.

2. That the following declaration be published in the Continental and British journals which are favourable to our cause:

"The Central Council of the International Working Men's Association announce that they have resolved on postponing the convocation of a general congress of working men at Brussels or elsewhere for three reasons:

"1st. Because they have felt the advisability of having a preliminary conference with a few delegates from their principal branches on the Continent touching [on] the programme which ought to be laid before the said congress.

"2nd. Because in Britain the reform movement, the general elections and the industrial exhibition and in France the strikes have absorbed the energies and attention of the working classes to such an extent as to have retarded the maturity of the Association.

"3rd. Because during the present year the Belgian Parliament has passed an alien act[280] of such a character as to put an end to

the project the Association had entertained of holding a congress, or to any they might have entertained of having a conference in the capital of Belgium."

3. The conference is to be constituted in this wise: two delegates from every central administration are to be invited, also two from Lyons. The cost of the travelling expenses of the delegates will be borne by their constituents. Their costs in London will be defrayed by the Central Council.

4. As to the ways and means of defraying these costs, the Committee have received the generous offer from Citizen Jung that he will board and lodge the delegates from Switzerland. For the rest the Committee recommend:

1st. That the members of the Central Council renew their annual subscriptions in the month of September previous to the assembling of the conference.

2nd. That the General Secretary[a] be instructed to appeal to the secretaries of the societies who have already joined the Association to exert themselves to sell cards of membership to their individual members for the sake of meeting the outlay of the conference.

3rd. That the members of the Central Council be recommended to take cards on sale, paying to the Council the amount of the same in ready money recouping the immediate outlay from the produce of the sales.

5. The Committee propose that the Central Council should adopt and submit to the conference a certain programme which was amended and passed in the following form by the Central Council:

1) Questions relating to the Congress.

2) Questions relating to the organisation of the Association.

3) Combination of effort by means of the Association in the different national struggles between capital and labour.

4) Trades' unions, their past, present, and future.

5) Co-operative labour.

6) Direct and indirect taxation.

7) Reduction of the number of the hours of labour.

8) Female and children labour.

9) The Muscovite invasion of Europe and the re-establishment of an independent and integral Poland.

10) Standing armies, their effects upon the interests of the productive classes.

6. Preliminary sittings of the delegates to be held with Committee, the definitive sittings with the Central Council.

[a] W. R. Cremer.—*Ed.*

7. On the 28th of September a soirée will be held for the three following objects: 1st, to commemorate the founding of the Association; 2nd, to do honour to the Continental delegates; and 3rd, to celebrate the triumph of federalism and free labour in America.

The soirée to consist of a tea, speaking, conversation, and dancing.

First published in Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 16, Moscow, 1960

Reproduced from the Minute Book

# TO THE WORKING MEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND[281]

Fellow Working Men!

It is a fact that amongst the thousands of daily and weekly newspapers existing at the present day, those that advocate the interests of the working class and defend the cause of labour might be counted at your fingers' ends. Nor is this to be wondered at when you bear in mind that, almost without exception, they are the property of capitalists, established for their own use, either for political party purposes or as commercial speculations. Thus, the publicity of matters concerning our political enfranchisement, our social emancipation, or our material well-being as hired wages labourers depends to a great extent on sufferance, and when now and then an editor, in his superior wisdom, takes it into his head to side with us, it is frequently doubtful whether decided opposition would not be preferable to the favour bestowed. This is a very unsatisfactory state of things for a body of men like the working men of this country with high and well-founded aspirations to raise themselves in the political and social scale.

Benjamin Franklin is reported to have said,

> "If you want a thing done, and well done, do it yourself",

and this is precisely what we must do. If your expected elevation is not to prove a delusion and a mockery—we must take the work of our salvation into our own hands, and this can only be done by acquiring a more prominent position in the press and on the platform than we have hitherto done.

In order that we may guard against deceitful friends, we require a press of our own. To this end we must establish and support as many newspapers and periodicals as we can, wherein we ourselves

must advocate and defend our own cause against open antagonists and wily friends. In the press, as well as on the platform, we must qualify ourselves to hold our own against all comers; for then, and not till then, shall we succeed in bettering our condition.

To accomplish this, a number of well-known advocates of working-class interests have established a Limited Liability Association, entitled "The Industrial Newspaper Company", with a nominal capital of £1,000, divided into shares of £1 each; 2s. 6d. to be paid on application, and 2s. 6d. on allotment per share.

The Company have succeeded in purchasing the copyright, goodwill, &c., of the *Miner and Workman's Advocate,* which they have resolved to turn into a first-class newspaper, not only for miners, but for all branches of industry—a newspaper in which all political, social, and industrial questions, whether they affect the whole or only a portion of the working class, shall be amply discussed.

We, the undersigned, on behalf of the Company, invite all lovers of freedom who have the welfare of their fellow beings at heart to co-operate in the good and arduous task the Company have undertaken, by taking up shares, helping to increase the circulation, &c., so that the working man's press may soon be able to occupy an honourable position, and—take an active and dignified part in the struggles of the day.

Application for shares may be made immediately, by letter, enclosing 2s. 6d. for each share applied for.

*G. Odger,* President
*E. S. Mantz,* Secretary *pro tem.*
*G. W. Wheeler,* Treasurer

Written in the latter half of August 1865

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The Miner and Workman's Advocate,* No. 130, September 2, 1865

# THE INDUSTRIAL NEWSPAPER COMPANY (LIMITED)

Capital £1,000, in Shares of £1 each. Deposit 2s. 6d. per Share.

## BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Mr. G. Odger, Chairman
— W. R. Cremer
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— Coulson
— H. Turff
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— W. Stainsby
— Worley
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Mr. Nieass
— Jung
— Christmas
Dr. Marx
Mr. Weston
— Le Lubez
— Kaub
— Morgan
— Lessner

Treasurer—Mr. E. Coulson
Secretary—Mr. Edwin Shelly Mantz

## PROSPECTUS

The object of the promoters of the above Company is to supply a great want of the age—to establish a Newspaper devoted to the interests of the Working Classes, and to secure for them a truthful exponent of their wrongs, and a faithful champion of their rights.

To further this object, the Board of Directors are happy to state that they have succeeded in purchasing the *Miner* Newspaper, which is now incorporated with the *Workman's Advocate,* and they have also made arrangements with some of the most advanced writers to contribute to its columns.

The well-known character of the men connected with its management renders it needless to indulge in professions. Suffice it to say, that it will be Democratic in Politics—and ever prepared to maintain principle against expediency.

To those who have been accustomed to view the efforts of the poor as a series of vain struggles of Labour against Capital, it may be observed that those efforts have failed, not from a want of justice in the objects to be attained, but from the want of a legitimate organ to influence public opinion. If an Oxford Professor or an enlightened writer have occasionally come forward to champion the creed of the downtrodden millions, his voice has been but the echo of human agony, heard amidst the clamour of contending interests, and silenced by the diatribes of newspaper hirelings. To say the Newspaper Press represents public opinion, is to administer insult to intelligent men. It is the property of speculators, political leaders, large contractors, and railway directors. Can we expect truth through the channels of falsehood—light from the regions of darkness, or fairness from those whose business it is to calumniate, pervert, and deceive? Certainly not. Hence the necessity for an organ that shall be beyond the taint of corruption, invulnerable against attacks, and inspired by men who feel it is their mission to teach the truths they have acquired by hard toil and bitter suffering.

The *Workman's Advocate* boldly takes its stand upon this necessity. Dignified and fearless, as becomes the champion of the masses, it requires the aid of no dishonest scribes or unprincipled adventurers. It will look to Labour and Labour's friends for its associates. The class that has produced an Elliott, Clare, and Burns—that has given a Defoe to fiction, a Stephenson to science, and a Shakespeare to literature, still claims within its ranks many a noble son who can wield the pen as well as the shuttle or the hammer.

An Industrial Newspaper Company is an application of the Co-operative principle—a sign of the times that the men of action are likewise men of thought, who will tell their own "unvarnished tale", in an organ of their own.

On the great questions of the day the *Workman's Advocate* will pronounce a decided opinion. With the view of promoting the complete political and social enfranchisement of the toiling millions, it will energetically support Manhood Suffrage, vote by ballot, representation based upon numbers, direct taxation, the nationalisation of the land, the development of co-operative self-employment to national dimensions, reduction of the number

of the hours of labour, Saturday half holiday movements, political international, and trade associations, everything that tends to advance the cause of human progress.

Originated by the representatives of Labour, to the sons of Labour must it chiefly look for encouragement and support; but as good men are to be found in every station of life, it is believed that many ardent lovers of freedom who have means at their command, will derive a pleasure in co-operating with our efforts. Aid from this source will be generous, and may be gracefully tendered, as it will be gratefully received.

Firm in the faith of those political truths, for the utterance of which so many noble martyrs have suffered, and conscious that the period has arrived when revolutions must be effected by mental effort, and not by physical violence, the conductors of the *Workman's Advocate* will never descend to scurrility or vulgar abuse, but seek to prove the justice of its claims by the soundness of its arguments, and the charity of its spirit.

Enrolling amongst its literary associates some of the brightest intellects of all countries, its articles upon Foreign Affairs will be the matured opinions of profound thinkers; and from its close connections with the International Working Men's Association, which has correspondents in all parts of the world, this department will be one of its most valuable features.

Upon domestic topics the result of the week will be faithfully recorded in a well-written Summary, and the various movements of political bodies will be chronicled and commented fairly on.

On all questions affecting the rights of Labour the platform will be its own, and every working man will feel that at least the columns of one journal will be open to him and those who advocate his cause.

To bring the proprietorship of the *Workman's Advocate* within the reach of the masses, the Shares are being issued at the sum of £1 each; and to make the mode of payment as easy as possible, the Directors have determined to accept deposits of 2s. 6d. per Share.

(By order of the Directors)

*E. S. Mantz,* Secretary

## FORM OF APPLICATION FOR SHARES

Please to allot me_____Shares in the Industrial Newspaper Company, for which I send_____as my first deposit, authorising the Secretary to instruct the district collector to wait upon me weekly.

Name_____

Address_____

To Mr. E. S. Mantz, Secretary,

Rose Cottage, 60, Downham Road, Kingsland.

Written in the latter half of August 1865

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The Miner and Workman's Advocate,* No. 132, September 16, 1865

# FROM THE MINUTE BOOK OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL

## CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETINGS

(September 1865)

### *September 12, 1865*

A discussion then took place as to the forthcoming conference taken part in by *Marx, Weston, Lubez, Cremer,* and on the motion of Citizen *Lubez,* seconded by *Mantz,* the further consideration of the question was adjourned till the 19th inst., the meeting to be special for the consideration of the conference.

### *September 19, 1865*

Citizen *Marx* announced that no delegates from Germany would attend the conference, but that a report of the doings in Germany would be sent him which he would read to the conference.[282] He had also sent [a letter] to Ernest Jones asking him to be present and speak at the soirée.[283]

First published, in Russian, in *Generalny Sovet Pervogo Internatsionala. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1961

Reproduced from the Minute Book

# FROM THE MINUTES OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[284]

## MEETING OF STANDING COMMITTEE WITH CONTINENTAL DELEGATES

*September 26*

The question of a general congress was next discussed.

*Marx* in the name of the Central Council proposed that the Congress assemble in Geneva.

*Dupleix* seconded the proposition.

*Fribourg* wished it recorded that the French delegates had received instructions to propose Geneva instead of, as heretofore decided, Belgium as a protest against the law passed in Belgium with regard to foreigners.[285] The resolution was carried unanimously.

*De Paepe* proposed, *Tolain* seconded, that the following be submitted to the Conference this evening:

That the Conference transfer the place of meeting of the Congress from Belgium to Geneva as a solemn protest against the law concerning foreigners passed in Belgium. Carried unanimously.

The period for the assembling of the Congress was next discussed.

*Marx* and *Cremer* in the name of the Central Council proposed that it take place in September or October of next year, unless unforeseen circumstances shall occur to necessitate its further postponement.

The *delegates from Paris* as an amendment proposed that the Congress assemble on the first Sunday in April next year. They all declared that to longer postpone the Congress would be fatal to the Association in France. [...]

*Marx* was impressed by the statements of the French delegates and was inclined to withdraw the resolution. [...]

The French delegates would so far yield as to agree to the last week in May.

*Marx* having withdrawn his proposition for September, the amendment became the resolution and was unanimously agreed to.[286] [...]

*Marx* and *Fribourg* proposed that the following questions be submitted to the Congress: "Co-operative labour", "Reduction of the number of the hours of labour", "Female and child labour".

All present voted for them as questions but Weston.

*Marx* and *Fribourg* proposed the following for the Congress: "Direct and indirect taxation". Agreed to.

The following questions marked 3, 4 and 10[287] on the programme were also agreed to:

3. Combination of effort by means of the Association in the different national struggles between Capital and Labour.

4. Trades' unions—their past, present and future.

10. Standing armies: their effects upon the interests of the productive classes.

First published, in Russian, in *Generalny Sovet Pervogo Internatsionala. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1961

Reproduced from the manuscript

# FROM THE MINUTE BOOK OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL

## CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETINGS

(October 1865-January 1866)

### *October 3, 1865*

The question as to the publication of the doings at the conference was then discussed.

Citizens *Carter* and *Lubez* proposed that Citizen Marx be requested to compile the report of the conference proceedings. Carried unanimously.

### *Tuesday, November 21, 1865*

The *Secretary for Germany*[a] stated that, in view of the sudden demand for cards that had arisen at Paris, he and the Secretary for Switzerland[b] had guaranteed the printer for the cost of preparing 2,000 cards, of which number 1,000 should be sent to Paris, 500 reserved for the French province and 100 reserved for Germany. He desired the sanction of the Council to this arrangement.

It was moved by Citizen *Morgan* and seconded by *Wheeler* and carried *nem. con.*: "That we sanction the arrangement made by Citizens Marx and Jung with the printer of the cards and that the allotment of them be as proposed by Citizen Marx."

### GENERAL REPORT

Citizen *Marx* stated that on his proposition it had been resolved at the conference that a report should be drawn up of the transactions of the Association for the first year of its existence.

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[a] Marx.—*Ed.*

[b] Jung.—*Ed.*

He now advised that the resolution for preparing such report be rescinded on two grounds: (1) because the French delegates had already published a report, (2) that its publication at the present moment was not opportune and should be delayed until May.[288] He had, however, communicated copies of the resolution and programme to our correspondents in Belgium and to Citizen Jung.

The resolution for drawing up a report was accordingly rescinded.

## PROPAGANDA IN GERMANY

The *Secretary for Germany* said he was glad to be able to report that our Association was at length making headway in Germany, where it had obstacles to overcome greater than those which existed in France.[289] Steps were being taken to form branches in Berlin, Mayence and Leipsic by men for whom the speaker could vouch. These societies would probably be represented at the Geneva Congress.

### *Tuesday, November 28*

## SWITZERLAND

In the regretted absence of the Secretary for Switzerland, Citizen *Marx* stated that Citizen J. Ph. Becker had issued a proclamation to the German Swiss, concerning the Association, portions of which he thought should be translated and published in our report.[290] In it it was announced that the branch societies in Switzerland were about to issue a paper in German and French which would be the organ of the Association in that country.[a]

### *December 26. Boxing night!*

Citizen *Le Lubez* laid on the table the first of a projected series of attacks on the policy of the Central Council published in the *Journal de Verviers* (Belgium).[291]

Citizen *Marx* made some observations in defence of the Council.

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[a] A reference to the *Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* and *Vorbote.—Ed.*

## *January 9, 1866*

*Marx* thought that the Constitution published in the *Echo de Verviers* as emanating from the French branch in London ought to have been laid before the Council before publication. He then alluded to the attack which he said was written by Citizen Vésinier.

*Jung* denounced the attack as an infamous one and exposed some of its misstatements. Such a manifesto ought to have been signed. He moved that Vésinier retract these falsities or be expelled from the Association.

*Le Lubez* admitted that Vésinier was the author of the attack.

*Marx* took occasion to defend our Paris correspondents from the aspersions made upon them. They had left with the Council all their accounts and correspondence and had behaved in the most honourable manner. [...]

*Marx* objected to the word "retractation". Vésinier should be called upon to substantiate or to make his exit. [...]

*Jung,* then withdrew his motion and *Marx* moved and *Jung* seconded that Vésinier be called upon to substantiate his accusation or, failing to do so, be expelled.

*Le Lubez* moved as an amendment that the subject be referred to a committee of three to conduct a correspondence with Vésinier. He objected to the harsh measure of expulsion. This amendment was not seconded.

The motion of *Marx* was carried with one dissentient and one neutral.

## *January 23, 1866*

Marx read a letter from the Leipsic correspondent Liebknecht. They had formed a small branch there; he also referred to a visit he had recently received from the editor[a] of the *Social-Demokrat.*[292]

*Marx* also read letter from De Paepe[b] explaining his long silence; he was sorry they had not increased in numbers; but they had now confederated with the "People"[c] and had made the *Tribune of the People* their organ[293]; they wished to exchange with the *Workman's Advocate.*

First published, in Russian, in *Generalny Sovet Pervogo Internatsionala. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1961

Reproduced from the Minute Book

[a] Hofstetten.—*Ed.*
[b] of January 14, 1866.—*Ed.*
[c] *La Tribune du Peuple.*—*Ed.*

# FROM A LETTER BY JENNY MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER[294]

The following lines are taken from a letter written in London on January 29:

"With respect to religion, a significant movement is currently developing in stuffy old England. The top men in science, Huxley (Darwin's school) at the head, with Charles Lyell, Bowring, Carpenter, etc., give very enlightened, truly bold, free-thinking lectures for the people in St. Martin's Hall, and, what is more, on Sunday evenings, exactly at the time when the lambs are usually making a pilgrimage to the Lord's pastures; the hall has been full to bursting and the people's enthusiasm so great that, on the first Sunday evening, when I went there with my family, more than 2,000 people could not get into the room, which was crammed full. The clerics let this dreadful thing happen three times.—Yesterday evening, however, the assembly was informed that no more lectures could be held until the court case brought by the spiritual fathers against the SUNDAY EVENINGS FOR THE PEOPLE[a] was heard. The gathering emphatically expressed its indignation and more than a hundred pounds were then collected for fighting the case. How stupid of the clerics to interfere. To the annoyance of this pious band, the evenings even closed with music. Choruses from Händel, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Gounod were sung and received enthusiastically by the English, who had, until now, only been allowed to bawl out JESUS, JESUS, MEEK AND MILD[b] or take themselves off to the GIN palace on Sundays."[c]

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[a] In the original the English words are followed by a German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

[b] In the original the first words of a hymn are given in English with a German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

[c] The next two paragraphs are from *Der Vorbote* editors.—*Ed.*

These events may well provide the incentive for the numerous societies of free-thinkers in England,[295] which so far have taken a more reserved stand, to come before the people in order that their research might be put to practical use.

It is also a sign of the times that the Fenian cause[296] arouses deep sympathy among the English working class, both because it opposes the clerics and because it is republican.

Written on January 29, 1866

First published in *Der Vorbote,* No. 2, February 1866

Printed according to the journal checked with the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# TO THE EDITOR OF *L'ECHO DE VERVIERS*[297]

18, Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, London

Sir,

We count upon your sense of justice and your desire "to spread the truth and the light among the working classes" in asking you to publish the following letter, a copy of which has been sent to Citizen V.[a]

Yours faithfully,
Jung

Mr. V.,

*L'Echo de Verviers* published an article, in its issue No. 293 of December 16, 1865, ostensibly aimed at explaining to working men the spirit that animates the members of the Central Council of the *International Working Men's Association.* Citizen Le Lubez, who presented it to the Council (as he had been instructed to do), recognised that the article, although anonymous, was from your pen.

After long discussion, the Central Council at its meeting on January 9, 1866, adopted the following resolution:

"Citizen V. is expected to provide evidence for the facts he has cited; if he refuses or is incapable of doing so, he shall be expelled from the *International Working Men's Association.*"[b]

Since your article departs completely from the truth, the Central Council regards it as its duty to restore the full facts. The Central Council is aware of its mission, and of the mandate entrusted to it;

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[a] Pierre Vésinier.—*Ed.*
[b] Cf. this volume, p. 389.—*Ed.*

it will not refute slander with slander, nor lies with lies. It will not stoop to personal accusations but will let the accused vindicate themselves. It will not be deterred by any obstacles, and despite false friends, it will leave no spot or blemish on its reputation.

Particularly noteworthy are the following passages:

I

"Before long all the French and Italian members resigned on account of the presence of Messrs. Tolain and Fribourg in the Committee, and their intrigues" (*Echo de Verviers,* No. 293).

Of the nine French members, only two withdrew, namely, Messrs. Denoual and Le Lubez, the latter returning shortly afterwards. As for the Italians, one of them (Citizen Wolff) gave as the reason for his resignation, not "the presence of Messrs. Tolain and Fribourg in the Committee, and their intrigues", but a Central Council resolution concerning Citizen Lefort[a] proposed by the Sub-Committee, for which he himself had voted, a few hours earlier, as a member of the Sub-Committee.

II

"The Committee continued to function without them, and has done so to this day" (*Echo de Verviers,* No. 293).

Of the two French members who withdrew, Citizen Le Lubez, former secretary for France, returned shortly afterwards as the delegate from the Deptford section; consequently, the Committee did not function without him for long.

III

"It (the Committee) published an Address and Provisional Rules, the former being from the pen of an eminent publicist of Latin race, etc." (*Echo de Verviers,* No. 293).

The Address and the Rules were published prior to the withdrawal of the two French members and the Italian members. The Address is not from the pen of an eminent publicist of Latin race, but of a writer of Teutonic race.[b] The Address was adopted

[a] See this volume, pp. 82-83, 330.— *Ed.*
[b] The reference is to Giuseppe Mazzini and Karl Marx.— *Ed.*

unanimously by all the members of the Central Council, including the French and the Italians, even before the publicist of Latin race had acquainted himself with it. So far from being its author, had he acquainted himself with it, he would have urged the Italian members to oppose it because of its anti-bourgeois character. But, having arrived too late, all he could do was to prevent the Italian members from translating it into Italian. It is evident that you have never read this Address, and the eminent publicist of Latin race will not thank you for attributing it to his pen.

## IV

"Has it (the Committee) pursued the aim it has set itself—the complete emancipation of the working people?

"No. Instead, it has wasted a precious year to call a conference and work out the programme of the congress that is to take place in Geneva, etc." (*Echo de Verviers,* No. 293).

The Central Council hardly began to function till around 1865. This means that nine months passed before the conference was held. It spent these "precious" nine months to establish international relations and extend its contacts in Britain. Every week, for a period of several months, deputations composed of Council members were sent to various working men's societies to induce them to join the Association. Here is the result: at the time of the conference the *International Working Men's Association* numbered 14,000 members in Britain; among the affiliated societies were such important organisations as the Shoemakers' and Operative Bricklayers' societies; the most influential and noted men of these large working men's organisations (Trades Unions) were members of the Central Council; a newspaper had been founded whose very title (*The Workman's Advocate*) indicates its mission, a newspaper which always and everywhere defends the interests of the working class.

The association for universal suffrage (the Reform League) was founded in Britain, an association which has thousands of members and whose secretary,[a] as well as most of the members of its Executive Council, have been elected from our midst.[298]

In France we have several thousand supporters.

In Paris there is a strong, active and irreproachable Administration with over two thousand members; there are branches in

[a] George Howell.—*Ed.*

Lyons, Rouen, Nantes, Caen, Neufchâteau, Pont-l'Evêque, Pantin, St. Denis, Lisieux, Puteaux, Belleville, etc., etc., etc.

In Switzerland—an administration in Geneva, made up of the finest people, with 500 members, and branches in Lausanne, Vevey, Montreux and the Neuchâtel canton.

In Belgium the movement was taking shape under the most auspicious circumstances, and the Central Committee had reason to believe that it would not be long before Spain followed suit.

## V

"No, it (the Committee) did not invite to its conference in September 1865 even a single delegate from Germany, where there are so many working men's societies, nor from the numerous British societies, nor from the Italian societies, which are so well organised, nor from those existing in France, for Tolain, Fribourg & Co. are not delegates of any society of French working men—they delegated themselves; they did not provide any proof of being invested with any mandate. Far from being delegates of French working men's associations, their very presence was the sole reason why the latter did not send delegates to the London Conference. We could name several associations which refused for this reason to attend, etc., etc." (*Echo de Verviers,* No. 293).

In principle, representation at the conference was restricted to the sections of the International Working Men's Association and to the societies which had subscribed to its principles; moreover, the state of our finances impelled us to limit the number of delegates to the barest minimum.

In the case of Germany, "where there are so many working men's societies", the only ones that could have been represented were the consumers' societies, founded by Schulze-Delitzsch, and the Lassallean societies, the General Association of German Workers. The former—whose membership is unaware of the fact—are merely a tool of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie, with Schulze-Delitzsch as one of its *matadors*; the Lassallean societies were, and still are, in a state of complete disintegration, one group having entered into a coalition with Bismarck, while the other, which had not yet reconstituted itself, recognised as its leader J. Ph. Becker, the Swiss delegate to the conference. While the conference was in session, he received a mandate from the workers of the Solingen factories, and he also represented the German Society in Geneva—the German Workers' Educational Society. The German Society in London (German Workers' Educational Society) was represented by its delegates to the Central Council.[299]

Apart from the obstacles which working men encounter in forming societies in Germany, the law also prohibits them from joining foreign societies. Nevertheless, several sections have been formed in the North and South of Germany.

In view of all these difficulties, is it so very surprising that Germany was not represented as well as the Central Council would have liked?

The British societies were very well represented by the British members of the Central Council: Odger, the President, is Secretary of the TRADES COUNCIL (supreme council of all the British TRADES UNIONS); Cremer, the General Secretary, is a member of the Carpenters' Executive Committee; Howell, Secretary of the Reform League and a member of the Operative Bricklayers' Executive Committee, and Coulson, Secretary of the latter society, are both delegates from it to the Central Council; Wheeler, general manager of a mutual life insurance company, is a member of the Central Council.

The shoemakers (5,500 members) were represented by Odger, Morgan and Cope, while Shaw represented the house-painters, etc., etc.

Citizen Wolff, who attended the Italian working men's congress at Naples in 1865, and the other Italian members of the Council, did not succeed in winning a single supporter in Italy, although they took a very active part in the work of the Central Council. The Central Council deplores the fact that the Italian members did not, even before they withdrew, enjoy sufficient confidence with "the Italian societies, which are so well organised", to persuade at least one of them to join the International Association.

"Not a single delegate from those [societies] existing in France, for Tolain, Fribourg & Co. are not delegates of any French society—they delegated themselves".

The members of the Lyons section regretted that the lack of funds had prevented them from sending delegates, but like those of the Caen and Neufchâteau sections, they sent a manifesto, thereby taking part in the work of the Central Council.

Tolain, Fribourg, Limousin and Varlin had been elected by general vote in the Paris section; this section is composed of workers of all trades as well as several hundred members of the Crédit au Travail association. Beluze, who heads the association, is also a member of the section. All of them took, or could have taken, part in the election of the delegates. Limousin, one of the four Paris delegates, is secretary of the Board of the newspaper *L'Association,* international organ of the co-operative societies.

Mr. Clariol was delegated by the Printers' Society of Paris. On the invitation of the Central Council, Messrs. Schily, Dumesnil-Marigny and others came from Paris to attend the conference, in which they took a very active part.

Which are the other societies that you say were prevented by the presence of Tolain, Fribourg & Co. from sending delegates to the conference? Are you referring to the Society of December 10,[300] the only one permitted by the present French regime?

The report on the conference appeared in all the liberal newspapers of Paris without giving rise to a single complaint or a single objection on the part of the members of the International Association or the French co-operative societies. The mandate given to the delegates had been verified and approved by the Sub-Committee of the Central Council.

At the very beginning of the conference the Paris delegates presented a detailed and faithful report on the activities of their Administration and the state of their finances, and corroborated it by putting their books and the whole of their correspondence at the disposal of the Central Council. The Central Council may congratulate itself on the effective steps taken by the Paris Administration to establish and propagate the International Association in France.

## VI

"Belgium sent a very able delegate, Citizen De Paepe, but he was the only representative from that country, which numbers many associations" (*Echo de Verviers,* No. 293).

It is regrettable that Belgium sent only one delegate and that this delegate was the one to represent the least number of electors. Nevertheless, that country was fittingly represented in the person of César De Paepe.

## VII

"Switzerland, or rather Geneva, sent two delegates who are not Swiss, namely, a French refugee and another from Baden, who arrived for the conference together with the two supposedly French delegates mentioned above—altogether five or six persons of the same brand, and one real and serious delegate, the Belgian" (*Echo de Verviers,* No. 293).

The Swiss delegates[a] had been elected by general vote by all the members of the various sections of the International Association in

[a] F. Dupleix and J. P. Becker.—*Ed.*

Switzerland, the Grütli Society,[301] which is entirely Swiss, and the German Society.

The German Workers' Educational Society, too, participated in the election through its representatives in the International Association's organisation in Switzerland. By the choice of their delegates, the Association's Swiss members have won an honourable place in the history of the International Association.

The Swiss delegates arrived at the conference, not "together with the two supposedly French delegates", but with the four Paris delegates.

Citizen Becker, one of the conference delegates, has been a naturalised Swiss for more than twenty years. He was made a citizen of the town of Bienne in recognition of his services to the cause of world democracy. A working man himself, he became distinguished as an agitator, soldier, organiser and writer. He has always used his manifold talents for the cause of the working people. It is ridiculous to see pygmies assailing such giants, whose merits, clearly, may be judged only by men who are themselves known for their probity and disinterested attitude.

## VIII

"We ask: is that a satisfactory result?" (*Echo de Verviers,* No. 293).

The Central Council is composed almost exclusively of workmen who are used to handling hammers and files, and it is only at the price of personal sacrifice that they can change them for the pen. Whenever they turn to the pen, they do so to defend or promote a noble cause, and not to sell themselves to Bonapartism. If the result is not as satisfactory as workers in general would have liked it to be, we are convinced that they will take into account the evenings spent working after a long and exhausting day of labour, and the anxiety which their brothers had to experience before they achieved the present state of affairs.

## IX

"Yielding to pernicious influences, questions such as the abolition of Russian influence in Europe that bear no relation to the aims of the Association, were included in the programme of the Geneva Congress" (*Echo de Verviers,* No. 294).

What are the pernicious influences to which the Central Council yielded by including in its programme the question of the need to do away with Muscovite influence in Europe (not Russian influence, which means an entirely different thing)? The need to "do away with Muscovite influence in Europe" is recognised in principle by our Inaugural Address, which was certainly not published under anyone's pernicious influence.

What are the other questions included in the programme as a result of pernicious influences?

## X

"This enormous mistake has already had fatal consequences; the Poles have demanded en masse to be admitted into the Committee, and they will soon command a vast majority on it" (*Echo de Verviers,* No. 294).

The Poles did not demand en masse to be admitted into the Central Council, and far from commanding a vast majority on it, they form less than one-twentieth of it.

How can one reason with a writer who says:

"The Committee drew up and put to the vote a programme of twelve points covering nearly all the more general problems of political economy, but did not pose a single scientific question",

and who, a few lines further down, recognises, without even pausing for breath, "the scientific importance" of the very same questions?

The Central Council, far from being exclusive, has always sought to benefit by the knowledge and culture of all sincere friends of the working people's cause; it has been doing all in its power to promote its great principles and to unite the workers of all countries. To this end, it has founded three newspapers in Switzerland: *Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* and *La Voix de l'Avenir,* published in French, and *The Forerunner* (*Vorbote*), published in German; and one in Britain, *The Workman's Advocate,* the only English newspaper which, proceeding from the right of the peoples to self-determination, recognises that the Irish have the right to throw off the English yoke.

The Central Council cannot pass judgement on its own actions. The Geneva Congress will decide whether the Council is worthy of

the trust placed in it, or whether it has abandoned lightly the noble goal set before it.

I remain, Sir, your faithful servant,

H. Jung

For the Central Council
of the International Working Men's Association

February 15, 1866

First published in *L'Echo de Verviers*, No. 43, February 20, 1866

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

# RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON MAZZINI'S ATTITUDE TO THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[302]

## FROM THE MINUTES OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING OF MARCH 13, 1866

Citizen *Marx* made a speech in reference to the proceedings at the previous meeting. He said it was not true, as Major Wolff had stated, that Mazzini had written our Statutes. He, Marx, wrote them after discussion in Committee. Several draughts were discussed, Wolff's draught among the rest.[303] On two points they were quite distinguished from each other. Marx spoke of capital oppressing labour. Wolff wanted centralisation and understood by Working Men's Associations only benefit societies. Mazzini's statutes were printed at the time of the conference in Naples.

It could hardly be true that Mazzini had seen Marx's Address before it was printed as it was in Marx's pocket, unless Mazzini saw it after it had been put in Le Lubez's hands and before it had been taken to the *Bee-Hive.*

Again Mazzini wrote to Brussels, to Fontaine, a letter which was to be communicated to the Belgian societies, in which he warned them against Marx's Socialist views. This was stated by De Paepe at the conference.[304]

Major Wolff was not a member of the Council. Major Wolff ought to have sent a letter informing the Council that he intended to prefer his complaint. He [Marx] protested against the proceedings at the last meeting in the name of himself and the other Continental secretaries. He desired a note of this to be taken as it might be brought before the Congress at Geneva.

First published in Marx and Engels, *Works,* Second Russian Edition, Vol. 16, Moscow, 1960

Reproduced from the Minute Book

# MANCHESTER SCHILLER INSTITUTE CIRCULAR[305]

Carlton Buildings, Cooper Street,
March 19, 1866

The Schiller Institute, whose six-year-long existence offers complete proof that it is an institution which satisfies real needs, must leave its present premises in June next year, since the lease will then have expired, and the owner will have definitely refused to extend it.

The Board of Directors has therefore to tackle the following task in order to provide the Institute with the premises it needs for its purpose.

After all attempts to find a suitable building had failed, and no contractor could be found who was prepared to erect such a building which would then be let to the Institute, there remained no other way out than to see if the necessary funds could be raised for a building to be erected at the Institute's own expense.

The essential points that one must bear in mind here are the following:

The Institute must be located in a central part of the city.

Visitors to the Institute must be able to enter it on the ground floor.

Its individual rooms must be at least the same size as the present ones.

The fulfilment of these conditions appeared indispensable to us, if the Institute was to continue to thrive. In addition, however, it seemed desirable to provide the various associations existing in Manchester with the opportunity of finding a common home in the projected new building. This purpose can be achieved if the uppermost floor were turned into a hall seating 250 to 300 people. Such a hall would make a negligible difference to the cost of the building, while the Institute's income could be greatly supplemented by letting it.

We have accordingly put every effort into finding a suitable plot of land and into ascertaining the cost of such an undertaking.

The following is the result of our calculations:

| | |
|---|---|
| Cost of a plot of land with a building area of approximately 350 to 400 square yards | £6,000 to £7,000 |
| Cost of the building work | £3,500 to £4,000 |
| Equipping and furnishing the building | £500 to £500 |
| Total | £10,000 to £11,500 |

We firmly believe we can obtain a mortgage of £5,000 to £6,000 on land and property of this type, and draw from the past financial practices of the Institute, taking account of the expected increase in income and expenditure, the firm conviction that the interest on such a loan would be covered.

To go ahead with our plan, we would therefore need capital of our own of from £5,000 to £5,500.

Although the Schiller Institute is open to members from all nations and non-Germans have repeatedly taken part in its activities, the Institute is essentially a German one.

According to the present register, it has a membership of over 300 members and offers them the following facilities:

a library consisting of more than 4,000 volumes at present,

a reading room in which 55 newspapers are available, most of which are German,

lectures on scientific and literary subjects, namely in the special associations, which have been formed for this purpose within the Institute.

Whenever possible the Institute does its best to further German intellectual activities, and also offers opportunities for social gatherings to be held on its premises which are particularly beneficial to new arrivals from the fatherland who have no other meeting place here.

We are firmly convinced that the Institute can pursue these goals in the future to an even greater extent, if we are able to carry out our plans to improve the Institute from the point of view of accommodation, as the latter would also improve our financial situation.

From the above, it becomes obvious that we are mainly appealing to Germans residing in Manchester; we are enquiring whether they are willing to provide the funds necessary for the purposes mentioned.

So as not to burden the Institute from the outset with exorbitant interest payments, the Board of Directors decided to attempt to raise the above-mentioned sum by donations; however, to ensure that the building to be erected could only be used for the purposes of the Institute, it was simultaneously decided that, in case the Schiller Institute should cease to function, the donors should become its creditors to the amount of their donation, and this will be expressly stated in the receipts given for donation.

As soon as it was made known that the Institute intended to have its own building and thereby safeguard its existence, such a lively response was evoked among the members that within a few days nearly £1,200 in donations of £25 and less were placed at the disposal of the Board of Directors.

This highly significant sum is essentially the result of the willing efforts and sacrifice of the more recently arrived Germans who also represent those who benefit directly from the Institute.

Encouraged by this result, which proves that even at the present moment the Institute is needed by a significant number of Germans residing locally, we are now turning to those who take perhaps a less involved interest in an institution which strives for such goals and which, once it is firmly established, will form a focal point of all German efforts in Manchester.

We are appealing to you to enable us to carry out our plans by donating the funds.

The Board of Directors trusts that all the Germans in Manchester will work together for this goal which will benefit us all. Only in this way can it hope to see this project come to life, and therefore believes it is justified in warmly recommending these plans.

By order of the Board of Directors

*F. Engels,* Chairman
*J. G. Wehner,* Treasurer
*A. Burkhard,* Secretary

First published as a leaflet in March 1866

Printed according to the leaflet

Published in English for the first time

# FROM THE MINUTE BOOK OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL

## CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETINGS
(May 1866)

### *May 1, 1866*

*Lessner* reported that as a number of German tailors had been imported into Edinburgh and as it was currently reported that some of the London employers were making arrangements to bring several here, the German tailors resident in London had formed themselves into a committee and wished to co-operate with the Council of the International Working Men's Association to checkmate the designs of the employers and their agents which they had in Germany.

*Marx* stated that if Lessner would send him the facts, he would directly communicate with the German papers.[306]

### *May 15, 1866*

Citizen *Marx* read extracts from Leipsic journals[a] cautioning German tailors against coming to England to supplant the English tailors who were on strike.

First published, in Russian, in *Generalny Sovet Pervogo Internatsionala. 1864-1866*, Moscow, 1961

Reproduced from the Minute Book

[a] A reference to "A Warning" written by Marx for German newspapers (see this volume, pp. 162-63).— *Ed.*

# Paul Lafargue

## SURVEY OF THE PROGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION [307]

The *International Working Men's Association* was founded at a meeting on September 28, 1864 in St. Martin's Hall, London. This meeting was attended by representatives of the principal European nations (Germany, Poland, Switzerland, France, Belgium and Italy). The election took place of a provisional Central Committee charged with the tasks of editing the manifesto, drawing up the regulations and establishing branches throughout Europe.

Our present wish, in advance of the Congress,[a] is to give an account of what has been achieved to all the members of the *Association,* as well as to those who have not yet joined.

### *ENGLAND*

A large number of the English working men's societies* have accepted the principles of the *International Association* and are affiliated to it (the society of bricklayers, the shoemakers, the cabinet-makers, the tailors, etc.)...

At the present time the societies of the carpenters, coopers, joiners, etc., are ready to become members.

The reform movement has absorbed the entire attention of the working class for a moment and the entire activity of the Central

* The reader should remember that the English working class is partly organised. Indeed its societies (*trade-unions*) comprise all the members of a singular industry. Some of these societies contain a considerable number of men; the shoemakers, for example, number around 30,000 members.

[a] A reference to the Geneva Congress of the International.—*Ed.*

Council. But for some time past deputations from the Central Council have been sent to all the working men's societies in order to acquaint them with its principles and to invite them to join. These deputations have everywhere been warmly received.

In London the Central Council has established a newspaper, *The Commonwealth,* which has become its official organ.

A German branch and a French branch of the *International Association* have been formed.

But its greatest title to public attention is that it has awakened and sustained in the English working class the consciousness of its own political power, a consciousness that had been lost since the reaction of 1848,[a] as was pointed out in the Inaugural Address. The stimulus it has provided in this respect has been so great that the society of shoemakers has deleted from its statutes the clause which forbade it to concern itself with politics; the society of masons is in the process of doing likewise.

It is the *International Association* which induced the workers to persevere in their anti-slavery policy during the American War. The International was one of the first to send a message of congratulations to Lincoln on his re-election.[b] Lincoln replied and strongly urged the members of the Association to continue its campaign for union and harmony.

The *Association* has taken the initiative in the movement of the Reform League. After the first meeting of the reformists an organisational and agitational committee was set up. It was composed of 27 members, 24 of whom belonged to the Central Council, and it was these who called for universal suffrage.[308] At a time when the entire English press clapped its hands and applauded the government's treatment of the Fenians, *The Commonwealth* was alone in venturing to raise its voice in their defence. The Central Council even sent a request to the Secretary of State to be granted an interview with the Minister in order to plead for better treatment for the prisoners. The request was refused.[309]

The *International Association* has latterly achieved a success which has modified the attitude of the press towards it. The journeymen tailors had been LOCKED OUT by their employers,* who

* In England, the employers as well as the workers go on strike. They close their workshops and set their wretched employees out on the street. This is what is happening at the moment in Sheffield where the workers in the woollen industry are without work and all the other societies have come to their aid.

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[a] See this volume, p. 10.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 19-21.—*Ed.*

immediately sent agents to the Continent to recruit workers to replace them. The Central Council warned its correspondents, who managed, either by word of mouth or through the press, to thwart the plans of the employers. However, a certain number of German workers, who originated in towns where the *International Association* has no members, did arrive in Edinburgh. Two of their compatriots were dispatched to meet them and on their return they were able to report to the Central Council, announcing the workers' departure, which in fact took place a few days later.*

## *SWITZERLAND*

It is above all in Switzerland that the *International Association* has experienced the most rapid growth and has achieved some positive results. It has established branches in almost all the towns of Switzerland: Geneva, Lausanne, Vevey, Montreux, La Chaux-de-Fonds, St.-Imier, Sonvillier, Porrentry, Bienne, Basle, Zurich, Aubonne, Wetzibonne, etc.

The *International Association* is the owner of three newspapers, two written in French, the *Voix de l'Avenir* and the *Journal de l'Association Internationale,* and one in German, *Der Vorbote.* All the Swiss papers have put their publicity at the service of the *Association.*

In Lausanne the members of the *Association* undertook work for the state last winter, earning around 24,000 francs, with the aim of providing workers with work during the idle season. The workshop, managed by the workers themselves and without the participation of any employer, was a source of astonishment to visitors and the municipal authorities. The Association has set up a bank known as the *Caisse du crédit mutuel* with a capital of 20,000 frs divided into shares of 5 francs each.—A workers' circle has been created.

In La Chaux-de-Fonds a bakers' co-operative has been established and a butchers' co-operative has been announced. Hardly had the bakery been started when the bakers lowered the price of bread to 16 centimes a pound. Nor has the project of the butchers' co-operative failed to have an impact on the price of meat; the butchers have already reduced it by 9 centimes.

* At the request of Odger, its President, the Central Council intends to discuss the question of the war and will call a large meeting of workers to sound out popular feeling.

In Geneva a consumers' society is being formed. In Offenbach it has been decided to create funds for the construction of workers' homes, on the lines of the *familistère*[a] of Guise, near Paris.

## *GERMANY*

The *International Association* in Germany, as in France, has not been able to develop very far, owing to the absence of freedom! Nevertheless it has succeeded in forming branches in Leipzig, Hamburg, Hanover, Mainz, Berlin, Pelewodau,[b] Lulingen, Langenbielau, Puilberg, Wult, Eudorf, etc.

With the approach of war,[c] greater freedom has been allowed and so the *Association* is now better able to prosper. All the chief leaders of the German working-class movement have accepted its principles and are actively engaged in propagating them.

## *FRANCE*

The *International Association* has branches in a number of towns: Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux, Caen, Neufchâteau, Argentau, Rennes, Rouen, Grandville, etc., etc.

Although little developed as yet, it has rendered a service to the working class of Lyons. The tulle workers were on strike and were about to give in because their bosses had threatened to bring in English workers who, it was alleged, were paid less. The workers asked for information and the Central Council replied that the opposite was the case. So they persevered and obtained their demands.

## *BELGIUM*

Several branches have been established in Brussels, Antwerp, Liège, Verviers, Ghent, Namur, Patignies, etc. The society known as *Le Peuple* is federated with the *International Association,* and its organ, the *Tribune du Peuple,* now belongs to the Association.

In the Belgian Reform movement, it is the Association that has exercised the greatest influence and through its numerous

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[a] A workers' community based on Fourierist principles.—*Ed.*

[b] Presumably Peterswaldau.—*Ed.*

[c] The Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—*Ed.*

meetings it has succeeded in focussing reformist aspirations unequivocally on the issue of universal suffrage.

## *ITALY*

Hitherto Italy has been preoccupied with the questions of unity and has not been able to devote much thought to social problems. However the Central Committee of all the Italian workers' societies has accepted the principles of the *International Association* and has undertaken to promote its ideas. Branches already exist in Genoa, Milan, etc.

## *AMERICA*

The Association is in communication with New York and a number of towns in Massachusetts.

Written at the beginning of June (before 12), 1866

First published in *La Rive Gauche,* No. 24, June 17, 1866

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

# FROM THE MINUTE BOOK OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL

## CENTRAL (GENERAL) COUNCIL MEETINGS

(June-December 1866)

### *June 12, 1866*

*Lafargue* read from *La Rive Gauche* a summary of doings of the Central Council.[a]

Citizen *Marx* read a letter from Leipsic which stated that all the Saxon working men's associations had joined the International.[310]

### *June 19, 1866*

The debate on the war[311] attracted a large concourse of members. It was ably opened by Citizen *Eccarius,* who illustrated his address with a map of Germany, made for the occasion. He was followed by Citizens *Le Lubez, Fox, Lafargue, Marx,* who made a highly interesting speech, *Carter, Dutton* and *Hales.* Speeches were made in French and English.

### *July 17, 1866*

The Discussion on the War was then resumed. Cits. *Dutton, Bobczynski* and *Marx* were the principal speakers. Cits. *Cremer* and *Fox* withdrew their respective amendments, and the wording of the Bobczynski-Carter resolution was amended and ultimately passed, *nem. con.,* in the following form:

"That the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association consider the present conflict on the Continent to be one between Governments and advise working men to be neutral, and to associate themselves with a view to acquire strength by unity and to use the strength so acquired in working out their social and political emancipation."[312]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 406-10.—*Ed.*

*July 24, 1866*

That the Secretary and any member of the Central Council take whatever steps they may deem advisable to get Italian societies represented at the Congress. Carried unanimously.[313] [...]

The Order of the Day was then discussed, led off by *Cremer* who proposed as recommendation to Congress that the Central Council should sit in London. Seconded by *Marx*. Carried unanimously.[314]

*September 18*

Citizen *Marx* stated that the notice of the Manchester tailors' strike[315] had been inserted in the democratic journals in the North, South, and Centre of Germany; he gave a list of those journals.

*September 25*

*Lawrence* moved that Marx be President for the ensuing twelve months; *Carter* seconded that nomination.[316] *Marx* proposed Odger: he, Marx, thought himself incapacitated because he was a head worker and not a hand worker. *Weston* seconded Odger. A ballot was taken and Odger was carried by 15 v. 3. [...]

*Marx* proposed to constitute this Committee[a] provisionally only, for the present. The Committee to consist of the office-holders and secretaries already appointed. Agreed to by common consent.

*October 2*

Carter contended that affiliation and membership were two different things and that the Congressional Rules applied only to the latter.

*Marx,* on the authority of the Minutes, contradicted Carter and said that the Congress refused to recognise any affiliation as distinct from membership.[317]

*October 9*

On the motion of *Marx* the General Secretary[b] was ordered to write to the French *Ministre de l'Intérieur* complaining of the

[a] The Standing Committee.—*Ed.*
[b] Fox.—*Ed.*

seizure of the Association's papers and requesting that they be restituted.[318]

Citizen *Dupont* read a letter from Citizen Fribourg of Paris asking for the Minutes of the Congress to enable them to publish a report of the Congress.

*Marx* protested against the latter step, inasmuch as the duty of publishing an account of the Congress was devolved by that body exclusively on the Central Council. Further, the Parisians had kept their Mémoire[319] in violation of the Congressional order, which ordained that this and other documents should be handed over to the Central Council.

The General Secretary was ordered to write to Fribourg in this sense.

*November 6*

The *Secretary* then brought up the following resolution from the Standing Committee:

1. "That any member of the Central Council who shall be absent for more than four sittings from Council meetings without giving satisfactory reasons therefor, shall be liable to have his name erased from the list of the Council.

2. "This resolution to be immediately communicated to every member of the Council."

A lively discussion sprang up on this resolution, *Carter, Lessner, Hales,* and *Jung* being in favour of it and *Eccarius, Fox,* and *Weston* against it.

Weston thought that at least so important a resolution should not be carried in so thin a meeting and until notice had been given in the *Commonwealth.* He moved that the debate be adjourned until next week; *Lessner* seconded this, and the adjournment was carried unanimously.

*November 20*

On the resolution from the Standing Committee being read with regard to absentees, the following amendment was carried:

That a book be provided for the members of the Council to sign their names in; the said book to be presented to [the] Congress for inspection; and, if any delegate from a society should be absent more than four nights without assigning [a] reason for so doing, the Secretary shall write to the society he represents and inform them of the neglect. [...]

It was proposed by Citizen *Marx* and seconded by Citizen *Jung*: That the anniversary of the Polish Insurrection be celebrated on the 22nd of January.[a] Carried unanimously.

*November 27*

*Fox* then proceeded to say that the French Government had, since the close of the Geneva Congress, departed from its policy of neutrality towards them and was levying war upon them. The French Government had allowed us two years' growth and we were now able to defy the Continental blockade which the French and the Prussian governments had declared against us. We could no longer trust the French and Prussian post-offices; we must seek indirect and secret means of communication with our Continental friends.

*Marx* said that we must force Bonaparte to declare himself, in order that any credit he may have gained for his liberality in letting us flourish unmolested might be lost to him.

*December 18*

*Marx* reported that *Revue des deux Mondes* and *Revue contemporaine* had been commenting on the doings of the Association, and, although they did not agree with the objects of the Association entirely, still they acknowledged it to be one of the leading events of the present century. Marx also said that the *Fortnightly Review* had been commenting on the matter.[b]

First published, in Russian, in *Generalny Sovet Pervogo Internatsionala. 1864-1866* and *1866-1868*, Moscow, 1961 and 1963

Reproduced from the Minute Book

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[a] See Marx's speech at the Polish meeting (this volume, pp. 196-201).— *Ed.*

[b] A reference to Louis Reybaud's "L'Economie politique des ouvriers", *Revue des deux Mondes*, t. 66, November 1, 1866, J. E. Alaux's "Une forme nouvelle du socialisme", *Revue contemporaine*, t. 53, October 15, 1866 and an editorial in *The Fortnightly Review*, No. 37, December 1866.— *Ed.*

# REPORT OF A SPEECH BY KARL MARX AT THE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF THE GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY IN LONDON

FEBRUARY 28, 1867[320]

Karl Marx spoke about wage labour and capital and showed very lucidly how the workers create capital, how they are kept in a state of slavery with the help of the product of their own labour and how capital is constantly used to make their shackles ever stronger. Admittedly the so-called free labourer has the consciousness of being a free labourer, but he is all the more subject to the power of capital as he is compelled to sell his labour for a pitiful wage to obtain the means for satisfying his most essential needs. In most cases, the material condition of the free labourer is worse than that of the slave or serf. The working class has no need to abolish personal property, which was abolished long ago, and is still being abolished daily; what must be abolished is bourgeois property, which is wholly based on fraud.

Regarding social relations in Germany, Marx noted that the German proletariat was best able successfully to effect a radical cure. Firstly, the Germans had to a greater extent freed themselves of all religious nonsense; secondly, unlike the workers in other countries, they need not go through the lengthy period of bourgeois development, and thirdly, their geographical position would compel them to declare war on Eastern barbarism, as it was from there, from Asia, that all reaction hostile to the West had issued. This was impelling the workers' party onto the ground of revolution, the ground on which it must act to attain complete emancipation.

Reported by Friedrich Lessner

Printed according to the journal

First published in *Der Vorbote*, No. 3, March 1867

Published in English for the first time

# FROM THE MINUTE BOOK OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL

## GENERAL COUNCIL MEETINGS

(April 1867)

### *April 16*

*Lafargue* (on behalf of Marx) said that the resolution moved by Odger at one of the Reform meetings conferring a vote [of] thanks upon Count Bismarck was calculated to injure the credit of this Association.[321] He therefore demanded that a vote of censure should be passed upon Odger.

A discussion ensued which ended in instructing the Secretary[a] to write to Odger requesting his attendance at the next meeting.

### *April 23*

After some discussion in which several members took part, the following resolution, proposed by Citizen *Lessner* and seconded by Citizen *Lafargue,* was carried unanimously.

Resolved, "That inasmuch as Citizen Odger has proposed a resolution at the Council of the Reform League thanking Mr. Bismarck for what he had done for the democratic cause in Germany; and inasmuch as Citizen Odger is President of the International Working Men's Association,[b] the General Council feels it to be its duty to repudiate any solidarity with the said resolution and with Citizen Odger's speech in support thereof."

First published, in Russian, in *Generalny Sovet Pervogo Internatsionala. 1866-1868,* Moscow, 1963

Reproduced from the Minute Book

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[a] P. Fox.— *Ed.*

[b] Inaccuracy in the minutes: at that time Odger was President of the General Council. There was no such post as President of the International Working Men's Association.— *Ed.*

# MANCHESTER SCHILLER INSTITUTE CIRCULAR[322]

## TO THE UNDERWRITERS OF THE FUND FOR THE BUILDING OF A NEW SCHILLER INSTITUTE

Since the subscription, which was started last year by the Board of Directors for the above purpose, was closed owing to the war[a] and the business crisis after £2,875 had been subscribed, the conditions pertaining to the Institute's existence were fundamentally changed with respect to the new building. The Board of Directors accordingly considers it its duty to give the underwriters of the fund the necessary explanation.

Since the sum of money stipulated in the circular of March 19, 1866, was insufficient to cover the cost of the building proposed (a total of £5,000 to £5,500 was needed), and in the circumstances obtaining at the time there were also no prospects for collecting the remaining amount in time, the Board of Directors had no choice but to look around for temporary premises for the present.

It turned out that such premises were not available in the centre of the city where the Institute was to be located according to the Basic Rules. Consequently, the Board of Directors was forced to maintain the present premises until June 1868 which could only be achieved by paying double rent, a rise from £225 to £450.

In these circumstances, the question could no longer be ignored whether it was absolutely essential for the Institute to be in the centre, i.e. in the city's business quarter; whether the advantages thereby gained would not be paid for too dearly, owing to the enormous increases in the prices of land and in rents; and whether a, strictly speaking, less central site, for example, near All Saints' Church, which would cost far less, might not in fact be more

[a] The Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—*Ed.*

convenient and central for the overwhelming majority of the Institute's members.

According to the plan drawn up last year, even if £5,000 were collected through donations, the Institute would still have to carry a mortgage of £5-6,000, and would therefore have to pay interest amounting to between £250 and £300 annually. As the value of land in the centre of the city has significantly increased since last March alone, the purchasing price fixed at the time and the mortgage necessary to cover it,and therefore the Institute's annual debt, can likewise be assumed to be greater. The Institute's balance-sheet over the last two years has only shown £200 left for rent. Although we could count on more members in better premises, and certain additional revenue would have to be taken into account, it is still obvious that the above mentioned interest could only just be afforded. Every pound paid in rent is taken from the Institute's education fund. Last year we were only able to allocate £80 for journals and £20 for the library, although the Institute's total income was £500.

It would be quite different if the premises were moved to the All Saints' district. Here, among other things, there is a suitable plot of land in an extremely favourable position going for £1,700, with an additional £26 Chief Rent. By way of example, this building site forms the basis of our calculations:

| | |
|---|---|
| Purchasing price of the plot of land | £1,700 0 0 |
| Building costs | £3,500 0 0 |
| New furniture | £ 500 0 0 |
| Total | £5,700 0 0 |

for which a mortgage of £2,000 could certainly be obtained. In this case, subscriptions to the building fund would only need to total approximately £3,500 to £4,000, that is £1,000 to £1,500 less than if the new building were in the centre of the city. After the success of last year's subscriptions and with the change in circumstances, we have every reason to hope that the requisite amount will be collected in a short time.

The financial position of the Institute would improve substantially, in spite of the total subscriptions necessarily being smaller. Besides the Chief Rent of £26, there would be £100 interest to pay on the mortgage, so that the total sum needed for the rent would be only £126 instead of £225, which was paid last year, and £450 that we are paying now, or the £250 to £300, which was envisaged in last year's building plan. Even with the income of the last

financial year, instead of £100, £174 could be spent annually on the Institute's library and reading room, which would be almost double the sum available for that purpose. Now, however, it is certain that, with this new building for the Institute, new financial sources would become accessible owing to the increased number of subtenants and the greater membership, and the proceeds from these sources would be used almost exclusively to support the Institute's intellectual pursuits.

If the Institute remains in the centre of the city as it has done up till now, even with donations of £5,000 to £5,500, it will at best only be in a position to eke out an existence with great difficulty and will have to appeal to the German circles in Manchester at every unfavourable change in circumstances.

If, however, it is moved to a district where building sites are cheaper, then donations of £3,500 to £4,000 would not only once and for all establish a permanent existence for itself, but also guarantee an annual surplus in income which would finally allow it to fulfil its purpose in the best way possible.

In these circumstances, the Board of Directors could be in no doubt as to what action it should take. It decided to move to the All Saints' district and set about changing the Basic Rules connected with this. The Board called a general meeting on June 6th which was well attended and where all but one of the participants voted for the following:

"The general meeting declares it desirable that, in the future, Article 1 of the Basic Rules should read in the following manner:

"It is declared expedient to establish a literature and arts institute, to be known as the Schiller Institute here in the city, on the best possible central site

"and authorises the Board of Directors through Article 7 of the Basic Rules and Clause 20 of the Regulations to take a conditional vote on it."

As a result the Board of Directors has taken the necessary steps for definitive voting, which is to take place at the end of August.

The question was raised why, once the decision was made to move the Institute, nobody looked round for a house which could have been taken for a number of years at a relatively cheap rent. The Board of Directors replied that it had been looking for just such a house, but had not found one; that a house of this type would only be found in a location much farther away from the centre of the city than the All Saints' district; that such a location was only to be chosen in an emergency and finally that even in that case at least £1,500 to £2,000 in donations would be needed for the necessary extensions and the furnishing of premises which

would only after all be temporary. For these reasons, such premises were rejected for the present.

When the Board of Directors gains the necessary majority, of which there can be no doubt, to change the Basic Rules, it intends to do the following:

Should the funds prove sufficient to purchase a suitable plot of land near All Saints', to erect a building on it according to the plans made last year, namely with the basement equipped for the gymnastics club and with a large hall on the first floor accommodated, among other things, for the choir, so that the original aim would be achieved of bringing all of Manchester German Associations together under one roof.

If, on the other hand, the contributions should not reach the sum necessary, to correspondingly scale down the new building, but in any case only to put up a building which would conform to the Institute's needs better than the present premises.

The Board of Directors requests you to acquaint yourselves with the above mentioned changes in the building plan and at the same time would like to inform you that a deputation from its midst will have the honour to seek your approval for this.

By order of the Board of Directors

*F. Engels,* chairman
*J. G. Wehner,* treasurer
*A. Davisson,* secretary

Manchester, June 28, 1867

First published as a leaflet

Printed according to the leaflet

Published in English for the first time

# THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION ON THE LAUSANNE CONGRESS[323]

## TO MEMBERS, AFFILIATED SOCIETIES AND ALL WORKERS

Proletarians!

From the correspondence that we receive we can see that the members of the Association are continuing to spread its principles, and that the number of branches is multiplying. This work is particularly striking in Switzerland, where most of our branches are actively engaged in establishing workers' societies of every kind and putting them in contact with us.

Following the Marchiennes massacre,[324] Belgium is making commendable efforts to gather the whole of the Belgian proletariat under our banner.

However, various circumstances have impeded propaganda work in other countries:

Germany, which prior to '48 had manifested such an interest in the study of social questions, has concentrated almost all its active forces on the movement for unification.

In France, where the freedom of the working class is extremely limited, the spread of our principles and of our Association has not been as rapid as one might have hoped: for we had thought that the aid which, *thanks to us,* the English workers' societies gave to French workers' societies during their strikes[325] might have won for us the support of all French workers. Now, as the struggle in France between the capitalist class and the working class is entering into that phase which we will call the *English* phase, that is to say, is becoming particularly acute, the workers must understand that if they are to resist the power of the capitalists successfully, the different members of the working-class community must be linked together by a powerful bond of unity.

England, which has been preoccupied with the reform movement, had put the economic movement temporarily aside. However, now that the reform movement has ended and the enquiry into *the trade unions*[326] is revealing the size and noting the strength of the working class, we believe that the time has come for all workers' societies to recognise our usefulness.

At delegate meetings of the working class tribute has already been paid more than once to the role played by our Association, and a large number of societies have already joined our ranks. It is England, whose working class possesses a powerful organisation, that is called upon to be our most reliable support.

The United States appears to have emerged rejuvenated from its bloody war: the working class is already centralised and has brought its influence to bear upon the bourgeois government which rules in America, obliging several State Legislatures to pass a bill introducing the eight-hour working day. The forthcoming presidential elections have compelled the various political parties to state their position: speaking for the radical party, Wade, president of the Senate, has recognised the need to devote special attention to the question of labour and capital, and he has come out openly in favour of a transformation of capitalist and landed property. As the working class in the United States has considerable organisational power, it will be able to impose its will.

Today, in every civilised country, the working class is on the move, and it is in such countries as America and England, where industry is most developed, that the working class is most solidly organised and the struggle between the bourgeois class and the working class is at its sharpest.

The power of the human individual has disappeared before the power of capital, in the factory the worker is now nothing but a cog in the machine. In order to recover his individuality, the worker has had to unite together with others and create associations to defend his wages and his life. Until today these associations had remained purely local, while the power of capital, thanks to new industrial inventions, is increasing day by day; furthermore in many cases national associations have become powerless: a study of the struggle waged by the English working class reveals that, in order to oppose their workers, the employers either bring in workers from abroad or else transfer manufacture to countries where there is a cheap labour force. Given this state of affairs, if the working class wishes to continue its struggle with some chance of success, the national organisations must become international.

Let every worker give serious consideration to this new aspect of the problem, let him realise that in rallying to our banner he is defending his own bread and that of his children.

We, the General Council, appeal to everyone to ensure that the next Congress, which will take place on September 2, 1867, in Lausanne, will be an impressive demonstration by the working class.

According to the Regulations of the first Congress, each branch has the right to send one delegate to the Congress. Those branches with more than 500 members may also send one delegate for every additional 500 members. Those branches which do not have sufficient resources to send a delegate may join with other branches and contribute to the cost of sending a delegate who will represent them.[a]

The questions to be debated at the Congress are:

1) What *practical* measures can be taken to turn the International Association into a common centre of action on behalf of the working class (female and male) in its struggle to liberate itself from the yoke of capital?

2) How can the working classes use for their own emancipation the credit that they give to bourgeoisie and governments?

Greeting and fraternity:

Corresponding Secretaries:

*E. Dupont*—for France; *K. Marx*—for Germany; *Zabicki*—for Poland; *H. Jung*—for Switzerland; *P. Fox*—for America; *Besson*—for Belgium; *Carter*—for Italy; *P. Lafargue*—for Spain; *Hansen*—for Holland and Denmark

*G. Odger,* President
*G. Eccarius,* Vice-President
*W. Dell,* Treasurer
*Shaw,* Secretary-Treasurer
*Peter Fox,* General Secretary

16, Castle Street, Oxford Street

Drawn up in the middle of July 1867

First published as a leaflet "Prolétaires, parmi les correspondances...", London, July 1867

Printed according to the leaflet

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] Reference to articles 6, 7 and 8 of the Administrative Regulations. See this volume, pp. 445-46.—*Ed.*

# RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON THE STATISTICS IN THE NEW BLUE BOOK[327]

## FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF JULY 23, 1867

Citizen Marx called the attention of the Council to a Parliamentary Blue Book,[328] "Reports by Her Majesty's Secretaries of Embassy and Legation on the Manufactures and Commerce of the Countries in which they reside, 1867", of which the following is an extract:

"During the first eleven months of 1864 the imports into Belgium of raw cast iron were 7,200 tons, of which 5,300 were British; in the corresponding period of 1865 they rose to 18,800 tons, of which 17,000 tons were British, and in 1866 they rose to 29,590 tons, of which 26,200 tons were British. On the other hand, the exports of Belgian cast iron during the first eleven months of 1864 amounted to 24,400 tons, 17,200 tons of which went to France, and 5,900 tons to England; whereas in the corresponding period of 1866 they did not amount to more than 14,000 tons, of which 9,600 tons were exported to France, and only 241 tons to Great Britain. The exports of Belgian rails have also fallen from 75,353 tons, during the first eleven months of 1864, to 62,734 tons in 1866.

The following is an exact statement, in a tabular form, of the quantities of *iron and steel of all sorts* imported into Belgium from Great Britain, and of Belgian iron and steel exported to Great Britain during the first eleven months of 1866, as compared with the corresponding period of 1864.

IMPORTS INTO BELGIUM FROM GREAT BRITAIN.
FIRST ELEVEN MONTHS

| | 1866 | 1864 |
|---|---|---|
| | *tons* | *tons* |
| Ore and filings | 0 | 1 |
| Raw, cast, and old iron | 26,211 | 5,296 |
| Hammered iron (nails, wire, etc.) | 1,031 | 1,777 |
| Castings | 41 | 24 |
| Wrought iron | 255 | 203 |
| Steel in bars, plates, and wire | 3,219 | 1,227 |
| Wrought steel | 522 | 0 |
| Total | 31,289 | 8,528 |

EXPORTS FROM BELGIUM TO GREAT BRITAIN.
FIRST ELEVEN MONTHS

| | 1866 | 1864 |
|---|---|---|
| | *tons* | *tons* |
| Ore and filings | 1,768 | 5,555 |
| Raw, cast, and old iron | 241 | 5,920 |
| Hammered iron (nails, wire, etc.) | 6,727 | 9,436 |
| Castings | 5 | 7 |
| Wrought iron | 12 | 0 |
| Steel in bars, plates, and wire | 50 | 56 |
| Wrought steel | 16 | 5 |
| Total | 8,817 | 20,979 |

The results may be briefly stated thus:—whereas in 1864 (taking the first eleven months of the year) Belgium supplied England with 20,979 tons of iron and steel, in 1866 she only sent 8,817 tons, whilst the exports of British iron and steel to Belgium rose from 8,528 tons in 1864 to 31,289 tons in 1866" [No. 5, pp. 594-95].

It would be recollected that some of the middle-class newspapers had last year raised an outcry about the pernicious effects of the Trades Unions, that their doings were driving the iron trade from this country into the hands of the Belgian ironmasters. None of the papers that had raised that outcry had even mentioned the appearance of this Blue Book, much less stated its contents.

First published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 302, July 27, 1867 and *The Working Man*, No. 18, July 27, 1867

Reproduced from the Minute Book

# RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION TO THE CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM[329]

## FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF AUGUST 13, 1867

While the balloting was going on, Citizen *Marx* called attention to the Peace Congress to be held in Geneva. He said it was desirable that as many delegates as could make it convenient should attend the Peace Congress in their individual capacity; but that it would be injudicious to take part officially as representatives of the International Association. The International Working Men's Congress was in itself a peace congress, as the union of the working classes of the different countries must ultimately make international wars impossible. If the promoters of the Geneva Peace Congress really understood the question at issue they ought to have joined the International Association.

The present increase of the large armies in Europe had been brought about by the revolution of 1848; large standing armies were the necessary result of the present state of society. They were not kept up for international warfare, but to keep down the working classes.[330] However, as there were not always barricades to bombard, and working men to shoot, there was sometimes a possibility of international quarrels being fomented to keep the soldiery in trim. The peace-at-any-price party would no doubt muster strong at the Congress. That party would fain leave Russia alone in the possession of the means to make war upon the rest of Europe, while the very existence of such a power as Russia was enough for all the other countries to keep their armies intact.

It was more than probable that some of the French Radicals would avail themselves of the opportunity to make declamatory speeches against their own Government, but such would have more effect if delivered at Paris.

Those who declined putting their shoulders to the wheel to bring about a transformation in the relations of labour and capital ignored the very conditions of universal peace.[a]

First published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper,* No. 305 and abridged in *The Working Man,* No. 21, August 17, 1867

Reproduced from the Minute Book

[a] In the minutes here follow the text of the resolution moved by Marx on this point (see this volume, p. 204) and the report on its adoption by the Council.— *Ed.*

# THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[331]

## THE DUTIES IMPOSED UPON THE GENERAL COUNCIL BY THE FIRST ANNUAL CONGRESS[a]

The Congress passed a resolution appointing the London delegates to wait upon the Swiss, the French, and the British postal authorities to bring the question of international penny postage—of cheap postage—under their notice.[332]

The Swiss postmaster agreed to all the deputation urged, but observed that the French Government stepped [in their] way.

In France the delegates could get no audience, and the British Government only consented to receive a written statement which has been sent.

The other duties imposed upon the General Council by the first annual Congress were: 1. The publication, in several languages, of the transactions of the Congress, including the letters and memoirs addressed to that Congress. 2. To publish periodical or occasional reports in different languages, embracing everything that might be of interest to the Association. 3. To give information of the supply and demand for labour in different localities. 4. An account of co-operative societies. 5. Of the condition of the working class in every country. The Council was also charged with causing a statistical inquiry to be instituted, which was to contain special and detailed information about every branch of industry, in which wages labour is employed, in the most civilised countries of Europe.

To enable the Council to fulfil these various duties, the Congress voted a contribution of threepence per member to the Executive, and a salary of £2 a week to the General Secretary, leaving his appointment to the Council.

As soon as the London delegates had returned, and the Council was reorganised, information was received that some of our

[a] The French version has here: "The Duties Imposed by the Geneva Congress (September 1866)".—*Ed.*

Congress documents had been seized on the person of Jules Gottraux by the French police on the frontier.[333]

The General Secretary was instructed to write to the French Minister of the Interior, but not receiving any reply, an application was made to the British Foreign Office. Lord Stanley, with the greatest readiness, instructed Lord Cowley, the British Ambassador at Paris, to intercede; the result was that within a few days our documents were restored, and a parcel of *Tribunes du Peuple,* which had evidently been seized from somebody else, superadded.

The Congress documents were then handed over to the Standing Committee, with instructions to prepare the report for publication. As there were no funds to pay the General Secretary this labour devolved upon volunteers, who had to do it in their spare hours, which caused further delay. When all was ready the lowest estimate to have a thousand printed in one language was £40. To comply with the Congress instructions required an immediate outlay of £120; the cash in hand on the 31st of December amounted to 18s. 4d.

The General Secretary was instructed to appeal to the affiliated societies of the British section for their contributions—only the London cigar-makers and the Coventry and Warwickshire ribbon-weavers responded immediately. The board of management of the latter association, with a highly commendable zeal to fulfil its obligation—having no funds in hand and many members out of work—forthwith raised a levy to the required amount from the members in work.

The Council then availed itself of an offer made by Citizen J. Collet, the proprietor and editor of the *International Courier,* to publish the report in French and English in weekly parts in the columns of his journal. He also agreed to stereotype the whole at his own expense with the view of publishing it in pamphlet form, and to let the Council share in the profits, if any, the Council undertaking no responsibility whatever in case of loss.

But hardly was this highly advantageous arrangement completed when, on account of not having complied with some legal intricacy, of which the government had previously taken no notice, Citizen Collet had to suspend the publication of his journal for several weeks, and it was not till March that the publication of the Congress report could be regularly proceeded with.[a]

[a] "Congress of Geneva. International Association of Working Men", *The International Courier,* Nos. 7-15, February 20, March 13, 20 and 27, April 3, 10 and 17, 1867; "Congrès de Genève. Société Internationale des Travailleurs", *Le*

The numbers of the *International Courier* containing the report have been sent gratis to the branches. A German version could, for want of a similar opportunity, not be published.

When the publication was completed it was again want of funds that prevented, and still prevents, the publication in pamphlet form.

To make matters worse the French police seized a parcel of rules and cards of membership, purposely issued for the French section, the printing of which cost £4, which was borrowed money.[334] Besides this dead loss, there was the further injury of curtailing the contributions, which in France depend principally upon the scale of individual membership. Beyond all this, there were the old liabilities which were acknowledged as the debt of the Association by the Congress, but no special provision made for their liquidation. They have greatly hampered our action, and continue to be a source of trouble.

Under these circumstances it was utterly impossible to publish either periodical or occasional reports; nor have our correspondents taken the trouble to send us any special information with a view to such publication. The question of entering upon the statistical inquiry had to be abandoned for the present year. To be of any use at all it cannot be limited to the trades at present comprised within the circle of our affiliated societies. Such an inquiry, to answer its purpose, must include every trade, every country, and every locality. This involves not only a large expenditure for printing, stationery, and postage, but also an amount of labour in the shape of correspondence, compiling, and arranging the scattered and specific statements into a comprehensive and comprehensible whole, [so] that the possibility of having it done by volunteers in their leisure hours is altogether out of the question.

## INTERFERENCE IN TRADES' DISPUTES[a]

One of the best means of demonstrating the beneficent influence of international combination is the assistance rendered by the International Working Men's Association in the daily occurring trades' disputes. It used to be a standard threat with

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*Courrier international*, Nos. 8-16, March 9, 16, 23 and 30, April 6, 13, 20 and 27, 1867.— *Ed.*

[a] The French version has here: "The Role of the International Working Men's Association in the Struggle between Capital and Labour".— *Ed.*

British capitalists, not only in London, but also in the provinces, when their workmen would not tamely submit to their arbitrary dictation, that they would supplant them by an importation of *foreigners*. The possibility of such importations taking place was in most cases sufficient to deter the British workmen from insisting on their demands. The action taken by the Council has had the effect of putting a stop to these threats being made publicly. Where anything of the kind is contemplated it has to be done in secret, and the slightest information obtained by the workmen suffices to frustrate the plans of the capitalists. As a rule, when a strike or a lock-out occurs concerning any of the affiliated trades, the Continental correspondents are at once instructed to warn the workmen in their respective localities not to enter into any engagements with the agents of the capitalists of the place where the dispute is. However, this action is not confined to affiliated trades. The same action is taken on behalf of other trades upon application being received. This generally leads to the affiliation of the trades that invoke our aid.

Now and then it happens that the capitalists succeed in getting a few stragglers, but they generally repudiate their engagements upon being informed of the reason why they were engaged.

During the London basket-makers' dispute last winter information was received that six Belgians were at work under the railway arches in Blue Anchor Lane, Bermondsey. They were as strictly guarded against coming in contact with the outside public as a kidnapped girl in a nunnery. By some stratagem a Flemish member of the Council succeeded in obtaining an interview, and upon being informed of the nature of their engagement the men struck work and returned home. Just as they were about to embark a steamer arrived with a fresh supply. The new arrivals were at once communicated with; they too repudiated their engagements, and returned home, promising that they would exert themselves to prevent any further supplies, which they accomplished.[335]

In consequence of the appeals made by deputations from the Council to various British societies, the Paris bronze-workers received very considerable pecuniary support during their lock-out, and the London tailors on strike have in turn received support from Continental associations through the intercession of the Council.[336] The good offices of the Council were also employed on behalf of the excavators, the wire-workers, the block-cutters, the hairdressers, and others.

## PROPAGANDA AND AFFILIATED SOCIETIES[a]

The work of propaganda and affiliation of societies has been greatly impeded in England during the past year. It seems as if the British Legislature could never move a step in the right direction in any matter of great social or political importance unless compelled by a threatening and overwhelming pressure from without, when the public excitement assumes the character of a monomania. While the Reform agitation was at its height, the frequent monster demonstrations in course of organisation, it was almost hopeless to try to engage the attention of working men to the somewhat distant aims of the International Working Men's Association. Most of our British Council members took an active part in these proceedings, which reduced our available forces to go on deputations, while the proceedings themselves caused so much excitement and absorbed so much of the attention of those who might have entertained our applications, that there was no room for their consideration. These proceedings, too, in diverting men's attention to other objects have had the effect of preventing many new members being enrolled and some old ones to renew their subscriptions. Everywhere one was met with the observation that the struggle for Parliamentary Reform was [not] only the struggle of a season, but the paramount duty of the hour and an indispensable stepping stone to that complete emancipation of the working classes from the domination of capital which is the aim of the International Working Men's Association. One step has undoubtedly been gained by the Act of 1867.[337] It is sufficiently comprehensive to enable the working classes to politically combine for class purposes within the precincts of the Constitution, and exercise a direct influence upon the Legislature in matters of social and economical reform in as far as they affect the labour question.

But though our propagandism has been much impeded during the past it has not been arrested. The ordinary mode of proceeding with the affiliation of corporate bodies is somewhat tedious. When the Council has any reasonable ground for believing that the question will be favourably entertained by an association, it applies to the president or secretary by letter. If the application be favourably received, a deputation is requested to attend the Executive to state the aims of the Association. If the

[a] In the French version this and the next sections are combined in Section III entitled "English Section" which is divided in its turn into two paragraphs: "a) Propaganda" and "b) Contributions".— *Ed.*

Executive endorses the statement of the deputation it recommends the question to be entertained at some future general or delegate meeting, when perhaps the deputation is again requested to attend. In some cases the question of affiliation is decided at once—in others the votes of all the members and branches have to be taken to arrive at a decision.

The affiliation of 33 organised bodies has been brought about in this manner during the past year. More than twenty have been corresponded with and received deputations. With some the decisions are pending, others have deferred the consideration to a more favourable opportunity; only one society has flatly refused to enter into any relationship because the Association entertains political questions.

## CONTRIBUTIONS AND AFFILIATED SOCIETIES

The question as to the contributions of affiliated societies occupied the Council at various times. While the question was pending, the Executive of the Operative Bricklayers' Society joined and agreed to contribute £1 per annum.

In March 1865, a deputation from the Council waited on the conference of the Amalgamated Cordwainers' Association, at which the following resolution, proposed by the delegate from Birmingham, and seconded by the delegate from Hull, was unanimously carried:

> "That we cordially agree with the principles of the International Working Men's Association as represented by the deputation from that body, and pledge ourselves to join them for the furtherance of those principles, and endeavour to spread them amongst our constituents."

The question of contributions was raised, but the discussion being out of order was stopped. Some weeks after it was resolved that a declaration of enrolment should be printed, for which organised bodies should pay an entrance fee of 5s., that as many cards as possible should be sold to individual members of such societies, the remainder, when funds were required, should be left to their generosity. It was while this state of things lasted that the liabilities already alluded to were incurred.

The money granted by various affiliated societies last year were voluntary gifts towards defraying the expenses of the delegates to the first Congress, and it was expended for that purpose.

The Cordwainers' Executive granted £5.

To remove this state of uncertainty the Council proposed a minimum contribution per member from affiliated societies.

The Congress voted threepence, which the British delegates maintained could not be levied from trades societies in England.

When, after the Geneva Congress, our deputations were sent to trades societies, it was found that, as the British delegates had foreseen, the threepence per member formed an insurmountable obstacle to the affiliation of organised bodies.

On the 9th of October the Council resolved unanimously that the contribution should be lowered to one halfpenny per member. All the societies that have since been affiliated have joined with that understanding.

The Amalgamated Cordwainers' Association has distinctly declared that the resolution of its Conference of 1865 does not amount to an affiliation, and the conference of the same body of 1867 has rescinded the resolution, which enabled the Council to grant us £5 last year.

The Executive of the Operative Bricklayers has paid £1 for 1867, but has not yet announced any decision, whether it considers the whole society affiliated or not.

The Cordwainers' Association was put down in last year's estimate as containing 5,000 members, the Bricklayers' 3,000 to 4,000.

Two appeals have been made in the course of the year for the contributions; some of the previously affiliated societies have paid, others have not; but, excepting the cordwainers, none have repudiated their obligation.

The Executive of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners has recently passed resolutions to contribute £2 per annum to the funds of the Council, but the question is now under consideration to take the votes of all the members whether the association is to be affiliated in its entirety or not. It numbers about 9,000 members, and extends over England, Wales, and Ireland. The following is a list of the affiliated societies of the British section, and the money furnished by them during the last two years.[a]

Beyond this the elastic web-weavers have granted £1 to the Congress fund; the cigar-makers £1 ls.

There is a considerable difference in the actual income of the two years, but there is an essential difference as to its purport. Last year the money was voted to send delegates to the Congress; it was therefore not available for other purposes; this year's income consists of contributions to defray the expense of

[a] See this volume, pp. 435-36.— *Ed.*

| Names of affiliated societies | Gifts and Entrance Fees 1866 | | | Contributions 1867 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
| London, Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| London, French Branch | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 9 |
| Central Section of Polish Exiles | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 10 |
| Operative Bricklayers' Executive | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| No. 1 Lodge of Operative Bricklayers | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Alliance Cabinet-Makers' Society | 10 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 13 | 4 |
| West End Cabinet-Makers' Society | 5 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 0 |
| Day Working Bookbinders' Society | 0 | 8 | 3 | 0 | 17 | 6 |
| Hand-in-Hand Coopers' Society | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| London Cigar-Makers' Association | 5 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 9 | 0 |
| Amalgamated Cordwainers' Executive | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Darlington Section of ditto | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Nottingham Section of ditto | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| Coventry and Warwickshire Ribbon-Weavers | 0 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 9 | 0 |
| Packing-Case Makers | 1 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Saddlers and Harness Makers | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Kendal Shoemakers' Society | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 8 |
| West End Ladies' Boot-Makers | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| London Operative Tailors | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Darlington Section of Amalgamated Tailors | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 8 |
| Societies Affiliated Since Sept., 1866 | | | | | | |
| London Basket-Makers' Society | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Block-Printers of Lancashire | 0 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 8 |
| London Coach-Builders | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Coach-Trimmers (The Globe) | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 10½ |
| Coach-Trimmers (The Crown) | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Elastic Web-Weavers | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| United Excavators | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| French Polishers | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Organ-Builders | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| Pattern-Drawers and Block-Cutters | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Carpenters' and Joiners' Executive | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| United Society of Journeyman Curriers (joined August 27) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| National Reform League[338] | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 6 |

| Paid For Congress Fund | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| West End Ladies' Boot-Makers | 4 | 10 | 0 |
| London Cigar-Makers | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Elastic Web-Weavers | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| ——— | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Basket-Makers | 0 | 12 | 6 |

administration. Last year, we incurred liabilities because we had no settled income; this year, we liquidated liabilities, because we had such an income.

The reason why some of our affiliated societies have not yet paid their annual contribution, and why others have not contributed to the Congress fund, is severe pressure upon their funds in consequence of the stagnation of trade, strikes, and lock-outs.

We have received several letters, stating these as reasons why the same societies that contributed so handsomely towards the Congress fund last year, cannot give anything this year. The tailors' strike has absorbed all the available funds of the London trades societies.

## CONTINENTAL AND AMERICAN SECTIONS

As a rule, the General Council only corresponds with individual branches abroad, where police restrictions prevent the formation of branches.[a]

In Belgium an attempt has been made to affiliate trades societies, but we have no information about the result, nor have we received any contributions.

Germany is still in an unsettled state. Citizen Philipp Becker, the President of the German section at Geneva, has succeeded in establishing several branches, but we have no particulars at present.

In Italy there is a regular working men's organisation with whose officers we are in correspondence, but formal affiliations have not yet taken place.

In the New World, we have two affiliated branches at New York and Hoboken, N.J. We are in correspondence with the National Labour Union Committee, and the President[b] of the International

[a] In the French version here follow the reports on the activity of the Association's sections in France, Switzerland and Belgium.—*Ed.*

[b] W. Sylvis.—*Ed.*

Ironmoulders' Union.[339] Particulars will be found in the special report of the American Secretary.[340]

## GENERAL REMARKS

The past year has been characterised by intense struggles and agitation. In America, in England, in France, in Belgium strikes, lock-outs, persecution and prosecution of the working class have been the order of the day.

The capitalists have perseveringly treated the workmen as nobodies who only exist obsequiously to submit.

One society in the United States has spent 70,000 dols. to resist the encroachments of the capitalists[341]; in England it has been decided in the courts of law that to rob the funds of trades unions is not punishable by law. An official inquiry into the working of trades unions has been instituted with a view to damage their character and to affix to them the stigma of being criminal in their proceedings.[342]

The wholesale prosecutions of the London master tailors against their men, the attitude of magistrates, judges, and the daily press, the convictions of the Paris tailors and the massacre at Marchienne,[343] are facts that demonstrate incontrovertibly that society consists but of two hostile classes—the oppressors and the oppressed—and that nothing short of a solitary union of the sons of toil throughout the world will ever redeem them from their present thraldom. We therefore conclude with the motto: *Proletarians of all Countries, Unite!*[344]

First published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 309, September 14, 1867

Reproduced from the newspaper

# FROM THE MINUTE BOOK OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL

## GENERAL COUNCIL MEETINGS

(September 24-October 22, 1867)

### *September 24*

Upon the proposition of Citizen *Hales,* it was unanimously agreed not to appoint a standing president.[345]

Upon the proposition of Citizen *Shaw,* it was unanimously [agreed] that the functions hitherto performed by the financial secretary should be transferred to the general secretary and the office of financial secretary abolished.

### *October 8*

Citizen *Marx* announced that a member of the Association, Citizen Liebknecht, had been returned to the North German Parliament by the working men of Saxony.[346] He was the only member that had dared to attack Bismarck's war policy, for which he had been invited by the Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein—a Schulze-Delitzsch society—to receive the acknowledgements of the working men for his services.

### *October 22*

Citizen *Marx* read some extracts from the stenographic reports of the North German Parliament. Mr. Liebknecht, a member of the Association, had delivered a speech in favour of the abolition of standing armies and the introduction of popular armaments, and subjecting Bismarck's conduct in the Luxemburg affair to a severe criticism.[347]

First published, in Russian, in *Generalny Sovet Pervogo Internatsionala. 1866-1868,* Moscow, 1963

Reproduced from the Minute Book

# FROM A LETTER BY JENNY MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER[348]

We present here an excerpt from a letter by a friend in London; among other things, it mentions the Working Men's Congress in Lausanne and the Peace Congress in Geneva,[349] as well as Marx's latest work:

"...You will simply not believe what a tremendous sensation the Lausanne Congress has caused here in all the papers. Once *The Times* had set the tone, by printing daily reports,[a] the other papers no longer considered it beneath their dignity to print not just short notices on the labour question, but even long editorials. There has been comment on the Congress not only in all the dailies, but the weeklies, too. It was, on occasion, quite naturally treated in a condescending and ironical way. After all, everything has a comical side, as well as a more lofty one, so why should our good Working Men's Congress, with its garrulous Frenchmen, be the exception? In spite of everything, however, generally it was treated quite properly and taken *au sérieux*. Even the *Manchester Examiner*, the organ of the Manchester school,[350] and John Bright himself, in an excellent leader presented it as important and epoch-making. When compared with its stepbrother, the Peace Congress, the advantage was always on the elder brother's side, one seen as a threatening tragedy of fate, while the other as merely farce and burlesque.

"If you have already acquired Karl Marx's book,[b] and if, like me, you have not yet managed to work through the dialectical

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[a] "International Working Men's Congress", *The Times*, Nos. 25909, 25911-25913, September 6, 9-11, 1867. The author of the reports was Eccarius.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*. Erster Band, Hamburg, 1867.—*Ed.*

subtleties of the first chapters, I advise you to read those on the primitive accumulation of capital and the modern theory of colonisation first. I am sure that, like myself, you will obtain great satisfaction from this part. Marx does not, of course, have any specific remedy at hand, which the bourgeois world, that now also calls itself socialist, so violently cries out for, he has no tablets, no ointments, or lint, to heal the gaping, bleeding wounds of our society; but to me it seems that, basing himself on the natural historical rise and development of modern society he has indicated the results and their practical application, including even the most daring conclusions, and that it was no small matter to bring the astounded philistine to the giddy heights of the following problems by means of statistical data and dialectical reasoning:

"'Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one. It is itself an economic power... A great deal of capital, which appears today in the United States without any certificate of birth, was yesterday, in England, the capitalised blood of children... If money "comes into the world with a congenital blood-stain on one cheek", capital comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore with blood and dirt.' Or the whole passage from: 'The knell of capitalist private property sounds, etc.',[a] to the end.

"I must admit openly that I was gripped by this simple pathos and that history became as clear as daylight to me."

Written on about October 5, 1867

First published in *Der Vorbote*, No. 10, October 1867

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first time

[a] See the 1887 English edition of *Capital*, Vol. I, pp. 776, 781, 785 and 789.— *Ed.*

# RULES AND ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[351]

## RULES[a]

Considering,

That the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies,[b] but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class rule;

That the economical subjection of the man of labour to the monopoliser of the means of labour, that is the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence;

That the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means;

That all efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labour in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working class of different countries;

That the emancipation of labour is neither a local, nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries;[c]

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[a] The 1866 French edition here reads: "Rules of the International Working Men's Association Adopted by the Geneva Congress at the Sitting of September 5, 1866".— *Ed.*

[b] The 1866 French edition has "not a struggle for new privileges" instead of "not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies".— *Ed.*

[c] The 1866 French edition has "of these countries" instead of "of the most advanced countries".— *Ed.*

That the present revival of the working classes in the most industrious countries of Europe, while it raises a new hope, gives solemn warning against a relapse into the old errors, and calls for the immediate combination of the still disconnected movements;

For these reasons:—

The first International Working Men's Congress[a] declares that this International Association and all societies and individuals adhering to it will acknowledge truth, justice, and morality, as the basis of their conduct towards each other, and towards all men, without regard to colour, creed or nationality;

This Congress considers it the duty of a man to claim the rights of a man and a citizen, not only for himself, but for every man who does his duty. No rights without duties, no duties without rights;

And in this spirit they have drawn up[b] the following Rules of the International Association:—

1. This Association is established to afford a central medium of communication and co-operation between Working Men's Societies existing in different countries, and aiming at the same end, viz., the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation of the working classes.

2. The name of the Society shall be: "The International Working Men's Association".

3. The General Council shall consist of working men belonging to the different countries represented in the International Association. It shall from its own members elect the officers necessary for the transaction of business, such as a president, a treasurer, a general secretary, corresponding secretaries for the different countries, &c. The Congress appoints annually the seat of the General Council, elects a number of members, with power to add to their numbers, and appoints time and place for the meeting of the next Congress. The delegates assemble at the appointed time and place without any special invitation. The General Council may, in case of need, change the place, but has no power to postpone the time of meeting.

4. On its annual meetings, the General Congress shall receive a public account of the annual transactions of the General Council.

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[a] In the 1866 French edition this paragraph begins with the words: "The Congress of the International Working Men's Association held in Geneva between September 3 and 8, 1866".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1866 French edition has "the Congress has adopted as final" instead of "they have drawn up".—*Ed.*

In cases of urgency, it may convoke the General Congress before the regular yearly term.

5. The General Council shall form an international agency between the different co-operating associations,[a] so that the working men in one country be constantly informed of the movements of their class in every other country; that an inquiry into the social state of the different countries of Europe be made simultaneously, and under a common direction; that the questions of general interest mooted in one society be ventilated by all; and that, when immediate practical steps should be needed, as, for instance, in case of international quarrels, the action of the associated societies be simultaneous and uniform.[b] Whenever it seems opportune, the General Council shall take the initiative of proposals to be laid before the different national or local societies. To facilitate the communications, the General Council shall publish periodical reports.

6. Since the success of the working men's movement in each country cannot be secured but by the power of union and combination, while, on the other hand, the usefulness of the International General Council must greatly depend on the circumstance whether it has to deal with a few national centres of working men's associations, or with a great number of small and disconnected local societies[c]; the members of the International Association shall use their utmost efforts to combine the disconnected[d] working men's societies of their respective countries into national bodies, represented by central national organs.[e] It is self-understood, however, that the appliance of this rule will depend upon the peculiar laws of each country, and that, apart from legal obstacles, no independent local society shall be precluded from directly corresponding with the General Council.[f]

7. The various branches and sections shall, at their places of abode, and as far as their influence may extend, take the initiative

[a] In the 1866 French edition the beginning of the paragraph reads: "The General Council shall establish relations with different workers' associations".—*Ed.*

[b] The end of the sentence from the words "when immediate practical steps..." reads in the 1866 French edition: "when some practical proposal or international complication demands interference by the Association, its action be uniform".—*Ed.*

[c] The part of the sentence from the words "the usefulness of the International General Council" to "local societies" reads in the 1866 French edition: "the usefulness of the General Council will be the greater the less its actions are scattered".—*Ed.*

[d] In the 1866 French edition this word is omitted.—*Ed.*

[e] The 1866 French edition has "Central Councils" instead of "central national organs".—*Ed.*

[f] Articles 7-12 are omitted in the 1866 French edition.—*Ed.*

not only in all matters tending to the general progressive improvement of public life but also in the foundation of productive associations and other institutions useful to the working class. The General Council shall encourage them in every possible manner.

8. Each member of the International Association, on removing his domicile from one country to another, will receive the fraternal support of the Associated Working Men.

9. Everybody who acknowledges and defends the principles of the International Working Men's Association is eligible to become a member. Every branch is responsible for the integrity of the members it admits.

10. Every section or branch has the right to appoint its own corresponding secretary.

11. While united in a perpetual bond of fraternal cooperation, the working men's societies, joining the International Association, will preserve their existent organisations intact.

12. Everything not provided for in the present Rules will be supplied by special Regulations subject to the revision of every Congress.

## ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS[a]

1. The General Council is commissioned to carry the resolutions of the Congress into effect. (A) For this purpose it collects all the documents sent by the Central Committees of the different countries, and such as it may be able to procure by other means. (B) It is charged with the organisation of the Congress, and to bring the Congress programme to the knowledge of all the branches through the medium of the Central Committees.

2. As often as its means permit, the General Council shall publish a report embracing everything that may be of interest to the International Working Men's Association, taking cognisance above all of the supply and demand for labour in different localities, Co-operative Associations, and of the condition of the labouring class in every country.

3. This report shall be published in the several languages and sent to all the corresponding offices for sale. To save expense the corresponding secretaries must previously inform the General

[a] The 1866 French edition has "Special Regulations".—*Ed.*

Council of the approximate number of copies that may be disposed of in their respective localities.[a]

4. To enable the General Council to fulfil these duties an annual contribution of ONE PENNY per member will be levied from affiliated societies for the use of the General Council payable in quarterly instalments.[b] This contribution is destined to defray the expense of the General Council, such as the remuneration of the General Secretary, postage, printing, &c.[c]

5. Whenever circumstances may permit Central Committees representing groups of branches using the same language[d] will be established. The functionaries of these Committees are elected by the respective sections, but may be recalled from their offices at any time. They shall send their reports at least once a month, oftener if need be.

6. The expense of the Central Committees shall be defrayed by their respective sections.[e] Every branch, whatever the number of its members, may send a delegate to the Congress.

7. Branches that are not able to send a delegate may unite with other branches to form a group to send a delegate to represent them.

8. Every branch, or group, consisting of more than 500 members, may send a delegate for every additional full 500 members. Only the delegates of branches and sections who have

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[a] In the 1866 French edition this sentence is part of the previous one and reads "whose duty it is to send one copy to each branch".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1866 French edition has: "To enable the General Council to fulfil these duties a contribution of 30 centimes (3d.) per member of the Association will be levied for 1866-1867 as an exception."—*Ed.*

[c] The 1866 French edition has "expenses on publication, correspondence, organisation and other preparations for the Congress" instead of "postage, printing, &c."—*Ed.*

[d] The words "representing groups of branches using the same language" are omitted in the 1866 French edition.—*Ed.*

[e] In the 1866 French edition the next sentence opens Article 9 the end of which corresponds to Article 7 in the English edition; in the French edition this phrase is followed by two Articles which are missing in the English edition, namely:

"7. The only function of the corresponding Central Councils, and also the General Council, is to recognise the credit granted to members of the Association by their respective branches when their cards are countersigned by the secretary of the branch to which the bearer belongs.

If the branch to which the bearer applies to make use of his credit is short of funds, it is authorised to draw on the bureau of the branch issuing the credit.

8. The Central Councils and the branches must communicate the reports of the General Council on demand and free of charge to every member of the Association."—*Ed.*

paid their contributions to the General Council can take part in the transactions of the Congress.[a]

9. The expense of the delegates is defrayed by the branches and sections who appoint them.[b]

10. Every member of the International Working Men's Association is eligible.[c]

11. Each delegate has but one vote in the Congress.[d]

12. Every section is at liberty to make Rules and Bye-Laws for its local administration, suitable to the peculiar circumstances of the different countries. But these Bye-Laws must not contain anything contrary to the general Rules and Regulations.

13. The present Rules and Regulations may be revised by every Congress, provided that two-thirds of the delegates present are in favour of such revision.

## BYE-LAWS FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM[e]

1. The contribution for individual members is 1s. per annum.

2. Societies joining in their corporate capacity have to pay an entrance fee of 5s.

3. Affiliated societies in the Metropolitan district have the right to send a delegate to the meetings of the General Council. Upon invitation deputations from the General Council will wait upon societies in the Metropolitan district to explain the aims and objects of the Association.

By order of the General Council,

*Robert Shaw*, Chairman
*J. George Eccarius*, Hon. Gen. Sec.

Published as a pamphlet *Rules of the International Working Men's Association*, London [1867]

Reproduced from the pamphlet

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[a] Corresponds to Article 12 in the 1866 French edition where the second phrase is omitted.—*Ed.*

[b] Article 10 in the 1866 French edition.—*Ed.*

[c] The respective Article 11 in the 1866 French edition reads: "has the right to elect and be elected".—*Ed.*

[d] Corresponds to Article 13 in the 1866 French edition; the next two Articles are 14 and 15 respectively.—*Ed.*

[e] This addition is omitted in the 1866 French edition.—*Ed.*

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] On September 28, 1864 an international meeting was held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London. It was organised by the London trade-union leaders and a group of Paris Proudhonist workers jointly with the representatives of German, Italian and other foreign workers then living in London and a number of prominent European democratic émigrés. The meeting resolved to found an International Working Men's Association (later known as the First International) and elected a Provisional Committee which shortly afterwards constituted itself as the leading body of the Association. This body, known as the General Council of the International, was mainly called the Central Council until the end of 1866. Karl Marx was elected to this Committee and later to the Sub-Committee appointed at its first meeting on October 5 to draw up the Association's programme documents. The Sub-Committee, or Standing Committee, subsequently functioned as an executive body and included the President of the Central (General) Council (until autumn 1867, when this post was abolished), the General Secretary and the corresponding secretaries for different countries. Marx did not attend its first meetings, when the Sub-Committee drew up a document consisting of an introductory declaration of principles, written by the Owenite John Weston and edited by the French petty-bourgeois democrat Victor Le Lubez, and the Rules of the Italian workers' societies, drawn up by Mazzini and translated into English by the Italian Luigi Wolff.

This document, edited by Le Lubez, was discussed at the Sub-Committee meeting on October 15 about which Marx was informed too late for him to attend, and at the Provisional Committee meeting on October 18, when Marx first familiarised himself with this material. His critical assessment of it is to be found in his letter to Engels of November 4, 1864 (see present edition, Vol. 42). Circumstances did not allow Marx to prevent the Provisional Committee's approval of the declaration of principles and the Rules, but he convinced the Committee members that the document needed polishing and insisted on referring it back to the Sub-Committee for final editing. On October 20 the Sub-Committee met at Marx's house; at that meeting they managed to edit only the first point of the Rules. By the next meeting of the Sub-Committee on October 27 Marx had completely revised the submitted document. He wrote a new document—the Inaugural Address of the

Working Men's International Association, which was not in the original draft; he altered the Preamble to the Rules, discarding the loosely-phrased declaration of principles, reduced the 40 points of the Rules to 10, and formulated them in a way which expressed the proletarian nature of the organisation then being founded, and eliminated all Mazzinian organisational principles (petty regulation typical of secret societies, etc.). The Sub-Committee approved the Address and the Rules as drawn up by Marx, stipulating, however, that two declarative phrases on "rights and duties" and "truth, justice, and morality" be inserted in the Preamble to the Rules.

On November 1, 1864 both documents were unanimously approved by the Provisional Committee. On the proposal of a Committee member, Whitlock, Marx supplemented the Inaugural Address with a note on carbon and nitrogen as most important elements of food.

The Inaugural Address was first published by *The Bee-Hive Newspaper,* No. 160, November 5, 1864 without the sanction of the Central Council and as an offprint to be sent to various newspapers. Marx strongly disapproved of this publication which contained a number of misprints (see this volume, p. 353). In November 1864 the Address and the Rules were published in London as a pamphlet *Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association, Established September 28, 1864, at a Public Meeting Held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London.* On the decision of the Central Council of May 9, 1866 the English version of the Inaugural Address, the Provisional Rules and some other documents were again published as a pamphlet in London in August that year. The Address was also published in *The Miner & Workman's Advocate,* No. 93, December 10, 1864. The German authorised translation entitled "Manifest an die arbeitende Klasse Europa's" was published in *Der Social-Demokrat,* Nos. 2 and 3, December 21 and 30, 1864.

During 1865, 1866 and later, various translations of the Inaugural Address appeared: into French in Paris, Geneva and Brussels; into Italian in Genoa and Naples; into German in Leipzig, Geneva, Berlin and Vienna in 1866 and 1868; into Hungarian in Pest in 1868; into Russian in Geneva in 1871; into Spanish and Portuguese in Madrid and Lisbon in 1873. Various German translations continued to be published in Germany and Switzerland (Zurich) in the early 1870s as well.

The Inaugural Address has survived in two manuscript copies written by Mrs. Marx and Jenny Marx (Marx's daughter), and copies of pamphlets with Marx's corrections.

In this volume the document is published according to the English pamphlet of 1864. The most important differences between the English version and the German authorised translation are given in footnotes.

At the end of the pamphlet there was a list of the Central Council members:

"Names and Nationalities of the Central Provisional Council.

"English: *Longmaid, Worley, Leno, Whitlock, Fox, Blackmore, Hartwell, Pidgeon, Lucraft, Weston, Dell, Shearman, Nieass, Shaw, Lake, Buckley, Odger, Howell, Osborne, Carter, Gray, Wheeler, Stainsby, Morgan, Grossmith, Cremer, Dick.*

"French: *Denoual, Le Lubez, Jourdain, Morrissot, Leroux, Bordage, Bocquet, Talandier, Dupont.*

"Italian: *L. Wolff, Fontana, Setacci, Aldovrandi, Lama, Solustri.*

"Swiss: *Nusperli, Jung.*

"German: *Eccarius, Wolff, Otto, Lessner, Pfänder, Lochner, Marx, Kaub, Bolleter.*

"Polish: *Holtorp, Rybczinski.*

*George Odger,* President of the Central Council.
*George W. Wheeler,* Honorary Treasurer.
*Karl Marx,* Honorary Corresponding Secretary for Germany.
*G. P. Fontana,* Honorary Corresponding Secretary for Italy.
*J. E. Holtorp,* Honorary Corresponding Secretary for Poland.
*Hermann F. Jung,* Honorary Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland.
*V. Le Lubez,* Honorary Corresponding Secretary for France.
*William R. Cremer,* Honorary General Secretary.» p. 5

[2] This presumably refers to the articles "The Trade and Navigation Returns" and "Pauperism.—July 1850 and 1849", published in *The Economist,* August 10, 1850. p. 5

[3] *Garottes*—robbers who strangled their victims. In the early 1860s such attacks often occurred in London and were a subject of special debate in Parliament. p. 5

[4] *Blue Books*—a series of British parliamentary and foreign policy documents published in blue cover since the seventeenth century. p. 6

[5] The *Civil War in America* broke out in April 1861. The Southern slaveholders rose against the Union and formed the Confederacy of the Southern States. The war was caused mainly by the conflict between the two social systems: the capitalist system of wage labour established in the North and the slave system dominant in the South. The Civil War, which had the nature of a bourgeois-democratic revolution, passed two stages in its development: the period of a constitutional war for maintaining the Union and the period of a revolutionary war for the abolition of slavery. The decisive role in the defeat of the Southern slaveholders and the victory of the North in April 1865 was played by the workers and farmers. Marx analysed the causes and the nature of war in America in his articles published in the Vienna newspaper *Die Presse* (see present edition, Vol. 19).

The discontinuance of cotton imports from America as a result of the blockade of the Southern States by the Northern fleet caused a crisis in the cotton industry of several European countries. In England, for two or three years beginning in 1862, over 75 per cent of spinners and weavers in Lancashire, Cheshire and other counties were fully or partly unemployed. Despite privation and distress, the European proletariat gave all possible support to the American fighters against slavery. p. 6

[6] The phrase from Gladstone's speech on April 16, 1863, quoted here by Marx, appeared in almost all the London newspaper reports of this parliamentary session (*The Times, The Morning Star, The Daily Telegraph,* April 17, 1863) but was omitted in Hansard's semi-official publication of parliamentary debates in which the text was corrected by the speakers themselves. In the magazine *Concordia,* No. 10, March 7, 1872 the German bourgeois economist Brentano used this as a pretext for accusing Marx of unscrupulous misquotation. Marx replied to this libel in his letters to the editor of *Der Volksstaat* on May 23 and July 28, 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 23).

After Marx's death, the same accusation was made in November 1883 by the British bourgeois economist Taylor. The lie to this assertion was given by Eleanor Marx in two letters to the magazine *To-Day* in February and March 1884, and then by Engels in the Preface to the fourth German edition of *Capital* in June 1890 and in the pamphlet *Brentano Contra Marx* in 1891. p. 7

7 The *Ten Hours' Bill,* the struggle for which had been waged for many years, was passed by Parliament in 1847 against the background of sharply intensified contradictions between the landed aristocracy and the industrial bourgeoisie, generated by the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. In revenge on the industrial bourgeoisie, a section of Tory M.P.s supported the Bill. Its provisions applied only to women and children. Nevertheless, many manufacturers evaded it in practice. Engels devoted two special articles to this Bill in 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 271-76 and 288-300). True, they were written at a time when Marx's economic teaching was not yet sufficiently developed, and in these articles this shows up as a certain underestimation of the struggle for a shorter working day. p. 10

8 Marx has in mind the polemical articles by the Chartist leader Ernest Jones, published in the weekly *Notes to the People* in 1851 and 1852 and aimed at Christian socialists and bourgeois advocates of the co-operative principle who asserted that social evils could be eliminated under the existing bourgeois system by setting up workers' co-operative societies. In contrast to them, Jones proved that co-operatives could be a powerful means of social transformation if introduced on a national scale by a working class which had won political power. Jones wrote some of the articles jointly with Marx (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 573-89). p. 11

9 At a parliamentary session in 1863, the Irish deputies headed by Thomas Maguire demanded legislative measures limiting landlords' arbitrariness, in particular, the tenants' right to have their expenses on a rented plot compensated when the lease had expired or been terminated. In his speech on June 23, 1863 Palmerston called these demands "communistic doctrines" "subversive of all the fundamental principles of social order". p. 12

10 The reference is to the demonstrations by English workers during the American Civil War against their government's interference on the side of the Southern slaveholding states. The massive campaign of the English workers against intervention which became particularly widespread at the end of 1861 and the beginning of 1862 prevented reactionary quarters from drawing Europe into the war on the side of the slaveholders and greatly strengthened the idea of the international solidarity of the proletariat. p. 13

11 The *Provisional Rules of the Association* were drawn up by Marx simultaneously with the Inaugural Address, approved by the Sub-Committee on October 27 and unanimously adopted by the Provisional Committee on November 1, 1864. They were published in English together with the Inaugural Address in the pamphlet *Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association...* in London in November 1864 and also in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper,* No. 161, November 12, 1864 and *The Miner and Workman's Advocate,* No. 93, December 10, 1864. The French translation of the Provisional Rules made by the Proudhonists at the end of 1864 contained a few inaccuracies and distortions later used in the struggle against the General Council (see present edition, Vol. 21, K. Marx, "General Council to the Federal Council of the Romance Switzerland", "Confidential Communication"). This translation was reproduced in a number of publications in France, Belgium and Switzerland. The new and improved French translation was made by Charles Longuet, checked by Marx and published together with the Inaugural Address in the pamphlet *Manifeste de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs suivi du Règlement provisoire;* Brussels, 1866. The German translation appeared in *Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 10, January 18, 1865 and in *Der Vorbote,* Nos. 4 and 5, April and May

1866. The Italian translation was published in *L'Unità Italiana,* February 18, 1865 (Milan) and *Il Dovere,* August 26, 1865 (Genoa). At its sitting on September 5, 1866, the Geneva Congress of the International Working Men's Association confirmed the text of the Rules (General Rules) supplementing it with the Regulations which were confirmed at the sitting of September 8, 1866 and were later called the Administrative Regulations. p. 14

12 This and the preceding paragraphs of a declarative character were included by Marx in the Preamble to the Rules on the insistence of other members of the Sub-Committee, who discussed the document on October 27. Marx informed Engels about this in his letter of November 4, 1864 (see present edition, Vol. 42). p. 15

13 The first Congress of the International Working Men's Association scheduled for 1865 in Brussels was held between September 3 and 8, 1866 in Geneva. The decision to postpone the Congress was taken by the Central Council on July 25, 1865 on Marx's insistence. He considered that the local organisations of the International were not yet strong enough in ideological and organisational respects and suggested that a preliminary conference be held in London (see this volume, pp. 375-77). p. 15

14 The resolutions proposed by Marx on the constitution of the Central Council (later called the General Council), the leading body of the International Working Men's Association, worked out in detail the general principles briefly formulated in points 4, 5 and 6 of the Provisional Rules (see this volume, pp. 15-16).

The first of these resolutions forbade the then widespread practice in England of promoting to the leading bodies of various societies honorary, but actually non-working, members, because this enabled representatives of the propertied classes to influence workers' organisations without putting themselves under obligation to them. The press report did not name the author of this resolution, but it is obvious from the Minute Book of the General Council that all three were moved by Marx.

Between January and April 1865 the Central Council adopted several more resolutions which specified the rights and duties of its members. They were proposed by various Council members, usually supported by Marx and sometimes initiated by him (see this volume, pp. 357 and 364-65).

The resolutions II and III were published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1962. p. 17

15 These resolutions were used as a basis for the Address of the Central Council to Working Men's Societies (see this volume, pp. 372-73) made public in the summer of 1865. p. 18

16 On November 22 the Central Council, on the proposal of its members Dick and Howell, decided to congratulate Abraham Lincoln on his re-election to the presidency. The writing of the letter of congratulation was entrusted to the Sub-Committee.

The text, written by Marx, was approved by the Sub-Committee, unanimously confirmed by the Central Council on November 29, 1864, and sent to President Lincoln through Adams, the American envoy to London. On January 28, 1865 the Council received a reply in Lincoln's name which was read out at the Council meeting on January 31 and published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* on February 4, 1865 and *The Times* on February 6, 1865. As Marx wrote to Wilhelm Liebknecht in February 1865, of all Lincoln's replies to

congratulations he had received, only the one to the International Working Men's Association was "not merely a *formal* acknowledgement of receipt".

This address to Lincoln was first published in *The Daily News,* No. 5813, December 23, 1864 and then in *The Miner and Workman's Advocate,* No. 95, December 24, 1864, *Reynolds's Newspaper,* No. 750, December 25, 1864, *The Bee-Hive Newspaper,* No. 169, January 7, 1865 and in the German newspapers *Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 3, supplement, December 30, 1864, *Berliner Reform,* No. 4, January 5, 1865 and *Hermann,* No. 314, January 7, 1865. It was also included in the book, *Life of Abraham Lincoln,* New York, 1865.

In this volume the address has been reproduced from the hand-written copy signed by all members of the Central Council and has been checked with the text in the newspapers. p. 19

[17] The reference is to the Declaration of Independence passed by the delegates of 13 North American colonies at the Congress in Philadelphia on July 4, 1776. The Declaration proclaimed the secession from England and the formation of an independent republic—the United States of America. It formulated such bourgeois-democratic principles as freedom of the individual, equality before the law, sovereignty of the people, exerting great influence on the European revolutionary movement and the French Revolution in particular. However, the democratic rights proclaimed were from the very start violated by the American bourgeoisie and planters who secured their power as a result of the American War of Independence (1775-83), the first American bourgeois revolution, excluded the common people from political life, and preserved slavery. p. 19

[18] See Note 5. p. 20

[19] This is a covering letter to Marx's statement (printed below) to the editor of *Der Beobachter,* a Stuttgart petty-bourgeois democratic newspaper. *Der Beobachter,* No. 268, November 17, 1864, carried an anonymous report from Bradford, the author being Karl Blind. Blind's cowardly attempt to deny his authorship of the anonymous leaflet "A Warning" reprinted in June 1859 by *Das Volk* (London) and the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Augsburg) and depicting Karl Vogt as a Bonapartist secret agent was censured by Marx in 1860 in his pamphlet *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17). Blind's new article compelled Marx to expose him again as a liar and refute his boasts of enjoying influence in the USA. At the request of Sophie von Hatzfeldt, Lassalle's friend, Marx also came out against Blind's attacks on Lassalle. On December 22, 1864 Marx wrote to Sophie von Hatzfeldt: "It was at your request that I wrote this attack, although its composition did not come easily to me as I did *not* agree with Lassalle's *political tactics*" (see present edition, Vol. 42).

The *Beobachter* editor confined himself to publishing only the covering letter and his own "comments" on Marx's statement. Marx's statement did not appear in the newspaper columns. p. 22

[20] On Marx's motive for writing this statement, see Note 19.

Marx foresaw that the *Beobachter* editor might not publish his statement and sent a copy of it to Sophie von Hatzfeldt for publication in other German papers. Countess Hatzfeldt placed it in the Hamburg *Nordstern.*

A copy of the statement in Mrs. Marx's hand with the author's corrections has survived. p. 23

[21] Marx wrote this article on January 24, 1865 on the occasion of Proudhon's death and at the request of J. B. Schweitzer, the editor of *Der Social-Demokrat,* the newspaper of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers

(founded in May 1863). Schweitzer invited Marx and Engels to contribute to the paper (started in Berlin on December 15, 1864) as early as November 11 of that year. Absence of specifically Lassallean slogans in its prospectus and Wilhelm Liebknecht's membership of the paper's editorial board encouraged Marx and Engels, who had at that time no other press organs for influencing the working-class movement in Germany, to accept the invitation. Moreover, Marx hoped to use this paper for the criticism of Lassallean dogmas and tactics. Thus, in the article on Proudhon, he revealed the methodological defects of Proudhon's views and indirectly stressed the unfeasibility of Lassalle's kindred reformist and sectarian views. Exposing Proudhon's time-serving behaviour with respect to the Bonapartist order, Marx in fact censured Lassalle and his followers for flirting with Prussian ruling circles. A rough copy in Marx's hand of part of the article has survived.

In addition to Marx's article on Proudhon, *Der Social-Demokrat* published the Inaugural Address and the Provisional Rules of the Working Men's Association and Engels' translation of the old Danish folk song *Herr Tidmann* (see this volume, pp. 5-16 and 34-35).

However, Marx and Engels soon became aware that the *Social-Demokrat* editors did not wish to abandon the Lassallean reformist course and the hopes of a deal with the Prussian Government. This compelled them to break all relations with the paper (see this volume, pp. 80 and 87-90).

The article on Proudhon was reprinted in the first and second German editions of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* edited by Engels and published in 1885 and 1892. The French translation was made by Engels in 1884 and checked by Paul Lafargue; it served as the basis of the translation published in the French 1896 edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy*.

The English translation of the article was first published in K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, London, 1910. p. 26

22 In the columns of *Le Populaire* and *Le Populaire de 1841* published in the 1830s and 1840s, Étienne Cabet, while publicising projects in the spirit of peaceful utopian communism also criticised the July monarchy regime and helped disseminate democratic ideas. In his works, articles and leaflets, Cabet sharply criticised the capitalist system and this greatly contributed to the political education of the French proletariat. p. 31

23 This refers to Proudhon's speech in the French National Assembly on July 31, 1848. Its full text was published in *Compte rendu des séances de l'Assemblée Nationale*, Vol. II, Paris, 1849, pp. 770-82. Proudhon made a few proposals of a petty-bourgeois utopian character, the abolition of loan interest among them, and described the reprisals against the heroic proletarians who had taken part in the Paris insurrection of June 23-26, 1848 as violence and despotism. A detailed assessment of this speech is to be found in "Proudhon's Speech Against Thiers" (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 321-24). p. 31

24 In his speech on July 26, 1848 in the National Assembly, Thiers opposed the proposals to reform credit and taxation which Proudhon had submitted to the Assembly's finance committee. After Proudhon's speech of July 31, 1848, Thiers published his own speech in a separate pamphlet as an attack on his opponent. p. 31

25 In *Si les traités de 1815 ont cessé d'exister? Actes du futur congrès* Proudhon opposed the revision of the Vienna 1815 Congress decisions which sanctioned the partition of Poland by Austria, Prussia and Russia and also any support to the Polish national liberation movement. p. 32

[26] Engels presumably translated this Danish folk song into German from the collection *Et Hundkede udvalde Danske Viser*, published in Copenhagen in 1787, and sent it on January 27, 1865 to be published in *Der Social-Demokrat*. As is seen from Engels' letter to Marx of January 27, 1865 (see present edition, Vol. 42), he wanted to draw the readers' attention to the peasants' revolutionary traditions and, in contrast to Lassalle's disregard of their interests, to stress the importance of the struggle against the survivals of feudalism and the exploitation of the peasants by the nobility.

In 1883, Engels' translation was reprinted in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, the newspaper of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, and in 1893 in K. Henckell's *Buch der Freiheit*, Bd. II, Berlin.

The English translation of the Danish folk song was published in English for the first time in the collection: Marx and Engels, *On Literature and Art*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, pp. 427-28. p. 34

[27] This statement was written by Marx and sent to Engels for his signature on February 6, 1865. By that time, they were convinced that Schweitzer, the newspaper's editor, was continuing Lassalle's policy of flirting with the Bismarck Government and was acting in accordance with Lassalle's dogmas, treating the workers' movement in other countries with nationalist contempt. Marx and Engels regarded their statement as a warning to Schweitzer. It was prompted by an item in *Der Social-Demokrat* of February 1 which was written by the newspaper's Paris correspondent Moses Hess, who libellously accused French members of the International of being in contact with Bonapartists.

The criticism by Marx and Engels compelled the editors to change the newspaper's tone to some extent. Issue No. 21 of February 12, 1865 carried an item by Hess in which he withdrew his assertions. For that reason Marx and Engels did not insist on the publication of the statement; at the same time, as is seen from Marx's letter to Engels of February 13, 1865, they decided to stop contributing to the newspaper for the time being. Marx and Engels announced their final break with *Der Social-Demokrat* on February 23, 1865 (see this volume, p. 80).

The text of the statement sent to Schweitzer has not survived. It is published here according to the rough manuscript attached to Marx's letter of February 6, 1865 to Engels. A passage from the statement was later quoted by Marx in the statement on the reasons for their refusal to contribute to *Der Social-Demokrat*, published in the latter half of March 1865 in the *Berliner Reform* and other newspapers (see this volume, p. 80).

This statement was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895*. A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934. p. 36

[28] Engels wrote this article to substantiate the tactics of the German working class in the so-called constitutional conflict between the Prussian Government and the bourgeois-liberal majority of the Provincial Diet which, in February 1860, refused to confirm the army reorganisation project proposed by War Minister von Roon. However, the Government soon managed to secure allocations from the Provincial Diet to "maintain the army ready for action" which in fact meant the beginning of the planned reorganisation. When, in March 1862, the liberal majority of the Chamber of Deputies refused to endorse military expenses and demanded a ministry responsible to the Provincial Diet, the Government dissolved the Diet and announced new elections. At the end of September 1862 the Bismarck Ministry was formed. In October it again dissolved the Provincial

Diet and began to carry out the military reform without the sanction of the Diet. The conflict was settled only in 1866 when, after Prussia's victory over Austria, the Prussian bourgeoisie capitulated to Bismarck.

At first Engels agreed to write an article on the Prussian military reform for *Der Social-Demokrat,* but the newspaper's kowtowing before the Bismarck Government made him give up his intention. After consulting Marx, he decided to have his work published as a separate pamphlet. He began writing it late in January 1865, and finished most of it before February 9. Then he sent the manuscript to Marx for review. After making a number of improvements in it on his friend's recommendation, Engels sent the manuscript to the Hamburg publisher Meissner on February 12 and informed Marx about this on the following day (see present edition, Vol. 42).

The pamphlet was published in Hamburg at the end of February 1865 and caused widespread comment in Germany. Its publication was announced in many workers' and democratic newspapers. Wilhelm Liebknecht arranged for it to be discussed in several workers' associations in Berlin. Extracts from the pamphlet appeared in the Social-Democratic press at various times: in the *Barmer Zeitung,* No. 57, March 8, 1865, *Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 71, March 25, 1866, the *Sozialdemokratische Monatsschrift,* Nos. 10-11, November 30, 1890 and the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne,* No. 1, March 1, 1891. p. 37

[29] The mobilisation of the Prussian army in 1850 was caused by the exacerbation of the conflict between Austria and Prussia for supremacy in Germany. Prussia was forced to surrender by the weakness of its army as well as the vigorous opposition of Russia, which supported Austria. The mobilisation of 1859, caused by the Italian War fought by France and Piedmont against Austria, likewise revealed serious defects in the Prussian military system. p. 42

[30] This refers to the July 1830 bourgeois revolution in France and the revolts that followed it in various parts of Germany (Saxony, Brunswick, Hesse, Bavaria and Hanover). p. 42

[31] The Prussian land forces, formed during the struggle against Napoleon on the basis of the 1814-15 legislation, consisted of the regular army (troops of the line), its reserve (training and reserve battalions) and the *Landwehr* of the first and the second levy. The *Landwehr* had been formed in Prussia back in 1813 as a people's militia and included members of the older age groups liable to military service who had done three years active service and not less than two years in the reserve and were called up in case of special emergencies. In wartime the *Landwehr* of the first levy was usually included in the field army, while that of the second levy served for the reinforcement of the garrison troops. p. 42

[32] This refers to the war of Prussia and Austria against Denmark in 1864 over Schleswig and Holstein, duchies subject to Denmark but inhabited mainly by Germans. Austria joined the war in the fear that if its rival, Prussia, fought on its own, it would enjoy all the fruits of victory. Denmark was defeated. Schleswig and Holstein were declared joint possessions of Austria and Prussia, which aggravated the conflict between the two countries. After its defeat in the war with Prussia in 1866, Austria had to renounce its rights to the duchies in Prussia's favour. p. 43

[33] The *conscription system* was based on general liability for military service, but allowed many deviations, mainly in the form of money redemption and

substitution. The substitution system was widely practised in France where the members of the propertied classes had the privilege of buying themselves out of military service by hiring substitutes. Under the legislation of 1853, substitutes were selected in the main by government bodies and the payment for them went towards a special "army donation" fund. The substitution system was abolished in France in 1872.

Liability for military service determined by *ballot* was practised in the nineteenth century in those West European countries where the number of persons liable for service exceeded the demand. The ballot decided who was to serve, the rest were recruited either as militiamen or, in certain countries, for short-term military training. p. 44

[34] This reserve consisted of men whose conscription was deferred by reason of minor physical defects or special domestic circumstances. It was used for the reinforcement of the army during wartime. p. 46

[35] The *Franco-Austrian cadre-system* of the 1860s was characterised by the predominance of the regular army, whose personnel remained constant for a long time, by a lengthy period of military service and by conscription, in contrast to the Prussian military system based, under the legislation of 1814, on universal liability for military service and a comparatively short period of service. p. 51

[36] A reference to the colonial war of conquest in Algeria, begun by France in 1830 and fought for forty years, and to the Crimean war (1853-56), in which Russia confronted the allied forces of France, Britain, Turkey and Piedmont (Sardinia). For the Italian War of 1859, see Note 29. p. 51

[37] At the *Battle of Jena* (Thuringia) on October 14, 1806 French troops under Napoleon routed part of the Prussian army. On the same day, Marshal Davout defeated the main Prussian forces at *Auerstädt.* The defeat of Prussia, a member of the fourth anti-French coalition (Britain, Russia, Prussia and Sweden) in these two battles (often referred to as the Battle of Jena), led to the occupation of the greater part of Prussia by the French. Hostilities were ended by the Treaty of Tilsit on July 9, 1807, on terms which were harsh and humiliating for Prussia.

On the River *Katzbach* (Silesia) the Silesian army under Blücher, which consisted of the Prussian and Russian troops, defeated the French troops under Marshal Macdonald on August 26, 1813 during the war of the sixth coalition of the European states (Russia, Austria, Prussia, Britain, Sweden, Spain, etc.). This victory contributed to the Allies' successes in the struggle against Napoleon and led to the expulsion of the French army from Germany. At the beginning of 1814, military operations were conducted on French territory, and in March the Allied forces entered Paris. p. 52

[38] The Swiss *Landwehr* consisted of men liable for military service who had completed their term of service in the country's irregular troops periodically called up for training. In Switzerland, as in Prussia, the *Landwehr* served to reinforce the army during the war and was mobilised at the threat of war. p. 52

[39] The original here has "Düppel im Innern" (enemy within), an expression first used with this meaning in a political survey published in the Bismarckian

*Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* on September 30, 1864 and widely current later.

*Düppel* (Danish: Dybböl)—Danish fortification in Schleswig which the Prussians captured by storm on April 18, 1864 during the Austro-Prussian war against Denmark. p. 52

[40] In 1849, during the uprisings in South-Western Germany in support of the Imperial Constitution drafted by the Frankfurt National Assembly but rejected by German sovereigns, the Baden troops sided with the insurgents and made up the nucleus of the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army. The Baden cavalry regiments, however, were the least reliable. Thus, in the battle with the Prussians at Waghäusel on June 21, 1849 the insurgents took to flight owing to the treachery of an officer in command of several Baden dragoon squadrons. p. 54

[41] The reference is to the "liberal" course announced by Prince William of Prussia (King of Prussia from 1861) when he became regent in October 1858. He made the Manteuffel Ministry resign and called the moderate liberals to power. The bourgeois press dubbed this the policy of the "New Era". It was, in fact, solely intended to strengthen the position of the Prussian monarchy and the Junkers. This soon became clear to the representatives of the liberal opposition whose hopes had been deceived and who refused to approve the government project of a military reform. The constitutional conflict that ensued and Bismarck's advance to power in September 1862 put an end to the "New Era". p. 55

[42] Engels is referring to the time when a counter-revolutionary Brandenburg government came to power in Prussia in November 1848 (Manteuffel held in it the post of the Minister of the Interior) and soon dissolved the Prussian National Assembly. After Brandenburg's death Manteuffel was appointed Prime Minister in 1850. This government was in power until 1858, and under it all the gains of the 1848 revolution (freedom of the press, of assembly, etc.) were abolished and the moderate constitution "imposed" (granted by the King) under Brandenburg was repeatedly revised in the spirit of further curtailment of the Provincial diets' rights. Taking advantage of the bourgeoisie's cowardly and conciliatory attitude, the government turned the constitutional representative body into a fiction, restoring the police-and-bureaucratic regime and the privileges and power of the landed aristocracy and nobility. p. 56

[43] The Provincial diets *(Landtags)* were introduced in Prussia in 1823. They consisted of representatives of four estates (princes, nobility, representatives of town and rural communities). Property and other electoral qualifications secured the majority in the Provincial diets for the nobility. The Provincial diets were convened by the King and were competent to deal only with questions of local economy and administration. The district assemblies of estates, with an even more restricted competence, were based on the same principles.

Relegated to the background during the 1848-49 revolution, the Provincial diets and district assemblies of estates lost their significance which was not regained until the 1850s, during the period of reaction. p. 56

[44] Engels formulated this proposition on Marx's advice (see Marx's letter to Engels of February 11, 1865, present edition, Vol. 42). p. 57

[45] Schulze-Delitzsch, a German bourgeois economist and a leader of the Party of Progress, advocated small savings banks and loan offices, and consumer and

producer cooperatives based on the workers' own means with the aim of diverting workers from the revolutionary struggle against capital. Schulze-Delitzsch advocated harmony of capitalists' and workers' interests, asserting that cooperatives could help improve workers' conditions under capitalism and save small producers and artisans from ruin. p. 57

46 A reference to the members of the Party of Progress founded in June 1861 (the most eminent figures were Waldeck, Virchow, Schulze-Delitzsch, Forckenbeck and Hoverbeck). The Party of Progress advocated unification of Germany under Prussia, convocation of an all-German parliament, and a liberal ministry responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. Fearing a people's revolution, it did not support the basic democratic demands—universal suffrage, freedoms of the press, association and assembly. In 1866 the Party of Progress split and its Right wing founded the National Liberal Party, which capitulated to the Bismarck Government. p. 58

47 A reference to the war launched by Prussia and Austria on Denmark in 1864 (see Note 32). p. 61

48 Frederick William III of Prussia promised a constitution in 1815 when the patriotic feeling caused by the struggle against Napoleonic France was still strong in the country. The promise was never kept. p. 64

49 The *Confederates*—representatives of the Confederacy formed by the Southern slave-holding States which seceded from the Union during the American Civil War of 1861-65 (see Note 5). p. 64

50 The bureaucratic regulation of industry also continued to operate in Prussia in the mid-1860s. A system of special authorisation (concessions) was introduced in a few branches of industry; unless they were granted, industrial activity was prohibited. This medieval guild legislation inhibited the development of capitalism. p. 65

51 The *Imperial Constitution* was adopted by the Frankfurt National Assembly on March 28, 1849. While proclaiming a number of civil liberties and introducing national central institutions, the Constitution nevertheless shaped the united German state as a monarchy. The Prussian-oriented liberal deputies of the Frankfurt Assembly insisted on handing the imperial crown to the Hohenzollerns and King Frederick-William IV was elected "Emperor of the Germans". However, he refused to accept the offer. Apart from the Prussian Government, those of almost all the larger German states (including Saxony, Bavaria and Hanover) refused to recognise the Constitution. Afraid of revolutionary action, liberals and democrats in the Frankfurt National Assembly proved incapable of upholding the Constitution. The people themselves were its sole defender, and in the spring and summer of 1849, they started an armed struggle led by petty-bourgeois democrats. However, the scattered revolts in defence of the Constitution in Dresden, Rhenish Prussia, the Palatinate and Baden were put down by the counter-revolutionary troops.

*Prussian hegemony (Preußische Spitze).* Frederick-William IV of Prussia first used this expression on March 20, 1848 when he spoke of his readiness to stand "at the head (an die Spitze) of the whole fatherland in order to save Germany". It was used later too to denote Prussia's aspiration for unification of the country under its supremacy.

*Tripartite system*—a plan for the reorganisation of the German Confederation which, along with Austria and Prussia, envisaged the formation of a union

of Middle states. This plan, supported especially by Bavaria and Saxony, was directed against the Austrian and Prussian supremacy and expressed the particularist tendencies of the Middle states which were trying to maintain their independence. p. 67

[52] Here Engels cites the demands put forward in the Programme of the General Association of German Workers (founded in 1863). However, on Marx's advice (see Marx's letter to Engels of February 11, 1865, present edition, Vol. 42), he formulated them in his pamphlet in such a way that they could not be interpreted in the spirit of Lassalle's reformist ideas about the possibility of resolving the social problem. As Engels saw it, the demand for workers' associations acquired a revolutionary meaning because the winning of political power by the working class was specified as the prime condition for its implementation. p. 69

[53] See Note 7. p. 72

[54] A reference to the workers' right to organise trade unions and to go on strike. In January 1865 the Prussian Provincial Diet debated the right of association in connection with the workers' opposition to the trade regulations then in force. Two members of the Party of Progress, Schulze-Delitzsch and Faucher, used the occasion to have the articles restraining capitalism repealed. They proposed to revoke Article 181, which forbade employers to resort to lockouts, and also demagogically demanded the cancellation of Article 182 concerning the punishment of workers for incitement to strike. The workers in turn wanted the repeal of Article 183 which made them obtain police permission to form associations, and of Article 184 banning strikes.

On February 14, 1865 the Prussian Provincial Diet annulled Articles 181 and 182 and left the workers' demand for freedom of association unsatisfied. p. 72

[55] An allusion to Lassalle's followers, who favoured flirting with the Bismarck Government, the nobility and the Junkers. p. 74

[56] The *Lay of Hildebrand*—partly extant German eighth-century epic. p. 76

[57] By the time of writing this statement, Marx and Engels had become fully convinced that the political line of *Der Social-Demokrat* could not be set right. The proof of this was Schweitzer's letter to Marx of February 15, 1865 (for details see this volume, pp. 89-90) and his series of articles *Das Ministerium Bismarck* in which Bismarck's policy of unifying Germany under Prussia's supremacy was openly supported. The appearance of these articles enabled Marx and Engels to publicise and explain to the masses their break with the newspaper.

Marx wrote this statement on February 18, 1865 and sent it to Engels, who fully approved it and returned it to Marx with his signature; on February 23, 1865 Marx sent the statement to the editors of *Der Social-Demokrat.*

Marx took measures to make Schweitzer publish the statement. He instructed Liebknecht to place it with the *Berliner Reform* in case Schweitzer refused to publish it. Marx also sent two copies to Karl Siebel, asking him to print the statement in the *Rheinische Zeitung* or *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* two days after receipt. The statement was published in many papers, among them the *Barmer Zeitung* and *Elberfelder Zeitung* (No. 60) on February 26, *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* (No. 59) on February 28, *Berliner Reform* (No. 51), *Neue Frankfurter*

*Zeitung* (No. 60), *Breslauer Zeitung* (No. 102), *Rheinische Zeitung,* first supplement, *Staatsbürger-Zeitung* (No. 60) on March 1; *Bonner Zeitung* (No. 51), *Hermann* (No. 29) on March 3; *Der weiße Adler* (No. 29) on March 9 and *Nordstern* (No. 300) on March 11, 1865. Schweitzer had to publish this statement in *Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 29, on March 3, 1865. It was preceded by a few lines from the editors which show that Liebknecht also refused to contribute. Similar statements were soon made by Georg Herwegh, Friedrich Wilhelm Rüstow and Johann Philipp Becker.

The statement by Marx and Engels evoked a broad response among advanced German workers. In March 1865 it was approved of by the Berlin Printers' Association where Liebknecht made a report on Marx's and Engels' break with the newspaper. *Der Social-Demokrat* lost a considerable part of its subscribers, especially among Berlin workers.

The English translation of this statement was first published in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934. p. 80

58 See Note 46. p. 80

59 This notice was published anonymously in a number of German papers with the help of Wilhelm Liebknecht, Karl Siebel and Karl Klein. It was printed in the *Berliner Reform* (No. 53), *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* (No. 62), *Elberfelder Zeitung* (No. 62) and *Rheinische Zeitung* (No. 62) on March 3, 1865; *Oberrheinischer Courier* (No. 56) on March 7, *Osnabrücker Zeitung* (No. 250) on March 9 and *Neuer Hannoversche Anzeiger* (No. 70) on March 11, 1865. p. 81

60 Early in 1865 a conflict arose among the Paris members of the International: a group of Proudhonist workers headed by Henri Tolain and Charles Limousin, on the one hand, and, on the other, a French lawyer and bourgeois republican Henri Lefort, who claimed to be the founder and leader of the International Working Men's Association in France. Those close to Lefort accused Tolain and other members of the Paris Administration of being in contact with the Bonapartists (Marx and Engels exposed this insinuation in the statement to *Der Social-Demokrat,* see this volume, p. 36). Nevertheless, wishing to draw into the International the workers grouped around Lefort, Marx supported the Central Council resolution of February 7, 1865, on Lefort's appointment as "Counsel for the literary defence" of the International in France. Those present at the meeting of the Paris Section, however, lodged a protest against this decision, and sent Tolain and Fribourg to London on February 28 to speak on this point at the Central Council meeting. The Council referred the problem to the Sub-Committee which discussed it on March 4 and 6. Marx proposed a draft resolution which has survived in his notebook (see this volume, p. 330). When Marx drew it up, he tried to protect the French organisation of the International from attacks by bourgeois elements and to strengthen the leadership of the Paris Section by bringing in revolutionary proletarians.

This draft formed the basis of the relevant Central Council resolutions adopted on March 7, 1865 (published below). The resolutions also criticised certain Proudhonist dogmas defended by members of the Paris Administration.

The text of the resolutions has survived in the Council Minute Book and as a handwritten copy which was appended to Marx's letter to Engels of March 13, 1865 and also contained the private instruction to Schily.

The document was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1962. p. 82

[61] Accused of contacts with Bonapartist elements, Tolain tendered his resignation, which was discussed by the Central Council on February 7, 14 and 21, 1865. The Council dissociated itself from these charges. p. 82

[62] On February 24, 1865, the Paris Section of the International called a meeting over the appointment of Lefort as the Association's "Counsel for the literary defence" in Paris. The meeting protested strongly against this appointment, believing that Lefort would exploit this to seize leadership in the Paris Section. The meeting adopted a resolution drafted by Limousin which showed, however, the sectarian position of the French Proudhonists in relation to the intellectuals. It stressed that if the purely working-class character of the Association was to be preserved, only workers should hold leading positions in it. The resolution, signed by 32 members of the Paris Section, was brought to London by Tolain and Fribourg. p. 82

[63] In a letter to Hermann Jung of March 13, 1865 Marx expressed his regret that as a result of the debate in the Central Council "too many concessions to Lefort" had been made in Resolution II (see present edition, Vol. 42). p. 82

[64] This Proudhonist demand was also put forward by the French delegation at the Geneva Congress of the International in 1866, but was rejected.

During the discussion of the General Rules and Regulations, Tolain proposed that the relevant point should stress that a delegate to the Congress had to be a person directly engaged in manual labour. His proposal was vehemently rejected by the English delegates. Cremer and Carter emphasised that the International owed its existence to many citizens not engaged in manual labour. They particularly noted the services of Marx who, as Cremer pointed out, had made the triumph of the working class his life's work. p. 82

[65] The coopting of Pierre Vinçard, working-class journalist and veteran of the 1848 Revolution, to the Paris Administration was meant to make the French members of the International familiar with the revolutionary and socialist traditions of the French working class of the 1840s. However, Vinçard did not accept the appointment for personal reasons (see this volume, p. 365). p. 82

[66] In a letter of March 20, 1865 Schily informed Marx that he had refused to accept his appointment as the Central Council representative on the Paris Administration. However, he continued informally to help Marx and the Council in consolidating the International's organisation in Paris. p. 83

[67] The reference is to the *Crédit au travail* Bank founded in Paris in 1863 by the petty-bourgeois socialist Jean Pierre Beluze to grant credits to producer and consumer co-operatives and to draw workers' savings to promote the co-operative movement. The bank lasted until 1868. p. 83

[68] That this synopsis was written by Marx is clear from his letter to Engels of March 18, 1865 (see present edition, Vol. 42). A newspaper clipping with the text of this synopsis marked in Mrs. Marx's hand "Londoner Anzeiger. 17. März, 1865" has survived. An illegible word at the end of the clipping is deciphered as "erschöpfend" (exhaustive) in Mrs. Marx's hand. p. 84

[69] See Notes 28 and 46. p. 84

[70] On March 18, 1865 Marx informed Engels about his review (see present edition, Vol. 42). It had originally been intended for the *Londoner Anzeiger*, but

was sent to another emigrant paper, *Hermann*, where it was printed unsigned on March 18, 1865. p. 85

71 This statement was written by Marx in connection with the campaign launched by Schweitzer against Marx and Engels after their break with the newspaper (see their statement of February 23, 1865, this volume, p. 80). In *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 31, March 8, 1865, Schweitzer falsified the relations of Marx and Engels with Lassalle using Karl Blind's article published in the *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung* on March 5 in which attacks were made on Marx and Engels.

Marx sent his statement to several newspapers simultaneously. Apart from the *Berliner Reform*, the statement was published in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*, No. 79, March 20, *Staatsbürger Zeitung*, No. 79, March 20 and *Hermann*, No. 325, March 25, 1865. p. 87

72 Marx is referring to his letter to Liebknecht of February 2, 1865 which has not survived. Its contents are given in Marx's letter to Engels of February 3, 1865 (see present edition, Vol. 42) and show that Marx protested against the Lassalle cult in the columns of *Der Social-Demokrat* and the attempts to justify directly or indirectly his flirtation with the Bismarck Government. p. 89

73 Judging by the excerpts quoted by Marx in his letter to Engels of February 18, 1865, he severely criticised the political tactics of the Lassalleans in his letter to Schweitzer of February 13, 1865. He explained the importance of associations, the role of trade unions in organising the working class for the struggle against the bourgeoisie. Following Lassalle, Schweitzer refused to recognise the importance of strikes and trade unions in the workers' struggle against capital and put forward the Lassallean demand for a universal suffrage and producer associations as the only panacea for resolving the social problem in a peaceful reformist way; moreover, like Lassalle, Schweitzer encouraged the workers to hope for assistance from the Prussian Government. p. 89

74 This statement was prompted by Schweitzer's new attacks on Marx; in particular, he tried in the columns of *Der Social-Demokrat* (No. 37) and the *Berliner Reform* (No. 37) to represent Marx's explanation of his break with *Der Social-Demokrat* as motivated by his personal hostility to Lassalle. Apart from the *Berliner Reform* Marx may have sent this statement to the Hamburg *Nordstern*. The original of this statement and the covering note to the editor of that newspaper have survived. The note reads: "Herr K. Bruhn, Editor of the *Nordstern*.

Sir, you would much oblige me by publishing the following lines. Yours truly, K. Marx."

The *Nordstern* did not publish this statement. It appeared in the *Berliner Reform*, No. 78, April 1, 1865 and was reprinted in the *Allgemeine deutsche Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 119, April 9, 1865. p. 91

75 Marx wrote this article in reply to Bernhard Becker, President of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers, who spoke at a meeting of the Association's Hamburg branch on March 22, 1865. His speech, published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 39, on March 26, slandered the International Working Men's Association and also Marx, Engels and Liebknecht. On March 27, 1865 Becker was stigmatised by Liebknecht at the meeting of the Association's Berlin branch. The rank-and-file members of this organisation, greatly discontented with Becker, resolved to expel him and recommended other organisations to follow suit. Similar meetings were held in many other branches. In June 1865

Becker was compelled provisionally to delegate his presidential powers to his deputy Fritzsche and he completely renounced them the following November.

Marx wrote this article on his return from Holland where he had a rest at his uncle's, Lion Philips, at Zalt-Bommel from March 19 to April 8, 1865. Apart from the *Berliner Reform* the article was published in the *Rheinische Zeitung*. p. 92

76 Marx added Szemere's name from memory. It is possible, however, that the Hungarian correspondent in Paris mentioned here was Gustav Zerffi (Bangya's secret accomplice in the police service, something of which Marx was totally unaware) and that Bertalan Szemere was the third person, as mentioned below, who helped to expose Bangya. p. 93

77 An allusion to the fact that the post of President of the General Association of German Workers was bequeathed to Bernhard Becker by Lassalle, the first President of this organisation. p. 94

78 Marx has in mind a letter sent to him by Liebknecht from Berlin on about January 20. p. 95

79 Marx is referring to his letter to Lassalle of June 10, 1859 (see present edition, Vol. 40) occasioned by his pamphlet *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preußens. Eine Stimme aus der Demokratie* which was published anonymously and in which Lassalle advocated the unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy. Marx wrote to tell him that the views expressed in the pamphlet differed radically from his own opinion and that of his London friends, and let Lassalle know that he might criticise these views in public. p. 95

80 A reference to the bourgeois-democratic International Association founded in London in 1855 by French, Polish and German refugees jointly with the Chartists. The Association, which existed till 1859, maintained contacts with some Belgian democrats and with petty-bourgeois German emigrants in the USA. It published its own *Bulletin de l'Association Internationale* from March 1857 to March 1858. p. 96

81 An ironical allusion to what Becker himself said at the meeting of the Hamburg branch of the General Association of German Workers on March 22, 1865. He complained that as Countess von Hatzfeldt's secretary he also had to perform the duties of a servant and buy food. p. 96

82 On March 1, 1865 a mass meeting was held in St. Martin's Hall, London, to mark the anniversary of the Polish national liberation insurrection of 1863-64. In its special resolution of February 21, 1865 the Association's Central Council called upon its members and adherents to lend support to the meeting and contributed much to preparing and conducting it. The British bourgeois press, the London liberal *Daily News* included, covered the speeches of bourgeois radicals (Beales, Leverson and others) at the meeting, but passed over in silence a resolution submitted on behalf of the International and the speeches of Peter Fox and Georg Eccarius, the Central Council members. A full report of the meeting appeared in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 177, March 4, 1865 and it was used by Marx when writing this note intended for the Zurich *Der weiße Adler*, which reproduced in issue No. 30 of March 11, 1865 a garbled report from the British bourgeois newspapers.

The original of this note has survived. It was enclosed in a letter which Marx sent to Hermann Jung on April 13, 1865 (see present edition, Vol. 42)

who, in his capacity of Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland, dispatched it to the newspaper with a covering letter. With minor changes the note was printed in *Der weiße Adler,* No. 48, April 22, 1865 over Jung's signature.

The English translation of the note was first published in *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1962. p. 97

83 On April 14, 1865 US President Abraham Lincoln was assassinated by the actor John Wilkes Booth, an agent of Southern planters and New York bankers. Andrew Johnson became President. The Central Council took a decision on May 2, 1865 to send an address to the American people on this occasion. At the Council meeting on May 9 Marx read out the Address he had written. It was approved and passed to President Johnson through Adams, the American envoy to England. The Address was published in *Reynolds's Newspaper,* No. 771, May 21, 1865 and the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 7536, June 1, 1865, and its German translation in the *Chicago, Sonntags-Zeitung,* on June 4, 1865. p. 99

84 A reference to the statement made by William Seward at a meeting in Rochester on October 25, 1858. He spoke about "an irrepressible conflict", which, according to him, had to turn the United States either into a "slave-holding nation" or a "free-labour nation". On April 14, 1865, when Lincoln was assassinated, Seward, then US Secretary of State, and his son were both seriously wounded. p. 100

85 On April 15, 1861, to counter the hostilities opened by the Confederacy of the Southern States, the Lincoln Administration declared the recruitment of 75 thousand volunteers, planning to put down the revolt in three months; the American Civil War did not, however, end until 1865. p. 100

86 The reference is to the *100 Years' war* (1337-1453) between France and England and the all-European *Thirty Years' war* between the Catholic states and the Protestant countries supported by France (1618-48). By the *23 Years' war,* Marx meant wars of European coalitions against the French Republic and Napoleonic France which lasted, with short intervals, from 1792 to 1815. p. 100

87 This is Marx's report read at the Central Council meetings on June 20 and 27, 1865. Being a further step in the elaboration of his economic theory, it was at the same time, thanks to its popular form, a model of how to present such material to advanced workers.

Marx was prompted to make this report by the speeches of the Central Council member, John Weston, the Owenite. At the meetings of April 11, May 2, 20 (the minutes of this meeting have not survived) and 23, 1865, Weston sought to prove the uselessness of a general rise in wages for the workers and hence concluded that the corresponding efforts on the part of the trade unions would have deleterious consequences. The problems raised by Weston became the subject of discussion in the Central Council in May-August 1865. On May 20 and 23 Marx made preliminary remarks, and on June 20 and 27 countered Weston's views with an extended scientific substantiation of the working-class tactics of economic struggle and elucidated a number of key points in the Marxist political economy. Other speakers at these and subsequent meetings (Eccarius and Cremer) expressed their solidarity with Marx's report and disagreement with Weston's views; they recommended the publication of the discussion, Marx's report included.

As is seen from Marx's letter to Engels of June 24, 1865 (see present edition, Vol. 42), Marx thought that in principle the publication of the report

would be expedient, but was afraid that this would prematurely anticipate his *Capital* on which he was working hard at the time. These considerations, the excessive burden of theoretical studies connected with the writing of *Capital* and the various affairs of the International prevented Marx from publishing his work which has survived in manuscript form. Notes for the report have also been preserved in his notebook (see this volume, p. 338).

The report was first published in London in 1898 by Marx's daughter Eleanor Marx-Aveling under the title *Value, Price and Profit* with a preface by Edward Aveling. The manuscript had no title and opened with the words "Read to the Central Council on Tuesday, 20th June 1865". It was divided by the author into 14 sections marked with Arabic numerals. The introduction and first six sections had no headings in the manuscript; these were provided by Aveling. In this volume all the headings have been preserved, but have been enclosed in square brackets to distinguish them from those given by Marx himself.

Marx's work became widely known under a different title—*Wages, Price and Profit.* It was provided by the German translator who published it in *Die Neue Zeit* in 1898. However, the logical presentation of the theoretical problems shows that the title provided by the Avelings in the first publication is more appropriate. That is why it is used in this publication. p. 101

88 At that time the Central Council debated the date and the agenda of the International's Congress, which, in keeping with the Provisional Rules, was planned for September 1865 in Brussels. The report of the Standing Committee, approved by the Central Council on July 25, 1865, proposed to have a conference in London in September that year instead of the Congress. It was to discuss the agenda of the Congress, which was postponed until the following year (see Note 13). This agenda contained points about workers' international aid in the struggle (including strikes) against capital, and about the role of the trade unions (see this volume, pp. 375-77). p. 103

89 Tradition has it that the Roman patrician Menenius Agrippa persuaded the plebeians who had rebelled and withdrawn to the Mons Sacer in 494 B.C. to submit by telling them the fable about the other parts of the human body revolting against the stomach because, they said, it consumed food and did not work, but afterwards becoming convinced that they could not exist without it. p. 106

90 The reference is to the Ten Hours' Bill of 1847 (see Note 7), which came into force on May 1, 1848. In August 1850 Parliament introduced an additional factory act which prolonged the working day for women and adolescents to ten and a half hours on the first five days of the week and reduced it to seven and a half hours on Saturday. p. 109

91 This refers to the laws passed by the Convention on May 4, September 11 and 29, 1793 and March 20, 1794 which introduced maximum prices on grain, flour and other consumer goods, together with maximum wages. p. 110

92 Marx attended the 31st annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in September 1861 at Manchester when he was there on a visit to Engels. The meeting was addressed by William Newmarch, President of the Economic Science and Statistics Section, publisher of Tooke's *History of Prices* mentioned below. Marx is referring to his speech. See *Report of the Thirty-First Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Manchester in September 1861,* London, 1862, p. 230. p. 110

93 The extensive demolition of dwelling houses of the agricultural labourers in England in the middle of the nineteenth century took place in the midst of the rapid growth of capitalist industry and the reorganisation of agriculture along capitalist lines which was accompanied by relative overpopulation in rural areas. This can be explained to some extent by the fact that the amount of taxes paid by the landlords for the benefit of the poor largely depended on the number of the poor people residing on their land. The landlords intentionally demolished the houses they did not need but which could still be used as shelter by the "surplus" agricultural population (for details, see Marx's *Capital,* Vol. I). p. 111

94 *Society of Arts*—a bourgeois educational and philanthropic society founded in London in 1754. In 1869 Marx joined it (see Marx's letters to Peter Le Néve Foster, May 28, 1869, Vol. 43). p. 112

95 The *Corn Laws* were repealed in June 1846. They imposed high import duties on agricultural produce in the interests of the landowners so as to maintain high prices on the home market. The repeal of the Corn Laws was a victory for the industrial bourgeoisie, who opposed them under the slogan of free trade. p. 112

96 See Note 5. p. 112

97 A reference to the so-called cotton crisis caused by the discontinuance of cotton exports from America during the Civil War there. On the cotton crisis, see Note 5. p. 115

98 A reference to the wars which England waged as a member of the European coalitions against the French Republic and Napoleonic France. During these wars, which lasted, with intervals, from 1792 to 1815, the British ruling circles established a brutal regime of terrorism in their country, several revolts were put down and laws were adopted banning workers' associations. p. 141

99 A reference to the stand taken by the representatives of British capitalist and official circles when the Ten Hours' Bill of 1831 for children and adolescents was debated in Parliament in February and March 1832. p. 141

100 *Juggernaut (Jagannath)*—a title of Krishna, the eighth avatar of Vishnu. The cult of Juggernaut was marked by sumptuous ritual and extreme religious fanaticism which manifested itself in the self-torture and suicide of believers. On feast day some believers threw themselves under the wheels of the chariot bearing the idol of Vishnu—Juggernaut. p. 142

101 According to the Poor Laws, which were introduced in England in the sixteenth century and remained in force at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a special tax to support the poor was collected in each parish. The parishioners unable to provide for themselves and their families, received support through the poor-box. p. 145

102 In Vol. I of *Capital,* Marx devoted a special chapter (Ch. XXXIII) to the analysis and critique of this colonisation theory, using as an example the works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who was one of its main originators. p. 146

103 This document was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1962.

The *London Conference of the International* was held from September 25 to 29, 1865. It was convened on Marx's insistence, for he considered that the

Association's sections were not yet strong enough to succeed in holding a general congress as stipulated by the Provisional Rules. The conference was attended by 9 delegates from France, Switzerland and Belgium and the Central Council members. A meeting was held in St. Martin's Hall on September 28, 1865 to celebrate the first anniversary of the founding of the Association.

The Conference heard the Central Council's report, its financial statement, and also delegates' reports on the situation in individual sections. The main point discussed was the agenda and the procedure for convening the forthcoming congress. It was decided to hold it in Geneva in May 1866 (later the Central Council postponed it until early September 1866). Though the Proudhonists demanded that the Polish question should be struck off the agenda of the Congress and that the right of any member of the Association to participate in it be recognised the Conference retained in the agenda the point on the restoration of Poland's independence and recognised only elected delegates as competent members of the Congress. Other proposals of the Council concerning the programme of the Congress were also approved. The London Conference of 1865 which was prepared and conducted under Marx's guidance played an important part in the formation and organisational shaping of the International. p. 150

104 Marx submitted this resolution at the Council meeting after he had agreed with Weston's proposal to begin discussing the agenda of the forthcoming Geneva Congress drawn up by the London Conference.

This resolution was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1962. p. 151

105 Engels wrote this series of articles between the end of January and April 6, 1866, at Marx's request in connection with the controversy that developed in the International at the 1865 London Conference and after it over the inclusion of the demand for Poland's independence in the agenda of the forthcoming Geneva Congress. In order to substantiate the position of the Central Council on the nationalities question, it was necessary, on the one hand, to criticise the nihilism displayed in this vital matter by the Proudhonists, and their allegations that such political problems as the liberation of the oppressed nations had nothing to do with the working class and diverted it from its aims; on the other hand, it was necessary to reveal the demagogic essence of the so-called principle of nationalities which helped the Bonapartist circles to use national movements in their interests. This series of articles remained unfinished.

During Engels' lifetime they were translated only into Polish and published in the London *Przedświt,* No. 7, 1895. p. 152

106 On May 15, 1848, the Paris workers led by Blanqui, Barbès and others took revolutionary action against the anti-labour and anti-democratic policy pursued by the bourgeois Constituent Assembly which opened on May 4. The participants in the mass demonstration forced their way into the Assembly premises, demanded the formation of a Ministry of Labour and presented a number of other demands, including aid to the fighters for Poland's independence. An attempt was made to form a revolutionary government. The National Guards from the bourgeois quarters and the regular troops succeeded, however, in restoring the power of the Constituent Assembly. The leaders of the movement were arrested and put on trial. p. 152

107 The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* published under Marx's editorship in Cologne in 1848 and 1849, resolutely championed Poland's independence, whose liberation it associated with the overthrow of the Tsarist regime in Russia, then one of the main bulwarks of the feudal and absolutist reaction in Europe. p. 152

108 A reference to the national liberation insurrections of 1830-31 and 1863-64 in Poland put down by Tsarist Russia, and the 1846 insurrection in the so-called free city of Cracow, which was under the joint protectorate of Austria, Prussia and Russia by decision of the 1815 Vienna Congress. After the suppression of the Cracow insurrection by Austrian troops, the city was annexed to the Austrian Empire. p. 152

109 Engels has in mind point 9 on the agenda of the forthcoming congress of the International which was discussed at the London Conference (see this volume, p. 376). On the London Conference, see Note 103. p. 153

110 Engels is referring to a series of articles on the Polish question written by the Proudhonist Hector Denis and published in the *Tribune du peuple,* the newspaper of the International's Belgian sections, between March and July 1864, and also to the accusations levelled at the Central Council in the *Echo de Verviers* in December 1865 (see this volume, pp. 388-89, 392-400). p. 153

111 Poland was partitioned in 1772, 1793 and 1795 between Russia, Prussia and Austria. Austria participated in the first and the third partitions.

The partition treaties were signed in St. Petersburg on August 5, 1772, January 23, 1793 and October 24, 1795. p. 154

112 A reference to *Young Europe,* a secret organisation of bourgeois revolutionaries founded in 1834 in Switzerland on Mazzini's initiative. It included national organisations, among them Young Italy and Young Poland. Their aim was the national unification and national independence of their respective countries and the establishment of a republican system. p. 155

113 Engels' views on the historical destiny of small nations and nationalities were not borne out in reality. Engels held that, as a rule, small nations were not capable of independent national existence and were bound to be absorbed, in the course of centralisation, by larger, more viable nations. Correctly noting the tendency towards centralisation and the creation of large states, which is inherent in capitalism, Engels did not give due consideration to another tendency which was not so manifest at the time, namely, the struggle of small nations against national oppression, for their independence and the establishment of their own states. History has shown that many small nations proved capable of independent national development and played a considerable role in the progress of humanity. Engels' later works on the nationalities question, on the history of Ireland in particular, show that his own view on the problem had changed. p. 157

114 *Ruthenes (Ruthenians)*—the name given in nineteenth-century West-European ethnographical and historical works to the Ukrainian population of Galicia, the Bukovina and the Sub-Carpathian Ukraine, which was separated at the time from the bulk of the Ukrainian people. p. 157

115 The unification of Poland and Lithuania was laid down by the Krevo Union of 1385—a dynastic alliance of the two states. p. 158

116 In the 1230s the Russian lands were invaded by the Tatars and Mongols. Their further advance to the West was weakened and halted by the resistance of the

subjugated peoples. After many years of hard oppression, Russian troops under Dmitry, Grand Duke of Moscow, routed the forces of the Golden Horde on Kulikovo plain in 1380 and thus shook the foundation of Mongol domination. The final liberation was won in 1480 under the Grand Duke of Moscow Ivan III. He also scored great successes in uniting the Russian lands into a single centralised state. p. 159

117 In June 1605 Moscow was captured by the Poles and Lithuanians who supported their figurehead, the False Dmitry, in his claims to the Russian throne. In May 1606 he was overthrown as a result of a popular uprising. In September 1610 Moscow again fell into the hands of Polish invaders who dropped all pretences this time. In October 1612 Moscow was set free by people's volunteers under Minin and Pozharsky. p. 159

118 *United Greeks*—members of the Uniat Church formed by the synod of Brest in 1596 (Brest Union). It recognised the supremacy of the Pope and the main Catholic dogmas but preserved the Orthodox rite and the Slavonic liturgy. The Uniat Church found adherents mostly among the Belorussians and Ukrainians in Poland. p. 160

119 Marx wrote this address on the instructions of the Central Council in connection with the importation into Scotland of German and Danish tailors to be used as strike-breakers. This issue was discussed at the Central Council meeting of May 1, 1866. Friedrich Lessner informed the meeting that London manufacturers also intended to have recourse to German workers. For this reason the German tailors living in London formed a committee headed by Lessner and Haufe and took a decision to act jointly with the Council in order to frustrate the plans of the manufacturers and their agents in Germany. The Central Council sent two representatives to Edinburgh who persuaded the newly-arrived workers to cancel their contracts and return home.

On Marx's request, Lessner and Haufe sent him on May 3 details about the events in Edinburgh.

"A Warning" written by Marx on May 4 was published in several German newspapers.

The author's rough and fair copies of this document have survived.

At the same time Lessner and Haufe published a leaflet which set forth the aims and tasks of the German tailors' London Committee and contained an appeal to German workers in London to collect funds. In July 1866 the committee issued a second leaflet, also signed by Lessner and Haufe, and addressed to the tailors in Germany.

This document was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1962. p. 162

120 A reference to the trade union which was formed in London in March 1866 when the London journeymen tailors went on strike. It had an executive committee and, jointly with the Central Council, successfully directed the tailors' strikes. In April 1866 this union joined the International. Their delegate, Matthew Lawrence, took part in the Geneva Congress. p. 162

121 In accordance with its decision of March 27, 1866 the Central Council made an appeal to the tailors, asking them to refrain from going to England in view of the tailors' strike there. The appeal was published in several local papers of the

International, among them the Belgian *Tribune du Peuple,* No. 17, April 29, 1866, the Swiss *Vorbote,* No. 4, April 1866 and *Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs,* No. 5, April 8, 1866 and also *La Rive Gauche,* No. 15, April 15, 1866. p. 162

122 Engels devoted this series of articles to the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 which rounded off the long rivalry between Austria and Prussia and predetermined the unification of Germany under the supremacy of Prussia. Several German states—including Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden—fought on Austria's side. Prussia formed an alliance with Italy. In June and July military operations were conducted on two fronts: in Bohemia and in Italy. After a grave defeat at Sadowa on July 3 Austria began peace negotiations and signed a treaty in Prague on August 23. Austria conceded Schleswig and Holstein to Prussia, paid small indemnities to her and gave the province of Venetia to Italy. The German Confederation, which was founded in 1815 by decision of the Vienna Congress and embraced over 30 German states, ceased to exist, and the North German Confederation was founded in its place under Prussia's supremacy. As a result of the war, Prussia annexed the Kingdom of Hanover, the electorate of Hesse-Cassel, the Grand Duchy of Nassau and the free city of Frankfurt-am-Main.

In the first articles, Engels expressed the assumption that the Austrians might win the war, but withdrew it as soon as information on military operations enabled him to obtain a more accurate knowledge of the real balance of forces. Engels had made his preliminary forecast proceeding from the interests of achieving Germany's unification in a revolutionary way, believing that the defeat of militarist junker Prussia would be a contributory factor.

*The Manchester Guardian* published articles Nos. I and II under the heading "Notes on the War in Germany", and Nos. III-V under that of "Notes on the War". p. 164

123 The reference is to the quadrangle formed by the fortresses of Peschiera, Mantua, Verona and Legnago in Northern Italy. The Austrians, who were in possession of these strongholds, fortified them thoroughly after the 1848 revolution. On its military and strategic importance see Engels' "Po and Rhine" (present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 227-30). p. 164

124 See Note 31. p. 164

125 See Note 37. p. 165

126 Engels is referring to the tactics used by the Austrians in the war against France and Italy in 1859 (for details, see Engels' articles "The Campaign in Italy", "A Chapter of History", "The Battle of Solferino" and others, present edition, Vol. 16). p. 166

127 See Note 32. p. 166

128 The *Battle of Custozza* (Northern Italy) was fought by the Italian army under Victor Emmanuel II and the Austrian troops under the Archduke Albrecht on June 24, 1866. The Austrians won. The rout of the Italian army, however, had no impact on the general outcome of the Austro-Prussian war, in which Austria was defeated and lost her last possession in Northern Italy, the Province of Venetia. She had already lost Lombardy in 1859 following the defeat in the war with France and Piedmont. p. 173

129 In the *battles of Lonato* and *Castiglione* (Northern Italy) on July 29 and August 5, 1796 during Bonaparte's Italian campaign of 1796-97, the French troops defeated the Austrians under General Wurmser.

The *Battle of Solferino* on June 24, 1850 was the last great battle in the Austro-Italian-French war of 1859. The allied French and Piedmontese forces defeated the Austrians. p. 173

130 A reference to the *Battle of Custozza* on July 23-25, 1848 (below Engels calls it the "first battle of Custozza") in which the Austrian army under Radetzky defeated the Piedmontese forces. The latter were forced to withdraw from Lombardy, freed from the Austrians in March 1848 after a popular uprising. Austrian rule was ultimately established there after a new defeat of Piedmont in March 1849. p. 173

131 *Garibaldi's "Thousand"*—a detachment of revolutionary volunteers who, under Garibaldi's command, landed in Sicily in 1860 to help the uprising there. The nucleus of this detachment consisted of the men of Garibaldi's corps who successfully fought against the Austrians in Northern Italy in the war of 1859. Garibaldi's expedition of 1860 brought about the liberation of Sicily and Southern Italy from the Neapolitan Bourbons. p. 176

132 Engels is writing about the occupation of Hanover, Hesse-Cassel and Saxony by the Prussian troops at the beginning of the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and the flight of the rulers of those states. p. 178

133 On July 3, 1866 a decisive battle in the Austro-Prussian war was fought at Königgrätz (Hradec-Kralove), near Sadowa. The Austrian troops were defeated. p. 181

134 At the *Battle of Ligny* (Belgium) on June 16, 1815, the Prussian army under Blücher, marching to join up with the Anglo-Dutch army of Wellington, was defeated by Napoleon. But Blücher's troops escaped from their pursuers commanded by Marshal Grouchy and reached the battlefield of Waterloo (near Brussels) at the decisive moment on June 18, thereby determining the outcome of the battle in favour of the Allies. This decided the final victory of the seventh anti-French coalition (Britain, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Spain and other states). p. 182

135 The Central Council attached great importance to the preparations for the Geneva Congress and on July 17, 1866, it took a decision to discuss at its meetings the questions which were included in the programme of its work at the London Conference of 1865 in order to determine and specify its own stand on these questions. On July 31, 1866, the proposals concerning the programme of the Geneva Congress were submitted by Marx in compliance with that decision and in the name of the Standing Committee.

In the minute book of the General Council and the report published in *The Commonwealth,* the text of the proposals alternates with a short summary of the debates and notes on their adoption. These are omitted in the present edition and marked with a space. p. 183

136 The French version of the programme was published in *Le Courrier français,* June 24, 1866, and *La Rive Gauche,* No. 27, July 8, 1866. Here Marx suggests that Point 12 in the French version of the programme concerning the expediency of benefit societies for material and moral support to the orphans

of the Association's members should be put at the beginning of the programme. When Marx was drawing up the "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional Central Council", he inserted this point in the first section (see this volume, p. 185). p. 183

137 This schedule was one of the first of those submitted by Marx for the statistical inquiry into the condition of the working class. With some editorial alterations, it was included in the second section of the "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional Central Council. The Different Questions". Eugène Dupont, a member of the Central Council, reported on it at the Geneva Congress. p. 183

138 This document was drawn up by Marx in August 1866, when final preparations for the Geneva Congress were being made. It was written in English (a few last pages of Marx's rough manuscript beginning with the words "everyday necessities", Section 6, second paragraph, have survived) and translated into French by Paul Lafargue.

The *Geneva Congress* of the International took place between September 3 and 8, 1866. It was attended by 60 delegates from the Central Council, various sections of the International and workers' associations in Britain, France, Germany and Switzerland. Hermann Jung was elected its chairman. Marx's "Instructions" were read as the official report of the Central Council. The Congress became a scene of struggle between Marx's followers and the Proudhonists who enjoyed a third of the votes and countered the "Instructions" with their own programme on all the items on the agenda. Opponents of the revolutionary class struggle, who denied the importance of strikes and trade unions, the Proudhonists sought to confine the activities of the International to mutual aid in the sphere of credit and commodity exchange and to cooperative societies. They advocated the principles of "home education". In heated debates with the Proudhonists, Jung, Eccarius, Dupont, Carter and other supporters of the Central Council succeeded in having most of the points in the "Instructions" adopted in the form of Congress resolutions on international action by the working class, a reduction of working hours, on children's and women's labour, and on cooperative labour, trade unions and standing armies. The Proudhonists managed to have their resolutions passed only on issues of secondary importance (international workers' credit societies, etc.). Their attempt to introduce the principle that no person engaged in mental labour should be admitted as an official in the Association also failed; only over the Polish question did they manage to have a vague compromise resolution passed instead of the relevant point in the "Instructions".

The Geneva Congress approved the Rules (based on the Provisional Rules drawn up by Marx) and the Regulations of the International Association. The Congress marked the end of the organisational period in the life of the International as an active proletarian organisation.

The "Instructions" were published, among other reports on the Geneva Congress and its documents, first in German in the article "Der Kongreß der Internationalen Arbeiterassociation in Genf", in the journal *Der Vorbote,* Nos. 10 and 11, October and November 1866; then in English in *The International Courier,* Nos. 6/7 and 8/10, February 20 and March 13, 1867 and *The Working Man,* March 1 and April 6, 1867; and in French in *Le Courrier international,* Nos. 8/10 and 11, March 9 and 16, 1867. Later, the document was reprinted in full or in part in other press organs of the International as well. Certain points of the "Instructions" (in the form of the Congress

resolutions) were printed in the pamphlet *Die Internationale Arbeiterassociation* by W. Eichhoff, Berlin, 1868 and in *The International Working Men's Association, Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868,* London, 1869 (put out on decision of the General Council and prepared under Marx's supervision). p. 185

139 The general scheme of statistical inquiry into the situation of the working class (see Note 137) as suggested by Marx was unanimously accepted by the Geneva Congress. In practice, however, the collection of data and their publication in the form of Central Council reports were extremely difficult in view of the lack of material means and the negligence of the local organisations. The subsequent congresses of the Association—in Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869)—confirmed the need to carry out the Geneva Congress resolution on the workers' statistics, and the London Conference of 1871 included point "c" of the second section of the "Instructions" in the Administrative Regulations of the Association (see present edition, Vol. 23). p. 187

140 When the Civil War ended, the movement for the legislative introduction of an eight-hour working day intensified in the USA. Leagues of struggle for the eight-hour day were set up all over the country. The National Labor Union (see Note 339) declared at its inaugural convention in Baltimore in August 1866 that the demand for the eight-hour day was an indispensable condition for the emancipation of labour. p. 187

141 The British trade unions took an active part in the general democratic movement for the second electoral reform in 1865-67.

In the spring of 1865 the Central Council of the International initiated, and participated in, the setting up of a Reform League in London as a political centre of the mass movement. The League's leading bodies—the Council and the Executive Committee—included the Central Council members, mainly trade-union leaders. The League's programme was drafted under Marx's influence. Unlike the bourgeois parties, which confined their demand to household suffrage, the League advanced the demand for manhood suffrage. This revived Chartist slogan secured it the support of the trade unions, hitherto indifferent to politics. The League had branches in all the big industrial cities. However, the vacillations of the radicals in its leadership and the conciliation of the trade-union leaders prevented the League from following the line charted by the Central (General) Council of the International. The British bourgeoisie succeeded in splitting the movement and a moderate reform was carried out in 1867 which granted franchise only to the petty bourgeoisie and the upper layers of the working class. p. 191

142 During the Civil War, the American trade unions actively supported the Northern States in their struggle with the slaveholders; in the spring of 1864 the trade unions opposed the reactionary Hastings-Folger Bill on strikes. p. 191

143 The Conference of trades' delegates was held in Sheffield from July 17 to 21, 1866. It was attended by 138 delegates representing 200,000 organised workers. The battle against lockouts was the main question at the Conference. Its resolution, calling trade unions to become affiliated to the International Working Men's Association, was published in a book, *Report of the Conference of Trades' Delegates of the United Kingdom, held in Sheffield, on July 17th, 1866 and*

*Four Following Days,* Sheffield, 1866. In Marx's draft manuscript, a newspaper clipping with the text of the resolution was pasted in.

p. 192

144 *The Holy Alliance*—an association of European monarchs founded in 1815 to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries. Later, this expression was used to denote a coalition of counter-revolutionary powers. p. 193

145 This resolution was submitted by Marx at a meeting of the General Council (as the Central Council was officially named according to the Rules adopted at the Geneva Congress) on September 18, 1866, which heard the report of its delegates to the Geneva Congress (see Note 138) on the latter's work and results. The Council's official representatives at the Congress were James Carter, George Odger, Johann Georg Eccarius and Hermann Jung. The Congress was also attended by other Council members, including Eugène Dupont as delegate for the French section in London, Matthew Lawrence for the Operative Tailors' Association in London and William Randal Cremer for the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners in London. p. 195

146 Marx made this speech at a meeting held in Cambridge Hall, London, on January 22, 1867 to mark the fourth anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1863-64. The meeting was organised by the General Council of the International jointly with the Central London Section of the United Polish Exiles. Marx took an active part in preparing and organising this meeting (see this volume, p. 414). On March 12 the Central London Section of the United Polish Exiles expressed gratitude to the General Council for the organisation of the meeting and to Marx, among other speakers, for his report.

A detailed report of the meeting, Marx's speech included, was published in the Polish-language newspaper *Głos Wolny,* Nos. 129 and 130, January 31 and February 10, 1867. Moreover, the editors noted that "the speech, remarkable for its accurate observations and logical conclusions, is given word for word".

A draft manuscript in English has survived. Presumably it was in the possession of Marx's daughter, Laura Lafargue, who made it available to the editors of *Le Socialisme* for the publication of a French translation in No. 18 for March 15, 1905. The English text was published in *Cahiers de l'Institut de Science économique appliquée,* No. 4 (109), Paris, 1961. Some passages in the manuscript were crossed by Marx with a vertical line. Collation of the manuscript with the publication in Polish shows that Marx did not omit the crossed-out passages, but merely changed their placing. With the exception of these alterations and some minor amendments to the text, the English original and the Polish translation, which may have been made from the lost fair copy, coincide almost word for word.

In this volume the speech is reproduced from the draft manuscript in English with allowances made for the rearrangements by the author and reproduced in the Polish version. The most important discrepancies of meaning are given in the footnotes. p. 196

147 "To horse, gentlemen!"—Nicholas I pronounced these words on learning about the February revolution in France in 1848. p. 196

148 Marx has in mind the hostile position of the majority in the all-German National Assembly in Frankfurt (convened in May 1848 to work out an all-German constitution) in regard to the Polish national liberation movement

in the Grand Duchy of Posen, a dependency of Prussia. The debates on this subject held on July 24-27 resulted in the Assembly giving consent to the punitive police measures of the Prussian authorities in Posen and charging the government "to guarantee the security of Germans residing in Posen". For details, see Engels' series of articles, "The Frankfurt Assembly Debates the Polish Question" (present edition, Vol. 7). p. 197

149 In 1866-67, after the suppression of the Polish insurrection of 1863-64, the Russian Government promulgated "Regulations on the Gubernia and Uyezd Administration in the Kingdom of Poland" and a number of ukases aimed at the abolition of local Polish institutions and the consolidation of the administrative apparatus—the chief means of national oppression. The number of gubernias was increased, the prerogatives of the governors appointed by the Russian Government were extended, supreme bodies (State Council and others) were abolished, different administrative departments (post, communications) were subordinated to the respective ministries in St. Petersburg. p. 198

150 A reference to the Anglo-Dutch loan to Russia, the agreement on which was concluded on November 4, 1866. p. 198

151 The *Vienna Congress* of European monarchs and their ministers (September 1814-June 1815) established a system of all-European treaties after the Napoleonic wars. The decisions of the Congress helped to restore the feudal system and a number of old dynasties in states that had been subjugated by Napoleon and to preserve the political dismemberment of Germany and Italy, sanctioned the annexation of Belgium by Holland and the partition of Poland, and planned measures to combat the revolutionary movement. With this aim in view, the main participants in the Congress shortly afterwards founded the Holy Alliance (see Note 144) which Marx mentions below. p. 199

152 *Congress Poland*—that part of Poland which by decision of the Vienna Congress of 1814-15 was annexed to Russia under the official name of the Kingdom of Poland, its capital Warsaw included. p. 199

153 Marx sent this refutation to Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover on February 18, 1867 with a request to have it published there in the *Zeitung für Norddeutschland* or any other local newspaper. Marx was particular about this because he intended in a few weeks to take his manuscript of Vol. I of *Capital* to Germany, to the Hamburg publisher Otto Meissner.

Instead of this statement, the *Zeitung für Norddeutschland* published the following item on February 21, 1867: "According to a statement sent by Herr Karl Marx from London, the English newspapers' announcement (see the *Zeitung für Norddeutschland,* No. 5522) that he intends to take an active part in the preparations for a future insurrection in Poland and with this aim in view plans to travel all over the Continent, is a fabrication." p. 202

154 On June 4, 1867, during preparations for the regular Lausanne Congress of the International, the General Council empowered a special commission to draw up an address containing its programme. When this document was considered at the Council meeting on July 9, Marx submitted a proposal concerning the first point on the Congress agenda (Resolution I). It was reproduced in the "Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. To the members and affiliated societies" adopted at this meeting and published in London as a leaflet. By decision of the Council, the "Address" was also published in French, the translation being

done by Paul Lafargue and edited by Marx. Its text was considerably improved in comparison with the English (see this volume, pp. 421-23).

By having this resolution passed and distributed in English, French and other languages, Marx sought to direct the work of the future congress to the consolidation of workers' international solidarity in the struggle for their class interests, in contrast to some French members of the International who wanted to direct the Congress along Proudhonist lines. With this aim, as early as February 1866, the Paris Section worked out for the Congress its own agenda, which was permeated with Proudhonist ideas about mutual aid societies in the sphere of credit and commodity exchange being the main lever of social transformation. This agenda was reproduced in the Address of the Paris section to all workers' associations, published in *Le Courrier français,* No. 25, July 20, 1867. This compelled Marx to submit, at the General Council meeting of July 23, a resolution against the separatist actions of the section and in defence of the Council's prerogatives to draw up the Congress programme.

p. 203

155 The *League of Peace and Freedom* was a pacifist organisation set up in 1867 with the active participation of Victor Hugo, Giuseppe Garibaldi and other democrats. Voicing the anti-militarist sentiments of the masses, the League's leaders did not reveal the social sources of wars and often confined anti-militarist activity to mere declarations. The inaugural Congress of the League was to open on September 9 (originally on September 5) in Geneva and was specially timed to coincide with the end of the Lausanne Congress of the International (September 2-8, 1867). At the General Council meeting of August 13, Marx spoke against the International's official participation in the League's Congress, since this would mean solidarity with its bourgeois programme; but he recommended that some members of the International should attend the Congress on their own in order to make it adopt revolutionary-democratic decisions (see the record of Marx's speech in this volume, pp. 426-27). Concluding his speech, Marx submitted this resolution, which the Council adopted. In the Minute Book of the General Council, the speech and resolution are reproduced in the form of a clipping from *The Bee-Hive* carrying a report of the Council meeting.

The Lausanne Congress ignored the General Council's resolution and, influenced by petty-bourgeois elements, resolved officially to take part in the Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom. The Congress of the League, however, attended by several General Council and some other International members revealed great differences between the proletarian and the abstract, pacifist approach to the struggle for peace. Marx's tactics in regard to the League was fully approved at the Brussels Congress of the International in 1868, which opposed official affiliation to the League but called upon the working class to combine efforts with all progressive anti-military forces.

p. 204

156 This review is the first in the series of articles written by Engels to break the "conspiracy of silence" with which official bourgeois scholars met the publication of Volume One of Marx's *Capital* on September 14, 1867.

Even before the work was published, Engels had decided "to attack the book from the bourgeois point of view", as he wrote to Marx on September 11, 1867, in order to draw the attention of the general public. Marx liked this idea and called it "the best military means" (see present edition, Vol. 42). The reviews Engels wrote for a number of bourgeois newspapers looked as if they

had been penned by an unbiased bourgeois scholar who did not share the views of the author of the book but was compelled to acknowledge its scientific soundness and merits. The review for the *Zukunft* was in a similar vein, having been written, as Engels said, in such a way that any bourgeois newspaper could publish it. In the reviews intended for the democratic and proletarian newspapers, Engels sought to popularise the content of *Capital* without any resort to disguise.

With Ludwig Kugelmann's assistance, the review was published in the *Zukunft* on October 30, 1867, unsigned. The next day the newspaper editor, Guido Weiß, dispatched off-prints of it to Marx. In this volume the review is published according to Engels' manuscript, which has survived. p. 207

157 Engels sent this review, together with that for the *Zukunft,* to Kugelmann on October 12, 1867, for publication in one of the bourgeois newspapers. Kugelmann's attempt to have it published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* failed because one of the editors, Heinrich Bürgers, a former Communist League member who by that time had become a liberal, refused to accept it. The review has survived in manuscript form (one page is missing) and was first published in German in 1927 in *Marx-Engels-Archiv,* Bd. 2, and in Russian the same year in the magazine *Letopisi marksizma,* No. IV.

The English translation was first published in the collection: Engels, *On Marx's "Capital",* Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1936. p. 210

158 Several workers' candidates of the democratic Saxon People's Party, which had a strong proletarian wing, stood for election to the North German Imperial Diet on August 31, 1867 (for demagogic reasons, the Bismarck Government, when passing the Constitution early in 1867, introduced universal suffrage, but deprived women, soldiers and servants of the right to vote. The party succeeded in getting four deputies elected, among them August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, and two deputies were elected from the Lassallean General Association of German Workers. p. 210

159 A reference to the law of August 15, 1867, which brought new industries under the factory bills (including that of 1847) on the ten-hour working day (see Notes 7 and 90). p. 212

160 This review was published in the *Elberfelder Zeitung,* No. 302, November 2, 1867, with the assistance of Carl Siebel, a German poet and distant relative of Engels. The initial letter of his name was placed before the title. p. 214

161 This review was published, with Carl Siebel's assistance, in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung,* No. 316, November 16, 1867, unsigned.

As is seen from Engels' letters to Marx of November 8 and 10, 1867, he handed it over to Siebel on November 9 in Liverpool when Siebel was on a visit to England. Moreover, Engels gave him two more reviews to be published in Germany: one in the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt,* the other, to judge by Siebel's letter to Engels of November 13, 1867, not in the *Barmer Zeitung,* as Engels wrote to Marx on November 10, but in the *Rhein- und Ruhrzeitung.* The text of these reviews has not been discovered. p. 216

162 Marx wrote this article in connection with a speech made by the Lassallean Hofstetten at a meeting of the General Association of German Workers on November 24, 1867. The report of this meeting was printed in *Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 139, first supplement, November 29, 1867. Hofstetten had borrowed separate passages from Marx's *Capital* rewriting them almost word

for word, distorting their meaning and mentioning neither the work nor its author.

Marx's article was published unsigned in the supplement to the *Zukunft*, No. 291, December 12, 1867.

The translations of passages quoted by Marx from the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital* are given here close to the English edition of 1887 edited by Engels (page references in square brackets are to that edition). These passages are to be found in Chapter X, "The Working Day" and one in Chapter XV, "Machinery and Modern Industry". p. 219

163 Quoted from the resolution of the Geneva Congress of the International Working Men's Association (September 1866), which was drawn up on the basis of Marx's "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional Central Council. The Different Questions". Here the resolution reproduces the text of the "Instructions" word for word (see this volume, p. 187). p. 223

164 In his letter to Engels of December 7, 1867, Marx expressed a number of ideas about the nature of the review of Volume One of *Capital* for the Stuttgart newspaper *Der Beobachter*, making use of the anti-Prussian sentiments of its editor Karl Mayer, a petty-bourgeois democrat (see present edition, Vol. 42). Engels reproduced almost word for word the corresponding passages from the letter in his review, which was published, with Ludwig Kugelmann's assistance, in *Der Beobachter*, No. 303, December 27, 1867, unsigned. p. 224

165 A reference to an additional note to Section I of Chapter VI in the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital* at the end of the book. When preparing the second German edition (1872), Marx omitted this note and it did not appear in the subsequent authorised editions. p. 225

166 This review was published, with Ludwig Kugelmann's assistance, in the *Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg*, No. 306, December 27, 1867, unsigned. On July 4, 1868 it was reprinted in the supplement to *Hannoverscher Courier*, No. 4232; on Kugelmann's request, 25 separate off-prints of this publication were made for distribution among bourgeois economists. Later, the review was also reprinted by the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 122, October 5, 1890. p. 227

167 The *Customs Union (Zollverein)*—a union of German states, which established a common customs frontier, was set up in 1834 under the aegis of Prussia. Brought into being by the need to create an all-German market, the Customs Union subsequently embraced the majority of the German states except Austria and a few of the smaller states. After the foundation of the North German Confederation in 1867 customs agreements were concluded between the Confederation and the South-Western German non-member states. The Customs Union existed until the complete political unification of Germany under Prussian supremacy in 1871.

The new treaties of the Customs Union concluded on May 16, 1865 and July 8, 1867 marked a turn from protectionism to free trade. p. 228

168 This review was published, with Paul Stumpf's assistance, in the *Neue Badische Landeszeitung*, No. 20, January 21, 1868. The title was preceded by the initials "St." p. 229

169 This review differs essentially from the reviews of Volume One of *Capital* intended for the bourgeois newspapers. It was intended for the readers of the

workers' newspaper and aimed at popularising Marx's work among them and explaining its importance for the working-class movement.

The review was published unsigned in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt,* Nos. 12 and 13, March 21 and 28, 1868. Later, it was reprinted in the Leipzig newspaper the *Volksstaat* (Nos. 28 and 29, April 5 and 8, 1871) and in *Der Botschafter* (Nos. 8, 15 and 16, April 8, June 17 and 24, 1871), and its French translation in the Brussels newspaper, *La Liberté* (Nos. 47 and 50, June 6 and 9, 1870). In this volume, the figures in square brackets refer to the page numbers of the 1887 English edition of *Capital.*

The review was published in English for the first time in Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935. p. 231

170 See Note 7. p. 235

171 See Note 158. p. 236

172 This review, written by Engels in May and June 1868, was intended for the *Fortnightly Review* in which Marx and Engels hoped to publish it with the assistance of Professor Edward Beesly. He was a radical who sympathised with the working class and took part in the inaugural meeting of the International at St. Martin's Hall, London, on September 28, 1864. Engels planned that this review would consist of two articles at least. He had finished the first of them by June 28, 1868 and handed it over for examination to his friend, the lawyer Samuel Moore, the future translator of *Capital* into English. It was decided to publish the review over his signature. However, despite Beesly's application, the liberal editor of the journal, John Morley, did not accept the review, as became known at the beginning of August. In view of this, Engels did not write the continuation. The first article has survived in manuscript form and was first published in Russian in the magazine *Letopisi marksizma,* No. I, 1926.

The English translation was first published in the collection: Engels, *On Marx's "Capital",* Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1936.

The correspondence between Marx and Engels shows that during the spring and summer of 1868 they often exchanged views on the content and form of the review. Marx gave his advice and even versions of separate passages (see Marx to Engels on May 23, 1868, present edition, Vol. 43). It was assumed that Lafargue would translate it into French for *Le Courrier français* (see Marx to Engels on February 1, 1868).

In this review, Engels gives several quotations from Volume One of *Capital* in his own translation into English, but it was not used in preparing the English edition (translators Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling), published under Engels' editorship in 1887, and it differs substantially from the corresponding passages in that edition. The discrepancies are also explained by the fact that the 1887 English edition took account of the author's changes made in the German edition of 1872, and that of 1883 from which the English translation was made. In this volume the quotations are given in Engels' translation of 1868; to facilitate finding these passages in the book itself, the editors have supplied page references to the 1887 English edition in square brackets.

p. 238

173 A reference to the champions of the so-called currency principle, one of the trends in bourgeois political economy which advocated the quantitative theory of money. Representatives of this school—Jones Loyd (Lord Overstone), Robert Torrens, George Arbuthnot and others—stated that the value and price

of commodities are determined by the quantity of money in circulation, that the guarantee of stable currency is the obligatory backing of banknotes by gold and that their issue is regulated according to the import and export of precious metals, regarding violation of these "laws" as the decisive cause of economic crises. The attempts of the British Government to rely on the "currency principle" theory (Bank Act of 1844, etc.) failed, thus proving its scientific infeasibility and its impracticability (see critique of this theory in Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*). p. 238

174 In the second German edition of the book (1872), the first chapter ("Commodities and Money") was turned into Part I, consisting of three chapters. In the English edition of 1887 Part I also consists of three chapters: Chapter I.—Commodities, Chapter II.—Exchange, and Chapter III.—Money, or the Circulation of Commodities. p. 239

175 Engels is referring to the passage in which Marx demonstrates the fallacy of the allegations by the vulgar economist N. W. Senior that the capitalist's profit was produced by the labourer in the last hour of his working day and of his justified objections on this ground to the legal limitation of working hours (see *Capital,* 1887, Part III, Chapter IX, Section 3). p. 250

176 The *Règlement organique*—the first constitution of the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. It was introduced by P. D. Kiselev, head of the Russian administration, in 1831, during the temporary occupation of the principalities by Russian troops under the Treaty of Adrianople of 1829, which concluded the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29 and confirmed the autonomy of Moldavia and Wallachia from the Sultan of Turkey. In accordance with the *Règlement,* legislative power in each principality belonged to the assembly elected by big landowners, while executive power was in the hands of the hospodars elected for life by the representatives of landowners, the clergy and towns. The *Règlement* ensured a dominant position for the boyars and the high clergy by retaining the feudal practices, including corvée. At the same time it envisaged certain bourgeois reforms (abolition of inland customs barriers, separation of court from administration, etc.). p. 252

177 The publication of Engels' reviews of Volume I of *Capital* and the reprinting of Marx's preface to it (in excerpts or in full) by a number of bourgeois newspapers (*Die Zukunft,* No. 206, September 4, 1867; *Der Beobachter,* No. 210, September 7, 1867; *Hamburger Nachrichten,* No. 218, September 13, 1867; *Hamburger Börsenhalle,* No. 17848, February 14, 1868) and working-class and democratic newspapers (*Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 105, September 6, 1867; *The Bee-Hive,* No. 308, September 7, 1867; *Vorbote,* Nos. 9-10, September-October 1867; *Le Courrier français,* No. 106, October 1, 1867; *Demokratisches Wochenblatt,* No. 1, January 4, 1868 and others) made bourgeois economists break the "conspiracy of silence" and comment on the book in the press. Their first reviews, not yet numerous, often contained slanderous fabrications about the author of *Capital.* In particular, they alleged that Marx had borrowed the determination of the magnitude of value by the socially necessary labour-time from the French vulgar economist Frédéric Bastiat. This accusation was made in an anonymous review in the *Vierteljahrschrift für Volkswirtschaft und Kulturgeschichte,* Jrg. 5, Bd. 20, 1868, and in another review by an unknown author which was signed "h" in the *Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland,* No. 28, July 4, 1868. This item is Marx's reply to these reviews; it was not published during his lifetime and has survived in manuscript form. p. 260

178 The *National Liberals*—members of the party formed by the German, principally Prussian, bourgeoisie in the autumn of 1866 after a split in the Party of Progress (see Note 46). Its policy showed that a considerable part of the liberal bourgeoisie had abandoned its claims to extend its political prerogatives and had capitulated to Bismarck's Junker government as a result of Prussia's victory in the Austro-Prussian war and the establishment of her supremacy in Germany. p. 261

179 *Demagogues* in Germany were participants in the opposition movement of intellectuals in the 1820s. The name became current after the Karlsbad Conference of Ministers of the German states in August 1819, which adopted a special decision against the intrigues of "demagogues". p. 261

180 *Synopsis of Volume One of "Capital"* by Marx has survived as an unfinished manuscript covering only two-thirds of the book. Engels evidently wanted to use it in writing articles, reviews and, possibly, a pamphlet to popularise Marx's work. The time of its writing is suggested by Engels' letter to Marx of April 17, 1868, in which Engels wrote that he was summarising the book (see present edition, Vol. 42), and by Engels' remark "for the *Fortnightly Review*" made on one of the last pages of his manuscript (see this volume, p. 306). The comment shows that Engels intended to use this passage in the second part of his review for that journal. But when he learned from Marx's letter of August 10, 1868 that the editors had rejected the first part of his review (see Note 172), he gave up his intention. The synopsis may therefore have been written in the spring and summer (approximately April-early August) of 1868.

The synopsis was first published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives,* Book IV, 1929. In the language of the original it appeared in 1933 as a separate edition prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU. It was published in English for the first time in the collection: Engels, *On Marx's "Capital",* Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1936. p. 263

181 After the publication of Volume One of *Capital,* Marx made substantial alterations and additions to some sections of the book and changed its structure. As a result, instead of the six chapters and the supplement to Chapter I, the second (1872) and subsequent German editions are in seven parts consisting of 25 chapters. In the 1887 English edition edited by Engels, the structure of the volume conforms to that of the 1872-75 French authorised edition. In both editions, the text is divided into eight parts consisting of 33 chapters. p. 265

182 In *Capital* Marx pointed out that among the reasons for the extreme poverty of the rural population under Louis XIV was the "conversion of taxes in kind into money taxes". Marx was referring to P. Boisguillebert's "Dissertation sur la nature des richesses, de l'argent et des tributs" published in Paris in 1843 in the collection *Économistes financiers du XVIII-e siècle,* and also to Vauban; but he did not mention the source: it was probably his "Projet d'une dime royale" in the same collection. p. 274

183 Engels refers to the attempts of vulgar economists, in particular by John MacCulloch, to gloss over the source of capitalist profit and to depict the relations between capitalists and workers as an equal exchange of services. These attempts were criticised by Marx. p. 283

184 A reference to the future third volume of *Capital* which was written mainly in 1864-65. The volume was prepared for the press by Engels after Marx's death and published in 1894. p. 286

185 On the *Règlement organique* see Note 176. p. 287

186 This question was examined by Marx in *Capital,* Vol. III, Chapter V: "Economy in the Employment of Constant Capital". p. 294

187 In *Capital* Marx illustrates the above propositions by quotations from the following works: A. Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society,* Edinburgh, 1767, pp. 280-81; J. D. Tuckett, *A History of the Past and Present State of the Labouring Population,* Vol. I, London, 1846, p. 148; A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Edinburgh, 1814, Book V, Chapter 1, Art. II. p. 299

188 In 1844 the Preston manufacturer Robert Gardner reduced the working day at his factories from 12 to 11 hours, but achieved the same production results by increasing the speed of the machines and labour intensity. p. 304

189 As Marx noted, the introduction of the ribbon and lace looms, invented in Germany, caused great unrest in the second half of the seventeenth century among the weavers of the Netherlands, the German states and Britain. There were cases when the authorities were compelled to pass laws prohibiting or limiting the use of this machine.

*Luddites*—British workers and artisans who, because of their backwardness and lack of class consciousness, took part in a movement for the destruction of textile machinery in the second half of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. They are called so after Ned Ludd, a workman who is said to have been the first to smash a stocking frame in reply to his master's arbitrariness. Severe measures were taken against the Luddite movement, which was a spontaneous reaction by the workers to the consequences of the industrial revolution which were so disastrous for them. A law was passed in 1812 under which the destruction of machinery was punishable by death. p. 305

190 Marx meant James Mill, John MacCulloch, Robert Torrence, N. W. Senior, John Stuart Mill—the bourgeois economists who sought to justify the consequences inflicted on the working class by the capitalist use of machinery. p. 306

191 In his second article for the *Fortnightly Review,* Engels intended to examine Marx's views on the role of machinery as a means to increase surplus-value by raising labour productivity. p. 306

192 In view of the anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, the Central Council of the International resolved at its meeting of November 29, 1864 to issue an address to the Polish people on behalf of the British members of the International Working Men's Association. Peter Fox, a Council member and leader of the British National League for the Independence of Poland, was instructed to write it. A democratically-minded journalist, Fox, however, shared the naive belief of many democrats at that time, and also trade-union leaders, in the "Poland worship" of Western ruling circles, in particular the Bonapartist Second Empire in France. The address submitted by Fox alleged that the traditional policy of France was favourable to Poland's independence. The address led to a discussion at the Sub-Committee's meeting of December 6 and

at the Central Council's meetings of December 13 and 20, 1864 and January 3, 1865.

Marx took an active part in the discussion. He criticised Fox's report at the Sub-Committee's meeting of December 6, of which he informed Engels in a letter on December 10, 1864 (see present edition, Vol. 42), and at the Council's meetings of December 13 and January 3 (see this volume, pp. 354 and 356). Marx showed, particularly in his speech on January 3, 1865, that the French ruling circles, both under absolutism and under the bourgeois regimes right up to the time of Napoleon III, had always sought to exploit the Polish question in the selfish interests of the ruling classes and that their policy was not favourable to the cause of Poland's independence, of which the sole defenders were the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat. Marx's arguments made the Central Council adopt a decision to enter the appropriate amendments in Fox's address.

When preparing his speeches, Marx collected, in December 1864, material for his polemics with Fox and then used it for the draft speech published here. It reproduced in more concise and polished form the greater part of Marx's preparatory material, but the history of Franco-Polish relations was brought only to 1812. Marx elucidated their later development in his speeches, in particular on January 3, on the basis of preparatory material in which their history was traced up to 1848. The corresponding small part of the MS with preparatory materials is published in this volume, in Note 229.

Words and expressions, crossed out by Marx, and the vertical lines drawn by him in the left margins of the MS, usually opposite quotations, are not reproduced. Some paragraphs are numbered by Marx, the rest (in brackets) by the editors. Obvious slips of the pen in the dates have been corrected without comment. p. 311

193 The *Treaty of Westphalia* concluded the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) in which the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the Catholic German princes, supported by the Pope, fought against the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands, and a number of German states which adopted Reformation. In 1635 Catholic France, a rival of the Habsburg Empire, joined the Protestant coalition. Germany was the main arena of the struggle, and the Treaty of Westphalia set the seal on its political dismemberment. p. 311

194 Marx is referring to a secret treaty between Louis XIV and Charles II concluded in Dover in 1670 against the Republic of United Provinces. The conclusion of the treaty envisaged large money subsidies for Charles II. As a result, Britain was involved in a predatory war against Holland unleashed by Louis XIV in 1672. But in 1674 Britain concluded a peace treaty with Holland and withdrew from the anti-Dutch coalition. p. 311

195 This refers to *Memoir on Russia, for the Instruction of the Present Emperor. Drawn up by the Cabinet in 1837,* published in *The Free Press* on July 13, 1859. This document, which was claimed to be an instruction for the heir to the Russian throne, the future Emperor Alexander II, was reprinted from the conservative newspaper *Preußisches Wochenblatt zur Besprechung politischer Tagesfragen,* Nos. 23, 24 and 25, July 9, 16 and 23, 1855. As was later established, it was a forgery. p. 311

196 *Courland* or the *Duchy of Courland*—a state in the Baltic area formed in 1561 as a result of the disintegration of the Livonian order. It was a vassal state of the

Kingdom of Poland (Rzecz Pospolita). In 1705, during the Northern War, Courland was occupied by Russian troops who drove out the Swedes. The marriage of Anna Ivanovna (Peter I's niece and the future Empress) and the Duke of Courland in 1710 enabled the Tsarist government to consolidate its power in Courland, which formally became part of the Russian Empire in 1795. p. 312

197 The *pragmatic sanction*—a law of succession in the Habsburg Empire issued in 1713 by Charles VI. It envisaged the indivisibility of the Habsburgs' lands and the possible transfer of the Austrian crown to Maria Theresa, daughter of Charles VI. p. 312

198 During the War of the Polish Succession, *Danzig (Gdańsk)* supported Stanislaus Leszczinski in his claims to the throne. The town was besieged by Russian troops (from January 17 to May 27, 1734). A French squadron sent to aid the Poles considered that a landing would be useless, and Danzig capitulated on May 29, 1734. p. 312

199 Marx is referring to the preliminary peace treaty of Vienna concluded on October 3, 1735 between Austria and France with its allies (the final treaty was signed in Vienna in November 1738). Under this treaty, which ended the War of the Polish Succession, August III was recognised as King of Poland while Leszczinski received Lorraine, which was to go to France after his death. The younger, Spanish line of the Bourbons gained possession of Southern Italy (Kingdom of the Two Sicilies), for which Austria was compensated by other Italian lands. Russia and other states joined the Vienna treaty. p. 312

200 A reference to the Belgrade peace treaties of September 1 and 18, 1739, which were concluded, with France's mediation, between Russia and Austria on the one hand and Turkey on the other and which put an end to the war between these countries lasting from 1735 to 1739. Russia regained Azov (but undertook to remove the earthworks) which it had lost under the Pruth Russo-Turkish Treaty of 1711 (mentioned in the text below; it also contained an article by which Russia was forbidden to interfere in Polish affairs) and received the right to build a fortress on the Don. Austria was to return Serbia, part of Bosnia and Little Wallachia to Turkey. p. 313

201 The *Seven Years' War* (1756-63)—a war of Britain and Prussia against Austria, France, Russia, Saxony and Sweden. In 1756 and 1757 Prussian troops under Frederick II won a number of victories over Austrian and French troops, but the gains were nullified by the Russian successes in Prussia in 1757-60. As a result of the war, France ceded many of its colonies (including Canada and almost all its possessions in the East Indies) to Britain, while Prussia, Austria and Saxony had in the main to recognise the pre-war frontiers. p. 313

202 The *War of the Austrian Succession* (1740-48) was caused by the claims of some European states, primarily Prussia, to the Austrian Habsburgs' possessions which, after the death of Charles VI, passed to his daughter Maria Theresa, there being no male heir. Prussia's allies were France, Bavaria, Saxony (at the beginning) and other states. England, which strove to weaken France—its commercial and colonial rival—fought on the side of Austria, also supported by the Netherlands, Sardinia (Piedmont) and Russia. As a result of the war, Prussia seized and annexed Silesia, but the main Habsburgs' possessions remained in the hands of Maria Theresa. p. 313

203 The *Treaty of Oliva,* signed on May 3, 1660 (near Gdańsk) between Sweden, on the one hand, and Poland (Rzecz Pospolita), Austria and Brandenburg, on the other, ended the war between these states in the latter half of the 1650s. The treaty confirmed the transfer of a number of Polish lands in the Baltic area to Sweden and the earlier Polish-Brandenburg treaties under which Poland renounced its supreme rights to the Duchy of Prussia (formerly belonging to the Teutonic order) annexed to Brandenburg in the early seventeenth century as a Polish fief. France acted as mediator in concluding the treaty. p. 315

204 Poland did not take part in the Seven Years' War (see Note 201), but August III, as the Elector of Saxony, fought against Prussia. Troops of the two belligerents passed through Polish territory devastating the country. p. 315

205 Under the *Treaty of Wehlau* of September 19, 1657, which formalised an alliance of Poland and Brandenburg against Sweden (until then Brandenburg fought on the side of the Swedes against Poland), the King of Poland renounced his supreme rights to the Duchy of Prussia and pledged himself to render military aid to Brandenburg. p. 315

206 A treaty of friendship and alliance between Russia and Prussia, signed on April 14, 1764, envisaged joint action by the two parties in the Polish question. p. 316

207 The *Confederation of Bar,* formed in Bar (Podolia) on February 29, 1768, represented chiefly the conservative Polish nobility (szlachta) who wanted to preserve the privileges of the Catholic Church, and opposed the granting of equal rights to other believers (Orthodox and Protestant), the reform of the political system and the limitation of feudal freedoms. At the same time the Confederation opposed Russia's interference in the home affairs of Poland, and this attracted patriotic elements to it despite its reactionary programme. Various groups of magnates within the Confederation waged a fierce struggle for supremacy. Internal struggle in Poland (1768-72) enabled the neighbouring countries to reach an agreement on the first partition of Poland (see Note 111). p. 316

208 The *Treaty of Kudjuk Kainardji* (Kuchuk Kainarji), signed between Russia and Turkey on July 21, 1774, put an end to the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-74, in which Turkey was defeated. By that treaty Russia obtained the Black Sea coast between the Dnieper and the Southern Bug with the fortress of Kinburn, and also Azov, Kerch and Jenikale, and secured independent status for the Crimea, facilitating its incorporation into Russia. Russian merchant ships were granted the right of free passage through the Bosporus and the Dardanelles. The Sultan was to grant a number of privileges to the Greek Orthodox Church in Turkey. p. 316

209 A reference to the battle of July 5-7, 1770 between the Russian fleet, which had undertaken an expedition from the Baltic Sea into the region of the Greek archipelago in the Mediterranean, and the Turkish naval forces. On July 5, the Russians defeated them in the Chios Straits, trapped their ships in the Bay of Tschesmé (western coast of Asia Minor), and in the small hours of July 7 almost entirely destroyed the Turkish fleet there. This victory played an important role in the outcome, advantageous for Russia, of the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-74. p. 317

210 Relying on his own army and France's financial and diplomatic support, Gustavus III of Sweden staged a coup d'état on August 19, 1772. The regime of an aristocratic oligarchy was in fact replaced by absolute monarchy. p. 317

211 The *Directory* consisted of five directors one of whom was re-elected every year and was the leading executive body in France, founded under the 1795 Constitution after the fall of the Jacobin revolutionary dictatorship in the summer of 1794. The Directory existed until November 9-10, 1799 (18-19 Brumaire according to the Republican calendar), when General Napoleon Bonaparte staged a coup d'état and established a dictatorship in France. He concentrated all government power in his hands as a first Consul and was proclaimed Emperor in 1804. p. 318

212 The *Congress of Verdun (1792),* at which Britain and Holland were represented, was convened on the initiative of Prussia and Russia. Frederick William II, defeated in the struggle against the French Republic, sent a Note to the Congress on October 25, demanding that his losses should be compensated by Polish lands. p. 318

213 Marx is referring to the so-called Targowicze Confederation, a reactionary association of Polish magnates set up in the spring of 1792 to abrogate the progressive reforms of the four-year Sejm (1788-92) which restricted the arbitrary rule of the aristocracy. The confederates' treacherous activities weakened Polish resistance to Prussian and Russian troops and facilitated a second partition of Poland by these states in 1793 (see Note 111). The Polish people reacted to the partition and national betrayal by the liberation uprising of 1794 under the leadership of Tadeusz Kościuszko. p. 318

214 Prussia and France started unofficial negotiations on a separate peace treaty in July 1794. At first, France insisted that Prussia should return Polish lands, but at subsequent talks and in the Basle Peace Treaty of April 5, 1795 (mentioned below in the text) it recognised the partition of Poland and guaranteed Prussia its possessions on the eastern frontier in exchange for territorial concessions in the west and Prussia's withdrawal from the anti-French coalition. p. 319

215 A reference to the Russo-Turkish war of 1787-91 that ended in a Russian victory. As a result, the Crimea's annexation to Russia was confirmed and Russia's south-western frontier was established along the Dniester. p. 319

216 *Comité du Salut Public*—the central body of the French revolutionary government (April 1793-July 27, 1794). p. 320

217 The *Treaty of Campo Formio* was concluded by General Bonaparte and Austria's representatives on October 17, 1797, after the Leoben armistice agreement in April. The treaty formalised Austria's withdrawal from the first anti-French coalition, its relinquishment of its possessions in Northern Italy where the Cisalpine Republic was formed under French protectorate, and also other concessions (Belgium was virtually ceded to France, etc.). p. 321

218 An inaccuracy in the text: General Vielhorski commanded the Polish legion in the Mantua garrison defending the city against Austrian and Russian troops during the war between France and the second European coalition (Britain, Austria, Russia, Naples, Turkey, etc.). Mantua capitulated to the Austrian command on July 27, 1799. p. 322

219 The *Great Army (Grande Armée)*—the main body of French armed forces operating in the main theatres of the Napoleonic wars. Apart from French troops, it included contingents from countries conquered by Napoleon (Italy, Holland and German states) and also Polish legions. p. 322

220 At the *Battle of Marengo* (Northern Italy) on June 14, 1800 Napoleon's army defeated the Austrian troops.

In the *Battle of Hohenlinden* (Bavaria) on December 3, 1800 the French army under Moreau defeated the Austrians.

The outcome of these two battles was of great importance for France's victory over the forces of the second European coalition. p. 322

221 The *Treaty of Lunéville,* concluded between France and Austria on February 9, 1801, confirmed in the main the terms of the Campo Formio Treaty of 1797. The conclusion of the Lunéville Treaty marked the virtual collapse of the second anti-French coalition. p. 322

222 A reference to the Franco-Russian negotiations opened by Paul I's representatives in Paris in January 1801 with a view to concluding a peace treaty with France. The Treaty was signed in Paris on October 8, 1801 during the reign of Alexander I. p. 322

223 The *Treaty of Amiens* was signed on March 27, 1802 by Napoleonic France and Britain. It was actually a brief truce in their struggle for supremacy, which was resumed in May 1803. p. 323

224 The Polish legions, reformed into infantry demi-brigades of the French army, were sent to Haiti (St. Domingo, French West Indies) to suppress a local liberation uprising. Most of the legionaries died of diseases or were killed fighting the insurgents. p. 323

225 The *treaties of Tilsit*—peace treaties signed on July 7 and 9, 1807 by Napoleonic France and member countries of the fourth anti-French coalition, Russia and Prussia, which were defeated in the campaigns of 1806 and 1807. In an attempt to split the defeated powers, Napoleon made no territorial claims on Russia and even succeeded in transferring part of the Prussian monarchy's eastern lands to that country. He concluded an alliance with Alexander I when the two emperors met in Erfurt in the autumn of 1808. The treaties imposed harsh terms on Prussia, which lost nearly half its territory to the German states dependent on France, was made to pay indemnities, and had to reduce its army. Russia, like Prussia, had to break the alliance with Britain and join Napoleon's Continental System, or Continental Blockade, which was to its disadvantage. Napoleon formed the vassal Duchy of Warsaw on Polish territory seized by Prussia during the partitions of Poland. Frederick August of Saxony, a French figurehead, was proclaimed Duke. Napoleon planned to use the duchy as a springboard in the event of war with Russia. p. 323

226 The *Ionian Islands,* annexed by France under the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797), were seized by the allied fleet of Russia, Turkey and Britain during the war of the second European coalition against France (1798-1801). The islands were under Russia's control until the Tilsit Peace of 1807, which recognised France's sovereignty over them. The Vienna Congress of 1814-15 established Britain's protectorate over the Ionian Islands. p. 324

227 Marx is referring to a term of the Schönbrunn Peace Treaty (signed in the Schönbrunn Palace, Vienna), which was concluded on October 14, 1809 by

France and Austria, a member of the fifth anti-French coalition, after Austria lost the campaign of that year. The war was carried on by the other countries fighting Napoleon—Spain and Portugal, where a national liberation struggle against the French invaders began in 1808, and Britain. Under the Schönbrunn Treaty, of the territories obtained during the Polish partitions which Austria had to cede, Western Galicia was to be annexed to the Duchy of Warsaw and the Tarnopol district to Russia. In this way Napoleon sought to aggravate the Austro-Russian contradictions and to prevent these two countries from restoring the alliance between them. p. 325

228 The convention signed by Chancellor Rumyantsev and Napoleon's Ambassador Caulaincourt in St. Petersburg on January 4, 1810 was not ratified because the St. Petersburg Court refused to give its consent to the marriage of the Grand Princess Anna Pavlovna and Napoleon. p. 326

229 The *100 days*—the period between Napoleon's arrival in Paris from Elba on March 20, 1815 and his second deposition on June 22 of the same year after his defeat at Waterloo on June 18.

The manuscript breaks off with the words "100 days". An idea of what Marx said next can only be partly gleaned from the concluding text of his preparatory materials for the polemics against Fox, written by Marx in English and French and reproduced below. French quotations are translated into English; longer passages are placed in asterisks; the explanations in square brackets have been provided by the editors.

[...] Napoleon told the deputies of Warsaw that he did not want a *national* war. He took possession of the old Polish provinces *in his name,* not *in that of Poland.* The Polish army he disperses amongst the *Grand Army.*

It was, therefore, not the *disaster of Napoleon* which caused him to abandon Poland, but it was his *renewed betrayal* of Poland, *that caused his disaster.*

The enthusiasm in Poland was above all checked by the infamous conduct of the troops under the kings of Westphalia [Jerôme Bonaparte] and Naples [Joachim Murat]; under *Vandamme* etc. They were worse than *Russians.*

In Lithuania, besides, the grandees were brought over by George *Adam Czartoryski* to Alexander's side. Hence no national demonstrations and movements, when the French entered.

*Fearing even that the Poles may start a war with Russia in their own interests, Napoleon dispersed their 80,000 troops in his Great Army—this is what produced a very pernicious effect on this campaign.* With a *reconstituted Poland he might* have restored himself from his disasters and waited upon the return of good weather on the *lines of the Niemen, Bug and Narew.*

Nobody will wonder at Napoleon's tremendous blunder. *Charras* (colonel) has shown in his *Histoire des cent jours* that that despot rather than have a truly *national* and *revolutionary war* in France after his defeat at Waterloo, preferred to succumb to the Coalition.

At the same time not to forget: *"Poland was literally ravaged by the half-million soldiers composing the Great Army, whom it was obliged to feed"* [Sawaszkiewicz, op. cit., p. 96].

Those who want to be informed upon the details as to this point ought to read: *"Abbé de Pradt, Histoire de l'Ambassade dans le Grand Duché de Varsovie en 1812, 2nd edit. Paris, 1815."* This Abbé was Napoleon's ambassador at Warsaw at that time. The *secret instructions* which *de Pradt* received from Napoleon, amounted to this: "he should arouse in the Poles a patriotic enthusiasm and

excite them to the most extensive war preparations, but avoid giving any nourishment to the hope of a restoration of Poland."

Is *"Sawaszkiewicz"* wrong when he says:

* "The Poles fought abroad exclusively in the interests of France. Never did France undertake a single war in the interests of Poland: on the contrary it always sacrificed its ally for the sake of its own, ill-understood interests" * [op. cit., p. 85].

Restoration.

*3 January 1815.* Secret treaty of Austria, France, England against Russia and Prussia. (*Restoration of Poland* one of the articles.) (Brought about by *Talleyrand.*)

(It cannot be denied that the correspondence between *Castlereagh* and *Alexander,* respecting the *kingdom of Poland, Vienna, October, November 1814* (laid *before the House of Commons 1847*) does great honour to Castlereagh.)

This treaty paralysed and annulled by Napoleon's return from Elba. *Talleyrand,* the only Anti-Russian minister of the Restoration, fell in disgrace.

*In 1821 at Hanover* agreement between *Metternich and Castlereagh at Hanover.*

*Richelieu,* the French Premier under Louis XVIII, Russian minister.

*Chateaubriand* (see his *Congrès de Vérone*) afterwards tool of Alexander.

*Polignac* made treaty with Russia for the partition of Turkey, and the cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France, when the *Revolution of July* (1830) took place.

By the *secret despatches,* found after Grand duke's Constantine flight from Warsaw, and published in the *"Portfolio",* 1836, it is seen—see f. i. *despatch of Pozzo di Borgo, Paris, December, 1815*—that Russia considered Metternich (Austria) as the only serious impediment in her way, but that she was also not quite content with England.

In an account to Nesselrode Pozzo di Borgo says: "Metternich addressed himself to England with the view of arming her against the Emperor, and he repeats his attempts at every phase which events present to him. He accredits the idea that all the governments are exposed to internal revolutions, because Russia would compel the Sultan to observe treaties; and he succeeds in intimidating many of them. He tampered with the French ministry, and it resisted, and he raises up internal broils because of that resistance. On the one hand he flatters the Bonapartists, and encourages them to revive the memory of the son of Napoleon [Herzog von Reichstadt]; on the other, he appropriates to himself the *Gazette de France* and the *Quotidienne,* pretended representatives of true royalism and jesuitism; and these papers, so-called Christian, become Turk, overwhelm the public with a deluge of insults and falsehoods against us. These truths, Count, escape no one here. *The French ministry* is convinced of *them, it repeats and confirms them to me constantly.*"

*Louis Philippe.*

A single night's sleep on the velvet cushions of the Tuileries was enough to chase all liberal aspirations from the mind of Louis Philippe.

In an *autograph* and *submissive appeal to the father of all the Russias* he prostituted both his dignity and the revolution by representing himself as an involuntary instrument in the current of events, and apologised for the charter he had promised to France.

It was characteristic of the man—*before* the *Polish Revolution:* he did not scruple to encourage the refugees of Spain, led by Mina, Valdes, and Torrijos

against the bigotted Bourbon king [Ferdinand VII], who refused to acknowledge his dignity, and whose minister had issued a formal circular, condemnatory of the July revolution. These refugees paid dearly for their confidence placed in the French cabinet. Provided with arms and money, and incited to war by the most unequivocal assurances, they were afterwards permitted to be pursued by the Spanish army across the French frontiers, there to be hewn down or carried off.

*Outbreak in Warsaw 29 November 1830.* Prince Metternich indulged in a scheme for the reconstruction of Poland, in favour of an Austrian prince, and broached it to England and France; but as Louis Philippe would not act without England, and as Palmerston proved true to the Czar [Nicholas], the whole was quashed in embryo.... The ambitious designs of the Emperor Francis on Poland soon vanished, before the disturbed state of Italy.

Louis Philippe's conduct was the more infamous, since the Polish insurrection had saved France from a new Anti-jacobin war; since Prussia's convention with Russia against France, and her active measures against Russian Poland, and the *general state in Germany* allowed *Louis Philippe* to act without *any regard whatever* to *England.* He might have forced Palmerston, because England herself then in a revolutionary upheaving, and the Whig ministry, as Peel told them, lived only upon the *"French Alliance".*

The Russians, on the news of the revolution, of the barricades in Paris, determined to march upon France ... one of their first measures was to strengthen the *Russian* (not Polish) garrison of Warsaw with fresh Russian troops, in order to facilitate the movement of Constantine's *Polish* army towards the French frontier. Now, this location of Russian garrisons in Warsaw and elsewhere, was one of the gross violations of their promised constitution.... Some of their bravest young men flew to arms and attacked the Russian garrison and ere long the Polish population rose and joined them as if with one heart.

*1831.* Louis Philippe in his crown speech: "that the nationality of Poland shall not perish". The French chamber of deputies answered in the same strain.

Afterwards Sébastiani: * *order is reigning in Warsaw.**

(*Casimir Périer* told the chamber on 7 March 1832, that Poland had not lost her treaty rights; *on 26 February* had Russia issued her *statute,* which made a Russian province of Poland.)

The Polish nation (that is to say the *diplomatic clique*) relied on the French "compliments". An intimation was given to the Polish generals, that if they delayed attacking the Russian army for 2 months, their security would be guaranteed. The Polish generals did delay—that fatal delay, and Poland was ruined, not by the arms of Russia, but by the promises of France (and Austria).

*Lafayette* communicated *against the denials of Guizot, Thiers, Périer, Sébastiani,* to the chamber of deputies the documentary proofs; 1) that the Poles had broken the Russian coalition against France; 2) that Louis Philippe had caused the Poles to prolong their resistance for 2 months; 3) that it had quite been in the power of France, by one firm declaration, as they had made it on behalf of Belgium, to prevent the Prussian help which in fact decided the Russian victory.

* *Sitting* of the *Chamber of Deputies of 16 January 1831:*

*Lafayette:* "The war was prepared against us; Poland was to form an advanced guard; the advanced guard turned against the main body."

*Mauguin:* "Who arrested the movement of Russia? It was Poland. They wanted to hurl her against us; she became our advanced guard, and we are

leaving her! Well! Let her die! Her children are accustomed to die for us" (B. Sarrans, *Lafayette et la Révolution de 1830,* Paris, 1832, t. 2, pp. 157, 160-61).

*19 and 20 September 1831.* The Minister of Foreign Affairs [Sébastiani] vigorously defended himself against the accusation that he had advised the Polish government to postpone the struggle for another 2 months, so as to give France time to intervene in favour of Poland. Lafayette exposed him as a liar by producing documents confirming this fact.

After a few explanations concerning the *conduct* of the French consul [Durant] in Warsaw, who, before taking his oath to the new, insurrectionist government, had dared to ask the permission of the Emperor of Russia, *he shows that the French cabinet by his advice first paralysed the means of defence, and afterwards prolonged *the insurrection upon* false pretences. He read:

1) Official *declaration of Czartoryski,* when *Foreign Minister of the insurrectional government:** "Having placed our confidence in them" *(the cabinets)*, "we did not make use of all the internal and external resources... had it not been for the promises of the cabinets, we could have struck a blow which could have proved decisive; but we thought that we must wait a little"* [Lelewel, *Histoire de Pologne,* t. 1, p. 359]. (*Lelewel* says that the diplomatic clique by suppressing the *Patriotic Society,* opposing the *emancipation* of the peasants, and proclaiming the *Constitutional Monarchy,* spoiled everything.)

2) Lafayette read a letter, signed by General Kniaziewics and L. Plater d.d. Paris, 20 September 1831, where it is said: *"that it was the Minister of Foreign Affairs who suggested, on July 7, that we should send a messenger to Warsaw whose travelling expenses he had covered; that the purpose of sending this messenger was, as His Excellency *Count Sébastiani* told us, to convince our government to wait another 2 months because it was the time necessary for negotiations". "To the dictation of the French government,* the Polish Embassy at Paris wrote to Czartoryski *'that in 2 months the affairs will be arranged and that they should bide their time until then'"* [B. Sarrans, op. cit., t. 2, pp. 255-56, 324].

*Sébastiani!*

The Polish Refugees, disembarked from Prussia on the island Aix, were reduced to misery. The French government would not allow them any other asylum than Algiers. They say in their petition to *Louis Philippe, Aix, 21 September 1832:*

"Orders are announced as proceeding from Your Majesty, to organize a Polish battalion of us, in conformity with the ordinance of March 10, 1832. The stipulations contained in it, we consider to be repugnant to our custom, our honour, and our glory. A Polish soldier has never ranked among mercenaries; he has fought but for his domestic hearth, for his liberty, and for the freedom of his neighbours, and for that of France.... We learn with regret that France is interdicted to us. We did not hesitate to present a petition to Your Majesty's ministers with respect to what we called *our transportation to Algiers....* Sire, you would not permit, we trust, *that an expedition, not unlike that formerly sent to St. Domingo,* should annihilate the last wrecks of ill-fated Poland" [*Polonia,* London, 1832, No. 3, pp. 170-71].

*Lelewel's expulsion* from France.

*Republic of 1848*

Russia interferes in the Danubian principalities and in Hungary. *That was sufficient.*

Blanqui—and under Louis Philippe the men of the rue Transnonain [worker participants in the Republican uprising in Paris in 1834]—were true friends of Poland. But their acts do not belong to the traditions of the *French Foreign Office!* p. 327

230 Marx made this report at the Central Council meeting of January 24, 1865 on the basis of Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to him of January 21. Marx wrote the draft for the report between the lines of Liebknecht's letter. In the Minute Book of the General Council, Marx's speech was recorded in shorter form (see this volume, pp. 356-57). When speaking about the affiliation of the General Association of German Workers to the International Working Men's Association, Marx did not have sufficient information about the sectarian position of the Lassallean leadership of the General Association. Their sectarianism hindered the affiliation no less than the police bans then in force in Prussia and other German states (the Prussian law of 1850 on associations which forbade the workers officially to join any society abroad, and so on).

This document was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1962. p. 328

231 The International Working Men's Association held a conference instead of a congress in London in September 1865 (see Note 103). p. 328

232 Marx made these notes for his speeches at the meetings of the Standing Committee (Sub-Committee) on March 4 and 6, 1865 when it discussed a conflict between the founders of the Paris Section, the Proudhonist workers Tolain, Fribourg and Limousin, and a group of bourgeois republicans represented by the lawyer Lefort (see Note 60).

The notes, which have been preserved in Marx's Notebook, were made on the basis of a long letter to him of February 25-28, 1865 from the German refugee Victor Schily, the Central Council's representative in Paris. References in brackets are to pages of this letter. The notes were written in German and English and were followed by the original draft resolution on the conflict in the Paris Section (see this volume, p. 330).

The original of these notes was first published in *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1962. p. 329

233 Marx made a slip of the pen here: "February 24" instead of "February 23". Hence the events of February 24, in particular the Council's evening meeting, were erroneously attributed to February 25. An exclamation mark suggests that Marx himself was puzzled by this date. p. 329

234 It is evident from Schily's letter to Marx that in the morning of February 24 Lefort expressed his apprehension that the Paris Administration might be "deceived by Bonapartists". A guarantee against this, he believed, was his appointment as "literary defender" of the International Working Men's Association in Paris. p. 329

235 This document has survived in Marx's Notebook and is the Central Council's draft resolutions submitted by Marx to the Standing Committee (Sub-Committee). The latter discussed the conflict in the Paris Section at its meetings of March 4 and 6, 1865, at which the French delegates Tolain and Limousin were also present. The draft formed the basis of the final text of the resolution on the split in the Paris Section. The resolution itself was adopted, on the Standing Committee's proposal, by the Central Council on March 7, 1865 (see this volume, pp. 82-83).

This document was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1962. p. 330

236 See Note 65. p. 330

237 See Note 66. p. 330

238 On March 12, 1865, Hermann Jung, who had been instructed to write notes for the information of the International's members in France about the conflict in the Paris Section, asked Marx to help him. Marx agreed and on March 18 he met Jung and handed over to him a memorandum written on three sheets of paper. The result of their talk was the text on the back of the first sheet, written partly by Marx and partly by Jung.

In his memorandum Marx showed that the essence of the conflict was in the bourgeois democrats' encroachments on the class character of the international proletarian organisation and drew attention to the French refugee Le Lubez, who constantly supported the bourgeois republican Lefort. Marx, in particular, noted Le Lubez's striving to coopt Lefort's supporters into the Paris Administration and his opposition to the Central Council's decision on this issue adopted on March 7, 1865. Le Lubez and his followers were rebuffed and he was forced, in early April 1865, to give up the post of Corresponding Secretary for France (see this volume, p. 364).

This document was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1962. p. 331

239 The protest against the official appointment of Schily as the Central Council's representative in Paris came from the French bourgeois-democratic refugees, members of a Masonic lodge in London. They also belonged to the French Section in London which had several representatives on the Central Council. The protest was read out at the Council meeting on March 14, but was waived on the insistence of Marx who informed all the present at the meeting of Schily's intention to reject the appointment (see this volume, p. 363). p. 331

240 See Note 62. p. 332

241 This note is a summary of Ernest Jones' letter to Marx of March 16, 1865 concerning the participation of the International's representatives in an electoral reform conference to be convened in Manchester by the Liberals. Marx, who advocated drawing the broad mass of workers into the campaign for a democratic reform, encouraged all the measures of the Central Council that were directed to this end. He sought to enlist the support of Ernest Jones, an active participant in the campaign for universal suffrage in Manchester, who exposed the attempts of bourgeois liberals and radicals to lend a moderate character to the reform. At the Central Council meetings of February 14 and 28 Marx read Jones' letters on this campaign (see this volume, pp. 358, 359). Marx could not personally inform the Council of Jones' letter of March 16 because of his forthcoming departure for Holland. Jung presumably acquainted Cremer with Marx's summary of Jones' letter. On Cremer's proposal the Central Council carried on March 21 a resolution instructing its deputation to the Manchester conference to demand manhood suffrage. Marx wrote down the summary of Jones' letter on the back of one of the three sheets of his memorandum to Hermann Jung about the conflict in the Paris Section (see Note 238).

This document was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1962. p. 337

242 The national Reform Conference, sponsored by the liberal National Reform Union, was held in Manchester on May 15 and 16, 1865. Most of its delegates were representatives of the bourgeoisie. They refused to include the demand for universal manhood suffrage in the conference's resolutions as proposed by the International's Central Council member Cremer, who was supported by Ernest Jones and some delegates of the radical Reform League (see Note 141). Edmond Beales, President of the Reform League, and other radicals adopted an indecisive attitude to the nature of the reform. As a result, the conference carried a moderate resolution to extend the franchise to householders and house tenants who paid poor-rates. p. 337

243 These notes were made by Marx in his Notebook for the report he delivered in the Central Council on June 20 and 27, 1865 (see this volume, pp. 101-49). They are a version of the last part of the report, the basic conclusions of which were formulated as resolutions proposed to the Council. On the final text of the concluding part of the report, see this volume, p. 149.

This document was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1962. p. 338

244 Marx kept a record of the Central Council meeting of January 16, 1866 on a separate sheet of paper. The text of the minutes entered in the Minute Book by Cremer differs somewhat from that of Marx.

This document was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1962. p. 339

245 *Fenians*—Irish revolutionaries who called themselves after the warriors of ancient Ireland. Their first organisations appeared in the 1850s in the USA among the Irish immigrants and later in Ireland itself. The secret Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, as the organisation was known in the 1860s, aimed at establishing an independent Irish republic by means of an armed uprising. The Fenians, who represented the interests of the Irish peasantry, came mainly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia. They adhered to conspiracy tactics. The British government sought to suppress the Fenian movement by severe police reprisals. In September 1865 it arrested several leaders of the movement, including the editors of the banned newspaper *The Irish People,* Thomas Clarke Luby, John O'Leary, and Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, and sentenced them to long terms of imprisonment (O'Donovan Rossa for life). The Central Council of the International came out in defence of the arrested Fenians. In particular, on January 2, 1866 the Council adopted a decision, on Fox's motion, to reprint in the International's newspaper, *The Workman's Advocate,* the appeal of Mrs. O'Donovan Rossa and Mrs. Clarke Luby, published in Irish newspapers, to raise funds for the Irish political prisoners. The appeal is mentioned below in these Minutes. p. 339

246 A reference to a meeting to celebrate the third anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1863-64. Initiated by the International Working Men's Association and Polish refugees, the meeting was held in St. Martin's Hall, London, on January 22, 1866. The resolution, moved by Fox and seconded by Marx, expressed solidarity with the cause of Poland's liberation. p. 340

247 Engels wrote these notes during his trip to Sweden and Denmark in July 1867. In a letter of June 26, 1867 he informed Marx that he and his wife Lydia (Lizzy) Burns intended to undertake this trip via Hamburg and Schleswig (see present edition, Vol. 42). Engels' notes on hotel bills, ship tickets and other travel documents allow us to trace the route and the length of stay in various

places. From July 7 to 9, Engels and his wife were in Göteborg, from July 11 to 13 in Stockholm, on July 14 in Malmö, from July 15 to 18 in Copenhagen, and on July 20 they were already in Flensburg, Germany. They returned to Manchester early in August 1867.

Engels' notes, written on three separate sheets of paper, have been preserved. Appended to them is a larger sheet with the plan of a fortress (apparently Karlsborg mentioned in the text) drawn by Engels. At the end of the first paragraph Engels drew a man's head. p. 343

248 An allusion to the negotiations in Malmö between Denmark and Prussia in 1848 during the war over the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The negotiations resulted in the conclusion of an armistice on August 26, the terms being favourable to the Danes. Guided by dynastic and counter-revolutionary considerations, Prussia's ruling circles acted to the detriment of the national liberation of Schleswig and Holstein, which sought to break away from the Danish monarchy and join the German Confederation. Engels wrote a number of articles on the Malmö negotiations and armistice for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 411-15 and 421-25). p. 348

249 The Minutes of the weekly (apart from extraordinary) meetings of the International's leading body—the General Council (originally known as the Committee, elected by the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, then the Provisional Central Committee or Council or simply the Central Council)—during its residence in London from 1864 to 1872 made up five Minute Books. They were usually kept by persons who were active as the Council's Secretary at the given moment. Some Minutes have been preserved as rough copies written on separate sheets of paper and pasted onto the corresponding pages of the Minute Book. Sometimes newspaper cuttings containing the printed report of a certain meeting were pasted into the Minute Book. As a rule, the Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed at the beginning of each meeting.

The first Minute Book covers the period from October 5, 1864 to August 21, 1866 and the records in it are very brief. The second book contains the Minutes from September 18, 1866 to September 1, 1868. Here, as in the subsequent books, the records are more detailed.

The section "Appendices" contains extracts from the first and second Minute Books of the General Council showing the most important aspects of Marx's activity in it, including his speeches, the brief summaries of which become understandable only in the context of the corresponding passage in the Minutes. The more detailed extant records of his speeches for the given period are published in this volume as separate documents.

This document was published in English for the first time in the collection, *Founding of the First International,* Moscow, 1935. p. 351

250 All the materials from the Minute Book of the General Council included in the Appendices to this volume were published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866* and *1866-1868,* Moscow, 1962 and 1964. p. 353

251 Marx is referring to the publication of the "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association" in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper,* No. 160, November 5, 1864, with misprints in the text (see Note 1). p. 353

252 The National Government of Poland was set up in May 1863, during the national liberation insurrection of January 1863-May 1864. Moderate and

radical elements predominated in it alternately. This government headed the struggle of the Polish insurgents until mid-October 1863, when it handed over leadership to a military dictator. It had its representatives abroad from among Polish refugees who continued to regard themselves as such even after the defeat of the insurrection.

On the discussion of Fox's address in the International, see Note 192.

p. 354

253 The reference is to the "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association" published in *Der Social-Demokrat,* Nos. 2 and 3, December 21 and 30, 1864, under the title "Manifest an die arbeitende Klasse Europa's". The German translation of the Address was made by Marx. p. 356

254 A reference to Joseph Weydemeyer's letter of January 2, 1865 in reply to Marx's letter of November 29, 1864, in which Marx wrote about the foundation of the International Working Men's Association. Weydemeyer was glad to hear the news and informed Marx of his intention to publish the Inaugural Address of the Association in the local workers' newspaper, *St. Louis Daily Press,* as well as in the democratic newspaper *World.* p. 357

255 A group of bourgeois republicans who claimed to be the leaders of the French organisation of the International, accused Tolain and other members of the Paris Administration of being in contact with Bonapartist circles. The underlying reason for these rumours was the conflict which was maturing in the Paris Section and which became the subject of discussion at many Central Council meetings (see this volume, pp. 82-83, 329-36 and Note 60).

The proposal temporarily to postpone the sending of membership cards to Paris was made by Marx at this meeting, as his letter to Engels of January 25, 1865 indicates (see present edition, Vol. 42). p. 357

256 A reference to the editorial in a January issue of *St. Louis Daily Press*; the same issue published excerpts from the "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association". Marx received the newspaper from Weydemeyer on January 31, 1865. p. 357

257 A discussion ensued on the participation of the Central Council's delegation in the preliminary electoral reform conference to be convened in the London Tavern on February 6, 1865 by a group of radicals. The conference was to prepare a larger meeting to be held in St. Martin's Hall on February 23, 1865 with a view to founding a mass organisation for the reform campaign (see Note 141).

The minutes of the meetings do not reveal the character of the debates and the content of Marx's speech. However, his letter to Engels written on February 1, 1865 shows that he managed to convince some Council members who objected to participation in the preliminary conference and the mass meeting to be convened by the radicals to give up their sectarian views. Marx proved the importance of the workers' joint action with the radicals in the reform campaign and, moreover, explained the terms on which an effective bloc with them was possible (recognition of the demand for universal suffrage, and participation of Central Council representatives in the leading bodies of the mass reform organisation which was being established). The tactical platform proposed by Marx was approved by the Council (see present edition, Vol. 42).

p. 358

258 Marx based his first information on a letter from Ernest Jones dated February 13, 1865. He then read Jones' letter of February 10, 1865 in reply to his own

letter of February 1. In the latter, which has not survived, Marx outlined a plan to draw the broad sections of British workers into the electoral reform movement under the leadership of the Central Council. In his reply, Jones expressed his agreement with the measures outlined and stressed, in particular, the need to put forward a slogan of radical reform in contrast to the moderate programme of the liberal National Reform Union in Manchester. p. 358

259 Marx read a letter to him from Ernest Jones of February 25, 1865. Jones had written about the success of the reform movement in Manchester and welcomed the mass meeting in London on February 23 which declared the formation of the Reform League. He invited delegates of the League to Manchester to take part in a mass meeting in support of the demand for universal suffrage. p. 359

260 The only extant report of Marx's speech, delivered in early February 1865 at the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, when Marx criticised the idea of the bourgeois state giving assistance to workers' associations and other Lassallean and Proudhonist dogmas, was made by Johann Georg Eccarius and is rather unsatisfactory. In his letters to Wilhelm Liebknecht on February 23 and to Engels on February 25 (see present edition, Vol. 42), Marx drew their attention to mistakes in the report and emphasised that some ideas in it were completely the opposite of what he had said. This particularly applied to the last sentence about the impossibility of joint action by the proletariat and the bourgeoisie against reactionary regimes. Marx attributed these blunders in Eccarius' report to ill health.

*The German Workers' Educational Society in London* was founded in 1840 by German worker refugees, members of the League of the Just. After the foundation of the Communist League in 1847, representatives of its local communities played the leading role in the Society, which had branches in various working-class districts in London. In 1847 Marx and in 1849-50 Engels took an active part in the Society's work, but in September 1850 they temporarily withdrew because the Willich-Schapper sectarian-adventurist group had increased its influence in the Society. In the late 1850s, when Marx's followers (Georg Eccarius, Friedrich Lessner and Karl Schapper, who had rejected his sectarian views, and others) prevailed again, Marx and Engels resumed their activities in the Educational Society. When the International Working Men's Association was founded, the Society became its German section in London. Eccarius, Kaub, Lessner, Lochner, Bolleter and other members of the Society joined the Central Council of the International Association and played an important part in its activities. The Society existed until 1918, when it was closed by the British government. p. 360

261 See Note 46. p. 360

262 Marx was put in touch with the Hamburg publishing house of Meissner und Behre through former member of the Communist League Wilhelm Strohn, a commercial clerk from Bradford who often went to Hamburg on business. At the end of January 1865 Strohn and Otto Meissner agreed on the terms on which the book was to be printed. The text of the agreement was sent to Marx by Meissner in his letter of March 21, 1865. The date of the agreement was not indicated. Meissner left it to Marx's discretion to decide how the manuscript was to be delivered to him: by instalments or as a whole.

Marx could avail himself of the agreement only in two years' time. In April 1867 Marx personally handed in the manuscript of the first volume of *Capital.* The first edition appeared in September of that year.

The term of the agreement giving Meissner the right to put out subsequent volumes and reprint the book was observed during Marx's lifetime and after his death. Until 1914 the German edition of all three volumes of *Capital* was published by Meissner und Behre. p. 361

263 On the conflict in the Paris Section, see this volume, pp. 330-36 and Note 60. p. 363

264 Schily informed Marx of his refusal to accept the appointment as the Council's official representative on the Paris Administration in a letter dated March 20, 1865. p. 363

265 Marx acted as Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, while remaining Corresponding Secretary for Germany, until November 6, 1866, when these functions were entrusted to the Council member Alexander Besson. p. 364

266 Marx meant Charles Longuet, editor of the democratic weekly *La Rive Gauche* which published the International's documents (it began to appear in Paris on October 20, 1864). Longuet was sentenced to eight months' imprisonment for publishing articles against the Second Empire, and the paper was banned as of March 12, 1865. Publication was resumed on May 14, 1865 in Brussels and continued until August 15, 1866. p. 364

267 On the discussion of the question of wages in the Central Council and Marx's report "Value, Price and Profit", see Note 87. p. 364

268 A reference apparently to one of the two letters Jones wrote to Marx, on April 22 and 24, 1865, in which he informed Marx of the headway being made by the electoral reform movement in Manchester. p. 365

269 It soon became clear that Léon Fontaine, a Belgian democrat, had not established contacts with the workers, although he was empowered to do so, and had taken no steps to publicise the International in Belgium. In the letter, which Marx read at this meeting, Fontaine tried to justify his inactivity. The first section of the International in Belgium was founded on July 17, 1865 with the participation of the Belgian socialist César De Paepe. p. 365

270 Late in March 1865, the Leipzig Compositors' Union declared a strike in reply to the employers' refusal to meet the compositors' demand for higher wage rates. It involved nearly 650 people. On April 15, the Berlin Compositors' Union, of which Wilhelm Liebknecht was one of the leaders, sent a letter to the Central Council asking it to support the Leipzig compositors. This letter is quoted in the report of the given Council meeting published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper,* No. 185, April 29, 1865. p. 365

271 Marx communicated the news about the reorganisation of the Paris Administration on the basis of Schily's letter to him of April 27, 1865. As a result of the reorganisation, the Administration strengthened its ties with workers and drew several new members, among them Louis Varlin and Zéfirin Camélinat, into its activities. p. 365

272 On the Reform Conference in Manchester see Note 242.

The leading bodies of the Reform League (see Note 141)—the Council and the more narrow Executive Committee—were elected at the end of March

1865. The Executive included six Central Council members (Cremer, Leno, Nieass, Odger, Howell and Eccarius). Howell was elected the League's honorary secretary. In view of the forthcoming conference in Manchester, the League issued an address to the working classes to campaign for manhood suffrage. p. 366

273 An extraordinary meeting of the Central Council to discuss problems raised by Weston was held in the evening of May 20. The minutes of this meeting are not extant. In a letter to Engels, dated May 20, 1865 (see present edition, Vol. 42), Marx gave the substance of Weston's views and his chief objections to them. As can be seen from the letter, Marx considered it important to counter Weston's erroneous theses with a scientific theory on the questions concerned, and to explain in popular form several basic propositions from his own economic teaching. Marx did not therefore confine himself to opposing Weston at this and subsequent meetings, but prepared a special report which he read in the Council on June 20 and 27, 1865 (see Note 87). p. 366

274 Written by Marx, the Address of the Central Council was printed in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 7536, June 1, 1865, under the heading "To Andrew Johnson, President of the United States". The heading was preceded by the words: "The Working Men of Europe to President Johnson". p. 366

275 The Provisional Rules of the International Working Men's Association envisaged the convocation of a congress in Belgium in 1865 (see this volume, p. 15). However, Marx soon realised that the local organisations were not yet strong enough and that the International as a whole was not ready for a congress. He managed to convince Central Council members of the need to convene a conference in London, instead of a congress, on July 25, 1865. The Council approved the report of the Standing Committee on this question (see this volume, pp. 375-77). p. 367

276 On July 11, 1865 the Central Council did not discuss this question. On July 18 the desire was once again expressed to publish the materials of the debate in the press, in particular in the columns of *The Miner and Workman's Advocate.* However, the report of the debate was not printed. The German refugee Karl Kaub made an attempt to resume the discussion of the question at the Council meeting on August 15 when he read his paper refuting Weston's theses. This was the last report on the subject recorded in the Minute Book of the General Council. p. 368

277 The Central Council adopted a decision to issue such cards at its meeting on February 7, 1865 (see this volume, p. 358). This particular copy was filled in on behalf of the London Operative Bricklayers' Society by its Executive Council. The date of affiliation to the International (the 21st of February 1865) was inserted, most probably, retrospectively, because the card was issued only in the summer of 1865, as can be seen from the list of corresponding secretaries in the printed card. The list included E. Dupont, elected Corresponding Secretary for France on April 11, 1865 and L. Lewis who became a member of the Central Council on May 30, 1865 and was elected Corresponding Secretary for America on June 6. p. 369

278 The address was drawn up on the basis of the Central Council's resolutions, drafted by Marx, on the terms of the admission of workers' organisations to the International (see this volume, p. 18). The leaflet with the address was

published in the summer of 1865, not before June 6 (when Lewis was elected Corresponding Secretary for America). p. 372

279 In view of the enquiries coming into the Central Council about the time of the Congress of the International, it was decided on June 13, 1865 to refer the question to the Standing Committee. The Committee's report reflected the viewpoint of Marx who held that it was too early to convoke the congress in 1865 and suggested holding a preliminary conference in London. The programme for the London Conference, included in this report in amended form, was reproduced in two leaflets issued by the Central Council in August and September 1865 and was also printed in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper,* No. 200, August 12, 1865. The announcement of the conference was published in *The Workman's Advocate,* Nos. 130-33, September 2, 9, 16 and 23, 1865. The preparations were also discussed at the Council's subsequent meetings (see this volume, p. 384).

This document was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1962. p. 375

280 An aliens act was passed in Belgium as early as 1835 and was renewed every three years. Despite widespread protests by the Belgian press and the public, this law was renewed for the tenth time at the end of June 1865. p. 375

281 At the end of July 1865 John Bredford Leno, proprietor of *The Miner and Workman's Advocate,* a weekly newspaper published in London from 1863, proposed placing it at the service of the Central Council of the International. The proposal was supported by the Council members. They discussed the matter at the Council meetings of August 8 and 15, at which Marx was not present, since he was busy working on *Capital.* But he was informed about the details of the discussion by Eccarius, who wrote to him on August 16, 1865.

On August 22, after the regular Council meeting, the shareholders of the Industrial Newspaper Company, established to finance the newspaper, held their foundation meeting. The meeting, which was attended by Marx, approved the address to the working men of Great Britain and Ireland, written by Council members earlier, and the Company's Prospectus, both published here, in the Appendices. On September 25, 1865, the London Conference declared the paper, which on September 8 had assumed the name of *The Workman's Advocate,* an official organ of the International Association. At the beginning of November 1865 the paper became the full property of the Industrial Newspaper Company. In February 1866 it was renamed *The Commonwealth.* Marx was a member of the Company's Board and remained on it until June 1866. However, the growing influence of reformist elements in the paper's Editorial Board and the vacillation and conciliatory policy on the part of the trade-union leaders on the Company's Board did not let Marx and his followers avert the transformation of this working-class paper into an organ supporting the policy of bourgeois radicals. It was published until July 20, 1867. p. 378

282 On September 11 Marx wrote to Wilhelm Liebknecht in Hanover inviting him to attend the London Conference of the International as a delegate from Germany (see present edition, Vol. 42). Liebknecht replied that he would not be able to come but would send a report on the working-class movement in Germany.

Liebknecht's report in English was not, however, read by Marx at the conference because it devoted too much attention to Marx personally, as he himself explained to Liebknecht in a letter of November 21, 1865. The report

has survived in manuscript form (see *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1962, pp. 251-60). p. 384

283 A reference to the ceremonial evening to celebrate the first anniversary of the International to be held on September 28, 1865 in St. Martin's Hall, London. It was part of the London Conference programme. Jones had promised to attend, but was unable to leave Manchester. p. 384

284 The London Conference of the International was held from September 25 to 29, 1865 (see Note 103). The afternoon sittings were attended by the Standing Committee members together with the nine Continental delegates (from France, Switzerland and Belgium), the evening sittings—by all members of the Central Council and Continental delegates. The Conference minutes were recorded by Cremer, Le Lubez and Howell. However, neither these minutes nor the report of the Conference in *The Workman's Advocate,* No. 134, September 30, 1865, fully show Marx's role at the Conference, especially in the polemics with the Proudhonists when the agenda was being worked out for the future Geneva Congress of the International. In particular, the minutes of the afternoon sitting of September 27, which discussed the question of inclusion in the congress agenda of Point 9 of the Central Council's programme on the restoration of Poland's independence, have not survived. The Appendices to this volume feature extracts from the minutes of the afternoon sitting of September 26 which contain a more detailed record of Marx's speeches at the conference than any other minutes. p. 385

285 See Note 280. p. 385

286 The first congress of the International Working Men's Association met in Geneva on September 3-8, 1866; the decision to change the date of the Congress was adopted by the Central Council on May 1, 1866. p. 386

287 During the discussion of the agenda for the Geneva Congress, the main point of dispute between Marx's supporters and the Proudhonist-minded French, Belgian and other conference participants was whether or not to include the question of Poland's independence. The Proudhonists were against it, saying that political questions detract the workers from social problems. The discussion of the Polish question at the evening sitting of September 26 was adjourned to September 27. The minutes of the afternoon sitting for that day, at which Marx presumably refuted the Proudhonists' arguments, have not been preserved. At the evening sitting, the majority of delegates voted for the inclusion of the Polish question in the agenda as formulated in Point 9 of the draft worked out by the Central Council (see this volume, p. 376). p. 386

288 By decision of the London Conference, a congress of the International Working Men's Association was initially to take place in Geneva in May 1866. Later the convocation was postponed until September. p. 388

289 For the reactionary laws in Prussia prohibiting workers' organisations to join the International, and for the Lassallean leaders' opposition to this, see Note 230. Early in 1865 Marx proposed individual membership which enabled German workers to circumvent these laws. The International Association's members in Germany got in touch with the Central Council directly or through the German Section founded by Johann Philipp Becker in Geneva. This is how the contact was established with the workers in Mainz, Berlin, Solingen and other towns. Marx based his communication to the Central Council meeting about the headway being made by the Association in Germany on Liebknecht's

letter to him of November 16 and on one from Theodor Metzner, Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt of November 13, 1865. p. 388

290 The appeal to the workers of Switzerland to join the International was issued by the German Section in Geneva in November 1865. An abridged version in English was published in *The Workman's Advocate,* No. 145, December 16, 1865. p. 388

291 On December 16 and 18, 1865 the Belgian democratic newspaper *L'Echo de Verviers,* Nos. 293 and 294, published an anonymous article which gave a distorted picture of the Central Council's activities and the work of the London Conference of 1865. Its author was the French petty-bourgeois republican Pierre Vésinier, a refugee in Belgium and the spokesman for petty-bourgeois elements in the French branch in London who opposed Marx and the Central Council. This branch was founded in the autumn of 1865 and included, besides petty-bourgeois refugees (Le Lubez, Félix Pyat and others), proletarian elements (Eugène Dupont, Hermann Jung and Paul Lafargue) who later broke away from its petty-bourgeois wing.

Vésinier's article was discussed in the Central Council on December 26, 1865 and on January 2 and 9, 1866. On the instructions of the Council, Vésinier's slanderous attacks were refuted by Hermann Jung, who was helped by Marx to write a letter to the editor of *L'Echo de Verviers* (see this volume, pp. 392-400). p. 388

292 Wilhelm Liebknecht informed Marx in a letter of January 18, 1866 that the Leipzig Workers' Educational Society was willing to form a branch of the International. He also wrote that Hofstetten, an editor of *Der Social-Demokrat,* had tried again to get himself, Marx and Engels to contribute to the paper. Marx's letter to Engels of February 10, 1866 shows that Marx strongly objected to these attempts by the Lassalleans to use his name and that of Engels, and severely criticised Liebknecht for his conciliatory attitude (see present edition, Vol. 42). p. 389

293 The *"People" (Peuple)*—a Belgian atheist society consisting mainly of progressive intellectuals who advocated utopian socialism. It published a newspaper, *La Tribune du Peuple,* which became the organ of the International Working Men's Association in Belgium in August 1865 (officially in January 1866) when the society joined the International. p. 389

294 Jenny Marx's letter of January 29, 1866 to Joseph Philipp Becker, leader of the German sections of the International in Switzerland, contained information for the journal *Der Vorbote,* organ of the International Association in Switzerland of which he was the editor. In this case, as in the next (see this volume, p. 439), it was, presumably, Marx who, being ill at the time, asked his wife to send this kind of information. Trying to support this periodical, Marx also asked Liebknecht, Kugelmann and his other friends and associates to supply it with material.

The item published in *Der Vorbote* and the corresponding passage in the letter coincide. The introductory words and the last two paragraphs were added by the editors. p. 390

295 A reference to atheist societies active in England in the 1860s. A considerable influence on this movement was exerted by Charles Bradlaugh and other bourgeois radicals who were grouped around *The National Reformer* and were disseminating reformist ideas among the workers. p. 391

296 See Note 245. p. 391

297 This letter was the Central Council's reply to Vésinier's slanderous article (see Note 291). It was written by Jung and, by the Council's decision of February 6, 1866, was sent to the editor of *L'Echo de Verviers*. The letter was edited by Marx, as is evident from Jung's letters to him of February 15 and 26, 1866.

The English translation of the letter was first published in *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1962. p. 392

298 See Notes 141 and 272. p. 394

299 The *German Workers' Educational Society in London*—see Note 260.

Marx, Eccarius, Lessner, Kaub, Schapper and other Council members, who were also members of the London Educational Society, took part in the London Conference of 1865. p. 395

300 The *Society of December 10 (Société du Dix Decembre)*—the secret Bonapartist society founded in 1849 and so called to commemorate the election of Louis Bonaparte, the Society's patron, to the Presidency of the French Republic on December 10, 1848. It consisted mainly of declassed elements. The Society played an active part in the Bonapartist coup d'état of December 2, 1851 which established the counter-revolutionary regime of the Second Empire headed by Napoleon III. Marx described the Society in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 149-51). p. 397

301 The *Grütli Society (Société du Grütli)*—a Swiss reformist organisation founded in 1838 as an educational association of artisans and workers. The name emphasised the Society's national character: legend has it that representatives of three Swiss cantons met on the meadow of Grütli (or Rütli) in 1307 and concluded an agreement on joint struggle against Austrian rule. p. 398

302 Marx's speech in the Central Council on March 13, 1866 testifies to his battle with the bourgeois democrats who tried to misrepresent the genuinely proletarian class nature of the International. Louis Wolff, a follower of Mazzini, withdrew from the Council in the spring of 1865 (he was later exposed as a police agent). On March 6, 1866 he came to the Council meeting—Marx was not present—and made a speech criticising the letter to *L'Echo de Verviers* (see this volume, pp. 392-400). He alleged that the letter had wrongly described Mazzini's attitude to the International and its programme documents. In this way, he wanted to make the Council recognise that these documents were based on Mazzini's principles. Influenced by reformist-minded British members, the Council passed a resolution in which it virtually apologised to Mazzini and Wolff himself for "harsh words" used about them in the letter. On March 10, the corresponding secretaries Dupont, Jung, Longuet and Bobczynski met in conference at Marx's place and decided that Marx would protest against the March 6 resolution at the next Council meeting. At its meeting on March 13, after Marx's speech supported by some members of the Council, the latter cancelled this resolution, and this was recorded in the minutes of the Council meeting of March 27.

This document was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866,* Moscow, 1962. p. 401

303 About Marx's work on the Inaugural Address and Provisional Rules of the International Association, see Note 1.

The Statutes submitted by Louis Wolff on October 8, 1864, at the first sitting of the committee elected to work out the International's programme

documents, had been written by Mazzini for an association of Italian workers' societies which he planned to set up. Written from the bourgeois-democratic standpoint, this draft was used as a basis for the *Fraternal Bond between the Italian Workmen's Associations* published in *Il Giornale delle Associazioni Operaie* in July 1864 and adopted at a congress of Italian workers in Naples at the end of October 1864. p. 401

304 This statement by De Paepe was not recorded in the minutes of the London Conference of the International. p. 401

305 The *Schiller Institute,* founded in Manchester in November 1859 in connection with the centenary of Friedrich Schiller's birth, strove to be the centre of cultural and social life of the German émigrés. Engels was critical of the Institute noted for its tendency to formalism and pedantry, and initially kept aloof from it. But when certain changes were introduced into its Rules, he became a member of its Directorate in 1864. Later, as the President of the Institute, Engels devoted much time to it and exercised a considerable influence on its activities.

In September 1868, while Engels was away from Manchester, the Institute invited Karl Vogt who was slandering the proletarian revolutionaries, to deliver a lecture. Engels felt that his political reputation would be compromised if he remained President and so he left the Directorate. In April 1870 he was again elected a member of the Directorate of the Schiller Institute, but did not take an active part in it. p. 402

306 On May 3, 1866 Marx received from the German Tailors' Committee in London material on German journeymen tailors being used as strike-breakers by Dutch and British employers. On May 4 he wrote the piece "A Warning" and sent it to Liebknecht on behalf of the Central Committee to be published in German papers (see this volume, pp. 162-63 and Note 119). p. 405

307 At the end of 1865, Paul Lafargue was expelled from the Medical Faculty of Paris University for his political statements against the regime of the Second Empire. He soon took an active part in the work of the International and on March 6, 1866 was elected member of the Central Council. As a contributor to the newspaper *La Rive Gauche,* Lafargue wrote for it a survey of the progress of the International Working Men's Association, drawing on Marx's oral information and probably on material received from him. The survey was first read out at a Central Council meeting on June 12, 1866 (see this volume, p. 411). *La Rive Gauche* of June 17, 1866 published it together with the French translation of the Inaugural Address of the Association made by Charles Longuet at Marx's request. p. 406

308 A mass meeting of electoral reformers held in St. Martin's Hall, London, on February 23, 1865 proclaimed the foundation of the Reform League (see Note 141). A special committee was formed, in which the Central Council members were in the majority (15 out of 29; Lafargue's figures are incorrect), to negotiate with the radicals about a joint campaign for electoral reform and the organisational structure of the League. p. 407

309 On February 20, 1866 the Central Council of the International discussed the harsh treatment of the Irish political prisoners in the Pentonville prison. The facts about this treatment penetrated into the opposition papers and were communicated to Peter Fox, a Central Council member, by the wife of the condemned Fenian leader, O'Donovan Rossa (see Note 245). The Council resolved to send a delegation to the Home Secretary George Grey demanding

the mitigation of the prison regime. When Grey refused to receive the delegation the Council decided on March 6, 1866 to make all the available material public. A document exposing the British authorities was drawn up by Fox and published with the signature of the Council's President, George Odger, in *The Commonwealth,* No. 157, March 10, 1866, under the heading "The Irish State Prisoners. Sir George Grey and the International Working Men's Association". p. 407

310 In his letters to Marx of May 25 and June 5, 1866 Liebknecht wrote that the leaders of Saxon workers' associations were prepared to join the International and asked for membership cards. p. 411

311 When the Austro-Prussian war began (see Note 122), the Central Council held a discussion on the International Working Men's Association's attitude towards it. The discussion began on June 19 and continued on June 26, July 3 and 17, 1866. The terse minutes convey the essence of the debate rather superficially, in particular Marx's speeches on June 19 and July 17. A more detailed impression of his first speech and the general trend of the discussion can be obtained from his letter to Engels of June 20, 1866 (see present edition, Vol. 42). The letter shows that Marx opposed the abstract pacifist approach to war taken by some participants in the working-class movement, the inability to understand the concrete historical nature of war, and the belittling or disregard of the question of German as well as of Italian unity being decided in the Austro-Prussian war, and the national question as a whole. This position was adopted, in particular, by the French Council members, Paul Lafargue and Charles Longuet, who failed to overcome the Proudhonist nihilist attitude towards national problems and who declared that nations and national demands were "outmoded prejudices". On the other hand, the reformist-minded British trade unionists were inclined to identify the policy of the ruling circles of Prussia and Italy with the national interests of the German and Italian peoples. When defining the International's tactics during the Austro-Prussian war, Marx sought to warn the proletarian organisation against a one-sided approach. Marx and his followers thought it expedient for the International to pursue a neutral policy, bearing in mind that the world proletariat favoured the unification of Germany, as well as Italy, by revolutionary-democratic means and that in the 1866 war the struggle for unification in these two countries had been mixed up with the dynastic and narrow selfish strivings of the ruling circles. It was in this spirit that the resolution was drawn up and adopted by the Central Council on July 17. p. 411

312 The resolution was published in *The Commonwealth,* No. 176, July 21, 1866 and *La Rive Gauche,* No. 29, July 22, 1866. p. 411

313 The Italian workers' societies did not succeed in being represented at the Geneva Congress. Italian delegates attended the congresses of the International Working Men's Association beginning with the Lausanne Congress (September 1867). p. 412

314 This decision was adopted during the discussion of the agenda for the Geneva Congress envisaged by the Central Council's resolution of July 17, 1866. In compliance with this decision, the Geneva Congress resolved on September 8, 1866 that London should remain the seat of the Central (General) Council of the International Working Men's Association in 1866-67.

Preparations for the Geneva Congress continued at the Council's subsequent meetings. On July 31, in particular, Marx moved a number of proposals on

behalf of the Standing Committee concerning the agenda for the Congress, and later drew up "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional Central Council. The Different Questions" (see this volume, pp. 183-94). p. 412

315 The notice concerned the dispute between Manchester employers and tailors.

In August 1866, Manchester employers locked out over 700 tailors who were demanding shorter working hours and the regulation of rates for different operations in view of the widespread use of machinery in the clothing trade. The tailors applied for support to the Executive Committee of the London Operative Tailors' Protective Association, whose President, Matthew Lawrence, represented it on the General Council (the name became current after the Geneva Congress). On September 12 a preliminary agreement was reached between the employers and the workers and the latter returned to their work. p. 412

316 By nominating Marx for the post of President of the General Council, the British Council members made a kind of challenge to the French Proudhonists, who tried at the Geneva Congress to have the view accepted that persons not engaged in manual labour should neither be admitted to workers' organisations nor hold official posts in them. p. 412

317 Marx is presumably referring to Clause 4 of the Administrative Regulations adopted by the Geneva Congress. It stipulated that the general rules for paying dues also applied to members of the societies affiliated to the International (see this volume, p. 445). p. 412

318 Jules Gottraux, a Swiss-born subject of Great Britain and a member of the International, was detained by the French police on the French-Swiss frontier on September 30, 1866 when he was returning to London from his trip to Switzerland. The police confiscated some letters, printed matter, and other material entrusted to him by the International's leaders in Geneva to be handed over to the General Council. The seized documents included the preliminary report on the work of the Geneva Congress which had been drawn up by Council member Frederick Card and published in French in Geneva as a pamphlet. (Later, this gave rise to a false rumour that the French authorities had confiscated the Congress minutes, which in reality had by that time been brought to London by Hermann Jung.) The General Council lodged a complaint with the French Minister of Home Affairs about this act of arbitrariness and demanded the return of the seized documents. And when he refused to reply to the complaint, written by Fox on the Council's instructions, the General Council decided to use the fact to publicly expose the regime of the Second Empire (see also the record of Marx's speech at the General Council meeting of November 27, 1866). At the beginning of December the Council addressed the British Foreign Secretary asking him to make a corresponding demarche to the French government, which forced the French authorities to return, on December 21, the materials taken from Gottraux. Fox wrote a special article on the actions of the Bonapartist authorities. It was published in *The Commonwealth* on January 12, 1867 and in *The Working Man* on February 1, 1867. p. 413

319 The *Mémoire* of the Paris Section for the Geneva Congress containing a detailed exposition of Proudhonist views, was supported by the Lyons and Rouen sections and was read as the report of the French delegates at the congress on September 4. The full text of the *Mémoire* was published in

Brussels in September 1866 under the title *Congrès de Genève. Mémoire des délégués français.* p. 413

320 On February 28, 1867 Marx made a speech at the celebration of the 27th anniversary of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 260). Besides German workers, the celebration meeting was attended by French members of the International in London and participants in the British working-class movement. The meeting was addressed by General Council members Peter Fox, Georg Eccarius and other speakers.

An account of the meeting, including the record of Marx's speech, was made by Friedrich Lessner and sent to Johann Philipp Becker to be published in *Der Vorbote.* p. 415

321 On April 3, 1867 the joint meeting of the Council of the Reform League (see Note 141) and delegates of the local branches adopted a resolution moved by Odger congratulating the people of North Germany on the introduction of universal suffrage in the elections to the North-German Imperial Diet. The resolution also expressed thanks to Bismarck "for the frank, manly and noble expressions on the happiness and general prosperity which must accrue to a nation governed on the principle of universal suffrage".

On Marx's initiative, the resolution was discussed at the General Council meetings on April 16 and 23, 1867. Marx himself could not attend the meetings because on April 10 he left for Germany where the first volume of *Capital* was being printed, and did not return to London until May 19.

However, Lafargue and Lessner who spoke at the meetings managed to have the resolution adopted in which the General Council of the International condemned Odger's laudation of Bismarck and disavowed itself from his appraisal of the "services" of the Chancellor of the North-German Confederation. p. 416

322 See Note 305. p. 417

323 At its meeting on June 4, 1867 the General Council appointed a committee to draw up an address to the affiliated societies and members of the International in connection with the second Congress of the International Working Men's Association to be held in Lausanne in September. Fox, Marx, Jung, Eccarius and Dupont made up the committee. However, as he was busy reading proofs of Volume I of *Capital,* Marx was unable to take part in drawing up the English text of the address, which was approved by the Council meeting on July 9. At the same meeting Paul Lafargue was instructed to translate the address into French. This decision was adopted in view of the fact that the Proudhonist leaders of the Paris sections prepared their own agenda of the Congress in violation of the General Council's prerogative to define its programme (see this volume, p. 203 and Note 154).

The French address edited by Marx differed greatly from the English text. It was published in London in July 1867 as a leaflet and reprinted by some newspapers (*La Voix d'Avenir,* No. 31, August 4, 1867; *Le Courrier international,* No. 28/29, July 30, 1867; *La Tribune du Peuple,* No. 8, August 31, 1867). The German translation of the French address made by Johann Philipp Becker was included by him in the pamphlet *Einladung zum zweiten Kongress der Internationalen Arbeiter Association am 2-8. September in Lausanne* and reproduced in *Der Vorbote,* No. 8, August 1867. p. 421

324 In February 1867, during the strike of Belgian miners and iron-workers of the Charleroi coalfield (Hainaut Province), near a colliery in Marchiennes, there

was a clash between soldiers on guard and the strikers, which resulted in a number of workers killed and wounded. On March 13, *The International Courier* published the General Council's address with a protest against the massacre in Marchiennes and a call on the British miners and iron-workers to aid the widows and those who had suffered. p. 421

325 This refers to the strikes of the Paris bronze-workers and tailors in February and March 1867. Thanks to the support of the General Council which organised among the English workers a collection of funds for the Paris strikers, they succeeded in making the employers introduce fixed wage rates. The broad scope of the strike started on April 1, 1867 by Paris journeymen tailors, and the International's support to them compelled the French government to interfere and take reprisals against the strikers. Their Mutual Aid Association was dissolved and its leaders were prosecuted and fined. p. 421

326 The Royal Commission to Make Inquiry Respecting the English Trade Unions was set up in February 1867 because the ruling classes were anxious about their growing activity and hoped the inquiry would help to outlaw the trade unions or at least restrict the scope of their activity. At the same time an anti-trade-union campaign was launched in bourgeois newspapers. The trade unions, supported by the General Council of the International, reacted to this by holding meetings all over the country and convening a national conference in London on March 5-8, 1867. The Royal Commission failed to make any serious charges against the trade unions, but it hindered the process of their full legalisation (defence of their funds by law, recognition of their right to fight strike-breakers, to post pickets and to support strikes organised by other trade unions). p. 422

327 Marx made this speech in reply to the attacks on the trade unions started by the bourgeois press in connection with the appointment of the Royal Commission to investigate trade union activities (see Note 326), in particular to the allegations of bourgeois newspapers that by organising strikes the trade unions hindered the development of major English industries and reduced their competitive power in the world market.

The statistical errors in the Blue Book have been reproduced, whereas the errors in the newspaper report have been corrected to conform with the Blue Book.

In the Minute Book of the General Council, Marx's speech is given in the form of the corresponding clipping from *The Working Man,* with minor corrections pasted in. It is preceded by the record of Marx's information about the affiliation to the International of the New York Communist Club (the Club was set up in 1857 by German revolutionary emigrants, with former members of the Communist League among them) and also of a kindred association in Hoboken. Marx took this information from Friedrich Adolph Sorge's letter of July 10, 1867. Sorge himself became a prominent organiser of sections of the I.W.A. in the USA. p. 424

328 See Note 4. p. 424

329 The Inaugural Congress of the bourgeois-pacifist League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 155) was originally to be held in Geneva on September 5, 1867. The League's Organising Committee, which had enlisted the support of bourgeois-radical and democratic leaders (John Stuart Mill, the Reclus brothers and others), also counted on the participation in the League's work of

representatives of European proletariat and its international organisation. The Committee consequently invited the sections of the International and its leaders, Marx included, to attend the Congress. At the same time it was decided to postpone the opening of the Congress until September 9, so as to enable delegates of the Lausanne Congress of the International (to be held on September 2-8) to take part.

The International's attitude towards the League of Peace and Freedom was discussed both by the General Council and the local sections. Unlike the advocates of unconditional support of the League's activity, in particular the leaders of British trade unions, Marx, in his speech on August 13, 1867 and the resolution he proposed (see this volume, p. 204), formulated the principles of the International's tactics as regards this kind of bourgeois-democratic movement. These principles envisaged the joint struggle with the democrats against the war threat on condition that the proletarian organisation preserves its class independence, and, in opposition to bourgeois-pacifist illusions, takes a revolutionary proletarian approach to the problems of war and peace.

In a letter to Engels of September 4, 1867 Marx wrote about the wide response to his speech. He also pointed out the extremely concise record of his speeches (Eccarius' report of the Council meeting published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* on August 17, 1867 and pasted into the Minute Book). He went on to say that this record gave only approximate idea of his speech, which lasted half an hour (see present edition, Vol. 42). p. 426

330 The brief newspaper report of the General Council meeting does not fully express the views of Marx and Engels on the role of the regular standing armies in the nineteenth century. They are given in greater detail in Engels' work "The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party" (this volume, pp. 37-79). p. 426

331 The General Council's report to the Lausanne Congress of 1867 was approved by the Council on August 20 on the basis of Eccarius' draft and additions to it made by Council members. It was read to the Congress on September 3 in French by Guillaume, and in German by Eccarius. The French text was published in the pamphlet *Rapports lus au congrès ouvrier réuni du 2 au 8 septembre 1867 à Lausanne,* Chaux-de-Fonds, 1867.

The English text published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper,* No. 309, September 14, 1867, is reproduced in this volume.

The English version is more concise than the French. It omitted parts of the report about the French, Swiss and Belgian sections of the International, and a special annual report of the Corresponding Secretary for America (Peter Fox). The part entitled "Continental and American Sections" gave a summary of the state of affairs in a number of countries and referred to the report of the Corresponding Secretary for America as a special document. Unlike the English report, which was unsigned, the French document was signed by the leading Council members, including Marx (the signatures are reproduced in Note 344).

The *Lausanne Congress* of the International was held on September 2-8, 1867. Marx took part in the preparations but, as he was busy reading the proofs of the first volume of *Capital,* was unable to attend: he withdrew his candidature at the General Council meeting of August 13, 1867.

The Congress was attended by 64 delegates from six countries (Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland). Apart from the annual report of the General Council, the Congress heard reports from the local

sections which indicated the increased influence of the International on the proletarian masses and the growing strength of its organisations in different countries. The Proudhonist-minded delegates, especially the French, made an attempt to change the orientation of the International's activity and its programme principles. Despite the efforts of the General Council's delegates, they imposed their agenda on the Congress and sought to revise the Geneva Congress resolutions in a Proudhonist spirit. They managed to pass a number of their resolutions, in particular on cooperation and credit, which the Proudhonists regarded as the chief factors in changing society by means of reform.

However, the Proudhonists failed to achieve their main aim. The Congress confirmed the Geneva Congress resolutions on the economic struggle and strikes. As distinct from the Proudhonist dogma on abstaining from political struggle, the Lausanne Congress resolution on political freedom emphasised that the social emancipation of workers was inseparable from political liberation.

The Proudhonists likewise failed to seize the leadership of the International. The Congress re-elected the General Council in its former composition and retained London as its seat. p. 428

332 Here and below, the Geneva Congress resolutions are given as published in the corresponding sections of the General Council's report of the Congress in *The International Courier,* Nos. 12, 15 and 17, March 27, April 17, May 1, 1867. p. 428

333 See Note 318. p. 429

334 A reference to the membership cards *(carnets de membre).* Of the 1,000 copies printed, 800 were sent to France and confiscated by the French police at the frontier; as was the practice, they reproduced the Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International approved by the Geneva Congress of 1866. These cards were printed in London on November 25 by the General Council's decision of September 16, 1866 in reply to a request from the Paris Administration. The Council thought it expedient to undertake this task, fearing that the Paris Administration, which had in the past published the Provisional Rules with Proudhonist distortions, would repeat them in subsequent editions. (And indeed the French Proudhonists did publish a similarly distorted text of the Rules at the end of 1866.) The French text of the Rules for the new publication was prepared by Marx, who drew on the Geneva Congress materials brought by Jung. The Administrative Regulations were translated from German by Paul Lafargue with the help of Marx's daughter Laura, since there was no French text among the above-mentioned materials. The manuscripts of Marx and Lafargue are extant. Marx cut out paragraphs IV and V from the leaflet and pasted them into his manuscript. When preparing the Rules for the press, Lafargue rewrote the second page of Marx's manuscript and repasted the cutting into it. The rewritten passages in Marx's manuscript were crossed out. The publication appeared in London in November 1866 as a separate pamphlet, *Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Statuts et règlements.* p. 430

335 In October and November 1866, in reply to the basket-makers' refusal to dissolve their trade unions and accept lower wages, the employers declared a lockout and tried to import Belgian workers for use as strike-breakers. The General Council's measures compelled the employers to make concessions. p. 431

336 On the General Council's support of the Paris bronzeworkers' strike in February and March 1867, see Note 325.

In April 1867 nearly 7,000 London tailors went on strike demanding fixed rates for all branches of the clothing industry in all the big cities of England. Thanks to assistance organised by the General Council from the workers of France, Belgium, Switzerland and Germany, the strikers held out for several months. p. 431

337 A reference to the Act of Parliamentary Reform finally passed by the British Parliament on August 15, 1867. It extended suffrage to persons who lived in towns not less than 12 months and were tenants of houses or flats. In the counties the right to vote was granted to tenants with an annual income of £12. As a result, the number of voters increased from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000. The electoral right extended not only to the middle-class strata of town and country, but also to the comparatively well-to-do upper stratum of the working class. The bulk of the working people of Britain, however, as before, had no right to vote. p. 432

338 The *National Reform League* was founded in London in 1849 by Bronterre O'Brien and other Chartist leaders. Its objective was to campaign for universal suffrage and social reforms. In 1866 the League became affiliated to the International. Its leaders Alfred Walton and George Milner joined the General Council and took part in several congresses of the International. p. 435

339 Marx informed the General Council about the affiliation of the Communist Club in New York, and also of a group of its supporters in Hoboken, on July 23, 1867 (see Note 327).

The *National Labor Union* was founded in the USA at a congress in Baltimore, in August 1866 with the active participation of William Sylvis, a prominent leader in the American labour movement. The Labor Union established contacts with the International Working Men's Association in October 1866, but its delegate to the next congress of the International, Richard Trevellick, elected by the Union's Congress in Chicago in August 1867, was unable to come to Lausanne. At the last sittings of the Basle Congress of the International (September 1869) Andrew Cameron was the National Labor Union delegate. At its congress in Cincinnati in August 1870, the Union adopted a resolution on its adherence to the principles of the International Association and its intention to join it. However, the resolution was not implemented. Its leaders soon became involved in utopian projects of money reform. In 1870 and 1871, many trade unions withdrew, and in 1872 the Union virtually ceased to exist.

The *International Iron-moulders' Union* was founded in 1859 and finally took shape in 1863 under the leadership of William Sylvis, who became its President. The Union combined the local iron-moulders' associations on a national scale and had its organisations in British Columbia and Canada. It led the strike movement and did much to strengthen other US trade unions. p. 437

340 The special report by Peter Fox, the Corresponding Secretary for America at the time, was included, somewhat abridged, in the French version of the General Council's report to the Lausanne Congress. It has also survived as Fox's own manuscript, inserted into the Minute Book of the General Council (Fox read this special report at a Council meeting on August 27, 1867). Fox's report was published in English for the first time in the book *The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868.* Moscow, 1964, pp. 304-10.

The manuscript version of the report stated, among other things, that Marx had given Fox a letter from F. A. Sorge, of July 10, 1867, written in the name of the Hoboken branch of the International Working Men's Association, and also the Statutes of the New York Communist Club, which had become affiliated to the Association. p. 437

341 A reference to the International Iron-moulders' Union (see Note 339). In a letter from its President, Sylvis, read at the General Council meeting of July 9, 1867, it was stated that the Union had expended $35,000 in 1866 and $40,000 in 1867 to support the workers' strikes. p. 437

342 When a branch secretary of the Boiler-Makers' Society embezzled trade-union funds, the society sued him. In January 1867, the Court of Queen's Bench ruled that the funds of trade unions, as allegedly unlawful organisations, were not entitled to legal protection. This ruling was one manifestation of the campaign launched by the ruling classes against the trade unions, which were demanding the legal rights enjoyed by other societies in Britain.

For the investigation into trade-union activities by a special royal commission, see Note 326. p. 437

343 For the prosecution of the organisers of the Paris tailors' strike, see Note 325.

For the massacre of the Belgian workers in Marchiennes, see Note 324. p. 437

344 The French text has the following signatures after these words:

"In the name of the General Council:
*Odger,* President
*Eccarius,* General Secretary
*W. Dell,* Treasurer
*Shaw,* Secretary-Treasurer
Corresponding Secretaries:
*E. Dupont* for France
*K. Marx* for Germany
*Zabicki* for Poland
*H. Jung* for Switzerland
*P. Fox* for America
*Besson* for Belgium
*Carter* for Italy
*P. Lafargue* for Spain
*Hansen* for Holland and Denmark." p. 437

345 As is evident from Marx's letter to Engels of October 4, 1867 (see present edition, Vol. 42), the proposal to abolish the office of the General Council's President was moved on Marx's initiative.

The abolition of this post, held by George Odger permanently since 1864, reflected the battle being fought by Marx and his followers to isolate, and weaken the position of, the trade-union reformist leaders in the governing bodies of International.

In its resolution on the organisational question, the Basle Congress of the International in 1869 approved this decision of the General Council. p. 438

346 Wilhelm Liebknecht was elected to the North-German Imperial Diet by one of the Saxon electoral districts. The returns became known on September 20, 1867. p. 438

347 In early 1867 a conflict arose between the ruling circles of Prussia and France, both claiming the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, which was connected by

personal union with the Netherlands (the King of the Netherlands was the Grand Duke of Luxemburg) and was also a member of the German Confederation. But when the latter was dissolved in 1866, Luxemburg refused to enter the North-German Confederation formed under Prussia's aegis. Napoleon III and the King of the Netherlands struck a bargain over the sale of Luxemburg to France, but Bismarck blocked this by using the Prussian garrison which has been sent to the Duchy when the German Confederation still existed. In May 1867 the Luxemburg question was discussed at an international conference in London which made it incumbent upon both powers to guarantee Luxemburg's former status and neutrality. Prussia was to withdraw its troops from the Duchy. The Luxemburg conflict was accompanied by military preparations and noisy militarist propaganda in these countries and was a stage in the preparations for the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71.

Liebknecht's speech in the North-German Imperial Diet on October 17, 1867 was reproduced in the report of the General Council meeting on October 22, published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper,* No. 315, October 26, 1867. Marx attached great importance to this speech; he asked Lafargue to translate it into French and send it to France for the publication in *Le Courrier français.*

p. 438

348 See Note 294.

The manuscript of this letter has not come down to us. Judging by a letter of October 5, 1867, which has survived, from Mrs. Marx to Becker and his reply to her on October 7, this material was sent by her to Geneva on about October 5.

p. 439

349 For the Lausanne Congress of the International Working Men's Association, see Note 331.

For the congress of the League of Peace and Freedom in Geneva, see Notes 155 and 329. p. 439

350 The *Manchester School*—a trend in political economy expressing the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. It favoured free trade and non-interference by the state in the economy. The Free Traders' stronghold was Manchester, where the movement was led by Cobden and Bright, two textile manufacturers who founded the Anti-Corn Law League in 1838. In the 1840s and 1850s the Free Traders were an independent political group which later formed the Left wing of the Liberal Party. p. 439

351 The Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association were approved by the Geneva Congress at its sittings on September 5 and 8, 1866. The Rules were based on the Provisional Rules drawn up by Marx in October 1864 (see this volume, pp. 14-16), into which some changes and additions were inserted. The Administrative Regulations were worked out during the Geneva Congress by a commission of which Eccarius was a member. Both documents were published in German by J. Ph. Becker in *Der Vorbote,* No. 9, September 1866. Subsequently, they were published in French and English in the reports on the Congress or in other forms in the various periodicals of the International.

Marx personally took part in preparing two of these editions. In the autumn of 1866, by the General Council's decision, he and Lafargue worked on a French translation of the Rules and Regulations, which was reproduced in the membership cards. As most of them were seized on the French frontier (for details see Note 334), the edition was not widely circulated.

The following autumn, after the Lausanne Congress, Georg Eccarius, with the knowledge and support of Marx, prepared a new official edition of the Rules and Administrative Regulations in English. On November 5, 1867, the General Council sanctioned the publication of 1,000 copies, presumably delayed for lack of funds. At the Council meeting on December 17, Marx offered to advance his own money for the publication, and the pamphlet was brought out in London at the end of 1867.

In the 1867 English edition the Rules and Regulations were given in the form adopted at the Geneva Congress. Unlike the above-mentioned French edition of 1866, which reproduced the text of the Preamble but gave only the first six paragraphs of the Rules, designated as "articles", and omitted the remaining six paragraphs (perhaps through the carelessness of the publisher who had undertaken to print membership cards containing the Rules and Regulations) the English edition of 1867 gave all 12 paragraphs. In both editions, French and English, the number and sequence of paragraphs in the Regulations did not coincide: the French text has 15 paragraphs, the English has 13. There are also textual differences.

This volume reproduces the text of 1867 English edition of the Rules and Administrative Regulations which was approved by Marx and later used by him in subsequent work on these documents. The most important discrepancies with the 1866 French edition are given in footnotes. p. 441

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*Adams, Charles Francis* (1807-1886)—American diplomat and politician, Republican, the US envoy to London (1861-64).—355

*Aesop* (also *Esop*) (6th cent. B.C.)—semi-legendary Greek fabulist.—25, 244, 279

*Aiguillon, Emmanuel Armand Vignerot-Duplessis-Richelieu, duc d'* (1720-1788)—French statesman, Foreign Minister (1770-74).—317-18

*Alaux, Jules-Émile* (1828-1903)—French journalist.—414

*Aldovrandi, P.*—member of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); member of the Central Council of the International (October 1864-April 1865).—20, 353

*Alexander I* (1777-1825)—Emperor of Russia (1801-25).—199, 323-26

*Alexander Ludwig Georg, Prince of Hesse* (1823-1888)—Austrian general; at first commanded a brigade and later a division in the Italian war of 1859 and an allied corps in Austria during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—172, 179

*Alexander of Darmstadt*—see *Alexander Ludwig Georg, Prince of Hesse*

*Anna Ivanovna* (1693-1740)—Duchess of Courland (1710-30), Empress of Russia (1730-40); Peter I's niece.—312

*Anna Pavlovna* (1795-1865)—daughter of Emperor Paul I of Russia, Alexander I's sister, whom Napoleon I proposed; from 1816, Queen of the Netherlands (wife of William II, Prince of Orange).—326

*Applegarth, Robert* (1833-1925)—cabinet-maker, a trade union leader, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (1862-71), member of the London Trades Council; member of the General Council of the International (1865, 1868-72); delegate to the Basle Congress of the International (1869); one of the Reform League leaders; subsequently left the working-class movement.—380

*August(us) II (the Strong)* (1670-1733)—King of Poland (1697-1706, 1709-33) and Elector of Saxony as Frederick Augustus I (1694-1733).—312

*August(us) III* (1696-1763)—King of Poland (1734-63) and Elector of Saxony (from 1733) as Frederick Augustus II; son of Augustus II.—312

*Aveling, Edward* (1851-1898)—English journalist, socialist; one of the translators of Volume I of *Capital* into English.—216

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*Bagnagatti, G.*—secretary of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); member of the Central Council of the International (November 1864 to 1865).—20

*Bangya, János (Johann)* (1817-1868)—Hungarian journalist and army officer; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; Kossuth's emissary abroad after the defeat of the revolution and at the same time a secret police agent; later served in the Turkish army under the name of Mehemed Bey.—92, 93

*Bars, Franciszek* (1760-1812)—Polish lawyer, stood for reforms; a refugee after the second partition of Poland (1793); took part in the preparation of the uprising under Kościuszko (1794); representative of Kościuszko's insurgents in the French Convention.—320-21

*Barton, John* (1789-1852)—British economist; represented the classical school of political economy.—147

*Bastiat, Frédéric* (1801-1850)—French economist; preached harmony of class interests in bourgeois society.—32, 95, 207, 260, 261, 262

*Beales, Edmond* (1803-1881)—English lawyer, radical, President of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; supported the North during the American Civil War; President of the Reform League (1865-69).—97

*Becker, Bernhard* (1826-1891)—German journalist, follower of Lassalle, President of the General Association of German Workers (1864-65); subsequently supported Eisenachers; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—92-96

*Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886)—German revolutionary, took part in the German and Swiss democratic movement in the 1830s and 1840s and in the 1848-49 revolution; organised sections of the International in Switzerland and Germany; delegate to the London (1865) Conference and all the congresses of the International, editor of *Der Vorbote* (1866-71); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—95, 358, 366, 388, 390, 395, 397, 398, 439-40

*Beethoven, Ludwig van* (1770-1827)—German composer.—390

*Beluze, Jean Pierre* (1821-1908)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, cabinet-maker, follower of Cabet, director of the Crédit au Travail bank (1862-68); one of the founders of *L'Association,* organ of the co-operative movement; member of the International, subsequently left the working-class movement.—82-83, 396

*Bem, Józef* (1794-1850)—Polish general, took part in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31 and the revolutionary struggle in Vienna in 1848; a leader of the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49); after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Turkey.—197

*Benedek, Ludwig von* (1804-1881)—Austrian general, took part in the suppression of the peasant uprising in Galicia in 1846 and of the national liberation movements in Italy and Hungary in 1848 and 1849; commanded a corps during the Italian war of 1859; chief of staff of the Austrian army in 1860; commander-in-chief of the Austrian army during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—166, 167, 171, 175, 176, 177, 179-81

*Benoît, Gedeon*—Prussian diplomat; secretary of the Prussian embassy in Warsaw, an envoy (1763-76).—316

*Bernis, François Joachim Pierre de* (1715-1794)—French statesman, diplomat and writer, abbé, cardinal from 1758; Foreign Minister (1757-58).—313

*Besson, Alexander*—mechanic, French refugee in London, member of the

General Council of the International (1866-68), Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, a leader of the French branch in London, belonged to the group of petty-bourgeois republicans.—423

*Bismarck-Schönhausen, Otto, Prince von* (1815-1898)—statesman of Prussia and Germany, diplomat; Ambassador to St. Petersburg (1859-62) and Paris (1862); Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-72, 1873-90), Chancellor of the North German Confederation (1867-71) and of the German Empire (1871-90); carried through the unification of Germany by counter-revolutionary means.—62, 74, 165, 225, 360, 395, 416, 438

*Blackmore* (or *Blackmoor*)—participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London; member of the Central Council of the International (1864-65).—21, 352, 354

*Blind, Karl* (1826-1907)—German journalist, democrat; took part in the Baden revolutionary movement in 1848-49; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in London in the 1850s; National-Liberal in the 1860s.—22-25, 87

*Bobczynski, Konstantin*—took part in the Polish insurrection of 1863, then emigrated to London; member of the General Council of the International (1865-68), Corresponding Secretary for Poland (from May 1866); participant in the London (1865) Conference; moved to Birmingham in 1866.—411

*Bocquet, Jean Baptiste*—French democrat, Republican, took part in the 1848 revolution in France and emigrated to London after its defeat; participant in the meeting held on September 28, 1864 in St. Martin's Hall; member of the Central Council of the International (1864-65).—20, 363

*Boisguillebert, Pierre Le Pesant, sieur de* (1646-1714)—French economist, forerunner of Physiocrats; father of French classical political economy.—274

*Bolleter, Heinrich*—German refugee in London, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the Central Council of the International (November 1864 to 1865); participant in the London (1865) Conference.—20, 100, 366

*Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon I*

*Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Bonaparte, Joseph* (1768-1844)—Napoleon I's eldest brother, King of Naples (1806-08) and of Spain (1808-13).—323

*Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul* (1822-1891)—Napoleon III's cousin; adopted the name of Jérôme after the death of his elder brother (1847); went by the name of Plon-Plon and the Red Prince.—36

*Booth, John Wilkes* (1839-1865)—American actor, supporter of the South in the American Civil War, assassin of President Abraham Lincoln.—99

*Bordage, P.*—member of the Central Council of the International (October 1864 to 1866), participant in the London (1865) Conference, member of the French branch in London.—20, 100, 363

*Borkheim, Sigismund Ludwig* (1826-1885)—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, emigrated after its defeat; London merchant from 1851; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels.—94

*B(o)ulgakov, Yakov Ivanovich* (1743-1809)—Russian diplomat, Ambassador to Poland (1790-December 1792).—319

*Bourbons*—royal dynasty in France (1589-1792, 1814-15, 1815-30), in

Spain (1700-1808, 1814-68, 1874-1931 and since 1975), in Naples (1735-1806, 1815-60) and in Parma (1798-1859).—311, 312, 322

*Bowring, Sir John* (1792-1872)—English politician, linguist and man of letters, free trader.—390

*Breitschwert, Otto Ludwig* (pseudonym *L. Otto*) (1836-1890)—German journalist; member of the Central Council of the International (1864).—20

*Bright, John* (1811-1889)—English manufacturer and politician, a Free Trade leader and a founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; leader of the Left wing of the Liberal Party from the early 1860s; held several ministerial posts.—439

*Brissot de Warville, Jacques Pierre* (1754-1793)—French journalist, took an active part in the French Revolution; member of the National Convention, a Girondist leader.—28

*Broglie, Charles-François, comte de* (1719-1781)—French diplomat, after 1852 ambassador at the court of the King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, Augustus III, for some years; chief of the secret diplomatic service of Louis XV.—314-15

*Bronner, Eduard*—German physician, democrat, deputy to the Baden Constituent Assembly (1849), emigrated to England.—23

*Buckley, James*—British trade-unionist, member of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1869).—20, 100

*Burkhard, A.*—German refugee in Manchester, Secretary of the Board of Directors of the Schiller Institute in the 1860s.—404

*Burns, Robert* (1759-1796)—Scottish poet, democrat.—381

C

*Cabet, Étienne* (1788-1856)—French writer, utopian communist, author of *Voyage en Icarie*.—31

*Carpenter, William Benjamin* (1813-1885)—English naturalist and physiologist.—390

*Carter, James*—a prominent figure of the English workers' movement, barber; member of the General Council of the International (October 1864 to 1867) and Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1866-67); participant in the London (1865) Conference, the Geneva (1866) and Lausanne (1867) congresses of the International.—20, 100, 352, 353, 354, 358, 368, 387, 411, 412, 413, 423

*Catherine II* (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-1796).—160, 199, 314, 316, 319, 320

*Cato, Marcus Porcius* (95-46 B.C.)—Roman statesman and philosopher, leader of the aristocratic republican party.—25

*Caulaincourt, Armand Augustin Louis, marquis de,* from 1808 *Duke of Vicenza* (1772-1827)—French general and statesman, Ambassador to Russia (1807-11), Foreign Minister (1813-14, 1815).—326

*Champagny, Jean-Baptiste Nompère de, duc de Cadore* (1756-1834)—French statesman and diplomat, Ambassador to Vienna (1801-04), Minister of the Interior (1804-07); Foreign Minister (1807-April 1811).—326

*Charles II* (1630-1685)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1660-85).—311

*Charles VI* (1685-1740)—Holy Roman Emperor (1711-40).—312, 313

*Charles X* (1757-1836)—King of France (1824-30).—196

*Charles XII* (1682-1718)—King of Sweden (1697-1718).—312

*Charras, Jean Baptiste Adolphe* (1810-1865)—French military leader and politician, moderate republican; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; took part in suppressing the June 1848 uprising of the Paris workers; opposed Louis Bonaparte;

banished from France after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—327

*Chatham*—see *Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham*

*Cherbuliez, Antoine Élisée* (1797-1869)—Swiss economist, tried to combine Sismondi's theory with elements of Ricardo's theory.—147

*Chodźko, Leonard* (1800-1871)—Polish politician, member of the Polish mission to Paris during the 1830-31 insurrection.—321

*Choiseul, Étienne François, duc de, comte de Stainville* (1719-1785)—French statesman and military leader; Foreign Minister (1758-61 and 1766-70), and at the same time War Minister (1761-70) and Naval Minister (1761-66); de facto leader of all French policy.—313, 317

*Christmas*—a Director of the Industrial Newspaper Company.—380

*Cialdini, Enrico, Duke of Gaeta* (1811-1892)—Italian general; took part in the national liberation war (1848-49), the Crimean (1853-56) and Italian (1859) wars; commanded a corps during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—172, 173, 175

*Clam-Gallas, Eduard, Count* (1805-1891)—Austrian general, Hungarian by birth; commanded a corps during the Italian war of 1859 and Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—179

*Clare, John* (1793-1864)—English poet, son of a farmhand, agricultural labourer.—381

*Clariol* (or *Clarion*)—delegate of the Paris Compositors' Society to the London (1865) Conference of the International.—397

*Collet, Joseph*—French journalist, republican, a refugee in London, editor of *The International Courier*, member of the General Council of the International (1866-67).—429

*Condillac, Étienne Bonnot de* (1715-1780)—French philosopher and economist, follower of Locke.—242, 278

*Cope, James*—British trade-unionist, Committee member of the London Boot-Closers' Society, member of the London Trades Council, the General Council of the International (1865-67), participant in the London (1865) Conference.—396

*Cornelius, D.*—member of the Central Council of the International.—21

*Coulson, Edwin (Edward)*—British trade-unionist, Secretary of the London branch of the Operative Bricklayers' Society; member of the London Trades Council, of the Central Council of the International (1865-66) and of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—100, 380, 396

*Cowley, Henry Wellesley, Earl of* (1804-1884)—British diplomat, Ambassador to Paris (1852-67).—429

*Cremer, Sir William Randal* (1838-1908)—active participant in the British trade-union and pacifist movement, reformist; a founder of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (1860); member of the London Trades Council, the British National League for the Independence of Poland, the Land and Labour League, participant in the inaugural meeting of the International, held at St. Martin's Hall (September 28, 1864); member of the General Council of the International (1864-66) and its General Secretary, delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866) of the International; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; opposed revolutionary tactics, subsequently Liberal M.P.—21, 100, 337, 339, 340, 351, 353-55, 357-58, 363-64, 365-67, 370, 376, 380, 384, 385, 396, 411, 412

*Crespelle* (or *Crespel*)—member of the General Council of the International (1866-67), member of the

French branch in London where he upheld the General Council's policy.—339

*Crétineau-Joly, Jacques* (1803-1875)—French conservative historian; champion of legitimate monarchy.—326

*Cucchiari, Domenico* (1806-1900)—Italian general, commanded a division in the Italian war of 1859 and an Italian corps on the side of Prussia in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—174

*Czartoryski, Fryderyk Michał, prince* (1696-1775)—Polish statesman; the head of the noble family, entrusted with the great seal of Lithuania (in 1752); tried to carry out reforms with Russia's help.—314

D

*Darwin, Charles Robert* (1809-1882)—English naturalist, founder of the theory of evolution by natural selection.—217, 225, 390

*Davis, Jefferson* (1808-1889)—American politician, big planter, Democrat; took an active part in the war with Mexico (1846-48); U.S. Secretary of War (1853-57); an organiser of the Southern slave-holders' revolt; President of the Confederate States of America (1861-65).—99

*Davisson, A.*—Secretary of the Board of Directors of the Schiller Institute in Manchester at the end of the 1860s.—420

*Davout (Davoust), Louis Nicolas, duke of Auerstädt and prince of Eckmühl* (1770-1823)—marshal of France, participated in the wars of Napoleonic France, supreme ruler of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and commander-in-chief of the Polish army (1807).—324

*Defoe, Daniel* (c. 1661-1731)—English writer and journalist; author of *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*.—381

*Delacroix de Contaut, Charles* (1741-1805)—French statesman and diplomat; member of Convention; Foreign Minister (1795-97).—321

*Dell, William*—interior decorator; active in the British working-class and democratic movement; member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, member of the General Council of the International (1864-69) and its Treasurer (1865, 1866-67); participated in the London (1865) Conference; a leader of the Reform League.—20, 100, 195, 351, 352, 423

*Della Rocca*—see *Morozzo della Rocca, Enrico*

*Denoual, Jules*—French democrat, participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London; member of the Central Council of the International (1864-65).—20, 363, 393

*De Paepe, César* (1841-1890)—Belgian socialist, compositor, subsequently physician; one of the founders of the Belgian section of the International (1865); member of the Belgian Federal Council; delegate to the London (1865) Conference, the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses, and to the London (1871) Conference of the International; following the Hague Congress (1872) supported the Bakuninists for some time; a founder of the Belgian Workers' Party (1885).—385, 389, 397, 401

*Destutt de Tracy, Antoine Louis Claude, comte de* (1754-1836)—French economist, philosopher; advocate of constitutional monarchy.—294

*Dick, Alexander*—British trade-unionist; member of the Amalgamated Bak-

ers; member of the Central Council of the International (November 1864-February 1865); in connection with his removal to New Zealand (1865) was appointed Corresponding Secretary of the International for that country.—20

*Diderot, Denis* (1713-1784)—French philosopher of the Enlightenment, atheist; leader of the Encyclopaedists.—160

*Dombrowski (Dabrowski), Jan Henryk* (1755-1818)—Polish general, took part in the uprising of 1794 under Kościuszko; organised Polish legions in the French army; participated in the Napoleonic campaigns of 1806-07, 1809 and 1812.—321, 322, 323

*Dronke, Ernst* (1822-1891)—German journalist, "true socialist", later member of the Communist League and an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; supporter of Marx and Engels; subsequently gave up politics.—92

*Dujonquoy*—owner of the New York Hotel in London (1865).—339

*Dumesnil-Marigny, Jules* (1810-1885)—French economist and journalist; member of the International (1865); participant in the London (1865) Conference of the International.—397

*Duncker, Franz Gustav* (1822-1888)—Berlin publisher and politician; belonged to the Party of Progress; founder and editor of the *Volks-Zeitung*.—208, 215

*Dunoyer, Barthélemy Charles Pierre Joseph* (1786-1862)—French economist and politician.—31

*Dupleix, François*—French refugee in Switzerland, bookbinder; a founder of the French section of the International in Geneva; delegate to the London (1865) Conference and the Geneva (1866) and Lausanne (1867) congresses of the International.—385, 397

*Dupont, Eugène* (c. 1831-1881)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; musical instrument maker; took part in the June 1848 uprising in Paris; from 1862 on, lived in London; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872), Corresponding Secretary for France (1865-71), participant in the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866); Chairman of the Lausanne Congress (1867) and delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868), the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); associate of Marx and Engels; became a member of the British Federal Council of the International in 1872; moved to the USA in 1874.—20, 100, 339, 340, 364, 369, 413, 423

*Durando, Giacomo* (1807-1894)—Italian general; commanded an Italian corps on the side of Prussia during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—174

*Dutton, Ralph*—member of the Central Council of the International, participated in the discussion on the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—411

E

*Eccarius, Johann Georg (John George)* (1818-1889)—prominent figure in the international and German working-class movement, tailor; member of the League of the Just, later of the Communist League; a founder of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-72), Council's General Secretary (1867-71), Corresponding Secretary for America (1870-72); delegate to all the Internation-

al's congresses and conferences; was associate of Marx; in the spring of 1872 joined the reformist leaders of the British trade unions.—20, 97, 100, 339, 367, 368, 380, 411, 413, 423, 439, 446

*Edelsheim* (from 1868 *Edelsheim-Gyulai*), *Leopold Wilhelm* (1826-1893)—Austrian general, commander of a cavalry division during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—177, 180

*Edward III* (1312-1377)—King of England (1327-77).—254, 288

*Elliott, Ebenezer* (1781-1849)—English poet, son of a smith; depicted the condition of the English workers.—381

*Engel, Ernst* (1821-1896)—German statistician, head of the royal Prussian statistical bureau in Berlin (1860-82).—45

*Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895).—24, 80, 81, 85-90, 93, 95, 214, 216, 239, 241, 253, 259, 345, 404, 420

*Erlanger, Raphael, von*—Frankfurt banker.—64

*Ernst* (1824-1899)—Austrian archduke, general, commanded a corps during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—181

F

*Facey, Thomas Grant*—British trade-unionist; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London; member of the Central Council of the International (October 1864), member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—380

*Favier, Jean-Louis* (1711-1784)—French journalist; an agent of the secret diplomatic service of Louis XV; diplomat in Russia and other countries; several of his works were published by L. Ph. Ségur in *Politique de tous les cabinets de l'Europe*.—314, 316-17

*Ferdinand II* (1810-1859)—King of the Two Sicilies (1830-59).—312

*Ferdinand, Karl Josef von Este* (1781-1850)—Austrian archduke; field marshal, fought against Napoleonic France; commander-in-chief of the troops which invaded the Grand Duchy of Warsaw in 1809.—325

*Ferrier, François Louis Auguste* (1777-1861)—French economist, government official, advocate of mercantilism.—207

*Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas* (1804-1872)—German materialist philosopher.—26, 200

*Flies, Eduard von* (1802-1886)—Prussian general, commander of a cavalry brigade and then a division during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—179

*Fontaine, Léon*—Belgian journalist; active participant in the democratic movement; Central Council's Corresponding Secretary *pro tem* for Belgium (1865); delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) of the International.—365, 401

*Fontana, Giuseppe* (1840-1876)—a leader of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); member of the Central Council of the International (October 1864 to 1865); Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1864-65).—20, 353, 355, 357, 359

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—26, 215, 231

*Fox, Peter (André, Peter Fox)* (d. 1869)—journalist, active member of the British democratic and working-class movement; Positivist; a leader of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69); General Secretary of the Council

(September-November 1866); Corresponding Secretary for America (1866-67); an editor of *The Commonwealth* (1866); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—20, 97, 100, 311, 312, 313, 332, 339, 354-56, 363, 365, 366, 368, 411, 412-14, 416, 423

*Francis I* (1768-1835)—Emperor of Austria (1804-35); Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire under the name of Francis II (1792-1806).—327

*Franklin, Benjamin* (1706-1790)—American physicist, economist, politician; took part in the war of the North American colonies for independence.—122, 378

*Frederick II (the Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—313-14, 315, 316

*Frederick Augustus I* (1750-1827)—Elector of Saxony as Frederick Augustus III (1763-1806); King of Saxony (1806-27).—323

*Frederick Charles (Friedrich Karl Nikolaus), Prince* (1828-1885)—Prussian general, commander-in-chief of the Prussian, and later of the allied Prussian and Austrian army in the Danish war of 1864; commander of the 1st Prussian Army in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—166, 177, 180

*Frederick William II* (1744-1797)—King of Prussia (1786-97).—318

*Frederick William III* (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—165, 324

*Frederick William (Friedrich Wilhelm Nikolaus Karl)* (1831-1888)—Crown Prince of Prussia and the German Empire; son of William I; general, commanded the 2nd Prussian Army during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866; King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany as Frederick III (1888).—166, 177, 180

*Frémont, John Charles* (1813-1890)—American explorer and politician, belonged to the Left wing of the Republican Party; took an active part in the conquest of California during the Mexican war (1846-48); was nominated for the presidency in 1856; during the Civil War commander of the Northern Army in Missouri (till November 1861) and Virginia (1862).—24

*Fribourg, Ernest Edourd*—active figure in the French working-class movement; engraver, subsequently businessman; Right-wing Proudhonist; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; a leader of the International's Paris Section; delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866); in 1871 he published the book *L'Association internationale des travailleurs* which was hostile to the International and the Paris Commune.—82, 83, 329-31, 359, 385, 386, 393, 395-97, 413

G

*Gablenz, Ludwig Karl Wilhelm, Baron von* (1814-1874)—Austrian general, commanded a brigade during the Italian war of 1859 and a corps in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—180

*Gardner, Robert*—British manufacturer; in 1844 shortened the working day from 12 to 11 hours at his cotton mills in Preston.—304

*Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat, chief organiser of the defence of the Roman Republic in April-June 1849; headed the struggle of the Italian people for national liberation and the unification of Italy in the 1850s and 1860s.—176

*Geib, August* (1842-1879)—German bookseller in Hamburg; Social-

Democrat; member of the General Association of German Workers; participant in the Eisenach Congress (1869); a founder of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; Treasurer of the party (1872-78), deputy to the Imperial Diet (1874-77).—223

*Gérard, Balthasar* (1558-1584)—fanatic Catholic who in 1584 assassinated Prince William of Orange, leader of the Netherland bourgeois revolution of the sixteenth century.—99

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory, later Peelite; a leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the nineteenth century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55 and 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886 and 1892-94).—5, 7

*Gottraux, Jules*—a Swiss, who became a British subject; member of the International.—429

*Gounod, Charles François* (1818-1893)—French composer.—390

*Gray, Rodger W.*—British mason, President of the Board of Directors of *The Bee-Hive* Industrial Newspaper Company; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; member of the Central Council of the International (1864-65).—20

*Gross, Heinrich* (d. 1765)—Russian diplomat, German by birth; Russian Ambassador to Warsaw in the 1850s-early 1860s; Minister Plenipotentiary to London in 1765.—314, 316

*Grossmith, John*—active member of the British democratic and working-class movement; member of the Central Council of the International (November 1864 to 1865).—20, 352

*Grün, Karl Theodor Ferdinand* (pen-name *Ernst von der Haide*) (1817-1887)—German journalist, "true socialist" in the mid-1840s.—28

*Gustavus III* (1746-1792)—King of Sweden (1771-92).—317

H

*Hales, John* (b. 1839)—British trade-unionist; weaver; member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its Secretary (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; headed the reformist wing of the British Federal Council from the beginning of 1872; expelled from the International in 1873.—411, 413, 438

*Händel, Georg Friedrich* (1685-1759)—German composer.—390

*Hansen, N. P.*—a Dane, member of the General Council of the International (December 1864 to 1867), participated in the London Conference of the International (1865); Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1866), and for Denmark and Holland (1867).—20, 100, 423

*Hartwell, Robert*—active member of the British democratic and working-class movement, printer, former Chartist, an editor of *The Bee-Hive*; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; member of the Central Council of the International (1864-65); was on the Reform League's Executive Committee.—21, 353

*Hatzfeld(t), Sophie, Countess von* (1805-1881)—German aristocrat, friend and supporter of Lassalle.—88, 94

*Haufe, Albert F.*—German tailor, lived in London, member of the Central Council of the International (1866).—163

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—26, 257

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—91

*Helvétius, Claude Adrien* (1715-1771)—French philosopher of the Enlightenment, atheist.—31

*Henry VII* (1457-1509)—King of England (1485-1509).—288

*Herwarth von Bittenfeld, Karl Eberhard* (1796-1884)—Prussian general, took part in the Danish war of 1864, commanded the Army of the Elbe in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—177, 180

*Herwegh, Georg Friedrich* (1817-1875)—German democratic poet, in the 1860s supported Lassalle.—87

*Hess, Moses* (1812-1875)—German radical journalist, one of the chief representatives of "true socialism" in the mid-1840s; member of the Communist League; after the split in the League he sided with the Willich-Schapper separatist group; a Lassallean in the 1860s; participant in the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International.—36, 89

*Heydt, August, Baron von der* (1801-1874)—Prussian conservative statesman; Elberfeld banker; Minister of Trade, Industry and Public Works (December 1848 to 1862).—223

*Hobbes, Thomas* (1588-1679)—English philosopher.—128

*Hofstetten, Johann Baptist* (d. 1887)—Bavarian army officer; a Lassallean; publisher and an editor of *Der Social-Demokrat* (1864-67).—219, 221, 223, 389

*Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of Brandenburg Electors (1415-1701), Prussian Kings (1701-1918) and German Emperors (1871-1918).—200

*Hollinger, Fidelio*—owner of a printshop in London which printed *Das Volk*.—23, 24

*Holtorp, Emile*—Polish refugee in London, member of the Central Council of the International (October 1864 to 1866), Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1864-65); delegate to the London (1865) Conference of the International, in 1866 joined the International Republican Committee set up by Mazzini.—20, 100, 351, 355, 370

*Homer*—semi-legendary Greek epic poet.—88

*Hooson, Edward*—active member of the co-operative movement in Manchester, took part in the Reform Movement.—337

*Howell, George* (1833-1910)—British mason, a reformist leader of the British trade unions; former Chartist; Secretary of the London Trades Council (1861-62), participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (October 1864 to 1869); participant in the London (1865) Conference of the International; Secretary of the Reform League; opposed revolutionary tactics.—20, 100, 363, 366, 394, 396

*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885)—French writer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, opposed Louis Bonaparte.—201

*Huxley, Thomas Henry* (1825-1895)—English naturalist, close associate of Charles Darwin and populariser of his teaching.—390

I

*Ivan III* (1440-1505)—Grand Duke of Muscovy (1462-1505).—159

J

*Janks, A.*—member of the Central Council of the International (1865).—100

*Jellachich (Jellačić), Josef, Count* (1801-1859)—Austrian general, Ban of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia (1848-59); took part in suppressing

the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary and Austria.—199

*Johnson, Andrew* (1808-1875)—American statesman, Democrat; Senator (1858-62); supporter of the North in the American Civil War, Vice-President (1864) and President of the United States (1865-69); pursued a policy of compromise with the Southern planters.—99, 109, 365-66

*Jones, Ernest Charles* (1819-1869)—outstanding figure in the British working-class movement, proletarian poet and journalist; a leader of the Left-wing Chartists; took part in the work of the International in the 1860s, an organiser of the Reform Movement, friend of Marx and Engels.—337, 353, 365, 384

*Jones, Richard* (1790-1855)—one of the last English classical political economists.—147

*Joséphine Beauharnais* (1763-1814)—Napoleon Bonaparte's wife (from 1796); was crowned in 1804, divorced in 1809.—326

*Jouffroy, Henri*—Prussian privy councillor, French by birth; author and translator of several books on political economy and law (1820s-40s).—261

*Jourdain, Gustave*—French democrat; a refugee in London after the 1848 revolution; member of the Central Council of the International (1864).—20

*Jung, Hermann* (1830-1901)—prominent figure in the international and Swiss working-class movement, watchmaker; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland (November 1864 to 1872); Treasurer of the General Council (1871-72); participant in the London Conference (1865), Chairman of the Geneva (1866), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and of the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council; supported Marx in the British Federal Council before the Hague Congress of 1872; later joined the reformists of the British trade unions.—20, 98, 100, 331, 335, 337, 339, 340, 353, 354-55, 356, 364, 365, 370, 376, 380, 387-89, 392, 400, 413, 414, 423

## K

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—27, 29

*Karamzin, Nikolai Mikhailovich* (1766-1826)—Russian historian and writer.—198

*Kaub (Kolb), Karl (Charles)*—German worker, a refugee in London and after 1865 in Paris; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the Central Council of the International (November 1864 to 1865), participant in the London Conference of 1865; again was a member of the General Council in 1870-71.—20, 100, 363, 368, 380

*Kisseleff (Kiselev), Pavel Dmitrievich, Count* (1788-1872)—Russian statesman; fought in the war against Napoleon (1812); Governor of Moldavia and Wallachia (1829-34); from 1835 permanent member of secret committees on the peasant question; Minister of the Imperial Domains from 1837; advocate of moderate reforms; Ambassador to Paris (1856-62).—252

*Klapka, György (Georg)* (1820-1892)—general in the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49); commandant of the Komorn fortress (June-September 1849).—93

*Klimosch, H.*—member of the Central Council of the International (1865).—100

*Klings, Karl*—German metal-worker, member of the Communist League and then of the General Association

of German Workers; emigrated to the United States (1865); took an active part in the Chicago section of the International.—95

*Kniaziewicz, Karol Otton* (1762-1842)—Polish military leader and politician; took part in the uprising under Kościuszko (1794): commander of a Polish legion in the Napoleonic army; French brigade general; commanded a division in 1812; participant in the 1830-31 insurrection; head of the Polish mission to Paris (1830-31).—322

*Kolatschek, Adolph* (1821-1889)—Austrian journalist and politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49), petty-bourgeois democrat; publisher of the journals *Deutsche Monatsschrift* (1850-51) and *Stimmen der Zeit* (1858-62); founded the newspaper *Botschafter* (1862).—94

*Kościuszko, Thaddeus (Tadeusz Andrzej Bonawentura)* (1746-1817)—prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement; leader of the 1794 uprising; took part in the war of the North American colonies for independence (1776-83).—318-20

*Kossuth, Lajos* (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement; head of the revolutionary government (1848-49); after the defeat of the revolution emigrated first to Turkey and later to England and the USA.—92

*Kourakin, Alexei Borisovich, Prince* (1759-1829)—Russian statesman; Minister of the Interior (1807-11).—325

*Kugelmann, Ludwig* (1828-1902)—German physician; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, member of the First International; delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; Marx's regular correspondent (1862-74); friend of Marx and Engels.—202

L

*Lacretelle, Jean Charles Dominique de* (1766-1855)—French historian.—320

*Lacroix*—see *Delacroix de Contaut, Charles*

*Lafargue, Paul* (1842-1911)—prominent figure in the international and French working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International, Corresponding Secretary for Spain (1866-69); helped to organise the International's sections in France (1869-70), Spain and Portugal (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); a founder of the Workers' Party in France; disciple and associate of Marx and Engels; husband of Marx's daughter, Laura.—406, 411, 416, 423

*Lafayette (La Fayette), Marie Joseph Paul, marquis de* (1757-1834)—French general; took part in the war of the North American colonies for independence (1776-83); a leader of moderate constitutionalists (Feuillants) in the French Revolution; took part in the July Revolution of 1830.—196

*Lake, George*—British trade-unionist, carpenter, member of the Central Council of the International (1864).—20

*Lama, Domenico*—President of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; member of the Central Council of the International (1864-65).—20

*Laplace, Pierre Simon* (1749-1827)—French astronomer, mathematician and physicist.—217

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German journalist, lawyer, petty-bourgeois socialist; took part in the

democratic movement of the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863) and its President; one of the originators of the opportunist trend in the German working-class movement.—24, 25, 87, 88, 91, 94, 95, 207, 210, 215, 216, 225

*Lassassie, F. de*—French refugee in London, barber; member of the General Council of the International (1865-68); member of the French branch in London where he advocated the General Council's policy; participant in the London (1865) Conference of the International.—100

*La Valette, Charles Jean Marie Félix, marquis de* (1806-1881)—French statesman, Minister of the Interior (1865-67).—429

*Lawrence, Matthew*—British trade-unionist, President of the Operative Tailors' Protective Association in London; member of the General Council of the International (1866-68); delegate to the Geneva Congress of the International (1866).—412

*Lefort, Henri* (1835-1917)—French lawyer, journalist, republican; member of *L'Association*'s Editorial Board; took part in the preparations for the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; dissociated himself from the International (March 1865).—82, 83, 329-32, 335, 358, 359, 363, 364, 393

*Lelevel*—see *Lelewel, Joachim*

*Lelewel, Joachim* (1786-1861)—Polish historian and revolutionary; took part in the 1830-31 insurrection in Poland; a leader of the democratic wing of Polish refugees (1847-48); member of the Committee of the Brussels Democratic Association, favoured the idea of Russo-Polish revolutionary alliance.—324, 325

*Le Lubez, Victor* (b. 1834)—French refugee in London; was connected with republican and radical elements in France and Britain; took part in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; member of the Central Council of the International (1864-66); Corresponding Secretary for France (1864-65); participant in the London (1865) Conference of the International; expelled from the Council by the Geneva Congress (1866) for intrigue and slander.—20, 97, 329, 331, 332, 335-36, 339, 351, 352, 354-56, 358, 359, 363-64, 380, 384, 387, 388, 389, 392, 393, 401, 411

*Leopold II* (1747-1792)—Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1790-92).—319

*Leroux, Jules*—French republican, printer; refugee in England; member of the Central Council of the International (October 1864-March 1865); member of the French branch in London.—20, 363

*Lessner, Friedrich* (1825-1910)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, tailor; member of the Communist League; participant in the revolution of 1848-49; prosecuted at the Cologne Communist Trial in 1852; a refugee in London from 1856; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London and of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872), participant in the London Conference (1865), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; member of the British Federal Council; later one of the founders of the British Independent Labour Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—20, 100, 339, 359, 380, 405, 413, 416

*Leszczynski, Stanislaus* (1677-1766)—palatine of Posen; King of Poland under the name of Stanislaus I (1704-11, 1733-36); Duke of Lorraine (from 1736); father-in-law of Louis XV of France.—312

*Leverson, Montegue*—active member of the British working-class movement; participant in the Polish meeting of March 1, 1865, in London.—97

*Lewis, Leon*—American journalist; in 1865, in London, was elected member of the Central Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for America; did not take part in the work of the Council.—370

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; participant in the revolution of 1848-49; member of the Communist League and of the International; delegate to the Basle Congress of the International (1869); deputy to the Imperial Diet from 1867; a founder and leader of the German Social-Democratic Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—94, 389, 438

*Limousin, Charles Mathieu* (1840-1909)—French working-class leader, printer, later journalist, follower of Proudhon; Secretary of the Board of *L'Association;* a leader of the Paris Section of the International; delegate to the London (1865) Conference of the International; active in the co-operative movement; published several journals.—82, 330, 331, 396

*Lincoln, Abraham* (1809-1865)—American statesman, a leader of the Republican Party, President of the United States (1861-65); during the Civil War, under pressure from the masses, carried out a number of important bourgeois-democratic reforms, thus making possible the adoption of revolutionary methods of warfare; assassinated by a slave-holders' agent in April 1865.—19, 20, 99, 100, 354, 355, 365, 407

*Linguet, Simon Nicolas Henri* (1736-1794)—French lawyer, writer, historian and economist, critic of the Physiocrats.—32

*List, Friedrich* (1789-1846)—German economist, supporter of Protectionism.—207

*Lochner, Georg(e)* (born c. 1824)—German joiner, active member of the German working-class movement; member of the Communist League and of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872), delegate to the International's London conferences of 1865 and 1871; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—20, 100

*Longmaid, John*—active member of the British working-class movement; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; member of the Central Council of the International (1864-65); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—21, 100, 364

*Longuet, Charles* (1839-1903)—journalist, a prominent figure in the French working-class movement, Proudhonist; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67 and 1871-72); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1866); delegate to the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and the Hague (1872) congresses and the London Conference (1871); member of the Paris Commune, later emigrated to England; subsequently joined the opportunist group of Possibilists; married to Marx's daughter, Jenny.—339, 364

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—274, 311, 312

*Louis XV* (1710-1774)—King of France (1715-74).—59, 254, 287, 312, 317, 318

*Louis XVI* (1754-1793)—King of France (1774-92), executed during the French Revolution.—318

*Louis Napoleon*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Philippe* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—9

*Lucraft, Benjamin* (1809-1897)—a reformist leader of the British trade unions, furniture-maker; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International, held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71); delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address *The Civil War in France* and left the International.—21, 100, 365

*Lüning, Otto* (1818-1868)—German physician and writer, a "true socialist" in the mid-1840s, publisher of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* (1848-50), a National-Liberal from 1866.—24

*Luther, Martin* (1483-1546)—German theologian, writer, prominent figure of the Reformation; founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany.—261

*Lyell, Charles* (1797-1875)—English chemist and geologist.—390

M

*McCulloch, John Ramsay* (1789-1864)—British economist who vulgarised David Ricardo's theories.—293

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, founder of the misanthropic theory of population.—27, 141

*Manteuffel, Edwin Hans Karl, Baron von* (1809-1885)—Prussian general; during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 commander of the Army on the Main, which operated against German states allied to Austria.—179

*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von* (1805-1882)—Prussian conservative statesman, Minister of the Interior (November 1848-November 1850), Prime Minister and Foreign Minister (1850-58).—56, 58, 59, 63, 75, 223

*Mantz, Edwin Shelly*—member of the Central Council of the International (1865); Secretary of the Board of the Industrial Newspaper Company.—379, 380, 382-84

*Maria Fedorovna (Sophia Dorothea), princess of Württemberg* (1759-1828)—second wife (from 1776) of the heir-apparent to the Russian throne and Emperor (from 1796) Paul I; mother of Alexander I.—326

*Marie Louise* (1791-1847)—daugher of Francis I of Austria; married Napoleon I in 1810.—327

*Marie-Louise-Joséphine* (1782-1824)—wife of Duke Louis Bourbon of Parma; was placed by Napoleon at the head of the vassal kingdom of Etruria founded in 1801 and abolished in 1807.—323

*Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse, duc de* (1774-1852)—Marshal of France, fought in Napoleonic wars, sided with the Bourbons in April 1814.—325

*Martini*.—178

*Marx, Jenny* (née *von Westphalen*) (1814-1881)—Karl Marx's wife.—25, 390-91, 439-40

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883).—20, 22-23, 33, 80, 87-96, 100, 103, 108, 109-11, 113, 114, 116-22, 124-31, 133, 134, 136, 138, 139, 144, 145, 146, 148, 149, 163, 196, 197, 201, 203, 207, 208, 210-17, 219-28, 229-32, 234-40, 247, 250, 251, 253, 255, 260, 261, 311-13, 314, 316, 318, 320, 321, 323, 327, 335, 337, 339,

351-60, 361-67, 369, 380, 384-89, 393, 401, 405, 411-13, 423-27, 438-40

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, democrat, a leader of the Italian national liberation movement, headed the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850); when the International was founded in 1864, tried to bring it under his influence.—25, 393, 401

*Meissner, Otto Karl* (1819-1902)—Hamburg publisher; published *Capital* and some other works by Marx and Engels.—81, 84, 85, 207, 210, 214, 216, 224, 227, 229, 231, 238, 361-62

*Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Jakob Ludwig Felix* (1809-1847)—German composer.—390

*Menenius, Agrippa* (d. 493 B.C.)—Roman patrician.—106

*Mercy d'Argenteau, Florimund, Count* (1727-1794)—Austrian diplomat, minister to St. Petersburg (from 1761), Paris (1780) and London (1790).—317

*Mitchell, Sir Andrew* (1708-1771)—British diplomat and politician; envoy plenipotentiary to Berlin (1753-71).—316

*Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard, Count von* (1800-1891)—Prussian military leader and writer; general, from 1871 field marshal; Chief of the Prussian (1857-71) and the imperial (1871-88) General Staff.—165

*Montalembert, Charles Forbes René de Tryon, comte de* (1810-1870)—French politician and journalist; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848-51); Orleanist, leader of the Catholic party; supported Louis Bonaparte during the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, but soon afterwards joined the opposition.—201

*Moore, Samuel* (1838-1911)—English lawyer, member of the International; translated into English Vol. I of Karl Marx's *Capital* (in collaboration with Edward Aveling) and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; friend of Marx and Engels.—216, 259

*Moreau, Jean Victor Marie* (1763-1813)—French general; took part in the wars waged by the French Republic against European coalitions.—322

*Morgan, William*—shoemaker, active member of the British working-class movement; member of the General Council of the International (October 1864 to 1868); took part in the work of the Reform League.—20, 100, 355, 363-64, 380, 387, 396

*Morisot*—member of the Central Council of the International (1864).—20

*Morozzo della Rocca, Enrico* (1807-1897)—Italian general, chief of Piedmontese General Staff in the Italian war of 1859; commander of an Italian corps on the side of Prussia during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—174

*Morton, John Chalmers* (1821-1888)—English agronomist, editor of the *Agricultural Gazette* (1844-88).—112

*Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus* (1756-1791)—Austrian composer.—390

N

*Napier, Sir William Francis Patrick* (1785-1860)—English general and military historian; fought in the Peninsular war against Napoleon I (1808-14).—52

*Napoleon I (Bonaparte)* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815), general before 1804, First Consul for life (1799-1804).—33, 165, 199, 321-27, 355

*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—Napoleon I's nephew, President of the Second

Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—32, 33, 36, 72, 89, 156, 157, 414

*Nero (Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus)* (37-68)—Roman Emperor (54-68).—9

*Nesselrode, Karl Vasilyevich, Count* (1780-1862)—Russian statesman and diplomat; Foreign Minister (1816-56); State Chancellor from 1845.—197

*Newman, Francis William* (1805-1897)—English philologist and writer, radical; wrote several books on religious, political and economic subjects.—110

*Newman, Samuel Phillips* (1797-1842)—American priest, economist and philologist.—278

*Newman, William*—see *Newmarch, William*

*Newmarch, William* (1820-1882)—English economist and statistician.—110

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—196, 197, 324

*Nieass, John D.*—British plasterer; member of the London Trades Council and of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; member of the Central Council of the International (1864-65).—21, 100, 380

*Niemcewicz, Julian Ursyn (Ursin)* (1757-1841)—Polish statesman and writer; stood for reforms; took part in the uprising under Kościuszko (1794) and the 1830-31 insurrection, a refugee, author of memoirs.—320

*North, Frederick, 2nd Earl of Guilford* (1732-1792)—British statesman, Tory; Prime Minister (1770-82); Home Secretary in the Portland Coalition Cabinet (Fox-North Cabinet) (1783).—317

*Norvins, Jacques Marquet, baron de Montbreton de* (1769-1854)—French politician and historian; a refugee during the French Revolution (1789-94); wrote several works on Napoleonic period.—327

*Nusperli, M. G.*—member of the Central Council of the International (October 1864-January 1865).—21

O

*Odger, George* (1820-1877)—shoemaker; a reformist leader of the British trade unions; Secretary of the London Trades Council (1862-72); member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland, the Land and Labour League; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), its President (1864-67), took part in the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; opposed revolutionary tactics; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address, "The Civil War in France", and left the Council.—21, 100, 351, 366, 369, 379, 380, 396, 408, 412, 416, 423

*O'Donovan Rossa*—wife of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, a leader of the Irish Fenians; organised the collection of funds for the families of the Irish political prisoners in 1865-66.—339

*Ogiński, Michał Kleofas, Count* (1765-1883)—Polish politician and diplomat; composer; participant in the uprising of 1794 under Kościuszko; represented groups of Polish refugees in France and in Turkey; returned to Poland in 1802; Russian Senator under Alexander I; author of memoirs.—320-21

*Osborne, John*—British plasterer; trade-unionist, participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held

on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-67); was active in the Reform League and the Land and Labour League.—20, 100

*Ostrowski, Antoni Jan, Count* (1782-1845)—Polish writer and politician, participant in the 1830-31 insurrection; a refugee; son and biographer of Tomasz Adam Ostrowski.—323

*Ostrowski, Tomasz (Thomas) Adam, Count* (1735-1817)—Polish statesman, president of the Senate of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw from 1811.—323

*Otto, Ludwig*—see *Breitschwert, Otto Ludwig*

*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—English utopian socialist.—11, 110, 231

P

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman, a Tory at the beginning of his career; from 1830 onwards—a Whig; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41 and 1846-51); Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58 and 1859-65).—12, 152

*Paskiewitch (Paskevich), Ivan Fedorovich, Prince* (1782-1856)—Russian field marshal; fought against Napoleon; participated in the suppression of the Polish insurrection of 1830-31 and the revolution in Hungary (1849).—196

*Paul I* (1754-1801)—Emperor of Russia (1796-1801).—199, 319, 322

*Peter I (the Great)* (1672-1725)—Tsar of Russia (1682-1721), Emperor of Russia (1721-25).—32, 199

*Petersen, Peter*—member of the Central Council of the International (November of 1864 to 1865).—20, 100

*Pfänder, Karl* (c. 1818-1876)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement, painter; emigrated to London in 1845; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, of the Communist League and of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1867; 1870-72); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—20, 100

*Philip II* (1527-1598)—King of Spain (1556-98).—99

*Pichegru, Charles* (1761-1804)—French general, took part in the wars of French Republic against the coalition of the European states (1794-95); took the command of the French army in Holland.—319

*Pidgeon, W.*—British trade-unionist, baker, participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, member of the Central Council of the International (1864).—21, 351

*Pitt, L. K.*—British priest, chaplain of the British trading station in St. Petersburg at the time of Catherine II and Paul I.—319

*Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham* (1708-1778)—British statesman, Whig; Foreign Secretary and Secretary of State for War (1756-61), Prime Minister (1766-68).—317, 319

*Pompadour, Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, marquise de* (1721-1764)—mistress of Louis XV.—59, 254, 287

*Poniatowski, Stanislaw August* (1732-1798)—King of Poland as Stanislaus II Augustus (1764-95).—315, 316, 319

*Pozzo di Borgo, Karl Osipovich, Count* (1764-1842)—Russian diplomat of Corsican descent; envoy (1814-21) and Ambassador (1821-35) to Paris and then to London (1835-39).—199

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist; a founder of anarchism; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848).—26-33, 89, 153, 215, 260

*Pulz, Ludwig, Baron* (b. 1823)—Austrian general; commander of a cavalry brigade during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—174

Q

*Quesnay, François* (1694-1774)—French economist, founder of the physiocratic school, physician.—293

R

*Radetzky, Joseph, Count of Radetz* (1766-1858)—Austrian field marshal; commander of the Austrian troops in Northern Italy from 1831; suppressed the national liberation movement in Italy in 1848-49; Governor-General of the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia (1850-57).—173, 199

*Ramming, Wilhelm, Baron von Riedkirchen* (1815-1876)—Austrian general, commander of a brigade in the Italian war of 1859, and of a corps in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—179-80

*Ramsay, Sir George* (1800-1871)—one of the last English classical political economists.—147

*Rau, Karl Heinrich* (1792-1870)—German economist.—207, 215

*Raumer, Friedrich Ludwig Georg von* (1781-1873)—German historian and politician; representative of narrative-romantic trend in German historiography.—33

*Reybaud, Marie Roch Louis* (1799-1879)—French writer and economist, liberal.—414

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—English economist.—29, 95, 120, 147, 207, 208, 210, 225

*Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de* (1758-1794)—Jacobin leader, head of the revolutionary government (1793-94).—110

*Rodbertus-Jagetzow, Johann Karl* (1805-1875)—German economist, leader of the Centre Left in the Prussian National Assembly, subsequently theoretician of "state socialism".—207

*Roon, Albrecht Theodor Emil, Count von* (1803-1879)—Prussian statesman and military leader; field marshal-general from 1873; War Minister (1859-73) and Naval Minister (1861-71); reorganised the Prussian army.—45, 50, 54

*Roscher, Wilhelm* (1817-1894)—German economist, founder of the historical trend in political economy.—207, 215

*Rose, George* (1744-1818)—British statesman, Tory; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1782-83 and 1784-1801).—145

*Rousseau, Jean Jacques* (1712-1778)—French philosopher and writer of the Enlightenment.—32, 33, 160

*Rulhière, Claude Carloman de* (1735-1791)—French historian, author of 4-volume history of the 18th-century Poland published in Paris (1807).—313-14

*Rumjanzev (Rumyantsev), Nikolai Petrovich* (1754-1826)—Russian diplomat and statesman, Foreign Minister (1808-14), Chancellor from 1809; chairman of the Council of State (1810-12).—319, 325, 326

*Rüstow, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1821-1878)—German army officer and military novelist, democrat, a refugee in Switzerland; Garibaldi's chief of staff (1860); friend of Lassalle.—87

*Rybczińsky, Franciszek*—Polish refugee in London, member of the Central Council of the International (1864).—20

S

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—26, 231

*Salvatella, Narcisse*—member of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); member of the Central Council of the International (1865).—100

*Savary, Anne Jean Marie René, duc de Rovigo* (1774-1833)—French general and politician, Minister of Police (1810-14), Governor-General of Algeria (1831-33).—325

*Sawaszkiewicz, Leon Leopold* (1806-1870)—Polish politician and writer; active in the 1830-31 insurrection; a refugee in France, Belgium and England; author of a work on Poland's history during the French revolution and Napoleonic wars; contributor to the newspaper *La Tribune du Peuple*.—320-24, 326, 327

*Schantzenbach, Alexander*—member of the Central Council of the International (1864).—21

*Schapper, Karl* (1812-1870)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; a leader of the League of the Just; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; one of the leaders of the sectarian-adventurist group during the split in the Communist League (1850); again drew close to Marx in 1856; member of the Central Council of the International (1865); participant in the London Conference of 1865.—100

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—402, 417

*Schily, Victor* (1810-1875)—German democrat, lawyer, took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to France; member of the International, delegate to the London Conference of 1865; friend of Marx.—83, 95, 329-32, 335-36, 359, 363, 397

*Schmalz, Theodor Anton Heinrich* (1760-1831)—German conservative lawyer and economist, imitator of the Physiocrats.—261-62

*Schulze-Delitzsch, Franz Hermann* (1808-1883)—German economist; liberal politician; advocated unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy, a founder of the National Association and a leader of the Party of Progress; sought to divert the workers from revolutionary struggle by organising co-operative societies.—57, 95, 207, 395, 438

*Schweitzer, Johann Baptist von* (1833-1875)—German lawyer; a Lassallean leader; editor of *Der Social-Demokrat* (1864-67), President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71); supported unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy; fought against the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; expelled from the General Association for his contacts with the Prussian authorities (1872).—26, 87-91

*Ségur, Louis Philippe, comte de* (1753-1830)—French diplomat, politician and historian; Ambassador in Russia (1783-89); wrote a history of international relations in Europe in the 18th century.—315, 316-18

*Semiramis* (9th cent. B.C.)—famous Assyrian princess, round whose personality a mass of legend has accumulated; her name came to be applied to hanging gardens, one of the seven wonders of the world.—160

*Senior, Nassau William* (1790-1864)—English economist, vulgarised Ricardo's theory; opposed shortening of the working day.—11, 110, 250, 286, 293

*Setacci, C.*—a leader of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini orga-

nisation of Italian workers in London); member of the Central Council of the International (October 1864 to 1865).—20

*Seward, Frederick William* (1830-1915)—American journalist and diplomat, son of William Henry Seward.—100

*Seward, William Henry* (1801-1872)—American statesman, leader of the Right wing of the Republican Party; ran for presidency (1860); Secretary of State (1861-69).—100

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English poet and dramatist.—145, 381

*Shaw, Robert* (d. 1869)—a leader of the British working-class movement; house painter; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69); Treasurer of the Council (1867-68); Corresponding Secretary for America (1867-69); delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Brussels Congress (1868) of the International.—21, 100, 396, 423, 438, 446

*Side, Robert Henry*—member of the Central Council of the International (November 1864 to 1866).—21

*Siebel, Karl* (1836-1868)—German poet; did much to promote works by Marx and Engels, including Vol. I of Marx's *Capital*; distant relative of Engels.—81, 95

*Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de* (1773-1842)—Swiss economist, exponent of economic romanticism.—147, 208

*Smales, Thomas*—member of the Central Council of the International (1864).—21

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—95, 120, 126, 147, 225

*Smith, Edward* (c. 1818-1874)—English physician and medical officer of the Privy Council to Inquire into the Nourishment of the Poorer Labouring Classes.—6

*Solustri, F.*—a leader of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); member of the Central Council of the International (November 1864 to 1865).—20

*Soulsby*—captain of the *Hero*, on which Engels travelled to Sweden (July 1867).—343

*Stainsby, William D.*—British trade-unionist, tailor, participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-68), and of the executive committees of the Reform League.—20, 100, 380

*Stanley, Edward Henry, 15th Earl of Derby* (1826-1893)—English statesman, Tory, Conservative (1860s-70s), subsequently Liberal; Secretary of State for Colonies (1858, 1882-85) and Secretary of State for India (1858-59), Foreign Secretary (1866-68, 1874-78); son of Edward Derby, leader of Tories.—429

*Stephens Alexander Hamilton* (1812-1883)—American politician, Democrat; Congressman (1843-59); participant in the rebellion of Southern slaveholders; Vice-President of the Confederacy (1861-65).—19, 99

*Stephenson (Stevenson), George* (1781-1848)—English engineer, inventor of the locomotive, son of a miner.—381

*Steuart, Sir James,* afterwards *Denham* (1712-1780)—British economist, one of the last Mercantilists.—238

*Steub, Ludwig* (1812-1888)—German ethnologist, linguist, writer, author of several essays on the Tyrol.—344

*Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882)—Prussian police officer, an organiser of and chief witness for the prosecution in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); together with Wermuth

wrote *Die Kommunisten-Verschwörungen des neuenzehnten Jahrhunderts;* chief of the Prussian political police (1850-60).—92

*Stormont, David Murray, Viscount, Earl of Mansfield* (1727-1796)—British diplomat and statesman, Tory; envoy to Warsaw (1756-June 1761) and to Paris (1772-78); member of the Cabinet (1779-82).—317

*Suvorov, Alexander Vasilyevich, Count Rimniksky, Prince Italiisky* (1729 or 1730-1800)—Russian field marshal and military theorist, Generalissimo.—319, 322

*Swieten, Gottfried, Baron van* (1734-1803)—Austrian diplomat; envoy to Berlin in 1870s.—318

*Sylvis, William* (1828-1869)—American iron-moulder; prominent figure in the American working-class movement, a founder of the International Iron-moulders' Union (1859) and its President (1863-69); took part in the American Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the North, a founder of the National Labor Union (1866) and its President (1868-69); favoured affiliation to the International.—436

*Szemere, Bartholomäus (Bertalan)* (1812-1869)—Hungarian politician and journalist; Minister of the Interior and head of the revolutionary government (1849); fled from Hungary after the defeat of the revolution.—93

T

*Talandier, Pierre Théodore Alfred* (1822-1890)—French democrat, journalist; took part in the 1848 Revolution in France; emigrated to London after the coup d'état of 1851; member of the Central Council of the International (1864).—20

*Talbot, Edouard*—French physician, organised a section of the International in Caen (1865); Corresponding Secretary of the International in that town.—340

*Thibaudeau, Antoine Claire, comte de* (1765-1854)—French politician and historian; member of the Convention during the French Revolution, subsequently Bonapartist; Senator during the Second Empire; author of a history of Napoleonic France.—325

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836, 1840), deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848) and to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); head of the Orleanists after 1848; dealt brutally with the Paris Communards (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73).—31, 322, 326

*Thornton, William Thomas* (1813-1880)—British economist, follower of John Stuart Mill.—145

*Tolain, Henri Louis* (1828-1897)—French engraver; prominent figure in the French working-class movement, Right-wing Proudhonist; a leader of the Paris section of the International; delegate to the London Conference (1865) and Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; deputy to the National Assembly after September 4, 1870; went over to the side of the Versaillists during the Paris Commune; was expelled from the International in 1871, subsequently Senator.—82, 330, 332, 335, 357, 363, 385, 393, 395-97

*Tooke, Thomas* (1774-1858)—English economist, adherent of the classical school in political economy.—110, 126, 238

*Torrens, Robert* (1780-1864)—English economist, adherent of the so-called theory of money circulation.—278

*Tremenheere, Hugh Seymour* (1804-1893)—British official and journalist, member of various government

commissions inspecting labour conditions.—8

*Trimlett*—British trade-unionist; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864, at St. Martin's Hall; member of the Central Council of the International (1864).—351

*Turff, Henry*—British trade-unionist, a leader of the London branch of the Operative Bricklayers' Society; member of the Central Council of the International (1865); member of the Board of Directors of the Industrial Newspaper Company.—380

*Turgot, Anne Robert Jacques, baron de l'Aulne* (1727-1781)—French economist and statesman; Physiocrat; Controller-General of Finance (1774-76).—238

*Türr, István (Achmed Kiamil Bey)* (1825-1908)—Hungarian army officer; participant in the revolution of 1848-49 in Italy and Germany; refugee in Turkey; fought in the Crimean war on the side of the Allies; took part in Garibaldi's revolutionary march to South Italy (1860); general of the Italian army from 1861.—92

U

*Ure, Andrew* (1778-1857)—English chemist, economist; free trader; opposed shortening of the working day.—11, 110, 293

*Urquhart, David* (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician, Turkophile; went on diplomatic missions to Turkey in the 1830s; member of the House of Commons (1847-52); founder and editor of *The Free Press* (1855-77) renamed *Diplomatic Review* in 1866.—112

V

*Valltier, A.*—Frenchman, member of the Central Council of the International (1865).—100

*Varlin, Louis Eugène* (1839-1871)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, bookbinder, Left-wing Proudhonist; one of the International's leaders in France; delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Geneva (1866) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; member of the Paris Commune; shot by the Versaillists on May 28, 1871.—396

*Vauban, Sébastien Le Prêtre (Prestre) de* (1633-1707)—Marshal of France, military engineer, economist.—274

*Vésinier, Pierre* (1824-1902)—French journalist, anti-Bonapartist; an organiser of the French branch of the International in London; participant in the London Conference (1865) and the Brussels Congress (1868); was expelled from the Central Council of the International for conducting a slanderous campaign against it in 1866 and in 1868 expelled from the International; member of the Paris Commune.—389, 392, 399

*Victor Emmanuel II (Vittorio Emanuele)* (1820-1878)—King of Piedmont (Sardinia) (1849-61) and of Italy (1861-78).—173, 174

*Vielhorski*—see *Wielhorski, Józef Michał*

*Villeneuve, Louis-Sauveur de* (1675-1745)—French diplomat; Ambassador to Turkey (1728-44); mediator in negotiations between Austria, Russia and Turkey which resulted in the conclusion of the Belgrade Peace Treaty (1739).—313

*Vinçard, Pierre Denis* (1820-1882)—French worker journalist; participant in the revolution of 1848, active in the co-operative movement; wrote several works on the condition of the working class; member of the International.—82, 330, 331, 335, 365

*Vögele, A.*—German refugee in London, compositor in Hollinger's printshop (1859).—24

*Vogt, Karl* (1817-1895)—German naturalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49), belonged to the Left wing; one of the five imperial regents (June 1849); in 1849 left Germany; was Louis Bonaparte's paid agent; libelled Marx and Engels.—23, 24, 92

*Voltaire, François Marie Arouet* (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—33, 160, 250

W

*Wade, Benjamin Franklin* (1800-1878)—American lawyer and politician, Left-wing Republican, President of the Senate (1867-69).—422

*Wehner, J. G.*—German refugee in Manchester, Treasurer of the Schiller Institute in the 1860s.—404, 420

*Werecki, I. M.*—Polish refugee in London, democrat, member of the Central Council of the International (1865-66).—340

*Weston, John*—active in the British working-class movement; carpenter, subsequently manufacturer, Owenist; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-72); delegate to the London Conference (1865); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; a leader of the Land and Labour League.—20, 100, 103-06, 108-10, 112-13, 115-17, 119, 147, 351, 352, 355, 363-67, 380, 384, 386, 412, 413

*Weydemeyer, Joseph* (1818-1866)—leading figure in the German and American working-class movement; member of the Communist League, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; editor of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* (1849-50), emigrated to the USA after the defeat of the revolution; took part in the American Civil War on the side of the North; helped disseminate the ideas and documents of the International in the USA; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—24, 25, 357

*Wheeler, George William*—active in the British working-class movement; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-67), Treasurer of the Council (1864-65, 1865-67); delegate to the London Conference (1865) of the International, member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—20, 100, 339, 340, 352, 354, 355, 358, 365, 366, 369, 379, 387, 396

*Whitlock, J.*—British trade-unionist; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864, at St. Martin's Hall; member of the Central Council of the International (1864-65); took part in the work of the Reform League.—20, 100, 351, 352, 357, 358, 359

*Wiehe, Johann Friedrich*—German refugee in London, compositor, worked in Hollinger's printshop in 1859.—23-24

*Wielhorski, Józef Michał* (1759-1817)—Polish general; participant in the uprising under Kościuszko (1794); commander of the Polish legion of the French army; War Minister of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw in 1812.—322

*William I* (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, Prince-Regent (1858-61), King of Prussia (1861-88), German Emperor (1871-88).—165, 177

*Windischgrätz, Alfred Candidus Fer-*

*dinand, Prince* (1787-1862)—Austrian field marshal; commanded the troops which crushed the uprisings in Prague and Vienna (1848); led the Austrian army against the Hungarian revolution (1848-49).—199

*Wirth, Max* (1822-1900)—German economist, journalist, liberal.—215

*Wolff*—member of the Central Council of the International (1864-65).—20

*Wolff, Luigi (Louis)*—Italian major, follower of Mazzini, member of the Association of Mutual Progress (organisation of Italian workers in London); participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; member of the Central Council of the International (1864-65); participant in the London Conference (1865); exposed as an agent of the Bonapartist police in 1871.—20, 351, 393, 396, 401

*Wolff, Wilhelm* (1809-1864)—German teacher, proletarian revolutionary, leading figure in the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1849); emigrated to Switzerland in summer 1849 and Great Britain in 1851; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—214

*Worley, William*—British worker, printer; member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864, at St. Martin's Hall; member of the Central Council of the International; took part in the work of the Reform League.—21, 100, 352, 355, 380

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*Zabicki, Antoni* (1818-1889)—active member of the Polish national liberation movement, compositor; left Poland after 1831; participant in the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49; from 1851 a refugee in England; from 1863 published *Głos Wolny*—newspaper of the Polish democratic refugees; Secretary of the Polish National Committee, member of the General Council of the International (1866-71), Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1866-71).—423

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*Sibyl*—one of a number of women regarded as oracles or prophetesses by the ancient Greeks and Romans. The best known of them was the Sibyl of Cumae, a Greek colony in Southern Italy. The oracles and prophecies attributed to her were collected in the *Sibylline Books* kept in ancient Rome.—214

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*The Daily News,* March 2, 1865: *The Late Polish Insurrection.*—98

*The Fortnightly Review,* No. 37, December 1866. Editorial.—414

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*Rheinischer Beobachter,* Nr. 206, 25. Juli 1847: *Politische Gänge. Achter Gang.*—80

*The Times,* No. 25507, May 25, 1866: *Austrian and Prussian Armaments.*—168
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*Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*—a newspaper of the German Officers' and Soldiers' Society published in Darmstadt and Leipzig from 1826 to 1902; Engels contributed to it from 1860 to 1864.—45, 49

*Allgemeine Zeitung*—a conservative daily founded in 1798; from 1810 to 1882 it was published in Augsburg.—24

*L'Association*—a French journal of the co-operative workers' associations, which were under the influence of the bourgeois republicans; published from 1864 to 1866 in Paris and Brussels; its editorial board was in Paris.—36

*Barmer Zeitung*—a daily liberal newspaper published from 1834 to 1931.—80

*The Bee-Hive Newspaper*—a weekly trade-unionist newspaper published under various titles in London from 1861 to 1876; from November 1864 to April 1870, it printed documents of the First International; in view of the growing influence of the bourgeois radicals on the newspaper's editorial board, the General Council of the International broke off relations with it in April 1870.—13, 16-19, 21, 100, 203, 204, 353-55, 357, 401, 425, 427, 437

*Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*—a weekly founded by German petty-bourgeois refugees in New York in 1852 and published under this title from March 18, 1853 to March 10, 1854.—93

*Der Beobachter. Ein Volksblatt aus Schwaben*—a daily published in Stuttgart from 1833; in the 1860s, organ of the petty-bourgeois democracy.—22, 23, 224, 226

*Berliner Reform*—a daily of the German petty-bourgeois democrats; published in Berlin from 1861 to 1868.—81, 90, 91, 96

*Der Bote vom Niederrhein*—a newspaper published in Duisburg in the 1860s.—163

*Der Botschafter*—an Austrian daily, an official government newspaper published in Vienna in 1862-65.—93, 94

*The Commonwealth*—a weekly of the Central Council of the International; published in London from February 1866 to July 1867, it was the successor of *The Workman's Advocate*; Eccarius was its editor from February to April 1866; Marx was on the Board of Directors till June 1866; because of the growing

influence of the trade-unionists on the board, the newspaper virtually became an organ of bourgeois radicals.—152, 155, 158, 161, 184, 195, 203, 407, 413.

*Le Courrier français*—a weekly (from June 1867, a daily) newspaper of the Left republicans; appeared in Paris from 1861 to 1868; virtually an organ of the International in France from May 1866.—194, 203

*Le Courrier international*—see *The International Courier*

*The Daily News*—a liberal newspaper of the English industrial bourgeoisie; appeared under this name in London from 1846 to 1930.—21, 98

*Demokratisches Wochenblatt*—a German workers' newspaper; published from January 1868 to September 1869 in Leipzig under the editorship of Wilhelm Liebknecht; at the Eisenach Congress in 1869 it was declared a central organ of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party and renamed *Der Volksstaat*.—231, 234, 237

*Deutsche-Brüsseller-Zeitung*—a newspaper founded by German political emigrants in Brussels; published from January 1847 to February 1848. From September 1847 Marx and Engels regularly contributed to the newspaper which, under their influence, became the organ of revolutionary communist propaganda.—80

*Düsseldorfer Zeitung*—a German daily founded in 1745, published under this title from 1826 to 1926; voiced liberal views in the 1840s-60s.—81, 216, 218

*L'Echo de Verviers*—a Belgian daily democratic newspaper founded in 1864; was a mouthpiece of petty-bourgeois elements in the French Section in London, who were hostile to Marx and the Central Council of the International.—388-89, 392-95, 397-400

*Elberfelder Zeitung*—a daily published under this title from 1834 to 1904; in the 1860s voiced liberal views.—80, 214, 215

*Examiner and Times*—a liberal newspaper founded in 1848 as a result of the merger of *Manchester Times* and *Manchester Examiner*; in the 1840s-60s it supported the Free Traders; appeared under various titles until 1894.—439

*The Fortnightly Review*—a historical, philosophical and literary magazine founded in 1865 by a group of radicals; subsequently became liberal in character; published in London till 1934.—238, 306, 414

*Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung*—a newspaper published from 1619 to 1866. During 1848-49 it was the voice of the Imperial Regent and the Imperial Government; later, the organ of the Federal Diet. From 1852 onwards it appeared under the title *Frankfurter Post-Zeitung*.—197

*Gazette de Moscou*—see *Московскія вѣдомости*

*Głos Wolny*—a Polish-language newspaper of the democratic wing of the Polish emigration; published in London from January 1863 three times a month; edited by Antoni Zabicki, member of the Central Council of the International.—196, 198-201

*Hermann. Deutsches Wochenblatt aus London*—a German-language weekly organ of the German petty-bourgeois democratic refugees published in London from 1859.—25, 86, 93

*The International Courier*—a weekly published in London from November 1864 to July 1867 in English and French; its French name was *Le Courrier international.* In 1867, the paper was the organ of the International.—185, 194, 429-30

*Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*—a monthly of the International's sections in Romance Switzerland, published in Geneva from December 1865 to September 1866 with the participation of J. Ph. Becker.—388, 399, 408

*Kölnische Zeitung*—a daily published from 1802 to 1945; during the 1848-49 revolution and in subsequent years expressed the interests of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie.—178

*Kreuz-Zeitung*—see *Neue Preußische Zeitung*

*Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland*—a scientific and literary weekly published in Leipzig from 1850 to 1944.—260

*Londoner Anzeiger*—a weekly of the German democratic refugees in London, published from 1864 to 1867.—84

*Manchester Examiner*—see *Examiner and Times*

*The Manchester Guardian*—a daily founded in 1821; organ of the Free Traders and, from the mid-nineteenth century, of the Liberal Party.—164, 168, 172, 176, 179, 182

*The Miner and Workman's Advocate*—a daily newspaper of the miners' trade union of Great Britain, published in London from 1863 to 1865.—21, 379, 380, 383

*Mitteldeutsche Volks-Zeitung*—a liberal newspaper published in Leipzig from 1862 to 1866.—163

*Moniteur*—see *Le Moniteur universel*

*Le Moniteur universel*—a daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1901; published under this title from 1811; official government organ from 1799 to 1869.—196, 201, 322

*The Morning Star*—a daily of the English Free Traders published in London from 1856 to 1869.—353

*Московскія вѣдомости* (*Moskovskiye Vedomosti*—Moscow Recorder)—a paper published from 1756 to 1917; in the 1850s, it became reactionary in character.—198, 326

*Neue Badische Landeszeitung*—a daily democratic paper published in Mannheim from 1867 to 1933.—229, 230

*Neue Deutsche Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a democratic daily published from July 1, 1848 to December 14, 1849, first in Darmstadt (till April 1, 1849), and then in Frankfurt am Main. It was edited by Otto Lüning, and from October 1, 1849, also by Joseph Weydemeyer.—24

*Neue Frankfurter Zeitung*—a democratic paper published from 1859 to 1866.—25, 87

*Neue Preußische Zeitung*—a conservative daily published in Berlin from June 1848 to 1939; mouthpiece of the Prussian Junkers and Court circles; known also as the *Kreuz-Zeitung*, because its heading included a cross bearing the motto "Forward with God for King and Fatherland".—63

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a daily published in Cologne under the editorship of Marx from June 1, 1848, to May 19, 1849 (with an interval

between September 27 and October 12, 1848); organ of the revolutionary-proletarian wing of the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany. Engels was among its editors.—81, 152, 214

*New-York Daily Tribune*—a newspaper founded by Horace Greeley in 1841 and published until 1924; organ of the Left wing of the American Whigs until the mid-1850s and later of the Republican Party; it voiced progressive views and opposed Negro slavery in the 1840s and 1850s; Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862.—19, 99, 366

*New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*—see *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*

*Nordstern*—a daily published in Hamburg from 1860 to 1866; from 1863, a Lassallean mouthpiece.—25, 358

*Oberrheinischer Courier damit verbunden der Freiburger Anzeiger*—a paper published in the 1860s.—163

*Polonia; or monthly reports on Polish affairs*—published by the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland, London.—198

*Revue contemporaine*—a fortnightly published in Paris from 1851 to 1870; during the Second Republic, an organ of the Party of Order, which comprised the Legitimists and Orleanists; after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, took a Bonapartist stand.—414

*Revue des deux Mondes*—a literary and political fortnightly published in Paris from 1829.—414

*Rheinischer Beobachter*—a conservative daily published in Cologne from 1844. Its publication was discontinued after the March 1848 revolution in Germany.—80

*Rheinische Zeitung*—a liberal daily published in Düsseldorf from 1863 to 1866, and in Cologne from 1867 to 1874.—81, 96, 210

*La Rive Gauche*—a democratic weekly published from October 1864 to August 1866, first in Paris, and then in Brussels by a group of French Left republicans; it printed documents of the International. Its editor was Charles Longuet.—364, 410, 411

*Санкт-Петербургскія вѣдомости* (*Sankt-Peterburgskiye Vedomosti*—St. Petersburg Recorder)—an official government daily published from 1728 to 1914.—326

*St. Louis Daily Press*—an American workers' paper published from 1864.—357

*Сѣверная пчела* (*Severnaya Pchela*—Northern Bee)—a semi-official government, political and literary newspaper published in St. Petersburg from 1825 to 1864.—197

*Der Social-Demokrat*—an organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; published in Berlin from December 15, 1864 to 1871, in 1864 weekly and from 1865 three times a week; in 1864-67 it was edited by J. B. Schweitzer. Marx and Engels contributed to the paper for a short time, ceased to do so in February 1865, since they disagreed with the political line of the editors.—13, 26, 28, 30, 33, 35, 36, 80, 87-89, 91, 92, 94, 219, 328, 359, 360, 389

*Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg*—a government daily newspaper published in Stuttgart from 1849 with a weekly supplement, *Gewerbeblatt aus Württemberg*.—227, 228

*The Times*—a conservative daily founded in London in 1785.—12, 160, 168, 171, 198, 439

*La Tribune du Peuple*—a Belgian democratic paper of the socialist and atheistic society "Peuple", published in Brussels from 1861 to April 1869; from August 1865 de facto and from January 1866 official newspaper of the Belgian sections of the International.—389, 409, 429

*Vierteljahrschrift für Volkswirtschaft und Kulturgeschichte*—an economic liberal magazine published in Berlin from 1863 to 1893.—260

*La Voix de l'Avenir*—a weekly published in La-Chaux-de-Fonds from 1865 to 1868; from 1867 official newspaper of the Romance sections of the International in Switzerland; was influenced by Proudhonist ideas.—399, 408

*Der Vorbote*—a monthly of the German sections of the International in Switzerland, published in Geneva from 1866 to 1871 under the editorship of Johann Philipp Becker; on the whole, upheld the line pursued by Marx and the General Council by regularly publishing documents of the International and information about its activity in various countries.—194, 388, 390-91, 399, 408, 415, 440

*Der weiße Adler*—a German-language liberal paper, published in Zurich from 1864 three times a week.—97-98

*Die westliche Post*—a German-language paper published in St. Louis (USA) from 1858; in the 1860s, an organ of petty-bourgeois democratic refugees.—24-25

*The Working Man*—a weekly published in London from 1861 to 1867 with an interval; its editor-in-chief was the French democratic refugee Joseph Collet; the paper was notable for its reformist tendencies.—203, 204, 425, 427

*The Workman's Advocate*—a weekly workers' paper published in London after the reorganisation of *The Miner and Workman's Advocate* in September 1865; official organ of the Central Council of the International; Marx was a member of its board. In February 1866, because of the growing influence of the reformist elements on the editorial board, it was reorganised once again and renamed *The Commonwealth*.—339, 380-82, 389, 394, 399

*Zeitschrift des königlich preussischen statistischen Bureaus*—a Prussian monthly official statistical journal published in Berlin from 1860 to 1905.—45

*Zeitung für Norddeutschland*—a liberal paper published in Hanover from 1848 to 1872.—202

*Die Zukunft*—a democratic paper of the People's Party, published from 1867 in Königsberg, and from 1868 to 1871 in Berlin; published Marx's preface to Volume One of *Capital* and Engels' review of this volume.—207, 209, 223

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# GLOSSARY OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES[a]

| | |
|---|---|
| Breslau | Wrocław |
| Constantinople, Konstantinopel | Istanbul |
| Düppel | Dybböl |
| Eipel | Úpice |
| Etsch | Adige |
| Gitschin | Jičin |
| Glatz | Kłodzko |
| Glogau | Głogów |
| Hirschberg | Jelenia Góra |
| Iser | Jisera |
| Ivangorod | Deblin |
| Katzbach | Kocaba, Kaczawa |
| Komorn, Comorn | Komárom |
| Modlin | Novogeorgievsk |
| Moldau | Vltava |
| Münchengrätz | Mnichovo Hradiště |
| Neisse | Nyśa Lużycka |
| Olmütz | Olomouc |
| Pardubitz | Pardubice |
| Posen | Poznań |
| Ratibor | Racibórz |
| Reichenberg | Liberec |
| Riesengebirge | Karkonosze, Giant Mts. |
| St. Petersburg | Leningrad |
| Tessin | Ticino |
| Tilsit | Sovetsk |
| Trautenau | Trutnov |
| Trübau | Moravská Trebová |
| Turnau | Turnov |
| Valeggio | Valéggio Sul Mincio |
| Waldenburg | Walbrzych |
| Weißkirchen | Hranice |

[a] This glossary includes geographical names occurring in Marx's and Engels' articles in the form customary in the press of the time but differing from the national names or from those given on modern maps. The left column gives geographical names as used in the original: the right column gives the corresponding names used on modern maps and in modern literature.—*Ed.*

# MARX & ENGELS
# COLLECTED WORKS

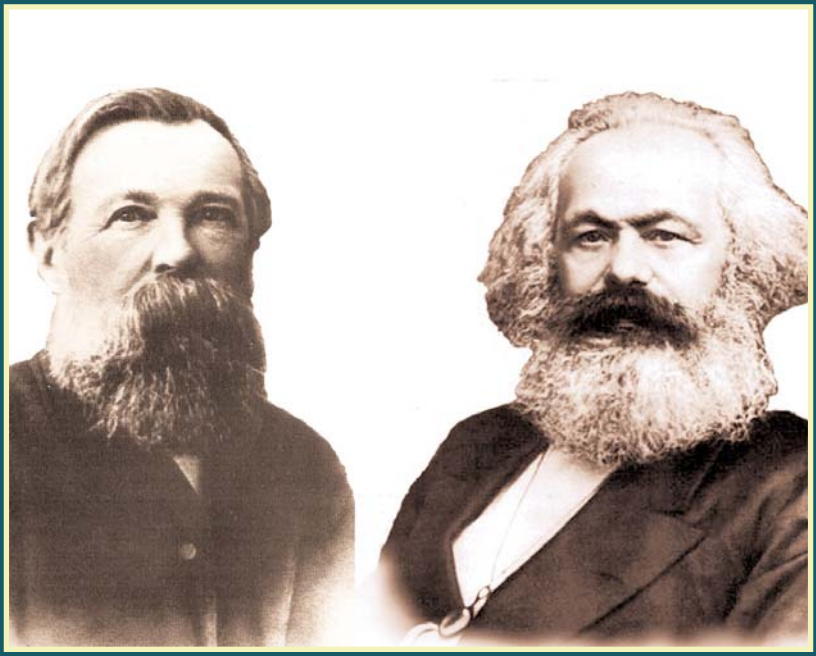

## VOLUME 21

Marx and Engels 1867-70

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 21

## Marx and Engels 1867-70

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KATE COOK: Works 31; Appendix 18

VIC SCHNEIERSON: From the Preparatory Materials 2; Appendix 3

BARRIE SELMAN: Works 10, 11, 12, 16, 40, 43, 46

JOAN and TREVOR WALMSLEY: Works 7, 24

# Preface

Volume 21 of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels contains works dating from November 1867 to mid-July 1870, most of them relating to the activity of the First International—documents, reports, articles, statements, and outlines. Much space is devoted to works, speeches, and preparatory materials on the Irish question.

The period dealt with in this volume saw a sharpening of the economic and social conflicts in Europe and the United States of America, mass working-class actions, an intensification of the Irish national liberation struggle, a deepening of the crisis of Louis Bonaparte's Second Empire, and a mounting threat of war in Europe.

This volume, like volume 20, reflects Marx's diverse activity in the First International and the efforts of its General Council, led by him, to strengthen the unity of the working class and cultivate the spirit of proletarian internationalism and class consciousness in it. The First International (the International Working Men's Association—IWMA) had constituted itself by then, and the time had come for its ideological and organisational consolidation. Its federations and sections had become active in many European countries and in the United States. In Britain its base consisted of the trade unions, which numbered tens of thousands of workers; and in other countries unions were also beginning to take their place as the first class organisations of the proletariat. The International Working Men's Association, Engels wrote in 1869, had already shown in more than one place in Europe that it was a force the ruling classes were compelled to reckon with (see this volume, p. 64).

After the approval of the International's basic documents defining the relationship between economic and political struggle, Marx set out to substantiate and publicly proclaim the principles of scientific socialism in the programme of the International. Besides this, he was engaged in working out the tactics of the proletariat to suit the concrete situation of the late 1860s, defining its independent class attitude to the national question and to the question of war and peace. The General Council's documents written by Marx, like his speeches at meetings of the Council on various aspects of the working-class and general democratic movement, show him as the true leader of the first mass international working-class political organisation which, at least as far as the workers' movement was concerned, Engels described in his article "Karl Marx" as an "epoch-making organisation" (p. 64).

In 1866 and in the following year most countries in Europe were gripped by economic crisis, accompanied by a capitalist offensive on workers' wages. The actions of the proletariat against this economic oppression grew to unprecedented proportions, often leading to the suppression of strikes by armed force. The masters, as Marx observed in 1869, transformed their private feuds with their men into "a state crusade against the International Working Men's Association" (p. 71). As before, the General Council saw its main objectives as defending the vital interests of the working class, assisting the strike movement, and securing unity of working-class action at national and international level. All its activity was directed to stimulating the international solidarity of the working class and winning more of its detachments to the side of the International Association.

Written by Marx, such General Council appeals as "The Belgian Massacres" and "The Lock-out of the Building Trades at Geneva", as well as the annual reports to the Brussels and Basle congresses of the IWMA, are evidence of the far-flung organisational efforts of the Council and of Marx's own efforts to bring material aid and moral support to the strikers. "This was a great opportunity to show the capitalists," Marx wrote in the "Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association" concerning the strike of the Rouen weavers, "that their international industrial warfare, carried on by screwing wages down now in this country, now in that, would be checked at last by the international union of the working classes" (p. 74). And in a number of large-scale strikes, the workers owed their victory to the direct assistance of the International.

The documents and materials in this volume demonstrate the intensive efforts made by Marx and the General Council to form and to consolidate sections of the International in various countries. Particular space is devoted to articles and documents on the German workers' movement. Marx's and Engels' previous writings against Lassalleanism, to which was added the German and international working-class movement's own experience, had helped some sections of the German working class to shake off the influence of Lassallean dogma and had strengthened the opposition within the General Association of German Workers to its Lassallean leaders. Marx's letter, "To the President and Executive Committee of the General Association of German Workers", and Engels' articles "On the Dissolution of the Lassallean Workers' Association" note that the class struggle of the German proletariat and the pressure of the rank and file had compelled the leaders of that organisation to include agitation for political freedom, regulation of the working day, and international cooperation of the working classes—that is, points "from which, in fact, any serious workers' movement must proceed" (p. 10)—on the agenda of its Hamburg Congress (General Assembly) in August 1868.

The constitution of the North-German Confederation greatly furthered the unification of Germany from above under the supremacy of reactionary and militarist Prussia, leading to the emergence in Europe of a source of new wars, in addition to the France of Louis Bonaparte. However, Marx and Engels held that, objectively, Germany's unification was hastening the country's development, and gave the working class new opportunities for revolutionary struggle, which it should use as best it could for "the *national* organisation and unification of the German proletariat" (see Engels' letter to Marx of July 25, 1866, Vol. 42 of the present edition). Conditions were thus maturing in Germany for an independent proletarian party. Marx and Engels welcomed the German working class's steps to that end, and gave August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht all possible assistance in forming such a party. To relieve Marx of at least part of the tremendous burden of his work for the International, Engels took over most of the correspondence with Germany.

On Marx's advice, the General Council sent a representative to the Nuremberg Congress of the Union of German Workers' Associations (September 1868), many of which were simultaneously sections of the International. The congress showed that the delegates were acquainted with the documents of the International. One of the sources of their knowledge was the then just

published pamphlet by Wilhelm Eichhoff, *The International Working Men's Association,* on which Marx had collaborated (see Appendices in this volume). Marx praised the Nuremberg Congress, which came out in favour of adhering to the International (see this volume, pp. 15 and 33). Its decision signified a break between the majority of the Union and the liberal bourgeoisie, and the Union's adoption of proletarian, class positions.

The founding of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party in Eisenach in 1869, as Marx saw it, was a victory for the ideas of the International in the German working-class movement. In the "Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association", Marx stressed the proletarian character of the newly formed party, representing more than 150,000 workers from Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, with a programme "literally embodying the leading principles of our Statutes" (p. 79). As Lenin observed later, "a sound basis" had been laid in Eisenach "for a genuinely Social-Democratic workers' party". And he added: "In those days the essential thing was the *basis* of the party" (*Collected Works,* Vol. 19, Moscow, 1973, p. 298).

A few of the works appearing in the present volume reflect the resolve of Marx and Engels to heighten the theoretical level of the German workers' movement by propagating the ideas of scientific socialism and criticising Lassalleanism.

Shortly before the Eisenach Congress, Engels wrote and published "Karl Marx", the first brief biography of him, showing the importance of his activity and of his theories for the emancipation struggle of the working class. Attacking the attempts to portray Lassalle as the founder of the workers' movement in Germany, Engels demonstrated that "nothing could be less correct" (p. 59), showing that the movement had been initiated by Marx and the Communist League founded by him. Engels described the League as a "well-organised socialist party", stressing that later Lassalle had merely taken possession of the ground prepared by it. Not only did Engels' article set out the basis for the criticism of Lassalle; it also called on the German workers to carry on the revolutionary traditions of the Communist League.

To further the German workers' knowledge of the ideas of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels republished *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (Marx) and *The Peasant War in Germany* (Engels), both of which they supplied with new prefaces.

Engels' preface to the second edition of *The Peasant War in Germany* (February 1870) was of tremendous help to the newly formed Social-Democratic Party, impressing upon it a most important point—the attitude of the working class and its party to the peasants. Engels made a concrete historical study of the economic and political situation in Germany after 1848, and specified and projected one of Marxism's most crucial theoretical and political tenets, spelling out the need for an alliance between the working class and the peasantry, a tenet formulated by Marx and Engels on the basis of the 1848-49 revolutions. Engels warned against taking the peasants in capitalist society to be a uniform mass. He stressed the existence of different sections of peasants, and the need for considering the peculiarities of each section if there was to be a firm alliance with the labouring majority in the countryside in opposition to the capitalist farmers. He called attention to the relevance for Germany as well as Britain of the resolution of the IWMA Congress in Basle (1869), that it was in the interest of society to transform landed property into common, national property (p. 100).

Having formed their party, the German Social-Democrats had to think of expanding its mass base and of its relation to the trade unions. The "Resumé of the Meetings of the General Council" and the "Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association" set out Marx's views on the relationship between the party and the unions. He called on the leaders of the party to defy Lassallean sectarianism and take the initiative in forming trade unions "on the model of the English ones" but with a broader base, giving due consideration to the relevant decisions of the Geneva, Lausanne, and Brussels congresses of the International. In January 1869, Marx noted with satisfaction that in Germany the trade unions, "brought into existence by the efforts of the International Working Men's Association, number already 110,000 members" (p. 37).

The documents included in this volume show that Marx devoted meticulous attention to the working-class movement in England. England, he noted, was "the only country *where the great majority of the population consists of wages-labourers*" and where "the class struggle and the organisation of the working class by the *Trades Unions* have *acquired* a certain degree of maturity and universality" (p. 86).

As noted earlier, Marx urged working men in other countries to avail themselves of the organisational experience of the British workers when forming unions of their own. He attached great importance to the General Council's activity as the Federal Council for England. As in previous years, this activity was designed, above all, and with some success, to place the trade unions under the influence of the International. In an article, "Connections Between the International Working Men's Association and English Working Men's Organisations", Marx wrote: "Not one significant organisation of the British proletariat exists which is not directly, by its own leaders, represented on the General Council of the International Working Men's Association" (p. 26). Some of the British trade unionists backed the line of the General Council at congresses of the International.

However, it was clear to Marx that the International would not help the British proletariat take the revolutionary road unless it managed to isolate the right-wing trade union leaders. Marx criticised their reformist view of the aims of the workers' movement, their slide to the platform of the Liberal Party, as demonstrated, among other things, by the 1868 general election, and their ambiguous posture on the Irish question. He called on the General Council to strengthen the revolutionary trend in the British working-class movement. He commended the activity of Robert Shaw, a member of the General Council and representative of the British workers. He praised Shaw's "truly revolutionary intelligence" and absence of "petty ambition or personal interest" (p. 92). When the sharp aggravation of the economic crisis in Britain in the late 1860s, which caused widespread impoverishment, aroused sentiment favouring nationalisation of land and gave birth to the socialistic Land and Labour League, Marx helped draw up the "Address of the Land and Labour League to the Working Men and Women of Great Britain and Ireland", pointing out in it that "nothing short of a transformation of the existing social and political arrangements could avail" in abolishing the existing evils (p. 404).

The increasing political instability of Louis Bonaparte's regime, accompanied by an upsurgence of mass revolutionary activity, enhanced the International's influence in France. The Bonapartist government therefore resolved to cripple the Paris Section of the International Association. It framed court proceedings against it on two occasions in 1868 (see the account of the trials in

Eichhoff's pamphlet, this volume, pp. 366-74). Nearly all the defendants used their courtroom speeches to propagate the ideas of the International. The trials and repression of members of the International won it the sympathy of working men and of some democrats, and as Marx wrote in "The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association", have "given it a fresh impulse by forcing the Empire to drop its patronising airs to the working classes" (p. 14).

The revolutionary tide in France kept rising steadily. Large-scale strikes and political demonstrations in the winter of 1868-69 and the election campaign in the spring of 1869 were clear evidence of the people's mood. The election programme of a group of Paris workers was published, which the General Council praised as a programme based on the principles of the Association. In January 1870, analysing the prospects of revolution in Europe, Marx conjectured that the "revolutionary *initiative* will probably come from France" (p. 86).

To buttress its position, Louis Bonaparte's government resorted to one more demagogic manoeuvre, scheduling a plebiscite for May 8, 1870. Before that date, it arrested leaders of the sections of the International on false charges of conspiring against the emperor. On the instructions of the General Council, Marx wrote a declaration, "Concerning the Persecution of the Members of the French Sections", published in the press of the International and the French workers' papers. Exposing the motives behind the plebiscite, Marx firmly denied that the International was involved in any secret conspiracies, stating that the Rules bind all the sections of the Association to act in broad daylight and that "the very nature of an Association which identifies itself with the working classes, would exclude from it every form of secret society. If the working classes, who form the great bulk of all nations, who produce all their wealth, and in the name of whom even the usurping powers always pretend to rule, conspire, they conspire publicly, as the sun conspires against darkness, in the full consciousness that without their pale there exists no legitimate power" (p. 127).

While standing by the true representatives of the French proletariat in the International, the General Council publicly dissociated itself from the French Federal Section in London, an organisation of the followers of Félix Pyat, a petty-bourgeois democrat. The section had lost contact with the International in 1868, but continued its adventurist and often provocative activity, ostensibly in the name of the International (p. 131).

The mass of the proletariat had by then declared adherence to the International, and the pro-socialist elements were gathered in its General Council. Along with the publication of Volume One of Marx's *Capital* in 1867 and its popularisation in the press (see present edition, Vol. 20), all this helped combat Proudhonism, Lassalleanism and other petty-bourgeois trends, and contributed to the ground being laid for the acceptance of socialist principles as the foundation of the programme endorsed by congresses of the International.

The present volume contains Marx's speeches at meetings of the General Council during the preparation of the agenda of the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and the drafts of the resolutions whose adoption he urged on the consequences of using machinery under capitalism, on the reduction of the working day, and on public ownership of the means of production, including land. His speeches and resolutions were all designed to bring home the key socialist principles of the programme of the International to members of the General Council.

Of special interest are the records of Marx's speeches during the preparations for the Brussels Congress on the consequences of using machinery under capitalism and on the reduction of the working day. At the General Council meeting of July 28, 1868 (pp. 382-84), Marx set forth the basic ideas on machinery which he had developed in Volume One of *Capital.* Showing the calamitous consequences for the working classes of the use of machinery in capitalist society, Marx stressed at the same time that it led to "associated organised labour". In his draft resolution, Marx pointed out that "machinery has proved a most powerful instrument of despotism and extortion in the hands of the capitalist class", but noted that, on the other hand, "the development of machinery creates the material conditions necessary for the superseding of the wages-system by a truly social system of production" (p. 9).

Marx argued for the necessity of demanding the reduction of the working day (p. 387). In his draft resolution on this subject he reaffirmed the relevant resolution of the Geneva Congress (1866), and said that the time had arrived "when practical effect should be given to that resolution" (p. 11).

The preliminary discussion of the agenda of the Brussels Congress by the General Council yielded good results. Despite the resistance of the Proudhonist right, the Congress adopted the socialist principles of making the means of production, mines, collieries, railways, the land (including arable land), common

property, and acknowledged the advantages of the public ownership of the means of production. The Congress also adopted Marx's resolutions on the consequences of the use of machinery in capitalist society and on the reduction of the working day.

The question of landed property, already settled at the Brussels Congress, was, as a result of Marx's motion, again on the agenda of the next congress, which gathered in Basle in 1869. This was prompted by the need for isolating any advocates of private landownership and for defining the tactics of the International on the peasantry.

Marx spoke twice during the preliminary discussion of the issue at the meeting of the General Council (pp. 392-93). He explained the error of those who favoured small private property, chiefly the Proudhonists, and of those among the British members of the International who argued in favour of the nationalisation of land with references to the "natural right" of the farmers.

Marx maintained that "to push this natural right to its logical consequences would land us at the assertion of every individual to cultivate his own share", that is, to the assertion of small private property in land. Not the will of individuals, he pointed out, but the "social right and social necessity determined in what manner the means of subsistence must be procured" (p. 392). Marx guided the members of the General Council towards understanding that any consistent solution of the agrarian question called for a revolutionary transformation of all society, which also meant nationalisation of land and its conversion into collective property.

The confirmation of the Marxian platform by the Basle Congress was a victory for revolutionary proletarian socialism over various schools of petty-bourgeois socialism, and marked an important stage in working socialist principles into the programme of the International.

The Brussels resolutions on public property showed that most members of the Association had put aside the Proudhonist dogma and held a common view of the aim of the proletarian struggle, that of building socialist society. It was left to Marx to set out a common approach to attaining this aim. But here, in questions related to the motive forces of the socialist revolution and the attitude to the state and to the allies of the proletariat, he encountered obdurate resistance from followers of the petty-bourgeois schools, notably anarchism. The chief exponent of anarchism at that time was the Russian revolutionary Mikhail Bakunin, whose views were a variety of pre-Marxian petty-bourgeois socialism, reflecting the sentiment of ruined petty

proprietors, and were totally unsuited to chart any realistic way of ending capitalist oppression.

Some of the documents in this volume deal with the struggle by Marx and the General Council against Bakunin's anarchist views on key aspects of the theory and tactics of the proletarian class movement, and against the disruptive activity of Bakunin and his followers in the International.

In the autumn of 1868 in Geneva, Bakunin gathered a following of heterogeneous elements to form the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy. In its Programme and Rules, the Alliance declared itself part of the IWMA, claimed ideological supremacy, and also the right to autonomy within the International. He expected thereby to use the Working Men's Association for the propagation of anarchist ideas in the international working-class movement.

What the International should do about Bakunin's Alliance was discussed at a meeting of the General Council on December 15, 1868, when it was considering the request for its admission to the Association. The document Marx wrote on behalf of the General Council, "The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy" (pp. 34-36), defended the unity and structural principles of proletarian organisations. Marx exposed Bakunin's designs of gaining control of the International and subordinating it to his ideological influence by getting it to admit the Alliance as an independent international organisation with its own programme, organisational structure, and administrative bodies. The Alliance was denied admission to the International Working Men's Association, the reason given being that under its Rules it admitted only local and national organisations, and not international ones. For the time being Marx saw fit to refrain from any critical examination of the programme of the Alliance. But in his "Remarks on the Programme and Rules of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy" (given in this volume in the section "From the Preparatory Materials"), in which he also took note of Engels' opinion, Marx produced the first rough outline of a criticism of these documents. He revealed the confused, purely declarative and demagogical nature of the Bakuninist programme, whose main points—"equalisation of classes", "abolition of the right of inheritance", and abstention from political struggle—were likely seriously to damage the workers' movement. Probing the intentions of Bakunin and his followers in respect of the International, Marx pointed out that "they want to compromise us under our own patronage" (p. 209).

A criticism of the basic provision of the Bakuninist programme, that of the "political, economical, and social equalisation of classes", is given in a letter of the General Council to the Central Bureau of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy, drawn up by Marx on March 9, 1869 (pp. 45-46) in reply to the Alliance's second application for admission. Marx's reply is a model of principled tactics working for the unity of the labour movement. He pointed out that it was not the function of the General Council to examine the programmes of societies seeking admission, and that all it asked was whether their tendency did not run against the General Rules. Thereupon, Marx showed that the Bakuninists' demand for "political, economical, and social *equalisation of classes*" did run against the General Rules since it amounted to the bourgeois slogan of "harmony of capital and labour". He amplified: "It is not the logically impossible *'equalisation of classes'*, but the historically necessary, superseding *'abolition of classes'*..., this true secret of the proletarian movement, which forms the great aim of the Int. W. Ass." (p. 46).

Again rejected by the General Council, the Central Bureau of the Alliance introduced a few amendments to its programme and publicly announced the dissolution of its international organisation, suggesting to its sections that they adhere to the International. But, in fact, Bakunin and his followers retained a secret Alliance.

The fight against the Bakuninists broke out in earnest at the Basle Congress (1869) over the right of inheritance, an item included in its agenda on their insistence.

Marx attached much importance to the question of inheritance, associating it with the attitude to the peasants, and the ways of winning them for the socialist transformation of the countryside. When the matter was discussed at a meeting of the General Council in the summer of 1869 preliminary to the Congress, and in a special report written for its delegates (pp. 65-67 and 394-97), Marx came to grips with Bakunin's idea of abolishing the right of inheritance as the starting point of the social revolution and the only way of eliminating private property in the means of production. Marx approached the issue in the light of historical materialism and concluded that to proclaim the abolition of the right of inheritance "would be a thing false in theory, and reactionary in practice" (p. 66). Like all civil legislation, he explained, the laws of inheritance were not the cause but the effect of the social order. What the working class must grapple with, he said, "is the cause and not the effect, the economical

basis—not its juridical superstructure" (p. 65). The beginning of the social revolution, he emphasised, "must be to get the means to socialise the means of labour" (p. 396).

Marx also saw the danger that Bakunin's idea entailed for the tactical tasks of workers' organisations. Any call for the abolition of the right of inheritance, he warned, would inevitably turn the peasants, the workers' natural allies, away from them. Explaining the substance of the differences of opinion with Bakunin over this important point of revolutionary tactics in a letter to Paul Lafargue of April 19, 1870, Marx said: "The proclamation of the abolition of inheritance ... would be not a serious act, but a foolish menace, rallying the whole peasantry and the whole small middle class round the reaction" (see present edition, Vol. 43).

The Bakuninists' abortive attempt to seize control of the International at the Basle Congress precipitated an open war against the General Council in the *Égalité*, organ of the Romance Federal Council, which then adhered to Bakunin's views. The General Council was accused of breaching the Rules, of refusing to form a special federal council for Britain, of toying with matters that were of no concern to the working men's movement, such as the Irish question, all of which was said to be doing untold harm to the international interests of the proletariat.

In "The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland" and the "Confidential Communication" which he addressed to the Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany as the Corresponding Secretary for Germany, Marx criticised the Bakuninist papers, and explained the General Council's position on a number of essential topics related to the international working-class movement. Scrutinising the International's stand on the Irish question, for example, Marx demonstrated the connection between the social and national questions, and emphasised that the Bakuninist dogma about the non-connection between the social movement and the political movement ran counter to the Rules of the IWMA (see pp. 89, 120-21).

A sharp controversy with the Bakuninists developed in the years that followed. At the centre of it stood the workers' attitude to the state and to political struggle. In the polemics with Bakunin at the Basle Congress, Marx's comrades defended the need for the proletariat to fight for political power. Seeing the importance of the question, an item on the "relationship between the political action and the social movement of the working class" (p. 143) was, at Marx's suggestion, put on the agenda of the next congress of the International to be held in Mainz in the summer of 1870. But that

congress was not destined to convene owing to the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war.

The Russian Section of the International, formed in Geneva in March 1870, gave the General Council considerable help in the fight against Bakuninism. In a letter to its members (pp. 110-11), Marx informed them officially of its admission to the International and wrote that he was pleased to accept their proposal to be their representative on the General Council. By that time, Marx was well enough acquainted with the struggle of the Russian revolutionary democrats against Tsarism, and with the thinking of Russian progressives, and had read the works of Russian economists. All of this led him to conclude that Russia "is also beginning to take part in the movement of our age" (p. 111).

With the international contradictions growing sharper in the late 1860s and a war threat hanging over Europe, the question of war and the position to be taken by the proletariat if it broke out, was still, as before, in the focus of Marx's attention and that of the International Association. It was also discussed at the Brussels Congress.

In a letter of September 10, 1868, which he wrote to Georg Eccarius and Friedrich Lessner who had gone to Brussels as delegates of the General Council, Marx observed that the working class was not yet sufficiently organised to throw any substantial weight into the scales. However, he pointed out that the Congress must protest in the name of the working class and denounce the instigators of a war between France and Germany that was "ruinous for both countries and ruinous for Europe in general" (see present edition, Vol. 43).

The resolution of the Brussels Congress reflected in the main the ideas of Marx and his followers, stating that a final end would be put to wars only by thorough social reform, and that the number of wars and the extent of the calamities wrought by them could be diminished if the peoples, above all the working classes, resisted their governments and exposed their policy of conquest by all available means. However, the resolution contained a number of concrete proposals which Marx subjected to criticism in the above-mentioned letter to Eccarius and Lessner.

The fight for peace was becoming one of the official aims of the international workers' movement, and its success depended in many ways on the international unity of the proletariat. In the "Address to the National Labour Union of the United States",

which Marx wrote on behalf of the General Council, he clearly saw that "the working classes are bestriding the scene of history no longer as servile retainers, but as independent actors, conscious of their own responsibility, and able to command peace where their would-be masters shout war" (p. 54).

Much space is devoted in this volume to the works, speeches, extracts and notes of Marx and Engels on the Irish question, an intricate amalgam of acute social and national contradictions. The national liberation movement in Ireland had grown to imposing proportion in the 1860s. This was due to the change in the methods of English colonial exploitation and the social and economic processes that were running their course in Ireland—the conversion from small-scale farming to large-scale, capitalist pasturage, accompanied by mass evictions of tenants, who were thus consigned to hunger or the agony of emigration. Marx described the system as a "quiet business-like extinction" (p. 192). The response to it was the Fenian movement, which "took root ... in the mass of the people, the lower orders" (p. 194). While giving their due to the courage and fighting spirit of the champions of Irish independence, Marx disapproved of their conspiratory tactics. The failed attempt of the Fenians to start an uprising in early 1867, their persecution and trial, aroused the public in Ireland and England.

In this setting, Marx and Engels faced the task of defining the proletariat's attitude to the national question, of working out the tactics in relation to the national liberation movement, and of instilling the spirit of proletarian internationalism among the workers. With Ireland as an example, Marx and Engels spelled out their views on the national liberation struggle of oppressed nations and its bearing on the world revolutionary process, the relationship between the national liberation movement and the international workers' movement, the attitude of the proletariat in the metropolitan countries towards the colonial policies of their governments, and the allies of the proletariat in the revolution. "The policy of Marx and Engels on the Irish question," wrote Lenin, "serves as a splendid example of the attitude the proletariat of the oppressor nations should adopt towards national movements, an example which has lost none of its immense *practical* importance" (*Collected Works,* Vol. 20, Moscow, 1972, p. 442).

In a series of documents dating from November to December 1867, such as "The Fenian Prisoners at Manchester and the International Working Men's Association", "Notes for an Undeli-

vered Speech on Ireland", "Outline of a Report on the Irish Question Delivered to the German Workers' Educational Society in London on December 16, 1867", and some later works, Marx formulated the General Council's attitude to the struggle of the Irish people and called on the English working class and the international workers' movement to support it. The discussions of the issue at General Council meetings witnessed clashes with George Odger, Benjamin Lucraft, and other right-wing trade union leaders, who, in effect, shared the anti-Irish sentiment of the bourgeois radicals.

Marx backed the historical right of oppressed peoples to fight for their liberation. The English, he noted sarcastically, claimed "a divine right to fight the Irish on their native soil, but every Irish fighting against the British Government in England is to be treated as an outlaw" (p. 189). Stigmatising the British Government's policy towards the Fenians, he branded the death sentence passed on four of them as an act of political revenge (p. 3). Marx also outlined the attitude the English working class should adopt on the Irish question: "Repeal [of the Union with Great Britain forced on Ireland in 1801—*Ed.*] as one of the articles of the English Democratic Party" (p. 193). In the outline of a report to the German Workers' Educational Society in London, Marx showed the pernicious effects for Ireland of the many centuries of British exploitation and oppression. He cited Thomas Francis Meagher, the Irish democrat, on the results of British rule in Ireland: "One business alone survives!... the Irish coffin-maker's" (pp. 199-200). Marx looked closely into the process of the forcible expropriation of Irish farmers. Eccarius' record of this report singles out Marx's words that the Irish question is "not simply a question of nationality, but a question of land and existence" (p. 319).

Marx returned to the Irish question again in the autumn of 1869, when a broad movement was launched for the amnesty of imprisoned Fenians, in which the International took an active part. Speaking at a meeting of the General Council, Marx depicted the colonialist, anti-popular substance of the policy of Gladstone's Liberal government, which "are the servants of the oppressors of Ireland" (p. 409). In the "Draft Resolution of the General Council on the Policy of the British Government Towards the Irish Prisoners", submitted by Marx on November 16, 1869, he noted explicitly that the General Council "express their admiration of the spirited, firm and high-souled manner in which the Irish people carry on their Amnesty movement" (p. 83).

To impart international resonance to the Irish question and attract the attention of the European proletariat, the General

Council, on Marx's suggestion, had this resolution published in the organs of the International on the continent and in the European democratic press, as well as in the British labour press.

Marx's article, "The English Government and the Fenian Prisoners", exposed the brutal treatment of participants in the Irish national liberation movement by the British authorities. Marx's daughter Jenny wrote eight articles on this subject for the Paris *La Marseillaise,* the third of which was composed with Marx's assistance. They are given in the Appendices to this volume (pp. 414-41).

The most exhaustive exposition of the relation between the working-class and the national liberation movements was given by Marx in a General Council circular, "The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland" (January 1870), and in the "Confidential Communication" (March 1870). Coming to grips with the Bakuninists' nihilist attitude to the national liberation movement, Marx underlined the international significance of the Irish question and its bearing on the struggle of the English proletariat for radical social transformation in England itself. Marx stressed that the participants in the Irish independence movement were natural allies of the English working class. The proletariat of the two countries, therefore, he noted, must do all they can to overcome the antagonism between them artificially nourished by the bourgeoisie. "Any people that oppresses another people," Marx observed, "forges its own chains." He argued for the necessity of granting Ireland independence, including complete separation from England. "The position of the International Association with regard to the Irish question is very clear," he states. "Its first concern is to advance the social revolution in England. To this end a great blow must be struck in Ireland" (p. 89).

All that Marx and the General Council did for the Irish national liberation movement attracted the attention of the Irish workers to the International and laid the ground for the founding of Irish sections, and, naturally, enlisted sympathy for the Irish revolutionary movement among the English workers and workers abroad.

The General Council's attitude to the Irish question and the analysis of its various aspects were based on the profound study Marx and Engels made of Ireland's history from ancient times. Their manuscripts (included in this volume), though uncompleted, present an integral view of Ireland's history on a historical materialist

basis. They define the main periods in the country's history and examine its key problems. This study has lost none of its relevance today. What distinguishes it is its broad view of the topics at hand. Marx and Engels used extensive source material to trace the stages, forms and methods of Ireland's colonial subjugation, the beginnings and gradual growth of the national liberation movement, and its specific features and peculiarities. Their manuscripts provide evidence of their deep interest in the history of pre-capitalist societies—an interest that did not slacken in later years.

Marx's manuscript, "Ireland from the American Revolution to the Union of 1801. Extracts and Notes" (see "From the Preparatory Materials" in this volume), was written preliminary to the discussion of the Irish question by the General Council.

His study of the period from 1776 to 1801 enabled him to determine the most typical features of the policy of the English ruling classes in Ireland. His attention was drawn to the colonialist nature of the Union of 1801 (abolition of the autonomy of Irish Parliament), the dissolution of which was sought by generation after generation of fighters for Ireland's independence. The thought Marx expressed in his letter to Engels of December 10, 1869 (see present edition, Vol. 43), that "the English reaction in England had its roots (as in Cromwell's time) in the subjugation of Ireland", is present throughout the manuscript.

Marx painted a picture of English rule in Ireland, and analysed the motive forces of the Irish national liberation movement and the role of the peasantry in it. He also produced a vivid portrayal of the Irish bourgeois revolutionaries, the left wing of the United Irishmen, pinpointing its weaknesses and the reasons for the failure of the uprising of 1798, whose lessons were of great significance for the Irish national liberation movement as a whole.

The manuscript shows the influence of the American War of Independence and, especially, the French Revolution on the emergence and growth of the independence movement in Ireland (pp. 238-39). Marx's observations are of immense relevance for understanding the international nature of these historic events.

The uncompleted manuscript of Engels' *History of Ireland,* like his preparatory material for it ("Notes on Goldwin Smith's Book *Irish History and Irish Character*" and "Varia on the History of the Irish Confiscations"), included in this volume, are evidence of his intention to produce a large, comprehensive history of Ireland from ancient times, shedding light on the phases of her subjugation and the fight of the Irish for liberation.

Engels completed only the first chapter of the manuscript of his *History of Ireland* ("Natural Conditions") and the beginning of the second ("Old Ireland"), both of which appear in the main section of this volume. The first chapter is devoted to the geological structure and climate of Ireland, though it also touches on questions of a political nature. Engels rejects the attempts of the English ruling classes to justify British colonial rule in Ireland with references to the unfavourable geographic conditions for independent economic development and the "ignorance and sloth" of the country's native population, from which it follows that Ireland's very climate condemned it to supplying beef and butter for the English rather than bread for the Irish (pp. 148, 161). Engels portrays Ireland's ancient history and the social and political system of the Celtic clans. Challenging the chauvinist idea of Ireland's backwardness, he demonstrates the contribution of the Irish Christian missionaries and scholars to European culture in the early Middle Ages (p. 171), and notes the bitter Irish resistance to the invasion of the Norsemen. The manuscript refutes the theories that attribute the foundation of many European states to the Northern conquerors. Engels shows, on the contrary, that the conquests of the Norsemen were really nothing more than piratic raids (p. 179). He denounces the tendency to portray the national liberation struggle as banditism or to ascribe to it merely religious motives. The hiding or the distortion of facts relating to the Irish people's struggle, he observes, is intended to vindicate English domination.

In his "Notes for the Preface to a Collection of Irish Songs", Engels speaks of the deliberate obliteration of Ireland's finest cultural traditions by the English conquerors from the seventeenth century on, with the result that Gaelic was understood in the country by only few people and the nation was forfeiting its rich culture (p. 141).

Two of Engels' manuscripts, "Notes on Goldwin Smith's Book *Irish History and Irish Character*" and "Varia on the History of the Irish Confiscations", reflect his views on the later period of Irish history. His précis of Goldwin Smith's book is of special interest. Goldwin Smith was an English liberal historian and economist, and his book attracted Engels' attention as an example of how Irish history was being falsified for the benefit of the liberal bourgeoisie to justify its colonial subjection and social and national oppression. Engels' polemical notes show that he saw one of his tasks as exposing this tendency, as well as the chauvinist conception of Irish history. Referring to Smith, he writes: "Behind the cloak of

objectivity, the apologetic English bourgeois professor" (p. 283). Smith extolled the English conquerors for bringing civilisation to the country, and denounced the Irish national liberation movement as lacking reason and national roots. The concessions that the Irish had wrested from the English in many centuries of continuous struggle Smith portrays as acts of "goodwill" on the part of the English. He ignores the strong influence of the American War of Independence and the French Revolution on the Irish movement for national liberation. The English concessions, as Engels observes, are ascribed by Smith to the English "spirit of toleration", the "liberal ideas of the new era", and the like. "These are the *'general causes'* which have to be kept in mind," Engels exclaims, "but by no means the real ones!" (p. 295).

Engels' "Varia on the History of the Irish Confiscations" deals with the basic aspect of English rule in Ireland, that of the land confiscations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Here he surveys the expropriation of the country's native population and Ireland's conversion into a stronghold of English landlordism. He traces England's policy in Ireland over a century and a half, and offers evidence that the leaders of the seventeenth-century English Revolution inherited the colonialist tradition of their absolutist predecessors. Engels shows that the confiscations were accompanied by the ruthless suppression of the resistance put up by the native population. "The Irish," he observes, "were denied all rights..., with resistance treated as rebellion" (pp. 297-98).

In the Appendices to this volume the reader will find Wilhelm Eichhoff's pamphlet, *The International Working Men's Association. Its Establishment, Organisation, Political and Social Activity, and Growth,* which appears in English translation for the first time. It is the first history of the First International. Written with the collaboration of Marx, if offers a detailed account of the foundation and the early years of the International, its class nature, and its responsibilities in organising the economic and political struggle of the proletariat in various countries. Eichhoff pays high tribute to Marx for his role in establishing and directing the International, and in drawing up its programmatic documents. The pamphlet contains the texts of a few of the most important ones, notably the Inaugural Address and the Provisional Rules.

Eichhoff's pamphlet made an important contribution to the spread and propagation of the ideas of the First International, and to its struggle against trends that were hostile to Marxism. It was a

dependable source for later works on the history of the First International.

* * *

The present volume contains 54 works of Marx and Engels, eight of which are appearing in English for the first time, including Marx's address "To the President and Executive Committee of the General Association of German Workers" and "Statement to the German Workers' Educational Society in London", and Engels' article "Karl Marx" and the plan of the second chapter of his *History of Ireland.* Among Appendices three documents appear in English for the first time.

In cases where documents of the International written by Marx or with his collaboration have reached us in more or less authentic versions in several languages, their publication in this volume is based on the English-language source, whether handwritten or printed. Any discrepancies in content or sense from sources in other languages are given in footnotes.

All the texts have been translated from the German except where otherwise stated. Headings supplied by the editors where none existed in the original are given in square brackets. Asterisks indicate footnotes by the author; editors' footnotes are indicated by index letters.

Misprints found in quotations, proper names, place names, figures, dates, and so on, have been checked and corrected with reference to the sources used by Marx and Engels. All known literary and documentary sources used by them are cited in footnotes and in the index of quoted and mentioned literature. Words written in English in the original are given in small caps.

The volume was compiled and the preface written by Marina Doroshenko and Valentina Ostrikova (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). The documents of the First International in the main part of the volume, Marx's "Remarks on the Programme and Rules of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy" and the documents on the history of the First International in the Appendices, were prepared by Valentina Ostrikova, who also wrote the relevant notes. The index of quoted and mentioned literature to these documents is by Valentina Ostrikova, who was assisted by Yuri Vasin.

The basic works of Marx and Engels on the history of Ireland (Engels' *History of Ireland* and the section "From the Preparatory

Materials"), all of Jenny Marx's articles on the Irish question (in the Appendices), and the relevant notes and bibliography were compiled by Marina Doroshenko.

The text of Wilhelm Eichhoff's pamphlet, *The International Working Men's Association* (in the Appendices), and the notes and bibliography for it, were prepared by Yuri Vasin.

The name index and the index of periodicals are by Yuri Vasin in collaboration with Yelena Kofanova, the subject index is by Vasily Kuznetsov, and the editor of the volume is Tatyana Yeremeyeva (all from the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The English translations were made by Barrie Selman and Joan and Trevor Walmsley (Lawrence and Wishart), Kate Cook and Vic Schneierson (Progress Publishers), and edited by Nicholas Jacobs (Lawrence and Wishart), Lydia Belyakova, Victor Schnittke and Yelena Vorotnikova (Progress Publishers), and Vladimir Mosolov, scientific editor (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The volume was prepared for the press by Lydia Belyakova, Anna Vladimirova and assistant editor Natalia Kim (Progress Publishers).

# KARL MARX
and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## WORKS

November 1867—mid-July 1870

# Karl Marx

## THE FENIAN PRISONERS AT MANCHESTER AND THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[1]

At a special meeting of the General Council of the I.W.A. held at the office 16, Castle Street, East, W., on Wednesday evening[a] the following memorial was adopted:

"Memorial of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association.

"To the Right Hon. Gathorne-Hardy, her Majesty's Secretary of State.

"The memorial of the undersigned, representing working men's associations in all parts of Europe, showeth:

"That the execution of the Irish prisoners condemned to death at Manchester will greatly impair the moral influence of England upon the European Continent. The Execution of the four prisoners[b] resting upon the same evidence and the same verdict which, by the free pardon of Maguire, have been officially declared, the one false, the other erroneous, will bear the stamp not of a judicial act, but of political revenge. But even if the verdict of the Manchester jury and the evidence it rests upon had not been tainted by the British Government itself, the latter would now have to choose between the blood-handed practices of old Europe and the magnanimous humanity of the young Transatlantic Republic.[2]

"The commutation of the sentence for which we pray will be an act not only of justice, but of political wisdom.

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[a] November 20, 1867.—*Ed.*

[b] Edward Condon, Michael Larkin, William Philip Allen, Michael O'Brien.—*Ed.*

"By order of the General Council of the I. W. Association,
"*John Weston,* Chairman
*R. Shaw,* Secretary for America
*Eugène Dupont,* Secretary for France
*Karl Marx,* Secretary for Germany
*Hermann Jung,* Secretary for Switzerland
*P. Lafargue,* Secretary for Spain
*Zabicki,* Secretary for Poland
*Derkinderen,* Secretary for Holland
*Besson,* Secretary for Belgium
*G. Eccarius,* General Secretary."[a]

November 20, 1867

Adopted by the General Council on November 20, 1867

First published in French in *Le Courrier français,* No. 163, November 24, 1867

Reproduced from the copy of Marx's manuscript made by Marx's wife, Jenny Marx

[a] In *Le Courrier français* the names of Hermann Jung and Anton Zabicki are omitted.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE POSITION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ON PRUSSIAN PROTECTIONIST TARIFFS][3]

The trades unions established in Germany by the agency and with the assistance of the International Working Men's Association have furnished the chiefs of the iron trade in the Rhenish province, with an argument against the Prussian Government with regard to a reduction of the import duties on foreign iron. The Chamber of Commerce of Elberfeld and Barmen is of opinion that a reduction of the import duties on iron will completely ruin the Prussian iron masters. The English capitalists maintain that they must reduce the wages of their workmen to be able to cope with the foreigners. The German iron masters demand the continuance of protection against the English to save themselves from utter ruin; yet the wages received by the Prussian workmen are less than half what the British workman receives, and the hours of labour are more. In its report of April 14th to the Government, the Chamber of Commerce states:

> "The iron trade of Germany once prostrate a remedy is impossible. Much capital will then be lost, and thousands of working men deprived of the means of subsistence—a matter that would be the more critical, as the labour question becomes more and more serious, and the International Working Men's Association assumes a more and more active and menacing attitude."

This statement proves that the Association has not laboured in vain. The capitalists demand a public inquiry into the present state of the Prussian iron trade. The workmen insist that the inquiry shall include an investigation of the condition of the workpeople employed in the trade.

Written between May 5 and 12, 1868

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper,* No. 344, May 16, 1868

# Karl Marx

## [RESOLUTION ON CHANGING THE PLACE OF THE INTERNATIONAL'S CONGRESS IN 1868][4]

1. Considering, that the Belgian Parliament has just prolongated for three years the law by which every foreigner may be expelled [from] the country by the Belgian executive government[5];

2. that the dignity of the I. W. Association is incompatible with the meeting of the Congress at a place where they would be at the mercy of the local police;

3. that Article 3 of the Rules of the I.W.A.[a] provides that the General Council may, in case of need, change the place of meeting of the Congress;

the General Council resolves that the Congress of the I.W.A. do assemble in London on the 5th of September, 1868.

Introduced at the General Council meeting of June 2, 1868

Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council

First published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 347, June 6, 1868

[a] *Rules of the International Working Men's Association. Founded September 28th, 1864*, London [1867], p. 4.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL ON FÉLIX PYAT'S PROVOCATIVE BEHAVIOUR][6]

Resolved. That the General Council of the I.W.A. repudiates all responsibility for the address[a] delivered at the public meeting in Cleveland Hall by Félix Pyat, who is in no way connected with the Association.

Adopted by the General Council on July 7, 1868

Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council

First published in French in *La Liberté*, No. 55, July 12, 1868

[a] *L'Espiègle*, No. 25, July 5, 1868.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [DECLARATION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL CONCERNING THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS TSARIST RUSSIA][7]

The Council of the I. W. Association denounces the last manifestation of the subserviency to Russia of the British Government by suppressing the adjective "Polish" before the word "refugees" in the budget one month after the Russian Government had by an ukase[a] suppressed the name of Poland.

Adopted by the General Council on July 14, 1868

Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council

First published in *The Bee-Hive,* No. 352, July 18, 1868

[a] Marx means Alexander II's ukase of February 29, 1868 abolishing the Government Commission for Home Affairs in the Kingdom of Poland and the additional rules to the Regulations on the Gubernia and Uyezd Administration in the Gubernias in the Kingdom of Poland approved by His Majesty on December 19 (31), 1866.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE CONSEQUENCES OF USING MACHINERY UNDER CAPITALISM PROPOSED BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO THE BRUSSELS CONGRESS][8]

Resolved: that on the one side machinery has proved a most powerful instrument of despotism and extortion in the hands of the capitalist class;

that on the other side the development of machinery creates the material conditions necessary for the superseding of the wages-system by a truly social system of production.

Adopted by the General Council on August 11, 1868

First published in French in a special supplement to *Le Peuple Belge,* No. 38, September 11, 1868

Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council

# Karl Marx

## TO THE PRESIDENT AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF GERMAN WORKERS[9]

London, August 18, 1868

In order to conclude preparations for the Brussels Congress a meeting of the Executive Committee of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association[10] has been called for August 22, and a plenary session of the General Council for August 25. As I have been given the task of making reports on both days I find that I am unable to accept the invitation,[a] by which I am greatly honoured, to attend the Congress of the General Association of German Workers in Hamburg.

I am happy to see that the programme of your Congress[b] lays down those points from which, in fact, any serious workers' movement must proceed: agitation for complete political freedom, regulation of the working day, and systematic international cooperation of the working class in the great, historical task which it has to accomplish for the whole of society. Good luck in your work!

With democratic greetings

*Karl Marx*

First published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 100, August 28, 1868

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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[a] J. B. Schweitzer, "An Herrn Carl Marx in London. Berlin, 6. Juli 1868", *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 95, August 14, 1868.— *Ed.*

[b] J. B. Schweitzer, "An die Mitglieder des Allgemeinen deutschen Arbeiter-Vereins", *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 80, July 10, 1868.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE REDUCTION OF THE WORKING DAY PROPOSED BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO THE BRUSSELS CONGRESS][11]

A resolution having been passed unanimously by the Congress of Geneva 1866 to this effect: "That the legal limitation of the working day is a preliminary condition indispensable for the ulterior social improvements,"[a] the Council is of opinion that the time is now arrived when practical effect should be given to that resolution and that it has become the duty of all the branches to agitate that question practically in the different countries where the International Working Men's Association is established.

Adopted by the General Council on August 25, 1868

Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council

First published in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 359, August 29, 1868

[a] *The International Working Men's Association. Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868*, London [1869], pp. 4-5.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION [12]

The year 1867-68 will mark an epoch in the history of the Association. After a period of peaceable development it has assumed dimensions powerful enough to provoke the bitter denunciations of the ruling classes and the hostile demonstrations of governments.[a] It has entered upon the phases of strife.

The French Government took, of course, the lead in the reactionary proceedings against the working classes. Already last year we had to signalise some of its underhand manoeuvres. It meddled with our correspondence, seized our Statutes, and the Congress documents.[b] [13] After many fruitless steps to get them back, they were at last given up only under the official pressure of Lord Stanley, the English Minister of Foreign Affairs.

But the Empire has this year thrown off the mask and tried to directly annihilate the International Association by *coups de police* and judiciary prosecution. Begot by the struggle of classes, of which the days of June, 1848, are the grandest expression, it could not but assume alternately the attitudes of the official saviour of the Bourgeoisie and of the paternal protector of the Proletariat. The growing power of the International having manifested itself in the strikes of Roubaix, Amiens, Paris, Geneva, &c.,[14] reduced our would-be patron to the necessity of turning our Society to his own account or of destroying it. In the beginning he was ready enough to strike a bargain on very moderate terms.[c] The manifesto of the Parisians read at the Congress of Geneva[d] [15]

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[a] The German text has "and persecutions by governments".— *Ed.*

[b] The German text has "and the Geneva Congress documents on the French frontier".— *Ed.*

[c] The German text has: "In the beginning not much was demanded."— *Ed.*

[d] The German text further has: "(1866) and published in Brussels in the following year".— *Ed.*

having been seized at the French frontier, our Paris Executive demanded of the Minister of the Interior the reasons of this seizure.[a] M. Rouher then invited one of the members of the Committee[b] to an interview, in the course of which he declared himself ready to authorise the entry of the manifesto on the condition of some modifications being inserted.[c] On the refusal of the delegate of the Paris Executive, he added,

"Still, if you would introduce some words of gratitude to the Emperor, who has done so much for the working classes, one might see what could be done."[d]

M. Rouher's, the sub-Emperor's, insinuation was met by a blank rebuff. From that moment the Imperial Government looked out for a pretext to suppress the Association. Its anger was heightened by the anti-chauvinist agitation on the part of our French members after the German war. Soon after, when the Fenian panic had reached its climax, the General Council addressed to the English Government a petition[e] demanding the commutation of the sentence of the three victims of Manchester, and qualifying their hanging as an act of political revenge.[f] At the same time it held public meetings in London for the defence of the rights of Ireland. The Empire, always anxious to deserve the good graces of the British Government, thought the moment propitious for laying hands upon the International.[g] It caused nocturnal perquisitions to be made, eagerly rummaged the private correspondence, and announced with much noise[h] that it had discovered the centre of the Fenian conspiracy, of which the International was denounced as one of the principal organs.[16] All its laborious researches, however, ended in nothing.[i] The public prosecutor himself threw down his brief in disgust.[j] The attempt at converting the

[a] "A M. le ministre de l'intérieur. Vendredi. 9 mars 1867". In *Le Courrier français,* No. 112, May 1, 1868.—*Ed.*

[b] Antoine Marie Bourdon, the section's archivist.—*Ed.*

[c] Instead of "to an interview ... being inserted" the German has: "to an interview. In the course of the meeting that followed he first demanded that certain passages in the Manifesto should be moderated and altered".—*Ed.*

[d] *Le Courrier français,* No. 112, May 1, 1868. The quotation gives the general meaning of Rouher's speech.—*Ed.*

[e] See this volume, pp. 3-4.—*Ed.*

[f] After the word "petition" the German has the following text: "in which the forthcoming execution of the three Manchester martyrs was described as a judicial murder" (the reference is to William Philip Allen, Michael Larkin and Michael O'Brien).—*Ed.*

[g] The German further has "on both sides of the Channel".—*Ed.*

[h] The German has "in the English press".—*Ed.*

[i] In the German text this sentence reads: "Much ado about nothing."—*Ed.*

[j] In the German text this sentence reads: "The legal investigation found not a shadow of a *corpus delicti* despite its zeal."—*Ed.*

International Association into a secret society of conspirators having miserably broken down, the next best thing was to prosecute our Paris branch as a non-authorised society of more than 20 members.[17] The French judges, trained by the Imperialist discipline, hastened, of course, to order the dissolution of the Association and the imprisonment of its Paris Executive.[a] The tribunal had the *naïveté* to declare in the preamble of its judgment that the existence of the French Empire was incompatible with[b] a working men's association that dared to proclaim truth, justice, and morality as its leading principles.[c] The consequences of these prosecutions made themselves felt in the departments, where paltry vexations on the part of the Prefects succeeded to the condemnations of Paris. This Governmental chicanery, however, so far from annihilating the Association, has given it a fresh impulse[d] by forcing the Empire to drop its patronising airs to the working classes.

In Belgium the International Association has made immense strides. The coal lords of the basin of Charleroi, having driven their miners to riots by incessant exactions, let loose upon those unarmed men the armed force which massacred many of them.[e] It was in [the] midst of the panic thus created that our Belgian branch took up the cause of the miners, disclosed their miserable economical condition,[f] rushed to the rescue of the families of the dead and wounded, and procured legal counsel for the prisoners, who were finally all of them acquitted by the jury.[18] After the affair of Charleroi the success of the International in Belgium was assured. The Belgian Minister of Justice, Jules Bara, denounced the International Association in the Chamber of Deputies and made of its existence the principal pretext for the renewal of the law against foreigners.[19] He even dared to threaten he should

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[a] Instead of "and the imprisonment of its Paris Executive" the German text has "and fined the Committee members and sentenced them to imprisonment".—*Ed.*

[b] In the German text the beginning of this sentence reads as follows: "Yet the tribunal had the *naïveté* to state two things, in the preamble of its judgement: on the one hand that the power of the I.W.A. was growing and, on the other, that the December Empire was incompatible with...."—*Ed.*

[c] See the tribunal's sentences of March 20 and May 22, 1868 in *Procès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Bureau de Paris,* Paris, 1868, pp. 39-40 and 128.—*Ed.*

[d] In the German text then follows a separate sentence: "Nothing has enhanced its influence in France more strongly than the fact that it finally forced the December government to break clearly with the working class."—*Ed.*

[e] In the German text the words "which massacred many of them" are omitted.—*Ed.*

[f] The German text has "in the press and at public meetings".—*Ed.*

prevent the Brussels Congress from being held.[a] The Belgian Government ought at last to understand that petty States have no longer any *raison d'être* in Europe except they be the asylums of liberty.

In Italy, the progress of the Association has been impeded by the reaction following close upon the ambuscade of Mentana[20]; one of the first consequences was the restriction put upon the right of association and public meeting. But the numerous letters which have come to our hands fully prove that the Italian working class is more and more asserting its individuality quite independently of the old parties.

In Prussia, the International cannot exist legally, on account of a law which forbids all relations with foreign societies.[21] Moreover, in regard to the General Union of the German Working Men, the Prussian Government has imitated Bonapartism on a shabby scale. Always ready to fall foul of each other, the military Governments are cheek by jowl when entering upon a crusade against their common enemy, the working classes. In spite, however, of all these petty tribulations, small groups spread over the whole surface of Germany had long since rallied round our Geneva centre.[22] The General Union of the German Working Men, whose branches are mostly confined to Northern Germany, have in their recent Congress held at Hamburg decided to act in concert with the International Working Men's Association,[23] although debarred from joining it officially.[b] In the programme of the Nuremberg Congress, representing upwards of 100 working men's societies, which mostly belong to Middle and Southern Germany, the direct adhesion to the International has been put on the order of the day.[c] At the request of their leading committee we have sent a delegate to Nuremberg.[24]

In Austria the working-class movement assumes a more and more revolutionary aspect.[d] In the beginning of September a congress was to meet at Vienna, aiming at the fraternisation of the working men of the different races of the Empire. They had also sent an address to the English and French working men, in which they declared for the principles of the International.[e] Your

[a] Marx refers to Jules Bara's speech in the Chamber of Deputies on May 16, 1868, published in *La Liberté,* No. 47, May 17, 1868.—*Ed.*

[b] In the German text the end of the sentence reads: "although by law it is unable to join the I.W.A. officially".—*Ed.*

[c] See *Demokratisches Wochenblatt,* No. 35, August 29, 1868, pp. 275-76.—*Ed.*

[d] The German text has "distinct character".—*Ed.*

[e] "Die Arbeiter Wien's an die französischen und englischen Arbeiter", *Der Vorbote,* No. 8, August 1868, pp. 120-22.—*Ed.*

General Council had already appointed a delegate to Vienna[a] when the Liberal Government of Austria, on the very point of succumbing to the blows of the feudal reaction, had the shrewdness to stir the anger of the working men by prohibiting their congress.

In the struggle maintained by the building trades of Geneva the very existence of the International in Switzerland was put on its trial. The employers made it a preliminary condition of coming to any terms with their workmen that the latter should forsake the International. The working men indignantly refused to comply with this dictate. Thanks to the aid received[b] from France, England, Germany, &c., through the medium of the International, they have finally obtained a diminution of one hour[c] of labour and 10 per cent[d] increase of wages. Already deeply rooted in Switzerland, the International has witnessed since that event a rapid increase in the number of its members. In the month of August last the German working men residing in Switzerland (about 50 societies) passed at their Congress in Neuenburg a unanimous vote of adhesion to the International.[25]

In England the unsettled state of politics,[e] the dissolution of the old parties, and the preparations for the coming electoral campaign have absorbed many of our most active members, and, to some degree, retarded our propaganda. Nevertheless, we have entered into correspondence with numerous provincial trades' unions, many of which have sent in their adhesion. Among the more recent London affiliations those of the Curriers' Society and the City Men's Shoemakers are the most considerable as regards numbers.

Your General Council is in constant communication with the National Labour Union of the United States. On its last Congress of August, 1867, the American Union had resolved to send a delegate to the Brussels Congress,[f] but, pressed for time, was unable to take the special measures necessary for carrying out the vote.[26]

The latent power of the working classes of the United States has recently manifested itself in the legal establishment of a working

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[a] Peter Fox.— *Ed.*

[b] The German text has "by them in Switzerland itself as well as".— *Ed.*

[c] The words "one hour" are omitted in the German text.— *Ed.*

[d] "10 per cent" omitted in the German text.— *Ed.*

[e] The German text has "the political movement" instead of "the unsettled state of politics".— *Ed.*

[f] Richard Trevellick.— *Ed.*

day of eight hours in all the workshops of the Federal Government, and in the passing [of] laws to the same effect by many State Legislatures.[27] However, at this very moment the working men of New York, for example, are engaged in a fierce struggle for enforcing the eight hours' law, against the resistance of rebellious capital. This fact proves that even under the most favourable political conditions all serious success of the proletariat depends upon an organisation that unites and concentrates its forces; and even its national organisation is still exposed to split on the disorganisation of the working classes in other countries, which one and all compete in the market of the world, acting and reacting the one upon the other. Nothing but an international bond of the working classes can ever ensure their definitive triumph. This want has given birth to the International Working Men's Association. That Association has not been hatched by a sect or a theory. It is the spontaneous growth of the proletarian movement, which itself is the offspring of the natural and irrepressible tendencies of modern society. Profoundly convinced of the greatness of its mission, the International Working Men's Association will allow itself neither to be intimidated nor misled. Its destiny, henceforward, coalesces with the historical progress of the class that bear in their hands the regeneration of mankind.[a]

London, September 1

Adopted by the General Council on September 1, 1868

First published in French in a special supplement to *Le Peuple Belge*, September 8, 1868: "Troisième congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Compte rendu officiel", Bruxelles, 1868; in English in *The Times*, No. 26225, September 9, 1868

Reproduced from *The Times* and checked with the copy of the German manuscript made by Marx's wife, Jenny Marx

[a] In the manuscript there follows: "For the General Council: *Robert Shaw*, Chairman *J. George Eccarius*, General Secretary."—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## TO THE DIRECTORATE OF THE SCHILLER INSTITUTE[28]

Manchester, September 16, 1868

Mr. Davisson has informed me that at its meeting of September 7 the Directorate took the decision to invite Mr. Karl Vogt to give a lecture at the Institute.

Much as I regret it, this decision obliges me to resign my post as chairman as well as that of member of the Directorate.

I do not need to enter here into the objective grounds on which, had I been present, I would have voted against the decision. It is not these reasons which make my decision a duty.

My resignation stems only from reasons not connected with the Institute. During 1859 and 1860 my political friends and I levelled grave charges of a political nature against Mr. Vogt, presenting evidence to support them. (See the work *Herr Vogt* by Karl Marx, London, 1860.) Mr. Vogt has so far remained silent in the face of these accusations, which have subsequently been repeated by other quarters.

This entire affair, as well as the polemic about it at the time, is probably unknown to the other members of the Directorate, or forgotten by them. They are quite entitled to disregard Mr. Vogt's political character and regard him as the more or less agreeable populariser of the scientific discoveries of others. I cannot afford to do so. Were I to remain in the Directorate after the above decision, I would be denying my entire political past and my political friends. I would be giving a vote of confidence to a man who, I consider it proved, was in 1859 a paid agent of Bonapartism.

Only such a compelling necessity could induce me to resign from a post in which I considered it my duty to remain under difficulties now fortunately overcome.[29]

I thank the members of the Directorate cordially for the confidence they have so lavishly bestowed on me, and leave them with the request to retain towards me the same friendly sentiments that I shall always cherish for them.

Yours faithfully,
*F. E.*

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Demokratisches Wochenblatt.

Organ der deutschen Volkspartei.

No. 40. Leipzig, den 3. Oktober. 1868.

Frederick Engels

# ON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE LASSALLEAN WORKERS' ASSOCIATION[30]

"The government *knows,* and the bourgeoisie knows too, that the whole German workers' movement today is only *tolerated,* only survives, for as long as the government *chooses.* For as long as it serves the government's purpose for this movement to exist and for the bourgeois opposition to be faced with new, independent opponents, thus long will it tolerate this movement. From the moment that this movement turns the workers into an independent force, and thereby becomes a danger to the government, there will be an abrupt end to it all. The whole manner in which the men-of-Progress agitation in the press, associations and assemblies has been put down, should serve as a warning to the workers. The same laws, edicts and measures which were applied in that case, can be applied against *them* at any time and deal a lethal blow to their agitation; *and they will be so applied as soon as this agitation becomes dangerous.* It is of the greatest importance that the workers should be clear about this point, and do not fall prey to the same illusion as the bourgeoisie in the New Era,[31] when it was similarly only *tolerated* but imagined it was already in the saddle. And if anyone should imagine the present government would free the press, the right of association and the right of assembly from their present fetters, he is clearly among those to whom there is no point in talking. And unless there is freedom of the press, the right of association and the right of assembly, no workers' movement is possible."

These words may be found on pages 50 and 51 of a pamphlet, *Die preussische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei,* by

Frederick Engels, Hamburg, 1865.[a] At that time the attempt was made to bring the General Association of German Workers—in its time the only organised association of social-democratic workers in Germany—under the wing of the Bismarck ministry by presenting the workers with the prospect of the government granting universal suffrage. "Universal, equal and direct suffrage" was of course preached by Lassalle as the sole and infallible means for the working class to win political power[b]; is it any wonder that under these circumstances such subordinate things as freedom of the press and the right of association and assembly, which even the bourgeoisie stood for, or at least claimed to stand for, should be looked down upon? If the bourgeoisie took an interest in such things was that not a good reason for the workers to steer clear of the agitation for them? This view was opposed by the pamphlet mentioned above. The leaders of the General Association of German Workers knew better, and the author only had the satisfaction that the Lassalleans of his hometown Barmen declared him and his friends outlawed and excommunicated.

And what is the state of affairs today? "Universal, direct and equal suffrage" has existed for two years. Two parliaments have already been voted in. The workers, instead of sitting at the helm of state and decreeing "state aid" according to Lassalle's directions, manage with the utmost difficulty to get half a dozen deputies elected into parliament. Bismarck is Federal Chancellor, and the *General Association of German Workers has been dissolved.*

But why universal suffrage failed to bring the workers the promised millennium, they were already able to find out from Engels. In the above pamphlet it says on page 48[c]:

"And regarding universal direct suffrage itself, one has only to go to France to realise what tame elections it can give rise to, if one has only a large and ignorant rural population, a well-organised bureaucracy, a well-regimented press, associations sufficiently kept down by the police and no political meetings at all. How many workers' representatives does universal[d] suffrage send to the French chamber, then? And yet the French proletariat has the advantage over the German of far greater concentration and longer experience of struggle and organisation.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 75-76 (Engels introduced some additional italics in quoting this passage in the present article).—*Ed.*

[b] F. Lassalle, *Offenes Antwortschreiben an das Central-Comité zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen deutschen Arbeiter-Congresses zu Leipzig*, Zurich, 1863, p. 5.—*Ed.*

[c] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 74-75.—*Ed.*

[d] In Engels' pamphlet: "universal direct."—*Ed.*

"Which brings us to yet another point. In Germany the rural population is twice the size of the urban population, i. e., $^2/_3$ earn their living from agriculture and $^1/_3$ from industry. And since in Germany the big landowner is the rule and the small peasant with his strips the exception, put another way that means: if $^1/_3$ of the workers are at the beck and call of the capitalists, $^2/_3$ ***are at the beck and call of the feudal lords.*** Let those who never stop railing at the capitalists but never utter a word in anger against the feudalists take that to heart! The feudalists exploit twice as many workers in Germany as the bourgeoisie.... But that is by no means all. The patriarchal economic system on the old feudal estates generates a hereditary dependence of the rural day labourer or cottager on 'his lordship', which makes it far more difficult for the agricultural proletarian to enter the urban workers' movement. The clergy, the systematic obscurantism in the country, the bad schooling and the remoteness of the people from the world at large do the rest. The agricultural proletariat is the section of the working class which has most difficulty in understanding its own interests and its own social situation and is the last to do so, in other words, it is the section which remains the longest an unconscious tool in the hands of the privileged class which is exploiting it. And which class is that? ***Not the bourgeoisie,*** in Germany, ***but the feudal aristocracy.*** Now even in France, where after all virtually all the peasants are free and own their land, and where the feudal aristocracy has long been deprived of all political power, universal suffrage has not put workers into the Chamber but has almost totally excluded them from it. What would be the consequence of universal suffrage in Germany, where the feudal aristocracy is still a real social and political power and where there are *two* agricultural day labourers for *every* industrial worker? The battle against feudal and bureaucratic reaction—for the two are inseparable in our country—is in Germany identical with the struggle for the intellectual and political emancipation of the rural proletariat—and until such time as the rural proletariat is also swept along into the movement, the urban proletariat cannot and will not achieve anything at all in Germany and universal[a] suffrage will not be a weapon for the proletariat but a *snare.*

"Perhaps this exceptionally candid but necessary analysis will encourage the feudalists to espouse the cause of universal direct suffrage. So much the better."

The General Association of German Workers has been dissolved

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[a] In Engels' pamphlet: "universal direct".—*Ed.*

not merely under the rule of universal suffrage but also precisely *because* universal suffrage rules. Engels had predicted that it would be suppressed as soon as it became *dangerous.* At its last general assembly[32] the Association had decided: 1. to work for ***full political liberty*** and 2. to cooperate with the International Working Men's Association.[a] These two resolutions comprise a complete break with the entire past of the Association. With them, it emerged from its previous sectarian position into the broad field of the workers' movement. But in higher places they seem to have imagined that this was to a certain extent a breach of agreement. At other times it would not have mattered so much; but since the introduction of universal suffrage, when they have to be careful to shield their rural and provincial proletariat from such subversive tendencies! Universal suffrage was the last nail in the coffin of the General Association of German Workers.

It does the Association credit that it foundered precisely on this breach with narrow-minded Lassalleanism. Whatever may take its place will consequently be built on a far more general, principled basis than the few incessantly reiterated Lassallean phrases about state aid could offer. The moment the members of the dissolved Association started thinking instead of believing, the last obstacle in the way of an amalgamation of all German social-democratic workers into one big party disappeared.

Written at the end of September 1868

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[a] "Die Generalversammlung des Allg. deutsch. Arbeiter-Vereins", *Der Social-Demokrat,* Nos. 100 and 102, August 28 and September 2, 1868.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## ON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE LASSALLEAN WORKERS' ASSOCIATION

### (POSTSCRIPT)[33]

In the article which appeared under the above heading (in the previous issue), the following note should be added at the end of the quotation from the pamphlet by Engels on universal suffrage[a]:

At that time the "President of Mankind", *Bernhard Becker,* bequeathed by Lassalle to the Association,[34] was heaping the vilest insults on "the Marx Party", *i. e. Marx, Engels* and *Liebknecht.** Now, in his obscene screed *Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's,* which lays bare his own piteous soul and is only of interest because of the suppressed documents it reproduces, the very same Becker bowdlerises Engels in the following way:

> "Yet, why is there no *agitation* for *unconditional freedom of association* and *assembly* and *freedom of the press?* Why do the workers not seek to remove the fetters placed on them in the period of reaction?" (P. 133.) "...Only by further development of the democratic basis can Lassalleanism be renewed and led over into pure socialism. To this end it is necessary among other things that the interests of the *Junkers* or wealthy landowners *should no longer be spared* but that socialist theory should be supplemented and completed by *applying it to the great mass of agricultural labourers* who in Prussia outnumber by far the population of the towns." (P. 134.)

It can be seen that the author of the pamphlet (F. Engels) may be content with its effect on his opponents.

Written at the beginning of October 1868

First published in *Demokratisches Wochenblatt,* No. 41, October 10, 1868

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

* This pretty business is now being continued by Countess *Hatzfeldt,* the "mother" of the Försterling-Mende caricature of the General Association of German Workers.[35]

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[a] See previous article.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION AND ENGLISH WORKING MEN'S ORGANISATIONS][36]

The unusual seriousness with which the English and particularly the London press treats the *International Working Men's Association* and its *Brussels Congress* (*The Times* alone devoted four leading articles to it[a]) has stirred up a real devil's sabbath in the German bourgeois press. It, the German press, takes the English press to task for its error in believing that such importance is attached to the International Working Men's Association in England! It has discovered that the English TRADES UNIONS, which, through the International Working Men's Association, have given considerable financial support to the Paris, Geneva and Belgian workers in their fight against capital,[37] have absolutely *no* connection with that very same International Working Men's Association!

"Apparently all this is based," we have in writing from London, "on the assertion of a certain *M. Hirsch** whom Schulze-Delitzsch sent specially to London to kick up such a fuss. *M. Hirsch* says so, and *M. Hirsch* is an honourable man! The honourable Hirsch aroused the suspicions of London trade unionists because [he] bore *no* letters of recommendation from the International Working Men's Association. They simply *made a fool of him.* No wonder then that Hirsch got it all wrong. If he had been taken seriously, he could have been told, without being entrusted with

* Reference is to Dr. *Max Hirsch*, the "famous" economist of the Duncker *Volks-Zeitung*. Until his voyage of discovery into the English unknown, apparently no one in London had any idea of the existence of this new saviour of society.

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[a] *The Times*, Nos. 26225, 26228, 26230 and 26234, September 9, 12, 15 and 19, 1868.— *Ed.*

anything really confidential, what the whole of London knows—that the General Council of TRADES UNIONS in London[38] consists of six or seven people, of whom three, *Odger* (Secretary of the General Trades Council and shoemakers' delegate), *R. Applegarth* (delegate of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners) and *Howell* (delegate of the bricklayers and Secretary of the Reform League[39]), are at the same time members of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. He would have discovered further that the rest of the affiliated TRADES UNIONS (there are about 50 in London alone, not counting the provincial TRADES UNIONS) are represented on the General Council of the International Working Men's Association by another *five members,* namely, *R. Shaw, Buckley, Cohn, Hales* and *Maurice;* furthermore every union has the right and makes a practice of sending delegates to the General Council for special purposes. Further, the following English organisations are represented on the General Council of the International Working Men's Association:

"*co-operative societies,* which sent three delegates[a] to the Brussels Congress, by *Wlm. Weston*[b] and *Williams*;

"the *Reform League,* by *Dell, Cowell Stepney* and *Lucraft,* all three are also on the Executive Committee of the Reform League;

"the *National Reform Association,*[40] set up by the late agitator Bronterre O'Brien, by its President *A. A. Walton* and *Milner*;

"lastly, the *atheist* popular movement by its famous orator *Mrs. Harriet Law* and *Mr. Copeland.*

"It is clear that not one significant organisation of the British proletariat exists which is not directly, by its own leaders, represented on the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. Finally, there is *The Bee-Hive,* under *George Potter*'s management, the official organ of the English TRADES UNIONS, which is at the same time the official organ of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, on whose meetings it reports weekly.

"The discoveries of the honourable Hirsch and the subsequent jubilation in the German bourgeois press have provided just the right fodder for the London correspondent of the *Weser-Zeitung* and the London correspondent of the *Augsburgerin,*[c] who signs himself △ . This person—for one and the same person writes for

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[a] Frederick Dean (a smith), John Foster Sr (a carpenter) and John Foster Jr (a mechanic)—all three members of co-operative societies in Hull.—*Ed.*

[b] John Weston is more likely the man meant here.—*Ed.*

[c] The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung.*—*Ed.*

the two papers—lives, for reasons best known to himself, in a remote corner a few hours away from London. There he coyly culls his extracts from *The Times, The Morning Star* and *The Saturday Review,* and serves them up with an aesthetic fish sauce to suit the taste of his public. From time to time, as is the case here, he also digs up the gossip of German papers and has it reprinted under a false date in the *Weser-Zeitung* and the *Augsburgerin.* The said correspondent of the *Weser-Zeitung* and the *Augsburgerin* is none other than the notorious literary lumpenproletarian *Elard Biscamp.* Long rejected by any decent society, this unfortunate seeks consolation in the bottle for the broken heart caused him by Prussia annexing his native Hesse-Cassel as well as his friend *Edgar Bauer.*[41]"

Written on October 4, 1868

First published in *Demokratisches Wochenblatt,* No. 42, October 17, 1868

Printed according to the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## HOW MR. GLADSTONE'S BANK LETTER OF 1866 PROCURED A LOAN OF SIX MILLIONS FOR RUSSIA[42]

Mr. Gladstone's letter of the 11th of May, 1866,[a] suspended the Bank Charter Act of 1844[43] on the following conditions:—

1. That the minimum rate of discount should be raised to 10 per cent.

2. That if the Bank overstepped the legal limitation of its note issue, the profits of such overissue should be transferred from the Bank to the Government.

Consequently the Bank raised its minimum rate of discount to 10 per cent. (which means 15 to 20 per cent. for the common run of merchants and manufacturers), and *did not* infringe the *letter* of the Act in regard to the *note issue.* They collected, in the evening, notes from their banking friends and other connexions in the City to reissue them in the morning. They infringed, however, the spirit of the Act by allowing, under the Government letter, their *Reserve* to dwindle down to zero, and *that Reserve,* according to the contrivances of the Act of 1844, forms the only available assets of the Bank as against the liabilities of its banking department.

Mr. Gladstone's letter, therefore, suspended Peel's Act in such a way as to perpetuate and even artificially exaggerate its worst effects. Neither Sir G. C. Lewis's letter of 1857 nor Lord John Russell's letter of 1847[44] lay open to the same censure.

The Bank maintained the 10 per cent. minimum rate of discount for more than 3 months. This rate was regarded by Europe as a danger signal.

The most morbid sense of distrust in English solvency having thus been created by Mr. Gladstone, out comes Lord Clarendon,

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[a] W. E. Gladstone and J. Russell, "To the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England. May 11, 1866", *The Times,* No. 25497, May 14, 1866.—*Ed.*

the man of the Paris Conference,[45] with an explanatory letter, published in *The Times,* to the English Embassies on the Continent.[a] He told the Continent, in so many words, that the *Bank of England* was *not bankrupt* (although it was *really so,* according to the Act of 1844), but that, to a certain degree, *English* industry and commerce were so. The immediate effect of his letter was not a *"run"* of the Cockneys upon the Bank, but a *"run"* (for money) *of Europe upon England.* (That expression was used at the time by Mr. Watkin in the House of Commons.[b]) Such a thing was quite unheard of in the annals of English commercial history. Gold was shipped from London to France, while, simultaneously, the official minimum rate of discount was 10 *per cent. in London,* and $3^1/_2$ *to 3 per cent. at Paris.* This proves that the withdrawal of gold was no regular commercial transaction. It was solely the effect of Lord Clarendon's letter.

The 10 per cent. minimum rate of discount having thus been kept up for more than three months, there followed the inevitable reaction. From 10 per cent. the minimum rate receded by quick steps to 2 per cent., which, a few days ago, was still the official Bank rate.[46] Meanwhile, all *English* securities, railway shares, bank shares, mining shares, every sort of home investment, had become utterly depreciated, and was anxiously shunned. Even the Consols declined. (On one day, during the Panic, the Bank *declined* making advances upon Consols.) Then the hour had struck for *Foreign Investments.* Foreign Government Loans were contracted, under the most facile conditions, on the London market. At their head stood *a Russian Loan for 6 millions sterling.*[47] This Russian Loan, which, a few months ago, had miserably broken down at the Paris Bourse, was now hailed as a godsend on the London Stock Exchange. Last week only Russia has come out with a new loan for 4 millions sterling. Russia was in 1866, as she is now (November 9, 1868), almost breaking down under financial difficulties, which, consequent on the agricultural revolution she is undergoing, have assumed a most formidable aspect.

This, however, is the least thing Peel's Act does for Russia—to keep the English money-market open to her. That Act puts England, the richest country in the world, *literally at the mercy of the Muscovite Government,* the most bankrupt Government in Europe.

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[a] G. W. Clarendon, "Foreign Office. May 12", *The Times,* No. 25504, May 22, 1866.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx refers to Watkin's speech of July 31, 1866, published in *The Times,* No. 25565, August 1, 1866.—*Ed.*

Suppose the Russian Government had had lodged, in the name of a private firm, German or Greek, from one to one and a half millions sterling at the beginning of May, 1866, in the banking department of the Bank of England. By the sudden and unexpected withdrawal of that sum, she might have forced the banking department to stop payment at once, although there were more than thirteen millions sterling of gold in the issue department. The bankruptcy of the Bank of England might, then, have been enforced by a telegram from St. Petersburg.

What Russia was not prepared for in 1866, she may make ready to do—if Peel's Act be not repealed—in 1876.

Written on November 9, 1868

Reproduced from the journal

First published in *The Diplomatic Review,* December 2, 1868

# Karl Marx

## [PREAMBLE TO THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE GENEVA (1866) AND BRUSSELS (1868) CONGRESSES OF THE INTERNATIONAL][48]

As some of the resolutions passed at the first Congress may be considered as part of the platform of principles of the International Working Men's Association, and the reports of that Congress have had but a limited circulation, the General Council deems it advisable to republish them with the issue of the resolutions passed at the last Congress.

Amongst the various subjects that came under the consideration of the first—the Geneva Congress—the following are the most important.[49]

Written at the end of October-November 3, 1868

Adopted by the General Council on November 3, 1868

First published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 371, November 21, 1868

Reproduced from the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## [STATEMENT TO THE GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY IN LONDON][50]

November 23, 1868
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, London

*To Mr C. Speyer, Secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society*

Dear friend,

I have been informed that the Society has decided to issue a circular letter to the German workers,[a] the theme of which is said to be the "mass unification of the German workers of South and North in consequence of the Berlin Congress of September 26".[51]

In these circumstances I am obliged to announce my *resignation from the Workers' Society.*

Such a letter is obviously intended as, or implies, a public alignment of the London German Workers' Educational Society *for Schweitzer* and his organisation and *against* the organisation of the Nuremberg Congress,[52] which embraces most of South Germany and various parts of North Germany. As I am known in Germany as a member of the Society, in fact its oldest member, *I* would be held responsible for this step in spite of all possible assurances to the contrary.

You must, however, realise that I cannot accept such responsibility.

*Firstly*: During the disputes between the Nuremberg organisation, represented by Liebknecht, Bebel, etc., and the Berlin organisation, represented by Schweitzer, both parties have contacted me in writing. I have replied that as the Secretary of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association

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[a] K. Speyer, "Der deutsche Arbeiter-Bildungsverein in London an die Arbeiter Deutschlands", *Der Vorbote*, No. 12, December 1868; No. 1, January 1869.—*Ed.*

for Germany I have to maintain an *impartial* position. I have advised both parties, if they cannot and will not amalgamate with each other, to look for ways and means of working for the common goal peacefully *side by side.*

*Secondly*: In reply to a letter from Herr von Schweitzer to me, I have set out for him in detail the reasons why I can neither approve the manner in which the Berlin Congress was managed nor the statutes adopted by it.[53]

*Thirdly*: The Nuremberg Congress has affiliated itself *directly* to the International Working Men's Association. The Hamburg Congress—of which the Berlin Congress was a continuation—has *only indirectly* affiliated itself by a statement of sympathy, owing to the obstacles placed in its path by the Prussian legislation. In spite of these obstacles, however, the newly formed Democratic Workers' Association of Berlin,[54] which belongs to the Nuremberg organisation, has publicly and officially affiliated itself to the International Working Men's Association.

I repeat that in these circumstances the decision of the Society leaves me no other choice than to announce my resignation from it. I trust you will be so kind as to convey these lines of mine to the Society.

Yours sincerely,
*Karl Marx*

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von J. Ph. Becker, J. Dietzgen, F. Engels, K. Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge u. A.*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx

## THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION AND THE INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY[55]

Just about a month ago a certain number of citizens formed in Geneva the *Central Initiatory Committee* of a new international society named *The International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*, stating that it was their "special mission to study political and philosophical questions on the basis of the grand principle of equality, etc."

The programme and rules printed by this Initiatory Committee[a] were only communicated to the *General Council* of the *International Working Men's Association* at its meeting on December 15. According to these documents, the said "*International Alliance is merged entirely in the International Working Men's Association*", at the same time as it is *established* entirely outside this Association.

Besides the *General Council* of the *International Association*, elected at the Geneva, Lausanne and Brussels working men's congresses, there is to be, in line with the initiatory rules, another *Central Council* in Geneva, which is self-appointed. Besides the local groups of the *International Association*, there are to be local groups of the *International Alliance*, which "through their national bureaus", operating outside the national bureaus of the *International Association*, "shall ask the *Central Bureau of the Alliance to admit them into the International Working Men's Association*"; the Alliance Central Committee thereby takes upon itself the right of admittance to the *International Association*. Lastly, the *General Congress of the International Association* will have its parallel in the

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[a] *Programme et Règlement de l'Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste*, Genève [1868] (see this volume, pp. 207-09). Here and below Marx quotes this document.— *Ed.*

*General Congress of the International Alliance,* for, as the initiatory rules say,

"At the annual Working Men's Congress *the delegation of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, as a branch of the International Working Men's Association, shall hold public meetings in a separate building.*"[a]

Considering,

That the presence of a second international body operating within and outside the *International Working Men's Association* would be the infallible means of its disorganisation;

That every other group of individuals, residing anywhere at all, would have the right to imitate the Geneva initiatory group and, under more or less plausible excuses, to bring into the *International Working Men's Association* other international associations with other *"special missions"*;

That the *International Working Men's Association* would thereby soon become a plaything for intriguers *of all race and nationality*[b];

That, moreover, the *Rules of the International Working Men's Association* admit only local and national branches into its ranks (see Article 1 and Article 6 of the *Rules*);

That *sections* of the *International Association* are forbidden to give themselves rules or administrative regulations *contrary* to the General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the *International Association* (see *Article 12 of the Administrative Regulations*[c]);

That the Rules and Administrative Regulations of the *International Association* can only be revised by the *General Congress* in the event of two-thirds of the delegates present voting in favour of such a revision (see *Article 13 of the Administrative Regulations*),[d]

[a] See this volume, p. 209.—*Ed.*

[b] *Les prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale* by Marx and Engels (Genève, 1872, p. 7) has: "for intriguers of any nationality and any party".—*Ed.*

[c] *Rules of the International Working Men's Association. Founded September 28th, 1864,* London [1867], pp. 4-5, 7.—*Ed.*

[d] During discussion of the draft resolution at the General Council meeting on December 22, 1868, on Dupont's proposal an addition was made to this part of the resolution which was not recorded in full in the Minute Book. The text of this addition, edited apparently by Marx, was included in the final version of the circular (see K. Marx and F. Engels, *Les prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale,* Genève, 1872, p. 8) and reads as follows:

"That this question was decided beforehand in the resolutions against the *Peace League,* unanimously passed at the General Congress in Brussels[56];

"That in its resolutions the *Congress* declared there was no justification for the *Peace League*'s existence since, according to its recent declarations, its aim and principles were identical with those of the *International Working Men's Association;*

"That a few members of the Geneva *Initiatory* group, as delegates to the Brussels Congress, had voted for these resolutions."—*Ed.*

*The General Council of the International Working Men's Association* unanimously agreed at its meeting on December 22, 1868, that:

1) All articles of the *Rules* of the *International Alliance of Socialist Democracy,* defining its relations with the *International Working Men's Association,* are declared null and void;

2) *The International Alliance of Socialist Democracy* may not be admitted as a branch of the *International Working Men's Association*;

3) These resolutions be published in all countries where the *International Working Men's Association* exists.[a]

By order of the *General Council of the International Working Men's Association*

London, December 22, 1868

Adopted by the General Council on December 22, 1868

First published in the pamphlet *Les prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale,* Genève, 1872

Printed according to the manuscript, checked with various copies and the pamphlet

Translated from the French

[a] Point 3 was not included in the final text of the resolution. Neither was it included in the pamphlet *Les prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale.— Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [RESUMÉ OF THE MEETINGS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL][57]

### INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION TO THE EDITOR OF *THE BEE-HIVE*

Sir,—At the meeting of this Association, held on the 5th inst., letters were read from Germany announcing the adhesion of 2,000 miners, from Lugau, in Saxony, and arrangements are in progress with two other bodies, of 7,000 miners each, with a view of their joining the International Working Men's Association.[58]

A democratic Working Men's Club has been formed at Berlin[59]; the members have joined the International Working Men's Association, and declared themselves opposed to the Prussian Government and to Schultze-Delitzsch. The trades' unions in Germany, on the model of the English ones, with some improvements suggested by the resolutions of the Geneva, Lausanne, and Brussels Working Men's Congresses, brought into existence by the efforts of the International Working Men's Association, number already 110,000 members.

The Belgian secretary[a] stated that in Belgium they had sixty branches, and that they were getting new members at the rate of 1,000 per week.[60]

The secretary for Switzerland[b] stated that he had received information concerning some riband weavers of Basel, who had been locked out.[61] The matter will come up again on Tuesday, when the Council will be in possession of the facts.

The secretary for France[c] reported an agreement come to between the cotton masters of Rouen, the northern and some other departments of France, to reduce the workmen's wages, in

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[a] Marie Bernard.—*Ed.*
[b] Hermann Jung.—*Ed.*
[c] Eugène Dupont.—*Ed.*

order to undersell the English manufacturers in their own markets.[a]

The following resolution, proposed by Citizen Applegarth, and seconded by Citizen Marx, was unanimously agreed to:—

Resolved—That in the opinion of this Council the attempt of the employers of Rouen, of the northern and other departments of France, to reduce the wages of their workpeople with the avowed object of underselling the manufacturers of England in their own markets is deserving the reprobation of the workmen and employers of all nations. That while recognising the right of free competition carried on by legitimate means, we utterly deprecate the extension of trade by reducing the wages of workpeople already underpaid.

Resolved—That the various societies be invited to send delegates to the next meeting of the Council, to be held on Tuesday 19 inst. at eight p. m., to devise the best means to frustrate the unwarrantable attempts of the French manufacturer, and to render to the workmen concerned such assistance as they may need.[62]

*Hermann Jung*,[b] Sec. pro. tem.

6th Jan. 1869

First published in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 379, January 16, 1869

Reproduced from the newspaper

[a] See this volume, p. 388.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Bee-Hive* has a mistake: "Henry Lang".—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## REPORT ON THE MINERS' GUILDS IN THE COALFIELDS OF SAXONY[63]

The first *wage scale* we take, e. g., that of the Niederwürschnitz Company, shows us the overall condition of the miners in the collieries of the Erzgebirge. A week's wage for adult miners amounts to from 2 talers to 3 talers 12 silver groschen 6 pfennigs for juveniles between 1 taler 10 silver groschen and 1 taler 20 silver groschen. A week's wage for an average miner amounts approximately to $2^2/_3$ talers. At the demand of the owners the workers have to work at piece rates. The *wage scale* is arranged in such a way that the piece rate will not usually exceed the normal rate for a day's work. Every worker must give a month's notice to leave, and that on the first day of the month. Consequently, if he refuses to work at piece rates on the terms proposed, he can be *forced* to it for 4-8 weeks at the least. Such being the circumstances, it is simply ridiculous to talk of regulating the piece rate by mutual agreement, of a free contract between worker and capitalist!

Wages are paid in two instalments; an advance is made on the 22nd of the month, the remainder for that month being paid on the 8th of the following month. The capitalist therefore retains wages that he *owes* his workers for a full three weeks on the average—this compulsory loan to the employer is all the more agreeable since money is thus obtained without the payment of interest.

As a rule the miners work in twelve-hour shifts, and the afore-mentioned weekly wages are paid for 6 twelve-hour working days. The twelve-hour working day includes 2 hours (2 half hours and 1 full hour) for meals, or so-called *rest periods.* If the work is urgent, shifts last eight hours (i. e., each man does 3 shifts in 48 hours) with *half an hour for meals*; they may even last six hours, in which case *"no rest period is granted".*

These facts offer a gloomy picture of the condition of the miners. But to appreciate their serf-like status we must also examine the *rules of the miners' guilds.* Let us take the rules for the coal-mines, those of (I) the high and mighty *Prince Schönburg,* (II) the *Niederwürschnitz* Company, (III) the *Niederwürschnitz-Kirchberg* Company, and (IV) the *Joint Lugau* companies.

The income of the miners' guilds consists of (1) the workers' entrance fees and dues, fines, unclaimed wages, etc., and (2) contributions from the capitalists. The workers pay 3 or 4 per cent of their wages, the owners of (I) pay 7 silver groschen 5 pfennigs monthly for every paid-up miner, of (II) 1 pfennig for every scheffel[a] of coal sold, of (III) as initial contribution and to found a miners' guild fund—500 talers; after that the same dues as the workers, and of (IV) like those of (II), plus a membership fee of 100 talers from each of the joint companies.

Are we not overwhelmed by this picture of friendly harmony between capital and labour? After that, who will dare to go on harping on their contradictory interests? But, as the great German thinker Hansemann once said, "business is business".[b] So we might ask what the worker has to pay for the magnanimity of the "exalted coal-owners". Let's see.

The capitalists contribute in one instance (III) as much as the workers, in all other instances appreciably less. For this they lay claim to the following rights in respect of *the property of the guild*:

I. "*No property rights* in respect of the guild fund *shall accrue* to members of the miners' guild, and they shall not expect to obtain more from the fund than the amount to which they, according to the rules, are entitled in certain circumstances, in particular they shall *not be able to propose sharing the fund and its ready cash even* in the event of any of the works ceasing to operate. Should there be a complete shut-down in the coal-mines of Prince Schönburg in Oelsnitz", then, after satisfaction of ready claims, *"the right to dispose of the remainder is vested in the Prince, owner of the coalfields."*

II. "In the event of the joint Niederwürschnitz Coal Company closing down, the miners' guild fund shall also be closed down, and *the right to dispose* of the remaining money *is vested in the management.*"

Members of the guild fund have *no property rights in respect of the guild fund.*

III. as in II.

IV. "The guild fund shall be considered the *inalienable property* of its present members and those who join it in future. Only in the unexpected event of the

[a] 1 scheffel is one-eighth of a ton.—*Ed.*

[b] From Hansemann's speech in the first United Diet on June 8, 1847 (see *Preussens erster Reichstag,* Th. 7, Berlin, 1847, p. 55).—*Ed.*

complete liquidation of all the joint coal-mines and the consequent closing down of the miners' guild"—now, in this unexpected event one might have expected the workers to be able to divide up among themselves any money remaining. Nothing of the sort! In this case "the management of the last closed trust shall direct suggestions to the *Royal District Board.* The last-named authority shall *decide* how this sum of money is to be used."

In other words, the workers pay the greater part of the contributions to the guild fund, but the capitalists *arrogate to themselves the ownership of the fund.* The capitalists seem to make the workers a present. Actually, the workers are forced to make a present to their capitalists. Together with the property right, the latter obtain control of the fund.

The *chairman* of the fund board is the coalfield manager. He is the chief administrator of the fund, he decides all disputed issues, determines the amount of fines, etc. Next below him is the *secretary of the guild,* who is also the treasurer. He is either appointed by the capitalist or has to get the latter's approval if he is elected by the workers. Then come the ordinary *members of the board.* They are usually elected by the workers, but in one instance (III) the capitalist appoints three members of the board. What sort of "board" this actually is can be seen from the rule obliging *"it to hold a meeting at least once a year".* Actually it is run by the chairman, and the board members carry out his orders.

This Mr. Chairman, the coalfield manager, is a powerful person in other respects too. He can reduce the probation period for new members, issue extra allowances, even (III) expel workers whose reputation he deems poor, and he can always appeal to the capitalist, whose decision is final on *everything concerning the miners' guild.* Prince Schönburg and the managers of the joint stock companies can, for instance, alter the guild rules, raise the workers' dues, reduce sick benefits and pensions, create new obstacles or formalities in dealing with claims on the fund. In short, they *can do what they like with the workers' money,* with the one reservation that they need the sanction of the government authorities, who have never yet displayed any *desire* to know anything about the condition or needs of the workers. In enterprise III the managers even reserve themselves the right to expel from the guild any worker *who has been brought to trial by them,* even *if he has been acquitted*!

And what are the benefits for which the miners so blindly subordinate their own affairs to an alien despotism? Listen to this!

1) In the event of sickness they receive medical treatment and a weekly allowance, in enterprise I—up to a third of their wages, in

III—up to a half of their wages, in II and IV—up to a half or, if the illness is due to an accident at work, $^2/_3$ and $^3/_4$ respectively. 2) The incapacitated receive a pension depending on their length of service, and hence on their contributions to the guild fund, from $^1/_{20}$ to $^1/_2$ of their last wages. 3) If a member dies his widow receives an allowance of between $^1/_5$ and $^1/_3$ of the pension which her husband was entitled to, and a weekly pittance for each child. 4) A burial allowance in the event of death in the family.

The noble prince and enlightened capitalists who compiled these rules, and the paternal government which endorsed them, owe the world the solution of this problem: if a miner with the full average wage of $2^2/_3$ talers a week is half starved, how can he live on a pension of, say, $^1/_{20}$ of this wage, some 4 silver groschen a week?

The tender concern which the rules display for the interests of capital comes out clearly in the way mine accidents are treated. With the exception of enterprises II and IV there is no special allowance if illness or death occurs through an accident "in the course of duty". *In not a single case is the pension increased if disability* follows from a mine accident. The reason is very simple. This clause would substantially increase payments out of the fund and very soon make even the most short-sighted see the real nature of *presents* from the capitalist gentlemen.

The rules imposed by the capitalists of Saxony differ from the constitution imposed by Louis Bonaparte[a] in that the latter still awaits the crowning touch whereas the former already have it in the form of the following article applicable to all:

"Every worker who *leaves* the company, be it voluntarily, *be it compulsorily,* thereby leaves the guild and *forfeits all rights and claims both to its fund and to the money he himself has contributed.*"

Thus, a man who has worked 30 years in one mine and contributed his share to the guild fund, forfeits all his hard-earned rights to a pension as soon as the capitalist *chooses to sack him*! This article turns the wage-worker into a serf, ties him to the soil, exposes him to the most shameful mistreatment. If he is no lover of kicks, if he resists the cutting of wages to starvation level, if he refuses to pay arbitrarily imposed fines, if he dares to insist on official verification of weights and measures—he will always receive the same old answer: get out, but your fund contributions and your fund rights stay with us!

It seems paradoxical to expect manly independence and self-respect from people in such a humiliating position. Yet these

[a] *Constitution faite en vertu des pouvairs délégués par le peuple français à Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, par le vote des 20 et 21 décembre 1851.—Ed.*

miners can be counted—much to their credit—among the vanguard fighters of the German working class. Their masters are therefore beginning to be greatly worried, despite the tremendous hold the present organisation of the miners' guilds gives them. The most recent and meanest of their rules (III, dating from 1862) contains the following grotesque clause against strikes and associations:

"Every guild member *must always be satisfied with the pay accruing to him in accordance with the wage scale,* he must never take part in joint action to force higher wages, to say nothing of inciting his workmates to the same, but should, rather, etc."

Why have the Lycurguses of the *Niederwürschnitz-Kirchberg* Coalfield Company, Messers. *B. Krüger, F. W. Schwamkrug* and *F. W. Richter* not also deigned to make it a rule that henceforward every *coal purchaser "must always be satisfied"* with the *coal prices* fixed by their exalted selves? This is too much even for Herr von Rochow's "limited understanding of the loyal subject".[64]

As a result of agitation among the miners, *preliminary draft rules* for the unification of miners' guilds of all coalfields in Saxony were recently published (Zwickau 1869). They were drawn up by a workers' committee under the chairmanship of Mr. *J. G. Dinter.* The main points are: 1) All guilds to be united in a single guild. 2) Members retain their rights as long as they live in Germany and pay their dues. 3) A general meeting of all adult members constitutes the supreme authority. It elects an executive committee, etc. 4) Contributions by the masters to the guild fund must make up half those paid by the workers.

This draft in no way reflects the views of the most intelligent miners of Saxony. It comes rather from a section which prefers reforms with the permission of capital. It bears the stamp of unpracticality on its brow. What a naïve idea indeed that the capitalists, unrestrained rulers over the miners' guilds up to now, will surrender their power to a democratic general workers' meeting and still pay their contributions!

The *basic evil* lies in the very fact that the capitalists *contribute.* As long as this continues, they cannot be removed from running the guild and the fund. To be genuine workers' societies, the miners' guilds must rely exclusively on workers' contributions. Only thus can they become Trades Unions which protect individual workers from the arbitrariness of individual masters. The insignificant and dubious advantages which come from the capitalists' contributions—can they ever compensate for the state of serfdom into which they force the workers? Let the Saxon miners always

remember that what the capitalist puts into the guild fund he *gets it all back, and more, from the workers' wages.* Guilds of this type have the unique effect of *suspending the operation of the law of supply and demand to the exclusive advantage of the capitalist.* In other words, by the *unusual* hold which they give capital over individual workers, they press down wages even *below* their usual average level.

But should the workers then present the existing funds—naturally after compensation for the acquired rights—to the capitalists? This question can only be decided by *law.* Although *endorsed by the supreme royal authority,* certain articles in the rules patently conflict with generally accepted legal regulations concerning contracts. In all circumstances, however, the separation of the workers' money from the capitalists' money remains the essential precondition to any reform of the miners' guilds.

The contributions of the Saxon coalfield owners to the guild funds are an involuntary admission that capital is up to a certain point responsible for accidents which threaten the wage worker with mutilation or death during the execution of his duty at his place of work. But instead of allowing this responsibility to be made the pretext for extending the despotism of capital, as is the case now, the workers must agitate for *this responsibility being regulated by the law.*

Written between February 17 and 21, 1869

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Published according to the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION TO THE CENTRAL BUREAU OF THE INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY[65]

London, 9 March, 1869

Citizens,

According to Article I of its[a] Statutes, the Int. W. Ass.[b] admits "all working men's societies ... aiming at the same end, viz., the protection, advancement, and *complete emancipation of the working classes*".[c]

Since the various sections of working men in the same country, and the working classes in different countries, are placed under different circumstances and have attained to different degrees of development, it seems almost necessary that their theoretical notions, which reflect the real movement, should also diverge.

The community of action, however, called into life by the Intern. W. Ass., the exchange of ideas facilitated by the public organs of the different national sections, and the direct debates at the General Congresses, are sure by and by to engender a common theoretical programme.

Consequently, it belongs not to the functions of the General Council to subject the programme of the Alliance to a critical examination.[d] We have not to inquire whether, yes or no, it be a true scientific expression of the working-class movement.[e] All we have to ask is whether its *general tendency* does not run against the

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[a] The clean copy in French has "our".—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below in the French copy the name of the International is given in full.—*Ed.*

[c] *Rules of the International Working Men's Association*, London [1867], p. 4.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 207-10.—*Ed.*

[e] The clean copy in French has "an adequate expression of the proletarian movement" instead of "a true scientific expression of the working-class movement".—*Ed.*

*general tendency* of the[a] Int. W. Ass., viz., *the complete emancipation of the working class*?

One phrase in your programme lies open to this objection. It occurs [in] Article 2:

"Elle (l'Alliance) veut avant tout *l'égalisation* politique, économique et sociale des *classes*." ("The Alliance aims above all at the political, economical, and social *equalisation ... of classes*."[66])

The "égalisation des classes", literally interpreted, comes to the *"Harmony of Capital and Labour"* ("l'harmonie du capital et du travail") so persistently preached by the bourgeois socialists. It is not the logically impossible *"equalisation of classes"*, but the historically necessary, superseding *"abolition of classes"* (abolition des classes), this true secret of the proletarian movement, which forms the great aim of the Int. W. Ass.

Considering, however, the context, in which that phrase *"égalisation des classes"* occurs, it seems to be a mere slip of the pen, and the General Council feels confident that you will be anxious to remove from your programme an expression which offers such a dangerous misunderstanding.

It suits the *principles* of the Int. W. Ass. to let every section freely shape its own theoretical programme, except the single case of an infringement upon its general tendency. There exists, therefore, no obstacle to the transformation of the sections of the Alliance into sections of the Int. W. Ass.

The dissolution of the Alliance, and the entrance of its sections into the Int. W. Ass, once settled, it would, according to our Regulations, become necessary to inform the General Council of the residence and the numerical strength of each new section.[b]

Adopted by the General Council on March 9, 1869

First published in the pamphlet *Les prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale*, Genève, 1872

Reproduced from the English rough copy, checked with Marx's clean copy in French

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[a] The clean copy in French has "our".—*Ed.*

[b] In the English manuscript the following text is crossed out: "It is self-understood that every section is bound to admit all workmen who accept the general statutes of the I. W. Association without adopting the special programme of the section."—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE BELGIAN MASSACRES[67]

### TO THE WORKMEN OF EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES

There passes hardly a week in England without strikes—and strikes upon a grand scale. If, on such occasions, the Government was to let its soldiers loose upon the Working Class, this land of strikes would become a land of massacres, but not for many a week. After a few such physical force experiments, the powers that be would be nowhere. In the United States, too, the number and scale of strikes have continued to increase during the last few years, and even sometimes assumed a riotous character. But no blood was spilt. In some of the great military states of continental Europe, the era of strikes may be dated from the end of the American Civil War. But here, again, no blood was spilt. There exists but one country in the civilised world where every strike is eagerly and joyoŭsly turned into a pretext for the official massacre of the Working Class. That country of single blessedness is *Belgium*! the model state of continental constitutionalism, the snug, well-hedged, little paradise of the landlord, the capitalist, and the priest. The earth performs not more surely its yearly revolution than the Belgian Government its yearly Working Men's massacre. The massacre of this year does not differ from last year's massacre,[a] but by the ghastlier number of its victims, the more hideous ferocity of an otherwise ridiculous army, the noiser jubilation of the clerical and capitalist press, and the intensified frivolity of the pretexts put forward by the Governmental butchers.

It is now proved, even by the involuntary evidence of the

[a] Marx refers to the events in Charleroi (Belgium) in March 1868. See this volume, pp. 14-15.—*Ed.*

capitalist press,[a] that the quite legitimate strike of the puddlers in the Cockerill Ironworks, of Seraing, was only converted into a riot by a strong posse of cavalry and gendarmerie suddenly launched upon that place in order to provoke the people. From the 9th to the 12th of April these stout warriors not only recklessly charged with sabre and bayonet the unarmed workmen, they indiscriminately killed and wounded harmless passers-by, forcibly broke into private houses, and even amused themselves with repeated furious onslaughts on the travellers pent up in the Seraing Railway Station. When these days of horror had passed away, it became bruited about that Mr. *Kamp,* the mayor of Seraing, was an agent of the Cockerill Joint Stock Company, that the Belgian Home Minister, a certain Mr. *Pirmez,* was the largest shareholder in a neighbouring colliery also on strike, and that His Royal Highness the Prince of Flanders had invested 1,500,000 francs in the Cockerill concern.[68] Hence people jump to the truly strange conclusion that the Seraing massacre was a sort of joint stock company *coup d'état,* quietly plotted between the firm Cockerill and the Belgian Home Minister, for the simple purpose of striking terror unto their disaffected subjects. This calumny, however, was soon after victoriously refuted by the later events occurring in Le Borinage, a colliery district where the Belgian Home Minister, the said Mr. *Pirmez,* seems not to be a leading capitalist. An almost general strike having broken out amongst the miners of that district, numerous troops were concentrated, who opened their campaign at Frameries by a fusillade, which killed nine and grievously wounded twenty miners, *after* which little preliminary exploit the Riot Act, singulary enough styled in French *"les sommations préalables",*[69] was read, and then the butchery proceeded with.

Some politicians trace these incredible deeds to motives of a sublime patriotism. While just negotiating on some ticklish points with their French neighbour,[70] the Belgian Government, they say, were bound in duty to show off the heroism of their army. Hence that scientific division of arms, displaying, first, the irresistible impetuosity of the Belgian cavalry at Seraing, and then the steady vigour of the Belgian infantry at Frameries. To frighten the foreigner, what means more infallible than such homely battles, which one does not know how to lose, and such domestic battlefields, where the hundreds of workmen killed, mutilated,

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[a] See "Moralités de l'affaire de Seraing" and "Episodes de troubles de Seraing et du Borinage", *L'Internationale,* Nos. 14 and 15, April 18 and 25, 1869.—*Ed.*

and made prisoners, shed so glorious a lustre upon those invulnerable warriors, who, all of them, to a man, get off with their skins safe.

Other politicians, on the contrary, suspect the Belgian ministers to be sold to the Tuileries, and to periodically enact these horrible scenes of a mock civil war, with the deliberate aim of affording Louis Bonaparte a pretext for saving society in Belgium as he has saved it in France. But was Ex-Governor Eyre ever accused of having organised the Negro massacre at Jamaica in order to wrest that island from England and place it into the hands of the United States?[71] No doubt the Belgian ministers are excellent patriots of the Eyre pattern. As he was the unscrupulous tool of the West-Indian planter, they are the unscrupulous tools of the Belgian capitalist.

The Belgian capitalist has won fair fame in the world by his eccentric passion for, what he calls, *the liberty of labour (la liberté du travail).* So fond is he of the liberty of his hands to labour for him all the hours of their life, without exemption of age or sex, that he has always indignantly repulsed any factory law encroaching upon that liberty. He shudders at the very idea that a common workman should be wicked enough to claim any higher destiny than that of enriching his master and natural superior. He wants his workman not only to remain a miserable drudge, overworked and underpaid, but, like every other slave-holder, he wants him to be a cringing, servile, broken-hearted, morally prostrate, religiously humble drudge. Hence his frantic fury at strikes. With him, a strike is a blasphemy, a slave's revolt, the signal of a social cataclysm. Put, now, into the hands of such men—cruel from sheer cowardice—the undivided, uncontrolled, absolute sway of the state power, as is actually the case in Belgium, and you will no longer wonder to find the sabre, the bayonet, and the musket working in that country as legitimate and normal instruments for keeping wages down and screwing profits up. But, in point of fact, what other earthly purpose could a Belgian army serve? When, by the dictation of official Europe, Belgium was declared a *neutral country,*[72] it ought, as a matter of course, have been forbidden the costly luxury of an army, save, perhaps, a handful of soldiers, just sufficient to mount the royal guard and parade at a royal puppet-show. Yet, within its 536 square leagues of territory, Belgium harbours an army greater than that of the United Kingdom or the United States. The field service of this neutralised army is fatally computed by the number of its *razzias* upon the working class.

It will easily be understood that the *International Working Men's Association* was no welcome guest in Belgium. Excommunicated by the priest, calumniated by the respectable press, it came soon to loggerheads with the Government. The latter tried hard to get rid of it by making it responsible for the Charleroi colliery strikes of 1867-68, strikes wound up, after the invariable Belgian rule, by official massacres, followed by the judicial prosecution of the victims. Not only was this cabal baffled, but the Association took active steps, resulting in a verdict of *not guilty* for the Charleroi miners, and, consequently, in a verdict of *guilty* against the Government itself.[73] Fretting at this defeat, the Belgian ministers gave vent to their spleen by fierce denunciations, from the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies, against the *International Working Men's Association,* and pompously declared they should never allow its General Congress to meet at Brussels.[a] In the teeth of their menaces the Congress met at Brussels. But now at last the *International* is to succumb before the 536 square leagues of Belgian Omnipotence. Its culpable complicity during the recent events has been proved beyond the possibility of doubt. The emissaries of the Brussels Central Committee for Belgium and some of the Local Committees stand convicted of several flagrant crimes. In the first instance, they have tried hard to calm the excitement of the workmen on strike, and warn them off the Government traps. In some localities they have actually prevented the effusion of blood. And last, not least, these ill-boding emissaries observed on the spot, verified by witnesses, noted carefully down and publicly denounced the sanguinary vagaries of the defenders of order. By the simple process of imprisonment they were at once converted from the accusors into the accused. Then the domiciles of the members of the Brussels Committee were brutally invaded, all their papers seized, and some of them arrested on the charge of belonging to an association *"founded for the purpose of attempting the lives and properties of individuals".*[b] In other words, they were impeached of belonging to an *Association of Thugs,*[74] commonly styled the *International Working Men's Association.* Hunted on by the raving capucinades of the clerical and the savage howls of the capitalist press, this swaggering pigmy government is decidedly anxious to drown itself in a morass of ridicule, after having weltered in a sea of blood.

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[a] A reference to the speech of Jules Bara, the Belgian Minister of Justice, in the Chamber of Deputies on May 16, 1868, published in *La Liberté,* No. 47, May 17, 1868.—*Ed.*

[b] "Arrestations et condamnations", *L'Internationale,* No. 16, May 2, 1869.—*Ed.*

Already the Belgian Central Committee at Brussels has announced its intention to institute, and afterwards publish the results of, a full inquiry into the massacres of Seraing and Le Borinage.[a] We will circulate their revelations all over the world, in order to open the eyes of the world on the pet funfaronade of the Belgian capitalist: *La liberté, pour faire le tour du monde, n'a pas besoin de passer par ici (la Belgique).**

Perhaps, the Belgian Government flatters itself that having, after the revolutions of 1848-49, gained a respite of life by becoming the police agent of all the reactionary governments of the Continent, it may now again avert imminent danger by conspicuously playing the gendarme of capital against labour. This, however, is a serious mistake. Instead of delaying, they will thus only hasten the catastrophe. By making Belgium a byword and a nickname with the popular masses all over the world, they will remove the last obstacle in the way of the despots bent upon wiping that country's name off the map of Europe.

The General Council of the *International Working Men's Association* hereby calls upon the workmen of Europe and the United States to open monetary subscriptions for alleviating the sufferings of the widows, wives, and children of the Belgian victims, and also for the expenses incident upon the legal defence of the arrested workmen, and the inquiry proposed by the Brussels Committee.

By order of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association,

*R. Applegarth,* Chairman
*R. Shaw,* Secretary for America
*Bernard,* Secretary for Belgium
*Eugène Dupont,* Secretary for France
*Karl Marx,* Secretary for Germany
*Jules Johannard,* Secretary for Italy
*A. Zabicki,* Secretary for Poland
*H. Jung,* Secretary for Switzerland
*Cowell Stepney,* Treasurer
*J. G. Eccarius,* Secretary to the General Council

London, May 4th, 1869

* Liberty in travelling round the world has no need of passing through Belgium.[75]

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[a] *L'Internationale,* No. 15, April 25, 1869.—*Ed.*

All contributions for the victims of the Belgian massacre to be sent to the Office of the General Council, 256, High Holborn, London, W.C.

Adopted by the General Council on May 4, 1869

First published as a leaflet, *The Belgian Massacres. To the Workmen of Europe and the United States,* May 1869

Reproduced from the leaflet

# Karl Marx

## ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL LABOUR UNION OF THE UNITED STATES[76]

Fellow-workmen,

In the initiatory programme of our Association we stated: "It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working classes of England that saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic."[a] Your turn has now come to stop a war, the clearest result of which would be, for an indefinite period, to hurl back the ascendant movement of the working class on both sides of the Atlantic.

We need hardly tell you that there exist European powers anxiously bent upon hurrying the United States into a war with England. A glance at commercial statistics will show that the Russian export of raw produce, and Russia has nothing else to export, was rapidly giving way before American competition, when the civil war suddenly turned the scales. To convert the American ploughshares into swords would just now rescue from impending bankruptcy that despotic power which your republican statesmen have, in their wisdom, chosen for their confidential adviser. But quite apart from the particular interests of this or that government, is it not the general interest of our common oppressors to turn our fast-growing international cooperation into an internecine war?

In a congratulatory address to Mr. Lincoln on his re-election as president, we expressed our conviction that the American civil war

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[a] *Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association,* London, 1864.—*Ed.*

would prove of as great import to the advancement of the working class as the American war of independence had proved to that of the middle class.[a] And, in point of fact, the victorious termination of the anti-slavery war has opened a new epoch in the annals of the working class. In the States themselves, an independent working-class movement, looked upon with an evil eye by your old parties and their professional politicians, has since that date sprung into life. To fructify it wants years of peace. To crush it, a war between the United States and England is wanted.

The next palpable effect of the civil war was, of course, to deteriorate the position of the American workman. In the United States, as in Europe, the monster incubus of a national debt was shifted from hand to hand, to settle down on the shoulders of the working class. The prices of necessaries, says one of your statesmen, have since 1860 risen 78 per cent, while the wages of unskilled labour rose 50 per cent, those of skilled labour 60 per cent only. "Pauperism," he complains, "grows now in America faster than population." Moreover, the sufferings of the working classes set off as a foil the new-fangled luxury of financial aristocrats, shoddy aristocrats,[77] and similar vermin bred by wars. Yet for all this the civil war did compensate by freeing the slave and the consequent moral impetus it gave to your own class movement. A second war, not hallowed by a sublime purpose and a great social necessity, but of the Old World's type, would forge chains for the free labourer instead of tearing asunder those of the slave. The accumulated misery left in its track would afford your capitalists at once the motive and the means to divorce the working class from its bold and just aspirations by the soulless sword of a standing army.

On you, then, depends the glorious task to prove to the world that now at last the working classes are bestriding the scene of history no longer as servile retainers, but as independent actors, conscious of their own responsibility, and able to command peace where their would-be masters shout war.

In the name of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association,

British nationality: *R. Applegarth*, carpenter[b]; *M. J. Boon*, engineer; *J. Buckley*, painter; *J. Hales*, elastic web-weaver; *Harriet Law*; *B. Lucraft*, chair-

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[a] K. Marx, "To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America" (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 20).— *Ed.*

[b] At its meeting on May 11, 1869 the General Council decided that all Council members signing the address should indicate their profession.— *Ed.*

maker; *J. Milner*, tailor; *G. Odger*, shoemaker; *J. Ross*, bootcloser; *B. Shaw*, painter; *Cowell Stepney*; *J. Warren*, trunk-maker; *J. Weston*, handrail-maker. French nationality: *E. Dupont*, instrument-maker; *Jules Johannard*, lithographer; *Paul Lafargue*. German nationality: *G. Eccarius*, tailor; *F. Lessner*, tailor; *W. Limburg*, shoemaker; *Marx, Karl*. Swiss nationality: *H. Jung*, watchmaker; *A. Müller*, watchmaker. Belgian nationality: *M. Bernard*, painter. Danish nationality: *J. Cohn*, cigar-maker. Polish nationality: *Zabicki*, compositor.

*B. Lucraft*, Chairman
*Cowell Stepney*, Treasurer
*J. George Eccarius*, General Secretary

London, May 12th, 1869

Adopted by the General Council on May 11, 1869

Reproduced from the leaflet

First published as a leaflet, *Address to the National Labour Union of the United States*, London, 1869

# Karl Marx

## PREFACE [TO THE SECOND EDITION OF *THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS BONAPARTE*][78]

My friend *Joseph Weydemeyer,** who died so early, intended to publish a political weekly in New York starting from January 1, 1852. He invited me to provide a history of the coup d'état for it. Down to the middle of February, I accordingly wrote him weekly articles under the title: *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.* Meanwhile Weydemeyer's original plan had failed. Instead, in the spring of 1852 he began to publish a monthly, *Die Revolution,* the first issue of which consists of my *Eighteenth Brumaire.*[79] A few hundred copies of this found their way into Germany at that time, without, however, getting into the actual book trade. A German bookseller of extremely radical pretensions to whom I offered the sale of my book was most virtuously horrified at a "presumption" so "contrary to the times".[80]

It will be seen from the above that the present work was written under the immediate pressure of events and its historical material does not extend beyond the month of February (1852). Its republication now is due in part to the demand of the book trade, in part to the urgent requests of my friends in Germany.

Of the works on the same subject written at approximately the *same time* as mine, only two deserve notice: Victor Hugo's *Napoléon le petit* and Proudhon's *Coup d'état.*[a]

Victor Hugo confines himself to bitter and witty invective against the responsible publisher of the coup d'état. The event itself

* Military commandant of the St. Louis district during the American Civil War.

[a] V. Hugo, *Napoléon le petit,* London, 1852; P. J. Proudhon, *La Révolution sociale démontrée par le coup d'état du 2 décembre,* Paris, 1852.— *Ed.*

appears in his work like a bolt from the blue. He sees in it only the violent act of a single individual. He does not notice that he makes this individual great instead of little by ascribing to him a personal power of initiative such as would be without parallel in world history. Proudhon, for his part, seeks to represent the coup d'état as the result of preceding historical development. Unnoticeably, however, his historical construction of the coup d'état becomes a historical apologia for its hero. Thus he falls into the error of our so-called *objective* historians. In contrast to this, I demonstrate how the *class struggle* in France created circumstances and relations that made it possible for a grotesque mediocrity to play a hero's part.

A revision of the present work would have robbed it of its specific colouring. Accordingly I have confined myself to mere correction of printer's errors and to striking out allusions now no longer intelligible.

The concluding words of my work[a]: "But when the imperial mantle finally falls on the shoulders of Louis Bonaparte, the bronze statue of Napoleon will crash from the top of the Vendôme Column[81]", have already been fulfilled.

Colonel Charras opened the attack on the Napoleon cult in his work on the campaign of 1815.[b] Subsequently, and particularly in the last few years, French literature made an end of the Napoleon legend with the weapons of historical research, of criticism, of satire and of wit. Outside France this violent breach with the traditional popular belief, this tremendous mental revolution, has been little noticed and still less understood.

Lastly, I hope that my work will contribute towards eliminating the school-taught phrase now current, particularly in Germany, of so-called *Caesarism.* In this superficial historical analogy the main point is forgotten, namely, that in ancient Rome the class struggle took place only within a privileged minority, between the free rich and the free poor, while the great productive mass of the population, the slaves, formed the purely passive pedestal for these combatants. People forget *Sismondi*'s significant saying: The Roman proletariat lived at the expense of society, while modern society lives at the expense of the proletariat.[c] With so complete a difference between the material, economic conditions of the ancient

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 197.—*Ed.*

[b] J. B. A. Charras, *Histoire de la campagne de 1815. Waterloo,* Brussels, 1857.—*Ed.*

[c] J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi, *Études sur l'économie politique,* t. 1, Paris, 1837, p. 24.—*Ed.*

and the modern class struggles, the political figures produced by them can likewise have no more in common with one another than the Archbishop of Canterbury has with the High Priest Samuel.

*Karl Marx*

*London,* June 23, 1869

First published in the second edition of Marx's *Der Achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte,* Hamburg, July 1869

Printed according to the text of the 1869 edition

# Frederick Engels

## KARL MARX[82]

It has become the habit in Germany to regard Ferdinand Lassalle as the founder of the German workers' movement. And yet nothing could be less correct. If six or seven years ago in all the manufacturing districts, in all the major towns, the centres of the working population, the proletariat flooded to see him in vast numbers, and his journeys were triumphal processions which the reigning princes might have envied—had the ground not been quietly fertilized beforehand for it to bear fruit so rapidly? If the workers acclaimed his teachings, was this because those teachings were new to them, or because they had long been more or less familiar to the thinkers amongst them?

Life moves quickly for today's generation and they are quick to forget. The movement of the forties, which culminated in the revolution of 1848 and ended with the reaction of 1849 to 1852, has already been forgotten together with its political and socialist literature. It is therefore necessary to recall that before and during the revolution of 1848 there existed amongst the workers, precisely in western Germany, a well-organised socialist party,[83] which broke up after the Cologne Communist trial,[84] it is true, but whose individual members continued quietly to prepare the ground of which Lassalle later took possession. One must further recall that there existed a man who, as well as organising that party, had devoted his life's work to the scientific study of what was called the social question, i. e. the critique of political economy, and even prior to 1860 had published some of the significant results of his researches.[a] Lassalle was a highly talented

[a] This refers to Marx's work *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.— *Ed.*

and well-educated fellow, a man of great energy and almost boundless versatility; he was clearly cut out to play a part in politics whatever the circumstances. But he was neither the initial founder of the German workers' movement, nor was he an original thinker. Everything he wrote was derived from elsewhere, not without some misunderstandings either; he had a forerunner and an intellectual superior, whose existence he kept a secret, of course, whilst he vulgarised his writings, and the name of that intellectual superior is Karl Marx.[85]

*Karl Marx* was born on May 5, 1818 in Trier, where he received a classical education. He studied jurisprudence at Bonn and later in Berlin, where, however, his preoccupation with philosophy soon turned him away from law. In 1841, after spending five years in the "metropolis of intellectuals", he returned to Bonn intending to habilitate. At that time the first "New Era"[86] was in vogue in Prussia. Frederick William IV had declared his love of a loyal opposition, and attempts were being made in various quarters to organise one. Thus the *Rheinische Zeitung* was founded at Cologne; with unprecedented daring Marx used it to criticise the deliberations of the Rhine Province Assembly, in articles which attracted great attention.[a] At the end of 1842 he took over the editorship himself and was such a thorn in the side of the censors that they did him the honour of sending a censor[b] from Berlin especially to take care of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. When this proved of no avail either the paper was made to undergo dual censorship, since, in addition to the usual procedure, every issue was subjected to a second stage of censorship by the office of Cologne's Regierungspräsident.[c] But nor was this measure of any avail against the "obdurate malevolence" of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, and at the beginning of 1843 the ministry issued a decree declaring that the *Rheinische Zeitung* must cease publication at the end of the first quarter. Marx immediately resigned as the shareholders wanted to attempt a settlement, but this also came to nothing and the newspaper ceased publication.[87]

His criticism of the deliberations of the Rhine Province Assembly compelled Marx to study questions of material interest. In pursuing that he found himself confronted with points of view which neither jurisprudence nor philosophy had taken account of.[88] Proceeding from the Hegelian philosophy of law, Marx came

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[a] K. Marx, "Proceedings of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly".— *Ed.*

[b] Wilhelm Saint-Paul.— *Ed.*

[c] Karl Heinrich von Gerlach.— *Ed.*

to the conclusion that it was not the state, which Hegel had described as the "top of the edifice", but "civil society", which Hegel had regarded with disdain, that was the sphere in which a key to the understanding of the process of the historical development of mankind should be looked for. However, the science of civil society is political economy, and *this* science could not be studied in Germany, it could only be studied thoroughly in England or France.

Therefore, in the summer of 1843, after marrying the daughter of Privy Councillor von Westphalen in Trier (sister of the von Westphalen who later became Prussian Minister of the Interior), Marx moved to Paris, where he devoted himself primarily to studying political economy and the history of the great French Revolution. At the same time he collaborated with Ruge in publishing the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher,* of which, however, only one issue was to appear. Expelled from France by Guizot in 1845, he went to Brussels and stayed there, pursuing the same studies, until the outbreak of the February revolution. Just how little he agreed with the commonly accepted version of socialism there, even in its most erudite-sounding form, was shown in his critique of Proudhon's major work *Philosophie de la misère,*[a] which appeared in 1847 in Brussels and Paris under the title of *The Poverty of Philosophy.* In that work can already be found many essential points of the theory which he has now presented in full detail. The *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* London, 1848, written before the February revolution and adopted by a workers' congress in London, is also substantially his work.[b]

Expelled once again, this time by the Belgian government under the influence of the panic caused by the February revolution, Marx returned to Paris at the invitation of the French provisional government. The tidal wave of the revolution pushed all scientific pursuits into the background; what mattered now was to become involved in the movement. After having worked during those first turbulent days against the absurd notions of the agitators, who wanted to organise German workers from France as volunteers to fight for a republic in Germany,[89] Marx went to Cologne with his friends and founded there the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* which appeared until June 1849 and which people on the Rhine still remember well today. The freedom of the press of 1848 was

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[a] P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère,* t. 1-2, Paris, 1846.—*Ed.*

[b] Written by Marx and Engels, the *Manifesto* was adopted at the second congress of the Communist League (November 29-December 8, 1847).—*Ed.*

probably nowhere so successfully exploited as it was at that time, in the midst of a Prussian fortress, by that newspaper. After the government had tried in vain to silence the newspaper by persecuting it through the courts—Marx was twice brought before the assizes for an offence against the press laws and for inciting people to refuse to pay their taxes, and was acquitted on both occasions—it had to close at the time of the May revolts of 1849 when Marx was expelled on the pretext that he was no longer a Prussian subject, similar pretexts being used to expel the other editors. Marx had therefore to return to Paris, from where he was once again expelled and from where, in the summer of 1849,[a] he went to his present domicile in London.

In London at that time was assembled the entire *fine fleur*[b] of the refugees from all the nations of the continent. Revolutionary committees of every kind were formed, combinations, provisional governments *in partibus infidelium,*[c] there were quarrels and wrangles of every kind, and the gentlemen concerned no doubt now look back on that period as the most unsuccessful of their lives. Marx remained aloof from all of those intrigues. For a while he continued to produce his *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in the form of a monthly review (Hamburg, 1850), later he withdrew into the British Museum and worked through the immense and as yet for the most part unexamined library there for all that it contained on political economy. At the same time he was a regular contributor to the *New-York Tribune,* acting, until the outbreak of the American Civil War, so to speak, as the editor for European politics of this, the leading Anglo-American newspaper.

The coup d'état of December 2 induced him to write a pamphlet, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* New York, 1852, which is just now being reprinted (Meissner, Hamburg),[d] and will make no small contribution to an understanding of the untenable position into which that same Bonaparte has just got himself. The hero of the coup d'état is presented here as he really is, stripped of the glory with which his momentary success surrounded him. The philistine who considers his Napoleon III to be the greatest man of the century and is unable now to explain to

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[a] About August 26, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] Flower.—*Ed.*

[c] *In partibus infidelium*—literally: in parts inhabited by infidels. The words are added to the title of Roman Catholic bishops appointed to purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries. Here the words mean "in exile".—*Ed.*

[d] K. Marx, *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte,* 2 Ausg., Hamburg, 1869.—*Ed.*

himself how this miraculous genius suddenly comes to be making bloomer after bloomer and one political error after the other—that same philistine can consult the aforementioned work of Marx for his edification.

Although during his whole stay in London Marx chose not to thrust himself to the fore, he was forced by Karl Vogt, after the Italian campaign of 1859, to enter into a polemic, which was brought to an end with Marx's *Herr Vogt* (London, 1860). At about the same time his study of political economy bore its first fruit: *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* Part One, Berlin, 1859. This instalment contains only the theory of money, presented from completely new aspects. The continuation was some time in coming, since the author discovered so much new material in the meantime that he considered it necessary to undertake further studies.

At last, in 1867, there appeared in Hamburg: *Capital. A Critique of Political Economy,* Volume I. This work contains the results of studies to which a whole life was devoted. It is the political economy of the working class, reduced to its scientific formulation. This work is concerned[a] not with rabble-rousing phrasemongering, but with strictly scientific deductions. Whatever one's attitude to socialism, one will at any rate have to acknowledge that in this work it is presented for the first time in a scientific manner, and that it was precisely Germany that accomplished this. Anyone still wishing to do battle with socialism, will have to deal with Marx, and if he succeeds in that then he really does not need to mention the *dei minorum gentium.*[b]

But there is another point of view from which Marx's book is of interest. It is the first work in which the actual relations existing between capital and labour, in their classical form such as they have reached in England, are described in their entirety and in a clear and graphic fashion. The parliamentary inquiries provided ample material for this, spanning a period of almost forty years and practically unknown even in England, material dealing with the conditions of the workers in almost every branch of industry, women's and children's work, night work, etc.[90]; all this is here made available for the first time. Then there is the history of factory legislation in England which, from its modest beginnings with the first acts of 1802,[91] has now reached the point of limiting working hours in nearly all manufacturing or cottage industries to

[a] Added in the manuscript: "not with political propaganda".—*Ed.*
[b] Gods of lesser stock; approximate meaning: celebrities of lesser stature.—*Ed.*

60 hours per week for women and young people under the age of 18, and to 39 hours per week for children under 13.[92] From this point of view the book is of the greatest interest for every industrialist.

For many years Marx has been the "best-maligned" of the German writers, and no one will deny that he was unflinching in his retaliation and that all the blows he aimed struck home with a vengeance. But polemics, which he "dealt in" so much, was basically only a means of self-defence for him. In the final analysis his real interest lay with his science, which he has studied and reflected on for twenty-five years with unrivalled conscientiousness, a conscientiousness which has prevented him from presenting his findings to the public in a systematic form until they satisfied him as to their form and content, until he was convinced that he had left no book unread, no objection unconsidered, and that he had examined every point from all its aspects. Original thinkers are very rare in this age of epigones; if, however, a man is not only an original thinker but also disposes over learning unequalled in his subject, then he deserves to be doubly acknowledged.

As one would expect, in addition to his studies Marx is busy with the workers' movement; he is one of the founders of the International Working Men's Association, which has been the centre of so much attention recently and has already shown in more than one place in Europe that it is a force to be reckoned with. We believe that we are not mistaken in saying that in this, at least as far as the workers' movement is concerned, epoch-making organisation the German element—thanks precisely to Marx—holds the influential position which is its due.

Written on about July 28, 1869

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Printed according to the newspaper, checked against the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx

## REPORT OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL ON THE RIGHT OF INHERITANCE[93]

1. The right of inheritance is only of social import, in so far as it leaves to the heir the power which the deceased wielded *during his lifetime,* viz., *the power of transferring to himself,* by means of his property, the *produce of other people's labour.* For instance, land gives the living proprietor the power to transfer to himself, under the name of rent, without any equivalent, the produce of other people's labour. Capital gives him the power to do the same under the name of profit and interest. The property in public funds gives him the power to live without labour upon other people's labour, &c.

*Inheritance* does not *create* that power of transferring the produce of one man's labour into another man's pocket—it only relates to the change in the individuals who yield that power. Like all other civil legislation, the laws of inheritance are not the *cause,* but the *effect,* the *juridical consequence* of the *existing economical organisation of society,* based upon private property in the means of production, that is to say, in land, raw material, machinery, &c. In the same way the right of inheritance in the slave is not the cause of slavery, but, on the contrary, slavery is the cause of inheritance in slaves.

2. What we have to grapple with, is the cause and not the effect, the economical basis—not its juridical superstructure. Suppose the means of production transformed from private into social prosperity, then the right of inheritance—(so far as it is of any social importance)—would die of itself, because a man only leaves after his death what he possessed during his lifetime. Our great aim must, therefore, be to supersede those institutions which give to some people, *during their lifetime,* the economical power of

transferring to themselves the fruits of the labour of the many. Where the state of society is far enough advanced, and the working class possesses sufficient power to abrogate such institutions, they must do so in a *direct way.* For instance, by doing away with the public debt, they get of course, at the same time, rid of the inheritance in public funds. On the other hand, if they do not possess the power to abolish the public debt, it would be a foolish attempt to abolish the right of. inheritance in public funds.

*The disappearance of the right of inheritance* will be the natural result of a social change superseding private property in the means of production; but the *abolition of the right of inheritance* can never be the *starting-point* of such a social transformation.

3. It was one of the great errors committed about 40 years since by the disciples of St. Simon, to treat the *right of inheritance,* not as the *legal effect,* but as the economical cause of the present social organisation.[94] This did not at all prevent them from perpetuating in their system of society private property in land, and the other means of production. Of course elective and life-long proprietors, they thought, might exist as elective kings have existed.

To proclaim the abolition of the *right of inheritance* as the *starting-point* of the social revolution, would only tend to lead the working class away from the true point of attack against present society. It would be as absurd a thing as to abolish the laws of contract between buyer and seller, while continuing the present state of exchange of commodities.

It would be a thing false in theory, and reactionary in practice.

4. In treating of the laws of inheritance, we necessarily suppose that *private property* in the means of production continues to exist. If it did no longer exist amongst the living, it could not be transferred from them, and by them, after their death. All measures, in regard to the right of inheritance, can therefore only *relate* to a state of *social transition,* where, on the one hand, the present economical base of society is not yet transformed, but where, on the other hand, the working masses have gathered strength enough to *enforce transitory measures* calculated to bring about an ultimate radical change of society.

Considered from this standpoint, changes of the laws of inheritance form only part of *a great many other transitory measures* tending to the same end.

These transitory measures, as to inheritance, can only be:

(*a*) Extension of the inheritance duties already existing in many states, and the application of the funds hence derived to purposes of social emancipation.

(*b*) Limitation of the testamentary right of inheritance, which—as distinguished from the *intestate* or *family right of inheritance*—appears an arbitrary and superstitious exaggeration even of the principles of private property themselves.

Written on August 2-3, 1869

Adopted by the General Council on August 3, 1869

First published in the pamphlet *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association, held at Basle, in Switzerland,* London [1869]

Reproduced from the pamphlet

# Karl Marx

## REPORT OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO THE FOURTH ANNUAL CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[95]

Citizens,[a]

The delegates of the different sections will give you detailed reports on the progress of our Association in their respective countries. The report of your General Council will mainly relate to the guerilla fights between capital and labour—we mean the strikes which during the last year have perturbed the continent of Europe, and were said to have sprung neither from the misery of the labourer nor from the despotism of the capitalist, but from the secret intrigues of our Association.

A few weeks after the meeting of our last Congress, a memorable strike on the part of the ribbon-weavers and silk-dyers occurred in Basle, a place which to our days has conserved much of the features of a mediaeval town with its local traditions, its narrow prejudices, its purse-proud patricians, and its patriarchal rule of the employer over the employed. Still, a few years ago a Basle manufacturer boasted to an English secretary of embassy, that

> "the position of the master and the man was on a better footing here than in England", that "in Switzerland the operative who leaves a good master for better wages would be *despised* by his own *fellow-workmen*", and that "our advantage lies principally in the length of the working time and the moderation of the wages".

You see, *patriarchalism,* as modified by modern influences, comes to this—that the master is good, and that his wages are bad, that the labourer feels like a mediaeval vassal, and is exploited like a modern wages-slave.

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[a] The word "Citizens" is omitted in the German pamphlet.—*Ed.*

That patriarchalism may further be appreciated from an official Swiss inquiry into the factory employment of children and the state of the primary public schools. It was ascertained that

"the Basle school atmosphere is the worst in the world, that while in the free air carbonic acid forms only 4 parts of 10,000, and in closed rooms should not exceed 10 parts, it rose in Basle common schools to 20-81 parts in the forenoon, and to 53-94 in the afternoon".[a]

Thereupon a member of the Basle Great Council, Mr. Thurneysen, coolly replied,

"Don't allow yourselves to be frightened. The parents have passed through schoolrooms as bad as the present ones, and yet they have escaped with their skins safe".[b]

It will now be understood that an economical revolt on the part of the Basle workmen could not but mark an epoch in the social history of Switzerland. Nothing more characteristic than the starting-point of the movement. There existed an old custom for the ribbon-weavers to have a few hours' holiday on Michaelmas.[c] The weavers claiming this small privilege at the usual time in the factory of Messrs. Dubary and Sons, one of the masters declared, in a harsh voice and with imperious gesticulation,

"Whoever leaves the factory will be dismissed at once and for ever".[d]

Finding their protestations in vain, 104 out of 172 weavers left the workshop without, however, believing in their definite dismissal, since master and men were bound by written contract to give a fourteen days' notice to quit. On their return the next morning they found the factory surrounded by gendarmes, keeping off the yesterday's rebels, with whom all their comrades now made common cause.[e] Being thus suddenly thrown out of work, the weavers with their families were simultaneously ejected

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[a] See Report of the commission inquiring into the state of public schools in Switzerland. Quoted from J. Ph. Becker, *Die Internationale Arbeiter-Association und die Arbeiterbewegung in Basel im Winter 1868 auf 1869*, Genf, 1869, S. 34.— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid.— *Ed.*

[c] In the German pamphlet this sentence reads: "According to an old custom the workers in Basle take a quarter of a day off on the last day of the Autumn Fair." The next sentence begins as follows: "When, on November 9, 1868 the weavers claimed...".— *Ed.*

[d] See "Bericht über die Arbeiterbewegung in Basel", *Der Vorbote*, No. 12, December 1868, p. 177.— *Ed.*

[e] Instead of "with whom all their comrades now made common cause" the German pamphlet has two separate sentences: "Even the weavers who had not taken a quarter of a day off did not want to go in either. The general slogan was: 'All or none'".— *Ed.*

from the cottages they rented from their employers, who, into the bargain, sent circular letters round to the shopkeepers[a] to debar the houseless ones from all credit for victuals.[b] The struggle thus begun lasted from the 9th of November, 1868, to the spring of 1869. The limits of our report do not allow us to enter upon its details. It suffices to state that it originated in a capricious and spiteful act of capitalist despotism, in a cruel lock-out, which led to strikes, from time to time interrupted by compromises, again and again broken on the part of the masters, and that it culminated in the vain attempt of the Basle "High and Honourable State Council" to intimidate the working people by military measures and a quasi state of siege.

During their sedition the workmen were supported by the International Working Men's Association. But that was not all.[c] That society the masters said had first smuggled the modern spirit of rebellion into the good old[d] town of Basle. To again expel that mischievous intruder from Basle became, therefore, their great preoccupation. Hard they tried, though in vain, to enforce the withdrawal from it as a condition of peace, upon their subjects. Getting generally worsted in their war with the International they vented their spleen in strange pranks. Owning some industrial branch establishments at Lörrach, in Baden,[e] these republicans induced the grand-ducal official[f] to suppress the International section at that place, a measure which, however, was soon after rescinded by the Baden Government. The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, a paper of world-wide circulation, presuming to report on the Basle events in an impartial spirit, the angry worthies threatened it in foolish letters with the withdrawal of their subscriptions.[g] To London they expressly sent a messenger on the fantastic errand of ascertaining the dimensions of the International general "treasury-box". Orthodox Christians as they are, if they had lived at the time of nascent Christianity, they would, above all things, have spied into St. Paul's banking accounts at Rome.

Their clumsily savage proceedings brought down upon them some ironical lessons of worldly wisdom on the part of the Geneva

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[a] The German pamphlet has "butchers, bakers, grocers".—*Ed.*

[b] J. Ph. Becker, op. cit., p. 5.—*Ed.*

[c] This sentence is omitted in the German pamphlet.—*Ed.*

[d] In the German pamphlet the word "Imperial" has been added.—*Ed.*

[e] The German pamphlet has "at Lörrach, a Baden border village situated near Basle".—*Ed.*

[f] The German has "local magistrate".—*Ed.*

[g] *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nos. 9 and 13, January 9 and 13, 1869.—*Ed.*

capitalist organs.[a] Yet, a few months later, the uncouth Basle vestrymen might have returned the compliment with usurious interest to the Geneva men of the world.

In the month of March there broke out in Geneva a buildings' trade strike, and a compositors' strike, both bodies being affiliated to the International. The builders' strike was provoked by the masters setting aside a convention solemnly entered upon with their workmen a year ago. The compositors' strike was but the winding-up of a ten years' quarrel which the men had during all that time in vain tried to settle by five consecutive commissions. As in Basle, the masters transformed at once their private feuds with their men into a state crusade against the International Working Men's Association.[b]

The Geneva State Council dispatched policemen to receive at the railway stations, and sequestrate from all contact with the strikers, such foreign workmen as the masters might contrive to inveigle from abroad. It allowed the "Jeunesse Dorée", the hopeful loafers of "La Jeune Suisse",[c] [96] armed with revolvers, to assault, in the streets and places of public resort, workmen and workwomen. It launched its own police ruffians on the working people on different occasions, and signally on the 24th May, when it enacted at Geneva, on a small scale, the Paris scenes which Raspail has branded as "Les orgies infernales des casse-têtes".[97] When the Geneva workmen passed in public meeting an address to the State Council, calling upon it to inquire into these infernal police orgies,[d] the State Council replied by a sneering rebuke.[e] It evidently wanted, at the behest of its capitalist superiors,[f] to madden the Geneva people into an *émeute,* to stamp that *émeute* out by the armed force, to sweep the International from the Swiss soil, and to subject the workmen to a Decembrist regime. This scheme was baffled by the energetic action and moderating influence of our Geneva Federal Committee.[98] The masters had at last to give way.

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[a] The German pamphlet has "the Geneva capitalists".— *Ed.*

[b] See *L'Égalité,* Nos. 10, 11 and 13, March 27, April 3 and 17, 1869.— *Ed.*

[c] The words "the hopeful loafers of 'La Jeune Suisse'" are omitted in the German pamphlet.— *Ed.*

[d] "Adresse au Conseil d'État de la République de Genève. Genève, le 31 mai 1869", *L'Égalité,* No. 20, June 5, 1869.— *Ed.*

[e] E. Morhardt, "Genève, le 2 mai (lisez juin) 1869. Le Chancelier de la République et Canton de Genève", *L'Égalité,* No. 20, June 5, 1869.— *Ed.*

[f] The words "at the behest of its capitalist superiors" are omitted in the German pamphlet.— *Ed.*

And now listen to some of the invectives of the Geneva capitalists and their press-gang against the International. In public meeting they passed an address to the State Council, where the following phrase occurs:

"The International Committee at Geneva ruins the Canton of Geneva *by decrees sent from London and Paris*; it wants here to suppress all industry and all labour."[a]

One of their journals stated

"That the leaders of the International were secret agents of the Emperor,[b] who, at the opportune moment, were very likely to turn out public accusers against this little Switzerland of ours".[c]

And this on the part of the men who had just shown themselves so eager to transplant at a moment's notice the Decembrist regime to the Swiss soil, on the part of financial magnates, the real rulers of Geneva and other Swiss towns, whom all Europe knows to have long since been converted from citizens of the Swiss republic into mere feudatories of the French Crédit Mobilier[99] and other international swindling associations.

The massacres by which the Belgian Government did answer in April last to the strikes of the puddlers at Seraing and the coal-miners of Borinage, have been fully exposed in the address of the General Council to the workmen of Europe and the United States.[d] We considered this address the more urgent since, with that constitutional model government, such working men's massacres are not an accident, but an institution. The horrid military drama was succeeded by a judicial farce. In the proceedings against our Belgian General Committee at Brussels, whose domiciles were brutally broken in by the police, and many of whose members were placed under secret arrest, the judge of instruction finds the letter of a workman, asking for 500 "*Internationales*", and he at once jumps to the conclusion that 500 fighting-men were to be dispatched to the scene of action. The 500 "*Internationales*" were 500 copies of the *Internationale,* the weekly organ of our Brussels Committee.

A telegram to Paris by a member of the International, ordering a certain quantity of powder, is raked up.[e] After a prolonged research, the dangerous substance is really laid hand on at

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[a] *L'Égalité,* No. 11, April 3, 1869.—*Ed.*

[b] The German pamphlet has "Emperor Napoleon".—*Ed.*

[c] *L'Égalité,* No. 13, April 17, 1869.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 47-52.—*Ed.*

[e] The German pamphlet has the verb *stiebert* coined from *Stieber* (sleuth, detective)—an allusion to the Chief of the Prussian police Stieber.—*Ed.*

Brussels. It is powder for killing vermin. Last, not least, the Belgian police flattered itself, in one of its domiciliary visits, to have got at that phantom treasure which haunts the great mind of the continental capitalist, viz.: the International treasure, the main stock of which is safely hoarded at London, but whose offsets travel continually to all the continental seats of the Association. The Belgian official inquirer thought it buried in a certain strong box, hidden in a dark place. He gets at it, opens it forcibly, and there was found—some pieces of coal. Perhaps, if touched by the hand of the police, the pure International gold turns at once into coal.

Of the strikes that, in December, 1868, infested several French cotton districts, the most important was that at Sotteville-lès-Rouen. The manufacturers of the Department de la Somme had not long ago met at Amiens, in order to consult how they might undersell[a] the English manufacturers in the English market itself. Having made sure that, besides protective duties, the comparative lowness of French wages had till now mainly enabled them to defend France from English cottons, they naturally inferred that a still further lowering of French wages would allow them to invade England with French cottons. The French cotton-workers, they did not doubt, would feel proud at the idea of defraying the expenses of a war of conquest which their masters had so patriotically resolved to wage on the other side of the Channel. Soon after it was bruited about that the cotton manufacturers of Rouen and its environs had, in secret conclave, agreed upon the same line of policy. Then an important reduction of wages was suddenly proclaimed at Sotteville-lès-Rouen, and then for the first time the Normand weavers rose against the encroachments of capital. They acted under the stir of the moment. Neither had they before formed a trades union nor provided for any means of resistance. In their distress they appealed to the International committee at Rouen, which found for them some immediate aid from the workmen of Rouen, the neighbouring districts, and Paris. Towards the end of December, 1868, the General Council was applied to by the Rouen Committee, at a moment of utmost distress throughout the English cotton districts, of unparalleled misery in London, and a general depression in all branches of British[b] industry. This state of things has continued in England to this moment. Despite such

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[a] In the German text this word is given in brackets after the German verb *unterkaufen.—Ed.*

[b] "British" is omitted in the German pamphlet.—*Ed.*

highly unfavourable circumstances, the General Council thought that the peculiar character of the Rouen conflict would stir the English workmen to action. This was a great opportunity to show the capitalists that their international industrial warfare, carried on by screwing wages down now in this country, now in that, would be checked at last by the international union of the working classes. To our appeal the English workmen replied at once by a first contribution to Rouen, and the London Trades Council resolved to summon, in unison with the General Council, a metropolitan monster meeting on behalf of their Normand brethren.[100] These proceedings were stopped by the news of the sudden cessation of the Sotteville strike. The miscarriage of that economical revolt was largely compensated for by its moral results. It enlisted the Normand cotton-workers into the revolutionary army of labour, it gave rise to the birth of trades unions at Rouen, Elboeuf, Darnétal, and the environs; and it sealed anew the bond of fraternity between the English and French working classes.

During the winter and spring of 1869 the propaganda of our Association in France was paralysed, consequent upon the violent dissolution of our Paris section in 1868,[101] the police chicaneries in the departments, and the absorbing interest of the French general elections.

The elections once over, numerous strikes exploded in the Loire mining districts, at Lyons, and many other places. The economical facts revealed during these struggles between masters and men, struck the public eye like so many dissolving views of the high-coloured fancy pictures of working-class prosperity under the auspices of the Second Empire. The claims of redress on the part of the workmen were of so moderate a character, and so urgent a nature that, after some show of angry resistance, they had to be conceded, one and all. The only strange feature about those strikes was their sudden explosion after a seeming lull, and the rapid succession in which they followed each other. Still, the reason of all this was simple and palpable. Having, during the elections, successfully tried their hands against their public despot, the workmen were naturally led to try them after the elections against their private despots. In one word, the elections had stirred their animal spirits. The governmental press, of course, paid as it is to misstate and misinterpret unpleasant facts, traced these events to a secret *mot d'ordre* from the London General Council, which, they said, sent their emissaries, from place to place, to teach the otherwise highly satisfied French workmen that it was a bad thing to be overworked, underpaid, and brutally

treated. A French police organ, published at London, the "*International*"—(see its number of August 3)—has condescended to reveal to the world the secret motives of our deleterious activity.

"The strangest feature," it says, "is that the strikes were ordered to break out in such countries where misery is far from making itself felt. These unexpected explosions, occurring so opportunely for certain neighbours of ours, who had first to apprehend war, make many people ask themselves whether these strikes took place on the request of some foreign Machiavelli, who had known how to win the good graces of this all-powerful Association."[a]

At the very moment when this French police print impeached us of embarrassing the French Government by strikes at home, in order to disembarrass Count Bismarck from war abroad, a Prussian paper[b] accused us of embarrassing the Northern German Bund[102] with strikes, in order to crush German industry for the benefit of foreign manufactures.

The relations of the International to the French strikes we shall illustrate by two cases of a typical character. In the one case, the strike of St. Étienne and the following massacre at Ricamarie, the French Government itself will no longer dare to pretend that the International had anything whatever to do with it. In the Lyons case, it was not the International that threw the workmen into strikes, but, on the contrary, it was the strikes that threw the workmen into the International.

The miners of St. Étienne, Rive-de-Giers, and Firminy had calmly, but firmly, requested the managers of the mining companies to reduce the working day, numbering 12 hours hard underground labour, and revise the wages tariff. Failing in their attempt at a conciliatory settlement, they struck on the 11th of June. For them it was of course a vital question to secure the co-operation of the miners that had not yet turned out to combine with them.[c] To prevent this, the managers of the mining companies requested and got from the Prefect of the Loire a forest of bayonets. On the 12th of June, the strikers found the coal pits under strong military guard. To make sure of the zeal of the soldiers thus lent to them by the government, the mining companies paid each soldier a franc daily. The soldiers paid the companies back by catching, on the 16th June,[d] about 60 miners eager to get at a conversation with their brethren in the coal pits. These prisoners were in the afternoon of the same day escorted to

[a] "La Dictature universelle", *L'International*, No. 2345, August 3, 1868.—*Ed.*
[b] The German pamphlet has "a paper of Rhenish-Prussian manufacturers".—*Ed.*
[c] The German pamphlet has "the miners who continued to work".—*Ed.*
[d] The date is omitted in the German pamphlet.—*Ed.*

St. Étienne by a detachment (150 men), of the fourth regiment of the line. Before these stout warriors set out, an engineer of the Dorian mines distributed them 60 bottles of brandy, telling them at the same time, they ought to have a sharp eye on their prisoners' gang, these miners being savages, barbarians, ticket-of-leave men. What with the brandy, and what with the sermon, a bloody collision was thus prepared for. Followed on their march by a crowd of miners, with their wives and children, surrounded by them on a narrow defile on the heights of the Moncel, Quartier Ricamarie, requested to surrender the prisoners, and, on their refusal, attacked by a volley of stones, the soldiers, without any preliminary warning, fired with their *chassepots*[a] pell-mell into the crowd, killing 15 persons, amongst whom were two women and an infant, and dangerously wounding a considerable number. The tortures of the wounded were horrible. One of the sufferers was a poor girl of 12 years, Jenny Petit, whose name will live immortal in the annals of the working-class martyrology. Struck by two balls from behind, one of which lodged in her leg, while the other passed through her back, broke her arm, and escaped through her right shoulder. "Les chassepots avaient encore fait merveille." [103]

This time, however, the government was not long in finding out that it had committed not only a crime, but a blunder. It was not hailed as the saviour of society by the middle class. The whole municipal council of St. Étienne tendered its resignation in a document, denouncing the scoundrelism of the troops, and insisting upon their removal from the town.[b] The French press rung with cries of horror! Even such conservative prints as the *Moniteur universel* opened subscriptions for the victims.[c] The government *had* to remove the odious regiment from St. Étienne.

Under such difficult circumstances, it was a luminous idea to sacrifice on the altar of public indignation a scapegoat always at hand,[d] the International Working Men's Association. At the judicial trial of the so-called rioters, the act of accusation divided them into 10 categories, very ingeniously shading their respective darkness of guilt. The first class, the most deeply tinged, consisted of workmen[e] more particularly suspected to have obeyed some secret *mot d'ordre* from abroad, given out by the International. The

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[a] The words "with their *chassepots*" are omitted in the German pamphlet.— *Ed.*
[b] "Massacres de Saint-Étienne", *La Liberté*, No. 105, June 27, 1869.— *Ed.*
[c] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 172, June 21, 1869.— *Ed.*
[d] The words "always at hand" are omitted in the German pamphlet.— *Ed.*
[e] The German pamphlet has "5 workmen".— *Ed.*

evidence was, of course, overwhelming, as the following short extract from a French paper will show:

"The interrogatory of the witnesses did not allow '*neatly*' to establish the participation of the International Association. The witnesses affirm *only* the presence, at the head of the bands, of some *unknown* people, wearing white frocks and caps. *None of the unknown ones have been arrested, or appear in the dock.* To the question: do you *believe* in the intervention of the International Association? a witness replies: I *believe* it but *without any proofs whatever*!"[a]

Shortly after the Ricamarie massacres, the dance of economical revolts was opened at Lyons by the silk-winders, most of them females. In their distress they appealed to the International,[b] which, mainly by its members in France and Switzerland, helped them to carry the day. Despite all attempts at police intimidation, they publicly proclaimed their adhesion to our Society,[c] and entered it formally by paying the statutory contributions to the General Council. At Lyons, as before at Rouen, the female workers played a noble and prominent part in the movement. Other Lyons trades have since followed in the track of the silk-winders. Some 10,000 new members were thus gained for us in a few weeks amongst that heroic population which more than thirty years ago inscribed upon its banner the watchword of the modern Proletariat: "Vivre en travaillant ou mourir en combattant!"[d] [104]

Meanwhile the French Government continues its petty tribulations against the International. At Marseilles our members were forbidden meeting for the election of a delegate to Basle. The same paltry trick was played in other towns. But the workmen on the Continent, as elsewhere, begin at last to understand that the surest way to get one's natural rights is to exercise them at one's personal risk.

The Austrian workmen, and especially those of Vienna, although entering their class[e] movement only after the events of 1866,[105] have at once occupied a vantage-ground. They marched at once under the banners of socialism and the International,

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[a] "L'Internationalomanie", *L'Internationale,* No. 33, August 29, 1869 (italics by Marx in the quotation).— *Ed.*

[b] A. Richard, "Aux membres du Conseil général des sections belges. 6 juillet 1869", *L'Internationale,* No. 26, July 11, 1869.— *Ed.*

[c] "Déclaration au Conseil général de Londres. Lyon, 6 juillet 1869", *L'Internationale,* No. 26, July 11, 1869.— *Ed.*

[d] "Live working or die fighting." In the German pamphlet the French sentence is followed by the German translation of it in brackets.— *Ed.*

[e] The word "class" is omitted in the German pamphlet.— *Ed.*

which, by their delegates at the recent Eisenach Congress,[106] they have now joined *en masse.*

If anywhere, the liberal middle class has exhibited in Austria its selfish instincts, its mental inferiority, and its petty spite against the working class. Their ministry, seeing the empire distracted and threatened by an internecine struggle of races and nationalities, pounces upon the workmen who alone proclaim the fraternity of all races and nationalities. The middle class itself, which has won its new position not by any heroism of its own, but only by the signal disaster of the Austrian army,[107] hardly able as it is, and knows itself to be, to defend its new conquests from the attacks of the dynasty, the aristocracy, and the clerical party, nevertheless wastes its best energies in the mean attempt to debar the working class from the rights of combination, public meeting, free press and free thought. In Austria, as in all other states of continental Europe, the International has supplanted the *ci-devant spectre rouge.*[a] When, on the 13th of July, a workmen's massacre on a small scale was enacted at Brünn, the cottonopolis of Moravia, the event was traced to the secret instigations of the International, whose agents, however, were unfortunately invested with the rare gift of rendering themselves invisible.[b] When some leaders of the Vienna work-people figured before the judicial bench, the public accuser stigmatised them as tools of the foreigner. Only, to show how conscientiously he had studied the matter, he committed the little error of confounding the middle-class League of Peace and Liberty[108] with the working men's International Association.[109]

If the workmen's movement was thus harassed in Cis-Leithanian Austria,[110] it has been recklessly prosecuted in Hungary. On this point the most reliable reports from Pest and Pressburg have reached the General Council. One example of the treatment of the Hungarian workmen by the public authorities may suffice. Herr von Wenckheim, the Hungarian Home Minister, was just staying at Vienna on public business.[c] Having for months been interdicted from public meetings and even from entertainments destined for the collection of the funds of a sick club, the Pressburg workmen sent at last delegates to Vienna,[d] then and there to lay their

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[a] Old red spectre (see A. Romieu, *Le spectre rouge de 1852,* Bruxelles, 1851).—*Ed.*

[b] The German pamphlet has: "whose agents were in possession of magic caps".—*Ed.*

[c] The German pamphlet has "with the Hungarian delegation".—*Ed.*

[d] In the German pamphlet the following words have been added: "among whom was the well-known agitator Niemtzik".—*Ed.*

grievances before the illustrious Herr von Wenckheim.[a] Puffing and blowing his cigar, the illustrious one received them with the bullying apostrophe,[b] "Are you workmen? Do you work hard?[c] For nothing else you have to care. You do not want public clubs; and if you dabble in politics, we shall know what measures to take against you. I shall do nothing for you. Let the workmen grumble to their heart's content!" To the question of the workmen, whether the good pleasure of the police was still to rule uppermost, the liberal[d] minister replied: "Yes, under my responsibility." After a somewhat prolonged but useless explanation the workmen left the minister telling him, "Since state matters influence the workmen's condition, the workmen must occupy themselves with politics, and they will certainly do so."[e]

In Prussia and the rest of Germany, the past year was distinguished by the formation of trades unions all over the country. At the recent Eisenach Congress the delegates of 150,000[f] German workmen, from Germany proper, Austria, and Switzerland, have organised a new democratic social party, with a programme literally embodying the leading principles of our Statutes.[g] Debarred by law from forming sections of our Association, they have, nevertheless, formally entered it by resolving[h] to take individual cards of membership from the General Council. At its congress at Barmen,[111] the Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein has also reaffirmed its adhesion to the principles of our Association, but simultaneously declared the Prussian law forbade them joining us.[i]

New branches of our Association have sprung up at Naples, in Spain, and in Holland.

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[a] The German pamphlet has "before the Home Minister".— *Ed.*

[b] Instead of "Puffing and blowing his cigar ... with the bullying apostrophe" the German pamphlet has: "It was hard to receive audience from this high gentleman, and when the ministerial room at last opened, the workers were met by the minister in a manner which was quite disrespectful."— *Ed.*

[c] In the German pamphlet the following words have been added: "asked the minister puffing his cigar and twisting it in his mouth".— *Ed.*

[d] The word "liberal" is omitted in the German pamphlet.— *Ed.*

[e] See *Volksstimme*, No. 9, August 8, 1869.— *Ed.*

[f] The German pamphlet has "more than 150,000".— *Ed.*

[g] "Programm und Statuten der social-demokratischen Arbeiter-Partei", *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 33, August 14, 1869.— *Ed.*

[h] The German pamphlet has "they resolved".— *Ed.*

[i] This sentence is omitted in the German pamphlet.— *Ed.*

At Barcelona a Spanish, and at Amsterdam a Dutch organ of our Association is now being issued.[a]

The laurels plucked by the Belgian Government on the glorious battlefields of Seraing and Frameries seem really to have roused the angry jealousy of the Great Powers. No wonder, then, that *England* also had this year to boast a workman's massacre of its own. The Welsh coal-miners, at Leeswood Great Pit, near Mold, in Denbighshire, had received sudden notice of a reduction of wages by the manager of those works, whom, long since, they had reason to consider a most incorrigible petty oppressor. Consequently, they collected aid from the neighbouring collieries, and, besides assaulting him, attacked his house, and carried all his furniture to the railway station, these wretched men fancying in their childish ignorance thus to get rid of him for good and all. Proceedings were of course taken against the rioters; but one of them was rescued by a mob of 1,000 men, and conveyed out of the town.[b] On the 28th May, two of the ringleaders were to be taken before the magistrates of Mold by policemen under the escort of a detachment of the 4th Regiment of the line, "The King's Own". A crowd of miners, trying to rescue the prisoners, and, on the resistance of the police and the soldiers, showering stones at them, the soldiers—without any previous warning—returned the shower of stones by a shower of bullets from their breechloaders (Snider fusils).[c] Five persons, two of them females,[d] were killed, and a great many wounded. So far there is much analogy between the Mold and the Ricamarie massacres, but here it ceases. In France, the soldiers were only responsible to their commander. In England, they had to pass through a coroner's jury inquest; but this coroner was a deaf and daft of fool, who had to receive the witnesses' evidence through an ear trumpet, and the Welsh jury, who backed him, were a narrowly prejudiced class jury. They declared the massacre "Justifiable Homicide".[e]

In France, the rioters were sentenced from 3 to 18 months' imprisonment, and soon after, amnestied. In England, they were condemned to 10 years' penal servitude! In France, the whole press resounded with cries of indignation against the troops. In England, the press was all smiles for the soldiers, and all frowns for their victims! Still the English workmen have gained much by

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[a] *La Federacion* and *De Werkman.—Ed.*

[b] This sentence is omitted in the German pamphlet.—*Ed.*

[c] The words in brackets are omitted in the German pamphlet.—*Ed.*

[d] The German pamphlet has "and a child".—*Ed.*

[e] See "Riot at Mold", *The Bee-Hive,* No. 400, June 12, 1869.—*Ed.*

losing a great and dangerous illusion. Till now they fancied to have their lives protected by the formality of the Riot Act,[112] and the subordination of the military to the civil authorities. They know now, from the official declaration of Mr. Bruce, the liberal Home Minister, in the House of Commons—firstly, that without going through the premonitory process of reading the Riot Act, any country magistrate, some fox-hunter or parson, has the right to order the troops to fire on what he may please to consider a riotous mob; and, secondly, that the soldier may give fire on his own hook, on the plea of self-defence.[a] The liberal Minister forgot to add that, under these circumstances, every man ought to be armed, at public expense, with a breachloader, in self-defence against the soldier.

The following resolution was passed at the recent General Congress of the English Trades Unions at Birmingham:

"That as local organisations of labour have almost disappeared before organisations of a national character, so we believe the extension of the principle of free trade, which induces between nations such a competition that the interest of the workman is liable to be lost sight of and sacrificed in the fierce international race between capitalists, demands that such organisations should be still further extended and made international. And as the International Working Men's Association endeavours to consolidate and extend the interests of the toiling masses, which are everywhere identical, this Congress heartily recommends that Association to the support of the working men of the United Kingdom, especially of all organised bodies, and strongly urges them to become affiliated to that body, believing that the realisation of its principles would also conclude to lasting peace between the nations of the earth."[113]

During last May, a war between the United States and England seemed imminent. Your General Council, therefore, sent an address to Mr. Sylvis, the President of the American National Labour Union,[114] calling on the United States' working class to command peace where their would-be masters shouted war.[b]

The sudden death of Mr. Sylvis, that valiant champion of our cause, will justify us in concluding this report, as an homage to his memory, by his reply to our letter[c]:

"Your favour of the 12th instant, with address enclosed, reached me yesterday. I am very happy to receive such kindly words from our fellow-working men across the water: our cause is a common one. It is war between poverty and wealth: labour occupies the same low condition, and capital is the same tyrant in all parts

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[a] Marx refers to Bruce's speech in the House of Commons on June 7, 1869, published in *The Times*, No. 26442, June 8, 1869.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 53-55.—*Ed.*

[c] In the German pamphlet the reply is datelined: "Philadelphia, May 26, 1869".—*Ed.*

of the world. Therefore I say our cause is a common one. I, in behalf of the working people of the United States, extend to you, and through you to those you represent, and to all the downtrodden and oppressed sons and daughters of toil in Europe, the right hand of fellowship. Go ahead in the good work you have undertaken, until the most glorious success crowns your efforts. That is our determination. Our late war resulted in the building up of the most infamous monied aristocracy on the face of the earth. This monied power is fast eating up the substance of the people. We have made war upon it, and we mean to win. If we can, we will win through the ballot-box: if not, then we will resort to sterner means. A little blood-letting is sometimes necessary in desperate cases."[a]

By order of the Council,

*R. Applegarth*, Chairman
*Cowell Stepney*, Treasurer
*J. George Eccarius*, General Secretary[b]

First published in English in the pamphlet *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association, held at Basle, in Switzerland*, London [1869], and in German as a separate pamphlet in Basle in September 1869

Reproduced from the text in the *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association*, checked with the German pamphlet

[a] Sylvis' reply of May 26, 1869 to the General Council's letter was published in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 400, June 12, 1869.—*Ed.*

[b] At the end of the report the German pamphlet has: "London, September 1, 1869. Office: 256, High Holborn, W.C."—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL ON THE POLICY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TOWARDS THE IRISH PRISONERS][115]

Resolved,

that in his reply to the Irish demands for the release of the imprisoned Irish patriots—a reply contained in his letter to Mr. O'Shea etc., etc.[a]—Mr. Gladstone deliberately insults Irish Nation;

that he clogs political amnesty with conditions alike degrading to the victims of misgovernment and the people they belong to;

that having, in the teeth of his responsible position, publicly and enthusiastically cheered on the American slave-holders' Rebellion,[116] he now steps in to preach to the Irish people the doctrine of passive obedience;

that his whole proceedings with reference to the Irish Amnesty question are the true and genuine offspring of that "*policy of conquest*" by the fiery denunciation of which Mr. Gladstone ousted his Tory rivals from office[117];

that the *General Council of the "International Working Men's Association"* express their admiration of the spirited, firm and high-souled manner in which the Irish people carry on their Amnesty movement;

that these resolutions be communicated to all the branches of, and working men's bodies connected with, the *"International Working Men's Association"* in Europe and America.

Introduced by Marx on November 16, 1869

Adopted by the General Council on November 30, 1869

First published in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, No. 1006, November 21, 1869

Reproduced from the manuscript, checked with the Minute Book of the General Council

[a] In the Minute Book of the General Council this text in parentheses reads as follows: "in a reply contained in his letter to Mr. O'Shea d. d. Oct. 18, 1869, and to Mr. Isaac Butt d.d. Oct. 23, 1869" (see W. E. Gladstone, "The Government and the Fenians. Hawarden, Chester, Oct. 18" and "Hawarden, Chester, Oct. 23", *The Times*, Nos. 26579 and 26583, October 23 and 27, 1869).—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF ROMANCE SWITZERLAND[118]

At its extraordinary meeting on January 1, 1870, the *General Council* resolved:

1) We read in the *Égalité* of December 11, 1869:

"It is *certain* that it" (the General Council) "is neglecting extremely important matters.... We remind it of them" (the General Council's *obligations*) "with Article 1 of the Regulations, etc.: 'The General Council is *commissioned* to carry the resolutions of the Congress into effect'.... *We could put enough questions to the General Council for its replies* to make up quite a long report. *They will come later....* Meanwhile... etc."[a]

The General Council does not know of any article, either in the Rules or in the Regulations, which *would oblige it* to enter into correspondence or into polemic with the *Égalité* or to provide *"replies"* to *"questions"* from newspapers. The *Federal Council* of Romance Switzerland alone represents the branches of Romance Switzerland vis-à-vis the General Council. When the Romance Federal Council addresses requests or reprimands to us through the only legitimate channel, that is to say through its *secretary*, the General Council will always be ready to reply. But the *Romance Federal Council* has no right either to *abdicate* its functions in favour of the *Égalité* and the *Progrès*, or to let these newspapers *usurp* its functions. Generally speaking, the General Council's correspondence with the national and local committees cannot be published without greatly prejudicing the Association's general interests. Consequently, if other organs of the International were to follow the example of the *Progrès* and the *Égalité*, the General Council would be faced with the alternative of either discrediting

[a] See "Réflexions", *L'Égalité*, No. 47, December 11, 1869.—*Ed.*

itself publicly by its silence or violating its obligations by replying publicly.[a]

The *Égalité* joins the *Progrès* (a paper which is not sent to the General Council) in inviting *Le Travail* (a Paris paper which has not hitherto declared itself an organ of the *International,* and which is also not sent to the General Council) to demand an explanation from the General Council.[b] That is almost a League of Public Welfare.[119]

2) Now, assuming that the questions put by the *Égalité* come from the Romance Federal Council, we shall answer them on condition that such questions do not reach us in such a manner in future.

3) *Question of a Bulletin.* In the resolutions of the Geneva[c] Congress, which are inserted in the regulations, it is laid down that the national committees shall send the General Council *documents* dealing with the proletarian movement[d] and that the General Council shall thereupon publish a bulletin in the *different languages* as often as *its means permit* ("*As often as its means permit,* the General Council shall publish a report, etc.").[e]

The General Council's obligation was thus made dependent on *conditions* that have never been fulfilled. Even the statistical inquiry provided for by the Rules, decided by consecutive General Congresses, and demanded yearly by the General Council, has never been made. No document has been presented to the General Council. As far as the *means* are concerned, the General Council would have long since ceased to exist had it not been for

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[a] In the manuscript, after the word "publicly", Marx had crossed out the words: "The *Progrès* (which is not sent to the General Council as it *should be* in accordance with resolutions thrice adopted by General Congresses) has taken the initiative in usurping the Federal Council's functions."— *Ed.*

[b] The manuscript has the following passage crossed out: "The same people who last year, immediately after their tardy entry into our Association, formed the dangerous project of founding another international association within the International Working Men's Association, under their personal control and based in Geneva, have returned to their project and still believe in their special mission to usurp the supreme authority of the International Association. The General Council reminds the Romance Federal Council that it is *responsible* for the question of the newspapers *L'Égalité* and *Le Progrès.*"— *Ed.*

[c] The manuscript mistakenly has "Lausanne".— *Ed.*

[d] *Congrès ouvrier de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs tenu à Genève du 3 au 8 septembre 1866,* Geneva, 1866, pp. 13 and 26.— *Ed.*

[e] *Rules of the International Working Men's Association. Founded September 28th, 1864,* London [1867], p. 6. The sentence in brackets is given by Marx in English.— *Ed.*

local contributions from England and the personal sacrifices of its members.

Thus, the Regulations passed at the Geneva[a] Congress have remained a dead letter.[b]

As regards the Basle Congress, it did not discuss the *fulfilment* of these existing Regulations. It discussed the possibility of issuing a bulletin in good time and *it did not pass any resolution* (see the *German report* published in Basle under the eyes of the Congress[c]).

For the rest, the General Council believes that the purpose of the bulletin is at the moment perfectly fulfilled by the different organs of the *International* published in the different languages and exchanged among them. It would be absurd to do by costly bulletins what is being done already without any expense. On the other hand, a bulletin which would print what is not contained in the organs of the *International* would only help our enemies to see behind the scenes.

4) *Question of separating the General Council from the Federal Council for England.*

Long before the foundation of the *Égalité,* this proposition was made periodically inside the General Council by one or two of its English members.[120] It was always rejected almost unanimously.

Although revolutionary *initiative* will probably come from France, England alone can serve as the *lever* for a serious *economic* Revolution. It is the only country where there are no more peasants and where landed property is concentrated in a few hands. It is the only country where the *capitalist form,* that is to say combined labour on a large scale under capitalist masters, embraces virtually the whole of production. It is the only country *where the great majority of the population consists of* WAGES-LABOURERS. It is the only country where the class struggle and the organisation of the working class by the TRADES UNIONS have *acquired* a certain degree of maturity and universality. It is the only country where, because of its domination on the world market, every revolution in economic matters must immediately affect the whole world. If landlordism and capitalism are classical features in England, on the other hand, the *material conditions* for their *destruction* are the most mature here. The General Council now being in the *happy* position *of having its hand*

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[a] The manuscript mistakenly has "Lausanne".—*Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript, after the words "dead letter", the following is crossed out: "They were treated as such by the Basle Congress."—*Ed.*

[c] *Verhandlungen des IV. Congresses des internationalen Arbeiterbundes in Basel,* Nos. 1-7, 7-14, September 1869, p. 90.—*Ed.*

*directly on this great lever of the proletarian revolution,* what folly, we might say even what a crime, to let this lever fall into purely English hands!

The English have all the *material* necessary for the social revolution. What they lack is the *spirit of generalisation and revolutionary ardour.* It is only the General Council that can provide them with this, that can thus accelerate the truly revolutionary movement in this country, and consequently *everywhere.* The great results we have already achieved in this respect are attested to by the most intelligent and influential of the newspapers of the ruling classes, as e.g. *The Pall Mall Gazette, Saturday Review, The Spectator* and *The Fortnightly Review,* to say nothing of the so-called radicals in the COMMONS and the LORDS who, a little while ago, still exerted a great influence on the leaders of the English workers. They accuse us publicly of having poisoned and almost extinguished the *English spirit* of the working class and of having pushed it into revolutionary socialism.

The only way to bring about this change is to act like the *General Council* of the *International Association.* As the General Council we can initiate measures (e.g., the founding of the *Land and Labour League*[121]) which later, in the process of their execution, will appear to the public as spontaneous movements of the English working class.

If a *Federal Council* were formed apart from the *General Council,* what would be the immediate results?

Placed between the *General Council* and the *General Council of Trades Unions,*[122] the *Federal Council* would have no authority whatever. On the other hand, the *General Council of the International* would lose control of *the great lever.* If we had preferred the showman's chatter to serious and unostentatious work, we would perhaps have committed the mistake of replying publicly the *Égalité*'s question as to why the *General Council* permits "such a burdensome combination of functions".

England cannot be treated simply as a country along with other countries. It must be treated as the *metropolis of capital.*

5) *Question of the General Council Resolution on the Irish Amnesty.*[a]

If England is the BULWARK of landlordism and European capitalism, the only point where official England can be struck a great blow *is Ireland.*

In the first place, Ireland is the *BULWARK* of English landlordism. If it fell in Ireland, it would fall in England. In Ireland this is a hundred

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[a] See this volume, p. 83.—*Ed.*

times easier because *the economic struggle there is concentrated exclusively on landed property,* because this struggle is at the same time national, and because the people there are more revolutionary and more exasperated than in England. Landlordism in Ireland is maintained solely by the *English army.* The moment the *forced union* between the two countries[123] ends, a social revolution will immediately break out in Ireland, though in outmoded forms. English landlordism would not only lose a great source of its wealth, but also its *greatest moral force,* i.e., that of *representing the domination of England over Ireland.* On the other hand, by maintaining the power of its landlords in Ireland, the English proletariat makes them invulnerable in England itself.

In the second place, the English bourgeoisie has not only exploited Irish poverty to keep down the working class in England by *forced immigration* of poor Irishmen, but it has also divided the proletariat into two hostile camps. The revolutionary fire of the Celtic worker does not go well with the solid but slow nature of the Anglo-Saxon worker. On the contrary, in all *the big industrial centres in England* there is profound antagonism between the Irish proletarian and the English proletarian. The average English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers wages and the STANDARD OF LIFE. He feels national and religious antipathies for him. He regards him somewhat like the POOR WHITES of the Southern States of North America regarded black slaves. This antagonism among the proletarians of England is artificially nourished and kept up by the bourgeoisie. It knows that this scission is the true secret of maintaining its power.

Moreover, this antagonism is reproduced on the other side of the Atlantic. The Irish, chased from their native soil by the *bulls* and the sheep, reassemble in North America where they constitute a huge, ever-growing section of the population. Their only thought, their only passion, is hatred for England. The English and American governments (that is to say, the classes they represent) play on these feelings in order to perpetuate the covert struggle between the United States and England. They thereby prevent a sincere and serious alliance between the working classes of both sides of the Atlantic, and, consequently, their common emancipation.

Furthermore, Ireland is the only pretext the English Government has for retaining a *big standing army,* which, if need be, as has happened before, can be used against the English workers after having had its drill in Ireland.

Lastly, England today is seeing a repetition of what happened

on a monstrous scale in ancient Rome. Any people that oppresses another people forges its own chains.

Thus, the position of the International Association with regard to the Irish question is very clear. Its first concern is to advance the social revolution in England. To this end a great blow must be struck in Ireland.[a]

The General Council's resolutions on the Irish amnesty[b] serve only as an introduction to other resolutions[124] which will affirm that, quite apart from international justice, it is a *precondition to the emancipation of the English working class* to transform the present *forced union* (i.e., the enslavement of Ireland) into *equal and free confederation* if possible, into *complete separation* if need be.[c]

For the rest, the naïve doctrines of the *Égalité* and the *Progrès* about the CONNEXION, or rather, the NON-CONNEXION, between the social movement and the political movement have never, as far as we know, been recognised by any of our International congresses. They run counter to our Rules. The Rules say[125]:

"That the *economical emancipation* of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every *political movement ought* to be subordinate *as a means.*"[d]

The words *"as a means"*[e] were omitted in the French translation made in 1864 by the Paris Committee.[f] When questioned by the General Council, the Paris Committee excused itself by the difficulties of its political situation.[g]

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[a] After the words "in Ireland" the manuscript has the following words crossed out: "and the Irish economic-national struggle must be exploited in all ways possible".— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 3-4 and 83.— *Ed.*

[c] After "if need be" the following words are crossed out in the manuscript: "The difficulties and even personal dangers which face General Council members who take such a stand may be judged by the fact that *The Bee-Hive* in its reporting of our meetings not only omitted *our resolutions* but did not even mention the fact that the General Council is concerned with the Irish question. The General Council was thus obliged to print its resolutions and send them to all TRADES UNIONS separately. The oracles of *L'Égalité* are now at liberty to say that it is a *'local political movement'*, that, in their opinion, a *Federal Council* should deal with such bagatelle, and that there is no need to '*better* the existing governments'. *L'Égalité* might just as well have said that we intend to '*better* the Belgian Government' by denouncing its massacres."— *Ed.*

[d] Here and below quotations from the Provisional Rules of the Association are given in English in the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 14).— *Ed.*

[e] Marx uses the English phrase and gives the French equivalent *"comme moyen"* in parentheses.— *Ed.*

[f] *Congrès ouvrier. Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Règlement Provisoire* [Paris, 1864], p. 1.— *Ed.*

[g] The next five paragraphs were added by Marx on a separate sheet.— *Ed.*

There are other mutilations of the authentic text. Thus the first clause of the preamble to the Rules reads: "The struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means ... a struggle ... for equal rights and duties, and the *abolition of all class rule.*"[a]

The Paris translation has "equal rights and duties", i.e., it reproduces a general phrase which may be found virtually *in all democratic manifestoes* of the last hundred years and which means different things in the mouth of different classes, but leaves out the concrete demand: *"the abolition of all class rule"*.[b]

Further, in the second clause of the preamble to the Rules we read: "That the economical subjection of the *man of labour* to the *monopoliser of the means of labour,* that is, *the sources of life,* etc."

The Paris translation substitutes the word *"capital"* for *"the means of labour, that is, the sources of life",* an expression which includes the land as well as the other means of labour.

The original authentic text was, however, restored in the French translation published in pamphlet form in Brussels by the *Rive Gauche* (1866).[126]

6) *Liebknecht-Schweitzer Question.*

The *Égalité* writes:

*"Both these groups belong to the International."*

That is incorrect. The Eisenachers' group (which the *Progrès* and the *Égalité* would like to turn into Citizen Liebknecht's group) belongs to the *International. Schweitzer's group does not belong to it.*[c]

Schweitzer himself explained at length in his newspaper *(Social-Demokrat)* why the *Lassallean organisation* could not join the *International* without destroying itself.[d] Without realising it, he was speaking the truth. His artificial *sectarian* organisation is opposed to the *historical and spontaneous organisation* of the working *class.*

The *Progrès* and the *Égalité* have summoned the General Council to state publicly its *"opinion"* on the personal differences between Liebknecht and Schweitzer. Since Citizen *Johann Philipp Becker* (who is *slandered* as much as Liebknecht in Schweitzer's paper[e]) is a member of the *Égalité*'s *editorial board,* it seems most strange that its editors are not better informed about the facts. They should have known that Liebknecht, in the *Demokratisches*

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 20, p. 14.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English phrase and gives the French equivalent in brackets. "l'abolition des classes".—*Ed.*

[c] The rest of the text was inserted by Marx.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx is referring to Schweitzer's leading article in *Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 82, July 16, 1869.—*Ed.*

[e] *Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 24, February 24, 1869.—*Ed.*

*Wochenblatt*,[a] publicly invited Schweitzer to accept the General Council as *arbiter of their differences*,[b] and that Schweitzer no less publicly refused to acknowledge the authority of the General Council.[c]

For its part the General Council has employed all possible means to put an end to this scandal.[d] It instructed its Secretary for Germany[e] to correspond with Schweitzer; this has been done for two years, but all attempts by the Council have broken down in the face of Schweitzer's firm resolution to preserve at all cost his autocratic power together with the sectarian organisation. It is up to the General Council to determine the favourable moment when its public intervention in this quarrel will be more useful than damaging.

7) Since the *Égalité*'s accusations are public and could be considered as emanating from the Romance Committee of Geneva, the General Council is to communicate this reply to all committees corresponding with it.

*By order of the General Council*

Written on about January 1, 1870

Approved by the General Council on January 1, 1870

Published in part in the pamphlet *Les prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale*, Genève, 1872

Printed according to the manuscript copy made by Marx's wife and checked by the author

Translated from the French

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[a] A mistake in the original: *Volksstaat* instead of *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*.—*Ed.*

[b] W. Liebknecht, "Erklärung. Leipzig, 18. Februar 1869", *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 8, February 20, 1869.—*Ed.*

[c] See *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 24, February 24, 1869.—*Ed.*

[d] The copy of the manuscript in Jung's handwriting further has: "which casts aspersions on the proletarian party in Germany".—*Ed.*

[e] Karl Marx.—*Ed.*

Numéro 53. Deuxième année. 16 Janvier 1870.

L'INTERNATIONALE

ORGANE DES SECTIONS BELGES

DE L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS.

PARAISSANT LE SAMEDI.

# Karl Marx

## OBITUARY [127]

Citizen Robert Shaw, Correspondent of the London General Council for North America, and one of the founders of the International, died this week of pulmonary tuberculosis.

He was one of the most active members of the Council. A pure heart, iron character, passionate temperament, truly revolutionary intelligence, quite above any petty ambition or personal interest. A poor worker himself, he could always find a worker poorer than himself to help. As meek as a child in personal affairs, he indignantly rejected all manner of compromise in his public life. It is principally due to his constant efforts that the TRADES UNIONS have rallied around us. But this same work made him plenty of implacable foes. The English TRADES UNIONS, all of local origin, all originally founded with the exclusive purpose of maintaining wages, etc., were all more or less afflicted by the narrowness that characterised the medieval guilds. There was a little conservative party that wanted at all cost to preserve the basic framework of unionism. Since the foundation of the International, Shaw made it his life's aim to break these voluntary chains and transform the unions into organised centres of the proletarian revolution. Success almost always crowned his efforts, but ever since that moment his life became a terrible battle in which his feeble health had to give way. He was already dying when he left for the Brussels Congress (September 1868). After his return, his good bourgeois masters banned him from all their works. He leaves a wife and daughter in poverty, but the English workers will not leave them in the lurch.

Written after January 4, 1870

First published in *L'Internationale*, No. 53, January 16, 1870

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

# Frederick Engels

## PREFACE [TO THE SECOND EDITION OF *THE PEASANT WAR IN GERMANY*][128]

The following work was written in London in the summer of 1850, the recent counter-revolution still fresh in mind; it appeared in the 5th and 6th issues of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue,* edited by Karl Marx, Hamburg, 1850. My political friends in Germany desire it to be reprinted, and I accede to their desire, because, to my regret, the work is still timely today.

It makes no claim to providing material derived from independent research. On the contrary, all the material on the peasant risings and on Thomas Münzer is taken from Zimmermann.[a] His book, despite gaps here and there, is still the best compilation of factual data. Moreover, old Zimmermann enjoyed his subject. The same revolutionary instinct, which prompted him throughout the book to champion the oppressed class, made him later one of the best of the extreme Left[129] in Frankfurt.[b]

If, nevertheless, Zimmermann's presentation lacks inner cohesion; if it does not succeed in showing the political and religious controversies of the times as a reflection of the contemporary class struggles; if it sees in these class struggles only oppressors and oppressed, evil folk and good folk, and the ultimate victory of the evil ones; if its exposition of the social conditions which determined both the outbreak and the outcome of the struggle is extremely defective, it was the fault of the time in which the book

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[a] W. Zimmermann, *Allgemeine Geschichte des grossen Bauernkrieges,* Th. 1-3, Stuttgart, 1841-1843.—*Ed.*

[b] The third edition (1875) further has: "It is true that since then he is said to have aged somewhat."—*Ed.*

came into existence. On the contrary, for its time, it is written quite realistically and is a laudable exception among the German idealist works on history.

My presentation, while sketching the historical course of the struggle only in its bare outlines, attempted to explain the origin of the Peasant War, the position of the various parties that played a part in it, the political and religious theories by which those parties sought to clarify their position in their own minds, and finally the result of the struggle itself as following logically from the historically established social conditions of life of these classes; that is to say, it attempted to demonstrate the political structure of Germany at that time, the revolts against it, and the contemporary political and religious theories not as causes but as results of the stage of development of agriculture, industry, roads and waterways, commerce in commodities and money then obtaining in Germany. This, the only materialist conception of history, originates not with myself but with Marx, and can also be found in his works on the French Revolution of 1848-49, in the same *Revue,* and in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.*[130]

The parallel between the German Revolution of 1525 and that of 1848-49 was too obvious to be altogether ignored at that time. Nevertheless, despite the uniformity in the course of events, where various local revolts were crushed one after another by one and the same princely army, despite the often ludicrous similarity in the behaviour of the city burghers in both cases, the difference was also clear and distinct.

"Who profited from the Revolution of 1525? The *princes.* Who profited from the Revolution of 1848? The *big* princes, Austria and Prussia. Behind the minor princes of 1525 stood the petty burghers, who chained the princes to themselves by taxes. Behind the big princes of 1850, behind Austria and Prussia, there stand the modern big bourgeois, rapidly getting them under their yoke by means of the national debt. And behind the big bourgeois stand the proletarians."[a]

I regret to have to say that in this paragraph much too much honour was done to the German bourgeoisie. Both in Austria and in Prussia it has indeed had the opportunity of "rapidly getting" the monarchy "under its yoke by means of the national debt", but nowhere did it ever make use of this opportunity.

As a result of the war of 1866 Austria fell into the lap of the bourgeoisie as a gift. But it does not know how to rule, it is

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[a] F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany* (present edition, Vol. 10, p. 482).—*Ed.*

powerless and incapable of anything. It can do only one thing: savagely attack the workers as soon as they begin to stir. It still remains at the helm solely because the *Hungarians* need it.

And in Prussia? True, the national debt has increased by leaps and bounds, the deficit has become a permanent feature, state expenditure grows from year to year, the bourgeoisie have a majority in the Chamber and without them taxes cannot be increased nor loans floated. But where is their power over the state? Only a few months ago, when there was again a deficit, the bourgeoisie occupied a most favourable position. By holding out only just *a little,* they could have forced far-reaching concessions. What do they do? They regard it as a sufficient concession that the government *allows them* to lay at its feet close on 9 millions, not just *one* year, oh no, but *every year,* and for all time to come.[131]

I do not want to blame the poor National-Liberals[132] in the Chamber more than they deserve. I know they have been left in the lurch by those who stand behind them, by the mass of the bourgeoisie. This mass does not *want* to rule. It still has 1848 in its bones.

Why the German bourgeoisie exhibits this astonishing cowardice will be discussed later.

In other respects the above statement has been fully confirmed. Beginning with 1850, the more and more definite recession into the background of the small states, which serve now only as levers for Prussian or Austrian intrigues; the increasingly violent struggle between Austria and Prussia for supremacy; finally, the forcible settlement of 1866,[133] under which Austria retains its own provinces, while Prussia subjugates, directly or indirectly, the whole of the North, and the three states of the Southwest[a] are left out in the cold for the time being.

In all this grand performance[134] only the following is of importance for the German working class:

First, that through universal suffrage the workers have got the power of being directly represented in the legislative assembly.

Secondly, that Prussia has set a good example by swallowing three other crowns held by the grace of God.[135] Even the National-Liberals do not believe that *after* this operation it still possesses the same immaculate crown, held by the grace of God, which it formerly ascribed to itself.

Thirdly, that there is now only *one* serious adversary of the revolution in Germany—the Prussian government.

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[a] Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg.—*Ed.*

And fourthly, that the German-Austrians will now at last have to make up their minds as to which they want to be, Germans or Austrians; whom they prefer to belong to—Germany or their extra-German trans-Leithan appendages.[136] It has been obvious for a long time that they have to give up one or the other, but this has been continually glossed over by the petty-bourgeois democrats.

As regards the other important issues relative to 1866, which since then have been thrashed out *ad nauseam* between the National-Liberals on the one hand, and the People's Party[137] on the other, the history of the next few years should prove that these two standpoints are so bitterly hostile to one another solely because they are the opposite poles of one and the same narrow-mindedness.

The year 1866 has changed almost nothing in the social relations of Germany. The few bourgeois reforms—uniform weights and measures, freedom of movement, freedom of occupation, etc., all within limits acceptable to the bureaucracy—do not even come up to what the bourgeoisie of other West European countries have enjoyed for a long time, and leave the main abuse, the bureaucratic license system, untouched.[138] For the proletariat all laws concerning freedom of movement, the right of naturalisation, the abolition of passports, etc., are anyhow made quite illusory by the common police practices.

What is much more important than the grand performance of 1866 is the growth of German industry and commerce, of railways, telegraphs and ocean steam shipping since 1848. However much this progress lags behind that of England, or even of France, during the same period, it is unprecedented for Germany and has accomplished more in twenty years than was previously done in a whole century. Only now has Germany been drawn, seriously and irrevocably, into *world commerce.* The capital of the industrialists has multiplied rapidly; the social position of the bourgeoisie has risen accordingly. The surest sign of industrial prosperity—*swindling*—has become very widespread and chained counts and dukes to its triumphal chariot. German capital is now constructing Russian and Romanian railways—may it not come to grief!—whereas only fifteen years ago, German railways went begging to English entrepreneurs. How, then, is it possible that the bourgeoisie has not conquered political power as well, that it behaves so cowardly towards the government?

It is the misfortune of the German bourgeoisie to arrive too late, as is the favourite German manner. The period of its florescence is occurring at a time when the bourgeoisie of the other West

European countries is already politically in decline. In England, the bourgeoisie could get its real representative, Bright, into the government only by an extension of the franchise, whose consequences are bound to put an end to all bourgeois rule. In France, where the bourgeoisie as such, as a class in its entirety, held power for only two years, 1849 and 1850, under the republic, it was able to continue its social existence only by abdicating its political power to Louis Bonaparte and the army. And in view of the enormously increased interaction of the three most advanced European countries, it is today no longer possible for the bourgeoisie to settle down to comfortable political rule in Germany after this rule has had its day in England and France.

It is a peculiarity of the bourgeoisie, in contrast to all former ruling classes, that there is a turning point in its development after which every further expansion of its agencies of power, hence primarily of its capital, only tends to make it more and more unfit for political rule. *"Behind the big bourgeois stand the proletarians."*[a] In proportion as the bourgeoisie develops its industry, commerce and means of communication, in the same proportion it increases the numbers of the proletariat. At a certain point—which is not necessarily reached everywhere at the same time or at the same stage of development—it begins to notice that its proletarian double is outgrowing it. From that moment on, it loses the strength required for exclusive political rule; it looks around for allies with whom to share its rule, or to whom to cede it entirely, as circumstances may require.

In Germany this turning point for the bourgeoisie came as early as 1848. To be sure, at that time the German bourgeoisie was less frightened by the German proletariat than by the French. The June 1848 battle in Paris showed the bourgeoisie what it had to expect; the German proletariat was restless enough to prove to it that the seed for the same crop had already been sown on German soil, too; from that day on the edge was taken off all bourgeois political action. The bourgeoisie looked around for allies, sold itself to them regardless of the price—and even today it has not advanced one step.

These allies are all reactionary by nature. There is the monarchy with its army and its bureaucracy; there is the big feudal nobility; there are the small country squires, and there are even the priests. With all of these the bourgeoisie made pacts and bargains, if only to save its dear skin, until in the end it had nothing left to barter.

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[a] F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany* (present edition, Vol. 10, p. 482).—*Ed.*

And the more the proletariat developed, the more it became aware of itself as a class and acted as a class, the more faint-hearted did the bourgeois become. When the astonishingly bad strategy of the Prussians triumphed over the astonishingly worse strategy of the Austrians at Sadowa, it was difficult to say who heaved a deeper sigh of relief—the Prussian bourgeois, who was also defeated at Sadowa, or the Austrian.

In 1870 our big bourgeois are acting exactly the same way as the middle burghers acted in 1525. As to the petty bourgeois, artisans and shopkeepers, they will always be the same. They hope to swindle their way up into the big bourgeoisie; they are afraid of being pushed down into the proletariat. Hovering between fear and hope, they will save their precious skins during the struggle and join the victor when the struggle is over. Such is their nature.

The social and political activity of the proletariat has kept pace with the rise of industry since 1848. The role that the German workers play today in their trade unions, cooperative societies, political associations and at meetings, elections and in the so-called Reichstag, is by itself sufficient proof of the transformation Germany has imperceptibly undergone in the last twenty years. It redounds to the credit of the German workers that *they alone* have succeeded in sending workers and workers' representatives into parliament, whereas neither the French nor the English have so far achieved this.

But even the proletariat has not yet outgrown the parallel of 1525. The class exclusively dependent on wages all its life is still far from being the majority of the German people. It is, therefore, also compelled to seek allies. These can be looked for only among the petty bourgeois, the lumpenproletariat of the cities, the small peasants and the agricultural labourers.

The *petty bourgeois* we have spoken of above. They are extremely unreliable except after a victory has been won, when their shouting in the beer houses knows no bounds. Nevertheless, there are very good elements among them, who join the workers of their own accord.

The *lumpenproletariat,* this scum of depraved elements from all classes, with headquarters in the big cities, is the worst of all the possible allies. This rabble is absolutely venal and absolutely brazen. If the French workers, in every revolution, inscribed on the houses: *Mort aux voleurs!* Death to thieves! and even shot some, they did so not out of reverence for property, but because they rightly considered it necessary above all to keep that gang at bay. Every leader of the workers who uses these scoundrels as

guards or relies on them for support proves himself by this action alone a traitor to the movement.

The *small peasants*—for the bigger peasants belong to the bourgeoisie—differ in kind. They are either *feudal peasants* and still have to perform corvée services for their gracious lord. Now that the bourgeoisie has failed in its duty of freeing these people from serfdom, it will not be difficult to convince them that they can expect salvation only from the working class.

Or they are *tenant farmers.* In this case the situation is for the most part the same as in Ireland. Rents are pushed so high that in times of average crops the peasant and his family can barely make ends meet; when the crops are bad he is on the verge of starvation, is unable to pay his rent and is consequently entirely at the mercy of the landowner. The bourgeoisie never does anything for these people, unless it is compelled to. From whom then should they expect salvation if not from the workers?

There remain the peasants who cultivate their *own small plots of land.* In most cases they are so burdened with mortgages that they are as dependent on the usurer as the tenant on the landlord. For them also there remains only a meagre wage, which, moreover, since there are good years and bad years, is highly uncertain. These people can least of all expect anything from the bourgeoisie, because it is precisely the bourgeoisie, the capitalist usurers, who suck the lifeblood out of them. Still, most of these peasants cling to their property, though in reality it does not belong to them but to the usurer. It will have to be brought home to them all the same that they can be freed from the usurer only when a government dependent on the people has transformed all mortgages into debts to the state, and thereby lowered the interest rates. And this can be brought about only by the working class.

Wherever medium-sized and large estates prevail, *farm labourers* form the most numerous class in the countryside. This is the case throughout the North and East of Germany and it is *there* that the industrial workers of the towns find their *most numerous and most natural allies.* In the same way as the capitalist confronts the industrial worker, the landowner or large tenant confronts the farm labourer. The same measures that help the one must also help the other. The industrial workers can free themselves only by transforming the capital of the bourgeois, that is, the raw materials, machines and tools, and the means of subsistence they need to work in production, into the property of society, that is, into their own property, used by them in common. Similarly, the farm labourers can be rescued from their hideous misery only

when, primarily, their chief object of labour, the land itself, is withdrawn from the private ownership of the big peasants and the still bigger feudal lords, transformed into public property and cultivated by cooperative associations of agricultural workers on their common account. And here we come to the famous resolution of the International Working Men's Congress in Basle that it is in the interest of society to transform landed property into common, national property.[139] This resolution was adopted mainly for countries where there is large-scale landed property, and, consequently, big estates are operated, with one master and many labourers on them. This state of affairs is still largely predominant in Germany, and therefore, next to England, the resolution was *most timely precisely for Germany.* The agricultural proletariat, the farm labourers—that is the class from which the bulk of the armies of the princes is recruited. It is the class which, thanks to universal suffrage, now sends into parliament the large number of feudal lords and Junkers; but it is also the class nearest to the industrial workers of the towns, which shares their living conditions and is steeped even more in misery than they. This class is impotent because it is split and scattered, but its latent power is so well known to the government and nobility that they let the schools fall into decay deliberately in order to keep it ignorant. It is the immediate and most urgent task of the German labour movement to breathe life into this class and draw it into the movement. The day the mass of the farm labourers will have learned to understand their own interests, a reactionary—feudal, bureaucratic or bourgeois—government will become impossible in Germany.

Written on about February 11, 1870

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Printed according to the text of the second edition of the book, checked with the preface to the third edition (Leipzig, 1875)

# Karl Marx

## THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT AND THE FENIAN PRISONERS[140]

London, February 21, 1870

### I

The silence which is observed in the European press concerning the disgraceful acts committed by this oligarchical bourgeois government is due to a variety of reasons. Firstly, the English Government is *rich* and the press, as you know, is *immaculate.* Moreover, the English Government is the model government, recognised as such by the landlords, by the capitalists on the Continent and even by Garibaldi (see his book[a]): consequently we should not revile this ideal government. Finally, the French Republicans are narrow-minded and selfish enough to reserve all their anger for the Empire. It would be an insult to free speech to inform their fellow countrymen that *in the land of bourgeois freedom* sentences of 20 years hard labour are given for offences which are punished by 6 months in prison *in the land of barracks.* The following details concerning the treatment of Fenian prisoners have been taken from English journals:

*Mulcahy,* sub-editor of the newspaper *The Irish People,*[b] sentenced for taking part in the Fenian conspiracy, was harnessed to a cart loaded with stones with an iron collar round his neck at Dartmoor.

*O'Donovan Rossa,* owner of *The Irish People,* was shut up for 35 days in a pitch-black dungeon with his hands chained behind his back day and night. They were not even unchained to allow him

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[a] G. Garibaldi, *The Rule of the Monk, or Rome in the Nineteenth Century,* London, 1870.— *Ed.*

[b] The name of the newspaper is in English in the oiriginal, with the French translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

to eat the miserable slops which were left for him on the earthen floor.[a]

*Kickham,* one of the editors of *The Irish People,* although he was unable to use his right arm because of an abscess, was forced to sit with his fellow prisoners on a heap of rubble in the November cold and fog and break up stones and bricks with his left hand. He returned to his cell at night and had nothing to eat but 6 ounces of bread and a pint of hot water.[b]

*O'Leary,* an old man of sixty or seventy kept in prison, was put on bread and water for three weeks because he would not renounce *paganism* (this, apparently, is what a jailer called free thinking) and become either Papist, Protestant, Presbyterian or even Quaker, or take up one of the many religions which the prison governor offered to the heathen Irish.[c]

*Martin H. Carey* is incarcerated in a lunatic asylum at Millbank. The silence and the other bad treatment to which he was subjected have made him lose his reason.[d]

Colonel *Richard Burke* is in no better condition. One of his friends writes that his mind is affected, he has lost his memory and his behaviour, manners and speech are those of a madman.[e]

The political prisoners are dragged from one prison to the next as if they were wild animals. They are forced to keep company with the vilest knaves; they are obliged to clean the pans used by these wretches, to wear the shirts and flannels previously worn by these criminals, many of whom are suffering from the foulest diseases, and to wash in the same water. Before the arrival of the Fenians at Portland all the criminals were allowed to talk with their visitors. A visiting cage was installed for the Fenian prisoners. It consists of three compartments divided by partitions of thick iron bars; the jailer occupies the central compartment and the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 414-15, 417-19. See also *The Irishman,* No. 49, June 12, 1869, "O'Donovan Rossa. To the Editor of *The Irishman*; The Press on the Treatment of the Political Prisoners: The Treatment of O'Donovan Rossa"; *The Irishman,* No. 30, January 22, 1870, "The Political Prisoners—Misguided Men and Their Desires".—*Ed.*

[b] *Report of the Commissioners on the Treatment of the Treason-Felony Convicts in the English Convict Prisons,* London, 1867, p. 19. See also this volume, p. 422.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Irishman,* No. 12, September 18, 1869, "The Irishman in Paris. John O'Mahony and Pagan O'Leary".—*Ed.*

[d] *The Irishman,* No. 20, November 13, 1869, "Gladstone and His Victims. To the Editor of the *Irishman*".—*Ed.*

[e] *The Irishman,* No. 30, January 22, 1870, "The Irish Political Prisoners and Her Majesty's Government"; No. 27, January 1, 1870: "More Prison Horrors. Irish Political Prisoners Being Done to Death in English Prisons."—*Ed.*

prisoner and his friends can only see each other through this double row of bars.

In the docks you can find prisoners who eat all sorts of slugs, and frogs are considered dainties at Chatham. General Thomas Burke said he was not surprised to find a dead mouse floating in the soup. The convicts say that it was a bad day for them when the Fenians were sent to the prisons. (The prison regime has become much more severe.)

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I should like to add a few words to these extracts.

Last year *Mr. Bruce,* the Home Secretary, a great liberal, great policeman and great mine owner in Wales who cruelly exploits his workers, was questioned on the bad treatment of Fenian prisoners and O'Donovan Rossa in particular.[a] At first he denied everything, but was later compelled to confess.[b] Following this Mr. Moore, an Irish member in the House of Commons, demanded an enquiry into the facts.[c] This was flatly refused by the *radical ministry* of which that demigod Mr. Gladstone (he has been compared to Jesus Christ publicly) is the head, and that old bourgeois demagogue, John Bright, is one of the most influential members.[d]

Recently, when rumours concerning the bad treatment of the Fenians were resumed, several members of Parliament requested Mr. Bruce for permission to visit the prisoners *in order to be able to verify the falseness of these rumours.*[e] Mr. Bruce refused this permission on the grounds that the prison governors were afraid that the prisoners would be too excited by visit of this kind.[f]

Last week the Home Secretary was again submitted to questioning. He was asked whether it was true that O'Donovan Rossa received corporal punishment (i. e., whipping)[g] after his election

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[a] J. Gray, Enquiry in the House of Commons concerning the treatment of the Irish prisoners, *The Irishman,* No. 3, July 17, 1869.—*Ed.*

[b] H. A. Bruce, Speech in the House of Commons on June 4, 1869, *The Irishman,* No. 3, July 17, 1869.—*Ed.*

[c] "Mr. G. H. Moore's Motion upon the Treatment by England of Irish Political Prisoners", *The Irishman,* No. 1, July 3, 1869.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 408, 415.—*Ed.*

[e] Ph. Callan, "To the Right Hon. H. A. Bruce, Home Secretary. Reform Club, January 18", *The Irishman,* No. 32, February 5, 1870.—*Ed.*

[f] H. A. Bruce, "To P. Callan, Esq., M.P., Home Office, January 19", *The Irishman,* No. 32, February 5, 1870.—*Ed.*

[g] C. W. White, Speech in the House of Commons on February 18, 1870, *The Times,* No. 26975, February 19, 1870.—*Ed.*

to Parliament as the member for Tipperary[141]; the Minister confirmed that he had not received such treatment since 1868[a] (which is tantamount to admitting that the political prisoner had been given the whip over a period of two to three years).

I am also sending you extracts (which we are going to publish in our next issue) concerning the case of Michael Terbert, a Fenian sentenced as such to forced labour, serving his sentence at Spike Island Convict Prison in the county of Cork, Ireland. You will see that the CORONER[b] himself[c] attributes this man's death to the torture which was inflicted on him. This investigation was held last week.[d]

In the course of two years *more than twenty* Fenian workers have died or gone insane thanks to the philanthropy of these good bourgeois souls, backed by these good landlords.

You are probably aware that the English press professes a chaste distaste for the dreadful general security laws which grace *la belle France.* Well, except for a few short intervals, it has been general security laws that formed the Irish Charter. Since 1793 the English Government has taken advantage of any pretext to suspend the Habeas Corpus Bill (a law guaranteeing the liberty of the individual)[142] regularly and periodically, in fact all laws, except that of brute force. In this way thousands of people have been arrested in Ireland on *suspicion of being suspected of Fenianism* without ever having been tried, brought before a judge or court, or even charged. Not content with depriving them of their liberty, the English Government has had them tortured in the most savage way imaginable. The following is but one example.

One of the prisons where persons suspected of being Fenians were buried alive is *Mountjoy Prison* in Dublin. The prison inspector, Murray, is a despicable brute. He maltreated the prisoners so cruelly that some of them went mad. The prison doctor, an excellent man called M'Donnell (who also played a creditable part in the enquiry into Michael Terbert's death), spent several months writing letters of protest which he addressed in the first instance to Murray himself. As Murray did not reply, he sent accusing letters to higher authorities,[e] but being an expert jailer Murray intercepted these letters.

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[a] H. A. Bruce, Speech in the House of Commons on February 18, 1870, *The Times,* No. 26975, February 19, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx uses the English term and gives the French equivalent in brackets.—*Ed.*

[c] John Moore.—*Ed.*

[d] "Inquest at Spike Island.—Condemnation of the Prison Treatment", *The Irishman,* No. 34, February 19, 1870.—*Ed.*

[e] *The Irishman,* Nos. 7, 12 and 15, August 14, September 18 and October 9, 1869.—*Ed.*

Finally M'Donnell wrote directly to Lord Mayo, then Viceroy of Ireland. This was during the period when the Tories were in power (Derby and Disraeli). What effect did his actions have? The documents relating to the case were published by order of Parliament[a] and ... Dr. M'Donnell was dismissed from his post!!! Whereas Murray retained his.

Then the so-called radical ministry of Gladstone came to power, the tender, unctuous, magnanimous Gladstone who had shed such warm, sincere tears before the eyes of the whole of Europe over the fate of Poerio and other members of the bourgeoisie who were badly treated by King Bomba.[143] What did this idol of the progressive bourgeoisie do? While insulting the Irish by his insolent replies to their demands for an amnesty,[b] he not only confirmed the monster Murray in his post, but endowed the position of the chief jailer with a nice fat sinecure as a token of his particular satisfaction![c] There's the apostle of bourgeois philanthropy for you!

But something had to be done to pull the wool over the eyes of the public. It was essential to appear to be doing something for Ireland, and a law regulating the land question (LAND BILL)[144] was proclaimed with a great song and dance. All this is nothing but a pose with the ultimate aim of deceiving Europe, winning over the Irish judges and advocates with the prospect of endless disputes between landlords and farmers, conciliating the landlords with the promise of financial aid from the state and deluding the more prosperous farmers with a few mild concessions.

In the long introduction to his grandiloquent and confused speech Gladstone admits that even the "benevolent" laws which liberal England bestowed on Ireland over the last hundred years have always led to the country's further decline.[d] And after this naive confession the same man persists in torturing those who want to put an end to this harmful and stupid legislation.

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[a] *Report of the Commissioners on the Treatment of the Treason-Felony Convicts in the English Convict Prisons*, London, 1867. See also this volume, pp. 424, 426-28.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 83.— *Ed.*

[c] *The Irishman*, No. 19, November 6, 1869.— *Ed.*

[d] Marx refers to Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on February 15, 1870, *The Times*, No. 26673, February 16, 1870.— *Ed.*

## II

The following is an account taken from an English newspaper of the results of an enquiry into the death of Michael Terbert,[a] a Fenian prisoner who died at Spike Island Prison due to the bad treatment which he had received.

On Thursday last[b] Mr. John Moore, Coroner of the Middleton district, held an inquest at Spike Island Convict Prison,[c] on the body of a convict [...] named Michael Terbert, who had died in hospital.

Peter Hay, governor of the prison, was called first. He deposed—The deceased, Michael Terbert, came to this prison in June, 1866; I can't say how his health was at the time; he had been convicted on the 12th of January, 1866, and his sentence was seven years' penal servitude; he appeared delicate for some time past, as will appear from one of the prison books, which states that he was removed on the recommendation of medical officers, as being unfit for cellular discipline. Witness then went into a detail of the frequent punishments inflicted on the deceased for breach of discipline, many of them for the use "of disrespectful language to the medical officer".[d]

Jeremiah Hubert Kelly deposed—I remember when Michael Terbert came here from Mountjoy Prison; it was then stated that he was unfit for cellular discipline—that means being always confined to a cell[e]; certificate to the effect was signed by Dr. M'Donnel: [...] I found him, however, to be in good health, and I sent him to work. I find by the record[f] that he was in hospital from the 31st January, 1869, until the 6th February, 1869; he suffered then from increased affection of the heart, and from that time he did not work on the public works, but in-doors, at oakum; from the 19th March, 1869, until the 24th March,[g] 1869, he was in hospital, suffering from the same affection of heart; from the 24th April till the 5th May he was also in hospital from spitting of blood; from the 19th May till the 1st June he was in hospital for heart disease; from the 21st June till the 22nd June he was under hospital treatment for the same; he was also in hospital from the 22nd July till the 15th August, for the same—from 9th November till the 13th December for debility, and from 20th December to the 8th February, when he died from acute dropsy; on the 13th November he first appeared to suffer from dropsy, and it was then dissipated; I visit the cells every day, and I must have seen him when under punishment from time to time; it is my duty to remit, by recommendation, that punishment, if I consider the prisoner is not fit to bear it; I think I did so twice in his case.

As a medical man, did you consider that five days on bread and water per day was excessive punishment for him, notwithstanding his state of health in Mountjoy and here?—I did not; the deceased had a good appetite; I don't think that the treatment induced acute dropsy, of which he died [....]

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[a] See *The Irishman*, No. 34, February 19, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] *L'Internationale* has "On Thursday, February 17".—*Ed.*

[c] *L'Internationale* has "Spike-Island Prison".—*Ed.*

[d] *L'Internationale* has no quotation marks here.—*Ed.*

[e] The words "that means being always confined to a cell" are omitted in *L'Internationale*.—*Ed.*

[f] *L'Internationale* has "I remember".—*Ed.*

[g] *L'Internationale* has "March 26".—*Ed.*

Martin O'Connell, resident apothecary of Spike Island, was next examined—Witness mentioned to Dr. Kelly last July that while the deceased was labouring under heart disease he should not have been punished; [...] he was of opinion that such punishment as the deceased got was prejudicial to his health, considering that he was an invalid for the past twelve months [...] he could not say that invalids were so punished, as he only attended cells in Dr. Kelly's absence; he was certain, considering the state of the deceased man's health, that five days continuously in cells would be injurious to his health; [...] The Coroner then [...] dealt forcibly with the treatment which the prisoner had received [...] alternating between the hospital and the punishment cell.

The jury returned the following verdict: "We find that Michael Terbert died in hospital at Spike Island Convict Prison, on the 8th of February, 1870, of dropsy; he was twenty-five years of age,[a] and unmarried. We have also to express in the strongest terms our total disapproval of the frequent punishment he suffered in cells on bread and water for several days in succession during his imprisonment in Spike Island, where he had been sent in June, 1866, from Mountjoy Prison, for the reason that in Dr. M'Donnell's opinion he was unfit for cellular discipline at Mountjoy; and we express our condemnation of such treatment."

Written on February 21, 1870

First published in the newspaper *L'Internationale,* Nos. 59 and 60, February 27 and March 6, 1870

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

The account of the enquiry into Terbet's death is reproduced from *The Irishman*

[a] *L'Internationale* has "36 years of age".— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [CONCERNING THE CONFLICT IN THE LYONS SECTION][145]

Citizens! The Lyonese section of the International Working Men's Association, in virtue of a resolution passed at the Congress of Basle, 1869, to the effect that the General Council shall act as umpire in cases where differences arise between members of the Association,[a] has appealed to the Council to decide between Albert Richard on one side and Schettel, Cormier, A. Blanc, Chanoz and Vindry on the other side, the latter being members of the old section of Lyons.

The General Council, having examined the documents sent by that section, declares the accusations made to be without the least foundation and confirms the verdict of the two special commissions appointed on that subject: the first at the Congress of Lausanne, 1867, and the second at Geneva, 1869, and maintains Albert Richard in the post of Corresponding Secretary of the International Working Men's Association conformably to the Rules and Regulations.

Considering also that the call made by the old members upon the radical burgesses to give a decision in this case which ought only to have been known to the members of the Association is contrary to the Rules, spirit, and interest of the Association and of a nature of profiting the enemies, the General Council censures energetically the conduct of the old members of the section.

The General Council takes advantage of the position in which it is placed by this misunderstanding to remind all the members of

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[a] Marx refers to the resolution of the Basle Congress adopted on September 9, 1869 (see *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association,* London [1869], p. 21).—*Ed.*

the Association that before any publication or any public action it should be apprised of it, as this mode of proceeding is calculated to excite personal animosities which should be carefully avoided at all times, and produces divisions in our ranks, and can only be useful to our adversaries at a time when all the activity, all the strength, and all the energy of our members should be concentrated for the speedy triumph of the principles of the International Working Men's Association.

Adopted by the General Council on March 8, 1870

First published in *L'Internationale,* No. 63, March 27, 1870, under the signature of Eugène Dupont

Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council

# Karl Marx

## THE GENERAL[a] COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION TO COMMITTEE MEMBERS OF THE RUSSIAN SECTION IN GENEVA[146]

Citizens,

At its meeting of March 22, the General[a] Council declared by unanimous vote that your programme and rules[b] accord with the general rules of the International Working Men's Association. It immediately admitted your section into the International. I am pleased to accept your proposal to take on the honourable duty of being your representative on the General[a] Council.

You say in your programme:

> "...that the imperial yoke oppressing Poland is a brake equally hampering the political and social emancipation of both nations—the Russian just as much as the Polish."

You might add that Russia's violent conquest of Poland provides a pernicious support and real reason for the existence of a military regime in Germany, and, as a consequence, on the whole Continent. Therefore, in working on breaking Poland's chains, Russian socialists take on themselves the lofty task of destroying the military regime; that is essential as a precondition for the general emancipation of the European proletariat.

A few months ago I received from St. Petersburg Flerovsky's work *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia.*[147] This is a real eye-opener for Europe. *Russian optimism,* which is spread over the Continent even by the so-called revolutionaries, is mercilessly exposed in this work. It will not retract from its worth if I say that in one or two places it does not fully satisfy criticism from the

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[a] "Chief" in the Russian original.—*Ed.*

[b] "Pervaya russkaya sektsiya. Programma", "Ustav russkoi sektsii", *Narodnoye Dyelo,* No. 1, April 15, 1870.—*Ed.*

purely theoretical point of view. It is the book of a serious observer, a courageous worker, an unbiased critic, a great artist and, above all, of a person intolerant of oppression in all its forms and of all national anthems, and ardently sharing all the sufferings and all the aspirations of the producing class.

Such works as Flerovsky's and those of your teacher Chernyshevsky do real honour to Russia and prove that your country is also beginning to take part in the movement of our age.

Fraternal greetings,

*Karl Marx*

London, March 24, 1870

Printed in *Narodnoye Dyelo*, No. 1, Geneva, April 15, 1870

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the Russian

# Karl Marx

## CONFIDENTIAL COMMUNICATION [148]

The Russian Bakunin (although I have known him since 1843, I shall here ignore everything not absolutely necessary for the understanding of what follows) met Marx in London [a] shortly after the foundation of the *International.* There the latter took him into the Association, for which Bakunin promised to work to the best of his ability. Bakunin went to Italy and received there from Marx the *Provisional Rules* and *Address to the Working Classes,* [b] answered "very enthusiastically" and did nothing. After some years, during which nothing was heard from him, he turned up again in Switzerland. There he joined, not the *International,* but the *League de la paix et de la liberté.* [149] After the congress of this Peace League (Geneva, 1867) Bakunin got on to its *Executive Committee,* but found opponents there, who not only denied him any "dictatorial" influence, but watched him closely as being "suspect as a *Russian*". Shortly after the Brussels Congress of the *International* (September 1868) the *Peace League* held its congress at Berne. Here Bakunin acted the FIREBRAND and—be it remarked *en passant*—denounced the occidental bourgeoisie in the tone in which Muscovite optimists are accustomed to attack Western civilisation—to palliate their own barbarism. He proposed a number of resolutions, which, *absurd in themselves,* were intended to instil fear into the bourgeois cretins and allow Monsieur Bakunin to *leave* the Peace League and *enter* the International with *éclat.* It suffices to note that the programme proposed by Bakunin to the Berne [c] Congress [150] contains

[a] On November 3, 1864.—*Ed.*

[b] *Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association,* London, 1864.—*Ed.*

[c] The manuscript mistakenly has "Lausanne".—*Ed.*

such absurdities as the *"equality of classes", "abolition of the right of inheritance as the first step* of the social revolution", etc.—empty babblings,[a] a garland of ostensibly horrifying hollow fancies, in short an insipid improvisation, calculated purely to make a certain short-lived effect. Bakunin's friends in Paris (where a Russian[b] has a seat on the editorial board of the *Revue Positiviste*) and in London proclaim to the world Bakunin's resignation from the Peace League as *un événement*[c] and declare his grotesque programme—that *olla podrida*[d] of outworn platitudes—wonderfully awe-inspiring and original.

Bakunin meanwhile had joined the *Branche Romande* of the *International* (in Geneva). It took him years to decide upon this step. But it did not take days for Monsieur Bakunin to decide to transform the *International* and turn it into an instrument *of his own.*

Behind the back of the London General Council—which was informed only when everything was apparently already *arranged*—he founded the so-called *Alliance des Démocrates Socialistes.*[151] The programme of this society[e] was none other than that proposed by Bakunin at the Berne Peace Congress. The society thereby proclaimed itself from the outset as a propaganda society of the specifically Bakuninist cult, and Bakunin himself, *one of the most ignorant men in the field of social theory,* suddenly appeared here as the *founder of a sect.* The theoretical programme of this Alliance was however pure farce. The serious aspect of the affair lay in its practical organisation. This society was to be *international,* with its Central Committee in *Geneva,* that is, under Bakunin's personal direction. At the same time it was to be an *"integral"* part of the *International Working Men's Association.* Its BRANCHES were to be represented at the "next congress" of the International (in Basle) and were at the same time to hold their own congress in separate sittings, *side by side with the other,* etc., etc.

The human material which at first stood at Bakunin's disposal consisted of the majority at that time of the *Comité Fédéral*

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[a] See *Deuxième Congrès de la Paix et de la Liberté convoqué pour le 22 septembre 1868 à Berne. Programme,* Berne [1868], and "Discours de M. Bakounine" in *Discours prononcés au Congrès de la Paix et de la Liberté à Berne* (1868). Par M. M. Mroczkowski et Bakounine, Geneva, 1869, pp. 5-23.—*Ed.*

[b] G. N. Vyrubov.—*Ed.*

[c] An event.—*Ed.*

[d] Hotch-potch.—*Ed.*

[e] *Programme et Règlement de l'Alliance internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste,* Geneva [1868] (see this volume, pp. 207-09).—*Ed.*

*Romand* of the *International* in Geneva. J. Ph. Becker, whose propagandist zeal at times runs away with his head, was pushed forward to the front of the stage. In Italy and Spain Bakunin had a few allies.

The General Council in London was fully informed. However, it let Bakunin proceed undisturbed up to the moment when he found it necessary to send the General Council, through J. Ph. Becker, the Rules (and programme) of the *Alliance des Démocrates Socialistes* for approval. The General Council answered with a thoroughly reasoned resolution—wholly "judicial" and "objective" in tone, but full of irony in its "considerations"—which concluded as follows:

1. The General Council does *not* admit the Alliance as a branch of the *International.*

2. All the paragraphs of the Rules of the Alliance referring to its relations with the *International* are declared *null and void.*

The considerations for this resolution demonstrated clearly and forcefully that the *Alliance* was nothing but an instrument to disorganise the *International.*[a]

The blow was unexpected. Bakunin had already turned the *Égalité,* central organ of the French-speaking members of the *International* in Switzerland, into his *own* organ, and had, in addition, started at *Locle* a little private journal of his own, the *Progrès.* The *Progrès* is playing this role up to the present day under the editorship of a fanatical adherent of Bakunin, a certain *Guillaume.*

After several weeks' reflection the Central Committee of the Alliance finally sent its answer to the General Council, over the signature of Perron, a Genevese. In its eagerness to serve the good cause, the Alliance was ready *to sacrifice its independent organisation,* but on one condition—namely, that the General Council declare its recognition of the *Alliance's "radical" principles.*

The General Council replied: It was not its function to sit in judgment on the theoretic value of the programmes of its various sections. It had only to see that those programmes contained *nothing directly contradictory to the letter and spirit of the Rules.* It must therefore insist upon the absurd phrase about the *égalité des classes* being struck from the programme of the *Alliance* and replaced by the *abolition des classes* (which was done). For the rest, the Alliance could enter the International *after dissolving its own independent international organisation,* and supplying the General

[a] See this volume, pp. 34-36.—*Ed.*

Council with a list of all its BRANCHES[a] (which, *nota bene,* was not done).

The incident was therewith closed. *Nominally,* the *Alliance* dissolved itself; *actually,* it remained in existence, under the leadership of Bakunin, who at the same time controlled the Genevese *Comité Romand Fédéral* of the *International.*

To its former press organs were added the *Federacion* of Barcelona and, *after* the Basle Congress, the Naples *Eguaglianza.*

Bakunin now attempted to reach his goal—the transformation of the *International* into his personal instrument—by other means. Through our Romance Committee at Geneva he proposed to the General Council the inclusion of the *"inheritance question"* in the agenda of the Basle Congress.[b] The General Council agreed, in order to be able to deal a direct blow to Bakunin. Bakunin's plan was this: the Basle Congress, in accepting the "principles" (?) put forward by Bakunin at Berne, will show the world that it is not Bakunin who has come over to the International, but the International that has gone over to Bakunin. Obvious result, the London General Council (of whose hostility to the warming up of the *vieillerie Saint-Simoniste*[c] Bakunin was fully aware) would have to resign and the Basle Congress would *transfer the General Council to Geneva,* that is, the *International* would come under the dictatorship of Bakunin.

Bakunin set a complete *conspiracy* going to secure a majority at the Basle Congress. Even *false* mandates were not lacking, such as Monsieur Guillaume's mandate for Locle, etc. Bakunin himself begged mandates from Naples and Lyons. Every kind of slander against the General Council was spread abroad. Some were told that *élément bourgeois* dominated the Council, others that it was the seat of *communisme autoritaire,* etc.

The results of the Basle Congress are well known. Bakunin's proposals were not accepted and the General Council remained in London.

The annoyance which followed this failure—perhaps Bakunin had based all kinds of private speculations on the assumption of success—found expression in the irritable comments of the *Égalité* and *Progrès.* These papers meanwhile were assuming more and more the posture of official oracles. Now one, now another Swiss section of the *International* was excommunicated because, contrary

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[a] See this volume, pp. 45-46.—*Ed.*

[b] See "The International Working Men's Association. Council Meeting. Tuesday, April 13 [1869]", *The Bee-Hive,* No. 392, April 17, 1869.—*Ed.*

[c] Saint-Simonian old rubbish.—*Ed.*

to Bakunin's explicit instructions, it had taken part in the political movement, etc. Finally the rage against the General Council, so long restrained, broke out openly. The *Progrès* and *Égalité* derided, attacked, and declared that the General Council was not fulfilling its duties, for example in regard to the quarterly bulletin; that the General Council must give up its direct control over England and have an English Central Committee established alongside it, to deal with English affairs only; that the resolutions of the General Council on the imprisoned Fenians went beyond its functions, since it should not deal with questions of local politics. Moreover, the *Progrès* and *Égalité* took up the cudgels for *Schweitzer* and categorically demanded that the General Council declare itself officially and *publiquement*[a] on the Liebknecht-Schweitzer question. The newspaper *Le Travail* (in Paris), into which Schweitzer's Paris friends smuggled articles in his favour, was praised on that account by the *Progrès* and *Égalité,* the latter calling upon the *Travail* to make common cause against the General Council.[b]

The time had now come for action to be taken. What follows is an exact copy of the circular sent by the General Council to the Central Committee of the Romance Federation in Geneva. The document is too long for me to translate into German [original in French].[c]

*The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland in Geneva.*

At its extraordinary meeting on January 1, 1870, the General Council resolved:

1) We read in the *Égalite* of December 11, 1869:

"It is *certain* that the General Council is neglecting extremely important matters.... We remind the General Council of its obligations with Article 1 of the Regulations: 'The General Council is *commissioned* to carry the resolutions of the Congress into effect'.... *We could put enough questions to the General Council for its replies* to make up quite a long report. *They will come later.* Meanwhile, etc."

The General Council does not know of any article, either in the Rules or in the Regulations, which *would oblige it* to enter into correspondence or into polemic with the *Égalité* or to provide "replies" to "questions" of any newspaper whatsoever.

*The Federal Council of Romance Switzerland* alone represents the

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[a] Publicly.— *Ed.*

[b] *L'Égalité,* Nos. 42, 43 and 47, November 6, 13 and December 11, 1869; *Le Progrès,* No. 25, December 4, 1869.— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 84-91.— *Ed.*

branches of Romance Switzerland at the General Council. When the Federal Council addresses requests or reprimands to us through the only legitimate channel, that is to say through its *secretary*, the General Council will always be ready to reply. But the Romance Federal Council has no right either to *abdicate* its functions in favour of the *Égalité* and the *Progrès*, or to let these newspapers *usurp* its functions. Generally speaking, the General Council's correspondence with the national and local committees cannot be published without greatly prejudicing the Association's general interests.

Consequently, if other organs of the *International* were to follow the example of the *Progrès* and the *Égalité*, the General Council would be faced with the alternative of either discrediting itself publicly by its silence or violating its obligations by replying publicly. The *Égalité* joins the *Progrès* in inviting *Le Travail* to demand an explanation from the General Council. That is almost a League of Public Welfare.[152]

2) Now, assuming that the questions put by the *Égalité come from the Romance Federal Council*, we shall reply to them, but only on condition that such questions shall not in the future be communicated to us in the same way.

3) *Question of a Bulletin.*

In the resolutions of the Geneva[a] Congress, which are inserted in the Regulations, it is laid down that the national committees shall send the General Council *documents* dealing with the proletarian movement[b] and that the General Council shall thereupon publish a bulletin in the *different languages* "as often *as its means permit*" ("*As often as its means permit*, the General Council shall publish a report, etc.").[c]

The General Council's obligation was thus made dependent on *conditions* that have never been fulfilled. Even the *statistical inquiry* prescribed by the Rules, ordered by consecutive General Congresses, and demanded yearly by the General Council, has never been made. As far as the *means* are concerned, the General Council would have long since ceased to exist had it not been for local contributions from England and the personal sacrifices of its members.

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[a] The manuscript mistakenly has "Lausanne".—*Ed.*

[b] *Congrès ouvrier de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs tenu à Genève du 3 au 8 septembre 1866*, Geneva, 1866, pp. 13 and 26.—*Ed.*

[c] *Rules of the International Working Men's Association*, London [1867], p. 6. (The quotation in brackets is given in English in the manuscript.)—*Ed.*

Thus, the Regulations passed at the Geneva[a] Congress have remained a dead letter.

As regards the Basle Congress, it did not discuss the *fulfilment* of an existing regulation. It discussed the possibility of issuing a bulletin in good time and *it did not pass any resolution.*

For the rest, the General Council believes that the original purpose of such a bulletin is at the moment perfectly fulfilled by the different organs of the *International* published in the different languages and exchanged among them. It would be absurd to do by costly bulletins what is being done already without any expense. On the other hand, a bulletin which would print what is not contained in the organs of the *International* would only help our enemies to see behind the scenes.

4) *Question of separating the General Council from the Federal Council for England.*

Long before the foundation of the *Égalité,* this proposition was periodically made inside the General Council by one or two of its English members.[153] It was always rejected almost unanimously.

Although revolutionary initiative will probably come from France, England alone can serve as the *lever* for a serious economic Revolution. It is the only country where there are no more *peasants* and where landed property is concentrated in a few hands. It is the only country where the *capitalist form,* that is to say, combined labour on a large scale under capitalist masters, now embraces virtually the whole of production. It is the only country where *the great majority of the population consists of* WAGES-LABOURERS. It is the only country where the class struggle and the organisation of the working class by the TRADES UNIONS have acquired a certain degree of maturity and universality. It is the only country where, because of its domination on the world market, every revolution in economic matters must immediately affect the whole world. If landlordism and capitalism are classical features in England, on the other hand, the *material conditions* for their *destruction* are the most mature here. The General Council now being in the happy position of *having its hand directly on this great lever of the proletarian revolution,* what folly, we might say even what a crime, to let this lever fall into purely English hands!

The English have all the *material* necessary for the social revolution. What they lack is *the spirit of generalisation* and *revolutionary ardour.* It is only the General Council that can provide

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[a] The manuscript mistakenly has "Lausanne".—*Ed.*

them with this, that can thus accelerate the truly revolutionary movement in this country, and consequently *everywhere.* The great results we have already achieved in this respect are attested to by the most intelligent and influential of the newspapers of the ruling classes, as for example, *The Pall Mall Gazette, Saturday Review, The Spectator* and *The Fortnightly Review,* to say nothing of the so-called radicals in the COMMONS and the LORDS who, a little while ago, still exerted a great influence on the *leaders* of the English workers. They accuse us publicly of having poisoned and almost extinguished *the English spirit* of the working class and of having pushed it into revolutionary socialism.

The only way to bring about this change is to act like *the General Council of the International Association.* As the General Council we can initiate measures (for example, the founding of the *Land and Labour League*[154]) which later, in the process of their execution, will appear to the public as spontaneous movements of the English working class.

If a *Federal Council* were formed apart from the *General Council,* what would be the immediate results? Placed between the *General Council of the International* and the *General Council of* TRADES UNIONS,[155] the Federal Council would have no authority whatever. On the other hand, the *General Council of the International* would lose *control of the great lever.* If we had preferred the showman's chatter to serious and unostentatious work, we would perhaps have committed the mistake of replying publicly the *Égalité*'s question as to why "the General Council permits such a burdensome combination of functions".

England cannot be treated simply as a country along with other countries. It must be treated as the *metropolis of capital.*

5) *Question of the General Council Resolutions on the Irish Amnesty.*[a]

If England is the BULWARK of landlordism and European capitalism, the only point where official England can be struck a great blow is *Ireland.*

In the first place, Ireland is the BULWARK of English landlordism. If it fell in Ireland, it would fall in England. In Ireland this is a hundred times easier because *the economic struggle there is concentrated exclusively on landed property,* because this struggle is at the same time *national,* and because the people there are more revolutionary and more exasperated than in England. Landlordism in Ireland is maintained solely by *the English army.* The moment the forced Union[156] between the two countries ends, a

[a] See this volume, p. 83.—*Ed.*

social revolution will immediately break out in Ireland, though in outmoded forms. English landlordism would not only lose a great source of its wealth, but also *its greatest moral force,* i. e., *that of representing the domination of England over Ireland.* On the other hand, by maintaining the power of its landlords in Ireland, the English proletariat makes them invulnerable in England itself.

In the second place, the *English bourgeoisie* has not only exploited Irish poverty to keep down the working class in England by *forced immigration* of poor Irishmen, but it has also divided the proletariat into two hostile camps. The revolutionary fire of the Celtic worker does not go well with the solid but slow nature of the Anglo-Saxon worker. On the contrary, in *all the big industrial centres in England* there is profound antagonism between the Irish proletarian and the English proletarian. The average English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers wages and the STANDARD OF LIFE. He feels national and religious antipathies for him. He regards him somewhat like the POOR WHITES of the Southern States of North America regarded black slaves. This antagonism among the proletarians of England is artificially nourished and kept up by the bourgeoisie. It knows that this scission is the *true secret of maintaining its power.*

Moreover, this antagonism is reproduced on the other side of the Atlantic. The Irish, chased from their native soil by the bulls and the sheep, reassemble in the United States where they constitute a huge, ever-growing section of the population. Their only thought, their only passion, is hatred for England. The English and American governments—that is to say, the classes they represent—play on these feelings in order to perpetuate the *international struggle* which prevents any serious and sincere alliance between the working classes on both sides of the Atlantic, and, consequently, their common emancipation.

Ireland is the only pretext the English Government has for retaining *a big standing army,* which, if need be, as has happened before, can be used against the English workers after having done its military training in Ireland.

Lastly, England today is seeing a repetition of what happened on a monstrous scale in ancient Rome. Any people that oppresses another people forges its own chains.

Thus, the position of the International Association with regard to the Irish question is very clear. Its first concern is to advance the social revolution in England. To this end a great blow must be struck in Ireland.

The General Council's resolutions on the Irish amnesty[a] serve only as an introduction to other resolutions[157] which will affirm that, quite apart from international justice, it is *a precondition to the emancipation of the English working class* to transform the present *forced Union*—i. e., the enslavement of Ireland—into *equal and free confederation* if possible, into *complete separation* if need be.

For the rest, the doctrines of the *Égalité* and the *Progrès* on the CONNEXION, or rather, the NON-CONNEXION, between the social movement and the political movement have never, as far as we know, been recognised by any of our Congresses. *They run counter to our Rules.* The Rules say:

"That the *economical emancipation* of the working classes is [...] the great end *to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means.*"[b]

The words *"as a means"*[c] were *omitted* in the French translation made in 1864 by the Paris Committee.[d] When questioned by the General Council, the Paris Committee excused itself by the difficulties of its political situation.

There are other mutilations of the authentic text of the Rules. Thus, the first clause of the preamble to the Rules reads:

"The struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means ... a struggle ... for *equal rights and duties,* and the *abolition of all class rule.*"[e]

The Paris translation has "equal rights and duties", that is it reproduced the general phrase which may be found virtually *in all democratic manifestoes* of the last hundred years and which means different things in the mouth of different classes, but *leaves out* the concrete demand: *"the abolition of classes"*.

Further, in the second clause of the preamble to the Rules we read: "That the economical subjection of the *man of labour* to the *monopoliser of the means of labour,* that is, *the sources of life,* etc."

The Paris translation substitutes the word *"capital"* for *"the means of labour, that is, the sources of life"*, an expression which includes the land as well as the other means of labour.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 3-4 and 83.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below quotations from the Provisional Rules are given in English in the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 14).—*Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the English phrase and gives the French equivalent "comme moyen" in brackets.—*Ed.*

[d] *Congrès ouvrier. Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Règlement Provisoire* [Paris, 1864], p. 1.—*Ed.*

[e] See present edition, Vol. 20, p. 14.—*Ed.*

The original authentic text was restored in the French translation published in Brussels in 1866.[a]

6) *Liebknecht-Schweitzer Question.*

The *Égalité* writes:

*"Both these groups belong to the International".* That is incorrect. The Eisenachers' group (which the *Progrès* and the *Égalité* would like to turn into Citizen Liebknecht's group) belongs to the *International. Schweitzer's group does not belong to it.*

Schweitzer himself explained at length in his newspaper, the *Social-Demokrat,* why the *Lassallean organisation* could not join the *International* without destroying itself.[b] Without realising it, he was speaking the truth: His artificial *sectarian* organisation is opposed to the *real organisation* of the working *class.*

The *Progrès* and the *Égalité* have summoned the General Council to state publicly its *"opinion"* on the personal differences between Liebknecht and Schweitzer. Since Citizen *J. Ph. Becker* (who is *slandered* as much as Liebknecht in Schweitzer's paper[c]) is a member of the *Égalité*'s *editorial board,* it seems most strange that its editors are not better informed about the facts. They should have known that Liebknecht, in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt,* publicly invited Schweitzer to accept the *General Council* as *arbiter of their differences,*[d] and that Schweitzer no less publicly refused to acknowledge the authority of the General Council.[e]

The General Council has employed all possible means to put an end to this scandal. It instructed its Secretary for Germany[f] to correspond with Schweitzer; this has been done, but all attempts by the Council have broken down in the face of Schweitzer's firm resolution to preserve at all cost his autocratic power together with the sectarian organisation.

It is up to the General Council to determine the favourable moment when *its public intervention* in this quarrel will be more useful than damaging.[g]

*By order of the General Council etc."*

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[a] *Manifeste de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs suivi du Règlement provisoire,* Bruxelles, 1866, pp. 15-18.— *Ed.*

[b] A reference to the leading article in *Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 82, July 16, 1869.— *Ed.*

[c] *Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 24, February 24, 1869.— *Ed.*

[d] W. Liebknecht, "Erklärung. Leipzig, 18. Februar 1869", *Demokratisches Wochenblatt,* No. 8, February 20, 1869.— *Ed.*

[e] *Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 24, February 24, 1869.— *Ed.*

[f] Karl Marx.— *Ed.*

[g] In his "Confidential Communication" Marx omitted Point 7 of the circular.— *Ed.*

The French Committees (although Bakunin had been actively intriguing in Lyons and Marseilles and had won over a few young hotheads), as well as the *Conseil Général Belge*[a] (Brussels), have *fully endorsed* this circular of the General Council.

The copy for Geneva was delayed somewhat (because *Jung*, Secretary for Switzerland, was very busy). It therefore crossed with an official letter from *Perret*, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Romance Federation in Geneva, to the General Council.[158]

The crisis had broken out in Geneva before the arrival of our letter. Some members of the editorial board of the *Égalité* had opposed the policy dictated by Bakunin. Bakunin and his followers (including six editors of the *Égalité*) wanted to force the Geneva *Central Committee* to dismiss the unruly members. The Geneva Committee, however, had long grown tired of Bakunin's despotism and saw itself with great displeasure being forced by him into opposition to the other German-Swiss Committees, the General Council, etc. It therefore endorsed the attitude of those members of the *Égalité* editorial board who opposed Bakunin. Thereupon Bakunin's six followers resigned from the editorial board, hoping thereby to put an end to the publication of the paper.[b]

In answer to our letter the Geneva Central Committee declared that the attacks in the *Égalité* had been made without its approval, that it had never endorsed the policy preached therein and that in future the paper would be edited under the strict supervision of the Committee, etc.[159]

Bakunin thereupon retired from Geneva to Ticino. As far as Switzerland is concerned, he now has a say only in the *Progrès* (Locle).

Shortly afterwards *Herzen* died. Bakunin, who from the time that he decided to set himself up as *director of the European workers' movement* had denied his old friend and patron Herzen, hastened to sing his praises immediately after his death.[c] Why? Herzen, though personally wealthy, allowed the pseudo-socialist, Pan-Slavist party in Russia, which was friendly towards him, to pay him 25,000 francs annually for propaganda. By his paean of praise Bakunin directed this stream of money *to himself* and—*malgré sa haine de l'héritage*[d]—thereby entered financially and *morally* upon the "Herzen *heritage*" *sine beneficio inventarii*.[e] [160]

[a] Belgian General Council.—*Ed.*

[b] See *L'Égalité*, Nos. 2 and 3, January 8 and 15, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx means Bakunin's tribute to Herzen published in the form of letters in *La Marseillaise*, Nos. 72 and 73, March 2 and 3, 1870, and reprinted in *Le Progrès*, Nos. 10, 11 and 12, March 5, 12 and 19, 1870.—*Ed.*

[d] Despite his hatred of inheritance.—*Ed.*

[e] Without benefit of inventory.—*Ed.*

At the same time a COLONY of young Russian REFUGEES settled in Geneva, students whose intentions are really honest and whose sincerity is proved by the adoption of the *fight against Pan-Slavism* as the chief point of their programme.[a]

They publish a paper in Geneva called *La Cause du Peuple*.[b] ABOUT two weeks ago they applied to London, sending in their Programme and Statutes,[c] and requesting permission to form a Russian branch.[161] Permission was given.

In a separate letter to Marx they asked him to represent them provisionally on the General Council. That too was done.[d] At the same time they indicated—and apparently *wished to excuse themselves* to Marx on this account—that in the immediate future they would have to expose Bakunin publicly, since the man spoke in *two entirely different tongues,* one in Russia, another in Europe.[162]

The game of this very dangerous intriguer—at least in the domain of the *International*—will soon be played out.

Written on about March 28, 1870

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 2, No. 15, 1902

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the German and the French

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[a] "Pervaya russkaya sektsiya. Programma", *Narodnoye Dyelo*, No. 1, April 15, 1870.— *Ed.*

[b] *Narodnoye Dyelo.— Ed.*

[c] "Ustav russkoi sektsii", *Narodnoye Dyelo*, No. 1, April 15, 1870.— *Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 110-11.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [TO THE INTERNATIONAL METALWORKERS' SOCIETY][163]

London, April 18, 1870

Dear Friends,

About a fortnight ago[a] the Executive Committee of the AMALGAMATED ENGINEERS finally invited the General Council of the International Working Men's Association to send delegates to discuss the establishment of direct links with the metalworkers in Germany and the engineers in Paris. They now request you to answer the following questions before they come to a decision about you:

1) The number of hours of work per day?
2) How many working days a week? Is Sunday a working day?
3) The amount of wages?
4) Is overtime paid and at what rates?
5) The number of members?
6) How much is their contribution per week?
7) Has the trade union anything to do with funds for sick relief, etc.?
8) Which trades are covered by the union?

With fraternal greetings

*Karl Marx*

Written on April 18, 1870

First published in *Die Tagwacht*, No. 16, May 5, 1870

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] On April 7.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL ON *THE BEE-HIVE*][164]

Considering,

1) that the different International sections of the Continent and the United States have been advised by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association to subscribe to the *Bee-Hive* newspaper as the official organ of the General Council and the representative in the English press of the Working-Class movement[a];

2) that the *Bee-Hive* has not only erased from the official reports of the General Council such resolutions as might displease its patrons, but, by way of suppression, has systematically misrepresented the tenor of consecutive sittings of the General Council;

3) that mainly since its recent change of proprietorship,[165] while still pretending to be the exclusive organ of the working class, the *Bee-Hive* has, in reality, become the organ of a capitalist fraction who want to keep the proletarian movement in their leading strings and use it as a means for the furtherance of their own class and party purposes;

The General Council of the International Working Men's Association, in its sitting of the 26th of April 1870, has unanimously resolved to sever its connection with the *Bee-Hive,* and to publicly announce this resolution to its different sections in England, on the Continent, and in the United States.

Drawn up in early May 1870

Adopted by the General Council on May 17, 1870

First published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 38, May 11, 1870

Reproduced from Marx's manuscript pasted into the Minute Book of the General Council

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[a] *Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association*, London, 1864, p. 15.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [CONCERNING THE PERSECUTION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE FRENCH SECTIONS][166]

### DECLARATION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

On the occasion of the last pretended complot, the French Government has not only arrested many members of our Paris and Lyons sections, but insinuated by its organs that the *International Working Men's Association* is an accomplice of that pretended complot.[a]

According to the tenor of our Statutes, it is certainly the special mission of all our branches in England, on the Continent, and in the United States, to act not only as centres for the organisation of the working class, but also to aid, in their different countries, all political movements tending to the accomplishment of our ultimate end, viz., the *economical emancipation of the working class.* At the same time, these Statutes bind all the sections of our Association to act in open daylight. If our Statutes were not formal on that point, the very nature of an Association which identifies itself with the working classes, would exclude from it every form of secret society. If the working classes, who form the great bulk of all nations, who produce all their wealth, and in the name of whom even the usurping powers always pretend to rule, conspire, they conspire publicly, as the sun conspires against darkness, in the full consciousness that without their pale there exists no legitimate power.

If the other incidents of the complot denounced by the French Government are as false and unfounded as its insinuations against

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[a] See *Le Moniteur universel,* Nos. 121, 122, 125, 128, May 1, 2, 5, 8, 1870; *La Presse,* May 2, 1870; *Le Constitutionel,* May 1, 1870; *Le Figaro,* No. 122, May 2, 1870.— *Ed.*

the *International Working Men's Association,* this last complot will worthily range with its two predecessors of grotesque memory.[167] The noisy and violent measures against our French sections are exclusively intended serving one single purpose—*the manipulation of the plebiscite.*

Adopted by the General Council on May 3, 1870

First published as a pamphlet, *Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association,* on May 4, 1870

Reproduced from Marx's manuscript pasted into the Minute Book of the General Council, and checked with the text of the pamphlet

who reiterated his assurance of support to, & sympathies with the Association, Cit. Jung announced the receipt of a letter from a young Belgian professor residing at present in Wales, who desired to become a member of the Association & act as one of its most devoted champions.

A letter from Cit. Richard of Lyons announced the formation of a new section at Richard, & Cit. Varlin was travelling to establish new branches. The letter contained a cheque for 6 l. 7 s. 0. of which 10 fr were for the St. Etienne section the rest for Lyons.

Cit. Marx then called the attention of the ~~Committee~~ the circumstance that many members of the Association had been arrested in France & that the government papers had endeavoured to spread it abroad that the Association was implicated in a pretended plot against the emperor. To refute those insinuations he proposed the following:

On the occasion of the last pretended complot, the French government has not only arrested many members of our Paris and Lyons sections, but ~~attempted~~ has insinuated to the emperor that the International Workingmen's Association is an accomplice of that pretended complot. According to the news of our statistics it is certainly the special mission of all our branches in Europe, on the Continent, and in the United States, to act not only as centres for the organisation of the working class but also to lead, in these different countries, all politic movements tending to the accomplishment of our ultimate end, viz. the emancipation of the working class. At the same time, these statistics bind all the sections of our association to ~~act in~~ keep an open and light of the steps of our statistics were not formal on that point, the very nature of our association which identifies itself with the working classes, would exclude from it every form of secret society. If the working classes, who form the great bulk of all nations, who produce all these wealths, and in the name of whom even the usurping powers always pretend to rule, conspire, they conspire publicly, in the sun conspires against darkness, in the full consciousness that without these pale there exists no legitimate power.
If the other contents of the complot denounced by the French government are as false and unfounded as the conspirators imputed the International Workingmen's Association, the last complot will worthily hang with its two predecessors of grotesque memory. The noisy and violent measures against our French sections was evidently intended serving one single purpose — the manipulation of the plebiscite.

Cit. Marx's seconded the proposal, which was adopted unanimously.

Page of the Minute Book with Marx's manuscript
of "Concerning the Persecution
of the Members of the French Sections"

# Karl Marx

## [DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL ON THE "FRENCH FEDERAL SECTION IN LONDON"][168]

Considering,

that addresses, resolutions and manifestoes emanating from a *French society in London* which styles itself: *"International Working Men's Association, French Federal Branch"*, have recently been published by continental papers and ascribed to the *"International Working Men's Association"*[169];

that the *"International Working Men's Association"* is at present undergoing severe persecutions on the part of the Austrian and French Governments which eagerly catch at the most flimsy pretexts for justifying such persecutions;

that under these circumstances the General Council would incur a serious responsibility in allowing any society not belonging to the *"International"* to use and act in its name;

the General Council hereby declares that the so-called *London French Federal Branch* has since two years ceased to form part of the *"International"* and to have any connection whatever with the General Council in London or any Branch[a] of that Association on the continent.

London, 10 May 1870

Adopted by the General Council on May 10, 1870

First published in *The Penny Bee-Hive*, No. 418, May 14, 1870

Reproduced from Marx's manuscript pasted into the Minute Book of the General Council

[a] The words "in London or any Branch" and "on the continent" were inserted by Eccarius when the resolution was being discussed by the General Council.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL ON THE CONVOCATION OF THE CONGRESS IN MAINZ][170]

Considering,

That by the Basle Congress Paris was appointed as the meeting-place for this year's Congress of the International Working Men's Association;

That the present French regime continuing, the Congress will not be able to meet at Paris;

That nevertheless the preparations for the meeting render an immediate resolution necessary;

That article 3 of the Statutes obliges the Council to change, in case of need, the place of meeting appointed by the Congress[a];

That the Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic Working Men's Party has invited the General Council to transfer this year's Congress to Germany[171];

The General Council has in its sitting of the 17th of May unanimously resolved that this year's Congress of the International Working Men's Association be opened on the 5th September next and meet at Mayence.

Adopted by the General Council on May 17, 1870

Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council

First published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 42, May 25, 1870

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[a] *Rules of the International Working Men's Association*, London [1867], p. 4.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC WORKERS' PARTY[172]

86 Mornington Street,
Stockport Road, Manchester
London, June 14, 1870

*Dear Friends,*

Today I received a letter from Stumpf (Mainz), in which he says, among other things:

"Liebknecht authorises me to write to you that because of the Reichstag elections, which are to be held precisely at that time, it might be better to hold the congress here on October 5. Last Monday[a] the congress in Stuttgart[173] also came out in favour of October 5. I hear that Geib is authorised to write to you in this matter."

Liebknecht and the other members of the International ought at least to be familiar with its Rules, which expressly state:

"§ 3. The General Council may, in case of need, change *the place,* but *has no power to postpone the time of meeting.*"[b]

When I spoke in the General Council in favour of your urgent invitation to have the congress moved to Germany, I naturally assumed that you had taken all the circumstances into consideration. According to the Rules there can be no question of postponing the congress.

Another passage in Stumpf's letter is also far from reassuring. In it he says:

"I have just come from the Burgomaster. He wants a solvent citizen to guarantee that *if the Schweitzer people were to start a fighting,* the town would be recompensed for any damage in the Electoral Hall of Marble, which has been promised to us for the congress, etc."

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[a] June 6.—*Ed.*

[b] *Rules of the International Working Men's Association,* London [1867], p. 4. Italics by Marx and Engels.—*Ed.*

You proposed the towns of Mainz, Darmstadt or Mannheim, thus in fact assuming, vis-à-vis the General Council, the responsibility of ensuring that the congress can be held in any of these towns without scandalous scenes which would make the International, and the German working class in particular, the laughing-stock of the whole world. I hope that you have taken all the necessary precautions in this respect.

What is the numerical proportion of Schweitzer supporters in Mainz and district to your own people?

In the event that a scandal cannot be avoided, steps must be taken in advance to ensure that it rebounds on its instigators. The *plan of the Prussian police* to obstruct the international congress in Mainz—which they are unable to prevent from convening by direct means—through their tool, the Schweitzer organisation, or to prevent the peaceful holding of its sessions, must be denounced in the *Volksstaat, Zukunft* and in other German papers open to us. As soon as this had been done in Germany, the General Council would then arrange for similar articles to be published in London, Paris, etc. The International can stand a conflict with Mr. Bismarck, but not alleged *spontaneous* "typical German factional brawls between workers" labelled "struggles of principle".

I daresay that Stumpf—in collaboration with you—will see to it that the delegates find cheap lodgings.

*Salut et fraternité*
Karl Marx

I take this opportunity of sending the Committee my kindest regards. Ever since the Schweitzerites in Forst informed the Burgomaster *in advance* of their intention to create mayhem and he allowed matters to take their course, the connection between these gentlemen and the police is an *established fact.* Perhaps Stumpf could enquire of the Schweitzerites through the Burgomaster of Mainz whether they have been instructed "to fight". It is anyway high time these people were exposed in the press everywhere as police agents pure and simple, and next time they try their hand at "fighting" they should be given a taste of their own medicine. This is naturally out of the question at the congress, but in the meantime they can be given a thrashing fit to put them off fighting for good. The manner in which Herr Bismarck is portraying these things in the English press is evident from the enclosed cutting, which is doing the rounds of all the

papers. The *North German Correspondence* is an organ founded by Bismarck with Guelphic money.[174]

With kindest regards

F. Engels

Written on June 14, 1870

First published in *Der Volksstaat,* No. 51, June 26, 1872

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx

## GENERAL COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON THE FEDERAL COMMITTEE OF ROMANCE SWITZERLAND[175]

### THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO THE ROMANCE FEDERAL COMMITTEE

Considering,

That although a majority of delegates at the Chaux-de-Fonds Congress elected a new Romance Federal Committee, this majority was only nominal;

That the Romance Federal Committee in Geneva, having always fulfilled its obligations to the General Council and to the International Working Men's Association, and having always acted in conformity with the Association's Rules, the General Council does not have the right to relieve it of its title,

The General Council, at its meeting of June 28, 1870, unanimously resolved that the Romance Federal Committee residing in Geneva shall retain its title, and that the Federal Committee residing in Chaux-de-Fonds shall select another, local title of its own choosing.

In the name and by order of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association,

*H. Jung,*
Secretary for Switzerland

London, June 29, 1870

Adopted at the General Council meeting of June 28, 1870

First published in *Le Mirabeau*, No. 53, July 24, 1870

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

# Karl Marx

## THE LOCK-OUT OF THE BUILDING TRADES AT GENEVA[176]

### THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION TO THE WORKING MEN AND WOMEN OF EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES

Fellow-Workers,

The Master Builders of Geneva have, after mature consideration, arrived at the conclusion that "the entire Freedom of Labour"[a] is best calculated to promote the happiness of the labouring poor. In order to secure this blessing to their work-people, they resolved to carry into practice, on June 11th, a trick of English invention, viz., the lock-out of upwards of 3,000 mechanics till then in their employ.

Trade Unionism being of recent growth in Switzerland, the same master builders of Geneva used to indignantly denounce it as an English importation. Two years ago, they taunted their men with a lack of Patriotism for trying to transplant on Swiss soil such an exotic plant as the limitation of the working day with fixed rates of wages per hour. They never doubted but there must be some keen mischief-mongers behind the scene, since their own native workmen, if left to themselves, would naturally like nothing better than drudging from twelve to fourteen hours a day for whatever pay the master might find it in his heart to allow. The deluded men, they publicly asserted, were acting under dictation from London and Paris, much the same as Swiss diplomatists are wont to obey the behests from St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Paris. However, the men were not to be cajoled, taunted, or intimidated into the persuasion that limiting the daily hours of toil to ten, and fixing the rate of wages per hour was something derogatory to the

[a] Here and below Marx describes the builders' strike of 1868 according to J. Ph. Becker's book *Die Internationale Arbeiter-Association und die Arbeitseinstellung in Genf im Frühjahr 1868*, Geneva, 1868, pp. 6, 7, 38 and 39.—*Ed.*

dignity of a Free Citizen, nor could they by any provocation be inveigled into acts of violence affording the masters a plausible pretext for enforcing public repressive measures against the unions.

At last, in May, 1868, M. Camperio, the then Minister of Justice and Police, brought about an agreement that the hours of labour should be nine a day in winter, and eleven a day in summer, wages varying from forty-five to fifty centimes an hour. That agreement was signed in the presence of the Minister by both masters and men. In the spring of 1869 some masters refused to pay more wages for a day's labour of eleven hours, than they had paid during winter for nine hours. The matter was again compromised by making 45 centimes an hour, the uniform rate of wages for artisans in the building trade. Although clearly comprised in this settlement, the plasterers and painters had to toil away on the old conditions because they were not then yet sufficiently organised to enforce the new ones. On the 15th of May last, they claimed to be put on a level with the other trades, and on the flat refusal of the masters, struck work the following week. On the 4th of June, the master builders resolved that if the plasterers and painters did not return to work on the 9th, the whole of the building operatives should be locked out on the 11th. This menace was carried into effect. Not satisfied with having locked out the men, the masters publicly called upon the federal government to forcibly dissolve the union[a] and expel the foreigners from Switzerland.[177] Their benevolent and truly liberal attempts at restoring the freedom of labour, were, however, baffled by a monster meeting, and a protest on the part of the Swiss non-building operatives.[178]

The other Geneva trades have formed a committee to manage the affairs for the men locked-out. Some house owners who had contracted for new buildings with the master builders, considered the contracts broken, and invited the men employed on them to continue the work as if nothing had happened. This proposal was at once accepted. Many single men are leaving Geneva as fast as they can. Still there remain some 2,000 families deprived of their usual means of subsistence.[b] The General Council of the International Working Men's Association, therefore, calls upon all honest working men and women, throughout the civilised world, to assist

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[a] The French text has: "International Association".—*Ed.*
[b] See *L'Égalité*, No. 24, June 18, 1870.—*Ed.*

both by moral and material means the Geneva building trades in their just struggle against capitalist despotism.

By order of the Council,

*B. Lucraft,* Chairman
*John Weston,* Treasurer
*George Eccarius,* Gen. Sec.

256, High Holborn, London, W.C.,
July 5th, 1870

Adopted by the General Council on July 5, 1870

First published as a leaflet

Reproduced from the leaflet

# Frederick Engels

## [NOTES FOR THE PREFACE TO A COLLECTION OF IRISH SONGS][179]

Some of the Irish folk-melodies are of ancient origin, others have emerged in the last 300-400 years, a good number as late as the last century, many of these composed by Carolan, one of the last Irish bards. These bards, or harpists—poets, composers and singers in one person—used to be very numerous: every Irish chieftain kept his own at his castle. Many also travelled around the country as wandering minstrels, persecuted by the English, who quite rightly saw in them the main bearers of the national, anti-English tradition. The old songs about the victories of Finn Mac Cumhal (whom Macpherson stole from the Irish and turned into a Scot under the name of Fingal in his *Ossian*,[a][180] which is entirely based on these Irish songs), about the splendour of the old royal palace of Tara, about the heroic feats of King Brian Borumha, and the later songs about the struggles of the Irish chieftains against the Sassenach (English) were preserved by these bards in the living memory of the nation; and they also celebrated in song the deeds of contemporary Irish chieftains in their struggle for independence. But when the Irish people were utterly crushed in the seventeenth century by Elizabeth, James I, Oliver Cromwell and William of Orange,[b] robbed of their land holdings in favour of English intruders, outlawed and turned into a nation of pariahs, the wandering minstrels were hounded as fiercely as the Catholic priests, and towards the beginning of this century

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[a] [J. Macpherson,] *Fingal, an Ancient Epic Poem in Six Books, together with Several Other Poems composed by Ossian, the Son of Fingal, translated from the Gaelic Language* (in *The Works of Ossian*, 1765).— *Ed.*

[b] William III.— *Ed.*

they gradually died out. Their names are forgotten, of their verses only fragments remain; the most beautiful legacy which they bequeathed to their enslaved but undefeated people are their melodies.

Poems in the Irish language are all composed in stanzas of four lines. For this reason, most of the melodies, especially the older ones, are based on this four-line rhythm, although the link is often somewhat obscured. This rhythm is often followed by a refrain or a coda on the harp. Many of these old melodies are known only by their Irish names or opening words, even though in most of Ireland Irish is now only understood by old people, or not at all. But the greater part of the melodies, being more recent, already have English names or texts.

The melancholy that prevails in most of these melodies is even today the expression of the national mood. How could it be otherwise among a people whose rulers are always inventing new, more up-to-date methods of oppression? The latest method, introduced forty years ago and carried to extremes for the past twenty years, is the mass eviction of the Irish from house and home, and that—in Ireland—is tantamount to deportation. Since 1841 the population of the country has decreased by two and a half million, and more than three million Irishmen have emigrated. All in the interests and at the behest of the large landowners of English origin. If this goes on for another thirty years, the only Irishmen left will be those in America.

Written on about July 5, 1870

First published, in Italian, in the journal *Movimento Operaio*, No. 2, Milan, 1955

Printed according to the manuscript

# Karl Marx

## CONFIDENTIAL COMMUNICATION TO ALL SECTIONS[181]

1) The General Council requests all sections to give their delegates formal instructions concerning the advisability of changing the venue of the General Council for 1870-71.

2) In the event of agreement on the change, the General Council will propose Brussels as the venue for the General Council that year.

Written on July 14, 1870

First published in Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 16, Moscow, 1960

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

# Karl Marx

## PROGRAMME FOR THE MAINZ CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL[182]

1) On the need to abolish the public debt. Discussion of the right to equitable compensation.

2) Relationship between the political action and the social movement of the working class.[183]

3) Practical means of converting landed property into social property *(see Note).*

4) On the conversion of banks of issue into national banks.

5) Conditions of cooperative production on a national scale.

6) On the need for the working class to draw up *general statistics of labour,* in conformity with the Geneva Congress resolutions of 1866.[a]

7) Reconsideration by the Congress of the question of the means to do away with war.

*Note to Point 3: The Belgian General Council* has proposed this question:

"The practical means of forming *agricultural sections* within the *International* and of establishing solidarity between agricultural proletarians and proletarians of other industries."

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[a] See *The International Working Men's Association. Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868,* London [1869], p. 4.— *Ed.*

The *General Council of the International Association* believes this question is contained in Point 3.

Written on July 14, 1870

First published as a leaflet, *The Fifth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association*, on July 12, 1870

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

# Frederick Engels

## [THE HISTORY OF IRELAND][184]

Written between May and the first half of July 1870

First published in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Russian edition, Vol. X, Moscow, 1948

Printed according to the manuscript

## NATURAL CONDITIONS

The country whose history is to occupy us is situated in the north-western corner of Europe, an island of 1,530 German or 32,500 English square miles. But between Ireland and the rest of Europe another island lies transversally, three times the size, which we for brevity's sake usually refer to as England; it completely encloses Ireland from the north, east and south-east, only leaving it a clear view in the direction of Spain, Western France and America.

The channel between the two islands, 50-70 English miles wide at the narrowest points in the south, 13 miles wide at one place in the north and 22 miles at another, enabled the Irish Scots in the north to emigrate to the neighbouring island and found the Kingdom of Scotland even before the 5th century. In the south it was too wide for the boats of the Irish and the Britons and even posed a serious obstacle to the Romans' flat-bottomed coasting vessels. But when the Frisians, Angles and Saxons, and after them the Scandinavians, ventured out on to the high seas, out of sight of land, in their keeled vessels, this channel was no longer an obstacle. Ireland became the object of raids by the Scandinavians and easy prey for the English. As soon as the Normans had formed a strong, uniform government in England, the influence of the larger neighbouring island made itself felt—in those days this meant a war of conquest.[185]

Then, in the course of the war, there followed a period when England attained supremacy at sea, thus ruling out the possibility of successful foreign intervention.

Once the whole of the larger island was finally united in a single state, it was then bound to attempt the complete assimilation of Ireland, too.

If this assimilation has succeeded, the whole process belongs to history. History is its judge, but it could never be reversed. If, however, assimilation has *failed* after seven hundred years of struggle; if instead all the intruders who swept in over Ireland in waves, one after the other, were assimilated by *Ireland*; if, even at present, the Irish are no more English, or "West Britons", as they are called, than the Poles are West Russians after a mere century of oppression; if the struggle is still not at an end and there is no prospect of any end at all except through the extermination of the oppressed RACE—if all this is so, then all the geographical excuses in the world will not suffice to prove that England's calling is to conquer Ireland.

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In order to understand the soil conditions of present-day Ireland, we must go back a long way, right back to the age when the so-called carboniferous system was formed.*

The centre of Ireland, north and south of the line from Dublin to Galway, forms a wide plain at an average height of 100-300 feet above sea-level. This plain, the ground-plan—as it were—of all Ireland, comprises the massive layer of limestone, which forms the middle stratum of the carboniferous system (CARBONIFEROUS LIMESTONE) and immediately on top of which lie the coal-bearing strata (the COAL-MEASURES[a] proper) in England and elsewhere.

In the south, as in the north, this plain is surrounded by a mountain chain which mainly follows the coastline and almost exclusively consists of older rock formations, which have broken through the limestone: granite, mica-schist, Cambrian, Cambro-Silurian, Upper Silurian, Devonian and the argillaceous schist and sandstone, rich in copper and lead, belonging to the bottom layer of the carboniferous system and containing, in addition, some gold, silver, tin, zinc, iron, cobalt, antimony glance, and manganese.

Only in a few places is the limestone itself high enough to form mountains: in the centre of the plain, in Queen's County,[186] rising to 600 feet, and in the west, on the southern shore of Galway Bay, rising to just over 1,000 feet (Burren Hills).

* Unless otherwise stated, the geological data given here are taken from: J. Beete Jukes, *The Student's Manual of Geology*, New Edition, Edinburgh, 1862. Jukes was the local director of the geological survey of Ireland and is therefore the leading authority on this topic, which he treats in particular detail.

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[a] The terms in small caps are given in English in the manuscript after their German equivalents.—*Ed.*

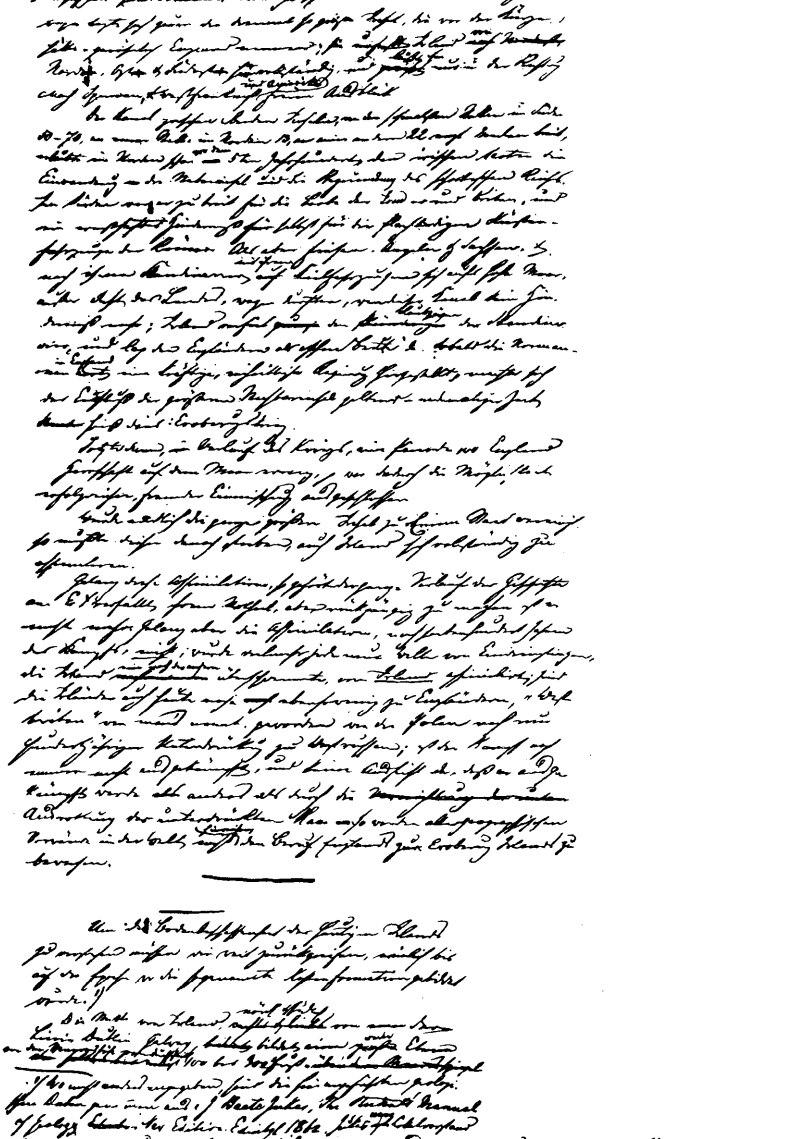

First page of Engels' *History of Ireland*

In several places in the southern half of the limestone plain there are isolated ranges of 700-1,000 feet [above] sea-level and of considerable extent, formed by the coal-bearing strata. They occur in synclines in the surface of the limestone, protruding from it as plateaus with fairly steep sides.

"The escarpments in these widely separated tracts of coal-measures are so similar, and the beds composing them so precisely alike, that it is impossible to suppose otherwise than that they originally formed continuous sheets of rock, although they are now separated by sixty or eighty miles.... This belief is strongly confirmed by the fact, that there are often, between the two larger areas, several little outlying patches in which the coal-measures are found capping the summits of small hills [...] and that wherever the undulation of the limestone is such as to bring its upper beds down beneath the level of the present surface of the ground, we invariably find some of the lower beds of the coal-measures coming in upon them" (Jukes, p. 286).[a]

Yet other factors, which would lead us into too much detail here and can be found in Jukes, pp. 286-89, leave no doubt that, as Jukes says, the entire central plain of Ireland is a result of denudation, so that, the coal-measures and the upper limestone deposits having been washed away—an average thickness of at least 2,000-3,000 feet, perhaps 5,000-6,000 feet of stone,—it is now principally the bottom layers of limestone that have emerged on the surface. Even on the highest ridge of the Burren Hills, County Clare, which consist of pure limestone and are 1,000 feet high, Jukes found (p. 513) yet another small outcrop of the coal-measures.

In fact, in the south of Ireland there are still some fairly significant tracts possessing coal-measures; but among them only isolated spots contain coal thick enough to make mining worthwhile. Moreover, the coal itself is anthracitic, i.e. it contains little hydrogen and cannot be used for all industrial purposes without additives.

In the north of Ireland there are also several not very extensive coalfields whose coal is bituminous, i.e. ordinary pit-coal rich in hydrogen, and whose stratification does not entirely match that of the coal districts further south. It is, however, quite evident that the coal-measures were washed away here too: large pieces of coal, along with sandstone and blue clay from the same formation, have been found on the surface of a limestone valley to the south-east of one of these coalfields in the direction of Belturbet and Mohill. Large blocks of coal have frequently been found in the course of well-sinking in the drift of this area; and, in some cases, the

[a] J. Beete Jukes, *The Student's Manual of Geology*, pp. 285-86.—*Ed.*

amounts of coal were so considerable that it was thought that deeper excavation would lead to a coal seam (Kane, *Industrial Resources of Ireland*, 2nd edition, Dublin, 1845, p. 265).

It can be seen that Ireland's misfortune is ancient indeed: it commences immediately after the coal-measures were deposited. A country whose coal deposits have been washed away, situated right next to a larger country with plenty of coal, was for a long time condemned by nature, as it were, to play the part of a farming land vis-à-vis the future industrial country. This sentence, pronounced millions of years ago, was not carried out until this century. What is more, we shall see later how the English gave nature a helping hand by immediately and violently trampling underfoot almost any sign of burgeoning industry in Ireland.

More recent Secondary and Tertiary deposits[187] occur almost solely in the north-east; among them of chief interest to us are the Keuper strata in the Belfast area, which contain more or less pure rock-salt to a thickness of up to 200 feet (Jukes, p. 554), and the chalk, which covers the whole of County Antrim, the chalk itself being overlaid with basalt. Generally speaking, the history of Ireland's geological development came to a halt from the end of the Carboniferous Period to the Ice Age.

It is known that after the end of the Tertiary Epoch there was a period when the lowlands of the middle latitudes of Europe were submerged beneath the sea and when such cold temperatures prevailed in Europe that the valleys of the islands of mountain still protruding were covered with glaciers right down to the sea. The icebergs, which detached themselves from these glaciers, carried large and small boulders from the mountains out to sea, until the ice melted and the boulders and other debris transported by the ice sank to the bottom—a process that still occurs daily along the coasts of the polar regions.

During the Ice Age Ireland, too, with the exception of the mountain tops, was submerged beneath the sea. The maximum extent of this submergence may not have been the same everywhere, but one may assume it to have been, on average, about 1,000 feet below the present level; the granite mountains to the south of Dublin must have been submerged by over 1,200 feet.

If Ireland were to sink only 500 feet, the mountain ranges alone would be left, forming two semi-circular groups of islands on either side of a broad sound stretching from Dublin to Galway. Were the land to sink even lower, these islands would shrink in size and in number until, at a drop of 2,000 feet, only the peaks of

the outermost mountains would be left sticking up out of the water.*

As this submersion slowly took place, the limestone plain and the mountainsides must have been cleared of a great deal of older rock that had overlain them; there then followed the deposition of the "drift" peculiar to the Ice Age over the entire area that was covered by water. The matter produced by the weathering of the mountain islands, and the finely ground particles of rock scraped out of the valleys by the slowly but powerfully moving glaciers—earth, sand, gravel, stones, smoothly polished blocks in the ice itself, sharp-edged ones on its surface—all this was carried out to sea by the icebergs as they detached themselves from the shore, and eventually sank to the bottom. Depending on the circumstances, the layer thus formed consists of clay (deriving from argillaceous schist), sand (from quartz and granite), limestone gravel (from limestone mountains), marl (where finely ground limestone was mixed with clay) or of mixtures of all these components; in every case, however, it contains a quantity of stones, some large, some small, sometimes rounded, sometimes jagged, and some the size of those colossal erratic boulders which occur even more frequently in Ireland than on the North German Plain or between the Alps and the Jura.

When the land was subsequently raised up out of the sea once more, this newly formed surface acquired, more or less, its present-day composition. In Ireland little washing-away seems to have taken place in the process; with few exceptions, the drift covers all the flat land in a layer of varying thickness, extends to the valleys in the mountains and is often found high up on the mountainsides, too. The rocks occurring in it are chiefly limestone; for this reason, the entire layer is commonly termed LIMESTONE GRAVEL[a] here. Numerous large limestone boulders are also scattered over all the lowlying land, one or more in almost every field. Obviously, near the mountains besides the limestone, the local rocks originating there (particularly granite) are also found in large quantities. Granite from the northern shore of Galway Bay occurs in the plain to the south-east, in large quantities as far as the Galton Mountains, and in odd instances as far as Mallow (County Cork).

* Of Ireland's 32,509 English square miles, 13,243 lie between sea-level and 250 feet; 11,797 are 251-500 feet above sea-level; 5,798 are 501-1,000 feet; 1,589 are 1,001-2,000 feet; 82 square miles are 2,001 feet or more above sea-level.

[a] In the manuscript this term is given in English in brackets after the German equivalent.—*Ed.*

The north of the country is covered with drift to the same height above sea-level as the central plain; between the various more or less parallel chains of mountains traversing it, the south displays a similar deposit, deriving from local rocks of chiefly Silurian formation, and occurring in large quantities particularly in the valley of the Flesk and the Laune near Killarney.

The traces of the glacier on the mountainsides and the valley floors in Ireland are very common and unmistakable, particularly in the south-west. Only in Oberhasli and here and there in Sweden do I recall having seen more distinct traces of ice of every kind than in Killarney (in the Black Valley and the Gap of Dunloe).

The elevation of the land during or after the Ice Age seems to have been so pronounced that Britain was for a while connected by dry land not only with the Continent but with Ireland as well. At least, this seems to be the only explanation for the similarity of the fauna of these countries. Of the extinct large mammals Ireland had the mammoth, the Irish giant stag, the cave-bear, a species of reindeer, and others in common with the Continent. In fact, an elevation of less than 240 feet above the present level would be sufficient to join Ireland and Scotland, and one of less than 360 feet to join Ireland and Wales with wide ridges of land.* The fact that at some time after the Ice Age Ireland occupied a higher level than at present is proved by the underwater peat bogs with upright treestumps and roots which occur all along the coast, and are identical in every respect with the lowest layers of the adjoining inland peat bogs.

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Insofar as it is suitable for agriculture, the soil of Ireland is accordingly almost entirely composed of "drift" from the Ice Age; here, thanks to its schist and limestone origin, it is an extremely fertile light loam, unlike the barren sand with which the Scottish, Scandinavian and Finnish granites have covered such a large part of North Germany. The diversity of the rocks which have laid down their deposits on this soil—and continue to do so—provided it with a corresponding diversity of the mineral elements

* See Map 15a in Stieler's school-atlas,[a] 1868. This map, as well as No. 15d of Ireland in particular, gives a very clear picture of the nature of the terrain.

[a] A. Stieler, *Hand-Atlas über alle Theile der Erde und über das Weltgebäude*, Gotha, 1864.—*Ed.*

necessary for the vegetation; and if one of these, lime, is often absent from the surface soil, there is nevertheless an abundance of limestone boulders of different sizes everywhere—quite apart from the underlying limestone bed—so that it can easily be added.

When the well-known English agronomist *Arthur Young* travelled in Ireland in the 1770s he did not know what surprised him more, the natural fertility of the soil, or the barbaric treatment meted out to it by the farmers. "A light, dry, soft, sandy loam soil" prevails wherever the land is any good at all. In the "Golden Vale" of Tipperary and elsewhere, too, he found

"the same sandy reddish loam I have already described, incomparable land for tillage". From there, in the direction of Clonmel, "the whole way, through the same rich vein of red sandy loam I have so often mentioned. I examined it in several fields, and found it to be of an extraordinary fertility, and as fine turnip land as ever I saw".

Further:

"The rich land reaches from Charleville, at the foot of the mountains, to Tipperary," (the city), "by Kilfennan, a line of twenty-five miles, and across from Ardpatrick to within four miles of Limerick—sixteen miles."—"The richest land is the Corcasses on the Maag, near Adare, a tract of five miles long, and two broad, down to the Shannon... When they break this land up, they sow first oats, and get twenty barrels an acre" (14 stone or 196 pounds per barrel), "or forty common barrels, and do not reckon that an extra crop; they take ten or twelve in succession [...] till the crops grow poor, and then they sow one of horse beans, which refreshes the land enough to take ten crops of oats more; the beans are very good.... Were such barbarians ever heard of?"

Further, near Castle Oliver, County Limerick:

"The finest soil in the country is upon the roots of mountains; it is a rich, mellow, crumbling, putrid, sandy loam, eighteen inches to three feet deep; the colour a reddish brown. It is dry, sound land, and would do for turnips exceedingly well, for carrots, for cabbages; and, in a word, for everything. I think upon the whole it is the richest soil I ever saw, and such as is applicable to every purpose you can wish. It will fat the largest bullock, and at the same time do equally well for sheep, for tillage, for turnips, for wheat, for beans; and, in a word, for every crop [...]. You must examine into the soil before you will believe that a country, which has so beggarly an appearance, can be so rich and fertile."

On the river Blackwater near Mallow

"there are tracts of flat lands, in some places one quarter of a mile broad; the grass everywhere remarkably fine. It is the finest sandy land I have anywhere seen, of a reddish-brown colour; would yield the greatest arable crops in the world, if in tillage. It is five feet deep, and [...] burns into good brick; yet it is a perfect sand. The banks of this river—from its source to the sea—are equally remarkable for beauty of prospect, and fertility of soil."—"Friable, sandy loams, dry but fertile, are very common, and they form the best soils in the kingdom for tillage and sheep. Tipperary and Roscommon abound particularly in them. The most fertile of all are the bullock pastures of Limerick, and the banks of the Shannon, in Clare, called

the Corcasses.... Sand, which is so common in England, and yet more common through Spain, France, Germany, and Poland—quite from Gibraltar to Petersburg—is nowhere met with in Ireland, except for narrow slips of hillocks upon the sea coast. Nor did I ever meet with or hear of a chalky soil." *

Young's verdict on the soil of Ireland is summarised in the following sentences:

"If I was to name the characteristics of an excellent soil, I should say *that*[a] upon which you may fat an ox, and feed off a crop of turnips. By the way I recollect little or no such land in England, yet it is not uncommon in Ireland" (II, p. 271). "Natural fertility, acre for acre over the two kingdoms, is certainly in favour of Ireland" (II, Part 2, p. 3).—"As far as I can form a general idea of the soil of the two kingdoms, Ireland has much the advantage" (II, Part 2, p. 12).

In 1808-10, Edward *Wakefield,* another Englishman versed in agronomy, travelled around Ireland and presented the results of his observations in a most valuable work.** His comments are better arranged, more lucid and more complete than those in Young's travel book; on the whole, however, they are both accurate.

On the whole, Wakefield finds no great diversity of soil in Ireland. Sand only occurs on the shore (it is so rare inland that large quantities of sea-sand are transported to the interior in order to improve the peat and loam soil), chalky soil is unknown (the chalk in Antrim, as mentioned above, is covered by a layer of basalt, which after weathering produces an extremely fertile surface soil—chalk constitutes the poorest soil in England),

"and tenacious clays, such as those found in Oxfordshire, in some parts of Essex, and throughout High Suffolk, I could never meet with in Ireland".[b]

The Irish call any loamy soil CLAY[c]; there may be proper clay in Ireland, too, but in any case not on the surface as in some parts of England. There is limestone or calcareous gravel almost everywhere, he says.

"The former is a useful production, and is converted into a source of wealth that will always be employed with advantage."[d]

Mountains and peat bogs do, of course, reduce the fertile surface considerably. In the north, he says, there is little fertile

* *A Tour in Ireland* by Arthur Young, 3 vols., London, 177.... The above passages are in Vol. II, pp. 28, 135, 143, 154, 165 and Part 2, p. 4.[188]

** *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political. By Edward Wakefield.* London, 1812, 2 vols., in 4°.[189]

[a] Author's italics.—*Ed.*

[b] E. Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland...*, Vol. I, Ch. III, p. 79.—*Ed.*

[c] Engels gives this English word in brackets after the German equivalent.—*Ed.*

[d] Ibid.—*Ed.*

land; yet here, too, there are extremely luxuriant valleys in every county, and even in deepest Donegal, at the foot of the wildest mountains, Wakefield unexpectedly came across a very fertile area. The intensive cultivation of flax in the north is in itself sufficient indication of the soil's fertility, since this plant never thrives in poor soil.

"A great portion of the soil of Ireland throws out a luxuriant herbage, springing up from a calcareous subsoil, without any considerable depth. I have seen bullocks of the weight of 180 stone, rapidly fattening on land incapable of receiving the print of a horse's foot, even in the wettest season, and where there were not many inches of soil. This is *one* species of the rich soil of Ireland, and is to be found throughout Roscommon, in some parts of Galway, Clare, and other districts. Some places exhibit the richest loam that I ever saw turned up by a plough; this is the case throughout Meath in particular. Where such soil occurs, its fertility is so conspicuous, that it appears as if nature had determined to counteract the bad effects produced by the clumsy system of its cultivators.—On the banks of the Fergus and Shannon, the land is of a different kind, but equally productive, though the surface presents the appearance of marsh. These districts are called 'the caucasses'" (thus writes Wakefield, differing with Young); "the substratum is a blue silt, deposited by the sea, which seems to partake of the qualities of the upper stratum; for this land can be injured by no depth of ploughing.—In the counties of Limerick and Tipperary there is another kind of rich land, consisting of a dark, friable, dry, sandy loam which, if preserved in a clean state, would throw out corn for several years in succession. It is equally well adapted to grazing and tillage, and I will venture to say, seldom experiences a season too wet, or a summer too dry. The richness of the land, in some of the vales, may be accounted for by the deposition of soil carried thither from the upper grounds by the rain. The subsoil is calcareous, so that the very richest manure is thus spread over the land below, without subjecting the farmer to any labour" (Vol. I, pp. 79, 80).

Where there is a thinnish layer of sticky loam immediately on top of the limestone, the land is no use for arable farming, yielding only miserable crops of corn; but it provides excellent sheep-walks, which go on improving it, producing a thick grass mixed with plenty of white clover and...[a] (Vol. I, p. 80).

Dr. Beaufort* writes that in the west, particularly in Mayo, there are a great many TURLOUGHS—flat areas of differing sizes which, though not perceptibly fed by any streams or rivers, are covered with water in winter which drains away in summer through underground fissures in the limestone, leaving behind a firm, fertile grazing land.

"Independently of the caucasses," continues Wakefield, "the richest soil in Ireland is to be found in the counties of Tipperary, Limerick, Roscommon, Longford, and Meath. In Longford there is a farm called Granard Kill, which

* Beaufort, Revd. Dr., *Memoir of a Map of Ireland*, 1792, pp. 75, 76. Quoted in Wakefield, Vol. I, p. 36.

[a] Omission in the manuscript. Wakefield has: "...and wild burnet".—*Ed.*

produced eight crops of potatoes without manure. Some parts of the County of Cork are uncommonly fertile, and upon the whole, Ireland may be considered as affording land of an excellent quality, though I am by no means prepared to go the length of many writers, who assert, that it is decidedly acre for acre richer than England" (Vol. I, [pp. 80-81]).

The last remark, which is aimed at Young, stems from a misunderstanding of the statement by Young quoted above.[a] Young does not say that Ireland's soil is more productive than England's, taking them both in their present state of cultivation, which is naturally much higher in England; Young simply says that the *natural* fertility of the soil in Ireland is greater than in England, and Wakefield does not directly dispute this.

A Scottish agronomist, Mr. *Caird,* was sent to Ireland in 1849, after the last famine,[b] by Sir[c] Robert Peel to report on means of improving the agriculture there. In his report, published soon afterwards, on the West of Ireland, the worst hit part of the country except for the extreme north-west, he says:

"I was much surprised to find so great an extent of fine fertile land. The interior of the country is very level, and its general character stony and dry; the soil dry and friable. The humidity of the climate causes a very constant vegetation, which has both advantages and disadvantages. It is favourable for grass and green crops,* but renders it necessary to employ very vigorous and persevering efforts to extirpate weeds. The abundance of lime everywhere, both in the rock itself, and as sand and gravel beneath the surface, are of the greatest value."

Caird also confirms that the whole of County Westmeath consists of the finest pasture land. Of the region north of Lough Corrib (County Mayo) he writes:

"The greater part of this farm" (a farm of 500 acres) "is the finest feeding land for sheep and cattle—dry, friable, undulating land, all on limestone. The fields of rich old grass are superior to anything we have, except in small patches, in any part of Scotland I at present remember. The best of it *is too good for tillage,* but about one half of it might be profitably brought under the plough... The rapidity with which the land on this limestone subsoil recovers itself, and, without any seeds being sown, reverts to good pasture, is very remarkable."**

* "GREEN CROPS"[d] include all cultivated fodder crops, root vegetables of all kinds and potatoes; everything but corn, grass and garden produce.

** Caird, *The Plantation Scheme, or the West of Ireland as a field for investment,* Edinburgh, 1850. The above passages are on pp. 6, 17-18, 121. In 1850-51, Mr. Caird wrote travel reports for *The Times* on the condition of agriculture in the main counties of England.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 156.— *Ed.*

[b] That of 1846-47.— *Ed.*

[c] At this point in the manuscript the word "Ministry" appears above the word "Sir".— *Ed.*

[d] Engels gives these English words in brackets after the German equivalent.— *Ed.*

Finally let us hear what a French authority says*:

"Of the two divisions of Ireland, that of the north-west, embracing a fourth of the island, and comprehending the province of Connaught, with the adjacent counties of Donegal, Clare and Kerry, resembles Wales, and even, in its worst parts, the Highlands of Scotland. Here again are two millions of unsightly hectares, the frightful aspect of which has given rise to the national proverb, 'Go to the devil or Connaught'**. The other, or south-east and much larger division, since it [...] includes the provinces of Leinster, Ulster and Munster, equal to about six millions of hectares, is *at least equal* in natural fertility to England proper. It is not all, however, equally good; the amount of humidity there is still greater than in England. Extensive bogs cover about a tenth of the surface; more than another tenth is occupied with mountains and lakes. In fact, five only out of eight millions of hectares in Ireland are cultivated" (pp. 9, 10).—"Even the English admit that Ireland, in point of soil, is superior to England. [...] Ireland contains eight millions of hectares. Rocks, lakes, and bogs occupy about two millions of these, and two millions more are indifferent land. The remainder—that is to say about half the country—is rich land, with calcareous subsoil. What better could be conceived?" (p. 343).

It is evident that all the authorities are agreed that the soil of Ireland contains all the elements of fertility to an unusual degree, with regard to both its chemical constituents and its physical composition. The extremes—sticky, impenetrable clay, which allows no water through, and loose sand, which does not retain it for an hour—are nowhere to be found. Yet Ireland has another disadvantage. While the mountains are mainly along the coast, the watersheds between the different river basins in the interior of the country are mostly very low-lying. The rivers are not able to drain off all the rainwater into the sea, and this gives rise to extensive peat bogs in the interior, particularly on the watersheds. In the plain alone 1,576,000 acres are covered by peat bogs. These are mostly depressions or hollows in the terrain, largely former shallow lake basins, which have gradually become overgrown with moss and bog plants and filled up with their decayed remains. Like our North German bogs they are no use except for peat-cutting. With the present system of agriculture their edges can only slowly be brought under cultivation. The floor of these former lake basins consists of marl everywhere which derives its limestone content (ranging from 5 to 90%) from the shells of the freshwater mussels in the lake. Thus, each one of these peat bogs contains within itself the material for its own reclamation and cultivation. In addition, most of them are rich in iron stone. Apart

* Léonce de Lavergne, *Rural Economy of England, Scotland and Ireland.* Translated from the French. Edinburgh, 1855.

** As we shall see, this proverb owes its origin not to the dark mountains of Connaught but to the darkest period in the entire history of Ireland.[190]

from these lowland bogs there are another 1,254,000 acres of mountain bogs, a result of deforestation in a damp climate and one of the peculiar beauties of the British Isles. Wherever flat or gently domed peaks were deforested—which occurred on a mass scale in the 17th and first half of the 18th centuries to keep the ironworks supplied with charcoal—the effects of the rain and mist encouraged the formation of a layer of peat, which later continued down the slopes where conditions were favourable. The entire ridge of mountains which bisects Northern England from north to south as far as Derby is covered by such moors; and where large clusters of mountains are shown on the map of Ireland there are also mountain bogs in abundance. The peat bogs of Ireland are not, however, by any means irrevocably lost to agriculture; rather, in due course we shall see what rich fruits some of them are capable of yielding with the appropriate treatment, not to mention the 2 million hectares (=5 million acres) contemptuously referred to by Lavergne as "indifferent land".

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The climate of Ireland is determined by its position. The Gulf Stream and the prevailing south-west winds bring it warmth, making for mild winters and cool summers. In the south-west, summer lasts far into October, which, according to Wakefield (Vol. I, p. 221), is here considered the favourite month for sea-bathing. Frost is rare and does not last long; snow hardly ever lies on the ground for long on the plain. Around the bays of Kerry and Cork, which face south-west and are sheltered from the north, spring weather prevails all winter long; there, as in some other places, myrtle thrives in the open (Wakefield cites an example of a country estate with myrtle trees 16 feet high, the twigs of which were used to make stable brooms, Vol. I, p. 55), and laurel, arbutus and other evergreen plants grow into tall trees. Even in Wakefield's day the farmers in the south left their potatoes out all winter, without any being damaged by frost since 1740. On the other hand, Ireland does bear the brunt of the first heavy downpour from the heavy Atlantic rain clouds. The average rainfall in Ireland is at least 35 inches, considerably more than the average for England, but certainly less than that for Lancashire and Cheshire, and scarcely more than the average for the whole of the West of England. Nevertheless, the Irish climate is decidedly more pleasant than the English. The leaden skies which so often drip away unceasingly for days on end in England, are mainly

replaced by continental April skies there; the fresh sea breezes bring the clouds swiftly out of the blue but drive them away again just as swiftly, unless they promptly fall to earth in a sudden shower. And even rain that continues for days, such as occurs in late autumn, does not have the chronic air of English rain. The weather, like the inhabitants, has a more acute character, it moves in sharper, more sudden contrasts; the sky is like an Irish woman's face, rain and sunshine follow on each other suddenly and unexpectedly, but there is no room for the grey English boredom.

The oldest report on the Irish climate is provided by the Roman *Pomponius Mela (De situ orbis)* in the first century A. D. It says:

"Beyond Britain lies Hibernia, almost equal to it in extent but otherwise similar; of a rather long shape, *with skies adverse to the ripening seed;* but *abounding in grass not only luxuriant but also sweet,* so that a small part of the day suffices for the cattle to eat their fill, and if they are not removed from the pasture they will go on grazing until they burst."

*"Coeli ad maturanda semina iniqui, verum adeo luxuriosa herbis, non laetis modo, sed etiam dulcibus!"* Translated into modern English this passage may be found with others in a work by Mr. *Goldwin Smith,* sometime Professor of History at Oxford and now at Cornell University in America. He tells us that it is difficult to reap a wheat harvest in a large part of Ireland, and continues:

"Its[a] natural way to commercial prosperity seems to be to supply with the produce of its *grazing* and dairy farms the *population of England.*" *

From Mela to Goldwin Smith and up to the present day how often the assertion has been made—particularly since 1846[191] by the noisy chorus of Irish landowners—that Ireland has been condemned by its climate not to supply the Irish with bread but to supply the English with meat and butter, and that consequently it is the vocation of the Irish people to be shipped over the ocean in order to make way for cows and sheep in Ireland!

It is clear that to establish the facts with regard to the Irish climate is to solve a political issue of great topicality. To be sure, the climate only concerns us here insofar as it is of importance for agriculture. The observations of natural scientists who have measured the rainfall are, given the present inadequate state of

* Goldwin Smith, *Irish History and Irish Character,* Oxford and London, 1861 [p. 3].—We know not what to admire more in this work, which sets out to justify English policy in Ireland under a mask of "objectivity", the ignorance of the professor of history or the hypocrisy of the liberal bourgeois. We shall meet with both again.[b]

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[a] Engels has "Ireland's".—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. this volume, p. 283.—*Ed.*

such observations, only of secondary value for our purposes; it is not so much a matter of *how much* rain falls, but far more *how* and *when* it falls. The judgments of the agronomists are the ones that carry the most weight here.

*Arthur Young* considers Ireland to be decidedly damper than England; hence the astonishing ability of the soil to produce grass. He speaks of cases where turnip and stubble fields, left unploughed, have yielded a plentiful hay harvest the following summer, something which is unknown in England. Further, he mentions that Irish wheat is much lighter than that of drier countries; the fields are full of grass and weeds even with the best management, and harvests are so wet and difficult to gather that the yield suffers greatly thereby (Young, *Tour,* Vol. II, p. 100).

At the same time, however, he draws attention to the fact that the soil of Ireland counteracts the wetness of the climate. The soil is stony everywhere and thus lets the water through more easily.

"Harsh, tenacious, stony, strong LOAMS, difficult to work; are not uncommon in Ireland, but they are quite different from English CLAYS. If as much rain fell upon the clays of England (a soil very rarely met with in Ireland, and never without much stone) as falls upon the rocks of her sister island, those lands could not be cultivated. But the rocks here are clothed with verdure; those of limestone, with only a thin covering of mould, have the softest and most beautiful turf imaginable" (Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 3, 4).

The limestone is, as is well known, full of cracks and fissures which allow superfluous water to pass through rapidly.

*Wakefield* devotes a highly detailed chapter to the climate,[a] gathering together all earlier observations up to his own time. Dr. *Boate* (*Natural History of Ireland,* 1645)[192] describes the winters as mild, 3-4 frosts per year, seldom lasting more than 2-3 days; the Liffey in Dublin scarcely freezing over once in 10-12 years. March is usually dry and fair, but this is followed by a lot of rain; there are rarely 2-3 consecutive days in summer that are completely dry; in late autumn the weather is fine again. Very dry summers are rare; scarcities are never due to drought but mostly caused by the wet. On the plains there is little snow, so that the cattle could stay outside all year round. Occasionally, though, there are snowy years, such as 1635, when people were hard put to find shelter for their cattle (Wakefield, Vol. I, p. 216 ff.).

At the beginning of the last century Dr. *Rutty (Natural History of the County of Dublin)*[b] started exact meteorological observations,

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[a] E. Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland...*, Vol. I, Chapter VI ("Climate").—*Ed.*

[b] J. Rutty, *An Essay towards a Natural History of the County of Dublin,* Dublin, 1772.—*Ed.*

which covered fifty years, from 1716-1765. Over this period the ratio of south and west winds to north and east winds was 73:37 (10,878 south and west against 6,329 north and east). The prevailing winds were westerly and south-westerly, followed by north-westerly and south-easterly; the least frequent being north-easterly and easterly. In summer, autumn and winter westerly and south-westerly winds prevail; easterly winds are most common in the spring and summer, when they are twice as frequent as in autumn and winter; north-easterly winds occur chiefly in the spring, and are also twice as frequent then as in autumn and winter. As a result, temperatures are more even, the winters milder, the summers cooler than in London, though the air is more humid. Even in the summer, salt, sugar, flour, etc., absorb moisture from the air, and the corn has to be kiln-dried, which does not occur in *some parts* of England (Wakefield, Vol. I, pp. 172-81).

At that time, Rutty was only able to compare the Irish climate with that of London, which, like the climate of the whole of Eastern England, is certainly drier. But if he had had access to material on the West and particularly the North-West of England, he would have found that his description of the Irish climate—the distribution of the winds over the year, the wet summers, in which sugar, salt, etc., spoil in unheated rooms—is entirely applicable to this area, except that the latter is colder in winter.

Rutty also kept lists of the meteorological character of the seasons.[a] In the 50 years mentioned there were 16 cold, late or too dry springs; slightly more than in London. Further, 22 hot and dry, 24 wet, 4 changeable summers; somewhat damper than in London, where the number of dry or wet summers was the same; further, 16 fine, 12 wet and 22 changeable autumns, again somewhat wetter and more changeable than in London; and 13 frosty, 14 wet and 23 mild winters, which is considerably wetter and milder than in London.

According to rain measurements made in the Botanical Gardens in Dublin during the ten year period 1802-11, the total monthly precipitation, in inches, was as follows: December, 27.31; July, 24.15; November, 23.49; August, 22.47; September, 22.27; January, 21.67; October, 20.12; May, 19.50; March, 14.69; April, 13.54; February, 12.32; June, 12.07; average per year, 23.36 (Wakefield, Vol. I, p. 191). These ten years were unusually dry; Kane (*Industrial Resources,* p. 73) gives the average for 6 years in

[a] J. Rutty, *An Essay...*, Vol. II, p. 471.—*Ed.*

Dublin as 30.87 inches, and *Symons (English Rain Fall)*[a] a figure of 29.79 inches for 1860-62. But how little such measurements mean with the quickly passing, purely local showers of Ireland, unless they cover a long series of years and are undertaken at a large number of stations, is proved among other things by the fact that three stations in Dublin itself recorded for the rainfall in 1862: one 24.63, the second 28.04, and the third 30.18 inches. According to Symons, the average precipitation of twelve stations in all parts of Ireland (varying from 25.45 to 51.44 inches) amounted to just under 39 inches for the years 1860-62.

In his book on the climate of Ireland Dr. *Patterson* says:

"The frequency of our showers, and not the amount of rainfall itself, has caused the popular notion about the wetness of our climate.... Sometimes, the spring sowing is a little delayed because of wet weather, but our springs are so frequently cold and late that early sowing is not always advisable. If frequent summer and autumn showers make our hay and corn harvests risky, then vigilance and diligence would be just as successful in such exigencies as they are for the English in their 'CATCHING' HARVESTS[b], and improved cultivation would ensure that the seed-corn would aid the peasants' efforts." *

In Londonderry the number of rain-free days varied from 113 to 148 over the 10 years 1791-1802, averaging over 126. Belfast showed the same average. In Dublin, the figure varied from 168 to 205, averaging 179 (Patterson, ibid.).

According to Wakefield's report, harvests in Ireland occur as follows: wheat mostly in September, more rarely in August, seldom in October; barley usually somewhat later than wheat, and oats about a week later than barley, thus fairly frequently in October. After lengthy researches, Wakefield comes to the conclusion that the material for a *scientific* description of the Irish climate was far from sufficient, and *nowhere* expresses the opinion that there are any serious obstacles to corn production. Rather, he finds, as we shall see, that the losses suffered during wet harvest-times are due to entirely different factors, and says explicitly:

"The soil of Ireland is so fertile, and *the climate so favourable,* that under a proper system of agriculture, the island will produce not only a *sufficiency of corn* for its own use, but a *superabundance* which may be ready at all times to relieve England when she may stand in need of assistance" (Vol. II, p. 61).

* Dr. W. Patterson, *An Essay on the Climate of Ireland,* Dublin, 1804, p. 164.

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[a] G. J. Symons, *British Rainfall over the British Isles,* London, Stanford, 1862.— *Ed.*

[b] Engels gives the English words "catching harvests" in brackets after their German equivalent.— *Ed.*

At that time, 1812, England was, of course, at war with everyone in Europe and America,[193] and the import of corn was rendered much more difficult; the need for corn was paramount. Nowadays America, Romania, Russia and Germany supply enough corn, and it is cheap *meat* that is now in demand. And so the Irish climate is no longer suitable for arable farming.

Corn has been grown in Ireland since ancient times. In the oldest Irish laws, written down long before the arrival of the English, the "sack of wheat" is already a fixed measure of value; in the tributes of subjects to tribal chiefs and other chieftains wheat, barley malt and oatmeal occur almost regularly in particular stipulated quantities.* After the English invasion the growing of corn decreased during the continuing struggles, though without ever ceasing entirely. From 1660 to 1725 it increased again, then falling off once more until about 1780; from 1780-1846 more corn was again sown, although the main crop was potatoes, and since 1846 both corn and potatoes have been steadily losing ground to cattle grazing. If the climate is not suited to the growing of corn, would it have persisted for more than a thousand years?

Admittedly there are parts of Ireland which are less suitable for growing wheat on account of the more frequent rains always found near the mountains—especially in the south and west. As well as good years, these areas often experience series of wet summers, as in 1860-1862, which inflict great harm on the wheat. But wheat is not Ireland's main cereal crop, and Wakefield even complains that too little of it is grown owing to lack of markets—there was no other market but the nearest mill. Similarly, barley was grown almost solely for the illicit stills (evading taxation). The main cereal in Ireland was and is oats. In 1810, at least ten times as much oats was grown as all the other cereal crops put together; and as the oats harvest is later than that of wheat and barley, it occurs more often in late September and in October, when the weather is generally fine, especially in the south. And anyway oats can tolerate a good deal of rain.

We have already seen above that, with regard to the amount

* *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland—Senchus Mor*, 2 VOLS., DUBLIN, PRINTED FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONARY OFFICE, AND PUBLISHED BY ALEXANDER THOM (London, Longmans) 1865 and 1869.[194] See Vol. II, pp. 239-51. The value of a sack of wheat was one screpall (denarius) of 20-24 grains of silver. The value of the screpall has been established by Dr. *Petrie*, in *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, anterior to the Anglo-Norman Invasion*, Dublin, 1845, 4°, pp. 212-19.

and distribution of rainfall over the seasons, the climate of Ireland corresponds almost exactly to that of north-west England. The rainfall in the mountains of Cumberland, Westmoreland and North Lancashire is far higher than in any Irish station known to me (in Coniston 96.03, in Windermere 75.02 inches, average from 1860 to 1862), and yet hay is made there and oats are grown. In the same years, the rainfall in South Lancashire varied from 25.11 in Liverpool to 59.13 in Bolton, the average of all the observations being approximately 40 inches; in Cheshire it varied from 33.02 to 43.40, the average being about 37 inches. In Ireland, as we have seen, it was not quite 39 inches in the same years. (All figures from Symons.) In both counties, cereals of all kinds, particularly wheat, are grown; Cheshire, it is true, was principally engaged in cattle-breeding and dairy farming until the last outbreak of cattle plague, but since most of the livestock died off, the climate has suddenly proved to be excellent for wheat. If the cattle plague had reached Ireland and caused such terrible devastation there as it did in Cheshire, instead of hearing about Ireland's natural calling as cattle pasture we should now have to listen to the passage from Wakefield where he predicts that Ireland is destined to be England's granary.

Looking at the matter impartially, undeterred by the interested outcry of the Irish landowners and the English bourgeoisie, we find that Ireland has areas which are more suited in their soil and climate to cattle-breeding, others more suited to arable farming, and yet others, the vast majority, which are equally suited to both, as is the case everywhere. Compared with England, Ireland is on the whole better for cattle-breeding; but compared with France, England itself is better for cattle-breeding. Does it follow that the whole of England should be turned into cattle pastures, that the entire farming population—with the exception of a few shepherds—should be sent to the factory towns or to America, in order to make room for cattle that is bound for France to pay for silks and wines? But that is exactly what the Irish landowners, wishing to raise their ground-rents, and the English bourgeoisie, wishing to depress wages, are demanding for Ireland; Goldwin Smith has said it plainly enough. And yet the social revolution entailed by such a transformation from arable land to pasturage would be far more violent in Ireland than in England. In England, where large-scale farming predominates and the farmhands have already been largely supplanted by machinery, it would mean uprooting a million at most; whereas in Ireland, where small-scale farming and even spade-farming predominate, it would mean

uprooting four million people, the extermination of the Irish people.

It is evident that even facts of nature become national issues of contention between England and Ireland. But it is also evident that the public opinion of the ruling class in England—and this alone makes itself heard on the Continent—changes according to fashion and its own interests. Today England needs corn quickly and surely—and Ireland is just made for growing wheat; tomorrow England needs meat—Ireland is no good for anything but cattle pasture. The five million Irishmen are by their mere existence a slap in the face of all the laws of political economy. They must go, let them end up where they will!

## OLD IRELAND

The classical Greek and Roman authors and the fathers of the Church give very little information about Ireland.

However, there exists a native literature that is still comparatively rich despite the loss of many Irish writings in the wars of the 16th and 17th centuries. It consists of poems, grammars, glossaries, annals and other historical writings and law-books. With very few exceptions, however, this entire literature, covering the period at least from the 8th to the 17th centuries, exists *in manuscript* only. As far as the Irish language is concerned, printing has only been in existence for a few years, that is, only since the language began to die out. Thus, only a tiny part of this rich material is accessible.

Of the annals the most important are those by Abbot *Tigernach* (died 1088), those of *Ulster,* and particularly those of the *Four Masters.* The latter were compiled in 1632-36 under the supervision of Michael O'Clery, a Franciscan monk, with the help of three other *Seanchaidhes* (students of antiquity), in the monastery of Donegal from materials which have nearly all been lost now. They were published from the extant original manuscript from Donegal in a critical edition with English translation by O'Donovan in 1856.* The earlier editions by Dr. Charles O'Conor (the first part of the *Four Masters,* the *Annals of Ulster,* etc.) are unreliable in text and translation.[195]

Most of these annals begin with the mythical prehistory of Ireland, taking as their basis the old folk legends, which were spun out interminably by the bards of the 9th and 10th centuries and

* *Annala Rioghachta Eireann. Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters.* EDITED, WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION, BY DR. JOHN O'DONOVAN. 2ND EDIT., Dublin, 1856, 7 vols, in 4°.

then put into proper chronological order by monastic chroniclers. Thus, the *Annals of the Four Masters* begin in the year of the world 2242, when Ceasair, a granddaughter of Noah, landed in Ireland 40 days before the flood; other annals trace the forebears of the Scots, the last immigrants to arrive in Ireland, in a direct line back to Japhet and relate them to Moses, the Egyptians and the Phoenicians, just as our mediaeval chroniclers traced the forebears of German tribes back to Troy, Aeneas, and Alexander the Great. The *Four Masters* devote only a couple of pages to these old fables (in which the only valuable element, the genuine old folk legend, cannot be distinguished to this day); the *Annals of Ulster* omit it completely; even Tigernach states with a critical audacity extraordinary for his day that all the monuments of the Scots before King Cimbaoth (supposedly 300 B.C.) are uncertain. But when a new national life was awakened in Ireland at the end of the last century, and with it fresh interest in Irish literature and history, these monastic fables were considered to be the most important parts. With truly Celtic enthusiasm, and specifically Irish naivety, belief in these tales was declared to be an essential ingredient of national patriotism; this did, of course, give the super-clever English scholars—whose own achievements in philological and historical criticism are justifiably famous in the rest of the world—the desired pretext for rejecting everything Irish as sheer nonsense.*

Since the thirties of the present century, however, a far more critical spirit has come over Ireland, particularly through Petrie and O'Donovan. The above-mentioned studies by Petrie[a] prove that there is complete agreement between the oldest preserved inscriptions from the 6th and 7th centuries and the annals, and

* One of the most naive products of that time is *The Chronicles of Eri, being the History of the Gaal Sciot Iber, or the Irish People, translated from the original manuscripts in the Phoenician dialect of the Scythian language by O'Connor,* London, 1822, 2 vols. The Phoenician dialect of the Scythian language is, of course, Celtic Irish, and the original manuscript is just any verse chronicle. The publisher is Arthur O'Connor, an exile of 1798,[196] uncle of the subsequent leader of the English Chartists, Feargus O'Connor, an alleged descendant of the old O'Connors, kings of Connaught, and, to a certain extent, pretender to the Irish throne. Before the title there is a portrait of him, a handsome, jovial, Irish face, with a striking resemblance to his nephew Feargus, grasping a crown in his right hand. Underneath it says: "O'CONNOR—CEAR-RIGE, HEAD OF HIS RACE, AND O'CONNOR, CHIEF OF THE PROSTRATE PEOPLE OF HIS NATION: 'Soumis, pas vaincus [Subjected but undefeated]'."

[a] G. Petrie, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, anterior to the Anglo-Norman Invasion,* Dublin, 1845.—*Ed.*

O'Donovan[a] is of the opinion that these begin to report historical facts as early as the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. For us it is fairly immaterial whether the credibility of the annals commences a few hundred years earlier or later, for they are, as far as that period is concerned, unfortunately, almost entirely useless for our purpose. They contain short, dry notices of deaths, accessions to the throne, wars, battles, earthquakes, plagues and Scandinavian raids, but little that has any bearing on the social life of the people. If the entire legal literature of Ireland was published, they would assume quite a different significance; many dry notices would acquire new life through explicatory passages in the law-books.

These law-books, which are very numerous, are nearly all awaiting the moment when they will see the light of day. In 1852, on the insistence of Irish students of antiquity, the English Government approved the appointment of a commission for publishing the old laws and institutions of Ireland. But how? The commission consisted of three lords (who are never far away when there is public money to be expended), three lawyers of the highest rank, three Protestant clergymen, Dr. Petrie, and an officer who is Head of the Irish Survey. Of all these gentlemen only Dr. Petrie and two of the clergymen, Dr. Graves (now Protestant Bishop of Limerick) and Dr. Todd, could claim to understand anything of the commission's task; of these, Petrie and Todd have since died. The commission was given the duty of arranging the copying, translation and publication of the old Irish manuscripts of a legal content and were authorised to employ the necessary people for the job. They employed the two best men available: Dr. O'Donovan and Professor O'Curry, who copied a good many manuscripts and made a rough translation; but before anything was ready for publication, both died. Their successors, Dr. Hancock and Professor O'Mahony, then took up the work. So far, the two volumes already mentioned, containing the *Senchus Mor,* have come out. The publishers admit that only two of the members of the commission, Graves and Todd, have taken part in the work, by making some notes in the proofs. The officer, Sir Th. Larcom, put the original maps of the survey of Ireland at the disposal of the publishers for the verification of place names; Dr. Petrie soon died, and the other gentlemen restricted their activities to conscientiously drawing their salaries for 18 years.

This is the way public duties are carried out in England, and

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[a] J. O'Donovan, *Annala Rioghachta Eireann. Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters, from the earliest period to the year 1616*, Dublin, 1856.—*Ed.*

even more so in Ireland under English rule. Without jobbery,* nothing works. No public interests may be satisfied without a tidy sum of money or some fat sinecures for lords or government protégés coming out of it. With the money which this utterly superfluous commission has swallowed up, we in Germany would have printed the complete unprinted historical literature—and even better.

The *Senchus Mor* is to the present day our main source on conditions in old Ireland. It is a collection of ancient legal regulations which, according to the introduction (added later),[a] was compiled at the behest of St. Patrick and on his advice brought into harmony with Christianity, which was rapidly spreading in Ireland. The High King of Ireland, Laeghaire (428-458, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*); the Vice-Kings Corc of Munster and Daire, probably a prince of Ulster; further, three bishops: St. Patrick, St. Benignus and St. Cairnech; and finally three law scholars, Dubthach, Fergus and Rossa; these are the men who are said to have composed the "commission" that compiled the book, and no doubt they worked harder for the money than the present commission, which only had to publish the work. The *Four Masters* gives the year of composition as 438.

The text itself is obviously based on ancient pagan material. The oldest legal formulae contained in it are all composed in verse, with a fixed metre and what is known as consonance, a kind of alliteration, or rather consonantal assonance, which is peculiar to Irish poetry and often leads into rhyme proper. Since it has been established that the old Irish law-books were translated in the 14th century from the so-called Fenian dialect (Bérla Feini), the language of the 5th century, into the Irish current at the time (Introduction [Vol. I], p. XXXVI *et passim*), it is understandable that in *Senchus Mor* as well the metre has been obliterated to a certain extent in many places; but it does emerge often enough, along with occasional rhymes and strongly "consonant" passages, in order to lend the text a certain rhythmic fall. It is generally enough simply to read the translation in order to uncover the

* JOBBERY is the name given in England to the practice of exploiting government offices to one's own personal advantage, or to that of one's relations and friends; also using public money for indirect bribery to further the ends of a party. The individual act is called a JOB. The English colony in Ireland is the main hotbed of jobbery.

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[a] *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, Vol. I, London, 1865 (Introduction to Senchus Mor).—*Ed.*

verse formulae. In between, however, there are numerous passages of undoubted prose, particularly in the second half; while the verse formulae are certainly very ancient and have been handed down in the traditional way, these prose insertions seem to originate from the compilers of the book. The *Senchus Mor* is, by the way, quoted several times in the glossary compiled in the 9th or 10th century and ascribed to Cormac, the King and Bishop of Cashel, and was undoubtedly written down long before the English invasion.

All the manuscripts (the oldest seem to date from the beginning of the 14th century or earlier) contain a number of mostly consistent glosses and longer commenting notes on the text. The glosses are wholly in the spirit of the old glossaries, with word-play deputising for etymology and the explanation of words. The notes are of very different value, often badly distorted and many of them incomprehensible, at least without some knowledge of the other law-books. The age of both is uncertain; but the greater part is probably younger than the English invasion. Since, for all that, they only show very few traces of any developments in law beyond the scope of the text, and even then only in the more precise establishment of detail, the larger, purely explicatory part can safely be used, with discretion, as a source for the older period, too.

The *Senchus Mor* contains: (1) the law of distraint, i.e. just about the whole legal procedure; (2) the law on hostages, which were handed over by people of different territories during disputes; (3) the law concerning *Saerrath* and *Daerrath* (see below)[197]; and (4) family law. From this book we derive a good deal of useful information on the social life of the age; but as long as many expressions remain unexplained and the other manuscripts are not published, there is much that is still obscure.

Apart from the literature, the architectural monuments, churches, round towers, fortifications and inscriptions give us an idea of the condition of the people before the English arrived.

Of the foreign sources, we need only mention a few passages on Ireland in the Scandinavian sagas and the life of St. Malachias by St. Bernard,[a] which do not have much to offer; we then come straightway to the first Englishman to have written about Ireland from first-hand knowledge.

Sylvester Gerald Barry, called *Giraldus Cambrensis,* Archdeacon of Brecknock, was a grandson of the amorous Nesta, daughter of

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[a] St. Bernard, *De Vita S. Malachiae.—Ed.*

Rhys ap Tewdwr, Prince of South Wales, mistress of Henry I of England and ancestress of almost all the Norman captains who took part in the first conquest of Ireland. He went to Ireland in 1185 with John (later "Lackland") and in the following years wrote first *Topographia Hibernica,* an account of the land and its inhabitants, and then *Hibernia Expugnata,* the highly biased history of the first invasions. We are principally concerned with the first work here. Written in highly pretentious Latin, full of the maddest belief in miracles and all the clerical and national prejudices of the time and the RACE of its vain author, the book is still of great importance, being the first report in any detail by a foreigner.*

After this the Anglo-Norman sources on Ireland naturally become more abundant; there is, however, still little information to be gained with regard to the social conditions of the part of the island that remained independent, and permitting one to draw conclusions about the old state of affairs. Not until the end of the 16th century, when Ireland was first systematically and completely subjugated, do we receive more detailed reports on the actual living conditions of the Irish people, naturally with a strong English bias. We shall see that, in the course of the 400 years that have elapsed since the first invasion, the condition of the people has changed only slightly, and not for the better. But for this very reason, the more recent writings—Hanmer, Campion, Spencer, Davies, Camden, Moryson,[199] et al.—to whom we shall have frequent recourse, are one of our main sources for a period five hundred years earlier, and an indispensable, badly needed complement to the scanty original sources.

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The mythical prehistory of Ireland tells of a series of immigrations, taking place one after the other and mostly ending with the subjugation of the island by the new immigrants. The three last are: that of the Firbolgs, that of the Tuatha-de-Dananns, and that of the Milesians or Scots, who are supposed to have come from Spain. Popular Irish writing of history summarily turns the Firbolgs (*fir*=Irish *fear,* Latin *vir,* Gothic *vair*: man) into Belgians, the Tuatha-de-Dananns (*tuatha*=Irish *people, region,* Gothic *thiuda*) as necessary into Greek Danai or Germanic Danes. O'Donovan is

* *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera,* ed. J. S. Brewer, London, Longmans, 1863.[198]—A (weak) English translation of the historical works including the two works already mentioned *(The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis)* was published in London by Bohn in 1863.

of the opinion that there is some historical basis for at least the above-mentioned immigrations. In the annals there occurs in the year 10 A.D. an insurrection of the Aitheach Tuatha (translated in the 17th century by Lynch, an expert on the old language, as *plebeiorum hominum gens*[a]), in other words, a plebeian revolution, in which the entire aristocracy (Saorchlann) was slain. This points to the Scottish conquerors' dominion over the older inhabitants. From folk-tales about the Tuatha-de-Dananns, O'Donovan concludes that the latter, transformed by later popular belief into elves of the mountain forest, survived into the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. in scattered mountain areas.

It is beyond doubt that the Irish were a mixed people, even before the English settled among them in their masses. As today, in the 12th century the predominant type was already fair-haired. Giraldus (*Top. Hib.*, III, 26) says of two strangers that they had long *yellow* hair, like the Irish. Nevertheless, there are still two completely different types of black-haired people, particularly in the west. One is tall and well-built with handsome features and curly hair, a type one feels one may have encountered before, in the Italian Alps or in Lombardy; this type occurs chiefly in the south-west. The other, thick-set and short in build, with coarse, straight black hair and a flat, almost negroid face, is more often found in Connaught. Huxley attributes this dark-haired element in the originally blond Celtic population to an Iberian (i.e. Basque) admixture,[200] which is no doubt partly true, at least. By the time the Irish make their first definite appearance in history, though, they have become a homogeneous people with a Celtic language, and there is no longer any trace of alien elements apart from the (mostly Anglo-Saxon) slaves acquired through battle or barter.

The pronouncements of the ancient classical writers about this people do not sound very edifying. *Diodor* relates that the Britons who inhabit the island called Iris (or Irin? It is the accusative 'Ιριν) eat human beings.[b] *Strabo* goes into more detail:

> "Concerning this island" (Ierne) "I have nothing certain to tell, except that its inhabitants are more savage than the Britons, since they are man-eaters as well as heavy eaters" (πολνφάγοι; according to another reading ποηφάγοί, cabbage-eaters), "and since, further, they count it an honourable thing, when their fathers die, to devour them, and openly to have intercourse, not only with other women, but also with their mothers and sisters."[c]

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[a] J. O'Donovan, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 95.—*Ed.*

[b] Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliothecae historicae*, Vol. 5.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Geography of Strabo*, with an English translation by Horace Leonard Jones, 8 volumes, London, 1917-32.—*Ed.*

Patriotic Irish historians have waxed not a little indignant over these alleged slanders. It remained for more recent research to show that cannibalism, and particularly the eating of parents, is probably a transitional stage of all peoples. It may come as some consolation to the Irish to learn that the ancestors of the modern Berliners still subscribed to the same practical point of view a good thousand years later:

"...aber Weletabi, die in Germania sizzent, tie wir Wilze heizên, die ne scament sih nicht ze chedenne daz sie iro parentes mit mêren rehte ezen sulîn, danne die wurme"[a] (Notker, quoted in Jacob Grimm's *Rechtsalterthümer*,[b] p. 488).

And under English rule, we shall see the consumption of human flesh in Ireland make its return more than once. As regards the "phanerogamia" (to borrow Fourier's phrase[c]) with which the Irish are reproached, such things occurred among all uncivilised peoples, and even more so among the particularly amorous Celts. It is interesting to note that even then the island bore its present native name: Iris, Irin and Jerne are identical with Eire, Erinn, and that Ptolemy already knew the present-day name of the capital, Dublin, Eblana (with the correct accent 'Εβλανα).[d] This is all the more remarkable as the Irish Celts have since times immemorial called it by another name, Athcliath, and Duibhlinn—the black pool—is for them the name of a place on the River Liffey.

Moreover we find in *Pliny's Natural History*, IV, 16, the following passage:

"The Britons travel there" (to Hibernia) "in boats of willow branches, over which animal hides have been sewn together."[e]

And later *Solinus* says of the Irish themselves:

"They sail the sea between Hibernia and Britannia in boats of willow branches which they cover with cowhides" (C. Jul. Solini *Cosmographia*, Ch. 25).

In 1810, Wakefield found that all along the west coast of Ireland "no other boats occurred except ones which consisted of a wooden frame covered over with a horse- or oxhide". These boats

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[a] "But the Weletabi who live in Germany and whom we call Wilze are not ashamed to say that they have more right to eat their parents than the worms have."—*Ed.*

[b] J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, Göttingen, 1828.—*Ed.*

[c] Ch. Fourier, *Le nouveau monde industriel et sociétaire, ou invention du procédé d'industrie attrayante et naturelle distribuée en séries passionnées*, Paris, 1829, pp. 399-400.—*Ed.*

[d] Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geographia*, Book II, Chapter 2, Lipsiae, 1845.—*Ed.*

[e] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1635.—*Ed.*

were of different shapes according to the area, but they were all distinguished by being uncommonly light, so that an accident rarely occurred. Of course, they were of no use for the high seas, for which reason fishing was only possible in the bays and between the islands. In Malbay, County Clare, Wakefield saw boats like these, 15 feet long, 5 feet wide and 2 feet deep; two cowhides were used for one boat, the hair to the inside, the outside tarred; it was equipped for two oarsmen. A boat like this cost about 30 shillings (Wakefield, Vol. II, p. 97). Instead of plaited willow—a wooden frame! What progress in 1,800 years and after almost 700 years of "civilising" treatment at the hands of the world's foremost maritime nation!

For the rest, however, some symptoms of progress soon become noticeable. Under King Cormac Ulfadha, who is thought to have ruled in the second half of the 3rd century, his son-in-law, Finn Mac Cumhal, is said to have reorganised the Irish militia, the *Fianna Eirionn,** probably after the model of the Roman legion, with a distinction between light troops and troops of the line; all later Irish armies of which we have details distinguish between *kerne*—light—and *galloglas*—heavy—infantry, or troops of the line. The heroic deeds of this Finn were celebrated in many old lays, some of which still exist; these, and perhaps a few Scottish-Gaelic traditions, form the basis of Macpherson's *Ossian* (Irish Oisin, son of Finn), in which Finn appears as Fingal and the scene has been switched to Scotland.[201] In Irish folk-lore Finn lives on as Finn Mac-Caul, a giant to whom some miraculous feat of strength is attributed in almost every locality of the island.

Christianity must have found its way to Ireland quite early, at least on the east coast. Otherwise, there is no explanation for the fact that even long before St Patrick so many Irishmen played an important part in ecclesiastical history. Pelagius the Heretic is usually considered to have been a Welsh monk from Bangor; but there was also an ancient Irish monastery of Bangor, or rather Banchor, near Carrickfergus. And that he comes from here is proved by Hieronymus, who describes him as "stupid and heavy with Scottish gruel" (*"scotorum pultibus praegravatus"*).[a] It is the first

* Feini, Fenians, is the name given to the Irish nation throughout the *Senchus Mor.* Feinechus, Fenchus, the law of the Fenians, often stands for *Senchus* or for some other, lost law-book. *Feine, grad feine*, is also the designation of the plebs, the lowest free class of people.

[a] S. Eusebius Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in Jeremiam Prophetam libri sex.* Prologus. In: *Patrologiae*... Series latina, 1865.—*Ed.*

mention of Irish oatmeal porridge (Irish *lite*, Anglo-Irish *stirabout*), which even then, before the introduction of the potato, was the staple food of the Irish people, and which it remained even afterwards, alongside the potato. The main disciples of Pelagius—Coelestius and Albinus—were also Scots, i.e. Irish. From his monastery Coelestius wrote, as Gennadius[a] tells us, three detailed letters to his parents, from which it is evident that alphabetic writing was known in Ireland in the 4th century.

In all the writings of the early Middle Ages the Irish are called Scots, and the country Scotia. We find this term in Claudian, Isidor, Beda, the geographer of Ravenna, Eginhard and even in Alfred the Great: "Hibernia, which we call Scotland" ("Igbernia the ve Scotland hatadh").[202] What is now Scotland was called Caledonia, a foreign name, or Alba, Albania, its native one; the transference of the name Scotia, Scotland, to the northern tip of the eastern island did not take place until the 11th century. The first great wave of emigration of Irish Scots to Alba is supposed to have occurred in the middle of the 3rd century; Ammianus Marcellinus knows of them there as early as A.D. 360.[b] The emigration took place by the shortest sea-route, from Antrim to the Kintyre peninsula; even Nennius mentions expressly that the Britons, who then occupied the entire Scottish lowlands as far as the Clyde and the Forth, had been attacked by the Scots *from the west* and by the Picts from the north.[c] The seventh of the old Welsh historical *Triads*[203] also relates that the *gwyddyl ffichti* (see below) came from Ireland over the Norse Sea *(Môr Llychlin)* to Alba and settled on the shores of this sea. The fact that the sea between Scotland and the Hebrides is called "Norse" proves, by the way, that this *Triad* is more recent than the Norse conquest of the Hebrides. Around the year 500 larger bands of Scots came over. These gradually formed a kingdom of their own, independent both of Ireland and of the Picts. In the 9th century under Kenneth MacAlpin they finally subjugated the Picts and formed the state to which some 150 years later the name Scotland, Scotia, came to be applied, probably by the Norsemen, for the first time.

In the 5th and 6th centuries Old Welsh sources (Nennius, the *Triads*) mention raids by the *gwyddyl ffichti* or Gaelic Picts on Wales; these are generally interpreted as raids by Irish Scots. *Gwyddyl* is the Welsh form of *gavidheal*, as the Irish call

[a] Gennadius, *Illustrium virorum catalogus*, Basiliae, 1529.—*Ed.*

[b] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum...*, Lipsiae, 1773.—*Ed.*

[c] Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, with an English version by Gunn, London, 1819, p. 15.—*Ed.*

themselves. As for the origin of the term "Picts", we may leave it to others to investigate that.

In the second quarter of the 5th century Patricius (Irish Patrick, Patraic, as the Celts always pronounce the "c" as "k" in the fashion of the ancient Romans) established the domination of Christianity without any violent upheavals. Traffic with Britain, which had long existed, now became more lively; master-builders and artisans came over and taught the Irish, who had only known *dry* stone building until then, the use of mortar. But from the 7th to the 12th century the latter was used only in church buildings, which is sufficient proof that its introduction is linked with that of Christianity, and further that from now on the clergy, the representative of foreign culture, was completely divorcing itself from the people in its intellectual development. While the social advance of the people was non-existent or extremely slow, the clergy soon developed a literary culture that was extraordinary for the time. It expressed itself chiefly in its zeal to convert the heathens and to found monasteries, as was the custom of the age. Columba converted the British Scots and the Picts; Gallus (the founder of St. Gallen) and Fridolin the Alemanni, Kilian the Franks of the Main, Virgilius the people of Salzburg; all five were Irish. Similarly, the Anglo-Saxons were converted to Christianity mainly by Irish missionaries. What is more, Ireland was considered all over Europe to be a nursery of learning, so much so that Charlemagne summoned an Irish monk, Albinus, to Pavia as teacher, whither he was later followed by another Irishman, Dungal. Of the large number of Irish scholars who were important in their day but are now mostly forgotten, the greatest was the "Father" or, as Erdmann calls him, the "Carolus Magnus[a] of mediaeval philosophy"—*Johannes Scotus Erigena.*[b] "He was the first with whom from then on true philosophy began," Hegel says of him.[c] Of all the West Europeans of the 9th century he alone understood Greek, and through his translation of the writings attributed to Dionysius, the Areopagite, he harked back to the last offshoot of the old philosophy, the Alexandrian Neoplatonic school.[204] His teaching was very daring for his time: he denied the eternity of damnation, even for the devil, and comes very close to pantheism. For this reason, contemporary orthodoxy did not shrink from slandering him. It was all of two centuries before the

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[a] Charlemagne.—*Ed.*

[b] John the Scot.—*Ed.*

[c] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie,* Vol. 3, Berlin, 1836.—*Ed.*

science founded by Erigena was developed further by Anselm of Canterbury.*

But before this development of higher culture could influence the people, it was interrupted by the raids of the Norsemen. These raids, which form the staple ingradients of Scandinavian—particularly Danish—patriotism, came too late and emanated from nations too small for them to culminate in conquest, colonisation and the formation of states on any large scale, as had been the case with the earlier incursions of the Germanic tribes. As far as historical development is concerned, the advantages they bequeathed are quite imperceptible compared with the immense and—even for Scandinavia—fruitless disturbances they caused.

At the end of the 8th century, Ireland was far from being inhabited by a single nation. A supreme kingship over the whole island existed only for appearance, and even that was by no means permanent. The provincial kings, whose number and territory were continually changing, were constantly at war with one another, and the smaller local princes also had their private feuds. On the whole, however, certain rules seem to have prevailed in these internal struggles which kept the devastation within definite bounds, so that the country did not suffer too much. But things were about to change. In 795, a few years after the first raid on England by this same predatory people, Norsemen landed on the island of Rathlin, off the coast of Antrim, and burnt everything down. In 798, they landed near Dublin and after that they are mentioned almost every year in the annals as heathens, foreigners, and pirates, never without the addition of *losccadh* (burning down) of one or several places. Their settlements in the Orkneys, Shetlands and Hebrides (Southern Isles, *Sudhreyjar* of the Old Norse sagas) served them as a base for operations against Ireland, as well as against what was to be Scotland, and against England. In the middle of the 9th century they were in possession of Dublin,** which, according to

* More about Erigena's doctrine and works in Erdmann, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, 2nd edition, Berlin, 1869, Vol. 1, pp. 241-47. Erigena, who was not, however, a clergyman, gives an early example of Irish wit. During a meal with Charles the Bald, King of France (who was sitting opposite him), he was asked by the King how great was the difference between a Scot and a sot, to which Erigena replied, "The width of a table."

** The claim by Snorri in the *Haraldsaga*[205] that the sons of Harald Fairhair—Thorgils and Frodi—were the first Norsemen to take possession of Dublin—that is, at least 50 years later than stated—is in direct contradiction with all the contemporary Irish sources, which for this period are unquestionably authentic. Snorri is obviously confusing Thorgils, son of Harald Fairhair, with the Thorgils mentioned below (=Turgesius).

Giraldus, they first rebuilt as a proper city, just as he attributed to them the construction of Waterford and Limerick. The name Waterford is itself merely the anglicisation—here nonsensical—of the Old Norse *Vedhrafiördhr*, which means either "Bay of Storms" *(Wetterföhrde)* or "Bay of Rams". The prime necessity of the Norsemen as soon as they had settled in the country was naturally to acquire fortified ports; the population of these towns long remained Scandinavian, but by the 12th century they had long since been assimilated by the Irish in language and customs. The disputes between the Irish princes greatly facilitated the depredations and settlement of the Norsemen, and even their temporary conquest of the whole island. The extent to which the Scandinavians themselves considered Ireland to be one of their regular pillage lands is indicated by the ostensible death-song of Ragnar Lodbrôk in the Snake Tower of King Ella of Northumberland, the *Krâkumâl,* composed about the year 1000.[206] In this song, the old pagan savagery makes one final outburst, as it were. On the pretext of singing the heroic deeds of King Ragnar, the raids of the entire Norse people in their own land as well as all along the coasts from Dünamünde to Flanders, Scotland (here called Skotland, perhaps for the first time) and Ireland are briefly described. Of Ireland it is said:

"We hew'd with our swords, heap'd high the slain,
Glad was the wolf's brother of the furious battle's feast;
Iron struck brass-shields; Ireland's ruler, Marsteinn,
Did not starve the murder-wolf or eagle;
In Vedhrafiördhr the raven was given a sacrifice.

We hew'd with our swords, started a game at dawn,
A merry battle against three kings at Lindiseyri;
Not many could boast that they fled unhurt from there.
Falcon fought wolf for flesh, the wolf's fury devoured many;
The blood of the Irish flow'd in streams on the beach in the battle." *

By the first half of the 9th century a Norse Viking, Thorgils, called Turgesius by the Irish, managed to subjugate Ireland

* "Hiuggu ver medh hiörvi, hverr lâthverr of annan;
gladhr vardh gera brôdhir getu vidh sôknar laeti,
lêt ei örn nê ŷlgi, sâ er Îrlandi stŷrdhi,
(môt vardh mâlms ok rîtar) Marsteinn konungr fasta;
vardh î Vedhra firdhi valtafn gefit hrafni.

Hiuggu ver medh hiörvi, hâdhum sudhr at morni
leik fyrir Lindiseyri vidh lofdhûnga threnna;

completely, but with his death in 844[c] his kingdom, too, disintegrated and the Norsemen were driven out. The invasions and struggles continued with varying success, until finally, at the beginning of the 11th century, Ireland's national hero, Brian Borumha, originally only king of part of Munster, rose to be ruler of all Ireland and confronted the concentrated force of the invading Norsemen in a decisive battle at Clontarf (not far from Dublin) on April 23 (Good Friday), 1014. As a result, the might of the invaders was broken forever.

In anticipation of the imminent decisive battle, the Norsemen who had settled in Ireland, and on whom Leinster was dependent (the King of Leinster, Maolmordha, had ascended to the throne with their help in 999 and had kept it ever since thanks to them), sent messengers to the Southern Islands, and the Orkneys, to Denmark and Norway to request reinforcements, which duly arrived in large numbers. *Njâl's Saga*[207] tells how Jarl Sigurd Laudrisson prepared his departure in the Orkneys, how Thorstein Siduhallsoon, Hrafn the Red and Erlinger of Straumey went with him and how he arrived at Dublin (Durflin) on Palm Sunday with all his army:

"Brodhir and all his army came too. Brodhir tried to learn by means of sorcery how the battle would go; the answer he got was this: if the battle were to be fought on Friday, King Brian would win the victory but lose his life, and if the battle were to be fought earlier, all Brian's opponents would lose their lives. Then Brodhir said that they should not join battle before Friday."[d]

fârr âtti thvî fagna (fêll margr î gyn ûlfi,
haukr sleit hold medh vargi), at hann heill thadhan kaemi;
Ŷra blôdh î oegi aerit fêll um skaeru."[a]

Vedhrafiördhr is, as we have said, Waterford; I do not know whether Lindiseyri has been located anywhere. At any rate, it does not mean Leinster, as Johnstone translates it[b]; the eyri (sandy spit of land, Danish *öre*) indicates a quite definite locality. Valtafn can also mean falcon feed, and is mostly so translated here, but as the raven is Odin's holy bird, the word obviously carries both meanings.

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[a] In his translation, Engels reproduces the old alliterative verse of the original.— *Ed.*

[b] J. Johnstone, *Lodbrokar-Quida; or, the Death-Song of Lodbroc*, London, 1782.— *Ed.*

[c] More precisely: 845.— *Ed.*

[d] Apart from minor deviations reflecting Engels's rendering of the original text, the English translation here and below follows *Njal's Saga,* translated by Magnus Magnusson and Hermann Palsson, Penguin Books, 1960.— *Ed.*

We have two versions of the battle itself: that of the Irish annals and the Scandinavian one in *Njâl's Saga*. According to the latter:

"King Brian had already reached the fortress" (Dublin) "with all his army. On Friday the army" (of the Norsemen) "came marching out of the fortress, and both armies drew up in battle array. Brodhir was on one flank and King Sigtrygg" (King of the Dublin Norsemen, according to the *Annals of Inisfallen*) "on the other. It should be said that King Brian did not wish to fight on Friday; so a wall of shields was formed round him, and his army was drawn up in front of it. Ulf Hraeda was on the flank facing Brodhir, and on the other flank facing Sigtrygg were Ospak and King Brian's sons. In the centre was Kerthialfadh, with the banner aloft before him."

When the battle got underway, Brodhir was chased by Ulf Hraeda into a wood where he found shelter. Jarl Sigurd had a great deal of trouble with Kerthialfadh, who reached the standard and slew the standard-bearer as well as the next man to seize the standard. Then they all refused to bear the standard, and Jarl Sigurd took the standard off its staff and hid it under his clothes. Soon afterwards, he was pierced by a spear, and, at this point, his part of the army seems to have been defeated. Meanwhile, Ospak had attacked the Norsemen in the rear, turning Sigtrygg's flank after a hard struggle.

"And at this all his troops broke into flight. Thorstein Siduhallsson stopped running while the others were fleeing, and tied up his shoe-thong. Kerthialfadh asked him why he was not running like the others. 'Because,' said Thorstein, 'I cannot reach home tonight, for my home is out in Iceland.' Kerthialfadh spared his life."

Now Brodhir saw from his hiding-place that Brian's army was pursuing the fugitives, and that few men were left to man the wall of shields. Then he ran from the woods, broke through the wall of shields and slew the King (Brian, who was 88 years old, was obviously unable to take part in the battle and had stayed in the camp).

"Then Brodhir shouted, 'Let the word go round that Brodhir has felled Brian.'"

But the pursuers returned, surrounded Brodhir and took him alive.

"Ulf Hraeda slit open his belly and led him round an oak tree so that his intestines wound round the trunk; and Brodhir did not die before they had all been pulled out of him. Brodhir's men were all slain."

According to the *Annals of Inisfallen* the Norse army was divided into three sections. The first consisted of the Dublin Norsemen and 1,000 Norwegian volunteers, who were all clad in

long coats of mail; the second, of the Irish auxiliaries from Leinster under King Maolmordha; the third, of reinforcements from the islands and from Scandinavia under Bruadhair, the commander of the fleet which had brought them, and Lodar, the Jarl of the Orkneys. Opposing them, Brian also drew up his army in three sections; the names of the leaders, however, do not agree with those given in *Njâl's Saga.* The report of the battle itself is unimportant; shorter and clearer is that of the *Four Masters,* which folows:

"A.D. 1013" (given instead of 1014 owing to a recurrent error). "The foreigners of all western Europe assembled against Brian and Maelseachlainn" (usually called Malachy, King of Meath under Brian's sovereignty) "and they brought with them ten hundred men in coats of mail. A fierce, furious, violent and bitter battle was fought between them, the like of which had never been seen in those days, at Cluaintarbh" (ox-meadow, now Clontarf) "on the very Friday before Easter. In this battle were slain Brian, 88 years old, Murchadh, his son, 63 years old, Conaing, his nephew, Toirdhealbhach, his grandson..." (There follow a multitude of names.) "The" (enemy) "troops were finally driven back from the Tulcainn to Athcliath" (Dublin) "by Maelseachlainn by dint of heavy fighting, intrepidity and laying about the foreigners and the Leinstermen; and there fell Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, son of Finn, King of Leinster ... and there were also innumerable dead among the men of Leinster. Also slain were Dubhgall, son of Amhlanibh" (usually called Anlaf or Olaf) "and Gillaciarain, son of Gluniairn, two subordinate commanders *(tanaisi)* of the foreigners, Sichfrith, son of Lodar, Jarl of the Orkneys *(iarla insi h Oirc),* Brodar, leader of the men from Denmark, who was the man who slew Brian. The ten hundred men in coats of mail were cut to pieces, and at least 3,000 of the foreigners were slain there."[a]

*Njâl's Saga* was written down in Iceland about a hundred years after the battle; the Irish annals are based, at least in part, on contemporary reports. The two sources are completely independent of each other; not only do they agree on the main points, but they also complement each other. We only learn from the Irish annals who Brodhir and Sigtrygg were. Sigurd Laudrisson is there called Sichfrith, son of Lodar; Sigfrith is, in fact, the correct Anglo-Saxon form of the Old Norse name Sigurd, and the Scandinavian names in Ireland—on coins as well as in the annals—mainly occur not in the Old Norse but in the Anglo-Saxon form. The names of Brian's subordinate commanders have been modified in *Njâl's Saga* to suit the Scandinavian tongue; one of them, Ulf Hraeda, is even wholly Old Norse, but it would be rash indeed to infer, as some do, from this that Brian, too, had Norsemen in his army. Ospak and also Kerthialfadh seem to be Celtic names; the latter perhaps distorted from the Toirdheal-

[a] *Annales IV Magistrorum.* In: *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores,* Vol. III, Buckinghamiae, 1826.—*Ed.*

bhach mentioned in the *Four Masters*? The dates—the Friday after Palm Sunday in one, the Friday before Easter in the other—agree perfectly, as does the site of the battle; although it is called Kantaraburg in *Njâl's Saga* (otherwise = Canterbury),[208] it is explicitly said to be right by the gates of Dublin. The course of the battle is described most accurately in the *Four Masters.* The Norsemen were driven back from the plain of Clontarf, where they attacked Brian's army, over the Tolka, a small river flowing past the northern side of Dublin, towards the city. The fact that Brodhir killed King Brian is mentioned in both sources; the exact details are given only in the Nordic one.

It is evident that our knowledge of this battle is fairly detailed and authentic, considering the barbarism of the times. There would not be many 11th-century battles about which we have such definite and consistent reports from both parties. This did not deter Professor Goldwin Smith from describing it as a "SHADOWY[a] conflict" (loc. cit.,[b] p. 48). In the esteemed professor's head the most robust facts do, indeed, very often assume a "shadowy" form.

After the defeat at Clontarf the raids of the Norsemen became less frequent and less dangerous. The Dublin Norsemen soon came under the dominion of the neighbouring Irish princes and in a generation or two were assimilated by the native population. As the sole recompense for the havoc they had wreaked, the Scandinavians left the Irish three or four cities and the beginnings of a trading urban population.

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The further back in history we go, the fainter are the characteristics distinguishing peoples of the same tribe one from the other. On the one hand, this is due to the nature of the sources, which become scantier the older they are, confining themselves to essentials; on the other hand, however, it is due to the development of the peoples themselves. The individual branches of the tribe were the closer to one another, were more alike, the smaller the distance separating them from the original stock. Jacob Grimm[c] quite rightly always treated all reports from the Roman historians describing the campaign of the Cimbri[209] to Adam of Bremen and Saxo Grammaticus, all the literary

[a] Engels gives this English word in brackets after the German equivalent.—*Ed.*
[b] *Irish History and Irish Character*, Oxford and London, 1861.—*Ed.*
[c] J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, Göttingen, 1828.—*Ed.*

monuments from *Beowulf* and the *Hildebrandslied* to the *Eddas*[210] and the sagas, all the law-books from the *Leges barbarorum*[211] to the Old Danish and Old Swedish laws and the Germanic precedents, as equally valuable sources for the German national character, German customs and legal procedure. The specific character may only be of local significance, but the character reflected in it is common to the whole tribe; and the older the sources, the more these local differences tend to disappear.

Just as the Scandinavians and the Germans of the 7th and 8th centuries were less different than today, originally the Irish Celts and Gallic Celts must have been more alike than are the Irishmen and Frenchmen of today. We should not, then, be surprised to find a number of traits in Caesar's description of the Gauls[a] which Giraldus twelve centuries later ascribes to the Irish, and which we find in the Irish national character even today, despite the admixture of so much Germanic blood....[212]

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[a] Gaius Julius Caesar, *Commentarii de bello Gallico*.— *Ed.*

# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

# Karl Marx

## [NOTES FOR AN UNDELIVERED SPEECH ON IRELAND][213]

### I. EXORDIUM. THE EXECUTION

Since our last meeting[a] the object of our discussion, Fenianism, has entered a new phase. It has been baptised in blood by the English Government. The Political Executions at Manchester remind us of the fate of John Brown at Harpers Ferry.[b] They open a new period in the struggle between Ireland and England. The whole Parliament and liberal press responsible. Gladstone.

Reason: to keep up the hypocrisy that this was no political, but a common criminal affair. The effect produced upon Europe quite the contrary. They seem anxious to keep up the Act of the Long Parliament.[214] English [have] a divine right to fight the Irish on their native soil, but every Irish fighting against the British Government in England is to be treated as an outlaw. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.[215] State of siege. Facts from *The Chronicle.* Governmental organisation of "Assassination and Violence".[216] Case of Bonaparte.[217]

### II. THE QUESTION

What is Fenianism?[c]

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[a] The meeting of the General Council of the International held on November 19, 1867.— *Ed.*

[b] Here the following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: "But the slaveholders have at least treated John Brown as a rebel, not as a common felon." — *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 194.— *Ed.*

## III. THE LAND QUESTION

### DECREASE OF POPULATION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *1846* | | | |
| *1841:* 8,222,664 | in 25 Jahren[a] | *1801:* 5,319,867 | |
| *1866:* 5,571,971 | 2,650,693 | | |
| 2,650,693 | | | |
| *1855:* | 6,604,665 | in 11 years 1,032,694 | |
| *1866:* | 5,571,971 | | |
| | 1,032,694 | | |

Population not only decreased, but the number of the deaf-mutes, the blind, the decrepit, the lunatic, and idiotic increased relatively to the numbers of the population.

### INCREASE OF LIVE-STOCK FROM 1855 TO 1866

In the same period from 1855 to 1866 [the] number of the live-stock increased as follows: cattle by 178,532, sheep by 667,675, pigs by 315,918. If we take into account the simultaneous decrease of horses by 20,656, and equalise 8 sheep to 1 horse *total increase of live-stock:* 996,877, about one million.

Thus 1,032,694 Irishmen have been displaced by about one million cattle, pigs, and sheep. What has become of them? The *emigration list* answers.

### EMIGRATION

*From 1st May 1851 to 31 December 1866:* 1,730,189. Character of that emigration.

The process has been brought about and is still functioning upon an always enlarging scale by the *throwing together* or *consolidation of farms* (eviction) and by the simultaneous conversion of tillage into pasture.

*From 1851-1861 [the] total number of farms* decreased by 120,000, while simultaneously the number of farms of 15-30 acres increased by 61,000, that of 30 acres by 109,000 (together 170,000). The decrease was almost exclusively owed to the extinction of farms from less than one to less than 15 acres. Lord Dufferin.[b] The increase means only that amongst the decreased number of farms there is a larger portion of farms of large dimension.

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[a] Years.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 428.—*Ed.*

HOW THE PROCESS WORKS

a) *The People.*

The situation of the *mass of the people* has deteriorated, and their state is verging to a crisis similar to that of 1846.[a] The relative surplus population now as great as before the famine.

*Wages* have not risen more than 20% since the potato famine. The price of potatoes has risen nearly 200%; the necessary means of life on an average by 100%. *Professor Cliffe Leslie*, in the London *Economist* dated February 9, 1867, says:

"After a loss of $^2/_5$ of the population in 21 years, throughout most of the island, the rate of wages is now only 1s. a day; a shilling does not go further than 6d. did 21 years ago. Owing to this rise in his ordinary food the labourer is worse off than he was 10 years ago."

b) *The Land.*

1) *Decrease of land under crops.*

| *Decrease in cereal crops:* | *Decrease in green crops:* |
|---|---|
| *1861-1866:* 470,917 acres | *1861-1866:* 128,061 acres |

2) *Decrease per Statute Acre of every crop.* There has been decrease of *yield* in wheat, but greater *1847 to 1865* per cent: the exact decrease: oats 16.3, flax 47.9, turnips 36.1, potatoes 50%. Some years would show a greater decrease, but on the whole it has been *gradual* since 1847.[b]

Since the exodus, the land has been underfed and overworked, partly from the injudicious consolidation of farms, and, partly, because, under the corn-acre system,[218] the farmer in a great measure trusted to his labourers to manure the land for him. Rents and profits may increase, although the profit of the soil decreases. The total produce may diminish, but that part of it, which is converted into surplus produce, falling to landlord and greater farmers, instead of to the labourer. And the price of the surplus produce has risen.[c]

So result: Gradual expulsion of the natives, gradual deterioration and exhaustion of the source of national life, the soil.

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[a] See this volume, p. 205.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx used the data of this paragraph in his "Outline of a Report on the Irish Question..." (see this volume, p. 204).— *Ed.*

[c] Marx used this passage in his "Outline of a Report on the Irish Question..." (see this volume, p. 204).— *Ed.*

PROCESS OF CONSOLIDATION

This process has only begun; it is going on in rapid strides. The consolidation has first attacked the farms of under one to under 15 acres. It will be far from having reached the English point of consolidation, if all farms under 100 acres have disappeared. Now the state was this in 1864:

The *total area of Ireland,* including *bogs and waste land:* 20,319,924 acres. *Of those* $^3/_5$ *= 12,092,117 acres,* still form farms from *under 1 to under 100 acres,* and are in the hands of *569,844 farmers;* $^2/_5$=8,227,807, form farms *from 100 till over 500 acres,* and are in the hands of 31,927 persons. Thus to be cleared off 2,847,220, if we number only the farmers and their families.

This system [is a] natural offspring of the famine of 1846, accelerated by the abolition of corn-laws,[219] and the rise in the price of meat and wool, now systematic.

*Clearing of the Estate of Ireland,* transforming it in an English agricultural district, minus its resident lords and their retainers, separated from England by a broad water ditch.

CHANGE OF CHARACTER
OF THE ENGLISH RULE IN IRELAND

State only tool of the landlords. *Eviction,* also employed as means of political punishment. (*Lord Abercorn.* England. *Gaels in the Highlands of Scotland.*[220]) Former English policy: displacing the Irish by English (Elizabeth), roundheads[221] (Cromwell). Since Anne 18th-century politico-economic character only in the protectionist measures of England against her own Irish colony; within that colony making *religion* a proprietary title. After the *Union*[222] [the] system of rack-renting and middlemen, but left the Irish, however ground to the dust, holder of their native soil. Present system, quiet business-like extinction, and government only instrument of landlords (and usurers).

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From this altered state:

1st) *Distinguishing character of Fenianism: Socialist, lower-class movement.*

2) *Not Catholic movement.*

Priests leaders as long as Catholic Emancipation[223] and their leader, Daniel O'Connell, remained leader of the Irish movement.

Ridiculous Popishism of the English. High Catholic priests against Fenianism.

3) *No representative leader in the British Parliament.* Character of O'Connell's physical force movement.[224] Extinction of Irish party in Parliament.

4) *Nationality.* Influence of European movement, and English phraseology.

5) *America, Ireland, England*—three fields of action, leadership of America.

6) *Republican,* because America republic.

I have now given the characteristics of Fenianism.

## IV. THE ENGLISH PEOPLE

A cause of humanity and right, but above all a specific English question.

a) *Aristocracy and Church and Army.* (*France,* Algiers.[225])

b) *Irish in England.* Influence on wages, etc. Lowering the character of the English and Irish. *The Irish Character.* Chastity of Irishmen. Attempts at education in Ireland. Diminution of crimes.

*Convicted in Ireland*

| | *Committed for trial:* | *Convicted:* |
|---|---|---|
| *1852* | 17,678 | 10,454 |
| *1866* | 4,326 | 2,418 |

The decrease in the numbers of persons committed for trial in England and Wales, since 1855, is partly due to the *Criminal Justice Act of 1855,* authorising Justices to pass sentences for short periods with the consent of the prisoners, instead of committing for trial to the sessions.

Birmingham. Progress of the English people. Infamy of the English press.

c) *The Foreign Policy.* Poland, etc. Castlereagh. Palmerston.[226]

## V. THE REMEDY

Foolishness of the minor parliamentary propositions.

Error of the Reform League.[227]

*Repeal* as one of the articles of the English Democratic Party.

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Reproduced from the manuscript

# Karl Marx

## [OUTLINE OF A REPORT ON THE IRISH QUESTION DELIVERED TO THE GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY IN LONDON ON DECEMBER 16, 1867][228]

### I

What distinguishes Fenianism? Actually, it originates from the Irish Americans, Irishmen [living] in America. They are the initiators and LEADERS. But in Ireland itself the movement took root (and is still really rooted) only in the mass of the people, the LOWER ORDERS. That is what *characterises* it. In all earlier Irish movements the people only followed the aristocracy or MIDDLE-CLASS MEN, and always the Catholic churchmen. The Anglo-Irish chiefs and the priests during the rising against Cromwell; even James II, King of England, was at the head in the war against William III; the Protestant Republicans of Ulster (Wolfe Tone, Lord Fitzgerald) in the 1798 revolution,[229] and, finally, in this century the BOURGEOIS O'Connell supported by the Catholic clergy, who also played a leading role in all earlier movements excepting 1798. The Catholic clergy decreed a ban on Fenianism, which it did not lift until it realised that its attitude would deprive it of all influence on the Irish masses.

### II

Here is what baffles the English: they find the present regime mild compared with England's former oppression of Ireland. So why this most determined and irreconcilable form of opposition now? What I want to show—and what even those Englishmen who side with the Irish and concede them the right to secession from England do not see—is that the [oppression] since 1846, though less barbarian in form, has been in effect destructive, leaving no alternative but Ireland's voluntary emancipation by England or life-and-death struggle.

## III

Concerning past history the FACTS are available in any history book. Hence, I shall give only a few, firstly, to clarify the difference between the present epoch and the past and, secondly, to bring out a few points about the character of those who are now called the Irish people.

### A) THE ENGLISH IN IRELAND BEFORE THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

*1172.* Henry II. Conquered less than 1/3 of Ireland. NOMINAL CONQUEST. A gift from Pope Adrian IV (Englishman). Some 400 years later another Pope (under Elizabeth) (1576), Gregory XIII, took back the present from the English (Elizabeth).[230] The "ENGLISH PALE".[231] CAPITAL: *Dublin.* Mixing of English COMMON COLONISTS with Irish, and of ANGLO-Norman nobles with Irish chiefs. Otherwise, the war of conquest was conducted (originally) as against RED INDIANS. No English reinforcements sent to Ireland until 1565 (Elizabeth).

### B)* PROTESTANT EPOCH.* ELIZABETH. JAMES I. CHARLES I. CROMWELL. COLONISATION PLAN (16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES)

Elizabeth. The plan was to exterminate the Irish at least up to the RIVER Shannon, to take their LAND and settle English colonists in their place, etc. In battles against Elizabeth the still Catholic Anglo-Irish fought with the NATIVES against the English. The avowed plan of the English. **Clearing the island of the natives, and stocking it with loyal Englishmen.* They succeeded only to plant a landowning aristocracy. English *Protestant "adventurers"*[232] (merchants, usurers), who obtained from the English crown the confiscated lands, and "gentlemen undertakers", who were to plant the ceded estates with native English families.

*James I. Ulster.* (Jacobite plantation, 1609-12.) British undertakers, "to stock the confiscated, stolen lands with Irish". *Not until *1613* are IRISH considered ENGLISH *subjects*; previously they were looked upon as "OUTLAWS" and "ENEMIES" and the IRISH PARLIAMENT[233] governed only the *Pale.* Persecution of Catholics.

**Elizabeth* settled *Munster, James I, Ulster,* but *Leinster* and *Connaught* have not yet been purged. *Charles I* tried to purge *Connaught.*

*Cromwell: First national revolt of Ireland, its 2nd complete conquest, partial re-colonisation (1641-60).*

Irish Revolution of *1641. August 1649 Cromwell landing in Dublin.* (Followed by Ireton, Lambert, Fleetwood, Henry Cromwell.) In *1652 the 2nd complete conquest of Ireland completed. Division of spoils:* the Government itself, the *"adventurers"* who had lent £360,000 for the 11 years of war, the *officers and soldiers,* by the *Acts of the English Parliament, 12 August 1652,* and *26 September 1653.*[234] Smite the Amalekites[235] of the Irish Nation hip and thigh, and replant the re-devastated [land] with new colonies of brand-new Puritan English.*—Bloodshed, devastation, depopulation of entire counties, removal of their inhabitants to other regions, sale of many Irish into slavery in the West Indies.

By engaging in the conquest of Ireland, Cromwell put paid to the English Republic.

Thence the Irish mistrust of the *English people's party.*

### *C) RESTORATION OF THE STUARTS. WILLIAM III. SECOND IRISH REVOLT, AND THE CAPITULATION ON TERMS.[236] 1660—1692[a]*

The British were then more numerous in Ireland than at any other time. *Never higher than 3/11, never lower than 2/11 of the Irish population.

*1684. Charles II* begins to favour the Catholic interest of Ireland, and to enlist a Catholic army.

*1685. James II* gives full rein to the Catholics of Ireland. Catholic army increased and favoured. The Catholics soon began to declare that the Acts of Settlement must be repealed and the proprietors of 1641 re-established. James calls some Irish regiments to England.

*1689.* William III in England, *12 March 1689:* James landed at *Kinsale* at the head of Irish soldiers. *Limerick capitulates to William III, 1691.* Shameful violation of the treaty, already under William III, still more under Anne.

### D) IRELAND DEFRAUDED AND HUMBLED TO THE DUST. 1692-JULY 4, 1776

α) All notions of *"planting"* the country with English and Scotch yeomen or tenant farmers were discarded.* Settling German and

[a] In the manuscript there follows "(1701) (Anne)".—*Ed.*

French Protestants attempted. French Protestants in the towns (woollen manufacturers) flee the English protectionist and mercantile system.

* *1698. The Anglo-Irish Parliament* (like obedient colonists) passed, on the command of the mother country, *a prohibitory tax on Irish woollen goods export* to foreign countries.

*1698.* In the same year, the English Parliament laid a *heavy tax* on the import of the home manufactures in England and Wales, and *absolutely prohibited their export to other countries.* She struck down the manufactures of Ireland, depopulated her cities, and threw the people back upon the land.

The *Williamite* (imported lords) *absentees.*[237] Cry *against absentee landlords since 1692.*

Likewise *legislation of England against Irish cattle.*

*1698: Molyneux pamphlet* for the independence of the Irish Parliament (i.e. the *English Colony in Ireland*) against the English.[a] Thus began the *struggle of the English Colony in Ireland and the English Nation. Simultaneously, struggle between the Anglo-Irish Colony and the Irish Nation.* William III resisted the shameful attempts of the English and *Anglo-Irish Parliaments to violate the treaties of Limerick and Galway.*

β) *Queen Anne. (1701-13; George until 1776).*

*Penal Code*[238] *built up by the Anglo-Irish Parliament with assent of the English Parliament.* Most infamous means to make *Protestant Proselytes* amongst the Irish Catholics by regulations of *"Property".* A code for the *transfer of "Property"* from Catholics to Protestants, or to make *"Anglicanism"* a *proprietary title. (Education. Personal disabilities.)* (No Catholic able to be a private soldier.) To teach the Catholic religion was a transportable felony, to convert a Protestant to Catholicism an act of treason. To be a Catholic Archbishop—banishment, if returning from banishment—act of high treason; hanged, disembowelled alive, and afterwards quartered. *Experiment to coerce the mass of the Irish nation into the Anglican religion. Catholics deprived of vote for members of Parliament.*[239]

This *Penal Code intensified the hold of the Catholic Priesthood upon the Irish people.*

*The poor people fell into habits of indolence.*

*During the palmy days of Protestant ascendancy and Catholic degradation, the Protestants did not encroach upon the Catholics in numbers.**

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[a] W. Molyneux, *The Case of Ireland's Being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated,* Dublin, 1698.— *Ed.*

E) 1776-1801. TIME OF TRANSITION

α) Before dealing with this transition period, what was the result of English terrorism?

* *English incomers absorbed into the Irish people and Catholicised.*

*The towns founded by the English Irish.*

*No English colony* (except *Ulster* Scotch) *but English landowners.*

*The North American Revolution forms the first turning-point in Irish history.*

β) *1777* the British army surrendered at Saratoga Springs to the American "rebels". *British cabinet forced to make concessions to the Nationalist (English) party in Ireland.*

*1778. Roman Catholic Relief Bill*[a] (passed by *the Anglo-Irish Parliament*).[240] (Catholics were still excluded from acquiring *by purchase, or as tenants, any freeholds*[241] *interest.*)

*1779. Free trade with Great Britain.* Almost all restraints put upon Irish industry swept away.

*1782.* The Penal Code still further released. The Roman Catholics allowed to acquire *freehold property for life,* or *in fee simple,* and—*to open schools.*

*1783.* Equal rights of the *Anglo-Irish Parliament.*[b]

*Winter 1792-93.* After the French Government had annexed Belgium, and England resolved upon French war, another portion of the Penal Code was released. Irish could become Colonels in Army, *elective franchise for Irish Parliament etc.*

*Rebellion of 1798.*[c] Belfast Republicans (Wolfe Tone, Lord Fitzgerald). Irish peasants not ripe.

*Anglo-Irish House of Commons voted for the Act of Union passed in 1800.*[242] By the Legislature and Customs Union of Britain and Ireland *closed the struggle between the Anglo-Irish and the English.* The colony protested against the illegal Act of Union.*

1801-1846

a) *1801-1831.* At this time (after the end of the war[243]) a movement for emancipation of Catholics under way among Irish and English (1829).

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[a] The Bill for Relieving His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects from Certain Pains and Penalties Imposed on Them by an Act of King William.—*Ed.*

[b] An Act for Removing and Preventing All Doubts Which Have Arisen, or Might Arise, Concerning the Exclusive Rights... (The Renunciation Act, 1783).—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 194.—*Ed.*

From *1783, *legislative independence of Ireland,* shortly after which duties were imposed on *various articles* of foreign manufacture, avowedly with the intention of enabling some ot ner people to employ some of their surplus labour etc. The natural consequence was, that Irish manufactures gradually disappeared as the Act of Union came into effect.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dublin | | | | |
| *Master woollen manufacturers* | *1800* | 91 | *1840* | 12 |
| *Hands employed* | " | 4,918 | " | 602 |
| *Master woolcombers* | " | 30 | *1834* | 5 |
| *Hands employed* | " | 230 | " | 66 |
| *Carpet manufacturers* | " | 13 | *1841* | 1 |
| *Hands employed* | " | 720 | " | 0 |
| *Silk-loom weavers at work* | " | 2,500 | *1840* | 250 |
| Kilkenny | | | | |
| *Blanket manufacturers* | *1800* | 56 | *1822* | 42 |
| *Hands employed* | " | 3,000 | " | 925 |
| Balbriggan | | | | |
| *Calico-looms at work* | *1799* | 2,500 | *1841* | 226 |
| Wicklow | | | | |
| *Handlooms at work* | *1800* | 1,000 | *1841* | 0 |
| Cork | | | | |
| *Braid weavers* | *1800* | 1,000 | *1834* | 40 |
| *Worsted weavers* | " | 2,000 | " | 90 |
| *Hosiers* | " | 300 | " | 28 |
| *Woolcombers* | " | 700 | " | 110 |
| *Cottonweavers* | " | 2,000 | " | 220 |

etc. The linen industry (Ulster) did not compensate for this.[a]

"The *cotton manufacture of Dublin,* which employed 14,000 operatives, has been destroyed; the 3,400 silk looms have been destroyed; the serge[b] manufacture, which employed 1,491 operatives, has been destroyed; the flannel manufacture of Rathdrum, the blanket manufacture of Kilkenny, the camlet[c] trade of Bandon, the worsted manufactures of Waterford, the ratteen and frieze manufactures of Carrick-on-Suir have been destroyed. One business alone survives! ... That fortunate business—which the Union Act has not struck down—that favoured, and

[a] This sentence is in German in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx gives the German equivalent *Sersche* in brackets.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx gives the German equivalent *Camelot* in brackets.—*Ed.*

privileged, and patronised business is the Irish coffin-maker's" *(Speech of T. F. Meagher, 1847).**

Every time Ireland was about to develop industrially, she was CRUSHED and reconverted into a purely AGRICULTURAL LAND.

After the latest General Census of *1861:*

* *Agricultural Population of Ireland*

| | |
|---|---|
| (including all cottiers[244] and farm labourers with their families) * | 4,286,019 |
| In the 798 TOWNS (of which many were in fact small market towns) | 1,512,948 |
| | 5,798,967 |

Therefore (1861) approximately $^4/_5$ purely agricultural, and actually perhaps $^6/_7$ if market towns are also counted.

Ireland is therefore purely *agricultural: "Land is life" *(Justice Blackburne).* Land became the great object of pursuit. The people had now before them the choice between the occupation of land, *at any rent,* or *starvation.* System of *rack-renting.*

"The lord of the land was thus enabled to dictate his own terms, and therefore it has been that we have heard of the payment of £5, 6, 8, and even as much as £10 per acre. Enormous rents, low wages, farms of an enormous extent, let by rapacious and indolent proprietors to *monopolising landjobbers,* to be relet by intermediate oppressors, for five times their value, among the wretched starvers on potatoes and water."

State of popular starvation.*

*Corn Laws in England*[245] create a monopoly to A CERTAIN EXTENT for the export of IRISH CORN to England. *The average export of grain in the *first 3 years* following the passage of the Act of Union about 300,000 qrs,

*1820* over 1 million qrs,

*1834* yearly average of $2^1/_2$ million qrs.

Amount to pay *rent to absentees,* and interest to mortgagees (1834), over 30 million dollars *(about 7 million pounds sterling).* Middlemen accumulated fortunes that they *would* not invest in the improvement of land, and *could* not, under the system which prostrated manufactures, invest in machinery etc. All their accumulations were sent therefore to England for investment. An official document published by the British Government shows that the transfers of British securities from England to Ireland, i.e., the investment of Irish capital in England, in the 13 years following the adoption of free trade in 1821, amounted to as many millions of pounds sterling, and thus was Ireland forced to contribute

cheap labour and cheap capital to building up "the great works of Britain".*

Many pigs and export of same.

*1831-1841.* Accretion of Ireland's population from *7,767,401* to *8,175,238*

In 10 YEARS ..... 407,837

In the same period there *emigrated* (somewhat more than 40,000 per YEAR) ..... 450,873

The total being ..... 858,710

* O'Connell. Repeal Movement, Lichfield-House Contract with Whigs.[246] Partial famines. *Insurrection Acts, Arms Acts, Coercion Acts.*[a]

## IV

## THE PERIOD OF THE LAST 20 YEARS (FROM 1846). *CLEARING OF THE ESTATE OF IRELAND*

Earlier, REPEATED CASES OF PARTIAL FAMINE. NOW GENERAL.

This new period was ushered in by the potato blight (1846-47), starvation and the consequent exodus.

Over one million die, in part directly from hunger, in part from DISEASES, etc. (caused by hunger). In 9 years, 1847-55, *1,656,044* left the country.

The revolution of the old agricultural system was, originally, but a natural result of the barren fields. People fled. *(Families clubbed together to send away the youngest and most enterprising.)* Hence, of course, the pooling of small leaseholds and substitution of pasturage for crop farming.

However, soon circumstances arose whereby this became a conscious and deliberate system.

*Firstly, the chief factor:* Repeal of the Corn Laws was one of the direct consequences of the Irish disaster. As a result, Irish corn lost its monopoly on the English market in the ordinary years. Corn prices dropped. Rents could no longer be paid. In the meantime, the price of meat, wool and other animal products has been rising steadily in the last 20 years. Tremendous growth of the wool industry in England. Pig-raising was partly connected with

---

[a] In an earlier passage in his manuscript, after the words "if market towns are also counted" (this section, pp. 199-200), Marx outlines this paragraph thus: "b) 1831-1847. O'Connel", after which the following words are crossed out: "REPEAL MOVEMENT. Lichfield-House Contract with Whigs. (Useless buildings etc.) Not to be forgotten that during the entire period successive INSURRECTION ACTS, ARMS ACTS, COERCION ACTS".— *Ed.*

the old system. Now, chiefly sheep and horned cattle.* [Ireland] deprived of the English market now, as by the Act of Union of her own.*

Contributing circumstances that made this systematic:

*Secondly:* Reorganisation of agriculture in England. Caricature of same in Ireland.

*Thirdly:* The despairing flight of starving Irish to England filled basements, hovels, WORKHOUSES in Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow with *men, women, children in a state almost of starvation*.

Act of Parliament passed (1847-48) that Irish *landlords had to support their own paupers*. (The English Pauper Law is extended to Ireland.[a]) Hence, the Irish (especially English) landlords, mostly deep in debt, try *to get rid of the people and clear their estates*.

*Fourthly:* *Encumbered Estates Act (1853?)[b]:

"The landlord was ruined, for he could collect no rents, and he was at the same time liable for the payment of enormous taxes for the maintenance of his poor neighbours. His land was encumbered with mortgages and settlements, created when food was high, and he could pay no interest; and now a law was passed, by aid of which property could be summarily disposed of at a public sale, and the proceeds distributed among those who had legal claims upon it."*

ABSENTEE PROPRIETORS (English capitalists, INSURANCE SOCIETIES etc.) thereby multiplied, equally former MIDDLEMEN etc., who wanted to run their farms on modern economic lines.

*Eviction* of farmers partly by friendly agreement terminating tenure. But much more *EVICTION* on a large scale (forcibly by *CROWBAR* BRIGADE, beginning with the destruction of roofs), forcible EJECTION. (Also used as political retribution.) This has continued since 1847 to this day. (*Abercorn,* Viceroy of Ireland.) African razzias *(razzias of the little African kings). (People driven from the land. The starving population of the towns largely increased.)

"The tenantry are turned out of the cottages by scores at a time.... Land agents direct the operation. The work is done by a large force of police and soldiery. Under the protection of the latter, the 'crowbar brigade' advances to the devoted township, takes possession of the houses.... The sun that rose on a village sets on a desert." *(Galway Paper, 1852.) (Abercorn.)**

Let us now see how this system affected the land in *Ireland,* where conditions are quite different from those in England.

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[a] An Act to Amend an Act of the Tenth Year of Her Present Majesty, for Amending the Laws Relating to the Removal of the Poor.—*Ed.*

[b] An Act for Continuing and Amending the Act for Facilitating the Sale and Transfer of Encumbered Estates in Ireland.—*Ed.*

DECREASE OF CULTIVATED LAND. 1861-1866

| * *Decrease in cereal crops* | | *Decrease in green crops** |
|---|---|---|
| 1861-65 | 428,041 acres | 107,984 acres |
| 1866 | 42,876 acres | 20,077 acres |
| Total ..... | 470,917 | 128,061 |

DECREASE OF *YIELD PER STATUTE ACRE OF EVERY CROP[a]

*1847-1865* per cent: the exact decrease: *oats* 16.3, *flax* 47.9, *turnips* 36.1, *potatoes* 50. Some years would show a greater decrease, but on the whole it has been gradual since 1847.

*Estimated Average Produce per Statute Acre*

| | *Wheat cwts* | *Potatoes tons* | *Flax stones (14 lbs.)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *1851* | 12.5 | 5.1 | 38.6 |
| *1866* | 11.3 | 2.9 | 24.9* |

Though Ireland exported considerable quantities of wheat in the past, it is now said to be good only for cultivating OATS[b] (the yield of which per acre also continuously decreases).

In fact: *1866* Ireland shipped out only 13,250 qrs of wheat against 48,589 qrs shipped in (that is, almost fourfold). Meanwhile, it shipped out approximately one million qrs of oats (for £1,201,737).

*Since the exodus, the land has been underfed and overworked, partly from the injudicious consolidation of farms, and partly because, under the corn-acre system,[247] the farmer in a great measure trusted to his labourers to manure the land for him. Rents and profits (where the farmer is no peasant farmer) may increase, although the produce of the soil decreases. The total produce may diminish, and still greater part of it be converted into surplus produce, falling to the landlord and (great) farmer. And the price of the surplus produce has risen.*

Hence, *sterilisation* (gradual) of the land, as in *Sicily by the ancient Romans* (ditto in *Egypt*).

We shall speak of the *livestock,* but first about the *population.*

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[a] See this volume, p. 191.—*Ed.*

[b] This English word is given in the manuscript in brackets after the German equivalent *Hafer.*—*Ed.*

### DECREASE OF THE POPULATION

*1801:* 5,319,867; *1841:* 8,222,664; *1851:* 6,515,794; *1861:* 5,764,543. If the trend continues, there will be 5,300,000 in *1871,* that is, less than in 1801. I shall now show, however, that the population will be lower still in 1871, even though the emigration rate remains constant.

### EMIGRATION

Emigration ACCOUNTS naturally for part of the decrease. In *1845-66* there emigrated 1,990,244, or approximately *2,000,000* *IRISH.* (Unheard of.) (About $^2/_5$ of the *TOTAL emigration* from the *UNITED KINGDOM in 1845-66* which was 4,657,588.) In 1831-41 emigration approximately equalled *half the accretion* of population during the decade, and after 1847 it was considerably higher than the accretion.

However, emigration alone *does not account for the decrease of the population since 1847*.

### DECREASE OF THE NATURAL ANNUAL ACCRETION OF THE POPULATION

The accretion (annual) in *1831-41* was 1.1 per cent, or ABOUT $1\,^1/_{10}$ per cent a year. If the population had increased in the same proportion in *1841-51,* it would have been 9,074,514 in *1851.* In fact, however, it was only 6,515,794. Consequently, the deficit was 2,558,720. Out of this figure, emigration accounted for 1,274,213. That leaves 1,284,507 unaccounted for. Over a million, but not the whole deficit of 1,284,507, died in the FAMINE. Hence, evidently, natural population growth decreased in 1841-51.

This is borne out by the *decade of 1851-61.* No FAMINE. The population decreased from 6,515,794 to 5,764,543. Absolute decrease: 751,251. Yet emigration in this period was over 1,210,000. Hence there was an accretion of NEARLY 460,000 during the ten years. Because 751,251+460,000=the number of emigrants=1,211,251. Emigration claimed almost triple the accretion. The rate of accretion was 0.7 per cent per year, hence considerably lower than the 1.1 per cent of 1831-41.

The explanation is very simple. *The increase of a population by births must principally depend on the proportion which those between 20 and 35 bear to the rest of the community. Now the

proportion of persons between the ages of 20 and 35 in the population of the United Kingdom is about 1:3.98 or 25.06 per cent, while their proportion in the emigration even of the present day is about 1:1.89 or 52.76 per cent.* And probably still greater in Ireland.

### PHYSICAL DETERIORATION OF THE POPULATION

*In *1806,* with a total population of 5,574,107, there was an excess of males over females by 50,469, whilst in 1867, with a total population of 5,557,196, there is an excess of the females over males.* At the same time *not only a relative,* but an *absolute increase* in the number *of deaf-mutes,[a] blind, insane, idiotic, and decrepit inhabitants. Contrasting 1851 with 1861, whilst the population had decreased enormously, the number of deaf-mutes had increased by 473, on their former total of 5,180; the lame and decrepit by 225, on their former total of 4,375; the blind by 1,092, on their former total of 5,767; the lunatic and idiotic, by the immense number of 4,118, on their former total of 9,980; mounting up, in 1861, notwithstanding the decrease in the population, to 14,098.

### WAGES

Wages have not risen more than 20% since the potato famine. The price of potatoes has risen nearly 200%, and the rise* for essential foodstuffs has been 100% *on an average.

Professor Cliffe Leslie, in the *Economist of February 9, 1867,* says:

"After a loss of two-fifths of the population in 21 years, throughout most of the island, the rate of wages is now only ls. a day; a shilling does not go further than 6d. did 21 years ago. Owing to this rise in the ordinary food the labourer is worse off than he was ten years ago."

Partial famines, especially in Munster and Connaught.*

Bankruptcy of SHOPKEEPERS PERMANENT. Market towns, etc., fall into decay.

### THE RESULTS OF THIS PROCESS

In *1855-66,* 1,032,694 Irishmen replaced by *996,859* head of LIVESTOCK (cattle, sheep and pigs). That, in fact, was the accretion of

[a] After this English word Marx gives its German equivalent in brackets.—*Ed.*

LIVESTOCK during that period, with the DECREASE OF HORSES (20,656) compensated by four sheep [to one horse], which are therefore subtracted from the accretion.

*CONSOLIDATION OF FARMS*

From *1851 to 1861* the TOTAL DECREASE of FARMS was 120,000. (Though the number of 15-30 acre FARMS and FARMS of 30 acres and over increased.) Thus, the decrease affected particularly farms of one to under 15 acres.

In 1861 about $^3/_5$ of the area (Ireland's total area: 20,349,924 acres) or 12 million acres was held by *569,844 tenants* who worked plots of one up to less than 100 acres, and about $^2/_5$ (8 million acres) by tenants with over 100 and 500 acres and over (*31,927* tenants).

The process of consolidation in full gear. Ulster. (Cultivation of flax; Scottish Protestant tenants.)

*The Times* etc. officially congratulates Abercorn as Viceroy on this system. He, too, is one of these DEVASTATORS. Lord Dufferin: over-population etc.[a]

In sum, it is a question of life and death.

Meagher, Hennessy, *Irishman.*

DECREASE OF CRIME IN IRELAND

| | *Committed for trial* | *Convicted* |
|---|---|---|
| *1852* | 17,678 | 10,454 |
| *1866* | 4,326 | 2,418 |

## V

## UNITED STATES AND FENIANISM

Written on about December 16, 1867

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 16, Moscow, 1960

Printed according to the manuscript

[a] See this volume, pp. 428, 435.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [REMARKS ON THE PROGRAMME AND RULES OF THE INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY][248]

[PROGRAMME AND RULES OF THE ALLIANCE][a]

The socialist minority of the League of Peace and Freedom, having separated itself from the League as a result of the majority vote at the Berne Congress, the majority being formally opposed to the fundamental principle of all workers' associations—that of *economic and social equalisation of classes and individuals*—has thereby adhered to the principles proclaimed by the *workers' congresses* held in Geneva, Lausanne and Brussels. Several members of this minority, belonging to various nations, have suggested that we should form a new *International Alliance of Socialist Democracy,* merged entirely in the great *International Working Men's Association,* but having a special mission to study political and philosophical questions on the basis of the grand principle of the universal and genuine equality of all human beings on earth.

Convinced, for our part, of the usefulness of such an **enterprise that would provide** sincere socialist **democrats**[b] of Europe and America with the means of being understood and of affirming their ideas, without any pressure from the false socialism which bourgeois democracy finds necessary to apply these days, we consider it our duty, together with our friends, to take

[MARX'S REMARKS]

equality of classes!

merged in and established against!

So, the socialist democrats are not understood through the International

[a] *Programme et Règlement de l'Alliance internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste,* Geneva [1868].— *Ed.*

[b] The words in bold type were underlined by Marx.— *Ed.*

the initiative in forming this new organisation.

Therefore, **we have constituted ourselves as the central section** of *the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy,* and we publish today its *Programme* and *Rules.*

What modesty! They constitute themselves as the central authority, clever lads!

PROGRAMME
OF THE INTERNATIONAL
ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

1) The *Alliance* declares itself atheist; it wants abolition of cults, substitution of science for faith, and human justice for divine justice.

As if one could declare—by decree—the abolition of faith!

2) It wants above all political, economic and social equalisation of classes and individuals **of both sexes,** commencing with **abolition of the right of inheritance,** so that in future enjoyment be equal to each person's production, and so that, in conformity with the decision taken at the last workers' congress in Brussels, the land, instruments of labour, like all other capital, on becoming the collective property of the entire society, may be used only by the workers, that is, by agricultural and industrial associations.

Hermaphrodite man! Just like the **Russian commune!** The old Saint Simon panacea!

3) It wants for all children of both sexes, from birth, equal conditions of development, that is, maintenance, education and training at all levels of science, industry and the arts, being convinced that this equality, at first only economic and social, will gradually lead to greater natural equality of individuals, eliminating all kinds of artificial inequalities, historical products of a social organisation as false as it is iniquitous.

Empty phrase!

4) Being the foe of all despotism, not recognising any political form other than republican, and rejecting completely any reactionary alliance, it also rejects any political action which does not have as its **immediate and direct** aim the triumph of the workers' cause against Capital.

5) It recognises that all the political and authoritarian states that exist at present and are more and more reducing their activities to simple administrative functions of public service in their respective countries, will have to dissolve into a universal union of free associations, both agricultural and industrial ones.

If they **are reducing** themselves they will **not have to** dissolve, but will disappear spontaneously.

6) Since the social question can only have a final and real solution on the basis of international or universal solidarity of the workers of all countries, the *Alliance* rejects any policy based on so-called patriotism and on rivalry between nations.

7) It wants the universal association of all local associations on the basis of Liberty.

There is rivalry and rivalry, my dear Russian!

RULES

1) *The International Alliance of Socialist Democracy* constitutes a **branch of the International Working Men's Association** and accepts all its general rules.

The International Association does not admit any "**international** branches".

2) The *Founder Members of the Alliance* are organising provisionally a *Central Bureau* at Geneva.

New Central Council!

3) Founder Members belonging to the same country constitute the *national bureau* of their country.

4) The national bureaus shall establish in all regions **local groups of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, which, through their respective national bureaus, shall ask the Central Bureau of the Alliance to admit them** into the *International Working Men's Association.*

The Rules of the International do not recognise this "mediatory power".

5) All local groups shall form their bureaus according to the customary procedure accepted by the local sections of the *International Working Men's Association.*

6) All members of the *Alliance* shall pay a monthly contribution of *ten centimes,* half of which shall be retained for their own needs by each national group, and the other half shall go to the Central Bureau for its general requirements.

In countries where this sum is judged to be too high, the national bureaus, in accord with the Central Bureau, shall have the power to reduce it.

New taxes absorbing our own contributions!

7) At the annual Working Men's Congress *the delegation of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy,* as a branch of the *International Working Men's Association,* shall hold public meetings in a separate building.

They want to compromise us under our own patronage!

**MEMBERS OF THE GENEVA INITIATORY GROUP**

**J. Philipp Becker.**—M. Bakunin.—Th. Rémy.—Antoine Lindegger.—Louis Nideg-

Asinus Asinorum! And Madame Bakunin!

ger.—Valérien Mroczkowsky.—Jean Zagorsky.—Phil. Zöller.—A. Ardin.—Ch. Perron.—J. Gay—J. Friess—Fr. Rochat—Nikolai Zhukovsky.—M. Elpidin.—Zampérini.—E. Becker.—Louis Weiss.—Perret.—Marauda.—Edouard Crosset.—A. Blanchard—A. Matis.—Ch. Raymond.—Mme. Alexeyeva.[a]—Mme. Bakunin.—Mme. Suzette Croset.—Mme. Rosalie Sanguinède.—Mme. Désirée Gay.—Mme. Jenny Guinet.—Antoine Dunaud.—J. Maulet.—Guerry.—Jacques Courtois.—John Potot.—André Bel.—Fr. Bofféty.—Ch. Guyot.—Ch. Postleb.—Ch. Détraz.—J. Croset.—J. Sanguinède.—C. Jaclard.—L. Coulin.—Fr. Gay.—Blaise Rossety.—Jos. Marilly.—C. Brechtel.—L. Monachon.—Fr. Mermillod.—Donat-père.—L. J. Cheneval.—J. Bédeau.—L. H. Fornachon.—Pinière.—Ch. Grange.—Jacques Laplace.—S. Pellaton.—W. Rau.—Gottlob Walter.—Adolphe Haeberling.—Perrié.—Adolphe Catalan.—Marc Héridier.—Louis Allement.—A. Pellergin-Druart.—Louis de Coppet.—Louis Dupraz.—Guillmeaux.—Joseph Baquet.—Fr. Pisteur.—Ch. Ruchet.—Placide Margarittaz.—Paul Garbani.—Etienne Borret.—J. J. Scopini.—F. Crochet.—Jean Jost.—Léopold Wucher.—C. Filliétaz.—L. Fulliquet.—Ami Gandillon.—V. Alexeyev.[b]—François Chevallier.

The Founder Members of the *International Alliance of Socialist Democracy,* having decided to start a paper under the name *La Révolution,* to be the press organ of this new Association, the *provisional Central Bureau* will begin publication as soon as 300 shares, of 10 francs each and payable in four instalments quarterly, from January 1, 1869, have been subscribed. Accordingly, the *provisional Central Bureau* is appealing to all *national bureaus of the Alliance* and inviting them to begin subscriptions in their own countries. As these subscriptions are considered voluntary gifts which give no right to receipt of the paper, the *national bureaus* are also requested to compile a list of subscribers.

The paper will appear once a week.

Jules Johannard
Eugène Dupont[c]

and they have the cheek to announce in Switzerland that I shall contribute articles to **"La Révolution"**,[249] without informing me!

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[a] Barteneva.—*Ed.*
[b] Bartenev.—*Ed.*
[c] The names Johannard and Dupont are written in Jung's hand.—*Ed.*

*Subscription cost:*

| | |
|---|---|
| one year | 6 fr. |
| six months | 3 fr. 50 |

On behalf of the *provisional Central Bureau:*

Secretary, *Jean Zagorsky*
rue Montbrillant, 8.

N. B. The *national bureaus* are requested to send the *Central Bureau* the money received for the shares and subscriptions before January 1.

Remarks made by Karl Marx on December 15, 1868

Printed according to the French leaflet containing Marx's remarks

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Translated from the French

# Karl Marx

## [IRELAND FROM THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION TO THE UNION OF 1801

### EXTRACTS AND NOTES][250]

### I. FROM 1778 TO 1782. INDEPENDENCE

#### A) IRISH PARLIAMENT BEFORE 1782

*Importance of the question for English working class, and working-class movement generally.*

*Until 1800* Ireland, although conquered, remained separate and federate kingdom. *Title of King* up to peace of Amiens[251] "*George III,* King of *Great Britain, France,* and *Ireland,* defender of the faith etc."

The English usurpations in regard to the Parliament at Dublin principally calculated with view to *mercantile monopoly* on the one hand, and, on the other, to have the *appelate jurisdiction* in regard to the *titles of landed estates* in the last instance to be decided at London, only in English courts.

### *Poynings' Law*[252]

A Statute of Henry VII, framed by his Attorney-General, Sir Edward Poynings, restrained the Irish Parliament *from originating any law whatever,* either in the Lords or Commons. Before any statute could be finally discussed, it *was previously submitted to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and his Privy Council,*[253] for their consideration, who might *at their pleasure reject it,* or *transmit it to England.* The British Attorney-General and Privy Council were invested with a power either to *suppress it altogether,* or *model it at their own will,* and then return it to Ireland, *with permission to the Irish Parliament* to pass it into law. Already *Molyneux* etc. protested against this (17th century). Later, in the 18th century, Swift and Dr. Lucas.[254]

### *Statute 6, George I*[255]

(It declared in fact the *legislative supremacy of the British Parliament over Ireland.*)

Theobald Wolfe Tone, the son of a man half coachmaker and half farmer, a poor and helpless boy with a wife and a parcel of children, resolved to redress the wrongs of the Catholics, restore representation — the Commons, in the House, or failing — House, to make Ireland an independent republic. Was to make a pamphlet — Genius of the Catholic Commons pamphlet, called: "An argument on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland, by a Protestant Whig", and received every mark of applause from his own class.

In Oct. 1791 — Belfast. He formed the first United Irish society. In this month the movement of the Volunteers merged into that of the United Irishmen. The question became that of the Catholics, which people. The question was no longer to reform Parliament from the upper and middle classes but to encompass the Irish nation, for the vast part Catholics. The question became social & not merely political, raised Political principles as to the form, rational rational.

III Period. From 1791 (Oct.) to 1795 (after recall of Lord Fitzwilliam)

The movement of the Volunteers merged into that of the United Irishmen. Public in 1794, when found by the Gov. measures to become secret. The United Irishmen — revived in society, the Catholics in confederacy, and the Volunteer Corps began to relax their zeal, disperse their discipline, & ward their arms.

1793: A Volunteer Convention assembled, passed resolutions — Genius of Emancipation and Reform, and raised a permanent Committee. The Relief Bill of April 1793 carried by the Prince.

Catholics, together with Dissenters, secede from Parliament, ~~with the exception of the Belfast Republican~~ the Catholics, together with Dissenters, secede from the movement, & joined against the volunteers (merging — to the desert towards of the United Irishmen) the organization & activity, together with their spirit, & Corporation laws against intermarriage, Jobbing, and the whole machinery of the Volunteers passed in May 1793, and the Union Act — the militia, Riot, Corporation, Gunpowder and Convention Acts, in fact, a full code of oppression, principally the same Act, that had passed the Catholic Relief Bill.

The United Irishmen became secret organization. Recall of Fitzwilliam left only the Dissenters behind.

V Period. Volunteer movement merged into the United Irishmen movement since 1795.

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We now return to the development of the Volunteer movement.

1779–83, and the rise of Irish Parliament on the high popular programme. The grand Association first formed and based, amongst — the North (Presbyterian and Episcopalian (Episcopalian)). Only Protestants first against Romanism. Protestant feeling called into the city first. Catholics positively stated loyalty and — Ireland. However, they resolutely refused — forming these very associations — into which they themselves had not entered — forming these very associations into which they themselves had not

Page of Marx's manuscript *Ireland from the American Revolution to the Union of 1801*

Poynings' law reduced the Irish House of Commons to a *mere instrument of the Privy Council of both nations,* and, consequently, of the *British Cabinet.*

*George I, Statute,* to neutralise the Irish legislation altogether, and to establish *an appellant jurisdiction to the British Lords,* whereby every decree and judgment of the Irish superior courts, which would tend to affect or disturb the *questionable or bad titles of the British adventurers or absentees*[256] to Irish estates or Irish property, might be reversed or rendered abortive in Great Britain by *a vote of the Scotch and English nobility.*

(*This was re-enacted by the Union!*)

Many British Peers and Commoners, through whose influence this Statute of George I had been enacted, had themselves been deeply interested in effecting that measure, to secure their own grants of Irish estates. Under the 1st clause of this law England assumed a *despotic power* "and declared her inherent right to bind Ireland by every *Statute* in which she should be *expressly* designated".

It was the success of that vicious precedent which had encouraged *George III* and his *British Parliament* to attempt to legislate for America. Cost them the North-American colonies.[257]

## *General Character of Irish Parliament in the 18th Century Until the Upheaving*

Protestant Parliament. Only Protestants electors. In fact the Parliament of the Conquerors. A mere instrument, a mere serf in relation to the British Government. Compensated themselves by despotism against the Catholic mass of the Irish people. *Penal Code* against Catholics[258] rigorously enforced. Only from time to time some efforts of that Parliament to resist the *English commercial legislature* ruining Irish industry and commerce, then principally carried on by the Protestant, Scotch-English part of the population.

As to the *internal composition* of this Parliament etc. more will be said by and by.

A new state of things opened with the *American War of Independence* and the disasters it brought upon England.

## B)[a] FIRST EFFECTS OF AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE ON IRELAND PRIOR TO LEGISLATIVE INDEPENDENCE

### A) RELAXATION OF PENAL CODE AGAINST CATHOLICS

*American (United States) Declaration of Independence* proclaimed by Congress, *4 July 1776.*[b]

*April 1777*: Congress proclaims the *Constitution* (American) *of American Republic.*[c]

*War between England and America.*

*6 February 1778*: *Treaties with France,* by which independence of American Republic [was] recognised and France promised to support the Americans, until they had got rid of the English.[259]

Great fermentation produced by the American events in Ireland. Many Irish, mainly Presbyterians from Ulster, emigrate to America, enrol under the *United States banners* and fight against England on the other side of the Atlantic. *The Catholics,* who for a long time had in vain supplicated for a relaxation of the Penal Code, moved again *in 1776,* in louder tones.

*1778*: *Irish Parliament relaxed the severity of the Penal Code,* its worst features obliterated, Catholics were allowed to *take leases of land.*

Curran said afterwards (*1792, in debate on Catholic Emancipation*):

"What was the consequence even of a *partial union* with your countrymen? The united efforts of the two bodies restored that constitution which had been lost by their separation.[...] Your Catholic brethren shared the danger of the conflict, but you had not justice or gratitude to let them share the fruits of the victory. You suffered them to relapse into their former insignificance and depression. And, let me ask you, has it not fared with you according to your deserts? Let me ask you if the Parliament of Ireland can boast of being now less at the feet of the British Minister, than at that period it was of the British Parliament?"

"But *you affect to think your property in danger, by admitting them into the state.*[...] *Thirteen years ago* you expressed the same fears, yet you made the experiment; *you opened the door to landed property,* and the fact has shown the fear to be without foundation."[260] Then *Protestant Ascendancy.*[261] *Tithes and property of the Protestant Church in Ireland.*

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[a] In the manuscript this section is marked II, though the preceding section is marked "A" and the following "C".—*Ed.*

[b] "Declaration of Independence in Congress, July 4, 1776. The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America".—*Ed.*

[c] "Articles of Confederation, and Perpetual Union".—*Ed.*

*Main opposition* to every innovation and useful measure on *the part of absentees.* Always steady adherents of the Minister for the time being. Their proxies in the Lords, and their influence in the Commons, were transferred to the Minister on a card or in a letter, and on every division in both Houses they formed a phalanx.

### B) THE VOLUNTEER ORGANISATION. THE FREE-TRADE MOVEMENT. FIRST CONCESSIONS OF ENGLAND

On *4 July 1776* the Americans had proclaimed their *Declaration of Independence.* In the same year the Irish Catholics, as seen, *demanded* (they had before supplicated for) relaxation of the Penal Code, redress.

*In April 1777 Constitution of American Republic proclaimed.* In 1778 first redress of the Catholic grievances etc. This enabled the *Irish Protestants,* till now considered by the English as their *gaolers* and *bailiffs,* to move.

To understand the movement from 1779-1782 *(Legislative Independence),* it becomes necessary briefly to allude to the state in which England found herself.

*June 1778* commenced war between England and France.[262] *In 1780* France sent not only, as she had done till then, money subsidies and men-of-war to America, but also an auxiliary army. (6,000 men under the Marquis of Rochambeau.) The French army landed on 10 July 1780 in Rhode Island, surrendered to him by the English. *September 1780* English colonel *Ferguson defeated* in the West of North Carolina. *19 October 1781, Cornwallis* (General) included by Washington in *York Town* (Virginia) had to *capitulate.* (5-6,000 men, many English men-of-war etc. were captured.)

*27 July 1778* sea-battle between French and English at *Quessant.* Undecided.

*Summer 1779: King of Spain*[a] accedes as ally to United States and France. His navy united with the French one. The hostile fleets assailed the *English coast in June,* and only the dissension amongst the French and Spanish Admirals saved *Plymouth* (August 1779) from the destruction of its wharfs and arsenals.

In *1780* England was not defeated on the sea, but lost much in money and *mercantile ships.*

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[a] Charles III.—*Ed.*

*26 February 1780* Russia invites all neutral maritime powers to *Armed Neutrality.*[263] England pounces upon Holland. *5 August 1782* naval battle between English and Dutch, at *Doggersbank,* in the North Sea. *Undecided.*

*On 30 November 1782* at Paris *Preliminary Peace Treaty between United States and England.*

* * *

*1779.* Great part of English army and navy consisted of Irishmen. In 1779 *Ireland was left ungarrisoned,* an invasion of Ireland by France threatened, English coast *(Plymouth)* menaced by united French and Spanish navy. Under these circumstances the *Volunteers*—the armed Protestantism of Ireland[264]—arose, partly for defence from the foreigner, partly for self-vindication. In less time than could have been supposed, from the commencement of these armed associations, the whole surface of the island was covered with a self-raised host of patriot soldiers.

* * *

At this place, it will be interesting to anticipate the *whole of the history* of this Volunteer force, because, in fact, it is the history of Ireland to the moment when, since 1795, on the one hand, the *general popular, national and constitutional movement,* represented by them, stripped off its *merely national* character and merged into a *truly revolutionary movement,* and, on the other hand, the British Government changed secret intrigue for brutal force intended to bring about, and succeeding in bringing about, the Union of 1800, i. e. the annihilation of Ireland as a nation, and its transformation into an out of the way country district of England.

There are 4 periods of the Volunteer movement.

*I Period. From 1779 to 1783*: In its first formation the Volunteers, the armed Protestantism of Ireland, embrace all vital elements of all classes, noblemen, gentlemen, merchants, farmers, labourers. Their first object, emancipation from the *commercial* and *industrial fetters* which the mere mercantile jealousy of England had thrown around them. Then *National Independence.* Then *Reform of Parliament* and *Catholic Emancipation* as one of the conditions of National Resurrection! Their official organisation and the disasters of England give them new strength, but lay also

the germ of their ruin, subordinating them to a weak, bigot, aristocratic Whig, the *Earl of Charlemont.* The first victories (commercial ones) of the Irish Commons they justly claim as their own victory. The votes of thanks by the Irish Commons exalt them. Catholic bodies enroll in them. The apogee of their power in *1783,* when their delegates assembled in *Dublin Rotunda,* as *Convention* for Parliamentary Reform. The treason of their chief and the disavowal of them by the Irish *House of Commons* breaks their force and pushes them into the background.

*II Period. From 1783 to 1791 (October).*

Still important as pressure from without upon Irish Parliament, especially House of Commons, and as armed and popular support of the *national and reforming Opposition (minority)* of the House of Commons. The aristocratic element and reactionary part of the middle-class withdrew, the popular element prevailing.

The French Revolution (1789) finds both *Catholic Committee*

(principally composed of Catholic noblemen)

and *Whig Club*[265]

(Reformers)

feeble and dispirited.[266]

There was a steady decline of the Volunteer organisation, and of the strength of the Liberal Party until 1790.

A different race of men from Whig Club orators or Catholic Lords now began to act on the public.

*In Dublin, John Keogh,* a strong, rough-souled, sagacious merchant, and men of his stamp, sent the Catholic nobles flying in slavish dread.

And in *Belfast,* Neilson, Russell, McCracken etc., headed a Protestant Party, which advocated Reform, but began soon to think of Republicanism. The government rendered fearful by the *Regency dispute,*[267] and desperate by the French Revolution, began to push corruption and the principles of the Union[a] harder than ever.

*Theobald Wolfe Tone,* the son of a man, half coachmaker and half farmer, a poor and briefless barrister, with a wife and a pack of children, resolved to *redress the wrongs of the Catholics,* restore *representation in the Commons,* and with these, or failing in them, to make his country *an independent republic.* Now he wrote a pamphlet *in favour of the Catholic emancipation,* called: *"An Argument on Behalf of the Catholics of Ireland, by a Northern Whig,"* and received every mark of gratitude from his new clients.

*In October, 1791, in Belfast* he founded the *first United Irish Society.*

From this moment, the movement of the Volunteers merges into that of the *United Irishmen.* The Catholic question became that of

[a] Probably a slip of the pen; in his "Memoir of John Ph. Curran" prefixed to *The Speeches of ... Curran,* Thomas Davis writes (p. XX): "to push corruption and the principles of disunion".— *Ed.*

the Irish people. The question was no longer to remove disabilities from the Catholic *upper and middle classes,* but to *emancipate the Irish peasant,* for the vast part Catholic. The question became *social* as to its matter, assumed *French political principles* as to its form, remained *national.*

*III Period. From 1791 (October) to 1795 (after recall of Lord Fitzwilliam).*

The movement of the Volunteers merged into that of the *United Irishmen.*

Public until 1794, when forced by the government measures to become *secret.* The United Irishmen increased in numbers, the Catholics in confidence, and the *Volunteer Corps began to restore their array, and improve their discipline.*

Acme of their action:

*15 February 1793: A Volunteer Convention at Dungannon* passed resolutions in favour of Emancipation and Reform, and named a permanent Committee. The *Relief Bill* of *April 1793* was carried by this pressure.[268]

But now, the *Catholic higher classes secede from the movement;* pitched against the ci-devant[a] Volunteers (merging into the Secret Societies of the United Irishmen) the *aristocratic and stupidly, bigottedly middle-class yeomen.*

Coercive laws against *military societies, drilling, and the whole machinery of the Volunteers* passed on *11 March 1793,* and the *Alien Act,* the *Militia, Foreign Correspondence, Gunpowder and Convention Acts,*[269] in fact, a full *code of coercion passed by the same Parliament,* that had passed the Catholic Relief Bill.

The *United Irishmen* became a secret organisation. Recall of Fitzwilliam only left the decision to force.

*IV Period. Volunteer movement merged into the revolutionary movement since 1795.*

* * *

We now return to the development of the *Volunteer Movement, 1779-83,* and the Acts of Irish Parliament under this high popular pression. The *Armed Associations, first provincial and local,* strongest in the North (Ulster) and Dublin (Leinster). Only Protestants. First *against Invasion.* Protestant farmers rallied under this cry first. Catholics prohibited by statute from bearing arms in Ireland. However, they zealously assisted in forwarding those very associa-

[a] Former.—*Ed.*

tions into which they themselves had no admission. Their calmness and their patriotism gained them many friends, and a relaxation of intolerance appeared rapidly to be gaining ground, but it was not *until the Volunteers had assumed a deliberative capacity, that the necessity of uniting the whole population of the country in the cause of independency became distinctly obvious.*

The *first object of the Irish Volunteers*—after the *defence against invasion*—was to free themselves mercantilely and industrially, an interest then almost *wholly* in *the hands of the Protestants,* although by its very nature *a national interest.*

It was observed, that this *British assumption of authority* to legislate for Ireland, whatever colouring it might have received by the dissimulation or ingenuity of its supporters, had, in fact, for its real object the *restraint of her commerce* and *the suppression of her manufactures, so far as they might interfere with the interests of England*; because the management of the *merely local concerns of Ireland,* by her own Parliament, was altogether immaterial to Great Britain, unless where a commercial rivalship might be the probable consequence of successful industry and legislative encouragement.

Peers [showed] no public spirit; the measures of the Commons might be suppressed by an act of the Privy Council; hence *determined co-operation of the whole people* necessary.

The moment (the distress of England and the armed force of the Volunteers) was favourable.

England, notwithstanding [the fact that] she had in some instances *suspended, and in others prohibited, the exportation of Irish manufactures,* inundated the Irish markets with every species of her own; a combination of the great capitalists of England to destroy Irish manufacture by inundation of the Irish market.

Hence the Irish resolved *to adopt a non-importation and non-consumption agreement* throughout the whole kingdom, by excluding not only the *importation,* but the *consumption of any British manufacture in Ireland.* No sooner was this measure publicly proposed, than it was universally adopted; it flew quicker than the wind throughout the whole nation. Meanwhile the Volunteer organisation spread; at length almost every independent Protestant enrolled as a patriot soldier. Self-formed, self-governed, no commissions from the Crown, no connexion whatever with the Government, [they] appointed their own officers etc. Yet subordination complete. Their arms at first provided by themselves; but the extraordinary increase of their numbers rendered them at length unable to procure a sufficient supply by purchase; they required arms from the Government; Government did not think it

safe to refuse their demand; and, with an averted eye, *handed out to the Volunteers 20,000 stands of arms from the Castle of Dublin.*[270] Many men who had served in the United States against the Americans became their drill sergeants. At the head of the corps noblemen etc. Important in this movement *the familiar association of all ranks.*

Under these circumstances:

*Sessions of the Irish Parliament 1779-80.* After frivolous speech of the Lord Lieutenant (Harcourt?)[a] in the House of Lords, and usual adulatory address moved in the Commons by *Sir Robert Deane,*[b] *Grattan* moved the following *amendment*:

"That we beseech Your Majesty to believe, that it is with the utmost reluctance we are constrained to approach you on the present occasion; but the *constant drain to supply absentees,* and *the unfortunate prohibition of our trade,* have caused such calamity, that the natural support of our country has decayed, and our *manufacturers* are dying for want: famine stalks hand in hand with hopeless wretchedness; and the only means left to support the expiring trade of this miserable part of Your Majesty's dominions, is to *open a free export trade,* and let your Irish subjects enjoy their natural birthright."[c]

Mr. *Hussey Burgh,* the Prime Sergeant (above the Attorney-General) moved the following amendment:

"That it is not *by temporary expedients,* that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin.[271]

Unanimously carried.

Volunteers attributed rightly this unexpected success to their movement. It greatly increased both the numbers and confidence in Volunteer associations.

Although even in *both Houses of the British Parliament* attention [was] called to the Irish distress and the dangerous state of that country, *Lord North* treated the whole [matter] with his usual superciliousness and frivolity. Nothing was done.

The *non-importation and non-consumption movement* became now general in Ireland. At length, a general meeting was convened by the *High Sheriff of the city of Dublin,* and resolutions then entered into by the whole metropolis, which finally confirmed and consummated that judicious measure, and at length convinced

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[a] George Nugent-Temple Grenville, the Marquis of Buckingham, was the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland at the time. See his speech at the opening of the session of the Irish Parliament on October 12, 1779, in H. Grattan, *The Speeches...*, Vol. I, pp. 20-22.—*Ed.*

[b] Deane's address to George III on October 12, 1779, see H. Grattan, *The Speeches...*, Vol. I, p. 22.—*Ed.*

[c] See J. Mitchel, *The History of Ireland..*, Vol. I, p. 126.—*Ed.*

Great Britain, that Ireland would no longer submit to insult and domination. These resolutions were enforced with vigour and strictness. The Volunteers of Dublin resolved to consolidate, chose *William, Duke of Leinster,* for their Chief. This was the first measure of the Volunteers to form a regular army composed of every rank of society. Secret efforts of the Government to seduce the soldier from his officers, or to detach the most popular officers from the command of the soldiers—all in vain!

The appointment of the Duke of Leinster to the command of the Dublin Volunteers, was quickly followed by that of other district generals; and the organisation of 4 provincial armies was regularly proceeded on. The Ulster army appointed the *Earl of Charlemont* its commander-in-chief, the other armies proceeded rapidly in their organisation. Provincial reviews were adopted; and everything assumed the appearance of systematic movement. Soon General Commander-in-Chief [was appointed].

Affairs now approached fast towards a crisis; the freedom of commerce being the subject most familiar to the ideas of the people, was the first object of their solicitude. "A *free trade*" became the *watchword* of *the Volunteers,* and the cry of the Nation; the *Dublin Volunteer Artillery* appeared on parade, commanded by *James Napper Tandy,* with labels on the mouths of their cannon: "*Free Trade or Speedy Revolution.*" Lord North got now frightened. America already lost. On *24th November 1781* speech from the throne wherein *he* [the King] *called the immediate attention of his British Parliament to the situation of Ireland.* Now in hot haste these blockheads acceded to the Irish claims. The *British Parliament* met on *25 November,* and the first Bills of concessions received the royal assent on 21 December 1781. Now these dunderheads passed Bills, distinctly repealing all the Acts which their predecessors had declared absolutely *essential* to *secure* the *prosperity* of England from the *dangerous industry* of the Irish.

Messages sent over to Ireland, much fuss made of the liberality and justice of Great Britain. Meanwhile *North* tried to pass over the year 1782, by continuing to open the Committee on Irish affairs from time to time, now and then passing a resolution in favour of that country, and thus endeavouring to wear out the session.

Ireland at length perceived the duplicity of proceedings which, while they purported to extend benefits to Ireland?!, asserted the paramount authority of Great Britain, and converted its acts of *concession* into declaratory statutes of its own supremacy. *14 Irish Counties* at once avowed to establish, at the risk of their lives and

fortunes, *the independence of the Irish Legislature.* The cry of "Free Trade" now accompanied with that of *"Free Parliament".*

*George III* forced, from the throne (in his speech), to pass unqualified eulogiums on the *Volunteer army,* as expression of the loyalty *and fidelity of the people.*

The *Army in Ireland* had been under *the regulations of a British Statute,* and the *hereditary revenue of the Crown,* with the aid of a *perpetual mutiny bill,*[272] enabled the British Government to command at all times a *standing army in Ireland,* without the authority or the control of its Parliament. Volunteers became aware of this. *Resolutions were entered into by almost every military corps,* and *every corporate body, that they would no longer obey any laws,* save *those enacted by the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland.*

The salaries of the *Judges of Ireland* were then barely sufficient to keep them above want, and *they held their offices only during the will of the British Minister, who might remove them at his pleasure*: all Irish justice, therefore, was at his control. In all questions between the Crown and the people, the purity of the judge was consequently suspected.

*The Irish Parliament,* at this period, met *but once in 2 years,* and in the *British Attorney-General* was vested the superintendence of their proceedings and in the *British Privy Council* the alteration and rejection of their Statutes.

***9 October 1781.*** *Irish House of Commons. Irish Parliament* opened, speech of the Viceroy[a] etc., after address to His Majesty passed, *Mr. O'Neill* (House of Commons) moved a *resolution of thanks to "all the Volunteers of Ireland, for their exertions and continuance".* Unanimously voted, and directed to be circulated throughout all Ireland, and to be communicated by the Sheriffs of the counties to the corps within their bailiwicks.[b]

This resolution brought down the British Government to the feet of the Volunteers, and raised the Volunteers above the supremacy of Britain, by a direct Parliamentary approbation of self-armed, self-governed, and self-disciplined associations.

These Volunteers by *this time exceeded in number the whole regular military force of the British Empire.*

*Portugal Affair*: By the resolutions of the British Legislature, Ireland had been admitted to export her *linen and woollen manufactures to Portugal,* agreeable to *the provisions of the Treaty of Methuen,*[273] from which *liberty she had been previously and explicitly prohibited by express statutes.* Irish manufacturers tried immediately to *improve this.* Portuguese Ministry *(under orders of the British Ministers)* peremptorily

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[a] Frederick Howard, Earl of Carlisle.—*Ed.*

[b] H. Grattan, *The Speeches...,* Vol. I, pp. 82-85; J. Mitchel, *The History of Ireland...,* Vol. I, p. 135.—*Ed.*

refused, seized the Irish merchandise (this in *1782*). Petition of the Dublin merchants to Irish House of Commons. In opposition to a motion of Fitzgibbon *Sir Lucius O'Brien* moved an amendment, calling upon the King, as *King of Ireland,* to assert the *rights of that kingdom* "by *hostility with Portugal*", [and] concluding with: "We doubt not that Nation (Ireland) has *vigour* and *resources* sufficient to maintain all her rights, and *astonish all her enemies.*"

House [did] not [have] the courage to pass it.

Now [the] cry in the country, that *their connection with England was only federative.* This engrossed now almost the exclusive consideration of the armed associations of Ireland.

*Want of protection for personal liberty in Ireland: No Habeas Corpus Act.*[274]

*Repeal of the English Statute of 6, George I* asked by the armed Volunteers and corporate bodies[a] etc. *Catholic bodies now also entered the Volunteer army,* officered by Protestants. Regular and public deliberative meetings of the armed Volunteers. The *armed associations of Ulster first appointed delegates* to declare the sentiments of their province, in a general assembly. ***Convention at Dungannon, 15 February 1782.*** Agreed upon the celebrated *Declaration of Rights and Grievances.*

They were delegates from 25,000 Ulster soldiers, backed by the voice of about 1 million inhabitants of that country.

## *Declaration of the Volunteers at the Dungannon Convention. 15 February 1782*[275]

"Whereas it has been asserted that Volunteers, as such, cannot with propriety debate or give their opinions on political subjects, or the conduct of Parliament, or public men, resolved unanimously: That a citizen, by learning the use of arms, does not abandon *any* of his *civil rights.* That a claim of any body of men, other than the *King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland,* to make laws to bind *this* Kingdom, is *unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance;*

"that the *power exercised by the Privy Council* of both Kingdoms, under the pretence of the *law of Poynings,*[b] is *unconstitutional* and a *grievance*;

"that the *independence of judges* is equally essential to the impartial administration of *justice in Ireland,* as in England; and that the refusal or delay of this right to Ireland, makes a distinction where there should be no distinction; may excite jealousy where perfect union should prevail; and is in itself *unconstitutional and a grievance*; that it is our *decided* and *unalterable* determination to seek a redress of these grievances ... redress, *speedy* and *effectual;* that as men, and as Irishmen, as Christians, and as *Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects;* and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the *happiest consequences* to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland."

4 members from each county of the province of Ulster were appointed to *act as a committee* for the Volunteer Corps, to call general meetings of the province. That

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[a] See this volume, p. 212.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 212, 215.— *Ed.*

the said committee appoint 9 of their members to be a committee in Dublin, in order to communicate with all other Volunteer Associations in the other provinces, that may think proper to come to similar resolutions; and to deliberate with them on the most constitutional means of carrying them into effect.

*Earl of Bristol,* Englishman by birth, British Peer and Protestant Bishop of Derry[a] (uncle of *George Robert Fitzgerald*), openly declares for the Volunteers (ditto for full *Catholic Emancipation*).

*In every Volunteer Corps* of Ireland the ***Dungannon*** *resolutions are accepted.*

About this time about 90,000 Volunteers are ready.

As soon as the Dungannon Volunteers had received the concurrence of the armed associations, the *Irish House of Commons* assumed new aspect. The proceedings of the people without now told on their representatives within. The whole House appeared forming into parties.

Their Sessions were *biennial,* and consequently their grants to Government *were for 2 years at once;* and till more money was required, their legislative [power] was inactive. They *now determined on granting supplies to the Crown for 6 months only,* as a hint that they would grant no more till their grievances were redressed: this had its effect.

The proceedings of the Volunteers and municipal bodies became every day more serious and decisive, tone in House of Commons more menacing.

*Impracticable to proceed with Lord North any longer.* About *April 1782 Marquis of Rockingham's Cabinet* (*James Fox* etc.). *Duke of Portland, nominated Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,* arrived at *Dublin* ***14 April 1782,*** had to meet the *Irish Parliament on the 16th April.*

### C) DECLARATIONS OF IRISH LEGISLATIVE INDEPENDENCE[276]

*Message of George III to* ***British*** *Parliament, 18 April 1782.*[277] Stating:

"that mistrusts and jealousies had arisen in Ireland, and that it was highly necessary to take the same into immediate consideration, in order to [effect] a ***final*** *adjustment.*"

*British House of Commons* in reply: express

"their entire and cheerful concurrence in His Majesty's views of a ***final*** adjustment".

The same words *"final adjustment"* were repeated, by the Irish Ministry, when a *Union* was proposed to the Irish Parliament *in 1800.*

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[a] Frederick Hervey.—*Ed.*

Duke of Portland wanted to procrastinate. Grattan communicated to him, that this [was] impossible without provoking anarchy. *House of Commons, 16 April 1782*: Grattan on the point of proposing *Independence motion,* when Mr. ***Hely Hutchinson*** (Secretary of State in Ireland) rose and said, the Lord Lieutenant had ordered him *to deliver a message from the King,* importing that "His Majesty, being concerned to find that discontents and jealousies were prevailing amongst his loyal subjects of Ireland, upon matters of great weight and importance, recommended the House to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to effect such *a final adjustment* as might give satisfaction to both kingdoms".

*Hutchinson* accompanied this message, and his statement of his own views on the subject, with a determination to support a declaration of *"Irish rights"* and constitutional *"independence"*. Hutchinson declared at the same time, that he had simply to deliver the message; he was therefore silent to all details and pledged the Government to none. *Ponsonby* proposed a short address.

*Grattan* spoke: "America has shed much English blood, and America is to be free: Ireland has shed her own blood for England, and is Ireland to remain in fetters?" etc. Proposes *Amendment* to Ponsonby's "short address", etc. "to assure His Majesty that his subjects of Ireland are *a free people,* that the Crown of Ireland is an *imperial* crown, inseparably connected with the Crown of Great Britain ... but that the Kingdom of Ireland is a *distinct kingdom,* with a Parliament of her *own* the sole legislature thereof, that there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind the nation but the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, nor any Parliament which hath any authority or power of any sort whatever in this country, save only the Parliament of Ireland; to assure His Majesty that we humbly conceive that in this right the very *essence of our liberty exists,* a right which we, on the part of all the people of Ireland, do claim as their birth-right, *and which we cannot yield but with our lives.*"

*Brownlow* seconded. *George Ponsonby* stated "that he most willingly consented [on behalf of Portland] to the proposed amendment, and would answer that the noble lord who presided in the Government of Ireland, wished to do everything in his power etc." and "he (Portland) would use his utmost influence in obtaining the *rights* of Ireland, an object on which he had ***fixed his heart***".

(1799. Portland openly avowed in 1799 that he had ***never*** considered this concession of England in 1782 as ***final.***)

*Unanimously Grattan's Motion was passed.*

Shortly before and shortly after this scene very decided resolutions on the part of the Volunteer Corps. It was the unanimous *firmness* of the *people,* and not the abstract virtue of their delegates, which achieved this revolution.

*Fitzgibbon* had declared [himself] a patriot; and Mr. *John Scott,* then Attorney-General, afterwards *Lord Clonmel,* even declared: "If the Parliament of Great Britain were determined to lord it over Ireland, he was resolved not to be their villain in executing their tyranny. That if matters should proceed to the extremity to which he feared they were verging, he should not be an insignificant subscriber to the fund for defending their common rights ... he had determined to throw his life and fortune into the scale."

(This true man of the Pitt-Castlereagh school!)

Immediately on this turn, *Portland* sent off 2 despatches to England, one to the Cabinet as a public document, the other, *private and confidential,* to Fox. Explained the reasons for the necessity of acceding.... Stated in conclusion that "he would omit no opportunity of *cultivating* his connexion with the Earl of Charlemont, who appeared entirely disposed to place confidence in his Administration, and to give a *proper tone* to the *armed bodies* over whom he had the most considerable influence".

*Parliament was meanwhile prorogued for 3 weeks,* to wait for the King's Reply to their Declaration of Independence. Meanwhile *reviews and discipline* were continued with unremitting vigour by *the Volunteer army,* now about 124,000, of whom upwards of 100,000 effectives. Besides nearly $^1/_3$ of the whole English army then Irish, ditto very many *sailors* Irish.

## (Portland's conduct in 1782 a *premeditated tissue of dissimulation!*)

*27 May 1782* Irish *House of Commons* met, pursuant to adjournment.

*Portland* in his quasi throne speech: "King and British Parliament ... are united in a desire *to gratify every* wish expressed in your late Address to the Throne.... By the papers which, in obedience to His Majesty's commands, I have directed to be laid before you, you will receive the most convincing testimony of the cordial reception which your representations have met with from the Legislative of Great Britain, but His Majesty whose first and most anxious wish is to exercise his Royal Prerogative in such a manner as may be most conducive to the welfare of his faithful subjects, has further given it me in command to assure you of his gracious disposition to give his Royal assent to acts to *prevent the suppression of Bills in the Privy Council of this Kingdom,* and the *alteration of them anywhere,* and *to limit the duration of the Act for the better Regulation and Accommodation of His Majesty's forces in this Kingdom, to the term of 2 years.* The benevolent intentions of His Majesty ... unaccompanied by any stipulation or condition whatever. The *good faith,* the *generosity,* and the honour of *this* (the English) nation, afford them the surest pledge of a corresponding disposition, on your part etc."[a]

## *Grattan* the fool rose at once:

"That as Great Britain had *given up every claim to authority over Ireland,* he had *not the least* idea that she should be also bound to make *any declaration that she had formerly usurped that power.* I move you to assure His Majesty of our unfeigned affection to His Royal Person and Government ... magnanimity of His Majesty, and the wisdom of the *Parliament of Great Britain,* that we conceive the *resolution for an unqualified,* unconditional repeal of the 6, George I, to be a measure of consummate wisdom and justice"

## and similar talk, and in particular

*"that no constitutional question between the two nations will any longer exist".*

*Sir Samuel Broadstreet* on the other hand declared: "The Irish Parliament actually sat at that moment under an English statute." Ditto *Flood, David Walsh:*

"I repeat it, that until England declares unequivocally, *by an Act of her own Legislature,* that she had no right, in any instance, to make laws to bind Ireland, the *usurped power of English Legislation* never can be considered by us as relinquished ... we have *the power* to assert our rights as men, and accomplish our independence as a nation."

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[a] For Portland's speech in Parliament on May 27, 1782, see H. Grattan, *The Speeches...,* Vol. I, p. 131.—*Ed.*

*Grattan's address was triumphantly carried* (*only 2 votes* against. The secretary Fitzpatrick had accelerated the vote by artifice).

*Beauchamp Bagenal* proposed to appoint committee "to consider and report what sum the Irish Parliament should grant, to build a suitable mansion and purchase an estate for their deliverer" (i.e. *Grattan*).

*The British Cabinet now frightened.* Their intolerance degenerated into fear. They had already signed the capitulation, and thought it impossible to carry it too soon into execution. America already lost.

Bills to enact the concessions demanded by Ireland were, therefore, prepared with an expedition nearly bordering on precipitancy. The *6th of George I,* declaratory of, and establishing the supremacy of England, and the eternal dependence of Ireland on the Parliament and Cabinet of Great Britain, was *now hastily repealed, without debate,* or *any qualification by the British Legislature.* This repeal obtained the royal assent, and a copy was instantly transmitted to the Irish Viceroy, and communicated by circulars to the Volunteer commanders.

*Chap. III: An Act, to repeal an Act made in the 6th year of the reign of his late Majesty King George I,* entitled, An Act for the better securing the *dependency of the* Kingdom of Ireland upon the *Crown of Great Britain.*

"Whereas, an Act was passed etc., may it please your excellent Majesty, that it may be enacted, and be it enacted, by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the passing of this Act, *the above-mentioned Act, and the several matters and things therein contained, shall be, and is, and are hereby repealed.*"

*Irish House of Commons, 30 May 1782.* Bagenal resumed the subject of reward to Grattan; proposed £100,000. *Mr. Thomas Conolly* declared that "the *Duke of Portland* felt with the Irish people ... he (the Lord Lieutenant) begged to offer, as a part of the intended grant to Mr. Grattan, the *Viceregal Palace in the Phoenix Park*"

—the King's best Palace in Ireland.

The Viceroy of Ireland proposing, on behalf of the King of England, to Grattan to reward his services for having emancipated his country from the domination of Great Britain, was an incident as extraordinary as had ever occurred in any Government, and, emanating from that of England, told, in a single sentence, the whole history of her horrors, her jealousies, her shallow artifice and humbled arrogance. Was, of course, rejected by the Irish House of Commons. Grattan got £50,000 from that House.

## II. FROM 1782 (AFTER THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE) TO 1795

*General remark on this period:* When Lord *Westmoreland* was removed from Ireland, in 1795, Ireland was in a *most unexampled and progressive state of prosperity.* Curran suggested even an intention to impeach Westmoreland for having permitted *a part of 12,000 troops* (which, according to stipulation, should always remain in Ireland) to be drafted out of that kingdom for foreign service.

### A) FROM 1782 TO 1783. (THE FIASCO OF THE REFORM BILL AND THE GREAT DEFEAT OF THE VOLUNTEERS)

*Irish House of Commons: Bills to ameliorate,* by partial concession, the *depressed state of the Catholics,* and some reward for their zeal and patriotism, *were introduced,* and *had arrived to their last stages* in *the House of Commons, without any effective opposition.* Opposed by bigotism in their latter stages, the Castle powers stirring on. *Those Bills relaxing the severity of the Penal Code passed however through both Houses.* The concessions [though] very limited, still afforded great satisfaction to the Catholics, as the first growth of a tolerating principle. *Grattan still believed in the Whigs.* But at length *Fox himself,* wearied by a protracted course of slow deception, at once confirmed the opinions of the Irish people, and openly proclaimed to Ireland the inadequacy of all the measures that had heretofore been adopted. He took occasion in the *British Parliament,* on the repeal of the 6th George I being there alluded to, to state

"*that the repeal of that statute could not stand alone,* but must be accompanied *by a final adjustment,* and by a solid basis of permanent connexion", that "some plans of that nature would be laid before the Irish Parliament by the Irish Ministers, and a *treaty* entered upon, which *treaty,* when proceeded on, might be adopted by both Parliaments, and finally become an *irrevocable arrangement between the two countries*".[a]

By that speech, the Irish delusion of a final adjustment was in a moment dissipated, the Viceroy's duplicity became indisputably proved.

Still *Flood* was feebly supported in Irish House of Commons, but [was supported] by the *Volunteers.*

*19 July 1782* Flood moved for leave to bring in a Bill "to *affirm the sole exclusive right of the Irish Parliament,* to make laws affecting that country, in all concerns *external* and *internal* whatsoever".[b]

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[a] H. Grattan, *The Speeches...,* Vol. I, pp. 148-51.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 145-46.—*Ed.*

Even the introduction of this Bill was negatived without division. Grattan!

On the other hand [Parliament] *passed* [the] foolish motion of Grattan:

"that leave was refused to bring in Mr. Flood's bill, because the sole and exclusive right to legislate for Ireland in all cases whatsoever, internally and externally, had been asserted by the Parliament of Ireland, and had been fully, finally and irrevocably acknowledged by the British Parliament"[a]

(which was *not* true). (Fox himself had declared the contrary!) *(Because of his scepticism Flood had been dismissed from his office of Vice-Treasurer.)*

*27 July 1782* the Parliament was prorogued. In the proroguing speech *Portland* stated amongst other things:

"*Your* claims were directed by the *same* spirit that gave rise and stability to the *liberty of Great Britain,* and could not fail of success, as soon as the councils of that Kingdom were influenced by the avowed friends of the Constitution.

"Convince the people in your several districts, as you are yourselves convinced, that every cause of past jealousies and discontents *is finally removed*; that both countries have *pledged* their *good faith* to each other, and their best security will be an *inviolable* adherence to *that compact*; that the implicit reliance which Great Britain has reposed on the honour, generosity, and candour of Ireland, engages your national character to a return of sentiments equally liberal and enlarged. Convince them that the two kingdoms are *now one,* indissolubly connected in *unity of constitution,* and *unity of* interests."[b]

*Marquis of Rockingham* died (1782). *Fox and Lord North Coalition.*

*Portland superseded by Earl Temple (who later became Marquis of Buckingham)* (his *Chief Secretary* his brother Mr., *afterwards Lord, Grenville*) *(15 September 1782-3 June 1783).* Temple made small reforms. Though he obtained no credit from the *body of the people,* he made considerable progress *amongst the aristocracy of the patriots* (Charlemont, Grattan etc.).

The *armed Volunteers* had now assumed a deliberative capacity: Paraded as soldiers and debated as citizens. More than 150,000 Volunteers now appeared upon the regimental muster-rolls. *Strong accession to them of Catholics.* They resolved no longer to obey, or suffer to be obeyed, any statute or law *theretofore* enacted in England, and to oppose their execution with their lives and fortunes. The magistrates refused to act under them, the judges were greatly embarassed, no legal causes could be proceeded on, under the authority of British Statutes, though naming Ireland, no counsel would plead them, no juries would find for them, the

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[a] Ibid., p. 166.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 170-72.—*Ed.*

operation of many important laws, theretofore in force, was necessarily suspended.

*Parliament divided between Flood and Grattan,* the latter (Whig spelt) always in the majority. This division of nation the British Administration wanted to foster. Baffled by the *injudicious conduct of some Members of the British Parliament.*

In the *House of Commons* (British) *Sir George Young* (Sinecure placeman in Ireland, although not Irish, viz. *Vice-treasurer of Ireland*) opposed the *Bill of Concession* to Ireland, and Repeal of 6, George I. Protested against the *Power* of King and Parliament *to pass such bills.* (He could not act against the will of the Ministers.)

*Lord Mansfield,* notwithstanding the repeal of 6, George I, proceeded to entertain, in the Court of King's Bench,[278] at Westminster, an appeal from the King's Bench of Ireland, observing that "he knew of no law *depriving* the British Court of its vested jurisdiction". The interest of money 5% in England, 6% in Ireland. Mansfield had placed very large sums of Irish mortgages to gain the additional 1%. Felt that they were not likely to gain any additional facilities by the appelant jurisdiction being taken from the British courts and transferred to Ireland herself: hence his reluctance to part with it.

*Lord Abingdon, in the House of Lords,* totally denied the authority of King and Parliament of England to emancipate Ireland; he moved for leave to bring in a Declaratory Bill to re-assert the right of England to legislate externally in the *concerns* of Ireland.

The Volunteers beat to arms throughout the whole kingdom; above 120,000 paraded. All confidence in Great Britain dissipated. Flood gained much ground amongst the people. Now *new panic of the British Ministry.* Without waiting for further and peremptory remonstrances from Ireland, they passed the following Statute:

## *Anno vicessimo tertio (1783) Georgii III. Regis*[a]

Ch. XXVIII. An Act for removing and preventing all doubts which have arisen, or might arise, concerning *the exclusive rights of the Parliament and Courts of Ireland, in matters of legislation and judicature; and for preventing any writ of error or appeal from any of His Majesty's Courts in that Kingdom from being received, heard, and adjudged, in any of His Majesty's Courts in the Kingdom of Great Britain.* Whereas ... doubts have arisen whether the provisions of the said (their last) Act are sufficient to secure to the people of Ireland the rights claimed by them, *to be bound only by laws enacted by His Majesty and the Parliament of that* Kingdom, in *all cases whatever* etc. etc. ... be it declared and enacted ... that the said right claimed by the *people of Ireland,* to be bound only by laws enacted by His Majesty and the Parliament of *that* Kingdom, in *all* cases whatever, and to have all actions and suits at law or in equity, which may be instituted in that Kingdom, decided in His Majesty's Courts therein finally, and

[a] The twenty-third regnal year (1783) of King George III (J. Mitchel, *The History of Ireland...,* Vol. I, p. 153).—*Ed.*

without appeal thence, shall be, and it is thereby declared to be *established* and *ascertained for ever,* and *shall, at no time hereafter, be questioned or questionable.*

And be it further enacted ... that no writ of error or appeal shall be received or adjudged, or any other proceeding be heard by or in any of His Majesty's Courts in this Kingdom, in any action or suit at law or in equity, instituted in any of His Majesty's Courts in the Kingdom of Ireland, etc. etc.

This measure brought into the British House of Commons by Mr. Townshend, passed through both Houses, and received the Royal assent without debate and with very little observation. In England held out a mere consequential *declaratory* part of a general constitutional arrangement entered into between the two nations. This measure came too late to satisfy the Irish people as to the purity of their *own Parliament.* It convinced them of either its inefficiency or corruption, or the *Renunciation Act of the British* Parliament *would have been quite unnecessary.* They had to *secure* their liberties. The Renunciation Act of Ireland had discredited the Irish Parliament with the Irish people.

Mr. Flood had become most prominent among the Irish patriots. Grattan his enemy. The discussion on the English Renunciation Act led to the conclusion of the necessity *to reform their own Parliament,* because, without its comprehensive Reform, there was no security against the instability of events and the duplicity of England.

Rotten borough system.[279] Many members of the Irish *House of Commons* nominated by individuals (borough-mongers) and *Peers,* who in this way voted by proxy in the House of Commons. The King constitutionally nominated Peers, and the Peers created Commoners. The representation of the people in the Commons was *purchased for money,* and the exercise of that representation was sold for office. These purchases made by servants of the executive Government, in trust, for the uses and purposes of its ministers to carry measures. The Volunteers had the facts sifted. One Peer nominated 9 Commoners etc. Many individuals openly *sold their patronage for money, to the best bidder,* others returned members at the nomination of the Viceroy or his Secretary; and it appeared that the number of representatives elected freely by the *people did not compose* $^1/_4$ *of the Irish Commons.* The Volunteers at length determined to *demand a reform of Parliament.* Delegates from several Volunteer regiments again assembled at Dungannon, to consider the expediency and means of an immediate reform of Parliament. Flood [had] great influence now. 300 delegates, men of great influence, many of them members of the House of Lords and the Commons chosen by different corps.

*10 November 1783* was *proclaimed for the first sitting of the Grand National Convention of Ireland at Dublin.* [The delegates] arrived there escorted by small detachments of Volunteers from their respective counties. *Rotunda* chosen as their place of meeting (vis-à-vis the magnificent dome of the *Commons' House of Parliament*). Bishop of Derry and Earl of Charlemont rivals for the presidency. The *British Ministers knew that if a reform of Parliament were effected in Ireland, it could not be long withheld from England.* Then the commercial jealousy of England. *Charlemont,* their fool. By intrigue he (supported by Grattan) [was] elected before the Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry, arrived. Collision in the Convention between Flood and the Bishop on one side, Charlemont and his friends on the other.

After much deliberation, a plan of reform, framed by Mr. Flood and approved by the Convention, was directed to be presented by him to Parliament forthwith, and the *sittings of the Convention were made permanent* till Parliament had decided the question. Mr. Flood obeyed his instructions, and moved for leave to bring in a Bill of reform of the Parliament. The Government knew that the *triumph of the Parliament* implied not only the destruction of the Convention, but of the Volunteers.

The Government refused leave to bring in Flood's Bill,[a] because it had originated from *their* (the Volunteers) deliberations. (*Yelverton* now Attorney-General.) (Furious speech of Fitzgibbon.)[b] Unprecedentedly violent debate. *Bill was rejected by 158 to 49; 158 of the majority were placemen* and the very *persons on whom the reform was intended to operate.* Ditto *158 placemen* who carried the *Union Bill* in 1800, which, if the Reform had succeeded, never could have been passed. An address to the King (moved by *Conolly*), offending against the Volunteers, carried.[c] *Earl Charlemont,* suppressing this news, told the Volunteers, he had received a note from the House of Commons, which left no hopes of a speedy decision, the Convention ought to adjourn till *Monday,*[d] then to decide upon ulterior measures, if the Bill should be rejected. He had secretly decided that they should meet no more. On the *Monday morning* he repaired to the Rotunda before the usual hour of sitting; only his own immediate partisans present. He adjourned the Convention *sine die.* When the residue of the

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[a] "A Bill for the More Equal Representation of the People in Parliament, November 29, 1783." See H. Grattan, *The Speeches...*, Vol. I, p. 191.—*Ed.*

[b] H. Grattan, *The Speeches...*, Vol. I, pp. 191-94.—*Ed.*

[c] J. Ph. Curran, *The Speeches...*, p. 38.—*Ed.*

[d] December 1, 1783.—*Ed.*

delegates came, the door closed, the Convention dissolved. The Bishop became now the popular man. Charlemont went down. He, a bigot, hated the Catholics, Bishop was quite the opposite. Exclusion on the one side, and toleration on the other became the theme of partisans. The dispute ran high. *The people began to separate.* This effected all the mischief the Government expected.

A *Northern Corps,* calling itself *"Bill of Rights Battalion",* says in Address to the Bishop among other things:

"The gloomy clouds of superstition and *bigotry,* those *engines of disunion,* being fled from the realm, the interests of Ireland can no longer suffer by a diversity of *religious persuasions.* All are united in the pursuit of one great object—the extermination of corruption from our Constitution; nor can your Lordship and your virtuous coadjutors, in promoting civil and *religious liberty,* be destitute of the aid of *all* professions."

Bishop answered in the same strain (dated *14 January 1784*): in conclusion he said:

"The hour is now come ... when Ireland must necessarily avail herself of her whole internal force to ward off foreign encroachments, or once more acquiesce under those encroachments, the better to exercise anew the tyranny of a *part* of the community over the dearest and inalienable rights of *others.* For one million of *divided* Protestants can never, in the scale of Human Government, be a counterpoise against 3 millions of united *Catholics.* But, gentlemen of the Bill of Rights Battalion, I appeal to yourselves, and summon you to consistency— *Tyranny is not Government,* and *Allegiance is only due to Protection.*"

The Government resolved (too impotent to act) to watch the progress of events. Many of the best patriots thought the Bishop's language too strong. The idea of coercing the Parliament very rapidly lost ground. No military language to Parliament etc.

The people were severed, but the Government remained compact; the Parliament was corrupted, the Volunteers were paralysed, and the high spirit of the Nation exhibited a rapid declension.

Weak ly foolish Charlemont, after the dissolution of the Convention, recommended a *Reform Bill* to be presented to Parliament, as emanating solely from *civil* bodies, unconnected with military character. Of course, the placemen, who had scouted the military Bill, because it was military, now rejected the civil Bill, because it was popular. Meetings of the Volunteers were suspended, their reviews continued, to amuse the languid vanity of their *deluded general.*

The *temperate* (bourgeois parliamentary) system now gained ground. The Volunteers of Ireland survived these blows for some years. The Whig orators (Grattan etc.) lost ground and influence.

*December 1783. Pitt* Minister. *Duke of Rutland* Viceroy (!)

### B) FROM THE END OF 1783 TO 1791 (FOUNDATION OF UNITED IRISHMEN)

*Pitt in England.*

*Duke of Rutland (Lord Lieutenant)* died *October, 1787.*

*Marquis of Buckingham* (formerly Earl of Temple) second time Viceroy *(16 December 1787-5 January 1790).*

*John Fane, Earl of Westmoreland* [Lord Lieutenant] (*Hobart,* afterwards Earl of Buckinghamshire, *Chief Secretary*) from 5 January 1790 onwards (until 1795).

In *Irish House of Commons* repeated attempts at *Reform* (Flood, Grattan, Curran etc.) failed.

*Place Bill, Pension Bill, Responsibility Bill, Inquiry into the Sale of Peerages* and into the *Police of Dublin* the most material measures pressed by the Opposition during *Westmoreland*'s Office, hence *after the Revolution of 1789* in France.

{The *Place, Pension and Responsibility Bills* proposed by Mr. Grattan, *acceded to by the Viceroy,* passed into laws. *Place Bill*—a bill to vacate the seats of members *accepting offices under Government,* omitting the term of *bona fide* offices, thereby leaving the Minister a power of packing the Parliament; this Bill one of the instruments of Castlereagh for carrying the Union.}

[Up] to 1790 all these things as also *Emancipation, Reform, Tithe questions* failed.

There was a steady decline of the Volunteer organisation, and of the strength of the Liberal party to 1790. We have Tone's word that when the French Revolution broke out, both *Catholic Committee* and *Whig Club*[280]—the *Emancipation* and *Reform* parties—were feeble and dispirited.[a]

*Irish House of Commons. February 14, 1785. Militia against Volunteers. Gardiner* {on behalf of the Minister, and, as Curran told him, "in hope of being rewarded, by being raised to a higher rank", became actually *Lord Mountjoy* by the Union} moved a grant of £20,000 for clothing the Militia. This motion was levelled at the Volunteers, and therefore violently debated. One of the reasons of its *being carried*—the fool-rogue[b] *Grattan* went with the Government. *Fitzgibbon,* the *Attorney-General,* said amongst other things *against Curran,* who opposed the Bill and defended the Volunteers: "he (Curran) poured forth a studied panegyric of the Volunteers.... I shall even entrust the defence of the *country* to ***gentlemen,*** *with the King's commission in their pockets,* rather than to his (Curran's) friends, the ***beggars*** in the streets."

*Orde's Propositions*[c] *and Regency Bills the things most important during this period as* ***international*** *questions between Ireland and*

[a] See Davis' "Memoir" in J. Ph. Curran, *The Speeches...*, p. XIX.—*Ed.*

[b] "The fool-rogue" was inserted by Marx.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx means Orde's propositions regarding the trade between Ireland and Great Britain made on February 11, 1785. See H. Grattan, *The Speeches...*, Vol. I, pp. 214-17.—*Ed.*

*England*; before speaking of them, we shall, however, allude still to a few other objects treated in Parliament during the period 1783-1791.

***Renewed efforts for reform*** made in *1784*. In consequence of a requisition, *Henry Reilly*, Sheriff of the County of Dublin, summoned his bailiwick to the court-house of Kilmainham for the *25 October 1784*, to elect members to a national congress. For this Mr. Reilly was attached by the King's Bench, on a crown motion, and on *the 24 February 1785* Mr. Brownlow moved a *vote of censure on the judges of that court*, for the attachment. Speech of Curran. Motion *rejected by 143 to 71*.[a]

Shows still a great independent minority.

PENSIONS, DISFRANCHISEMENT OF EXCISE OFFICERS, GOVERNMENT CORRUPTION

The endeavour to *regain by corruption* what was surrendered *to force*, began in 1782, and *increased greatly after the defeat of Orde's Propositions*.[281]

## *Pensions*

*Pensions, 13 March 1786. Irish House of Commons.* Bill of *Forbes to limit the amount of pensions.* Defeated, i.e., *adjournment* ad Calendas Graecas[b] carried. As *Curran* said [the] object of the Bill [was] to "*restrain the Crown* from doing wrong by a *physical necessity*". "The Pension List, like charity, covers a multitude of sins ... coming home to the members of this House ... the *Crown is laying a foundation for the independence of Parliament* ... they" (the members of this House) "will have *this security for their independence, that while any man in the kingdom has a shilling, they will not want one*" (Curran).

*12 March 1787.* (Forbes renewed his Bill for *limiting Pensions. Curran supported him. Orde,* Secretary. *Also failed.*)

"The King's authority" (here) "delegated first to a Viceroy, and next it falls to *a Secretary*, who can have no interest in the good of the people, no interest in future fame etc.... *What responsibility can be found or hoped for in an English Secretary?* ... A succession of men" (these Secretaries), "sometimes with heads, sometimes with hearts, oftener with neither" (Curran). "Where will you look for Orde's *responsibility as a Minister*? You will remember his *Commercial Propositions*" (Curran).

"A right honourable member opposes the principle of the Bill, as being in *restraint of the Royal Bounty*.... A gross and general application of the people's money to the encouragement of every human vice, is a crying grievance.... The pension list, at the best of times, was a scandal to this country; but the present abuses of it have gone beyond all bounds" (Curran).

"That unhappy list has been degraded by a new species of prostitution that was unknown before: the *granting of honours and titles, to lay the foundation for the grant of a pension;* the suffering any man to steal a dignity, for the purpose that a barren

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[a] See Davis' commentary in J. Ph. Curran, *The Speeches...*, p. 42.—*Ed.*

[b] Until the Greek calends.—*Ed.*

beggar steals a child. It was reducing the *honours of the State* from *badges of dignity* to *badges of mendicancy*" (Curran). The Bill would "*restrain* a *Secretary* from that *shameful profusion of the public treasure....* It is a law necessary as a *counterpoise of the Riot Act,* [...] *a penal law* adopted *from Great Britain, giving a new force to the executive magistrate.* It is a Bill to preserve the independence of Parliament" (Curran).

*11 February 1790. Irish House of Commons* (*government corruption* and *patriot opposition* proceeded, the public daily being more convinced that nothing *but a reform of the Commons* could save the Constitution of 1782 from the foul policy of the Ministers). *Forbes moved an address* describing and censuring *several recent pensions. Curran* supported it. *Motion rejected by 136 to 92.*

## *Government Corruption*

*House of Commons. 21 April 1789. Disfranchisement of Excise Officers' Bill. Bill rejected by 148 to 93.*

*Curran's prophecy* in his speech on that occasion was fulfilled. The English executive inflicted incompetent men and corrupt measures on Ireland, then *took advantage of her own crime* and our misfortunes to provincialise us, and *now uses these very events as arguments* **against our independence.** Curran said inter alia:

"The opposition to this measure [...] comes from the *avowed servants of the crown and of every administration* ... the men sent to grind us are, in general, the refuse of Great Britain.... Cart-loads of excise officers—revenue troops—collected from every corner of the nation, and taking possession of boroughs on the *eve of an election*" (Curran).

*House of Commons. 25 April 1789. Dublin Police.*

Sir *H. Cavendish* moved two resolutions to the effect that the *Dublin Police System* was attended with waste, and *useless patronage. Ministers opposed the Resolutions. Rejected by 132 to 78.*

*Curran* in support said among other things:

"Advantage had been taken of some disturbances *in 1784, to enslave the capital by a police.* A watch of old men, at 4d. per night, was naturally ineffectual."

*House of Commons. 4 February 1790. Stamp Officers' Salaries.* {*Curran* proposes to regulate, cut them down etc. *Rejected by 141 to 81.*} (This was one *means of government corruption.*) *Westmoreland* Viceroy, *Hobart* his Secretary.

*Curran* says inter alia: the *Earl of Temple* (afterwards *Marquis of Buckingham*) incensed because of his failure in *the Regency Bill* increased the *Revenue Board, the Ordnance,* £13,000 *addition to the infamous Pension List*; (Under Lord *Harcourt* compact [was] made that the *Board of Accounts* and the *management of the stamps* {stamp duties had been granted in Harcourt's times} should be executed by *one* board.) Buckingham separated them *in order to make places for members of Parliament.* "Two country members prying into stamps!" "In proportion as you rose by union, your tyrant became appalled: but when he divided, he sunk you, and you became debased." "I rise in an assembly of *300 persons, 100 of whom have places or pensions....* I am showing the danger that arises to our honour and our liberty, if we submit to *have corruption let loose among us* ... the people now are fairly told that it is lawful to rob them of their property, and divide the plunder among the honest gentlemen who sell them to the administration."

In his bold speech *Curran* alludes to the *French Revolution.*

*House of Commons. February 12, 1791. Government Corruption.* {New attempt of *Curran* to prove the impurities of Government.} *Curran's principal theme: "Raising*

*men to the peerage for money, which was disposed of to purchase the liberties of the people.*" "Miserable men introduced" (by these means) "into this House, like beasts of burden, to drudge for their employers." On the other hand "those introduced into the House of Lords, to frame laws, and dispose of the property of the Kingdom, under the direction of that corruption by which they have been raised".

"I have *proof*[a] ... that a *contract has been entered into by the present ministers to raise to the peerage certain persons, on condition of their purchasing a certain number of seats in this House.*"

*Curran* states: "During the whole of last session" *(1790)* "we have, in the name of the people of Ireland, demanded from them the *Constitution of Great Britain,* and it has been uniformly denied. We would have passed *a law to restrain the shameful profusion of a pension-list*—it was refused by a majority. We would have passed *a law to exclude persons,* who must ever be *the chattels of the government, from sitting in this House*—it was refused by a majority. *A bill to make some person, resident among you,* and *therefore amenable to public justice, responsible for the acts of your governors*—has been refused to Ireland by a majority of gentlemen calling themselves her representatives [...] This *uniform denial* ... proof to them" (*the people*) "that the *imputation of corrupt practices* is founded in fact."

The *vain attempt*—in 1790-91—of the Parliamentary Minority against *government corruption* proves on the one hand its increase, *on the other the influence of French Revolution of 1789.* It also shows why, at last, *foundation of United Irishmen* [took place] in *1791,* since all Parliamentary action proved futile, and the Majority of Parliament *mere tool in the hands of the Government.*

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ATTEMPTS OF GOVERNMENT AGAINST IRISH INDEPENDENCE REPELLED ON OCCASION OF ORDE'S COMMERCIAL PROPOSITIONS AND THE REGENCY BILL

## *a) Orde's Commercial Propositions. (Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant)*[282]

*In May, 1784,* Griffith proposed in *Irish House of Commons inquiry* in the commercial intercourse between *Britain and Ireland.* He desired to show that *Irish trade should be protected from English competition etc.*

Government took this proposal out of his hand.

*On 7 February 1785, Mr. Orde,* the Chief Secretary, announced, and on *11 February* moved *the 11 propositions on trade,* commonly called *the Irish*[a] *propositions* (in fact, of *English* origin).

There were 4 principles established in these propositions:

1) *Taxes on all goods,* foreign and domestic, passing between the 2 countries, should be equal

{placing England and Ireland on the *same footing,* to the ruin of the latter.}

[a] This word is underlined by Curran.—*Ed.*

2) *Taxes on foreign goods should always be higher than on the same articles produced in either island* (this sacrificed the realities of French, Spanish, and American trade then increasing, to the profits of English competition).

3) *That the regulations should be unalterable* (thus *abdicating legislation*).

4) *That the surplus of the hereditary revenue* (*hearth tax, and certain customs, and excises,* over £656,000 a year) should *be paid over to the English Treasury,* for the support of the *Imperial* (English) *navy.*

Yet this plan was proffered as a boon, a reciprocity plan; Orde (in contrast to Flood) hurried the Commons on to seize upon it, because otherwise the *jealousy of the English monopolists* might be awakened. The thing was a favour—to be *paid for by £140,000 of new taxes,* asked and voted in return for it.

On *the 22nd of February 1785* Pitt moved the Resolution in *British House of Commons* which declared that Ireland should be allowed the advantages (i.e. *competition*) of British Commerce as soon as she had *"irrevocably"* granted to England an *"aid"* (i.e. *tribute*) for general defence. North and the Tories, Fox and the Whigs—

as a party manoeuvre—

*saw in English jealousy to Ireland* a sure resource against the "heaven born Minister". Fox obtained adjournments, and *all England "spoke out",* from Lancashire to London, from Gloucester to York. Pitt sounded a parley. He submitted to some of their terms; *retained all that was adverse to the Irish Constitution,* suffered the loss of all that could by any ingenuity be serviceable to Irish trade. *Returned the Act thus approved of by him in the form of 20 English propositions.*

The 11 propositions had been increased in England to 20, each addition a fresh injury. *Half the globe,* namely, all between Magellan and Good Hope, was (articles 3 and 9) *interdicted to Ireland's ships: interdicts were also laid on certain goods.* The *whole customs legislation of Ireland* was taken away by clauses which forced her (art. 4) to *enact (register) all navigation laws passed or to be passed by England*; (art. 5 and 8) to *impose all the colonial duties that England did*; (art. 6 and 7) to *adopt the same system in custom-houses that England did*; and finally (art. 17 and 18) to *recognise all patents and copyrights granted to England.*

*Irish House of Commons. 30 June 1785: Orde moves the adjournment of the House till Tuesday fortnight.* Curran opposes this. Adjournment is carried. *Curran* says:

"When we had the 11 propositions before us, we were charmed with them. Why?—because we did not understand them. Yes, the endearing word *reciprocity* rang at every corner of the streets."

*23 July 1785. Orde* moves new adjournment; Curran opposes; adjournment carried.

*11 August 1785.* Curran asks *Orde* what has become of *the 11 propositions "as of them only that Parliament could treat".* They were "proposed *as a system of final and permanent commercial adjustment between the 2 kingdoms".* "As a *compensation* for the expected advantages of this system, we were called upon

{and they did so!}

to impose £140,000 a year on this exhausted country." "We *submitted.*" "We have oppressed the people with a load of taxes, as a compensation for a commercial adjustment: we have not got that adjustment."

*Curran* plainly threatened that the people would take revenge against the persons who, in a thin House, would accept the 20 propositions after the adjournment. He threatened that such a

demand for surrender of the Constitution would be answered not merely "by words". All this is taken from Curran's speech of 23 July.[a]

*12 August 1785. Orde moved his Bill* (the *20 propositions*). Opposed by *Grattan, Flood, Curran. Leave to bring in the Bill carried by 127 to 108* (=19 votes: this showed that the Bill would be rejected).

*Curran:* "The commercial part of it" (the Bill) "is out of the question: for this Bill portends a surrender of the Constitution and the liberties of Ireland.... I fear the British Minister is mistaken in the temper of Ireland, and judges of it by former times. *Formerly the business here was carried on by purchase of majorities* ... things have changed. The people are enlightened and strong, *they will not bear a surrender of their rights,* which would be the consequence, if they submitted to this Bill. It contains a *covenant to enact such laws as England should think proper: they would annihilate the Parliament of Ireland. The people here must go to the bar of the English House of Commons for relief;* and for a circuitous trade to England, we are accepting a circuitous constitution.... A power to bind externally, would involve a power to bind internally. This law gives the power to Great Britain, of judging what would be a breach of the compact, of construing it; in fact, of taxing us as she pleased; while it gives her new strength to enforce our obedience. In such an event we must either sink into utter slavery, or the people must *wade to a re-assumption of their rights through blood, or be obliged to take refuge in a Union, which would be the annihilation of Ireland,* ***and what, I suspect, the Minister is driving at***[b].... *Civil war or a Union at best.*"

*15 August 1785: Orde,* on presenting the Bill, *abandoned it for the session, and for ever.* Thereupon *Flood* moved: "Resolved—*That we hold ourselves bound not to enter into any engagement to give up the sole and exclusive right of the Parliament of Ireland to legislate for Ireland in all cases whatsoever, as well externally as commercially and internally.*" *Curran* supported him. Flood withdrew his motion, the House adjourned, and *Orde's Propositions merged in a secret design for the Union.*

## *b) Regency Bill (1789)*[283]

*George III mad for some time,* concealed, in *the end of 1788* could no longer be hid. In the ministers' *draft of the address in answer to the Lord Lieutenant (Buckingham) (he had again become Viceroy in December 1787),* they praised themselves.

*Irish House of Commons. February 6, 1789.* Grattan moved amendment, substituting a general expression of loyalty. *Curran* spoke in support. "Every man sees the *change of public administration that is approaching.*"

(People thought that Fox would become Minister under the Prince of Wales.[a])

"It has been delayed and opposed by a party in another kingdom. Upon what principle of wisdom or justice can Ireland enlist herself in that opposition etc?"

*Grattan's amendment was carried without a division* although he called Buckingham *"a jobber in a mask"*

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[a] This sentence is in German in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[b] The words "or be obliged to ... is driving at" are italicised by Curran.—*Ed.*

*(Fitzherbert Buckingham's Chief Secretary),*

so prostrated was the Castle at the prospect of the *Prince's Regency, with Fox as Premier.*

*February 11, 1789:* Ministers tried to postpone the discussion on the Regency. Their *avowed motive* to have from England the *Resolutions* of the British Parliament, appointing the Prince *Regent of Great Britain with limited powers.* These resolutions passed on *23 January,* accepted by Prince on *31st January,* but had not reached the Irish Government. *The postponement was refused by the House.* Conolly then *moved an address to be presented to Prince,* as *Prince Regent of Ireland with full kingly powers. Motion passed without a division.*

*February 12, 1789.* Conolly moved the address. *February 17* concurrence of Lords brought up and agreed to. On *19 February* presented to *Buckingham. He refused to transmit it. February 20, 1789* agreed to transmit it *by deputation.* Vote of censure against Buckingham.

*February 27, 1789.* Deputation (Conolly, O'Neil, etc.) deliver a letter to the Commons with answer of Prince Regent, thanking "warmly" the Irish Parliament.

*March 20, 1789.* Still more fervent letter of the Prince Regent, announcing his father's recovery, read in the Irish House of Commons.

*Pitt,* to maintain his power, *had defended and carried in England,* the *right of election of the Regent,* hence the right to *restrain his power.*

The Irish in this case maintained the common Constitution against the oligarchic and ministerial encroachments of Pitt.

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There are for this *lapse of time* two things still to be considered,

1) the *Tithe Riots* etc., showing the state of the Catholic Irish peasantry at that time, and

2) *The Dublin Lord Mayor election,* showing the *influence of the French Revolution upon the (into the bargain Protestant) Irish middle-class.*

## *1) Tithe Riots etc.*
## *English Riot Act Introduced in Ireland*[284]

*Irish House of Commons. January 19, 1787. Outrages in the South. Disturbances in the South caused by the misery of the people, Tithes, Rents, absenteeism,*[285] *bad tenures, harsh treatment* etc.

*Towards the close of the 18 century* (since end of *1791*) *political parties united themselves* with the peasants *(the republicans of the North).*

*1786.* In the Lord Lieutenant's Opening Speech, he referred to the "frequent outrages" (*"Right Boys"* of Kilkenny, who were bound amongst each other *by*

*oath*[286]). Yet the *only Bill on disturbances* brought in by Government was a *Dublin Police Bill,* against which the City petitioned.

*1787* Viceroy's speech referred much more positively to the *Southern outrages,* and the debates on the *Address* in reply to it [were] violent. During this debate the *government party* (*Fitzgibbon* for instance) treated the disturbances as *against the clergy, accused the landlords of grinding the people, and abetting the disturbances, and asked for fresh powers.*

*House of Commons. 19 January 1787. Fitzgibbon,* in [his] speech (1787) said the disturbances commenced in *Kerry,* the people assembled in a mass-house, there took an *oath to obey the laws of Captain Right.* Soon spread through the province of Munster. Their objects the *tithes,* then to *regulate the price of lands,* to *raise the price of labour,* and *to oppose the collection of hearth-money and other taxes.* "I am very well acquainted with the province of Munster, and I know that it is impossible for human wretchedness *to exceed that of the miserable peasantry in that province. I know that the unhappy tenantry are ground to powder by relentless landlords*[a]—far from being able to give the clergy their just dues, they *have not food or raiment for themselves,* the *landlords grasp the whole;* and ... not satisfied with the present extortion, some landlords have been so base as to *instigate the insurgents to rob the clergy of their tithes,* not in order *to alleviate the distresses of the tenantry,* but that *they might add the clergy's share to the cruel rack-rents already paid.... The poor people of Munster live in a more abject state of poverty than human nature can be supposed able to bear*—their miseries are intolerable, but they do not originate with the clergy: nor can the legislature stand by and see them take the redress into their own hands. *Nothing can be done for their benefit while the country remains in a state of anarchy.*"

*Longfield,* a County Cork Gentleman, stated that the disturbances were exaggerated, though the distress was not. He accused the government of looking for a year at the disturbances, for a political purpose.

*Curran moved an amendment* to the address (withdrawn without a division). *Said* inter alia:

"Cease to utter idle complaints of inevitable effects, when you yourselves have been the causes ... the patience of the people has been totally exhausted; their grievances (have long) been the empty song of this House, but no productive effect has ever followed. The *non-residence of the landholders,* the *tyranny of intermediate landlords. You denied the existence of the grievance,* and *refused redress....* No wonder that the peasantry should be ripe for rebellion and revolt.... Not a single man of property or consequence connected with the rebels....

"You were called on solemnly ... for a *proper reformation in the representation of the people: did you grant it?* No; and how does it at present stand? Why, Sir, *seats* in *this House are bought and sold. They are set up to public sale; they have become an absolute article of commerce—a traffic of the constitution....* Saleable rotten boroughs. As they have bought the people for a sum of money, it is natural they should sell them.... The peasantry have formed hopes of relief.... *People, when oppressed,* [...] *though oppressed by law,* will make reprisals; and these are the real causes of the disturbances. System of vile jobbing extends to *commissions of the peace (24 commissions of the peace sent down to the County of Clare in one post)* and to the sheriffs. You may talk of commerce expanding ... but what, in God's name, have they to do with the wretched peasantry?"

*House of Commons. 19 February 1787. "Right Boy Bill".* One clause of the Government, [which was] abandoned, was *directing magistrates to demolish mass-houses*

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[a] The passage "to exceed that of ... relentless landlords" is italicised by Davis.—*Ed.*

*at which combinations shall be found, or unlawful oaths administered. Curran resisted the Bill altogether:*

*Curran:* "The people are too much raised by a consciousness of their strength and consequence to be proper *objects of so sanguinary a code as that now proposed....*" He alludes to pamphlet of *Dr. Woodward, Bishop of Cloyne,* in defence of *tithes* "tending manifestly to *revive the dissensions from which we had so recently emerged, and to plunge us into the barbarism from which we were emerging, or, perhaps to imbrue us in the bloodshed of a religious war".... (The Bill was committed by 192 to 31.)*

*20 February 1787.* Discussion of the same Bill, by which *a Riot Act passed. O'Neill moved to limit it to Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Tipperary. (Limiting motion rejected by 176 to 43.)* In the Bill Todesstrafe—capital punishment—for tendering an oath etc.

"I fear," said Curran, "that, as the *coercion is so great,* and as *no means are taken for the relief of the poor, rebellion will go in the dark ... until the whole Kingdom set in a flame.*"

*13 March 1787. Tithes.* Grattan having moved a resolution that if tranquillity were restored, at the opening of the next session, the *House would consider the Tithe Question.* ***Motion lost, without a division.*** *Curran* supported Grattan's Motion.

*Curran:* "*A law of pains and penalties* severe beyond all example of any former period.... The offence was local and partial ... the causes of such offence were universal.... *The abject and miserable state of the peasantry of Ireland.* The Secretary" *(Englishman!)* "declares he is *a stranger to their distresses,* and will *not hold out any hope that they should be ever considered by the Parliament!*" ..."The honourable gentlemen could not let the Riot Act pass without accompanying it with an express disavowal of all intention to alleviate, or even at any period, however distant, to listen to their complaints." "Who are to execute it" *(that law)*? "That very *body of men in the class above the peasants,* who have been represented as adverse to the rights of the clergy, and are said to have connived at these offences." ... "But whatever may be the *idea of an English Secretary,* this House must be too wise to say that *inveterate evils can receive any sanction from any length of time.*"

## *2) Election of Lord Mayor of Dublin (1790)*[287]

*Disputed election for the Mayoralty of Dublin,* connected with the attempt of the English Government to *govern or provincialise Ireland by corruption.* Hence the burgesses of Dublin pledged themselves in their guilds not to return any one as Lord Mayor or Member of Parliament for the city, *who held a place or pension from the Government.* Alderman *James* was a *Police Commissioner.* Under the old Corporation laws the *Lord Mayor and Aldermen* sat and voted in one chamber, the *Sheriff and Common Councilmen in a second. 16 April 1790* the former chose Alderman James as mayor elect for the ensuing year, the Common Council rejected him. *Seven* other names afterwards sent down were similarly rejected. Then the *Common Council* elected *Alderman Howison; Napper Tandy* led the popular party. The *Aldermen* repeated their election of *James.* This dispute came before the *Privy* Council, where *Curran* pleaded for the Common Council. *Privy Council decided for a new election.* Aldermen re-elect *James* and Councilmen *Howison.* This whole process, with interference of the *Privy Council,* repeated several times.

*On 10 July 1790 Curran* pleads for the Common Council before the *Privy Council,* presided by Fitzgibbon (became *Lord Chancellor,* and Lord *Clare,* in *June 1789.*)

He flagellated that fellow masterly.

Privy Council decided for *James*, he resigned, on *5th August 1790 Howison* chosen by the *Aldermen*, approved by the *Common Council* and *Privy Council*. Thus this struggle ended in *utter defeat of the Government*.

On *16 July*, in the Common Council, *Napper Tandy* carried 17 Resolutions censuring the Privy Council, Aldermen, and summoned meeting of freemen and freeholders[288] at the Exchange. This meeting held on *20 July, Hamilton Rowan* in the chair, adjourned to *3d August*, after appointing a committee to prepare a state of facts.

*3d August* that *State of Facts* read, and *James's resignation* was announced.

*Sir E. Newenham* denounced Fitzgibbon, who on *24 July* had in *House of Peers* made audacious speech, where he read a Resolution *of the Whig Club*[289] and attacked them, until *Lords Charlemont and Moira* avowed the Resolution. *(Whig Club founded in Dublin, summer 1789.)*

*Whig Club*, [which] met on *2d August, drew up a Report against Fitzgibbon.*

*Fitzgibbon* had become so unpopular, that the guild of merchants, who had, in the previous winter, voted him an address in a gold box, for services to their trading interests, expunged the resolutions on 13 July, 1790, as "disgraceful".

*From the above-quoted "State of Facts", August 3, 1790. (Aggregate meeting of the citizens of Dublin, held at the Royal Exchange.)* Among other things it said:

"That we do acknowledge, that for the last 10 or 11 years the citizens of Dublin did take an active part for the liberty of their country etc. etc.;

"that we do acknowledge [that] the freedom of the City of Dublin [was] refused to His Excellency etc. the Earl of Westmoreland etc.;

"that we do not deny that many among us did, on a former occasion, *favour the scheme of Protective Duties* etc.;

"that we do acknowledge to have expressed our approbation of the conduct of the minority of the late Parliament in the last session ... that those measures had no other view, meaning or object, save corruption only: ... that the nation was told by a very high authority *(Fitzgibbon)* ... that in order to defeat an opposition in Parliament, this nation had been, in the Administration of the Marquis of Townshend, bought in by the Government, and sold by the Members of Parliament for half a million, and that if opposition continued to the present Administration, this nation must be bought and sold again etc. etc."

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The Judges, dependent on the Crown, the Army independent of Parliament, the Legislature at the feet of the British Attorney-General, and the people bound by the laws of Scotch and English Delegates. {The two last points apply to the period before 1782.}

### C) FROM OCTOBER 1791 TO COMMENCEMENT OF APRIL 1795 (LORD FITZWILLIAM'S RECALL AND REPLACEMENT BY LORD CAMDEN)

{*From October 1791 to 4 January 1795. (Arrival of Fitzwilliam.) Continuation of Lord Westmoreland's Government.* (His Secretary *Major Hobart.*)}

*French events during this time: 1793.* Duke of York, *8 September* thrashed by *Houchard, has to abandon the siege of Dunkirk,* Dutch and English thrown back into Flanders.[a] The allies were repulsed on the *Upper Rhine,* towards the *end of December* they had to abandon the whole territory as far as Worms. The Republicans were victorious in the *South and West* of France as well. In *October 1793* they subdued the rebellious Lyons and in *December 1793* the English-held *Toulon,* drove the Spanish over the Pyrenees and attacked them on their own territory.

*1794. 18 May,* Moreau and Souham won a total victory over the Duke of York at Tourcoing.

*26 June* 2nd battle of Fleurus (Jourdan). Belgium quickly conquered. The leaders of the English and Dutch troops were compelled to think only of the defence of the Netherlands.

*October and November* the Dutch lost all their frontier fortresses.

*October* Jourdan compelled the Austrians to abandon the entire left bank of the Rhine up to Mainz, *26 October* he entered Coblenz. On the entire left bank of the Rhine, only Mainz and Luxembourg remained in the hands of the allies.

*27 December Pichegru* in Holland.

*1795. 20 January 1795* Pichegru's entry into Amsterdam. *Batavian Republic.*

*September* Düsseldorf in *Jourdan's* hands, Mannheim in Pichegru's. The Austrians had to withdraw across the Main. *Clairfait* defeated the French army at Mainz on *29 October.* Pichegru and Jourdan had to retreat. *An armistice towards the end of the year. Moreau* was given the command of the Rhine army.

*At the beginning of 1795* a peace treaty with the leaders of the Vendée. (The Peace of La Mabilois.) Pitt landed an émigré army at *Quiberon on 27 June 1795* etc. *On 20 July it was crushed* by Hoche etc.[290]

{*February and March 1796* Stofflèt, Charette etc. were court-martialled and executed by firing-squad. *July 1796* he [Hoche] reported to the Directory that the civil war in the West had been brought to an end.}

*1796, 1797.* Bonaparte in Italy.

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[a] The next passage, up to and including the words "*1796, 1797.* Bonaparte in Italy", is in German in the manuscript.— *Ed.*

*First United Irishmen* Society founded by *Theobald Wolfe Tone* in *October 1791.*[291]

Their avowed (and by the mass of the *Societies* alone wished for) objects were *Union between Catholics and Protestants,* perfect *Emancipation for the Catholics* (*Belfast* had proposed this already *in 1783*) and *Popular Representation for the men* of both creeds. (*Tone* and others of the leading men for *independent Republic.* Without the cruelty of Government they would have been *overruled* by the Whigs, and outvoted in the Societies.)

*The Belfast Society met publicly, as did all the United Irish Societies until 1794.* The Catholics, on their part, were rapidly advancing in political spirit and information.

## *Keogh* and the leading (not aristocratic and Whiggish) Catholics were *United.*

The Confederation extended to *Dublin,* received the support of the leading citizens, and of *many of the Volunteer Corps.* Its chief organ was *The Northern Star*: the first number of this paper, printed *4 January 1792* (manager *Samuel Neilson*), occupied itself chiefly with French politics. *The Evening Star* appeared in Dublin soon after, but *The Press* did not commence until *28 September 1797.*

## Returning now to *Westmoreland*'s Administration, we remark that *Catholic Emancipation* and *Parliamentary Reform* were the two cries!

*Irish House of Commons. 18 February 1792. Catholic Emancipation.*

These proceedings began by the presentation of a petition *from the Protestants of County of Antrim* for the Bill.

## Some small thing was proposed by Grattan. (Rejected.)

*Curran.* "At Cork, the present Viceroy was pleased to reject a most moderate and modest petition from the Catholics of that city. The next step was to create a division amongst the Catholics themselves: the next was to hold them up as a body formidable to the English Government, and to their Protestant fellow-subjects.... It is not a question merely of the sufferings or their relief—it is *a question of your own preservation* ... a partial liberty cannot long subsist ... alienation of 3 millions of our people, subserviency and corruption in a fourth ... *the inevitable consequence would be an Union with Great Britain.* And if any one desires to know what that would be, I will tell him. *It would be the emigration of every man of consequence from Ireland*; it *would be the participation of British taxes, without British trade;* it *would be the extinction of the Irish name as a people* etc."

The petition for the Catholics *rejected with indignation,* by 208 to 23. This rejection inflamed the Catholics.

### DOINGS OF CATHOLICS, UNITED IRISHMEN AND ADMINISTRATION UNTIL CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL OF 1793[292]

In *March, 1792,* the *Catholic Committee,*[293] or rather *Convention* (for it was a body of delegates) met, and *Tone* was named its secretary. The agitation by means of these societies became most vigorous. The shining[a] progress of the French

[a] In his "Memoir" Davis has "stirring". See J. Ph. Curran, *The Speeches...*, p. XXI.—*Ed.*

Revolution, and the organisation of the political societies in England and Scotland[294] aided them. The United Irishmen increased in number, the Catholics in confidence, and the Volunteer Corps began to restore their array, and improve their discipline. The ministry grew alarmed. "In *December* (1792) the Catholics thundered out their demands ... they were supported by all the spirit and intelligence of the Dissenters.[295] *Dumouriez was in Brabant*—Holland was prostrate before him." *(Wolfe Tone.)*

*7 December 1792. Government Proclamation against all seditious meetings*: In this proclamation we read: "The *first battalion of National Guards* were to have paraded, clothed like Frenchmen etc." This proclamation answered by the *United Irishmen.*

*16 December 1792, Rowan* (of Dublin) Chairman, when the address was voted, Dr. *Drennan* wrote it.

The main content of this proclamation,[a] on account of which Rowan and Drennan were prosecuted, was: 1) It called the *Volunteers to arms:*

"To your formation was owing the peace and protection of this island; to your relaxation has been owing its relapse into impotence and insignificance. 2) Elective franchise to the whole body of the people ... reform in representation. 3) *Universal Emancipation* and representative legislature, in these 4 words lies all our power.... We, therefore, wish for *Catholic Emancipation without any modification,* but still we consider this necessary enfranchisement as nearly the portal to the temple of national freedom.... The *Catholic cause* is subordinate to *our cause,* and included in it; for, as *United Irishmen,* we adhere to no sect, but to society—to no party, but the whole people, ... were it (Catholic Emancipation) obtained tomorrow, tomorrow would we go on as we do today, in the pursuit of that Reform, which would still be wanting to ratify their liberties as well as our own. 4) For both these purposes it appears necessary that *provisional conventions* should assemble preparatory to the convocation of the Protestant Convention (this then to communicate with the Catholic Committee or Convention in Dublin).... If a Convention on the one part does not soon follow, and is not soon connected with that on the other, the *common cause* will *split* into *the partial interest*—the people will relapse into inattention and inertness—too probably, *some local insurrections, instigated by the malignity of our common enemy, may commit the character,* and *risk the tranquillity of the island...* The *15th of February approaches....*[296] Let parochial meetings be held as soon as possible; let each parish return delegates; let the sense of Ulster be again declared from *Dungannon....* Citizen Soldiers etc." (This address was issued in meeting at a *fencing school,* Dublin, several corps of Volunteers with their side-arms going there, as well as *Napper Tandy* etc.)

In *December 1792* Rowan was arrested on an information and admitted to bail.[b]

The prosecution of the *"Northern Star" of Belfast* for publishing the *Declaration* and *Address* of the "*Irish Jacobins* (name of the society) *of Belfast*" on *15 December 1792.*

The *Declaration* of the *"Irish Jacobins"* says among other things:

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[a] Marx means the proclamation "The Society of United Irishmen at Dublin. To the Volunteers of Ireland" quoted according to Davis' commentary in J. Ph. Curran, *The Speeches...*, pp. 154-55. The division of the text into points is by Marx.—*Ed.*

[b] The following two sentences are in German in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

## *Declaration*

"1st) Resolved—That this Kingdom (meaning the Kingdom of Ireland) has no *national government*, inasmuch as the great mass of the people are not represented in Parliament. [...] 3d) That the people of Ireland can never effectually constitute their own laws, without an extension of the elective franchise to all its citizens. 4th) That the elective franchise can never be obtained without a cordial, steady, and persevering union of all the Irish people of every denomination. 5) That the penal code of statutes which have for upwards of a century doomed our fellow-citizens, the Roman Catholics of this Kingdom, to a *state little inferior to the unlettered African*, is a disgrace to the land we live in. [...] 7) That to obtain this most desirable end (natural rights of men) we entreat our fellow-citizens of every denomination in Ireland, England, and Scotland, to turn their thoughts to a *National Convention*, in order to collect the sense of the people as to the most effective means of obtaining a *radical and complete Parliamentary reform*, an object without which these kingdoms must for ever remain wretched etc."

## *"Address. The Irish Jacobins of Belfast to the Public"*

Among other things: "Where the mode of government is not derived from all the people clearly expressed, that nation has no constitution; need we say this is the case with Ireland; it possesses only an acting government [...]: in such a government the supreme authority has more power to oppress the subject than to defend his rights.... *Out of 5 millions of people* (meaning the Irish people) *90 individuals actually return a majority of the House of Commons*, who instead of representing the voice of the nation, are influenced by *English interests*, and *that aristocracy whose baneful exertions* have ever tended to sap the vital principles etc. of this unhappy and wretched country.... By unanimity and perseverance this divided land will be liberated *from the shackles of tyranny.... It is by procuring a renovated representation that liberty will be established in this country; this can only be accomplished by a National Convention.* The *Roman Catholics* are already convened; let the *Protestants follow their peaceful example.*" [297]

*15 February 1793: Volunteer Convention*, said to represent 1,250,000 people, met at *Dungannon*, passed resolutions in favour of *Emancipation* and *Reform*, and named *a permanent Committee.* This, doubtless, assisted *the carrying of the Relief Bill*, but it made the Ministry resolve *to crush the Protestants, while it conciliated the Catholics.*

*Irish House of Commons. 10 January 1793.* Lord Westmoreland opens Parliament [with a speech]. Complained of the *discontent of Ireland*, but said nothing of the *corruption, extravagance*, and *alien policy of ministers.* It complained of *the invasion of Holland* by France, but was silent of the European conspiracy against the Republic. It recommended *a relaxation of Catholic fetters*, but *not the motives*: English declaration of war against France, Custine had conquered the Rhine (21 October 1792), *Dumouriez's* battle of *Jemappes* (6 November 1792) and annexation of *Belgium.* The speech also stated that *Government* had *increased the military establishment*, and recommended the *formation of a militia.* This last was *a stroke against the Volunteers.* The Address moved was echo to the speech, Grattan moved a trivial amendment.

Catholics had acquired spirit and organisation by *Wolfe Tone, Keogh, Byrne, Todd Jones* and *M'Cormick.* The *Catholic Committee negotiated with the Government*, the

successes of France compensated them for the *baseness of their* [Catholic] *aristocracy.* Supported by the *United Irishmen.*

In opposition to the *Catholic Committee* and the *United Irishmen,* the Ministry stimulated Protestant bigotry and Catholic division. Out of doors they got *the exclusive Corporation of Dublin* to address the other Irish Corporations against Emancipation, and they intrigued with the *Aristocracy* (lay and clerical) *of the Catholics.* In Parliament they found the relics of the old exclusion Party.

*11 January 1793: Curran supported Grattan's amendment which was carried.*

"Parliament has become *unpopular in the country....* How could the credit of Parliament survive its independency? ...More than half of us have no connexion with the people.... The disunion of the people from this House raises from this—the people are not represented. And to restore the Union ... wanted a *radical Reform of the Commons....* Without them (the Catholics) the country cannot be saved. *Give them no qualified Emancipation.... A hated Government, an unpopular Parliament,* a *discontented people.... The Catholic Petition* (1792) *has been rejected by the influence of the Irish Administration.*"

*Early in January 1793*[a] Curran unsuccessfully resists the Attorney-General's motion for the committal of M'Donnell, the printer of the *Hibernian Journal,* for publishing that the House was not free and independent.

*On January 14, 1793* (so persuasive were French victories) Grattan *obtained a Committee of the Whole House on Parliamentary Representation,* and moved resolutions [pointing out] among other things that of the *300 members only 84* [are] returned by counties, counties of towns and cities, together with the University, while the remaining *216* [are] returned by boroughs and manors. Finis: "Resolved—*That the state of the representation of the people in Parliament requires amendment.*"

*Curran* supported this. He said:

"The *Catholic Question must precede a Reform.* Their place in the state must be decided first.... *Ireland feels, that without an immediate Reform her liberty is gone.*"

*Motion lost by 71 to 153.*

But the *Opposition* had *already yielded* to the Ministers *Indemnity for their violent Proclamations* against *the Republican Volunteers*: they had *consented to the Militia and Gunpowder Bills,* and therefore the Resolutions were resisted.

*11 March 1793* another *Government Proclamation,* forbidding *military societies,* drilling, and the *whole Machinery of the Volunteers, without naming them.*

*April 1793: Relief Bill* of the Catholics passed, admitting Catholics to the *franchise,* the bar, the University, and to *all the rights of property;* but *excluding them from Parliament,* from *State Offices,* and from all, indeed, *that the Bill of 1829 conceded.*[298]

## The Bill of 1793 was brought in 10 *days after* the declaration of war against France.[b]

The *same Parliament* which passed the *Relief Bill,* passed the *Alien Act, the Military Foreign Correspondence, Gunpowder, and Convention Acts,* in fact, a *full code of coercion* and a *Secret Committee.* It got *20,000 Regulars* and *16,000 Militia.*

*Convention Bill:*

"*A law,*" says Curran, "*not to restrain but to promote insurrection.*" The law declares that no body of men may delegate a power to any smaller number, to act, think, or petition for them.

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[a] According to Davis, on January 29, 1793. Cf. his commentary in J. Ph. Curran, *The Speeches...,* p. 152.—*Ed.*

[b] On February 21, 1793.—*Ed.*

This [is] in fact a bill to prevent assemblies of the people to petition against grievances. According to the Convention Act it is a *high misdemeanour* in any part of the people to *assemble* for the purpose of choosing any persons to act for them in framing petitions or other representations for the producing of any change in anything established by law. It was intended to put an end to societies formed and forming, in 1793, for the purpose of procuring a *Parliamentary Reform. (Cobbett.)*[299]

Thus armed, the Government commenced its crusade of prosecuting and persecuting, and obtained fresh laws from time to time, and, after the truce of 1795, drove the quarrel to an Insurrection and to the Union.

*1794.* The agitation continued. (Government prosecutions against Volunteers, United Irishmen etc.) The *United Irishmen Society* was changed into a *secret and secretly organised body.* The Catholics still laboured; the French had conquered; their Government aroused by the *Irish Jacobin Resolutions of Belfast,* and the suggestions of some Irish patriots, bethought themselves to assist the discontented Irish to effect a separation. *Rev. Jackson* sent there as an agent, put himself in communication with Tone. Betrayed; arraigned for treason (after arrest), hanged.

*29 January 1794, Curran* as defender of *Rowan:*

"But now, if any aggregate assembly meets, they are censured; if a printer publishes their resolutions, he is punished; rightly, to be sure, in both cases, for it has been lately done. If people say, let us not create tumult, but meet in delegation, they cannot do it ... the law of last session has for the first time declared such meetings to be a crime."

*The informer system is flourishing.*

FROM 4 JANUARY 1795 TO THE END OF MARCH 1795.
LORD FITZWILLIAM

*4 January 1795, Lord Fitzwilliam,*

*Whig, who had opposed Pitt,*

[was] sent by him to Ireland, charged with the *carrying of Catholic Emancipation* (and *Reform Bill*), and pacification of Ireland. The apparent causes [were] the *rapid progress of the United Irishmen and the French armies,* who had driven the Spaniards behind the Pyrenees, the Austrians behind the Rhine, destroyed the Duke of York's army, and prepared the occupation of Holland in the winter 1794-95.[a]

But from papers published (correspondence *between Fitzwilliam and Lord Carlisle*[b]) [it is] evident that Pitt (this was, perhaps, second thought, when the King's and Beresford's influence prevailed) has

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[a] See Davis' commentary in J. Ph. Curran, *The Speeches...*, p. 233.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx refers to [Carlisle] "A Letter ... to Earl Fitzwilliam, in Reply to His Lordship's Two Letters" (London, 1795) and "A Letter from Earl Fitzwilliam to the Earl of Carlisle" (1795). Further on Marx cites facts according to Mitchel's *History of Ireland...*, Vol. I, pp. 218-19.—*Ed.*

chosen him as tool to agitate the Irish, inflame them, and drive them into Rebellion.

Fitzwilliam was one of the most indulgent landlords of Ireland and very popular. What Pitt wanted, was to raise the Catholics to the height of expectation, and by suddenly recalling Fitzwilliam, to drive them into commotions, which would throw the Protestants into the arms of England for protection, whilst the horrors would be aggravated by the mingled conflicts of parties, Royalists and Republicans.

Pitt had sent Fitzwilliam to Ireland with unlimited powers.

The day Fitzwilliam arrived, peace was proclaimed throughout all Ireland. The day he quitted it, she prepared for insurrection.

*Irish House of Commons. 22 January 1795*: Fitzwilliam opens with plausible speech. Grattan outdid the Ministers in servile adulation[a] (as to the Address). An *Emancipation Bill*[300] was read a first time, but *ample supplies were voted*, £2 millions loan was voted, and *Anti-Gallican frenzy* got upon certain classes. Fitzwilliam recalled.

## III

### B) LORD CAMDEN'S ADMINISTRATION. APRIL 1795-END OF JULY 1798

*Camden's arrival* attended by almost insurrectionary outrages. The Beresfords assaulted, *Clare* (Lord Chancellor, i.e. Fitzgibbon) almost killed in his carriage.

Camden's *Chief Secretary Mr. Pelham (Earl Chichester)* afterwards replaced by his nephew Stewart *(Lord Castlereagh).*

Camden became *extremely popular* amongst the *armed associations which were* raised in Ireland under the title of *Yeomen.* He was considered the guardian of that Institution.

*Irish House of Commons. 4 May 1795. Second Reading of the Emancipation Bill.* Rejected by 155 to 84.

Fitzwilliam's recall was a triumph for the separation party. An Irish Republic now became the only object of the United Irish. The bulk of the Presbyterians of *Down, Antrim, and Tyrone* joined, as did multitudes of Protestants and Catholics in *Leinster.* At this time the *Catholics of the North* were *Defenders or Ribbonmen.*[301] Both sides made ready for the worst.

An *Insurrection Act* passed, making death for any one to take an oath of Association; another allowing the Lord Lieutenant to *proclaim countries* [in a state of siege], in which case no one could go out at night; and *magistrates* obtained *the power of breaking into houses,* and *transporting to the navy all persons whom they suspected.* Other *acts—granting indemnity for magistrates guilty of any illegality*—giving the Lord

[a] Davis wrote "he outdid ministers in loyalty". See J. Ph. Curran, *The Speeches...*, p. 233.—*Ed.*

Lieutenant the *power of arrest without bail—licensing the introduction of foreign troops (Germans),* and *establishing the Yeomanry Corps*—followed each other in quick succession.

The *Yeomanry* consisted of the *Tory Gentry,* and *their* dependants, undisciplined and unprincipled, *legal banditti.* No villainy but was perpetrated by them. Whipping, pitch-capping, half or whole hanging, sending to serve in the navy—as the leisure or facilities of the officer allowed.[302]

*1795.* Among the papers found by Jackson *View of Ireland,* by Tone:

"The *Established Churchmen* in Ireland have engrossed, besides the whole church patronage, all the profits and honours of the country exclusively, and a very great share of the landed property. Aristocrats, adverse to any change, decided enemies of the French Revolution. *Dissenters ... Republicans* [...]. *Catholics,* the great body of the people, in lowest degree of ignorance, ready for any change, because no change can make them worse. The whole peasantry of Ireland, the most oppressed and wretched in Europe, may be said to be Catholic. Within these 2 years [they] have received a certain degree of information, [...] various insurrections, [...] bold, hardy race, and make excellent soldiers. [...] *Defenders.* [...] They are so situated that they have but one way left to make their sentiments known, and *that is by war.* [...] All Parliamentary, Grand Jury etc. Acts proceeding from aristocrats, whose interest is adverse to that of the people."

*Defenders* (in the North). The *Lords' Committee of 1793* describes them

"as poor ignorant labouring men", [fighting] for Catholic cause, relieved from hearth-money, tithes, county cesses, lowering of their rents. First they appeared in County *Louth,* April 1793, several of them armed; assembled mostly in the night, forced into the houses of Protestants and took from them their arms. Spread soon through the counties of *Meath, Cavan, Monaghan* and other parts adjacent. The Secret Committee tried to connect them with *Catholic Gentlemen,* and the *crown prosecutors* tried to trace them to the *United Irishmen Association* and French gold. Before *Drogheda, Spring Assizes, April 23, 1794, Drogheda Defenders,* declared *not guilty. Dublin Defenders,. December 22, 1795. James Weldon,* connected with them, hanged.

*House of Commons. February 3d, 1796. Indemnity Bill.*

*25 February 1796. Insurrection Bill (it gave the right of arbitrary transportation to magistrates).*

*Curran:* "It is a Bill *for* the *rich,* and *against* the *poor.*"[a] "What is a Bill which puts the liberty of the poor man, who has no visible means of living but labour, in the discretion of the magistrates? [...] In Ireland," where poverty [is] general, "it constitutes *poverty* a *crime.*" "Let the rich men of Ireland, therefore, fear when they enact a law against poverty, lest poverty should enact a counter-law against riches." "Gentlemen have reasoned to prove that he who should be transported by this law would only be sent into an honourable retirement, where he might gain glory by fighting for his country from which his poverty had expelled him."

*Irish House of Commons. 13 October 1796. French War.* Camden opened [Parliament with the call:] *resist invasion! (Hoche's force was just assembling at Brest,*

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[a] Here and below in this paragraph italics is by Curran.—*Ed.*

*and Wolfe Tone, Grouchy,* and a part of that expedition, *reached Bantry Bay on the 22 December* and *did not leave it till the 28.)* Camden denounced also "popular passion and popular opinion".

*Curran.* "Government encourages every attack upon the reputation of the Catholics, and the *most wicked and groundless prosecutions against their lives.*" "Look at the scene that has been exhibited for 2 years in one of your counties, of robbery, and rape, and murder, and extermination" (of the Catholics). "...Law can give them no protection under a hostile and implacable government."

*Ponsonby's* Amendment defeated by 149 to 12. Then the Attorney-General moved for leave to bring in a Bill, similar to such as have been enacted on like occasions in England, to empower the Lord Lieutenant, *to take up and detain all such persons as were suspected of treasonable practices. Leave being given, the Bill was forthwith presented, read a first and second time, and committed for the morrow.*

*14 October 1796. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.* Leave to bring it in granted, read, 2 times, etc. all in a few minutes in the morning after midnight.

*17 October 1796. Catholic Emancipation Bill. Rejected.*

*6 January 1797. Hoche's Expedition.*[303] *Secretary Pelham* brought down a message from the Lord Lieutenant full of English palaver, in reference to France and especially the expedition of Hoche.

*Curran.* "You have already laid a shilling on the brogues of your beggar peasants; will you impose another shilling upon them? [...] What wealth they have? *Seven pence per day.*"

*24 February 1797. Internal Defence.* Sir Laurence Parsons moved an Address for an increase of the domestic army, especially *the Yeomen infantry.* Grattan supported, and the Ministers opposed, the Address. Neither party foresaw how the *patriots of the Clubs* would turn into the *scourges of the People*—traitors to their country and their oath, when under *the bribe of payment,* the *compulsion of discipline,* and the *spirit of the army.*

*Curran.* "At this moment the *gaols are crowded* ... they[a] make a demand of redress *an act of treason.*"

*Since end of March 1796* whole counties of Ireland proclaimed (put in state of siege).

*House of Commons. March 18, 1797: Disarming of Ulster.* Message of Lord Camden. (*Pelham* is still Secretary.) *General Lake*—cowardly, infamous, cruel—was to disarm the inhabitants together with the magistrates. *Lake's Proclamation. Belfast, 13 March 1797.*

*19 March 1797. Grattan:* "The Lord Lieutenant attaints one entire province of Ireland of High Treason."[b] Amendment of Grattan.

*20 March 1797.* Amendment rejected by 127 to 16.

*Curran.* "The North is deeply discontented. By what? Your own laws, your Convention Act, Gunpowder Act, Insurrection Act. The first denies the natural right of sufferers—the right of petition or complaint; the second, the power of self-defence ... the third, the defence of a jury against the attempts of power."

*May 15, 1797.* Last speech of Curran in the House of Commons, secedes from it, ditto Grattan; the Opposition ceased to attend, and House adjourned on *3 July 1797. Castlereagh Chief Secretary.*

We have seen the *decreasing* minorities of the party who gallantly struggled to

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[a] The Commoners.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes Grattan probably according to J. Ph. Curran, *The Speeches...,* p. 267; see also H. Grattan, *The Speeches...,* Vol. III, p. 299.—*Ed.*

maintain the parliamentary constitution of Ireland. But they grew daily more powerless. The people looked to the *United Irish Executive*, to *France*, to *arms*, to *Revolution*. The Government *persisted in refusing Reform and Emancipation*, continued the suspension of the Constitution, and incessantly augmented the despotism of their laws, the profligacy of their administration, and the violence of their soldiery—they trusted to intimidation. *Under these circumstances, the opposition determined to abandon the contest.*

*The Government and the United Irishmen* now face to face. The Government strengthened itself by *spies on the United Irishmen* (such as Maguane and others), the *"battalion of testimony"* (*Bird, Newell, O'Brien* etc.), *free quarters*, prosecutions, patronage, and calumny.

*Orr hanged 14 October 1797* for having (allegedly) administered the *oath of the United Irish* to a private soldier. The Oath is: first, to promote a brotherhood of affection among men of all religious distinctions; secondly, to labour for the attainment of Parliamentary Reform; 3dly, an obligation of secrecy, added to it when the Convention Law had made it criminal for any public delegation to meet for that purpose. The Insurrection Act makes the administering of such an oath felony of death.

The *United Irish Society* of 1791 formed in 1791, for the achievement of Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform. In 1792-93 it increased, retaining its original objects. In *1794*, the views of Tone and Neilson, who both desired an independent republic, spread; but the formal objects were unchanged, when, on *10 May 1795*, the organisation of Ulster was completed. The recall of Fitzwilliam, the consequent disappointment of the Catholics, the accumulation of coercive laws, the prospects of the French Alliance, and the natural progress of a quarrel, rapidly spread the influence, and altered the whole character of the Society. The *test* of the Society was made more decisive, and less constitutional. In *the autumn of 1796 the organisation was made military in Ulster.* Towards *the middle of 1797*, this system spread to Leinster. So far back *as May 1796*, the Executive had *formally*[a] communicated with France, through Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Only on *19 February 1798* [it was] resolved "that they would not be diverted from their purpose by anything which could be done in Parliament".

In the *winter of 1796-97*, the coming of the French was urged as a reason for immediate insurrection; but it did not prevail. In *May, 1797*, the order for the execution of the 4 soldiers of the Monaghan militia, was regarded by the militias as sufficient motive for action; but not so thought the Executive. In the *summer of 1797* the militia regiments sent a deputation, offering *to seize the Castle.* The Northern leaders were for an outbreak, so was Lord Edward. Still nothing was done. And again, in *the beginning of 1798*, the *people subjected to free quarters, whipping, burnings*, and *transportation*, pressed for insurrection. Lord Edward disposed to it. Emmet wanted to wait for France, and thus they were, when the sleek traitor *Reynolds of Kilkee* glided into their councils through Lord Edward's weakness. *Arthur O'Connor* was arrested at Maidstone, in the act of embarking for France; on *12 March*, a meeting of Leinster delegates, including *Oliver Bond, McCann* etc., were arrested at *Oliver Bond's* warehouse, Dublin. *MacNevin, Thomas Emmet, Sampson* were not taken for some days. *Warrant against Lord Edward*; he escaped and lay concealed. *New Directory*, John Sheares one of it. On *19 May*, just 4 days before the rising was to take place, Lord *Fitzgerald* was pounced on, and on *21st* the two Sheares.[b] Thus the insurrection began, without its designers to lead it, and without time to replace them.

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[a] The word "formally" is italicised by Davis.—*Ed.*

[b] Henry and John.—*Ed.*

*23 May 1798* insurrection commenced, *17 July* Lord Castlereagh announced its *final defeat.*

*Before the outbreak of the insurrection, trials took place in February and March 1798.*[a]

The insurgents during the struggle not treated as soldiers, but hanged. Burning every cottage, and torturing every cottager—the loyalists. Martial law proclaimed, and the courts of justice closed. No quarter on either side. *Bills of attainder* and all sorts of legal murder. Juries (packed) recorded the opinions given them by the judges.

*25 July 1798* the state prisoners' negotiation with Government. Their lives secured [by] Mr. Cooke, on behalf of the Ministers. On the other hand, they were to describe the *United Irish affairs*, so far as they could, without implicating individuals. Byrne, however, was hanged: compact was finally settled on *29 July*, at the Castle, by "deputies from the gaols". The Government broke the compact. They, not only in their press, but by their indemnity act, described the United Leaders as confessing guilt, and craving pardon, neither of which they did. Instead of allowing them to go abroad, they were kept in gaol here for a year, and then thrust into Fort George, from whence they were not released, till the Treaty of Amiens,[304] in 1802.[b]

Within 12 days from the first rising, the *people of Wexford* had cleared their county, with the exception of *Ross and Duncannon*, two places unfit to resist a skilful attack. Similar successes attended the *Kildare* insurrection.

*Antrim and Down* did not rise for a fortnight, and there, after similar blunders, and a shorter struggle, the Presbyterians were ousted.

The *Wexford men* protracted the war; partly from a vague hope for foreign assistance, but still more from despair, for they could not trust the faith of their persecutors; and not a few of these heroic men died in the *plains of Meath*, in an effort to force their way into Ulster.

The soldier having done *his own work*, and that of the *assassin* and *brigand*, too, [it was the turn of] the bow-string of the Attorney-General. Courts-martial hanged those taken in battle, and courts-civil slaughtered the prisoners. Most *unaccountably the insurgents did not retaliate.* They besides spared females, the loyalists did not.

*German and English troops* were also employed in these affairs.

PITT'S PLAN TO ENFORCE AND PROVOKE THE INSURRECTION

*1784.* Independence assailed by Pitt under colour of commercial tariff.

*1789.* The Prince Regent's Question determined to extinguish the Irish Legislature.

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[a] This sentence is in German in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Mitchel, *The History of Ireland...*, Vol. II, pp. 15, 19, 26. Further, till the end of the section, there follow excerpts from Davis' "Memoir" in J. Ph. Curran, *The Speeches...*, p. XXIV.—*Ed.*

*1798.* Rebellion used to terrify the minds of men out of common sense.

*1798-99 and 1598-99* It is here well worthy of reflection, that the exercise of *free quarters* and *martial law,* the suspension of all municipal courts of justice, the *discretional* application of *the torture* to suspected persons, executions in cold blood, and the various measures which *Mountjoy* and *Carew,* and the other officers of Elizabeth practised in Ireland by her authority, *in 1598-99,* were again judged to be expedient, and were again resorted to with vigour in 1798-99, 200 years after they had been practised by the ministers of Elizabeth.

*United Irish Societies known to Government.*

Though it appeared, from public documents, that Government had full and accurate information of the *United Irish Societies,* and that their leaders and chiefs were fully known to the British Ministry, the Government did nothing *to suppress,* but everything to *exasperate,* the people.[a]

*Under Camden's Administration:*

Earl of *Carhampton,* Commander-in-Chief of Ireland, first expressed his dissatisfaction of *Pitt's inexplicable proceedings.* Although martial law was not yet declared, Carhampton ordered his troops to intervene, wherever insurrectionary movements occurred.[b] This was prohibited by Camden. Carhampton found that troops in the garrison of Dublin were daily corrupted by the United Irishmen; he therefore withdrew them and formed two distinct camps on the South and the North, some miles from the capital. This measure also refused by the Lord Lieutenant whom Carhampton refused to obey. The King's sign manual was at length procured, ordering him to break up his camps, and bring back the garrison; this he obeyed and marched his troops into Dublin barracks. He then resigned his command, and *publicly declared,* that some deep and insidious scheme of the Minister was in agitation; for, instead of suppressing, the Irish Government was obviously disposed to excite, an insurrection. Mr. Pitt counted on the expertness of the Irish Government to effect a premature explosion. *Free quarters* were now ordered,

{*Free quarters* rendered officers and soldiers despotic masters of the peasantry, their homes, food, property, and occasionally, their *families.* This measure was resorted to, with all its attendant horrors, throughout some of the best parts of Ireland, previous to the insurrection, and for the purpose of exciting it.}

to irritate the Irish population; *Slow Tortures*[c] were inflicted under the pretence of forcing confessions; the people were goaded and driven to madness.

*General Abercromby,* who succeeded as Commander-in-Chief, was not *permitted to abate these enormities,* and therefore resigned with disgust. {*General Abercromby,* in general orders, stated that the army placed under his command, from their state of

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[a] This paragraph and the text that follows it, till the end of the section, is Marx's rendering of the text from Mitchel's *History of Ireland...* (Vol. I, pp. 261-62) which is close to the original.— *Ed.*

[b] This sentence and the one that follows it are in German in the manuscript.— *Ed.*

[c] Italics by J. Mitchel.— *Ed.*

disorganisation, would soon be much more formidable to their friends than to their enemies, and that he would not countenance or admit *free quarters.*}

Ireland was by those means reduced to a state of anarchy, and exposed to crime and cruelties to which no nation had ever been subject. The people could no longer bear their miseries. Pitt's object was now effected and an *insurrection was excited.*

## *United Irishmen and Pitt. (Poland and Prussia)*[305]

Until 1795 the *United Irishmen* were Protestants, of a minor division of the people. Many of them were Pitt's dupes. At the same time (1793 sqq) emissaries were sent from Berlin to Poland in order to form there Jacobinical Clubs, that they might offer a pretext for the introduction of new armies.[306]

## *Exorbitation of the People. Castlereagh's Boast*

The Irish people were to be tormented, outraged, forced into actual rebellion. Recall of Lord Fitzwilliam involved the country in consternation and dismay. To this succeeded, to fret and exasperate, the *Habeas Corpus Act Suspension Bill, the Searching for Arms Act, the Bill to transport persons not found at home from sunset to sunrise*; further *many persons were shot* because, being terrified, they attempted to escape when challenged, or, *being seized,* they were consigned to Prussia. Ensor met some of them at Berlin, and the law indemnified the perpetrators of such prodigious deeds. Then the *Yeomanry* were raised: these committed dreadful outrages, particularly in the North; burning houses in open day, commanded by their officers, who were also magistrates. The Militia rivalled the Yeomanry. It is said that *pitch-caps* were invented by some bravos of the North Cork Militia. Still more ferocious the *Dublin Corporation.* The riding-house, in Marlborough Street, distinguished for Protestant loyalty, and *torture was administered by the scourge and the triangle.* Summary executions not uncommon in preparing the Irish for the Union; bodies of Irishmen, deluded by the British Ministry, irritated and inflamed, tortured, tormented, in phrensy and despair, grasped such arms as they could seize, and defied their enemies. *This was called rebellion;* and *Castlereagh boasted that he had made the conspiracy explode. He charged that mine as well as fired it.*

### PITT IN BRITISH PARLIAMENT DEFENDER OF THE UNION, IN ORDER TO PREVENT MEASURES OF PACIFICATION. CASTLEREAGH, 1797, IN IRISH PARLIAMENT

*Castlereagh* had been reformer in Ireland as Pitt in England, till office made him *explode.* Declared *1792* for Irish Parliamentary Reform. Ditto *1793* for Grattan's motion for Parliamentary Reform. When, lo! the Ministry of Ireland was changed and Camden succeeded Lord Fitzwilliam. With the change of men Castlereagh's opinion of Reform was upset. *In 1797,* the serpent, the viper, and snake made

another feat: *he declared for a wise and well digested plan of Reform at a proper time.* Yet *then he has nearly completed the scheme of the Union,* and *the extinction of the Parliament of his country.*

## *Pitt in British Parliament*

The *reign of terror* (*Pitt* thundered against the French one) prepared the Union. Pitt, while talking of the prodigious wickedness of interfering with prerogative orders and ancient customs, meditated during years of such verbose, political prudery, *the end and ruin of the fundamental constitution of Ireland.* At the very time when this his machination was completing, *he defended,* with swollen rhetoric, *the independence of Ireland's Parliament.* In the debate on the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, in 1795, "he deprecated the discussion *as a manifest violation of the independence of the Irish Parliament*".[a] Two years later, *in 1797,* when Fox proposed to address His Majesty on the best means to tranquillise Ireland, this *W. Pitt* objected "on the unconstitutionality, the impropriety, and the danger to be apprehended from the interference of the British Parliament in the affairs of Ireland". This flagitious impostor deprecated any means for Ireland's prosperity; for he proposed, through its agonies and confusion, to effect its incorporate Union with Great Britain.

## LORD CORNWALLIS' ADMINISTRATION (AUGUST 1798 SQQ). CASTLEREAGH CHIEF SECRETARY. THE UNION TRICK

Then there was *Lord Cornwallis,* the man thrashed by the Americans, during their War of Independence. As a governor for India, he was further qualified for destroying a nation's rights.

(There he incorporated Tippoo Sahib for the East India Company.)

*Cornwallis was the intermediate agent between Pitt and Robert Stewart,* commonly called *Lord Castlereagh.*[b]

In *India* Cornwallis had defeated *Tippoo Sahib,* but concluded a peace which only increased the necessity of future wars.[307]

*19 October 1781, capitulation of Cornwallis by Yorktown.*

Quietness was almost restored. Gornwallis affected impartiality, whilst he was deceiving both parties. He encouraged the United Irishmen, and he roused the Royalists; one day he destroyed, the next day he was merciful. His system, however, had not exactly the anticipated effect. Everything gave reason to expect a restoration of tranquillity, it was through the *impression of horror* alone that an Union could be effected, and he had no time to lose, lest the country might recover its reason.

Fortunate accident for him: A portion of an armament, destined by France to aid the Irish insurgents, had escaped the Irish cruisers, and landed about a 1,000

[a] Ensor's italics in this sentence.—*Ed.*

[b] G. Ensor, *Anti-Union. Ireland as She ought to Be,* Newry, 1831, pp. 87, 88.—*Ed.*

troops at *Killala Bay* (in the North-West of Ireland).[a] They entered Killala without opposition, surprising the bishop and a company of parsons who were on their visitation. They were joined by a considerable number of peasantry, unarmed, unclothed, and undisciplined. But the French did their best to render them efficient. Marched into the country. *Lord Hutchinson* commanded the garrison of *Castlebar*, a few miles from Killala. His force numerous, with a good train of artillery. *General Lake* with his staff had just arrived. French attacked them. *In a few minutes, the whole of the royal army was completely routed.* About 900 French and some peasants took possession of Castlebar.[b] (This battle is called the *Races of Castlebar.*) The English fled in full haste to *Tuam.*

A considerable part of the *Louth and Kilkenny regiments* (militia), not finding it convenient to retreat, joined the victors, and in one hour were completely equipped as French riflemen. About 90 of these men were hanged by Cornwallis afterwards at *Ballynamuck.* The defeat of Castlebar, however, was *a victory to the Viceroy;* it revived all the horrors of rebellion, which had been subsiding, and the desertion of the militia regiments tended to impress the gentry with an idea, that England alone could protect the country.

Lord Cornwallis was supine, and the insurgents were active in profiting by this victory; 40,000 of them were prepared to assemble at the *Crooked Wood*, in *Westmeath*, only 42 miles from Dublin, ready to join the French and march upon the metropolis.

The French continued too long at Castlebar, and Lord Cornwallis at length collected 20,000 troops, with which he considered himself pretty certain of conquering 900 men. With above 20,000 men, he marched directly to the [Shannon][c] to prevent the passage, but he was out[manoeuvred]: the insurgents had led the French to the source of that river, and it was *ten days* before Castlereagh, *by the slowest possible marches, which tended purposely to increase the public terror*, reached his enemy. After some skirmishes, in which the French [were] victorious, they capitulated at *Ballynamuck.*[d] They were sent to Dublin and afterwards to France.

Horrors now were everywhere recommenced; executions were multiplied. Cornwallis marched against the peasantry, still masters of Killala; and after a sanguinary conflict in the streets, the town was taken: some were slaughtered, many hanged, and *the whole district was on the point of being reduced to subjection*, when Cornwallis most unexpectedly *proclaimed an armistice*, and without any terms allowed the insurgents freely to disperse, and gave them *30 days*, either to surrender their arms or be prepared for slaughter; leaving them to act, as they thought proper in the interval. *This interval was terrific to the loyalists;* the 30 days of armistice *were 30 days of new horror*, and the *Government had now achieved the very climax of public terror*, on which they so much counted for inducing Ireland to throw herself into the arms of the protecting country. *And the first step of Pitt's project* was fully consummated.

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[a] On August 22, 1798; then follow, up to the section "More about the Union", excerpts from J. Mitchel's *History of Ireland...*, Vol. II, pp. 27-39, 43, 45, 47-51, 59-62, 76-77 and 79.—*Ed.*

[b] On August 27, 1798.—*Ed.*

[c] The manuscript is damaged here.—*Ed.*

[d] On September 8, 1798.—*Ed.*

THE UNION

Pitt now conceived that the moment had arrived to try the effect of his previous measures to promote a Legislative Union.

The Irish Peers, under Lord Clare's, Lord Chancellor's, despotism, [were] ready for anything. The lure of translation neutralised the scruples of Episcopacy. Single exceptions: *Marly*, Bishop of Waterford, and Dixon, Bishop of Down. The rebellion had commenced on *22 May 1798, and on 22 January 1799*, an Union was proposed. *40,000 British troops* were then in Ireland.[308]

Pitt now conceived the moment to have come to try the effect of his previous measures to promote a *Legislative Union*, and annihilate the Irish Legislature.

The measure *first proposed* indirectly by Speech from the Throne on *22 January 1799*. Lord Cornwallis' unexpected warfare against 900 Frenchmen, evidently intended more for terror than for victory.

{*King's title* was "George III, King of *Great Britain*, ***France,*** *and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith" etc. France was dropped on Amiens Peace.}

Clare's (Fitzgibbon's) only check [was] the bar, which he resolved to corrupt. He doubled the number of bankrupt commissioners, revived some offices, created others, and under pretence of furnishing each County with a local judge, in 2 months established 32 new offices, of £600-700 each.

*First Parliamentary debate on 22 January 1799*, lasted till 11 o'clock of 23 January (22 hours). Government obtained *majority of 1* by open sale of a certain Fox, lawyer.

*2nd debate on 5 o'clock of 23 January 1799*, continued till late in the morning of the 24, Government defeated. In every debate upon that measure, it was insisted upon *that Parliament was incompetent, even to entertain the question of the Union.* In this sense spoke *Saurin*, since Attorney-General, *Plunket*, since Lord Chancellor, *Sir John Parnell*, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, *Bushe*, since Lord Chief Justice, *Lord Oriel*, the then Speaker of the Irish House of Commons.

*Sir Lawrence Parsons* and others showed by irrefutable facts that the country had been worked upon by the English Minister, to terrify the Irish gentry into a resubmission to those shackles from which the spirit of the Volunteers and the nation had but a few years before released them. It was argued that the insurrection, first organised and fostered by Pitt, and protracted by Cornwallis, had been suppressed by the Irish Parliament; and that the introduction of foreign and mercenary Germans, to immolate the Irish, instead of extinguishing, had added fuel to the insurrection. Then great point: *the incompetence of Parliament to betray its trust. Act of Union in itself a nullity ab initio*,[a] and a fraud upon the then existing constitution.

Act of 23 George III "recognising the unqualified independence of Ireland, and expressly stipulating and contracting that *it should endure for ever*".

*24 January 1799* 111 Members decided *against* Union, 105 for. Voted that night 216. *Absent* 84.

*House of Lords* on *22 January 1799* in answer to the Viceroy's address voted *for* the Union.

The Irish Lords lay prostrate before the Government, but the leaders were not *inattentive to their own interest.* The *defeat of the Government in the Commons* gave them

[a] From the beginning.—*Ed.*

an importance they had not expected. The accounts of Lord *Annesley* etc. prove their corruption. A great proportion of the 1 1/2 millions levied upon Ireland, and distributed by Castlereagh's *Commissioners* of *Compensation*, went into the pockets of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of Ireland.

Cornwallis coquetted with the persons, assuming to themselves the title of *"Catholic Leaders"*. The *Catholic Bishops* were generally decieved into the most disgusting subserviency.

The members of the old opposition, who were returned to the new *Parliament in 1797*, did not exceed 50.

Strongest cause of division amongst the Members [was] the *Catholic Question*. Cornwallis flattered the Catholics promising certain emancipation; the *priests* bowed before him. Never yet did any clergy so retrograde as the *Catholic Hierarchy*, on that occasion. Corruptly deceived. In 1798 the Catholics were hanged, in 1799 caressed, in 1800 cajoled, in 1801 discarded.

Mr. Pitt, by *private* dispatch to Cornwallis, desired that the measure should not be then pressed, unless *majority of 50* [was] certain. Clare, the Chancellor, overhauled this. Thousands of addresses and petitions against any further discussion. As a punishment for the rejoicings at Dublin over the rejection of the Union, soldiers were ordered to fire amongst the people, of whom a few [were] killed and some wounded.

It appears in full proof, that in proportion to their respective numbers, the *British Commons*, at the period of the Irish Union, [had] 1/4 more corrupted, corruptible, and influenced members than *that of Ireland at any period.*

*5 and 6 February 1800. Union accepted by Irish House of Commons.*

Castlereagh compelled even *felons* in the gaols to sign Union petitions.

English generals, who, at a moment *when martial law existed*, or a recollection of its execution was still fresh in every memory, could not fail to have their own influence over proclaimed districts and bleeding peasantry; tried to procure addresses to Parliament.

Mr. Darby, High Sheriff of King's County,[309] and Major Rogers of the artillery, had gone so far as to place 2 six-pounders towards the doors of the Court House, where the gentlemen and freeholders of the county were assembling to address as Anti-Unionists.

In interval between old and new Parliament, the Parliamentary patrons had breathing-time after the preceding session, and began to tremble for their patronage and importance; some desperate step by Government became necessary to insure continuance of their support. Now unparalleled measure.

*Castlereagh* publicly declared, *first*, that every nobleman, who returned Members to Parliament, should be paid, in cash, *£15,000 for every Member so returned; secondly*, that every Member who had *purchased* a seat in Parliament should have his purchase money repaid to him, by the Treasury in Ireland; *thirdly*, that all Members of Parliament, or others, who were losers by an Union, should be fully recompensed for their losses; and that £1,500,000 should be devoted to this service; in other terms, all who supported this measure were, under some pretence or other, to share in the bank of corruption. A declaration so flagitious and treasonable was never publicly made in any country; [it] had its effect; before the meeting of Parliament he had secured a *small majority of 8 above a moiety of the members.*

After the debate on the Union in 1800, he performed his promise, and brought in a Bill to raise 1 1/2 million of money upon the Irish people, nominally to compensate, but really to bribe their representatives, for betraying their honour and selling their country. George III gives his assent to a Bill to levy taxes for the compensation of Members of Parliament, for their loss of the opportunities of selling what it was criminal to sell or purchase.

*The Union Bill but feebly resisted. The divisions of January and February 1800* reduced the success of the Government to a certainty.

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| *Lord Shannon received for his patronage in the Commons* | £45,000 |
| *The Marquis of Ely* | £45,000 |
| *Lord Clanmorris,* beside a British peerage | £23,000 |
| *Lord Belvidere,* beside his *douceur* | £15,000 |
| *Sir Hercules Langrishe* | £15,000 |

*15 January 1800* Speech from the Throne, debate proceeded till past 10 o'clock on the 16th. (60 members absent. Not governmental ones.)

*5 February next division.* The Union propositions, as passed by the British Parliament, were, after a long speech, laid before the House of Commons by Castlereagh. After a debate of the entire night, at 11 the ensuing morning, the division took place.

Members 300, absent 27, rest 273. *For Castlereagh's Motion* 158, against 115, majority 43. (273 members present.)

The *House was surrounded by military,* under the pretence of keeping peace, in fact, to excite terror. *(British Regiment.)*

The Bishops Troy, Lanigan, and others, deluded by the Viceroy, sold their country, and basely betrayed their flocks, by promoting the Union. Rebellion had terrified the great body of Catholics who could not move. Besides the 1 1/2 million Castlereagh also had unbounded *secret service money* from England. *British clerks and officers were smuggled into the Irish Parliament* to vote away the Constitution of the Country. By the subjugation of Ireland, England has gained nothing but an accumulation of debt, an accession of venality to her Parliament, an embarrassment in her councils and a progressive danger to the integrity of the empire. *The name of Union* has been acquired, but the attainment of the substance has been removed farther than ever. *Castlereagh* palpably purchased 25 Members before the *second discussion* in 1800, which made a difference of 50 votes in favour of Government. Thus Pitt and Castlereagh carried *the Union.*

* * *

## *More about the Union*[a]

The Irish Parliament were only delegates for a few years. How could they vote their own dissolution and extinction for ever? If the Irish Parliament was authorised to destroy the Constitution, why not the English? *Why not pass a royal law? No appeal was made to the people.* This was done in *Scotland*[310]; [they] did not dare doing it in Ireland. Even the rotten boroughs sickened at the sound.

*The Irish Parliament of 1800* elected in *1797* for *8 years.*

The Union carried during the reign of *Martial Law*! On the other hand, Resolution of the *English House of Commons in 1741:* "that *the presence of armed soldiers, at the election of members of Parliament,* is a high infringement of the liberty of the subject, and an *open defiance of the laws and constitution*!"

*Martial Law Bill in Ireland* from *commencement of the rebellion in 1798,* renewed *1799,* in *1800* revived, but in fact it was to be considered as a continuance of [the]

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[a] The heading is in German in the manuscript. This section is Marx's rendering of a passage from Ensor's *Anti-Union...,* p. 126.—*Ed.*

former act passed (1799); in 1801, the act of 1800 was continued, for a very short time, *by the United Parliament, without any inquiry*!

*The Act of the Union is an Act of Conquest (Ensor).*

*Ireland's Union with England—Cromwell's scheme. It was among the delusions of Monk.* The English Government had no object by the Union, which means the extinction of Irish Legislature, but to deprive Ireland of its political consequence and authority, and subject her property and people to the mercy of England.

*The English Ministry, in guaranteeing Norway to Sweden,* stipulated that Norway, by its union with Sweden, should enjoy an independent Parliament.[311]

Just as the Union of Ireland with England was declared necessary, so had *Lord Grenville* declared: "*Hampshire* ought to be no more dear to us than *Hanover*."

## *Popular Meetings (and Petitions) Despite Martial Law and the Suspension of All Guarantees for Popular Security. Ditto House of Commons during 1799*[a]

Popular indignation universal. Though sheriffs were chosen to obstruct petitioning, though the military opposed their assembling, and dispersed them; yet they met and protested, as at Birr, where Major Rogers actually marched with cannon against a county meeting. They met in Dublin, as in 1759, on the mere rumour of a projected Union. The people assembled in the towns of Belfast, Limerick, Drogheda, Newry, Maryborough, Carrickfergus, Pontadown, etc.; in the Counties of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Wexford, Cavan, Longford, Tipperary, Galway, Monaghan, Fermanagh, Kilkenny, Meath, Carlow, the King's and Queen's Counties, Leitrim, Kildare, Down, Westmeath, Armagh, Clare, Louth, Donegal, Mayo, Wicklow, Tyrone, Antrim, Waterford. Thus the population in towns, cities and counties petitioned against that fatal measure, in spite of all terrors and opposition.

The *Irish Commons* coincided with them. Though a mere fictitious representation, first by *the borough system,* and secondly by *its election* (a mere farce), for the *annalist* remarks: "through *consternation of some, and hostility of others,* it had *little more than the formality of an election.*" Yet the House of Commons had in 1799 rejected the Union by 111 to 105!

## *Corruption etc. in 1800*

The English Government resumed the measure. Merciless profligacy. Vote with us or vacate your seat! Open, flagitious bribery! The bribe was administered in every form to wretches. Mr. *Edgeworth* relates that he was offered to vacate a seat, that a more convenient person might be elected in his place. *Offices* were granted simply, or divided among many; *pensions* added; endless promises. The *Church* afforded a great vent for the increase of prostitution; *rectories* and *bishoprics* were

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[a] In this section and in the two sections that follow it Marx sets forth, very closely to the original, passages from Ensor's *Anti-Union...*, pp. 94-97 and 110.—*Ed.*

granted *thrice* in succession to clerical friends of members, advocates for the Union. The *army* and *navy, boards* and *concessions,* were exposed at the Union mart; *lawyers* were to be advanced to the *Bench,* by voting away the Parliament. *Commoners* were to be made *Lords,* and Lords to be *relorded with a superior title.*

So numerous were the *superadded placemen alone in the Commons,* that in the year of the Union 1800, *35 new writs were moved for the re-election of members,* who had accepted places from England's Minister! The Lords, and the other boro[ughmongers],[a] of course, obtained a grand division of the Union-bribe—£622,000 was voted in the *United Parliament,* in 1801, [as] *compensation for the borough-holders*! Only £622,000 paid, as a first instalment, by the borough-mongers of [England] to the borough-mongers of Ireland!

Yet, after this overwhelming corruption, prompt payment, and endless expectancy, the *minority opposed to the Union, in the first* [division], in a House of Commons, of whom *84 only* returned for the counties, counties of cities, and the University, and *216* for [boroughs and manors]. A simple bribe disqualifies a member from sitting in Parliament; and shall not such bribery, a small part of the corruption, dismiss the Act of Union from the Statute-Book?

## *Just Punishment of the Traitorous Catholic Hierarchy and the Few Higher Class Catholics Who Joined Them*

Cornwallis (Pitt) had promised them full emancipation. Fulsome address from the Catholic clergy and Bishop Lanigan from Kilkenny to Cornwallis. Yet King George III, as will be seen from the following, accepted the Union as means to make *no further* concessions to the Catholics. Pitt in *1801* handed in his resignation, on pretext that King kept not his word as to Catholics. This [was] mere show. He wanted not to be minister during truce with Bonaparte.[312] Re-entered afterwards the Ministry *without* stipulating any favour for Catholics.

George III, in his letters, published by Lord Kenyon, declares that he was inclined to assent to the Union, believing that the Union would for ever preclude any further concessions to the Catholics.

His words in his letter to Pitt, February 1, 1801, are: "When the Irish propositions were transmitted to me, by a joint message from both Houses of Parliament, I told the Lords and Gentlemen, sent on that occasion, that I would with pleasure, and without delay, forward them to Ireland; but that, as individuals, I could not help acquainting them, that my inclination to an Union with Ireland was principally founded on a trust, that the uniting the established churches of the 2 kingdoms would for ever shut the door to any further measures with respect to the Roman Catholics."[b]

## *On the Legality of the Union*

Attorney-General's *Scott's (afterwards Lord Clonmel,* principal agent of Pitt etc.) declaration of resisting the usurpation of England, *in 1782,* was repeated *in 1800,* by 2 successive Attorney-Generals of Ireland. *Mr. William Saurin,* in his place in

[a] The manuscript is damaged here.—*Ed.*

[b] G. Ensor, *Anti-Union...,* p. 110.—*Ed.*

*Parliament,* declared that he considered the *Irish representatives incompetent to exact a legislative* Union; and that any statute, made by a Parliament, thus constituted, *would not be constitutionally binding on the Irish people.* [After becoming] Attorney-General, [he] never afterwards repeated his scepticism.

*Mr. Plunket* made the same declaration, but in rather stronger terms, as he vouched for his son as well as himself; and soon after became Attorney-General.

In every debate upon that measure, it was insisted upon that the Parliament was incompetent, even to entertain the question of the Union. So *Saurin, Plunket* (since Lord Chancellor), Sergeant *Ball,* the ablest lawyer of Ireland, *Fitzgerald,* Prime-Serjeant of Ireland, *Moore,* since a judge, *Sir John Parnell,* then Chancellor of the Exchequer, *Bushe,* since Chief Justice, *Lord Oriel,* the then Speaker of the (Irish) House of Commons.

*January 1799. Irish House of Commons. Plunket* (Solicitor-General for Ireland under *Addington* Cabinet) declared: "I tell [you][a] that if, circumstanced as you are, you pass this Act, *it will be a mere nullity, and that no man in Ireland will be bound to obey it.*"[b]

*7 May 1802 Forster* declared in the *United House of Commons* 1802 that Castlereagh, in Ireland, had made use of public money [for the pur]pose of obtaining *votes in favour of the Union.*

*Grey, May, 1806, House of Commons* said that *"these votes for Union were purchased by corruption".*

"The ac[t of][a] borough-mongers and placemen is irrevocable, against the Irish Nation!" (Ensor.)[c]

## *Opinions of English Liberals and Radicals on the Union*

*Lord Holland:* The *English* were injured (by the Union) particularly by the means it affords to *increased parliamentary corruption.* This was foreseen by *Lord Holland,* who, *in debating the Union preparatory to its enactment,* said *"that it was incompatible* with the opinions of all those who *wished for Parliamentary Reform".*

{The Representative Irish Peers, thickening the ranks of the House of Lords, have strengthened the prerogative. *The whole peerage of Ireland is a borough, of which the King is Patron.*}

*George Tierney* said, speaking of the Union before it was enacted, *that it would ruin Great Britain.* It has ruined both England and Ireland. The subjugation of Ireland has made England's people a mere taxable commodity. Instead of the *universal tranquillity,* which *Canning* promised, when advocating the Union, the Union was followed by new and severe laws, extraordinary commissions, and unlimited agitation. Ireland is *mocked with some of the minor forms of freedom.*

"Union of 1800 a ruin to the annexed, a torment to the annexing nation." *(Barrington.)*

*Cobbett. Political Register, 14 February 1807,* in connection with the "Threshers" disturbances in West Ireland,[313] lays the following ironical words in the mouth of an *Irish exciseman*:

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[a] The manuscript is damaged here.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. J. Mitchel, *The History of Ireland...,* Vol. II, p. 77.—*Ed.*

[c] G. Ensor, *Anti-Union...,* pp. 97-98.—*Ed.*

"He had no doubt but with an entire repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act, a due execution of the statutes for martial law, and the assistance of 60,000 regular troops, Ireland would become a valuable dependence to England, and produce so considerable a revenue, as to [be] able with the aid of Sir John Newport, in borrowing 2 or 3 millions a year, very nearly to pay the troops to keep the peace, the custom-house officers to collect the revenues, and the salaries and pensions of the 'friends of government'."[a]

In connection with the Irish *Insurrection Bill* of 1807, which was still in force in 1809:

*Cobbett. Political Register, 9 December 1809*: "*Angry with the Irish*; because—*because what*? Why, because their *existence endangers our safety*! Angry with them, because they are alive, and have a desire to enjoy life! Sad dogs those Irishmen must be to desire to keep alive, when *to keep alive may be dangerous to us*!" .... "We may, as I before observed, be *angry* with the *Irish, because about 5 millions of them continue to be alive,* we may hate them and curse them; we may wish their island sunk to the bottom of the sea; but, still they live, and live they will" .... "It is, therefore, as useless to be angry with them as it would be to be angry with thunder and lightning."[b]

*Cobbett. Political Register, 20 February 1811*:

"What an infamy to the English nation, who really seem to desire to be deceived with regard to Ireland; but, whose silly and base desire will be frustrated in spite of themselves; for hear and see and *feel* the truth they must. They may hide their heads in their hoods and cloaks as long as they will; they may, as long as they please, pay impostors to sooth their cowardly fears, but all will not do. Ireland! Ireland! Ireland! will, maugre all their miserable devices, present herself to them in her true and formidable shape."[c]

*Ensor.* "Ireland with its foundations is pressed downward by *the accumulated burthens of England and her empire.*" (*Pays 5 millions now for absentees* etc. to England.)[d]

*Curran:* She (Ireland) "thought the *circulation of the political blood* could be carried on only by *the action of the heart within the body, and could not be maintained from without*". "The instruments of our government have been almost simplified into *the tax gatherer and the hangman.*" With the Union: "all semblance of national independence buried in that grave in which our legislation is interred, our property and our persons are disposed of by laws made in another clime, and made *like boots and shoes for exportation to fit the wearers as they may.* ... It was, in fact, the real design of a rash, and arbitrary, and short-sighted projector, *at once to deprive you of all power, as to your own taxation,* and of another power of not very inferior importance, and which, indeed, is invariably connected with taxation, *to rob you of all influence upon the vital question of peace and war; and to bring all within the control of an English minister. This very power,* thus acquired by that *detested Union, has been a millstone about the neck of England.* From that hour to this she has been flaring away in her ruinous and wasteful war."[e]

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[a] *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register,* No. 7, February 14, 1807, Vol. XI, p. 255.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., No. 23, December 9, 1809, Vol. XVI, pp. 866-74.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., No. 15, February 20, 1811, Vol. XIX, pp. 420-21.—*Ed.*

[d] G. Ensor, *Anti-Union...*, p. 118.—*Ed.*

[e] Marx quotes passages from Curran's speech made on October 17, 1812, at the General Election in Newry. See J. Ph. Curran, *The Speeches...*, pp. 465-66, 468-69.—*Ed.*

*Ensor*: "England paralysed at home and abroad." *Castlereagh,* advanced to be *English* minister by the Irish war. He taxed the English nation with *"an ignorant impatience of taxation".* "The whole House of Commons is a labyrinth of pretension, imposture, falsehood, injustice, and gloating corruption.... There is no shame, no regard to facts, no respect for consequences, *since the Union, in the English Parliament.*" [a]

*Morning Chronicle, 1828*: "The *hatred of the Union* is the *only point,* we believe, as to which *all Irishmen are agreed.* It has been an *unfortunate measure both for England and Ireland!*" [314]

*Petty* said: "*England has constantly lost, these 500 years,* by the meddling with Ireland." [b]

## *Loss to England*[315]

### *Irish Members—access of venality and corruption to the House of Commons.* Increase [of] *ministerial* usurpation.

"How *the Irish Members* precipitated themselves, when the *Manchester Massacre* was to be justified by *Castlereagh,* the manager of the Union! How they thronged to pass the 6 Acts!" [316] *(Ensor)*

"The *French war* strengthened the royal prerogative in England, as it increased *the means of expenditure,* and the *fonds of corruption.* These effected the *Union,* and the Union multiplied every scheme of rapine and prodigality." *(Ensor.)*

### *Ireland—one of the pretexts of keeping a large standing army.*

By the Union, the military of one country, when transferred, are in effect *foreign mercenaries. War service in time of peace.*

*English House of Commons.* "Increased members, and the increased and multiform business in the House of Commons, have lessened the attention of the great body of the members. The House of Commons, before the Union of Scotland and England, consisted of 513 members. *At this period* the business of the nation preceded application to private affairs. The legislature then met *in the morning.* The members *were fined* if they absented themselves when the Speaker took the Chair, and *absence for a whole day was punished with an enhanced penalty.* Now the House consists of 658 members, yet not a 10th are present when the Speaker takes the Chair on any day. Business is often transacted when there is, technically, no House." *(Ensor.)*

"Every *acquisition of a nation by a nation* is injurious to the liberty of both. The *accessory country is a lapsed inheritance,* while the people who make the acquisition are *submissive to their own rulers,* lest they might countenance any disturbance in the superadded nation; *they submit at home for a barren, often expensive, superiority abroad.* [...] This the whole story of the Roman history ... *as the world fell before the Roman aristocracy, the Roman citizens were pauperised and enslaved.* [...] Every impeachment of liberty in one country *leads to its* loss *in another.*" *(Ensor.)*

"Talk about *revolutionary principles!* The Duke of Clarence, afterwards *William IV,* called, in *1793,* an *effort to abolish the slave trade* part of *'the levelling principles of the French Revolution'.*"

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[a] G. Ensor, *Anti-Union...,* p. 11.—*Ed.*

[b] W. Petty, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland,* Dublin, 1769, p. 320 (quoted from G. Ensor, *Anti-Union...,* p. 31).—*Ed.*

"Say not, then, that *England will never consent to relieve Ireland from the Union*—repeat not that she will never be bullied or frightened. The English are the sport of frights.... When Englishmen proclaim, we will not be frightened: it is as the coward's song, surprised by the darkness of night. The English not be frightened! ... England not to be frightened by Ireland! The whole history of the connexion of the 2 countries betrays terror, paralysis, distraction. England's numerous laws against Ireland's trade, manufactures, and commerce—against her people, as a religious community, as a political society—prove that the fears of England have neither measure nor limit.... Nay, their jealousy, their suspicion, their alarm, *confessedly induced them to force the Union on Ireland, by which they ensured the evil they laboured to prevent.*" *(Ensor.)*

## *Confiscations in Ireland*[317]

*Sir W. Petty* says generally: *"most of the lands of Ireland have been, within 150 years, forfeited".*[a]

In fact, *all Ireland has been confiscated, three times,* again and again. On some occasions, *such were the forfeitures, that the territory on sale, from the glut of the market,* fell to $^1/_4$ of its *former annual value. Lawrence* mentions, "that *from 1654-1660,* not only the adventurers[318] and soldiers, but all persons who could command money, traded in land, and thereby obtained better estates in one year than by treble the sum they got ever before in 7 years' traffic".

This upsetting and dislocation of property, by force of arms, were aggravated by wicked inquisitions, and the practices of the crown lawyers. When the head of a clan died, if the descent followed the Irish custom, the land was forfeited: for this custom was repugnant to the English code. [Yet, if][b] this land were distributed according to the English law, that was reputed irregular, for it should have been transmitted, said the lawyers, *according to the Brehon law.*[319] Thus the land was forfeited either way, and the Crown became the sole heir. By these means, whether in peace or alleged insurrection, property was subjected to chicane, and the people were systematically robbed. Sometimes the people revolted, e.g. under *Edward II* and *Charles I.*[320] *Harris* states the reasons of this last insurrection thus: "The preposterous rigour, and unreasonable severity—the covetous zeal and uncharitable fury of some men—and, lastly, *the fear of utter extirpation.*"

## *Scotch Union with England*

Scotland and England parts of the same island. But the population differed from that in England. In Scotland at that time there was peace at home and abroad. There were only *3,000 troops in Scotland (Defoe).*[c] Again, when the Parliament of Scotland was to be elected, the electors were apprised that they were to depute members to decide respecting the Union of the 2 countries. When Union [was] first proposed in the Scotch Parliament, *64 majority for* Union. Scotland by

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[a] W. Petty, op. cit., p. 359 (quoted from G. Ensor, *Anti-Union...*, p. 51).—*Ed.*

[b] The manuscript is damaged here.—*Ed.*

[c] D. Defoe, *The History of the Union of Great Britain,* Edinburgh, 1709; quoted from G. Ensor, *Anti-Union...*, p. 56.—*Ed.*

the Union secured for itself the *republican form* of Church government. Presbyterianism became thus by law the religion of the State. By the Irish Union the *religion of 1/10 of the people was declared to be the State religion. Act of Union* declares this to be *the law for ever.* Yet the *repeal of the Scotch Union* in the *English House of Commons*[a] in 1713 [was] rejected by a majority of 4 voices.[b]

## [IRELAND FROM THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION TO THE UNION OF 1801

SUMMARY][321]

### 1) FROM 1778 TO 1782. (LEGISLATIVE INDEPENDENCE). (CATHOLICS)

a) Penal Code up to 1778 in full vigour against the Catholics. *State of Irish Parliament in 18th century until American War of Independence. Poynings' Law (a statute of Henry VII,* by his Attorney-General, Sir *Edward Poynings). Statute 6, George I.*

Only some opposition to England on commercial matters. *Influence of absentees.* (*Peers* principally.)

b) *1778* Irish Parliament relaxes *severity of the Penal Code,*[322] *Catholics were allowed to take leases of land.* This [is a] consequence of the American war, and the treaty of France with America (*6 February 1778*).

### C) VOLUNTEER ORGANISATION. THE FREE TRADE MOVEMENT. FIRST CONCESSIONS OF ENGLAND

*June 1778* commenced war with France. *Summer 1779* King of Spain accedes as ally to United States and France. *Plymouth* assailed by their united fleets (*August 1779*). Threatened invasion of Ireland.

*The Volunteers—armed Protestantism of Ireland.*[323] {(*26 February 1780:* Armed Neutrality founded by Russia.)} In 1779 Ireland left ungarrisoned.

The *Armed Associations first local* and provincial, strongest in the North. First *against Invasion.* Protestant farmers rallied first under

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[a] See Debates in the English House of Lords on the Union with Scotland on June 2, 1713, in *A Collection of the Parliamentary Debates in England, from the Year M. DC, LXVIII to the Present Time,* Vol. VI, 1740.—*Ed.*

[b] G. Ensor, *Anti-Union...*, pp. 54, 56-57. Ensor has: "... in the English House of Lords...".—*Ed.*

this cry. Catholics assisted. Soon cry of the *Volunteers: "Free Trade" (i.e. Free Export)* and emancipation of Irish industry and commerce from the shackles laid upon them by England (to free themselves mercantilely and industrially). England suspends, prohibits export of Irish manufactures, inundates Irish market with her own manufactures. *Non-Importation* and *Non-Consumption Agreement.* In the Volunteer movement *Association of all ranks.*

*Sessions of Irish House of Commons 1779-80* under this high popular pressure.

*Grattan* moves an amendment to the address, where we find the following:

"*constant drain to supply absentees,* and *the unfortunate prohibition of our trade*", demands to *"open a free export trade".*

*Amendment* of *Hussey Burgh* (the Prime Sergeant):

"that it is not *by temporary expedients, that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin*".[324]

Unanimously carried. Volunteers rightly attributed to themselves this success. Increase in their number and confidence. *Lord North* supercilious. Does nothing. *Non-Importation and Non-Consumption Act now general* [cry] *in Ireland. Dublin* (city) *Resolutions.* Dublin Volunteers chose *William, Duke of Leinster,* for their Chief. Soon *4 provincial armies* organised, Earl *of Charlemont* first commander-in-chief of the Ulster army, soon *general commander-in-chief.*

*Free Trade* became the watchword of the Volunteers. *James Napper Tandy* at the head of *Dublin Volunteer Artillery,* with labels on the mouths of their cannon: *"Free Trade or Speedy Revolution".* Meanwhile: *19 October 1781, Cornwallis* capitulates at *York Town* (Virginia).

*30 November 1782. Paris Preliminary Treaty between United States and England.*

*Lord North now frightened.* America already lost.

*English House of Commons. 24 November 1781* speech from the throne. *25 November 1781* British Parliament meets, *first* Bills of concessions receive royal assent.

*2 December 1781. In hot haste* these laws restrictive of commercial and manufactural restraint are now revoked, but North tried, by considering them bit by bit, in longer intervals, to get over the session of 1782 and do no more. Now, on the contrary, the *Irish Volunteers* became aware that under the pretext of making concessions *British Parliament asserts its legislative authority* over Ireland. *Free Parliament* becomes now a watchword added to that

of *Free Trade. 14 Irish counties* at once avowed to establish, at the risk of their lives and fortunes, the *independence of the Irish Legislature.*

*Resolutions entered into by almost every military camp, and every incorporate body, that they would no longer obey any laws, save those, enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland.*

At that time: *Poynings' Statute* subjected Irish Legislature to *British Attorney-General and British* [Privy] *Council. 6, George I to Statutes of British Parliament* and *British Appellant Jurisdiction.*

*Standing army* in *Ireland independent of Parliament,* under *the regulations of a British Statute, Perpetual Mutiny Bill and hereditary Revenue of the Crown.*

*Judges of Ireland* hold their offices only *during the will of the British Minister,* and their *salaries barely sufficient to keep them above want.*

*Irish Parliament met but once in 2 years.* In the *British Attorney-General* was vested the superintendence of their proceedings, in the *British Privy Council* the *alteration and rejection of their Statutes. Want of Protection for Personal Liberty in Ireland: No Habeas Corpus Act.*

*9 October 1781. Irish House of Commons. Resolution of vote of thanks for the Volunteers, for their exertions, and continuance. Unanimous.*

These brought down the British Government to the feet of the Volunteers—self-armed, self-governed, self-disciplined associations; by this time [they] *exceeded in number the whole regular military force of the British Empire.* Now ***regular and public deliberative meetings of the Volunteers.*** *Catholic bodies entered the Volunteer army,* officered by Protestants. Cry: "that *their connection with England was only federative*". *Repeal of 6, George I* asked.

The *armed associations of Ulster first appointed delegates* to declare their sentiments in a *general Assembly. Convention at Dungannon, 15 February 1782.* Agreed upon the celebrated *Declaration of Rights and Grievances.* Delegates of 25,000 Ulster soldiers.

Convention resolves to appoint *9 of their members to act as a Committee at Dublin,* to communicate with the other Volunteer Associations, deliberate with them on carrying the Dungannon Resolutions into effect. *In every Volunteer Corps* of Ireland the *Dungannon Resolutions accepted.*

*Pressure of this on the Irish House of Commons.* Its sessions [were] biennial, and, consequently, their *grants for the Government for 2 years at once. They now resolved on granting supplies to the Crown for 6 months only.* This had its effect.

C) DECLARATION OF IRISH INDEPENDENCE

Proceedings of Irish *voluntary bodies and corporate bodies* [became] *every day* more serious and decisive, tone in the House of Commons more menacing. *Lord North* no longer possible.

*April 1782. Marquis of Rockingham Cabinet (James Fox* in it). *Duke of Portland,* nominated *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,* arrives at *Dublin 14 April 1782,* had to meet the *Irish Parliament on 16 April.*

*Message of George III to British Parliament, 18 April 1782,* wherein necessity expressed

"to come to *a final adjustment* with Ireland".

*British House of Commons* express their full concurrence.

*House of Commons, 16 April 1782. Portland* had wanted to procrastinate, *Grattan* communicated to him that [this was] impossible without provoking anarchy. *Hely-Hutchinson,* Lord Lieutenant had ordered him to communicate King's message for *"a final adjustment". Grattan's amendment of the address* in reply affirming Ireland to be a

*"distinct kingdom with a Parliament of her own the sole legislature thereof"* etc.

*G. Ponsonby* (on behalf of *Portland*) seconded this. *Unanimously passed.* Strictly before and after this scene firm Resolutions of the *Volunteer Corps.* Their firmness achieved this Revolution (even *Fitzgibbon* and *John Scott,* afterwards *Lord Clonmel,* on 16 April 1782 frightened into *patriotism*). *Immediately after this Portland* sends two despatches to England, one *public,* the other *private and confidential to Fox,* as to the necessity of yielding (ascertaining at the same time that he would act *on the Volunteers* through *Charlemont,* on the House of Commons through dissension of *Flood* and *Grattan*).

*Irish Parliament prorogued for three weeks, to wait on King's Answer.*

Meanwhile public *reviews* of *the Volunteers* (then 100,000 effectives); nearly $^1/_3$ of the whole English Army, besides, are *Irish*; many sailors ditto.

*Irish House of Commons meets: 27 May 1782:* Quasi *Throne Speech of Portland.* Will concede to all demands, British Parliament ready; King gives his *Royal Assent to acts to prevent the suppression of Bills in the Privy Council of the Kingdom,* limits *the Act (Mutiny Bill) for Army to 2 years.* (Besides much soft-sawder.) *Grattan* fool, address of thanks.

*"The British Government had given up every claim to authority over Ireland"* (he says), "that we conceive the *resolution for an unqualified repeal of 6 George I* to be a measure of consummate wisdom", *"that no constitutional question between the 2 nations will any longer exist."*

*Grattan's Address carried* (only 2 votes against). *Bagenal* proposes to appoint committee for sum to be voted by Nation to Grattan.

*Britishers frightened.* Precipitantly Bills enacted for making the concessions to Ireland. *6, George I repealed by British Parliament,* obtains sanction of King, instantly transmitted to the Irish Viceroy, by him communicated to all the Volunteer Corps.

*Irish House of Commons, 30 May 1782.* Bagenal's proposition for Grattan repeated. *Portland* offers him, as part of the intended grant, on the part of the Crown, the *"Vice-Regal Palace in the Phoenix Park"*, the King's best palace in Ireland. Of course refused. Grattan got from House of Commons £50,000.

## II) FROM 1782 (SINCE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE) TO 1795

### A) 1782-1783. (REFORM BILL DEFEATED. VOLUNTEERS HUMBLED)

*Some small measures to relax the severity of Penal Code against Catholics.* Opposed by bigots and Castle[325] influence. Passed however. *The concessions very limited.*

At length *Fox himself* declared in *British Parliament* that

"the repeal of that Statute" *(6, George I)* "could not stand alone, must be accompanied by a *final adjustment*", "*treaty,* to be adopted by both Parliaments, to be entered upon ... to finally become *an irrevocable arrangement between the 2 countries*".

By this Viceroy's duplicity [was] exploded, Grattan's stupidity exposed, Flood is now still feebly supported in the House of Commons, but strongly by the Volunteers.

*19 July 1782* Flood moves leave to bring in a Bill for the ascertaining of Irish legislative etc. independence. Even leave to bring in this Bill was *negatived without a division. (Grattan!)*

*27 July 1782. Irish Parliament.* Prorogued by *Portland.* In his proroguing speech: "*inviolable adherence to that compact* etc."

*Marquis of Rockingham died 1782. Fox-North Coalition. Portland superseded by Earl of Temple (later Marquis of Buckingham).* His *Chief Secretary Mr., afterward Lord Grenville. His Administration from 15 September 1782—3 June 1783.*

*More than 150,000 Volunteers* now on the Muster-rolls. *Strong accession to them of Catholics.* Resolved no longer to obey or suffer to be obeyed any law or statute passed in England for Ireland.

*Hence standstill. Magistrates, counsels acted ditto. Juries would not find for them.* Action of many important laws suspended.

*Parliament divided between Flood and Grattan.* The latter (Whig spelt) always in majority. *British Administration resolved to foster the division of Nation thus created. Baffled by injudicious conduct of some Members of the British Parliament.*

*Sir G. Young in British House of Commons. Lord Mansfield in the Court of King's Bench. Lord Abingdon in the House of Lords.*

Volunteers beat to arms throughout Ireland. Above 120,000. Flood [has the] upper hand amongst them. *New panic of British Ministry.*

*1783. 23 Act of George III.* All *right of legislative interference on the part of British Parliament, and appellant jurisdiction in England, repudiated.* Without debate passed.

This *British Renunciation Act* discredited the *Irish Parliament with the Irish People.* Showed either its insufficiency or corruption, or would have been superfluous. *Reform of the Irish Parliament* now the cry.

*Irish Parliament. Rotten Borough System.* Members of House of Commons nominated *by individuals,* especially *Peers,* nominated by the King, *voted by proxy in House of Commons.* Membership *purchased by money* and *its exercise sold for office.* These purchases also made by *servants of the Executive Government.* The Volunteers had the facts sifted etc. 1 Peer nominated 9 Commoners etc. $^1/_4$ of members only freely elected by people. New *Delegates Assembly of Volunteers in Dungannon. 10 November 1783 was proclaimed for the first sitting of the Grand National Convention of Ireland at Dublin. Rotunda* place of their meeting. British Ministers knew *that if Reform* [were effected] *in Ireland* [it] *could not be withheld from England.* Then commercial jealousy of England. *Charlemont* President by trickery. Plan of Reform passed, to be brought into the House of Commons by Flood. *Sittings of Convention were made permanent* till answer [was received].

*The Government refused leave to bring in Flood's Bill, because it had originated from armed deliberation.*

The Government knew *that the triumph of the Parliament implied not only the destruction of the Convention, but of the Volunteers. Bill rejected* by *158* to *49. 158 of the majority were placemen, as in 1800. Address to the King, offending the Volunteers,* carried. *Charlemont adjourns the Convention by tricks. Now struggle between the bigots* (Charlemont) and *Emancipation (Catholic)* amongst the Volunteers and People. (*Earl Bristol, Bishop of Derry* for *full emancipation. Address in that sense by Belfast Volunteers.*) Foolish *Charlemont* made

new "civil", not military *"Bill of Reform"* to be introduced in *House of Commons.* Of course rejected. Now begins the *Period* of *Moderate Parliamentarism.* The Volunteers survived the blows for some years, but [were] decaying. The Whig Orators (*Grattan* etc.) lost ground and influence.

### B) FROM THE END OF 1783 TO 1791 (FOUNDATION OF UNITED IRISHMEN)

*December 1783. Pitt Minister. Duke of Rutland Viceroy. Orde Minister. Rutland died October 1787.*

*Duke of Rutland Viceroy. (Orde Chief Secretary.) December 1783-October 1787.*

In the *House of Commons* repeated useless *attempts at Reform.*

*Orde's Commercial Propositions.*

*May, 1784. Griffith* proposes House of Commons *inquiry into the commercial intercourse between Ireland and Great Britain, Irish trade he wanted to be protected against English competition.* Government took that proposal out of his hands.

*7 February 1785.* Orde announced, and on *11 February 1785* moved, *11 Propositions on Trade.* This plan proffered as a *boon of reciprocity.* Favour [to be] paid for by *£140,000* new taxes.

*22 February 1785. Pitt* moved 20 Resolutions in the British House of Commons. Amended in English sense. Then sent to Ireland. *Half the globe interdicted to Irish ships and interdicts laid on Irish goods. Whole Custom-House Legislation taken away from Ireland* etc. (See p. 22[a].)

*Irish House of Commons.* On *15 August 1785,* after different previous stormy sittings, *Orde* had to *abandon his Bill for the session,* [and] for ever. *Orde's Propositions merged into a secret design for the Union.*

*11 August 1785.* Curran had threatened with opposition, *"not only by words".*

*12 August 1785. Curran:*

*"the Bill portends a surrender of the Constitution and Liberties of Ireland".*

*Irish House of Commons. 14 February 1785. Bill for raising Militia. Against the Volunteers.* (£20,000 for Militia.)

*1784 renewed effort for Reform. Henry Reilly, Sheriff of the County of Dublin,* in consequence of a requisition, summoned his bailiwick

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[a] Here and further on Marx refers to the main section of his manuscript (see pp. 240-41 of this volume).—*Ed.*

etc. for the ***25 October 1784,*** to elect members for a *national congress.* For this attached by the *King's Bench,* on a Crown Motion.

*24 February 1785* Brownlow moved *vote of censure on the judges of that Court,* for the attachment. *Rejected by 143 to 71.*

The endeavour *to regain by corruption what was surrendered to force, began in 1782,* and *increased greatly after the defeat of Orde's Propositions.*

*Irish House of Commons 13 March 1786. Forbes* moves *to limit the amount of Pensions.* This failed.

*12 March 1787. Forbes renewed his Bill.* Failed again.

*No Ministerial Responsibility in Ireland.*

*Irish House of Commons January 19, 1787. Outrages in the South,* caused by misery of the people, from *tithes, rents, absenteeism, bad tenures, harsh treatment* etc. (Since the end of 1791, United Irishmen, *Political Parties united themselves with the peasants,* the *Republicans of the North.*)

*1786. Lord Lieutenant's Opening Speech* referred to *"frequent outrages"* in the South, *"Right Boys"* of Kilkenny. Yet the only Bill, brought in by Government, the *Dublin Police Bill,* against which the City of Dublin petitioned.

*1787. Viceroy's speech* on this subject much more positive. Fitzgibbon accused the landlords of grinding the people, and abetting the disturbances against the clergy, asked for more powers.

*19 January 1787.* Fitzgibbon said the disturbances commenced in *Kerry* etc. *"Captain Right".* Spread then through *Munster* etc. Their object the *tithes,* then to *regulate the price of lands, raise the price of labour, oppose the collection of hearth-money and other taxes.*

*Curran during the debates:*

"You may talk *of commerce extending* ... but what, in God's name, have they to do with the wretched peasantry?"

*19 February 1787. Right Boy Bill.* Bill committed by 192 against 31. By it *Riot Act,* introduced from England, passed.

*20 February 1787*: Proposed to *limit the Bill* to *Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Tipperary. Motion lost* without a division. By this *Bill capital punishment for tendering an oath* etc.

*13 March 1787. Tithes.* Grattan moved, that if tranquillity [were] restored, at the opening of the next session, the *House would consider the Tithe Question.* Motion lost, without a division. *English Secretary* declared

*"he was a stranger to the distress"* and would *"never have it considered by the Parliament".*

This Riot Act to be enforced by the very same landed proprietors whom Fitzgibbon had accused of grinding the peasant and instigating him against the clergy.

*Marquis of Buckingham (formerly Earl of Temple) second time Viceroy. 16 December 1737-5 January 1790. (Orde Secretary!) (Fitzherbert Chief Secretary.)*

*Influence of French Revolution of 1789 commences during this period.*

*Irish House of Commons. 21 April 1789. Disfranchisement of Excise Officers' Bill. Rejected by 148 to 93.*

*25 April 1789: Dublin Police. Motion*

"attended with waste, and useless patronage". Rejected by *132* to *78.*

*Regency Bill, 1789. George III mad for some time,* concealed, at the *end of 1788* it could no longer be hid. In the ministers' *draft* of the *address in answer to Lord Buckingham* they praised themselves.

*6 February 1789* Grattan moved *amendment.* ([People] believed that Fox would become Premier Minister under the Prince of Wales.) *Carried without a division.*

*11 February 1789* Ministers tried to postpone division on the Regency; their *avowed motive to know the Resolutions of the British Parliament* (appointing Prince Regent with limited powers). (These resolutions passed in England on *23 January,* accepted by Prince *31 January,* but had not yet reached the Irish Government.) *Postponement refused.* Prince *nominated Prince Regent of Ireland with unlimited Powers. Passed without division.*

*12 February 1789* Conolly moves address, *February 17* concurrence of Lords, *19 February* presented to Buckingham. *Refused to transmit it, 20 February 1789* Deputation to Prince appointed. *Vote of Censure* against *Buckingham. 27 February 1789* Deputation (of the Commons) send them letter with "warmest thanks" of the Prince, *20 March 1789* still more fervent letter of the Prince to Irish House of Commons on recovery of his father's health.

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN FANE, EARL OF WESTMORELAND
(CHIEF SECRETARY HOBART,
AFTERWARDS EARL OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE)
(5 JANUARY 1790—4 JANUARY 1795)

*House of Commons, 4 February 1790. Stamp officers' Salaries.* (Proposed to *cut them down* and *regulate them.* Rejected *by 141* to *81.*) (Curran in his speech alludes to the *French Revolution.*)

*11 February 1790. Forbes* moves *an address* describing and censuring several recent pensions. *Rejected by 136 to 92.*

*Curran* states, afterwards (speech in *House of Commons, February 12, 1791*):

"During the whole of the session of 1790, we have, in the name of the people of Ireland, demanded from them the *Constitution of Great Britain,* and it has been uniformly denied. We would have passed *a law to restrain the shameful profusion of a pension-list*—it was refused by a majority. We would have passed *a law to exclude persons, who must ever be the chattels of the government, from sitting in this House.* Refused by a majority. *A bill to make some person, resident among you, and therefore amenable to public justice, responsible for the acts of your governors* ... refused. [...] *This uniform denial ... proof to the people of Ireland,* that *the imputation* of corrupt practices is founded in fact."

## *Disputed Election of Lord Mayor in Dublin (1790)*

Citizens of Dublin pledged themselves to elect no one as *Lord Mayor* or *Member of Parliament* for the city, who *held place or pension from Government.*

*16 April 1790* Aldermen choose *Alderman James,* a Police Commissioner, Lord Mayor for the ensuing year. Rejected by the Common Council, *ditto* 7 other names. They elected *Alderman Howison* (*Napper* Tandy led the popular party). Aldermen re-elect James. Before the Privy Council. Orders new election. Same farce repeated.

*10 July 1790.* Curran pleads before Privy Council for Howison. *Privy Council* for *James,* who resigns on *5 August 1790.* Howison chosen [by the] Aldermen.

*16 July 1790.* Napper Tandy in Common Council carried Resolutions censuring Privy Council, Aldermen, and summoned meeting of freemen and freeholders at the Exchange. Adjourned *to 3 August* to draw up *State of Facts,* which [was] done accordingly.

*24 July:* Whig Club [passed] similar Resolutions. Their quarrel with Fitzgibbon.[a]

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Insurrectionary outrages at Dublin on Camden's arrival. Fitzwilliam's recall triumph for the Separation party. *Irish Republic* soon object of the *United Irishmen.* Bulk of the Presbyterians of *Down, Antrim, Tyrone,* joined by multitudes of Catholics and Protestants in *Leinster.* Catholics of the North *Defenders* or *Ribbonmen.*

*Irish House of Commons 4 May 1795. Second Reading of the Emancipation Bill. Rejected by 155 to 84.* {An *Insurrection Bill passed* etc., law allowing the *Lord Lieutenant* to *proclaim counties;*

[a] The next, 9th, page of the manuscript is missing.—*Ed.*

*magistrates* obtained power of breaking into houses, and transporting to the navy all whom they suspected. *Indemnity* for magistrates guilty of illegality—giving the Lord Lieutenant *power of arrest without bail*—licensing the *introduction of foreign troops* (German), establishing the Yeomanry Corps.}

*Irish House of Commons 3 February 1796. Indemnity Bill.*

*25 February 1796. Insurrection Bill.* {Right of arbitrary *transportation* to serve *in the navy* given to *magistrates.*} *Curran:*

"bill for the *rich,* and against the *poor*".

***Since end of March 1796*** whole counties of Ireland proclaimed.

*13 October 1796. French war.* (Hoche was just assembling at Brest, and *Wolfe Tone, Grouchy,* and a part of the expedition, reached *Bantry Bay* on the *22 December,* left it only the *28.*)

*Camden opens Parliament. Resistance to France (Invasion!)* and *"popular passion* and *public opinion".*

*Curran.* Government has instigated persecution of Catholics, for 2 years [they] murdered etc. *in one of the counties. Ponsonby's Amendment to Address rejected* by 149 to 12. Then [the] Bill (by *Attorney-General*) [was] passed, [the] *Bill* to empower the Lord Lieutenant to *take up and detain all such persons, as were suspected of treasonable practices* etc. It was read many times, once or twice committed for the morrow.

*14 October 1796. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.*

*17 October 1796. Catholic Emancipation Bill rejected.*

*6 January 1797. Hoche's Expedition.* Pelham brings down message of Viceroy for new war taxes.

*24 February 1797. Internal Defence. Yeomanry Infantry* etc. (p. 38).[a]

*18 March 1797. Disarming of Ulster.* Message of Camden. (*Proclamation* of General Lake. Belfast. 13 March.)

*15 May 1797. Curran, Grattan* etc. secede from the House.

*3 July 1797* House adjourned. *Castlereagh Chief Secretary.*

*14 October 1797. Orr* hanged for having administered *oath of* the *United Irishmen* to a private soldier (proven only by an informer etc.)

{*10 May 1795. Organisation of Ulster* (United Irishmen) completed. In *autumn 1796* made *military* in Ulster. Towards the *middle of 1797,* this system spread to *Leinster.* Only *19 February 1798* the *Executive of the United Irishmen* resolved

"that they would not be diverted from their purpose by anything which could be done in Parliament".

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[a] See this volume, pp.253-54.—*Ed.*

(*Lose time for* action.) *March 1798* Arthur O'Connor arrested, at Maidstone, in the act of embarking for France; *12 March, Oliver Bond, McCann* etc. at Oliver Bond's warehouse, Dublin. Shortly afterwards *McNevin, Thomas Emmet, Sampson. New Directory. John Sheares* one of it. *19 May*, just 4 days before the insurrection was to take place, *Lord Fitzgerald* pounced upon, *21 May 2 Sheares.* Thus the insurrection began without its designers to lead it.}

*23 May 1798* the insurrection commenced (Dublin), *17 July* Lord Castlereagh announced *its final defeat.*

*Treason trials were held in February and March 1798 before the beginning of the insurrection.*[a] *Free quarters. Slow tortures,* under the pretence of forcing confessions etc. Summary executions. *At the outbreak of the insurrection martial law proclaimed.*

*25 July 1798.* Negotiations of leaders from gaol with the Government. Settled *29 July.* (Released only by *peace of Amiens,* 1802!)

### PITT'S PLAN TO ENFORCE AND PROVOKE THE REBELLION (P. 41 SQQ.)[b]

*1598-99* Elizabeth *(Mountjoy and Carew); same 1798-99.*

*Earl of Carhampton. General Abercromby.*

*United Irishmen and Pitt. Prussia and Poles.*

*Castlereagh boasted that he had made the conspiracy explode.* He charged the mine as well as fired it.

*Pitt 1795 and 1797* opposed debates for pacification of Ireland in *British Parliament* on pretext that *it was an encroachment on Irish independence.*

### LORD CORNWALLIS GOVERNMENT. UNION

*Pitt, Castlereagh, Cornwallis. (19 October 1781 Cornwallis's Capitulation* at *York Town, Virginia.)*

Cornwallis wants terror to carry the Union.

Happy accident for him:

*22 August 1798* about 1,000 French, under Humbert, entered Killala Bay, carried Castlebar *27 August.*

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[a] This sentence is in German in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 256-59.—*Ed.*

*8 September* surrendered at Ballinamuck. (*Hardy's* flotilla taken on 11 October with Tone, who died on 19 November.)

*Revival of horrors.*

40,000 troops in Ireland. *Martial Law continuing* (it was constantly renewed, and discontinued in 1801).[a]

House of Commons *22 January 1799.* Legislative Union first proposed in Speech from the Throne (debate lasted 22 hours, until the *morning of 23 January*). Government obtained majority of 1, by open sale of certain *Fox,* lawyer.

2nd *debate,* on *5 o'clock of 23 January 1799, lasted till morning 24.* Government defeated. 111 members decided against Union, 105 for. (*Voters* 216, *Absent* 84.)

*Lords Spiritual and Temporal* use this House of Commons' Opposition to get money etc. out of Government, stipulated for their sale.

*Cornwallis* bamboozles the *Catholic Bishops*; [their] disgusting subserviency.

Petitions, Addresses, Dubliners fired into for their rejoicings.

*5 and 6 February 1800 Union accepted by Irish House of Commons.* Still minority of *115* of a total of *273* votes. In interval between old and new Parliament corruption broadcast (pp. 48, 49[b]).

*Castlereagh's shameless measure.*

*The House of Commons* was surrounded by a British Regiment.

*Castlereagh* palpably purchased 25 members before the *2nd division* in 1800, which made a difference of 50 votes in favour of Government. Thus Pitt and Castlereagh carried the Union.

Written in October-November 1869

Reproduced from the manuscript

First published in Marx and Engels, *Works,* Second Russian Edition, Vol. 45, Moscow, 1975

[a] The sentence in brackets is in German in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 262-63.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [NOTES ON GOLDWIN SMITH'S BOOK *IRISH HISTORY AND IRISH CHARACTER*][326]

### 1) GOLDWIN SMITH, *IRISH HISTORY AND IRISH CHARACTER* (PART OF IT IN NOTEBOOK III UNDER O'CONOR[327])

Goldwin Smith, *Irish History and Irish Character,* Oxford and London, Parker, 1861.

Behind the cloak of objectivity, the apologetic English bourgeois professor. Even from a geographical point of view, Ireland, he says, was destined to be subjugated by England, and he attributes the slow and incomplete conquest to the width of the Channel and to the position of Wales between England and Ireland.

Ireland is said to be a GRAZING COUNTRY by nature, see Léonce de Lavergne.[a] Smith thinks that

"it is difficult, over a great part of the island, to get in a wheat harvest ... its natural way to commercial prosperity seems to be to supply with the produce of its grazing and dairy farms the *population of England*" (p. 3).

There *are* coalfields in Ireland (p. 4).

The climate is supposed to have debilitated the Irish and retarded their development, in comparison with such BRACED PEOPLE as the Scandinavians

(and Laplanders?). On the other hand, the prospect is held out to the Irish

of the VILLAS OF NOBLES and MERCHANT PRINCES, such as can now be found in Scotland (p. 5)

(IN THE GROUSE MOORS AND DEER FORESTS!).

Greatly deplores the lack of *moderation* in Irish eloquence. Nevertheless the Irishman complements the Englishman, and it

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[a] Léonce de Lavergne, *The Rural Economy of England, Scotland and Ireland.* Translated from the French. Edinburgh, 1855. See this volume, p. 159.—*Ed.*

would be unfortunate if as a result of emigration the Celtic element were DRAINED OFF.

Originally the clan or tribe [was] the social form common to all Celts

(and to other nations)

in Wales as well. Soon more intermingling of the different clans in the Irish plain and loosening of ties within the clans; on the other hand [there existed] the rule of the more powerful over those who were weaker, the beginnings of monarchy. The main prerogative of the king seems to have been the exaction of tribute, rather than regular jurisdiction.

The FACTION FIGHTS of the Irish, TWO YEAR OLDS and THREE YEAR OLDS, are vestiges of the old clanships, as are also the COUNTY jealousies and COUNTY FIGHTS[a]

(cf. the FIGHT between Cork and Tipperary on the emigrant ship).

The FAIRIES too have their FACTION and COUNTY FIGHTS[b]

(cf. Kohl).[328]

The old loyalty to the clan chief and submission to his will explain much in the Irish character.[c]

The land of the clan [was] communal property. In this context Smith realises that in Ireland it was *never the Irishman, but only the Englishman who held land as private property,* although he merely says that private property confronted the Irishman only

in the "form of insecurity, degradation, and despair" (p. 21).

Sir John Davies, pp. 135, 136,[d 329] writes of the CHIEFRIES that

"though they had *some portions of land allotted to them*", [their income] "did consist chiefly in *cuttings and cosheries and other Irish exactions,* whereby,

the English LAWYER says,

"they did spoil and impoverish the people at their pleasure. And when their chieftains were dead, their sons or next heirs did not succeed them but their tanists who were elective and *bought their election by strong hand;* and by the Irish custom of gavelkind, the inferior tenancies *were partable amongst all the males of the sept both bastards and legitimate* and after partition made, if anyone of the sept had died, his portion was not divided among his sons, but the chief of the sept made a new partition of all the lands belonging to the sept and gave everyone his part according to his antiquity."

Quoted p. 22.

The English LAWYERS are supposed to have called this, and TANISTRY in particular, "no estate, but only a transient and scambling possession", and Davies was entirely

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[a] G. Smith, op. cit, pp. 15-17.—*Ed.*

[b] J. G. Kohl, *Reisen in Irland,* Bd. I, Dresden und Leipzig, 1843, S. 34.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid, p. 19.—*Ed.*

[d] Engels' note in the margin: "Davies, excerpts, pp. 4, 2."—*Ed.*

in agreement with this and also with the king being obliged to compel the people, if necessary by force, to accept CIVILITY,[a]

i.e. the English law.

How often a new division took place is not clear (!!), certainly not at every death. (See Hallam.[b])

*Every two or three years*, see Davies, excerpts, p. 82.[c] In any case it is obvious that because of the English conquest, the Irish up to 1600 had not yet gone beyond communal property! But Smith (p. 24) asserts that as early as the

"invasion the land which a member of a sept had occupied seems generally to have passed at his death, as a matter of course, *to all his sons*".

This is wrong; see Davies, who considers that partition still exists at least in the northern part of Ireland.[d]

Even today, he says, "spend me and defend me" is more natural to the Irish peasant than the relationship of landlord and tenant.

The term GAVELKIND was introduced into Ireland by English LAWYERS, for they confused Irish law with the Kentish GAVELKIND, which knows no primogeniture either (p. 25).

St. Bernard's pronouncement about the Irish Church, on the basis of which Henry II justified Adrian's Papal Bull,[330] because it was necessary to bring the whole church under the sway of Rome in the face of external enemies, contains nothing but trash:

1) They pay no first-fruits or tithes. 2) they do not properly marry

(i.e. not in accordance with the formalities prescribed by Rome),

nor do they go to confession (?), no one exhorts them to do penance and no one imposes a penance. Moreover, 3) there are far too few priests. But *all this had already been put right by St. Malachy, as St. Bernard himself admits.* (*De vita St. Malachiae*, ch. 8.)

Giraldus Cambrensis however repeats the same accusations:

they pay neither tithes nor first-fruits, disregard the "rites of marriage, do not come to church and marry the wives of deceased brothers".[e] In addition one can merely say that the hierarchy is incomplete, there are far too many bishops and for a long time there were no archbishops at all, and their ORDINATIONS are not quite lawful (p. 33).[f]

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[a] J. Davies, *Historical Tracts*, London, 1786, pp. 134-35.—*Ed.*

[b] H. Hallam, *The Constitutional History of England, from the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of George II*, Vols. I-III, London, 1869.—*Ed.*

[c] In the manuscript this is written above the preceding quotation.—*Ed.*

[d] In the manuscript this remark is inserted between the lines.—*Ed.*

[e] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hibernica, et Expugnatio Hibernica.* Edited by James F. Dimock, London, 1867, p. 289.—*Ed.*

[f] See St. Bernard, *De Vita S. Malachiae...*, Ch. 10; p. 33 refers to Smith's book.—*Ed.*

The only towns were those of the Danes

(says Davies).[a]

That heathen elements are still evident in their religion is obvious, it was so everywhere. Thus in Ireland one can find "the pledge of blood" in addition to the touching of a relic when concluding an agreement, the noisy, orgiastic WAKES which accompany funerals, the fact that the right arm is not baptised etc.

In Germany and England one can find quite different things.

FOSTERAGES and the special emphasis laid on sponsorship (GOSSIPREDE) as being binding for life, are probably also of pagan origin. Cambrensis: "As for their own brethren and kinsmen, the Irish persecute them when living unto death, and avenge them when slain; while such love and fidelity as they show is confined to their foster-brethren and foster-children." Quoted p. 37.[b]

Marriage however seems to have been in a bad way, for Davies, p. 146,[c] speaks of "their common repudiation of their wives, their promiscuous generation of children, their neglect of lawful matrimony"; he associates this with "their uncleanness in apparel, diet, and lodging, and their contempt and scorn of all things necessary for the civil life of man".

The fact that in law BASTARD CHILDREN are placed on a par with legitimate children is connected with this but also with communal property.

The Irish squire of the last century is said to have still eaten at the same table with the RETAINERS of his HOUSEHOLD, almost like the old clan chief (p. 39).

The laws of the conquerors against bards and STROLLING SINGERS were directly political,

because they were the upholders of the NATIONAL tradition. As late as the end of the 18th century there were still a few old travelling harpists.[d]

But their Irish can no longer be understood today.

The Normans in Ireland "formed only a military colony, or rather garrison, holding its ground against the natives with difficulty, and living in a perpetual state of border war". From the outset therefore [they tried to gain the] ASCENDANCY. The Pale[331] was a part of feudal England on the other side of the Channel (p. 56).

The ENGLISH INTEREST and the ANGLO-IRISH INTEREST in the Pale arose already at that time. The Irish barons were jealous of the English officials who came from England, etc., and of those who also owned English ESTATES, and who for the most part were absentees[332] and remained English.

During the Wars of the Roses[333]

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[a] The parenthesis was inserted later.—*Ed.*

[b] Giraldus Cambrensis, op. cit., Vol. II, p. III; p. 37 refers to Smith's book.—*Ed.*

[c] The page reference—which is not given in Smith's book—was presumably inserted by Engels later.—*Ed.*

[d] G. Smith, op. cit., p. 43.—*Ed.*

the government of the Pale became so weak that it entrusted the policing and keeping of order to the private BROTHERHOOD of St. George.[a]

(Moore sub anno 1472, not in the Chronology.)[334]

The Statute of Kilkenny[335] is said to be merely an act of self-defence AND there was NOTHING PECULIARLY MALIGNANT IN IT. That crimes against Irishmen were not punishable is said to have been the natural consequence of the fact that in Ireland two nations living in the same country were subject to two different codes of law!

"An Irishman who had murdered an Englishman would have been only fined for it by his Brehon!!"

Proof of this is

the affair of the sheriff whom an Irish chief was prepared to admit into his territory, provided the government fixed the wergeld to be paid for him should the case arise.[b]

The *quinque sanguines*[c] are correctly understood as 5 clans.

English statesmen, such as Spenser, Davies and Bacon, who were interested in Ireland, regarded "the settlement and subjugation of Wales by Edward I" as an ideal.[d]

At any rate Davies, see pages 105-07, notebook 3, 2.[e 336]

Finally under Poynings' administration (Henry VII) *every* murder was made punishable according to English law[f]

(i.e. within the Pale). Almost all his laws are said to *have benefited Ireland,* because they placed IMPERIAL (here it is simply a euphemism for English) INTERESTS AND POLICY above ASCENDANCY (!).

"It can hardly be doubted that the most obnoxious of his statutes, as they tended to make imperial policy and imperial interests paramount over the policy and interests of ascendancy, were at the time of their enactment beneficial to the *Irish* ***people***"!! (p. 73).

These Acts were effective only within the Pale, and not a trace of the Irish people could be found there! (Davies, pp. 136-39.)[g]

He claims that with Henry VIII and Wolsey "the deep and reflecting statecraft of a politic age now began to appear" in the Irish administration of the regents sent to Ireland (p. 74).

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[a] G. Smith, op. cit., p. 66.—*Ed.*

[b] Engels' note in the margin: "Davies, pp. 134, 135; notebook pp. 4, 2; Spenser, p. 20."—*Ed.*

[c] Five bloods. See this volume, p. 292.—*Ed.*

[d] G. Smith, op. cit., p. 71.—*Ed.*

[e] This note was inserted later.—*Ed.*

[f] G. Smith, op. cit., pp. 72-73.—*Ed.*

[g] The source reference was inserted later.—*Ed.*

Yes indeed, the French wars and the Wars of the Roses had come to an end!

The war against the Geraldines[337] in the reign of Henry VIII was waged by both sides with great cruelty and caused much destruction; in addition there was treachery and perfidity on the part of the English against Fitzgerald and his five uncles, and against others as well.

Under Elizabeth "there was corruption, corruption in the very vilest form, corruption which preferred war to peace because war held out hopes of lucre which peace threatened to destroy".

Then, in the age of the adventurers,

"the eagle took wing for the Spanish main, the vultures descended upon Ireland"....

But in Ireland, too, Raleigh had a castle and an estate granted to him at Lismore. Wakefield, Vol. I, p. 70.[a 338]

"A dexterous use of intrigue, chicanery and the art of inciting to rebellion, procured for the sharper in Ireland wealth ... in the shape of confiscated lands" (p. 79).

In 1561 Shane O'Neill came to England with a guard of GALLOWGLASSES, who were bareheaded, wore GLIBS, SAFFRON shirts, short skirts and shaggy cloaks and were armed with *hatchets*[b]

(at a time when muskets were in use!).

P. 86. Elizabeth's expenditure for the war in Ireland amounted to at least £4-500,000 per annum, hence the counterfeit money. "Assuredly whoever may have profited by the misery and depression of Ireland, *it has not been the English nation.*" (!!) "To the English nation Ireland has been a source of expense, danger, and weakness without intermission from the conquest almost down to the present hour."

And *à qui la faute?*[c] Surely that of THE ENGLISH NATION!

James is said to have been obliged to create SHAM BOROUGHS, not only to obtain a majority, but also because there were no real boroughs!!! (p. 96).

Just as Potemkin's villages had likewise been a historical necessity.[339] Good for the reformers.

Sir Thomas Smith's first colonies "were planted in Down and Antrim on lands which were *presumed in law to be vacant* by the attainder of O'Neill". This failed, "the native occupants, says Hallam, not acquiescing in this doctrine of our lawyers".

Arthegal in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* is LORD DEPUTY *Gray.*

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[a] Engels wrote the passage from "But in Ireland..." to "... Vol. I, p. 70." in the margin and marked the place for it in the text.—*Ed.*

[b] G. Smith, op. cit., p. 80.—*Ed.*

[c] Whose fault is it?—*Ed.*

"When the chieftains of the septs O'More and O'Connell[a] were attainted, in the reign of Mary"

(King's and Queen's Counties),[340]

"the septs pleaded that the chieftain could not by his attainder forfeit the sept land *which he never had possessed.* A feeling that the land was still theirs and that they were unjustly kept out of their possessions ... is perhaps not extinct even at the present day" (p. 101).

To show his impartiality, Strafford also extorted considerable sums from the colonists of Londonderry, because they had committed a small formal BREACH OF THE COVENANT, thus arousing the wrath of London, the mother city, against him and Charles.[b]

"It is not too much to say that the English Puritans regarded the Irish Catholics, after O'Neill's massacre, with the rage of the Orangeman[341] towards the Papists added to the rage of the Englishman of Calcutta towards the Sepoy mutineer[342] (p. 113),

so that on the whole, Cromwell countenanced as few murders as he possibly could.

Cromwell's transportation of Irish rebels to the West Indies to be employed there *as slaves* is said to be less harsh

"than the measure which the Catholic House of Austria dealt at the same time to the Protestants of Bohemia and other conquered provinces in the Thirty Years' War" (p. 114).

*To be looked up.*[343]

In defence of the judicial murder of Archbishop Plunket [he says that] although Titus Oates' plot was an invention, "there was a Popish plot for the extirpation of Protestantism and liberty throughout Europe, of which the King of France[c] was the powerful head, of which the Jesuits were the restless and unscrupulous agents, in which the King and the heir presumptive to the crown[d] were deeply engaged and which all but overthrew the religion and liberties of England in the next reign" (p. 119).

*Not a word about the breach of the Treaty of Limerick.*[344]

"James II issued a mandate nominating a Papist to the Professorship of the Irish language in Trinity College. It turned out that *no such Professorship existed*" (p. 135).

The money which the ABSENTEES take with them is said to be mainly expended on unproductive work and thus for the most part lost in any case; therefore it does not matter much that the money is not spent in Ireland (p. 144).

What does the West End of London say to this?

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[a] A mistake in Smith's book, it should be "O'Connor".—*Ed.*

[b] Charles II.—*Ed.*

[c] Louis XIV.—*Ed.*

[d] The Duke of York, later James II.—*Ed.*

In his *Modest Proposal,* Swift speaks of young unemployed Irishmen (A. D. 1729) "who either turn thieves for want of work or leave their dear native country to fight for the Pretender,[a] *or sell themselves to the Barbadoes*".[b]

## That is into slavery lasting for a longer or shorter time.

He then proposes that some of the children be assigned to the butcher, and in his *Maxims* he suggests that the Irish be permitted to sell their surplus population into slavery.[c]

Even before the reign of James II the potato is said to have been the symbol and REPROACH OF IRELAND. Under James II "an Irish deputation was followed about the streets of London by a mob with potatoes stuck on poles" (p. 150).

Ireland's distress ... "overflowed to England, and bringing pauperism" (!) "and disease" (!!) "into our great cities, punished England *for whatever share she may have had in Irish wrongs*" (p. 151).

According to Phelan's *Remains,* Vol. II, p. 42, the landlords preferred Catholic SERFS to Protestant TENANTS, especially because the former always offered to pay the highest rent. The Protestants therefore emigrated to America.

## (No date mentioned.)

MacGeoghegan says in his *History of Ireland*[345]: "from calculations and researches made at the French war-office, it has been ascertained that from the arrival of the Irish troops in France in 1691, up to 1745, the year of the battle of Fontenoy, more than 450,000 Irishmen died in the service of France."

## In the independent Irish Parliament before the Union

(according to an INQUIRY MADE [in] 1784 FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT) out of "300 seats 116 were shared among 25 proprietors (one nobleman had 16) and that the government could count on 86 votes of members for proprietary seats, the owners of which let them out for titles, places or pensions, 12 votes of their own, 45 votes of placemen, and 32 of gentlemen who had promises or had avowed their expectations" (Massey, *History of England,* Vol. III, p. 264).

## And what about the English Parliament of the time?

## Sir Jonah Barrington was JUDGE OF THE HIGH COURT OF ADMIRALTY IN IRELAND.

## Pitt would have given parliamentary reform and Catholic Emancipation to Ireland, but his

"liberal policy ... was fatally arrested and the world" (!) "was flung into dismay, despair of liberty and absolutist reaction, by the tremendous eruption of absurdity, cruelty, and ultimately of military vanity and rapacity, which Frenchmen imagine to be the grandest and most beneficent event in history" (p. 165).

## No trace of objectivity remains here.

"An alien and disaffected element incorporated in a nation can only be a source of internal division and weakness. It would be better in every point of view, that

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[a] The Old Pretender, James Francis Edward Stuart, Chevalier de St. George.— *Ed.*

[b] See G. Smith, op. cit., p. 147.— *Ed.*

[c] G. Smith, op. cit., p. 148. Smith has *Modest Proposal* instead of *Maxims.*— *Ed.*

the British Empire should be reduced to a single island, to England, to Yorkshire, or Kent, *than that it should include anything which is not really its own*" (p. 179).

!! *Donc*—! After 700 years of struggle!

Federation, he declares, is impossible between Ireland and England *(he does not speak of a real federation with a federal parliament responsible for federal affairs, but only of a personal union).*

"This dog-collar-union, two independent parliaments and two independent governments linked together by a nominal allegiance to the same crown ... must be an irony or a nuisance" and would end either in complete separation or in the rule of the English parliamentary government over Ireland too, as between 1782 and 1798, as a result of corruption and intrigue (p. 181).

What about Sweden and Norway? And Austria-Hungary?[346]

"The course of events has left no basis whereon Irish nationality can be established." The Irish and the English are said to be composed of the same elements, although in different proportions ... "but what is of most importance and in fact *almost decisive,* the language of both islands is the same" (p. 183).

Hence, the two are *one* nation and separation of any kind is absurd! As though the English language had not made the Irishman even more Irish!

From p. 184 onwards [he deals with] "the agrarian outrages, of which the *surplus population was the main cause*"!![a]

## GOLDWIN SMITH.
## CONCLUSION
## (PASSAGES QUOTED WORD FOR WORD AND ADDENDA)

"The dampness of the climate, while it is the source of vegetable wealth and vegetable beauty, could not fail to relax the energies of the people and to throw them back in the race of nations for preeminence in things requiring physical exertions. We see this when we compare the early history of the Irish with that of the Scandinavians, braced to daring and enterprise by the climate of the North" (p. 4).

Edward III and Henry V fought the battles of Crécy, Poitiers, etc., in France,[347] "on these famous fields where, in the overthrow of the French chivalry by peasant hands, feudalism found its grave!" (p. 65, see below p. 71).[b]

*Statute of Kilkenny:*

"*There is nothing peculiarly malignant in the attempt* of that Statute to restore a sharp division between the English and the natives. The object of the framers was not to prevent the beneficial fusion of the two races into one nation, but to prevent the one which they very naturally and rightly thought the more civilised, from degenerating into the barbarism of the other; and at the same time to check the increase of the 'rebel' elements in the country ... the same legislators forbid, under

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[a] After this paragraph there follows the note: "(For the end see p. 5)".— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 292.— *Ed.*

the severest penalties, the making of private war upon the Irishry,[348] and the exciting them to war" (p. 68).

(Very kind!)

"It sounds shocking that the killing of an Irishman by an Englishman should have been no felony and that it should have been a good plea to an indictment for murder that the murdered person was not an Englishman nor a member of one of the five 'bloods' or septs which had been admitted within the pale of English law. *But nothing more is in fact implied in this than that the Irish were not under the English but under the native or Brehon jurisdiction.* The existence of two races in the same country under different laws, and with different punishments for crimes, inconceivable as it appears now"

(he does not know the Levant!),

"appeared quite natural at a time when the distinction of races was far stronger and when law was the peculiar custom of the race, not a set of principles common to all mankind. It would have been the same in England had the Anglo-Saxons succeeded in obtaining from {William} the Conqueror 'the laws of Edward the Confessor'. One kingdom would then have contained two nations, the Normans and the Saxons, living under different penal codes. *The rule of impunity* ***held good for both sides. An Irishman who had murdered an Englishman would have been only fined for it by his Brehon.*** The Government having on one occasion desired a native chief to receive a sheriff into his territories, the chief consented, but at the same time desired the Government to say what sum of money, or eric, they set upon the sheriff's head, in order that, if he was killed, that sum might be duly assessed upon the sept" (p. 69).

*England* as a government is said to have always been well disposed towards Ireland:

"The truth is that the Plantagenet Government, when it found time to attend to Ireland, intended not evil but good to the Irish people (p. 68).... The English Government was not unwilling to admit the Irishry to the English law. Five *whole septs*" (!!) "the five bloods ... were admitted collectively, and individual denization seems to have been freely granted" (pp. 69-70).

But the bad Irish barons did not want this and it is they who frustrated the good intentions of the government (pp. 68, 69).

*"The idea that the English Government deliberately excluded the Irish from the pale of humanity vanishes away"* (p. 70).

(Certainly—in his mind!)

"*From the ruins of the feudal aristocracy which the Wars of the Roses had laid in the dust,* arose the powerful monarchy of the Tudors" (p. 71).

Hence it had not found its grave as a result of those battles in France!

"At no period of the struggle" (Henry VIII and Elizabeth) "unhappily could England put forth her whole power to *strike,* ***in mercy,*** a decisive blow" (p. 77).

## Under Elizabeth:

"Finally, there was corruption; corruption in the very vilest form; corruption which preferred war to peace because war held out hopes of lucre which peace threatened to destroy. The great events and discoveries of the Elizabethan era produced a love of adventure which broke forth in every direction, and varied in the dignity of its objects and its character, from the height of heroism to the depth of baseness. The eagles took wing for the Spanish main; the vultures descended upon Ireland. A daring use of his sword procured for the adventurer in the Spanish colonies romantic" (!) "wealth in the shape of ingots and rich bales; a dexterous use of intrigue, chicanery and the art of inciting to rebellion, procured for the sharper in Ireland wealth less romantic but more solid and lasting in the shape of confiscated lands" (p. 79).

"The reign" (of James I) "began well, with a broad act of oblivion" (?). "Even the arch-rebel Tyrone was received into favour"

## (! after all, he had made his peace even before the death of Elizabeth!) (p. 94).

By the judgment of the King's Bench[349] (1605) which stated that Irish TENURE was unlawful, and introduced English law, "*the chiefs gained a boon* by having their demesne lands and their territorial rights finally made hereditary instead of elective" (p. 95).

## Ten years later living in exile and completely expropriated these chiefs (those of them that still lived in 1605) were able to ponder what a BOON it was!

"There seems no reason to doubt that it was in honest pursuance *of the same policy of civilising and conciliating*" (!!) "*the Irish,* by giving them English institutions, that a Parliament more regular and comprehensive than any which had preceded, was called for all Ireland, without distinction of race or religion." (??) "It is true that the Government took *active measures to obtain a majority,* and that it created a number of rotten, or rather of sham boroughs. But it does not seem that freedom of election was ***otherwise***" (!!) "interfered with" (!) (pp. 95-96).... "It was *necessary* to create sham boroughs, not only to give the Government a majority, *but also because real boroughs there were none*" (!!!) (p. 96).

"*It appears, to say the least, extremely doubtful* whether the lands of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, on which the Ulster colony was planted, had been forfeited for any real offence *and whether the plot in which these noblemen were alleged to have been engaged, was not invented by the teeming brain of officials* desirous of sharing their estates. They fled, it is true, but not from justice; for justice, when the forfeiture of land was in prospect, there was none" (p. 100).

## He asserts that in 1640 and 1641, Richelieu and the Pope[a] fomented civil war in England and Ireland, and the Irish officers who had returned from France and Spain also added fuel to it. Then came the Catholic rising

"with that great massacre of the Protestants in Ulster which is connected with the name of Sir Phelim O'Neill.[350] To doubt that there was a great massacre seems

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[a] Urban VIII.—*Ed.*

idle, *since Clarendon,*[a] *a contemporary, well informed and sober writer, reckoned the number of persons killed at 40 or 50,000*" (!). "It seems not less idle to doubt which party struck the first blow; as well might it be doubted which party struck the first blow in the Sicilian Vespers.[351] An abstract of depositions describing some of the scenes which occurred in the massacre has been preserved by Rushworth (*Collections,* Vol. IV, p. 405).[b] It presents an appalling but *perfectly credible* picture of the vengeance which a people brutalised by oppression wreaks, in the moment of its brief triumph, on the oppressor. *Well might phantoms of horror haunt the accursed spots and the ghosts of the murdered be heard to shriek from beneath the bridge at Portnadown*" (pp. 107-08).

This is again very vague!

"Under the Protectorate" (Cromwell) "... the Protestant community at least (in Ireland) *presented a picture of prosperity* such as the *island had never before seen*" (??) (p. 114).

This sycophant regards Macaulay as A GREAT WRITER.

"It would be as easy to sing of the siege of Troy after Homer, as to write about the siege of Londonderry after Macaulay" (p. 120).

While he advises the Irish (see Preface)

"to pay more attention to general causes"

so as to be able to explain away such infamies in an objective manner, he always attributes the actions of the Irish to petty parochial causes. Thus under James II:

"The Irish people, it has been justly observed, in entering upon the civil war, were moved, not by attachment to the House of Stuart or to its political principles, but, like the Highland Clans, by *motives of their own* ... probably the mass of James's party, though they were fighting for the Catholic religion, were fighting less for the Catholic religion than for that old and terrible subject of Irish civil wars, the *land*" (p. 121).

(That is their own land!).

"***Land*** *had been the great source of contention and misery in Ireland throughout her history*" (p. 125).

Not the Englishmen's greed for land, but the *land* itself must be blamed for it. IT'S CHITTY THAT'S DONE IT.

"Their descendants" (the descendants of Cromwell's landlords) "became probably the very worst Upper Class with which a country was ever afflicted. The habits of the Irish gentry grew beyond measure brutal and reckless, and the *coarseness* of their *debaucheries* would have disgusted the crew of Comus. Their *drunkenness,* their *blasphemy,* their *ferocious duelling,* left the squires of England far behind" (!). "If there was a grotesque side to their vices which mingles laughter to

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[a] E. H. Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland, Begun in the Year 1641,* Oxford, 1712.— *Ed.*

[b] J. Rushworth, *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State...,* London, 1682.— *Ed.*

our reprobation, this did not render their influence *less pestilent* to the community of which the malice of destiny had made them the social chiefs. Fortunately their recklessness was sure, in the end, to work, to a certain extent, its own cure; and in the background of their swinish and uproarious drinking bouts, the Encumbered Estates Act rises to our view" (p. 140).[352]

"In 1778 the *increasing spirit of toleration* began sensibly to exert its power" and the worst PENAL LAWS were repealed. In "1778 Lord North proposed (somewhat under duress, it is true) large relaxations of the iniquitous and absurd restrictions on Irish trade ... two years later the same minister, taught wisdom by his American disasters, proposed and carried further concessions. Twenty years more, and Mr. Pitt, having come into power *instinct with all the liberal ideas* of the new era, extinguished one" (!) "source of misery and discord by giving Ireland *a full measure of Free Trade*"

(that is with England!)

"as an article of the Union" (!!) (pp. 158-59).

The "nice *spirit* of toleration", the "liberal ideas of the new era", etc., have brought all this about. Not the Englishman's fear of the Americans and French! These are the *"general causes"* which have to be kept in mind, but by no means the real ones!

"Among the phantoms of hatred and suspicion which arose from this field of carnage, was the horrible idea that the English Government had intentionally stimulated the Irish people into rebellion in order to pave the way for the Union. *No evidence in support of this charge can be produced*" (p. 176).

"A nation must be very shallow or very depraved which, in the meridian light of modern philosophy, can imagine that a mere extension of its territory, unsanctioned by nature and morality, can add to its greatness" (p. 179).

And this when the English have been engaged in conquests throughout the century!

Conclusion:

"The original source of the calamities of Ireland was the partial character of the Norman Conquest, which caused the conquerors instead of becoming an upper class, to remain a mere hostile settlement or Pale.... The next great source of mischief was the disruption of Christendom at the period of the Reformation and the terrible religious wars which ensued upon that disruption and into which both nations, in common with the other nations of Europe, were drawn. Then Ireland became a victim to the attempt of Louis XIV, which was in part a sequel of the religious wars, to destroy the liberty and religion of England through his vassals, the House of Stuart. Finally the French Revolution breaking out into anarchy, massacre and atheism, at the moment when the Government of England under Pitt had just entered on the path of reform and toleration, not only arrested political progress in this as in other cases, but involved Ireland in another civil war" (p. 193).

Again fine "general causes"! As general as possible!

Preface:

"It" (this book) "would serve a good purpose if it should fall into the hands of any popular writer on Irish history, and induce him to pay more attention than writers

on that subject have generally paid to *general causes,* to cultivate *the charities of history* and in the case of the rulers as well as of the people, to take fair account of misfortunes as well as of crimes."

On Ireland's INDEPENDENCE, p. 180:

"Independence would of course be feasible in itself if it could only be accompanied by geographical separation; *but so close a neighbourhood would involve contact and contact would bring on collision*"

(hence as on the Continent where the countries are in direct contact?);

"rivalry, jealousy, hostility would spring up all the more certainly because there would be between the two countries the memory of a former union and of a recent divorce; and Ireland, menaced by the power of England, would become the ward and the vassal of France, or some other foreign power which for its own purposes would constitute itself her protector."

All this applies also to Russia and Poland, to Hungary and Austria and indeed between 1815 and 1859 to Austria and Italy, and to every case of subjugation. It is appropriate that England's former infamies have to serve as a pretext for the infamies committed at the present time.

Federation in this case requires two partners of equal strength, "but it could not be naturally or usefully formed between two states one of which is far more powerful than the other, since in the Federal Council the vote of the more powerful would always prevail".

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# Frederick Engels

## VARIA ON THE HISTORY OF THE IRISH CONFISCATIONS[353]

### *16th Saeculum.*[a] *Henry VIII*

*1536.* Parliament in Dublin introduces the OATH OF SUPREMACY to the King and he is given the privilege of taking the first-fruits of all ECCLESIASTICAL LIVINGS. Quite different in the doing, however, and the subsequent insurrections were directed, among other things, against the Oath. Refusal to take the OATH OF SUPREMACY was high treason in Ireland just as in England (Murphy, p. 249).[b]

### *16th Saeculum. Edward VI and Mary*

*Confiscations in Queen's and King's Counties.* During the reign of Edward VI, the O'Moores of Leix and the O'Connors of Offaley carried on a feud with some lords of the Pale,[c]

as was usual in Ireland.

The government qualified this as rebellion. General Bellingham, later Lord Deputy, was sent against them and forced them to submit. They were advised to see the King and submit to him in person as O'Neill had done successfully in 1542.[d] O'Moore and O'Connor, unlike O'Neill, were imprisoned and their estates confiscated. But that was not the last of the clans. The inhabitants declared that the land belonged to the clans, not to the chiefs, who therefore could not forfeit it, and were, at most, liable to forfeiting their private domains. They declined to move out. The government sent troops, and had the land cleared after unintermittent fighting and extermination of the population (Murphy, p. 255).

This was the pattern for all subsequent confiscations under Elizabeth and James. The Irish were denied all rights against the

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[a] Century.— *Ed.*

[b] J. N. Murphy, *Ireland, Industrial, Political, and Social*, London, 1870, pp. 248, 249.— *Ed.*

[c] Ibid., p. 254.— *Ed.*

[d] In Murphy's book no date is given.— *Ed.*

Anglo-Irish of the Pale, with resistance treated as rebellion. From then on that sort of thing became usual.

By Acts in the 3rd and 4th years of the reign of Philip and Mary, c. 1 and 2, the LORD DEPUTY, the Earl of Sussex,[a] was endowed with "full power and authority [...] to give and to grant to all and every Their Majesties' subjects, English or Irish [...], at his election and pleasure, such estates in fee simple, fee tail,[354] leases for term of years, life or lives" in these two counties "as for the more sure planting or strength of the countries with good subjects shall be thought unto his wisdom and discretion meet and convenient" (Murphy, p. 256).

## *16th Saeculum. Elizabeth*

*English policy* under Elizabeth: to keep Ireland in a state of division and strife.

"Should we exert ourselves," the English Government averred, "in reducing Ireland to order and civility, it must soon acquire power, consequence and riches. *The inhabitants will be thus alienated from England;* they will cast themselves into the arms of some foreign power, or erect themselves into an independent and separate state. Let us rather connive at their disorders, for a weak and disordered people can never attempt to detach themselves from the Crown of England." Thus Sir Henry Sidney and Sir John Perrot, successive LORD DEPUTIES (the last-named the best that they ever had, held the post in 1584-87), describe this HORRID POLICY, against which they protest (Leland, Vol. II, p. 292[b] and Murphy, p. 246). Perrot's intention of granting the Irish equal rights with the Anglo-Irish and obviating confiscations was blocked by the English party in Dublin.

(Yet he it was who had O'Donnell's son[c] brought aboard a ship, filled with drink and borne away.)

*Tyrone's rebellion,* among other things, against religious persecution: "He and other lords of Ulster entered into a secret combination, about this time, that they would defend the Roman Catholic religion ... that they would suffer no sheriffs nor garrisons to be within the compass of their territories, and that they would [...] jointly resist all invasions of the English" (Camden).[355] The conduct of Deputy Mountjoy in this war is described by Camden: "He made incursions on all sides, spoiled the corn, burnt all the houses and villages that could be found, and did so gall the rebels, that, pent in with garrisons and streightened more and more every day, they were reduced to live like wild beasts, skulking up and down the woods and deserts" (Murphy, p. 251).

See Holinshed, *Chronicles*[d] (p. 460) on how Ireland was laid waste in this war. Half the population is said to have perished.

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[a] Thomas Radcliffe.— *Ed.*

[b] Th. Leland, *The History of Ireland from the Invasion of Henry II,* Vols. I-III, London, 1773. Here and below quoted from Murphy.— *Ed.*

[c] Hugh O'Donnell, "Red Hugh".— *Ed.*

[d] Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland,* Vol. VI, London, 1807.— *Ed.*

According to the RETURNS for 1602 by John Tyrrell, the Mayor of Dublin, prices there climbed: wheat from 36/- to 180/- the QUARTER, barley malt from 10/- to 43/- and OAT MALT from 5/- to 22/- the BARREL, peas from 5/- to 40/- the PECK, oats from 3/4 to 20/- the BARREL, BEEF from 26/8 to 160/- the CARCASS, MUTTON ditto from 3/- to 26/-, VEAL ditto from 10/- to 29/-, lamb from 1/- to 6/-, and a pig from 8/- to 30/- (Leland, Vol. II, p. 410).

*Desmond* was deprived of his estates in all counties of Munster except Clare, and also in Dublin. They were worth £7,000 per annum. The Irish Parliament of 1586 expropriated 140 landowners by confiscation in Munster alone under the Act of the 28th year of Elizabeth's reign, c. 7 and 8. MacGeoghegan lists the names of the GRANTEES of Desmond's ESTATES [a]; some of these families are still, and up to 1847 nearly all were, in possession.

(? probably *cum grano salis*).

The annual Crown rent on these ESTATES was 2d to 3d per acre, with no indigenous Irish admitted as TENANTS and the government undertaking to keep adequate garrisons.

Neither provision was observed. Some estates were abandoned by the GRANTEES and reoccupied by the Irish. Many of the UNDERTAKERS stayed in England and appointed AGENTS, "ignorant, negligent, and corrupt" (Leland, Vol. III, p. 311).

## *17th Saeculum. James I*

*Penal Laws against Catholics* (Elizabeth, in the 2nd year of reign, 1560, c. 1, *Irish* [*Statutes,* Vol. I, p. 275])[356] are applied more and more from the very beginning of the reign of James I, it becoming dangerous to practise [Catholicism].

Under Elizabeth 2 c. 1, the FINE of 12d was imposed for every NON-ATTENDANCE AT PROTESTANT CHURCH and, in 1605, under James, imprisonment was added by ROYAL PROCLAMATION alone and, hence, unlawfully. This did not help. Besides, in 1605 all Catholic priests were ordered out of Ireland in 40 days on pain of death.

*SURRENDERS OF ESTATES AND REGRANTS* (see Davies, 7 [b]).[357] These followed the pronouncement of TANISTRY and GAVELKIND[358] as unlawful by the COURT OF KING'S BENCH[359] in the HILARY TERM in the third year of the reign of James I. A Royal Proclamation stipulated SURRENDER [of estates] and REGRANT under new valid titles. Most Irish chiefs came forward to receive incontestable title at last, but this was made conditional on their giving up the clan relationship in favour of the English LANDLORD-TENANT relationship (Murphy, p. 261).

This in 1605 (see "Chronology"[360]).

*PLANTATION OF ULSTER.* According to Leland, Irish UNDERTENANTS and SERVANTS were TACITLY EXEMPTED from the OATH OF SUPREMACY, whereas all the other planters were compelled to take it.

Carte says[361] that all Irish settlers and the NATIVES who were allowed part of their land were exempted, but this was irrelevant

[a] Engels took the reference to MacGeoghegan's *History of Ireland* (Dublin, 1844) from Murphy, pp. 257-58.— *Ed.*

because it [the taking of the Oath] could not be enforced anyway. The Scottish Presbyterians in Ulster also refused to take the OATH OF SUPREMACY, and *this was suffered* by the authorities (Murphy, p. 266). That may have been useful for the Irish as well.[a]

Carte estimates the number of English settlers in Ulster in 1641 at 20,000 and of Scottish settlers at 100,000 (*Ormonde,* Vol. I, p. 177).[b]

*Sir Arthur Chichester,* LORD DEPUTY, was rewarded for his services in this PLANTATION with the territory of Innoshowen (?) "and all the lands possessed by O'Dogherty, a tract of country far exceeding the allotments generally made to nothern undertakers" (Leland, Vol. II, p. 438). As early as 1633 these ESTATES were valued at £10,000 per annum (Strafford's *State Letters,*[c] Vol. II, p. 294). Chichester was the ancestor of Marquis of Donegal, who would have had £300,000 per annum for his Belfast estate alone, if one of his ancestors had not surrendered it to others under long LEASES (Murphy, p. 265).

The PLANTATION of Ulster culminated the first period, with a new means discovered for confiscation: *DEFECTIVE TITLES.* This is effective under James and Charles, until Cromwell renews the invasion. See extracts from Carte [*Ormonde*], 2[a,b362]

Another nice pretext for confiscation was that

old Crown rents, long forgotten by Crown and landowners, were still due from many ESTATES. These were now pulled out and, wherever unpaid, the ESTATE was FORFEITED. Nor receipts existed, and that was enough (Murphy, p. 269).

Concerning the attempt to confiscate Connaught (see "Chronology", and O'Conor, *Catholics*),[363] recall James' dirty trick:

when the people of Connaught SURRENDERED their titles to a specially appointed ROYAL COMMISSION in 1616 and had these RECONVEYED BY NEW PATENTS, THEY PAYING £3,000 FOR THEIR ENROLMENT IN CHANCERY, the titles were not registered. A new commission was named *on this pretext* in 1623 to declare them null and void by reason of deliberate default, an oversight that depended not on the landowners but the government. (See Carte, *Ormonde,* [Vol. I,] pp. 47 and 48.) In the meantime, James died.

*A COURT OF WARDS* for Ireland was established in 1614; Carte avers in *Ormonde,* Vol. I, p. 517, that no lawful BASIS existed for it as for that in England. Meant to bring up Catholic heirs in the Protestant religion and English customs. Its president was the good[d] Sir William Parsons, who had helped plan it.[e]

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[a] In the manuscript the last two sentences are written in the right-hand, blank column, opposite the preceding sentence.— *Ed.*

[b] Th. Carte, *An History of the Life of James, Duke of Ormonde, from his Birth in 1610, to his Death in 1688,* London, 1736. For quoting this work Engels made use of Murphy's book and of his own excerpts from it.— *Ed.*

[c] *Letters and Dispatches, with an Essay towards His Life by Sir G. Radcliffe,* London, Vols. I-II, 1739.— *Ed.*

[d] The word "good" does not occur in Murphy.— *Ed.*

[e] Quoted according to Murphy, pp. 269-70 and 277-78.— *Ed.*

## *17th Saeculum. Charles I*

That the Irish insisted in the "GRACES"[364] that "three score years' possession" (of an ESTATE) "should conclude His Majesty's title" was quite understandable, for this was the *"law of England"* (Strafford, *State Letters,* Vol. I, p. 279) by the Act of the 21st year of James' reign (Murphy, p. 274).

Yet English law applied to the Irish only in so far as *it suited the [English] Government.*

Strafford wrote to the English Secretary of State on December 16, 1634, that in his Irish Parliament "the Protestants are the majority, and this may be of great use to confirm and settle His Majesty's title to the plantations of Connaught and Ormond; for this you may be sure of, *all the Protestants are for plantations, all the others are against them;* so as these, being the great number, you can want no help they can give you therein. Nay, in case there be no title to be made out to these countries in the crown, yet should not I despair, forth of reasons of state, and for the strength and security of the Kingdom, to have them passed to the King by an immediate Act of Parliament" (*State Letters,* Vol. I, p. 353).

Outside Connaught, too, money was extorted continuously on pain of INQUIRY INTO TITLES.

The O'Byrnes of Wicklow, for example, twice paid £15,000 to preserve a portion of their ESTATES, while the City of London paid £70,000 to prevent confiscation of its PLANTATIONS in Colrain and Derry for alleged breach of covenant (Leland, Vol. III, p. 39).

*The COURT OF HIGH COMMISSION* established by Wentworth in the year 1633, after the English model,[365] "with the same formality and the same tremendous powers" (Leland, Vol. III, p. 29), and this naturally without Parliament's consent, in order "to bring the people here to a conformity in religion, and, in the way to that, raise, perhaps, a good revenue to the Crown" (January 31, 1633, *State Letters,* Vol. I, p. 188). The Court saw to it that all newly-appointed officials, doctors, barristers, etc., and all those who "sued out livery of their estates" should take the OATH OF SUPREMACY,

which, as Macaulay observed, was A RELIGIOUS INQUISITION where that of the STAR CHAMBER was political.

Then the CASTLE CHAMBER, called STAR CHAMBER[366] as in England, which, Lord Deputy Chichester said, was "the proper court to punish jurors who will not find a verdict for the King upon good evidence"

(oft-quoted passage from *Desiderata Curiosa Hiberniae,* Vol. I, p. 262[a]).

It is said therein that the penalties there employed consisted in "imprisonment and loss of ears"; and "fines, pillory, boring through the tongue, marking on the forehead with an iron and other infamous punishments" were likewise applied, as is stated in the indictment of Strafford (Murphy, p. 279).

When Strafford went to Connaught in 1635, he took with him *4,000 HORSE* "as good lookers on, while the plantations were settling" (Strafford, *State Letters,* Vol. I,

[a] Quoted according to Murphy against p. 279.— *Ed.*

p. 454). In Galway he imposed fines not only on the jury that would not find a verdict for the Crown, but also on the sheriff "for returning so insufficient, indeed, we conceive, so packed a jury, in £1,000 to His Majesty" ([*State Letters*], August 1635, Vol. I, p. 451).

By the 28th of Henry VIII, c. 5, 6 and 13, all recourse to the Pope's jurisdiction was prohibited and all Irish came under the Protestant ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS, whose verdict could be appealed against to the King alone. They took cognizance of all marriages, baptisms, burials, wills, and ADMINISTRATIONS, and punished RECUSANTS FOR NON-ATTENDANCE AT CHURCH under the 2nd of Elizabeth, c. 2, and also collected the tithes. Bishop Burnet (*Life of Dr. Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore,* p. 89)[a] said these courts "were often managed by a chancellor *that bought his place,* and so thought he had a right to all the profits he could make out of it. And their whole business seemed to be nothing but oppression and extortion.... The *officers* of the court thought they had a sort of right to oppress the natives, and that all was well got that was wrung from them ... they made it their business to draw people into trouble by vexatious suits, and to hold them so long in that, for 3d worth of the tithe of turf, they would be put to a £5 charge".

In the "GRACES", which never materialised,

Protestant clergymen were to have been forbidden "to keep private prisons of their own" for spiritual offences, so that offenders should be committed to the King's public gaols (Murphy, p. 281).

About the Protestant clergy see Spenser, excerpt 5[a].[367]

Borlase and Parsons encouraged the rebellion everywhere. According to Lord Castlehaven's *Memoirs,*[b] they said: "The more rebels, the more confiscations." Leland (Vol. III, p. 161), too, observes that, as before, "extensive forfeitures were the favourite object of the chief governors and their friends".

By that time, the Irish Royalist army was to have been 50,000 strong through reinforcement from England and Scotland.

See Carte, *Ormonde,* Vol. III, p. 61, for the instructions to the army.[368]

The motto of the Kilkenny Confederates[369] was: *Pro deo, pro rege, et patria Hibernia unanimes*[c] (Borlase, *Irish Rebellion,* p. 128)[d]

— so that is where the Prussians lifted it from.

## *17th Saeculum. Cromwell*

*Drogheda* MASSACRE.[370] After a successful assault "quarter had been promised to all who should lay down their arms—a promise observed until all resistance was at an end. But at the moment that the city was completely reduced, Cromwell ... issued his fatal orders that the garrison should be put to the sword. His soldiers,

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[a] G. Burnet, *The Life of William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland...,* London, 1685. Quoted according to Murphy's book, p. 280.— *Ed.*

[b] *The Memoirs of James Touchet ... Earl of Castlehaven...* Quoted according to Murphy, p. 288.— *Ed.*

[c] For God, King and Ireland unanimous.— *Ed.*

[d] Ed. Borlase, *The History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion...,* London, 1680. Quoted from Murphy, p. 289.— *Ed.*

many of them with reluctance, butchered the prisoners. The governor and all his gallant officers, betrayed to slaughter by the cowardice of some of their troops, were massacred without mercy. For five days this hideous execution was continued with every circumstance of horror" (Leland, Vol. III, p. 350). A number of ECCLESIASTICS found within the walls were bayoneted. "Thirty persons only remained unslaughtered ... and these were instantly transported as slaves to Barbadoes" ([Leland, Vol. III,] p. 350).

Petty (*Political Anatomy,* Dublin edition of Petty's tracts, pp. 312-15)[a] estimates that 112,000 British and 504,000 Irish inhabitants of Ireland died in the war of 1641-52. In 1653, SOLDIERS' DEBENTURES[371] were sold at 4/- to 5/- in the pound, so that with 20/- being the price [nominal] of 2 acres of land, and there being 8 million acres of good land in Ireland, all Ireland was purchasable for £1 million, though in 1641 it was worth £8 million. Petty estimates the value of the livestock in Ireland in 1641 at £4 million, and in 1652 at less than £500,000 so that Dublin had to get meat from Wales. Corn was 12/- per BARREL in 1641 and 50/- in 1652. The houses of Ireland, worth £2 million in 1641, were worth less than £500,000 in 1653.[b]

Leland, too, admits in Vol. III, p. 166, that "the favourite idea of both the Irish Government and the English Parliament" (from 1642 onwards) "was the utter extermination of all the Catholics of Ireland".

See Lingard (Vol. VII, 4th ed., p. 102, note) *on the transportation of Irish* as slaves to the West Indies (figures vary from 6,000 to 100,000). Of the 1,000 boys and 1,000 girls to be sent to Jamaica, the commissioners wrote in 1655: "Although we must use force in taking them up, yet it *is so much for their own good and likely* to be of such great advantage to the public, that you may have such number of them as you shall think fit" (Thurloe, Vol. IV, p. 23).[d]

By the first ACT OF SETTLEMENT, the forfeiture of 2/3 of their estates had been pronounced against those who had borne arms against the Parliament and 1/3 of their estates against those who had resided in Ireland any time from October 1, 1649 to March 1, 1650 and had not manifested their CONSTANT GOOD AFFECTION to Parliament. The Parliament had power to give them, in lieu thereof, other lands to the proportion of value thereof. The second Act concerned resettlement

(see Prendergast,[e] Excerpts, VII, 1[a372]).

Distribution of land to soldiers was limited to those who had served under Cromwell from 1649 (Murphy, p. 302).

See Carte, *Ormonde,* Vol. II, p. 301, about some cases of land surveying, especially by ADVENTURERS.[373]

According to Leland (Vol. III, p. 397), the Commissioners in Dublin and Athlone kept considerable domains for themselves.

A PLANTATION ACRE=1 ACRE 2 ROODS 19 PERCHES 5 YARDS and 2 1/4 FEET IMPERIAL STATUTE measure, or 121 PLANTATION acres=196 STATUTE ACRES (Murphy, p. 302).

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[a] W. Petty, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland.* In: *Tracts; Chiefly Relating to Ireland,* Dublin, 1769.— *Ed.*

[b] The last two paragraphs are excerpts from Murphy's book, pp. 292-94.— *Ed.*

[c] J. Lingard, *A History of England, from the First Invasion by the Romans,* Vols. I-VIII, London, 1819-30.— *Ed.*

[d] *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Esq.;... Containing Authentic Memorials...,* Vols. I-VII, London, 1742. Quoted from Murphy's book, p. 298.— *Ed.*

[e] J. P. Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland,* London, 1865.— *Ed.*

## *17th Saeculum. Charles II*

### A result of confiscations under Cromwell and Charles II.

The 7,708,238 STATUTE ACRES confiscated by Cromwell were *distributed finally, by 1675,* as follows:

| | | STATUTE ACRES |
|---|---|---|
| 1) *To Englishmen* | | |
| ADVENTURERS | 787,326 | |
| SOLDIERS | 2,385,915 | |
| "FORTY-NINE" OFFICERS | 450,380 | |
| DUKE OF YORK | 169,431 | |
| PROVISORS | 477,873 | |
| DUKE OF ORMOND AND COLONEL BUTLER | 257,516 | |
| BISHOPS' AUGMENTATIONS | 31,596 | |
| | | 4,560,037 |
| 2) *To Irishmen* | | |
| DECREES OF INNOCENCE | 1,176,520 | |
| PROVISORS | 491,001 | |
| KING'S LETTERS OF RESTITUTION | 46,398 | |
| NOMINEES IN POSSESSION | 68,360 | |
| TRANSPLANTATION | 541,530 | |
| | | 2,323,809 |
| Remaining still unappropriated in 1675, being part of towns or land possessed by English or Irish without title or DOUBTFUL | | 824,392 |
| [Total in] *Statute acres* | | 7,708,238 |

### On "Forty-Nine" officers see O'Conor and Notes.[374]

THE DUKE OF YORK[a] received a GRANT of all the lands handed over to the ATTAINTED REGICIDES.[b] "Provisors were persons in whose favour provisoes had been made by the Acts of Settlement [1662] and of Explanation. Nominees were the Catholics named by the King restored to their mansions and 2,000 acres contiguous."

At that time the profitable lands of Ireland = $^2/_3$ of all land, or 12,500,000 STATUTE ACRES. Of the rest, considerable tracts were occupied without title by soldiers and ADVENTURERS. In 1675, the 12 $^1/_2$ *million ACRES of arable land* were distributed as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| "Granted to English Protestants of profitable land forfeited under the Commonwealth | 4,560,037 |
| Previously possessed by English Protestant Colonists and by the Church | 3,900,000 |
| Granted to the Irish | 2,323,809 |

[a] James Stuart, future James II.— *Ed.*

[b] The reference is to those who were associated with the execution of Charles I.— *Ed.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Previously possessed by 'good affectioned' Irish | 600,000 |
| Unappropriated as above | 824,391 |
| STATUTE ACRES | 12,208,237" |

[This table] was compiled by Murphy[a];

the figure of 3,900,000 acres was taken from the ACCOUNT PUBLISHED BY THE CROMWELLIAN PROPRIETORS and the rest on the basis of the *Grace Manuscript quoted by Lingard* and the REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS TO THE ENGLISH HOUSE OF COMMONS, December 15, 1699. It accords with Petty *(Political Anatomy),* who wrote: "Of the whole 7,500,000 plantation acres of good land (in Ireland) the English and Protestants and the Church have this Christmas (1672) 5,140,000 (=8,352,500 statute acres) and the Irish have near half as much" (Murphy, pp. 314 and 315).

(On the confiscations of William see p. 18.[b])

## *17th Saeculum. William III*[375]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| By the ACTS OF SETTLEMENT AND EXPLANATION, 2,323,809 STATUTE ACRES were granted to the Irish, they having 600,000 previously in their possession, totalling | 2,923,809 STATUTE ACRES | |
| Of these lands, 1,060,792 PLANTATION ACRES were escheated under William worth *£211,623 6s 3d.* per annum (REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS 1699) | 1,723,787 STATUTE ACRES | |
| | [There remain] | 1,200,022 STATUTE ACRES |
| or as Murphy calculated[c] (he probably erred when subtracting?) | | 1,240,022 STATUTE ACRES |

[a] J. N. Murphy, op. cit., pp. 313-15.— *Ed.*

[b] P. 17 in the manuscript; it contains only the heading "17. Saeculum, Charles II, James II".— *Ed.*

[c] J. N. Murphy, op. cit., pp. 317-18.— *Ed.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In addition, | | |
| RESTITUTED BY SPECIAL FAVOUR OF THE KING ON PARDONING (65 persons) | 125,000 STATUTE ACRES | |
| the COURT OF CLAIMS RESTORED (792 persons) | 388,500 STATUTE ACRES | |
| [Total] | | 513,500 STATUTE ACRES |
| Making the total still in Irish hands | | 1,753,522[a] STATUTE ACRES |

Compiled by Murphy on the basis of the REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS (ENGLISH) in DECEMBER 1699.

Written in March 1870

First published in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Russian edition, Vol. X, Moscow, 1948

Printed according to the manuscript

[a] Engels points out that Murphy may have erred in his calculation by 40,000 acres, in which case the total would have been 1,713,522.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## PLAN FOR *THE HISTORY OF IRELAND*[376]

1. Natural conditions.
2. Old Ireland
3. English conquests.
   1) First invasion.
   2) PALE AND IRISHRY.
   3) Subjugation and expropriation. 152...[a]-1691.
4. English rule.
   1) PENAL LAWS. 1691-1780.
   2) Rebellion and Union. 1780-1801.
   3) Ireland in the United Kingdom.
      a) The period of the small peasants. 1801-1846.
      b) The period of extermination. 1846-1870.

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Printed according to the manuscript

[a] The last figure is missing in the manuscript.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [PLAN OF CHAPTER TWO AND FRAGMENTS FOR *THE HISTORY OF IRELAND*][377]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Old Ireland | I. | Sources. 1) The ancients. 2) Irish literature, buildings and inscriptions. 3) Foreign sources: the Scandinavians, St. Bernard, Giraldus.— 4) Later sources, especially late 16th century.[a] |
| | II a. | Race and language. Legends about the invaders. Information from the ancients. What can be deduced about Irish literature from the laws, Giraldus and later sources. |
| | b. | The clan system, landownership, laws. |
| | III a. | Introduction of Christianity. Ir[ish] missionaries and scholars. J. Scotus Erig[ena]. |
| | b. | Danish period, etc., up to invasion. System of government at this time. |
| Ad I | | ..... |
| [Ad II] | a. | *Senchus Mor,* XI.[b] Giraldus.— Spenser, Davies, Camden, Campion, etc., Ledwich.[378] |
| | b. | N[ennius], *Brit.*[c] *S[enchus] M[or]*, XI and orig[ina]l. Cf. also Ledwich. |

[a] This paragraph is crossed out in the manuscript.—*Ed.*
[b] Engels refers to his notebook containing excerpts from *Senchus Mor.*—*Ed.*
[c] Nennius, *Historia Britonum,* London, 1819.—*Ed.*

Ad III — T. Moore, II, pp. 9 ff and orig[ina]l. Chron[ology]. Gordon.[a] Hegel, *Geschichte der Philosophie.*— Danica.

Tigernach (Tierna) the ANNALIST died in 1088 according to the *Annals of the Four Masters.*

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The *Annals of the Four Masters* compiled in the 17th century by M. O'Clary and 3 others from ancient Irish annals.[b]

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The *Annals of Ulster* exist in a manuscript dated 1215.

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Poet-chroniclers, mainly 9th-11th centuries.

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An eclipse of the sun correctly recorded by Irish chroniclers on May 3, 664 (in Tigernach).

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Irish chiefs of all ranks constantly waged war not only among themselves but also with their superior princes as well as the nominal king.

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The TANIST is believed to have been both chief commander and chief judge, that is very powerful against the king. His title (supreme king) *Righ-damnha= rex in fieri,*[c] but minor chiefs also had their TANISTS.

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[a] J. Gordon, *A History of the Rebellion in Ireland in 1789,* Dublin, 1801; *A History of Ireland...,* Dublin, 1805.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 173.— *Ed.*

[c] Future king.— *Ed.*

The hierarchical relations between princes in Ireland are believed only to have involved tributes, COSHERY,[379] BONAGHTY but by no means military service.

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The supremacy of the kings of Meath and the chroniclers' triennial national assembly in Tnamor (Tara) seems to have only existed on paper, it might have been enforced from time to time but always lapsed again.

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The land allocated to the chief of the clan was not divided (ditto that belonging to soldiers, priests, singers, chroniclers). The remaining land owned by the clan and could be divided up.

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With communal property the right of inheritance of illegitimate sons—in the whole clan—was unquestioned. Gavelkind: Davies (p. 136) describes the division of land "TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS *ANTIQUITY*" (i.e. his traditional rank in the clan),[a] which in Moore (Vol. I, p. 177)[b] has already been turned into *SENIORITY!*

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According to an obscure tradition the Milesians or Scots did not apparently practise any crafts until Tuathal died in A. D. 164; from then on, however, they did as a result of his [restoration] expulsion in 126 by the Plebeians (attacots-attach-tuatha translated by O'Reilly as Plebeians). In any case [from] at the time of the invasion all traces of the ruling race had disappeared although the families of the chiefs may have been Scottish. The first Plebeian war A. D. 90.—In both cases the legitimate Scottish family finally regained power.

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There are some Irish poems, believed to date back to the earliest days of the Milesians, which in the manuscript [c] have notes in between the lines. Without them they are incomprehensible, but

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[a] J. Davies, *Historical Tracts,* London, 1786.—*Ed.*
[b] Th. Moore, *The History of Ireland,* Vol. I, Paris, 1835.—*Ed.*
[c] Engels refers to the judicial collection *Senchus Mor.*—*Ed.*

even the notes are in a very obsolete language and very difficult to understand.

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Hereditable positions in families (i.e. not all of them, only certain ones). Thus in Camden's time, and later too, the O'Cullinan family in Cork constantly had one or more doctors, and people used to say that if someone had resigned himself to death not even an O'Cullinan could cure him. Similarly with herolds, bards, musicians (and Seanachies[a]). This natural considering the land allocated to them.

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Slaves and slave trade.

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Johannes Scotus Erigena.

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The oldest Irish manuscripts late 9th century, and the oldest songs occur as SINGLE FRAGMENTS in the annals; these appear more frequently from the 6th century.

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In the BREHON LAWS all fines were expressed in livestock, that means there was still no money as yet.

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There are still numerous manuscripts in existence bearing on the BREHON LAWS.

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St. Bernard was never in Ireland.

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[a] Chroniclers.— *Ed.*

In Ireland in ancient times boats were made of wickerwork covered in skins; after 1810 these were still the only kind of boats on the west coast, cf. Wakefield,[a] XII, p. 6,[b] where the passages from Pliny and Solinus are also to be found.

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Irish literature?—17th century, poetry, histor[ical] and jurid[ical literature], then completely suppressed due to the eradication of the Irish *literary language*—exists *only in manuscript*—publication is only just beginning—this is [possible] only with a downtrodden people. See Serbs, etc.

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The English have been able to reconcile people of the most diverse races to their rule. The Welsh, who cling so strongly to their nationality and their language, have been completely integrated into the British Empire. The Scottish Celts, although rebellious until 1745,[380] and since then almost exterminated, first by the government and later by their own aristocracy, have no thought of rebellion. The French of the Channel Islands fought bitterly against France even during the Great Revolution. And even the Frisians of Heligoland,[381] sold to England by Denmark, are content with their lot, and it will surely be a long time before the laurels of Sadowa and the achievements of the North-German Confederation[382] arouse in them the agonised cry for unification with the great Fatherland. Only the Irish have proved too much for the English to cope with. The tremendous resilience of the Irish race is to blame for this. Despite the most savage suppression, shortly after each attempt to wipe them out the Irish stood stronger than ever before. Indeed, they drew their main strength from the foreign garrison imposed on them to subdue them. Within the lifetime of two generations, often of one, the foreigners had become more Irish than the Irish themselves, *Hiberniores ipsis Hibernis;* and the more they adopted the English language and forgot Irish, the more Irish they became.

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[a] Ed. Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland. Statistical and Political,* Vols. I-II, London, 1812.—*Ed.*

[b] Engels refers to his notebook containing excerpts from Wakefield.—*Ed.*

The bourgeoisie turns everything into a commodity, hence also the writing of history. It is in its nature, a condition of its existence, to falsify all commodities: it falsified history. And the version of history which is most highly paid is that which is best falsified for the purposes of the bourgeoisie. *Teste* Macaulay,[a] who is therefore the unattainable model of the less skilled G. Smith.

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QUEEN'S EVIDENCE.—REWARDS FOR EVIDENCE.

England is the only country where the state openly dares to bribe witnesses, be it by an offer of exemption from punishment, or by ready cash. That prices are fixed for the betrayal of the whereabouts of a victim of persecution is comprehensible, but that they say: who gives me evidence on the strength of which someone can be sentenced as the perpetrator of some crime or another—this infamy is something not only the Code,[b] but also Pr[ussian] common law have left to Eng[lish] law. That COLLATERAL EVIDENCE is required alongside that given by the informer changes nothing; as a rule there is evidence for somebody to be suspected, or else it is fabricated, and the informer only has to adjust his lies accordingly.

Whether this pretty usage has its roots already in Eng[lish] legal proceedings is hard to say, but it is certain that it has received its *development* on Irish soil at the time of the Tories[383] and the penal laws.

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On March 15, 1870, when the government sought to justify the removal of an Irish sheriff (Coote of Monaghan) by arguing that he had packed the jury panel, G. H. Moore, M. P. for Mayo, said in Parliament[c]:

* "If Capt. Coote had done all the things of which he had been accused, he had only followed the practice which, in political cases, had been habitually sanctioned by the Institute Executive."

As one instance out of many that might be cited, he would mention *that though County Cork had a proportion of 500,000*

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[a] Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second,* London, 1862.—*Ed.*

[b] *Code Napoléon,* Paris, Leipzig, 1808.—*Ed.*

[c] Moore spoke in the House of Commons on March 14, 1870. See *The Times,* No. 26699, March 15, 1870.—*Ed.*

*Catholics against 50,000 Protestants, at the time of the Fenian trials in 1865,*[384] *a jury panel was called, composed of 360 Protestants and 40 Catholics!* *

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The German Legion of 1806-13 was also sent to Ireland. Thus, the good Hanoverians who refused to put up with French [bondage] rule, *were used by the English to preserve English rule in Ireland!*

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The agrarian murders in Ireland cannot be suppressed *because* and *as long as* they are the sole effective weapon against the extermination of the people by the landlords. They *help,* which is why they persist, and will persist, despite all coercive laws. Quantitatively they fluctuate, as do all social phenomena; at times they may even become epidemic, occurring on quite insignificant occasions. The epidemic can be suppressed, but not the disease itself.

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Dublin botanical gardens—total absence of protection for the flowers and yet no abuse on the part of the public as in England—Churchyard in Glasnevin like no other in England.

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THE ENGLISH LADY. There is no creature more superfluous and useless on earth. Custom, education and inclination exclude her from all the truly intellectual aspects of life, whereas THE FRIVOLITIES OF LIFE, or at the most dabbling with serious matters, make up the entire content of her life and are alone taken seriously by her.

Written in 1869-70

Printed according to the manuscript

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# APPENDICES

# RECORD OF A SPEECH ON THE IRISH QUESTION DELIVERED BY KARL MARX TO THE GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY IN LONDON ON DECEMBER 16, 1867[385]

On December 16, Karl Marx delivered a lecture to the London German Workers' Educational Society on the conditions in Ireland, in which he showed that all attempts of the English government to Anglicise the Irish population in past centuries had ended in failure. The English, including aristocrats, who immigrated before the Reformation[386] were transformed into Irishmen by their Irish wives, and their descendants fought against England. The brutalities of the war against the Irish under Queen Elizabeth, the destruction of crops and the displacement of the population from one area to another to make room for English colonists did not change anything in this respect. At that time, GENTLEMEN and MERCHANT ADVENTURERS received large plots of land on condition that they would be colonised by English people. In Cromwell's time, the descendants of these colonists fought with the Irish against the English. Cromwell sold many of them as slaves in the West Indies.[a] Under the Restoration,[387] Ireland received many favours. Under William III, a class came to power which only wanted to make money, and Irish industry was suppressed in order to force the Irish to sell their raw materials to England at any price. With the help of the Protestant Penal Laws,[388] the new aristocrats received freedom of action under Queen Anne. The Irish Parliament[389] was an instrument of oppression. Catholics were not allowed to hold public office, could not be landowners, were not allowed to make wills, could not claim an inheritance; to be a Catholic bishop was high treason. All these were means for robbing the Irish of their land; yet more than half of the English

[a] See this volume, pp. 288-89.—*Ed.*

descendants in Ulster have remained Catholic. The people were driven into the arms of the Catholic clergy, who thus became powerful. All that the English government succeeded in doing was to plant an aristocracy in Ireland. The towns built by the English have become Irish. That is why there are so many English names among the Fenians.

During the American War of Independence the reins were loosened a little. Further concessions had to be granted during the French Revolution. Ireland rose so quickly that her people threatened to outstrip the English. The English government drove them to rebellion and achieved the Union[390] by bribery. The Union delivered the death blow to reviving Irish industry. On one occasion Meagher said: all Irish branches of industry have been destroyed, all we have been left is the making of coffins. It became a vital necessity to have land; the big landowners leased their lands to speculators; land passed through four or five lease stages before it reached the peasant, and this made prices disproportionately high. The agrarian population lived on potatoes and water; wheat and meat were sent to England; the rent was eaten up in London, Paris and Florence. In 1836, £7,000,000 was sent abroad to absent landowners. Fertilisers were exported with the produce and rent, and the soil was exhausted. Famine often set in here and there, and owing to the potato blight there was a general famine in 1846. A million people starved to death. The potato blight resulted from the exhaustion of the soil, it was a product of English rule.

Through the repeal of the Corn Laws Ireland lost her monopoly position on the English market, the old rent could no longer be paid. High prices of meat and the bankruptcy of the remaining small landowners further contributed to the eviction of the small peasants and the transformation of their land into sheep pastures. Over half a million acres of arable land have not been tilled since 1860. The yield per acre has dropped: oats by 16 per cent, flax by 36 per cent, potatoes by 50 per cent. At present only oats are cultivated for the English market, and wheat is imported.

With the exhaustion of the soil, the population has deteriorated physically. There has been an absolute increase in the number of lame, blind, deaf and dumb, and insane in the decreasing population.

Over 1,100,000 people have been replaced by 9,600,000 sheep. This is a thing unheard of in Europe. The Russians replace evicted Poles with Russians, not with sheep. Only under the Mongols in China was there once a discussion whether towns should be destroyed to make room for sheep.

The Irish question is therefore not simply a question of nationality, but a question of land and existence. Ruin or revolution is the watchword; all the Irish are convinced that if anything is to happen at all it must happen quickly. The English should demand separation and leave it to the Irish themselves to decide the question of landownership. Everything else would be useless. If that does not happen soon the Irish emigration will lead to a war with America. The domination over Ireland at present amounts to collecting rent for the English aristocracy.

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Printed according to Eccarius' manuscript

# RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECHES ON CHANGING THE PLACE OF THE CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL IN 1868

FROM NEWSPAPER REPORTS
OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETINGS
OF MAY 26 AND JUNE 16, 1868[391]

[*May 26, 1868*]

Notice of motion was given that a resolution should be moved on Tuesday next[a] to cancel the resolution of the last congress[b] appointing Brussels as the place of meeting for the next congress, and that London be appointed instead.[c]

The Council considers it incompatible with the honour and dignity of the Association to assemble a congress, surrounded, as it would be, by French spies, and in a country whose Government is capable of committing such wanton outrages as have been perpetrated against the half-starved miners of Charleroi.[392]

[*June 16, 1868*]

The mover of the resolutions[d] then stated, that besides the foregoing assurances things had transpired since he had given notice which compelled the Council to abstain from revoking the vote of the Laussane Congress.[393] The Belgian section had already taken action. M. Bara, the Minister of Justice, was reported to have said in the Chamber of Deputies, that he would not permit the Congress to assemble[e]; in a remonstrance signed by all the members of the Brussels committee and the executive of the Free

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[a] June 2.—*Ed.*

[b] In Lausanne.—*Ed.*

[c] For the text of the resolution, tabled by Marx, see this volume, p. 6.—*Ed.*

[d] Karl Marx.—*Ed.*

[e] J. Bara, Speech in the Chamber of Deputies on May 16, 1868, *La Liberté*, No. 47, May 17, 1868.—*Ed.*

Workmen—an affiliated political society of Verviers, the resident members of the Association had declared that "in spite of all the vain rhodomontade of the Minister of Justice, the International Congress should be held at Brussels".[a] The question, therefore, was strictly one of resistance of the Belgian working men against the police regulations of their government, with which the Council had no right to interfere. He should, therefore, withdraw his resolutions.[b]

First published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper,* Nos. 346 and 349, May 30 and June 20, 1868

Reproduced from the newspaper

[a] *La Tribune du peuple,* No. 5, May 24, 1868.—*Ed.*

[b] The newspaper report further has: "which met with general approval, several members declaring that only the altered state of the case had changed their opinion".—*Ed.*

Wilhelm Eichhoff

# THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

## ITS ESTABLISHMENT, ORGANISATION, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ACTIVITY, AND GROWTH[394]

### 1. FOUNDATION OF THE ASSOCIATION

The immediate motive for the foundation of the International Working Men's Association was the latest Polish insurrection. The London workers sent a deputation to *Lord Palmerston* with an appeal in which they called on him to intervene on behalf of Poland. At the same time, they issued an address to the workmen of Paris, calling on them to take joint action.[a] The Parisians responded by sending delegates to London. To welcome them, a public meeting gathered at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, on September 28, 1864, at which Britons, Germans, Frenchmen, Poles and Italians were represented in large numbers.

This meeting gave birth to the International Working Men's Association. Apart from the political purpose for which the meeting was called, it also raised the subject of general social conditions. It revealed that workmen of all nations had the same grievances, that they were subjected to the same basic evils in all countries. It showed that the interests of all of them coincided. It elected a provisional Central Council, later renamed the General Council,[b] which made its seat in London and was composed of various nationalities. The Council was provisionally entrusted with the central administration of the future Association, the publication of the Inaugural Address (a kind of programme), and the drafting of the Provisional Rules.[c]

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[a] "Address of English to French Workmen", *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 112, December 5, 1863.—*Ed.*

[b] In the German original the name of the General Council is given in brackets in English and French after the German equivalent.—*Ed.*

[c] K. Marx, "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association", "Provisional Rules of the Association".—*Ed.*

Unanimity and enthusiasm reigned at the meeting. Each nation was represented by men who did it honour. As a result, the English workers, who had fought the ruling classes independently of, and uninfluenced by, the political and social movements of the rest of Europe since 1824, when the legislature was compelled to grant them the right of association,[395] now came out of their national isolation for the first time and agreed with the workmen of all nations on the necessity for joint action. Hence the enthusiasm: the gathering was aware that it was ringing in a new era in the workers' movement.

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## 2. DIFFICULTIES IN THE INITIAL PERIOD OF THE ASSOCIATION

New movements are not created overnight even if they are called upon to fill a pressing need of the times. To begin with, it is essential to steer clear of reefs on which new organisations have foundered so often before or which have, at the very least, diverted them from their original and true goal, for representatives of declining forms of the movement join the new one to make it a vehicle of the old. This was the case here, too. The Italian members of the provisional Central Council were followers of *Mazzini.* They laid before the Central Council a draft of the Inaugural Address and the Provisional Rules[396] drawn up by *Mazzini* himself. In his address, *Mazzini* repeated his old political programme garnished with a bit of socialist phraseology. He thundered against the *class struggle.* His Rules were formulated in a strictly centralised manner fit for secret political societies. From the start they would have destroyed the very basis of an international working men's association which was not conceived to create a movement but only to unite and weld together the already existing and dispersed class movement of various countries.

*Mazzini's* name was in high repute at the time among the English workers, notably since *Garibaldi's* triumphant visit to London.[397] *Mazzini* was therefore fairly confident that he would be able to take charge of the International Working Men's Association. But he had reckoned without his host. *Karl Marx,* who had been elected to the provisional Central Council at the meeting in St. Martin's Hall, submitted his drafts of the Inaugural Address and Provisional Rules in opposition to *Mazzini's.* Both

of his drafts were unanimously adopted and published, and the Provisional Rules later won final acceptance at the Geneva Congress in 1866.[a]

It was therefore a German who gave the International Working Men's Association its definite tendency and organisational principles. And we might also note that the Central Council in London has repeatedly been confirmed in its functions.

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## 3. THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF KARL MARX[398]

In the closest possible translation of the English original, the Address reads as follows:

Working Men,

It is a great fact that the misery of the working classes has not diminished from 1848 to 1864, and yet this period is unrivalled in the annals of history for the development of its industry and the growth of its commerce. In 1850, a moderate organ of the British bourgeoisie, seemingly of more than average information, predicted that if the exports and imports of England were to rise 50 per cent, English pauperism would sink to zero.[399] Alas! On April 7th, 1864, Mr. *Gladstone,*[b] the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, delighted his audience[c] by the statement that the total import and export trade of England had grown in 1863 to £443,955,000, which amounted to about three times the trade of the comparatively recent epoch of 1843. With all that, he was compelled to refer to the social misery. He had to speak of those who were on the border of starvation, of wages that had not increased by a single penny, of human life that was in nine cases out of ten but a daily struggle for existence.[d] He did not speak of the people of Ireland, gradually replaced by machinery in the north, and by sheep-walks in the south, though even the sheep in that unhappy country are decreasing, it is true, not at so rapid a rate as the men. He did not repeat what then had been just betrayed by the highest representatives of the upper ten thousand

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[a] *Status de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs votés à la séance du 5 septembre au Congrès de Genève.* In: *Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Statuts et Règlements,* London, 1866.—*Ed.*

[b] "Mr. Gladstone" does not occur in the original English text.—*Ed.*

[c] The original English text has "Parliamentary audience".—*Ed.*

[d] In the original English text this passage from Gladstone's address is given in direct speech.—*Ed.*

in a sudden fit of terror. When the garotte panic[400] had reached a certain height, the House of Lords caused an inquiry to be made into, and a report to be published upon, transportation and penal servitude. Out came the murder in the bulky Blue Book of 1863,[a 401] and proved it was, by official facts and figures, that the worst of the convicted criminals, the penal serfs of England and Scotland, toiled much less and fared far better than the agricultural labourers of England and Scotland. But this was not all. When, consequent upon the Civil War in America, the operatives of Lancashire and Cheshire were thrown upon the streets, the same House of Lords sent to the manufacturing districts a physician commissioned to investigate into the smallest possible amount of carbon and nitrogen, to be administered in the cheapest and plainest form, which might just suffice to avert starvation diseases. Dr. *Smith,* the medical commissioner of Parliament, ascertained that 28,000 grains of carbon, and 1,330 grains of nitrogen were the weekly allowance that would just about be enough to keep an average adult over the level of starvation diseases, and he found furthermore that this quantity pretty nearly agreed with the scanty nourishment to which the pressure of extreme distress had actually reduced the poor cotton operatives.* But that is not all. The same learned Doctor was later on again deputed by the government[b] to inquire into the nourishment of the poorer part of the working class. The results of his researches are contained in the "Sixth Report on Public Health", published by order of Parliament in the course of the present year (1864).[c] What did the Doctor discover? That the silk weavers, the needle women, the kid glovers, the stocking weavers, and other workers, received, on an average, not even the distress pittance of the cotton operatives, not even the amount of carbon and nitrogen "just sufficient to avert starvation diseases".

* We need hardly remind the reader that, apart from the elements of water and certain inorganic substances, carbon and nitrogen form the raw materials of human food. However, to nourish the human system, those simple chemical constituents must be supplied in the form of vegetable or animal substances. Potatoes, for instance, contain only carbon, while bread contains carbonaceous and nitrogenous substances in a due proportion. [*Note by Karl Marx.*]

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[a] *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the operation of the acts (16 & 17 Vict. c. 99 and 20 & 21 Vict. c. 3) relating to transportation and penal servitude,* Vols. I-II, London, 1863.—*Ed.*

[b] The English original has "by the medical officer of the Privy Council".—*Ed.*

[c] *Public Health. Sixth Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council (1863),* London, 1864. Pp. 13-15 of this report are cited below.—*Ed.*

"Moreover," we quote from the report, "as regards the examined families of the agricultural population, it appeared that more than a fifth were with less than the estimated sufficiency of carbonaceous food, that more than one-third were with less than the estimated sufficiency of nitrogenous food, and that in three counties (Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Somersetshire) insufficiency of nitrogenous food was the average local diet." "It must be remembered," adds the official report, "that privation of food is very reluctantly borne, and that, as a rule, great poorness of diet will only come when other privations have preceded it." ... "Even cleanliness will have been found costly or difficult, and if there still be self-respectful endeavours to maintain it, every such endeavour will represent additional pangs of hunger. These are painful reflections, especially when it is remembered that the poverty to which they advert is not the deserved poverty of idleness; in all cases it is the poverty of working populations. Indeed, the work which obtains the scanty pittance of food is for the most part excessively prolonged."

Further, the report brings out the strange, and rather unexpected fact that of the four divisions of the United Kingdom, those of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, the agricultural population of England, the richest division, is considerably the worst fed, but that even the agricultural labourers of Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Somersetshire, fare better than great numbers of skilled indoor operatives of the East End of London.*

Such are the official statements published by order of Parliament in 1864,[a] during the millennium of free trade, at a time when the Chancellor of the Exchequer told the House of Commons that

"the average condition of the British labourer has improved in a degree we know to be extraordinary and unexampled in the history of any country or any age".[b]

* *Translator's note.* In the Preface to his recently published book, *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. Von Karl Marx. Hamburg 1867,* Marx observes most correctly:

"The social statistics of Germany and the rest of Continental Western Europe are, in comparison with those of England, wretchedly compiled. But they raise the veil just enough to let us catch a glimpse of the Medusa head behind it. *We should be appalled at the state of things at home,* if, as in England, our governments and parliaments appointed periodically commissions of inquiry into economic conditions; if these commissions were armed with the same plenary powers to get at the truth; if it was possible to find for this purpose men as competent, as free from partisanship and respect of persons as are the English factory inspectors, her medical reporters on public health, her commissioners of inquiry into the exploitation of women and children, into housing and food. Perseus wore a magic cap that the monsters he hunted down might not see him. We draw the magic cap over eyes and ears as a make-believe that these are no monsters." [*Note by Eichhoff.*]

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[a] In Eichhoff's pamphlet mistakenly: "1863".—*Ed.*

[b] Here and further the quotations are from Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons of April 16, 1863 (see *The Times,* No. 24535, April 17, 1863).—*Ed.*

Upon these official congratulations jars the dry remark of the official Public Health Report:

"The public health of a country means the health of its masses, and the masses will scarcely be healthy unless, to their very base, they be at least moderately prosperous."

Dazzled by the "Progress of the Nation" statistics dancing before his eyes, the Chancellor of the Exchequer exclaims in wild ecstasy:

"From 1842 to 1852 the taxable income of the country increased by 6 per cent; in the eight years from 1853 to 1861, it has increased from the basis taken in 1853, 20 per cent! The fact is so astonishing to be almost incredible!... This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power," adds Mr. *Gladstone,* "is entirely confined to classes of property!" [402]

If you want to know with how many victims of broken health, tainted morals, and mental ruin, that "intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power entirely confined to classes of property" was, and is being, produced by the classes of labour, look to the picture hung up in the last "Public Health Report" [a] of the workshops of tailors, printers, and dressmakers! Compare the "Report of the Children's Employment Commission" of 1863, where it is stated, for instance, that

the potters as a class, both men and women, represent a much degenerated population, both physically and mentally, that the unhealthy child is an unhealthy parent in his turn, that the future was fraught with the gradual extinction of the race, and that the degenerescence of the population of Staffordshire would be even greater were it not for the constant recruiting from the adjacent country, and the intermarriages with more healthy races.[b]

Glance at Mr. *Tremenheere's* Blue Book on the "Grievances Complained of by the Journeymen Bakers"! [c] And who has not shuddered at the seemingly paradoxical statement made by the inspectors of factories, and illustrated by the Registrar General, that the Lancashire operatives, while put upon the distress pittance of food, were actually improving in health during this time, because of their temporary exclusion by the cotton famine from the cotton factory, and that the mortality of the children was decreasing, because their mothers were now at last allowed to give them, instead of *Godfrey's* cordial, their own breasts.

Again reverse the medal! The Income and Property Tax Returns laid before the House of Commons on July 20, 1864,

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[a] The reference is to the *Sixth Report...,* pp. 25-27, cited above.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. *Children's Employment Commission (1862). First Report of the Commissioners,* London, 1863, p. 24.—*Ed.*

[c] *Report Addressed to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department...,* London, 1862.—*Ed.*

teach us that the persons with yearly incomes, valued[a] at £50,000 and upwards, had, from April 5th, 1862, to April 5th, 1863, been joined by a dozen and one, their number having increased in that single year from 67 to 80. The same returns disclose the fact that about 3,000 persons divide amongst themselves a yearly income of about £25,000,000 sterling, rather more than the total revenue doled out annually to the whole mass of the agricultural labourers of England and Wales. Open the census of 1861, and you will find that the number of the landed proprietors of England and Wales had decreased from 16,934 in 1851, to 15,066 in 1861, so that the concentration of land had grown in 10 years 11 per cent. If the concentration of the soil of the country in a few hands proceeds at the same rate, the land question will become singularly simplified, as it had become in the Roman Empire, when *Nero* grinned at the discovery that half the Province of Africa was owned by six gentlemen.

We have dwelt so long upon these facts, "so astonishing to be almost incredible", because England heads the Europe of commerce and industry. It will be remembered that not long ago one of the refugee sons of *Louis Philippe* publicly congratulated the English agricultural labourer on the superiority of his lot over that of his less florid comrade on the other side of the Channel. Indeed, with local colours changed, and on a scale somewhat contracted, the English facts reproduce themselves in all the industrious and progressive countries of the Continent. In all of them there has taken place, since 1848, an unheard-of development of industry, and an undreamed-of expansion of imports and exports. In all of them the augmentation of wealth and power entirely confined to classes of property was truly intoxicating. In all of them, as in England, a minority of the working classes got their real wages somewhat advanced; while in most cases, given the universally rising prices, the monetary rise of wages denoted no more a real access of comforts than the inmate of the metropolitan poor-house or orphan asylum, for instance, was in the least benefited by his first necessaries rising in price according to official estimates from £7 7s. 4d. in 1852 to £9 15s. 8d. in 1861. Everywhere the great mass of the working classes were sinking down to a lower depth, at the same rate, at least, that those above them were rising in the social scale. In all countries of Europe it has now become a truth demonstrable to every unprejudiced mind, and only denied by those, whose interest it is

[a] The English original has "valued by the tax-gatherer".—*Ed.*

to hedge other people in a fool's paradise, that no improvement of machinery, no appliance of science to industrial and agricultural production, no aids and contrivances of communication, no new colonies, no emigration, no opening of markets, no free trade, nor all these things put together will do away with the miseries of the industrious masses; but that, on the present false base, every fresh development of the productive powers of labour must tend to deepen social contrasts and point social antagonisms. Death of starvation rose almost to the rank of a social institution, during this intoxicating epoch of economical progress, in the metropolis of the British Empire. That epoch is marked in the annals of the world by the quickened return, the widening compass, and the deadlier effects of the social pest called a commercial and industrial crisis.

After the failure of the Revolutions of 1848, all party organisations and party journals of the working classes were, on the Continent, crushed by the iron hand of force, the most advanced sons of labour fled in despair to the Transatlantic Republic, and the short-lived dreams of emancipation vanished before an epoch of industrial fever, moral marasme, and political reaction. The defeat of the Continental working classes[a] soon spread its contagious effects on this side of the Channel. While the rout of their Continental brethren unmanned the English working classes, and broke their faith in their own cause, it restored to the landlord and the money-lord their somewhat shaken confidence. They insolently withdrew concessions already advertised. The discoveries of new goldlands led to an immense exodus, leaving an irreparable void in the ranks of the British proletariat. Others of its formerly active members were caught by the temporary bribe of greater work and wages, and turned into loyal subjects.[b] All the efforts made at keeping up, or remodelling, the Chartist movement, failed signally; the press organs of the working class died one by one of the apathy of the masses, and, in point of fact, never before seemed the English working class so thoroughly reconciled to a state of political nullity. If, then, there had been no solidarity of action between the British and the Continental working classes, there was, at all events, a solidarity of defeat.

And yet this period has not been without its compensating features. We shall here only point to two great facts.

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[a] In the English original this is followed by the phrase: "partly owed to the diplomacy of the English Government, acting then as now in fraternal solidarity with the Cabinet of St. Petersburg", which was omitted by Eichhoff.—*Ed.*

[b] The English original says: "turned into 'political blacks'".—*Ed.*

After a thirty years' struggle, fought with most admirable perseverance, the English working classes, improving a momentaneous split between the landlords and money-lords, succeeded in carrying the Ten Hours' Bill.[403] The immense physical, moral, and intellectual benefits hence accruing to the factory operatives, half-yearly chronicled in the reports of the inspectors of factories, are now acknowledged on all sides. Most of the Continental governments had to accept the English Factory Act in more or less modified forms, and the English Parliament itself is every year compelled to enlarge its sphere of action. But besides its practical import, there was something else to exalt the marvellous success of this working men's measure. Through their most notorious men of science, such as Dr. *Ure,* Professor *Senior,* and other sages of that stamp, the British bourgeoisie had predicted, and to their heart's content proved, that any legal restriction of the hours of labour must sound the death knell of British industry, which, vampire like, could but live by sucking blood, and children's blood, too. In olden times, child murder was a mysterious rite of the religion of Moloch, but it was practised on some very solemn occasions only, once a year perhaps, and then Moloch had no exclusive bias for the children of the poor. This struggle about the legal restriction of the hours of labour raged the more fiercely since, apart from frightened avarice, it told indeed upon the great contest between the blind rule of the laws of supply and demand which form the political economy of the bourgeoisie, and social production controlled by social foresight, which forms the political economy of the working class. Hence the Ten Hours' Bill was not only a great practical success; it was the victory of a principle; it was the first time that in broad daylight the political economy of the bourgeoisie succumbed to the political economy of the working class.

But there was in store a still greater victory of the political economy of labour over the political economy of property. We speak of the cooperative movement, especially the cooperative factories raised by the unassisted efforts of a few bold "hands".* The value of these great social experiments cannot be over-rated. By deed, instead of by argument, they have shown that production on a large scale, and in accord with the behests of modern science,

* *Translator's note:* It is common usage in England to describe workers as hands, while sheep and oxen are counted by heads.[a] [*Note by Eichhoff.*]

[a] In Eichhoff's German text the words "hands" and "heads" are given in brackets after their German equivalents.—*Ed.*

may be carried on without the existence of a class of masters employing a class of hands; that to bear fruit, the means of labour need not be monopolised as a means of dominion over, and of extortion against, the labouring man himself; and that, like slave labour, like serf labour, hired labour is but a transitory and inferior form, destined to disappear before associated labour plying its toil with a willing hand, a ready mind, and a joyous heart. In England, the seeds of the cooperative system were sown by *Robert Owen;* the same working men's experiments, tried on the Continent, were, in fact, the practical upshot of the theories, not invented, but loudly proclaimed, in 1848.

The experience of the period from 1848 to 1864 has proved beyond doubt that, however excellent in principle, and however useful in practice, cooperative labour, if kept within the narrow circle of the casual efforts of private workmen, will never be able to arrest the growth in geometrical progression of monopoly, to free the masses, nor even to perceptibly lighten the burden of their miseries. It is perhaps for this very reason that plausible noblemen, philanthropic bourgeois spouters, and even keen political economists, have all at once turned nauseously complimentary to the very cooperative labour system they had vainly tried to nip in the bud by deriding it as the Utopia of the dreamer, or stigmatising it as the sacrilege of the Socialist. To save the industrious masses, cooperative labour ought to be developed to national dimensions, and, consequently, to be fostered by national means. Yet, the lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies. So far from promoting, they will continue to lay every possible impediment in the way of the emancipation of labour. Remember the sneer with which, last session, Lord *Palmerston* put down the advocates of the Irish Tenants' Right Bill. The House of Commons, cried he, is a house of landed proprietors.[404] To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes. They seem to have comprehended this, for in England, Germany, Italy, and France there have taken place simultaneous revivals, and simultaneous efforts are being made at the political reorganisation of the working men's party.

*One* element of success they possess—*numbers;* but numbers weigh only in the balance, if united in an alliance and led towards a known goal. Past experience has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each

other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts. This thought prompted the working men of different countries assembled on September 28, 1864, in public meeting at St. Martin's Hall, to found the International Working Men's Association.

Another conviction swayed that meeting.

If the emancipation of the working classes requires their fraternal concurrence, how are they to fulfil that great mission if the foreign policy of governments pursues criminal designs, playing upon national prejudices, and squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure? It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance by the working classes of England that saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic.[405] The shameless approval, mock sympathy, or idiotic indifference, with which the upper classes of Europe have witnessed the mountain fortress of the Caucasus falling a prey to, and heroic Poland being assassinated by, Russia; the unresisted encroachments of that barbarous power, whose head is at St. Petersburg, and whose hands are in every Cabinet of Europe, have taught the working classes the duty to master themselves the mysteries of international politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective Governments; to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power; when unable to prevent, to combine in simultaneous denunciations, and to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations.

The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes.

Proletarians of all countries, Unite!

## 4. THE RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION[406]

These follow in the final, essentially unchanged, wording as sanctioned by the Geneva Congress (1866):

Considering,

That the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class rule;

That the economical subjection of the man of labour to the monopoliser of the means of labour, that is the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence;

That the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means;

That all efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labour in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries;

That the emancipation of labour is neither a local, nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries;

That the present revival of the working classes in the most industrious countries of Europe, while it raises a new hope, gives solemn warning against a relapse into the old errors, and calls for the immediate combination of the still disconnected movements;

For these reasons:—

The first International Working Men's Congress declares that this International Association and all societies and individuals adhering to it will acknowledge truth, justice, and morality, as the basis of their conduct towards each other, and towards all men, without regard to colour, creed or nationality;

This Congress considers it the duty of a man to claim the rights of a man and citizen, not only for himself, but for every man who does his duty. No rights without duties, no duties without rights[407];

And in this spirit they have drawn up the following Rules of the International Association:—

1. This Association is established to afford a central medium of communication and cooperation between Working Men's Societies existing in different countries, and aiming at the same end, viz., the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation of the working classes.

2. The name of the Society shall be: "The International Working Men's Association".

3. The General Council shall consist of working men belonging to the different countries represented in the International Association. It shall from its own members elect the officers necessary for the transaction of business, such as a president, a

treasurer, a general secretary, corresponding secretaries for the different countries, &c. The Congress appoints annually the seat of the General Council, elects a number of members, with power to add to their numbers, and appoints time and place for the meeting of the next Congress. The delegates assemble at the appointed time and place without any special invitation. The General Council may, in case of need, change the place, but has no power to postpone the time of meeting.

4. On its annual meetings, the General Congress shall receive a public account of the transactions of the General Council. In cases of urgency, it may convoke the General Congress before the regular yearly term.

5. The General Council shall form an international agency between the different cooperating associations, so that the working men in one country be constantly informed of the movements of their class in every other country; that the inquiry into the social state of the different countries of Europe be made simultaneously, and under a common direction; that the questions of general interest mooted in one society be ventilated by all; and that, when immediate practical steps should be needed, as, for instance, in case of international quarrels, the action of the associated societies be simultaneous and uniform. Whenever it seems opportune, the General Council shall take the initiative of proposals to be laid before the different national or local societies. To facilitate the communications, the General Council shall publish periodical reports.

6. Since the success of the working men's movement in each country cannot be secured but by the power of union and combination, while, on the other hand, the usefulness of the International General Council must greatly depend on the circumstances whether it has to deal with a few national centres of working men's associations, or with a great number of small and disconnected local societies; the members of the International Association shall use their utmost efforts to combine the disconnected working men's societies of their respective countries into national bodies, represented by central national organs. It is self-understood, however, that the appliance of this rule will depend upon the peculiar laws of each country, and that, apart from legal obstacles, no independent local society shall be precluded from directly corresponding with the General Council.

7. The various branches and sections shall, at their places of abode, and as far as their influence may extend, take the initiative not only in all matters tending to the general progressive

improvement of public life but also in the foundation of productive associations and other institutions useful to the working class. The General Council shall encourage them in every possible manner.

8. Each member of the International Association, on removing his domicile from one country to another, will receive the fraternal support of the Associated Working Men.

9. Everybody who acknowledges and defends the principles of the International Working Men's Association is eligible to become a member. Every branch is responsible for the integrity of the members it admits.

10. Every section or branch has the right to appoint its own corresponding secretary.

11. While united in a perpetual bond of fraternal cooperation, the working men's societies, joining the International Association, will preserve their existent organisations intact.

12. Everything not provided for in the present Rules will be supplied by special Regulations subject to the revision of every Congress.

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## 5. THE PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE IN LONDON, SEPTEMBER 1865[408]

The Central Council (later named the General Council) elected at the meeting in St. Martin's Hall had decided to hold the first Congress of the International Working Men's Association in Brussels at the beginning of September 1865. Later, it found this decision to be ill-advised, because, on the one hand, there had not been time enough for the Association to sink deeper roots, while on the other, the Belgian Government, which bows to orders from Paris in matters of internal policy, renewed the law that permits it to expel foreigners at will.[409] Instead of a general Congress in Brussels, the Central Council therefore convened a preliminary conference in London. Only delegates of the few *leading* committees from the Continent could take part in it.

The London Conference determined what questions would be discussed at the next general Congress in September 1866. Geneva was chosen as the place of the Congress.

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## 6. THE GENEVA CONGRESS, 3rd TO 8th SEPTEMBER 1866[410]

Sixty delegates were present, of whom 45 were members of 25 sections of the International Working Men's Association and 15 were members of 11 affiliated societies.

At the beginning of the debates, there ensued a heated discussion about the right of participating in the Congress. Many individual members of the Association had come from France who, though they could not present credentials from any section, wished to be admitted as delegates of the Paris sections and to participate in the proceedings of the Congress. They referred to the French legislation which forbade them to have a regular organisation. Some members supported their demand. In their opinion, the organisation of the Congress had been neither complete nor final, and they should not therefore be too strict or scrupulous and should rather admit to the proceedings any individual member who subscribed to the principles of the Association. The British delegates maintained, however, that they had come as representatives of branches and societies each of which had many thousands of members and that on these grounds they demanded the representative system to be applied at the Congress; admission of individuals who represented no organised body would impair the rule of equality in voting and prejudice the rights of the British delegates. The Congress decided that the right of participating in the debates and in the voting should be granted exclusively to delegates who were able to present regular credentials.

After the credentials had been checked, the Congress proceeded to elect the Presidium and the Bureau, and a member of the London General Council, watchmaker *Jung,* was elected to the chair. He conducted the ensuing debates most skilfully. The hot-blooded Frenchmen, who would rather hear themselves speak, than others, made it rather difficult to run the proceedings, but the president's tact, calm and dignity, supported by the firm and sensible attitude of the English and German workers, prevailed over every threatening disturbance.

It would take us too far to present even a brief summary of the debates here.* The discussion chiefly concerned the "Instructions

* Detailed reports on the proceedings of *all* congresses of the Association are contained in the journal *Der Vorbote. Politische und sociale Zeitschrift,* which has been published since 1866 as the central organ of the German-speaking section of the International Working Men s Association under the editorship of *Joh. Phil. Becker* by the publishing house of the Association at Pré-l'Évêque 33 in Geneva. [*Note by Eichhoff.*]

for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council",[a] whose provisions were in substance endorsed by the Congress. The most important points were the following:

§ 1 of these Instructions concerns the *organisation* of the International Association. The Rules, set forth above, which had stood the test of two years' practice, were recommended for final adoption, London was proposed as the seat of the General Council for the next year, and the proposal to elect the General Council and a General Secretary with a weekly salary of £2 as the only paid officer of the Association was laid before the Congress.

The Congress sanctioned the Provisional Rules, decided that London should remain the seat of the General Council, confirmed the provisional General Council in London in its functions for the administrative year of 1866 to 1867, and fixed the opening of the next congress in Lausanne on the first Monday of September 1867.

§ 2 of the Instructions concerns the *international aid* which the Association could give the workmen of all countries in their struggle against capital. This question, it points out, embraces the whole activity of the Association, which aims at combining and generalising the till now disconnected efforts for emancipation by the working classes in different countries. In one case the Association could already claim credit for having successfully counteracted the intrigues of capitalists always ready to misuse the foreign workman as a tool against the native workman in the event of strikes. It is one of the great purposes of the Association to make the workmen of different countries not only feel but act as brethren and comrades in the army of emancipation. As one more international combination of efforts it was proposed to carry out a *"statistical inquiry into the situation of the working classes of all countries to be instituted by the working classes themselves"*. To make it successful, the most relevant questions were listed in the scheme that is given below. By initiating so great a work, the workmen will prove their ability to take their own fate into their own hands. It was therefore proposed that all branches of the Association should immediately commence the work, and that the Congress should invite all workmen of Europe and the United States of America to collaborate in gathering the elements of the statistics of the working class; that all reports and evidence should be forwarded

[a] K. Marx, "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions".— *Ed.*

to the General Council which should elaborate them into a general report, adding the evidence as an appendix, and that this report together with its appendix should be published after having received the sanction of the Congress.

The proposed general scheme of inquiry contains the following items, which may of course be modified to suit local conditions:

1. Industry, name of.
2. Age and sex of the employed.
3. Number of the employed.
4. Salaries and wages: (a) apprentices; (b) wages by the day or piece work; (c) scale paid by middlemen. Weekly, yearly average.
5. (a) Hours of work in factories. (b) The hours of work with small employers and in homework, if the business be carried on in those different modes. (c) Nightwork and daywork.
6. Mealtimes and treatment.
7. Sort of workshop and work: overcrowding, defective ventilation, want of sunlight, use of gaslight, cleanliness, etc.
8. Nature of occupation.
9. Effect of employment upon the physical condition.
10. Moral condition. Education.
11. State of trade: whether season trade, or more or less uniformly distributed over the year, whether commodities are subject to great price fluctuations, whether exposed to foreign competition, whether destined for home consumption or for export, etc.[411]

These proposals of the General Council were adopted by the Congress unanimously, and the workers' statistical inquiry into and assessment of their own condition have been proceeding steadily since.

§ 3 of the Instructions concerns the *limitation of the working day.* This, it says, is a preliminary condition, without which all further attempts at improvement and emancipation are bound to founder. It is needed to restore the health and physical energies of the working class, that is, the great body of every nation, as well as to secure them the possibility of intellectual development, sociable intercourse, social and political action. For this reason the Congress should declare itself in favour of a *legal limitation of the working day to eight hours.* This limitation being generally claimed by the workmen of the United States,[412] the vote of the Congress would raise it to the common platform of the working classes all over the world. Nightwork is to be permitted in but exceptional cases, in trades and branches specified by law, with the tendency being to gradually suppress all nightwork. This proposal, however, referred

only to adult persons 18 years of age and older, male or female, though the latter should be rigorously excluded from all nightwork whatever, and all sort of work hurtful to the delicacy of the sex, or exposing their bodies to poisonous and otherwise deleterious effects.

The Congress acceded to these proposals with a majority of 50 to 10 votes. The minority consisted of those French delegates who were content to have a legal limitation of the working day to 10 hours.

§ 4 of the Instructions attacks the social evil of *"juvenile and children's labour (both sexes)"* at its very root.

The tendency of modern industry to make children and juvenile persons of both sexes cooperate in the great work of social production is admitted to be a progressive, sound and legitimate tendency, although under capital it has been distorted into an abomination. In a rational state of society *every child* of the age of 9 years should begin to become a productive labourer so that no able-bodied adult person should have to be exempted from the general law of nature, which says: work in order to be able to eat, and work not only with the brain but with the hands too.

For the present, however, the Congress is concerned only with the working population. Here it distinguishes *three classes* of children and juvenile persons of both sexes, each of which is to be treated differently; the first class to range from 9 to 12, the second from 13 to 15, and the third from 16 to 17 years of age. It was proposed that the employment of the first class in any workshop or housework should be legally restricted to *two,* that of the second class to *four,* and that of the third to *six working hours,* and that for the third class there should be legally provided a break of at least *one* hour for meals or relaxation.

It was said to be desirable to begin elementary school instruction before the age of 9 years, but the Congress dealt here only with the indispensable antidotes against the tendencies of a social system which degrades the working man into a mere instrument for the accumulation of capital, and compels parents by the necessity of obtaining a livelihood to sell their own children. The *right* of children and juvenile persons must be vindicated. They are unable to act for themselves. It is therefore the duty of society to care for their well-being.

If the bourgeoisie and aristocracy neglected their duties toward their offspring, it was their own fault. Sharing the privileges of these classes, the child was also condemned to suffer from their prejudices.

The case of the working class stood quite different. The working man was no free agent. In regrettably too many cases, he was even too ignorant to understand the true interests of his child, or the normal conditions of human development. The more enlightened part of the working class, however, fully understood that the future of its class, and therefore of mankind, altogether depend upon the formation of the rising working generation. The workers knew perfectly well that above all else the children and the juvenile workers were to be saved from the crushing effects of the present system of labour. This could be done only by converting social reason into social force, and, under given circumstances, there existed no other method of doing so, than through general laws enforced by the power of the state. If the working class supported the government in enforcing such laws, it would not thereby in the least fortify governmental power. On the contrary, it would transform that power, now used against it, into its own agency. By a general act it would achieve what it would vainly have attempted by a multitude of isolated individual efforts.

Proceeding from this standpoint, the Congress declared that no parent and no employer should be allowed to use juvenile labour, except when combined with education.

Three things were to be understood by education:

First, *mental education.*

Second, *bodily education,* such as is given in schools of gymnastics, and by military exercise.

Third, *technological training,* which imparts the general principles of all processes of production, and simultaneously initiates the child and young person in the practical use and handling of the elementary instruments of all trades.

A gradual and progressive course of mental, gymnastic, and technological training should correspond to the classification of the juvenile labourers. The costs of the technological schools should be partly met by the sale of their products.

The combination of paid productive labour, mental education, bodily exercise and polytechnic training, would raise the working class far above the level of the higher and middle class.

It was self-understood that the employment of all persons up to 17 years inclusively[a] in nightwork and all health injuring trades should be strictly prohibited by law.

The Congress agreed unanimously with these explanations, and added a resolution to the effect that the technical training of

[a] The English original says: "all persons from [9] and to 17 years (inclusively)".— *Ed.*

juvenile persons should be of a practical as well as of a theoretical nature so that not factory overseers and foremen but working men should be trained at the projected technological schools.

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## 7. THE LAUSANNE CONGRESS, 2nd TO 8th SEPTEMBER, 1867[413]

Sixty-four delegates came to this Congress, among whom the German element was represented by 25 members.

All opening ceremonies were dispensed with, and the Congress proceeded at once to elect the Presidium and the Bureau. *Eugène Dupont,* member of the General Council and delegate of the French section in London, was elected to the chair, and coped smartly with his none too simple duties. He was fortified in his task by the magnificent behaviour of the assembly. No unfriendly words had to be smoothed over, no improper pronouncements had to be rebutted, no tactless motions had to be registered. This time, too, the difficulty of conducting the discussion in three languages (English, German, and French) was happily overcome, as it had been at the first congress.

The most important at this Congress were the reports of the individual sections and affiliated societies on the actual successes and the growth of the Association. It would take us too far afield if we were to reproduce the content of these most interesting reports if only in outline, and we may dispense with it here all the more because the present expansion of the Association will be taken up in a later section. The official proceedings of the Congress of 1867 have been published in French by *Chaux-de-Fonds, Imprimerie de la Voix de l'Avenir.*[a]

Indicative of the spirit of the Congress was the following:

*Gaspare Stampa* from Milan, delegate of the Central Council of Italian working men's associations, which embraces 600 workers' societies and has its seat in Naples, announced at the sitting of the 4th of September that *Garibaldi* would be passing through Lausanne on his way to the Peace Congress in Geneva; he moved that the Congress should appoint a deputation to go to Villeneuve to greet *Garibaldi* on behalf of the Congress, and to invite him to visit the Congress in his capacity as honorary president of the above-mentioned Italian working men's associations. Other dele-

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[a] *Rapports lus au Congrès ouvrier réuni du 2 au 8 septembre 1867 à Lausanne,* Chaux-de-Fonds, 1867.—*Ed.*

gates opposed this motion. However popular *Garibaldi* may be, a Congress representing the working class could not pay homage to any single individual. If, however, *Garibaldi* wished to assume his seat at the Congress as honorary president of the Italian working men's associations, he would be as heartily received as any other delegate. Having done with *Stampa's* motion, the Congress passed on to the agenda.

The nearly simultaneous holding of the international Peace Congress[414] in Geneva (9 to 12 September), in which many members of the Working Men's Congress intended to take part in a private capacity, compelled the latter to define its position in relation to the Peace League in Geneva. This was done in the following heartily applauded resolution[a]:

"Considering that the pressure of war weighs more heavily on the working class than on any other class of society, because it is not only robbed by it of its means of subsistence but is also the class that is made to shed most blood in it;

"Considering that the pressure of so-called armed peace weighs as heavily on the working man as that of war by consuming the best energies of the people in unproductive and destructive labour;

"Finally, considering that any radical remedy of this evil necessitates altering the prevailing social conditions which repose on the exploitation of one part of society by another,

"The Congress of the International Working Men's Association declares its complete and emphatic allegiance to the Peace League constituted in Geneva on the 7th of September, and to its efforts in the interest and for the maintenance of peace, and demands not only that war be abolished but also that standing armies be disbanded, and that a universal and free alliance of the peoples be constituted in their place on the basis of reciprocity and justice, *but with the proviso* that the working classes be emancipated from their unfree and oppressed condition and social discrimination, and that an end be put to the mutual struggle of classes through the rectification of the obtaining contradictions."

The Geneva Working Men's Congress of 1866 had been an object of lively debate in the French press, especially that of Paris and Lyons. The big London papers, however, had passed it over in dead silence. Not so the Congress in Lausanne a year later. *The Times* had its own correspondent there. Furthermore, it published editorial articles about the International Working Men's Association,[b] and its example was followed by the dailies and weeklies of all England. After *The Times* had set the tone, the other papers, too, no longer considered it beneath their dignity to devote not

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[a] *Adresse collective au Congrès de la paix à Genève, de la part des Travailleurs réunis en Congrès à Lausanne.—Ed.*

[b] "The International Working Men's Congress (From a Correspondent). Lausanne", *The Times*, Nos. 25909, 25911, 25912, 25913, September 6, 9, 10, 11, 1867.—*Ed.*

only notices but even long editorials to the labour question. All of them discussed the Working Men's Congress. It was only natural that many papers treated the subject in a superior and ironic vein. For every undertaking has its funny side apart from the sublime, and how could the Working Men's Congress with its loquacious Frenchmen be completely free of it? But for all that, the English press has on the whole treated the Congress very decently. Even *The Manchester Examiner,* which is in fact the organ of *John Bright* and the Manchester School,[415] portrayed it in a pertinent editorial as an important and epoch-making event. Where it was compared with its step-brother, the Peace Congress, the comparison was always in favour of the elder brother. In the Working Men's Congress they discerned a threatening and fateful tragedy, whereas nothing but farce and burlesque was seen in the other.

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## 8. THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION, THE TRADES' UNIONS, AND THE STRIKES[a]

With the foundation of the International Working Men's Association a new era began for the English Trades Unions. Previously, they were exclusively engrossed in the struggle over wages and the working time, and were bound down by the narrow-mindedness of the medieval guilds system.

The trades unions are not only a wholly lawful but also a governmentally recognised body sanctioned by Act of Parliament in 1825[b] and necessitated by the daily conflicts between labour and capital. Their purpose is to stand up for the interests of workmen against masters and capitalists. Their *ultima ratio* is the strike,[c] whose legality is enshrined in the aforementioned Act of Parliament on the condition that any direct breach of the peace is avoided and no forcible restraint of trade[d] is attempted. Under the protection of this Act, the trades unions have spread in all factory districts of England and have, by virtue of their numbers, organisation and funds, grown into a powerful body which

[a] In the German original the English terms "Trades' Unions" and "Strikes" are given in brackets after their German equivalents.— *Ed.*

[b] An Act to repeal the Laws relating to the combinations of Workmen, and to make other Provisions in lieu thereof.— *Ed.*

[c] The German original has the English and French terms "Strikes" and "Grèves" in brackets after their German equivalent.— *Ed.*

[d] The German original has the English terms "breach of the peace" and "restraint of trade" in brackets after their German equivalents.— *Ed.*

confronts, and commands the respect of, the employers, and makes its influence felt in many different ways. They have survived all the periods of political reaction, all the counter-schemes of the masters and capitalists, all the shortages and commercial crises of the past decades, and have the same importance for the organisation of the working class as the establishment of communes in the Middle Ages had for the middle classes of bourgeois society, as *Karl Marx* has, indeed, demonstrated as early as 1847 in his work against *Proudhon,* entitled *Misère de la Philosophie. Réponse à la Philosophie de la Misère par Mons. Proudhon* (Paris 1847).[a]

It has now been brought home to these trades unions that, on the one hand, without knowing it, they are a means of organising the working class, and that alongside their immediate and current aims they must not forget the general aim of winning the complete political and social emancipation of the working class. On the other hand, it has equally been brought home to them that no ultimate success was possible without international combination and that by its very nature the workers' movement cut across state and national borders.

That is why the following resolution was framed and adopted at the big conference of delegates from the trades unions of the United Kingdom at Sheffield in 1866[416]:

"That this conference, fully appreciating the efforts made by the International Association to unite in one common bond of brotherhood the working men of all countries, most earnestly recommend to the various societies here represented, the advisability of becoming affiliated to that body, believing that it is essential to the progress and prosperity of the entire working community."[b]

The London Trades' Council,[c][417] which is the central body of England's trades unions, had by then concluded an agreement with the General Council of the International Working Men's Association in London. The Secretary of the Trades' Council, Mr. *Odger,* was and still is also a member of the General Council of the International Association. Only from then on did the activities of the trades unions in England gain a universal character, which became evident very soon when they took a direct part for the first time in the political movement. How successful they were is

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[a] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon.*—*Ed.*

[b] *Report of the Conference of Trades' Delegates of the United Kingdom...,* Sheffield, 1866.—*Ed.*

[c] The German original has the English term "Trades' Council" in brackets after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

common knowledge. After the fall of the *Russell-Gladstone* cabinet in June 1866 it had seemed that the parliamentary reform would be indefinitely postponed. The Tory leaders declared to the loud acclaim of the majority that no reform was necessary. At this point, the workers took charge of the movement. Mass meetings on a large scale were called in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow, Bristol, and other cities, in which the trades unions took part in their own capacity. The Trades' Council gave its support to the Reform League,[418] the governing body of the movement. Within a few months, victory was achieved, and the Tory government was forced to initiate the parliamentary reform.[419]

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In England as well as on the Continent the years 1866 to 1868 were especially plentiful in strikes on the part of the workers and in factory lock-outs on the part of the capitalists.* The common reason for this was the *crisis of 1866*[420] *and its aftermaths.* The crisis paralysed speculation. Large enterprises came to a standstill, and those entrepreneurs who, owing to the changed situation on the money market, were unable to meet the financial commitments they had made at the time when speculation was at its highest, were forced into bankruptcy. The stagnation of all trading enterprises had reached a point where it was surpassed only by the extraordinary glut of gold in the banks of England and France. And the gold had piled up in the banks because it could no longer find any use for business purposes. This led to a general stoppage of commerce and a general decline of prices. Victuals alone, notably bread, the workers' most vital necessity, had gone up in price owing to the crop failures of 1866 and 1867. And precisely during this general shortage came the calamity of universal crisis, which made itself felt to the workmen through the reduction of the working time and the lowering of wages by the employers. Hence the many strikes and lock-outs. It so happened, furthermore, that the laws against working men's coalitions had only just been lifted in France and other countries of the Continent.[421] Unquestionably, too, the resolutions of the working men's congresses in Geneva and Lausanne had had a moral effect, made still stronger by the workmen's awareness everywhere that

* Lock-out—termporary closure of whole factories and all workshops of any industrial branch, the capitalists' instrument of forcing workers to accept low wages. [*Note by Eichhoff.*]

they could rely on the powerful backing of the International Association.

But that part of the European bourgeois press which denounced the International Working Men's Association for inciting these conflicts was mistaken. Nowhere did the Association initiate any strikes, and confined itself merely to intervening where the character of the local conflicts justified its doing so and required it to take action.

Specifically, it intervened in three important cases, where it also used the opportunity to make successful propaganda for its principles.

First, a few general remarks about the tactics of the Association during the English workers' strikes, in which its cooperation had been required. An account of this is given in the "Third Annual Report"[a] which the London General Council placed before the Congress in Lausanne, and which says:

> "It used to be a standard threat with British capitalists, not only in London, but also in the provinces, when their workmen would not tamely submit to their arbitrary dictation, that they would supplant them by an importation of foreigners. The possibility of such importations taking place was in most cases sufficient to deter the British workmen from insisting on their demands. The action taken by the General Council has had the effect of putting a stop to these threats being made publicly. Where anything of the kind is contemplated it has to be done in secret, and the slightest information obtained by the workmen suffices to frustrate the plans of the capitalists. As a rule, when a strike or a lock-out occurs concerning any of the affiliated trades, the Continental correspondents of the Association are at once instructed to warn the workmen in their respective localities not to enter into any engagements with the agents of the capitalists of the place where the dispute is. However, this action is not confined to affiliated trades. The same action is taken on behalf of other trades upon application being received."

Indeed, this was how the manoeuvres of the English capitalists were frustrated during the strikes relative to workshop and factory lock-outs of railway excavators, conductors and engine drivers, zinc workers, wire-workers, wood-cutters, and so on. In a few cases, such as the strike of the London basket-makers, the capitalists had secretly smuggled in labourers from Belgium and Holland. Following an appeal of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, however, the latter made common cause with the English workers.

Still greater services were rendered to a certain group of workers by the Association's administrative committee in Paris. In

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[a] "Third Annual Report of the International Working Men's Association". In the original, the English title is followed by its German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

Roubaix, the ribbon manufacturers introduced arbitrary penal regulations in their factories which naturally mainly amounted to deductions from wages. The inescapable result of this system of fines was the dismissal of the workers who protested against it, the lock-out leading to a revolt and to an armed intervention by the authorities.[422] Here, however, the Central Council of the International Association in Paris stepped in and proved that the manufacturers had made themselves guilty of breaking the law with their regulations by playing legislator, judge and gendarme off their own bat. As a result, the French government was compelled to declare that any private factory regulations, insofar as they were not purely administrative, but imposed fines, were *unlawful* and constituted an unmitigated usurpation.

The decisive and most important cases of intervention by the International Working Men's Association, however, were the following three:

### 1. *Closure of the Paris Bronze Workshops in February 1867*

The great, fundamental importance of this conflict was the following:

Trade unions had only just been legally allowed in France. The bronze-workers, a body of approximately 5,000 persons, were the first to take advantage of this and to form a union on the English model at the beginning of 1866. Naturally, from the start, this association was a thorn in the side of the masters, and they decided to destroy it at the first opportunity. This opportunity came in February 1867, when the union found itself compelled to intervene on behalf of its members and to require five of the masters to comply with its directions. Instantly, the capitalists formed a coalition, which demanded of their workers that they either resign from the union or leave the workshops. This culminated in a lock-out of some 1,500 bronze-workers by 87 employers.

In this case, therefore, *the existence of this important factor of the movement in France* hung in the balance.

At the beginning of the lock-out, the union of bronze-workers had a fund of 35,000 francs. It decided to pay each of the dismissed workers 20 francs weekly, and to obtain a loan from the English trades unions for this purpose through the good offices of

the International Association against a monthly repayment of 5,000 francs.

The workers *won* thanks to the moral and pecuniary support of the London General Council, which obtained the desired contributions from the English trades unions, and also thanks to the intervention of the Paris Central Council of the International Association which persuaded the other trade unions in France to render the bronze-workers vigorous support.

Besides the social significance of the *French* workers' coming out victorious with the help of their *English* brethren, the case has its international importance, of which the *Courrier français* of March 24, 1867 says the following[a]:

"M. *Thiers* said that no new policy is conceivable in international relations. Yet a noteworthy and in no way isolated fact has just taken place which, coming from the people, serves notice of something that is really new.

"We cannot tell if the bitter, hundreds of years old and almost inhuman hatred between the English and the French is still rooted in the bosom of a part of the two nations. But the fact that the English proletariat offers alliance and pecuniary assistance to the Paris bronze-workers to support them in a question of employment and wages is a symptom of a new policy which the old parties do not and cannot comprehend."

## 2. *The Geneva Strike in the Spring of 1868**

While the case of the Paris bronze-workers concerned the existence of trade unions in France, the case here concerned *the*

* A thorough description of this strike is given in the following little brochure: *Die internationale Arbeiterassociation und die Arbeitseinstellung in Genf im Frühjahr 1868. Von Joh. Phil. Becker.* Deutsche Verlagshalle, Pré-l'Évêque 33, Geneva, 1868. The workers who read this book are most strongly recommended to acquire both the brochure of the stout-hearted *Joh. Phil. Becker,* the proceeds from which are exclusively intended for covering the costs incurred in supporting the strike, and the monthly journal *Vorbote. Joh. Phil. Becker* is himself a worker in origin and has fought for the working class with sword, word and pen all his life long with the utmost self-sacrifice and devotion. A veteran of the labour movement, he is as energetic as he is original in his thinking, and deserves the recognition of the entire working class in contrast to the present-day *petits grands hommes*[b] of "satiated virtue and solvent morality"[c] who are pushing themselves forward everywhere in labour circles. He is the life and soul of the international labour movement in Switzerland and has, indeed, also enlisted all the German elements who so far adhered to the Association in Germany itself. [*Note by Eichhoff.*]

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[a] V. Huriot, "M. Thiers a dit qu'en matière de relations internationales, il n'y avait point de politique nouvelle...", *Le Courrier français,* No. 12, March 24, 1867.— *Ed.*

[b] Little great men.— *Ed.*

[c] Heinrich Heine, *Neue Gedichte: Romanzen 7,* Anno 1829.— *Ed.*

*existence of the International Working Men's Association on the Continent.*[423]

The conflict between the International Working Men's Association and a part of the employers in Geneva broke out and ran its course in the following way.

Ever since August 1867 there were signs of deep dissatisfaction over their condition among the Geneva building workers. A general meeting of the building workers, held on January 19, 1868, moved to elect a joint committee, which would enter into negotiations with the employers and by amicable agreement secure a reduction of the working time from 12 to 10 hours and a wage increase of 20 per cent. A memorandum was drawn up and forwarded to all the masters. Instead of deferring to the workers, the employers formed a counter-coalition and called a general meeting of building masters for the 18th of March, their provisional committee turning down the repeated proposals of the workers' committee to have amicable talks between delegates of the two sides before the general meeting was to take place.

This attitude of the masters' provisional committee showed the workers what they should expect from the coming general meeting of masters. Their committee declared that it had failed in its task of negotiating an understanding with the masters' committee, and in the evening of the 14th of March it requested the Geneva Central Committee of the International Working Men's Association to take the matter in hand and to mediate an agreement.

It was the duty of the Association to comply with this request. It appointed a commission of three Geneva citizens, whose private attempts at mediation, however, also failed to yield results. On the 20th of March, therefore, after the general meeting of the 18th had finally constituted an employers' association, the commission issued a public invitation to the "Messieurs les building contractors" to come to a meeting on the 23rd of March. On the very next day a public reply appeared in the newspapers which let the commission of the International Association know in the name of the general meeting of the 18th of March that the masters' general meeting had decided, with only three votes against, to have no negotiations with it whatsoever.

In the morning of the 23rd of March, the commission formed by the International Association made this state of affairs known in wall posters, serving notice that if no favourable result was achieved by the evening of that day and all prospects of an amicable understanding with the employers vanished, it would

beat the drums and call a general meeting of all the sections of the International Association. At six in the evening the signal was given, and members of the Association thronged from all sides to the Rue du Rhône, where the union had its premises. The bourgeoisie was panic-stricken. Shops and houses were locked up, the cash-boxes were placed in safety, and the employees of some of the *comptoirs*[a] were issued arms and ammunition. In the meantime, the Association, 5,000 men strong, marched in model order to the shooting-range, where the announced general meeting discussed the gravity of the situation and unanimously assured the building workers of the support of the International Association. After this had taken place, it was not the International Association but the governing bodies of the trade unions which, to their members' thunderous cheers and enthusiastic assurances of support, declared a strike of block-cutters, bricklayers, plasterers and house-painters in Geneva. Thereupon, the gathering dispersed quietly. By nine in the evening Geneva had already resumed its usual appearance.

Word of the strike, which had been unavoidable, was sent to the General Council of the International Association in London and the administrative councils in Brussels, Paris, and Lyons on the 25th of March; they were approached for urgent support because the Geneva section of the Association had been unprepared for the strike, whose magnitude exceeded its capacities.

In the meantime, the masters lost no time either to invite workers for themselves, mainly from Ticino and Piedmont. But these were brought to the premises of the International Association the moment they arrived, and were there informed of the state of affairs and won over to the side of the strikers.

It goes without saying that during this time the International Association was subjected to the most savage attacks and the most venomous accusations. The *Journal de Genève* set the tone and was most vigorously backed by the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, the *Neue freie Presse*[b] of Vienna, and other organs of the radical, liberal and conservative bourgeoisie. As a result of the energetic behaviour of the Geneva Central Council, the cause of the strike faded completely into the background, while the International Association was pushed to the forefront of the movement.

On the 28th of March, the masters' association put up wall notices dated the 26th of March, in which the masters promised to

[a] Offices.—*Ed.*

[b] See *Neue freie Presse*, Nos. 1286 (supplement), 1288, 1291, March 29 and 31, and April 3, 1868.—*Ed.*

consider the workers' grievances in all fairness, warned them against the despotism and menace of the International Working Men's Association, which they said was maintained on foreign money and had instigated the strike, reminded them of the previous friendly mutual understanding, and called on them to return to work in good faith as individuals; the masters would be glad to improve the workers' lot and would for the time being grant them an 11-hour working day. Should they, however, contrary to expectations, fail to comply with this, the masters would be compelled, for their part, also to close down workshops in those branches of the building trade which had not yet joined in the strike.

All attempts to come to an understanding foundered because the masters did not wish to deal with delegates of the International Association, and since no individual workers reported to work, the threatened factory lock-out was carried into effect on the 30th of March, and the workshops of joiners, carpenters and tinners were closed down. The moral effect which this closure had on the Geneva workers is best illustrated by the fact that a number of unions which had previously stood aloof from the International Association, formed sections and asked it for admission. Thus the coach-makers, farriers, saddlers, upholsterers, file-cutters, curriers, and others. During these few days the Association won many more than a thousand new members.

Workmen employed in the jewellery trade, such as goldsmiths, watchmakers, bowl-makers, and engravers, who with only few exceptions are all citizens of Geneva, held a meeting attended by more than 2,000 persons on the 30th of March, and resolved as one man to apply all moral and material means to help bring the cause of the building workers to victory. In reference to the International Association, the assembly declared itself quite firmly against the false and malicious statement that the Geneva workers were being subjected to tyrannical pressure by a foreign society.

If until then the International Association had applied itself diligently to settling the conflict, it was now, since all attempts at reaching an understanding had failed, a matter of obtaining means for a longer duration of the strike. The Geneva Central Committee of the International Association had to support some 3,000 workers and their families, which was a burden the Geneva workers could not conceivably cope with on their own.

But contributions were already pouring in from all sides. First of all, most appreciative acknowledgements are due to the Geneva working men and their unions for their spirit of self-sacrifice. It

may be said without exaggeration that the employed workers of Geneva shared their bread with those who were out of work. And not just each and everyone gave willingly part of his wage; the unions' savings banks and relief funds contributed sums ranging from 500 to 5,000 francs. The unions of other Swiss cities and the German workers' societies in Switzerland were not found wanting either. Contributions arrived from Germany—Hanover (Workers' Union), Hamburg (Workers' Educational Society), Schwerin (building workers), Rostock, Kaukehmen, Solingen, Mannheim (Tailors' Union), Esslingen (Workers' Educational Society), Munich (Workers' Educational Society), and other towns. Especially active, however, were the General Council of the International Association in London and its administrative committees in Brussels and Paris. At the beginning of April the General Council was already able, despite the formal difficulties that it had had to overcome in order to obtain larger sums, to promise the Geneva Central Committee at least 40,000 francs monthly from England alone until the victorious culmination of the strike, partly as a loan and partly as a grant. And by the good offices of the Brussels and Paris administrative committees considerable contributions came from unions in those two cities, e.g. 2,000 francs from the printers, 1,500 francs from the tinners of Paris, and so on.

The masters saw then that their plan of starving out the workers had failed. But since *they* had vowed that they would not deal with the Central Council of the International Association, this was done on their behalf by M. *Camperio,* President of the State Council and Chief of the Justice and Police Department of Geneva. He notified the Central Committee of the Association on the 8th of April to send delegates of all building trades to his office with a view to reaching an understanding. An agreement came about already on the third day of the negotiations. The masters conceded the workers a reduction of the working time by 1 and in some cases 2 hours, and a wage increase of 10 per cent.

In the evening of the same day (11th of April) M. *Camperio* let it be known in wall notices that the conflict between the workmen and the employers had been settled through his mediation, that the strike was to be considered over, and that work would be resumed on Monday (13th of April).

The International Working Men's Association, too, lost no time in announcing the happy end of the strike in wall posters and, while thanking the workmen for their brave conduct during the weeks of the struggle, it called on them to forget all that had happened and go to work on Monday in good cheer.

For the International Working Men's Association the conflict resulted in a mass adherence of workmen in Switzerland.

### *3. The Bloody Conflict Between the Belgian Government and the Miners of Charleroi (March 1868)*

Belgium is a paradise for the bourgeoisie. Its Constitution is the ideal of a model bourgeois state. Its government is the agent of the bourgeoisie, representative of the domination of capital. Nothing is more natural there than that the least collision between the interests of capital and labour should precipitate a conflict which culminates in a bloody solution by powder and lead.[424]

The more resolutely the International Working Men's Association concerns itself there with the cause of the oppressed and persecuted, the more necessary it appears to present an exhaustive account of the causes of the labour disturbances in the coal basin of Charleroi.

Among the national industries of various countries, coal and iron stand at the head of the list. The two industries form an organic whole. No ironworks and no furnace can operate without coal, and for the collieries, too, the furnaces and ironworks are the most important consumer. Any upheaval in one of the industries, therefore, makes itself instantly felt in the other, and a metallurgical crisis, which recurs periodically like all crises, has an immediate and direct bearing on the price of coal.

The country that nature has favoured the most in respect of coal and iron is England. There, both coal and iron lie fairly close to the surface and can be extracted with little effort. France, on the other hand, is the most disinherited, for it produces practically no coal of its own and its ironworks are dependent on English or Prussian coal. But though for France importation of foreign coal is an economic necessity, it subjects coal-producing Belgium to highly disagreeable competition because England and Prussia (with a waterway along the Rhine and its tributaries) are in a more favourable position as regards transport, and because transportation costs have a bearing on the local price of coal.

The general price of coal in each country, on the other hand, depends on the wages that are paid for working it. Indeed, the international relevance of this factor strikes the eye owing to the difference in the amount of labour time consumed in different countries to produce the same quantity of coal. Wages, too, are as

different as the working time, and in England they are at least $26\,^{2}/_{3}$ per cent higher than on the Continent.*

The implications for colliery workers of different countries are the following:

Whenever an iron and steel crisis or some other unfavourable commercial factor depresses the price of coal, the mine-owners try to lower wages. Knowing, however, that wages are already so low that any further reduction is a hardship that may in certain circumstances, such as a time of shortages, drive the worker to desperation, they are compelled to look for a plausible excuse.

As a rule, there are only two such excuses, one applicable only to England, and the other only to the Continent.

The plausible excuse of the English mine-owner is the *low wages on the Continent.*

The plausible excuse of the continental mine-owner is the *low price and competition of English coal.*

To what social straits the Belgian coalminers have been reduced in these circumstances is vividly described in the following article[a] in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt***:

"A sadder plight than that of the Belgian coalminer is hardly conceivable. Reduced to the condition of an industrial machine, he has been stripped of all social rights and duties. He is nothing more than a chattel which figures in the mine-owner's inventory alongside horses, donkeys, implements, and other working material. That is a fact. A mining company considers itself richer when it has a greater number of workers in its hands. When it establishes a workers' town for 'humanitarian reasons' the *direct* gain is at most 2 to 3 per cent. But the *indirect* gain is immeasurably greater, for the company *acquires* an additional number of workers utterly dependent on the mine for their subsistence, thus *ensuring* the operation of the *mine under any circumstances.* It would be more appropriate to call the coalminer a serf or slave

* According to estimates by *Richard Whiting.* To determine how much worse off the workers were in France than their colleagues in England, he assumed that, considering the difference in the price of the most important necessities in the two countries, the worker got just as far with 5 francs in France as he did with 5 shillings (that is, 6 francs) in England. This made a difference of $16^{2}/_{3}$ per cent by reason of just the price discrepancies. Having in this simple way identified francs and shillings as equal values for both countries, *Whiting* found in addition that wages in France were at least 10 per cent lower than those in England, while wages in France, Belgium, and Rhenish Prussia were approximately the same. [*Note by Eichhoff.*]

** *Demokratisches Wochenblatt,* organ of the German People's Party, Leipzig, printed and published by C. W. Vollrath. Its editor-in-chief is *Wilhelm Liebknecht.* [*Note by Eichhoff.*]

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[a] "Die Lage der belgischen Kohlenarbeiter", *Demokratisches Wochenblatt,* Nos. 20 and 21, May 16 and 23, 1868.—*Ed.*

rather than a *free man,* which is a title that bourgeois economists so generously apply to him.

"Among all the labouring classes the Belgian coalminers wear the badge of slavery more distinctly than the others. Ignorance, brutishness, physical and moral degradation—those are the sad effects of the unrestricted domination of capital in an industry that is in itself probably more demeaning to man than any other. To be sure, the bourgeoisie indulges itself in ascribing the coalminer's misery to his own ingrained faults and vices, his lack of foresight, frivolity and dissipation. Wisely, it avoids tracing the case to its sources, lest it reveal the causes and circumstances that inevitably produce a condition which cannot find succour in vain pity but which it is in the general interest to remedy, and as quickly as possible.

"Among the specific reasons that make the coalminer a machine of flesh and bone, the main one is the nature and condition of the work itself, and then also the extraordinary length of working time. And it is an economic law of the present social system that working hours tend to increase in much the same proportion as the labour continuously tends to grow harder.

"The coalminer's labour is purely physical; it calls for no mental effort at all. His brain is almost completely idle. Deprived of any stimulus, his mental aptitudes remain in an elementary, inert, dormant state. Consequently, his mentality is narrow-minded to the extreme. Just as his activity is purely physical, so his needs and tastes are also of a purely physical and brutish nature. The coalminer's intellectual and moral degradation is not at all surprising if you look at the nature of his trade. Considering the ruinous effects of the physical exertion that disfigures his body, it is indeed quite impossible for his habits and morals not to conflict with reason.

"The coalminer's worth is measured exclusively by his muscles; intelligence counts for nothing, for it is not needed. It takes neither skill nor talent nor education to work in a mine; physical strength alone is enough. A brief description of the various operations in a coalmine will show the reader that *under the present economic system it is impossible for the miner to improve himself either physically or mentally or morally.*

"Work in a mine is generally divided as follows: the *ouvriers à veine* cut the coal from the seam, the *bouteurs* take it to the gallery, and the *chargeurs à la taille* load it into carts or tubs. The *selôneurs* pull the tubs to the shafts where the coal is raised to the surface. The *coupers de voies,* the *releveurs* and the *meneurs de terres* dig shafts and galleries, and take out the earth and stones. All these jobs are done in the dim light of a little lamp, in an unhealthy, dust-laden atmosphere. To do his job, the coalminer must assume unnatural poses, either lying on his side or kneeling, crouching or bending laboriously, and often he can only crawl in order to move forward or backward. All this makes his condition worse, more painful, than that of an excavator or field labourer, whose jobs are also admittedly of an entirely manual nature, but at least performed in open air and daylight.

"Is it any wonder, therefore, that the coalminer should be mentally and morally at so low a level? How can a man who labours *daily for 15 to 18 hours* in a murky, unaired hole, retain even a trace of the qualities that distinguish a human being from a beast? The best organised creature with the happiest spiritual aptitudes is bound to degenerate swiftly in such a regime, which seeks to destroy the individual's abilities. Nowadays, one can no longer deny the influence of the body on the spirit, of the physical on the moral. The physical state of the individual is usually an indication of the mental. The report of the Mons Chamber of Commerce for 1844, an official paper, portrays the coalminer in the following terms: 'These workers are pale of face in their young years, their frame is bent, they are bow-legged, and their walk is slow.

Almost without exceptions, they bear the stamp of premature senility at the age of 40 to 50.'

"*Bidaut,* a mining engineer, wrote in an official report in 1843: 'It is quite indisputable that this occupation (that of the coalminer), which deprives one of sunlight, subjects one to inhaling gases other than plain air, makes the body assume unnatural postures, exposes one to constant dangers, and so on, is of a kind that removes man the farthest from the normal conditions of life and should therefore be an object of special regulations. For me this is beyond any doubt.'

"What was true in 1843 is still true in 1868. The physical and moral condition of the coalminer, even though it may not have deteriorated, has certainly not improved. Far from having been reduced, the working time has since been lengthened, and wages, even if we disregard the current decline of business, are still the same while the price of victuals has gone up. Though considerable improvements have been introduced in mining, the workers have derived no benefit therefrom. If, for example, the miner no longer goes down into the mine and up again by ladder, the time and energy saved thereby benefit the master because more work is done. The effect of all this is that the miner lacks mental flexibility, that he scorns schooling and education as being the pursuit of 'idlers', that he does not send his children to school, and indulges in the coarsest of pleasures and amusements. While the mine-owner has an interest in keeping the miner in this brutish state, he is helped by a profusion of lesser businesses which profit exclusively off the workers and would, therefore, cease to be profitable if the worker were sober, prudent, and provident. They set traps for the miner at every step to part him from his last penny. And how easy is it to seduce people who lack the least schooling and whose mental capacity is in hibernation!

"This state of affairs cannot and must not continue. It is futile to appeal to the obligations of humanity; they are impotent against the laws of bourgeois economics. But the bourgeoisie is badly mistaken if it thinks it can reduce the workers to serfs and beasts without being itself affected by the moral consequences thereof. Suffice it to look at the bourgeoisie of the coal regions and factory towns. Whence the contempt for culture, for learning, and the lack of independent thinking outside the limits of its enterprises, and whence the crude lust for pleasure that distinguishes the bourgeois? It is quite the same as it was with the planters and slave-owners of the United States. There it was slavery and slave labour that caused the demoralisation. Here, too, similar effects would seem to justify the conclusion that the causes are the same. The lower the worker is pushed the lower his master sinks in his wake; he becomes morally corrupted as surely as the one whom he has ceased to regard as a human being.

"The workers have themselves found a remedy against the evils they suffer from private industry and which retroactively cover the body of society with festering sores. This remedy is *education* and *cooperation.* Nothing but a reduction of working time can put the benefits of enlightenment and education within reach of the worker. Nothing but participation in the benefits of capital can deliver him from the misery to which he is now helplessly exposed.

"The moral and material improvement of the worker is a question of social justice and of the public weal. There is no way to solve this question other than *public education* and the establishment of *cooperative societies.* It is up to the state to set these remedies in motion, to encourage and to support them. It will destroy itself if it looks on idly while the effects of the bourgeois economic system corrupt and erode society."

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In February 1867 there had already been disturbances among the miners of Marchienne, which could only be quelled by armed force. The cause was the prevailing shortages, notably the high price of bread due to the crop failure of 1866. Calling on the English workers for contributions to support the families of the unfortunate victims of the massacre, the General Council of the International Association issued the following appeal at the beginning of March 1867[425]:

CENTRAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL
WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

18, Bouverie Street, E.C., London

## To the Miners and Iron-Workers of Great Britain

Fellow working men, it is but a few days since *The Times*[a] presaged the ruin and destruction of the British iron trade if the Unionists persisted in not working under a certain price. The Belgians, it was said, with cheap coals and low wages, would engross the trade, both in the home and the foreign market. Two men, *Creed* and *Williams,* expatiated in *The Times* on the felicity of the Belgian coal and iron-masters not being bothered with vexatious factory laws and Trades Unions; the Belgian miners and iron-workers worked contentedly, with their wives and children, from 12 to 14 hours a day, for less than their British equals received for ten hours' work a day.[b] However, hardly was the ink of the print dry, when tidings arrived that these contented beings had revolted. The iron trade, says the *Economiste belge,*[c] has been queer for some time on account of the high price of coal and an indifferent yield of the mines. The same journal says: "The ignorance of the mining population is so profound, their brutality so great, their way of spending their money so disorderly and so improvident that the highest wages would be insufficient." This is no wonder. The responsibility rests with those who keep them in a worse than brutish drudgery from the cradle to the grave.

At the beginning of February, three furnaces stopped in the neighbourhood of Marchienne; the other iron-masters forthwith announced a reduction of wages of ten per cent; the coal-masters of Charleroi followed suit, yet the *Economiste belge* says that coals were never more in demand, nor at a higher price than at present.[d] The outrage[e] was aggravated by a simultaneous rise in the price of flour, the coal and iron-masters being also the proprietors of the flour mills of the district. A great many of the work-people became exasperated, and not being organised and in the habit of deliberating upon their common affairs, they had no plan of action for their guidance.

They gathered upon the high roads and went from place to place to prevent such as might be disposed to work under reduction. The colliers of Charleroi arrived by a flour mill guarded by a hundred soldiers whose guns were loaded with

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[a] The English original has "the thunderer of Printing House Square".— *Ed.*

[b] See *The Times,* Nos. 25678, 25689, 25692, 25695, December 11, 24, 29 and 31, 1866; No. 25708, January 15, 1867.— *Ed.*

[c] "La grève de Marchienne-au-Pont", *L'Économiste belge,* No. 3, February 9, 1867.— *Ed.*

[d] Ibid.— *Ed.*

[e] The English original has "the affair".— *Ed.*

ball cartridges. This provoked an attack, the result is: killed, wounded, and prisoners. These poor provoked and ill-used victims have left families outside the graves and the prison walls who are in dire want. Nobody ventures in Belgium to say a word in their behalf. Mistaken and misguided as these men were as to their course of action, they yet fell in labour's cause, and those they have left behind deserve sympathy and support. Some pecuniary help to the widows and orphans, and the moral influence it would produce, if coming from abroad, would raise the drooping spirits of the whole class, and might lead to communications and interchanges of opinion which would give our Continental brethren a better idea of how labour's battles must be fought, and what organisation and education the fighting army requires.

The Central Council of the International Working Men's Association appeals to you to take the case into your consideration, for the cause of the labourers of one country is that of the labourers of all countries.

*George Odger*, President
*J. George Eccarius*, Vice-President
*R. Shaw*, Secretary

Despite their own sad plight, Britain's miners and iron-workers responded willingly and warmly to the appeal that was addressed to them. That was the reason why the influence of the International Association on the labouring population of Belgium kept rising steadily, until events occurred in the district of Charleroi in March 1868 which laid the way open for it all over Belgium and decided its social superiority.[a]

The reason for this year's labour disturbances was the following.

There had been a considerable over-production of coal. In Belgium coal consumption had declined, partly due to the general monetary and financial crisis of 1866 which occasioned an iron and steel crisis, affecting mainly the iron-works and blast-furnace industry of France and Belgium, and partly because of the competition of Prussian against Belgian coal. The Belgian mine-owners had, in fact, formed a coalition to push up the price of their coal. But then the owners of the iron-works and furnaces found it more profitable to bring their coal from abroad. And to protect themselves against price increases they concluded contracts for several years in advance. For the mine-owners it was now a question of making good the damage they had brought down on themselves by their greed, and, above all, a question of reducing production. It might be mentioned in passing that a large proportion of the Belgian coalmines are run by public companies which have great assets and distributed enormous dividends among their shareholders in the previous few years. The owners and directors of the mines now decided to reduce the working

[a] See this volume, pp. 14-15.—*Ed.*

week to four days, which meant a loss of $33\,^1/_3$ per cent of their regular wage for the workers. When this, too, failed to restore the balance between supply and demand, the coal-masters decided to reduce the price of coal. But to avoid having to lower the dividends of their shareholders, they reduced by another 10 per cent the wages that were already down to $66\,^2/_3$ per cent of normal. Yet at this very time the price of the most indispensable victuals was higher than ever owing to the two crop failures of 1866 and 1867. The half-starved coalminers, already painfully affected by their days of involuntary idleness, remonstrated against the wage cut, which doomed them to hunger. The strike became universal and spread throughout the district of Charleroi. Hunger and misery drove the wretches to rebellion and pillage, for otherwise the women would surely not have in a manner of speaking put themselves at the head of the crowds of workers, marching in front and holding poles to which they had nailed some miserable rags.

Now the capitalists let the government and military forces intervene and most deliberately provoked bloody conflicts in which many workers were killed, wounded or thrown behind bars. The first clash occurred on the 25th of March in the vicinity of Charleroi. The workers were about to comply with the well-meaning entreaties of an officer who pleaded with them to disperse, when a stone was flung and hit the major in command, giving the latter an excuse to open fire. Seven killed and 13 wounded was the outcome of that first collision, followed by others with the gendarmerie and cavalry. In Arsimont, gendarmes and the public prosecutor came to the scene even before any acts of violence had occurred, making arrests among workers, who had only just announced a strike. Directly in the wake of the police came the soldiers, who pounced without ado on the lot of workers returning home from the mine.

In modern history only the scenes of carnage and bloodshed during the Negro uprising in Jamaica[426] can compare with these atrocities. Here, as in Jamaica, the capitalists celebrated bloody orgies. Here, as in Jamaica, they hoped to break what was left of the workers' spirit of resistance and self-esteem by acts of extreme brutality. The cheerful, insolent and humorous tone affected by them as they revelled in their *terreur blanche*[a] may be seen, among others, from the following passage in their organ, *Indépendance belge*, of the 1st of April 1868:

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[a] White terror.—*Ed.*

"The land is inundated with troops, and as these withdraw all individuals named as the leaders, as well as all those generally known to be dangerous, will be under lock and key. That is a prudent measure necessitated by the circumstances.... The arrests are accompanied with a military show of pomp and force, partly to create a crushing impression on the spirits of the populace and partly to be ready for any surprise attack that may be tried to snatch the prisoners from under the armed custody of the authorities.... Considering such organised pressure on the masses, it is easy to see that the rising cannot conceivably break out again. The bloody drama has also had a profoundly intimidating effect.... The restless but not in the least dangerous mass of rioters will be reduced to a state of complete impotence before nightfall. All leaders whom they had listened to in the past few days are being thrown behind bars, and even those *whose voice they might perhaps be minded to heed* are likewise being imprisoned.... It is in fact no longer the military but the police who are dealing with an iron hand.... One seeks advice from burgomasters, police officials and gendarmerie brigadiers in the rural communities, and has all those in one's own area indicated in reports as trouble-makers arrested."

In the midst of the stupefaction to which these brutalities reduced the afflicted part of the workers, the Brussels Central Committee of the International Association for Belgium raised its voice in the press, called public meetings, stigmatised the industrialists and their accomplice, the government, galvanised the Belgian working class to joint resistance, supplied the persecuted with legal counsel and defence lawyers, and declared the cause of the Charleroi coalminers the common cause of the International Working Men's Association. The General Council in London, like the two committees in Paris and Geneva, supported the committee at Brussels.[427]

After having suppressed the coalminers' movement in the district of Charleroi by force of arms, the employers did nothing at all to conciliate the unemployed and starving workers. They were perfectly happy to be able to close down their mines for some time. The government, too, did nothing. The workers, who received no support from any quarter but the International Working Men's Association, which was already badly taxed by the simultaneous events in Geneva and whose aid committees were only being organised, were on the edge of death from starvation. But at this time the townsmen of Charleroi, who saw the daily increasing misery, began to have misgivings. The Liberal association of Charleroi threatened the government that if no work was immediately provided to the jobless workers, it would dissolve its election committee and leave the field free for the Catholics. The threat had the desired effect. It was fear of losing votes in the next elections, *not* the crying distress of the starving workers, that drove the liberal government to initiating considerable public works in May 1868.

In the meantime, the proceedings against the men arrested in March are following their course. Whatever the outcome may be, whether the judges convict or acquit them, the government will have suffered a setback. The workers know that they can expect nothing but powder and lead or imprisonment from the government. They cannot expect the government to redress their legitimate grievances or to protect and help them against the abuses of their employers. The government has itself opened their eyes to where help can come from and to whom they must turn: not the government but rather the International Working Men's Association.

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## 9. THE POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

Faithful to the programme[a] in which it called on working men to lay the ground for their social emancipation by seizing political power, the General Council did not in the least allow its social activity prevent it from taking political action in propitious circumstances. The most important steps in this field were the following.

1. Even before the Association was founded some of the members of the General Council had worked among their men for the cause of the North American Union. To the extent to which the government and the ruling classes had favoured the Confederates, making the most of the distress caused in England by the blockade of American harbours as a lever and employing all possible means to instigate demonstrations of English workers in favour of the Secessionists[428]—to that same extent labour leaders had foiled these intrigues, informed the government and people of the United States in their addresses of the true feelings of the masses in Britain, and organised mass demonstrations of London workers in favour of the Union. *Lincoln's* re-election on November 8, 1864 was an occasion for the General Council to send him an address with its best wishes.[b] At the same time, it called mass meetings in support of the Union. That was why *Lincoln,* in his

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[a] K. Marx, "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association".— *Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, "To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America".— *Ed.*

message of reply, expressly acknowledged the services of the International Working Men's Association for the good cause.[a]

2. The General Council also convened public meetings from time to time to keep up the English workers' sympathy for Poland and to expose Russia's abuses in Europe.

3. When following the 1866 events in Germany[429] a war between France and Prussia appeared imminent and the government papers in France did their utmost to fan the flames, to fire the national ambitions of the French, and to excite national hatred between France and Germany, the Paris Central Committee of the International Working Men's Association organised workers' demonstrations all over France against the war party, sent messages of sympathy to German working men and workers' unions, and prevented the French workers from falling into the trap that had been set for them. Time will show how much the anti-chauvinist attitude of the French labouring classes moulded by this vigorous action helped to prevent a war for which there had then been a suitable pretext.

4. The General Council of the International Working Men's Association took a conspicuous part in the establishment and consolidation of the English Reform League, whose agitation brought about the parliamentary reform of 1867. Members of the General Council are still the most active members of the Executive of the Reform League. The public demonstrations in London that forced the resignation of Mr. *Walpole,* the Tory Home Secretary, and the indignation meetings in all the leading cities of the land were, indeed, initiated by them.

5. The murder trial of the Fenians in Manchester* was branded by the General Council as a travesty of justice. When the

* On September 18, 1867, armed Fenians attacked a police van in Manchester and freed two political prisoners (Fenian officers). A police sergeant was killed during the attack. *Contrary* to English law, which provides for periodical assizes to be held in all counties, the case was put before a special commission, an extraordinary tribunal, at which the Fenians who are accused of having taken part in the attack were charged with the murder of the police sergeant. Mr. *Blackburn* was named judge and contrived to prevail on the jury by all sorts of stratagems that each of the defendants proved to have taken part in the attempt to free the prisoners had thereby incurred guilt for murder. Thereupon, Mr. *Blackburn* passed down five convictions and five death sentences. Of the convicted men two were reprieved and three were hanged. On June 2, 1868, the selfsame Mr. *Blackburn* conducted the proceedings against Mr. *Eyre,* the ex-governor of Jamaica, and prevailed on the Grand Jury, with references to an alleged judgement of Lord

[a] "Mr. Lincoln and the International Working Men's Association. London, Jan. 31", *The Times,* No. 25101, February 6, 1865.—*Ed.*

executions drew close in November 1867, the General Council sent a petition to the English government,[a] warning it against the bloodshed. Besides, at the height of the panic created in London by the Manchester events, the Council held a public session in support of the rights of Ireland and the Irish. This was the first of the actions in favour of the unfortunate victims of that miscarriage of justice. *The Times* and the rest of the daily press reported the event.[b] The mood among the London workers was so strongly altered thereby and the plan of the English aristocracy to exploit English national prejudices and split the working class with its strong Irish element into two hostile factions, was so effectively baulked that the organs of the English aristocracy, such as the *Saturday Review,* began denouncing the International Working Men's Association as being dangerous to the state.

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## 10. CONFLICTS WITH GOVERNMENTS

### *1. Conflict with the French Government*

It is commonly known that in France there exists a law that no society of more than 20 persons may be constituted without authorisation of the government.[431] To judge from the wording of the law, most of the industrial and commercial companies in France are unlawful and exist on sufferance only. For by decision of the Court of Appeal the authorisation is tacit[c] if the society in question is public and is not dissolved by the government for some length of time. Whether authorised or not, one may assume that the government may at the very most dissolve societies to whose establishment it had tacitly acquiesced, but that it has no right to punish its members.

As for the organisation of the International Working Men's Association in France, the case is as follows. All branch societies in

Chief Justice Sir *A. Cockburn,* that Mr. *Eyre* had *not* exceeded the administrative powers vested in him, thus saving Mr. *Eyre* from being convicted. On June 8, *Blackburn* was accused by Lord Chief Justice Sir *A. Cockburn* in public session at Queen's Bench[430] of having falsified the facts, and pleaded commission of a legal mistake. [*Note by Eichhoff.*]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 3-4.—*Ed.*

[b] "London Meetings", *The Times,* No. 25974, November 21, 1867.—*Ed.*

[c] In the German original the French word "tacite" is given in Latin in brackets after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

France exist merely as members of the English society, on whose General Council they are represented by *Eugène Dupont.* (In addition, there is in London a French group and a German one.) Though they act in common in certain cases, the French sections are not connected with one another, and have intercourse only with the General Council in London. Each of the societies forms a separate body with an executive committee at its head which corresponds with the General Council in London. The establishment of the society in France was initiated by the Paris Administrative Committee of the Paris group. The Committee had notified the Interior Minister[a] and the Prefect of the Paris police of its inauguration and existence as long ago as 1864. Since that date the Paris Committee, like the committees in the other cities of France, had functioned *publicly. Open* meetings of members of the Association were held from week to week, and reports about them were published in *public* newspapers. Indeed, in clear contrast to the secret societies of past decades, the society is by nature a *public* one, and the meetings of the General Council in London are reported *each week* in London newspapers.

*The first conflict* between the International Working Men's Association and the French government occurred in September 1867, after the Congress at Lausanne.[b] A part of the documents of the Congress had been entrusted to the care of *Jules Gottraux,* one of the French delegates, who was to despatch them from France to England.[432] The moment he crossed the French border, the papers were seized.[433] The General Secretary of the London General Council[c] addressed himself in writing to the French Minister of the Interior[d] and demanded the return of the confiscated papers because they were British property. He received no reply. Thereupon, the General Council of the Association turned to *Lord Stanley,* the British Foreign Secretary. The latter instructed *Lord Cowley,* the British Ambassador in Paris, to demand that the papers be returned, and the French government complied.

*The second conflict* occurred at about the same time. No printer in Paris had dared to print a memorandum[e] which the Paris delegates had read out at the Geneva Congress and in which they set forth their standpoint and defended their principles—which were,

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[a] Paul Boudet.—*Ed.*

[b] Eichhoff is mistaken: the conflict occurred in September 1866, after the congress in Geneva (see Note 13).—*Ed.*

[c] John George Eccarius.—*Ed.*

[d] Charles La Vallette.—*Ed.*

[e] *Congrès de Genève. Mémoire des délégués français,* Brussels, 1866.—*Ed.*

by the way, one-sidedly *Proudhonistic,* specifically French, and decidedly not accepted by the Association. For this reason, the Paris Committee had the memorandum printed in Brussels. But it was seized on the border as it was being brought into France. On March 3, 1867, the Paris Central Committee of the Association wrote to *Rouher,* the Minister of State and the Emperor's[a] *alter ego,* demanding the reasons for the seizure.[b] In his reply,[c] addressed to the offices of the Paris Bureau of the Association at Rue de Gravilliers 44, *Rouher* invited a member of the Committee to an interview. The Committee appointed a delegate,[d] who went to see the Minister. *Rouher* demanded altering and modifying a few objectionable places. The delegate refused to do so because any modifications would rob the document of its meaning. Thereupon, *Rouher* made the following characteristic pronouncement: *"Still if you would introduce some words of gratitude to the Emperor, who has done so much for the working classes, one might see what could be done."* (Pourtant, si vous faisiez entrer quelques remerciments à l'adresse de l'empereur qui a tant fait pour les classes ouvrières, l'on pourrait voir.)[e] The delegate replied that the Association did not deal in politics and that neither flattery nor defamation, whether of an individual or a political party, came within its competence. Thereupon *Rouher* broke off the conversation and left the seizure of the memorandum in force.[f]

The French government imagined that it could use the International Working Men's Association as a tool. It was in for a disappointment. On the other hand, it was aware of the growing strength and increasing influence of the Society on the occasion of the strikes at Amiens, Roubaix and Paris. Finally, a few weeks after the above conversation, it became aware with the greatest displeasure of the Society's agitation against imperialist chauvinism. It decided to take action. Whence arose

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[a] Napoleon III.— *Ed.*

[b] Eichhoff is mistaken: the letter was dated March the 9th (see "A M. le ministre de l'intérieur. Vendredi, 9 mars 1867", *Le Courrier français,* No. 112, May 1, 1868).— *Ed.*

[c] Ibid.— *Ed.*

[d] Antoine Marie Bourdon, keeper of the archives of the Paris section of the First International.— *Ed.*

[e] In the German original the French sentence is given in brackets after its German equivalent. An account of the interview, which took place on March 10, 1867, was published in *Le Courrier français,* No. 112, May 1, 1868.— *Ed.*

[f] Ibid.— *Ed.*

*The third conflict.*[434] In the beginning of 1868,[a] one night the Paris police raided the homes of the members of the Paris Central Committee. All letters and papers that they found there were confiscated. The police deduced therefrom that the *registered* members of the Paris group numbered some 2,000. (Since then this number has risen considerably.) The charge preferred was participation in a *secret society,* but it was dropped after two months' investigation. Instead, charges of breaching police regulations were presented, namely, of forming a society of more than 20 persons in the absence of the government's authorisation.

On March 20, 1868, the case came before the penal court of the Seine department. Engraver *Tolain,* a co-defendant, spoke on behalf of the 15 defendants. The hearing yielded the following picture[435]:

*President.*[b] Do you admit that the International Working Men's Association, whose member you and your co-defendants have become, has never been authorised?

*Tolain.* I think this is not the proper time to reply to this question. In our common plea we intend to prove that the overt activity of our society presupposes a tacit acknowledgement of its existence.

*President.* But you do admit that the authorisation was never received?

*Tolain.* It was never even required of us. To what government, indeed, should an international association turn for authorisation? Should it be the French, the Belgian, the British or any of the German governments? It could not have known, and no one could have told it. What would a French authorisation count for in England, for example, or vice versa?

*President.* Did you discuss political matters at your gatherings?

*Tolain.* Never, nowhere.

*President.* A manifesto printed in Brussels in 1866[c] has been confiscated from you, whose content consists of politics, even of effusive politics (*politique transcendentale*).[d]

*Tolain.* The manifesto is my personal property, and I believe that in France I am the only one to own a copy of it. It was drawn up and published by English workers because, may it be known to the court, every group in every country has the right to set forth its particular opinion without thereby obligating the groups of other nations to solidarity. It is therefore not unusual for an English or German branch society to discuss questions of politics that *we* ourselves would not venture to touch. I declare that *we* have always kept our distance from politics at our meetings.

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[a] On New Year's Eve 1867.—*Ed.*

[b] Delesvaux.—*Ed.*

[c] The reference is to the *Manifeste de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs suivi du Règlement provisoire,* Brussels, 1866. It was translated into French by Charles Longuet at Marx's request. Longuet rectified the mistranslations that occurred in the first French translation of the Provisional Rules.—*Ed.*

[d] In the German original the French words are given in brackets after their German equivalent.—*Ed.*

*President.* How is your Association organised, where is its seat, what are its purposes, and what are the functions of the General Council and the Paris Bureau?

*Tolain.* The General Council was constituted in London in 1864. No permanent seat was ever fixed for it. The fact that it has had its seat in London for three years is due to difficulties that we have been unable to overcome. To inform you of its purposes I could hardly do better than to read you its Rules. (He reads the Rules).[a]

*President.* Tell me something about the organisation of the Paris Bureau.

*Tolain.* The Paris Bureau was formed following an appeal to all workers published in the newspapers. The object of creating the Bureau was to have a centre of activity for the Paris group, to send delegates to international congresses, and to transact other business on behalf of the Society. All this was done in broad daylight and quite openly. The Statutes of the Paris Bureau were set forth in a printed booklet,[b] and the weekly dues of every member were fixed at 10 centimes.

*President.* Has this Bureau engaged in direct propaganda to expand the Society?

*Tolain.* Now and then we were asked for advice as to how a bureau is formed. In most cases we referred to the General Council in London.

*President.* Has the Paris Bureau interfered in any strikes, such as that of the Paris bronze-workers, or at Roubaix, Amiens, and elsewhere?

*Tolain.* The Association has indeed taken a most active part in the above-mentioned events in the belief that by studying the causes of the strikes it was doing a good service to the employers as well as the workers.

Public prosecutor *Lepelletier's* speech began as follows:

"Gentlemen, the defendants who stand before you are hard-working, intelligent and upright workers. They have never been convicted of anything, nothing has tainted their morality, and in substantiating the charge brought against them I, gentlemen, can say nothing that would prejudice their honour."

Thereupon the public prosecutor endeavoured to prove that the law had been breached and that there were grounds for conviction. Referring to the defendants' arguments invalidating the charge, he observed:

"What reproaches are being cast upon the prosecution? Gentlemen, if you have read the *Siècle,* the *Opinion nationale,* and the *Courrier français* of the past few days, you will have found expressions of regret in them by that portion of the press which sympathises with the International Association. Their reasoning is as follows. For three years, the Association has existed in broad and blessed daylight. It may not have been allowed by the authorities, but tolerated. Its aim was the material and moral emancipation of the workers, its means to this end being the study of economic questions and their solution according to the principles of truth, morality, and justice.... And such long sufferance was suddenly followed by ruthless criminal prosecution for no reason at all other than the plain arbitrariness of power and a whim of violence. If the members of the Association had at least gone back on their programme and had applied themselves to problems involving danger to the state, if they had at least engaged in politics! But, on the contrary, they had steered clear of them at their sittings, had not touched them at their congresses, and had restricted

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[a] The passages from the Rules read by Tolain are cited in *Procès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Bureau de Paris,* Paris, 1868, pp. 14-15.— *Ed.*

[b] "Règlement du Bureau de Paris." In: *Procès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs...,* pp. 22-24.— *Ed.*

their activity to the narrow limits of their statutes, which were well known to the authorities and, at least indirectly, tacitly, acknowledged by them.

"This, gentlemen, is the reproach that is cast upon us. I have neither understated nor exaggerated it. Is it a justified reproach? Is it true that the Association did not engage in politics? Is it true that it confined itself to the study of economic questions as provided for in its programme?"[a]

Thereupon the public prosecutor endeavoured to prove the Paris Bureau's involvement in political matters, which was not hard to do considering the Association's general attitude in the Luxembourg affair,[436] and demanded that the defendants be convicted in the interests of the law.

Here defendant *Tolain* rose to his feet and placed before the court the following petition[b]:

"Considering that the illegality of a society derives from the absence of authorisation from the authorities; that no formal procedure has been established to obtain such authorisation; that the said authorisation can also be dispensed tacitly; that demanding a special form of authorisation means tightening a law which even the legislator himself has recognised as exceptional; that public confidence is shaken thereby; furthermore, that it follows from the discussions concerning the law of 1834 and from utterances of government representatives that the said authorisation may be granted tacitly; that such tacit permission or sufferance is the form in which all industrial and commercial companies of more than 20 members exist; that conceding the power to persecute such societies without first revoking this practice is an infringement upon the public consciousness, since it is self-evident that the government considers them lawfully authorised by virtue of their obvious existence; considering that the tacit authorisation of the Association follows 1) from the continuous publicity of its existence and actions, truly far more pronounced than in the case of commercial companies; 2) from the two letters of the International Association to the Minister of the Interior and the Prefect of the Police, in which the establishment and existence of the Association were recorded as long ago as 1864; considering that definitive and formal authorisation of the administration is contained in a letter addressed to the Secretary of the Society by the office of the Minister of the Interior[c] or, more precisely, by the Minister of State who was his temporary deputy; that the legitimacy of the Association was in no way questioned during an interview with the Minister; that the prosecution cannot demonstrate that the Association has in the interval changed either its theories or its aims; considering that actually the Secretary of the Association, who had been invited to explain the memorial of the French delegates to the Congress of 1866,[d] set forth the very same theories and aims which are now being reproved and prosecuted; that at that time even the prosecutor's office regarded the Society as amply legalised because it had known of its existence and nevertheless stated at the public proceedings of January 4, 1867 that no prosecution was being contemplated; for all these reasons we plead with the court to dismiss the prosecution's indictment."

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[a] See *Procès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Bureau de Paris,* pp. 16, 20.— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 32-35.— *Ed.*

[c] Paul Boudet.— *Ed.*

[d] *Congrès de Genève. Mémoire des délégués français,* Brussels, 1866.— *Ed.*

Upon submitting this petition, *Tolain* took the floor on behalf of the other defendants. His speech was a passionate protest against the lack of rights of the labouring classes. He described the dangers which the workman incurred when he endeavoured to clarify his social status by mutual instruction, by learning the relations that affect his most vital interests, and when he tried to secure improvements. Whatever he may do, whatever caution he may exercise, however pure and harmless his intentions may be, he was always threatened, persecuted, and subject to prosecution. In the past 20 years countless industrial innovations had created new requirements and completely reconstructed the social economy. Deliberately or not, the government itself had followed the movement and collaborated assiduously in this reconstruction.

"We workers," *Tolain* went on to say, "were deeply interested to know what was to become of us, and this was the reason for our uniting in the International Association. Working men wanted to see for themselves, and not through the eyes of the official bourgeois economics. English workers gathered to receive the French workers; they and we were moved by one and the same concern, the social question. The perfection of machines, the English workers said, changed the social situation of working men each passing day, so let us enlighten each other, let us find the means to safeguard our subsistence. We had the same interests and were inspired by the same ideas. Since then the common slogan says that the workman cannot expect any improvement of his social condition unless he achieves it by his own efforts. This slogan was proclaimed at a public meeting in London in 1864."

Thereupon *Tolain* described the establishment, organisation and activity of the General Council in London and the Paris Bureau. Having again declared that the government had granted them tacit authorisation, he said that *they, on the other hand, had not applied for official authorisation out of principle* because they would not concede to the government the power to permit or forbid rights that were the natural endowment of workers and all citizens. And he concluded with the following significant declaration:

"I must add that the position in which we have been put should be properly considered. Whatever your sentence may be, we shall do the same tomorrow as we did the day before; this is neither hatred nor pigheadedness on our part; it is the consciousness of our right. From now on we lay claim to dealing ourselves with all matters of concern to us; we have only one means of putting an end to our present situation, and that is to overstep the law in order to show how bad it is. So far, we have not wished to breach the law because, let me repeat, the police, the government, the municipal authorities and the public at large, have known everything, seen everything, and accepted everything on sufferance."

The sentence of the court read[a]:

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[a] See *Procès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Bureau de Paris*, pp. 39-40.— *Ed.*

"Considering that, as follows from the investigations and proceedings, the defendants have for three years been Paris members of a society known by the name of the International Working Men's Association, that the aforenamed society consisted of more than 20 persons, and that it was not authorised;

"considering that the associated workers were bound among themselves by the purposes of the Association and worked together for the achievement of these purposes, that the said purposes were to improve the situation of the workers by cooperation, production and credit, and that they gathered at regular intervals and constituted themselves into a permanent corporation;

"considering that Articles 291 and 292 of the *Code pénal*[a] and the Law of April 10, 1834[b] are police and general security laws applicable to anyone who breaches them on French territory, that it is irrelevant that the seat of the Society is located in London, and that it is perfectly sufficient to establish that the Paris Bureau has committed a breach of the aforenamed laws;

"considering that notice of the existence of the aforenamed Society in newspapers or its sufferance by the authorities does not relieve it of the need for an explicit authorisation of the government;

"considering that the defendants, by acting in this way, have committed offences covered by and punishable under Articles 291 and 292 of the *Code pénal* and § 2 of the Law of April 10, 1834;

"the Court hereby dissolves the International Working Men's Association established in Paris under the name of Paris Bureau, and sentences each of the defendants to a fine of 100 francs which, in the event of insolvency, shall be replaced by 30 days' imprisonment."

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The convicted filed an appeal against this sentence. In the meantime, the Paris group acted precisely as *Tolain* had told the court. In place of the prosecuted 15, a new Bureau, consisting of nine members of the Association, was elected. Their election was announced in the newspapers.[c] In a signed appeal they called publicly on the Paris workmen to contribute funds in support of the strike in Geneva.[d]

The case of the 15 was heard in the second instance on April 22, 1868.

The main points of the indictment were the Bureau's *open refusal* to abide by the imperial penal law banning societies of more than 20 persons; the *political* nature of the Society, which subjected all pillars of the existing order to criticism; the *power* of the Society, which no government could withstand if it were allowed to embrace all countries as it has been doing so far; by

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[a] *Code pénal, ou code des délits et des peines,* Cologne, 1810.—*Ed.*

[b] *Loi sur les associations, 10-11 avril 1834.*—*Ed.*

[c] "Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Bureau de Paris", *Le Courrier français,* No. 71, March 14, 1868.—*Ed.*

[d] The appeal was printed in *Le Courrier français,* No. 101, April 20, 1868.—*Ed.*

now, it was alleged, it has become a sort of universal intermediary for workers' strikes.

As in all other cases, the accused defended themselves on their own, without legal counsel. Referring to the lack of an official authorisation, they declared:

"If we, the Paris correspondents of the London General Council, had been notified, after informing the police and the competent authorities of the constitution of our Bureau, that an explicit authorisation was required, we would have thought of some other organisation for we are making it quite clear that *it would never have occurred to us to submit to the humiliation of seeking authorisation.* The very first principle of our Rules would have forbidden us to do so. For it says that emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves. Those, however, who accept authorisation also accept submission, subordination and the right of patronage or, in short, serfdom, from which, indeed, in all its forms, the International Association aims to liberate the working classes."

The Court of Appeal confirmed the sentence of the penal court and, besides, sentenced the appellants to paying the costs of the hearing. The grounds of the sentence were in substance the same as those of the sentence of the first instance; only the following phrase was new:

"That the danger was aggravated *by the enormous power of the organisation and by the broad expansion of its activity.*"

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In the meantime legal proceedings were also instituted against the nine members of the new Bureau elected in March, and the latter appeared before the penal court on May 22, 1868.

The hearings of the case were similar to those of March the 20th.[437]

The defence was presented by co-defendant bookbinder *Varlin.* After this workman, too, had dismissed the legal arguments of the prosecution with a logic and insight that would have done credit to any jurist, he went on to portray the moral-political and social-economic side of the case, and here rose to such power of expression and conviction as could only have come from someone who knew the rightness of the cause and its profound moral justice. He said[a]:

"In our eyes a strike is only a crude means to establish the wage; we use it much against our will for it subjects the workman and his family to weeks and months of most severe privations without the assurance of finally winning a fair wage. The International Association has set itself the task of gaining a peaceful

[a] *Procès...*, pp. 123-26.—*Ed.*

settlement to the labour question by studying the economic conditions; but as obstacles are being raised to our studies and the solution of the social question is thereby delayed, we shall frequently have to resort to strikes so as to protect our livelihood.

"But I must touch on yet another point.

"Before the law you are the judges and we are the accused; but before the principles we are two parties—you the party of order at any price, the party of stability, and we the party of reform, the party of socialism. Let us take an impartial look: what is the social order whose perfections it has been our crime to question? It is eroded to the marrow by inequality, its life is menaced by selfishness, it is being strangled by the iron claws of anti-social prejudices. Despite the declaration of human rights and the short-lived victories of the people's will, it depends on a handful of rulers whether or not streams of the people's blood shall be shed in fratricidal battles of nation against nation, of people who languish under the same burdens and who long for the same emancipation.

"Enjoyments exist for but a small minority, which, indeed, indulges in them to the fullest measure and in the most refined manner. The great mass of the people, on the other hand, suffer in misery and ignorance—here groaning under unbearable burdens, there racked by hunger, and languishing everywhere in the darkness of prejudices and in the superstitious belief that their slavery can never end.

"If you want particulars, see how the gambling on the stock exchange plays havoc and mischief, how both abundance and hunger are at the will of powerful financiers beside whose mountains of gold there abide ruin and malicious bankruptcy. In industry unbridled competition holds down the working man and destroys any sensible relationship between production and consumption. A shortage of hands for the necessary, but an abundance of the unnecessary; while millions of poor children go about without a stitch to cover their bodies, shawls of a preposterous price, costing more than 10,000 working days, are displayed at world exhibitions. The working man does not earn enough even for the bare necessities, while the world teems with over-satiated idlers.

"The old world went under because the thorn of slavery stuck in its flesh; if the modern age cares as little for the suffering of the masses, if it forces them to work without respite, to suffer, if it denies them the necessities so that a few may live in luxury and pleasure, if the modern age refuses to see that such a state of society is altogether outrageous, its end, too, will not be far distant.

"*Dr. W. Palley,* from Oxford University, says in the newspaper, *La Coopération,* of this May[a]:

"'Think of a flock of pigeons in a cornfield. Instead of picking away, ninety-nine of them consume nothing but the straw and chaff, while gathering the corn in a large heap expressly for just one pigeon, often the weakest and the most pitiful of all; this one struts clucking, gorging itself, stamping and spoiling, while the hard-working ones stand in a ring and look on good-naturedly; suddenly one of their number, possibly braver or perhaps hungrier than its brethren, ventures to snap away a grain; now all the rest throw themselves upon the malefactor out of blind submissiveness to pull it about, to recover the plunder, to drive it out of their community.'

"Glance at this picture. You will, of course, find that this cannot occur in nature, but is repeated a hundredfold every day among human beings who are endowed with reason. The conclusion, however, is twofold. *You* will conclude

[a] "Correspondance. Travail et Coopération, Londres, 27 avril 1868", *La Coopération,* No. 18, May 3, 1868.—*Ed.*

therefrom that man stands above animals by virtue of his reason. *I* say to you, however, that *despite* his reason man can learn a thing or two from animals!

"Does he not belong to those 99, the creature who is born in misery, who hardly ever sees his mother because she must go to her work, who suffers hunger and cold, is exposed to every possible harm, who grows up in filth and from early childhood contracts the germ of the disease that follows him to his grave? He is barely eight, has barely gained a minimum of strength, and off he goes to work—to work in thin, unhealthy air, mistreated, doomed to ignorance, and laid open by bad examples to every possible vice. So it proceeds until the child is older. Now, at 20, the lad must leave his parents, who need him, so as to be robbed of his humanity in some soldiers' barracks or to be shot dead on some battlefield. If he escapes with his life, he may marry (provided he is allowed to do so by the English philanthropist *Malthus* or the French minister *Duchâtel,* who happen to think that a workman needs neither wife nor family, that no one forces him to stay alive if he cannot provide for himself). So he marries, and soon poverty, privation, unemployment, disease, and children move into his house. And when now, seeing the misery of his own, he ventures to demand a fair wage, he is tied hand and foot by hunger as in Preston, shot down as in Charleroi, put behind bars as in Bologna, subjected to a state of siege as in Catalonia, or bundled before a court as in Paris....

"So the wretch trudges on along the road of suffering and humiliation. At a mature age, without a comforting memory of his youth, he is startled to find that old age is creeping up; should he have no family or only a poor one, he will finally die like an evil-doer in an institution for beggars.

"Yet the man produced four times as much as he consumed. What has society done with the surplus? Ask the hundredth pigeon—the one that does nothing at all and lives off the labour of the other 99.

"History shows us that any nation or social organisation that strays off the path of strict justice and follows that of injustice, falls prey to decay and dissolution; and precisely this is the solace we can derive with certainty from the lessons of the past at this time of luxury and misery, coercion and slavery, ignorance and stultification, demoralisation and degeneracy, for so long as a human being can starve to death on the threshold of a palace crammed with treasure, the state institutions remain unstable.

"Feel the pulse of our time: you will discover a muted resentment between the class that wants to hang on to everything and the class that wants to regain the fruit of its industry. The crass superstitions which, we thought, had been erased by the 18th century, are coming back to the surface; wanton egoism and dissolution everywhere. Those are signs of decay. The ground is reeling and slipping from under your feet: Beware!

"The class that has so far only appeared on and off on the world stage to perform some great act of justice, suppressed at all times and under all governments, the class of labour, now offers you a means of revival. Be wise and acknowledge its legitimacy; do not interfere with its cause, which is beneficial for all. Only the breath of absolute freedom can clear the air and drive away the clouds that threaten us....

"Once a class forfeits the moral superiority that put it in power, it must step off the stage if it wants to avoid the atrocities that are the last resort of all perishing regimes. Let the bourgeoisie comprehend that its strivings are not great enough to meet all the needs of the times and that it can therefore do nothing but dissolve itself in the younger class that is ringing in a powerful political rebirth, equality, and solidarity through freedom."

The sentence of the court for each of the nine accused was 3 months in prison and a fine of 100 francs; the convicted filed an appeal, which was eventually dismissed.

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Apart from its social significance, the French government's persecution of the International Working Men's Association has political implications, too. For the first time since the coup d'état of 1852,[438] a society existing in France has dared to offer resistance under civil law to criminal prosecution and to claim civil rights for itself which the one who was elected by universal suffrage could not very well deny it through his organs without bringing his many years of flirting with the working class to a sudden end. It is safe to assume that the prosecution originated with Minister of State *Rouher*. But so great was his embarrassment over the imaginary need for action on political grounds that, while prosecuting the Paris Bureau, he has not dared to dissolve groups of the Association in Lyons, Rouen, Roubaix, Bordeaux, Marseilles, and so on.

The Paris newspaper *Le Réveil,* organ of *Ledru Rollin's* party, refers most approvingly to the behaviour of the members of the Paris Committee.[a] It contrasts the political insight and moral superiority of the working class to the intrigues and narrow-mindedness of the ruling classes. It makes the following noteworthy observation:

"It is to the union of ideas and sentiments that prevails amongst the working men of the different countries of Europe that we trust for the maintenance of peace. In a few days the Congress of the International Association is going to assemble. All the countries of Europe will be represented there, perhaps with the exception of France, and will it be too much to say that by the wisdom of its resolutions this assembly of all the European delegates of labour may become the Amphitryonite council of Europe? Yes; if to-morrow, by mastering the immortal principles of the French revolution, and taking in hand the sacred interests of labour, which comprehend order, security, and liberty, this Congress decreed peace, the word would be received with enthusiasm by all Europe."

## 2. *Conflict with the Belgian Government*

Spurred by the newspapers of the Belgian bourgeoisie, with *Indépendance belge* at their head, the Belgian government tried to

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[a] Ch. Delescluze, "Le droit d'Association. Devant la justice", *Le Réveil,* No. 2, July 9, 1868.—*Ed.*

portray the International Working Men's Association as the *instigator* of the disturbances in the district of Charleroi.[a] The court investigation of the Belgian workers arrested in March soon showed, however, that this charge was groundless and that from the outset it had been nothing but a deliberate and malicious lie.

Nevertheless, in May 1868, *Jules Bara,* the Belgian Minister of Justice and Police, took advantage of the debate concerning *the renewal of the law on the expulsion of foreigners*[439] in the Belgian Chamber of Deputies viciously to attack the International Working Men's Association,[b] to make of its existence the principal pretext for the proposed renewal of the foreigners' law, and to go so far as to declare that *he would not tolerate the convocation of the next general congress of the Association,* which had at its congress in Lausanne appointed it for Brussels on September 7, 1868.[c]

Thereupon, the administrative committees of the Brussels and all the other groups of the International Association in Belgium wrote a joint letter to *M. le Ministre,* dated May the 22nd, which was printed and made public.[d] The letter made clear to the Minister that he had absolutely no say in the matter, and that *the Congress would be held in Brussels.* The opening passages of this irreverent letter read:

"M. le Ministre, the undersigned send you their thanks for the great service you have rendered their cause by taking it up at a sitting of the Chamber and thereby allowing the parliamentary records to be used for the dissemination of our principles.

"It appears that you scorn us no longer. For a long time your newspapers glossed over in silence the successes of the Association in this country; like the ostrich, you shut your eyes to escape the danger. Yet today you have to consider us a power. You have given us official consecration, and recognise by your attitude that we oppose you as a power....

"But you are reluctant to admit that you and your like are unpopular in Belgium, and when a foreigner comes to assist our Association you hasten to lay the blame for everything done here at his door."

Then, having firmly denied the Minister's insinuations that the movement of the Belgian workers was inspired and led from abroad, the letter went on to say:

"You should be aware, M. le Ministre, that we will not be run by a man any more than by a cask of gin. We are perfectly capable of acting on our own, and our

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[a] See this volume, p. 14.— *Ed.*

[b] See Jules Bara's speech in the Chamber of Deputies on May 16, 1868, *La Voix de l'Avenir,* No. 23, June 7, 1868; *La Liberté,* No. 47, May 17, 1868.— *Ed.*

[c] The Brussels Congress took place from September 6th to 13th, 1868.— *Ed.*

[d] "À Monsieur Bara, ministre de la justice", *La Tribune du peuple,* No. 5, May 24, 1868.— *Ed.*

activity is guided exclusively by the striving for justice, which exists in every honourable consciousness. Having barely come into the world, our league already numbers thousands of followers in our country; all of us are of the same opinion, and all of us are firmly determined to go forward to the common goal—*the emancipation of labour.*

"These ideas seem incredible to you, M. le Ministre; listen to a few others."

Here the Minister was informed in detail of the aspirations of the International Working Men's Association, and advised to obtain further particulars from the documents of its Congresses. Then the transgressions of the government were put before him; he was reminded of the workers needlessly killed in the Charleroi district, who were dealt death instead of bread. It was recognised that strikes were an insufficient means of improving the working men's situation; but they were the only legitimate means labour still had to protest against the abuses of capital. In conclusion, the letter said:

"Yes, M. le Ministre of 'justice', we want to achieve the triumph of justice which you have betrayed. Yes, we will do so without you, despite you, and against you....

"You have said you would not tolerate our Congress. Surely, you must have been most aroused, M. le Ministre, when you spoke those absurd words.... For example, you have proclaimed the 'right of assembly', and we are eager to see what measures you will employ to breach it with impunity.... Despite all your big talk, the Congress is going to take place in Brussels in September.... One last word: you speak of the flash of lightning that we loosen upon Belgium. But it is you yourself who have called it forth by your rigid authoritarian government. The real thunderstorm is there beside you, yet you fail to notice it."

At its meeting on June 16, 1868, the General Council of the International Association in London confirmed the decision of the Belgian Committee to hold the Congress in Brussels at the appointed time despite the announced opposition of the government.[440]

The administrative committees in France have also sent messages of agreement, declaring their determination to take part in the Congress at Brussels and to defy the consequences.

The *Courrier français* of Paris commented as follows on the simultaneous attacks on the International Working Men's Association in Switzerland, France, and Belgium:

"These happenings are very interesting because at this moment the Association is gaining ground on a remarkable scale on the whole of the European continent. Everywhere, reaction is using it as a bit of a scapegoat, and this proves that *everywhere it is considered the vanguard of social reformation.*"

## 11. GROWTH OF THE ASSOCIATION

In *England,* some fifty trades unions with their branch societies in the United Kingdom have joined the International Working Men's Association since the resolution of the Trades Union Congress at Sheffield in 1866. Among the new members are workmen's groups, such as the 30,000 railway excavators, which never before participated either in trades unions or in any other movements.

In *Ireland,* a section exists in Dublin.

In the *United States of North America,* the National Labour Congress which met in Chicago resolved on August 20, 1867[a] to establish relations with the International Association for joint action. Since then, the General Council at London has been corresponding with the General National Labour Union of the United States. It will be represented by a special delegate at this year's Congress in Brussels.[441]

In *France* the groups that correspond directly and exclusively with London are great in number. Sections exist in Paris, Rouen, Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Lille, Roubaix, Argentan (Orne), Caen, Digne (Basses-Alpes), Fleurieux (sur Saône), Fuveau (Bouches-du-Rhône), Flers (Orne), Granville (Manche), Harcourt, Thierry (Calvados), Havre, Lisieux, Neuville (sur Saône), Nantes, Neufchâteau (Vosges), Orléans, Crets (Bouches-du-Rhône), Villefranche (Rhône), Vienne (Isère), and other places. It is noteworthy that several French rural communities have also adhered to the Association. In the French *colonies,* a group exists in Algiers and another in Guadeloupe.

In *Belgium* the main seats of the Association are in Brussels, Liège, Verviers, and Louvain. Mass adherence to the Association has been witnessed among coalminers and ironworkers this year.

In *Holland* two sections exist, in Rotterdam and in Amsterdam.

In *Spain* a section in Barcelona.

In *Italy,* the general association of labour with its main seat in Naples and Milan, consisting of 600 workmen's societies, has the same kind of cartel with the International Association as the trades unions in England and the National Labour Union in the United States. Besides, special groups of the International Association exist in Genoa and Bologna.

In *Switzerland* working men have been seeking admission *en masse* since the Geneva strike. The main groups are in the towns

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[a] In Eichhoff's pamphlet mistakenly: "1866".—*Ed.*

of the Basle and Berne cantons, where communities in the *villages de la montagne des Bois* have also adhered; Geneva, where the society in the city alone numbers more than 6,000 members, and the cantons Neufchâtel, Vaud, and Zurich. The Swiss Grütli Union[442] and the various German workers' educational societies in Switzerland are affiliated to the Association.

In *Germany* there are several groups. But most of these have declared that despite their sympathies they are unable to join officially owing to *the absence of legal authorisation.*[443] The connections with Germany are therefore still deficient. The special Central Bureau for Germany is the same as that for the German-speaking Swiss, and is located at Geneva under *Joh. Phil. Becker* at Pré-l'Evêque 33. In the General Council at London, Germany is represented by *Karl Marx,* Secretary for Germany, resident at 1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, London N. W., and by *George Eccarius,* General Secretary of the Association.

The periodicals of the Association are:

*The Bee-Hive Newspaper* in London.

*The Workmen's Advocate* in Chicago.

*Le Courrier Français* in Paris. *Le Siècle, La Liberté,* and *L'Opinion Publique* also publish the resolutions and other material of the Association.

The *democratic* organs in Lyons, Rouen, Bordeaux, and other cities.

*La Voix de l'Avenir* in Lausanne.

*Der Vorbote* in Geneva.

The *Demokratische Wochenblatt* in Leipzig, which, though not an organ of the Association, voices its principles.

*La Tribune du peuple, La Liberté, L'Espiègle, Le Devoir, Le Mirabeau, La Cigale, l'Ingenu, Le Peuple Belge,* all in Belgium (Brussels, Verviers, and elsewhere).

Finally, the labour newspapers in Italy.

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## CONCLUSION

The author has one more pleasant duty to perform before he takes leave of the German workers, to whom this book is dedicated.

Under the heading, "The Eight Hours Movement", the *Kölnische Zeitung* of July 19, 1868, carried the following heartening report:

"Agitation that was being conducted in the United States in the past few years has suddenly been crowned with complete success, due less to its own intrinsic merit than to the coincidence of external circumstances which influenced the legislature. Once before, the working time in governmental workshops and factories was reduced from twelve to ten hours a day. Not content, the workers demanded a further reduction, to eight hours (and, mind you, without any reduction in the existing wages, whence the name, "THE EIGHT HOURS MOVEMENT"). Congress repeatedly dismissed this demand, but has not dared to consign a renewed motion to the same fate. For both parties need the workers' votes in the coming presidential elections, and neither of them, probably against its innermost conviction to the contrary, wishes to affront the movement and incur the discontent of those numerous voters. In England, too, a part of the workers have written a slogan on their banner that smacks of a play on words: 'Eight hours' work, eight hours' rest, eight hours' sleep, and eight shillings' wage.' As long as the said movement keeps within the pale of the law and as long as no intimidation and no illicit pressure are applied against the workers who think for themselves and want their labour power to be used as they themselves deem right, the authorities will have to, and will prefer to, allow the agitation to follow its natural course. The all-powerful unwritten law that regulates supply and demand will eventually make itself felt here as well."

That the *Kölnische Zeitung,* an organ of the German bourgeoisie, is not particularly delighted over the unexpected success of the eight hours movement in America, should surprise no one who, like that paper, believes in the "omnipotence" of the "unwritten" law of supply and demand.

The *New-Yorker Handelszeitung,* too, is right from the standpoint of "supply and demand" when it testily declares:

"We can only deplore this decision, which reeks of demagoguery. Both Houses of Congress have fixed the working time in governmental workshops at eight hours without changing the wages, and the President has promptly signed the Act. In other words, the national authorities have introduced the eight-hour system. They are entitled to do so: the master can set the working time in his establishments. But by doing so they have sanctioned agitation that is without rhyme or reason. And they know it. Generally speaking, legislation has as little to do with regulating the relationship between the working man and the employer as it has with how often the noble and free citizen of this Republic should put on a fresh shirt or if he should go through life in whole or torn stockings; and if the attempt to immobilise one-fifth of the productive forces is really timely, is surely also open to question. A man who wanted to win the favour of the blind part of the labouring masses threw in a firebrand, and within sight of the coming national elections no one wanted to run the danger of burning his fingers on it. The price of labour as that of any other commodity is regulated by the relationship between supply and demand. If the legislature wishes to deal with the matter, it is bound to make a fool of itself. That the gentlemen Representatives and Senators fail to see this cannot be possible. To our great surprise, even a man like Senator *Sumner* has given vent to a lot of fine words about the workers' educational needs allegedly being served in

this way—words of whose total lack of meaning he himself must have been profoundly aware. Only he is a friend of the people who does not shrink from telling them the truth even in peril of doing himself damage. Once the elections are over, the workers will notice that they have been deceived."

The immediate future will show if the eight hours movement is "without rhyme or reason" and if the American workers will notice that they "have been deceived" once the presidential elections are over.

For Europe that question is secondary compared to the great event that the legislature of the United States has sanctioned the eight hours movement.[444]

The consequences will not be long in coming. From the workshops and factories of the United States government the eight-hour principle will make its way forward and gain recognition as a moral and legitimate demand of the working class everywhere in America, England and the European continent—wherever to this day the belief in the "omnipotence" of supply and demand has raised the duration of the working day to the limits of human endurance and pressed down wages to the lowest limits of the worker's needs.

Now we are beginning to witness what *Karl Marx,* that painstaking explorer of and authority on social conditions, prophesied on July 25, 1867:

"*As in the 18th century, the American War of Independence sounded the tocsin for the European middle class, so in the 19th century, the American Civil War sounded it for the European working class.*"[a]

Written in July 1868

First published as a separate pamphlet in August 1868 under the title, *Die Internationale Arbeiterassociation. Ihre Gründung, Organisation, politisch-sociale Thätigkeit und Ausbreitung*

Printed according to the text of the pamphlet

Published in English for the first time

[a] K. Marx, Preface to the First Edition of the First Volume of *Capital.*—*Ed.*

# RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON THE SUCCESSES OF THE INTERNATIONAL IN GERMANY AND FRANCE[445]

FROM THE NEWSPAPER REPORT
OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING
OF JULY 21, 1868

A letter from Germany announced that the Working-Men's Unions of the Southern States of Germany[446] are going to hold a Congress at Nürnberg in the first week of September. The first question to be decided by that Congress is the adhesion of the whole federation to the International Working-Men's Association.

Attention was called to an article in *Le Réveil,* a new paper, published by the friends of Ledru-Rollin at Paris, in which the attitude of the members of the Paris Committee is approvingly commented upon, and the political sagacity and the superior moral conduct of the working classes of Europe, contrasted with the intriguing stupidity of the ruling classes. The article contains the following remarkable passage:

"It is to the union of ideas and sentiments that prevails amongst the working men of the different countries of Europe that we trust for the maintenance of peace. In a few days the Congress of the International Association is going to assemble. All the countries of Europe will be represented there, perhaps with the exception of France, and will it be too much to say that by the wisdom of its resolutions this assembly of all the European delegates of labour may become the Amphitryonite council of Europe? Yes; if to-morrow, by mastering the immortal principles of the French revolution, and taking in hand the sacred interests of labour, which comprehend order, security, and liberty, this Congress decreed peace, the word would be received with enthusiasm by all Europe."[a]

First published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper,* No. 353, July 25, 1868

Reproduced from the newspaper

[a] Ch. Delescluze, "Le droit d'Association. Devant la justice", *Le Réveil,* No. 2, July 9, 1868.— *Ed.*

# RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON THE CONSEQUENCES OF USING MACHINERY UNDER CAPITALISM[447]

FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF JULY 28, 1868

The discussion of the proposition, "The influence of machinery in the hands of capitalists", was opened by Citizen Marx. He said what strikes us most is that all the consequences which were expected as the inevitable result of machinery have been reversed. Instead of diminishing the hours of labour, the working day was prolonged to sixteen and eighteen hours. Formerly, the normal working day was ten hours, during the last century the hours of labour were increased by law here as well as on the Continent. The whole of the trade legislation of the last century turns upon compelling the working people by law to work longer hours.

It was not until 1833 that the hours of labour for children were limited to twelve.[a] In consequence of overwork there was no time left whatever for mental culture. They also became physically deteriorated; contagious fevers broke out amongst them, and this induced a portion of the upper class to take the matter up. The first Sir Robert Peel was one of the foremost in calling attention to the crying evil, and Robert Owen was the first mill-owner who limited the hours of labour in his factory. The ten hours' bill was the first law which limited the hours of labour to ten and a half per day for women and children, but it applied only to certain factories.[448]

This was a step of progress, in so far as it afforded more leisure time to the work-people. With regard to production, the limitation has long since been overtaken. By improved machinery and increased intensity of the labour of individuals there is now more

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[a] By "An Act to Regulate the Labour of Children and Young Persons in the Mills and Factories of the United Kingdom. August 29, 1833".—*Ed.*

work done in the short day than formerly in the long day. People are again overworked, and it will soon become necessary to limit the working day to eight hours.

Another consequence of the use of machinery was to force women and children into the factory. The woman has thus become an active agent in our social production. Formerly female and children's labour was carried on within the family circle. I do not say that it is wrong that women and children should participate in our social production. I think every child above the age of nine ought to be employed at productive labour a portion of its time, but the way in which they are made to work under existing circumstances is abominable.

Another consequence of the use of machinery was that it entirely changed the relations of the capital of the country. Formerly there were wealthy employers of labour, and poor labourers who worked with their own tools. They were to a certain extent free agents, who had it in their power effectually to resist their employers. For the modern factory operative, for the women and children, such freedom does not exist, they are slaves of capital.

There was a constant cry for some invention that might render the capitalist independent of the working man; the spinning machine and power-loom has rendered him independent, it has transferred the motive power of production into his hands. By this the power of the capitalist has been immensely increased. The factory lord has become a penal legislator within his own establishment, inflicting fines at will, frequently for his own aggrandisement. The feudal baron in his dealings with his serfs was bound by traditions and subject to certain definite rules; the factory lord is subject to no controlling agency of any kind.

One of the great results of machinery is organised labour which must bear fruit sooner or later. The influence of machinery upon those with whose labour it enters into competition is directly hostile. Many hand-loom weavers were positively killed by the introduction of the power-loom both here and in India.

We are frequently told that the hardships resulting from machinery are only temporary, but the development of machinery is constant, and if it attracts and gives employment to large numbers at one time it constantly throws large numbers out of employment. There is a continual surplus of displaced population, not as the Malthusian asserts a surplus population in relation to the produce of the country, but a surplus whose labour has been superseded by more productive agencies.

Employed on land machinery produces a constantly increasing surplus population whose employment is not fluctuating. This surplus flocks to the towns and exercises a constant pressure, a wage lowering pressure upon the labour market. The state of the East of London is one of the phenomena it produces.[449]

The real consequences are best seen in those branches of labour in which the machine is not employed.

To conclude for the present, machinery leads on one hand to associated organised labour, on the other to the disintegration of all formerly existing social and family relations.

First published in *The Bee-Hive,* No. 354, August 1, 1868

Reproduced from the newspaper text pasted into the Minute Book of the General Council

# APPEAL TO THE GERMAN WORKERS IN LONDON[450]

Workers!

On September 7 of this year the third international workers' congress will meet in Brussels.

The congress will discuss the best means of expanding and strengthening the international workers' association and of raising the effectiveness of its joint activities; it will also discuss questions that immediately affect the interests of the working class and call for urgent solution. Finally, mutual agreement should be reached on the methods of propaganda.

The following questions will be put to the congress by the General Council:

1. Reduction and regulation of the working day;
2. The influence of machinery in the hands of the capitalists;
3. The nature of landed property;
4. The education of the working class;
5. Setting up credit institutions to promote the social emancipation of the working class;
6. The best ways of establishing cooperative producers' societies.

We call on you to do everything in your power as associations and individuals to help in this undertaking made imperative by the times and circumstances. It is necessary through voluntary contributions to collect what is needed to allow the German workers in London to be represented by one or more delegates. It would be a disgrace, if, in the present turbulent times, there were not sufficient understanding of their own class interests among the thousands of German workers in London to ensure their representation at the Brussels Congress.

So, to work! It is high time that the workers of all countries unite and understand that a mighty association of all sections of the working class is necessary for a successful struggle against the arbitrary rule of the capitalists.

Let us not forget that in the United States of North America the *eight-hour* working day has already been proclaimed *law* for all government workshops.

Let us also recall those historic meaningful words which Karl Marx wrote in 1867 in the preface to his work *Capital. A Critique of Political Economy*: "As in the 18th century, the American War of Independence sounded the tocsin for the European middle-class, so in the 19th century, the American Civil War sounded it for the European working-class."

Contributions will be received in the German Workers' Educational Society on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, in the evening from 9 o'clock onwards by the secretary and treasurer.

Windsor Castle, 27 Long Acre, W. C.

On behalf of the Cerman Workers' Educational Society, German branch of the International Working Men's Association:

*The Executive Committee*

Drawn up on about August 11, 1868
First published in the *Hermann*, No. 502, August 15, 1868

Printed according to the newspaper, checked with Marx's manuscript

# RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON THE REDUCTION OF THE WORKING DAY[451]

FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF AUGUST 11, 1868

Citizen *Marx* could not coincide with Milner,[452] that it [the reduction of the hours of labour] would lead to a diminished production,[a] because where the restrictions had been introduced, the instruments of production had been vastly more developed than in other trades. It had the effect of introducing more machinery, and made production on a small scale more and more impossible, which, however, was necessary to arrive at social production. The sanitary question was settled.[453] But a reduction of the hours of labour was also indispensable to give the working class more time for mental culture. Legislative restrictions were the first step towards the mental and physical elevation and the ultimate emancipation of the working classes. Nobody denied, nowadays, that the State must interfere on behalf of the women and children; and a restriction of their hours led, in most instances, to a reduction of the working time of the men. England had taken the lead, other countries had been obliged to follow to some extent. The agitation had seriously commenced in Germany, and the London Council was looked to for taking the lead. The principle had been decided at former congresses; the time for action had arrived.

First published in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 358, August 22, 1868

Reproduced from the newspaper with corrections introduced into the Minute Book

[a] The words "diminished production" are inserted in Eccarius' hand in place of the crossed-out words "an increased demand for labour".—*Ed.*

# RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON THE INFLUENCE OF COMPETITION IN COTTON INDUSTRY ON THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING MEN IN FRANCE[454]

FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF JANUARY 5, 1869

It appears that the cotton yarns and goods manufacturers of France are forming an alliance with a view of underselling the English manufacturers in their own markets; the French manufacturers admit that although the English manufacturers have better machinery and larger capitals than the French, they have been enabled to hold their own owing to the low wages paid to the men in France and they hope by lowering the wages still more to be able to produce their goods cheaper than the English manufacturers can.

Mr. Bertel, mayor of Sotteville-lès-Rouen and one of the largest manufacturers of the place, was the first to inaugurate this new crusade against the working classes; he offered a reduction of $3^1/_2$ pence per day; on the men refusing these terms they were locked out and they have now appealed to the International Working Men's Association for help.

First published in full in Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 16, Moscow, 1960

Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council

# RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON THE CONDITION OF THE COALMINERS IN THE COALFIELDS OF SAXONY

FROM THE NEWSPAPER REPORT
OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING
OF FEBRUARY 23, 1869 [455]

The German secretary[a] read a report on the condition of the coalminers in the kingdom of Saxony. Their wages vary from 6s. to 10s. 3d. a week, for twelve hours labour a day; boys' from 4s. to 5s. a week. Each colliery has a benefit club, to which the men are compelled to contribute, but they have no voice in the administration of the funds; the funds are the lawful property of the coal owners, and the benefits are, without exception, dispensed by the head-managers of the collieries. Sick, relief and superannuation allowances rise in proportion to length of service, but any one leaving his employment, no matter for what reason, loses all claims upon the fund. Thus a man may have contributed to the fund for 30 or 40 years without receiving a farthing in his old age.

An agitation among the miners for better terms has led to the publication of a draft of rules for a united club for all the Saxon collieries. The draft is the work of a committee of colliers presided over by Mr. J. G. Dinter. The chief distinctive features are—

1. All clubs to be consolidated into one.
2. Members not to lose their rights so long as they reside anywhere in Germany and continue to pay their contributions.
3. A general meeting of all adult members to be the supreme authority to elect a general and an executive committee.
4. Masters' contributions to be equal to one-half of those of the men.

This draft, which does not represent the views of the most intelligent colliers, but rather of a section, which would fain to carry out reforms with the consent of the masters, carries on its

[a] Marx.—*Ed.*

face the stamp of impracticability. It is really too *naive* to suppose that the masters, who now have complete control of the clubs, will consent to hand the whole management over to a democratic general meeting of working men, and yet continue paying their contributions. To open the eyes of such of the colliers as may still believe in the possibility of reforming the clubs upon the basis of joint contributions of masters and men, the indignant refusal on the part of the masters will be the best means.

First published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 385, February 27, 1869

Reproduced from the newspaper

# RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL ON THE PROGRAMME OF THE BASLE CONGRESS [456]

Upon the report of the Standing Committee the following was agreed to as the programme of the next Congress:

1. The question of landed property;
2. The right to inheritance;
3. To what extent can credit be immediately utilised by the working class;
4. The question of general education;
5. The influence of trades unions upon the emancipation of the working class.

It was further agreed that the order of proceedings be as follows:

1. Verification of Credentials;
2. Election of Congress officers;
3. Report of the General Council and reports of branches and sections;
4. Discussion of the questions on the programme;
5. Appointment of the seat of the General Council for the ensuing year;
6. Election of the members of the General Council;
7. Appointment of time and place of meeting of the next Congress.

It was further agreed that a notice be appended to the programme stating that the statistical inquiry is still proceeding.

A resolution that the discussion of the questions of the programme commence at the next meeting closed the proceedings.

Adopted by the General Council on June 22, 1869

First published as a leaflet in London

Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council, checked against the leaflet text

# RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECHES ON LANDED PROPERTY[457]

FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING
OF JULY 6, 1869

[I]

Cit. *Marx* was of opinion that Milner had not quite understood the nature of the controversy. There was no opposition to the mines and woods being made common property. The injury caused by the accumulation of land in the hands of the few was granted; it was only with regard to arable land that there was any dispute, the opposition came from the partisans of small farming; small property was the point in dispute.

The plea of social necessity was superior to the claim of abstract right. Every thing, every possible form of oppression had been justified by abstract right; it was high time to abandon this mode of agitation. The question was, under what form this right should be realised. There was a social necessity to transform feudal property into peasant property. In England the proprietor has ceased to be a necessity in agriculture.

As for natural right, the animal had a natural right to the soil since it cannot live without it. To push this natural right to its logical consequences would land us at the assertion of every individual to cultivate his own share.

Social right and social necessity determined in what manner the means of subsistence must be procured. Social necessity enforced itself in the course of which factory had arrived, where co-operation was compulsory. The fact that no one could produce anything by himself gave the social necessity for co-operation.

He was not against giving a more emphatic form to the resolutions.

[II]

The small peasantry is not at the Congresses, but their idealistic representatives are there. The Proudhonists are very strong upon the point and they were at Brussels. The Council is responsible for the resolutions; they were shaped by the Brussels Committee,[458] by men who well knew the opposition they had to deal with. I am not against recasting them. Cit. Weston has only spoken of social necessity. We see that both forms of private property in land have led to bad results. The small man is only a nominal proprietor, but he is the more dangerous because he still fancies that he is a proprietor. In England the land could be transformed into common property by act of Parliament in the course of a fortnight. In France it must be accomplished by means of the proprietors' indebtedness and liability to taxation.

First published in full in Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 16, Moscow, 1960

Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council

# RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON THE RIGHT TO INHERITANCE[459]

FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF JULY 20, 1869

## I

Cit. *Marx* opened the discussion on the question: The Right to Inheritance. He said the question had been put by the Alliance of Socialist Democrats of Geneva and the Council had accepted it for discussion.[a] The Alliance of Geneva demanded above all the entire abolition of the Right to Inheritance.

There were two forms of inheritance. The testamentary right, or inheritance by will, had come from Rome and had been peculiar to Rome. The father of the Roman family had exercised absolute authority over everything belonging to his household. The Roman family-father must not be compared with the father of a family of the present day. The Roman household had included slaves and clients whose affairs and interests[b] the head had been obliged to defend and maintain in public. There had been a superstition that when this man died his ghost remained as a watch in the house to see that things were done right or to torment if things were managed wrong. In the early times of Rome people had sacrificed to this house-god; even blood-feasts had been celebrated in his honour and to appease his wrath.[c] By and by it had become fashionable to compromise with this spirit by an heir-at-will. It had been the Roman immortality of the soul.[d] The will of the deceased had been perpetuated by a testament, but this testament had not necessarily brought a fortune to the

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[a] Further the word "because" is crossed out in the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

[b] The words "and interests" were inserted between the lines in the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

[c] The words "and to appease his wrath" were inserted later.—*Ed.*

[d] This sentence was inserted later. The following words are crossed out: "This contrivance had perpetuated."—*Ed.*

successor who inherited, but the will of the deceased had been looked upon as a religious duty. In course of time these heirs-at-will had laid claim to the fortune too, but even in imperial time had never been allowed more than a fourth by law.[a] That pagan superstition had been transmitted to Christian countries and[b] was the foundation of the right of will as at present existing in England and the United States.

The German right to inheritance was the intestate right, the family right, which treated an estate as a sort of co-proprietorship of which the father of the family was the manager. When this manager died the property fell to all the children. The Germans had known of no other hereditary rights; the Church of Rome had introduced the Roman right and the feudal system had falsified the German right, because feudal property bearing a military charge could not have been divided. The French Revolution had returned to the German right of inheritance. In England we had all sorts of nonsensical things; the individual had the most absolute right to will away his property, even to disinherit his own offspring, and by this rule long after he had ceased to exist.[c] This right of will might be left for the middle class to deal with as it was a point which would work against the aristocracy. In Prussia only a little of a man's property could be willed away.

The working class who had nothing to inherit had no interest in the question.

The Democratic Alliance was going to commence the social revolution with the abolition of the right to inheritance. He asked would it be policy to do so?

The proposition was not new. St. Simon had proposed it in 1830.[460]

As an economical measure it would avail nothing. It would cause so much irritation that it would be sure to raise an almost insurmountable opposition which would inevitably lead to reaction. If at the time of a revolution it was proclaimed, he did not believe that the general state of intelligence would warrant its being sustained. Besides, if the working class had sufficient power to abolish the right to inheritance, it would be powerful enough to

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[a] The words "by law" were inserted later. The following words are then crossed out: "Upon this superstition was the right of will founded."—*Ed.*

[b] The words "pagan" and "had been transmitted to Christian countries and" were inserted later.—*Ed.*

[c] Further the following sentence is crossed out: "It was what kept the aristocracy in its present position and could be left to the middle class."—*Ed.*

proceed to expropriation which would be a much simpler and more efficient process.

To abolish the right to the inheritance of land in England would involve the hereditary functions connected with the land, the House of Lords, etc., and 15,000 lords and 15,000 ladies would have to die before it became available. If, on the contrary, a working men's parliament decreed that the rent should be paid into the treasury instead of to the landlord, the Government would obtain a fund at once[a] without any social disturbance, while by abolishing the right to inheritance everything would be disturbed and nothing got.

Our efforts must be directed to the end that no instruments of production should be private property. The private property in these things was a fiction, since the proprietors could not use them themselves; they only gave them dominion over them, by which they compelled other people to work for them. In a semi-barbarous state this might have been necessary, but it was no longer so. All the means of labour must be socialised, so that every man had a right and the means to exercise his labour power. If we had such a state of things the right to inheritance would be of no use. As long as we had not, the family right to inheritance could not be abolished. The chief aim of people in saving for their children was to ensure them the means of subsistence. If a man's children were provided for after his death he would not care about leaving them wherewith to get a living, but as long as this was not the case it would only result in hardships, it would irritate and frighten people and do no good. Instead of the beginning it could only be the end of a social revolution. The beginning must be to get the means to socialise the means of labour.

The testamentary right to inheritance was obnoxious to the middle class; with this the state could safely interfere any time. We had legacy-duties already, all we had to do was to increase them and make them progressive, as well as the income-tax, leaving the smaller amounts, £50 for instance, free. Insofar only it was a working-class question.

All that was connected with the present state of things would have to be transformed, but if testaments were suppressed they would be avoided by gifts during life, therefore it would be better to tolerate them on certain conditions than do worse. First the

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[a] Further the words "by abolishing" are crossed out in the Minute Book.— *Ed.*

means for a transformed state of things must be got, then the right would disappear of itself.[a]

II

Cit. *Marx* replied: if the state had the power to appropriate the land, inheritance was gone. To declare the abolition of inheritance would be foolish. If a revolution occurred, expropriation could be carried; if there was no power to do that, the right to inheritance would not be abolished.

First published in Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 16, Moscow, 1960

Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council

[a] Further, in the Minute Book, comes the record of speeches by Milner and Lucraft (the Chairman); after them Marx again took the floor.—*Ed.*

# RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECHES ON GENERAL EDUCATION[461]

FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETINGS OF AUGUST 10 AND 17, 1869

## [I]

Cit. *Marx* said there was a peculiar difficulty connected with this question. On the one hand a change of social circumstances was required to establish a proper system of education, on the other hand a proper system of education was required to bring about a change of social circumstances; we must therefore commence where we were.

The question treated at the congresses was whether education was to be national or private.[462] National education had been looked upon as governmental, but that was not necessarily the case. In Massachusetts every township was bound to provide schools for primary education for all the children. In towns of more than 5,000 inhabitants higher schools for technical education had to be provided, in larger towns still higher. The state contributed something but not much. In Massachusetts one-eighth of the local taxes went for education, in New York one-fifth. The school committees who administered the schools were local, they appointed the schoolmasters and selected the books. The fault of the American system was that it was too much localised, the education given depended upon the state of culture prevailing in each district. There was a cry for a central supervision. The taxation for schools was compulsory, but the attendance of children was not. Property had to pay the taxes and the people who paid the taxes wanted that the money was usefully applied.

Education might be national without being governmental. Government might appoint inspectors whose duty it was to see that the laws were obeyed, just as the factory inspectors looked after the observance of the factory acts, without any power of interfering with the course of education itself.

The Congress might without hesitation adopt that education was to be compulsory. As to children being prevented from working, one thing was certain: it would not reduce wages and people would get used to it.

The Proudhonists maintained that gratuitous education was nonsense, because the state had to pay for it; of course somebody had to pay, but not those who could least afford it. Was not in favour of gratuitous college education.

As Prussian education had been talked so much of he would conclude by observing that the Prussian system was only calculated to make good soldiers.

[II]

Cit. *Marx* said: upon certain points we were unanimous.

The discussion had started with the proposition to reaffirm the Geneva resolution which demanded that mental education should be combined with bodily labour, with gymnastics and technological training[a]; nothing had been said against that.

The technological training advocated by proletarian writers was meant to compensate for the deficiencies occasioned by the division [of] labour which prevented apprentices from acquiring a thorough knowledge of their business. This had been taken hold of and misconstructed into what the middle class understood by technical education.

As to Mrs. Law's Church budget[463] it would be good policy for the Congress to declare against the Church.

Cit. Milner's proposition[464] was not suitable to be introduced in connection with the schools; it was a kind of education that the young must get from the adults in the everyday struggle of life. He could not accept Warren as a bible, it was a question upon which few could agree. We might add that such education cannot be given at school, but must be given by adults.

Nothing could be introduced either in primary or higher schools that admitted of party and class interpretation. Only subjects such as the physical sciences, grammar, etc., were fit matter for schools. The rules of grammar, for instance, could not differ, whether explained by a religious Tory or a free thinker. Subjects that admitted of different conclusions must be excluded and left for

[a] *The International Working Men's Association. Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868*, London [1869], pp. 5-7.—*Ed.*

the adults to such teachers as Mrs. Law, who gave instruction in religion.[a]

The abolition of the army[465] had been resolved by the Brussels Congress.[b]

It was not advisable to bring it on again.

First published in full in Marx and Engels, *Works,* Second Russian Edition, Vol. 16, Moscow, 1960

Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council

[a] In the report of the General Council meeting of August 17, 1869 published in *The Bee-Hive,* No. 410, August 21, 1869 this part of Marx's speech is given as follows: "As to political economy, religion and other questions, they could not be admitted into the primary, nor even the higher schools; that was a kind of education which must rest with the adult, and must be left to the lecture room, to such schoolmasters as Mrs. Law."—*Ed.*

[b] *The International Working Men's Association. Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868,* London [1869], p. 14.—*Ed.*

# ADDRESS OF THE LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE TO THE WORKING MEN AND WOMEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND[466]

Fellow-Workers,

The fond hopes held out to the toiling and suffering millions of this country thirty years ago have not been realised. They were told that the removal of fiscal restrictions would make the lot of the labouring poor easy; if it could not render them happy and contented it would at least banish starvation for ever from their midst.

They rose a terrible commotion for the big loaf,[467] the landlords became rampant, the money lords confounded, the factory lords rejoiced—their will was done—Protection received the *coup de grâce.* A period of the most marvellous prosperity followed. At first the Tories threatened to reverse the policy, but on mounting the ministerial benches, in 1852, instead of carrying out their threat, they joined the chorus in praise of unlimited competition. Prepared for a pecuniary loss they discovered to their utter astonishment that the rent-roll was swelling at the rate of more than £2,000,000 a year. Never in the history of the human race was there so much wealth—means to satisfy the wants of man—produced by so few hands, and in so short a time, as since the abolition of the Corn Laws. During the lapse of twenty years the declared value of the annual exports of British and Irish produce and manufactures—the fruits of your own labour—rose from £60,000,000 to £188,900,000. In twenty years the taxable income of the lords and ladies of the British soil increased, upon their own confession, from £98,000,000 to £140,000,000 a year; that of the chiefs of trades and professions from £60,000,000 to

£110,000,000 a year. Could human efforts accomplish more?

Alas! there are stepchildren in Britania's family. No Chancellor of the Exchequer has yet divulged the secret how the £140,000,000 are distributed amongst the territorial magnates, but we know all about the trades-folk. The special favourites increased from sixteen, in 1846, to one hundred and thirty-three, in 1866. Their average annual income rose from £74,300 to £100,600 each. They appropriated one-fourth of the twenty years' increase. The next of kin increased from three hundred and nineteen to nine hundred and fifty-nine individuals: their average annual income rose from £17,700 to £19,300 each: they appropriated another fourth. The remaining half was distributed amongst three hundred and forty-six thousand and forty-eight respectables, whose annual income ranged between £100 and £10,000 sterling. The toiling millions, the producers of that wealth—Britania's cinderellas—got cuffs and kicks instead of halfpence.

In the year 1864 the taxable income under schedule D[468] increased by £9,200,000. Of that increase the metropolis, with less than an eighth of the population, absorbed £4,266,000, nearly a half. £3,123,000 of that, more than a third of the increase of Great Britain, was absorbed by the City of London, by the favourites of the one hundred and seventy-ninth part of the British population: Mile End and the Tower, with a working population four times as numerous, got £175,000. The citizens of London are smothered with gold; the householders of the Tower Hamlets are overwhelmed by poor-rates. The citizens, of course, object to centralisation of poor-rates purely on the principle of local self-government.

During the ten years ending 1861 the operatives employed in the cotton trade increased 12 per cent; their produce 103 per cent. The iron miners increased 6 per cent; the produce of the mines 37 per cent. Twenty thousand iron miners worked for ten mine owners. During the same ten years the agricultural labourers of England and Wales diminished by eighty-eight thousand one hundred and forty-seven, and yet, during that period, several hundred thousand acres of common land were enclosed and transformed into private property to enlarge the estates of the nobility, and the same process is still going on.

In twelve years the rental liable to be rated to the poor in England and Wales rose from £86,700,000 to £118,300,000: the number of adult able-bodied paupers increased from one hundred and forty-four thousand five hundred to one hundred and eighty-five thousand six hundred.

These are no fancy pictures, originating in the wild speculations of hot brained incorrigibles; they are the confessions of landlords and money lords, recorded in their own blue books. One of their experts told the House of Lords the other day that the propertied classes, after faring sumptuously, laid by £150,000,000 a year out of the produce of your labour. A few weeks later the president of the Royal College of Surgeons related to a jury, assembled to inquire into the causes of eight untimely deaths, what he saw in the foul ward of St. Pancras.

Hibernia's favourites too have multiplied, and their income has risen, while a sixth of her toiling sons and daughters perished by famine, and its consequent diseases, and a third of the remainder were evicted, ejected and expatriated by tormenting felonious usurpers.

This period of unparalleled industrial prosperity has landed thousands of our fellow-toilers—honest, unsophisticated, hard-working men and women—in the stone yard and the oakum room[469]; the roast beef of their dreams has turned into skilly. Hundreds of thousands, men, women and children, are wandering about—homeless, degraded outcasts—in the land that gave them birth, crowding the cities and towns, and swarming the highroads in the country in search of work to obtain food and shelter, without being able to find any. Other thousands, more spirited than honest, are walking the treadmill to expiate little thefts, preferring prison discipline to workhouse fare, while the wholesale swindlers are at large, and felonious landlords preside at quarter sessions to administer the laws. Thousands of the young and strong cross the seas, flying from their native firesides, like from an exterminating plague; the old and feeble perish on the roadside of hunger and cold. The hospitals and infirmaries are overcrowded with fever and famine-stricken: death from starvation has become an ordinary every-day occurrence.

All parties are agreed that the sufferings of the labouring poor were never more intense, and misery so widespread, nor the means of satisfying the wants of man ever so abundant as at present. This proves above all that the moral foundation of all civil government, *"that the welfare of the entire community is the highest law, and ought to be the aim and end of all civil legislation"*, has been utterly disregarded. Those who preside over the destinies of the nation have either wantonly neglected their primary duty while attending to the special interests of the rich to make them richer, or their social position, their education, their class prejudices have incapacitated them from doing their duty to the community at

large or applying the proper remedies; in either case they have betrayed their trust.

Class government is only possible on the condition that those who are held in subjection are secured against positive want. The ruling classes have failed to secure the industrious wages-labourer in the prime of his life against hunger and death from starvation. Their remedies have signally failed, their promises have not been fulfilled. They promised retrenchment, they have enormously increased the public expenditure instead. They promised to lift the burden of taxation from your shoulders, the rich pay but a fractional part of the increased expenses; the rest is levied upon your necessaries—even your pawn tickets are taxed—to keep up a standing army, drawn from your own ranks, to shoot you down if you show signs of disaffection. They promised to minimise pauperism: they have made indigence and destitution your average condition—the big loaf has dwindled into no loaf. Every remedy they have applied has but aggravated the evil, and they have no other to suggest,—their rule is doomed. To continue is to involve all in a common ruin. There is but one,—and only one,—remedy. Help Yourselves! Determine that you will not endure this abominable state of things any longer; act up to your determination, and it will vanish.

A few weeks ago a score of London working men talked the matter over. They came to the conclusion that the present economical basis of society was the foundation of all the existing evils,—that nothing short of a transformation of the existing social and political arrangements could avail, and that such a transformation could only be effected by the toiling millions themselves. They embodied their conclusions in a series of resolutions, and called a conference of representative working men, to whom they were submitted for consideration. In three consecutive meetings those resolutions were discussed and unanimously adopted. To carry them out a new working men's organisation, under the title of the *"Land and Labour League"*, was established. An executive council of upwards of forty well-known representative working men was appointed to draw up a platform of principles arising out of the preliminary resolutions adopted by the conference, to serve as the programme of agitation by means of which a radical change can be effected.

After mature consideration the Council agreed to the following:

1. Nationalisation of the Land.
2. Home Colonisation.
3. National, Secular, Gratuitous and Compulsory Education.

4. Suppression of Private Banks of Issue. The State Only to Issue Paper Money.
5. A Direct and Progressive Property Tax, in Lieu of All Other Taxes.
6. Liquidation of the National Debt.
7. Abolition of the Standing Army.
8. Reduction of the Number of the Hours of Labour.
9. Equal Electoral Rights, with Payment of Members.

The success of our efforts will depend upon the pressure that can be brought to bear upon the powers that be, and this requires numbers, union, organisation and combination. We therefore call upon you to unite, organise and combine, and raise the cry throughout Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England, *"The Land for the People"*—the rightful inheritors of nature's gifts. No rational state of society can leave the land, which is the source of life, under the control of, and subject to the whims and caprices of, a few private individuals. A government elected by, and as trustee for, the whole people is the only power that can manage it for the benefit of the entire community.

Insist upon the State reclaiming the unoccupied lands as a beginning of its nationalisation, and placing the unemployed upon it. Let not another acre of common land be enclosed for the private purposes of non-producers. Compel the Government to employ the army, until its final dissolution, as a pioneer force to weed, drain and level the wastes for cultivation, instead of forming encampments to prepare for the destruction of life. If green fields and kitchen gardens are incompatible with the noble sport of hunting let the hunters emigrate.

Make the Nine points of the League the Labour programme, the touchstone by which you test the quality of candidates for parliamentary honours, and if you find them spurious reject them like a counterfeit coin, for he who is not for them is against you.

You are swindled out of the fruits of your toil by land laws, money laws, and all sorts of laws. Out of the paltry pittance that is left you, you have to pay the interest of a debt that was incurred to keep your predecessors in subjection; you have to maintain a standing army that serves no other purpose in your generation, and you are systematically overworked when employed, and underfed at all times. Nothing but a series of such radical reforms as indicated on our programme will ever lift you out of the slough of despond in which you are at present sunk. The difficulty can be overcome by unity of purpose and action. We are many; our opponents are few. Then, working men and women of all creeds

and occupations, claim your rights as with one voice, and rally round, and unite your forces under, the banner of the *"Land and Labour League"* to conquer your own emancipation!

*John Weston*, Treasurer
*Martin J. Boon*
} Secretaries
*J. George Eccarius*

Drawn up by Eccarius on about November 14, 1869

Published as a pamphlet, *Address of the Land and Labour League to the Working Men and Women of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1869

Reproduced from the pamphlet

# RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON THE POLICY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WITH RESPECT TO THE IRISH PRISONERS[470]

FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF NOVEMBER 16, 1869

Cit. *Marx* then opened the debate on the attitude of the British Government on the Irish question. He said political amnesty proceeds from two sources: 1. When a government is strong enough by force of arms and public opinion, when the enemy accepts the defeat, as was the case in America,[471] then amnesty is given. 2. When misgovernment is the cause of quarrel and the opposition gains its point, as was the case in Austria and Hungary.[472] Such ought to have been the case in Ireland.

Both Disraeli and Gladstone have said that the government ought to do for Ireland what in other countries a revolution would do. Bright asserted repeatedly that Ireland would always be rife for revolution unless a radical change was made. During the election Gladstone justified the Fenian insurrection and said that every other nation would have revolted under similar circumstances.[a] When taunted in the House he equivocated his fiery declarations against the "policy of conquest"[473] implied that "Ireland ought to be ruled according to Irish ideas".[b] To put an end to the "policy of conquest" he ought to have begun like America and Austria by an amnesty as soon as he became minister. He did nothing. Then the amnesty movement in Ireland by the municipalities. When a deputation was about to start with a petition containing 200,000 signatures for the release of the prisoners he anticipated it by releasing some to prevent the appearance of giving way to Irish pressure. The petition came,[c] it was not got up by Fenians, but he gave no answer. Then it was mooted in the House that the prisoners were infamously treated.[d]

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[a] See *The Irishman*, No. 4, July 24, 1869.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Irishman*, Nos. 7, 12 and 13, August 14, September 18 and 25, 1869.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Irishman*, No. 4, July 24, 1869.—*Ed.*

[d] See J. Gray's inquiry in the House of Commons concerning the treatment of the Irish prisoners, *The Irishman*, No. 3, July 17, 1869.—*Ed.*

In this at least the English Government is impartial; it treats Irish and English alike; there is no country in Europe where political prisoners are treated like in England and Russia. Bruce was obliged to admit the fact.[a] Moore wanted an inquiry[b]; it was refused. Then commenced the popular amnesty movement at Limerick. A meeting was held at which 30,000 people were present and a memorial for the unconditional release was adopted.[c] Meetings were held in all the towns in the North. Then the great meeting was announced in Dublin where 200,000 people attended. It was announced weeks beforehand for the 10th October. The trade societies wanted to go in procession. On the 8th proclamations were issued prohibiting the procession to go through certain streets. Isaac Butt interpreted it as a prohibition. of the procession.[d] They went to Fortescue to ask but he was not at home, his Secretary Burke did not know. A letter was left to be replied to; he equivocated.[e] The government wanted a collision. The procession was abandoned and it was found afterwards that the soldiers had been supplied with 40 rounds of shot for the occasion.

After that Gladstone answered the Limerick memorial of August in a roundabout way.[474] He says the proceedings varied much. There were loyal people and others who used bad language demanding as a right what could only be an act of clemency.

It is an act of presumption on the part of a paid public servant to teach a public meeting how to speak.

The next objection is that the prisoners have not abandoned their designs which were cut short by their imprisonment.

How does Gladstone know what their designs were and that they still entertain them Has he tortured them into a confession? He wants them to renounce their principles, to degrade them morally. Napoleon did [not] ask people to renounce their republican principles before he gave an amnesty and Prussia attached no such conditions.

Then he says the conspiracy still exists in England and America.

If it did, Scotland Yard would soon be down upon it. It is only "disaffection of 700 years' standing".[475] The Irish have declared they would receive unconditional freedom as an act of conciliation.

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[a] H. A. Bruce. Speech in the House of Commons of June 4, 1869. Ibid.— *Ed.*

[b] "Mr. G. H. Moore's Motion upon the Treatment by England of Irish Political Prisoners", *The Irishman*, No. 1, July 3, 1869.— *Ed.*

[c] *The Irishman*, No. 6, August 7, 1869.— *Ed.*

[d] *The Irishman*, No. 16, October 16, 1869.— *Ed.*

[e] *The Irishman*, No. 17, October 23, 1869.— *Ed.*

Gladstone cannot quell the Fenian conspiracy in America, his conduct promotes it, one paper[a] calls him the Head Centre.[476] He finds fault with the press. He has not the courage to prosecute the press; he wants to make the prisoners responsible. Does he want to keep them as hostages for the good behaviour of the people outside? He says "it has been our desire to carry leniency to the utmost point". This then is the utmost point.

When Mountjoy was crowded with untried prisoners, Dr. M'Donnell wrote letter after letter to Joseph Murray about their treatment. Lord Mayo said afterwards that Murray had suppressed them. M'Donnell then wrote to the inspector of prisons, to a higher official.[b] He was afterwards dismissed and Murray was promoted.[c]

He then says: we have advised the minor offenders to be released; the principal leaders and organisers we could not set free.

This is a positive lie. There were two Americans amongst them who had 15 years each. It was fear for America that made him set them free. Carey was sentenced in 1865 to 5 years, he is in the lunatic asylum, his family wanted him home,[d] he could not upset the government.

He further says: to rise in revolt against the public order has ever been a crime in this country. Only in this country. Jefferson Davis's revolt was right because it was not against the English, the government.[477] He continues, the administration can have no interest except the punishment of crimes.

The administration are the servants of the oppressors of Ireland. He wants the Irish to fall on their knees because an enlightened sovereign and Parliament have done a great act of justice.[e] They were the criminals before the Irish people. But the Irish was the only question upon which Gladstone and Bright could become ministers and catch the dissenters[478] and give the Irish place-hunters an excuse of selling themselves. The church was only the badge of conquest. The badge is removed, but the servitude remains. He states that the government is resolved to continue to remove any grievance, but that they are determined to

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[a] *New-York Irish People.—Ed.*

[b] *The Irishman,* No. 7, August 14, 1869.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Irishman,* No. 19, November 6, 1869.—*Ed.*

[d] *The Irishman,* No. 20, November 13, 1869.—*Ed.*

[e] An allusion to Gladstone who said in his reply to the Limerick memorial that "amnesty could only be an act of clemency on the part of the sovereign" (*The Times,* No. 26579, October 23, 1869).—*Ed.*

give security to life and property and maintain the integrity of the empire.

Life and property are endangered by the English aristocracy. Canada makes her own laws[479] without impairing the integrity of the empire, but the Irish know nothing of their own affairs, they must leave them to Parliament, the same power that has landed them where they are. It is the greatest stupidity to think that the prisoners out of prison could be more dangerous than insulting a whole nation. The old English leaven of the conqueror comes out in the statement: we will grant but you must ask.

In his letter to Isaac Butt he says:

"You remind me that I once pleaded for foreigners.[a] Can the two cases correspond? The Fenians were tried according to lawful custom and found guilty by a jury of their countrymen. The prisoners of Naples were arrested and not tried and when they were tried they were tried by exceptional tribunals and sentenced by judges who depended upon the government for bread."[b]

If a poacher is tried by a jury of country squires he is tried by his countrymen. It is notorious that the Irish juries are made up of purveyors to the castle whose bread depends upon their verdict. Oppression is always a lawful custom. In England the judges can be independent, in Ireland they cannot. Their promotion depends upon how they serve the government. Sullivan the prosecutor has been made master of the rolls.

To the Ancient Order of Foresters in Dublin he answered that he was not aware that he had given a pledge that Ireland was to be governed according to Irish ideas.[480] And after all this he comes to Guild-Hall and complains that he is inadequate for the task.[c]

The upshot is that all the tenant right meetings are broken up; they want the prisoners [released]. They have broken with the clerical party. They now demand that Ireland is to govern herself. Moore and Butt have declared for it.[d] They have resolved to liberate O'Donovan Rossa by electing him a member of Parliament.[e][481]

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Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council

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[a] A reference to Gladstone's pamphlet *Two Letters to the Earl of Aberdeen on the State Persecutions of the Neapolitan Government*, published in London in 1851.— *Ed.*

[b] *The Times*, No. 26583, October 27, 1869.— *Ed.*

[c] *The Irishman*, No. 20, November 13, 1869.— *Ed.*

[d] This sentence was inserted between the lines of the Minute Book.— *Ed.*

[e] The next sentence in the Minutes reads: "Cit. Marx ended by proposing the following resolution" (see this volume, p. 83).— *Ed.*

# RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECHES ON THE POLICY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WITH RESPECT TO THE IRISH PRISONERS

FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETINGS OF NOVEMBER 23 AND 30, 1869

## [I]

Cit. *Marx*. Cit. Mottershead has given a history of Gladstone. I could give another, but that has nothing to do with the question before us. The petitions which were adopted at the meetings were quite civil, but he found fault with the speeches by which they were supported. Castlereagh was as good a man as Gladstone and I found today in the *Political Register*[482] that he used the same words against the Irish as Gladstone, and Cobbett made the same reply as I have done.

When the electoral tour commenced all the Irish candidates spouted about amnesty, but Gladstone did nothing till the Irish municipalities moved.

I have not spoken of the people killed abroad, because you cannot compare the Hungarian war with the Fenian insurrection. We might compare it with 1798[483] and then the comparison would not be favourable to the English.

I repeat that political prisoners are not treated anywhere so bad as in England.

Cit. Mottershead is not going to tell us his opinion of the Irish; if he wants to know what other people think of the English let him read Ledru-Rollin[a] and other Continental writers. I have always defended the English and do so still.

These resolutions[b] are not to be passed to release the prisoners, the Irish themselves have abandoned that.

It is a resolution of sympathy with the Irish and a review of the conduct of the government, it may bring the English and the Irish

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[a] A. A. Ledru-Rollin, *The Decline of England*, 2nd ed., London, 1850.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 83.—*Ed.*

together. Gladstone has to contend with the opposition of *The Times,* the *Saturday Review,* etc., if we speak out boldly; on the other side, we may support him against an opposition to which he might otherwise have to succumb. He was in office during the Civil War and was responsible for what the government did and if the North was low when he made his declaration, so much the worse for his patriotism.

Cit. Odger is right; if we wanted the prisoners released, this would not be the way to do it, but it is more important to make a concession to the Irish people than to Gladstone....[484]

Cit. *Marx* had no objection to leave out the word "deliberately", as a prime minister must necessarily be considered to do everything deliberately.[485]

[II]

Cit. *Marx* said if Odger's suggestions were followed the Council would put themselves on an English party standpoint.[486] They could not do that. The Council must show the Irish that they understood the question and the Continent that they showed no favour to the British Government. The Council must treat the Irish like the English would treat the Polish.

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Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council

# RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE IRISH QUESTION

FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF DECEMBER 14, 1869

Cit. *Marx* proposed that the Council at its rising should adjourn to January 4th. He said it would not be advisable to discuss the Irish during the holiday weeks when the attendance of members might be small.[487] He considered the solution of the Irish question as the solution of the English, and the English as the solution of the European.

The proposition was agreed to....

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# ARTICLES BY JENNY MARX ON THE IRISH QUESTION [488]

## I

London, February 27, 1870

The *Marseillaise* for February 18 quotes an article from *The Daily News*[a] in which the English paper gives information to the French press concerning the election of O'Donovan Rossa. Since this information is somewhat confused and since partial explanations only serve to throw a false light on the things which they are claiming to elucidate, I should be grateful if you would kindly publish my comments on the article in question.

Firstly, *The Daily News* states that O'Donovan was sentenced by a jury, but it omits to add that in Ireland the juries are composed of minions more or less directly nominated by the government.

Then, in speaking with righteous horror of the TREASON-FELONY, the false liberals of *The Daily News* omit to say that this new category in the English Penal Code was expressly invented to identify the Irish patriots with the vilest of criminals.

Let us take then the case of O'Donovan Rossa. He was one of the editors of *The Irish People.* Like most of the Fenians he was sentenced for having written so-called seditious articles. Consequently the *Marseillaise* was not wrong in drawing an analogy between Rochefort and Rossa.[489]

Why does *The Daily News,* which aims at keeping France informed about the Fenian prisoners, remain silent about the appalling treatment of them? I trust that you will allow me to make up for this prudent silence.

Some time ago O'Donovan was put in a dark cell with his hands chained behind his back. His handcuffs were not removed night

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[a] *La Marseillaise,* No. 60, February 18, 1870.— *Ed.*

or day so that he was forced to crouch on the ground to lick his food, gruel made with water. Mr. Pigott, editor of *The Irishman,* learnt about these facts from Rossa who described them to him in the presence of the prison governor and another witness, and published the information in his newspaper,[a] encouraging Mr. Moore, one of the Irish members of the HOUSE OF COMMONS, to request a parliamentary enquiry into what goes on in the prisons.[b] The government strongly opposed this request. Thus, Moore's motion was rejected by 171 votes to 36—a worthy supplement to the voting which crushed the right to suffrage.[c]

And this took place during the ministry of the sanctimonious Gladstone. As you can see the great Liberal leader knows how to mock humanity and justice. There are also Judases who do not wear glasses.

Here is another case which also does England credit. O'Leary, a Fenian prisoner aged between sixty and seventy, was put on bread and water for three weeks because—the reader of the *Marseillaise* would never guess why—because Leary called himself a *"pagan"* and refused to say he was *Protestant, Presbyterian, Catholic* or *Quaker.* He was given the choice of one of these religions or bread and water. Of these five evils, O'Leary, or *"pagan O'Leary"* as he is called, chose the one that he considered the least—bread and water.[d]

A few days ago after examining the body of a Fenian who died at Spike Island Prison the CORONER[e] expressed his very strong disapproval of the manner in which the deceased man had been treated.[f]

Last Saturday a young Irishman called *Gunner Hood* left prison after four years in it. At the age of 19 he had joined the English army and served England in Canada. He was taken before a military tribunal in 1866 for having written seditious articles and sentenced to two years' hard labour. When the sentence was pronounced Hood took his cap and threw it into the air shouting,

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[a] *The Irishman,* No. 49, June 12, 1869, "O'Donovan Rossa. To the Editor of *The Irishman*; The Press on the Treatment of the Political Prisoners: The Treatment of O'Donovan Rossa".—*Ed.*

[b] "Mr. G. H. Moore's Motion upon the Treatment by England of Irish Political Prisoners", *The Irishman,* No. 1, July 3, 1869.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 442-43.—*Ed.*

[d] Ibid., p. 102.—*Ed.*

[e] Jenny Marx uses the English term and gives the explanation of it in brackets.—*Ed.*

[f] See the article "Inquest at Spike Island.—Condemnation of the Prison Treatment", *The Irishman,* No. 34, February 19, 1870.—*Ed.*

"Long live the Irish republic!" This impassioned cry cost him dear. He was sentenced to an extra two years in prison and fifty strokes for good measure. This was carried out in the most atrocious manner. Hood was attached to a plough and two strapping blacksmiths were armed with CAT-O-NINE-TAILS. There is no equivalent term in French for the English *KNOUT*. Only the Russians and the English know what is meant by this. Like draws to like.

Mr. Carey, a journalist, is kept at present in the part of the prison intended for the insane, the silence and the other forms of torture to which he has been subjected having turned him into a mass of living flesh deprived of all reason.

The Fenian, Colonel Burke, a man who has distinguished himself not only by his military service in the American army but also as a writer and painter, has also been reduced to a pitiful state in which he can no longer recognise his closest relatives. I could add many more names to this list of Irish martyrs. Suffice it to say that since 1866, when there was a raid on *The Irish People*'s offices,[490] *20 Fenians have died or gone mad* in the prisons of humanitarian England.

## II

London, March 5[491]

During the meeting of the House of Commons on March 3 Mr. *Stacpoole* questioned Mr. Gladstone on the treatment of Fenian prisoners. He said, among other things, that Dr. *Lyons* of Dublin had recently stated that

"the discipline, diet, personal restrictions and the other punishments were bound to cause permanent damage to the prisoners' health".[a]

After having expressed complete satisfaction with the way in which prisoners were treated, Mr. Gladstone crowned his little SPEECH with this brilliantly witty remark:

"As to the health of O'Donovan Rossa, I am glad to be able to say that during her *last* visit to her husband Mrs. O'Donovan Rossa congratulated him on *looking better.*"[b]

Whereupon a burst of Homeric laughter broke out from all sides of that noble assembly. *Her last visit!* Note that Mrs. O'Donovan Rossa had not only been separated from her husband for several years, but that she had travelled all over America earning money to feed her children by giving public lectures on English literature.

And bear in mind also that this same Mr. *Gladstone,* whose quips are so pointed, is the almost sacred author of *Prayers,* the *Propagation of the Gospel, The Functions of Laymen in the Church*[c] and the recently published homily *Ecce homo.*

Is the profound satisfaction of the head jailer shared by his prisoners? Read the following extracts from a letter written by

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[a] W. Stacpoole, Speech in the House of Commons on March 3, 1870, *The Times,* No. 26689, March 4, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] W. E. Gladstone, Speech in the House of Commons on March 3, 1870, *The Times,* No. 26689, March 4, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] The titles of Gladstone's books are given in English in the newspaper, with the French translations in brackets.—*Ed.*

*O'Donovan Rossa,* which by some miracle was slipped out of the prison and arrived at its destination after an incredible delay:

LETTER FROM ROSSA

I have already told you about the hypocrisy of these English masters who, after placing me in a position which forced me to get down on my knees and elbows to eat, are now depriving me of food and light and giving me chains and a Bible. I am not complaining of the penalties which my masters inflict on me—it is my job to suffer—but I insist that I have the right to inform the world of the treatment to which I am subjected, and that it is illegal to hold back my letters describing this treatment. The minute precautions taken by the prison authorities to prevent me writing letters are as disgusting as they are absurd. The most insulting method was to strip me once a day for several months and then examine my arms, legs and all other parts of my body. This took place at *Millbank* daily from February to May 1867. One day I refused, whereupon five prison officers arrived, beat me mercilessly and tore off my clothes.

Once I succeeded in getting a letter to the outside, for which I was rewarded by a visit from Messrs. *Knox* and *Pollock,* two *POLICE MAGISTRATES.*[a]

How ironical to send two government employees to find out the truth about the English prisons. These gentlemen refused to take note of anything important which I had to tell them. When I touched upon a subject which was not to their liking, they stopped me by saying that prison discipline was not their concern. Isn't that so, Messrs. *Pollock* and *Knox*? When I told you that I had been forced to wash in water which had already been used by half a dozen English prisoners, did you not refuse to note my complaint?

At *Chatham* I was given a certain amount of tow to pull out and told that I would go without food if I did not finish the work by a certain time.

"Perhaps you'll still punish me even if I do the job in time," I shouted. "That's what happened to me at *Millbank.*"

"How could it?" asked the jailer.

Then I told him that on July 4 I had finished my work ten minutes before the appointed time and picked up a book. The officer saw me do this, accused me of being lazy and I was put on bread and water and locked in a dark cell for forty-eight hours.

One day I caught sight of my friend *Edward Duffy.* He was extremely pale. A little later I heard that *Duffy* was seriously ill and that he had expressed the wish to see me (we had been very close in Ireland). I begged the governor to give me permission to visit him. He refused point-blank. This was round about Christmas '67—and a few weeks later a prisoner whispered to me through the bars of my cell: "*Duffy* is dead."

How movingly this would have been described by the English if it had happened in Russia!

If Mr. Gladstone had been present on such a sad occasion in Naples, what a touching picture he would have painted! Ah! Sweet Pharisees, trading in hypocrisy, with the Bible on their lips and the devil in their bellies.

I must say a word in memory of *John Lynch.* In March 1866 I found myself together with him in the exercise yard. We were being watched so closely that he only managed to say to me, "The cold is killing me." But then what did the English do to us? They took us to London on Christmas Eve. When we arrived at

[a] Jenny Marx uses the English term and gives its French equivalent in brackets.—*Ed.*

the prison they took away our flannels and left us shivering in our cells for several months. Yes, they cannot deny that it was they who killed *John Lynch.* But nevertheless they managed to produce officials at the enquiry who were ready to prove that *Lynch* and *Duffy* had been given very gentle treatment.

The lies of our English oppressors exceed one's wildest imagination.

If I am to die in prison I entreat my family and my friends not to believe a word of what these people say. Let me not be suspected of personal rancour against those who persecuted me with their lies. I accuse only tyranny which makes the use of such methods necessary.

Many a time the circumstances have reminded me of Machiavelli's words: "that tyrants have a special interest in circulating the Bible so that the people understand its precepts and offer no resistance to being robbed by brigands".

So long as an enslaved people follows the sermons on morality and obedience preached to them by the priests, the tyrants have nothing to fear.

If this letter reaches my fellow countrymen I have the right to demand that they raise their voices to insist that justice be done for their suffering brothers. Let these words whip up the blood that is moving sluggishly in their veins!

I was harnessed to a cart with a rope tied round my neck. This knot was fastened to a long shaft and two English prisoners received orders to prevent the cart from bouncing. But they refrained from doing this, the shaft rose up into the air and the knot came undone. If it had tightened I would be dead.

I insist that they do not possess the right to put me in a situation where my life depends on the acts of other people.

A ray of light is penetrating through the bolts and bars of my prison. This is reminder of the day in *Newtownwards* where I met *Orangemen* and *Ribbonmen*[492] who had forgotten their bigotry!

*O'Donovan Rossa*
Political prisoner sentenced
to hard labour[a]

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[a] "O'Donovan Rossa. Letter from the Member for Tipperary", *The Irishman,* No. 32, February 5, 1870.—*Ed.*

## III

London, March 16, 1870

The main event of the past week has been O'Donovan Rossa's letter which I communicated to you in my last report.[a]

*The Times*[b] printed the letter without comment, whereas *The Daily News* published a commentary without the letter.[c]

"As one might have expected," it says, "Mr. O'Donovan Rossa takes as his subject the prison rules to which he has been *subjected* FOR A WHILE."[d]

How atrocious this *"for a while"* is in speaking of a man who has already been imprisoned for five years and condemned to hard labour *for life*!

Mr. O'Donovan Rossa complains among other things "of being harnessed to a cart with a rope tied round his neck" in such a way that his life depended on the movements of English convicts, his fellow prisoners.

But, exclaims *The Daily News,* "Is it really unjust to put a man in a situation where his life depends on the acts of others? When a person is in a car or on a steamer does not his life also depend on the acts of others?"

After this brilliant piece of arguing, the pious casuist reproaches O'Donovan Rossa for not loving the BIBLE and preferring the IRISH PEOPLE, an opposition which is sure to delight its readers.

"Mr. O'Donovan," it continues, "seems to imagine that prisoners serving sentences for *seditious writing* should be supplied with cigars and daily newspapers,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 418-19.— *Ed.*

[b] "The Fenian Convict O'Donovan Rossa", *The Times,* No. 26694, March 10, 1870.— *Ed.*

[c] "The *Marseillaise* of Tuesday last was...", *The Daily News,* No. 7445, March 11, 1870.— *Ed.*

[d] In *La Marseillaise* the English expression "for a while" is given in brackets after the French equivalent.— *Ed.*

and that they should above all have the right to correspond freely with their friends."

Ho, ho, virtuous Pharisee! At last you have admitted that O'Donovan Rossa has been sentenced to hard labour for life for *seditious writing* and not for an attempted *assassination* of Queen Victoria, as you vilely insinuated in your first address to the French press.

"After all," this shameless newspaper concludes, "O'Donovan Rossa is simply being treated for what he is, that is, an ordinary convict."

After Mr. Gladstone's special newspaper, here is a different angle from the "liberal" press, *The Daily Telegraph,* which generally adopts a rougher manner.[a]

"If we condescend," it says, "to take note of O'Donovan Rossa's letter, it is not because of the Fenians who are incorrigible, but exclusively for the well-being of France.

"Let it be known," it says, "that only a few days ago in the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone made a formal denunciation of all these outrageous lies, and there cannot be any intelligent Frenchmen of whatever party and class who would dare doubt the word of an English gentleman."

But if, contrary to expectation, there were parties or people in France perverse enough not to believe the word of an English gentleman such as Mr. Gladstone, France could not at least resist the well-meant advice of Mr. Levy who is not a gentleman and who addresses you in the following terms:

"We advise our neighbours, the Parisians, to treat all the stories of cruelties committed on political prisoners in England as so many insolent lies."

With Mr. Levy's permission, I will give you a new example of the value of the *words* of the gentlemen who make up Gladstone's Cabinet.

You will remember that in my first letter I mentioned Colonel *Richard Burke,* a Fenian prisoner who has gone insane thanks to the humanitarian methods of the English government.[b] *The Irishman* was the first to publish this news,[c] after which Mr. Underwood sent a letter to Mr. Bruce, the Home Secretary,[d] asking him for an enquiry into the treatment of political prisoners.

Mr. Bruce replied in a letter which was published in the English press and which contained the following sentence:

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[a] *The Daily Telegraph,* No. 4598, March 11, 1870.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 416.— *Ed.*

[c] "More Prison Horrors. Irish Political Prisoners Being Done to Death in English Prisons"; *The Irishman,* No. 27, January 1, 1870.— *Ed.*

[d] The letter was published in *The Irishman,* No. 28, January 8, 1870.— *Ed.*

"With regard to Richard Burke at Woking Prison, Mr. Bruce is bound to refuse to make an enquiry on the grounds of *such ill-founded and extravagant insinuations* as those contained in the extracts from *The Irishman* which you have sent me."[a]

This statement by Mr. Bruce is dated January 11, 1870. Now in one of its recent issues *The Irishman* has published the same Minister's reply to a letter from Mrs. Barry, Richard Burke's sister, who asked for news, about her brother's "alarming" condition.[b] The ministerial reply of *February* 24 contains an official report dated January 11 in which the prison doctor and Burke's special guard state that he had become insane.[c] Thus, the very day when Mr. Bruce publicly declared the information published by *The Irishman* to be false and ill-founded, he was concealing the irrefutable official proof in his pocket! It should be mentioned incidentally that Mr. Moore, an Irish member in the House of Commons, is to question the Minister on the treatment of Colonel Burke.

*The Echo,* a recently founded newspaper, takes an even stronger liberal line than its companions. It has its own principle which consists of selling for one penny, whereas all the other newspapers cost twopence, fourpence or sixpence. This price of one penny forces it on the one hand to make pseudo-democratic professions of faith so as not to lose its proletarian subscribers, and on the other hand to make constant reservations in order to win over respectable subscribers from its competitors.

In its long tirade on O'Donovan Rossa's letter it finished up by saying that "perhaps even those Fenians who have received an amnesty will refuse to believe the exaggerations of their compatriots", as if Mr. Kickham, Mr. Costello and others had not already published information on their suffering in prison totally in accordance with Rossa's letter! But after all its subterfuge and senseless evasions *The Echo* touches on the sore point.

The "publications by the *Marseillaise,*" it says, "will cause a scandal and this scandal will spread all round the world. The continental mind is perhaps too limited to be able to discern the difference between the crimes of a Bomba[d] and the severity of a Gladstone! So it would be better to hold an enquiry", and so on.[e]

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[a] *The Irishman,* No. 30, January 22, 1870. The reply to Underwood's enquiry was made on behalf of Bruce by A.F.O. Liddell on January 11, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Both Mrs. Barry's letter to Bruce of February 22, 1870 and Liddell's reply to it of February 24 were published in *The Irishman,* No. 37, March 12, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] J. Meyers, Official report on Richard Burke's state of health, dated January 11, 1870, *The Irishman,* No. 37, March 12, 1870.—*Ed.*

[d] King Bomba, i. e. Ferdinand II.—*Ed.*

[e] "O'Donovan Rossa's Woes", *The Echo,* No. 391, March 11, 1870.—*Ed.*

*The Spectator,* a "liberal" weekly which supports Gladstone, is governed by the principle that all genres are bad except the boring one.[a] This is why it is called in London the journal of the seven wise men. After giving a brief account of O'Donovan Rossa and scolding him for his aversion to the Bible, the journal of the seven wise men pronounces the following judgment:

"The Fenian O'Donovan Rossa does not appear to have suffered anything more than the ordinary sufferings of convicts, but we confess that we should like to see changes in this regime. It is very right and often most advisable to shoot rebels. It is also right to deprive them of their liberty as the most dangerous type of criminals. But it is neither right nor wise to degrade them."[b]

Well said, Solomon the Wise!

Finally we have *The Standard,* the main organ of the Tory party, the Conservatives. You will be aware that the English oligarchy is composed of two factions: the landed aristocracy and the plutocracy. If in their family quarrels one takes the side of the plutocrats against the aristocrats one is called a liberal or even radical. If, on the contrary, one sides with the aristocrats against the plutocrats one is called a Tory.

*The Standard* calls O'Donovan Rossa's letter an apocryphal story probably written by A. Dumas.

"Why," it says, "did the *Marseillaise* refrain from adding that Mr. Gladstone, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Mayor were present each morning while O'Donovan Rossa was being tortured?"[c]

In the House of Commons a certain member once referred to the Tory party as the "*STUPID PARTY*".[d] Is it not a fact that *The Standard* well deserves its title as the main organ of the stupid party!

Before closing I must warn the French not to confuse the newspaper clamour with the voice of the English proletariat which, unfortunately for the two countries, Ireland and England, has no echo in the English press.

Let it suffice to say that more than 200,000 men, women and children of the English working class raised their voices in Hyde Park to demand freedom for their Irish brothers, and that the General Council of the *International Working Men's Association,*

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[a] Jenny Marx paraphrases words from Voltaire's novel *L'Enfant prodigue*: Tous les genres sont bons, hors le genre ennuyeux" (*The Prodigal Son*: "All genres are good except the boring ones").—*Ed.*

[b] *The Spectator,* No. 2176, March 12, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Evening Standard,* March 10, 1870.—*Ed.*

[d] Jenny Marx uses the English words "*stupid party*" and gives the French translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

which has its headquarters in London and includes well-known English working-class leaders among its members, has severely condemned the treatment of Fenian prisoners and come out in defence of the rights of the Irish people against the English government.[493]

*P. S.* As a result of the publicity given by the *Marseillaise* to O'Donovan Rossa's letter,[a] Gladstone is afraid that he may be forced by public opinion to hold a parliamentary public enquiry into the treatment of political prisoners. In order to avoid this again (we know how many times his corrupt conscience has opposed it already) this diplomat has just produced an official, but anonymous denial of the facts quoted by Rossa.[494]

Let it be known in France that this denial is nothing more than a copy of the statements made by the prison jailer, police magistrates Knox and Pollock, etc., etc.[b] These gentlemen know full well that Rossa cannot reply to them. He will be kept under stricter supervision than ever, but ... I shall reply to them in my next letter with *facts,* the verification of which does not depend on the goodwill of jailers.

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[a] O'Donovan's letter of March 5, 1870, *La Marseillaise,* No. 79, March 9, 1870.— *Ed.*

[b] *Report of the Commissioners on the Treatment of the Treason-Felony Convicts in the English Convict Prisons,* London, 1867.— *Ed.*

## IV

London, March 18, 1870

As I announced in my last letter Mr. Moore, an Irish member of the House of Commons, yesterday questioned the government on the treatment of Fenian prisoners.[a] He referred to the request about Richard Burke and four other prisoners held in Mountjoy Prison (in Dublin) and asked the government whether it considered it honourable to hold the bodies of these men after having deprived them of their senses. Finally, he insisted on a "full, free and public enquiry".[b]

So here was Mr. Gladstone with his back to the wall. In 1868 he gave an insolent, categorical refusal to a request to hold an enquiry made by the same Mr. Moore. Since then he has always replied in the same fashion to repeated demands for an enquiry.

Why give way now? Should he admit to being alarmed by the clamour on the other side of the Channel? Never. As to the charges levelled against our governors of prisons, we have asked them to give a full explanation in this connection.

The latter have unanimously replied that all this is sheer nonsense. Thus, our ministerial conscience is naturally satisfied. But after the explanations given by Mr. Moore—these are his exact words—it appears "that the point in question is not exactly satisfaction. That THE SATISFACTION OF THE MINDS OF THE GOVERNMENT[c] derives from its confidence in its subordinates and, 'THEREFORE',[d] it

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[a] See this volume, p. 422.— *Ed.*

[b] Moore's speech in the House of Commons on March 17, 1870, *The Times*, No. 26702, March 18, 1870.— *Ed.*

[c] The words in small caps are given in *La Marseillaise* in English in brackets after their French equivalent.— *Ed.*

[d] This word is given in the newspaper in brackets after its French equivalent.— *Ed.*

would be both politic and just to conduct an enquiry into the truth of the jailers' statements".[495]

> One day he says this, and the next day says that,
> His yesterday's views today he will shelve,
> He now wears a helmet, and now a top hat,
> A nuisance to others, a bore to himself.[a]

But if he does give way in the end, he does so with a further mental reservation.

Mr. Moore demands a "full, free and public enquiry". Mr. Gladstone replies that he is responsible for the "form" of the enquiry, and we already know that this will not be a "parliamentary enquiry", but one conducted by means of a Royal Commission. In other words, the judges in this great trial, in which Mr. Gladstone appears as the main defendant, are to be selected and appointed by Mr. Gladstone himself.

As for Richard Burke, Mr. Gladstone states that the government had learnt of his insanity as early as January 9. Consequently, his honourable colleague Mr. Bruce, the Home Secretary, lied outrageously by declaring in his open letter of January 11 that this information was untrue.[b] But, Mr. Gladstone continues, Mr. Burke's mental disturbance had not reached a sufficiently advanced stage to justify his release from prison. It must not be forgotten that this man was an accessory to the blowing up of Clerkenwell Prison.[496] Really? But Richard Burke was already detained in Clerkenwell Prison when a number of other people took it into their heads to blow up the prison in order to free him. Thus he was an accessory to this ridiculous attempt which, it is thought, was instigated by the English police and which, if it had succeeded, would have buried him under the ruins! Moreover, concludes Mr. Gladstone, we have already released two Fenians who went mad in our English prisons. But, interrupts Mr. Moore, I was talking about the four insane men detained in Mountjoy Prison in Dublin. Be that as it may, replies Mr. Gladstone. There are still two madmen less in our prisons.

Why is Mr. Gladstone so anxious to avoid all mention of Mountjoy Prison? We shall see in a moment. This time the facts are verified not by letters from the prisoners, but in a Blue Book published in 1868 by order of Parliament.[497]

After the Fenian skirmish[498] the English government declared a state of general emergency in Ireland. All guarantees of the freedom of the individual were suspended. Any person "suspected

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[a] *Les satires de Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux*, Jena, 1834 (Satire VIII, 5).— *Ed.*

[b] Bruce's letter to Th. N. Underwood was published in *The Irishman*, No. 37, March 12, 1870.— *Ed.*

of being suspected of Fenianism" could thus be thrown into prison and kept there without being brought to court as long as it pleased the authorities. One of the prisons full of suspects was Mountjoy Convict Prison in Dublin, of which John Murray was the inspector and Mr. M'Donnell the doctor. Now what do we read in the *Blue Book* published in 1868 by order of Parliament?

For several months Mr. M'Donnell wrote first to Inspector Murray protesting against the cruel treatment of suspects. Since the inspector did not reply, Mr. M'Donnell sent three or four reports to the prison governor. In one of these letters he refers to

"certain persons",—I am citing word for word—"who show unmistakable signs of insanity". He goes on to add: "I have not the slightest doubt that this insanity is the consequence of the prison regime. Quite apart from all humane considerations, it would be a serious matter if one of these prisoners, who have not been sentenced by a court of law but are merely suspects, should commit suicide."

All these letters addressed by Mr. M'Donnell to the governor were intercepted by John Murray. Finally, Mr. M'Donnell wrote direct to Lord Mayo, the First Secretary for Ireland. He told him for example:

"There is no one, my Lord, as well informed as you yourself are on the harsh discipline to which the 'suspect' prisoners have been subjected for a considerable time, a more severe form of solitary confinement than that imposed on the convicts."

What was the result of these revelations published by order of Parliament? The doctor, Mr. M'Donnell, was dismissed!!! Murray kept his post.

All this took place during the Tory ministry. When Mr. Gladstone finally succeeded in unseating Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli by fiery speeches in which he denounced the English government as the true cause of Fenianism, he not only confirmed the savage Murray in his functions but also, as a sign of his special satisfaction, conferred a large sinecure, that of "REGISTRAR OF HABITUAL CRIMINALS", on his post of inspector.

In my last letter I stated that the anonymous reply to Rossa's letter, circulated by the London newspapers, emanated directly from the Home Office.

It is now known to be the work of the Home Secretary, Mr. Bruce. Here is a sample of his "ministerial conscience!"

As to Rossa's complaint that he is obliged "to wash in water which has already been used for the convicts' ablutions, the police magistrates Knox and Pollock have declared that after their careful enquiry it would be superfluous to consider such nonsense", says Mr. Bruce.

Luckily the report by police magistrates Knox and Pollock has been published by order of Parliament.[a] What do they say on page 23 of their report? That in accordance with the prison regime a certain number of convicts use the same bath one after the other and, that "the guard cannot give priority to O'Donovan Rossa without offending the others". It would, therefore, be "superfluous to consider such nonsense".

Thus, according to the report by Knox and Pollock, it is not O'Donovan Rossa's allegation that he was forced to bathe in water which had been used by convicts that is nonsense, as Mr. Bruce would have them say. On the contrary, these gentlemen find it absurd that O'Donovan Rossa should have complained about such a disgrace.

During the same meeting in the House of Commons at which Mr. Gladstone declared himself ready to hold an enquiry into the treatment of Fenian prisoners, he introduced a new Coercion Bill for Ireland, that is to say, the suppression of constitutional freedoms and the proclamation of a state of emergency.

Theoretical fiction has it that constitutional liberty is the rule and its suspension an exception, but the whole history of English rule in Ireland shows that a state of emergency is the rule and that the application of the constitution is the exception. Gladstone is making agrarian crimes the pretext for putting Ireland once more in a state of siege. His true motive is the desire to suppress the independent newspapers in Dublin. From henceforth the life or death of any Irish newspaper will depend on the goodwill of Mr. Gladstone. Moreover, this Coercion Bill is a necessary complement to the Land Bill recently introduced by Mr. Gladstone which consolidates landlordism in Ireland whilst appearing to come to the aid of the tenant farmers.[499] It should suffice to say of this law that it bears the mark of Lord Dufferin, a member of the Cabinet and a large Irish landowner. It was only last year that this Dr. Sangrado published a large tome[b] to prove that the Irish population has not yet been sufficiently bled, and that it should be reduced by a third if Ireland is to accomplish its glorious mission to produce the highest possible rents for its landlords and the largest possible quantities of meat and wool for the English market.

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[a] *Report of the Commissioners on the Treatment of the Treason-Felony Convicts in the English Convict Prisons,* London, 1867.— *Ed.*

[b] F. T. H. Blackwood, *Mr. Mill's Plan for the Pacification of Ireland Examined,* London, 1868.— *Ed.*

## V

London, March 22

There is a London weekly with a wide circulation among the people which is called *Reynolds's Newspaper*. This is what it has to say about the Irish question:

"Now we are regarded by the other nations as the most hypocritical people on earth. We blew our own trumpets so loudly and so joyfully and exaggerated the excellence of our institutions so much, that now when our lies are being exposed one by one it is not at all surprising that other peoples should ridicule us and ask themselves whether it can be possible. It is not the people of England who have brought about such a state of affairs, because the people also have been tricked and deceived—the blame lies with the ruling classes and a venal, parasitic press...."[a]

The Coercion Bill for Ireland which was introduced on Thursday evening[b] is a detestable, abominable, execrable measure. This Bill extinguishes the last spark of national liberty in Ireland and silences the press of this unhappy country in order to prevent its newspapers from protesting against a policy which is the crying disgrace of our time. The government wants its revenge on all those newspapers which did not greet its wretched Land Bill with transports of delight, and will get it. In effect the *Habeas Corpus Act* will be suspended, because from now onwards it will be possible to imprison for six months or even for life any person who cannot explain his behaviour to the satisfaction of the authorities.

Ireland has been put at the mercy of a band of well-trained spies who are euphemistically referred to as "detectives".

Not even Nicholas of Russia ever published a crueller ukase

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[a] *Reynolds's Newspaper*, March 20, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] March 17.—*Ed.*

against the unfortunate Poles than this Bill of Mr. Gladstone's against the Irish. It is a measure which would have won Mr. Gladstone the good favour of the famous King of Dahomey.[500] Nevertheless, Mr. Gladstone had the colossal effrontery to boast in front of Parliament and the nation of the generous policy which his government is proposing to adopt with regard to Ireland. At the end of his speech on Thursday Gladstone even went as far as producing expressions of regret pronounced with a sanctimonious, lachrymose solemnity worthy of the reverend Mr. Stiggins. But snivel as he may, the Irish people will not be deceived.

We repeat that the Bill is a shameful measure, a measure worthy of *Castlereagh,* a measure which will invoke the condemnation of all free nations on the heads of those who invented it and those who sanction and approve it. Finally, it is a measure which will bring well-deserved opprobrium to Mr. Gladstone and, we sincerely hope, lead to his swift defeat. And how has the demagogic minister Mr. Bright been able to keep silent for forty-eight hours?

We state without hesitation that Mr. Gladstone has proved to be the most savage enemy and the most implacable master to have crushed Ireland since the days of the notorious *Castlereagh.*

As if the cup of ministerial shame were not already full to overflowing, it was announced in the House of Commons on Thursday evening, the same evening as the Coercion Bill was introduced, that Burke and other Fenian prisoners had been tortured to the point of insanity in the English prisons, and in the very face of this appalling evidence Gladstone and his jackal Bruce were protesting loudly that the political prisoners were treated with all possible care. When Mr. Moore made this sad announcement to the House he was constantly interrupted by hoots of bestial laughter. Had such a disgusting and revolting scene taken place in the American Congress, what a howl of indignation would have gone up from us!

Up till now the *Reynolds's Newspaper, The Times, The Daily News, Pall Mall, The Telegraph,* etc., etc., have greeted the Coercion Bill with shouts of wild joy, particularly the measure for the destruction of the Irish press. And all this is taking place in England, the acknowledged sanctuary of the press. But one should not, after all, be too angry with these new writers. You will agree that it was too hard to watch *The Irishman* each Saturday demolish the tissue of lies and calumny which these Penelopes worked on for six days of the week with sweat on their brows, and

that it is quite natural that they should give a frantic welcome to the police who come to tie the hands of their formidable enemy. At least these fine fellows realise their own collective worth.

A characteristic exchange of letters has taken place between Bruce and Mr. M'Carthy Downing concerning Colonel Richard Burke.[a] Before reproducing it I should like to remark in passing that Mr. Downing is an Irish member of the House of Commons. This ambitious advocate joined the ministerial phalanx with the noble aim of making a career. Thus, we are not dealing here with a suspect witness.

February 22, 1870

Sir,

If my information is correct, Richard Burke, one of the Fenian prisoners formerly held in Chatham Prison, has been transferred to Woking in a state of insanity. In March 1869 I took the liberty of bringing his state of apparent ill-health to your notice, and in the following July Mr. Blake, former member for Waterford, and I informed you of our opinion that if the system of his treatment were not changed, the worst consequences were to be feared. I received no reply to this letter. My object in writing to you is the cause of humanity and the hope of obtaining his release so that his family may have the consolation of seeing to his needs and mitigating his suffering. I have in my hand a letter from the prisoner to his brother dated December 3 in which he says that he has been systematically *poisoned,* this being, I imagine, one of the phases of his disease. I sincerely trust that the kind sentiments for which you are known will urge you to grant this request.

Yours, etc.,
*M'Carthy Downing*

Home Office,
February 25, 1870

Sir,

Richard Burke was transferred from Chatham as a result of his illusion that he was poisoned or cruelly treated by the prison medical officers. At the same time, without him being positively ill, his health deteriorated. Consequently, I gave orders for him to be moved to Woking and had him examined by Dr. Meyer from Broadmoor Asylum, who was of the opinion that his illusion would disappear when his health improved. His health did, in fact, improve rapidly and an ordinary observer would not have noted any signs of his mental weakness. I should very much like to be in a position to give you an assurance of his early release, but am not able to do so. His crime and the consequences of the attempt to free him are too serious for me to be able to give you such an assurance. Meanwhile all that

[a] "The Fenian Prisoner Burke", *The Irishman*, No. 38, March 19, 1870.— *Ed.*

medical science and good treatment can do to restore his mental and physical health will be done.

*H. A. Bruce*

February 28, 1870

Sir,

After receiving your letter of the 25th in reply to my request that Burke should be handed over to the care of his brother, I hoped to find an occasion to talk to you on this matter in the House of Commons, but you were so busy on Thursday and Friday that an interview was out of the question. I have received letters from a number of Burke's friends. They are waiting anxiously to hear whether my request has been successful. I have not yet informed them that it has not. Before disappointing them I felt "justified" in writing to you again on the matter. I thought that as a person who has invariably and at some risk denounced Fenianism, I could permit myself to give a word of impartial, friendly advice to the government.

I have no hesitation in saying that the release of a political prisoner who has become mentally unbalanced would not be criticised and certainly not condemned by the general public. In Ireland people would say: "Well, the government is not as cruel as we thought." Whereas if, on the other hand, Burke is kept in prison this will provide new material for the national press to attack it as being even crueller than the Neapolitan governors in their worst days. And I confess that I cannot see how men of moderate views could defend the act of refusal in such a case...

*M'Carthy Downing*

Sir,

I regret that I am unable to recommend Burke's release.

It is true that he has shown signs of insanity and that in ordinary cases I would be "justified" in recommending him to the mercy of the Crown. But his case is not an ordinary one, because he was not only a hardened conspirator, but his participation in the attempt to blow up Clerkenwell which, if it had succeeded, would have been even more disastrous than it was, makes him an IMPROPER RECIPIENT OF PARDON.[a]

*H. A. Bruce*

Could anything be more infamous! Bruce knows perfectly well that if there had been the slightest suspicion against Colonel Burke during the trial concerning the attempt to blow up Clerkenwell, Burke would have been hung next to Barrett who was sentenced to death on the testimony of a man who had previously given false testimony against three other men, and in spite of the evidence of eight citizens who made the journey from Glasgow to prove that Barrett had been there when the explosion had taken place. The English have no scruples (Mr. Bruce can confirm this) when it is a question of hanging a man — especially a Fenian.

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[a] The words in small caps are given in *La Marseillaise* in brackets after their French equivalents.— *Ed.*

But all this spate of cruelty cannot break the iron spirit of the Irish. They have just celebrated their national holiday, St. Patrick's Day, more demonstratively than ever in Dublin. The houses were decorated with flags saying: "Ireland for the Irish!", "Liberty!" and "Long live the political prisoners!" and the air rang with the sound of their national songs and—the *Marseillaise.*

## VI

## AGRARIAN OUTRAGES IN IRELAND

London, April 2, 1870

In Ireland the plundering and even extermination of the tenant farmer and his family by the landlord is called the property right, whereas the desperate farmer's revolt against his ruthless executioner is called an agrarian outrage. These AGRARIAN OUTRAGES,[a] which are actually very few in number but are multiplied and exaggerated out of all proportion by the kaleidoscope of the English press in accordance with orders received, have, as you will know, provided the excuse for reviving the regime of white terror in Ireland. On the other hand, this regime of terror makes it possible for the landowners to redouble their oppression with impunity.

I have already mentioned that the Land Bill consolidates landlordism under the pretext of giving aid to the tenant farmers. Nevertheless, in order to pull the wool over people's eyes and clear his conscience, Gladstone was compelled to grant this new lease of life to landlord despotism subject to certain legal formalities. It should suffice to say that in the future, as in the past, the landlord's word will become law if he succeeds in imposing on his TENANTS AT WILL[b] the most fantastic rents which are impossible to pay or, in the case of land tenure agreements, makes his farmers sign contracts which will bind them to voluntary slavery.

And how the landlords are rejoicing! A Dublin newspaper, the *Freeman*, publishes a letter from Father P. Lavelle,[c] the author of *The Irish Landlord since the Revolution*, in which he says:

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[a] These two words are given in the newspaper in brackets after their French equivalents.— *Ed.*

[b] This term is given in the newspaper in brackets after its French equivalent.— *Ed.*

[c] P. Lavelle, "To the Tenants and Tenant-Farmers of Ireland", *The Freeman's journal*, March 29, 1870.— *Ed.*

"I have seen piles of letters addressed to tenants by their landlord, the brave captain, and 'absentee' living in England, warning them that from now on their rents are to be raised by 25%. This is equivalent to an eviction notice! And this from a man who does nothing for the land except live off its produce!"

*The Irishman* on the other hand publishes the new tenure agreements dictated by Lord Dufferin,[a] the member of Gladstone's Cabinet who inspired the Land Bill and introduced the Coercion Bill in the House of Lords. Add the rapacious shrewdness of an expert moneylender and the despicable chicanery of the advocate to feudal insolence and you will have a rough idea of the new land tenure agreements invented by the noble Dufferin.

It is now easy to see that the rule of terror has arrived just in time to introduce the rule of the Land Bill! Let us suppose, for example, that in a certain Irish county the farmers refuse either to allow a 25% rent increase or to sign *Dufferin*'s land tenure agreements! The county's landlords will then get their valets or the police to send them anonymous threatening letters, as they have in the past. This also counts as an "agrarian outrage". The landlords inform the Viceroy, Lord Spencer, accordingly. Lord Spencer then declares that the district is subject to the provisions of the Coercion Act which is then applied by the same landlords, in their capacity as magistrates, against their own tenants!

Journalists who are imprudent enough to protest will not only be prosecuted for sedition, but their printing presses will be confiscated without the semblance of legal proceedings!

It should, perhaps, now be obvious why the head of your executive[b] congratulated Gladstone on the improvements which he had introduced in Ireland, and why Gladstone returned the compliment by congratulating your executive on its constitutional concessions. "A Roland for an Olivier"[c] those of your readers who know Shakespeare will say. But others who are more versed in the *Moniteur* than in Shakespeare will remember the letter sent by the head of your executive to the late Lord Palmerston containing the words "Let us not act like knaves!"

Now I shall return to the question of political prisoners, not without good cause.

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[a] "Lord Dufferin's Lease.—Landlord Confiscation", *The Irishman,* No. 37, March 12, 1870.— *Ed.*

[b] Napoleon III.— *Ed.*

[c] Jenny Marx paraphrases Shakespeare's words; see *King Henry the Sixth,* Part 1, Act I, Scene 2.— *Ed.*

The publication of Rossa's first letter in the *Marseillaise*[a] produced a great effect in England—the result is to be an enquiry.

The following dispatch was printed by all the newspapers in the United States:

"The *Marseillaise* says that O'Donovan Rossa was stripped naked once a day and examined, that he was starved, that he was locked in a dark cell, that he was harnessed to a cart, and that the death of his fellow prisoners was caused by the cold to which they were exposed."

*The Irishman's New York* correspondent says:

"The Rochefort *Marseillaise* has placed the suffering of the Fenian prisoners before the eyes of the American people. We owe a debt of gratitude to the *Marseillaise* which, I trust, will be promptly paid."[b]

Rossa's letter has also been published by the German press.[c]

From now onwards the English government will no longer be able to commit its outrages in silence. Mr. Gladstone will gain nothing from his attempt to silence the Irish press. Each journalist imprisoned in Ireland will be replaced by a hundred journalists in France, Germany and America.

What can Mr. Gladstone's narrow-minded, out-of-date policies do against the international spirit of the nineteenth century?

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[a] See this volume, pp. 418-19.— *Ed.*

[b] "The Irishman in New York", *The Irishman*, No. 40, April 2, 1870.— *Ed.*

[c] *Der Volksstaat*, No. 22, March 16, 1870.— *Ed.*

# VII

## THE DEATH OF JOHN LYNCH

Citizen Editor,

I am sending you extracts from a letter written to *The Irishman* by an Irish political prisoner during his detention (he is now at liberty) in a penal colony in Australia.

I shall limit myself to translating the episode concerning John Lynch.

*LETTER FROM JOHN CASEY*

The following is a brief, impartial report of the treatment to which my brother exiles (twenty-four in number) and I were subjected during our incarceration in that pit of horrors, that living tomb which is called Portland Prison.

Above all it is my duty to pay a tribute of respect and justice to the memory of my friend John Lynch who was sentenced by an extraordinary tribunal in December 1865 and died at Woking Prison in April 1866.

Whatever may be the cause to which the jury has attributed his death, I confirm, and am able to furnish proof, that his death was accelerated by the cruelty of the prison warders.

To be imprisoned in the heart of winter in a cold cell for twenty-three hours out of twenty-four, insufficiently clad, sleeping on a hard board with a log of wood as a pillow and two worn blankets weighing barely ten lbs. as one's only protection against the excessive cold, deprived through an inexpressibly fine stroke of cruelty of even covering our frozen limbs with our clothes which we were forced to put outside our cell door, given unhealthy, meagre nourishment, having no exercise apart from a daily walk lasting three-quarters of an hour in a cage about 20 ft. long by 6 ft. wide designed for the worst type of criminals: such privation and suffering would break even an iron constitution. So it is not surprising that a person as delicate as Lynch should succumb to it almost immediately.

On arrival at the prison Lynch asked for permission to keep his flannels on. His request was rudely refused. "If you refuse I shall be dead in three months," he replied on that occasion. Ah, little did I suspect that his words would come true. I could not imagine that Ireland was to lose one of her most devoted, ardent and noble sons so soon, and that I myself was to lose a tried and tested friend.

At the beginning of March I noticed that my friend was looking very ill and one day I took advantage of the jailer's brief absence to ask him about his health. He replied that he was dying, that he had consulted the doctor several times, but that the latter had not paid the slightest attention to his complaints. His cough was so violent that although my cell was a long distance from his, I could hear it day and night resounding along the empty corridors. One jailer even told me, "Number 7's time will soon be up—he should have been in hospital a month ago. I've often seen ordinary prisoners there looking a hundred times healthier than him."

One day in April I looked out of my cell and saw a skeleton-like figure dragging itself along with difficulty and leaning on the bars for support, with a deathly pale face, glazed eyes and hollow cheeks. It was Lynch. I could not believe it was him until he looked at me, smiled and pointed to the ground as if to say: "I'm finished."

This was the last time I saw Lynch.

This statement of Casey's corroborates Rossa's testimony about Lynch. And it should not be forgotten that Rossa wrote his letter in an English prison whilst Casey was writing in an Australian penal colony, making any communication between the two of them quite impossible. However, the government has just stated that Rossa's assertions are lies. Bruce, Pollock and Knox even declare "that Lynch was given flannels before he asked for them".[a]

On the other hand Mr. Casey insists as firmly as Mr. Bruce denies it that Lynch complained that "even when he was incapable of walking and was forced to remain in the terrible solitude of his cell his request was refused".

But as Mr. Laurier said in his beautiful speech:

"Let us leave aside human testimony and turn to the testimony that does not lie, the testimony that does not deceive, the *silent testimony.*"[501]

The fact remains that Lynch entered Pentonville blooming with life, full of hope and, three months later, this young man was a corpse.

Until Messrs. Gladstone, Bruce and his cohort of police can prove that Lynch is not dead, they are wasting their time in vain oaths.

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[a] *Report of the Commissioners on the Treatment of the Treason-Felony Convicts in the English Convict Prisons,* London, 1867.—*Ed.*

# VIII

## LETTER FROM ENGLAND

London, April 19, 1870

"No priests in politics" is the watchword which can be heard all over Ireland at the moment.

The large party which has been opposing with all its might the despotism of the Catholic Church, ever since the "*DISESTABLISHMENT*" of the Protestant Church, is growing daily with remarkable rapidity and has just dealt the clergy a crushing blow.

At the Longford election the clerical candidate, Mr. Greville-Nugent, beat the people's candidate, John Martin, but the nationalists challenged the validity of his election because of the illegal means by which it had been won, and got the better of their opponents. The election of Nugent was annulled by Judge Fitzgerald who declared Nugent's agents, that is to say the priests, guilty of having bribed the voters by flooding the country not with the Holy Spirit, but with spirits of a different kind. It appeared that in the single month from December 1 to January 1 alone the reverend fathers had spent £3,500 on whisky!

*The Standard* allows itself to make some most peculiar comments on the Longford election:

> "With regard to their scorning of the intimidation by the clergy," writes the mouthpiece of the "STUPID party", "the nationalists deserve our praise.... The great victory which they have won will encourage them to put up new candidates against Mr. Gladstone and his ultramontane allies."

*The Times* writes:

> "From the Papal Bull issued in the eternal city to the intrigues of the country priests, all ecclesiastical power was lined up against Fenianism and the nationalists.

Unfortunately this ardour was not accompanied by prudence, and will result in a second battle at Longford."[a]

*The Times* is right. The battle of Longford will break out again and be followed by those of Waterford, Mallow and Tipperary, the nationalists in these three counties also having presented petitions requesting the annulment of the election of the official members. In Tipperary it was O'Donovan Rossa who first won the election, but since Parliament stated that he was incapable of representing Tipperary the nationalists proposed Kickham in his place, one of the Fenian patriots who has just finished a spell in English prisons. Kickham's supporters are now declaring that their candidate has been duly elected in spite of the fact that Heron, the government and clerical candidate, gained a majority of four votes.

Bear in mind, however, that one of these four voters for Heron is a wretched *maniac* who was taken to the poll by a reverend father—you know the weakness which priests have for the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.[b] And that the second voter is a *corpse*! Yes, the honest and moderate party actually dared to profane the name of a man who died a fortnight before the election by making him vote for a Gladstonian. Apart from this, patriotic voters say that eleven of their votes were discounted on the grounds that the first letter of Kickham's name was illegible, that their telegrams were not delivered, that the authorities were bribing electors right and left and that a base system of intimidation was practised.

The pressure which was brought to bear in Tipperary was unprecedented even in the history of Ireland. The bailiff and the policeman, who stand for eviction warrants, besieged the tenants' hovels in order to terrify wives and children first. The booths in which the voting took place were surrounded by police, soldiers, magistrates, landlords and priests.

The latter hurled stones at people who were putting up posters for Kickham. On top of all this, the moneylender was present in the booths, his eyes resting hungrily on his wretched debtor during the voting. But the government got nothing for all its pains. One thousand six hundred and sixty-eight small tenants braved it out and, unprotected by secret ballot, gave their votes openly for Kickham.

This brave act reminds us of the heroic struggle of the Poles.

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[a] "House of Commons. London, Friday, April 8", *The Times*, No. 26723, April 8, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. Matthew 5:3.—*Ed.*

Faced with the battles waged in Longford, Mallow, Waterford and Tipperary, will anyone still dare to say that the Irish are the abject slaves of the clergy.

Published in *La Marseillaise*, Nos. 71, 79, 89, 91, 99, 113, 118, 125 for March 1, 9, 19, 21 and 29, and April 12, 17 and 24, 1870

Signed: *J. Williams* (except for Article II which is not signed)

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

# LETTER OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO ROBERT WILLIAM HUME IN NEW YORK [502]

London, April 23, 1870

Dear Sir, in answer to yours of the 26th ult. I am directed by the Council to state that the International Association recognises no special national interests among the working men who may happen to have been born in different countries.

One of our aims is to eliminate whatever may yet remain of national antipathies and, perhaps, animosities, from the minds of working men. The Council cannot, therefore, endorse the kind of representation implied in your memorial. General Cluseret had his feelings outraged by the French police, which was probably the reason why the trade societies gave him credentials which induced him to institute a comparison between himself and the French ambassador at Washington.[503] The French ambassador at Washington has to vindicate the personal interests of a dynasty, and the property interests of the French traders. The Paris workmen have no such interests to be taken care of on the other side of the Atlantic, against the probable encroachments of the American working men. We consider the interests of the French workmen resident in the United States strictly identical with the interests of all the other working men of the United States.

To facilitate the inter-communication of such as may be separated by difference of language, and perhaps manners, we have correspondents, who are conversant with these things, and to them we trust for managing the rest.

The communication with the United States is distributed among the secretaries of the different nationalities of the General Council. General Cluseret and Mr. Pelletier are our French correspondents in America. They correspond with our Secretary

for France.[a] Siegfried Meyer and Vogt are our German correspondents. They correspond with the German Secretary[b] here, and the General Secretary[c] manages the English correspondence; and beside such trade union officers as Mr. Jessup, we look to you as our correspondent in case any misunderstanding should arise between different nationalities, to endeavour to set matters right, but we cannot admit that either French or Germans have an opposite or special interest from any other workmen, and we always urge them on to take an active part in, and identify themselves with, the movement of the working men of the country, in which they reside, particularly in America.

Respecting the secret society movement, I am instructed to ask you to favour us at your convenience with your opinion as to the cause which has tended to bring about the necessity for secret action. We have been advised to persuade you and friend Jessup to publicly stand up against it, but we suppose there is a necessity for it, or else it would not have come into vogue and moreover it would be presumptuous on our part to offer advice in such a matter, but we wish to know the reasons, to bring them to the knowledge of the working men of the Old World, who have just emerged from conducting their agitation in secret.

Yours faithfully,

*J. George Eccarius,* General Secretary

Read at the General Council meeting of May 24, 1870

Reproduced from the newspaper clipping pasted into the Minute Book of the General Council

[a] Eugène Dupont.—*Ed.*
[b] Karl Marx.—*Ed.*
[c] Johann Georg Eccarius.—*Ed.*

# RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON *THE BEE-HIVE*[504]

FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING
OF APRIL 26, 1870

Cit. *Marx* proposed that the Council should cut off all connections with *The Bee-Hive.* He said it had suppressed our resolutions and mutilated our reports and delayed them so that the dates had been falsified, even the mention that certain questions respecting the Irish prisoners were being discussed had been suppressed.[505]

Next to that, the tone of *The Bee-Hive* was contrary to the Rules and platform of the Association. It preached harmony with the capitalists, and the Association had declared war against the capitalists' rule.

Besides this, our branches abroad complained that by sending our reports to *The Bee-Hive* we gave it a moral support and led people to believe that we endorsed its policy. We would be better without its publicity than with it.

On the Irish Coercion Bill[506] it had not said a word against the government.

First published in Marx and Engels, *Works,* Second Russian Edition, Vol. 16, Moscow, 1960

Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council

# ACCOUNT OF A LETTER BY KARL MARX TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC WORKERS' PARTY [507]

[London, June 27, 1870]

The second[a] letter concerns business matters of the International Working Men's Association, the postponement of the congress in particular. Marx emphatically rejects Liebknecht's proposal to postpone the congress until October,[508] even though such a postponement would be very welcome to the General Council itself as the congress documents are not yet ready. But the French, Marx wrote, were already displeased about the congress being held in Mainz and not at least in Verviers, whereas the Parisians particularly wanted to have it in Paris. We must not provide any cause for unrest. Marx fears that if Liebknecht's plan for postponement is sanctioned there will be minority congress of the French and the French-speaking Swiss under Bakunin and he says: "National petty jealousies have penetrated too deeply into people's blood to be reasoned away in a day."

First published in *Leipziger Hochverrathsprozeß*, Leipzig, 1872

Printed according to the 1872 edition of the book, checked with the 1874 and 1894 editions

Published in English for the first time

[a] The first letter see on pp. 133-35 of this volume.— *Ed.*

# RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON THE SPLIT IN THE ROMANCE FEDERATION[509]

FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF JUNE 28, 1870

Cit. *Marx* thought the only thing the Council could do was to leave the Geneva Committee[a] that had helped from the foundation of the Association as it was. It had fulfilled its duty in every respect and had had a larger constituency though fewer delegates than [the] other party at the Swiss Congress.[510] The vote admitting the Alliance should also be communicated.[b] The new committee could choose some local name.

First published in Marx and Engels, *Works,* Second Russian Edition, Vol. 16, Moscow, 1960

Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council

[a] The Federal Council of Romance Switzerland.— *Ed.*

[b] A reference to the admission of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy to the International (see this volume, pp. 34-36, 45-46).— *Ed.*

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] In the autumn of 1867 the General Council of the International Working Men's Association launched a widespread campaign among the English workers in support of the Irish national liberation movement led by the Fenians. The memorial written by Marx was an integral part of this campaign.

The *Fenians* were Irish revolutionaries who named themselves after the "Féne"—a name of the ancient population of Ireland. Their first organisations appeared in the 1850s in the USA among the Irish immigrants and later in Ireland itself. The secret Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, as the organisation was known in the early 1860s, aimed at establishing an independent Irish republic by means of an armed uprising. The Fenians, who expressed the interests of the Irish peasantry, came chiefly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia and believed in conspiracy tactics. The British Government attempted to suppress the Fenian movement by severe police reprisals.

On September 18, 1867, the Fenians made an armed attack on a prison van in an attempt to liberate Kelly and Deasy, two of their leaders. The latter managed to escape but a policeman was killed during the clash. Five Irishmen (Maguire, Condon, Larkin, Allen and O'Brien) were charged with murder and brought to trial. Although there was no direct evidence, they were sentenced to death. Maguire was subsequently pardoned, and Condon, as an American citizen, had his sentence commuted to life imprisonment. The others were executed.

The Fenian trial in Manchester aroused a storm of protest in Ireland and England. On the insistence of Marx, the General Council of the International began, on November 19, a discussion on the Irish question during which the leaders of the international proletarian organisation expressed their solidarity with the struggle of the Irish people for independence and condemned the position of the reformist trade union leaders who, in the wake of the English bourgeois radicals, denied the right of the Fenians to resort to revolutionary methods in the struggle. The discussion was scheduled to continue on November 26 (see this volume, pp. 189-93), but when the news of the conviction was received, the General Council convened a special meeting on November 20 and addressed a memorial to the Home Secretary asking for the commutation of the death sentence. The British Government ignored the memorial.

Because of opposition from the trade union leaders, the English labour press did not publish the memorial in its original wording. A report on the special meeting of the General Council, published in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 319, November 23, 1867, only summarised it, and named the General Council members who had signed it. The French translation was published by *Le Courrier français*, No. 163, November 24.

In English the memorial was first published in full in *The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868*, Moscow, 1964.

This document is also preserved in the form of the manuscript copy made by Mrs. Marx which fully coincides with the text entered into the Minute Book. Written as an article, this copy was apparently to be sent to the press. In this volume the memorial is reproduced from this copy. p. 3

[2] Marx means an extensive amnesty granted by President Lincoln in 1863 and President Johnson in 1865 to persons who had fought in the US Civil War on the side of the South. p. 3

[3] Marx wrote this item on the basis of a letter from Johann Baptist Schweitzer dated April 29, 1868. The item was included in the report of the General Council meeting of May 12, 1868 published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 344, May 16, 1868, but is not to be found in the Minute Book. Informing Engels of Schweitzer's letter, Marx wrote to him on May 4, 1868 that he intended "to use this question in the interests of the Party", and insisted on an inquiry into the condition of the workers employed in the iron trade of the Rhine Province (see this letter and Marx's letter to Engels of May 7 and the latter's reply of May 6-7, 1868, present edition, Vol. 43). p. 5

[4] The Lausanne Congress of the International in 1867 designated Brussels as the venue of the next general congress. On February 24, 1868, the General Council called on all sections to begin preparing the Congress agenda. However, the Belgian Minister of Justice, Jules Bara, declared in the Chamber of Deputies on May 16 that he would not permit the convocation of the Congress in Brussels and urged the deputies to renew the Aliens Law of 1835, under which any foreigner could be expelled from the country as politically unreliable. In view of this, at the General Council meeting of May 26, 1868, Marx raised the question of not meeting in Brussels (see *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 346, May 30, 1868). The resolution drawn up by Marx to this effect was read by Jung at the General Council meeting of June 2, since Marx had left for Manchester.

Bara's statement and the prolongation of the Aliens Law caused great discontent in Belgium. The Brussels Section of the International sent the Minister a protest letter which was published in *La Tribune du Peuple*, No. 5, May 24, 1868.

In their letters to the General Council, De Paepe and Vandenhouten, the leaders of the Brussels Section, urged the Council not to yield to the government because this threatened the further existence of the International in Belgium. Consequently, on Marx's proposal, the General Council meeting of June 16 cancelled the resolution of June 2 and Brussels remained the venue for the next annual congress (see this volume, pp. 320-21 and also Marx's letter to Engels of June 20, 1868, present edition, Vol. 43).

The text of the June 2 resolution was included in the Minutes of the General Council meeting of June 2, 1868, and was also published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 347, June 6, 1868. p. 6

[5] This refers to the Aliens Law adopted in Belgium on September 22, 1835 and prolonged every three years. Despite the widespread protest campaign in the

press and at meetings, it was renewed at the end of June 1865. In May 1868, the Belgian Government, for fear of fresh mass action, prolonged it without discussion in the Chamber of Deputies. p. 6

[6] The public meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the June 1848 insurrection of the Paris workers was held on June 29, 1868 in the Cleveland Hall, London. Such meetings were annually held by the German Workers' Educational Society in London jointly with other émigré organisations.

The French petty-bourgeois democrat Félix Pyat, who attended the meeting, delivered a speech and moved a provocative resolution urging terroristic acts against Napoleon III (the resolution was published in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 351, July 4, 1868). The Brussels *Espiègle*, No. 25, July 5, 1868, published a report of the meeting which described it as a meeting of the International with Pyat as one of its leaders. This statement was repeated in other newspapers. The General Council held that this could discredit the International in the eyes of the workers and give the Bonapartist government a pretext for the persecution of its members in France and Belgium. Consequently, at its meeting on July 7 the Council resolved, on Marx's proposal, to disavow Pyat's behaviour in a resolution to this effect (see also Marx's letter to Engels of July 7, 1868, present edition, Vol. 43).

When the General Council's resolution against Pyat appeared in the press, a split took place in the French Section in London, of which he was a member. Eugène Dupont, Hermann Jung, Paul Lafargue and other proletarian members of the section expressed their disapproval of Pyat's adventurous and provocative tactics and withdrew from it. Pyat's group lost ties with the International but continued to act in its name and repeatedly supported anti-proletarian elements opposing Marx's line in the General Council. On May 10, 1870, the General Council officially dissociated itself from this group (see this volume, pp. 127-28).

The text of this resolution has been preserved in the Minutes of the General Council meeting of July 7, 1868. It was first published in *La Liberté*, No. 55, July 12, 1868 and reproduced in *La Cigale*, No. 29, July 19, *La Tribune du Peuple*, No. 7, July 26, 1868 (with the end of the resolution denying Pyat's connections with the International omitted), and in other newspapers.

This resolution was first published in English in *The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868*, Moscow, 1964. p. 7

[7] In 1866-68, after the suppression of the Polish insurrection of 1863-64, the Russian Government promulgated "Regulations on the Gubernia and Uyezd Administration in the Kingdom of Poland" and a number of ukases aimed at the abolition of Polish institutions and the consolidation of the administrative apparatus—the chief means of national oppression. The number of gubernias was increased, the prerogatives of the governors appointed by the Russian Government were extended, supreme bodies (the State Council and others) were abolished, and different administrative departments (post, communications) were subordinated to the respective ministries in St. Petersburg. p. 8

[8] The question of machinery and its effects under capitalism was raised by the General Council on January 28, 1868 and was to go on the agenda of the Brussels Congress. It was initially discussed by the General Council at its meetings of July 28 and August 4, 1868. The discussion was opened by Marx who put forward the basic ideas developed by him in Volume One of *Capital*, chapter "Machinery and Modern Industry" (for the record of Marx's speech see this volume, pp. 382-84).

Summing up the discussion on August 4, Marx proposed that the General Council should record its conclusion in the form of a resolution. The resolution was drawn up by Marx and adopted at the next Council meeting, on August 11.

At the Brussels Congress this resolution was moved by Georg Eccarius at the session of September 9, 1868, and became part of the preamble of the Congress resolution. At the same session, Friedrich Lessner read some extracts from *Capital* to substantiate Marx's stand on this question.

The resolution was published in English in *The Times*, No. 26229, September 14, 1868, in Eccarius' report of this Congress session; in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 362, September 19, 1868, and in a special pamphlet published in London in 1869: *The International Working Men's Association. Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868*; in French it was printed in: a special supplement to *Le Peuple Belge*, No. 392, September 11, *La Liberté*, No. 64, September 13, *La Cigale*, No. 38, September 20, *La Tribune du Peuple*, No. 10, November 8, 1868 and *L'Égalité*, No. 14, April 24, 1869; in German the resolution appeared in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 38, September 19, 1868 and in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (New York), No. 28, August 16, 1873. It was included in various other editions in English, German, French, Spanish and Italian. p. 9

9 This is Marx's reply to an official invitation from the General Association of German Workers, of July 6 (see *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 95, August 14, 1868), to attend its annual congress (assembly) in Hamburg as guest of honour. The invitation was signed by Schweitzer, the President, and by more than twenty members of the Association's Executive, workers from various parts of Germany. (The text of the invitation is given in the Minutes of the General Council meeting of August 18, 1868, in the form of a pasted-in clipping from *The Bee-Hive*, No. 358, August 22, 1868.)

Marx's invitation to the congress of the General Association of German Workers and the programme of the congress both showed that its most progressive members, influenced by the labour movement, and particularly by the International and the ideas contained in Marx's *Capital*, had begun to dissociate themselves from the Lassallean dogmas, and that the leaders of the Association did not have a free hand.

In his reply to the invitation Marx gave his opinion of the programme of the Hamburg congress, and, as he remarked in a letter to Engels of August 26, 1868, congratulated the members of the Association on "their rejection of *Lassalle's programme*" (see present edition, Vol. 43).

The *Hamburg Congress* (August 22-26, 1868) adopted important decisions: it approved in principle of the strike movement, unanimously acknowledged that "Marx had rendered outstanding services to the working class with his work *Capital*", and pointed to the necessity for joint action by the workers of different countries.

In fact, however, the Association's leaders opposed the organisation of strikes and continued to obstruct the Association's affiliation to the International.

Marx's letter to the President and the Association's Executive was read at a closed sitting of the congress on August 24 and was applauded. It was published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 100, August 28 and the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 35, August 29, 1868. In 1886, on the third anniversary of Marx's death, his letter was reprinted in the *Sozialdemokrat*, No. 11, March 11. p. 10

[10] A reference to the *Standing Committee* or *Sub-Committee*, the executive body of the General Council of the International. It generally assembled once a week and drafted many of the decisions which were later adopted by the Council. The Standing Committee evolved from a commission, elected when the IWMA was being set up, to draft its programme documents—the Rules and the Inaugural Address. The Committee included the President of the General Council (until this office was abolished in September 1867), the General Secretary and the corresponding secretaries for the different countries. Marx took an active part in the work of the Standing Committee as Corresponding Secretary for Germany. p. 10

[11] The text of this resolution, adopted by the General Council meeitng of August 25, 1868 in connection with the preparations for the Brussels Congress, has been preserved in the minutes of this meeting; it was also published in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 359, August 29, 1868 (for the record of Marx's speech in substantiating this resolution see this volume, p. 387).

At the Brussels Congress this resolution was moved by Eccarius and read in the report of the commission on reducing the working day on September 12, 1868.

It was published in English in the reports of the Congress sittings in *The Times*, No. 26232, September 17, 1868 and in the pamphlet *The International Working Men's Association. Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868* published in London in 1869; in French it was published in a special supplement to *Le Peuple Belge*, No. 399, September 18, *La Cigale*, No. 38, September 20 and *La Tribune du Peuple*, No. 10, November 8, 1868. p. 11

[12] *The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council* (the first report was submitted to the London Conference of the International in September 1865) was written by Marx (approved by the General Council on September 1, 1868) for the Third Congress of the International held in Brussels on September 6-13, 1868.

The *Brussels Congress* was attended by nearly 100 delegates representing workers from Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and Spain. Marx, who took an active part in the preparations for the Congress, was absent. However, he helped the General Council representatives there, since he was kept informed almost daily by Friedrich Lessner. The French text of the report drawn up by Marx was read at the Congress by Dupont on September 7.

The Congress adopted an important resolution on the necessity for transferring railways, mineral resources, collieries and mines, woods and arable land into public property. This resolution showed that most of the French and Belgian Proudhonists had become supporters of collectivism, and it marked the victory of proletarian socialism over petty-bourgeois reformism within the International. The Congress also adopted the resolutions (drawn up by Marx) on the eight-hour working day, on the use of machinery under capitalism and on the attitude towards the congress of the bourgeois-pacifist League of Peace and Freedom (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 204), and a resolution, moved by Lessner for the German delegates, recommending the workers of all countries to study Marx's *Capital* and secure its translation from German into other languages.

The fourth annual report was included in the official French edition of the minutes of the Brussels Congress—*Troisième congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Compte rendu officiel.* Supplement to *Le Peuple Belge*, September 8, 1868 and reprinted in *La Liberté*, No. 64, September 13, 1868. The English text, written by Marx, was published in Eccarius' correspondence

"International Working Men's Congress" in *The Times*, No. 26225, September 9, 1868 and reprinted in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 361, September 12, 1868. The German text of the report, also written by Marx, was printed in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 106, September 11, the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 38 (supplement), September 12 and *Hermann*, No. 506, September 12, 1868. The report was also published in a number of newspapers and books in Germany, Britain, Belgium, Switzerland and France. Abridged translations appeared in Russian and Flemish.

In this volume the annual report is reproduced from *The Times* and checked with the handwritten copy in German made by Mrs. Marx and slightly differing from the English text. The main discrepancies are indicated in footnotes. p. 12

13 Jules Gottraux, a Swiss-born subject of Great Britain and a member of the International, was detained by the French police on the French-Swiss frontier on September 30, 1866 when he was returning to London from his trip to Switzerland. The police confiscated letters, printed matter, and other material entrusted to him by the International's leaders in Geneva to be handed over to the General Council. The documents seized included the preliminary report on the work of the Geneva Congress which had been drawn up by Council member Frederick Card and published in Geneva as a pamphlet in French. (Later, this gave rise to a rumour that the French authorities had confiscated the Congress minutes, which in reality had by that time been brought to London by Hermann Jung.) The General Council lodged a complaint with the French Minister of Home Affairs about this irregularity and demanded the return of the seized documents. When he refused to reply to the complaint, written by Fox on the Council's instructions, the General Council decided to use the fact publicly to expose the regime of the Second Empire (see also the record of Marx's speech at the General Council meeting of November 27, 1866, present edition, Vol. 20, p. 414). At the beginning of December the Council approached the British Foreign Secretary, asking him to make a corresponding demarche to the French Government, which forced the French authorities to return, on December 21, the materials taken from Gottraux. Fox wrote a special article on the actions of the Bonapartist authorities. It was published in *The Commonwealth* on January 12, 1867 and in *The Working Man* on February 1, 1867.

p. 12

14 The strike of weavers and spinners in *Roubaix* in March 1867 was caused by the dismissal of a great number of workers following the introduction of machinery.

A strike of dyers in *Amiens* in July 1867 was supported by the workers in other trades.

In February 1867 the bronze-workers of *Paris* refused to dissolve their credit society on their employers' demand and went on strike. Thanks to the General Council (it discussed the matter at its meetings of March 5, 12, 19 and 26, and April 2 and 9, 1867), the Paris workers received financial aid from the British trade unions. The strike ended in the victory for the bronze-workers—they managed to save their organisation.

In March and April 1868, 3,000 building workers went on strike in *Geneva*. They demanded the reduction of the working day to 10 hours, higher wages and pay by the hour for pay by the day. They were joined by workers in other trades. The aid from the workers of Switzerland, Britain, France and Germany helped the Geneva builders to win the strike. p. 12

[15] Marx refers to the *Mémoire* of the Paris Section for the Geneva Congress, containing a detailed exposition of Proudhonist views on the main issues of the workers' struggle. It was supported by the Lyons and Rouen sections and read as the report of the French delegates at the congress on September 4. The full text of the *Mémoire* was published in Brussels in September 1866 under the title *Congrès de Genéve. Mémoire des délégués français.* p. 12

[16] In December 1867 the homes of the Executive Committee members of the Paris Section of the International were searched. This was followed by an investigation and then the first trial against the International in France. The case was heard on March 6 and 20, 1868. Among the documents seized by the police during the searches was a letter of November 23, 1867 from Dupont, the Corresponding Secretary for France, to a member of the Paris Section, André Murat, in which the French members of the International were informed of the campaign organised in defence of the imprisoned Fenians (see Note 1). The French authorities tried to use this letter to incriminate the International in the organisation of the Fenian conspiracy.

The court declared the Paris Section dissolved and fined the Committee members. p. 13

[17] In France, according to Article 291 of the Criminal Code and the Law of April 10, 1834, any society with a membership exceeding 20 had to be sanctioned by the respective authorities. p. 14

[18] In the spring of 1868, the workers of the Charleroi coalfield declared a strike, in reply to the mine-owners' reduction of production to four days a week and lowering of wages by ten per cent. In the bloody clashes between the miners and police troops, twenty-two people were arrested and put on trial.

The Brussels Central Section launched a broad campaign in support of the strikers both in Belgium and abroad. It organised meetings of protest and gave wide coverage of the events in the columns of *La Tribune du Peuple, La Liberté* and other newspapers. On April 12, 1868 it issued a manifesto to the workers of Belgium and other countries (see *La Tribune du Peuple*, No. 4, April 19, 1868). The section maintained regular ties with the General Council of the International. The Council discussed the Charleroi events at its meetings of April 21, May 12 and June 2, 1868 and organised aid to the strikers. The Brussels Section set up a special committee to brief lawyers for the defence of the detainees. The lawyers managed to swing public opinion in favour of the accused, and on August 15 they were acquitted by the jury. This led to a rise in membership of the International in Belgium. p. 14

[19] See Note 5. p. 14

[20] At Mentana, on November 3, 1867, the French army, jointly with the Pope's hired guards, defeated Garibaldi, who had undertaken a new campaign against Rome to liberate the city from the French and annex it to the Italian state. p. 15

[21] Marx refers to the reactionary Prussian law on associations adopted on March 11, 1850. p. 15

[22] From November 1865 until the formation of the Eisenach Party in 1869, the Central Committee of German sections in Switzerland headed by Johann Philipp Becker was an organising centre for sections uniting German workers not only in Switzerland but also in Germany, Austria, the United States and countries where German émigré workers lived. Becker's activities, in particular

his *Vorbote* (on the significance of this monthly see Mrs. Marx's letter to Becker of January 29, 1866, present edition, Vol. 42), did much to spread the ideas of the International among the German workers at a time when conditions for establishing an organisation in Germany itself were still lacking. p. 15

23 The reference is to the general congress of the General Association of German Workers held in Hamburg on August 22-26, 1868 (see Note 9). The resolution adopted was published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 102, September 2, 1868. p. 15

24 Marx refers to the Nuremberg Congress of the Union of German Workers' Associations, led by Bebel, which was held from September 5 to 7, 1868. The General Council's official representative, Georg Eccarius, was present (see Marx's letter to Engels of July 29, 1868, present edition, Vol. 43). By 69 votes against 46 the Congress resolved to join the International Working Men's Association and elected a committee of 16 to carry out this resolution (see *Protokoll über den 5. Vereinstag der deutschen Arbeitervereine am 5. und 7. September 1868 zu Nürnberg*, Leipzig, 1868, S. 19). On September 22 the General Council approved this committee as the Executive Committee of the International Working Men's Association for Germany.

The Nuremberg Congress also resolved to organise trade unions and heard Liebknecht's report on armament, in which he demanded the abolition of standing armies.

The *Union of German Workers' Associations* was founded at a congress of German workers' educational societies in Frankfurt am Main on June 7, 1863, in opposition to the Lassallean General Association of German Workers. Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel took an active part in its activity. p. 15

25 The decision to affiliate to the International adopted by the delegate meeting of 50 German workers' educational societies in Switzerland, held in Neuenburg (Neuchâtel) on August 9-10, 1868, was announced in *Der Vorbote*, No. 8, August 1868. p. 16

26 *The National Labour Union* was founded in the USA at a congress in Baltimore in August 1866, with the active participation of William Sylvis, a prominent leader in the American labour movement. In a letter to Ludwig Kugelmann on October 9, 1866, Marx wrote with satisfaction about the Baltimore congress: "...Most of the demands I had put up for Geneva were put up there too, by the correct instinct of the workers" (see present edition, Vol. 42). The Labour Union established contacts with the International Working Men's Association in October 1866, but its delegate to the next congress of the International, Richard Trevellick, elected by the Union's congress in Chicago in August 1867, was unable to come to Lausanne. At the last sessions of the Basle Congress of the International (September 1869) Andrew Cameron was the National Labour Union delegate. At the Union's congress in Cincinnati in August 1870, Cameron reported on his participation in the International's Congress, and the Union adopted a resolution on its adherence to the principles of the International Association and its intention to join it. The resolution was not implemented, however. Its leaders soon became involved in utopian projects of money reform. In 1870 and 1871, many trade unions withdrew, and in 1872 the Union virtually ceased to exist. p. 16

27 On June 25, 1868 the American Congress passed a law introducing an eight-hour working day for all government enterprises and federal institutions. p. 17

[28] The *Schiller Institute*, founded in Manchester in November 1859 in connection with the centenary of Schiller's birth, was conceived as a cultural and social centre of the city's German colony. At first Engels was critical of the society, notorious for its tendency to formalism and pedantry, and kept aloof from it. But after certain amendments were made in the Rules, he became a member of its Directorate in 1864, and later President of the Institute, devoting much time to it and exercising a considerable influence on its activities.

In September 1868, while Engels was away from Manchester, the Directorate invited Karl Vogt, who was connected with Bonapartist circles and cast aspersions on proletarian revolutionaries, to give a lecture in the society. In view of this Engels held that his political reputation would be compromised if he remained President and wrote this letter to the Directorate. On October 2 the secretary, Davisson, on behalf of the Directorate approached Engels asking him to revise his decision but Engels refused. In April 1870 Engels was again elected member of the Directorate, but he did not take an active part in its work. p. 18

[29] Engels refers to the difficulties experienced by the Schiller Institute in building new premises. p. 18

[30] Engels wrote this article on learning about the police ban, on September 16, 1868, on the General Association of German Workers centred in Leipzig, and on its local branch in Berlin. On October 10, however, a group of Lassalleans headed by Schweitzer restored the Association under the same name and transferred its seat to Berlin. The new Rules of the Association published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 119, October 11, 1868, said that the Association would abide by Prussian laws and act in a peaceful, legal way. Adapting itself to Prussian law, the leaders of the Association dissolved its local branches. Marx and Engels sharply criticised Schweitzer's manoeuvres in the letters they exchanged in September and October. The same criticism is contained in Marx's letter to Schweitzer of October 13, 1868 (see present edition, Vol. 43) and in this article by Engels. In it Engels develops the views he set out in 1865 in "The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party" (see present edition, Vol. 20), which he quotes extensively. In his letter to Engels dated September 29, 1868, Marx wrote that this article helped to undermine the Lassallean positions (present edition, Vol. 43). p. 20

[31] The reference is to the "liberal" course announced by Prince William of Prussia (King of Prussia from 1861) when he became regent in October 1858. He made the Manteuffel Ministry resign and called the moderate liberals to power. The bourgeois press dubbed this the policy of the "New Era". It was, in fact, solely intended to strengthen the position of the Prussian monarchy and Junkers. This soon became clear to the representatives of the liberal opposition whose hopes had been deceived and who refused to approve the government project of a military reform. The constitutional conflict that ensued and Bismarck's advance to power in September 1862 put an end to the "New Era". p. 20

[32] Engels means the general congress of the General Association of German Workers held in Hamburg (see Note 9). p. 23

[33] Engels wrote this postscript on the advice of Marx who, in his letter to Engels of September 25, 1868 (see present edition, Vol. 43) drew his attention to Becker's pamphlet *Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's*, Schleiz, 1868. p. 24

[34] In his will Lassalle recommended Bernhard Becker as his heir to the post of President of the General Association of German Workers. On the title page of his *Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's* (Schleiz, 1868), Becker calls himself "heir by Lassalle's will".

At a meeting of the Association's Hamburg branch on March 22, 1865, Becker slandered the International Working Men's Association and also Marx, Engels and Liebknecht (see *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 39, supplement, March 26, 1865). Marx exposed this slander in his article "The President of Mankind" (see present edition, Vol. 20). The Berlin branch, expressing the growing discontent of the rank-and-file members of the General Association with Becker, resolved to expel him and recommended other organisations to follow suit. Similar meetings were held in many other branches. In June 1865 Becker was compelled provisionally to delegate his presidential powers to his deputy Fritzsche and he completely renounced them the following November.

p. 24

[35] Under the influence of Sophie von Hatzfeldt a small group of Lassalleans split away from the General Association of German Workers and in 1867 formed the Lassallean General Association of German Workers. This Association, whose president was first Försterling and later Mende, had little impact on the workers and in 1872 virtually ceased to exist. p. 24

[36] At its meeting of September 29, 1868 the General Council of the International Working Men's Association discussed, among other things, Hirsch's statement that all the principal trade unions of England had withdrawn from the Association. To refute this slander Marx wrote this item for the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* (see his letter to Engels of October 4, 1868, present edition, Vol. 43). The editors presumably made changes in the first paragraph.

This item was first published in English in *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870*, Moscow, 1966. p. 25

[37] The General Council of the International Working Men's Association jointly with the English trade unions organised financial support for the workers on strike.

During the strike of the Paris bronze-workers in February-March 1867 (see Note 14), the General Council published in *The International Courier*, March 13, 1867, an address to the English workers calling on them to give material help to the strikers. The trade unions of shoemakers, tailors, cabinet-makers and others sent several hundred pounds sterling to France through the General Council.

In connection with the shooting of the Belgian miners and iron-workers of Marchienne (February 1867), the General Council published an appeal "To the Miners and Iron-Workers of Great Britain" (*The International Courier*, March 13, 1867) urging them to support the victims of this brutal action. The bereaved families received financial assistance.

During the strike and lock-out of the Geneva building workers in March-April 1868 (see Note 14) the General Council guaranteed monthly aid from England amounting to 40,000 francs. The money was sent to Geneva by trade unions of carpenters and joiners, weavers, book-binders and others.

p. 25

[38] This refers to the *London Trades Council* elected at a conference of trade union delegates held in London in May 1860. The Council headed the London trade unions numbering many thousand members, and was fairly influential among the British workers.

In the first half of the 1860s it headed the British workers' campaign against intervention in the USA, in defence of Poland and Italy, and later for the legalisation of the trade unions. The leaders of the following large trade unions played a major role in the Council: the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (Robert Applegarth), the Shoemakers' Society (George Odger), the Operative Bricklayers' Society (Edwin Coulson and George Howell) and the Amalgamated Engineers (William Allan). All of them, except Allan, were members of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association.

The General Council did its best to draw into the International the broad mass of British workers and endeavoured, on the one hand, to get the local trade union organisations affiliated to it and, on the other, to induce the London Trades Council to join the International as a British section. "The London Council of the English Trade Unions (its secretary is our president, Odger) is deliberating at the present moment as to whether it should declare itself to be the British Section of the International Association. If it does so, government of the working-class here will in a certain sense pass into our hands, and we shall be able to give the movement a good 'push on'," wrote Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann on October 13, 1866 (see present edition, Vol. 42).

On the initiative of the English members of the General Council, the London Trades Council discussed the question of joining the International at its meetings in the autumn of 1866.

After the repeated deferment of the question, which was due to the struggle between the reformist leaders of the London Council who opposed affiliation and local trade unionists, it was finally decided at the Council meetings of January 9 and 14, 1867, to co-operate with the International Association "for the furtherance of all questions affecting the interests of labour; at the same time continuing the London Trades Council as a distinct and independent body as before" (*The Times*, No. 25708, January 15, 1867). This decision was discussed by the General Council of the International on January 15, 1867, after which the London Trades Council continued to maintain its contact with the International through those of its members who were also members of the General Council. p. 26

39 In the spring of 1865 the Central (General) Council of the International initiated, and participated in, the setting up of a Reform League in London as a political centre of the mass movement for the second election reform. The League's leading bodies—the Council and Executive Committee—included the General Council members, mainly trade union leaders. The League's programme was drafted under Marx's influence. Unlike the bourgeois parties, which confined their demands to household suffrage, the League advanced the demand for manhood suffrage. This revived Chartist slogan won it the support of the trade unions, hitherto indifferent to politics. The League had branches in all big industrial cities. The vacillations of the radicals in its leadership, however, and the conciliation of the trade union leaders prevented the League from following the line charted by the General Council of the International. The British bourgeoisie succeeded in splitting the movement, and a moderate reform was carried out in 1867 which granted franchise only to the petty bourgeoisie and the upper layers of the working class. p. 26

40 The *National Reform League* was founded in London in 1849 by Bronterre O'Brien and other Chartist leaders. Its objective was to campaign for universal suffrage and social reforms. In 1866 the League became affiliated to the

International. Its leaders Alfred Walton and George Milner became members of the General Council and took part in several congresses of the International. p. 26

[41] In 1863 Edgar Bauer, a German journalist and former Young Hegelian, began working for the Prussian Press Department. p. 27

[42] Marx wrote this item at the request of Collet Dobson Collet, the publisher of *The Diplomatic Review* (see Marx's letters to Engels of November 14 and 23, 1868, present edition, Vol. 43). The editor was David Urquhart, a journalist and former diplomat. In the early 1820s Urquhart published *The Portfolio*, a collection of diplomatic documents and papers relating to the diplomacy of European powers, including documents exposing the diplomatic activity of Palmerston, who virtually directed Britain's foreign policy for many years.

In 1853, in a series of articles entitled *Lord Palmerston* Marx used, along with other documents, some of those published by Urquhart. Later, some of Marx's articles were reprinted in Urquhart's journal *The Free Press*. At the same time, Marx sharply criticised Urquhart for his anti-democratic views and emphasised the principal difference between his own stand as a proletarian revolutionary and the Urquhartites' reactionary position.

When publishing this item by Marx, the editors of *The Diplomatic Review* prefaced it with a note recommending Marx as the author of *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* (see present edition, Vol. 15) and of *Capital*. p. 28

[43] The *Bank Charter Act* (An Act to Regulate the Issue of Banknotes, and for Giving to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England Certain Privileges for a Limited Period) was introduced by Robert Peel on July 19, 1844. It provided for the division of the Bank of England into two separate departments, each with its own cash account—the Banking Department, dealing exclusively with credit operations, and the Issue Department, issuing banknotes. The Act limited the number of banknotes in circulation and guaranteed them with definite gold and silver reserves which could not be used for the credit operations of the Banking Department. Further issues of banknotes were allowed only in the event of a corresponding increase in the precious metal reserves. The issue of banknotes by provincial banks was stopped. The Act was suspended several times by the government itself, in particular during the monetary crises of 1847 and 1857.

The crisis of 1866 in England was particularly manifest in the sphere of credit. In May 1866, when the financial panic reached its climax and the Bank of England was in danger of bankruptcy, its Board received a letter, signed by the Prime Minister Russel and the Chancellor of the Exchequer Gladstone, sanctioning the suspension of the 1844 Act (see *The Times*, No. 25497, May 14, 1866); this allowed the Bank to extend credit operations and somewhat mitigate the financial panic in the country.

Marx analysed the Act of 1844 and its significance in a number of articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune*: "The Vienna Note.—The United States and Europe.—Letters from Shumla.—Peel's Bank Act" (see present edition, Vol. 12), "The Bank Act of 1844 and the Monetary Crisis in England", "The British Revulsion" (Vol. 15), "The English Bank Act of 1844" (Vol. 16), etc. A detailed description of the Act was given by Marx in *Capital*, Vol. III (Chapter XXXIV). p. 28

[44] Marx means the first two occasions when the Bank Act of 1844 was suspended—the letters from Prime Minister Russell and Chancellor of the

Exchequer Wood, dated October 25, 1847, to the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England (in: *Report from the Secret Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the causes of the distress...*, London 1848), and from Prime Minister Palmerston and Chancellor of the Exchequer Lewis of November 12, 1857, to the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England (in: *The Times*, No. 22837, November 13, 1857). p. 28

45 Marx refers to the congress of representatives of France, Britain, Austria, Russia, Sardinia, Prussia and Turkey in Paris, where a peace treaty was signed on March 30, 1856, putting an end to the Crimean War, 1853-56. Marx here alludes to the fact that Clarendon, the head of the British delegation, failed to carry out the plans of British diplomacy to the full because of Anglo-French contradictions and a noticeable *rapprochement* between France and Russia. p. 29

46 The articles headed "Money Market and City Intelligence" (*The Times*, Nos. 25539 and 25579, July 2 and August 17, 1866) voiced alarm about the flow of English capital abroad, mainly to France, and about the consequent fall in the discount rate of the Bank of England. p. 29

47 The agreement on another 5-per cent Anglo-Dutch loan to Russia was concluded on November 4, 1866, to cover her foreign payments, particularly her debts. p. 29

48 At its meeting of October 6, 1868, the General Council of the International Association decided to publish the resolutions of the Geneva Congress (1866), adopted after the Council's report (K. Marx, "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions", present edition, Vol. 20), as well as those of the Brussels Congress (1868). Eccarius did the preliminary work, while Marx prepared the text for the press and checked the translation. Marx wrote the preamble to this publication between the end of October and November 3, 1868 (see his letter to Engels of February 24, 1869, present edition, Vol. 43) and it was first published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 371, November 21, 1868. Section I of this publication, including Marx's preamble, was approved at the General Council meeting of November 3, 1868. Subsequently, the publication was incorporated into a pamphlet, *The International Working Men's Association. Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868*, London [1869]. p. 31

49 The Geneva Congress resolutions, which Marx selected for inclusion in the publication of those of the Brussels Congress (1868), dealt with the role of the International in the proletariat's economic struggle, the eight-hour working day, protection of child and female labour, the organisation of co-operative production and the tasks of the trade unions (points 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 of the "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions"—see present edition, Vol. 20). p. 31

50 The reason for Marx's statement to the *German Workers' Educational Society in London* was the Society's attitude towards the Lassallean Berlin Congress of 1868 and towards the workers' organisation founded by Bebel and Liebknecht at the Nuremberg Congress (see Note 24). On November 23, 1868 Marx wrote to Engels: "Imported from Paris and Germany, the Lassalleans, who are in secret contact with Schweitzer, took advantage of the absence of Lessner because of his wife's illness to obtain a vote of confidence in *Schweitzer* against the Nuremberg people" (see present edition, Vol. 43). Subsequently, Marx supported Lessner in his struggle against the Lassallean elements in the Society.

The *German Workers' Educational Society in London* was founded in 1840 by German worker refugees, members of the League of the Just. After the founding of the Communist League in 1847, representatives of its local communities played the leading role in the Society, which had branches in various working-class districts in London. In 1847 Marx and in 1849-50 Engels took an active part in the Society's work, but in September 1850 they temporarily withdrew because the Willich-Schapper sectarian-adventurist group had increased its influence in the Society. In the late 1850s, when Marx's followers (Georg Eccarius, Friedrich Lessner, Karl Schapper, who had renounced his sectarian views, and others) prevailed again, Marx and Engels resumed their activities in the Educational Society. When the International Working Men's Association was established, the Society became its German section in London. Many of its members—Eccarius, Kaub, Lessner, Lochner, Bolleter and others—were on the General (Central) Council of the International and played a prominent role in its activity. The Society existed until 1918, when it was closed by the British Government. p. 32

51 On September 26, 1868, a General Congress of German Workers took place in Berlin, convened by Schweitzer and Fritzsche, as Reichstag deputies, by consent of the Hamburg general congress of the General Association of German Workers (see Note 9). The congress was attended by 206 delegates representing over 142,000 workers, mainly from the towns of North Germany. The workers' associations affiliated to the Nuremberg organisation headed by Bebel and Liebknecht, were denied representation at this congress. The Berlin congress set up several trade unions on the pattern of the sectarian Lassallean organisation. These unions formed a general union headed by Schweitzer which was completely subordinate to the General Association of German Workers.

Marx severely criticised Schweitzer for the organisation of the congress, which led to a split among workers' trade unions in Germany, and for the Rules it adopted (see *Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 112, supplement, September 25, 1868) which ran counter to the aims and character of the trade union movement (see Engels' letter to Marx of October 22, 1868, present edition, Vol. 43). p. 32

52 Marx refers to the Nuremberg Congress of the Union of German Workers' Associations headed by Bebel (see Note 24). p. 32

53 Marx means his letter of October 13, 1868 (see present edition, Vol. 43) in reply to Schweitzer's letters of September 15 and October 8, 1868. p. 33

54 The *Democratic Workers' Association (Demokratischer Arbeiterverein)* was founded in October 1868 as a result of the split in the Berlin Workers' Association. Wilhelm Eichhoff, who was in constant contact with Marx and was the General Council's Berlin correspondent, played a great part in establishing the Democratic Association. On his proposal, the newly formed Association joined the Nuremberg organisation of workers' associations headed by Bebel and Liebknecht and adopted its programme, which was based on the principles of the International. It maintained ties with the Berlin Section of the International, and almost all its members were also members of the International. To emphasise its proletarian character, two workers—Wilcke and Kämmerer—were elected its Presidents.

The Democratic Workers' Association actively opposed the Lassalleans. Wilhelm Liebknecht used to speak at its meetings. In 1869 it joined the Social-Democratic Workers' Party set up at the Eisenach Congress. p. 33

55 This circular letter was written by Marx on December 22, 1868, in connection with the discussion of the admission of the Alliance to the International at the General Council on December 15 and 22.

The *International Alliance of Socialist Democracy (L'Alliance internationale de la démocratie socialiste)* was founded by Mikhail Bakunin in Geneva in October 1868. Besides Bakunin, members of its Provisional Committee were Brosset, Duval, Guétat, Perron, Zagorsky and Johann Philipp Becker. In 1868 the Alliance published in Geneva leaflets in French and German containing its Programme and Rules. Becker, who shortly afterwards broke with Bakunin, sent the Alliance's Programme and Rules to the General Council on November 29. Both these documents were read out at its meeting on December 15, 1868, and the Council spoke against the admission of the Alliance to the International Working Men's Association. Marx thought that it was "against our Rules to admit another international association into our society" (this was written in the margin of the Minute Book on December 22 when the Minutes of December 15 were confirmed). On the same day, December 15, Marx forwarded the Alliance's Programme with his own remarks (see this volume, pp. 207-11) to Engels asking for his comments. Engels wholly shared Marx's opinion and noted that the admission of the Alliance to the IWMA would create "a state within the state" (see Marx's letters to Engels of December 15 and 19 and the latter's answer of December 18, 1868, present edition, Vol. 43).

The draft reply to the Alliance was written by Marx, who took into account Engels' remarks, and adopted by the General Council meeting on December 22 as a circular letter.

This circular letter, sent out to all the sections of the International as a confidential communication, was first published in Geneva in 1872 in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Les prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale. Circulaire privée du Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* (see present edition, Vol. 23), and reprinted in *Le Courrier de France*, June 1872 and *Le Radical*, No. 175, June 23, 1872. The text of the circular letter has been preserved in several manuscripts slightly differing in reading (two of them are Marx's manuscripts: one for December 22, 1868, and the other appended to his letter to Jung of August 6, 1870; two hand-written copies: one made by Jung, and the other by Dupont and Engels).

In English the circular letter was first published in *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870*, Moscow, 1966. p. 34

56 The *League of Peace and Freedom* was a pacifist organisation set up in 1867 with the active participation of Victor Hugo, Giuseppe Garibaldi and other democrats. Voicing the anti-militarist sentiments of the masses, the League's leaders did not disclose the social sources of wars and often confined anti-militarist activity to mere declarations. At the General Council meeting of August 13, 1867, Marx spoke against the International's official participation in the League's Inaugural Congress, since this would mean solidarity with its bourgeois programme; but he recommended that some members of the International should attend the Congress on their own in order to make it adopt revolutionary-democratic decisions (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 426-27, and Marx's letter to Engels of September 4, 1867, Vol. 42).

Marx's tactics against the League of Peace and Freedom were fully approved by the Brussels Congress of the International in 1868, which opposed official affiliation to the League but was in favour of the united action of the working class with all the progressive anti-war forces. p. 35

[57] At the General Council meeting of December 15, 1868 Dupont proposed that a short report on the activity of the IWMA since the Brussels Congress should be drawn up and published. Jung was instructed to draw up the resumé and Marx expressed his willingness to help. The resumé contains chiefly the material of the General Council meetings of November 3 and 24, December 22, 1868 and January 5, 1869 and includes Marx's reports. The resolution moved by Marx and Applegarth, probably on Marx's initiative, was not entered in the Minute Book. That is probably why Marx decided to include it in this resumé. p. 37

[58] The reference is to a letter from the Saxon miners of Lugau, Nieder-Würschnitz and Oelsnitz, dated November 15, 1868, informing the General Council of their decision to join the International. The letter was read by Marx at the meeting of November 24, 1868. p. 37

[59] Marx refers to the Democratic Workers' Association (see Note 54), the formation of which he had announced at the General Council meeting of November 3, 1868. The facts cited by Marx were mentioned in a letter from Liebknecht that was read out to the General Council on December 22, 1868. p. 37

[60] These data were given by Vandenhouten in his letter to Bernard of December 19, 1868 and read at the General Council meeting of December 22, 1868. p. 37

[61] The strike of the Basle ribbon weavers broke out on November 9, 1868. A detailed description of the Swiss workers' economic struggle in the winter of 1868-69 was given by Marx in the Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association (see this volume, pp. 68-70). The reports about this strike and the lockout in Rouen's cotton industry (Nord department) were made in the General Council on January 5, 1869. p. 37

[62] In response to the General Council's resolution, the Paris bronze-workers, on Marx's proposal, sent the Rouen weavers the £20 advanced to them by the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners of Britain. A letter from Rouen read out at the General Council meeting on January 26, 1869 thanked the Council for the support it had given the locked-out workers. p. 38

[63] Engels made out this report at Marx's request on the basis of material sent in by the Saxon miners from Lugau, Nieder-Würschnitz and Oelsnitz. The miners informed the General Council and Marx personally of their desire to join the International (see Note 58). On February 13, 1869 Marx wrote to Engels that the Lugau miners were the first in Germany to enter into direct contact with the International Working Men's Association and that it was necessary to give them public support (see present edition, Vol. 43).

Marx highly praised Engels' report, which was written in English. "Thanks a lot for the report. It is perfectly clear," he wrote to Engels on February 24. The report was read by Marx to the General Council on February 23, and it resolved to have it published in English and in German translation. An abridged version appeared in a report of the General Council meeting in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 385, February 27, 1869 (see this volume, pp. 389-90). Other English newspapers to which Marx applied, including *The Times*, *The Daily News* and *The Morning Advertiser*, refused to publish the document. Marx himself translated Engels' manuscript into German (see his letter to Engels of March 2, 1869), and it was published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 33, March 17,

*Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 12 (supplement), March 20, and *Zukunft*, Nos. 67 and 68, March 20 and 21, 1869. The English original has not been preserved.

The report was published in English in full for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870*, Moscow, 1966. p. 39

64 This expression was used by the Prussian Minister of the Interior, von Rochow. In his letter of January 15, 1838 to the citizens of Elbing who had expressed their dissatisfaction at the expulsion of seven opposition professors from Göttingen University, Rochow wrote: "It behoves a loyal subject to exhibit due obedience to his King and Sovereign...; it does not behove him to apply the measure of his limited understanding to the actions of the head of the State." p. 43

65 Having received the General Council's letter of December 22, 1868 in which it refused to admit the Alliance of Socialist Democracy to the International as an independent international organisation (see this volume, pp. 34-36), the Alliance's Central Bureau again applied to the General Council on February 27, 1869, declaring its readiness to dissolve its international organisation provided the General Council approved its programme and admitted its individual local sections to the International (see Marx's letter to Engels of March 5 and Engels' reply of March 7, 1869, present edition, Vol. 43).

This letter is the General Council's reply to the second application of the Alliance. It was written by Marx who obtained Engels' agreement to it by quoting it almost verbatim in his letter of March 5, 1869. It was accepted unanimously by the General Council on March 9 and confidentially sent out to all sections of the International. The document was first published in the pamphlet by Marx and Engels, *Les prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale* (Geneva, 1872) and reprinted in *Le Courrier de France*, June 24, 1872 and *Le Radical*, No. 176, June 24, 1872. This letter has been preserved in several copies with minor differences in reading: two rough copies by Marx in English and French, Marx's fair copy in French, and a copy in French in an unknown hand with corrections made by Marx.

This document was first published in English in *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870*, Moscow, 1966.

In this volume the document is reproduced from Marx's rough copy in English checked with his fair copy in French. Major differences in reading are given in the footnotes. p. 45

66 Article 2 of the Alliance's Programme was already included in the Programme which Bakunin presented at the Berne Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom in September 1868. In compliance with the General Council's request, Article 2 of the Alliance's Programme was changed in April 1869 to read as follows: "It is above all working for the complete and final abolition of classes and of political, economic and social equalisation of persons of both sexes." At the General Council meeting of July 27, 1869 Marx proposed and the Council resolved that the Alliance should be admitted to the International. p. 46

67 Marx wrote this address to the workers of Europe and the United States following the bloody events in Belgium in April 1869. On April 20, the General Council heard the report of Eugen Hins, representative of the Belgian Federal Council of the International, who had been sent to the spot to investigate the details of the massacre in Seraing and Frameries. Marx was commissioned to draw up an address on behalf of the General Council to denounce the atrocities committed by the Belgian authorities. He wrote it in English and French and

read it out at the General Council meeting of May 4. The Council approved the address and decided to have it printed and distributed. In English it was published as a leaflet, "The Belgian Massacres. To the Workmen of Europe and the United States", in London on May 12, 1869. A copy of the leaflet has been preserved in the Minute Book of the General Council. Part of the leaflet was reproduced in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 395, May 8, 1869. The French text was published in the Belgian newspapers *L'Internationale*, No. 18, May 15 and *La Liberté*, May 16, 1869. The German translation by Eccarius was printed in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 58, May 21, in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 21, May 22, 1869 and in other newspapers in Germany, Switzerland and France. The address found a broad response among the people. Read at a mass protest meeting in Brussels on May 16, it was met with tumultuous applause. p. 47

68 De Paepe wrote to Marx on May 31, 1869 that, for reasons of censorship, when the French text of the address was published in the Belgian newspapers, the names of Kamp, Pirmez and the Prince of Flanders were replaced with the words "persons occupying high posts in Belgium". See "Moralites de l 'affaire de Seraing" in *L'Internationale*, No. 14, April 18, 1869. p. 48

69 *Les sommations préalables* (reading the riot act)—in a number of bourgeois countries, the triple demand of the authorities, covered by law, that the crowd should disperse, after which armed force may be used. p. 48

70 The reference is to the Franco-Belgian negotiations (between February and July 1869) on railway concessions in view of the fact that the Belgian Parliament had passed a law by which the transfer of concessionary rights could be done only by the authorities' permission. The law, which was passed very quickly, was directed against the economic expansion of France which tried to seize the Belgian railways. p. 48

71 Eyre, the Governor of the British colony of Jamaica, organised the brutal suppression of a Negro uprising in October 1865. This massacre caused a public outrage in Britain, and the British Government was compelled to dismiss Eyre from his post. p. 49

72 Belgium was declared neutral by the protocol of the London conference of five countries (Britain, France, Russia, Austria and Prussia) in January 1831, soon after the Belgian bourgeois revolution of 1830 and Belgium's separation from Holland. (See: Onzième protocole de la Conférence tenue à Londres, le 20 janvier 1831. In: Martens, G. F., *Nouveau Recueil de Traités d'Alliance, de Paix, de Trêve, de Neutralité, de Commerce...* [Groupe II], T. 10, Goettingue, 1836, pp. 158-60.) p. 49

73 See Note 18. p. 50

74 Originally the name of a religious sect of cut-throats in India, the word "thug" came to be widely used in nineteenth-century European literature to denote professional ruffians and assassins. p. 50

75 These words were said by Delfosse, a deputy to the Belgian Parliament, at a sitting of the Chamber of Representatives on March 1, 1848, in reply to a remark that the ideas of the French revolution of 1848 would travel round the world (see *Les Annales Parlementaires 1847-1848. Chambre des Reprèsentants.* Séance du 1er Mars 1848, p. 950). p. 51

76 The General Council's Address to the National Labour Union of the United States (see Note 26) was written by Marx, and read by him in the General

Council on May 11, 1869, in view of a threat of war between England and the United States in the spring of 1869. The reply from the Union's President, Sylvis, is cited by Marx in the General Council's report to the Basle Congress (see this volume, pp. 81-82). The English text of the address was published as a leaflet and in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 396, May 15, 1869. The German translation was printed in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 21, May 22; *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 59, May 23; *Die Volksstimme*, No. 4, Supplement, May 23, and in *Der Vorbote*, No. 8, August 1869. In the USA, the address appeared in workers' periodicals: *Die Arbeiter Union* (New York), No. 10, June 2; *The Workingman's Advocate* (Chicago-Philadelphia), No. 45, June 5, and *Weekly American Workman* (Boston), No. 22, September 18, 1869. p. 53

77 *Shoddy aristocrats*—people in America who got rich quick on the Civil War. p. 54

78 The second edition of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, written by Marx between December 1851 and March 1852 (see present edition, Vol. 11), appeared in Hamburg in 1869.

The bourgeois press kept silent about the new edition of *The Eighteenth Brumaire*. Marx's preface to the 1869 edition of his work was first reprinted in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 117, Supplement, October 6, 1869. *Der Volksstaat* did not announce the second edition of the book until March 16, 1870 (in a supplement to No. 22); at the same time it published the text of the preface. This preface was also reproduced in the third edition that came out in 1885 under Engels' editorship. In 1889 the preface was translated into Polish. A French translation was published in January 1891 in *Le Socialiste*, organ of the Workers' Party of France, and in the same year in a separate edition of the book which came out in Lille. In Russian, the preface was published in the first Russian edition of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* that came out in Geneva in 1894. The first English translation of this work was published in *The People*, the weekly of the Socialist Labour Party of the United States, in September-November 1897. It was published in book form in New York in 1898. p. 56

79 On Marx's advice Joseph Weydemeyer published *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* in May 1852 as the first issue of the "non-periodic journal" *Die Revolution*, and provided it with a short preface. In giving it the title *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon*, Weydemeyer failed to take into account that throughout the book Marx referred to the chief initiator of the coup d'état as Louis Bonaparte, which he did deliberately (see his letter to Jenny Marx of June 11, 1852, present edition, Vol. 39). p. 56

80 Marx presumably refers to a letter from the Leipzig publisher and bookseller Otto Wigand of March 20, 1852, in which he refused to publish Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire*, since there was a "risk of being persecuted by the state". p. 56

81 The *Vendôme Column* was erected in Paris between 1806 and 1810 in tribute to the military victories of Napoleon I. It was made of bronze from captured enemy guns and crowned by a statue of Napoleon; the statue was removed during the Restoration but re-erected in 1833. In the spring of 1871, by order of the Paris Commune, the Vendôme Column was destroyed as a symbol of militarism. p. 57

82 This short biography of Karl Marx is based on Engels' original version written at the end of July 1868 for the German literary newspaper *Die Gartenlaube* (see

Engels' letter to Marx of July 20 and Marx's letter to Kugelmann of October 26, 1868, present edition, Vol. 43), but not printed by the editors. In July 1869 Engels rewrote it for the newspaper *Die Zukunft,* No. 185, August 11, 1869. This first biography of Marx, written by Engels, was also printed in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt,* No. 34 (supplement), August 21, 1869, by Wilhelm Liebknecht, who omitted a most important passage stating that Lassalle was not an original thinker but borrowed the content of his writings from Marx and vulgarised his works. p. 59

83 A reference to the *Communist League,* the first German and international communist organisation of the proletariat, formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847, as a result of the reorganisation of the League of the Just (a secret association of refugee workers and artisans that appeared in the 1830s and had communities in Germany, France, Switzerland and England). The programme and organisational principles of the Communist League were drawn up with the direct participation of Marx and Engels. The League's members took an active part in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany of 1848-49. Though the defeat of the revolution dealt a blow to the League, it was reorganised in 1849-50 and continued its activities. In the summer of 1850, disagreement arose in the League between the supporters of Marx and Engels and the Willich-Schapper sectarian group which tried to impose on the League its adventurist tactics of immediately unleashing a revolution without taking into account the actual situation and the practical possibilities. The discord led to a split within the League in September 1850. Owing to police persecutions and arrests of League members in May 1851, the activities of the Communist League as an organisation practically ceased in Germany. On November 17, 1852, on a motion by Marx, the League's London District announced the dissolution of the League.

The Communist League played an important historical role as the first proletarian party guided by the principles of scientific communism, as a school of proletarian revolutionaries, and as the historical forerunner of the International Working Men's Association. p. 59

84 The *Cologne Communist Trial* (October 4-November 12, 1852) was organised and stage-managed by the Prussian Government. The defendants were members of the Communist League arrested in the spring of 1851 on charges of "treasonable plotting". The forged documents and false evidence presented by the police authorities were not only designed to secure the conviction of the defendants but also to compromise their London comrades and the proletarian organisation as a whole. The dishonest tactics resorted to by the Prussian police state in fighting the international working-class movement were exposed by Engels in his article "The Late Trial in Cologne" and, in greater detail, by Marx in his pamphlets *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11) and *Herr Vogt,* Chapter 3, Section 4 (see present edition, Vol. 17). p. 59

85 This sentence was omitted by Liebknecht in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt,* No. 34 (supplement), August 21, 1869, which Engels noted with displeasure in his letter to Marx on September 5, 1869 (see present edition, Vol. 43).p. 60

86 Engels refers to the beginning of the reign of Frederick William IV of Prussia (1840-57) on whom the liberal bourgeoisie pinned great hopes. But this short-lived "New Era" amounted to insignificant concessions to the liberal bourgeoisie. p. 60

87 On January 19, 1843 the Prussian Government passed a decision banning the *Rheinische Zeitung* as from April 1, 1843 and imposing a rigorous censorship for the remaining period. The decree was promulgated on January 21 (see "Erlass der drei Zensurminister betr. Unterdrückung der *Rheinischen Zeitung* zum 1. April 1843", Berlin, 1843, 21. Januar). After the publication of the rescript of January 21 Marx directed his efforts to secure its repeal. At the end of January 1843 he was already thinking of resigning the editorship (see letter to Ruge of January 25, 1843, present edition, Vol. 1, p. 397), but he did not consider it possible to carry out his intention at the height of the campaign for the repeal of the ban. In March, however, he believed that changes in the editorial board might make it possible to save the newspaper, and he made up his mind to resign officially from his post (the announcement of his resignation was published on March 17, 1843). Marx was probably prompted to do so also by his unwillingness to take upon himself the responsibility for a possible change of line of the newspaper by which the liberal shareholders wished to prolong its existence.

However the royal rescript was not repealed. The last issue of the newspaper appeared on March 31, 1843. p. 60

88 Later, Marx wrote in the preface to his *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859): "In the year 1842-43, as editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, I first found myself in the embarrassing position of having to discuss what is known as material interests. Debates of the Rhine Province Assembly on the theft of wood and the division of landed property; the official polemic started by Herr von Schapper, then Oberpräsident of the Rhine Province, against the *Rheinische Zeitung* about the condition of the Mosel peasantry, and finally the debates on free trade and protective tariffs caused me in the first instance to turn my attention to economic questions" (see present edition, Vol. 29). p. 60

89 This refers to the *German Democratic Society*, formed in Paris after the February revolution of 1848 and headed by petty-bourgeois democrats who campaigned to raise a volunteer legion of German refugees with the intention of marching into Germany. In this way they hoped to carry out a revolution in Germany and establish a republic there. Marx and Engels resolutely condemned this adventurist plan of "exporting revolution". Late in April 1848 the volunteer legion moved to Baden where it was dispersed by government troops. p. 61

90 Engels refers to reports of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the situation in the various branches of English industry, published in the Blue Books.

*Blue Books*—collected documents of the British Parliament and Foreign Office published since the seventeenth century. p. 63

91 The *Health and Morals of Apprentices Act* of 1802 limited the working time of child-apprentices to twelve hours and prohibited their employment at night. This law applied only to the cotton and wool industries; it made no provision for control by factory inspectors and was virtually disregarded by the mill-owners. p. 63

92 A reference to the law of August 15, 1867, which brought new industries under the factory acts (including that of 1847) on the ten-hour working day, and the law of August 21, 1867 on the labour of children, adolescents and women in workshops. The first law covered mainly large factories while the second embraced small enterprises and workshops. p. 64

93 Marx wrote this report after the General Council had discussed the problem of abolishing the right of inheritance at its meetings of July 20 and August 3, 1869 in view of the preparations for the Basle Congress. The question was put on the agenda at the insistence of the section founded by Bakunin in Geneva in May 1869 under the name of "The Alliance of Socialist Democracy. Central Section". This section guided the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Note 55) which continued to exist secretly despite the announcement of its dissolution.

On July 20 Marx made a long speech in the General Council. A record of it has been preserved in the Council's Minute Book (see this volume, pp. 394-97). The text of Marx's report was endorsed by the General Council on August 3. It was read at the Basle Congress by Eccarius on September 11, 1869 and reproduced in full in the reports about the congress in English, French and German: *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association, held at Basle, in Switzerland. From the 6th to the 11th September, 1869,* London [1869], pp. 26-27; *Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Compte rendu du IV-e Congrès International, tenu à Bâle en septembre, 1869,* Bruxelles, 1869, pp. 122-24; *Verhandlungen des IV. Congresses des internationalen Arbeiterbundes in Basel,* Nos. 1-7, Basel, 7.-14. September 1869, S. 77-80; in *Der Vorbote,* No. 10, October 1869 and in *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (New York), No. 36, October 11, 1873. p. 65

94 The demand to abolish the right of inheritance was put forward by Saint-Simon's followers (Enfantin, Bazard, Rodrigues, Buchez, etc.) who in the late 1820s set out to popularise and develop Saint-Simon's doctrine. In 1830 a book was published in Paris which, based as it was on Bazard's lectures, expressed the views of the followers of Saint-Simon on the right of inheritance: *Doctrine de Saint-Simon. Exposition.* Première année. 1829. Paris, 1830, pp. 143-69. p. 66

95 Marx drew up this report, on the General Council's instructions, in late August and early September 1869 for the Basle Congress, which was to be held in September. (As can be seen from Dupont's letter to Marx of September 1, 1869, Marx's report was discussed at the General Council meeting on that day. The minutes of this meeting were not recorded in the Minute Book.) Marx did not attend the congress but took an active part in its preparations. The Minute Book contains records of his speeches in the General Council during the discussion of the following items on the congress agenda: the agrarian question (July 6, 1869), the right of inheritance (July 20) and public education (August 10 and 17) (see this volume, pp. 398-400).

Having discussed the land question for the second time, the Basle Congress decided by a majority vote in favour of abolishing private property in land and turning it into common property, thereby confirming the socialist platform of the International. It also resolved to unite trade unions on a national and international scale, to strengthen the International organisationally and to extend the General Council's powers. At this congress the supporters of Marx's scientific socialism clashed openly for the first time with the followers of Bakunin's anarchism over the abolition of the right of inheritance (see Note 93).

The text of the General Council's report, written by Marx in English, was read in German and French at the congress on September 7, and published in German in Marx's translation as a separate pamphlet, *Bericht des Generalraths der Internationalen Arbeiter-Association an den IV, allgemeinen Congress in Basel,* Basel, 1869. In English and French it was published together with the Minutes of the

Congress sittings in the following pamphlets: *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association, held at Basle, in Switzerland,* London [1869], pp. 7-13; *Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Compte rendu du IV-e Congrès International, tenu à Bâle, en septembre 1869,* Bruxelles, 1869, pp. 9-23.

The report was also published in a number of newspapers and journals: *L'Internationale,* Nos. 37 and 38, September 26 and October 3, 1869; *Le Progrès,* Nos. 26, 27 and 28, December 11, 18 and 25, 1869 and Nos. 1, 2 and 3, January 1, 8 and 15, 1870; *Der Vorbote,* No. 9, September 1869; *Demokratisches Wochenblatt,* Nos. 41, 42 and 43, September 18, 22 and 25, 1869; and in the Neapolitan newspaper *L'Eguaglianza,* Nos. 8 and 9, December 24 and 31, 1869. The first Russian translation appeared in the journal *Narodnoye Dyelo,* Nos. 7-10, November 1869. Extracts from the report or summaries of it were printed in *The Times,* No. 26543, September 15, 1869 (in Eccarius' report); *La Liberté* (Brussels), No. 116, September 12, 1869; *L'Égalité* (Geneva), No. 36, September 25, 1869, and in other periodicals. p. 68

96 *"La Jeune Suisse"* ("Young Switzerland")—here, the chauvinistic youth organisation known as "La Jeune Genève" ("Young Geneva"). p. 71

97 *"Les orgies infernales des casse-têtes"* ("Infernal orgies of the knuckle-dusters")—from a speech by Raspail, a deputy to the Legislative Corps, at a session of July 8, 1869, in which he lodged a protest against the violence of the Bonapartist police during the elections in Paris (see *Annales du Sénat et du Corps législatif. Session extraordinaire du 28 juin au 6 septembre 1869,* Paris, 1869, p. 205). p. 71

98 The facts mentioned here were made public in *L'Égalité,* No. 19, May 29, 1869. During the strikes of Geneva builders and printers in spring 1869, the Romance Federal Committee and the International's sections in Geneva carried out a great deal of work. The Committee issued a number of addresses to the workers. They were published in March and April 1869 in *L'Égalité* and as leaflets: the address of the Committee to the sections of the International of March 17 ("Le Comité Fédéral Romand. Aux Sections Internationales"), the address of a meeting of Swiss citizens, members of the International, convened on April 2 on the Federal Committee's initiative, exposing the employers' slanders against the International Working Men's Association ("Adresse au Conseil d'État et au Peuple de Genève"), and other addresses.

The bulletins periodically put out by the builders' and printers' societies belonging to the International also played an important role in organising the strikes: "Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Grève des Tailleurs de Pierre et Maçons", "La Société Typographique de Genève à l'opinion publique". p. 71

99 The *Crédit Mobilier (Société générale du Crédit Mobilier)* was a French joint-stock bank founded in 1852 by the Péreire brothers. Closely connected with and protected by the Government of Napoleon III, it engaged in large-scale speculation. The bank was involved, in particular, in the railway-building business. It went bankrupt in 1867 and was liquidated in 1871. p. 72

100 The strike of Rouen weavers was discussed at the Sub-Committee's meeting of January 2, 1869 and at the General Council meetings of January 5, 12 and 19, 1869. The resolution adopted on January 5 and published in *The Bee-Hive,* No. 379, January 16, sharply criticised the attempt of the employers of Rouen and other departments of France to expand trade "by reducing the wages of

work-people already underpaid". Various societies were invited to send delegates to the next Council meeting "to devise the best means to frustrate the unwarrantable attempts of the French manufacturer, and to render the workmen concerned such assistance as they may need".

On the General Council's aid to the Rouen weavers see Note 62. p. 74

101 A reference to the first trial against the International in France (see Note 16). p. 74

102 The reference is to the *North-German Confederation* (Norddeutscher Bund)—a federative state to the north of the Main that existed from 1867 to 1870. It was set up under Prussia's superiority and on the initiative of the Prussian Prime Minister, Otto Bismarck, after Prussia's victory over Austria in 1866 and the disintegration of the German Confederation. It included 19 states and three free cities in North and Central Germany with a population of about 30,000,000 people. The Confederation adopted its constitution on July 1, 1867. Its establishment was a major step in unifying Germany under Prussia's hegemony.

In the course of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 South-German states joined the Confederation. On December 9, 1870 the Reichstag decreed that the united state should be renamed the German Empire. The latter was proclaimed in Versailles on January 18, 1871. p. 75

103 *"Les chassepots avaient encore fait merveille"* ("Chassepots have worked wonders again"); *chassepots*—rifles improved by Chassepot and adopted by the French army in 1866. p. 76

104 This was the slogan of the Lyons weavers during the rebellion of 1831. p. 77

105 A reference to Austria's defeat in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866. p. 77

106 The general congress of the German Social-Democrats held in Eisenach on August 7-9, 1869, founded the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party. Point 6 of the second section of the Party programme adopted by the Congress read: "Considering that the task of the emancipation of labour is neither local nor national but a social task embracing all countries where modern society exists, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party regards itself, as far as laws on associations allow, as a section of the International Working Men's Association and shares its aspirations." p. 78

107 The political crisis aggravated by Austria's defeat in the war with Prussia in 1866 and the growing national liberation movement compelled its reactionary ruling circles to come to an agreement with Hungary and form a dual monarchy, Austria-Hungary on the one hand, and to make a number of political concessions to the bourgeoisie on the other. The Constitution adopted in December 1867 extended the powers of the representative body—Reichsrat, established ministerial responsibility to Parliament, introduced universal military service and centralised administration. In addition to representatives of the aristocracy, bourgeois liberals became members of the new government. p. 78

108 See Note 56. p. 78

109 When describing the workers' movement in Moravia, Marx drew on the articles published in *L'Internationale*, No. 29, August 1 ("Massacre d'ouvriers en Moravie"), and *Die Volksstimme*, No. 8, July 25, 1869 ("Die Opfer des 13. Juli in Brünn"), about the massacre of Brünn workers by government troops. He

also used an article from *Die Volksstimme,* No. 9, August 8, 1869 ("Der Prozess gegen die Social-Demokraten Most und Brüsshaver"), describing the trial of Austrian Social-Democrats in connection with a mass meeting in Vienna on May 29, 1869 and the adoption of a resolution which contained demands similar to those in the programme, drawn up at Eisenach, of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. p. 78

[110] *Cis-Leithanian Austria* or *Cis-Leithania*—part of Austria-Hungary which included Austria proper, Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, Bukovina, Dalmatia and other lands. *Trans-Leithania* consisted of Hungary and Hungarian-ruled Slovakia, Transylvania, Croatia, Slavonia and other lands. These regions were named after the river Leitha that divided them. p. 78

[111] At its meeting at Elberfeld-Barmen on March 28-31, 1869 the General Association of German Workers declared its accord with the programme of the International Working Men's Association and advised its members to join the International individually (see "Vereins Theil. Für den Allgem.-Deutschen Arbeiterverein. Generalversammlung", *Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 47, April 21, 1869). p. 79

[112] The *Riot Act*—was introduced in Parliament in 1714 and passed in 1715 for the maintenance of public peace and order. It empowered the local authorities to disperse assemblages of "trouble-makers" by force and charge them with felony. The Act obliged the authorities to read part of it to those assembled and to open fire if the latter refused to disperse within an hour. p. 81

[113] This resolution was adopted at the Second General Congress of English Trade Unions at Birmingham, August 23-28, 1869, on the motion of Cremer, a member of the General Council of the International who attended it, and was published in *The Bee-Hive,* No. 412, September 4, 1869. The Congress resolved to demand the eight-hour working day for the United Kingdom and to consider the agrarian question in detail at the next congress. p. 81

[114] See Note 26. p. 81

[115] This draft resolution was proposed by Marx at a General Council meeting on November 16, 1869 during the debate on the Irish question.

In the summer and autumn of 1869, Ireland was the scene of a widespread campaign for an amnesty of the imprisoned Fenians (see Note 1). The numerous meetings (in Limerick and other cities) sent petitions to the British Government demanding the release of the Irish revolutionaries. Gladstone, then head of the British Government, expressed his refusal to comply with these demands in his letters of October 18 and 23, 1869, to the prominent participants in the amnesty movement Henry O'Shea and Isaac Butt (see *The Times,* Nos. 26579 and 26583, October 23 and 27, 1869; for Marx's analysis of Gladstone's refusal, see this volume, pp. 407-10). In England the second campaign in defence of the imprisoned Fenians was initiated and organised by General Council members. The General Council repeatedly discussed this question in October and November 1869. The British Government's refusal to amnesty the Fenian prisoners resulted in a protest demonstration of nearly 200,000 workers in London on October 24. Marx also attended the demonstration (see the description of it in the letter from Marx's daughter Jenny to Ludwig Kugelmann on October 30, 1869, present edition, Vol. 43). On October 26, the General Council decided to draw up a resolution (an address to the English people in defence of the Irish prisoners) and set up a commission consisting of Marx, Lucraft, Jung and Eccarius to do so. However,

on Marx's proposal the question was given a wider context and on November 9 the General Council decided to discuss the British Government's attitude towards the Irish prisoners and the English working class's stand on the Irish question. Marx spoke twice during the discussion (see this volume, pp. 407-12), and his draft resolution moved on November 16 was adopted unanimously by the General Council on November 30, with an amendment proposed by Odger, a reformist leader of the English trade unions, that the word "deliberately" in the first paragraph of the resolution be omitted.

The draft resolution has been preserved as a rough copy, in the form of Marx's original letter to Engels of November 18, 1869, and as recorded by Eccarius in the Minutes of the General Council. The resolution was published in *Reynolds's Newspaper,* No. 1006, November 21, *Der Volksstaat,* No. 17, November 27, *L'Égalité,* Nos. 47 and 48, December 11 and 18, in *L'Internationale,* No. 48, December 12, 1869, and elsewhere.

In his work *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination* Lenin reproduces the text of the resolution in full *(Collected Works,* Vol. 20, Moscow, pp. 438-39).

p. 83

116 In a speech made on October 7, 1862, in Newcastle, Gladstone (then Chancellor of the Exchequer) greeted the Confederacy of the Southern States in the person of its President Jefferson Davis, justifying the rebellion of the southern slave-owners against Lincoln's lawful government. The speech was published in *The Times,* No. 24372, October 9, 1862. It was mentioned by speakers during the discussion in the General Council. p. 83

117 Gladstone's Liberal Government succeeded the Tory Government, led by Disraeli, in December 1868. One of the demagogic slogans of the Liberals that brought them victory at the elections was Gladstone's promise to solve the Irish question. At the height of the election struggle, the opposition in the House of Commons criticised Tory policy in Ireland, comparing it with the policy of conquest of Britain herself pursued by William, Duke of Normandy, in the eleventh century (see *The Times,* No. 26067, April 4, 1868). p. 83

118 Marx wrote this circular letter in connection with the campaign launched by Bakunin and his followers against the General Council in November 1869. At the Basle Congress of the IWMA, Bakunin had tried to take over the leadership of the International by transferring the General Council from London to Geneva. Having failed in this, he changed his tactics and launched an open campaign against the General Council. A group of Bakunin's followers gained the majority in *L'Égalité.* The article "Le Bulletin du Conseil Général" *(L'Égalité,* No. 42, November 6, 1869) accused the General Council of violating clauses 2 and 3 of the Rules envisaging the publication by the Council of an information bulletin on the condition of workers in different countries. The article "L'Organisation de l'Internationale" (*L'Égalité,* No. 43, November 13, 1869) proposed that a special Federal Council for England should be set up, allegedly to help the General Council in fulfilling its functions as regards the general affairs of the International. The leading article "Les Parties Politiques à Genève et l'Internationale" (*L'Égalité,* 45, November 27, 1869) preached abstention from politics and referred to the distorted French translation of the General Rules. Finally, the leading article "Réflexions" (*L'Égalité,* No. 47, December 11, 1869) contained comments on the General Council's resolution against Gladstone (see this volume, p. 83), with sharp attacks on the Council for its position in the Irish question. Similar attacks on the General Council were made by another pro-Bakunin newspaper, *Le Progrès.*

The *Égalité* and *Progrès* attacks were first discussed at the General Council meeting of December 14, 1869. The text of the circular letter to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland, drawn up by Marx, was approved by the Council at an extraordinary meeting on January 1, 1870 and sent out to all sections of the International.

Meanwhile, early in January 1870, before it received the circular, the Romance Federal Council launched a decisive campaign against the Bakuninists and managed to have Perron, Robin, and other Alliance supporters withdrawn from the *Égalité* editorial board (for details see this volume, p. 123).

The circular letter was originally not intended for publication, but part of it was published in 1872 in the confidential circular *Fictitious Splits in the International* drawn up by Marx and Engels. The full text of the letter was first printed in *Die Neue Zeit,* Vol. 2, No. 15, July 12, 1902. There are several copies of the text: three in manuscript (one made by Mrs. Marx and corrected by Marx, another by Jung, and the third by Dupont, which is now in the Lyons municipal archives). There is also Marx's own manuscript, attached to his letter of March 28, 1870, to Ludwig Kugelmann and known as "Confidential Communication" (see this volume, pp. 112-24). The latter version was published in *Die Neue Zeit.*

In this volume the circular letter is printed from Mrs. Marx's copy corrected by Marx (Marx's insertions were made on separate sheets) and has been collated with his manuscript as sent to Kugelmann and with Jung's copy.

The circular letter was first published in English in *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann* by Karl Marx, Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1934, pp. 105-09. p. 84

119 The reference is presumably to the *League of Public Welfare*—an association of pacifist organisations, heterogeneous in composition and views, founded in France in 1863 by the petty-bourgeois journalist Edmond Potonié. Later it merged with the League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 56). p. 85

120 In November 1866, John Hales proposed the reorganisation of the English branch of the International so that it would rely not on the trade unions affiliated with it, but on the new sections, formed according to the territorial principle and headed by a special Federal Council. Similar proposals were made at the end of 1869. Marx and other leaders of the Council considered the moment inopportune since this would isolate the International from the workers' mass organisations. Only after the events of 1871 (the Paris Commune), when the situation in England and in the world had changed radically and reformist trends had gained supremacy in the trade unions, did Marx and his supporters consider it advisable to form the British Federation of the International with a special Council at its head. p. 86

121 The *Land and Labour League* was founded in London in October 1869 with the participation of the General Council. Its Executive Committee included more than 10 General Council members. The League's programme was drawn up by Eccarius on Marx's instruction (see this volume, pp. 401-06). Along with general democratic demands, like the reform of the finance and tax system and of public education, it contained demands for the nationalisation of the land and the reduction of working hours, as well as the Chartist demands for universal suffrage and home colonisation.

Marx held that the League could play a definite role in revolutionising the English working class and saw it as a means of establishing an independent proletarian party in England. However, by the autumn of 1870 the influence of

bourgeois elements had grown in the League and it gradually began to lose contact with the International. p. 87

122 This refers to the London Trades Council (see Note 38). p. 87

123 The *Anglo-Irish Union* was imposed on Ireland by the British Government after the suppression of the Irish rebellion of 1798. The Union, which came into force on January 1, 1801, abrogated the autonomy of the Irish Parliament and made Ireland more dependent on Britain. One of the consequences of its introduction was, in particular, the abolition of tariffs established by the Irish Parliament at the end of the eighteenth century to protect the rising Irish industry, and this led to its total decline. p. 88

124 The position of the International on the Irish question, as expounded in this document, essentially anticipated the resolution on item 2 of the programme for the debate on this question in the General Council as proposed by Marx early in November 1869, namely, on the item defining the attitude of the English working class to the liberation struggle of the Irish people. Even though other official documents of the International were soon to remove the need for a special resolution on this issue, Marx stuck to his idea of continuing the debate on the Irish question in the General Council. Circumstances hindered this, notably Marx's protracted illness which prevented him from attending Council meetings regularly in the winter and spring of 1870. Later, more urgent matters arose, and in July 1870 the Franco-Prussian war broke out, which absorbed the attention of the Council. The Council therefore confined itself to the decisions already adopted on the Irish question. p. 89

125 Here and below, Marx compares the texts of the English and French editions: *Address and Provisional Rules of the International Working Men's Association* (London, 1864) and *Congrès Ouvrier. Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Règlement Provisoire* (Paris, 1864) which contains Proudhonist distortions of the preamble to the International's Provisional Rules.

For details concerning the various publications of the Rules, see present edition, Vol. 20 (notes 1 and 351). p. 89

126 Marx refers to the French translation of the Provisional Rules made by Charles Longuet and published in the pamphlet *Manifeste de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs suivi du Règlement provisoire* issued in Brussels in summer 1866 by the newspaper *La Rive Gauche.* p. 90

127 Robert Shaw, a member of the General Council, a house-painter, died on December 31, 1869. At a General Council meeting on January 4, 1870 Marx was included in a deputation to attend the funeral on January 5. The General Council resolved that the news of Shaw's death should be communicated to the sections of the International. Marx, who corresponded on behalf of the General Council with De Paepe, leader of the Belgian sections, included this obituary in a letter to him dated January 8, 1870. The obituary was published by *L'Internationale,* No. 53, January 16, with an editorial note: "News from London".

In English the obituary was published for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870,* Moscow, 1966. p. 92

128 Engels prepared the second edition of his *The Peasant War in Germany* (see present edition, Vol. 10) in 1870 together with Wilhelm Liebknecht, originally as a reprint in 29 numbers of *Der Volksstaat,* Leipzig (April 2-October 15, Nos. 27-83, at irregular intervals). Numbers 27 and 28 of the newspaper carried Engels' preface to the 1870 edition.

In October 1870 this work was published in book form—*Der deutsche Bauernkrieg von Friedrich Engels.* Zweiter, mit einer Einleitung versehener Abdruck, Leipzig, Verlag der Expedition des *Volksstaat.*

A new, third, authorised edition came out in 1875. For this edition Engels wrote a special addendum to the 1870 Preface, dated July 1, 1874.

In this volume the Preface is printed according to the 1870 Preface verified with the 1875 edition.

In English the Preface was first published in F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany,* International Publishers, New York, 1926. p. 93

[129] The *extreme Left* was one of the two factions of the Left wing of the Frankfurt National Assembly during the revolution of 1848-49 in Germany. The extreme Left, known as the radical-democratic party, mainly represented the petty bourgeoisie, but was nevertheless supported by a section of the German workers. The extreme Left vacillated and took a half-way position on the basic problems of the German revolution—abolition of the remnants of feudalism and unification of the country. Engels described the position of the petty bourgeoisie in the revolution of 1848-49 in his works, *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* and *The Peasant War in Germany* (see present edition, Vol. 10). p. 93

[130] This refers to Marx's works: *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850,* consisting of a series of articles written between January and October 1850 specially for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* and published in it under the general title "1848-1849" (see present edition, Vol. 10), and *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* written between December 1851 and March 1852 (see notes 78 and 79). p. 94

[131] On May 15, 1860, the Prussian Chamber of Deputies voted, at the Government's demand, for the allocation of 9,000,000 talers to the War Ministry till June 30, 1861 "for the temporary maintenance of the army in fighting trim and for the increase of its military might". The results of the voting (315 for, 2 against and 5 abstaining) showed that the Prussian bourgeoisie had in fact given in to the government over the reorganisation of the army. p. 95

[132] The *National-Liberals*—members of the party formed by the German, principally Prussian, bourgeoisie in the autumn of 1866 after a split in the Party of Progress. Their policy showed that a considerable part of the liberal bourgeoisie had abandoned its claims to extend its political prerogatives and had capitulated to Bismarck's Junker government as a result of Prussia's victory in the Austro-Prussian war and the establishment of her supremacy in Germany. p. 95

[133] Engels refers to the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 which wound up the long rivalry between Austria and Prussia and predetermined the unification of Germany under the supremacy of Prussia. Several German states—including Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden—fought on Austria's side. Prussia formed an alliance with Italy. After a serious defeat at Sadowa on July 3 Austria began peace negotiations and signed a treaty in Prague on August 23. Austria conceded Schleswig and Holstein to Prussia, paid small indemnities to her and gave the province of Venetia to Italy. The German Confederation, which was founded in 1815 by decision of the Vienna Congress and embraced over 30 German states, ceased to exist, and North German Confederation was founded in its place under Prussia's supremacy (see Note

102). Austria, Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt remained outside the Confederation. As a result of the war, Prussia annexed the Kingdom of Hanover, the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel, the Grand Duchy of Nassau and the free city of Frankfurt am Main. (On the events of the Austro-Prussian war see Engels' "Notes on the War in Germany", present edition, Vol. 20). p. 95

134 In the German original the term *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* (principal and spectacular actions) is used; this has several meanings. In the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, it denoted plays performed by German touring companies. The plays, which were rather formless, presented tragic historical events in a bombastic and at the same time coarse and farcical manner.

Secondly, this term can denote major political events. It was used in this sense by a trend in German historical science known as "objective historiography". Leopold Ranke was one of its chief representatives. He regarded *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* as the main subject-matter to be set forth. Objective historiography, which was primarily interested in the political and diplomatic history of nations, proclaimed the pre-eminence of foreign politics over domestic politics and disregarded the social relations of men and their active role in history. p. 95

135 Engels refers to the Kingdom of Hanover, the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel and the Grand Duchy of Nassau annexed by Prussia following the Austro-Prussian war of 1866. p. 95

136 Engels refers to what is known as Trans-Leithania (see Note 110). p. 96

137 The *German People's Party* (Deutsche Volkspartei) was set up in 1865 and consisted of democratic elements of the petty bourgeoisie and partly of representatives of the bourgeoisie, chiefly from South-German states. As distinct from the National-Liberals (see Note 132), the People's Party was against Prussia's supremacy in Germany and advocated the plan of the so-called Great Germany uniting both Prussia and Austria. While pursuing an anti-Prussian policy and advancing general democratic slogans, the People's Party at the same time voiced the particularist aspirations of some German states. It was against Germany's unification as a single centralised democratic republic, advocating the idea of a federative German state.

In 1866 the Saxon People's Party, whose nucleus consisted of workers, joined the German People's Party. This Left wing of the German People's Party had, in effect, nothing in common with it except anti-Prussian sentiments and the desire jointly to solve the problems of Germany's national unification in a democratic way; it subsequently developed along socialist lines. The main section of the Party split away from the petty-bourgeois democrats and took part in founding the Social-Democratic Workers' Party in August 1869. p. 96

138 In the 1860s a number of finance reforms in the interests of the bourgeoisie were carried out in the North German Confederation. In 1867 passports were abolished and freedom of movement and domicile established; in 1868 the system of uniform measures and weights was introduced and the trading code of the Customs Union extended to cover the entire territory of the Confederation. All these reforms undoubtedly facilitated the development of industry and the formation of the German nation.

However, medieval guild regulations in Prussia during the mid-1860s was a great hindrance to the development of capitalism in Germany. In conformity

with the bureaucratic system of regulating industry, there were branches in which no one could engage in business without a special license (concession). Only the Regulations of June 21, 1869 abolished the last remnants of guild privileges, and the law of June 11, 1870 provided for the establishment of joint-stock companies without preliminary permission. p. 96

139 The Basle Congress of the International adopted, on September 10, 1869, the following resolution on landed property proposed by Marx's followers:

"1. That Society has the right to abolish private property in land, and convert it into common property.

"2. That it is necessary to abolish private property in land, and convert it into common property." p. 100

140 Marx sent this article as a private letter to César De Paepe, the editor of *L'Internationale,* the newspaper of the Belgian sections of the International Working Men's Association. Marx expected the letter to be edited by De Paepe before it was printed (see Marx's letter to Engels, March 9, 1870; present edition, Vol. 43). The editors, however, published it almost without changes, only adding some explanations in brackets and dividing it into two parts. A small editorial comment was appended, which is not published in this edition.

An excerpt from the article was published in *La Liberté,* No. 10, March 10, 1872.

Marx used a great amount of factual material from *The Irish People* and *The Irishman* for 1869 and 1870.

Contextually close to this article are those written by Jenny, Marx's daughter, for *La Marseillaise* (see this volume, pp. 414-41). p. 101

141 O'Donovan Rossa, a prominent Fenian who in 1865 had been sentenced to penal servitude for life, was nominated candidate at the by-elections to Parliament in County Tipperary (South-Western Ireland). On November 25, 1869, Rossa was elected M.P. Even though the elections were quashed, the fact of his election testified to the growing protest against English policy among the Irish masses. Engels wrote about O'Donovan Rossa's election to Parliament in his letter to Marx of November 29, 1869 (see present edition, Vol. 43). p. 104

142 A writ of *Habeas Corpus*—the name given in English judicial procedure to a document enjoining the appropriate authorities to present an arrested person before a court on the demand of the persons interested to check the legitimacy of the arrest. Having considered the reasons for the arrest, the court either frees the arrested person or sends him back to prison or releases him on bail or guarantee. The procedure, laid down by an Act of Parliament of 1679, does not apply to persons accused of high treason and can be suspended by decision of Parliament. The British authorities frequently made use of this exception in Ireland. p. 104

143 A reference to the pamphlet *Two Letters to the Earl of Aberdeen on the State Persecutions of the Neapolitan Government,* published in London in 1851, in which Gladstone exposed the cruel treatment inflicted by the Government of the Neapolitan King Ferdinand II (nicknamed "Bomba" for the bombardment of Messina in 1848) on political prisoners arrested for participation in the 1848-49 revolutionary movement. p. 105

144 The *Land Bill* for Ireland was discussed in the English Parliament in the first half of 1870. Submitted by Gladstone on behalf of the English Government, ostensibly to assist Irish tenants, it contained so many provisos and restrictions

that it actually left intact the basis of big landownership by the English landlords in Ireland. It also preserved their right to raise rents and to drive tenants off the land, stipulating only that the landlords pay a compensation to the tenants for land improvement, and instituting a definite judicial procedure for this. The Land Act was passed in August 1870. The landlords sabotaged the implementation of the Act in every way and found various ways round it. The Act greatly promoted the concentration of farms in Ireland into big estates and the ruination of small Irish tenants. p. 105

145 This is a report of the Standing Committee which it discussed at the sittings of February 19 and March 5, 1870. (Marx also attended them.)

The report was submitted to the General Council of the International on March 8, 1870. The Council, which had the right to arbitrate in conflicts arising between sections of the International, adopted the report and passed a decision on the conflict between Adrien Schettel and other members of the old Lyons section who supported the French Left Republicans, and the group of Albert Richard, a Bakuninist.

The General Council found all the accusations made against Richard untenable and confirmed him in the post of Corresponding Secretary of the IWMA. The decision signed by the Corresponding Secretary for France, Eugène Dupont, was published in *L'Internationale*, No. 63, March 27, 1870. p. 108

146 The *Russian Section* of the International was founded in Geneva in the spring of 1870 by a group of Russian political emigrants, young people influenced by the ideas of the Russian revolutionary democrats Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov. A great part in setting up this section was played by A. A. Serno-Solovyovich, a member of the International who died in 1869.

On March 11 the Committee of the Russian Section sent a letter to Hermann Jung enclosing its Programme and Rules (they were published in the section's newspaper, *Narodnoye Dyelo*, No. 1, April 15, 1870). In a letter of March 12 to Marx, the Committee asked him to be the Russian Section's representative on the General Council of the International. Johann Philipp Becker on his own behalf wrote letters of recommendation to Marx and Jung.

At its meeting on March 22, the General Council admitted the Russian Section to the International and Marx agreed to represent it in the Council. An official reply to the section was written by Marx, in the name of the General Council, on March 24 and published in *Narodnoye Dyelo*, No. 1, April 15, 1870.

The Russian Section was of great help to Marx and Engels in their struggle against the divisive activities of the Bakuninists. Its members—Nikolai Utin, Anton Trusov, Yekaterina Barteneva, Victor Bartenev, Yelena Dmitriyeva, Anna Korvin-Krukovskaya—took an active part in the Swiss and international working-class movement. Some of them participated in the Paris Commune. The section sought to establish contacts with the revolutionary movement in Russia. It virtually ceased its activity in 1872.

This document was first published in English in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence, 1848-95*. Translated by Dana Torr, New York, International Publishers, 1942. p. 110

147 For Flerovsky's book *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia*, see Marx's letters to Engels of February 10 and 12, 1870 (present edition, Vol. 43). p. 110

148 This *Confidential Communication* was intended for the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party. It included the full French text of

the General Council's circular letter of January 1, 1870 to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland (see this volume, pp. 84-91). As Corresponding Secretary for Germany Marx sent it to Ludwig Kugelmann in a letter of March 28, 1870, asking him to communicate the document to Bracke and other members of the Committee.

In English, the Confidential Communication was first published in *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann* by Karl Marx, Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1934.

In this volume the document is published according to Marx's manuscript enclosed in the above-mentioned letter to Kugelmann. As compared with the circular letter of the General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland, Marx's manuscript contains certain mainly stylistic alterations and cuts. p. 112

149 See Note 56. p. 112

150 At the Second Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom (Berne, September 21-25, 1868), the second item on the agenda was "the relation of the economic and social question to the question of peace and freedom". By a majority vote the congress rejected the resolution proposed by Bakunin which declared the necessity for "economic and social equalisation of classes and individuals", the "abolition of the state" and the "liquidation of the right of inheritance". Having found no support at the congress, Bakunin and his followers withdrew from the League and in the same year established the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Note 55) whose programme was based on the above-mentioned proposals by Bakunin. p. 112

151 See Note 55. p. 113

152 See Note 119. p. 117

153 See Note 120. p. 118

154 See Note 121. p. 119

155 The reference is to the London Trades Council (see Note 38). p. 119

156 The reference is to the Anglo-Irish Union of 1801 (see Note 123). p. 119

157 See Note 124. p. 121

158 Marx refers to a letter dated January 4, 1870, from the Romance Federal Council in Geneva to Jung, in which the Council expressed its disagreement with the *Égalité*'s attacks on the General Council. It also wrote that the Alliance of Socialist Democracy had not been admitted to the Romance Federation and that the Alliance's aims had nothing in common with the tasks of the International Working Men's Association. In a private letter of January 4 to Hermann Jung, secretary Henri Perret wrote about the withdrawal of Charles Perron, Paul Robin and other Bakuninists from the *Égalité*'s editorial board. The announcement of their withdrawal was published in the newspaper on January 8, 1870 (No. 2).

The letters of the Romance Federal Council were sent from Geneva in reply to Jung's letter of November 1869, before it received the circular letter "The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland". p. 123

159 The reference is to the official letter of the Romance Federal Council to the General Council of the International of February 3, 1870 read at the General Council meeting on February 8. The Council unanimously agreed that the explanation was satisfactory. p. 123

160 In 1858 the Russian landowner Pavel Bakhmetev sent Herzen money for propaganda purposes (the so-called Bakhmetev fund). Marx learned about this from Johann Philipp Becker's letter of March 13, 1870.

In 1869, under pressure from Bakunin and Ogaryov, Herzen agreed to divide the fund into two parts, one of which Ogaryov sent to Nechayev. After Herzen's death in 1870, Nechayev received the other part from Ogaryov.

p. 123

161 See Note 146. p. 124

162 In its letter of March 12, 1870 signed by Utin, Netov (Bartenev) and Trusov, the Committee of the Russian Section asked Marx to represent them in the General Council of the International. It also stated that the section's members had decidedly broken off their ties with Bakunin and intended "in the immediate future to expose this man publicly", as he was deluding the "world of the working people". p. 124

163 Marx wrote this letter in reply to a request of January 12, 1870, from the International Metalworkers' Society in Hanover for help in establishing contacts with the English trade unions. The General Council appointed a delegation headed by Jung to conduct the talks. On April 12 Jung reported on a meeting on April 7 with the Council of the London Amalgamated Engineers. The latter was ready to establish contact with the engineers of Germany and France and handed over a list of questions which interested English workers. The questionnaire in Marx's letter slightly differs in wording from the English text preserved in Jung's letter to Marx of April 13, 1870 (see *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870,* Moscow, 1966, pp. 470-71).

Marx's letter, with a short editorial and conclusion was published in German in *Die Tagwacht,* No. 16, May 5, 1870, and in French in *L'Internationale,* No. 76, June 26, 1870. The author's name was mentioned in the editorial.

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164 By the General Council's decision of November 22, 1864 *The Bee-Hive* was declared an official newspaper of the Association. This was announced in a supplement to the first edition of the *Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association,* London, 1864. However, closely connected with trade union leaders and representatives of the radical bourgeoisie, the newspaper virtually remained, as Marx wrote to Sigfrid Meyer on July 4, 1868, a narrow trade union organ far from voicing the views of the IWMA (see present edition, Vol. 43). *The Bee-Hive* frequently suppressed the General Council's documents, mutilated them at will and sometimes did not publish the reports of the General Council meetings at all (see Marx's letters to Engels of July 29, November 18, 1869, present edition, Vol. 43). It adopted a negative attitude to the Irish national liberation movement, justifying Gladstone's policy (*The Bee-Hive,* No. 420, October 30, 1869; see also Engels' letter to Marx of November 1). Its policy was censured by members of the International in different countries.

The question of severing all connections with *The Bee-Hive* was raised by Marx at a meeting of the General Council on April 26, 1870 (see this volume, p. 444). Marx was supported by other members of the Council, who instructed him to draw up a declaration for publication. In a letter to Engels of April 28, 1870 (see present edition, Vol. 43), Marx wrote that he was to prepare a resolution for the next Tuesday, i. e. for the General Council meeting of May 3. Marx drew it up at the beginning of May and sent it to several newspapers (it was published in German in *Der Volksstaat,* No. 38, May 11, 1870 and in *Der*

*Vorbote,* No. 5, May 1870, datelined "London, May 3"). On May 3 the General Council did not discuss the question. On May 10 Marx was not present at the General Council meeting. He moved the resolution on May 17 (its text in Marx's handwriting is pasted into the Minute Book of the General Council). The General Council unanimously resolved to break with *The Bee-Hive* and to announce this resolution publicly to its different sections.

The resolution was published in French in *L'Égalité,* No. 22, May 28; *L'Internationale,* No. 72, May 29 and in *Le Mirabeau,* No. 46, June 5, 1870.

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165 Samuel Morley and other bourgeois liberals headed by Daniel Pratt built up a fund in 1869 for publishing *The Bee-Hive* and became its managers. At the beginning of 1870, H. Solley, a clergyman who championed an alliance between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, virtually became its editor-in-chief.

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166 In an attempt to strengthen its weakened position the government of Napoleon III scheduled a plebiscite for May 8, 1870. The questions were formulated in such a way that it was impossible to express disapproval of the Second Empire's policy without simultaneously opposing all democratic reforms. The Paris Federation of the International and the Federal Chamber of Workers' Societies of Paris issued a manifesto on April 24, 1870 (*Manifeste antiplébiscitaire des Sections parisiennes fédérées de l'Internationale et de la Chambre fédérale des Sociétés ouvrières*), which exposed this demagogic manoeuvre and called on the workers to abstain from voting.

On the eve of the plebiscite, members of the Paris Federation were arrested and charged with conspiring to assassinate Napoleon III. At the same time, persecution of members of the International began in Lyons, Rouen, Marseilles and other cities. The third trial of the members of the Paris Federation was held from June 22 to July 5, 1870. The attempted charge of complicity in the sham plot failed and the detainees were sentenced for being members of the International.

The declaration against the persecution of the members of the French sections written by Marx was approved by the General Council on May 3, 1870, and it was published in English as a leaflet and in the newspapers *The Daily Telegraph,* May 4, *The Eastern Post,* May 7 and *The Penny Bee-Hive,* No. 447, May 7, 1870 over the signature of General Council members. The French translation, made by Marx (see Marx's letter to Engels of May 10, 1870), was published in *La Marseillaise,* No. 138, May 7; *La Liberté,* No. 150, May 8; *L'Égalité,* No. 20, May 14; *L'Internationale,* No. 70, May 15, and *Le Mirabeau,* No. 45, May 29, 1870. In German the declaration was printed in *Der Volksstaat,* No. 38, May 11; *Der Vorbote,* No. 5, May; *Die Tagwacht,* No. 14, May 21, 1870, and in other periodicals. p. 127

167 The first trial of the International's Paris Executive Committee took place in March 1868 (see Note 16); the second, from May 22 to June 19, 1868.

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168 This resolution was introduced at the General Council meeting of May 10, 1870 by Hermann Jung on behalf of Marx who was absent because of illness. A group of French petty-bourgeois emigrants in London, followers of Félix Pyat, who had lost contact with the International after the General Council's resolution of July 7, 1868 (see this volume, p. 7), continued to call themselves the French Section in London and to issue documents in the name of the International Working Men's Association. Throughout 1869 the question of

officially severing relations with this group was repeatedly raised in the General Council. In the spring of 1870, when a third trial against members of the International was in preparation in France, the break became all the more necessary, since the incriminatory material included documents of the so-called French Section in London, in particular an address adopted at a meeting on October 20, 1868, in which the International was identified with a secret republican society, the Revolutionary Commune, headed by Félix Pyat.

The text of the resolution in English has been preserved in the form of Marx's own manuscript pasted into the minutes of May 10, 1870 (with minor corrections in Eccarius' hand), and was published in *The Penny Bee-Hive*, No. 418, May 14; *The Times*, No. 26748, May 12; *The Echo*, No. 443, May 12, and in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, May 15, 1870.

The French text of the resolution, copied by Auguste Serraillier, is also extant; it was published in *La Marseillaise*, No. 145, May 14; *L'Internationale*, No. 70, May 15; *L'Égalité*, No. 21, May 21, and *Le Mirabeau*, No. 45, May 29, 1870. In German it was printed in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 41, May 21 and *Volkswille*, No. 18, May 28, 1870. p. 131

169 Marx refers, in particular, to a report about a banquet given by the so-called French branch in London on May 3, 1870 in honour of Gustave Flourens, a French revolutionary, follower of Blanqui, an organiser of the Paris rising of 1870. The report was forwarded to France, Germany and other countries by the Havas and Reuters agencies and was published in the *Journal des Débats* on May 5. It stated that the banquet was chaired by "M. Le Lubez, President of the International Association", whereas Le Lubez had been expelled from the International for slander as far back as 1866. p. 131

170 By decision of the Basle Congress, the next congress of the Association was to be held in Paris. At the General Council meeting of May 17, 1870 Marx proposed that the meeting-place should be changed in view of the increasing harassment by Napoleon III's government of the working-class and democratic movement and, in particular, of the International. It was decided to convoke the congress in Mainz.

However, the congress did not meet in Mainz because of the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war in July 1870. At the General Council meeting on August 2, Marx proposed that local sections and federations must be approached in writing and asked whether they would consent to a postponement of the congress. On receiving their consent, the General Council passed a formal resolution on August 23, 1870 for the postponement of the congress "until the earliest opportunity".

The resolution on the convocation of the congress in Mainz proposed by Marx was passed by the General Council on May 17, 1870. The German text, which Marx sent to Wilhelm Liebknecht, was printed in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 42, May 25; *Der Vorbote*, No. 6, June 1870, and in *Volkswille*, No. 20, June 11, 1870. In French the resolution was published in *L'Égalité*, No. 22, May 28 and *Le Mirabeau*, No. 45, May 29, 1870.

In English the text of the resolution has been preserved in the Minute Book of the General Council and as a handwritten copy made by Eleanor Marx. It was first published in English in *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870*, Moscow, 1966. p. 132

171 On May 9, 1870, the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party sent a letter to the General Council officially proposing that the next congress of the International be held in Germany. p. 132

172 This letter was written by Marx and Engels in connection with a congress of the International to be held in September 1870. Following the General Council's decision of May 17, 1870 on the convocation of the congress in Mainz, Stumpf, authorised by Liebknecht, wrote a letter to Marx on June 11 asking him to postpone the congress till October in view of the forthcoming September elections to the Imperial Diet in Germany. The next day the same request was made by the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party to the General Council, and by Geib to Marx. Marx was definitely against the postponement and expressed his opinion on the matter in a letter to the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party on June 27 (see this volume, p. 445).

This letter of Marx and Engels was published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 51, June 26, 1872 and in the book *Leipziger Hochverrathsprozess. Ausführlicher Bericht über die Verhandlungen des Schwurgerichts zu Leipzig in dem Prozess gegen Liebknecht, Bebel und Hepner wegen Vorbereitung zum Hochwerrath vom 11.-26. März 1872*, Leipzig, 1872. It was reprinted in the 1874 and 1894 editions of the book, the latter edition being prepared by Liebknecht on the instruction of the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. p. 133

173 The *Stuttgart Congress* of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party took place from June 4 to 7, 1870. It summed up the results of the party's activity for the past year, paying great attention to the work among the masses. The Congress discussed the peasant question. On Bebel's proposal it adopted the resolution on the socialisation of the land, formulating it in the spirit of the Basle Congress resolutions. In its political programme the Congress sharply criticised the Bakuninist views on the political struggle and the state.

The Congress also discussed the next congress of the International in Mainz. p. 133

174 This refers to a special fund at the personal disposal of Bismarck which was used for bribing the press. p. 135

175 After the *Égalité* editorial board was reorganised (see Note 158), the Bakuninists, attempting to retain their lost positions, had secured a formal majority of votes at a regular congress of the Romance Federation held in La Chaux-de-Fonds on April 4-6, 1870. The congress discussed the attitude of the working class to the political struggle. In contrast to the Geneva sections, the Bakuninists advocated abstention from the political struggle, referring to the French text of the Rules (see this volume, pp. 89-90). On Bakunin's insistence, the congress began its proceedings with the admission of the newly formed sections to the federation. A sharp struggle arose over the admission of the section named "Alliance of Socialist Democracy—Central Section" (see Note 55) and the Chaux-de-Fonds pro-Bakunin section. Utin, one of the leaders of the Russian Section in Geneva, exposed Bakunin's schismatic activities. A split occurred; the Geneva delegates and other General Council supporters continued their work independently. An announcement about the Chaux-de-Fonds split was published in *L'Égalité* on April 9, 1870.

The Bakuninists elected a new Federal Committee and transferred its seat to La Chaux-de-Fonds. Thus two Federal committees appeared in Romance Switzerland—in Geneva and in La Chaux-de-Fonds. The Bakuninists started publication of a newspaper, *La Solidarité*, that appeared under the editorship of James Guillaume, first in Neuchâtel (April 11, 1870-May 12, 1871), and then in Geneva. It was, in fact, a continuation of *Le Progrès*.

On April 12, 1870 the General Council, having received the news about the

events at the congress instructed Hermann Jung to gather more particulars. Jung brought them to the attention of the Council in April and May. At the request of the Geneva Committee members, the Council discussed the split at the Chaux-de-Fonds congress on June 28 and passed a resolution (for the record of Marx's speech on the question see this volume, p. 446). It was sent to the two Federal Committees by Jung, the Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland, and published in *La Solidarité*, No. 16, July 23 and *Le Mirabeau*, No. 53, July 24, 1870, over his signature.

In English the resolution was first published in *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870*, Moscow, 1966. p. 136

176 The lock-out of the Geneva building workers was discussed by the General Council at its meetings on June 14 and 21, 1870. On June 21 Marx was instructed to draw up an address to the trade unions and sections of the International in Europe and the United States. The address was approved by the General Council on July 5 and published in leaflet form in English, German and French: "The Lock-out of the Building Trades at Geneva. The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the Working Men and Women of Europe and the United States"; "Die Aussperrung der Bauarbeiter in Genf. Der Generalrath der internationalen Arbeiterassoziation an die Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen in Europa und den Vereinigten Staaten"; "La Grève des corps de métiers en bâtiment à Genève. Appel du Conseil général de l'Association internationale des Travailleurs aux travailleurs et travailleuses de l'Europe et des États-Unis". The German text was also published in the newspapers *Der Volksstaat*, No. 56, July 13 and *Volkswille*, No. 25, July 16, 1870 and in the journal *Der Vorbote*, No. 7, July 1870. In this volume the address is printed according to the English leaflet, checked with the German and French texts. p. 137

177 The masters' appeal was adopted on June 2, 1870, at a meeting of the Association of Building Trade Masters in the Canton of Geneva, and published as a poster. It placed the whole responsibility for the strike in Geneva on the International Association. The masters demanded that the authorities should put into effect an article in the federal constitution entitling the government to expel "foreigners violating the home and foreign security of Switzerland". p. 138

178 The decision of the Geneva master builders to declare a lock-out of building workers evoked protests from workers of other trades. On June 19, 1870, *L'Internationale* wrote about a 10,000-strong meeting of Geneva workers protesting against this decision of the employers. *L'Égalité*, No. 23, June 11, 1870 published a protest of a 5,000-strong meeting of watch-makers ("Protestation votée en Assemblée populaire nationale tenue au Bâtiment Electoral 7 juin 1870"). On June 14 the *Égalité* editors published a special supplement to No. 23 on the Geneva building workers' strike. The next issue of June 18 published an address by the Geneva factory workers to the strikers, expressing solidarity with them and informing them of the aid that had been organised. p. 138

179 Engels wrote notes at the request of Marx's eldest daughter, Jenny. They were intended as a preface to *Erins-Harfe, Irländische Volksmelodien nach Thomas Moore*, which was being prepared for publication in Hanover. Jenny Marx sent them to Ludwig Kugelmann, asking him to hand them to Joseph Risse, the compiler of the collection (see Jenny Marx's letter to Kugelmann, July 17, 1870, present edition, Vol. 43). However, they did not appear in the collection

printed in 1870. They were first published in 1955, in *Movimento Operaio*, No. 2, Milano, in Italian, and in *La Pensée*, No. 75, 1957, in French.

In English this article was published in Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978. p. 140

180 The supposed works of Ossian, a mythical Celtic bard, were forged and published in 1760-65 by the Scottish poet James Macpherson. p. 140

181 This confidential communication was drawn up by Marx in connection with preparations for the next congress of the International scheduled for September 5, 1870 in Mainz. At the General Council meeting on June 28, 1870 Marx proposed that the sections of the Association should discuss the change of the seat of the General Council so as to avoid creating privileged conditions for workers of one or another country. Although adopted, Marx's proposition was objected to by Hales, a General Council member. The Council resumed the debate on July 5 and 12 and turned down Hales' objections. On July 14 Marx sent Hermann Jung the French text of the confidential communication and a letter in English (see present edition, Vol. 43) to be forwarded to Switzerland, with one reservation: "The following must *not be published* but only communicated by letter to the different sections." Also extant is the text sent to De Paepe by Auguste Serraillier, Corresponding Secretary for Belgium. The sections opposed any change of the Council's seat, considering London the most suitable place for the leading body of the International Working Men's Association.

The document was first published in Russian in Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 16, Moscow, 1960 and in English in *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870*, Moscow, 1966. p. 142

182 The agenda of the Mainz Congress of the International to be opened on September 5, 1870 was drawn up by Marx and approved by the General Council on July 12, 1870. When it was discussed Marx took the floor several times to explain different points. The text of the programme adopted by the Council was published as a leaflet entitled *The Fifth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association*. The programme was prefaced by the following text: "The International Working Men's Congress of 1870 will be held in the city of *Mayence-on-the-Rhine*. The delegates are requested to assemble on *Monday, September 5, at nine o'clock in the forenoon, in the Marble Hall*, which the Burgomaster of the City has kindly placed at the disposal of the Association during the Session of the Congress." In a letter to Jung of July 14, 1870, Marx quoted the full text of the agenda, asking him to preserve the order of the items. He wrote: "Dear Jung. Enclosed the Programme. The questions are *arranged* in such an order as will *facilitate the business* of next Congress. You'll understand my meaning. Your truly, K. M." (see present edition, Vol. 43).

In this volume the programme of the Mainz Congress is printed according to Marx's manuscript, sent to Jung, which is fuller than the text of the leaflet.

Besides the Mainz Congress agenda was published in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 461, August 13, 1870; it appeared in French in *La Solidarité*, No. 17, July 30, *La Liberté*, No. 162, July 31, *L'Internationale*, No. 81, July 31, *L'Égalité*, No. 28, August 6 and *Le Mirabeau*, No. 55, August 7, 1870; and in German in *Der Vorbote*, No. 7, July 1870 (with some inaccuracies), *Die Tagwacht*, No. 24, July 30, *Der Volksstaat*, No. 65, August 13, 1870 (the text corrected and signed by Marx). p. 143

[183] It was Wilhelm Liebknecht who proposed that this point should be included in the agenda of the Mainz Congress (in his letter to Marx of April 27, 1870). It was also discussed at the Stuttgart Congress of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (see Note 173), Liebknecht delivering a report on the subject. p. 143

[184] *The History of Ireland* is a fragment of a voluminous work which Engels intended to write and on which he worked at the end of 1869 and during the first half of 1870. Engels studied a vast selection of literary and historical sources: the works of antique and medieval writers, annals, collections of ancient law codes, legislative acts and legal treatises, folklore, travellers' notes, numerous works on archaeology, history, economics, geography, geology, etc. Engels' bibliography, embracing over 150 titles, is selective and includes only a few of the sources he studied.

Engels presumably did not complete his preparatory work. However, the collected material comprising 15 paginated notebooks, the excerpts from books, the list of literature, notes on separate sheets and newspaper cuttings show the scale of his research into Irish history as well as his understanding of certain of its aspects.

Engels studied Gaelic in order to do research into Irish sources. Marx attached great importance to Engels' work and constantly helped him with it (see their letters during this period in Vol. 43 of the present edition). The views of Marx and Engels on major problems of Irish history took shape in the course of joint discussion.

The draft plan (see p. 307) shows that Engels' work was to consist of four long chapters, the last two being subdivided into sections. Engels actually succeeded in finishing only the first chapter—"Natural Conditions". The second chapter—"Old Ireland"—is unfinished. The manuscript breaks off where Engels intended to throw light on the social structure of Irish society before the English conquest in the second half of the twelfth century. Engels did not begin writing the last two chapters, which were to describe the development of the country up to the events of his own day, although he had compiled most of the required material. In a letter to Sigismund Borkheim written in early March 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 44), Engels mentioned that the Franco-Prussian War, the Paris Commune, the clash with the Bakuninists in the International, etc., interrupted his work. Engels used the results of his research in his theoretical works, such as *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see present edition, Vol. 27) and in his letters to various correspondents.

The fragment *The History of Ireland* (see this volume, pp. 308-14) and some preparatory material Engels collected for this work were first published in 1948 in Russian in the *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. X. In English, excerpts from the draft plan and the fragment *The History of Ireland* were published in Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, while *The History of Ireland* was published for the Irish Communist Group by Angela Clifford, 258 Liverpool Road, No. 1, August 1965.

In the present edition *The History of Ireland* is printed according to Engels' manuscript in German. Omissions in passages from different authors are marked by dots in square brackets. Italics in the quotations are mostly by Engels unless otherwise indicated in the footnotes. p. 145

[185] Engels refers to the formation of a centralised feudal state in England after the conquest in 1066 by William, Duke of Normandy. The reforms carried out in the twelfth century by Henry II Plantagenet were particularly instrumental in strengthening the King's power. One of the objects of the English monarchy's

aggressive designs was Ireland, a country at an earlier stage of social and political development and still in a state of feudal decentralisation. Between 1169 and 1171 part of the island was conquered by the Anglo-Norman barons, who founded a colony in South-East Ireland known as the *English Pale.* The term came into use in the second half of the fourteenth century. The boundaries of the English Pale changed during the continual wars of the conquerors against the hitherto unsubdued population. Castles and fortifications were built in the border areas. At the end of the fifteenth century the Pale included only part of the present counties of Louth, Meath, Dublin and Kildare, but it served as a bridgehead for the complete subjection of Ireland by the English in the sixteenth century. Dublin was the centre of the Pale and the seat of the English Lord Deputy. p. 147

186 A reference to County Laoighis (Leix) in Central Ireland, which, in 1557, following the confiscation by the Tudors of the lands of local tribal communities (the clans), was renamed Queen's County in honour of Mary Tudor, Queen of England. The neighbouring Offaley (Offaly) County, the population of which had also fallen victim to the expropriation policy of the English colonial authorities, was renamed King's County in honour of Mary's husband, Philip II of Spain (see also this volume, pp. 297 and 298). p. 148

187 In modern terms—deposits of the Mesozoic and Cainozoic periods. p. 152

188 Engels presumably quoted Young according to Murphy's *Ireland. Industrial, Political, and Social,* London, 1870. p. 156

189 The synopsis of Wakefield's book, which contains rich factual material on the Ireland of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, is to be found in notebooks VII, XI and XII of Engels' preparatory material on the history of Ireland (see his letters to Marx of February 22 and April 13, 1870, present edition, Vol. 43). p. 156

190 A reference to the period of cruel reprisals against the Irish population and their wholesale expropriation, which began soon after the suppression of the Irish national liberation uprising of 1641-52 by the troops of the English bourgeois republic (see Note 229). According to the Acts of the English Parliament of 1652 and 1653, some of the Irish landowners, who were declared guilty of revolt, were to be forcibly moved to the barren province of Connaught and the swampy southern County Clare. Resettlement was carried out under pain of execution.

On the eve of the 1798 Irish uprising, Connaught, and to an even greater extent the bordering counties of the province of Ulster in the north, became the scene of widespread terrorism by English mercenaries and Protestant gangs hired by the landlords from among their menials (Ancient Britons, etc.), against the local Catholic population and its self-defence units. Under the pretext of confiscating arms from the population and billeting, soldiers committed all kinds of outrages, torturing and murdering Irish people who fell into their hands and burning down their homes. Many Catholic peasants were evicted from Ulster after receiving threatening notes reading: "Go to the devil or Connaught". p. 159

191 A reference to the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 (see Note 219), leading to the influx of cheap corn to England and creating conditions which, from the point of view of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, favoured the development of stock-breeding in Ireland. p. 161

192 G. Boate, *Natural History of Ireland*, London, 1652. Engels, like Wakefield, gives an earlier date of publication. p. 162

193 The reference is to England's war against Napoleonic France and the European countries dependent on her (in 1812 England fought Napoleon in alliance with Russia, Spain and Portugal), and to the Anglo-American War which broke out that year. It was won by the United States in 1814. p. 165

194 The third volume of this publication, concluding the collection *Senchus Mor* (The Great Book of Old), appeared in 1873, after Engels had written the passage in this book. *Senchus Mor* is one of the most detailed records of the laws of the Brehons, guardians of and commentators on laws and customs in Celtic Ireland (for Engels' description of *Senchus Mor*, see his letters to Marx of April 29, May 8 and 10, 1870, present edition, Vol. 43). p. 165

195 Engels refers to the collection *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores* (Ancient Annalists of Ireland), published in four volumes in 1814, 1825 and 1826 by Charles O'Conor in Buckingham.

The collection contains the first publications of part of the *Annales IV Magistrorum*, the *Annales Tigernachi*, which were written between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries and described events from the close of the third century, the *Annales Ultonienses* (compiled by various chroniclers between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries and describing events beginning with the mid-fifth century), and the *Annales Inisfalensis* (generally assumed to have been compiled from 1215 onwards, and treating events up to 1318), all of them mentioned by Engels, and others. p. 168

196 Arthur O'Connor was one of the few leaders of the United Irishmen Society, which prepared the 1798 uprising (see Note 229), who managed to escape execution. After his release from gaol in 1803, O'Connor was banished to France, where he stayed to the end of his days. p. 169

197 *Saerrath* and *Daerrath*—two forms of tenancy in old Ireland, whereby the tenant, generally an ordinary member of the community, was given the use of stock and later also of land by the chief of the clan or tribe and by other representatives of the tribal élite. They entailed partial loss of personal freedom (especially under Daerrath) and various onerous duties. These forms of dependence were typical of the period of the disintegration of tribal relations in ancient Irish society and of the early stages of feudalisation. At this time land tenure was still mainly communal, while stock and farming implements were already private property, and private landownership already existed in embryonic form.

Engels' "see below" refers to the unfinished part of this chapter. p. 172

198 The works of Giraldus Cambrensis on Ireland, *Topographia Hibernica* and *Expugnatio Hibernica* (in Engels' manuscript *Hibernia Expugnata*), were included in the fifth volume of the *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, mentioned by Engels, the publication of which was begun by J. S. Brewer. The fifth volume, published by J. F. Dimock, appeared in 1867. p. 173

199 A reference to the following works: M. Hanmer, *The Chronicle of Ireland*; E. Campion, *History of Ireland*; E. Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, published in *Ancient Irish Histories. The Works of Spencer, Campion, Hanmer and Marleburrough*, vols. I-II, Dublin, 1809, and also to: John Davies, *Historical Tracts*, London, 1786; W. Camden, *Britannia*, London, 1722 (the first edition of this book was published in 1586 in Latin; later English translations

appeared); F. Moryson, *An Itinerary Containing Ten Years Travels through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Denmark, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland and Ireland*, London, 1617. p. 173

200 Huxley spoke of this in a public lecture in Manchester on January 9, 1870. A detailed account of the lecture was published in the *Manchester Examiner* and *The Times* on January 12, 1870 under the heading "Professor Huxley on Political Ethnology" (see also Engels' letter of March 9, 1870 to Marx, present edition, Vol. 43). p. 174

201 See Note 180. p. 176

202 The reference is to the following medieval works: Claudianus, *De IV consulatu Honorii Augusti panegiricus*; Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiarum libri XX*; Beda Venerabilis, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae libri quinque*; Anonymus Ravenatis, *De Geographiae libri V*; Eginhard, *Vita et gesta Karoli Magni*; Alfred the Great, *Anglo-Saxon Version of the Historian Orosius*. In all probability Engels used extracts from the above-mentioned works contained in K. Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstaemme*. p. 177

203 *Triads*—medieval Welsh works written in the form characteristic of the poetry of the ancient Celts of Wales, with persons, things, events, etc., arranged in sets of three. As regards their content, the *Triads* are subdivided into historical, theological, judicial, poetical and ethical. The early *Triads* were composed not later than the tenth century, but the extant manuscripts of these works date back to the period from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. p. 177

204 *Alexandrian Neoplatonic school*—a trend in ancient philosophy originating in the third century A.D. in Alexandria during the decline of the Roman Empire. The source of Neoplatonism was Plato's idealism and the idealistic aspect of Aristotle's teaching, interpreted in a mystical spirit by the Neoplatonic philosophers. In the fifth century A.D. an unknown adherent of this school, who attempted to combine the Christian doctrine with Neoplatonism, signed his works with the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, the first Christian Bishop of Athens. p. 178

205 *Haraldsaga* was written early in the thirteenth century by the Icelandic poet and chronicler Snorri Sturluson and describes the life and exploits of the Norwegian King Harald (the ninth-tenth centuries), founder of the Harfagr (Fair hair) dynasty. It is part of Snorri Sturluson's book *Heimskringla* covering the history of the Norwegian kings from ancient times to the twelfth century. p. 179

206 *Krâkumâl* (Song of Krâka)—a medieval Scandinavian poem, composed as the death-song of Ragnar Lodbrôk (ninth century), a Danish Viking taken prisoner and put to death by Ella, King of Northumberland. According to the legend, Krâka, Ragnar's wife, sang the song to her children to inspire them with the desire to avenge their father's death. Engels used the text of the song as given in the reader: F. E. Ch. Dietrich, *Altnordisches Lesebuch*, Leipzig, 1864, S. 73-80. p. 180

207 *Njâl's Saga*—an Icelandic saga which, according to the latest research, was recorded at the end of the thirteenth century from oral tradition and ancient written documents. The central theme is the life story of Gunnar, an Icelandic Hawding (a member of the clan nobility), and his friend Bond Njâl (a free community member), an expert and commentator on ancient customs and laws.

The saga tells of the battle of the Norsemen against the Irish King Brian Boru, and is an authentic source for the study of a major event in Irish history—the Irish victory over the Norse invaders in 1014 at the battle of Clontarf. Engels quoted the excerpt from the *Njâl's Saga* according to the text of the reader: F. E. Ch. Dietrich, *Altnordisches Lesebuch*, Leipzig, 1864, S. 103-08. p. 181

208 Contemporary scholars transcribe the name of King Brian's residence in Munster as Kankaraborg, or Kincora. p. 184

209 The Cimbri and Teutons, Germanic tribes, invaded Southern Gaul and Northern Italy in 113-101 B.C. In 101 B.C. these tribes were routed by the Roman General Marius at the battle of Vercelli (Northern Italy). The Battle of the Romans against the Cimbri and Teutons was described by Plutarch in his biography of Marius, by Tacitus in *Germania*, and by other ancient historians. p. 184

210 *Beowulf*—a poem about the legendary hero Beowulf is supposed to have been recorded in the eighth century and ranks as the finest known work of Anglo-Saxon poetry. It is based on folk sagas about the life of the Germanic tribes in the early sixth century.

*Hildebrandslied*—an eighth-century German epic poem, of which only a few passages have survived.

Engels refers to the so-called *Elder Edda* and the *Younger Edda*. The *Elder Edda* is a collection of epic poems and songs about the lives and deeds of the Scandinavian gods and heroes. It has come down to us in a manuscript dating back to the thirteenth century, discovered in 1643 by the Icelandic Bishop Sveinsson. The *Younger Edda* is a treatise on pagan mythology and the poetry of the scalds compiled in the early thirteenth century by Snorri Sturlusson. p. 185

211 *Leges barbarorum*—records of the common law of various Germanic tribes, compiled between the fifth and ninth centuries. p. 185

212 Engels' manuscript breaks off here. The extant plan for the second chapter ("Old Ireland") shows that Engels also intended to describe the clan system, landed property and the laws of old Ireland (see this volume, p. 307). p. 185

213 These notes were written by Marx in English as a conspectus for a speech to be made at a meeting of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on November 26, 1867, when the discussion on the Irish question, begun on November 19, was to be continued. In view of the immense disturbance caused by the execution of the three condemned Fenians (Larkin, Allen and O'Brien) on November 23, Marx considered this speech as no longer suitable. Feeling that at such a moment it would be more appropriate for one of the English members of the General Council to express sympathy with the Irish revolutionaries, he gave the floor to Peter Fox, who was known for his support of the Irish national liberation movement. Marx described the meeting in great detail in his letter of November 30, 1867 to Engels (see present edition, Vol. 42). Later, preparing for a report on the Irish question in the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see this volume, p. 194), Marx used this draft and the materials he had compiled for it.

These notes were first published in English in *The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868*, Moscow, 1964. Inaccuracies in the figures have been corrected. p. 189

[214] A reference to the *Act of Settlement* adopted by the Long Parliament on August 12, 1652, during the English bourgeois revolution, following the suppression of the 1641-52 national liberation uprising in Ireland. The Act legalised the reign of terror and violence established by the English colonialists in Ireland and sanctioned the wholesale plunder of Irish lands in favour of the English bourgeoisie and the "new" bourgeoisified nobility. This Act declared the majority of Ireland's indigenous population "guilty of revolt". Even those Irishmen who had not been directly involved in the uprising but had failed to show the proper "loyalty" to the English Parliament were considered "guilty". Those declared "guilty" were classified into categories, depending on the extent of their involvement in the uprising, and subjected to brutal reprisals: execution, deportation, confiscation of property. On September 26, 1653, the Act of Settlement was supplemented by the *Act of Satisfaction* which prescribed the forcible resettlement of Irish people whose property had been confiscated to the barren province of Connaught and to County Clare (see Note 190) and defined the procedure for allotting the confiscated land to the creditors of Parliament, the officers and men of the English army. Both Acts consolidated and extended the economic foundations of English landlordism in Ireland. p. 189

[215] See Note 142. p. 189

[216] Marx uses an appraisal of the Fenian movement given in Queen Victoria's address to Parliament of November 19, 1867 (see *The Times*, No. 25973, November 20, 1867) to describe the brutal policy of the English Government towards the Irish Fenians. p. 189

[217] During an abortive coup in Boulogne in 1840, Prince Louis Bonaparte wounded an officer of the government troops. This crime did not prevent the English Government from obsequiously recognising the Bonapartist regime after the usurpation of power by Louis Bonaparte in 1851. In 1867, however, three Irish Fenians were sent to the gallows purely on suspicion of having made an attempt on the life of a policeman while attacking a prison van in Manchester. p. 189

[218] The *corn-acre (conacre) system*—the subletting to the poorest peasants of small plots (up to half an acre) by middlemen on extortionate terms, which was extensively practised in Ireland. The term came into use in the eighteenth century, after the adoption of a law decreeing that corn be sown on these small-holdings. p. 191

[219] The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 led to a reduction in grain prices due to the fall in the demand for Irish grain in England, and the rise in the demand for wool and other stock-breeding products from Ireland (see Marx's letter to Engels of November 30, 1867, present edition, Vol. 42). This made landlords and rich farmers switch to extensive pasture farming which resulted in the mass eviction of small Irish tenants from the land ("clearing of estates") in the mid-nineteenth century (see also this volume, pp. 201-03). p. 192

[220] A reference to the forcible eviction from the land of the population of the Scottish Highlands (the Gaels) by the Anglo-Scottish nobility in the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, a process similar to the "clearing of estates" in Ireland. Marx describes this process in Chapter XXVII of Volume I of *Capital* and in his article "Elections.—Financial Clouds.—The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery" (present edition, Vol. 11). p. 192

221 *Roundheads*—the nickname given by the Royalists to the Parliamentarians during the seventeenth-century English revolution because of their puritan custom of cutting their hair close, while the *cavaliers*—supporters of the King—wore their hair long. p. 192

222 See Note 123. p. 192

223 Early in the nineteenth century the Irish national movement developed under the slogan of the abolition of political restrictions for the Catholic population and the granting to Catholics (who formed the majority of the population) of the right to stand for election to Parliament. In 1829 the British Parliament, under pressure of a mass movement in Ireland, lifted some of the restrictions (*Catholic Relief Act*). Catholics were granted the rights to be elected to Parliament and hold certain government posts. Simultaneously the property qualification for electors was increased fivefold. With the aid of this manoeuvre the British ruling classes hoped to win over to their side the upper crust of the Irish bourgeoisie and Catholic landowners and thus split the Irish national movement. p. 192

224 In the 1820s the demand for the repeal of the Union became the most popular slogan of the Irish national liberation movement. In 1840 a *Repeal Association* was founded whose leader, Daniel O'Connell, stood for a compromise with the English ruling circles and reduced the programme of the movement to the demand for autonomy and other political concessions. In the mid-forties the supporters of the liberation of Ireland by revolutionary methods, up to and including armed uprising against English rule (Young Ireland—a revolutionary patriotic society), gained ground in the Repeal Association. The differences between O'Connell and those advocating the use of "physical force" led to a split in the Association and the formation of the more radical Irish Confederation (the beginning of 1847). Its Left, revolutionary wing headed the national liberation movement and became the target of severe reprisals in 1848. Eventually, the Repeal Association broke up completely. p. 193

225 Marx refers to France's colonial wars in Algeria which began in the 1830s and lasted (with intervals) for 40 years. p. 193

226 A reference to the reactionary foreign policy pursued by Castlereagh, the British Foreign Secretary (1812-22). He supported the efforts of the Holy Alliance to strengthen the reactionary feudal monarchies in Europe, notably the measures against the revolutionary movements in Italy and Spain. The counter-revolutionary Tory policy of Castlereagh was continued by Palmerston, the Whig leader, who relied on the support of the Right wing of the party. He, however, masked the real nature of this policy with liberal phrases and hypocritical expressions of sympathy with the oppressed peoples. Marx showed in his pamphlet *Lord Palmerston* (see present edition, Vol. 12) that, as Foreign Secretary, Palmerston played an ignoble role with regard to the Polish struggle for independence during the general uprising of 1830-31 and the uprising in the free city of Cracow in 1846. While inciting the Poles to action by his false promises of assistance, Palmerston sanctioned the suppression of the Polish movement by Tsarist Russia, Austria and Prussia. p. 193

227 Marx refers to an error which the leadership of the Reform League (see Note 39) committed by refusing to give any real support to the Irish national liberation movement, although many of the League's rank-and-file members expressed sympathy with it. The meeting of the League's Council on November 1, 1867 adopted a resolution condemning Fenianism, tabled by

bourgeois radicals. When the Irish question came up for discussion in the General Council of the International in November 1867, the speeches were spearheaded against this chauvinistic and anti-revolutionary position of the Reform League and its supporters among the liberal trade unionists. p. 193

228 This outline is a draft conspectus for a report on the Irish question that Marx was to make at a meeting of the German Workers' Educational Society in London on December 16, 1867. "Yesterday I gave a $1^1/_2$ hour lecture on Ireland at our German Workers' Society (though a further 3 German workers' associations were represented, about 100 people in all)," Marx wrote to Engels on December 17 (see present edition, Vol. 42). Some members of the General Council of the International also attended the meeting. Eccarius, a Council member who attached great importance to this report, which explained the attitude of the General Council towards the Irish national liberation movement, took notes in order to prepare them for publication (for Eccarius' record of Marx's report see this volume, pp. 317-19). A copy of these notes was sent to Johann Philipp Becker, the editor of *Der Vorbote,* but they were not published.

The outline was written by Marx both in German and English. English words used by Marx are set in small caps. Longer passages written in English in the original are placed in asterisks. German words and sentences occurring in the passages written by Marx in English are, with a few exceptions, not indicated, so as to avoid numerous footnotes.

The outline was first published in English in Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.

On the *German Workers' Educational Society in London* see Note 50. p. 194

229 A reference to the three biggest national liberation uprisings in Ireland.

The *1641-52 uprising* was provoked by the colonialist policy which the English absolute monarchy pursued in Ireland and which was continued during the seventeenth-century English Revolution by the English bourgeoisie and the "new" nobility. The majority of the insurgents were Irish peasants led by the expropriated clan chiefs and the Catholic clergy. The Anglo-Irish nobility, descendants of the first English conquerors who had become related to the Irish clan élite and adopted many Irish customs and habits, also participated in the uprising. In October 1642, the insurgents formed the Irish Confederation in Kilkenny. A struggle went on within it between the indigenous Irish, who stood for Ireland's independence and action both against the Long Parliament and the English Royalists, and the Anglo-Irish aristocrats, who endeavoured to come to terms with Charles I on condition that they were allowed to keep their estates and receive a guarantee of freedom of worship for Catholics. The latter gained the upper hand and a treaty was signed with a representative of Charles I. After the defeat of the Royalists in England, Oliver Cromwell, the head of the new bourgeois republic, organised an expedition to Ireland on the pretext of suppressing a Royalist revolt there but in fact with the aim of reducing it to colonial submission and plundering the land. (He hoped that by confiscating Irish lands he would solve the problem of paying the creditors of the republic, the officers and men of the army.) In 1649-52, the Irish uprising was brutally suppressed; the garrisons and population of entire towns were destroyed, the Irish were sold en masse into slavery in the West Indies, and Irish lands were confiscated and handed over to new English landlords. These actions by Cromwell and his successors did much to prepare the ground for the restoration of the monarchy in England in 1660.

The *1689-91 uprising* followed in the wake of the 1688-89 coup d'état in England (known as the Glorious Revolution), involving the overthrow of

James II and the establishment of a bourgeois-aristocratic constitutional monarchy in England under William III of Orange. The Catholic nobility in Ireland, supported by the masses who were dissatisfied with the colonial regime, rose against William. Under the banner of defence of the Stuarts the insurgents fought for the abolition of Ireland's political and religious inequality and the return of the confiscated estates. James II, who had taken refuge in Ireland and was endeavouring to use the Irish movement to regain the crown, became its official head and recognised the demands of the Irish people. But the differences between the reactionary Jacobites and the Irish patriots weakened the insurgents. Despite their stubborn resistance, they were finally defeated.

The *1798 uprising* was the result of the upsurge of national sentiments in Ireland, caused by the growth of the liberation movement and the impact of the American and French bourgeois revolutions at the end of the eighteenth century. It was prepared by Irish bourgeois revolutionaries (Theobald Wolfe Tone, Edward Fitzgerald and others), who in 1791 founded a patriotic society, "The United Irishmen", in Belfast (the chief town of the Northern Irish province of Ulster) and proclaimed a fight for an independent Irish republic. On the eve of the uprising, however, most of the society's leaders were tracked down by government spies and arrested. The uprising broke out on May 23 and lasted until June 17, 1798. It flared up in a number of counties in South-Eastern and Northern Ireland and was particularly strong in County Wexford. The majority of the insurgents were peasants and urban poor. In August and September 1798, after the landing of a French force in support of the Irish patriots, the uprising spread to a number of places in Connaught. The English authorities launched savage reprisals against the rebels (almost all the leaders were executed) and passed the Act of Anglo-Irish Union (see Note 123). p. 194

230 About 1155 Pope Adrian IV issued a Bull which conferred on the English King Henry II the title of Supreme Ruler of Ireland in exchange for the promise to subject the Irish Church to Rome. Henry II used this "gift" to launch an aggressive expedition against Ireland in 1171.

In 1576, in connection with the exacerbation of relations between Protestant England and the Catholic powers, Pope Gregory XIII declared that Queen Elizabeth I had forfeited the right to the Irish crown. p. 195

231 See Note 185. p. 195

232 The name given in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to merchants and bankers, particularly those from the City of London, who took part in colonial plunder and financial speculation. During the English revolution of the mid-seventeenth century, "adventurers" loaned Parliament considerable sums of money to finance the war against the Royalists in exchange for land confiscated in Ireland. Among the "adventurers" were many statesmen, members of the gentry, and civil servants. p. 195

233 The *Anglo-Irish Parliament,* convoked at the end of the thirteenth century, was initially made up of representatives of the big barons and dignitaries of the Church of the English colony in Ireland (the Pale). With the extension of the power of the English Crown to the entire island (sixteenth-early seventeenth centuries), the Parliament became a representative body of the English and Anglo-Irish aristocracy under the English Lord Deputy. The competency of that Parliament was limited; according to an Act passed by Lord Deputy Poynings in 1495, it could be convoked only with the sanction of the Royal

Privy Council. Under the impact of the growing national liberation movement, in the 1780s the English Government was compelled to extend the rights of the Irish Parliament (Renunciation Act). In 1801, however, the Irish Parliament was abolished under the Act ot Union. p. 195

234 See Note 214. p. 196

235 *Amalekites*—members of a nomadic tribe living in the second millennium B.C. on the Sinai. The Amalekite warriors made raids on Palestine and drove the population into captivity. At the turn of the tenth century B.C. the Amalekites were practically annihilated. p. 196

236 A reference to the capitulation at Limerick, an agreement signed in October 1691 between the Irish insurgents and representatives of the English command and approved by King William III. The surrender terms were honourable: the insurgents were given permission to serve either in foreign armies or in the army of William III; the people were promised an amnesty, the preservation of their property, suffrage and religious freedom. Several months before the Limerick Agreement, similar agreements were concluded during the capitulation of the insurgent garrisons in Galway and other towns. The terms of these agreements, however, were soon flagrantly violated by the English authorities. p. 196

237 *Absentees*—landlords who owned estates in Ireland but lived permanently in England. Their estates were managed by realty agents who robbed the Irish peasants, or were leased to speculator-middlemen who subleased small plots to the peasants. p. 197

238 *Penal Code* or *Penal Laws*—a set of laws passed by the English for Ireland at the end of the seventeenth and in the first half of the eighteenth centuries on the pretext of a struggle against Catholic conspiracies. These laws deprived the indigenous Irish, the majority of whom were Catholics, of all civil and political rights. They limited the right of Catholics to inheritance and to the acquisition and alienation of property, introducing the practice of confiscating property for petty offences. The Penal Code was used as an instrument for the expropriation of the Irish who still owned land. It established unfavourable lease terms for Catholic peasants, increasing their dependence on the English landlords. The ban on Catholic schools, the severe punishment meted out to Catholic priests and other measures were intended to stamp out Irish national traditions. The penal laws were abrogated, and then only in part, at the end of the eighteenth century under the influence of the growing national liberation struggle in Ireland. p. 197

239 Catholics were officially deprived of voting rights by the Act on the Regulation of Elections passed in 1727. Irish Catholics had not enjoyed the right to stand for election to Parliament from the end of the seventeenth century, after the introduction of an oath to be taken by M.P.s involving the abjuration of Catholic dogma. The latter restriction was only lifted in 1829. Voting rights were restored to the Catholic population somewhat earlier, in 1793, since the English landlords themselves often needed the votes of their Catholic tenants. p. 197

240 Marx refers to a number of concessions which the English Government was forced to make to Ireland because of the victory of the American troops at Saratoga in October 1777, during the American War of Independence, and the reaction to this event in England. The penal laws most hated by the Irishmen were abrogated (in 1778 the Government abrogated the law prohibiting the

Catholics to rent more than two acres of land from Protestants or to enter into commercial or credit agreements with them). However, as before the Catholics were deprived of the right to elect M.P.s. p. 198

241 *Freehold*—a category of small landownership which had come down from medieval England. The freeholder paid the lord a comparatively small rent in cash and was allowed to dispose of his land as he saw fit. In Ireland, freeholders were mainly English colonists and their descendants. p. 198

242 See Note 123. p. 198

243 Marx refers to England's war against Napoleonic France which ended in 1815.

On the movement for the emancipation of Catholics mentioned by Marx further in this passage, see Note 223. p. 198

244 *Cottiers*—a category of the rural population consisting of land-hungry or landless peasants. In Ireland cottiers rented small plots of land and cottages from landlords or real estate agents on extremely onerous terms. Their position resembled that of farmhands. p. 200

245 The *Corn Laws*, the first of which were passed as early as the fifteenth century, imposed high import duties on agricultural products in order to maintain high prices for these products on the domestic market. The Corn Laws served the interests of the big landowners. The struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the Corn Laws ended in their repeal in June 1846. The repeal of the Corn Laws marked the victory of the industrial bourgeoisie whose motto was Free Trade (see also Note 219). p. 200

246 In February 1835, Daniel O'Connell, the leader of the Irish bourgeois nationalists, signed an agreement with representatives of the Whigs according to which he was to support them in the House of Commons in return for certain concessions; in particular, Irish political leaders were promised posts in the administrative apparatus after the Whigs came to office. For his part, O'Connell undertook to stop the Repeal of the Union campaign. The agreement was negotiated in Lord Lichfield's London house and became known as the Lichfield-House Contract. It meant that the liberal circles of the Irish bourgeoisie and the medium landowners had reached a compromise with the English politicians and had renounced consistent struggle for Ireland's independence (see also Note 223). p. 201

247 See Note 218. p. 203

248 Marx made these remarks on the Programme and Rules of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Note 55) probably on December 15, 1868, the day when the General Council of the International Working Men's Association discussed the admission of the Alliance into the International and instructed Marx to prepare an answer. The remarks were written in the right and left margins of a French leaflet containing the Programme and Rules. Marx underlined certain words and phrases (in this volume they are set in bold type) and in some places drew vertical lines in the margins. (The names of Jules Johannard and Eugène Dupont, who had read the Programme and taken part in its discussion, were written in the margin by Jung.) The same day Marx sent this document to Engels asking for his opinion (see Note 55). Taking into account Engels' ideas, Marx drew up a circular letter "The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy" (see this volume, pp. 34-36) which was approved by the General Council on December 22, 1868.

Marx's comments on the Programme and Rules of the Alliance were first published in English in *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870,* Moscow, 1966. p. 207

249 Marx apparently refers to the plans to publish *L'Égalité.* He was invited to contribute to this paper by A. A. Serno-Solovyevich in a letter of November 20, 1868 which did not mention the new newspaper's title. On December 3, 1868 Charles Perron wrote to Hermann Jung about steps taken to publish *L'Égalité* and asked Marx, Eccarius and Jung to contribute to it. Eccarius' reply of December 2 and Jung's reply of December 6 were published in a special issue of *L'Égalité* on December 16. In addition, the editors published the following note: "Citizen Marx brings it to the notice of the commission that, to his great regret, his health and the excessive amount of work make it impossible for him to guarantee his participation in the journal. Nevertheless, we hope that from time to time this brave champion of the working class will write to the organ of the Romance sections in Switzerland." p. 210

250 Marx wrote this work in October and November 1869 when preparing for the forthcoming debate on the Irish question in the General Council of the International (see this volume, p. 83). This is also shown by the extracts taken by Marx from the newspaper *The Irishman* about the movement for the amnesty of the Irish political prisoners and the draft resolution on the amnesty adopted by the General Council on November 30, 1869. At a later date, apparently when looking through Marx's manuscripts after his death, Engels attached a separate page with an inscription "Hibernica" and the date "1869" to this series of manuscripts. On this basis we may assume that Marx intended to use "Extracts and Notes" as preparatory material for a report on Item 2 of his plan for the forthcoming discussion in the General Council—the attitude of the English working class to the Irish question (see Note 124). Marx's letter to Engels of December 10, 1869 (see present edition, Vol. 43) shows that he took an interest in developments in Ireland at the close of the eighteenth century because he wanted to examine the characteristics of England's policy in Ireland and of the Irish national movement at the time, whose progressive exponents demanded that Ireland be granted the status of an independent republic, a demand which was just as urgent in the nineteenth century. It was particularly important for Marx to show that the cruel treatment of the Irish revolutionaries and the subjugation of Ireland by the English authorities had a detrimental effect on the English people themselves.

Marx's work consists of two parts: the main investigation and a supplementary summary of comprehensive chronological data. Each of the parts is in the form of a separate manuscript with the author's pagination. Page 9 of the second manuscript is missing. The first manuscript is a rough draft of the main investigation with evidence of subsequent editing. On several pages the text is written in above lines crossed out by the author or insertions are made on pieces of paper pasted to the manuscript. Marx used the following sources for his "Extracts and Notes": J. Mitchel, *The History of Ireland, from the Treaty of Limerick to the Present Time,* vols. I-II, Dublin, 1869; [J. Ph. Curran,] *The Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran. Edited, with Memoir and Historical Notices, by Thomas Davis,* Dublin, 1855; G. Ensor, *Anti-Union. Ireland as She Ought to Be,* Newry, 1831, and other material such as the journal *Political Register,* published by the English radical William Cobbett, a number of documentary publications (Grattan's speeches, etc.) and historical treatises.

The work is not a synopsis of these books. Marx selected material according to his own plan, showing how he understood the course of Irish history at the

time considered and its division into periods. This is also clear from the structure of both manuscripts and by the way Marx himself divided them into sections, paragraphs and items. He very often selects facts from various sources or from various sections of the same source (for example, from Thomas Davis' "Memoir of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran" and from his commentary, or "Historical Notices", to Curran's speeches) and arranges them in his own way. The exposition proves that Marx took a creative approach to the material.

Direct quotations from various sources and Marx's own renderings of certain passages (also given in small type but without quotation marks) are written in English. His own remarks are written both in English (mostly) and German and are given in normal type. Passages written in German are indicated in the footnotes (separate German words are not indicated). In both manuscripts, there are passages indicated by Marx with vertical lines in the margin (these are reproduced in this volume). Passages enclosed by Marx in square brackets are given in this volume in braces to distinguish them from the editor's insertions in square brackets. Words doubly underlined by Marx are given in bold type.

The known sources quoted or rendered by Marx are referred to either in footnotes or in the editorial Notes to the relevant passages. Italics in the quotations belong to Marx except where otherwise stated in the footnotes.

This work was first published in English in Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978. p. 212

251 A reference to the peace treaty concluded by Napoleonic France and her allies with England at Amiens on March 27, 1802. It was no more than a short-lived armistice. In May 1803 the armed struggle for world supremacy was resumed. The change in the royal title under the Peace of Amiens amounted to the final and formal repudiation by the English kings of their claims to the French throne, claims that dated back to the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453). p. 212

252 *Poynings' Law* was passed in 1495 by the Parliament convened by Poynings, representative of the English Crown in the town of Droheda, in the south-eastern part of Ireland conquered by the English. It was repealed in May 1782 under the impact of the Irish national liberation movement (see this volume, p. 225). p. 212

253 The *Privy Council* of the Lord Lieutenant (Viceroy) of Ireland consisted of high officials who headed various departments of colonial administration. p. 212

254 A reference to the books: W. Molyneux, *The Case of Ireland's Being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated*, Dublin, 1698; J. Swift, *Drapier's Letters*, Dublin, 1725, and *A Short View of the State of Ireland*, Dublin, 1727; Ch. Lucas, *Barber's Letters*, Dublin, 1747. (These writers are mentioned by Thomas Davis in his "Memoir of... Curran" included in *The Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran*, Dublin, 1855, p. XIX.) p. 212

255 The Statute of George I mentioned here was promulgated in 1719 and is also known as the Declaratory Act (6. George I. An Act for the Better Securing the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland on the Crown of Great Britain). It was repealed during 1782 and 1783 owing to the upsurge of the liberation movement in Ireland. p. 212

256 See notes 232 and 237. p. 215

257 In the latter half of the eighteenth century Britain strove for greater influence over her American colonies. From 1763 onwards, the British Government issued a series of edicts restricting both the territorial location of the American population and the rights of American states in questions of trade. In 1765 laws were issued which provided for a standing army in the colonies and made an attempt to introduce direct taxation (Stamp Act). All this caused mass anti-British actions among the American population. On March 18, 1766 the Stamp Act was repealed but the Declaratory Act was proclaimed instead. It confirmed the British Crown's supreme rights over its American colonies and repeated, almost verbatim, the Statute of George I concerning Ireland. These acts by the British Government provoked the war of the North American colonies for independence. p. 215

258 See Note 238. p. 215

259 On February 6, 1778 the French Government concluded treaties with the United States of America. France officially recognised the American Republic, promised to defend the independence and sovereignty of the USA, and undertook not to lay down her arms until Britain recognised American independence. These treaties ensured mutual support for the territorial claims of the two countries. At the same time France and the USA concluded the Treaty of Amity and Commerce. p. 216

260 This passage from Curran's speech to the Irish Parliament on February 18, 1792 is quoted from *The Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran,* Dublin, 1855, pp. 140-41. This book contains Curran's parliamentary speeches from November 1783 to May 1797, as well as those he made later in the courts and elsewhere in defence of participants in the Irish revolutionary movement and in the 1798 uprising. The quoted edition is supplied with "Memoir" and "Historical Notices" containing biographical notes on Curran and a description of the most important developments of the time. The author was Thomas Davis, a prominent Irish democrat, historian and poet, one of the leaders of "Young Ireland" (see Note 224). Throughout his work, Marx gives either direct quotations or his own rendering of passages both from Curran's speeches and from the "Memoir" and "Historical Notices" by Davis. Marx regarded this book as the most important source for a study of the political history of Ireland in the late eighteenth century and considered Curran himself a "great lawyer and the noblest personality". Marx brought this book to the attention of the English members of the General Council (see Marx's letter to Engels of December 10, 1869, present edition, Vol. 43). p. 216

261 *Protestant ascendancy*—a principle employed openly in governing Ireland between 1691 and 1800 according to which the Protestants, mostly English colonists and their descendants, enjoyed extensive political, social and religious privileges, whereas the Catholic majority was deprived of all rights and had to pay tithes to the state Anglican Church. This principle was expressed most brazenly in the Penal Code (see Note 238) against the Catholics. p. 216

262 The recognition of the American colonies' independence and the conclusion of the treaties of alliance and commerce on February 6, 1778, involved France, in alliance with Spain, in war with Britain (see Note 259). p. 217

263 The principles of armed neutrality proclaimed by the government of Catherine II in 1780 were soon recognised by several states as the norm for international maritime law. They envisaged freedom of trade between neutral and belligerent countries, prohibition of privateering, inviolability of neutral

cargo carried by enemy vessels and of enemy cargo carried by neutral vessels (with the exception of arms smuggling), and refusal to recognise a port under blockade if access is not blocked by the enemy navy. The declaration on armed neutrality undermined Great Britain's monopoly domination of the seas and helped the North American states in their struggle for independence.

p. 218

264 Marx borrowed the expression "armed Protestantism of Ireland" from Thomas Davis' "Memoir" in the book J. Ph. Curran, *The Speeches...*, p. XIX, to describe the Irish Volunteer movement in the late eighteenth century. In his outline of the four periods in the Volunteer movement, Marx gives long quotations from Davis. p. 218

265 The *Catholic Committee* was founded in the late 1750s. Among its members were liberal Catholic landowners, Catholic merchants, manufacturers and intellectuals whose aim was to fight for the alleviation and repeal of the penal laws against the Catholics. Originally the Catholic Committee took a very moderate and loyal stand in regard to the English authorities. But the national upsurge at the end of the eighteenth century changed its composition and tactics, and radical elements of the Irish bourgeoisie now prevailed in the Committee. Its left wing took part in the Volunteer movement and subsequently joined the revolutionary Society of United Irishmen. The efforts of the Catholic Committee to secure for the Catholics equal rights with the Protestants continued in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

The *Whig Club* was founded in 1789 in Dublin and the Northern Whig Club in 1791 in Belfast. The composition and political tendencies of this organisation were diverse. Its Protestant leaders voiced the interests of Protestant liberal landlords and the big bourgeoisie. They stood for a compromise with the British Government and wanted to keep the national movement within strictly constitutional bounds. The committee's radical wing, on the contrary, proposed more resolute action and later formed the nucleus of the United Irishmen Society. p. 219

266 The rest of the section (up to the asterisks), consists of Marx's close rendering of passages from Davis' "Memoir" in J. Ph. Curran, *The Speeches...* (pp. XIX-XX) and excerpts from this book. p. 219

267 Marx refers to the struggle for political power among British ruling political circles under George III. In 1788, after George III's first attack of insanity, the Prince of Wales (the future George IV) and his followers believed that the Prince would become Regent, but the King quickly recovered, and the Prince, who had hoped that the Whigs would help him pay his debts, was rejected by the head of the Cabinet, Pitt. In 1806 the latter died and the administration actually went over to Fox, a representative of the Whigs. In 1811 George III's health deteriorated and the question of the Regency was finally settled.

p. 219

268 The *Catholic Relief Act* was passed by the Irish Parliament, with the consent of the British Government, in April 1793. It abrogated part of the Penal Code. Catholic freeholders paying income tax of not less than 40s., were officially allowed to vote. The Catholics were granted the right to acquire, sell and transfer property by will; they were allowed to enter Dublin University but, as before, could not stand for election to Parliament. p. 220

269 At the beginning of February 1793 Britain officially began a war with the French Republic. This war was extremely unpopular in Ireland, and the United

Irishmen Society issued proclamations calling on the government to conclude an honourable peace with France. The English ruling circles launched an offensive against the Irish national liberation movement. The Convention, Gunpowder and other Acts passed by the Irish Parliament in 1793 effectively deprived the Volunteer organisations and the United Irishmen of their legal ground. p. 220

270 *Dublin Castle* was built by the English conquerors in the thirteenth century and became the seat of the English authorities—the Lord Lieutenant (Viceroy) of Ireland and the Privy Council (see Note 253), and a stronghold against the Irish population. It was a symbol of English colonial rule. p. 222

271 The full text of the resolution moved by Hussey Burgh reads as follows: "We beg to represent to His Majesty that it is not by temporary expedients, but by a *free trade alone,* that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin." It is quoted in the book: J. Mitchel, *The History of Ireland,* Vol. I, p. 127.

Marx made wide use of the factual information in this book and of the quoted texts of speeches and documents, but he hardly ever quoted the author's text. Marx must have borrowed from Mitchel's book excerpts from some of Grattan's speeches, the text of the resolution adopted by the Volunteer Convention at Dungannon and data concerning the correspondence between Fitzwilliam and Lord Carlyle (Mitchel, op. cit., Vol. I, chapters XX and XXVIII). Information on the Irish uprising of 1798, on the use of Hanoverian and other German troops for the suppression of the Irish national movement also came from the same source (Mitchel, op. cit., Vol. I, chapters XXVI, XXXII and XXXIII). When estimating the policy of the English Prime Minister Pitt the Younger, Marx also took some of Mitchel's conclusions into account. He gave high praise to Mitchel's activities as a leader of the revolutionary-democratic trend in the Irish national movement in the 1840s and valued his opinion as a historian. p. 222

272 A *Mutiny Act* (an Act for Punishing Officers or Soldiers who shall Mutiny or Desert Their Majesties' Service) was passed annually by Parliament from 1689 to 1881. This Act invested the Crown with the authority to have a standing army and navy of a certain strength, to introduce rules and regulations in the army and navy, to court-martial and to establish a system of punishment for mutiny, disobedience of orders, breach of discipline, etc. p. 224

273 The *Methuen Treaty* was a trade treaty concluded between England and Portugal on December 27, 1703. It was signed by the English diplomat John Methuen, hence its name. It opened wide access in Portugal for English woollens, in return for which Portugal received the right to export its wines to England on favourable terms. p. 224

274 See Note 142. p. 225

275 The Declaration was published in a book by J. Mitchel, *The History of Ireland, from the Treaty of Limerick to the Present Time,* Dublin, 1869, Vol. I, pp. 138-39. p. 225

276 In this section Marx must have taken passages from the speeches of Portland, Grattan, Hutchinson and others from *The Speeches of the Right Honourable Henry Grattan,* published in London in 1822-30 in four volumes (the quoted passages are from Vol. I, pp. 131-134, 139, 122-23, 129, 138-43), and from the book: J. Mitchel, *The History of Ireland,* Vol. I, pp. 144-45. p. 226

277 George III's Speech from the Throne of April 8, 1782 (Marx mistakenly wrote April 18) was read by Fox in the House of Commons on April 9. Conveying the contents of the speech, Marx apparently drew on J. Mitchel's *History of Ireland,* Vol. I, p. 144. p. 226

278 The *Court of King's (Queen's) Bench*—one of the oldest courts in England. In the nineteenth century (up to 1873) it was an independent supreme court for criminal and civil cases, competent to review the decisions of lower judicial bodies. p. 232

279 The *rotten boroughs* were sparsely populated constituencies which had retained the right to a seat in Parliament from the Middle Ages. In practice the election of M.P.s from the rotten boroughs depended on the landlords who controlled them. p. 233

280 See Note 265. p. 236

281 The text to the end of the section (up to the asterisks) consists of Marx's close renderings of passages from Curran's speeches and Davis' "Notices" in *The Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran,* and extracts from the book (pp. 53-60, 73-76, 91-103 and 131-36). p. 237

282 This section contains Marx's close renderings of passages from Curran's speeches and Davis' "Notices" in *The Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran,* and extracts from the book (pp. 46-56). p. 239

283 This section contains Marx's close renderings of Davis' "Notices" and Curran's speeches from the book J. Ph. Curran, *The Speeches...,* and extracts from the book (pp. 82-91). p. 241

284 This section contains Marx's close renderings of passages from *The Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran,* and quotations from the book (pp. 61-65, 68-73 and 76-77). p. 242

285 See Note 237. p. 242

286 *Right Boys* (from the name of an imaginary leader known as Captain Right)—a secret peasant society that arose in 1785 in the southern counties of Ireland as a spontaneous protest by the Irish peasants against cruel oppression. The Right Boys employed the same organisational forms (special ritual, oath of loyalty) and the same methods of struggle (threatening letters, raids on estates, terrorist acts against landlords, middlemen, tax and tithe collectors, destruction of enclosures put up on communal lands, seizure of the harvests grown on landlords' fields, etc.) as did the secret peasant societies that appeared in various localities of Ireland in the 1760s, such as Whiteboys, Steelhearts and the like. The actions of these societies often developed into local peasant revolts. The English authorities resorted to the most cruel punitive measures against them. p. 243

287 In this section Marx renders and quotes passages from Davis' "Notices" in *The Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran,* pp. 103, 128-30. p. 244

288 See Note 241. p. 245

289 See Note 265. p. 245

290 A reference to the final stage of the royalist uprising that flared up in March 1793 in the Vendée, a department in the west of France. The rebels were mostly backward peasants, incited by counter-revolutionary noblemen and priests. The English ruling circles supported the Vendée rebels with arms and money. A

decisive blow was inflicted on them in 1795 by republican troops under Lazar Hoche. Many leaders of the uprising were executed in 1796, but attempts to renew it were made in 1799 and in later years.

A Vendée has become a synonym for a reactionary uprising. p. 246

291 The text to the end of the section consists of Marx's close rendering of passages from Davis' "Memoir" and "Notices" in *The Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran,* and quotations from the book (pp. XX-XXI and 138-42). p. 247

292 This section consists of Marx's close renderings of passages from Curran's speeches and from Davis' "Memoir" and "Notices" in *The Speeches...,* and quotations from that book (pp. XXI, 154-56). p. 247

293 See Note 265. p. 247

294 A reference to the so-called corresponding societies—democratic organisations that arose in England and Scotland under the impact of revolutionary events in France. A particularly important role was played by the London Corresponding Society founded at the beginning of 1792 with Thomas Hardy, a shoemaker, as chairman. The corresponding societies disseminated the ideas of the French Revolution, demanded peace with the French Republic and fought for democratic reforms in England. The societies existed for a number of years despite cruel persecution by the government. p. 248

295 *Dissenters*—persons who do not profess the state religion. Here the author refers to adherents of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland among the descendants of the Scottish colonists who had moved to Northern Ireland, and to members of various Protestant sects at variance with the official Anglican Church. p. 248

296 A reference to the convocation of the Volunteer Convention at Dungannon on February 15, 1793, where the delegates expressed their readiness to fight for the equal rights for the Protestants and Catholics. p. 248

297 Marx quotes the above-mentioned Declaration and the Address of the Irish Jacobins of Belfast to the Public apparently from Davis' commentaries to Curran's speeches (see *The Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran,* Dublin, 1855, pp. 208-09). Further, till the end of the section, there follow extracts from Davis' "Memoir" and commentaries, and from Curran's speeches (op. cit., pp. XXI-XXII, 147-53, 173-74). p. 249

298 See Note 223. p. 250

299 Marx refers to the sharp criticism to which the 1793 Convention Act was subjected by the English radical writer William Cobbett in the columns of his journal *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register* (see Vol. XIX, 1811, pp. 417-18) and to its application in Ireland at the beginning of the nineteenth century. p. 251

300 See Note 223. p. 252

301 *Defenders*—the members of an organisation of Irish Catholics, which emerged in the 1780s and 1790s in defence against the terrorist gangs of Protestants (yeomen). Many of the Defenders, recruited mainly from among the Irish peasants, took part in the national liberation uprising of 1798.

*Ribbonmen*—Irish peasants who were united in secret societies and wore a green ribbon as an emblem. The Ribbonmen movement was a form of popular

resistance to the arbitrary rule of the English landlords and the forcible eviction of tenants from the land. The Ribbonmen attacked estates and organised attempts on the lives of hated landlords and managers. The activities of the Ribbonmen had a purely local, decentralised character and they had no common programme of action. p. 252

302 The text below consists of Marx's close renderings of passages from Curran's speeches and Davis' "Notices" in *The Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran,* Dublin, 1855 (pp. 190, 196, 211-12, 248-58, 261, 264-85, 315-16) and quotations from the book. p. 253

303 The expedition under General Hoche was organised by the French Government (Directory) on the insistence of Wolfe Tone, a leader of the United Irishmen Society, who came to France early in 1796 to obtain military assistance for the Irish patriots. He thought the arrival of the French landing force would be the signal for a general uprising in Ireland. The flotilla with the landing force sailed from Brest in mid-December 1796, but only a few ships reached Bantry Bay, the rest either being scattered by storms or sunk by English ships, as is stated in Marx's excerpts (see this volume, p. 280). The expedition was a failure and, towards the end of December, the surviving ships returned to Brest. In spite of this the English authorities waited with apprehension for General Hoche to resume landing operations early in 1797. However, fresh attempts to land French troops in Ireland were undertaken only later (one attempt, in the autumn of 1798, is described below, see pp. 281-82) with very weak landing forces, since support for Ireland's fight for independence was a subordinate issue in the strategy of the French bourgeois rulers, as compared with their plans for conquering colonies in the Middle East and other regions (Bonaparte's campaign in Egypt, Syria, etc.). p. 254

304 See Note 251. p. 256

305 A reference to the provocative role of Prussian ruling circles during the second and third partitions of Poland at the close of the eighteenth century. Secretly inciting Polish patriots against Tsarist Russia, the Prussian Government helped in the second partition of Polish lands (1793) and in suppressing the uprising led by Tadeusz Kościuszko, which was followed by the third partition of Poland (between Prussia, Austria and Russia) and the final liquidation of the Polish state (1795).

The policy of the English Government with respect to Ireland at the close of the eighteenth century is compared with Prussia's policy on the Polish question in G. Ensor, *Anti-Union. Ireland as She Ought to Be,* Newry, 1831, p. 85. In some sections of the present work Marx made wide use of this Irish journalist's accusatory pamphlet. Marx refers to Ensor's pamphlet mainly when he examines the concrete situation and methods of enforcing the Union. He also borrows historical parallels from Ensor (with the Cromwellian period, with the Union of 1707 between England and Scotland and with the Swedish-Norwegian Union of 1814), plus quotations from speeches made by various statesmen, and passages from newspapers and books by Petty, Lawrence, Harris and other authors whom Ensor himself often quoted without giving reference to the actual editions. p. 258

306 Here and below, up to the section "Lord Cornwallis' Administration", Marx gives rendering of passages from Ensor's book *Anti-Union. Ireland as She Ought to Be,* Newry, 1831, pp. 85-89. p. 258

[307] A reference to the Peace Treaty, which Charles Cornwallis concluded in 1792 with Tippoo Sahib (or Tippoo Sultan)—ruler of the South-Indian state of Mysore, who offered stubborn resistance to English expansion. Under the treaty, Mysore lost a considerable part of its territory and had to pay the East India Company 33 million rupees. Further attempts by Tippoo Sultan to prevent England's conquest of India resulted in a fourth Anglo-Mysore war (1799), in which Tippoo was killed and Mysore became a vassal state. p. 259

[308] The bottom of Marx's manuscript page 46 is left blank with a remark in Marx's hand "See continuation p. 47". In turn, part of the text on page 47, repeating the foregoing description of Cornwallis' actions against the French landing force and Irish insurgents, is deleted with a vertical line. The undeleted text begins with a repetition of the sentence, a little longer this time, "Pitt now conceived...". p. 261

[309] See Note 186. p. 262

[310] A reference to the unification of England and Scotland into a single state—the Kingdom of Great Britain—by the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707, which abolished Scotland's parliament, allowing Scottish deputies several scores of seats in the English Parliament. However, the autonomy and rights of the Presbyterian Church were retained. The people opposed the Union, seeing it as an encroachment on their country's independence. It was, however, enforced thanks to the efforts of the Scottish aristocrats, who sought thus to secure their privileges, and of the Scottish upper bourgeoisie seeking access to enterprise in the colonies and to England's world trade. p. 263

[311] The Swedish-Norwegian Union of 1814 reflected the interests of Sweden's ruling classes. By their promises to help in incorporating Norway into the Swedish Crown, the governments of certain European countries, including England, secured Sweden's participation in the anti-Napoleon coalition of 1813-14. The annexation was sanctioned by the Vienna Congress (1814-15). The Union, however, provided for an autonomous Norwegian Parliament and administration. In 1905 the Norwegian Parliament abrogated the Union and Norway regained her independence. p. 264

[312] A reference to Pitt's resignation in view of the forthcoming Anglo-French negotiations which resulted in the conclusion of the Peace Treaty of Amiens (see Note 251). p. 265

[313] *Threshers* were members of a secret peasant organisation active in the Irish countries of Mayo, Leitrim, Slygow and Roscommon in 1806 and 1807. They opposed excessive requisitions made by church tithe collectors. The authorities meted out cruel punishments to the threshers, many of whom were hanged. p. 266

[314] Here and elsewhere Marx quotes *The Morning Chronicle* for June 1828 from G. Ensor, *Anti-Union. Ireland as She Ought to Be,* Newry, 1831, p. 31. p. 268

[315] This section consists of Marx's close rendering of passages and of quotations from Ensor's *Anti-Union. Ireland as She Ought to Be,* Newry, 1831, pp. 6, 18, 24-27, 44-45. p. 268

[316] On August 16, 1819 government troops shot down unarmed participants in a mass meeting in support of electoral reform at St. Peter's Fields, near Manchester. After the "Battle of Peterloo", as this massacre was ironically

called by analogy with the Battle of Waterloo, Parliament hastened to pass six reactionary acts against freedom of the press and assembly ("gagging laws"), Castlereagh being one of the initiators of their adoption. p. 268

317 This and the next section of the manuscript consist of Marx's renderings and quotations from Ensor's book *Anti-Union...*, pp. 51, 54, 56-57. p. 269

318 See Note 232. p. 269

319 *Brehon*—an ancient Irish lawyer or judge; *Brehon law*—the code of law used in Ireland before its occupation by the English. p. 269

320 A reference to two major uprisings against English rule in Ireland.

The first uprising started in 1315 when a detachment led by Edward Bruce, brother of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, landed in Ireland shortly after routing the army of King Edward II of England. Many Irish clan chiefs joined him. However, although the army led by Robert Bruce came to the assistance of the Irish insurgents, the uprising was quelled in 1318.

On the uprising of 1641-52 see Note 229. p. 269

321 The second part of the work is subdivided in almost the same way as the first. The only difference being that here two paragraphs are designated by the letter c): "Volunteer Organisation" and "Declaration of Irish Independence", whereas in the main part of the work the first of these paragraphs is designated by the letter b). p. 270

322 See Note 240. p. 270

323 See Note 264. p. 270

324 See Note 271. p. 271

325 See Note 270. p. 274

326 Notes on Goldwin Smith's book *Irish History and Irish Character* (Oxford and London, 1861) are to be found in Notebook IV, one of those with excerpts that Engels wrote while working on *The History of Ireland.* Smith's book drew Engels' attention not as a source for the study of Irish history, but rather as a specimen of the Liberal falsification of this history that reflected the colonialist tendencies of the English bourgeoisie. Engels considered refutation of such chauvinistic conceptions to be one of his most important tasks, as witnessed by his sharp criticism of Smith in this and other articles, in particular by his description of this author in *The History of Ireland, Varia on the History of the Irish Confiscations,* as well as in his excerpts from M. O'Conor's *History of the Irish Catholics...* and in his letter to Marx of November 29, 1869 (see present edition, Vol. 43).

Engels set down these excerpts and critical remarks on Smith's book in November 1869. The work consists of two parts: Notebook IV begins with the first; the second follows Engels' excerpts from another book on Irish history and is entitled: "Goldwin Smith. Conclusion (passages quoted word for word and addenda)". Apart from new excerpts referring to the book as a whole, Engels quotes entire passages that were merely mentioned in the first part. In both parts there are insertions in the margin made by Engels at a later date and references to other notebooks with excerpts comparing Smith's views to those of other authors and to data obtained from other sources.

In Engels' manuscript there are direct quotations from Smith's book (and from other authors) in the original English and also his own renderings of certain passages, also in English (these are given in this volume, like the quotations, in brevier but without quotation marks). Engels wrote his own

remarks mostly in German (the English translation is in great primer) and in English (these are in small caps in this volume). Words doubly underlined by Engels are printed here in bold face. Italics in the quotations are by Engels.

The notes were first published in English in Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question,* Moscow, 1978. p. 283

327 A reference to Engels' excerpts from the book: Matthew O'Conor, *The History of the Irish Catholics from the Settlement in 1691 with a View of the State of Ireland from the Invasion by Henry II to the Revolution,* Dublin, 1813, supplemented with facts from many other works. Engels' excerpts were published for the first time in Russian in 1948 in *Marx-Engels Archives,* Vol. X, under the heading "Excerpts on the History of Ireland in the 17th and 18th Centuries". p. 283

328 Engels refers to the book by J. G. Kohl, *Reisen in Irland,* Vols. I and II, Dresden and Leipzig, 1843, excerpts from which he later inserted in the notebook of notes on Smith's book. Engels said that the Irish people were still in the grip of superstition at the time when Kohl travelled in Ireland.

*"Two year olds"* and *"three year olds"*—names applied to groups of fighters in Ireland. It is believed that these names derived from debates about the age of steers. p. 284

329 Here and below Engels refers to his excerpts from the book by John Davies, *Historical Tracts,* London, 1786, which he wrote down on separate sheets, apparently in order to compare evidence concerning Irish customs as interpreted by Smith and other English historians with that taken directly from source. Excerpts are made from Davies' main treatise: *True Causes Why Ireland was never entirely subdued and brought under obedience of the Crown of England until the Beginning of his Majesty's happy Reign* (the reference is to James I, during whose reign this treatise was published, 1612).

In Engels' opinion, this treatise by Davies was a very important source for the study of the Irish medieval history (see his letter to Marx of November 29, 1869, present edition, Vol. 43). Consequently, in addition to the excerpts, Engels wrote a detailed conspectus of this book (Notebook V) to which he refers in his insertions to the Notes on Goldwin Smith's work and in other material on the history of Ireland.

In his excerpts, Engels gave an explanation of such Irish customs as tanistry and gavelkind, either by quoting the source or by giving his own rendering.

*Tanistry*—a system regulating the inheritance of chieftainship of the Celtic clans and septs (tribes) in Ireland. Like many other Irish customs, it was a relic of the tribal system. According to this custom, the clan chief's successor was appointed during the lifetime of the chief from a definite family in the clan, whose members were considered the "eldest and worthiest".

*Gavelkind*—a term borrowed from the common law of the inhabitants of Kent and applied by English jurists to the Irish rules regulating the passing of the lands of a deceased member of the clan or sept into other hands. Ever since the time when tribal relations prevailed, land was regarded by the indigenous Irish not as private property but as a temporary tenure. Thus, after the death of its owner it did not pass to his descendants but was distributed among all free male kinsmen, including his sons out of wedlock. Although the lands of the chiefs and members of the clan élite were by that time no longer parcelled out after their death, they were not regarded as their private property and were not inherited by the family but passed to a new owner in accordance with the described tanistry principle. p. 284

330 See Note 230. p. 285

331 See Note 185. p. 286

332 See Note 237. p. 286

333 The *Wars of the Roses* (1455-85)—wars between the feudal Houses of York and Lancaster fighting for the throne, the white rose being the badge of the House of York, and the red rose that of the House of Lancaster. The wars almost completely wiped out the ancient feudal nobility and brought Henry VII to power to form a new dynasty, that of the Tudors, who established absolute monarchy in England. p. 286

334 The Brotherhood of St. George had as its members the thirteen most powerful English and Irish feudal lords of the Pale. Edward IV, who feared that the Pale would separate from England, hastened to renounce the services of this Brotherhood.

The note in brackets to the effect that the fact mentioned in Thomas Moore's *The History of Ireland,* Paris, 1835-46, vols. I-IV (there are excerpts from it in Notebook II of Engels' preparatory material for *The History of Ireland*) is not to be found in Engels' *Chronology of Ireland* was apparently inserted at a later date.

*Chronology of Ireland,* compiled by Engels mainly from Moore's book, is contained in Engels' notebook XI of excerpts. The number was entered later. Engels may have compiled it in the late spring or early summer of 1870 when he began work on his preparatory material for *The History of Ireland* before, or simultaneously with, the writing of its first chapters. Written in German, the manuscript was first published in Russian in *Marx-Engels Archives,* Vol. X, Moscow, 1948. In English it was first published in Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. p. 287

335 In 1366, the Parliament in Kilkenny adopted the Statute of Kilkenny—a code of prohibitions designed to protect the colonists from the spread of Irish customs and habits. Under the threat of confiscating land, the Statute forbade the English resident in Ireland to intermarry with the Irish, to appoint Irishmen to ecclesiastical posts, and to use their apparel, customs, or language. The English law was valid within the territory of the Pale. The adoption of the Statute was prompted by the desire of the English authorities to intensify their policy of conquest in Ireland and to legalise the inequality of the Irish population in the occupied part of the island, as well as to counteract the separatist tendencies of the Anglo-Irish nobility, whose strength lay in their ties with the Irish clan chiefs. p. 287

336 In his synopsis of Davies' book (in Notebook V), to which Engels is here referring, he accused Smith of misinterpreting the quoted sources. Among other things, Davies wrote that indigenous Irishmen accused of murder were convicted and fined a specified sum of money in favour of the English King. From Davies' text it also followed that one Irish chief's answer concerning the sheriff was given in jest, whereas Smith quotes it to prove that the laws on the legal privileges of English colonists in Ireland are allegedly fully justified.

Excerpts from Spenser's book, *A View of the State of Ireland,* to which Engels also refers in connection with the Kilkenny Statute, are to be found in Notebook VI of his preparatory material. p. 287

337 *Geraldines*—an Anglo-Irish aristocratic family that descended from the first conquerors of Ireland, the Anglo-Norman nobles from South Wales. In

Ireland, the Geraldines became related to the clan chiefs and thereby acquired considerable connections and influence. At the same time they fought in the wars of conquest against the indigenous Irish. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, two branches of the Geraldine family—the Earls of Desmond and the Earls of Kildare—played a particularly prominent role. Both were descendants of Maurice Fitzgerald, the leader of one of the armies of the Anglo-Norman barons that invaded Ireland in 1169-71. p. 288

338 See Note 189. p. 288

339 "*Potemkin villages*"—an expression for false, ostentatious prosperity, originating from rumours that, when the Russian Empress Catherine II made a trip to the South in 1787, her favourite G. A. Potemkin, governor-general of the southern provinces of Russia, had sham villages put up all along her route to demonstrate the "prosperity" of his region. p. 288

340 See Note 186. p. 289

341 *Orangemen* or *Orange Lodges* (the Orangeist Order)—named after William III, Prince of Orange—an organisation set up in Ireland in 1795. The English authorities, the landlords and Protestant clergy used this organisation to fight the Irish national liberation movement. The Order united English and Irish elements from all layers of society and systematically incited Protestants against the Irish Catholics. The Orangemen had a particularly great influence in Northern Ireland, where the majority of the population were Protestants. p. 289

342 *Sepoys* were native Indian soldiers serving in the British colonial army. They made up the core of the popular Indian uprising of 1857-59 (Sepoy mutiny) against British colonial rule. p. 289

343 In this passage Engels exposes the apologetic attempts of Smith and other English historians to justify English cruelty in Ireland by references to the intolerance and fanaticism characteristic of the whole period of the religious wars (including the Thirty Years' War, 1618-48, whose main battleground was Germany), and to the persecution of the Protestants in the absolutist Catholic states of Europe. p. 289

344 See Note 236. p. 289

345 Engels refers to MacGeoghegan's *History of Ireland.* Translated by O'Kelly, Dublin, 1844 (originally published in French, in Paris in 1758). John Mitchel's *History of Ireland* was written as a continuation of that book (see Note 250). p. 290

346 See Note 311. p. 291

347 Major battles in the *Hundred Years' War* between England and France (1337-1453) took place at Crécy in 1346 and at Poitiers in 1356. p. 291

348 *Irishry*—the name used from the second half of the fourteenth century to distinguish the indigenous population of Ireland from the English settlers. The former were mainly Irishmen who lived beyond the Pale and who retained their independence, their social order and customs up to the sixteenth century. p. 292

349 See Note 278. p. 293

350 A reference to the uprising in Ulster that broke out on October 23, 1641, under the leadership of Phelim O'Neill and sparked off the Irish people's national liberation uprising (see Note 229). p. 293

351 *Sicilian Vespers*—a popular uprising against the French invaders that broke out in Palermo on March 30, 1282, during vespers. Inflamed by the cruelty of the French soldiers, the uprising spread throughout Sicily. As a result, the French army was driven out and the Anjou dynasty, which had ruled the Kingdom of Sicily from 1266, was dethroned. p. 294

352 In 1853, Parliament adopted a Bill on the encumbered estates in Ireland belonging to the Irish nobility. At that time there were many estates in Ireland which had been mortgaged and mortgaged again because their owners were unable to make ends meet. Moreover, according to English legislation they were obliged to help the poor residing on their lands. Under the 1853 Act, these estates (the remnants of the Irish landed estates) were to be sold quickly to the highest bidder and the proceeds used to pay off creditors. This was one of the measures that helped English landlords to take possession of Irish lands and use them as pasture. p. 295

353 Engels' own title for the preparatory material to his unfinished work on the history of Ireland, included in Notebook X, is *Varia zur Geschichte der irischen Konfiskationen.* J. N. Murphy's *Ireland, Industrial, Political, and Social,* London, 1870, of which he made a conspectus in the previous notebook, served Engels as the main source for this work. In the *Varia,* however, Engels endeavoured to disclose and generalise the historical facts relevant to the cardinal problem in the history of Anglo-Irish relations, the expropriation of the indigenous population of Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and of her conversion into a mainstay of English landlordism as a result of the plunder of Irish lands by the "new" nobility and bourgeoisie. This process, which took place in the period of English absolutism and bourgeois revolution, led to the final colonial subjugation of Ireland by bourgeois-aristocratic England.

The pages in Notebook X are divided into two columns. Excerpts from Murphy's book are in the left-hand column. The right-hand column was, most probably, meant for excerpts from other sources but remained blank (except for two lines on one of the pages). However, on the basis of numerous references made by Engels to his own notebooks, as well as to works and collections of documents mentioned by Murphy, we may assume that Engels intended to collect extensive material on this subject from various sources and to supplement and, in some cases, verify data given by Murphy with evidence from other authors (Thomas Leland, Thomas Carte, John Patrick Prendergast, Matthew O'Conor and others). The pages of the notebook were numbered by Engels. At the top of each one he wrote the title of the relevant section, which sometimes repeated that given on the preceding page, adding the word "continued".

The first page, entitled "15th Century", remained blank. The left-hand column is sometimes not entirely filled. Some pages are left blank merely reproducing the titles given on the preceding page.

*Varia* was written by Engels in German and English. Direct quotations from different sources (written by Engels as a rule in English) and Engels' close renderings of passages in German or English are given in this volume in brevier, while Engels' own remarks, mostly in German, are given in great primer. Separate English words, titles, or phrases, occurring in the German text are given in small caps.

The work was published in English for the first time in Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. p. 297

354 *Fee tail*—an estate the use of which is limited to a category of heirs stipulated in the grant; in practice it means life tenancy. p. 298

355 Engels refers to W. Camden's *Annals, or the History of Elizabeth.* The book was first published in Latin (London, 1615); the English translation was also published there in 1625-29. Here and below Engels quotes this work according to Murphy's *Ireland, Industrial, Political, and Social.* p. 298

356 In this passage Engels analyses the anti-Catholic act passed by the Government of Elizabeth, given by Murphy on pp. 256-60 of his book. (This act imposed fines for non-attendance at a Protestant Church, introduced the Oath of Supremacy to the Queen as head of the Anglican Church, making this oath a condition of access to government service, to practice at the bar and to obtaining documents for the acquisition of land, etc.) Engels describes the act of 1560 and similar later acts as penal laws, evidently by analogy with the widespread term used to describe the anti-Catholic legislation for Ireland at the end of the seventeenth century and in the early half of the eighteenth century (see Note 238). p. 299

357 Engels refers here to his excerpts from J. Davies' *Historical Tracts* (see Note 329), pp. 127, 128, 135, 136. p. 299

358 See Note 329. p. 299

359 See Note 278. p. 299

360 See Note 334. p. 299

361 A reference to the book by Th. Carte, *An History of the Life of James, Duke of Ormonde, from His Birth in 1610, to His Death in 1688,* vols. I-II, London, 1735-36. Below Engels refers both to the extracts from this edition in Murphy's book and to his excerpts from Carte's work included in Notebook VII of his preparatory material for his *History of Ireland.* p. 299

362 Engels' excerpts in the indicated passage describe in detail the confiscation of the lands of Irish clans in the province of Leinster during the reign of James I under the pretext of defective titles possessed by clan chiefs. The text of the corresponding passage from Carte's book is reproduced in *Marx-Engels Archives,* Vol. X, Moscow, 1948, p. 254, and in Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, Note 248. p. 300

363 Engels refers to the passage in his excerpts from M. O'Conor's *History of the Irish Catholics,* already referred to *Chronology of Ireland.* p. 300

364 "*Graces*"—minor concessions "granted" to Irish Catholic lords and gentry by Charles I in 1628, after receiving from them large financial subsidies over a period of three years. The relevant document granted Irish Catholics certain guarantees of title deeds and instituted that only those of less than sixty years' duration were to be verified; it replaced the Oath of Supremacy to the King as head of the Anglican Church by the Oath of Loyalty in the event of Catholics being appointed to office; it permitted them to practise at the bar, etc. However, these "graces" were not properly formalised, and very soon representatives of the English Crown, in particular the Lord Lieutenant of Wentworth (Strafford), began grossly to violate them. p. 301

365 The *Court of High Commission* was founded in England in 1559 by Elizabeth I to deal with breaches of royal edicts and Acts of Parliament instrumental in furthering the Reformation, and with offences against the Church of England.

It was directed not only against the Catholics but also against the radical Protestant sects—the Puritans. p. 301

366 The *Star Chamber* was founded in England in 1487 by Henry VII as a special court for the trial of local barons. Under Elizabeth I it became one of the supreme judicial bodies investigating political crimes, a weapon in the ruthless struggle against the opponents of absolutism. Like the Court of High Commission, it was abolished by the Long Parliament in 1641.

In Ireland, the introduction by Strafford of similar institutions (one of them was called the Castle Chamber because it convened in Dublin Castle, the residence of the Lord Deputy) mainly served the purpose of expropriation and colonisation. p. 301

367 Edmund Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland,* in *Ancient Irish Histories,* Dublin, 1809. In Engels' excerpts from Spenser's book (see Note 336) the following passage refers to the Irish clergy:

"...ye may find there ... gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinency, careless sloth, and generally all disordered life in the common clergyman. And besides ... they do go and live like laymen, follow all kinds of husbandry and other worldly affairs as other Irishmen do. They neither read Scriptures, nor preach to the people, nor administer the Communion, but baptism they do, ... they take the tithes and offerings and gather what fruit else they may of their living, ... and some of them ... pay, as due, tributes and shares of their livings to their bishops..." (Spenser, pp. 139-40). Engels added the following remark: *"All the above, apparently, refers to the Protestant priests of that time."* p. 302

368 A reference to an order given in 1641 by Lords Justices Parsons and Borlase to the English Commander with instructions to "wound, kill, slay, and destroy all the rebels and their adherents and relievers, and burn, spoil, waste, consume, destroy, and demolish all the places, towns, and houses where the rebels were or have been relieved or harboured, and all the corn and hay there, and *to kill and destroy all the men there inhabiting able to bear arms".* p. 302

369 In October 1642, the participants in the Irish uprising of 1641-52 (see Note 229) formed the *Catholic Confederation,* a state organisation with its centre in Kilkenny and the Supreme Council as a provisional government. A struggle went on within the Kilkenny Confederation between the Anglo-Irish nobility and the high Catholic clergy, on the one hand, and the more radical elements from among the gentry expropriated by the English, and émigré officers who had returned to Ireland, on the other hand. While the former strove for compromise with Charles I, the latter stood for Ireland's independence and resolute action both against the English parliamentary forces and the English Royalists. The predominance of aristocrats, their policy of vacillation, their treaties with Charles I which put him in control of the armed forces and resources of the Confederation—all this weakened the Irish resistance and led to the defeat of the uprising. p. 302

370 Cromwell and his followers (who had defeated the Royalist forces in England, proclaimed a republic and beheaded Charles I) organised a punitive expedition to Ireland on the pretext of destroying a Royalist stronghold. The true aim of the expedition was the colonial subjugation of the country. On August 15, 1649, Cromwell's army landed in Ireland and commenced the brutal suppression of the Irish rebellion, which was continued by Cromwell's successors, the Republican generals.

Drogheda, an ancient fortress in Eastern Ireland, was besieged by Oliver Cromwell on September 3, 1649, and taken by storm on September 12. In accordance with the Commander-in-Chief's order to show no mercy to anyone caught with arms, the three-thousand-strong Irish garrison was massacred and many peaceful citizens were killed. p. 302

371 *Soldiers' debentures*—titles to plots of Irish land of definite size. They were given to soldiers of the Parliamentary army in lieu of wages. In many cases officers and profiteers bought them from the soldiers for a song. p. 303

372 Engels refers to his excerpts from the book by J. Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland,* London, 1865. In these excerpts, Engels describes the Act of Settlement (August 12, 1652) and the Act of Satisfaction (September 26, 1653) (see Note 214). Both acts legalised the expropriation of the local Irish population in favour of the English conquerors after suppression of the 1641-52 national liberation uprising in Ireland. The English set up a special commission in Athlone (which is mentioned by Engels below) to implement the second act and compensate Irishmen found only partially guilty of revolt by allotting them land in the barren province of Connaught and in Clare County. This commission defined the size of the domains to be kept, the other one, at Lougry, allotted lands in Connaught and Clare on the instructions of a special Committee in Dublin. p. 303

373 See Note 232. p. 303

374 Engels refers to his notes from Matthew O'Conor's *The History of the Irish Catholics,* supplemented by excerpts from other sources. In this particular case the reference is to the passage dealing with the declaration made in 1660 by the government of Charles II at the outset of the Stuart Restoration (on the Irish policy of the post-Restoration Stuarts see Note 387). According to that declaration the "adventurers" (see Note 232), the officers and men of the Parliamentary army retained their possessions in Ireland, while officers of Ormonde's Royalist army, who had served under him up to 1649 (hence the term "forty-nine officers"; in that year the majority of the defeated English Royalists left Ireland and the resistance to Cromwell's troops was continued mainly by the Irish rebels), received compensation in the form of those same confiscated Irish lands. Indigenous Irishmen, who had fought under the King's banner during the Civil War and been deprived of their possessions because of it, received practically no compensation. p. 304

375 Given below are data on the confiscations of Irish lands carried out by William III after the suppression of the 1689-91 Irish uprising (see Note 229) and in violation of the terms of surrender signed with the insurgents at Limerick (see Note 236). p. 305

376 This plan is part of Engels' vast preparatory material for his *History of Ireland* (see Note 184). It includes Engels' own division of Irish history into periods.

In English this plan was first published in Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. p. 307

377 The plan of Chapter Two and the most significant fragments for Engels' *History of Ireland* comprise part of his preparatory material for this work. Chapter Two, "Old Ireland", remained unfinished, but its plan gives an idea of the problems Engels wanted to raise.

In English this plan is published for the first time in this volume. Some fragments were first published in English in Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.

In this volume the plan and fragments are printed according to the manuscript written mostly in German, and partly in English. English words used by Engels are given in small caps. p. 308

378 Engels refers to the works on the history of ancient Ireland by Ed. Ledwich, a well-known Irish archaeologist. p. 308

379 *Coshery*—an ancient right, dating back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of an Irish chief of a tribe or a clan with his retainers to claim bed and board at the expense of a dependent. This right was widely exercised during festivals. p. 310

380 A reference to an uprising of the Scottish highlanders in 1745. The rebellion was caused by oppression and eviction from the land carried out in the interests of the Anglo-Scottish landed aristocracy and bourgeoisie. Part of the nobility in the Scottish Highlands, who supported the claims of the overthrown Stuart dynasty to the English Crown (the official aim of the insurgents was to enthrone Charles Edward, the grandson of James II), took advantage of the discontent among the highlanders. The suppression of the rebellion put an end to the clan system in the Scottish Highlands and resulted in more evictions. p. 312

381 The *Island of Heligoland* (North Sea) was settled in early times by a Germanic tribe, the Frisians. Having become a Danish possession in the eighteenth century, it was captured by the English in 1807 and ceded to England in 1814 by the Treaty of Kiel. p. 312

382 The Prussians defeated the Austrians on July 3, 1866, near the village of *Sadowa*, in the vicinity of the town of Königgrätz in Bohemia (now Hradec Kralové).

On the *North-German Confederation* see Note 102. p. 312

383 The name given in Ireland to those who took part in the movement against the colonial authorities and landlords in the latter half of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The name was derived from the original meaning of the word—a bully, a ruffian. The Tories were mostly peasants, their leaders—expropriated Irish noblemen. At the end of the seventeenth century there emerged detachments made up of peasants alone, the *rapparees*. The authorities used extremely brutal methods in the fight against the Tories and rapparees. Those caught were hanged, drawn and quartered. Informers were rewarded generously. In England the nickname Tory was given by the Whigs to their opponents—the representatives of the conservative aristocratic circles supporting the absolutist claims of the Stuarts, who were restored in 1660.

On the *Penal Laws* see Note 238. p. 313

384 A reference to the trial, held in Dublin at the end of 1865, of the prominent Fenians, accused of organising an anti-government plot. The principal defendants were O'Leary, Luby, Kickham and O'Donovan Rossa, the publishers and editors of *The Irish People*, the Fenian newspaper suppressed by the police on September 15. Many other Fenians were also arrested on denunciation by *agents provocateurs* and traitors. The picked pro-English jury was hostile to the Irish rebels. The sentences were extremely severe: twenty years' penal servitude to O'Leary and Luby, fifteen years' penal servitude to Kickham and penal servitude for life to O'Donovan Rossa. p. 314

385 This record of Marx's speech on the Irish question on December 16, 1867 was made by Eccarius (for the outline of this report made by Marx himself see this

volume, pp. 194-206). It was intended for the journal *Der Vorbote* and was sent by Friedrich Lessner to Johann Philipp Becker in Switzerland but remained unpublished.

The record of Marx's speech was first published in English in Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.

p. 317

386 The *Reformation,* begun in England under King Henry VIII (Act of Supremacy, which declared the King the head of the Church in place of the Pope, and other Acts), was completed under Elizabeth I (the adoption, in 1571, of the "39 articles" of the Anglican Church—a variety of Protestantism). The introduction of the Reformation to Catholic Ireland was a means of subjecting her to the English absolute monarchy and expropriating her population in favour of the English colonists on the pretext of struggle against Catholicism.

p. 317

387 A reference to the Restoration of the Stuart dynasty in England in 1660. The restored Stuarts (Charles II and James II) continued to rule up to the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89. The Restoration was the result of a compromise between the bourgeois élite and the "new" nobility, which had grown rich during the revolution, and the aristocrats supporting the Stuarts. The adherents of the Stuarts, many of whom had lost their estates in England, now received title to confiscated Irish lands in compensation. Only in rare cases did the representatives of the new regime take action on complaints and petitions for the return of property to Irish owners, and after the 1665 Act such complaints were no longer considered. Thus, the sweeping expropriation of the Irish population implemented during the English bourgeois revolution was sanctioned by the restored monarchy. p. 317

388 See Note 238. p. 317

389 See Note 233. p. 317

390 See Note 123. p. 318

391 Marx made these speeches to substantiate his proposal to change the venue of the congress and the subsequent withdrawal of the relevant resolution. The record of his speeches is reproduced from *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* because it is more detailed than in the Minute Book of the General Council. p. 320

392 See Note 18. p. 320

393 See Note 4. p. 320

394 Wilhelm Eichhoff wrote this pamphlet with Marx's active assistance. This was the first work on the history of the International Working Men's Association. Wilhelm Eichhoff conceived it in the summer of 1868, when his brother Albert, a publisher, planned to issue the Workers' Calender (*Arbeiterkalender*) for 1869. Wilhelm Eichhoff proposed that the leading item should be devoted to the history of the establishment, spread and activity of the International Working Men's Association. On June 6, 1868 Wilhelm Eichhoff informed Marx of his intention and asked the latter to send the necessary material and help him in writing the article. On June 27 Marx sent to Berlin many documents of the Association, newspaper cuttings and notes on the activity of the International. The day before Marx wrote to Engels: "...I am writing something for Eichhoff. Tomorrow I shall send it off" (see present edition, Vol. 43). In his reply of June 29, Eichhoff thanked Marx for the material and wrote that he was going to use Marx's manuscript word for word and supplement and expand it as advised by Marx.

There is every reason to believe that Marx drew up the thesis and plan that determined the work's structure, general tendency and basic conclusions.

Eichhoff's work grew into a pamphlet because of the abundance of material sent by Marx. Eichhoff's letters show that in the course of his work Marx answered his numerous questions, gave advice and made suggestions. Some sections of the pamphlet include documents of the General Council (the Inaugural Address, Rules and Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council) or give their contents. Eichhoff used the Minutes of the Geneva and Lausanne congresses of the International, addresses of the General Council and local sections, Becker's pamphlet *Die Internationale Arbeiterassociation und die Arbeitseinstellung in Genf im Frühjahr 1868,* the pamphlet *Procès de L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Bureau de Paris* published in 1868, and extracts from English, German, French and Belgian newspapers on the activity of local sections of the International. A number of pages in the pamphlet contain Marx's own material which he subsequently used elsewhere. Thus, the description of the Charleroi events, the information about an incident with the Geneva Congress documents on the French frontier and talks of Minister Rouher with the delegate of the Paris Committee of the International Working Men's Association were partially included by Marx in the Fourth Annual Report of the General Council (see this volume, pp. 12-17). Marx presumably wrote the section about the political activity of the General Council, the list of periodicals of the Association, etc. From July 12 to 22, 1868 Marx edited the pamphlet and read the proofs. On July 29 a specimen copy of the pamphlet was sent to Marx in London, and the entire edition was printed in August 1868. Copies were also sent to Engels, Liebknecht, Becker, Lessner, Kugelmann, to the General Council, the German Workers' Educational Society in London, and others. p. 322

395 In 1824, under public pressure, the British Parliament lifted the ban on the trade unions. In 1825, however, it passed a Bill on workers' combinations, which, while confirming the raising of the ban on trade unions, greatly restricted their activity. In particular any agitation for workers to join unions and take part in strikes was regarded as compulsion and violence and punished as a crime. p. 323

396 The Statutes submitted by Luigi Wolff to the Sub-Committee on October 8, 1864 were an English translation entitled *Fraternal Bond Between the Italian Workmen's Associations,* which had been published in *Il Giornale delle Associazioni Operaie* on July 31, 1864 and adopted by a congress of Italian pro-Mazzini working men's associations, held in Naples at the end of October. By submitting these Statutes, written from bourgeois-democratic positions, to the International Working Men's Association, Mazzini and his followers sought to spread their influence on it. p. 323

397 At the beginning of April 1864 Garibaldi made a fund-raising journey to England to finance an expedition against Austrian rule in Venice. Garibaldi hoped to get support from English ruling circles. The people gave the Italian national hero an enthusiastic welcome. At first the British Government treated Garibaldi as an honoured guest. However, the discontent of the English ruling circles was aroused by his meeting with Mazzini, who was living in London as a political emigrant, and his speeches in defence of the Polish insurgents. Garibaldi left England at the end of April. p. 323

398 Eichhoff's pamphlet included the programme documents of the International—Inaugural Address and Rules. They were given in a new and highly accurate translation made by Eichhoff and edited by Marx. This helped to familiarise more people in Germany with these documents. Eichhoff translated the Address from the pamphlet *Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association* published in London in 1864. Eichhoff's translation was later reprinted in a number of German works about the International.

Here, the text of the Address is reproduced from the 1864 English edition, with an account of the changes in Eichhoff's German translation. The most significant discrepancies are indicated in footnotes. p. 324

399 Apparently a reference to the articles "The Trade and Navigation Returns" and "Pauperism.—July 1850 and 1849" published in *The Economist*, Vol. VIII, No. 363, August 10, 1850. p. 324

400 *Garotters*—highway robbers who strangled their victims. In the early 1860s the practice was so widespread in London that it was the subject of a special debate in Parliament. p. 325

401 See Note 90. p. 325

402 The passage quoted by Marx from Gladstone's speech of April 16, 1863 appeared in nearly all the London newspaper reports of this parliamentary session (*The Times, The Morning Star, The Daily Telegraph*, April 17, 1863), but was omitted in Hansard's semi-official report of parliamentary debates in which the text was corrected by the speakers themselves. The German bourgeois economist Brentano used this as a pretext for accusing Marx of unscrupulous misquotation. Marx replied to this libel in his letters to the *Volksstaat* editors written on May 23 and July 28, 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 23).

After Marx's death the same accusation was made in November 1883 by the British bourgeois economist Sadley Taylor.

This accusation was refuted by Eleanor Marx in two letters to the magazine *To-Day* in February and March 1884 and then by Engels in the preface to the fourth German edition of *Capital* in June 1890 and in the pamphlet *Brentano contra Marx* in 1891 (see present edition, Vol. 27). p. 327

403 The *Ten Hours' Bill*, the battle for which had been fought for many years, was passed by Parliament in 1847 against a background of the sharply intensified contradictions, generated by the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, between the landed aristocracy and the industrial bourgeoisie. To revenge themselves on the industrial bourgeoisie, a section of Tory M.P.s supported the Bill. Its provisions applied only to women and children. Nevertheless, many manufacturers evaded it in practice.

In 1850 Engels wrote two articles on the Ten Hours' Bill (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 271-76 and 288-300). True, they were written when Marx's economic teaching was not yet sufficiently developed, and this can be seen in a certain underestimation of the struggle for a shorter working day. p. 330

404 At the 1863 parliamentary session, the Irish deputies led by Thomas Maguire demanded legislative measures limiting the irregularities of the landlords and, in particular, they demanded that tenants should have the right to receive compensation for all their expenditures on a rented plot when the lease expired or was terminated. In his speech on June 23 Palmerston called these

demands "communistic doctrines" and described them as "subversive of all the fundamental principles of social order" (*The Times*, No. 24593, June 24, 1864). p. 331

405 During the US Civil War the English workers opposed the government's attempts to interfere in the war on the side of the Southern slave-holding states. Their massive campaign, which reached its peak at the end of 1861 and the beginning of 1862, prevented the reactionaries from drawing Europe into the war on the side of the slave-holders and helped considerably to strengthen the international solidarity of the workers. p. 332

406 The *Rules and Administrative Regulations* of the International Working Men's Association were approved by the Geneva Congress on September 5 and 8, 1866. These Rules were based on the text of the Provisional Rules, written by Marx in October 1864 (see present edition, Vol. 20), with certain changes and additions. The Administrative Regulations were drawn up by a Congress commission of which Eccarius was a member. The German text of the two documents was published by Johann Philipp Becker in *Der Vorbote*, No. 9, September 1866.

In the autumn of 1867 Eccarius, instructed and assisted by Marx, prepared a new official edition of the Rules and Administrative Regulations which was sanctioned by the General Council on November 5. The pamphlet *Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association* came off the press in London in 1867.

Eichhoff translated the Rules into German according to this pamphlet, omitting the section "Administrative Regulations" (for the full text of the Rules see present edition, Vol. 20, Appendices). p. 332

407 This and the preceding paragraphs of a declarative character were included by Marx in the Preamble to the Provisional Rules on the insistence of other members of the Sub-Committee who discussed the document on October 27, 1864 (see Marx's letter to Engels on November 4, 1864, present edition, Vol. 42). p. 333

408 The *London Conference of the International Working Men's Association* was held from September 25 to 29, 1865. It was convened on the insistence of Marx who believed that the International's sections were not strong enough to hold a general congress as envisaged by the Provisional Rules. The conference was attended by nine delegates from France, Switzerland and Belgium, and the Central (General) Council members. On September 28 a meeting (soirée) was held in St. Martin's Hall to celebrate the first anniversary of the founding of the Association.

The conference heard the Central Council's reports and reports of local sections. The main question discussed was the agenda of the forthcoming congress and the order of its convocation. It was decided to hold it in Geneva in May 1866 (later it was postponed by the Central Council until the beginning of September 1866). Despite the Proudhonists, who demanded that the Polish question should be excluded from the agenda of the congress and that any member of the Association may have the right to take part in it, the conference retained the item on the restoration of Poland's independence and recognised as competent only elected delegates. The conference also adopted the Council's other proposals on the work of the congress. Prepared and conducted under Marx's leadership, the London Conference of 1865 played a big role in the establishment of the International and in shaping it as an organisation. p. 335

[409] See Note 5. p. 335

[410] The *Geneva Congress of the International* met from September 3 to 8, 1866. It was attended by 60 delegates from the Central (General) Council, the different sections of the Association and the workers' societies of England, France, Germany and Switzerland. The Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional Central Council were drawn up by Marx in August 1866, when the final preparations were being made for the Geneva Congress. They were written in English and then translated into French by Paul Lafargue.

The Instructions were read at the congress as the General Council's official report. The congress became the scene of a heated debate between Marx's followers and the Proudhonists, who countered the Instructions with their own programme. Jung, Eccarius and other members of the General Council managed to have most points of the Instructions adopted as congress resolutions. The Proudhonists were only able to have their resolutions passed on matters of secondary importance.

The Geneva Congress approved the Rules (based on the Provisional Rules drawn up by Marx) and the Regulations of the International Working Men's Association, and marked the end of the International's organisational period.

Compared with the original English text (see present edition, Vol. 20), Eichhoff's German translation of the Instructions contains some differences in reading and abridgements. p. 336

[411] The general scheme of statistical inquiry into the condition of the working class as proposed by Marx was unanimously accepted by the Geneva Congress. In practice, however, the collection of data and their publication in the form of the Central Council's reports were hampered by lack of money and negligence on the part of local sections. The Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International confirmed the need to carry the Geneva Congress resolution on workers' statistics, while the London Conference of 1871 included point "c" of Section 2 of the Instructions in the Administrative Regulations of the Association (see present edition, Vol. 23). p. 338

[412] After the Civil War, the movement for the legislative introduction of an eight-hour working day intensified in the USA. Leagues of struggle for an eight-hour working day were formed all over the country. At its inaugural congress in Baltimore in August 1866, the National Labour Union (see Note 26) declared the demand for an eight-hour working day to be an indispensable condition for the emancipation of labour. p. 338

[413] The *Lausanne Congress of the International* was held from September 2 to 8, 1867. Marx took part in preparing the congress but did not attend it because he was busy reading the proofs of Volume I of *Capital*. He withdrew his candidature at the General Council meeting of August 13, 1867.

Sixty-four delegates from six countries (England, France, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium and Italy) were present at the congress. Apart from the General Council's report, the congress heard local reports. The latter showed that the influence of the International on the proletarian masses had increased and that its organisations in different countries had become stronger. The Proudhonist-minded delegates at the congress tried to change the International's line and programme principles. Despite the General Council's efforts, they managed to impose their own agenda on the congress and sought to revise the Geneva Congress decisions in a Proudhonist spirit. They carried out a number of their resolutions, in particular on the question of co-operation and credit.

The Proudhonists, however, failed to achieve their main aim. The congress

confirmed the Geneva resolutions on economic struggle and strikes. In contrast to the Proudhonists' demand for abstention from political struggle, the Lausanne Congress resolution on political freedom emphasised that the social emancipation of workers was inseparably bound up with their political emancipation. Nor did the Proudhonists manage to take over the leadership of the International. The congress re-elected the General Council in its previous composition and retained London as its seat. p. 341.

414 On the League of Peace and Freedom and the General Council's attitude to its congress, see Note 56.

The Lausanne Congress ignored the General Council's resolution on the attitude of the International Working Men's Association towards the League's congress (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 204), and, influenced by petty-bourgeois elements, it resolved to take part officially in the League's congress. The League's congress itself (several members of the General Council and of the International attended) revealed a big difference between the proletarian and the abstract-pacifist approach to the struggle for peace. Marx's tactics as regards the League of Peace and Freedom was fully acknowledged by the Brussels Congress of the International in 1868 which opposed the official affiliation to the League. p. 342

415 The *Manchester School*—a trend in economic thought reflecting the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. It advocated Free Trade and non-interference by the state in economic affairs. In the 1840s and 1850s the Free Traders were an independent political group; later they constituted the Left wing of the Liberal Party. p. 343

416 The conference of trades delegates in Sheffield was held from July 17 to 21, 1866 and was attended by 138 delegates representing 200,000 organised workers. A resolution calling on trade unions to join the International Working Men's Association was published in a book, *Report of the Conference of Trades' Delegates of the United Kingdom, held in Sheffield, on July 17th, 1866, and Four Following Days*, Sheffield, 1866. p. 344

417 See Note 38. p. 344

418 On British trade unions' participation in the general democratic movement for the second electoral reform, see Note 39. p. 345

419 This refers to the reform finally adopted by the British Parliament on August 15, 1867. The law extended suffrage to people resident in town for a period of not less than 12 months and renting houses or flats. In counties the right to vote was granted to tenants with an annual income of £12. The extension of suffrage increased the number of voters from one to two million. Apart from the middle-class strata of town and country, the law also applied to a better-off section of the working class. However, the bulk of the toiling people of England, as before, had no right to vote. p. 345

420 The economic crisis of 1866 involved mainly Britain, France and the USA. It was preceded by the US Civil War which caused the notorious "cotton famine". The latter proved extremely advantageous for big manufacturers and ruinous for hundreds of small factory owners.

The 1866 crisis chiefly affected finances. At the same time the mining and iron and steel industries reduced production, railway construction was curtailed and so on. p. 345

421 This refers to the abrogation of the 1791 Le Chapelier law prohibiting workers' coalitions and strikes (France, 1864) and to the lifting of the ban on workers' coalitions (Belgium, 1867). p. 345

422 On the strike of weavers and spinners in Roubaix and of bronze-workers in Paris, see Note 14. p. 347

423 This appraisal of the Geneva strike was given by Marx—see "The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association" (see this volume, p. 16) and the "Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association" (this volume, pp. 71-72). p. 349

424 This description of the situation in Belgium was written by Marx—see "The Belgian Massacres" (this volume, p. 47). p. 353

425 This appeal was drawn up by Eccarius on the instructions of the General Council (meeting of February 26, 1867) and published in *The International Courier*, No. 8, March 13, 1867. p. 357

426 See Note 71. p. 359

427 See Note 18. p. 360

428 The *Secessionists* advocated the withdrawal of the Southern States from the USA before and during the Civil War of 1861-65. In 1861 the slave-holders staged a rebellion and proclaimed the establishment of the Confederate States of America. p. 361

429 The reference is to the Austro-Prussian war of 1866. See Note 133. p. 362

430 See Note 278. p. 363

431 See Note 17. p. 363

432 See Note 13. p. 364

433 Eichhoff's description of the incident on the French frontier, and the events associated with the seizure of the Memorial of the French delegation (see pp. 365-66) draws on Marx's material, contained in "The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association" (this volume, pp. 12-14). p. 364

434 See Note 16. p. 366

435 The text to the end of this section (see pp. 365-74) is based on the book *Procès de l'Association Internationale de Travailleurs. Bureau de Paris* (Paris, 1868) and consists either of an abridged rendering of the text or direct quotations. On interrogation of Tolain see also pp. 12-15 of this book. p. 366

436 A reference to the conflict between the ruling circles of Prussia and France over their claims to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg early in 1867. It was accompanied by military preparations and brash militarist propaganda in both states and marked a stage in the preparations for the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71.

On October 17, 1867 Liebknecht criticised, in a speech to the North-German Reichstag, Bismarck's policy on the Luxembourg question. At the General Council meeting of October 22, Marx read some extracts from it. The speech was included in the report of this Council meeting published in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 315, October 26, 1867. Marx attached great importance to it and

instructed Lafargue to translate it into French and send it to France for publication in *Le Courrier français.* p. 368

437 See Note 167. p. 371

438 On December 2, 1852 Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was proclaimed Emperor of France under the name of Napoleon III, and this led to the fall of the Second Republic. The coup d'état which resulted in the establishment of Louis Napoleon's dictatorship, had taken place a year earlier, on December 2, 1851. p. 374

439 See Note 5. p. 375

440 See Note 4. p. 376

441 See Note 26. p. 377

442 *Grütli Union* (Grütli-Verein)—a Swiss reformist organisation founded in 1838 as an educational association of artisans and workers. Its name emphasised its Swiss national character: according to a legend, representatives of three Swiss cantons met in 1307 in the Grütli (Rutli) meadow and concluded an alliance on a joint struggle against Austrian rule. p. 378

443 See Note 21. p. 378

444 The movement for the eight-hour working day began in the USA in the 1840s and 1850s.

In the 1860s the movement acquired a mass character, with leagues of struggle for an eight-hour working day and trade unions taking part. The National Labour Union (see Note 26) was also active in it.

Under pressure from the mass movement a law on an eight-hour working day was passed in several states by Congress (see Note 27). However, in practice it was either not carried out or was violated by the employers. The National Labour Union called on the trade unions to resist the employers. p. 380

445 In the Minutes of the General Council meeting of July 21, 1868, Marx's speech is given as follows: "Citizen *Marx.* Germany. The General Working Men's Union is going to do in a round-about way what the Prussian law prohibits to be done directly. There is another working men's union in the Southern and Eastern States of Germany which has some affiliations in Switzerland; they also are going to join. A new paper, *Le Réveil,* published by Ledru-Rollin's party, makes favourable comments upon the International Association" (see *The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868,* Moscow, 1964, p. 228).

In this volume the record of Marx's speech is reproduced from a more detailed report of this Council meeting in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper,* No. 353, July 25, 1868). p. 381

446 Marx refers to the Union of German Workers' Associations headed by August Bebel (see Note 24). In his letter of July 17, 1868, Wilhelm Liebknecht gave Marx details of the preparations for a general congress of the Union and of his and Bebel's intention to raise there the question of affiliating to the International. p. 381

447 Marx delivered his speech on the consequences of using machinery under capitalism at a meeting of the General Council on July 28, 1868 when the agenda of the Brussels Congress were discussed (see Note 8).

This record of Marx's speech was taken down by the General Council's

Secretary Eccarius and has been preserved in the Minute Book of the General Council in the form of clipping from *The Bee-Hive*, No. 354, August 1, 1868. p. 382

448 See Note 403. p. 382

449 This refers to the growing poverty in London, particularly in the East End, after the 1866 crisis. It was also mentioned at the General Council meeting of August 11, 1868, during the debate on the reduction of the working day. p. 384

450 This appeal was written by Friedrich Lessner in connection with the Brussels Congress of the International to be held in September 1868 and was sent to Marx for review. When returning it to Lessner, Marx wrote on August 11, 1868: "Because of spelling mistakes I have entirely rewritten the enclosed appeal" (see present edition, Vol. 43).

Marx's extant manuscript is identical with the text of the appeal as published in the London newspaper *Hermann*, No. 502, August 15, 1868. p. 385

451 Marx delivered this speech at the General Council meeting of August 11, 1868, during the debate on the reduction of the working day, the point included in the Brussels Congress agenda.

The record of this speech has survived in the Minute Book of the General Council in the form of a clipping pasted in from *The Bee-Hive*, No. 358, August 22, 1868 with corrections by the Secretary, Eccarius. p. 387

452 Here the record mistakenly mentions Eccarius. It was Milner, who, in opposition to Eccarius, asserted that the reduction of working hours, though desirable, would mean lower production. p. 387

453 Marx refers to Eccarius' substantiation of the harmful effect of the lengthy working day on the workers' health which he made at the General Council meeting. p. 387

454 Marx made this speech at the General Council meeting of January 5, 1869 on behalf of the Standing Committee which, at its meeting on January 2 discussed a letter from the Rouen Section requesting help for the locked-out Rouen workers, and put up this question for discussion by the General Council. After Marx's speech, the General Council adopted a resolution, which voiced its protest at the French manufacturers' actions and called on the English workers to give assistance to the Rouen workers.

This record by Jung has been preserved in the Minute Book of the General Council. The speech was also summarised briefly in the *Bee-Hive* (No. 379, January 16, 1869) report of the General Council meeting.

The full text of Marx's speech was first published in English in *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870*, Moscow, 1966. p. 388

455 At the General Council meeting of February 23, 1869 Marx set forth in detail the "Report on the Miners' Guilds in the Coalfields of Saxony" written by Engels in German (see this volume, pp. 39-44). A record of Marx's speech has been preserved in the Minute Book of the General Council. The newspaper report of it published in this volume is more complete and precise. p. 389

456 The agenda of the Basle Congress of the International was approved by the General Council on June 22, 1869. As far back as February 16, the Council instructed the corresponding secretaries to write to all the Continental sections and ask them which additional subjects they would like to be brought before

the congress apart from the three questions already put on the agenda by decision of the previous congress, namely Land, Credit and Education. As a result, two more items were included in the final text of the agenda: "The right to inheritance" introduced by the Geneva Alliance of Socialist Democracy and "The influence of trades unions upon the emancipation of the working class" (introduced by the Paris bronze-workers).

The agenda of the Basle Congress was discussed in the General Council of June 29 and July 6, 13 and 20, 1869.

It was published by the General Council as a leaflet, *Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association*, London, 1869, and was also printed in a number of English newspapers and in French in *L'Égalité*, No. 24, July 3, 1869. p. 391

457 Marx spoke twice on landed property during the discussion of the Basle Congress programme at the General Council meeting of July 6, 1869 (see this volume, p. 391). Although the Brussels Congress of 1868 had adopted a resolution by a majority vote in favour of common property, this question was again put on the agenda of the Basle Congress on the insistence of a minor group of advocates of small private property in land headed by Proudhonist Tolain.

In his first speech Marx replied to the General Council member Milner who had spoken in defence of the natural right of man to land when trying to substantiate the Brussels Congress resolution on land.

In his second speech Marx opposed the French anarchist Elisée Reclus who was present at the meeting as a guest and who declared that since the peasants did not attend the International congresses they should not be cared for.

By a majority vote the General Council confirmed the correctness of the resolution on landed property adopted by the Brussels Congress.

Marx's speeches have been preserved in the Minute Book as written down by Eccarius. They were also published in brief in the *Bee-Hive* (No. 404, July 10, 1869) report of the General Council meeting of July 6, 1869.

In English they were first published in full in *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870*, Moscow, 1966. p. 392

458 The Committee, elected at the Brussels Congress to prepare a study of landed property, presented two reports to the congress on the agrarian question: one by Emile Aubry (Rouen Section) and the other by César De Paepe (Brussels Section). The Committee informed the congress that they were all unanimous on the socialisation of mines, collieries, canals, railways etc., but disagreed over arable land. The majority, headed by De Paepe, a Belgian delegate, moved a resolution in favour of common property in all land. It was adopted by the congress, while the minority headed by Tolain, a Proudhonist, defended the ownership by peasants of small private property in land. p. 393

459 Marx spoke on the right to inheritance at the General Council meeting of July 20, 1869, during the debate of the programme of the Basle Congress (see this volume, p. 391). The record of his speech in Eccarius' hand has been preserved in the Minute Book of the General Council.

There is also a brief summary in *The Bee-Hive* (No. 406, July 24, 1869) in the report of this Council meeting.

The full text of Marx's speech on the right to inheritance was first published in English in *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870*, Moscow, 1966. p. 394

460 A mistake in Eccarius' entry: the reference is here to Saint-Simon's followers, not to Saint-Simon, who died in 1825 (see Note 94). p. 395

461 Marx delivered a speech on general education at the General Council meeting of August 10, 1869 during the debate on the Basle Congress programme (see this volume, p. 391), and a concluding speech on August 17. Both speeches have been preserved in the Minute Book of the General Council in Eccarius' hand. A brief account of the first speech is included in the report of the General Council meeting of August 10 printed in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 409, August 14, 1869; a brief account of the concluding speech was published in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 410, August 21, 1869.

A brief account of Marx's speeches in German translation from *The Bee-Hive* was given in the article "Die Internationale und die Schule", *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 52, Jg. 12, Bd. 2, 1893-1894. p. 398

462 The question of general education was discussed at the previous congresses of the International Association—in Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867) and Brussels (1868). p. 398

463 Harriet Law's proposition moved at the General Council meeting of August 17, 1869 meant the transfer of the Church's property and income to schools. p. 399

464 George Milner proposed at the Council meetings of August 10 and 17, 1869 that the children should be taught bourgeois political economy, which was unacceptable from the proletarian viewpoint and in practice would only increase the ideological influence of the ruling bourgeoisie on the rising generation. Milner particularly stressed the need to give the pupils an idea of the "value of labour" and distribution. He referred, in particular, to the American Utopian Socialist Warren who preached the theory of "just exchange". p. 399

465 Marx mentioned the abolition of the standing army because during the debate at the General Council meetings, Eccarius and Reclus proposed increasing funds for general education by abolishing expenditures on standing armies. p. 400

466 This address is in fact the programme of the Land and Labour League founded in October 1869 (see Note 121). It was drawn up by Eccarius who was on the commission preparing it, and edited by Marx, and this found expression in the League's programme. p. 401

467 In agitating for the repeal of the Corn Laws, the advocates of the Anti-Corn Law League endeavoured to prove to the workers that with the introduction of Free Trade their real wages would rise and their loaf of bread would be twice as large. Life proved these promises to be utterly false. The industrial capital of Britain, which became stronger after the repeal of the Corn Laws (see Note 219), intensified its onslaught on the vital interests of the working class. p. 401

468 This category of taxpayers included people deriving their income from trade and those of the free professions. p. 402

469 A reference to the workhouses, where all needy people were sent after the passing of the Poor Law of 1834. This law abolished relief for all the poor, who had until then lived in parishes. Because of the prison regime in the workhouses, people called them "Bastilles for the poor". p. 403

470 At the General Council meeting on November 9, 1869 Marx proposed the discussion of the following questions: the attitude of the British Government towards the Irish prisoners and the position of the English working class in the Irish question.

On November 16 Marx opened the discussion and moved a resolution on this question (see this volume, p. 83). Stormy debates followed, particularly on November 23, when Mottershead, an Englishman, opposed Marx's resolution and tried to justify Gladstone's colonial policy in Ireland; Mottershead was supported by Odger, another English member of the General Council. Two other speeches (on November 23 and 30) were made by Marx in reply to them (see the next article in this volume). Marx described in detail the discussion on November 23 in his letter to Engels on November 26 (see present edition, Vol. 43).

In the Minute Book of the General Council Marx's speeches on November 16, 23 and 30 are recorded by Eccarius.

The report of the General Council meeting of November 16 was published in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, No. 1006, November 21 and *The National Reformer*, November 28, 1869; the report of the November 23 meeting—in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, No. 1007, November 28 and *The National Reformer*, December 5, 1869. However, these reports were brief and inaccurate. The full text of Marx's three speeches was first published in English in *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870*, Moscow, 1966.

In German a brief account of Marx's first speech (November 16) was published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 21, December 11, and in French in *L'Égalité*, No. 48, December 18, 1869.

When preparing his speeches Marx made wide use of material from the Irish press, in particular in *The Irishman*. Their contents have much in common with Marx's later articles on the subject written for *L'Internationale* (see this volume, pp. 101-07), and with the articles of Jenny Marx, his daughter, for *La Marseillaise* (see this volume, pp. 414-41). p. 407

471 See Note 2. p. 407

472 The amnesty was granted to the participants in the Hungarian national liberation movement following the re-organisation of the Austrian Empire into Austria-Hungary in 1867. This amnesty was the result of Austria's defeat in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and the growth of national contradictions within the multinational Austrian state. p. 407

473 See Note 117. p. 407

474 A reference to Gladstone's negative reply to the petitions for an amnesty for Irish prisoners adopted at mass meetings in Ireland, including the one in Limerick on August 1, 1869. Gladstone endeavoured to justify his refusal in his letters to O'Shea and Butt (see Note 115), which were published in *The Times* on October 23 and 27, 1869. Marx criticised the motives given by Gladstone in these letters (see this volume, p. 83). p. 408

475 This expression was current in the Irish workers' press of the time and meant England's 700-years oppression of Ireland (see *The Irishman*, Nos. 13 and 20, September 25 and November 13, 1869). p. 408

476 An article in the *New-York Irish People*, a newspaper of Irish emigrants published in the USA, said that Gladstone's refusal to grant an amnesty to the participants in the Fenian movement, was only furthering the movement (this remark was quoted by *The Irishman* in its issue of November 13, 1869). The likening of Gladstone to the Head Centre of the plot is tinged with irony, since this

was the title of the leader of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, the secret Fenian organisation. p. 409

477 See Note 116. p. 409

478 On *dissenters* see Note 295.

Before the elections, Gladstone, the leader of the Liberal Party, made many promises to settle the Irish question in the hope of winning votes among the new categories of voters (see Note 117). Even before the election campaign got under way, he proposed the separation of the Anglican Church from the state in Ireland, thereby depriving it of state support and subsidies. He expected that this would win him popularity with the Irish Catholic voters. After winning the elections and assuming office at the end of 1868, Gladstone passed a bill through Parliament in March 1869 which placed the Anglican Church in Ireland on an equal footing with the Catholic Church. Gladstone and the Liberals hoped that their policy of moderate reform would weaken the revolutionary movement in Ireland. p. 409

479 In 1840, a single Parliament was set up in England's Canadian possessions. The 1867 Act transformed them into the self-governing Canadian Confederation and granted it Dominion status. p. 410

480 On October 30, 1869, *The Irishman* carried a report which said that in his letter to the Dublin branch of the Ancient Order of Foresters (a Friendly Society founded in England as early as 1745 as a society of royal foresters which adopted its name in 1834 and which campaigned for an amnesty on behalf of the Irish prisoners), Gladstone had neglected his pre-election promises to improve Ireland's position. p. 410

481 See Note 141. p. 410

482 Marx had in mind *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register.* In it William Cobbett and other English radicals sharply criticised the policy of the English Government, notably its police measures in Ireland. p. 411

483 The British authorities brutally put down the Irish national liberation movement in 1798 (see Note 229). Marx compares this act with those during the revolution of 1849 in Hungary. p. 411

484 In the Minutes of this meeting published in *Reynolds's Newspaper,* November 28, 1869, the concluding sentence of Marx's speech is given as follows: "The question was which was most important—to conciliate the Irish or make this resolution acceptable to Mr. Gladstone." p. 412

485 On November 23, 1869, during the debate of the draft resolution of the General Council of the International on the English Government's policy towards the Irish prisoners, Odger, a trade union leader, proposed to delete the word "deliberately" from the sentence "Mr. Gladstone deliberately insults the Irish nation". At the next meeting on November 30, 1869, he made new attempts to subdue the revolutionary and anti-government tone of the resolution. p. 412

486 In contrast to Marx, who sought to expose the colonialist policy of the English Government, Odger demanded that the expressions used by Marx in the draft resolution on Gladstone's policy should be toned down. Otherwise, as Odger explained, the Council would fail to secure the release of the prisoners. He reminded the Council members that, in his replies to the petitions, Gladstone had expressed dissatisfaction with the sharp tone of some of them. Odger justified and defended Gladstone's policy. This was an attempt by reformist trade union leaders

to reduce the resolution, a document exposing English policy and expressing solidarity with the fighters for Ireland's independence, to a humble appeal to the ruling classes for clemency. p. 412

487 Marx meant the second item in his draft for the debate on the Irish question—the attitude of the English working class. Marx explained the General Council's stand on this question in "Confidential Communication" (see this volume, pp. 119-21) and in his letters to Ludwig Kugelmann on November 29, to Engels on December 10, 1869, to Paul and Laura Lafargue on March 5, and to Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt on April 9, 1870 (see present edition, Vol. 43). p. 413

488 These eight articles by Marx's daughter Jenny were written for the French republican newspaper *La Marseillaise* and dealt with the problems raised in Marx's article "The English Government and the Fenian Prisoners" (see this volume, pp. 101-07). The third article was written together with Marx (see his letter to Engels of March 19, 1870, present edition, Vol. 43). All articles, except the second, were signed: J. Williams (see Marx's letter to Engels of March 5 and Engels' letter to Marx of March 7, 1870, present edition, Vol. 43). Jenny Marx's authorship is confirmed by Marx's letter to Engels of March 10. These articles received a widespread response. The sixth article was also published in English in *The Irishman*, No. 45, May 7, 1870 under the heading "Agrarian Crime in Ireland (Translated from the *Marseillaise*)". Passages from Jenny's fifth article were quoted in the article "The Irishman in Paris" in *The Irishman*, No. 40, April 2, 1870.

In English, these articles were first published in full in Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. p. 414

489 On February 8, 1870 the French police arrested Henry Rochefort, the editor-in-chief of *La Marseillaise*, for an article published after the assassination of the newspaper's journalist, Victor Noir, by Prince Pierre Bonaparte. The arrest intensified the opposition movement and resulted in mass affiliation to the International Working Men's Association. p. 414

490 In the small hours of September 16, 1865, the Dublin police raided the premises of *The Irish People*, confiscated its property and imprisoned almost all its editors. Mass arrests of Fenians took place in Dublin and, later, in Cork. p. 416

491 *La Marseillaise* supplied this article by Jenny Marx with a short introduction signed *A. De Fonvielle, temporarily at liberty*. It deals with O'Donovan Rossa's activity and the reasons for his persecution by the government. De Fonvielle welcomes Rossa's election to the Irish Parliament. p. 417

492 See notes 341 and 301. p. 419

493 The demonstration demanding an amnesty for the Fenians detained in English prisons was held in Hyde Park on October 24, 1869 (see also Note 115). p. 424

494 An article written by Henry Bruce, Home Secretary in the Liberal Government and published anonymously in *The Times*, No. 26699 of March 16, 1870, attempted to deny the facts adduced by O'Donovan Rossa. p. 424

495 Moore's speech in the House of Commons and Gladstone's reply there on March 17, 1870 were published in *The Times*, No. 26701, March 18, 1870. p. 426

496 On December 13, 1867, a group of Fenians set off an explosion in London's Clerkenwell Prison in an abortive attempt to free the goaled Fenian leaders.

The explosion destroyed several neighbouring houses, killing several people and wounding 120. This was used by the bourgeois press to incite chauvinistic anti-Irish feelings among the English population. p. 426

497 Jenny Marx refers here to announcement in *The Irishman* on March 12, 1868 of the publication of a Blue Book: *Report of Commission on the Treatment of certain Treason-Felony Convicts in English Prison, who have been transferred thereto at the request of the Irish Government*, 1867. p. 426

498 In December 1868, when the election campaign was in full swing, Gladstone and the Liberals sharply criticised in the House of Commons the Conservative Government's policy in Ireland, especially the reprisals against the Fenians. The Liberals compared the actions of the Conservatives with the subjugation of England by William the Conqueror in the eleventh century.

The Fenian insurrection was prepared by the Fenian Irish Revolutionary (republican) Brotherhood early in 1867 with the aim of winning independence for Ireland. It was to begin on March 5. The organisers planned to form several mobile columns of insurgents who were to conduct guerrilla warfare from bases in woods and mountainous areas. However, weak military leadership and the fact that the authorities got to know of the insurgents' intentions prevented the plan from being brought to fruition. Armed revolts broke out only in some eastern and southern counties. The insurgents seized several police barracks and stations and for a short time gained control of the town of Killmalock (County Limerick). There were clashes with the police in the suburbs of Dublin and Cork. The insurrection failed because of the conspiratorial tactics of the Fenians and their weak ties with the masses. Half of the 169 participants in the insurrection who had been arrested and brought to trial were sentenced to hard labour. p. 426

499 The reference is to the *Coercion Bill* submitted by Gladstone to the House of Commons on March 17, 1870. Aimed at the national liberation movement, the Bill provided for the suspension of constitutional guarantees in Ireland and the introduction of extraordinary powers for the English authorities in the struggle against Irish revolutionaries. The Bill was passed by Parliament.

On the *Land Bill* see Note 144. p. 428

500 *Dahomey*, a state in Africa, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was notorious for its despotic regime, maintained by espionage and denunciation. p. 430

501 Lawyer Laurier made this speech on March 25, 1870, at the trial of Prince Pierre Bonaparte, who was accused of assassinating the journalist Victor Noir. The speech was published in the French newspaper *La Marseillaise*, No. 97, March 27, 1870. p. 438

502 Eccarius wrote this letter on the instructions of the General Council after it discussed, on April 19, 1870, Hume's letter and the memorial in which he suggested that special representatives should be appointed for various nationalities in different countries. The Minutes of the General Council meeting for April 19 contain the following resume of Marx's speech on the subject: "Citizen *Marx* disagreed with the memorial as the different nationalities were represented on the Council and the rest must be left to the correspondents of the Association. The letter pointed out that the trade union movement tended to assume the form of secret societies in the United States. This was confirmed by a letter from the German correspondent of New York who appealed to the Council to interfere by trying to dissuade Hume and

Jessup from taking part in it." The Council decided that the Secretary should solicit further information on the question (see *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870*, Moscow, 1966, p. 226).

Eccarius' letter has been preserved in the form of a clipping from an American newspaper (presumably *The Democrat*) pasted into the Minute Book of the General Council, in the Minutes for May 24, 1870. p. 442

503 In March 1870, Cluseret was appointed the General Council's agent for establishing contacts with the French sections in the USA. However, passing himself off as an organiser of the International, Cluseret ignored the already existing sections in the USA and exceeded his powers. Soon, certain sections of the International in the USA censured his behaviour and approached the General Council, Johann Philipp Becker and Eugene Varlin with an inquiry concerning the powers granted to Cluseret. Marx replied to the inquiry in his letter to Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt of April 9, 1870 and mentioned the matter in a letter to Sorge dated September 1, 1870 (see present edition, Vol. 43). p. 442

504 Marx spoke about *The Bee-Hive* at the General Council meeting of April 26, 1870, to substantiate his resolution on it (see this volume, p. 126). p. 444

505 *The Bee-Hive*'s policy of compromise became particularly manifest in its attitude towards the Irish national liberation movement. The newspaper openly supported Gladstone's Government in this question, having refused to print the General Council's resolution in defence of the Fenians. On November 1, 1869 Engels wrote to Marx: "I've never seen such a filthy issue as yesterday's. This cringing before Gladstone and the whole bourgeois-patronising-philanthropic tone should soon break the neck of that paper and make it necessary to have a real workers' paper" (see present edition, Vol. 43). p. 444

506 See Note 499. p. 444

507 The content of Marx's letter to the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party of June 27, 1870 was given by the President of the court proceedings at the Leipzig trial (1872) of Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel and Adolph Hepner, all three accused of high treason. It was presented as incriminating evidence at the trial of the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party in 1871.

The text is published here from *Leipziger Hochverrathsprocess...*, Leipzig 1872 which was reprinted in 1874 and 1894. The latter edition was prepared by Wilhelm Liebknecht on the instructions of the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. According to the President of the Leipzig court the letter was signed: "In the name of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, *Karl Marx*, Secretary for Germany." p. 445

508 See Note 172. p. 445

509 Marx delivered this speech in the General Council on June 28, 1870 to substantiate his resolution on the subject (see this volume, p. 136). The speech was recorded by Eccarius. p. 446

510 The reference is to the congress of the Romance Federation held at La Chaux-de-Fonds from April 4 to 6, 1870 (see Note 175). The Alliance of Socialist Democracy made vigorous preparations for the congress and, as a result of various manoeuvres, managed to send 21 delegates representing 13 minor and often fictitious sections (about 700 members), while the Federal Council failed to secure full representation of all its sections and had only 19 delegates from 23 sections (about 1,500 members). p. 446

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*Allement, Louis*—210

*Allen, William Philip* (1848-1867)—Irish Fenian, sentenced to death by an English court and executed.—3, 13

*Ammianus Marcellinus* (c. 330-c. 400)—Roman historian.—177

*Anne* (1665-1714)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1702-14).—192, 196, 317

*Annesley, John, Baron Mountnorris*—member of the Irish Parliament (1799).—262

*Anonymus Ravennatis*—geographer in Ravenna, author of *De Geographiae.*—177

*Anselm of Canterbury* (c. 1033-1109)—theologian, representative of early scholasticism.—179

*Applegarth, Robert* (1833-1925)—cabinet-maker; a trade union leader; General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and

Joiners (1862-71), member of the London Trades Council; member of the General Council of the International (1865, 1868-72); delegate to the Basle Congress of the International (1869); one of the Reform League leaders; subsequently left the working-class movement.—26, 38, 51, 54, 82

*Ardin, Antoine* (d. after 1898)—Swiss worker; Chairman of the Coachmakers' and Smiths' Society affiliated to the International.—210

B

*Bacon, Francis, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans* (1561-1626)—English philosopher, naturalist and historian, Lord Privy Seal and Lord Chancellor of England.—287

*Bagenal, Beauchamp*—member of the Irish Parliament for the County Carlow (1782).—229, 274

*Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich* (1814-1876)—Russian revolutionary and journalist, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; later an ideologist of Narodism and anarchism; opposed Marxism in the First International.—112-16, 125-26, 209, 445

*Bakunina, Antonina Ksaveryevna* (née *Kvyatkovskaya*) (c. 1840-1887)—Mikhail Bakunin's wife.—210

*Ball, Thomas*—Irish lawyer.—266

*Baquet, Joseph*—210

*Bara, Jules* (1835-1900)—Belgian statesman, Liberal, Minister of Justice (1865-70, 1878-84).—14, 15, 50, 320, 375-76

*Barrett, Michael* (d. 1868)—Irish Fenian, sentenced to death by English authorities.—432

*Barrington, Sir Johan* (1760-1834)—lawyer, Protestant, member of the Irish Parliament (1790-97, 1798-1800), opposed the Anglo-Irish Union.—266, 290

*Barry, Catherine*—Richard Burke's sister.—422

*Bartenev, Viktor Ivanovich* (1838-1918)—Russian army officer, emigrated to Switzerland; in 1869 broke with the Bakuninists; member of the Russian Section Committee of the International in Geneva, vigorously opposed the Bakuninist splitting activities after 1869.—210

*Barteneva, Yekaterina Grigoryevna* (1843-1914)—Russian revolutionary and journalist; took part in founding the Russian Section of the First International; actively opposed the Bakuninist splitting activities after 1869; Viktor Bartenev's wife.—210

*Bauer, Edgar* (1820-1886) — German philosopher and journalist; Young Hegelian; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; editor of the London *Neue Zeit* (1859); Prussian official after the 1861 amnesty.—27

*Beaufort, Daniel Augustus* (1739-1821)—Irish geographer and clergyman of French origin.—157

*Bebel, August* (1840-1913)—a leading figure in the international and German working-class movement; turner; President of the Union of German Workers' Associations from 1867; member of the First International; deputy to the Reichstag from 1867; one of the founders and leaders of German Social-Democracy; fought Lassalleanism; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—32

*Becker, Bernhard* (1826-1891)—German journalist; follower of Lassalle, President of the General Association of German Workers (1864-65); subsequently supported Eisenachers; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—24

*Becker, Ernest* (d. after 1898)—210

*Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886)—German revolutionary, took part in the German and Swiss democratic movement in the 1830s and 1840s and in the 1848-49 revolution; organised German sections of the International in Switzerland; delegate to the London Conference (1865) and all the congresses of the International; editor of *Der Vorbote* (1866-71); in October 1868 became a member of the provisional committee of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, but, influenced by Marx and Engels, soon broke with the Bakuninists; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—90, 114, 122, 209, 336, 348-49, 378

*Bede (Beda* or *Baeda) the Venerable* (c. 673-735)—Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastic, scholar and historian.—177

*Bédeau, J.*—210

*Bedell, William* (1571-1642)—Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh in Ireland.—302

*Bel, André* (d. after 1898)—Swiss worker, joiner; Secretary of the Joiners' Society in Geneva.—210

*Bellingham, Edward* (d. 1549)—Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1548.—297

*Belvidere*—Irish Lord.—263

*Benignus* (d. 468)—Irish priest; according to tradition, a compiler of *Senchus Mor*, a collection of ancient laws.—171

*Beresford, John* (1738-1805)—Irish statesman; supporter of the Anglo-Irish Union, M. P., Pitt's adviser on Irish policy.—251

*Beresfords*—aristocratic family in Ireland, Protestants.—252

*Bernard, Marie*—Belgian house-painter; member of the General Council of the International (September 1868-69); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (September 1868-November 1869).—37, 51, 55

*Bernard of Clairvaux (Bernard, Saint)* (c. 1091-1153)—French theologian, fanatical champion of Catholicism.—172, 285, 308, 311

*Bertel*—Mayor of Sotteville-lès-Rouen and one of the biggest manufacturers there.—388

*Bertie, Willoughby, Earl Abingdon* (1740-1799)—Speaker in the House of Lords (1775-99), Whig supporter.—232, 275

*Bervi, Vasily Vasilyevich* (pseudonym *N. Flerovsky*) (1829-1918)—Russian economist and sociologist, enlightener and democrat, Narodnik utopian socialist; author of *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia*.—110-11

*Besson, Alexandre*—mechanic; French refugee in London; member of the General Council of the International (1866-68), Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, a leader of the French branch in London; follower of Félix Pyat.—4

*Biscamp (Biskamp), Elard*—German democrat, journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated after its defeat; member of the editorial board of *Das Volk*, the newspaper of the German refugees in London published with Marx's active participation.—27

*Bismark* (or *Bismarck-Schönhausen*), *Otto, Prince von* (1815-1898)—statesman of Prussia and Germany; diplomat, Ambassador to St. Petersburg (1859-62) and Paris (1862); Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-72, 1873-90), Chancellor of the North-German Confederation (1867-71) and of the German Empire (1871-90); carried through the unification of Germany by counterrevolutionary means.—21, 75, 134-35

*Blackburn, Colin, Baron Blackburn* (1813-1896)—British judge, presided at the trial of the Manchester Fenians (October 1867) and took part in the

trial of the former Jamaica Governor Edward John Eyre (June 1868).—362

*Blackburne, Francis* (1782-1867)—Irish lawyer and statesman, held high posts in English judiciary in Ireland.—200

*Blackwood*—see *Dufferin and Ava, Frederick Temple Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood*

*Blake, J. A.*—British politician, Liberal M.P.—431

*Blanc, André*—member of the Lyons Section of the International.—108

*Blanchard, D.A.* (d. 1869)—owner of a printing house in Geneva, member of the International.—210

*Blount, Charles, Lord Mountjoy, Earl of Devonshire* (1563-1606)—Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1599; directed the suppression of Tyrone's uprising against the English.—257, 281, 298

*Boate* (or *Botius*), *Gerard* (1604-1650)—English physician of Dutch origin; author of *Ireland's Natural History*.—162

*Bofféty, François* (d. after 1898)—Swiss worker, joiner.—210

*Bohn, Henry George* (1796-1884)—English publisher.—173

*Boileau - Despréaux, Nicolas* (1636-1711)—French poet and theoretician of Classicism.—426

*Bond, Oliver* (c. 1760-1798)—member of the United Irishmen Society in Dublin, Republican.—255, 281

*Boon, Martin James*—British worker, mechanic; active in the British working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International (1869-72), Secretary of the Land and Labour League, member of the British Federal Council (1872).—54, 406

*Borlase (Borlace), Edmund* (d. 1682)—British historian and physician; son of Sir John Borlase; wrote a book on the history of the Irish uprising of 1641-52.—302

*Borlase, Sir John* (1576-1648)—British army officer; Lord Justice of Ireland (1640-44); governed Ireland with William Parsons in absence of Lord Deputy.—302

*Borret, Étienne*—210

*Boudet, Paul* (b. 1800)—French Minister of the Interior (1863-65).—364, 368

*Bourdon, Antoine Marie* (b. 1842)—French worker, engraver; active participant in the French working-class movement; delegate to and secretary of the Geneva Congress (1866); member of the Paris Committee of the International.—13, 365

*Brechtel, Carl* (d. after 1898)—member of the Geneva Central Committee of the German-speaking sections in Switzerland (from 1866); member of the Geneva Section of the International named Alliance of Socialist Democracy (January-March 1870).—210

*Brewer, John Sherren* (1810-1879)—English historian and philologist, professor of King's College, London.—173

*Brian Borumha* (926-1014)—King of Ireland (1001-14) who routed the Norsemen at the battle of Clontarf (1014).—140, 181-84

*Bright, John* (1811-1889)—British manufacturer and politician, a Free Trade leader and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; leader of the Left wing of the Liberal Party from the early 1860s; held several ministerial posts.—97, 103, 343, 407, 409, 430

*Bristol*—see *Hervey, Frederick, Earl of Bristol*

*Broadstreet, Samuel*—member of the Irish Parliament (1782).—228

*Brodhir* (*Brodir* or *Brodar*) (d. 1014)—Norse Viking, killed Irish King Brian Borumha at the battle of Clontarf (1014).—181-84

*Brown, John* (1800-1859)—American farmer; a prominent leader of the revolutionary wing of the abolitionist movement; took an active part in the armed struggle against the slave-owners in Kansas (1854-56); attempted to organise a revolt of Negro slaves in Virginia in 1859; was tried and executed.—189

*Brownlow*—member of the Irish Parliament (1785).—227, 237, 277

*Bruce, Henry Austin, 1st Baron Aberdare* (1815-1895)—British Liberal statesman, Home Secretary (1868-73).—81, 103, 104, 408, 421-22, 426-28, 430-32, 438

*Buckingham*—see *Grenville, George Nugent-Temple, 1st Marquis of Buckingham*

*Buckley, James*—British trade unionist; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864-69) and of the Reform League.—26, 54

*Burgh, Walter Hussey* (1742-1783)—Irish statesman, Whig, lawyer; member of the Irish Parliament; Free Trader.—222, 271

*Burke, Richard* (d. 1870)—Irish Fenian, officer in the North-American Army; an organiser of the 1867 uprising in Ireland; arrested in 1867, died in prison.—102, 416, 421, 425-26, 430-32

*Burke, Thomas F.* (b. 1840)—Irish Fenian, General of the Southern Army in the US Civil War; an organiser of the 1867 uprising in Ireland; sentenced to life imprisonment in April 1867.—103

*Burke, Thomas Henry* (1829-1882)—British statesman, permanent Irish Under-Secretary from 1869.—408

*Burnet, Gilbert* (1643-1715)—English bishop and historian.—302

*Bushe, Charles Kendal* (1767-1843)—Lord Chief Justice; member of the Irish Parliament from 1796; opposed the Anglo-Irish Union.—261, 266

*Butler, James, 12th Earl and 1st Duke of Ormonde* (1610-1688)—Irish statesman.—300, 302-04

*Butt, Isaac* (1813-1879)—Irish lawyer and politician, Liberal M.P.; in the 1860s came out in defence of the Fenian prisoners; an organiser of the Home Rule movement in the 1870s.—83, 408, 410

*Byrne, William* (1775-1799)—member of the United Irishmen society, hanged for taking part in the 1798 uprising.—249, 256

C

*Caesar (Gaius Julius Caesar)* (c. 100-44 B.C.)—Roman general, statesman and writer, author of *De Bello Gallico*.—185

*Caird, Sir James* (1816-1892)—Scottish agriculturist, Liberal M.P.; author of works on the land question in England and Ireland.—158

*Cairnech* (5th cent.)—Christian missionary in Ireland; according to tradition, a compiler of *Senchus Mor*, a collection of ancient laws.—171

*Camden*—see *Pratt, John Jeffreys, 2nd Earl and 1st Marquis of Camden*

*Camden, William* (1551-1623)—English antiquary and historian.—173, 298, 308, 311

*Campe, Johann Julius Wilhelm* (1792-1867)—German publisher and bookseller; co-proprietor of the Hoffmann & Campe Publishing House in Hamburg (from 1823); published works by the authors of the Young Germany group in the 1830s.—56

*Camperio, Philipp* (1810-1882)—Swiss statesman, Italian by birth, lawyer; member of the Grand Council (1847-70); President of the State Council of Geneva and head of the Department of Justice and Police.—138, 352

*Campion, Edmund* (1540-1581)—exponent of Catholicism in Britain, author of *A History of Ireland*.—173, 307

*Canning, George* (1770-1827)—British statesman and diplomat, Tory; Foreign Secretary (1807-09, 1822-27), Prime Minister (1827).—266

*Carew, George, Baron Carew of Clopton and Earl of Totnes* (1555-1629)—British statesman, president of Munster (South Ireland); brutally suppressed Irish uprising in Tyrone (1595-1603).—257, 281

*Carey, Martin Henley*—Irish journalist, Fenian, sentenced to five years' penal servitude in 1865.—102, 409, 416

*Carhampton*—see *Luttrel, Henry Lawes, Earl of Carhampton*

*Carlisle*—see *Howard, Frederick, Earl of Carlisle*

*Carolan (O'Carolan), Torlogh* (1670-1738)—Irish bard, author of many folk songs.—140

*Carte, Thomas* (1686-1754)—English historian; in his writings defended the Stuart dynasty.—299, 300, 302, 303

*Casey, John*—Irish Fenian, arrested and sentenced to five years' penal servitude in 1866.—437-38

*Castlehaven*—see *Touchet, James, Baron Audley of Hely or Heleigh, 3rd Earl of Castlehaven*

*Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount* (1769-1822)—British Tory statesman, Chief Secretary for Ireland (1799-1801), Secretary for War and for the Colonies (1805-06, 1807-09), and Foreign Secretary (1812-22).—193, 227, 236, 252, 254, 256, 258-59, 262, 263, 266, 268, 280-82, 411, 430

*Catalan, Adolphe*—Swiss radical journalist, editor of *La Liberté* delegate to the Brussels Congress of the International (1868).—210

*Cavendish, Sir Henry* (1732-1804)—British politician, member of the British (1768-74) and the Irish Parliament (1766-68, 1776-1800); Deputy Vice-Treasurer of Ireland from 1795.—238

*Celestine I (Saint)* (mid. 4th-early 5th cent.)—Irish missionary; Pope (422-32).—177

*Chanoz, Jean Baptiste* (b. 1828)—French worker, weaver; member of the Lyons Section of the International.—108

*Charette de la Contrie, François* (1763-1796)—French army officer, a leader of the royalist revolt in Vendée; executed after the defeat of the Quiberon expedition.—246

*Charlemont, James Caulfield, 1st Earl of* (1728-1799)—Irish aristocrat, politician, Commander-in-Chief of the Irish Volunteers in the Duke of Leinster's army; opposed the Anglo-Irish Union.—219, 223, 231, 234-35, 245, 271, 273, 275

*Charles I* (1600-1649)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1625-49); beheaded during the English Revolution.—195, 269, 300-01, 304

*Charles II* (1630-1685)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1660-85).—196, 289, 304, 305

*Charles II the Bald* (823-877)—King of France (840-77).—179

*Charles (Carlos) III* (1716-1788)—King of Spain (1759-88).—217, 270

*Charles the Great (Charlemagne)* (c. 742-814)—King of the Franks (768-800) and Holy Roman Emperor (800-14).—178

*Charras, Jean Baptiste Adolphe* (1810-1865)—French military leader and politician, moderate republican; took part in suppressing the June 1848 uprising of the Paris workers; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic (1848-51); opposed Louis Bonaparte; banished from France after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—57

*Cheneval, L. J.*—210

*Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich* (1828-1889)—Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher, writer and literary critic; a predecessor of Russian Social-Democracy.—111

*Chevallier, François*—active in the Swiss working-class movement; member of the committee of the Geneva Bakers' Cooperative Society which was a section of the International.—210

*Chichester of Belfast, Arthur Chichester, Baron* (1563-1625)—Lord Deputy of Ireland (1604-14).—300, 301

*Clanmorris*—Irish Lord, member of the Irish Parliament (1800).—263

*Clare*—see *Fitzgibbon, John, Earl of Clare*

*Clarendon, Edward Hyde, 1st Earl of* (1609-1674)—British statesman and historian.—294

*Clarendon, George William Frederick Villiers, Earl of, Baron Hyde* (1800-1870)—British statesman, Whig, later Liberal; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1847-52), Foreign Secretary (1853-58, 1865-66, 1868-70).—29

*Claudianus, Claudius (Claudian)* (late 4th-early 5th cent.)—Latin epic poet; an Alexandrian by birth.—177

*Clerfayt, Karl, Count* (1733-1798)—Austrian field marshal; took part in the war between Austria and Turkey (1788-89); in 1794 and 1795 Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian army in the war with the French Republic.—246

*Cluseret, Gustave Paul* (1823-1900)—French politician, general; joined Garibaldi's volunteers in Italy (1860); fought in the US Civil War; member of the First International, Bakuninist; the General Council's correspondent in the USA in the spring of 1870; took part in revolutionary uprisings in Lyons and Marseille (1870); member of the Paris Commune; emigrated after its defeat.—442

*Cobbett, William* (c. 1762-1835)—British politician and radical writer.—251, 266, 411

*Cockburn, Sir Alexander James Edmund* (1802-1880)—Lord Chief Justice of England from 1859.—363

*Cohn, James*—leading figure in the British working-class movement, President of the London Association of Cigar-Makers; member of the General Council of the International (1867-71), Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1870-71), delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) and the London Conference (1871) of the International.—26, 55

*Columba* (c. 521-597)—Irish Christian missionary in Scotland.—178

*Conaing*—nephew of the Irish King Brian Borumha, killed at the battle of Clontarf (1014).—183

*Condon, Edward O'Meagher* (c. 1835-1915)—Irish Fenian; in 1867 was sentenced to death; this was commuted into imprisonment.—3

*Conolly, Thomas* (1738-1803)—Irish politician, member of the Irish Parliament (1761-1800); supporter of the Anglo-Irish Union.—229, 234, 242, 278

*Cooke, Edward* (1755-1820)—British statesman, held several posts in the Irish government (1778-1800), member of the Irish Parliament (1789-1801), supporter of the Anglo-Irish Union.—256

*Coote*—Sheriff of the Monagham County in Ireland (1870).—313

*Copeland*—a leading figure in the atheist movement in Britain, member of the General Council of the International (1868-69).—26

*Coppet, Louis de*—210

*Corc* (5th cent.)—King of Munster; according to a legend from Irish chronicles, helped in compiling *Senchus Mor*, a collection of ancient laws.—171

*Cormac Mac Art (Cormac Ulfada)* (d. 260)—King of Ireland (218-54).—176

*Cormac McCulinan* (836-908)—King of Munster and Bishop of Cashel (901-08).—172

*Cormier, Aristide*—worker in the lace industry, member of the Lyons Section of the International.—108

*Cornell, Ezra* (1807-1874)—US capitalist and philanthropist, founder of Cornell University in Ithaca (USA).—161

*Cornwallis, Charles Cornwallis, 1st Marquis* (1738-1805)—British politician, Governor-General of India (1786-93, 1805); as Viceroy of Ireland (1798-1801) suppressed the Irish uprising of 1798.—217, 259-62, 271, 281, 282

*Costello, Augustin*—Irish Fenian, American army officer; in 1867 came to Ireland to take part in the uprising, was arrested and sentenced to twelve years' penal servitude.—422

*Coulin, L.*—210

*Courtois, Jacques*—Swiss worker, joiner; member of the First International.—210

*Cowley, Henry Wellesley, Earl of* (1804-1884)—British diplomat, Ambassador to Paris (1852-67).—364

*Creed, H. Herries*—correspondent of *The Times;* in December 1866-January 1867, in collaboration with W. Williams, published a series of articles on Belgian industry.—357

*Crochet, François* (d. after 1898)—Swiss worker, carpenter.—210

*Cromwell, Henry* (1628-1674)—son of Oliver Cromwell; general in the English Parliamentary Army; in 1650 took part in Oliver Cromwell's punitive expedition to Ireland; Commander of the English army in Ireland (1654); Lord Deputy (1655-57) and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1657-59).—196, 289

*Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—leader of the English Revolution; Lord Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief of Ireland from 1649; Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653.—140, 192, 194, 195, 196, 264, 294, 300, 302-04, 317

*Croset, J.*—210

*Croset, Suzette*—210

*Crosset, Édouard*—Swiss worker, printer; took part in the Inaugural Congress of the Romance Federation of the International (January 1869); opponent of Bakunin.—210

*Curran, John Philpot* (1750-1817)—Irish politician and judge, member of the Irish Parliament, defended leaders of the United Irishmen revolutionary society at state trials.—216, 230, 234, 236-44, 247-55, 256, 267, 276-80

*Custine, Adam Philippe, comte de* (1740-1793)—French general and politician; took part in the war of the French Republic against the First European Coalition, General-in-Chief of the Vosges army in 1792.—249

D

*Daire* (5th cent.)—a ruler of Ulster; according to tradition, a compiler of *Senchus Mor,* a collection of ancient laws.—171

*Davies, Sir John* (1569-1626)—British statesman, poet, author of books on the history of Ireland, Attorney-General of Ireland (1606-19), supporter of the English colonisation of Ireland.—173, 284-87, 299, 308, 310

*Davis, Jefferson* (1808-1889)—American statesman, big slave-owner and planter, Democrat; an organiser of the Southern slave-holders' revolt; took an active part in the war with Mexico (1846-48); U.S. Secretary of War (1853-57); President of the Confederate States of America (1861-65).—409

*Davis, Thomas Osborne* (1814-1845)—Irish democrat, historian and poet; a leader of the Young Ireland group; prepared a publication of Curran's speeches with commentaries.—219, 250, 252, 256

*Davisson, A. N.*—secretary of the Board of Directors of the Schiller Institute in Manchester at the end of the 1860s.—18

*Dean, Frederick*—English worker, a smith; delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) of the First International.—26

*Deane, Robert*—member of the Irish Parliament (1779-80).—222

*Defoe, Daniel* (c. 1660-1731)—English novelist and journalist.—269

*Delescluze, Louis Charles* (1809-1871)—French revolutionary, journalist; participant in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; founder, editor and publisher of *Le Réveil* (1868-71); member of the Paris Commune of 1871.—374

*Delesvaux*—President at the trial of the Executive Committee of the Paris Section of the First International (1868).—366-67

*Dell, William*—interior decorator; active in the British working-class and democratic movement; member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; took part in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69) and its Treasurer (1865, 1866-67); participated in the London Conference (1865); a leader of the Reform League.—26

*Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, 14th Earl of Derby* (1799-1869)—British statesman, Tory leader, Prime Minister (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68).—105, 427

*Derkinderen*—member of the General Council of the International (1866-67), Corresponding Secretary for Holland (1867).—4

*Desmond, Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of* (d. 1583)—powerful Anglo-Irish feudal lord; a leader of the uprising against English rule in the south of Ireland.—299

*Détraz, Charles*—210

*Dickson, William* (1745-1804)—Irish Bishop of Down and Connor (1783).—261

*Dinter, Johann Gotlieb* (1813-1910)—German miner, leader of the miners' union in Zwickau.—43, 389

*Diodorus, Siculus* (c. 80-29 B.C.)—Greek historian, author of *Bibliothecae historicae*.—174

*Dionysius Areopagiticus (the Areopagite)* (1st cent.)—first Christian Bishop of Athens, member of the Athenian Areopagus.—178

*Disraeli, Benjamin, 1st Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and writer; adherent of the Young England group in the 1840s; later a Tory leader; Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80).—105, 407, 427

*Donat*—210

*Downing, M'Carthy*—Irish politician, Liberal M.P.—431-32

*Drennan, William* (1754-1820)—Irish poet, a leader of the United Irishmen society in Dublin.—248

*Dubhghall*—son of Amhlaeibh (Amhlanibh Anlaf, or Olaf), killed at the battle of Clontarf (1014).—183

*Dubthach Maccu Lugir* (5th cent.)—Irish court poet and lawyer; according to tradition, a compiler of *Senchus Mor*, a collection of ancient laws.—171

*Duchâtel, Charles Marie Tanneguy, comte* (1803-1867)—French statesman, Orleanist, Minister of the Interior (1839-40, 1840-February 1848).—373

*Dufferin and Ava, Frederick Temple Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, 1st Marquis of* (1826-1902)—British statesman and diplomat, Liberal, member of Gladstone's Cabinet (1868-72), big landowner in Ireland.—190, 206, 428, 435

*Duffy, Edward* (1840-1868)—a leader of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, leader of the Fenian movement in Western Ireland; in 1867 was sentenced to fifteen years of penal servitude, died in prison.—418

*Dumas, Alexandre (Dumas père)* (1802-1870)—French writer.—423

*Dumouriez, Charles François du Perier* (1739-1823)—French general, commanded the Northern revolutionary army in 1792-93; was close to the Girondists, betrayed the revolution in March 1793.—248, 249

*Dunaud, Antoine*—Swiss worker, engraver; at a congress of the Romance Federation of the International, held in La Chaux-de-Fonds (April 1870), opposed the Bakuninists.—210

*Duncker, Franz Gustav* (1822-1888)—German publisher, prominent figure in the Party of Progress; founder and editor of the *Volks-Zeitung* (1853-59); in 1868, together with Max Hirsch, founded reformist trade unions, known as Hirsch-Duncker unions, which existed until 1933.—25

*Dungal* (died c. 827)—Irish monk, scholar and poet, invited to teach in Pavia (c. 820).—178

*Dupont, Eugène* (c. 1831-1881)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; musical instrument maker; took part in the June 1848 uprising in Paris; from 1862 on, lived in London; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872), Corresponding Secretary for France (1865-71); participant in the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866); Chairman of the Lausanne Congress (1867), delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868); the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); associate of Marx and Engels; became a member of the British Federal Council of the International in 1872; moved to the USA in 1874.—4, 37, 51, 55, 341, 364, 443

*Dupraz, Louis*—delegate of the Geneva building workers at the talks with the government during their strike in the spring of 1869.—210

*Dutoit, Jules*—an editor of *L'Égalité* (1870).—123

E

*Eccarius, Johann Georg (John George)* (1818-1889)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; tailor; member of the League of the Just, later of the Communist League; a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-72), Council's General Secretary (1867-71), Corresponding Secretary for America (1870-72); delegate to all the International's congresses and conferences; until 1872 follower of Marx; in the spring of 1872 joined the reformist leaders of the British trade unions.—4, 17, 51, 55, 82, 139, 358, 364, 378, 406, 443

*Edgeworth, Richard Lovell* (1744-1817)—British writer; from 1782 lived in Ireland, where he owned an estate; member of the Irish Parliament (1798-1800); opponent of the Anglo-Irish Union.—264

*Edward I* (1239-1307)—King of England (1272-1307).—287

*Edward II* (1284-1327)—King of England (1307-27).—269

*Edward III* (1312-1377)—King of England (1327-77).—290

*Edward VI* (1537-1553)—King of England (1547-53).—297

*Edward "the Confessor"* (1004-1066)—King of England (1043-66).—292

*Eichhoff, Wilhelm Karl* (1833-1895)—German socialist and journalist; refugee in London (1861-66); member of the International (from 1868) and one of its first historians; organiser of the Berlin Section of the International; General Council's correspondent; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (from 1869).—326, 329, 330, 337, 345, 354, 357, 363, 364, 377, 378

*Einhard (Eginhard)* (c. 770-840)—historian of the Franks, biographer of Charles the Great.—177

*Elizabeth I* (1533-1603)—Queen of England and Ireland (1558-1603).—140, 192, 195, 257, 281, 288, 292, 297-99, 302, 317

*Ella* (or *Aella*) (d. 867)—King of Northumbria (c. 862-67).—180

*Elpidin, Mikhail Konstantinovich* (1835-1908)—participant in the Russian students' revolutionary movement in the early 1860s; in 1865 emigrated to Geneva, founded a Russian printing plant where the newspaper *Narodnoye Dyelo (The People's Cause)* was published.—210

*Ely*—Irish aristocrat, Marquis, M.P. (1800).—263

*Emmet, Thomas Addis* (1764-1827)—Irish politician, lawyer, secretary of the United Irishmen society from 1795.—255, 281

*Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895).—18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 93, 94, 95, 135, 154, 156, 158, 161, 185, 284, 286, 299, 307, 308, 309-11

*Ensor, George* (1769-1843)—Irish journalist; opponent of the Anglo-Irish Union; in his works denounced the colonial policy of the English ruling classes.—259, 264, 265-68, 269

*Erdmann, Johann Eduard* (1805-1892)—German philosopher, Right-wing Hegelian.—178

*Erigena, Johannes Scotus* (c. 810-c. 877)—medieval philosopher, theologian, and translator; Irish by birth.—179, 308, 311

*Erlingr from Straumey*—Norse Viking, killed at the battle of Clontarf (1014).—181

*Eyre, Edward John* (1815-1901)—British colonial official, Governor of Jamaica (1864-66); suppressed a Negro insurrection in 1865.—49, 362

F

*Fane, John, Earl of Westmoreland* (1759-1841)—British statesman, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1790-95); opposed emancipation of the Catholics.—229, 230, 234, 236, 245-47, 249, 278

*Ferdinand II* (1810-1859)—King of the Two Sicilies (1830-59), nicknamed King Bomba for his bombardment of Messina in 1848.—105, 422

*Fergus* (5th cent.)—Irish poet; according to tradition, a compiler of *Senchus Mor*, a collection of ancient laws.—171

*Ferguson, Patrick* (1744-1780)—English army officer, commanded troops during the American War of Independence; killed in the battle at Kings Mountain in 1780.—217

*Filliétaz, G.*—participant in the Swiss working-class movement in the second half of the 1860s; member of the International.—210

*Finn*—King of Leinster; Murchadh's father.—183

*Fitzgerald, Edward* (1763-1798)—Irish bourgeois revolutionary; a founder of the United Irishmen society; was in charge of preparations for the 1798 rebellion.—194, 198, 255, 281

*Fitzgerald, George Robert* (c. 1748-1786)—member of the Anglo-Irish clan of Geraldines; took part in the political life of Ireland; supported independent legislature in Ireland; executed in 1786.—226

*Fitzgerald, James* (1742-1835)—Irish lawyer and politician, M.P. from 1769; supported emancipation of the Catholics; Prime Serjeant of Ireland from 1787; in 1799 dismissed for his opposition to the Anglo-Irish Union; later supporter of the Union.—266

*Fitzgerald, John David, Lord Fitzgerald* (1816-1889)—Irish lawyer and Liberal politician, M.P.; held a series of high judicial posts in the British administration in Ireland.—439

*Fitzgerald, William Robert, 2nd Duke of Leinster* (1749-1804)—member of the Irish Parliament from Dublin (1769-73); colonel in the Dublin volunteers' army; supporter of the Anglo-Irish Union.—222, 271

*Fitzgeralds* (or *Geraldines*)—the name of an ancient Irish dynasty; owners of large estates in Leinster and Munster.—288

*Fitzgibbon, John, Earl of Clare* (1749-1802)—Lord Chancellor of Ireland (1789); member of the Irish Parliament; supported the government's trade policy; adherent of the Anglo-Irish Union.—225, 227, 234, 236, 243, 244, 252, 261, 273, 277, 278, 279

*Fitzherbert, Alleyne, Baron St. Helens* (1753-1839) — British statesman; Chief Secretary of Buckingham's government in Ireland from 1787, member of the Irish Parliament.—242, 244, 278

*Fitzpatrick, Richard* (1747-1813)—British general and statesman, Whig, M.P., Chief Secretary for Ireland (1782), War Secretary (1783, 1806-07).—229

*Fitzwilliam, William Wentworth Fitzwilliam, 2nd Earl* (1748-1833)—Whig leader, member of Pitt's government, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (January-March 1795).—220, 245, 251, 252, 255, 258, 279

*Fleetwood, Charles* (d. 1692)—general in the Parliamentary Army during the English Revolution; Commander-in-Chief of the English army in Ireland from 1652; Lord Deputy of Ireland (1654-57).—196

*Flerovsky, N.*—see *Bervi, Vasily Vasilyevich*

*Flood, Henry* (1732-1791)—Irish statesman, member of the Irish Parliament, leader of the people's party; in the 1780s spoke in Parliament against Grattan's moderate position, moved the Renunciation Act adopted in 1783.—228, 230-33, 236, 240, 273-75

*Forbes, George, 6th Earl of Granard* (1760-1837)—general, member of the House of Lords; opposed the Anglo-Irish Union.—237, 238, 277, 278

*Fornachon, L. H.* (d. after 1898)—member of the Geneva Section of the International named Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—210

*Försterling, Emil* (1827-1872)—coppersmith; member of the General Association of German Workers; later President of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers founded by Hatzfeldt (1867-68); deputy to the North German Imperial Diet (1867-70).—24

*Fortescue*—see *Parkinson-Fortescue, Chichester Samuel, Baron Carlingford*

*Foster, John*—English worker, carpenter; member of a co-operative society in Hull, delegate to the Brussels

Congress of the First International (1868).—26

*Foster, John*—English worker, mechanic; member of a co-operative society in Hull, delegate to the Brussels Congress of the First International (1868), John Foster's son.—26

*Foster, John, Baron Oriel* (1740-1828)—Irish lawyer, Privy Councillor; Speaker of the Irish House of Commons from 1785; member of the united Parliament from 1801; opposed the Anglo-Irish Union.—261, 266

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—175

*Fox, Charles James* (1749-1806)—British statesman, a Whig leader, Foreign Secretary (1782, 1783, 1806).—226, 228, 230, 231, 240-42, 259, 273-74, 278

*Fox, Henry Richard Vassall, 3rd Baron Holland* (1773-1840)—Whig, member of Grenville's Cabinet (1806-07), opposed the Anglo-Irish Union.—266

*Fox, Luke*—Irish lawyer, M. P., in 1799 actively supported the Anglo-Irish Union.—261, 282

*Fox, Peter (André, Peter Fox)* (d. 1869)—journalist, active member of the British democratic and working-class movement; Positivist; a leader of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69); General Secretary of the Council (September-November 1866); Corresponding Secretary for America (1866-67); an editor of *The Commonwealth* (1866); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—16

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—60

*Fridolin* or *Fridold, Saint* (6th cent.)—Irish Christian missionary among the Allemanni of the Upper Rhine.—178

*Friess, J.* (or *Fries*)—member of the International and of the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections in Geneva.—210

*Frodi*—son of Harald I Fairhair.—179

*Fulliquet, Louis*—Swiss worker; member of the International, Secretary of the Geneva cabinet-makers' section.—210

G

*Gallus (Gall St.)* (c. 550-c. 645)—Irish Christian missionary.—178

*Gandillon, Ami*—210

*Garbani, Paul*—210

*Gardiner, William* or *William Neville* (1748-1806)—English army officer, aide-de-camp of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1793); member of the Irish Parliament from 1799.—236

*Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary and democrat; took part in the revolutionary movement in South America in the 1830s and 1840s and in the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; headed the struggle for Italy's national liberation and unification in the 1850s and 1860s.—101, 323, 341

*Gathorne-Hardy, Gathorne* (1814-1906)—British statesman, Conservative, Home Secretary (1867-68).—3

*Gay, Désirée*—210

*Gay, François*—in May 1869 refused to join the committee of the Geneva Section named Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—210

*Gay, Jules Leopold* (1807-d. after 1876)—French journalist; utopian communist, communist, follower of Owen; publisher of *Le Communiste* in Paris (1849); member of the International; an editor of *L'Égalité* and *La Liberté*.—210

*Geib, August* (1842-1879)—German bookseller in Hamburg; Social-Democrat; member of the General Association of German Workers; participant in the Eisenach Congress (1869); a founder of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; Treasurer of the Party (1872-78); deputy to the Imperial Diet (1874-77).—133

*Gennadius* (5th cent.)—Gallic writer.—177

*George I* (1660-1727)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1714-27).—212, 225, 228, 229, 230, 232, 270, 272-74

*George III* (1738-1820)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1760-1820).—197, 212, 215, 222-24, 226, 227, 228, 232-34, 241, 242, 252, 257, 259-62, 264, 273-74, 275, 278

*George IV* (1762-1830)—Prince Regent (1811-20), King of Great Britain and Ireland (1820-30).—242, 256, 278

*Gerlach, Karl Heinrich Eduard Friedrich von*—Prussian official, Regierungspräsident in Cologne (1839-44).—60

*Gillaciarain*—Viking, son of Gluniairn, killed at the battle of Clontarf (1014).—183

*Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald de Barry)* (c. 1146-c. 1220)—English writer; took part in the military expedition to Ireland (1185); author of essays on Ireland.—172, 173, 180, 185, 285-86

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory, later Peelite; leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the 19th century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55, 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—28, 83, 103, 105, 189, 324, 326, 327, 345, 407-11, 415, 416-18, 421-30, 434-36, 438-40

*Gluniairn*—father of Gillaciarain.—183

*Godfrey, Thomas*—English inventor of a patent medicine (Godfrey's Cordial).—327

*Gordon, James Bentley* (1750-1819)—English historian, author of works on the history of Ireland.—309

*Gottlob, Walter*—210

*Gottraux, Jules*—a Swiss, who became a British subject; member of the International.—364

*Grange, Charles*—Swiss worker, plasterer; member of the Geneva Section named Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—210

*Grattan, Henry* (1746-1820)—Irish politician, lawyer; from 1775 to 1800 leader of moderate Liberal opposition to the British Government in the Irish Parliament; member of the British Parliament from 1805.—222, 227-34, 235, 236, 241, 244, 247, 250, 254, 258, 271, 273-75, 276, 278, 280

*Graves, Charles* (1812-1899)—Irish scholar, mathematician; in 1852-99 member of the government commission for translating and publishing the ancient Irish laws; Bishop of Limerick from 1866.—170

*Gray, Sir John* (1816-1875)—British journalist, member of the House of Commons (1865-75).—407

*Gregory XIII* (1502-1585)—Pope (1572-85).—195

*Grenville, George Nugent-Temple, 1st Marquis of Buckingham* (1753-1813)—British statesman, member of the Privy Council, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1782-83, 1787-90).—222, 231, 236, 238, 241, 242, 264, 274, 278

*Grenville, William Wyndham Grenville, Baron* (1759-1834)—British statesman, Tory, later Whig; in 1782 he became secretary to his brother. Marquis of Buckingham; Foreign Secretary (1791-1801), Prime Minister (1806-07).—231, 274

*Greville-Nugent, Reginald*—Irish army officer, Liberal.—439

*Grey, Charles, Earl of, Viscount Howick, Baron Grey* (1764-1845)—British

statesman, a Whig leader; First Lord of the Admiralty (1806), Prime Minister (1830-34); opposed the Anglo-Irish Union of 1801.—266

*Grey* or *Gray, Lord Leonard, Viscount Grane of Ireland* (d. 1541)—Deputy-Governor of Ireland (1535-40).—288

*Griffith, Richard* (1752-1820)—member of the Irish Parliament (1783-90).—239, 276

*Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl* (1785-1863)—German philologist, author of a historical grammar of the German language and of folklore adaptations; professor in Göttingen and then in Berlin; Liberal.—175, 184

*Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de* (1766-1847)—Marshal of France, participated in the Napoleonic wars.—254, 280

*Guerry*—210

*Guillaume, James* (1844-1916)—Swiss teacher; anarchist, Bakuninist; member of the International, delegate to the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Basle (1869) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; an organiser of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; editor of *Progrès, La Solidarité* and the *Bulletin de la Fédération Jurassienne*; was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress for his splitting activities.—114-15

*Guillmeaux*—member of the Romance Federation of the International; Chairman of the section of turners and mechanics; elected member of the *Égalité* editorial board at the Federation's congress in January 1869, withdrew from the board in January 1870, together with the other Bakuninists.—123, 210

*Guinet, Jenny*—210

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman; virtually directed France's home and foreign policy from 1840 to the February 1848 revolution; expressed the interests of the big financial bourgeoisie.—61

*Guyot, Charles*—210

H

*Habsburgs* (or *Hapsburgs*)—dynasty of emperors of the Holy Roman Empire from 1273 to 1806 (with intervals), Spanish Kings (1516-1700), Austrian emperors (1804-67) and Austro-Hungarian emperors (1867-1918).—289

*Haeberling, Adolphe*—member of the committee of a bakers' co-operative society in Geneva affiliated to the International.—210

*Hales, John* (b. 1839)—British trade-union leader; weaver; member of the Reform League, the Land and Labour League; member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its Secretary (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; headed the reformist wing of the British Federal Council from the beginning of 1872; expelled from the International in 1873.—26, 54

*Hallam, Henry* (1777-1859)—English historian, author of works on the history of English constitution.—285, 288

*Hancock, U. Nelson*—Irish lawyer, with O'Mahony published two volumes of *Senchus Mor*, a collection of ancient laws.—170

*Hanmer, Meredith* (1543-1604)—English clergyman and historian, author of *The Chronicle of Ireland*.—173

*Hansemann, David Justus* (1790-1864)—German capitalist, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Finance Minister (March-September 1848).—40

*Harald I Fairhair* (c. 850-c. 933)—King of Norway (872-930).—179

*Harcourt, Simon, 1st Earl Harcourt* (1714-1777)—British aristocrat, held various posts at Court; Ambassador to Paris (1768-72), Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1772-77).—222, 238

*Hardy, Jean* (1763-1802)—French general; taken prisoner by the English during the expedition to Ireland (1798); later fought in the French Rhenish Army.—282

*Harris, Walter* (1686-1761)—Irish historiographer, author of works on the history of Ireland; published documents collected by Sir James Ware with his additions and comments.—269

*Hastings, Francis Rawdon, Marquis of Hastings, Earl of Moira* (1754-1826)—English army officer; member of the Irish Parliament from 1780.—245

*Hatzfeldt, Sophie, Countess von* (1805-1881)—German aristocrat, friend and supporter of Lassalle.—24

*Hay, Peter*—governor of Spike Island Convict Prison.—106

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—61, 309

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—348

*Hely-Hutchinson, John* (1724-1794)—Secretary of State in Ireland from 1777, supported English rule in Ireland.—227, 273

*Hely-Hutchinson, John, Earl of Donoughmore* (1757-1832)—Irish general; member of the Irish Parliament; supporter of the Anglo-Irish Union; son of the above.—260

*Hennessy, John Pope* (1834-1891)—Irish politician, Conservative M. P.; proposed several minor reforms in Ireland in the early 1860s.—206

*Henry I* (1068-1135)—King of England (1100-35).—173

*Henry II Plantagenet* (1133-1189)—King of England (1154-89).—195, 285

*Henry V* (1387-1422)—King of England (1413-22).—291

*Henry VII* (1457-1509)—King of England (1485-1509).—212, 270, 287

*Henry VIII* (1491-1547)—King of England (1509-47).—287, 288, 292, 297, 302

*Héridier, Marc*—210

*Heron, Denis Caulfield* (1824-1881)—Irish lawyer and economist, M. P.—440

*Hervey, Frederick, Earl of Bristol* (1730-1803)—Bishop of Derry; member of the Irish Parliament; commanded a volunteer regiment in Londonderry (1782), took an active part in the volunteer congress in Dublin in 1783.—226, 234, 235, 275

*Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich* (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher and writer; left Russia in 1847, from 1852 lived in England where he established the Free Russian Press and published the periodical *Polyarnaya Zvezda* (Polar Star) and the newspaper *Kolokol* (The Bell).—123

*Hieronymus*—see *Jerome, St.*

*Hirsch, Max* (1832-1905)—German economist, prominent figure in the Party of Progress; in 1868, together with Franz Duncker, founded reformist trade unions which were known as Hirsch-Duncker trade unions and which existed until 1933.—25, 26

*Hobart, Robert, Lord Hobart, Earl of Buckinghamshire* (1760-1816)—English army officer; Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1784-93); member of the Irish Parliament (1787-93).—234, 236, 238, 245, 278

*Hoche, Lazare Louis* (1768-1797)—French general; directed the suppression of the counter-revolutionary revolt in Bretagne and Vendée in 1794; in 1795 routed the royalist landing party at Quiberon thus put-

ting an end to Vendean wars; in 1796 commanded an expeditionary corps that was to land in Ireland.—246, 254, 280

*Holinshed* (or *Hollingshead*), *Raphael* (died c. 1580)—English historian, author of the *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* from ancient times to the 1570s.—298

*Holland*—see *Fox, Henry Richard Vassall, 3rd Baron Holland*

*Homer*—semi-legendary Greek epic poet, author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.—294

*Hood, Gunner*—Irish Fenian, sentenced to four years' penal servitude by a military tribunal in 1866.—415-16

*Houchard, Jean Nicolas* (1740-1793)—French general; commanded the Northern army which defeated the Duke of York's troops (1793).—246

*Howard, Frederick, Earl of Carlisle* (1748-1825)—Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1780-82).—224, 251

*Howell, George* (1833-1910)—British mason; a reformist leader of the British trade unions; former Chartist, Secretary of the London Trades Council (1861-62); participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (October 1864 to 1869); participant in the London Conference of the International (1865); Secretary of the Reform League; opposed revolutionary tactics.—26

*Howison*—Irish politician, alderman; in 1790 was put up by the Municipal Council as candidate for the post of Mayor of Dublin.—244, 279

*Hrafn the Red*—Norse Viking, took part in the battle of Clontarf (1014).—181

*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885)—French writer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; opposed Louis Bonaparte.—56

*Humbert, Jean Robert Marie* (1755-1823)—French general; commander of a French force that landed in Ireland.—281

*Hume, Robert William*—American petty-bourgeois radical, journalist; a leader of the National Labour Union; member of the International, General Council's correspondent.—442-43

*Huriot, Victor*—member of the editorial board of *Le Courrier français* (1866-68).—348

*Huxley, Thomas Henry* (1825-1895)—English naturalist; close associate of Charles Darwin and populariser of his teaching.—174

I

*Ireton, Henry* (1611-1651)—prominent figure in the English Revolution; an ideologist of the Independent Party; general in the Parliamentary Army; participant in Oliver Cromwell's punitive expedition to Ireland (1649-50); succeeded Cromwell as Commander-in-Chief and Lord Deputy of Ireland (1650-51).—196

*Isidore of Seville (Isidorus Hispalensis)* (c. 570-636)—Spanish bishop and Catholic writer.—177

J

*Jackson, William* (c. 1737-1795)—Irish Catholic clergyman, member of the United Irishmen society; in 1794 came from France to establish links with Theobald Wolfe Tone, was arrested and sentenced to death, committed suicide.—251, 253

*Jaclard, Charles Victor* (1843-1900)—French journalist, Blanquist; member of the International; was active in the Paris Commune, 1871; member of

the National Guard's Central Committee, commander of a legion of the National Guard; following the suppression of the Paris Commune, emigrated to Switzerland and then to Russia; after the 1880 amnesty returned to France and resumed his activities in the socialist movement.—210

*James*—alderman and, from 1790, Mayor of Dublin; commanded troops that crushed the Defenders' uprising near Dublin (1795).—244-45, 279

*James I* (1566-1625)—King of England, Scotland and Ireland (1603-25).—140, 195, 288, 293, 297, 299-300

*James II* (1633-1701)—Duke of York (from 1634), King of England, Scotland and Ireland (1685-88).—194, 196, 289-90, 294, 304-05

*Jerome, St. (Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus)* (c. 340-420)—theologian; born in Dalmatia; translated the Bible into Latin.—176

*Jessup, William J.*—American worker, carpenter; active participant in the American labour movement; Vice-President (1866) and Corresponding Secretary (1867) of the National Labour Union of the United States for the State of New York; a leader of the Workers' Union of New York; General Council's correspondent in the USA.—443

*Johannard, Jules* (1843-1888)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; lithographer; member of the General Council of the International (1868-69, 1871-72) and Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1868-69); in 1870 founded a section of the International at St. Denis; member of the Paris Commune of 1871; sided with the Blanquists; after the defeat of the Commune emigrated to London; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—51, 55

*John (Lackland)* (c. 1167-1216)—King of England (1199-1216).—173

*Johnstone, James* (d. 1798)—Scottish collector and publisher of ancient Scandinavian literature.—181

*Jost, Jean*—secretary of the section of the Geneva turners, mechanics and foundrymen.—210

*Jourdan, Jean Baptiste, comte* (1762-1833)—Marshal of France; fought in the wars of the French Republic and Napoleonic France, won a victory at Fleurus (1794); commanded the French Army in Spain (1808-14); Minister of Foreign Affairs during the July monarchy.—246

*Jukes, Joseph Beete* (1811-1869)—English geologist, supervised the geological survey of Ireland in 1850-69.—148, 151

*Jung, Hermann* (1830-1901)—prominent figure in the international and Swiss working-class movement; watchmaker; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland (November 1864 to 1872); Treasurer of the General Council (1871-72); participant in the London Conference (1865), Chairman of the Geneva (1866), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and of the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council; supported Marx before the Hague Congress of 1872, later joined the reformist leaders of the British trade unions.—4, 37, 38, 51, 55, 123, 136, 336-37

## K

*Kamp*—Mayor of Seraing (Belgium), member of the Cockerill Company.—48

*Kane, Sir Robert John* (1810-1890)—Irish scientist, professor of chemistry and physics; also studied the economy of Ireland.—152, 163

*Kelly, Jeremiah Hubert*—physician in Spike Island Convict Prison.—106-07

*Kenyon, Lloyd Kenyon, 1st Baron* (1732-1802)—British lawyer, Master of the Rolls and Lord Chief Justice of England, M. P.—265

*Keogh, John* (1740-1817)—Irish merchant; member of the Catholic Committee, supported emancipation of the Irish Catholics; on his initiative the Relief Act was adopted in 1793; member of the United Irishmen society.—219, 249

*Kerthialfadh (Kerthialfadr)*—Irish soldier, participant in the battle of Clontarf (1014).—182-83

*Kickham, Charles Joseph* (1826-1882)—Irish journalist; took part in the national liberation movement of the 1840s; Fenian; an editor of *The Irish People* (1865); in 1865 was arrested and sentenced to 14 years' penal servitude, released in 1869.—102, 422, 440

*Kilian (Chilian, Killian), St.* (d. 697)—Irish missionary, preached Christianity in Eastern Franconia; first Bishop of Würzburg.—178

*Kimbaoth* (3rd cent. B. C.)—mentioned in chronicles as the ruler of Ulster.—169

*Knox, Alexander Andrew* (1818-1891)—English journalist and police magistrate; member of a commission which reported to Parliament in 1867 on the treatment of political prisoners in British prisons.—418, 424, 428, 438

*Kohl, Johann Georg* (1808-1878)—German geographer, author of several works on the geography of European countries.—284

L

*Laeghaire (Loeghaire)* (d. 458)—King of Ireland (428-58).—171

*Lafargue, Paul* (1842-1911)—prominent figure in the international and French working-class movement; member of the General Council of the International, Corresponding Secretary for Spain (1866-69); helped to organise sections of the International in France (1869-70), Spain and Portugal (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); a founder of the Workers' Party of France; disciple and associate of Marx and Engels; husband of Marx's daughter, Laura.—4, 55

*Lake, Gerard, 1st Viscount Lake of Delhi and Leswarree* (1744-1808)—British general, M. P. (1790-1802); commanded troops that quelled the Irish uprising of 1798.—254, 260, 280

*Lambert, John* (1619-1683)—general in the Parliamentary Army during the English Revolution; took part in all major battles with royalist troops and in conquering Scotland; Lord Deputy of Ireland (1652).—196

*Langrishe, Sir Hercules* (1731-1811)—Irish politician, M. P.—263

*Lanigan, John* (1758-1828)—Irish bishop, supported the Anglo-Irish Union, wrote several works on ecclesiastical history.—263, 265

*Laplace, Jacques*—delegate to the third congress of the Romance Federation of the International from the Carouge Section.—210

*Larcom, Sir Thomas Aiskew* (1801-1879)—Irish government official, later major-general; from 1826 worked at the British geological survey of Ireland, studied material on the history of old Ireland; permanent Irish Under-Secretary from 1853.—170

*Larkin, Michael* (d. 1867)—Irish Fenian, sentenced to death by English court.—3, 13

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German journalist and lawyer, petty-bourgeois socialist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution, founder and first President of the General Association

of German Workers (1863), one of the originators of the opportunist trend in the German working-class movement.—20, 21, 23-24, 59

*Laurier, Clement* (1832-1872)—French lawyer and politician, Republican; after the revolution of September 4, 1870 was in the service of the Government of National Defence; later a monarchist.—438

*La Valette, Charles Jean Marie Félix, marquis de* (1806-1881)—French statesman, Minister of the Interior (1865-67).—364

*Lavelle, Patrick*—Irish clergyman, sympathised with the Fenians; author of the book *The Irish Landlord since the Revolution.*—434

*Lavergne, Louis Gabriel Léonce Guilhaud de* (1809-1880)—French bourgeois economist, author of a number of works on agricultural economics.—159-60, 283

*Law, Harriet* (1832-1897)—a leading figure in the atheist movement in England; member of the General Council (June 1867-72) and of the Manchester Section of the International (1872).—26, 55, 399-400

*Lawrence (Laurence), Richard* (1643-1682)—Parliamentary Army colonel during the English Revolution; took part in Cromwell's expedition to Ireland and in land confiscations there; author of pamphlets on Ireland.—269

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician, a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats; editor of *La Réforme*; Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government in 1848; Deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (leader of the Montagne party); emigrated to England following the events of June 13, 1849; returned to France in 1870.—376, 381, 411

*Ledwich, Edward* (1739-1823)—Irish archaeologist; author of works on the history of old Ireland (*The Antiquities of Ireland* and others).—308

*Leinster, Duke of*—see *Fitzgerald, William Robert, 2nd Duke of Leinster*

*Leland, Thomas* (1722-1785)—English historian, author of *The History of Ireland from the Invasion of Henry II.*—298-300, 301-03

*Lepelletier*—public prosecutor at the trial of the Executive Committee of the Paris Section of the International (1868).—367

*Leslie, Thomas Edward Cliffe* (c. 1827-1882)—English economist.—191, 205

*Lessner, Friedrich* (1825-1910)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; tailor; member of the Communist League from 1847; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; prosecuted at the Cologne Communist trial in 1852; emigrated to London in 1856; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London and of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872); delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; member of the British Federal Council; later a founder of the British Independent Labour Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—55

*Levy, Joseph Moses* (1812-1888)—a founder and publisher of *The Daily Telegraph.*—421

*Lewis, Sir George Cornewall, Baronet* (1806-1863)—British statesman, Whig; Financial Secretary to the Treasury (1850-52); editor of *The Edinburgh Review* (1852-55); Chancellor of the Exchequer (1855-58), Home Secretary (1859-61), Secretary of State for War (1861-63).—28

*Liddell, A. F. O.*—English employee in the Home Office (1870).—422

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; participant in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League and the International; delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) of the International; deputy to the Imperial Diet from 1867; a founder and leader of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—24, 32, 90, 116, 122, 133, 354, 445

*Limburg, W.*—German shoemaker; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, member of the General Council of the International (1868-69).—55

*Lincoln, Abraham* (1809-1865)—American statesman; a leader of the Republican Party; President of the United States (1861-65); during the Civil War, under pressure from the masses, carried out a number of important bourgeois-democratic reforms which led to the adoption of revolutionary methods of warfare; assassinated by a slave-holders' agent in April 1865.—53, 361, 362

*Lindegger, Antoine* (d. after 1898)—Swiss worker, loader; follower of Bakunin; member of the Committee of the Geneva Section named Alliance of Socialist Democracy; member of the *Égalité* editorial board (1869).—123, 209

*Lingard, John* (1771-1851)—English historian, author of *A History of England* in eight volumes.—303, 305

*Loder*—Norse ruler of Orkney Islands; fought at the battle of Clontarf (1014).—183

*Longfield*—Irish nobleman, M.P. from County Cork (1787).—243

*Longuet, Charles* (1839-1903)—prominent in the French working-class movement; journalist; Proudhonist; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67, 1871-72); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1866); delegate to the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and the Hague (1872) congresses and the London Conference (1871); member of the Paris Commune; later joined the Possibilists; husband of Marx's daughter, Jenny.—366

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—289, 295

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of France (1830-48).—328

*Lucas, Charles* (1713-1771)—Irish physician and journalist, patriotic pamphleteer.—212

*Lucraft, Benjamin* (1809-1897)—a reformist leader of the British trade unions; cabinet-maker; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71); delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address *The Civil War in France* and withdrew from the International.—26, 55, 139

*Luttrel, Henry Lawes, Earl of Carhampton* (1743-1821)—English general, member of the Irish Parliament; from 1796 Commander-in-Chief in Ireland.—257, 281

*Lynch, John* (c. 1599-c. 1673)—Irish clergyman, author and translator of several works on the history of Ireland.—174

*Lynch, John* (1832-1866)—Irish Fenian, leader of a Fenian organisation in Cork; sentenced to ten years' penal servitude in January 1866; died in Working Prison that year.—418, 437-38

*Lyons, Robert Spencer Dyer* (1826-1886)—Irish physician, Liberal, member of

the commission of inquiry (1870) into the treatment of the Irish political prisoners.—417

M

*McCann*—member of the United Irishmen society, took part in preparing an uprising in 1798.—255, 281

*Macaulay, Thomas Babington Macaulay, Baron* (1800-1859)—English historian and politician, Whig, M.P.—294, 301, 313

*McCormic*—Irish politician, secretary of the Catholic Committee in the early 1790s.—249

*McCracken, Henry Joy* (1767-1798)—a founder of the United Irishmen society in Belfast, leader of the Antrim uprising (1798).—219

*M'Donnel*—Irish typographer, printed the *Hibernian Journal* at the end of the 18th century.—250

*M'Donnell*—prison doctor in Dublin dismissed from the post because of his protest against the brutal treatment of the Fenian prisoners.—106-07, 409, 427

*MacGeoghegan, James* (1702-1763)—French abbot of Irish origin, author of *History of Ireland*.—290, 299

*Machiavelli, Niccolò* (1469-1527)—Italian politician, historian, military theorist and writer.—75, 419

*MacNevin (MacNeven), William James* (1763-1841)—Irish physician, member of the United Irishmen society.—255, 281

*Macpherson, James* (1736-1796)—Scottish poet, author of several poems based on an Irish epic.—140

*Maelseachlainn II* (949-1022)—King of Ireland (980-1002 and 1014-22).—183

*Maguane*—government spy in the United Irishmen society.—255

*Maguire, Thomas*—Irish sailor; arrested in 1867 on a false charge of trying to arrange the escape of the imprisoned Fenians; was sentenced to be hanged but was released soon afterwards.—3

*Malachy*—see *Maelseachlainn II*

*Malachy, St.* (c. 1094-1148)—Irish prelate, Archbishop of Armagh and papal legate in Ireland.—172, 285

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, author of a theory of population.—373

*Manners, Charles, Duke of Rutland* (1754-1787)—British statesman, member of the Privy Council, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1784-87).—236, 239, 242, 243, 276-77

*Mansfield*—see *Murray, William, Lord Mansfield*

*Maolmordha* (d. 1014)—King of Leinster (999-1014).—181, 183

*Marauda*—210

*Marilly, Joseph*—210

*Marly*—Irish Catholic leader, Bishop of Waterford.—261

*Martin, John* (1812-1875)—Irish politician, participant in the national liberation movement in the 1840s; a founder of the National League (1864); Honorary Secretary of the Home Rule League, M.P. (1871-75).—439

*Marx, Jenny* (née *von Westphalen*) (1814-1881)—wife of Karl Marx.—61

*Marx, Jenny* (1844-1883)—Karl Marx's eldest daughter.—414, 420-21, 424

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883)—4, 10, 18, 32, 33, 35, 38, 51, 55-64, 90, 93, 94, 101, 110-12, 122, 124, 125, 133, 134, 195, 210, 278, 317, 320, 322, 323, 324, 326, 337, 344, 361, 366, 378, 380, 382, 383, 386, 387, 389, 392-93, 394, 397, 398, 399, 407, 410, 411, 412, 413, 443-46

*Mary I* (1516-1558)—Queen of England (1553-58), wife of Philip II of Spain.—289, 297, 298

*Massey, William Nathaniel* (1809-1881)—English historian, author of an unfinished work on the reign of George III.—290

*Matis, A.*—210

*Maulet, Joseph D.*—210

*Maurice, Zévy*—tailor; member of the General Council of the International (1866-72), Corresponding Secretary for Hungary (1870-71).—26

*Maxwell*—Attorney-General of Ireland (1796).—254, 280

*Mayo*—see *Naas, Richard Southwell Bourke, Earl of Mayo*

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; a leader of the Italian national liberation movement; headed the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850); after the foundation of the International in 1864 tried to bring it under his influence.—323

*Meagher, Thomas Francis* (1823-1867)—leader of the Irish national liberation movement in the 1840s; a founder of the Irish Confederation (1847); in 1848 was arrested and sentenced to penal servitude for life for taking part in the preparation of an uprising; escaped in 1852 and emigrated to the USA; during the US Civil War (1861-65) commanded the brigade of Irish volunteers that fought on the side of the Northerners.—200, 206, 318

*Meissner, Otto Karl* (1819-1902)—Hamburg publisher; brought out Marx's *Capital* and other works by Marx and Engels.—62

*Mela, Pomponius* (lst cent.)—Roman geographer, author of *De situ orbis* in three volumes.—161

*Mende, Fritz* (d. 1879)—member of the General Association of German Workers; president of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers founded by Hatzfeldt (1869-72); deputy to the North-German Imperial Diet (1869).—24

*Mermillod, François*—Swiss case-maker; took an active part in the Swiss working-class movement in the latter part of the 1860s; Vice-President of the Romance Federation of the International; delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868).—210

*Methuen, John* (c. 1650-1706)—British diplomat; in 1703 concluded a trade treaty with Portugal known as the Methuen Treaty.—224

*Meyer, Sigfrid* (c. 1840-1872)—a prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement, socialist; engineer; member of the General Association of German Workers; opposed the Lassallean influence in the German working-class movement; in 1864 published in Germany, at his own expense, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Marx and Engels; in 1866 emigrated to the USA, member of the New York Communist Club; an organiser of the International's sections in the USA; follower of Marx and Engels.—443

*Meyers*—doctor at Broadmoor asylum.—422, 431.

*Milner, George*—Irishman, prominent figure in the British working-class movement; follower of James O'Brien; member of the National Reform League and of the Land and Labour League; member of the General Council of the International (1868-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council (autumn of 1872 to 1873); fought the reformist wing in the Council.—26, 55, 387, 392, 399

*Mitchel, John* (1815-1875)—Irish revolutionary democrat, Left-wing leader of the Young Ireland group; deported to a penal colony for taking part in the preparation of an uprising in 1848; escaped in 1853 and emig-

rated to the USA; fought on the side of the Southerners during the US Civil War; author of *The History of Ireland*.—222, 232, 256, 266

*Moira*—see *Hastings, Francis Rawdon, Marquis of Hastings, Earl of Moira*

*Molyneux, William* (1656-1698)—Irish scholar, studied philosophy, mathematics and astronomy; M.P. from Dublin University; author of an essay, *The Case of Ireland* (1698).—197, 212

*Monachon, L.*—210

*Monk (Monck), George, 1st Duke of Albemarle* (1608-1670)—English general and statesman; originally a royalist; later served in Cromwell's army; helped restore the Stuart dynasty in 1660.—264

*Moore, Charles, 6th Earl and 1st Marquis of Drogheda* (1730-1822)—Anglo-Irish politician; judge; field marshal, M.P., supported the Anglo-Irish Union.—266

*Moore, George Henry* (1811-1870)—Irish politician, leader of the tenant-right movement, M.P. (1847-57, 1868-70); defended the imprisoned Irish Fenians.—103, 313, 408, 410, 415, 422, 425-26, 430

*Moore, John*—coroner of the Midleton district.—104, 107, 415

*Moore, Thomas (Morus)* (1779-1852)—Irish poet and writer, author of *The History of Ireland* in four volumes.—287, 309, 310

*Moreau, Jean Victor Marie* (1763-1813)—French general; took part in the wars waged by the French Republic against European coalitions.—246

*Morhardt, Emile*—Swiss official in the Geneva canton in the 1860s.—71

*Morley, Samuel* (1809-1886)—English manufacturer and politician; owner of *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* (1869).—126

*Moryson, Fynes* (1566-1630)—English traveller; author of *An Itinerary...*, a part of which contains the description of Ireland.—173

*Mottershead, Thomas* (c. 1825-1884)—English weaver; member of the General Council (1869-72), Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; opposed Marx's line in the General Council and the British Federal Council; expelled from the International by decision of the General Council on May 30, 1873.—411

*Mountjoy*—see *Blount, Charles, Lord Mountjoy, Earl of Devonshire*

*Mroczkowsky, Valérien* (1840-1889)—photographer; took part in the Polish insurrection of 1863, after which he emigrated first to France and then to Switzerland; follower of Bakunin; member of the League of Peace and Freedom Committee; member of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, both the open and the secret alliance.—210

*Mulcahy, Denis Dowling* (b. 1840)—Irish journalist and physician; leader of the Fenian organisation in Clonmel; a leader of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood; assistant editor of *The Irish People* (1863-65); sentenced to ten years' penal servitude (1865); amnestied in 1871.—101

*Müller, Anton*—Swiss watchmaker; member of the General Council of the International (1869).—55

*Münzer, Thomas* (c. 1490-1525)—leader of the urban plebeians and poor peasants during the Reformation and the Peasant War in Germany (1525); advocated egalitarian utopian communism.—93

*Murchadh* (d. 1070)—first Irish King of the Dublin Danes; son of Finn, King of Leinster.—183

*Murphy* (called *O'Leary*)—Irish Fenian; in 1864 was arrested for agitation among the royal army soldiers in

Ireland; sentenced to ten years' penal servitude.—102, 415

*Murphy, John Nicholas*—English journalist, author of several works, including *Ireland, Industrial, Political, and Social* published in London in 1870.—297, 298, 300, 301-05

*Murray, Patrick Joseph*—inspector of a convict prison in Dublin.—104, 409, 427

*Murray, William, Lord Mansfield* (1705-1793)—British statesman, Chief Justice of the King's Bench.—232, 275

N

*Naas, Richard Southwell Bourke, Earl of Mayo* (1822-1872)—British statesman, Conservative; Chief Secretary for Ireland (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68); Viceroy of India (1869-72).—105, 409, 427

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—246, 313

*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—nephew of Napoleon I; President of the Second Republic (December 1848 to 1851), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—13, 18, 42, 49, 57, 62, 72, 97, 189, 365, 408, 435

*Neilson, Samuel* (1761-1803)—an organiser of the United Irishmen society; founder of *The Northern Star* (Belfast, 1792); supporter of Ireland's independence.—219, 247, 255

*Nennius* (8th cent.)—Welsh chronicler, author of *Historia Britonum*.—177, 308

*Nero (Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus)* (37-68)—Roman Emperor (54-68).—328

*Nest* or *Nesta*—daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, King of South Wales.—172

*Newell*—government spy in the United Irishmen society.—255

*Newenham, Sir Edward* (1732-1814)—participant in the volunteer movement in the early 1780s; member of the Irish Parliament (1769-97); supporter of the Anglo-Irish Union.—245

*Newport, Sir John* (1756-1843) — participant in the volunteer movement in the early 1780s; Whig, member of the British Parliament (1803-32); supporter of emancipation of the Catholics.—267

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—429

*Nidegger, Louis*—209-10

*Niemtzik, Eduard Richard Julius* (1838-1897)—active in the Slovak working-class movement; an organiser of the workers' educational association *Vpred* (Forward) in Bratislava (Pressburg) (1869).—78

*North, Frederick, 2nd Earl of Guilford* (1732-1792) — British statesman, Tory; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1767), Prime Minister (1770-82), Home Secretary in Portland's Coalition Cabinet (1783).—222, 226, 231, 240, 270-71, 273, 274, 295

*Notker, Labeo* (c. 952-1022)—German monk who taught at the monastic school of St. Gall, Switzerland.—175

O

*Oates, Titus* (1649-1705)—English Protestant clergyman.—289

*O'Braein, Tighearnach* (d. 1088)—Irish annalist and abbot.—168-69, 309

*O'Brien*—government spy in the United Irishmen society.—255

*O'Brien, James* (literary pseudonym *Bronterre*) (1805-1864)—British journalist, Chartist leader; editor of *Poor Man's Guardian* (1830s); author of several social reform projects; founder of the National Reform League (1849).—26

*O'Brien, Sir Lucius Henry* (d. 1795)—member of the Irish Parliament, member of the Privy Council from 1787, clerk of the High Court of Chancery.—225

*O'Brien, Michael* (d. 1867)—Irish Fenian, executed by sentence of an English court.—3, 13

*O'Byrnes*—noble Irish family.—301

*O'Clery, Michael* (1575-1643)—Irish monk, chronicler, a compilor of *Annales IV Magistrorum.*—168, 309

*O'Connell, Daniel* (1775-1847)—Irish lawyer and politician; leader of the liberal wing in the national liberation movement.—192, 194, 201

*O'Connor, Arthur* (1763-1852)—a prominent figure in the Irish national liberation movement; in 1797-98 a leader of the United Irishmen society and editor-in-chief of its organ, *The Press;* arrested on the eve of the 1798 uprising; emigrated to France in 1803.—169, 255, 281

*O'Connor, Brian* (or *Bernard*) (c. 1490-c. 1560)—Leinster chieftain, Lord of Offaly.—289, 297

*O'Connor, Feargus Edward* (1794-1855)—Left-wing Chartist leader, editor-in-chief of *The Northern Star;* reformist after 1848.—169

*O'Connors*—noble Irish family from Offaly County (later King's County) in Leinster Province.—297

*O'Conor, Charles* (1764-1828)—Irish priest and collector of antiquities, translator and editor of Irish chronicles.—168

*O'Conor, Matthew* (1773-1844)—Irish historian, author of *The History of the Irish Catholics...*—283, 300, 304

*O'Curry, Eugene* (1796-1862)—Irish historian, authority on the chronicles; from 1852 member of the government commission for translating and publishing the ancient Irish laws; author of a work on ancient Irish manuscripts.—170

*Odger, George* (1820-1877)—shoemaker; a reformist leader of the British trade unions, Secretary of the London Trades Council (1862-72); member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland, the Land and Labour League; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), its President (1864-67); took part in the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; opposed revolutionary tactics; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address *The Civil War in France,* and left the Council.—26, 55, 344, 356, 412

*O'Dogherty, Sir Cahir* (1587-1608)—Irish feudalist, leader of the 1608 uprising.—300

*O'Donnell*—see *M'Donnell*

*O'Donnell, Hugh Mac-Manus, Lord of Tyrconnel from 1566*—North Irish chieftain; father of Irish insurgent leader Hugh O'Donnell.—298

*O'Donnell, Hugh Roe (Red Hugh), Lord of Tyrconnel* (c. 1571-1602)—a leader of the anti-English insurrection.—298

*O'Donnell, Rory, 1st Earl of Tyrconnel* (1575-1608)—North Irish chieftain, brother of Hugh O'Donnell.—293

*O'Donovan, John* (1809-1861)—Irish philologist and historian, from 1852 member of government commission on the translation and publication of ancient Irish laws.—168, 169-70, 173-74

*O'Donovan Rossa, Jeremiah* (1831-1915) a leader of the Fenian movement; publisher of *The Irish People* (1863-65); in 1865 was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment; amnestied in 1870; emigrated to the USA where he headed the Fenian organisation; retired from political

life in the 1880s.—101, 103, 410, 414, 415, 416-22, 423-24, 427-28, 436, 438, 450

*O'Donovan Rossa, Mary J.*—wife of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa; organised the collection of funds for the families of the Irish political prisoners in 1865-66; author of an appeal to Irish women published in *The Workman's Advocate* on January 6, 1866 by the decision of the General Council.—417

*O'Leary*—see *Murphy* (called *O'Leary*)

*O'Mahony, Thaddeus*—Irish philologist; jointly with Hancock he published two volumes of *Senchus Mor,* a collection of ancient laws.—170

*O'More, Guilpatrick*—chieftain of the big Irish clan; owner of the County Leix; fought against English domination until 1542.—289, 297

*O'Mores*—Irish clan from County Leix (later Queen's County) in Leinster Province.—297

*O'Neill, Conn Bacach* (c. 1484-c. 1559) —descendant of the ancient Irish feudal clan in Northern Ireland; Earl of Tyrone (from 1542).—297

*O'Neill, Hugh, Earl of Tyrone* (c. 1540-1616)—head of an influential clan in Ulster; leader of an insurrection against the English (1595-1603).—293, 298

*O'Neill, John, 1st Viscount O'Neill* (1740-1798)—member of the Irish Parliament, Governor of the County of Antrim; killed during the Irish uprising of 1798.—224, 242, 244

*O'Neill, Sir Phelim* (c. 1604-1653)—Irish nobleman, participant in the 1641 uprising.—293

*O'Neill, Shane, Earl of Tyrone* (c. 1530-1567)—leader of a rebellion against the English (1559-67).—288

*O'Neills*—an Irish family from Northern Ireland.—289

*Orde,* afterwards *Orde-Powlett, 1st Baron Bolton* (1746-1807)—English lawyer; member of the Irish Parliament (1784-90); member of the Privy Council of Ireland and its Chief Secretary (1784-87).—236, 237, 239-42, 276-78

*Oriel*—see *Foster, John, Baron Oriel*

*Ormonde*—see *Butler, James, 12th Earl and 1st Duke of Ormonde*

*Orr, William* (1766-1797)—Irish farmer, member of the United Irishmen society; executed for taking part in the movement.—255, 280

*O'Shea, William Henry* (1840-1905)—Irish public figure; came out in support of the imprisoned Fenians in 1869.—83

*Ospakr*—Irish soldier, fought at the battle of Clontarf (1014).—182

*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—English utopian socialist.—331, 382

P

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman, Tory, from 1830 Whig; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-65).—193, 322, 331, 435

*Parkinson-Fortescue, Chichester Samuel, Baron Carlingford* (1823-1898)—British Liberal statesman, M.P. (1847-74), Chief Secretary for Ireland (1865-66, 1868-70).—408

*Parnell, Sir John* (1744-1801)—Irish lawyer, Protestant; member of the Irish Parliament from 1761, Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1799; opposed the Anglo-Irish Union.—261, 266

*Parsons, Sir Lawrence, 2nd Earl of Rosse* (1758-1841)—Irish politician, member of the Irish Parliament.—254, 261

*Parsons, Sir William* (1570-1650)—Lord Justice of Ireland (1640-43), inspired

policy of Ireland's colonial subjugation.—300, 302

*Patrick, St.* (c. 389-c. 461)—Christian missionary in Ireland; founder of the Irish Catholic Church and its first bishop.—171, 176, 178, 433

*Patterson, William*—Irish physician, author of *Observations on the Climate of Ireland.*—164

*Peel, Sir Robert* (1788-1850)—British statesman, moderate Tory, Prime Minister (1834-35, 1841-46); repealed the Corn Laws in 1846.—28-30, 158, 382

*Pelagius* (c. 360-c. 420)—a British theologian; condemned as a heretic for preaching the doctrine of righteousness by the exercise of free will.—176-77

*Pelham, Thomas, Earl of Chichester* (1756-1826)—member of the Irish Parliament, Whig; opposed emancipation of Catholics; Chief Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland Camden in 1795-98.—254, 280

*Pellaton, S.*—Secretary of the Bakers' Co-operative Society in Geneva; member of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, withdrew from it in February 1869.—210

*Pellegrin-Druart, A.*—210

*Pelletier, Claude* (1816-1881)—French democrat; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848-51); exiled from France after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; emigrated to the USA; the International's correspondent for the French-language section in America.—442

*Perret, Henri*—prominent figure in the Swiss working-class movement; engraver, a leader of the International in Switzerland, General Secretary of the Romance Federal Committee (1868-73); member of the *Égalité* editorial board; delegate to the Geneva (1866) and Basle (1869) congresses and to the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; in 1869 broke with the Bakuninists, but adopted a conciliatory stand after the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—84, 117, 123, 210

*Perrié*—210

*Perron, Charles Eugène* (1837-1919)—active in the Swiss working-class movement; enamel painter, then carthographer; delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and Brussels (1868) congresses of the International; follower of Bakunin; member of the Central Bureau of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; an editor of *L'Égalité* (1869) and *La Solidarité;* a leader of the Jura Federation; subsequently left the working-class movement.—114, 123, 210

*Perrot, Sir John* (c. 1527-1592)—Lord President of Munster (1570-73), Lord Deputy of Ireland (1584-88).—298

*Petrie, George* (1789-1866)—Irish scholar, archaeologist; member of the Irish Royal Academy; author of works on ancient Irish architecture; from 1852 member of the government commission for translating and publishing the ancient Irish laws.—165, 169, 170

*Petty, Sir William* (1623-1687)—English economist and statistician, founder of the classical school of bourgeois political economy in Britain.—268-69, 303, 305

*Phelan, William* (1789-1830)—Irish scholar; author of works on the history of Ireland.—290

*Philip, Prince* (1837-1905)—Count of Flanders, son of Leopold I of Belgium.—48

*Philip II* (1527-1598)—King of Spain (1556-98), Mary I's husband.—298

*Pichegru, Charles* (1761-1804)—French general; in 1794-95 conducted military operations in Holland.—246

*Pigott, Richard* (c. 1828-1889)—Irish journalist, publisher of *The Irishman* (1865-79); supporter of the Fenians;

sided with the British government in the 1880s.—415, 437

*Piniére* (or *Pinier*) (d. after 1898)—Swiss shopkeeper; Bakuninist; member of the editorial board of *L'Égalité* (1869).—123, 210

*Pirmez, Eudore* (1830-1890)—Belgian statesman, Liberal M.P. (1857-90); Home Minister (1868-70), Director of the National Bank.—48

*Pisteur, Fr.*—210

*Pitt, William* (1759-1806)—British statesman, a Tory leader; Prime Minister (1783-1801, 1804-06).—227, 235, 236, 240-42, 246, 252, 256-62, 265, 276, 281, 282, 290, 295

*Placide, Margarittaz*—210

*Plantagenets*—English royal dynasty (1154-1399).—292

*Pliny the Elder (Gaius Plinius Secundus)* (A.D. 23-79)—Roman scholar, author of *Natural History* in 37 volumes.—175, 312

*Plunket, Oliver* (1629-1681)—Irish Archbishop in Armagh County.—289

*Plunket, Thomas Span, 2nd Lord Plunket of Newtown* (1792-1866)—elder son of William Conyngham Plunket; Bishop in Ireland from 1839.—266

*Plunket, William Conyngham, 1st Baron Plunket* (1764-1854)—Irish lawyer; Lord Chancellor of Ireland from 1830, member of the King's Council from 1797; M.P.; opponent of the Anglo-Irish Union; after the Union was a member of the government.—261, 266

*Poerio, Carlo* (1803-1867)—Italian politician, Liberal; Prefect of Police and Minister of Education in Naples in 1848; imprisoned in 1849-59 for taking part in the national movement; Vice-President of Parliament (1861-67).—105

*Pollock, George D.*—British army doctor; member of the commission, which in June 1867 submitted to the Parliament a report on the treatment of the political prisoners in the English convict prisons.—418, 424, 427-29, 438

*Ponsonby, George* (1755-1817)—lawyer; member of the Irish Parliament from 1776; Lord Chancellor of Ireland.—227, 254, 273, 280

*Portland, William Henry Cavendish Bentinck, 3rd Duke of* (1738-1809)—English statesman, a Whig leader; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1782-83); Home Secretary (1794-1801), Prime Minister (1783, 1807-09).—226, 227-31, 273-74

*Postleb, Charles*—210

*Potemkin, Grigory Alexandrovich, Prince Tavrichesky* (1739-1791)—Russian statesman, field marshal-general, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army in the Russo-Turkish war of 1787-91.—288

*Potot, John*—210

*Potter, George* (1832-1893)—British worker, carpenter; a reformist leader of the trade-union movement; member of the London Trades Council and a leader of the Amalgamated Union of Building Workers; founder, editor and publisher of *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*.—26, 37

*Poynings, Sir Edward* (1459-1521)—British statesman, Henry VII's Attorney-General, Lord Deputy of Ireland (1494-96).—212, 215, 225, 270, 272, 287

*Pratt, John Jeffreys, 2nd Earl and 1st Marquis of Camden* (1759-1840)—British statesman; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1795-99); English Secretary for War (1804-05); advocated Orangeism.—245, 252-54, 257, 258, 279, 280

*Prendergast, John Patrick* (1808-1893)—Irish historian, Liberal, author of works on the history of Ireland.—303

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist; a founder of anarchism.—56-57, 61, 344, 393, 399

*Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus)* (2nd cent.)—Greek mathematician, astronomer and geographer; founder of the geocentric conception of the universe.—175

*Pyat, Félix* (1810-1889)—French journalist, playwright and politician; democrat; took part in the 1848 revolution; emigrated in 1849 to Switzerland and later to Belgium and England; opposed independent working-class movement; conducted a slander campaign against Marx and the First International; member of the Paris Commune (1871).—7

R

*Radcliffe, Thomas, 3rd Earl of Sussex* (c. 1526-1583)—Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1556.—298, 300

*Raleigh, Sir Walter* (c. 1552-1618)—British military figure and explorer; favourite of Elizabeth I; took part in suppressing uprisings in Ireland.—288

*Raspail, François Vincent* (1794-1878)—French naturalist and writer; socialist; sympathised with the revolutionary proletariat; took part in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; after the revolution of 1848 was imprisoned, then lived in exile in Belgium; returned to France in 1863; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1869).—71

*Rau, Wilhelm*—member of the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections in Geneva.—210

*Raymond, Charles*—delegate to the first congress of the Romance Federation of the International (January 1869); Secretary of the Central Section in Geneva (1870).—210

*Reilly, Henry*—Sheriff of the County of Dublin; supporter of reforms; in 1784 was prosecuted for an attempt to organise, in the county, election of members to a national congress.—237, 276

*Rémy, Theodor*—Swiss teacher; Secretary of the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections in Geneva; follower of Bakunin; member of the Geneva Section of the International named Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—209

*Reynolds, Thomas* (1771-1836)—joined the United Irishmen society in 1797; reported to the government on the plan for the uprising; later an English official.—256

*Rhys ap Tewdwr* (d. 1093)—King of South Wales (1078-93).—173

*Richard, Albert* (1846-1925)—French journalist; a leader of the Lyons Section of the International; member of the secret Alliance of Socialist Democracy; took part in the Lyons uprising of September 1870; after the suppression of the Paris Commune, a Bonapartist.—108

*Richelieu, Armand Jean du Plessis de* (1585-1642)—French statesman, Cardinal, Chief Minister of Louis XIII.—293

*Robin, Paul* (1837-1912)—French teacher; Bakuninist; a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; member of the General Council (1870-71); delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) and the London Conference (1871) of the First International; an editor of *L'Égalité* (1870).—123

*Rochambeau, Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, comte de* (1725-1807)—Marshal of France; commanded a French corps during the American War of Independence.—217

*Rochat, François*—210

*Rochefort, Henri, marquis de Rochefort-Luçay* (c. 1831-1913)—French journalist and politician; Left-wing republican; publisher of the journal *La Lanterne* (1868-69) and the newspaper *La Marseillaise* (1869-70); after the revolution of September 4, 1870, a member of the Government of

National Defence; monarchist from the end of the 1880s.—414, 436

*Rochow, Gustav Adolf Rochus von* (1792-1847)—Prussian Minister of the Interior (1834-42).—43

*Rockingham*—see *Watson-Wentworth, Charles, 2nd Marquis of Rockingham*

*Rogers*—English army officer, major of artillery, served in Ireland (1799).—262, 264

*Ross, J.*—English worker; member of the General Council of the International (1869).—55

*Rossa* (5th cent.)—according to tradition, a compiler of *Senchus Mor*, a collection of ancient laws.—171

*Rossety* (or *Rossetti*), *Biagio (Blaise)*—Italian worker; President of the Italian Section in Geneva; member of the Romance Federal Committee from 1870.—210

*Rouher, Eugène* (1814-1884)—French statesman, Bonapartist; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; Minister of Justice (1849-52, with intervals); held several government posts during the Second Empire.—13, 365, 366, 374

*Rowan, Archibald Hamilton* (1751-1834)—Irish politician; English army officer; Secretary of the United Irishmen society in Dublin; in 1794 was prosecuted for the Proclamation to the Volunteers of Ireland.—245, 248, 251

*Ruchet, Charles*—210

*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical journalist; Young Hegelian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848 (Left wing); a leader of German petty-bourgeois refugees in England during the 1850s; National-Liberal after 1866.—61

*Rushworth, John* (c. 1612-1690)—English historian and statesman.—294

*Russell, John Russell, 1st Earl* (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader; Prime Minister (1846-52, 1865-66), Foreign Secretary (1852-53, 1859-65).—28, 345

*Russell, Thomas* (1767-1803)—Irish army officer; a founder of the United Irishmen society in Belfast; executed for taking part in the movement in 1803.—219

*Rutland*—see *Manners, Charles, Duke of Rutland*

*Rutty, John* (1698-1775)—Irish physician and meteorologist; author of works on medicine and meteorology.—162-63

S

*Saint-Paul, Wilhelm* (c. 1815-1852)—Prussian army officer, then an official in the Ministry of the Interior; censor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in 1843.—60

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—66, 115, 208, 395

*Sampson, William* (1764-1836)—member of the United Irishmen society, was arrested and deported to France for taking part in the 1798 uprising.—255, 281

*Sanguinède, J.*—210

*Sanguinède, Rosalie*—210

*Saurin, William* (c. 1757-1839)—Irish lawyer; member of the Irish Parliament from 1799; Attorney-General of Ireland; opposed the Anglo-Irish Union.—261, 265

*Saxo Grammaticus* (mid-12th-beginning of 13th cent.)—Danish chronicler; author of *Gesta Danorum (Historia Danica)*.—184

*Schettel, Adrien*—French worker, mechanic; Left-wing Republican; took part in the revolution of 1848; an organiser of the Lyons Section of the International; delegate to the Geneva

(1866) and Lausanne (1867) congresses of the International; was imprisoned for taking part in the revolutionary events in Lyons in September 1870.—108

*Schönburg, Prinz*—owner of coal-mines in Saxony (1869).—40, 41

*Schulze-Delitzsch, Franz Hermann* (1808-1883)—German economist; liberal politician; advocated unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy; a founder of the National Association and a leader of the Party of Progress; sought to divert the workers from revolutionary struggle by organising co-operative societies.—25, 37

*Schweitzer, Johann Baptist von* (1833-1875)—German lawyer; a Lassallean leader; editor of *Der Social-Demokrat* (1864-67); President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71); supported unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy; fought against the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; expelled from the General Association for his contacts with the Prussian authorities (1872).—10, 32, 33, 90-91, 116, 122, 133-34

*Scopini, J. J.*—Chairman and then Deputy Secretary of the Geneva Section of joiners, mechanics and rollers; delegate to the Chaux-de-Fonds Congress of the Romance Federation (April 1870).—210

*Scott, John, Earl of Clonmel* (1739-1798)—Irish lawyer; member of the Irish Parliament; Attorney-General of Ireland.—227, 265, 273

*Senior, Nassau William* (1790-1864)—English economist, vulgarised Ricardo's theory; opposed reduction of the working day.—330

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English poet and dramatist.—435

*Shannon*—Irish Lord (late 18th-early 19th cent.).—263

*Shaw, Robert* (d. 1869)—a leader of the British working-class movement; house-painter; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69), Treasurer of the Council (1867-68), Corresponding Secretary for America (1867-69); delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Brussels Congress (1868) of the International.—4, 17, 26, 51, 55, 92, 358

*Sheares, Henry* (1753-1798)—Irish lawyer; member of the United Irishmen society; executed as a leader of the 1798 uprising.—255, 281

*Sheares, John* (1766-1798) — Irish lawyer; member of the United Irishmen society; executed as a leader of the 1798 uprising; brother of Henry Sheares.—255, 281

*Sidney, Sir Henry* (1529-1586)—Lord Deputy of Ireland at the beginning of the 1580s.—298

*Sigurd Laudrisson* (11th cent.)—ruler of Orkney Islands.—181-83

*Sihtric* or *Sigtryggr* (d. 1042)—Norse King of Dublin.—182-83

*Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de* (1773-1842)—Swiss economist; representative of economic romanticism.—57

*Smith, Edward* (c. 1818-1874)—English physician and medical officer of the Privy Council to Inquire into the Nourishment of the Poorer Labouring Classes.—325

*Smith, Goldwin* (1823-1910)—British historian, economist and publicist; Liberal; supported British colonial policy in Ireland; went to the USA in 1868, and to Canada in 1871.—161, 166, 184, 283-96, 313

*Smith, Sir Thomas* (1513-1577)—British statesman, professor of civil law; in 1572 proposed a plan for establishing a colony of Scottish Protestants in Ireland.—288

*Snider, Jacob* (d. 1866)—American inventor of a breechloading rifle.—80

*Snorri, Sturluson* (c. 1178-1241)—Icelandic scald and chronicler.—179

*Solinus, Gaius Julius* (first half of the 3rd cent.)—Roman writer.—175, 312

*Souham, Joseph, comte* (1760-1837)—French general; commanded troops in the wars of the French Republic.—246

*Spencer, John Poyntz Spencer, 5th Earl* (1835-1910)—British statesman; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1868-74, 1882-85); First Lord of the Admiralty (1892-95).—435

*Spenser (Spencer), Edmund* (c. 1552-1599)—English poet and historian; private secretary to the Lord Deputy of Ireland (1580-82); author of the treatise *A View of the State of Ireland* and the poem *The Faerie Queene.*—173, 287, 288, 302, 308

*Speyer, Karl* (b. 1845)—joiner; Secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society in London in the 1860s; from 1870 member of the General Council of the First International in London and then in the USA.—32

*Stacpoole, William*—Irish army officer; Liberal M. P. (1860-80).—416

*Stampa, Gaspare*—member of the Central Council of the Italian workers' associations; delegate to the London Congress of the First International (1867).—341

*Stanley, Edward Henry, 15th Earl of Derby* (1826-1893)—British statesman, Tory, subsequently Liberal; Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (1852), Secretary of State for Colonies (1858, 1882-85); Secretary of State for India (1858-59), Foreign Secretary (1866-68, 1874-78); son of Edward Derby.—12, 364

*Stepney, Cowell William Frederick* (1820-1872)—active participant in the British working-class movement; member of the Reform League; member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its Treasurer (1868-70); delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses, and the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council.—26, 51, 55, 82

*Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882)—Prussian police officer; an organiser of and chief witness for the prosecution in the Cologne Communist trial (1852); jointly with Wermuth wrote *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts;* later chief of the Prussian political police.—72

*Stieler, Adolf* (1775-1836)—German cartographer.—154

*Stofflèt, Jean Nicolas* (1751-1796)—French peasant; an organiser of the royalist mutiny in Vendée (1793-96) during the French Revolution; executed.—246

*Strabo* (c. 63 B.C.-A.D. c. 20)—Greek geographer and historian.—174

*Strafford, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of* (1593-1641)—English statesman; principal minister to Charles I from 1628; Lord Deputy of Ireland (1632-40); advocate of absolutism.—289, 300-01

*Stuart, James Francis Edward* (1688-1766)—James II's son, pretender to the British throne after the dynasty of the Stuarts was deposed.—290

*Stuarts* (also *Steuarts*)—royal dynasty in Scotland (1371-1714) and England (1603-49, 1660-1714).—196, 294, 295

*Stumpf, Paul* (1826-1912)—German mechanic; member of the German Workers' Society in Brussels (1847); member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, member of the First International; delegate to the Lausanne Congress of the International (1867); member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party.—133-34

*Sullivan, Sir Edward* (1822-1885)—Irish lawyer, conducted the trial of Fenians in 1865; Attorney-General for Ireland (1868-70); Master of the Rolls and Lord Chancellor of Ireland (1883-85).—410

*Sumner, Charles* (1811-1874)—American politician, a leader of the Republican Party (Left wing); Senator (from 1851); Chairman of the Senate Committee for Foreign Affairs (1861-71), favoured revolutionary methods of struggle against the slave-owning South; after the victory of the North in the US Civil War (1861-65) spoke in support of political rights for the Negroes.—379

*Sussex, Earl of*—see *Radcliffe, Thomas, 3rd Earl of Sussex*

*Swift, Jonathan* (1667-1745)—Irish satirist.—212, 290

*Sylvis, William* (1828-1869)—prominent figure in the American working-class movement; a founder of the International Ironmoulders' Union (1859) and its President (1863-69); took part in the US Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the North; a founder of the National Labour Union of the United States (1866) and its President (1868-69); favoured affiliation to the International.—81, 82

*Symons, George James* (1838-1900)—English meteorologist.—164, 166

T

*Tait, Archibald Campbell* (1811-1882)—Archbishop of Canterbury (1868-82).—423

*Tandy, James Napper* (1740-1803)—Irish politician, Whig; favoured free trade; a founder of the United Irishmen society.—223, 244, 248, 271, 279

*Terbert, Michael*—Irish Fenian, sentenced to seven years' penal servitude in 1866; died in prison in 1870.—104-07

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836, 1840); deputy to the Constituent (1848) and Legislative (1849-51) Assemblies, head of the Orleanists after 1848; dealt brutally with the Paris Communards (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73).—348

*Thorgils*—see *Thurkill, Thorkill* or *Turgesius*

*Thorgils*—son of Harald I Fairhair.—179

*Throsteinn Siduhallzson*—Norse Viking; fought at the battle of Clontarf (1014).—181-82

*Thurkill, Thorkill* or *Turgesius* (d. 845)—Danish King of North Ireland.—179, 181

*Thurloe, John* (1616-1668)—English politician, Secretary of State (1653-60).—303

*Thurneysen, Edward* (1824-1890)—Swiss politician, jurist; member of the Basle Grand Council (1869).—69

*Tierney, George* (1761-1830)—English statesman, M.P. (1796-1830); member of the Privy Council; opposed Pitt's government policy, and the Anglo-Irish Union.—266

*Tighearnach*—see *O'Braein, Tighearnach*

*Tippoo Saib (Tipu Sahib)* (1750-1799)—Sultan of Mysore (1782-99); waged wars against the British conquerors of India in the 1780s and 1790s.—259

*Tirrel, John*—Mayor of Dublin (1602).—299

*Todd, James Henthorn* (1805-1869)—Irish scholar, philologist; from 1852 member of the government commission for translating and publishing the ancient Irish laws; President of the Irish Royal Academy (1856-60).—170

*Toirdhealbhach*—grandson of Brian Borumha; killed at the battle of Clontarf (1014).—183

*Tolain, Henri Louis* (1828-1897)—French engraver; prominent figure in the French working-class movement, Proudhonist; a leader of the Paris Section of the International; delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and the Basle (1869) congresses of the International; deputy to the National Assembly after September 4, 1870; sided with the Versaillists during the Paris Commune; expelled from the International in 1871; subsequently senator.—366-68, 369, 370

*Tone, Peter* (d. 1805)—father of Theobald Wolfe Tone.—219

*Tone, Theobald Wolfe* (1763-1798)—Irish bourgeois revolutionary, democrat; founder and leader of the United Irishmen society; an organiser of the 1798 uprising in Ireland.—194, 198, 219, 236, 247, 248, 249, 251, 253-54, 280-82

*Touchet, James, Baron Audley of Hely* or *Heleigh, 3rd Earl of Castlehaven* (c. 1617-1684)—Anglo-Irish aristocrat, Catholic; supporter of the Stuart dynasty.—302

*Townshend, George, 4th Viscount and 1st Marquis Townshend* (1724-1807)—British soldier and politician; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1767-72).—233, 245

*Tremenheere, Hugh Seymour* (1804-1893)—British official and journalist; member of various government commissions inspecting labour conditions.—327

*Trevellick*—member of the National Labour Union of the United States.—16

*Troy, John Thomas* (1739-1823)—Catholic Bishop of Dublin; supported the Anglo-Irish Union.—263

*Tudors*—royal dynasty in Britain (1485-1603).—292

*Turgesius*—see *Thurkill, Thorkill* or *Turgesius*

*Tyrconnel*—see *O'Donnell, Rory, 1st Earl of Tyrconnel*

*Tyrone*—see *O'Neill, Hugh, Earl of Tyrone*

U

*Ulfr Hraeda*—Irish soldier, fought at the battle of Clontarf (1014).—182-83

*Underwood, Thomas Nelson*—Irish public figure, spoke in defence of the imprisoned Fenians.—421

*Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini)* (1568-1644)—Pope from 1623.—293

*Ure, Andrew* (1778-1857)—English chemist and economist, Free Trader.—330

V

*Varlin, Louis Eugène* (1839-1871)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; bookbinder; Left-wing Proudhonist; one of the International's leaders in France; delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Geneva (1866) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; took part in the Paris Commune; shot by the Versaillists on May 28, 1871.—371

*Victoria* (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901).—421

*Vindry, Augustin*—French worker, dyer; member of the Lyons Section of the International.—108

*Virgilius, Saint* or *Fergil* (d. 785)—Irish missionary, Bishop of Salzburg.—178

*Vogt, August* (c. 1830-c. 1883)—prominent in the German and Ameri-

can labour movement; shoemaker; member of the Communist League; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; member of the General Association of German Workers; together with Liebknecht opposed Lassalleanism; member of the International; in 1867 emigrated to the USA; member of the New York Communist Club; an organiser of the International's sections in the United States; correspondent of the General Council; supporter of Marx and Engels.—443

*Vogt, Karl* (1817-1895) — German naturalist; petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five imperial regents (June 1849); left Germany in 1849; later received subsidies from Napoleon III; slandered Marx and Engels.—18, 63

*Vollrath, C. W.*—publisher and printer of the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* (1868 to April 1869).—354

*Voltaire, (François Marie Arouet)* (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—423

*Vyrubov, Grigory Nikolayevich* (1843-1913)—Russian crystallographer and positivist philosopher; lived in Paris from 1864; a founder and publisher of *La Philosophie positive*; member of the League of Peace and Freedom.—113

W

*Wakefield, Edward* (1774-1854)—English statistician and agronomist, author of *Ireland, Statistical and Political*.—156, 157, 158, 160, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 175, 288, 312

*Walpole, Spencer Horatio (Horace)* (1806-1898)—British statesman, Tory, Home Secretary (1852, 1858-59, 1866-67).—362

*Walsh, David*—member of the Irish Parliament (1782).—228

*Walton, Alfred Armstrong* (b. 1816)—participant in the British democratic movement; architect; member of the Reform League, President of the National Reform League; member of the General Council of the International (1867-70); delegate to the Lausanne Congress (1867).—26

*Warren, John*—British worker, trunk-maker; member of the General Council from the London Trunk-Makers' Society (1869); member of the Reform League.—55

*Warren, Josiah* (c. 1799-1874)—American utopian socialist; follower of Owen; preached theory of just exchange according to labour value.—399

*Washington, George* (1732-1799)—American statesman, Commander-in-Chief during the war of the North American colonies for their independence (1775-83); first President of the United States (1789-97).—217

*Watkin, Sir Edward William* (1819-1901)—English railway promoter, Liberal M. P.—29

*Watson-Wentworth, Charles, 2nd Marquis of Rockingham* (1730-1782)—M.P., Whig, Chancellor in the Coalition Government after capitulation of the North (1782).—226, 231, 273, 274

*Weiss, Ludwig (Louis)* (d. before 1898)—Swiss worker, jeweller; a founder of the first section of the International in Switzerland; member of the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections headed by Johann Philipp Becker.—210

*Weldon, James* (died c. 1795)—Irish cavalryman; member of a secret organisation of Defenders in Dublin.—253

*Wellesley, H.*—see *Cowley, Henry Wellesley, Earl of*

*Wenckheim, Béla* (1811-1879)—Hungarian statesman; Liberal, Home Minister (1867-69).—79

*Wentworth*—see *Strafford, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of*

*Westmoreland*—see *Fane, John, Earl of Westmoreland*

*Weston, John*—active in the British labour movement; carpenter; subsequently manufacturer; follower of Owen; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-72); delegate to the London Conference (1865); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; a leader of the Land and Labour League.—4, 26, 55, 139, 393, 406

*Westphalen, Ferdinand Otto Wilhelm Henning von* (1799-1876)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1850-58); step-brother of Jenny Marx, Karl Marx's wife.—61

*Westphalen, Johann Ludwig von* (1770-1842)—Jenny Marx's father; Privy Councillor in Trier.—61

*Weydemeyer, Joseph* (1818-1866)—leading figure in the German and American working-class movement; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; editor of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* (1849-50); emigrated to the USA after the defeat of the revolution; fought in the US Civil War on the side of the North; helped to disseminate the ideas and documents of the International in the USA; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—56

*Wigand, Otto W.* (1795-1870)—German publisher and bookseller; owner of a publishing firm in Leipzig which printed works by radical writers.—56

*William I the Conqueror* (c. 1027-1087)—King of England (1066-87).—292

*William III* (1650-1702)—Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the Netherlands (1672-1702); King of England, Scotland and Ireland (1689-1702).—140, 194, 196, 197, 305, 317

*William IV* (1765-1837)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1830-37).—268

*William, Duke of Leinster*—see *Fitzgerald, William Robert, 2nd Duke of Leinster*

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*Zabicki, Antoni* (1818-1889)—active member of the Polish national liberation movement; compositor; left Poland after 1831; participant in the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49; from 1851 a refugee in England; from 1863 published *Głos Wolny*—newspaper of the Polish democratic refugees; Secretary of the Polish National Committee; member of the General Council of the International (1866-71); Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1866-71).—4, 51, 55

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*Augsburgerin*—see *Allgemeine Zeitung*

*The Bee-Hive Newspaper*—a weekly trade-unionist newspaper published under various titles in London from 1861 to 1876; from November 1864 to April 1870, it printed documents of the International; in view of the growing influence of the bourgeois radicals on the newspaper editorial board, the General Council of the International broke off relations with it in April 1870.—26, 37, 38, 82, 89, 115, 126, 322, 378, 444

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*Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*—a radical weekly published in London from 1802 to 1835 under different titles.—266, 411

*Le Constitutionel*—a daily published in Paris from 1815 to 1817 and from 1819 to 1870; in the 1840s it voiced the views of the monarchist bourgeoisie (Thiers' party) and after the coup d'état of 1851 those of the Bonapartists.—127.

*La Coopération. Journal du progrès social*—a bi-monthly newspaper published in Paris from September 1866 to June 1868, organ of the workers' co-operative societies which were under the influence of the republicans.—372

*Le Courrier français*—a Left-republican newspaper published in Paris from 1861 to 1868, first as a weekly and from June 1867 onwards as a daily; from May 1866 it was the *de facto* organ of the International in France.—4, 13, 348, 365, 367, 370, 376, 378

*The Daily News*—a liberal daily of the British industrial bourgeoisie published in London from 1846 to 1930.—414, 420, 430

*The Daily Telegraph*—a liberal and, from the 1880s, conservative daily published in London from 1855 to 1937.—421, 430

*Demokratisches Wochenblatt*—a workers' newspaper published under this title in Leipzig from January 1868 to September 1869 under the editorship of Wilhelm Liebknecht; at the Eisenach Congress in 1869 it was declared Central Organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party and renamed *Der Volksstaat*.—15, 79, 91, 122, 354, 378

*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*—a German-language yearly published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge; only the first issue, a double one, appeared in February 1844. It carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—61

*Le Devoir*—a Belgian weekly which appeared in Liège from March 1865 to May 1869; from 1868 it was the organ of the Liège Section of the International.—378

*The Echo*—a liberal daily published in London from 1868 to 1905.—422

*The Economist. Weekly Commercial Times, Bankers' Gazette, and Railway Monitor: a Political, Literary, and General Newspaper*—a weekly published in London since 1843, mouthpiece of the big industrial bourgeoisie.—191, 205

*L'Économiste belge. Organe des intérêts politiques et économiques des consommateurs*—a magazine published in Brussels from 1855 to 1920.—357

*L'Égalité*—a French-language daily published in Geneva from December 1868 to December 1872, organ of the Romance Federation of the International; from 1869 to January 1870 it was controlled by the Bakuninists.—71, 72, 84-87, 89-90, 114-19, 121-23, 138

*L'Eguaglianza. Giornale degli operai*—a weekly organ of the Naples Section of the International; published from November 1869 to January 1870; was under the influence of Bakuninists.—115

*L'Espiègle. Journal satirique, politique, artistique et littéraire*—a satirical weekly of the anti-Bonapartist and anti-clerical trend; it appeared in Brussels from 1864 to 1869. The newspaper published material on the activity of the International.—7, 378

*The Evening Standard*—a conservative daily founded in London in 1827.—423, 439

*The Evening Star*—a newspaper of the United Irishmen published in Dublin after January 1792.—247

*La Federacion*—a Spanish-language newspaper which appeared in Barcelona from August 1869 to November 1873; the weekly organ of the Barcelona Section and, later, of the Federal Council of the International in Barcelona.—80, 115

*Le Figaro*—a conservative daily, published in Paris since 1854; was connected with the government of the Second Empire.—127

*The Fortnightly Review*—a historical, philosophical and literary magazine founded in 1865 by a group of radicals; subsequently it became liberal in character; under this title it was published in London till 1934.—87, 119

*Freeman*—see *The Freeman's Journal*

*The Freeman's Journal*—a liberal daily published in Dublin from 1763 to 1924; from the 1840s to the 1860s it supported the demand for the repeal of the Union and defended the Irish tenants' rights.—434

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*L'International*—a French-language daily published in London from 1863 to 1871; semi-official organ of the French Government.—75

*L'Internationale*—a weekly published in Brussels from 1869 to 1873; organ of the Belgian sections of the International.—48, 51, 72, 77, 106

*The Irishman*—a weekly published from 1858 to 1885 first in Belfast and then in Dublin; came out in defence of Fenians.—102, 103, 104-06, 107, 206, 407-08, 409, 410, 415, 419, 421-22, 426, 430-31, 435-36, 437

*The Irish People*—a weekly, the main organ of the Fenians which appeared in Dublin from 1863 to 1865; was banned by the British Government.—101, 414, 416, 420

*Journal de Genève national, politique et littéraire*—a conservative daily published in Geneva from 1826.—350

*Kölnische Zeitung*—a daily published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; during the 1848-49 revolution and in subsequent years it expressed the interests of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie.—379

*La Liberté*—a Belgian democratic newspaper published in Brussels from 1865 to 1873; from 1867, an organ of the International Working Men's Association in Belgium.—15, 50, 76, 375, 378

*La Liberté*—a conservative evening daily published in Paris from 1865 to 1940.—378

*La Marseillaise*—a daily newspaper, organ of the Left republicans, published in Paris from December 1869 to September 1870; the paper carried material on the activity of the International and the working-class movement.—123, 414, 415, 422, 423, 424, 425, 436

*Le Mirabeau*—a daily which appeared in Verviers, Belgium, from 1868 to 1874, organ of the Belgian sections of the International.—378

*Moniteur*—see *Le Moniteur universel*

*Le Moniteur universel*—a daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1901; from 1799 to 1869 it was an official government newspaper; it appeared under this title from 1811.—76, 127, 435

*The Morning Chronicle*—a daily published in London from 1770 to 1862; in the 1840s the newspaper of the Whigs, in the early 1850s of the Peelites and then of the Conservatives.—268

*The Morning Star*—a daily of the English Free Traders published in London from 1856 to 1869.—27

*Narodnoye Dyelo*—a magazine (from April 1870, newspaper) published in Geneva in 1868-70 by a group of Russian revolutionary émigrés; the first issue was

prepared by Bakunin; in October 1868, the editors, among whom was Nikolai Utin, broke off relations with Bakunin and opposed his views; in April 1870 it became the organ of the Russian Section of the International Working Men's Association which pursued the policy of Marx and the General Council; it published documents of the International.—110, 124

*Neue freie Presse*—a daily newspaper which appeared in Vienna from 1864 to 1939.—350

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a daily newspaper of the German revolutionary-proletarian democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; it was published in Cologne under the editorship of Marx from June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849 (with an interval between September 27 and October 12, 1848); Engels was one of its editors.—61

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*—a journal published by Marx and Engels from December 1849 to November 1850, theoretical organ of the Communist League.—62, 93-94

*Neue Zürcher-Zeitung*—a German-language liberal newspaper published under this title in Zurich from July 1, 1821; from 1780 to 1821 it came out under the title *Zürcher-Zeitung*.—350

*New-York Daily Tribune*—a newspaper founded by Horace Greeley and published from 1841 to 1924; until the mid-1850s it spoke for the Left wing of the American Whigs and subsequently for the Republican Party. In the 1840s and 1850s it voiced progressive views and opposed slavery. Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862.—62

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*North German Correspondence*—an English-language daily information bulletin of Bismarck's government published in Berlin in 1869-70.—135

*The Northern Star*—the newspaper of the United Irishmen founded in Belfast in January 1792 by Samuel Neilson; at the beginning of 1798 it was banned by the government.—247, 248

*L'Opinion Nationale*—a daily published in Paris from 1859 to 1874.—367

*L'Opinion Publique*—an illustrated weekly, published in Montreal from January 1870 to December 1883.—378

*The Pall Mall Gazette*—a conservative daily which appeared in London from 1865 to 1921.—87, 119, 430

*Le Peuple Belge*—a daily newspaper published in Brussels from January 1867 to September 1877; an official organ of the International from 1871.—378

*La Philosophie positive*—a philosophical magazine published in Paris from 1867 to 1883; it advocated the positivism of Auguste Comte.—113

*Political Register*—see *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*

*The Press*—a newspaper of the United Irishmen, published from September 1797 to 1798.—247

*Le Progrès*—a Bakuninist newspaper which opposed the General Council of the International; it was published in French in Le Locle under the editorship of

James Guillaume from December 1868 to April 1870.—84-85, 89-90, 114-17, 121-23

*Le Réveil*—a weekly and, from May 1869 onwards, daily newspaper of the Left Republicans published in Paris under the editorship of Charles Delescluse between July 1868 and January 1871.—374, 381

*Die Revolution*—a communist German-language journal published in New York in 1852 by Joseph Weydemeyer. On January 6 and 13 two weekly issues appeared, in May and June two "non-periodic" issues appeared.—56

*La Révolution sociale*—a weekly published in Geneva in 1871 and 1872, organ of Bakunin's Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—210

*Revue Positiviste*—see *La Philosophie positive*

*Reynolds's Newspaper. A Weekly Journal of Politics, History, Literature and General Intelligence*—a radical newspaper published by George William Reynolds in London from 1850; was close to the working-class movement.—429, 430

*Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*—a daily founded on January 1, 1842 as the organ of the Rhenish bourgeois opposition. It was published in Cologne till March 31, 1843. From October 15, 1842 to March 17, 1843 it was edited by Marx and assumed a strongly pronounced revolutionary-democratic complexion, which led to its suppression. Engels was one of its contributors.—60

*La Rive Gauche*—a democratic weekly published from October 1864 to August 1866, first in Paris and then in Brussels, by a group of French Left Republicans; it printed documents of the International. Its editor was Charles Longuet.—90

*Saturday Review*—see *Saturday review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*

*Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*—an English weekly published in London from 1855 to 1938.—27, 87, 119, 363, 412

*Le Siècle*—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939.—367, 378

*Der Social-Demokrat*—organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers. It was published under this title in Berlin from December 15, 1864 to 1871; in 1864-65 it was edited by Johann Baptist von Schweitzer.—10, 24, 90-91, 122

*The Spectator*—a weekly published in London since 1828, originally liberal, later conservative.—87, 119, 423

*Standard*—see *The Evening Standard*

*Telegraph*—see *The Daily Telegraph*

*The Times*—a daily newspaper published in London since 1785.—25, 27, 28, 29, 81, 83, 103-04, 105, 206, 313, 326, 342, 357, 362, 363, 409, 410, 412, 416, 420, 425, 430, 439-40

*Le Travail*—a weekly of the Paris sections of the International published in Paris from October 3 to December 12, 1869.—85, 116-17

*La Tribune du Peuple*—a democratic newspaper of the socialist and atheistic society "Peuple" published in Brussels from May 1861 to April 1869; from August 1865 the *de facto* and from January 1866 official newspaper of the International in Belgium.—321, 375, 376

*La Voix de l'Avenir*—a weekly published in La Chaux-de-Fonds from 1865 to 1868; from 1867 official organ of the Romance sections of the International in Switzerland; was under the Proudhonists' influence.—321, 375, 378

*Der Volksstaat*—Central Organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party published in Leipzig from October 2, 1869 to September 29, 1876, first twice and, from 1873, three times a week.—134, 436

*Volksstimme*—a newspaper of the Austrian Social-Democrats published in Vienna from April to December 1869; it supported the General Council of the International.—79

*Volks-Zeitung*—a liberal daily published in Berlin since 1853.—25

*Der Vorbote*—a monthly of the German sections of the International in Switzerland published in Geneva from 1866 to 1871 under the editorship of Johann Philipp Becker; on the whole, it upheld the line pursued by Marx and the General Council by regularly publishing documents of the International and information about its activity in various countries.—15, 32, 69, 336, 348, 378

*De Werkman*—a newspaper published in Amsterdam from 1868 to 1874; weekly organ of the Dutch Central Section of the International from 1869.—80

*Weser-Zeitung*—a liberal daily published in Bremen from 1844 to 1930.—26, 27

*The Workingman's Advocate*—a weekly published in Chicago from 1864 to 1877; printed material dealing with the trade union movement, and documents of the International; organ of the National Labour Union.—378

*The Workmen's Advocate*—see *The Workingman's Advocate*

*Die Zukunft*—a democratic newspaper, organ of the People's Party, published in 1867 in Königsberg, and from 1868 to 1871 in Berlin; printed Marx's preface to Volume One of *Capital* and Engels' review of this volume.—134

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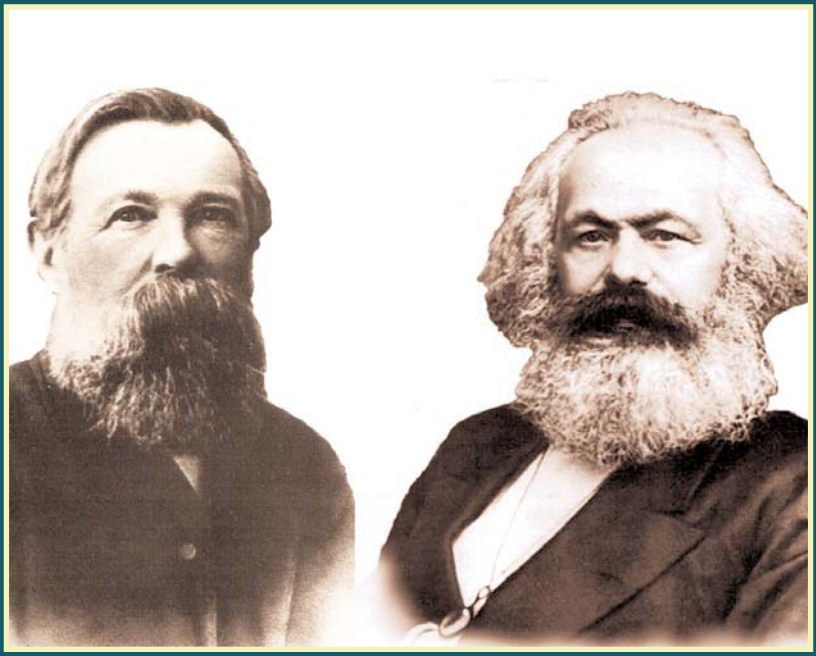

## VOLUME 22

Marx and Engels 1870-71

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 22

## Marx and Engels 1870-71

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# Preface

Volume 22 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains works written between the latter half of July 1870 and the end of October 1871.

In this relatively brief period there occurred the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 and what Lenin described as "the greatest working-class uprising of the 19th century" (*Collected Works,* Vol. 41, p. 113), the proletarian revolution of March 18, 1871 in Paris, during which a working-class state—the Paris Commune—was set up for the first time in history. These events arose from the socio-political and revolutionary crisis that had been building up in Europe for some years. The Paris Commune was a great victory for the working class in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and political domination by the bourgeoisie. The lessons of the Commune threw into sharp relief the further tasks and prospects of the working-class movement. On the basis of this experience Marx and Engels significantly enriched the theory of scientific communism.

Many works of Marx and Engels in this volume directly reflect their practical activities in the International Working Men's Association (the International).

In the conditions created by the Franco-Prussian war the General Council of the International had to arm the proletariat, especially the French and the German, with an understanding of their class objectives and prevent the wave of chauvinism that surged through both the belligerent countries from swamping the working-class movement. This was a test that the International passed with flying colours. It succeeded in raising the most advanced workers in its ranks from spontaneous actions and an

instinctive feeling of class brotherhood to awareness of the need for international solidarity and unity of action by the proletariat as a whole.

The volume begins with the First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War (July 1870) written by Marx. This document contains the fundamental propositions of Marxism on the attitude of the working class to militarism and war. Marx maintains that the aggressive wars were unleashed by the ruling classes to overcome internal crises and to crush the revolutionary movement, above all, that of the proletariat. He analyses the development of the international contradictions in Europe that led to the Franco-Prussian war and sets out the specific tasks for the workers of the various countries in the current situation.

Marx exposes the Bonapartist government in France, which began the war in the name of preserving and strengthening the empire, reinforcing its dominant role in Europe, and preventing the unification of Germany. On Germany's side the war was, in its initial stage, defensive (see this volume, p. 5). At the same time Marx shows the aggressive role played by the ruling circles of Prussia in its preparation. He makes a clear distinction between the German people's national interests and the dynastic, rapacious aims pursued by the Prussian Junkers and the German bourgeoisie. Marx warned the German workers that a war led by the Prussian militarists could turn into an aggressive war against the French people: "If the German working class allow the present war to lose its strictly defensive character and to degenerate into a war against the French people, victory or defeat will prove alike disastrous" (this volume, p. 6).

Arguing that the military defeat of the Bonapartist empire would usher in the regeneration of France and remove one of the main obstacles to the unification of Germany, Marx supports the French members of the International in their campaign against the regime of Napoleon III. The Address helped the German Social-Democrats to see how aggressive the policy of Bismarck's Prussia actually was and how incompatible with the German people's legitimate national aspirations.

Marx and Engels believed that objectively Germany's achievement of national unity would be in the interests of the German working class and would create favourable conditions for its organisation, which, in turn, would help to consolidate the whole international proletariat.

The Address set the task of strengthening the international

solidarity of the working class, especially in the belligerent countries. Marx gave a high appraisal of the anti-militarist activity of the members of the International in both Germany and France and saw this as a sign that "the alliance of the working classes of all countries will ultimately kill war" (this volume, p. 7). The development of the workers' international brotherhood despite the chauvinistic propaganda of the ruling classes, Marx emphasised, "proves that in contrast to old society, with its economical miseries and its political delirium, a new society is springing up, whose International rule will be *Peace*, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—*Labour*!" (this volume, p. 7).

The shattering military defeats of the Second Empire heralded its collapse. Marx noted that in Prussian ruling circles claims were being made for the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. In these conditions it was especially important to help the German Social-Democrats adopt a genuine class position and strengthen their internationalist views. In a letter to the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, Marx and Engels urged the German proletariat to come out wholeheartedly against the annexationist plans of the Prussian military and the bourgeoisie.

The Second Address of the General Council on the Franco-Prussian war, written after the collapse of the Second Empire and the establishment, on September 4, 1870, of the French Republic, when the war had lost its defensive character for Germany and become a blatantly expansionist war (see this volume, p. 263), defined the new tactical line of the International. The Address oriented the proletariat of the European countries towards a resolute struggle against the aggressive plans of the Prussian Junkers and the German bourgeoisie. It noted that there could be no justification for the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, and that the determination of state borders on the grounds of "military interests" only carried "the seed of fresh wars" (this volume, p. 266). With exceptional insight Marx foresaw the consequences of Bismarck's aggression and the subsequent line-up of rival forces in Europe for several decades.

Developing the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Address outlined the tactics for the various contingents of the international proletariat, thus guiding them towards an understanding of the unity of international and national goals. As in the letter to the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, Marx oriented the German working class and its party towards a struggle against Prussian militarism, for an honourable

peace with France, and for recognition of the French Republic. He stressed the connection between this international task and the fight against internal reaction, against Bismarck's plans to use the victory over France for an attack on the democratic rights of his own people.

The International also urged the English workers to recognise the French Republic (see this volume, p. 269).

For the French workers it was vitally important, on the one hand, to use all republican freedoms "for the work of their own class organisation" (this volume, p. 269) and, on the other, to avoid being carried away by chauvinistic phrase-mongering. Marx warned the French workers of the untimeliness of any attempt to overthrow the government when the enemy was at the gates of Paris.

Both Addresses, which were official documents of the International, offered the working-class movement scientifically grounded guidelines and proposed an overall solution to both the national and international problems facing the proletariat. One of their crucial features was their resolute condemnation of militarism and wars of conquest.

The 59 articles by Engels on the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871, published in London's *Pall Mall Gazette*, occupy an important place in the volume. Written in the form of separate military reviews, these articles are, in fact, closely interconnected and constitute a complete and unified whole. Although, under the terms stipulated by the paper's editors, they should have been confined to purely military questions, Engels often reaches out beyond these limits and gives his reviews a trenchant class and political message. In his "Notes on the War", which in their political orientation are closely linked with the General Council's Addresses on the Franco-Prussian war, Engels was actually substantiating the tactics of the International at various stages of the war.

These articles by Engels reveal his detailed knowledge of the home and foreign-policy situations of the belligerent powers—their economic and political systems and, above all, the positions of the various classes and parties. All this, combined with Engels' truly encyclopaedic knowledge as a military historian and theoretician, enabled him in many cases to predict the exact course of events and their outcome. He uncovered the strategic plans of the headquarters of the Bonapartist and Prussian armies, established the areas and days of the first major battles and the forces that would take part in them (see this volume, pp. 15-16), anticipated the

situation that would lead to the retreat of the French army under MacMahon to Sedan (this volume, pp. 32-33) and predicted the place, the approximate date and the outcome of the decisive battle which was fought there (this volume, p. 69). The central idea of the articles was to show the dependence of military operations and the outcome of the war on a country's internal condition, and Engels' most important prediction was that the military defeat of Bonapartist France and the consequent fall of the Second Empire were inevitable.

The "Notes" contain much ruthless and far-reaching criticism of Bonapartism. Engels paints a vivid picture of the decay of the Bonapartist regime and its main bastion, the army. "The army organization fails everywhere; and a noble and gallant nation finds all its efforts for self-defence unavailing, because it has for twenty years suffered its destinies to be guided by a set of adventurers who turned administration, government, army, navy—in fact, all France—into a source of pecuniary profit to themselves" (this volume, p. 77). Engels stresses that the Bonapartist regime continued to have a pernicious effect on the army even during the war because its actions were guided by political rather than military considerations. He shows how, because of their fear of the Paris masses, the Bonapartist government refused to send to the front the forces vital for the army, preferring to keep them in the capital as a safeguard against revolution (see this volume, p. 55).

Engels exposes the militarist propaganda of the Prussian ruling circles, who were trying to present the Prussian army as a truly "popular" army, as the "armed people". "The phrase of the 'nation in arms' hides the creation of a large army for purposes of Cabinet policy abroad and reaction at home" (this volume, p. 125). He mercilessly brands the barbaric acts perpetrated by the German command—the bombardment and destruction of cities for which there was no military justification, the brutal treatment of civilians, and the harsh measures taken against the French guerrillas, the *francs-tireurs.*

The "Notes on the War" form a notable contribution to the development of Marxist military theory. They examine the character of wars—expansionist, defensive, and popular—on the basis of actual facts, and reveal the dialectics of their development. Engels demonstrated how "a war in which Germany, at the beginning, merely defended her own against French *chauvinisme* appears to be changing gradually, but surely, into a war in the interests of a new German *chauvinisme...*" (this volume, p. 104). Engels considered in great detail a number of general theoretical problems of the art

of war—the role of logistics, the influence of the political and economic state of the country on the course of operations, the correct deployment of troops on the eve of war, the factor of surprise in attack, and so on. He also showed what great changes had come about in the arming and equipping of troops before the war and how these changes influenced the course of military operations.

After the defeat of the regular French armies, Engels focused his attention on the possibility of creating new military formations and organising guerrilla warfare against the invaders. He showed particular interest in the problems of armed resistance to interventionist forces, in the problems of a people's war, including guerrilla movements, on both the political and the military plane. In complete accord with the line taken in the Second Address of the General Council, Engels resolutely championed the right of the French people to defend their country against enemy invasion by every means. He considered a real war of liberation to be "one in which the nation itself participates" (this volume, p. 193). Engels expected the operations of the guerrillas to inflict damaging material and moral losses on the enemy. "This constant erosion by the waves of popular warfare in the long run melts down or washes away the largest army in detail...", he wrote (this volume, p. 207). At the same time Engels realised that a decisive turn in military operations could not be achieved without the creation of a powerful regular army. He revealed the causes of the unwillingness of the generals and the new bourgeois republican government of France, who feared the revolutionary upsurge of the masses more than the external enemy, to mobilise the country's resources to the full.

The articles by Engels, like the Addresses of the General Council on the Franco-Prussian war, clearly demonstrate how fruitfully the method of historical materialism can be applied in the analysis of a complex military and political situation.

Marx and Engels kept a close watch on the events in France, which were systematically discussed at the meetings of the General Council. In the Second Address on the Franco-Prussian war Marx, foreseeing the further intensification of class contradictions in France, alerted the French workers to the need to strengthen their own class organisation. This would give them, he wrote, "Herculean powers for the regeneration of France, and our common task—the emancipation of labour" (this volume, p. 269).

On March 18, 1871 a proletarian revolution broke out in the French capital and led to the proclamation of the Paris Commune,

the first working-class government known to history. From the very beginning Marx and Engels saw the Commune as an event of world-wide historical significance. They regarded it as the brainchild of the International, as an attempt by the working class to put into practice the great principles of its movement. Marx saw it as the beginning of a new epoch in world history. "With the struggle in Paris the struggle of the working class against the capitalist class and its state has entered upon a new phase," Marx noted in a letter to Ludwig Kugelmann on 17 April 1871. "Whatever the immediate outcome may be, a new point of departure of world-wide importance has been gained" (present edition, Vol. 44).

Marx and Engels welcomed the Commune with all the enthusiasm of proletarian revolutionaries supporting its heroic fighters in every possible way. In their speeches at the meetings of the General Council they reported on the course of the Communards' struggle against the combined forces of the Versailles counter-revolution and the Prussian interventionists (see this volume, pp. 585-86, 588, 590, 593, 595-98). Marx used various channels for establishing contacts with the leaders of the Commune in order to help them avoid mistakes and work out a correct policy. He wrote many letters to the leading figures in the working-class movement of Europe and the United States (see present edition, Vol. 44) to explain the true character of events and expose the slander spread by the ruling classes. With the help of the General Council, led by Marx, a broad campaign in support of the Commune was launched in many countries. The advanced section of the working class and of the progressive intelligentsia in Britain also joined in the campaign.

As soon as the Paris Commune came into being, Marx set about studying and analysing its activities. Published in this volume, the First and Second Drafts of *The Civil War in France,* where he summed up massive factual material, testify to the exceptional scientific thoroughness with which he investigated the revolutionary creative work of the Communards.

The central position in this volume is occupied by Marx's outstanding work *The Civil War in France,* written in the form of an address of the General Council to all members of the International in Europe and the United States of America. Unanimously adopted at the meeting of the General Council on May 30, 1871, it was published as an official document of the International Working Men's Association a fortnight after the defeat of the Commune and became widely known in various countries.

In *The Civil War in France*, written in the form of keen political satire, Marx expounds the key propositions of revolutionary theory. The theory of the state, the revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat is developed on the basis of the experience of the Paris Commune. Lenin described this work as one of the fundamental documents of scientific communism. In it, he wrote, Marx had given a "profound, clear-cut, brilliant, *effective*" analysis of the Paris Commune (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 49).

*The Civil War in France* analyses the historical conditions of the origin of the Paris Commune. As Engels wrote in his 1891 Introduction, this work was an example of the author's remarkable gift "for grasping clearly the character, the import and the necessary consequences of great historical events, at a time when these events are still in progress before our eyes or have only just taken place" (present edition, Vol. 27). Relying on many years of study of the history of France in general and of the Bonapartist regime in particular, which he had begun in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11), Marx revealed the factors responsible for the revolution in Paris.

With biting sarcasm he exposed the leaders of the Versailles counter-revolutionary government, the instigators and organisers of the savage reprisals against the Paris workers. To these "bloodhounds of 'order'" (this volume, p. 350), who in fear of revolution sank to national betrayal and collusion with the external enemy, Marx contrasted the courage, selflessness and heroism of the Communards.

Many years before this, when analysing the revolutionary events of 1848-49, Marx had concluded that the proletariat would play the decisive role in the future revolution. The experience of the Commune confirmed this conclusion. "This was the first revolution in which the working class was openly acknowledged as the only class capable of social initiative" (this volume, p. 336). For the first time in history the proletariat had attempted to assert its political supremacy and establish a new social order.

Study of the experience of the Paris Commune gave Marx new material for further investigation of such a social institution as the state. Drawing on his previous research in this sphere, Marx examines in *The Civil War in France* and its preliminary drafts the origin and stages of development of the state superstructure of capitalism, the dialectical interaction between this superstructure and the economic basis—capitalist relations of production, and the role of the bourgeois state as an instrument of the oppression of the working people. Its exploitato-

ry essence as a "public force organized for social enslavement" and "an engine of class despotism", he wrote, remains unchanged, no matter in what forms it appears (see this volume, p. 329).

Because of the class character of the bourgeois state and the political functions of its apparatus of oppression the destruction of the bourgeois state machine becomes a crucial condition for the social emancipation of the proletariat. This conclusion, which Marx had arrived at in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852), was confirmed by the experience of the Commune. "But the working class," Marx wrote, "cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for their own purpose. The political instrument of their enslavement cannot serve as the political instrument of their emancipation" (this volume, p. 533). Marx attached special importance to this key proposition of revolutionary theory, which was also clearly formulated in the Introduction that he and Engels wrote to the 1872 German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (see present edition, Vol. 23). As we know, this proposition was further developed in the works of Lenin in its application to the specific features of the imperialist epoch.

In *The Civil War in France,* Marx demonstrated a dialectical and concrete historical approach, a differentiated attitude to the various elements of the state machine. He did not rule out the possibility of the victorious working class making use of the socially necessary bodies of the bourgeois state on condition that they were democratically reformed.

Up to the time of the Paris Commune the history of proletarian struggle had provided no practical example of what the working class could substitute for the state machine when it had been smashed. Marx saw in the Commune, short-lived though it was, the features of a state of the new type, a proletarian state, which was to replace the bourgeois state established for the oppression of the mass of the working people. The experience of the Commune allowed Marx to enrich revolutionary theory with a concrete conclusion regarding the form of proletarian state that was needed for its historic mission of building a new socialist society. The "true secret" of the Commune, he wrote in *The Civil War in France,* "was this. It was essentially a working-class government, the produce of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economical emancipation of Labour" (this volume, p. 334).

Marx also considers the nature of the new type of state in his speech at the meeting devoted to the seventh anniversary of the International in September 1871. The Commune, he said, "and there could not be two opinions about it ... was the conquest of the political power of the working classes." The experience of the revolution of 1871, Marx stressed in this speech, clearly proved that to destroy the existing conditions of oppression "a proletarian dictature would become necessary" (this volume, p. 634). Summing up the conclusions Marx reached concerning the new type of state in *The Civil War in France,* Engels in his Introduction to the third German edition of this work (1891), marking the twentieth anniversary of the Commune, wrote, "Look at the Paris Commune. That was the dictatorship of the proletariat" (present edition, Vol. 27).

The Paris Commune gave Marx specific facts with which to demonstrate the truly democratic nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a form of state power. The Commune consisted mostly of "working men, of acknowledged representatives of the working class" (this volume, p. 331). The principles of electiveness, revocability, and responsibility to the people of all organs of power and of all functionaries, the democratic principles of the organisation of the administrative and judicial system, were put into effect. Marx stresses that the Commune was to be "a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time". (Ibid.)

Marx showed the creative character of the Commune's activity, the way it combined destruction of the organs of the bourgeois state, the instruments of the material and spiritual oppression of the people, with the setting up of new, revolutionary institutions. From this standpoint he analyses the main initiatives of the Commune—the replacement of the standing army by the armed people, the abolition of the police, the separation of church from state, the expropriation of the property of the churches, and the abolition of religious instruction and government supervision in public education. He attaches great importance to the Commune's social initiatives, to its first steps in expropriating big capital's property in the means of production and the handing over of idle factories abandoned by their owners to the workers' cooperative societies.

Marx pointed to the coincidence of the proletariat's class interests with those of the nation at large as one of the key features of the new type of state. The Commune, he observed, was "the true representative of all the healthy elements of French

society, and therefore the truly national Government", but at the same time it was "a working men's Government ... the bold champion of the emancipation of labour" (see this volume, p. 338). The Commune was the highest form of proletarian democracy, the form of government where "democracy, introduced as fully and consistently as is at all conceivable, is transformed from bourgeois into proletarian democracy" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 25, p. 424).

With the experience of the Commune in mind Marx went on to examine the problem of the allies of the proletariat in the revolution. He analysed the social initiatives that attracted to the Commune not only the indigent populace of Paris but also the middle strata of French society. He expressed his firm conviction that the policy of the Paris Commune as a proletarian state fully corresponded to the essential interests of the working peasantry and that, but for the isolation of Paris from the provinces due to the blockade by the Versaillese, the French peasantry would have taken the side of the Communards (see this volume, pp. 492-94).

In *The Civil War in France* Marx poses the problem of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. In his First Draft he notes the lengthiness and complexity of this process, the need to go through various stages of class struggle. The working class knows, he wrote, "that this work of regeneration will be again and again relented and impeded by the resistances of vested interests and class egotisms" (this volume, p. 491). The existence of a political organisation in the form of the Commune, i.e., the proletarian state, is necessary for these socio-economic reforms to be put into effect. "The working class did not expect miracles from the Commune...", Marx writes in *The Civil War in France.* "They know that in order to work out their own emancipation, and along with it that higher form to which present society is irresistibly tending by its own economical agencies, they will have to pass through long struggles, through a series of historic processes, transforming circumstances and men" (this volume, p. 335). The classical formulation of the tasks of the transitional period and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the state of this period was later propounded by Marx in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (1875).

From the activities of the Commune Marx also drew material for elaborating the problem of the international character of the working-class struggle for emancipation. Arising out of the specific historical situation in France, the Commune, by taking the first

practical steps in the great cause of emancipating labour, embodied the aspirations of the working class of all countries and was "emphatically international" (this volume, p. 338). The advanced section of the working class of Europe and the United States embraced the Commune as its own cherished cause.

The Commune showed the full importance of properly combining the spontaneous and the conscious in the working-class movement. The Communards' class instinct told them what steps to take. But in the great work of transforming society revolutionary instinct and enthusiasm were not enough. Consisting for the most part of supporters of pre-Marxian forms of socialism, the Commune lacked ideological unity. It was not armed with a revolutionary theory that could ensure a consistent revolutionary policy. The experience of the Commune positively proved the proletariat's need for a militant vanguard, a political party armed with the theory of scientific communism. It was this task, which had become apparent from the experience of the Paris Commune, that Marx and Engels set before the International and the working class at the London Conference.

The content of *The Civil War in France* is supplemented in many ways by the preliminary drafts of this work. Although parts of them are no more than rough notes, the bulk are in finished form and are distinguished by the same power and vividness of expression that mark the final text. Both drafts are of independent theoretical value. In these drafts Marx expounded several important propositions more thorougly than in the final version. Here we have his propositions on the historical origins of the Commune, his analysis of its socio-economic initiatives, his characterisation of its policy towards the middle strata, and also his theoretical generalisations concerning the historic mission and tasks of the proletarian state.

Of exceptional importance is the thought, formulated in the First Draft, on the class struggle in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Marx pointed out: "The Commune does not [do] away with the class struggles, through which the working classes strive to the abolition of all classes and, therefore, of all class rule", but it "affords the rational medium in which that class struggle can run through its different phases in the most rational and human way" (this volume, p. 491).

In the drafts Marx goes deeply into the dialectics of the development of state power in the process of the transformation of society, showing the historically transient character of the proletarian state, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which he

regards as a stage in the natural historical process of the withering away of the state. The Commune, he writes, "was a Revolution against the *State* itself, this supernaturalist abortion of society..." it was "the reabsorption of the State power by society, as its own living forces instead of as forces controlling and subduing it, by the popular masses themselves..." (this volume, pp. 486, 487).

Proceeding not only from the experience of the Commune but also from the results of his own economic research, Marx stressed in the First Draft of *The Civil War in France* that in the period of the building of a classless society the economic activity of the proletarian state would assume increasing importance. It was the mission of this state to reorganise the whole economy on a new basis, to achieve the "harmonious national and international coordination" of the social forms of production (this volume, p. 491).

Analysing the mistakes of the Communards, Marx declared that, notwithstanding the great breadth of its democratic organisation, the proletarian state must possess sufficiently effective revolutionary organs of power. It must be capable of rebuffing the attacks of the internal and external enemies of the revolution, of defending all that the people have won.

Marx did not gloss over the shortcomings in the Commune's activity. But he valued, above all, its attempts in the conditions of hardship and siege to set about building a new society. He showed the enormous transforming power of the revolution, which changed the face of the French capital. "Working, thinking, fighting, bleeding Paris ... radiant in the enthusiasm of its historic initiative!" (this volume, p. 341). Here was the true hero of Marx's work.

The conclusions Marx drew from the experience and lessons of the Paris Commune were developed by him and by Engels throughout their lives. They became the subject of a profound study and creative application by Lenin in the new historical epoch. Developing the ideas of Marxism, Lenin gave solid and convincing grounds for the necessity of the Soviet form of the proletarian state, while allowing that other forms were also quite possible, depending on the specific national historical conditions of the struggle for the socialist revolution.

The international counter-revolution tried to use the defeat of the Paris Commune to suppress the whole working-class move-

ment. The governments of the European states joined forces to intensify repressive measures against the working class and its organisations, particularly the sections of the International. In a number of countries the sections had to adopt an illegal or semi-legal position. The reactionary press did all it could to discredit the International and its leaders by publishing various kinds of forgeries and spreading slanderous allegations.

The numerous statements sent to various newspapers by Marx and Engels and, as a rule, published in the form of official documents of the General Council ("Statement by the General Council on Jules Favre's Circular", "Statement by the General Council to the Editor of *The Times*", Marx's letters to the editors of the newspapers *De Werker, Public Opinion, Le Gaulois, La Vérité,* et al.), reflect the energetic campaign Marx and Engels waged against the bourgeois press's persecution of the International, against the attempts to distort its principles and aims and undermine its authority.

An address composed by Marx in the name of the General Council and entitled "Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador, in Paris", exposes the provocatory role of bourgeois diplomacy in the period of the Paris Commune. This document exposes the disreputable, double-faced attitude to the Commune adopted by a diplomatic representative of American capitalist "democracy" (see this volume, pp. 379-82).

The Paris Commune was a turning-point in the development of the international working-class movement. Its lessons were learned by revolutionary proletarian circles. Their urgent task was to strengthen their organisations and achieve ideological unity. Marx and Engels concentrated on helping the new sections of the International in Italy, Spain and other countries, establishing close ties between the sections and the General Council and informing them of its tasks and goals (see this volume, pp. 272-73, 277-80, 294-96).

At the same time the Commune stimulated the polarisation of ideological trends in the working-class movement. The clear statement in *The Civil War in France* of the International's revolutionary platform caused the wavering reformist elements to break away from it. In the summer of 1871 the General Council had to condemn the leaders of the British trade unions Lucraft and Odger, who in defiance of the principles of proletarian internationalism struck their signatures off the General Council's Address *The Civil War in France* and sided with the bourgeoisie (see this volume, pp. 372-73, 610-11).

The General Council condemned and expelled from the International the right-wing Proudhonist Tolain, who had opted for a deputy's seat in the counter-revolutionary Versailles assembly rather than fighting for the Commune. The resolution underscored that "the place of every French member of the I.W.M.A. is undoubtedly on the side of the Commune of Paris" (this volume, p. 297).

The materials presented in this volume reflect Marxism's consistent struggle against anarchism in its Bakuninist form—the main ideological opponent of Marxism in those days. The influence of Bakuninism was growing in Spain, Italy, in Romance Switzerland and in the South of France, which was mainly due to the fact that new sections of the working class were drawn into the working-class movement, sections that were not as yet sufficiently differentiated from other indigent strata of bourgeois society.

The danger of Bakuninism reached a new peak after the defeat of the Paris Commune. Misinterpreting its experience, the Bakuninists presented the Commune not as a proletarian state, but as an example of the abolition of all statehood and the renunciation of all political activity on the part of the working class, as the embodiment of their "federalist ideas". They alleged that the Commune had vindicated their tactics, based on notions of the possibility of carrying out a revolution in any place at any time without regard to the historical preconditions for it. While claiming leadership of the international working-class movement, the Bakuninists steered a course towards splitting the movement. In a number of countries they set up sections on the basis of their programme, which they presented as the programme of the International. Objectively, the Bakuninists held back the awakening of class-consciousness among the proletariat and hindered the working out of its strategy and tactics in the new conditions. Disassociation from Bakuninism became an urgent necessity for the further development of the revolutionary working-class movement and its political organisation. A very important role in this process was played by the London Conference of the International that took place on September 17-23, 1871.

This volume contains various documents of the London Conference, a prominent place being given to the speeches by Marx and Engels and the conference decisions and resolutions which they drafted and which were afterwards approved by the General Council.

The conference was held to delineate the basic trends in the

activity of the International Working Men's Association under the new conditions.

As can be seen from the minutes the work of the conference focused on the problem of setting up a proletarian party, and the discussion of its programmatic and tactical principles. In his speech at the opening of the conference Marx said that it had been called to "set up a new organisation to meet the needs of the situation" (this volume, p. 613).

The London Conference was the first international forum of the International that took place under the direct leadership of Marx and Engels. Marx was the main rapporteur on all important issues. Engels took a very active part in preparing and conducting the conference.

During the conference, as Engels noted afterwards, at the 1893 meeting to commemorate the Commune, "the question of founding a political party different and distinct from all other political parties was raised" for the first time in the history of the International (see present edition, Vol. 27). This question became the focal point of the struggle against the Bakuninist and reformist ideology.

In the subsequent debate Marx and Engels emphasised that those who even after the Paris Commune still denied the need for "political action" by the working class thereby repudiated the opportunity of its winning political power, the only means by which the working-class movement could achieve its aims. "The experience of real life and the political oppression imposed on them by existing governments—whether for political or social ends—force the workers to concern themselves with politics," said Engels in his speech. The supreme political act is revolution, the establishment of the political supremacy of the proletariat, but the first condition for this is the creation of a working-class party which "must be constituted ... as an independent party with its own objective, its own politics" (this volume, p. 417). The crucial ninth resolution of the conference, drawn up by Marx and Engels, stated: "against this collective power of the propertied classes the working class cannot act, as a class, except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes; ... this constitution of the working class into a political party is indispensable in order to insure the triumph of the social Revolution and its ultimate end—the abolition of classes..." (this volume, p. 427).

This resolution clearly indicated the basic direction of the further development of the struggle of the working class for

emancipation and defined the main objective facing the workers of every country after 1871—the founding of mass political parties of the proletariat. The immediate future showed that this was the course taken by the working-class movement.

As the documents published in this volume demonstrate, other issues that were debated—the significance of the struggle for the democratic rights of the working class, the drawing of peasants into the movement of the industrial proletariat, the development of the women's working-class movement, the interrelation of the political organisation of the working class and the trade unions, and so on—are all organically connected with the solution of the problem of the proletarian party, with the elaboration of its organisational and tactical principles. Marx and Engels showed that in its political activities the working class and its party should use various means in bourgeois society, combining legal and illegal forms of struggle depending on the conditions under which it had to be waged. They attached great importance to participation in parliamentary elections and getting working-class deputies into parliament. In his speech on political action by the working class Marx cited as an example of the successful use of the parliamentary platform in the interests of the working class the speeches of the socialist deputies Bebel and Liebknecht in the German Reichstag, whose words "the entire world can hear". Every worker elected to parliament, said Marx, is a victory over the ruling classes "but we must choose the right men" (this volume, p. 617).

The speeches of Marx and Engels and the resolutions passed by the conference against anarchistic sectarianism and adventurism are published in this volume. They sharply criticised the Bakuninist dogmas on abstention from political activity, and demonstrated that, in fact, such abstention would mean the workers' passive submission to bourgeois policies (see this volume, pp. 411-12, 415-16). One of the conference resolutions banned the setting up of sectarian, separatist organisations. The rules of any section joining the International should conform to the programmatic and organisation principles of the general Rules of the International Working Men's Association.

The conference opposed the attempts of the Bakuninists, and also the Blanquists to substitute secret conspiratorial societies for mass working-class organisations. In his speech on secret societies Marx noted that "this type of organisation is opposed to the development of the proletarian movement because instead of instructing the workers, these societies subject them to au-

thoritarian mystical laws which cramp their independence and distort their powers of reason" (this volume, p. 621).

At the London Conference Bakuninism suffered a damaging blow, and in the subsequent struggle against Bakuninist sectarianism the decisions of the conference served as a reliable guide for the revolutionary wing of the International.

The conference authorised the General Council to bring out a new edition of the Rules, taking into account all the amendments proposed by the congresses of the International.

The London Conference became a landmark in the development of the international working-class movement, a new step in the process of uniting Marxism with the mass movement of the proletariat. Its decisions determined the programmatic and tactical objectives of the proletarian parties, the creation of which the workers of several countries had already begun. The discussion at the conference and its resolutions reflected the creative development of scientific communism, particularly such aspects of it as the theory of the socialist revolution, of the party of the working class, the tactics of class struggle by the proletariat. The speeches of Marx and Engels at the conference, the documents which they wrote affirmed the organic link between Marxism and the practical aims of the working-class movement.

The significance of the decisions of the London Conference and the historic lessons of the Paris Commune were revealed by Marx in his speech (published in this volume) at the celebration meeting dedicated to the seventh anniversary of the International. Marx noted the role played in the rallying of the militant forces of the proletariat in various countries by the International Working Men's Association. He ended his speech by saying: "The working classes would have to conquer the right to emancipate themselves on the battlefield. The task of the International was to organize and combine the forces of labor for the coming struggle" (this volume, p. 634). In this struggle for the fundamental restructuring of society the International relied on the historical experience of the first proletarian state—the Paris Commune.

* * *

Of the 82 works by Marx and Engels published in this volume 17—such as "On the Cigar-Workers' Strike in Antwerp", "Once Again 'Herr Vogt'", "The Address *The Civil War in France* and the English Press", several letters to the editors of newspapers

and records of speeches—are published in English for the first time.

The Appendices contain records of the speeches of Marx and Engels at the meetings of the General Council, the resumés of some of these speeches in newspaper reports, and the records of Marx's speeches at the London Conference of the International. These documents were too imperfect and fragmentary to be included in the main body of the volume. The speeches of Marx and Engels preserved in Engels' notes are published in the main body. The Appendices also include a newspaper report of Marx's interview with the correspondent of the New York paper *The World*, and a letter from Marx's daughter Jenny to the editors of *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*. All these documents provide additional material illuminating the activities of Marx and Engels as leaders of the International.

In cases where more or less authentic versions of the documents of the International written by Marx and Engels or with their participation have reached us in several languages, the source—manuscript or printed—with an English text has been used as the basis for publication in this edition. Any substantial variant readings in other languages are given as footnotes.

During the preparation of the volume the dating of works was checked and in some cases corrected, and most of the sources used by the authors were traced. The results of this work are reflected in the endings and the reference apparatus. Any headings supplied by the editors of the volume are given in square brackets.

Obvious misprints in proper names, geographical designations, numerical data, dates, and so on, have been corrected by reference to the sources used by Marx and Engels, usually without comment. The spelling of proper names and geographical designations in English texts is reproduced from the originals, collated with reference works of the 19th century; in some cases the modern spelling is given as a footnote. The English paragraphs, sentences and words in the German or French originals are given in small caps or in asterisks. When the exact titles of documents referred to by Marx and Engels have not been established, they are given underfoot and in the index of quoted and mentioned literature as they are cited in newspaper articles, in square brackets.

The first part of the volume was compiled, prepared and annotated by Alexander Zubkov, the second part, beginning with *The Civil War in France*, by Yevgenia Dakhina (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU); the preface and the index of quoted and mentioned literature were written by Alexander Zubkov

and Yevgenia Dakhina (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). The name index was compiled by Tatyana Nikolayeva and the index of periodicals, by Sergei Chuyanov (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). The editor of the volume was Tatyana Yeremeyeva and scientific editor Valeriya Kunina (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). The subject index was compiled by Alexander Zubkov. The translations were made by K.M. Cook, David Forgacs, Glenys Ann Kozlov, Rodney Livingstone and Barrie Selman and edited by Nicholas Jacobs, Glenys Ann Kozlov, K. M. Cook, Tatyana Grishina and Yelena Kalinina. The volume was prepared for the press by the editor Tatyana Grishina.

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## WORKS

July 1870-October 1871

# Karl Marx

## [FIRST ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION ON THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR[1]]

### TO THE MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES

In the *Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association,* of November, 1864, we said:—"If the emancipation of the working classes requires their fraternal concurrence, how are they to fulfil that great mission with a foreign policy in pursuit of criminal designs, playing upon national prejudices and squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure?"[a] We defined the foreign policy aimed at by the International in these words: "Vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the laws paramount of the intercourse of nations."[b]

No wonder that Louis Bonaparte, who usurped his power by exploiting the war of classes in France, and perpetuated[c] it by periodical wars abroad, should from the first have treated the International as a dangerous foe. On the eve of the plebiscite he ordered a raid on the members of the Administrative Committees of the International Working Men's Association throughout France, at Paris, Lyons, Rouen, Marseilles, Brest, etc., on the pretext that the International was a secret society dabbling in a complot for his assassination, a pretext soon after exposed in its full absurdity by his own judges.[2] What was the real crime of the French branches of the International? They told the French people publicly and emphatically that voting the plebiscite was voting despotism at home and war abroad.[d] It has been, in fact, their work that in all the great towns, in all the industrial centres

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 12-13.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 13.—*Ed.*

[c] The German edition of 1870 has "maintained" and that of 1891 "prolonged", instead of "perpetuated".—*Ed.*

[d] *Manifeste antiplébiscitaire des Sections parisiennes fédérées del' Internationale et de la Chambre fédérale des Sociétés ouvrières,* Paris [1870].—*Ed.*

of France, the working class rose like one man to reject the plebiscite. Unfortunately the balance was turned by the heavy ignorance of the rural districts. The Stock Exchanges, the Cabinets, the ruling classes and the press of Europe celebrated the plebiscite as a signal victory of the French Emperor over the French working class; and it was the signal for the assassination, not of an individual, but of nations.

The war plot of July, 1870, is but an amended edition of the *coup d'état* of December, 1851.[3] At first view the thing seemed so absurd that France would not believe in its real good earnest. It rather believed the deputy denouncing the ministerial war talk as a mere stock-jobbing trick.[a] When, on July 15th, war was at last officially announced to the *Corps Législatif*,[b] the whole opposition refused to vote the preliminary subsidies, even Thiers branded it as "detestable"[c]; all the independent journals of Paris condemned it, and, wonderful to relate, the provincial press joined in almost unanimously.

Meanwhile, the Paris members of the International had again set to work. In the *Réveil* of July 12th they published their manifesto "to the workmen of all nations", from which we extract the following few passages:

> "Once more," they say, "on the pretext of the European equilibrium, of national honour, the peace of the world is menaced by political ambitions. French, German, Spanish workmen! Let our voices unite in one cry of reprobation against war!... War for a question of preponderance or a dynasty, can, in the eyes of workmen, be nothing but a criminal absurdity. In answer to the warlike proclamations of those who exempt themselves from the impost of blood, and find in public misfortunes a source of fresh speculations, we protest, we who want peace, labour and liberty!... Brothers of Germany! Our division would only result in the complete triumph of despotism on both sides of the Rhine.... Workmen of all countries! Whatever may for the present become of our common efforts, we, the members of the International Working Men's Association, who know of no frontiers, we send you as a pledge of indissoluble solidarity the good wishes and the salutations of the workmen of France."

This manifesto of our Paris section was followed by numerous similar French addresses, of which we can here only quote the declaration of Neuilly-sur-Seine, published in the *Marseillaise* of July 22nd:

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[a] The reference is to J. Favre's speech in the Corps Législatif of July 7, 1870 reported in the item "Paris, Thursday Evening", *The Times*, No. 26798, July 9, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] E. Ollivier's speech in the Corps Législatif on July 15, 1870, *Le Temps*, No. 3427, July 17, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] A. Thiers' speech in the Corps Législatif on July 15, 1870, *Le Temps*, No. 3426, July 16, 1870.—*Ed.*

"The war, is it just?—No! The war, is it national?—No! It is merely dynastic. In the name of humanity, of democracy, and the true interests of France, we adhere completely and energetically to the protestation of the International against the war."[a]

These protestations expressed the true sentiments of the French working people, as was soon shown by a curious incident. *The Band of the 10th of December,* first organised under the presidency of Louis Bonaparte, having been masqueraded into *blouses* and let loose on the streets of Paris, there to perform the contortions of war fever,[4] the real workmen of the Faubourgs came forward with public peace demonstrations so overwhelming that Piétri, the Prefect of Police, thought it prudent to at once stop all further street politics, on the plea that the real[b] Paris people had given sufficient vent to their pent up patriotism and exuberant war enthusiasm.[c]

Whatever may be the incidents of Louis Bonaparte's war with Prussia, the death knell of the Second Empire has already sounded at Paris. It will end as it began, by a parody. But let us not forget that it is the Governments and the ruling classes of Europe who enabled Louis Bonaparte to play during eighteen years the ferocious farce of the *Restored Empire.*

On the German side, the war is a war of defence, but who put Germany to the necessity of defending herself? Who enabled Louis Bonaparte to wage war upon her? *Prussia!* It was Bismarck who conspired with that very same Louis Bonaparte for the purpose of crushing popular opposition at home, and annexing Germany to the Hohenzollern dynasty. If the battle of Sadowa had been lost instead of being won, French battalions would have overrun Germany as the allies of Prussia.[5] After her victory did Prussia dream one moment of opposing a free Germany to an enslaved France? Just the contrary. While carefully preserving all the native beauties of her old system, she superadded all the tricks of the Second Empire, its real despotism and its mock democratism, its political shams and its financial jobs, its high-flown talk and its low *légerdemains.* The Bonapartist regime, which till then only flourished on one side of the Rhine, had now got its

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[a] "Commune de Neuilly-sur-Seine", *La Marseillaise,* No. 153, July 22, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] The German edition of 1870 has "loyal" and that of 1891 "faithful", instead of "real".—*Ed.*

[c] The reference is to the announcement of the Paris Prefect on the banning of demonstrations reported in the item "Paris, le 17 juillet", *Le Temps,* No. 3429, July 19, 1870.—*Ed.*

counterfeit on the other. From such a state of things, what else could result but *war*?

If the German working class allow the present war to lose its strictly defensive character and to degenerate into a war against the French people, victory or defeat will prove alike disastrous. All the miseries that befell Germany after her[a] war of independence[6] will revive with accumulated intensity.

The principles of the International are, however, too widely spread and too firmly rooted amongst the German working class to apprehend such a sad consummation. The voices of the French workmen have re-echoed from Germany. A mass meeting of workmen, held at Brunswick on July 16th, expressed its full concurrence with the Paris manifesto, spurned the idea of national antagonism to France, and wound up its resolutions with these words:

"We are enemies of all wars, but above all of dynastic wars.... With deep sorrow and grief we are forced to undergo a defensive war as an unavoidable evil; but we call, at the same time, upon the whole German working class to render the recurrence of such an immense social misfortune impossible by vindicating for the peoples themselves the power to decide on peace and war, and making them masters of their own destinies."[b]

At Chemnitz, a meeting of delegates representing 50,000 Saxon workers adopted unanimously a resolution to this effect[7]:

"In the name of the German Democracy, and especially of the workmen forming the Democratic Socialist Party, we declare the present war to be exclusively dynastic.... We are happy to grasp the fraternal hand stretched out to us by the workmen of France.... Mindful of the watchword of the International Working Men's Association: *Proletarians of all countries, unite,* we shall never forget that the workmen of *all* countries are our *friends* and the despots of *all* countries our *enemies.*"[c]

The Berlin branch of the International has also replied to the Paris manifesto:

"We," they say, "join with heart and hand your protestation.... Solemnly we promise that neither the sound of the trumpet, nor the roar of the cannon, neither victory nor defeat shall divert us from our common work for the union of the children of toil[d] of all countries."[e]

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[a] The 1891 German edition has "after the so-called".—*Ed.*

[b] "Politische Uebersicht", *Der Volksstaat,* No. 58, July 20, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] "Les travailleurs allemands à leurs frères de France", *L'Internationale,* No. 81, July 31, 1870.—*Ed.*

[d] The German editions of 1870 and 1891 have "workers" instead of "children of toil".—*Ed.*

[e] "Réponse des ouvriers allemands au manifeste de l'Internationale", *La Marseillaise,* No. 153, July 22, 1870.—*Ed.*

Be it so!

In the background of this suicidal strife looms the dark figure of Russia. It is an ominous sign that the signal for the present war should have been given at the moment when the Moscovite Government had just finished its strategical lines of railway and was already massing troops in the direction of the Pruth. Whatever sympathy the Germans may justly claim in a war of defence against Bonapartist aggression, they would forfeit at once by allowing the Prussian Government to call for, or accept, the help of the Cossacks. Let them remember that, after their war of independence against the first Napoleon, Germany lay for generations prostrate at the feet of the Czar.

The English working class stretch the hand of fellowship to the French and German working people. They feel deeply convinced that whatever turn the impending horrid war may take, the alliance of the working classes of all countries will ultimately kill war. The very fact that while official France and Germany are rushing into a fratricidal feud, the workmen of France and Germany send each other messages of peace and goodwill[a]; this great fact, unparalleled in the history of the past, opens the vista of a brighter future. It proves that in contrast to old society, with its economical miseries and its political delirium, a new society is springing up, whose International rule will be *Peace,* because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—*Labour*! The Pioneer of that new society is the International Working Men's Association.[b]

* * *

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*Boon, Martin J.*
*Bradnick, Fred.*
*Stepney, Cowell*
*Hales, John*
*Hales, William*
*Harris, George*
*Lessner, Fred.*
*Lintern, W.*
*Legreulier*
*Maurice Zévy*
*Milner, George*
*Mottershead, Thomas*
*Murray, Charles*

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[a] The German editions of 1870 and 1891 have "friendship" instead of "goodwill".—*Ed.*

[b] This sentence is omitted in the 1870 German edition.—*Ed.*

*Odger, George*
*Parnell, James*
*Pfänder*
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*July 23rd, 1870*

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Frederick Engels

# NOTES ON THE WAR[8]

Written in late July 1870-February 1871

First published in *The Pall Mall Gazette* in late July 1870-February 1871

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THE

PALL MALL GAZETTE

*An Evening Newspaper and Review.*

No. 1703.—Vol. XII. *FRIDAY, JULY 29, 1870.* *Price 2d.; Stamped, 3d.*

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—I[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1703, July 29, 1870]

Scarcely a shot has been fired so far, and yet a first stage of the war has passed away, ending in disappointment to the French Emperor.[b] A few observations on the political and military situation will render this evident.

It is now admitted on all hands that Louis Napoleon expected to be able to isolate the North German Confederation[9] from the Southern States, and to take advantage of the disaffection existing in the newly annexed Prussian provinces.[10] A rapid dash upon the Rhine with as large a force as could be collected, a passage of that river somewhere between Germersheim and Mayence, an advance in the direction of Frankfort and Würzburg, might promise to effect this. The French would find themselves masters of the communications between North and South, and would compel Prussia to bring down to the Main, in hot haste, all available troops, whether ready or not, for a campaign. The whole process of mobilization in Prussia would be disturbed, and all the chances would be in favour of the invaders being able to defeat the Prussians in detail as they arrived from the various parts of the country. Not only political but also military reasons were in favour of such an attempt. The French cadre system admits of a far quicker concentration of say 120,000 to 150,000 men than the Prussian landwehr system.[11] The French peace footing differs from the war footing merely by the number of men on furlough, and by the non-existence of depôts, which are formed on the eve of marching out. But the Prussian peace footing includes less than

[a] Written not earlier than July 27, 1870. Signed *Z.*—*Ed.*

[b] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

one-third of the men who compose the war footing; and moreover, not only the men, but the officers also of these remaining two-thirds are in time of peace civilians. The mobilization of these immense numbers of men takes time; it is, moreover, a complicated process, which would be thrown into complete disorder by the sudden irruption of a hostile army. This is the reason why the war was so much *brusqué* by the Emperor. Unless he intended some such unexpected surprise, the hot language of Gramont,[a] and the precipitate declaration of war[b] would have been absurd.

But the sudden, violent outburst of German feeling put an end to any such plan. Louis Napoleon found himself face to face, not with King William "Annexander,"[c] but with the German nation. And, in that case, a dash across the Rhine, even with 120,000 to 150,000 men, was not to be thought of. Instead of a surprise, a regular campaign with all available forces had to be undertaken. The Guards, the armies of Paris and Lyons, and the corps of the camp at Châlons, which might have sufficed for the first purpose, were now barely sufficient to form the mere nucleus of the great army of invasion. And thus began the second phase of the war—that of preparation for a great campaign; and from that day the chances of ultimate success for the Emperor began to decline.

Let us now compare the forces that are being got ready for mutual destruction; and to simplify matters, we will take the infantry only. The infantry is the arm which decides battles; any trifling balance of strength in cavalry and artillery, including mitrailleurs[12] and other miracle-working engines, will not count for much on either side.

France has 376 battalions of infantry (38 battalions of Guards, 20 *Chasseurs,*[d] 300 line, 9 Zouaves, 9 Turcos,[13] &c.) of eight companies each in time of peace. Each of the 300 line battalions, in time of war, leaves two companies behind to form a depôt, and marches out with six companies only. In the present instance, four of the six depôt companies of each line regiment (of three battalions) are intended to expand into a fourth battalion by being filled up with men on furlough and with reserves. The remaining two companies

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[a] The reference is to Duc de Gramont's speech in the Corps Législatif on July 6, 1871, reported in the item "Paris, July 6, Evening", *The Times*, No. 26796, July 7, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] On July 19, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] A coinage of two words, "annexation" and "Alexander", as an allusion to Alexander of Macedon.—*Ed.*

[d] Riflemen.—*Ed.*

appear to be intended as a depôt, and may hereafter be formed into fifth battalions. But it will be certainly some time, at least six weeks, before these fourth battalions will be so far organized as to be fit for the field; for the present they and the Garde Mobile [14] can be counted as garrison troops only. Thus, for the first decisive battles, France has nothing available but the above 376 battalions.

Of these, the army of the Rhine, according to all we hear, comprises, in the six army corps No. 1 to 6 and the Guards, 299 battalions. Including the Seventh Corps (General Montauban), which is supposed to be intended for the Baltic,[15] the figure is given as high as 340 battalions, which would leave but 36 battalions to guard Algiers, the colonies, and the interior of France. From this it appears that France has sent every available battalion against Germany, and cannot increase her force by new formations fit for the field before the beginning of September at the very earliest.

Now for the other side. The North German army consists of thirteen army corps, composed of 368 battalions of infantry, or, in round numbers, twenty-eight battalions per corps. Each battalion counts, on the peace footing, about 540, and on the war footing 1,000 men. On the order for the mobilization of the army being received, a few officers are told off in each regiment of three battalions for the formation of the fourth battalion. The reserve men are at once called in. They are men who have served two to three years in the regiment, and remain liable to be called out until they are twenty-seven years of age. There are plenty of them to fill up the three field battalions and furnish a good stock towards the fourth battalion, which is completed by men from the landwehr. Thus the field battalions are ready to march in a few days, and the fourth battalions can follow in four or five weeks afterwards. At the same time, for every line regiment a landwehr regiment of two battalions is formed out of the men between twenty-eight and thirty-six years of age, and as soon as they are ready the formation of the third landwehr battalions is taken in hand. The time required for all this, including the mobilization of cavalry and artillery, is exactly thirteen days; and the first day of mobilization having been fixed for the 16th, everything is or should be ready to-day. At this moment, probably, North Germany has in the field 358 battalions of the line, and in garrison 198 battalions of the landwehr; to be reinforced, certainly not later than the second half of August, by 114 fourth battalions of the line and 93 third battalions of the landwehr. In all these troops there will scarcely be a man who has not passed through his

regular time of service in the army. To these we must add the troops of Hesse-Darmstadt, Baden, Württemberg, and Bavaria, 104 battalions of the line in all; but as the landwehr system in these States has not yet had time to fully develop itself, there may be not more than seventy or eighty battalions available for the field.

The landwehr are principally intended for garrison duty, but in the war of 1866[16] a large portion marched out as a reserve army for the field. This will no doubt be done again.

Of the thirteen North German army corps ten are now on the Rhine, forming a total of 280 battalions; then the South Germans, say 70 battalions; grand total, 350 battalions. There remain available on the coast or as a reserve three army corps or 84 battalions. One corps, together with the landwehr, will be ample for the defence of the coast. The two remaining corps may be, for aught we know, on the road to the Rhine too. These troops can be reinforced by the 20th of August by at least 100 fourth battalions and 40 to 50 landwehr battalions, men superior to the fourth battalions and Gardes Mobiles of the French, which mostly are composed of almost undrilled men. The fact is, France has not more than about 550,000 drilled men at her disposal, while North Germany alone has 950,000. And this is an advantage for Germany, which will tell more and more the longer decisive fighting is delayed, until it will reach its culminating point towards the end of September.

Under these circumstances, we need not be astonished at the news from Berlin that the German commanders hope to save German soil from the sufferings of war[a]; in other words, that unless they are attacked soon they will attack themselves. How that attack, unless anticipated by Louis Napoleon, will be conducted is another question.

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[a] "Berlin, July 26, Evening", *The Times*, No. 26813, July 27, 1870.—*Ed.*

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—II[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1705, August 1, 1870]

On the morning of Friday, the 29th of July, the forward movement of the French army will have commenced. In which direction? A glance at the map will show it.

The valley of the Rhine, on the left bank, is closed in to the west by the mountain chain of the Vosges from Belfort to Kaiserslautern. North of this latter town the hills become more undulating, until they gradually merge in the plain near Mayence.

The valley of the Moselle in Rhenish Prussia forms a deep and winding clough, which the river has worked out for itself through a plateau, which rises to the south of the valley into a considerable range called the Hochwald. As this range approaches the Rhine the plateau character becomes more predominant, until the last outlying hills meet the farthest spurs of the Vosges.

Neither the Vosges nor the Hochwald are absolutely impracticable for an army; both are crossed by several good high-roads, but neither are of that class of ground where armies of from 200,000 to 300,000 men could operate with advantage. The country between the two, however, forms a kind of broad gap, twenty-five to thirty miles in width, undulated ground, traversed by numerous roads in all directions, and offering every facility to the movements of large armies. Moreover, the road from Metz to Mayence goes through this gap, and Mayence is the first important point on which the French will probably move.

Here, then, we have the line of operations prescribed by nature. In case of a German invasion of France, both armies being

[a] Written not later than July 29, 1870. The first part of the article is signed *Z.*—*Ed.*

prepared, the first great encounter must take place in the corner of Lorraine east of the Moselle and north of the railway from Nancy to Strasbourg[17]; so, with a French army advancing from the positions where it concentrated last week, the first important action will take place somewhere in this gap, or beyond it, under the walls of Mayence.

The French army was thus concentrated:—Three corps (the 3rd, 4th, and 5th) in a first line at Thionville, St. Avold, and Bitche; two corps (the 1st and 2nd) in second line at Strasbourg and Metz; and as a reserve, the Guards at Nancy and the 6th Corps at Châlons. During the last few days the second line was brought forward into the intervals of the first, the Guard was moved to Metz, Strasbourg was abandoned to the Mobile Guard. Thus the whole body of the French forces was concentrated between Thionville and Bitche, that is, facing the entrance of the gap between the mountains. The natural conclusion from these premisses is that they intend marching into it.

Thus, the invasion will have commenced by occupying the passages of the Saar and the Blies; the next day's proceedings will probably be to occupy the line from Tholey to Homburg; then the line from Birkenfeld to Landstuhl or Oberstein to Kaiserslautern, and so forth—that is to say, unless they are interrupted by an advance of the Germans. There will be, no doubt, flanking corps of both parties in the hills, and they, too, will come to blows; but for the real battle we must look to the ground just described.

Of the positions of the Germans we know nothing. We suppose, however, that their ground of concentration, if they intend to meet the enemy on the left bank of the Rhine, will be immediately in front of Mayence, that is, at the other end of the gap. If not, they will remain on the right bank, from Bingen to Mannheim, concentrating either above or below Mayence as circumstances may require. As to Mayence, which in its old shape was open to bombardment by rifled artillery, the erection of a new line of detached forts, 4,000 to 5,000 yards from the ramparts of the town, seems to have made it pretty secure.

Everything points to the supposition that the Germans will be ready and willing to advance not more than two or three days later than the French. In that case it will be a battle like Solferino[18]—two armies deployed on their full front, marching to meet each other.

Much learned and over-skilful manoeuvring is not to be expected. With armies of such magnitude there is trouble enough to make them move simply to the front according to the

preconcerted plan. Whichever side attempts dangerous manoeuvres may find itself crushed by the plain forward movement of the masses of the enemy long before these manoeuvres can be developed.

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A military work on the Rhine fortresses, by Herr von Widdern, is much talked of just now at Berlin.[a] The author says that the Rhine from Bâle to the Murg is not fortified at all, and that the only defence of South Germany and Austria against a French attack in that direction is the strong fortress of Ulm, occupied since 1866 by a mixed force of Bavarians and Württembergers, amounting to 10,000 men. This force could in case of war be augmented to 25,000 men, and 25,000 more could be stationed in an entrenched camp within the walls of the fortress. Rastatt, which, it is expected, will present a formidable obstacle to the French advance, lies in a valley through which runs the river Murg. The defences of the town consist of three large forts, which command the surrounding country, and are united by walls. The southern and western forts, called "Leopold" and "Frederick," are on the left bank of the Murg; the northern fort, called "Louis," on the right bank, where there is also an entrenched camp capable of holding 25,000 men. Rastatt is four miles from the Rhine, and the intervening country is covered with woods, so that the fortress could not prevent an army from crossing at that point. The next fortress is Landau, which formerly consisted of three forts—one to the south, one to the east, and one to the north-west, separated from the town by marshes on the banks of the little river Queich. The southern and eastern forts have been recently abandoned, and the only one kept in a state of defence is now the north-western. The most important and the best situated fortress in this district is Germersheim, on the banks of the Rhine. It commands a considerable stretch of the river on both sides, and practically closes it to an enemy as far as Mayence and Coblenz. It would greatly facilitate the advance of troops into the Rhine Palatinate, as two or three bridges might be thrown across the river, besides the floating bridge which already exists there, under cover of its guns. It would also form a basis of operations for the

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[a] G. Cardinal von Widdern, *Der Rhein und die Rheinfeldzüge. Militär-geographische und Operations-Studien im Bereich des Rheins und der benachbarten deutschen und französischen Landschaften*, Berlin, 1869.—*Ed.*

left wing of an army posted on the line of the River Queich. Mayence, one of the most important of the Rhine fortresses, is commanded by some of the adjoining hills; this has rendered it necessary to multiply the fortifications in the town, and there is, in consequence, hardly room enough for a large garrison. The whole of the country between Mayence and Bingen is now strongly fortified, and between it and the mouth of the Main (on the opposite bank of the Rhine) there are three large entrenched camps. As to Coblenz, Herr von Widdern says that it would require a force six times as large as the garrison to besiege it with any prospect of success. An enemy would probably begin the attack by opening fire on Fort Alexander from the hill known as the Kuhkopf, where his troops would be sheltered by the woods. The author also describes the fortifications of Cologne and Wesel, but adds nothing to what is already known on the subject.

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—III[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1706, August 2, 1870]

At last the plan of campaign of the Prussians begins to emerge from the dark. It will be recollected that, although immense transports of troops have taken place on the right bank of the Rhine, from the east towards the west and south-west, very little was heard of concentrations in the immediate vicinity of the menaced frontier. The fortresses received strong reinforcements from the nearest troops. At Saarbrücken, 500 men of the 40th Infantry and three squadrons of the 7th Lancers (both 8th Corps) skirmished with the enemy; Bavarian Chasseurs and Baden dragoons continued the line of outposts to the Rhine. But no large masses of troops appear to have been placed immediately in rear of this curtain formed by a few light troops. Artillery had never been mentioned in any of the skirmishes. Trèves was quite empty of troops. On the other hand, we heard of large masses on the Belgian frontier; of 30,000 cavalry about Cologne (where the whole country on the left bank of the Rhine, to near Aix-la-Chapelle, abounds in forage); of 70,000 men before Mayence. All this seemed strange; it looked like an almost culpable distribution of troops, contrasted with the close concentration of the French within a couple of hours' march of the frontier. All at once, a few indications drop in from different quarters which seem to dispel the mystery.

The correspondent of the *Temps,* who had ventured as far as Trèves, witnessed on the 25th and 26th the passage of a large body of troops of all arms through that city towards the line of the Saar.[b] The weak garrison of Saarbrücken was considerably

[a] Written not later than July 31, 1870. Signed *Z.*—*Ed.*

[b] "On nous écrit de Luxembourg...", *Le Temps,* No. 3439, July 29, 1870.—*Ed.*

reinforced about the same time, probably from Coblenz, the head-quarters of the 8th Corps. The troops passing through Trèves must have belonged to some other corps, coming from the north across the Eifel. Finally, from a private source [19] we learn that the 7th Army Corps on the 27th was on its march from Aix-la-Chapelle, by Trèves, to the frontier.

Here, then, we have at least three army corps, or about 100,000 men, thrown on the line of the Saar. Two of these are the 7th and 8th, both forming part of the Army of the North under General Steinmetz (7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th corps). We may pretty safely assume that the whole of this army is by this time concentrated between Sarrebourg and Saarbrücken. If the 30,000 cavalry (more or less) were really in the neighbourhood of Cologne, they too must have marched across the Eifel and the Moselle towards the Saar. The whole of these dispositions would indicate that the main attack of the Germans will be made with their right wing, through the space between Metz and Saarlouis, towards the upper Nied valley. If the reserve cavalry *has* gone that way, this becomes a certainty.

This plan presupposes the concentration of the whole German army between the Vosges and the Moselle. The Army of the Centre (Prince Frederick Charles, with the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 12th corps) would have to take up a position either adjoining the left flank of Steinmetz or behind him as a reserve. The Army of the South (the Crown Prince,[a] with the 5th Corps, the Guards, and the South Germans) would form the left wing, somewhere about Zweibrücken. As to where all these troops are, and how they are to be transported to their positions, we know nothing. We only know that the 3rd Army Corps began passing through Cologne southwards by the railway on the *left* bank of the Rhine. But we may assume that the same hand which traced the dispositions by which from 100,000 to 150,000 men were rapidly concentrated on the Saar from distant and apparently divergent points, will also have traced similar converging lines of march for the rest of the army.[b]

This is, indeed, a bold plan, and is likely to prove as effective as any that could be devised. It is intended for a battle in which the German left, from Zweibrücken to near Saarlouis, maintain a purely defensive fight; while their right, advancing from Saarlouis and west of it, supported by the full reserves, attack the enemy in

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[a] Frederick William.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to H.C.B. Moltke.—*Ed.*

force and cut his communications with Metz by a flank movement of the whole of the reserve cavalry. If this plan succeeds, and the first great battle is won by the Germans, the French army risks not only being cut off from its nearest base—Metz and the Moselle—but also being driven to a position where the Germans will be between it and Paris.

The Germans, having their communication with Coblenz and Cologne perfectly safe, can afford to risk a defeat in this position; such a defeat would not be nearly so disastrous in its consequences to them. Still it is a daring plan. It would be extremely difficult to get a defeated army, especially the right wing, safe across the defiles of the Moselle and its tributaries. Many prisoners and a great portion of the artillery would undoubtedly be lost, and the reforming of the army under shelter of the Rhine fortresses would take a long time. It would be folly to adopt such a plan unless General Moltke were perfectly certain to have such overwhelming strength at his command that victory was almost undoubted, and, moreover, unless he knew that the French were not in a position to fall upon his troops while still converging from all sides to the position selected for the first battle. Whether this is really the case we shall probably know very soon—perhaps to-morrow, even.

In the meantime it is well to remember that these strategic plans can never be relied upon for the full effect of what is expected from them. There always occurs a hitch here and a hitch there; corps do not arrive at the exact moment when they are wanted; the enemy makes unexpected moves, or has taken unexpected precautions; and finally, hard, stubborn fighting, or the good sense of a general, often extricates the defeated army from the worst consequences a defeat can have—the loss of communications with its base.

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—IV[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1710, August 6, 1870]

On the 28th of July the Emperor reached Metz, and from the following morning he assumed the command of the Army of the Rhine. According to Napoleonic traditions, that date ought to have marked the beginning of active operations; but a week has passed, and we have not yet heard that the Army of the Rhine, as a body, has moved. On the 30th the small Prussian force at Saarbrücken was enabled to repel a French reconnaissance. On the 2nd of August the second division (General Bataille) of the 2nd Army Corps (General Frossard) took the heights south of Saarbrücken and shelled the enemy out of the town, but without attempting to pass the river and to storm the heights which on its northern bank command the town. Thus the line of the Saar had not been forced by this attack. Since then no further news of a French advance has been received, and so far the advantage gained by the affair of the 2nd is almost *nil.*

Now it can scarcely be doubted that when the Emperor left Paris for Metz his intention was to advance across the frontier at once. Had he done so he would have been able to disturb the enemy's arrangements very materially. On the 29th and 30th of July the German armies were still very far from being concentrated. The South Germans were still converging by rail and march towards the bridges of the Rhine. The Prussian reserve cavalry was passing in endless files through Coblenz and Ehrenbreitstein, marching southwards. The 7th Corps was between Aix-la-Chapelle and Trèves, far away from all railways. The 10th Corps was leaving Hanover, and the Guards were leaving Berlin by rail. A resolute

[a] Written not earlier than August 5, 1870.—*Ed.*

advance at that time could scarcely have failed to bring the French up to the outlying forts of Mayence, and to ensure them considerable advantages over the retiring columns of the Germans; perhaps even it might have enabled them to throw a bridge over the Rhine, and protect it by a bridgehead on the right bank. At all events, the war would have been carried into the enemy's country, and the moral effect upon the French troops must have been excellent.

Why, then, has no such forward movement taken place? For this good reason, that, if the French soldiers were ready, their commissariat was not. We need not go by any of the rumours coming from the German side; we have the evidence of Captain Jeannerod,[a] an old French officer, now correspondent of the *Temps* with the army. He distinctly states that the distribution of provisions for a campaign began on the 1st of August only; that the troops were short of field flasks, cooking tins, and other camping utensils; that the meat was putrid and the bread often musty. It will be said, we fear, that so far the army of the Second Empire has been beaten by the Second Empire itself. Under a *régime* which has to yield bounties to its supporters by all the old regular established means of jobbery, it cannot be expected that the system will stop at the intendance of the army. This war, according to M. Rouher's confession, was prepared long ago; the laying in of stores, especially equipments, was evidently one of the least conspicuous parts of the preparation; and yet at this very point such irregularities occur as to cause nearly a week's delay at the most critical period of the campaign.

Now, this week's delay made all the difference to the Germans. It gave them time to bring their troops to the front and to mass them in the positions selected for them. Our readers are aware that we suppose the whole of the German forces to be by this time concentrated on the left bank of the Rhine, more or less facing the French army.[b] All public and private reports received since Tuesday, when we supplied *The Times* with all the opinion it ever had on the subject, and which this morning it swears is its own,[c] tend to confirm this view. The three armies of Steinmetz, Prince Frederick Charles, and the Crown Prince represent a grand

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[a] G. Jeannerod, "Correspondances particulières du Temps. Stiring-Wendel, lundi 1er août", *Le Temps*, No. 3444, August 3, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 19-20.—*Ed.*

[c] "The first blow in the war...", *The Times*, No. 26821, August 5, 1870. This leader contains some ideas from the article "Notes on the War.—III" without giving any references to the source.—*Ed.*

total of thirteen army corps, or at least 430,000 to 450,000 men. The total forces opposed to them cannot much exceed, at a very liberal estimate, 330,000 to 350,000 drilled soldiers. If they are stronger, the excess must consist of undrilled and recently formed battalions. But the German forces are far from representing the total strength of Germany. Of field troops alone there are three army corps (the 1st, 6th, and 11th) not included in the above estimate. Where they may be we do not know. We know that they have left their garrisons, and we have traced regiments of the 11th Corps to the left bank of the Rhine and the Bavarian Palatinate. We also know for certain that there are now in Hanover, Bremen, and neighbourhood no troops but landwehr. This would lead to the conclusion that the greater part at least of these three corps had also been forwarded to the front, and in that case the numerical superiority of the Germans would be increased by from some forty to sixty thousand men. We should not be surprised if even a couple of landwehr divisions had been sent to take the field on the Saar; there are 210,000 men of the landwehr now quite ready, and 180,000 men in the fourth battalions, &c., of the line nearly ready, and some of these might be spared for the first decisive blow. Let no one suppose that these men exist, to any extent, on paper only. The mobilization of 1866 is there to prove that the thing has been done, and the present mobilization has again proved that there are more drilled men ready to march out than are wanted. The numbers look incredible; but even they do not exhaust the military strength of Germany.

Thus, at the end of the present week, the Emperor[a] finds himself face to face with a numerically superior force. And if he was willing but unable to move forward last week, he may be both unable and unwilling to advance now. That he is not unaware of the strength of his opponents is hinted at by the report from Paris that 250,000 Prussians are massed between Saarlouis and Neuenkirchen. What there is between Neuenkirchen and Kaiserslautern the Parisian telleth not. It is therefore possible that the inactivity of the French army up to Thursday has been partly caused by a change in the plan of campaign; that instead of attacking, the French intend to remain on the defensive, and to take advantage of the greatly increased strength which breech-loaders and rifled artillery give to an army awaiting an attack in an entrenched position. But if this be resolved upon, it will be a very disappointing commencement of the campaign for the French. To

[a] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

sacrifice half Lorraine and Alsace without a pitched battle—and we doubt that any good position for such a large army can be found nearer the frontier than about Metz—is a serious undertaking for the Emperor.

Against such a move of the French the Germans would develop the plan explained before. They would attempt to entangle their opponents into a great battle before Metz could be reached; they would push forward between Saarlouis and Metz. They would try in all cases to outflank the French entrenched position, and to interrupt its communications towards the rear.

An army of 300,000 men requires a great deal of feeding, and could not afford to have its lines of supply interrupted even for a few days. Thus it might be forced to come out and fight in the open, and then the advantage of position would be lost. Whatever may be done, we may be certain that something must be done soon. Three-quarters of a million of men cannot long remain concentrated on a space of fifty miles square. The impossibility of feeding such bodies of men will compel either one side or the other to move.

To conclude. We repeat that we start from the supposition that both French and Germans have brought up every available man to the front to take part in the first great battle. In that case, our opinion still is that the Germans will have a numerical superiority sufficient to ensure them the victory—barring great mistakes on their part. We are confirmed in this supposition by all reports, public and private. But it is manifest that all this does not amount to absolute certainty. We have to infer from indications which may be deceptive. We do not know what dispositions may be taken even while we are writing; and it is impossible to forecast what blunders or what strokes of genius may be displayed by the commanders on either side.

Our last observations to-day shall be upon the storming of the lines of Wissembourg in Alsace by the Germans.[20] The troops engaged on their side belonged to the Prussian 5th and 11th, and Bavarian 2nd corps. We have thus direct confirmation not only of the 11th Corps but of all the main forces of the Crown Prince being in the Palatinate. The regiment mentioned in the report[a] as "the King's Grenadier Guards" is the 7th or 2nd West Prussian regiment of grenadiers, which, as well as the 58th regiment, belongs to the 5th Corps. The Prussian system is always to engage

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[a] "Niederrothenbrach, Thursday, Aug. 4, 5.55 P.M.", *The Times*, No. 26821, August 5, 1870.—*Ed.*

the whole of an army corps before troops from another corps are brought up. Now, here, troops from three corps, Prussians and Bavarians, are employed for a piece of work which one corps, at most, could have performed. This looks as if the presence of three corps menacing Alsace was to be impressed upon the French. Moreover, an attack up the valley of the Rhine would be stopped by Strasbourg, and a flank march through the Vosges would find the passes blocked by Bitche, Phalsbourg, Petite Pierre, little fortresses sufficient to stop the high roads. We expect that while three or four brigades of the three German corps attacked Wissembourg, the mass of these corps would be marching by Landau and Pirmasens to Zweibrücken, while, if the first were successful, a couple of MacMahon's divisions would be marching in the opposite direction towards the Rhine. There they would be perfectly harmless, as any invasion of the Palatinate, in the plain, would be arrested by Landau and Germersheim.

This affair at Wissembourg was evidently conducted with such a superiority of numbers as made success almost certain. Its moral effect, as the first serious engagement of the war, must necessarily be great, especially as the storming of an entrenched position is always considered a difficult matter. That the Germans should have driven the French out of entrenched lines, at the point of the bayonet, in spite of rifled artillery, mitrailleurs, and Chassepôts,[21] will tell on both armies. It is undoubtedly the first instance where the bayonet has been successful against the breech-loader, and on this account the action will remain memorable.

For this very reason it will derange Napoleon's plans. This is a piece of news which cannot be given to the French army even in a highly diluted form, unless accompanied by reports of success in other quarters. And it cannot be kept secret for more than twelve hours at most. We may expect, therefore, the Emperor will set his columns in motion to look out for this success, and it will be wonderful if we do not soon have some account of French victories. But at the same time, probably, the Germans will move, and we shall have the heads of the opposite columns coming into contact at more places than one. To-day, or at latest to-morrow, ought to bring on the first general engagement.

# THE PRUSSIAN VICTORIES[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1711, August 8, 1870]

The rapid action of the German Third Army throws more and more light upon Moltke's plans. The concentration of this army in the Palatinate must have taken place by the bridges of Mannheim and Germersheim, and perhaps by intermediate military pontoon bridges. Before entering upon the roads across the Hardt from Landau and Neustadt westwards, the troops massed in the Rhine valley were available for an attack on the French right wing. Such an attack, with the superior forces in hand, and with Landau close to the rear, was perfectly safe, and might lead to great results. If it succeeded in drawing a considerable body of French troops away from their main body into the Rhine valley, in defeating it and driving it up the valley towards Strasbourg, these forces would be out of the way for the general battle, while the German Third Army would still be in a position to take part in it, being so much nearer to the main body of the French. At any rate, an attack upon the French right would mislead them if the chief German attack, as we still believe, in spite of the contrary opinion of a host of military and unmilitary quidnuncs, were intended to be made on the French left.

The sudden and successful attack upon Wissembourg shows that the Germans possessed information as to the positions of the French which encouraged such a manoeuvre. The French, in their haste for a *revanche,* ran headlong into the trap. Marshal MacMahon immediately concentrated his corps towards Wissembourg, and to complete this manoeuvre he is reported to have required two days.[b] But the Crown Prince[c] was not likely to give him

[a] Written on August 8, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] French official report of August 6, 1870, datelined "Metz, Aug. 6, 1.20 P.M.", *The Times,* No. 26823, August 8, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] Frederick William.—*Ed.*

that time. He followed up his advantage at once, and attacked him on Saturday near Woerth on the Sauer, about fifteen miles south-west of Wissembourg.[22] MacMahon's position is described by himself as a strong one. Nevertheless, by five o'clock in the afternoon he was driven out of it, and was supposed by the Crown Prince to be in full retreat upon Bitche. By this means he would have saved himself from being driven excentrically upon Strasbourg, and maintained his communications with the mass of the army. By later French telegrams, however, it appears that he has really retreated towards Nancy, and that his head-quarters are now at Saverne.[a]

The two French corps sent to resist this German advance consisted of seven divisions of infantry, of whom we suppose at least five to have been engaged. It is possible that the whole of them may have come up successively during the fight, but were no more able to restore the balance than the successive Austrian brigades as they appeared on the battle-field of Magenta.[23] At any rate, we may safely assume that from one-fifth to one-fourth of the total strength of the French was here defeated. The troops on the other side were probably the same whose advanced guard had won Wissembourg—the Second Bavarian, the Fifth and Eleventh North German corps. Of these, the fifth consists of two Posen, five Silesian and one Westphalian regiments, the Eleventh of one Pomeranian, four Hesse-Cassel and Nassau, and three Thuringian regiments, so that troops of the most varied parts of Germany were engaged.

What surprises us most in these passages of arms is the strategical and tactical part played by each army. It is the very reverse of what, from tradition, might have been expected. The Germans attack; the French defend themselves. The Germans act rapidly and in large masses, and they handle them with ease; the French own to having their troops, after a fortnight's concentration, in such a dispersed state that they require two days to bring together two army corps. Consequently they are beaten in detail. They might be Austrians, to judge from the way they move their troops. How is this to be accounted for? Simply by the necessities of the Second Empire. The sting of Wissembourg was enough to arouse all Paris, and, no doubt, to disturb the equanimity of the army too. A *revanche* must be had: MacMahon is sent off at once with two corps to effect it; the movement is palpably false, but, no matter, it must be made, and it is made—with what effect we have

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[a] "Metz, Aug. 7, 12.2 P.M.", *The Times*, No. 26823, August 8, 1870.—*Ed.*

seen. If Marshal MacMahon cannot be strengthened so as to face the Crown Prince again, the latter, by a march of some fifteen miles to the southward, may seize the rail from Strasbourg to Nancy and push on to Nancy, turning by this move any line the French could hope to hold in advance of Metz. It is the dread of this, no doubt, that leads the French to abandon the Sarre district. Or, leaving the pursuit of MacMahon to his advanced guard, he may file off to his right by the hills at once towards Pirmasens and Zweibrücken, to effect a formal junction with the left of Prince Frederick Charles, who has all the while been somewhere between Mayence and Saarbrücken, while the French persisted in sending him to Trèves. How the defeat of General Frossard's corps at Forbach,[24] followed, as it seems, by the advance of the Prussians to St. Avold yesterday, will affect his course we cannot determine.

If the Second Empire absolutely required a victory after Wissembourg, it now requires one, in a much higher degree, after Woerth and Forbach. If Wissembourg was enough to disarrange all previous plans with regard to the right wing, the battles of Saturday necessarily upset all arrangements made for the whole army. The French army has lost all initiative. Its movements are dictated less by military considerations than by political necessities. Here are 300,000 men almost within sight of the enemy. If their movements are to be ruled, not by what is done in the enemy's camp, but by what happens or may happen in Paris, they are half beaten already. Nobody, of course, can foretell with certainty the result of the general battle which is now impending if not going on; but this much we may say, that another week of such strategy as Napoleon III has shown since Thursday[a] is alone sufficient to destroy the best and largest army in the world.

The impression gained from the Prussian accounts[b] of these battles will only be deepened by the telegrams from the Emperor Napoleon. At midnight on Saturday he sent off the bare facts:—

"Marshal MacMahon has lost a battle. General Frossard has been compelled to fall back."[c]

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[a] August 4.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the Prussian telegrams published under the common title "Great Prussian Victories", *The Times*, No. 26823, August 8, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] Napoleon III's telegram of August 7, 1870, datelined "Metz, Aug. 7, 12.30 A.M.", *The Times*, No. 26823, August 8, 1870.—*Ed.*

Three hours later came the news that his communications with Marshal MacMahon were interrupted.[a] At six on Sunday morning the serious meaning of General Frossard's defeat was virtually acknowledged by the confession that it was sustained as far west of Saarbrücken as Forbach, and the impossibility of immediately arresting the Prussian advance was further conceded in the announcement "the troops, which had found themselves divided, are concentrated on Metz."[b] The next telegram is hard to interpret.

"The retreat will be effected in good order"?[c]

What retreat? Not Marshal MacMahon's, for the communications with him were still interrupted. Not General Frossard's, for the Emperor goes on to say, "There is no news from General Frossard." And if at 8.25 A.M. the Emperor could only speak in the future tense of a retreat to be effected by troops of whose position he knew nothing, what value must be assigned to the telegram of eight hours' earlier, in which he says, in the present tense, "the retreat is being effected in good order." All these later messages prolong the note struck in the "Tout peut se rétablir"[d] of the first. The victories of the Prussians were too serious to allow of a resort to the tactics which the Emperor would naturally have adopted. He could not venture to conceal the truth in the prospect of being able to efface the effect of it by a contemporaneous account of a later battle with a different result. It was impossible to spare the pride of the French people by disguising from them that two of their armies had been worsted, and therefore the only resource left was to throw himself on the passionate desire to retrieve their losses which the news of similar disasters has before now generated in French hearts. Private telegrams no doubt sketched out for the Empress[e] and the Ministers the line their public utterances were to take, or more probably the actual text of their respective proclamations was supplied to them from Metz. From both these we gather that whatever may be the temper of the French people, every one in authority, from the Emperor

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[a] Napoleon III's telegram of August 7, 1870, datelined "Metz, Sunday, 3.30 A.M.", *The Times*, No. 26823, August 8, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Napoleon III's telegram of August 7, 1870, datelined "Metz, Aug. 7, 6 A.M.", *The Times*, No. 26823, August 8, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] Napoleon III's telegram of August 7, 1870, datelined "Metz, Aug. 7, 8.25 A.M.", *The Times*, No. 26823, August 8, 1870.—*Ed.*

[d] Not all is lost.—*Ed.*

[e] E. Montijo.—*Ed.*

downward, is deeply dispirited, than which of itself nothing could be more significant. Paris has been declared in a state of siege[a]—an indisputable indication of what may follow upon another Prussian victory, and the Ministerial proclamation ends,

"Let us fight with vigour, and the country will be saved."[b]

Saved, Frenchmen may perhaps ask themselves, from what? From an invasion undertaken by the Prussians in order to avert a French invasion of Germany. If the Prussians had been defeated and a similar exhortation had come from Berlin, its meaning would have been clear, since every fresh victory of French arms would have meant a fresh annexation of German territory to France. But if the Prussian Government are well advised a French defeat will only mean that the attempt to prevent Prussia from pursuing her German policy undisturbed has failed, and we can hardly believe that the levy *en masse,* upon which the French Ministers are said to be deliberating,[c] will be available for the renewal of an offensive war.

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[a] On August 7, 1870.—*Ed*

[b] [Proclamation of the Council of Ministers to the people of Paris, August 6,] *The Times,* No. 26823, August 8, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] "Paris, August 8", *The Times,* No. 26823, August 8, 1870.—*Ed.*

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—V[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1712, August 9, 1870]

Saturday, the 6th of August, was the critical day for the first phase of the campaign. The first despatches from the German side, by their extreme modesty, rather hid than exposed the importance of the results gained on that day.[b] It is only through the later and fuller accounts, and by some rather awkward admissions in the French reports,[c] that we are enabled to judge of the total change in the military situation accomplished on Saturday.

While MacMahon was defeated on the eastern slope of the Vosges, Frossard's three divisions, and at least one regiment of Bazaine's corps, the 69th, in all forty-two battalions, were driven from the heights south of Saarbrücken and on beyond Forbach, by Kameke's division of the 7th (Westphalian), and the two divisions of Barnekow and Stülpnagel, of the 8th (Rhenish) Corps, in all thirty-seven battalions. As the German battalions are stronger, the numbers engaged appear to have been pretty equal, but the French had the advantage of position. There were to the left of Frossard the seven infantry divisions of Bazaine and Ladmirault, and to his rear the two divisions of the Guards. With the exception of one regiment, as above stated, not a man of all these came up to support the unlucky Frossard. He had to fall back after a smart defeat, and is now in full retreat upon Metz; and so are Bazaine,

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[a] Written on August 9, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] See the reports: "Mayence, Sunday, Aug. 7, 6 A.M.", and "Soultz, Aug. 7", *The Times,* No. 26823, August 8, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] See the reports entitled "Great Prussian Victories" and the French official report "Metz, Aug. 7, 12.2 P.M.", *The Times,* No. 26823, August 8, 1870.—*Ed.*

Ladmirault, and the Guards. The Germans are in pursuit and were on Sunday[a] in St. Avold, with all Lorraine open to them as far as Metz.

MacMahon, De Failly, and Canrobert, in the meantime, are retreating, not upon Bitche, as was at first stated, but upon Nancy; and MacMahon's headquarters were on Sunday at Saverne. These three corps, therefore, are not only defeated, but also driven back in a direction divergent from the line of retreat of the rest of the army. The strategical advantage aimed at in the attack of the Crown Prince,[b] and explained by us yesterday,[c] appears thus to have been attained, at least partially. While the Emperor retires due west, MacMahon goes much more towards the south, and will scarcely have reached Lunéville at the time the other four corps will be massed under the shelter of Metz. But from Sarreguemines to Lunéville is only a few miles farther than from Saverne to Lunéville. And it is not to be expected that, while Steinmetz follows up the Emperor and the Crown Prince tries to hold fast MacMahon in the defiles of the Vosges, Prince Frederick Charles, who was on Sunday at Blieskastel, with his advanced guard somewhere near Sarreguemines, should look on quietly. The whole of Northern Lorraine is a splendid cavalry country, and Lunéville in time of peace was always the head-quarters of a large portion of the French cavalry quartered in that neighbourhood. With the great superiority, both as to quantity and quality, in cavalry on the side of the Germans, it is difficult to suppose that they will not at once launch large masses of that arm towards Lunéville, intending to intercept the communications between MacMahon and the Emperor, destroy the railway bridges on the Strasbourg-Nancy line, and, if possible, the bridges of the Meurthe. It is even possible that they may succeed in interposing a body of infantry between the two separated bodies of the French army, compel MacMahon to retreat still farther south, and to take a still more circuitous route to restore his connection with the rest of the army. That something of that sort has already been done seems clear from the Emperor's admission that on Saturday his communications with MacMahon were interrupted[d]; and the fear of more serious consequences is ominously expressed in the report

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[a] On August 7, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick William.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 27-28.—*Ed.*

[d] Napoleon III's telegram of August 7, 1870, datelined "Metz, Sunday, 3.30 A.M.", *The Times*, No. 26823, August 8, 1870.—*Ed.*

of a removal of the French head-quarters to Châlons being contemplated.[a]

Four of the eight corps of the French army have thus been more or less completely defeated, and always in detail, while of one of them, the Seventh (Félix Douay), the whereabouts is quite unknown. The strategy which rendered possible such blunders is worthy of the Austrians in their most helpless times. It is not Napoleon, it is Beaulieu, Mack, Gyulay, and the like of them, we are reminded of. Imagine Frossard having to fight at Forbach all day, while to his left, and not more than ten miles or so from the line of the Saar, seven divisions were looking on! This would be unaccountable, unless we suppose that there were facing them German forces sufficient to prevent them from either supporting Frossard or assisting him by an independent attack. And this, the only possible exculpation, is admissible only if, as we have always said, the decisive attack of the Germans was intended to be made by their extreme right. The hasty retreat upon Metz again confirms this view; it looks uncommonly like a timely attempt to withdraw from a position where the communications with Metz were already threatened. What German troops there may have been facing, and perhaps outflanking, Ladmirault and Bazaine, we do not know; but we must not forget that of Steinmetz's seven or more divisions only three have been engaged.

In the meantime another North German corps has turned up—the Sixth or Upper Silesian. It passed through Cologne last Thursday,[b] and will now be either with Steinmetz or Frederick Charles, whom *The Times* persists in placing on the extreme right, at Trèves,[c] in the same number which contains the telegram that he has moved from Homburg to Blieskastel.[d] The superiority of the Germans, both as to numbers, morale, and strategical position, must now be such that, for a time, they may with impunity do almost anything they like. If the Emperor intends to keep his four army corps in the entrenched camp at Metz—and he has but the choice between that and an uninterrupted retreat upon Paris—that need not stop the advance of the Germans any more than the attempt of Benedek, in 1866, to reassemble his army under shelter of Olmütz arrested the Prussian advance upon Vienna.[25] Benedek!

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[a] "Metz, Aug. 7, 1.20 P.M.", *The Times*, No. 26824, August 9, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] On August 4, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] "It requires something more than human foresight...", *The Times*, No. 26823, August 8, 1870.—*Ed.*

[d] "Mayence, Sunday, Aug. 7, 6 A.M.", *The Times*, No. 26823, August 8, 1870.—*Ed.*

What a comparison for the conqueror of Magenta and Solferino! And yet it is more to the point than any other. Like Benedek, the Emperor had his troops massed in a position from which he could move in any direction, and that a full fortnight before the enemy was concentrated. Like Benedek, Louis Napoleon managed to have corps after corps beaten in detail by superior numbers or superior generalship. But here, we are afraid, the likeness ceases. Benedek had, after a week of daily defeats, strength enough left him for the supreme effort of Sadowa. To all appearances Napoleon has his troops separated, almost hopelessly, after two days' engagements, and cannot even afford to try a general action.

There will now, we suppose, be an end to the intended expedition of troops to the Baltic, if that was ever more than a feint. Every battalion will be wanted on the eastern frontier. Out of the 376 battalions of the French army, 300 were in the six corps of the line and one of Guards which we know stood between Metz and Strasbourg. The seventh corps of the line (Douay) might have been sent either to the Baltic or to join the main army, which accounts for forty more. The rest, thirty-six battalions, can hardly have been sufficient for Algeria and various other duties in the interior. What resources has the Emperor to draw upon for reinforcements? The 100 fourth battalions now in formation and the Garde Mobile. But both of these consist, the first mostly, the second altogether, of raw recruits. By what time the fourth battalions may be ready to march we do not know; they will have to march whether ready or not. What the Garde Mobile is at present we saw last week in the camp of Châlons.[26] Both are good material for soldiers, no doubt, but not soldiers yet; not yet troops to withstand the shock of men who are becoming used to the taking of mitrailleurs. On the other hand, in about ten days, the Germans will have 190,000 to 200,000 of the fourth battalions, &c., to draw upon—the flower of their army, besides at least an equal number of landwehr, all fit for duty in the field.

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—VI[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1714, August 11, 1870]

There is no doubt now that scarcely ever was there a war undertaken with such an utter disregard of the ordinary rules of prudence as the Napoleonic "military promenade to Berlin."[b] A war for the Rhine was Napoleon's last and most telling card; but at the same time its failure implied the downfall of the Second Empire. This was well understood in Germany. The constant expectation of a French war was one of the chief considerations which made very many Germans acquiesce in the changes effected in 1866. If Germany had been dismembered in one sense, it had been strengthened in another; the military organization of North Germany gave a far greater guarantee of safety than that of the larger but sleepy old Confederation.[27] This new military organization was calculated to place under arms, in organized battalions, squadrons, and batteries, in eleven days, 552,000 men of the line and 205,000 of the landwehr; and in a fortnight or three weeks more another 187,000 men of the reserve *(Ersatztruppen)* fully fit to take the field. There was no mystery about this. The whole plan, showing the distribution of this force in the various corps, the districts from which each battalion, &c., was to be raised, had often been published. Moreover, the mobilization of 1866 had shown that this was not an organization existing on paper only. Every man was duly registered; and it was well known that in the office of every district commander of the landwehr the orders for calling out each man were ready, and awaited but the filling up of the date. For the French Emperor,[c] however, these enormous

[a] Written between August 9 and 11, 1870.—*Ed.*
[b] See "Nemeßis", *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 221, August 9, 1870.—*Ed.*
[c] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

forces existed on paper only. The whole force he brought together to open the campaign with were, at the outside, 360,000 men of the Army of the Rhine, and 30,000 to 40,000 more for the Baltic expedition, say 400,000 men in all. With such a disproportion of numbers, and with the long time it takes to get the French new formations (fourth battalions) ready for the field, his only hope of success was a sudden attack, while the Germans were still in the midst of their mobilization. We have seen how this opportunity slipped away; how even the second chance, that of a push forward to the Rhine, was neglected; and we shall now point out another blunder.

The disposition of the French about the time of the declaration of war was excellent. It was evidently part and parcel of a long-considered plan of campaign. Three corps at Thionville, St. Avold, and Bitche in the first line, immediately on the frontier; two corps at Metz and Strasbourg, in a second line; two corps in reserve about Nancy, and an eighth corps at Belfort. With the aid of the railways, all these troops could be massed in a few days for an attack either across the Saar from Lorraine, or across the Rhine from Alsace, striking either north or east as might be required. But this disposition was essentially one for attack. For defence it was absolutely faulty. The very first condition of a disposition of an army of defence is this: to have your advanced troops so far in front of your main body that you receive the news of the enemy's attack in time to concentrate your troops before he arrives upon you. Suppose it takes you one day's march to get your wings to close on your centre, then your advanced guard should be at least one day's march in front of your centre. Now, here, the three corps of Ladmirault, Frossard, and De Failly, and afterwards a portion of MacMahon's too, were close upon the frontier, and yet spread upon a line from Wissembourg to Sierck—at least ninety miles. To draw in the wings on the centre would have required fully two days' march; and yet, even when the Germans were known to be within a few miles in front, no steps were taken either to shorten the length of front, or to push forward advanced guards to such a distance as would secure timely advice of an impending attack. Is it to be wondered at that the several corps were defeated by piecemeal?

Then came the blunder of posting one division of MacMahon's east of the Vosges, at Wissembourg, in a position inviting an attack with superior forces. Douay's defeat brought on MacMahon's next blunder in trying to retrieve the fight east of the Vosges, thereby separating the right wing still more from the centre, and laying

open his line of communications with it. While the right wing (MacMahon's, and portions at least of Failly's and Canrobert's corps) was crushed at Woerth, the centre (Frossard, and two divisions of Bazaine, as it now appears) were severely beaten before Saarbrücken.[28] The rest of the troops were too far away to come up to assistance. Ladmirault was still near Bouzonville, the rest of Bazaine's men and the Guards were about Boulay, the mass of Canrobert's troops turned up at Nancy, part of De Failly's were lost sight of completely, and Félix Douay, we now find, on the lst of August was at Altkirch, in the extreme south of Alsace, nearly 120 miles from the battle-field of Woerth, and probably with but imperfect means of railway conveyance. The whole arrangement indicates nothing but hesitation, indecision, vacillation, and that in the most decisive moment of the campaign.

And what idea were the soldiers allowed to have of their opponents? It was all very well for the Emperor at the last moment to tell his men that they would have to face "one of the best armies of Europe;"[a] but that went for nothing after the lessons of contempt for the Prussians which had been driven into them for years. We cannot show this better than by the evidence of Captain Jeannerod, of the *Temps,* whom we have quoted before,[b] and who left the army but three years ago. He was taken prisoner by the Prussians at the "baptism of fire" affair, and spent two days among them, during which time he saw the greater portion of their Eighth Army Corps. He was astounded to find such a difference between his idea of them and the reality. This is his first impression on being brought to their camp:—

Once in the forest, there was a complete change. There were outposts under the trees, battalions massed along the roads; and let nobody try to deceive the public in a manner unworthy of our country and of our present circumstances: from the first step I had recognized the characters which announce an excellent army *(une belle et bonne armée)* as well as a nation powerfully organized for war. In what consisted these characteristics? In everything. The demeanour of the men, the subordination of their smallest movements to chiefs protected by a discipline far stronger than ours, the gaiety of some, the serious and determined look of others, the patriotism to which most of them gave vent, the thorough and constant zeal of the officers, and, above all, the moral worth—of which we may envy them—of the non-commissioned officers; that is what struck me at once, and what has never been from under my eyes from the two days I passed in the midst of that army and in that country where signboards placed from distance to distance, with the

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[a] Napoleon III's appeal to the army "Au quartier impérial de Metz, le 28 juillet 1870", *Le Temps,* No. 3440, July 30, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 23.—*Ed.*

numbers of the local battalions of the landwehr, recall the effort of which it is capable in a moment of danger and of ambition.[a]

On the German side it was quite different. The military qualities of the French were certainly not underrated. The concentration of German troops took place rapidly but cautiously. Every available man was brought to the front; and now, the First North German Army Corps having turned up at Saarbrücken in Prince Frederick Charles's army, it is certain that every man, horse, and gun of the 550,000 troops of the line has been brought to the front, there to be joined by the South Germans. And the effect of such an enormous numerical superiority has been, so far, increased by superior generalship.

[a] G. Jeannerod, "Correspondances particulières du Temps. Metz, vendredi 5 août", *Le Temps*, No. 3448, August 7, 1870. See also Engels' letter to Marx of August 10, 1870 (present edition, Vol. 44).—*Ed.*

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—VII[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1716, August 13, 1870]

The public have been waiting all this week for that great battle before Metz which a French bulletin[b] described as impending; and yet not one of our military critics has thought fit to explain that this impending battle was nothing but a tub thrown out to that unruly whale, the people of Paris, to play with. A battle before Metz! Why should the French desire it? They have collected under shelter of that fortress four corps; they are trying to draw towards it some of Canrobert's four divisions; they may hope soon to learn that the remaining three corps, of MacMahon, De Failly, and Douay, have reached the Moselle at Nancy and found shelter behind it. Why should they court a pitched battle before all their army is united again, when the forts of Metz protect them from an attack? And why should the Germans break their heads in an unprepared assault against these forts? If the whole French army was united under the ramparts of Metz, then the French might be expected to sally forth east of the Moselle and offer battle in front of their stronghold, but not till then. But that has yet to be accomplished, and it is still doubtful whether it ever will be.

On Sunday last[c] MacMahon was compelled to leave Saverne, which was occupied the same night by the Germans. He had with him the remnants of his own corps, of one division (Conseil-Dumesnil's) of Douay's corps, and, besides, one division of De Failly's, which had covered his retreat. On the same evening the

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[a] Written between August 11 and 13, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] "Metz, 7 août, 4 h. 30 du matin. Le major général au ministre de l'intérieur", *Le Temps*, No. 3449, August 8, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] On August 7.—*Ed.*

German First and Second armies were in advance of Forbach and nearly in St. Avold. Both these places are nearer to Nancy than Saverne: they are considerably nearer than Saverne to Pont-à-Mousson and Dieulouard, places on the Moselle between Nancy and Metz. Now, when the Germans must, as soon as possible, secure or construct a passage across that river, and that *above* Metz (for various pretty evident reasons); when they are nearer to the river than MacMahon, and thus by hurrying on may prevent his reunion with Bazaine; when they have troops enough and to spare—is it not almost evident that they will attempt something of the sort? Their cavalry, as we predicted it would, is already scouring the whole of Northern Lorraine,[a] and must have ere now come into contact with MacMahon's right; it had passed, on Wednesday, Gros-Tenquin, which is only about twenty-five miles from the direct road between Saverne and Nancy. They will, therefore, know perfectly where he is and operate accordingly, and we shall soon learn at what point between Nancy (or, rather, Frouard) and Metz they have struck the Moselle.

This is the reason why we have not heard of any fights since last Saturday's. The soldiers' legs are doing all the work just now; it is a race between MacMahon and Frederick Charles, which of them shall first get across the river. And if Frederick Charles should win this race, then we may expect the French to issue from Metz, not to offer battle in sight of its ramparts, but to defend the passage of the Moselle; which, indeed, may be done by an attack either on the right or the left bank. The two pontoon trains captured at Forbach may have to do duty very soon.

Of De Failly we hear nothing definite. It is, indeed, stated in a Metz bulletin that he has rejoined the army.[b] But which? Bazaine's or MacMahon's? Evidently the latter, if there be any truth in the whole report; for between Bazaine and him were the heads of the German columns ever since he got lost. Douay's remaining two divisions—he was still on the Swiss frontier, near Basel, on the 4th of August—must, by the German advance upon Strasbourg, be cut off from the rest of the army for the present; they can only rejoin it by Vesoul. Of Canrobert's troops we find, all at once, at least one division (Martimprey's) in Paris, facing, not the Germans, but the Republicans. The 25th, 26th, and 28th regiments, which belong to it, are mentioned as having been employed on Tuesday among the troops protecting the Corps Législatif.[29] The rest

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[a] See this volume, p. 33.—*Ed.*

[b] "Metz, 8 août, 10 h. soir", *Le Temps*, No. 3451, August 10, 1870.—*Ed.*

should now be in Metz, raising the army there to fifteen divisions (infantry), three of which, however, are completely shattered by their defeat at Spicheren.

As to Spicheren, it is wrong to say that the French were in that engagement crushed by superior numbers. We have now a tolerably full report of Generals Steinmetz[a] and Alvensleben,[b] which shows pretty clearly what troops were engaged on the German side. The attack was made by the 14th division, supported by our old friends, the 40th regiment—in all fifteen battalions. They alone, of infantry, fought for six hours against the three divisions, or thirty-nine battalions, which Frossard brought up successively. When they were nearly crushed, but still held the heights of Spicheren, which they had stormed in the beginning of the fight, the 5th division of the 3rd or Brandenburg Corps came up, and at least three out of its four regiments took part in the fight—all in all, either twenty-four or twenty-seven battalions of Germans. They drove the French from their position, and it was only after the retreat had commenced that the head of the 13th division, which had turned the French right by the valley of the Rossel, reached the field of battle, fell upon Forbach, and turned an orderly retreat into a rout by cutting off the direct road to Metz. The Germans at the close of the fight had another division (the 6th) ready to engage, and, indeed, slightly engaged; but at the same time two French divisions, Montaudon's and Castagny's (both of Bazaine's), had come up, and the 69th regiment, which forms part of the latter, had suffered severely. Thus, if at Wissembourg and Woerth the French were crushed by superior masses, they were beaten by inferior numbers at Spicheren. As to their common report that they were outnumbered,[c] it is not to be forgotten that individual soldiers in a battle cannot possibly judge of numbers, and that it is the common assertion of all beaten armies. Besides, it should not be forgotten that the solid qualities of the German army are only now beginning to be recognized. We have it officially from the French head-quarters that the German fire is much superior in steadiness and precision to the French,[d] and MacMahon insists that the

[a] K. F. Steinmetz, "Mainz, 7 Aug. Vorm. 9 Uhr", *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 222, August 10, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Alvensleben, "Mainz, 7 Aug. Vorm. 9 Uhr", *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 222, August 10, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] See the report "Paris, Aug. 7, 10 A.M.", *The Times*, No. 26823, August 8, 1870.—*Ed.*

[d] Official report from the French head-quarters of August 10, 1870 "The Battle of Woerth", *The Times*, No. 26826, August 11, 1870.—*Ed.*

French have no chance against the Germans in woods, because these latter know so much better how to take advantage of shelter. As to the cavalry, here is what Jeannerod says in Thursday's *Temps*:—

"Their cavalry is much superior to ours, the privates are better mounted than many officers in our army, and they ride better. ... I have seen one of their Cuirassier regiments which was something splendid.... Their horses, moreover, are far less weighted than ours. The Cuirassiers I saw carried less weight on their big steeds than we do on our small Arabs and South of France horses."[a]

He also praises the great knowledge the officers have of the ground, not only in their own country, but also in France. But no wonder. Every lieutenant is provided with excellent copies of the French ordnance maps, while the French officers are supplied only with a ridiculous map *(une carte dérisoire)* of the seat of war. And so forth. It would have been good for the French army if only one such sincere reporter had been sent to Germany before the war.

[a] G. Jeannerod, "Correspondances particulières du Temps. Metz, lundi, midi", *Le Temps*, No. 3452, August 11, 1870.—*Ed.*

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—VIII[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1717, August 15, 1870]

Where is MacMahon? The German horse, in their raid up to the gates of Lunéville and Nancy, appear not to have met with him; otherwise we should have heard of encounters. On the other hand, if he had arrived in safety at Nancy, and thus restored his communications with the army at Metz, such a consoling fact would certainly have been announced at once from the French head-quarters. The only conclusion we can draw from this absolute silence regarding him is this, that he has thought it too dangerous to follow the direct road from Saverne to Lunéville and Nancy; and that, in order not to expose his right flank to the enemy, he has taken a more circuitous route, farther south, passing the Moselle at Bayon or even higher up. If this surmise be correct, there would be very little chance of his ever reaching Metz; and, in that case, it must have been a question for the Emperor or whoever commands at Metz, whether the army had not better at once retreat to Châlons-sur-Marne, the nearest point where a junction with MacMahon may be effected. We are therefore disposed to accept the report of a general retreat of the French line in that direction.

In the meantime, we hear of tremendous reinforcements for the French army. The new Minister of War[b] assures the Chamber that in four days two army corps, 35,000 men each, are to be sent to the front.[c] Where are they? We know that the eight corps of the Army of the Rhine, and the troops intended for the Baltic, with

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[a] Written on August 14 or 15, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Comte de Palikao.—*Ed.*

[c] Palikao's speech in the Corps Législatif on August 12, 1870, *The Times,* No. 26829, August 15, 1870.—*Ed.*

the garrison of Algeria, fully accounted for every battalion of the French army, including the marines. We know that 40,000 men, from Canrobert's corps and from the Baltic expedition, are in Paris. We know from General Dejean's speech in the Chamber that the fourth battalions, so far from being ready, required filling up, and that this was to be done by drafting into them men from the Garde Mobile.[a] Where, then, are these 70,000 men to come from? especially if, as is but likely, General Montauban de Palikao will not part with the 40,000 men in Paris as long as he can help it. Yet, if there is any meaning in what he said, these two corps must mean the troops at Paris and Canrobert's corps, which hitherto has always been counted as part of the Army of the Rhine; and in that case, the only real reinforcement being the garrison of Paris, the grand total in the field will be raised from twenty-five to twenty-eight divisions, seven at least of which have suffered severely.

Then we hear that General Trochu is named chief of the 12th Corps forming at Paris, and General Vendez (?) chief of the 13th Corps forming at Lyons. The army consisted hitherto of the Guards, and corps Nos. 1 to 7. Of Nos. 8, 9, 10, and 11 we have never heard; now we are suddenly treated to Nos. 12 and 13. We have seen that there are no troops existing out of which any of these corps could be formed; always excepting No. 12, if that means the garrison of Paris. It seems a poor trick to raise public confidence by creating on paper imaginary armies; yet there is no other interpretation than this to be put on the alleged establishment of five army corps, four of which have been hitherto non-existent.

No doubt attempts are being made to organize a fresh army; but what materials are there for it? There is, firstly, the gendarmerie, out of which a regiment of horse and one of foot can be formed; excellent troops, but they will not exceed 3,000 men, and will have to be brought together from all parts of France. So will the douaniers,[b] who are expected to furnish the stuff for four-and-twenty battalions; we doubt whether they will complete half that number. Then come the old soldiers of the classes of 1858 to 1863, the unmarried men amongst whom have been called out again by special law.[c] These may furnish a

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[a] P. Ch. Dejean's speech in the Corps Législatif on August 9, 1870, *Le Temps*, No. 3452, August 11, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Custom-house officers.—*Ed.*

[c] The law is set forth in de Forcade La Roquette's speech in the Corps Législatif on August 10, 1870, *Le Temps*, No. 3453, August 12, 1870.—*Ed.*

contingent of 200,000 men, and will form the most valuable addition to the army. With less than one half of these the fourth battalions may be filled up, and the rest formed into new battalions. But here begins the difficulty—where are the officers to come from? They will have to be taken from the fighting army, and although this may be effected by a considerable promotion of sergeants to sub-lieutenants, it must weaken the corps from which they are taken. The whole of these three classes will give, at most, an increase of 220,000 to 230,000 men, and it will take under favourable circumstances at least fourteen to twenty days before even a portion of them can be ready to join the active army. But, unfortunately for them, circumstances are not favourable. It is now admitted that not merely the commissariat, but the whole of the French army administration was utterly ineffective, even to supply the army on the frontier. What, then, will be the state of forwardness of accoutrements and equipments for these reserves which nobody ever expected to be wanted in the field? It is very doubtful, indeed, whether, beyond the fourth battalions, any new formations will be ready before a couple of months. Then it is not to be forgotten that not one of these men ever handled a breech-loader, and that they are, all of them, totally ignorant of the new tactics inaugurated by that arm. And if the present French line, as is now admitted by themselves, fire hastily and at random, and squander their ammunition, what will these newly formed battalions do in the presence of an enemy whose steadiness and precision of fire appear to be very little affected by the din of battle?

There remain the Garde Mobile, the levy of all unmarried men up to thirty years, and the sedentary National Guard. As to the Garde Mobile, what little of it ever had any formal organization appears to have broken down as soon as it was sent to Châlons. Discipline there was none, and the officers, most of them totally unacquainted with their duties, seem to have lost in authority every day; there were not even arms for the men, and now the whole thing appears to be in complete dissolution. General Dejean indirectly acknowledged this[a] by the proposal to fill up the ranks of the fourth battalions from the Garde Mobile. And if this, the apparently organized portion of the levy *en masse* be utterly useless, what is to become of the rest of it? Even if there were officers, accoutrements, and arms for them, how long would it

[a] P. Ch. Dejean's speech in the Corps Législatif on August 9, 1870, *Le Temps*, No. 3452, August 11, 1870.—*Ed.*

take to make them into soldiers? But there is nothing provided for the emergency. Every officer fit for his post is already employed; the French have not that almost inexhaustible reserve of officers furnished by the "one year's volunteers," about 7,000 of whom enter the German armies every year, and almost every one of whom leaves the service quite fit to undertake an officer's duties. Accoutrements and arms appear to be equally absent; it is even said that the old flint-locks will have to be brought out of store. And under these circumstances, what are these 200,000 of men worth to France? It is all very well for the French to point to the Convention, to Carnot, with his frontier armies[30] created out of nothing, and so forth. But while we are far from saying that France is irretrievably beaten, let us not forget that in the successes of the Convention the allied armies[31] bore a significant part. At that time the armies which attacked France numbered on an average 40,000 men each; there were three or four of them, each acting out of reach of the other, the one on the Schelde, the other on the Moselle, the third in Alsace, &c. To each of these small armies the Convention opposed immense numbers of more or less raw levies which, by acting upon the flanks and rear of the enemy, then entirely dependent upon his magazines, compelled him upon the whole to keep pretty close to the frontier; and, having been formed into real soldiers by five years' campaigning, finally succeeded in driving him across the Rhine. But is it for a moment to be supposed that similar tactics will avail against the present immense army of invasion, which, though formed in three distinct bodies, has always managed to keep together within supporting distance, or that this army will leave the French time to develop their now dormant resources? And to develop them to any extent is possible only in case the French are prepared to do what they never have done before, to abandon Paris and its garrison to their fate, and to continue the struggle with the line of the Loire for their base of operations. It may never come to that, but unless France is prepared to face it, she had better not talk about a levy *en masse.*

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—IX[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1720, August 18, 1870]

"The French army commenced to cross over to the left bank of the Moselle. This (Sunday) morning reconnoitring parties announced the presence of the Prussian vanguards. When one-half of the army had crossed, the Prussians attacked in great force, and, after a fight which lasted four hours, were repulsed with considerable losses."[b]

Such was the version of the Emperor's despatch which Mr. Reuter furnished on Monday[c] night. It contained, however, an important error, the Emperor having expressly stated that the reconnoitring parties did not announce the presence of the enemy, though he was near at hand and in force.[d] Apart from this, however, nothing apparently could be more straightforward and businesslike than this bulletin. You have the whole thing distinctly before your eyes; the French, busily engaged in that risky operation, the crossing of a river; the wily Prussians, who always know how to take their opponents at a disadvantage, falling upon them as soon as one-half of them has got to the other side; then the gallant defence of the French, crowning its superhuman efforts, finally, by a dashing advance, which repels the enemy with considerable losses. It is quite graphic, and there is only one thing wanting—the name of the place where all this occurred.

From the bulletin we cannot but suppose that this passage of the river, and this attempt to interrupt it which was so victoriously

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[a] Written on August 18, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Napoleon III's official report of August 14, 1870 "Paris, Aug. 15, 9.20 A.M.", *The Times,* No. 26830, August 16, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] On August 15.—*Ed.*

[d] Napoleon III's official report of August 14, 1870 "Longeville, 10 h. du soir. L'empereur à l'impératrice", *Le Temps,* No. 3457, August 16, 1870.—*Ed.*

defeated, took place in the open country. But how could this be, when the French had all the bridges inside Metz to cross by—bridges perfectly safe from any hostile interference? when there was, besides, plenty of room for more pontoon bridges to be constructed, in equally safe places, on the five or six miles of river which are covered by the forts round Metz? Surely the French staff do not mean us to imply that they wantonly disregarded all these advantages, led the army outside of Metz, constructed their bridges in the open, and passed the river within sight and reach of the enemy, merely to bring on that "battle before Metz" which had been promised us for a whole week?

And if the passage of the Moselle took place by bridges inside the works of Metz, how could the Prussians attack the French troops still on the right bank so long as these kept, as they might have done, inside the line of detached forts? The artillery of these forts would soon have made the place too hot for any attacking troops.

The whole thing seems impossible. The least the French staff could have done would have been to give the name of the locality, that we might have traced the different phases of this glorious battle on the map. But that name they will not give. Fortunately for us, the Prussians are not so mysterious; they say the fight occurred near Pange, on the road to Metz.[a] We look at the map, and the whole thing is clear.[32] Pange is not on the Moselle, but eight miles away from it, on the Nied, about four miles outside the detached forts of Metz. If the French were crossing the Moselle, and had one-half of their troops over already, they had, in a military sense, no business whatever to keep strong forces at or near Pange. If they went there, it was for reasons not military.

Napoleon, once compelled to abandon Metz and the line of the Moselle, could not very well without a fight, and, if possible, a real or sham victory, enter upon a retreat which must be continued at least as far as Châlons. The opportunity was favourable. While one-half of his troops crossed, the other would debouch from between the forts east of Metz, push back the Prussian advanced troops, bring on as much of a general engagement as appeared convenient, draw on the enemy until within reach of the guns of the forts, and then, with a showy advance of the whole front, drive them back to a safe distance from the works. Such a plan could not entirely fail; it must lead to something which could be made to look like a victory; it would restore confidence in the army,

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[a] "Henry, Aug. 15", *The Times*, No. 26830, August 16, 1870.—*Ed.*

perhaps even in Paris, and make the retreat to Châlons look less humiliating.

This view explains that apparently simple, but in reality absurd, bulletin from Metz. Every word of that bulletin is correct in a certain sense, while the whole context at the first glance is calculated to evoke a totally false impression. This view equally explains how both parties could claim the victory. The Prussians drove back the French till under the shelter of their forts, but having advanced too close to these forts had to retire in their turn. So much for the celebrated "battle before Metz," which might as well not have been fought at all, for its influence upon the course of the campaign will be zero. It will be observed that the Count of Palikao, speaking in the Chamber, was much more cautious.

> "There has not been," he said, "what you would call a battle, but partial engagements, in which every man with military intelligence must see that the Prussians have received a check, and have been obliged to abandon the line of retreat of the French army."[a]

The Marshal's last assurance seems to have been only momentarily true, for the retreating body of the French has certainly been severely harassed by the Prussians at Mars-la-Tour and Gravelotte.

It was, indeed, high time that Napoleon and his army left Metz. While they were tarrying about the Moselle, the German cavalry passed the Meuse at Commercy and destroyed the railway thence to Bar-le-Duc; they also appeared at Vigneulles, threatening the flank of the columns retreating from Metz to Verdun. What these horsemen dare risk we see from the way in which a squadron of them entered Nancy, levied 50,000 francs, and compelled the townspeople to destroy the railway. Where are the French cavalry? where are the forty-three regiments attached to the eight army corps, and the twelve regiments of reserve cavalry which figure on the état of the Army of the Rhine?

The only obstacle in the way of the Germans now is the fortress of Toul, and this would not be of any importance whatever if it did not command the railway. The Germans are sure to want the railway, and therefore they no doubt will take the shortest means to reduce Toul, which, being an old-fashioned fortress without detached forts, is perfectly open to bombardment. We shall probably soon hear that it has surrendered after being bombarded by field guns for something like twelve hours, perhaps less.

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[a] Engels gives a rendering of Palikao's speech in the Corps Législatif on August 16, 1870 apparently according to *Le Temps*, No. 3459, August 18, 1870.—*Ed.*

If it be true, as French papers say, that MacMahon, having left his army, was in Nancy two days after the battle of Woerth,[a] we may assume that his corps is totally disorganized, and that the infection has caught the troops of De Failly too. The Germans are now marching on to the Marne, almost on an equal front line with the two French armies, and having one of them on each flank. Bazaine's line of march is from Metz by Verdun and St. Ménehould to Châlons; that of the Germans from Nancy, by Commercy and Bar-le-Duc, to Vitry; that of MacMahon's troops (for even if the Marshal himself has joined the Emperor at Châlons, it must be without his army) somewhere to the south, but, no doubt, also directed towards Vitry. The reunion of the two French armies thus becomes more doubtful every day; and unless Douay's troops have been ordered from Belfort by Vesoul and Chaumont to Vitry in time, they may have to rejoin the army by way of Troyes and Paris, for Vitry will now soon be impassable by train for French soldiers.

[a] Report of the French Command "Metz, 9 août, 1 h. 52, soir", *Le Temps*, No. 3452, August 11, 1870.—*Ed.*

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—X[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 1721, August 19, 1870]

Undoubtedly, if General Moltke be old, his plans have all the energy of youth. Not satisfied with having once already pushed his compact army between one wing of the French and the rest of their troops, he now repeats the same manoeuvre over again, and apparently with equal success. Had he continued his straight march on to the Marne, and merely harassed the right flank and rear of the French during their parallel march towards the same goal, he would, in the opinion of most military critics, have done quite enough. But it was hardly to be expected that he would have used the legs of his soldiers with such terrible vigour as he now appears to have done. What we took for mere attacks of detached corps upon the exposed flanks and rear of that long marching column which moved from Metz towards Verdun appears now to have been the reconnaissances preceding an attack in force upon it. Three or four German army corps had marched in a semicircle round on the southern side of Metz; their advanced troops reached the French line of march on Tuesday[b] morning, and at once fell upon it. The French army began its retreat from Metz on Sunday; the engagements between Pange and Fort Bellecroix on the evening of that day may have retarded that movement, still it was continued on Monday and had not been completed on Tuesday. It took place at least by two different columns, following the two roads which separate, five miles west of Metz, at Gravelotte; the northernmost of these roads passes Doncourt and Etain, the southernmost Vionville, Mars-la-Tour, and Fresnes, and

[a] Written on August 19, 1870.—*Ed.*
[b] On August 16.—*Ed.*

both unite again at Verdun. It was near Mars-la-Tour that the German attack took place[33]; the fight lasted all day, and ended, according to the German account, in the defeat of the French, who lost two eagles, seven cannon, and 2,000 prisoners, and were driven back to Metz.[a] On the other hand, Bazaine too claims the victory. He says his troops repelled the Germans, and passed the night on the position won. But there are two very ominous statements in his telegram of Wednesday evening.[b] There he says he fought all day on Tuesday between Doncourt and Vionville; that is to say, he fought with his front extending from Doncourt to Vionville, facing west, the Germans barring the way to Verdun on both roads. Whatever success he claims, he does not pretend to say that he cleared the roads to Verdun, or only one of them. Had he done so, his evident duty would have been to continue his retreat during the night as fast as he could, as the enemy would almost certainly be reinforced in the morning. But he stops and passes the night "on the position won," whatever that may mean. Not satisfied with that, he stays there till four o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, and even then announces, not his intention of moving, but of delaying his further movements for a few hours longer, in order to largely increase his ammunition. Thus we may be certain that the night to Thursday was also passed at the same spot; and as the only place whence he could increase his ammunition was Metz, we shall be fully entitled to conclude that the "positions conquered" were positions to the rear, that the retreat to Verdun was and remained cut off, and that by this time Marshal Bazaine will have either gone back to Metz, or attempted to escape by a route farther north.

If this view be correct—and we do not see how the evidence before us can be made to justify any other—a portion of the French army is again cut off from the rest. We do not know what troops may have passed towards Verdun on Monday, and on Tuesday morning before the Germans came up. But the portion driven back to Metz is evidently considerable, and whatever its importance may be, by so much will be reduced the great army which it was attempted to concentrate at Châlons. There is, indeed, a loophole left by which Bazaine might try to escape. A railway runs, close to the Belgian frontier, from Thionville to

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[a] "The Battle of Vionville. Pont-à-Mousson, Aug. 17", *The Times*, No. 26833, August 19, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Bazaine's telegram of August 17, 1870 "Aug. 17, 4 P.M.", *The Times*, No. 26833, August 19, 1870.—*Ed.*

Longuyon, Montmédy, and Mézières, where it meets a cross line to Reims and Châlons; but any troops using this border line, or merely marching towards it, might be driven by a pursuing enemy up to the frontier, and compelled either to surrender or to cross it and be disarmed by the Belgians. Moreover, it is not likely that there will be rolling stock enough on this out-of-the-way line to take up a considerable body of troops; and, lastly, we have reports from Verdun that Prussians, who must have passed the Moselle between Metz and Thionville, were on Wednesday at Briey,[a] on the direct road from Metz towards the available portion of that railway. Should Bazaine attempt to save his beaten troops in that direction he would, in the best of cases, have the whole of them reduced to utter dissolution. A long retreat, with the enemy on the direct line of communication of the beaten troops, is a most disastrous proceeding. Witness MacMahon's troops, some driblets of which have continued to arrive by train at Châlons. On the 12th some 5,000 dropped in; in what state let the *Siècle* tell. They consisted of men of all arms and regiments mixed up, without arms, without cartridges, without knapsacks; the cavalry had no horses, the gunners no guns; a motley, disorganized, demoralized crew whom it would take weeks to form into battalions, squadrons, and batteries again. It is enough that correspondents decline to describe the state of the troops of the line at Châlons for fear to divulge matters which might be useful to the enemy.

That grand army which was destined to concentrate at Châlons may never meet there. After Canrobert's troops had been drawn, partly to Paris and partly to Metz, there remained but the eighteen battalions of Mobiles there; not worth mentioning in a war like this. Since then some marine infantry from Paris has been sent to Châlons; Douay's two remaining divisions, if there is any common sense left in Bazaine's dispositions, will have arrived by this time; perhaps a few fourth battalions, certainly not many. The newly formed regiments of gendarmes and douaniers[b] may, some of them, arrive in the course of a few days. A few small bodies of francs-tireurs[34] may also come in; but, leaving all raw levies out of account, the chief portion of that grand army which can be concentrated there before the Germans arrive would, under all circumstances, consist of the troops retiring from Metz. And what these now may be, after Tuesday's fights, we shall have to learn.

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[a] French report of August 17, 1870 "Verdun, Aug. 17, 4.50 P.M.", *The Times*, No. 26832, August 18, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Custom-house officers.—*Ed.*

The nomination of General Trochu to the command of the army destined to defend Paris, so closely following upon his appointment to the command of the 12th Corps "forming at Paris," proves that it is not intended to send the mass of the troops now in Paris to the front. Paris must be kept down. And yet, who will be able to keep it down when the truth about last Tuesday's battle becomes known there?

# THE CRISIS OF THE WAR[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1722, August 20, 1870]

The Emperor has left the army, but his evil genius has remained with it—that evil genius which hurried on, in hot impatience, the declaration of war and—that accomplished—was henceforth unable to make up its mind to anything. The army was to be ready to march by the 20th of July at latest. The 20th of July came and nothing had been done. On the 29th Napoleon III took the supreme command at Metz, there was still time for an almost unresisted advance up to the Rhine: yet the army did not stir. Hesitation even appears to have gone so far that the Emperor could not determine whether to attack at all, or to take up a position for defence. The heads of the German columns were already converging from all directions towards the Palatinate, and every day they might be expected to attack. Yet the French remained in their positions on the frontier—positions designed for an attack which was never made, and altogether unfit for the defence which was so soon to be their only choice. The hesitation which lasted from the 29th of July to the 5th of August has been characteristic of the whole campaign. The French army, being placed close to the frontier, was without advanced guards at the proper distances in front of the main body, and there were but two ways in which this defect could have been remedied. The advanced guards might have been pushed forward into the enemy's territory; or they might have been left in their actual positions on the border, and the main bodies drawn nearer together a day's march to the rear. But the first plan would have brought on collisions with the enemy under circumstances beyond

[a] Written on August 20, 1870.—*Ed.*

the control of the Emperor; while the second would have involved the political impossibility of a retreat before the first battle. Thus, hesitation continued, and nothing at all was done; as if the enemy would be caught by the infection, and equally refrain from moving. But the enemy did move. The very day before the whole of his troops had arrived at the front, on the 4th of August, it was resolved to take advantage of the faulty disposition of the French. The battle of Wissembourg drew the whole of MacMahon's and Failly's corps still more away from the centre of the French position; and on the 6th, the Germans being now fully ready, their Third Army defeated MacMahon's six divisions at Woerth, and drove him, along with De Failly's remaining two divisions, by Saverne towards Lunéville, while the advanced bodies of their First and Second armies beat Frossard's and part of Bazaine's troops at Spicheren, and drove the whole centre and left of the French back upon Metz. Thus, all Lorraine lay between the two retreating French armies, and into this wide gap poured the German cavalry and, behind it, the infantry, in order to make the most of the advantage gained. The Crown Prince[a] has been blamed for not having followed up MacMahon's beaten army to and beyond Saverne. But after Woerth the pursuit was carried out in the most correct manner. As soon as the beaten troops were driven so far south that they could regain the rest of the French army only by a circuitous route, the pursuers, marching straight on towards Nancy, kept continually between the two; and that this mode of pursuit (the same as Napoleon's after Jena[35]) is at least as telling as a direct march in the rear of the fugitives is now shown by the results. Whatever there is still in existence of these eight divisions is either cut off from the main body or has joined it in a state of total disorganization.

Thus much for the consequences of the hesitation which marked the beginning of the campaign. It might surely have been expected that the same mistake would not again have been committed. The Emperor had resigned his command into the hands of Marshal Bazaine, and Marshal Bazaine might certainly have known that, whether he did or did not, the enemy would not allow the grass to grow under his feet.

The distance from Forbach to Metz is not quite fifty miles. Most of the corps had less than thirty miles to march. Three days would have brought all of them safely under shelter at Metz; and on the fourth the retreat towards Verdun and Châlons might have been

[a] Frederick William.— *Ed.*

begun. For there could no longer be any doubt as to the necessity of that retreat. Marshal MacMahon's eight divisions and General Douay's remaining two divisions—more than one-third of the army—could not possibly rejoin Bazaine at any nearer point than Châlons. Bazaine had twelve divisions, including the Imperial Guard; so that even after he had been joined by three of Canrobert's divisions, he cannot have had, with cavalry and artillery, above 180,000 men—a force quite insufficient to meet his opponents in the field. Unless, therefore, he intended to abandon the whole of France to the invaders, and to allow himself to be shut up in a place where famine would soon compel him to surrender or to fight on terms dictated by the enemy, it seems as though he could not have had a moment's doubt about retreating from Metz at once. Yet he does not stir. On the 11th, the German cavalry is at Lunéville; still he gives no sign of moving. On the 12th they are across the Moselle, they make requisitions in Nancy, they tear up the railway between Metz and Frouard, they show themselves in Pont-à-Mousson. On the 13th their infantry occupy Pont-à-Mousson, and are thenceforth masters of both banks of the Moselle. At last, on Sunday, the 14th, Bazaine begins moving his men to the left bank of the river; the engagement at Pange is drawn on, by which the retreat is confessedly again retarded; and we may suppose that on Monday the actual retreat towards Châlons was commenced by sending off the heavy trains and artillery. But on that Monday the German cavalry were across the Meuse at Commercy, and within ten miles of the French line of retreat at Vigneulles. How many troops got away on Monday and early on Tuesday morning we cannot tell, but it appears certain that the main body was still behind when the German Third Corps and the reserve cavalry attacked the marching columns near Mars-la-Tour about nine in the morning on Tuesday, the 16th of August. The result is known: Bazaine's retreat was effectually stopped; on the 17th, his own telegrams show that he had at the most only maintained the position it was his one desire to leave behind him.

On Wednesday, the 17th, the two armies seem to have taken breath, but on Thursday any hopes that Bazaine might still have entertained of making good his retreat were fatally stricken down. The Prussians attacked him on that morning, and after nine hours' fighting

"the French [...] army was completely defeated, cut off from its communications with Paris, and driven back towards Metz."[36]

On that evening or on the following day the Army of the Rhine must have re-entered the fortress it had left at the beginning of the week. Once cooped up there it will be easy for the Germans to cut off all supplies; the more so, as the country is already thoroughly drained of everything by the prolonged presence of the troops, and as the investing army is sure to require for its own use everything that can be got together. Thus, famine must soon compel Bazaine to move; but in what direction it is difficult to tell. A move to the west is sure to be resisted by overwhelming forces; one to the north is extremely dangerous; one to the south-east might perhaps partially succeed, but it would be wholly barren of immediate results. Even if he reached Belfort or Besançon with a disorganized army, he could not exercise any appreciable influence upon the fate of the campaign. This is the situation to which hesitation in the second phase of the campaign has brought the French army. No doubt it is accurately known to the Government in Paris. The recall of the Mobile Guard from Châlons to Paris proves it. From the moment Bazaine's main forces are cut off, the position of Châlons, which was a mere place of rendezvous, and nothing else, has lost all importance. The nearest place of rendezvous now for all forces is Paris, and thither everything must now move. There is no force whatever which could oppose in the field the Third German Army, now probably moving upon the capital. Before long the French will find out, by a practical trial, whether or not the fortifications of Paris are worth their cost.

Though this crowning catastrophe has been impending for days, it is hardly possible as yet to realize that it has actually come to pass. No expectations went the length of this reality. A fortnight ago Englishmen were speculating on the possible consequences of the French army winning the first great battle. The danger to which their fears most pointed was that Napoleon III might make such an initial success the occasion of a hasty peace at the expense of Belgium. Upon this point they were speedily reassured. The battles of Woerth and Forbach showed that no theatrical triumph was in store for the French arms. The demonstration that Germany had nothing to fear from France seemed to promise well for the speedy ending of the war. The time must soon come, it was thought, when the French would acknowledge that the attempt to control the consolidation of Germany under Prussia had failed, and that, consequently, they had nothing left to fight for, while the Germans would hardly care to go on waging a chequered and doubtful war, when the admission it was designed to extort had been already conceded. The first five days of this

week have again changed the whole face of affairs. The military power of France has to all appearance been utterly overthrown, and for the time being there seems to be no limit to German ambition except the doubtful barrier of German moderation. We cannot attempt as yet to estimate the political results of this tremendous reverse. We can only look on in wonder at its magnitude and its suddenness, and in admiration at the manner in which it has been sustained by the French troops. That after four days of almost constant fighting under the most discouraging conditions possible they should on the fifth have resisted the attack of greatly superior numbers for nine hours reflects infinite credit upon their courage and resolution. Never in its most triumphant campaigns has the French army won more real glory than in its disastrous retreat from Metz.

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XI[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1725, August 24, 1870]

Although still without full details of the three terrible battles fought last week around Metz,[37] we have learned enough about them to be able now to give an intelligible account of what actually occurred.

The battle of Sunday, the 14th of August, was commenced by the Germans, with the intention of delaying the retreat of the French towards Verdun. The remnant of Frossard's corps was observed to cross the Moselle towards Longeville on Sunday afternoon; signs of moving were visible among the troops encamped east of Metz. The First (East Prussian) and Seventh (Westphalian and Hanoverian) army corps were ordered to attack. They drove the French in until they themselves got within range of the forts; but the French, foreseeing such a movement, had massed large bodies in sheltered positions in the valley of the Moselle, and in a narrow clough, through which a brook runs east and west, joining the main river to the north of Metz. These masses suddenly fell upon the right flank of the Germans, already suffering from the fire of the forts, and are said to have driven them back in confusion; after which the French must have retired again, for it is certain that the Germans remained in possession of that part of the battle-field which is out of range of the forts, and that they retired to their former bivouacs after daybreak only. We know this both from private letters written by men engaged in the battle,[38] and from a correspondent's letter from Metz in Monday's[b] *Manchester Guardian,* who visited the battle-field on Monday morning, and found it in the occupation of the Prussians, by

[a] Written on August 23 or 24, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] August 15.—*Ed.*

whom the French wounded, then still remaining there, were being attended to. Both parties, in a certain sense, may claim to have attained the object for which the contest was engaged: the French enticed the Germans into a trap and made them suffer severely; the Germans delayed the French retreat until Prince Frederick Charles could gain the line by which this retreat was to be effected. On the German side there were two corps, or four divisions, engaged; on the French side, Decaen's and Ladmirault's corps, and part of the Guards, or above seven divisions. The French in this battle were thus in a great numerical superiority. Their position is also said to have been greatly strengthened by rifle pits and trenches, from which they fired with more coolness than usual.

The retreat of the Armv of the Rhine towards Verdun was not commenced in force before Tuesday, the 16th. At that time the heads of Prince Frederick Charles's columns—the 3rd Army Corps (Brandenburgers)—were just reaching the neighbourhood of Mars-la-Tour. They attacked at once, and for six hours held the French army at bay. Reinforced later on by the 10th Army Corps (Hanoverians and Westphalians), and portions of the 8th (Rhinelanders) and 9th (Schleswig-Holsteiners and Mecklenburgers), they not only maintained their position, but drove back the enemy, took two eagles, seven cannon, and above 2,000 prisoners. The forces against them consisted of Decaen's, Ladmirault's, Frossard's, and part at least of Canrobert's corps (they had reached Metz from Châlons during the last days the railway viâ Frouard was still open), and the Guards, or, in all, from fourteen to fifteen divisions. The eight German divisions were thus again faced by superior numbers, even if, as is likely, not all Bazaine's troops were engaged. It is well to keep this in mind, while the French accounts continue to explain all reverses by their being constantly outnumbered.[a] That the French were effectively stopped in their retrograde movement is clear from the fact that they themselves speak of rearguard engagements having taken place on the 17th near Gravelotte, more than five miles to the rear of their own position of the 16th.[b] At the same time, the fact that only four German corps could be brought up on Tuesday shows that the success they obtained was incomplete. Captain Jeannerod, who came on the 17th from Briey to Conflans, found there two cavalry regiments of the French Guard much cut up and taking flight at

[a] See the report "Paris, Aug. 22", *The Times*, No. 26835, August 22, 1870.—*Ed.*
[b] "Paris, Aug. 17", *The Times*, No. 26834, August 20, 1870.—*Ed.*

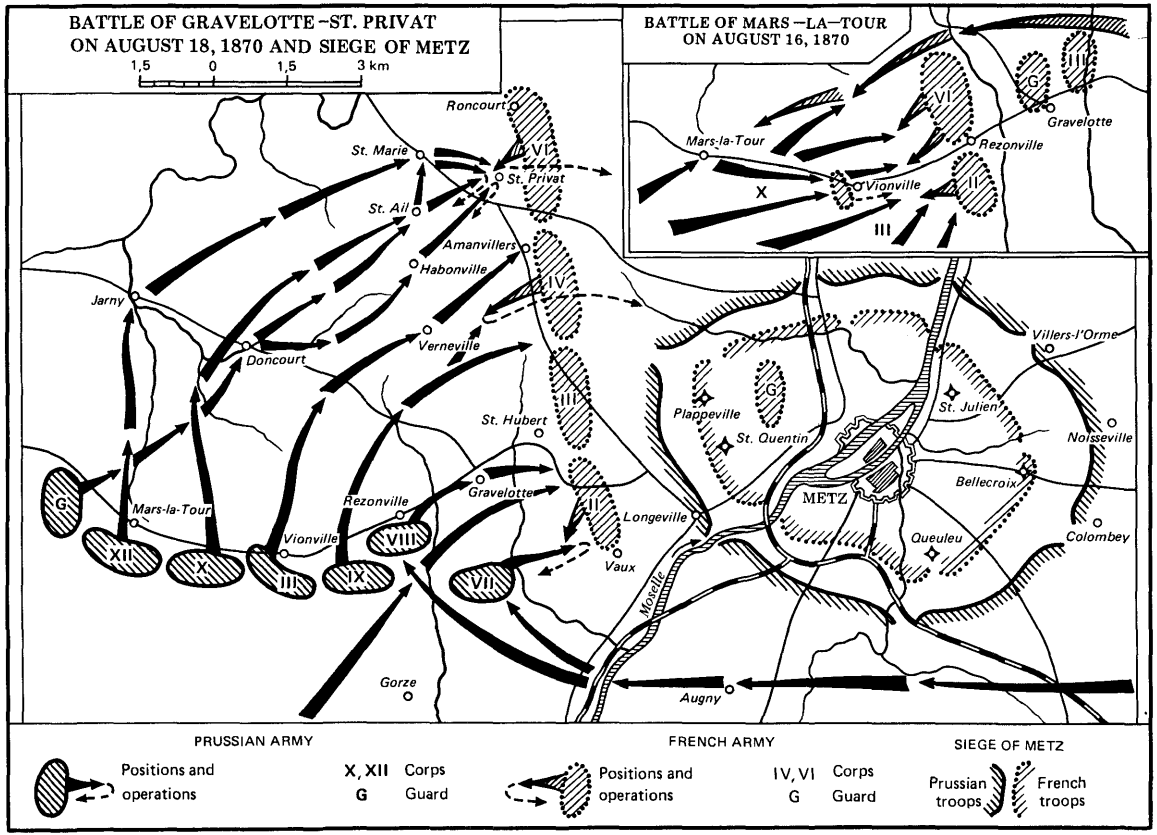
BATTLE OF GRAVELOTTE–ST. PRIVAT
ON AUGUST 18, 1870 AND SIEGE OF METZ
1,5 0 1,5 3 km
BATTLE OF MARS–LA–TOUR
ON AUGUST 16, 1870
Roncourt
St. Marie
St. Privat
St. Ail
Amanvillers
Habonville
Jarny
Doncourt
Verneville
St. Hubert
Mars-la-Tour
Rezonville
Gravelotte
Vionville
Longeville
Vaux
Gorze
Augny
Moselle
Plappeville
St. Quentin
St. Julien
METZ
Villers-l'Orme
Noisseville
Bellecroix
Queuleu
Colombey
Mars-la-Tour
Rezonville
Vionville
Gravelotte
PRUSSIAN ARMY
Positions and operations
X, XII Corps
G Guard
FRENCH ARMY
Positions and operations
IV, VI Corps
G Guard
SIEGE OF METZ
Prussian troops
French troops

the bare cry, "The Prussians are coming!"[a] This proves that though the road by Etain, on the evening of the 16th, might not be actually in the possession of the Germans, they were so near as to render impossible any retreat by it without another battle. Bazaine, however, seems to have given up all thought of that, for he entrenched himself in a very strong position near Gravelotte, and there awaited the attack of the Germans, which took place on the 18th.

The plateau, over which runs the road from Mars-la-Tour by Gravelotte to Metz, is intersected by a series of deep ravines, formed by brooks running from north to south towards the Moselle. There is one of these ravines immediately in front (west) of Gravelotte; two others run, in parallel lines, to the rear of the first. Each of these forms a strong defensive position, which had been reinforced by earthworks, and by the barricading and loopholing of such farmyards and villages as occupied places of tactical importance. To receive in this strong entrenched position the enemy, to let them break their heads against it, to hurl them back finally by a mighty "retour offensif,"[b] and thus clear the road to Verdun—this was evidently the only hope left to Bazaine. But the attack was made with such forces and with such energy that position after position was taken, and the Army of the Rhine driven back close under the guns of Metz. Against fourteen or fifteen French divisions twelve German divisions were actually engaged, and four more in reserve. The numbers engaged on both sides would be not far from equal; on the whole somewhat in favour of the Germans, four of their six corps having been nearly intact; but this slight numerical superiority would by no means make up for the strength of the French position.

French opinion still hesitates to accept the full reality of the position created for Bazaine and his army, a position the counterpart of that into which General Bonaparte drove Wurmser at Mantua, 1796, and Mack at Ulm, 1805.[39] That the brilliant Army of the Rhine, the hope and strength of France, should after fourteen days' campaigning be reduced to the choice either to attempt to force its passage through the enemy under disastrous circumstances, or to capitulate, is more than the French can bring themselves to believe. They look for all possible explanations. One theory is that Bazaine is, so to say, sacrificing himself in order to gain time for MacMahon and Paris. While Bazaine retains two of

[a] G. Jeannerod, "Correspondances particulières du Temps, Briey, mercredi 17 août", *Le Temps*, No. 3461, August 20, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Counter-attack.—*Ed.*

the three German armies before Metz, Paris can organize her defences, and MacMahon will have time to create a fresh army. Bazaine thus remains at Metz, not because he cannot help it, but because it is in the interest of France he should be there. But where, it may be asked, are the elements of MacMahon's new army? His own corps, now numbering at most 15,000 men; De Failly's remaining troops, disorganized and scattered by a long circuitous retreat—he is said to have arrived at Vitry-le-François with but 7,000 or 8,000 men; perhaps one division of Canrobert's; the two divisions of Félix Douay's, the whereabouts of which nobody seems to know: about 40,000 men, including the marines of the intended Baltic expedition. These include every battalion and squadron which is left to France of its old army outside of Metz. To these would come the fourth battalions. They appear now to be arriving in Paris in pretty good numbers, but filled up to a great extent with recruits. The whole of these troops may reach something like 130,000 to 150,000 men; but this new army is not to be compared in quality to the old Army of the Rhine. The old regiments in it cannot but have suffered greatly from demoralization. The new battalions have been formed in a hurry, contain many recruits, and cannot be as well officered as the old army. The proportion of cavalry and artillery must be very small indeed; the mass of the cavalry is in Metz, and the stores necessary for the equipment of new batteries, harness, &c., appear in some instances to exist on paper only. Jeannerod quotes an example in Sunday's *Temps*.[a] As to the Mobile Guard, after having been brought back from Châlons to Saint Maur, near Paris, it appears to have dispersed altogether, for want of provisions. And it is to gain time for forces like these that the whole of the best army which France possesses should be sacrificed. And sacrificed it is, if it is true that it is shut up in Metz. If Bazaine had got his army into its present position advisedly, he would have committed a blunder compared to which all previous blunders of the war would sink into nothing. In regard to Bazaine's rumoured retreat from Metz and junction with MacMahon at Montmédy, the refutation of the story to which *The Standard* yesterday gave circulation has been sufficiently accomplished by the writer of the military review in the same journal this morning. Even if any detachments of Bazaine's force have escaped to the north after or in the course of the recent engagements round Mars-la-Tour, the bulk of his army is still locked up in Metz.

[a] G. Jeannerod, "Correspondances particulières du Temps. Reims, samedi 20 août, 3 heures", *Le Temps*, No. 3463, August 22, 1870.—*Ed.*

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XII[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 1727, August 26, 1870]

The two latest facts of the war are these—that the Crown Prince[b] is pushing on beyond Châlons, and that MacMahon has moved his whole army from Reims, whither is not exactly known. MacMahon, according to French reports, finds the war getting on too slowly; in order to hasten its decision he is now said to be marching from Reims to the relief of Bazaine.[c] This would indeed be hurrying on matters to an almost final crisis.

In our Wednesday's publication we estimated MacMahon's force at from 130,000 to 150,000 men on the assumption that all the troops from Paris had joined him.[d] We were right in supposing that he had at Châlons the remnants of his own and of De Failly's troops; also that Douay's two divisions were at Châlons, whither we know now they went by a circuitous railway journey viâ Paris; also that the marines and other portions of the Baltic corps were there. But we now learn that there are still troops of the line in the forts round Paris; that a portion of MacMahon's and Frossard's men, especially cavalry, have gone back to Paris to be reorganized, and that MacMahon has only about 80,000 regular troops in camp. We may, therefore, reduce our estimate by fully 25,000 men, and set down 110,000 to 120,000 men as the maximum of MacMahon's forces, one-third of which would consist of raw levies. And with this army he is said to have set out to relieve Bazaine at Metz.

Now, MacMahon's next and more immediate opponent is the army of the Crown Prince. It occupied on the 24th with its

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[a] Written on August 25, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick William.—*Ed.*

[c] "Paris, Aug. 24, Evening", *The Times*, No. 26838, August 25, 1870.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, p. 66.—*Ed.*

outposts the former camp of Châlons, which fact is telegraphed to us from Bar-le-Duc.[a] From this we may conclude that at that town were then the head-quarters. MacMahon's nearest road to Metz is by Verdun. From Reims to Verdun by an almost straight country road there is fully seventy miles; by the high road, viâ St. Ménehould, it is above eighty miles. This latter road, moreover, leads through the camp of Châlons—that is to say, through the German lines. From Bar-le-Duc to Verdun the distance is less than forty miles.

Thus not only can the army of the Crown Prince fall upon the flank of MacMahon's march if he use either of the above roads to Verdun, but it can get behind the Meuse and join the remaining two German armies between Verdun and Metz, long before MacMahon can debouch from Verdun on the right bank of the Meuse. And all this would remain unaltered, even if the Crown Prince had advanced as far as Vitry-le-François, or required an extra day to concentrate his troops from their extended front of march; so great is the difference of distance in his favour.

Under these circumstances it may be doubted whether MacMahon will use either of the roads indicated; whether he will not at once withdraw from the immediate sphere of action of the Crown Prince, and choose the road from Reims by Vouziers, Grandpré, and Varennes, to Verdun, or by Vouziers to Stenay, where he would pass the Meuse, and then march south-east upon Metz. But that would only be to secure a momentary advantage in order to make final defeat doubly certain. Both these routes are still more circuitous, and would allow still more time to the Crown Prince to unite his forces with those before Metz, and thus to oppose to both MacMahon and Bazaine a crushing superiority of numbers.

Thus, whichever way MacMahon chooses to get near Metz, he cannot shake off the Crown Prince, who, moreover, cannot be denied the choice of fighting him either singly or in conjunction with the other German armies. From this it is evident that MacMahon's move to the relief of Bazaine would be a gross mistake, so long as he has not completely disposed of the Crown Prince. To get to Metz, his shortest, quickest, and safest road is right across the Third German Army. If he were to march straight upon it, attack it wherever he finds it, defeat it, and drive it for a few days in a south-easterly direction, so as to interpose his

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[a] German official report "Bar-le-Duc, Aug. 24, 9 P.M", *The Times,* No. 26838, August 25, 1870.—*Ed.*

victorious army like a wedge between it and the other two German armies—in the same way as the Crown Prince has shown him how to do it—then, and not till then, would he have a chance to get to Metz and set Bazaine free. But if he felt himself strong enough to do this, we may be sure he would have done it at once. Thus, the withdrawal from Reims assumes a different aspect. It is not so much a move towards the relief of Bazaine from Steinmetz and Frederick Charles as a move for the relief of MacMahon from the Crown Prince. And from this point of view it is the worst that could be made. It abandons all direct communications with Paris to the mercy of the enemy. It draws off the last available forces of France away from the centre towards the periphery, and places them intentionally farther away from the centre than the enemy is already. Such a move might be excusable if undertaken with largely superior numbers; but here it is undertaken with hopelessly inferior numbers and in the face of the almost certainty of defeat. And what will that defeat bring? Wherever it occurs it will push the remnants of the beaten army away from Paris towards the northern frontier, where they may be driven upon neutral ground or forced to capitulate. MacMahon, if he really has undertaken the move in question, is deliberately placing his army in exactly the same position in which Napoleon's flank march round the southern end of the Thuringian forest in 1806 placed the Prussian army at Jena. A numerically and morally weaker army is deliberately placed in a position where, after a defeat, its only line of retreat is through a narrow strip of territory leading towards neutral territory or the sea. Napoleon forced the Prussians to capitulate by reaching Stettin before them.[40] MacMahon's troops may have to surrender in that little strip of French territory jutting out into Belgium between Mézières and Charlemont-Givet.[41] In the very best of cases they may escape to the northern fortresses—Valenciennes, Lille, &c., where, at all events, they will be harmless. And then France will be at the mercy of the invader.

The whole plan seems so wild that it can only be explained as having arisen from political necessities. It looks more like a *coup de désespoir*[a] than anything else. It looks as if anything must be done, anything risked, before Paris be allowed fully to understand the actual situation. It is the plan not of a strategist, but of an "Algérien,"[42] used to fight irregulars; the plan not of a soldier, but of a political and military adventurer, such as have had it all

[a] An act of despair.—*Ed.*

their own way in France these last nineteen years. The language ascribed to MacMahon in justifying this resolve is quite in keeping with this. "What would they say" if he did not march to the aid of Bazaine[a]? Yes, but "what would they say" if he got himself into a worse position than Bazaine has got himself into? It is the Second Empire all over. To keep up appearances, to hide defeat, is the thing most required. Napoleon staked all upon one card, and lost it; and now MacMahon is again going to play *va banque,* when the odds are ten to one against him. The sooner France is freed from these men the better for her. It is her only hope.

[a] "Paris, Aug. 24, Evening", *The Times,* No. 26838, August 25, 1870.—*Ed.*

# NOTES ON THE WAR—XIII[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1728, August 27, 1870]

Yesterday a piece of news was telegraphed which caused great sensation among our contemporaries. It came from Berlin, and was to this effect, that the King's head-quarters had been moved to Bar-le-Duc, that corps of the First and Second Armies remained facing Bazaine's army, and that the remainder of the German forces "had resolutely entered upon their march to Paris."[b]

Hitherto the movements of the German armies have been kept secret during their execution. It was only when the move had been completed, when the blow had been struck, that we learned whither the troops had been going. It seems strange that this system should be reversed all at once; that taciturn Moltke should, without any visible occasion for it, all of a sudden proclaim to the world that he is marching upon Paris, and "resolutely" too.

At the same time we hear that the advanced troops of the Crown Prince[c] are pushed nearer and nearer to Paris, and that his cavalry spread more and more towards the south. Even in Château-Thierry, almost half way between Châlons and Paris, the dreaded Uhlans are said to have been seen.

Might there not be a special reason, not quite evident at the first glance, why this announcement of the intentions of the King of Prussia should be made just now, and why, at the same time, the German cavalry should redouble their activity?

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[a] Written on August 26, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Prussian telegram, datelined "Berlin, Aug. 25", *The Times,* No. 26839, August 26, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] Frederick William.—*Ed.*

Let us compare dates. On the evening of Monday, the 22nd, MacMahon commenced his movements through Reims on the road to Rethel, and for more than fourteen hours the columns passed continually through the town. By the evening of Wednesday, if not before, the news of this march might have reached the German head-quarters. There could be but one meaning in it: the intention to set free Bazaine from the trap in which he is shut up. The more MacMahon advanced in the direction he had taken the more would he endanger his communications with Paris and his line of retreat, the more would he place himself between the German army and the Belgian frontier. Let him once get beyond the Meuse, which he is said to intend passing at Laneuville, opposite Stenay, and his retreat may easily be cut off. Now, what could more encourage MacMahon to persist in his dangerous manoeuvre than the news that, while he was hurrying to the relief of Bazaine, the Germans had left only a comparatively small portion of their forces before Metz, and were marching "resolutely" upon Paris with the great body of their troops? Thus on Wednesday night this same piece of news is telegraphed from Pont-à-Mousson to Berlin, from Berlin to London, from London to Paris and Reims, whence no doubt MacMahon has at once been favoured with the information; and while he marches on towards Stenay, Longuyon, and Briey, the army of the Crown Prince, leaving a corps or two in Champagne, where now nothing opposes them, would draw off the rest towards St. Mihiel, pass the Meuse there, and try to gain by Fresnes a position threatening the communications of MacMahon's army with the Meuse, and yet within supporting distance of the German troops before Metz. If this were to succeed, and if MacMahon were to be defeated under these circumstances, his army would have either to pass into neutral territory or to surrender to the Germans.

There can be no doubt that MacMahon's movements are perfectly well known at the German head-quarters. From the moment the battle of Rezonville (or Gravelotte, as it is to be officially called) had settled the fact that Bazaine was shut up in Metz, from that moment MacMahon's army was the next object, not only of the army of the Crown Prince, but also of all other troops which could be spared from before Metz. In 1814, indeed, the Allies, after the junction of Blücher and Schwarzenberg between Arcis-sur-Aube and Châlons, marched upon Paris, entirely disregarding Napoleon's march towards the Rhine,[43] and this march decided the campaign. But at that time Napoleon had been defeated at Arcis and was unable to stand against the allied

army; there was no French army shut up by allied troops in a border fortress which he might relieve; and, above all things, Paris was not fortified. Now, on the contrary, whatever may be the military value, numerically and morally, represented by MacMahon's army, there is no doubt that it is quite sufficient to raise the investment of Metz, if that investment be carried out by no more troops than are necessary to hold Bazaine in check. And, on the other hand, whatever may be thought of the fortifications of Paris, nobody will be foolhardy enough to expect that they will fall like the walls of Jericho, before the first trumpet blast of the invaders.[a] They will at least compel either a lengthy investment to starve out the defence, or a beginning, if not more, of a regular siege. Thus, while the Germans were "resolutely" arriving before Paris, and brought to a dead stop by the forts, MacMahon would defeat the German troops before Metz, unite with Bazaine, and then France would have an army upon the communications and lines of supply of the Germans strong enough to compel them to retreat more "resolutely" than they had advanced.

If MacMahon's army, then, be too strong to be neglected by the Germans under the circumstances, we must come to the conclusion that the intelligence of the resolute march of King William to Paris, which most of our contemporaries consider of the highest importance, either is a piece of false news thrown out intentionally to mislead the enemy, or, if it be really an indiscreet publication of correct news, represents a resolution come to before MacMahon's latest move was known, in which case it will be speedily reversed. In either case, a corps or two may continue to advance towards Paris, but the mass of all available troops will be marched north-east[44] to reap to the full those advantages which MacMahon almost throws at their feet.[45]

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[a] Joshua 6:20.—*Ed.*

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XIV[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1731, August 31, 1870]

The Germans have again been too quick for MacMahon. The Fourth Army, under the Crown Prince Albert of Saxony, comprising at least two corps (the Prussian Guards and the 12th or Royal Saxon Corps), if not more, have pushed at once up to the Meuse, secured passages somewhere between Stenay and Verdun, and sent their cavalry across. The defiles of the Argonnes are in their power. At St. Ménehould last Thursday[b] they took 800 Gardes Mobiles prisoners, and at Buzancy on Saturday they defeated a French cavalry brigade. On their road they pushed a strong reconnaissance against Verdun last Thursday,[c] but, finding the place in condition to receive them, they did not persist in an attack by main force.

MacMahon, who in the meantime had left Reims on the 22nd and 23rd with an army, according to French reports, of 150,000 men, well equipped, well provided with artillery, ammunition, and provisions,[c] had not, on the evening of the 25th, got farther than Rethel, about twenty-three miles beyond Reims. How long he continued there, and when he left it, we do not know for certain. But the cavalry engagement at Buzancy, which is on the road to Stenay, some twenty miles farther on, proves that even on Saturday his infantry had not yet arrived there. This slowness of movement contrasts vividly with the activity of the Germans. No doubt, to a great extent it is caused by the composition of his

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[a] Written on August 30 or 31, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] August 25.—*Ed.*

[c] "Paris, Aug. 23", *The Times,* No. 26837, August 24, 1870; "Paris. Aug. 24, Evening", *The Times,* No. 26838, August 25, 1870.—*Ed.*

army, which contains either more or less demoralized troops, or new formations in which young recruits are predominating; some of them are even mere volunteer corps with numbers of non-professional officers. It is evident that this army can neither have the discipline nor the cohesion of the old "Army of the Rhine," and that it will be almost impossible to move from 120,000 to 150,000 men of this sort both rapidly and with order. Then there are the trains. The great mass of the heavy trains of the Army of the Rhine did certainly escape from Metz on the 14th and 15th, but it may be imagined that they were not in the very best of conditions; it may be assumed that their supply of ammunition and the state of their horses are not all that is to be desired. And finally, we may take it for granted that the French Intendance has not mended since the beginning of the war, and that consequently the provisioning of a large army in an extremely poor country will be no easy matter. But even if we allow very liberally for all these obstacles, we shall still be compelled to see besides in MacMahon's dilatoriness a distinct symptom of indecision. His nearest way to the relief of Bazaine, the direct road by Verdun once given up, was that by Stenay, and in that direction he struck. But before he got farther than Rethel he must have known that the Germans had seized upon the passages of the Meuse, and that the right flank of his columns on the road to Stenay was not safe. This rapidity of the German advance appears to have disconcerted his plans. We are told that on Friday he was still at Rethel, where he received fresh reinforcements from Paris, and that he intended to move to Mézières next day. As we have had no authentic news of important engagements, this appears very probable. It would imply an almost complete abandonment of his plan to relieve Bazaine; for a movement through the narrow strip of French territory on the right bank of the Meuse, between Mézières and Stenay, would have its great difficulties and dangers, cause fresh delay, and give his opponents ample time to envelop him from all sides. For there can be no doubt now that quite sufficient forces have been sent northwards for this purpose from the army of the Crown Prince. Whatever we hear of the whereabouts of the Third Army points to a northward movement by the three great routes most handy for the purpose—Epernay, Reims, Rethel; Châlons, Vouziers; and Bar-le-Duc, Varennes, Grandpré. The fact of the engagement at Saint Ménehould being telegraphed from Bar-le-Duc[a] renders it even possible that it was

[a] German official report "Bar-le-Duc, Aug. 26", *The Times*, No. 26842, August 30, 1870.— *Ed.*

part of the Third Army which there defeated the Mobiles and occupied the town.

But what can be MacMahon's intention if he really moves upon Mézières? We doubt whether he has any very clear idea himself of what he intends doing. We now know that his march northwards was, to a certain extent at least, forced upon him by the insubordination of his men, who grumbled at the "retreat" from the camp of Châlons to Reims, and rather strongly demanded to be led against the enemy. The march to relieve Bazaine was then entered upon. By the end of the week MacMahon may have been pretty well convinced that his army had not the mobility necessary for a direct march upon Stenay, and that he had better take the, for the moment, safer road by Mézières. This would certainly postpone and might render impracticable the intended relief of Bazaine; but had MacMahon ever any very decided faith in his ability to effect that? We doubt it. And then the move on Mézières would, at all events, delay the enemy's march upon Paris, give the Parisians more time to complete their defence, gain time for the organization of the armies of reserve behind the Loire and at Lyons; and in case of need might he not retire along the northern frontier upon the threefold belt of fortresses, and try whether there was not some "quadrilateral" among them? Some such more or less indefinite ideas may have induced MacMahon, who certainly does not seem to be anything of a strategist, to make a second false move after once having entangled himself in a first one; and thus we see the last army which France has, and probably will have, in the field during this war march deliberately to its ruin, from which only the grossest blunders of the enemy can save it; and that enemy has not made one mistake yet.

We say the last army which France probably will have in the field during this war. Bazaine has to be given up, unless MacMahon can relieve him, and that is more than doubtful. MacMahon's army, in the best of cases, will get scattered among the fortresses on the northern frontier, where it will be harmless. The reserve armies that are now spoken about will be raw levies, mingled with a certain number of old soldiers, and unavoidably commanded by chiefly unprofessional officers; they will be armed with all sorts of arms; they will be totally unused to the breech-loaders, which is tantamount to saying that their ammunition will be spent before it is really wanted—in one word, they will be unfit for the field, fit for nothing but the defence of fortifications. While the Germans have not only brought their battalions and squadrons to their full complement again, but keep

sending division after division of landwehr to France, the French fourth battalions are not complete yet. Only sixty-six of them have been formed into "régiments de marche,"[a] and sent either to Paris or to MacMahon; the remaining thirty-four were not ready to march out a few days ago. The army organization fails everywhere; and a noble and gallant nation finds all its efforts for self-defence unavailing, because it has for twenty years suffered its destinies to be guided by a set of adventurers who turned administration, government, army, navy—in fact, all France—into a source of pecuniary profit to themselves.

[a] Regiments ready for battle.—*Ed.*

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XV[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1733, September 2, 1870]

On the 26th of August, when the whole of our contemporaries, with scarcely one exception, were far too busy descanting upon the immense importance of the Crown Prince's[b] "resolute" march upon Paris to have any time left for MacMahon, we ventured to point out that the really important movement of the day was that which the latter general was reported to be making for the relief of Metz. We said that in case of defeat "MacMahon's troops may have to surrender in that little strip of French territory jutting out into Belgium between Mézières and Charlemont-Givet."[c]

What we presumed then is now almost accomplished. MacMahon has with him the 1st (his own), 5th (formerly De Failly's. now Wimpffen's), 7th (Douay's), and 12th (Lebrun's) corps, with such troops as could be spared from Paris up to the 29th, including even those rebellious Mobiles of Saint Maur; and, besides, the cavalry of Canrobert's corps, which was left at Châlons. The whole force will represent, perhaps, 150,000 men, barely one half of which are troops of the old army; the rest, fourth battalions and Mobiles, in about equal proportions. It is said to be well provided with artillery, but of this a great portion must consist of newly-formed batteries, and it is notoriously very weak in cavalry. Even if this army should be numerically stronger than we estimate it, this excess must consist of new levies, and will not add to its strength, which we can scarcely deem to be equivalent to a force of 100,000 good soldiers.

MacMahon left Reims for Rethel and the Meuse on the evening of the 22nd, but the 13th Corps was despatched from Paris on the

[a] Written on September 1, 1870.—*Ed.*
[b] Frederick William.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, p. 69.—*Ed.*

28th and 29th only; and as by that time the direct railway to Rethel, viâ Reims, was menaced by the enemy, these troops had to be sent round by the Northern of France Railway, by St. Quentin, Avesnes, and Hirson. They could not complete their journey before the 30th or 31st, and then fighting had already begun in earnest; so that the troops for which MacMahon had waited were not there after all when wanted. For, while he kept losing time between Rethel, Mézières, and Stenay, the Germans came marching on from all sides. On the 27th a brigade of his advanced cavalry was defeated at Buzancy. On the 28th, Vouziers, an important crossing of roads in the Argonnes, was in German hands, and two of their squadrons charged and took Vrizy, a village occupied by infantry, who had to surrender—a feat, by-the-by, of which there is but one previous example—the taking of Dembe Wielkie by Polish cavalry, from Russian infantry and cavalry, in 1831.[46] On the 29th no engagements are reported from any trustworthy source. But on the 30th (Tuesday) the Germans, having concentrated sufficient forces, fell upon MacMahon and defeated him. The German accounts speak of a battle near Beaumont,[a] and of an engagement near Nouart[b] (on the road from Stenay to Buzancy),[47] but Belgian reports refer to fighting on the right bank of the Meuse, between Mouzon and Carignan.[c] The two can be easily reconciled, and supposing the Belgian telegrams to be substantially correct, the German Fourth Army (4th, 12th, and Guards corps) appear to have had the 4th and 12th corps on the left bank of the Moselle, where they were joined by the First Bavarian Corps, the first instalment of the Third Army arriving from the South. They met MacMahon's main forces at Beaumont, marching evidently in the direction of Mézières to Stenay; they attacked them, a portion, probably the Bavarians, falling upon and overlapping their right flank, and pushing them away from their direct line of retreat towards the Meuse at Mouzon, where the difficulty and delay of the passage over the bridge would account for their great losses of prisoners, artillery, and stores. While this was going on, the advanced guard of the 12th German Corps, which appears to have been sent off in a different direction, met the 5th French Corps (Wimpffen's) marching, to all appearances, by way of Le Chêne Populeux, the valley of the Bar, and Buzancy,

[a] "Buzancy, Aug. 30", *The Times*, No. 26844, September 1, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] "Varennes, Aug. 30, Afternoon", *The Times*, No. 26844, September 1, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] "Florenville (Belgium), Aug. 31", *The Times*, No. 26844, September 1, 1870.—*Ed.*

towards the flank of the Germans. The encounter took place at Nouart, about seven miles south of Beaumont, and was successful for the Germans; that is to say, they succeeded in stopping Wimpffen's flank movement while the fighting was going on at Beaumont. A third portion of MacMahon's forces, according to the Belgian reports, must have advanced on the right bank of the Meuse, where it is said to have encamped the previous night at Vaux, between Carignan and Mouzon; but this corps, too, was attacked by the Germans (probably the Guards) and completely defeated, with the loss, as is alleged, of four mitrailleurs.[a]

The *ensemble* of these three engagements (always supposing the Belgian accounts to be substantially correct) would constitute that complete defeat of MacMahon which we have repeatedly predicted.[b] The four corps opposed to him would now number about 100,000 men, but it is questionable whether they were all engaged. MacMahon's troops, as we have said, would be equivalent to about that number of good soldiers.[c] That their resistance was nothing like that of the old Army of the Rhine is implied in the remark of a German official telegram, that "out losses are moderate,"[d] and the number of prisoners taken. It is too early yet to attempt to criticise MacMahon's tactical arrangements for and during this battle, as we know scarcely anything about them. But his strategy cannot be too strongly condemned. He has thrown away every fair chance of escape. His position between Rethel and Mézières rendered it possible for him to fight so as to have his retreat open to Laon and Soissons, and thereby the means of again reaching Paris or western France. Instead of this, he fought as if his only line of retreat was to Mézières, and as if Belgium belonged to him. He is said to be at Sedan, the victorious Germans will by this time have lined the left bank of the Meuse, not only before that fortress, but also before Mézières, whence their left will, in another day or so, extend to the Belgian frontier near Rocroi, and then MacMahon will be shut up in that little strip of territory upon which we placed our finger six days ago.

Once there, he has but little choice left to him. He has four fortresses around him—Sedan, Mézières, Rocroi, and Charlemont; but upon twelve square miles of territory, with an overpowering

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[a] "Florenville (Belgium), Aug. 31", *The Times*, No. 26844, September 1, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 69, 72 and 76.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 78.—*Ed.*

[d] William I's telegram to the Queen "Varennes, Aug. 30, Afternoon", *The Times*, No. 26844, September 1, 1870.—*Ed.*

army in front, and a neutral country in the rear, he cannot play at quadrilaterals. He will be starved out or fought out; he will be compelled to surrender either to the Prussians or to the Belgians. But there is one other course open to him. We said just now he had acted as if Belgium belonged to him. What if he really thought so? What if the whole mystery at the bottom of this inexplicable strategy was a settled determination to use Belgian territory as if it belonged to France? From Charlemont there is a straight road through Belgium, by Philippeville, to French territory, near Maubeuge. This road is but one half of the distance from Mézières to Maubeuge through French territory. What if MacMahon intended to use that road for escape, in case he was reduced to the last extremity? The Belgians, he may think, will not be in a condition to effectually resist an army as strong as his; and if the Germans, as is very likely, follow MacMahon into Belgian territory, in case the Belgians cannot stop him, why, then there arise new political complications which may better, but cannot render much worse, the present situation of France. Moreover, if MacMahon should succeed in driving but one German patrol upon Belgian ground, the breach of neutrality would be established, and form an excuse for his subsequent violation of Belgium. Such ideas may have passed through the head of this old Algerian; they are in keeping with African warfare, and, indeed, they are almost the only ones by which such strategy as he has shown can be excused. But even that chance may be cut off from him; if the Crown Prince acts with his usual quickness, he may possibly reach Monthermé and the junction of the rivers Semois and Meuse before MacMahon, and then MacMahon would be pent up between Semois and Sedan on about as much ground as his men require for a camp, and without any hope of a short cut through neutral ground.

# THE FRENCH DEFEATS[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 1734, September 3, 1870]

A large army, when driven into a corner, dies hard. It took first of all three battles to teach Bazaine's troops that they were really shut up in Metz, and then thirty-six hours' desperate fighting through day and night on Wednesday and Thursday last[48] to convince them—if even then convinced—that there was no opening for escape through the toils in which the Prussians had caught them. Nor was the battle of Tuesday enough to compel MacMahon to give in. A fresh battle—apparently the greatest and most bloody of all the series—had to be fought on Thursday,[49] and he himself wounded, before he was brought to a sense of his real position. The first account of the fighting near Beaumont[b] and Carignan[c] appears to have been substantially correct, with this exception, that the line of retreat of the French corps engaged at Beaumont, which ran on the left bank of the Meuse to Sedan, was not cut off entirely. Some portion of these troops seem to have escaped on the left bank to Sedan—at least there was fighting again on that same bank on Thursday. Then there appears to be some doubt as to the date of the engagement of Nouart, which the staff in Berlin are disposed to think took place on Monday.[d] This would certainly make the German telegrams agree better, and, if so, the turning movement which was ascribed to the French Fifth Corps would equally fall to the ground.

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[a] Written on September 3, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Prussian telegram, datelined "Buzancy, Aug. 30", *The Times*, No. 26844, September 1, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] Engels refers to the telegram reproduced from the Belgian *L'Etoile* in *The Times*, No. 26844, September 1, 1870, under the heading "Carignan, Aug. 30, 4 P.M.".—*Ed.*

[d] Prussian telegram, datelined "Berlin, Sept. 1", *The Times*, No. 26845, September 2, 1870.—*Ed.*

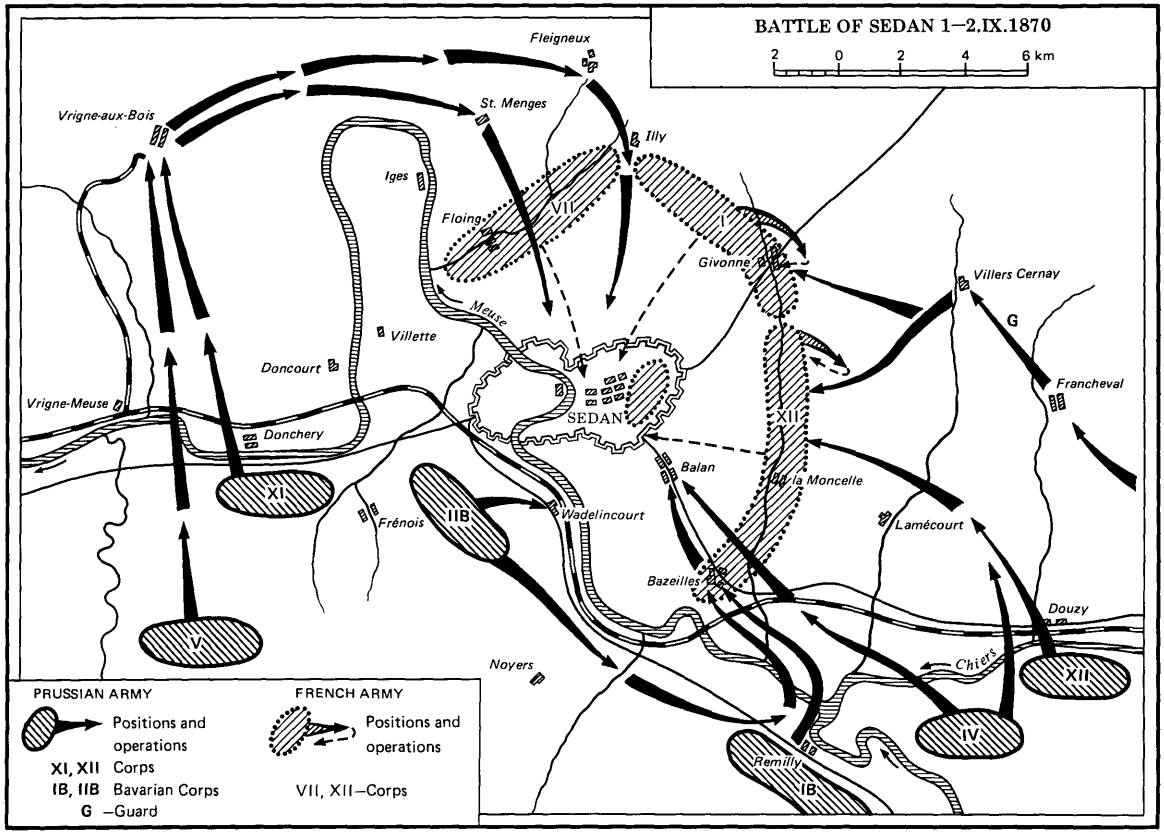
BATTLE OF SEDAN 1—2.IX.1870
2 0 2 4 6 km
Fleigneux
St. Menges
Vrigne-aux-Bois
Illy
Iges
Floing
VII
I
Givonne
Villers Cernay
G
Mouse
Villette
Doncourt
Francheval
Vrigne-Meuse
SEDAN
XII
Donchery
Balan
la Moncelle
XI
IIB
Wadelincourt
Frénois
Lamécourt
Bazeilles
Douzy
V
Noyers
Chiers
XII
IV
Remilly
IB
PRUSSIAN ARMY
Positions and operations
XI, XII Corps
IB, IIB Bavarian Corps
G —Guard
FRENCH ARMY
Positions and operations
VII, XII—Corps

The result of the fighting on Tuesday was disastrous to the French corps engaged. Above twenty cannon, eleven mitrailleurs, and 7,000 prisoners are results almost equivalent to those of Woerth, but conquered much more easily, and with much smaller sacrifices. The French were driven back on both banks of the Meuse to the immediate neighbourhood of Sedan. On the left bank their position after the battle appears to have been defined to the west by the River Bar and the Canal des Ardennes, both of which run along the same valley, and enter the Meuse at Villers, between Sedan and Mézières; on the east, by the ravine and brook running from Raucourt to the Meuse at Remilly. Having thus both flanks secured, their main body would occupy the intervening plateau, ready to meet an attack from any side. On the right bank, the river Chiers, which joins the Meuse about four miles above Sedan, opposite Remilly, must have been crossed by the French after Tuesday's battle. There are three parallel ravines, running north and south from the Belgian frontier, the first and second towards the Chiers, the third and largest immediately in front of Sedan, towards the Meuse. On the second of these, near its highest point, is the village of Cernay; on the third, above, where it is crossed by the road to Bouillon in Belgium, Givonne; and lower down, where the road to Stenay and Montmédy crosses the ravine, is Bazeilles. These three ravines in Thursday's battle must have formed as many successive defensive positions for the French, who naturally would hold the last and strongest with the greatest tenacity. This part of the battle-field is something like that of Gravelotte; but, while there the ravines could be and actually were turned by the plateau whence they sprang, here the proximity of the Belgian frontier rendered an attempt at turning them very risky, and almost compelled a direct front attack.

While the French established themselves in this position, and drew towards them such troops as had not taken part in Tuesday's battle (among others, probably, the 12th Corps, including the Mobiles from Paris), the Germans had a day's time to concentrate their army; and when they attacked on Thursday they had on the spot the whole of the Fourth Army (Guards, 4th and 12th corps) and three corps (5th, 11th, and one Bavarian) of the Third; a force morally if not numerically superior to that of MacMahon. The fighting began at half-past seven in the morning, and at a quarter past four, when the King of Prussia telegraphed,[a] it was

[a] William I's telegram "On the Battle-Field of Sedan, Sept. 1, 4.15 P.M.", *The Times*, No. 26846, September 3, 1870.—*Ed.*

still going on, the Germans gaining ground on all sides. According to the Belgian reports, the villages of Bazeilles, Remilly, Villers, and Cernay were in flames, and the chapel of Givonne was in the hands of the Germans.[a] This would indicate that on the left bank of the Meuse the two villages which supported, in case of a retreat, the French wings had been either taken or rendered untenable; while on the right bank the first and second lines of defence had been conquered, and the third, between Bazeilles and Givonne, was at least on the point of being abandoned by the French. Under these circumstances there can be no doubt that nightfall would see the Germans victorious and the French driven back to Sedan. This, indeed, is confirmed by telegrams from Belgium announcing the fact that MacMahon was completely hemmed in, and that thousands of French troops were crossing the frontier and being disarmed.[b]

Under these circumstances there were only two alternatives open to MacMahon—capitulation or a dash across Belgian territory. The defeated army, shut up in and about Sedan—that is, in a district not larger, at best, than it would require for its encampment—could not possibly maintain itself; and even if it had been able to keep open its communication with Mézières, which is about ten miles to the west, it would still be hemmed in in a very confined strip of territory, and unable to hold out. Thus MacMahon, unable to fray a road through his enemies, must either pass on Belgian territory or surrender. As it happened, MacMahon, disabled by his wounds, was spared the pain of a decision. It fell to General De Wimpffen to announce the surrender of the French army. This conclusion can hardly fail to have been hastened by the news, supposing news could reach them, of Bazaine's decisive repulse in his efforts to get away from Metz. The Germans had foreseen his intention, and were prepared to meet him at all points. Not only Steinmetz but Prince Frederick Charles (as appears from the corps mentioned, 1st and 9th[c]), were on the watch, and careful entrenchments further strengthened the barrier encircling Metz.

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[a] "Brussels, Sept. 2, 7.34 A.M.", *The Times*, No. 26846, September 3, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Telegram from a special correspondent of *The Times*, datelined "Arlon, Sept. 2, 7.46 P.M.", *The Times*, No. 26846, September 3, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] Prussian official report "Malancourt, Sept. 2", *The Times*, No. 26846, September 3, 1870.—*Ed.*

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XVI[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1737, September 7, 1870]

The capitulation of Sedan settles the fate of the last French army in the field. It settles at the same time the fate of Metz and Bazaine's army; relief being now out of the question, they will have to capitulate too, perhaps this week, almost certainly not later than next week.

There remains the colossal entrenched camp of Paris, the last hope of France. The fortifications of Paris form the hugest complex of military engineering works ever constructed; they have never yet been put to the test, and consequently opinions as to their value are not only divided, but absolutely contradictory. By examining the actual facts of the case, we shall gain a safe basis upon which to found our conclusions.

Montalembert, a French cavalry officer, but a military engineer of uncommon and, perhaps, unparalleled genius, was the first to propose and work out during the latter half of the eighteenth century the plan of surrounding fortresses by detached forts at such a distance as to shelter the place itself from bombardment. Before him the outworks—citadels, lunettes, &c.—were more or less attached to the enceinte or rampart of the place, scarcely ever farther distant from it than the foot of the glacis.[50] He proposed forts large and strong enough to hold out a separate siege, and distant from the ramparts of the town from six hundred to twelve hundred yards, and even more. The new theory was for years treated with contempt in France, while it found willing pupils in Germany when, after 1815, the line of the Rhine had to be fortified. Cologne, Coblenz, Mayence, and later

[a] Written between September 3 and 7, 1870.—*Ed.*

on Ulm, Rastatt, and Germersheim, were surrounded with detached forts; the proposals of Montalembert were modified by Aster and others, and a new system of fortifications thus arose, known under the name of the German school. By-and-by the French began to see the utility of detached forts, and, when Paris was fortified, it was at once evident that the immense line of ramparts round that city would not be worth constructing unless covered by detached forts, otherwise a breach effected in one place of the rampart would bring on the fall of the whole.

Modern warfare has shown in more than one instance the value of such entrenched camps, formed by a circle of detached forts, with the main fortress for its nucleus. Mantua, by its position, was an entrenched camp, so was Dantzic, more or less, in 1807, and these two were the only fortresses which ever arrested Napoleon I. Again, in 1813, Dantzic was enabled by its detached forts—field works for the most part—to offer a prolonged resistance.[51] The whole of Radetzky's campaign in 1849 in Lombardy hinged on the entrenched camp of Verona, itself the nucleus of the celebrated Quadrilateral,[52] so did the whole of the Crimean war depend on the fate of the entrenched camp of Sebastopol, which held out so long merely because the Allies were unable to invest it on all sides, and cut off supplies and reinforcements from the besieged.[53]

The case of Sebastopol is, for our purpose, most in point, because the extent of the fortified place was larger than in any previous instance. But Paris is much larger even than Sebastopol. The circuit of the forts measures about twenty-four miles. Will the strength of the place be increased in proportion?

The works of themselves are models of their kind. They are of the utmost simplicity; a plain enceinte of bastions, without even a single demi-lune before the curtains,[54] the forts, mostly bastioned quadrangles or pentagons, without any demi-lunes or other outworks; here and there a horn-work or crown-work[55] to cover an outlying space of high ground. They are constructed not so much for passive as for active defence. The garrison of Paris is expected to come out into the open, to use the forts as supporting points for its flanks, and by constant sallies on a large scale to render impossible a regular siege of any two or three forts. Thus, whilst the forts protect the garrison of the town from a too near approach of the enemy, the garrison will have to protect the forts from siege batteries; it will have constantly to destroy the besiegers' works. Let us add that the distance of the forts from the ramparts precludes the possibility of an effective bombardment of the town until two or three at least of the forts shall have been

taken. Let us further add that the position, at the junction of the Seine and Marne, both with extremely winding courses, and with a strong range of hills on the most exposed, the north-eastern front, offers great natural advantages, which have been made the best of in the planning of the works.

If these conditions can be fulfilled, and the two million people inside can be regularly fed, Paris is undoubtedly an extremely strong place. To procure provisions for the inhabitants is not a very difficult matter, if taken in hand in time, and carried out systematically. Whether that has been done in the present instance is very doubtful. What has been done by the late Government looks like spasmodic and even thoughtless work. The accumulation of live cattle without provender for them was a perfect piece of absurdity. We may presume that, if the Germans act with their usual decision, they will find Paris but poorly provisioned for a long siege.

But how about that chief condition, the active defence, the garrison which goes out to attack the enemy, instead of striking behind the ramparts? To show the full strength of its works, and to prevent the enemy from taking advantage of its weakness, the absence of protecting outworks in the main ditches, Paris requires to count among its defenders a regular army. And that was the fundamental idea with the men who planned the works; that a defeated French army, its inability to hold the field being once established, should fall back upon Paris, and participate in the defence of the capital; either directly, as a garrison strong enough to prevent, by constant attacks, a regular siege and even a complete investment, or indirectly, by taking up a position behind the Loire, there recruiting its strength, and then falling, as opportunities might offer, upon such weak points as the besiegers, in their immense investing line, could not avoid presenting.

Now, the whole conduct of the French commanders in this war has contributed to deprive Paris of this one essential condition of its defence. There are of all the French army but the troops which remained in Paris and the corps of General Vinoy (the 13th, originally Trochu's); together, perhaps, 50,000 men, almost all, if not indeed all of them, fourth battalions and Mobile Guards. To these may be added perhaps 20,000 or 30,000 men more of fourth battalions, and an indefinite number of Mobile Guards of the provinces, raw levies totally unfit for the field. We have seen at Sedan what little use such troops are in a battle. They, no doubt, will be more trustworthy when they have forts to fall back upon, and a few weeks' drill, discipline, and fighting will certainly

improve them. But the active defence of a large place like Paris implies movements of large masses in the open, regular battles at a distance in front of the sheltering forts, attempts to break through the line of investment or to prevent its completion. And for that, for attacks on a superior enemy, where surprise and dash are required, and where the troops must be kept perfectly in hand for that purpose, the present garrison of Paris will be scarcely available.

We suppose the united Third and Fourth German armies, fully 180,000 strong, will appear before Paris in the course of next week, surround it with flying columns of cavalry, destroy the railway communications, and thereby all chance of extensive supplies, and prepare the regular investment, which will be completed on the arrival of the First and Second armies after the fall of Metz, leaving plenty of men to be sent beyond the Loire to scour the country, and prevent any attempt at the formation of a new French army. Should Paris not surrender, then the regular siege will have to begin, and, in the absence of an active defence, must proceed comparatively rapidly. This would be the regular course of things if there were none but military considerations; but affairs have now come to a point when these may be set aside by political events, to prognosticate which does not belong to our province here.

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XVII[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1739, September 9, 1870]

The time it will take the German armies to march to Paris and there open a new phase of the war gives us leisure to look back upon what has been going on behind the front of the troops in the field, before the fortresses.

Leaving out of the question Sedan, which was included as a corollary in the capitulation of MacMahon's army, the Germans have taken four fortresses—La Petite Pierre and Vitry, without a blow; Lichtenberg and Marsal, after a short bombardment. They have merely blockaded Bitche; they are besieging Strasbourg; they have bombarded, so far without result, Phalsbourg, Toul, Montmédy; and they intend to begin in a few days the regular sieges of Toul and Metz.

With the exception of Metz, which is protected by detached forts far in advance of the town, all other fortresses which resisted have been subjected to bombardment. This proceeding has, at all times, formed a part of the operations of a regular siege; at first, it was principally intended to destroy the stores of provisions and ammunition of the besieged, but since it has become the custom to secure these in bomb-proof vaults, constructed for the purpose, the bombardment has more and more been used to set fire to and destroy as many buildings as possible inside the fortress. The destruction of the property and provisions of the inhabitants of the place became a means of pressure upon them, and, through them, upon the garrison and commander. In cases where the garrison was weak, ill-disciplined, and demoralized, and where the commander was without energy, a bombardment alone often

[a] Written between September 7 and 9, 1870.—*Ed.*

effected the surrender of a fortress. This was the case especially in 1815 after Waterloo,[56] when a whole series of fortresses, garrisoned chiefly by National Guards,[57] surrendered to a short bombardment without awaiting a regular siege. Avesnes, Guise, Maubeuge, Landrecies, Marienbourg, Philippeville, &c., all fell after a few hours', at best a few days', shelling. It was no doubt the recollection of these successes, and the knowledge that most of the frontier places were garrisoned chiefly by Mobile and sedentary National Guards, which induced the Germans to try the same plan again. Moreover, the introduction of rifled artillery having made shells the almost exclusive projectiles even of field artillery, it is now comparatively easy to bombard a place and set fire to its buildings with the ordinary field guns of an army corps, without awaiting, as formerly, the arrival of mortars and heavy siege howitzers.

Although recognized in modern warfare, it is not to be forgotten that the bombardment of the private houses in a fortress is always a very harsh and cruel measure, which ought not to be had recourse to without at least a reasonable hope of compelling surrender, and without a certain degree of necessity. If places like Phalsbourg, Lichtenberg, and Toul are bombarded, this may be justified on the ground that they stop mountain passes and railways, the immediate possession of which is of the greatest importance to the invader, and might reasonably be expected to follow as the result of a few days' shelling. If two of these places have so far held out, this redounds so much more to the credit of the garrison and the inhabitants. But as to the bombardment of Strasbourg, which preceded the regular siege, the case is quite different.

Strasbourg, a city of above 80,000 inhabitants, surrounded by fortifications in the antiquated manner of the sixteenth century, was strengthened by Vauban, who built a citadel outside the town, nearer the Rhine, and connected it with the ramparts of the town by the continuous lines of what was then called an entrenched camp. The citadel commanding the town, and being capable of independent defence after the town has capitulated, the simplest way to take both would be to attack the citadel at once, so as not to have to go through two successive sieges; but then, the works of the citadel are so much stronger, and its situation in the swampy lowlands near the Rhine renders the throwing up of trenches so much more difficult, that circumstances may, and generally will, advise a previous attack on the town, with the fall of which a further defence of the citadel alone would, in the eyes of a weak

commander, lose much of its purpose; except in so far as it might secure better conditions of surrender. But, at all events, if the town alone be taken, the citadel remains to be reduced, and an obstinate commander may continue to hold out, and keep the town and the besieger's establishments in it under fire.

Under these circumstances what could be the use of a bombardment of the town? If all went well, the inhabitants might demoralize the greater part of the garrison, and compel the commander to abandon the town and throw himself, with the élite of his soldiers, 3,000 to 5,000 men, into the citadel, and there continue the defence and hold the town under his fire. And the character of General Uhrich (for that, and not Ulrich, is the name of the gallant old soldier) was known well enough to prevent anybody from supposing that he would allow himself to be intimidated into a surrender, both of town and citadel, by any amount of shells thrown into them. To bombard a place which has an independent citadel commanding it is in itself an absurdity and a useless cruelty. Certainly, stray shells or the slow shelling of a siege will always do damage in a besieged town; but that is nothing compared to the destruction and sacrifice of civilian life during a regular, systematic six days' bombardment such as has been inflicted upon the unfortunate city.

The Germans say they must have the town soon, for political reasons. They intend to keep it at the peace. If that be so, the bombardment, the severity of which is unparalleled, was not only a crime, it was also a blunder. An excellent way, indeed, to obtain the sympathies of a town which is doomed to annexation, by setting it on fire and killing numbers of the inhabitants by exploding shells! And has the bombardment advanced the surrender by one single day? Not that we can see. If the Germans want to annex the town and break the French sympathies of the inhabitants, their plan would have been to take the town by as short a regular siege as possible, then besiege the citadel, and place the commander on the horns of the dilemma, either to neglect some of the means of defence at his disposal or to fire on the town.

As it is, the immense quantities of shell thrown into Strasbourg have not superseded the necessity for a regular siege. On the 29th of August the first parallel had to be opened on the north-western side of the fortress, near Schiltigheim, running at a distance of from 500 to 650 yards from the works. On the 3rd of September the second parallel (some correspondents call it by mistake the third) was opened at 330 yards; the useless bombardment has

been stopped by order of the King of Prussia, and it may take till about the 17th or 20th before a practicable breach can be made in the ramparts. But all estimates in this case are hazardous. It is the first instance of a siege in which the percussion shells of modern rifled artillery are used against masonry. In their trials during the dismantling of Jülich the Prussians obtained extraordinary results; masonry was breached and blockhouses were demolished at great distances, and by indirect fire (that is, from batteries where the object fired at could not be seen); but this was merely a peace experiment and will have to be confirmed in actual war. Strasbourg will serve to give us a pretty good idea of the effect of the modern heavy rifled artillery in siege operations, and on this account its siege deserves to be watched with peculiar interest.

# THE RISE AND FALL OF ARMIES[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1740, September 10, 1870]

When Louis Napoleon founded the Empire "which was peace,"[b] on the votes of the peasants and on the bayonets of their sons, the soldiers of the army, that army did not occupy a particularly prominent rank in Europe, except, perhaps, by tradition. There had been peace since 1815—peace interrupted, for some armies, by the events of 1848 and 1849. The Austrians had gone through a successful campaign in Italy and a disastrous one in Hungary; neither Russia in Hungary nor Prussia in South Germany had gathered any laurels worth speaking of[58]; Russia had her permanent war in the Caucasus and France in Algeria.[59] But none of the great armies had met another on the field of battle since 1815. Louis Philippe had left the French army in a condition of anything but efficiency; the Algerian troops, and especially the pet corps founded more or less for African warfare—Chasseurs-à-Pied,[c] Zouaves, Turcos, Chasseurs d'Afrique[d]—were indeed the objects of much attention; but the mass of the infantry, the cavalry, and the matériel in France were much neglected. The Republic did not improve the state of the army. But the Empire came which was peace, and—"si vis pacem, para bellum"[e]—to it the army at once became the chief object of attention. At that time France possessed a great many comparatively young officers who

[a] Written on September 9 or 10, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Napoleon III's speech at Bordeaux, October 9, 1852, *Oeuvres,* t. 3, Paris, 1856.—*Ed.*

[c] Light infantry.—*Ed.*

[d] African infantry.—*Ed.*

[e] "If you desire to maintain peace, be prepared for war" (Vegetius, *Epitome institutorum rei militar,* 3, prol.).—*Ed.*

had served, in high positions, in Africa at the time when there was still some serious fighting there. She possessed, in the Algerian special corps, troops who undoubtedly were superior to any others in Europe. She had, in the numerous substitutes,[60] a greater number of professional soldiers who had seen service, real veterans, than any other continental Power. The one thing necessary was to elevate as much as possible the mass of the troops to the level of the special corps. This was done to a great extent. The "pas gymnastique" (the "double" of the English), hitherto practised by the special corps only, was extended to the whole infantry, and thus a rapidity of manoeuvring was obtained previously unknown to armies. The cavalry was mounted, as far as possible, with better horses; the matériel of the whole army was looked to and completed; and, finally, the Crimean war was commenced. The organization of the French army showed to great advantage beside that of the English; the numerical proportions of the Allied armies naturally gave the principal part of the glory—whatever there was of it—to the French; the character of the war, circling entirely round one grand siege, brought out to the best advantage the peculiarly mathematical genius of the French as applied by their engineers; and altogether the Crimean war again elevated the French army to the rank of the first army in Europe.

Then came the period of the rifle and the rifled gun. The incomparable superiority of the fire of the rifled over the smooth-bore musket led to the abolition, or in some cases to the general rifling, of the latter.[a] Prussia had her old muskets converted into rifles in less than one year; England gradually gave the Enfield, Austria an excellent small-bore rifle (Lorentz), to the whole infantry. France alone retained the old smooth-bore musket, the rifle being confined, as before, to the special corps alone. But while the mass of her artillery retained the short twelve-pounder, a pet invention of the Emperor, but of inferior efficiency to the old artillery on account of the reduced charge—a number of rifled four-pounder batteries—were equipped and held in readiness for a war. Their construction was faulty, being the first rifled guns made since the fifteenth century; but their efficiency was much superior to that of any smooth-bore field gun in existence.

Under these circumstances the Italian war broke out.[61] The Austrian army had rather easy-going ways; extraordinary efforts had seldom been its forte; in fact, it was respectable, and nothing

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[a] Engels has "former", clearly a slip of the pen.—*Ed.*

more. Its commanders counted some of the best and a great many of the worst generals of the age. Court influence brought the mass of the latter into high command. The blunders of the Austrian generals, the greater ambition of the French soldiers, gave the French army a rather hard-fought victory. Magenta brought no trophies at all; Solferino only a few; and politics dropped the curtain before the real difficulty of the war, the contest for the Quadrilateral, could come off.

After this campaign the French was the model army of Europe. If after the Crimean war the French Chasseur-à-Pied had already become the *beau idéal* of a foot soldier, this admiration was now extended to the whole of the French army. Its institutions were studied; its camps became instructing schools for officers of all nations. The invincibility of the French became almost a European article of faith. In the meantime France rifled all her old muskets, and armed all her artillery with rifled cannon.

But the same campaign which elevated the French army to the first rank in Europe gave rise to efforts which ended in procuring for it, first a rival, then a conqueror. The Prussian army from 1815 to 1850 had undergone the same process of rusting as all other European hosts. But for Prussia this rust of peace became a greater clog in her fighting machinery than anywhere else. The Prussian system at that time united a line and a landwehr regiment in every brigade, so that one half of the field troops had to be formed anew on mobilization. The material for the line and landwehr had become utterly deficient; there was a great deal of petty pilfering among the responsible men. Altogether, when the conflict of 1850 with Austria compelled a mobilization, the whole thing broke down miserably, and Prussia had to pass through the Caudine Forks.[62] The matériel was immediately replaced at great cost, and the whole organization revised, but in its details only. When the Italian war of 1859 compelled another mobilization, the matériel was in better order, but not even then complete; and the spirit of the landwehr, excellent for a national war, showed itself completely unmanageable during a military demonstration which might lead to a war with either one or the other of the belligerents. The reorganization of the army was resolved upon.

This reorganization, carried out behind the back of the Parliament, kept the whole of the thirty-two landwehr regiments of infantry under arms, gradually filling up the ranks by an increased levy of recruits, and finally forming them into line regiments, increasing their number from forty to seventy-two. The artillery was increased in the same proportion, the cavalry in a

much smaller one. This increase of the army was about proportional to that of the population of Prussia from 1815 to 1860, from 10 1/2 to 18 1/2 millions. In spite of the opposition of the Second Chamber,[63] it remained practically in force. The army was, besides, made more efficient in every respect. It had been the first to supply the whole of the infantry with rifles. Now the needle-gun breech-loader, which had hitherto been supplied to a fraction of the infantry only, was given to all, and a reserve stock prepared. The experiments with rifled artillery, carried on for some years, were brought to a close, and the adopted models gradually replaced the smooth-bores. The excessive parade drill, inherited from stiff old Frederick William III, made room more and more for a better system of training, in which outpost duty and skirmishing were chiefly practised, and the models in both branches were to a great extent the Algerian French. For the detached battalions the company column was adopted as the chief fighting formation. Target-shooting was paid great attention to, and capital results were obtained. The cavalry was likewise much improved. The breed of horses, especially in East Prussia, the great horse-breeding country, had been attended to for years, much Arab blood having been introduced, and the fruits now began to become available. The East Prussian horse, inferior in size and speed to the English trooper, is a far superior war horse, and will stand five times as much campaigning. The professional education of the officers, which had been much neglected for a long time, was again screwed up to the prescribed very high level, and altogether the Prussian army was undergoing a complete change. The Danish war[64] was sufficient to show to any one who would see that this was the case; but people would not see. Then came the thunderclap of 1866, and people could not help seeing. Next, there was an extension of the Prussian system to the North German army, and in its fundamental essentials to the South German armies too; and how easily it can be introduced the result has shown. And then came 1870.

But in 1870 the French army was no longer that of 1859. The peculation, jobbery, and general misuse of public duty for private interest which formed the essential base of the system of the Second Empire, had seized the army. If Haussmann and his crew made millions out of the immense Paris job,[65] if the whole Department of Public Works, if every Government contract, every civil office, was shamelessly and openly turned into a means of robbing the public, was the army alone to remain virtuous—the army to which Louis Napoleon owed everything—the army,

commanded by men who were quite as fond of wealth as the more fortunate civilian hangers-on of the Court? And when it came to be known that the Government was in the habit of receiving the money for substitutes without providing these substitutes—a thing necessarily known to every regimental officer; when those other peculations in stores &c., commenced which were to supply the funds secretly paid over to the Emperor by the Ministry of War; when the highest places had to be held by men who were in the secret and could not be dismissed whatever they did or neglected—then the demoralization spread to the regimental officers. We are far from saying that peculation at the public expense became common among them; but contempt for their superiors, neglect of duty, and decay of discipline were the necessary consequences. If the chiefs had commanded respect, would the officers have dared, as was the rule, to drive in coaches on the march? The whole thing had become rotten; the atmosphere of corruption in which the Second Empire lived had at last taken effect upon the main prop of that Empire, the army; in the hour of trial, there was nothing but the glorious traditions of the service and the innate bravery of the soldiers to oppose the enemy, and these are not alone sufficient to keep an army in the foremost rank.

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XVIII[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1744, September 15, 1870]

There still appears to exist great misapprehension with regard to the siege operations now going on in France. Some of our contemporaries, *The Times* for instance, incline towards the opinion that the Germans, excellent though they be in the field, do not understand how to carry on a siege[b]; others suppose that the siege of Strasbourg is carried on for the purpose not so much of getting hold of the town as of making experiments and exercising the German engineers and artillerists. And all this because neither Strasbourg, nor Toul, nor Metz, nor Phalsbourg has as yet surrendered. It appears to be completely forgotten that the last siege carried on previous to this war, that of Sebastopol, required eleven months of open trenches before the place was reduced.

To rectify such crude notions, which could not be put forth but by people unacquainted with military matters, it will be necessary to recall to them what sort of a proceeding a siege really is. The rampart of most fortresses is bastioned—that is to say, it has at its angles pentagonal projections called bastions, which protect by their fire both the space in front of the works and the ditch lying immediately at their foot. In this ditch, between every two bastions, there is a detached triangular work called the demi-lune, which covers part of the bastions, and the curtain—that is, the portion of rampart between them; the ditch extends round this demi-lune. Outside this main ditch there is the covered way, a

[a] Written between September 10 and 15, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] "We are officially informed that...", *The Times,* No. 26854, September 13, 1870.—*Ed.*

broad road protected by the edge of the glacis, an elevation of ground about seven feet high, and gently sloping down externally. In many cases there are other works added to complicate the difficulties of the attack. The ramparts of all these works are lined at the bottom with masonry or protected by water in the ditches, so as to render an assault on the intact works impossible; and the works are so arranged that the outer ones are always commanded—that is, looked down upon—by the inner ones, while they themselves command the field by the height of their ramparts.

To attack such a fortress the method perfected by Vauban is still the one made use of, although the rifled artillery of the besieged may compel variations if the ground before the fortress be perfectly level to a great distance. But as almost all these fortresses were constructed under the reign of smooth-bore artillery, the ground beyond 800 yards from the works is generally left out of the calculation, and in almost every case will give the besiegers a sheltered approach up to that distance without regular trenches. The first thing, then, is to invest the place, drive in its outposts and other detachments, reconnoitre the works, get the siege guns, ammunition, and other stores to the front, and organize the depôts. In the present war a first bombardment by field guns also belonged to this preliminary period, which may last a considerable time. Strasbourg was loosely invested on the 10th of August, closely about the 20th, bombarded from the 23rd to the 28th, and yet the regular siege began on the 29th only. This regular siege dates from the opening of the first parallel, a trench with the earth thrown up on the side towards the fortress, so as to hide and shelter the men passing through it. This first parallel generally encircles the works at a distance of from 600 to 700 yards. In it are established the enfilading batteries; they are placed in the prolongation of all the faces—that is, those lines of rampart whose fire commands the field; and this is done upon all that part of the fortress which is subjected to attack. Their object is to fire along these faces, and thus to destroy the guns and kill the gunners placed upon them. There must be at least twenty such batteries, with from two to three guns each; say fifty heavy guns in all. There were also usually placed in the first parallel a number of mortars to bombard the town or the bombproof magazines of the garrison; they will, with our present artillery, be required only for the latter purpose, rifled guns being now sufficient for the former.

From the first parallel, trenches are pushed in advance in lines, the prolongation of which does not touch the works of the

fortress, so that none of the works can enfilade them; they advance in zigzag until they arrive within about 350 yards from the works, where the second parallel is then traced—a trench similar to the first, but shorter in length. This is generally done the fourth or fifth night after the opening of the trenches. In the second parallel are established the counter-batteries, one against each of the attacked faces, and nearly parallel to them; they are to demolish the guns and ramparts face to face, and cross their fire with the enfilading batteries. They will contain in all about sixty guns of heavy calibre. Then, again, the besiegers advance by new zigzags, which become shorter and closer together the nearer they come to the fortress. At about 150 yards from the works the half-parallel is dug out for mortar batteries, and at the foot of the glacis, about sixty yards from the works, the third parallel is placed, which again contains mortar batteries. This may be completed on the ninth or tenth night of open trenches.

In this proximity to the works the real difficulty begins. The artillery fire of the besieged, as far as it commands the open, will by this time have been pretty nearly silenced, but the musketry from the ramparts is now more effective than ever, and will retard the work in the trenches very much. The approaches now have to be made with much greater caution and upon a different plan, which we cannot explain here in detail. The eleventh night may bring the besieger to the salient angles of the covered way, in front of the salient points of the bastions and demi-lunes; and by the sixteenth night he may have completed the crowning of the glacis—that is to say, carried along his trenches behind the crest of the glacis parallel to the covered way. Then only will he be in a position to establish batteries in order to break the masonry of the ramparts so as to effect a passage across the ditch into the fortress, and to silence the guns on the bastion flanks, which fire along the ditch and forbid its passage. These flanks and their guns may be destroyed and the breach effected on the seventeenth day. On the following night the descent into the ditch and a covered way across it to protect the storming party against flanking fire may be completed and the assault given.

We have in this sketch attempted to give an account of the course of siege operations against one of the weakest and simplest classes of fortress (a Vauban's hexagon), and to fix the time necessary for the various stages of the siege—if undisturbed by successful sallies—on the supposition that the defence does not display extraordinary activity, courage, or resources. Yet, even under these favourable circumstances, we see it will take at least

seventeen days before the main ramparts can be breached, and thereby the place opened to an assault. If the garrison be sufficient in number and well supplied, there is no military reason whatever why they should surrender before; from a merely military point of view it is nothing but their duty that they should hold out at least so long. And then people complain that Strasbourg, which has been subjected to but fourteen days of open trenches, and which possesses outworks on the front of attack, enabling it to hold out at least five days longer than the average—that Strasbourg has not yet been taken. They complain that Metz, Toul, Phalsbourg have not yet surrendered. But we do not yet know whether a single trench has been opened against Toul, and of the other fortresses we know that they are not yet regularly besieged at all. As to Metz, there seems at present no intention to besiege it regularly; the starving out of Bazaine's army appears the most effective way of taking it. These impatient writers ought to know that there are but very few commanders of fortresses who will surrender to a patrol of four Lancers, or even to a bombardment, if they have anything like sufficient garrisons and stores at their command. If Stettin surrendered in 1807 to a regiment of cavalry, if the French border fortresses in 1815 capitulated under the effect, or even the fear, of a short bombardment, we must not forget that Woerth[22] and Spicheren[24] together amounted neither to a Jena[35] nor to a Waterloo[56]; and, moreover, it would be preposterous to doubt that there are plenty of officers in the French army who can hold out a regular siege even with a garrison of Gardes Mobiles.

# HOW TO FIGHT THE PRUSSIANS[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1746, September 17, 1870]

After the Italian war of 1859, when the French military power was at its height, Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia, the same who is now investing Bazaine's army in Metz, wrote a pamphlet, "How to Fight the French."[b] At the present day, when the immense military strength of Germany, organized upon the Prussian system, is carrying everything before it, people begin to ask themselves who is in future, and how, to fight the Prussians. And when a war in which Germany, at the beginning, merely defended her own against French *chauvinisme* appears to be changing gradually, but surely, into a war in the interests of a new German *chauvinisme,* it is worth while to consider that question.

"Providence always is on the side of the big battalions" was a favourite way of *the* Napoleon's to explain how battles were won and lost.[66] It is upon this principle that Prussia has acted. She took care to have the "big battalions." When, in 1807, Napoleon forbade her to have an army of more than 40,000 men, she dismissed her recruits after six months' drill, and put fresh men in their places; and in 1813 she was able to bring into the field 250,000 soldiers out of a population of four-and-a-half millions. Afterwards, this same principle of short service with the regiment and long liability for service in the reserve was more fully developed, and, besides, brought into harmony with the necessities of an absolute monarchy. The men were kept from two to three years with the regiments, so as not only to drill them well, but also to break them in completely to habits of unconditional obedience.

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[a] Written about September 16, 1870.— *Ed.*

[b] [Friedrich Karl von Preussen,] *Ueber die Kampfweise der Franzosen* [1860].— *Ed.*

Now, here is the weak point in the Prussian system. It has to reconcile two different and finally incompatible objects. On the one hand, it pretends to make every able-bodied man a soldier; to have a standing army for no other object than to be a school in which the citizens learn the use of arms, and a nucleus round which they rally in time of attack from abroad. So far the system is purely defensive. But, on the other hand, this same army is to be the armed support, the mainstay, of a quasi-absolute Government; and for this purpose the school of arms for the citizens has to be changed into a school of absolute obedience to superiors, and of royalist sentiments. This can be done by length of service only. Here the incompatibility comes out. Foreign defensive policy requires the drilling of many men for a short period, so as to have in the reserve large numbers in case of foreign attack; and home policy requires the breaking in of a limited number of men for a longer period, so as to have a trustworthy army in case of internal revolt. The quasi-absolute monarchy chose an intermediate way. It kept the men full three years under arms, and limited the number of recruits according to its financial means. The boasted universal liability to military service does not in reality exist. It is changed into a conscription distinguished from that of other countries merely by being more oppressive. It costs more money, it takes more men, and it extends their liability to be called out to a far longer period than is the case anywhere else. And, at the same time, what originally was a people armed for their own defence now becomes changed into a ready and handy army of attack, into an instrument of Cabinet policy.

In 1861 Prussia had a population of rather more than eighteen millions, and every year 227,000 young men became liable to military service by attaining the age of twenty.[a] Out of these, fully one-half were bodily fit for service—if not there and then, at least a couple of years afterwards. Well, instead of 114,000 recruits, not more than 63,000 were annually placed in the ranks; so that very near one-half of the able-bodied male population were excluded from instruction in the use of arms. Whoever has been in Prussia during a war must have been struck by the enormous number of strong hearty fellows between twenty and thirty-two who remained quietly at home. The state of "suspended animation" which special

[a] "Resultate der Ersatz-Aushebungsgeschäfts im preussischen Staate in den Jahren von 1855 bis mit 1862", *Zeitschrift des königlich preussischen statistischen Bureaus*, No. 3, March 1864.—*Ed.*

correspondents have noticed in Prussia during the war exists in their own imagination only.[a]

Since 1866 the number of annual recruits in the North-German Confederation has not exceeded 93,000, on a population of 30,000,000. If the full complement of able-bodied young men—even after the strictest medical scrutiny—were taken, it would amount to at least 170,000. Dynastic necessities on the one side, financial necessities on the other, determined this limitation of the number of recruits. The army remained a handy instrument for absolutist purposes at home, for Cabinet wars abroad; but as to the full strength of the nation for defence, that was not nearly made available.

Still this system maintained an immense superiority over the old-fashioned cadre system of the other great continental armies. As compared to them, Prussia drew twice the number of soldiers from the same number of population. And she has managed to make them good soldiers too, thanks to a system which exhausted her resources, and which would never have been endured by the people had it not been for Louis Napoleon's constant feelers for the Rhine frontier, and for the aspirations towards German unity of which this army was instinctively felt to be the necessary instrument. The Rhine and the unity of Germany once secure, that army system must become intolerable.

Here we have the answer to the question, How to fight the Prussians. If a nation equally populous, equally intelligent, equally brave, equally civilized were to carry out in reality that which in Prussia is done on paper only, to make a soldier of every able-bodied citizen; if that nation limited the actual time of service in peace and for drill to what is really required for the purpose and no more; if it kept up the organization for the war establishment in the same effective way as Prussia has lately done—then, we say, that nation would possess the same immense advantage over Prussianized Germany that Prussianized Germany has proved herself to possess over France in this present war. According to first-rate Prussian authorities (including General von Roon, the Minister of War) two years' service is quite sufficient to turn a lout into a good soldier. With the permission of her Majesty's[b] martinets, we should even be inclined to say that for the mass of the recruits eighteen months—two summers and one winter—would suffice. But the exact length of service is a

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[a] "Berlin, July 17", *The Times*, No. 26807, July 20, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Victoria.—*Ed.*

secondary question. The Prussians, as we have seen, obtained excellent results after six months' service, and with men who had but just ceased to be serfs. The main point is, that the principle of universal liability to service be really carried out.

And if the war be continued to that bitter end for which the German Philistines are now shouting, the dismemberment of France, we may depend upon it that the French *will* adopt that principle. They have been so far a warlike but not a military nation. They have hated service in that army of theirs which was established on the cadre system, with long service and few drilled reserves. They will be quite willing to serve in an army with short service and long liability on the reserve, and they will do even more, if that will enable them to wipe out the insult and restore the integrity of France. And then, the "big battalions" will be on the side of France, and the effect they produce will be the same as in this war, unless Germany adopt the same system. But there will be this difference. As the Prussian landwehr system was progress compared with the French cadre system, because it reduced the time of service and increased the number of men capable to defend their country, so will this new system of really universal liability to serve be an advance upon the Prussian system. Armaments for war will become more colossal, but peace-armies will become smaller; the citizens of a country will, every one of them, have to fight out the quarrels of their rulers in person and no longer by substitute; defence will become stronger, and attack will become more difficult; and the very extension of armies will finally turn out to be a reduction of expense and a guarantee of peace.

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XIX[a67]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1754, September 27, 1870]

The fortifications of Paris have shown their value already. To them alone it is owing that the Germans have not been in possession of the town for more than a week. In 1814 half a day's fighting about the heights of Montmartre compelled the city to capitulate. In 1815, a range of earthworks, constructed from the beginning of the campaign, created some delay; but their resistance would have been very short had it not been for the absolute certainty on the part of the Allies that the city would be handed over to them without fighting.[68] In this present war, whatever the Germans may have expected from diplomacy has not been allowed to interfere with their military action. And this same military action, short, sharp, and decisive up to the middle of September, became slow, hesitating, *tâtonnante*[b] from the day the German columns got within the sphere of operation of that immense fortified camp, Paris. And naturally so. The mere investment of such a vast place requires time and caution, even if you approach it with 200,000 or 250,000 men. A force so large as that will be hardly sufficient to invest it properly on all sides, though, as in this present case, the town contains no army fit to take the field and to fight pitched battles. That there is no such army in Paris the pitiable results of General Ducrot's sally near Meudon have most decisively proved.[69] Here the troops of the line behaved positively worse than the Garde Mobile; they actually "bolted,"[c] the renowned Zouaves leading the way. The thing is

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[a] Written between September 23 and 27, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Uncertain.—*Ed.*

[c] See official German report "Ferrieres, Sept. 22", *The Times,* No. 26863, September 23, 1870, and French report "Tours, Sept. 25, Evening", *The Times,* No. 26865, September 26, 1870.—*Ed.*

easily explained. The old soldiers—mostly men of MacMahon's, De Failly's, and Félix Douay's corps, who had fought at Woerth—were completely demoralized by two disastrous retreats and six weeks of constant ill-success; and it is but natural that such causes will tell most severely upon mercenaries, for the Zouaves, consisting mostly of substitutes, deserve no other name. And these were the men who were expected to steady the raw recruits with which the thinned battalions of the line had been filled up. After this affair there may be small raids, successful here and there, but there will scarcely be any more battles in the open.

Another point: The Germans say that Paris is commanded by their guns from the heights near Sceaux[a]; but this assertion is to be taken with a considerable grain of salt. The nearest heights on which they can have placed any batteries above Fontenay-aux-Roses, about 1,500 metres from the fort of Vanves, are fully 8,000 metres, or 8,700 yards, from the centre of the town. The Germans have no heavier field artillery than the so-called rifled 6-pounder (weight of projectile about 15 lb.), but even if they had rifled 12-pounders, with projectiles of 32 lb., ready to hand, the extreme range of these guns, at the angles of elevation for which their limbers are constructed, would not exceed 4,500 or 5,000 metres. Thus this boast need not frighten the Parisians. Unless two or more forts are taken, Paris need not fear a bombardment; and even then the shells would spread themselves so much over the enormous surface that the damage must be comparatively small and the moral effect almost nothing. Look at the enormous mass of artillery brought to bear upon Strasbourg: how much more will be required for reducing Paris, even if we keep in mind that the regular attack by parallels will naturally be confined to a small portion of the works! And until the Germans can bring together under the walls of Paris all this artillery, with ammunition and all other appliances, Paris is safe. From the moment the siege matériel is ready, from that moment alone does the real danger begin.

We see now clearly what great intrinsic strength there is in the fortifications of Paris. If to this passive strength, this mere power of resistance, were added the active strength, the power of attack of a real army, the value of the former would be immediately increased. While the investing force is unavoidably divided, by the rivers Seine and Marne, into at least three separate portions, which cannot communicate with each other except by bridges

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[a] "Berlin, Sept. 23, 10 A.M.", *The Times*, No. 26863, September 23, 1870.—*Ed.*

constructed to the rear of their fighting positions—that is to say, by roundabout roads and with loss of time only—the great mass of the army in Paris could attack with superior forces any one of these three portions at its choice, inflict losses upon it, destroy any works commenced, and retire under shelter of the forts before the besiegers' supports had time to come up. In case this army in Paris were not too weak compared with the besiegers' forces, it might render the complete investment of the place impossible, or break through it at any time. And how necessary it is to completely invest a besieged place so long as reinforcements from without are not completely out of the question has been shown in the case of Sebastopol, where the siege was protracted entirely by the constant arrival of Russian reinforcements in the northern half of the fortress, access to which could be cut off at the very last moment only. The more events will develop themselves before Paris, the more evident will become the perfect absurdity of the Imperialist generalship during this war, by which two armies were sacrificed and Paris left without its chief arm of defence, the power of retaliating attack for attack.

As to the provisioning such a large town, the difficulties appear to us even less than in the case of a smaller place. A capital like Paris is not only provided with a perfect commercial organization for provisioning itself at all times; it is at the same time the chief market and storehouse where the agricultural produce of an extensive district is collected and exchanged. An active Government could easily take measures to provide, by using these facilities, ample stores for the duration of an average siege. Whether this has been done we have no means of judging; but why it might not have been done, and rapidly too, we cannot see.

Anyhow, if the fighting goes on "to the bitter end," as we now hear it will,[a] resistance will probably not be very long from the day the trenches are opened. The masonry of the scarps is rather exposed, and the absence of demi-lunes before the curtains favours the advance of the besieger and the breaching of the walls. The confined space of the forts admits of a limited number of defenders only; their resistance to an assault, unless seconded by an advance of troops through the intervals of the forts, cannot be serious. But if the trenches can be carried up the glacis of the forts without being destroyed by such sallies of the army in Paris, this very fact proves that that army is too weak—in numbers,

[a] "Paris, Sept. 14", *The Times*, No. 26858, September 17, 1870.—*Ed.*

organization, or morale—to sally forth with a chance of success on the night of the assault.

A couple of forts once taken, it is to be hoped the town will desist from a hopeless struggle. If not, the operation of a siege will have to be repeated, a couple of breaches effected, and the town again summoned to surrender. And if that be again rejected, then may come the equally chanceless struggle on the barricades. Let us hope that such useless sacrifices will be spared.

# THE STORY OF THE NEGOTIATIONS[a] [70]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1758, October 1, 1870]

The story we laid before our readers yesterday according to the version of M. Jules Favre we have no difficulty in accepting as correct; always excepting little errors, such as when Bismarck is said to intend the annexation of Metz, Château-Salins, and "Soissons."[b] M. Favre evidently is ignorant of the geographical whereabouts of Soissons. The Count said Sarrebourg, which town has long been singled out as falling within the new strategical border line, while Soissons is as much outside of it as Paris or Troyes. In his rendering of the terms of the conversation M. Favre may not be quite exact; but where he asserts facts contested by the officious Prussian press, neutral Europe will be generally disposed to go by his statement. Thus, if at Berlin what M. Favre says about the surrender of Mont Valérien being proposed at one time is disputed, there will be few to believe that M. Favre either invented this or totally misunderstood Count Bismarck's meaning.

His own report shows but too clearly how little M. Favre understood the actual situation, or how confused and indistinct was his view of it. He came to treat about an armistice which was to lead to peace. His supposition that France still has the power of compelling her opponents to abandon all claim to territorial cession we readily excuse; but on what terms he expected to obtain a cessation of hostilities it is hard to say. The points finally insisted upon were the surrender of Strasbourg, Toul, and Verdun—their

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[a] Written on October 1, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below the reference is to "The Story of the Negotiations", *The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1757, September 30, 1870.—*Ed.*

garrisons to become prisoners of war. Toul and Verdun appear to have been more or less conceded. But Strasbourg? The demand was taken by M. Favre simply as an insult and as nothing else.

"You forget that you are speaking to a Frenchman, M. le Comte. To thus sacrifice an heroic garrison whose behaviour has been admired universally, and more particularly by us, would be cowardice, and I promise not to say that you have offered us such a condition."

In this reply we find little consideration of the facts of the case—nothing but an outburst of patriotic sentiment. Since this sentiment operated very powerfully in Paris, it was not, of course, to be set aside at such a moment; but it might have been as well to have pondered the facts of the case too. Strasbourg had been regularly besieged long enough to make its early fall a matter of positive certainty. A fortress regularly besieged can resist a given time; it may even prolong its defence for a few days by extraordinary efforts; but, unless there arrive an army to relieve it, it is mathematically certain that fall it must. Trochu and the engineering staff in Paris are perfectly aware of this; they know that there is no army anywhere to come to the relief of Strasbourg; and yet Trochu's colleague in the Government, Jules Favre, appears to have put all this out of his reckoning. The only thing he saw in the demand to surrender Strasbourg was an insult to himself, to the garrison of Strasbourg, to the French nation. But the chief parties interested, General Uhrich and his garrison, had certainly done enough for their own honour. To spare them the last few days of a perfectly hopeless struggle, if thereby the feeble chances of salvation for France could be improved, would not have been an insult to them, but a well-merited reward. General Uhrich must necessarily have preferred to surrender to an order from the Government, and for an equivalent, rather than to the threat of an assault and for no return whatsoever.

In the meantime, Toul and Strasbourg have fallen, and Verdun, so long as Metz holds out, is of no earthly military use to the Germans, who thus have got, without conceding the armistice, almost everything Bismarck was bargaining for with Jules Favre. It would, then, appear that never was there an armistice offered on cheaper and more generous terms by the conqueror; never one more foolishly refused by the vanquished. Jules Favre's intelligence certainly does not shine in the transaction, though his instincts were probably right enough; whereas Bismarck appears in the new character of the generous conqueror. The offer, as M. Favre understood it, was uncommonly cheap; and, had it been

only what he thought, it was one to be accepted at once. But then the proposal was something more than he perceived it to be.

Between two armies in the field an armistice is a matter easily settled. A line of demarcation—perhaps a belt of neutral country between the two belligerents—is established, and the thing is arranged. But here there is only one army in the field; the other, as far as it still exists, is shut up in fortresses more or less invested. What is to become of all these places? What is to be their status during the armistice? Bismarck takes care not to say a word about all this. If the fortnight's armistice be concluded, and nothing said therein relating to these towns, the *status quo* is maintained as a matter of course, except as regards actual hostilities against the garrisons and works. Thus Bitche, Metz, Phalsbourg, Paris, and we know not how many other fortified places, would remain invested and cut off from all supplies and communications; the people inside them would eat up their provisions just as if there was no armistice; and thus the armistice would do for the besiegers almost as much as continued fighting would have done. Nay, it might even occur that in the midst of the armistice one or more of these places would completely exhaust their stores, and might have to surrender to the blockaders there and then, in order to avoid absolute starvation. From this it appears that Count Bismarck, astute as ever, saw his way to making the armistice reduce the enemy's fortresses. Of course, if the negotiations had continued far enough to lead to a draft agreement, the French staff would have found this out, and would necessarily have made such demands, relatively to the invested towns, that the whole thing probably would have fallen through. But it was M. Jules Favre's business to probe Bismarck's proposals to the bottom, and to draw out what the latter had an interest to hide. If he had inquired what was to be the status of the blockaded towns during the armistice, he would not have given Count Bismarck the opportunity of displaying before the world an apparent magnanimity, which was too deep for M. Favre though it was but skin deep. Instead of that, he fires up at the demand for Strasbourg, with its garrison as prisoners of war, in a way which makes it clear to all the world that even after the severe lessons of the last two months, the spokesman of the French Government was incapable of appreciating the actual facts of the situation because he was still *sous la domination de la phrase.*[a]

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[a] Under the sway of the phrase.—*Ed.*

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XX[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1759, October 3, 1870]

It is a surprising fact, even after the inconceivable blunders which have led to the practical annihilation of the French armies, that France should be virtually at the mercy of a conqueror who holds possession of barely one-eighth of her territory. The country actually occupied by the Germans is bounded by a line drawn from Strasbourg to Versailles, and another from Versailles to Sedan. Within this narrow strip the French still hold the fortresses of Paris, Metz, Montmédy, Verdun, Thionville, Bitche, and Phalsbourg. The observation, blockade, or siege of these fortresses employ nearly all the forces that have so far been sent into France. There may be plenty of cavalry left to scour the country round Paris as far as Orléans, Rouen, and Amiens, and even farther; but a serious occupation of any extensive district is not to be thought of at present. There is certainly a force of some 40,000 or 50,000 landwehr now in Alsace south of Strasbourg, and this army may be raised to double its strength by the greater portion of the besieging corps from Strasbourg. These troops are intended, it appears, for an excursion towards the southern portions of France: it is stated that they are to march upon Belfort, Besançon, and Lyons. Now, every one of these three fortresses is a large entrenched camp, with detached forts at a fair distance from the main rampart; and a siege, or even a serious blockade, of all these three places at once would take more than the forces of this army. We take it therefore for granted that this assertion is a mere blind, and that the new German army will take no more notice of these

[a] Written between October 1 and 3, 1870.—*Ed.*

fortresses than it can help; that it will march into and eat up the valley of the Saône, the richest part of Burgundy, and then advance towards the Loire, to open communications with the army round Paris, and to be employed according to circumstances. But even this strong body of troops, while it has no direct communications with the army before Paris, so as to enable it to dispense with direct and independent communications with the Rhine, even this strong body of troops is employed on a mere raid, and unable to hold in subjection an extensive territory. Thus its operations for a couple of weeks to come will not increase the actual hold the Germans have upon French soil, which remains limited to barely one-eighth of the whole extent of France; and yet France, though she will not own to it, is virtually conquered. How is this possible?

The main cause is the excessive centralization of all administration in France, and especially of military administration. Up to a very recent time France was divided, for military purposes, into twenty-three districts, each containing, as much as possible, the garrisons composing one division of infantry, along with cavalry and artillery. Between the commanders of these divisions and the Ministry of War there was no intermediate link. These divisions, moreover, were merely administrative, not military organizations. The regiments composing them were not expected to be brigaded in war; they were merely in time of peace under the disciplinary control of the same general. As soon as a war was imminent they might be sent to quite different army corps, divisions, or brigades. As to a divisional staff other than administrative, or personally attached to the general in command, such a thing did not exist. Under Louis Napoleon, these twenty-three divisions were united in six army corps, each under a marshal of France. But these army corps were no more permanent organizations for war than the divisions. They were organized for political, not for military ends.[71] They had no regular staff. They were the very reverse of the Prussian army corps, each of which is permanently organized for war, with its quota of infantry, cavalry, artillery, and engineers, with its military, medical, judicial, and administrative staff ready for a campaign. In France the administrative portion of the army (Intendance and so forth) received their orders, not from the marshal or general in command, but from Paris direct. If under these circumstances Paris becomes paralyzed, if communication with it be cut off, there is no nucleus of organization left in the provinces; they are equally paralyzed, and even more so, inasmuch as the time-honoured dependency of the provinces on Paris and its initiative has by long habit become part and parcel of the

national creed, to rebel against which is not merely a crime but a sacrilege.

Next to this chief cause, however, there is another, a secondary one but scarcely less important in this case; which is that, in consequence of the internal historical development of France, her centre is placed in dangerous proximity to her north-eastern frontier. This was the case to a far greater extent three hundred years ago. Paris then lay at one extremity of the country. To cover Paris by a greater extent of conquered territory towards the east and north-east was the aim of the almost uninterrupted series of wars against Germany and Spain while the latter possessed Belgium. From the time Henry II seized upon the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun (1552) to the Revolution, Artois, parts of Flanders and Hainaut, Lorraine, Alsace, and Montbéliard were thus conquered and annexed to France to serve as buffers to receive the first shock of invasion against Paris. We must admit that nearly all these provinces were predestined by race, language, and habits to become part and parcel of France, and that France has understood—principally by the revolution of 1789-98—how to thoroughly assimilate the rest. But even now Paris is dangerously exposed. From Bayonne to Perpignan, from Antibes to Geneva, the land frontiers of the country are at a great distance from Paris. From Geneva by Bâle to Lauterbourg in Alsace the distance remains the same; it forms an arc described from the centre, Paris, with one and the same radius of 250 miles. But at Lauterbourg the frontier leaves the arc, and forms a chord inside it, which at one point is but 120 miles from Paris. "Là où le Rhin nous quitte, le danger commence,"[a] said Lavallée in his chauvinistic work on the frontiers of France.[b] But if we continue the arc from Lauterbourg in a northerly direction, we shall find that it follows almost exactly the course of the Rhine to the sea. Here, then, we have the real cause of the French clamour for the whole of the left bank of that Rhine. It is after the acquisition of that boundary alone that Paris is covered, on its most exposed side, by equidistant frontiers, and with a river for the boundary line into the bargain. And if the military safety of Paris were the leading principle of European politics France would certainly be entitled to have it. Fortunately, that is not the case; and if France chooses to have Paris for a capital she must put up with the drawbacks attached to Paris as well as with the advantages, one of which drawbacks is

[a] "Danger begins where the Rhine quits us."—*Ed.*

[b] Th. Lavallée, *Les frontières de la France*, Paris, 1864.—*Ed.*

that an occupation of a small portion of France, including Paris, will paralyze her national action. But if this be the case; if France acquire no right to the Rhine by the accident of having her capital in an exposed situation, Germany ought to remember that military considerations of a similar sort give her no better claim upon French territory.

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XXI[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1762, October 6, 1870]

If we are to believe the reports sent by balloon from Paris, that city is defended by forces innumerable. There are between one and two hundred thousand Gardes Mobiles from the provinces; there are 250 battalions of Parisian National Guards, numbering 1,500, some say 1,800 or 1,900 men each—that is, at the most moderate computation, 375,000 men; there are at least 50,000 troops of the line, besides marine infantry, sailors, francs-tireurs, and so forth. And—so runs the latest information—if these be all disabled, there are still 500,000 citizens behind them fit to bear arms, ready in case of need to take their places.[b]

Outside Paris there is a German army composed of six North German Army Corps (4th, 5th, 6th, 11th, 12th, and Guards), two Bavarian corps, and the Württemberg division; in all, eight corps and a half, numbering somewhere between 200,000 and 230,000 men—certainly not more. Yet this German army, although extended on a line of investment of at least eighty miles, notoriously keeps in check that innumerable force inside the town, cuts off its supplies, guards all roads and pathways leading outwards from Paris, and so far has victoriously repulsed all sallies made by the garrison. How is this possible?

First, there can be little doubt that the accounts given of the immense number of armed men in Paris are fanciful. If the 600,000 men under arms of whom we hear so much be reduced to 350,000 or 400,000, we shall be nearer the truth. Still it cannot be

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[a] Written on October 5 or 6, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] "Une lettre de Paris...", *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 274, October 4, 1870.—*Ed.*

denied that there are far more armed men in Paris to defend it than outside to attack it.

Secondly, the quality of the defenders of Paris is of the most motley kind. Among the whole of them, we should consider none as really trustworthy troops but the marines and sailors who now man the outer forts. The line—the dregs of MacMahon's army reinforced by reserve men, most of them raw recruits—have shown in the affair of the 19th of September, near Meudon, that they are demoralized. The Mobiles, good material in themselves, are but just now passing through recruit-drill; they are badly officered, and armed with three different kinds of rifle—the Chassepôt,[21] the converted Minié, and the unconverted Minié.[72] No efforts, no amount of skirmishing with the enemy, can give them, in the short time allowed, that steadiness which alone will enable them to do that which is most required—to meet and defeat the enemy in the open field. It is the original fault of their organization, the want of trained teachers, officers and sergeants, which prevents them from becoming good soldiers. Still, they appear the best element in the defence of Paris; they are at least likely to submit to discipline. The sedentary National Guard is a very mixed body. The battalions from the faubourgs, consisting of working men, are willing and determined enough to fight; they will be obedient, and show a kind of instinctive discipline if led by men possessing personally and politically their confidence; towards all other leaders they will be rebellious. Moreover, they are undrilled and without trained officers; and unless there be actually a final struggle behind barricades, their best fighting qualities will not be put to the test. But the mass of the National Guards, those armed by Palikao, consist of the bourgeoisie, especially the small shopkeeping class, and these men object to fighting on principle. Their business under arms is to guard their shops and their houses; and if these are attacked by the shells of an enemy firing from a distance their martial enthusiasm will probably dwindle away. They are, moreover, a force organized less against a foreign than against a domestic enemy. All their traditions point that way, and nine out of every ten of them are convinced that such a domestic enemy is, at this very moment, lurking in the very heart of Paris, and only waiting his opportunity to fall upon them. They are mostly married men, unused to hardship and exposure, and indeed, they are grumbling already at the severity of the duty which makes them spend one night out of three in the open air on the ramparts of the city. Among such a body you may find companies and even battalions which, under peculiar cir-

cumstances, will behave gallantly; but, as a body, and especially for a regular and tiresome course of duty, they cannot be relied on.

With such a force inside Paris it is no wonder that the far less numerous and widely dispersed Germans outside feel tranquil as to any attacks from that quarter. Indeed, all engagements that have so far taken place show the Army of Paris (if we may call it so) to be incompetent to act in the field. The first great attack on the blockading troops, on the 19th, was characteristic enough. General Ducrot's corps of some 30,000 or 40,000 men was arrested for an hour and a half by two Prussian regiments (the 7th and 47th), until two Bavarian regiments came to their assistance, and another Bavarian brigade fell upon the flank of the French; when the latter retreated in confusion, leaving in the hands of the enemy a redoubt armed with eight guns, and numerous prisoners. The number of the Germans engaged on this occasion could not exceed 15,000. Since then, the sorties of the French have been conducted quite differently. They have given up all intention of delivering pitched battles; they send out smaller parties to surprise outposts and other small detachments; and if a brigade, a division, or more advance beyond the line of the forts, they are satisfied with a mere demonstration. These fights aim less at the infliction of damage upon the enemy than at the breaking-in of the French levies to the practice of warfare. They will, no doubt, improve them gradually, but only a small proportion of the unwieldy mass of men in Paris can benefit by practice on such a small scale.

That General Trochu, after the fight of the 19th, was perfectly aware of the character of the force under his command his proclamation of the 30th of September clearly shows.[a] He certainly lays the blame almost exclusively on the line, and rather pats the Mobiles on the back; but this merely proves that he considers these (and rightly so) as the best portion of the men under him. Both the proclamation and the change of tactics adopted since prove distinctly that he is under no delusion as to the unfitness of his men for operations in the open field. And he must, moreover, know that whatever other forces may remain to France under the name of Army of Lyons,[73] Army of the Loire, and so forth, are of exactly the same composition as his own men; and that therefore he need not expect to have the blockade or siege of Paris raised by

[a] L. J. Trochu's order to the Paris garrison, the National Guard and the Guarde Mobile of September 20, 1870 "Dans le combat d'hier...", *Le Temps*, No. 3393, September 21, 1870. It is reported in the item "The Battle of the Nineteenth", *The Times*, No. 26865, September 26, 1870. *The Pall Mall Gazette* gives the wrong date: "30th of September".—*Ed.*

a relieving army. It is therefore remarkable that we should receive a report according to which Trochu had opposed, in a council of Ministers, the proposal to treat for peace. The report certainly comes from Berlin, not a good quarter for impartial information as to what is going on inside Paris. Be that as it may, we cannot believe that Trochu is hopeful of success. His views of army organization in 1867[a] were strongly in favour of fully four years' service with the regiment and three years' liability in the reserve, such as had been the rule under Louis Philippe; he even considered the time of service of the Prussians—two or three years—totally inadequate to form good soldiers. The irony of history now places him in a position where he carries on a war with completely raw—almost undrilled and undisciplined—men against these very same Prussians, whom he but yesterday qualified as but half-formed soldiers; and that after these Prussians have disposed in a month of the whole regular army of France.

[a] [L. J. Trochu,] *L'Armée française en 1867*, Paris, 1867.—*Ed.*

# THE RATIONALE OF THE PRUSSIAN ARMY SYSTEM[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1764, October 8, 1870]

A few weeks ago we pointed out that the Prussian system of recruiting the army was anything but perfect.[b] It professes to make every citizen a soldier. The army is, in the official Prussian words, nothing but "the school in which the whole nation is educated for war," and yet a very small percentage only of the population passes through that school. We now return to this subject, in order to illustrate it by a few exact figures.

According to the tables of the Prussian Statistical Bureau,[c] there were actually levied for the army on the average of the years 1831 to 1854, 9.84 per cent. per annum of the young men liable to service; there remained available every year 8.28 per cent.; there were totally unfit for service from bodily infirmities 6.40 per cent.; there were temporarily unfit, to be re-examined in a future year, 53.28 per cent.; the rest were absent, or comprised under headings too insignificant to be here noticed. Thus, during these four-and-twenty years, not one-tenth of the young citizens were admitted into the national war-school; and that is called "a nation in arms"[74]!

In 1861 the figures were as follows:—Young men of twenty, class 1861, 217,438; young men of previous classes, still to be disposed of, 348,364; total, 565,802. Of these there were absent 148,946, or 26.32 per cent.; totally unfit, 17,727, or 3.05 per cent.; placed in the Ersatz Reserve[75]—that is to say, liberated from

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[a] Written between October 6 and 8, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 105, 106.—*Ed.*

[c] "Resultate der Ersatz-Aushebungsgeschäfts im preussischen Staate in den Jahren von 1855 bis mit 1862", *Zeitschrift des königlich preussischen statistischen Bureaus,* No. 3, March 1864.—*Ed.*

service in time of peace, with liability to be called on in time of war—76,590, or 13.50 per cent.; sent home for future re-examination on account of temporary unfitness, 230,236 or 40.79 per cent.; disposed of on other grounds, 22,369, or 3.98 per cent.; remained available for the army, 69,934 men, or 12.36 per cent.; and of these, 59,459 only, or 10.50 per cent., were actually placed in the ranks.

No doubt since 1866 the percentage of recruits draughted annually has been larger, but it cannot have been so to any considerable extent; and if at present 12 or 13 per cent. of the North German male population pass through the army, it will be much. This certainly does strongly contrast with the fervid descriptions of "special correspondents" during the mobilization in Germany. Every able-bodied man, according to them, then donned his uniform and shouldered his rifle, or bestrode his horse; all kind of business was at a standstill: factories were closed, shops shut up, crops left on the fields uncut; all production was stopped, all commerce abandoned—in fact, it was a case of "suspended animation,"[a] a tremendous national effort, but which, if prolonged only a few months, must end in complete national exhaustion. The transformation of civilians into soldiers did certainly go on at a rate of which people out of Germany had no idea; but if the same writers will look at Germany now, after the withdrawal of above a million men from civil life, they will find the factories working, the crops housed, the shops and counting-houses open. Production, if stopped at all, is stopped for want of orders, not for want of hands; and there are plenty of stout fellows to be seen about the streets quite as fit to shoulder a rifle as those who have gone off to France.

The above figures explain all this. The men who have passed through the army do certainly not exceed 12 per cent. of the whole adult male population. More than 12 per cent. of them cannot, therefore, be called out on a mobilization, and there remains fully 88 per cent. of them at home; a portion of whom, of course, is called out as the war progresses to fill up the gaps caused by battles and disease. These may amount to two or three per cent. more in the course of half a year; but still the immense majority of the men is never called upon. The "nation in arms" is altogether a sham.

The cause of this we have before pointed out.[b] It is the necessity

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[a] See "Berlin, July 17", *The Times*, No. 26807, July 20, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 104-07.—*Ed.*

under which the Prussian dynasty and Government are, as long as their hereditary policy is insisted upon, to have an army which is an obedient instrument of that policy. According to Prussian experience, three years' service in the ranks is indispensable to break in the average civilian for that class of work. It has never been seriously maintained, even by the most obstinate martinets in Prussia, that an infantry soldier—and they constitute the vast mass of the army—cannot learn all his military duties in two years; but, as was said in the debates in the Chamber from 1861 to 1866, the true military spirit, the habit of unconditional obedience, is learned in the third year only. Now, with a given amount of money for the war budget, the longer the men serve, the fewer recruits can be turned into soldiers. At present, with three years' service, 90,000 recruits annually enter the army; with two years, 135,000; with eighteen months, 180,000 men might be draughted into it and drilled every year. That there are plenty of able-bodied men to be had for the purpose is evident from the figures we have given, and shall be made more evident by-and-by. Thus we see that the phrase of the "nation in arms" hides the creation of a large army for purposes of Cabinet policy abroad and reaction at home. A "nation in arms" would not be the best instrument for Bismarck to work with.

The population of the North German Confederation is a trifle below 30,000,000. The war establishment of its army is in round numbers 950,000 men, or barely 3.17 per cent. of the population. The number of young men attaining the age of twenty is about 1.23 per cent. of the population in every year, say 360,000. Out of these, according to the experience of the secondary German States, fully one-half are—either there and then, or within two years afterwards—fit for service in the field; this would give 180,000 men. Of the rest, a goodly proportion is fit for garrison duty; but these we may leave out of the account for the present. The Prussian statistics seem to differ from this, but in Prussia these statistics must, for obvious reasons, be grouped in such a way as to make the result appear compatible with the delusion of the "nation in arms." Still the truth leaks out there too. In 1861 we had, besides the 69,934 men available for the army, 76,590 men placed in the Ersatz Reserve, raising the total of men fit for service to 146,524, out of which but 59,459, or 40 per cent., were draughted into the ranks. At all events, we shall be perfectly safe in reckoning one-half of the young men as fit for the army. In that case, 180,000 recruits might enter the line every year, with twelve years' liability to be called out, as at present. This would

give a force of 2,160,000 drilled men—more than double the present establishment, even after ample allowance is made for all reductions by deaths and other casualties; and if the other half of the young men were again looked to when twenty-five years of age, there would be found the material for another 500,000 or 600,000 good garrison troops, or more. Six to eight per cent. of the population ready drilled and disciplined, to be called out in case of attack, the cadres for the whole of them being kept up in time of peace, as is now done—that would really be a "nation in arms;" but that would not be an army to be used for Cabinet wars, for conquest, or for a policy of reaction at home.

Still this would be merely the Prussian phrase turned into a reality. If the semblance of a nation in arms has had such a power, what would the reality be? And we may depend upon it if Prussia, by insisting on conquest, compels France to it, France will turn that semblance into reality—either in one form or another. She will organize herself into a nation of soldiers, and a few years hence may astonish Prussia as much by the crushing numbers of her soldiers as Prussia has astonished the world this summer. But cannot Prussia do the same? Certainly, but then she will cease to be the Prussia of to-day. She gains in power of defence, while she loses in power of attack; she will have more men, but not quite so handy for invasion in the beginning of a war; she will have to give up all idea of conquest, and as to her present home policy, that would be seriously jeopardized.

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XXII[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1766, October 11, 1870]

In one of our preceding Notes we called attention to the fact that even now, after the fall of Strasbourg, nearly the whole of the immense German army in France is fully employed, although not one-sixth of the territory of the country is held by the invaders.[b] The subject is so very significant that we feel justified in returning to it.

Metz, with Bazaine's army enclosed within its line of forts, finds occupation for eight army corps (the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, the division of Hessians, and General Kummer's division of landwehr), in all sixteen divisions of infantry. Paris engages seventeen divisions of infantry (the Guards, 4th, 5th, 6th, 11th, 12th North German, 1st and 2nd Bavarian corps, and the Württemberg division). The newly-formed 13th and 14th corps, mostly landwehr, and some detachments from the corps already named, occupy the conquered country, and observe, blockade, or besiege the places which, within it, still belong to the French. The 15th Corps (the Baden division and at least one division of landwehr), set free by the capitulation of Strasbourg, is alone disposable for active operations. Fresh landwehr troops are to be joined to it, and then it is to undertake some operations, the character of which is still very indefinitely known, in a more southerly direction.

Now these forces comprise almost all the organized troops of which Germany disposes, with the very important exception of the fourth battalions of the line. Contrary to what was done in the Austrian war, when they were sent out against the enemy, these 114 battalions have this time been kept at home; in accordance with their original purpose, they serve as cadres for the drill and organization of the men intended to fill up the gaps which battles

[a] Written on October 11, 1870.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 115-16.—*Ed.*

and disease may have caused in the ranks of their respective regiments. As soon as the thousand men forming the battalion are sufficiently broken in to do duty before the enemy, they are sent off to join the three field battalions of the regiment; this was done on a large scale after the severe fighting before Metz in the middle of September. But the officers and non-commissioned officers of the battalion remain at home, ready to receive and prepare for the field a fresh batch of 1,000 men, taken from the Ersatz Reserve or from the recruits called out in due course. This measure was absolutely necessary in a war as bloody as the present one, and the end of which is not to be foreseen with certainty; but it deprives the Germans of the active services for the time being of 114 battalions, and a corresponding force of cavalry and artillery, representing in all fully 200,000 men. With the exception of these, the occupation of scarcely one-sixth of France and the reduction of the two large fortresses in this territory—Metz and Paris—keeps the whole of the German forces so fully employed that they have barely 60,000 men to spare for further operations beyond the territory already conquered. And this, while there is not anywhere a French army in the field to oppose serious resistance.

If ever there was needed a proof of the immense importance, in modern warfare, of large entrenched camps with a fortress for their nucleus, here that proof is furnished. The two entrenched camps in question have not at all been made use of to the best advantage, as we may show on some other occasion.[a] Metz has for a garrison too many troops for its size and importance, and Paris has of real troops fit for the field scarcely any at all. Still, the first of these places at present holds at least 240,000, the second 250,000 enemies in check; and if France had only 200,000 real soldiers behind the Loire, the siege of Paris would be an impossibility. Unfortunately for France, these 200,000 men she does not possess; nor is there any probability of their ever being brought together, organized and disciplined in useful time. So that the reduction of the two great centres of defence is a mere question of weeks. The army in Metz has so far kept up its discipline and fighting qualities wonderfully well, but the constant repulses it has sustained must at length break down every hope of escape. French soldiers are capital defenders of fortresses, and can stand defeat during a siege far better than in the field; but if demoralization once begins among them, it spreads rapidly and irresistibly. As to Paris, we will not take M. Gambetta's 400,000

[a] See this volume, pp. 134-37, 138-41.—*Ed.*

National Guards, 100,000 Mobiles, and 60,000 troops of the line too literally, any more than the countless cannons and mitrailleurs that are being manufactured in Paris, or the great strength of the barricades.[a] But there is no doubt that there are elements enough in Paris for a very respectable defence; though that defence, by being, from the character of the garrison, necessarily passive, will lack its strongest element—powerful attacks on the besiegers.

Anyhow, it must be evident that if there was a real national enthusiasm alive among the French, everything might still be gained. While the whole forces of the invader, all but 60,000 men and the cavalry which can raid but not subdue, are laid fast in the conquered territory, the remaining five-sixths of France might raise armed bands enough to harass the Germans on every point, to intercept their communications, destroy bridges and railways, provisions and ammunition in their rear, and compel them to detach from their two great armies such numbers of troops that Bazaine might find means to break out of Metz, and that the investment of Paris would become illusory. Already at present the movement of the armed bands is a source of great trouble, though not as yet of danger, to the Germans, and this will increase as the country round Paris becomes exhausted in food and other supplies, and as more distant districts have to be placed under requisition. The new German army now forming in Alsace will probably soon be called away from any expedition towards the South by the necessity of securing the German communications and of subjecting a greater tract of country round Paris. But what would be the fate of the Germans if the French people had been stirred up by the same national fanaticism as were the Spaniards in 1808[76]—if every town and almost every village had been turned into a fortress, every peasant and citizen into a combatant? Even the 200,000 men of the fourth battalion would not suffice to hold down such a people. But such national fanaticism is not nowadays within the habits of civilized nations. It may be found among Mexicans and Turks; its sources have dried up in the money-making West of Europe, and the twenty years during which the incubus of the Second Empire has weighed upon France have anything but steeled the national character. Thus we see a great deal of talking and a minimum of work; a deal of show and an almost total neglect of organization; very little non-official resistance and a good deal of submission to the enemy; very few real soldiers and an immense number of francs-tireurs.

[a] L. Gambetta's proclamation, dated October 9, addressed to the citizens of the Departments, *The Times*, No. 26878, October 11, 1870.—*Ed.*

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XXIII[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 1768, October 13, 1870]

The Prussian staff officers in Berlin seem to be getting impatient. Through the *Times* and *Daily News* correspondents in Berlin[b] they inform us that the siege material has now been for some days ready before Paris, and that the siege will begin presently. We have our doubts about this readiness. Firstly, we know that several tunnels on the only available line of railway have been blown up by the retreating French near La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, and that they are not yet in working order; secondly, we also know that the matériel for a regular and effective siege of such a vast place as Paris is so colossal that it will take a long time to get it together, even had the railway been always open; and thirdly, five or six days after this announcement from Berlin had been made, we have not yet heard of the opening of a first parallel. We must therefore conclude that by readiness to open the siege, or regular attack, we are to understand the readiness to open the irregular attack, the bombardment.

Still, a bombardment of Paris, with any chance of compelling a surrender, would require far more guns than a regular siege. In the latter you may confine your attack to one or two points of the line of defence; in the former, you must constantly scatter such a number of shells over the entire vast area of the town that more fires are made to break out everywhere than the population can extinguish, and that the very operation of extinguishing them

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[a] Written on October 12 or 13, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] "Berlin, Oct. 8, 10.12 A.M.", *The Times*, No. 26877, October 10, 1870, and "Berlin, Oct. 12", *The Times*, No. 26879, October 12, 1870.—*Ed.*

becomes too dangerous to be attempted. Now we have seen that even Strasbourg, with 85,000 inhabitants, was perfectly able to hold out under a bombardment of almost unparalleled severity; that, with the exception of a few solitary and pretty well-defined districts, which had to be sacrificed, the fires could be well kept down. The cause of this is the comparatively great extent of the town. It is easy to shell a small place of five or ten thousand inhabitants into submission, unless there be plenty of bombproof shelter inside it; but a city of from 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants can stand a great deal of shelling, especially if built, as most French towns are, of freestone, or with thick brick walls. Paris, within the fortifications, measures twelve kilometres by ten; within the old barrières,[77] which comprise the closely-built part of the town, nine kilometres by seven; that is to say, this part of the town comprises an area of about fifty millions of square metres or nearly sixty millions of square yards. To throw on an average one shell per hour into every one thousand square yards of that surface would require 60,000 shells per hour, or a million and a half of shells for every twenty-four hours, which would presuppose the employment of at least 2,000 heavy guns for the purpose. Yet one shell per hour for a space nearly one hundred feet long by one hundred feet broad would be a weak bombardment. Of course the fire might be concentrated temporarily upon one or more quarters until these were thoroughly destroyed, and then transferred to the neighbouring quarters; but this proceeding, to be effective, would last almost as long as or longer than a regular siege, while it would be necessarily less certain to compel the surrender of the place.

Moreover, Paris, while the forts are not reduced, is in fact out of reach of effective bombardment. The nearest heights outside the town now in the hands of the besiegers, those near Châtillon, are fully 8,000 metres=8,700 yards, or five miles from the Palais de Justice,[78] which pretty nearly represents the centre of the town. On the whole of the southern side, this distance will be about the same. On the north-east, the line of forts is as far as 10,000 metres, or about 11,000 yards, from the centre of the town, so that any bombarding batteries in that quarter would have to be placed 2,000 yards farther off, or from seven to eight miles from the Palace of Justice. On the north-west, the bends of the Seine and Fort Mont Valérien protect the town so well that bombarding batteries could be erected in closed redoubts or regular parallels only; that is to say, not before the regular siege had begun, to which we here suppose the bombardment to be a preliminary.

Now there is no doubt that the Prussian heavy rifled guns, of calibres of five, six, seven, eight, and nine inches, throwing shells from twenty-five to above three hundred pounds' weight, might be made to cover a distance of five miles. In 1864 the rifled twenty-four pounders on Gammelmark bombarded Sonderburg[79] at a distance of 5,700 paces=4,750 yards, or nearly three miles, although these guns were old bronze ones, and could not stand more than a 4 lb. or 5 lb. charge of powder to a shell weighing 68 lb. The elevation was necessarily considerable, and had to be obtained by a peculiar adaptation of the gun-carriages, which would have broken down if stronger charges had been used. The present Prussian cast-steel guns can stand charges far heavier in proportion to the weights of their shells; but, to obtain a range of five miles, the elevation must still be very considerable, and the gun-carriages would have to be altered accordingly; and, being put to uses they were not constructed for, would soon be smashed. Nothing knocks up a gun-carriage sooner than firing at elevations even as low as five and six degrees with full charges; but in this case, the elevation would average at least fifteen degrees, and the gun-carriages would be knocked to pieces as fast as the houses in Paris. Leaving, however, this difficulty out of consideration, the bombardment of Paris by batteries five miles distant from the centre of the town, could be at best but a partial affair. There would be enough of destruction to exasperate, but not enough to terrify. The shells, at such ranges, could not be directed with sufficient certainty to any particular part of the town. Hospitals, museums, libraries, though ever so conspicuous from the heights where the batteries might be, could hardly be spared even if directions were given to avoid particular districts. Military buildings, arsenals, magazines, storehouses, even if visible to the besieger, could not be singled out for destruction with any surety; so that the common excuse for a bombardment—that it aimed at the destruction of the means of defence of the besieged—would fail. All this is said on the supposition that the besiegers have the means at hand for a really serious bombardment—that is to say, some two thousand rifled guns and mortars of heavy calibre. But if, as we suppose is the case, the German siege-park is composed of some four or five hundred guns, this will not suffice to produce any such impression on the city as to make its surrender probable.

The bombardment of a fortress, though still considered as a step permitted by the laws of war, yet is a measure implying such an amount of suffering to non-combatants that history will blame any one nowadays attempting it without reasonable chance of

thereby extorting the surrender of the place. We smile at the chauvinisme of a Victor Hugo, who considers Paris a holy city—very holy!—and every attempt to attack it a sacrilege.[a] We look upon Paris as upon any other fortified town, which, if it chooses to defend itself, must run all the risks of fair attack, of open trenches, siege batteries, and stray shots hitting non-military buildings. But if the mere bombardment of Paris cannot force the city into surrender, and if, nevertheless, such a bombardment should take place, it will be a military blunder such as few people would lay to the charge of Moltke's staff. It will be said that Paris was bombarded not for military but for political reasons.

[a] V. Hugo, "Aux Parisiens, Paris, 2 octobre 1870", *Le Temps*, No. 3406, October 4, 1870.—*Ed.*

# THE FATE OF METZ[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 1771, October 17, 1870]

If we are to believe the news from Berlin, the Prussian staff seem to anticipate that Paris will be conquered before Metz. But this opinion is evidently founded quite as much on political as on military reasoning. The troubles within Paris for which Count Bismarck has been waiting have not yet begun; but discord and civil war are expected to break out without fail as soon as the big guns of the besiegers shall commence booming over the city. So far, the Parisians have belied the opinion held of them in the German headquarters, and they may do so to the end. If so, the notion that Paris will be taken by the end of this month will almost certainly prove illusory, and Metz may have to surrender before Paris.

Metz, as a mere fortress, is infinitely stronger than Paris. The latter city is fortified on the supposition that the whole or at least the greater portion of the beaten French army will retire upon it and conduct the defence by constant attacks on the enemy, whose attempts to invest the place necessarily weaken him on every point of the long line he has to take up. The defensive strength of the works therefore is not very great, and very properly so. To provide for a case such as has now occurred by the blunders of Bonapartist strategy would have raised the cost of the fortifications to an immense sum; and the time by which the defence could thereby be prolonged would scarcely amount to a fortnight. Moreover, earthworks erected during or before the siege can be made to strengthen the works considerably. With Metz the case is

[a] Written between October 13 and 17, 1870.—*Ed.*

very different. Metz was handed down to the present generation by Cormontaigne and other great engineers of the last century as a very strong fortress—strong in its defensive works. The Second Empire has added to these a circle of seven very large detached forts at distances of from two-and-a-half to three miles from the centre of the town, so as to secure it from bombardment even with rifled guns, and to transform the whole into a large entrenched camp second to Paris only. A siege of Metz, therefore, would be a very lengthy operation even if the town held but its normal war garrison. But a siege in the face of the 100,000 men who are now sheltered under its forts would be almost impossible. The sphere in which the French are still masters extends to fully two miles beyond the line of forts; to drive them back to the line of forts, so as to conquer the ground where the trenches would have to be dug, would necessitate a series of hand-to-hand fighting such as was only seen before Sebastopol; and supposing the garrison not to be demoralized by their constant fights or the besiegers not to be tired of such a sacrifice of life, the struggle might last many a month. The Germans have therefore never attempted a regular siege, but are trying to starve the place out. An army of 100,000 men, added to a population of nearly 60,000 and to the numbers of country people who have sought shelter behind the forts, must sooner or later exhaust the stock of provisions if the blockade be strictly enforced; and, even before this shall have taken place, the chances are that demoralization among the garrison will compel surrender. When once an army finds itself completely shut up, all attempts to break through the investing circle fruitless, all hope of relief from without cut off, even the best army will gradually lose its discipline and cohesion under sufferings, privations, labours, and dangers which do not appear to serve any other purpose but to uphold the honour of the flag.

For symptoms of this demoralization we have been watching for some time in vain. The stock of provisions inside the town has been much more considerable than was supposed, and thus the army of Metz has had a pretty good time of it. But the stores, if plentiful, must have been ill assorted; which is quite natural, as they were stray supplies for the army, accidentally left in the town and never intended for the purpose they have now to serve. The consequence is that the diet of the soldiers in the long run becomes not only different from what they are accustomed to, but positively abnormal, and produces sickness of various kinds and of daily increasing severity, the causes of this sickness operating stronger and stronger every day. This phase of the blockade

appears to have now been reached. Among the articles of which Metz is short are bread, the chief ordinary food of the French peasantry, and salt. The latter is absolutely indispensable to maintain health; and, as bread is almost the only form in which the French partake of starch for fat-producing food, the same may in this case be said of the former. The necessity of feeding the men and inhabitants on meat principally has, it is said, produced dysentery and scurvy. Without trusting too much to reports from deserters, who generally say what they think will please their captors, we may still believe such to be the case, as it is just what must occur under the circumstances. That the chances of demoralization must thereby increase rapidly is a matter of course.

The very capable correspondent of *The Daily News* before Metz states, in his description of Bazaine's sortie of the 7th of October, that after the French had established themselves in the villages to the north of Fort Saint-Eloy (north of Metz, in the valley of the Moselle) a mass of at least 30,000 of them was formed more to their right, close to the river, and advanced against the Germans. This column, or group of columns, was evidently intended to break through the circle of investment. This task required the utmost determination. They would have to march straight into a semicircle of troops and batteries concentrating their fire upon them; the severity of this fire would increase up to the point of actual contact with the enemy's masses, when, if they succeeded in routing them, it would at once considerably diminish, while, if they had to retreat, they would have to undergo the same cross-fire a second time. This the men must have known; and, moreover, Bazaine would use for this supreme effort his very best troops. Yet we are told that they never even got within the rifle-fire of the German masses. Before they reached the critical point, the fire of the artillery and of the line of skirmishers had dissolved their cohesion: "the dense columns first staggered and then broke."

This is the first time in this war that we hear such things of the men who could face cold steel and hot fire well enough at Vionville, Gravelotte, and the latter sorties. This inability even to attempt thoroughly the task which they were put to seems to show that the army of Metz is no longer what it was. It seems to indicate, not as yet demoralization, but discouragement and hopelessness—the feeling that it is no use trying. From that to positive demoralization there are not many steps, especially with French soldiers. And though it would be premature to predict from these indications the speedy fall of Metz, yet it will be surprising

if we do not soon discover more symptoms announcing that the defence is on the wane.

The surrender of Metz would have a far less moral, but a far greater material influence upon the course of the war than the fall of Paris. If Paris be taken, France may give in, but she need not any more than now. For by far the greater portion of the troops now investing Paris would be required to hold the town and its environs, and it is more than doubtful whether men enough could be spared to advance as far as Bordeaux. But, if Metz capitulated, more than 200,000 Germans would be set at liberty, and such an army, in the present state of the French forces in the field, would be amply sufficient to go where it liked in the open country, and to do there what it liked. The progress of occupation, arrested by the two great entrenched camps, would at once commence again, and any attempts at guerrilla warfare, which now might be very effective, would then soon be crushed.

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XXIV[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1775, October 21, 1870]

The investment of Paris has now lasted exactly one month. During this time two points relating to it have been practically settled in accordance with our predictions.[b] The first is that Paris cannot hope to be relieved, in useful time, by any French army from without. The Army of the Loire is utterly deficient in cavalry and field artillery, while its infantry, with very trifling exceptions, consists of either young or demoralized old troops, badly officered and entirely wanting that cohesion which alone could render them fit to meet in the open old soldiers flushed with constant success such as von der Tann leads against them. Even were the Army of the Loire raised to 100,000 or 120,000 men, which it may be before Paris falls, it would not be able to raise the investment. By their great superiority in cavalry and field artillery, both of which can be spared to a great extent before Paris as soon as the siege train with its gunners has arrived, and by the superiority of their infantry, soldier for soldier, the Germans are enabled to meet such a force with one of inferior numbers without fear of the results. Besides, the troops now scouring the country east and north of Paris to distances of fifty and sixty miles could, in such a case, be sent temporarily to reinforce von der Tann, as well as a division or two from the investing army. As to the Army of Lyons, whatever of that possesses any tangible existence will find plenty of work with General Werder's Fourteenth North German Corps, now in Epinal and Vesoul, and the Fifteenth Corps following in his rear or on his right flank. The Army of the North, with Bourbaki for

[a] Written on October 19, 1870.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 121-22.—*Ed.*

commander, has as yet to be formed. From all we hear, the Mobiles about Normandy and Picardy are extremely deficient in officers and drill; and the sedentary National Guards, if not most of the Mobiles too, will be required to garrison the twenty-five or more fortresses encumbering the country between Mézières and Havre. Thus efficient relief from this quarter is not very likely, and Paris will have to rely upon itself.

The second point settled is that the garrison of Paris is unfit to act on the offensive on a large scale. It consists of the same elements as the troops outside Paris, and it is equally deficient in cavalry and field artillery. The three sorties of the 19th and 30th of September and of the 13th of October have fully proved their inability to make any serious impression upon the investing forces. As these latter said, "They never were able to break through even our first line." Although General Trochu states in public that his disinclination to attack the enemy in the field is caused by the deficiency in field artillery, and that he will not go out again until that is supplied,[a] he cannot help knowing that no field artillery in the world could prevent his first sortie *en masse* from ending in an utter rout. And by the time his field artillery can be ready, if that be more than a mere pretext, the fire of the German batteries against the forts and the closing in of their lines of investment, will have rendered its use in the open impossible.

Trochu and his staff appear to be perfectly aware of this. All their measures point to a mere passive defence, without any more great sorties than may be necessary to satisfy the clamour of an undisciplined garrison. The ramparts of the forts cannot long withstand the projectiles of the heavy German guns, of which more anon. It may be, as the staff in Berlin hopes, that two or three days will suffice to demolish the guns on the ramparts of the southern forts, to breach, from a distance and by indirect fire, the masonry revetment of their escarps in one or two places, and then to storm them while the fire of the batteries from the commanding heights prevents any efficient succour from the works to the rear. There is nothing in the construction of the forts nor in the configuration of the ground to prevent this. In all the forts round Paris, the escarp—that is, the inner side of the ditch, or the outer face of the rampart—is covered with masonry to the height of the horizon merely, which is generally considered insufficient to secure the work from escalade. This deviation from the general

[a] L. J. Trochu's despatch to the Mayor of Paris, c. October 16, 1870, *Le Temps*, No. 3418, October 16, 1870.—*Ed.*

rule was justified on the supposition that Paris would always be actively defended by an army. In the present case it will even be an advantage inasmuch as this low masonry will be difficult to hit by indirect fire from batteries from which it cannot be seen. The breaching from a distance will thus be rendered more tiresome, unless the heights on which these batteries are constructed will admit of a really plunging fire; and this cannot be judged of except on the ground.

Under any circumstances, the resistance of these southern forts, commanded as they are by heights within the most effective range of heavy rifled artillery, need not be expected to be a long one. But immediately behind them, between the forts and the enceinte, the activity of the garrison has been chiefly displayed. Numerous earthworks have been everywhere constructed; and though, as a matter of course, we are kept in ignorance of all details, we may be sure that they will have been planned and executed with all that care, foresight, and science which have placed for more than two centuries the French engineering staff in the foremost rank. Here, then, evidently is the fighting ground chosen by the defence; a ground where ravines and hill-slopes, factories and villages, mostly built of stone, facilitate the work of the engineer and favour the resistance of young and but half-disciplined troops. Here, we expect, the Germans will find the toughest work cut out for them. We are, indeed, informed by *The Daily News,* from Berlin, that they will be satisfied with the conquest of some of the forts, and leave hunger to do the rest. But we presume that this choice will not be left to them, unless, indeed, they blow up the forts and retire again to their present mere investing positions; and if they do that the French can gradually by counter approaches recover the lost ground. We presume therefore that the Germans intend to keep whatever forts they may take, as efficient bombarding positions to frighten the inhabitants by occasional shells, or to use them for as complete a bombardment as they can carry out with the means at their command. And in that case they cannot decline the combat offered to them by the defence on the ground chosen and prepared for the purpose, for the forts will be under the close and effective fire of the new works. Here we shall perhaps witness the last struggle in this war offering any scientific interest; may be, the most interesting of all to military science. Here the defence will be enabled to act on the offensive again, though upon a smaller scale, and, thus restoring to a certain extent the balance of the contending forces, may prolong resistance until famine compels surrender. For we must

keep in mind that of the stores of food provided for Paris one month's stock has already been consumed, and nobody outside the town knows whether it is provisioned for more than another month.

There appears to be great confusion of ideas among "special correspondents" as to the German siege guns; and there may well be, considering that the nomenclature of the various calibres among German artillerists is founded upon principles at least as absurd and contradictory as those adopted in England. It may be worthwhile to clear this matter up a little now that these big guns may begin to speak any day. Of old-fashioned siege guns there were in use before Strasbourg, and have now been forwarded to Paris, twenty-five-pounder and fifty-pounder mortars—called so from the weight of a marble ball fitting their bore. Their calibres are about $8\,^1/_2$ to $8\,^3/_4$ inches respectively, and the real weight of the spherical shells they throw is, for the first 64 lb., and for the second 125 lb. Then there was a rifled mortar, calibre 21 centimetres, or $8\,^1/_4$ inches, throwing an elongated shell of 20 inches in length and rather above 200 lb. weight. These mortars have a tremendous effect, not only because the rifling gives their shells greater accuracy, but chiefly because the elongated percussion shell, always falling upon its heavy point, where the percussion fuze protrudes, secures the explosion of the charge at the very moment of penetration, thus combining in one and the same moment the effects of impact with that of explosion. Of rifled shell guns there were 12 lb. and 24 lb. guns, so called from the weight of the spherical solid iron ball they used to fire before being rifled. Their respective calibres are about four-and-a-half and five-and-a-half inches, and the weights of their shells 33 lb. and 64 lb. Besides these, there have been sent to Paris some of the heavy rifled guns intended for ironclad ships and for coast defence against such ships. The exact details of their construction have never been published, but their calibres are of about 7, 8 and 9 inches, and the corresponding shells of the weights of about 120, 200, and 300 lb. respectively. The heaviest guns used either in or before Sebastopol were the English naval 68-pounder, the 8- and 10-inch shell guns, and the French $8\,^3/_4$ and 12-inch shell guns, the heaviest projectile of which, the 12-inch spherical shell, weighed about 180 lb. Thus the siege of Paris will as much surpass Sebastopol as Sebastopol surpassed all former sieges by the weight and mass of the projectiles used. The German siege park, we may add, will contain the number of guns we guessed it would—namely, about four hundred.

# SARAGOSSA—PARIS[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1776, October 22, 1870]

To form an appropriate idea of such a colossal operation as the siege and defence of Paris, we shall do well to look out, in military history, for some previous siege on a large scale to serve, at least in some degree, as an example of what we may expect to witness. Sebastopol would be a case in point if the defence of Paris took place under normal conditions; that is to say, if there were an army in the field to come to the relief of Paris or to reinforce its garrison, such as was the case with Sebastopol. But Paris defends itself under quite abnormal conditions: it has neither a garrison fit for an active defence, for fighting in the open, nor any reasonable hope of relief from without. Thus the greatest siege on record, that of Sebastopol, inferior only to the one we are about to see opened, offers no correct image of what will be done before Paris; and it will be at later stages of the siege only, and principally by contrast, that the events of the Crimean war will come in for comparison.

Nor will the sieges of the American war[80] offer better examples. They occurred during a period of the struggle when not only the Southern army, but also, following in its wake, the troops of the North, had lost the character of raw levies and had come under the description of regular troops. In all these sieges the defence was extremely active. At Vicksburg as well as at Richmond there were long preliminary struggles for the mastery of the ground on which alone the siege batteries could be erected; and, with the exception of Grant's last siege of Richmond, there were always attempts at relief too.[81] But here, in Paris, we have a garrison of

[a] Written between October 19 and 22, 1870.—*Ed.*

new levies feebly supported by scattered new levies outside the town, and attacked by a regular army with all the appliances of modern warfare. To find a case in point, we shall have to go back to the last war in which an armed people had to fight against a regular army, and actually did fight on a large scale—the Peninsular war. And here we find a celebrated example, which we shall see *is* in point in more than one respect: Saragossa.

Saragossa had but one-third of the diameter and one-ninth of the surface of Paris; but its fortifications, though erected in a hurry and without detached forts, would resemble those of Paris in their general defensive strength. The town was occupied by 25,000 Spanish soldiers, refugees from the defeat of Tudela,[82] among them not more than 10,000 real soldiers of the line, the rest young levies; there were besides armed peasants and inhabitants, raising the garrison to 40,000 men. There were 160 guns in the town. Outside, a force of some 30,000 men had been raised in the neighbouring provinces to come to its succour. On the other hand, the French Marshal Suchet had no more than 26,000 men wherewith to invest the fortress on both sides of the river Ebro, and, besides, 9,000 men covering the siege at Calatayud. Thus, the numerical proportion of the forces was about the same as that of the armies now respectively in and before Paris: the besieged nearly twice as numerous as the besiegers. Yet the Saragossans could no more afford to go out and meet the besiegers in the open than the Parisians can now. Nor could the Spaniards outside at any time seriously interfere with the siege.

The investment of the town was completed on the 19th of December 1808; the first parallel could be opened as early as the 29th, only 350 yards from the main rampart. On the 2nd of January, 1809, the second parallel is opened 100 yards from the works; on the 11th the breaches are practicable and the whole of the attacked front is taken by assault. But here, where the resistance of an ordinary fortress garrisoned by regular troops would have ceased, the strength of a popular defence only commenced. The portion of the rampart which the French had stormed had been cut off from the rest of the town by new defences. Earthworks, defended by artillery, had been thrown up across all the streets leading to it, and were repeated at appropriate distances to the rear. The houses, built in the massive style of hot Southern Europe, with immensely thick walls, were loopholed and held in force by infantry. The bombardment by the French was incessant; but, as they were badly provided with heavy mortars, its effects were not decisive against the town. Still it was

continued for forty-one days without intermission. To reduce the town, to take house after house, the French had to use the slowest process of all, that of mining. At last, after one-third of the buildings of the town had been destroyed, and the rest rendered uninhabitable, Saragossa surrendered on the 20th of February. Out of 100,000 human beings present in the town at the beginning of the siege 54,000 had perished.

This defence is classical of its kind, and well merits the celebrity it has gained. But, after all, the town resisted only sixty-three days, all told. The investment took ten days; the siege of the fortress fourteen; the siege of the inner defences and the struggle for the houses thirty-nine. The sacrifices were out of all proportion to the length of the defence and the positive result obtained. Had Saragossa been defended by 20,000 good enterprising soldiers, Suchet, with his force, could not have carried on the siege in the face of their sallies, and the place might have remained in the hands of the Spaniards until after the Austrian war of 1809.[83]

Now we certainly do not expect Paris to prove a second Saragossa. The houses in Paris, strong though they be, cannot bear any comparison as to massiveness with those of the Spanish city; nor have we any authority for supposing that the population will display the fanaticism of the Spaniards of 1809, or that one half of the inhabitants will patiently submit to be killed by fighting and disease. Still that phase of the struggle which came off in Saragossa after the storming of the rampart, in the streets, houses, and convents of the town, might to a certain extent repeat itself in the fortified villages and earthworks between the forts of Paris and the enceinte. There, as we said yesterday—in our twenty-fourth batch of Notes on the War[a]—appears to us to lie the centre of gravity of the defence. There the young Mobiles may meet their opponents, even in offensive movements, upon something like equal terms, and compel them to proceed in a more systematical way than the staff in Berlin seemed to imagine when, a short time ago, it expected to reduce the town in twelve or fourteen days from the opening of the siege batteries. There, too, the defence may cut out so much work for the mortars and shell-guns of the attack that even a partial bombardment of the town, at least upon a large scale, may be for the time being out of the question. The villages outside the enceinte will under all circumstances have to be sacrificed wherever they may happen to lie between the German front of attack and the French front of defence; and if therefore

[a] See this volume, p. 140.—*Ed.*

by sacrificing them the town can be spared so much the better for the defence.

How long this defence of the ground outside the enceinte can be made to last we cannot even guess at. It will depend upon the strength of the works themselves, upon the spirit with which the defence is conducted, upon the mode of attack. If the resistance become serious, the Germans will rely upon the fire of their artillery chiefly, in order to spare their troops. Anyhow, with the enormous artillery fire they will be able to concentrate upon any given point, it is not likely that it will take them more than a fortnight or three weeks before they arrive at the enceinte. To break and carry that will be the work of a few days. Even then there will be no absolute necessity to give up resistance; but it will be better to defer considering these eventualities until there shall be a greater probability of their actually occurring. Until then, too, we may be allowed to say nothing about the merits and demerits of M. Rochefort's barricades.[84] Upon the whole, we are of opinion that if the new works between the forts and the enceinte offer a really serious resistance, the attack will confine itself as much as possible—how far depends in a great measure upon the energy of the defence—to artillery fire, vertical and horizontal, and to the starving out of Paris.

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XXV[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1780, October 27, 1870]

While the negotiations for an armistice are pending,[85] it will be as well to make out the positions of the different corps of the German armies, which do not appear to be generally understood. We say the German armies, for of the French there is very little to be said. What is not shut up in Metz consists almost exclusively of new levies, the organization of which has never been made public, and cannot but vary from day to day. Moreover, the character of these troops, who prove themselves in all engagements more or less unfit for the field, takes away almost all interest in either their organization or their numbers.

As to the Germans, we know that they marched out with thirteen army corps of North Germany (including the Guards), one division of Hessians, one of Badeners, one of Württembergers, and two army corps of Bavarians. The 17th division of the 9th North German Corps (one brigade of which consists of Mecklenburgers) remained on the coast while the French fleet was in the Baltic. In its stead the 25th, or Hessian division, was attached to the 9th Corps, and remains so up to the present day. There remained at home, with the 17th division, nine divisions of landwehr (one of the Guards, and one for each of the eight old provinces of Prussia[86]; the time elapsed since 1866, when the Prussian system was introduced all over North Germany, having been barely sufficient to form the necessary number of reserve men, but not as yet any landwehr). When the recall of the French fleet and the completion of the fourth battalions of the line rendered these forces disposable, fresh army corps were formed

[a] Written between October 22 and 27, 1870.—*Ed.*

out of them and sent to France. We shall scarcely know, before the end of the war, the details of formation of all these corps, but what has leaked out in the meantime gives us a pretty clear insight into the general character of the plan. Before Metz we have, under Prince Frederick Charles, the lst, 2nd, 3rd, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th corps, of which the 9th consists, for the time being, of the 18th and 25th divisions, besides two divisions of landwehr, one, the first (East Prussian), under General Kummer; the number of the other is not known—in all sixteen divisions of infantry.

Before Paris there are, under the Crown Prince,[a] the 5th, 6th, and 11th North German, the two Bavarian corps, and the division of landwehr of the Guards; under the Crown Prince of Saxony,[b] the 4th and 12th North German corps, and the Prussian Guards; under the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg,[c] the 13th Corps and the Württemberg division. The 13th Corps is formed of the 17th division mentioned above, and of one division of landwehr. Of these troops, forming in all twenty divisions, there are four divisions sent on detached duty. Firstly, von der Tann with two Bavarian divisions and the 22nd North German division (of the 11th Corps) to the south and west, holding with the Bavarians Orléans and the line of the Loire; while the 22nd division (General Wittich's) successively occupied Châteaudun and Chartres. Secondly, the 17th division is detached towards the north-east of Paris; it has occupied Laon, Soissons, Beauvais, St. Quentin, &c., while other troops—probably flying columns, chiefly composed of cavalry—have advanced almost to the gates of Rouen. If we set down these as equal to another division, we have in all five divisions detached from the army before Paris to scour the country, to collect cattle and provisions, to prevent the formation of armed bands, and to keep at a distance any new bodies of troops which the Government of Tours[87] may be able to send up. This would leave for the actual investment fifteen divisions of infantry, or seven army corps and a half.

Besides the 13th Corps, the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg commands the whole of the detached troops in Champagne and the other occupied districts west of Lorraine, the garrisons of Sedan, Reims, Épernay, Châlons, Vitry, and the troops besieging Verdun. These consist of landwehr, principally of the 8th landwehr division. The garrisons in Alsace and Lorraine, almost all landwehr, are under the command of the respective military

[a] Frederick William.—*Ed.*
[b] Albert.—*Ed.*
[c] Frederick Francis II.—*Ed.*

governors of these provinces. Moreover, there are the troops echeloned along the line of railway and the main roads whose exclusive duty it is to keep these in working order and open for army transport; these, formed by detachments of the various corps of the line, and amounting at least to the strength of a division, are under the "Etappen-Commandant."[a]

The Baden division and another landwehr division have been combined into the 14th Corps, which is now, under General von Werder, advancing upon Besançon, while General Schmeling, with the fourth reserve division, has just successfully besieged Schelestadt, and is now taking in hand Neu Breisach. Here for the first time we find the mention of a "reserve division," which, in Prussian military language, is something essentially different from a landwehr division. In fact, we have so far accounted for six out of the nine landwehr divisions, and it may well be supposed that the garrisoning of Alsace and Lorraine, and in part of the Rhine fortresses, will account for the other three. The application of the term reserve division proves that the fourth battalions of the line regiments are now gradually arriving on French soil. There will be nine of them, or, in some cases, ten, to every army corps; these have been formed in as many reserve divisions, and probably bear the same number as the army corps to which they belong. Thus the fourth reserve division would be the one formed out of the fourth battalions of the Fourth Army Corps recruited in Prussian Saxony. This division forms part of the new 15th Army Corps. What the other division is we do not know—probably one of the three with which General Löwenfeld has just started from Silesia for Strasbourg; the other two would then form the 16th Corps. This would account for four out of thirteen reserve divisions, leaving nine still disposable in the interior of North Germany.

As to the numerical strength of these bodies of troops, the North German battalions before Paris have certainly been brought up again to a full average of 750 men; the Bavarians are reported to be weaker. The cavalry will scarcely average more than 100 sabres to the squadron instead of 150; and, upon the whole, an army corps before Paris will average 25,000 men, so that the whole army actually there will be nearly 190,000 men. The battalions before Metz must be weaker, on account of the greater amount of sickness, and will hardly average 700 men. Those of the landwehr will scarcely number 500.

The Polish press has lately begun to claim a rather large share

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[a] L. of C. Commandant.—*Ed.*

in the glory of the Prussian arms. The truth of the matter is this: the whole number of the Polish-speaking population in Prussia is about two millions, or one-fifteenth of the whole North German population; in these we include both the Water-Polacks of Upper Silesia and the Masures of East Prussia,[88] who would both be very much surprised to hear themselves called Poles. The lst, 2nd, 5th, and 6th corps have an admixture of Polish soldiers, but the Polish element actually predominates in one division only of the 5th, and perhaps in one brigade of the 6th Corps. It has been the policy of the Prussian Government as much as possible to scatter the Polish element in the army over a great number of corps. Thus, the Poles of West Prussia are divided between the 1st and 2nd corps, and those of Posen between the 2nd and 5th, while in every case care has been taken that the majority of the men in each corps should be Germans.

The reduction of Verdun is now being energetically pushed on. The town and citadel are not very strongly fortified, but have deep wet ditches. On the 11th and 12th of October the garrison was driven from the villages surrounding the place, and the investment made close; on the 13th a bombardment was opened with forty-eight guns and mortars (French ones taken in Sedan), placed between 700 and 1,300 yards from the works. On the 14th some old French 24-pounders arrived from Sedan. and on the following day some of the new Prussian rifled 24-pounders which had reduced Toul. They were in full activity on the 18th. The town appeared to suffer severely, being very closely built.

# THE FALL OF METZ[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1782, October 29, 1870]

The present war is a war of capitulations, each one of which seems to be destined to surpass its predecessors in magnitude. First came the 84,000 men laying down their arms at Sedan, an event the like of which, or even anything approaching to which, had not been witnessed in any previous war, not even in those of Austria. Now comes the surrender of 170,000 men, together with the fortress of Metz, surpassing Sedan as much as Sedan surpassed all previous capitulations. Is Metz, in its turn, to be surpassed by Paris? If the war be continued there can be little doubt it will.

The three radical blunders which brought Napoleon from the 2nd of August to the 2nd of September, from Saarbrücken to Sedan, and which virtually deprived France of the whole of her armies, were—first, the receiving of the enemy's attack in a position which allowed the victorious Germans to push in between the scattered corps of the French army, and thus to divide it into two distinct bodies, neither of which could rejoin or even act in concert with the other; second, the delay of Bazaine's army at Metz, by which it got hopelessly shut up there; and third, the march to the relief of Bazaine with forces and by a route which positively invited the enemy to take the whole of the relieving army prisoners. The effects of the first blunder were conspicuous throughout the campaign. Those of the third were brought to a close at Sedan; those of the second we have just witnessed at Metz. The whole of that "Army of the Rhine," to which Napoleon promised an arduous campaign[b] in a country full of fortresses, is

[a] Written between October 27 and 29, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Napoleon III's appeal to the army "Au quartier impérial de Metz, le 28 juillet 1870", *Le Temps,* No. 3440, July 30, 1870.—*Ed.*

now in, or on the road to, these very same fortresses as prisoners of war, and France is not only virtually, but positively, deprived of nearly all of her regular troops.

The loss of the men themselves, and of the matériel surrendered along with Metz, which must be enormous, is a blow hard enough. But it is not the hardest. The worst for France is that, with these men and this matériel, she is deprived of that military organization of which she is more in need than of anything else. Of men there are plenty; even of drilled men between twenty-five and thirty-five there must be at least 300,000. Matériel can be replaced from stores and factories at home and by commerce from abroad. Under circumstances like these all good breech-loaders are useful, no matter on what model they are constructed, or whether the ammunition of the one will suit the other models. Anything serviceable being welcome, with a proper use of telegraphs and steamers, there might be more arms and cartridges now at the disposal of the Government than could be used. Even field artillery might have been supplied by this time. But what is most wanted is that solid organization which can make an army out of all these armed men. This organization is personified in the officers and non-commissioned officers of the regular army, and finally ceases to be available with their surrender. The number of officers withdrawn from the active service of France, by losses on the battle-field and by capitulations, cannot now be less than from ten to twelve thousand, that of non-commissioned officers being nearly three times as great. With such organizing forces all at once withdrawn from the national defence, it becomes extremely difficult to turn crowds of men into companies and battalions of soldiers. Whoever has seen popular levies on the drill-ground or under fire—be they Baden Freischaaren, Bull-Run Yankees, French Mobiles, or British Volunteers[89]—will have perceived at once that the chief cause of the helplessness and unsteadiness of these troops lies in the fact of the officers not knowing their duty; and in this present case in France who is there to teach them their duty? The few old half-pay or invalided officers are not sufficiently numerous to do it; they cannot be everywhere; the teaching has to be not theoretical only, but practical too; not by word of mouth only, but by act and example. A few young officers or newly-promoted sergeants in a battalion will very soon settle down to their work by the constant observation of what the old officers do; but what is to be done when the officers are almost all new, and not even many old sergeants to be had to be commissioned? The same men who now prove themselves in

almost every encounter unfit to act in masses in the open would have soon learned how to fight if it had been possible to embody them in Bazaine's old battalions; nay, if they had merely had the chance of being commanded by Bazaine's officers and sergeants. And in this final loss for this campaign of almost the last vestige of her military organization, France suffers most by the capitulation of Metz.

It will be time to form a decided opinion upon the conduct of the defence when we shall have heard what the defenders have to say for themselves. But if it be a fact that 170,000 men capable of bearing arms have surrendered, then the presumption is that the defence has not been up to the mark. At no time since the end of August has the investing army been double the strength of the invested. It must have varied between 200,000 and 230,000 men, spread out on a circle of at least twenty-seven miles' periphery, in the first line only; which means to say that the circle occupied by the masses must at least have been thirty-six to forty miles in periphery. This circle was moreover cut in two by the river Moselle, impassable except by bridges at some distance to the rear of the first line. If an army of 170,000 men could not manage to be in superior strength at any one point of this circle, and break through it before sufficient reinforcements could be brought up, we must conclude either that the arrangements of the investing troops were beyond all praise, or that the attempts to get through them were never made as they ought to have been done. We shall probably learn that here, as throughout this war, political considerations have lamed military action.

Unless peace be now concluded, the consequences of this fresh disaster will soon be brought home to France. We suppose that the two landwehr divisions will be left to garrison Metz. The 2nd Corps is already on the road to Paris, which does not absolutely imply that it is intended to take part in the investment of the capital. But supposing that to be the case, there would remain six corps, or at least 130,000 to 140,000 men, whom Moltke can send where he likes. The communications of the army with Germany were kept up without much participation of Prince Frederick Charles's troops; for this purpose he will have to detach few men, if any at all. The rest is disposable for the invasion of the west and south of France. There will be no necessity to keep the whole of them together. They will probably be divided into two or three bodies, forming, with von der Tann's corps, together at least 150,000, and will be ordered to advance into the parts of France hitherto unoccupied by the Germans. One corps will almost

certainly occupy the rich provinces of Normandy and Le Maine as far as the Loire, with Le Mans, where five railways meet, for a centre. Another will push forward in the direction of Bordeaux, after having cleared the line of the Loire from Tours to Nevers, and occupied or destroyed the arsenals and military factories of Bourges. This corps might march from Metz by Chaumont and Auxerre, where the country has not yet been eaten up by requisitions. A third corps might go straight to the south, to open communications with General Werder. The interior of France being almost entirely divested of fortresses deserving of the name, there will be no resistance except the evanescent one of the new levies, and the more passive but also more stubborn one of the populations. Whether, with such armies set free all at once, Moltke will attempt the siege of any more fortresses, or even the reduction of a fortified naval port such as Cherbourg, remains to be seen; he need reduce no more fortresses now, except Phalsbourg and Belfort, which block main lines of railway, and, of course, Paris.

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XXVI[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1787, November 4, 1870]

There can be no longer any reasonable doubt that the army which surrendered at Metz actually numbered 173,000 men, 140,000 of which were fit to bear arms, while rather more than 30,000 were sick and wounded. *The Daily News* gives us, in a telegram from Berlin, what professes to be full particulars of these troops:—67 infantry regiments, 13 battalions of Chasseurs-à-Pied,[b] 18 fourth and depôt battalions; 36 cavalry regiments—viz. 10 Cuirassiers, 1 Guides,[90] 11 Dragoons, 2 Lancers, 3 Hussars, 6 Chasseurs-à-Cheval,[c] and 3 Chasseurs d'Afrique,[d] besides 6 depôt squadrons. We must suppose that this statement comes from the Prussian Staff in Berlin, and contains an abstract either of what they had made out from previous and indirect sources to be the composition of the French forces in Metz, or else of the French returns handed over to the captors on surrender. The latter appears most likely. We know there were within Metz, of infantry, the Guards (8 regiments=30 battalions, and 1 battalion Chasseurs), the Second Corps (Frossard, 3 divisions), the Third (Decaen, late Bazaine, 4 divisions), the Fourth (Ladmirault, 3 divisions), the Sixth (Canrobert, 3 divisions), and 1 division of the Fifth Corps (De Failly's), in all 14 divisions of the line, each containing 1 battalion of Chasseurs and 4 regiments or 12 battalions of the line, excepting 2 divisions of Canrobert's which had no Chasseurs. This would give 12 battalions of Chasseurs and 168 battalions of the line, or, with the Guards, a grand total of 13 battalions Chasseurs

[a] Written between October 29 and November 4, 1870.—*Ed.*
[b] Light infantry.—*Ed.*
[c] Light cavalry.—*Ed.*
[d] African infantry.—*Ed.*

and 198 of infantry, and, with the 18 depôt battalions, in all 229 battalions, which is rather more than the 221 given as the total number in *The Daily News.* On the other hand, this list would give but 64 regiments of infantry, while our contemporary has 67. We must therefore conclude that the three missing regiments formed the garrison of Metz, and for that reason do not figure in the status of the "Army of the Rhine." As to the discrepancy in the number of battalions, that is easily accounted for. The losses of many regiments during the battles in August, and the sorties of September and October, as well as by sickness, must have been such that the three battalions had to be formed into two, perhaps even one.

That such a force, as large as Napoleon's army at Leipzig,[91] should be compelled to surrender at all, is a fact unheard of in the history of warfare, and almost incredible even now after it has happened. But it becomes more inconceivable still if we compare the strength of this army with that of the captors. On the 18th of August Bazaine was thrown back, from the heights of Gravelotte, under the guns of the forts of Metz; in a few days after, the investment of the place was completed. But of the army which had fought at Gravelotte, 3 corps, or 75 battalions, were detached under the Crown Prince of Saxony[a] on the 24th of August, at latest; for three days afterwards their cavalry defeated Mac-Mahon's Chasseurs-à-Cheval at Buzancy. There remained before Metz 7 corps, or 175 battalions, and 12 landwehr battalions, in all 187 battalions, to invest an army of at least 221 battalions! At that time Bazaine must have had at his disposal 160,000 combatants, if not more. The Prussians certainly had taken every step to send up fresh men from their reserve troops to make up for the losses of the late battles; but it will be impossible to suppose that their battalions were brought up again to the full complement of 1,000 men. Even supposing this to have been the case, with the exception of the landwehr, which forms battalions of five or six hundred only, this will give the Prussians a force of not more than 182,000, or with cavalry and artillery about 240,000 men; that is to say, merely one-half more than the army shut up in Metz. And these 240,000 men were spread out on a front of twenty-seven miles in length, and there was an unfordable river to divide them into two distinct bodies. Under these circumstances, it is impossible to doubt that Bazaine, had he really attempted to break through the investing circle with the mass of his troops, could have done

[a] Albert.—*Ed.*

so—unless indeed we suppose that the French, after Gravelotte, were no longer the men they had been before; and for that there is no reason.

That Bazaine, after the proclamation of the Republic, should have refrained from breaking out of Metz through political motives appears to the writer of these Notes quite certain. It is equally certain that every day of delay decreased his chances of success for doing so; still the Prussians themselves appear to think now that, had they been in the same position, they could have performed the feat. But what remains inexplicable is the inaction, or at least the indecision, of Bazaine during the last days of August and the first days of September. On the 31st of August he attempts an attack towards the north-east, and continues it throughout the night and the following morning; yet three Prussian divisions are sufficient to drive him back under the guns of the forts. The attempt must have been extremely feeble, considering the enormous strength with which he might have made it. A general who has sixteen divisions of splendid infantry under him, to be repelled by three divisions of the enemy! It is too bad.

As to the political motives which are said to have caused Bazaine's inactivity after the revolution of the 4th of September, and the political intrigues in which he engaged, with the connivance of the enemy, during the latter part of the investment,[92] they are thoroughly in keeping with the Second Empire, which, in one form or another, they were intended to restore. It shows to what an extent that Second Empire had lost every comprehension of French character if the general in command of the only regular army France then possessed could think of restoring the fallen dynasty with the help of the invader of his country.

Bazaine's previous military career was none of the brightest. His Mexican campaign[93] merely proved that he cared more for reward than for glory or the credit of his country. His nomination to the command-in-chief of the Army of the Rhine was due to accidental circumstances; he got it, not because he was the most eligible but the least ineligible of the possible candidates; and the deciding considerations were anything but strictly military. He will be immortalized as the man who committed the most disgraceful act in French military history—who prevented 160,000 Frenchmen from breaking through the investing army of, under the circumstances, positively inferior strength, and surrendered them as prisoners of war when there was nothing more to eat.

# THE EMPEROR'S APOLOGIA[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1788, November 5, 1870]

Like other great men in bad luck, Louis Napoleon appears aware that he owes the public an explanation of the causes which led him, much against his will, from Saarbrücken to Sedan; and consequently we have now been put in possession of what professes to be this explanation of his.[b] As there is no evidence, either external or internal, to fix any suspicion of spuriousness upon the document, but rather to the contrary, we take it, for the present,to be genuine. Indeed, we are almost bound to do so, out of mere compliment; for if ever there was a document confirming, both generally and in detail, the view taken of the war by *The Pall Mall Gazette,* it is this Imperial self-justification.

Louis Napoleon informs us that he was perfectly aware of the great numerical superiority of the Germans; that he hoped to counteract it by a rapid invasion of Southern Germany in order to compel that country to remain neutral, and to secure, by a first success, the alliance of Austria and Italy. For this purpose 150,000 men were to be concentrated at Metz, 100,000 at Strasbourg, and 50,000 at Châlons. With the first two rapidly concentrated, the Rhine was to be passed near Karlsruhe, while the 50,000 men from Châlons advanced on Metz to oppose any hostile movement on the flank and rear of the advancing forces. But this plan evaporated as soon as the Emperor came to Metz. He found there only 100,000 men, at Strasbourg there were only 40,000, while

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[a] Written between November 1 and 5, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] [Napoleon III,] *Campagne de 1870. Des causes qui ont amené la capitulation de Sedan.* Par un officier attaché à l'Etat-Major Général, avec les plans de la place et de bataille, Brussels, 1870.—*Ed.*

Canrobert's reserves were anywhere and everywhere except at Châlons, where they ought to have been. Then the troops were unprovided with the first necessaries for a campaign, knapsacks, tents, camp-kettles, and cooking-tins. Moreover, nothing was known of the enemy's whereabouts. In fact, the bold, dashing offensive was from the very beginning turned into a very modest defensive.

There will be scarcely anything new in all this to the readers of *The Pall Mall Gazette.* Our "Notes on the War" sketched out the above plan of attack as the most rational the French could pursue, and traced the causes why it had to be abandoned.[a] But there is one fact, which was the proximate cause of his first defeats, for which the Emperor does not account: why he left his several corps in the faulty position of attack close to the frontier, when the intention of attack had been long given up. As to his figures, we shall criticize them by-and-by.

The causes of the breakdown of the French military administration the Emperor finds in

> "the defects of our military organization such as it has existed for the last fifty years."

But surely this was not the first time that this organization was put upon its trial. It had answered well enough during the Crimean war. It produced brilliant results at the outset of the Italian war, when it was held up in England, not less than in Germany, as the very model of army organization. No doubt it was shown to have many shortcomings even then. But there is this difference between then and now: then it did work, and now it does not. And the Emperor does not profess to account for this difference, which was the very thing to be accounted for—but, at the same time, the most tender point of the Second Empire, which had clogged the wheels of this organization by all manner of corruption and jobbery.

When Metz was reached by the retreating army,

> "its effective force was brought up to 140,000 by the arrival of Marshal Canrobert with two divisions and the reserve."

This statement, compared with the numbers who have just laid down their arms at Metz, compels us to look a little more closely into the Imperial figures. The army of Strasbourg was to be composed of MacMahon's, De Failly's, and Douay's corps, in all ten divisions, and should number 100,000 men; but it is now said

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[a] See this volume, pp. 15-16 and 22-23.—*Ed.*

not to have exceeded 40,000. Leaving Douay's three divisions entirely out of the question, although one of them came to MacMahon's assistance at or after Woerth, this would give less than 6,000 men per division (13 battalions), or barely 430 men per battalion, even if we do not count one single man for cavalry or artillery. Now, with all the credit we are inclined to give the Second Empire in the matter of jobbery and dilapidation, we cannot bring ourselves to believe that there should have been ninety battalions in the army the effective strength of which, twenty days after the calling out of the reserves and men on furlough, averaged 430 men instead of 900. As to the army of Metz it comprised, in the Guards and ten divisions of the line, 161 battalions; and if we take the 100,000 men given in the pamphlet as consisting of infantry only, without allowing anything for cavalry or artillery, that would still give not more than 620 men per battalion, which is undoubtedly below the reality. More wonderful still, after the retreat to Metz, this army was raised to 140,000 men by the arrival of two divisions of Canrobert and the reserves. The new additions thus consisted of 40,000 men. Now, as the "reserves" arriving at Metz after Spicheren could consist of cavalry and artillery only, the Guards having arrived there long before, they cannot be set down at more than 20,000 men, leaving another 20,000 for Canrobert's two divisions, which, for twenty-five battalions, would give 800 men per battalion; that is to say, Canrobert's battalions, which were the most unready of all, are made by this account to be far stronger than those which had been concentrated and got ready long before. But, if the army of Metz, before the battles of the 14th, 16th, and 18th of August, counted but 140,000 men, how comes it that after the losses of these three days—certainly not less than 50,000 men—after the losses of the later sorties, and the deaths from sickness, Bazaine could still hand over 173,000 prisoners to the Prussians? We have entered into these figures merely to show that they contradict each other and all the known facts of the campaign. They can be dismissed at once as totally incorrect.

Besides the army organization, there were other circumstances hampering the Imperial eagle's flight towards victory. There was, firstly, "the bad weather;" then "the encumbrance of baggage;" and finally,

> "the absolute ignorance in which we always remained concerning the position and the strength of the hostile armies."

Three very untoward circumstances indeed. But the bad weather was there for both parties, for in all his devout references

to Providence King William has not once mentioned the fact that the sun shone on the German positions while rain fell on those of the French. Nor were the Germans unencumbered with baggage. As to the ignorance of the whereabouts of the enemy, there exists a letter of Napoleon's to his brother Joseph,[a] who complained in Spain[b] of the same hardship, and which is anything but complimentary to generals making such complaints. It says that if generals are ignorant of the whereabouts of the enemy it is their own fault, and proves that they do not understand their business. One sometimes doubts, in reading these excuses for bad generalship, whether this pamphlet is really written for grown-up people.

The account given of the part played by Louis Napoleon himself will not please his friends very much. After the battles of Woerth and Spicheren he "resolved immediately to lead back the army to the camp of Châlons." But this plan, though first approved by the Council of Ministers, two days afterwards was considered likely "to produce a deplorable effect on the public mind;" and, on the reception of a letter from M. E. Ollivier (!) to that effect, the Emperor abandoned it. He leads the army to the left bank of the Moselle, and then—"not foreseeing a general battle, and only looking for partial engagements"—leaves it for Châlons. Scarcely is he gone when the battles of the 16th and 18th of August take place, and shut up in Metz Bazaine and his army. In the meantime, the Empress and the Ministry, exceeding their powers, and behind the Emperor's back, convoke the Chamber; and, with the meeting of that eminently powerful body, the Corps Législatif of Arcadians,[94] the fate of the Empire was sealed. The Opposition—there were twenty-five of them, you know—became all-powerful, and "paralyzed the patriotism of the majority and the progress of the Government"—which Government, we all recollect, was not that of mealy-mouthed Ollivier but of rough Palikao.

"From this period Ministers appeared to be afraid to pronounce the name of the Emperor; and he, who had quitted the army, and had only relinquished the command in order to resume the reins of government, soon discovered that it would be impossible for him to play out the part which belonged to him."

In fact, he was made to see that he was virtually deposed, that he had become impossible. Most people with some self-respect, under the circumstances, would have abdicated. But no; his irresolution, to use the mildest possible expression, continues, and

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[a] Napoleon I's letter to Joseph Bonaparte of August 16, 1808, in: J. Bonaparte, *Mémoires et correspondance politique et militaire du roi Joseph*, t. IV, Paris, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Bonaparte's letter to Napoleon I of August 14, 1808, ibid.—*Ed.*

he follows MacMahon's army, a mere clog, powerless to do good, but not to prevent its being done. The Government in Paris insist upon MacMahon making a move to relieve Bazaine. MacMahon refuses, as this would be tantamount to running his army into the jaws of perdition; Palikao insists.

"As to the Emperor, he made no opposition. It could not enter into his views to oppose the advice of the Government and of the Empress Regent, who had shown so much intelligence and energy under the greatest difficulties."

We admire the meekness of the man who for twenty years had maintained that submission to his own individual will was the only road to salvation for France, and who now, when "a plan of campaign is imposed from Paris, contrary to the most elementary principles of the art of war," makes no opposition, because it could never enter into his views to oppose the advice of the Empress Regent, who had, &c. &c.!

The description of the state of the army with which this fatal march was undertaken is an exact confirmation in every particular of our estimate of it at the time.[a] There is only one redeeming feature in it. De Failly's corps, during its retreat by forced marches, had at least managed to lose, without a fight, "almost all its baggage;" but the corps does not appear to have appreciated this advantage.

The army had gone to Reims on the 21st of August. On the 23rd it advanced as far as the river Suippe, at Bétheniville, on the direct road to Verdun and Metz. But commissariat difficulties compelled MacMahon to return without delay to a line of railway; consequently, on the 24th, a movement to the left is made and Rethel is reached. Here the whole of the 25th is spent in distributing provisions to the troops. On the 26th, head-quarters go to Tourteron, twelve miles further eastward; on the 27th, to Le Chêne Populeux, another six miles. Here MacMahon, finding out that eight German army corps were closing in around him, gave orders to retreat again towards the west; but during the night positive orders from Paris arrived that he was to march to Metz.

"Unquestionably, the Emperor could have countermanded this order, but he was resolved not to oppose the decision of the Regency."

This virtuous resignation compelled MacMahon to obey; and so he reached Stonne, six miles further east, on the 28th. But "these orders and counter-orders occasioned delays in the movements."

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[a] See this volume, pp. 66 and 78.—*Ed.*

In the meantime

"the Prussian army had made forced marches, while we, encumbered with baggage [again!], had occupied six days with fatigued troops in marching twenty-five leagues."

Then came the battles of the 30th, 31st [of August], and 1st of September, and the catastrophe, which is narrated very fully, but without giving any new particulars. And then comes the moral to be drawn from it:—

"Certainly the struggle was disproportionate; but it would have been longer sustained, and less disastrous for our arms, if military operations had not been unceasingly subordinated to political considerations."

It is the fate of the Second Empire and everything connected with it to fall without being pitied. The commiseration which is the least that falls to the lot of great misfortunes does not, somehow or other, appear to be extended to it. Even the "honneur au courage malheureux"[a] which you cannot nowadays use in French without a certain irony, seems to be denied to it. We doubt whether, under the circumstances, Napoleon will derive much benefit from a document according to which his eminent strategical insight is in every case set at nought by absurd orders, dictated by political motives, from the Government at Paris, while his power to cancel these absurd orders is again set at nought by his unlimited respect for the Regency of the Empress. The best that can be said of this uncommonly lame pamphlet is, that it does acknowledge how necessarily things must go wrong in war "if military operations be unceasingly subordinated to political considerations."

[a] Honour to the courage in distress.—*Ed.*

# THE FIGHTING IN FRANCE[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1793, November 11, 1870]

During the first six weeks of the war, while German victories followed each other rapidly, while the expanding force of the invaders was as yet but incompletely spent, and while there were still French armies in the field to oppose them, the contest, generally speaking, remained one of armies. The population of the invaded districts took but little part in the fighting. True, there were a dozen or so of Alsatian peasants court-martialed and shot for participating in battles or for maiming the wounded; but a tragedy like that of Bazeilles was quite the exception. This is proved by nothing better than by the immense impression it made, and by the eager controversy carried on in the press as to the degree in which the treatment of that village was justifiable or otherwise. If it were advisable to reopen that controversy, we could prove, from the testimony of unimpeachable eye-witnesses, that inhabitants of Bazeilles did fall upon the Bavarian wounded, ill-treated them, and threw them into the flames of houses fired by shells; and that in consequence of this, General von der Tann gave the stupid and barbarous order to destroy the whole place—stupid and barbarous chiefly because it meant setting fire to houses in which his own wounded were lying by the hundred. But anyhow, Bazeilles was destroyed in the heat of battle, and in a contest the most exasperating—that of house and street fighting, where reports must be acted upon and decisions taken at once, and where people have no time to sift evidence and to hear counsel on both sides.

During the last six weeks the character of the war has undergone a remarkable change. The regular armies of France

[a] Written between November 5 and 11, 1870.—*Ed.*

have disappeared; the contest is carried on by levies whose very rawness renders them more or less irregular. Wherever they attempt to come out in masses in the open, they are easily defeated; wherever they fight under shelter of barricaded and loopholed villages and towns, they find they can offer a serious resistance. They are encouraged in this kind of fighting, in night surprises, and other coups of petty warfare, by proclamations and orders of the Government, who also command the people of the district in which they operate to support them in every way. This resistance would be easily put down if the enemy disposed of forces sufficient for the occupation of the whole country. But this he did not up to the surrender of Metz. The force of the invaders was spent before Amiens, Rouen, Le Mans, Blois, Tours, and Bourges could be reached on the one hand, and Besançon and Lyons on the other. And that this force became spent so soon is in no small degree owing to this greater condensation of the resisting medium. The eternal "four Uhlans"[a] cannot now ride into a village or a town far outside their own lines and command absolute submission to their orders without risk of being caught or killed. Requisition columns have to be accompanied by an imposing force, and single companies or squadrons have to guard themselves well from night surprises when quartered in a village, and from ambushes when on the march. There is a belt of disputed ground all around the German positions, and it is just there that popular resistance is most severely felt. And to put down this popular resistance the Germans are having recourse to a code of warfare as antiquated as it is barbarous. They are acting upon the rule that every town or village where one or more of the inhabitants take part in the defence, fire upon their troops, or generally assist the French, is to be burned down; that every man taken in arms who is not, according to their notion, a regular soldier, is to be shot at once; and that where there is reason to believe that any considerable portion of the population of a town have been guilty of some such offence, all able-bodied men are to be massacred at once. This system has now been ruthlessly carried out for nearly six weeks, and is still in full force. You cannot open a German newspaper without stumbling over half a dozen reports of such military executions, which there pass quite as a matter of course, as simple proceedings of military justice carried out with wholesome severity by "honest soldiers" against "cowardly assas-

[a] See the item "Berlin, Nov. 1", *The Times*, No. 26899, November 4, 1870.—*Ed.*

sins and brigands." There is no disorder of any kind, no promiscuous plunder, no violation of women, no irregularity. Nothing of the kind. It is all done systematically and by order; the doomed village is surrounded, the inhabitants turned out, the provisions secured, and the houses set fire to, while the real or suspected culprits are brought before a court-martial, when a short shrift and half a dozen bullets await them with unerring certainty. In Ablis, a village of 900 inhabitants, on the road to Chartres, a squadron of the 16th (Sleswig-Holstein) Hussars were surprised at night by French irregulars, and lost one half of their men; to punish this piece of insolence, the whole brigade of cavalry marched to Ablis and burned down the whole place; and two different reports, both from actors in the drama, assert that all able-bodied men were taken out from the inhabitants and shot down, or hacked to pieces without exception.[a] This is but one out of very many cases. A Bavarian officer in the neighbourhood of Orléans writes that his detachment had burned down five villages in twelve days[b]; and it is no exaggeration to say that wherever the German flying columns are passing in the centre of France, their road but too often remains traced by fire and by blood.

Now it will scarcely suffice in 1870 to say that this is legitimate warfare, and that the interference of civilians or of anybody not properly recognized as a soldier is tantamount to brigandage, and may be put down by fire and sword. All this might apply in the time of Louis XIV and Frederick II, when there were no other contests but those of armies. But from the American war of independence down to the American war of secession, in Europe as well as in America, the participation of the populations in war has become not the exception but the rule. Wherever a people allowed itself to be subdued merely because its armies had become incapable of resistance it has been held up to universal contempt as a nation of cowards; and wherever a people did energetically carry out this irregular resistance, the invaders very soon found it impossible to carry out the old-fashioned code of blood and fire. The English in America,[95] the French under Napoleon in Spain, the Austrians, 1848, in Italy and Hungary, were very soon compelled to treat popular resistance as perfectly legitimate, from fear of reprisals on their own prisoners. Not even the Prussians in

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[a] Report from the *Kreisblatt für das Westhavilland* "Rambouillet, Oct. 9". Engels cites it according to *The Times*, No. 26897, November 2, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] H. Voget's report from the *Frankfurter Zeitung* entitled "Aus Orleans, 23. Okt.". Engels cites it according to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 308, November 4, 1870.—*Ed.*

Baden, 1849, or the Pope[a] after Mentana,[96] had the courage to shoot down indiscriminately their prisoners of war, irregulars and "rebels" though they were. There exist only two modern examples of the ruthless application of this antiquated code of "stamping out:" the suppression of the Sepoy mutiny[97] by the English in India, and the proceedings of Bazaine and his French in Mexico.

Of all armies in the world, the very last that ought to renew such practices is the Prussian. In 1806 Prussia collapsed merely because there was not anywhere in the country a trace of that spirit of national resistance. After 1807, the reorganizers of the administration and of the army did everything in their power to revive it. At that time Spain showed the glorious example how a nation can resist an invading army. The whole of the military leaders of Prussia pointed out this example to their countrymen as the one to be followed. Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, Clausewitz were all of one mind in this respect; Gneisenau even went to Spain himself to fight against Napoleon. The whole of the new military system then inaugurated in Prussia was an attempt to organize popular resistance to the enemy, at least as far as this was possible in an absolute monarchy. Not only was every able-bodied man to pass through the army and to serve in the landwehr up to his fortieth year; the lads between seventeen and twenty and the men between forty and sixty were to form part of the landsturm or *levée en masse*,[b] which was to rise in the rear and on the flanks of the enemy, harass his movements, intercept his supplies and couriers, use whatever arms it could find, employ indiscriminately whatever means were at hand to annoy the invader—"the more effective these means the better"—and, above all,

> "to wear no uniform of any kind, so that the landsturmers might at any time resume their character of civilians and remain unknown to the enemy."[c]

The whole of this "Landsturm Ordnung," as the law of 1813 regarding it is called, is drawn up—and its author is no other than Scharnhorst, the organizer of the Prussian army—in this spirit of uncompromising national resistance, to which all means are justifiable and the most effective are the best. But then all this was to be done by the Prussians against the French, and if the French act in the same way towards the Prussians that is quite a different

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[a] Pius IX.—*Ed.*
[b] General levy.—*Ed.*
[c] Frederick William III, "Verordnung über den Landsturm. Vom 21sten April 1813", in: *Gesetz-Sammlung für die königlichen preussischen Staaten*, Berlin [1813]. See this volume, p. 195.—*Ed.*

thing. What was patriotism in the one case becomes brigandage and cowardly assassination in the other.

The fact is, the present Prussian Government are ashamed of that old, half-revolutionary Landsturm Ordnung, and try to make it forgotten by their proceedings in France. But every act of wanton cruelty they get committed in France will more and more call it to memory; and the justifications made for such an ignoble mode of warfare will but tend to prove that if the Prussian army has immensely improved since Jena,[35] the Prussian Government are rapidly ripening that same state of things which rendered Jena possible.

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XXVII[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1797, November 16, 1870]

Those who believed, with M. Gambetta, that the skilful and well-combined movements by which the Army of the Loire manoeuvred von der Tann's Bavarians out of Orléans would be followed up at once by an advance on Paris have been doomed to disappointment. The engagement of Coulmiers,[98] or whatever else it may hereafter be called, took place on the 9th, and up to the evening of the 13th the Bavarian outposts appear to have remained unmolested in front of Toury, only twenty-five miles from Orléans.

It redounds greatly to the credit of General d'Aurelle de Paladines that after his first success he not only had the sense, but also the moral strength, to stop in time. With M. Gambetta behind him, proclaiming to his men that they are on the road to Paris, that Paris awaits them and must be freed from the barbarians,[b] it cannot have been an easy matter to keep back these young and half-disciplined troops, who are but too ready to cry "trahison" unless they are at once led against the enemy, and to run away when they are made seriously to feel that enemy's presence. That d'Aurelle has made them stop on the road to Paris shows that his efforts to discipline them have not been unsuccessful, and that his first success has gained him their confidence. His dispositions for this first French victory were everything they should have been. Von der Tann cannot have had more than 25,000 men in the neighbourhood of Orléans, which exposed position he was allowed

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[a] Written on November 16, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] L. Gambetta's proclamation to the troops, c. November 13, 1870, *The Times,* No. 26907, November 14, 1870.—*Ed.*

to continue to hold, in the consciousness that his seasoned troops would, under any circumstances, be able to fray themselves a road through no matter what number of the new levies opposed to them. D'Aurelle could operate against the Bavarians with at least fourfold their numbers, and he did what is usual in such a case: he turned their flanks and displayed, especially on their right rear, such a strength that von der Tann was at once compelled to fall back towards his supports. These joined him at Toury on the 11th, or at latest the 12th; and they consisted of Wittich's 21st division of North German infantry, Prince Albrecht's division of cavalry, and the 13th Corps (17th North German division and Württemberg division). Thus a force of from 65,000 to 70,000 men at least is concentrated under the command of the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg at Toury, and General d'Aurelle may well look at them twice before he ventures upon an attack on them, though they are commanded by a very common-place chief indeed.

But there are other motives besides this which must compel General d'Aurelle to pause before making any fresh movement. If his intention really be to come to the relief of Paris, he must know perfectly well that his own forces are not sufficient to effect this object unless at the same time a vigorous effort is made, from within, to second him. We know that General Trochu has picked out the most disciplined and best organized portion of his troops and formed of them what may be called the active army of Paris. Under the command of General Ducrot, they appear to be intended for those grand sorties without which the defence of a place like Paris is like a soldier fighting with his right arm tied up.

It is not perhaps a matter of accident that this reorganization of the Army of Paris coincides, in point of time, with the advance of the Army of the Loire. General Trochu and General d'Aurelle doubtless have attempted, by means of balloons and carrier pigeons, to arrange a combined movement, to be made at a time agreed upon beforehand; and, unless the Germans previously attack the Army of the Loire, we may expect a sortie on a large scale from Paris on or about the same time that d'Aurelle makes his next forward movement. That sortie would probably be made with at least the whole of Ducrot's three corps, on the south side of the town, where communication with the Army of the Loire might, in case of success, be established, while on the north-east and north-west sides Trochu's "Third Army" would make simulated attacks and diversions, supported by the fire of the forts, to prevent the investing army from sending reinforcements

to the south. We may be sure, on the other hand, that all this is taken into account by General Moltke, and that he will not be caught napping. In spite of the great numerical superiority which the French will be able to bring into the field, we are decidedly of opinion that the difference in the quality of the troops and in the generalship will more than make up for this.

This attempt to free Paris from the grasp of the "barbarians" will have to be made very soon if it is to have any chance at all. Besides the five divisions of infantry which are opposed to the Army of the Loire, there are now before Paris sixteen divisions of infantry (the 2nd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 12th corps, the Guards, the 1st Bavarian Corps, the 21st division, and the division of landwehr of the Guards). This force must be, in Moltke's eyes, quite sufficient to keep Paris effectively blockaded; otherwise he would have drawn towards Paris more troops than the 2nd Corps, out of those that became free by the surrender of Metz. And considering that its positions, facing Paris, are everywhere strongly entrenched, and will shortly be under the protection of tremendous siege batteries, such will no doubt be the case. But we are now beginning to receive news from Prince Frederick Charles, who after the capitulation of Metz had become invisible with three army corps (the 3rd, 9th, and 10th). The first glimpse we since then have had of his troops was the short piece of news that the "9th regiment" had had a brush with the Mobiles just outside Chaumont, in the Haute-Marne, on the 7th of November.[a] The 9th belongs to the seventh brigade (of the Second) Corps which had already arrived before Paris, and the whole story became thereby unintelligible. Since then, it has been established that the telegram, by mistake, gave the ninth regiment instead of the ninth brigade, and this clears up the matter. The ninth brigade is the first of the Third Army Corps, and belongs therefore to the army of Prince Frederick Charles. The locality of the engagement, combined with the report generally accredited in military circles in Berlin that the Prince had been marching upon Troyes, which city he was said to have reached on the 7th or 8th, left but little doubt that he had taken the route we supposed the main body of his troops would take, viz. "to march from Metz by Chaumont and Auxerre, and to push forward in the direction of Bordeaux after having cleared the line of the Loire from Tours to Nevers."[b] We now learn that

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[a] Report of a special correspondent of *The Times* "Berlin, Nov. 9, 1.36 P.M.", *The Times*, No. 26904, November 10, 1870.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 153.— *Ed.*

this army has occupied the line of the Yonne at Sens,[a] about fifty miles from Gien on the Loire, and but thirty from Montargis, whence any French position to the north of Orléans could be taken in flank by one good day's march. The detachments reported at Malesherbes and Nemours may have been sent by Prince Frederick Charles to feel for von der Tann's left, or they may be flanking parties on the extreme left of the line of march of the 13th Corps. At any rate, we may now expect that the Prince will very soon establish his communications by flying columns with von der Tann at Toury, on the one hand, and Werder at Dijon on the other. If the Army of the Loire delays its attack until Prince Frederick Charles arrives within reach, it will have, besides the 70,000 men in its front, another 75,000 men on its right flank and rear, and all idea of relieving Paris will have to be abandoned. It will have enough to do to look after its own safety, and will have to recede, hopelessly, before that broad flood-wave of invasion which will then cover central France on a front extending from Chartres to Dijon.

[a] "Gien, Nov. 14", *The Times*, No. 26909, November 16, 1870.—*Ed.*

# FORTIFIED CAPITALS[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1801, November 21, 1870]

If there is any military question which the experience of the present war may be said to have finally settled, it is that of the expediency of fortifying the capital of a great State. Ever since the day when the fortification of Paris was resolved upon, the controversy as to the usefulness or otherwise, and even as to the possibility of defending such a vast fortress, has been going on in the military literature of all countries. Nothing could settle it but practical experience—the actual siege of Paris, the only fortified capital in existence; and though the real siege of Paris has not yet begun, the fortifications of Paris have rendered such immense services to France already that the question is as good as decided in their favour.

The dangerous proximity of Paris to the north-eastern frontier of France—a frontier, moreover, entirely deprived of any defensible line either of river or mountains—led, first, to the conquest of the nearest border-lands; secondly, to the construction of a triple belt of fortresses running from the Rhine to the North Sea; and, thirdly, to that continuous hankering after the whole of the left bank of the Rhine, which has at last brought France to her present position. The conquests were cut down and defined by the Treaties of 1814 and 1815,[99] the fortresses were proved to be all but useless, and completely incapable of arresting large armies, by the two invasions of the same years; finally, the shouts for the Rhine were, in 1840, checked for a time by a European coalition against France.[100] Then it was that France, as became a great

[a] Written on November 21, 1870.—*Ed.*

nation, attempted to counterbalance the dangerous position of Paris by the only means in her power—by fortifying it.

In this present war France was covered, on her most vulnerable side, by the neutrality of Belgium. Still, one short month sufficed to drive all her organized forces from the field. One half had surrendered themselves prisoners; the other was hopelessly shut up in Metz, their surrender but a question of weeks. Under ordinary circumstances, the war would have been at an end. The Germans would have occupied Paris and as much of the rest of France as they desired, and after the capitulation of Metz, if not before, peace would have been concluded. France has nearly all her fortresses close to the frontier: this belt of fortified towns once broken through on a front sufficiently wide for liberty of movement, the remaining fortresses on the border or the coast might be neglected, and the whole of the central country occupied; after which, the border fortresses would be easily brought to surrender one after another. Even for guerilla warfare fortresses in the interior, as safe centres of retreat, are necessary in cultivated countries. In the Peninsular War, the popular resistance of the Spaniards was rendered possible mainly by the fortresses. The French, in 1809, drove Sir John Moore's English troops out of Spain[101]; they were victorious everywhere in the field, and yet never conquered the country. The comparatively small Anglo-Portuguese army, on its reappearance, could not have faced them had it not been for the innumerable Spanish armed bands which, easily beaten in open battle, infested the flanks and rear of every French column, and held fast by far the greater portion of the invading army. And these bands could not have held out for any length of time had it not been for the great number of fortresses in the country; fortresses, mostly small and antiquated, but still requiring a regular siege to reduce them, and therefore safe retreats for these bands when attacked in the open field. Such fortresses being absent in France, even a guerrilla war could never be very formidable there, unless there were some other circumstances to make up for their absence. And one such circumstance is the fortification of Paris.

On the 2nd of September the last French army in the field capitulated.[a] And to-day, on the 21st of November, nearly eleven weeks afterwards, almost one-half of all the German troops in France is still held fast around Paris, while the greater portion of

[a] The reference is to the French army near Sedan. See this volume, p. 87.—*Ed.*

the remainder are hurried forward from Metz to protect the investment of Paris against a newly-formed Army of the Loire, an army which, whatever its value may be, could not have even come into existence had it not been for the fortifications of Paris. These fortifications have been invested for just two months, and the preparations for the opening of the regular siege are not yet complete; that is to say, the siege of a fortress of the size of Paris, even if defended by none but new levies and a determined population, can begin only when that of a common fortress would have been long brought to a successful close. The event has proved that a town holding two millions of inhabitants can be provisioned almost easier than a smaller fortress exercising less central attraction upon the produce of the surrounding country; for although the provisioning of Paris was taken seriously in hand after the 4th of September, or a fortnight only before the investment was complete, Paris is not yet starved into submission after nine weeks' blockading. In fact, the armies of France resisted but for one month; Paris has, already now, resisted for two months and still holds fast the main body of the invaders. Surely this is more than ever a fortress did before, and repays in full the outlay upon the works. And we must not forget, what we have more than once pointed out already, that the defence of Paris this time is carried on under quite abnormal conditions, because it has to do without an active field army. What would that resistance be, how would it have delayed, if not altogether prevented, the investment, how many more men of the invading armies would it have fettered around Paris, if MacMahon's army had gone to the capital instead of to Sedan?

But this is not all. Not only has the defence of Paris given to France two months of breathing time, which, under less disastrous circumstances, would have been invaluable and may even now turn out so, but it has also given her the benefit of whatever chances political changes may bring on during the siege. We may say as long as we like that Paris is a fortress like any other, yet the fact remains that the actual siege of a place like Paris will produce far more excitement all over the world than a hundred sieges of minor places. The laws of warfare may be what they may, our modern consciousness refuses to acquiesce in having Paris treated as Strasbourg was. The neutrals, under such circumstances, may pretty safely be counted on for trying mediation; political jealousies against the conqueror are almost certain to crop up before the place is completely reduced; in fact, an operation of the magnitude and duration of the siege of Paris is as likely to be

decided in the Cabinet of some non-combatant Power, by alliances and counter-alliances, as in the trenches by dismounting[102] and breaching batteries. Of this we are about to witness an example perhaps. It is just possible that the sudden irruption upon Europe of the Eastern question[103] may do for Paris what the Army of the Loire cannot do—save it from surrender and free it from blockade. If, as is but too probable, Prussia should be unable to clear herself from complicity—of whatever degree—with Russia, and if Europe be determined not to tolerate the Russian breach of faith, then it is of the utmost importance that France should not be completely prostrated and Paris not be held by the Prussians. It is therefore absolutely necessary that Prussia should be compelled at once to declare herself categorically, and that if she attempt to prevaricate, steps should be taken at once to strengthen the hopes and the resistance of Paris. Thirty thousand British soldiers landed at Cherbourg or Brest would form an ingredient which, added to the Army of the Loire, would give it a degree of steadiness unknown to it heretofore. The British infantry, by its uncommon solidity, even by its corresponding fault, its clumsiness in light infantry movements, is peculiarly adapted thus to steady newly-formed levies; it performed that duty admirably in Spain, under Wellington; it did a similar duty in all Indian wars as regards the less trustworthy native troops. Under such circumstances the influence of such a British army corps would far exceed that due to its mere numbers, as, indeed, has always been the case when a British army corps was thus employed. A couple of Italian divisions thrown towards Lyons and the Saône Valley, as the advanced guard of an Italian army, would soon attract Prince Frederick Charles; there is Austria; there are the Scandinavian kingdoms to menace Prussia on other fronts and attract her troops; Paris itself, on receiving such news, would certainly undergo almost any degree of starvation rather than surrender—and bread there seems to be plenty—and thus the fortifications of the town might actually, even in its present distress, save the country by having enabled it to hold out until help arrived.

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XXVIII[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1803, November 23, 1870]

If ever there was a chance of relief for Paris that chance existed during the last eight days. A resolute advance of the Army of the Loire, reinforced by all troops that could be brought up from the East of France, against Mecklenburg's[b] army of observation, combined with a sortie *en masse* made by the whole of Trochu's disciplined forces, both attacks carried out at the same time and before Prince Frederick Charles could come up with the Second Army—this was the only plan which promised success. And if we look at the counter-dispositions of the Germans we can hardly help concluding that it had more chances of success than could be expected at first sight.

Before Paris there were last week seventeen German infantry divisions, including the Württembergers, who had not left their post between the Seine and the Marne, as had been erroneously reported at first. The army of observation, under Mecklenburg, counted two North German and two Bavarian divisions, besides cavalry. After the battle of Coulmiers, D'Aurelle, instead of following up the Bavarian rear, marched north and west in the direction of Chartres, where, for the present, he became lost to our eyes. The Germans followed this movement by a change of front towards the west, von der Tann's Bavarians holding the country from Etampes to Ablis, while the 17th and 22nd divisions marched towards Chartres and Dreux. The latter town had, in the meantime, been reoccupied by French troops; it was supposed that D'Aurelle, reinforced by Kératry and other forces, was trying to

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[a] Written between November 21 and 23, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick Francis II.—*Ed.*

turn the army of observation and to arrive suddenly upon the army blockading Paris. So serious did this attempt appear to Count Moltke that he despatched at once the nearest troops, portions of the 5th and 12th Corps, to the support of Mecklenburg, and ordered the 2nd Bavarian and 6th North German Corps, the 21st, and the Württemberg divisions to hold themselves in readiness to march south if required. The reinforcements already sent enabled Mecklenburg to retake Dreux on the 17th, and to follow the enemy up, on the 18th, beyond Châteauneuf. What French troops they were who were here defeated it is impossible to tell. They may have been portions of the Army of the Loire, but they certainly were not the Army of the Loire itself. Since then there is no news whatever of further French movements; while time runs on and Prince Frederick Charles draws nearer and nearer, and ought, by now, to be within supporting distance of Mecklenburg's left wing.

There seems to be little doubt that a great opportunity has been missed by the French. The advance of the Army of the Loire made such a powerful impression upon Moltke that he did not hesitate a moment to give orders which implied, if it became necessary to execute them, nothing less than the raising of the investment of Paris. The portions of the 5th and 12th Corps, which advanced towards Dreux, we will set down at not more than a brigade each, or a division in all; but besides them, two Bavarian, three North German and the Württemberg divisions were told off to hold themselves ready to march against D'Aurelle at the first notice. Thus, out of the seventeen divisions before Paris, seven at least were to march against the relieving army in case of need, and these seven just those which occupied the ground to the south of Paris. The Crown Prince would have retained but the 2nd and greater part of the 5th Corps, wherewith to guard the long extent of ground from the Seine at Choisy, by Versailles, to St. Germain; while the Guards, the 4th, and greater part of the 12th Corps would have had to hold the whole of the northern line from St. Germain round by Gonesse and St. Brice, across the Marne, again to the Seine above Paris. Thus ten divisions of infantry would have held a line of investment of forty miles, or four miles of front for each division. Such a scattering of forces would have reduced the investment to a mere line of observation; and Trochu, with eight divisions under Ducrot and seven more, in his Third Army, under his own immediate command, could have outnumbered his opponents at least three to one on any point he might have chosen for an attack. With such

odds victory ought to have been certain to him. He could have pierced the lines of the Germans, seized upon and destroyed their siege parks, ammunitions, and stores, and caused them such losses in men that a close investment, much less a siege, of Paris would have been rendered impossible for some time to come.

So far, we have merely considered Trochu's chances, independent of those of the Army of the Loire. It is as good as certain that the latter would have been no match for the eleven German divisions told off against it, in case these eleven divisions were all concentrated. But the chances were much against that eventuality. It is likely enough that a bold and quick attack by D'Aurelle, combined with a large sortie made by Trochu at the same time, would have carried disorder into Moltke's arrangements. None of the corps which Trochu happened to attack could have been spared to march off against D'Aurelle. Thus it might remain a matter of accident which of the two French chiefs might have to fight the bulk of the Germans; but the fact remained that their forces together were far superior in numbers to anything the Germans could bring against them. From Paris to Dreux the distance is less than fifty miles. A simultaneous attack upon the Germans from both ends, and with all available forces, would, in all probability, find some of their divisions on the march between the two end-points, and therefore not immediately available. If the attack were really simultaneous, an almost crushing numerical superiority on the French side, either at the Dreux end or at the Paris end, was a positive certainty; and therefore it was almost impossible to miss at least one victory. We know very well what great drawbacks and difficulties attach to combined movements, and how often they miscarry. But in this case it is to be observed that no other condition of success was necessary than that both attacks should be made at exactly the same time. And, further, it is clear that with a distance of forty miles from one army to the other, the Prussians had to combine their movements too.

It is impossible to explain why neither D'Aurelle nor Trochu has done anything to take advantage of the chance thus offered to them. The slight engagements near Dreux and Châteauneuf were certainly not of a nature to drive back the Army of the Loire; there were not more than three German divisions engaged in them, while the Army of the Loire counts at least eight. Whether D'Aurelle is awaiting further reinforcements; whether his pigeon-messages have miscarried; whether there are differences between him and Trochu, we cannot tell. Anyhow, this delay is fatal to

their cause. Prince Frederick Charles keeps marching on, and may be by this time so near to the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg's army that he can co-operate, and the six divisions from before Paris can be spared. And from the day when that takes place, the two French generals will have lost another chance of victory—may be, their last one.

# THE MILITARY SITUATION IN FRANCE[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1806, November 26, 1870]

Yesterday we called attention to the fact that since the surrender at Sedan the prospects of France had much improved,[b] and that even the fall of Metz, and the setting free thereby of some 150,000 German soldiers, does not now look the crushing disaster it appeared to be at first. If we recur to the same subject to-day, it is in order to prove still more, by a few military details, the correctness of this view.

The positions of the German armies on the 24th of November, as far as they can be made out, were as follows:—

Investing Paris: The Third Army (2nd, 5th, 6th, and 2nd Bavarian corps, the 21st, the Württemberg, and Landwehr Guard divisions) and the Fourth Army (4th, 12th, and Guards corps); in all seventeen divisions.

Army of Observation, protecting this investment: To the north, the First Army (1st and 8th corps); to the west and south-west, Duke of Mecklenburg's army (17th and 22nd divisions, and 1st Bavarian Corps); to the south, the Second Army (3rd, 9th, and 10th corps, and a division of landwehr, a detachment of which was so severely handled at Châtillon by Ricciotti Garibaldi)[104]; in all fifteen divisions.

On special duty, in the south-east of France, the 14th Corps (Werder's, consisting of two divisions and a half), and 15th Corps; in Metz and about Thionville, the 7th Corps; on the line of communication, at least a division and a half of landwehr; in all eight divisions at least.

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[a] Written on November 26, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Prospect for France to-day", *The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 1805, November 25, 1870.—*Ed.*

Of these forty divisions of infantry, the first seventeen are at present fully engaged before Paris; the last eight show by their immobility that they have as much work cut out for them as they can manage. There remain disposable for the field the fifteen divisions composing the three armies of observation, and representing with cavalry and artillery a total force of some 200,000 combatants at most.

Now, before the 9th of November, there appeared to be no serious obstacle to prevent this mass of men from overrunning the greater part of central and even southern France. But since then things have changed considerably. And it is not so much the fact of von der Tann having been beaten and compelled to retreat, or that of D'Aurelle having shown his ability to handle his troops well, which has inspired us with a greater respect for the Army of the Loire than we confess we had up to that day; it is chiefly the energetic measures which Moltke took to meet its expected march on Paris which have made that army appear in quite a different light. Not only did he find it necessary to hold in readiness against it, even at the risk of raising *de facto* the investment of Paris, the greater portion of the blockading forces on the south side of the town, but he also changed at once the direction of march of the two armies arriving from Metz, so as to draw them closer to Paris, and to have the whole of the German forces concentrated around that city; and we now hear that, moreover, steps were taken to surround the siege park with defensive works. Whatever other people may think, Moltke evidently does not consider the Army of the Loire an armed rabble, but a real, serious, redoubtable army.

The previous uncertainty as to the character of that army resulted to a great extent from the reports of the English correspondents at Tours.[a] There appears to be not one military man among them capable of distinguishing the characteristics by which an army differs from a mob of armed men. The reports varied from day to day regarding discipline, proficiency in drill, numbers, armament, equipment, artillery, transport—in short, regarding everything essential to form an opinion. We all know the immense difficulties under which the new army had to be formed: the want of officers, of arms, of horses, of all kinds of matériel, and especially the want of time. The reports which came to hand, principally dwelt upon these difficulties; and thus, the

[a] See "Tours, Sept. 30", *The Times*, No. 26873, October 5, 1870; "Tours, Oct. 5", *The Times*, No. 26877, October 10, 1870; "Tours, Oct. 8", *The Times*, No. 26878, October 11, 1870; "Tours, Oct. 9", *The Times*, No. 26880, October 13, 1870.—*Ed.*

Army of the Loire was generally underrated by people whose sympathies do not run away with their judgment.

Now the same correspondents are unanimous in its praise.[a] It is said to be better officered and better disciplined than the armies which succumbed at Sedan and in Metz. This is no doubt the case to a certain extent. There is evidently a far better spirit pervading it than ever was to be found in the Bonapartist armies; a determination to do the best for the country, to co-operate, to obey orders on that account. Then this army has learned again one very important thing which Louis Napoleon's army had quite forgotten—light infantry duty, the art of protecting flanks and rear from surprise, of feeling for the enemy, surprising his detachments, procuring information and prisoners. The *Times'* correspondent with the Duke of Mecklenburg gives proofs of that.[b] It is now the Prussians who cannot learn the whereabouts of their enemy, and have to grope in the dark; formerly it was quite the reverse. An army which has learned that has learned a great deal. Still, we must not forget that the Army of the Loire as well as its sister Armies of the West and North has still to prove its mettle in a general engagement and against something like equal numbers. But, upon the whole, it promises well, and there are circumstances which make it probable that even a great defeat will not affect it as seriously as such an event does most young armies.

The fact is that the brutalities and cruelties of the Prussians, instead of stamping out popular resistance, have redoubled its energies; so much so that the Prussians seem to have found out their mistake, and these burnings of villages and massacres of peasants are now scarcely ever heard of. But this treatment has had its effect, and every day the guerilla warfare takes larger dimensions. When we read in *The Times* the reports about Mecklenburg's advance towards Le Mans, with no enemy in sight,[c] no regular force offering resistance in the field, but cavalry and francs-tireurs hovering about the flanks, no news as to the whereabouts of the French troops, and the Prussian troops kept close together in pretty large bodies, we cannot help being reminded of the marches of Napoleon's marshals in Spain, or of Bazaine's troops in Mexico. And, that spirit of popular resistance once roused, even armies of 200,000 men do not go very far

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[a] "Tours, Nov. 19", *The Times*, No. 26917, November 25, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] "Head-Quarters Duke of Mecklenburg's Army, Châteauneuf-en-Thimerais, Nov. 18", *The Times*, No. 26917, November 25, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] "Tours, Nov. 24", *The Times*, No. 26917, November 25, 1870.—*Ed.*

towards the occupation of a hostile country. They soon arrive at the point beyond which their detachments become weaker than what the defence can oppose to them; and it depends entirely upon the energy of popular resistance how soon that line shall be reached. Thus even a defeated army soon finds a safe place from the pursuit of an enemy if only the people of the country arise; and this may turn out to be the case now in France. And if the population in the districts occupied by the enemy should rise, or merely his lines of communication be repeatedly broken, the limit beyond which the invasion becomes powerless will be still more contracted. We should not wonder, for instance, if Mecklenburg's advance, unless powerfully supported by Prince Frederick Charles, turned out to have been pushed too far even now.

For the present everything of course hinges upon Paris. If Paris hold out another month—and the reports on the state of provisions inside do not at all exclude that chance—France may possibly have an army in the field large enough, with the aid of popular resistance, to raise the investment by a successful attack upon the Prussian communications. The machinery for organizing armies appears to be working pretty well in France by this time. There are more men than are wanted; thanks to the resources of modern industry and the rapidity of modern communications, arms are forthcoming in unexpectedly large quantities; 400,000 rifles have arrived from America alone[105]; artillery is manufactured in France with a rapidity hitherto quite unknown. Even officers are found, or trained, somehow. Altogether, the efforts which France has made since Sedan to reorganize her national defence are unexampled in history, and require but one element for almost certain success—time. If Paris holds out but one month more, that will go much towards it. And if Paris should not be provisioned for that length of time, Trochu may attempt to break through the investing lines with such of his troops as may be fit for the work; and it would be bold to say, now, that he cannot possibly succeed in it. If he should succeed, Paris would still absorb a garrison of at least three Prussian army corps to keep it quiet, so that Trochu might have set free more Frenchmen than the surrender of Paris would set free Germans. And, whatever the fortress of Paris can do if defended by Frenchmen, it is evident that it could never be successfully held by a German force against French besiegers. There would be as many men required to keep the people down within as to man the ramparts to keep off the attack from without. Thus the fall of Paris may, but does not of necessity, imply the fall of France.

It is a bad time just now for speculating on the probability of this or that event in the war. We have an approximative knowledge of one fact only—the strength of the Prussian armies. Of another, the strength, numerical and intrinsic, of the French forces, we know but little. And, moreover, there are now moral factors at work which are beyond all calculation, and of which we can only say that they are all of them favourable to France and unfavourable to Germany. But this much appears certain, that the contending forces are more equally balanced just now than they ever have been since Sedan, and that a comparatively weak reinforcement of trained troops to the French might restore the balance altogether.

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XXIX[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1811, December 2, 1870]

The long-expected storm has broken out at last. After a prolonged period of marching and manoeuvring on both sides, varied by skirmishes and guerilla fighting only, the war has entered upon another of those critical periods in which blow follows blow. On the 27th of November the French Army of the North was defeated before Amiens; on the 28th a considerable portion of the Army of the Loire was beaten by Prince Frederick Charles at Beaune-la-Rolande; on the 29th Trochu made an unsuccessful sortie on the south side of Paris, and on the 30th he appears to have attacked with all his available forces the Saxons and Württembergers investing Paris on the north-east side.

These different actions are the result of combined operations, such as we repeatedly pointed out[b] as offering the only chance of success to the French. If the Army of the North, with inferior numbers, could hold Manteuffel's two corps in check so as to prevent him from reinforcing the Crown Prince of Saxony[c] in his lines round the north side of Paris, then that army would have been well employed. But this was not the case. Its advance in the open country was soon stopped by inferior numbers of Prussians; for it appears all but certain, on a comparison of the various reports, that Manteuffel had only one of his corps engaged in the battle.[d] The Army of the North would have been better employed

[a] Written on December 2, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 169, 178.—*Ed.*

[c] Albert.—*Ed.*

[d] German official report "Moreuil, Nov. 28", *The Times,* No. 26920, November 29, 1870; "Berlin, 29. Nov.", *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 334, November 30, 1870. Supplement.—*Ed.*

either by sending its field troops down south to Le Mans by rail, or by constantly harassing Manteuffel's outposts and detachments, but refusing battle except under the walls of one of the numerous fortresses in the North which form its base of operations. But in the present state of France, and with the young soldiers that form her armies, a General cannot always enter upon a retreat even if that be strategically necessary: such a course might demoralize his troops even more than a thorough defeat. In the present case, the Army of the North finds a safe retreat in its fortresses, where it can re-form, and where it would scarcely suit Moltke to send Manteuffel after it just now. But, at the same time, Manteuffel is now free to move in any other direction, and if, as is reported from Lille[a] (though the report is denied[b]), he has again evacuated Amiens and turned in haste towards Paris, we cannot but confess that the Army of the North has failed in its mission.

On the west, the 21st French Corps at Le Mans, and the 22nd (late Kératry's) in the camp of Conlie, have so far succeeded in drawing the troops of the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg[c] a long way from Paris without exposing themselves to any serious defeat. Our supposition that the advance of these German troops had been pushed almost too far[d] seems confirmed by the unanimous French reports that they have again evacuated the positions lately taken up east and south-east of Le Mans, which have been reoccupied by the French.[e] The latter, however, do not appear to have used their regular forces in a very energetic pursuit of the enemy, as we do not hear of any engagements of importance; and thus the Army of the West has not succeeded any more than that of the North in holding fast the troops opposed to it. Where it is, and what it is doing, we are not told; it may be that the sudden quarrel between Kératry and Gambetta had lamed its movements just at the most decisive moment. At all events, if it could neither beat Mecklenburg's troops nor keep them engaged, it would have acted more wisely in sending such of its troops as are equipped and organized for a campaign by rail towards the Army of the Loire, so as to make the chief attack with concentrated forces.

This chief attack could only be made by the Army of the Loire, being the main body of all the French troops now in the field, and could only be directed against Prince Frederick Charles, his army

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[a] French report "Lille, Dec. 1", *The Times*, No. 26922, December 1, 1870.—*Ed.*
[b] "Lille, Dec. 1, 7 P.M.", *The Times*, No. 26923, December 2, 1870.—*Ed.*
[c] Frederick Francis II.—*Ed.*
[d] See this volume, p. 183.—*Ed.*
[e] "Tours, Nov. 30, 9.50 P.M.", *The Times*, No. 26922, December 1, 1870.—*Ed.*

being the most numerous of the three which cover the investment of Paris. The Army of the Loire is reported to consist of the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 19th French corps which had been in front of Orléans for some time, and the 18th (now Bourbaki's) and 20th in reserve behind the Loire. As the 18th and 20th were both engaged—wholly or in part—on the 28th, they must have passed the Loire before that day, and thus the whole of these six corps must have been available for an attack upon the Second German Army. A French corps, in this war, has always been composed of from three to four divisions of infantry. According to an *ordre de bataille*[a] published by a Vienna military paper, the *Kamerad,* about a fortnight ago, the 15th Corps numbered five brigades in two divisions; the 16th, four brigades in two divisions; the 18th, ten brigades in three divisions. Even if we do not go by the report of the *Journal de Bruxelles,* which gives to the Army of the Loire the full complement of eighteen divisions of infantry (or three per corps), as a good many of these must still be in course of formation, there is no doubt that the attack on the 28th might have been made with twelve or fifteen divisions instead of five or six at most. It is characteristic of the troops composing the Army of the Loire that they were defeated by greatly inferior numbers, only three divisions (the two of the 10th Corps and the 5th) of infantry, or less than one-half of the Second Army, having been engaged against them. Anyhow their defeat must have been very severe; not only the German reports tend to show it, but also the fact that the Army of the Loire has not since attempted a fresh attack with more concentrated forces.

From these various transactions it results that the attempt to relieve Paris from without has for the present failed. It failed, firstly, because the inestimable chances of the week preceding the arrival of the First and Second German Armies were allowed to pass away; and, secondly, because the attacks, when they were made, were made without the necessary energy and concentration of forces. The young troops forming the new armies of France cannot, at first, expect success against the seasoned soldiers who oppose them, unless they are matched two against one; and it is therefore doubly faulty to lead them to battle without having taken care that every man, horse, and gun that can be had is actually sent on to the battle-field.

On the other hand, we do not expect that the defeats of Amiens and Beaune-la-Rolande will have any other great effect than that

[a] Battle array.—*Ed.*

of frustrating the relief of Paris. The lines of retreat of the Armies of the West and of the Loire are perfectly safe, unless the grossest blunders are committed. By far the greater portion of these two armies has not taken part in the defeat. The extent to which the German troops opposing them can follow them up depends upon the energy of popular resistance and guerilla warfare—an element which the Prussians have a peculiar knack of arousing wherever they go. There is no fear now of Prince Frederick Charles marching as unopposed from Orléans to Bordeaux as the Crown Prince[a] marched from Metz to Reims. With the broad extent of ground which must now be securely occupied before any further advance southward (other than by large flying columns) can be made, the seven divisions of Prince Frederick Charles will soon be spread out far and wide, and their invading force completely spent. What France requires is time, and, with the spirit of popular resistance once roused, she may yet get that time. The armaments carried on during the last three months must be everywhere approaching completion, and the additional number of fighting men which every fresh week renders disposable must be constantly increasing for some time.

As to the two sorties from Paris, the news[b] received up to the moment of writing are too contradictory and too vague for any definite opinion to be formed. It appears, however, upon Trochu's own showing,[c] that the results obtained up to the evening of the 30th were not at all of a kind to justify the shouts of victory raised at Tours. The points, then, still held by the French south of the Marne are all protected by the fire of the Paris forts; and the only place which they at one time held outside the range of these forts—Mont Mesly—they had to abandon again. It is more than probable that fighting will have been renewed yesterday before Paris, and to-day, perhaps, near Orléans and Le Mans; at all events, a very few days must now decide this second crisis of the war which, in all probability, will settle the fate of Paris.

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[a] Frederick William.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the French and German telegrams printed under the common title "The Battle before Paris", *The Times*, No. 26923, December 2, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] L. J. Trochu's proclamation to the population of Paris and the army, November 28, 1870, *Journal officiel de la République Française* (Paris), No. 330, November 30, 1870. Evening edition.—*Ed.*

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XXX[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1812, December 3, 1870]

The Second Army of Paris began its offensive movements on the 29th of November by a sortie from the southern front of the town, in the direction of L'Hay and Choisy-le-Roi. According to the Prussian accounts, it was the First Corps of Ducrot's army, under Vinoy, which here attacked the Sixth Prussian Corps under Tümpling.[b] This attack appears to have been a mere feint to alarm the Prussians, and to induce them to strengthen this side by which the besieged could, if successful, join the Army of the Loire on the shortest road. Otherwise, Vinoy would, no doubt, have been supported by other corps, and would have lost more than a couple of hundred in killed and wounded, and a hundred men in prisoners. The real attack was opened on the following morning. Ducrot this time advanced on the right bank of the Seine, near its junction with the Marne, while a second sortie on the left bank was directed against Tümpling, and false attacks west of Saint Denis against the 4th and Guard Corps. What troops were used for these false attacks we do not know; but an official French account says that the sortie against Tümpling was made by Admiral De La Roncière Le Noury. This officer commands one of the seven divisions of the Third Army of Paris which remains under Trochu's direct command; it is therefore likely that all the secondary attacks were entrusted to this army, so as to leave the whole of Ducrot's right divisions available for the real attack on the Marne.

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[a] Written on December 3, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] William I's telegram to Queen Augusta of November 28, 1870, datelined "Versailles, Nov. 29", *The Times,* No. 26922, December 1, 1870.—*Ed.*

This attack again had to be made in two divergent directions. One portion of the troops necessarily was directed eastwards towards Chelles, along the right bank of the Marne, in order to keep off the 12th or Saxon Corps which invests the east side of Paris. This was another subordinate attack; we hear very little of its history except that the Saxons profess to have maintained their position,[a] which they probably did. The main body of Ducrot's troops, however, Renault's Second Corps in front, passed the Marne on eight bridges, and attacked the three Württemberg brigades which held the space between the Marne and Seine. As has been already pointed out, the Marne, before joining the Seine, forms by its course an immense S, the upper or northern bend approaching Paris and the lower receding from it. Both these bends are commanded by the fire of the forts; but, while the upper or advancing one favours a sortie by its configuration, the lower or receding one is completely commanded by the ground on the left bank as well as by the forts, and the river moreover, both from the line it takes and from its many branches, is unfavourable to the construction of bridges under fire. The greater part of this bend appears to have remained, on that account, a kind of neutral ground, on each side of which the real fighting took place.

The troops intended for the western attack advanced under the protection of the fire of Fort Charenton and the redoubt of La Gravelle, in the direction of Mesly and Bonneuil. Between these two places there is a solitary hill, commanding the surrounding plain by fully a hundred feet, called Mont Mesly, and necessarily the first object of the French advance. The force told off for this purpose is put down in a telegram from General Obernitz, commanding the Württemberg division, as "a division[b];" but as it at first drove in the 2nd and 3rd Württemberg brigades who opposed it and could not be repelled until reinforcements had come to hand, and as it is moreover evident that Ducrot, who had troops enough in hand, would not make such an important attack with two brigades only, we may safely assume that this is another of the too many cases where the word *Abtheilung* which means any subdivision of an army, is mistranslated by "division," which means a particular subdivision consisting of two or at most three brigades. Anyhow, the French carried Mont Mesly and with it the villages at its foot, and if they could have held and entrenched it,

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[a] German report "Chelles, Dec. 1", *The Times*, No. 26924, December 3, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] H. Obernitz, "Chateau-le-Piple, Nov. 30", *The Times*, No. 26923, December 2, 1870.—*Ed.*

they would have obtained a result worth the day's fighting. But reinforcements arrived in the shape of Prussian troops from the Second Corps, namely the seventh brigade; the lost positions were reconquered and the French driven back under the shelter of Fort Charenton.

Further to their left the French attempted the second attack. Covered by the fire of the Redoute de la Faisanderie and of Fort Nogent, they passed the Marne at the upper bend of the S, and took the villages of Brie and Champigny, which mark its two open ends. The real position of the 1st Württemberg Brigade, which held this district, lay a little to the rear, on the edge of the high ground stretching from Villiers to Coeuilly. Whether the French ever took Villiers is doubtful; King William says yes,[a] General Obernitz says no. Certain it is that they did not hold it, and that the advance beyond the immediate range of the forts was repelled.

The result of this day's fighting of Ducrot's army, "with its back to the Marne," that is, south of it, is thus summed up in the French official despatch:—

"The army then crossed the Marne by eight bridges, and maintained the positions taken, after capturing two guns."[b]

That is to say, it retreated again to the right or northern bank of the river, where it "maintained" some positions or other, which were, of course, "taken" by it, but not from the enemy. Evidently, the men who manufacture bulletins for Gambetta are still the same who did that kind of work for Napoleon.

On the 1st of December the French gave another sign that they considered the sortie as defeated. Although the *Moniteur* announced that on that day the attack from the south was to be made under the command of General Vinoy,[c] we hear from Versailles, December 1 (time of day not stated), that no movement had been made by the French on that day; on the contrary, they had asked for an armistice to allow them to attend to the killed and wounded on the battlefield between the positions of both armies.[d] Had they considered themselves in a position to reconquer that battlefield, they would no doubt have renewed the struggle at once. There can be, then, no reasonable doubt that this

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[a] William I's telegram "Royal Head-Quarters, Versailles, Nov. 30", *The Times*, No. 26923, December 2, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] "Tours, Dec. 2, 12.15 A.M.", *The Times*, No. 26923, December 2, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] Here and below the reference is to "Tours, le 1er décembre 1870", *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 330, December 2, 1870. Extraordinary edition.—*Ed.*

[d] "Royal Head-Quarters, Versailles, Dec. 1", *The Times*, No. 26924, December 3, 1870.—*Ed.*

first sortie of Trochu's has been beaten off, and by considerably inferior numbers too. We may assume that he will soon renew his efforts. We know too little of the way in which this first attempt was managed to be able to judge whether he may then have a better chance; but if he be again driven back, the effect upon both the troops and the population of Paris must be very demoralizing.

In the meantime the Army of the Loire, as we expected,[a] has been stirring again. The engagements near Loigny and Patay, reported from Tours,[b] are evidently the same as referred to in a telegram from Munich,[c] according to which von der Tann was successful west of Orléans. In this case, too, both parties claim the victory. We shall probably hear more from this quarter in a day or two; and as we are still in the dark about the relative positions of the combatants, it would be idle to prognosticate.[106]

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[a] See this volume, p. 188.— *Ed.*

[b] "Tours, December 2", *The Times*, No. 26924, December 3, 1870.— *Ed.*

[c] "Munich, Dec. 2", *The Times*, No. 26924, December 3, 1870.— *Ed.*

# THE CHANCES OF THE WAR[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1816, December 8, 1870]

The last defeat of the French Army of the Loire and the retreat of Ducrot behind the Marne—supposing that movement to be as decisive as was represented on Saturday[b]—finally settle the fate of the first combined operation for the relief of Paris. It has completely miscarried, and people begin again to ask whether this new series of misfortunes does not prove the inability of the French for further successful resistance—whether it would not be better to give up the game at once, surrender Paris, and sign the cession of Alsace and Lorraine.

The fact is, people have lost all remembrance of a real war. The Crimean, the Italian, and the Austro-Prussian war were all of them mere conventional wars—wars of Governments which made peace as soon as their military machinery had broken down or become worn out. A real war, one in which the nation itself participates, we have not seen in the heart of Europe for a couple of generations. We have seen it in the Caucasus, in Algeria, where fighting lasted more than twenty years with scarcely any interruption[59]; we should have seen it in Turkey if the Turks had been allowed, by their allies, to defend themselves in their own home-spun way. But the fact is, our conventionalities allow to barbarians only the right of actual self-defence; we expect that civilized States will fight according to etiquette, and that the real nation will not be guilty of such rudeness as to go on fighting after the official nation has had to give in.

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[a] Written between December 4 and 8, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 189-92.—*Ed.*

The French are actually committing this piece of rudeness. To the disgust of the Prussians, who consider themselves the best judges in military etiquette, they have been positively fighting for three months after the official army of France was driven from the field; and they have even done what their official army never could do in this campaign. They have obtained one important success and numerous small ones; and have taken guns, convoys, prisoners from their enemies. It is true they have just suffered a series of severe reverses; but these are as nothing when compared with the fate their late official army was in the habit of meeting with at the hands of the same opponents. It is true their first attempt to free Paris from the investing army, by an attack from within and from without at the same time, has signally failed; but is it a necessary sequel that there are no chances left for a second attempt?

The two French armies, that of Paris as well as that of the Loire, have both fought well, according to the testimony of the Germans themselves. They have certainly been beaten by inferior numbers, but that is what was to be expected from young and newly organized troops confronting veterans. Their tactical movements under fire, according to a correspondent in *The Daily News,* who knows what he writes about, were rapid and steady; if they lacked precision that was a fault which they had in common with many a victorious French army. There is no mistake about it: these armies have proved that they *are* armies, and will have to be treated with due respect by their opponents. They are no doubt composed of very different elements. There are battalions of the line, containing old soldiers in various proportions; there are Mobiles of all degrees of military efficiency, from battalions well officered, drilled, and equipped to battalions of raw recruits, still ignorant of the elements of the "manual and platoon;" there are francs-tireurs of all sorts, good, bad, and indifferent—probably most of them the latter. But there is, at all events, a nucleus of good fighting battalions, around which the others may be grouped; and a month of desultory fighting, with avoidance of crushing defeats, will make capital soldiers out of the whole of them. With better strategy, they might even now have been successful; and all the strategy required for the moment is to delay all decisive fighting, and that, we think, can be done.

But the troops concentrated at Le Mans and near the Loire are far from representing the whole armed force of France. There are at least 200,000 to 300,000 more men undergoing the process of organization at points farther away to the rear. Every day brings

these nearer to the fighting standard. Every day must send, for a time at least, constantly increasing numbers of fresh soldiers to the front. And there are plenty more men behind them to take their places. Arms and ammunition are coming in every day in large quantities: with modern gun factories and cannon foundries, with telegraphs and steamers, and the command of the sea, there is no fear of their falling short. A month's time will also make an immense difference in the efficiency of these men; and if two months were allowed them, they would represent armies which might well trouble Moltke's repose.

Behind all these more or less regular forces there is the great landsturm, the mass of the people whom the Prussians have driven to that war of self-defence which, according to the father of King William,[a] sanctions every means.[b] When Fritz[c] marched from Metz to Reims, from Reims to Sedan, and thence to Paris, there was not a word said about a rising of the people. The defeats of the Imperial armies were accepted with a kind of stupor; twenty years of Imperial régime had used the mass of the people to dull and passive dependence upon official leadership. There were here and there peasants who participated in actual fighting, as at Bazeilles, but they were the exception. But no sooner had the Prussians settled down round Paris, and placed the surrounding country under a crushing system of requisitions, carried out with no consideration whatever—no sooner had they begun to shoot francs-tireurs and burn villages which had given aid to the latter—and no sooner had they refused the French offers of peace and declared their intention to carry on a war of conquest, when all this changed. The guerilla war broke out all around them, thanks to their own severities, and they have now but to advance into a new department in order to raise the landsturm far and wide. Whoever reads in the German papers the reports of the advance of Mecklenburg's[d] and Frederick Charles's armies will see at a glance what an extraordinary effect this impalpable, ever disappearing and reappearing, but ever impeding insurrection of the people has upon the movements of these armies. Even their numerous cavalry, to which the French have scarcely any to oppose, is neutralized to a great extent by this general active and passive hostility of the inhabitants.

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[a] Frederick William III.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick William III, "Verordnung über den Landsturm. Vom 21sten April 1813", *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preussischen Staaten,* Berlin [1813].—*Ed.*

[c] Crown Prince of Prussia Frederick William.—*Ed.*

[d] Frederick Francis II.—*Ed.*

Now let us examine the position of the Prussians. Of the seventeen divisions before Paris, they certainly cannot spare a single one while Trochu may repeat any day his sorties *en masse.* Manteuffel's four divisions will have more work than they can execute in Normandy and Picardy for some time to come, and they may even be called away from them. Werder's two divisions and a half cannot get on beyond Dijon, except on raids, and this will last until at least Belfort shall have been reduced. The long thin line of communication marked by the railway from Nancy to Paris cannot send a single man out of those told off to guard it. The 7th Corps has plenty to do with garrisoning the Lorraine fortresses and besieging Longwy and Montmédy. There remain for field operations against the bulk of central and southern France the eleven infantry divisions of Frederick Charles and Mecklenburg, certainly not more than 150,000 men, including cavalry.

The Prussians thus employ about six-and-twenty divisions in holding Alsace, Lorraine, and the two long lines of communication to Paris and Dijon, and in investing Paris, and still they hold directly perhaps not one-eighth, and indirectly certainly not more than one-fourth, of France. For the rest of the country they have fifteen divisions left, four of which are under Manteuffel. How far these will be able to go depends entirely upon the energy of the popular resistance they may find. But with all their communications going by way of Versailles—for the march of Frederick Charles has not opened to him a new line viâ Troyes—and in the midst of an insurgent country, these troops will have to spread out on a broad front, to leave detachments behind to secure the roads and keep down the people; and thus they will soon arrive at a point where their forces become so reduced as to be balanced by the French forces opposing them, and then the chances are again favourable to the French; or else these German armies will have to act as large flying columns, marching up and down the country without definitely occupying it; and in that case the French regulars can give way before them for a time, and will find plenty of opportunities to fall on their flanks and rear.

A few flying corps, such as Blücher sent in 1813 round the flanks of the French, would be very effective if employed to interrupt the line of communication of the Germans. That line is vulnerable almost the whole of its length from Paris to Nancy. A few corps, each consisting of one or two squadrons of cavalry and some sharpshooters, falling upon that line, destroying the rails, tunnels, and bridges, attacking trains, &c., would go far to recall

the German cavalry from the front where it is most dangerous. But the regular "Hussar dash" does certainly not belong to the French.

All this is on the supposition that Paris continues to hold out. There is nothing to compel Paris to give in, so far, except starvation. But the news we had in yesterday's *Daily News* from a correspondent inside that city would dispel many apprehensions if correct. There are still 25,000 horses besides those of the army in Paris, which at 500 kilos each would give 6 $^1/_4$ kilo, or 14 lb. of meat for every inhabitant, or nearly a $^1/_4$ lb. per day for two months. With that, bread and wine *ad libitum,*[a] and a good quantity of salt meat and other eatables, Paris may well hold out until the beginning of February. And that would give to France two months, worth more to her, now, than two years in time of peace. With anything like intelligent and energetic direction, both central and local, France, by then, ought to be in a position to relieve Paris and to right herself.

And if Paris should fall? It will be time enough to consider this chance when it becomes more probable. Anyhow, France has managed to do without Paris for more than two months, and may fight on without her. Of course, the fall of Paris may demoralize the spirit of resistance, but so may, even now, the unlucky news of the last seven days. Neither the one nor the other need do so. If the French entrench a few good manoeuvring positions, such as Nevers, near the junction of the Loire and Allier—if they throw up advanced works round Lyons so as to make it as strong as Paris, the war may be carried on even after the fall of Paris; but it is not yet time to talk of that.

Thus we make bold to say that, if the spirit of resistance among the people does not flag, the position of the French, even after their recent defeats, is a very strong one. With the command of the sea to import arms, with plenty of men to make soldiers of, with three months—the first and worst three months—of the work of organization behind them, and with a fair chance of having one month more, if not two, of breathing-time allowed them—and that at a time when the Prussians show signs of exhaustion—with all that, to give in now would be rank treason. And who knows what accidents may happen, what further European complications may occur, in the meantime? Let them fight on, by all means.

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[a] In plenty.—*Ed.*

# PRUSSIAN FRANCS-TIREURS[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1817, December 9, 1870]

For some time past the reports of village-burning by the Prussians in France had pretty nearly disappeared from the press. We began to hope that the Prussian authorities had discovered their mistake and stopped such proceedings in the interest of their own troops. We were mistaken. The papers again teem with news about the shooting of prisoners and the destroying of villages. The Berlin *Börsen Courier* reports, under date Versailles, Nov. 20:—

> Yesterday the first wounded and prisoners arrived from the action near Dreux on the 17th. Short work was made with the francs-tireurs, and an example was made of them; they were placed in a row, and one after the other got a bullet through his head. A general order for the whole army has been published forbidding most expressly to bring them in as prisoners, and ordering to shoot them down by drumhead court-martial wherever they show themselves. Against these disgracefully cowardly brigands and ragamuffins [Lumpengesindel] such a proceeding has become an absolute necessity.

Again, the Vienna *Tages-Presse* says, under the same date:—

> "In the forest of Villeneuve you could have seen, for the last week, four francs-tireurs strung up for shooting at our Uhlans from the woods."

An official report dated Versailles, the 26th of November,[b] states that the country people all around Orléans, instigated to fight by the priests, who have been ordered by Bishop Dupanloup to preach a crusade, have begun a guerilla warfare against the Germans; patrols are fired at, officers carrying orders shot down by labourers seemingly working in the field: to avenge which

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[a] Written between December 4 and 9, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] "Aus den Hauptquartieren in Versailles. 26. November", *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 282, December 3, 1870.—*Ed.*

assassinations all non-soldiers carrying arms are immediately executed. Not a few priests are now awaiting trial—seventy-seven.

These are but a few instances, which might be multiplied almost infinitely, so that it appears a settled purpose with the Prussians to carry on these brutalities up to the end of the war. Under these circumstances, it may be as well to call their attention once more to some facts in modern Prussian history.[a]

The present King of Prussia[b] can perfectly recollect the time of his country's deepest degradation, the Battle of Jena, the long flight to the Oder, the successive capitulations of almost the whole of the Prussian troops, the retreat of the remainder behind the Vistula, the complete downbreak of the whole military and political system of the country. Then it was that, under the shelter of a Pomeranian coast fortress, private initiative, private patriotism, commenced a new active resistance against the enemy. A simple cornet of dragoons, Schill, began at Kolberg to form a free corps (*Gallice,*[c] francs-tireurs), with which, assisted by the inhabitants, he surprised patrols, detachments, and field-posts, secured public moneys, provisions, war matériel, took the French General Victor prisoner, prepared a general insurrection of the country in the rear of the French and on their line of communication, and generally did all those things which are now laid to the charge of the French francs-tireurs, and which are visited on the part of the Prussians by the titles of brigands and ragamuffins, and by a "bullet through the head" of disarmed prisoners. But the father of the present King of Prussia[d] sanctioned them expressly and promoted Schill. It is well known that this same Schill in 1809, when Prussia was at peace but Austria at war with France, led his regiment out on a campaign of his own against Napoleon, quite Garibaldi-like; that he was killed at Stralsund and his men taken prisoner. Out of these, all of whom Napoleon, according to Prussian war rules, had a perfect right to shoot, he merely had eleven officers shot at Wesel. Over the graves of these eleven francs-tireurs the father of the present King of Prussia, much against his will, but compelled by public feeling in the army and out of it, had to erect a memorial in their honour.

No sooner had there been a practical beginning of freeshooting among the Prussians than they, as becomes a nation of thinkers,

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[a] See this volume, p. 166.—*Ed.*

[b] William I.—*Ed.*

[c] In Gallic, i.e. in French.—*Ed.*

[d] Frederick William III.—*Ed.*

proceeded to bring the thing into a system and work out the theory of it. The theorist of freeshooting, the great philosophical franc-tireur among them, was no other than Anton Neithardt von Gneisenau, some time field marshal in the service of his Prussian Majesty. Gneisenau had defended Kolberg in 1807; he had had some of Schill's francs-tireurs under him; he had been assisted vigorously in his defence by the inhabitants of the place, who could not even lay claim to the title of national guards, mobile or sedentary, and who therefore, according to recent Prussian notions, clearly deserved to be "immediately executed."[a] But Gneisenau was so impressed by the greatness of the resources which an invaded country possessed in an energetic popular resistance that he made it his study for a series of years how this resistance could be best organized. The guerilla war in Spain, the rising of the Russian peasants on the line of the French retreat from Moscow, gave him fresh examples; and in 1813 he could proceed to put his theory in practice.

In August, 1811, already Gneisenau had formed a plan for the preparation of a popular insurrection. A militia is to be organized which is to have no uniform but a military cap (*Gallice*, képi) and black and white belt, perhaps a military great-coat; in short, as near as can be, the uniform of the present French francs-tireurs.

"If the enemy should appear in superior strength, the arms, caps, and belt, are hid, and the militiamen appear as simple inhabitants of the country."[b]

The very thing which the Prussians now consider a crime to be punished by a bullet or a rope. These militia troops are to harass the enemy, to interrupt his communications, to take or destroy his convoys of supplies, to avoid regular attacks, and to retire into woods or bogs before masses of regular soldiers.

"The clergy of all denominations are to be ordered, as soon as the war breaks out, to preach insurrection, to paint French oppression in the blackest colours, to remind the people of the Jews under the Maccabees, and to call upon them to follow their example.... Every clergyman is to administer an oath to his parishioners that they will not surrender any provisions, arms, &c., to the enemy until compelled by actual force"—

in fact, they are to preach the same crusade which the Bishop of Orléans[c] has ordered his priests to preach, and for which not a few French priests are now awaiting their trial.

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[a] Order of a Prussian general "Den 25. September", *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 275, October 4, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Engels cites from G. H. Pertz, *Das Leben des Feldmarschalls Grafen Neithardt von Gneisenau*, Vol. II, Berlin, 1865. Engels gives a free rendering of the text.—*Ed.*

[c] F.A.P. Dupanloup.—*Ed.*

Whoever will take up the second volume of Professor Pertz's "Life of Gneisenau"[a] will find, facing the title-page of the second volume, a reproduction of part of the above passage as a facsimile of Gneisenau's handwriting. Facing it is the facsimile of King Frederick William's marginal note to it:—

"As soon as one clergyman shall have been shot this will come to an end."

Evidently the King had no great faith in the heroism of his clergy. But this did not prevent him from expressly sanctioning Gneisenau's plans; nor did it prevent, a few years later, when the very men who had driven out the French were arrested and prosecuted as "demagogues,"[107] one of the intelligent demagogue-hunters of the time, into whose hands the original document had fallen, from instituting proceedings against the unknown author of this attempt to excite people to the shooting of the clergy!

Up to 1813 Gneisenau never tired in preparing not only the regular army but also popular insurrection as a means to shake off the French yoke. When at last the war came, it was at once accompanied by insurrection, peasant resistance, and francs-tireurs. The country between the Weser and Elbe rose to arms in April; a little later on the people about Magdeburg rose; Gneisenau himself wrote to friends in Franconia—the letter is published by Pertz—calling on them to rise upon the enemy's line of communications. Then at last came the official recognition of this popular warfare, the Landsturm-Ordnung of the 21st of April, 1813[b] (published in July only), in which every able-bodied man who is not in the ranks of either line or landwehr is called upon to join his landsturm battalion, to prepare for the sacred struggle of self-defence which sanctions every means. The landsturm is to harass both the advance and the retreat of the enemy, to keep him constantly on the alert, to fall upon his trains of ammunition and provisions, his couriers, recruits, and hospitals, to surprise him at nights, to annihilate his stragglers and detachments, to lame and to bring insecurity into his every movement; on the other hand, to assist the Prussian army, to escort money, provisions, ammunition, prisoners, &c. In fact, this law may be called a complete vade-mecum for the franc-tireur,

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[a] G. H. Pertz, *Das Leben des Feldmarschalls Grafen Neithardt von Gneisenau*, Vol. II, Berlin, 1865.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick William III, "Verordnung über den Landsturm. Vom 21sten April 1813", *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preussischen Staaten.* Berlin [1813]. See this volume, pp. 166-67.—*Ed.*

and, drawn up as it is by no mean strategist, it is as applicable to-day in France as it was at that time in Germany.

Fortunately for Napoleon, it was but very imperfectly carried out. The King was frightened by his own handiwork. To allow the people to fight for themselves, without the King's command, was too anti-Prussian. Thus the landsturm was suspended until the King was to call upon it, which he never did. Gneisenau chafed, but managed finally to do without the landsturm. If he were alive now, with all his Prussian after-experiences, perhaps he would see his beau-ideal of popular resistance approached, if not realized, in the French francs-tireurs. For Gneisenau was a man—and a man of genius.

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XXXI[a]

[ *The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1824, December 17, 1870]

The campaign on the Loire appears to have come to a momentary standstill, which allows us time to compare reports and dates, and to form the very confused and contradictory materials into as clear a narrative of actual events as can be expected under the circumstances.

The Army of the Loire began to exist as a distinct body on the 15th of November, when D'Aurelle de Paladines, hitherto commander of the 15th and 16th Corps, obtained command of the new organization formed under this name. What other troops entered into its composition at that date we cannot tell; in fact, this army received constant reinforcements, at least up to the end of November, when it consisted nominally of the following corps:—15th (Pallières), 16th (Chanzy), 17th (Sônis), 18th (Bourbaki), 19th (Barral, according to Prussian accounts), and 20th (Crouzat). Of these the 19th Corps never appeared either in the French or Prussian reports, and cannot therefore be supposed to have been engaged. Besides these, there were at Le Mans and the neighbouring camp of Conlie, the 21st Army Corps (Jaurès) and the Army of Brittany, which, on the resignation of Kératry, was attached to Jaurès' command. A 22nd Corps, we may add, is commanded by General Faidherbe in the North, with Lille for its base of operations. In the above we have omitted General Michel's corps of cavalry attached to the Army of the Loire: this body of horse, though said to be very numerous, cannot rank, from its recent formation and crude material, otherwise than as volunteer or amateur cavalry.

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[a] Written between December 13 and 17, 1870.—*Ed.*

The elements of which this army was composed were of the most varied kinds, from old troopers recalled to the ranks, to raw recruits and volunteers averse to all discipline; from solid battalions such as the Papal Zouaves[108] to crowds which were battalions only in name. Some kind of discipline, however, had been established, but the whole still bore the stamp of the great hurry which had presided at its formation. "Had this army been allowed four weeks more for preparation, it would have been a formidable opponent,"[a] said the German officers who had made its acquaintance on the field of battle. Deducting all those quite raw levies which were only in the way, we may set down the whole of D'Aurelle's five fighting corps (omitting the 19th) at somewhere about 120,000 to 130,000 men fit to be called combatants. The troops at Le Mans may have furnished about 40,000 more.

Against these we find pitted the army of Prince Frederick Charles, including the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg's[b] command; their numbers we now know, through Capt. Hozier, to have been rather less than 90,000 all told. But these 90,000 were, by their experience of war, their organization, and the proved generalship of their leaders, quite competent to engage twice their number of such troops as were opposed to them. Thus, the chances were about even; and that they were so is immensely to the credit of the French people, who created this new army out of nothing in three months.

The campaign began, on the part of the French, with the attack on von der Tann at Coulmiers and the reconquest of Orléans, on November 9; the march of Mecklenburg to the aid of von der Tann; the manoeuvring of D'Aurelle in the direction of Dreux, which drew off Mecklenburg's whole force in that direction, and made him enter upon a march towards Le Mans. This march was harassed by the French irregular troops in a degree hitherto unknown in the present war; the population showed a most determined resistance, francs-tireurs hovered round the flanks of the invaders; but the regular troops confined themselves to demonstrations, and could not be brought to bay. The letters of the German correspondents with Mecklenburg's army, their rage and indignation at those wicked French who insist upon fighting in the way most convenient to themselves and most inconvenient to the enemy, are the best proof that this short campaign about Le

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[a] "Artenay, 3. Dezember", *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 341, December 9, 1870. Second edition.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick Francis II.—*Ed.*

Mans was conducted exceedingly well by the defence. The French led Mecklenburg a perfect wild-goose chase after an invisible army up to about twenty-five miles from Le Mans: arrived thus far, he hesitated to go any farther, and turned south. The original plan had evidently been to deal a crushing blow at the Army of Le Mans, then to turn south upon Blois, and turn the left of the Army of the Loire; while Frederick Charles, just then coming up, attacked its front and rear. But this plan, and many others since, miscarried. D'Aurelle left Mecklenburg to his fate, marched against Frederick Charles, and attacked the 10th Prussian Corps on the 24th November at Ladon and Mézières, and a large body of Prussians on the 28th at Beaune-la-Rolande. It is evident that here he handled his troops badly. He had but a small portion of them in readiness, though this was his first attempt to break through the Prussian army and force his way to Paris. All he did was to inspire the enemy with respect for his troops. He fell back into entrenched positions in front of Orléans, where he concentrated all his forces. These he disposed, from right to left, as follows: the 18th Corps on the extreme right; then the 20th and 15th, all of them east of the Paris-Orléans railway; west of it the 16th; and on the extreme left the 17th. Had these masses been brought together in time, there is scarcely any doubt that they might have crushed Frederick Charles's army, then under 50,000 men. But by the time D'Aurelle was well established in his work, Mecklenburg had marched south again, and joined the right wing of his cousin,[a] who now took the supreme command. Thus Mecklenburg's 40,000 men had now come up to join in the attack against D'Aurelle, while the French army of Le Mans, satisfied with the glory of having "repulsed" its opponent, quietly remained in its quarters, some sixty miles away from the point where the campaign was decided.

Then all of a sudden came the news of Trochu's sortie of the 30th of November.[b] A fresh effort had to be made to support him. On the 1st D'Aurelle commenced a general advance against the Prussians, but it was too late. While the Germans met him with all their forces, his 18th Corps—on the extreme right—appeared to have been sent astray, and never to have been engaged. Thus he fought with but four corps, that is to say, with numbers (of actual combatants) probably little superior to those of his opponents. He was beaten; he appears to have felt himself beaten even before he

[a] Frederick Charles.—*Ed.*

[b] "Versailles, Dec. 1, 12.16 P.M.", *The Times,* No. 26923, December 2, 1870.—*Ed.*

was so. Hence the irresolution he displayed when, after having on the evening of the 3rd of December ordered a retreat across the Loire, he countermanded it next morning and resolved to defend Orléans.[a] The usual result followed: order, counter-order, disorder. The Prussian attack being concentrated on his left and centre, his two right corps, evidently in consequence of the contradictory orders they had received, lost their line of retreat upon Orléans, and had to cross the river, the 20th at Jargeau and the 18th still further east, at Sully. A small portion of the latter appears to have been driven still more eastward, as it was found by the 3rd Prussian Corps on the 7th of December at Nevoy, near Gien, and thence pursued in the direction of Briare, always on the right bank of the river. Orléans fell into the hands of the Germans on the evening of the 4th, and the pursuit was at once organized. While the 3rd Corps was to skirt the upper course of the Loire on the right bank, the 10th was sent to Vierzon, and the Mecklenburg command on the right bank towards Blois. Before reaching that place, this latter force was met at Beaugency by at least a portion of the army of Le Mans, which now at last had joined Chanzy's command, and offered a pertinacious and partly successful resistance. But this was soon broken, for the 9th Prussian Corps was marching, on the left bank of the river, towards Blois, where it would have cut off Chanzy's retreat towards Tours. This turning movement had its effect. Chanzy retired out of harm's way, and Blois fell into the hands of the invaders. The thaw and heavy rains about this time broke up the roads, and thus stopped further pursuit.

Prince Frederick Charles has telegraphed to headquarters that the Army of the Loire is totally dispersed in various directions, that its centre is broken, and that it has ceased to exist as an army.[b] All this sounds well, but it is far from being correct. There can be no doubt, even from the German accounts, that the seventy-seven guns taken before Orléans were almost all naval guns abandoned in the entrenchments.[c] There may be 10,000, and, including the wounded, 14,000 prisoners, most of them very much demoralized; but the state of the Bavarians who on the 5th of December thronged the road from Artenay to Chartres, utterly disorganized, without arms or knapsacks, was not so much better.

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[a] "Tours, Dec. 5, 1 P.M.", *The Times*, No. 26926, December 6, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick Charles, "Versailles, Dec. 6, 12.10 P.M.", *The Times*, No. 26927, December 7, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] "Versailles, Dec. 6", *The Times*, No. 26928, December 8, 1870.—*Ed.*

There is an utter absence of trophies gathered during the pursuit on and after the 5th; and if an army has broken up, its soldiery cannot fail to be brought in wholesale by an active and numerous cavalry such as we know the Prussians to possess. There is extreme inaccuracy here, to say the least of it. The thaw is no excuse; that set in about the 9th, and would leave four or five days of fine frozen roads and fields for active pursuit. It is not so much the thaw which stops the advance of the Prussians; it is the consciousness that the force of these 90,000 men, now reduced to about 60,000 by losses and garrisons left behind, is nearly spent. The point beyond which it is imprudent to follow up even a beaten enemy has very nearly been reached. There may be raids on a large scale further south, but there will be scarcely any further occupation of territory. The Army of the Loire, now divided into two armies under Bourbaki and Chanzy, will have plenty of time and room to re-form, and to draw towards it newly formed battalions. By its division it has ceased to exist as an army, but it is the first French army in this campaign which has done so not ingloriously. We shall probably hear of its two successors again.

In the meantime, Prussia shows signs of exhaustion. The men of the landwehr up to forty years and more—legally free from service after their thirty-second year—are called in. The drilled reserves of the country are exhausted. In January the recruits—about 90,000 from North Germany—will be sent out to France. This *may* give altogether the 150,000 men of whom we hear so much, but they are not yet there; and when they do come they will alter the character of the army materially. The wear and tear of the campaign has been terrible, and is becoming more so every day. The melancholy tone of the letters from the army shows it, as well as the lists of losses. It is no longer the great battles which make up the bulk of these lists, it is the small encounters where one, two, five men are shot down. This constant erosion by the waves of popular warfare in the long run melts down or washes away the largest army in detail, and, what is the chief point, without any visible equivalent. While Paris holds out, every day improves the position of the French, and the impatience at Versailles about the surrender of Paris shows best that that city may yet become dangerous to the besiegers.

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XXXII[a]

[ *The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1829, December 23, 1870]

The last week's fighting has proved how correctly we judged the relative positions of the combatants when we said that the armies arrived from Metz on the Loire and in Normandy had then already expended the greater part of their capability for occupying fresh territory.[b] The extent of ground occupied by the German forces has scarcely received any addition since. The Grand Duke of Mecklenburg,[c] with von der Tann's Bavarians (who, in spite of their disorganization and want of shoes, cannot be spared at the front), with the 10th Corps and 17th and 22nd divisions, has followed up Chanzy's slowly retreating and constantly fighting troops from Beaugency to Blois, from Blois to Vendôme, and Epuisay and beyond. Chanzy defended every position offered by the rivulets falling from the north into the Loire; and when the 9th Corps (or at least its Hessian division) turned his right at Blois, arriving from the left bank of the river, he retreated upon Vendôme, and took up a position on the line of the Loire. This he held on the 14th and 15th against the attacks of the enemy, but abandoned it on the evening of the latter day, and retreated slowly, and still showing a bold front, towards Le Mans. On the 17th he had another rear-guard affair with von der Tann at Epuisay; where the roads from Vendôme and Morée to Saint-Calais unite, and then withdrew, apparently without being followed up much farther.

The whole of this retreat appears to have been conducted with great discretion. After it was once settled that the old Army of the

[a] Written on December 22 or 23, 1870.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 196.—*Ed.*
[c] Frederick Francis II.—*Ed.*

Loire was to be split up into two bodies, one of which, under Bourbaki, was to act south of Orléans, and the other, under Chanzy, to whom also the troops near Le Mans were given, to defend Western France north of the Loire—after this arrangement was once made, it could not be Chanzy's object to provoke decisive actions. On the contrary, his plan necessarily was to dispute every inch of ground as long as he safely could without being entangled into such; to inflict thereby as heavy losses as he could upon the enemy, and break in his own young troops to order and steadiness under fire. He would naturally lose more men than the enemy in this retreat, especially in stragglers; but these would be the worst men of his battalions, which he could well do without. He would keep up the morale of his troops, while he maintained on the part of the enemy that respect which the Army of the Loire had already conquered for the Republican troops. And he would soon arrive at a point where the pursuers, weakened by losses in battle, by sickness, and by detachments left behind on their line of supply, must give up the pursuit or risk defeat in their turn. That point, in all probability, would be Le Mans; here were the two camps of instruction at Yvre-l'Evêque and at Conlie, with troops in various states of organization and armament, and of unknown numbers; but there must have certainly been more organized battalions there than Chanzy would require to repel any attack Mecklenburg could make on him. This appears to have been felt by the Prussian commander, or rather his chief of the staff, General Stosch, who actually directs the movements of Mecklenburg's army. For after having learned that the 10th North German Corps, on the 18th, pursued Chanzy beyond Epuisay, we hear now that General Voigts-Rhetz (who commands this same 10th Corps) on the 21st has defeated a body of French near Monnaie, and driven them beyond Notre Dame d'Oé. Now, Monnaie is about five-and-thirty miles south of Epuisay, on the road from Vendôme to Tours, and Notre Dame d'Oé is a few miles nearer Tours. So that after following up Chanzy's principal forces towards and close to Le Mans, Mecklenburg's troops appear now to be directed—at least in part—towards Tours, which they probably will have reached ere now, but which it is not likely that they will be able to occupy permanently.

Prussian critics blamed the eccentric retreat of the Army of the Loire after the battles before Orléans, and pretended that such a faulty step could only have been forced on the French by the vigorous action of Prince Frederick Charles, by which he "broke

their centre."[a] That the mismanagement of D'Aurelle, at the very moment when he received the shock of the enemy, had a good deal to do with this eccentric retreat, and even with the subsequent division of the army into two distinct commands, we may readily believe. But there was another motive for it. France, above all things, wants time to organize forces, and space—that is to say, as much territory as possible—from which to collect the means of organization in men and matériel. Not being as yet in a position to court decisive battles, she must attempt to save as much territory as possible from the occupation of the enemy. And as the invasion has now reached that line where the forces of the attack and those of the defence are nearly balanced, there is no necessity to concentrate the troops of the defence as for a decisive action. On the contrary, they may without great risk be divided into several large masses, so as to cover as much territory as possible, and so as to oppose to the enemy, in whatever direction he may advance, a force large enough to prevent permanent occupation. And as there are still some 60,000, or perhaps 100,000, men near Le Mans (in a very backward state of equipment, drill, and discipline, it is true, but yet improving daily), and as the means to equip, arm, and supply them have been organized and are being brought together in western France—it would be a great blunder to abandon these merely because strategic theory demands that under ordinary circumstances a defeated army should withdraw in one body; which could in this case have been done only by going south and leaving the west unprotected. On the contrary, the camps near Le Mans contain in themselves the stuff to render the new Army of the West, in course of time, stronger than even the old Army of the Loire was, while the whole south is organizing reinforcements for Bourbaki's command. Thus, what at the first glance appears as a mistake, was in reality a very proper and necessary measure, which does not in any way preclude the possibility of having the whole of the French forces, at some later time, in a position to co-operate for decisive action.

The importance of Tours is in the fact that it forms the most westerly railway junction between the north-west and the south of France. If Tours be permanently held by the Prussians, Chanzy has no longer any railway communication with either the Government at Bordeaux or Bourbaki at Bourges. But with their present forces, the Prussians have no chance of holding it. They

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[a] "Die Loire-Armee ist durch ihre Niederlagen...", *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 289, December 11, 1870.—*Ed.*

would be weaker there than von der Tann was at Orléans early in November. And a temporary loss of Tours, though inconvenient, may be borne.

There is not much news from the other German columns. Prince Frederick Charles, with the Third Corps, and perhaps half of the Ninth, has completely disappeared from sight, which does not prove much for his powers to advance. Manteuffel is reduced to play the part of a huge flying column for requisitions; his force of permanent occupation does not appear to go beyond Rouen. Werder is surrounded by petty warfare on all sides, and while he can hold out at Dijon by sheer activity only, now finds out that he has to blockade Langres too if he wants his rear secured. Where he is to find the troops for this work we do not learn; he himself has none to spare, and the landwehr about Belfort and in Alsace have fully as much on their hands as they can manage. Thus everywhere the forces appear to be nearly balanced. It is now a race of reinforcements, but a race in which the chances are immensely more favourable to France than they were three months ago. If we could say with safety that Paris will hold out till the end of February, we might almost believe that France would win the race.

# THE GERMAN POSITION IN FRANCE[a]

[*The Pall Mall Cazette,* No. 1830, December 24, 1870]

The wear and tear of this war is beginning to tell upon Germany. The first army of invasion, comprising the whole of the line troops of both North and South, was of the strength of about 640,000 men. Two months of campaigning had reduced that army so much that the first batch of men from the depot battalions and squadrons—about one-third of the original strength—had to be ordered forward. They arrived towards the end of September and beginning of October, and though they must have amounted to some 200,000 men, yet the field battalions were far from being again raised to their original strength of 1,000 men each. Those before Paris counted from 700 to 800 men, while those before Metz were weaker still. Sickness and fighting soon made further inroads, and when Prince Frederick Charles reached the Loire, his three corps were reduced to less than half their normal strength, averaging 450 men per battalion. The fighting of this month and the severe and changeable weather must have told severely upon the troops both before Paris and in the armies covering the investment; so that the battalions must now certainly average below 400 men. Early in January the recruits of the levy of 1870 will be ready to be sent into the field, after three months' drill. These would number about 110,000, and give rather less than 300 men per battalion. We now hear that part of these have already passed Nancy, and that new bodies are arriving daily; thus the battalions may soon be again raised to about 650 men. If, indeed, as is probable from several indications, the disposable remainder of the younger undrilled men of the depot-reserve (Ersatz

[a] Written on December 23 or 24, 1870.—*Ed.*

Reserve) have been drilled along with the recruits of the regular levy, this reinforcement would be increased by some 100 men per battalion more, making in all 750 men per battalion. This would be about three-fourths of the original strength, giving an army of 480,000 effectives, out of one million of men sent out from Germany to the front. Thus, rather more than one-half of the men who left Germany with the line regiments or joined them since, have been killed or invalided in less than four months. If this should appear incredible to any one, let him compare the wear and tear of former campaigns, that of 1813 and 1814 for instance, and consider that the continued long and rapid marches of the Prussians during this war must have told terribly upon their troops.

So far we have dealt with the line only. Besides them, nearly the whole of the landwehr has been marched off into France. The landwehr battalions had originally 800 men for the Guards and 500 men for the other battalions; but they were gradually raised to the strength of 1,000 men all round. This would make a grand total of 240,000 men, including cavalry and artillery. By far the greater part of these have been in France for some time, keeping up the communications, blockading fortresses, &c. And even for this they are not numerous enough; for there are at present in process of organization four more landwehr divisions (probably by forming a third battalion to every landwehr regiment), comprising at least fifty battalions, or 50,000 men more. All these are now to be sent into France; those that were still in Germany, guarding the French prisoners, are to be relieved in that duty by newly formed "garrison battalions." What these may be composed of we cannot positively tell before we receive the full text of the order creating them, the contents of which, so far, are known by a telegraphic summary only.[a] But if, as we know to be the fact, the above four new landwehr divisions cannot be raised without calling out men of forty and even above, then what remains for the garrison battalions of drilled soldiers but men from forty to fifty years of age? There is no doubt the reserve of drilled men in Germany is by this measure fully exhausted, and, beyond that, a whole year's levy of recruits.

The landwehr force in France has had far less marching, bivouacking, and fighting than the line. It has mostly had decent quarters, fair feeding, and moderate duty; so that the whole of its losses may be put down at about 40,000 men, dead or invalided.

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[a] "Berlin, Dec. 21. Evening", *The Times*, No. 26940, December 22, 1870.—*Ed.*

This would leave, including the new battalions now forming, 250,000 men; but it is very uncertain how soon, even if ever, the whole of these can be set free for service abroad. For the next two months we should say 200,000 would be a high estimate of the effective landwehr force in France.

Line and landwehr together, we shall thus have in the second half of January a force of some 650,000 to 680,000 Germans under arms in France, of which from 150,000 to 200,000 are now on the road or preparing for it. But this force will be of a far different character from that which has hitherto been employed there. Fully one-half of the line battalions will consist of young men of twenty or twenty-one years—untried men of an age at which the hardships of a winter campaign tell most fearfully upon the constitution. These men will soon fill the hospitals, while the battalions will again melt down in strength. On the other hand, the landwehr will consist more and more of men above thirty-two, married men and fathers of families almost without exception, and of an age at which open-air camping in cold or wet weather is almost sure to produce rheumatism rapidly and by wholesale. And there can be no doubt that the greater portion of this landwehr will have to do a deal more marching and fighting than hitherto, in consequence of the extension of the territory which is to be given into its keeping. The line is getting considerably younger, the landwehr considerably older than hitherto; the recruits sent to the line have barely had time to learn their drill and discipline, the new reinforcements for the landwehr have had plenty of time to forget both. Thus the German army is receiving elements which bring its character much nearer than heretofore to the new French levies opposed to it; with this advantage, however, on the side of the Germans that these elements are being incorporated into the strong and solid cadres of the old army.

After these, what resources in men remain to Prussia? The recruits attaining their twentieth year in 1871, and the older men of the Ersatz Reserve, the latter all undrilled, almost all of them married, and at an age when people have little inclination or ability to begin soldiering. To call these out, men who have been induced by long precedent to consider their relation to the army an all but nominal one, would be very unpopular. Still more unpopular would it be if those able-bodied men were called out who for one reason or another have escaped the liability to service altogether. In a purely defensive war all these would march unhesitatingly; but in a war of conquest, and at a time when the success of that policy of conquest is becoming doubtful, they

cannot be expected to do so. A war of conquest, with anything like varying fortunes, cannot be carried out, in the long run, by an army consisting chiefly of married men; one or two great reverses must demoralize such troops on such an errand. The more the Prussian army, by the lengthening out of the war, becomes in reality a "nation in arms," the more incapable does it become for conquest. Let the German Philistine shout ever so boisterously about Alsace and Lorraine, it still remains certain that Germany cannot for the sake of their conquest undergo the same privations, the same social disorganization, the same suspension of national production, that France willingly suffers in her own self-defence. That same German Philistine, once put in uniform and marched off, may come to his cool senses again on some French battlefield or in some frozen bivouac. And thus it may be, in the end, for the best if both nations are, in reality, placed face to face with each other in full armour.

# NOTES ON THE WAR—XXXIII[a]

[ *The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1841, January 6, 1871]

Christmas has ushered in the commencement of the real siege of Paris. Up to that time there had only been an investment of the giant fortress. Batteries had been constructed, it is true, for heavy siege guns; a siege park had been collected, but not a gun had been placed in position, not an embrasure cut, not a shot fired. All these preparations had been made on the southern and south-western front. On the other fronts there were breastworks thrown up as well, but these seem to have been intended for defensive purposes only, to check sorties, and to protect the infantry and field artillery of the besiegers. These entrenchments were naturally at a greater distance from the Paris forts than regular siege batteries would have to be; there was between them and the forts a larger belt of debatable ground on which sorties could take place. When Trochu's great sortie of the 30th of November had been repelled, he still remained master of a certain portion of this debatable ground on the eastern side of Paris, especially of the isolated plateau of Avron, in front of Fort Rosny. This he began to fortify; at what exact date we do not know, but we find it mentioned on the 17th of December that both Mont Avron and the heights of Varennes (in the loop of the Marne) had been fortified and armed with heavy guns.

Barring a few advanced redoubts on the south front, near Vitry and Villejuif, which do not appear to be of much importance, we have here the first attempt, on a large scale, of the defenders to extend their positions by counter-approaches. And here we are naturally referred, for a comparison, to Sebastopol. More than

[a] Written between January 2 and 6, 1871.—*Ed.*

four months after the opening of the trenches by the Allies, towards the end of February, 1855, when the besiegers had suffered terribly by the winter, Todleben began to construct advanced works at what were then considerable distances in front of his lines. On the 23rd of February he had constructed the redoubt Selenginsk, 1,100 yards from the main rampart; on the same day an assault of the Allies on the new work failed; on the 1st of March, another redoubt (Volynsk) was completed in a still more forward position, and 1,450 yards from the rampart. These two works were called by the Allies the "ouvrages blancs."[a] On the 12th of March, the Kamtschatka lunette, 800 yards from the ramparts, was completed, the "Mamelon vert"[b] of the Allies, and in front of all these works rifle-pits were dug out. An assault, on the 22nd of March, was beaten off, and the whole of the works, as well as another to the (proper) right of the Mamelon, the "Quarry," was completed, and all these redoubts connected by a covered way. During the whole of April and May the Allies in vain attempted to recover the ground occupied by these works. They had to advance against them by regular siege approaches, and it was only on the 7th of June, when considerable reinforcements had arrived, that they were enabled to storm them. Thus, the fall of Sebastopol had been delayed fully three months by these advanced field works, attacked though they were by the most powerful naval guns of the period.

The defence of Mont Avron looks very paltry side by side with this story. On the 17th, when the French had had above fourteen days for the construction of their works, the batteries are completed. The besiegers in the meantime sent for siege artillery, chiefly old guns already used in the previous sieges. On the 22nd the batteries against Mont Avron are completed, but no action is taken until every danger of a sortie *en masse* of the French has passed away, and the encampments of the Army of Paris, round Drancy, are broken up on the 26th. Then on the 27th the German batteries open their fire, which is continued on the 28th and 29th. The fire of the French works is soon silenced, and the works abandoned on the 29th, because, as the official French report says, there were no casemates in them to shelter the garrison.[c]

This is undoubtedly a poor defence and a still poorer excuse for it. The chief fault seems to rest with the construction of the works. From all descriptions we are led to conclude that there was not on

[a] White redoubts.—*Ed.*

[b] Green hill, Mamelon.—*Ed.*

[c] "Bordeaux, January 1", *The Times*, No. 26949, January 2, 1871.—*Ed.*

the hill a single closed redoubt, but only batteries open to the rear, and even without efficient protection on the flanks. These batteries, moreover, appear to have been facing one way only, towards the south or south-east, while close by, to the north-east, lay the heights of Raincy and Montfermeil, the most eligible sites of all for batteries against Avron. The besiegers took advantage of these to surround Avron with a semicircle of batteries which soon silenced its fire and drove away its garrison. Then why was there no shelter for the garrison? The frost is but half an excuse, for the French had time enough; and what the Russians could do in a Crimean winter and on rocky soil must have been possible too this December before Paris. The artillery employed against Avron was certainly far more efficient than that of the Allies before Sebastopol; but it was the same as that used against the redoubts of Düppel,[79] also field-works, and they held out three weeks. It is surmised that the infantry garrison ran away and left the artillery uncovered. That may be so, but it would not excuse the engineers who constructed the works. The engineering staff inside Paris must be wery badly organized if we are to judge it from this sample of its handiwork.

The rapid demolition of Mont Avron has sharpened the appetite of the besiegers for more successes of a similar sort. Their fire has been opened upon the eastern forts, especially Noisy, Rosny, and Nogent. After two days' bombardment these forts were all but silenced. What more there is being done against them we do not hear. Neither is there any mention of the fire of the entrenchments which had been constructed in the intervals between these forts. But we may be certain that the besiegers are doing their best to push forward approaches, if only in a rough way, against these forts, and to secure a firm lodgment on Mont Avron. We should not wonder if they succeeded better in this than the French, in spite of the weather.

But what is the effect of all this upon the course of the siege? No doubt, if these three forts should fall into the hands of the Prussians, that would be an important success, and enable them to bring their batteries to within 3,000 or 4,000 yards of the enceinte. There is, however, no necessity that they should fall so soon. These forts all have bomb-proof casemates for their garrisons, and the besiegers, so far, have not got any rifled mortars, of which they altogether possess but a small stock. These mortars are the only sort of artillery which can destroy bomb-proof shelter in a very short time; the old mortars are too uncertain in their range to have a very rapid effect, and the 24-pounders (with 64 lb. shell)

cannot be sufficiently elevated to produce the effect of vertical fire. If the fire of these forts appears to be silenced, that signifies merely that the guns have been placed under shelter so as to keep them available for an assault. The Prussian batteries may demolish the parapets of the ramparts, but that will not constitute a breach. To breach the very well-covered masonry of the escarp, even by indirect fire, they will have to construct batteries within at least 1,000 yards from the forts, and that can be done by regular parallels and approaches only. The "abridged" process of besieging, of which the Prussians talk so much, consists in nothing but the silencing of the enemy's fire from a greater distance, so that the approaches can be made with less danger and loss of time; this is followed up by a violent bombardment, and a breaching of the rampart by indirect fire. If all this does not compel surrender—and in the case of the Paris forts it is difficult to see how it could do so—nothing remains but to push up the approaches in the usual way to the glacis and risk an assault. The assault of Düppel was undertaken after the approaches had been pushed to about 250 yards from the ruined works, and at Strasbourg the saps had to be driven quite in the old-fashioned way up to the crest of the glacis and beyond.

With all this, we must recur again and again to the point so often urged in these columns, that the defence of Paris must be carried on actively, and not passively only.[a] If ever there was a time for sorties, that time is now. It is not, at this moment, a question of breaking through the enemy's lines; it is this—to accept a localized combat which the besieger forces upon the besieged. That the fire of the besieger can, under almost any circumstances, be made superior, on any given point, to that of the besieged, is an old and uncontested axiom; and unless the besieged make up for this his inherent deficiency by activity, boldness and energy in sorties, he gives up his best chance. Some say the troops inside Paris have lost heart; but there is no reason why they should. They may have lost confidence in their leader, but that is another thing altogether; and if Trochu persists in his inactivity, they may well do so.

We may as well advert in a word or two to the ingenious hypothesis of some people that Trochu intends to withdraw, with his troops, to the fortified peninsula of Mont Valérien, as to a citadel, after the fall of Paris. This profound surmise has been concocted by some of the super-clever hangers-on of the staff at

[a] See this volume, pp. 89-90, 109-10 and 129.—*Ed.*

Versailles, and is based chiefly on the fact that a good many carts go backwards and forwards between Paris and that peninsula. He must certainly be an uncommonly clever general who chooses to construct for himself a citadel on a low alluvial peninsula, surrounded on all sides by commanding heights, from which the camps of his troops can be surveyed like a panorama, and consequently fired into at easy ranges. But as long as the Prussian staff has existed, it has been troubled with the presence of some men of superhuman sharpness. With them the enemy is always most likely to do the very unlikeliest thing of all. As the German saying goes, "they hear the grass growing." Whoever has occupied himself with Prussian military literature must have stumbled over this sort of people, and the only wonder is that they should find anybody to believe them.

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XXXIV[a]

[ *The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1842, January 7, 1871]

Although there has been a fair amount of fighting since we last surveyed the relative positions of the combatants in the provinces,[b] there has been very little change, thus proving the correctness of our view that the forces of both were nearly balanced for the time being.

Chanzy's Army of the West has maintained itself in front of Le Mans; the army of Mecklenburg opposes it on a line stretching from Blois by Vendôme to Verneuil. There has been a good deal of desultory fighting about Vendôme, but nothing has been changed in the relative position of the armies. In the meantime Chanzy has drawn towards himself all the drilled and armed men from the camp of Conlie, which has been broken up; he is reported to have entrenched a strong position around Le Mans, as a stronghold to fall back upon, and is now again expected to assume the offensive.[c] As M. Gambetta left Bordeaux on the 5th for Le Mans this may be quite correct. Of the actual strength and organisation of Chanzy's forces we have no knowledge whatever beyond the fact that he had, previous to his retreat upon Le Mans, three army corps. Nor are we much better informed as to the forces immediately opposed to him; the troops of Mecklenburg and those of Prince Frederick Charles's original army have been so much intermixed that the original *ordre de bataille*[d] is no longer in

[a] Written on January 6 or 7, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 208-11.—*Ed.*

[c] Report of the Berlin Correspondent of *The Times,* "Berlin, Dec. 29", *The Times,* No. 26949, January 2, 1871; Report of a Correspondent of *The Times* "Bordeaux, Dec. 25", *The Times,* No. 26950, January 3, 1871.—*Ed.*

[d] Battle array.—*Ed.*

force. We shall have to treat both as one army, which they indeed are, since Frederick Charles has the command of the whole; the only distinction is, that Mecklenburg commands those troops which, *à cheval*[a] of the Loir, face west, while the Prince has under his immediate orders those which, along the Loire from Blois to Gien, face south and watch Bourbaki. The whole of both these bodies counts ten divisions of infantry and three of cavalry, but considerable detachments have been left on the line of march from Commercy, by Troyes, to the Loire; these are only gradually coming up, as they are being relieved by the new arrivals of landwehr.

On the 11th of December Prince Frederick Charles had arrived at Briare, with intent to advance upon Nevers, in order to turn Bourbaki's right and to cut off his direct communication with the troops opposed to Werder. But we have only recently learned that on receiving the news of the resolute and unexpected resistance which Mecklenburg encountered on the part of Chanzy, he gave up his plan at once and turned back with the mass of his troops in the direction of Tours[b]; which, as we know, his troops came in sight of but never entered. Thus we now learn that Chanzy's clever and gallant retreat was the cause not only of his own safety, but of Bourbaki's too. This latter general must still be in the neighbourhood of Bourges and Nevers. If, as has been presumed, he had marched off eastwards against Werder or against the Prussian line of communications, we should have heard of him ere now. Most probably he is reorganizing and reinforcing his army, and if Chanzy should advance we are sure to hear of him too.

North of the Seine Manteuffel, with the 1st Corps, holds Rouen and neighbourhood, while he has sent the 8th Corps into Picardy. This latter corps has had a hard time of it. General Faidherbe does not allow his Northern Army much rest. The three northernmost departments of France, from the Somme to the Belgian frontier, hold about twenty fortresses of various sizes, which, though wholly useless nowadays against a large invasion from Belgium, yet form a most welcome and almost unattackable basis of operations in this case. When Vauban planned this triple belt of fortresses, nearly two hundred years ago, he surely never thought that they would serve as a great entrenched camp, a sort of multiplied quadrilateral, to a French army against an enemy advancing from the heart of France. But so it is, and, small as this

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[a] On both banks.—*Ed.*

[b] "Berlin, Dec. 27", *The Times,* No. 26947, December 30, 1870.—*Ed.*

piece of territory is, it is for the nonce impregnable, and an important piece of ground too, on account of its manufacturing resources and its dense population. Driven back into this safe retreat by the battle of Villers-Bretonneux (27th of November),[109] Faidherbe reorganized and strengthened his army; towards the end of December he again advanced upon Amiens, and delivered on the 23rd an undecided battle to Manteuffel on the Hallue. In this battle he had four divisions (35,000 men as he counts them) against the two divisions of the 8th Prussian Corps (24,000 men by Prussian accounts). That with such a proportion of forces, and against as renowned a general as von Goeben, he should have held his own, is a sign that his Mobiles and Mobilisés are improving. In consequence of the frost and of shortcomings of his commissariat and train, as he says, but probably also because he did not trust in the steadiness of his men for a second day's hard fighting, he retreated almost unmolested behind the Scarpe.[a] Von Goeben followed, left the greater part of the 16th division to keep the communications and to invest Péronne, and advanced with only the 15th division and Prince Albert the younger's flying column (which at most was equivalent to a brigade) to Bapaume and beyond. Here, then, was a chance for Faidherbe's four divisions. Without hesitating a moment, he advanced from his sheltered position and attacked the Prussians. After a preliminary engagement on the 2nd of January, the main bodies fought in front of Bapaume on the following day. The clear reports of Faidherbe,[b] the great numerical superiority of the French (eight brigades—or 33,000 men at least—against three Prussian brigades, or 16,000 to 18,000 men, to calculate the numbers according to the data given above for the two armies), the indefinite language of Manteuffel,[c] leave no doubt that in this battle the French had the best of it. Besides, Manteuffel's bragging is well known in Germany: everybody there recollects how as Governor of Sleswig, and being rather tall, he offered "to cover every seven feet of the country with his body." His reports, even after censorship in Versailles, are certainly the least trustworthy of all Prussian accounts. On the other hand, Faidherbe did not follow up his success, but retired after the battle to a village some miles in rear of the battle-field, so

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[a] L.-L. Faidherbe's despatch to the Prefect of North "Lille, Dec. 25", *The Times*, No. 26944, December 27, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] L.-L. Faidherbe, "Arras, Jan. 4", *The Times*, No. 26953, January 6, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] E. Manteuffel, "Versailles, Jan. 5", *The Times*, No. 26953, January 6, 1871.—*Ed.*

that Péronne was not relieved and, as has already been pointed out in these columns, the fruits of the fighting were all for the Prussians. It is impossible to take Faidherbe's excuses for his retreat as being meant seriously.[a] But, whatever his reasons may have been, unless he can do more with his troops than beat three Prussian brigades and then retire, he will not relieve Paris.

In the meantime, Manteuffel has an important reinforcement at hand. The 14th division (Kameke) of the 7th Corps, after reducing Montmédy and Mézières, is approaching his fighting-ground accompanied by its siege train. The fighting near Guise seems to mark a stage in this advance; Guise is on the direct road from Mézières to Péronne, which naturally seems to be the next fortress set down for bombardment. After Péronne, probably Cambrai, if all be well with the Prussians.

In the south-east, Werder has been in full retreat since the 27th of December, when he evacuated Dijon. It took some time before the Germans mentioned a word about this, and then the Prussians were quite silent; it leaked out in a quiet corner of the *Karlsruher Zeitung*.[b] On the 31st he evacuated Gray also, after an engagement, and is now covering the siege of Belfort at Vesoul. The Army of Lyons, under Crémer (said to be an emigrated Hanoverian officer) is following him up, while Garibaldi seems to be acting more westward against the Prussian chief line of communications. Werder, who is said to expect a reinforcement of 36,000 men, will be pretty safe at Vesoul,[c] but the line of communications appears anything but secure. We now learn that General Zastrow, commander of the 7th Corps, has been sent thither, and is in communication with Werder. Unless he is appointed to quite a new command, he will have the 13th division with him, which has been relieved, in Metz, by landwehr, and he will also dispose of other forces for active operations. It must be one of his battalions which has been attacked, and is said to have been routed, near Saulieu, on the road from Auxerre to Chalon-sur-Saône. What the state of the communications is on the secondary lines of railway (always excepting the main line from Nancy to Paris, which is well guarded and so far safe) is shown by a letter from Chaumont (Haute-Marne) to the *Cologne Gazette*,[d] complaining that now for

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[a] L.-L. Faidherbe, "Arras, Jan. 4", *The Times*, No. 26953, January 6, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] This report is mentioned in the item "Incidents of the War", *The Times*, No. 26953, January 6, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] Telegram from a correspondent of *The Times* "Berlin, Jan. 5, 10.30 P.M.", *The Times*, No. 26953, January 6, 1871.—*Ed.*

[d] The reference is to the *Kölnische Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

the third time the francs-tireurs have broken up the railway between Chaumont and Troyes; the last time, on the 24th of December, they replaced the rails loosely, so that a train with 500 landwehr got off the rails and was stopped, upon which the francs-tireurs opened fire from a wood, but were beaten off. The correspondent considers this not only unfair but "infamous."[a] Just like the Austrian cuirassier in Hungary in 1849: "Are not these hussars infamous scoundrels? They see my cuirass, and yet they cut me across the face."

The state of these communications is a matter of life and death to the army besieging Paris. A few days' interruption would affect it for weeks. The Prussians know this, and are now concentrating all their landwehr in north-western France to hold in subjection a belt of country sufficiently broad to ensure safety to their railways. The fall of Mézières opens them a second line of rails from the frontier by Thionville, Mézières, and Reims; but this line dangerously offers its flank to the Army of the North. If Paris is to be relieved, it might perhaps be done easiest by breaking this line of communications.

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[a] "Chaumont, 29. Dez.", *Kölnische Zeitung,* No. 1, January 1, 1871.—*Ed.*

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XXXV[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1848, January 14, 1871]

The armies in the field have entered upon two operations which might easily bring on a crisis of the war. The first of these is Bourbaki's march against Werder; the second, Prince Frederick Charles's march against Chanzy.

The rumour of Bourbaki's march eastward has been current for nearly a week, but there was nothing in it to distinguish it from the rest of the rumours which are now flying about so plentifully. That the movement might be good in itself was no reason to believe in its reality. However, there can be now no doubt that Bourbaki, with at least the 18th and 20th Corps, and the 24th, a new corps, has arrived in the East of France, and has turned Werder's position at Vesoul by a movement viâ Besançon upon Lure, between Vesoul and Belfort. Near Lure, Werder attacked him at Villersexel on the 9th, and an engagement ensued, in which both parties claim the victory. It was evidently a rearguard-engagement, in which Werder apparently has made good his retreat. Whichever may have won in this first encounter, other and more general battles are sure to follow in a day or two, and to bring matters here to a crisis.[110]

If this movement of Bourbaki be undertaken with sufficient forces—that is to say, with every man, horse, and gun that was not absolutely required elsewhere—and if it be carried out with the necessary vigour, it may prove the turning point of the war. We have before now pointed out the weakness of the long line of the German communications, and the possibility of Paris being relieved by an attack in force upon that line.[b] This is now upon

[a] Written on January 13 or 14, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 225.—*Ed.*

the cards, and it will depend on the playing of them whether it is really to come off.

Of the forces now invading France, nearly the whole of the troops of the line are engaged either in the siege of Paris or in the covering of that siege. Out of thirty-five divisions (including the landwehr of the Guard, who have all the time been used as line troops), thirty-two are thus employed. Two are with Werder (three Baden and one Prussian brigade), and one, under Zastrow, has gone to join him. Besides these, Werder has at least two divisions of landwehr to carry on the siege of Belfort and to occupy the fortresses in Southern Alsace. Thus the whole length and breadth of country north-east of the line from Mézières by Laon and Soissons to Paris, and thence by Auxerre and Châtillon to Hüningen, near Basel, with all its reduced fortresses, has to be held by the remainder of the landwehr, as far as it has been made disposable. And when we consider that there are also the prisoners of war in Germany to be watched and the fortresses at home to be garrisoned; that only nine Prussian army corps (those existing before 1866) had old soldiers enough to fill up the landwehr battalions, while the others will have to wait five years yet before they can do this—we may imagine that the forces remaining disposable for the occupation of this part of France cannot have been over-numerous. True, eighteen depôt battalions are now being sent to garrison the fortresses in Alsace and Lorraine, and the newly forming "garrison battalions" are to relieve the landwehr in the interior of Prussia. But the formation of these garrison battalions is reported in the German press to proceed but slowly, and thus the army of occupation will still for some time be comparatively weak and barely able to hold in check the population of the provinces it has to guard.

It is against this portion of the German army that Bourbaki is moving. He evidently attempted to interpose his troops between Vesoul and Belfort, whereby he would isolate Werder, whom he might beat singly, driving him in a north-westerly direction. But as Werder now probably is before Belfort and united with Tresckow, Bourbaki has to defeat both in order to raise the siege; to drive the besiegers back into the Rhine valley, after which he might advance on the eastern side of the Vosges towards Lunéville, where he would be on the main line of the German communications. The destruction of the railway tunnels near Phalsbourg would block up the Strasbourg line for a considerable period; that of the Frouard Junction would stop the line from Saarbrücken and Metz; and it might even be possible to send a flying column

towards Thionville to destroy the line near that place too, so as to break the last through line the Germans have. That column could always retire into Luxembourg or Belgium and lay down its arms; it would have amply repaid itself.

These are the objects which Bourbaki must have in view. With the neighbourhood of Paris exhausted, the interruption of the communications from Paris to Germany even for a few days would be a very serious matter for the 240,000 Germans before Paris, and the presence of 120,000 to 150,000 French soldiers in Lorraine might be a more effective means of raising the siege than even a victory of Chanzy over Frederick Charles, by which the latter would after all be driven back upon the besieging forces, to be backed up by them. True, the Germans have another line of railway communication by Thionville, Mézières, and Reims, which Bourbaki might probably not be able to reach even with flying columns; but then there is the absolute certainty of a general rising of the people in the occupied districts as soon as Bourbaki would have succeeded in penetrating into Lorraine; and what the safety for traffic of that second line of railway would be under such circumstances we need not explain any further. Besides, Bourbaki's success would, as a first consequence, compel Goeben to fall back, and thus the Army of the North might find a chance of cutting off this line between Soissons and Mézières.

We consider this movement of Bourbaki as the most important and the most promising one which has been made by any French general in this war. But, we repeat, it must be carried out adequately. The best plans are worthless if they be executed feebly and irresolutely; and we shall probably not learn anything positive about Bourbaki's forces or the way he handles them until his struggles with Werder have been decided.

But we are informed that in view of some such contingency, the Corps of Werder is to be enlarged into a great "fifth army," under Manteuffel, who is to hand over his "first army" to Goeben, and to bring to Werder's assistance the 2nd, 7th, and 14th Corps.[a] Now, of the 7th Corps, the 13th division has already been sent towards Vesoul, under Zastrow; the 14th division has only just taken Mézières and Rocroi, and cannot, therefore, be expected at Vesoul so very soon; the 14th Corps is the very one which Werder has had all along (the Baden division and the 30th and 34th Prussian regiments, under Goltz); and, as to the 2nd Corps, which

[a] "Berlin, Jan. 11", *The Times*, No. 26958, January 12, 1871; "Versailles, Jan. 11", *The Times*, No. 26959, January 13, 1871.—*Ed.*

is before Paris, we expect that it will not start before that city shall have surrendered, because it cannot be well spared there. But even if it were sent off now it would only arrive after Werder's decisive action with Bourbaki had taken place. As to other reinforcements for Werder from reserves which may be supposed to exist in Germany, we have to consider, firstly, that whatever landwehr can be made disposable has already been, or is being, forwarded now; and, secondly, that the depôt battalions, the only other reserve force in existence, have just been emptied of their drilled men, and are at this moment mere cadres. Thus, Bourbaki will at all events have to fight his first and most decisive actions before the intended reinforcements can have arrived; and, if victorious, he will be in the favourable position to deal with these reinforcements one after another as they arrive successively and from very different directions.

On the other hand, Prince Frederick Charles, in spite of his victorious march to Le Mans, may yet have made the first mistake committed by the Germans in this war, when he left Bourbaki entirely free, in order to concentrate all his forces against Chanzy. Now, Chanzy was no doubt his more immediate opponent, and for the moment the most dangerous one too. But Chanzy's country is not the one where decisive successes can be had over the French. Chanzy has just suffered a severe defeat[111]; that settles his attempts for the relief of Paris for the present. But it so far settles nothing else. Chanzy may withdraw if he likes either towards Brittany or towards the Calvados. In either case he finds at the extreme end of his retreat a great naval arsenal, Brest or Cherbourg, with detached forts to shelter him until the French fleet can transport his men south of the Loire or north of the Somme. In consequence, the West of France is a country where the French can carry on a war to amuse the enemy—a war of alternate advances and retreats—without ever being brought to bay against their will. We should not wonder if Chanzy had been urged on to fight by Gambetta, who was reported to have joined him,[a] and who would be sure to subordinate military to political considerations. After his reverse, and the loss of Le Mans, Chanzy could do nothing better than draw off Frederick Charles as far away to the westward as possible, so that this portion of the Prussian forces may be quite out of harm's way when Bourbaki's campaign begins to develop itself.

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[a] "Bordeaux, Jan. 5", *The Times*, No. 26954, January 7, 1871.—*Ed.*

Faidherbe, in the north, is evidently too weak to do anything decisive against Goeben. As it appears that Chanzy cannot defeat Frederick Charles and thereby relieve Paris, it would be better to send plenty of men to the north, to get rid of Goeben both at Amiens and Rouen, and to attempt with concentrated forces an advance upon the railway line from Mézières to Paris; especially now, while Bourbaki is threatening the other German line of railway. The communications are the tenderest part of an army's position; and if the northern line, which lies so much exposed to an attack from the north both at Soissons and Rethel, should once be seriously menaced while Bourbaki is at work on the southern edge of Lorraine, we might see all of a sudden a very pretty commotion in Versailles.

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XXXVI[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1852, January 19, 1871]

Ever since, after Sedan, Paris was first seriously menaced by hostile attack, we have insisted upon the great strength of a fortified capital like Paris; but we have never omitted to add that, for the full development of its defensive powers, it required a large regular army to defend it[b]; an army too powerful to be shut up in the works of the place, or to be prevented from manoeuvring in the open around the fortress, which would serve as its pivot and partly as its base of operations.

Under normal conditions, this army would almost always be at hand, as a matter of course. The French armies, defeated near the frontier, would fall back upon Paris as their last and chief stronghold; they would under ordinary circumstances arrive here in sufficient strength, and find sufficient reinforcements to be able to fulfil the task assigned to them. But this time the strategy of the Second Empire had caused the whole of the French armies to disappear from the field. One of them it had managed to get shut up, to all appearance hopelessly, in Metz; the other had just surrendered at Sedan. When the Prussians arrived before Paris, a few half-filled depôts, a number of provincial Mobiles (just levied), and the local National Guard (not half formed), were all the forces ready for its defence.

Even under these circumstances the intrinsic strength of the place proved so formidable to the invaders, the task of attacking *lege artis*[c] this immense city and its outworks appeared so gigantic

[a] Written between January 14 and 19, 1871.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 89-90, 109-10 and 129.—*Ed.*
[c] According to the rules.—*Ed.*

to them, that they abandoned it at once, and chose to reduce the place by famine. At that time Henri Rochefort and others were formed into a "Commission of Barricades,"[84] charged with the construction of a third interior line of defence, which should prepare the ground for that line of fighting so peculiarly Parisian—the defence of barricades and the struggle from house to house. The press at the time made great fun of this commission; but the semi-official publications of the Prussian staff leave no doubt that it was above all the certainty of having to encounter a determined struggle at the barricades which caused them to decide in favour of reduction by famine. The Prussians knew very well that the forts, and after them the enceinte, if defended by artillery alone, must fall within a certain time; but then would come a stage of the struggle in which new levies and even civilians would be a match for veterans; in which house after house, street after street, would have to be conquered, and, considering the great number of the defenders, with the certainty of an immense loss of life. Whoever will refer to the papers on the subject in the Prussian *Staats-Anzeiger* will find this reason to be stated as the decisive one against a regular siege.

The investment began on September 19, exactly four months ago to-day. On the following day General Ducrot, who commanded the regular troops in Paris, made a sortie with three divisions in the direction of Clamart, and lost seven guns and 3,000 prisoners. This was followed by similar sorties on the 23rd and 30th of September, 13th and 21st of October, all of which resulted in considerable loss to the French without other advantages than, perhaps, accustoming the young troops to the enemy's fire. On the 28th another sortie was made against Le Bourget with better success; the village was taken and held for two days; but on the 30th the second division of the Prussian guards—thirteen battalions, then less than 10,000 men—retook the village. The French had evidently made very poor use of the two days, during which they might have converted the massively built village into a fortress, and neglected to keep reserves at hand to support the defenders in time, otherwise such a moderate force could not have wrested the place from them.

After this effort there followed a month of quietness. Trochu evidently intended to improve the drill and discipline of his men before again risking great sorties, and very properly so. But,at the same time, he neglected to carry on that war of outposts, reconnaissances and patrols, of ambushes and surprises, which is now the regular occupation of the men on the French front round

Paris—a kind of warfare than which none is more adapted to give young troops confidence in their officers and in themselves, and the habit of meeting the enemy with composure. Troops which have found out that in small bodies, in single sections, half companies, or companies, they can surprise, defeat, or take prisoner similar small bodies of the enemy will soon learn to meet him battalion against battalion. Besides, they will thus learn what outpost duty really is, which many of them appeared to be ignorant of as late as December.

On the 28th of November, at last, was inaugurated that series of sorties which culminated in the grand sortie of the 30th of November across the Marne, and the advance of the whole eastern front of Paris. On the 2nd of December the Germans retook Briey and part of Champigny, and on the following day the French recrossed the Marne. As an attempt to break through the entrenched lines of circumvallation which the besiegers had thrown up, the attack completely failed; it had been carried out without the necessary energy. But it left in the hands of the French a considerable portion of hitherto debatable ground in front of their lines. A strip of ground about two miles in width, from Drancy to the Marne, near Neuilly, came into their possession; a country completely commanded by the fire of the forts, covered with massively built villages easy of defence, and possessing a fresh commanding position in the plateau of Avron. Here, then, was a chance of permanently enlarging the circle of defence; from this ground, once well secured, a further advance might have been attempted, and either the line of the besiegers so much "bulged in" that a successful attack on their lines became possible, or that, by concentrating a strong force here, they were compelled to weaken their line at other points, and thus facilitate a French attack. Well, this ground remained in the hands of the French for a full month. The Germans were compelled to erect siege batteries against Avron, and yet two days' fire from these batteries sufficed to drive the French from it; and, Avron once lost, the other positions were also abandoned. Fresh attacks had indeed been made on the whole north-east and east front on the 21st; Le Bourget was half-carried, Maison Blanche and Ville-Evrard were taken; but all this vantage-ground was lost again the same night. The troops were left on the ground outside the forts, where they bivouacked at a temperature varying from nine to twenty-one degrees below freezing point, and were at last withdrawn under shelter because they naturally could not stand the exposure. The whole of this episode is more characteristic

than any other of the want of decision and energy—the *mollesse,*[a] we might almost say the drowsiness—with which this defence of Paris is conducted.

The Avron incident at last induced the Prussians to turn the investment into a real siege, and to make use of the siege artillery which, for unforeseen cases, had been provided. On the 30th of December the regular bombardment of the north-eastern and eastern forts commenced; on the 5th of January that of the southern forts. Both have been continued without interruption, and of late have been accompanied by a bombardment of the town itself, which is a wanton piece of cruelty. Nobody knows better than the staff at Versailles, and nobody has caused it oftener to be asserted in the press, that the bombardment of a town as extensive as Paris cannot hasten its surrender by one moment. The cannonade of the forts is being followed up by the opening of regular parallels, at least against Issy; we hear of the guns being moved into batteries nearer to the forts, and unless the defence acts on the offensive more unhesitatingly than hitherto, we may soon hear of actual damage being done to one or more forts.

Trochu, however, continues in his inactivity, masterly or otherwise. The few sorties made during the last few days appear to have been but too "platonic", as Trochu's accuser in the *Siècle*[b] calls the whole of them. We are told the soldiers refused to follow their officers. If so, this proves nothing but that they have lost all confidence in the supreme direction. And, indeed, we cannot resist the conclusion that a change in the chief command in Paris has become a necessity. There is an indecision, a lethargy, a want of sustained energy in all the proceedings of this defence which cannot entirely be laid to the charge of the quality of the troops. That the positions, held for a month, during which there occurred only about ten days of severe frost, were not properly entrenched, cannot be blamed upon any one but Trochu, whose business it was to see to its being done. And that month, too, was the critical period of the siege; at its close the question was to be decided which party, besiegers or besieged, would gain ground. Inactivity and indecision, not of the troops but of the commander-in-chief, have turned the scale against the besieged.

And why is this inactivity and indecision continued even now? The forts are under the enemy's fire, the besiegers' batteries are being brought nearer and nearer; the French artillery, as is owned

[a] Irresolution.—*Ed.*

[b] The article from *Le Siècle* is set forth in the item "Bordeaux, 7. Januar", *Königlich Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger,* No. 8, January 9, 1871.—*Ed.*

by Trochu himself, is inferior to that of the attack. Defended by artillery alone, the very day may be calculated when, under these circumstances, the ramparts—masonry and all—of the forts will give way. Inactivity and indecision cannot save them. Something must be done; and if Trochu cannot do it, he had better let some one else try.

Kinglake has preserved a transaction in which Trochu's character appears in the same light as in this defence of Paris. When the advance to Varna had been resolved upon by both Lord Raglan and Saint-Arnaud,[112] and the British Light Division had already been despatched, Colonel Trochu—"a cautious thinking man, well versed in strategic science," of whom

> "it was surmised that it was part of his mission to check anything like wildness in the movements of the French Marshal"

— Colonel Trochu called upon Lord Raglan, and entered upon negotiations, the upshot of which was that Saint-Arnaud declared he had resolved to send to

> "Varna but one division, and to place the rest of his army in position, not in advance, but in the rear of the Balkan range,"[a]

and invited Lord Raglan to follow his example. And that at a moment when the Turks were all but victorious on the Danube without foreign aid!

It may be said that the troops in Paris have lost heart, and are no longer fit for great sorties, that it is too late to sally forth against the Prussian siege works, that Trochu may save his troops for one great effort at the last moment, and so forth. But if the 500,000 armed men in Paris are to surrender to an enemy not half their number, placed moreover in a position most unfavourable for defence, they will surely not do so until their inferiority is brought home to all the world and to themselves. Surely they are not to sit down, eat up the last meal of their provisions, and then surrender! And if they have lost heart, is it because they acknowledge themselves hopelessly beaten, or because they have no longer any trust in Trochu? If it is too late to make sorties now, in another month they will be still more impracticable. And as to Trochu's grand finale, the sooner it is made the better; at present the men are still tolerably fed and strong, and there is no telling what they will be in February.

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[a] A. W. Kinglake, *The Invasion of the Crimea: Its Origin, and an Account of Its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan*, Vol. II, Edinburgh and London, 1863, pp. 40, 42.—*Ed.*

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XXXVII[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1854, January 21, 1871]

This has been a most unfortunate week for the French arms. After Chanzy's defeat came the repulse of Bourbaki before Belfort, and now comes the check which, according to Prussian accounts,[b] Faidherbe has just suffered in front of St. Quentin.[113]

There can be no mistake about Bourbaki's failure. Ever since the affair at Villersexel on the 9th, he has displayed a slowness of movement which indicated either indecision on the part of the General or insufficient strength on the part of the troops. The attack upon the entrenched positions which Werder had prepared for the protection of the siege of Belfort beyond the Lisaine (or Isel on other maps) was not commenced before the 15th, and on the evening of the 17th Bourbaki gave it up in despair. There can be no doubt now that the expedition had been undertaken with insufficient forces. The 15th Corps had been left near Nevers; of the 19th we have not heard for a month; the troops brought up from Lyons reduce themselves to one army corps, the 24th. We now hear of considerable reinforcements being hurried up to Dijon, but, in the face of the strong reinforcements rapidly arriving on the other side, they will not enable Bourbaki at once to resume the offensive.

It may be questioned whether Bourbaki ought to have led his young troops to the assault of entrenched positions defended by breech-loaders; but we know little as yet of the tactical conditions under which the three days' fight took place: he may have been unable to act otherwise.

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[a] Written on January 21, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] "Royal Head-Quarters, Versailles, Jan. 20", *The Times,* No. 26966, January 21, 1871.—*Ed.*

That the Prussian headquarters did not look upon Bourbaki's expedition with the same contemptuous shrug as most people did here in London is shown by the extreme eagerness with which they took steps to meet it. From these steps there can be no doubt that Bourbaki's move was known in Versailles as soon as he began his eastward march, if not before. On the 2nd of January the 2nd Corps received orders to march from Paris in a south-easterly direction, towards the basin of the Upper Seine. About the same time Zastrow left the neighbourhood of Metz with the 13th division for Châtillon. Immediately after the reduction of Rocroi, on the 9th, the 14th division (the remaining one of Zastrow's 7th Corps) was ordered from Charleville towards Paris, thence to follow the 2nd Corps; and on the 15th already we find its advance (a battalion of the 77th regiment) engaged near Langres. At the same time landwehr troops were hurried on towards southern Alsace from Germany, and Manteuffel evidently owes his new command[a] to no other cause than this first serious movement against the weakest point of the whole German line. Had Bourbaki brought sufficient forces to overthrow Werder, he might have cast him back into the Rhine valley, placed the chain of the Vosges between Werder and his own troops, and marched with the greater part of his forces against these reinforcements, which he might have attacked in detail as they arrived from different directions. He might have penetrated as far as the Paris-Strasbourg Railway, in which case it is very doubtful whether the investment of Paris could have been continued. His defeat proves nothing against the strategy of his movement: it proves merely that it was carried on with insufficient forces. The writer of these Notes is still of opinion that the shortest and safest plan to relieve Paris is an attack upon the Strasbourg-Paris Railway,[b] the only through line of rail the Germans have, for we know now that the other line, viâ Thionville and Mézières, is still impracticable, and will remain so for some time yet, on account of the blowing-up of a tunnel in the Ardennes. This, by the way, is the second instance in this war in which the demolition of a tunnel stops a railway for months, while the destruction of bridges and viaducts has been in every case repaired in an incredibly short time.

As to Chanzy, he evidently made a very great mistake in accepting a pitched battle at all. He must have been aware of Bourbaki's move for nearly a month; he must have known that

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[a] See this volume, p. 228.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid.

this was the real move for the relief of Paris, and that in the meantime he might have the whole weight of Frederick Charles's army brought to bear against himself. He was not compelled to accept battle; on the contrary, he might have drawn on his opponent farther than was safe for the latter, by a slow retreat under continuous rear-guard engagements, such as those by which he first established his reputation in December. He had plenty of time to get his stores sent off to places of safety, and he had the choice of retiring either upon Brittany with its fortified naval ports, or by Nantes to the south of the Loire. Moreover, Frederick Charles, with all his forces, could not have followed him very far. Such a military retreat would be more in keeping with our previous experience of Chanzy; and as he must have known that the new reinforcements he had received were not yet fit for a general action either by equipment, armament, or discipline, we cannot but come to the conclusion that the battle before Le Mans was fought not for military but for political reasons, and that the man responsible for it is not Chanzy but Gambetta. As to Chanzy's retreat now, it is, of course, rendered far more difficult by the preceding defeat; but Chanzy excels in retreats, and, so far, the victors do not appear to have materially damaged the cohesion of his army. Otherwise they would have substantial proofs to show for their assertion that this army "shows signs of dissolution."[a] Whether the retreat of Chanzy's army is really an eccentric one is not certain. At all events, from the fact that part of his troops retreated towards Alençon, and another part towards Laval, it does not necessarily follow that the first portion will be driven into the peninsula of the Cotentin towards Cherbourg, and the other into that of Brittany towards Brest. As the French fleet can steam from the one port to the other in a few hours, even this would be no severe disaster. In Brittany, the country, by its numerous thickset hedges—as thick as those in the Isle of Wight, only far more plentiful—is eminently adapted for defence, especially by raw troops, whose inferiority almost disappears there. Frederick Charles is not likely to entangle himself in a labyrinth where the armies of the first Republic fought for years against a mere peasant insurrection.[114]

The conclusion we must come to upon the whole of the campaign of January is this—that the French lost it everywhere by trying to do too many different things at the same time. They can

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[a] "Saarbrücken, 19. Jan.", *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 20, January 20, 1871. First edition.— *Ed.*

hope to win only by concentrating their masses upon one point, at the risk of being temporarily driven back on the other points, where, of course, they should avoid pitched battles. Unless they do this, and soon, Paris may be considered doomed. But if they act on this old-established principle they may still win—however black things may look for them to-day. The Germans now have received all the reinforcements they can expect for three months to come; while the French must have in their camps of instruction at least from two to three hundred thousand men, who during that time will be got ready to meet the enemy.

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XXXVIII[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1858, January 26, 1871]

We are again in a critical period of the war, which may turn out to be *the* critical period. From the moment we heard that bread had been rationed out in Paris by the Government, there could be no longer any doubt that the beginning of the end had come. How soon after that the offer of surrender would follow was a mere question of detail. We suppose, then, that it is intended to surrender to some 220,000 besiegers a besieged force of some 500,000 armed men on any terms the besiegers choose to impose. Whether it will be possible to carry this out without another struggle remains to be seen; at all events, any such struggle could not materially alter the state of things. Whether Paris holds out another fortnight, or whether a portion of these 500,000 armed men succeed in forcing a road across the lines of investment, will not much affect the ulterior course of the war.

We cannot but hold General Trochu mainly responsible for this result of the siege. He certainly was not the man to form an army out of the undoubtedly excellent material under his hands. He had nearly five months' time to make soldiers out of his men; yet at the end they appear to fight no better than at the beginning of the siege. The final sortie from Valérien[115] was carried out with far less dash than the previous one across the Marne; there appears a good deal of theatrical display in it—little of the rage of despair. It will not do to say that the troops were not fit to be sent out to storm breastworks manned by the German veterans. Why were they not? Five months are a sufficient time to make very respectable soldiers out of the men Trochu had at his command,

[a] Written on January 25 or 26, 1871.—*Ed.*

and there are no circumstances better adapted for that purpose than those of the siege of a large entrenched camp. No doubt the men after the sorties of November and December had lost heart; but was it because they knew their inferiority with regard to their opponents, or because they had lost all faith in the pretended determination of Trochu to fight the matter out? All reports from Paris agree in ascribing the want of success to the absence of confidence of the soldiers in the supreme command. And rightly so. Trochu, we must not forget, is an Orleanist, and, as such, lives in bodily fear of La Villette, Belleville, and the other "revolutionary" quarters of Paris. He feared them more than the Prussians. This is not a mere supposition or deduction on our part. We know, from a source which admits of no doubt, of a letter sent out of Paris by a member of the Government[a] in which it is stated that Trochu was on every side urged on to take the offensive energetically, but that he constantly refused, because such a course might hand over Paris to the "demagogues."

The fall of Paris, then, appears now all but certain. It will be a hard blow to the French nation, immediately after St. Quentin, Le Mans, and Héricourt, and its moral effect under these circumstances will be very great. Moreover, there are events impending in the south-east which may render this blow morally crushing. Bourbaki appears to be tarrying in the neighbourhood of Belfort in a way which seems to imply that he does not at all comprehend his situation. The 24th Corps, under Bressolles, on the 24th was still at Blâmont, about twelve miles south of Montbéliard, and close to the Swiss frontier; and even supposing that this was Bourbaki's rearguard, it is not to be expected that the other two corps he had with him would be far away. In the meantime, we find that Prussian detachments, as early as the 21st, had cut, at Dôle, the railway between Besançon and Dijon; that they have since occupied St. Vith, another station on the same line nearer to Besançon; and that they are thus confining Bourbaki's retreat, towards Lyons, to the narrow strip between the Doubs and the Swiss frontier, a country of parallel longitudinal mountain chains and valleys where a comparatively small force may find plenty of positions in which it can stop the retreat of an army such as Bourbaki's has shown itself to be. These detachments on the Doubs we take to be the 13th Division of Zastrow's 7th Corps, or perhaps a portion of Fransecky's 2nd Corps, which has turned up on the 23rd at Dijon. The 60th regiment, which with the 21st

[a] J. Favre.—*Ed.*

forms the 8th Brigade (or 4th brigade of the 2nd Corps), was repulsed before that town by Garibaldi, and lost its colours. As Garibaldi has but 15,000 men at the utmost, he will not be able to hold the town against the superior forces which are sure to have arrived before it in the meantime. He will be driven back, and the Prussian advance will be continued towards and beyond the Doubs. Unless Bourbaki has in the meantime used the legs of his men to good advantage, he may be driven, with all his army, into the fortress of Besançon to play Metz over again, or into a corner of the Jura abutting on Swiss territory, and compelled to lay down his arms either on this side or on the other of the frontier.[116] And if he should escape with the greater portion of his troops, it is almost certain that large numbers of stragglers, much baggage, and perhaps artillery, will have to be sacrificed.

After the three days' fighting at Héricourt, Bourbaki had no business to remain a day longer in his exposed position near the frontier, with Prussian reinforcements marching towards his communications. His attempts to relieve Belfort had failed; every chance of a further offensive movement in that direction had disappeared; his position became every day more dangerous, and nothing but rapid retreat could save him. By all appearances he has neglected that too, and if his imprudence should lead to a second Sedan, the blow to the French people might be morally overwhelming.

Morally, we say, for materially it need not be. Germany is certainly not so exhausted as Gambetta pretends,[a] but Germany is at this very moment displaying a greater absolute and relative strength than she will again display for months to come. For some time the German forces must decline, while nothing prevents the French forces, even after the surrender of the Paris garrison and Bourbaki, should it come to that, from again increasing. The Prussians themselves appear to have given up all hopes of being able to conquer and occupy the whole of France; and as long as the compact block of territory in the South remains free, and as long as resistance, passive and occasionally active (like the blowing up of the Moselle bridge near Toul), is not given up in the North, we do not see how France can be compelled to give in unless she be tired of the war.

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[a] Gambetta's despatch to Trochu from Lyons, December 23, 1870, *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 9, January 9, 1871; Gambetta's despatch to Jules Favre, December 31, 1870, *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 10, January 10, 1871.—*Ed.*

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XXXIX[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1860, January 28, 1871]

Twice only since Sedan have the operations of a French army caused serious uneasiness to General Moltke. The first instance occurred about the middle of November, when the Army of the Loire, after the defeat of von der Tann at Coulmiers, filed off to the left in order to approach Paris from the west, and advanced to Dreux. Then Moltke, with a resolution worthy of such a crisis, prepared for the immediate raising of the siege in case Mecklenburg,[b] even with all the temporary reinforcements detached to his aid, should not be strong enough to stem the enemy's advance. That advance was stemmed, and the siege could continue. The second time it was Bourbaki's march towards the east which troubled the repose of the headquarters at Versailles. How serious this move was considered to be was shown by the steps taken at once to meet it. Werder's troops—the 14th Corps and the reserve divisions of Tresckow and Schmeling—were at once reinforced by two more corps, of which one, the second, marched off from Paris as early as the 2nd of January. The language of the semi-official communications became guarded; on the 11th the *Provinzial-Correspondenz* calls attention to the fact that "in the east of France important and decisive battles are impending," and that Bourbaki intends, after relieving Belfort, to break through the Prussian line of communication at Nancy.[c] Non-official correspondents, though still guarded, speak more plainly; we will only quote one of them, Wickede, of the *Cologne Gazette.*[d] Immediately after the engage-

[a] Written on January 28, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick Francis II.—*Ed.*

[c] The news is reported in the *Kölnische Zeitung,* No. 12, January 12, 1871, Second edition, with reference to the *Provinzial-Correspondenz.*—*Ed.*

[d] The reference is to the *Kölnische Zeitung.*—*Ed.*

ment of Villersexel, by which Werder had secured his communications with and retreat upon Tresckow's troops before Belfort, he says,

"Care has been taken that the French shall not relieve Belfort, and after the late successful engagements we may with probability hope that they will not succeed in advancing by Chaumont to Nancy or some other point of our railway line, which a short time ago there was some reason to fear they might do."[a]

And on the 16th of January, from Nancy, he writes that, after the arrival of Manteuffel with three divisions beyond Châtillon,

"the apprehension that a hostile corps ... might take possession of Nancy—an apprehension which we justly (mit Recht) might have felt a few days ago—has now quite disappeared."[b] (Immediately after this letter there is one from Baden beginning with the words: "There can be no doubt that the situation before Belfort looks very serious.")[c]

But Herr Wickede was doomed to further apprehensions, for on the following day he had to communicate that news had arrived of the occupation of Flavigny[d] (eleven miles from Nancy) by French troops. Immediately the guards were reinforced, strong patrols were sent out, the whole of the twenty engines at the station got their steam up, officers, Government employés and other Germans packed their trunks, and got ready for immediate departure. The men at Flavigny were expected to be Garibaldi's advanced guard; they turned out to be some twenty francs-tireurs from the Vosges, and soon disappeared again. But the Prussian garrison of Nancy was not completely tranquillized until the 19th, when the news of Bourbaki's final repulse on the Lisaine came to hand, and then at last Wickede could again resume his former strain.

Ought not the French, after all these defeats, to arrive at the conviction that further resistance is hopeless? Such was the opinion of those most directly concerned about an operation which, after its failure, *The Times* classifies as simply absurd.[e] There might have been a difference of opinion as to whether the

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[a] J. Wickede, "Die letzten Kriegsereignisse in Frankreich", *Kölnische Zeitung,* No. 16, January 16, 1871. First edition.—*Ed.*

[b] "Aus Lothringen. 16. Jan.", *Kölnische Zeitung,* No. 18, January 18, 1871. First edition.—*Ed.*

[c] "Aus Baden, 17. Jan.", *Kölnische Zeitung,* No. 18, January 18, 1871. First edition.—*Ed.*

[d] "Aus Lothringen. 17. Jan.", *Kölnische Zeitung,* No. 19, January 19, 1871. Second edition.—*Ed.*

[e] "M. Gambetta has put forth...", *The Times,* No. 26967, January 23, 1871.—*Ed.*

operation was likely to have been undertaken with sufficient forces; or whether, in case of success, its consequences could be developed in time to save Paris before starvation compelled surrender; or whether or not this was the best direction for a move against the German communications. But to put down such a move, the most effective one known to strategy, as simply absurd was left to the Moltkes of *The Times.*

In the meantime Count Moltke has operated with his usual mastery. He was too late to reinforce Werder before the arrival of Bourbaki; he chose the next best thing, and concentrated his reinforcements at Châtillon, where Manteuffel had three divisions (3rd, 4th, and 13th) on or before the 15th, and where they were joined by the 60th regiment (of the 3rd Corps), left in the neighbourhood by Prince Frederick Charles. We may expect that, by this time, he will have been joined by the 14th division too. At all events, on his advance south, he had at least forty-one if not fifty-three, battalions with him. With these troops he marched upon the river Doubs, leaving to the south the town of Dijon, where he merely occupied Garibaldi by the attack on the 23rd, but evidently without any intention to delay his advance by seriously engaging him or carrying the town. On the contrary, he steadily pursued the main object—the cutting off of Bourbaki's retreat. According to the latest telegrams that object was nearly attained.[a] His troops were across the Doubs, at Quingey and Mouchard, at which latter place the railway from Dijon to Pontarlier and Switzerland crosses that from Besançon to Lyons. There still remains one good road by which Bourbaki might escape, but that road is, at Champagnole, not more than twenty-five miles from Mouchard, and may be occupied by this time. In that case there would only remain to Bourbaki the country road passing by the source of the Doubs, where he could scarcely get on with his artillery; and even that road may be cut off before he is out of harm's way. And if he does not succeed in breaking through the opposing troops in a country very favourable to the defence, he has but the choice of withdrawing under the shelter of the forts of Besançon or of surrendering in the open—the choice between Metz and Sedan, unless he surrenders to the Swiss.

It is inconceivable that he should have tarried so long near Belfort, for the latest Prussian telegrams represent him still to be north-east of Besançon. If he could not defeat Werder before

[a] "Imperial Head-Quarters, Versailles, January 26", *The Times*, No. 26972, January 28, 1871.—*Ed.*

Manteuffel's arrival, how much less could he expect to do so afterwards? Bourbaki's duty evidently was to withdraw at once to a position of safety after his final repulse before Belfort. Why he has not done so is totally inexplicable. But if the worst should befall him, after his mysterious journey from Metz to Chiselhurst,[117] after his refusal to salute the Republic at Lille, the late commander of the Imperial Guard is sure to have doubts raised as to his loyalty.

# NOTES ON THE WAR.—XL[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1864, February 2, 1871]

If we are to believe the latest telegram from Berne[b]—and there is now no room to discredit it—our anticipations regarding the fate of Bourbaki's army[c] have been realized. The Swiss Federal Council is reported to have received the official news that this army, about 80,000 strong, had passed upon Swiss territory, where, of course, it would have to lay down its arms. The exact points at which this took place have not been stated, but it must have been somewhere south of Blâmont and not more south than Pontarlier. The various detachments would pass the frontier at different points, the greatest mass of the troops probably at Les Brenets, where the road from Besançon to Neuchâtel enters Swiss territory.

Thus another French army has passed away, through—to use the mildest phrase—the irresolution of its chief. Bourbaki may be a dashing officer at the head of a division; but the nerve required to brace oneself up to a bold resolution in a decisive moment is quite a different thing from the nerve which enables a man to command a division with éclat under fire; and like many men of undoubted and brilliant personal courage, Bourbaki seems deficient in the moral courage necessary to come to a decisive resolution. On the evening of the 17th at latest, when his inability to pierce Werder's lines became fully evident to himself, his mind ought to have been made up at once as to his line of conduct. He must have known that Prussian reinforcements were approaching

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[a] Written on February 2, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] "Berne, Feb. 1", *The Times,* No. 26976, February 2, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 242.—*Ed.*

his line of retreat from the north-west; that his position with a victorious enemy in his front, and a long line of retreat, close to a neutral frontier, in his rear, was extremely dangerous; that the object of his expedition had irretrievably failed; and that his most pressing, nay, his only duty, under the circumstances, was to save his army. In other words, that he must retire as hastily as the state of his army would allow. But this resolution to retire, to confess by deeds that he had failed in his expedition, appears to have been too much for him. He dallied about the scene of his last battles, unable to advance, unwilling to retire, and thus gave Manteuffel the time to cut off his retreat. Had he marched off at once, and only done fifteen miles a day, he could have reached Besançon on the 20th, and the neighbourhood of Dôle on the 21st, just about the time when the first Prussians made their appearance there. These Prussians could not be very strong; and even Bourbaki's advanced guard must have been sufficient if not to drive them off entirely, still to confine them to the right or western bank of the Doubs, which would have been quite sufficient to secure Bourbaki's line of retreat, especially with an adversary of the force of Manteuffel, who will act correctly enough so long as the execution of Moltke's orders meets with no resistance, but who sinks below the level of mediocrity as soon as that resistance calls into play his own mental powers.

It is one of the most curious points in the document agreed to between Bismarck and Jules Favre,[118] that the four departments where Bourbaki and Garibaldi are acting are not included in the general armistice, but that the Prussians virtually reserve to themselves the power of continuing to fight there as long as they please.[a] It is an unprecedented stipulation, which shows more than any other that the conqueror, in the true Prussian fashion, exacted to the full every concession his momentary superiority enabled him to impose. The armistice is to extend to the West, where Frederick Charles finds that he had better not advance beyond Le Mans; to the North, where Goeben is arrested by the fortresses; but not to the south-east, where Manteuffel's advance promised a second Sedan. Jules Favre, in consenting to this clause, virtually consented to the surrender of Bourbaki, either to the Prussians or to the Swiss; the only difference in his favour being that he shifted the responsibility of the act from his shoulders to those of Bourbaki.

[a] The main terms of the armistice and capitulation of Paris are set forth in the report "Imperial Head-Quarters, Versailles, Jan. 30", *The Times*, No. 26974, January 31, 1871.—*Ed.*

Altogether, the capitulation of Paris is an unprecedented document. When Napoleon surrendered at Sedan he declined entering on negotiations beyond those for the surrender of himself and army; he, as a prisoner, being disabled from binding the Government and France. When M. Jules Favre surrenders Paris and its army he enters upon stipulations binding the rest of France, though exactly in the same position as Napoleon at Sedan. Nay, worse. Napoleon, almost up to the day of his capitulation, had been in free communication with the rest of France; M. Jules Favre, for five or six weeks, has enjoyed but rare and fragmentary opportunities of learning what was going on outside Paris. His information as to the military situation outside the forts could be supplied to him by Bismarck only; and upon this one-sided statement, furnished by the enemy, he ventured to act.

M. Jules Favre had a choice between two evils. He could do as he has done, secure a three weeks' armistice on the enemy's terms, and bind the real Government of France, that of Bordeaux,[87] to it. Or he could refuse to act for the rest of France, offer to treat for Paris alone, and in case of difficulties raised by the besiegers, do as the commandant of Phalsbourg did—throw open the gates and invite the conquerors to enter. The latter course would have been more in the interest of his dignity and of his political future.

As to the Bordeaux Government, it will have to adhere to the armistice and to the election of a National Assembly. It has no means to compel the generals to repudiate the armistice, it will hesitate to create divisions among the people. The surrender of Bourbaki to the Swiss adds another crushing blow to the many the French have lately received; and, as we stated in anticipation of the event,[a] we believe that this blow, following immediately upon the surrender of Paris, will so much depress the spirits of the nation that peace will be made. As to the material resources of France, they are so far from being exhausted that the struggle might be continued for months. There is one striking fact which shows how immense are the difficulties in the way of a complete conquest of France. Prince Frederick Charles, after seven days' fighting, had driven back Chanzy's army, in a state of utter dissolution. With the exception of a few brigades, there were positively no troops left to oppose him. The country in his front was rich and comparatively unexhausted. Yet he stops his march at Le Mans, pursuing beyond with his advanced guard only, and not beyond short distances. Our readers will recollect that we were

[a] See this volume, p. 242.—*Ed.*

prepared for no other result[a]; for it may be said, with a certain amount of truth that in conquering a large country, while the extent to be occupied increases arithmetically, the difficulties of occupation increase geometrically.

Still we think that the repeated disasters of the January campaign must have shaken the morale of the nation to such an extent that the proposed National Assembly will not only meet, but also probably make peace; and thus, along with the war, these Notes upon it will come to a close.

[a] See this volume, p. 238.— *Ed.*

# THE MILITARY ASPECT OF AFFAIRS IN FRANCE[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1869, February 8, 1871]

If the series of disasters to the French arms which mark the January campaign—the defeats of Faidherbe and Chanzy, the fall of Paris, the defeat and surrender to the Swiss of Bourbaki—if all these crushing events, concentrated in the short period of three weeks, may well be considered to have broken the spirit of resistance in France, it now seems not improbable that the Germans, by their extravagant demands,[119] may rouse that spirit again. If the country is to be thoroughly ruined by peace as well as by war, why make peace at all? The propertied classes, the middle class of the towns and the larger landed proprietors, with part of the smaller peasantry, hitherto formed the peace party; they might have been reckoned upon to elect peace deputies for the National Assembly; but if such unheard-of demands are persisted in, the cry of war to the knife may rise from their ranks as well as from those of the workmen of the large towns. At any rate, it is well not to neglect whatever chance there may be that the war may be resumed after the 19th of February[120]; especially since the Germans themselves, if we may trust *The Daily News* of to-day, are not so satisfied with the prospect of affairs as to abstain from serious preparations for the resumption of hostilities. Let us, therefore, cast another glance at the military aspect of affairs.

The twenty-seven departments of France now occupied by the Prussians contain an area of 15,800,000 hectares, with a population (allowing for the fortresses still unsurrendered) of rather less than 12,500,000. The extent of all France comprises 54,240,000 hectares, and its population is 37,382,000. It thus appears that, in

[a] Written on February 7 or 8, 1871.—*Ed.*

round numbers, thirty-eight and a half millions of hectares, with a population of 25,000,000, remain still unconquered,—fully two-thirds of the people, considerably more than two-thirds of the soil. Paris and Metz, the resistance of which so long retarded further hostile advance, have certainly fallen. The interior of the unconquered country contains no other entrenched camp—Lyons excepted—capable of playing the same part which these two fortresses have played. Rather less than 700,000 Frenchmen (not counting the National Guard of Paris) are prisoners of war or interned in Switzerland. But there are other circumstances which may make up for this deficiency, even if the three weeks' armistice should not be used for the creation of new camps, surrounded by field works; for which there is ample time.

The great bulk of unconquered France lies south of the line Nantes-Besançon; it forms a compact block, covered on three sides by the sea or by neutral frontiers, with only its northern boundary line open to the enemy's attack. Here is the strength of the national resistance; here are to be found the men and the material to carry on the war if it is resumed. To conquer and occupy this immense rectangle of 450 miles by 250 against a desperate resistance—regular and irregular—of the inhabitants, the present forces of the Prussians would not suffice. The surrender of Paris, leaving four corps for the garrison of that capital, will set free nine divisions; Bourbaki's surrender sets free Manteuffel's six line divisions; in all, fifteen divisions, or 150,000 to 170,000 additional soldiers for operations in the field, added to Goeben's four and Frederick Charles's eight divisions. But Goeben has plenty on his hands in the north, and Frederick Charles has shown by his halt at Tours and Le Mans that his offensive powers are exhausted to the full, so that for the conquest of the South there remain but the above fifteen divisions; and for some months to come no further reinforcements can arrive.

To these fifteen divisions the French will have to oppose in the beginning mostly new formations. There were about Nevers and Bourges the 15th and 25th Corps; there must have been in the same neighbourhood the 19th Corps, of which we have heard nothing since the beginning of December. Then there is the 24th Corps, escaped from Bourbaki's shipwreck, and Garibaldi's troops, recently reinforced to 50,000 men, but by what bodies and from what quarters we do not know. The whole comprises some thirteen or fourteen divisions, perhaps even sixteen, but quite insufficient as to quantity and quality to arrest the progress of the new armies which are sure to be sent against them if the armistice

should expire without peace having been made. But the three weeks' armistice will not only give these French divisions time to consolidate themselves; it will also permit the more or less raw levies now in the camps of instruction, and estimated by Gambetta at 250,000 men, to transform at least the best of their battalions into useful corps fit to meet the enemy; and thus, if the war should be renewed, the French may be in a position to ward off any serious invasion of the South, not perhaps at the boundary line of the Loire or much north of Lyons, but yet at points where the presence of the enemy will not efficiently impair their force of resistance.

As a matter of course, the armistice gives ample time to restore the equipment, the discipline, and the morale of Faidherbe's and Chanzy's armies, as well as of all the other troops in Cherbourg, Havre, &c. The question is whether the time will be so employed. While thus the strength of the French will be considerably increased, both as to numbers and quality, that of the Germans will scarcely receive any increment at all. So far, the armistice will be a boon to the French side.

But beside the compact block of southern France, there remain unconquered the two peninsulas of the Bretagne with Brest, and of the Cotentin with Cherbourg, and, moreover, the two northern departments with their fortresses. Havre, too, forms an unconquered, well-fortified spot on the coast. Every one of these four districts is provided with at least one well-fortified place of safety on the coast for a retreating army; so that the fleet, which at this moment has nothing, absolutely nothing, else to do, can keep up the communications between the South and all of them, transport troops from one place to another, as the case may require, and thereby all of a sudden enable a beaten army to resume the offensive with superior forces. Thus while these four western and northern districts are in a measure unassailable, they form so many weak points on the flanks of the Prussians. The line of actual danger for the French extends from Angers to Besançon; for the Germans it extends, in addition to this, from Angers by Le Mans, Rouen, and Amiens to the Belgian frontier. Advantages on this latter line gained over the French can never become decisive if moderate common sense be used by them; but those gained over the Germans may, under certain conditions, become so.

Such is the strategical situation. By using the fleet to advantage the French might move their men in the West and North, so as to compel the Germans to keep largely superior forces in that neighbourhood, and to weaken the forces sent out for the

conquest of the South, which it would be their chief object to prevent. By concentrating their armies more than they have hitherto done, and, on the other hand, by sending out more numerous small partisan bands, they might increase the effect to be obtained by the forces on hand. There appear to have been many more troops at Cherbourg and Havre than were necessary for the defence; and the well executed destruction of the bridge of Fontenoy, near Toul, in the centre of the country occupied by the conquerors, shows what may be done by bold partisans. For, if the war is to be resumed at all after the 19th of February, it must be in reality a war to the knife, a war like that of Spain against Napoleon; a war in which no amount of shootings and burnings will prove sufficient to break the spirit of resistance.

# BOURBAKI'S DISASTER[a]

[*The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1878, February 18, 1871]

By the correspondent of *The Standard* we are at last furnished with an eyewitness's report of what took place in Bourbaki's army during its disastrous January campaign. The correspondent was with General Crémer's division, which formed the extreme left during the advance, and the rearguard during the retreat. His account, though naturally one-sided and full of inaccuracies in matters which did not occur under his eyes, is very valuable because it furnishes facts and dates hitherto unknown, and thus throws much light upon this phase of the war.

Bourbaki's army, 133,000 men with 330 guns, was, it appears, scarcely deserving the name of an army. The linesmen, with passable officers, were inferior in physique to the Mobiles, but the latter had scarcely any officers acquainted even with the rudiments of their duties. The accounts received from Switzerland confirm this[b]; if they give a worse account of the physique of the men, we must not forget the effect of a month's campaigning under hunger and cold. The equipment as to clothing and shoes appears to have been by all accounts miserable. A commissariat or even a mere organization for carrying out with some order and regularity the levying of requisitions and the distribution of the food thus procured, appears to have been as good as totally absent.

Now of the four-and-a-half corps employed, three (the 15th, 18th, and 20th) had been handed over to Bourbaki as early as the 5th of December; and very soon after that date the plan to march

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[a] Written about February 18, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] [Letter to the Editor of *The Times* from Lausanne, dated Feb. 9], *The Times,* No. 26989, February 17, 1871.—*Ed.*

eastwards must have been resolved upon. All his movements, up to the 5th of January, were mere marches for concentration, undisturbed by the enemy; they therefore were no obstacle in the way of improving the organization of this army—quite the contrary. Napoleon, in 1813, formed his raw levies into soldiers on the march to Germany. Thus Bourbaki had a full month to work in; and when after the time thus given him his troops arrived in presence of the enemy in the state described, he cannot possibly be considered free from blame. He does not appear to advantage as an organizer.

The original plan is said to have been to march upon Belfort in four columns—one on the eastern side of the Doubs through the Jura, to take or turn Montbéliard and the Prussian left; a second column along the valley of the river, for the front attack; a third column by a more westerly route, through Rougemont and Villersexel, against the enemy's right; and Crémer's division to arrive from Dijon by Lure beyond the Prussian right. But this was altered. The whole of the first three columns advanced on the one road through the valley, by which it is asserted that five days were lost, during which Werder was reinforced, and that the whole army being thrown upon one line of retreat, again lost time, and thus was cut off from Lyons and forced upon the Swiss frontier. Now, it is quite evident that throwing some 120,000 men—and men so loosely organized as these—in one column on one single line of march, would cause confusion and delay; but it is not so certain that this blunder was actually committed to the extent here implied. From all previous reports, Bourbaki's troops arrived before Belfort in a broad front, extending from Villersexel to the Swiss boundary line,[a] which implies the use of the various roads mentioned in the original plan. But whatever may have been the cause, the delay did occur, and was the chief cause of the loss of the battle at Héricourt. The engagement of Villersexel took place on the 9th. Villersexel is about twenty miles from the Prussian position at Héricourt, and it took Bourbaki five days—up to the evening of the 14th—to bring his troops up in front of that position so as to be able to attack it next morning! This we pointed out in a previous article as the first great mistake in the campaign,[b] and we now see from the correspondent's report that it was felt to be so by Crémer's officers even before the battle of Héricourt began.

[a] See, e.g. the item "Onans, Jan. 13", *The Times*, No. 26961, January 16, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 236.—*Ed.*

In that three days' battle 130,000 Frenchmen fought against 35,000 to 40,000 Germans, and could not force their entrenched position. With such a numerical superiority, the boldest flank movements were possible. Forty or fifty thousand men thrown resolutely upon the rear of the Germans while the rest occupied them in front could scarcely have failed to force them from their position. But instead of that merely the front, the entrenched front, of the position was attacked, and thus an immense and barren loss was caused. The flank attacks were carried out so weakly that a single German brigade (Keller's) not only sufficed to repel that on the German right, but was enabled to hold Frahier and Chenebier so as in turn to outflank the French. Bourbaki's young troops were thus put to the severest task which can be found for a soldier in battle, while their own superior numbers would have rendered it easier to carry the position by manoeuvring. But probably the last five days' experience had proved to Bourbaki that it was useless to expect mobility from his army.

After the final repulse on the 17th of January followed the retreat to Besançon. That this retreat may have taken place mainly by the one road in the Doubs valley is probable; but we know that large bodies retreated by other roads nearer the Swiss frontier. Anyhow, on the afternoon of the 22nd the rearguard, under Crémer, arrived in Besançon. Thus the advanced guard must have arrived there as early as the 20th, and have been ready to march on the 21st against the Prussians, who on that day reached Dôle. But no. No notice is taken of them until after Crémer's arrival, who all at once, changing his place from the rear to the vanguard, is sent out to meet them on the 23rd towards Saint Vit. On the following day Crémer is ordered back to Besançon; two days are wasted in indecision and inactivity, until, on the 26th, Bourbaki, after passing in review the 18th Corps, attempts suicide. Then a disorderly retreat commences in the direction of Pontarlier. But on that day the Germans at Mouchard and Salins were nearer the Swiss frontier than the fugitives, and their retreat was virtually cut off. It was no longer a race; the Germans could occupy leisurely the outlets of all the longitudinal valleys by which escape was still possible; while other troops pressed on the French rear. Then followed the engagements around Pontarlier, which brought this fact home to the defeated army; the result of which was the Convention of Les Verrières and the surrender of the whole body to the Swiss.[121]

The whole behaviour of Bourbaki, from the 15th to the 26th, seems to prove that he had lost all confidence in his men, and that

consequently he also lost all confidence in himself. Why he suspended the march of his columns at Besançon until Crémer's arrival, thus throwing away every chance of escape; why he recalled Crémer's division, the best in the army, immediately after sending it out of Besançon to meet the Prussians, who blocked the direct road to Lyons; why after that he dallied another two days, which brings the time lost in Besançon to fully six days—it is impossible to explain unless by supposing that Bourbaki was eminently deficient in that resolution which is the very first quality of an independent commander. It is the old tale of the August campaign over again[122]; and it is curious that this singular hesitation should again show itself in a general inherited from the Empire, while none of the generals of the Republic—whatever else may have been their faults—have shown such indecision, or suffered such punishment for it.

# Karl Marx

## TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC WORKERS' PARTY[123]

London, August 2, 1870

Friends,

First my thanks for the detailed report on the Workers' Party in Germany. I immediately communicated it to the General Council.

The work which I was asked to write on the relations of land ownership in Germany had to be put to one side for the time being owing to sheer lack of time.[124]

As you will have seen from the Address of the General Council which I sent to you last week, I have incorporated into this address parts of the *appeal* issued at the Brunswick MEETING (of 16th July, 1870)[a]...

According to article 3 of the Rules[b] the General Council cannot defer the date of the Congress. In the present, *exceptional,* circumstances, however, it would accept responsibility for such a step, if the necessary support from the sections was forthcoming. It would therefore be desirable for a reasoned application to this effect to be sent to us *officially* from Germany.

First published in an abbreviated form in the book: C. Koch, *Der Process gegen den Ausschuss der social-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei...,* Braunschweig, 1871

Printed according to W. Bracke's book *Der Braunschweiger Ausschuss der socialdemokratischen Arbeiter-Partei in Lötzen und vor dem Gericht,* Braunschweig, 1872

Published in English for the first time

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[a] See this volume, p. 6. The appeal was published in the column "Politische Uebersicht" in *Der Volksstaat,* No. 58, July 20, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 20, p. 15.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [LETTER TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC WORKERS' PARTY][125]

...The military camarilla, professors, middle-class people and public-house politicians are pretending this[a] is the way to protect Germany from war with France forever. On the contrary, it is the most tried and tested way of turning war into a *European institution.* It is, in fact, the surest means of perpetuating military despotism in the rejuvenated Germany, as a necessity for maintaining a *western Poland*—Alsace and Lorraine. It is the most infallible way of turning the imminent peace into a mere armistice, until France is sufficiently recovered to demand the lost territory back. It is the most infallible way of ruining Germany and France through internecine strife.

The villains and fools, who have discovered these guarantees for eternal peace, should surely know from Prussian history, from Napoleon's drastic remedy in the Peace of Tilsit,[126] how such coercive measures to silence a viable people have precisely the opposite effect to that intended. And what is France, even after losing Alsace and Lorraine, compared with Prussia after the Peace of Tilsit!

If French chauvinism had some material justification, as long as the *old state* relations persisted, in the fact that since 1815 the capital, Paris, and thus France itself, were exposed after a few lost battles—will it not derive new vigour once the eastern border runs along the Vosges and northern at Metz?

Not even the most rabid[b] Teuton dares to claim that the people of Alsace and Lorraine desire the blessings of *German* govern-

[a] The reference is to the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine.—*Ed.*

[b] "Most rabid" was written down in Engels' hand in his copy instead of the dots in the printed text.—*Ed.*

ment. It is the principle of pan-Germanism and "secure" borders which is being proclaimed here, and which would lead to fine results for Germany and Europe from the eastern side[a]!

Anyone who is not deafened by the clamour of the hour, and has *no interest* in deafening the German people, must realise that the war of 1870 just as necessarily carries within it the seed of a *war between Germany and Russia,* as the war of 1866 does the war of 1870.

I say *necessarily, inevitably,* except in the unlikely event of *revolution in Russia* breaking out first.

Should this unlikely event not occur, the war between Germany and Russia must already be treated as a *fait accompli* (an accomplished fact).

It depends entirely on the present conduct of the German victors whether the war will prove useful or harmful.

If they take Alsace and Lorraine, France will join *with* Russia to wage war on Germany. There is no need to point out the disastrous consequences.

If they conclude an honourable peace with France, that war will emancipate Europe from the Muscovite dictatorship, make Prussia merge into Germany, allow the western continent peaceful development and, finally, help a social revolution to break out in Russia, whose elements only need such an impulse from without for their development—thus benefitting the Russian people, too.

***But I fear that the villains and fools will play their mad game unhindered unless the German working class en masse raises its voice.***

The present war is opening up a new epoch in the history of the world in that Germany has proved that, even without German Austria, it is capable of going its own way, *independently of foreign countries.* That, to begin with, it is finding its *unity* in the *Prussian barracks* is a punishment which it amply deserves. But one result has been achieved immediately. Petty trifles, such as, for example, the conflict between North German National Liberals and South German supporters of the People's Party,[127] will no longer pointlessly get in the way. The state of affairs will develop and become simpler on a grand scale. If the German working class then fails to play the historic role allotted to it, it will only have itself to blame. *This war has shifted the centre of gravity of the*

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[a] See the Appeal of a group of German political figures to the King and the German people of August 30, 1870, "Berlin, 31. Aug.", *Kölnische Zeitung,* No. 242; September, 1, 1870. Second edition.—*Ed.*

*continental labour movement from France to Germany.* This means that greater responsibility now rests with the German working class...

Written between August 22 and 30, 1870

Included in the text of the Manifesto of the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party published as a leaflet on September 5 and in the newspaper *Der Volksstaat,* No. 73, September 11, 1870

Printed according to Engels' copy of the leaflet

# Karl Marx

## SECOND ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION ON THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR[128]

### TO THE MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES

In our first Manifesto of the 23rd of July we said:— "The death knell of the Second Empire has already sounded at Paris. It will end as it began, by a parody. But let us not forget that it is the Governments and the ruling classes of Europe who enabled Louis Napoleon to play during eighteen years the ferocious farce of the *Restored Empire.*"[a]

Thus, even before war operations had actually set in, we treated the Bonapartist bubble as a thing of the past.

If we were not mistaken as to the vitality of the Second Empire, we were not wrong in our apprehension lest the German war should "lose its strictly defensive character and degenerate into a war against the French people".[b] The war of defence ended, in point of fact, with the surrender of Louis Bonaparte, the Sedan capitulation, and the proclamation of the Republic at Paris. But long before these events, the very moment that the utter rottenness of the Imperialist arms became evident, the Prussian military *camarilla* had resolved upon conquest. There lay an ugly obstacle in their way—*King William's own proclamations at the commencement of the war.* In his speech from the throne to the North German Diet, he had solemnly declared to make war upon the emperor of the French, and not upon the French people.[c] On the 11th of August he had issued a manifesto to the French nation, where he said:[d]

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[a] See this volume, p. 5.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 6.—*Ed.*

[c] William I's speech from the throne to the North-German Diet on July 19, 1870, *The Times*, No. 26807, July 20, 1870.—*Ed.*

[d] This sentence and the following quotation from the Manifesto are omitted in Marx's German translation published as a separate edition in 1870. The further text up to the words "They at once gave the cue..." is abbreviated.—*Ed.*

"The Emperor Napoleon having made, by land and sea, an attack on the German nation, which desired and still desires to live in peace with the French people, I have assumed the command of the German armies *to repel his aggression,* and I have been led by *military events to cross the frontiers of France.*"[a]

Not content to assert the defensive character of the war by the statement that he only assumed the command of the German armies "*to repel aggression*", he added that he was only "led by military events" to cross the frontiers of France. A defensive war does, of course, not exclude offensive operations dictated by "military events".

Thus this pious king stood pledged before France and the world to a strictly defensive war. How to release him from his solemn pledge? The stage-managers had to exhibit him as giving, reluctantly, way to the irresistible behest of the German nation. They at once gave the cue to the liberal German middle class, with its professors, its capitalists, its aldermen, and its penmen. That middle class which in its struggle for civil liberty had, from 1846 to 1870, been exhibiting an unexampled spectacle of irresolution, incapacity, and cowardice, felt, of course, highly delighted to bestride the European scene as the roaring lion of German patriotism. It revindicated its civic independence by affecting to force upon the Prussian Government the secret designs of that same government. It does penance for its long-continued and almost religious faith in Louis Bonaparte's infallibility, by shouting for the dismemberment of the French Republic. Let us for a moment listen to the special pleadings of those stout-hearted patriots!

They dare not pretend that the people of Alsace and Lorraine pant for the German embrace; quite the contrary. To punish their French patriotism, Strasbourg, a town with an independent citadel commanding it, has for six days been wantonly and fiendishly bombarded by "German" explosive shells, setting it on fire, and killing great numbers of its defenceless inhabitants! Yet, the soil of those provinces once upon a time belonged to the whilom German Empire. Hence, it seems, the soil and the human beings grown on it must be confiscated as imprescriptible German property. If the map of Europe is to be remade in the antiquary's vein, let us by no means forget that the Elector of Brandenburg, for his Prussian dominions, was the vassal of the Polish Republic.[129]

The more knowing patriots, however, require Alsace and the German-speaking part of Lorraine as a "material guarantee"

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[a] William I's proclamation to the French nation of August 11, 1870, *Kölnische Zeitung,* No. 222, August 12, 1870.—*Ed.*

against French aggression. As this contemptible plea has bewildered many weak-minded people, we are bound to enter more fully upon it.

There is no doubt that the general configuration of Alsace, as compared with the opposite bank of the Rhine, and the presence of a large fortified town like Strasbourg, about halfway between Basle and Germersheim, very much favour a French invasion of South Germany, while they offer peculiar difficulties to an invasion of France from South Germany. There is, further, no doubt that the addition of Alsace and German-speaking Lorraine would give South Germany a much stronger frontier, inasmuch as she would then be master of the crest of the Vosges mountains in its whole length, and of the fortresses which cover its northern passes. If Metz were annexed as well, France would certainly for the moment be deprived of her two principal bases of operation against Germany, but that would not prevent her from constructing a fresh one at Nancy or Verdun. While Germany owns Coblenz, Mainz, Germersheim, Rastatt, and Ulm, all bases of operation against France, and plentifully made use of in this war, with what show of fair play can she begrudge France Strasbourg and Metz, the only two fortresses of any importance she has on that side? Moreover, Strasbourg endangers South Germany only while South Germany is a separate power from North Germany. From 1792-95 South Germany was never invaded from that direction, because Prussia was a party to the war against the French Revolution; but as soon as Prussia made a peace of her own in 1795,[130] and left the South to shift for itself, the invasions of South Germany, with Strasbourg for a base, began, and continued till 1809. The fact is, a *united* Germany can always render Strasbourg and any French army in Alsace innocuous by concentrating all her troops, as was done in the present war, between Saarlouis and Landau, and advancing, or accepting battle, on the line of road between Mainz and Metz. While the mass of the German troops is stationed there, any French army advancing from Strasbourg into South Germany would be outflanked, and have its communications threatened. If the present campaign has proved anything, it is the facility of invading France from Germany.

But, in good faith, is it not altogether an absurdity and an anachronism to make military considerations the principle by which the boundaries of nations are to be fixed? If this rule were to prevail, Austria would still be entitled to Venetia and the line of the Mincio, and France to the line of the Rhine, in order to

protect Paris, which lies certainly more open to an attack from the North East than Berlin does from the South West. If limits are to be fixed by military interests, there will be no end to claims, because every military line is necessarily faulty, and may be improved by annexing some more outlying territory; and, moreover, they can never be fixed finally and fairly, because they always must be imposed by the conqueror upon the conquered, and consequently carry within them the seed of fresh wars.

Such is the lesson of all history. Thus with nations as with individuals. To deprive them of the power of offence, you must deprive them of the means of defence. You must not only garrotte but murder. If ever conqueror took "material guarantees" for breaking the sinews of a nation, the first Napoleon did so by the Tilsit treaty,[126] and the way he executed it against Prussia and the rest of Germany. Yet, a few years later, his gigantic power split like a rotten reed upon the German people. What are the "material guarantees" Prussia, in her wildest dreams, can, or dare impose upon France, compared to the "material guarantees" the first Napoleon had wrenched from herself? The result will not prove the less disastrous. History will measure its retribution, not by the extent of the square miles conquered from France, but by the intensity of the crime of reviving, in the second half of the 19th century, *the policy of conquest!*

But, say the mouthpieces of Teutonic patriotism, you must not confound Germans with Frenchmen. What *we* want is not glory, but safety. The Germans are an essentially peaceful people. In their sober guardianship, conquest itself changes from a condition of future war into a pledge of perpetual peace. Of course, it is not Germans that invaded France in 1792, for the sublime purpose of bayonetting the revolution of the 18th century. It is not Germans that befouled their hands by the subjugation of Italy, the oppression of Hungary, and the dismemberment of Poland. Their present military system, which divides the whole adult male population into two parts—one standing army on service, and another standing army on furlough, both equally bound in passive obedience to rulers by divine right—such a military system is, of course, a "material guarantee" for keeping the peace, and the ultimate goal of civilising tendencies! In Germany, as everywhere else, the sycophants of the powers that be poison the popular mind by the incense of mendacious self-praise.

Indignant as they pretend to be at the sight of French fortresses in Metz and Strasbourg, those German patriots see no harm in the vast system of Moscovite fortifications at Warsaw, Modlin, and

Ivangorod. While gloating at the terrors of imperialist invasion, they blink at the infamy of autocratic tutelage.

As in 1865 promises were exchanged between Louis Bonaparte and Bismarck, so in 1870 promises have been exchanged between Gorchakov and Bismarck.[131] As Louis Bonaparte flattered himself that the war of 1866, resulting in the common exhaustion of Austria and Prussia, would make him the supreme arbiter of Germany, so Alexander flattered himself that the war of 1870, resulting in the common exhaustion of Germany and France, would make him the supreme arbiter of the Western Continent. As the Second Empire thought the North German Confederation incompatible with its existence, so autocratic Russia must think herself endangered by a German empire under Prussian leadership. Such is the law of the old political system. Within its pale the gain of one state is the loss of the other. The Czar's paramount influence over Europe roots in his traditional hold on Germany. At a moment when in Russia herself volcanic social agencies threaten to shake the very base of autocracy, could the Czar afford to bear with such a loss of foreign prestige? Already the Moscovite journals repeat the language of the Bonapartist journals after the war of 1866. Do the Teuton patriots really believe that liberty and peace[a] will be guaranteed to Germany by forcing France into the arms of Russia? If the fortune of her arms, the arrogance of success, and dynastic intrigue lead Germany to a dismemberment of France, there will then only remain two courses open to her. She must at all risks become the *avowed* tool of Russian aggrandisement,[b] or, after some short respite, make again ready for another "defensive" war, not one of those new-fangled "localised" wars, but a *war of races*—a war with the combined Slavonian and Roman races.[c]

The German working class has resolutely supported the war, which it was not in their power to prevent, as a war for German independence and the liberation of France and Europe from that pestilential incubus, the Second Empire. It was the German workmen who, together with the rural labourers, furnished the sinews and muscles of heroic hosts, leaving behind their half-

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[a] The 1870 German edition has "independence" before the words "liberty and peace".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1870 German edition has here: "a course which is in accord with the tradition of the Hohenzollerns".—*Ed.*

[c] The German edition of 1870 contains the following sentence: "This is the prospect of peace which is 'guaranteed' by the brain-sick patriots of the German middle class."—*Ed.*

starved families. Decimated by the battles abroad, they will be once more decimated by misery at home.[a] In their turn they are now coming forward to ask for "guarantees",—guarantees that their immense sacrifices have not been brought in vain, that they have conquered liberty, that the victory over the Imperialist armies will not, as in 1815, be turned into the defeat of the German people[132]; and, as the first of these guarantees, they claim an *honourable peace for France,* and the *recognition of the French Republic.*

The Central Committee[b] of the German Socialist-Democratic Workmen's Party issued, on the 5th of September, a manifesto, energetically insisting upon these guarantees.

"We," they say, "we protest against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. And we are conscious of speaking in the name of the German working class. In the common interest of France and Germany, in the interest of peace and liberty, in the interest of Western civilisation against Eastern barbarism, the German workmen will not patiently tolerate the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine.... We shall faithfully stand by our fellow-workmen in all countries for the common international cause of the Proletariat!"[c]

Unfortunately, we cannot feel sanguine of their immediate success. If the French workmen amidst peace failed to stop the aggressor, are the German workmen more likely to stop the victor amidst the clangour of arms? The German workmen's manifesto demands the extradition of Louis Bonaparte as a common felon to the French Republic. Their rulers are, on the contrary, already trying hard to restore him to the Tuileries as the best man to ruin France. However that may be, history will prove that the German working class are not made of the same malleable stuff as the German middle class. They will do their duty.

Like them, we hail the advent of the Republic in France, but at the same time we labour under misgivings which we hope will prove groundless. That Republic has not subverted the throne, but only taken its place become vacant.[d] It has been proclaimed, not as a social conquest, but as a national measure of defence. It is in the

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[a] The 1870 German edition has: "And the patriotic clamourers will say, to comfort them, that capital has no native country and that wages are regulated by the *non-patriotic international* law of demand and supply. Is it, therefore, not the high time for the German working class to raise its voice and no longer allow the gentlemen of the middle class to speak *in its name.*"—*Ed.*

[b] In the 1870 German edition the word "central" is omitted.—*Ed.*

[c] "Manifest des Ausschusses der sozial-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei. An alle deutschen Arbeiter! Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, 5. Sept. 1870", *Der Volksstaat,* No. 73, September 11, 1870.—*Ed.*

[d] The 1870 German edition has: "its place made vacant by German bayonets".—*Ed.*

hands of a Provisional Government composed partly of notorious Orleanists, partly of middle-class Republicans, upon some of whom the insurrection of June, 1848,[133] has left its indelible stigma. The division of labour amongst the members of that Government looks awkward. The Orleanists have seized the strongholds of the army and the police, while to the professed Republicans have fallen the talking departments. Some of their first acts go far to show that they have inherited from the Empire, not only ruins, but also its dread of the working class. If eventual impossibilities are in wild phraseology demanded from the Republic, is it not with a view to prepare the cry for a "possible" government? Is the Republic, by some of its middle-class managers, not intended to serve as a mere stopgap and bridge over an Orleanist Restoration?

The French working class moves, therefore, under circumstances of extreme difficulty. Any attempt at upsetting the new Government in the present crisis, when the enemy is almost knocking at the doors of Paris, would be a desperate folly. The French workmen must perform their duties as citizens[a]; but, at the same time, they must not allow themselves to be deluded by the national *souvenirs*[b] of 1792, as the French peasants allowed themselves to be deluded by the national *souvenirs* of the First Empire. They have not to recapitulate the past, but to build up the future. Let them calmly and resolutely improve the opportunities of Republican liberty, for the work of their own class organisation. It will gift them with fresh Herculean powers for the regeneration of France, and our common task—the emancipation of labour. Upon their energies and wisdom hinges the fate of the Republic.

The English workmen have already taken measures to overcome, by a wholesome pressure from without, the reluctance of their Government to recognise the French Republic.[134] The present dilatoriness of the British Government is probably intended to atone for the Anti-Jacobin war and its former indecent haste in sanctioning the *coup d'état*.[135] The English workmen call also upon their Government to oppose by all its power the dismemberment of France, which part of the English press is shameless enough to howl for.[c] It is the same press that for twenty years deified Louis Bonaparte as the providence of

[a] The 1870 German edition has: "and they do it".—*Ed.*

[b] Remembrances.—*Ed.*

[c] The 1870 German edition has: "which part of the English press of course supports just as noisily as do the German patriots".—*Ed.*

Europe, that frantically cheered on the slaveholders' rebellion.[136] Now, as then, it drudges for the slaveholder.

Let the sections of the *International Working Men's Association* in every country stir the working classes to action. If they forsake their duty, if they remain passive, the present tremendous war will be but the harbinger of still deadlier international feuds, and lead in every nation to a renewed triumph over the workman by the lords of the sword, of the soil, and of capital.

*Vive la République!*

The General Council:

*Robert Applegarth; Martin J. Boon; Fred. Bradnick; Caihil; John Hales; William Hales; George Harris; Fred. Lessner; Lopatin; B. Lucraft; George Milner; Thomas Mottershead; Charles Murray; George Odger; James Parnell; Pfänder; Rühl; Joseph Shepherd; Cowell Stepney; Stoll; Schmutz*

Corresponding Secretaries:

*Eugène Dupont*.....for France
*Karl Marx*.....for Germany and Russia
*A. Serraillier*..... for Belgium, Holland and Spain
*Hermann Jung*..for Switzerland
*Giovanni Bora*..... for Italy
*Zévy Maurice*.....for Hungary
*Anton Zabicki*..... for Poland
*James Cohen*..... for Denmark
*J. G. Eccarius*.... for the United States

*William Townshend,* Chairman
*John Weston,* Treasurer
*J. George Eccarius,* General Secretary

Office: 256, High Holborn, London, W.C.,
September 9th, 1870

Written between September 6 and 9, 1870

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Reproduced from the text of the 1870 English leaflet (second edition), verified with the text of the 1870 German edition

# Karl Marx

## [CONCERNING THE ARREST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC WORKERS' PARTY][137]

The Central Committee of the German section of the "International Workmen's Association" resident at Brunswick issued on the 5th inst. a manifesto to the German working class, calling upon them to prevent the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, and to bring about an honourable peace with the French Republic.[a] Not only has their manifesto been confiscated by the order of the commanding-general, Vogel von Falckenstein, but all the members of the committee, even the unfortunate printer of the document, were arrested and chained like common felons, and sent to Lötzen, in Eastern Prussia.

Written about September 14, 1870

Published in *The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1744, September 15, 1870 and *The Echo,* September 15, 1870

Reproduced from *The Pall Mall Gazette*

[a] "Manifest des Ausschusses der sozial-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei. An alle deutschen Arbeiter! Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, 5. Sept. 1870", *Der Volksstaat,* No. 73, September 11, 1870.—*Ed.*

Numéro 103. Troisième année. 1er Janvier 1871.

L'INTERNATIONALE

ORGANE DES SECTIONS BELGES

DE L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS.

PARAISSANT LE SAMEDI.

Frederick Engels

# TO THE SIXTH CONGRESS OF THE BELGIAN SECTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION [138]

London, December 23, 1870

Citizens!

The General Council of the International Working Men's Association extends its congratulations on your Sixth Congress. The very fact that this Congress is meeting proves once again that the Belgian proletariat is continuing without respite in its efforts to emancipate the working class, even while a murderous, fratricidal war is filling the whole of Europe with horror, displacing for the time being all other topics in the minds of the public.

With particular satisfaction we have seen the Belgian sections follow, with regard to this war, the line of action and proclaim the ideas prescribed by the interests of the proletariat of all countries: to repudiate any idea of conquest and to preserve the French Republic. Moreover, in this respect our Belgian friends are in perfect harmony with the workers of other countries.

Since the occupation of Rouen by the Prussians, our last remaining links with France have been temporarily severed. But in England, America and Germany the movement among the workers against the war of conquest and for the preservation of the French Republic has developed very rapidly. In Germany, particularly, this movement has grown to such an extent that the Prussian government has seen itself obliged, for the sake of its policy of conquest and reaction, to deal harshly with the workers. The Central Committee of German Socialist-Democracy, meeting in Brunswick, have been arrested, and many members of this party have suffered the same fate; finally two deputies of the North German Parliament, citizens Bebel and Liebknecht, who

represented there the views and interests of the working class, have been put behind bars. The International is accused of having given all these citizens the password for a vast revolutionary conspiracy; here we have, without a shadow of doubt, the second edition of the famous plot by the International in Paris, a plot which the Bonapartist police claimed to have discovered and which later went up in smoke in such a pitiful fashion.[2] Despite these persecutions the international workers' movement is advancing and gaining in strength all the time.

The current congress will provide you with the opportunity to ascertain the number of sections and other affiliated societies, as well as the membership of each of them, and so to get a precise idea of the progress being made by our movement in Belgium. We would like you to communicate to the General Council the result of these statistics on the state of our association in Belgium, statistics that we intend to complete for other countries as well. It goes without saying that we consider this communication to be confidential, and the facts that it will make known to us will not be made public.

Further, the General Council allows itself to hope that in the course of the year 1871 the Belgian sections will likewise feel able to recall the resolutions of the various international congresses regarding the remittances intended for it. The present war makes remittances from most of the continental countries out of the question, and we are well aware that the workers of Belgium are also affected by the general depression which is ensuing from this war; the General Council is also raising this question to remind the Belgian sections that without material support it is impossible for it to disseminate propaganda on the scale it would wish.

Owing to the absence of the secretary for Belgium, citizen Serraillier, the General Council has charged the undersigned with sending this communication to the congress.

Greetings and Fraternity,[a]

*Frederick Engels*

Written on December 23, 1870 on the instruction of the General Council given at the meeting of December 20, 1870

First published, without the last three paragraphs, in *L'Internationale,* No. 103, January 1, 1871

Printed according to the newspaper, verified with the manuscript; the paragraphs omitted in the newspaper are printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

[a] The newspaper has further: "For the General Council."—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## ON THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND MEETINGS IN GERMANY

TO THE EDITOR OF *THE DAILY NEWS*

Sir,

In accusing the French Government of

"having rendered impossible the free expression of opinion in France through the medium of the press and of national representatives",[a]

Bismarck did evidently but intend to crack a Berlin *Witz*.[b] If you want to become acquainted with "true" French opinion please apply to Herr Stieber, the editor of the Versailles *Moniteur*, and the notorious Prussian police spy!

At Bismarck's express command Messrs. Bebel and Liebknecht have been arrested, on the charge of high treason, simply because they dared to fulfil their duties as German national representatives, viz., to protest in the Reichstag against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, vote against new war subsidies, express their sympathy with the French Republic, and denounce the attempt at the conversion of Germany into one Prussian barrack.[c] For the utterance of the same opinions the members of the Brunswick Socialist Democratic Committee have, since the beginning of last September, been treated like galley-slaves, and are still undergoing a mock prosecution for high treason. The same lot has befallen

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[a] O. Bismarck's despatch headlined "Versailles, den 9. Januar 1871", *Königlich Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*, No. 15, January 14, 1871.— *Ed.*

[b] Joke.— *Ed.*

[c] A. Bebel's speech in the Reichstag on November 26, 1870. *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstages des Norddeutschen Bundes. I. Legislatur-Periode. II. Ausserordentliche Session 1870.* Berlin, 1870; W. Liebknecht's speech in the Reichstag on November 26, 1870, ibid.— *Ed.*

numerous workmen who propagated the Brunswick manifesto.[a] On similar pretexts, Mr. Hepner, the sub-editor of the Leipzig *Volksstaat,* is prosecuted for high treason. The few independent German journals existing outside Prussia are forbidden admission into the Hohenzollern estates. German workmen's meetings in favour of a peace honourable for France are daily dispersed by the police. According to the official Prussian doctrine, as naively laid down by General Vogel von Falckenstein, every German "trying to counteract the prospective aims of the Prussian warfare in France", is guilty of high treason. If M. Gambetta and Co. were, like the Hohenzollern, forced to violently put down popular opinion, they would only have to apply the Prussian method, and, on the plea of war, proclaim throughout France the state of siege. The only French soldiers on German soil moulder in Prussian gaols. Still the Prussian Government feels itself bound to rigorously maintain the state of siege, that is to say, the crudest and most revolting form of military despotism, the suspension of all law. The French soil is infested by about a million of German invaders. Yet the French Government can safely dispense with that Prussian method of "rendering possible the free expression of opinion". Look at this picture and at that! Germany, however, has proved too petty a field for Bismarck's all-absorbing love of independent opinion. When the Luxemburgers gave vent to their sympathies with France, Bismarck made this expression of sentiment one of his pretexts for renouncing the London neutrality treaty.[139] When the Belgian press committed a similar sin, the Prussian ambassador at Brussels, Herr von Balan, invited the Belgian ministry to put down not only all anti-Prussian newspaper articles, but even the printing of mere news calculated to cheer on the French in their war of independence. A very modest request this, indeed, to suspend the Belgian Constitution, "pour le roi de Prusse!"[b] No sooner had some Stockholm papers indulged in some mild jokes at the notorious "piety" of Wilhelm Annexander,[c] than Bismarck came down on the Swedish cabinet with grim missives. Even under the meridian of St. Petersburg he contrived to spy too licentious a press. At his humble supplication, the editors of the principal Petersburg papers were summoned

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[a] "Manifest des Ausschusses der sozial-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei. An alle deutschen Arbeiter! Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, 5. September, 1870", *Der Volksstaat,* No. 73, September 11, 1870.— *Ed.*

[b] Literally: for the sake of Prussian King, and figuratively: for nothing.

[c] A blend of the words "annexion" and "Alexander", an ironical comparison with Alexander of Macedon.— *Ed.*

before the Censor-in-Chief, who bid them beware of all strictures upon the feal Borussian vassal of the Czar. One of those editors, M. Saguljajew, was imprudent enough to emit the secret of this *avertissement* through the columns of the *Golos*. He was at once pounced upon by the Russian police, and bundled off to some remote province.[a] It would be a mistake to believe that those gendarme proceedings are only due to the paroxysm of war fever. They are, on the contrary, the true methodical application of Prussian law principles. There exists in point of fact an odd proviso in the Prussian criminal code, by dint of which every foreigner, on account of his doings or writings in his own or any other foreign country, may be prosecuted for "insult against the Prussian King" and "high treason against Prussia"![b] France—and her cause is fortunately far from desperate—fights at this moment not only for her own national independence, but for the liberty of Germany and Europe.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

*Karl Marx*

London, January 16, 1871

First published in *The Daily News*, January 19, 1871

Reproduced from the newspaper

[a] Marx learned of this from a letter by the Russian revolutionary Lopatin, dated December 15, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] *Entwurf des Strafgesetzbuchs für die Preussischen Staaten, nach den Beschlüssen des Königlichen Staatsraths*, Berlin, 1843.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## TO THE SPANISH FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[a] [140]

London, 13 February 1871

Citizens,

The General Council was very pleased to receive your letter of December 14. Your previous letter dated 30 July also reached us; it was passed to Citizen Serraillier,[b] the Secretary for Spain, with the instruction to forward our answer to you. But soon Citizen Serraillier went to France to fight for the Republic, and then he was confined in Paris. If, therefore, you have not received any answer to your letter of 30 July, which is still in his hands, it is due to these circumstances. Now, the General Council, at its meeting of the 7th inst. has charged the undersigned F. E. to handle correspondence with Spain in the interim and has passed on your last letter to him.[c]

In the meantime, we have been regularly receiving the Spanish workers' newspapers *La Federacion* from Barcelona, *La Solidaridad* from Madrid (until December 1870), *El Obrero* from Palma (until its suspension) and recently *La Revolucion social* from Palma (first issue only). These newspapers have kept us up-to-date with what is happening in Spain with regard to the labour movement; we have seen with much satisfaction that the ideas of social revolution are increasingly becoming the common property of the working class of your country.

Without doubt the empty rantings of the old political parties have, as you say, attracted too much popular attention, thus

[a] The title is in Spanish.— *Ed.*

[b] Serraillier informed the General Council of this at its meeting of August 9, 1870.— *Ed.*

[c] The General Council took this decision at its meeting of January 31 and approved it at its meeting of February 7, 1871.— *Ed.*

constituting a major obstacle to our propaganda. This happened everywhere in the first years of the proletarian movement. In France, in England, in Germany the socialists had to, and still have to, combat the influence and the action of the old political parties, whether aristocratic or bourgeois, monarchist or even republican. Everywhere experience has shown that the best means of freeing the workers from this domination by the old parties is to found in each country a proletarian party with a political programme of its own, a political programme that is very clearly distinguished from those of the other parties since it must express the conditions for the emancipation of the working class. The details of this political programme might vary according to the special circumstances in each country; but the fundamental relations between labour and capital being everywhere the same, and the fact of political domination by the propertied classes over the exploited classes existing everywhere, the principles and the goal of the proletarian political programme will be identical, at least in all the western countries. The propertied classes, landed aristocracy and bourgeoisie, hold the working people in thraldom, not only by virtue of their wealth, by the simple exploitation of labour by capital, but also through the coercive power of the state, the army, the bureaucracy, the courts. To refrain from fighting our enemies in the political arena would be to abandon one of the most powerful means of action, and particularly of organisation and propaganda. Universal suffrage gives us an excellent means of action. In Germany the workers, strongly organised as a political party, have succeeded in sending six deputies to the self-styled national assembly; and the opposition which our friends Bebel and Liebknecht have been also able to put up against the war of conquest has had a more powerful effect on behalf of our international propaganda than years of propaganda by the press and by meetings would have had. In France, too, at this moment workers' representatives have just been elected and will proclaim out loud our principles to the national assembly. At the next elections the same thing will happen in England.

We are pleased to hear that you wish to send us the contributions from the branches in your country; we shall receive them with thanks. Please send them in the form of a banker's draft drawn on a bank here in London, payable to John Weston, our treasurer, by registered letter to the undersigned either at 256 High Holborn, London (seat of our Council) or to his home address 122 R.P.R.[a]

[a] Regent's Park Road.—*Ed.*

We wait with great interest the statistics of your federation which you promise to send us.

As for the Congress of the International, it is pointless to think about it as long as the present war continues. But if, as seems likely, peace is soon restored, the Council will take up this important matter straightaway and will consider your kind invitation to hold it in Barcelona.

We have no sections yet in Portugal; perhaps it would be easier for you than for us to open relations with the workers of that country. If this is so, would you please write to us again on this matter. Likewise, we believe that it would be best, to begin with at any rate, if you yourselves will make contact with the typesetters of Buenos Aires, provided you let us know later on what results have been achieved. Meanwhile, you would render us a kind service and further the cause by sending us a copy of *Anales de la Sociedad tipografica de Buenos Aires* for our information.

For the rest, the international movement continues to make progress despite all obstacles. In England the central Trades' Councils[a] of Birmingham and Manchester, and through them the workers of the two most important manufacturing cities in the country, have just affiliated direct to our Association. In Germany we are currently suffering the same persecution at the hands of the governments there as Louis Bonaparte subjected us to in France a year ago. Our German friends, more than fifty of whom are in prison, are literally suffering for the international cause; they have been arrested and persecuted because they opposed the policy of conquest with all their strength and because they demanded that the German people should fraternise with the French people. In Austria many of our friends have been imprisoned but the movement is making progress nevertheless. Everywhere in France our sections have been the life and soul of the resistance against the invasion. They have seized local power in the big cities of the South, and if Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux and Toulouse have evinced an energy unknown elsewhere, it was thanks to the efforts of the Internationals. In Belgium we are well organised; our Belgian sections have just celebrated their sixth regional Congress. In Switzerland the differences which had arisen between our sections some time ago seem to be sorting themselves out. From America we have received the membership of new French, German and Czech (Bohemian) sections, and, as regards

[a] Engels gives the English name "Trades' Councils" in parentheses, after the French one.—*Ed.*

the others, we continue to maintain fraternal relations with the great organisation of American workers, the Labor League.[a] [141]

Hoping to receive more news from you soon, we send you our fraternal greetings.

For the General Council of the
International Working Men's Association

*F.E.*

Written on February 13, 1871 by the General Council's decision of January 31, 1871

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, 1935

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

[a] Engels gives the English name "The Labor League" in parentheses, after the French one.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE ASPECT OF AFFAIRS IN RUSSIA [142]

TO THE EDITOR OF *THE PALL MALL GAZETTE*[a]

Sir,—

The English Government declare that they know nothing of an alliance between Russia and Prussia.[b] In Germany nobody disputes the existence of such an alliance; on the contrary, the pro-Prussian press exults in the fact, the anti-Prussian papers are indignant at it. One of the latter, the *Volksstaat,* thinks that Mr. Gladstone merely intended to insinuate by his denegations that this was not a treaty of alliance, but rather of vassalage,[c] and that in this case he would be in the right. Indeed, the telegrams exchanged between Versailles and St. Petersburg, between "Yours till death, William," and his more reserved nephew Alexander, leave no longer any room for doubt as to the relations existing between what are now the two great military monarchies of the Continent. These telegrams, by the way, were first published in the *Journal de St. Pétersbourg*[d]; and what is quite as significant is the fact that they have not been reprinted in their full tenor in the German press, the Emperor William's assurance of devotion till death being especially suppressed. At all events, the full context of the correspondence cannot leave a doubt that the Emperor William means to express the deep sense of the obligation under which he

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[a] F. Greenwood.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the speech of W. E. Gladstone in the House of Commons on March 7, 1871 published in *The Times,* No. 27005, March 8, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] "Politische Uebersicht", *Der Volksstaat,* No. 21, March 11, 1871.—*Ed.*

[d] William I's telegram to the Emperor Alexander II datelined "Versailles, 26 février, 2 heures 7 m.", *Journal de St.-Pétersbourg,* No. 37, February 17 (March 1), 1871; Alexander II's telegram to William I datelined "Pétersbourg, 15 (27) février 1871", *Journal de St.-Pétersbourg* (same issue).—*Ed.*

considers himself to be towards Russia, and his readiness to place his services in return at Russia's disposal. The Emperor being past seventy, and his presumptive heir's[a] sentiments being doubtful, there is certainly a strong incentive for Russia to strike the iron while it is hot.

Moreover, the internal situation in Russia is far from satisfactory. The finances are almost helplessly deranged; the peculiar form in which the emancipation of the serfs and the other social and political changes connected with it have been carried out has disturbed agricultural production to an almost incredible degree. The half-measures of a liberal character which in turn have been accorded, retracted, and again accorded, have given to the educated classes just elbow-room enough to develop a distinct public opinion; and that public opinion is upon all points opposed to the foreign policy the present Government have hitherto appeared to follow. Public opinion in Russia is essentially and violently Panslavist—that is to say, antagonistic to the three great "oppressors" of the Slavonic race: the Germans, the Hungarians, and the Turks. A Prussian alliance is as distasteful to it as would be an Austrian or a Turkish alliance. It demands, besides, immediate warlike action, in a Panslavist sense. The quiet, slow, but eminently safe underground action of Russian traditional diplomacy sorely tries its patience. Such successes as were obtained at the Conference,[143] important though they be in themselves, are as nought to the Russian Panslavists. They hear nothing but the "cry of anguish" of their oppressed brethren in race; they feel nothing more intensely than the necessity of restoring the lost supremacy of holy Russia by a grand coup, a war of conquest. They know, moreover, that the Heir Presumptive[b] is one of them. All this considered, and the grand strategic railway lines towards the south and south-west having now been completed far enough to serve efficiently for purposes of attack against Austria or Turkey, or both, is there not a strong inducement for the Russian Government and for the Emperor Alexander personally to apply the old Bonapartist means, and to stave off internal difficulties by a foreign war while the Prussian alliance appears still safe?

Under such circumstances the new Russian loan of twelve millions sterling obtains a very peculiar significance. It is true, a patriotic protest has been circulated at the Stock Exchange—it is stated to have been without signatures, and appears to have

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[a] Frederick William.—*Ed.*

[b] Alexander, the future Emperor Alexander III.—*Ed.*

remained so—and we are told that the amount of the loan has been more than covered. What purposes, among others, these twelve millions are to be used for we are informed by the *Ostsee Zeitung,* of Stettin, a paper which for many years not only has had the very best information about Russian affairs, but which also has had the independence to publish it. The Franco-German war, says the Petersburg correspondent of this paper (under date of March 4, new style), has convinced the Russian military authorities of the total inefficiency of the system of fortification hitherto followed in the construction of the Russian fortresses, and the Ministry of War has already settled the plan for the necessary alterations.

"It is reported that the new system, based upon the introduction of detached forts, is to be applied, in the first instance, to the more important frontier fortresses, the reconstruction of which is to be commenced forthwith. The first fortresses which are to be provided with detached forts are Brest-Litowski, Demblin, and Modlin."

Now, Brest-Litowski, Demblin (or Iwangorod), and Modlin (or Nowo-Georgiewsk, by its official Russian name), are exactly the three fortresses which, with Warsaw as a central point, command the greater portion of the kingdom of Poland; and Warsaw does not receive any detached forts now, for the very good reason that it has had them for many a year past. Russia, then, loses no time in fastening her hold upon Poland, and in strengthening her base of operations against Austria, and the hurry with which this is done is of no good augury for the peace of Europe.

All this may still be called purely defensive armament. But the correspondent in question has not done yet:—

"The warlike preparations in Russia, which were commenced at the outbreak of the Franco-German war, are continued with unabated zeal. Lately the Ministry of War has ordered the formation of the fourth battalions. The execution of this order has already begun with all regiments, those in the kingdom of Poland included. The detachments set apart for the railway and telegraph service in the field, as well as the sanitary companies, have already been organized. The men are actively instructed and drilled in their various duties, and the sanitary companies are even taught how to apply the first bandages to wounded, how to stop bleeding, and how to bring round men who have fainted."

Now in almost every great continental army the regiments of infantry consist, on the peace footing, of three battalions, and the first unmistakable step from the peace-footing to the war-footing is the formation of the fourth battalions. On the day Louis Napoleon declared war, he also ordered the formation of the fourth battalions.[a] In Prussia, their formation is the very first thing

[a] The reference is to the order on the formation of the fourth battalions of July 14, 1870, reported in *Le Temps,* No. 3427, July 17, 1870.—*Ed.*

done after the receipt of the order for mobilization.[a] In Austria it is the same, and so it is in Russia. Whatever may be thought of the suddenly revealed necessity of detached forts for the Polish fortresses, or of the equally sudden *empressement*[b] to introduce into the Russian service the Prussian *Krankenträger*[c] and railway and telegraph detachments (in a country where both railways and telegraphs are rather scarce)—here, in the formation of the fourth battalions, we have an unmistakable sign that Russia has actually passed the line which divides the peace footing from the war footing. Nobody can imagine that Russia has taken this step without a purpose; and if this step means anything, it means attack against somebody. Perhaps that explains what the twelve millions sterling are wanted for.—

Yours, &c.,

*E.*

Written about March 15, 1871

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1900, March 16, 1871

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[a] The reference is to the order on mobilisation of July 16, 1870, reported in *The Times,* No. 26805, July 18, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Zeal.—*Ed.*

[c] Stretcher-bearer.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE TIMES*[a] [144]

Sir,

In your impression of the 16th March your Paris correspondent states:

"Karl Marx...has written a letter to one of his principal affiliés in Paris, stating that he is not satisfied with the attitude which the members of that society (the "International") have taken up in that city etc."[b]

This statement your correspondent has evidently taken from the *Paris-Journal* of the 14th March where also the publication, in full, of the pretended letter[c] is promised. The *Paris-Journal* of the 19th March does indeed contain a letter dated London, 28th February 1871[d] and purporting to be signed by me, the contents of which agree with the statement of your correspondent. I now beg to declare that this letter is, from beginning to end, an impudent forgery.

Drafted by F. Engels on March 21, 1871

Reproduced from Engels' draft

First published in *The Times*, No. 27017, March 22, 1871 as an item on Marx's letter

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[a] J. T. Delane.—*Ed.*

[b] "The State of Paris", *The Times*, No. 27012, March 16, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] "Le Grand Chef de l'Internationale", *Paris-Journal*, No. 71, March 14, 1871.—*Ed.*

[d] "Lettre du Grand Chef de l'Internationale", *Paris-Journal*, No. 76, March 19, 1871.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [STATEMENT BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO THE EDITOR OF *THE TIMES* AND OTHER PAPERS][145]

### TO THE EDITOR OF *THE TIMES*

Sir,—

I am directed by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association to solicit your favour to publish the following in the columns of your journal:—

A statement has gone the round of the English press that the Paris members of the International Working Men's Association had in so far joined the so-called Anti-German League[146] as to declare all Germans to be henceforth excluded from our association.[a]

This statement is the very reverse of fact. Neither the Federal Council of our association in Paris, nor any of the Paris sections represented by that council, have ever passed any such resolution. The so-called Anti-German League, as far as it exists at all, is the exclusive work of the upper and middle classes: it was started by the Jockey Club,[147] and kept up by the adhesions of the Academy, of the Stock Exchange, of some bankers and manufacturers, etc. The working-classes have nothing whatever to do with it.

The object of these calumnies is evident. A short time before the outbreak of the late war the International was made the general scapegoat for all untoward events. This is now repeated over again. While the Swiss and the Prussian press accuses it of having created the late outrages upon Germans in Zurich,[148] French papers, such as the *Courrier de Lyon, Courrier de la Gironde, La Liberté,* etc., tell of certain secret meetings of Internationals

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[a] This statement entitled "Les scrupules de l'Internationale" was first published in *Paris-Journal,* No. 67, March 10, 1871.—*Ed.*

having been held at Geneva and Berne, the Prussian Ambassador in the chair, in which meetings a plan was concocted to hand over Lyons to the united Prussians and Internationals for the sake of common plunder.[a]

Yours respectfully,

*J. George Eccarius,*
General Secretary of the
International Working Men's Association

256, High Holborn, March 22

Written on March 21, 1871

Approved at the meeting of the General Council on March 21, 1871[b]

Published in *The Times,* No. 27018, March 23, 1871, in *The Eastern Post,* No. 130, March 25, 1871 and in other press organs of the International

Reproduced from *The Times,* verified with the General Council's Minute Book

[a] "On lit dans le Courrier de Lyon...", *Courrier de la Gironde,* March 14, 1871; "On lit dans le Courrier de Lyon..., , *Courrier de la Gironde,* March 16, 1871; "Chronique des Départements", *La Liberté,* March 18, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] Before its despatch to the Editor of *The Times,* the statement was datelined March 22.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITORIAL BOARDS OF THE *VOLKSSTAAT* AND THE *ZUKUNFT*[149]

### TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE *VOLKSSTAAT*

The *Paris-Journal,* one of the most successful organs of the Paris police press, published an article in its March 14 issue, under the sensational heading "Le Grand Chef de l'Internationale"[a] ("Grand Chef" is probably the French translation of Stieber's "Haupt-Chef"[150]).

"He," begins the article, "is, as everyone knows, a German, what is even worse, a Prussian. He calls himself Karl Marx, lives in *Berlin,*" etc. "Well now. This Karl Marx is displeased with the behaviour of the French members of the *International.* This in itself shows what he is like. He finds that they continually spend too much time dealing with politics and not enough with social questions. This is his opinion, he has formulated it quite categorically in a letter to his brother and friend, Citizen *Serraillier,* one of the Paris high priests of the *International.* Marx begs the French members, especially those affiliated to the Paris association, not to lose sight of the fact that their association has a single goal: to organise the work and the future of the workers' societies. But people are disorganising the work rather than organising it, and he believes that the offenders must be reminded again of the association's rules. We declare that we are in a position to publish this remarkable letter from Mr. Karl Marx as soon as it is passed on to the members of the *International.*"

In its issue of March 19, the *Paris-Journal* does indeed have a letter allegedly signed by me[b] which was immediately reprinted by the whole of the reactionary press in Paris and then found its way into the London papers. In the meantime, however, the *Paris-Journal* has got wind of the fact that I live in *London* and *not in Berlin.* Therefore, it has marked the letter as coming from London this time, in contradiction to its first announcement. This

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[a] "Le Grand Chef de l'Internationale", *Paris-Journal,* No. 71, March 14, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] "Lettre du Grand Chef de l'Internationale", *Paris-Journal,* No. 76, March 19, 1871.—*Ed.*

additional correction suffers, however, from the nuisance that my friend *Serraillier,* who is in London, and myself had to correspond with each other in a roundabout way via Paris. The letter, as I have already explained in *The Times,*[a] is a brazen *fake* from beginning to end.

That same *Paris-Journal* and other organs of Paris's "good Press" are spreading the rumour that the Federal Council of the *International* in Paris has taken the decision, which is not within its competence, to expel the Germans from the International Working Men's Association.[b] The London dailies hastily grabbed the welcome news and published it in malicious instigating leaders about the suicide of the *International* at long last. Unfortunately, today *The Times* contains the following announcement by the *General Council of the International Working Men's Association:*[c]

"A communication according to which the Paris members of the International Working Men's Association declared that all Germans were to be expelled from the *International,* thereby behaving in the manner of the *Anti-German League,* is doing the rounds in the English press. The communication stands in absolutely glaring contradiction to the facts. Neither the Federal Council of our association in Paris nor any of the Paris sections that it represents have ever dreamed of taking such a decision. The so-called Anti-German League, in so far as it exists at all, is exclusively the work of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. It was brought to life by the Jockey Club and kept going with the consent of the Academy, the Stock Exchange, some of the bankers and factory owners, and so forth. The working class has never had anything to do with it.

"The purpose of this calumny is immediately obvious. Shortly before the recent war broke out, the *International* had to be the scapegoat for all the unpopular events. The same tactics are now being repeated. While Swiss and Prussian papers, e.g., are denouncing it as the originator of the injustices against the Germans in Zürich, the French papers, like the *Courrier de Lyon,* the *Courrier de la Gironde,* the Paris *Liberté* and so forth, are simultaneously reporting on certain secret meetings of the *Internationals* in *Geneva* and *Berne, under the chairmanship of the Prussian ambassador,* at which the plan is to be devised of handing

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[a] See this volume, p. 285.—*Ed.*

[b] "Les scrupules de l'Internationale", *Paris-Journal,* No. 67, March 10, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 286-87.—*Ed.*

over *Lyon* to the united Prussians and the Internationals for the purpose of jointly plundering it."

So much for the statement of the General Council. It is quite natural that the important dignitaries and the ruling classes of the old society who can only maintain their own power and the exploitation of the productive masses of the people by *national* conflicts and antagonisms, recognise their common adversary in the *International Working Men's Association. All and any* means are good to destroy it.

London, March 23, 1871

*Karl Marx*
*Secretary* of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association *for Germany*

Published in the newspapers *Der Volksstaat,* No. 26, March 29, 1871, *Die Zukunft,* No. 73, March 26, 1871, *L'Egalité* (in an abbreviated form), No. 6, March 31, 1871, and in the magazine *Der Vorbote,* No. 4, April 23, 1871

Printed according to *Der Volksstaat*

# Karl Marx

## [TO THE EDITOR OF *DE WERKER*][151]

London, March 31, 1871

Citizen,

My so-called letter addressed to the Paris members of the International is quite simply, as I have already stated in *The Times* of the 22nd March,[a] a fabrication by the *Paris-Journal*,[b] one of these disreputable papers spawned in the imperialist gutter. Moreover, all the organs of the "good press" throughout Europe have, so it seems, received the order to employ *falsification* as their major weapon of war against the *International*. In the eyes of these honest advocates of religion, order, the family and property the crime of *falsification* is not even a peccadillo.

Greetings and Fraternity,

*Karl Marx*

First published in the newspaper *De Werker*, No. 23, April 8, 1871

Printed according to the manuscript, verified with the newspaper

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, p. 285.—*Ed.*

[b] "Lettre du Grand Chef de l'Internationale", *Paris-Journal*, No. 76, March 19, 1871.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE TIMES*[152]

Sir,—

Will you allow me to again intrude upon your columns in order to contradict widely-spread falsehoods?

A Lombard telegram, dated Paris, March 30, contains an extract from the *Gaulois*[a] which, under the sensational heading, "Alleged Organization of the Paris Revolution in London," has adorned the London papers of Saturday last.[b] Having during the late war successfully rivalled the *Figaro* and the *Paris-Journal* in the concoction of Munchausiades that made the Paris *petite presse*[c] a byword all over the world, the *Gaulois* seems more than ever convinced that the news-reading public will always cling to the tenet, *"Credo quia absurdum est."*[d] Baron Munchausen himself, would he have undertaken to organize at London "in the early part of February," when M. Thiers did not yet hold any official post, "the insurrection of the 18th of March," called into life by the attempt of the same M. Thiers to disarm the Paris National Guard? Not content to send MM. Assi and Blanqui on an imaginary voyage to London, there to conspire with myself in secret conclave, the *Gaulois* adds to that conclave two imaginary persons—one "Bentini, general agent for Italy," and one "Dermott, general agent for England." It also graciously confirms the

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[a] "The 'Internationale' and the Commune", *The Times*, No. 27027, April 3, 1871; "C'est paraît-il, à Londres...", *Le Gaulois*, No. 997, March 31, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] See e. g. "Alleged Organization of the Paris Revolution in London", *The Daily News*, No. 7776, April 1, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] Yellow press.—*Ed.*

[d] "I believe because it is impossible" (Tertullian, *De carne Christi* 5, 4).—*Ed.*

dignity of "supreme chief of the *Internationale,*" first bestowed upon me by the *Paris-Journal.*[a] These two worthies notwithstanding, the General Council of the International Working Men's Association will, I am afraid, continue to transact its business without the incumbrance of either "chief" or "president."

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obediently,

*Karl Marx*

London, April 3

First published in *The Times,* No. 27028, April 4, 1871 and *The Daily News,* No. 7780, April 6, 1871

Reproduced from *The Times*

[a] See "Le Grand Chef de l'Internationale", *Paris-Journal,* No. 71, March 14, 1871.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [ON THE CIGAR-WORKERS' STRIKE IN ANTWERP][153]

In *Antwerp 500 cigar-workers* are out of work. The manufacturers gave them the choice: either to dissolve their trade union (which belongs to the International Working Men's Association) or to be dismissed. Every one of them without exception decisively rejected this unreasonable demand, and so the manufacturers closed their workshops.

The workers have funds of 6,000 Fr. (1,600 Talers); they have already established contact with the cigar-workers of Holland and England and any influx of workers from these countries is being prevented. From England they are to receive fairly considerable financial aid. £176 (1,200 Talers) has already been sent, and further assistance will be provided. Anyway, the Antwerpers are only asking for an *advance,* since they say they are in a position to pay back any aid which they are given. If the German cigar-workers or any other trade unions are in a position to offer assistance to their brothers in Antwerp, it is to be hoped that they will not hold back. Remittances should be made to Ph. *Coenen,* Boomgaardsstraat 3, Antwerp. But, at any rate, it is their duty to stop German cigar-workers moving to Antwerp as long as the manufacturers there insist on their demands.

Written on April 5, 1871

First published in *Der Volksstaat,* No. 30, April 12, 1871

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Published in English for the first time

# Frederick Engels

## [OUTLINE OF AN APPEAL OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO THE WEAVERS' AND SPINNERS' TRADE UNIONS OF MANCHESTER FOR ASSISTANCE TO THE SPANISH TEXTILE WORKERS' STRIKE][154]

Messrs Batlló Brothers, Barcelona, own a large Cotton spinning and weaving concern and employ about 900 workpeople. Not only do they pay, by far, worse wages than any other firm in the trade, but they have also continually attempted to reduce wages still more by superseding men by women and grown up people by children. Lately, they have without exception discharged all such hands as were suspected of belonging to the Trades' Union of the United Carders, Spinners and Weavers. On the 26th February a large meeting was held by the members of this Union to consider the state of things in Messrs Batlló's works. A new list of wages was unanimously adopted which, although establishing a slight rise upon the prices hitherto paid, was still very much below the very lowest rates paid by others; and a deputation was appointed to demand the adoption of this list and in case of this being refused, the people employed at the mill were to strike work.

The deputation was not even received, Messrs B. refusing to receive any but a deputation from their own workmen. This fresh deputation submitted the new list of prices but met with a flat refusal. The whole of the workpeople at once struck, with the exception of about 25, most of whom have since joined the strike. This took place on the 27th February, and consequently, the hands have now been on strike for nearly nine weeks, and the funds at the disposal of the Union are beginning to run slow. The remaining branches of the International in Spain are doing their best to collect money for them, but they have just now a good many strikes to support. Not to mention minor affairs, the coopers of Santander and the Tanners of Valencia are on strike because

their masters insist upon their giving up their Trades' Unions as well as the International; and thus, there are altogether some 1500 men out at present in Spain whom the various branches of the International there have to support.

Barcelona and neighbourhood are the South Lancashire of Spain, there are large and numerous Cotton Spinning and Weaving establishments there and the greater part of the population of this district lives upon the Cotton Trade. They have lately suffered much from the competition of English yarns and it would make a particularly good impression in Spain if the Lancashire Cotton Trade could do something in favour of the Cotton Spinners and Powerloom Weavers of Spain. The active and intimate commercial relation between the different countries of the world have led to this that every event affecting society in one country necessarily produces its effects upon all other countries; and it would not at all be astonishing if a general reduction of wages in the Spanish Cotton Trade (such as appears inevitable if this strike be unsuccessful) should in the long run contribute to keep wages low in South Lancashire also.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, 1935

Reproduced from the manuscript

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL EXPELLING HENRI LOUIS TOLAIN FROM THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION][155]

The General Council of the I.W.M.A.

Considering the resolution of the Federal Council of the Paris Sections expelling Citizen Tolain from the Association[a] because, after having been elected to the National Assembly as a representative of the Working Classes, he has deserted their cause in the most disgraceful manner; which resolution the General Council is called upon to confirm;

Considering that the place of every French member of the I.W.M.A. is undoubtedly on the side of the Commune of Paris and not in the usurpatory and counter-revolutionary Assembly of Versailles;

Confirms the resolution of the Paris Federal Council and declares that Citizen Tolain is expelled from the I.W.M.A.

The General Council was prevented from taking action in this matter sooner by the fact that the above resolution of the Paris Federal Council was laid before them, in an authentic shape, on the 25th April only.

Written between April 22 and 25, 1871

Approved at the meeting of the General Council on April 25, 1871

Published in the newspapers *The Eastern Post,* No. 135, April 29, 1871; *L'Internationale,* No. 122, May 14, 1871; *Der Volksstaat,* No. 42, May 24, 1871 and *Vorbote,* No. 7, July 1871

Reproduced from the manuscript, verified with the newspapers

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[a] [Resolution of the Federal Council of the Paris Sections of the I.W.M.A. expelling Tolain] *La Révolution politique et sociale,* No. 3, April 16, 1871.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## ONCE AGAIN "HERR VOGT"[156]

Ever since the Augsburg Campaign of 1859 had brought him such a sound drubbing,[157] Herr Vogt appeared to have had his fill of politics. He put all his energy into the natural sciences where he already had, in his own words, such "astounding" discoveries to his credit. Thus, at the same time as Küchenmeister and Leuckart had described the immensely complex evolution of the intestinal worm and thereby made a really great advance in science, he had made the astounding discovery that intestinal worms fall into two classes: round-worms, which are round, and flat-worms, which are flat. Now he has made an even greater discovery beside the first one. The discovery of large numbers of fossilised human bones from pre-historic times had started a fashion for the comparative study of the skulls of different human races. Skulls were measured from every conceivable angle, the measurements were compared, they were discussed, but no conclusion was reached until Vogt, confident of victory as ever, announced the solution to the riddle: all human skulls fall into two classes, namely those which are long (dolichocephalic) and those which are rounded (brachycephalic). What the most scrupulous and diligent observers had not achieved in the course of laborious studies over a period of years, was solved by Vogt by dint of the simple application of his worm principle. If, in addition to these astounding discoveries, we also mention the discovery of a new species in the realm of political zoology, the discovery namely of the Brimstone Gang,[158] even the least modest person would have to allow that Vogt had done as much as could be done in a lifetime.

But the great spirit of our Vogt was still restless. Politics retained its irresistible charm for the man who had already achieved so much in the ale-houses. The wounds from the drubbing of Anno[a] sixty had by now happily healed; Marx's *Herr Vogt*[b] was no longer obtainable in the book shops, and all the rotten scandals were long since dead and buried. Our Vogt had undertaken lecture tours and received the plaudits of the German philistines, had swaggered around at every scientific conference, at all ethnographic and antiquarian congresses, forcing his company on the true giants of science. Consequently, he could again think himself "respectable" after a fashion, and believe himself called upon to coach the German philistines, whom he had coached in scientific matters, in political affairs as well. Great events were underway: Napoléon le Petit[159] had capitulated at Sedan, the Prussians were at the gates of Paris, Bismarck was demanding Alsace and Lorraine. It was high time for Vogt to make his weighty contribution.

This contribution was called: *Carl Vogt's Political Letters to Friedrich Kolb,* Biel, 1870. It consisted of twelve letters that first appeared in the Vienna *Tages-Presse* and were reprinted in Vogt's *Moniteur,* the Biel *Handels-Courier.*[160] Vogt came out against the annexation and against the Prussianization of Germany, and he was furious that in these views he was simply following in the footsteps of the hated Social-Democrats, i.e. the Brimstone Gang. There is no need to go into the general content of the pamphlet, since Vogt's opinion on such matters is quite immaterial. Moreover, the arguments he adduces are just those of the most banal beer-swilling philistines with their political claptrap, except that on this occasion Vogt reflects the views of the Swiss rather than the German philistines. What interests us is solely the agreeable personality of Herr Vogt himself as it winds its way through its various phases and transformations.

So, we take Vogt's little pamphlet and compare it with that other unfortunate product of his pen, the *Studies on the Present Situation in Europe* of 1859,[161] the after-effects of which had caused him so much distress for so long. Here we find that for all the intellectual affinity between the two, for quite the same slovenliness of his style—on page 10 Vogt reaches his "views with his own ears", and ears like that must indeed be quite remarkable[c]—we find that Herr Vogt today maintains the exact opposite of what he preached

[a] In the year.—*Ed.*
[b] See present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 21-329.—*Ed.*
[c] A pun: "eigene" means "one's own" and also "remarkable".—*Ed.*

eleven years ago. The *Studies* were intended to persuade the German philistine that Germany had no interest in intervening in the war that Louis Bonaparte planned against Austria at that time. To this end, Louis Bonaparte had to be represented as a "Man Appointed by Destiny", who was to liberate peoples, and had to be defended against the current attacks from Republican quarters and even from various bourgeois liberals. And the would-be Republican Vogt allows himself to descend to this—admittedly with an extremely bitter-sweet expression and not without people seeing how much it pained him, but he did so, nevertheless. Malicious tongues and members of the Brimstone Gang wanted to maintain that the good Vogt only submitted to all these belly-aches and grimaces in return for what the English call a CONSIDERATION, i.e. hard cash, from the Bonapartist camp. And indeed all manner of suspicious things had occurred. Vogt had made offers of money to various people on condition that they would support his views in the press, i.e. that they would praise Louis Bonaparte's liberationist intentions.[a] Herr Brass whose virtue is well known to be above suspicion ever since he took over the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung,* publicly spurned the "French feeding-trough Vogt wished to put before him".[b] But we prefer to say no more about these disagreeable matters and instead surmise that Vogt's belly-aches and grimaces were his by nature. Now, in the meantime, the disaster of Sedan[49] had taken place and with it everything has changed for Herr Vogt. The French liberator emperor himself is now treated with a certain reserve, and all that we learn about him is that

> "the revolution was at his heels. Even without the war the Empire would not have seen the New Year of 1871 at the Tuileries " (p. 1).

But his wife! Just listen:

> "Of course, if Eugénie had been victorious (for this uneducated Spanish woman who cannot even spell correctly, stands, or rather stood in the field with an entire dragon's tail of fanatical priests and peasants behind her), if Eugénie had been victorious, the situation would for a moment have become even more terrible" than after the Prussian victories, etc.

So, what it amounts to is this: when the French defeated the Austrians in 1859,[18] it was Bonaparte the liberator who conquered; if they had been victorious over the Prussians in 1870, it would

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[a] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung. Stenographischer Bericht, Dokumente und Erläuterungen,* Geneva, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] "Neues aus Kantonen", *Neue Schweizer Zeitung,* No. 11, November 12, 1859.—*Ed.*

have been uneducated Eugénie with her dragon's tail who was victorious. The progress can be seen.

An even worse fate is in store for the dragon's tail of Louis Bonaparte, for it turns out now that he has one, too. Already on p. 4 we find a reference to his "terrible squandering of the resources of the Empire", and on p. 16, to the "rabble that stood at the head of the Imperial army and administration". This squandering and this rabble were already fully apparent in 1859 and long before. Vogt, who overlooked them at the time, now sees them quite clearly. Further progress. But even this is not sufficient. Even though Vogt does not exactly abuse his erstwhile liberator, he still cannot refrain from quoting from a letter by a French scholar who writes:

> "If you have any influence at all, try to save us from the worst disgrace of all—celle de ramener l'infâme" (that of bringing the *infamous* one. Louis Bonaparte, back). "Rather Henri V, the Orléans, a Hohenzollern, anyone rather than this *crowned Traupmann*[162] *who contaminates everything he touches*" (p. 13).

For all that, however bad the Ex-Emperor and his uneducated spouse with their respective dragon's tails might be, Vogt consoles us that at least one member of the family is an exception: Prince Napoleon, better known by the name of Plon-Plon. Of him Vogt says on p. 33 that Plon-Plon himself told Vogt that "he would have no respect for the South Germans if they were to act otherwise" (i.e. if they did not join in the war against the French); that he was also convinced that the war would end in failure and had made no secret of it. So, who would venture to accuse Vogt of ingratitude? Is it not touching to see how the "republican" extends a fraternal hand to the "Prince" even in misfortune, and writes him a reference to which the latter may appeal when the great competition opens to find a replacement for the "infamous one"?

In the *Studies* Russia and Russian politics are commended throughout. Since the abolition of serfdom the Russian Empire has been "an ally of the liberation movement rather than its opponent"; Poland is well on the way to merging with Russia (as was demonstrated by the uprising of 1863!), and Vogt thinks it perfectly natural that Russia should

> "form the strong point around which the Slav nations strive increasingly to unite".

And the fact that at that time, in 1859, Russian policies and those of Louis Napoleon went hand in hand, was, of course, a great virtue in Vogt's eyes. Now, however, all is changed—we now

hear:

"I do not doubt for a moment that a conflict between the Slav and the Germanic world is imminent ... and that Russia will assume the leadership of one side in it" (pp. 30, 31).

And he goes on to argue that, after the annexation of Alsace, France will immediately take the side of the Slavs in this conflict, and will even do everything possible to hasten the breaking out of the conflict in order to regain Alsace. Thus, the same Franco-Russian alliance that had been deemed a piece of good fortune for Germany in 1859 is now held out as a bugbear and nightmare. But Vogt knows his German philistine. He knows he can say anything to him and even contradict himself a dozen times over. But we can't help asking ourselves how Vogt could have had the effrontery eleven years previously to praise to the skies an alliance between Russia and Bonapartist France as the best guarantee of the free development of Germany and Europe?

And as for Prussia! In the *Studies* Prussia is clearly given to understand that she should lend in direct support to Louis Napoleon's plans against Austria and confine herself to the defence of the territory of the German Confederation, and then "she would receive her reward at the subsequent peace negotiations in the form of concessions in the North German plains". The frontiers of the later North German Confederation[9]—the Erzgebirge, the Main and the sea—were already being held out to Prussia as bait even at this time. And in the Postscript to the second edition which appeared during the Italian War, at a time when the flames were already licking at the Bonapartists' fingernails and there was no time to be wasted on circumlocutions and figures of speech, Vogt suddenly bursts out with the candid demands that Prussia launch a civil war in Germany in order to set up a unified central government and incorporate Germany into Prussia—such a unification of Germany would not cost as many weeks as the war in Italy[a] would cost months. Well and good. Exactly seven years later, and likewise in agreement with Louis Napoleon, Prussia acts precisely in accordance with the Bonapartist insinuations mechanically echoed by Vogt; she plunges into a civil war, seizes her reward in the North German plains in the meantime, establishes a unified central government at least for the North—and what does Herr Vogt do? Herr Vogt suddenly comes up to us, whining and bewailing the fact that "the war of 1870 was

[a] C. Vogt, *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas*, Geneva and Berne, 1859.—*Ed.*

the necessary and inexorable consequence of the war of 1866"[5]! (P. 3.) He complains about the policy of insatiable conquest pursued by Prussia which always "bites at a proffered conquest like a shark at a piece of bacon" (p. 20).

"Nowhere have I ever seen a state and a people who so deserved this name (robber state) as Prussia" (p. 35).

He deplores the incorporation of Germany into Prussia as the greatest misfortune that could happen to Germany and Europe (Letters 8 and 9). So, that's what Bismarck gets for following Vogt's advice, and that's what Vogt gets for offering advice to Bismarck.

Thus far, all seemed to be going fine for our Vogt for the present. The old scandals really had been forgotten by the philistines, the *Studies* were long since dead and buried. Vogt could again present himself as a respectable citizen and a passable democrat, and he could even flatter himself that his *Political Letters* were helping to stem the tide of ordinary philistinism in Germany. Even the fatal coincidence of his views with those of the Social-Democrats on the annexation issue could only redound to his credit: since Vogt had not gone over to the Brimstone Gang, the Brimstone Gang must have gone over to Vogt! But all at once a narrow, thin line catches the eye in the recently published appropriations lists of the secret funds of Louis Napoleon:

"Vogt—il lui a été remis en Août 1859 ... frs 40,000."
"Vogt—in August 1859 has been sent a remittance of 40,000 francs."[a]

Vogt? Who is Vogt? What a misfortune for Vogt that the description was not more specific! Had it said, Professor Karl Vogt in Geneva, giving the name of the street and the number of his house, Vogt could have said: It's not me, it's my brother, my wife, my eldest son—anyone but me—but as things stand! Just plain Vogt without title, first name, address—well, that can only be the one Vogt, the world-famous scholar, the great discoverer of the round-worms and the flat-worms, of the long skulls and the short skulls, and of the Brimstone Gang, the man whose reputation is so well known, even to the police administering the secret fund, that any more detailed description would be superfluous! And then—is there any other Vogt who could have rendered such services to the Bonapartist government in 1859 that it should have paid him 40,000 francs in the August of that year (*and Vogt just happened to be in Paris at the time*)? That you rendered the services, Herr Vogt, is public

[a] *Papiers et correspondance de la famille impériale.* Edition collationnée sur le texte de l'imprimerie nationale. T. 2. Paris, 1871.—*Ed.*

knowledge. Your *Studies* are the proof of it. The first edition of those *Studies* came out in the spring, the second appeared in the summer. You yourself have admitted that you offered many people money to act in the Bonapartist interests from April 1, 1859 until well into the summer of that year.[a] *In August 1859, after the war had come to an end, you were in Paris*—and are we now supposed to believe that the Vogt to whom Bonaparte paid out 40,000 francs in August 1859 was another, wholly unknown Vogt? Impossible. We swear by all round-worms and flat-worms: until you can prove the opposite to us, we must assume that you are the Vogt in question.

But you will perhaps say, that is an assertion based on nothing but the word of the present French government, that is to say, of the members of the Commune, or what amounts to the same thing, the communists, also known as the Brimstone Gang. Who can believe such people? But the answer to this is that the publication of the *Correspondence and papers of the Imperial family* was arranged by the *Government of National Defence,* whose *official* act it is for which it takes responsibility. And what was your opinion of this government, of Jules Favre, Trochu, etc.?

"The men who have been expedited to the top, are second to no one in their intelligence, energy and tested principles—but they cannot achieve the impossible."

That is what you say on p. 52. No, Herr Vogt, they cannot achieve the impossible, but they could at least have suppressed your name in gratitude for your warm recognition, something which it has rarely been their lot to receive!

But, as you yourself point out, Herr Vogt, "Money is still the equivalent of the damage which the individual suffers to his person" (p. 24), and if your worthy person has suffered any "damage", hopefully only "moral" damage, in consequence of your political somersaults of 1859, you can at least console yourself with the "equivalent".

When the alarms of war broke loose last summer you were

"convinced that the entire performance of the French Government was designed to conceal the tremendous squandering of the resources of the Empire by pretending war preparations. Under Louis Philipp it was the *wood-worm* that was called upon to perform the same function: all the outgoings of the secret budget were attributed to the timber account of the navy. Under the Empire the wood-worms of the entire globe would not have sufficed to conceal the deficit" (p. 4).

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[a] Vogt's letter of April 21, 1871 entitled "An die Redaktion des schweiz. Handels-Couriers", *Schweizer Handels-Courier,* No. 113, April 23, 1871.—*Ed.*

So, we have arrived back to our beloved worms, the wood-worms in this case. To which class do they belong, to the round-worms or the flat-worms? Who could resolve this riddle? Only you, Herr Vogt, and you resolve it in reality. According to the *Correspondence etc.,* you are yourself one of the "wood-worms" and have helped to consume "the outgoings of the secret budget" to the tune of 40,000 francs. And that you are a "*round*-worm" is evident to everyone who knows you.

Written not later than May 4, 1871

Printed according to the newspaper

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Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx

## THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE

### ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION [163]

Written between the middle of April and the end of May 1871

Published as a pamphlet in London in the middle of June 1871 and in various European countries and the USA in 1871 and 1872

Reproduced from the third English edition of 1871, verified with the text of the German editions of 1871 and 1891

THE

# CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE.

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## ADDRESS

OF

## THE GENERAL COUNCIL

OF THE

## INTERNATIONAL WORKING-MEN'S ASSOCIATION.

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*THIRD EDITION, REVISED.*

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Printed and Published for the Council by

EDWARD TRUELOVE, 256, HIGH HOLBORN.

1871.

**Price Twopence.**

The title-page of the third English edition
of *The Civil War in France*

## TO ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES

### I

On the 4th of September, 1870, when the working men of Paris proclaimed the Republic, which was almost instantaneously acclaimed throughout France, without a single voice of dissent, a cabal of place-hunting barristers, with Thiers for their statesman and Trochu for their general, took hold of the Hôtel de Ville. At that time they were imbued with so fanatical a faith in the mission of Paris to represent France in all epochs of historical crisis, that, to legitimate their usurped titles as Governors of France, they thought it quite sufficient to produce their lapsed mandates as representatives of Paris. In our second address on the late War, five days after the rise of these men, we told you who they were.[a] Yet, in the turmoil of surprise, with the real leaders of the working class still shut up in Bonapartist prisons and the Prussians already marching upon Paris, Paris bore with their assumption of power, on the express condition that it was to be wielded for the single purpose of national defence. Paris, however, was not to be defended without arming its working class, organizing them into an effective force, and training their ranks by the war itself. But Paris armed was the Revolution armed. A victory of Paris over the Prussian aggressor would have been a victory of the French workman over the French capitalist and his State parasites. In this conflict between national duty and class interest, the Government of National Defence did not hesitate one moment to turn into a Government of National Defection.

The first step they took was to send Thiers on a roving tour to all the courts of Europe, there to beg mediation by offering the

[a] See this volume, p. 268.—*Ed.*

barter of the Republic for a king. Four months after the commencement of the siege, when they thought the opportune moment come for breaking the first word of capitulation, Trochu, in the presence of Jules Favre and others of his colleagues, addressed the assembled mayors of Paris in these terms:—

"The first question put to me by my colleagues on the very evening of the 4th of September was this: Paris, can it, with any chance of success stand a siege by the Prussian army? I did not hesitate to answer in the negative. Some of my colleagues here present will warrant the truth of my words and the persistence of my opinion. I told them, in these very terms, that, under the existing state of things, the attempt of Paris to hold out a siege by the Prussian army, would be a folly. Without doubt, I added, it would be an heroic folly; but that would be all.... The events" (managed by himself) "have not given the lie to my prevision."[a]

This nice little speech of Trochu was afterwards published by M. Corbon, one of the mayors present.

Thus, on the very evening of the proclamation of the Republic, Trochu's "plan" was known to his colleagues to be the capitulation of Paris. If national defence had been more than a pretext for the personal government of Thiers, Favre, & Co., the upstarts of the 4th of September would have abdicated on the 5th—would have initiated the Paris people into Trochu's "plan," and called upon them to surrender at once, or to take their own fate into their own hands. Instead of this, the infamous impostors resolved upon curing the heroic folly of Paris by a regimen of famine and broken heads, and to dupe her in the meanwhile by ranting manifestoes, holding forth that Trochu, "the Governor of Paris, will never capitulate,"[b] and Jules Favre, the Foreign Minister, will "not cede an inch of our territory, nor a stone of our fortresses."[c] In a letter to Gambetta, that very same Jules Favre avows that what they were "defending" against were not the Prussian soldiers, but the working men of Paris. During the whole continuance of the siege the Bonapartist cut-throats, whom Trochu had wisely intrusted with the command of the Paris army, exchanged, in their intimate correspondence, ribald jokes at the well-understood mockery of defence (see, for instance, the correspondence of Alphonse Simon Guiod, supreme commander of the artillery of the Army of Defence of Paris and Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, to

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[a] "Paris au jour le jour", *Le Figaro*, No. 74, March 19, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] L. J. Trochu, [Proclamation aux habitants de Paris. Paris, 6 janvier 1871], *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 7, January 7, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] J. Favre, "Circulaire adressée aux agents diplomatiques de France... Le 6 septembre 1870", *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 246, September 7, 1870.—*Ed.*

Susane, general of division of artillery, a correspondence published by the *Journal officiel* of the Commune[a]). The mask of imposture was at last dropped on the 28th of January, 1871.[164] With the true heroism of utter self-debasement, the Government of National Defence, in their capitulation, came out as the Government of France by Bismarck's prisoners—a part so base that Louis Bonaparte himself had, at Sedan, shrunk from accepting it. After the events of the 18th of March, on their wild flight to Versailles, the *capitulards*[165] left in the hands of Paris the documentary evidence of their treason, to destroy which, as the Commune says in its manifesto to the provinces,

"those men would not recoil from battering Paris into a heap of ruins washed by a sea of blood."[b]

To be eagerly bent upon such a consummation, some of the leading members of the Government of Defence had, besides, most peculiar reasons of their own.

Shortly after the conclusion of the armistice, M. Millière, one of the representatives of Paris to the National Assembly, now shot by express order of Jules Favre, published a series of authentic legal documents[c] in proof that Jules Favre, living in concubinage with the wife of a drunkard resident at Algiers,[d] had, by a most daring concoction of forgeries, spread over many years, contrived to grasp, in the name of the children of his adultery, a large succession, which made him a rich man, and that, in a lawsuit undertaken by the legitimate heirs, he only escaped exposure by the connivance of the Bonapartist tribunals. As these dry legal documents were not to be got rid of by any amount of rhetorical horse-power, Jules Favre, for the first time in his life, held his tongue, quietly awaiting the outbreak of the civil war, in order, then, frantically to denounce the people of Paris as a band of escaped convicts in utter revolt against family, religion, order, and property. This same forger had hardly got into power, after the 4th of September, when he sympathetically let loose upon society Pic and Taillefer, convicted, even under the Empire, of forgery, in the scandalous affair of the *Étendard*.[166] One of these men, Taillefer, having dared to return to Paris under the Commune,

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[a] See "Le Gouvernement de la Défense nationale", *La Situation,* No. 189, April 29, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] "Manifeste", *Le Vengeur,* No. 30, April 28, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] See J.-B. E. Millière, "Le Faussaire", *Le Vengeur,* No. 6, February 8, 1871.—*Ed.*

[d] Jeanne Charmont, who lived separate from her husband Vernier.—*Ed.*

was at once reinstated in prison; and then Jules Favre exclaimed, from the tribune of the National Assembly, that Paris was setting free all her jailbirds!

Ernest Picard, the Joe Miller[a] of the Government of National Defence, who appointed himself Finance Minister of the Republic after having in vain striven to become the Home Minister of the Empire, is the brother of one Arthur Picard, an individual expelled from the Paris Bourse as a blackleg (see report of the Prefecture of Police, dated 31st July, 1867), and convicted, on his own confession, of a theft of 300,000 francs, while manager of one of the branches of the *Société Générale,*[167] rue Palestro, No. 5 (see report of the Prefecture of Police, 11th December, 1868).[b] This Arthur Picard was made by Ernest Picard the editor of his paper, *L'Électeur libre.* While the common run of stockjobbers were led astray by the official lies of this Finance-Office paper, Arthur was running backwards and forwards between the Finance Office and the Bourse, there to discount the disasters of the French army. The whole financial correspondence of that worthy pair of brothers fell into the hands of the Commune.

Jules Ferry, a penniless barrister before the 4th of September, contrived, as Mayor of Paris during the siege, to job a fortune out of famine. The day on which he would have to give an account of his maladministration would be the day of his conviction.

These men, then, could find, in the ruins of Paris only, their tickets-of-leave*: they were the very men Bismarck wanted. With the help of some shuffling of cards, Thiers, hitherto the secret prompter of the Government, now appeared at its head, with the ticket-of-leave men for his Ministers.

Thiers, that monstrous gnome, has charmed the French bourgeoisie for almost half a century, because he is the most consummate intellectual expression of their own class-corruption. Before he became a statesman he had already proved his lying powers as an historian. The chronicle of his public life is the record of the misfortunes of France. Banded, before 1830, with the Republicans, he slipped into office under Louis Philippe by betraying his protector Laffitte, ingratiating himself with the king by exciting mob-riots against the clergy, during which the church

* In England common criminals, after serving the greater part of their terms, are often given TICKETS-OF-LEAVE authorising them to live under the surveillance of the police. They are called TICKET-OF-LEAVE MEN. *(Engels' Note to the 1871 German edition.)*

[a] The 1871 and 1891 German editions have "Karl Vogt" instead of "Joe Miller" and the 1871 French edition has "Falstaff".— *Ed.*

[b] See "Le Sieur Picard", *La Situation,* No. 168, April 4, 1871.— *Ed.*

of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois and the Archbishop's palace were plundered, and by acting the minister-spy upon, and the jail-accoucheur of, the Duchess de Berry.[168] The massacre of the Republicans in the Rue Transnonain, and the subsequent infamous laws of September against the press and the right of association, were his work.[169] Reappearing as the chief of the Cabinet in March, 1840, he astonished France with his plan of fortifying Paris.[170] To the Republicans, who denounced this plan as a sinister plot against the liberty of Paris, he replied from the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies:—

"What! to fancy that any works of fortification could ever endanger liberty! And first of all you calumniate any possible Government in supposing that it could some day attempt to maintain itself by bombarding the capital;... but that government would be a hundred times more impossible after its victory than before."[a]

Indeed, no Government would ever have dared to bombard Paris from the forts, but that Government which had previously surrendered these forts to the Prussians.

When King Bomba tried his hand at Palermo,[171] in January, 1848, Thiers, then long since out of office, again rose in the Chamber of Deputies:

"You know, gentlemen, what is happening at Palermo. You, all of you, shake with horror" (in the parliamentary sense) "on hearing that during forty-eight hours a large town has been bombarded—by whom? Was it by a foreign enemy exercising the rights of war? No, gentlemen, it was by its own Government. And why? Because that unfortunate town demanded its rights. Well, then, for the demand of its rights it has got forty-eight hours of bombardment.... Allow me to appeal to the opinion of Europe. It is doing a service to mankind to arise, and to make reverberate, from what is perhaps the greatest tribune in Europe, some words" (indeed words) "of indignation against such acts.... When the Regent Espartero, who had rendered services to his country," (which M. Thiers never did) "intended bombarding Barcelona, in order to suppress its insurrection, there arose from all parts of the world a general outcry of indignation."[b]

Eighteen months afterwards, M. Thiers was amongst the fiercest defenders of the bombardment of Rome by a French army.[172] In fact, the fault of King Bomba seems to have consisted in this only, that he limited his bombardment to forty-eight hours.

A few days before the Revolution of February, fretting at the long exile from place and pelf to which Guizot had condemned him, and sniffing in the air the scent of an approaching popular

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[a] L. A. Thiers' speech at the sitting of the Chamber of Deputies, on January 13, 1841, *Le Vengeur*, No. 14, April 12, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] L. A. Thiers' speech at the sitting of the Chamber of Deputies on January 31, 1848, *Le Rappel*, No. 673, April 17, 1871; *Le Vengeur*, No. 21, April 19, 1871.—*Ed.*

commotion, Thiers, in that pseudo-heroic style which won him the nickname of *Mirabeau-mouche,* declared to the Chamber of Deputies:

"I am of the party of Revolution, not only in France, but in Europe. I wish the Government of the Revolution to remain in the hands of moderate men ... but if that Government should fall into the hands of ardent minds, even into those of Radicals, I shall, for all that, not desert my cause. I shall always be of the party of the Revolution."[a]

The Revolution of February came. Instead of displacing the Guizot Cabinet by the Thiers Cabinet, as the little man had dreamt, it superseded Louis Philippe by the Republic. On the first day of the popular victory he carefully hid himself, forgetting that the contempt of the working men screened him from their hatred. Still, with his legendary courage, he continued to shy the public stage, until the June massacres[133] had cleared it for his sort of action. Then he became the leading mind of the "Party of Order"[173] and its Parliamentary Republic, that anonymous interregnum, in which all the rival factions of the ruling class conspired together to crush the people, and conspired against each other to restore each of them its own monarchy. Then, as now, Thiers denounced the Republicans as the only obstacle to the consolidation of the Republic; then, as now, he spoke to the Republic as the hangman spoke to Don Carlos—"I shall assassinate thee, but for thy own good." Now, as then, he will have to exclaim on the day after his victory: *L'Empire est fait*—the Empire is consummated. Despite his hypocritical homilies about necessary liberties[174] and his personal grudge against Louis Bonaparte, who had made a dupe of him, and kicked out parliamentarism—and outside of its factitious atmosphere the little man is conscious of withering into nothingness—he had a hand in all the infamies of the Second Empire, from the occupation of Rome by French troops to the war with Prussia, which he incited by his fierce invective against German unity—not as a cloak of Prussian despotism, but as an encroachment upon the vested right of France in German disunion. Fond of brandishing, with his dwarfish arms, in the face of Europe the sword of the first Napoleon, whose historical shoe-black he had become,[b] his foreign policy always culminated in the utter humiliation of France, from the London convention of 1840[100] to the Paris capitulation of 1871, and the present civil war,

[a] L. A. Thiers' speech at the sitting of the Chamber of Deputies on February 2, 1848, *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 34, February 3, 1848.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to Thiers' books *Histoire de la Révolution française* and *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire.*—*Ed.*

where he hounds on the prisoners of Sedan and Metz against Paris by special permission of Bismarck.[175] Despite his versatility of talent and shiftiness of purpose, this man has his whole lifetime been wedded to the most fossil routine. It is self-evident that to him the deeper under-currents of modern society remained for ever hidden; but even the most palpable changes on its surface were abhorrent to a brain all the vitality of which had fled to the tongue. Thus he never tired of denouncing as a sacrilege any deviation from the old French protective system. When a minister of Louis Philippe, he railed at railways as a wild chimera; and when in opposition under Louis Bonaparte, he branded as a profanation every attempt to reform the rotten French army system. Never in his long political career has he been guilty of a single—even the smallest—measure of any practical use. Thiers was consistent only in his greed for wealth and his hatred of the men that produce it. Having entered his first ministry under Louis Philippe poor as Job, he left it a millionaire. His last ministry under the same king (of the 1st of March, 1840) exposed him to public taunts of peculation in the Chamber of Deputies, to which he was content to reply by tears—a commodity he deals in as freely as Jules Favre, or any other crocodile. At Bordeaux[a] his first measure for saving France from impending financial ruin was to endow himself with three millions a year,[b] the first and the last word of the "Economical Republic," the vista of which he had opened to his Paris electors in 1869. One of his former colleagues of the Chamber of Deputies of 1830, himself a capitalist and, nevertheless, a devoted member of the Paris Commune, M. Beslay, lately addressed Thiers thus in a public placard:—

"The enslavement of labour by capital has always been the corner-stone of your policy, and from the very day you saw the Republic of Labour installed at the Hôtel de Ville, you have never ceased to cry out to France: 'These are criminals!'"[c]

A master in small state roguery, a virtuoso in perjury and treason, a craftsman in all the petty stratagems, cunning devices, and base perfidies of Parliamentary party-warfare; never scrupling, when out of office, to fan a revolution, and to stifle it in blood when at the helm of the State; with class prejudices standing him in the place of ideas, and vanity in the place of a heart; his private life as infamous as his public life is odious—even now, when

[a] The 1891 German edition has "in 1871".—*Ed.*

[b] "All the Government officials...", *The Daily News,* No. 7763, March 18, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] Ch. Beslay, "Au citoyen Thiers...", *Le Mot d'Ordre,* No. 64, April 28, 1871.—*Ed.*

playing the part of a French Sulla, he cannot help setting off the abomination of his deeds by the ridicule of his ostentation.

The capitulation of Paris, by surrendering to Prussia not only Paris, but all France, closed the long-continued intrigues of treason with the enemy, which the usurpers of the 4th September had begun, as Trochu himself said, on that very same day.[a] On the other hand, it initiated the civil war they were now to wage, with the assistance of Prussia, against the Republic and Paris. The trap was laid in the very terms of the capitulation. At that time above one-third of the territory was in the hands of the enemy, the capital was cut off from the provinces, all communications were disorganized. To elect under such circumstances a real representation of France was impossible, unless ample time were given for preparation. In view of this, the capitulation stipulated that a National Assembly must be elected within eight days; so that in many parts of France the news of the impending election arrived on its eve only. This Assembly, moreover, was, by an express clause of the capitulation, to be elected for the sole purpose of deciding on peace or war, and, eventually, to conclude a treaty of peace.[b] The population could not but feel that the terms of the armistice rendered the continuation of the war impossible, and that for sanctioning the peace imposed by Bismarck, the worst men in France were the best. But not content with these precautions, Thiers, even before the secret of the armistice had been broached to Paris, set out for an electioneering tour through the provinces, there to galvanize back into life the Legitimist party,[176] which now, along with the Orleanists, had to take the place of the then impossible Bonapartists. He was not afraid of them. Impossible as a government of modern France, and, therefore, contemptible as rivals, what party were more eligible as tools of counter-revolution[c] than the party whose action, in the words of Thiers himself (Chamber of Deputies, 5th January, 1833),

> "had always been confined to the three resources of foreign invasion, civil war, and anarchy"?[d]

They verily believed in the advent of their long-expected retrospective millennium. There were the heels of foreign invasion

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[a] See "Paris au jour le jour", *Le Figaro,* No. 74, March 19, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] See *Convention entre l'Allemagne et la France pour la suspension des hostilités et la capitulation de Paris; signée à Versailles, le 28 janvier 1871,* art. 2.—*Ed.*

[c] The 1871 and 1891 German editions have "reaction".—*Ed.*

[d] Cited in *La Tribune de Bordeaux,* April 25, 1871.—*Ed.*

trampling upon France; there was the downfall of an Empire, and the captivity of a Bonaparte; and there they were themselves. The wheel of history had evidently rolled back to stop at the "chambre introuvable"[a] of 1816.[177] In the Assemblies of the Republic, 1848 to '51, they had been represented by their educated and trained Parliamentary champions; it was the rank-and-file of the party which now rushed in—all the Pourceaugnacs of France.

As soon as this assembly of "Rurals" had met at Bordeaux,[178] Thiers made it clear to them that the peace preliminaries must be assented to at once, without even the honours of a Parliamentary debate, as the only condition on which Prussia would permit them to open the war against the Republic and Paris, its stronghold.[b] The counter-revolution had, in fact, no time to lose. The Second Empire had more than doubled the national debt, and plunged all the large towns into heavy municipal debts. The war had fearfully swelled the liabilities, and mercilessly ravaged the resources of the nation. To complete the ruin, the Prussian Shylock was there with his bond for the keep of half a million of his soldiers on French soil, his indemnity of five milliards, and interest at 5 per cent on the unpaid instalments thereof.[179] Who was to pay the bill? It was only by the violent overthrow of the Republic that the appropriators of wealth could hope to shift on to the shoulders of its producers the cost of a war which they, the appropriators, had themselves originated. Thus, the immense ruin of France spurred on these patriotic representatives of land and capital, under the very eyes and patronage of the invader, to graft upon the foreign war a civil war—a slaveholders' rebellion.

There stood in the way of this conspiracy one great obstacle—Paris. To disarm Paris was the first condition of success. Paris was therefore summoned by Thiers to surrender its arms. Then Paris was exasperated by the frantic anti-republican demonstrations of the "Rural" Assembly and by Thiers's own equivocations about the legal status of the Republic; by the threat to decapitate and decapitalize Paris; the appointment of Orleanist ambassadors; Dufaure's laws on over-due commercial bills and house-rents,[180] inflicting ruin on the commerce and industry of Paris; Pouyer-Quertier's tax of two centimes upon every copy of every imaginable publication; the sentences of death against Blanqui and

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[a] The 1871 and 1891 German editions have further: "the Chamber of Landraths and Junkers".—*Ed.*

[b] L. A. Thiers' speech in the National Assembly on February 28, 1871, *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 60, March 1, 1871.—*Ed.*

Flourens; the suppression of the Republican journals; the transfer of the National Assembly to Versailles; the renewal of the state of siege declared by Palikao, and expired on the 4th of September; the appointment of Vinoy, the *Décembriseur,*[181] as governor of Paris—of Valentin, the Imperialist *gendarme,* as its prefect of police—and of D'Aurelle de Paladines, the Jesuit general, as the commander-in-chief of its National Guard.[a]

And now we have to address a question to M. Thiers and the men of national defence, his understrappers. It is known that, through the agency of M. Pouyer-Quertier, his finance minister, Thiers had contracted a loan of two milliards. Now, is it true, or not,—

1. That the business was so managed that a consideration of several hundred millions was secured for the private benefit of Thiers, Jules Favre, Ernest Picard, Pouyer-Quertier, and Jules Simon? and—

2. That no money was to be paid down until after the "pacification" of Paris?[182]

At all events, there must have been something very pressing in the matter, for Thiers and Jules Favre, in the name of the majority of the Bordeaux Assembly, unblushingly solicited the immediate occupation of Paris by Prussian troops. Such, however, was not the game of Bismarck, as he sneeringly, and in public, told the admiring Frankfort Philistines on his return to Germany.[b]

## II

Armed Paris was the only serious obstacle in the way of the counter-revolutionary conspiracy. Paris was, therefore, to be disarmed. On this point the Bordeaux Assembly was sincerity itself. If the roaring rant of its Rurals had not been audible enough, the surrender of Paris by Thiers to the tender mercies of the triumvirate of Vinoy the *Décembriseur,* Valentin the Bonapartist *gendarme,* and Aurelle de Paladines the Jesuit general, would have cut off even the last subterfuge of doubt. But while insultingly exhibiting the true purpose of the disarmament of Paris, the conspirators asked her to lay down her arms on a pretext which was the most glaring, the most barefaced of lies. The artillery of

[a] See "The scanty news from the capital of Revolution...", *The Daily News,* No. 7774, March 30, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] See report from Germany in the column "Révélations", *La Situation,* No. 156, March 21, 1871.—*Ed.*

the Paris National Guard, said Thiers, belonged to the State, and to the State it must be returned.[a] The fact was this:—From the very day of the capitulation, by which Bismarck's prisoners had signed the surrender of France, but reserved to themselves a numerous body-guard for the express purpose of cowing Paris, Paris stood on the watch. The National Guard reorganized themselves and intrusted their supreme control to a Central Committee elected by their whole body, save some fragments of the old Bonapartist formations. On the eve of the entrance of the Prussians into Paris, the Central Committee took measures for the removal to Montmartre, Belleville, and La Villette of the cannon and mitrailleuses treacherously abandoned by the capitulards in and about the very quarters the Prussians were to occupy. That artillery had been furnished by the subscriptions of the National Guard. As their private property, it was officially recognized in the capitulation of the 28th of January, and on that very title exempted from the general surrender, into the hands of the conqueror, of arms belonging to the Government.[b] And Thiers was so utterly destitute of even the flimsiest pretext for initiating the war against Paris, that he had to resort to the flagrant lie of the artillery of the National Guard being State property!

The seizure of her artillery was evidently but to serve as the preliminary to the general disarmament of Paris, and, therefore, of the Revolution of the 4th of September. But that Revolution had become the legal status of France. The republic, its work, was recognized by the conqueror in the terms of the capitulation. After the capitulation, it was acknowledged by all the foreign Powers, and in its name the National Assembly had been summoned. The Paris working men's revolution of the 4th of September was the only legal title of the National Assembly seated at Bordeaux, and of its executive. Without it, the National Assembly would at once have to give way to the Corps Législatif, elected in 1869 by universal suffrage under French, not under Prussian, rule, and forcibly dispersed by the arm of the Revolution. Thiers and his ticket-of-leave men[c] would have had to capitulate for safe-conducts signed by Louis Bonaparte, to save them from a voyage to Cayenne.[183] The National Assembly, with its power of attorney to settle the terms of peace with Prussia, was

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[a] L. A. Thiers' proclamation of March 17, 1871 to the inhabitants of Paris, *The Daily News*, No. 7765, March 20, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] *Convention entre l'Allemagne et la France pour la suspension des hostilités et la capitulation de Paris: signée à Versailles, le 28 janvier 1871*, art. 7.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 314.—*Ed.*

but an incident of that Revolution, the true embodiment of which was still armed Paris, which had initiated it, undergone for it a five months' siege, with its horrors of famine, and made her prolonged resistance, despite Trochu's plan, the basis of an obstinate war of defence in the provinces. And Paris was now either to lay down her arms at the insulting behest of the rebellious slaveholders of Bordeaux, and acknowledge that her Revolution of the 4th of September meant nothing but a simple transfer of power from Louis Bonaparte to his Royal rivals; or she had to stand forward as the self-sacrificing champion of France, whose salvation from ruin, and whose regeneration were impossible, without the revolutionary overthrow of the political and social conditions that had engendered the second Empire, and, under its fostering care, matured into utter rottenness. Paris, emaciated by a five months' famine, did not hesitate one moment. She heroically resolved to run all the hazards of a resistance against the French conspirators, even with Prussian cannon frowning upon her from her own forts. Still, in its abhorrence of the civil war into which Paris was to be goaded, the Central Committee continued to persist in a merely defensive attitude, despite the provocations of the Assembly, the usurpations of the Executive, and the menacing concentration of troops in and around Paris.

Thiers opened the civil war by sending Vinoy, at the head of a multitude of *sergents-de-ville* and some regiments of the line, upon a nocturnal expedition[a] against Montmartre, there to seize, by surprise, the artillery of the National Guard. It is well known how this attempt broke down before the resistance of the National Guard and the fraternization of the line with the people. Aurelle de Paladines had printed beforehand his bulletin of victory, and Thiers held ready the placards announcing his measures of *coup d'état.* Now these had to be replaced by Thiers' appeals, imparting his magnanimous resolve to leave the National Guard in the possession of their arms, with which, he said, he felt sure they would rally round the Government against the rebels.[b] Out of 300,000 National Guards only 300 responded to this summons to rally round little Thiers against themselves. The glorious working men's Revolution of the 18th March took undisputed sway of Paris. The Central Committee was its provisional Government. Europe seemed, for a moment, to doubt whether its recent

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[a] The 1871 and 1891 German editions have "night raids".—*Ed.*

[b] See L. A. Thiers' proclamation of March 17, 1871 to the inhabitants of Paris, *The Daily News,* No. 7765, March 20, 1871.—*Ed.*

sensational performances of state and war had any reality in them, or whether they were the dreams of a long bygone past.

From the 18th of March to the entrance of the Versailles troops into Paris, the proletarian revolution remained so free from the acts of violence in which the revolutions, and still more the counter-revolutions, of the "better classes" abound, that no facts were left to its opponents to cry out about, but the execution of Generals Lecomte and Clément Thomas, and the affair of the Place Vendôme.

One of the Bonapartist officers engaged in the nocturnal attempt against Montmartre, General Lecomte, had four times ordered the 81st line regiment to fire at an unarmed gathering in the Place Pigalle, and on their refusal fiercely insulted them. Instead of shooting women and children, his own men shot him. The inveterate habits acquired by the soldiery under the training of the enemies of the working class are, of course, not likely to change the very moment these soldiers change sides. The same men executed Clément Thomas.

"General" Clément Thomas, a malcontent ex-quartermaster-sergeant, had, in the latter times of Louis Philippe's reign, enlisted at the office of the Republican newspaper *Le National,* there to serve in the double capacity of responsible man-of-straw (*gérant responsable*[a]) and of duelling bully to that very combative journal. After the revolution of February, the men of the *National* having got into power, they metamorphosed this old quartermaster-sergeant into a general on the eve of the butchery of June, of which he, like Jules Favre, was one of the sinister plotters, and became one of the most dastardly executioners. Then he and his generalship disappeared for a long time, to again rise to the surface on the 1st November, 1870. The day before the Government of Defence, caught at the Hôtel de Ville, had solemnly pledged their parole to Blanqui, Flourens, and other representatives of the working class, to abdicate their usurped power into the hands of a commune to be freely elected by Paris.[184] Instead of keeping their word they let loose on Paris the Bretons of Trochu, who now replaced the Corsicans of Bonaparte.[185] General Tamisier alone, refusing to sully his name by such a breach of faith, resigned the commandership-in-chief of the National Guard, and in his place Clément Thomas for once became again a general. During the whole of his tenure of

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[a] Responsible editor. The 1871 and 1891 German editions have further: "who takes upon himself the responsibility including imprisonment".—*Ed.*

command, he made war, not upon the Prussians, but upon the Paris National Guard. He prevented their general armament, pitted the bourgeois battalions against the working men's battalions, weeded out the officers hostile to Trochu's "plan," and disbanded, under the stigma of cowardice, the very same proletarian battalions whose heroism has now astonished their most inveterate enemies. Clément Thomas felt quite proud of having reconquered his June[a] pre-eminence as the personal enemy of the working class of Paris. Only a few days before the 18th of March, he laid before the War Minister, Le Flô, a plan of his own for "finishing off *la fine fleur* (the cream) of the Paris *canaille*."[b] After Vinoy's rout, he must needs appear upon the scene of action in the quality of an amateur spy. The Central Committee and the Paris working men were as much responsible for the killing of Clément Thomas and Lecomte as the Princess of Wales[c] was for the fate of the people crushed to death on the day of her entrance into London.

The massacre of unarmed citizens in the Place Vendôme is a myth which M. Thiers and the Rurals persistently ignored in the Assembly, intrusting its propagation exclusively to the servants' hall of European journalism. "The men of order," the reactionists of Paris, trembled at the victory of the 18th of March. To them it was the signal of popular retribution at last arriving. The ghosts of the victims assassinated at their hands from the days of June, 1848, down to the 22nd of January, 1871,[186] arose before their faces. Their panic was their only punishment. Even the sergents-de-ville, instead of being disarmed and locked up, as ought to have been done, had the gates of Paris flung wide open for their safe retreat to Versailles. The men of order were left not only unharmed, but allowed to rally and quietly to seize more than one stronghold in the very centre of Paris. This indulgence of the Central Committee—this magnanimity of the armed working men—so strangely at variance with the habits of the "party of order," the latter misinterpreted as mere symptoms of conscious weakness. Hence their silly plan to try, under the cloak of an unarmed demonstration, what Vinoy had failed to perform with his cannon and mitrailleuses. On the 22nd of March a riotous mob of swells started from the quarters of luxury, all the *petits crevés*[d] in

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[a] 1848.—*Ed.*

[b] "*La Sociale* publie une curieuse lettre...", *Le Vengeur*, No. 21, April 19, 1871. *Canaille*—rabble.—*Ed.*

[c] Alexandra.—*Ed.*

[d] Dandy, swell.—*Ed.*

their ranks, and at their head the notorious familiars of the Empire—the Heeckeren, Coëtlogon, Henri de Pène, etc. Under the cowardly pretence of a pacific demonstration, this rabble, secretly armed with the weapons of the bravo, fell into marching order, ill-treated and disarmed the detached patrols and sentries of the National Guards they met with on their progress, and, on debouching from the Rue de la Paix, with the cry of "Down with the Central Committee! Down with the assassins! The National Assembly for ever!" attempted to break through the line drawn up there, and thus to carry by a surprise the head-quarters of the National Guard in the Place Vendôme. In reply to their pistol-shots, the regular *sommations* (the French equivalent of the English Riot Act)[187] were made, and, proving ineffective, fire was commanded by the general of the National Guard.[a] One volley dispersed into wild flight the silly coxcombs, who expected that the mere exhibition of their "respectability" would have the same effect upon the Revolution of Paris as Joshua's trumpets upon the walls of Jericho.[b] The runaways left behind them two National Guards killed, nine severely wounded (among them a member of the Central Committee[c]), and the whole scene of their exploit strewn with revolvers, daggers, and sword-canes, in evidence of the "unarmed" character of their "pacific" demonstration.[d] When, on the 13th of June 1849, the National Guard made a really pacific demonstration in protest against the felonious assault of French troops upon Rome, Changarnier, then general of the Party of Order, was acclaimed by the National Assembly, and especially by M. Thiers, as the saviour of society, for having launched his troops from all sides upon these unarmed men, to shoot and sabre them down, and to trample them under their horses' feet. Paris, then, was placed under a state of siege. Dufaure hurried through the Assembly new laws of repression.[188] New arrests, new proscriptions—a new reign of terror set in.[e] But the lower orders manage these things otherwise. The Central Committee of 1871 simply ignored the heroes of the "pacific demonstration;" so much so, that only two days later they were enabled to muster,

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[a] Jules Bergeret.—*Ed.*

[b] Joshua 6:20.—*Ed.*

[c] Louis Charles Maljournal.—*Ed.*

[d] See "Le *Journal officiel* de Paris raconte...", *Le Rappel,* No. 650, March 25, 1871.—*Ed.*

[e] Marx gives a detailed analysis of the events of June 13, 1849 in *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850,* Ch. II (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 71-100).—*Ed.*

under Admiral Saisset, for that *armed* demonstration, crowned by the famous stampede to Versailles. In their reluctance to continue the civil war opened by Thiers' burglarious attempt on Montmartre, the Central Committee made themselves, this time, guilty of a decisive mistake in not at once marching upon Versailles, then completely helpless, and thus putting an end to the conspiracies of Thiers and his Rurals. Instead of this, the Party of Order was again allowed to try its strength at the ballot-box, on the 26th of March, the day of the election of the Commune. Then, in the mairies of Paris, they exchanged bland words of conciliation with their too generous conquerors, muttering in their hearts solemn vows to exterminate them in due time.

Now, look at the reverse of the medal. Thiers opened his second campaign against Paris in the beginning of April. The first batch of Parisian prisoners brought into Versailles was subjected to revolting atrocities, while Ernest Picard, with his hands in his trousers' pockets, strolled about jeering them, and while Mesdames Thiers and Favre, in the midst of their ladies of honour (?) applauded, from the balcony, the outrages of the Versailles mob.[a] The captured soldiers of the line were massacred in cold blood; our brave friend, General Duval, the ironfounder, was shot without any form of trial. Galliffet, the kept man of his wife, so notorious for her shameless exhibitions at the orgies of the Second Empire, boasted in a proclamation of having commanded the murder of a small troop of National Guards, with their captain and lieutenant, surprised and disarmed by his Chasseurs.[b] Vinoy, the runaway, was appointed by Thiers Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, for his general order to shoot down every soldier of the line taken in the ranks of the Federals. Desmarets, the gendarme, was decorated for the treacherous butcher-like chopping in pieces of the high-souled and chivalrous Flourens, who had saved the heads of the Government of Defence on the 31st of October 1870.[189] "The encouraging particulars" of his assassination were triumphantly expatiated upon by Thiers in the National Assembly.[c] With the elated vanity of a parliamentary Tom Thumb, permitted to play the part of a Tamerlane, he denied the rebels against his littleness every right of civilized warfare, up to the right

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[a] See "The Advance of the Insurgents on Versailles", *The Daily News*, No. 7781, April 7, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] See notice on proclamation of General de Galliffet, April 3, 1871, *The Daily News*, No. 7783, April 10, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx gives a rendering of Thiers' speech in the National Assembly on April 3, 1871 according to *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 4932, April 5, 1871.—*Ed.*

of neutrality for ambulances.[190] Nothing more horrid than that monkey allowed for a time to give full fling to his tigerish instincts, as foreseen by Voltaire.[a] (See note, p. 35.[b])

After the decree of the Commune of the 7th April,[191] ordering reprisals and declaring it to be its duty "to protect Paris against the cannibal exploits of the Versailles banditti, and to demand an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," Thiers did not stop the barbarous treatment of prisoners, moreover insulting them in his bulletins as follows:—"Never have more degraded countenances of a degraded democracy met the afflicted gazes of honest men,"[c]—honest like Thiers himself and his ministerial ticket-of-leave men. Still the shooting of prisoners was suspended for a time. Hardly, however, had Thiers and his Decembrist generals become aware that the Communal decree of reprisals was but an empty threat, that even their gendarme spies caught in Paris under the disguise of National Guards, that even sergents-de-ville taken with incendiary shells upon them, were spared,—when the wholesale shooting of prisoners was resumed and carried on uninterruptedly to the end. Houses to which National Guards had fled were surrounded by gendarmes, inundated with petroleum (which here occurs for the first time in this war), and then set fire to, the charred corpses being afterwards brought out by the ambulance of the Press at the Ternes.[d] Four National Guards having surrendered to a troop of mounted Chasseurs at Belle Epine, on the 25th of April, were afterwards shot down, one after another, by the captain, a worthy man of Galliffet's. One of his four victims, left for dead, Scheffer, crawled back to the Parisian outposts, and deposed to this fact before a commission of the Commune.[e] When Tolain interpellated the War Minister upon the report of this commission, the Rurals drowned his voice and forbade Le Flô to answer. It would be an insult to their "glorious" army to speak of its deeds. The flippant tone in which Thiers' bulletins announced the bayoneting of the Federals surprised asleep at Moulin Saquet, and the wholesale fusillades at Clamart shocked the nerves even of the not oversensitive London *Times*.[f]

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[a] Voltaire, *Candide ou l'optimisme*, Ch. 22.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 356-57.—*Ed.*

[c] L. A. Thiers' proclamation of April 4, 1871, *The Daily News*, No. 7779, April 5, 1871.—*Ed.*

[d] See "Les gendarmes usent...", *Le Mot d'Ordre*, No. 56, April 20, 1871.—*Ed.*

[e] See [Rapport de la Commission d'enquête de la Commune], *Le Mot d'Ordre*, No. 65, April 29, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 118, April 28, 1871.—*Ed.*

[f] See "Voici, sur le même fait, le bulletin...", *Le Rappel*, No. 692, May 6, 1871; "The Massacre at Clamart", *The Times*, No. 27056, May 6, 1871.—*Ed.*

But it would be ludicrous to-day to attempt recounting the merely preliminary atrocities committed by the bombarders of Paris and the fomenters of a slaveholders' rebellion protected by foreign invasion. Amidst all these horrors, Thiers, forgetful of his parliamentary laments on the terrible responsibility weighing down his dwarfish shoulders, boasts in his bulletins that *l'Assemblée siège paisiblement* (the Assembly continues meeting in peace),[a] and proves by his constant carousals, now with Decembrist generals, now with German princes, that his digestion is not troubled in the least, not even by the ghosts of Lecomte and Clément Thomas.

## III

On the dawn of the 18th of March, Paris arose to the thunderburst of "Vive la Commune!" What is the Commune, that sphinx so tantalizing to the bourgeois mind?

"The proletarians of Paris," said the Central Committee in its manifesto of the 18th March, "amidst the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, have understood that the hour has struck for them to save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs. ...They have understood that it is their imperious duty and their absolute right to render themselves masters of their own destinies, by seizing upon the governmental power."[b]

But the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.[c]

The centralized State power, with its ubiquitous organs of standing army, police, bureaucracy, clergy, and judicature—organs wrought after the plan of a systematic and hierarchic division of labour—originates from the days of absolute monarchy, serving nascent middle-class society as a mighty weapon in its struggles against feudalism. Still, its development remained clogged by all manner of mediaeval rubbish, seignorial rights, local privileges, municipal and guild monopolies and provincial constitutions. The gigantic broom of the French Revolution of the eighteenth century swept away all these relics of bygone times, thus clearing simultaneously the social soil of its last hindrances to the superstructure of the modern State edifice raised under the

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[a] Cited in: Th. Astrie, "L'homme rouge", *La Situation,* No. 176, April 14, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes from "La Révolution du 18 mars", *Le Petit Journal,* No. 3002, March 22, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 80, March 21, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] See Marx's letter to Ludwig Kugelmann of April 12, 1871 (present edition, Vol. 44).—*Ed.*

First Empire, itself the offspring of the coalition wars of old semi-feudal Europe against modern France. During the subsequent *régimes* the Government, placed under parliamentary control—that is, under the direct control of the propertied classes—became not only a hotbed of huge national debts and crushing taxes; with its irresistible allurements of place, pelf, and patronage, it became not only the bone of contention between the rival factions and adventurers of the ruling classes; but its political character changed simultaneously with the economic changes of society. At the same pace at which the progress of modern industry developed, widened, intensified the class antagonism between capital and labour, the State power assumed more and more the character of the national power of capital over labour, of a public force organized for social enslavement, of an engine of class despotism.[a] After every revolution marking a progressive phase in the class struggle, the purely repressive character of the State power stands out in bolder and bolder relief. The Revolution of 1830, resulting in the transfer of Government from the landlords to the capitalists, transferred it from the more remote to the more direct antagonists of the working men. The bourgeois Republicans, who, in the name of the Revolution of February, took the State power, used it for the June massacres, in order to convince the working class that "social" republic meant the republic ensuring their social subjection, and in order to convince the royalist bulk of the bourgeois and landlord class that they might safely leave the cares and emoluments of government to the bourgeois "Republicans." However, after their one heroic exploit of June, the bourgeois Republicans had, from the front, to fall back to the rear of the "Party of Order"—a combination formed by all the rival fractions and factions of the appropriating class in their now openly declared antagonism to the producing classes. The proper form of their joint-stock Government was the *Parliamentary Republic,* with Louis Bonaparte for its President. Theirs was a *régime* of avowed class terrorism and deliberate insult towards the "vile multitude." If the Parliamentary Republic, as M. Thiers said, "divided them (the different fractions of the ruling class) least," it opened an abyss between that class and the whole body of society outside their spare ranks. The restraints by which their own divisions had under former *régimes* still checked

[a] In the 1871 German edition the end of this sentence reads as follows: "the state power more and more assumed the character of public power for the oppression of labour, the character of a machine of class domination".—*Ed.*

the State power, were removed by their union; and in view of the threatening upheaval of the proletariate, they now used that State power mercilessly and ostentatiously as the national war-engine of capital against labour. In their uninterrupted crusade against the producing masses they were, however, bound not only to invest the executive with continually increased powers of repression, but at the same time to divest their own parliamentary stronghold—the National Assembly—one by one, of all its own means of defence against the Executive. The Executive, in the person of Louis Bonaparte, turned them out. The natural offspring of the "Party-of-Order" Republic was the Second Empire.

The Empire, with the *coup d'état* for its certificate of birth, universal suffrage for its sanction, and the sword for its sceptre, professed to rest upon the peasantry, the large mass of producers not directly involved in the struggle of capital and labour. It professed to save the working class by breaking down Parliamentarism, and, with it, the undisguised subserviency of Government to the propertied classes. It professed to save the propertied classes by upholding their economic supremacy over the working class; and, finally, it professed to unite all classes by reviving for all the chimera of national glory. In reality, it was the only form of government possible at a time when the bourgeoisie had already lost, and the working class had not yet acquired, the faculty of ruling the nation. It was acclaimed throughout the world as the saviour of society. Under its sway, bourgeois society, freed from political cares, attained a development unexpected even by itself. Its industry and commerce expanded to colossal dimensions; financial swindling celebrated cosmopolitan orgies; the misery of the masses was set off by a shameless display of gorgeous, meretricious, and debased luxury. The State power, apparently soaring high above society, was at the same time itself the greatest scandal of that society and the very hotbed of all its corruptions. Its own rottenness, and the rottenness of the society it had saved, were laid bare by the bayonet of Prussia, herself eagerly bent upon transferring the supreme seat of that *régime* from Paris to Berlin. Imperialism is, at the same time, the most prostitute and the ultimate form of the State power which nascent middle-class society had commenced to elaborate as a means of its own emancipation from feudalism, and which full-grown bourgeois society had finally transformed into a means for the enslavement of labour by capital.

The direct antithesis to the Empire was the Commune. The cry of "Social Republic," with which the revolution of February was

ushered in by the Paris proletariate, did but express a vague aspiration after a Republic that was not only to supersede the monarchical form of class-rule, but class-rule itself. The Commune was the positive form of that Republic.

Paris, the central seat of the old governmental power, and, at the same time, the social stronghold of the French working class, had risen in arms against the attempt of Thiers and the Rurals to restore and perpetuate that old governmental power bequeathed to them by the Empire. Paris could resist only because, in consequence of the siege, it had got rid of the army, and replaced it by a National Guard, the bulk of which consisted of working men. This fact was now to be transformed into an institution. The first decree of the Commune, therefore, was the suppression of the standing army, and the substitution for it of the armed people.[a]

The Commune was formed of the municipal councillors, chosen by universal suffrage in the various wards of the town, responsible and revocable at short terms. The majority of its members were naturally working men, of acknowledged representatives of the working class. The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time. Instead of continuing to be the agent of the Central Government, the police was at once stripped of its political attributes, and turned into the responsible and at all times revocable agent of the Commune. So were the officials of all other branches of the Administration. From the members of the Commune downwards, the public service had to be done at *workmen's wages.* The vested interests and the representation allowances of the high dignitaries of State disappeared along with the high dignitaries themselves.[b] Public functions ceased to be the private property of the tools of the Central Government. Not only municipal administration, but the whole initiative hitherto exercised by the State was laid into the hands of the Commune.

Having once got rid of the standing army and the police, the physical force elements of the old Government, the Commune was anxious to break the spiritual force of repression, the "parson-power," by the disestablishment[c] and disendowment of all

[a] Decree abolishing conscription of March 29, 1871, *The Daily News,* No. 7776, April 1, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 1 (89), March 30, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] The source from which Marx cites this has not been established. See [Decret sur les traitements publics. Paris, 2 avril 1871], *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 92, April 2, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] Decree of April 2, 1871 separating the church from the state, *The Daily Telegraph,* No. 4931, April 4, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 93, April 3, 1871.—*Ed.*

churches as proprietary bodies. The priests were sent back to the recesses of private life, there to feed upon the alms of the faithful in imitation of their predecessors, the Apostles. The whole of the educational institutions were opened to the people gratuitously, and at the same time cleared of all interference of Church and State. Thus, not only was education made accessible to all, but science itself freed from the fetters which class prejudice and governmental force had imposed upon it.

The judicial functionaries were to be divested of that sham independence which had but served to mask their abject subserviency to all succeeding governments to which, in turn, they had taken, and broken, the oaths of allegiance. Like the rest of public servants, magistrates and judges were to be elective, responsible, and revocable.

The Paris Commune was, of course, to serve as a model to all the great industrial centres of France. The communal *régime* once established in Paris and the secondary centres, the old centralized Government would in the provinces, too, have to give way to the self-government of the producers. In a rough sketch of national organization which the Commune had no time to develop,[a] it states clearly that the Commune was to be the political form of even the smallest country hamlet, and that in the rural districts the standing army was to be replaced by a national militia, with an extremely short term of service. The rural communes of every district were to administer their common affairs by an assembly of delegates in the central town, and these district assemblies were again to send deputies to the National Delegation in Paris, each delegate to be at any time revocable and bound by the *mandat impératif* (formal instructions) of his constituents. The few but important functions which still would remain for a central government were not to be suppressed, as has been intentionally mis-stated, but were to be discharged by Communal, and therefore strictly responsible agents. The unity of the nation was not to be broken, but, on the contrary, to be organized by the Communal constitution, and to become a reality by the destruction of the State power which claimed to be the embodiment of that unity independent of, and superior to, the nation itself, from which it was but a parasitic excrescence. While the merely repressive organs of the old governmental power were to be amputated, its legitimate functions were to be wrested from an authority

[a] "Déclaration au peuple français", adopted at the sitting of the Commune on April 19, is quoted according to the report in *The Daily News*, No. 7793, April 21, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 110, April 20, 1871.—*Ed.*

usurping pre-eminence over society itself, and restored to the responsible agents of society. Instead of deciding once in three or six years which member of the ruling class was to misrepresent the people in Parliament, universal suffrage was to serve the people, constituted in Communes, as individual suffrage serves every other employer in the search for the workmen and managers in his business. And it is well known that companies, like individuals, in matters of real business generally know how to put the right man in the right place, and, if they for once make a mistake, to redress it promptly. On the other hand, nothing could be more foreign to the spirit of the Commune than to supersede universal suffrage by hierarchic investiture.

It is generally the fate of completely new historical creations to be mistaken for the counterpart of older and even defunct forms of social life, to which they may bear a certain likeness. Thus, this new Commune, which breaks the modern State power, has been mistaken for a reproduction of the mediaeval Communes, which first preceded, and afterwards became the substratum of, that very State power.—The communal constitution has been mistaken for an attempt to break up into a federation of small States, as dreamt of by Montesquieu[a] and the Girondins,[192] that unity of great nations which, if originally brought about by political force, has now become a powerful coefficient of social production.—The antagonism of the Commune against the State power has been mistaken for an exaggerated form of the ancient struggle against over-centralization. Peculiar historical circumstances may have prevented the classical development, as in France, of the bourgeois form of government, and may have allowed, as in England, to complete the great central State organs by corrupt vestries, jobbing councillors, and ferocious poor-law guardians in the towns, and virtually hereditary magistrates in the counties. The Communal Constitution would have restored to the social body all the forces hitherto absorbed by the State parasite feeding upon, and clogging the free movement of, society. By this one act it would have initiated the regeneration of France.—The provincial French middle-class saw in the Commune an attempt to restore the sway their order had held over the country under Louis Philippe, and which, under Louis Napoleon, was supplanted by the pretended rule of the country over the towns. In reality, the Communal Constitution brought the rural producers under the intellectual lead of the central towns of their districts, and there

[a] Ch. L. de Montesquieu, *De l'Esprit des Loix,* London, 1769, Book 9, Ch. 1.—*Ed.*

secured to them, in the working men, the natural trustees of their interests.—The very existence of the Commune involved, as a matter of course, local municipal liberty, but no longer as a check upon the, now superseded, State power. It could only enter into the head of a Bismarck, who, when not engaged on his intrigues of blood and iron, always likes to resume his old trade, so befitting his mental calibre, of contributor to *Kladderadatsch* (the Berlin *Punch*), it could only enter into such a head, to ascribe to the Paris Commune aspirations after that caricature of the old French municipal organization of 1791, the Prussian municipal constitution which degrades the town governments to mere secondary wheels in the police-machinery of the Prussian State.[a] The Commune made that catch-word of bourgeois revolutions, cheap government, a reality, by destroying the two greatest sources of expenditure—the standing[b] army and State functionarism. Its very existence presupposed the non-existence of monarchy, which, in Europe at least, is the normal incumbrance and indispensable cloak of class-rule. It supplied the Republic with the basis of really democratic institutions. But neither cheap government nor the "true Republic" was its ultimate aim; they were its mere concomitants.

The multiplicity of interpretations to which the Commune has been subjected, and the multiplicity of interests which construed it in their favour, show that it was a thoroughly expansive political form, while all previous forms of government had been emphatically repressive. Its true secret was this. It was essentially a working-class government,[c] the produce of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economical emancipation of Labour.

Except on this last condition, the Communal Constitution would have been an impossibility and a delusion. The political rule of the producer cannot coexist with the perpetuation of his social slavery. The Commune was therefore to serve as a lever for uprooting the economical foundations upon which rests the existence of classes, and therefore of class rule. With labour emancipated, every man

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[a] O. von Bismarck's speech in the Diet on May 2, 1871, *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstages.* 1. Legislatur-Periode. 1. Session 1871, Bd. 1, Berlin, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] This word is omitted in the 1871 and 1891 German editions.—*Ed.*

[c] The phrase "working-class government" is italicised in the 1871 and 1891 German editions.—*Ed.*

becomes a working man, and productive labour ceases to be a class attribute.

It is a strange fact. In spite of all the tall talk and all the immense literature, for the last sixty years, about Emancipation of Labour, no sooner do the working men anywhere take the subject into their own hands with a will, than uprises at once all the apologetic phraseology of the mouthpieces of present society with its two poles of Capital and Wage-slavery (the landlord now is but the sleeping partner of the capitalist), as if capitalist society was still in its purest state of virgin innocence, with its antagonisms still undeveloped, with its delusions still unexploded, with its prostitute realities not yet laid bare. The Commune, they exclaim, intends to abolish property, the basis of all civilization! Yes, gentlemen, the Commune intended to abolish that class-property which makes the labour of the many the wealth of the few. It aimed at the expropriation of the expropriators. It wanted to make individual property a truth by transforming the means of production, land and capital, now chiefly the means of enslaving and exploiting labour, into mere instruments of free and associated labour.—But this is Communism, "impossible" Communism! Why, those members of the ruling classes who are intelligent enough to perceive the impossibility of continuing the present system—and they are many—have become the obtrusive and full-mouthed apostles of co-operative production. If co-operative production is not to remain a sham and a snare; if it is to supersede the Capitalist system; if united co-operative societies are to regulate national production upon a common plan, thus taking it under their own control, and putting an end to the constant anarchy and periodical convulsions which are the fatality of Capitalist production—what else, gentlemen, would it be but Communism, "possible" Communism?

The working class did not expect miracles from the Commune. They have no ready-made utopias to introduce *par décret du peuple.*[a] They know that in order to work out their own emancipation, and along with it that higher form to which present society is irresistibly tending by its own economical agencies, they will have to pass through long struggles, through a series of historic processes, transforming circumstances and men. They have no ideals to realize, but to set free elements of the new society with which old collapsing bourgeois society itself is pregnant. In the full consciousness of their historic mission, and

[a] By the people's decree.—*Ed.*

with the heroic resolve to act up to it, the working class can afford to smile at the coarse invective of the gentlemen's gentlemen with the pen and inkhorn, and at the didactic patronage of well-wishing bourgeois-doctrinaires, pouring forth their ignorant platitudes and sectarian crotchets in the oracular tone of scientific infallibility.

When the Paris Commune took the management of the revolution in its own hands; when plain working men for the first time dared to infringe upon the Governmental privilege of their "natural superiors,"[a] and, under circumstances of unexampled difficulty, performed their work modestly, conscientiously, and efficiently,—performed it at salaries the highest of which barely amounted to one-fifth of what, according to high scientific authority,[b] is the minimum required for a secretary to a certain metropolitan school-board,[193]—the old world writhed in convulsions of rage at the sight of the Red Flag, the symbol of the Republic of Labour, floating over the Hôtel de Ville.

And yet, this was the first revolution in which the working class was openly acknowledged as the only class capable of social initiative, even by the great bulk of the Paris middle class—shopkeepers, tradesmen, merchants—the wealthy capitalists alone excepted. The Commune had saved them by a sagacious settlement of that ever-recurring cause of dispute among the middle classes themselves—the debtor and creditor accounts.[194] The same portion of the middle class, after they had assisted in putting down the working men's insurrection of June, 1848, had been at once unceremoniously sacrificed to their creditors by the then Constituent Assembly.[195] But this was not their motive for now rallying round the working class. They felt that there was but one alternative—the Commune, or the Empire—under whatever name it might reappear. The Empire had ruined them economically by the havoc it made of public wealth, by the wholesale financial swindling it fostered, by the props it lent to the artificially accelerated centralization of capital, and the concomitant expropriation of their own ranks. It had suppressed them politically, it had shocked them morally by its orgies, it had insulted their Voltairianism by handing over the education of their children to the *frères Ignorantins*,[196] it had revolted their national feeling as Frenchmen by precipitating them headlong into a war which left only one equivalent for the ruins it made—the disappearance of

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[a] In the 1871 and 1891 German editions this phrase is followed by the phrase "of the propertied".—*Ed.*

[b] The German editions have further "Professor Huxley".—*Ed.*

the Empire. In fact, after the exodus from Paris of the high Bonapartist and capitalist *Bohême,* the true middle-class Party of Order came out in the shape of the "Union Républicaine,"[197] enrolling themselves under the colours of the Commune and defending it against the wilful misconstruction of Thiers. Whether the gratitude of this great body of the middle class will stand the present severe trial, time must show.

The Commune was perfectly right in telling the peasants that "its victory was their only hope."[198] Of all the lies hatched at Versailles and re-echoed by the glorious European penny-a-liner, one of the most tremendous was that the Rurals represented the French peasantry. Think only of the love of the French peasant for the men to whom, after 1815, he had to pay the milliard of indemnity![199] In the eyes of the French peasant, the very existence of a great landed proprietor is in itself an encroachment on his conquests of 1789. The bourgeois, in 1848, had burthened his plot of land with the additional tax of forty-five cents in the franc[200]; but then he did so in the name of the revolution; while now he had fomented a civil war against the revolution, to shift on to the peasant's shoulders the chief load of the five milliards of indemnity to be paid to the Prussians. The Commune, on the other hand, in one of its first proclamations, declared that the true originators of the war would be made to pay its cost.[a] The Commune would have delivered the peasant of the blood tax,—would have given him a cheap government,—transformed his present blood-suckers, the notary, advocate, executor, and other judicial vampires, into salaried communal agents, elected by, and responsible to, himself. It would have freed him of the tyranny of the *garde champêtre,*[b] the gendarme, and the prefect, would have put enlightenment by the schoolmaster in the place of stuntification by the priest. And the French peasant is, above all, a man of reckoning. He would find it extremely reasonable that the pay of the priest, instead of being extorted by the tax-gatherer, should only depend upon the spontaneous action of the parishioners' religious instincts. Such were the great immediate boons which the rule of the Commune—and that rule alone—held out to the French peasantry. It is, therefore, quite superfluous here to expatiate upon the more complicated but vital problems which the

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[a] [V.] Grêlier, "Le comité central de la garde nationale est décidé...", *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 80, March 21, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] Village police.—*Ed.*

Commune alone was able, and at the same time compelled, to solve in favour of the peasant, viz., the hypothecary debt, lying like an incubus upon his parcel of soil, the *prolétariat foncier* (the rural proletariate), daily growing upon it, and his expropriation from it enforced, at a more and more rapid rate, by the very development of modern agriculture and the competition of capitalist farming.

The French peasant had elected Louis Bonaparte president of the Republic; but the Party of Order created the Empire. What the French peasant really wants he commenced to show in 1849 and 1850, by opposing his maire to the Government's prefect, his schoolmaster to the Government's priest, and himself to the Government's gendarme. All the laws made by the Party of Order in January and February, 1850,[201] were avowed measures of repression against the peasant. The peasant was a Bonapartist, because the great Revolution, with all its benefits to him, was, in his eyes, personified in Napoleon. This delusion, rapidly breaking down under the Second Empire (and in its very nature hostile to the Rurals), this prejudice of the past, how could it have withstood the appeal of the Commune to the living interests and urgent wants of the peasantry?

The Rurals—this was, in fact, their chief apprehension—knew that three months' free communication of Communal Paris with the provinces would bring about a general rising of the peasants, and hence their anxiety to establish a police blockade around Paris, so as to stop the spread of the rinderpest.

If the Commune was thus the true representative of all the healthy elements of French society, and therefore the truly national Government, it was, at the same time, as a working men's Government, as the bold champion of the emancipation of labour, emphatically international. Within sight of the Prussian army, that had annexed to Germany two French provinces, the Commune annexed to France the working people all over the world.

The Second Empire had been the jubilee of cosmopolitan blackleggism, the rakes of all countries rushing in at its call for a share in its orgies and in the plunder of the French people. Even at this moment the right hand of Thiers is Ganesco, the foul Wallachian, and his left hand is Markowski, the Russian spy. The Commune admitted all foreigners to the honour of dying for an immortal cause. Between the foreign war lost by their treason, and the civil war fomented by their conspiracy with the foreign invader, the bourgeoisie had found the time to display their patriotism by organizing police-hunts upon the Germans in

France. The Commune made a German working-man[a] its Minister of Labour. Thiers, the bourgeoisie, the Second Empire, had continually deluded Poland by loud professions of sympathy, while in reality betraying her to, and doing the dirty work of, Russia. The Commune honoured the heroic sons of Poland[b] by placing them at the head of the defenders of Paris. And, to broadly mark the new era of history it was conscious of initiating, under the eyes of the conquering Prussians on the one side, and of the Bonapartist army, led by Bonapartist generals, on the other, the Commune pulled down that colossal symbol of martial glory, the Vendôme column.[c] [202]

The great social measure of the Commune was its own working existence. Its special measures could but betoken the tendency of a government of the people by the people. Such were the abolition of the nightwork of journeymen bakers[d]; the prohibition, under penalty, of the employers' practice to reduce wages by levying upon their workpeople fines under manifold pretexts,[e]—a process in which the employer combines in his own person the parts of legislator, judge, and executor, and filches the money to boot. Another measure of this class was the surrender, to associations of workmen, under reserve of compensation, of all closed workshops and factories, no matter whether the respective capitalists had absconded or preferred to strike work.[f]

The financial measures of the Commune, remarkable for their sagacity and moderation, could only be such as were compatible with the state of a besieged town. Considering the colossal robberies committed upon the city of Paris by the great financial companies and contractors, under the protection[g] of Haussmann,[203] the Commune would have had an incomparably better title to confiscate their property than Louis Napoleon had against the

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[a] Leo Frankel.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Dombrowski and W. Wróblewski.—*Ed.*

[c] [Décret sur la démolition de la colonne Vendôme. Paris, 12 avril 1871], *Le Rappel*, No. 670, April 14, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 103, April 13, 1871.—*Ed.*

[d] [Arrêté sur la suppression du travail de nuit dans les boulangeries. Paris, 20 avril 1871], *L'Avant-Garde*, No. 451, April 22, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 111, April 21, 1871.—*Ed.*

[e] [Arrêté sur abolition des amendes ou retenues sur les salaires. Paris, 27 avril 1871], *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 119, April 29, 1871.—*Ed.*

[f] Decree of April 16, 1871 on handing over the workshops and manufacturies to cooperative workmen societies, *The Daily News*, No. 7790, April 18, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 107, April 17, 1871.—*Ed.*

[g] The 1871 and 1891 German editions have "rule".—*Ed.*

Orléans family. The Hohenzollern and the English oligarchs who both have derived a good deal of their estates from Church plunder, were, of course, greatly shocked at the Commune clearing but 8,000f. out of secularisation.

While the Versailles Government, as soon as it had recovered some spirit and strength, used the most violent means against the Commune; while it put down the free expression of opinion all over France, even to the forbidding of meetings of delegates from the large towns; while it subjected Versailles and the rest of France to an espionage far surpassing that of the Second Empire; while it burned by its gendarme inquisitors all papers printed at Paris, and sifted all correspondence from and to Paris; while in the National Assembly the most timid attempts to put in a word for Paris were howled down in a manner unknown even to the *Chambre introuvable*[177] of 1816[a]; with the savage warfare of Versailles outside, and its attempts at corruption and conspiracy inside Paris—would the Commune not have shamefully betrayed its trust by affecting to keep up all the decencies and appearances of liberalism as in a time of profound peace? Had the Government of the Commune been akin to that of M. Thiers, there would have been no more occasion to suppress Party-of-Order papers at Paris than there was to suppress Communal papers at Versailles.

It was irritating indeed to the Rurals that at the very same time they declared the return to the Church to be the only means of salvation for France, the infidel Commune unearthed the peculiar mysteries of the Picpus nunnery, and of the Church of Saint Laurent.[204] It was a satire upon M. Thiers that, while he showered grand crosses upon the Bonapartist generals in acknowledgment of their mastery in losing battles, signing capitulations, and turning cigarettes at Wilhelmshöhe,[205] the Commune dismissed and arrested its generals whenever they were suspected of neglecting their duties. The expulsion from, and arrest by, the Commune of one of its members[206] who had slipped in under a false name, and had undergone at Lyons six days' imprisonment for simple bankruptcy, was it not a deliberate insult hurled at the forger, Jules Favre, then still the foreign minister of France, still selling France to Bismarck, and still dictating his orders to that paragon Government of Belgium? But indeed the Commune did not pretend to infallibility, the invariable attribute of all governments of the old stamp. It published its doings and sayings, it initiated the public into all its shortcomings.

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[a] The 1871 and 1891 German editions have "Chamber of Junkers".—*Ed.*

In every revolution there intrude, at the side of its true agents, men of a different stamp; some of them survivors of and devotees to past revolutions, without insight into the present movement, but preserving popular influence by their known honesty and courage, or by the sheer force of tradition; others mere bawlers, who, by dint of repeating year after year the same set of stereotyped declamations against the Government of the day, have sneaked into the reputation of revolutionists of the first water. After the 18th of March, some such men did also turn up, and in some cases contrived to play pre-eminent parts. As far as their power went, they hampered the real action of the working class, exactly as men of that sort have hampered the full development of every previous revolution. They are an unavoidable evil; with time they are shaken off; but time was not allowed to the Commune.

Wonderful, indeed, was the change the Commune had wrought in Paris! No longer any trace of the meretricious Paris of the Second Empire. No longer was Paris the rendezvous of British landlords, Irish absentees,[207] American ex-slaveholders and shoddy men, Russian ex-serfowners, and Wallachian boyards. No more corpses at the Morgue, no nocturnal burglaries, scarcely any robberies; in fact, for the first time since the days of February, 1848, the streets of Paris were safe, and that without any police of any kind.

"We," said a member of the Commune, "hear no longer of assassination, theft, and personal assault; it seems indeed as if the police had dragged along with it to Versailles all its Conservative friends."[a]

The *cocottes* had refound the scent of their protectors—the absconding men of family, religion, and, above all, of property. In their stead, the real women of Paris showed again at the surface—heroic, noble, and devoted, like the women of antiquity. Working, thinking, fighting, bleeding Paris—almost forgetful, in its incubation of a new society, of the cannibals at its gates—radiant in the enthusiasm of its historic initiative!

Opposed to this new world at Paris, behold the old world at Versailles—that assembly of the ghouls of all defunct *régimes*, Legitimists and Orleanists, eager to feed upon the carcass of the nation,—with a tail of antediluvian Republicans, sanctioning, by their presence in the Assembly, the slaveholders' rebellion, relying for the maintenance of their Parliamentary Republic upon the

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[a] P. Lafargue, "Une visite à Paris. Du 7 au 18 avril", *La Tribune de Bordeaux*, April 24, 1871.—*Ed.*

vanity of the senile mountebank at its head, and caricaturing 1789 by holding their ghastly meetings in the *Jeu de Paume.** There it was, this Assembly, the representative of everything dead in France, propped up to the semblance of life by nothing but the swords of the generals of Louis Bonaparte. Paris all truth, Versailles all lie; and that lie vented through the mouth of Thiers.

Thiers tells a deputation of the mayors of the Seine-et-Oise,—

"You may rely upon my word, which I have *never* broken!"[a]

He tells the Assembly itself that "it was the most freely elected and most Liberal Assembly France ever possessed"[b]; he tells his motley soldiery that it was "the admiration of the world, and the finest army France ever possessed"[c]; he tells the provinces that the bombardment of Paris by him was a myth:

"If some cannon-shots have been fired, it is not the deed of the army of Versailles, but of some insurgents trying to make believe that they are fighting, while they dare not show their faces."[d]

He again tells the provinces that

"the artillery of Versailles does not bombard Paris, but only cannonades it."[e]

He tells the Archbishop of Paris[f] that the pretended executions and reprisals (!) attributed to the Versailles troops were all moonshine.[g] He tells Paris that he was only anxious "to free it from the hideous tyrants who oppress it,"[h] and that, in fact, the Paris of the Commune was "but a handful of criminals."[i]

The Paris of M. Thiers was not the real Paris of the "vile multitude," but a phantom Paris, the Paris of the *francs-fileurs,*[208] the Paris of the Boulevards, male and female—the rich, the

* "The tennis court where the National Assembly of 1789 adopted its famous decisions." *(Engels' Note to the 1871 German edition.)*

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[a] "Méditation des municipalités de la Seine", *Le Rappel,* No. 684, April 28, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] L. A. Thiers' speech in the National Assembly on April 27, 1871, *Le Rappel,* No. 685, April 29, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] Quoted in: Th. Astrie, "L'homme rouge", *La Situation,* No. 176, April 14, 1871.—*Ed.*

[d] "La circulaire de M. Thiers", *Le Vengeur,* No. 21, April 19, 1871.—*Ed.*

[e] "Le Moniteur des communes contient...", *Le Rappel,* No. 692, May 6, 1871.—*Ed.*

[f] G. Darboy.—*Ed.*

[g] "La commission des Quinze...", *Le Rappel,* No. 673, April 17, 1871; L. A. Thiers' letter to G. Darboy of April 14, 1871, *Le Rappel,* No. 676, April 20, 1871.—*Ed.*

[h] "Voici, sur le même fait, le bulletin...", *Le Rappel,* No. 692, May 6, 1871.—*Ed.*

[i] L. A. Thiers' speech in the National Assembly on April 27, 1871, *Le Rappel,* No. 685, April 29, 1871.—*Ed.*

capitalist, the gilded, the idle Paris, now thronging with its lackeys, its blacklegs, its literary *bohême*, and its *cocottes* at Versailles, Saint-Denis, Rueil, and Saint-Germain; considering the civil war but an agreeable diversion, eyeing the battle going on through telescopes, counting the rounds of cannon, and swearing by their own honour and that of their prostitutes, that the performance was far better got up than it used to be at the Porte St. Martin.[209] The men who fell were really dead; the cries of the wounded were cries in good earnest; and, besides, the whole thing was so intensely historical.

This is the Paris of M. Thiers, as the Emigration of Coblenz was the France of M. de Calonne.[210]

IV

The first attempt of the slaveholders' conspiracy to put down Paris by getting the Prussians to occupy it, was frustrated by Bismarck's refusal. The second attempt, that of the 18th of March, ended in the rout of the army and the flight to Versailles of the Government, which ordered the whole administration to break up and follow in its track. By the semblance of peace-negotiations with Paris, Thiers found the time to prepare for war against it. But where to find an army? The remnants of the line regiments were weak in number and unsafe in character. His urgent appeal to the provinces to succour Versailles, by their National Guards and volunteers, met with a flat refusal.[a] Brittany alone furnished a handful of *Chouans*[211] fighting under a white flag, every one of them wearing on his breast the heart of Jesus in white cloth, and shouting "Vive le Roi!" (Long live the King![b]) Thiers was, therefore, compelled to collect, in hot haste, a motley crew, composed of sailors, marines, Pontifical Zouaves,[108] Valentin's gendarmes, and Piétri's sergents-de-ville and *mouchards*.[c] This army, however, would have been ridiculously ineffective without the instalments of imperialist war-prisoners, which Bismarck granted in numbers just sufficient to keep the civil war a-going, and keep the Versailles Government in abject dependence on Prussia. During the war itself, the Versailles police had to look after the Versailles army, while the gendarmes had to drag it on by

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[a] Report from *La Défense républicaine, Le Mot d'Ordre,* No. 65, April 29, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Communal Delegation...", *The Daily News,* No. 7779, April 5, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] Agents provocateurs.—*Ed.*

exposing themselves at all posts of danger. The forts which fell were not taken, but bought. The heroism of the Federals convinced Thiers that the resistance of Paris was not to be broken by his own strategic genius and the bayonets at his disposal.

Meanwhile, his relations with the provinces became more and more difficult. Not one single address of approval came in to gladden Thiers and his Rurals. Quite the contrary. Deputations and addresses demanding, in a tone anything but respectful, conciliation with Paris on the basis of the unequivocal recognition of the Republic, the acknowledgment of the Communal liberties, and the dissolution of the National Assembly, whose mandate was extinct,[a] poured in from all sides, and in such numbers that Dufaure, Thiers's Minister of Justice, in his circular of April 23rd to the public prosecutors, commanded them to treat "the cry of conciliation" as a crime![b] In regard, however, of the hopeless prospect held out by his campaign, Thiers resolved to shift his tactics by ordering, all over the country, municipal elections to take place on the 30th of April, on the basis of the new municipal law dictated by himself to the National Assembly. What with the intrigues of his prefects, what with police intimidation, he felt quite sanguine of imparting, by the verdict of the provinces, to the National Assembly that moral power it had never possessed, and of getting at last from the provinces the physical force required for the conquest of Paris.

His banditti-warfare against Paris, exalted in his own bulletins, and the attempts of his ministers at the establishment, throughout France, of a reign of terror, Thiers was from the beginning anxious to accompany with a little byplay of conciliation, which had to serve more than one purpose. It was to dupe the provinces, to inveigle the middle-class element in Paris, and, above all, to afford the professed Republicans in the National Assembly the opportunity of hiding their treason against Paris behind their faith in Thiers. On the 21st of March, when still without an army, he had declared to the Assembly:

> "Come what may, I will not send an army to Paris."[c]

On the 27th March he rose again:

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[a] J. Dufaure's speech in the National Assembly, April 26, 1871, *Le Mot d'Ordre,* No. 65, April 29, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Dufaure, [Circulaire aux procureurs généraux. Versailles, 23 avril 1871], *Le Mot d'Ordre,* No. 62, April 26, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] L. A. Thiers' speech in the National Assembly, March 21, 1871, *The Daily News,* No. 7768, March 23, 1871.—*Ed.*

"I have found the Republic an accomplished fact, and I am firmly resolved to maintain it."

In reality, he put down the revolution at Lyons and Marseilles[212] in the name of the Republic, while the roars of his Rurals drowned the very mention of its name at Versailles. After this exploit, he toned down the "accomplished fact" into an hypothetical fact. The Orléans princes, whom he had cautiously warned off Bordeaux, were now, in flagrant breach of the law, permitted to intrigue at Dreux. The concessions held out by Thiers in his interminable interviews with the delegates from Paris and the provinces, although constantly varied in tone and colour, according to time and circumstances, did in fact never come to more than the prospective restriction of revenge to the

"handful of criminals implicated in the murder of Lecomte and Clément Thomas,"[a]

on the well-understood premiss that Paris and France were unreservedly to accept M. Thiers himself as the best of possible Republics, as he, in 1830, had done with Louis Philippe. Even these concessions he not only took care to render doubtful by the official comments put upon them in the Assembly through his Ministers. He had his Dufaure to act. Dufaure, this old Orleanist lawyer, had always been the justiciary of the state of siege, as now in 1871, under Thiers, so in 1839 under Louis Philippe, and in 1849 under Louis Bonaparte's presidency.[213] While out of office he made a fortune by pleading for the Paris capitalists, and made political capital by pleading against the laws he had himself originated. He now hurried through the National Assembly not only a set of repressive laws which were, after the fall of Paris, to extirpate the last remnants of Republican liberty in France[214]; he foreshadowed the fate of Paris by abridging the, for him, too slow procedure of courts-martial,[215] and by a new-fangled, Draconic code of deportation. The Revolution of 1848, abolishing the penalty of death for political crimes, had replaced it by deportation. Louis Bonaparte did not dare, at least not in theory, to re-establish the *régime* of the guillotine. The Rural Assembly, not yet bold enough even to hint that the Parisians were not rebels, but assassins, had therefore to confine its prospective vengeance against Paris to Dufaure's new code of deportation. Under all these circumstances Thiers himself could not have gone on with his comedy of conciliation, had it not, as he intended it to do,

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[a] L. A. Thiers' speech in the National Assembly, April 27, 1871, *Le Rappel*, No. 685, April 29, 1871.—*Ed.*

drawn forth shrieks of rage from the Rurals, whose ruminating mind did neither understand the play, nor its necessities of hypocrisy, tergiversation, and procrastination.

In sight of the impending municipal elections of the 30th April, Thiers enacted one of his great conciliation scenes of the 27th April. Amidst a flood of sentimental rhetoric, he exclaimed from the tribune of the Assembly:

"There exists no conspiracy against the Republic but that of Paris, which compels us to shed French blood. I repeat it again and again. Let those impious arms fall from the hands which hold them, and chastisement will be arrested at once by an act of peace excluding only the small number of criminals."

To the violent interruption of the Rurals he replied:

"Gentlemen, tell me, I implore you, am I wrong? Do you really regret that I could have stated the truth that the criminals are only a handful? Is it not fortunate in the midst of our misfortunes that those who have been capable to shed the blood of Clément Thomas and General Lecomte are but rare exceptions?"[a]

France, however, turned a deaf ear to what Thiers flattered himself to be a parliamentary siren's song. Out of 700,000 municipal councillors returned by the 35,000 communes still left to France, the united Legitimists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists did not carry 8,000. The supplementary elections which followed were still more decidedly hostile. Thus, instead of getting from the provinces the badly-needed physical force, the National Assembly lost even its last claim to moral force, that of being the expression of the universal suffrage of the country. To complete the discomfiture, the newly-chosen municipal councils of all the cities of France openly threatened the usurping Assembly at Versailles with a counter Assembly at Bordeaux.

Then the long-expected moment of decisive action had at last come for Bismarck. He peremptorily summoned Thiers to send to Frankfort plenipotentiaries for the definitive settlement of peace. In humble obedience to the call of his master, Thiers hastened to despatch his trusty Jules Favre, backed by Pouyer-Quertier. Pouyer-Quertier, an "eminent" Rouen cotton-spinner, a fervent and even servile partisan of the Second Empire, had never found any fault with it save its commercial treaty with England,[216] prejudicial to his own shop-interest. Hardly installed at Bordeaux as Thiers's Minister of Finance, he denounced that "unholy" treaty, hinted at its near abrogation, and had even the effrontery to try, although in vain (having counted without Bismarck), the immediate enforcement of the old protective duties against Alsace,

[a] L. A. Thiers' speech in the National Assembly on April 27, 1871, *Le Rappel*, No. 685, April 29, 1871.—*Ed.*

where, he said, no previous international treaties stood in the way. This man, who considered counter-revolution as a means to put down wages at Rouen, and the surrender of French provinces as a means to bring up the price of his wares in France, was he not *the one* predestined to be picked out by Thiers as the helpmate of Jules Favre in his last and crowning treason?

On the arrival at Frankfort of this exquisite pair of plenipotentiaries, bully Bismarck at once met them with the imperious alternative: Either the restoration of the Empire, or the unconditional acceptance of my own peace terms! These terms included a shortening of the intervals in which the war indemnity was to be paid, and the continued occupation of the Paris forts by Prussian troops until Bismarck should feel satisfied with the state of things in France; Prussia thus being recognized as the supreme arbiter in internal French politics! In return for this he offered to let loose, for the extermination of Paris, the captive Bonapartist army, and to lend them the direct assistance of Emperor William's troops. He pledged his good faith by making payment of the first instalment of the indemnity dependent on the "pacification" of Paris. Such a bait was, of course, eagerly swallowed by Thiers and his plenipotentiaries. They signed the treaty of peace on the 10th of May,[a] and had it endorsed by the Versailles Assembly on the 18th.

In the interval between the conclusion of peace and the arrival of the Bonapartist prisoners, Thiers felt the more bound to resume his comedy of conciliation, as his Republican tools stood in sore need of a pretext for blinking their eyes at the preparations for the carnage of Paris. As late as the 8th May he replied to a deputation of middle-class conciliators—

> "Whenever the insurgents will make up their minds for capitulation, the gates of Paris shall be flung wide open during a week for all except the murderers of Generals Clément Thomas and Lecomte."

A few days afterwards, when violently interpellated on these promises by the Rurals, he refused to enter into any explanations; not, however, without giving them this significant hint:—

> "I tell you there are impatient men amongst you, men who are in too great a hurry. They must have another eight days; at the end of these eight days there will be no more danger, and the task will be proportionate to their courage and to their capacities."[b]

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[a] *Traité de paix entre l'Empire Allemand et la France, signé à Francfort s. m., le 10 mai 1871...—Ed.*

[b] The source from which Marx quotes this text has not been established. See L. A. Thiers' speech in the National Assembly on May 11, 1871, *Journal officiel* (Versailles), No. 132, May 12, 1871.—*Ed.*

As soon as MacMahon was able to assure him that he could shortly enter Paris, Thiers declared to the Assembly that

"he would enter Paris with the *laws* in his hands, and demand a full expiation from the wretches who had sacrificed the lives of soldiers and destroyed public monuments." [a]

As the moment of decision drew near he said—to the Assembly, "I shall be pitiless!" [b]—to Paris, that it was doomed; and to his Bonapartist banditti, that they had State license to wreak vengeance upon Paris to their hearts' content.[c] At last, when treachery had opened the gates of Paris to General Douay, on the 21st May, Thiers, on the 22nd, revealed to the Rurals the "goal" of his conciliation comedy, which they had so obstinately persisted in not understanding.

"I told you a few days ago that we were approaching *our goal;* to-day I come to tell you *the goal* is reached. The victory of order, justice, and civilization is at last won!" [d]

So it was. The civilization and justice of bourgeois order comes out in its lurid light whenever the slaves and drudges of that order rise against their masters. Then this civilization and justice stand forth as undisguised savagery and lawless revenge. Each new crisis in the class struggle between the appropriator and the producer brings out this fact more glaringly. Even the atrocities of the bourgeois in June, 1848, vanish before the ineffable infamy of 1871. The self-sacrificing heroism with which the population of Paris—men, women, and children—fought for eight days after the entrance of the Versaillese, reflects as much the grandeur of their cause, as the infernal deeds of the soldiery reflect the innate spirit of that civilization of which they are the mercenary vindicators. A glorious civilization, indeed, the great problem of which is how to get rid of the heaps of corpses it made after the battle was over!

To find a parallel for the conduct of Thiers and his

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[a] The source from which Marx quotes here has not been established. See L. A. Thiers' speech in the National Assembly on May 22, 1871, *Journal officiel* (Versailles), No. 143, May 23, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] L. A. Thiers' speech in the National Assembly on May 24, 1871, *Journal officiel* (Versailles), No. 145, May 25, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] L. A. Thiers, [Circulaire aux préfets et aux autorités civiles, judiciaires et militaires. Versailles, 25 mai 1871], *Journal officiel* (Versailles), No. 146, May 26, 1871.—*Ed.*

[d] The source from which Marx quotes here has not been established. See L. A. Thiers' speech in the National Assembly on May 22, 1871, *Journal officiel* (Versailles), No. 143, May 23, 1871.—*Ed.*

bloodhounds we must go back to the times of Sulla and the two Triumvirates of Rome.[217] The same wholesale slaughter in cold blood; the same disregard, in massacre, of age and sex; the same system of torturing prisoners; the same proscriptions, but this time of a whole class; the same savage hunt after concealed leaders, lest one might escape; the same denunciations of political and private enemies; the same indifference for the butchery of entire strangers to the feud. There is but this difference, that the Romans had no mitrailleuses for the despatch, in the lump, of the proscribed, and that they had not "the law in their hands," nor on their lips the cry of "civilization."

And after those horrors, look upon the other, still more hideous, face of that bourgeois civilization as described by its own press!

"With stray shots," writes the Paris correspondent of a London Tory paper, "still ringing in the distance, and untended wounded wretches dying amid the tombstones of Père la Chaise—with 6,000 terror-stricken insurgents wandering in an agony of despair in the labyrinth of the catacombs, and wretches hurried through the streets to be shot down in scores by the mitrailleuse—it is revolting to see the *cafés* filled with the votaries of absinthe, billiards, and dominoes; female profligacy perambulating the boulevards, and the sound of revelry disturbing the night from the *cabinets particuliers*[a] of fashionable restaurants."[b]

M. Edouard Hervé writes in the *Journal de Paris,* a Versaillist journal suppressed by the Commune:—

"The way in which the population of Paris (!) manifested its satisfaction yesterday was rather more than frivolous, and we fear it will grow worse as time progresses. Paris has now a *fête* day appearance, which is sadly out of place; and, unless we are to be called the *Parisiens de la décadence,*[c] this sort of thing must come to an end."

And then he quotes the passage from Tacitus:—

"Yet, on the morrow of that horrible struggle, even before it was completely over, Rome—degraded and corrupt—began once more to wallow in the voluptuous slough which was destroying its body and polluting its soul—*alibi proelia et vulnera, alibi balneae popinaeque*—(here fights and wounds, there baths and restaurants)."[d]

M. Hervé only forgets to say that the "population of Paris" he speaks of is but the population of the Paris of M. Thiers—the

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[a] Private rooms.—*Ed.*

[b] "The End of the Insurrection", *The Standard,* No. 14613, June 2, 1871. It also quotes from Hervé's article published in the *Journal de Paris,* No. 138, May 31, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] Parisians of the period of decadence.—*Ed.*

[d] Tacitus, *Histories,* III, 83.—*Ed.*

*francs-fileurs*[208] returning in throngs from Versailles, Saint-Denis, Rueil, and Saint-Germain—*the* Paris of the "Decline."

In all its bloody triumphs over the self-sacrificing champions of a new and better society, that nefarious civilization, based upon the enslavement of labour, drowns the moans of its victims in a hue-and-cry of calumny, reverberated by a world-wide echo. The serene working men's Paris of the Commune is suddenly changed into a pandemonium by the bloodhounds of "order." And what does this tremendous change prove to the bourgeois mind of all countries? Why, that the Commune has conspired against civilization! The Paris people die enthusiastically for the Commune in numbers unequalled in any battle known to history. What does that prove? Why, that the Commune was not the people's own government, but the usurpation of a handful of criminals! The women of Paris joyfully give up their lives at the barricades and on the place of execution. What does this prove? Why, that the demon of the Commune has changed them into Megaeras and Hecates! The moderation of the Commune during two months of undisputed sway is equalled only by the heroism of its defence. What does that prove? Why, that for months the Commune carefully hid, under a mask of moderation and humanity, the blood-thirstiness of its fiendish instincts, to be let loose in the hour of its agony!

The working men's Paris, in the act of its heroic self-holocaust, involved in its flames buildings and monuments. While tearing to pieces the living body of the proletariate, its rulers must no longer expect to return triumphantly into the intact architecture of their abodes. The Government of Versailles cries, "Incendiarism!" and whispers this cue to all its agents, down to the remotest hamlet, to hunt up its enemies everywhere as suspect of professional incendiarism. The bourgeoisie of the whole world, which looks complacently upon the wholesale massacre after the battle, is convulsed by horror at the desecration of brick and mortar!

When governments give state-licenses to their navies to "kill, *burn*, and destroy," is that a license for incendiarism? When the British troops wantonly set fire to the Capitol at Washington and to the summer palace of the Chinese Emperor,[218] was that incendiarism? When the Prussians, not for military reasons, but out of the mere spite of revenge, burnt down, by the help of petroleum, towns like Châteaudun and innumerable villages, was that incendiarism?[a] When Thiers, during six weeks, bombarded

[a] This phrase is omitted in the 1871 and 1891 German editions.—*Ed.*

Paris, under the pretext that he wanted to set fire to those houses only in which there were people, was that incendiarism?—In war, fire is an arm as legitimate as any. Buildings held by the enemy are shelled to set them on fire. If their defenders have to retire, they themselves light the flames to prevent the attack from making use of the buildings. To be burnt down has always been the inevitable fate of all buildings situated in the front of battle of all the regular armies of the world. But in the war of the enslaved against their enslavers, the only justifiable war in history, this is by no means to hold good! The Commune used fire strictly as a means of defence. They used it to stop up to the Versailles troops those long straight avenues which Haussmann had expressly opened to artillery-fire[203]; they used it to cover their retreat, in the same way as the Versaillese, in their advance, used their shells which destroyed at least as many buildings as the fire of the Commune. It is a matter of dispute, even now, which buildings were set fire to by the defence, and which by the attack. And the defence resorted to fire only then, when the Versaillese troops had already commenced their wholesale murdering of prisoners.—Besides, the Commune had, long before, given full public notice[a] that, if driven to extremities, they would bury themselves under the ruins of Paris, and make Paris a second Moscow,[219] as the Government of Defence, but only as a cloak for its treason, had promised to do. For this purpose Trochu had found them the petroleum. The Commune knew that its opponents cared nothing for the lives of the Paris people, but cared much for their own Paris buildings. And Thiers, on the other hand, had given them notice that he would be implacable in his vengeance. No sooner had he got his army ready on one side, and the Prussians shutting up the trap on the other, than he proclaimed: "I shall be pitiless! The expiation will be complete, and justice will be stern!"[b] If the acts of the Paris working men were vandalism, it was the vandalism of defence in despair, not the vandalism of triumph, like that which the Christians perpetrated upon the really priceless art treasures of heathen antiquity; and even that vandalism has been justified by the historian as an unavoidable and comparatively trifling concomitant to the Titanic struggle between a new society arising and an old one breaking down. It was still less the vandalism of Haussmann, razing historic Paris to make place for the Paris of the sightseer!

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[a] "Aux grandes villes", *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 136, May 16, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] From L. A. Thiers' speeches in the National Assembly on May 22 and 24, 1871. See this volume, p. 348.—*Ed.*

But the execution by the Commune of the sixty-four hostages, with the Archbishop of Paris[a] at their head! The bourgeoisie and its army in June, 1848, re-established a custom which had long disappeared from the practice of war—the shooting of their defenceless prisoners. This brutal custom has since been more or less strictly adhered to by the suppressors of all popular commotions in Europe and India; thus proving that it constitutes a real "progress of civilization"! On the other hand, the Prussians, in France, had re-established the practice of taking hostages—innocent men, who, with their lives, were to answer to them for the acts of others. When Thiers, as we have seen, from the very beginning of the conflict, enforced the humane practice of shooting down the Communal prisoners, the Commune, to protect their lives, was obliged to resort to the Prussian practice of securing hostages. The lives of the hostages had been forfeited over and over again by the continued shooting of prisoners on the part of the Versaillese. How could they be spared any longer after the carnage with which MacMahon's praetorians[220] celebrated their entrance into Paris? Was even the last check upon the unscrupulous ferocity of bourgeois governments—the taking of hostages—to be made a mere sham of? The real murderer of Archbishop Darboy is Thiers. The Commune again and again had offered to exchange the archbishop, and ever so many priests into the bargain, against the single Blanqui, then in the hands of Thiers. Thiers obstinately refused. He knew that with Blanqui he would give to the Commune a head; while the archbishop would serve his purpose best in the shape of a corpse. Thiers acted upon the precedent of Cavaignac. How, in June, 1848, did not Cavaignac and his men of order raise shouts of horror by stigmatizing the insurgents as the assassins of Archbishop Affre! They knew perfectly well that the archbishop had been shot by the soldiers of order. M. Jacquemet, the archbishop's vicar-general, present on the spot, had immediately afterwards handed them in his evidence to that effect.[b]

All this chorus of calumny which the Party of Order never fail, in their orgies of blood, to raise against their victims, only proves that the bourgeois of our days considers himself the legitimate successor to the baron of old, who thought every weapon in his own hand fair against the plebeian, while in the hands of the plebeian a weapon of any kind constituted in itself a crime.

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[a] G. Darboy.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to Jacquemet's statement of June 26, 1848, published in *La Situation*, No. 185, April 25, 1871.—*Ed.*

The conspiracy of the ruling class to break down the Revolution by a civil war carried on under the patronage of the foreign invader—a conspiracy which we have traced from the very 4th of September down to the entrance of MacMahon's praetorians through the gate of St. Cloud—culminated in the carnage of Paris. Bismarck gloats over the ruins of Paris, in which he saw perhaps the first instalment of that general destructions of great cities he had prayed for when still a simple Rural in the Prussian *Chambre introuvable* of 1849.[221] He gloats over the cadavres of the Paris proletariate. For him this is not only the extermination of revolution, but the extinction of France, now decapitated in reality, and by the French Government itself. With the shallowness characteristic of all successful statesmen, he sees but the surface of this tremendous historic event. Whenever before has history exhibited the spectacle of a conqueror crowning his victory by turning into, not only the gendarme, but the hired bravo of the conquered Government? There existed no war between Prussia and the Commune of Paris. On the contrary, the Commune had accepted the peace preliminaries, and Prussia had announced her neutrality. Prussia was, therefore, no belligerent. She acted the part of bravo, a cowardly bravo, because incurring no danger; a hired bravo, because stipulating beforehand the payment of her blood-money of 500 millions on the fall of Paris. And thus, at last, came out the true character of the war, ordained by Providence as a chastisement of godless and debauched France by pious and moral Germany! And this unparalleled breach of the law of nations, even as understood by the old world lawyers, instead of arousing the "civilized" Governments of Europe to declare the felonious Prussian Government, the mere tool of the St. Petersburg Cabinet, an outlaw amongst nations, only incites them to consider whether the few victims who escape the double cordon around Paris are not to be given up to the hangman at Versailles!

That after the most tremendous war of modern times, the conquering and the conquered hosts should fraternize for the common massacre of the proletariate—this unparalleled event does indicate, not, as Bismarck thinks, the final repression of a new society upheaving, but the crumbling into dust of bourgeois society. The highest heroic effort of which old society is still capable is national war; and this is now proved to be a mere governmental humbug, intended to defer the struggle of classes, and to be thrown aside as soon as that class struggle bursts out into civil war. Class rule is no longer able to disguise itself in a

national uniform; the national Governments are *one* as against the proletariate!

After Whit-Sunday, 1871, there can be neither peace nor truce possible between the working men of France and the appropriators of their produce. The iron hand of a mercenary soldiery may keep for a time both classes tied down in common oppression. But the battle must break out again and again in evergrowing dimensions, and there can be no doubt as to who will be the victor in the end,—the appropriating few, or the immense working majority. And the French working class is only the advanced guard of the modern proletariate.

While the European Governments thus testify, before Paris, to the international character of class rule, they cry down the International Working Men's Association—the international counter-organization of labour against the cosmopolitan conspiracy of capital—as the head fountain of all these disasters. Thiers denounced it as the despot of labour, pretending to be its liberator.[a] Picard ordered that all communications between the French Internationals and those abroad should be cut off[b]; Count Jaubert, Thiers's mummified accomplice of 1835, declares it the great problem of all civilized governments to weed it out.[c] The Rurals roar against it, and the whole European press joins the chorus. An honourable French writer, completely foreign to our Association, speaks as follows:—

> "The members of the Central Committee of the National Guard, as well as the greater part of the members of the Commune, are the most active, intelligent, and energetic minds of the International Working Men's Association; ....men who are thoroughly honest, sincere, intelligent, devoted, pure, and fanatical in the *good* sense of the word."[d]

The police-tinged bourgeois mind naturally figures to itself the International Working Men's Association as acting in the manner of a secret conspiracy, its central body ordering, from time to time, explosions in different countries. Our Association is, in fact, nothing but the international bond between the most advanced working men in the various countries of the civilized world.

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[a] L. A. Thiers, [Circulaire à préfets et sous-préfets. Versailles, 28 mars 1871], *Le Rappel*, No. 655, March 30, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] "The French Assembly", *The Daily News*, No. 7774, March 30, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] The source from which Marx cites this has not been established. See H. F. Jaubert's speech in the National Assembly on May 12, 1871, *Journal officiel* (Versailles), No. 133, May 13, 1871.—*Ed.*

[d] [J. F. E. Robinet,] *Political Notes on the Present Situation of France and Paris.* By a French Positivist, London [1871].—*Ed.*

Wherever, in whatever shape, and under whatever conditions the class struggle obtains any consistency, it is but natural that members of our association should stand in the foreground. The soil out of which it grows is modern society itself. It cannot be stamped out by any amount of carnage. To stamp it out, the Governments would have to stamp out the despotism of capital over labour—the condition of their own parasitical existence.

Working men's Paris, with its Commune, will be for ever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them.

## The General Council

*M. J. Boon, Fred. Bradnick, G. H. Buttery, Caihil, Delahaye, William Hales, A. Hermann, Kolb, Fred. Lessner, Lochner, J. P. MacDonnell, George Milner, Thomas Mottershead, Ch. Mills, Charles Murray, Pfänder, Roach, Rochat, Rühl, Sadler, A. Serraillier, Cowell Stepney, Alf. Taylor, William Townshend.*

## Corresponding Secretaries

*Eugène Dupont*, for France.
*Karl Marx*, for Germany and Holland.
*Fred. Engels*, for Belgium and Spain.
*Hermann Jung*, for Switzerland.
*P. Giovacchini*, for Italy.
*Zévy Maurice*, for Hungary.
*Anton Zabicki*, for Poland.
*James Cohen*, for Denmark.
*J. G. Eccarius*, for the United States.

*Hermann Jung*, Chairman.
*John Weston*, Treasurer.
*George Harris*, Financial Sec.
*John Hales*, General Sec.

Office—256, High Holborn, London, W.C.,
May 30th, 1871.

## NOTES

### I.

"The column of prisoners halted in the Avenue Uhrich, and was drawn up, four or five deep, on the footway facing to the road. General Marquis de Galliffet and his staff dismounted and commenced an inspection from the left of the line. Waling down slowly and eyeing the ranks, the General stopped here and there, tapping a man on the shoulder or beckoning him out of the rear ranks. In most cases, without further parley, the individual thus selected was marched out into the centre of the road, where a small supplementary column was, thus, soon formed.... It was evident that there was considerable room for error. A mounted officer pointed out to General Galliffet a man and woman for some particular offence. The woman, rushing out of the ranks, threw herself on her knees, and, with outstretched arms, protested her innocence in passionate terms. The general waited for a pause, and then with most impassible face and unmoved demeanour, said, 'Madame, I have visited every theatre in Paris, your acting will have no effect on me' ('ce n'est pas la peine de jouer la comédie').... It was not a good thing on that day to be noticeably taller, dirtier, cleaner, older, or uglier than one's neighbours. One individual in particular struck me as probably owing his speedy release from the ills of this world to his having a broken nose.... Over a hundred being thus chosen, a firing party told off, and the column resumed its march, leaving them behind. A few minutes afterwards a dropping fire, in our rear commenced, and continued for over a quarter of an hour. It was the execution of these summarily-convicted wretches."—*Paris Correspondent "Daily News,"* June 8th.[a]—

This Galliffet, "the kept man of his wife, so notorious for her shameless exhibitions at the orgies of the Second Empire," went, during the war, by the name of the French "Ensign Pistol."

"*The Temps,* which is a careful journal, and not given to sensation, tells a dreadful story of people imperfectly shot and buried before life was extinct. A great number were buried in the square round St. Jacques-la-Boucherie; some of them very superficially. In the daytime the roar of the busy streets prevented any notice being taken; but in the stillness of the night the inhabitants of the houses in the neighbourhood were roused by distant moans, and in the morning a clenched

[a] "An Adventure in Paris", *The Daily News,* No. 7834, June 8, 1871.—*Ed.*

hand was seen protruding through the soil. In consequence of this, exhumations were ordered to take place.... That many wounded have been buried alive I have not the slightest doubt. One case I can vouch for. When Brunel was shot with his mistress on the 24th ult. in the courtyard of a house in the Place Vendôme, the bodies lay there until the afternoon of the 27th. When the burial party came to remove the corpses, they found the woman living still, and took her to an ambulance. Though she had received four bullets she is now out of danger."—*Paris Correspondent "Evening Standard,"*[a] June 8th.

II.

The following letter appeared in *The Times* of June 13th[222]:—

*"To the Editor of 'The Times.'*

"Sir,—

"On June 6, 1871, M. Jules Favre issued a circular to all the European Powers, calling upon them to hunt down the International Working-Men's Association.[b] A few remarks will suffice to characterize that document.

"In the very preamble of our statutes it is stated that the International was founded 'September 28, 1864, at a public meeting held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London'.[c] For purposes of his own Jules Favre puts back the date of its origin behind 1862.

"In order to explain our principles, he professes to quote 'their (the International's) sheet of the 25th of March, 1869.' And then what does he quote? The sheet of a society which is not the International.[d] This sort of manoeuvre he already recurred to when, still a comparatively young lawyer, he had to defend the *National* newspaper, prosecuted for libel by Cabet.[223] Then he pretended to read extracts from Cabet's pamphlets while reading interpolations of his own—a trick exposed while the Court was sitting, and which, but for the indulgence of Cabet, would have

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[a] "M. Jules Favre's Reply to Prince Napoleon. The International Society", *The Evening Standard*, No. 14619, June 9, 1871; see also *Le Temps*, No. 3718, June 7, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Favre, [Circulaire adressée aux agents diplomatiques de la République française], "Versailles, le 6 juin 1871", *Journal officiel* (Versailles), No. 159, June 8, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] Karl Marx, *Provisional Rules of the Association* (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 15).—*Ed.*

[d] *Programme de l'Alliance internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste*, Geneva, 1868.—*Ed.*

been punished by Jules Favre's expulsion from the Paris bar. Of all the documents quoted by him as documents of the International, not one belongs to the International. He says, for instance,

"'The Alliance declares itself Atheist, says the General Council, constituted in London in July, 1869.'

"The General Council never issued such a document. On the contrary, it issued a document[a] which quashed the original statutes of the 'Alliance'—L'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste at Geneva—quoted by Jules Favre.

"Throughout his circular, which pretends in part also to be directed against the Empire, Jules Favre repeats against the International but the police inventions of the public prosecutors of the Empire, and which broke down miserably even before the law courts of that Empire.

"It is known that in its two addresses (of July and September last) on the late war,[b] the General Council of the International denounced the Prussian plans of conquest against France. Later on, Mr. Reitlinger, Jules Favre's private secretary, applied, though of course in vain, to some members of the General Council for getting up by the Council a demonstration against Bismarck, in favour of the Government of National Defence; they were particularly requested not to mention the Republic. The preparations for a demonstration with regard to the expected arrival of Jules Favre in London were made—certainly with the best of intentions—in spite of the General Council, which, in its address of the 9th of September, had distinctly forewarned the Paris workmen against Jules Favre and his colleagues.

"What would Jules Favre say if, in its turn, the International were to send a circular on Jules Favre to all the Cabinets of Europe, drawing their particular attention to the documents published at Paris by the late M. Millière?[c]

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
"*John Hales,*
"Secretary to the General Council of the International
"Working Men's Association.

"256, High Holborn, W.C., June 12th."

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[a] The reference is to Marx's "The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy" (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 34).—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 3-8 and 263-70.—*Ed.*

[c] J.-B. E. Millière, "Le Faussaire", *Le Vengeur*, No. 6, February 8, 1871.—*Ed.*

In an article on "The International Society and its aims," that pious informer, the London *Spectator* (June 24th), amongst other similar tricks, quotes, even more fully than Jules Favre has done, the above document of the "Alliance" as the work of the International, and that eleven days after the refutation had been published in *The Times.* We do not wonder at this. Frederick the Great used to say that of all Jesuits the worst are the Protestant ones.

# Karl Marx

## [TO THE EDITOR OF *THE PALL MALL GAZETTE*]

F. GREENWOOD, ESQ.

8 June 1871

My dear Sir,

Would you oblige me by inserting the following few lines in your next publication?

Yours faithfully,

*K. Marx*

TO THE EDITOR OF *THE PALL MALL GAZETTE*

Sir,

From the Paris correspondence of your yesterday's publication[a] I see that while fancying to live at London, I was, in reality, arrested in Holland on the request of Bismarck-Favre. But, maybe, this is but one of the innumerable sensational stories about the *International* which for the last two months the Franco-Prussian police has never tired of fabricating, the Versailles press of publishing, and the rest of the European press of reproducing.

I have the honour, Sir, to be

Yours obediently,

*Karl Marx*

1, Modena Villas, Maitland Park.
June 8, 1871

First published in *The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 1972, June 9, 1871

Reproduced from the newspaper, verified with the manuscript; the covering letter is reproduced from the manuscript

[a] "The Interregnum", *The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 1970, June 7, 1871.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [STATEMENT BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL ON JULES FAVRE'S CIRCULAR][224]

TO THE EDITOR OF *THE TIMES*

Sir,—

On June 6, 1871, M. Jules Favre issued a circular to all the European Powers, calling upon them to hunt down the International Working Men's Association.[a] A few remarks will suffice to characterize that document.

In the very preamble of our statutes it is stated that the International was founded "September 28, 1864, at a public meeting held at St. Martin's Hall, London."[b] For purposes of his own Jules Favre puts back the date of its origin behind 1862.

In order to explain our principles, he professes to quote "their (the International's) sheet of the 25th of March, 1869." And then what does he quote? The sheet of a society which is not the International.[c] This sort of manoeuvre he already recurred to when, still a comparatively young lawyer, he had to defend the *National* newspaper, prosecuted for libel by Cabet. Then he pretended to read extracts from Cabet's pamphlets while reading interpolations of his own—a trick exposed while the court was

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[a] J. Favre, [Circulaire adressée aux agents diplomatiques de la République française], "Versailles, le 6 juin 1871", *Journal officiel* (Versailles), No. 159, June 8, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 20, p. 15.—*Ed.*

[c] *Programme de l'Alliance internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste,* Geneva, 1868.—*Ed.*

sitting, and which but for the indulgence of Cabet, would have been punished by Jules Favre's expulsion from the Paris bar. Of all the documents quoted by him as documents of the International not one belongs to the International. He says, for instance,

"The Alliance declares itself Atheist, says the General Council, constituted in London in July, 1869."

The General Council never issued such a document. On the contrary, it issued a document[a] which quashed the original statutes of the "Alliance"—L'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste at Geneva—quoted by Jules Favre.

Throughout his circular, which pretends in part also to be directed against the Empire, Jules Favre repeats against the International but the police inventions of the public prosecutors of the Empire, and which broke down miserably even before the law courts of that Empire.

It is known that in its two addresses (of July and September last) on the late war[b] the General Council of the International denounced the Prussian plans of conquest against France. Later on Mr. Reitlinger, Jules Favre's private secretary, applied, though of course in vain, to some members of the General Council for getting up by the Council a demonstration against Bismarck, in favour of the Government of National Defence; they were particularly requested not to mention the Republic. The preparations for a demonstration with regard to the expected arrival of Jules Favre in London were made—certainly with the best of intentions—in spite of the General Council, which in its address of the 9th of September had distinctly forewarned the Paris workmen against Jules Favre and his colleagues.

What would Jules Favre say if in its turn the International were to send a circular on Jules Favre to all the Cabinets of Europe, drawing their particular attention to the documents published at Paris by the late M. Millière?[c]

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[a] The reference is to the circular letter written by Marx, "The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy" (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 34).—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 3-8, 263-70.—*Ed.*

[c] J.-B. E. Millière, "Le Faussaire", *Le Vengeur*, No. 6, February 8, 1871.—*Ed.*

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

*John Hales,*
Secretary to the General Council
of the International Working Men's Association

256, High Holborn, W.C., June 12, 1871

Published in *The Times,* No. 27088, June 13, 1871 and also in *The Eastern Post,* No. 142, June 17, 1871; *L'Internationale,* No. 127, June 18, 1871; *Der Volksstaat,* No. 50, June 21, 1871 and other press organs of the International

Reproduced from *The Times*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [STATEMENT BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO THE EDITOR OF *THE TIMES*][225]

### TO *THE TIMES*

The General Council of this Association has instructed me to state, in reply to your leader of June 19, 1871, on the "International"[a] the following facts.

The pretended Paris manifestoes, published by the *Paris-Journal*[b] and similar journals, manifestoes which you place on the same line as our Address on the Civil war in France, are mere fabrications of the Versailles police.

You say:

"The 'political notes' published by Professor Beesly,[c] and quoted the other day in these columns, are quoted also, with entire approval, in the address of the Council, and we can now understand how justly the Ex-Emperor was entitled to be called the saviour of society."

Now, the Council, in its address, quotes nothing from the "political notes" except the testimony of the writer, who is a known and honourable French *savant,* as to the personal character of the *"Internationals"* implicated in the last Paris revolution.[d] What has this to do with the "Ex-Emperor" and the society saved by him! The "programme" of the Association was not, as you say, "prepared" by Messrs. Tolain and Odger "seven years ago". It was issued by the Provisional Council, chosen at the public meeting held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, on 28 September 1864.[e]

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[a] "The International Working Men's Association has not...", *The Times,* No. 27093, June 19, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] "Le Comité central de l'Internationale", *Paris-Journal,* No. 157, June 17, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] [J. F. E. Robinet,] *Political Notes on the Present Situation of France and Paris.* By a French Positivist (ed. by Edward Spencer Beesly), London [1871].—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, p. 354.—*Ed.*

[e] The reference is to Marx's *Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association* (present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 5-13).—*Ed.*

M. Tolain has never been a member of that Council, nor was he present at London, when the programme was drawn up.

You say that "Millière" was "one of the most ferocious members of the Commune". Millière has never been a member of the Commune.

"We," you proceed, "should also point out that *Assi*, lately President of the Association etc."

Assi has never been a member of the "International", and as to the dignity of "President of the Association", it has been abolished as long ago as 1867.[226]

Written on June 19 or 20, 1871

Reproduced from the rough manuscript

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XIII, Part II, 1940

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [STATEMENT BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO THE EDITOR OF *THE STANDARD*][227]

TO THE EDITOR OF *THE STANDARD*

In your leader on the *"International"* (of the 19 June)[a] you say:

"Of the two programmes (that of London and that of Paris) recently issued in favour of the Commune[b] that of the Paris branch has the merit of being the more honest and the more outspoken."

Unfortunately, the "Paris" manifesto has been issued not by our Paris Branch, but by the "Versailles Police".

You say:

"The London Internationalists insist no less earnestly than their Paris brethren that 'the old society must perish and ought to perish'. They speak of the burning of the public buildings and the shooting of the hostages as 'a gigantic effort to bring society down'—which, although unsuccessful once, will be persevered in until it succeeds."

Now the General Council of this Association summons you to quote the exact pages and lines of our Address where the words attributed by you to us do occur!

Written on June 19 or 20, 1871

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XIII, Part II, 1940

Reproduced from the rough manuscript

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[a] "If there are any in England...", *The Standard,* No. 14627, June 19, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the General Council's Address *The Civil War in France,* written by Marx (pp. 307-59), and the Manifesto, supposedly issued by the International, published in the *Paris-Journal,* No. 157, June 17, 1871 under the heading "Le Comité central de l'Internationale".—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [STATEMENT BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL ON GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE'S LETTER][228]

TO THE EDITOR OF *THE DAILY NEWS*

Sir,

I am instructed by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association to state, in reply to Mr. Geo. Jacob Holyoake's Letter in Tuesday's *Daily News*.[a]

1. As to the insinuation that the address issued by the Council[b] "may become a cause of death or deportation at Versailles", the Council thinks that its Paris friends are better judges than Mr. Holyoake.

2. It is a rule with the Council that the names of all its members whether absent or present are appended to its public documents.[c]

3. As to the statement that this address

> "cannot be an English production, though manifestly revised by some Saxon or Celtic pen",

the Council begs to observe that, as a matter of course, the productions of an international Society cannot have any national character. However, the Council need not have any secrets in this matter. The address, like many previous publications of the Council, was drawn up by the Corresponding Secretary for Germany, Dr. Karl Marx, was adopted unanimously and "revised" by nobody.

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[a] G. J. Holyoake, "To the Editor of *The Daily News*", *The Daily News*, No. 7844, June 20, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the General Council's Address *The Civil War in France*, written by Marx (pp. 307-59).—*Ed.*

[c] In Engels' manuscript this is followed by the sentence "On this occasion, however, an exception was made, and the consent of absent members was formally requested."—*Ed.*

4. In the course of last year Mr. George Jacob Holyoake presented himself as a Candidate for membership of the Council but was not admitted.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

*John Hales,*
Secretary to the General Council
of the International Working Men's Association

256, High Holborn, W.C.,
London, June 21, 1871

Written on June 20, 1871

Approved at the General Council meeting of June 20, 1871

Published in *The Daily News,* No. 7847, June 23, 1871, in *The Eastern Post,* No. 143, June 24, 1871 (a slightly different version) and in *The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1984, June 23, 1871 (as a summary of the statement)

Reproduced from *The Daily News,* verified with the manuscript

# Frederick Engels

## [LETTER FROM THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO THE EDITOR OF *THE SPECTATOR* (RESP. *EXAMINER*)][229]

TO THE EDITOR
OF *THE SPECTATOR* (RESP. *EXAMINER*)

Sir,

You will much oblige the General Council of the International Working Men's Association by giving publicity to the fact that all the pretended Manifestoes and other publications of the "Internationals" of Paris, with which the English Press is now teeming (and which all of them were first published by the notorious *Paris-Journal*) are without one exception pure fabrications of the Versailles Police.

I am etc.

Written on June 20 or 21, 1871

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XIII, Part II, 1940

Reproduced from the rough manuscript

# Karl Marx

## [TO THE EDITOR OF *THE DAILY NEWS*][230]

Sir,—

A Council consisting of more than thirty members cannot, of course, draw up its own documents. It must entrust that task to some one or other of its members, reserving to itself the right of rejecting or amending. The address on the "Civil War in France," drawn up by myself,[a] was unanimously adopted by the General Council of the International, and is therefore the official embodiment of its own views. With regard, however, to the personal charges brought forward against Jules Favre and Co., the case stands otherwise. On this point the great majority of the Council had to rely upon my trustworthiness. This was the very reason why I supported the motion of another member of the Council[b] that Mr. John Hales, in his answer to Mr. Holyoake[c] should name me as the author of the address. I hold myself alone responsible for those charges, and hereby challenge Jules Favre and Co. to prosecute me for libel. In his letter Mr. Llewellyn Davies says,

> "It is melancholy to read the charges of personal baseness so freely flung by Frenchmen at one another."[d]

Does this sentence not somewhat smack of that pharisaical self-righteousness with which William Cobbett had so often taunted the British mind? Let me ask Mr. Llewellyn Davies which

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[a] See this volume, pp. 307-59.—*Ed.*

[b] F. Engels.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 367-68.—*Ed.*

[d] J. L. Davies, "To the Editor of *The Daily News*", *The Daily News*, No. 7849, June 26, 1871.—*Ed.*

was worse, the French *petite presse,* fabricating in the service of the police the most infamous slanders against the Communals, dead, captive, or hidden, or the English press reproducing them to this day, despite its professed contempt for the *petite presse.* I do not consider it a French inferiority that such serious charges for instance as those brought forward against the late Lord Palmerston, during a quarter of a century, by a man like Mr. David Urquhart,[231] could have been burked in England but not in France.

Published in *The Eastern Post,* No. 144, July 1, 1871, *The Daily News,* June 27, 1871 (in abbreviated form), and *The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1987, June 27, 1871 (in abbreviated form)

Reproduced from *The Eastern Post*

# Frederick Engels

## [STATEMENT BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL ON THE LETTERS OF G. J. HOLYOAKE AND B. LUCRAFT][232]

TO THE EDITOR OF *THE DAILY NEWS*

Sir,—

I am instructed by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association to reply to the letters of Messrs. G. J. Holyoake and B. Lucraft, which appeared in your issue of Monday last.[a] I find, on referring to the minutes of the Council, that Mr. Holyoake attended a meeting of the Council, by permission, on the 16th of November, 1869, and during the sitting expressed his desire to become a member of the Council, and to attend the next General Congress of the International, to be held in Paris, September, 1870. After he had retired, Mr. John Weston proposed him as a candidate for membership, but the proposition was received in such a manner that Mr. Weston did not insist, but withdrew it. With regard to Mr. Lucraft's statement that he was not present when the address was voted upon, I may say that Mr. Lucraft was present at a meeting of the Council held on the 23rd of May, 1871, when it was officially announced that the draught of the address on the "Civil War in France"[b] would be read and discussed at the next ordinary meeting of the Council, May the 30th. It was therefore left entirely to Mr. Lucraft to decide whether he would be present or absent upon that occasion, and not only did he know that it was the rule of the Council to append the names of all its members, present or absent, to its public documents, but he was one of the most strenuous supporters of that rule, and resisted on several occasions attempts made to

[a] G. J. Holyoake, "To the Editor of *The Daily News*", *The Daily News*, No. 7849, June 26, 1871; B. Lucraft, "To the Editor of *The Daily News*", same issue.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 307-59.— *Ed.*

dispense with it—on May 23, amongst others—and he then voluntarily informed the Council that "his entire sympathy was with the Commune of Paris." On Tuesday evening, June 20, at a meeting of the Council, Mr. Lucraft was forced to admit that he had not even then read the address itself, but that all his impressions about it were derived from the statements of the press. With respect to Mr. Odger's repudiation, all I can say is that he was waited upon personally and informed that the Council was about to issue an address, and was asked if he objected to his name appearing in connection with it, and he said "No." The public can draw its own conclusions. I may add that the resignations of Messrs. Lucraft and Odger have been accepted by the Council unanimously.[a]

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

*John Hales,*

Secretary to the General Council
of the International Working Men's Association

256, High Holborn, W.C.

Written about June 27, 1871

Approved at the General Council meeting of June 27, 1871

Published in *The Daily News*, No. 7852, June 29, 1871 and in *The Eastern Post*, No. 144, July 1, 1871

Reproduced from *The Daily News*

[a] At the meeting of June 27, 1871.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [LETTER TO MAX FRIEDLÄNDER, THE EDITOR OF THE *NEUE FREIE PRESSE*]

Dear Friend,

Would you be so kind as to publish the following statement in your newspaper and to send me a copy of the issue in question.

Yours very sincerely,

*Karl Marx*

TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE *NEUE FREIE PRESSE*

Under the heading "A Socialist Soirée", signed W.,[a] the Vienna *Presse* carries a feature article in which I have the honour to figure. W. met me, so he says,at a soirée at *Herzen's* house. He even recalled the speeches that I made there.

A firm opponent of Herzen, I have always refused to meet him, and have therefore *never* seen the man in my life.

I doubt whether the imaginative W. has ever been to London. As a matter of fact, there are no *"marble steps"* there, except in the palaces, though W. even found some in Herzen's "COTTAGE"!

I hereby challenge the imaginative W., whom the laurels of the *Paris-Journal* and similar police newspapers[b] will not allow to sleep, to name himself.

*Karl Marx*

London, June 30, 1871

Published in the newspapers *Neue Freie Presse,* No. 2462, July 4, 1871, *Börse des Lebens, Feuilleton und Localblatt der Berliner Börsen-Zeitung,* No. 30, July 23, 1871

Printed according to the *Neue Freie Presse,* verified with the rough manuscript; the covering letter is printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] W., "Eine socialistische Soirée", *Die Presse,* No. 173, June 24, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 364, 366.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [THE ADDRESS *THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE* AND THE ENGLISH PRESS]

*London,* 30 June. No publication in the history of London has caused such a stir as the Address of the General Council of the International.[a] In the beginning, the main papers tried to kill it with silence, a favourite method of theirs; but a few days were enough to prove to them that it would not work this time. The *Telegraph, Standard, Spectator, Pall Mall Gazette* and *Times* had to bring themselves, one by one, to mention this "remarkable document" in their leaders.[b] Then letters from third parties started to appear in the papers, drawing attention to this and that in particular. Then more leaders, and at the weekend the weeklies returned to it once again. The entire press has had to confess unanimously that the International is a great power in Europe to be reckoned with, which cannot be eliminated by refusing to talk about it. They all had to acknowledge the stylistic mastery with which the Address is written—a language as powerful as William Cobbett's, according to *The Spectator.* It was only to be expected that this bourgeois press would attack, almost to a man, such an energetic assertion of the proletarian point of view, such a decisive justification of the Paris Commune. Likewise, that the Stieberiades[233] fabricated by the Parisian police papers and the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 307-59.—*Ed.*

[b] "It is with a feeling of...", *The Daily Telegraph,* No. 4994, June 16, 1871; "If there are any in England...", *The Standard,* No. 14627, June 19, 1871; "The English Communists on Paris", *The Spectator,* No. 2242, June 17, 1871; "The International Working Men's Association", *The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1979, June 17, 1871: "This remarkable document ought to remove all doubts ... as to the political import of the late events in Paris"; "The International Working Men's Association has not...", *The Times,* No. 27093, June 19, 1871.—*Ed.*

documents of quite a different society (Bakunin's Alliance of Socialist Democracy)[a] laid at the door of the International by Jules Favre[b] would be attributed to it, despite the public disavowals of the General Council.[c] In the meantime, however, the commotion finally became too much even for the philistine. *The Daily News* began to soothe, and *The Examiner,* the only paper to behave really decently, resolutely stood up for the International in a detailed article.[d] Two English members of the General Council, *Odger,* who has long been on much too friendly terms with the bourgeoisie, and *Lucraft,* who seems to have grown much more concerned about the opinion of "respectable" people since he was elected on to the London School Board, were swayed by the fuss in the papers to tender their resignations, which were unanimously accepted. They have already been replaced by two other English workers[e] and will soon mark what it means to betray the proletariat at the critical moment.

An English parson, Llewellyn Davies, lamented in *The Daily News* about the abuse directed at Jules Favre and consorts in the Address and expressed the desire that the truth or falsehood of these charges be ascertained, as far as I am concerned, by the French Government bringing an action against the General Council.[f] On the very next day, *Karl Marx declared in the same paper that as the author of the Address he considered himself personally responsible for the charges*[g]; however, the French Embassy does not seem to have any orders to proceed with a libel suit against him. Finally *The Pall Mall Gazette* then declared that this was quite unnecessary, the private character of a statesman was always sacred, and only his public actions could be attacked.[h] Of course, if the private characters of the *English* statesmen were brought before the public, the Last Day of the oligarchic and *bourgeois* world would be nigh.

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[a] *Programme de l'Alliance internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste,* Geneva, 1868.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Favre, "Versailles, le 6 juin 1871", *Journal officiel* (Versailles), No. 159, June 8, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 361-62.—*Ed.*

[d] "The International Association", *The Examiner,* No. 3308, June 24, 1871.—*Ed.*

[e] J. Roach and A. Taylor.—*Ed.*

[f] J. L. Davies, "To the Editor of *The Daily News*", *The Daily News,* No. 7849, June 26, 1871.—*Ed.*

[g] See this volume, p. 370.—*Ed.*

[h] "England from the Point of View of the Commune", *The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1989, June 29, 1871.—*Ed.*

An article from the Vienna *Wanderer* by and about the scoundrel *Netschajeff* has been doing the rounds of the German press, glorifying his deeds and those of *Serebrennikoff* and *Elpidin.* If this should occur again, we shall come back to this fine threesome for a closer look. For the present, suffice it to say that Elpidin is a notorious *Russian spy.*

Written on June 30, 1871

First published in *Der Volksstaat,* No. 54, July 5, 1871

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx

## [LETTER TO FREDERICK GREENWOOD, THE EDITOR OF *THE PALL MALL GAZETTE*][234]

Haverstock-hill, N.W. June 30, 1871

Sir,

I have declared in *The Daily News*—and you have reprinted in *The Pall Mall*—that I hold myself alone responsible for the charges brought forward against "Jules Favre and Co."[a]

In your yesterday's publication you declare these charges to be *"libels."*[b] I declare you to be a *libeller.* It is no fault of mine that you are as *ignorant* as *arrogant.* If we lived on the Continent, I should call you to account in another way.—

Obediently,

*Karl Marx*

Published in *The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1992, July 3, 1871, *The Eastern Post,* No. 145, July 8, 1871 and *Neue Freie Presse,* No. 2465, July 7, 1871 (translated from *The Pall Mall Gazette*)

Reproduced from *The Pall Mall Gazette,* verified with the manuscript

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[a] See this volume, p. 370.—*Ed.*

[b] "England from the Point of View of the Commune", *The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1989, June 29, 1871.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## MR. WASHBURNE, THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR, IN PARIS[235]

TO THE NEW YORK CENTRAL COMMITTEE
FOR THE UNITED STATES' SECTIONS
OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

*Citizens,—*

The General Council of the Association consider it their duty to communicate publicly to you evidence on the conduct, during the French Civil War, of Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador.

### I

The following statement is made by Mr. Robert Reid, a Scotchman who has lived for seventeen years in Paris, and acted during the Civil War as a correspondent for the London *Daily Telegraph* and *The New York Herald.* Let us remark, in passing, that *The Daily Telegraph,* in the interests of the Versailles Government, falsified even the short telegraphic despatches transmitted to it by Mr. Reid.

Mr. Reid, now in England, is ready to confirm his statement by affidavit.

"The sounding of the general alarm, mingled with the roar of the cannon, continued all night. To sleep was impossible. Where, I thought, are the representatives of Europe and America? Can it be possible that in the midst of this effusion of innocent blood they should make no effort at conciliation? I could bear the thought no longer; and knowing that Mr. Washburne was in town, I resolved at once to go and see him. This was, I think, on the 17th of April; the exact date may, however, be ascertained from my letter to Lord Lyons, to whom I wrote on the same day. Crossing the Champs Elysées, on my way to Mr. Washburne's residence, I met numerous ambulance-waggons filled with the wounded and dying.

Shells were bursting around the Arc de Triomphe, and many innocent people were added to the long list of M. Thiers's victims.

"Arriving at No. 95, Rue de Chaillot, I inquired at the Concierge's for the United States' Ambassador, and was directed to the second floor. The particular flight or flat you dwell in is, in Paris, an almost unerring indication of your wealth and position,—a sort of social barometer. We find here a marquis on the first front floor, and an humble mechanic on the fifth back floor,—the stairs that divide them represent the social gulf between them. As I climbed up the stairs, meeting no stout flunkeys in red breeches and silk stockings, I thought, 'Ah! the Americans lay their money out to the best advantage,—we throw ours away.'

"Entering the secretary's room, I inquired for Mr. Washburne.—Do you wish to see him personally?—I do.—My name having been sent in, I was ushered into his presence. He was lounging in an easy-chair, reading a newspaper. I expected he would rise; but he remained sitting with the paper still before him, an act of gross rudeness in a country where the people are generally so polite.

"I told Mr. Washburne that we were betraying the cause of humanity, if we did not endeavour to bring about a conciliation. Whether we succeeded or not, it was at all events our duty to try; and the moment seemed the more favourable, as the Prussians were just then pressing Versailles for a definitive settlement. The united influence of America and England would turn the balance in favour of peace.

"Mr. Washburne said, *'The men in Paris are rebels. Let them lay down their arms.'* I replied that the National Guards had a legal right to their arms; but that was not the question. When humanity is outraged, the civilized world has a right to interfere, and I ask you to co-operate with Lord Lyons to that effect.—Mr. Washburne: 'These men at Versailles will listen to nothing.'—'If they refuse, the moral responsibility will rest with them.'—Mr. Washburne: 'I don't see that. I can't do anything in the matter. You had better see Lord Lyons.'

"So ended our interview. I left Mr. Washburne sadly disappointed. I found a man rude and haughty, with none of those feelings of fraternity you might expect to find in the representative of a democratic republic. On two occasions I had had the honour of an interview with Lord Cowley, when he was our representative in France. His frank, courteous manner formed a striking contrast to the cold, pretentious, and would-be-aristocratic style of the American Ambassador.

"I also urged upon Lord Lyons that, in the defence of humanity, England was bound to make an earnest effort at reconciliation, feeling convinced that the British Government could not look coldly on such atrocities as the massacres of the Clamart station and Moulin Saquet, not to speak of the horrors of Neuilly, without incurring the malediction of every lover of humanity. Lord Lyons answered me verbally through Mr. Edward Malet, his secretary, that he had forwarded my letter to the Government, and would willingly forward any other communication I might have to make on that subject. At one moment matters were most favourable for reconciliation, and had our Government thrown their weight in the balance, the world would have been spared the carnage of Paris. At all events, it is not the fault of Lord Lyons if the British Government failed in their duty.

"But, to return to Mr. Washburne. On Wednesday forenoon, the 24th of May, I was passing along the Boulevard des Capucines, when I heard my name called, and, turning round, saw Dr. Hossart standing beside Mr. Washburne, who was in an open carriage amidst a great number of Americans. After the usual salutations, I entered into a conversation with Dr. Hossart. Presently the conversation became general on the horrid scenes around; when Mr. Washburne, addressing me with the air of a man who knows the truth of what he is saying,—*'All who belong to the Commune, and those that sympathize with them, will be shot.'* Alas! I knew that they

were killing old and young for the crime of *sympathy*, but I did not expect to hear it semi-officially from Mr. Washburne; yet, while he was *repeating* this sanguinary phrase, there was still time for him to save the Archbishop."[238]

II

"On the 24th of May, Mr. Washburne's secretary[a] came to offer to the Commune, then assembled at the Mairie of the 11th Arrondissement, on the part of the Prussians, an intervention between the Versaillese and the Federals on the following terms:—

"'Suspension of hostilities.

"'Re-election of the Commune on the one side, and of the National Assembly on the other.

"'The Versailles troops to leave Paris, and to take up their quarters in and around the fortifications.

"'The National Guard to continue to guard Paris.

"'No punishment to be inflicted upon the men serving or having served in the Federal Army.'

"The Commune, in an extraordinary sitting, accepted the propositions, with the proviso that two months should be given to France in order to prepare for the general elections of a Constituent Assembly.

"A second interview with the Secretary of the American Embassy took place. At its morning sitting of the 25th May, the Commune resolved to send five citizens—amongst them Vermorel, Delescluze, and Arnold—as plenipotentiaries to Vincennes, where, according to the information given by Mr. Washburne's secretary, a Prussian delegate would then be found. That deputation was, however, prevented from passing by the National Guards on duty at the gate of Vincennes. Consequent upon another and final interview with the same American Secretary, Citizen Arnold, to whom he had delivered a safe conduct, on the 26th May, went to St. Denis, where he was—*not* admitted by the Prussians.

"The result of this American intervention (which produced a belief in the renewed neutrality of, and the intended intercession between the belligerents, by the Prussians) was, at the most criticial juncture, to paralyze the defence for two days. Despite the precautions taken to keep the negotiations secret, they became soon known to the National Guards, who then, full of confidence in Prussian neutrality, fled to the Prussian lines, there to surrender as prisoners. It is known how this confidence was abused by the Prussians, shooting by their sentries part of the fugitives, and handing over to the Versailles Government those who had surrendered.

"During the whole course of the civil war, Mr. Washburne, through his secretary, never tired of informing the Commune of his ardent sympathies, which only his diplomatic position prevented him from publicly manifesting, and of his decided reprobation of the Versailles Government."

This statement, No. II., is made by a member of the Paris Commune,[b] who, like Mr. Reid, will, in case of need, confirm it by affidavit.

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[a] J. A. McKean.—*Ed.*

[b] Au. Serraillier.—*Ed.*

To fully appreciate Mr. Washburne's conduct, the statements of Mr. Robert Reid and that of the member of the Paris Commune must be read as a whole, as part and counterpart of the same scheme. While Mr. Washburne declares to Mr. Reid that the Communals are "rebels" who deserve their fate, he declares to the Commune his sympathies with its cause and his contempt of the Versailles Government. *On the same 24th of May,* while, in presence of Dr. Hossart and many Americans, informing Mr. Reid that not only the Communals but even their mere sympathizers were irrevocably doomed to death, he informed, through his secretary, the Commune that not only its members were to be saved, but every man in the Federal army.

We now request you, dear Citizens, to lay these facts before the Working Class of the United States, and to call upon them to decide whether Mr. Washburne is a proper representative of the American Republic.

The General Council
of the International Working Men's Association:—

*M. J. Boon, Fred. Bradnick, G. H. Buttery, Caihill, William Hales, Kolb, F. Lessner, George Milner, Thos. Mottershead, Chas. Murray, P. MacDonnell, Pfänder, John Roach, Rühl, Sadler, Cowell Stepney, Alfred Taylor, W. Townshend.*

Corresponding Secretaries:—

*Eugène Dupont,* for France; *Karl Marx,* for Germany and Holland; *F. Engels,* for Belgium and Spain; *H. Jung,* for Switzerland; *P. Giovacchini,* for Italy; *Zévy Maurice,* for Hungary; *Anton Zabicki,* for Poland; *James Cohen,* for Denmark; *J. G. Eccarius,* for the United States.

*Hermann Jung,* Chairman. *George Harris,* Financial Sec.
*John Weston,* Treasurer. *John Hales,* General Secretary.

Office—256, High Holborn, London, W.C.,
July 11th, 1871

Written between July 7 and 11, 1871

Adopted unanimously at the General Council meeting of July 11, 1871

Published as a leaflet about July 13, 1871 and in a number of press organs of the International in July-September 1871

Reproduced from the leaflet

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE MORNING ADVERTISER*

Sir,

In one of your leading articles of to-day[a] you quote a string of phrases, such as, "London, Liverpool, and Manchester in revolt against odious capital," etc., with the authorship of which you are kind enough to credit me.

Permit me to state that the whole of the quotations[b] upon which you base your article are forgeries from beginning to end. You have probably been misled by some of the fabrications which the Paris police are in the habit of issuing almost daily in my name, in order to procure evidence against the captive "Internationals" at Versailles.

I am, Sir, yours, etc.,

*Karl Marx*

1, Modena-villas, Maitland Park, Haverstock-hill, N.W.,
July 11, 1871

Published in *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 24997, July 13, 1871

Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] "London, Liverpool, and Manchester in revolt...", *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 24995, July 11, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] Cited from "Une lettre de Karl Marx", *Paris-Journal*, No. 175, July 5, 1871; "L'Internationale", *La Gazette de France*, July 11, 1871, and other sources.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE STANDARD*

Sir,

In this morning's *Standard*[a] your Paris correspondent translates from the *Gazette de France*[b] a letter dated Berlin, April 28, 1871, and purporting to be signed by me. I beg to state that this letter is from beginning to end a forgery, quite as much as all the previous pretended letters of mine lately published in the *Paris-Journal* and other French police papers.[c] If the *Gazette de France* professes to have taken the letter from German papers, this must be a falsehood too. A German paper would never have dated that fabrication from Berlin.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

*Karl Marx*

London, July 13

Published in *The Standard*, No. 14651, July 17, 1871

Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] "France", *The Standard*, No. 14648, July 13, 1871.— *Ed.*

[b] "L'Internationale", *La Gazette de France*, July 11, 1871.— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 364, 366.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [MAZZINI'S STATEMENT AGAINST THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION][237]

In his Address to the Italian workers Mazzini says:

"This Association, founded in London some years ago and with which I refused to collaborate from the start.... A nucleus of individuals which takes it upon itself directly to govern a broad multitude of men of different nations, tendencies, political conditions, economic interests and methods of action will always end up by not functioning, or it will have to function tyrannically. For this reason, I withdrew and, shortly afterwards, the Italian workers' section withdrew, etc."[a]

Now for the facts. After the foundation meeting of the International Working Men's Association of 28 September 1864, when the Provisional Council elected by that Assembly met, Major L. Wolff presented a manifesto and draft Rules written by Mazzini himself.[238] Not only did this draft not find it difficult *directly to govern a multitude*, etc. and not only did it not say that this *nucleus of individuals ... will always end up by not functioning, or it will have to function tyrannically*, but, on the contrary, the Rules were inspired by a centralised conspiracy which gave *tyrannical* powers to the central body. The manifesto was in Mazzini's usual style: bourgeois democracy offering the workers *political rights* so that the *social privileges* of the middle and upper classes could be preserved.

This manifesto and the draft Rules were naturally rejected. The Italians continued their membership until certain questions were raised anew by a number of French bourgeois in an effort to manipulate the International. When the latter failed, first Wolff

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[a] G. Mazzini, "Agli operai italiani", *La Roma del popolo*, No. 20, July 13, 1871.—*Ed.*

and then the others withdrew.[239] And so the International did away with Mazzini. Subsequently, the provisional Central Council, replying to an article by Vésinier,[a] stated in the *Journal de Liège* that Mazzini had never been a member of the International Association and that his proposals, manifestoes, and rules had been rejected.[240] Mazzini has also made frenzied attacks on the Paris Commune in the English press.[b] This is just what he always did when the proletariat rose up. He did the same after the insurrection of June 1848, denouncing the insurgent proletarians in such offensive terms that Louis Blanc himself wrote a pamphlet against him.[c] And Louis Blanc repeated on several occasions at that time that the June insurrection was the work of Bonapartist agents!

Mazzini calls Marx a man *of corrosive ... intellect, of domineering temper,* etc., perhaps because Marx knew very well how to corrode away the cabal plotted against the International by Mazzini, *dominating* the old conspirator's poorly disguised lusting for authority so effectively that he has been rendered permanently harmless to the Association. This being the case, the International should be delighted to number among its members an *intellect* and a *temper* which, by *corroding* and *domineering* in this way, have kept it going for seven years, one working more than any other man to bring it to its present exalted position.

As for the split in the Association, which has, according to Mazzini, already begun in England, the fact is that two English members of the Council,[d] who had been getting on too close terms with the bourgeoisie, found the "Address on the Civil War" too extreme and withdrew. In their place four new English members and one Irishman[e] have joined the General Council, which has been more strengthened by this than before.

Rather than being in a state of dissolution, now for the first time the International is being publicly recognised by the whole English press as a great power in Europe, and never has a little pamphlet published in London made such a big impression as the Address of the General Council on the civil war in France, which is now about to be published in its third edition.

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[a] P. Vésinier, "L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs", *L'Echo de Verviers*, No. 293, December 16, 1865; No. 294, December 18, 1865.—*Ed.*

[b] G. Mazzini, "The Commune in Paris", *The Contemporary Review*, Vol. 17, June 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] L. Blanc, *Des socialistes français à M. Mazzini*, Brussels, 1852.—*Ed.*

[d] G. Odger and B. Lucraft.—*Ed.*

[e] A. Taylor, J. Roach, Ch. Mills, G. Lochner and J. P. McDonnell.—*Ed.*

The Italian workers ought to take note of the fact that the great conspirator and agitator, Mazzini, has no other advice for them than: *Educate yourselves, teach yourselves as best you can* (as if this can be done without money!) ... *strive to create more consumer co-operative societies* (not only producer ones!)—*And trust in the future!!!*

Written on July 28, 1871

Published in the magazine *Il Libero Pensiero,* No. 9, August 31, 1871 and in the newspapers *La Favilla,* No. 209, September 7, 1871, *Il Motto d'Ordine,* November 20, 1871, in *Gazzettino Rosa,* No. 255, September 13, 1871 (in part) and in a number of other Italian newspapers

Printed according to the magazine *Il Libero Pensiero*

Translated from the Italian

Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx

## [COVERING LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF *THE TIMES*][241]

TO THE EDITOR OF *THE TIMES*

7 August 1871
4, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Sir—

The note of the *Journal officiel*[a] in contradiction to *The Times* article on the postponement of the Versailles trials[b] being much commented upon by the Continental Press, the enclosed may perhaps prove of interest for your readers.[c] The letter quoted is from a barrister engaged in the defence of some of the prisoners.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
*Karl Marx*

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XIII, Part II, 1940

Reproduced from the rough manuscript

[a] "Dans son numéro du 29 juillet...", *Journal officiel* (Versailles), No. 215, August 3, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] "Paris is once more busy...", *The Times*, No. 27128, July 29, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 389-90.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE TIMES*[242]

Sir,—

The remarks of *The Times* on the repeated postponement of the trial of the Communist prisoners at Versailles[a] have undoubtedly hit the nail on the head and have expressed the feeling of the French public. The angry note of the *Journal officiel*[b] in reply to these remarks is but one of the many proofs of the fact. In consequence of the article in *The Times,* many reclamations have been addressed to the Paris press, reclamations which, under these circumstances, had no chance of being published. I have before me the letter of a Frenchman whose official position enables him to know the facts he is writing about, and whose testimony as to the motives of this unaccountable delay ought to have some value. Here are some extracts from this letter:

"Nobody as yet knows when the 3rd Court-martial will open its sittings. The cause of this appears to be that Captain Grimal, *Commissaire de la République* (public accuser), has been superseded by another and more reliable man; it has been found out at the last moment, on perusal of his general report which was to be read in court, that he was perhaps a little bit of a republican, that he had served under Faidherbe etc in the Army of the North etc—Well; all at once another officer presents himself at his office saying: here is my commission, I am your successor; the poor captain was so surprised that he went nearly mad....

"M. Thiers has the pretention to do everything by himself, this mania goes so far that not only has he called together, contrary to all rules of fairness, all the *juges d'instruction*[c] in his cabinet, but he pretends even to regulate the composition of the

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[a] "Paris is once more busy...", *The Times*, No. 27128, July 29, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] "Dans son numéro du 29 juillet...", *Journal officiel* (Versailles), No. 215, August 3, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] Public prosecutors.—*Ed.*

public to be admitted into the Court; he himself, through M. B. St. Hilaire, distributes the tickets of admission....

"In the mean time the prisoners at Satory die like flies—pitiless death works faster than the justice of these little statesmen.... There is in the Versailles Cellular prison a big fellow who does not speak a word of French, he is supposed to be an Irishman. How he got into this trouble is still a mystery.—Amongst the prisoners there is a very honest man called..., he has been in his cell for two months and has not yet been examined. It is infamous."

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

*Justitia*

London 7th August 1871

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XIII, Part II, 1940

Reproduced from the rough manuscript

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF *L'INTERNATIONAL*[243]

Sir,

In an article entitled "'The International' Society" you say:

"Beside their strict economies, the infatuated workers provide the members of the Council with every desirable comfort for leading a pleasant life in London."[a]

I would point out to you that, with the exception of the General Secretary, who receives a salary of 10 shillings per week, all the members of the Council carry out their duties *gratuitously*, and have always done so.

I demand that you insert these lines in your next issue.

If your paper continues to spread such lies, legal action will be taken against it.

Yours faithfully,

*K. Marx*

London, August 17, 1871

First published in *Der Volkstaat*, No. 68, August 23, 1871

Printed according to the rough manuscript, verified with the newspaper

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] "La Société 'l'Internationale'", *L'International*, No. 3031, August 17, 1871.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [TO THE EDITOR OF *PUBLIC OPINION*][244]

*PRIVATE LETTER*

Sir,

I not only request you to insert the enclosed reply in your next number,[a] but I demand an *ample and complete apology* in the same place of your paper where you have inserted the libel.[b]

I should regret being forced to take legal proceedings against your paper.

Yours obediently,
*K. M.*

Written on August 19, 1871

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIV, 1931

Reproduced from the rough manuscript

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[a] See this volume, p. 393.—*Ed.*

[b] "A German View of the Internationale", *Public Opinion*, No. 517, August 19, 1871.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF *PUBLIC OPINION*[245]

Sir,—

In your publication of to-day you translate from the Berlin *National-Zeitung,* a notorious organ of Bismarck's, a most atrocious libel against the International Working Men's Association,[a] in which the following passage occurs:

> "'Capital,' says Karl Marx, 'trades in the strength and life of the workman;' but this new Messiah himself is not a step farther advanced; he takes from the mechanic the money paid him by the capitalist for his labour, and generously gives him in exchange a bill on a State that may possibly exist a thousand years hence. What edifying stories are told about the vile corruption of Socialist agitators, what a shameful abuse they make of the money confided to them, and what mutual accusations they throw in each other's faces, are things we have abundantly learned by the Congresses and from the organs of the party. There is here a monstrous volcano of filth, from whose eruptions nothing better could issue than a Parisian Commune."[b]

In reply to the venal writers of the *National-Zeitung,* I consider it quite sufficient to declare that I have never asked or received one single farthing from the working class of this or any other country.

Save the general Secretary, who receives a weekly salary of ten shillings, all the members of the General Council of the "International" do their work *gratuitously.* The financial accounts

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[a] "Die Internationale", *National-Zeitung,* No. 351, July 30, 1871, Morning edition.— *Ed.*

[b] "A German View of the Internationale", *Public Opinion,* No. 517, August 19, 1871.— *Ed.*

of the General Council, annually laid before the General Congresses of the Association, have always been sanctioned unanimously without provoking any discussion whatever.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

*Karl Marx*

Haverstock Hill, Aug. 19, 1871

Published in the *Public Opinion*, No. 518, August 26, 1871

Reproduced from the newspaper, verified with the rough manuscript

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF THE *GAULOIS*[246]

Brighton, August 24, 1871

Sir,

Since you have published extracts from the report of a conversation I had with one of the correspondents of *The New York Herald*,[a] I hope that you will also publish the following statement, which I have sent to *The New York Herald*. I am sending you this statement in its original form, that is, in English.[b]

Yours faithfully,

*Karl Marx*

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE NEW YORK HERALD*

London, 17 August 1871

Sir,

In the *Herald* of August 3rd, I find a report of a conversation I had with one of your correspondents.[c] I beg to say that I must decline all and every responsibility for the statements attributed to me in that report, whether such statements refer to individuals connected with the late events in France, or to any political or economical opinions. Of what I am reported to have said, one part I said differently, and another I never said at all.

Yours obediently,

*Karl Marx*

First published in *Le Gaulois*, No. 1145, August 27, 1871

Printed according to the newspaper

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[a] G. C., "La Commune jugée par Karl Marx", *Le Gaulois*, No. 1140, August 22, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] This letter was published in English in *Le Gaulois*. The covering letter, written in French, is published in English in this volume.—*Ed.*

[c] "The International", *The New York Herald*, No. 12765, August 3, 1871.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF *THE SUN*, CHARLES DANA][247]

Brighton, August 25, 1871

My dear Sir:

In the first instance I must beg you to excuse my prolonged silence. I should have answered your letter long ago if I had not been quite overburdened with work, so much so that my health broke down, and my doctor found it necessary to banish me for a few months to this sea-bathing place, with the strict injunction to do nothing.

I shall comply with your wish after my return to London when a favorable occasion occurs for rushing into print.

I have sent a declaration to *The New York Herald*,[a] in which I decline all and every responsibility for the trash and positive falsehoods with which its correspondent burdens me.[b] I do not know whether the *Herald* has printed it.

The number of the Communal refugees arriving in London is on the increase, while our means of supporting them is daily on the decrease, so that many find themselves in a very deplorable state. We shall make an appeal for assistance to the Americans.[248]

To give you an inkling of the state of things that under the *République Thiers* prevails in France, I will tell you what has happened to my own daughters.

My second daughter, Laura, is married to Monsieur Lafargue, a medical man. They left Paris a few days before the commencement of the first siege for Bordeaux, where Lafargue's father[c] lived. The latter, having fallen very ill, wanted to see his son, who

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[a] See this volume, p. 395.—*Ed.*

[b] "The International", *The New York Herald*, No. 12765, August 3, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] François Lafargue.—*Ed.*

attended him, indeed was at his sick bed until the time of his death. Lafargue and my daughter then continued to stay at Bordeaux, where the former possesses a house. During the time of the Commune, Lafargue acted as Secretary to the Bordeaux branches of the International, and was also sent as a delegate to Paris, where he stayed six days to make himself acquainted with the state of things there. During all the time he was not molested by the Bordeaux police. Toward the middle of May my two unmarried daughters set out for Bordeaux, and thence together with the family Lafargue to Bagnères de Luchon, in the Pyrenees, near the Spanish frontier.... There the eldest daughter, who had suffered from a severe attack of pleurisy, took the mineral waters and underwent regular medical treatment. Lafargue and his wife had to attend to a dying baby, and my youngest daughter amused herself as much in the charming environs of Luchon as the family afflictions permitted. Luchon is a place of resort for patients and for the *beau monde,*[a] and above all places the least fitted for political intrigue. My daughter Madame Lafargue had, moreover, the misfortune to lose her child, and shortly after its burial—in the second week of August—who should appear at the dwelling place? The illustrious Kératry, well known by the infamies he committed during the Mexican war, and the equivocal part he played during the Franco-Prussian war, first as Prefect of Police at Paris, and later as a *soi-disant*[b] General in Brittany, and now Prefect of the Haute-Garonne, and M. Delpech, Procureur General of Toulouse—both these worthies being accompanied by gendarmes.

Lafargue had received a hint the evening before, and had crossed the Spanish frontier, having provided himself with a Spanish passport at Bordeaux.

Although the son of French parents, he was born in Cuba, and is therefore a Spaniard. A domiciliary visit was made at the dwelling place of my daughters, and they themselves were subjected to a severe cross examination by the two mighty representatives of the République Thiers. They were charged with carrying on an insurrectional correspondence. That correspondence consisted simply in letters to their mother, the contents of which were of course not flattering to the French Government, and in copies of some London newspapers! For about a week their house was watched by gendarmes. They had to promise to leave

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[a] High society.— *Ed.*
[b] So-called.— *Ed.*

France, where their presence was too dangerous, as soon as they could make the preparations necessary for their departure, and in the mean time they were to consider themselves as people placed under the *haute surveillance*[a] of the police. Kératry and Delpech had flattered themselves with the hope of finding them unprovided with passports, but fortunately they were possessed of regular English passports. Otherwise they would have had to share the infamous treatment of the sister of Delescluze and other French ladies as innocent as themselves. They have not yet returned, and are probably waiting for news from Lafargue.

Meanwhile the Paris papers told the most incredible lies; the *Gaulois,* for instance, transforming my three daughters into three brothers of mine, well known and dangerous agents of the International Propaganda, though I have no brothers.[b] At the same time that *La France,* a Paris organ of Thiers, gave a most varnished tale of the events at Luchon, and asserted that Monsieur Lafargue might quietly return to France without incurring any danger,[c] the French Government requested the Spanish Government to arrest Lafargue as a *member* of the *Paris Commune!* to which he had never belonged, and to which, as a resident of Bordeaux, he could not belong. Lafargue was in fact arrested, and under the escort of gendarmes marched to Barbastro, where he had to take his night quarters in the town prison, thence to Huesca, whence the Governor, on telegraphic order from the Spanish Minister of the Interior,[d] had to forward him to Madrid. According to *The Daily News* of the 24th August, he has at last been set free.[e]

The whole proceedings at Luchon and in the papers[f] were nothing but shabby attempts of Mr. Thiers & Co. to revenge themselves upon me as the author of the address of the General Council of the International on the Civil War.[g] Between their revenge and my daughters stood the English passport, and Mr. Thiers is as cowardly in his relations to foreign powers as he is unscrupulous in regard to his disarmed countrymen.

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[a] Strict surveillance.— *Ed.*

[b] E. Cardon, "Les nouvelles qui nous arrivent...", *Le Gaulois,* No. 1133, August 14, 1871.— *Ed.*

[c] "Luchon, 8 août 1871", *La France,* No. 213, August 12, 1871.— *Ed.*

[d] Práxedes Mateo Sagasta.— *Ed.*

[e] "The International Society", *The Daily News,* No. 7900, August 24, 1871.— *Ed.*

[f] The extant fragment of the manuscript has "and in Spain" instead of "and in the papers".— *Ed.*

[g] See this volume, pp. 307-59.— *Ed.*

As to Cluseret, I do not think that he was a traitor, but certainly he undertook to play a part for which he lacked the mettle, and thus he did great harm to the Commune. I know nothing as to his whereabouts. And now addio!

Your old friend,

*Karl Marx*

Published in *The Sun,* September 9, 1871 Reproduced from the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## THE COMMUNE AND ARCHBISHOP DARBOY[249]

Sir,

The passage of the Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, *On the Civil War in France,* which gave the signal to shouts of moral indignation on the part of the London press, was this: "The real murderer of the Archbishop is Thiers."[a]

From the enclosed letter, addressed to M. Bigot, the counsel for M. Assi at the Versailles Court-martial, by M. Eugène Fondeville, who is ready to confirm his statements by affidavit, you will see that the Archbishop himself actually shared my view of the case. At the time of the publication of the "Address", I was not yet informed of the interview of M. Fondeville with M. Darboy, but even then the correspondence of the Archbishop with M. Thiers revealed his strange misgivings as to the good faith of the Chief of the French Executive. Another fact has now been placed beyond doubt—viz., that at the time of the execution of the hostages the Communal government had already ceased to exist, and ought, therefore, no longer be held responsible for that event.

I am, etc.,

*Karl Marx*[b]

London, August 29

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[a] See this volume, p. 352.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx's letter is written in English. Fondeville's letter reproduced by Marx was published in the newspaper in French.— *Ed.*

London, August 19, 1871

Sir,

I am taking the liberty of writing to you to inform you of the existence of certain documents relating to the events of the Commune and to ask you if you would kindly take advantage of the privileges of your profession and your capacity as defence counsel for one of the accused to have them produced in court.

Around 15 April a Paris newspaper reproduced a letter written to *The Times* in which a certain person stated that he had visited the hostages at Mazas and accused the Commune of behaving barbarously towards them. Strongly desirous of ascertaining the truth of such assertions, I went to the prison where I became convinced of the contrary. That day I talked with Messieurs Darboy, Bonjean and Deguerry, and M. Petit, secretary to the Archbishop, who could give you some information on this subject, since he is alive. Subsequently I made frequent visits to them and a few days before the collapse of the Commune Messieurs Darboy and Bonjean entrusted me with some manuscripts the gist of which I give you below.

Here is a brief résumé of the Darboy document. It is entitled "My Arrest, my Detention, and my Reflections at Mazas". From this it emerges that apart from his arrest, for which he blames the Commune, he places the full responsibility for his detention on the government of Versailles; he accuses it, above all, of sacrificing the hostages to reserve itself a sort of right to take reprisals in the future. In so doing he refers partly to his written requests and partly to the approaches made by his friends to M. Thiers, approaches and talks which led to nothing but refusals, notably that of M. Lagarde. He affirms that it was a question of exchanging the hostages not only for Blanqui, but also for the body of General Duval. He declares in addition that he was well treated and he praises at length the conduct of citizen Garau, the governor of Mazas. He already foresees his death and this is what he writes on the subject: "It is known that Versailles does not want either an exchange or a reconciliation; on the other hand, if the Commune had the power to arrest us, it does not have the power to have us set at liberty, because to set us at liberty without an exchange at this time would start a revolution in Paris that would overthrow the Commune."

As for M. Bonjean, he gave me a long treatise on agricultural economy which he had composed in prison, two letters for his family, and a kind of journal of his detention. Although this document is not as valuable from the point of view of the defence as that of M. Darboy, it proves that the hostages were treated humanely at Mazas.

Since it is pointless to insist on the importance of such documents, I shall now explain to you under what circumstances I was deprived of them.

Obliged to leave the Ministry of Public Works on the morning of Monday, 22 May, I had to take refuge in the only establishment that was open, in the Rue du Temple; it was there that I deposited my briefcase and my papers. On Thursday the 25th the Versaillese captured this quarter, and I wanted to put these documents in a safe place before going home. The owner of the hotel, whom I thought I could trust, gave me a wall safe in a room on the second floor, the key to which I took with me. Apart from the items mentioned above, I also deposited five letters from MacMahon which had been handed to me at the Prefecture of Police, many official documents, including a certificate saying that I was a delegate at Neuilly during the armistice of 25 April, two currency bills, a letter from London addressed to M. Thiers, and some photographs of various members of the Commune.

On 27 May I sent two men to the Rue du Temple who were to bring me, together with my briefcase, the papers deposited in the safe. In answer to their

request the owner of the hotel replied that since many of his neighbours had said several times that a member of the Commune had taken refuge at his place, he had thought it prudent to force open the safe and burn the papers.

The briefcase was brought to me. It too had been forced open, and my private papers, such as the certificates and others, had been taken. Now despite the fact that the owner of the hotel confirmed to me personally that the documents had been destroyed, I am persuaded of the contrary, and the news that I have had from Paris assures me that the person to whom I confided them is still in possession of them, or handed them to the police a short time ago.

I am sending you information to institute a search for the above-mentioned documents, and the customary salutations. The letter has been sent to Bigot on 19 August 1871.

*E. Fondeville,*
Householder in St. Macaire

Written on August 29, 1871

First published in *The Examiner,* No. 3318, September 2, 1871

Printed according to the newspaper, verified with the manuscript

# Karl Marx

## [TO THE EDITOR OF *LA VÉRITÉ*][250]

International Working Men's Association
256, High Holborn, London.—W.C.
30 August 1871

Mr. Editor,

Having read in today's *Daily News* that M. Renaut is attributing to the *International* a manifesto inviting the French peasants to burn all the châteaux they can, etc.,[a] Mr. John Hales, the General Secretary of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, immediately sent this telegram to M. L. Bigot, Assi's defence counsel:

"Incendiary proclamation attributed to the International is a fabrication. We are ready to make a sworn affidavit before an English magistrate."

I now hasten to warn the French public through your respected newspaper that *all the manifestos printed in Paris in the name of the International since the entry of the French government troops into Paris—that all these manifestos without a single exception are fabrications.*[251]

I make this declaration to you not only on my word of honour, but I am ready to give you an affidavit[b] sworn before an English magistrate.

I have reason to believe that these vile creations do not even emanate directly from the police, but from Monsieur B...,[c] an

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[a] "Trial of the Communist Prisoners", *The Daily News,* No. 7905, August 30, 1871.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx gives the English word "the affidavit" in the parentheses after the French one.— *Ed.*

[c] Most likely, Ch. Bradlaugh.— *Ed.*

individual attached to one of these Parisian newspapers which *The Standard* (Tory newspaper) in one of its latest issues describes as organs of the demi-monde.[a]

Yours faithfully,

*Karl Marx*

First published in *Le Soir*, No. 862, September 3, 1871, and in other bourgeois newspapers and also in the newspapers *L'Internationale*, No. 139, September 10, 1871, *Der Volksstaat*, No. 74, September 13, 1871, and others

Printed according to the manuscript, verified with the text in *Le Soir*

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] "Paris, August 18. Evening", *The Standard*, No. 14681, August 21, 1871.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [TO THE EDITOR OF *THE EVENING STANDARD*]

TO THE EDITOR

Sir,

In your number of the 2nd September, your Berlin correspondent publishes "the translation of an interesting article on the International, which has appeared in the *Cologne Gazette,*"[a] which article charges me with living at the expense of the working classes. Up to the 30th August, the date of your correspondent's letter, no such article appeared in the *Cologne Gazette,* from which paper, therefore, your correspondent could not translate it. On the contrary, the article in question appeared, more than a fortnight ago, in the Berlin *National Zeitung*[b]; and an English translation of it, literally identical with the one given by your correspondent, figured in the London weekly paper, *Public Opinion,*[c] as far back as the 19th August. The next number of *Public Opinion* contained my reply to these slanders,[d] and I hereby summon you to insert that reply, of which I enclose a copy, in the next number of your paper. The Prussian government have reasons of their own why they push, by every means in their power, the spreading of such infamous calumnies through the English press. These articles are but the harbingers of impending government prosecutions against the "International".—

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

*Karl Marx*

Haverstock-hill, Sept. 4, 1871

Published in *The Evening Standard,* September 6, 1871

Reproduced from the newspaper

[a] "The International", *The Evening Standard,* No. 14692, September 2, 1871.— *Ed.*

[b] "Die Internationale", *National-Zeitung,* No. 351, July 30, 1871, Morning edition.— *Ed.*

[c] "A German View of the Internationale", *Public Opinion,* No. 517, August 19, 1871.— *Ed.*

[d] See this volume, p. 393.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [PROPOSITIONS TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL CONCERNING PREPARATIONS FOR THE LONDON CONFERENCE][252]

Financial account.

1) To find a room for the meetings of the Conference.

2) To find an hotel where the members of the Conference can stay—propose the same as last, Leicester Square.

3) A Committee to be appointed to arrange these two points.

4) That the entire Council assist at the meetings of the Conference, with the right of taking part in the debate, but that a certain number of the Council only be delegated with the right of voting—such number to be fixed by the Council when the number of delegates to the Conference shall be known.

5) That the Frenchmen now resident in London who are acknowledged members of the International, provide for the representation of France at the Conference by three delegates.

6) That if the members of any Country should not be represented at the Conference, the Corresponding Secretary for that Country be appointed to represent them.

Written not later than September 5, 1871

Adopted at the General Council meeting of September 5, 1871

First published, in Russian, in the book *The London Conference of the First International,* 1936

Reproduced from Engels' manuscript

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## PROPOSITIONS TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE CONFERENCE BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL[253]

1) That after the close of the Conference, no branch be acknowledged as belonging to the Association by the General Council and by the Central Councils of the various countries until its annual contribution of 1[d] per head for the current year shall have been remitted to the General Council.[a]

2) α) For those countries in which the regular organization of the Association may for the moment become impossible by Government interference, the delegates of each Country are invited to propose such plans of organization as may be compatible with the peculiar circumstances of the Case. β) The Association may be re-formed under other names, γ) but all secret organizations are formally excluded.

3) The General Council will submit to the Conference a report of its administration of the affairs of the International since the last Congress.

5) The General Council will propose to the Conference to discuss the propriety of issuing a reply, to the various governments which have prosecuted and are now prosecuting the International; the Conference to name a Committee to be charged with drawing up this reply after its close.

4) *Resolution of Congress of Basle to be inforced:*

That to avoid confusion the Central Councils of the various countries be instructed to designate themselves henceforth as

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[a] The following text is crossed out in the manuscript: "No exception to this rule shall be allowed until it be proved to the satisfaction of the General Council that the branch in question has been prevented by existing legal obstacles from complying with the rule." — *Ed.*

*Federal Councils* with the name attached of the country they represent; and that the local branches or their Committees designate themselves as branches or Committees of their respective localities.[254]

6)[a]

7) That all delegates of the General Council appointed to distinct missions shall have the right to attend, and be heard at, all meetings of federal councils and local committees or branches, without however being thereby entitled to vote thereat.

8) That the General Council be instructed to issue a fresh edition of the Statutes including the resolutions of the Congresses having relation thereto; and inasmuch as a mutilated French translation has hitherto been in circulation in France, and re-translated into Spanish and Italian, that it provide an authentic French translation which is to be forwarded to *Spain and Italy* also. *German-Holland.*[b]

*3 languages printed side by side.*

Written between September 5 and 12, 1871

Reproduced from the manuscript

First published, in Russian, in the book *The London Conference of the First International*, 1936

[a] The text of the sixth point is crossed out in the manuscript: "That in all countries where the Association is regularly organised, the federal councils send regular reports of the amounts levied and received in the shape of local or district contributions."—*Ed.*

[b] The end of the sentence is indecipherable. It looks like "... Spain and Italy, Holland, also Germany."—*Ed.*

# THE LONDON CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

## September 17-23, 1871[255]

# Karl Marx

## [ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY][256]

### [RECORD OF THE SPEECH AT THE SITTING OF THE CONFERENCE COMMISSION OF 18 SEPTEMBER 1871]

Marx: The dispute has its origin in the formation of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy in Geneva, founded by Bakunin and others. He reads the two communications from the General Council to the Alliance of 1868 and March 1869,[a] in the second of which the dissolution of the Alliance and the communication on the number of its sections and their numerical strength are laid down as conditions for their admission into the International. These conditions were never met, the Alliance was never really dissolved; it has always maintained a sort of organisation. The organ of the Geneva sections, *L'Egalité,* 11 December 1869,[b] blamed the General Council for failing to do its duty by not replying to its articles,[c] whereupon the General Council replied that it was not its duty to join in newspaper polemics, but that it was prepared to answer requests or complaints made by the Romance Federal Council, and this circular was communicated to all the sections[d]; every one of them approved the conduct of the General Council. The Swiss Council disowned *L'Egalité,* with whose editorial board it had broken off; the editorial board was changed, and subsequently the organ of the Alliance adherents

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[a] See K. Marx, "The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy" and "The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the Central Bureau of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy" (present edition, Vol. 21).— *Ed.*

[b] P. Robin, "Réflexions", *L'Egalité,* No. 47, December 11, 1869.— *Ed.*

[c] The reference is to a set of articles published in *Le Progrès* in November 1869.— *Ed.*

[d] See K. Marx, "The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland" (present edition, Vol. 21).— *Ed.*

was the *Progrès* and later the *Solidarité*. Then came the Congress of Locle where the two parties, the Romance Federation of Geneva and that of the mountains (the Alliance), were openly divided.[257] The General Council left things as they were, only forbidding the new council to set itself up as a Romance council alongside the other. Guillaume, who had preached abstention from all politics, contrary to our Statutes,[a] the moment the war broke out published a proclamation demanding in the name of the International the formation of an army to come to the aid of France,[b] which is even more contrary to our Statutes.

Recorded by F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in the book *The London Conference of the First International*, 1936

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

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[a] See K. Marx, *Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association* (present edition, Vol. 20, Appendices).— *Ed.*

[b] J. Guillaume, "Manifeste aux Sections de l'Internationale", *La Solidarité*, No. 22, September 5, 1870.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## MOTIONS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE[258]

1) In order to avoid any misunderstanding the resolution of the Basle Congress[a] shall be strictly observed, whereby the central councils in the various countries where the Association has regular organisations shall call themselves Federal Councils or Committees of their respective countries, and the local sections or committees shall call themselves sections or committees of their respective areas.

2) Conference instructs the General Council to publish a new edition of the Rules, with authentic translations into French and German printed opposite the English text.[b] All translations into other languages must be approved by the General Council prior to publication.

3) At the suggestion of the General Council, Conference recommends the formation of women's sections among female workers. It is understood that this in no way affects the existence of mixed sections including both sexes.

4) Conference invites the General Council to enforce Clause 5 of the Rules[c] ordering general statistical surveys of the working class, and the resolutions of the Geneva Congress to the same effect.[d] Working men's societies or branches which refuse to

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[a] See *Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Compte-rendu de IVe Congrès International, tenu à Bâle, en Septembre 1869,* Brussels, 1869.

[b] K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*, London, 1871 (present edition, Vol. 23).— *Ed.*

[c] K. Marx, *Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association* (present edition, Vol. 20, Appendices).— *Ed.*

[d] *Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868.* The International Working Men's Association. Office of General Council, London [1869].— *Ed.*

provide the information requested shall be reported to the General Council, which shall give a ruling on them.

5) All the delegates appointed by the General Council to special missions shall be entitled to be present and to be heard at all meetings of the federal councils, district or local committees, and local branches, without, however, having a vote.

6) After the closure of Conference no branch shall be considered by the General Council and the Federal Councils to belong to the Association until it has paid to the General Council its contribution of 10c. per member for the current year.

Recorded on September 19 or 20, 1871

First published in *MEGA*$_2$, Bd. I/22, Berlin, 1978

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

# Frederick Engels

## [ON THE POLITICAL ACTION OF THE WORKING CLASS][259]

### [PLAN FOR SPEECH AT THE CONFERENCE SESSION ON SEPTEMBER 21, 1871]

1) Lorenzo matter of principle—this decided.

2) Abstention impossible. Newspaper politics is also politics; all abstaining papers attack the government. The only question is *how* and how far to get involved in politics. This depends on circumstances and cannot be prescribed.

{2) Abstention nonsensical; one should abstain because bad people might be elected—so no contributions because the treasurer might abscond. So, no newspaper because the editor is just as likely to sell himself as the deputy.
3) Political freedoms—particularly of association, assembly and press—our means of agitation; is it unimportant whether these are taken from us or not? And should we not resist if they are attacked?
4) Abstention preached, because otherwise one is recognising the status quo. The status quo exists and *se fiche pas mal*[a] about our recognition. If we use the means offered us by the status quo to protest against the status quo, is that recognition?[b]

3) Abstention impossible.[c] The Workers' Party as a political party *exists* and wants to act politically, and to preach abstention to it is to ruin the International. The mere contemplation of conditions, of political suppression for social ends *forces* the workers into

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[a] It could care no less.—*Ed.*

[b] Clauses 2,3,4, marked by Engels with a brace in the manuscript, were written as an insertion into the text on the right side.—*Ed.*

[c] Then follows the phrase "after the Commune" crossed out by Engels.—*Ed.*

politics; the preachers of abstention are driving them into the arms of bourgeois politicians. After the Commune, which put the political action of the workers on the agenda, abstention impossible.

4) We want the abolition of classes. Sole means is political power in the hands of the proletariat—and we should not go into politics? All abstentionists call themselves revolutionaries. Revolution is the highest act of politics, and anyone who wants it must also want the means of preparing revolution, educate the workers for it, and see to it that he is not cheated again by Favre and Pyat the following day. It is purely a question of *which* politics—*the exclusively proletarian, not as the tail of the bourgeoisie.*

Written on September 20 or 21, 1871

First published, in French, in the magazine *Cahiers du Bolchévisme. Revue bimensuelle publiée par le C.C. du Parti communiste français (S.F.I.C.),* No. 20, 1934

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# Frederick Engels

## [ON THE POLITICAL ACTION OF THE WORKING CLASS][260]

### [HANDWRITTEN TEXT OF THE SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE CONFERENCE SESSION ON SEPTEMBER 21, 1871]

Absolute abstention from politics is impossible; all the abstentionist newspapers go in for politics, too. It only depends how one does it and what sort of politics. Moreover, for us abstention is impossible. The workers' party already exists as a political party in most countries. It is not up to us to ruin it by preaching abstention. The experience of real life and the political oppression imposed on them by existing governments—whether for political or social ends—force the workers to concern themselves with politics, whether they wish to or not. To preach abstention would be to push them into the arms of bourgeois politics. Especially in the aftermath of the Paris Commune, which placed the political action of the proletariat on the agenda, abstention is quite impossible.

We seek the abolition of Classes. What is the means of achieving it? The political domination of the proletariat. And when everyone is agreed on that, we are asked not to get involved in politics! All abstentionists call themselves revolutionaries, even revolutionaries *par excellence.* But revolution is the supreme act of politics; whoever wants it must also want the means, political action, which prepares for it, which gives the workers the education for revolution and without which the workers will always be duped by the Favres and the Pyats the day after the struggle. But the politics which are needed are working class politics; the workers' party must be constituted not as the tail of some bourgeois party, but as an independent party with its own objective, its own politics.

The political freedoms, the right of assembly and association and the freedom of the press, these are our weapons—should we

fold our arms and abstain if they seek to take them away from us? It is said that every political act implies recognition of the status quo. But when this status quo gives us the means of protesting against it, then to make use of these means is not to recognise the status quo.

First published in full, in Russian, in the magazine *The Communist International*, No. 29, 1934

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

Samedi 21 Octobre 1871. PAS DE DROITS SANS DEVOIRS, PAS DE DEVOIRS SANS DROITS. Troisième année. № 20.

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Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs de la Suisse romande

# Karl Marx

## RESOLUTION OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE RELATING TO THE SPLIT IN ROMANCE SWITZERLAND[261]

With regard to this split:

1. First and foremost, the Conference must consider the demurrers put forward by the Federal Committee of the Societies of the Mountains, which do not belong to the Romance Federation (see the letter of 4 September submitted to the Conference by the Federal Committee of that section):

*First demurrer:*

"The General Congress," they say, "convened in accordance with the Rules, can alone be competent to judge such a serious matter as the split in the Romance Federation."

Considering:

That when conflicts arise between the societies or branches of a national group, or between groups of different nationalities, the General Council shall have the right to decide on the split, pending appeal to the next Congress, which will take the final decision (see clause VII of the resolutions of the Congress of Basel)[a];

That according to resolution VI of the Congress of Basel, the General Council also has the right to suspend a section of the International until the next Congress;

That these rights of the General Council have been recognised, albeit only in theory, by the Federal Committee of the dissident branches of the Mountains, since Citizen Robin has repeatedly appealed to the General Council in the name of this Committee to come to a final decision on this question (see the minutes of the General Council);

[a] *Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Compte-rendu du IVe Congrès International, tenu à Bâle, en septembre 1869,* Brussels, 1869.—*Ed.*

That the rights of Conference, while not equal to those of a General Congress, at any rate exceed those of the General Council;

That it is in fact the Federal Committee of the dissident branches of the Mountains, not the Federal Committee of the Romance Federation, which through Citizen Robin has requested that a conference be convened to reach a final decision on this split (see the minutes of the General Council of 25 July 1871).

For these reasons:

The Conference declares the first demurrer invalid.

*Second demurrer:*

"It would be," they say, "a breach of elementary justice to pass sentence on a federation which has not been given the opportunity to defend itself... Today (4 September 1871) we learn indirectly that an extraordinary Conference is to be held in London on 17 September. [...] It was the duty of the General Council to inform all the regional groups of it; we do not know why it has maintained silence with regard to us."

Considering:

That the General Council had instructed all its secretaries to give notice of the convening of a conference to the sections of the respective countries which they represent;

That Citizen Jung, the corresponding secretary for Switzerland, did not inform the Committee of the Jura branches for the following reasons:

In flagrant breach of the decision of the General Council of 29 June 1870,[262] this Committee, as it still does in its last letter addressed to the Conference, continues to call itself the Committee of the *Romance Federation.*

This Committee had the right to appeal against the decision of the General Council at a future Congress, but it did not have the right to ignore the decision of the General Council.

Consequently it had no legal existence as far as the General Council was concerned, and Citizen Jung did not have the right to recognise it by inviting it direct to send delegates to the Conference;

Citizen Jung has not received from the Committee any answers to questions put to it in the name of the General Council; since the admission of Citizen Robin to the General Council[a] the requests of the above-mentioned Committee have always been conveyed to the General Council through Citizen Robin, and never by the corresponding secretary for Switzerland.

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[a] November 8, 1870.—*Ed.*

Considering further:

That on behalf of the above-mentioned Committee Citizen Robin had requested that the conflict be referred first to the General Council and then, on the refusal of the General Council, to a Conference; that the General Council and its corresponding secretary for Switzerland therefore had every reason to suppose that Citizen Robin would inform his correspondents of the convening of a conference, which they themselves had requested;

That the commission of inquiry set up by the Conference to study the Swiss split has heard Citizen Robin as a witness; that all the documents submitted to the General Council by the two parties have been passed on to the commission of inquiry; that it is impossible to concede that the above-mentioned Committee had only been informed of the convening of a conference on 4 September, seeing that in August it had already approached Citizen M...[a] with an offer to send him to the Conference as a delegate;

For these reasons:

The Conference declares the second demurrer invalid.

*Third demurrer:*

"A decision," they say, "annulling the rights of our Federation would have the most disastrous consequences for the existence of the International in our country."

Considering:

That no one has asked for the rights of the above-mentioned Federation to be annulled,

The Conference declares the third demurrer invalid.

2) The Conference confirms the decision of the General Council of 29 June 1870.

At the same time, in view of the persecutions which the International is at present undergoing, the Conference appeals to the feelings of fraternity and union which more than ever ought to animate the working class;

It invites all the brave working men of the Mountain sections to rejoin the sections of the Romance Federation. In case such an amalgamation should prove impracticable it decides that the federated Mountain sections shall henceforth name themselves the "Jurassian Federation".

The Conference gives warning that henceforth the General Council will be bound to publicly denounce and disavow all would-be organs of the *International* which, following the precedents of the

[a] Malon.— *Ed.*

*Progrès* and the *Solidarité,* should discuss in their columns, before the middle-class public, questions exclusively reserved for the local or Federal Committees and the General Council, or for the private and administrative sittings of the Federal or General Congresses.

London, September 26, 1871

Moved on September 21, 1871

First published in *L'Égalité,* No. 20, October 21, 1871

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE OF DELEGATES OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

### ASSEMBLED AT LONDON FROM 17TH TO 23RD SEPTEMBER 1871 (CIRCULAR ISSUED BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE ASSOCIATION)[263]

### I.

### COMPOSITION OF GENERAL COUNCIL[264]

The Conference invites the General Council to limit the number of those members whom it adds to itself, and to take care that such adjunctions be not made too exclusively from citizens belonging to the same nationality.

### II.

### DESIGNATIONS OF NATIONAL COUNCILS,[a] ETC.[265]

1.—In conformity with a Resolution of the Congress of Basel (1869), the Central Councils of the various countries where the *International* is regularly organised, shall designate themselves henceforth as *Federal Councils* or *Federal Committees* with the names of their respective countries attached, the designation of *General Council* being reserved for the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association.

2.—All local branches, sections, groups and their committees are henceforth to designate and constitute themselves simply and exclusively as branches, sections, groups and committees of the *International Working Men's Association* with the names of their respective localities attached.

3.—Consequently, no branches, sections, or groups will henceforth be allowed to designate themselves by sectarian names such as Positivists, Mutualists, Collectivists, Communists, etc., or to form separatist bodies under the name of *sections of propaganda* etc.,

[a] The French and German editions have respectively: "National or regional Councils, local branches, sections, groups and their respective Committees" and "National Councils, local branches, sections, groups and their Committees".— *Ed.*

pretending to accomplish special missions, distinct from the common purposes of the Association.

4.—Resolutions 1 and 2 do not, however, apply to affiliated *Trades' Unions.*

III.

DELEGATES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL[266]

All delegates appointed to distinct missions by the General Council shall have the right to attend, and be heard at, all meetings of Federal Councils, or Committees, district and local Committees and branches, without, however, being entitled to vote thereat.

IV.

CONTRIBUTION OF 1D.[a] PER MEMBER TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL[267]

1.—The General Council shall cause to be printed adhesive stamps representing the value of one penny each, which will be annually supplied, in the numbers to be asked for, to the Federal Councils or Committees.

2.—The Federal Councils or Committees shall provide the local Committees, or, in their absence, their respective sections, with the number of stamps corresponding to the number of their members.

3.—These stamps are to be affixed to a special sheet of the *livret* or to the Rules which every member is held to possess.

4.—On the 1st of March of each year, the Federal Councils or Committees of the different countries shall forward to the General Council the amount of the stamps disposed of, and return the unsold stamps remaining on hand.

5.—These stamps, representing the value of the individual contributions, shall bear the date of the current year.

V.

FORMATION OF WORKING WOMEN'S BRANCHES[268]

The Conference recommends the formation of female branches among the working class. It is, however, understood that this resolution does not at all interfere with the existence or formation of branches composed of both sexes.

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[a] The German edition has "(Groschen)" after "1d.", and the French one has "10 [centimes]" instead of "1d." here and below.— *Ed.*

## VI.

## GENERAL STATISTICS OF THE WORKING CLASS[269]

1.—The Conference invites the General Council to enforce art. 5 of the original Rules relating to a general statistics of the working class, and the resolutions of the Geneva Congress, 1866,[a] on the same subject.[270]

2.—Every local branch is bound to appoint a special committee of statistics, so as to be always ready, within the limits of its means, to answer any questions which may be addressed to it by the Federal Council or Committee of its country, or by the General Council. It is recommended to all branches to remunerate the secretaries of the committees of statistics, considering the general benefit the working class will derive from their labour.

3.—On the first of August of each year the Federal Councils or Committees will transmit the materials collected in their respective countries to the General Council which, in its turn, will have to elaborate them into a general report, to be laid before the Congresses or Conferences annually held in the month of September.

4.—Trades' Unions and international branches refusing to give the information required, shall be reported to the General Council which will take action thereupon.

## VII.

## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF TRADES' UNIONS[271]

The General Council is invited to assist, as has been done hitherto, the growing tendency of the Trades' Unions of the different countries to enter into relations with the Unions of the same trade in all other countries. The efficiency of its action as the international agent of communication between the national Trades' societies will essentially depend upon the assistance given by these same societies to the General Labour Statistics pursued by the *International.*

The boards of Trades' Unions of all countries are invited to keep the General Council informed of the directions of their respective offices.

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[a] *Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868.* The International Working Men's Association. Office of General Council, London [1869].—*Ed.*

## VIII.

## AGRICULTURAL PRODUCERS[272]

1.—The Conference invites the General Council and the Federal Councils or Committees to prepare, for the next Congress, reports on the means of securing the adhesion of the agricultural producers to the movement of the industrial proletariate.

2.—Meanwhile, the Federal Councils or Committees are invited to send agitators to the rural districts, there to organise public meetings, to propagate the principles of the International and to found rural branches.

## IX.

## POLITICAL ACTION OF THE WORKING CLASS[273]

Considering the following passage of the preamble to the Rules:

"The economical emancipation of the working classes is the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate *as a means*;"[a]

That the Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association (1864) states: "The lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies. So far from promoting, they will continue to lay every possible impediment in the way of the emancipation of labour... To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes;"[b]

That the Congress of Lausanne (1867) has passed this resolution: "The social emancipation of the workmen is inseparable from their political emancipation;"[c]

That the declaration of the General Council relative to the pretended plot of the French Internationals on the eve of the plebiscite (1870) says: "Certainly by the tenor of our Statutes, all our branches in England, on the Continent, and in America have the special mission not only to serve as centres for the militant organisation of the working class, but also to support, in their respective countries, every political movement tending towards the

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[a] K. Marx, *Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association* (present edition, Vol. 20, Appendices).—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association* (present edition, Vol. 20, p. 12).—*Ed.*

[c] *Procès-verbaux du Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs réuni à Lausanne du 2 au 8 septembre 1867*, Chaux-de-Fonds, 1867.—*Ed.*

accomplishment of our ultimate end—the economical emancipation of the working class;"[a]

That false translations of the original Statutes[b] have given rise to various[c] interpretations which were mischievous to the development and action of the International Working Men's Association[274];

In presence of an unbridled reaction which violently crushes every effort at emancipation on the part of the working men, and pretends to maintain by brute force the distinction of classes and the political domination of the propertied classes resulting from it[d];

Considering, that against this collective power of the propertied classes the working class cannot act, as a class, except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes;

That this constitution of the working class into a political party is indispensable in order to insure the triumph of the social Revolution and its ultimate end—the abolition of classes;

That the combination of forces which the working class has already effected by its economical struggles ought at the same time to serve as a lever for its struggles against the political power of landlords and capitalists—[e]

The Conference recalls to the members of the *International*:

That in the militant state of the working class, its economical movement and its political action are indissolubly united.

## X.

## GENERAL RESOLUTION AS TO THE COUNTRIES WHERE THE REGULAR ORGANISATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL IS INTERFERED WITH BY THE GOVERNMENTS[275]

In those countries where the regular organisation of the *International* may for the moment have become impracticable in consequence of government interference, the Association, and its

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[a] K. Marx, "Concerning the Persecution of the Members of the French Sections" (present edition, Vol. 21, p. 127).— *Ed.*

[b] See K. Marx, *Provisional Rules of the Association* (present edition, Vol. 20).— *Ed.*

[c] The German and French editions have "false" instead of "various".— *Ed.*

[d] The German edition has "based on it" instead of "resulting from it".— *Ed.*

[e] The German and French editions have "its exploiters" instead of "landlords and capitalists".— *Ed.*

local groups, may be reformed under various other names, but all secret societies properly so called are and remain formally excluded.

## XI.

## RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO FRANCE[276]

1.—The Conference expresses its firm conviction that all persecutions will only double the energy of the adherents of the *International,* and that the branches will continue to organize themselves, if not by great centres, at least by workshops and federations of workshops corresponding with each other by their delegates.

2.—Consequently, the Conference invites all branches vigorously to persist in the propaganda of our principles in France and to import into their country as many copies as possible of the publications and Statutes of the *International.*

## XII.

## RESOLUTION RELATING TO ENGLAND[277]

The Conference invites the General Council to call upon the English branches in London to form a Federal Committee for London which, after its recognition by the provincial branches and affiliated societies,[a] shall be recognised, by the General Council, as the *Federal Council for England.*

## XIII.

## SPECIAL VOTES OF THE CONFERENCE[278]

1.—The Conference approves of the adjunction of the members of the Paris Commune whom the General Council has added to its number.

2.—The Conference declares that German working men have done their duty during the Franco-German war.

3.—The Conference fraternally thanks the members of the Spanish Federation for the memorandum presented by them on the organisation of the International by which they have once more proved their devotion to our common work.

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[a] The German and French editions have "trade unions" instead of "societies".—*Ed.*

4.—The General Council shall immediately publish a declaration to the effect that the International Working Men's Association is utterly foreign to the so-called conspiracy of Netschayeff[279] who has fraudulently usurped[a] its name.

XIV.

INSTRUCTION TO CITIZEN OUTINE[280]

Citizen Outine is invited to publish in the journal *L'Égalité* a succinct report, from the Russian papers, of the Netschayeff trial. Before publication, his report will be submitted to the General Council.

XV.

CONVOCATION OF NEXT CONGRESS[281]

The Conference leaves it to the discretion of the General Council to fix, according to events, the day and place of meeting of the next Congress or Conference.[b]

XVI.

ALLIANCE DE LA DÉMOCRATIE SOCIALISTE.
(THE ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY)[282]

Considering that the "Alliance de la Démocratie socialiste" has declared itself dissolved (see letter to the General Council d.d. Geneva, 10th August 1871 signed by citizen N. Joukowsky, secretary to the "Alliance"),

That in its sitting of the 18th September (see No. II of this circular) the Conference has decided that all existing organisations of the *International* shall, in conformity with the letter and the spirit of the general rules, henceforth designate and constitute themselves simply and exclusively as branches, sections, federations, etc., of the International Working Men's Association with the names of their respective localities attached;

That the existing branches and societies shall therefore no longer be allowed to designate themselves by sectarian names such as Positivists, Mutualists, Collectivists, Communists, etc., or to form separatist bodies under the names of *sections of propaganda, Alliance*

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[a] The German and French editions have "usurped and exploited".— *Ed.*

[b] The German and French editions have "or Conference instead of it".— *Ed.*

*de la Démocratie socialiste,* etc., pretending to accomplish special missions distinct from the common purposes of the Association[a];

That henceforth the General Council of the International Working Men's Association will in this sense have to interpret and apply article 5 of the administrative resolutions of the Basel Congress[b]: "The General Council has the right either to accept or to refuse the affiliation of any new section or group," etc.[c];

The Conference declares the question of the "Alliance de la Démocratie socialiste" to be settled.

## XVII.

## SPLIT IN THE FRENCH-SPEAKING PART OF SWITZERLAND[283]

1.—The different exceptions taken by the Federal Committee of the Mountain sections as to the competency of the Conference are declared inadmissible. (This is but a resumé of article 1 which will be printed in full in the *Egalité* of Geneva.[d])

2.—The Conference confirms the decision of the General Council of June 29th, 1870.[262]

At the same time, in view of the persecutions which the *International* is at present undergoing, the Conference appeals to the feelings of fraternity and union which more than ever ought to animate the working class;

It invites the brave working men of the Mountain sections to rejoin the sections of the Romance Federation;

In case such an amalgamation should prove impracticable it decides that the dissident Mountain sections shall henceforth name themselves the *"Jurassian Federation".*

The Conference gives warning that henceforth the General Council will be bound to publicly denounce and disavow all organs[e] of the International which, following the precedents of the *Progrès* and the *Solidarité,* should discuss in their columns, before

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[a] The French edition has "from the purpose common to the mass of militant proletariat united within the International Working Men's Association" instead of "from the common purposes of the Association".— *Ed.*

[b] *Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Compte-rendu du IVe Congrès International, tenu à Bâle, en septembre 1869,* Brussels, 1869.— *Ed.*

[c] The German and French editions have "pending appeal to the next congress" instead of "etc.".— *Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 419-22.— *Ed.*

[e] The German and French editions have "all would-be organs".— *Ed.*

the middle-class public, questions exclusively reserved for the local or Federal Committees and the General Council, or for the private and administrative sittings of the Federal or General Congresses.

NOTICE

The resolutions not intended for publicity will be communicated to the Federal Councils or Committees of the various countries by the corresponding secretaries of the General Council.

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By order and in the name of the Conference,

The General Council:

*R. Applegarth, M. J. Boon, Fred. Bradnick, G. H. Buttery, Delahaye, Eugène Dupont* (on mission), *W. Hales, G. Harris, Hurliman, Jules Johannard, Fred. Lessner, Lochner, Ch. Longuet, C. Martin, Z. Maurice, Henry Mayo, George Milner, Charles Murray, Pfänder, John Roach, Rühl, Sadler, Cowell Stepney, Alf. Taylor, W. Townshend, E. Vaillant, John Weston*

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*John Hales,* Gen. Secretary

256, High Holborn, W.C.,
October 17, 1871

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Reproduced from the English pamphlet, verified with the German and French editions

# Karl Marx

## [TO THE EDITORS OF *WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY*][284]

London, N. W., September 23, 1871

*Mesdames:*

I have the honor to send you, for insertion in your *Weekly*—if you judge the contribution sufficiently interesting for your readers—a short relation of my daughter Jenny on the persecutions she and her sisters, during their stay at Bagnères de Luchon (Pyrenees),[a] had to undergo at the hands of the French Government. This tragico-comical episode seems to me characteristic of the Republic-Thiers.

The news of my death was concocted at Paris by the *Avenir libéral,*[b] a Bonapartist paper.

Since Sunday last a private Conference of the delegates of the International Workingmen's Association is sitting at London. The proceedings will terminate to-day.

With my best thanks for the highly interesting papers you had the kindness to send me,

I have the honor, Mesdames, to remain,
Yours most sincerely,

*Karl Marx*

First published in the *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly,* No. 23/75, October 21, 1871

Reproduced from the weekly

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[a] See this volume, pp. 622-32.—*Ed.*

[b] "Paris, le 4 septembre 1871. Dernières Nouvelles", *L'Avenir libéral,* No. 376, September 5, 1871.—*Ed.*

# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

# Karl Marx

## DRAFTS OF *THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE*[285]

Written by K. Marx between the middle of April and May 23, 1871

First published in full, in English and Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives,* Vol. III (VIII), 1934

Reproduced from the manuscript

# [FIRST DRAFT OF *THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE*]

## THE GOVERNMENT OF DEFENCE

Four months after the commencement of the war, when the Government of Defence had thrown a sop to the Paris National Guard by allowing them to show their fighting capabilities at Buzenval,[115] the Government considered the opportune moment come to prepare Paris for capitulation. To the assembly of the maires of Paris for capitulation, Trochu, in presence of a[nd] supported by Jules Favre and others of his colleagues, revealed at last his *"plan"*. He said literally:

> "The first question, addressed to me by my colleagues *on the evening of the 4th September,* was this: Paris can it stand, with any chance of success, a siege against the Prussian army? *I did not hesitate to answer in the negative.* Some of my colleagues here present will warrant the truth of these my words, and *the persistence of my opinion.* I told them in these very terms that, under the existing state of things, the attempt of Paris to maintain a siege against the Prussian army would be a *folly.* Without doubt, I added, this might be *a heroical folly,* but it would be nothing else... *The events have not given the lie to my prevision.*"[a]

Hence Trochu's plan, from the very day of the proclamation of the Republic, was *the capitulation of Paris and of France.* In point of fact he was the commander in chief of the Prussians. In a letter to Gambetta, Jules Favre himself confessed so much that the enemy to be put down, was not the Prussian soldier, but the Paris "demagogue revolutionist". The high-sounding promises to the people, by the Government of Defence, were therefore as many deliberate lies. Their "plan" they systematically carried out by entrusting the defence of Paris to Bonapartist generals, by

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[a] "Paris au jour le jour", *Le Figaro,* No. 74, March 19, 1871.—*Ed.*

disorganizing the National Guard and by organizing famine under the maladministration of Jules Ferry. The attempts of the Paris workmen on the 5th of October, the 31st of October etc, to supplant these traitors by the Commune, were put down as conspiracies with the Prussian![286] After the capitulation the mask was thrown off (cast aside). The *capitulards*[165] became a government by the grace of Bismarck.[118] Being his prisoners, they stipulated with him a general armistice the conditions of which disarmed France and rendered all further resistance impossible. Resuscitated at Bordeaux as the Government of the Republic, these very same capitulards through Thiers, their ex-Ambassador, and Jules Favre, their Foreign minister, fervently implored Bismarck, in the name of the majority of the so-called National Assembly, and long before the rise of Paris, to disarm and occupy Paris and put down "its canaille", as Bismarck himself sneeringly told his admirers at Frankfurt on his return from France to *Berlin.*[a] This occupation of Paris by the Prussians—such was the last word of the "plan" of the government of defence. The cynical effrontery with which, since their instalment at Versailles, the same men fawn upon and appeal to the armed intervention of Prussia, has dumbfounded even the venal press of Europe. The heroic exploits of the Paris National Guard, since they fight no longer *under* but *against* the capitulards, have forced even the most sceptical to brand the word "traitor" on the brazen fronts of the Trochu, Jules Favre et Co. The documents seized by the Commune, have at last furnished the juridical proofs of their high treason.[b] Amongst these papers there are letters of the Bonapartist *sabreurs*[c] to whom the execution of Trochu's "plan" had been confided, in which these infamous wretches crack jokes at and make fun of their own "defence of Paris". (cf. for instance the letter of *Alphonse Simon Guiod,* supreme commander of the artillery of the army of defence of Paris and Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, to *Suzanne,* General of division of artillery, published by the *Journal officiel* of the Commune.[d])

It is, therefore, evident, that the men who now form the

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[a] Report from Germany in the column "Révélations", *La Situation,* No. 156, March 21, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] "Le Gouvernement de la Défense nationale", *La Situation,* No. 189, April 29, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] Stout soldiers.—*Ed.*

[d] See *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 115, April 25, 1871. Marx refers to the item "Le Gouvernement de la Défense nationale", *La Situation,* No. 189, April 29, 1871.—*Ed.*

government of Versailles, can only be saved from the fate of convicted traitors by civil war, the death of the Republic and a monarchical restoration under the shelter of Prussian bayonets.

But—and this is most characteristic of the men of the Empire as well as of the men who but on its soil and within its atmosphere could grow into mock-tribunes of the people—the victorious republic would not only brand them as traitors, it would have to surrender them as common felons to the criminal court. Look only at *Jules Favre, Ernest Picard,* and *Jules Ferry,* the great men, under Thiers, of the government of defence!

A series of authenticated judiciary documents spreading over about 20 years, and published by M. Millière, a representative to the National Assembly,[a] proves that *Jules Favre,* living in adulterous concubinage with the wife of a drunkard resident at Algiers,[b] had, by a most complicated concatenation of daring forgeries, contrived to grasp in the name of his bastards, a large succession that made him a rich man and that the connivance only of the Bonapartist tribunals saved him from exposure in a law-suit undertaken by the legitimate claimants. Jules Favre, then, this unctuous mouthpiece of family, religion, property, and order, has long since been forfeited to the *Code Pénal.* Lifelong penal servitude would be his unavoidable lot under every honest government. *Ernest Picard,* the present Versailles home minister, appointed by himself on the 4th of September Home minister of the government of defence,[c] after he had tried in vain to be appointed by L. Bonaparte, this Ernest Picard is the brother of one *Arthur Picard.* When, together with Jules Favre and Co., he had the impudence to propose this worthy brother of his as a candidate in the Seine et Oise for the *Corps législatif,* the Imperialist government published two documents, a report of the Prefecture of Police (31 July, 1867) stating that this Arthur Picard was excluded from the Bourse as an "escroc",[d] and another document of the *11 December 1868,* according to which Arthur had confessed the theft of 300,000 fcs, committed by him as a director of one of the branches of the *Société Générale,*[167] rue Palestro, No. 5.[e] Ernest made not only his worthy Arthur the *editor in chief* of a

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[a] See J.-B. É. Millière, "Le Faussaire", *Le Vengeur,* No. 6, February 8, 1871.— *Ed.*

[b] Jeanne Charmont, who lived separate from her husband, Vernier.— *Ed.*

[c] In the final version of *The Civil War in France* Marx corrected the inaccuracy: Ernest Picard was Minister of Finance in the Government of National Defence (see this volume, p. 314).— *Ed.*

[d] Swindler.— *Ed.*

[e] See "Le Sieur Picard", *La Situation,* No. 168, April 4, 1871.— *Ed.*

paper of his own, the *Électeur libre,* founded under the Empire and continued to this day, a paper, in which the republicans are daily denounced as "robbers, bandits, and *partageux*[a]", but once become the home minister of the "Defence", Ernest employed Arthur as his financial medium between the home office to the Stock Exchange, there to discount the State secrets entrusted to him. The whole "financial" correspondence between Ernest and Arthur has fallen into the hands of the Commune. Like the lachrymose Jules Favre, Ernest Picard, the Joe Miller of the Versailles Government, is a man forfeited to the *Code Pénal* and the galleys!

To make up this trio, *Jules Ferry,* a poor briefless barrister before 4 September, not content to organize the famine of Paris, had contrived to job a fortune out of this famine. The day on which he would have to give an account of his peculations during the Paris siege would be his day of judgment!

No wonder then that these men who can only hope to escape the hulks in a monarchy, protected by Prussian bayonets, who but in the turmoil of civil war can win their *ticket of leave,*[b] that these desperadoes were at once *chosen* by Thiers and accepted by the Rurals as the safest tools of the Counterrevolution!

No wonder that when in the beginning of April captured National Guards were exposed at Versailles to the ferocious outrages of Piétri's "lambs" and the Versailles mob, M. Ernest Picard, "with his hands in his trousers pockets, walked from group to group cracking jokes" while "on the balcony of the Prefecture Madame Thiers, Madame Jules Favre and a bevy of similar *Dames,* looking in excellent health and spirits",[c] exulted in that disgusting scene. No wonder then, that while one part of France winces under the heels of the conquerors, while Paris, the heart and head of France, daily sheds streams of its best blood in self-defence against the home traitors, ... the Thiers, Favres et Co. indulge in revelries at the Palace of Louis XIV, such f.i. as the grand *fête* given by Thiers in honour of Jules Favre on his return from Rouen (whither he had been sent to conspire with (fawn upon) the Prussians). It is the cynical orgy of evaded felons!

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[a] Supporters of the division of property.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 314.— *Ed.*

[c] "The Advance of the Insurgents on Versailles", *The Daily News,* No. 7781, April 7, 1871.— *Ed.*

If the Government of Defence first made Thiers their Foreign Ambassador, going a begging at all Courts of Europe there to barter a king for France for their intervention against Prussia, if, later on, they sent him on a travelling tour throughout the French provinces, there to conspire with the *châteaux*[a] and secretly prepare the General elections which together with the Capitulation would take France by surprise—Thiers, on his side, made them his ministers and high functionaries. They were safe men.

There is one thing rather mysterious in the proceedings of Thiers, his recklessness in precipitating the revolution of Paris. Not content to goad Paris by the Antirepublican demonstrations of his rurals, by the threats to *decapitate* and *decapitalize* Paris,[b] (by Dufaure's (Thiers' minister of justice) law of the 10th of March on the *échéances*[c] of bills which impended bankruptcy on the Paris commerce [180]), by appointing Orleanist ambassadors, by the transfer of the Assemblée to Versailles, by an imposition of a new tax on newspapers, by the confiscation of the Republican Paris journals, by the revival of the State of Siege, first proclaimed by Palikao and annulled with the downfall of the Imperialist government on the 4th of September, by appointing Vinoy, the *Décembriseur*[181] and Exsenator governor of Paris, *Valentin,* the Imperialist Gendarme Prefect of Police, and Aurelle de Paladines, the jesuit General Commander in chief of the Paris National Guard—he opened the civil war with feeble forces, by Vinoy's attack on the Buttes Montmartre, by the attempt first to rob the National Guards of Cannons which belonged to them and which were only left to them by the Paris convention, because they were their property, and thus to disarm Paris.

Whence this feverish eagerness *d'en finir*[d]? To disarm and put down Paris was of course the first condition of a monarchical counterrevolution, but an astute intriguer like Thiers could only risk the future of the difficult enterprise in undertaking it without due preparation, with ridiculously insufficient means, except under the sway of some overwhelmingly urgent move. The motive was this. By the agency of Pouyer-Quertier, his finance minister, Thiers had concluded a loan of two milliards to be paid immediately down and some more milliards to follow at certain terms. In this loan transaction a truly royal *pot-de-vin* (drink-

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[a] Manors (i.e. big landlords).— *Ed.*

[b] See "The scanty news from the capital of Revolution...", *The Daily News,* No. 7774, March 30, 1871.— *Ed.*

[c] The days of payment.— *Ed.*

[d] To put an end to it.— *Ed.*

money) was reserved for those grand citizens Thiers, Jules Favre, Ernest Picard, Jules Simon, Pouyer-Quertier etc. But there was one hitch in the transaction. Before definitively sealing the treaty, the contractors wanted one guarantee—the *tranquillization of Paris.*[182] Hence the reckless proceedings of Thiers. Hence the savage hatred against the Paris workmen perverse enough to interfere with this fine job.

As to the Jules Favres, Picards etc, we have said enough to prove them the worthy accomplices of such a jobbery. As to Thiers himself, it is notorious that during his two ministries under Louis Philippe he realized 2 millions, and that during his premiership (dating March 1840) he was taunted from the tribune of the Chambre of Deputies with his Bourse peculations, in answer to which he shed tears, a commodity he disposes of as freely as Jules Favre and the celebrated comedian Frédérick Lemaître. It is no less notorious that the first measure taken by M. Thiers to save France from the financial ruin, fastened upon her by the war, was—to endow himself with a yearly salary of 3 Millions of francs, exactly the sum L. Bonaparte got in 1850 as an equivalent from M. Thiers and his troop in the *Legislative Assembly* for allowing them to abolish the general suffrage.[287] This endowment of M. Thiers with 3 millions was the first word of "the *economic republic*" the vista of which he had opened to his Paris electors in 1869. As to Pouyer-Quertier, he is a cottonspinner at Rouen. In 1869, he was the leader of the millowners' conclave that proclaimed a general reduction of wages necessary for the "conquest" of the English market—an intrigue, then baffled by the *International.*[288] Pouyer-Quertier, otherwise a fervent and even servile partisan of the Empire, found only one fault with it, its commercial treaty with England[216] damaging to his own shop interests. His first step as M. Thiers' finance minister was to denounce that "hateful" treaty and to pronounce the necessity of reestablishing the old protective duties for his own shop. His second step was the *patriotic* attempt to strike Alsace by the reestablished old protective duties on the pretext that in this case no international treaty stood in the way of their re-introduction. By this masterstroke his own shop at Rouen would have got rid of the dangerous competition of the rival shops at Mulhausen.[a] His last step was to make a present to his son-in-law, M. Roche Lambert, of the receveur-generalship of the Loiret, one of the rich booties falling into the lap of *the governing* bourgeois, and which Pouyer-Quertier had

[a] Mulhouse.—*Ed.*

found so much fault with his Imperialist predecessor M. Magne, endowing his own son with that big jobbing place. This Pouyer-Quertier was then exactly the man for the perpetration of the above-said job.

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*30 March, Rappel.* Jules Ferry, ex-mayor of Paris, issued a circular on March 28, ordering the town dues officials to stop forthwith all collections for the city of Paris.[a]

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Small state-rogueries,—a little character ... cankering conscience ... everlasting suggester of Parliamentary intrigue ... petty expedients and devices ... rehearsing his homilies of liberalism, of the "libertés nécessaires"[174]... eagerly bent on ... strong reasons to weigh against the chances of failure ... cogent arguments which counterpoise ... kind of heroism in exaggerated baseness ... lucky parliamentary stratagems...

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M. E. Picard is a swindler, who throughout the siege speculated on the Bourse over the defeats of our armies.

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*massacre, treason, arson, assassination, calumny, lies.*[b]

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In his speech to the assembly of maires etc. (25th April) Thiers says himself that the

"assassins of Clément Thomas and Lecomte" are a handful of criminals[c] "like those who may justly be regarded as having been accomplices in these crimes through abetting and assistance, that is, a *very small number of individuals*".[d]

## *Dufaure*

Dufaure wants to put down Paris by press prosecutions in the provinces. Monstrous to bring journals before a jury because preaching *"Conciliation"*.

Dufaure plays a great part in the Thiers intrigue. By his law of the 10th of March, he roused all the indebted commerce of

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[a] Marx wrote this paragraph in French except for the words "for the city of Paris".— *Ed.*

[b] Marx wrote this and the preceding paragraph in French.— *Ed.*

[c] The following text in the paragraph is in French.— *Ed.*

[d] "Méditation des municipalités de la Seine", *Le Rappel,* No. 684, April 28, 1871.— *Ed.*

Paris. By his law on Paris houserents, he menaced all Paris.[180] Both laws were to punish Paris for having saved the honour of France and delayed the surrender to Bismarck for 6 months. Dufaure is an Orleanist, and a "Liberal", in the parliamentary sense of the word. Consequently, he has always been the minister of repression and of the State of Siege.

He accepted his first *portefeuille* on the 13 May, 1839, after the defeat of the *dernière prise d'armes*[a] of the Republican party,[289] was therefore the minister of the pitiless repression of the July government of that day.[b]

Cavaignac, forced on the 29th October (1848) to raise the state of siege, called into his ministry two ministers of Louis Philippe *(Dufaure,* for the Interior, and *Vivien).* He appointed them on the demand of the *rue Poitiers* (Thiers),[290] which demanded guarantees. He thus hoped to secure the support of the dynastics for the impending election of president. Dufaure employed the most illegal means to secure Cavaignac's candidature. Intimidation and electoral corruption had never been exercised on a larger scale. Dufaure inundated France with defamatory prints against the other candidates, and especially of Louis Bon., what did not prevent him to become later on Louis Bonaparte's minister. Dufaure became again the minister of the *state of siege of 13 June 1849* (against the demonstration of the National Guard against the bombardment of Rome etc by the French army). He is now again the minister of the state of siege, proclaimed at Versailles (for department of Seine et Oise). Power given to Thiers to declare any department whatever in a state of siege. Dufaure, as in 1839, as in 1849, wants new repressive laws, new press laws, a law to "abridge the formalities of the Courts Martial".[188] In a circular to the Procureurs-Généraux he denounces the cry of *"conciliation"* as a press crime to be severely prosecuted.[c] It is characteristic of the French magistrature that only one single Procureur Général (that of Mayenne)[d] wrote to Dufaure to

> "resign... I cannot serve an Administration which orders me, in a moment of civil war, to rush into party struggles and prosecute citizens whom my conscience holds innocent, for uttering the word *conciliation.*"[e]

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[a] The latest armed uprising.— *Ed.*

[b] The next sentence began with the words "On June 2, 1849", which were subsequently crossed out by Marx.— *Ed.*

[c] J. Dufaure, [Circulaire aux procureurs généraux. Versailles, 23 avril 1871], *Le Mot d'Ordre,* No. 62, April 26, 1871.— *Ed.*

[d] Louis Vacheron.— *Ed.*

[e] "The French Assembly", *The Daily News,* No. 7800, April 29, 1871.— *Ed.*

He belonged to the "Union libérale" in 1847 which conspired against Guizot, as he belonged to the "Union libérale" of 1869 which conspired against Louis Bonaparte.[291]

With respect to the law of 10 March and the law of houserents, it ought to be remarked that both Dufaure's and Picard's, both advocates, best clients are amongst the houseproprietors and the *big bourses* averse to losing anything by the siege of Paris.

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Now as after the Revolution of February 1848, these men tell the Republic, as the executioner told Don Carlos, *"Je vais t'assassiner, mais c'est pour ton bien"*. (I shall murder thee, but for thy own good.)

## *Lecomte and Clément Thomas*

After Vinoy's attempt to carry the Buttes Montmartre (on the 18th March, they were shot in the gardens of the Château Rouge, 4 o'clock, 18th) General Lecomte and Clément Thomas were taken prisoners and shot by the same excited soldiers of the 81st of the line. It was a summary act of Lynch justice performed despite the instances of some delegates of the *Central Committee.* Lecomte, an epauletted cut-throat, had four times commanded his troop, on the place Pigalle, to charge an unarmed gathering of women and children. Instead of shooting the people, the soldiers shot him. Clément Thomas, an ex-quartermaster, a "general" extemporized at the eve of the June massacres (1848)[133] by the men of the *National,* whose *gérant*[a] he had been, had never dipped his sword in the blood of any other enemy but that of the Paris working class. He was one of the sinister plotters who deliberately provoked the June insurrection and one of its most atrocious executioners. When on the 31 October 1870, the Paris Proletarian National Guards surprised the "Government of Defence" at the Hôtel de Ville and took them prisoners, these men, who had [been] appointed by themselves, these *gens de paroles,*[b] as one of them, Picard, called them recently, gave their *word of honour* that they would make place to the *Commune.* Thus allowed to escape

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[a] Responsible editor.—*Ed.*

[b] Men of their word.—*Ed.*

scot free, they launched Trochu's Bretons[185] on their too-confident captors. One of them, however, M. *Tamisier*, resigned his dignity as commander in chief of the National Guard. He refused to *break* his word of honour. Then the hour had again struck for Clément Thomas. He was appointed in Tamisier's place commander in chief of the National Guard. He was the true man for Trochu's "plan". He never made war upon the Prussians; he made war upon the National Guard, whom he disorganized, disunited, calumniated, weeding out all its officers hostile to Trochu's "plan", setting one set of National Guards against the other, and whom he sacrificed in "sorties" so planned as to cover them with ridicule. Haunted by the spectres of his June victims, this man, without any official charge, must needs again reappear on [the] theatre of war of the 18th of March, where he scented another massacre of the Paris people. He fell a victim of Lynch justice in the first moment of popular exasperation. The men who had surrendered Paris to the tender mercies of the *Décembriseur* Vinoy, in order to kill the Republic and pocket the pots-de-Vin stipulated by the Pouyer-Quertier contract, shouted now: Assassins, Assassins! Their howl was re-echoed by the press of Europe so eager for the blood of the "Proletarians". A farce of hysterical "sensibility" was enacted in the rural Assemblée,[178] and, as now as before, the corpses of their friends were most welcome weapons against their enemies. Paris and the Central Committee were made responsible for an accident out of their control. It is known how in the days of June 1848 the "men of order" shook Europe with the cry of indignation against the Insurgents because of the assassination of the Archbishop of Paris.[a] Even at that time they knew perfectly well from the evidence of M. Jacquemet, the vicaire général of the Archbishop, who had accompanied him to the barricades, that the Bishop had been shot by the troops of "Cavaignac", and not by the insurged,[b] but his dead corpse served their turn. M. Darboy, the present Archbishop of Paris, one of the hostages taken by the *Commune* in self-defence against the savage atrocities of the Versailles government, however seems, as appears from his letter to Thiers,[c] to have strange misgivings [that] *Papa Transnonain*[169] be eager to speculate in his dead body, as an object of holy indignation. There passed hardly a day, in which the

[a] D. A. Affre.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to Jacquemet's statement of June 26, 1848, published in *La Situation*, No. 185, April 25, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] G. Darboy, "Prison de Mazas, le 8 avril 1871", *Le Rappel*, No. 669, April 13, 1871.—*Ed.*

Versailles journals did not announce his execution, which the continued atrocities, and violation of the rules of war on the side of "order", would have sealed on the part of every government but that of the Commune. The Versailles government had hardly realized a first military success, when Captain Desmarets, who at the head of his gendarmes assassinated the chivalrous Flourens, has been decorated by Thiers. Flourens had saved the lives of the "defence men" on the 31st October.[184] Vinoy, the runaway (runagate), was appointed grand cross of the Legion of Honour, because he had our brave comrade Duval, when taken prisoner, shot inside the redoubts, because as a second instalment, he had shot some dozen captive troops of the line who had joined the Paris people and inaugurated this civil war by the "methods of December".[292] General Galliffet—"the husband of that charming Marchioness whose costumes at the masked balls were one of the wonders of the Empire", as a London penny a liner delicately puts it, "surprised" near Rueil a captain, lieutenant, and private of National Guards, had them at once shot, and immediately published a proclamation to glorify himself in the deed.[a] These are a few of the murders *officially* narrated and gloried in by the Versailles government. 25 soldiers of the 80th Regiment of the line shot as "rebels" by the 75th.[b]

"Every man wearing the uniform of the regular army who was captured in the ranks of the Communists was straightaway shot without the slightest mercy. The government troops were perfectly ferocious."[c]

*"M. Thiers communicated the* ***encouraging*** *particulars of Flourens' death to the Assembly."*

*Versailles 4 April.* Thiers, that misshapen dwarf, reports on his prisoners brought to Versailles (in his proclamation):

"Never had more degraded countenances of a degraded democracy met the afflicted gaze of honest men."[d] (Piétri's men!)

*"Vinoy protests against any mercy to insurgent officers or line men."*[e]

On the 6th of April *decree of the Commune on reprisals* (and hostages):

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[a] Notice on the proclamation of General de Galliffet, April 3, 1871, *The Daily News,* No. 7783, April 10, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] "Paris, Monday, April 3, 1871", *The Daily Telegraph,* No. 4931, April 4, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] "Every man wearing...", *The Daily Telegraph,* No. 4932, April 5, 1871.—*Ed.*

[d] L. A. Thiers' proclamation of April 4, 1871, *The Daily News,* No. 7779, April 5, 1871.—*Ed.*

[e] "Versailles, April 5", *The Daily News,* No. 7781, April 7, 1871.—*Ed.*

"Considering that the Versailles government openly treads underfoot the laws of humanity and those of war, and that it has been guilty of horrors such as even the invaders of France have not dishonoured themselves by ... it is decreed etc." (*There follow the points.*)[a]

*April 5. Proclamation of the Commune:*

"Every day the banditti of Versailles slaughter or shoot our prisoners, and every hour we learn that another murder has been committed... The people even in its anger, detests bloodshed, as it detests civil war, but it is its duty to protect itself against the savage attempts of its enemies, and whatever it may cost it shall be an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth."[b]

"The police who are fighting against Paris have 10 fcs a day."

*Versailles,* **11 April.** Most horrible details of the coldblooded shooting of prisoners, not deserters, related with an evident gusto by general officers and other eyewitnesses.

In his letter to Thiers, Darboy protests

"against the atrocious excesses which add to the horror of our fratricidal war".[c]

In the same strain writes Deguerry (curé de la Madeleine):

"These executions rouse[d] great wrath in Paris and may well lead to terrible reprisals". "Thus, a decision has already been taken to execute two of the numerous hostages they hold for every new execution. Judge for yourself how pressing and absolutely necessary is that which, [I] as a priest, am asking you to do."[e]

In midst of these horrors Thiers writes to the Prefects: *"L'assemblée siège paisiblement." (Elle aussi a le cœur léger.)*[f]

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[a] Decree of April 5, 1871 on reprisals and hostages, *The Daily News,* No. 7781, April 7, 1871. The phrase in parentheses is in German in the original. See also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 96, April 6, 1871.— *Ed.*

[b] The Commune's Proclamation of April 5, 1871 is quoted according to "The Civil War in France" in *The Daily News,* No. 7781, April 7, 1871. See also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 96, April 6, 1871. Marx wrote the next sentence in French.— *Ed.*

[c] G. Darboy, "Prison de Mazas, le 8 avril 1871", *Le Rappel,* No. 669, April 13, 1871.— *Ed.*

[d] Beginning from here Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

[e] G. Deguerry, "A Messieurs les membres du gouvernement à Versailles", *Le Rappel,* No. 669, April 13, 1871.— *Ed.*

[f] "The Assembly's sitting proceeds peacefully." (It also takes everything light-heartedly.) A reference to Ollivier's statement that he will take the responsibility for the war "with a light heart", which he made on the eve of the declaration of war on Prussia and which was cited in Th. Astrie, "L'homme rouge", *La Situation,* No. 176, April 14, 1871.— *Ed.*

Thiers and la commission des quinze of his rurals[293] had the cool impudence to "deny officially" the "pretended *summary executions and reprisals attributed to the troops of Versailles*".[a]

But Papa Transnonain, in his *circular of 16th April on the bombardment of Paris*:

"If some cannon-shots have been fired, it is not the deed of the army of Versailles, but of some insurgents wanting to make believe that they are fighting, while they do not dare show themselves."

Thiers has proved that he surpasses his hero, Napoleon I, at least in one thing—lying bulletins. (Of course, Paris bombards itself, in order to be able to calumniate M. Thiers!)

To these atrocious provocations of the Bonapartist blacklegs, the Commune has contented itself to take hostages and to threaten reprisals, but its threats have remained a dead letter! Not even the Gendarmes maskeraded into officers, not even the captive sergents de ville, upon whom explosive bombs have been seized, were placed before a court martial. The Commune has refused to soil its hands with the blood of these bloodhounds!

A few days before the 18th March, Clément Thomas laid before the war minister Le Flô a plan for the disarmament of three quarters of the National Garde.

"The flower of the canaille," he said, "has crowded round Montmartre and is working hand-in-glove with Belleville."[b]

## *The National Assembly*

The assembly elected on February 8 under the pressure of the enemy, to whom the men of the Versailles government had surrended all the forts and handed over defenceless Paris, this Assembly of Versailles has been called for the sole purpose, which is clearly stated in the Convention itself[c] signed at Versailles on January 28, namely, to decide whether the war could be continued or a peace concluded, and in the latter case to arrange for peace terms and ensure the earliest possible evacuation of French territory.[d]

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[a] "La commission des Quinze...", *Le Rappel*, No. 673, April 17, 1871.— *Ed.*

[b] "*La Sociale* publie une curieuse lettre...", *Le Vengeur*, No. 21, April 19, 1871. Marx quotes in French in the original and gives the French phrase "three quarters" in the previous sentence.— *Ed.*

[c] On the armistice and the capitulation of Paris.— *Ed.*

[d] Marx wrote this paragraph in French.— *Ed.*

## *Chanzy. Archbishop of Paris etc.*

Liberation of Chanzy took place almost simultaneously with the retreat of Saisset. The Royalist journalists were unanimous *in decreeing the death of the General.* They desired to fix that amiable proceeding on the Reds. Three times he had been ordered to execution, and now he was really going to be shot.

*After the Vendôme affair*[a]: There was consternation at Versailles. An attack on Versailles was expected on 23 March, for the leaders of the Communal agitation had announced that they would march on Versailles, if the Assembly took any hostile action. The assembly did not. On the contrary, it voted as urgent a proposition to hold Communal Elections at Paris etc. By the concessions the Assembly admitted its powerlessness. At the same time *Royalist Intrigues at Versailles.* Bonapartist Generals and the Duc d'Aumale.[294] Favre avowed he had received a letter from Bismarck, announcing that unless order were restored by the 26 March Paris would be occupied by the German troops. Reds saw plainly through his little artifice.[b] The Vendôme affair was provoked by the forger, *that infamous jesuit J. Favre,* who on (21 March?) mounted the tribune of the Assembly of Versailles to insult the people who had rescued him from insignificance, and to rouse Paris against the departments.

*30 March, Proclamation of the Commune:*

"Today, the criminals, whom you did not even want to pursue, are abusing your magnanimity to organise a hotbed of monarchist conspiracy at the very gates of the city. They have been inciting to civil war. They have resorted to every means of corruption, they have acted as accomplices with everyone, and have gone to the extent of begging foreigners for aid.[c]

## *Thiers*

On the 25th April, in his reception of the maires, adjuncts, and municipal councillors of the suburban communes of the Seine, Thiers said:

"The republic is there. *The chief of the executive power* is only a *common citizen.*"[d]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 511-12, 528-30.— *Ed.*

[b] Beginning from here Marx writes in French to the end of the quotation.— *Ed.*

[c] Quoted according to "Proclamation de la Commune" [March 29, 1871], *Le Rappel,* No. 655, March 30, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 1 (89), March 30, 1871.— *Ed.*

[d] "Méditation des municipalités de la Seine", *Le Rappel,* No. 684, April 28, 1871. Marx quotes these two sentences in French.— *Ed.*

The progress of France from 1830 to 1871, according to M. Thiers, consists in this: In 1830 Louis Philippe was "the best of Republics". In 1871 the ministerial fossil of Louis Philippe's reign, little Thiers himself, is the *best of Republics.*

M. Thiers commenced his regime by an usurpation. By the National Assembly he was appointed chief of the ministry of the Assembly; he appointed himself chief of the executive of France.

## *The Assembly and the Paris Revolution*

The Assembly, summoned at the dictate of the Foreign invader, was, as is clearly laid down in the Versailles convention of the 28th January, but elected for one single purpose: To decide the continuation of war or settle the conditions of peace. In their calling the French people to electoral urns, the Capitulards of Paris themselves plainly defined that specific mission of the Assembly and this accounts to a great part for its very constitution. The continuation of the war having become impossible through the very terms of the armistice humbly accepted by the capitulards, the Assembly had in fact but to register a disgraceful peace and for this specific performance the worst men of France were best.

The Republic was proclaimed on the 4th of September, not by the pettifoggers who installed themselves at the Hôtel de Ville as a government of defence, but by the Paris people. It was acclaimed throughout France without a single dissentient voice. It conquered its own existence by a five months' war whose cornerstone was the prolonged resistance of Paris. Without this war, carried on by the Republic and in the name of the Republic, the Empire would have been restored by Bismarck after the capitulation of Sedan, the pettifoggers with M. Thiers at their head would have had to capitulate not for Paris, but for personal guarantees against a voyage to Cayenne,[183] and the rural Assembly would never have been heard of. It met only by the grace of the Republican revolution, initiated at Paris. Being no constituent Assembly, as M. Thiers himself has repeated to nauseousness, it would, if not as a mere chronicler of the passed incidents of the Republican Revolution, not even have had the right to proclaim the destitution of the Bonapartist dynasty. The only legitimate power, therefore, in France is the *Revolution* itself, centring in Paris. That revolution was not made against Napoleon the little, but against the social and political conditions which

engendered the Second Empire, which received their last finish under its sway, and which, as the war with Prussia glaringly revealed, would leave France a cadaver, if they were not superseded by the regenerating powers of the French working class. The attempts of the Rural Assembly, holding only an Attorney's Power from the Revolution to sign the disastrous bond handed over by its present "executive" to the Foreign invader, its attempt to treat the Revolution as its own capitulard, is, therefore, a monstrous usurpation. Its war against Paris is nothing but a cowardly Chouannerie[211] under the shelter of Prussian bayonets. It is a base conspiracy to assassinate France, in order to save the privileges, the monopolies and the luxuries of the degenerate, effete, and putrefied classes that have dragged her to the abyss from which she can only be saved by the Herculean hand of a truly social Revolution.

## *Thiers' Finest Army*

Even before he became a "statesman", M. Thiers had proved his lying powers as a historian. But the vanity, so characteristic of dwarfish men, has this time betrayed him into the sublime of the ridiculous. *His* army of order, the dregs of the Bonapartist *soldatesque,* freshly reimported, by the grace of Bismarck, from Prussian prisons,[175] the Pontifical Zouaves,[108] the Chouans[211] of Charette, the Vendeans of Cathelineau; the "municipals"[295] of Valentin, the exsergeants de ville of Piétri and the Corsican Gendarmes of Valentin who under L. Bonaparte were only the spies of the army but under M. Thiers form its warlike flower, the whole under the supervision of epauletted *mouchards*[a] and under the command of the runaway Decembrist Marshals who had no honour to lose—this motley, ungainly, hangdog lot, M. Thiers dubs "*the finest army France ever possessed*[b]! If he allows the Prussians still to quarter at St. Denis, it is only to frighten them by the sight of the "finest army" of Versailles.

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[a] Spies.— *Ed.*

[b] Quoted according to Th. Astrie, "L'homme rouge", *La Situation,* No. 176, April 14, 1871.— *Ed.*

## *Thiers*

Small state rogueries. Everlasting suggester of Parliamentary intrigues, M. Thiers was never anything else but an "able" journalist and a clever "word fencer", a master of parliamentary roguery, a virtuoso in perjury, a craftsman in all the small stratagems, base perfidies, and subtle devices of Parliamentary party-warfare. This mischievous gnome charmed the French bourgeoisie during half a century because he is the truest intellectual expression of their own class-corruption. When in the ranks of the opposition he over and over rehearsed his stale homily of the "libertés nécessaires",[174] to stamp them out when in power. When out of office, he used to threaten Europe with the sword of France. And what were his diplomatic performances in reality? To pocket in 1841 the humiliation of the London treaty,[296] to hurry on the war with Prussia by his declamations against German unity, to compromise France in 1870 by his begging tour at all the Courts of Europe, to sign in 1871 the Paris capitulation, to accept a "peace at any price" and implore from Prussia a concession: leave and means to get up a civil war in his own downtrodden country. To a man of his stamp the underground agencies of modern society remained of course always unknown, but even the palpable changes at its surface he failed to understand. F.i. any deviation from the old French protective system he denounced as a sacrilege and, as a minister of Louis Philippe, went the length of treating disdainfully the construction of railways as a foolish chimera and even under Louis Bonaparte he eagerly opposed every Reform of the rotten French army organization. A man without ideas, without convictions, and without courage.

A professional "Revolutionist" in that sense, that in his eagerness of display, of wielding power and putting his hands into the National Exchequer, he never scrupled, when banished to the banks of the opposition, to stir the popular passions and provoke a catastrophe to displace a rival; he is at the same time a most shallow man of routine, etc. The working class he reviled as *"the vile multitude"*. One of his former colleagues in the legislative assemblies, a contemporary of his, a capitalist, and however a member of the Paris Commune, *M. Beslay* thus addresses him in a public address:

"The subjugation (*asservissement*) of labour to capital, such is the 'corner-stone' of your politics (policy), and the day you saw the *Republic of Labour* installed

at the Hôtel-de-Ville, you have never ceased to cry to France 'They are criminals!'"[a]

No wonder that M. Thiers has given orders by his home minister Ernest Picard to prevent "the International Association" from communicating with Paris.[b] (*Sitting of Assembly.* 28 March.) *Circular of Thiers, to prefects and sub-prefects.*

"The good workmen, so numerous as compared to the bad ones, ought to know, that if bread flies again from their mouths, they owe it to the adepts of the *International,* who are the tyrants of labour, of which they pretend themselves the liberators."[c]

Without the *International...*[d]

(Now for the story of money.) (He and Favre transferred their money to London.) It is a proverb that if rogues fall out truth comes out. We can therefore not better finish the picture of Thiers than by the words of the London *Moniteur* of the master of his Versailles generals. Says the *Situation* in its number of the 21 March:

"M. Thiers has never been minister without pushing the soldiers to the massacre of the people, he the parricide, the man of incest, the peculator, the plagiarist, the traitor, the ambitious, the impotent".

*Shrewd in cunning devices, and artful dodges.*

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Banded with the republicans before the Revolution of July, he slipped into his first ministry under Louis Philippe by ousting Laffitte, his old protector. His first deed was to throw his old collaborator Armand Carrel into prison. He insinuated himself with Louis Philippe as a spy upon and the goal-accoucheur of the Duchesse of Berry,[168] but his activity centred in the massacre of the insurgent Paris Republicans in the Rue Transnonain and the September Laws against the press,[169] to be then cast aside as an instrument become blunted. Having intrigued himself again into power in 1840, he planned the Paris fortifications[170] opposed as an

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[a] Ch. Beslay, "Au citoyen Thiers...", *Le Mot d'Ordre,* No. 64, April 28, 1871. Marx gives the word "cornerstone" in French.— *Ed.*

[b] "The French Assembly", *The Daily News,* No. 7774, March 30, 1871.— *Ed.*

[c] L. A. Thiers, [Circulaire à préfets et sous-préfets. Versailles, 28 mars 1871], *Le Rappel,* No. 655, March 30, 1871. Marx gives the previous sentence in French.— *Ed.*

[d] This sentence is incomplete in the manuscript. It is followed by two German sentences in parentheses.— *Ed.*

attempt on the liberty of Paris by the whole democratic party, except the Bourgeois Republicans of the *National.* M. Thiers replied to their outcry from the Tribune of the Chambre des Députés:

"What? To fancy that any works of fortification could endanger freedom?... This is to be completely out of touch with reality. And first of all, you calumniate *any government whatever* in assuming that it could one day try to maintain itself by bombarding the capital. Do you really think that after it had pierced with its bombs the dome of Les Invalides or the Pantheon, after it had swept the homes of your families with its fire, it could come before you and ask you to confirm it in office? *But it would be a hundred times more impossible after its victory than before.*" [a]

Indeed, neither the government of Louis Philippe nor that of the Bonapartist Regency dared to withdraw from Paris and bombard it. This employment of the fortifications was reserved to M. Thiers, their original plotter.

When King Bomba of Naples [171] bombarded Palermo in January 1848, M. Thiers again declared in the Chambre of Deputies:

"You know, gentlemen, what is happening in Palermo: you all shake with horror on hearing that during 48 hours a large town has been bombarded. By whom? Was it by a foreign enemy exercising the rights of war? No, gentlemen, it was by *its own government.* And why? *Because that unfortunate town demanded its rights.* Well than, for demanding its rights, it has had 48 hours of bombardment. [...] Allow me to appeal to the opinion of Europe. It will be a service to mankind to rise and, from what is perhaps the greatest tribune in Europe, voice *a few words of indignation against such acts.* Gentlemen, there was a cry of general indignation in all parts of the world when, 50 years ago, in order to avoid a long siege the Austrians, exercising the rights of war, wanted to bombard Lille, when later, exercising the same rights of war, the English bombarded Copenhagen, and *when,* just recently, *the Regent Espartero,* who had rendered services to his country, *wanted to bombard Barcelona in order to suppress an insurrection.*" [b]

Little more than a year later, Thiers acted the most fiery apologist of the bombardment of Rome by the troops of the French republic,[172] and exalted his friend, General Changarnier, for sabring down the Paris National Guards protesting against this breach of the French Constitution.

A few days before the Revolution of February 1848, fretting at the long exile from place to which Guizot had condemned him, scenting the growing commotion of the masses, which he hoped would enable him to oust his rival and impose himself upon Louis Philippe, *Thiers* exclaimed in the Chambre of Deputies:

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[a] L. A. Thiers' speech at the sitting of the Chamber of Deputies on January 13, 1841, *Le Vengeur,* No. 14, April 12, 1871. Marx quotes from it in French.— *Ed.*

[b] L. A. Thiers' speech at the sitting of the Chamber of Deputies on January 31, 1848, *Le Rappel,* No. 673, April 17, 1871; *Le Vengeur,* No. 21, April 19, 1871. Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

"*I am of the party of the Revolution not only in France, but in the whole of Europe.* I wish the government of the Revolution to remain in the hands of moderate men... But when that government falls into the hands of ardent minds, even into those of Radicals, I shall, for all that, not desert my cause. *I shall always be of the party of the Revolution.*" [a]

To put down the February Revolution was his exclusive occupation from the day when the Republic was proclaimed to the Coup d'Etat.

The first days after the February explosion he anxiously hid himself, but the Paris workmen despised him too much to hate him. Still, with his notorious cowardice which made Armand Carrel answer to his boast "he would one day die on the banks of the Rhine", "Thou wil'st die in a gutter"—he dared not play a part on the public stage before the popular forces were broken down through the massacre of the insurgents of June. He confined himself first to the secret direction of the Conspiracy of the Reunion of the Rue de Poitiers[290] which resulted in the Restoration of the Empire, until the stage had become sufficiently clear to reappear publicly on it.

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During the siege of Paris, on the question whether Paris was about to capitulate, Jules Favre answered that, to utter the word capitulation, the bombardment of Paris was wanted! [b] This explains his melodramatic protests against the Prussian bombardment, and why the latter was a mock bombardment, while the Thiers bombardment is a stern reality.

*Parliamentary mountebank.*

He is for 40 years on the stage. He has never initiated a single useful measure in any department of state or life. Vain, sceptical, epicurean: He has never written or spoken for things. In his eyes the things themselves are only pretexts for the display of his pen or his tongue. Except his thirst for place and pelf and display there is nothing real about him, not even his chauvinism.

In the true vein of vulgar professional journalists he now sneers in his bulletins [at] the bad looks of his Versailles prisoners, now communicates that the rurals are "à leur aise",[c] now covers

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[a] L. A. Thiers' speech at the sitting of the Chamber of Deputies on February 2, 1848, *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 34, February 3, 1848. Marx quotes from it in French.— *Ed.*

[b] See "If the contest between M. Thiers and the Commune...", *The Standard*, No. 14572, April 15, 1871.— *Ed.*

[c] At ease.— *Ed.*

himself with ridicule by his bulletin on the taking of "Moulin-Saquet" (4 of May), where 300 prisoners were taken.

"The rest of the insurgents has fled in a wild flight, leaving 150 dead and wounded on the field of battle", and snappishly adds: "Such is the victory the Commune can celebrate in its bulletins tomorrow. ... *Paris* will soon be delivered from the terrible tyrants oppressing it."[a]

Paris—the "Paris" of the mass of the Paris people fighting against him is not "Paris". "Paris—that is the rich, the capitalist, the idle"[b] (why not the cosmopolitan stew?). This is the Paris of M. Thiers. The real Paris, working, thinking, fighting Paris, the Paris of the people, the Paris of the Commune is a "vile multitude". There is the whole case of M. Thiers, not only for Paris, but for France. The Paris that shews its courage in the "pacific procession" and Saisset's "escapade", that throngs now at Versailles, at Rueil, at St. Denis, at St. Germain-en-Laye, followed by the cocottes sticking to the "men of religion, family, order, and property" (the Paris of the really "dangerous", of the exploiting and lounging classes) ("the francs-fileurs"[208]) and amusing itself by looking by the telescope at the battle going on, for whom "the civil war is but an agreeable diversion"—that is the Paris of M. Thiers, as the emigration of Coblenz[210] was the France of M. de Calonne. In his vulgar journalist vein he knows not even to observe sham dignity, but he murders the wives and girls, and children found under the ruins of Neuilly not to swerve from the etiquette of "legitimacy". He must needs illuminate the municipal elections he has ordered in France by the conflagration of Clamart burnt by petroleum bombs. The Roman historians finish off Nero's character by telling us that the monster gloried in being a rhymester and a comedian. But lift a professional mere journalist and parliamentary mountebank like Thiers to power, and he will outnero Nero.

He acts only his part as the blind tool of class interests in allowing the Bonapartist "generals" to revenge themselves on Paris; but he acts his personal part in the little byplay of bulletins, speeches, addresses, in which the vanity, vulgarity, and lowest taste of the journalist creep out.

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[a] "Voici, sur le même fait, le bulletin...", *Le Rappel*, No. 692, May 6, 1871. Marx gives a French quotation.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Commune of Paris...", *The Times*, No. 27028, April 4, 1871.—*Ed.*

He compares himself with Lincoln and the Parisians with the rebellious slaveholders of the South. The Southerners fought for the slavery of labour and the territorial secession from the United States. Paris fought for the emancipation of labour and the secession from power of Thiers state parasites, of the would-be slaveholders of France!

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In his speech to the maires:

"You may rely upon my word, which I have never broken!"
"The Assembly is one of the most liberal ever elected by France."

He will save the Republic

"provided order and labour are not continuously threatened by those who claim to be the special guardians of the Republic's weal".[a]

At the April 27 sitting of the Assembly, he said:

"The Assembly is more liberal than he is."[b]

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He whose rhetorical trumpcard was always the denunciation of the Vienna treaties, he signs the Paris treaty,[297] not only the dismemberment of one part of France, not only the occupation of almost $^1/_2$ of it, but the milliards of indemnity, without even asking Bismarck to specify and prove his war expenses! He does not even allow the Assembly at Bordeaux to discuss the paragraphs of his capitulation!

He who upbraided throughout his life the Bourbons because they came back in the rear of Foreign armies and because of their undignified behaviour to the allies occupying France after the conclusion of peace,[99] he asks nothing from Bismarck in the treaty but one concession: 40,000 troops to subdue Paris[175] (as Bismarck stated in the Diet). Paris was for all purposes of internal defence and Foreign aggression fully secured by his armed National Guard, but Thiers superadded at once to the capitulation of Paris

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[a] "Méditation des municipalités de la Seine", *Le Rappel*, No. 684, April 28, 1871. Marx quotes from it in French; the phrase "He will save the Republic" is in German.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx gives the first part of the sentence in German and quotes from the speech in French.— *Ed.*

to the Foreigner the character of the capitulation of Paris to himself and Co. This stipulation was a stipulation for civil war. That war itself he opens not only with the passive permission of Prussia, but by the facilities she lends him, by the captive French troops she magnanimously despatches him from German dungeons! In his bulletins, in his and Favre's speeches in the Assembly, he crawls in the dust before Prussia and threatens Paris every eight days with her intervention, after having failed to get it, as stated by Bismarck himself.[a] The Bourbons were dignity itself compared to this mountebank, this grand apostle of Chauvinism!

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After the downbreak of Prussia (Tilsit peace 1807), its government felt that it could only save itself and the country by a great social regeneration. It naturalized in Prussia—on a small scale, within the limits of a feudal monarchy—the results of the French revolution. It liberated the peasant etc.[298] After the Crimean defeat, which, however Russia might have saved her honour by the defence of Sebastopol and dazzled the Foreigner by her diplomatic triumphs at Paris, laid open at home the rottenness of her social and administrative system, her government emancipated the serf and her whole administrative and judicial system.[299] In both countries the daring social reform was fettered and limited in its character because it was octroyed from the throne and not conquered by the people. Still there were great social changes doing away with the worst privileges of the ruling classes and changing the economical basis of the old society. They felt that the great malady could only be cured by heroic measures. They felt that they could only answer to the victors by social reforms, by calling into life elements of popular regeneration. The French catastrophe of 1870 stands unparalleled in the history of the modern world! It shewed official France, the France of Louis Bonaparte, the France of the ruling classes and their state parasites—a putrescent cadaver. And what is the first attempt of the infamous men, who had got at her government by a surprise of the people and who continue to hold it by a conspiracy with the Foreign invader, what is their first attempt? To assassinate, under Prussian patronage, by L. Bonaparte's *soldatesque* and Piétri's police, the glorious work of popular regeneration commenced at Paris, to summon all the old legitimist spectres, beaten by the July

[a] See report from Germany under the general heading "Révélations", *La Situation,* No. 156, March 21, 1871.—*Ed.*

Revolution, the fossil swindlers of Louis Philippe, beaten by the revolution of February, and celebrate an orgy of counterrevolution! Such heroism in exaggerated self-debasement is unheard of in the annals of history! But, what is most characteristic, instead of arousing a general shout of indignation on the part of official Europe, and America, it evokes a current of sympathy and of fierce denunciation of Paris! (*fossiles, vilains, hommes tarés*[a]) This proves that Paris, true to its historical antecedents, seeks the regeneration of the French people in making it the champion of the regeneration of old society, making the social regeneration of mankind the national business of France! It is the emancipation of the producing class from the exploiting classes, their retainers and their state parasites who prove the truth of the French adage, that "les valets du diable sont pire que le diable himself."[b] Paris has hoisted the flag of mankind!

*18 March.* Government laid

"stamp of 2 centimes on each copy of every periodical, whatever its nature". "forbidden to found new journals until the raising of the state of siege".

The different fractions of the French bourgeoisie had successively *their reigns,* the great landed proprietors under the *Restoration* (the old Bourbons), the capitalists under the parliamentary monarchy of July (Louis Philippe), while its Bonapartist and republican elements kept rankling in the background. Their party feuds and intrigues were of course carried on on pretexts of *public welfare,* and a popular revolution having got rid of these monarchies, the other set in. All this changed with the Republic (February). All the fractions of the Bourgeoisie combined together in the *Party of Order,* that is the party of [landed] Proprietors and Capitalists, bound together to maintain the economic subjugation of labour and the repressive state machinery supporting it. Instead of a monarchy, whose very name signified the prevalence of one bourgeois fraction over the other, a victory on one side and a defeat on the other (the triumph of one side and the humiliation of the other), the *Republic* was the anonymous joint-stock-company of the combined bourgeois fractions, of all the *exploiters* of the people clubbed together, and indeed, Legitimists, Bonapartists, Orleanists, Bourgeois Republicans, Jesuits, and Voltaireans, embraced each other. No longer hidden by the shelter of the crown,

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[a] Fossils, villains, ill-famed men.— *Ed.*

[b] "The Devil's valets are worse than the Devil himself".— *Ed.*

no longer able to interest the people in their party feuds by maskerading them into struggles for popular interest, no longer subordinate the one to the other. Direct and confessed antagonism of their class rule to the emancipation of the producing masses,—*order* the name for the economical and political conditions of their class rule and the servitude of labour, this anonymous or republican form of the bourgeois regime—this Bourgeois Republic, this Republic of the *Party of Order* is the most *odious* of all political regimes. Its direct business, its only *raison d'être*[a] is to crush down the people. It is the *terrorism* of class rule. The thing is done in this way. The people having fought and made the Revolution, proclaimed the Republic, and made room for a National Assembly, the Bourgeois whose known Republican professions are a guarantee for their "Republic", are pushed on the foreground of the stage by the majority of the Assembly, composed of the vanquished and professed enemies of the Republic. The Republicans are entrusted with the task to goad the people into the trap of an insurrection to be crushed by fire and sword. This part was performed by the party of the *National* with Cavaignac at their head[300] after the Revolution of February (by the June Insurrection). By their crime against the masses, these Republicans lose then their sway. They have done their work and, if yet allowed to support the *party of order* in its general struggle against the Proletariate, they are at the same time displaced from the government, forced to fall back in the last ranks, and only allowed "on sufferance". The combined royalist bourgeois then become the fathers of the Republic, the true rule of the "Party of Order" sets in. The material forces of the people being broken for the time being, the work of reaction—the breaking down of all the concessions conquered in four revolutions—begins piece by piece. The people is stung to madness not only by the deeds of the *party of order,* but by the cynical effrontery with which it is treated as the vanquished, with which in its own name, in the name of the Republic, that low lot rules it supreme. Of course, that spasmodic form of *anonymous* class despotism cannot last long, can only be a transitory phase. It knows that it is seated on a revolutionary volcano. On the other hand, if the party of order is united in its war against the working class, in its capacity of the *party of order,* the play of intrigue of its different fractions the one against the other, each for the prevalence of its peculiar interest in the old order of society, each for the Restoration of its own pretender and

[a] Meaning of existence.—*Ed.*

personal ambitions, sets in in full force as soon as its rule seems secured (guaranteed) by the destruction of the material revolutionary forces. This combination of a common war against the people and a common conspiracy against the Republic, combined with the internal feuds of its rulers, and their play of intrigues, paralyses society, disgusts and bewilders the masses of the middle class and "troubles" business, keeps them in a chronic state of disquietude. All the conditions of despotism are created (have been engendered) under this regime, but despotism without quietude, despotism with parliamentary anarchy at its head. Then the hour has struck for a *Coup d'Etat,* and the incapable lot has to make room for any lucky pretender, making [an] end of the *anonymous* form of class rule. In this way Louis Bonaparte made an end of the Bourgeois Republic after its 4 years of existence. During all that time *Thiers* was the "âme damnée"[a] of the party of order, that in the name of the Republic made war upon the Republic, a class war upon the people, and, in reality, created the Empire. He played exactly the same part now as he played then, only then but as a parliamentary intriguer, now as the Chief of the Executive. Should he not be conquered by the Revolution, he will now as then be a baffled tool. Whatever countervailing government will set in, its first act will be to cast aside the man who surrendered France to Prussia and bombarded Paris.

Thiers had many grievances against L. Bonaparte. The latter had used him as a tool and a dupe. He had frightened him by his arrest after the Coup d'Etat. He had annulled him by putting down the parliamentary regime, the only one under which a mere state-parasite, like Thiers, a mere talker can play a political part. Last not least, Thiers having been the historic shoeblack of Napoleon[b] had so long described his deeds as to fancy he had enacted them himself. The legitimate caricature of Nap. I was in his eyes not Nap. the little, but little Thiers. With all that there was no infamy committed by L. B. which had not been backed by Thiers, from the occupation of Rome by the French troops to the war with Prussia.

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Only a man of his shallow head can fancy for one moment, that a Republic with his head on its shoulders, with a National

[a] The tool.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to Thiers' *Histoire de la Révolution française* and *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire.*—*Ed.*

Assembly half-Legitimist, half-Orleanist, with an army under Bonapartist leaders, will, if victorious, not push him aside.

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There is nothing more grotesquely horrid than a Tom Pouce affecting to play the Timur Tamerlane. With him the deeds of cruelty are not only a matter of business, but a thing of theatrical display, of phantastical vanity. To write his "bulletins", to show his "severity", to have "his" troops, "his" strategy, "his" bombardments, "his" petroleum-bombs, to hide "his" cowardice under the coldbloodedness with which he allows the Decembrist blacklegs to take their revenge on Paris! This kind of heroism in exaggerated baseness! He exults in the important part he plays and the noise he makes in the world! He quite fancies to be a great man! and how gigantic (titanic) he, the dwarf, the parliamentary dribbler, must look in the eyes of the world! In midst the horrid scenes of this war, one cannot help smiling at the ridiculous capers Thiers Vanity cuts! M. Thiers is a man of lively imagination, there runs an artist's vein through his blood, and an artist's vanity able to gull him into a belief of his own lies, and a belief in his own grandeur.

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Through all the speeches, bulletins etc. of Thiers, runs a vein of elated vanity.

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*that affreux*[a] *Triboulet.*

Splendid Bombardment (with petroleum bombs) from Mont Valérien on one part of the houses in the Ternes within the rampart, with a grandiose conflagration and a fearful thunder of cannon shaking all Paris. Bombs purposely thrown into Ternes and the Champs Elysées quarters.

Explosive bombs, petroleum bombs.

## *The Commune*

The glorious British penny a liner has made the splendid discovery that this is not what *we* use to understand by

[a] Atrocious.—*Ed.*

self-government. Of course, it is not. It is not the self-administration of the towns by turtle-soup guttling aldermen, jobbing vestries, and ferocious workhouse guardians. It is not the self-administration of the counties by the holders of broad acres, long purses and empty heads. It is not the judicial abomination of "the Great Unpaid".[301] It is not political self-government of the country through the means of an oligarchic club and the reading of *The Times* newspaper. It is the people acting for itself by itself.

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Within this war of cannibals the most disgusting, the "literary" shrieks of the hideous gnome seated at the head of the government!

The ferocious treatment of the Versailles prisoners was not interrupted one moment, and their coldblooded assassination was resumed so soon as Versailles had convinced itself that the Commune was too humane to execute its decree of reprisals!

The *Paris Journal* (at Versailles) says that 13 line soldiers made prisoners at the railway station of Clamart were shot offhand, and all prisoners wearing the line uniforms who arrive in Versailles will be executed whenever doubts about their identity are cleared up!

M. Alexander Dumas, fils, tells that a young man exercising the functions, if not bearing the title, of a general, was shot after having marched (in custody) a few hundred yards along a road.

*5 May, Mot d'Ordre:* According to the *Liberté,* which is published in Versailles, "all regular army soldiers found at Clamart among the insurgents were shot on the spot" (by Lincoln Thiers!) (Lincoln acknowledged the belligerent rights). "These are the men denouncing on the walls of all French communes the Parisians as assassins!" The banditti![a]

*Desmarets.*

A deputation of the Commune went to Bicêtre (April 27) to investigate the case of four National Guards of the 185th field battalion and there saw one survivor (badly wounded) *Scheffer.*

"The wounded man said that on April 25 he and three of his comrades were overtaken at Belle Epine, near Villejuif, by a detachment of mounted Chasseurs, who told them to surrender. As it was quite impossible to put up any resistance against the forces that surrounded them, they laid down their arms and gave up.

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[a] The first half of the paragraph, to the parenthesis, is in French in the original.— *Ed.*

The soldiers surrounded them and took them prisoner without resorting to violence or threats against them. They had been prisoners for a few minutes, when a captain of the mounted Chasseurs appeared and threw himself upon them revolver in hand. Without saying a word he fired at one of them and killed him outright; then he also fired at Guardsman Scheffer, who was shot in the chest and fell by his comrade. The other two guardsmen, terrified at this sneaking attack, tried to escape but the wild captain ran after the two prisoners and killed them both with revolver shots. After these savage and outrageous acts the Chasseurs retired with their chief, leaving their victims lying on the ground."[a]

*New York Tribune outdoes the London papers.*

M. Thiers' "most liberal and most freely elected National assembly that ever existed in France" is quite of a piece with his "finest army that France ever possessed".[b] The municipal elections, carried on under Thiers himself on the 30th of April, show their relations to the French people! Of 700,000 councillors (in round numbers) returned by the 35,000 communes still left in mutilated France, 200 are Legitimists, 600 Orleanists, 7,000 avowed Bonapartists, and all the rest Republicans or Communists. (*Versailles Cor. Daily News,* 5 May.) Is any other proof wanted that this Assembly with the Orleanist mummy Thiers at its head represent only an usurpatory minority?

## *Paris*

M. Thiers represented again and again the Commune as the instrument of a handful of "convicts" and "ticket of leave men", of the scum of Paris. And this "handful" of desperadoes holds in check since more than 6 weeks the "finest army that France ever possessed" led by the invincible Mac Mahon and inspired by the genius of Thiers himself!

The exploits of the Parisians have not only refuted him. All elements of Paris have spoken.

"You must not confuse the movement of Paris with the seizure of Montmartre, which was only its opportunity and starting point; this movement is general and profound in the conscience of Paris; the greatest number even of those who, for

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[a] [Rapport de la Commission d'enquête de la Commune], *Le Mot d'Ordre,* No. 65, April 29, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 118, April 28, 1871. These two paragraphs are in French in the original.— *Ed.*

[b] The following text is crossed out in the manuscript: "This senile *chambre introuvable,*[177] chosen on a false pretext, consists almost exclusively of Legitimists[176] and Orleanists.— *Ed.*

one reason or another, hold aloof from it, do not deny that it is socially legitimate."[a]

Who says this? The *delegates of the Syndical chambres,* men who speak in the name of 7-8,000 merchants and industrials. They have gone to tell it at Versailles... The *Ligue de la réunion républicaine ... the manifestation of the Francs Maçons*[302] etc.

## *The Province*

*Les provinciaux espiègles.*[b]

If Thiers fancied one moment that the provinces were really antagonistic to the Paris movement, he would do all in his power to give the provinces the greatest possible facilities to become acquainted with that movement and all "its horrors". He would solicit them to look at it in its naked reality, to convince themselves with their own eyes and ears of what it is. Not he! He and his "defence men" try to keep the provinces down, to prevent their general rising for Paris, by a *wall of lies* as they kept out the news from the provinces in Paris during the Prussian siege. The Provinces are only allowed to look at Paris through the Versailles *camera obscura.* (Nothing but the lies and slanders of the Versailles journals reach the departments and reign there unrivalled.)[c] Pillages and murders of 20,000 ticket of leave men dishonour the capital.

"*The League* considers it to be its primary duty to shed light on the facts and restore normal relations between the province and Paris."[d]

As they were, when besieged in Paris, thus they are now in besieging it in their turn.

"*As in the past, the lie is their favourite weapon.* They suppress and confiscate the journals of the capital, intercept reports, and sift the letters, in such a way that the province is reduced to having the news that it pleases Jules Favre, Picard and Company to let it have, without it being possible to verify its truth."[e]

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[a] "Rapport des délégués des chambres syndicales. Au syndicat de l'Union nationale", quoted according to A. Vacquerie, "Une poignée de factieux", *Le Rappel,* No. 669, April 13, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 102, April 12, 1871. Marx gives a French quotation.— *Ed.*

[b] Provincial wags. Quoted from "Ceci est vraiment merveilleux...", *Le Rappel,* No. 669, April 13, 1871.— *Ed.*

[c] The sentence in parentheses is in French.— *Ed.*

[d] "Le comité de l'Union républicaine pour les droits de Paris...", *Le Rappel,* No. 673, April 17, 1871. Marx gives a French quotation.— *Ed.*

[e] "La circulaire de M. Thiers", *Le Vengeur,* No. 21, April 19, 1871. Marx gives a French quotation in the original and uses the English phrase "sift the letters".— *Ed.*

Thiers' bulletins, Picard's circulars, Dufaure's... The placards in the Communes. The felon press of Versailles and the Germans. The *petit Moniteur.*[a] The reintroduction of passports for travelling from one place to another. An army of *mouchards*[b] spread in every direction. Arrests (in Rouen etc under Prussian authority) etc. Thousands of commissioners of police scattered in the environs of Paris have been ordered by the prefect of the gendarmerie, Valentin, to confiscate journals of any trend published in the insurgent city, and to burn them publicly, as used to be done in the heyday of the Holy Inquisition.[c]

Thiers' government first appealed to the provinces[d] to form battalions of National Guards and send them to Versailles against Paris.

"The Province," as the *Journal de Limoges* says, "showed its discontent by refusing the battalions of *volontaires* which were asked from it by Thiers and his *ruraux.*"[e]

The few Breton idiots, fighting under a white flag, every one of them wearing on his breast a Jesus heart in white cloth and shouting "vive le roi!"[f] are the only "provincial" army gathered round Thiers.

*The elections. Vengeur 6 May.*

*M. Dufaure's presslaw* (8 April)[214] confessedly directed against the "excesses" of the Provincial press.

Then the numerous *arrestations* in the Province. It is placed under the *laws of suspects.*[303] *Intellectual and police blockade of province.*[g]

*April 23 Havre:* The municipal council has despatched three of its members to Paris and Versailles with instructions to offer mediation, with the view of terminating the civil war on the basis of the maintenance of the Republic, and the granting of municipal franchises to the whole of France... *23 April delegates from Lyon received by Picard and Thiers—"war at any price"* is their reply.

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[a] The reference is to the *Moniteur des Communes.*—*Ed.*

[b] Spies.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx gives the French sentence in the original.—*Ed.*

[d] The manuscript contains the following text written above this sentence: "made an anxious appeal ... before having got a prisoner army from Bismarck."—*Ed.*

[e] Communication from the Limoges paper *La Défense républicaine* in *Le Mot d'Ordre,* No. 65, April 29, 1871.—*Ed.*

[f] "Long live the King!"—*Ed.*

[g] Quoted in French from "Qui, c'en est fait...", *Le Vengeur,* No. 38, May 6, 1871.—*Ed.*

The address of the Lyons delegates[a] is handed to the Assembly by Greppo on April 24.[304]

The municipalities of the provincial towns committed the great impudence to send their deputations to Versailles in order to call upon them to grant what demanded by Paris; not one Commune of France has sent an address approving of the acts of Thiers and the rurals; the provincial papers, like these municipal councils, as Dufaure complains in his *circular against Conciliation to the Procureur Général,*

"put on the same footing the Assembly elected by universal suffrage, and the self-styled Paris Commune; reproach the former for having failed to recognise the municipal rights of Paris etc"[b]

and what is worse, these municipal councils, f. i. *that of Auch,*

"have unanimously demanded that it *should at once propose an armistice with Paris,*[c] and that the Assembly chosen on the 8-th of February, dissolves itself because its mandate had expired". (*Dufaure, l'assemblée de Versailles, April 26*)

It ought to be remembered that these were the old municipal councils,[305] not those elected on 30th April. Their delegations so numerous, that Thiers decided no longer to receive them personally, but address them to a ministerial subaltern.

*Lastly the elections of 30 April* the final judgment of the Assembly and the electoral surprise from which it had sprung. If then, the provinces have till now only made a passive resistance against Versailles without rising for Paris, to be explained by the strongholds the old authorities hold here still, the trance in which the Empire merged and the war maintained the Province. It is evident that it is only the Versailles army, government, and Chinese wall of lies, that stand between Paris and the provinces. If that wall falls, they will unite with it.

It is most characteristic, that the same men (Thiers et Co.) who in May 1850 abolished by a parliamentary conspiracy (Bonaparte aided them, to get them into a snare, to have them at his mercy, and to proclaim himself after the coup d'état as the restorator of

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[a] "Adresse des Délégués de Lyon à l'Assemblée nationale et à la Commune de Paris", *Le Mot d'Ordre,* No. 63, April 27, 1871. Marx gives this sentence and the end of the previous one in French and the words "is their reply" in German.— *Ed.*

[b] J. Dufaure, [Circulaire aux procureurs généraux. Versailles, 23 avril 1871], *Le Mot d'Ordre,* No. 62, April 26, 1871. Marx gives a French quotation.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx gives this part of the quotation in French.— *Ed.*

the universal suffrage against the party of order and its Assembly) the *universal suffrage,* because under the Republic it might still play them freaks, are now its fanatical adepts, make it their "legitimate" title against Paris, after it had received under Bonaparte such an organization as to be the mere plaything in the hand of the Executive, a mere machine of cheat, surprise, and forgery on the part of the Executive. *Congrès de la Ligue des Villes*[306] (*Rappel 6 May!*)

## *Trochu, Jules Favre, and Thiers' Provincials*

It may be asked how these superannuated parliamentary mountebanks and intriguers like Thiers, Favre, Dufaure, Garnier-Pagès (only strengthened by a few rascals of the same stamp) continue to reappear, after every revolution, on the surface, and usurp the executive power? these men that always exploit and betray the Revolution, shoot down the people that made it, and sequester the few liberal concessions conquered from former governments? (which they opposed themselves?)

The thing is very simple. In the first instance, if very unpopular, like Thiers after the February Revolution, popular magnanimity spares them. After every successful rising of the people the cry of conciliation, raised by the implacable enemies of the people, is reechoed by the people in the first moments of the enthusiasm at its own victory. After this first moment men like Thiers and Dufaure eclipse themselves as long as the people hold material power and work in the dark. They reappear as soon as it is disarmed and are acclaimed by the bourgeoisie as their *chefs de file.*[a]

Or, like Favre, Garnier Pagès, Jules Simon etc (recruited by a few younger ones of similar stamp) and Thiers himself after the 4th of September, were the "respectable" republican opposition under Louis Philippe: afterwards the parliamentary opposition under L. Bonaparte. The reactionary regimes they have themselves initiated when raised to power by the Revolution, secure for them the ranks of the opposition, deporting, killing, exiling the true Revolutionists. The people forget their past, the middle class look upon them as their men, their infamous past is forgotten,

[a] File-leaders.— *Ed.*

and thus they reappear to recommence their treason and their work of infamy.

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*Night of 1 to 2 May: the village of Clamart* had been in the hands of the military, the railway station in those of the insurgents. (this station dominates the Fort of Issy.) By a surprise (their *patrouilles* being let in by a soldier on guard, the *watchword having been betrayed* to them) the 23 Battalion of Chasseurs got in, surprised the garrison most of them sleeping in their bed, made only 60 prisoners, *bayoneted 300 of the insurgents. Dazu*[a] line soldiers afterwards shot offhand. *Thiers in his circular to the Prefects, civil and military authorities of 2 May* has the impudence to say:

"It (the Commune) arrests generals (Cluseret!) only to shoot them, and institutes a committee of public safety which is utterly unworthy!"[b]

Troops under General Lacretelle took the *redoubt of Moulin Saquet* situated betwixt Fort Issy and Montrouge, by a *coup de main.*[c] The garrison was surprised by treachery on the part of the commandant *Gallien,* who had sold the password to the Versaillese troops. 150 of the Federals bayoneted and over 300 of them made prisoners.

M. Thiers, says the *Times* correspondent, was weak when he ought to have been firm (the coward is always weak as long as *he has to apprehend danger for himself*) and firm, when everything was to be gained by some concessions.[d] (the rascal is always firm, when the employment of material force bleeds France, gives great airs to himself, but when he, personally, is safe. This is his whole cleverness. Like Anthony, Thiers is an "honest man".[e])

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*Thiers'* bulletin on *Moulin-Saquet* (4 May)[f]

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[a] Moreover.— *Ed.*

[b] L. A. Thiers, [Circulaire à toutes les autorités civiles et militaires. Versailles, 2 mai 1871], *Journal officiel* (Versailles), No. 123, May 3, 1871.— *Ed.*

[c] Sudden attack.— *Ed.*

[d] "The Commune of Paris...", *The Times,* No. 27055, May 5, 1871.— *Ed.*

[e] W. Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar,* Act III, Scene II.— *Ed.*

[f] Then follows the French text to the end of the section.— *Ed.*

*"Deliverance of Paris from the hideous tyrants who oppress it"* ("the Versaillese were disguised as National Guards") ("most of the Federals were asleep and were killed or taken in their sleep").[a]

"Blanqui thrown into jail dying, Flourens cut to pieces by the gendarmes, Duval shot by Vinoy, they had them in their hands on the 31st of October, and did nothing to them."

[a] "Voici, sur le même fait, le bulletin...", *Le Rappel,* No. 692, May 6, 1871. The following passage, written by Marx in French, is crossed out in the manuscript: *"Picard 'our artillery does not bombard; true, it cannonades'" (Moniteur des communes, journal de Picard).—Ed.*

## THE COMMUNE

### A) MEASURES FOR THE WORKING CLASS

*nightwork of journeymen bakers* suppressed. (20 April)[a]

*the private jurisdiction*, usurped by the Seigneurs of mills etc (manufacturers) (*employers*, great and small) being at the same time judges, executors, gainers and parties in the disputes, that right of *a penal code of their own*, enabling them to rob the labourers' wages by *fines and deductions*, as punishment etc, abolished in public and private workshops; penalties impended upon the employers in case they infringe upon this law; *fines and deductions* extorted since the 18th of March to be paid back to the workmen; (27 April).[b]

Sale of pawned articles at Pawn Shops suspended; (29 March).[c]

A great lot of workshops and manufactures have been closed in Paris; their owners having run away. This is the old method of the industrial capitalists, who consider themselves entitled "by the spontaneous action of the laws of political economy" not only to make a profit out of labour, as the condition of labour, but to stop it altogether and throw the workmen on the pavement—to produce an artificial crisis whenever a victorious revolution threatens the "order" of their "system". The Commune, very wisely, has appointed a Communal commission which in cooperation with delegates chosen by the different trades will inquire into the ways of handing over the deserted workshops and manufactures to cooperative workmen societies with some indemnity for

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[a] [Arrêté sur la suppression du travail de nuit dans les boulangeries. Paris, 20 avril 1871], *L'Avant-Garde*, No. 451, April 22, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 111, April 21, 1871.— *Ed.*

[b] [Arrêté sur l'abolition des amendes ou retenues sur les salaires. Paris, 27 avril 1871], *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 119, April 29, 1871.— *Ed.*

[c] Decree of March 29, 1871 suspending the sale of pawned articles, *The Daily News*, No. 7776, April 1, 1871.— *Ed.*

the capitalist deserters; (16 April)[a] (this commission has also to make statistics of the abandoned workshops);

Commune has given order to the mairies to make no distinction between the *femmes* called illegitimate, the mothers and widows of national guards, as to the indemnity of 75 centimes[b];

the public prostitutes till now kept for the "men of order" at Paris but for their "safety" kept in penal servitude under the arbitrary rule of the police; the Commune has liberated the prostitutes from this degrading slavery, but swept away the soil upon which, and the men by whom, prostitution flourishes. The higher prostitutes—the cocottes—were, of course, under the rule of order, not the slaves, but the masters of the police and the governors.

There was, of course, no time to reorganize public instruction (education); but by removing the religious and clerical element from it, the Commune has taken the initiative in the mental emancipation of the people. It has appointed a Commission for the organization of education (primary and professional) (28 April). It has ordered that all tools of instruction like books, maps, paper etc be given gratuitously by the schoolmasters who receive them in their turn from the respective mairies to which they belong. No schoolmaster is allowed on any pretext to ask payment from his pupils for these instruments of instruction. (*28 April*)[c]

*Pawnshops*[d]: under all receipts issued by Mont de Piété before April 25, 1871, the pawned clothes, furniture, linen, books, bedding and implements of labour, valued at not more than 20 francs, may be reclaimed free of charge, beginning from May 12. (*May 7*)[e]

### 2) MEASURES FOR THE WORKING CLASS, BUT MOSTLY FOR THE MIDDLE CLASSES

*Houserent for the last 3 quarters up to April wholly remitted*: Whoever had paid any of these 3 quarters shall have right of

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[a] Decree of April 16, 1871 on handing over the workshops and manufacturies to cooperative workmen societies, *The Daily News*, No. 7790, April 18, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 107, April 17, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] See "Un groupe de citoyennes nous écrit...", *Le Vengeur*, No. 21, April 19, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] The source from which Marx cites it has not been established. See [Arrêté sur la commission d'organisation de l'enseignement. Paris, 28 avril 1871], *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 119, April 29, 1871.—*Ed.*

[d] Then follows the French text except for "not more", written in German.—*Ed.*

[e] [Décret sur le mont-de-piété. Paris, 6 mai 1871], *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 127, May 7, 1871.—*Ed.*

setting that sum against future payments. The same law to prevail in the case of furnished apartments. No notice to quit coming from landlords to be valid for 3 months to come. (*29 March*)[a]

*échéances* (*Payment of bills of exchange due*): (*expiration of bills*): all prosecutions for bills of exchange fallen due suspended. (*12 April*)[b]

All commercial papers of that sort to be repaid in repayment spread over two years, to begin next July 15, the debts being not chargeable with interest. The total amount of the sums due divided in 8 *equal coupures, payable by trimestre* (first trimester to be dated from July 15). Only on these partial payments when fallen due judicial prosecutions permitted. (*16 April*)[194] The Dufaure laws on leases and bills of exchange entailed the bankruptcy of the majority of the respectable shopkeepers of Paris.[180]

The notaries, *huissiers,*[c] auctioneers, bum-bailiffs and other judicial officers making till now a fortune of their functions transformed into agents of the Commune receiving from it fixed salaries like other workmen[d];

As the Professors of the Ecole de Médecine have run away, the Commune appointed a Commission for the foundation of *free universities,* no longer state parasites; given to the students that had passed their examination means to practise independent of Doctor titles; (titles to be conferred by the faculty).

Since the judges of the *Civil tribunal of the Seine,* like the other magistrates always ready to function under any class government, had run away, Commune appointed an advocate to do the most urgent business until the reorganization of tribunals on the basis of general suffrage; (*26 April*)

### 3) GENERAL MEASURES

*Conscription abolished.*[e] In the present war every able man (National Guard) must serve. This measure excellent to get rid of all traitors and cowards hiding in Paris (*29 March*).

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[a] Decree of March 29, 1871 on the remission of rents, *The Daily News,* No. 7775, March 31, 1871.— *Ed.*

[b] [Décret sur la suspension des poursuites pour échéances. Paris, 12 avril 1871], *Le Rappel,* No. 670, April 14, 1871.— *Ed.*

[c] Bailiffs.— *Ed.*

[d] The source from which Marx cites it has not been established. See [Décret sur les traitements publics. Paris, 2 avril 1871], *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 92, April 2, 1871.— *Ed.*

[e] Decree of March 29, 1871 on abolishing conscription, *The Daily News,* No. 7776, April 1, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 1 (89), March 30, 1871.— *Ed.*

*Games of hazard suppressed. (2 April)*[a]

Church separated from State; the religious budget suppressed; all clerical estates declared national properties, (*3 April*).[b]

The Commune, having made inquiries consequent upon private informations, found that beside the old Guillotine the *"government of order"* had commanded the construction of a new guillotine (more expeditive and portable), and paid in *avance.* The Commune ordered both the old and the new guillotine to be burned publicly on the 6th of April.[c] The Versailles journals, reechoed by the press of order all over the world, narrated the Paris people, as a demonstration against the bloodthirstiness of the Communals, had burnt these guillotines! *(6 April)* All political prisoners were set free at once after the Revolution of the 18th of March.[d] But the Commune knew that under the *régime of L. Bonaparte* and his worthy successor of the Government of Defence many people were simply incarcerated on no charge whatever as political suspects. Consequently it charged one of its members—Protot—to make inquiries.[e] By him 150 people set free who being arrested since six months, had not yet undergone any judicial examination; many of them, already arrested under Bonaparte, had been for a year in prison without any charge or judicial examination. *(9 April)* This fact, so characteristic of the Government of Defence, enraged them. They asserted the Commune had liberated all felons. But who liberated convicted felons? The forger Jules Favre. Hardly got into power, he hastened to liberate *Pic and Taillefer,* condemned for theft and forgery in the affaire of the *Etendard.*[166] One of these men, Taillefer, daring to return to Paris, has been reinstated into his convenient abode. But this is not all. The Versailles government has delivered in the *Maisons Centrales*[f] all over France convicted thiefs on the condition of entering M. Thiers' army!

*Decree on the demolition of the column of the place Vendôme*[202] as

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[a] See "Le jeux de hasard", *Le Petit Journal,* No. 3014, April 3, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] Decree of April 2, 1871 separating the church from the state, *The Daily Telegraph,* No. 4931, April 4, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 93, April 3, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] "La Guillotine", *La Situation,* No. 176, April 14, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 100, April 10, 1871.—*Ed.*

[d] "Amnistie pleine et entière...", *La Cloche,* No. 385, March 21, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 79, March 20, 1871.—*Ed.*

[e] [Arrêté de la commission de justice. Paris, 31 mars 1871], *Le Rappel,* No. 666, April 10, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 91, April 1, 1871.—*Ed.*

[f] Central prisons.—*Ed.*

"a monument of barbarism, symbol of brute force and false glory, an affirmation of militarism, a negation of international right". *(12 April)*[a]

*Election of Frankel* (German member of the International) to the Commune declared valid: "considering that the flag of the Commune is that of the Universal Republic and that foreigners can have a seat in it"; *(4 April)*[b] Frankel afterwards chosen a member of the executive of the Commune; *(21 April)*

The *Journal officiel* has inaugurated the publicity of the sittings of the Commune. *(15 April)*

Decree of Pascal Grousset for the protection of Foreigners against requisitions. Never a government in Paris so courteous to Foreigners. *(27 April)*[c]

The Commune has abolished political and professional oaths. *(May 4)*[d]

*Destruction of the monument* called *"Chapelle expiatoire de Louis XVI"* rue d'Anjou St. Honoré (erected by the Chambre introuvable[177] of 1816) *(7 May)*.[e]

4) MEASURES OF PUBLIC SAFETY

Disarmament of the "loyal" National Guards; (30 March)[f]

Commune declares incompatibility between seats in its ranks and at Versailles; *(29 March)*[g]

*Decree of Reprisals*.[h] Never executed. Only the fellows arrested, *Archbishop of Paris and Curé of the Madeleine*[i]; whole staff of the

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[a] [Décret sur la démolition de la colonne Vendôme. Paris, 12 avril 1871], *Le Rappel*, No. 670, April 14, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 103, April 13, 1871.— *Ed.*

[b] "Rapport de la Commission des élections", *La Situation*, No. 169, April 5, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 90, March 31, 1871.— *Ed.*

[c] Decree of April 26, 1871 on the protection of foreigners, *The Daily News*, No. 7799, April 28, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 117, April 28, 1871.— *Ed.*

[d] The source used by Marx has not been established. See [Décret sur l'abolition du serment politique et du serment professionel. Paris, 4 mai 1871], *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 125, May 5, 1871.— *Ed.*

[e] The source used by Marx has not been established. See [Arrêté sur la destruction de la chapelle dite expiatoire de Louis XVI. Paris, 5 mai 1871], *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 126, May 6, 1871. This paragraph, except for the first four words, is in French in the original.— *Ed.*

[f] "Progress of the revolution in Paris", *The Daily News*, No. 7775, March 31, 1871.— *Ed.*

[g] "The Central Committee still continues...", *The Daily News*, No. 7776, April 1, 1871.— *Ed.*

[h] Decree of April 5, 1871 on reprisals and hostages, *The Daily News*, No. 7781, April 7, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 96, April 6, 1871.— *Ed.*

[i] G. Darboy and G. Deguerry.— *Ed.*

college of Jesuits; Incumbents of all the principal churches; *Part of these fellows arrested* as hostages, part as conspirators with Versailles, part because they tried to save church property from the clutches of the Commune. *(6 April)*

"The Monarchists wage war like savages; they shoot prisoners, they murder the wounded, they fire on ambulances, troops raise the butt-end of their rifles in the air and then fire traitorously." *(Proclamation of Commune)*[a]

In regard to these decrees of Reprisals to be remarked:

In the first instance men of all layers of the Paris society—after the exodus of the capitalists, the idlers, and the parasites—have interposed at Versailles to stop the Civil war—*except the Paris clergy.* The Archbishop and the curé de [la] Madeleine have only written to Thiers because averse to *"the effusion of their own blood"*[b] in their quality as hostages.

Secondly: After the publication by the Commune of the Decree of reprisals, the taking of hostages etc, the atrocious treatment of the Versailles prisoners by Piétri's lambs and Valentin's Gendarmes did not cease, but the assassination of the captive Paris soldiers and National Guard was stopped to set in with renewed fury so soon as the Versailles Government had convinced itself that the Commune was too humane to execute its decree of the 6th of April. Then the assassination set again in wholesale. The Commune did not execute one hostage, not one prisoner, not even some Gendarme officers who under the disguise of National Guards had entered Paris as spies and were simply arrested.

*Surprise of the Redoute of Clamart* (2 May). *Railway Station in the hands of the Parisians,* massacre, bayonetting, the 22nd Battalion of Chasseurs *(Galliffet?)* shoots line soldiers offhand without any formality. *(2 May)*

*Redoubt of' Moulin Saquet,* situated between Fort Issy and Montrouge, surprised in the night by treachery on the part of the commandant *Gallien* who had sold the password to the Versaillese troops. Federals surprised in their beds asleep—massacred great part of them. *(4 May?)*

*25 April* 4 National guards (this constated by Commissaries

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[a] Proclamation of the Commune of April 5, 1871 to the inhabitants of Paris, *The Daily Telegraph,* No. 4933, April 6, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 95, April 5, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] G. Darboy, "Prison de Mazas, le 8 avril 1871", *Le Rappel,* No. 669, April 13, 1871; G. Deguerry, "A Messieurs les membres du gouvernement à Versailles", the same issue.—*Ed.*

sent to Bicêtre where the only survivor of the 4 men, *à* Belle Epine, *près*[a] Villejuif. His name *Scheffer.*) These men being surrounded by horse Chasseurs, on their order, unable to resist, surrendered, disarmed, nothing done to them by the soldiers. But then arrives the captain of the Chasseurs, and shoots them down one after the other with his revolver. Left them on the soil. Scheffer fearfully wounded survived.[b]

13 soldiers of the line made prisoners at the railway Station of Clamart were shot offhand, and all prisoners wearing the line uniforms who arrive in Versailles will be executed whenever doubts about their identity are cleared up. (*Liberté* at Versailles.) Alexander Dumas fils, now at Versailles, tells that a young man exercising the functions, if not bearing the title, of a general, was shot, by order of a Bonapartist general, after having marched in custody a few 100 yards along a road... Parisian troops and National Guards surrounded in houses by Gendarmes, [who] inundate the house with Petroleum and then fire it. Some cadavers of National Guards (*calcinés*[c]) have been transported by the ambulance of the press of the Ternes. (*Mot d'ordre* 20 April[d]) "They have no right to ambulances." [190]

*Thiers. Blanqui. Archbishop. General Chanzy.* (Thiers said his Bonapartists should have liked to be shot.)

*Visitation in Houses, etc. Casimir Bouis,* appointed chairman of a commission of inquiry[e] in the doings of the dictators of *4 September. (14 April)* Private houses invaded and papers seized, but no furniture has been carried away and sold by auction.[f] (Papers of the fellows of 4 September, of Thiers etc and Bonapartist policemen), f. i. in Hôtel of *Lafont,* inspecteur-général des prisons. *(11 April)* The houses (properties) of Thiers et Co. as traitors sealed but *only the papers* confiscated.

*Arrests among themselves:* This shocks the bourgeois who wants political idols and "great men" immensely.

"It is *provoking*" *(Daily News, 6 May. Paris Correspondence),* "however, and *discouraging,* that whatever be the authority possessed by the Commune, it is continually changing hands, and we know not to-day with whom the power may

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[a] Near.—*Ed.*

[b] [Rapport de la Commission d'enquête de la Commune], *Le Mot d'Ordre,* No. 65, April 29, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 118, April 28, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] Charred.—*Ed.*

[d] "Les gendarmes usent...", *Le Mot d'Ordre,* No. 56, April 20, 1871.—*Ed.*

[e] Marx gives this part of the sentence in French.—*Ed.*

[f] "Considérant qu'il est important...", *Le Rappel,* No. 672, April 16, 1871. Marx then gives the German sentence in parentheses.—*Ed.*

rest to-morrow... In all these eternal changes one sees more than ever the want of a presiding mind. The Commune is a concourse of equivalent atoms, each one jealous of another and *none endowed with supreme control over the others.*"[a]

*Journal suppression!*[214]

5) FINANCIAL MEASURES

*(See Daily News. 6 May)*[b]

Principal outlay for war!

Only 8,928 fcs. from confiscations[c]—all taken from ecclesiastics etc

*Vengeur* 6 May.[d]

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[a] "The Balance-sheet of the Commune", *The Daily News,* No. 7807, May 6, 1871.— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid. See also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 124, May 4, 1871.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx gives the French word.— *Ed.*

[d] Concerning the financial account of the Commune see "Et maintenant...", *Le Vengeur,* No. 38, May 6, 1871.— *Ed.*

## THE COMMUNE

### THE RISE OF THE COMMUNE AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The Commune had been proclaimed at Lyons, then Marseilles, Toulouse etc after Sedan. Gambetta tried his best to break it down.[307]

The different movements at Paris in the beginning of October aimed at the establishment of the Commune, as a measure of defence against the Foreign invasion, as the realisation of the rise of the 4th of September. Its establishment by the movement of the 31 October failed only because Blanqui, Flourens and the other then leaders of the movement believed in the *gens de paroles*[a] who had given their *parole d'honneur*[b] to abdicate and make room to a Commune freely elected by all the arrondissements of Paris. It failed because they saved the lives of those men so eager for the assassination of their saviours. Having allowed Trochu and Ferry to escape, they [were] surprised then by Trochu's Bretons. It ought to be remembered that on the 31st of October the selfimposed "government of defence" existed only on sufferance. It had not yet gone even through the farce of a plebiscite.[308] Under the circumstances, there was of course nothing easier than to misrepresent the character of the movement, to decry it as a treasonable conspiracy with the Prussians, to improve the dismissal of the only man amongst them who would not break his word,[c] for strengthening Trochu's Bretons who were for the Government of the Defence what the Corsican *spadassins*[d] had been for

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[a] Men as good as their word.— *Ed.*
[b] Word of honour.— *Ed.*
[c] F.A.L. Tamisier.— *Ed.*
[d] Bravos.— *Ed.*

L. Bonaparte[185] by the appointment of Clément Thomas as Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard; there was nothing easier for these old panic-mongers than—appealing to the cowardly fears of the middle class [before] working *bataillons* who had taken the initiative, throwing distrust and dissension amongst the working *bataillons* themselves, by an appeal to patriotism—to create one of those days of blind reaction and disastrous misunderstandings by which they have always contrived to maintain their usurped power. As they had slipped into power the 4th of September by a surprise, they were now enabled to give it a mock sanction by a plebiscite of the true Bonapartist pattern during days of reactionary terror.

The victorious establishment at Paris of the Commune in the beginning of November 1870 (then already initiated in the great cities of the country and sure to be imitated all over France) would not only have taken the defence out of the hands of traitors and imprinted its enthusiasm as the present heroic war of Paris shows, it would have altogether changed the character of the war. It would have become the war of republican France, hoisting the flag of the social Revolution of the 19th century, against Prussia, the banner bearer of the conquest and counterrevolution. Instead of sending the hackneyed old intriguer[a] a begging at all courts of Europe, it would have electrified the producing masses in the old and the new world. By the *escamotage* of the Commune on October 31, the Jules Favre and Co secured the capitulation of France to Prussia and initiated the present civil war.

But this much is shown: The revolution of the 4th September was not only the reinstalment of the Republic because the place of the usurper[b] had become vacant by his capitulation at Sedan,—it not only conquered that republic from the Foreign invader by the prolonged resistance of Paris although fighting under the leadership of its enemies—that revolution was working its way in the heart of the working classes. The republic had ceased to be a name for a thing of the past. It was impregnated with a new world. Its real tendency veiled from the eye of the world through the deceptions, the lies and the vulgarizing of a pack of intriguing lawyers and word fencers, came again and again to the surface in the spasmodic movements of the Paris working classes (and the South of France) whose watchword was always the same: the *Commune*!

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[a] Thiers.—*Ed.*

[b] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

The Commune—the positive form of the Revolution against the Empire and the conditions of its existence—first essayed in the cities of Southern France, again and again proclaimed in the spasmodic movements during the siege of Paris and *escamotés* by the sleights of hand of the Government of Defence and the Bretons of Trochu, the "plan of capitulation" hero—was at last victoriously installed on the 26th March, but it had not suddenly sprung into life on that day. It was the unchangeable goal of the workmen's revolution. The capitulation of Paris, the open conspiracy against the Republic at Bordeaux, the Coup d'Etat initiated by the nocturnal attack on Montmartre, rallied around it all the living elements of Paris, no longer allowing the defence men to limit it to the insulated efforts of the most conscious and revolutionary portions of the Paris working class.

The government of defence was only undergone as a *pis aller*[a] of the first surprise, a necessity of the war. The true answer of the Paris People to the Second Empire, the Empire of Lies—was the Commune.

Thus also the rising of all living Paris—with the exception of the pillars of Bonapartism and its official opposition, the great capitalists, the financial jobbers, the sharpers, the loungers, and the old state parasites—against the government of Defence does not date from the 18th of March, although it conquered on that day its first victory against the conspirators, it dates from the 28 January, from the very day of the capitulation. The National Guard—that is all the armed manhood of Paris—organized itself and really ruled Paris from that day, independently of the usurpatory government of the capitulards [165] installed by the grace of Bismarck. It refused to deliver its arms and artillery, which was its property and only left them in the capitulation because its property. It was not the magnanimity of Jules Favre that saved these arms from Bismarck, but the readiness of armed Paris to fight for its arms against Jules Favre and Bismarck. In view of the Foreign invader and the peace negotiations Paris would not complicate the situation. It was afraid of civil war. It observed a mere attitude of defence and [was] content with the de facto self-rule of Paris. But it organized itself quietly and steadfastly for resistance. [Even in the terms of the capitulation itself the capitulards had unmistakeably shown their tendency to make the surrender to Prussia at the same time the means of their domination over Paris. The only concession of Prussia, they insisted upon,

[a] A makeshift.— *Ed.*

a concession, which Bismarck would have imposed upon them as a condition, if they had not begged it as a concession—was 40,000 soldiers for subduing Paris. In the face of its 300,000 national guards,—more than sufficient for securing Paris from an attempt by the Foreign enemy, and for the defence of its internal order—the demand of these 40,000 men—a thing which was besides avowed—could have no other purpose.[175] On its existing military organization it grafted a political federation according to a very simple plan. It was the alliance of all the National Guards put in connection the one with the other *by the delegates* of each company, appointing in their turn the delegates of the battalions, who in their turn appointed general delegates, generals of legions, who were to represent an arrondissement and to cooperate with the delegates of the 19 other arrondissements. Those 20 delegates, chosen by the majority of the battalions of the National Guard, composed the *Central Committee,* which on the 18th of March initiated the greatest revolution of this century and still holds its post in the present glorious struggle of Paris. Never were elections more sifted, never delegates fuller representing the masses from which they had sprung. To the objection of the outsiders that they were unknown—in point of fact, that they only were known to the working classes, but no old stagers, no men illustrated by the infamies of their past, by their chase after pelf and place—they proudly answered: "So were the 12 Apostles"[a] and they answered by their deeds.

### THE CHARACTER OF THE COMMUNE

The centralized state machinery which, with its ubiquitous and complicated military, bureaucratic, clerical and judiciary organs, entoils (inmeshes) the living civil society like a boa constrictor, was first forged in the days of absolute monarchy as a weapon of nascent modern society in its struggle of emancipation from feudalism. The seignorial privileges of the medieval lords and cities and clergy were transformed into the attribute of a unitary state power, displacing the feudal dignitaries by salaried state functionaries, transferring the arms from medieval retainers of the landlords and the corporations of townish citizens to a standing army, substituting for the checkered (party coloured) anarchy of conflicting medieval powers the regulated plan of a state power, with a systematic and hierarchic division of labour. The first

[a] "To the objection...", *The Daily News,* No. 7776, April 1, 1871.—*Ed.*

French Revolution with its task to found national unity (to create a nation) had to break down all local, territorial, townish and provincial independences. It was, therefore, forced to develop, what absolute monarchy had commenced, the centralization and organization of state power, and to expand the circumference and the attributes of the state power, the number of its tools, its independence of, and its supernaturalist sway of real society which in fact took the place of the medieval supernaturalist heaven with its saints. Every minor solitary interest engendered by the relations of social groups was separated from society itself, fixed and made independent of it and opposed to it in the form of state interest, administered by state priests with exactly determined hierarchical functions.

This parasitical [excrescence upon] civil society, pretending to be its ideal counterpart, grew to its full development under the sway of the first Bonaparte. The restoration and the monarchy of July added nothing to it but a greater division of labour, growing at the same measure in which the division of labour within civil society created new groups of interest, and, therefore, new material for state action. In their struggle against the Revolution of 1848, the parliamentary republic of France and the governments of all continental Europe, were forced to strengthen, with their measures of repression against the popular movement, the means of action and the centralization of that governmental power. All revolutions thus only perfected the state machinery instead of throwing off this deadening incubus. The fractions and parties of the ruling classes which alternately struggled for supremacy, considered the occupancy (Control) (seizure) and the direction of this immense machinery of government as the main booty of the victor. It centred in the creation of immense standing armies, a host of state vermin, and huge national debts. During the time of the absolute monarchy it was a means of the struggle of modern society against feudalism, crowned by the French revolution, and under the first Bonaparte it served not only to subjugate the Revolution and annihilate all popular liberties, it was an instrument of the French revolution to strike abroad, to create for France on the Continent instead of feudal monarchies more or less states after the image of France. Under the Restoration and the Monarchy of July it became not only a means of the forcible class domination of the middle class, and a means of adding to the direct economic exploitation a second exploitation of the people by assuring to their families all the rich places of the State household. During the time of the Revolutionary struggle of 1848 at last it

served as a means of annihilating that Revolution and all aspirations at the emancipation of the popular masses. But the state parasite received only its last development during the second Empire. The governmental power with its standing army, its all directing bureaucracy, its stultifying clergy and its servile tribunal hierarchy, had grown so independent of society itself, that a grotesquely mediocre adventurer with a hungry band of desperadoes behind him sufficed to wield it. It did no longer want the pretext of an armed Coalition of old Europe against the modern world founded by the Revolution of 1789. It appeared no longer as a means of class domination, subordinate to its parliamentary ministry or legislature. Humbling under its sway even the interests of the ruling classes, whose parliamentary show-work it supplanted by self-elected Corps Législatifs and self-paid senates, sanctioned in its absolute sway by universal suffrage, the acknowledged necessity for keeping up "order", that is the rule of the landowner and the capitalist over the producer, cloaking under the tatters of a maskerade of the past, the orgies of the corruption of the present and the victory of the most parasite fraction, the financial swindler, the *debauchery* of all the reactionary influences of the past let loose—a pandemonium of infamies—the state power had received its last and supreme expression in the Second Empire. Apparently the final victory of this governmental power over society, it was in fact the orgy of all the corrupt elements of that society. To the eye of the uninitiated it appeared only as the victory of the Executive over the legislative, as the final defeat of the form of class rule pretending to be the autocracy of society under its form pretending to be a superior power to society. But in fact it was only the last degraded and the only possible form of that class rule, as humiliating to those classes themselves as to the working classes which they kept fettered by it.

The 4th of September was only the revindication of the Republic against the grotesque adventurer that had assassinated it. The true antithesis to the *Empire itself*—that is to the state power, the centralized executive, of which the Second Empire was only the exhausting formula—was *the Commune.* This state power forms in fact the creation of the middle class, first a means to break down feudalism, then a means to crush the emancipatory aspirations of the producers, of the working class. All reactions and all revolutions had only served to transfer that organized power—that organized force of the slavery of labour—from one hand to the other, from one fraction of the ruling classes to the other. It had served the ruling classes as a means of subjugation and of

pelf. It had sucked new forces from every new change. It had served as the instrument of breaking down every popular rise and served it to crush the working classes after they had fought and been ordered to secure its transfer from one part of its oppressors to the others. This was, therefore, a Revolution not against this or that, legitimate, constitutional, republican or Imperialist form of State Power. It was a Revolution against the *State* itself, this supernaturalist abortion of society, a resumption by the people for the people, of its own social life. It was not a revolution to transfer it from one fraction of the ruling classes to the other, but a Revolution to break down this horrid machinery of Class domination itself. It was not one of those dwarfish struggles between the executive and the parliamentary forms of class domination, but a revolt against both these forms, integrating each other, and of which the parliamentary form was only the deceitful bywork of the Executive. The Second Empire was the final form of this State usurpation. The Commune was its definite negation, and, therefore the initiation of the social Revolution of the 19th century. Whatever therefore its fate at Paris, it will make *le tour du monde.*[a] It was at once acclaimed by the working class of Europe and the United States as the magic word of delivery. The glories and the antediluvian deeds of the Prussian conqueror seemed only hallucinations of a bygone past.

*It was only the working class that could* formulate by the word "Commune" and initiate by the fighting Commune of Paris—this new aspiration. Even the last expression of that state power in the Second Empire although humbling for the pride of the ruling classes and casting to the winds their parliamentary pretentions of self-government, had been only the last possible form of their class rule. While politically dispossessing them, it was the orgy under which all the economic and social infamies of their régime got full sway. The middling bourgeoisie and the petty middle class were by their economical conditions of life excluded from initiating a new revolution and induced to follow in the tracks of the ruling classes or [be] the followers of the working class. The peasants were the passive economical basis of the Second Empire, of that last triumph of a *State* separate of and independent from society. Only the Proletarians, fired by a new social task to accomplish by them for all society, to do away with all classes and class rule, were the men to break the instrument of that class rule—the State, the centralized and organized governmental power usurping to be the

[a] It will go round the world.— *Ed.*

master instead of the servant of society. In the active struggle against them by the ruling classes, supported by the passive adherence of the peasantry, the Second Empire, the last crowning at the same time as the most signal prostitution of the State—which had taken the place of the medieval church—had been engendered. It had sprung into life against them. By them it was broken, not as a peculiar form of centralized governmental power, but as its most powerful, elaborated into seeming independence from society expression, and, therefore, also its most prostitute reality, covered by infamy from top to bottom, having centred in absolute corruption at home and absolute powerlessness abroad.[a]

Parliamentarism in France had come to an end. Its last term and fullest sway was the parliamentary Republic from May 1848 to the Coup d'Etat. The Empire that killed it, was its own creation. Under the Empire with its Corps Législatif and its Senate—and in this form it has been reproduced in the military monarchies of Prussia and Austria—it had been a mere farce, a mere bywork of Despotism in its crudest form. Parliamentarism then was dead in France and the workmen's Revolution certainly was not to awaken it from the death.

But this one form of class rule had only broken down to make the Executive, the governmental state machinery the great and single object of attack to the Revolution.

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The *Commune*—the reabsorption of the State power by society, as its own living forces instead of as forces controlling and subduing it, by the popular masses themselves, forming their own force instead of the organized force of their suppression—the political form of their social emancipation, itstead of the artificial force (appropriated by their oppressors) (their own force opposed to and organized against them) of society wielded for their oppression by their enemies. The form was simple like all great things. The reaction of former Revolutions—the time wanted for all historical developments, and in the past always lost in all Revolutions in the very days of popular triumph, whenever it had rendered its victorious arms, to

[a] Marx added the following two paragraphs on the upper margin of the manuscript.—*Ed.*

be turned against itself—[the Commune] first displaced the army by the National guard.

"For the first time since the 4th September the republic is liberated from the *government of its enemies*... to the city a national militia that defends the citizens against the power *(the government) instead of a permanent army that defends the government* against the citizens" (*Proclamation* of Central Committee of 22 March).[a]

(the people had only to organize this militia on a national scale, to have done away with the Standing armies; the first economical *conditio sine qua non*[b] for all social improvements, discarding at once this source of taxes and state debt, and this constant danger to government usurpation of class rule—of the regular class rule or an adventurer pretending to save all classes); at the same time the safest guarantee against Foreign aggression and making in fact the costly military apparatus impossible in all other states; the emancipation of the peasant from the bloodtax and the most fertile source of all state taxation and state debts. Here already the point in which the Commune is a *bait for the peasant*, the first word of his emancipation. With the "independent police" abolished, and its ruffians supplanted by servants of the Commune. The general suffrage, till now abused either for the parliamentary sanction of the Holy State Power, or a play in the hands of the ruling classes, only employed by the people to choose the instruments of parliamentary class rule once in many years, adapted to its real purposes, to choose by the communes their own functionaries of administration and initiation. [Gone is] the Delusion as if administration and political governing were mysteries, transcendent functions only to be trusted to the hands of a trained caste, state parasites, richly paid sycophants and sinecurists, in the higher posts, absorbing the intelligences of the masses and turning them against themselves in the lower places of the hierarchy. Doing away with the state hierarchy altogether and replacing the haughteous masters of the people by its always removable servants, a mock responsibility by a real responsibility, as they act continuously under public supervision. Paid like skilled workmen, 12 pounds a month, the highest salary not exceeding 240 £ a year, a salary somewhat more than $^1/_5$, according to a great scientific authority, Professor Huxley, to satisfy a clerk for the Metropolitan School Board.[193] The whole sham of state mysteries and state pretensions

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[a] [Proclamation du Comité central de la Garde nationale. Paris, 22 mars 1871], *Le Rappel*, No. 650, March 25, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 84, March 25, 1871.— *Ed.*

[b] The necessary condition.— *Ed.*

A paragraph from the manuscript of the First Draft of *The Civil War in France*

was done away by a Commune, mostly consisting of simple working men, organizing the defence of Paris, carrying war against the Pretorians of Bonaparte, securing the *approvisionment* of that immense town, filling all the posts hitherto divided between Government, police, and Prefecture, doing their work publicly, simply, under the most difficult and complicated circumstances, and doing it, as Milton did his *Paradise Lost,* for a few pounds, acting in bright daylight, with no pretensions to infallibility, not hiding itself behind circumlocution office, not ashamed to confess blunders by correcting them. Making in one order the public functions,—military, administrative, political—*real workmen's functions,* instead of the hidden attributes of a trained caste; (keeping order in the turbulence of civil war and revolution) (initiating measures of general regeneration). Whatever the merits of the single measures of the Commune, its greatest measure was its own organisation, extemporized with the Foreign Enemy at one door, and the class enemy at the other, proving by its life its vitality, confirming its thesis by its action. Its appearance was a victory over the victors of France. Captive Paris resumed by one bold spring the leadership of Europe, not depending on brute force, but by taking the lead of the Social Movement, by giving body to the aspirations of the working class of all countries.

With all the great towns organized into Communes after the model of Paris no government could repress the movement by the surprise of sudden reaction. Even by this preparatory step the time of incubation, the guarantee of the movement, won. All France organized into self-working and self-governing communes, the standing army replaced by the popular militias, the army of state parasites removed, the clerical hierarchy displaced by the schoolmaster, the state judges transformed into Communal organs, the suffrage for the National representation not a matter of sleight of hand for an allpowerful government, but the deliberate expression of organized communes, the state functions reduced to a few functions for general national purposes.

Such is the *Commune—the political form of the social emancipation,* of the liberation of labour from the usurpation of the (slaveholding) monopolists of the means of labour, created by the labourers themselves or forming the gift of nature. As the state machinery and parliamentarism are not the real life of the ruling classes, but only the organized general organs of their dominion, the political guarantees and forms and expressions of the old order of things, so the Commune is not the social movement of the working class and therefore of a general regeneration of mankind but the

organized means of action. The Commune does not [do] away with the class struggles, through which the working classes strive to the abolition of all classes and, therefore, of all class rule (because it does not represent a peculiar interest. It represents the liberation of "labour", that is the fundamental and natural condition of individual and social life which only by usurpation, fraud, and artificial contrivances can be shifted from the few upon the many), but it affords the rational medium in which that class struggle can run through its different phases in the most rational and human way. It could start violent reactions and as violent revolutions. It begins the *emancipation of labour*—its great goal—by doing away with the unproductive and mischievous work of the state parasites, by cutting away the springs which sacrifice an immense portion of the national produce to the feeding of the state-monster, on the one side, by doing, on the other, the real work of administration, local and national, for workingmen's wages. It begins therefore with an immense saving, with economical reform as well as political transformation.

The communal organization once firmly established on a national scale, the catastrophes it might still have to undergo, would be sporadic slaveholders' insurrections, which, while for a moment interrupting the work of peaceful progress, would only accelerate the movement, by putting the sword into the hand of the Social Revolution.

The working class know that they have to pass through different phases of class struggle. They know that the superseding of the economical conditions of the slavery of labour by the conditions of free and associated labour can only be the progressive work of time, (that economical transformation) that they require not only a change of distribution, but a new organization of production, or rather the delivery (setting free) of the social forms of production in present organized labour (engendered by present industry) of the trammels of slavery, of their present class character, and their harmonious national and international coordination. They know that this work of regeneration will be again and again relented and impeded by the resistances of vested interests and class egotisms. They know that the present "spontaneous action of the natural laws of capital and landed property"—can only be superseded by "the spontaneous action of the laws of the social economy of free and associated labour", by a long process of development of new conditions, as was the "spontaneous action of the economic laws of slavery" and the "spontaneous action of the economical laws of serfdom". But they know at the same time that

great strides may be taken at once through the Communal form of political organization and that the time has come to begin that movement for themselves and mankind.

PEASANTRY

*(War indemnity.)* Even before the instalment of the Commune, the Central Committee had declared through its *Journal officiel: "The greater part of the war indemnity should be paid by the authors of war."*[a] This is the great "conspiracy against Civilization"[b] the men of order are most afraid of. It is the most practical question. With the Commune victorious, the authors of the war will have to pay its indemnity; with Versailles victorious, the producing masses who have already paid in blood, ruin, and contributions, will have again to pay, and the financial dignitaries will even contrive to make a profit out of the transaction. The liquidation of the war costs is to be decided by the civil war. The Commune represents on this vital point not only the interests of the working class, the petty middle class, in fact, all the middle class with the exception of the *bourgeoisie* (the wealthy capitalists) (the rich landowners, and their state parasites). It represents above all the interests of the *French peasantry.* On them the greater part of the war taxes will be shifted, if Thiers and his "Rurals" [178] are victorious. And people are silly enough to repeat the cry of the "Rurals" that they—the great landed proprietors—represent the peasant, who is, of course, in the naivety of his soul exceedingly anxious to pay for these good "landowners" the milliards of the war indemnity who made him already pay the milliard of the Revolution indemnity! [199]

The same men deliberately compromised the Republic of February by the additional 45 Centimes tax on the peasant,[200] but this they did in the name of the Revolution, in the name of the "provisional government", created by it. It is now in their own name that they wage a civil war against the Communal Republic to shift the war indemnity from their own shoulders upon those of the peasant! He will of course be delighted by it!

The Commune will abolish Conscription, the party of order will fasten the bloodtax on the peasant. The party of order will fasten upon him the tax-collector for the payment of a parasitical and

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[a] [V.] Grêlier, "Le comité central de la garde nationale est décidé...", *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 80, March 21, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted from "The Commune of Paris...", *The Times,* No. 27028, April 4, 1871.—*Ed.*

costly state machinery, the Commune will give him a cheap government. The party of order will continue [to] grind him down by the townish usurer, the Commune will free him of the incubus of the mortgages lasting upon his plot of land. The Commune will replace the parasitical judiciary body eating the heart of his income—the notary, the *huissier* [a] etc—by Communal agents doing their work at workmen's salaries, instead of enriching themselves out of the peasants' work. It will break down this whole judiciary cobweb which entangles the French peasant and gives abodes to the judiciary bench and maires of the bourgeois spiders that suck its blood! The party of order will keep him under the rule of the gendarme, the Commune will restore him to independent social and political life! The Commune will enlighten him by the rule of the schoolmaster, the party of order force upon him the stultification by the rule of the priest! But the French peasant is above all a man of reckoning! He will find it exceedingly reasonable that the payment of the clergy will no longer [be] exacted from him by the tax-collector, but will be left to the "spontaneous action" of his religious instincts!

The French peasant had elected L. Bonaparte President of the Republic, but the party of Order (during the anonymous Regime of the Republic under the assembly constituante, and législative) was the creator of the Empire! What the French peasant really wants, he commenced to show in 1849 and 1850 by opposing his maire to the Government's prefect, his schoolmaster to the government's parson, himself to the government's gendarme! The nucleus of the reactionary laws of the Party of Order in 1849—and peculiarly in January and February 1850[201]—were specifically directed against the French Peasantry! If the French peasant had made L. Bonaparte president of the Republic because in his tradition all the benefits he had derived from the first Revolution were phantastically transferred on the first Napoleon, the armed risings of Peasants in some departments of France and the gendarme hunting upon them after the Coup d'Etat proved that that delusion was rapidly breaking down! The Empire was founded on the delusions artificially nourished and traditional prejudices, the Commune would be founded on his living interests and his real wants!

The hatred of the French peasant centres on the "rural", the men of the Château, the men of the Milliard of indemnity and the townish capitalist, maskeraded into a landed proprietor, whose

[a] Bailiff.— *Ed.*

encroachment upon him marched never more rapidly than under the Second Empire, partly fostered by artificial state means, partly naturally growing out of the very development of modern agriculture. The "rurals" know that three months rule of the Republican Commune in France would be the signal of the rising of the peasantry and the agricultural Proletariat against them. Hence their ferocious hatred of the Commune! What they fear even more than the emancipation of the townish proletariat is the emancipation of the peasants! The peasants would soon acclaim the townish proletariat as their own leaders and seniors! There exists of course in France as in most continental Countries a deep antagonism between the townish and rural producers, between the industrial Proletariat and the peasantry. The aspirations of the Proletariat, the material basis of its movement is labour organized on a grand scale, although now despotically organized, and the means of production centralized, although now centralized in the hands of the monopolist, not only as a means of production, but as a means of the exploitation and enslavement of the producer. What the proletariat has [to] do is to transform the present capitalist character of that organized labour and those centralized means of labour, transform them from the means of class rule and class exploitation into forms of free associated labour and social means of production. On the other hand, the labour of the peasant is insulated, and the means of production are parcelled, dispersed. On these economical differences rests superconstructed a whole world of different social and political views. But this peasantry proprietorship has long since outgrown its normal phase, that is the phase in which it was a reality, a mode of production and a form of property which responded to the economical wants of society and placed the rural producers themselves into normal conditions of life. It has entered its period of decay. On the one side a large *prolétariat foncier* (rural proletariat) has grown out of it whose interests are identical with those of the townish wages labourer. The mode of production itself has become superannuated by the modern progress of agronomy. Lastly—the peasant proprietorship itself has become nominal, leaving to the peasant the delusion of proprietorship, and expropriating him from the fruit of his own labour. The competition of the great farm producers, the bloodtax, the statetax, the usury of the townish mortgagee and the multitudinous pilfering of the judiciary system thrown around him, have degraded him to the position of a Hindoo Ryot,[309] while expropriation—even expropriation from his nominal proprietorship—and, his degradation into a rural proletarian is an every

day's fact. What separates the peasant from the proletarian is, therefore, no longer his real interest, but his delusive prejudice. If the Commune, as we have shown, is the only power that can give him immediate great boons even in its present economical conditions, it is the only form of government that can secure to him the transformation of his present economical conditions, rescue him from expropriation by the landlord on the one hand, from grinding, trudging and misery on the pretext of proprietorship on the other, that can convert his nominal proprietorship of the land in the real proprietorship of the fruits of his labour, that can combine for him the profits of modern agronomy, dictated by social wants, and every day now encroaching upon him as a hostile agency, without annihilating his position as a really independent producer. Being immediately benefited by the communal Republic, he would soon confide in it.

### UNION (LIGUE) RÉPUBLICAINE

The party of disorder, whose régime topped under the corruption of the Second Empire, has left Paris (Exodus from Paris), followed by its appurtenances, its retainers, its menials, its state parasites, its *mouchards,*[a] its "cocottes", and the whole band of low *bohème* (the common criminals) that form the complement of that *bohème of quality.* But the true vital elements of the middle classes, delivered by the workmen's revolution from their sham representatives, have, for the first time in the history of French Revolution, separated from it and come out in its true colours. It is the "Ligue of Republican Liberty"[197] acting the intermediary between Paris and the Provinces, disavowing Versailles and marching under the banners of the Commune.

### THE COMMUNAL REVOLUTION AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF ALL CLASSES OF SOCIETY NOT LIVING UPON FOREIGN LABOUR

We have seen that the Paris Proletarian fights for the French Peasant, and Versailles fights against him; that the greatest anxiety of the "Rurals" is that Paris be heard by the Peasants and no longer separated by him through the blockade; that at the bottom of its war upon Paris is the attempt to keep the peasantry as its

[a] Spies.—*Ed.*

bondman and treat him as before as its matière "taillable à merci et miséricorde".[a]

For the first time in history the petty and *moyenne* middle class has openly rallied round the workmen's Revolution, and proclaimed it as the only means of their own salvation and that of France! It forms with them the bulk of the National guard, it sits with them in the Commune, it mediates for them in the Union Républicaine!

The principal measures taken by the Commune are taken for the salvation of the middle class—the debtor class of Paris against the creditor class! That middle class had rallied in the June insurrection (1848) against the Proletariat under the banners of the capitalist class, their generals, and their state parasites. It was punished at once on the 19th September 1848 by the rejection of the "concordats à l'amiable".[195] The victory over the June insurrection showed itself at once also as the victory of the creditor, the wealthy capitalist, over the debtor, the middle class. It insisted mercilessly on its pound of flesh.[b] On the 13th June 1849 the national guard of that middle class was disarmed and sabred down by the army of the bourgeoisie! During the Empire the dilapidation of the State Resources, upon which the wealthy capitalist fed, this middle class was delivered to the plunder of the stockjobber, the Railway kings, the swindling associations of the Crédit Mobilier[167] etc and expropriated by Capitalist Association (Joint-Stock Company). If lowered in its political position, attacked in its economical interests, it was morally revolted by the orgies of that regime. The infamies of the war gave the last shock and roused its feelings as Frenchmen. The disasters bestowed upon France by that war, its crisis of national downbreak and its financial ruin, this middle class feels that not the corrupt class of the would-be slaveholders of France, but only the manly aspirations and the herculean power of the working class can come to the rescue!

They feel that only the working class can emancipate them from priest rule, convert science from an instrument of class rule into a popular force, convert the men of science themselves from the panderers to class prejudice, place hunting state parasites, and allies of capital into free agents of thought! Science can only play its genuine part in the Republic of Labour.

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[a] As its subject "in its power and at its mercy".— *Ed.*

[b] W. Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice,* Act IV, Scene I.— *Ed.*

REPUBLIC ONLY POSSIBLE AS AVOWEDLY SOCIAL REPUBLIC

This civil war has destroyed the last delusions about "Republic" as the Empire the delusion of unorganized "universal suffrage" in the hands of the State Gendarme and the parson. All vital elements of France acknowledge that a Republic is only in France and Europe possible as a "Social Republic", that is a Republic which disowns the capital and landowner class of the State machinery to supersede it by the Commune, that frankly avows "social emancipation" as the great goal of the Republic and guarantees thus that social transformation by the Communal organisation. The other Republic can be nothing but the *anonymous* terrorism of all monarchical fractions, of the combined Legitimists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists to land in an Empire *quelconque* [a] as its final goal, the *anonymous* terror of class rule which having done its dirty work will always burst into an Empire!

The professional republicans of the rural assembly [178] are men who really believe, despite the experiments of 1848-51, despite the civil war against Paris—the *republican form* of class despotism a possible, lasting form, while the "party of order" [173] demands it only as a form of conspiracy for fighting the Republic and reintroducing its only adequate form, monarchy or rather Imperialism, as the form of class despotism. In 1848 these voluntary dupes were pushed in the foreground till, by the insurrection of June, they had paved the way for the *anonymous* rule of all fractions of the would-be slaveholders in France. In 1871, at Versailles, they are from beginning pushed in the background, there to figure as the "Republican" decoration of Thiers' rule and sanction by their presence the war of the Bonapartist generals upon Paris! In unconscious self-irony these wretches hold their party meeting in the *Salle des Paumes* (Tennis-Court) to show how they have degenerated from their predecessors in 1789! [310] By their Schoelchers, etc., they tried to coax Paris in tendering its arms to Thiers and to force it into disarmament by the National Guard of "Order" under Saisset! We do not speak of the so-called Socialist Paris deputies like Louis Blanc. They undergo meekly the insults of a Dufaure and the rurals, dote upon Thiers' "legal" rights, and whining in presence of the banditti cover themselves with infamy!

[a] Of some sort.—*Ed.*

## *Workmen and Comte*

If the workmen have outgrown the time of Socialist Sectarianism, it ought not be forgotten that they have never been in the leading strings of Comtism. This sect has never afforded the *International* but a *branch* of about half a dozen of men, and whose programme was rejected by the General Council.[311] Comte is known to the Parisian workmen as the prophet in politics of Imperialism (of personal *Dictatorship*), of capitalist rule in political economy, of hierarchy in all spheres of human action, even in the sphere of science, and as the author of a new catechism with a new pope and new saints in place of the old ones.[a]

If his followers in England play a more popular part than those in France, it is not by preaching their Sectarian doctrines, but by their personal valour, and by the acceptance on their part of the forms of workingmen class struggle created without them, as f. i. the trade unions and strikes in England which by the by are denounced as a heresy by their Paris coreligionists.

### THE COMMUNE (SOCIAL MEASURES)

That the workmen of Paris have taken the initiative of the present Revolution and in heroic self-sacrifice bear the brunt of his battle, is nothing new. It is the striking fact of all French revolutions! It is only a repetition of the past! That the revolution is made in *the name* and confessedly *for* the popular masses, that is the producing masses, is a feature this Revolution has in common with all its predecessors. The new feature is that the people, after the first rise, have not disarmed themselves and surrendered their power into the hands of the Republican mountebanks of the ruling classes, that, by the constitution of the *Commune*, they have taken the actual management of their Revolution into their own hands and found at the same time, in the case of success, the means to hold it in the hands of the People itself, displacing the State machinery, the governmental machinery of the ruling classes by a governmental machinery of their own. This is their ineffable crime! Workmen infringing upon the governmental privilege of the upper 10,000 and proclaiming their will to break the economical basis of that class despotism, which for its own sake wielded the organized State force of society! This is it that has thrown the respectable classes in Europe as in the United States

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[a] A. Comte, *Cours de philosophie positive,* T. 1-6, Paris, 1830-1842.—*Ed.*

into the paroxysm of convulsions and accounts for their shrieks of abomination, it is blasphemy, their fierce appeals to assassination of the people, and this Billingsgate[312] of abuse and calumny from their parliamentary tribunes and their journalistic servants' hall!

The greatest measure of the Commune is its own existence, working, acting under circumstances of unheard-of difficulty! The red flag, hoisted by the Paris Commune, crowns in reality only the government of workmen for Paris! They have clearly, consciously proclaimed the Emancipation of Labour, and the transformation of Society, as their goal! But the actual "social" character of their Republic consists only in this, that workmen govern the Paris Commune! As to their measures, they must, by the nature of things, be principally confined to the military defence of Paris and its *approvisionment.*

Some patronizing friends of the working class, while hardly dissembling their disgust even at the few measures they consider as "socialist" although there is nothing socialist in them except their tendency—express their satisfaction and try to coax genteel sympathies for the Paris Commune by the great discovery that after all workmen are rational men and whenever in power always resolutely turn their back upon Socialist enterprises! They do in fact neither try to establish in Paris a *phalanstère* not an *Icarie.*[313] Wise men of their generation! These benevolent patronizers, profoundly ignorant of the real aspirations and the real movement of the working classes, forget one thing. All the Socialist founders of Sects belong to a period in which the working class themselves were neither sufficiently trained and organized by the march of capitalist society itself to enter as historical agents upon the world's stage, nor were the material conditions of their emancipation sufficiently matured in the old world itself. Their misery existed, but the conditions of their own movement did not yet exist. The utopian founders of sects, while in their criticism of present society clearly describing the goal of the social movement, the supersession of the wages system with all its economical conditions of class rule, found neither in society itself the material conditions of its transformation nor in the working class the organized power and the conscience of the movement. They tried to compensate for the historical conditions of the movement by phantastic pictures and plans of a new society in whose propaganda they saw the true means of salvation. From the moment the workingmen class movement became real, the phantastic utopias evanesced, not because the working class had given up the end aimed at by these Uto-

pists, but because they had found the real means to realize them, but in their place came a real insight into the historic conditions of the movement and a more and more gathering force of the military organization of the working class. But the last 2 ends of the movement proclaimed by the Utopians are the last ends proclaimed by the Paris Revolution and by the International. Only the means are different and the real conditions of the movement are no longer clouded in utopian fables. These patronizing friends of the Proletariat in glossing over the loudly proclaimed Socialist tendencies of this Revolution, are therefore but the dupes of their own ignorance. It is not the fault of the Paris proletariat, if for them the Utopian creations of the prophets of the workingmen movement are still the "Social Revolution", that is to say, if the Social Revolution is for them still "utopian".

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*Journal officiel of the Central Committee, 20 March:*

"The proletarians of the capital, in midst the *défaillances*[a] and the treasons of the governing (ruling) classes, have understood (compris) that the hour was arrived for them *to save the situation in taking into their own hands the direction (management) of public affairs* (the state business)."

They denounce "the political incapacity and the moral decrepitude of the bourgeoisie" as the source of "the misfortunes of France".

"The workmen, who produce everything and enjoy nothing, who suffer from misery in the midst of their accumulated products, the fruit of their work and their sweat, ... shall *they never be allowed to work for their emancipation*?... The proletariat, in face of the permanent menace against its rights, of the absolute negation of all its legitimate aspirations, of the ruin of the country and all its hopes, has understood that it was its imperious duty and its absolute right to take into its hands its own destinies and to assure their triumph in seizing the state power *(en s'emparant du pouvoir)*." [b]

It is here plainly stated that the government of the working class is, in the first instance, necessary to save France from the ruins and the corruption impended upon it by the ruling classes, that the dislodgment of these classes from Power (of these classes who have lost the capacity of ruling France) is a *necessity of national safety*.

But it is no less clearly stated that the government by the

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[a] Impotence.— *Ed.*

[b] "La Révolution du 18 mars", *Le Petit Journal*, No. 3002, March 22, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 80, March 21, 1871.— *Ed.*

working class can only save France and do the national business, by working for its *own emancipation*, the conditions of that emancipation being at the same time the conditions of the regeneration of France.

It is proclaimed as a war of labour upon the monopolists of the means of labour, upon capital.

The *chauvinism* of the bourgeoisie is only the supreme vanity, giving a national cloak to all their own pretensions. It is a means, by permanent armies, to perpetuate international struggles, to subjugate in each country the producers by pitching them against their brothers in each other country, a means to prevent the international cooperation of the working classes, the first condition of their emancipation. The true character of that chauvinism (long since become a mere phrase) has come out during the war of defence after Sedan, everywhere paralysed by the Chauvinist bourgeoisie, in the capitulation of France, in the civil war carried on under that high Priest of Chauvinism, Thiers, on Bismarck's sufferance! It came out in the petty police intrigue of the Anti-German league,[a] Foreigners-hunting in Paris after the capitulation. It was hoped that the Paris people (and the French people) could be stultified into the passion of National hatred and by factitious outrages to the Foreigner forget its real aspiration and its home betrayers!

How has this factitious movement disappeared (vanished) before the breath of Revolutionary Paris! Loudly proclaiming its international tendencies—because the cause of the producer is every[where] the same and its enemy everywhere the same, whatever its nationality (in whatever national garb)—it proclaimed as a principle the admission of Foreigners into the Commune, it chose even a Foreign workman[b] (a member of the International) into its Executive, it decreed [the destruction of] the symbol of French chauvinism—the Vendôme column[202]!

And, while their bourgeois *chauvins* have dismembered France, and act under the dictatorship of the Foreign invasion, the Paris workmen have beaten the Foreign enemy by striking at their own class rulers, have abolished frontiers, in conquering the post as the vanguard of the workmen of all nations!

The genuine patriotism of the bourgeoisie—so natural for the real proprietors of the different "national" estates[314]—has faded into a mere sham consequent upon the cosmopolitan character imprinted upon their financial, commercial, and industrial enter-

[a] See this volume, pp. 286-87.— *Ed.*

[b] Leo Frankel.— *Ed.*

prise. Under similar circumstances it would be exploded in all countries as it did in France.

DECENTRALIZATION BY THE RURALS AND THE COMMUNE

It has been said that Paris, and with it the other French towns, were oppressed by the rule of the peasants, and that its present struggle is for its emancipation from the rule of the peasantry! Never was a more foolish lie uttered!

Paris as the central seat and the stronghold of the centralized government machinery subjected the peasantry to the rule of the gendarmes, the tax collector, the Prefect, and the priest, and the rural magnates, that is to the despotism of its enemies, and deprived it of all life (took the life out of it). It repressed all organs of independent life in the rural districts. On the other hand, the government, the rural magnates, the gendarme and the priest, into whose hands the whole influence of the provinces was thus thrown by the centralized state machinery centring at Paris, brought this influence to bear for the government and the classes whose government it was, not against Paris [of] the government, the parasite, the capitalist, the idle, the cosmopolitan stew, but against the Paris of the workmen and the thinker. In this way, by the government centralization with Paris as its base, the peasants were suppressed by the Paris of the government and the capitalist, and the Paris of the workmen was suppressed by the provincial power handed over into the hands of the enemies of the peasants.

The *Versailles Moniteur*[a] (29 March) declares

"that Paris cannot be a *free city,* because it is *the capital*".[b]

This is the true thing. Paris, the capital of the ruling classes and its government, cannot be a "free city", and the provinces cannot be "free", because such a Paris is the capital. The provinces can only be free with the *Commune at Paris.* The *party of order* is still less infuriated against Paris because it has proclaimed its own emancipation from them and their government, than because, by doing so, it has sounded the alarm signal for the emancipation of the peasant and the provinces from their sway.

*Journal officiel of the Commune, 1 April:*

"The revolution of the 18th March had not for its only object the securing to Paris of communal representation elected, but subject to the *despotic tutelage of a*

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[a] *Moniteur des Communes.—Ed.*

[b] Quoted from "The *Moniteur* which is...", *The Daily News,* No. 7776, April 1, 1871.—*Ed.*

*national power strongly centralized. It is to conquer, and secure independence for all the communes* of France, and also of all superior groups, departments, and provinces, united amongst themselves for their common interest by a really national pact; it is to guarantee and perpetuate the Republic.... Paris has *renounced her apparent omnipotence* which is identical with her forfeiture, she has not renounced that moral power, that intellectual influence, which so often has made her victorious in France and Europe in her propaganda."[a]

"This time again Paris works and suffers for all France, of which it prepares by its combats and its sacrifices the intellectual, moral, administrative and economic regeneration, the glory and the prosperity" (*Programme of the Commune de Paris sent out by balloon*).[b]

Mr. Thiers, in his tour through the provinces, managed the elections, and above all, his own manifold elections. But there was one difficulty. The Bonapartist provincials had for the moment become impossible. (Besides, he did not want them, nor did they want him.) Many of the old Orleanist stagers had merged into the Bonapartist lot. It was, therefore, necessary, to appeal to the rusticated legitimist landowners, who had kept quite aloof from politics and were just the men to be duped. They have given the apparent character to the Versailles assembly, its character of the "chambre introuvable"[177] of Louis XVIII, its "rural" character. In their vanity, they believed, of course, that their time had at last come with the downfall of the Second Bonapartist Empire and under the shelter of Foreign invasion, as it had come in 1814 and 1815. Still they are mere dupes. So far as they act, they can only act as elements of the "party of order",[173] and its "anonymous" terrorism as in 1848-1851. Their own party effusions lend only the comical character to that association. They are, therefore, forced to suffer as president the jail-*accoucheur* of the Duchess of Berry[168] and as their ministers the pseudo republicans of the government of defence. They will be pushed aside as soon as they have done their service. But—a freak of history—by this curious combination of circumstances they are forced to attack Paris because of revolting against "the République une et indivisible" (Louis Blanc expresses it so,[c] Thiers calls it unity of France), while their very first exploit was to revolt against unity by declaring for the "decapitation and decapitalization"[d] of Paris, by wanting the

[a] Quoted from "An article in the *Journal officiel...*", *The Evening Standard*, No. 14561, April 3, 1871.— *Ed.*

[b] "Déclaration au peuple français. [Paris, 19 avril 1871]", *The Daily News*, No. 7793, April 21, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 110, April 20, 1871.— *Ed.*

[c] "United and indivisible republic", quoted from L. Blanc's letter to the editor of *Le Siècle* in *The Daily News*, No. 7797, April 26, 1871.— *Ed.*

[d] "The scanty news from the capital of Revolution...", *The Daily News*, No. 7774, March 30, 1871.— *Ed.*

Assembly to throne in a provincial town. What they really want is to go back to what preceded the centralized state machinery, become more or less independent of its prefects and its ministers, and put into its place the provincial and local domanial influence of the *Châteaux*. They want a reactionary *decentralization* of France. What Paris wants is to supplant that centralization which has done its service against feodality, but has become the mere unity of an artificial body, resting on gendarmes, red and black armies, repressing the life of real society, lasting as an incubus upon it, giving Paris an "apparent omnipotence" by enclosing it and leaving the provinces outdoor—to supplant this unitarian France which exists besides the French society—by the political union of French society itself through the Communal organization.

The true partisans of breaking up the unity of France are therefore the rurals, opposite to the united state machinery so far as it interferes with their own local importance (seignorial rights), so far as it is the antagonist of feudalism.

What Paris wants is to break up that factitious unitarian system, so far as it is the antagonist of the real living union of France and a mere means of class rule.

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## *Comtist view*

Men completely ignorant of the existing economical system are of course still less able to comprehend the workmen's negation of that system. They can of course not comprehend that the social transformation the working class aim at is the necessary, historical, unavoidable birth of the present system itself. They talk in deprecatory tones of the threatened abolition of "property" because in their eyes their present class form of property—a transitory historical form—*is* property itself, and the abolition of that form would therefore be the abolition of property. As they now defend the "eternity" of capital rule and the wages system, if they had lived in feudal times or in times of slavery, they would have defended the feudal system and the slave system as founded on the nature of things, as springing from nature, fiercely declaimed against their "abuses", but at the same time from the height of their ignorance answering to the prophecies of the abolition by the dogma of their "eternity" righted by "moral checks" (constraints).

They are as right in their appreciation of the aims of the Paris working classes, as is M. Bismarck in declaring that what the Commune wants is the Prussian municipal order.[a]

Poor men! They do not even know that every *social form* of property has "morals" of its own, and that the form of social property which makes property the attribute of labour, far from creating individual "moral constraints" will emancipate the "morals" of the individual from its class constraints.

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How the breath of the popular revolution has changed Paris! The revolution of February was called the Revolution of moral contempt! It was proclaimed by the cries of the people: "*à bas les grands voleurs! à bas les assassins!*"[b] Such was the sentiment of the people. But as to the bourgeoisie, they wanted broader sway for corruption! They got it under Louis Bonaparte's (Napoleon the little) reign. Paris, the gigantic town, the town of historic initiative, was transformed in the *Maison dorée* of all the idlers and swindlers of the world, into a cosmopolitan stew! After the exodus of the "better class of people", the Paris of the working class reappeared, heroic, self-sacrificing, enthusiastic in the sentiment of its herculean task! No cadavers in the Morgue, no insecurity of the streets. Paris was never more quiet within. Instead of the Cocottes, the heroic women of Paris! Manly, stern, fighting, working, thinking Paris! Magnanimous Paris! In view of the cannibalism of their enemies, making their prisoners only dangerless!...

"What Paris will no longer stand is yet the existence of the Cocottes and Cocodès. What it is resolved to drive away or transform is this useless, sceptical and egotistical race which has taken possession of the gigantic town, to use it as its own. No celebrity of the Empire shall have the right to say, Paris is very pleasant in the best quarters, but there are too many paupers in the others."[c]

*(Vérité: 23 April)*

"Private crime wonderfully diminished[d] at Paris. The absence of thieves and cocottes, of assassinates and street attacks: all the *conservateurs* have fled to Versailles!"

"There has not been signalized one single nocturnal attack even in the most distant and less frequented quarters since the citizens do their police business themselves."[e]

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[a] O. von Bismarck's speech in the Reichstag, May 2, 1871, *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstages.* 1. Legislatur-Periode. 1. Session 1871. Bd. 1, Berlin, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] "Down with big robbers! Down with the assassins!"—*Ed.*

[c] "The really dangerous classes...", *The Observer,* No. 4170, April 23, 1871.—*Ed.*

[d] "Life in Paris", *The Daily News,* No. 7791, April 19, 1871.—*Ed.*

[e] "Manifeste", *Le Vengeur,* No. 30, April 28, 1871.—*Ed.*

[FRAGMENTS]

## *Thiers on the Rurals*

"This party knows only to employ three means: Foreign invasion, civil war and anarchy ... such a government will never be that of France." *(Chambre des Députés of 5th Janvier 1833.)*[a]

## *Government of Defence*

And this same Trochu said in his famous programme: "the governor of Paris will never capitulate"[b] and Jules Favre in his circular: "Not a stone of our fortresses, nor a foot of our territories"[c]; same as Ducrot: "I shall never return to Paris save dead or victorious."[d] He found afterwards at Bordeaux that his life was necessary for keeping down the "rebels" of Paris. [These wretches know that in their flight to Versailles they have left behind the proofs of their crimes, and to destroy these proofs, they would not recoil from making of Paris a mountain of ruins bathed in a sea of blood] (*Manifeste à la Province,* by balloon[e]).

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"The unity which has been imposed upon us to the present, by the Empire, the Monarchy, and Parliamentary Government is nothing but centralization, despotic,

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[a] Quoted in *La Tribune de Bordeaux*, April 25, 1871.— *Ed.*

[b] L. J. Trochu, [Proclamation aux habitants de Paris. Paris. 6 janvier 1871], *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 7, January 7, 1871.— *Ed.*

[c] J. Favre, "Circulaire adressée aux agents diplomatiques de France.... Le 6 septembre 1870", *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 246, September 7, 1870.— *Ed.*

[d] A. Ducrot, "Soldat de la 2e armée de Paris!" [Order of November 28, 1870], *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 329, November 29, 1870.— *Ed.*

[e] "Manifeste", *Le Vengeur,* No. 30, April 28, 1871.— *Ed.*

unintelligent, arbitrary and onerous. The political unity as desired by Paris, is a voluntary association of all local initiatives..." a central delegation from the Federal Communes... "End of the old governmental and clerical world, of military supremacy and bureaucracy and jobbing in monopolies and privileges to which the *proletariat owed its slavery* and the *country its misfortunes and disasters.*" (Proclamation of Commune 19 April.)[a]

## *The Gendarmes and Policemen*

20,000 Gendarmes drawn to Versailles from all France (a total of 30,000 under the Empire)[b] and 12,000 Paris police agents,—basis of the finest army France ever had.

## *Republican Deputies of Paris*

The Republican deputies of Paris "have not protested either against the bombardment of Paris, nor the summary executions of the prisoners, nor the calumnies against the People of Paris. They have on the contrary by their presence at the assembly and their *mutisme* given a consecration to all these acts supported by the notoriety the republican party has given those men. "Have become the allies and conscious accomplices of the monarchical party. Declares them traitors to their mandate and the Republic". (*Association générale des défenseurs de la République*[315]) *(9 May)*

"Centralization leads to apoplexy in Paris and to absence of life everywhere else" *(Lamennais).*

"Everything now gravitates to one centre, and this centre is, so to say, the state itself" *(Montesquieu).*[c]

## *Vendôme affair etc.*

The Central Committee of the National Guard, constituted by the nomination of a delegate of each company, on the entrance of the Prussians into Paris, transported to Montmartre, Belleville and La Villette the cannon and mitrailleuses founded by the subscription of the National guards themselves, which cannon and mitrailleuses were abandoned by the government of the National defence, even in those quarters which were to be occupied by the Prussians.

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[a] "Déclaration au peuple français. [Paris, 19 avril 1871]", *The Daily News,* No. 7793, April 21, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 110, April 20, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx gives a German phrase in parentheses.—*Ed.*

[c] Ch.-L. de Montesquieu, *De l'Esprit des Loix,* London, 1769, Liv. 23, Ch. 24. Marx gives a French quotation.—*Ed.*

On the morning of the 18th March the government made an energetic appeal to the National Guard, but out of 400,000 National Guard only 300 men answered.

On the 18th March, at 3 o'clock in the morning, the agents of police, and some *bataillons* of the line were at Montmartre, Belleville, and La Villette to surprise the guardians of artillery and to take it away by force.

The National Guard resisted, the soldiers of the line raised their rifle-butts in the air,[a] *despite the menaces and the orders of General Lecomte,* shot the same day by his soldiers at the same time as Clément Thomas.

("troops of the line threw the butts of their muskets in the air, and fraternized with the insurgents.")[b]

The bulletin of victory by Aurelle de Paladines was already printed, also papers found on the Decembrisation of Paris.[c]

On the 19 March the Central Committee declared the state of siege of Paris raised,[d] on the 20 Picard proclaimed it for the department of the *Seine-et-Oise.*

*18 March* (Morning: still believing in his victory) *proclamation of Thiers,* placarded on the walls:

"The Government has resolved to act. The Criminals who affect to institute a government must be delivered to regular justice, and the cannon taken away must be restored to the Arsenals."

Late in the afternoon, the nocturnal surprise having failed he appeals to the *National Guards:*

"The Government is not preparing a coup d'état. The Government of the Republic has not and cannot have any other aim than the safety of the Republic."

He will only

"do away with the insurgent committee ... *almost all unknown to the population*".[e]

Late in the evening a third proclamation to the *National Guard,* signed by Picard and d'Aurelle:

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[a] Marx gives "raised their rifle-butts in the air" in French.— *Ed.*

[b] "Paris, March 18, 1871", *The Daily News,* No. 7765, March 20, 1871.— *Ed.*

[c] I. e. a coup d'état like that of December 2, 1851. See "Paris in Insurrection", *The Daily News,* No. 7765, March 20, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 78, March 19, 1871.— *Ed.*

[d] "Au Peuple", *The Standard,* No. 14550, March 21, 1871 (published in French).— *Ed.*

[e] L. A. Theirs' proclamation of March 17, 1871 to the inhabitants of Paris and proclamation of March 18, 1871 to the National Guards, *The Daily News,* No. 7765, March 20, 1871.— *Ed.*

"Some misguided men ... *resist* forcibly the National Guard and the army.... The Government has chosen *that your arms should be left to you.* Seize them with resolution to establish the reign of law and to *save the Republic from anarchy.*"[a]

(On the 17th Schoelcher tries to wheedle them into disarming.)
*Proclamation of the Central Committee of the 19 March:*

"the state of siege is raised. The people of Paris is convoked for its communal elections."

*Id. to the National Guards:*

"You have charged us to organize the defence of Paris and of your rights.... At this moment our mandate has expired; we give it back to you, we will not take the place of those whom the popular breath has just swept away."[b]

They allowed the members of the Government to withdraw quietly to Versailles (even such as they had in their hands like Ferry).

The communal elections convoked for the 22 March through the demonstration of the party of order removed to the 26th March.

*21 March.* The Assembly's frantic roars of dissent against the words *"Vive la République"* at the end of a Proclamation "*To Citizens and Army* (soldiers)".[c] *Thiers:* "It might be a very legitimate proposal etc." (Dissent of the rurals.) *Jules Favre* made a harangue against the doctrine of the Republic being superior to universal suffrage, flattered the rural majority, threatened the Parisians with Prussian intervention and provoked—*the demonstration of the Paris of Order. Thiers: "come what may he would not send an armed force to attack Paris."*[d] (had no troops yet to do it.)

The Central Committee was so unsure of its victory that it hastened to accept the mediation of the mayors and the deputies of Paris.... The stubbornness of Thiers allowed it (the Committee) to survive for a day or two, and by then it had come to realise its strength. Countless mistakes by the revolutionaries. Instead of rendering the police harmless, the doors were flung open to them; they went to Versailles, where they were welcomed as saviours; they let the 43rd of the line go; all the soldiers who had

[a] E. Picard, L. J.-B. d'Aurelle de Paladines, "To the National Guards of the Seine", *The Daily News,* No. 7765, March 20, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] "Au Peuple"; "Aux Gardes nationaux de Paris", *The Standard,* No. 14550, March 21, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 79, March 20, 1871. Marx gives the last four words in French.—*Ed.*

[c] Proclamation of March 21, 1871 "To the Citizens and Soldiers", *The Daily News,* No. 7768, March 23, 1871.—*Ed.*

[d] See L. A. Thiers' and J. Favre's speeches in the National Assembly on March 21, 1871, *The Daily News,* No. 7768, March 23, 1871.—*Ed.*

fraternised with the people were allowed to go home; they let the reactionaries organise themselves in the very heart of Paris; they left Versailles alone. Tridon, Jaclard, Varlin and Vaillant wanted them to go and drive the royalists out right away.... Favre and Thiers took urgent steps with the Prussian authorities to secure their assistance ... in putting down the insurgent movement in Paris.

Trochu and Clément Thomas concentrated on frustrating every attempt to arm and organise the National Guard. The march on Versailles was decided upon, prepared and undertaken by the Central Committee without the knowledge of the Commune and even directly contrary to its clearly expressed will....

*Bergeret* ... instead of blowing up the bridge at Neuilly, which the Federals were unable to hold because of Mont Valérien and the batteries installed at Courbevoie, allowed the royalists to take it, and there to entrench themselves strongly, thereby assuring themselves of a route of communication with Paris...[a]

As M. *Littré* said in a letter (*Daily News,* 20 April):

"Paris disarmed; Paris manacled by the Vinoys, the Valentins, the Paladines, the Republic was lost. This the Parisians understood. With the alternative of succumbing without fighting, and risking a terrible contest of uncertain issue, they chose to fight; and I cannot but praise them for it."[b]

The expedition to Rome,[172] the work of Cavaignac, Jules Favre, and Thiers.

"A government which has all the internal advantages of a republican government and the external strength of a monarchist government. I mean a *federal republic*.... It is a society of societies, a new society, which grows through the addition of numerous new *associated members* until it becomes strong enough to assure the security of those who have banded together. This kind of republic ... can maintain its size *without* succumbing to *internal* corruption. The form of this society averts all difficulties" (*Montesquieu. L'Esprit des Loix,* 1.IX, Ch. I).[c]

*The Constitution of 1793*[316]

§ 78. *Every commune* of the Republic shall have a municipal administration. *Every district* shall have an intermediate administration and *every department* a central administration. § 79. Municipal officers shall be elected by assemblies of the commune. § 80. The administrators shall be appointed by assemblies of electors in the departments and districts. § 81. One-half of the membership of the municipalities and the administrations shall be renewed every year.

*Executive Council,* § 62. Shall consist of 24 members. § 63. The electoral assembly of each department shall nominate one candidate. The Legislative Corps

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[a] Marx wrote the last three paragraphs in French.— *Ed.*

[b] "A French View of the Presence and Future of France", *The Daily News,* No. 7792, April 20, 1871.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx gives a French quotation in the original.— *Ed.*

shall elect the members of the Council by general roll. § 64. One-half of it shall be renewed in the last month of the legislative session. § 65. The Council shall be charged with directing and supervising the general administration. § 66. It shall appoint not from its members the chief officers of the general administration of the Republic. § 68. These officers shall not constitute a council but shall act separately and shall have no direct connection with one another; they shall not exercise any personal authority. § 73. The Council shall recall and replace the officers it appoints.[a]

Roused on the one hand by J. Favre's call to civil war in the Assembly—he told that the Prussians had threatened to interfere, if the Parisians did not give in at once,—encouraged by the forbearance of the people and the passive attitude towards them of the Central Committee, the "Party of Order" at Paris resolved *on a coup de main*[b] which came off on the 22 March under the *etiquette* of a *Peaceful Procession,* a peaceable demonstration against the Revolutionary Government. And it was a peaceful demonstration of a very peculiar character.

"The whole movement seemed a surprise. There were no preparations to meet it."[c]

A riotous mob of "gentlemen", in their first rank the familiars of the Empire, the Heeckeren, Coëtlogon, and H. de Pène etc, illtreating and disarming national guards detached from advanced sentinels (sentries) who fled to the Place Vendôme whence the National Guards march at once to the Rue Neuve des Petits Champs. Meeting the rioters, they received order not to fire, but the rioters advance under the cry: "down with the Assassins! down with the Committee!", insult the guards, grasp at their muskets, shoot with a revolver citizen *Maljournal* (lieutenant of the General Staff on the Place)[d] (membre *du Comité central*). General Bergeret calls upon them to withdraw (disband) (retire). During about 5 minutes the drums are beaten and the *sommations*[e] (replacing the English reading of the riot acts)[187] made. They reply by cries of insult. Two national guards fall severely wounded. Meanwhile their comrades hesitate and fire into the air. The *rioters try to forcibly break through the lines and to disarm them.* Bergeret commands fire and the cowards fly. The *émeute*[f] is at once dispersed and the fire ceases. Shots were fired from houses on the national guard. Two of them, Wahlin and François were

[a] These two paragraphs are in French in the original.— *Ed.*
[b] Sudden attack.— *Ed.*
[c] "The Rule of Sedition", *The Daily Telegraph,* No. 4921, March 23, 1871.— *Ed.*
[d] Marx gives the phrase in parentheses in French.— *Ed.*
[e] Summons.— *Ed.*
[f] Rebellion.— *Ed.*

killed, eight are wounded. The streets through which the "pacific" disband are strewn with revolvers and sword-canes (many of them picked up in the Rue de la Paix). Vicomte de Molinet, killed from behind (by his own people) found with a *dagger* fixed by a chain.[a]

*Rappel*[b] *was beaten.* A number of cane swords, revolvers, and daggers lay on the streets by which the "unarmed" demonstration had passed. Pistol shots were fired before the insurgents received orders to fire on the crowd. The manifesters were the aggressors (witnessed by General Sheridan from a window).

This was then simply an attempt to do by the reactionists of Paris, armed with revolvers, caneswords, and daggers, what Vinoy had failed to do with his sergents-de-ville, soldiers, cannon and mitrailleuse. That the "lower orders" of Paris allowed themselves not even to be disarmed by the "gentlemen" of Paris, was really too bad!

When on the 13th June 1849 the National Guards of Paris made a really "unarmed" and "pacific" procession to protest against a crime, the attack on Rome by the French troops, General Changarnier was praised by his intimate Thiers for sabring and shooting them down. The state of siege was declared, new laws of repression,[188] new proscriptions, a new reign of terror![c] Instead of all that, the Central Committee and the workmen of Paris strictly kept on the defensive during the encounter itself, allowed the assailers, the gentlemen of the dagger, to return quietly home, and, by their indulgence, by not calling them to account for this daring enterprise, encouraged them so much, that two days later, under the leadership of admiral Saisset, sent from Versailles, [they] rallied again and tried again their hands at civil war.

And this Vendôme affair evoked at Versailles a cry of "Assassination of unarmed citizens" reverberating throughout the world. Be it remarked that even Thiers, while eternally reiterating the assassination of the two generals, has not once dared to remind the world of this "Assassination of unarmed citizens".

As in the medieval times the knight may use any weapon whatever against the plebeian, but the latter must not dare even to defend himself.

(27 March. *Versailles. Thiers:*

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[a] "Le *Journal officiel* de Paris raconte...", *Le Rappel*, No. 650, March 25, 1871.— *Ed.*

[b] Retreat.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx gives a detailed analysis of the events of June 13, 1849 in his *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850,* Ch. 2 (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 71-100).— *Ed.*

"I give a formal contradiction to those who accuse me of leading the way for a monarchical settlement. *I found the Republic an accomplished fact.* Before God and men I declare I will not betray it".]

After the second rising of the party of Order, the Paris people took no reprisals whatever. The Central Committee even committed the great blunder, against the advice of its most energetic members, not to march at once at Versailles, where, after the flight of Adm. Saisset and the ridiculous collapse of the National Guard of Order, Consternation ruled supreme, there being not yet any forces of resistance organized.

After the election of the Commune, the party of order tried again their forces at the ballot-box, and, when again beaten, effected their Exodus from Paris. During the election, handshaking and fraternization of the Bourgeois (in the courts of the Mayoralties) with the insurgent National Guards, while among themselves they talk of nothing but *"decimation en masse"*,[a] "mitrailleuses", "frying at Cayenne", "wholesale fusillades".

"The runaways of yesterday think to-day by flattering the men of the Hôtel de Ville to keep them quiet until the Rurals and Bonapartist generals, who are gathering at Versailles will be in a position to fire on them."[b]

Thiers commenced the armed attack on the National Guard for the second time in Affair of *April 2.* Fighting between Courbevoie and Neuilly, close to Paris. National Guards beaten, bridge of Neuilly occupied by Thiers' soldiers. Several thousands of National Guards, having come out of Paris and occupied Courbevoie and Puteaux and the bridge of Neuilly, routed. Many prisoners taken. Many of the insurgents immediately shot as rebels. Versailles troops began the firing.

*Commune:*

"The Government of Versailles has attacked us. Not being able to count upon the army, it has sent Pontifical Zouaves[108] of Charette, Bretons[185] of Trochu, and Gendarmes of Valentin, in order to bombard Neuilly."[c]

On 2nd April the Versailles Government had sent forward a division chiefly consisting of *Gendarmes, Marines, Forest Guard, and Police. Vinoy* with two brigades of infantry, and *Galliffet* at the

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[a] Mass decimation.—*Ed.*

[b] "Paris, March 26, 1871", *The Daily News,* No. 7772, March 28, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] Proclamation of the Commune of April 2, 1871 to the National Guards, *The Daily Telegraph,* No. 4931, April 4, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 93, April 3, 1871.—*Ed.*

head of a brigade of cavalry and a battery of artillery advanced upon Courbevoie.

*Paris. April 4. Millière* (Declaration)

"the people of Paris was not making any aggressive attempt ... when the government ordered it to be attacked by the ex-soldiers of the Empire, organized as pretorian troops,[220] under the Command of ex-Senators."[a]

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[a] J.-B. E. Millière's declaration of April 4, 1871, *The Daily Telegraph,* No. 4933, April 6, 1871.— *Ed.*

# [SECOND DRAFT OF *THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE*]

## 1) GOVERNMENT OF DEFENCE. TROCHU, FAVRE, PICARD, FERRY

The republic proclaimed on the 4th September by the Paris workmen was acclaimed through all France without a single voice of dissent. Its right of life was fought for in a 5 months' defensive war (centring in) based upon the resistance of Paris. Without that war of defence waged in the name of the Republic, William the "Conqueror" would have restored the Empire of his "good brother" Louis Bonaparte. The cabal of barristers, with Thiers for their statesman, and Trochu for their general, installed themselves at the Hôtel-de-Ville at a moment of surprise, when the real leaders of the Paris working class were still shut up in Bonapartist prisons and the Prussian army was already marching upon Paris. So deeply were the Thiers, the Jules Favre, the Picard then imbued with the belief in the historical leadership of Paris, that to legitimate their title as the government of national defence they founded their claim exclusively upon their having been chosen in the elections to the Corps Législatif, in 1869, as the *Deputies of Paris.*

In our Second address on the late war, five days after the advent of those men, we told you what they were.[a] If they had seized the government without consulting Paris, Paris had proclaimed the republic in the teeth of their resistance. And their first step was to send Thiers begging about at all courts of Europe there to buy if possible Foreign mediation, bartering the Republic for a king. Paris did bear with their assumption of power, because they highly professed on their solemn vow to wield that power for the single purpose of *national defence.* Paris, however, was not to be

[a] See this volume, pp. 268-69.— *Ed.*

seriously defended without arming the working class, organizing them into a National Guard, and training their ranks through the war itself. But Paris armed was the social Revolution armed. The victory of Paris over its Prussian besieger would have been a victory of the Republic over French class rule. In this conflict between national duty and class interest, the Government of national Defence did not hesitate one moment to turn into a government of national defection. In a letter to Gambetta, Jules Favre confessed that what Trochu stood in defence of, was not the Prussian soldier, but the Paris workman. Four months after the commencement of the siege, when they thought the opportune moment come for breaking the first word of capitulation, Trochu, in the presence of Jules Favre and others of his colleagues, addresses the reunion of the maires of Paris in these terms:

"The first question, addressed to me by my colleagues, *on the very evening of the 4th September,* was this: Paris, can it, with any chance of success, stand a siege against the Prussian army? *I did not hesitate to answer in the negative.* Some of my colleagues here present will warrant the truth of my words, and *the persistence of my opinion.* I told them, in these very terms, that under the existing state of things, the attempt of Paris to maintain a siege against the Prussian army would be *a folly.* Without doubt, I added, it might be *a heroic folly,* but it would be nothing more.... *The events* (managed by himself) *have not given the lie to my prevision.*"

(This little speech of Trochu's was after the armistice published by M. Corbon, one of the maires present.)[a] Thus, on the very evening of the proclamation of the Republic, Trochu's "plan", known to his colleagues, was nothing else but the *capitulation of Paris and France.* To cure Paris of its "heroic folly", it had to undergo a treatment of decimation and famine, long enough to screen the usurpers of the 4th of September from the vengeance of the December men.[317] If the "national defence" had been more than a false pretence for "government", its self-appointed members would have abdicated on the 5th of September, publicly revealed Trochu's "plan", and called upon the Paris people to at once surrender to the conqueror or take the work of defence in its own hands. Instead of this the imposters published high-sounding manifestoes wherein Trochu "the governor will never capitulate"[b] and Jules Favre the Foreign minister "not cede a stone of our fortresses, nor a foot of our territory".[c] Through the whole time

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[a] "Paris au jour le jour", *Le Figaro,* No. 74, March 19, 1871.— *Ed.*

[b] L. J. Trochu, [Proclamation aux habitants de Paris. Paris, 6 janvier 1871], *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 7, January 7, 1871.— *Ed.*

[c] J. Favre, "Circulaire adressée aux agents diplomatiques de France ... Le 6 septembre 1870", *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 246, September 7, 1870.— *Ed.*

of the siege Trochu's plan was systematically carried out. In fact, the vile Bonapartist cut-throats, to whose trust they gave the generalship of Paris, cracked in their intimate correspondence ribald jokes at the well-understood farce of the defence. (See f.i. the correspondence of *Alphonse Simon Guiod,* supreme commander of the artillery of the army of defence of Paris and Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, to *Suzanne,* General of Division of Artillery,[a] published by the *Journal officiel* of the Commune.) The mask of imposture was dropped at the capitulation of Paris. The *"government of national defence"* unmasked itself as the *"government of France by Bismarck's prisoners"*—a part which Louis Bonaparte himself at Sedan had considered too infamous even for a man of his stamp. On their wild flight to Versailles, after the events of the 18th March, the capitulards[165] have left in the hands of Paris the documentary evidence of their treason, to destroy which, as the Commune says in its *Manifesto to the Provinces,*

"they would not recoil from battering Paris into a heap of ruins washed in a sea of blood".[b]

Some of the most influential members of the government of defence had moreover urgent private reasons of their own to be passionately bent upon such a consummation. Look only at Jules Favre, Ernest Picard, and Jules Ferry!

Shortly after the conclusion of the armistice, *M. Millière,* one of the representatives of Paris to the National Assembly, published a series of authentic legal documents[c] in proof that *Jules Favre,* living in concubinage with the wife of a drunkard, resident at Algiers,[d] had, by a most daring concoction of forgeries, spread over many years, contrived to grasp, in the name of the children of his adultery, a large succession which made him a rich man, and that, in a law-suit undertaken by the legitimate heirs, he only escaped exposure through the connivance of the Bonapartist tribunals. Since those dry legal documents were not to be got rid of by any horsepower of rhetorics, Jules Favre, in the same heroism of self-abasement, remained for once tongue-tied until the turmoil of the civil war allowed him to brand the Paris people in the Versailles assembly as a band of "escaped convicts" in utter revolt against family, religion, order and property!

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[a] See *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 115, April 25, 1871. Marx cites from the item "Le Gouvernement de la Défense nationale", *La Situation,* No. 189, April 29, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] "Manisfeste", *Le Vengeur,* No. 30, April 28, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] J.-B. E. Millière, "Le Faussaire", *Le Venguer,* No. 6, February 8, 1871.—*Ed.*

[d] Jeanne Charmont, who lived separately from her husband Vernier.—*Ed.*

*(Pic affaire.)* This very forger had hardly got into power when he sympathetically hastened to liberate two brother-forgers, Pic and Taillefer, under the Empire itself convicted to the hulks for theft and forgery.[166] One of these men, Taillefer, daring to return to Paris after the instalment of the Commune, was at once returned to a convenient abode; and then Jules Favre told all Europe that Paris was setting free all the felonious inhabitants of her prisons!

*Ernest Picard,* appointed by himself the home minister of the French Republic on the 4th of September, after having striven in vain to become the home minister of Louis Bonaparte, is the brother of one *Arthur Picard,* an individual expulsed from the Paris bourse as a blackleg (Report of the Prefecture of Police d.d. 31 July 1867) and convicted on his own confession of a theft of 300,000 fcs while a director of one of the branches of the *Société Générale,*[167] (see Report of the Prefecture of Police, 11 December 1868).[a] Both these reports were still published at the time of the Empire. This Arthur Picard was made by Ernest Picard the *rédacteur en chef* of his *"Electeur libre"* to act, during the whole siege, as his financial go-between, discounting at the Bourse the state secrets in the trust of Ernest and safely speculating on the disasters of the French army, while the common jobbers were misled by the false news, and official lies, published in the *"Electeur libre",*[b] the organ of the home minister. The whole financial correspondence between that worthy pair of brethren has fallen into the hands of the Commune. No wonder that Ernest Picard, the Joe Miller of the Versailles government, "with his hands in his trousers' pockets, walked from group to group cracking jokes", at the first batch of Paris National Guards made prisoners and exposed to the ferocious outrages of Piétri's lambs.[c]

*Jules Ferry,* a pennyless barrister before the 4th of September, contrived, as the Maire of Paris, to job during the siege a fortune out of the famine which was to a great part the work of his maladministration. The day on which he would have to give an account of his maladministration would be his day of judgement. The documentary proofs are in the hands of the Commune.

These men, therefore, are the deadly foes of the workingmen's

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[a] See "Le Sieur Picard", *La Situation,* No. 168, April 4, 1871.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx corrected the inaccuracy in the final version of *The Civil War in France:* Ernest Picard was Minister of Finance in the Government of National Defence and the newspaper *Electeur libre* was the organ of the Ministry of Finance (see this volume, p. 314).— *Ed.*

[c] "The Advance of the Insurgents on Versailles", *The Daily News,* No. 7781, April 7, 1871.— *Ed.*

Paris, not only as parasites of the ruling classes, not only as the betrayers of Paris during the siege, but above all as common felons who but in the ruins of Paris, this stronghold of the French Revolution, can hope to find their *tickets-of-leave*.[a] These desperadoes were exactly the men to become the ministers of Thiers.

### 2) THIERS. DUFAURE. POUYER-QUERTIER

In the "parliamentary sense" things are only a pretext for words serving as a snare for the adversary, an ambuscade for the people, or a matter of artistic display for the speaker himself.

Their master, M. Thiers, the mischievous gnome, has charmed the French bourgeoisie for almost half a century because he is the most consummate intellectual expression of their own class corruption. Even before he became a statesman, he had shown his lying powers as a historian. Eager of display, like all dwarfish men, greedy of place and pelf, with a barren intellect but lively fancy, epicurean, sceptical, of an encyclopedic facility for mastering the surface of things, and turning things into a mere pretext for talk, a wordfencer of rare conversational power, a writer of lucid shallowness, a master of small state roguery, a virtuoso in perjury, a craftsman in all the petty stratagems, cunning devices and base perfidies of parliamentary party warfare, national and class prejudices standing him in the place of ideas, and vanity in the place of conscience, in order to displace a rival, and to shoot the people, in order to stifle the Revolution, mischievous when in opposition, odious when in power, never scrupling to provoke revolutions, the history of his public life is the chronicle of the miseries of his country. Fond of brandishing with his dwarfish arms in the face of Europe the sword of the first Napoleon, whose historical shoeblack he had become,[b] his Foreign policy always culminated in the utter humiliation of France, from the London Convention of 1841 [296] to the Paris capitulation of 1871 [118] and the present civil war he wages under the shelter of Prussian invasion. It need not be said that to such a man the deeper undercurrents of modern society remained a closed book, but even the most palpable changes on its surface were abhorrent to a brain all whose vitality had fled to the tongue. F.i. he never fatigued to denounce any deviation from the old French protective system as

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[a] See this volume, p. 314.— *Ed.*

[b] The reference is to Thiers' *Histoire de la Révolution française* and *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*.— *Ed.*

a sacrilege, railways he sneeringly derided, when a minister of Louis Philippe, as a wild chimera, and every reform of the rotten French army system he branded under Louis Bonaparte as a profanation. With all his versatility of talent and shiftiness of purpose, he was steadily wedded to the traditions of a fossilized routine, and never, during his long official career, became guilty of one single, even the smallest measure of practical use. Only the old world's edifice may be proud of being crowned by two such men as Napoleon the little and little Thiers. The so-called accomplishments of culture appear in such a man only as the refinement of debauchery and the...[a] of selfishness.

Banded with the Republicans under the restoration, Thiers insinuated himself with Louis Philippe as a spy upon and the jail-*accoucheur* of the Duchess of Berry,[168] but his activity when he had first slipped into a ministry (1834-35) centred in the massacre of the insurgent Republicans at the rue Transnonain and the incubation of the atrocious September laws against the press.[169]

Reappearing as the chief of the cabinet in March 1840, he came out with the plot of the Paris fortifications.[170] To the [outcry] of the Republican party, against the sinister attempt on the liberty of Paris, he replied:

> "What! To fancy that any works of fortification could endanger liberty! And first of all, you calumniate *every Government whatever* in supposing that it could one day try to maintain itself by bombarding the capital.... But it would be hundred times more impossible after its victory than before."[b]

Indeed no French government whatever save that of M. Thiers himself with his ticket-of-leave[c] ministers and his rural assembly[178] ruminants could have dared upon such a deed! And this too in the most classic form; one part of his fortifications in the hands of his Prussian conquerors and protectors.

When King Bomba[d] tried his hands at Palermo[171] in January 1848, Thiers rose in the Chamber of Deputies:

> "You know, gentlemen, what passes at Palermo: you all shook with horror" (in the "parliamentary" sense) "when hearing that *during 48 hours a great town has been bombarded.* By whom? was it by a Foreign enemy, exercising the rights of war? No, gentlemen, by *its own government.*"

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[a] A blank space in the manuscript.— *Ed.*

[b] L. A. Thiers' speech at the session of the Chamber of Deputies, January 13, 1841, *Le Venguer*, No. 14, April 12, 1871.— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 314.— *Ed.*

[d] Ferdinand II.— *Ed.*

(If it had been by its own government, under the eyes and on the sufferance of the Foreign enemy, all would, of course, have been right.)

"And why? *Because that unfortunate town* (city) *demanded its rights.* Well, then. For the demand of its rights, it has *had 48 hours of bombardment.*"

(If the bombardment had lasted 4 weeks and more all would have been right.)

"...Allow me to appeal to the opinion of Europe. It is doing a service to mankind to come and make reverberate from the greatest tribune perhaps of Europe some *words of indignation*" (indeed! words!) "against such acts.... When the regent Espartero, who had rendered services to his country" (what Thiers never did), "*in order to suppress an insurrection,* wanted to *bombard Barcelona,* there was from all parts of the world a general shriek of indignation."[a]

Well, about a year later this fine-souled man became the sinister suggester and the most fierce defender (apologist) of the bombardment of Rome by the troops of the French republic, under the command of the legitimist Oudinot.[172]

A few days before the Revolution of February, fretting at the long exile from power to which Guizot had condemned him, smelling in the air the commotion, Thiers exclaimed again in the Chambre of Deputies:

"*I am of the party of Revolution* not only in France, but in Europe. I wish the government of the Revolution to remain in the hands of moderate men.... But if that government should pass into the hands of ardent men, even of the Radicals, I should not for all that desert (abandon) my cause. *I shall always be of the party of the Revolution.*"[b]

The Revolution of February came. Instead of displacing the Guizot cabinet by the Thiers cabinet as the little man had dreamt, it displaced Louis Philippe by the Republic. To put down that Revolution was M. Thiers' exclusive business from the proclamation of the Republic to the *Coup d'Etat.* On the first day of the popular victory, he anxiously hid himself, forgetting that the contempt of the people rescued him from its hatred. Still, with his legendary courage, he continued to shy the public stage until after the bloody disruption of the material forces of the Paris proletariat by Cavaignac, the bourgeois republican.[133] Then the scene was cleared for his sort of action. His hour had again struck. He became the leading mind of the *"Party of Order"*[173] and its *"Parliamentary Republic"*, that anonymous reign in which all the

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[a] L. A. Thiers' speech at the session of the Chamber of Deputies, January 31, 1848, *Le Rappel,* No. 673, April 17, 1871; *Le Vengeur,* No. 21, April 19, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] L. A. Thiers' speech at the session of the Chamber of Deputies, February 2, 1848, *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 34, February 3, 1848.—*Ed.*

rival factions of the ruling classes conspired together to crush the working class and conspired against each other, each for the restoration of its own monarchy.

(The Restoration had been the reign of the aristocratic landed proprietors, the July monarchy the reign of the capitalist, Cavaignac's republic the reign of the "Republican" fraction of the bourgeoisie, while during all these reigns the band of hungry adventurers forming the Bonapartist party had panted in vain for the plunder of France, that was to qualify them as the saviours of "order and property, family and religion".

That Republic was the anonymous reign of coalesced Legitimists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists, with the bourgeois Republicans for their tail.)

### 3) THE RURAL ASSEMBLY

If this rural assembly, meeting at Bordeaux, made this government, the "government of defence men" had beforehand taken good care to make that assembly. For that purpose they had dispatched Thiers on a travelling tour through the provinces, there to foreshadow coming events and make ready for the surprise of the general elections. Thiers had to overcome one difficulty. Quite apart from having become an abomination to the French people, the Bonapartists, if numerously elected, would at once have restored the Empire and embaled M. Thiers and Co. for a voyage to Cayenne.[183] The Orleanists were too sparsely scattered to fill their own places and those vacated by the Bonapartists. To galvanize the Legitimist party, had therefore become unavoidable. Thiers was not afraid of his task. Impossible as a government of modern France, and therefore contemptible as rivals for place and pelf, who could be fitter to be handled as the blind tool of Counter-revolution, than the party whose action, in the words of Thiers, had always been confined to the three resources of "Foreign invasion, civil war, and anarchy". (*Speech of Thiers at the Chambre of Deputies of January 5, 1833.*[a]) A select set of the Legitimists, expropriated by the Revolution of 1789, had regained their estates by enlisting in the servant hall of the first Napoleon, the bulk of them by the milliard of indemnity and the private donations of the Restoration. Even their seclusion from participation in active politics under the successive reigns of Louis Philippe and Napoleon the little, served as a lever to the reestablishment of their wealth as landed proprietors. Freed from

[a] See *La Tribune de Bordeaux*, April 25, 1871.—*Ed.*

court dissipation and representation costs at Paris, they had, out of the very corners of provincial France, only to gather the golden apples falling into their *châteaux*[a] from the tree of modern industry, railways enhancing the price of their land, agronomy applied to it by capitalist farmers, increasing its produce, and the inexhaustible demand of a rapidly swollen town population securing the growth of markets for that produce. The very same social agencies which reconstituted their material wealth and remade their importance as partners of that jointstock company of modern slaveholders, screened them from the infection of the modern ideas and allowed them, in rustic innocence, nothing to forget and nothing to learn. Such people furnished the mere passive material to be worked upon by a man like Thiers. While executing the mission, entrusted to him by the government of Defence, the mischievous imp overreached his mandataries in securing to himself that multitude of elections which was to convert the defence men from his opponent masters into his avowed servants.

The electoral traps being thus laid, the French people was suddenly summoned by the capitulards of Paris [165] to choose within 8 days a national assembly with the exclusive task by virtue of the terms of the convention of the 31st January, dictated by Bismarck,[318] to decide on war or peace. Quite apart from the extraordinary circumstances, under which that election occurred, with no time for deliberation, with one half of France under the sway of Prussian bayonets, with its other half secretly worked upon by the government intrigue, with Paris secluded from the provinces, the French people felt instinctively that the very terms of the armistice, undergone by the capitulards, left France no alternative (choice) but that of a peace *à outrance*[b] and that for its sanction the worst men of France would be the best. Hence the rural assembly emerging at Bordeaux.

Still we must distinguish between the old regime orgies and the real historical business of the rurals. Astonished to find themselves the strongest fraction of an immense majority, composed of themselves and the Orleanists, with a contingent of Bourgeois republicans and a mere sprinkling of Bonapartists, they verily believed in the long-expected advent of their retrospective millennium. There were the heels of the Foreign invasion trampling upon France, there was the downfall of the Empire and

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[a] Manors.— *Ed.*
[b] At any price.— *Ed.*

the captivity of a Bonaparte, and there they were themselves. The wheel of history had evidently turned round to stop at the *Chambre introuvable*[177] of 1816, with its deep and impassionate curses against the Revolutionary deluge and its abominations, with its "decapitation and decapitalization of Paris",[a] its "decentralization" breaking through the network of state rule by the local influences of the *Châteaux* and its religious homilies and its tenets of antediluvian politics, with its *gentilhommerie,* flippancy, its genealogic spite against the drudging masses, and its Oeil de Boeuf[319] views of the world. Still in point of fact they had only to act their part as joint-stock holders of the "party of order", as monopolists of the means of production. From 1848 to 1851, they had only to form a fraction of the interregnum of the "parliamentary republic", with this difference that then they were represented by their educated and trained parliamentary champions, the Berryer, the Falloux, the Larochejaquelein, while now they had to ask in their rustic rank and file, imparting thus a different tone and tune to the assembly, maskerading its bourgeois reality under feudal colours. Their grotesque exaggerations (homilies) serve only to set off the liberalism of their banditti government. Ensnared into an usurpation of powers beyond their electoral mandates, they live only on the sufferance of their selfmade rulers. The Foreign invasion of 1814 and 1815[320] having been the deadly weapon wielded against them by the bourgeois parvenus, they have in injudicial blindness bestowed upon themselves the responsibility for this unprecedented surrender of France to the Foreigner by their bourgeois foes. And the French people astonished and insulted by the reappearance of all the noble Pourceaugnacs it believed buried long since, has become aware that beside making the Revolution of the 19th century it has to finish off the Revolution of 1789 by driving the ruminants to the last goal of all rustic animals—the shambles.

### 5) OPENING OF THE CIVIL WAR. 18 MARCH REVOLUTION. CLÉMENT THOMAS. LECOMTE. THE VENDÔME AFFAIR

The disarmament of Paris, as a mere necessity of the counter-revolutionary plot, might have been undertaken in a more temporizing, circumspect manner, but as a clause of the urgent financial treaty with its irresistible fascinations, it brooked no delay.[182] Thiers had therefore to try his hand at a *coup d'état.* He

[a] See "The scanty news from the capital of Revolution...", *The Daily News,* No. 7774, March 30, 1871.—*Ed.*

opened the civil war by sending Vinoy, the *Décembriseur,*[181] at the head of a multitude of sergents-de-ville and a few regiments of the line, upon the nocturnal expedition against the Montmartre Buttes. Thiers' felonious attempt having broken down on the resistance of the National Guards and their fraternization with the soldiers, on the following day, in a manifesto, stuck to the walls of Paris, Thiers told the National Guards of his magnanimous resolve to leave them their arms[a] with which, he felt sure, they would be eager to rally round the government against "the rebels". Out of 300,000 national guards only 300 responded to his summons. The glorious workmen's Revolution of the 18th March had taken undisputed possession (sway) of Paris.

The Central Committee, which directed the defence of Montmartre and emerged on the dawn of the 18th March as the leader of the Revolution, was neither an expedient of the moment nor the offspring of secret conspiracy. From the very day of the capitulation, by which the government of the national defence had disarmed France but reserved to itself a bodyguard of 40,000 troops for the purpose of cowing Paris, Paris stood on the watch. The national guard reformed its organization and entrusted its supreme control to a Central Committee, consisting of the delegates of the single companies, mostly workmen, with their main strength in the workmen's suburbs, but soon accepted by the whole body save its old Bonapartist formations. On the eve of the entrance of the Prussians into Paris, the Central committee took measures for the removal to Montmartre, Belleville, and La Villette, of the cannon and mitrailleuses treacherously abandoned by the capitulards, even in those quarters which the Prussians were about to occupy. It thus made safe the artillery, furnished by the subscriptions of the National Guard, officially recognized as their private property in the convention of the 28th of January,[318] and on that very title exempted from the general surrender of arms. During the whole interval from the meeting of the National Assembly at Bordeaux to the 18th of March, the Central Committee had been the people's government of the capital, strong enough to persist in its firm attitude of defence despite the provocations of the Assembly, the violent measures of the Executive, and the menacing concentration of troops.[b]

The defeat of Vinoy by the National Guard was but a check

[a] E. Picard, L. J.-B. d'Aurelle de Paladines, "To the National Guards of the Seine", *The Daily News,* No. 7765, March 20, 1871.— *Ed.*

[b] Then follows a paragraph beginning with the words "The revolution of the 4th September" to "of a long bygone past", which was crossed out by Marx since it occurs on the next page.— *Ed.*

given to the Counterrevolution plotted by ruling classes, but the Paris people turned at once that incident of their selfdefence into the first act of a social Revolution. The revolution of the 4th September had restored the Republic after the throne of the usurper had become vacant. The tenacious resistance of Paris during its siege, serving as the basis for the defensive war in the provinces, had wrung from the Foreign invader the recognition of that Republic, but its true meaning and purpose were only revealed on the 18th of March. It was to supersede the social and political conditions of class rule, upon which the old world's system rests, which had engendered the Second Empire and under its tutelage, ripened into rottenness. Europe thrilled as under an electric shock. It seemed for a moment to doubt whether its late sensational performances of state and war had any reality in them and were not the mere sanguinary dreams of a long bygone past. The traces of the long endured famine still upon their figures, and under the very eye of Prussian bayonets, the Paris working class conquered in one bound the championship of progress etc.

In the sublime enthusiasm of historic initiative, the Paris workmen's Revolution made it a point of honour to keep the proletarian clean of the crimes in which the revolutions and still more the counterrevolutions of their betters (natural superiors) abound.

### *Clément Thomas. Lecomte etc.*

But the horrid "atrocities" that have sullied this Revolution?

So far as these atrocities imputed to it by its enemies are not the deliberate calumny of Versailles or the horrid spawn of the penny a liner's brain, they relate only to two facts—the execution of the Generals Lecomte and Clément Thomas and the Vendôme Affaire, of which we shall dispose in a few words.

One of the paid cut-throats selected for the (felonious handy work) execution of the nocturnal *coup de main*[a] on Montmartre, General Lecomte had on the place Pigalle four times ordered his troops of the 81st of the line to charge an unarmed gathering, and on their refusal fiercely insulted them. Instead of shooting women and children, some of his own men shot him, when taken prisoner in the afternoon of the 18th March, in the gardens of the Château rouge. The inveterate habits acquired by the French *soldatesque* under the training of the enemies of the working class, are of

[a] Sudden attack.— *Ed.*

course not likely to change the very moment they change sides. The same soldiers executed Clément Thomas.

"General" Clément Thomas, a discontent ex-quartermaster-sergeant had, in the latter times of Louis Philippe's reign, enlisted in the "republican" *National* newspaper, there to serve in the double quality of strawman (responsible *Gérant*[a]) and bully. The men of the *National* having abused the February Revolution,[b] to cheat themselves into power, metamorphosed their old quartermaster-sergeant into a "General" on the eve of the butchery of June, of which he, like Jules Favre, was one of the sinister plotters and became one of the most merciless executors. Then his generalship came to a sudden end. He disappears only to rise again to the surface on the 1st November 1870. The day before the government of defence, caught at the Hôtel de Ville, had, upon their word of honour, solemnly bound themselves to Blanqui, Flourens and the other representatives of the working class to abdicate their usurped power into the hands of a Commune to be freely chosen by Paris.[184] They broke, of course, their word of honour, to let loose the Bretons of Trochu, who had taken the place of the Corsicans of L. Bonaparte,[185] upon the people guilty of believing in their honour. M. Tamisier alone refusing to brand himself by such a breach of faith, tendering at once his resignation of the commandership-in-chief of the National Guard, "General" Clément Thomas was shuffled into his place. During his whole tenure of office he made war not upon the Prussians, but upon the Paris National Guard, proving inexhaustible in pretexts to prevent its general armament, in devices of disorganization by pitching its bourgeois element against its working men's elements, of weeding out the officers hostile to Trochu's "plan" and disbanding, under the stigma of cowardice, the very proletarian battalions whose heroism is now astonishing their most inveterate enemies. Clément Thomas felt proud of having reconquered his June preeminence as the personal enemy of the Paris working class. Only a few days before the 18th of March he laid before the war minister Le Flô a new plan of his own for finishing off "*la fine fleur* (the cream) of the Paris *canaille*".[c] As if haunted by the June spectres, he must needs appear, in the quality of an *amateur* detective, on the scene of action after Vinoy's rout!

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[a] Editor.— *Ed.*

[b] Of 1848.— *Ed.*

[c] "*La Sociale* publie une curieuse lettre...", *Le Venguer*, No. 21, April 19, 1871. *Canaille*— mob.— *Ed.*

The Central Committee tried in vain to rescue these two criminals, Lecomte and Clément Thomas, from the soldiers' wild lynch justice, of which they themselves and the Paris workmen were as guilty as the Princess Alexandra of the people crushed to death on the day of her entrance in London. Jules Favre, with his forged Pathos, flung his curses upon Paris, the den of assassins. The Rural Assembly mimicked hysterical contortions of "sensiblerie".[a] These men never shed their crocodile tears but as a pretext for shedding the blood of the people. To handle respectable cadavers as weapons of civil war has always been a favourite trick with the party of order. How did Europe ring in 1848 with their shouts of horror at the assassination of the Archbishop of Paris[b] by the insurgents of June, and while they were fully aware from the evidence of an eyewitness: M. Jacquemet, the Archbishop's vicar, that the Bishop had been shot by Cavaignac's own soldiers![c] Through the letters to Thiers of the present Archbishop of Paris,[d] a man with no martyr's vein in him, there runs the shrewd suspicion that his Versailles friends were quite the men to console themselves of his prospective execution in the violent desire to fix that amiable proceeding on the Commune! However, when the cry of "assassins" had served its turn, Thiers coolly disposed of it by declaring from the tribune of the National Assembly, that the "assassination" was the private deed of a few, "very few" obscure individuals.[e]

The "men of order", the reactionists of Paris, trembling at the people's victory as the signal of retribution, were quite astonished by proceedings strangely at variance with their own traditional methods of celebrating a defeat of the people. Even the sergents-de-ville, instead of being disarmed and locked up, had the doors of Paris flung wide open for their safe retreat to Versailles, while the "men of order", left not only unhurt, were allowed to rally quietly and lay hold of the strongholds in the very centre of Paris. They interpreted, of course, the indulgence of the Central Committee and the magnanimity of the armed workmen as mere symptoms of conscious weakness. Hence their plan to try under the mask of an "unarmed" demonstration the work which four

[a] Sentimentality.— *Ed.*

[b] D. A. Affre.— *Ed.*

[c] The reference is to Jacquemet's statement of June 26, 1848, published in *La Situation*, No. 185, April 25, 1871.— *Ed.*

[d] G. Darboy, "Prison de Mazas, le 8 avril 1871", *Le Rappel*, No. 669, April 13, 1871.— *Ed.*

[e] See "Méditation des municipalités de la Seine", *Le Rappel*, No. 684, April 28, 1871.— *Ed.*

days before Vinoy's cannon and mitrailleuses had failed in. Starting from their quarters of luxury, this riotous mob of "gentlemen", with all the *"petits crevés"*[a] in their ranks and the familiars of the Empire, the Heeckeren, Coëtlogon, H. de Pène etc. at their head, fell in marching order under the cries of "down with the Assassins! down with the Central Committee! Vive l'Assemblée Nationale!" illtreating and disarming the detached posts of National Guards they met with on their progress. When then at last debouching in the place Vendôme, they tried, under shouts of ribald insults, to dislodge the National Guards from their headquarters and forcibly break through the lines. In answer to their pistol shots the regular *sommations* (the French equivalent of the English reading of the Riot acts)[187] were made, but proved ineffective to stop the aggressors. Then fire was commanded by the general of the National Guard[b] and these rioters dispersed in wild flight. Two national guards killed, eight dangerously wounded, and the streets, through which they disbanded (runaways fled), strewn with revolvers, daggers and cane-swords, gave clear evidence of the "unarmed" character of their "pacific" demonstration.[c] When, on the 13th June 1849, the National guards of Paris made a really "unarmed" demonstration of protest against the felonious assault on Rome by French troops, Changarnier, the general of the "party of order", had their ranks sabred, trampled down by cavalry and shot down, the state of siege was at once proclaimed, new arrests, new proscriptions, a new reign of terror set in.[d] But the "lower orders" manage these things otherwise. The runaways of the 22nd March being neither followed up on their flight nor afterwards called to account by the judge of instruction *(juge d'instruction)*, were able two days later to muster again an "armed" demonstration under Admiral Saisset. Even after the grotesque failure of this their second rising, they were, like all other Paris citizens, allowed to try their hands at the ballot-box for the election of the Commune, and when succumbing in this bloodless battle, they at last purged Paris from their presence by an unmolested Exodus, dragging along with them the cocottes, the lazzaroni and the other dangerous class of the capital.

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[a] Fops.— *Ed.*

[b] J. Bergeret.— *Ed.*

[c] See "Le *Journal officiel* de Paris raconte...", *Le Rappel*, No. 650, March 25, 1871.— *Ed.*

[d] Marx gives a detailed analysis of the events of June 13, 1849 in his work *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*, Ch. II (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 71-100).— *Ed.*

The "assassination of the unarmed citizens" on the 22nd of March is a myth which even Thiers and his rurals[178] have never dared to harp upon, entrusting it exclusively to the servant hall of European journalism.

If there is to be found fault with in the conduct of the Central Committee and the Paris workmen towards these "men of order" from 18th March to the time of their Exodus, it is an excess of moderation bordering upon weakness.

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Look now to the other side of the medal!

After the failure of their nocturnal surprise of Montmartre, the party of order began their regular Campaign against Paris in the commencement of April. For inaugurating the civil war by the methods of December, the massacre in cold blood of the captured soldiers of the line and infamous murder of our brave friend Duval, Vinoy, the runaway, is appointed by Thiers Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour! Galliffet, the fancy-man of that woman so notorious for her shameless maskerades at the orgies of the Second Empire,[a] boasts in an official manifesto of his cowardly assassination of Paris National Guards, their lieutenant and their captain, made by surprise and treason.[b] Desmarêts, the gendarme, is decorated for his butchery-like chopping of the highsouled and chivalrous Flourens, the "encouraging" particulars of whose death are triumphantly communicated to the Assembly by Thiers.[c] In the horribly grotesque exultation of a Tom Pouce playing the part of Timur Tamerlane, Thiers denies the "rebels" against his littleness all the rights and customs of civilized warfare, even the rights of "ambulances".[190]

When the Commune had published on the 7 April its decree of reprisals, declaring it its duty to protect itself against the cannibal exploits of the Versailles banditti and to demand an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth,[d] the atrocious treatment of the Versailles prisoners, of whom Thiers says in one of his bulletins:

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[a] "The wild tumults of...", *The Daily News,* No. 7779, April 5, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] Notice on Proclamation of General de Galliffet, April 3, 1871, *The Daily News,* No. 7783, April 10, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx sets forth Thiers' speech in the National Assembly on April 3, 1871 according to *The Daily Telegraph,* No. 4932, April 5, 1871.—*Ed.*

[d] The Proclamation of the Commune of April 5, 1871 is cited from *The Civil War in France* published in *The Daily News,* No. 7781, April 7, 1871; see also *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 96, April 6, 1871.—*Ed.*

"never had more degraded countenances of a degraded democracy met the afflicted gazes of honest men",[a]

did not cease, but the fusillades of the captives were stopped. Hardly however had he and his Decembrist generals become aware, that the Commune's decree was but an empty threat, that even their spying gendarmes caught in Paris under the disguise of National Guards, that even their sergents-de-ville captured with explosive bombs upon them were spared, when at once the old regime set in wholesale and has continued to this day. The National Guards who had surrendered at Belle Epine to an overwhelming force of Chasseurs were then shot down one after the other by the captain of the *peloton*[b] on horseback; houses, to which Parisian troops and National guards had fled, surrounded by Gendarmes, inundated with petroleum, and then set on fire, the calcinated corpses being afterward transported by Paris ambulance; the bayoneting of the national guards surprised (Federals surprised in their beds asleep) by treason in their beds at the Redoubt of Moulin Saquet, the massacre (fusillades) of Clamart, prisoners wearing the line uniform shot offhand, all these high deeds flippantly told in Thiers bulletin,[c] are only a few incidents of this slaveholders' rebellion! But would it not be ludicrous to quote single facts of ferocity in view of this civil war, fomented amidst the ruins of France, by the conspirators of Versailles from the meanest motives of class interest, and the bombardment of Paris under the patronage of Bismarck, in the sight of his soldiers! The flippant manner in which Thiers reports on these things in the bulletin, has even shocked the not oversensitive nerves of *The Times*.[d] All this is however "regular" as the Spaniards say. All the fights of the ruling classes against the producing classes menacing their privileges are full of the same horrors, although none exhibits such an excess of humanity on the part of the oppressed and few such an abasement.... Theirs has always been the old axiom of knight-errantry that every weapon is fair if used against the plebeian.

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*"L'assemblée siège paisiblement"*, writes *Thiers* to the *Prefects*.[e]

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[a] L. A. Thiers' proclamation of April 4, 1871, *The Daily News*, No. 7779, April 5, 1871.— *Ed.*

[b] A company.— *Ed.*

[c] See "Voici, sur le même fait, le bulletin...", *Le Rappel*, No. 692, May 6, 1871.— *Ed.*

[d] See "The Massacre at Clamart", *The Times*, No. 27056, May 6, 1871.— *Ed.*

[e] "Assembly meets peacefully", quoted in: Th. Astrie, "L'homme rouge", *La Situation*, No. 176, April 14, 1871.— *Ed.*

## *The Affaire at Belle-Epine*

The affair at Belle-Epine, near Villejuif this: On the 25th April four national guards, being surrounded by a troop of mounted Chasseurs, who bid them to surrender and lay down their arms. Unable to resist, they obeyed and were left unhurt by the Chasseurs. Some time later then their captain, a worthy officer of Galliffet's, arrives in full gallop and shoots the prisoners down with his revolver, one after the other, and then trots off with his troop. Three of the guards were dead, one, named Scheffer, grievously wounded, survives, and is afterwards brought to the Hospital of Bicêtre. Thither the Commune sent a commission to take up the evidence of the dying man which it published in its report.[a] When one of the Paris members of the *Assemblée* interpellated the war minister upon that report, the *rurals* drowned the voice of the deputy and forbid the minister to answer.[b] It would be an insult to their "glorious" army—not to commit murder, but to speak of it.

The tranquillity of mind with which that Assembly bears with the horrors of civil war is told in one of Thiers' bulletins to his prefects: "L'assemblée siège paisiblement" (has the *coeur léger*[c] like Ollivier) and the executive with its ticket-of-leave men shows by its gastronomical feats, given by Thiers and at the table of German princes, that their digestion is not troubled even by the ghosts of Lecomte and Clément Thomas.

### 6) THE COMMUNE

The Commune had, after Sedan, been proclaimed by the workmen of Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulouse.[307] Gambetta did his best to destroy it. During the siege of Paris the ever recurrent workmen's commotions again and again crushed on false pretences by Trochu's Bretons, those worthy substitutes of L. Bonaparte's Corsicans,[185] were as many attempts to dislodge the government of impostors by the Commune. The Commune then silently elaborated, was the true secret of the Revolution of the 4th of September. Hence on the very dawn of the 18th March, after the rout of the Counterrevolution, drowsy Europe started up from

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[a] [Rapport de la Commission d'enquête de la Commune], *Le Mot d'Ordre,* No. 65, April 29, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] Report of the National Assembly's Sitting of May 6, 1871, *Journal officiel* (Versailles), No. 127, May 7, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] Carefree mind.—*Ed.*

its dreams of the Prussian Empire under the Paris thunderbursts of *Vive la Commune!*[a]

What is the Commune, this sphinx so tantalizing to the Bourgeois mind?

In its most simple conception, the form under which the working class assume the political power in their social strongholds, Paris and the other centres of industry.

"The proletarians of the capital," said the Central Committee in its proclamation of the 20 March, "have, in the midst of the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, understood that for them the hour had struck to save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs.... They have understood that it was their imperious duty and their absolute right to take into their own hands their own destiny by seizing upon the political power" (state power).[b]

But the proletariat cannot, as the ruling classes and their different rival fractions have done in the successive hours of their triumph, simply lay hold of the existent state body and wield this ready-made agency for their own purpose. The first condition for the holding of political power, is to transform the traditional working machinery and destroy it as an instrument of class rule. That huge governmental machinery, entoiling like a boa constrictor the real social body in the ubiquitous meshes of a standing army, a hierarchical bureaucracy, an obedient police, clergy and a servile magistrature, was first forged in the days of absolute monarchy as a weapon of nascent middleclass society in its struggles of emancipation from feudalism. The first French Revolution, with its task to give full scope to the free development of modern middleclass society, had to sweep away all the local, territorial, townish and provincial strongholds of feudalism, prepared the social soil for the superstructure of a centralized state power, with omnipresent organs ramified after the plan of a systematic and hierarchic division of labour.

But the working class cannot simply lay hold on the ready-made state machinery and wield it for their own purpose. The political instrument of their enslavement cannot serve as the political instrument of their emancipation.

The modern bourgeois state is embodied in two great organs, parliament and government. Parliamentary omnipotence had, during the period of the party of order republic, from 1848 to 1851, engendered its own negative—the Second Empire, and

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[a] "Long live the Commune!"—*Ed.*

[b] "La Révolution du 18 mars", *Le Petit Journal,* No. 3002, March 22, 1871.—*Ed.*

Imperialism, with its mere mockery of parliament, is the regime now flourishing in most of the great military states of the continent. At first view apparently the usurpatory dictatorship of the governmental body over society itself, rising alike above and humbling alike all classes, it has in fact, on the European continent at least, become the only possible state form in which the appropriating class can continue to sway it over the producing class. The assembly of the ghosts of all the defunct French parliaments which still haunts Versailles, wields no real force save the governmental machinery as shaped by the Second Empire.

The huge governmental parasite, entoiling the social body like a boa constrictor in the ubiquitous meshes of its bureaucracy, police, standing army, clergy and magistrature—dates its birth from the days of absolute monarchy. The centralized state power had at that time to serve nascent middleclass society as a mighty weapon in its struggles of emancipation from feudalism. The French Revolution of the 18th century, with its task to sweep away the medieval rubbish of seigniorial, local, townish, and provincial privileges, could not but simultaneously clear the social soil of the last obstacles hampering the full development of a centralized state power, with omnipresent organs wrought after the plan of a systematic and hierarchic division of labour. Such it burst into life under the first Empire, itself the offspring of the coalition wars of old semifeudal Europe against modern France. During the subsequent parliamentary regimes of the Restoration, the July Monarchy, and the party of order Republic, the supreme management of that state machinery with its irresistible allurements of place, pelf and patronage, became not only the butt of contest between the rival fractions of the ruling class, but at the same degree that the economic progress of modern society swelled the ranks of the working class, accumulated its miseries, organized its resistance and developed its tendencies at emancipation, that, in one word, the struggle of classes, the struggle between labour and capital assumed shape and form, the physiognomy and the character of the state power underwent a striking change. It had always been the power for the maintenance of order, i.e., the existing order of society, and, therefore, of the subordination and exploitation of the producing class by the appropriating class. But as long as this order was accepted as the uncontrovertible and uncontested necessity, the state power could assume an aspect of impartiality. It kept up the existing subordination of the masses which was the unalterable order of things and a social fact undergone without contest on the part of the masses, exercised by

their "natural superiors" without solicitude. With the entrance of society itself into a new phase, the phase of class struggle, the character of its organized public force, the state power, could not but change also (but also undergo a marked change) and more and more develop its character as the instrument of class despotism, the political engine for forcibly perpetuating the social enslavement of the producers of wealth by its appropriators, of the economic rule of capital over labour. After each new popular revolution, resulting in the transfer of the direction of the state machinery from one set of the ruling classes to another, the repressive character of the state power was more fully developed and more mercilessly used, because the promises made, and seemingly assured by the Revolution, could only be broken by the employment of force. Besides, the change worked by the successive revolutions, sanctioned only politically the social fact, the growing power of capital, and, therefore, transferred the state power itself more and more directly into the hands of the direct antagonists of the working class. Thus the Revolution of July transferred the power from the hands of the landowners into those of the great manufacturers (the great capitalists) and the Revolution of February into those of the united fractions of the ruling class, united in their antagonism to the working class, united as "the party of order", the order of their own class rule. During the period of the parliamentary republic the state power became at last the avowed instrument of war wielded by the appropriating class against the productive mass of the people. But as an avowed instrument of civil war it could only be wielded during a time of civil war and the condition of life for the parliamentary republic was, therefore, the continuance of openly declared civil war, the negative of that very "order" in the name of which the civil war was waged. This could only be a spasmodic, exceptional state of things. It was impossible as the normal political form of society, unbearable even to the mass of the middle class. When therefore all elements of popular resistance were broken down, the parliamentary republic had to disappear (give way to) before the Second Empire.

The Empire, professing to rest upon the producing majority of the nation, the peasants, apparently out of the range of the class struggle between capital and labour (indifferent and hostile to both the contesting social powers), wielding the state power as a force superior to the ruling and ruled classes, imposing upon both an armistice, (silencing the political, and, therefore, revolutionary form of the class struggle), divesting the state power of its direct

form of class despotism by braking the parliamentary and, therefore, directly political power of the appropriating classes, was the only possible state form to secure the old social order a respite of life. It was, therefore, acclaimed throughout the world as the "saviour of order" and the object of admiration during 20 years on the part of the would-be slaveholders all over the world. Under its sway, coincident with the change brought upon the market of the world by California, Australia,[321] and the wonderful development of the United States, an unsurpassed period of industrial activity set [in], an orgy of stockjobbery, finance swindling, Joint-Stock Company adventure—leading all to rapid centralization of capital by the expropriation of the middle class and widening the gulf between the capitalist class and the working class. The whole turpitude of the capitalist regime, gave full scope to its innate tendency, broke loose unfettered. At the same time an orgy of luxurious debauch, meretricious splendour, a pandemonium of all the low passions of the higher classes. This ultimate form of the governmental power was at the same time its most prostitute, shameless plunder of the state resources by a band of adventurers, hotbed of huge state debts, the glory of prostitution, a factitious life of false pretences. The governmental power with all its tinsel covering from top to bottom immerged in mud. The maturity of rottenness of the state machinery itself, and the putrescence of the whole social body, flourishing under it, were laid bare by the bayonets of Prussia, herself only eager to transfer the European seat of that regime of gold, blood, and mud from Paris to Berlin.

This was the state power in its ultimate and most prostitute shape, in its supreme and basest reality, which the Paris working class had to overcome, and of which this class alone could rid society. As to parliamentarism, it had been killed by its own triumph and by the Empire. All the working class had to do was not to revive it.

What the workmen had to break down was not a more or less incomplete form of the governmental power of old society, it was that power itself in its ultimate and exhausting shape—the *Empire.* The direct opposite to the *Empire* was the *Commune.*

In its most simple conception the Commune meant the preliminary destruction of the old governmental machinery at its central seats, Paris and the other great cities of France, and its superseding by real self-government which, in Paris and the great cities, the social strongholds of the working class, was the government of the working class. Through the siege Paris had got

rid of the army which was replaced by a National Guard, with its bulk formed by the workmen of Paris. It was only due to this state of things, that the rising of the 18th of March had become possible. This fact was to become an institution, and the national guard of the great cities, the people armed against governmental usurpation, to supplant the standing army, defending the government against the people. The commune to consist of the municipal councillors of the different arrondissements, (as Paris was the initiator and the model, we have to refer to it) chosen by the suffrage of all citizens, responsible, and revocable in short terms. The majority of that body would naturally consist of workmen or acknowledged representatives of the working class. It was to be a working, not a parliamentary body, executive and legislative at the same time. The police agents, instead of being the agents of a central government, were to be the servants of the Commune, having, like the functionaries in all the other departments of administration, to be appointed and always revocable by the Commune; all the functionaries, like the members of the Commune itself, having to do their work at workmen's wages. The judges were also to be elected, revocable, and responsible. The initiative in all matters of social life to be reserved to the Commune. In one word, all public functions, even the few ones that would belong to the Central Government, were to be executed by communal agents, and, therefore, under the control of the Commune. It is one of the absurdities to say, that the Central functions, not of governmental authority over the people, but necessitated by the general and common wants of the country, would become impossible. These functions would exist, but the functionaries themselves could not, as in the old governmental machinery, raise themselves over real society, because the functions were to be executed by *communal agents*, and, therefore, always under real control. The public functions would cease to be a private property bestowed by a central government upon its tools. With the standing army and the governmental police the physical force of repression was to be broken. By the disestablishment of all churches as proprietary bodies and the banishment of religious instruction from all public schools (together with gratuitous instruction) into the recesses of private life, there to live upon the alms of the faithful, the divestment of all educational institutes from governmental patronage and servitude, the mental force of repression was to be broken, science made not only accessible to all, but freed from the fetters of government pressure and class prejudice. The municipal taxation to be determined and

levied by the Commune, the taxation for general state purposes to be levied by communal functionaries, and disbursed by the Commune itself for the general purposes. (its disbursement for the general purposes to be supervised by the Commune itself.)

The governmental force of repression and authority over society was thus to be broken in its merely repressive organs, and where it had legitimate functions to fulfil, these functions were not to be exercised by a body superior to the society, but by the responsible agents of society itself.

### 7) SCHLUSS[a]

To fighting, working, thinking Paris, electrified by the enthusiasm of historic initiative, full of heroic reality, the new society in its throes, there is opposed at Versailles the old society, a world of antiquated shams and accumulated lies. Its true representation is that rural Assembly,[178] peopled with the gibberish ghouls of all the defunct regimes into which class rule had successively embodied itself in France, at their head a senile mountebank of parliamentarism, and their sword in the hands of the Imperialist capitulards,[165] bombarding Paris under the eyes of their Prussian conquerors.

The immense ruins which the second Empire, in its fall, has heaped upon France, is for them only an opportunity to dig out and throw to the surface the rubbish of former ruins, of Legitimism or Orleanism.

The flame of life is to burn in an atmosphere of the sepulchral exhalations of all the bygone emigration. (The very air they breathe is the sepulchral exhalation of all bygone emigrations.)

There is nothing real about them but their common conspiracy against life, their egotism of class interest, their wish to feed upon the carcass of French society, their common slaveholders' interests, their hatred of the present, and their war upon Paris.

Everything about them is a caricature, from that old fossil of Louis Philippe's regime, Count Jaubert exclaiming in the National assembly, in the palace of Louis XIV: "we are the state" ("The state, that is ourselves")[322] (they are in fact the State spectre in its secession from society) to the Republican fawners upon Thiers holding their reunions in the *Jeu de Paumes* (Tennis Court) to show their degeneracy from their predecessors in 1789.[310]

Thiers at the head, the bulk of the majority split into these two groups of Legitimists and Orleanists, in the tail the Republicans of

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[a] Conclusion.— *Ed.*

"old style". Each of these fractions intrigues for a restoration of its own, the Republicans for that of the parliamentary Republic—building their hopes upon the senile vanity of Thiers, forming in the meantime the Republican decoration of his rule and sanctioning by their presence the war of the Bonapartist generals upon Paris, after having tried to coax it into the arms of Thiers and to disarm it under Saisset! Knights of the sad figure, the humiliations they voluntarily bear with, show what Republicanism, as a special form of class rule, has come down to. It was in view of them that Thiers said to the assembled maires of the Seine and Oise: What could they more want? "Was not he, a simple citizen, at the head of the State."[a] Progress from 1830 to 1870 that then Louis Philippe was the best of Republics, and that now Louis Philippe's Minister, little Thiers himself, is the best of Republics.

Being forced to do their real work—the war against Paris, through the Imperialist soldiers, Gendarmes, and police, under the sway of the retired Bonapartist generals, they tremble in their shoes at the suspicion that—as during their regime of 1848-51—they are only forging the instrument for a second Restoration of the Empire. The Pontifical Zouaves[108] and the Vendeans of Cathelineau and the Bretons of Charette[185] are in fact their "parliamentary" army, the mere phantasms of an army compared with the Imperialist reality. While fuming with rage at the very name of the Republic, they accept Bismarck's dictates in its name, waste in its name the rest of French wealth upon the civil war, denounce Paris in its name, forge laws of prospective proscription against the rebels in its name, usurp dictation over France in its name.

Their title [is] the general suffrage, which they had always opposed during their own régimes from 1815 to 1848, abolished in May 1850, after it had been established against them by the Republic, and which they now accept as the prostitute of the Empire, forgetting that with it they accept the Empire of the Plebiscites! They themselves are impossible even with the general suffrage.

They reproach Paris for revolting against national unity, and their first word was the *decapitation* of that Unity by the decapitalization of Paris. Paris has done the thing they pretended to want, but it has done it, not as they wanted it, as a reactionary dream of the past, but as the revolutionary vindication of the future. Thiers, the

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[a] "Méditation des municipalités de la Seine", *Le Rappel*, No. 684, April 28, 1871.—*Ed.*

Chauvin,[a] threatens since the 18th March Paris with the "intervention of Prussia", asked at Bordeaux for the "intervention of Prussia", acts against Paris in fact only by the means accorded to him by Prussia. The Bourbons were dignity itself, compared to this mountebank of Chauvinism.

Whatever may be the name—in case they are victorious—of their Restoration, with whatever successful pretender at its head, its reality can only be the Empire, the ultimate and indispensable political form of the rule of their rotten classes. If they succeed to restore it, and they must restore it with any of their plans of restoration successful—they succeed only to accelerate the putrefaction of the old society they represent and the maturity of the new one they combat. Their dim eyes see only the political outwork of the defunct regimes and they dream of reviving them by placing a Henry the 5th or the Count of Paris at their head. They do not see that the social bodies which bore these political superstructures have withered away, that these regimes were only possible under now outgrown conditions and past phases of French society, and that it can only yet bear with Imperialism, in its putrescent state, and the Republic of Labour in its state of regeneration. They do not see that the cycles of political forms were only the political expression of the real changes society underwent.

The Prussians who in coarse war exultation of triumph look at the agonies of French society and exploit them with the sordid calculation of a Shylock, and the flippant coarseness of the *Krautjunker*,[b] are themselves already punished by the transplantation of the Empire to the German soil. They themselves are doomed to set free in France the subterranean agencies which will engulf them with the old order of things. The Paris Commune may fall, but the Social Revolution it has initiated, will triumph. Its birthstead is everywhere.

[FRAGMENTS]

## *The Lies in Thiers' Bulletins*

The immense sham of that Versailles, its lying character could not better be embodied and resumed than in Thiers, the professional liar, for whom the "reality of things" exists only in their "parliamentary sense", that is as a lie.

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[a] Jingo.—*Ed.*

[b] The country squire.—*Ed.*

In his answer to the Archbishop's letter he coolly denies "the pretended executions and *reprisals* (!) attributed to the troops of Versailles",[a] and has this impudent lie confirmed by a commission appointed for this very purpose by his rurals.[293] He knows of course their triumphant proclamations by the Bonapartist generals themselves. But in "the parliamentary sense" of the word they do not exist.

*In his circular of the 16th April on the bombardment of Paris:*

"If some cannon-shots have been fired, it is not the deed of the army of Versailles, but of some insurgents *wanting to make believe that they are fighting*, while they do not dare show themselves."[b]

Of course, Paris bombards itself, in order to make the world believe that it fights!

Later: *"Our artillery does not bombard—but it cannonades, it is true."*

*Thiers' bulletin on Moulin-Saquet (4 May): "Deliverance of Paris from the hideous tyrants who oppress it"*[c] (by killing the Paris National Guards asleep).

The motley lot of an army—the dregs of the Bonapartist *soldatesque* released from prison by the grace of Bismarck,[175] with the gendarmes of Valentin and the sergents-de-ville of Piétri for their nucleus, set off by the Pontifical Zouaves, the Chouans of Charette and the Vendeans of Cathelineau, the whole placed under the runaway Decembrist generals of capitulation, he dubs *"the finest army France ever possessed"*.[d] Of course, if the Prussians quarter still at St. Denis, it is because Thiers wants to frighten them by the sight of that "finest of fine armies".

If such is the "finest army"—the Versailles anachronism is "the most liberal and most freely elected assembly that ever existed in France".[e] Thiers caps his eccentricity by telling the maires etc that "he is a man, who has never broken his word", of course in the parliamentary sense of word-keeping.

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[a] "La commission des Quinze...", *Le Rappel*, No. 673, April 17, 1871.— *Ed.*

[b] Cited in: "La Circulaire de M. Thiers", *Le Vengeur*, No. 21, April 19, 1871.— *Ed.*

[c] "Voici, sur le même fait, le bulletin,,,", *Le Rappel*, No. 692, May 6, 1871. Marx gives the quotations in this and the previous paragraph in French.— *Ed.*

[d] Quoted according to: Th. Astrie, "L'homme rouge", *La Situation*, No. 176, April 14, 1871.— *Ed.*

[e] "Méditation des municipalités de la Seine", *Le Rappel*, No. 684, April 28, 1871.— *Ed.*

He is the truest of Republicans and (*Séance* of 27 April): "The Assembly is more liberal than he himself."[a]

*To the Maires*: "You can rely on my word which I have never broken", in an unparliamentary sense, which I have never kept.

"This Assembly is one of the most liberal ever elected by France."[b]

He compares himself with Lincoln and the Parisians with the rebellious slaveholders of the South. The Southerners wanted territorial Secession from the United States for the slavery of labour.[323] Paris wants the secession of M. Thiers himself and the interests he represents from power for the emancipation of labour.

The revenge which the Bonapartist Generals, the Gendarmes and the Chouans wreak upon Paris is a necessity of the class war against labour, but in the little byplay of his bulletins Thiers turns it into a pretext of caricaturing his idol, the first Nap., and makes himself the laughing-stock of Europe by boldly affirming, that the French army through its war upon the Parisian has regained the renown it had lost in the war against the Prussian. The whole war thus appears as mere childplay to give vent to the childish vanity of a dwarf, elated at having to describe *his* own battles, fought by *his* own army, under *his* own secret commandership-in-chief.

And his lies culminate in regard to Paris and the province.

Paris which in reality holds in check for two months the finest army France ever possessed, despite the secret help of the Prussian, is in fact only anxious to be delivered from its "atrocious tyrants", by Thiers, and therefore it fights against him, although a mere handful of criminals.

He does not tire of representing the Commune as a handful of convicts, ticket-of-leave men, scum. Paris fights against him because it wants to be delivered by him from "the *affreux*[c] tyrants that oppress it". And this "handful" of desperadoes holds in check for two months "the finest army that France ever possessed" led by the invincible MacMahon and inspired by the Napoleonic genius of Thiers himself!

The resistance of Paris is no reality, but Thiers' lies about Paris are.

Not content to refute him by its exploits, all the living elements

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[a] L. A. Thiers' speech in the National Assembly on April 27, 1871, *Le Rappel*, No. 685, April 29, 1871. Marx cites the French text of the speech here and in the next paragraph.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx gives this quotation in French.— *Ed.*

[c] Atrocious.— *Ed.*

of Paris have spoken to him, but in vain, to dislodge him out of his lying world.

"You must not confound the movement of Paris with the surprise of Montmartre, which was only its opportunity and starting point; this movement is general and profound in the conscience of Paris; the greatest number even of those who by one reason or another keep back (stand aside), do for all that not disavow its social legitimity."[a]

By whom he was told this? By the delegates of the syndical chambers, speaking in the name of 7-8,000 merchants and Industrials. They went to tell it him personally at Versailles. Thus the *League of the Republican Union*, thus the *Masons' lodges*[302] by their delegates and their demonstrations. But he sticks to it.

In his bulletin of Moulin-Saquet (4 May):

"300 prisoners taken ... the rest of the insurgents has fled like the wind, leaving 150 dead and wounded on the field of battle.... Such is the victory the Commune can celebrate in its bulletins. Paris will soon be delivered from the terrible tyrants oppressing it."[b]

But the fighting Paris, the real Paris is not *his* Paris. His Paris is itself a parliamentary lie. "The rich, the idle, the capitalist Paris",[c] the cosmopolitan stew, this is his Paris. That is the Paris which wants to be restored to him, the real Paris is the Paris of the "vile multitude". The Paris that shewed its courage in the "pacific procession" and Saisset's stampedo, that throngs now at Versailles, at Rueil, at St. Denis, at St. Germain-en-Laye, followed by the cocottes, sticking to the "man of family, religion, order" and above all "of property", the Paris of the lounging classes, the Paris of the francs-fileurs,[208] amusing itself by looking through telescopes at the battles going on, treating the civil war but as an agreeable diversion,[d] that is the Paris of M. Thiers, as the emigration of Coblenz[210] was the France of M. de Calonne and as the emigration at Versailles is the France of M. Thiers.

If the Paris, that wants to be delivered of the Commune by Thiers, his rurals,[178] Décembriseurs[181] and Gendarmes, is a lie, so is his "province" which through him and his rurals wants to be delivered from Paris.

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[a] Quoted according to: A. Vacqueries, "Une Poignée de Factieux", *La Rappel*, No. 669, April 13, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] "Voici, sur le même fait, le bulletin...", *Le Rappel*, No. 692, May 6, 1871. Marx quotes from it in French beginning with the words "like the wind".—*Ed.*

[c] "The Commune of Paris...", *The Times*, No. 27028, April 4, 1871.—*Ed.*

[d] "The really dangerous classes...", *The Observer*, No. 4170, April 23, 1871.—*Ed.*

Before the definitive conclusion at Frankfort of the peace treaty,[324] he appealed to the provinces to send their battalions of national guards and volunteers to Versailles to fight against Paris. The Province refused point blank.[a] Only Bretagne sent a handful of Chouans "fighting under a white flag, every one of them wearing on his breast a Jesus heart in white cloth and shouting: "Vive le roi!"[b] Thus is the provincial France listening to his summons so that he was forced to lend captive French troops from Bismarck, lay hold of the Pontifical Zouaves (the real armed representatives of *his* provincial France) and make 20,000 Gendarmes and 12,000 sergents-de-ville the nucleus of his army.

Despite the wall of lies, the intellectual and police blockade, by which he tried to (debar) fence off Paris from the provinces, the provinces, instead of sending him battalions to wage war upon Paris, inundated him with so many delegations insisting upon peace with Paris, that he refused to receive them any longer in person. The tone of the addresses sent up from the Provinces, proposing most of them the immediate conclusion of an armistice with Paris, the dissolution of the Assembly, "because its mandate had expired",[c] and the grant of the municipal rights demanded by Paris, was so offensive that Dufaure denounces them in his "circular against conciliation" to the prefects.[d] On the other hand, the rural assembly and Thiers received not one single address of approval on the part of the provinces.

But the grand *défi*[e] the Provinces gave to Thiers' "lie" about the provinces were the municipal elections of the 30th April, carried on under his government, on the basis of a law of his Assembly. Out of 700,000 councillors (in round numbers) returned by the 35,000 communes still left in mutilated France, the united Legitimists, Orleanists and Bonapartists did not carry 8,000! The supplementary elections still more hostile! This showed plainly how far the *National Assembly,* chosen by surprise, and on false pretences, represents France, provincial France, France minus Paris!

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[a] Report from *La Défense républicaine* of Limoges, *Le Mot d'Ordre,* No. 65, April 29, 1871.— *Ed.*

[b] "Long live the King!" "The Communal Delegation...", *The Daily News,* No. 7779, April 5, 1871.— *Ed.*

[c] J. Dufaure's speech in the National Assembly on April 26, 1871, *Le Mot d'Ordre,* No. 65, April 29, 1871.— *Ed.*

[d] J. Dufaure, [Circulaire aux procureurs généraux. Versailles, 23 avril 1871], *Le Mot d'Ordre,* No. 62, April 26, 1871.— *Ed.*

[e] Challenge.— *Ed.*

But the plan of an assembly of the municipal delegates of the great provincial towns at Bordeaux, forbidden by Thiers on the ground of his law of 1834 and an Imperialist one of 1855,[325] forced him to avow that his "Provinces" are a lie, as "his" Paris is. He accuses them of resembling the "false" Paris, of being eagerly bent upon "laying the fundaments of Communism and Rebellion". Again he has been answered by the late resolutions of the municipal councils of Nantes, Vienne, Chambéry, Limoux, Carcassonne, Angers, Carpentras, Montpellier, Privas, Grenoble etc. insisting upon peace with Paris,

> "the absolute affirmation of the Republic, the recognition of the communal right which", as the municipal *council of Vienne says,*[a] "those elected on February 8 promised in their circulars when they were candidates. To stop the external war, it (the National Assembly) ceded two provinces and promised Prussia five milliards. What ought it not to do to put an end to the civil war?"

(Just the contrary. The two provinces are not their "private" property, and as to the promissory note of 5 milliards, the thing is exactly that it shall be paid by the French people and not by them.)

If, therefore, Paris may justly complain of the Provinces that they limit themselves to pacific demonstrations, leaving it unaided against all the State forces ... the Province has in most unequivocal tones given the lie to Thiers and the Assembly to be represented there, has declared their Province a lie as is their whole existence, a sham, a false pretence.

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The General Council feels proud of the prominent part the Paris branches of the *International* have taken in the glorious revolution of Paris. Not, as the imbeciles fancy, as if the Paris, or any other branch of the International received its *mot d'ordre*[b] from a centre. But the flower of the working class in all civilized countries belonging to the *International,* and being imbued with its ideas, they are sure everywhere in the working-class movements to take the lead.

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From[c] the very day of the capitulation by which the government of Bismarck prisoners had signed the surrender of France, but in

[a] Beginning from here Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

[b] Orders.— *Ed.*

[c] The following text was written on three pages without any pagination; the second paragraph is marked "to p. 9".— *Ed.*

return, got leave to retain a bodyguard for the express purpose of cowing Paris, Paris stood on its watch. The National guard reorganized itself and entrusted its supreme control to a central committee elected by all the companies, battalions, and batteries of the capital, save some fragments of the old Bonapartist formations. On the eve of the entrance of the Prussians into Paris, the central committee took measures for the removal to Montmartre, Belleville, and La Villette, of the cannon and mitrailleuses treacherously abandoned by the capitulards[165] in the very quarters the Prussians were about to occupy.

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Armed Paris was the only serious obstacle in the way of the counter-revolutionary conspiracy. Paris was, therefore, to be disarmed. On this point the Bordeaux assembly was sincerity itself. If the roaring rant of its rurals had not been audible enough, the surrender of Paris handed over by Thiers to the tender mercies of the *triumvirat* of Vinoy, the *Décembriseur,* Valentin, the Bonapartist Gendarme, and Aurelle de Paladines, the Jesuit General, would have cut off even the last subterfuge of doubt as to the ultimate aim of the disarmament of Paris. But if their purpose was frankly avowed, the pretext on which these atrocious felons initiated the civil war was the most shameless, the most barefaced (glaring) of lies. The artillery of the Paris National Guard, said Thiers, belonged to the State and to the State it must be returned.[a] The fact was this. From the very day of the capitulation by which Bismarck's prisoners had signed the surrender of France but reserved to themselves a numerous bodyguard for the express purpose of cowing Paris, Paris stood on its watch. The national guard reorganized themselves and entrusted their supreme control to a central committee elected by their whole body, save some fragments of the old Bonapartist formations. On the eve of the entrance of the Prussians into Paris, their central committee took measures for the removal to Montmartre, Belleville, and La Villette of the cannon and mitrailleuses treacherously abandoned by the capitulards in the very quarters the Prussians were about to occupy. That artillery had been furnished by the subscriptions of the National Guard. As their private property it was officially recognized in the convention of the 28th January,[118] and on that

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[a] L. A. Thiers' proclamation of March 17, 1871 to the inhabitants of Paris, *The Daily News,* No. 7765, March 20, 1871.— *Ed.*

very title exempted from the general surrender of arms, belonging to the government, into the hands of the conqueror. And Thiers dared initiate the civil war on the mendacious pretext that the artillery of the National Guard was state property!

The seizure of this artillery was evidently but to serve as the preparatory measure for the general disarmament of the Paris National Guard, and therefore of the Revolution of the 4th of September. But that revolution had become the legal status of France. Its republic was recognized in the terms of the capitulation itself by the conqueror, it was after the capitulation acknowledged by the Foreign powers, in its name the National Assembly had been summoned. The Revolution of the Paris workmen of the 4th of September was the only legal title of the National Assembly seated at Bordeaux and its Executive. Without it, the National Assembly had at once to give room to the Corps Législatif, elected by general suffrage and dispersed by the arm of the Revolution. Thiers and his ticket-of-leave men would have had to capitulate for safe conducts and securities against a voyage to Cayenne. The National Assembly, with its Attorney's Power to settle the terms of peace with Prussia, was only an incident of the Revolution. Its true embodiment was armed Paris, that had initiated the Revolution, undergone for it a five months siege with its horrors of famine, that had made its prolonged resistance, despite Trochu's "plan", the basis of a tremendous war of defence in the provinces, and Paris was now summoned with coarse insult by the rebellious slaveholders at Bordeaux to lay down its arms and acknowledge that the popular revolution of the 4th September had had no other purpose but the simple transfer of power from the hands of Louis Bonaparte and his minions into those of his monarchical rivals, or to stand forward as the selfsacrificing champion of France to be saved from her ruin and to be regenerated only through the revolutionary overthrow of the political and social conditions that had engendered the Empire and under its fostering care, matured into utter rottenness. Paris, Paris emaciated by a five months' famine, did not hesitate one moment. It heroically resolved to run all the hazards of a resistance against the French conspirators under the very eye of the Prussian army quartered before its gates. But in its utter abhorrence of civil war, the popular government of Paris, the Central Committee of the National Guard, continued to persist in its merely defensive attitude, despite the provocations of the Assembly, the usurpations of the Executive, and the menacing concentration of troops in and around Paris.

On the dawn of the 18th March Paris arose under thunderbursts of *Vive la Commune!* What is the Commune, that sphinx so tantalizing to the bourgeois mind?

"The proletarians of the capital," said the Central Committee in its manifesto of the 18th March, "have, in the midst of the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, understood that for them the hour has struck to save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs.... They have understood that it is their imperious duty and their absolute right to take into their own hands their own destinies by seizing the political power." [a]

But the working class cannot, as the rival factions of the appropriating class have done in their hours of triumph, simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.

The centralized state power, with its ubiquitous organs of standing army, police, bureaucracy, clergy and magistrature, organs wrought after the plan of a systematic and hierarchic division of labour, dates from the days of absolute monarchy when it served nascent middleclass society as a mighty weapon in its struggles for emancipation from feudalism. The French Revolution of the 18th century swept away the rubbish of seigniorial, local, townish and provincial privileges, thus clearing the social soil of its last medieval obstacles to the final superstructure of the state. It received its final shape under the First Empire, the offspring of the Coalition wars of old, semifeudal Europe against modern France. Under the following parliamentary regimes, the hold of the governmental power, with its irresistible allurements of place, pelf, and patronage, became not only the bone of contention between the rival factions of the ruling classes. Its political character changed simultaneously with the economic changes of society. At the same pace that the progress of industry developed, widened and intensified the class antagonism between capital and labour, the governmental power assumed more and more the character of the national power of capital over labour, of a political force organized to enforce social enslavement, of a mere engine of class despotism. On the heels of every popular revolution, marking a new progressive phase in the march (development) (course) of the struggle of classes, (class struggle), the repressive character of the state power comes out more pitiless and more divested of disguise. The Revolution of July, by transferring the management of the state machinery from the

[a] "La Révolution du 18 mars", *Le Petit Journal,* No. 3002, March 22, 1871.—*Ed.*

landlord to the capitalist, transfers it from the distant to the immediate antagonist of the working men. Hence the state power assumes a more clearly defined attitude of hostility and repression in regard of the working class. The Revolution of February hoists the colours of the "social Republic", thus proving at its outset that the true meaning of state power is revealed, that its pretence of being the armed force of public welfare, the embodiment of the general interests of societies rising above and keeping in their respective spheres the warring private interests, is exploded, that its secret as an instrument of class despotism is laid open, that the workmen do want the republic, no longer as a political modification of the old system of class rule, but as the revolutionary means of breaking down class rule itself. In view of the menaces of "the Social Republic" the ruling class feels instinctively that the anonymous reign of the parliamentary republic can be turned into a jointstock company of their conflicting factions, while the past monarchies by their very title signify the victory of one faction and the defeat of the other, the prevalence of one section's interests of that class over that of the other, land over capital or capital over land. In opposition to the working class the hitherto ruling class, in whatever specific forms it may appropriate the labour of the masses, has one and the same *economic* interest, to maintain the enslavement of labour and reap its fruits directly as landlord and capitalist, indirectly as the state parasites of the landlord and the capitalist, to enforce that "order" of things which makes the producing multitude, "a vile multitude" serving as a mere source of wealth and dominion to their betters. Hence Legitimists, Orleanists, Bourgeois Republicans and the Bonapartist adventurers, eager to qualify themselves as defenders of property by first pilfering it, club together and merge into the *"Party of Order"*, the practical upshot of that revolution made by the proletariat under enthusiastic shouts of the *"Social Republic"*. The parliamentary republic of the Party of Order is not only the reign of terror of the ruling class. The state power becomes in their hand the *avowed instrument of the civil war* in the hand of the capitalist and the landlord, not their state parasites, against revolutionary aspirations of the producer.

Under the monarchical regimes the repressive measures and the confessed principles of the day's government are denounced to the people by the fractions of the ruling classes that are out of power, the opposition's ranks of the ruling class interest the people in their party feuds, by appealing to its own interests, by their attitudes of tribunes of the people, by the revindication of popular

liberties. But in the anonymous reign of the republic, while amalgamating the modes of repression of old past regimes (taking out of the arsenals of all past regimes the arms of repression), and wielding them pitilessly, the different fractions of the ruling class celebrate an orgy of renegation. With cynical effrontery they deny the professions of their past, trample under foot their "socalled" principles, curse the revolutions they have provoked in their name, and curse the name of the republic itself, although only its anonymous reign is wide enough to admit them into a common crusade against the people.

Thus this most cruel is at the same time the most odious and revolting form of class rule. Wielding the state power only as an instrument of civil war, it can only hold it by perpetuating civil war. With parliamentary anarchy at its head, crowned by the uninterrupted intrigues of each of the fractions of the "order" party for the restoration of each own pet regime, in open war against the whole body of society out of its own narrow circle, the party of order rule becomes the most intolerable rule of disorder. Having in its war against the mass of the people broken all its means of resistance and laid it helplessly under the sword of the Executive, the party of order itself and its parliamentary regime are warned off the stage by the sword of the Executive. That parliamentary party of order republic can therefore only be an interreign. Its natural upshot is *Imperialism*, whatever the number of the Empire. Under the form of imperialism, the state power with the sword for its scepter, professes to rest upon the peasantry, that large mass of producers apparently outside the class struggle of labour and capital, professes to save the working class by breaking down parliamentarism and therefore the direct subserviency of the state power to the ruling classes, professes to save the ruling classes themselves by subduing the working classes without insulting them, professes, if not public welfare, at least national glory. It is therefore proclaimed as the "saviour of order". However galling to the political pride of the ruling class and its state parasites, it proves itself to be the really adequate regime of the bourgeois "order" by giving full scope to all the orgies of its industry, turpitudes of its speculation, and all the meretricious splendours of its life. The state thus seemingly lifted above civil society, becomes at the same time itself the hotbed of all the corruptions of that society. Its own utter rottenness, and the rottenness of the society to be saved of it, was laid bare by the bayonet of Prussia, but so much is this Imperialism the unavoidable political form of "order", that is, the "order" of bourgeois

society, that Prussia herself seemed only to reverse its central seat at Paris in order to transfer it to Berlin.

The Empire is not, like its predecessors, the legitimate monarchy, the constitutional monarchy and the parliamentary republic, one of the political forms of bourgeois society, it is at the same time its most prostitute, its most complete, and its ultimate political form. It is *the* state power of modern class rule, at least on the European continent.

# Frederick Engels

## ROBERT REID, EX-CORRESPONDENT OF *THE DAILY TELEGRAPH*[326]

July 1, 1871

Just after the arrest at Peter's restaurant, Bower, the correspondent of *The Morning Advertiser*, and the other, the *Times* correspondent Dallas, and a Russian attaché were released, but Bower went back inside to fetch his (English) lady friend, who had already taken up with another gentleman, SO THAT HE PITCHED INTO HIM, ASSAULTED HIM, WAS TAKEN INTO CUSTODY, AND LOCKED *UP FOR THAT.*

These 3 published a letter,[a] which was in reality a fake. 1) that it was the members of the Commune who had been in the café with red and gold sashes and also whores, who showed their cards in the café, and 2) that Bower was arrested without reason (it was only the police commissars who were wearing red sashes but without gold fringes).

IN *THE TELEGRAPH* REID'S REPORTS OFTEN ALTERED. A VERY IMPORTANT LETTER WAS SUPPRESSED BY THEM.

ON 20TH MAY, Reid had the newspaper. In *The Telegraph* of the 17 OR 18TH MAY VERSAILLES CORRESPONDENT STATED THAT COURBET HAD WITH A HAMMER DESTROYED OBJECTS OF ART IN LOUVRE.[b] On the 20th, Reid showed this telegram to Courbet. Below follows Courbet's letter to the editor of *The Telegraph*:

* "Sir,

"Not only have I not destroyed any works of art in the Louvre, but on the contrary it was under my care that all those which had been dispersed by various ministers in different buildings throughout the capital were collected, and restored to their proper

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[a] E. Bower, "A monsieur le rédacteur de *La Vérité*", *La Vérité*, No. 225, May 19, 1871.— *Ed.*

[b] "The Civil War around Paris", *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 4971, May 20, 1871.— *Ed.*

places in the [Louvre] Museum. In like manner the Luxemburg was benefitted.[a] It was I who preserved and arranged all the works of art removed from the house of M. Thiers. I am accused of having destroyed the Column Vendôme when the fact is on record that the decree for its destruction was passed 14th April and I was elected to the Commune on the 20, six days afterwards. I warmly urged the preservation of the bas-reliefs and proposed to form a Museum of them in the Court of the Invalides. Knowing the purity of the motives by which I have been actuated, I also know the difficulties one inherits in coming after a régime such as the Empire.*

"Greetings and fraternity
"*G. Courbet*

"Hôtel de Ville 20 MAY 71."

This letter was sent to *The Telegraph* by Reid but was not printed.[b]

See PAPERS for about April 10.12.

*Tolain.* The *Times* correspondent wished to know what the General Council would say to it—*The Times* suppressed our resolution.[327]

Reid was engaged by *The Telegraph* to send telegrams and is ready to swear that they were amended in printing to show the Commune in a bad light.

Adolphus Smith, Ex-correspondent of *The Daily News* to lecture on the Commune, Charing Cross Theatre, 3.7.71.[328]

Present at the demonstration on Rue de la Paix.[c] In the Place Vendôme the rifles of the National Guard were stacked together in piles, and one Englishman, whom he referred to as (Leatham?) and who was in the front row of the procession, rushed out to seize a pile of rifles.

Jourde was in the burning Ministry of Finance until the very last and saved books and money. And he is alleged to have set it afire! An Englishman, who lives opposite, whom he can name, saw 2 bombs strike the roof, explode, and soon thereafter smoke, then flame, then gradually the whole building in flames.

Written down by Engels on July 1, 1871

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Printed according to the manuscript

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[a] The museum in the Luxemburg Palace in Paris.—*Ed.*

[b] Reid sent the letter to *The Times,* where it was printed under the title "M. Courbet, the painter" in its issue No. 27100 on June 27, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] On March 22, 1871 (see this volume, pp. 324-25, 511-12, 528-30).—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [NOTES FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL, 1869-1871][329]

### 1869

(SINCE BASLE CONGRESS)

*September 28, 1869. Jung* stated the receipt of a letter from General Cluseret of New York. It was addressed to the Congress but had arrived too late.[330]

Printing of Basle Congress Report.[a]

A letter from the Paper-stainers New York requesting the Council to use its influence to prevent an importation of men to defeat the men now on strike. Action taken thereupon.[b] (later letter from Manchester, Edinburgh etc Trades Councils received, which had got letters from the General Council.)

*5 October 1869.* Letter from Varlin of Paris stating that a meeting of the Congress delegates had been held and that they had agreed to urge the affiliation of their societies.[331]

Latham and Lampbord *proposed* in one of the former sittings by Odger. *Postponed.*

*Hales* (seconded by *Lucraft*). "That the Council proceed to establish an English Section of the International Working Men Association, with a platform based upon the Congressional Resolutions, to be called *'The National Labour League and British Section of I.W.A.'.*"

*Weston* announces that a conference would be held on October 13, at Bell Inn, to establish an Association for the agitation of the *land-question* and other workingmen's measures.

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[a] *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association, held at Basle, in Switzerland. From the 6th to the 11th September, 1869.* London [1869].—*Ed.*

[b] See the appeal "A toutes les sections de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs", *L'Internationale,* No. 38, October 3, 1869.—*Ed.*

*12 October, 1869.* Proposition to establish an English section of the International carried.

*19 October, 1869.*

*26 October, 1869.* Mottershead elected.

Resolved "that a resolution be drawn up asking for the release of the (Irish) political prisoners and stating the opinion of the Council".

*2 November.*

Hales: "On the previous *Wednesday* (*27 Oct.*) the *Land and Labour League* had been established, many Council members were on the executive of that league, it was not necessary to go any farther (with English Section) at present.

*9 November.*

*16 November.* Article against the Council in *Egalité.*[a] (*Opening of Irish question by Marx.*) *Resolutions proposed by Marx on Irish Political prisoners.*

*23 November.* (Irish Debate.)

*30 November. (The Resolutions on the Irish prisoners passed.)*[b]

*7 December.*

*14 December.* Jung reads strictures from the *Egalité* against the Irish Resolutions of the Council (*Schweitzer, Liebknecht* etc.) [*Monthly Reports.*][c]

## 1870

[*1 January. Private Circular on Egalité* etc. *Irish Question* etc. *Reports* etc.][d]

*4 January.* Robert Hume appointed Correspondent (*of Long Island United States*) (3000 Cards sent to the German Committee. (*Brunswick*)).

Complaints of *Progrès* (Locle) and *Egalité* (Genève) against Zürich movement (*Tagwacht*) as *too political.*[332]

*11 January.* A letter from the Geneva Committee stated that the section did not approve of the proceedings of the *Egalité.* [The Editorial Committee resigned, their resignation accepted.][333]

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[a] See "L'Organisation de l'Internationale", *L'Egalité,* No. 43, November 13, 1869.— *Ed.*

[b] See "Draft Resolution of the General Council on the Policy of the British Government Towards the Irish Prisoners" (present edition, Vol. 21, p. 83).— *Ed.*

[c] "Réflexions", *L'Egalité,* No. 47, December 11, 1869.— *Ed.*

[d] K. Marx, "The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland" (present edition, Vol. 21, p. 84).— *Ed.*

*18 January.*

*25 January. Dupont's* motion: "that any society in France nominating a corresponding secretary with General Council should be held as de facto affiliation." (*Carried.*)

*1 February.* The Central Council of Switzerland had appointed a new staff for "*Egalité*"!

Serraillier received letter from Brussels, the Belgian General Council approved the answer of the General Council to the attack in the *Egalité.*[a]

*8 February.* Application of *Prolétaires Positivistes Society.*[311]

*15 February. Dupont* communicates on difference between the elder and younger branches at Lyons.[334] (handed over to Sub-Committee.)[238]

*22 February. At Naples* search made at the meeting place of the *International* for papers, without a search-warrant being produced by the police officer. President, secretary and a lawyer who had protested against it as illegal, had been arrested.

*Le Réveil* contained paragraph from a Spanish paper according to which the governments of Austria, Italy, and France are going to take rigorous measures against the *International.*

*8 March.* Report of the Sub-Committee on the *Lyons Affair.*[b] (*Richard* etc.)

*15 March.* Letter of the *Prolétaires Positivistes* at Paris. [They had been asked by Dupont for their rules and by-laws.]

Admitted but not as "sect" and the *discrepancy* between *their own* programme and that of the International pointed out to them.

*22 March.* Russian Section in Geneva founded. Desired Marx to become their representative.

*29 March.*

*4, 5, 6 April.* Congress at La Chaux-de-fonds.[c 256]

*5 April.*

*12 April.* Jung letter from *La Chaux-de-fonds.* Split at the Congress. In consequence of a majority having voted for the admission of the Geneva Alliance the Geneva and La Chaux-de-fonds delegates had withdrawn and continued the Congress by

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[a] K. Marx, "The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland" (present edition, Vol. 21, p. 84).—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, "Concerning the Conflict in the Lyons Section" (present edition, Vol. 21, p. 108).— *Ed.*

[c] This line is written in pencil.— *Ed.*

themselves. Jung instructed to write to both parties for full particulars.

*19 April.* Discrepancies (says Jung) between the statements of the two Swiss parties. The new committee numbered about 600, the old 2000 members.

*26 April.* (Letter from Guillaume to Jung.)[335]

*3 May.* Resolution on pretended *Conspiracy against Badinguet* (plebiscite) [arrest of many members of Paris and Lyons sections].[a]

*10 May.* Resolution against the *London French branch.*[b] *(10 May)*—Jung proposed that in future all the names of the Council members should be signed to official documents whether the members were present or not.

*17 May.*

*Resolution*: "Considering: That by the Basle Congress Paris was appointed as the meeting place of this year's Congress of the I.W.A.; that the present French regime continuing the Congress will not be able to meet at Paris; that nevertheless the preparations for the meeting render an immediate resolution necessary; that art. 3 of the Statutes obliges the Council to change, in case of need, the place of meeting appointed by the Congress; that the Central Committee of the German Social Democratic Workingmen's Party has invited the General Council to transfer this year's Congress to Germany; the General Council has in its sitting of the 17 of May unanimously resolved that this year's Congress of the I.W.A. be opened on the 5th September next and meet at Mayence."

*De Paepe,* in letter to Serraillier, asked the opinion of the Council on the affairs of Switzerland.

*Jung* letter from Perret (Geneva) who wished the Council to decide upon the Swiss question.

*24 May.* (Row over the Beehive Resolutions.)[c]

*31 May.* Parisians against the transfer to Mayence. Question Cluseret.—Osborne Ward introduced by Jung.—Jung introduced *Duval* as delegate from the Paris iron-founders on strike.

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[a] K. Marx, "Concerning the Persecution of the Members of the French Sections. Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association" (present edition, Vol. 21, p. 127).— *Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, "Draft Resolution of the General Council on the French Federal Section in London" (present edition, Vol. 21, p. 131).— *Ed.*

[c] K. Marx, "Resolution of the General Council on *The Bee-Hive*" (present edition, Vol. 21, p. 126).— *Ed.*

Council appoints deputation (Jung and Hales) to introduce him to the trade societies.—Credentials voted to Hume at New York.

*7 June.*

*14 June.* New lockout at Geneva (building trades).

*21 June. Address to the Trades Societies etc. on the Geneva affair.*[a]

*28 June.* Regional Congress at Rouen suppressed.

Letter from Geneva asked the Council to come to a decision as soon as possible. (*Discussion over this affaire.*)

(*On the Alliance.* See Weston's Statement.)[336] (*Proposition adopted* that Geneva Committee remains in its old faction; the new committee may choose a local name.)[b]

*Marx* proposed that the General Council be transferred from London to Brussels. (this to be proposed to next Congress) (and that this proposition, to consider the removal of Council, be communicated to all Sections). *Carried.* Hales gave notice of motion to reconsider the question.

*5 July.* Parisians want refutation of the false statements of Aulois,[337] the public prosecutor, but they had sent no papers etc. to the Council. Dupont complains of receiving no reply.

*12 July.* French branch. Lemaître.[338]—Positivist branch send their contribution.—Money (voted by the Amalgamated Engineers to the Paris iron-moulders).—The proposition (Marx stated) was: "to write to the sections to ask them to consider the advisability of removing the Council from London. If they were favourable to a removal, then Brussels should be proposed etc.[c]

*Programme for Mayence Congress.*[d]

*19 July.* Geneva Committee thanks for the resolution of the Council. Jung written to La-Chaux-de-Fonds against their political abstentionism.—Anti-War Address of Paris Section.—Marx to draw up *Anti-War Address.*[e]

*26 July.* Bebel and Liebknecht on German War Loan.

*(North German Reichstag. Berlin)*—(In their written declaration

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[a] K. Marx. "The Lock-out of the Building Trades in Geneva" (present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 137-39).— *Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, "General Council Resolution on the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland. The General Council to the Romance Federal Committee" (present edition, Vol. 21, p. 136).— *Ed.*

[c] K. Marx, "Confidential Communication to All Sections" (present edition, Vol. 21, p. 142).— *Ed.*

[d] K. Marx, "Programme for the Mainz Congress of the International" (present edition, Vol. 21, p. 143).— *Ed.*

[e] See this volume, pp. 3-8.— *Ed.*

(why they abstain from voting) declare themselves members of the International.)[a] *First War Address of July 23* read.[b]

*2 August.* Serraillier reads letter from Belgium: Council to be left at London; but gives notice that Belgium Congress Delegates will ask why Council interfered in the Swiss affair. Marx states that protest against War has been issued in Barmen, Munich, Breslau etc.—Jung on Swiss affair. Article in *Solidarité*[c]. Guillaume's party has not sent a proper reply. The Parisians asked for a prompt settlement of this affair. Referred to Sub-Committee. Marx proposes to ask sections to agree to postponement of Congress. Carried.

*9 August.* Jung [received] letter from Naples about Caporusso having bertrayed them.

*16 August.* Third 1,000 of War Address printed. Letters from Switzerland and Germany (Central Committee) to leave Council at London and to empower it to postpone Congress to any time and place.

*23 August.* 15,000 German and 15,000 French copies of Address ordered to be printed at Geneva. Belgian Council's letter withdrawing observations on Swiss affair (see 2 August) and agreeing to postponement of Congress. Romance Council of Geneva also for postponement and Council to remain in London.

Resolution passed to postpone Congress.

*August 30th.* French Section formed at New York. Osborne Ward attended and spoke.

*September 6.* Marx had correspondence with German Social Democratic Party[d] who say they will do their duty. *Second* War Address resolved upon.[e]

*September 9.* Address carried.

*September 13.* Serraillier off to Paris.

*September 20.* Arrest of Braunschweigers. Expulsion from Mayence.[339] Protests against annexation in Berlin, München, Augsburg, Nürnberg etc. Deputation of 5 to act with the Arundel Hall Committee in fitting up a demonstration for the French Republic and against annexation.

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[a] See "Motiviertes Votum der Reichstagsabgeordneten Liebknecht und Bebel in Sachen der 120 Millionen Kriegsanleihe", *Der Volksstaat,* No. 59, July 29, 1870.— *Ed.*

[b] Beginning from here the notes are in Engels' hand.— *Ed.*

[c] "Le Conseil général de Londres...", *La Solidarité,* No. 16, July 23, 1870.— *Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 260-62.— *Ed.*

[e] Ibid., pp. 263-70.— *Ed.*

*September 27.* Stated that a deputation to Gladstone had been agreed upon for recognition of French Republic (by the joint Committee).[340]

*October 4.*

*October 11.* Meetings at Berlin and Munich against the Prussian war policy. Letter about Bakounin at Lyons 28 Sept.[341] Report of Finance Committee.

*October 18.* Birmingham Trades Council joins. Objection taken to Belgian International papers not having published 2nd War Address. Financial Secretary appointed.

*October 25.* The Belgian *Internationale* at last prints the beginning of the 2-d War Address.[a]—Heinemann's Meeting. Protest of the [German] Workers' Educational Society.[342] Resolved that *when questions of an internal administration are discussed* none but members of Council be allowed to be present.

*November 1.* Letters from Patterson N. J. and New York that French and Germans there had issued a joint address against the war.[343] Letter from Aubrey (Rouen) about the Bonapartists still in power there and their doings.

*November 8.*—Meeting of Intervention Committee attended by Secretary.[344]

*November 15.*—Mass Meeting in New York on the War announced as impending.[345]

*November 22.* Letter from Brest, that all the 12 members of the Committee there had been arrested 2/10 October, and tried 27 October for conspiring against safety of State, 2 got 2 years, one 1 year (merely for holding a Defence meeting).—From the Bonaparte papers published it appeared that on the eve of the plebiscite the hunting down of the International was purposely organised.

*November 29.* The Trades Council of Manchester promises its *moral support.* Dupont appointed Representative for Lancashire.[b]

*6 December.* Marx proposed that the secretary should make out a list of the attendance of the members for the last 3 months. Carried.

*13 December.* Secretary read a list of the members and the number

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[a] [K. Marx,] "Deuxiéme adresse du Conseil général de l'Association internationale des Travailleurs au sujet de la guerre", *L'Internationale,* No. 93, October 23, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Then follows Marx's note in pencil: "The Romance Federal Committee in Geneva during the 1869-70 refused [the Alliance] affiliation to the Romance Federation of the International Association. The section was recognized by the General Council." Beginning from here the notes are written by Marx.—*Ed.*

of times they had been absent since September. To be entered into the minutes, and in future the absent members to be noted down as well as those present.

*20 December.* Announcement of formation of Central Committee at New York.[346] *(See list of attendance)* (after *the last sitting of December*). (*From Sept.-December 1870* and from *January-end of March, 1871.*)

## 1871

*3 January.*

*17 January.* Birmingham Trades' Council joins. *Felleisen* to be asked in what position towards the International (These fellows for annexation.)[347] Marx speaks against Odger's rant at St. James's Hall. (*Favre* et Co.)[348] (against our *Second Address*).

*24 January.* Formation of Central Committee for the United States at New York.

*31 January.* Swiss (Geneva Romance Confédération) write that they had received letter from Spain to enter into close communication, but before doing so they desired to know whether the Spanish section was in relation with the Council; otherwise they would not communicate with them.

Engels appointed Spanish Secretary.

Engels resolution on the war (Franco-German) (and attitude of English Government).[a]

*7 February.* Discussion of Franco-German War. Attitude of English government.

*14 February. (Continuation of that discussion.)*

*21 February. Land Tenure Reform Association*[349] meeting the workingmen's party half ways in regard to the *nationalisation of land. (Mill)* Harris thought it was a move to break up the Land and Labour League.[350]

*28 February.* Discussion of *Land Tenure Reform Association.* (Resolution to discuss their programme.)

*Report of Citizen Serraillier. (Federal Paris Council during the siege.)*

*7 March. (Discussion on New York Central Committee) (Marx on Paris declaration of 1856).*[351]

*14 March: Robin* (Conference of delegates from all the sections to be convocated to London). *(Rejected.) (Debate on declaration of 1856) (Irish Question).*

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[a] See this volume, pp. 263-70.— *Ed.*

*21 March. Marx* stated: when the war broke out letters sent to all the continental Sections that the congress could not be held at Mayence or Paris; all the sections that had answered had left it to the Council to choose time and place when and where the Council should meet. *Robin* said that letter had never been received at Paris. *Declaration to be sent to the English papers* against the false resolution (of excluding the Germans) *attributed to the Paris Federal Council.*[a]

*(Revolution of March 18.)*

*Section in the East of London.*

*28 March.* Serraillier sent to Paris. 5£ voted for his wife.

*Our German friends* only prosecuted as *Internationals* (all other charges dropped).

*Central Republican Meeting at Wellington Music Hall* (to establish a Republican Club).[352]—Wade moved the addition of "social and democratic" (26 for, 50 against). *Resolutions for founding branches in the East End of London.*

*4 April. San Francisco (line) branch. Bethnal Green branch.*

*11 April. (Antwerp, etc. Cigarmakers (strike) lockout) (Action taken by Council).*[b]

*18 April.* (Tolain affair first brought before the Council.)

*25 April.* Expulsion of Tolain. Confirmed.[c]

*2 May.* Applegarth and Odger (Eccarius moved that the rule of appending all names to Addresses should be suspended with regard to them. Mottershead against. Jung to speak about it with Applegarth, Eccarius with Odger).

*9 May. Eccarius resignes General Secretaryship* (Applegarth left to the Council the appending of his name. Odger should like to see the address beforehand).

*New Zealand* correspondence.[353]

*16 May. Hales elected General Secretary.*

*23 May.* The English shall convoke meeting to urge the English Government not to act against the French Refugees. This was done and different meetings took place on that point.

*30 May.* Marx read Address *"On Civil War" (Accepted).*[d]

*6 June.* Commune. English press. Mazzini. (Attempts of *International Democratic Association*[354] to play a role.) (Citizen *Cadiot* appears on the scene.)

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[a] See this volume, pp. 286-87.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 294.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., p. 297.—*Ed.*

[d] Ibid., pp. 307-59.—*Ed.*

*13 June.* (*12 June.* Reply to *Favre's* circular sent to *Times.*[a]) *Address on Civil War issued.* (Citizen *Baudry* turns up.)

*20 June. Odger and Lucraft leave* (Scandal-sitting) (*Holyoake*-scandal).[b]

Declarations against the false Paris *(International)* manifestoes.[c]

*27th June. Refugee Committee on Saturdays formed.* Declarations about Odger, Lucraft, Holyoake etc.[d] Letter of Marx in *Daily News* about Address.

*First Edition*[e] exhausted.

*4 July. Mc Donnell* elected.

*Correspondence of Cafiero.*[355] *Robert Reid sent with Address as lecturer on the Commune* to the Provinces.

*Major Wolff* (*Tibaldi* etc.) *Marx and "Pall Mall".*[f]

*11 July. Assi-Bigot affair,* (*Lumley,* barrister, present) *Address on Washburne.*[g]

*Rutson* (Bruce) applies for the published documents of the International.

*18 July. Richard Affair* (not admitted as member) *Elliot* (rejected).

*Herman* elected as Belgian secretary. *Refugee—money question.*

*25 July.* New Orleans branch. (*"La Commune"*, their organ.) Pope[h] and Mazzini against the *International.*[i]

Robin brings Swiss affair forward. Referred to a Conference.

*Private Conference Resolved upon (for 17 September).*[j]

*1 August. Bishop of Malines,*[k] *Catholic Workingmen's International Association.* Washington section.

*Rochat's Proposition* as to formation of Enquiry (through and from the Refugees) on the History of the Commune (Cohn.)

*8 August. Deputation of Newcastle and London Engineers on the Newcastle Lockout.* Deputation sent by General Council to

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[a] See this volume, p. 361.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 367-68.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., p. 369.—*Ed.*
[d] Ibid., pp. 372-73.—*Ed.*
[e] Of *The Civil War in France.*—*Ed.*
[f] See this volume, p. 378.—*Ed.*
[g] Ibid., pp. 379-82.—*Ed.*
[h] Pius IX.—*Ed.*
[i] See this volume, pp. 607-08.—*Ed.*
[j] Ibid., p. 609.—*Ed.*
[k] V. A. Dechamps.—*Ed.*

Belgium etc. Warning to all international branches against importation of men into *Newcastle-on-Tyne.*

*Applegarth's* letter. Visitors to be excluded in future.

*15 August. Branches at Liverpool* and *Loughborough in Leicestershire. Conference to be confined to questions of organisation and policy.*

*22 August. (Canada Communard Exportation Scheme.)*

*29 August.* Deputation from Refugees' Society. Quarrel.[356]

*5 September.* Marx, Engels, Hales, Jung resign as members of Refugees' Committee. Propositions as to Conference.

Written presumably in September 1871

Reproduced from the manuscript

First published, in Russian, in the book *The Hague Congress of the First International, September 2-7, 1872. Minutes and Documents*, Moscow, 1970

# Frederick Engels

## MEETING OF SUB-COMMITTEE[357]

*9th September, 8 o'clock*

Longuet in the Chair.

Marx proposes that as to *Landeck* the General Council has nothing to do with the question [whether] he still belongs to the International or not, and that he be referred to the French Internationals in London to settle this.—L. has, on the trial of the Internationals in Paris, eaten humble pie and promised not to belay to the International in future; but such questions cannot be settled by the Council.

Mottershead seconds.

Carried unanimously.

*The Conference.*[253] Marx: a Conference is not composed of delegates of branches but of delegates of *countries* which come to confer *with* the Council under extraordinary circumstances and therefore very different from a Congress and has quite different powers. This has not to be forgotten. The first question will be

1) the *money* questions, the contributions have not come in as they ought to do. The Conference has no power to change the Statutes but it can enforce them. Therefore proposal No. 1 branches to pay before admittance.

Jung seconds. Adopted unanimously.

Marx: 2) (Countries where the International is suppressed to propose their own plans, and to be allowed other names but *not secret.*)

Eccarius seconds. Adopted unanimously.

Marx: 3) That some members be appointed to draw up the Report of Council to be submitted to Conference for last 2 years. Adopted as a matter of course.

Jung proposes, Eccarius seconds Marx to draw up the Report.

Marx: 4) To enforce the resolution of Congress of Basel, that the Central Council to be called *Federal Council*, etc., etc.[254]

Serraillier seconds. Adopted unanimously.

Marx: 5) Reply to be issued to different governments to be drawn up afterwards.

Engels seconds. Adopted unanimously.

[Marx:] 6) In regularly organized countries regular reports of local and district taxation to be sent in.

This is withdrawn by Marx himself.

Marx: 7) All delegates of General Council to have the right to attend and be heard at meetings of district councils and local branches.

Serraillier seconds. Adopted unanimously.

Marx: 8) General Council to issue fresh edition of Statutes and authentic French and German version, printed side by side; and all other countries to have their translations approved by General Council before publishing.

Jung seconds. Adopted unanimously.

*Mottershead:* That the Conference be asked to charge the General Council with enforcing Art. V. of the Statutes relative to a general statistics of the Working Classes and the resolution of the Congress of Geneva on the same subject.[a] To carry this out it might be resolved that trades unions etc who refuse to give the information required, shall not be supported by the General Council in case of strike.

McDonnell seconds. Adopted unanimously!

Marx: That the Sub-Committee meets at 8 at Marx's on Monday evening.

Adopted.

First published in part, in Russian, in the book *The London Conference of the First International*, Moscow, 1936, and in full in *The General Council of the First International, 1870-1871*, Moscow, 1965

Reproduced from the manuscript

[a] K. Marx, *Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association* (present edition, Vol. 20, Appendices); *Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868. The International Working Men's Association. Office of General Council*, London [1869].—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## MEETING OF SUB-COMMITTEE[358]

*Monday 11th September 1871 at 1 Maitland Park*

Serraillier in the Chair. Engels appointed Secretary.

Proposed by Engels, seconded by Hales that the Bill of Mr. Truelove[359] £25 11.6 be passed, reserving the question of the price of the handbills and the 5th Thousand copies.[a] Adopted unanimously.

Proposed by Engels, seconded by Eccarius: that Mr. Truelove be paid £10.—on account and the payment of the rest be delayed until he shall have handed in an account of copies sold. Adopted unanimously.

Proposed by Marx, seconded by Longuet: that the General Council be requested, to avoid all misunderstandings, to declare at the opening of the Conference: that a Conference is nothing but a meeting of delegates from various countries called to consult and decide together with the General Council, on administrative measures rendered necessary by extraordinary circumstances.[b]

Hales proposed, Longuet seconded: that the General Council recommend the formation of an English Federal Council. Withdrawn to be submitted to General Council tomorrow.

Marx proposes, Jung seconds: that the formation of working women's sections be recommended.[c]

First published, in Russian, in the book *The London Conference of the First International*, Moscow, 1936

Reproduced from the manuscript

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[a] Of the third edition of *The Civil War in France*.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 613.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., p. 424.—*Ed.*

# APPENDICES

# [RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE][360]

## [FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF JANUARY 17, 1871]

Cit. Marx said as there were several English members present he had a very important statement to make. At the last meeting at St. James's Hall Odger spoke of the French Government contrary to truth. In our second address we said the brand of infamy attaches to some of the members of the provisional government from the Revolution of 1848.[a] Odger said there was not a blame attached to them. Favre can only be received as the representative of the Republic, not as the spotless patriot Jules Favre. The way that is now talked about him put Favre in the foreground and the Republic almost out of sight. One example of Favre's doings. After the Revolution of 1848 Favre became Secretary of the Interior; on account of Flocon being ill, Ledru-Rollin chose Favre. One of the first things he did was to bring back the army to Paris, which afterwards enabled the bourgeoisie to shoot the work-people down. Later, when the people became convinced that the Assembly consisted of middle-class men, the people made a demonstration in favour of Poland on which occasion the people ran into the assembly.[361] The president entreated Louis Blanc to speak to them and pacify them, which he did. A war with Russia would have saved the Republic. The first thing Jules Favre did a few days after was to ask for authority to prosecute Louis Blanc as an accomplice of the invaders. The Assembly thought he was instructed by the Government to do but all the other members of the Government denounced [this measure] as the private affair of Favre. The provisional government conspired to provoke the insurrection of June. After the people were shot down Favre

[a] See this volume, p. 269.— *Ed.*

proposed that the Executive Committee should be abolished.[362] On the 27th he drew up the decree to transport the prisoners without trial; 15,000 were transported. In November the Assembly was compelled to examine some not yet transported. In Brest alone 1,000 had to be liberated. Of the most dangerous who were tried by a military commission many had to be liberated, others were only sentenced to short terms of imprisonment. Afterwards motions were made for an amnesty, Favre always opposed. He was one of the men who insisted for a commission of inquiry of the whole revolution except February. He was instrumental in the passing of the most infamous press laws[363] that ever existed and of which Napoleon made good use. Favre had certain relations with the Bonapartists under the July monarchy and he used all his influence to get Napoleon into the National Assembly. He interested himself to bring about the expedition to Rome,[172] which was the first step for the establishment of the Empire.

The account of the speech (without any mention of the author) was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 121, January 21, 1871.

This variant of the record was first published in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 17, Moscow, 1960

Reproduced from the General Council's Minute Book

# [RECORDS OF MARX'S AND ENGELS' SPEECHES ON THE POSITION OF THE ENGLISH WORKING CLASS IN THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR][364]

## [FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETINGS]

*January 24, 1871*

Cit. Engels inquired whether any of the members had been at the meeting of the previous evening[365] but there was no reply. He then stated as there was a difference of opinion amongst the members it would be advisable to discuss the question as to the attitude of the English working class[a] on the present phase of the war at the meeting. He moved that the question be put on the order of the day.

Cit. Marx seconded the proposition, which was agreed to.

*January 31, 1871*

Cit. Engels said: following the advice of the Chairman of the last meeting[b] and complying with an English custom, I have drawn up some resolutions principally as a basis for the debate. I am not particular as regards carrying them exactly as they are. These are the resolutions I have drawn up:

1. That the working-class movement in support of the French Republic ought to have concentrated its efforts, at the beginning, upon the enforcement of the recognition of the Republic by the British Government.

2. That the military intervention of England in favour of France, as understood by those proposing it, could have been of any use whatever at a certain moment only, which has long since passed away.

3. That England remains incapable, not only of interfering with effect in Continental affairs, but also of defending herself against

[a] The record has "Council", which was subsequently crossed out.—*Ed.*

[b] B. Lucraft.—*Ed.*

the Continental military despotism so long as she does not recover the liberty of using her real war power—that is to say, her naval power, which she can only recover by the renunciation of the Declaration of Paris.[351]

The policy adopted by the Council was laid in the second address.[a] On the 4th of September the Republic was declared, on the 9th of September our address was issued in which it was said: "The English workmen have already taken measures to overcome, by a wholesome pressure from without, the reluctance of their Government to recognise the French Republic." Had the movement been confined to that it might have succeeded, other countries would have followed and it would have given France a standing which Prussia could [not] have ignored. But there were others who were not satisfied with this. I mean the Comtists, Professor Beesly and his friends. Professor Beesly has on several occasions stood up bravely, for the working class, he braved the hostility of the middle classes in the Broadhead affair,[366] but the Comtists are not properly a working-class party. They advocate a compromise to make wages-labour tolerable to perpetuate it; they belong to a political sect who believe that France ought to rule the world. In their last declaration, which was signed by several members of the Council,[367] they demanded that France should be restored to the position it occupied before the war.[b] Before the war France was a military power. The Comtists asked for intervention and as soon as it was done the working-class movement split up. The opposition said that hitherto war had postponed everything in the shape of social and political progress and every war had given the aristocracy a new lease of life. There is a great deal of truth in that. But on the other hand how could people, who were not able to compel the Government to recognise the Republic, force the same Government to go [to] war for the Republic? Supposing England had gone to war. By withdrawing all armed forces from Scotland, by depriving every other place of soldiers and leaving only 10,000 in Ireland, some 30,000 men could have been started and they would have been useful at a certain moment. At one time the French and German forces were about equal and Moltke was going to raise the siege, and at that moment an English army might have turned the scales against the Germans. But that moment had long since passed away; it was

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[a] See this volume, p. 269.—*Ed.*

[b] See J. M. Ludlow and others, [Remonstrance forwarded to Mr. Gladstone], *The Times*, No. 26947, December 30, 1870.—*Ed.*

when there was a sort of revival before Orléans, when Aurelle de Paladines gained his successes. An English force then would have had a good effect upon the French soldiers, it would have improved [their spirit]; then the Germans have been largely reinforced, and the Prussians have such a bad opinion of the army of this country that the English, had they gone over, would have been laughed at; all they could have done would have been to make Chanzy's retreat[368] a little more orderly.

An English army on land can only act in alliance with other armies. This was done in the Peninsular War and it was done in the Crimea.[369] England can best carry on war by supplying her allies with the materials of war. In the Crimea they had [to] borrow French soldiers to fill their trenches. It has always been found impossible to carry on a war far from home with a large army. Owing to the military system—the absence of conscription, the slow process of voluntary recruiting, the system of drill, the length of time it takes to make an English soldier efficient—the English army is based on long service, it is impossible to maintain a large army by the necessary reinforcements. If an army had been sent to France it could not have been kept up if it had met with any losses. The only thing England could have done to assist France would have been to declare war at the moment when Russia repudiated the Treaty of Paris. That point too was alluded to in our addresses. In the first the following is said: "In the background of this suicidal strife looms the dark figure of Russia. It is an ominous sign that the signal for the present war should have been given at the moment when the Moscovite Government had just finished its strategical lines of railway and was already massing troops in the direction of the Pruth."[a] In the second: "As in 1865 promises were exchanged between Louis Bonaparte and Bismarck, so in 1870 promises have been exchanged between Gorchakov and Bismarck."[b] But nobody has taken any notice of that. No sooner had Russia declared against the Treaty of Paris than Bismarck repudiated the Luxembourg Treaty.[139] This proved the secret understanding. Prussia has never been anything else but the tool of Russia. That was the opportunity for England to step in. The French were not quite so low down as they have been since, and if England had declared war Prussia and Russia would have gone together and the rest of Europe would have gone together and France would have been relieved. Austria, Italy and

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[a] See this volume, p. 7.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 267.—*Ed.*

Turkey were ready, and if the Turks had not been interfered with as in the war,[a] if they had been allowed to defend themselves in their own way, they would have been able to hold their own while the others helped the French to drive out the Prussians. But, when this opportunity arose, the gentlemen who were going to help France had nothing to say.

Now, the way in which Jules Favre has thrown up the sponge for the whole of France, a thing he had no business to do, there is no doubt, with the help of the French middle class, France will have to submit and peace will be made. Then we shall see what Russia will do. Russia and Prussia require war as much [as] Napoleon to stem the popular movement at home, to preserve their prestige and keep their positions.

The navy is the main power of England but by the Declaration of 1856 a new naval code was established; it was laid down that privateering should be done away with. The right of search was abandoned, enemy's goods were made safe in neutral bottoms and neutral goods in enemy's bottoms. There was a similar attempt made once before by the Empress Catherine of Russia but England refused till after the Crimean war.[351] At the Conference of Paris, by one stroke of the pen, Clarendon signed away England's power to hurt Russia at sea. By whose instructions or authority [he] did so has never come out. When it was brought before the House of Commons Disraeli blinked at it, the question was shirked. To cripple Russia it is necessary to stop her export, her export trade. If the Russian aristocracy could not sell their corn, their flax, in one word, their agricultural produce, to foreign countries, Russia could not hold out for a year, and the bulk of her trade is carried on in foreign bottoms. To make war on Russia England must regain her hold of this power. It was abandoned on the pretence of making private property as safe at sea as it was on land. We have seen how the Prussians have respected private property in France. The working class has no private property to lose, it has therefore no interest in making [it] safe. But the working class has interest in resuming the hold of this power and to keep [it] intact till the Russian Empire is dissolved. The English Empire like all other empires based upon ...[b] will have to be dissolved in due time but with that we have nothing to do at present and that will proceed more peaceably perhaps. No other country can oppose Russia the same as England can and she must

[a] Apparently the words "in the Crimea" are omitted.—*Ed.*
[b] A blank space in the record.—*Ed.*

keep this power at least till Poland is restored. Had war been declared against Russia it would have been the salvation of France, and Poland could have been restored. Now Russia will enter on a war of conquest, perhaps before a year is over, and Europe will have to fight minus France.

*February 7, 1871*

Cit. Engels. When I mentioned Ireland I only supposed that 10,000 would be the smallest force the Government would leave in Ireland. I did not take the sentiments of the Irish into account at all.

*February 14, 1871*

Cit. Marx. The recognition of the Republic was the first condition for all the rest; if that did not succeed all the rest must fail. France was internationally paralysed and at home, too, while Prussia had Russia at her back. The moment the Republic was proclaimed everybody in France became enthusiastically republican. Had the Republic been recognised then it would have had a chance to succeed. But when no recognition came they turned back. The propertied class had an interest rather to see Prussia victorious than the Republic. They are well aware that sooner or later the Republic must have become socialistic and therefore they intrigued against it, and these intrigues have done more for Prussia than Moltke and his generals. Well, no one has shown in this discussion that the recognition of the Republic was not the first point. Next, the Cannon Street meeting[370] was not a meeting of the wealthy citizens of London, it was the small middle class who never had any influence. They may either support the great capitalists against the people or join the working class; they cannot do anything by themselves, but when they join the working class they must not be permitted to lead, because they are dangerous leaders. They hate the Republic and would not recognise it, but they were afraid of Prussia, therefore they were for war. Cit. Eccarius talked about protesting against the dismemberment of France; without threatening war [it] would have been useless; that had nothing to do with it. We protested in our address[a] and the Germans protested but that was only a moral protest; the British Government could not protest until Prussia had been victorious and formally demanded those provinces, and it was impossible to believe that this Government would seriously oppose the dismemberment.

[a] See this volume, pp. 263-70.— *Ed.*

Then Cit. Cohn seems to entertain strange notions about the working men's agitation. When the workmen go to Gladstone to hear his opinion they must take that as an ultimate decision and give up. He also thinks that more could have been done if Parliament had been sitting. That was the best thing that Parliament was not sitting. The recognition of the Republic was a simple executive act. Had Parliament been sitting Gladstone would have shoved [it] off his own shoulders onto those of the majority and there would have been a thousand reasons to support him to one against it. A change of government might have necessitated an election and the Liberals don't care about buying the free electors too often. I am quite sure, if the working men had persevered and not allowed doctrinary middle-class speakers to meddle, they might have succeeded. There was not half the energy thrown into this movement that there was some time since in a beer row.[371] All things in England are carried by pressure from without. Cit. Milner spoke as if the Germans would be offended if the English insisted on the recognition of the French Republic. Quite the contrary: they believe the English have not gone far enough. Hundreds have been imprisoned and the only people they could look to for moral support were the English work-people but they did not get in the way they ought to have done. As to monarchy against republic, there was one monarchical army against another in the beginning; there was nothing about republic, and the French army was supposed to be the stronger. When all the French standing army disappeared everybody thought the French would have to give in, in a few days no monarchy could have assisted [against] the Prussians. It was the absence of a monarch alone, the Republic, that has done it for five months, and if there [had] been no treason and no intriguing they would have kept up longer.

The third point that has come out is that middle-class republics have become impossible in Europe. A middle-class government dare not interfere so far as to take the proper revolutionary measures for defence. It is only a political form to develop the power of the working class. The last elections in France and the proceedings of the middle class in Germany prove that they rather have a military despotism than a republic. In England there is the same fear. Republicanism and middle-class government can no longer go together.

I now come to the war itself. After the capitulation of Sedan[a]

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[a] On September 2, 1870.—*Ed.*

Bismarck was in a difficulty. The king[a] had told the German Parliament and the French people that he only made war against Napoleon in self-defence. But after Sedan it was no [longer] more for defence than the French had been. I know that Bismarck worked as hard to bring about the war as Napoleon, the defence was only a pretext. But after Sedan he wanted a new pretext. The German middle class was doubtful whether it was not time to stop but Bismarck found that there was no recognised government to make peace with, therefore he must go to Paris to make peace. It was the height of impudence for him [to] say what government the French would recognise and what they would not but it answered his purpose. Money-makers are always worshippers of success, and the German middle class being afraid of the Republic, [he] secured their support, that of the aristocracy he was sure of beforehand. It was Bismarck's interest that England should not recognise the Republic because England was the only power that could oppose him, but he reckoned on Gladstone and the Court relations. To be mother-in-law of the Emperor of Germany[b] was no small thing, so England followed in the footsteps of the Holy Alliance. When Gladstone was taxed by the working men's deputation about the haste with which Napoleon had been recognised, he baffled them by mixing up dates and confounding the recognition after the coup d'état by Palmerston with that of Derby after the plebiscite. He told the working men he had gone as far as he could, and he made a merit of not having broken off diplomatic relations. He could have gone as far as America. His colleagues, Bruce, Lowe and Cardwell, made hostile demonstrations against the Republic[372] by stating that England could only employ moral force without. The only place where England can employ physical force is Ireland. Then the German press was ordered to insult England about selling stores to the French. When Bernstorff called Granville to account he equivocated and said he would inquire and then found it was all right and legal.[373] He knew that before, only he had not the pluck to say so. Then the British Government, at the instance of Bernstorff, confiscated the French cable, which an English judge afterwards pronounced to be illegal.[374] After the capitulation of Metz Russia thought it was time to show her partnership which was shown in the renunciation of the Treaty of Paris. Immediately after [this] came the repudiation of the Treaty of Luxembourg and the settlement of

[a] William I.—*Ed.*
[b] A hint at the Queen Victoria.—*Ed.*

Rumania in the principalities,[a] which were all insults to England. And what did Gladstone do? He sent a plenipotentiary extraordinary[b] to Bismarck to ask his advice. Bismarck advised a conference in London and even Gladstone felt that it would be no use without France because without France the treaty breakers would be in the majority. But France could not be admitted without recognising the Republic, and therefore Bismarck had to prevent it. When Auberon Herbert asked Gladstone in the House he again shuffled out and falsified the facts and ignored the most important part.[c] Pious people always do a deal of sinning. From the Blue Book it appears [that] when the English Government asked for a pass for Favre, Bismarck answered that France was internationally incapable of acting, before that was removed it would be useless to take any steps to admit her to Conference. Non-recognition was the means of isolating the English Government.

*February 21, 1871*

Cit. Marx then called the attention of the Council to the report of his speech in *The Eastern Post*[d] and the slovenly way in which it was put together. If his name had not been misprinted he should have considered it his duty to write to the editor. The report stated "the moment the Republic was proclaimed everybody in France was enthusiastically republican, but no recognition came and a reaction set in". There was no sense whatever in it. He had on the contrary stated that the Republic had been recognised by Italy, Switzerland, Spain, Belgium and other countries and that the enthusiasm of the people had been so great that the opponents had been obliged to pretend to be in favour of it; and he had particularly mentioned that the judge of the High Court of Blois had played the Republican. The report went on: "the bourgeoisie had no interest in making the Republic succeed, they are well aware that sooner or later the social question must be dealt with." This was altogether different from what he had said, which was that the Republic must become socialistic. Then the report went

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[a] The entry is not exact. *The Eastern Post* report of this meeting, February 19, 1871, gives this passage as follows: "In quick succession followed the renunciation of the Treaty of Luxembourg and the stipulations about the principalities by Bismarck and the Prince of Rumania."—*Ed.*

[b] Lord Odo Russell.—*Ed.*

[c] See the speeches of A. Herbert and W. Gladstone in the House of Commons on February 10, 1871, *The Times*, No. 26984, February 11, 1871.—*Ed.*

[d] See "The International Working Men's Association", *The Eastern Post*, No. 125, February 19, 1871.—*Ed.*

on: "none of the advocates of[a] war have shown that the recognition of the Republic was the first condition to all the rest", which ought [to be] "*not* the first condition".

About his remarks upon what other speakers had said the reporter had not taken the trouble to say who spoke, so that it was difficult to distinguish who had spoken. The remark attributed to him about Cit. Cohn was tantamount to an insult. Further the report said that it was "the absence of a monarch that inspired the people"; he had distinctly stated "the absence of monarchy", which was quite a different affair. The devil should understand such reports. Then that England use "more force" without, which might be a misprint of "moral force".

Again it was reported that Bismarck had said, "the French had not recognised that Government and it was the height of impudence for him to say what Government should be recognised by the French". No mention was made that he [Marx] had said that everybody in France had recognised and obeyed the Government and that it was the height of impudence for Bismarck to say they had not.

Then it is reported that the admission of France to the Conference would be tantamount to recognition. This was a penny-a-liner's remark, not his [Marx's]; the conclusion was altogether falsified. It was because the Government was not recognised that it was internationally incapable. The report differs also from the Minutes. Such reports could only do injury, and if any more of that sort were published he should move that no more be printed.

*March 7, 1871*

Cit. Marx then recurred to the question of the Declaration of Paris.[351] He said if the English working people did not speak out, that Declaration might be made an article of a treaty and the people of England must not be disarmed in their foreign policy, and there was no time to be lost: an English committee ought to be formed at once. For a maritime power the only way to make war was to make war against the foreign commerce of the enemy. America had not consented to that Declaration but the French had observed it and that was the reason the French fleet had done so little. Holland was now put forward to ask that that what was formerly only a declaration be made a part of the treaty. On the sea only goods could be destroyed but in a war in the interior an amount of fixed capital, such [as] bridges, buildings, etc., were

[a] The following words, "the intervention", are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

destroyed which it took years to replace. Letters of mark were another affair; they were the *francs tireurs*[34] of the sea. The ruling class of this country had lost the power of national defence without, and at the moment when France was powerless England represented the West of Europe, and the working class of England must regain the power.

*March 14, 1871*

Cit. Marx then resumed the adjourned debate. He said it was of the greatest possible consequence to find an antagonist for the military powers of the Continent. They were again in the position of the Holy Alliance,[375] and England was the only power that could oppose them and she could only do it by regaining her maritime rights. Confiscating their goods in neutral ships would ruin their foreign commerce in a few weeks and then the German middle class would not be quite so warlike, as it had lately been. This kind of warfare was more humane than war in its general aspects. By the Paris Declaration the military powers said virtually to England: you must make war in our way, not in yours. There had [been] much said against privateers but they were as good as *francs tireurs* and required less government power. When Butler had advocated war with England people had said America could not go to war without a navy, to which Butler had replied: we want no navy, we only require privateers. It was a matter of indifference with the present rulers of England whether they had that power or not but they would not always rule and [it] was necessary for a power of the English people to be employed for the benefit of the people of the Continent. Stuart Mill had been for the Declaration of Paris but some papers had been sent to him and he had now turned against it. The whole Black Sea Conference[376] had turned upon getting this Declaration sanctioned. Before, it had only been privately agreed to by Palmerston and Clarendon but the protocol signed on the previous day as to stipulations seemed to include it.

Cit. Engels said it was hardly worthwhile to go on as Cit. Weston to whose remarks he wanted to reply was not present. As to the Paris Declaration, Cit. Marx had already pointed out that it had only been a private agreement. It had never been acknowledged by any statesman or Parliament, nobody had said that it was binding. In 1862 Cornewall Lewis had declared that it was not binding. In 1867 the present Lord Derby had declared in answer to Stuart Mill that it was only binding in a way but that self-defence overawed all compacts. It had never been ratified and

only rested on the authority of a private letter of a minister; no one was bound by it. This was clear from the fact that at every war the belligerent powers themselves had, by special agreements, bound themselves. But the Conference had signed a protocol that henceforth treaties and stipulations should be binding until they were relinquished by common consent.[a] The war between France and Germany had proved that the present fortresses were insufficiently protected against bombardment and that by detached forts the fortresses themselves could be saved, and there were to be some forts erected in Poland. The Russian armaments were continued with unabated zeal and were on the last step from a peace to a war footing. The telegraph and sanitary companies were being organised. There was a Russian loan in the English market for £12,000,000, which was already oversubscribed and was probably the last English money Russia would get. We might have war before the summer was over—it did not look very peaceful. Referring to what had been said during the discussion, he said the only point that had been disputed was that an English army would not have been sufficient for intervention. The strong language of which Cit. Weston had spoken had not been used by him. He then showed again that England could only bring out a force of 30,000; only at the battle of the Alma the English had numbered 33,000 and that figure they had never reached again during the Crimean war. This was only equal to Prussian army corps, and [to] suppose that such a force could have turned the scales was absurd. The English were as brave as any and there was individual bravery in every country but the men had different qualifications and the mode they exercised them was different. Some were best for attack, others best for defence. The Irish were the best men for light infantry, the English for ...[b] but the military authorities here treated the English like the Irish and the Irish like the English. The English system of training was so incomplete and antiquated that never until the present war had men been trained in outpost duty at Aldershot. It had been said that 100,000 Englishmen would not have put up with being locked up in Paris. What could soldiers like our volunteers have done to prevent it? The French had had enough of such soldiers, and if 400,000 Englishmen of the same class had been locked up as the French

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[a] *Protocoles des Conférences tenue à Londres ... pour la révision des stipulations du Traité du 30 mars 1856 relatives à la neutralisation de la Mer Noire, séance du 17 janvier 1871, Annexe.—Ed.*

[b] A gap in the MS. The newspaper report further has "heavy infantry".—*Ed.*

were in Paris and led by the same jackasses and traitors they would have done the same as the French had done.

In conclusion he said England could not wage war on equal terms with the Continental powers, nor was it desirable that she should. An English soldier costs £100 a year, a Prussian only £30, therefore Prussia could keep three soldiers where England could only keep one; hence she could never compete with the military powers and he hoped she never would try to do it.

The first and the second point of the proposition with which the discussion commenced were withdrawn and the third:—"That England remains incapable, not only of interfering with effect in Continental affairs, but also of defending herself against the Continental military despotism, so long as she does not recover the liberty of using her real war power, that is to say, her naval power, which she can recover only by the renunciation of the Declaration of Paris"—was carried unanimously.

First published, in Russian, in the book *The General Council of the First International, 1870-1871,* Moscow, 1965

Reproduced from the General Council's Minute Book

The Eastern Post.

No. 130. LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 25, 1871. ONE PENNY.

# [RECORD OF ENGELS' SPEECH ON THE REVOLUTION OF MARCH 18 IN PARIS][377]

## [FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF MARCH 21, 1871]

Cit. Engels then gave a description of the state of things in Paris. He said the letters received during the week from Paris, which Serraillier had already mentioned, had cleared up what had been incomprehensible before. It had appeared as if a few men had suddenly seized a number of cannon and kept them. The whole of the press and every one of the correspondents had written that these men must be [put] down but the French Government had temporised. The information received from our Paris Committee was [that] the National Guards paid for the making of these guns and liked to keep them. After the election they had found that the Republic was anything but safe under such an Assembly as had been elected.[378] When the Prussians had entered Paris the guns had been taken away to another part of the town to keep them out of their reach. Then the Government had laid claim to them and endeavoured to take them away from the National Guards. Aurelle de Paladines had been appointed Commander in Chief of the National Guards and prefect of the police.[a] Under Napoleon he had been Commander in Chief of the Gendarmerie and he was a partisan of the priests. At the bidding of Dupanloup, the bishop of Orleans, he had done five hours' penance at Church while his army had been defeated in an action with the Germans. This had left no doubt as to the intentions of the Government.

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[a] At the next meeting on March 28, 1871, Engels pointed out to the mistake made in the record of his speech on March 21: "Two Generals, Aurelle de Paladines and Valentin, were made into one. It was the latter who had been appointed Prefect of the Police".— *Ed.*

The National Guard had then prepared for resistance. Out of 260 battalions 215 had organised a Central Committee, men and officers combined. A delegate had been elected by each Company out of whom the local Committees of the arrondissements, or wards, had been formed, and they had elected the Central Committee. Out of twenty arrondissements only five had not elected any delegates. When the Assembly had removed to Versailles the Government had tried to clear Paris of the revolutionists and take the guns from them. The troops only just arrived in Paris had been meant to be employed under the command of Vinoy who had commanded the soldiers that shot down the people on the boulevards during the *coup d'état* in 1851. They had partly succeeded early in the morning but when the National Guards had discovered what had been done they had set to work to retake the guns and the soldiers had fraternised with the people. The town was now in the hands of the people, the troops that had not gone over had been withdrawn to Marseilles and the Assembly did not know what to do. None of the men of the Central Committee were known to fame, there were no Felix Pyats and men of that stamp in it, but they were well known among the working class. There were four members of the International in the Committee.[a]

The Commune was to be elected the next day. They had announced that the liberty of the press should be respected but not the rotten Bonapartist press. The most important resolution passed was that the preliminaries of peace should be respected. The Prussians were still near and if they could be kept out of the quarrel the chances of success were increased.

The account of the speech was printed, without the author's name, in *The Eastern Post*, No. 130, March 25, 1871

This variant of the record was first published, in Russian, in the newspaper *Pravda*, No. 77, March 18, 1932

Reproduced from the General Council's Minute Book

[a] A. Alavoine, J.-L. Durand, L.-E. Varlin, J.-L. Pindy.— *Ed.*

# [RECORD OF MARX'S AND ENGELS' SPEECHES ON THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND][379]

## [FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF MARCH 28, 1871]

Cit. Engels said the question was not whether we support a republican movement but whether under present circumstances it would drive into our path. There were men like Peter Taylor and others who were simply for the Republic but it must be considered that the abolition of monarchy would involve the abolition of the State Church, the House of Lords and many other things. No republican movement could go on here without expanding into a working class movement and if such a movement was to take place it would be as well to know how it went on. Before our ideas could be carried into practice we must have the Republic. We must watch it and [it] was right for our members to take part in it and try to shape it. If it turned into a middle class affair it would become a clique. The working [class] could not but break with all established forms.

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Cit. Engels said there was as much oppression in America as here, but the republic gave a fair field for the working classes to agitate. In the densely populated states the labor movement was organised but the extent of unoccupied land prevented [it from] getting stronger than it was.

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Cit. Marx was convinced that no Republican movement could become serious without becoming social. The wire pullers of the present move of course intended no such thing.

First published, in Russian, in the book *The First International during the Paris Commune*, 1941

Reproduced from the General Council's Minute Book

# [RECORD OF ENGELS' SPEECH ON THE PARIS COMMUNE][380]

## [FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF APRIL 11, 1871]

Cit. Engels said he had another fact to communicate. The press had lately been full of the wonders done by the Association, but the last stated in a Paris paper was that Marx had been private secretary to Bismarck in 1857.[a]

He further said it would not be well to allow the Paris affair to go on without saying something about it. As long as the Central Committee of the National Guards had managed the affair it had gone on well but after the election[381] there had been talk and no action. The time for action against Versailles had been when it was weak but that opportunity had been lost and now it seemed that Versailles was getting the upper hand and driving the Parisians back. People would not put up long with being led into defeat. They lost ground, their ammunition was spent to little purpose and they were eating up their provisions. They could not be starved into submission as long as one side of Paris was open. Favre declined to take Prussian help.[382] In June 1848 the fight had been over in four days but then the workpeople had had no cannon. It would not be over so quick now. Louis Napoleon had made the streets wide that they might be swept with cannon against the workpeople but now it was in their favor; they would sweep the streets with cannon against the other party. The workpeople 200,000 men far better organised than at any former insurrection. Their case was a bad one but the chances were not so good as a fortnight ago.

First published, in Russian, in the newspaper *Pravda*, No. 77, March 18, 1932

Reproduced from the General Council's Minute Book

[a] See "Nouvelles d'hier. Paris, 2 avril", *La Province*, No. 428, April 5, 1871. See also Marx's letter to Karl Liebknecht, about April 10, 1871, present edition, Vol. 44.— *Ed.*

# [RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON THE PARIS COMMUNE][383]

## [FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF APRIL 25, 1871]

Cit. Marx read a letter from the Secretary of the New York Committee[a] giving the following list of Sections represented by delegates in the Committee.[384]

1. General German Workingmen's Society (Labor Union No. 5).
2. French Section of the I.W.A. New York.
3. Czechian Workingmen's Society New York.
4. Social Political Workingmen's Society 1 Chicago } German
5. Ditto " " " 2 Chicago } German
6. Social Democratic Workingmen's Society New York } German
7. Irish section of the I.W.A. New York.
8. Social Democratic Society Williamsburgh N.Y. (German).

The Sections were reported as doing good work, the Irish is rapidly increasing and trying to enter into combination with the Irish Confederation of the United States. Progress has been made to establish a weekly German newspaper. The Workingmen's Union had decided that only delegates representing Labor,[b] not capital should be admitted. The National Labor Union was losing ground among the New York Societies; several had refused to send delegates to the next Congress.

The Workingmen's Assembly of the State of New York had held its annual session at Albany and passed a resolution approving and endorsing the principles of the I.W.A. concluding "Workingmen of all Countries, unite!"

An address to the workingmen's Societies and Trades Union was in course of preparation and correspondence had been established with the Miners' Benevolent Association of Pennsylvania. The

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[a] F. A. Sorge.—*Ed.*

[b] Then follows the text of the missing page from the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

organised political labor party had overthrown the Republican ascendancy in New Hampshire in the recent election. A native American Section had been founded and sent a delegate [to the New York Committee]. A bill of exchange for two pounds sterling was remitted as contribution for 293 members and payment for Congress Reports.

Cit. Marx announced that letters had been received from Paris, one of the 12th and one of 15th[a] but they had only arrived on Saturday. A Frenchman from the Commune who had come to London to transact business with the Stock Exchange had paid him [Marx] a visit to obtain his assistance. The expulsion of Tolain was authentic,[b] in consequence of which he proposed the following resolution:—

"Considering the Resolution of the Federal Council of the Paris Sections expelling Citizen Tolain from the Association because, after having been elected to the National Assembly as a representative of the Working Classes, he has deserted their cause in the most cowardly manner, which resolution the General Council is called upon to confirm;

Considering that the place of every French member of the International Workingmen's Association is undoubtedly on the side of the Commune of Paris and not in the usurpatory and counter-revolutionary Assembly of Versailles;

The General Council of the International Workingmen's Association confirms the resolution of the Paris Federal Council and declares that Citizen Tolain is expelled from the International Workingmen's Association."

Eccarius seconded the resolution, it was carried unanimously.

Cit. Marx continued. He said he had pointed out to the delegate of the Commune that it was a great blunder to leave us without either letters[c] or papers. This would be rectified in future as the commercial communications between the Commune and London would be kept up by a travelling agent who would also take charge of our communications.

Serraillier and Dupont had been elected to fill up vacancies in the 17th arrondissement, Serraillier had written that Dupont[d] was sure to be elected but he had not written since the election; he might have written to Manchester.[385] It appeared that more letters had been written than had arrived.

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[a] A. Serraillier's letters were received on April 23.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 297.—*Ed.*

[c] The end of the missing page from the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

[d] J. M. A. Dupont.—*Ed.*

Felix Pyat and Vésinier were calumniating Serraillier and Dupont[a] in Paris and when Serraillier had threatened to prosecute they had denied it. It was urgent to write at once to Paris to state the reasons why Pyat calumniated Serraillier and Dupont, and upon the motion of Citizen Mottershead Citizen Marx was instructed to write.[386]

The letters had been posted outside the line by Lafargue,[387] they had therefore been delayed by rail, both the French and the Prussian Governments sifted the letters. Most of the information they contained was old but there were a few facts which the papers had not given. It was stated that the provinces knew as little what was going on in Paris as during the Siège. Except where the fighting was going on it had never been so quiet. A great part of the middle class had joined the National Guards of Belleville. The great Capitalists had run away and the small trades people went with the working class.[b] No one could have an idea of the enthusiasm of the people, and the National Guards and the people at Versailles must be fools if they believed that they could enter Paris. Paris did not believe in a rising in the provinces and knew that superior forces were brought against it but there was no fear on that account, but there was fear of Prussian intervention and want of provisions. The decrees about rent and commercial bills were two master strokes: without them 3/4 of the trades people would have become bankrupt. The murder of Duval and Flourens had excited a sentiment of vengeance. The family of Flourens and the Commune had sent a legal officer to have the cause of their death certain, but in vain.[c] Flourens had been killed in a house.[d]

About the fabrication of telegrams there was some information. When Protot had gone through the accounts of the Government of National Defence he had discovered that money had been paid for the construction of an improved portable guillotine.[e] The

[a] Eugène Dupont.— *Ed.*

[b] In the report published in *The Eastern Post* this sentence ends as follows: "and the shopkeepers have little love for the Versailles government".— *Ed.*

[c] *The Eastern Post* has: "for an authenticated statement of the cause of death, which would have involved an inquest, but the Versaillese flatly refused".— *Ed.*

[d] *The Eastern Post* has: "Flourens did not fall in any encounter, he was literally assassinated in a home."— *Ed.*

[e] *The Eastern Post* has: "One of the first things the officers of the Commune did was to examine the papers and books of their predecessors. In the accounts of the Home Department of the Government of National Defence, there was an entry found of money having been paid for the construction of an improved portable guillotine. This new instrument for the slaughter of the Paris workmen was constructed while the patriots now conspiring at Versailles, pretended to defend Paris from Prussians."— *Ed.*

guillotine had been found and publicly burned by order of the Commune.[a] The Gas Company had owed the municipality more than a mill, but had not shown any willingness to refund till their goods had been seized; then a bill to the amount had been given on the Bank of France. The telegrams and correspondents gave altogether different versions of these things.[b] The greatest eyesore was that the Commune governed so cheap. The highest officials only received at the rate of 6000 fr.[per] year, the others only workman's wages.[c]

The Address[d] was to be ready at the next meeting.

First published in part in *The Eastern Post*, No. 135, April 29, 1871

First published in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 44, Moscow, 1977

Reproduced from the General Council's Minute Book, verified with *The Eastern Post*

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[a] *The Eastern Post* has further: "The telegrams and the correspondents had it that the people burned them to save their heads against the Commune."—*Ed.*

[b] *The Eastern Post* describes this as follows: "The Gas Company being robbed is another little bit. The municipal account showed that the Gas Company had received upwards of a million out of the rates levied on the inhabitants of Paris, which was registered as owing; while the same Gas Company had a large balance in the Bank of France. When no response was made to refund, the Commune sent the brokers, and when the Company found that matters had become serious, that their cash-box and goods were seized, they gave a cheque in the Bank of France for the amounts, and their cash-box and goods were restored. These two cases may serve as samples."—*Ed.*

[c] *The Eastern Post* has: "The pay of ordinary functionaries is only equal to skilled workmen's wages, the salary of the highest officials is only at the rate of £240 a year. Surely they must be people, they cannot have any gentlemen among them—fancy a gentleman giving ministerial parties and Lord Mayor's dinner on £240 a year."—*Ed.*

[d] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France* (this volume, pp. 307-59).—*Ed.*

# [RECORD OF ENGELS' SPEECHES ON THE PARIS COMMUNE AND IN CONNECTION WITH THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF ROBERT OWEN'S BIRTH][388]

## [FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF MAY 9, 1871]

Cit. Engels then stated that the address[a] was not ready yet. Cit. Marx had been seriously unwell and drawing up the address had made him worse. But it would be ready on Saturday and the Subcommittee[238] could meet at Marx's any time after five o'clock in the afternoon. A delegate from the Commune had been here, the reports were good. Strictness had to be employed not to let people pass without passports. It had been discovered that spies from Versailles had lounged about at their leisure. The main attack had failed. The Versailles army had tried to get in between the National Guards and the ramparts but now they could only attack in one place and that was where they had failed before. The defence was getting stronger. The Commune had lost a little ground [but] had regained Clamart. Even if the army succeeded at the ramparts there were the barricades afterwards and there had never been such a struggle before as the one impending. For the first time barricades would be defended by cannon, by military guns, and by regularly organised forces. The contending armies were nearly equal now. Versailles could get no troops from the country, they had to send some away to keep the towns in order. Thiers could not even allow the Town Councils to meet at Bordeaux and talk politics,[306] he had to use Napoleon's Law to prevent it.[325]

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Cit. Engels seconded the proposition.[389] He said he knew too little of the promoters of the affair but there was no doubt about

[a] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France* (pp. 307-59).— *Ed.*

Robert Owen. There were things to be found in his writings that had not been superseded yet. He had started from his own ideas, had been originally a manufacturer himself and the first that had stood up against his class to put a stop to the shameful system in which women and children had been employed in factories. He thought the International ought to be represented.

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Cit. Engels objected to Mottershead[390] that Locke had been a deist but Owen a materialist. Locke's philosophy had led the French to materialism. He doubted that Owen had been acquainted with the older French writers. He differed entirely from Mottershead. Owen's movement had commenced as early as 1809 and had been independent of anything previously written. In 1812 he had published his book on marriage[a] and 1818 he had gone to the King's Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle to induce them to proclaim Communism. That later the movement had been more in the direction of religion was true to a certain extent but much had been said about social reform. Most of the Owenites had gone over to the middle classes. They had been Chartists but forced into the position of professional agitators and then they had become less reliable and not stuck [to] their principles. He should regret if the festival came off in such a way that we could not take part in it.

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Cit. Engels said he had not meant that all the socialists were Chartists but some he had known had been.

First published, in Russian, in the book *The First International during the Paris Commune,* Moscow, 1941 and in the book *The General Council of the First International, 1870-1871,* Moscow, 1965

Reproduced from the General Council's Minute Book

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[a] Evidently a mistake in the date. The reference is to Owen's book *The Marriage System of the New Moral World...,* Leeds, 1838.—*Ed.*

# [RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON THE PARIS COMMUNE][391]

## [FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF MAY 23, 1871]

Citizen Marx explained that he had been ill, and had not been able to finish the address[a] upon which he was engaged, but he hoped to have it ready by Tuesday next. In reference to the struggle in Paris he said. "He was afraid the end was near, but if the Commune was beaten, the struggle would only be deferred. The principles of the Commune were eternal and could not be crushed; they would assert themselves again and again until the working classes were emancipated. The Commune of Paris was being crushed by the aid of the Prussians, they were acting as gendarmes for Thiers. The plot for its destruction was concocted between Bismarck, Thiers and Favre; Bismarck stated at Frankfort that Thiers and Favre had asked him to interfere.[b] The result showed that he was willing to do anything he could to assist them, short of risking the lives of German soldiers—not that he valued life when there was anything to be got—but he wished to see France sink still lower so that he might be able to exact the more. He had allowed Thiers to have more soldiers than was stipulated in the Convention,[118] and had only allowed food to go into Paris in limited quantities. It was only the old story. The upper classes always united to keep down the working class. In the 11th century there was a war between some French Knights and Norman Knights, and the Peasants rose in insurrection; the Knights immediately forgot their differences and coalesced to crush the movement of the Peasants. To show how the Prussians have been

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[a] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France* (pp. 307-59).—*Ed.*

[b] Report from Germany in the column "Révélations", *La Situation,* No. 156, March 21, 1871.—*Ed.*

doing Police work, it might be mentioned that 500 were arrested at Rouen which is occupied by the Prussians—upon the plea that they belonged to the International. The International was feared. In the French Assembly the other day, Count Jaubert—a dried up mummy—a minister of '34—a man noted for supporting measures against the Press[169]—made a speech in which he said that after order was restored, the first duty of the Government must be to enquire into the working of the International, and put it down."[a]

First published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 139, May 27, 1871

Reproduced from the General Council's Minute Book, verified with *The Eastern Post*

[a] See H. F. Jaubert's speech in the National Assembly, May 12, 1871, *Journal officiel* (Versailles), No. 133, May 13, 1871.—*Ed.*

# [RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH AGAINST THE CALUMNY INVENTED BY THE BOURGEOIS PRESS TO SLANDER THE INTERNATIONAL AND THE PARIS COMMUNE]

## [FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF JUNE 6, 1871]

Citizen Marx said the Council must disclaim all connection with the so-called International Democratic Association [354] as it was started in opposition to the International Workingmen's Association which had to bear the responsibilities of acts absurd as they sometimes were.[a] Another thing to which he wished to call the attention of the Council was the infamous lies circulated about the Commune by the English Press. They were lies fabricated by the French and Prussian police. They were afraid lest the truth should be known. It was asserted that Millière was one of the most furious members of the Commune. Now it was a fact that he never was a member of the Commune, but as he had been a deputy for Paris it was necessary to have an excuse for shooting him. The English press acted as police and bloodhounds for Thiers. Slanders against the Commune and against the International were invented to serve his bloody policy. The press knew full well the objects and principles of the International. It had given reports of the prosecutions against it in Paris under the Empire. It had had representatives at the various Congresses held by the Association, and had reported their proceedings, and yet it circulated reports to the effect that the Association included the Fenian Brotherhood, the Carbonari, ceased to exist 1830, the Marianne, Ditto 1854 [392] and other secret Societies, and asked if Colonel Henderson knew of the whereabouts of the General Council which was said to sit in London. These things were simply

[a] The first sentence is omitted in the report published in *The Eastern Post*.—*Ed.*

invented to justify any action taken against the International. The upper classes were afraid of the principles of the International.

He wished also to call attention to the fact that Mazzini had written in *The Contemporary Review* denouncing the Commune.[a] It was not so well known as it ought to be, but Mazzini had always been opposed to the Workmen's movements. He denounced the insurgents of June 1848 when Louis Blanc, who then had more courage than he has now—answered him.[b]

When Pierre Leroux—who had a large family—obtained employment in London Mazzini was the man to denounce him. The fact was, Mazzini, with his old-fashioned Republicanism knew nothing and accomplished nothing. In Italy he had created a military despotism by his cry for Nationality. With him the State—which was an imaginary thing, was everything, and Society—which was a reality—was nothing. The sooner the People repudiated such men the better.

First published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 141, June 10, 1871

Reproduced from the General Council's Minute Book, verified with *The Eastern Post*

[a] G. Mazzini, "The Commune in Paris", *The Contemporary Review*, June 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] L. Blanc, *Des socialistes français à M. Mazzini*, Brussels, 1852.—*Ed.*

# [RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON THE PARIS COMMUNE][393]

## [FROM THE NEWSPAPER REPORT ON THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF JUNE 20, 1871]

Citizen Marx said that he was glad to observe that the workmen on the continent were thoroughly outspoken upon the subject of the Commune. Meetings had been held in Geneva, Brussels, Munich, Vienna, and Berlin, denouncing the Thiers-Favre massacres. He also called attention to the fact that a number of so-called manifestoes had appeared in the French papers, purporting to be issued by the Paris section of the International. They were all forgeries issued by the French police for the purpose of entrapping the unwary, it shewed the dirty actions to which a despicable government could descend.[a]

First published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 143, June 24, 1871

Reproduced from the newspaper

[a] See this volume, pp. 364-66.—*Ed.*

# [RECORD OF MARX'S INTERVIEW WITH *THE WORLD* CORRESPONDENT]

London, July 3 [1871]

I[a] went straight to my business. The world, I said, seemed to be in the dark about the International, hating it very much, but not able to say clearly what thing it hated. Some, who professed to have peered further into the gloom than their neighbors, declared that they had made out a sort of Janus figure with a fair, honest workman's smile on one of its faces, and on the other a murderous, conspirator's scowl. Would he [Marx] light up the case of mystery in which the theory dwelt? The professor laughed, chuckled a little I fancied, at the thought that we were so frightened of him.

"There is no mystery to clear up, dear sir," he began, in a very polished form of the Hans Breitmann dialect,[394] "except perhaps the mystery of human stupidity in those who perpetually ignore the fact that our association is a public one and that the fullest reports of its proceedings are published for all who care to read them. You may buy our rules[b] for a penny, and a shilling laid out in pamphlets will teach you almost as much about us as we know ourselves.

R.—Almost—yes, perhaps so; but will not the something I shall not know constitute the all-important reservation? To be quite frank with you, and to put the case as it strikes an outside observer, this general claim of depreciation of you must mean something more than the ignorant ill-will of the multitude. And it is still pertinent to ask even after what you have told me, what is the International Society?

Dr. M.—You have only to look at the individuals of which it is composed—workmen.

R.—Yes, but the soldier need be no exponent of the statecraft that sets him in motion. I know some of your members, and I can believe that they are not of the

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[a] R. Lander.—*Ed.*

[b] See K. Marx, *Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association* (present edition, Vol. 20, Appendices).—*Ed.*

stuff of which conspirators are made. Besides, a secret shared by a million men would be no secret at all. But what if these were only the instruments in the hands of a bold, and I hope you will forgive me for adding, not over-scrupulous conclave.

Dr. M.—There is nothing to prove it.

R.—The last Paris insurrection?

Dr. M.—I demand firstly the proof that there was any plot at all—that anything happened that was not the legitimate effect of the circumstances of the moment; or the plot granted, I demand the proofs of the participation in it of the International Association.

R.—The presence in the communal body of so many members of the association.

Dr. M.—Then it was a plot of the Freemasons, too, for their share in the work as individuals was by no means a slight one. I should not be surprised, indeed, to find the Pope[a] setting down the whole insurrection to their account. But try another explanation. The insurrection in Paris was made by the workmen of Paris. The ablest of the workmen must necessarily have been its leaders and administrators; but the ablest of the workmen happen also to be members of the International Association. Yet the association as such may be in no way responsible for their action.

R.—It will still seem otherwise to the world. People talk of secret instructions from London, and even grants of money. Can it be affirmed that the alleged openness of the association's proceedings precludes all secrecy of communication?

Dr. M.—What association ever formed carried on its work without private as well as public agencies? But to talk of secret instruction from London, as of decrees in the matter of faith and morals from some centre of Papal domination and intrigue is wholly to misconceive the nature of the International. This would imply a centralized form of government for the International, whereas the real form is designedly that which gives the greatest play to local energy and independence. In fact the International is not properly a government for the working class at all. It is a bond of union rather than a controlling force.

R.—And of union to what end?

Dr. M.—The economical emancipation of the working class by the conquest of political power. The use of that political power to the attainment of social ends. It is necessary that our aims should be thus comprehensive to include every form of working class activity. To have made them of a special character would have been to adapt them to the needs of one section—one nation of

[a] Pius IX.—*Ed.*

workmen alone. But how could all men be asked to unite to further the objects of a few. To have done that the association must have forfeited its title of International. The association does not dictate the form of political movements; it only requires a pledge as to their end. It is a network of affiliated societies spreading all over the world of labor. In each part of the world some special aspect of the problem presents itself, and the workmen there address themselves to its consideration in their own way. Combinations among workmen cannot be absolutely identical in detail in Newcastle and in Barcelona, in London and in Berlin. In England, for instance, the way to show political power lies open to the working class. Insurrection would be madness where peaceful agitation would more swiftly and surely do the work. In France a hundred laws of repression and a mortal antagonism between classes seem to necessitate the violent solution of social war. The choice of that solution is the affair of the working classes of that country. The International does not presume to dictate in the matter and hardly to advise. But to every movement it accords its sympathy and its aid within the limits assigned by its own laws.

R.—And what is the nature of that aid?

Dr. M.—To give an example, one of the commonest forms of the movement for emancipation is that of strikes. Formerly, when a strike took place in one country, it was defeated by the importation of workmen from another. The International has nearly stopped all that. It receives information of the intended strike, it spreads that information among its members, who at once see that for them the seat of the struggle must be forbidden ground. The masters are thus left alone to reckon with their men. In most cases the men require no other aid than that. Their own subscriptions or those of the societies to which they are more immediately affiliated supply them with funds, but should the pressure upon them become too heavy and the strike be one of which the association approves, their necessities are supplied out of the common purse. By these means a strike of the cigar-makers of Barcelona was brought to a victorious issue the other day.[395] But the society has no interest in strikes, though it supports them under certain conditions. It cannot possibly gain by them in a pecuniary point of view, but it may easily lose. Let us sum it all up in a word. The working classes remain poor amid the increase of wealth, wretched amid the increase of luxury. Their material privation dwarfs their moral as well as their physical stature. They

cannot rely on others for a remedy. It has become then with them an imperative necessity to take their own case in hand. They must revise the relations between themselves and the capitalists and landlords, and that means they must transform society. This is the general end of every known workmen's organization; land and labor leagues,[350] trade and friendly societies, co-operative stores and co-operative production are but means towards it. To establish a perfect solidarity between these organizations is the business of the International Association. Its influence is beginning to be felt everywhere. Two papers spread its views in Spain, three in Germany, the same number in Austria and in Holland, six in Belgium, and six in Switzerland. And now that I have told you what the International is you may, perhaps, be in a position to form your own opinion as to its pretended plots.

R.—I do not quite understand you.

Dr. M.—Do you not see that the old society, wanting the strength to meet it with its own weapons of discussion and combination, is obliged to resort to the fraud of fixing upon it the imputation of conspiracy?

R.—But the French police declare that they are in a position to prove its complicity in the late affair, to say nothing of preceding attempts.

Dr. M.—But we will say something of those attempts, if you please, because they best serve to test the gravity of all the charges of conspiracy brought against the International. You remember the last "plot" but one. A plebiscite had been announced.[396] Many of the electors were known to be wavering. They had no longer a keen sense of the value of the imperial rule, having come to disbelieve in those threatened dangers of society from which it was supposed to have saved them. A new bugbear was wanted. The police undertook to find one. All combinations of workmen being hateful to them, they naturally owed the International an ill-turn. A happy thought inspired them. What if they should select the International for their bugbear, and thus at one stroke discredit that society and curry favor for the imperial cause? Out of that happy thought came the ridiculous "plot" against the Emperor's life—as if we wanted to kill the wretched old fellow. They seized the leading members of the International. They manufactured evidence. They prepared their case for trial, and in the meantime they had their plebiscite. But the intended comedy was too obviously but a broad, coarse farce. Intelligent Europe, which witnessed the spectacle, was not deceived for a moment as to its character, and only the French peasant elector was befooled. Your

English papers reported the beginnings of the miserable affair; they forgot to notice the end. The French judges admitting the existence of the plot by official courtesy were obliged to declare that there was nothing to show the complicity of the International. Believe me, the second plot is like the first. The French functionary is again in business. He is called in to account for the biggest civil movement the world has ever seen. A hundred signs of the times ought to suggest the right explanation—the growth of intelligence among the workmen, of luxury and incompetence among their rulers, the historical process now going on of that final transfer of power from a class to the people, the apparent fitness of time, place, and circumstance for the great movement of emancipation. But to have seen these the functionary must have been a philosopher, and he is only a *mouchard.*[a] By the law of his being, therefore, he has fallen back upon the *mouchard's* explanation—a "conspiracy". His old portfolio of forged documents will supply him with the proofs, and this time Europe in its scare will believe the tale.

R.—Europe can scarcely help itself, seeing that every French newspaper spreads the report.

Dr. M.—Every French newspaper! See, here is one of them (taking up *La Situation*), and judge for yourself of the value of its evidence as to a matter of fact. [Reads:] "Dr. Karl Marx, of the International, has been arrested in Belgium, trying to make his way to France. The police of London have long had their eye on the society with which he is connected, and are now taking active measures for its suppression."[b]

Two sentences and two lies. You can test the truth of one story by the evidence of your own senses. You see that instead of being in prison in Belgium I am at home in England. You must also know that the police in England are as powerless to interfere with the International Society as the society with them. Yet what is most regular in all this is that the report will go the round of the continental press without a contradiction, and could continue to do so if I were to circularize every journal in Europe from this place.

R.—Have you attempted to contradict many of these false reports?

Dr. M.—I have done so till I have grown weary of the labor. To show the gross carelessness with which they are concocted I may

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[a] Police agent.—*Ed.*

[b] Report in the column "Dépêches Télégraphiques", *La Situation,* No. 240, June 28, 1871.—*Ed.*

mention that in one of them I saw Felix Pyat set down as a member of the International.

R.—And he is not so?

Dr. Marx—The association could hardly have found room for such a wild man. He was once presumptuous enough to issue a rash proclamation in our name, but it was instantly disavowed,[397] though, to do them justice, the press of course ignored the disavowal.

R.—And Mazzini, is he a member of your body?

Dr. Marx (laughing)—Ah, no. We should have made but little progress if we had not got beyond the range of his ideas.

R.—You surprise me. I should certainly have thought that he represented the most advanced views.

Dr. M.—He represents nothing better than the old idea of a middle-class republic. We seek no part with the middle class. He has fallen as far to the rear of the modern movement as the German professors, who, nevertheless, are still considered in Europe as the apostles of the cultured democratism of the future. They were so at one time—before '48, perhaps, when the German middle class, in the English sense, had scarcely attained its proper development. But now they have gone over bodily to the reaction, and the proletariat knows them no more.

R.—Some people have thought they saw signs of a positivist element in your organization.

Dr. M.—No such thing. We have positivists among us, and others not of our body who work as well. But this is not by virtue of their philosophy, which will have nothing to do with popular government, as we understand it, and which seeks only to put a new hierarchy in place of the old one.[a]

R.—It seems to me, then, that the leaders of the new international movement have had to form a philosophy as well as an association for themselves.

Dr. M.—Precisely. It is hardly likely, for instance, that we could hope to prosper in our war against capital if we derive our tactics, say from the political economy of Mill. He has traced one kind of relationship between labor and capital. We hope to show that it is possible to establish another.

R.—And as to religion?

Dr. M.—On that point I cannot speak in the name of the society. I myself am an atheist. It is startling, no doubt, to hear such an avowal in England, but there is some comfort in the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 498, 504-05.—*Ed.*

thought that it need not be made in a whisper in either Germany or France?

R.—And yet you make your headquarters in this country?

Dr. M.—For obvious reasons; the right of association is here an established thing. It exists, indeed, in Germany, but it is beset with innumerable difficulties; in France for many years it has not existed at all.

R.—And the United States?

Dr. M.—The chief centres of our activity are for the present among the old societies of Europe. Many circumstances have hitherto tended to prevent the labor problem from assuming an all-absorbing importance in the United States. But they are rapidly disappearing, and it is rapidly coming to the front there with the growth as in Europe of a laboring class distinct from the rest of the community and divorced from capital.

R.—It would seem that in this country the hoped for solution, whatever it may be, will be attained without the violent means of revolution. The English system of agitating by platform and press until minorities become converted into majorities is a hopeful sign.

Dr. M.—I am not so sanguine on that point as you. The English middle class has always shown itself willing enough to accept the verdict of the majority so long as it enjoyed the monopoly of the voting power. But mark me, as soon as it finds itself outvoted on what it considers vital questions we shall see here a new slave-owner's war."[398]

First published in *The World,* July 18, 1871

Reproduced from the newspaper

# [ACCOUNT OF ENGELS' SPEECH ON MAZZINI'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE INTERNATIONAL]

## [FROM THE NEWSPAPER REPORT ON THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF JULY 25, 1871]

Citizen Engels said after the Pope[a] should come the Anti-Pope,[399] he had to report that Joseph Mazzini had been attacking the International[b] in the columns of his Journal. After stating that he knew the Italian people loved him and he loved them, he proceeded:—

"An association has arisen which threatens to subvert all order (the same words as used by the Pope) started many years ago, I refused from the first to belong [to] it. It is controlled by a Council sitting in London, the soul of which is Karl Marx, a man of acute intellect, but like that of Proudhon of a dissolving character, and of domineering temper, who is jealous of other people's influence. The Council itself, composed of men of different nationalities, can have no unity of purpose either to discuss the evils which afflict society, nor the unity of sentiment necessary to amend them. These are the reasons why I retired from the Association, and why the Italian branch of the Democratic Alliance (London) retired from it also. The three fundamental principles of the International are:—1st Negation of God, that is of all morality. 2nd Negation of Country, which it dissolves into a Conglomeration of Communes, whose inevitable fate it must be to quarrel among themselves, 3rd Negation of Property, thereby depriving every working-man of the fruits of his labour for the right to individual property is nothing but the right of every man to that which he has produced."

After descanting at length upon these points, he concluded by advising the Italian Working Class to organise themselves strongly under his banner in a counter-league against the Internationals, to have faith in the future of Italy, and to work for its future and glory, and to form among themselves Co-operative Stores (not

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[a] Pius IX.—*Ed.*

[b] G. Mazzini, "Agli operai italiani", *La Roma del popolo,* No. 20, July 13, 1871; see also this volume, pp. 385-87.—*Ed.*

Co-operative Workshops) so that all may get as much profit as possible.

It will be seen that upon one important point Mazzini contradicts himself, in one place he says "he refused to belong to the International from the first," and afterwards says he retired. How a man can retire from that to which he never belonged, the public must imagine. The fact is Mazzini never was a member of the International but he tried to turn it into a tool of his own. He drew up a programme which was submitted to the provisional Council but it was rejected, and after some further attempts made through Major Wolff, since discovered to be a police spy, towards the same end had failed,[238] Mazzini refrained from all interference with the International until lately.

As to the charges against the International, they are either untrue or absurd, with regard to the first that it wants to make atheism compulsory, that is untrue, and was refuted in the Secretary's[a] letter in reply to Jules Favre's circular.[b] The second is absurd, for while the International recognises no country, it desires to unite, not dissolve. It is opposed to the cry for Nationality, because it tends to separate people from people, and is used by tyrants to create prejudices and antagonism,[400] the jealousy existing between the Latin and Teuton races led to the late disastrous war, and was equally used by Napoleon and Bismarck. The third charge only betrays Mazzini's ignorance of the very elements of political economy. That individual property which assures to everyone the fruits of his own labour, the International does not intend to abolish, but on the contrary to establish. At present the fruits of the labour of the masses goes into the pockets of the few, and this system of capitalist production is what Mazzini proposes to leave unaltered, but which the International would destroy. It desires everyone to have the produce of his or her labour. The letters received from Italy prove that the Italian Workmen are with the International, and are not to be misguided by Mazzini's shallow sophistry.

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Reproduced from the newspaper, verified with the General Council's Minute Book

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[a] J. Hales.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 361-63.—*Ed.*

# [RECORD OF ENGELS' SPEECH ON THE CONVOCATION OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE OF 1871][401]

## [FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF JULY 25, 1871]

Citizen Engels proposed "That a private Conference of the Association be called in London to meet on the third Sunday in September". He said that last year the Sections gave the General Council power to postpone the Annual Congress—because of the circumstances created by the war—and things were not much better now. It was impossible to hold a Congress in France. In Germany the Association was subject to prosecution and any member that had the courage to attend a Congress would do so at the risk of imprisonment. In Spain the Association was being persecuted, and in Belgium there was no freedom. So taking things altogether there were only two places where it would be possible to meet, England and Switzerland, and Citizen Robin had told them how in the latter country the members were divided among themselves. The position too was such, that if a Congress was summoned scarcely any of the sections could send delegates, at the same time it was necessary for the General Council to take counsel with the sections, as to the future policy, and to get its powers ratified, and such could only be done by holding a private Conference as he proposed.

First published, in Russian, in the book *The London Conference of the First International*, 1936

Reproduced from the General Council's Minute Book

# [ACCOUNT OF MARX'S SPEECH AGAINST ODGER][402]

## [FROM THE NEWSPAPER REPORT ON THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF AUGUST 1, 1871]

Citizen Marx said there was one other subject to which he wished to allude. It appeared that at a meeting of the Land and Labour League[350] a Mr. Shipton—whom he did not know but who had the reputation of being Mr. Odger's Lieutenant—had been criticising the address on the "Civil War in France" and had said that he (Dr Marx) had repudiated the Council. Such a remark only shewed Mr. Shipton's ignorance and didn't speak much for his perception even though he might be a dummy in the hands of Odger.—"Because he had avowed himself the author of the charges contained in the address, he had repudiated the Council"!—Why, that avowal was made by the sanction of the Council, so that men like Mr. Odger who were apologists for M. Thiers and Favre—should no longer have the power to say they did not know whether the charges were true or not that were made in the address. In the letter of avowal the men charged were distinctly challenged to indict him for libel so that the matter might be tested in a court of law,[a] but it did not serve their purpose to do so, as they knew well what the result would be. Of course it was to be easily understood why Mr. Odger was not satisfied. He had exhibited an amount of ignorance in dealing with foreign politics that would not have been creditable to any ordinary reader of newspapers. He had said "The character of Jules Favre was irreproachable": Why, it was well known that he had been all his life the bitter opponent of the French Working Class, and of all Labour movements, he was the principal instigator of the massacres of June—'48;—he was the author of the expedition to

[a] See this volume, p. 370.—*Ed.*

Rome in '49; he was the man who obtained the expulsion of Louis Blanc from France, and was one of the men who brought back Bonaparte; and yet Mr. Odger unblushingly stood up and said "Nothing could be said against the character of Jules Favre". Why, if Mr. Odger, who claimed to have been one of the foremost men of the International, had attended to his duties as a member, he must have known, such a statement had no ground whatever to rest upon. It was either made with a knowledge that it was false, or it betrayed an inexcusable ignorance. Mr. Odger knew nothing of the International for the last five years, as he had never attended to the duties, the Office of President was abolished by the Congress,[403] because it was found to be a sham. Mr. Odger was the first—and only President of the International: he never attended to his duties—the Council got on quite as well without—therefore the office was abolished.

First published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 149, August 5, 1871

Reproduced from the newspaper, verified with the General Council's Minute Book

# [RECORD OF ENGELS' SPEECH ON THE SITUATION IN SPAIN]

## [FROM THE NEWSPAPER REPORT ON THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF AUGUST 22, 1871]

Citizen Engels reported that the members of the Spanish Federal Council had great hopes from the change of Ministry which had just taken place in Spain. It was expected that the prosecutions against the International would cease, and then the Association would soon extend its ramifications throughout the length and breadth of the peninsula. A great change had taken place in the ranks of the Republican party. On the establishment of the Commune in Paris, the leaders of the Republican party in Spain—not knowing the social principles involved—went in for it. But as soon as they found out that it meant a struggle for more than municipal government they turned round and denounced it. This shocked the Spanish working-class, which formed the bulk of the Republican party. Having had their eyes opened, the people not wishing to be used as tools, had turned to the International. Citizen Engels also reported that Citizen Paul Lafargue, son-in-law to Dr. Marx, and formerly a member of the General Council, had been arrested in Spain and sent under an escort of gendarmes to Madrid. The government, however, finding nothing against him, had since liberated him.

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Reproduced from the newspaper

# [RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH IN THE OPENING OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE][404]

## [FROM THE MINUTES OF THE SESSION OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION ON SEPTEMBER 17, 1871]

Marx: The General Council has called a conference to consult the delegates of the various countries about the measures to be taken to guard against the risks which the Association is running in a large number of countries, and to set up a new organisation to meet the needs of the situation.

Secondly, to draw up a response to the various governments that are working unceasingly to destroy the Association by every means at their disposal.

And finally to reach a definitive solution to the Swiss conflict.

Other secondary questions will certainly be raised during the course of the conference and should be resolved.

Citizen Marx adds that it will be necessary to make a public declaration to the Russian government, which is trying to implicate the Association in a certain affair relating to a secret society whose main leaders are completely unconnected with or hostile to the Association.[405]

This conference is private, but when all the delegates have returned to their countries, the General Council will publish those resolutions which the Conference deems it necessary to publish.

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# [RECORDS OF MARX'S SPEECHES ON TRADE UNIONS][406]

## [FROM THE MINUTES OF THE SESSION OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION ON SEPTEMBER 20, 1871]

I

Marx believes that these resolutions were not taken at the Congress of Basle—after verification he recognises that some decisions were taken in this sense[407]—it was a pious wish—he also thought at that time—the thing possible—now he is persuaded that the TRADES UNIONS will not accept this federation—The TRADES UNIONS, he says, are an aristocratic minority—the poor workers cannot belong to them: the great mass of workers whom economic development is driving from the countryside into the towns every day—has long been outside the TRADES UNIONS—and the most wretched mass has never belonged; the same goes for the workers born in the East End of London; one in 10 belongs to TRADES UNIONS—peasants, day labourers never belong to these societies.

The TRADES UNIONS can do nothing by themselves—they will remain a minority—they have no power over the mass of proletarians—whereas the International works directly on these men—it does not need their organisation in order to carry along the workers—the international idea appeals to them immediately—It is the only society to inspire complete confidence in the workers.

Language also stands in the way of an international association with the TRADES UNIONS.

II

Marx does not share Steens' fears—with regard to the TRADES UNIONS.[408] They have never been able to do anything without turning to us—even the best organised—those with branches in

the United States—they have remained outside the largest revolutionary movement in England[409]—Since the International has been in existence—it has been different—if they wish to employ their strength—with our aid—they can achieve everything—they had a clause in their Rules prohibiting them from getting involved in politics—the only political moves they have made were under the influence of the International—The General Council has for several years been in contact with the TRADES UNIONS—there existed a committee[410]—at present it is still in contact with three big cities—Manchester—Birmingham—Sheffield.

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# [RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON THE POLITICAL ACTION OF THE WORKING CLASS][411]

## [FROM THE MINUTES OF THE SESSION OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION ON SEPTEMBER 20, 1871]

Citizen Lorenzo has called on us to observe the Regulations, and Citizen Bastelica has followed him in this course.—I take the original Rules and the Inaugural Address, and I read in the two that the General Council will be responsible for presenting a programme for discussion at the congresses.[a]

The programme which the General Council is presenting to the conference for discussion comprises[b]—the organisation of the Association; and the Vaillant motion relates to this point—the claim of Lorenzo and Bastelica is therefore unfounded—

In almost all countries some members of the International, basing themselves on the mutilated formulation of the Rules passed by the Congress of Geneva,[412] have indulged in propaganda in favour of abstention from politics, which the governments have taken great care not to interrupt. Even in Germany, Schweitzer and others in the pay of Bismarck tried to rally the sections round the policies of the government. In France this culpable abstention had allowed Favre, Picard and others to seize power on 4 September—this abstention enabled a dictatorial committee to set itself up in Paris on 18 March, composed largely of Bonapartists and intriguers who knowingly wasted the first days of the Revolution in inaction, when they should have spent them consolidating it.[413]

In America a congress held recently[414] and composed of workers has resolved to deal seriously with the political question

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[a] K. Marx, *Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association,* London, 1867 (present edition, Vol. 20, Appendices); K. Marx, *Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association,* London, 1864 (present edition, Vol. 20).—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 613.—*Ed.*

and to substitute workers like themselves to represent them, entrusted with defending the interests of their class, for these personalities who make a career out of being politicians.

In England it is less easy for a worker to enter Parliament. The Members receiving no subsidy, and the worker having nothing but the proceeds of his labour to live on, Parliament is closed to him, and the Bourgeoisie, stubbornly refusing to pay an allowance to Members, knows full well that this is the way to prevent the working class from being represented.

But it must not be thought that it is of minor importance to have workers in parliament. If their voices are stifled, like those of De Potter and Castiau, if they are ejected like Manuel—the effect of this severity and intolerance on the people is profound—Whereas if, like Bebel and Liebknecht, they are able to speak from this platform, the entire world can hear them—in one way or the other it means considerable publicity for our principles—To mention only one example—When, during the war taking place in France, Bebel and Liebknecht embarked on the struggle against it, and to disclaim all responsibility on behalf of the working class with regard to what was happening—the whole of Germany was shaken, and even Munich, this city where no-one would contemplate revolution unless it involved the price of beer, was the scene of great demonstrations demanding an end to the war.

The governments are hostile to us.[a] We must answer them by using every possible means at our disposal, getting workers into parliament is so much gaining over them, but we must choose the right men and watch out for the Tolains.[b]

He supports Citizen Vaillant's motion with the Frankel amendment, which consists in prefacing it with a preamble explaining the reason for this declaration, that is stating that it is not just today that the Association asks the workers to engage in politics, but all the time.

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[a] The paragraph in the draft notes by Martin begins as follows: "Since the July Revolution the bourgeoisie has always made every effort to unnoticeably create obstacles, in the workers' way. Our newspapers are not reaching the masses—the speaker's platform is the best means of publicity."—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 297.—*Ed.*

# [RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON THE POLITICAL ACTION OF THE WORKING CLASS]

## [FROM THE MINUTES OF THE SESSION OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION ON SEPTEMBER 21, 1871]

Marx will not speak against Vaillant's motion because yesterday he spoke for it—he replies to Bastelica that from the beginning of the conference it had been decided that this question was entirely one of organisation and not of principle—as for the regulation invoked—he recalls [that it is necessary] to read the Rules and the Inaugural Address together—which he reads once again.[a]

He outlines the history of abstention—we must not get annoyed, he says, over the issue—the people who propagated this doctrine were sincere utopians—but those who are resuming the same path today are not—by adjourning politics until after the violent struggle they are hurling the people into the formalist, bourgeois opposition—which it is our duty to combat, as well as the powers-that-be—We must expose Gambetta, so that the people are not deceived all over again. He is of the same opinion as Vaillant—we must throw down a challenge to all the governments in response to their persecution of the International—which (...)

Reaction exists throughout the Continent, it is general and permanent—and even in the United States and in England in another form—

We must tell them—we know that you are the armed force opposing the proletariat—we shall act against you peacefully wherever possible—and take up arms when that is necessary—he believes that changes must be made in the framing of Vaillant's motion—which is why he is supporting Utin's motion.[415]

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[a] One of the drafts continues as follows: "He combats the abstentionists, saying that they are sectarians."—*Ed.*

# [RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON THE POSITION OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION IN GERMANY AND ENGLAND][416]

## [FROM THE MINUTES OF THE SESSION OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION ON SEPTEMBER 22, 1871]

You know that in Germany the organisation of the Association is unable to exist under its own name, the laws not permitting any local society to affiliate with a foreign society, but the Association exists nevertheless and has experienced tremendous development under the name of the Socialist Democratic Party, whose membership of the Association already dates back a long way. But this membership was reaffirmed with great éclat at the Congress of Dresden.[417] So there is no need to propose any measure or declaration for this country comparable to those approved for countries where the Association is persecuted.

If he [Marx] has spoken badly of the German students, he has no criticism to make of the workers; during the last war, which had become a matter of contention between the classes, the attitude of the German workers was quite beyond praise, moreover, the *Socialist Democratic Party* fully realised that this war had been undertaken by Bonaparte and Wilhelm more to stifle modern ideas than for ideas of conquest—the Committee of Brunswick had all been arrested[a] and taken to a fortress on the Russian border, and most of its members are still prisoners today, charged with the crime of high treason. In the Reichstag itself, Bebel and Liebknecht, the representatives of the German working class, were not afraid to declare that they were members of the International Association and that they were protesting against the war, for which they refused to vote any subsidy—the government did not dare to have them arrested while the House was sitting, only when

[a] See this volume, p. 271.—*Ed.*

they emerged did the police seize them and carry them off to prison.[a]

During the Commune the German workers did not cease, at meetings and through the newspapers that belong to them, to affirm their solidarity with the Revolutionaries of Paris. And when the Commune was crushed they held a meeting at Breslau which the Prussian police tried in vain to prevent; at this meeting, and at others in various towns in Germany, they acclaimed the Paris Commune—Eventually, when Kaiser Wilhelm and his army staged their triumphal entry into Berlin, these conquering heroes were greeted by the populace with cries of "Long Live the Commune!"[b]

When speaking about England Citizen Marx had forgotten to make the following statement.

You will know that between the English workers and the Irish workers there has existed of old very considerable antagonism the causes of which are actually very easy to enumerate. This antagonism has its origin in the differences of language and religion[c]; and in the competition between Irish workers and English workers over wages.—In England this antagonism is the dam that holds back the flood of Revolution, hence it is skilfully exploited by the government and the upper classes, who are convinced that no bond would be able to unite the English and Irish workers.—It is true that in the political field no union would be possible; but it is not the same in the economic field, and on either side sections of the International are being formed which in this capacity ought to march simultaneously towards the same goal.—Before long the Irish sections will be very numerous.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 274-75.—*Ed.*

[b] The rough notes by Martin continue as follows: "The workers have shown that they are the only party with socialist aspirations in Germany."—*Ed.*

[c] The rough notes by Martin have "long oppression of Ireland" after the word "religion".—*Ed.*

# [RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON SECRET SOCIETIES]

## [FROM THE MINUTES OF THE SESSION OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION ON SEPTEMBER 22, 1871]

Marx reads out the following motion.

In countries where the regular organisation of the International Association has become temporarily impracticable in consequence of government intervention, the Association and its local groups may reconstitute themselves under various designations, but any secret society in the strict sense is formally prohibited.[a]

By secret organisation we do not mean secret societies in the strict sense, which, *on the contrary*, must be fought against. In France and Italy, where the political situation is such that the right of assembly is an offence, there will be strong tendencies for men to become involved in secret societies, the results of which are always negative. Moreover, this type of organisation is opposed to the development of the proletarian movement because, instead of instructing the workers, these societies subject them to authoritarian, mystical laws which cramp their independence and distort their powers of reason[b]—He seeks acceptance of the motion.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 427-28.—*Ed.*

[b] The rough notes by Martin continue as follows: "Secret societies would annihilate the spirit of the International Association. This is good for the carbonari. They cannot suit the proletarian movement."—*Ed.*

# [JENNY MARX'S LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF *WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY*][418]

*Madame:*

The following private letter (originally written to a friend) may serve the public interest, if by means of it some light is thrown upon the arbitrary proceedings of the present French Government, who, with supreme contempt for personal security and liberty, do not scruple to arrest foreigners, as well as natives, on altogether false pretenses:

*** Monsieur Lafargue, my brother-in-law, his wife[a] and children, my youngest sister[b] and myself, had spent the months of June and July at Bagnères de Luchon, where we intended remaining until the end of September. I hoped, by a prolonged stay in the Pyrenees, and by a daily use of the mineral waters for which Luchon is famous, to recover from the effects of a severe attack of pleurisy. *Mais dans la République-Thiers l'homme propose et la police dispose.*[c] On the first or second day in August, M. Lafargue was informed by a friend that he might daily expect a domiciliary visit of the police, when, if found, he would surely be arrested, on the pretext that he had paid a short visit to Paris during the time of the Commune, had acted as emissary of the International in the Pyrenees, and last, but not least, because he is the husband of his wife, consequently the son-in-law of Karl Marx. Knowing that under the present government of lawyers the law is a dead letter, that persons are continually locked up, no reason whatever being assigned for their arrest, Mr. Lafargue follows the advice given him, crosses the frontier, and settles down

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[a] Laura Lafargue.—*Ed.*
[b] Eleanor Marx.—*Ed.*
[c] But in Thiers' Republic man proposes and the police dispose.—*Ed.*

at Bosost, a small Spanish town. Several days after his departure, on the 6th of August, Mad. Lafargue, her sister Eleanor and I visit M. Lafargue at Bosost. Mad. Lafargue, finding that her little boy[a] is not well enough to leave Bosost on the same day (she was very anxious on the child's account, having lost his brother a few days before), resolved to remain with her husband for a day or two. My sister Eleanor and I therefore returned alone to Luchon.

Without accident we succeeded in getting along the rugged Spanish roads, and safely reached Fos. There the French custom house officials ask us the usual questions and look into our carriage to see whether there are any contraband goods. As we have nothing but our cloaks with us, I tell the coachman to drive on, when an individual no other than the Procureur de la République[b] M. le Baron Desagarre—steps forward saying "in the name of the Republic, follow me." We leave our carriage and enter a small room, where we find a forbidding-looking creature—a most unwomanly woman—waiting to search us. Not wishing to let this coarse-looking person touch us, we offer to take off our dresses ourselves. Of this the woman will not hear. She rushes out of the room, whither she soon returns, followed by the Procureur de la République, who in the most ungentlemanly manner thus apostrophizes my sister: "If you will not allow this woman to search you, I shall do so." My sister replies: "You have no right to come near a British subject. I have an English passport." Seeing, however, that an English passport does not count for much, that the bearer of such a passport does not inspire M. le Baron Desagarre with much respect, for he looks as though he were in good earnest, ready to suit his actions to his words, we allow the woman to have her way. She unpicks the very seams of our dresses, makes us take off even our stockings. I fancy I can still feel her spider-like fingers running through my hair. Having only found a newspaper on me and a torn letter on my sister, she runs with these to her friend and ally, M. le Baron Desagarre. We are reconducted to our carriage—our own coachman, who had acted as our "guide" during our whole stay in the Pyrenees, and had grown much attached to us, is forced away, replaced by another coachman, two officers are installed in the carriage opposite us, and thus we are driven off, a cart-full of custom-house officers and police agents following us. After a time, finding, no doubt, that after all we are not such very dangerous characters, that we

[a] Charles Étienne Lafargue.—*Ed.*
[b] Attorney of the Republic (of the local court).—*Ed.*

do not make any attempts to murder our sentinels, our escort is left behind and we remain in the charge of the two officers in the carriage. Thus guarded, we are driven through village after village, through St. Béat, the inhabitants of which comparatively large town collect in crowds, evidently taking us to be thieves, or, at least, smugglers. At 8 o'clock, thoroughly tired out, we arrive at Luchon, cross the *Quinconces*,[a] where hundreds of people are assembled to listen to the band, it being Sunday and the height of the season. Our carriage stops before the hotel of the Prefect, M. le Comte de Kératry. That personage not being at home, still guarded, we are kept waiting before his door for at least half an hour. At length orders are given for us to be taken back to our house, which we find surrounded by gendarmes. We at once go upstairs, wishing to refresh ourselves by washing our faces (we had been out since five o'clock in the morning), but as a gendarme and an agent in plain clothes follow us even into our bedroom, we return to the drawing-room, unrefreshed, to await the arrival of the Prefect. The clock strikes nine, ten; M. de Kératry has not come—he is listening to the band on the *Quinconces*, and, we hear, is determined to stay until the last chord of the music has died away. Meanwhile, quantities of *mouchards*[b] drop in; they walk into the room as if it were their own and make themselves quite at home, settling down on our chairs and sofa. Soon we are surrounded by a motley crowd of police agents, which devoted servants of the Republic, it is easy to see, have served their term of apprenticeship under the Empire—they are masters of their honorable calling. They have recourse to impossible tricks and dodges to inveigle us into a conversation, but, finding all their efforts to do so are vain, they stare at us as only "professionals" can stare, until, at half-past ten, the Prefect puts in an appearance, flanked by the Procureur Général, M. Delpech, the Juge d'Instruction, Juge de Paix, the Commissaires of Toulouse and Luchon, etc. My sister is told to step into an adjoining room; the Commissaire of Toulouse and a gendarme accompany her. My interrogatory commences. I refuse to give any information concerning my brother-in-law and other relatives and friends. With regard to myself, I declare I am under medical treatment, and have come to Luchon to take the waters. For more than two hours M. de Kératry by turns exhorts, persuades and at length

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[a] A park with trees planted in clumps of five according to a certain scheme.—*Ed.*

[b] Spies.—*Ed.*

threatens me, that if I choose to persist in my refusal to act as a witness, I shall be looked upon as an accomplice. "To-morrow," he says, "the law will *compel* you to give your deposition on oath; for, let me tell you, M. Lafargue and his wife have been arrested." At this I felt alarmed, because of my sister's sick child.

At length my sister Eleanor's turn comes. I am ordered to turn my back while she speaks. An officer is placed in front of me lest I should attempt to make some sign. To my annoyance I hear my sister is being led by degrees to say yes or no to the numberless questions put to her. Afterward I found out by what means she had been made to speak. Pointing to my written declaration, M. de Kératry (I could not see his gestures, my back being turned,) affirmed the contrary of what I had really said. Therefore, anxious not to contradict me, my sister had not refuted the statements said to have been made by me. It was half-past two before her examination was ended. A young girl of 16, who had been up since five A.M., had traveled nine hours on an intensely hot day in August, and only taken food quite early at Bosost, cross-examined until half-past two in the morning!

For the rest of that night the Commissaire of Toulouse and several gendarmes remained in our house. We went to bed, but not to sleep, for we puzzled our heads as how to get a messenger to go to Bosost to warn M. Lafargue, in case he had not yet been arrested. We looked out of the window. Gendarmes were walking about in the garden. It was impossible to get out of the house. We were close prisoners—not even allowed to see our maid and landlady. On the following day, landlady and servants were examined on oath. I was again questioned for more than an hour by the Procureur Général, M. Delpech, and the Procureur de la République. That tongue-valiant hero, M. le Baron Desagarre, read long extracts to me, pointing out the penalties I am liable to incur by persisting in my refusal to act as witness. The eloquence of these gentlemen was, however, lost on me. I quietly but firmly declared my resolution not to take the oath, and remained unshaken.

My sister's examination only lasted a few minutes this time. She also resolutely refused to take the oath.

Before the Procureur Général left us, we asked for permission to write a few lines to our mother, fearing the news of our arrest might get into the papers and alarm our parents. We offered to write the letter in French, under the very eyes of M. Delpech. It was only to consist of a few sentences, such as we are well, etc. The Procureur refused our request, on the pretext that we might

have a language of our own; that the words—we are well—might convey some hidden meaning.

These magistrates outdid Dogberry and Verges. The following is another instance of their utter imbecility. Having found, as our maid told us, a quantity of commercial letters belonging to M. Lafargue in which reference was made to the exportation of sheep and oxen, they exclaimed: "Oxen, sheep, intrigues, intrigues; sheep—Communists; oxen—Internationals."

For the remainder of that day and night we were again committed to the care of several gendarmes, one of whom ever sat opposite us while we were dining.

On the following day, the 8th, we had a visit from the Prefect and a person whom we supposed to be his Secretary. Of this interview a most inaccurate and fantastical account appeared in the *France*,[a] and was from thence transferred into a great number of other papers. But to return to the Prefect.

M. de Kératry, after making a very lengthy preface, informed us most blandly that the authorities had been mistaken; that it had been found that there was no foundation for the charge made against M. Lafargue, who was innocent, and therefore at liberty to return to France. "As for your sister and yourself," said M. de Kératry, thinking, I suppose, that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, "there is much more against you than against M. Lafargue" (thus we were being suddenly transformed from witnesses into the accused), "and in all likelihood you will be expelled from France. However, an order from government for your liberation will come in the course of the day." Then, assuming a paternal tone, he said, "Anyhow, let me advise you to moderate your zeal in the future, '*pas trop de zèle!*'" Upon which the supposed secretary said abruptly, "And the International is the association powerful in England?" "Yes," I answered, "most powerful, and so it is in all other countries." "Ah," exclaimed M. de Kératry, "the International is a religion!" Before he made his exit, M. de Kératry once more assured us, on his word of honor, that Paul Lafargue was free, and asked us at once to write to Bosost to tell him so, and to invite him to return to France. Now, I fancied I could see the red ribbon of the Légion d'Honneur adorning the buttonhole of De Kératry, and as I have a notion that the honor of the Knights of the Légion d'Honneur must be something very different to the honor of common mortals, I thought it best to be prudent, and so instead of advising

[a] "Luchon, 8 août 1871", *La France*, No. 213, August 12, 1871.—*Ed.*

M. Lafargue to return to Luchon, I intended to do the contrary, and begged of a friend to send him the means wherewith to travel further into Spain.

Followed about by our shadows, the gendarmes, we waited in vain for the promised order for our release. At 11 o'clock at night, the Procureur de la République walked into our room; but instead of bringing us the order for our liberation, M. Desagarre asked us to get ready a trunk and to follow him into *"une maison particulière"*.[a] I knew this proceeding was illegal—but what could we do? There were only a few women in the house with us, whereas the Procureur was accompanied by several gendarmes. Therefore, not wishing to afford the cowardly bully, M. Desagarre, the satisfaction of using brute force, we gave orders to our weeping maid to get ready our dresses, etc., and having attempted to console the daughter of our landlady by telling her we should soon return, we got into a carriage occupied by two gendarmes, in the dead of night, in a strange country, to be taken whither we knew not.

The *gendarmerie* barracks proved to be our destination; a bedroom having been shown us, our door having been duly barricaded outside, we were left alone. In this place we remained the following day until past five o'clock, when, determined to know what all this meant, I desired to have an interview with the Prefect. M. de Kératry came. I asked him how it was we had been taken to the *gendarmerie* after he had promised us our liberty.

"Thanks to my intercession," answered he, "you have been allowed to spend the night at the *gendarmerie*. The government (M. Thiers) would have sent you to the prison of St. Godins, near Toulouse." Then M. de Kératry handed me a letter containing 2,000 francs, which had been sent to M. Lafargue by his banker at Bordeaux, and which he, M. de Kératry, had hitherto detained; declared we were free, were not to be expelled from France, but, like Mr. Lafargue, at liberty to remain in the country.

This time we were imprudent enough to inform Mad. Lafargue of what M. de Kératry had said with regard to her husband.

On the 10th we received a *laissez-passer* to go over to Spain, but our English passport was not returned us. During ten days we applied for it in vain. M. de Kératry wrote he had sent it to Paris, and could not get it back, though he had repeatedly written for it.

We now saw we had only been turned out of the small *gendarmerie* of Luchon to be locked up in that great *gendarmerie*,

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[a] To a special place.—*Ed.*

the Republic-Thiers. We were still prisoners. Without a passport there was no getting out of France, in which country we were evidently to be kept, until some event or other should afford a pretext for again arresting us.

The police organs of Toulouse were daily accusing us of acting as emissaries of the International on the French and Spanish frontiers. "But," added they, "the Prefect is taking energetic measures in order to reassure (*pour rassurer*) the inhabitants of the Haute Garonne." Now, it is true, a *laissez-passer* to go over into Spain had been given us, but the experience of Mad. Lafargue in that country was not of a nature to encourage us to seek a refuge in the land of El Cid.

The facts we learned from Madame Lafargue carry us back to the 6th of August.

I mentioned above that our coachman had been compelled to leave us at Fos. Whereupon M. Desagarre, the Procureur de la République, and several "gentlemen" of the police, attempted to persuade him, in the most plausible manner, to return to Bosost, and on false pretenses to get M. Lafargue to go to Fos. Fortunately an honest man is more than a match for half a dozen police agents. The shrewd young fellow guessed there was some trick at the bottom of all this glib talk, and flatly refused to fetch M. Lafargue; consequently gendarmes and douaniers, with the Procureur at their head, set out on an expedition to Bosost. M. le Baron Desagarre, whose discretion is the better part of his valor,[a] had previously declared he would not go to Fos to capture M. Lafargue without a sufficient escort; that he could do nothing with one or two gendarmes against a man like M. Lafargue, most likely given to the use of firearms. M. Desagarre was mistaken—not a bullet, but kicks and cuffs were reserved for him. On his return from Bosost he attempted to interfere with peasants celebrating their village feast. The brave mountaineers, who love their freedom as much as their own mountain air, gave the noble Baron a sound thrashing, and sent him about his business, a sadder if not a wiser man! But I am anticipating.

I was saying that M. Desagarre and his followers started for Bosost. They soon reached that town, and soon found out the hotel at which the Lafargues were staying, for the inhabitants of Bosost only possess two hotels, or rather inns. They are not yet sufficiently civilized to have the orthodox number of public houses. Now, while M. Desagarre is standing before the front

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[a] W. Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, Part 1, Act 5, Scene 4.—*Ed.*

door of the Hotel Masse, M. Lafargue, aided by his good friends, the peasants, gets out of the house by the back gate, climbs the mountains and escapes along paths known only to guides, goats and English tourists—all the regular roads being guarded by Spanish carabiniers. The Spanish police had enthusiastically taken up the cause of their French brethren. Madame Lafargue is made to feel all the blessings arising from the International Association of the police. At 3 o'clock in the morning her bedroom is suddenly broken into, and in rush four Spanish officers, with their carbines pointed to the bed in which she and her child are sleeping. The poor sick baby, suddenly awakened, frightened, begins to scream; but that doesn't prevent the Spanish officers from looking in every hole and cranny of the room for M. Lafargue. Finally, convinced that their prey has escaped them, they declare they will carry off Madame Lafargue. At this the master of the hotel—a most worthy man—interferes, saying he is sure the Spanish government will not accord the extradition of a lady. He was right. Madame Lafargue was allowed to remain at Bosost, but was ever after subjected to the annoyance of being followed about by police agents. At the hotel a troop of spies established their headquarters. One Sunday even the Prefect and the Procureur de la République took the trouble to travel all the way from Luchon to Bosost for the purpose of seeing Madame Lafargue. As, however, they did not succeed in satisfying their curiosity, they consoled themselves by playing at *rouge et noir,* which, together with baccarat, forms the only serious occupation of the *petits gras*[a] from Versailles, now staying at the Pyrenees.

But I must not forget to explain how it was that M. de Kératry had not succeeded in seeing Madame Lafargue. The fact is, that a French peasant from Luchon had informed some Spanish friends of his at Bosost of M. de Kératry's intended visit, and they, of course, at once warned Madame Lafargue.

The French and Spanish population of the Pyrenees form a league, offensive and defensive, against their respective governments. In our case they acted as spies upon the official spies of the Prefect—though repeatedly stopped at the French frontiers, they were untiring in their attempts to bring us news. At length M. de Kératry gave orders to the effect that no one, *not even guides,* should be allowed to cross over to Bosost, unless provided with a proper pass. This measure, of course, did not prevent our having messages brought us as heretofore; it only served to embitter still

[a] Young loafers and spendthrifts.— *Ed.*

more the peasants of the Pyrenees, already so hostile to the rurals of Versailles.[178]

In other parts of France I have since heard that the peasants are quite as much opposed to their *so-called* representatives, the governing rurals. M. Thiers fulfills a great revolutionary omission! By means of his prefects, priests, *gardes champêtres*[a] and gendarmes he will before long provoke a general rising of the peasantry!

Of M. Lafargue's escape Madame Lafargue had informed us a few days after our release from the *gendarmerie.* Later on, we heard from a native of Bosost that M. Lafargue had been arrested at Huesca, and that the Spaniards had made the offer of his extradition to the French government. On the very day we received this news our English passport was returned us by the Juge de Paix. So, in order to put an end to the state of anxiety in which we knew Madame Lafargue must be placed, tied down as she was to Bosost by her sick child, not knowing what had become of her husband, we at once made up our minds to travel to Huesca, in order to beg the Governor of that district to let us know the real intentions of the Spanish government with respect to M. Lafargue. On reaching St. Sebastian we heard to our joy that M. Lafargue had been set at liberty. So we immediately returned to England.

I cannot conclude this letter without giving a short sketch of the treatment to which Madame C—, our landlady, and the servant were subjected on the 6th of August, during our absence; for, compared with them, we had always been treated with great courtesy. At 11 o'clock in the morning, the Prefect, Procureur Général, Procureur de la République, etc., made a raid upon our house. Enraged at not being able to lay hands on M. Lafargue, they vented their wrath on Madame C—, an invalid, suffering from heart disease in an advanced stage, and upon our maid. That poor girl was treated most roughly, because she would not tell where her master had gone.

This, the Prefect, however, succeeded in learning from a boy, employed by Madame C— as gardener, and whom he straightway sent up to Fos, there to lay in wait for us behind a hedge, in order to give warning of our arrival to the Procureur de la République & Co.

If, during his campaign against the Prussians, M. de Kératry had employed the same art of protecting his flanks and rear from surprise, of surprising detachments of the enemy by establishing

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[a] Rural police.— *Ed.*

videttes and sending out scouts, things would have gone better in Brittany—that is to say, if one may judge from the success of De Kératry's tactics at Fos!

Our landlady was not allowed to light a fire in her own kitchen; was ordered, instead of sleeping in her bed, to lie down on the floor. With the latter order she, however, refused to comply. Catching hold of her son, a child not three years of age, the Prefect said he must be the son of M. Lafargue. Madame C— repeatedly declared he was mistaken—but in vain; at length, really anxious to prove her child's identity (she feared he might be carried off), she exclaimed: "Why, the boy only speaks the patois of the district." For a moment or two the Prefect looked as if even that argument had failed to convince him. Perhaps M. de Kératry, believing as he does, that the "International is a religion," was pondering on the miracle of the cloven tongues descending on the apostles.[a]

One of the reasons why Madame C— was so much ill-used, was because she had never in her life heard of the International, and therefore could not give an account of the doings of that mysterious society at Luchon, which, by the by, would have been an impossible task for the best initiated member—at least previous to the period at which M. de Kératry commenced at Luchon his active propaganda for the International Association. Then Madame C— had been guilty of speaking of her tenant, M. Lafargue, in very high terms. But the head and front of her offending was in her inability to point out hidden bombs and pétroleum.

Yes, it is a fact, bombs and pétroleum were searched for in our house.

Taking up a small night lamp, used for warming the baby's milk, the assembled magistrates examined it; handling it with great caution, as if it were some diabolical machine, by means of which pétroleum might have been discharged into the streets of Paris. From Luchon to Paris. Even Münchhausen never indulged in such a stretch of imagination. The French government are *capable de tout.*[b] They really believe in the truth of the wild pétroleum fables—the coinage of their own distempered brains. They do think the women of Paris are "neither brute nor human, neither man nor woman"[c] but "pétroleuses"[419]—a species of the Salamander, delighting in their native element—fire.

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[a] The Acts of the Apostles, 2:3.— *Ed.*

[b] Capable of everything.— *Ed.*

[c] E. A. Poe, *The Bells,* IV.— *Ed.*

They almost come up to Henri de Pène of the *Paris-Journal,* their prophet and teacher, who, as I am told, now actually fancies that the famous letters, manufactured by himself in my father's name, have not been written by Henri de Pène but by Karl Marx.[a]

One could afford to treat with silent contempt a government run mad, and to laugh at the farces in which the pottering pantaloons employed by that government play their muddling and meddling parts, did not these farces turn out to be tragedies for thousands of men, women and children. Think only of the "pétroleuses" before the court-martial of Versailles, and of the women who, for the last three months, are being slowly done to death on the pontoons.

*Jenny Marx*

London, Sept., 1871

First published in the weekly *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly,* No. 23/75, October 21, 1871

Reproduced from the weekly

[a] See this volume, pp. 364-66.— *Ed.*

# [RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON THE SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL][420]

## [FROM THE NEWSPAPER REPORT ON THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING IN LONDON ON SEPTEMBER 24, 1871]

Concerning the International, he said that the great success which had hitherto crowned its efforts was due to circumstances over which the members themselves had no control. The foundation of the International itself was the result of these circumstances, and by no means due to the efforts of the men engaged in it. It was not the work of any set of clever politicians: all the politicians in the world could not have created the situation and circumstances requisite for the success of the International. The International had not put forth any particular creed. Its task was to organize the forces of labor and link the various working-men's movements and combine them. The circumstances which had given such a great development to the association were the conditions under which the work-people were more and more oppressed throughout the world, and this was the secret of the success. The events of the last few weeks had unmistakably shown that the working class must fight for its emancipation. The persecutions of the governments against the International were like the persecutions of ancient Rome against the primitive Christians. They, too, had been few in numbers at first, but the patricians of Rome had instinctively felt that if the Christians succeeded the Roman empire would be lost. The persecutions of Rome had not saved the empire, and the persecutions of the present day against the International would not save the existing state of things.

What was new in the International was that it was established by the working men themselves and for themselves. Before the foundation of the International all the different organizations had

been societies founded by some radicals among the ruling classes for the working classes, but the International was established by the working men for themselves. The Chartist movement[409] in this country had been started with the consent and assistance of middle-class radicals, though if it had been successful it could only have been for the advantage of the working class. England was the only country where the working class was sufficiently developed and organized to turn universal suffrage to its own proper account. He then alluded to the revolution of February[421] as a movement that had been favored by a portion of the bourgeoisie against the ruling party. The revolution of February had only given promises to the working classes and had replaced one set of men of the ruling class by another. The insurrection of June had been a revolt against the whole ruling class, including the most radical portion. The working men who had lifted the new men into power in 1848 had instinctively felt that they had only exchanged one set of oppressors for another and that they were betrayed.

The last movement was the Commune, the greatest that had yet been made, and there could not be two opinions about it—the Commune was the conquest of the political power of the working classes. There was much misunderstanding about the Commune. The Commune could not found a new form of class government. In destroying the existing conditions of oppression by transferring all the means of labor to the productive laborer, and thereby compelling every able-bodied individual to work for a living, the only base for class rule and oppression would be removed. But before such a change could be effected a proletarian dictature would become necessary, and the first condition of that was a proletarian army. The working classes would have to conquer the right to emancipate themselves on the battlefield. The task of the International was to organize and combine the forces of labor for the coming struggle.

First published in *The World*, October 15, 1871

Reproduced from the newspaper

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] The first Address (The General Council of the International Workingmen's Association on the War ) was written by Marx between July 19 and 23, 1870. On July 19, 1870, when the Franco-Prussian war broke out, the General Council instructed Marx to draft an address on the war, of which Marx informed Engels in his letter of July 20 (see present edition, Vol. 44). The Address was adopted by the Standing Committee of the General Council on July 23, and then unanimously approved at the Council meeting on July 26, 1870. It was first published in English, in the London *Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 1702, July 28, 1870, and a few days later it appeared as a leaflet in 1,000 copies. The Address was reprinted, in full or in part, by a number of British provincial newspapers.

As the first edition of the Address was quickly sold out, on August 2, 1870, the General Council resolved to have additional 1,000 copies printed. In September that year, the first Address was published in English again, together with the General Council's second Address on the Franco-Prussian war. In this edition, Marx corrected the misprints that had occurred in the first edition of the First Address.

On August 9, the General Council appointed a commission to have the first Address translated into German and French and then distributed. The commission included Marx, Jung, Serraillier and Eccarius. The first German translation of the Address, made by Wilhelm Liebknecht, appeared in *Der Volksstaat* (Leipzig), No. 63, August 7, 1870. Marx edited it heavily and made a new translation of more than half the text. The new German translation of the Address was published in *Der Vorbote* (Geneva), No. 8, August 1870, and as a leaflet. Then it appeared in the *Arbeiter Union* (New York), August 12; *Die Tagwacht* (Zurich), No. 26, August 13; the *Volkswille* (Vienna), No. 26, August 13, and the *Proletarier* (Augsburg), No. 56, August 21. By the twentieth anniversary of the Paris Commune in 1891, Engels had the General Council's first and second addresses published in the book K. Marx, *Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich*, 3rd German edition, Berlin, 1891, *Vorwärts* Publishing House. The translation of the two addresses for this edition was made by Louise Kautsky and edited by Engels.

The French translation of the Address appeared in *L'Égalité* (Geneva), No. 28, August 6, 1870; *L'Internationale* (Brussels), No. 82, August 7, 1870,

and *Le Mirabeau* (Verviers), No. 55, August 7, 1870. The Address was also published as a leaflet in the French translation made by the General Council's commission.

The first Russian translation of the first Address was published in *Narodnoye Dyelo* (People's Cause) (Geneva), No. 6-7, August-September 1870.

In this volume, the first Address is reproduced from the first edition of the English leaflet, checked against its second edition and the text of the German 1870 authorised edition and that of 1891. The most important textual differences are marked by footnotes. p. 3

[2] In May 1870, Napoleon III's government held a plebiscite in an attempt to strengthen the tottering regime of the Second Empire. The issues put to the vote were formulated in such a way that disapproval of the policy pursued by the Second Empire could not be expressed without opposing democratic reforms at the same time. Despite this demagogic manoeuvre, the plebiscite showed the growing opposition: 1.5 million voted against the government, 1.9 million abstained. During the preparations for the plebiscite, the government organised a broad campaign of repressions against the working class movement, scaring the middle-class sections with the threat of a revolution.

On April 24, 1870, the Paris Federation of the International and the Federal Chamber of Workers' Trades Associations in Paris issued a manifesto exposing the Bonapartist plebiscite manoeuvre and called on the workers to abstain from voting. On the eve of the plebiscite many members of the Paris Federation were arrested on a charge faked by the police of plotting to assassinate Napoleon III (see present edition, Vol. 43, Engels' letter to Marx of May 8, 1870). The government used this charge for organising a broad campaign of persecution and harassment of the International's members in various French towns. In this connection, the General Council, at its meeting on May 3, 1870, adopted the Address "Concerning the Persecution of the Members of the French Sections", written by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 21), which exposed the Bonapartist police's libellous charges. At the third trial of the Paris Federation members, held from June 22 to July 5, 1870, the false character of these charges was fully disclosed. Nevertheless, a number of members of the International in France were sentenced to imprisonment merely for affiliation to the International Working Men's Association.

Persecution of the International in France caused mass protests by the working class. pp. 3, 273

[3] A reference to the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, which gave birth to the Second Empire. p. 4

[4] A reference to the *Society of December 10* (called so after Louis Bonaparte, the Society's patron, who, on December 10, 1848, was elected President of the French Republic)—a secret Bonapartist Society, founded in 1848, mainly of declassed elements, political adventurists, militarists, etc. Though the Society was formally dissolved in November 1850, its members continued to conduct their Bonapartist propaganda and were instrumental in effecting the coup d'état of December 2, 1851 (see Note 3). A detailed description of this Society can be found in Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 148-51).

A chauvinist demonstration in support of Louis Bonaparte's predatory plans took place on July 14, 1870. p. 5

[5] A reference to Bismarck's policy during the preparations for and the unleashing of the Austro-Prussian war of 1866. Bismarck used the contradictions between Austria and France to secure Napoleon III's neutrality in this war. The war ended in a victory for Prussia and led to the formation of the North German Confederation (see Note 9), under the supremacy of militarist Prussia. This was a major step towards the unification of Germany under the auspices of the Prussian monarchy.

The decisive battle of the Austro-Prussian war was fought on July 3, 1866, not far from the village of Sadowa, at the town of Königgrätz (Hradec Králové). The Austrian troops suffered a major defeat.

On the course of the Austro-Prussian war, see Engels' series of articles "Notes on the War in Germany" (present edition, Vol. 20). p. 5

[6] This refers to the war waged by the German people against Napoleon I's rule in 1813-14. p. 6

[7] The workers' meetings in Brunswick and Chemnitz on July 16 and 17, 1870 respectively, were organised by the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party in protest against the predatory policy of the ruling classes. p. 6

[8] *Notes on the War* is one of Engels' major works on the military question in which he analysed the events of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 from the position of historical materialism. These constitute a series of 59 closely connected articles, written in the form of military surveys. Forty of them are entitled *Notes on the War* and are numbered correspondingly; the rest have different titles.

The immediate incentive to write these articles was provided by the proposal to send military reviews to *The Pall Mall Gazette*, made to Marx by Thieblin (Taran), a contributor to the newspaper. In a letter of July 20, 1870 Marx passed on the proposal to Engels (see present edition, Vol. 44). Engels sent the first three articles to Marx, who read them and forwarded them to the editors. To speed up publication, Engels sent the subsequent articles directly to the newspaper's editorial board.

Engels wrote the articles immediately after the events took place. As *The Pall Mall Gazette* appeared in the evening, his articles, written in the morning and posted from Manchester to London, were often published the same day. Engels made a thorough study of all the material available on the military operations: reports by English, German and French newspapers, the latest telegrams from France and Germany. Though these reports were incomplete and contradictory, he succeeded in presenting the real course of military operations, despite inaccuracies in certain details, which are inevitable in such circumstances. Marx's and Engels' letters from July to the end of September 1870, when Engels moved from Manchester to London and their regular correspondence stopped, contain information on Engels' work on this series of articles, his appraisals and forecasts concerning individual operations, the character of the war in general. The ideas Engels expressed in his letters were developed in his articles.

When Engels began the *Notes on the War*, he intended writing two articles a week. After the first three articles aroused the readers' keen interest and attracted the attention of the press, the *Pall Mall Gazette* editor Greenwood proposed that Engels send as many articles as he could; during periods of the most active military actions, Engels wrote three and even four articles a week.

Greenwood repeatedly made changes in Engels' text without his consent. As Engels pointed out, he arbitrarily changed various military terms in the *Notes on the War.—III*, which clearly showed Greenwood's incompetence in military terminology (see Engels' letter to Marx of August 3, 1870, present edition, Vol. 44), and, besides, he added a paragraph at the end of the *Notes on the War.—XIII* (see Note 45).

*Notes on the War* appeared in *The Pall Mall Gazette* from July 29, 1870 to February 18, 1871; with the exception of the first three articles, signed "Z", they were published unsigned, and Engels' authorship was known to only a few people. Marx valued the *Notes* highly. "Both your last articles [II and III] are splendid", "your articles ... are masterfully written" [XVI-XVII], he praised Engels in his letters of August 1 and September 10, 1870. The articles were a great success. Marx informed Engels on September 30, 1870 that *The Spectator* had declared his articles "the only significant ones in the English press". A number of newspapers reproduced them in their reviews. Among Engels' friends the nickname "General" stuck with him.

These articles on the Franco-Prussian war were not republished during Engels' lifetime. Victor Adler, one of the Austrian Social-Democratic leaders, kept cuttings from *The Pall Mall Gazette* with Engels' autograph. Only in 1923 were Engels' articles published in Vienna as a separate, lithographic, edition in English, under the general title *Notes on the War.*

In this volume, *Notes on the War* are reproduced from *The Pall Mall Gazette,* checked against the sources used by Engels. Minor misprints and inaccuracies of transcriptions have been silently corrected. p. 9

9 The *North German Confederation* (Norddeutscher Bund)—a federative state formed in 1867 after Prussia's victory in the Austro-Prussian war (see Note 5) to replace the disintegrated German Confederation (see Note 27). The North German Confederation included 19 states and three free cities, which were formally recognised as autonomous. The Constitution of the North German Confederation secured Prussia's domination within it: the King of Prussia was declared President of the Confederation and Commander-in-Chief of the Confederate armed forces; he was also to direct its foreign policy. The legislative powers of the Reichstag, elected by so-called universal suffrage (women, soldiers and servants had no vote), were very limited: the laws it passed came into force only after being approved by the Bundesrat, which was reactionary in its composition, and confirmed by the President (Engels described the 1867 Constitution in his "The Role of Force in History", see present edition, Vol. 26). Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg and Hesse-Darmstadt, which initially remained outside the Confederation, joined it in 1870. The establishment of the North German Confederation was a major step towards the national unification of Germany. The Confederation ceased to exist in January 1871, when the German Empire was formed. pp. 11, 302

10 Engels is here referring to the duchies of Schleswig and Lauenburg, which came under Prussian rule as a result of the war between Prussia and Denmark in 1864 (see Note 64), and also the Kingdom of Hanover, the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel, the Grand Duchy of Nassau, the free city of Frankfurt am Main, the Duchy of Holstein and certain parts of Bavaria and Hesse-Darmstadt, annexed by Prussia after her victory over Austria in 1866 (see Note 5). p. 11

11 *Landwehr*—a second line army reserve formed in Prussia during the struggle against Napoleonic rule. In the 1870s, it consisted of men under forty years of

age who had seen active service and had been in the reserve of the first line. In peacetime, the Landwehr units were called up only for training for a certain period, while in wartime they served in the rear and in garrisons. During the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, the Landwehr was used in military actions on a par with the regular troops. p. 11

[12] *Mitrailleuse*—a multi-barrelled, high-speed gun placed on a carriage. The mitrailleuse used in the French army in 1870-71 had 25 barrels that fired in a succession with the help of a special mechanism. It could shoot in a minute up to 175 shots with carbine cartridges. However the experience of the Franco-Prussian war proved it unsuited to field conditions because of deficiencies in its construction. p. 12

[13] The *Zouaves* (from the name of an Algerian tribe)—French light infantry first formed in 1830 as colonial troops. They were originally composed of Algerians and French colonists, but later of Frenchmen only, while Algerians were formed into special regiments of riflemen (see Turcos below). Three Zouave regiments of the MacMahon corps took part in the war of 1870-71.

*Turcos*—French light infantry formed in the early 1840s of native inhabitants of Algeria, except the officers and partly non-commissioned officers. p. 12

[14] The *garde mobile* (mobile national guard)—special armed forces introduced in France in 1848. From 1868 onwards, it was made up of men who had reached a call-up age but were not enlisted for active service or in the reserve; it was assigned the defence of the frontiers, service in the rear and garrison service. In wartime, the *garde mobile* was made up of 20- to 40-year-olds. In 1870, it was called up for active service for the first time and formed the core of the French armed forces after the fall of the Empire. The *garde mobile* was abolished in 1872. p. 13

[15] The French command intended to form a corps for landing on Germany's Baltic coast. The course of the military operations frustrated this plan, however, and the landing troops were used for other operations (see this volume, pp. 35, 37, 67). p. 13

[16] A reference to the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 (see Note 5). p. 14

[17] This and many other forecasts made by Engels concerning the possible course of military operations proved completely true. At the beginning of August, the area here mentioned became the scene of the first major battles of the Franco-Prussian war (see this volume, pp. 27-31). p. 16

[18] At the *Battle of Solferino* (Northern Italy), fought on June 24, 1859, during the war between the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont) and France, on the one hand, and Austria, on the other, the French and Piedmontese forces defeated the Austrian troops and this decided the outcome of the war in their favour. Engels analysed the course of the battle in his articles "The Battle at Solferino", "Historical Justice" and "The Battle of Solferino" (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 392-403). pp. 16, 300

[19] Engels obtained this information through his friend Eduard Gumpert, a German physician, who lived in Manchester. His cousin was a company commander of the 77th regiment in the vanguard of the German 7th Army Corps (see Engels' letter to Marx of July 31, 1870, present edition, Vol. 44). p. 20

[20] At the *Battle of Wissembourg*, on August 4, 1870, three German corps of the Third Army under Frederick William, Crown Prince of Prussia, used the dispersal of the French troops to their advantage, attacking and defeating the French division under Douay, of MacMahon's lst Corps, which was considerably inferior in strength. This victory opened the way for Frederick William's army to advance on Alsace. p. 25

[21] The *Chassepôt*—a breech-loading rifle named after its inventor, was adopted by the French army in 1866. It had high combat efficiency for the time and was much superior to Dreyse's needle-gun used in the Prussian army. pp. 26, 120

[22] The *Battle of Woerth* (Alsace) was one of the first major engagements of the Franco-Prussian war. It was fought on August 6, 1870 by Marshal MacMahon's troops and the German Third Army, which was over three times stronger than the French. The French troops were defeated and retreated to Châlons-sur-Marne. As a result the Germans were able to outflank Bazaine's army, near Metz, from the south. pp. 28, 103

[23] At the *Battle of Magenta* (near Milan) on June 4, 1859, during the war between the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont) and France, on the one hand, and Austria, on the other, the French troops defeated the Austrian army, captured Magenta and then entered Milan; as a result, the Austrians were forced to evacuate the greater part of Lombardy (see also Note 18). Engels described this battle in his articles "Military Events", "The Austrian Defeat" and "A Chapter of History" (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 364-79). p. 28

[24] At the *Battle of Forbach* (Lorraine) on August 6, 1870, the German troops of the First Army under General Steinmetz defeated the French 2nd Corps under General Frossard. The capture of Forbach secured domination over the department of Moselle and opened up the way to Lorraine. MacMahon's army found itself cut off from that of Bazaine. In historical literature this battle is also called the battle of Spicheren. Later Engels uses this name too. pp. 29, 103

[25] Engels is referring to one of the episodes in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 (see Note 5). After being defeated at Sadowa on July 3, the Austrian troops retreated to Olmütz (Czech: Olomouc) in order to divert the Prussian army from its advance on Vienna. This plan was a failure, because the Prussian troops left a covering force at Olmütz and advanced on the Austrian capital. p. 34

[26] A reference to the anti-Bonapartist demonstrations by the Paris *garde mobile* battalions, consisting of workers and petty bourgeoisie, which took place in the camp of Châlons at the beginning of August 1870. p. 35

[27] The *German Confederation*—a union of German states formed by decision of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and originally consisting of 35 states and four free cities. It had neither a centralised army nor finances and retained all the main features of feudal fragmentation; its only central body—the Federal Diet—was presided over by a representative of Austria, had limited powers and served as a tool for the reactionary forces in the struggle against the revolutionary movement. The German Confederation fell apart during the 1848-49 revolution, was restored in 1850, and finally ceased to exist during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 (see Note 5) when the North German Confederation was established (see Note 9). p. 36

[28] A reference to the battle of Forbach (Spicheren) (see Note 24). p. 38

[29] The defeats of the French army at Forbach and Woerth, which revealed the rottenness of the Second Empire regime, led to spontaneous popular anti-government demonstrations in Paris, Lyons, Marseilles and other cities on August 7 to 9, 1870. A great manifestation took place in Paris on August 9. Numerous crowds, mainly of workers, surrounded the premises of the Corps Législatif and demanded a republic and arming of the people. The government made wide use of gendarmes and regular troops to disperse the demonstrations. To ward off the danger of a revolution, the Ollivier Cabinet was replaced by the Palikao government, which dubbed itself the "Ministry of National Defence" and consisted of rabid Bonapartists. The bourgeois republicans, "Left"-wing deputies to the Corps Législatif (Ferri, Gambetta and others), frightened by the prospect of a popular revolution, refused to support the masses and, in fact, helped preserve the Bonapartist regime. p. 41

[30] Engels is referring to the reorganisation of the French army, carried out by the revolutionary government—the Committee of Public Safety (in which Carnot was responsible for the war and the army)—under the Jacobin dictatorship in 1793-94. An important part was played in this reorganisation by the Convention's commissars sent to the army. In keeping with the Convention's decree of August 23, 1793 calling for a general mobilisation, the strength of the revolutionary armies had increased greatly by the end of the year to exceed 600,000; volunteers' battalions merged with regular troops; old-time officers were replaced by men who enjoyed the soldiers' confidence. The Jacobin government organised the production of arms and ammunition on a large scale. All these measures enabled the French army to win several victories and clear French territory of the interventionists by the spring of 1794. p. 47

[31] A reference to the armies of the first European counter-revolutionary coalition, which invaded France in 1793-94. The coalition included Austria, Prussia, the Kingdom of Sardinia, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Spain and the Kingdom of Naples. p. 47

[32] Engels means the *Battle of Colombey-Nouilly* (also called the *Battle of Borny*), fought on August 14, 1870 east of Metz by the French Army of the Rhine under Marshal Bazaine and the troops of the German First Army under Steinmetz. A detailed description of this battle is to be found in *Notes on the War.—XI* (see this volume, pp. 61-62). p. 49

[33] The *Battle of Mars-la-Tour* (below, on p. 136, called the *Battle of Vionville*) took place on August 16, 1870 between the French Army of the Rhine under Bazaine and the troops of the German First and Second armies. The losses on both sides were nearly equal, but strategically victory was on the German side. Having occupied the shortest route to Verdun, the Germans managed to prevent the French Army of the Rhine from continuing its retreat from Metz. The details of the battle are given in the *Notes on the War.—XI* (see this volume, pp. 64-65). p. 53

[34] *Francs-tireurs*—guerrilla volunteers formed into small detachments to defend France against the invaders. Such detachments were first formed during the wars against the anti-French coalitions in the late 18th and early 19th century. In 1867, in connection with the growing threat of war with Germany, societies of francs-tireurs were again set up in the country. When the Franco-Prussian war broke out and Prussian troops invaded French territory, francs-tireurs were called to arms by special decree. After the French regular troops were defeated and blockaded in fortresses, the number of francs-tireurs' detachments increased

sharply. They mainly attacked enemy transports, weak detachments, trains, and food depots and caused considerable damage to the enemy. pp. 54, 582

35 At the *Battle of Jena* (Thuringia) on October 14, 1806, during the Russo-Prussian-French war of 1806-07, the French troops under Napoleon I defeated a part of the Prussian army. The same day, the troops of Marshal Davout routed the main Prussian forces at Auerstadt. The French continued to pursue the enemy and the overwhelming majority of Prussians were taken prisoner, which led to Prussia's capitulation to Napoleonic France. pp. 57, 103, 167

36 Engels is quoting King William's telegram about the German troops' victory over the French Army of the Rhine at Gravelotte on August 18, 1870 according to the report "Bivouac near Bezanville, Aug. 18, 9 p.m." in *The Times*, No. 26834, August 20. After the Battle of Gravelotte (also known in historical literature as the battle of Saint Privat) the Army of the Rhine was blockaded at Metz. Engels gives details of this battle in his *Notes on the War.—XI* (see this volume, p. 60). p. 58

37 A reference to the battles of Colombey-Nouilly-Borny (see Note 32), Vionville-Mars-la-Tour (see Note 33) and Gravelotte-Saint Privat (see Note 36). p. 61

38 Presumably Engels has in mind letters from a relative of his friend Eduard Gumpert (see Note 19). The 7th Army Corps, in which he served, participated in the Battle of Colombey-Nouilly. p. 61

39 In June 1796, during Bonaparte's Italian campaign (1796-97), a part of the French troops besieged Mantua (Northern Italy), which was defended by an Austrian garrison, while the main French forces acted against the Austrian troops that were trying to relieve the blockaded fortress. In September 1796, the Austrian army under Wurmser was defeated by Bonaparte and took cover in Mantua; in February 1797, after a long siege and blockade, the troops in Mantua were compelled to surrender owing to a lack of provisions.

In October 1805, during the war of Napoleonic France against the third European coalition, the Austrian army under Mack in the Ulm fortress was encircled, as a result of Napoleon I's skilful manoeuvring, and was compelled to surrender. p. 65

40 After winning a victory at Jena and Auerstadt in October 1806 (see Note 35), the vanguard of Napoleon I's troops forestalled the retreating Prussian troops and prevented their taking Stettin (Polish name Szczecin) and forcing the Oder; the remainder of the Prussian army routed in the campaign was compelled to capitulate. p. 69

41 As Engels foresaw, at Sedan, situated on the southern boundary of the area he specified, the Prussian troops on September 1 and 2, 1870 defeated the French army under MacMahon, cut off its way of retreat and forced it to capitulate. Engels thus not only forecast the possibility of the Sedan catastrophe, but also pointed quite accurately to the place where it was to happen. p. 69

42 This is a name used in France for generals and officers who made their military career in the colonial wars against Algerian tribes fighting for independence (see Note 59). MacMahon took an active part in these wars in which the French command practised barbaric raids on Algerian tribes and brutally exterminated the local population, thereby breaking treaties and refusing to recognise the enemy as a belligerent party. p. 69

[43] In March 1814, during the war against the sixth European coalition, after Napoleon I had lost the battles of Laon and Arcis-sur-Aube, and Blücher and Schwarzenberg had combined their armies against him, Napoleon resolved to attack the enemy from the rear and to halt their advance on Paris, cutting their communication lines with the Rhine with his main forces. The allies, however, who were far superior in strength and aware of the growing discontent in Paris with Napoleon's regime, kept advancing on the French capital and occupied it on March 31, 1814, thus accelerating the fall of the Empire. p. 72

[44] As Engels predicted, the German troops of the Third and Fourth (Maas) armies moved north following MacMahon's Châlons army, which retreated to Sedan and was forced to surrender after being encircled (see Note 49). p. 73

[45] At the end of this article, the *Pall Mall Gazette* editor, Greenwood, added a paragraph that is omitted in the present edition. It read: "There is every appearance that the siege of Strasbourg will soon be brought to an end by the reduction of the fortress. The Germans are clearly quite in earnest about it. The bombardment had yesterday morning been kept up from the side of Kehl day and night for three days. At the same time the Prussians had pushed their advanced posts to within 500 to 800 yards of the fortress. The arsenal has been fired, and some heavy guns just placed in position will be immediately brought to bear on the place."

In a letter to Marx on September 4, 1870 Engels wrote that, in order to fill up space, Greenwood had added to the article "a few quite absurd lines about the siege of Strasbourg. On the first suitable occasion I'll write an article on this and express a quite opposite view" (see present edition, Vol. 44). Engels fulfilled his intention in the *Notes on the War.—XVII* (see this volume, pp. 91-94). p. 73

[46] At the *Battle of Dembe Wielkie,* a village near Warsaw, on March 18, 1831, during the Polish national liberation insurrection of 1830-31, the insurgent Poles won a victory over the Tsarist troops, who suffered considerable losses and were forced to retreat. p. 79

[47] The *Battle of Nouart* was fought on Monday, August 29, 1870, by the vanguard of the 12th North German and 5th French Corps.

At the *Battle of Beaumont* on August 30, 1870, the troops of the 4th and 12th North German corps and the 1st Bavarian Corps defeated the French 5th Corps of General de Failly, which acted as part of MacMahon's Châlons Army.

Both battles were stages in the Prussian military operation against MacMahon's Army of Châlons, leading to the latter's capitulation at Sedan. p. 79

[48] Engels is referring to the abortive attempt made on August 31-September 1, 1870 by the Army of the Rhine to break through from Metz along the right bank of the Moselle in a north-easterly direction. As a result of the battles, known as the engagements at Noisseville, both parties remained at their former positions. p. 82

[49] On September 1, 1870,a final battle was fought between the Third and Fourth Prussian armies and MacMahon's Châlons Army, in which the French army was encircled by the Prussians and defeated. The French incurred heavy losses: 3,000 killed and 14,000 wounded. On September 2, the French command signed an act of capitulation according to which over 80,000 soldiers, officers and generals, headed by Napoleon III, surrendered.

The Sedan catastrophe speeded up the collapse of the Second Empire and the proclamation of the republic in France on September 4, 1870.

With the defeat of the French regular armies and the proclamation of the republic, when the predatory aspirations of the Prussian military, Junkers and the bourgeoisie became quite obvious, the war completely lost its defensive character on Prussia's part. From that moment on, one of the major tasks of the international proletariat was to organise support for France in her defensive war against the Prussian invaders. The changed character of the war and the tasks facing the proletariat in view of this were considered by Marx in the General Council's Second Address on the Franco-Prussian war (see this volume, pp. 263-70). pp. 82, 300

50 *Glacis*—an artificial slope running down from the top of a counterscarp so as to expose attackers to firing from ramparts (see this volume, p. 104). p. 87

51 *Dantzic (Gdańsk)* was besieged twice during Napoleon I's wars against the anti-French coalitions of European states.

From March to May 1807, during Napoleon's war against the fourth European coalition, the city garrison, consisting of Prussian troops and a Russian allied detachment, put up a stubborn resistance to the besieging French corps. The garrison was supported by another Russian detachment which attempted to break through the blockade. Dantzic surrendered because of lack of military stocks, on the condition that its garrison could freely evacuate the fortress.

In early 1813, the troops of Russia and Prussia, members of the sixth European coalition, surrounded Dantzic, which was occupied by Napoleonic troops and was staunchly defended. Dantzic resisted for about a year and withstood three regular sieges, but finally had to surrender. p. 88

52 The *Quadrilateral*—a strongly fortified position formed by the North Italian fortresses of Verona, Legnago, Mantua and Peschiera. The Quadrilateral played an important role as a strongpoint in the nineteenth-century wars. During the 1848-49 bourgeois revolution in Italy, Verona, which occupied a favourable strategic position and covered the way to Austria, was the main operational base of Radetzky's counter-revolutionary Austrian army in its actions against the Piedmontese troops (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 183-89 and 227-31). p. 88

53 The *siege of Sebastopol* (during the Crimean war, 1853-56) by the allied forces of France, Britain, Turkey and Sardinia lasted from September 25, 1854 to September 8, 1855. p. 88

54 *Demi-lune*—works to defend the entrance to a fort and inside the line of the main ditch.

*Curtain*—a wall or rampart extending between two neighbouring bastions (see also this volume, p. 101). p. 88

55 *Horn-work* and *Crown-work*—auxiliary outworks before the main rampart of a fortress. p. 88

56 At the *Battle of Waterloo* (Belgium) on June 18, 1815 Napoleon I's army was routed by the Anglo-Dutch and Prussian armies under Wellington and Blücher, and this decided the final victory of the seventh anti-French coalition (Britain, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Spain and other states). pp. 92, 103

57 *National Guard*—an armed civilian militia, first formed in Paris at the beginning of the French Revolution, which existed, with intervals, till August 1871. In time of Napoleon I it was used as an auxiliary military force in his campaigns of 1809 and 1814-15; from 1868, to distinguish it from garde mobile (see Note 14), it was sometimes called the Sedentary National Guard. It consisted of men relieved from active service and older reservists. The National Guard defended Paris when it was besieged during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. After the revolution of March 18, 1871 a Central Committee of the Guard was elected to direct the major part of it; later this function was performed by the Commune Military Delegation. The National Guard was disbanded soon after the fall of the Paris Commune. p. 92

58 Engels has in mind the following events: Austria's victory over Piedmontese forces in the Austro-Italian war of 1848-49, during the Italian bourgeois revolution, and a number of defeats sustained by Austrian troops when suppressing the Hungarian bourgeois revolution of 1848-49; operations of the army sent by the Tsarist government of Russia to support the Austrian Habsburgs in Hungary in 1849;and Prussian intervention in Southern Germany to put down the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849. p. 95

59 The reference is to the war of the mountain-dwellers of the Northern Caucasus against Tsarist Russia which began at the end of the 1820s. It was caused by the Tsarist colonisation policy and the oppressive rule of local feudal lords who were supported by the Tsarist government. The war was very arduous and continued for decades. The last stronghold of the mountain-dwellers fell in 1859.

*The Algerian people* put up a stubborn resistance to the French colonialists; it took more than two decades before the country was conquered. pp. 95, 193

60 The *system of substitutes* was, for a long time, widely employed in the French army; it was a privilege of the propertied classes, allowing them to buy themselves substitutes for military service. The system was prohibited during the French Revolution (1789-93), but was restored by Napoleon I. Certain changes were introduced into it in April 1855. According to the new legislation, the substitutes, if they were not close relatives of the men called up for military service, were appointed officially and the money for them donated to a special army fund. The 1868 legislation legitimatised the system of substitutes, used by approximately 20 thousand people every year. The system was abolished in 1872. p. 96

61 Engels refers to the Austro-Italo-French war between the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont) and France, on the one hand, and Austria, on the other (April 29 to July 8, 1859). It was launched by Napoleon III, who, under the banner of the "liberation of Italy", strove for aggrandizement and sought to strengthen the Bonapartist regime in France with the help of a successful military campaign. The Piedmontese ruling circles hoped that French support would enable them to unite Italy, without the participation of the masses, under the aegis of the Savoy dynasty ruling in Piedmont. The Austrian army was defeated at Magenta and Solferino (see Notes 18 and 23). However, Napoleon III, frightened by the scale of the national liberation movement in Italy and not willing to promote its unification, abruptly ceased hostilities. On July 11, the French and the Austrian emperor concluded a separate preliminary peace in

Villafranca. As a result of the war, France gained Savoy and Nice, Lombardy joined the Kingdom of Sardinia, and Austria was allowed to retain Venice (up to 1866). p. 96

62 The 1850 mobilisation of the Prussian army was a result of the intensification of the struggle between Austria and Prussia for domination in Germany. Prussia, however, was compelled to abandon the idea of military operations and capitulate (the Agreement of Olmütz or Olomouc of November 2, 1850) owing to the serious shortcomings in its military system, exposed during the mobilisation, and also its obsolete armaments, as well as vigorous opposition by Russia, which supported Austria in the conflict.

Engels ironically compares the failure of Prussian diplomacy with the defeat of the Roman legions at the Caudine Forks, near the ancient Roman town of Caudium, in 321 B.C., during the second Samnite war. The Samnites compelled the Romans to go under the yoke, which was the greatest disgrace for a defeated army. Hence the expression "to pass through the Caudine yoke", meaning to undergo extreme humiliation. p. 97

63 In February 1860 the majority of the Second Chamber (the chamber of representatives) in the Prussian Landtag refused to approve the army reorganisation project submitted by War Minister von Roon. The government, however, soon succeeded in obtaining the Chamber's approval for large allocations to "maintain the army ready for action" and used them for the planned reorganisation of the army. When, in March 1862, the Chamber's liberal majority did not sanction military expenditures, the government dissolved the Landtag and called new elections. At the end of September 1862, Bismarck was appointed Prime Minister; the new government dissolved the Landtag in October and initiated a military reform without parliamentary approval of the necessary outlays. p. 98

64 The *Danish war* waged by Prussia and Austria against Denmark in 1864 brought Germany's unification under the Prussian auspices nearer. Bismarck's Junker government aimed to annex Schleswig, Holstein and Lauenburg, which belonged to Denmark but were inhabited mostly by Germans; to strengthen Prussian influence in Germany and to suppress the opposition of the liberal bourgeoisie. Austria, which likewise intended to seize the duchies, also took part in the war. The war ended with a defeat for Denmark. The duchies were proclaimed a condominium and were to be administrated jointly by Prussia (Schleswig and Lauenburg) and Austria (Holstein). After the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 (see Note 5) the three duchies were annexed to Prussia. p. 98

65 Large-scale re-planning and reconstruction of Paris, headed by Haussmann, prefect of the Seine department, took place in the 1850s-1860s. Apart from improving housing for the wealthy, the purpose of the works was to widen old streets and build new straight ones to make it easier for the troops to manoeuvre and the artillery to fire in the event of popular uprisings. Large sums from the allocations were misappropriated by Haussmann and his subordinates. p. 98

66 This saying, which Napoleon I was fond of, was also used before him by Marshal Turenne, Voltaire and Frederick of Prussia. p. 104

67 This and the following articles of the *Notes on the War* were written by Engels in London, having moved from Manchester on September 20, 1870. p. 108

[68] Engels refers to the following events in the wars of the sixth and seventh coalitions of the European states against Napoleonic France: the capitulation of Paris on March 31, 1814 after the defeat of the French troops defending it against the Russian and Prussian armies, and also its surrender, without struggle, to English and Prussian forces on July 3, 1815. p. 108

[69] On September 19, 1870, the 14th Corps of the French Army, under the command of General Ducrot, made a sally to prevent the German troops from seizing strategically important heights to the south of Paris. The battle of Châtillon resulted in a defeat for the French, who retreated in confusion. Paris was surrounded by Prussians. For details see *Notes on the War.—XXI,* p. 121 of this volume. p. 108

[70] The negotiations between Bismarck and Jules Favre, spokesman of the Government of National Defence, took place in Ferrieres on September 19-20, 1870. Bismarck laid down the following armistice terms: the surrender of Bitche, Toul and Strasbourg, while Paris was to remain surrounded or one of its forts was to surrender, and a continuation of the hostilities at Metz. Bismarck also demanded that Alsace and part of Lorraine be ceded to Germany. The negotiations came to a halt since Favre refused to accept the above terms. p. 112

[71] During the Second Empire, in peacetime all the troops of a district were brought under the command of a single person (the commander of the army corps), who could use them to support the regime and to suppress revolutionary actions of the people. His powers on questions of the deployment, organisation and training of the troops were strictly limited. Permanent army corps and armies were to be formed only in case of war, the result being a poorly organised army and poor battle training. p. 116

[72] The *Minié rifle*—a rifle firing the "Minié" bullet; it played an important role in the development of rifled fire-arms. The 1857 model was muzzle-loaded but, in 1867, it became breech-loaded. p. 120

[73] *Army of Lyons* was the name given by the French press to the 24th Corps of the French army being formed in that town. Later the corps was incorporated in Bourbaki's Eastern Army (First Army of the Loire). p. 121

[74] *"A nation in arms"* was the name widely used in Prussian military literature and official documents of the time for the Prussian armed forces. The Prussian army was by no means an armed nation, as Engels repeatedly noted; on the contrary, it opposed the popular masses and was an instrument for the Prussian bourgeois-Junker state's aggressive military policy. The Prussian military system was thoroughly investigated by Engels in his work *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 37-79). p. 123

[75] The *Ersatz Reserve* in the Prussian army was a part of the reserve composed of men of call-up age who, for various reasons, were exempted from active service in peacetime; they were placed in the Ersatz Reserve for 12 years and called up in time of war. p. 123

[76] The reference is to the insurrection of 1808 in Spain against Napoleonic rule, which marked the beginning of the national liberation war by the Spanish people against French occupation (1808-14). The Spanish made extensive use of guerrilla warfare methods. p. 129

77 The reference is to the line of old city fortifications; in the 18th century they were demolished and boulevards set up in their place. p. 131

78 The *Palais de Justice* is the court building in Paris, occupying most of the western end of the Île de la Cité. p. 131

79 *Sonderburg*—a town in Schleswig which was a point of the so-called Lines of Düppel, a chain of Danish fortifications protecting the crossing to the island of Alsen during the war of Prussia and Austria against Denmark in 1864 (see Note 64). After a long siege, on April 18 Prussian troops seized the Lines of Düppel and forced the Danish army to retreat to Alsen. These battles demonstrated the increased role of artillery in siege operations. pp. 132, 218

80 The reference is to the Civil War in the United States of America (1861-65). p. 142

81 This refers to the military operations of the army of the North to capture two strategically important points in the South: Vicksburg (Mississippi) and Richmond, the capital of the South (Virginia). During 1862-63, the Northern Army several times tried to seize Vicksburg but succeeded in doing so only when it had organised close co-operation of the land forces and the river fleet: Vicksburg capitulated on July 4, 1863 after a 6-week siege. Numerous attempts to capture Richmond from 1861 to 1864 failed; only on April 3, 1865, was it occupied by General Grant's troops after a stubborn blockade of nearly nine and a half months. p. 142

82 In the *Battle of Tudela* (Northern Spain) on November 23, 1808, during the Spanish national liberation war against Napoleonic rule, the French corps of Marshal Lann defeated the Spanish troops, taking advantage of their scattered positions. The remnants of the Spanish troops retreated to Saragossa. p. 143

83 This refers to the Austro-French war of 1809, which compelled Napoleon I to withdraw his guard and cavalry from Spain. Austria lost the war after being defeated at Wagram on July 5-6, 1809. Under the peace treaty of Schönbrunn, concluded in October 1809 between France and Austria, the latter lost a considerable part of its territory and was virtually deprived of political independence. p. 144

84 A "Commission of Barricades", headed by H. Rochefort, was set up in mid-September 1870. It organised the construction of a third, interior line of defence—barricades and ditches—in Paris in case the enemy broke through the forts and rampart; during the siege of Paris they were not, however, used. pp. 145, 232

85 The reference is to the negotiations in September and October between Bazaine and Bismarck on an armistice, which were interrupted on October 24, 1870. At approximately the same time, preparations were made for talks between the Government of National Defence and Bismarck, with Britain participating as a negotiator. These talks between Thiers and Bismarck took place at Versailles between October 1 and 6, 1870 and were unsuccessful. p. 146

86 This refers to provinces that were incorporated into Prussia prior to the annexation of new territories in 1864-66: East and West Prussia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Silesia, Posen, Saxony, Westphalia, and the Rhine Province. p. 146

87 This refers to the Delegation of the Government of National Defence, consisting of Glais-Bizoin, Cremieux and Fourichon, sent to Tours in mid-

September 1870 to organise resistance to German invasion in the provinces and to establish foreign relations. From the beginning of October till the end of the war, the delegation was headed by Gambetta, War Minister and Minister of Home Affairs. The delegation formed and equipped new bodies of troops. At the beginning of December 1870, it moved to Bordeaux. pp. 147, 249

88 *Water-polacks* (Wasserpolacken) was a name (used from the 17th cent.) for Poles, native to Upper Silesia, who floated timber down the Oder. Subsequently, all the Poles of Upper Silesia, who had lived under Prussian rule for centuries, were called by this nickname.

*Masures* were Poles inhabiting North-eastern Poland and the Southern part of former East Prussia. p. 149

89 *Baden Freischaaren* were volunteer units which, as part of the revolutionary Baden-Palatinate army, fought against the Prussian invaders during the 1849 uprising in defence of the German Imperial Constitution in Southern and Western Germany. These units were poorly organised, disciplined and battle-trained. Engels fought in Willich's detachment, which was composed of workers and was conspicuous for its discipline and military efficiency. A detailed description of the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army is given by Engels in his work *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (present edition, Vol. 10).

The *Bull Run*, a river near Manassas (southwest of Washington), was the scene of the first major battle in the U.S. Civil War. During this battle, on July 21, 1861, the Confederate forces defeated the Northern volunteers, who were numerically superior but badly trained.

*British volunteers*—territorial militia organised in Great Britain from 1859 to 1861. According to the 1863 Volunteer Act, they were to have no less than 30 exercises a year and could be called up only in the event of foreign invasion. In his articles on volunteers (see present edition, Vol. 18), Engels criticised their bad organisation, the poor training of commissioned officers and inadequate drilling system. p. 151

90 The *guides*—special sub-units in a number of European armies used for guiding troops. In the French army, during the Napoleonic wars and the Second Empire, they guarded the headquarters and served as the Emperor's bodyguards. p. 154

91 In the battle of Leipzig on October 16-19, 1813, Napoleon's army was defeated by the armies of the sixth European coalition (Russia, Austria, Prussia, Britain, Sweden, Spain and other states). This led to Germany's liberation from Napoleon's rule. p. 155

92 After the fall of the Second Empire on September 4, 1870, Bazaine, having abandoned his plans to break the siege of Metz, started negotiations with Bismarck in September of the same year (see also Note 85) to put an end to the German blockade, with a view to using the French troops in Metz for the restoration of the empire. However, Bismarck no longer believed these plans would come true. The negotiations were interrupted on October 24, and on October 27 Bazaine signed a capitulation. p. 156

93 The *Mexican expedition* was an armed intervention by France (initially with Spain and Britain) in Mexico from 1862 to 1867, the aim being to suppress the revolution and turn the country into a colony of the European powers. In 1862, Bazaine was in command of the first division of the French army in Mexico; from October 1863, he was commander-in-chief. Although the

French troops captured the Mexican capital and an "empire" was proclaimed, with Napoleon III's henchman Archduke Maximilian of Austria as emperor, the French interventionists were defeated as a result of the liberation struggle of the Mexican people and, in 1867, were forced to withdraw. The Mexican expedition proved a heavy financial loss to France and was greatly detrimental to the Second Empire. p. 156

94 The *Arcadians*—an ironical nickname for naive, happy-go-lucky people; it originates from the name of a region in the ancient Peloponnese, Arcadia, whose people, according to Greek mythology, were simple and innocent in their manners. p. 160

95 Engels has in mind the position of the English during the American War of Independence (1775-83). In their struggle, the Americans successfully combined conventional warfare with a broad guerrilla movement. p. 165

96 On November 3, 1867, at *Mentana,* French troops and the Papal guards defeated Garibaldi, who had marched on Rome intending to liberate it from the Pope's rule and reunite it with the rest of Italy. p. 166

97 The *Sepoy mutiny*—the Indian national liberation uprising of 1857-59 against British rule. It started in the spring of 1857 among the Sepoy units (mercenary troops recruited from the Indian population) of the Bengal army and spread to vast regions of Northern and Central India. Peasants and poor artisans from the towns took an active part in the uprising, but the leaders were, as a rule, local feudal lords. The uprising was crushed because of India's lack of unity and its religious and caste differences, and the military and technical superiority of the British. p. 166

98 The *Battle of Coulmiers* took place on November 9, 1870 near Orleans. The newly formed 15th and 16th corps of the Army of the Loire, under the command of General D'Aurelle de Paladines, defeated the much weaker 1st Bavarian Corps of General von der Tann. p. 168

99 A reference to the Paris peace treaties of 1814 and 1815 signed by France and the main participants of the sixth and seventh anti-French coalitions (Russia, Britain, Austria and Prussia) that defeated Napoleon. Under the first treaty (Traité de paix signé entre la France et l'Autriche et ses alliés à Paris le 30 mai 1814), France lost all the territories won by her in the 1792-1814 wars, with the exception of several border fortresses and Western Savoy. Under the second Paris Treaty (Traité de paix de Paris du 20 nov. 1815, avec les conventions spéciales), the territory of France was limited by the 1790 borders and she was deprived of strategically important points on her Eastern frontier, including the fortress Landau. p. 17, 458

100 On July 15, 1840, Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia, on the one hand, and Turkey, on the other, signed a convention to support the Sultan of Turkey against the Egyptian ruler Mehemet Ali, who was supported by France. This implied a threat of war between France and an anti-French coalition, but Louis Philippe decided against war and denied his support to Mehemet Ali. pp. 172, 316

101 During the Spanish national liberation war against Napoleonic rule from 1808 to 1814 (see Note 76) the British expeditionary corps under Sir John Moore, which landed on the Peninsula in 1808, operated in the country alongside guerrilla detachments, which were the main resistance force; the corps was forced to leave Spain in January 1809. Another corps under General

Arthur Wellesley (Duke of Wellington from 1814) landed on the Peninsula in April 1809 and fought the French until they were driven out of the country. p. 173

102 *Dismounting batteries*—siege batteries used for destroying embrasures and guns of a besieged fortress. p. 175

103 Engels is referring to the diplomatic crisis that arose in November 1870 because Russia denounced the articles of the Peace Treaty of Paris (signed on March 30, 1856 by the participants in the Crimean war: France, Britain, Sardinia, Turkey, and also by Austria and Prussia, on the one hand, and Russia, on the other), by which she had lost the right to keep her fleet in the Black Sea. The Russian policy was supported by Bismarck, who counted on the Tsar to back Prussia's terms for a peace treaty with France. Britain and Austria-Hungary, although protesting against the revision of the Paris Treaty, failed to resist Russia's demands. A convention annulling Arts. XI, XIII and XIV of the Paris Peace Treaty was signed on March 13 at the "Pontus" Conference, which was held in London from January to March 1871 with the participation of Russia, Britain, Austria-Hungary, Germany, France, Italy and Turkey. Thus, Russia and Turkey regained their right to have fleets and fortresses on the Black Sea. p. 175

104 Giuseppe Garibaldi with his sons Ricciotti and Menotti commanded detachments of the National Guard and foreign volunteers who, from the autumn of 1870, took part in the Franco-Prussian war on the side of the French Republic. Garibaldi's troops were organised into the Vosges army and fought in Eastern France.

A detachment under Ricciotti Garibaldi defeated a Landwehr detachment in one of the battles at Châtillon, which were fought for two weeks from November 19, 1870. p. 180

105 In spite of official protests by Prussia, the USA and Britain exported a large quantity of rifles to France. However, the arms were often of poor quality since the suppliers wanted to get rid of obsolete models. p. 185

106 The engagements near Loigny and Patay took place from November 29 to December 1; they were of local importance and of variable success. On December 2, however, in battle at Loigny-Poupry some 40 km north-west of Orléans, the German troops under the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg defeated both the 16th and 17th corps of the Army of the Loire under generals Chanzy and Sônis, and the units of the 15th Corps under General Aurelle de Paladines which came to their help. p. 192

107 This refers to the persecution of the participants in the opposition movement of intellectuals in Germany following the wars with Napoleonic France. Many members of student gymnastic clubs, which developed during, and were active in, the liberation struggle against Napoleonic rule, came out against the reactionary system of German states and organised political demonstrations in support of the unification of Germany. The Karlsbad Conference of Ministers of the principal German states in August 1819 sanctioned measures against the participants in this movement who were called "demagogues". p. 201

108 *"Papal Zouaves"*—a regiment of the Papal Guard organised and trained like the Zouaves (see Note 13) and consisting of young French aristocratic volunteers. When Rome was occupied by Italian troops and the Pope's secular power abolished in September 1870, the Papal Zouaves were sent to France,

where they were reorganised into a "volunteer legion of the West". As part of the First and Second Loire armies, they participated in operations against the Germans. After the war, the legion helped suppress the Paris Commune and was later disbanded. pp. 204, 343, 452, 513, 539

109 In the *Battle of Villers-Bretonneux* on November 27, 1870 in Normandy (also called the Battle of Amiens; under this name it was already mentioned by Engels in his *Notes on the War.—XXIX,* see this volume, p. 185) the French Army of the North was defeated by the First German Army under General Manteuffel. p. 223

110 Engels was proved completely right in this supposition. A decisive battle between General Bourbaki's Army of the East and German troops under General Werder took place on the river Lisaine in the vicinity of Belfort from January 15 to 17, 1871. The French, although numerically superior, could not gain victory. After the battle they were compelled to retreat and were finally routed. Engels gives a description of the battle (also called the Battle at Héricourt) and the subsequent retreat in his articles *Notes on the War.—XXXVII* and "Bourbaki's Disaster" (see this volume, pp. 236-39, 241-44, 255-58, 259-62). p. 226

111 In the *Battle at Le Mans* (Western France) on January 10-12, 1871, the German troops under Prince Frederick Charles defeated the re-formed Second Army of the Loire, commanded by General Chanzy, which was compelled to retreat after suffering heavy losses. p. 229

112 Engels has in mind the transfer of the English and French troops during the Crimean war from their initial position in Gallipoli (Turkey) to Varna, to help the Turkish army on the Danube fight the Russians who had started operations against Silistria in May 1854. The plan was not carried out because Russia, fearful of Austria, which was prepared to join the allies and had initiated military preparations, was compelled to lift the siege of Silistria and withdraw from the Danubian principalities. The allied troops, which by that time had been transferred to Varna, were subsequently used against Sebastopol. p. 235

113 In the *Battle of St. Quentin* (North-Eastern France) on January 19, 1871, the lst German Army under General Goeben crushed the French Army of the North under General Faidherbe. The defeat had a demoralising effect on the French army and marked the end of its active operations in the region. p. 236

114 This refers to the Royalist insurrection during the French Revolution, which began in March 1793 in Vendée and spread to Brittany and Normandy. The bulk of the insurgents were local peasants, incited and organised by counter-revolutionary clergy and gentry. The insurrection in Vendée and Brittany was put down in 1795-96, although new attempts were made in 1799 and subsequent years. p. 238

115 The *Battle of Mont Valérien* (also known as the Battle of Montretout or Buzenval) was fought on January 19, 1871, four months after the beginning of the siege of Paris. It was the final sortie from besieged Paris, but it was not adequately prepared. There was no coordination between the actions of the attack troops, and the necessary reserves were lacking. Despite the courage displayed by the French soldiers, the sortie was beaten back at every point. pp. 240, 437

116 The Army of the East, as Engels had foreseen, found itself pushed to the Swiss

frontier having retreated after an unsuccessful battle at Héricourt on January 15-17, 1871 (see also Note 110). On February 1, it was compelled to cross the frontier and surrender (see also Note 121). p. 242

117 At the end of September 1870, Bourbaki was sent by Bazaine to Chislehurst in England, where the ex-Empress-Regent Eugénie lived in emigration. Bazaine, the Commander-in-Chief of the French army in Metz, had by that time begun negotiations with Bismarck with a view to restoring the Empire with the help of the troops besieged in Metz (see also notes 85 and 92). Bourbaki's trip was prompted by Regnier, a French adventurist who posed as Eugénie's representative and told Bismarck and Bazaine that she intended to hold talks. Bourbaki's mission ended in failure because Eugénie disavowed Regnier. p. 246

118 This refers to the *Convention on the Armistice and Capitulation of Paris* signed by Bismarck and Favre on January 28, 1871. The Government of National Defence refused to continue the struggle against the Prussian invaders and agreed to an ignominious capitulation. By this act it betrayed the national interests of France, which were sacrificed to the ruling classes' desire to suppress the revolutionary movement in the country by all possible means. By signing the Convention, Favre accepted humiliating demands put forward by the Prussians: payment of an indemnity of 200 million francs within a fortnight, the immediate surrender of most of the Paris forts, the handing over of the field guns and ammunition of the Paris army, and the disbanding of the *francs-tireurs* (armed civilians). Yet Bismarck and Favre did not dare to include a clause about the disarmament of the Paris National Guard, which mostly consisted of workers. The Convention provided for urgent elections to the National Assembly, which was to decide the question of a peace treaty. pp. 248, 438, 519, 546, 595

119 Engels refers to the intention of the Prussian Junkers, bourgeoisie and military circles to annex French Alsace and Lorraine and their demand for a huge war indemnity. p. 251

120 The armistice concluded by Bismarck and Favre on January 28, 1871 (see also Note 118) expired on February 19. Though France's means of resistance had not been exhausted, operations against the Prussians were not resumed. After the National Assembly appointed Thiers Chief Executive, he immediately started peace talks, which concluded in a preliminary peace treaty signed at Versailles on February 26, France being compelled to accept all Bismarck's terms. On May 10, 1871 the final Peace Treaty was signed in Frankfurt am Main (see this volume, pp. 346-47 and also notes 179 and 324). p. 251

121 The *Convention of Les Verrières* (Switzerland) was concluded on February 1, 1871, between General Clinchant, who replaced Bourbaki as Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the East, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Swiss Army General Herzog. The Convention specified the terms for crossing the Swiss border (see also Note 116): the French Army was to lay down its arms, equipment and ammunition. p. 257

122 Engels is referring to the August 1870 campaign of the French Army of Châlons, which, owing to a lack of initiative on the part of its commander, Marshal MacMahon, was encircled at Sedan and had to capitulate (see notes 47 and 49). p. 258

123 The letter to the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party

was written by Marx in the capacity of Corresponding Secretary for Germany. On August 2, 1870, the General Council decided to defer the regular congress, due on September 5, 1870 in Mainz (on the programme of the congress see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 143-44), owing to the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war. The General Council decided to ask the sections of the International for approval of its decision. In its resolution, the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party declared its support.

Marx's letter to the Committee is extant, as it was published, with abbreviations, in C. Koch, *Der Prozeß gegen den Ausschuß der social-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei...*, Braunschweig, 1871, S. 51 and in W. Bracke, *Der Braunschweiger Ausschuß der socialdemokratischen Arbeiter-Partei in Lötzen und vor dem Gericht,* Braunschweig, 1872, S. 154; and also in *Leipziger Hochverrathsprozeß. Ausführlicher Bericht über die Verhandlungen des Schwurgerichts zu Leipzig in dem Prozeß gegen Liebknecht, Bebel und Hepner wegen Vorbereitung zum Hochverrath vom 11-26 März 1872,* Leipzig, 1872, 1874, 1894. p. 259

124 Here Marx means the request of the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, which was expressed in Bonhorst's letter to Marx on October 25, 1869, to explain the Social-Democratic policy towards the German peasantry and give, in particular, instructions concerning the applicability of the Basle Congress (September 6-11, 1869) resolution on social landownership to Germany. Eager to help the leaders of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party to come to the right decision, Marx planned to write a detailed answer, but the International's current affairs prevented him from doing so. Engels provided an explanation of this question in February 1870 in his Preface to the second German edition of *The Peasant War in Germany* (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 397-482) and in the Addition to this Preface, which he wrote for the third German edition of the book in 1874 (see present edition, Vol. 23). p. 259

125 The letter to the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party was written in reply to a request from the members of the Brunswick Committee that Marx elucidate the attitude of the German working class to the Franco-Prussian war. Marx considered it necessary to express his opinion because the editorial board of the *Volksstaat* (Liebknecht and others), while, on the whole, taking an internationalist position, had, at the beginning, when the war, as far as Prussia was concerned, had a defensive character, shown a one-sided attitude to it and somewhat ignored the task of national unification. Some members of the Brunswick Committee, on the contrary, underestimated the expansionist tendencies of the Prussian ruling circles, which became obvious even in the inital stages of the war.

The correspondence between Marx and Engels deals with this matter in detail. Thus, in a letter of August 15, 1870, Engels drafted the tactics for German Social-Democracy; he stressed the need to come out against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, while participating in the movement for the unification of Germany; to distinguish between the German national and Prussian dynastic interests; always to put forward the common interests of the German and French workers (see present edition, Vol. 44). Marx considered the answer to the leaders of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party to be of exceptional importance, as the question concerned the *"directives guiding the policy of the German workers"* (see Marx's letter to Engels of August 17, 1870, present edition, Vol. 44). The final variant of the reply was prepared by Marx

and Engels during Marx's stay in Manchester from August 22 to 30, 1870. The letter was signed by Marx and sent to Germany. He reported on it at the General Council meeting on September 6.

Part of the letter to the Committee was included in the text of the Manifesto on the war issued by the Committee as a leaflet on September 5, 1870 (*Manifest des Ausschusses der social-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei,* Braunschweig, 5. September 1870). The *Manifesto* proclaimed the German working class's loyalty to the cause of the international solidarity of the proletariat and called on German workers to organise mass meetings against the Prussian government's annexationist plans. The *Manifesto* noted that the text included in it had been written by "one of our oldest and most worthy comrades in London".

Only the part of the letter reproduced in the *Manifesto* has been preserved. The copy of the leaflet obtaining at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow bears notes and corrections in Engels' hand, which testify that Marx and Engels worked together on it. The *Manifesto* was published by many newspapers in German, and also in English, French and Russian. It was also published in C. Koch, *Der Prozeß gegen den Ausschuß der social-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei...,* Braunschweig, 1871; W. Bracke, *Der Braunschweiger Ausschuß der socialdemokratischen Arbeiter-Partei...,* Braunschweig, 1872 as well as in *Leipziger Hochverrathsprozeß...,* Leipzig, 1872, 1874, and other publications.

It was first published in English in *The Echo,* October 15, 1870. p. 260

126 The *treaties of Tilsit*—peace treaties signed on July 7 and 9, 1807 by Napoleonic France, and Russia and Prussia, members of the fourth anti-French coalition. In an attempt to split the defeated powers, Napoleon made no territorial claims on Russia and even succeeded in transferring some of the Prussian monarchy's eastern lands to Russia. The treaty imposed harsh terms on Prussia, which lost nearly half its territory to the German states dependent on France, was made to pay indemnities and had its army reduced. However, Russia, like Prussia, had to break its alliance with Britain and, to its disadvantage, join Napoleon's Continental System. Napoleon formed the vassal Duchy of Warsaw on Polish territory seized by Prussia during the partitions of Poland at the end of the 18th century, and planned to use it as a springboard in the event of war with Russia.

Dictated by Napoleon, the Treaty of Tilsit caused dissatisfaction among the German population and paved the way for the liberation movement that broke out against Napoleonic rule in 1813. pp. 26, 266

127 *National Liberals* (Die Nationalliberale Partei) was the party of the German, mostly Prussian, bourgeoisie, which emerged in the autumn of 1866 as a result of the split in the Party of Progress. The policy of the National Liberals reflected the rejection by a considerable section of the liberal bourgeoisie of claims to broader political rights and its capitulation before Bismarck's Junker government after Prussia's victory in the Austro-Prussian war (see Note 5) and the establishment of her hegemony in Germany.

*The German People's Party* (Die Deutsche Volkspartei) was established in the second half of the 1860s, its members being democratically-minded bourgeois, mostly from South German states. In contrast to the National Liberals, it opposed Prussia's hegemony in Germany and supported the plan for a so-called "Great Germany", including both Prussia and Austria. While pursuing an anti-Prussian policy and advancing general democratic slogans, the German People's Party voiced the particularist aspirations of some German states. It

propagated the idea of a federal German state, but opposed Germany's unification in the form of a centralised bourgeois-democratic republic.

p. 261

128 *Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War* was written by Marx between September 6 and 9, 1870.

On September 6, 1870, having examined the new situation that had taken shape after the collapse of the Second Empire and the start of a new stage of the war, the General Council of the International decided to issue a second address on the Franco-Prussian war and, for that purpose, appointed a commission including Marx, Jung, Milner and Serraillier.

In his work on the Address, Marx used the material he received from Engels, which exposed the efforts to justify, on military-strategic grounds, the urge on the part of the Prussian military clique, the Junkers and the bourgeoisie to annex French territory (see Engels' letter to Marx and Marx's reply of September 4 and 10, 1870 respectively, present edition, Vol. 44). The Address was unanimously adopted by a special meeting of the General Council on September 9, 1870, and was circulated to all the bourgeois London newspapers, which ignored it, with the exception of *The Pall Mall Gazette* which published an excerpt from the Address in its ussue No. 1745 of September 16, 1870. On September 11-13, it was issued as a leaflet in English (1,000 copies); a new edition containing the First and Second addresses appeared in late September. The misprints of the first edition were corrected and some editorial changes made in it. The Address was published by the US labour press: *The Working Man's Advocate,* Chicago, No. 7, October 8, 1870; *The National Standard,* No. 1573, November 12, 1870.

The Second Address was translated into German by Marx, who added several sentences intended for the German workers and deleted some passages. This translation was published in the newspaper *Der Volksstaat,* No. 76, September 21, 1870; in the journal *Der Vorbote,* No. 10-11, October-November 1870; *Volkswille,* Wien, No. 37, October 8, 1870; *Die Tagewacht,* Zurich, No. 33, October 1, 1870; and also as a leaflet in Geneva. In 1891, Engels published the Second Address in a German edition of *The Civil War in France;* the translation for that edition was made by Louise Kautsky under Engels' supervision.

The French translation of the Second Address was published in the newspapers *L'Internationale,* Nos. 93 and 99, October 23 and December 4, 1870; in *La Tribune de Bordeaux,* September 21, 1870; and, in an abridged form, in *L'Egalité,* No. 35, October 4, 1870. It was also published in Antwerp in Flemish by *De Werker,* Nos. 51 and 52, October 16 and 24, 1870.

In the present edition, the Second Address is published according to the second edition of the English leaflet checked against the 1870 leaflet, which was translated into German by Marx. The major differences in reading are given in footnotes.

p. 263

129 In 1618, the Electorate of Brandenburg was united with the Duchy of Prussia (East Prussia), which had been formed from the possessions of the Teutonic Order in the early 16th century and was a fief of Poland. In his capacity as the Duke of Prussia, the Elector of Brandenburg continued to be a vassal of Poland until 1657, when, making use of Poland's embroilment in a war with Sweden, he secured recognition of his sovereign rights to Prussian possessions.

p. 264

130 The reference is to the *Treaty of Basle* concluded on April 5, 1795 separately by the French Republic and Prussia, the latter being a member of the first anti-French coalition. Its conclusion marked the beginning of the coalition's disintegration. p. 265

131 During their meeting in Biarritz in October 1865, Bismarck won Napoleon III's consent to an alliance between Prussia and Italy and to a war by Prussia against Austria; in agreeing to this, Napoleon III expected to be able to intervene in the conflict with benefit for himself, in the event of Prussia's defeat.

At the start of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, the Tsarist Foreign Minister Gorchakov declared, during his negotiations with Bismarck in Berlin, that in the war Russia would maintain a benevolent neutrality towards Prussia and would exert diplomatic pressure on Austria; for its part, the Prussian government undertook not to impede Tsarist Russia in her policy in the East. p. 267

132 The reference is to the strengthening of feudal reaction in Germany after the collapse of Napoleonic rule. The governments of the European feudal absolutist states, supported by the reactionary nobility, made use of the results of the liberation war against the domination of Napoleon I. The German Confederation (see Note 27) did not eliminate feudal division; the feudal-absolutist system was consolidated; all the nobility's privileges were preserved and semi-feudal exploitation of the peasants intensified. p. 268

133 The reference is to the *June insurrection,* the heroic insurrection of Paris workers on June 23-26, 1848. It was the first civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in history. Marx called it the first great battle between the two classes. He assessed its historical importance in the *Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 67-70). pp. 269, 316, 445, 521

134 Marx is referring here to the movement of British workers for recognition of the French Republic, which was established on September 4, 1870, and giving it diplomatic support. From September 5, in London, Birmingham, Newcastle and other big cities meetings and demonstrations by large numbers of workers took place, with some trade unions taking an active part. Their participants expressed sympathy for the French people and demanded in their resolutions and petitions that the British government immediately recognise the French Republic.

The General Council of the International and Marx himself took an active part in organising the movement for recognition of the French Republic (see Marx's letters to Engels of September 10 and 14, 1870, present edition, Vol. 44). p. 269

135 The allusion is to Britain's active participation in forming the coalition of feudal-absolutist states, which unleashed a war against revolutionary France in 1792 (Britain entered the war in 1793); and also to the fact that the British ruling oligarchy was the first in Europe to recognise the Bonapartist regime in France, established as a result of Louis Bonaparte's coup d'état of December 2, 1851. p. 269

136 During the Civil War in the USA (1861-65), the British press, which expressed the views of the British ruling quarters, actively supported the Southern slave-owning states in an attempt to split and weaken the USA. p. 270

137 On September 9, 1870, Bracke, Bonhorst, Spier, Kühn and Gralle, members of the Brunswick Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, as well as Ehlers, a member of the Party, and Sievers, a printer, were arrested for publishing the Manifesto on war (see Note 125). By this measure, the ruling circles tried to undermine the workers' movement and to prevent any actions against the Prussian government's militarist plans. Having received news of the arrest of the Brunswick Committee from Wilhelm Liebknecht, Marx took immediate steps to give publicity to this act of tyranny on the part of the German authorities, the first in a series of open police persecutions of Social-Democrats there. The information was sent to *The Pall Mall Gazette* and *The Echo,* where it was published on September 15, and to a number of other newspapers. On September 20, 1870, at a meeting of the General Council, Marx made a report on the arrest of the members of the Brunswick Committee, stressing that there were absolutely no legal grounds for it. In October 1871, after many months of imprisonment, the members of the Brunswick Committee were brought to trial on the trumped-up charge of disturbing peace. One of the main charges was their membership of the international workers' organisation—the International, which was banned by Prussian laws. The court sentenced the members of the Brunswick Committee to various terms of imprisonment. Despite repressive police measures, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, led by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, started propaganda work against Prussia's predatory plans and for an honourable peace with France. p. 271

138 Engels wrote this letter on the instructions of the General Council after a discussion of the question of the Belgian Sections at the Council's meeting on December 20, 1870. When the letter was published for the first time (*L'Internationale,* No. 103, January 1, 1871), the three last paragraphs in Engels' rough manuscript were omitted as being confidential in nature.

The 6th regular half-yearly Congress of the Belgian Federation of the International Working Men's Association took place on December 25 and 26, 1870 in Brussels. The delegates heard the financial report and reports on the Federation's press organ, *L'Internationale,* and on the position of the International Working Men's Association in Belgium. p. 272

139 The *London Treaty on Neutrality of Luxembourg* was signed on May 11, 1867 by Austria, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Prussia and Russia. It ended the so-called Luxembourg crisis that had been caused by Napoleon III's attempt to make Prussia agree to France's annexation of Luxembourg in payment for the latter's neutrality in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866. This treaty declared Luxembourg a permanently neutral state, its neutrality being guaranteed by the signatory states.

On December 9, 1870, Bismarck announced his intention not to abide by this treaty, considering that Luxembourg had taken too friendly a position towards France, but already on December 19 under pressure from Britain he abandoned his threat. pp. 275, 575

140 Engels wrote this letter in his capacity as the General Council's Corresponding Secretary pro tem for Spain in answer to a letter from the Spanish Federal Council of December 14, 1870. Having established links with the Spanish sections of the International, Engels helped them in their struggle against Bakuninism, which developed in Spain, too. There, within the limits of the International Bakuninists had set up an organisation of the Alliance of Socialist

Democracy and tried to take over leadership of the Spanish Federal Council. Despite the Bakuninists' splitting activities, the International's ideas penetrated among the workers and new sections of the International Working Men's Association were established in Spain. This letter was published in English for the first time in Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955. p. 277

141 The *National Labour Union* was founded in the USA in August 1866 at a congress in Baltimore, with the active participation of William Sylvis, a prominent figure in the American labour movement. Marx thought highly of the Baltimore congress. In October 1866, the National Labour Union established contacts with the International Working Men's Association. However, Trevellick, elected delegate to the regular congress of the International at the Chicago congress of the Union in August 1867, could not come to Lausanne. At the last sessions of the Basle Congress of the International (September 1869) the National Labour Union was represented by A. Cameron. In August 1870, at a congress in Cincinnati, Cameron made a report on his participation in the congress of the International. The Union adopted a resolution on adherence to the principles of the IWMA and a desire to join it. This decision was not implemented, however, as the Union leaders were soon carried away by the utopian projects of currency reform. In 1870-71, many trades unions withdrew from the Labour Union and in 1872 it virtually ceased to exist. pp. 280, 575

142 This article was occasioned by the floating on the London Stock Exchange in March 1871 of Russia's loan of £12 million. This article, first published in *The Pall Mall Gazette* on March 16, 1871, was included in a lithographic edition of Engels' series of articles *Notes on the War,* which came out in Vienna in 1923, and was subsequently reprinted with the *Notes on the War.* p. 281

143 This refers to the London Conference of several states, which took place in January-March 1871 and discussed the question of Russia's denunciation of the articles of the Paris Treaty of 1856 forbidding her to have warships in the Black Sea and fortresses on its coasts (see Note 103). p. 282

144 This letter was drafted by Engels on Marx's request in connection with a letter that was published in the French police newspaper *Paris-Journal* on March 19, 1871, which the editors declared to be Marx's letter to Serraillier. According to them it testified to the contradictions between the French and German members of the International. The forged letter was reprinted in the bourgeois newspapers of various countries, which joined in the campaign of slander against the International. At the meeting of the General Council of March 21, 1871, Marx exposed the communication in the *Paris-Journal* as a provocative forgery and said that he had already sent a refutation to the editor of *The Times,* which had reprinted the communication from the *Paris-Journal.*

The item on Marx's refutation was published in *The Times* on March 22, 1871, but the newspaper, joining the campaign of slander against the International, published an item by a correspondent of the Bonapartist newspaper *La Liberté* distorting Marx's letter of March 21. At the meeting of the General Council on March 28, 1871, Marx again exposed the slanderers. He inserted the text of this piece into his letter to Paul Lafargue of March 23, 1871 (see present edition, Vol. 44) in order to make it known to the Paris members of the International. p. 285

145 This statement was made necessary by the false allegations about the expulsion of Germans from the International's sections in Paris, which were disseminated by the reactionary newspaper *Paris-Journal.* These allegations were refuted in a special letter from the Paris Federal Council in response to the General Council's request. The statement of the General Council to the editor of *The Times* and other papers was written by Marx and unanimously approved by the General Council at its meeting on March 21. The Statement was published in *The Times,* No. 27018, March 23; in *The Eastern Post,* No. 130, March 25; *The Standard,* No. 14555, March 27, 1871. The statement was included in Marx's letter to the editor of *Der Volksstaat* of March 23, 1871 (see this volume, p. 289), and in Marx's letter to Lafargue of the same date. p. 286

146 In the first half of March, the French bourgeois papers, particulary the *Paris-Journal* and the *Gaulois,* were actively supporting the idea of founding the so-called *Anti-German League.* The League was supposed to foster in the young people a spirit of revenge for the defeat in the war, to help the French depart from Alsace and Lorraine, which were occupied by the German army, and to sow discord between French and German workers. p. 286

147 The *Jockey Club*—an aristocratic club founded in Paris in 1833. p. 286

148 A meeting of Germans belonging to the propertied classes was held in Zurich in March 1871 to celebrate Germany's victory in the Franco-Prussian war. At the meeting, there was a clash between a group of French officers interned in Switzerland and the Germans. The reactionary press blew up a provocative campaign in order to undermine the international ties between the workers of different countries and accused the International of staging these events. The Swiss section of the International exposed the slander of the bourgeois press in a special statement. Several trades unions in Zurich likewise issued statements saying that members of the International had nothing to do with the clash. p. 286

149 Marx's letter to the editor of *Der Volksstaat* contained (with minor changes in the German translation) the statement by the General Council to the editor of *The Times* and other papers, written by him on March 21 (see this volume, pp. 286-87). The letter to the editor of *Der Volksstaat* was published in German in that paper, No. 26, March 29, 1871, in *Die Tagwacht,* No. 14, April 1, 1871 and in *Der Vorbote,* No. 4, April 23, 1871. It was published in French in *L'Egalité,* No. 6, March 31, 1871, with the first two paragraphs in abridged form. Besides the press organs of the International, the letter was published in *Die Zukunft,* No. 73, March 26, 1871. p. 288

150 *"Haupt-Chef"* ("The principal leader")—the name given by Stieber, a Prussian police officer, at the Cologne Communist trial in 1852 to Cherval, an agent-provocateur, trying to ascribe to him, for provocative purposes, the leading role in the Communist League and make it appear that Cherval was closely connected with Marx and the defendants (see K. Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne,* present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 407-19). p. 288

151 This letter to *De Werker* was written by Marx at the request of the editorial secretary *Ph. Coenen* to expose the forgeries published in the *Paris-Journal* and reprinted in the reactionary press of various countries in order to defame the International. The editor prefaced the letter, translated from the French into

Flemish with the following paragraph: "It has been known for a long time that our opponents stop at nothing to achieve their aims. Despite this we did not believe they were so impudent as to write forged letters on behalf of the members of the International. But this is what happened. Some time ago a letter by'Karl Marx' on the conduct of French workers could be read in all big newspapers. In connection with this, the Antwerp section asked Karl Marx for an explanation. Here is what the member of the General Council of the International replied." p. 291

152 A similar letter was sent by Marx to *The Daily News*, which published it on April 6, 1871. p. 292

153 Marx and Engels learned about the strike of the cigar-workers in Antwerp from the letter written by Ph. Coenen, an organiser of the International's sections in Belgium and the Netherlands, on March 29, 1871. They immediately took steps to organise international aid to the strikers. At the General Council meeting of April 4, 1871 Engels made a report on the strike, and the Council resolved, on Engels' proposal, to send letters and delegations to the British trades unions. On April 5, 1871 the General Council issued an address to the British trades unions to give assistance to the Antwerp cigar-workers; it was printed as a separate leaflet signed by Eccarius. That very day, Engels informed Ph. Coenen of this and sent a letter to Liebknecht asking him to provide assistance to the Antwerp cigar-workers, with the given item for *Der Volksstaat* enclosed (see Engels' letter to Coenen and Engels' letter to Liebknecht of April 5, 1871, present edition, Vol. 44).

In response to the General Council's appeal, material assistance to the Antwerp cigar-workers was provided by a number of British trades unions and the workers of Brussels, where the cigar-workers also went on strike. The aid provided by the General Council to the Antwerp cigar-workers, who came out in defence of their trades union, enabled them to hold out till September 1871, when the manufacturers had to accept their terms. p. 294

154 This Outline of an Appeal was prepared by Engels on the request of the Madrid Federal Council to provide assistance to the weavers and spinners of Barcelona who were on strike. Engels made a report on the subject at the meeting of the General Council on April 18, 1871. On April 19 he sent the Outline to Eccarius, who was to appeal to the weavers' and spinners' trades unions of Manchester for donations for the strikers. The outline was preceded by an address to Eccarius: "Dear Eccarius, the following on the strike of the Barcelonese. To save effort, I am giving it to you direct in English."

The Outline ended with the words: "The form of contribution—donation or loan—should be left to the men's discretion. The Council could take care of the remittances, or they can send in the money direct, the address is available. Best regards, yours F. E." At the General Council meeting on April 25, 1871, Engels again touched upon the situation in the Spanish textile industry. p. 295

155 The resolution of the Federal Council of the Paris sections of the International expelling Tolain from the IWMA as a deserter of the working-class cause was published in the newspaper of one of the Paris sections, *La Révolution politique et sociale,* No. 3, April 16, 1871. The next day, this news appeared in *The Times* (No. 27039), *The Standard* (No. 14573) and other newspapers. Tolain, who was elected deputy to the National Assembly on February 8, 1871 from the Paris workers, after the proclamation of the Paris Commune remained in the

Versailles Assembly the activity of which was aimed at suppressing the revolution in Paris, and refused to fulfil the Commune's demand that the workers' deputies break with that reactionary body. Even before this, the General Council, acting on the strength of reports in the London press, had a preliminary discussion on Tolain's treacherous behaviour at its meeting on April 18 and decided that it should be publicly condemned. After receiving the resolution on April 25, the General Council resumed its examination of Tolain's case and resolved to expel him from the International.

In the manuscript of the General Council's resolution on Tolain's expulsion, written by Engels, some corrections are made by Marx. The resolution was published in English in *The Eastern Post,* No. 135, April 29; in French (translated by Engels)—in *L'Internationale,* No. 122, May 14; in German—in *Der Volksstaat,* No. 42, May 24 and *Der Vorbote,* No. 7, July 1871. The last paragraph of the manuscript is published only in *L'Internationale,* which printed the resolution over Engels' signature, as a corresponding secretary pro tem for Belgium. p. 297

156 Engels' article "Once Again 'Herr Vogt'" is connected with Marx's *Herr Vogt,* published in 1860 (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 21-329), in which Marx exposed the petty-bourgeois democrat Karl Vogt as a paid Bonapartist agent and a disseminator of slanderous inventions about proletarian revolutionaries.

The direct reason for writing the article was the appearance, in the autumn of 1870, after the collapse of the Second Empire, of Vogt's new pamphlet *Karl Vogt's Politische Briefe an Friedrich Kolb,* in which the author tried to camouflage his past ties with the Bonapartists. In his article, Engels also used newly-published data, confirming Marx's conclusion, made in 1860, that Vogt was a paid agent of Bonaparte. Marx wrote about this in his letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht on April 10, 1871 (see present edition, Vol. 44), that is, before Engels' article appeared. *Der Volksstaat* (No. 31, April 15) published the following short message, which, in the main, reproduced the text of Marx's letter to Liebknecht: "In the official *Papiers et correspondance de la famille impériale,* published in the report of the French government, we find, on the alphabetic list of recipients of Bonapartist money, under the letter V, literally the following:' Vogt; il lui est remis en août 1859, 40,000 Fr. (Vogt received 40,000 francs in August of 1859).'"

The editor of *Der Volksstaat* provided this information, published on Marx's behalf, with the following comment: "The Party comrades who reproached us for ignoring Vogt's writings against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine and were not content with our referring them to the well-known pamphlet by Marx, will surely be satisfied now. But we request our Paris friends to send us the complete register. We are certain to find many an old acquaintance on it who once dealt in Bonapartism as 'fellow-rogues' of Vogt's and now, for the same motives and with equal enthusiasm, peddle Bismarck's patriotism."

Engels' article was included in his collection *Internationales aus dem "Volksstaat" (1871-75),* Berlin, 1894 and reprinted in *Der New Yorker Volkszeitung,* Sonntagsbl., No. 19, May 12, 1895. p. 298

157 The *Augsburg Campaign* is the ironical name Marx uses in his pamphlet *Herr Vogt* for Vogt's action brought against the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* in 1859 for reprinting the leaflet "Zur Warnung", which exposed Vogt as a Bonapartist agent (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 111-32). When his complaint was dismissed, he published a booklet *Mein Prozess gegen die*

*Allgemeine Zeitung,* in which he libelled proletarian revolutionaires. Marx's pamphlet *Herr Vogt* was written in response. p. 298

158 The *Brimstone Gang* (Schwefelbande)—the name of a students' association at Jena University in the 1770s, whose members were notorious for their brawls; later the expression became widespread. In his pamphlet *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung,* Vogt applied it to Marx's supporters (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 28-47). p. 298

159 *Napoléon le Petit* (Napoleon the Little)—the nickname given to Louis Bonaparte by Victor Hugo in a speech he made in the French Legislative Assembly in 1851. It gained wide currency after the publication in 1852 of Hugo's *Napoléon le Petit.* p. 299

160 Engels ironically calls the *Schweizer Handels-Courier,* which was the mouthpiece of the Bonapartists in the 1850s-1860s, Vogt's *Moniteur,* by analogy with the French official organ of the same name. Vogt had close ties with this newspaper. p. 299

161 Marx described this book in his pamphlet *Herr Vogt,* Ch. VIII (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 133-83). p. 299

162 Marx is apparently referring here to Jean Baptiste Troppmann, a murderer sentenced to death in Paris in December 1869. p. 301

163 *The Civil War in France,* one of Marx's most important works, was written as an address by the General Council of the International to all Association members in Europe and the United States.

From the earliest days of the Paris Commune Marx made a point of collecting and studying all available information about its activities. He made clippings from all available French, English and German newspapers of the time. Newspapers from Paris reached London with great difficulty. Marx had at his disposal only individual issues of Paris newspapers that supported the Commune. He had to use English and French bourgeois newspapers published in London, including ones of Bonapartist leanings, but succeeded in giving an objective picture of the developments in Paris. The notebook with newspaper excerpts from March 18 to May 1, 1871 is extant (it was published for the first time in the original languages in: *Marx/Engels, Archives,* Vol. III (VIII), Moscow, 1934).

Marx also drew valuable information from the letters of active participants and prominent figures of the Paris Commune, such as Leo Frankel, Eugène Varlin, Auguste Serraillier, Yelisaveta Tomanovskaya, as well as from the letters of Paul Lafargue, Pyotr Lavrov and others.

Originally he intended to write an address to the workers of Paris, as he declared at the meeting of the General Council on March 28, 1871. His motion was unanimously approved. The further developments in Paris led him, however, to the conclusion that an appeal should be addressed to proletarians of the world. At the General Council meeting on April 18, Marx suggested to issue "an address to the International generally about the general tendency of the struggle".

Marx was entrusted with drafting the address. He started his work after April 18 and continued throughout May. Originally he wrote the First and Second drafts of *The Civil War in France* as preparatory variants for the work (see this volume, pp. 433-51 and Note 285), and then set about making up the final text of the address.

He did most of the work on the First and Second drafts and the final version roughly between May 6 and 30. On May 30, 1871, two days after the last barricade had fallen in Paris, the General Council unanimously approved the text of *The Civil War in France,* which Marx had read out.

*The Civil War in France* was first published in London on about June 13, 1871 in English, as a pamphlet of 35 pages in 1,000 copies. Since the first edition quickly sold out, the second English edition of 2,000 copies was published at a lower price, for sale to workers. In this edition, Marx corrected some of the misprints occurring in the first edition, and the section "Notes" was supplemented with another document. Changes were made in the list of General Council members who signed the Address: the names of Lucraft and Odger were deleted, as they had expressed disagreement with the Address in the bourgeois press and had withdrawn from the General Council, and the names of the new members of the General Council were added. In August 1871, the third English edition of *The Civil War in France* came out, in which Marx eliminated the inaccuracies of the previous editions.

In 1871-72, *The Civil War in France* was translated into French, German, Russian, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Flemish, Serbo-Croat, Danish and Polish, and published in the periodical press and as separate pamphlets in various European countries and the USA. It was repeatedly published in subsequent years.

The German translation was made by Engels and published in *Der Volksstaat* in June-July 1871 (Nos. 52-61, June 28 and July 1, 5, 8, 12, 16, 19, 22, 26 and 29), and, in abridged form, in *Der Vorbote* (Nos. 8-10) in August-October 1871, and it also came out as a separate pamphlet in Leipzig. Engels made several insignificant alterations in the text. By the fifth anniversary of the Paris Commune, in 1876, a new German edition was put out, with minor corrections introduced in the text.

In 1891, when preparing a jubilee German edition of *The Civil War in France* to mark the 20th anniversary of the Paris Commune, Engels once again edited the text of his translation. He also wrote an introduction to this edition, emphasising the historical significance of the experience of the Paris Commune, and its theoretical generalisation by Marx in *The Civil War in France,* and also giving additional information on the activities of the Communards from among the Blanquists and Proudhonists. Engels included in this edition the First and Second addresses of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian war, which were published in subsequent editions in different languages also together with *The Civil War in France.*

*The Civil War in France* was published in French for the first time in *L'Internationale* in Brussels in July-September 1871. A separate French edition appeared in Brussels in 1872; it was edited by Marx, who made numerous changes in the proofs and retranslated many passages.

The first Russian edition of *The Civil War in France,* which served as the basis for a number of subsequent printed and hectographed publications, appeared in Zurich in 1871. In 1905, *The Civil War in France* came out in Russian in a translation from the German edition of 1891 (Burevestnik Publishers, Odessa). The second edition was brought out under the editorship of Lenin by the same publishing house, also in 1905 during the first Russian revolution. When editing the translation of *The Civil War in France,* at the request of the publishers, Lenin introduced precise economic and political terminology into the text, eliminated numerous mistakes and inaccuracies of

the previous edition of 1905 and restored those parts of the text deleted by Tsarist censorhip.

In this volume, *The Civil War in France* is published according to the 3rd English edition of 1871, collated with the German translations of 1871 and 1891. The most essential textual differences are given in the footnotes. To establish Marx's sources, his notebook with excerpts from various newspapers was used. References to the sources quoted or mentioned in the text are given according to these excerpts. In a number of cases concerning decrees and other documents of the Paris Commune, a reference is also given to the publications of the official organs of the Commune. p. 307

164 On January 28, 1871 Bismarck and Jules Favre, a representative of the Government of National Defence, signed a Convention on the Armistice and the Capitulation of Paris (see Note 120). p. 313

165 *Capitulards*—a scornful nickname for those who advocated the capitulation of Paris during the siege of 1870-71. It subsequently came to denote capitulators in general. pp. 313, 438, 482, 517, 523, 538, 546

166 Jean Jules Pic and Jean Taillefer stole large sums of money from the insurance society by forgery and used them to finance the Bonapartist newspaper *L'Étendard*. In 1869 they were sentenced to hard labour. pp. 313, 475, 518

167 The *Société générale du Crédit Mobilier*—a large French joint-stock bank founded by the Péreire brothers in 1852. It was closely associated with Napoleon III's government and under the latter's protection engaged in large-scale speculation. It went bankrupt in 1867 and was liquidated in 1871. Marx gave an all-out characteristic of the Crédit Mobilier in a number of articles published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* in 1856-58 (see present edition, Vol. 15). pp. 314, 439, 496, 518

168 A reference to the anti-Legitimist and anti-clerical riots in Paris on February 14 and 15, 1831, which were echoed in the provinces. In protest against the Legitimist demonstration during the requiem mass for the Duke du Berry, the mob plundered the church of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois and the palace of Archbishop Quélen, who was known for his Legitimist sympathies. The Orleanist government, which was striving to weaken the hostile Legitimist party, did nothing to stop the crowd. Thiers, who was present when the church and palace were attacked, urged the National Guards not to interfere.

In 1832, by order of Thiers, then Minister of the Interior, the Duchess de Berry, mother of the Comte de Chambord, the Legitimist pretender to the French throne, was arrested and subjected to a humiliating medical examination to expose her secret marriage with a Neapolitan nobleman and pregnancy, and in this way politically compromise her and her son. pp. 315, 454, 503, 520

169 An allusion to the unseemly role played by Thiers in suppressing the popular insurrection in Paris on April 13-14, 1834, directed by the secret Republican Society of the Rights of Man (Société des Droits de l'Homme). Thiers, then Minister of the Interior, organised the brutal persecution of the participants in the insurrection and was, in particular, responsible for the death of the inhabitants of a house in Rue Transnonain.

*September Laws* (1835) were issued by the French government, which took advantage of an attempt on the life of Louis Philippe on July 28 to restrict trial by jury and introduce harsh measures against the press, including higher

securities for periodicals, and prison terms and large fines for statements against property and the existing political system.

pp. 315, 446, 454, 520, 596

170 In January 1841, Thiers came forward in the Chamber of Deputies with a project, prepared by Minister of War Soult, for building fortifications around Paris—a wall and several forts. Revolutionary and democratic circles took it as a preparatory step towards suppressing any popular movement, though the project was presented as a measure to strengthen the city's defences. It was noted that Thiers' project provided for the construction of especially strong and numerous forts near the working-class quarters to the east and north-east of Paris. pp. 315, 454, 520

171 In January 1848, the Neapolitan troops of King Ferdinand II, subsequently nicknamed King Bomba for his savage bombardment of Messina in the autumn of that year, shelled Palermo in an effort to suppress a popular uprising, which sparked off the bourgeois revolution in the Italian states in 1848-49.

pp. 315, 455, 520

172 In April 1849, the French bourgeois government, in alliance with Austria and Naples, intervened against the Roman Republic for the purpose of suppressing it and restoring the Pope's secular power. As a result of the armed intervention and the siege of Rome, which was subjected to fierce bombardment by French troops, the Roman Republic, despite heroic resistance, was overthrown and Rome was occupied by French troops.

pp. 315, 455, 510, 521, 572

173 The *Party of Order*—a party of the big reactionary bourgeoisie, which was formed in 1848 as a coalition of monarchist groups: the Legitimists (supporters of the Bourbon dynasty), the Orleanists (supporters of the Orleans dynasty) and the Bonapartists. From 1849 until the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, it held sway in the Legislative Assembly of the Second Republic.

pp. 316, 497, 503, 521

174 On January 11, 1864, Thiers spoke in the Corps législatif about the government's duty to return the "necessary liberties" to the country, including freedom of the individual, the press, association, and elections to parliament (*Le Moniteur universel,* No. 12, January 12, 1864). pp. 316, 443, 453

175 Thiers asked Bismarck for permission to increase the number of troops, which was not to exceed 40,000 according to Art. 3 of the preliminary treaty signed by Thiers and Jules Favre, on the one hand, and Bismarck and representatives of the South German states, on the other, in Versailles on February 26, 1871. Thiers' government assured Bismarck that the troops would be used exclusively for suppressing the insurrection in Paris, and on March 28, 1871, according to the Rouen Convention, Thiers received permission to increase the size of the Versailles army to 80,000 and, somewhat later, to 100,000 men. Accordingly, the German Command repatriated French prisoners of war, most of whom had been serving in the armies that surrendered in Sedan and Metz. The Versailles government quartered these units in secret camps, where they were trained for action against the Paris Commune.

pp. 317, 452, 458, 483, 541

176 *Legitimists*—the party of supporters of the Bourbon dynasty, which was overthrown in France in 1792, representing the interests of the big landed aristocracy and top clergy; it took shape as a party and assumed this name in

1830, after the dynasty was overthrown for the second time. During the Second Republic, the Legitimists, together with the other monarchist parties, formed the Party of Order (see Note 173). Under the Second Empire, failing to win any support from the people, they confined themselves to marking time and issuing critical pamphlets, and were galvanised into action only in 1871, when they joined the general counter-revolutionary onslaught against the Paris Commune. pp. 318, 465

177 *Chambre introuvable*—the name given by King Louis XVIII to the Chamber of Deputies in France which in 1815-16 consisted of extreme reactionaries. pp. 319, 340, 465, 476, 503, 524

178 The Assembly of "Rurals"—a scornful nickname for the National Assembly, which met on February 12, 1871 in Bordeaux and consisted mostly of reactionary monarchists, such as provincial landowners, civil servants, rentiers and merchants elected from rural constituencies. pp. 319, 446, 492, 497, 520, 530, 538, 543, 629

179 According to the terms of the preliminary peace treaty, signed on February 26, 1871 at Versailles, France ceded Alsace and East Lorraine to Germany and paid it 5 billion francs indemnity; until the indemnity was paid, a part of the French territory continued to be occupied by the German troops. The final peace treaty was signed in Frankfurt am Main on May 10, 1871 (see this volume, pp. 346-47). p. 319

180 On March 10, 1871, the National Assembly adopted a law on overdue bills. Accordingly, a seven-month moratorium was set for payments on security made from August 13 to November 12, 1870; no moratorium was allowed for payments on securities contracted after November 12. This meant that the law gave virtually no deferment to those in debt, the working class and the impecunious sections of the population. It also caused the bankruptcy of many small industrialists and merchants.

During the siege of Paris, the time for rent payment was transferred from one quarter of a year to another. At the end of March 1871 another payment came due. The project advanced by Thiers and Dufaure gave house-owners the right, if the rent had not been paid for two years, to evict the tenants and appropriate their furniture and personal belongings. The National Assembly refused to consider the project. pp. 319, 441, 444, 474

181 *Decembriseur*—participant in the Society of December 10 (see Note 4). Vinoy was directly involved in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, having used troops to put down attempts to start a republican uprising in one of the departments of France. pp. 320, 441, 525, 543

182 According to newspaper reports, out of the internal loan that the government of the Third Republic had decided to float, its head Thiers and other ministers were to receive more than 300 million francs by way of "commission". Thiers subsequently admitted that the men representing the financial circles with whom the loan was being negotiated were demanding swift suppression of the revolution in Paris. The loan bill was passed on June 20, 1870, after the Paris Commune had been crushed. pp. 320, 442, 524

183 *Cayenne*—town in French Guiana (South America), a penal colony and place of exile for political prisoners and criminals. pp. 321, 451, 522

184 On October 31, 1870, following the reports of the capitulation at Metz, the defeat at Le-Bourget, and the negotiations with the Prussians started by Thiers

on behalf of the Government of National Defence, Paris workers and the revolutionary section of the National Guard started an uprising and took the Town Hall, setting up an organ of revolutionary power—the Committee of Public Safety, headed by Auguste Blanqui. Under pressure from the workers, the Government of National Defence was forced to promise to resign and set elections to the Commune for November 1. But, taking advantage of the loose organisation of the revolutionary forces in Paris and the differences between the Blanquists and the petty-bourgeois Jacobin Democrats, who led the uprising, the government went back on its promise to resign, threw the loyal battalions of the National Guard against the Town Hall and restored its power. pp. 323, 447, 527

185 *Bretons*—the Breton Mobile Guard, which Trochu used as a gendarmerie to suppress the revolutionary movement in Paris. The Bretons replaced the *Corsicans* who, under the Second Empire, constituted a large section of the gendarmerie corps. pp. 323, 446, 481, 513, 527, 532, 539

186 On January 22, 1871, the Blanquists initiated a new revolutionary action by the Paris proletariat and the National Guard, who demanded the overthrow of the government and the establishment of a commune. On orders of the Government of National Defence, the Breton Mobile Guard, who were guarding the Town Hall, fired on them. Many of the participants in the demonstration were arrested, all the clubs in Paris were closed down, public gatherings were prohibited and a number of newspapers banned. Once the revolutionary movement was suppressed by means of terrorism, the government proceeded to prepare for the surrender of Paris. p. 324

187 *Sommation* (a demand to disperse)—a form of warning given while breaking up demonstrations, meetings, etc. According to the 1831 law, the demand was repeated three times, accompanied by drumming or trumpets (faire les trois sommations), following which the authorities were entitled to resort to force.

The *Riot Act* (an act for preventing tumults and riotous assemblies, and for the more speedy and effectual punishing of rioters) was introduced in the British Parliament in 1714 and passed in 1715. The Act obliged the authorities to read part of it to those unlawfully assembled and to open fire if the latter refused to disperse within an hour. pp. 325, 511, 529

188 This refers to the repressive laws initiated or actively supported by J. Dufaure and passed in 1839 and 1849. On May 14, 1839, after the armed action, the secret Republican Society of the Seasons was banned. After the demonstration of June 13, 1849 had been dispersed, a number of repressive laws were adopted: on June 19, the law on associations, on June 27—the law on the press (loi sur la presse), on August 9—the law on the state of siege (loi sur l'état de siège). After Dufaure became Minister of Justice in February 1871, he adopted a whole series of repressive laws. The law on the state of siege of April 28, 1871 restored certain laws meant to suppress freedom of the press, including the law of 1849. pp. 325, 444, 512

189 During the October 31 events (see Note 184), when the members of the Government of National Defence were detained at the Town Hall, Flourens prevented their being shot, as one of the insurgents was demanding. p. 326

190 By the terms of the European Convention signed at Geneva in 1864, subject to certain regulations, the wounded and the official staff of ambulances and their equipment were declared neutral. pp. 327, 478, 530

191 The decree of the Commune of April 5, 1871 on reprisals and hostages (Marx gives the date according to the report in *The Daily News*, No. 7781, April 7, 1871) was published in the *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 96, April 6, 1871. Under this decree, all persons charged with and proved to be maintaining contacts with Versailles were declared to be hostages. By this measure, the Paris Commune tried to prevent the Versailles men from shooting Communards. p. 327

192 *Girondins*—during the French Revolution the party of the big commercial and industrial bourgeoisie and the landowning bourgeoisie which emerged in the years of the revolution; named after the department of Gironde, which was represented in the Legislative Assembly and the Convention by many leaders of this party. The Girondins stood for turning France into a federation of republics and opposed the Jacobin dictatorship. p. 333

193 On December 21, 1870, Professor Thomas Huxley suggested to the School Board for London that the Board Secretary's salary should be £1,000. The School Board decided on a salary of £800. pp. 336, 488

194 On April 12, 1871, the Commune suspended all kinds of prosecution for delay of payments (Décret sur la suspension des poursuites pour échéances) until the law on payment terms was published. The Paris Commune law of April 16, 1871 (Loi sur les échéances) provided for payment of all debts in instalments over three years and the abolition of interest on them. The law greatly alleviated the financial position of the petty bourgeoisie and was disadvantageous to the big capitalist creditors. pp. 336, 474

195 Marx is referring to the Constituent Assembly's rejection, on August 22, 1848, of the bill on "amicable agreements" ("concordats à l'amiable"), providing for a moratorium for debtors able to prove that they had gone bankrupt as a result of the depression caused by the revolution. This had ruined a considerable section of the petty bourgeoisie and left it in the clutches of big bourgeois creditors. pp. 336, 496

196 *Frères ignorantins* or *ignorantines*—the name of the religious order *Frères des écoles chrétiennes* (Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools), which was founded in Rheims in 1680 and whose members pledged themselves to educate the children of the poor. Marx uses the term to hint at the low level and clerical nature of primary education in France. p. 336

197 This refers to the *Alliance républicaine des départements*, a political association of petty-bourgeois residents in Paris who came from various regions of France. It was founded in April 1871 and soon sided with the Paris Commune. The Alliance came out against the Versailles Government, organised solidarity meetings in the provinces, and worked out a project for democratic reforms to strengthen the Republican system. pp. 337, 495

198 This apparently refers to the Paris Commune appeal "To the Working People of the Villages" ("Aux travailleurs des campagnes"), published in April-early May 1871 in the Commune newspapers and issued as a separate leaflet. p. 337

199 Marx is referring to the law passed by the government of Charles X on April 27, 1825, authorising the payment of compensation to former émigrés for the landed estates confiscated from them during the French Revolution. Most of

this compensation, which came to 1 billion francs and was paid as a three per cent state rent, went to top courtiers and big landowners. pp. 337, 492

200 An *additional tax of forty-five centimes* on the franc of the direct tax was established by the Provisional Government of the Second Republic on March 16, 1848. The tax, the whole brunt of which fell on the shoulders of the peasants, aroused intense resentment among them, and this mood was utilised by the big landowners and Catholic priests for agitation against the democrats and workers of Paris in order to turn the peasantry into a reserve of the counter-revolution. pp. 337, 492

201 A reference to the ordinance dividing France into military districts and granting almost unlimited powers to their commanders; the bill giving the President of the Republic the right to remove or appoint mayors; the law on village teachers, who were put under the supervision of the prefects, and the education law which increased the influence of the clergy on education. Marx gives a description of these laws in his work *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (see present edition, Vol. 10, p. 123). pp. 338, 493

202 The *Vendôme Column*—a war memorial erected in Paris between 1806 and 1810 as a tribute to the military victories of Napoleon I. It was made of bronze from captured enemy guns. On May 16, 1871, by order of the Paris Commune the Vendôme Column was destroyed as a symbol of militarism. pp. 339, 475, 501

203 In the 1850s and 1860s, G.E. Haussmann, prefect of the Seine Department, carried out considerable work on rebuilding Paris. The old streets were widened and new straight ones were laid to facilitate the use of artillery by troops in suppressing popular uprisings. Big sums of money allocated by the state for these works were misappropriated by Haussmann and his subordinates. pp. 339, 351

204 In May 1871, facts exposing crimes committed in monasteries became known. In the Picpus nunnery, in the St. Antoine suburb of Paris, cases were established of nuns being incarcerated in cells for many years and instruments of torture found; in the Church of Saint Laurent, a secret cemetery was discovered attesting to the murders that had been committed there. See "Les squelettes découverts..." in *Le Mot d'Ordre,* No. 71, May 5, 1871; H. Rochefort, "Les mystères du Couvent Picpus", *Le Mot d'Ordre,* No. 72, May 6, 1871, and also the pamphlet *Les crimes des congrégations réligieuses. Mystères de l'Eglise Saint Laurent,* Paris, [1871]. p. 340

205 *Wilhelmshöhe* (near Kassel)—the castle of the Prussian kings, where the ex-Emperor Napoleon III, captured by the Prussians, was retained from September 5, 1870 to March 19, 1871. p. 340

206 This refers to Stanislas Pourille, elected to the Commune under the false name of Blanchet. On May 5, 1871 he was expelled from the Commune and then arrested. p. 340

207 *Absentees*—landlords who owned estates in Ireland but lived permanently in England. Their estates were managed by agents who robbed the Irish peasants, or were leased to speculator-middlemen, who subleased small plots to the peasants. p. 341

208 *Francs-fileurs* (literally: "free absconders")—the name given to the Paris bourgeois who fled from the city during the siege. It sounded all the more ironical being a pun on francs-tireurs (see Note 34). pp. 342, 350, 457, 543

209 This refers to the Théatre de la Porte-Saint-Martin in Paris. p. 343

210 *Coblenz*—a city in Western Germany, the centre of counter-revolutionary emigration during the French Revolution. It was the seat of the émigré government headed by de Calonne, former minister of Louis XVI. pp. 343, 457, 543

211 *Chouans*—participants in the counter-revolutionary insurrection in North-West France during the French Revolution. During the Paris Commune, this name was given by the Communards to the detachment of monarchist-minded Versailles soldiers recruited in Brittany and used against the Commune. pp. 343, 452

212 Under the impact of the proletarian revolution of March 18, 1871, which led to the establishment of the Paris Commune, revolutionary mass actions were mounted in Lyons, Marseilles and a number of other cities of France. On March 22, the Town Hall in Lyons was seized by the National Guard and the city's working people, and a Commune was proclaimed. However, the provisional commission set up to prepare elections to the Commune abdicated its powers because it commanded only a small military force and had no strong links with the people and the National Guard. Fresh actions by the working people of Lyons on April 30 were fiercely suppressed by the army and the police.

In Marseilles, the insurgent population took the Town Hall and arrested the prefect. A commission of the Department was set up in the city and elections to the Commune were scheduled for April 5. However, the revolutionary movement in Marseilles was put down on April 4 by government troops, who shelled the city. p. 345

213 This refers to Dufaure's activities, aimed at strengthening the regime of the July monarchy, during the armed action of the secret conspiratorial Republican Society of the Seasons (Société des Saisons) in May 1839, and to Dufaure's role in the struggle against the oppositional petty-bourgeois Party of the Mountain during the Second Republic in June 1849.

The revolutionary action of the Society of the Seasons on May 12, 1839, headed by Blanqui and Barbès, was suppressed by government troops and the National Guard. To fight the revolutionary danger a new ministry was formed, of which Dufaure became a member.

In June 1849, in a situation of mounting political crisis that resulted from the oppositional moves of the Party of the Mountain against Louis Bonaparte, President of the Republic, Dufaure, who became Minister of the Interior, initiated a number of repressive laws aimed against the revolutionary section of the National Guard, democrats and socialists. p. 345

214 This refers to the law on the press, adopted by the National Assembly on June 6, 1871, which reintroduced provisions from the previous reactionary laws on the press of 1819 and 1849: it provided for harsh penalties, including the closure of periodicals, for statements against the authorities. Besides, a law was adopted on the reinstatement of officials of the Second Empire who had been dismissed and a special law on the procedures for the return of property

confiscated by the Commune and on the introduction of penalties for its confiscation, as a criminal offence. pp. 345, 467, 479

215 The bill on shortening the trial by courts-martial (Projet de loi relatif à l'abréviation des procédures devant les Conseils de guerre), motioned by Dufaure and adopted by the National Assembly on April 6, 1871, extended the powers of the army commander and the Minister of War. In particular, they were empowered to institute criminal proceedings without preliminary investigation and pass sentences within 48 hours. p. 345

216 A reference to the commercial treaty between Britain and France, signed on January 23, 1860, under which France was conceded the right to export most of its goods to England duty-free. France abandoned her prohibitive tariff policy and replaced it with duties of no more than 30 per cent of the value of the goods. The result was a sharp intensification of competition on the French domestic market, which was flooded with goods from Britain, and this caused discontent among French industrialists. Marx describes this treaty in his articles published in volume 17 of the present edition. pp. 346, 442

217 A reference to the reign of terror and bloody reprisals in Ancient Rome in the period of intensified social and political struggle in the 1st century B.C.

The *dictatorship of Sulla* (82-79 B.C.), who was made dictator by the slave-owning nobility, was characterised by mass scale annihilation of members of the oppositional slave-owners' faction.

*The First and Second Triumvirates*—periods of dictatorship by the most influential Roman generals, who divided power between themselves.

The First Triumvirate (60-53 B.C.)—the period of the dictatorship of Pompey, Caesar and Crassus; the Second Triumvirate (43-36, formally until 31 B.C.)—of Octavianus, Antonius and Lepidus. p. 349

218 In August 1814, during the war between Britain and the United States (1812-14), the British troops took Washington and burned the Capitol (the Congressional building), the White House and other public buildings.

In October 1860, during the colonial war (1856-60) waged by Britain and France against China, the Anglo-French troops plundered and burned down the Summer Palace, a treasure-house of Chinese architecture and art near Peking. p. 350

219 In 1812, *Moscow* became the centre of the all-Russian resistance to the aggression of Napoleon's France. On September 7, a battle took place at the village of Borodino near Moscow, and this largely predetermined the collapse of Napoleon's aggressive plans. At the beginning of the occupation of Moscow by the French army, a great fire began in the city and lasted about a week. p. 351

220 *Praetorians*—privileged troops in the Roman Empire; originally—the bodyguard of the military commanders. Their name has come to symbolise mercenary troops supporting a tyranny. pp. 352, 514

221 Marx gives the name "Chambre introuvable" (see Note 177) to the Prussian Assembly elected in January-February 1849, on the basis of the Constitution granted by the Prussian King on December 5, 1848, the day of the counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Prussia. In accordance with the Constitution, the Assembly consisted of two chambers: the privileged, aristocratic "chamber of the gentry", and the second chamber, dominated by

the Junkers and the bourgeoisie. Bismarck, elected to the second chamber, was the leader of its extreme Right-wing Junker group. p. 353

222 The statement issued by the General Council of the International over Jules Favre's circular of June 6, 1871, written by Marx and Engels, was included in the second and third English editions of *The Civil War in France* and its German editions of 1871, 1876 and 1891. It was also published separately in a number of newspapers (see this volume pp. 361-63). p. 357

223 In 1841, *Le National,* the newspaper of moderate bourgeois Republicans, approved Thiers' plan for building fortifications round Paris, aimed against the workers' and democratic movement (on the plan see Note 170). E. Cabet strongly condemned the position of *Le National.* On April 10, 1841, the newspaper published an article containing attacks of a personal nature against Cabet and presenting a distorted picture of his position during the July 1830 revolution. *Le National* refused to publish Cabet's refutation. Cabet prosecuted the newspaper for libel, and in May 1841 the court compelled it to publish the letter. After new attacks by *Le National* in August 1841, Cabet obtained a court order obliging the newspaper to publish his new letter. During the summer of 1841, he published a number of pamphlets in which he exposed the slanderous character of the newspaper's publications. p. 357

224 This statement, written by Marx and Engels, was approved by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association at its meeting on June 13, 1871. In his report on the issue, Engels noted that, of all the bourgeois dailies, only *The Times* in its issue No. 27088 on June 13, 1871 published the full text of the statement and *The Pall Mall Gazette* in its No. 1975, June 13, 1871 printed it in part. The statement subsequently appeared in several press organs of the International in 1871: *The Eastern Post,* No. 142, June 17, *La Liberté,* No. 57, June 17, *L'Internationale,* No. 127, June 18, *Les Cahiers du Travail,* No. 12, June, *Der Volksstaat,* No. 50, June 21, *Der Vorbote,* No. 6, June, *La Emancipation,* No. 2, June 26, *L'Egalité,* No. 11, June 27, etc.

The statement was included in some editions of *The Civil War in France* (see this volume, p. 357 and note 222). p. 361

225 This statement, written by Marx and edited by Engels, was occasioned by the leading article of *The Times* on June 19, which libelled the Paris Commune and the International; it extolled Louis Bonaparte's "merits" in suppressing the revolutionary working-class movement. The editor of *The Times* refused to publish the statement. Engels made some changes in the draft statement written by Marx.

The statement was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes,* Moscow, 1967, pp. 419-20. p. 364

226 On September 24, 1867, the General Council resolved, on Marx's initiative, to abolish the permanent office of Chairman and elect a Chairman for each meeting. p. 365

227 The last paragraph of Marx's draft statement was edited by Engels. *The Standard* never published the letter.

The statement was first published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *On the Paris Commune,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 242-43. p. 366

228 This statement by the General Council was drawn up by Engels in connection

with the letter by George Holyoake, a leading figure in the co-operative movement, published in *The Daily News* on June 20, 1871, which contained attacks on the General Council's Address *The Civil War in France.* George Holyoake asserted that the Address aided the reactionary forces; that its authors were not thoroughly acquainted with the English working-class movement; that the English members of the General Council Odger and Lucraft neither saw nor signed the statement. He thus encouraged them to oppose it.

At the General Council meeting of June 20, 1871, which was to approve this statement, Odger and Lucraft expressed their disapproval of it and demanded that their names should not be appended. In compliance with Marx's wishes, the General Council announced in this statement that the Address *The Civil War in France* had been drawn up by Marx. p. 367

229 Engels wrote this letter at Marx's suggestion because *The Spectator* and *The Examiner* reprinted the reports of the reactionary French press on the so-called manifestoes of the International, which were actually forged by the French police (see this volume, pp. 364-66). Marx's proposal to send a refutation to these papers was approved by the General Council at its meeting on June 20, 1871. The editors of the newspapers did not, however, publish the letter.

This letter was first published in English in *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871, Minutes,* Moscow, 1967, p. 423. p. 369

230 Marx's letter to the editor of *The Daily News* was occasioned by this newspaper's publication on June 26, 1871 of letters by British clergyman John Llewellyn Davies, Benjamin Lucraft, and George Holyoake. George Holyoake again slanderously attacked the Address even after the General Council had made its statement on June 21 (see this volume, pp. 367-68). Lucraft expressed his disagreement with the propositions of the Address and declared his resignation from the General Council. Davies called upon the French Government to start legal proceedings against the General Council for the accusations contained in the Address against Thiers, Favre and others. Marx sent the letter to the editors of *The Daily News* and *The Pall Mall Gazette.* The latter published an excerpt from the letter on June 27, 1871. As the editors of *The Daily News* refused to publish the second part of Marx's letter, in which he exposed the British bourgeois press, the letter was also sent to *The Eastern Post,* which published it in full on July 1, 1871. p. 370

231 This refers to articles and documents exposing Palmerston's foreign policy. They were published in the 1830s and 1840s by the British conservative journalist and politician David Urquhart in *The Portfolio,* a collection of diplomatic documents put out by him, and in various periodicals. Marx, who persistently exposed the diplomacy of the ruling classes, in addition to other sources, made use of the documents published by Urquhart in his series of articles "Lord Palmerston" written in 1853 (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 341-406). At the same time, Marx criticised Urquhart's reactionary views. p. 371

232 This statement, drawn up by Engels in connection with the letters of Holyoake and Lucraft published in *The Daily News* on June 26, 1871, was approved at the meeting of the General Council on June 27, 1871. The meeting unanimously censured Lucraft and Odger, who refused to support the Address of the General Council *The Civil War in France* and accepted their resignation from the Council. p. 372

233 This refers to articles and documents forged by the Paris reactionary press to slander the Paris Commune and the International; they resembled the forgeries used in the struggle against the revolutionary movement by the Prussian police under Stieber, one of the chief organisers of the provocative Communist trial in Cologne (1852). p. 375

234 This letter was written by Marx in reply to the declaration of *The Pall Mall Gazette* that the accusations levelled by Marx against the Versailles Government in the General Council's Address *The Civil War in France* were libellous (see this volume, pp. 307-59). On July 3, *The Pall Mall Gazette* printed Marx's letter in an editorial entitled "The Regenerator Rampant", but at the same time made new attacks on him, arbitrarily quoting from Section One of the Address. On July 4, Marx informed the General Council about his letter and its publication in *The Pall Mall Gazette.* p. 378

235 This Address of the General Council, drawn up by Marx, exposes the demagogical and provocative part played by bourgeois diplomacy in relation to the Paris Commune, citing as an example the activities of Mr. Washburne, American Ambassador in Paris. Marx showed that, from the start, the American diplomats joined international reaction in its struggle against the Commune. Washburne, while expressing his sympathy for the Communards, in actual fact used his position in Paris to act against the Commune. Though he stayed in Paris, he maintained constant contacts with the Versailles Government and often went to Versailles to convey information about the situation in the city. During the days of the Commune, he corresponded with Bismarck and the latter's representatives in Versailles, inciting them to armed actions. At the same time, in order to disrupt the defence of Paris, American diplomats tried to make the Communards entertain hopes that Prussia would remain neutral and act as mediator. That was the primary aim pursued by Washburne in suggesting that contacts be established with the Prussian command.

When writing this Address, Marx used the letter by Mr. Reid, the Paris correspondent of *The Daily Telegraph* (Section I) and the communication of Serraillier, a Communard and member of the General Council (Section II). On returning to England Reid delivered lectures in support of the Paris Commune, contacted Marx and met him on July 1, 1871 (see this volume pp. 552-53). On July 4, the General Council unanimously passed a resolution to cooperate with Reid in disseminating truthful information about the Paris Commune and the General Council's Address *The Civil War in France.* On July 7, the Sub-Committee of the General Council, having discussed Washburne's subversive activities against the Commune, adopted a draft Address written by Marx. On July 11, the Address was unanimously approved by the General Council and published in London as a pamphlet. On August 1, the New York Central Committee for the United States' Sections of the International had it published in the bourgeois New York newspaper *The Sun.* Sorge and other members of the New York Committee supplied the Address with a preface explaining the significance of the Commune. Concerning Washburne, it stated that "he belongs to that large family of State parasites, feeding upon the public crib..."; the New York Committee called on the workers to give no credence to the information about the Commune received "through the channel of its deadly adversaries—a subsidised press" and to remember that the Commune "was a workingmen's government, and as such was hated, dreaded and calumniated by all the privileged classes and their ubiquitous mouthpieces and subordinates...".

The Address "Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador in Paris" was

published in 1871 in English in the American newspapers *The Workingman's Advocate,* August 5, 1871, *The National Standard,* No. 7, September 9, and in the *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly,* No. 20/12, September 30; in German in *Der Volksstaat,* No. 60, July 26, 1871; in French in *La Liberté,* No. 88, July 19, 1871; in Spanish in *La Emancipacion,* No. 14, September 18, 1871.

Thiers' government banned the publication of the Address in France.

p. 379

236 The Archbishop of Paris, Georges Darboy, was arrested and, among others, kept hostage by the Commune in an attempt to stop the Versaillese shooting Communards. The Commune repeatedly offered the Versailles Government to exchange all the hostages for Blanqui alone, who was arrested on March 17, 1871 (see this volume, pp. 352, 400-02, 446-49). Washburne recommended Thiers to consent, hoping that, if Blanqui were released, the position of the Blanquists in the Commune would become stronger and the contradictions that intensified in late April and early May within the Commune would be aggravated further. Thiers did not agree. After the Archbishop had been executed, Washburne in his articles and at lectures slandered the Commune on the strength of this measure, which it had been forced to take. p. 381

237 This article by Engels was occasioned by the slander campaign against the International and the Paris Commune being joined by Mazzini before the 12th Congress of the Italian workers' societies, which took place on November 1-6, 1871. Mazzini planned to prevent the spread of the International's influence on the Italian workers' movement and the strengthening of their class organisation in Italy.

Carlo Cafiero, a leader of the Neapolitan Section of the International, sent Mazzini's Address "To the Italian Workers" to Engels. The Address, published in *La Roma del Popolo,* No. 20, July 13, 1871, distorted the history of the foundation of the International, its programme and principles. Engels made a speech concerning Mazzini's attitude towards the International at the meeting of the General Council on July 25 (see this volume, pp. 607-08). He developed the principal theses of his speech in this article, which he enclosed in a letter to Cafiero of July 28, 1871. In his letter Engels stressed that the facts about Mazzini's activities should be made known to the workers and the true meaning of his propaganda exposed. Cafiero sent Engels' article to several newspapers and used it and an extract Engels sent him from the minutes of the General Council's meeting in writing his own article against Mazzini, but he was arrested before he could finish it; the rough draft of the article was confiscated by the police. p. 385

238 At a meeting of the Sub-Committee of the General Council on October 8, 1864, Luigi Wolff proposed that the Rules of the Italian Working Men's Association, written by Mazzini and translated into English by Wolff, should be adopted as the Rules of the International. Mazzini's Rules gave the organisation a sectarian and conspiratorial character.

The *Sub-Committee,* or the Standing Committee, of the General Council of the International developed from a committee set up in the early period of the International Working Men's Association in 1864 to draw up its programme and Rules. The Sub-Committee consisted of corresponding secretaries for various countries, the General Secretary of the General Council, and a treasurer. The Sub-Committee, which was not envisaged by the Rules of the International, was an executive body; under Marx's direction, it fulfilled a wide range of duties in the day-to-day guidance of the International and drafting its

documents, which were subsequently submitted to the General Council for approval. pp. 385, 556, 593, 608

239 This refers to the withdrawal of the Italian Mazzinists from the General Council in April 1865 following the discussion of the conflict in the Paris section of the International between journalist Henri Lefort, on the one hand, and the Proudhonists Fribourg and Tolain, on the other; the bourgeois elements tried to use this conflict to their own ends. The discussion ended with the adoption of resolutions written by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 82-83). p. 386

240 This refers to Jung's letter to the editor of the bourgeois-democratic newspaper *L'Écho de Verviers,* in reply to the libellous attacks made on the International's leaders by the petty-bourgeois republican Vésinier in the columns of the paper (H. Jung, "L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs", *L'Écho de Verviers,* No. 43, February 20, 1866). Jung's letter was edited by Marx and dated February 15, 1866 (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 392-400). p. 386

241 This covering letter to the editor of *The Times* of August 7, 1871 attached to Engels' letter printed below, was written by Marx in connection with an article published in the newspaper on July 29, 1871. Along with the appeals to prosecute the leaders of the Paris Commune, the newspaper admitted that a great many citizens suspected of participating in it were being kept under terrible conditions in the Versailles prisons without trial for two months and brutally treated. *The Times* article and an attempt by Thiers' *Journal officiel* to refute it aroused protests in the press of various countries against the brutal treatment of the arrested Communards. However, Marx's and Engels' attempt to make use of the polemic between the two papers in order to defend the victims of the Versailles terror in the columns of the widely read British newspaper failed. The editor of *The Times* did not publish Engels' letter.

This letter was first published in English in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *On the Paris Commune,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 260-61. p. 388

242 See Note 241.

First published in English in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *On the Paris Commune,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 260-61. p. 389

243 This and other refutations (see this volume, pp. 393, 405) were written by Marx in reply to the libellous article about the International Working Men's Association published in the Berlin *National-Zeitung* on July 30, 1871. Excerpts from it were reprinted in several bourgeois London newspapers, including *L'International,* which also made new attacks on Marx.

The refutation was published in full in *Der Volksstaat* in an item about the *National-Zeitung* libel on the International. The rough draft in French contains some additions in Engels' hand. p. 391

244 This private letter and an open letter to the editor of *Public Opinion* (this volume, pp. 393-94) were dispatched by Marx to Engels with his letter of August 19, 1871 (see present edition, Vol. 44), in which he asked Engels to make copies of the letters and send them to the newspaper, because his own handwriting might cause misprints.

This letter was first published in English in Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe* ( *MEGA*). Erste Abteilung, Bd. 22, Berlin, 1978, S. 1090. p. 392

245 This open letter was sent to the editor of *Public Opinion* together with a private letter (this volume, p. 392). The editor supplied Marx's letter with the following statement: "In our last number we published, under the title 'A German View of the International", an article from the Berlin *National-Zeitung,* criticising the proceedings of the International Society. M. Karl Marx complains of a paragraph in that article as conveying an imputation of personal corruption or impropriety against himself and his colleagues in the Society. We gladly publish his letter. We at once disclaim the intention of making any such imputations as that which he has understood to be conveyed by the paragraph in question; and we are sorry that anything has appeared in our columns capable of such a meaning."

A copy was sent by Marx to *The Evening Standard,* but it was not published there (see this volume, p. 405). p. 393

246 This letter was written by Marx in connection with the reprint by *Le Gaulois* of extracts from the report of a conversation Marx had with a *New York Herald* correspondent on July 20, 1871, since the report, published in *The New York Herald* on August 3, deliberately falsified the conversation (see also Marx's letter to Friedrich Bolte of August 25, 1871, present edition, Vol. 44). *The New York Herald* did not publish Marx's statement. p. 395

247 This is Marx's reply to a letter from Charles Dana, a former editor of the *New-York Daily Tribune* whom Marx had known since the time he had contributed to the paper in 1851-62. In his capacity as editor of *The Sun,* Dana asked Marx on July 6, 1871, to write several articles on the International. Marx decided to use this opportunity primarily to expose the Thiers government and the regime of police terror in France. He wanted, in particular, to make public the facts revealing the persecution of his daughters and Paul Lafargue in France and Spain. Later, to the same end, Marx also dispatched to the American press a letter written by his daughter Jenny (see this volume, pp. 622-32). In replying to Dana, Marx expected Dana to publish, in one form or another, the material contained in the letter on the persecution of the members of his family by the French authorities. Marx's letter reached New York at the same time as rumours of his death, circulated by a Bonapartist newspaper. This prompted Dana to publish in *The Sun* the whole letter, with a short obituary, on September 9, 1871. Subsequently Marx refuted the rumours spread in the American press about his death and pointed to their source (see this volume, p. 432). p. 396

248 At a meeting of the General Council of the International on August 22, 1871 Engels proposed that an appeal be made by the General Council to the workmen of America on behalf of the refugees. The General Council instructed Marx to write an appeal and dispatch it to the American section of the International. Marx forwarded it to Friedrich Sorge on September 5, 1871. The text of the appeal has not survived. p. 396

249 The letter was one of the numerous contributions by Marx in defence of the Paris Commune (see this volume, pp. 360, 364-74, 378, 388-99, 403-05). Marx presumably addressed it to the editor of *The Examiner* because, as Engels put it, it was "the only paper to behave really decently" (see this volume, p. 376) in the slander campaign initiated by the British bourgeois press after *The Civil War in France* had been published.

The title "The Commune and Archbishop Darboy" was probably supplied by the editors of the newspaper. p. 400

250 Though not published in *La Vérité,* this statement was widely circulated. It was published in 1871 in *Le Soir,* No. 862, September 3, *Paris-Journal,* No. 236, September 4, *Journal des Débats,* September 4, *La Favilla,* No. 210, September 8 and also in the press organs of the International; *L'Internationale,* No. 139, September 10, *Der Volksstaat,* No. 74, September 13, *Il Proletario Italiano,* No. 19, September 14, *Die Tagwacht,* No. 38, September 16 and *L'Eguaglianza,* No. 10, September 17. p. 403

251 Marx spoke at the meeting of the General Council on July 11, 1871 about the fabrications presented as documents of the International. The report on the meeting and the account of Marx's speech were published in *The Eastern Post,* No. 146, July 15, 1871. p. 403

252 These propositions were submitted by Marx to the General Council at its meeting on September 5, 1871 and approved by it. The available manuscript, written by Engels, has a correction in Marx's hand. The words "Financial account" at the beginning of the manuscript related to the proposal that the General Council should prepare the accounts for the Conference.

They were published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes,* Moscow, 1967. p. 406

253 Preliminary draft resolutions were submitted by Marx to the Sub-Committee of the General Council (see Note 238) and approved by it on September 9, 1871. Later, the drafts were supplemented; in particular, clauses were added on the formation of working women's sections and on the general statistics of the working class. On September 12, after Engels' report, the resolutions were discussed and approved by the General Council. At the London Conference, Marx moved these resolutions on behalf of the General Council. Some of them were edited and subsequently included in the official publication of the Conference resolutions (see resolutions of the London Conference II, III, IV and X, in this volume, pp. 423, 424, 427).

Engels' manuscript contains additions made by Marx.

They were published in English for the first time in: *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes,* Moscow, 1967. pp. 407, 565

254 The reference to the resolutions of the Congress of Basle is inaccurate. The Congress of Basle (1869) adopted a number of resolutions enhancing the leading role of the General Council, but it did not adopt a resolution on the designation of local branches of the International. Such a resolution was adopted at the London Conference (1871) and, after its approval by the General Council, included in the Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association (see present edition, Vol. 23) without any reference to the Congress of Basle. pp. 408, 565

255 The *London Conference* (September 17-23, 1871) marked an important stage in the struggle waged by Marx and Engels for establishing a proletarian party.

In conformity with a resolution of the Congress of Basle (1869), the next congress of the International Working Men's Association was to be held in Paris. However, the persecution of the International's sections by the police in France by orders of the Bonapartist government compelled the General Council to shift the next congress to Mayence (Germany) (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 132). The outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war made the congress impossible; nor was it possible to hold it in the atmosphere of severe reprisals against the members of the International during the civil war in France, especially after the suppression of the Paris Commune. Under these conditions,

the majority of national federations suggested that the congress be postponed and the General Council be empowered to convene it at its own discretion. At the same time, the need to take account of the experience of the Paris Commune and adopt collective decisions so as to strengthen the ideological unity and organisation of the International, the urgent tasks of the struggle against the Bakuninists and other sectarian elements, who had stepped up their splitting activities, as well as other tasks, demanded the convocation of a conference of representatives of the International from all countries. At its meeting on July 25, 1871, the General Council, at Engels' suggestion, resolved to convene a closed conference of the International Working Men's Association in London on September 17. The majority of the federations agreed with this proposal. Marx and Engels carried out tremendous preparatory work. At the meetings of the General Council on August 15 and September 5, 12 and 16, the questions concerning the organisation and the agenda were discussed and the draft resolutions were adopted.

Twenty-two delegates with votes and ten delegates with voice but no votes took part in the work of the Conference. The countries unable to send delegates were represented by the corresponding secretaries. Marx represented Germany, Engels, Italy. In all, there were nine closed sessions.

The minutes of the Conference and the other related material were first published, in Russian, in the book *The London Conference of the First International, 17-23 September, 1871,* Moscow, 1936.

In this volume, the Conference resolutions, along with the accounts of the statements by Marx and Engels, which have reached us as written down by Engels, are published in the main text. Marx's speeches, recorded by Rochat and Martin, are published in Appendices (see pp. 613-21). p. 409

256 This speech was made by Marx on September 18, 1871 at the sitting of the commission elected by the London Conference to consider the question of the Bakuninists' splitting activities in the International's sections of Romance Switzerland. Bakunin's followers used several Swiss newspapers to attack the General Council and propagate Bakunin's ideas. At the Congress in La Chaux-de-Fonds, held in April 1870, the Bakuninists won an insignificant majority. The representatives of the Geneva sections refused to comply with the decisions of the Congress. The General Council repudiated the attempts by the Bakuninist Council to take over the powers of a central, leading body of the International in Switzerland. As a result of the sharp criticism of the Bakuninists' activities by Marx and Engels, who were supported by a majority of the International's sections, the leaders of the Alliance did not venture to come out against the General Council openly and, some weeks before the London Conference, they declared the Alliance dissolved, but wanted to keep it secretly.

Marx and Engels considered the unmasking of the Bakuninists' activities and ideas, which introduced disorganisation into the working-class movement, to be an important task of the London Conference. The Conference commission expressed its agreement with Marx's conclusions and exposed the attempts on the part of the Bakuninist Robin to justify the Alliance's activities in Switzerland. The question of the Alliance was subsequently discussed at the Conference which, on September 21, approved the report made by Marx on behalf of the commission and unanimously passed the resolutions moved by him (see this volume, pp. 419-22, 429-31). pp. 411, 556

257 There is a slip of the pen in the manuscript: the reference is actually to the

Congress of the Romance Federation of the International in La Chaux-de-Fonds on April 4-6, 1870 (see Note 256). Locle, mentioned in the manuscript, was a centre of Bakuninists' activity. p. 412

258 This document contains the preliminary text of the resolutions on organisational and tactical questions moved by Marx on behalf of the General Council and adopted at its meeting on September 12, 1871. The Conference unanimously adopted these resolutions on September 18 and 19, 1871. The text was discussed at the General Council's meeting on October 16, 1871 and finally edited by Marx. The text that is published in this volume was written by Engels in French, and does not fully coincide with the official edition of the *Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871* (see this volume, pp. 423-31). p. 413

259 The question of the political action of the working class, which was the main issue on the agenda of the London Conference and was comprehensively analysed in the speeches by Marx and Engels, was discussed at the sixth and seventh sessions of the Conference on September 20 and 21. The Bakuninists Bastelica and Robin, as well as Lorenzo, the representative of the Spanish sections, tried to have this question taken off the agenda declaring that the Conference was incompetent to discuss it. By a majority vote, the Conference instructed the General Council to prepare the final text of the resolution taking all motions into account (see this volume, pp. 426-27). In addition to this plan of Engels' speech on the political action of the working class, written in German, there is his record of this speech in French, which was appended to the minutes of the Conference on September 21 (pp. 417-18). This speech has also survived as a brief record in the minutes. p. 415

260 See Note 259.

Published in English for the first time in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1968, p. 314. p. 417

261 This full text of the resolution in French was moved by Marx at the Conference session on September 21, 1871 and finally edited not later than September 26. In the official edition of the Resolutions of the London Conference, Clause 1 is abridged. The text of the resolution published in *L'Egalité* was signed: "Pour copie conforme: Le secrétaire-correspondant pour la Suisse H. Jung."

Marx also spoke on the conflicts in the Romance Federation and the splitting activities of the Bakuninists in the Conference commission on September 18, 1871 (see this volume, pp. 411-12). p. 419

262 This refers to the *General Council Resolution on the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland*, written by Marx, which, despite the Bakuninists' claims, helped to preserve the committee's name and status as the guiding body of the International's sections in Romance Switzerland (see present edition, Vol. 21) pp. 420, 430

263 The resolutions of the London Conference were mainly drafted and moved at its sessions by Marx and Engels. Several resolutions were based on preliminary drafts prepared by them (see this volume, pp. 407-08), Marx's speeches at the Sub-Committee meeting on September 9, 1871 (ibid., pp. 565-66) and also the speeches by Marx and Engels at the Conference. Marx's and Engels' positions were also reflected in resolutions moved by other delegates at the Conference. In

his capacity as Conference Secretary for editing and translating resolutions, Engels took a major part in drafting and editing them.

Marx and Engels deemed it necessary to inform the members of the International and the international working-class movement in general about the major decisions of the Conference as quickly as possible. On their initiative, the Conference commissioned the delegates to make reports in the sections of the International about the adopted resolutions. The General Council charged a special commission headed by Marx with the official publication of the resolutions of the London Conference in English, French and German. Marx and Engels carried out the final editing of the Conference resolutions, which they received in rough form. The translation of the resolutions into French and German was done under their direct supervision.

In view of the fact that the decisions of the 1871 London Conference, which was of a consultative nature, were not, according to the Rules, obligatory, in contrast to the decisions of regular congresses, its resolutions approved by the General Council and published as a circular letter of the General Council, were addressed to all the federations and sections of the International.

The resolutions were published in pamphlet form in English and French at the beginning of November 1871.

The resolutions were published in German in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 92, November 15, 1871 and as a separate edition early in February 1872. In November-December 1871, on the basis of these three editions approved by the General Council, many newspapers reprinted these resolutions in full or in an abridged form. They were translated into Italian, Spanish, Polish, Serbo-Croatian and Flemish and widely circulated.

The resolutions were published in the principal organs of the International in 1871: *L'Egalité*, No. 22, November 19, *L'Internationale*, No. 150, November 26, *Die Tagwacht*, Nos. 48, 49 and 50, November 25, December 2 and 9, *Der Vorbote*, No. 12, December, *La Emancipation*, No. 24, November 27, *La Federacion*, No. 119, November 26, *L'Eguaglianza*, No. 21, December 3, and others.

The decisions were supported by most of the sections and federations of the International. p. 423

264 Resolution I—"Composition of General Council"—was moved by Laurent Verrycken and César De Paepe, and was adopted at the eighth session of the London Conference on September 22, after a discussion in which Marx and Engels took part; of the four resolutions on the composition of the General Council passed by the Conference, only the first (Resolution I) and the fourth (see Point 1 of the section XIII "Special Votes of the Conference") were published. The second and third resolutions envisaged an extension of the probation period for candidate members of the Council to three weeks, and the right of sections of different countries to nominate candidates for the respective corresponding secretaryships. These resolutions have survived in the minutes of the London Conference and in the Minute Book of the General Council (meeting of October 16, 1871, at which Marx read the four resolutions). p. 423

265 Resolution II—"Designations of National Councils, etc."—was moved by Marx on behalf of the General Council, and passed at the second session of the London Conference on September 18, 1871. Point 1 of this resolution had already been formulated by Marx and Engels in the preliminary draft resolutions, which were submitted to and approved by the Sub-Committee of

the General Council on September 9, 1871 (see this volume, pp. 407-08). This point, with some amendments, was included in the Administrative Regulations as Point 1 of Section II, points 2-4 became points 2-4 of Section V (see present edition, Vol. 23). The resolution was directed against the attempts of the petty-bourgeois elements (Right-wing Proudhonists, Bakuninists, Positivists, etc.) to impose their sectarian views on the local organisations of the International in opposition to the principles of the General Rules, which was reflected in the designations of local sections. p. 423

266 Resolution III—"Delegates of the General Council" was moved by Marx on behalf of the General Council and passed at the fourth session of the London Conference on September 19, 1871; its first version is found in the preliminary draft resolutions written by Marx and Engels (see this volume, p. 408); it was included in the Administrative Regulations as point 8 of Section II (see present edition, Vol. 23). p. 424

267 Resolution IV—"Contribution of ld. per Member to the General Council"—was moved by Frankel, who made a report on behalf of the commission that was to work out measures for a more regular inflow of individual contributions, and passed by the London Conference at its sixth session on September 20. During the preparations for the Conference, Marx raised the question of the contributions at the meeting of the Sub-Committee of the General Council on September 9, 1871 (see this volume, p. 565). The resolution, with slight amendments, was included in the Administrative Regulations as Section III (see present edition, Vol. 23). p. 424

268 Resolution V—"Formation of Working Women's Branches"—was moved by Marx on behalf of the General Council and passed by the London Conference at its third session on September 19, 1871. During the preparations for the Conference, the question was raised at the meeting of the Sub-Committee of the General Council on September 11, 1871 (see this volume, p. 567). Moving his motion, Marx stressed the need to establish women's branches in countries with a high rate of female employment in industry. The resolution was included in the Administrative Regulations as point 6 of Section V (see present edition, Vol. 23). p. 424

269 Resolution VI—"General Statistics of the Working Class"—was moved by Marx on behalf of the General Council at the third session of the London Conference on September 19, 1871 and adopted with addenda proposed by Utin and Frankel.

Moving the resolution, Marx stressed that general statistics were especially important in organising aid for strikers from the workers of other countries and for other joint actions as an expression of international proletarian solidarity. The resolution was included in the Administrative Regulations as points 1-4 of Section VI (see present edition, Vol. 23). p. 425

270 This refers to the Rules of the International Working Men's Association published by the General Council in London in 1867. This edition reflected the changes introduced in the Rules at the Geneva (1866) and Lausanne (1867) congresses. In the Provisional Rules, published in 1864, this article, except the last sentence added later, was numbered 6 (see present edition, Vol. 20).

The resolution passed by the Geneva Congress (its text is included in section VI of the Administrative Regulations, see present edition, Vol. 23), was based on Section 2 (c) of Marx's "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional Central Council" (see present edition, Vol. 20). p. 425

271 Resolution VII—"International Relations of Trades' Unions"—was moved by Frankel, Bastelica, Utin, Serraillier, Lorenzo and De Paepe at the fifth session of the London Conference on September 20, 1871 in connection with the discussion of Delahaye's proposal to organise international federations of trade unions according to trades, to direct the working-class movement and to achieve "administrative decentralisation" and "to create a real commune of the future". Delahaye's proposal contained anarcho-syndicalist ideas that specifically denied the significance of the proletarian party.It was criticised by Marx and other delegates (see Note 406). The resolution was adopted as edited by Marx and Engels. p. 425

272 Resolution VIII—"Agricultural Producers"—was moved by Marx and adopted at the eighth session of the London Conference on September 22, 1871. In his speeches, Marx stressed the need to carry on propaganda in the countryside and proposed that the question of securing the alliance of the working class and the peasants be discussed. p. 426

273 At the sixth session of the London Conference on September 20, 1871, Vaillant moved a draft resolution stressing that political and social questions were inseparable, and that the political activities of the working class were of prime importance. During the discussion of Vaillant's resolution and Serraillier's and Frankel's additions to it, Marx and Engels made speeches on the political action of the working class (see this volume, pp. 409-10, 413-14 and Note 259). Their speeches formed the basis of Resolution (IX) "Political Action of the Working Class" which the General Council was charged with drafting by the Conference. On October 7, 1871 a commission was set up; Engels was elected to the commission and Marx also took part in its work. Marx and Engels drafted an essentially new resolution formulating a clear proposition on the political party of the working class as indispensable for the victory of a socialist revolution and the achievement of its final goal—the building of a classless society.

The 9th resolution of the London Conference was approved by the Hague Congress in September 1872 and its main part was included in Article 7[a] of the General Rules. p. 426

274 At the end of 1864-beginning of 1865, the Paris section of the International, headed by Proudhonists, published the French translation of the Provisional Rules (*Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Congrès ouvrier. Règlement provisoire.* [Paris, s.a.]) and, at the end of 1865, issued a new edition almost without changes. There were, however, a number of inaccuracies and distortions of principle (see K. Marx, "The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland", present edition, Vol. 21). p. 427

275 "General Resolution as to the Countries where the Regular Organisation of the International is Interfered with by the Governments" (X) was moved by Marx on behalf of the General Council at the ninth session of the London Conference on September 22, 1871. Its contents were set forth in preliminary draft resolutions worked out by Marx and Engels (see this volume, p. 407) and also in Marx's speech at the meeting of the Sub-Committee of the General Council on September 9, 1871 (see this volume, p. 565). p. 427

276 "Resolutions Relating to France" (XI) were introduced by Utin at the eighth session of the London Conference on September 22, 1871 during the discussion of the state of the International's organisation in France. The resolutions were based on propositions expounded at this session by Marx. Of

the resolutions on this issue adopted by the Conference only the first two were published, which are given in this volume. The third resolution made the Belgian and Spanish federal councils and the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland ensure contacts between the French sections and the General Council and admit sections formed by French refugees to the respective federations. The fourth resolution proposed that the General Council publish an appeal to the French workers, calling on them to wage an open struggle against the counter-revolutionary government and, despite persecutions, to set up organisations of the International. At its meeting on October 24, however, the General Council resolved to abstain from publishing this appeal since it might do harm to the imprisoned Communards. p. 428

277 "Resolution Relating to England" (XII)—was moved by Marx at the eighth session of the London Conference on September 22, 1871. Moving his motion, Marx noted that the General Council had previously opposed the formation of the Federal Committee or Council for England, because the English workers were represented on the General Council, which promoted their education in a spirit of proletarian internationalism and socialism and prevented the bourgeoisie from taking over the leadership of the English working-class movement. The tremendous amount of work carried out by the General Council after the establishment of the Paris Commune made, however, the formation of a Federal Council in England imperative. On October 21, 1871, a provisional London Federal Council, which included representatives of the London Section of the International and some trades unions, was set up. p. 428

278 "Special Votes of the Conference" (XIII). The first resolution was moved by De Paepe and adopted at the eighth session of the London Conference on September 22. The second, adopted at the ninth session on September 22, was based on Marx's speech on the position of the International in Germany and England, in which he noted the solidarity of the German workers with the Paris Commune, and also on a proposal introduced by Utin. The third one was adopted at the fifth session on September 20, in connection with the memorandum of the Spanish Federation on the organisation of the International in Spain. The fourth was moved by De Paepe at the ninth session, on September 22, in connection with Utin's report on Nechayev's case. Marx, who spoke on the issue, noted that the bourgeois press used the Nechayev conspiracy to slander the International (see Note 279). p. 428

279 The reference is to the activities of Nechayev, who had established contacts with Bakunin and started setting up a secret organisation called Narodnaya Rasprava (People's Justice) in various cities in Russia. Having received from Bakunin the credentials of the non-existent European Revolutionary Union, Nechayev passed himself off as a representative of the International and thus misled the members of the organisation he had created.

When members of Nechayev's organisation were arrested and put on trial in St. Petersburg in the summer of 1871, his adventurist methods to achieve his own ends were made public: blackmail, intimidation, deception, etc. The bourgeois press used Nechayev's case to discredit the International. See "Declaration on Nechayev's Misuse of the Name of the International" (present edition, Vol. 23). p. 429

280 Resolution XIV—"Instruction to Citizen Outine"—was moved by Edouard Vaillant and adopted at the ninth session of the London Conference on

September 22, 1871, in connection with Utin's communication about the Nechayev trial. Marx moved that the report on the Nechayev trial should be submitted to the General Council. Using the material of the St. Petersburg trial, Utin wrote a detailed report in French; its main points he used in his speech at the Hague Congress in 1872. Marx and Engels used Utin's report while working on the assignment of the Hague Congress on *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association,* in Chapter VIII "The Alliance in Russia" (see present edition, Vol. 23). p. 429

281 Resolution XV—"Convocation of Next Congress"—was moved, in a slightly different wording, by De Paepe and Eugène Steens at the ninth session of the London Conference on September 22, 1871. p. 429

282 Resolution XVI—"Alliance de la Démocratie socialiste"—was moved by Marx at the seventh session of the London Conference on September 21, 1871. After the question had been discussed in the commission (see this volume, pp. 411-12 and Note 256), this session heard Marx's report on the Alliance and Bakuninists' splitting activities in Switzerland and then passed Resolutions XVI and XVII. p. 429

283 Resolution XVII—"Split in the French-Speaking Part of Switzerland"—was moved by Marx at the seventh session of the London Conference on September 21, 1871. An abridged text of this resolution was published in a separate edition of the London Conference resolutions. The resolution was published in full in *L'Égalité,* No. 20, October 21, 1871 (see this volume, pp. 419-22). p. 430

284 This is Marx's covering letter to that of his daughter Jenny (see this volume, pp. 622-32). It was presumably written in reply to a request by the editors of *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly* for an explanation of the rumours about Marx's death circulated by the bourgeois press. p. 432

285 Marx wrote the drafts of *The Civil War in France,* which are preparatory versions of this work, between mid-April and May 23, 1871; after this, he started work on the final version of *The Civil War in France* as an Address of the International Working Men's Association. Newspaper clippings and excerpts in Marx's notebook relating to the last week of the Paris Commune were used not in the second draft, but in the final text of the Address itself.

The manuscript of the first, more sizable draft, which seems to have survived in full, fills eleven sheets, 22 pages altogether. Judging by Marx's pagination (it is not on all sheets), the Second Draft consisted of 13 sheets, of which only 11 have survived. The missing sheets apparently contained item 4, which preceded extant item 5: "Opening of the civil war. 18 March Revolution. Clement Thomas. Lecomte. The Affaire Vendôme". The last three unnumbered pages (see this volume, pp. 545-51) contain, in the main, a new version of separate passages of the Second Draft. Marx marked a large part of the text of the First and Second Drafts with vertical and oblique lines, by which he usually indicated the passages included in the final version of a text. Words and sentences crossed out by Marx by horizontal lines are not reproduced in this edition (in some cases, the crossed out passages that are of improrrtance are reproduced in the footnotes). Both manuscripts have numerous marks in the margins, parentheses, square brackets, etc., that Marx made for himself. They are not reproduced in the present edition.

When Marx quotes or mentions the decrees and proclamations of the

Commune, he often gives the dates according to their publication or reports of them in London newspapers.

The drafts were not published in Marx's and Engels' lifetime and for a long time after their death. Some excerpts from the First Draft were published first, in Russian, in the USSR in *Pravda,* Nos. 72 and 76, March 14 and 18, 1933; both drafts were first published in full in the USSR in 1934 in the language of the original (English), and in a Russian translation in *Marx/Engels Archives,* Vol. III (VIII), by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU.

p. 435

286 On October 5, 1870, a demonstration of the workers' battalions of the National Guard took place in front of the Town Hall in Paris. The workers, led by Gustave Flourens, demanded that the Government of National Defence hold elections to the Commune, and take measures to strengthen the Republic and to fight resolutely against the invaders. The government rejected these demands and banned National Guard assemblies and armed demonstrations.

On the October 31, 1870 uprising see Note 184. p. 438

287 This refers to the new electoral qualifications introduced under the law of May 31, 1850, which was passed by the Legislative Assembly of the French Republic on the initiative of Thiers' Party of Order, frightened by the successes of the Democrats and Socialists at the by-elections to the Assembly in March and April 1850. The new electoral law, directed against the workers, agricultural labourers and poor peasants, introduced personal tax and three-year residential qualification. As a result, the number of voters fell by almost three million.

Shortly after the adoption of the 1850 electoral law, the salary of the President of the Republic, Louis Bonaparte, paid from the treasury, was raised by the Assembly from 600,000 to three million francs. p. 442

288 The attempts by the Normand millowners to reduce the wages of textile workers in order to compete more effectively with British manufacturers caused a big strike at Sotteville-lès-Rouen in late 1868 and early 1869. Meeting the strikers' request for support, the General Council of the International organised collection of funds for the strikers through the London and French trades unions. As Marx noted in the Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association (see present edition, Vol. 21), the strike, despite its defeat, promoted the organisation and unity of the workers in the Normand textile industry and led to the establishment of trades unions in Rouen, Elbeuf, Darnétal and other towns. It also consolidated an alliance between the English and French workers.

p. 442

289 The reference is to the actions of the Blanquist Société des Saisons on May 12, 1839 (see Note 213). p. 444

290 This refers to the *Comité de la reunion de la rue de Poitiers,* the guiding body of the Party of Order (see Note 173). The Comité was dominated by the Orleanists, headed by Thiers. pp. 444, 456

291 When speaking of the *Union libérale* of 1847, Marx has in mind a group of so-called progressive conservatives that took shape in the French Chamber of Deputies after the elections of 1846. Its leaders were the Orleanists Girardin, Tocqueville, Dufaure and others.

The *Union libérale* was a coalition of bourgeois Republicans, Orleanists and a section of the Legitimists, formed during the elections to the Corps Législatif in

1863, on the common platform of opposition to the Empire. An attempt to revive the *Union libérale* during the election campaign of 1869 failed owing to differences between the parties that formed the 1863 coalition. p. 445

292 This refers to the Bonapartist coup d'état of December 2, 1851. p. 447

293 The *Commission of Fifteen* (Commission des Quinze) was appointed by the National Assembly on March 20, 1871 to help Thiers' government fight revolutionary Paris. It consisted mainly of monarchists and bourgeois republicans supporting Thiers; after the defeat of the Commune the Commission ceased to exist. pp. 447, 541

294 Marx presumably intended to give examples of monarchist intrigues in the Versailles National Assembly. The excerpts made by Marx from the newspapers of the time contain information about the intrigues of the Duc d'Aumale and his brother Prince Joinville, rumours about a merger of the Bourbons and the Orleans and plans to put the Duc d'Aumale on the French throne. p. 450

295 The *municipals* or the *Municipal Guard* (from 1871—the Republican Guard)—militarised foot and mounted police in Paris, formed by the government of the July monarchy in 1830 to fight the revolutionary movement. In 1871, it became the shock force of the counter-revolutionary Versailles army. p. 452

296 The London Convention, signed by Russia, Britain, Austria, Prussia and Turkey in 1840, provided for aid to the Turkish Sultan against the Egyptian ruler Mehemet Ali (see Note 100). As France supported Mehemet Ali, it faced political isolation and the threat of a new anti-French coalition of the European powers. By denying support to Mehemet Ali, which signified a major defeat of French foreign policy in the Middle East, the French government secured its participation in the signing of the London Convention on July 13, 1841. Russia, Britain, France, Austria and Prussia, on the one hand, and Turkey, on the other, agreed to close the Black Sea Straits for foreign men of war in peacetime.

In the third English edition of *The Civil War in France,* Marx cites the London Convention of 1840 as an example of the defeat of French diplomacy. pp. 453, 519

297 The *Vienna Treaties* were concluded at the Congress of Vienna (1814-15) in May and June 1815 by the states that had participated in the Napoleonic wars. Under these treaties, the map of Europe was redrawn with a view to restoring legitimate monarchies, contrary to the interests of the unity and independence of nations.

The *Paris Treaty*—a preliminary peace treaty signed by France and Germany on February 26, 1871 (see Note 179). p. 458

298 Marx has in mind the half-hearted bourgeois reforms carried out in feudal Prussia from 1807 to 1811, after its defeat in the war against Napoleonic France in 1806. The personal bondage of serfs was abolished, but they still had to perform all the feudal services; their redemption was allowed only with the consent of the landowner; limited local self-government was introduced and the army and central government institutions reorganised. p. 459

299 At the Paris Congress (February-March 1856) the Russian diplomats took advantage of the contradictions between Britain, Austria and France to secure much milder peace terms for Russia which had lost the Crimean war: the territorial concessions to Turkey were considerably reduced, Russia retained

her possessions in the Caucasus and the right to have her fleet and fortresses on the Azov Sea. The Congress adopted a decision to put an end to the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia by Austria, which made Austria's expansion in the Balkans much more difficult.

Speaking about the reforms in Russia after the Crimean war, Marx has in mind the 1861 Reform which abolished serfdom, the local government reforms (the introduction of Zemstvos in 1864) and the 1870 reform of municipal administration, the introduction of new judicial regulations in 1864 and the financial reform. These reforms were a step towards the transformation of Russia into a bourgeois monarchy. p. 459

300 Marx gave a detailed description of the bourgeois republican faction rallied round *Le National* and represented primarily by A. Marrast, A. T. Maire, J. Bastide and L. E. Cavaignac, in his *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 112-13, 119-20). p. 461

301 The *(Great) Unpaid*—an ironic name for magistrates in Britain, who were not paid for their services. p. 464

302 The *Ligue d'Union Républicaine pour les droits de Paris*—a bourgeois organisation set up in Paris in early April 1871. It tried to stop the Civil War, expecting that an agreement between Versailles and Paris based on recognition of the Republic and municipal liberties of Paris would lead to a peaceful elimination of the Commune.

The *manifestation of the freemasons* was held on April 29, 1871: the freemasons marched to the city fortifications to make the Versailles troops stop military operations. On April 26 and 29, the Commune organised meetings with the freemasons in the Town Hall striving to win over the republican petty and middle bourgeoisie, whose views the freemasons expressed. At these meetings, the freemasons, whose armistice proposals were rejected by Thiers, declared their support for the Commune. The meeting on April 29 was followed by the manifestation already mentioned, the delegates of the Commune taking part in it. pp. 466, 543

303 Marx has in mind the "law of suspects" (Loi des suspects) passed by the Corps Législatif on February 19, 1858; it gave the government and the emperor unlimited powers to deport to various parts of France and Algeria or to exile from France all persons suspected of a hostile attitude to the Second Empire. p. 467

304 An Address from the Lyons municipal council, submitted to the National Assembly by deputy Greppo, contained a demand to put an end to the Civil War and for a reconciliation between Versailles and Paris. It also proposed that functions be clearly divided between the National Assembly and the Paris Commune, and that the Commune's activities be limited to municipal matters. p. 468

305 This refers to the municipal councils elected in 1865, with the Imperial authorities exerting strong pressure. p. 468

306 *Ligue des villes* (League of the Cities) (full name: *Ligue patriotique des villes républicaines*)—an organisation which bourgeois republicans, fearing the restoration of the monarchy after the suppression of the Paris Commune, tried to set up in April-May 1871. The provisional committee of the League, with the active support of the *Ligue d'Union Républicaine pour les droits de Paris* (see Note

302), intended to convene a congress of municipal council representatives in Bordeaux on May 9, 1871, with the aim of bringing closer an end of the Civil War, consolidating the Republic and formalising the League. The Versailles Government banned the Congress and the provisional committee soon ceased to exist.

*Le Rappel* in its issue No. 692, May 6, 1871 carried the programme of the proposed congress of the *Ligue des villes.* pp. 469, 593

307 The news of the Sedan disaster and the revolution in Paris, which brought about the fall of the Empire on September 4, 1870, caused revolutionary actions of the workers in many towns of France. In Lyons, Marseilles and Toulouse organs of popular power—communes—were set up. Though they were short-lived, provincial communes, especially in Lyons, implemented a number of important revolutionary measures. The Government of National Defence brutally crushed the provincial communes. pp. 480, 532

308 On November 3, 1870, the Government of National Defence held a plebiscite in Paris on the question of support for the government, trying in this way to consolidate its unstable position, which had been demonstrated during the revolutionary events of October 31, 1870 (see Note 184). Although a considerable section of Parisians voted against the government's policy, it succeeded, at the time of the actual state of siege, in winning a majority vote by exerting pressure on the population, carrying on demagogical propaganda, etc. p. 480

309 *Ryots*—hereditary tenants of state-owned lands in India. Here—Indian peasants. p. 494

310 On June 20, 1789, in response to Louis XVI's attempt to frustrate a regular sitting of the States-General, which had proclaimed itself the National Assembly, the deputies of third estate who gathered in the Salle des Paumes (Tennis Court) at Versailles took an oath to stay there till the Constitution was adopted. The Tennis Court oath was one of the events that marked the prologue to the French Revolution. pp. 497, 538

311 A reference to the Paris *Société des prolétaires positivistes,* whose programme was based on Auguste Comte's ideas. At the beginning of 1870, the General Council, taking into account the working-class composition of the society, admitted it to the International as a section; at the same time, the society's programme was sharply criticised (see Marx's letter to Engels of March 19, 1870, present edition, Vol. 43). pp. 498, 556

312 *Billingsgate* was one of the early gates into London; the fish-market situated nearby is named after it. Used figuratively, it can mean the abusive language of the market. p. 499

313 *Phalanstère*—palaces in which, according to the French utopian socialist, Charles Fourier, members of producer and consumer associations were to live and work in an ideal socialist society.

*Icarie*—an utopian communist country in Étienne Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie* (1840), subsequently the name of communist colonies in America. p. 499

314 *National estates (Biens nationaux)*—real estate and movable property of the clergy, émigrés and enemies of the revolution confiscated by the government during the French Revolution. A considerable part of national property passed

to the bourgeoisie and rich peasants. During the Restoration period, the unsold lands from the national estates were returned to their former owners; owners whose lands had been sold received monetary compensation. p. 501

315 *L'Association générale des Défenseurs de la République* (the General Association of the Defenders of the Republic)—a bourgeois-democratic organisation founded in Paris in February 1871; its aim was to struggle for the Republic. It supported the Commune and condemned the policy of the Versailles Government. The quoted decision was published in the *Journal officiel* (Paris), No. 129, May 9, 1871. p. 507

316 The *Constitution of 1793* was the Constitution of the First French Republic adopted by the Convention during the Jacobins' revolutionary dictatorship. p. 510

317 This refers to the participants in the Bonapartist coup d'état of December 2, 1851. p. 516

318 This refers to the convention on capitulation (see Note 118), which came into force for Paris on January 28 and for departments on January 31, 1871. pp. 523, 525

319 *Oeil de Boeuf* (Bull's eye)—named from its oval window, was the anteroom in the Palace of Versailles, where the courtiers waited for Louis XIV to wake up and appear. p. 524

320 The reference is to the invasion of France in 1814 and 1815 by the troops of the sixth and seventh anti-French coalitions headed by Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia, to overthrow Napoleon I's rule and restore the legitimate Bourbon monarchy. p. 524

321 A reference to the influence on the international trade of the discovery of gold in California and Australia in the mid-19th century. p. 536

322 Marx ironically hints at the dictum "L'état c'est moi" ("I am the state") ascribed to the French King Louis XIV, which became the motto of absolutism. p. 538

323 This refers to the *secession* of the Southern slave states from the North American Union in late 1860 and early 1861. The armed rebellion of the secessionist states in April 1861 marked the beginning of the US Civil War (1861-65). p. 542

324 The *Frankfort Peace Treaty,* concluded on May 10, 1871, defined the final terms of the peace between France and Germany, confirming the concession of Alsace and Eastern Lorraine to Germany as was envisaged by the preliminary peace treaty of February 26, 1871 (see Note 179). Under the Frankfort treaty, France was to pay indemnities on more onerous terms and the occupation of French territory by the German troops was prolonged in exchange for help rendered by Bismarck to the Versailles Government in suppressing the Commune. The Frankfort Peace Treaty made a future military clash between France and Germany inevitable. p. 544

325 This presumably refers to the law on municipal organisation of 1831, which drastically curtailed the rights of municipal councils, and also the law on municipal organisation of 1855, which banned interrelations between councils.

On the plan for convening a congress of municipal delegates at Bordeaux see Note 306. pp. 545, 593

326 Engels recorded in English and German the talk he and Marx had had with the British democratic journalist Robert Reid. On June 30, Reid offered Marx, for the defence of the Communards, the use of the material he had collected while in Paris during the Commune as correspondent for the London liberal newspaper *The Daily Telegraph.* Marx and Engels reported their talk to the General Council on July 4, 1871. Engels noted that Reid "had made some interesting statements which proved the villainous part acted by the press of this country towards the Commune".

It was first published in the languages of the original (English and German) in Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe* (*MEGA*), Vol. 1/22, pp. 244-45. p. 552

327 On April 12, 1871, the Federal Council of the Paris sections of the International passed a resolution expelling Tolain from the International as a deserter of the working class cause (see Note 155). On April 25, the General Council endorsed this by a special resolution which was published only by the working-class press (see this volume, p. 590). p. 553

328 As the English newspapers declared, the lecture was due on July 1, 1871 (see *The Daily Telegraph,* No. 5006, June 30, 1871; *The Morning Advertiser,* No. 24987, July 1, 1871). p. 553

329 The excerpts made by Marx and partly by Engels from the Minute Books of the General Council for 1869-71, which have survived, end on September 5, 1871. They were made during the preparations for the London Conference of the International and were to serve as material for the General Council's report to the Conference on the work of the International from 1869 to 1871. Related to them are excerpts from the minutes for June 1870-April 1872, made by Marx a year later, at the end of August 1872, on the eve of the Hague Congress of the International (see present edition, Vol. 23). Markings in the manuscripts testify that Marx and Engels used them in the course of their work on the International's documents. The square brackets are Marx's. The abbreviated words are written in full, without mentioning it.

Published in English for the first time in *The Hague Congress of the First International, September 2-7, 1872. Minutes and Documents,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, pp. 643-54.

The minutes are published in full in *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870,* Moscow, 1966 and *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872,* Moscow, 1968. p. 554

330 In his letter of September 3, 1869 Gustave Cluseret expressed his regret that he could not attend the Basle Congress and asked the delegates to work out a specific programme of action for the workers of all countries and to adopt an address to the American workers calling for solidarity with the International. p. 554

331 This refers to Eugène Varlin's letter to Jung of September 29, 1869. As he intended to publish the Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association, Varlin asked Jung to send him all the resolutions of the Basle Congress concerning the relations of the General Council with federal councils, the procedure for expelling sections, etc. The French translation of the Rules, with some Proudhonist distortions, was published on September 19, 1869 in *La Commerce,*—a small newspaper of the commercial employees' trade union. p. 554

332 On December 11, 1869, a specimen issue of *Die Tagwacht,* the organ of the German sections of the International in Switzerland, was published in Zurich. It

carried a programmatic article containing the following demands: separation of the church from the State and of the school from the church, free tuition in institutions of higher education, free medical aid, nationalisation of railways, prohibition of child labour in factories, a reduction of working hours, and government supervision over factories. A Bakuninist criticism of the programme appeared in *Le Progrès,* No. 28, December 25, 1869 and *L'Égalité,* No. 1, January 1, 1870. p. 555

333 This refers to the letter sent by the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland to Jung on January 4, 1870. The Council declared its disagreement with *L'Égalité*'s attacks on the General Council and stated that the Alliance of Socialist Democracy had not been admitted to the Romance Federation, nor had its aims anything to do with those of the International. The private letter written on the same date by the secretary of the Federal Council, Henri Perret, informed Jung about the Bakuninists' withdrawal from the editorial board of the paper. The letters were posted from Geneva prior to the receipt of the circular letter "The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland" (see present edition, Vol. 21). p. 555

334 This refers to the conflict between the old Lyons section (Schettel and others), which sided with the French Left Republicans, and the group under the Bakuninist Richard. See Marx's letter to Engels of February 19, 1870 (present edition, Vol. 43). p. 556

335 The reference is to Guillaume's letter to Jung of April 21, 1870 in connection with the split at the Congress in La Chaux-de-Fonds (see Note 256). p. 557

336 At the meeting of the General Council on June 28, 1870, Weston said that, if the Alliance of Socialist Democracy "advised abstention from politics and acted upon that", the General Council "would disqualify them from acting as administrators. The Alliance was only tolerated on condition of conforming to the Rules". p. 558

337 This refers to the third trial (June 22-July 5, 1870) of the International members arrested in France for alleged participation in the conspiracy against Napoleon III. The charge fell through and the accused were tried for being members of the International (see Note 2). p. 558

338 This refers to the so-called *French Section in London,* founded in the autumn of 1865 by a group of French petty-bourgeois refugees in London, followers of Félix Pyat. Having lost contact with the International, they continued to call themselves the French section in London and to issue documents in the name of the International Working Men's Association. When a third trial against members of the International was being prepared in France, the incriminating material included documents of the so-called French section in London. The meeting of the General Council on May 10, 1870 adopted a resolution that the French section had nothing in common with the International (see present edition, Vol. 21).

At the General Council meeting on July 12, 1870 Lemaître "regretted very much that there should exist a difference between the Council and the French branch... He considered the differences only personal". p. 558

339 On September 9, 1870 five members of the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, a member of the Party and a printer, were arrested in Germany for publishing the manifesto on war (see this volume, p. 271). *Manifest des Ausschusses der socialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei. An alle*

*deutschen Arbeiter!* appeared as a leaflet on September 5, 1870 and was also published in *Der Volksstaat,* No. 73, September 11, 1870.

Four Social-Democrats who took part in the demonstration prohibited by the police were expelled from Mayence as not being natives or citizens of the town. p. 559

340 The deputation of English workers and democratic organisations was received by the Prime Minister Gladstone on September 27, 1870. It included several trade union leaders (Applegarth, Coulson, Dodson and others) and prominent bourgeois-democratic leaders (Beesly, Congreve). They asked for Britain to recognise the French Republic and to promote peace. Gladstone got away with indefinite promises to facilitate the termination of the war. p. 560

341 The news of the defeat at Sedan caused an uprising in Lyons on September 4, 1870. On his arrival in Lyons on September 15, Bakunin tried to head the movement and implement his anarchist programme. On September 28, the anarchists attempted a coup d'état, which was a complete failure. The Minute Book of the General Council mistakenly has "September 27". p. 560

342 Marx is referring to the meetings of October 11 and 18, 1870, organised by *Freundschaft* (Friendship), a German nationalistic society in London. These meetings put forward, allegedly in the name of the German workers in London, the demand that Alsace and Lorraine be annexed. In reply, the German Workers' Educational Society in London and the Teutonia Society issued a joint address to the German workers in London, exposing the groundless arguments of those who advocated the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. The address was published in *Der Vorbote,* Nos. 11 and 12, 1870 and as a leaflet in Geneva *Erklärung des Londoner Arbeiter-Bildungs-Vereins und der Teutonia* (1870). p. 560

343 The joint meeting of the German and French sections of New York was held on October 16, 1870. The address to the workers of Europe, adopted by these sections, was the first joint document of the New York sections of the International. It was published in a number of newspapers, and also issued in leaflet form in French and in English. p. 560

344 The *Anglo-French Intervention Committee* was founded in October 1870 by the petty-bourgeois leaders of the International Democratic Association (see Note 354) and trade union members of the Land and Labour League (see Note 350), with the leaders of the British Positivists playing a prominent role. Its programme demanded immediate recognition of the French Republic by Britain, condemnation of Prussia's aggressive policy and the conclusion of a defensive treaty with France.

Taking advantage of the discontent with the British government's pro-Prussian policy among part of the workers, the Committee's leaders tried to head the movement in support of the French Republic and organised several meetings in London in October-November 1870. p. 560

345 From Sorge's letter, dated October 30, 1870, Marx learned about the preparations for the mass anti-war meeting that was held in New York on November 19, 1870. It was organised by the International's sections, trades unions, the Free Thinkers' Society and other associations. Attended by nearly 2,000 people, the meeting adopted an address condemning the continued war against the French Republic and the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, and

called on the US Government to exert its influence to render assistance to the French Republic. p. 560

346 The *Central Committee of the International Working Men's Association for the United States* was formed on December 1, 1870 by delegates from several sections of the International: German Section No. 1, French Section No. 2 and Czech Section No. 3. p. 561

347 The German workers' educational societies in Switzerland, whose press organ was the Swiss *Felleisen,* joined the International at their congress in Neuchâtel in August 1868. The growing nationalist tendencies in these societies after Germany's victory in the Franco-Prussian war led to their withdrawal from the International (see Marx's letter to Jung of January 18, 1871, present edition, Vol. 44). p. 561

348 On January 6 and 10, 1871, meetings for the recognition of the French Republic by Britain were held in St. James's Hall. At these meetings Odger moved a resolution extolling the Government of National Defence and its Foreign Minister Jules Favre. p. 561

349 The *Land Tenure Reform Association* was founded in July 1869 under the auspices of John Stuart Mill. Its aim was to revive the class of small farmers by leasing small plots of waste land to the unemployed. p. 561

350 The *Land and Labour League* was set up in London in October 1869 with the participation of the General Council. The League's programme was drawn up by Eccarius with Marx's help (see *Address of the Land and Labour League to the Working Men and Women of Great Britain and Ireland,* present edition, Vol. 21).

Marx held that the League could play a certain role in revolutionising the working class and regarded it as a means for establishing an independent proletarian party in England. pp. 561, 603, 610

351 This refers to the *Déclaration reglant divers points de droit maritime,* a codicil to the Paris Treaty of 1856 which concluded the Crimean war of 1853-56. The Declaration set up rules for warfare at sea, envisaged the abolition of privateering, immunity of neutral goods in enemy vessels and of enemy goods in neutral vessels (with the exception of war contraband), and the recognition of a blockade only if actually effective.

In their speeches at the General Council meetings of January 31 and March 7, 1871, Marx and Engels put forward the demand that, because of the international situation, Britain should renounce the Paris Declaration, and argued that this step would serve as a means of preventing Tsarist Russia entering the Franco-Prussian war as Prussia's ally. pp. 561, 574, 576, 581

352 In the autumn of 1870, the English republican movement gained strength as a result of the campaign for the recognition of the French Republic by Britain. In the spring of 1871, under the influence of the Paris Commune, a Left wing began to take shape which put social content into the republican slogans and actively supported the Commune. The General Council of the International took advantage of the numerous republican meetings to organise a campaign in support of the Commune.

One of the meetings was held at Wellington Music Hall on March 22, 1871. This meeting, chaired by Odger, resolved to form a Central Republican

Association and elected an Executive Committee, which included Odger, Eccarius and others. p. 562

353 Marx is referring to the letter from John Wallis, Secretary of the Canterbury Working Men's Mutual Protection Society, dated February 16, 1871. John Wallis asked that the English workers who wanted to emigrate to New Zealand be warned that there was unemployment there and that the authorities and police compelled immigrants to work for scanty wages. The letter was included in the report on the General Council meeting published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 137, May 13, 1871. p. 562

354 The *International Democratic Association* consisted of petty-bourgeois French and German immigrants in London and also included English Republicans.

In April 1871, members of the Association founded the Universal Republican League. Its leaders attempted to involve the General Council of the International in it, but their proposition was rejected unanimously at the General Council meeting on April 25, 1871 (see Engels' letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht of April 20, 1871, present edition, Vol. 44.) pp. 562, 597

355 In his letter of June 12, 1871, Cafiero wrote about his contacts with workers' societies in Italy. p. 563

356 The *Refugees' Society*, formed in London in July 1871, tried to take over the right to distribute money collected by the General Council for the refugees and to establish direct ties with the International's sections in other countries in order, bypassing the General Council, to obtain money collected by them for the refugees or information about the sums being sent to the General Council. Early in 1872, this society was reorganised into a mutual aid society. p. 564

357 First published in English in *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes*, Moscow, 1967, pp. 317-19. p. 565

358 First published in English in *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes*, Moscow, 1967, p. 320. p. 567

359 In a letter to Marx of August 9, 1871, Truelove informed him that 200 copies of the first edition of *The Civil War in France* had not been sold out, of the second—600 copies, and all the copies of the third edition remained with him. In a letter of September 4, Truelove again requested payment of the bill. p. 567

360 Marx's speech on the Government of National Defence at the General Council meeting on January 17, 1871 was directed against Odger's praising of the government and its Foreign Minister Jules Favre, who was expected in London, at the meeting in St. James's Hall in London on January 10. Odger moved a resolution that extolled the Government of National Defence and contradicted the class approach taken towards it by the General Council in its Second Address on the Franco-Prussian war (see this volume, pp. 267-75). In connection with Marx's criticism of Odger's speech, the General Council discussed the question of the need for the members of the International to adhere to its principles at meetings.

This speech, like other speeches by Marx and Engels at the General Council meetings, has survived as a record in the Minute Book. The records for the period covered by this volume were made by Eccarius (up to May 1871) and later by Hales, they are brief and fragmentary, and often contain serious inaccuracies. The same applies to the newspaper reports of the General Council

meetings made by Eccarius on their basis and published in *The Eastern Post.* In some cases, when the newspaper reports are fuller than the minutes, Marx's and Engels' speeches are given according to the newspaper reports. The minutes, as was the rule in the General Council, were approved at each subsequent meeting; on Marx's and Engels' demand, notes were often made concerning mistakes in the records.

This record was first published in *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes,* Moscow, 1967, pp. 106-07. p. 571

361 The Paris demonstration on May 15, 1848 was organised by revolutionary clubs; nearly 150,000 people, mainly workers, took part in it. The participants marched to the Constituent Assembly, which was to discuss the Polish question that day, entered the conference hall and demanded military assistance to Poland in her struggle for independence, as well as decisive measures to combat unemployment and poverty. Since their demands were rejected, they declared the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and the formation of a revolutionary government. The demonstration was dispersed by troops and bourgeois detachments of the National Guard. p. 571

362 The reference is to the *Executive Committee* (Commission exécutive)—the Government of the French Republic, set up by the Constituent Assembly on May 10, 1848, in place of the Provisional Government, which had resigned. It existed until June 24, 1848, when Cavaignac's dictatorship was established. p. 572

363 The reference is to the reactionary press laws passed by the Constituent Assembly on August 9 and 11, 1848. According to these laws, the periodicals had to make large deposits of money, which meant that progressive and workers' newspapers and journals had to close down; the laws also envisaged serious punishment (fines and imprisonment) for the printing of articles against the government, the existing order and private property. They were based on similar laws enacted during the Restoration and the July monarchy. p. 572

364 The minutes of the General Council meetings, extracts from which are given below, were first published in English in *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes,* Moscow, 1967, pp. 108-57. The reports of the meetings were published in *The Eastern Post,* in January-March 1871. p. 573

365 This mass meeting was held in Trafalgar Square on January 23, 1871. It put forward a demand, in the name of the workers, that the British Government bring pressure to bear on Prussia in order to make the latter end the war against the French Republic. p. 573

366 This refers to excesses committed by trade unionists against strike-breakers in Sheffield in the autumn of 1866. The matter was investigated by a special government commission over several months in 1867 and was widely used by the bourgeois papers to discredit the trade unions and the working-class movement in general.

Speaking at a meeting in London on July 4, 1867, Beesly exposed the hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie who condemned the trade unionist excesses, but applauded General Eyre, who had savagely put down the Jamaica revolt of 1865. Beesly was ruthlessly persecuted by the bourgeois press for his speech. The London trade unions expressed their gratitude to Beesly in public. In July 1867, Marx wrote a letter of sympathy to Beesly in view of the campaign against him. p. 574

[367] A reference to the remonstrance to Gladstone, published in *The Times* on December 30, 1870; it was signed by Beesly and other Positivists and also by some members of the General Council—Eccarius, Odger and Applegarth. Its last point called on the British Government to declare war on Prussia. p. 574

[368] Analysing the military position of the French Republic, Engels compares the situation in October-November 1870—when the defence of Paris engaged considerable Prussian forces, and the Army of the Loire under the command of General Aurelle de Paladines carried out a successful operation against the Prussian army—with that in January 1871, after the battle at Le Mans in Western France, where the German troops defeated the newly formed Army of the Loire under the command of General Chanzy, which suffered serious losses and had to retreat (see this volume, pp. 236-39). p. 575

[369] The *Peninsular War* was the name given to the joint military operations by the British, Spanish and Portuguese armies against Napoleon's troops on the Peninsular from 1808 to 1814 (see also notes 76 and 101).

The *Crimean war* (1853-56) was waged by Russia against a coalition of Britain, France and Turkey for supremacy in the Middle East. The course of military operations and the results of the war were analysed by Marx and Engels in the articles included in Vols. 13, 14 and 15 of the present edition. p. 575

[370] The meeting on January 5, 1871 in the hotel in Cannon Street, chaired by the lawyer J. Merriman, called on the British Government to make efforts to end the Franco-Prussian war and to recognise the French Republic. p. 577

[371] This refers to the mass demonstrations in London in June and July 1855 as a consequence of Parliament's decision to limit the working hours of taverns and places of entertainment and to prohibit retail trade on Sundays. Marx participated in one of the demonstrations (see present edition, Vol. 14, pp. 302-07, 323-27). p. 578

[372] A reference is evidently to the following speeches: by Lowe, Chancellor of the Exchequer, on September 16, 1870 in Elgin; by Bruce, Home Secretary, on September 26 in Glasgow; and by Cardwell, M.P., on October 14, in Oxford. All the speakers demanded that Britain observe strict neutrality. p. 579

[373] What is meant here is the exchange of Notes between Bernstorff, Prussian Ambassador to London, and Lord Granville, British Foreign Secretary, that took place in August to October 1870 in connection with British supplies of arms and other equipment to France. p. 579

[374] This refers to the British ship *International,* detained by customs officials in the mouth of the Thames on December 21, 1870; it carried submarine cable for the line to be laid between Dunkkirk and Bordeaux. On January 17, 1871, a British court found the actions of the customs officials illegal. p. 579

[375] The *Holy Alliance*—an association of European monarchs, founded in 1815, to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries. Later, the phrase was often used to denote a coalition of counter-revolutionary powers. p. 582

[376] This refers to the international conference of representatives from Russia, Britain, Austria-Hungary, Germany, France, Italy and Turkey, held in London

from January to March 1871, to discuss the revision of the Paris Treaty of 1856. p. 582

377 This speech of Engels begins a series of reports by Marx and Engels on the proletarian revolution in Paris on March 18, 1871, which they made regularly at the General Council meetings. Basing his report on letters received from Paris, Engels refutes the bourgeois press stories that gave a distorted picture of the events of March 18. The minutes of this meeting, with the record of Engels' speech, were mistakenly dated March 14; Marx, when looking through them, corrected the date to March 21.

First published in English in *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes,* Moscow, 1967, pp. 160-61. p. 585

378 Engels has in mind the National Assembly, extremely reactionary in its composition, elected on February 8 and opened on February 12, 1871 in Bordeaux (see Note 178). p. 585

379 In their speeches on the republican movement in England, Marx and Engels summed up the discussion of this issue at the General Council meeting on March 28, 1871 in connection with the report of the General Council deputation to the republican meetings. The deputation included Hales, Weston, Jung and Serraillier; its report said that Serraillier's speech at the meeting in the Wellington Music Hall on March 22 (see Note 352) was well received and that a resolution expressing support for the Paris workers was passed unanimously. It was also noted that the meeting adopted a very moderate, bourgeois republican resolution moved by Odger.

During the discussion, the General Council members criticised the position taken by Odger and other trade union leaders, confining the programme of the republican movement to the slogan of a bourgeois republic in France.

First published in English in *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes,* Moscow, 1967, pp. 165-66. p. 587

380 Published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes,* Moscow, 1967, pp. 170-71. p. 588

381 The elections to the Commune took place on March 26, 1871. After the victorious uprising of the Paris people, on March 18-28, 1871, power was held by the Central Committee of the National Guard, which then handed it over to the Commune. p. 588

382 This laconic remark by Engels refers to Favre's speech in the National Assembly on April 10, 1871. Favre tried to justify the Versailles Government, which had actually concluded an alliance with Bismarck in order to suppress the Paris Commune, and hypocritically stated that the government had rejected the help offered by Bismarck. In a number of articles and speeches, particularly in Marx's *The Civil War in France* (see this volume, pp. 346-55), Marx and Engels exposed the treacherous agreement between the French counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and the country's enemies for the purpose of suppressing the working-class movement. p. 588

383 For a long time, Marx's speech at the General Council meeting of April 25, 1871 was not published in full because page 216 was missing from the Minute Book. The text of this page found later was first published in English in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung* (Berlin), 1978, No. 3, p. 402. p. 589

384 The reference is to the report of the Central Committee of the North-American Sections, dated April 2, 1871 and signed by Sorge. p. 589

385 Serraillier was elected to the Commune at the additional elections on April 16, 1871, from the Paris 2nd arrondissement. Eugène Dupont, a member of the General Council, was also nominated, but he did not stand, because he was unable to leave England for Paris. J. M. A. Dupont was elected from the 17th arrondissement. p. 590

386 In his letter to Leo Frankel of April 26, 1871, written on the instructions of the General Council, Marx refuted the slanderous attacks on Serraillier made by petty-bourgeois democrat Félix Pyat (see present edition, Vol. 44). p. 591

387 Paul Lafargue stayed in Paris from April 6 to 12, 1871. p. 591

388 Published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes,* Moscow, 1967, pp. 189-90, 192. p. 593

389 Engels seconded Jung's proposal to send a delegation from the General Council to the celebrations of the centenary of Robert Owen's birth, which were to take place on May 16, 1871, in Freemason's Hall, London. p. 593

390 Mottershead objected to participation in the celebrations on the grounds that Owen "had not been quite so original as Engels seemed to think. His socialism he had had from older French writers, his religious ideas from Locke". Besides, Mottershead ascribed to Engels the allegation that Owenite socialists were Chartists (see *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes,* Moscow, 1967, pp. 191-92). p. 594

391 Marx's speech at the General Council meeting on May 23, 1871, started the debate on the need to expose the Versailles Government and voice a protest against the brutal reprisals against the Communards being prepared by Thiers. In his speech on this issue (only a short record of it was made in the Minute Book) Engels stressed the treacherous behaviour of Thiers, who had promised to be lenient to the Communards. The General Council also decided to form a commission to find out what measures could be taken in England to put a stop to the brutalities of the Versailles Government. p. 595

392 *Fenian Brotherhood,* or Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood—a secret organisation founded in the late 1850s among Irish immigrants in America and later in Ireland. Its members fought for the establishment of an independent Irish Republic through an armed uprising. Objectively, the Fenians voiced the interests of the Irish peasants, although they mainly belonged to the urban petty bourgeoisie and democratic intellectuals. Marx and Engels more than once pointed to the shortcomings of the Fenian movement and criticised the Fenians for their conspiratorial tactics and their sectarian and bourgeois-nationalistic views. At the same time they highly appreciated its revolutionary character.

*Carbonari* were members of a secret society active in Italy in the first three decades of the nineteenth century, and in France in the 1820s.

*Marianne* was the name of a secret republican society founded in France in 1850; during the Second Empire it opposed Napoleon III. p. 597

393 Marx's speech is recorded in the Minutes of the General Council meeting on June 20, 1871 as follows: "Citizen Marx then proposed that a letter should be sent to the *Examiner* and *Spectator* denouncing the pretended manifestoes of the Paris section of the International; they were all forgeries of the Versailles

police" (*The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes,* Moscow, 1967, p. 220). The letter written by Engels on behalf of the General Council did not appear in the aforementioned newspapers and only a rough draft of it has survived (see this volume, p. 379). p. 599

394 *Hans Breitmann's Ballads* by the American humorous author Ch. G. Leland were written in a peculiar Anglo-German dialect. p. 600

395 The correspondent's record is inaccurate. It was the textile workers who went on strike in Barcelona in the spring of 1871, while the cigar-makers' strike occurred at the same time in Antwerp (see this volume, pp. 294-96). p. 602

396 In an attempt to strengthen its weakened positions, the government of Napoleon III scheduled a plebiscite for the spring of 1871. The questions were formulated in such a way that it was impossible to express disapproval of the Second Empire's policy without simultaneously opposing all democratic reforms. Along with this demagogic address to the popular (mostly peasant) masses, repressions were taken against the proletarian and left-wing republican movements (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 127-28). p. 603

397 The public meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the June 1848 insurrection of the Paris workers was held on June 29, 1868 at Cleveland Hall in London. The French petty-bourgeois democrat Félix Pyat delivered a speech and moved a provocative resolution urging terroristic acts against Napoleon III (the resolution was published in *The Bee-Hive,* No. 351, July 4, 1868). The Brussels *L'Espiègle,* No. 25 on July 5, 1868 published a report on the meeting describing it as a meeting of International members, with Pyat as one of its leaders. This statement was repeated in other newspapers. The General Council held that this might discredit the International in the eyes of the workers and serve the Bonapartist government as a pretext for persecuting its members in France and Belgium. Consequently, at its meeting on July 7 the Council resolved, on Marx's proposal, to disavow Pyat's behaviour in a resolution to this effect (see present edition, Vol. 21).

Pyat's group lost its ties with the International, but continued to act in its name and repeatedly supported antiproletarian groups opposing Marx's line in the General Council. On May 10, 1870, the General Council officially dissociated itself from this group (see present edition, Vol. 21). p. 605

398 The interview ended as follows: "I have here given you as well as I can remember them the heads of my conversation with this remarkable man. I shall leave you to form your own conclusions. Whatever may be said for or against the probability of its complicity with the movement of the Commune we may be assured that in the International Association the civilized world has a new power in its midst with which it must come to a reckoning for good or ill." p. 606

399 Before Engels took the floor at the General Council meeting, Marx made a report on Pope Pius IX's speech against the International. p. 607

400 Engels has in mind the so-called "principle of nationalities" advanced by the ruling circles of the Second Empire and used extensively by them as an ideological screen for their aggressive plans and adventurist foreign policy. Posing as a "defender of nations", Napoleon III made use of national interests

of the oppressed peoples to strengthen France's hegemony and extend her frontiers. The "principle of nationalities" was designed to stir up national hatred and to turn the national movement, especially that of small nations, into a weapon of counter-revolutionary policy of the rival powers. This principle was exposed by Marx in his pamphlet *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 133-83) and by Engels in his work "What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?" (present edition, Vol. 20). p. 608

401 Having adopted Engels' proposal on the convocation of the London conference, the General Council at its meeting on July 25, 1871, instructed the Sub-Committee (see Note 238) to work out its programme. It also resolved that the conference should discuss the splitting activities of the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy in Romance Switzerland (see Note 256).

Published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes,* Moscow, 1967, pp. 244-45. p. 609

402 Marx spoke against Odger, in connection with his shift to the position of bourgeois republicanism, open renunciation of the International's principles and slanderous attacks on the General Council and the Paris Commune. p. 610

403 The resolution abolishing the office of President of the General Council, adopted at the General Council meeting of September 24, 1867, was confirmed by the Basle Congress of the International (September 1869). p. 611

404 Marx's speech at the opening of the London Conference has reached us in two versions.

Like the speeches of other delegates, it was recorded in French in the minutes of the Conference sessions by the two secretaries, Martin and Rochat. The English minutes are not extant.

Another version of Marx's speech was given by Eccarius in his article on the London Conference, published anonymously in *The Scotsman,* No. 87, October 2, 1871.

Marx said that the conference was "a meeting of delegates from different countries, rendered necessary by extraordinary circumstances, to consult with the General Council about urgent matters arising out of these extraordinary circumstances; but that this conference could not appoint a new General Council, or transfer the seat of the General Council, or alter the fundamental Rules of the Association. Its province was to decide upon tactics, policy, and organisation within the limits of the existing Rules, and to devise measures for carrying out these rules more effectually". p. 613

405 Marx has in mind the trial of the members of Nechayev's organisation (see Note 279), which took place in St. Petersburg from July 1, 1871.

On September 22, 1871, the London Conference instructed the General Council to inform the public that the International Working Men's Association had nothing in common with Nechayev's activities. On October 16, the General Council adopted a relevant resolution drafted by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 23). p. 613

406 Marx spoke about the trades unions during the discussion on the draft resolution submitted by Delahaye at the fifth session of the London Conference on September 20, 1871 (see Note 271). p. 614

407 The reference is to the Basle Congress resolution on the trades unions, one of whose clauses instructed the General Council to promote international

federation of trade unions. (see "Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association, held at Basle, in Switzerland. From the 6th to the 11th September 1869", London [1869] p. 30). p. 614

408 During the discussion on the international contacts of trade unions, Steens, a delegate from Belgium, expressed an apprehension that in case of international federation of trade unions the national trades unions might be absorbed by the English ones. p. 614

409 The reference is to Chartism, the workers' political movement in Great Britain from the 1830s to the early 1850s under the slogan of the People's Charter, which included the demand for universal suffrage and certain conditions to ensure this right to the workers. pp. 615, 634

410 This refers to the Executive Committee of the Reform League, set up on the initiative and with the participation of the Central (General) Council of the International in London in the spring of 1865 as the political centre of the mass movement for the electoral reform. The League's leading bodies—the Council and the Executive Committee—included the General Council members, mainly trade union leaders and representatives of bourgeois radicals. Unlike the bourgeois parties, which confined their demands to suffrage for householders and tenants, the League demanded suffrage for the entire adult male population. This revived Chartist slogan secured it the support of the trades unions, hitherto indifferent to politics. The vacillations of the radicals in its leadership and the conciliatory behaviour of the trade union leaders prevented the League, however, from following the line charted by the General Council of the International. The British bourgeoisie succeeded in splitting the movement and a moderate reform was carried out in 1867, granting franchise only to the petty bourgeoisie and the upper strata of the working class. p. 616

411 On the discussion at the London Conference of the political action by the working class, see notes 253 and 273. p. 616

412 The original text of the Rules of the International Working Men's Association was written by Marx in English in October 1864 and approved by the Central Council on November 1 of that year as the Provisional Rules (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 14-16). At the Geneva Congress in 1866, the Rules were confirmed, with some additions and amendments, together with the Administrative Regulations appended to them. In the autumn of 1866, the Rules and Administrative Regulations were translated by Marx and Lafargue into French and, late in November, published in London as a pamphlet that included the basic changes introduced at the Geneva Congress (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 441-46). In 1867, the English text of the Rules and Administrative Regulations was printed in London; it took account of the changes introduced by the Geneva and Lausanne congresses since the adoption of the Provisional Rules in 1864. At the next congresses—in Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869)—a number of resolutions were adopted that constituted addenda to the Rules. However, the texts of the Rules without these addenda and amendments were current at the time. The English editions published after the Geneva and Lausanne congresses also contained some substantial inaccuracies. Besides, there was no official edition of the Rules in different languages, which led to poor translations of them circulating in a number of countries. The French translation of 1866, prepared by Tolain, a Right-wing Proudhonist, distorted

the most important proposition of the role of political struggle for the emancipation of the working class. Considering all these circumstances, the London Conference adopted a resolution, drafted by Marx, on the publication of a new, authentic edition of the Rules and Administrative Regulations in English, German and French. It also resolved that all translations into other languages should be approved by the General Council.

At the end of September-October 1871, Marx and Engels prepared a new edition of the Rules and Administrative Regulations, taking into account the resolutions of all the congresses of the International and of the London Conference. They rewrote the Appendix that substantiated all the amendments and addenda in detail. Marx and Engels directly supervised the translation of the Rules and Regulations into German and French. The official English edition—*General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*—appeared as a pamphlet in London early in November, in French—in December 1871; in German the Rules and Regulations were published in pamphlet form in Leipzig and also in the newspaper *Der Volksstaat,* No. 12, February 10, 1872. For lack of money, the General Council failed to publish the official edition of the Rules and Regulations, prepared with Engels' participation, in Italian. They were issued in Italian in abridged form by *La Plebe* and *L'Eguaglianza* publishers. p. 616

413 Marx has in mind certain dubious elements and traitors who made their way into the Central Committee of the National Guard in Paris, which was of a mixed character (Blanquists, neo-Jacobins, Proudhonists, etc). Such people on the Central Committee functioning as the revolutionary government from March 18 to 28, 1871 (when the Commune was proclaimed), as well as absence of political unity among them, were the main reasons for the serious mistakes it committed (see this volume, pp. 509-10). p. 616

414 This refers to the congress of the American National Labour Union, which took place from August 7 to 10, 1871 (see Note 141). p. 616

415 The reference is to Utin's motion to instruct the General Council to draw up the final text of the resolution "Political Action of the Working Class", taking into account Vaillant's proposal and Serraillier's and Frankel's amendments made during the discussion of this question at the Conference. The London Conference adopted Utin's motion. p. 618

416 This is Marx's brief report as Corresponding Secretary of the General Council for Germany; other corresponding secretaries and delegates also made reports. The part of his speech dealing with England is an addition to his speeches on trades unions (this volume, pp. 614-15). p. 619

417 The congress of the Union of German Workers' Associations (Verband Deutscher Arbeitervereine) in Nuremberg on September 5-7, 1868, resolved to join the International. In 1869 in Eisenach, the Union was reorganised into the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei). Its Dresden Congress (August 12-15, 1871) decided to campaign for a shorter working day, a genuine universal suffrage, etc., and reaffirmed the decision to join the International by stating in its resolution on the party organ, *Der Volksstaat,* that it maintained the ideological ties between German Social-Democracy and the International Working Men's Association. p. 619

418 Marx sent his daughter Jenny's letter to the editors of *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*; it was published in the journal together with Marx's covering letter (see this volume, p. 432). p. 622

419 *Pétroleuses* was the nickname given by the reactionary press to the Paris women workers falsely accused by the Versailles courts of setting fire to houses during street fighting in Paris in May 1871 p. 631

420 Marx made this speech at the ceremonial meeting on the occasion of the 7th anniversary of the International, held in London on September 24, 1871. The meeting was chaired by Marx and attended by the delegates to the London Conference, members of the General Council and refugee Communards. The report on this meeting, mistakenly dated September 25, was published in *The World;* it gave a brief rendering of Marx's speech, which is reproduced in this volume. p. 633

421 This refers to the February 1848 revolution in France. p. 634

# NAME INDEX

## A

*Affre, Denis Auguste* (1793-1848)—Archbishop of Paris (1840-48); shot by the soldiers of the government troops during the June 1848 uprising in Paris when he tried to persuade the insurgent workers to lay down their arms.—352, 446, 528

*Albert* (1828-1902)—Saxon Crown Prince, King of Saxony from 1873; German general, field marshal-general from 1871; commanded the 12th (Saxon) Corps and subsequently the Fourth (Meuse) Army during the Franco-Prussian war.—74, 147, 155

*Albrecht, Friedrich Heinrich* (1809-1872)—Prussian prince, German general; commanded the Fourth Cavalry Division during the Franco-Prussian war.—169

*Albrecht, Friedrich Wilhelm Nikolaus* (1837-1906)—Prussian prince, son of the above; German general, subsequently field marshal-general; commanded a cavalry brigade during the Franco-Prussian war.—223

*Alexander* (1845-1894)—Russian Grand Duke, son of Alexander II; heir to the Russian throne from 1865; Emperor Alexander III from 1881.—282

*Alexander I* (1777-1825)—Emperor of Russia (1801-25).—7

*Alexander II* (1818-1881)—Emperor of Russia (1855-81).—267, 276, 281, 282

*Alexander of Macedon (Alexander the Great)* (356-323 B.C.)—general and statesman of antiquity; King of Macedon (336-323 B.C.).—12

*Alexandra (Alexandra Caroline Maria Charlotte Louisa Julia)* (1844-1925)—daughter of Christian IX, King of Denmark; in 1863 married Prince of Wales, who from 1901 reigned as Edward VII, King of Great Britain and Ireland.—324, 528

*Alvensleben, Konstantin von* (1809-1892)—German general; commanded the Third Corps during the Franco-Prussian war.—42

*Applegarth, Robert* (1833-1925)—a leader of the British trade unions, cabinet-maker; General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (1862-71), member of the London Trades Council; member of the General Council of the International (1865, 1868-72); delegate to the Basle Congress of the International (1869); one of the Reform League leaders; subsequently left the working-class movement.—7, 270, 431, 562, 564

*Arnold, Georges Léon* (1837-1912)—French architect; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune and of its Military Commission; was deported to New Caledonia in 1872; after the amnesty of 1880 returned to Paris.—381

*Assi, Adolphe Alphonse* (1841-1886)—French mechanic; organised strike movement in Creusot (1870); one of the accused at the third Paris trial against the International in 1870; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; headed the capture of Hôtel de Ville on March 18, 1871; was sentenced to exile to New Caledonia in 1871.—292, 365, 400, 403, 563

*Aster, Ernst Ludwig von* (1778-1855)—Prussian general and military engineer, fortifications expert.—88

*Aubry, Hector Emile* (1829-1900)—French worker, lithographer; Proudhonist, member of the International; Corresponding Secretary of the Rouen section and Federation of the International; delegate to the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; took part in the Paris Commune; in 1873 emigrated to Belgium.—560

*Augusta, Marie Luise Katharina* (1811-1890)—wife of William I, King of Prussia.—80, 189

*Aulois*—French prosecutor.—558

*Aumale, Henri Eugène Philippe Louis d'Orléans, Duc d'* (1822-1897)—son of Louis Philippe, King of France; emigrated to England after the February 1848 revolution; deputy to the National Assembly (1871).—450

*Aurelle de Paladines, Louis Jean Baptiste d'* (1804-1877)—French general; commanded the Army of the Loire during the Franco-Prussian war; Commander of the Paris National Guard (March 1871); deputy to the National Assembly (1871).—168, 169, 176-78, 181, 203-05, 210, 320, 322, 441, 508-10, 546, 575, 585

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*Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich* (1814-1876)—Russian revolutionary and journalist; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; subsequently an ideologist of Narodism and anarchism; opposed Marxism in the First International; was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress (1872) for his splitting activities.—376, 411

*Balan, Hermann Ludwig von* (1812-1874)—German diplomat, envoy to Brussels (1865-74).—275

*Barnekow, Albert Christoph Gottlieb, Baron von* (1809-1895)—German general; commanded the 16th Division during the Franco-Prussian war.—32

*Barral, Eugène* (1808-1890)—French general; during the Franco-Prussian war inspector-general of the army training camps.—203

*Barthélemy Saint Hilaire, Jules (St. Hilaire)* (1805-1895)—French philosopher and politician; member of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; deputy to the National Assembly (1871); member of the Versailles Commission of the Fifteen and manager of Thiers' office (1871-73).—390

*Bastelica, André Augustin* (1845-1884)—took part in the French and Spanish working-class movement, printer; member of the International; Bakuninist; participant in the revolutionary uprising in Marseilles in October-November 1870; member of the General Council of the International (1871), delegate to the London Conference (1871).—616, 618

*Bataille, Henri Jules* (1816-1882)—French general; commanded a divi-

sion of the Second Corps at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian war.—22

*Bazaine, François Achille* (1811-1888)—French marshal; monarchist; headed the French armed intervention in Mexico (1863-67); commanded the Third Corps and then the Army of the Rhine during the Franco-Prussian war; capitulated at Metz in October 1870.—32, 34, 38, 41, 42, 51, 53, 54, 57-59, 62, 65-73, 75, 76, 82, 87, 127, 129, 136, 150, 152, 154-56, 159-61, 166, 182

*Bebel, Ferdinand August* (1840-1913)—a major figure in the international and German working-class movement; turner; President of the League of German Workers' Unions from 1867; member of the First International from 1866; one of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party; deputy to the Reichstag of the North German Confederation in 1867-70; took a proletarian, internationalist stand during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71; came out in support of the Paris Commune; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—272, 274, 278, 617, 619

*Beesly, Edward Spencer* (1831-1915)—English historian and politician, Professor at London University; radical, positivist philosopher; a leader of the campaign for the recognition of the French Republic by the British government; supported the Paris Commune in the English press.—364

*Benedek, Ludwig von* (1804-1881)—Austrian general; Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian Army fighting against the Prussians during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—35

*Bergeret, Jules Henri Marius* (1830-1905)—member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; general of the National Guard; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to England, and later to the USA.—325, 510, 511, 529

*Berry, Marie Caroline Ferdinande Louise de Bourbon, duchesse de* (1798-1870)—mother of Count Chambord, Legitimist pretender to the French throne; in 1832 attempted to start an uprising in Vendée with the aim of overthrowing Louis Philippe.—315, 454, 503, 520

*Berryer, Pierre Antoine* (1790-1868)—French lawyer and politician; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, Legitimist.—524

*Beslay, Charles Victor* (1795-1878)—French entrepreneur and politician; member of the International; Proudhonist; member of the Paris Commune and its Finance Commission; its delegate at the Bank of France; pursued a policy of non-interference in the latter's internal affairs and abstention from its nationalisation; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to Switzerland.—317, 453

*Bigot, Léon* (1826-1872)—French lawyer and journalist, Left republican; after the suppression of the Commune became the Communards' defence counsel before the Versailles court.—400

*Bismarck-Schönhausen, Otto, Prince von* (1815-1898)—statesman of Prussia and Germany, diplomat; Prussian representative in the Federal Diet in Frankfurt am Main (1851-59); ambassador to St. Petersburg (1859-62) and Paris (1862); Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-71) and Chancellor of the German Empire (1871-90); carried through the unification of Germany by counter-revolutionary means.—5, 112-14, 125, 134, 248, 249, 267, 274, 275, 303, 313, 314, 317, 318, 320, 321, 340, 343, 346, 347, 353, 358, 359, 362, 393, 438, 444, 450-53, 459, 467, 482, 483, 501, 505, 517, 523,

531, 539, 541, 544, 545, 546, 588, 595, 608, 616

*Blanc, Jean Joseph Louis* (1811-1882)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, historian; member of the Provisional Government and President of the Luxembourg Commission (1848); pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie; emigrated to England (August 1848) and became a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees in London; deputy to the National Assembly (1871); came out against the Paris Commune.—386, 497, 503, 571, 598, 611

*Blanqui, Louis Auguste* (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, utopian communist; organised several secret societies and plots; active participant in the revolution of 1830; adhered to the extreme Left of the democratic and proletarian movement during the 1848 revolution; a leader of the uprising of October 31, 1870 in Paris; was elected member of the Commune in his absence while in prison.—292, 319, 323, 352, 399, 471, 478, 480, 527

*Blücher, Gebhard Leberecht von, Prince of Wahlstatt* (1742-1819)—Prussian field marshal-general; took part in wars against the French Republic and Napoleonic France.—72, 196

*Bonaparte*—dynasty of French emperors (1804-14, 1815 and 1852-70).—156, 451

*Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon I*

*Bonaparte, Joseph* (1768-1844)—eldest brother of Napoleon I, King of Naples (1806-08) and Spain (1808-13).—160

*Bonaparte, Louis*—see *Napoleon III*

*Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul* (1822-1891)—cousin of Napoleon III, nicknamed Plon-Plon and the Red Prince.—301

*Bonjean, Louis Bernard* (1804-1871)—French lawyer, Right Republican; commanded the Légion d'honneur; remained in Paris during the Paris Commune; was shot in La Roquette in April 1871.—401

*Boon, Martin James*—participant in the British working-class movement; mechanic; supported the social-reformist views of the Chartist James O'Brien; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72); Secretary of the Land and Labour League; member of the British Federal Council (1872).—7, 270, 355, 382, 431

*Bora, Giovanni*—member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Italy in 1870.—8, 270

*Bouis, Casimir Dominique* (c. 1843-1916)—French journalist; Blanquist; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; after the suppression of the Commune was deported to New Caledonia.—478

*Bourbaki, Charles Denis Sauter* (1816-1897)—French general, Greek by birth; commanded the Guard and later the 18th Corps and the Army of the East during the Franco-Prussian war.—138, 187, 203, 207, 209, 210, 222, 226-30, 236-37, 241-49, 251, 252, 255-58

*Bourbons*—royal dynasty in France (1589-1792, 1814-15 and 1815-30).—459, 460, 540

*Bower, Elyott*—Paris correspondent of *The Morning Advertiser* (1871).—552

*Bradnick, Frederick*—member of the General Council of the International (1870-72); delegate to the London Conference of 1871; following the Hague Congress (1872), together with the reformist wing of the British Federal Council opposed its decisions; expelled from the International by decision of the General Council in May 1873.—7, 270, 355, 382, 431

*Brass, August* (1818-1876)—German journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to Switzerland after its defeat; follower of Bismarck from the 1860s; editor-in-chief of the *Norddeusche Allgemeine Zeitung*.—300

*Bressolles, Antoine Aubin* (1828-1891)—French general, commanded the 24th Corps of the Army of the Loire during the Franco-Prussian war.—241

*Broadhead, William* (1815-1879)—British trade-unionist; secretary of the Union of Knife-Makers (1848-67).—574

*Bruce, Henry Austin, 1st Baron Aberdare* (1815-1895)—British statesman, Liberal, Home Secretary (1868-73).—563, 579

*Brunel, Paul Antoine Magloire* (b. 1830)—French officer, Blanquist; took part in the uprising of October 31, 1870; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; was gravely wounded by the Versaillists in May 1871; emigrated to England after the suppression of the Commune; in his absence was sentenced to death in Paris in 1871, which was commuted to five years' imprisonment in 1872.—357

*Butler, Benjamin Franklin* (1818-1893)—American politician and general, Democrat; during the US Civil War commanded the expeditionary Northern Army which occupied New Orleans; military Governor of New Orleans.—582

*Buttery, G. H.*—member of the General Council of the International (1871-72).—355, 382, 431

C

*Cabet, Étienne* (1788-1856)—French lawyer and writer, utopian communist, author of *Voyage en Icarie* (1840); one of the organisers of communist communes in North America in 1848-56.—357, 362

*Cadiot (Cadrot)*—participant in the Paris Commune.—562

*Cafiero, Carlo* (1846-1892)—Italian lawyer, member of the First International; pursued the policy of the General Council in Italy in 1871; from 1872, one of the founders of the Italian anarchist organisations; abandoned anarchism at the end of the 1870s; in 1879 published a brief summary of Volume I of *Capital* in the Italian language.—563

*Caihill, Edward*—member of the General Council of the International (1870-71).—270, 355, 382

*Calonne, Charles Alexandre de* (1734-1802)—French statesman; controller of finances (1783-87); a leader of the counter-revolutionary émigrés during the French Revolution.—343, 457, 543

*Canrobert, François Certain* (1809-1895)—French general, Marshal of France from 1856; Senator, Bonapartist; an active participant in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—33, 38, 40, 41, 45, 54, 58, 62, 66, 78, 154, 158-59

*Caporusso, Stefano*—Italian worker, tailor; follower of Bakunin; one of the founders of the Naples section of the International; expelled from the section in 1870.—559

*Cardinal von Widdern, Georg* (1841-1920)—Prussian officer and military writer, author of works on strategy, tactics, military geography and history; participant in the Franco-Prussian war.—17, 18

*Cardon, Émile*.—398

*Cardwell, Edward Cardwell, Viscount* (1813-1886)—British statesman, a Peelite leader, later Liberal; President of the Board of Trade (1852-55), Secretary for Ireland (1859-61), Sec-

retary for the Colonies (1864-66) and Secretary for War (1868-74).—579

*Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite* (1753-1823)—French mathematician; political and military leader of the French Revolution, Jacobin; member of the Directory (1795-97); War Minister during the Consulate.—47

*Carrel, Armand* (1800-1836)—French journalist; moderate republican; a founder and editor of *Le National*.—454, 456

*Castagny, Armand Alexandre de* (1807-1900)—French general; commanded the Second Division of the Third Corps of the Army of the Rhine during the Franco-Prussian war; was taken prisoner at Metz.—42

*Castiau, Adelson Joseph Adolphe* (1804-1879)—Belgian lawyer and politician; democrat; member of the Chamber of Representatives (1843-48).—617

*Cathelineau (Cathélineau), Henri de* (1813-1891)—French general, Royalist; during the Franco-Prussian war and the suppression of the Paris Commune commanded a legion of volunteers from the West.—452, 539, 541

*Catherine II* (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-96).—576

*Cavaignac, Louis Eugène* (1802-1857)—French general and politician, moderate republican; took part in the conquest of Algeria; after the February 1848 revolution, Governor of Algeria; from May 1848 War Minister of France; directed the suppression of the June uprising; head of the executive (June-December 1848).—352, 444, 446, 461, 510, 521-22, 528

*Chambord, Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonné d'Artois, duc de Bordeaux, comte de* (1820-1883)—last representative of the elder line of the Bourbons, grandson of Charles X, pretender to the French throne under the name of Henri V.—301, 540

*Changarnier, Nicolas Anne Théodule* (1793-1877)—French general and politician, monarchist; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848-51); commander of the Paris garrison and the National Guard after June 1848; commanded the troops that dispersed the demonstration of June 13, 1849 in Paris; was expelled from France after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851 and returned to France in 1859; a staff officer of the Army of the Rhine during the Franco-Prussian war; was taken prisoner at Metz; deputy to the National Assembly (1871).—325, 455, 512, 529

*Chanzy, Antoine Alfred Eugène* (1823-1883)—French general; commanded the 16th Corps and then the Second Army of the Loire during the Franco-Prussian war; deputy to the National Assembly (1871).—203, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 221, 222, 226, 228-30, 236-38, 249, 251, 253, 450, 478

*Charette de la Contrie, Athanase, baron de* (1832-1911)—French general; commanded the Pontifical Zouaves and then a legion of volunteers from the West during the Franco-Prussian war.—452, 513, 539, 549

*Charmont, Jeanne* (1812-1870)—wife of Vernier, mistress of Jules Favre.—313, 439, 517

*Chassepot, Antoine Alphonse* (1833-1905)—French military inventor.—26, 120

*Clarendon, George William Frederick Villiers, 4th Earl of, 4th Baron Hyde* (1800-1870) — British statesman, Whig, later Liberal; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1847-52), Foreign Secretary (1853-58, 1865-66, 1868-70).—576, 582

*Clausewitz, Karl* (1780-1831)—Prussian general and military theoretician.—166

*Cluseret, Gustave Paul* (1823-1900)—French officer; member of the First International; was close to the Bakuninists; took part in the revolutionary uprisings in Lyons and Marseilles (1870); member of the Paris Commune and its military delegate (April 1871); a refugee after the suppression of the Paris Commune.—399, 470, 554, 557

*Cobbett, William* (1762-1835)—British politician and radical writer.—370, 375

*Coenen, Philip (Philippe)* (1842-1892)—took part in the Belgian working-class movement, shoe-maker; founded the Antwerp section of the International in 1868; founder and editor-in-chief of *De Werker;* delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) and the London Conference (1871) of the International; at the Hague Congress (1872) supported the Bakuninists; subsequently one of the organisers of the Belgian Socialist Party.—294

*Coëtlogon, Louis Charles Emmanuel, comte de* (1814-1886)—French official, Bonapartist; one of the organisers of the counter-revolutionary demonstration in Paris on March 22, 1871.—327, 511, 529

*Cohn (Cohen), James*—active in the British working-class movement; President of the London Association of Cigar-Makers; member of the General Council of the International (1867-71), Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1870-71), delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) and the London Conference (1871) of the International.—8, 270, 355, 382, 578, 581

*Comte, Isidore Auguste François Marie* (1798-1857)—French philosopher and sociologist, founder of Positivism.—498, 504, 574

*Conseil-Dumesnil, Gustave Antoine Marie* (1813-1877)—French general; commanded a division of the Seventh Corps of the Army of the Rhine during the Franco-Prussian war; was taken prisoner at Sedan.—40

*Corbon, Claude Anthime* (1808-1891)—French politician, republican; Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly (1848-49); after the fall of the Second Empire, Mayor of the 15th arrondissement of Paris; deputy to the National Assembly of 1871; belonged to its Left minority.—312, 516

*Cormontaigne, Louis de* (c. 1695-1752)—French general, military engineer; author of works on fortification.—135

*Courbet, Désiré Jean Gustave* (1819-1877)—painter, founder of the realistic trend in French painting; republican; Socialist, member of the Paris Commune; worked in the *Journal officiel de la République française;* in 1873 emigrated to Switzerland.—552, 553

*Cousin-Montauban, Charles Guillaume Marie Apollinaire Antoine, comte de Palikao* (1796-1878)—French general, Bonapartist; War Minister and Prime Minister (August-September 1870).—13, 44, 50, 120, 161, 320, 441

*Cowley, Henry Richard Charles Wellesley, lst Earl of* (1804-1884)—British diplomat, ambassador to Paris (1852-67).—380

*Crémer, Camille* (1840-1876)—French general; commanded a division of the Army of the East during the Franco-Prussian war.—224, 255, 258

*Crouzat, Joseph Constant* (1811-1879)—French general; commanded the 20th Corps during the Franco-Prussian war.—203

D

*Dallas*—Paris correspondent of *The Times* (1871).—552, 553

*Dana, Charles Anderson* (1819-1897)—American journalist, follower of

Fourier, abolitionist; an editor (1848) and then managing editor (1849-62) of the *New-York Tribune;* an editor of the *New American Cyclopaedia* (1857-63); editor-in-chief of the New-York *Sun* (1868-97).—396

*Darboy, Georges* (1813-1871)—French theologian, Archbishop of Paris from 1863; shot by the Commune as a hostage in May 1871.—342, 352, 381, 400, 401, 446, 448, 476, 477, 528

*Davies, John Llewellyn* (1826-1916)—English clergyman and theologian, liberal.—370, 376

*Decaen, Claude Théodore* (1811-1870)—French general; commanded a division of the Third Corps, and then the Third Corps during the Franco-Prussian war; was mortally wounded at the battle of Borny in August 1870.—62, 154

*Dechamps, Victor Auguste* (1810-1883)—Belgian cardinal; Archbishop of Malines from 1867, primat de Belgique.—563

*Deguerry, Gaspard* (1797-1871)—French clergyman; Curé of the Madeleine Church in Paris; was shot by the Commune as a hostage in May 1871.—448, 476

*Dejean, Pierre Charles, vicomte* (1807-1872)—French general, Deputy War Minister in the Ollivier cabinet in August 1870.—45, 46

*Delahaye, Victor Alfred* (1838-1897)—French mechanic, member of the First International; member of the Paris Commune; emigrated to London; member of the General Council of the International and the British Federal Council (1871-72); Secretary of the London Conference (1871).—355, 431

*Delane, John Thadeus* (1817-1879)—English journalist, editor-in-chief of *The Times* (1841-77).—285, 286, 287, 292-93

*Delescluze, Louis Charles* (1809-1871)—French revolutionary, journalist; participant in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; founder, editor and publisher of *Le Réveil* (1868-71); member of the Paris Commune, and its military delegate; was killed on the barricades during the street fighting in Paris on May 25, 1871.—381, 398

*Delescluze, Louise Azémia* (b. 1808)—sister of Charles Delescluze.—398

*Delpech*—French lawyer, reactionary; general prosecutor in Toulouse (1871).—397, 398, 624-25, 630

*De Paepe, César Aimé Désiré* (1841-1890)—prominent in the Belgian working-class and socialist movement; compositor, subsequently physician; a founder of the Belgian section of the International; member of the Belgian Federal Council; delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and to the London Conference (1871) of the International; following the Hague Congress of 1872 supported the Bakuninists for some time; one of the founders of the Belgian Workers' Party.—557

*De Potter, Louis* (1786-1859)—Belgian publicist and politician, bourgeois democrat; member of the Provisional Government during the 1830 revolution in Belgium.—617

*Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Earl of* (1799-1869)—British statesman, Tory leader; Prime Minister (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68).—579, 582

*Desagarre, baron*—French lawyer, public prosecutor at a local lawcourt of Haute-Garonne (1871).—621, 623, 625, 630

*Desmarets*—French captain of the gendarme troops at Versailles; killed Gustave Flourens.—326, 447, 464, 530

*Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and author, a Tory leader; one of the

founders and ideologists of the Conservative Party; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68), Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80).—576

*Dombrowski, Jaroslaw* (1836-1871)—Polish revolutionary democrat; took part in the national liberation movement in Poland (1860s); general of the Paris Commune; commander-in-chief of all its armed forces from early May 1871; killed on the barricades.—339

*Douay, Charles Abel* (1809-1870)—French general; commanded a division of the Second Corps during the Franco-Prussian war; killed in the battle of Wissembourg.—37

*Douay, Félix Charles* (1816-1879)—French general; commanded the Seventh Corps of the Army of the Rhine during the Franco-Prussian war; was taken prisoner at Sedan; one of the organisers of reprisals against the Paris Commune; commanded the Fourth Corps of the Versailles Army.—34, 35, 38, 40, 41, 51, 54, 58, 66, 67, 78, 109, 159, 348

*Ducrot, Auguste Alexandre* (1817-1882)—French general, Orleanist; commanded a division of the First Corps, then the First Corps and the Second Paris Army during the Franco-Prussian war; took part in the building up of the Versailles Army for the suppression of the Paris Commune; deputy to the National Assembly (1871).—108, 121, 169, 177, 189-91, 193, 232, 506

*Dufaure, Jules Armand Stanislas* (1798-1881)—French lawyer and politician, Orleanist; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848); Minister of the Interior (October-December 1848, June-October 1849); Minister of Justice (February 1871-May 1873); inspired the suppression of the Paris Commune.—319, 325, 344, 345, 441, 443-45, 467-69, 497, 519, 544

*Dumas, Alexandre (son)* (1824-1895)—French dramatist and novelist.—464, 478

*Dupanloup, Félix Antoine Philibert* (1802-1878)—French theologian and politician; one of the leaders of the Catholic Party; Bishop of Orléans from 1849; deputy to the National Assembly (1871).—198, 200, 585

*Dupont, Eugène* (c. 1831-1881)—participant in the French and international working-class movement; musical-instrument maker; took part in the June 1848 uprising in Paris; from 1862 lived in London, then in Manchester; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864-72), Corresponding Secretary for France (1865-71); participant in all the conferences and congresses of the International (except the Basle Congress); contributed to *Le Courrier français;* formed the French branch of the International in Manchester (1870); in 1872 became a member of the British Federal Council of the International; in 1874 moved to the USA; associate of Marx and Engels.—8, 270, 355, 382, 431, 556, 558, 560, 590-91

*Duval, Émile Victoire* (1840-1871)—French ironfounder, Blanquist; member of the International; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; general of the Commune's National Guard; member of the Executive and Military commissions; was shot by the Versailles troops on April 4, 1871.—326, 401, 447, 471, 530, 557, 591

E

*Eccarius, Johann Georg* (1818-1889)—prominent figure in the international and German working-class movement; tailor; member of the League of the Just and later of the Communist League; member of the General

Council of the First International (1864-72) and then its General Secretary (1867-71); Corresponding Secretary for America (1870-72), delegate to all the International's congresses and conferences; until 1872 follower of Marx; after the Hague Congress joined the reformist wing of the British Federal Council.—8, 270, 286, 287, 355, 382, 431, 562, 565-67, 577, 590

*Elliott, Thomas*—British trade-unionist; from 1871 member of the British Federal Council of the International.—563

*Elpidin, Mikhail Konstantinovich* (c. 1835-1908)—was active in the Russian revolutionary movement in the early 1860s; in 1865 emigrated to Switzerland; member of the First International and of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; later was exposed as an agent-provocateur of the tsarist secret police.—377

*Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895)—138, 156, 158, 161, 170, 185, 186, 192, 208, 247, 249, 250, 256, 273, 277-80, 284, 355, 370, 382, 389, 561, 564, 566, 567, 573, 577, 582, 587, 588, 593, 594, 607, 609

*Espartero, Joaquin Baldomero Fernández, duque de la Vittoria y de Morello, conde de Luchana* (1793-1879)—Spanish general and politician; leader of the Progresista Party; Regent of Spain (1841-43), head of government (1854-56).—315, 455, 521

*Eugénie*—see *Montijo, Eugénie*

F

*Faidherbe, Louis Leon César* (1818-1889)—French general; commanded the Army of the North during the Franco-Prussian war.—203, 222-24, 230, 236, 251, 253, 389

*Failly, Pierre Louis Charles Achille de* (1810-1892)—French general, Senator; commander of a division in the Crimea (1855); commanded the Fifth Corps during the Franco-Prussian war; was taken prisoner at Sedan.—33, 37, 38, 40, 51, 57, 66, 67, 78, 109, 154, 158, 161

*Falloux, Frédéric Alfred Pierre, comte de* (1811-1886)—French politician and writer; Legitimist and clerical; in 1848 initiated the closure of the national workshops and inspired the suppression of the June uprising of the Paris workers; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; Minister of Education (1848-49).—524

*Favre, Claude Gabriel Jules* (1809-1880)—French lawyer and politician; from the late 1850s, a leader of the bourgeois-republican opposition; Foreign Minister in the Government of National Defence and in Thiers' government (1870-71); negotiated the capitulation of Paris and peace treaty with Germany; together with Thiers directed the struggle against the First International.—4, 112, 114, 241, 248, 249, 304, 312, 313, 317, 320, 323, 340, 346, 357-62, 370, 376, 416, 417, 437-40, 442, 450, 454, 456, 466, 469, 475, 481, 482, 506, 509, 511, 513-18, 527, 528, 571, 572, 588, 595, 608, 610, 611, 616

*Ferdinand II* (1810-1859)—King of the Two Sicilies (1830-59), nicknamed King Bomba for the bombardment of Messina (1848).—315, 455, 520

*Ferry, Jules François Camille* (1832-1893)—French lawyer and politician; one of the leaders of moderate bourgeois republicans; member of the Government of National Defence; Mayor of Paris (1870-71); deputy to the National Assembly (1871); Prime Minister (1880-81, 1883-85).—314, 438, 439, 440, 443, 480, 509, 515, 517-18

*Flocon, Ferdinand* (1800-1866)—French politician and journalist; democrat; an editor of *La Réforme;* member of

the Provisional Government in 1848.—571

*Flourens, Gustave Paul* (1838-1871)—French naturalist and revolutionary, follower of Blanqui; contributed to *La Marseillaise;* emigrated to London in March 1870 and returned in September 1870; one of the leaders of the Paris uprisings on October 31, 1870 and January 22, 1871; member of the Paris Commune and its Military Commission; on April 3, 1871 was killed by the Versaillists.—320, 323, 326, 447, 471, 480, 527, 530, 591

*Fondeville, Eugène (Fondewille)*—member of the French section of the First International in Bordeaux; member of the Paris Commune; a refugee in London after its defeat; took part in the London Conference of the International in 1871; in 1875 emigrated to the USA.—400-02

*Forcade de la Roquette, Jean Louis Victor Adolphe de* (1820-1874)—French statesman, liberal; Minister of the Interior in the Ollivier cabinet (1869).—45

*François*—French National Guardsman, Communard; killed during the counter-revolutionary demonstration in Paris on March 22, 1871.—511, 529

*Frankel, Léo* (1844-1896)—active in the Hungarian and international working-class movement; jeweller; in the 1860s emigrated to France; in 1870 was one of the founders of the German section in Paris; Secretary and member of the Paris Federal Council; was prosecuted at the third trial of the International in Paris; member of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; in 1872 was sentenced to death in his absence; in 1871-72 member of the General Council of the International, Corresponding Secretary for Austria-Hungary; delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); in 1876 returned to Hungary; associate of Marx and Engels.—339, 431, 476, 501, 617

*Fransecky, Eduard Friedrich von* (1807-1890)—German general; commanded the Second Corps during the Franco-Prussian war.—241

*Frederick II (the Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—165, 359

*Frederick Charles* (1828-1885)—Prussian prince, German general, from October 1870 field marshal-general; during the Franco-Prussian war commanded the Second Army.—20, 23, 29, 33, 34, 39, 41, 62, 69, 86, 104, 147, 152, 170, 171, 175-77, 179, 183, 185, 186, 188, 195, 196, 204-06, 209-12, 221, 222, 226, 228-30, 238, 245, 248-49, 252

*Frederick Francis II* (1823-1883)—Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin (1842-83); German general; during the Franco-Prussian war first commanded the troops on the coast of Germany and then a formation fighting south of Paris.—147, 169, 176, 177, 179, 180, 182, 183, 186, 195, 196, 204-06, 208, 209, 221, 222, 243

*Frederick William* (1831-1888)—Crown Prince of Prussia and the German Empire; general; son of William I; King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany under the name of Frederick III (1888); commanded the Third Army during the Franco-Prussian war.—20, 23, 25, 28-29, 33, 37, 57, 67-69, 71, 72, 75, 78, 81, 147, 177, 195, 281

*Frederick William III* (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—98, 195-97

*Friedländer, Max* (1829-1872)—German democratic journalist, editor of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* and *Die Presse,* to which Karl Marx contributed in the 1850s-1860s; founder and editor of the *Neue Freie Presse* (1864-72).—374

*Frossard, Charles Auguste* (1807-1875)—French general; commanded the Sec-

ond Corps during the Franco-Prussian war; was taken prisoner at Metz.—22, 29, 30, 32-34, 37, 38, 42, 57, 61, 62, 67, 154

G

*Gallien, Louis Auguste* (b. 1831)—officer of the National Guard of the Commune.—470, 477

*Galliffet, Florence Georgina*—wife of marquis de Galliffet.—326, 356, 447, 530

*Galliffet, Gaston Alexandre Auguste, marquis de* (1830-1909)—French general; commanded a cavalry regiment during the Franco-Prussian war; was taken prisoner at Sedan but was released to fight the Commune; commanded a cavalry brigade in the Versailles army.—326-27, 356, 447, 477, 513, 530, 532

*Gambetta, Léon* (1838-1882)—French statesman, bourgeois republican; member of the Government of National Defence (1870-71); head of the delegation sent by this government to Tours; Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1881-82).—129, 168, 186, 191, 221, 229, 238, 242, 253, 275, 312, 437, 480, 516, 532, 618

*Ganesco, Grégory* (c. 1830-1877)—French journalist, Romanian by birth; Bonapartist during the Second Empire, and then supported the Thiers government.—338

*Garau*—governor of the prison in Mazas.—401

*Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat, leader of the Italian national liberation movement and the struggle for the unification of Italy in the 1850s-1860s; participant in the Franco-Prussian war on the side of the French Republic; commanded the Vosges Army, consisting of units of the National Guard, French and foreign volunteers.—199, 224, 242, 244, 245, 248, 252

*Garibaldi, Ricciotti* (1847-1924)—son of Giuseppe Garibaldi; took part in the national liberation movement in Italy; participant in the Franco-Prussian war on the side of France as the commander of a brigade of the Vosges Army.—180

*Garnier-Pagès, Louis Antoine* (1803-1878)—French politician, moderate republican; member of the Provisional Government and Mayor of Paris in 1848; member of the Government of National Defence (1870-71).—469

*Giovacchini, P.*—member of the General Council of the International, Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1871).—355, 382

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory and then Peelite; in the latter half of the nineteenth century, leader of the Liberal Party; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55 and 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, and 1892-94).—281, 560, 578-80

*Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton, Count Neithardt von* (1760-1831)—Prussian field marshal; one of the organisers of the liberation struggle against Napoleon's rule; took part in drawing up and carrying out Prussian army reforms.—166, 200-02

*Goeben, August Karl Friedrich Christian von* (1816-1880)—German general; commanded the Eighth Corps and from January 1871 the First Army during the Franco-Prussian war.—223, 228, 230, 248, 252

*Goltz, Eduard Kuno, Baron von der* (1817-1897)—German general; commanded a Prussian detachment of the 14th Corps during the Franco-Prussian war.—228

*Gorchakov, Alexander Mikhailovich, Prince* (1798-1883)—Russian statesman and diplomat, envoy in Vienna (1854-56),

Foreign Minister (1856-82).—267, 575

*Gramont, Antoine Alfred Agénor, duc de Gramont et de Guiche, prince de Bidache* (1819-1880)—French diplomat; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1870); pursued the policy of unleashing a war between France and Prussia.—12

*Grand Duke of Mecklenburg*—see *Frederick Francis II*

*Grant, Ulysses Simpson* (1822-1885)—American general and statesman; fought in the Civil War on the side of the Union, Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Army from March 1864; War Secretary (1867-68), US President (1869-77).—142

*Granville, George Leveson Gower, 2nd Earl* (1815-1891)—British statesman, Whig and later Liberal; Foreign Secretary (1851-52, 1870-74, 1880-85); President of the Council (1852-54, 1855-58 and 1859-65), Secretary of State for the Colonies (1868-70, 1886).—579

*Greenwood, Frederick* (1830-1909)—British journalist, first editor of *The Pall Mall Gazette* (1865-80); held bourgeois-liberal and then conservative views.—281, 359, 378

*Greppo, Jean Louis* (1810-1888)—French socialist, took part in the Lyons uprisings of 1831 and 1834; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; Mayor of an arrondissement in Paris (1870-71); deputy to the National Assembly (1871).—468

*Grimal*—French officer; commissary of one of the military courts set up at Versailles for trying the Communards.—389

*Grousset, Paschal Jean François* (1844-1909)—French journalist and politician, Blanquist; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; Chairman of the Commission for Foreign Relations; after the suppression of the Commune deported to New Caledonia, from which he escaped in 1874; up to 1881 lived in England and then returned to France.—476

*Guillaume, James* (1844-1916)—Swiss teacher, anarchist, Bakuninist; member of the International; participant of the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Basle (1869) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the First International; one of the organisers of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; editor of the newspapers *Le Progrès, La Solidarité* and *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne;* at the Hague Congress (1872) was expelled from the International for his splitting activities.—412, 557, 559

*Guiod, Alphonse Simon* (b. 1805)—French general; Commander-in-Chief of the artillery during the siege of Paris in the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71).—313, 438, 517

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman; virtually directed the home and foreign policy of France from 1840 to the February 1848 revolution; expressed the interests of the big financial bourgeoisie.—315, 316, 445, 455, 521

*Gyulay, Ferenc, Count* (1798-1868)—Austrian general, Hungarian by birth; took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; War Minister (1849-50); during the Italian war of 1859 commanded an Austrian army until the defeat at Magenta.—34

## H

*Hales, John* (b. 1839)—British trade-union leader, weaver; member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its Secretary (1871-72); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League and of the

Land and Labour League; delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; in 1872 headed the reformist wing of the British Federal Council.—7, 270, 355, 358, 362, 367, 368, 370, 373, 382, 403, 431, 554, 555, 558, 562, 564, 567

*Hales, William*—member of the International; member of the General Council of the International (1867, 1869-72).—7, 270, 355, 382, 431, 562

*Harris, George*—active in the British working-class movement; Chartist, supported the social views of James O'Brien; member of the National Reform League; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72); Financial Secretary of the Council (1870-71).—7, 270, 355, 431

*Haussmann, Georges Eugène, Baron* (1809-1891) — French politician, Bonapartist; took part in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; prefect of the Seine Department (1853-70); directed work on the reconstruction of Paris.—98, 339, 351

*Heeckeren, Georges Charles d'Anthès, Baron* (1812-1895)—French politician, Royalist; Russian army officer (1834-37); killed the Russian poet Alexander Pushkin in a duel; Bonapartist from 1848; Senator of the Second Empire; one of the organisers of the counter-revolutionary demonstration in Paris on March 22, 1871.—325, 505, 529

*Heinemann*—Prussian agent provocateur in England; editor-in-chief of the German-language weekly *Hermann,* published in London.—560

*Henderson, Edmund Newmans Wolcott* (1821-1896)—British officer, chief of the London police (1869-86).—597

*Henry II* (1519-1559)—King of France (1547-59).—117

*Henry V*—see *Chambord, Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonné d'Artois, duc de Bordeaux, comte de*

*Hepner, Adolf* (1846-1923)—German journalist; one of the founders of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (1869); editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1869-73); delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); emigrated to the USA (1882); in 1908 returned to Germany.—275

*Herbert, Auberon Edward William Molyneux* (1838-1906) — English philosopher and publicist, Liberal; member of the House of Commons (1870-74).—580

*Herman, Alfred*—active in the Belgian working-class movement, sculptor; founder and member of the International section in Liege (1868-71); member of the General Council and Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1871-72); delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868), the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; at the Hague Congress joined the anarchist minority.—355, 431, 563

*Hervé, Aimé Marie Édouard* (1835-1899)—French journalist; one of the founders and editor-in-chief of *Le Journal de Paris;* bourgeois liberal; Orleanist after the fall of the Second Empire.—349

*Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich* (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher, journalist and writer; emigrated to France in 1847; from 1852 lived in London, where he established the Free Russian Press and published the periodical *Polyarnaya Zvezda* (Polar Star) and the newspaper *Kolokol* (The Bell).—374

*Hill, F.H.*—editor-in-chief of *The Daily News* (1868-86).—274-76

*Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—5, 125, 275, 301, 339

*Holyoake, George Jacob* (1817-1906)—British journalist; reformist; Owenite and Chartist in the 1830s and 1840s; prominent figure in the co-operative movement.—367, 368, 370, 372, 563

*Hossart.*—378, 380, 382

*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885)—French writer; deputy to the Constituent and the Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; opposed Louis Bonaparte.—133

*Hume, Robert William*—American journalist; one of the leaders of the National Labour Union; member of the International and Correspondent of its General Council.—555, 558

*Hurliman (Hurlimann)*—Swiss by birth; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72).—431

*Huxley, Thomas Henry* (1825-1895)—British naturalist, the closest associate of Charles Darwin; inconsistent materialist in philosophy.—336, 488

J

*Jaclard, Charles Victor* (1840-1903)—French mathematician, physician and publicist, Blanquist; member of the International; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard; during the Paris Commune commander of a legion of the National Guard; following the suppression of the Paris Commune emigrated to Switzerland and then to Russia; after the 1880 amnesty returned to France.—510

*Jacquemet, Alexandre*—French clergyman; in 1848, Vicar General of the Archbishops of Paris.—352, 446, 528

*Jaubert, Hippolyte François, comte* (1798-1874)—French politician, monarchist; Minister of Public Works in the Thiers government (1840); deputy to the National Assembly (1871).—354, 538, 596

*Jaurès, Constant Louis Jean Benjamin* (1823-1889)—French naval officer, admiral from 1871; as a general commanded the 21st Corps during the Franco-Prussian war; deputy to the National Assembly (1871).—203

*Jeannerod, Georges* (1832-1890) —French officer and journalist; war correspondent of *Le Temps* at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian war.—23, 38, 39, 43, 62, 66

*Johannard, Jules Paul* (1843-1892)—active in the French working-class movement; flowerist; Blanquist; member of the General Council of the International (1868-69, 1871-72) and Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1868-69); member of the Paris Commune; following the defeat of the Commune emigrated to London; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—431

*Joukowsky (Zhukovsky), Nikolai Ivanovich* (1833-1895)—Russian anarchist; a refugee in Switzerland from 1862; Secretary of the Geneva section of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; in 1872 withdrew from the International in protest against Bakunin's expulsion.—429

*Jourde, François* (1843-1893)—French banking employee; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; representative of the Finance Commission; adhered to the Proudhonist minority; sentenced to exile to New Caledonia after the suppression of the Commune; escaped in 1874.—553

*Jung, Hermann* (1830-1901)—prominent in the Swiss and international working-class movement; watchmaker; an émigré in London; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland (November 1864-72); Treasurer of the General Council (1871-72); Vice-Chairman of the London Conference (1865), Chairman of the Geneva (1866), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses

and of the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council; supported Marx before the Hague Congress of 1872 but later sided with the reformist wing of the British trade unions.—8, 270, 355, 382, 420, 431, 554-59, 562, 564-67

K

*Kameke, Georg Arnold Karl von* (1817-1893)—German general; during the Franco-Prussian war commanded the 14th Division, then conducted the siege operations near Paris; War Minister (1873-83).—32, 224

*Keller*—German general; commanded a brigade during the Franco-Prussian war.—257

*Kératry, Émile, comte de* (1832-1905)—French politician, Orleanist, Prefect of the Paris police (September-October 1870); later supervised the formation of territorial armed forces in Brittany; Prefect of the Haute-Garonne Department (1871); in April 1871 suppressed the Commune in Toulouse.—176, 186, 203, 397, 398, 624-27, 629-30

*Kinglake, Alexander William* (1809-1891)—English historian and politician, Liberal M.P. (1857-68).—235

*Kolb, Georg Friedrich* (1808-1884)—German politician, publicist and statistician; bourgeois democrat.—299

*Kolb, Karl*—member of the General Council of the International (1870-71).—355, 382

*Küchenmeister, Gottlieb Friedrich Heinrich* (1821-1890) — German physician, parasitologist; author of scientific works.—298

*Kummer, Ferdinand von* (1816-1900)—Prussian general; commanded the Third Reserve Division and then the 15th Division during the Franco-Prussian war.—127, 147

L

*Lacretelle, Charles Nicolas* (1822-1891)—French general; during the Franco-Prussian war commanded a division of the 12th Corps; was taken prisoner at Sedan; later commanded a division of the Second Corps of the Versailles Army.—470

*Ladmirault, Louis René Paul de* (1808-1898)—French general; took part in conquering Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s; commanded the Fourth Corps during the Franco-Prussian war; was taken prisoner at Metz; later commanded the Second Corps of the Versailles Army; Governor of Paris (1871-78).—32, 34, 37, 38, 62, 154

*Lafargue* (February 1871-July 1871)—second son of Laura and Paul Lafargue.—622, 623

*Lafargue, Charles Étienne* (1869-1872)—first son of Laura and Paul Lafargue.—622, 623, 625, 630, 631

*Lafargue, François* (died 1870 or 1871)—father of Paul Lafargue.—396

*Lafargue, Laura* (1845-1911)—second daughter of Karl Marx; was active in the French working-class movement; wife of Paul Lafargue from 1868.—396-98, 432, 622, 623, 625, 627-30

*Lafargue Paul* (1842-1911)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; member of the General Council of the International, Corresponding Secretary for Spain (1866-69); helped to organise the International's sections in France (1869-70), Spain and Portugal (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); one of the founders of the Workers' Party of France (1879); disciple and associate of Marx and Engels; from 1868 husband of Marx's daughter Laura.—396-98, 612, 622, 623, 625-31

*Laffitte, Jacques* (1767-1844)—French banker and liberal politician; headed the government in the early period of the July monarchy (1830-31).—314, 454

*Lafont*—French official; inspector-general of prisons (1871).—478

*Lagarde*—French abbot.—401

*Lambord*—member of the International.—554

*Lamennais, Félicité Robert de* (1782-1854)—French abbot, writer, one of the ideologists of Christian socialism.—507

*Landeck, Bernard* (b. 1832)—French jeweller, Polish by birth; participant in the Paris uprisings on October 31, 1870 and January 22, 1871; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; emigrated to England; one of the founders of the French section of the International in London in 1871; in his absence was sentenced to death in Marseilles (1872) and Versailles (1873).—565

*Landor, R.*—American journalist; London correspondent of the New York newspaper *The World* (1871).—600-06

*La Rochejaquelein (Larochejaquelein), Henri Auguste Georges du Vergier, marquis de* (1805-1867)—French politician, one of the leaders of the Legitimists; deputy to the Constituent Assembly during the Second Republic; Senator during the Second Empire.—524

*La Roncière Le Noury, Camille Adalbert Marie, baron Clement de* (1813-1881)—French admiral; during the siege of Paris (1870-71) commanded a division of the Third Paris Army and then a corps.—189

*Latham, Robert Masden*—British trade-unionist; President of the Labour Representation League; member of the International.—554

*Lavallée, Théophile Sébastien* (1804-1866)—French historian and military geographer.—117

*Lebrun, Barthélemy Louis Joseph* (1809-1889)—French general; during the Franco-Prussian war commanded the 12th Corps; was taken prisoner at Sedan.—78

*Lecomte, Claude Martin* (1817-1871)—French general; commanded a brigade during the Franco-Prussian war; on March 18, 1871 was shot by the insurgent soldiers after the failure of the Thiers government to seize the artillery of the National Guard.—323, 324, 328, 345, 347, 443, 445, 508, 524, 526, 528, 532

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician, a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats; editor of *La Réforme;* Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government (1848); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (leader of the Montagnards); after the demonstration of June 13, 1849 emigrated to England, where he lived up to early 1870; deputy to the National Assembly in 1871, resigned in protest against the conclusion of peace with Germany.—571

*Le Flô, Adolphe Emmanuel Charles* (1804-1887)—French general, politician and diplomat; representative of the Party of Order; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, Minister of War in the Government of National Defence and the Thiers government (1870-71); deputy to the National Assembly (1871), Ambassador to St. Petersburg (1848-49 and 1871-79).—324, 327, 449, 527

*Legreulier*—member of the General Council of the International in 1870.—8

*Leland, Charles Godfrey* (1824-1903)—

American lawyer, writer and journalist.—600

*Lemaître, Antoine Louis Prosper* (pseudonym *Frédéric Lemaître*) (1800-1876)—French actor and playwright, representative of romanticism and founder of critical realism in the French theatre.—442

*Lemaître, Frédéric*—French refugee, owner of a small printshop in London; member of the Paris section of the International; participant in the Paris Commune; after its suppression again emigrated to England; member of the French branch of the International in London.—558

*Le Moussu, Benjamin Constant* (b. 1846)—active in the French working-class movement, engraver; member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to London; in 1872 was sentenced to death in his absence; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for the French sections in America (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against the Bakuninists.—431

*Leroux, Pierre* (1797-1871)—French writer, utopian socialist; representative of Christian socialism; émigré in England in 1851-52.—598

*Lessner, Friedrich (Frederick)* (1825-1910)—active in the German and international working-class movement, tailor; member of the Communist League; participant in the revolution of 1848-49; at the Cologne Communist trial was sentenced to three years' imprisonment; from 1856, an émigré in London, member of the London German Workers' Educational Society and of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872); delegate to the London Conferences (1865 and 1871), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; member of the British Federal Council; a founder of the British Independent Labour Party in 1893; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—8, 270, 355, 382, 431

*Leuckart, Friedrich Rudolf* (1823-1898)—German parasitologist and zoologist.—298

*Lewis, Sir George Cornewall* (1806-1863)—British statesman, Whig; Secretary to the Treasury (1850-52), Chancellor of the Exchequer (1855-58); Home Secretary (1859-61), and Secretary of State for War (1861-63).—582

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm Philipp Martin Christian Ludwig* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League and the First International, delegate to the Basle Congress (1869); editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1869-76); a founder and leader of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party; in 1867-70 member of North German Reichstag; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—272, 274, 278, 617, 619, 620

*Lincoln, Abraham* (1809-1865) — American statesman, a leader of the Republican Party, President of the USA (1861-65); under the influence of the masses, carried out important bourgeois-democratic reforms during the Civil War, thus making possible the adoption of revolutionary methods of warfare; was assassinated by an agent of slave-owners in April 1865.—458, 464, 542

*Lintern, W.* — British trade-unionist, member of the General Council of the International (1870).—8

*Littré, Maximilien Paul Émile* (1801-

1881)—French philosopher, philologist and politician.—510

*Lochner, Georg* (born c. 1824)—active in the German and international working-class movement, carpenter; member of the Communist League and of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, member of the General Council of the International (November 1864-1867 and 1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1865); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—355, 386, 431

*Locke, John* (1632-1704)—English dualist philosopher and economist.—594

*Longuet, Charles Félix César* (1839-1903)—prominent in the French working-class movement, journalist, Proudhonist; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67, 1871-72); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1866); delegate to the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), the Hague (1872) congresses and the London Conference (1871); took part in the defence of Paris (1870-71); member of the Paris Commune; editor-in-chief of the Paris Commune's organ *Journal officiel de la République française;* after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to England; later joined the Possibilists; husband of Marx's daughter Jenny.—431

*Lopatin, German Alexandrovich* (1845-1918)—Russian revolutionary, follower of Chernyshevsky, Narodnik; member of the General Council of the International (1870); translated into Russian a sizable part of Volume I of *Capital;* Marx's friend.—270

*Lorenz (Lorentz), Josef* (1814-1879)—Austrian army officer and military inventor.—96

*Lorenzo, Anselmo* (1841-1915)—Spanish printer, member of the International (from 1869); a founder of the International's sections in Spain (1869); delegate to the London Conference (1871); Secretary of the Spanish Federal Council (1872).—415, 616

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715) — King of France (1643-1715).—165, 440, 538

*Louis XVI* (1754-1793)—King of France (1774-92); guillotined during the French Revolution.—476

*Louis XVIII* (1755-1824)—King of France (1814-15 and 1815-24).—503

*Louis Napoleon*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Philippe* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orléans, King of France (1830-48).—95, 122, 304, 314, 316, 317, 323, 333, 345, 442, 444, 451, 453-55, 460, 470, 520, 521, 527, 538, 539

*Louis Philippe Albert, duc d'Orléans, count of Paris* (1838-1894)—grandson of Louis Philippe; pretender to the French throne.—540

*Lowe, Robert, 1st Viscount Sherbrooke* (1811-1892)—British statesman and journalist, contributor to *The Times,* Whig and later Liberal; M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer (1868-73); Home Secretary (1873-74).—579

*Löwenfeld*—German general, inspector of reserve units during the Franco-Prussian war.—148

*Lucraft, Benjamin* (1809-1897)—a leader of the British trade unions, cabinet-maker; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League, later member of London School Board; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's Address *The Civil War in France* and withdrew from the International.—8, 270, 372, 376, 386

*Lumley.*—563

*Lyons, Richard Bickerton Pemell, 2nd Baron and 1st Earl Lyons* (1817-1887)—British diplomat, envoy in Washington (1858-65), ambassador to Constantinople (1865-67) and Paris (1867-87); in September 1870 mediator in the negotiations between Favre and Bismarck.—379, 380

M

*Maccabees*—the name of a Jewish family of priests dominant in Jerusalem; in the mid-2nd century B.C. headed the revolt against foreign dominion; ruling dynasty in Judaea from 142 to 40 B.C.—200

*McDonnell (Mac Donnell), Joseph Patrick* (1847-1906)—active in the Irish working-class movement; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Ireland (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; in 1872 emigrated to the USA where he participated in the American working-class movement.—355, 382, 386, 431

*Mack, Charles* (1752-1828)—Austrian general; in 1805 commanded troops in the war against Napoleonic France; was defeated by Napoleon I and capitulated at Ulm.—34, 65

*McKean, J. A.*—secretary of the American ambassador Washburne in Paris in 1871.—381

*Mac-Mahon (MacMachon), Marie Edme Patrice Maurice, comte de, duc de Magenta* (1808-1893)—French general and politician, marshal, Bonapartist; during the Franco-Prussian war commanded the First Corps and later the Army of Châlons; was taken prisoner at Sedan; Commander-in-Chief of the Versailles Army; President of the Third Republic (1873-79).—26-30, 32, 33, 37, 38, 40, 42, 44, 51, 54, 57, 58, 65-85, 86, 91, 109, 120, 155, 158-59, 161, 174, 348, 352-53, 465, 542

*Magne, Alfred*—French official, collector-general of taxes in the Loire Department; Pierre Magne's son.—443

*Magne, Pierre* (1806-1879)—French statesman, Bonapartist; Minister of Finance (1855-60, 1867-69, 1870, 1873-74).—443

*Malet, Sir Edward Baldwin, Baronet* (1837-1908)—British diplomat, secretary of the embassy in Paris (1867-71).—380

*Maljournal, Louis Charles* (1841-1894)—French bookbinder; member and secretary of the National Guard's Central Committee; member of the First International; participant in the Paris Commune; was wounded and taken prisoner; in 1872 was sentenced to deportation and amnestied in 1879.—325, 511

*Malon, Benoît* (1841-1893)—French socialist; member of the International; was accused at the second and third trials in Paris against the International; delegate to the Geneva Congress (1866); deputy to the National Assembly (1871); member of the National Guard's Central Committee and of the Paris Commune; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to Italy and then to Switzerland; later one of the leaders and ideologists of the Possibilists.—421

*Manteuffel, Edwin Hans Karl, Baron von* (1809-1885)—German general, from 1873 field marshal-general; in 1865-66 governor and commander of Prussian troops in Schleswig; during the Franco-Prussian war commanded the First Corps, then the First (from October 1870) and South (from January 1871) armies; Commander-in-Chief of the German occupational troops in France (1871-73).—185,

186, 196, 211, 222-24, 228, 237, 244-46, 248, 252

*Manuel, Jacques, Antoine* (1775-1827)—French lawyer, democrat; in 1818-23 member of the Chamber of Deputies; was expelled from the Chamber by the reactionary majority.—617

*Markowski*—agent of the Tsarist government in France; was in the service of Thiers in 1871.—338

*Martin, Constant (Saint-Martin)* (1839-1906)—French employee, Blanquist; member of the Paris Federal Council of the First International; member of the Paris Commune; after its defeat emigrated to London; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72); Secretary of the London Conference (1871); after the amnesty in 1880 returned to France.—431

*Martin des Pallières, Charles Gabriel Félicité* (1823-1876)—French general; commanded a brigade of the Second Corps and then the 15th Corps during the Franco-Prussian war.—203

*Marx, Eleanor* (1855-1898)—Karl Marx's youngest daughter, prominent figure in the British and international working-class movement; married Eduard Aveling in 1884.—397, 398, 432, 622-31

*Marx, Jenny* (née *von Westphalen*) (1814-1881)—Karl Marx's wife.—397, 625

*Marx, Jenny* (1844-1883)—Karl Marx's eldest daughter, journalist; was active in the international working-class movement; married Charles Longuet in 1872.—397, 398, 432, 622-32

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883)—8, 259, 270, 276, 288-93, 299, 355, 360, 364, 367, 370-71, 378, 382-84, 386, 388, 391-96, 398-400, 403, 405, 411, 431, 432, 555, 556, 558-67, 571, 573, 577, 578, 580-82, 587-93, 595, 599, 600-06, 607, 610, 613, 614, 616-22, 625, 631, 633-34

*Mayo, Henry*—active in the British working-class movement; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72) and from 1872 of the British Federal Council, belonged to its reformist wing.—431

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; a leader of the Italian national liberation movement; headed the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850); during the foundation of the International in 1864 tried to bring it under his influence; in 1871 opposed the Paris Commune and the General Council of the International.—385-87, 598, 605, 607-08

*Michel, Alexandre Ernest*—French general; commanded a cavalry division of the Army of the Loire during the Franco-Prussian war.—203

*Mill, John Stuart* (1806-1873)—English economist and positivist philosopher.—561, 582, 605

*Miller, Joseph or Josias* (commonly called *Joe Miller*) (1684-1738)—English comic actor.—314, 440, 518

*Millière, Jean Baptiste Édouard* (1817-1871)—French lawyer, journalist, Left Proudhonist; participated in the uprising of October 31, 1870; critisised the Thiers government, blamed Jules Favre and supported the Paris Commune; was shot by Versaillists on May 26, 1871.—313, 358, 362, 365, 439, 512, 597

*Mills, Charles*—English engineer, member of the General Council of the International in 1871.—355, 386

*Milner, George*—Irish tailor; was active in the British working-class movement; supported the social views of the Chartist James O'Brien; member of the National Reform League and the Land and Labour League;

member of the General Council of the International (1868-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871); from the autumn of 1872 member of the British Federal Council.—7, 270, 355, 382, 431, 578

*Milton, John* (1608-1674)—English poet and writer; prominent in the English revolution.—490

*Minié, Claude Etienne* (1804-1879)—French army officer, inventor of a new type of rifle.—120

*Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel Victor Riqueti, comte de* (1749-1791)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, constitutional monarchist.—316

*Molière* (real name *Jean Baptiste Poquelin*) (1622-1673)—French dramatist.—319, 524

*Molinet, vicomte de* (d. 1871)—French aristocrat; killed during the counter-revolutionary demonstration on March 22, 1871 in Paris.—512

*Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard, Count von* (1800-1891)—military writer and strategist, ideologist of Prussian militarism; field marshal-general from 1871; Chief of Prussian (1857-71) and Imperial (1871-88) General Staff; virtually commander-in-chief during the Franco-Prussian war.—21, 27, 52, 71, 133, 152-53, 170, 177, 178, 181, 186, 195, 243, 245, 248, 574, 577

*Montalembert, Marc René, marquis de* (1714-1800)—French general, military engineer; elaborated a new fortification system largely used in the nineteenth century.—87

*Montaudon, Jean Baptiste Alexandre*—French general; commanded a division of the Third Corps during the Franco-Prussian war.—42

*Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Secondat, baron de la Brède et de* (1689-1755)—French philosopher, economist and writer of the Enlightenment.—333, 507, 510

*Montijo, Eugénie (Eugenia Maria de Montijo de Guzman, condesa de Teba)* (1826-1920)—French Empress, wife of Napoleon III.—30, 160, 161, 162, 300, 301

*Moore, Sir John* (1761-1809)—British general; commanded the British troops in Portugal in 1808-09.—173

*Mottershead, Thomas G.* (c. 1826-1884)—English weaver, a Chartist; member of the General Council (1869-72), Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); member of the British Federal Council; opposed Marx's line in the General Council and the British Federal Council; expelled from the First International by decision of the General Council in May 1872.—7, 270, 355, 382, 431, 555, 562, 565, 591, 594

*Murray, Charles*—active in the British working-class movement, shoemaker, a Chartist, follower of the social views of James O'Brien, member of the National Reform League and the Land and Labour League, member of the General Council of the International (1870-72) and of the British Federal Council (1872-73).—7, 270, 355, 382, 431

N

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—7, 22, 33, 57, 65, 69, 72, 104, 155, 160, 165-66, 199, 202, 254, 256, 260, 266, 316, 337, 449, 462, 484, 493, 519, 522, 542

*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoléon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—nephew of Napoleon I, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—3-5, 11, 12, 14, 22, 24-26, 29-30, 33-38, 44, 48-51,

56-57, 59, 70, 95, 96, 98-99, 106, 110, 116, 157-62, 182, 191, 219, 263, 264, 267-69, 279, 283, 299-304, 313, 316, 317, 319, 321-23, 329, 330, 333, 338-42, 345, 347, 348, 358, 364, 439, 442, 445, 451-55, 459, 462, 468-69, 475, 478, 480-81, 486, 490, 493, 505, 515, 517, 518, 520, 522, 524, 527, 532, 539, 547, 572, 585, 588, 608, 611, 619

*Nero (Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus)* (37-68)—Roman Emperor (54-68).—457

*Netschajeff (Nechaev), Sergei Gennadievich* (1847-1882)—Russian revolutionary, conspirator; representative of the extreme adventurist trend of anarchism; as a refugee in Switzerland in 1869-71, was connected with Bakunin; in 1872 was extradited by the Swiss authorities to the Russian government and was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment; died in the St. Peter and Paul fortress.—377

O

*Obernitz, Hugo Moritz Anton Heinrich von* (1819-1901)—German general, commanded the Württemberg division during the Franco-Prussian war.—190, 191

*Odger, George* (1820-1877)—a leader of the British trade unions, shoemaker; took part in founding the London Trades Council and was its Secretary from 1862 to 1872; member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland, the Land and Labour League and the Labour Representation League; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71) and its President (1864-67); took part in the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866); opposed revolutionary tactics; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's Address *The Civil War in France* and left the Council.—7, 270, 364, 373, 376, 386, 554, 562, 563, 571, 610, 611

*Ollivier, Émile* (1825-1913)—French politician, moderate republican; member of the *Corps Législatif* from 1857; became Bonapartist in the late 1860s; head of the government (January-August 1870).—4, 160, 448, 532

*Orléans*—royal dynasty in France (1830-48).—301, 340

*Oudinot, Nicolas Charles Victor* (1791-1863)—French general, Orleanist; in 1849 commanded the troops sent against the Roman Republic.—521

*Outine*—see *Utin*

*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—British utopian socialist.—594

P

*Palikao*—see *Cousin-Montauban*

*Pallières*—see *Martin des Pallières*

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman; at the beginning of his career a Tory, from 1830 Whig; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51); Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-65).—371, 579, 582

*Parnell, James*—English worker, member of the General Council of the International (1869-70).—7, 270

*Pène, Henri de* (1830-1888)—French journalist, monarchist; an organiser of the counter-revolutionary demonstration in Paris on March 22, 1871.—325, 511, 529, 631

*Perret, Henri*—Swiss engraver; one of the leaders of the International in Switzerland; member and secretary of the Romance Federal Committee

(1868-73); member of the editorial board of *L'Égalité,* delegate to all congresses and the London Conference (1871) of the International.—557

*Pertz, Georg Heinrich* (1795-1876)—German historian, author of works on the history of Germany.—201

*Petit*—secretary of Archbishop Darboy.—401

*Pfänder (Pfander), Carl* (1818-1876)—participant in the German and international working-class movement, miniaturist; from 1845, a refugee in London; a leader of the League of the Just; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, of the Central Committee of the Communist League and of the General Council of the First International (1864-67 and 1870-72); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—7, 270, 355, 382, 431

*Pic, Jules*—French journalist, Bonapartist; editor of *L'Étendard.*—313, 475, 518

*Picard, Eugène Arthur* (b. 1825)—French politician and broker; moderate republican; editor-in-chief of *L'Électeur libre;* brother of Joseph Ernest Picard.—314, 439, 440, 518

*Picard, Louis Joseph Ernest* (1821-1877)—French lawyer and politician; moderate republican; Minister of Finance in the Government of National Defence (1870-71); Minister of the Interior in the Thiers government (1871).—314, 320, 326, 354, 439, 440, 442, 443, 445, 454, 466, 467, 471, 508, 515, 517, 518, 616

*Piétri, Joseph Marie* (1820-1902)—French politician, Bonapartist; Prefect of the Paris police (1866-70).—5, 343, 440, 447, 452, 459, 477, 518, 541

*Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti)* (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—166, 563, 601, 607

*Plon-Plon*—see *Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul*

*Pourille, Jean Baptiste Stanislas Xavier* (pseudonym *Blanchet*) (b. 1833)—former Capuchin; French journalist; sold second-hand things and silk, interpreter in the Lyons' prison (1864-67), secretary of the police commissariat; member of the National Guard's Central Committee and of the Paris Commune; member of the Justice Commission; expelled from the Commune as a police officer.—340

*Pouyer-Quertier, Augustin Thomas* (1820-1891)—French manufacturer and politician; Protectionist; Minister of Finance (1871-72); took part in peace negotiations with Germany in Frankfurt (1871).—319, 346, 441-43, 446, 519

*Protot, Eugène* (1839-1921)—French lawyer, physician and journalist; Blanquist; member of the First International; member of the Paris Commune; delegate of the Justice Commission, after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to Italy, Switzerland, England and the USA; after the amnesty returned to France and withdrew from politics.—475, 591

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French journalist, economist and sociologist; ideologist of the petty bourgeoisie; a founder of anarchism.—607

*Pyat, Félix* (1810-1889)—French journalist, playwright and politician; democrat; took part in the 1848 revolution; emigrated in 1849 to Switzerland and later to Belgium and England; was against independent working-class movement; conducted a slander campaign against Marx and the First International; member of the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England.—416, 417, 586, 591, 605

R

*Radetzky Joseph, Count of Radetz* (1766-1858)—Austrian field marshal; commanded the Austrian troops in Northern Italy from 1831; suppressed the national liberation movement in Italy (1848-49); Governor-General of the Kingdom of Lombardy and Venice (1850-56).—88

*Raglan, Lord Fitzroy James Henry Somerset, Baron* (1788-1855)—British field marshal; Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in the Crimea (1854-55).—235

*Reid, Robert*—British journalist, democrat; Paris correspondent of English and American newspapers before and during the Paris Commune.—379-82, 552, 553, 563

*Reitlinger*—Jules Favre's friend and private secretary.—358, 362

*Renault (Renaut), Léon Charles* (b. 1839)—French lawyer; defended Paris Communards before the Versailles court (1871).—403

*Renault, Pierre Hippolyte Publius* (1807-1870)—French general; commanded the Second Corps of the Second Paris Army during the Franco-Prussian war.—190

*Reuter, Paul Julius, Baron von* (1816-1899)—founder of the Reuter telegraph agency in London (1851); German by birth.—48

*Richard, Albert* (1846-1925)—French journalist, a leader of the Lyons section of the International; member of the secret Alliance of Socialist Democracy; took part in the Lyons uprising of 1870; after the suppression of the Paris Commune, a Bonapartist; in the 1880s adhered to the Allemanists, an opportunist trend in the French socialist movement.—556, 563

*Roach, John*—member of the General Council of the International (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); Corresponding Secretary for the British Federal Council, where he sided with the reformist wing (1872).—355, 382, 386

*Robin, Paul Charles Louis Jean* (1837-1912)—French teacher, Bakuninist; a founder of the Belgian section of the First International; one of the leaders of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (from 1869); member of the General Council (1870-71); delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) and the London Conference (1871); in October 1871 expelled from the International.—419-21, 561-63, 609

*Robinet, Jean François Eugène* (1825-1899)—French physician and historian; Positivist, republican; took part in the 1848 revolution; Mayor of an arrondissement in Paris during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71); member of Ligue de L'Union républicaine pour les Droits de Paris, came out for a reconciliation between the Versailles government and the Commune.—354, 364

*Rochat, Charles Michel* (b. 1844)—member of the Paris Federal Council and of the General Council of the International; took part in the Paris Commune; Corresponding Secretary for Holland (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871); in 1872 emigrated to Belgium.—355, 431, 563

*Rochefort, Victor Henri, marquis de Rochefort Luçay* (1830-1913)—French journalist, writer and politician; Left-wing republican; publisher of *La Lanterne* (1868-69); founder and publisher of *La Marseillaise* (1869-70) and editor of *Le Mot d'Ordre* (1871); member of the Government of National Defence (September-October 1870); condemned the counter-revolutionary policy of the Versailles government but at the same time opposed the Commune's revolution-

ary activities; after the suppression of the Commune was exiled to New Caledonia; returned to France after the amnesty (1880).—145, 232

*Roche-Lambert*—French official; was appointed collector-general of taxes in the Loire Department (1871).—442

*Roon, Albrecht Theodor Emil, Count von* (1803-1879)—Prussian statesman and military leader; field marshal-general from 1873, War Minister (1859-73) and Naval Minister (1861-71); reorganised the Prussian army.—106

*Rouher, Eugène* (1814-1884)—French statesman, Bonapartist; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; Minister of Justice (1849-52, with intervals), Minister of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works (1855-63), Prime Minister (1863-69), President of the Senate (1869-70); after the fall of the Empire emigrated to England; a leader of the Bonapartists in France in the 1870s.—23

*Rühl, J.*—German worker, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the International (1870-72).—7, 270, 355, 382, 431

*Russell, Odo William Leopold, 1st Baron Ampthill* (1829-1884)—British diplomat, ambassador at Berlin (1871-84).—580

*Rutson, E.*—private secretary of Henry Austin Bruce, British Home Secretary, in 1871.—563

S

*Sadler, Michael Thomas*—British member of the General Council of the International (1871-72).—355, 382, 431

*Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo* (1827-1903)—Spanish politician, leader of the Liberal party; Home Minister (1868-70, 1871-72); Prime Minister and Foreign Minister (1874), Prime Minister (1881-1902, with intervals).—398

*Saguljajew (Zagulyaev), Mikhail Andreyevich* (1834-1900)—Russian officer and journalist; editor of the political section of the newspaper *Golos* (Voice) (1862-83).—276

*Saint-Arnaud, Armand Jacques Achille Leroy de* (1801-1854)—Marshal of France, Bonapartist; an organiser of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; War Minister (1851-54); Commander-in-Chief of the French army in the Crimea (1854).—235

*Saisset, Jean Marie Joseph Théodore* (1810-1879)—French admiral and politician, monarchist; commanded the troops defending the Eastern forts during the siege of Paris (1870-71); Commander of the Paris National Guard (March 20-25, 1871); tried to unite reactionary forces in Paris to suppress the proletarian revolution of March 18; deputy to the National Assembly (1871).—326, 450, 457, 497, 512, 529, 539, 543

*Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von* (1755-1813)—Prussian general and politician; after the defeat of the Prussian army by Napoleon I in 1806, head of the commission for a reform of the army; War Minister (1807-10) and Chief of Staff (1810-13); took an active part in the liberation war of the German people against Napoleonic rule.—166

*Scheffer*—French National Guardsman; took part in the Paris Commune.—327, 465, 478, 532

*Schill, Ferdinand von* (1776-1809)—Prussian officer; commanded a guerrilla detachment fighting against Napoleon's forces, killed in 1809 during an attempt to raise a national liberation uprising.—199, 200

*Schmeling*—German general; commanded the Fourth Reserve Army

during the Franco-Prussian war.—148, 243

*Schmutz*—Swiss worker, member of the General Council of the International (1870-71).—8, 270

*Schoelcher, Victor* (1804-1893)—French politician and journalist, Left Republican; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; commanded the artillery legion of the Paris National Guard during the Franco-Prussian war and the Paris Commune; deputy to the National Assembly (1871); tried to persuade the Communards to capitulate to the Thiers government.—497, 509

*Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp, Prince von* (1771-1820)—Austrian field marshal; fought against Napoleon I; Commander-in-Chief of the Allied armies of the European coalition (1813-14).—72

*Schweitzer, Johann Baptist von* (1833-1875)—editor of *Der Social-Demokrat* (1864-67); President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71); supported Bismarck's policy of unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy; hindered German workers from joining the International, fought against the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; was expelled from the Association for his contacts with the Prussian authorities (1872).—616

*Serebrennikoff, Vladimir Ivanovich* (born c. 1850)—Russian revolutionary; took part in the students movement in St. Petersburg in 1868-69; refugee in England and Switzerland; follower of Nechaev.—377

*Serraillier, Auguste* (b. 1840)—active in the French and international working-class movement, shoemaker; lived in England; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72) and of the British Federal Council (1873-74); associate of Marx and Engels; Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1870) and France (1871-72); was sent to Paris as representative of the General Council in September 1870 and in March 1871; officer of the National Guard; member of the Paris Commune; delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International.—8, 270, 273, 277, 288, 289, 355, 381, 431, 556, 557, 559, 561, 562, 566, 567, 585, 590-91

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English poet and dramatist.—319, 356, 470, 496, 540, 626, 628

*Shepherd, Joseph*—member of the General Council of the International (1869-70).—8, 270

*Sheridan, Philip Henry* (1831-1888)—American general; took part in the US Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Northerners; observer in the German headquarters during the Franco-Prussian war.—512.

*Shipton, George* (1839-1911)—trade-union leader, Reformist; founder and secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Housepainters and Decorators, member of the Land and Labour League; secretary of the London Trades Council (1872-96).—600

*Simon, Jules François Simon Suisse* (1814-1896)—French statesman; moderate republican; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49); Minister of Public Instruction in the government of National Defence and the Thiers government (1870-73); deputy to the National Assembly (1871); President of the Council of Ministers (1876-77).—320, 442, 469

*Smith (Smith-Headingley), Adolphe (Adolphus)* (1846-1924)—British journalist; was born in Paris; member of the Social Democratic Federation in the 1880s; adhered to the French Possibilists.—553

*Sonis, Louis Gaston de* (1825-1887)—French general; commanded the 17th Corps during the Franco-Prussian war.—203

*Sorge, Friedrich Adolph* (1828-1906)—prominent figure in the international and American working-class and socialist movement, German teacher; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; in 1852 emigrated to the USA; founder of the American sections of the First International; Secretary of the Federal Council; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); member of the General Council in New York and its General Secretary (1872-74); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—589

*Steens, Eugène* (1825-1898)—Belgian journalist, member of the International; editor of *La Tribune du Peuple* and *L'Internationale;* delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) and the London Conference (1871) of the International.—614

*Steinmetz, Karl Friedrich, von* (1796-1877)—German general, field marshal from 1871; commanded the First Army during the Franco-Prussian war (up to September 1870).—20, 23, 33, 34, 42, 69, 86

*Stepney, Cowell William Frederick* (1820-1872)—British, member of the Reform League; member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its Treasurer (1868-70); delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses; member of the British Federal Council (1872).—8, 270, 355, 382, 431

*St. Hilaire*—see *Barthélemy Saint Hilaire, Jules*

*Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882)—Prussian police officer; Chief of the Prussian political police (1852-60); one of the organisers of and chief witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); during the Franco-Prussian war chief of military police and of the German intelligence and counter-intelligence in France.—274, 288

*Stoll*—member of the General Council of the International in 1870.—8, 270

*Stosch, Albrecht, von* (1818-1896)—German general; Chief of the Commissariat of the German armies and later Chief of Staff under Duke of Mecklenburg and Chief of Staff of German occupational troops in France (1871).—209

*Stüllpnagel, Ferdinand Wolf Louis Anton, von* (1813-1885)—German general; commanded the Fifth division during the Franco-Prussian war.—32

*Suchet, Louis Gabriel, duc d'Albufera da Valencia* (1770-1826)—Marshal of France; fought in the Peninsular war (1808-14).—143, 144

*Sulla (Lucius Cornelius Sulla)* (138-78 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman, consul (88 B.C.); dictator (82-79 B.C.).—318, 349

*Susane, (Suzanne) Louis* (1810-1876)—French general; for several years was Chief of the Artillery Department of the War Ministry; author of works on the history of the French army.—313, 438, 517

T

*Tacitus, Publius Cornelius* (c. 55-c. 120)—Roman historian and orator.—349

*Taillefer*—French employee of an insurance company; was arrested for forgery and embezzlement of state property; publisher of *L'Étendard.*—313, 475, 518

*Tamisier, François Laurent Alphonse* (1809-1880)—French general and politician, republican; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; Commander of the Paris National Guards (September-November 1870); deputy to the National Assembly (1871).—323, 446, 480, 527

*Tann-Rathsamhausen, Ludwig Samson Arthur Freiherr von und zu der* (1815-1881)—German general; commanded the First Bavarian Corps during the Franco-Prussian war.—138, 147, 152, 163, 168, 169, 171, 176, 181, 192, 204, 208, 211, 243

*Taylor, Alfred*—British worker; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72), and of the British Federal Council (1872-73).—355, 376, 382, 386, 431

*Taylor, Peter Alfred* (1819-1891)—British politician; bourgeois radical, M.P.—587

*Tertullian (Tertullianus, Quintus Septimus Florens)* (c. 160-c. 222)—Christian theologian and writer.—292

*Thiers, Élise* (1818-1880)—Adolphe Thiers's wife.—326, 440

*Thiers, Marie Joseph Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman; Prime Minister (1836, 1840); head of the Orleanists after 1848; organised the suppression of the Paris Commune (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73).—4, 292, 311-12, 314-22, 324-29, 331, 337, 338-52, 354, 380, 389-90, 396, 398, 432, 438-44, 446-58, 462-70, 475-78, 492, 497, 501, 503, 506, 508-10, 512-13, 515, 519-25, 528, 530-32, 538-47, 593, 595, 597, 610, 622, 627, 628, 630

*Thomas, Clément* (1809-1871)—French general, moderate Republican; publisher of *Le National;* took part in suppressing the June 1848 uprising in Paris; commanded the Paris National Guard (November 1870-February 1871); sabotaged the city's defence; was shot by the insurgent soldiers on March 18, 1871.—323-24, 328, 346-47, 443, 445, 446, 449, 481, 508, 510, 524, 526, 528, 532

*Tibaldi, Paolo* (1825-1901)—Italian revolutionary, follower of Garibaldi; member of the International; participant in the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to England.—563

*Timur (Tamerlane)* (1336-1405)—Central Asian conqueror, founder of a large state in the East with Samarkand as its capital.—326, 463, 530

*Todleben (Totleben), Eduard Ivanovich* (1818-1884)—Russian military engineer, general; an organiser of the defence of Sebastopol (1854-55).—217

*Tolain, Henri Louis* (1828-1897)—active in the French working-class movement, engraver; Right-wing Proudhonist; member of the First Paris Bureau and Paris section of the First International; delegate to all congresses and conferences of the International in 1865-69; deputy to the National Assembly (1871); during the Paris Commune went over to the Versaillists and was expelled from the International (1871); Senator during the Third Republic.—297, 327, 364, 553, 562, 590

*Townshend, William*—member of the General Council of the International (1869-72).—8, 270, 355, 382, 431

*Tresckow, Udo von* (1808-1885)—German general; commanded the First Reserve Division and a siege corps at Belfort during the Franco-Prussian war.—227, 244

*Tridon, Edme Marie Gustave* (1841-1871)—French journalist, Blanquist; deputy to the National Assembly (1871); but then renounced his powers; member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Belgium.—510

*Trochu, Louis Jules* (1815-1896)—French general and politician, Orleanist; took part in the conquest of Algeria (1830s-1840s), in the Crimean (1853-56) and Italian (1859) wars; head of the Government of National Defence; Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of Paris (September 1870-January 1871); sabotaged the city's defence; deputy

to the National Assembly (1871).—45, 54, 89, 113, 121, 122, 139, 169, 176-78, 183, 188, 189, 192, 196, 205, 216, 219, 232-35, 240, 241, 304, 311, 312, 318, 322-24, 351, 437, 438, 446, 469, 480, 482, 506, 510, 513, 515-17, 527, 532, 547

*Truelove, Edward* (1809-1899)—British publisher, Chartist; member of the Reform League and the National Sunday League; helped to popularise some of Marx's works, published the General Council's two addresses on the Franco-Prussian war and *The Civil War in France*.—567

*Tümpling, Wilhelm* (1809-1884)—German general; commanded the Sixth Corps during the Franco-Prussian war.—189

U

*Ulrich, Jean Jacques Alexis* (1802-1886)—French general; Commandant of the Strasbourg fortress during the Franco-Prussian war.—93, 113

*Urquhart, David* (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician; Tory M.P. (1847-52).—371

*Utin (Outine), Nikolai Isaakovich* (1845-1883)—Russian revolutionary; participant in the student movement; member of the Land and Freedom society; in 1863 emigrated to England and then to Switzerland; an organiser of the Russian section of the International; member of the *Narodnoye Dyelo* (People's Cause) editorial board (1868-70); an editor of the *Égalité* (1870-71); supported Marx and the General Council in the struggle against Bakunin and his followers; delegate to the London Conference (1871); in 1877 returned to Russia; associate of Marx and Engels.—429, 618

V

*Vacheron, Louis*—French lawyer; general prosecutor of the Mayenne Department in 1871.—444

*Vaillant, Marie Édouard* (1840-1915)—French engineer, naturalist and physician; Blanquist; member of the Paris Commune, of the National Guard's Central Committee and of the General Council of the International (1871-72); delegate to the Lausanne Congress (1867) and the London Conference (1871); after the Hague Congress (1872) withdrew from the International.—431, 510, 616, 617, 618

*Valentin, Louis Ernest*—French general, Bonapartist; Prefect of the Paris police on the eve of the uprising on March 18, 1871.—320, 343, 441, 452, 467, 477, 510, 513, 541, 546

*Varlin, Louis Eugène* (1839-1871)—took part in the French working-class movement, bookbinder; Left-wing Proudhonist; member of the International from 1865; a founder of the International's sections in France; delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Geneva (1866) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; member of the National Guard's Central Committee and the Paris Commune; was shot by the Versailles troops on May 28, 1871.—510, 554

*Vauban, Sébastien Le Prestre de* (1633-1707)—Marshal of France, military engineer; author of several books on fortification and siege-works.—92, 101, 102, 222

*Vendez*—French general; commanded the 19th Corps during the Franco-Prussian war.—45.

*Vermorel, Auguste Jean Marie* (1841-1871)—French journalist and writer, Left republican; Proudhonist; contributed to various newspapers; editor-in-chief of *Le Courrier français;*

member of the Paris Commune; was heavily wounded in street fighting in Paris in May 1871 and died in captivity.—381

*Vernier*—husband of Jeanne Charmont, Jules Favre's mistress.—313.

*Vésinier, Pierre* (1824-1902)—French journalist, participant in the London Conference of the International (1865); was expelled from the International in 1868 for conducting a slanderous campaign against the General Council; member of the Paris Commune; editor-in-chief of the *Journal officiel de la République français,* the main organ of the Commune; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to England; published the newspaper *Fédération* and was a member of the Universal Federalist Council which opposed Marx and the General Council.—386, 591

*Victor, Claude Victor Perrin, duc de Bellune* (1764-1841)—Marshal of France; participant in the wars of Napoleonic France, War Minister (1821-23).—199

*Victoria* (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901).—579

*Vinoy, Joseph* (1800-1880)—French general, Bonapartist; took part in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; during the Franco-Prussian war commanded the 13th Corps, then the First Corps of the Second Paris Army and the Third Paris Army; Governor of Paris from January 22, 1871; commanded the Versailles reserve army.—89, 189, 191, 320, 322, 324, 326, 441, 445-47, 471, 510, 512, 513, 525, 527-30, 546, 586

*Vivien, Alexandre François Auguste* (1799-1854)—French lawyer and politician; Orleanist; Minister of Justice (1840); Minister of Public Works (1848) in Cavaignac's government.—444

*Vogel von Falckenstein, Eduard* (1797-1885)—German general; Governor-General of the coastal regions in Germany during the Franco-Prussian war.—271, 275

*Voget, H.*—Bavarian officer.—165

*Vogt, Karl* (1817-1895)—German natural scientist, vulgar materialist, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49, one of the five imperial regents (June 1849); emigrated in 1849; subsequently received subsidies from Napoleon III; slandered Marx and Engels.—298-305, 314

*Voigts-Rhetz, Konstantin Bernhard von* (1809-1877)—German general; commanded the 10th Corps during the Franco-Prussian war.—209

*Voltaire, François Marie Arouet* (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—327, 460

W

*Wade, Charles*—British bourgeois republican.—562

*Wahlin*—served in the National Guard; Communard; shot in the counter-revolutionary demonstration in Paris on March 22, 1871.—511

*Ward, Osborne*—American mechanic, member of the International's section in the USA; at the Hague Congress (1872) of the International was elected member of the General Council; was influenced by bourgeois reformists.—357, 559

*Washburne, Elihu Benjamin* (1816-1887)—American politician and diplomat, Republican; ambassador in Paris (1869-77); opposed the Paris Commune.—379-82, 563

*Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of* (1769-1852)—British general and statesman, Tory; commanded the

British forces in the wars against Napoleon I (1808-14, 1815); Commander-in-Chief (1827-28, 1842-52), Prime Minister (1828-30).—175

*Werder, August Karl, Count von* (1808-1887)—German general; commanded the 14th Corps during the Franco-Prussian war.—138, 148, 153, 171, 180, 196, 211, 222, 224, 226-29, 236-37, 243-47, 258

*Weston, John*—active in the British working-class movement, carpenter; follower of Owen; member of the General Council of the International (1864-72); delegate to the London Conference (1865); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; a leader of the Land and Labour League; member of the British Federal Council.—8, 270, 278, 355, 382, 431, 554, 558, 582, 583

*Wickede, Julius von* (1819-1896)—German army officer and military writer; correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* at the German headquarters during the Franco-Prussian war.—243, 244

*Widdern, von*—see *Cardinal von Widdern, Georg*

*William I, the Conqueror* (c. 1027-1087)—Duke of Normandy, King of England (from 1066).—515

*William I (Wilhelm I)* (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, King of Prussia (1861-88), German Emperor (1871-88).—12, 71, 73, 85, 94, 160, 191, 195, 263, 264, 275, 276, 281, 347, 515, 579, 619, 620

*Wimpffen, Emmanuel Félix de* (1811-1884)—French general; during the Franco-Prussian war commanded the 5th Corps (from August 31, 1870); commanded the Army of Châlons after Mac-Mahon was wounded in the battle of Sedan, and after the defeat signed the capitulation of the Sedan Army.—78-80, 86

*Wittich, Friedrich Wilhelm Ludwig, von* (1818-1884)—German general; commanded the 22nd division during the Franco-Prussian war.—147, 169

*Wolff, Luigi*—Italian major, follower of Mazzini; member of the Associazione di Mutuo Progresso in London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-65); took part in the London Conference (1865); agent provocateur of the Bonapartist police.—385, 563, 608

*Wróblewski, Walery* (1836-1908)—Polish revolutionary democrat; a leader of the Polish liberation uprising of 1863; general of the Paris Commune; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—339, 431

*Wurmser, Dagobert Siegmund, Count* (1724-1797)—Austrian field marshal; commander of the Austrian troops in Italy (1796); was defeated by Bonaparte several times and capitulated in the fortress of Mantua.—65

## Z

*Żabicki, Antoni* (c. 1810-1889)—a leader of the Polish national liberation movement; compositor; emigrated from Poland after 1831; participant in the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49; from 1851 a refugee in England; a leader of the Democratic Association in London; from 1863 published *Głos Wolny*, newspaper of the Polish democratic refugees; Secretary of the Polish National Committee; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1866-71).—8, 270, 355, 382

*Zastrow, Heinrich Adolf von* (1801-1875)—German general and military writer; commanded the Seventh

Corps during the Franco-Prussian war.—224, 227, 228, 237, 241

*Zévy, Maurice*—member of the General Council of the International (1866-72); Corresponding Secretary for Hungary (1870-71).—8, 270, 355, 382, 431

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*Anthony*—see *Marcus Antonius*

*Breitmann, Hans*—character of Charles Godfrey Leland's (1824-1903) book of humorous ballads of the same name.—600

*Carlos, Don* (1545-1568)—idealised character in a number of literary works; Spanish infant, son of the Spanish King Philip II; was persecuted for his opposition to his father and died in confinement.—316, 445

*Christ, Jesus (Bib.)*— *343, 467, 544*

*Cid (Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar)* also called *El Campeador (El Sid)* (1026 or c. 1041-1099)—a Spanish hero who fought against and conquered the Moors; the hero of the Spanish epic poem *Cantar de mío Cid* and many romances and chronicles, e.g. Corneille's *Le Cid.*—628

*Dogberry*—a character of Shakespeare's comedy *Much Ado About Nothing.*—626

*Falstaff*—a character in Shakespeare's tragedy *King Henry IV* and his comedy *The Merry Wives of Windsor.*—314, 628

*Hecate* (Greek myth.)—the goddess of moonlight, mistress of monsters and shades in the underworld.—350

*Heracles (Hercules)* (Greek and Roman myth.)—son of Zeus, famous for his strength and courage.—269, 452, 505

*Job* (Bib.)—317

*Joshua* (Bib.)—leader of the Israelites.—73, 325

*Marcus Antonius (Anthony)* (c. 83-30 B.C.)—Roman general and politician; hero in Shakespeare's tragedy *Julius Caesar.*—470

*Megaera*—one of the three goddesses of vengeance personifying wrath and enviousness.—350

*Münchhausen, Baron*—character from German humorous adventure stories collected into a book by the German writer Rudolf Erich Raspe (second half of the 18th century) and published in English as the character's recollection; main character of Karl Immerman's novel *Münchhausen, eine Geschichte in Arabesken* (1838).—292, 631

*Pistol*—a character in Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor, King Henry IV* (Part Two) and *King Henry V*: an idler, braggart and liar.—356

*Pourceaugnac*—a character from Molière's comedy *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac.*—319, 524

*Shylock*—a character in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice.*—319, 540

*Tom Thumb (Tom Pouce)*—a very small boy in fairy tale.—326, 463

*Triboulet*—joker, a hero in Hugo's *Le Roi s'anuese.*—463

*Verges*—a character in Shakespeare's comedy *Much Ado About Nothing.*—626

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*L'Avenir libéral. Journal libéral hebdomadaire*—a Bonapartist paper published from June 21 to September 15, 1870 in Paris, and from March 22 to May 29, 1871 and from July 8 to November 18, 1871 in Versailles; was banned during the Paris Commune.—432

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*La Cloche. Journal de l'Union Républicaine*—organ of the French liberal republican opposition, published in Paris as a weekly from August 1868 to December 1869, and as a daily from December 1869 to 1872; it criticised the Second Empire, in 1871 supported the Versaillese; on April 18, 1871 was banned by the Paris Commune.—475

*Cologne Gazette*—see *Kölnische Zeitung*

*La Commune. Bulletin des Sections de l'Internationale, de la Nouvelle Orléans et du Texas. Publié en coopération par des Sections de l'Internationale de la Louisiane, du Texas, du Rhode Island, de New York et de la Californie*—a monthly published in New

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*The Eastern Post*—an English workers' weekly published in London under this name from 1868 to 1873, and under various titles up to 1938; organ of the General Council of the International from February 1871 to June 1872.—580, 591, 592, 597

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*L'Égalité. Journal de l'Association internationale des Travailleurs de la Suisse romande*—a French-language daily published in Geneva from December 1868 to December 1872; organ of the Romance Federation of the International; from 1869 it was virtually controlled by Bakunin.—411, 429, 430, 555, 556

*L'Électeur libre*—a weekly (a daily since the Franco-Prussian war) of the Right-wing republicans published in Paris from 1868 to 1871; in 1870-71 it was connected with the Ministry of Finance of the Government of National Defence.—314, 440, 518

*L'Étendard*—a French Bonapartist weekly published in Paris from 1866 to 1869; was closed down after the exposure of fraudulent machinations which were a source of financing the paper.—315, 475

*The Evening Standard*—a conservative newspaper published in London from 1827 to 1905.—357, 405, 502

*The Examiner*—a liberal weekly published in London from 1808 to 1881.—369, 376

*La Federacion*—a Spanish workers' weekly published in Barcelona from 1869 to 1873; organ of the Barcelona Federation of the International, and, later, of the Federal Council of the International in Barcelona; was under the influence of the Bakuninists.—277

*Felleisen*—a Swiss magazine, organ of the Educational Societies of German Workers in Switzerland, published in Zurich and Geneva from 1862 to 1874; in August 1868 joined the International, published some materials on its activity.—561

*Le Figaro*—a French conservative daily published in Paris since 1854; from 1826 to 1833 it appeared under the title *Figaro, journal nonpolitiqué;* in the 1850s it took a Bonapartist stand.—292, 312, 318, 437, 516

*La France*—a bourgeois-republican daily published in Paris from 1861 to 1939.—390, 626

*Le Gaulois*—a conservative monarchist daily, organ of the big bourgeoisie and aristocracy, published in Paris from 1868 to 1929.—292, 395, 398

*La Gazette de France*—a royalist newspaper published under this title in Paris from 1762 to 1792 and from 1797 to 1848.—383, 384

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*L'International*—a French-language daily published in London from 1863 to 1871; semi-official organ of the French Government.—391

*L'Internationale. Organe des sections belges de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*—a Belgian weekly published in Brussels with active participation of De Paepe from January 17, 1869 to December 28, 1873; it published documents of the International; in 1873 it took the anarchist stand.—6, 554, 560

*Journal de Bruxelles. Politique, Littérature et Commerce*—a conservative newspaper, mouthpiece of Catholic circles, published from 1820.—187

*Journal de Paris, national, politique et littéraire. Journal du Soir*—a weekly published in Paris from 1867; it voiced the views of the Orleanists.—349

*Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg*—a daily newspaper, organ of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, published in French from 1825 to 1914.—281

*Journal officiel*—an abbreviated title of the *Journal officiel de L'Empire français;* it was published in Paris from January 1, 1869 as the official organ of the Bonapartist government instead of *Le Moniteur universel;* in September 1870, after the fall of the Empire, it appeared under the name of *Journal officiel de la République française* and from March 20 to May 24, 1871, it was the official organ of the Paris Commune (during the Commune, the Thiers government issued a newspaper of the same name in Versailles).—188, 242, 312, 327, 328, 331, 332, 337, 339, 340, 347, 348, 351, 354, 357, 361, 376, 388, 389, 438, 448, 450, 465, 466, 470, 472-79, 488, 492, 500, 502, 503, 506-09, 513, 516, 517, 530, 596

*Kamerad*—a Vienna military magazine.—187

*Karlsruher Zeitung*—a German daily, official organ of the Grand Duchy of Baden, published in Karlsruhe from 1757.—224

*Kladderadatsch. Humoristisch-satirisches Wochenblatt*—an illustrated weekly published in Berlin from 1848 to 1944.—334

*Kölnische Zeitung*—a daily published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; in the 1850s it voiced the interests of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie.—200, 204, 224, 235, 238, 243, 244, 261, 264, 405

*Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger*—a daily of the Prussian Government published under this title in Berlin from 1851 to 1871.—232, 234, 274

*La Liberté*—a conservative evening daily, mouthpiece of the big bourgeoisie, published in Paris from 1865 to 1940; during the siege of Paris in 1870-71 was published in Tours, and then in Bordeaux; in 1866-70 it was owned by E. Girardin; it supported the policy of the Second Empire, advocated war against Prussia, and opposed the Government of National Defence.—286, 287, 289, 464, 478

*The Manchester Guardian*—Free Traders' newspaper founded as a weekly in Manchester in 1821; a daily since 1857; organ of the Liberal Party since the middle of the 19th century.—61

*La Marseillaise*—a French daily, organ of the Left-wing republicans, published in Paris from December 1869 to September 1870; it printed materials on the activity of the International and on the working-class movement.—4, 6

*Moniteur des Communes. Bulletin hebdomadaire*—a French government newspaper published during the Paris Commune, from May to June 1871, in Versailles as an evening supplement to *Journal officiel* of the Thiers government.—467, 471, 502

*Moniteur officiel du Gouvernement général du Nord de France et de la Préfecture de Seine-et-Oise*—the title under which a semi-official Prussian newspaper for the French population was published when this article was printed; its abbreviated title—*Moniteur;* it appeared from October 15, 1870 to March 5, 1871 in Versailles under Bismarck's supervision.—274

*Le Maniteur universel*—a daily published in Paris in 1789-1901; it appeared under this title from 1811 and was an official government publication (1799-1869).—119, 191, 316, 319, 348, 456, 521

*The Morning Advertiser*—a daily published in London from 1794; it voiced the views of the radical bourgeoisie in the 1850s.—383, 552

*Le Mot d'Ordre*—a Left-wing republican daily, published in Paris under the editorship of Henri Rochefort from February 3, 1871. On March 11 it was suspended by the order of the Governor of Paris, Joseph Vinoy, but was resumed during the Paris Commune on April 8, and continued to appear until May 20, 1871. The newspaper resolutely opposed the Versailles government and the monarchist majority of the National Assembly, but it never gave its full support to the Commune and opposed the Commune's measures aimed at suppressing the counter-revolutionary forces in Paris.—317, 327, 343, 344, 444, 453, 464, 468, 478, 544

*Le National*—a French moderate republican daily published in Paris from 1830 to 1851.—323, 357, 360, 443, 455, 527

*National-Zeitung*—a German daily published in Berlin from 1848 to 1915; it voiced liberal views in the 1850s.—393, 405

*Neue Freie Presse*—an Austrian bourgeois-liberal daily with morning and evening editions was published in Vienna from 1864 to 1939.—374

*Neue Schweizer Zeitung*—a radical weekly published in Geneva in 1859-60 by the German refugee August Brass.—300

*New-York Daily Tribune*—a newspaper founded by Horace Greeley, published from 1841 to 1924; organ of the US Left-wing Whigs till the mid-1850s, later it voiced the views of the Republican Party. Marx and Engels contributed to it from

August 1851 to March 1862. The paper had several special issues, among them the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* and *New-York Weekly Tribune,* which also printed articles by Marx and Engels.—405

*The New-York Herald*—a US daily published in 1835-1924; it favoured compromise with the slaveowners of the South during the Civil War.—379, 395, 396

*Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*—a reactionnary daily published in Berlin from 1861 to 1918; in the 1860s-1880s was the official organ of the Bismarck government.—198, 210, 300

*El Obrero*—a Spanish weekly, published in Palma (Majorca) in 1870-71; it was banned by the government in January 1871 but continued to appear under the name *La Revolution social*; after the publication of its three issues it was closed down, the editor being put on trial on a charge of "having insulted the King".—277

*The Observer*—a conservative weekly published in London since 1791.—505, 543

*Ostsee-Zeitung und Börsennachrichten der Ostsee*—a German daily published in Stettin from 1835, its first title was *Börsen-Nachrichten der Ostsee.*—283

*The Pall Mall Gazette. An Evening Newspaper and Review*—a daily published in London from 1865 to 1920; in the 1860s and 1870s pursued a conservative line; Marx and Engels maintained contacts with it from July 1870 to June 1871, at this time it published a series of Engels' articles *Notes on the War.*—157, 158, 180, 281, 360, 375, 376, 378, 563

*Paris-Journal*—a daily published in Paris from 1868 to 1874 by Henri de Pène; it supported the Second Empire, then the Government of National Defence and Thiers and slandered the International and the Paris Commune.—285, 288, 289, 291-93, 364, 369, 383, 384, 464, 631

*Le Petit Journal*—a bourgeois-republican daily published in Paris from 1863 to 1944.—328, 475, 500, 533, 548

*Die Presse*—a liberal daily published in Vienna from 1848 to 1896; it opposed Bonapartism, and printed articles and news reports by Marx in 1861 and 1862.—374

*Le Progrès*—a Bakuninist newspaper which opposed the General Council of the International; it was published in French in *Le Locle* under the editorship of Guillaume from December 1868 to April 1870.—412, 421, 430, 555

*La Province*—a monarchist daily published in Bordeaux in 1870-71.—588

*Provinzial-Correspondenz*—a Prussian government paper, founded in Berlin in 1862.—243

*Public Opinion*—a bourgeois-liberal weekly founded in London in 1861.—392, 393, 405

*Punch, or the London Charivari*—a liberal comic weekly founded in London in 1841.—334

*Le Rappel*—a Left-wing republican daily founded by Victor Hugo and Henri Rochefort; was published in Paris from 1869 to 1928; it sharply criticised the Second Empire; in the period of the Paris Commune it came out in support of it.—315, 325, 327, 339, 342, 345, 346, 354, 443, 446, 448, 450, 454-55, 457-58, 466, 468, 474-78, 488, 512, 521, 528, 529, 531, 539, 541-43

*Le Réveil*—a French weekly and, from May 1869 onwards, a daily of the Left republicans published in Paris under the editorship of Charles Delescluse between July 1868 and January 1871; from October 1870 it opposed the Government of National Defence.—4

*La Revolucion social*—see *El Obrero*

*La Roma del popolo. Publicazione settimanale di filosofia religiosa, politica, letteratura*—a petty-bourgeois democratic daily published in Rome in 1871-72; organ of the Left-wing Mazzinists; it opposed the Paris Commune and the International.—385, 605

*Schweizer Handels-Courier*—a Swiss daily published in Biel (canton of Berne); appeared under this title from 1853 to 1909; voiced Bonapartist views; in the 1850s-1860s, its editors were closely connected with Karl Vogt.—299

*Le Siècle*—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939; in the 1850s it was the organ of moderate republicans.—54, 234

*La Situation*—a French-language Bonapartist daily, published in London from September 1870 to August 2, 1871; opposed the Government of National Defence and Thiers government.—313, 314, 320, 328, 342, 352, 438, 439, 446, 448, 452, 454, 459, 475, 476, 517, 518, 531, 541, 595, 604

*La Solidaridad*—a Spanish newspaper, organ of the Madrid sections of the International, published in Madrid from January 1870; was banned by the government in January 1871.—277

*La Solidarité. Organe des sections de la Fédération romande de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*—a Bakuninist weekly, published in French from April 11, to September 3, 1870 in Neuchâtel, and from March 28 to May 12, 1871 in Geneva.—277

*The Spectator*—an English weekly published in London since 1828, first Liberal and later Conservative.—359, 369, 375

*Staats-Anzeiger*—see *Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger*

*The Standard*—an English conservative newspaper published in London from 1857 to 1916.—66, 255, 349, 366, 375, 384, 404, 509

*The Sun*—a liberal daily published in London from 1798 to 1876.—396

*Die Tagespresse*—a daily, organ of the petty-bourgeois German People's Party, published in Vienna from 1869 to 1878.—198, 299

*Die Tagwacht*—a Swiss Social-Democratic newspaper, published in Zurich from 1869 to 1880; organ of the German sections of the International in Switzerland in 1869-73.—555

*Telegraph*—see *Daily Telegraph*

*Le Temps*—a conservative daily newspaper, organ of the French big bourgeoisie, published in Paris from 1861 to 1943; it opposed the Second Empire and the war against Prussia; after the fall of the Empire supported the Government of National Defence.—4, 5, 19, 23, 38-41, 43, 45, 48, 50, 51, 65, 66, 121, 133, 139, 150, 283, 356, 357

*The Times*—an English conservative daily founded in London in 1785.—4, 12, 14, 23, 25, 27, 28, 30-34, 53, 54, 62, 67, 70, 71, 74, 75, 79, 80, 82, 85, 100,

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*La Tribune de Bordeaux. Journal Quotidien, Politique, Commercial et Littéraire*—an originally bourgeois-democratic and subsequently labour newspaper published in Bordeaux from September 1870; during the Paris Commune, was under considerable influence of Paul Lafargue.—318, 341, 506, 522

*Le Vengeur*—a Left-wing republican newspaper published in Paris from February 3, 1871; on March 11 the publication was suspended by the order of the Governor of Paris, Joseph Vinoy, but was resumed during the Paris Commune on March 30, and was continued until May 24, 1871; it supported the Commune, published its official documents and reports on its assemblies.—313, 315, 324, 342, 358, 361, 439, 451, 455, 457, 466, 467, 473, 479, 505, 506, 517, 520, 527, 541

*La Vérité. Journal politique quotidien*—a republican bourgeois-radical newspaper published in Paris from October 6, 1870 to September 3, 1871; at first it supported the Commune but then opposed its social measures.—404, 505, 552

*Der Volksstaat*—Central organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party published in Leipzig from October 2, 1869 to September 29, 1876, first twice a week, and, from 1873, three times a week.—6, 259, 268, 275, 281, 288, 559

*Der Wanderer*—an Austrian daily published in Vienna from 1809 to 1866.—377

*De Werker. Orgaan der Vlaamsche Afdeelingen van de Internationale Werkervereeniging*—a newspaper published in Flemish in Antwerp from 1868 to 1914; in 1868-71, a weekly of the Flemish section of the International, published its documents; later on a daily of the Flemish and then of the Belgian Socialist Workers' parties.—291

*Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*—a weekly published in New York in 1870-76 by the bourgeois feminists Victoria Woodhull and Tenessee Claflin; organ of the Section No. 12 of the International in the USA, which consisted of bourgeois reformists and was expelled from the International by the General Council in March 1872.—432, 622

*The World*—a newspaper published in New York from 1860 to 1931.—600

*Zeitschrift des Königlich preussischen statistischen Bureaus*—Prussian official statistical monthly published in Berlin from 1860 to 1905.—105, 123

*Die Zukunft*—a bourgeois-democratic newspaper, organ of the German People's Party, published from 1866 to 1868 in Königsberg, and from 1868 to 1871 in Berlin.—288

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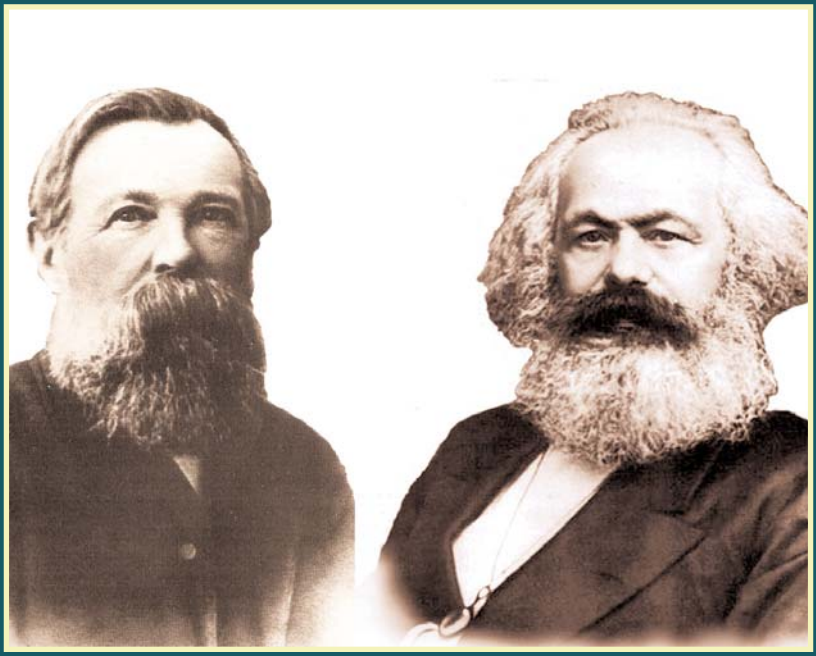

## VOLUME 23

Marx and Engels 1871-74

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 23

## Marx and Engels 1871-74

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TRANSLATORS:

DAVID FORGACS: Works 3, 7, 19, 25, 37, 38, 43, 50, 60, 77, 80
GEOFFREY NOWELL-SMITH: Works 85
JOHN PEET: Works 44, 53
BARRIE SELMAN: Works 30, 59, 87, 90, 91, 95, 96, 100, 104, 106; From the Preparatory Materials 108
SERGEI SYROVATKIN: Works 40, 99; From the Preparatory Materials 109
VERONICA THOMSON: Works 15, 26, 32
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# Preface

Volume 23 of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels contains pamphlets, articles, documents of the International Working Men's Association (the First International) and other items written between October 1871 and July 1874.

These years mark an important stage in the development of the international working-class movement. After the Paris Commune of 1871 the general socio-political situation, and the shifts that had occurred in the movement itself, intensified the need for independent proletarian parties capable of leading the workers' class struggle in the specific conditions of their own countries. The activities of the First International helped to prepare the ideological and organisational ground for the formation of such parties. And it was to this historic task that Marx and Engels devoted their efforts.

The materials in this volume show the all-round development and promulgation in these years of the basic principles of the scientific proletarian worldview, the struggle waged by Marx and Engels against trends hostile to the proletariat.

Their main thrust is towards the theoretical generalisation of the historical experience of the Paris Commune, a task Marx had begun in his *The Civil War in France* (see present edition, Vol. 22). Basing themselves on the experience of the Commune, Marx and Engels develop and enrich their theory of the state, the position and role of the working class in bourgeois society, the conditions required for its winning of political power, and the functions of the proletarian state. Inseparably linked with these

problems are those relating to the character and tasks of the proletarian parties. And it is precisely these problems that provide the battleground for the fight against the non-proletarian socialist trends—Proudhonism, Lassalleanism, Bakuninism, and others.

The volume begins with the new edition of the "General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association", drawn up by Marx and Engels soon after the London Conference of 1871 and issued by the General Council in three languages. This document played a crucial role in spreading the ideological and organisational principles of the International in the period following the Paris Commune. In the light of its lessons the programmatic proposition contained in the Rules on the role of political struggle in the emancipation of the working class, which had more than once been distorted in Proudhonist publications, was of especial importance.

Marx's desire to deepen the programme of the International, and to perfect its organisational structure in the spirit of democratic centralism, is expressed in the "Amendments to the General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association". These Amendments, made in preparation for the Hague Congress, reproduced in substance the resolution passed by the London Conference of the International on political action by the working class. As a result,for the first time ever, a fundamental conclusion arrived at earlier by Marxist thought and confirmed by the analysis of the Paris events of 1871 was incorporated into a programmatic document of the International Working Men's Association—the conclusion that to ensure the victory of the proletarian revolution the working class had to have its own political party.

Marx and Engels never tired of explaining to the working class the world historic significance of the Paris Commune. For example, in the resolutions written in March 1872 for the mass meeting of members of the International and the Commune refugees in London, Marx pointed out that the proletariat would regard the Commune "as the dawn of the great social revolution which will for ever free the human race from class rule" (see this volume, p. 128).

In contrast to the reformists, who tried to gloss over the revolutionary essence of the Commune, and to the anarchists, who interpreted it as an example of the destruction of the state as such, Marxism saw it as the first attempt by the working class not only to break the bourgeois state machine, but to replace it by

a state of a new, proletarian type—an instrument for the socialist transformation of society. Attaching exceptional importance to this historical lesson, Marx and Engels in 1872 found it necessary to make a special addition to the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. In the preface to the new German edition they noted that the Commune had proved that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery", and that to achieve its aims it would therefore have to set up a truly democratic state system of an entirely different class nature (p. 175).

In his article "Political Indifferentism" Marx exposed the theoretical bankruptcy and political harmfulness of the Proudhonist doctrine preached by the Bakuninists that the working class should renounce political struggle, and of the anarchist idea of the immediate "abolition of the State". He showed that in practice these ideas disarm the workers and condemn them to the status of obedient servants of the bourgeoisie. Criticising these anarchist views, Marx demonstrates the historical need to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the revolutionary dictatorship of the working class.

The Marxist propositions on the attitude of the proletarian revolution to the state are also substantiated in the essay "On Authority" by Engels. The essay shows that the anarchists' repudiation of authority, of any kind of guiding or organising principle, is in deep contradiction to real life, to the actual conditions of material production. Organisation of modern industry, transport and agriculture, Engels observes, is impossible without authority. There is also an obvious necessity for authority in the future socialist society, which must be based on highly developed, scientifically organised production requiring strict regulation and control.

Engels demonstrated the anti-scientific and anti-revolutionary essence of the anarchist idea that political authority should be abolished as the first act of the social revolution, that the political state should be "abolished at one stroke", even before the destruction of all the social relations that engendered it. "A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is; it is the act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other part by means of rifles, bayonets and cannon—authoritarian means, if such there be at all... Would the Paris Commune have lasted a single day if it had not made use of this authority of the armed people against the bourgeois? Should we not, on the contrary, reproach it for not having used it freely enough?" (p. 425).

One of the sources that enriched revolutionary theory was the

experience of the bourgeois revolution in Spain, 1868-74, especially the culminating stage of its development. During this stage the republican system was established at the beginning of 1873 and cantonal revolts were instigated in the summer of that year by the extremist group of the left-wing bourgeois republicans, the "Intransigents", and their Bakuninist allies. The article by Engels "The Republic in Spain" and his series of articles *The Bakuninists at Work* analyse these events. Both works are a contribution to Marxist theory on working-class tactics in the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

In the first of these works, while opposing idealisation of the bourgeois republic, Engels nevertheless argues that this type of republic is in a certain sense more advantageous to the proletariat than to the bourgeoisie because it is "the type of state that frees the class struggle from its last fetters" (p. 419). An indispensable condition for successful opposition to the rule of the bourgeoisie, he notes, is the ideological maturity of the working-class movement, a maturity which the Spanish workers had not at that time achieved. Warning against precipitate action, Engels insistently advises the workers to use the republican system to consolidate and organise their ranks. If they did so, the bourgeois republic would have prepared "the ground in Spain for a proletarian revolution" (p. 420).

In his series of articles *The Bakuninists at Work* Engels notes that one of the most pernicious aspects of Bakuninist tactics was that they ignored the bourgeois-democratic tasks of the revolution. The Bakuninists, who at that time had the support of a considerable section of the Spanish proletariat, were incapable of evolving a correct political orientation and in practice were inevitably destined to fall in with the extremist wing of the bourgeois republicans. It was their fault that the Spanish workers, who represented a real force, capable of influencing the course of events in a democratic spirit, were drawn into the adventuristic actions of the instigators of local revolts. The result was a grievous defeat. "The Bakuninists in Spain," Engels stressed, "have given us an unparalleled example of how a revolution should *not* be made" (p. 598).

To the Bakuninist position Engels contrasts the tactical line that should have been adopted by the advanced workers in a country where the conditions for the transference of power to the working class had not yet matured. He believed that energetic participation in the democratic revolution and intense political activity by the proletarian masses could accelerate the maturing

process, that representatives of the working class should enter the revolutionary government in order to coordinate popular action from below with the actions of the revolutionary organs of power from above. Since matters had got to the point of armed struggle, Engels noted, the struggle should have been waged according to the rules of military art, without which no armed uprising could succeed. Above all, it was essential to prevent the insurgent forces from splitting up and getting out of touch, to establish centralised leadership and, by means of offensive action, to prevent the concentration of government troops and spread the uprising across the whole country.

Some essential aspects of the theory of socialist revolution were highlighted in the speech made by Marx in Amsterdam on September 8, 1872, at the meeting of members of the International that followed the Hague Congress. When choosing the tactical means and forms of struggle for establishing working-class power and building a socialist society, Marx said, one had to take into consideration the specific historical conditions proceeding from general revolutionary principles—"the institutions, customs and traditions in the different countries must be taken into account" (p. 255). Developing the thesis he had proposed in the 1850s, on the possibility of different roads—non-peaceful and peaceful—for the advance of the proletarian revolution, Marx admitted that in some countries where at that time there was no powerful military-bureaucratic state apparatus, specifically, in Britain and the USA, the proletariat could achieve its class aims by peaceful means. On the other hand, taking into account the situation obtaining in the majority of European countries at that time, Marx emphasised, "it is force which must be the lever of our revolution" (ibid.). He also envisaged the possibility of a situation in which the peaceful course of a revolution in Britain or other similarly placed countries might be interrupted by the resistance of the exploiting classes with the result that the working class would have to wage an armed struggle with its enemies.

Engels' *The Housing Question,* one of the most important works of scientific socialism, substantiates and defends a number of fundamental propositions of Marxist theory. Written in polemical form, this work is aimed both against the petty-bourgeois ideologists who saw the housing shortage as the basic evil of the whole capitalist system, and against the bourgeois social reformists who thought they could save and perpetuate the existing system of exploitation by relieving the workers of the

worst consequences of capitalist development, specifically by improving their living conditions. Engels scathingly criticised the views of the German Proudhonist Mülberger, who had advanced the utopian idea of turning every worker into the owner of his dwelling as a means of solving the social problem in the spirit of the Proudhonist ideal of "eternal justice". Revealing the flaws in this remedy, Engels shows the petty-bourgeois nature and anti-scientific nature of the views held by Proudhon and his followers. In this work Engels thus continued the criticism of Proudhonism, which Marx had begun in his *The Poverty of Philosophy,* characterising Proudhonism as one of the most typical expressions of petty-bourgeois socialism; Engels also struck a blow at its other varieties. He considered the tendency to camouflage defence of the capitalist system with apparent concern for the good of the working people as a characteristic feature of many bourgeois studies of the housing question, and regarded their authors as representatives of bourgeois socialism. Like the petty-bourgeois ideologists, he wrote, the bourgeois socialists are deeply hostile to the revolutionary working-class movement, sidetrack the workers away from the class struggle, and preach the false idea of the harmony of class interests. "Bourgeois socialism extends its hand to the petty-bourgeois variety" (p. 340).

The housing shortage, Engels tells us, is a logical consequence of the capitalist system. It does not become any less acute with the development of capitalism. However, while affecting the vital interests of the workers and also many categories of the middle strata, the housing question is not the main and decisive social problem. The crucial contradictions of capitalism are to be sought not in the sphere of the relations between the tenant and the house-owner. They are rooted in the sphere of production, in the conditions of the exploitation of labour power by the capitalists. To prove these truths Engels expounds in simple terms the main propositions of *Capital.* As in a number of his other works, he writes as an indefatigable propagandist of Marx's economic theory. He stresses that to do away with the housing shortage, solve the housing question and other social questions generated by the capitalist system, the capitalist mode of production must be abolished and the conditions for the exploitation of wage labour removed. This means that the working class has to win political power, and that the political and economic domination of the bourgeoisie must be eliminated. To achieve these aims the proletariat needs an independent political party armed with the theory of scientific socialism and pursuing a consistent class policy (see p. 372).

Dealing with the question of the possible roads towards the socialist transformation of society, Engels put forward the fruitful idea that these roads would depend on the specific historical conditions of the given country. These conditions would, in particular, determine how and in what form the socialisation of the instruments and means of production owned by the capitalists would be effected by the victorious proletariat (see pp. 385-87).

Engels linked the socialist transformation of society with the problem of eliminating the antithesis between town and country. Arguing against Mülberger's proposition that this antithesis is "natural", and that the desire to get rid of it "utopian", Engels shows that the abolition of the exploiting classes as a result of the socialist revolution will clear the road towards the complete solution of this problem. In socialist society the close intrinsic connection between industrial and agricultural production will lift the rural population out of its millennia of isolation and backwardness.

In "The Nationalisation of the Land", one of Marxism's programmatic documents on the agrarian question, Marx showed that the economic development, growth and concentration of the population would by natural necessity demand the use of collective labour in agriculture. A stable expansion of agricultural production could be attained only on the basis of broad application of the achievements of science and technology. "...The scientific knowledge we possess," Marx stressed, "and the technical means of agriculture we command, such as machinery, etc., can never be successfully applied but by cultivating the land on a large scale" (p. 132).

In defining the socio-economic significance of the nationalisation of the land, Marx proceeded from analysis of the peculiarities of the agrarian systems in various countries. For Britain, where the land was not owned by peasants but concentrated in large estates, land nationalisation had become, in Marx's view, "a social necessity". At the same time, Marx exposed the reformist notions that the agrarian question could be completely solved within the framework of capitalist society by means of land nationalisation. Only in a state where the working class held power, he emphasised, would "agriculture, mining, manufacture, in one word, all branches of production ... gradually be organised in the most adequate manner. *National centralisation of the means of production* will become the national basis of a society composed of associations of free and equal producers, carrying on the social business on a common and rational plan" (p. 136).

Many of the works and documents included in this volume expose the sectarian activity of the Bakuninists, who had become particularly active at that time. Expressing the moods of the petty bourgeoisie who were going bankrupt and thrown into the ranks of the proletariat, especially in such economically backward countries as Italy and Spain, and peddling the "leftist" phrases that went down well in such circles, the Bakuninists made a fresh bid to impose their dogmas on the working-class movement and take over its leadership. Their activities created a serious threat to the unity and solidarity of the International and could have weakened its resistance to the all-round offensive launched by the forces of reaction. The danger became particularly acute when the Bakuninist attacks on the leadership of the International and its line were backed by other sectarian and reformist trends—the Belgian Proudhonists, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois reformists in the USA, the British reformists, and the German followers of Lassalle.

The struggle between the Marxist trend in the International and anarchism flared up after the London Conference (1871), whose resolution on the need for the working class to win political power and set up independent working-class parties had been furiously opposed by Bakunin's followers. In November 1871, the Bakuninist congress in Sonvillier countered this resolution with the doctrine that the workers should abstain from political activity, and put forward the principle of complete autonomy and repudiation of discipline. As Engels noted in his article "The Congress of Sonvillier and the International", the Bakuninist dogmas tended to deprive the proletariat of any organisation of its own. The incompatibility of Bakunin's ideas with the aims of the International, with the task of creating independent political parties of the proletariat, made the ideological defeat of anarchism in the working-class movement a matter of great urgency.

The General Council's private circular, *Fictitious Splits in the International,* which was written by Marx and Engels, struck a blow at Bakuninism. This work was designed to uphold proletarian party principles in contrast to anarchist sectarianism. The actions of the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy, states the circular, are imbued with the spirit of bellicose sectarianism and aimed at undermining the International—the true militant organisation of the proletarians of all countries, "united in their common struggle against the capitalists and the landowners" (p. 107). Marx and Engels showed that sectarianism was a characteristic feature of the

early, immature stage of the working-class movement, and regarded the Bakuninists' attempt to revive it as thoroughly retrograde.

Exposing the anarchists' pseudo-revolutionary phraseology, Marx and Engels show that their programme "is nothing but a heap of pompously worded ideas long since dead" (ibid.). All the basic tasks of the working-class struggle for emancipation—the winning of state power and using it to build a classless society with the further prospect of the withering away of the state—were ignored by the anarchists, who proposed beginning the revolution by destroying all state apparatus. Most damaging of all for the working-class movement was the attempt to sow anarchy in the ranks of the movement itself, a tactic which amounted to disarming the proletariat in their struggle with the exploiters, who had at their disposal all the power of the state apparatus. The Bakuninist attacks on the principles of democratic centralism and party discipline, their demand that the functions of the General Council be reduced to the role of a mere correspondence and statistical bureau, which amounted to robbing the International of centralised leadership, were fraught with disorganisation. The campaign that Marx and Engels waged against the anarchists on the question of the functions and powers of the General Council was, in essence, a campaign for the organisational principles of the proletarian party.

After *Fictitious Splits in the International* had been published, the campaign against the Bakuninists entered a new phase. Marx and Engels began receiving information to the effect that the Alliance of Socialist Democracy which the Bakuninists claimed to have disbanded had in fact been kept going as a strictly conspiratorial society. The very people who accused the General Council of "authoritativeness", Engels observed, "in practice, constitute themselves as a secret society with a hierarchical organisation, and under a, not merely authoritative, but absolutely dictatorial leadership" (p. 206).

The existence within the International Working Men's Association of a secret international organisation of Bakuninists with its own rules and programme meant that Bakunin and his supporters were in practice splitting the Association. "For the first time in the history of the working-class struggles," Engels wrote, "we stumble over a secret conspiracy plotted in the midst of that class, and intended to undermine, not the existing capitalist *régime,* but the very Association in which that *régime* finds its most energetic opponent" (p. 209). The task of the leaders of the International now was not only to bring about the ideological defeat of the Bakuninist Alliance but also

to substantiate and carry out organisational measures to rid the Association's ranks of this alien body.

As can be seen from a number of documents published in this volume, specifically, the appeal "The General Council to All the Members of the International Working Men's Association" and the "Report on the Alliance of Socialist Democracy Presented in the Name of the General Council to the Congress at The Hague", Marx and Engels acted promptly to expose the true face of the secret Bakuninist Alliance before all members of the International, to show the harm that was being done to the working-class organisation by the illegal existence within its ranks of this secret society. They both attached especial importance to unmasking the Bakuninists in the eyes of the workers of Spain and Italy. In their appeal "To the Spanish Sections of the International Working Men's Association" they explained that the aims and character of the Alliance, its activities, were in glaring contradiction to the spirit and letter of the Rules of the International. The attempt by anarchistic groups in Italy to usurp the name of the International was rebuffed in the address written by Engels to the Italian sections concerning the Rimini Conference (see p. 217), and other documents.

While exposing the anti-proletarian activity of the Bakuninists, Marx and Engels and their supporters also had to wage a campaign to root out other elements alien to the revolutionary working-class movement who were trying to use the International Working Men's Association for their own purposes. When such an attempt was made by the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois reformists in the USA, for example, Marx and Engels resolutely opposed these forays against the proletarian character of the International. Their position on this question was reflected in the "Resolutions on the Split in the United States' Federation Passed by the General Council of the I.W.A. in Its Sittings of 5th and 12th March, 1872", written by Marx, in his manuscript "American Split", and in Engels' article "The International in America" (see pp. 124-26, 636-43 and 177-83).

Marx and Engels also had to beat off the attacks by bourgeois politicians and journalists who were trying to distort the aims and purposes of the International Working Men's Association and to discredit its leaders. In the statements with which the General Council reacted to the speeches of the British M.P., Alexander Cochrane, in letters to *The Eastern Post* of December 20, 1871, *Le Corsaire* of September 12, 1872, and in the article "Stefanoni and the International Again" and other documents, they exposed the

dishonest slanders of the working-class movement put about in bourgeois circles.

The documents and articles connected with the Congress of the International at The Hague (September 2-7, 1872) form one of the most important group of items in the volume.

The Hague (fifth) Congress of the I.W.M.A. was a crucial landmark in the long struggle waged by Marx and Engels and advanced workers in various countries to establish the foundations of the revolutionary proletarian worldview in the international working-class movement. Through 1872 Marx and Engels did an enormous amount of work in preparation for the Congress, and the agenda and dates of the Congress were those that they proposed.

The Congress assembled more than a year after the fall of the Paris Commune, when international reaction was on the rampage. The Congress proceedings enjoyed the direct guidance of Marx and Engels and their most active participation. An acute ideological conflict developed between the advocates of the revolutionary proletarian line, grouped round Marx and Engels, and the anarchist delegates, who were supported by the British reformists. The discussion centred on two inseparably connected issues: open recognition, as a programmatic proposition of the International, of the idea that the proletariat should win state power, and proclamation as a guiding principle of the international working-class movement that political mass parties of the proletariat should be set up independently of the bourgeois parties. The solution of these problems in the spirit of the proposals made by Marx and Engels and their comrades meant that the key ideas of Marxism were embodied in the I.W.M.A. programme and marked the victory of Marxist theory over anarchist and reformist ideology.

The report that Marx presented to the Congress on behalf of the General Council gave a profound analysis of the situation facing the International after the Commune, and the qualitative changes that had taken place in the working-class movement as a result of I.W.M.A. activities (see pp. 219-27).

Most of the resolutions of the Hague Congress were written by Marx and Engels; the rest were based on proposals they made at the General Council meetings during preparations for the Congress. By decision of the Congress the basic content of the above-mentioned resolution of the London Conference on working-class political action was incorporated in the General Rules of the International, and the articles specifying and expanding the

powers of the General Council were included in the Administrative Regulations. The resolution on the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy in fact declared this organisation incompatible with the International and expelled the Alliance leaders—Bakunin and Guillaume—from the International Working Men's Association.

At the proposal of Marx and Engels, who based themselves on the actual historical situation that had taken shape in the Europe of the early 1870s, a resolution was passed transferring the seat of the General Council to New York (see p. 240). This step was also prompted by the danger that if it remained in London, the Council might be saddled with a majority of British reformists, or émigré Blanquists bent on adopting adventuristic conspiratorial tactics.

Taken together, the Congress decisions defined the tasks and prospects of the working-class movement in the new historical conditions. They laid the theoretical foundation for the formation in the immediate future of mass proletarian parties within the framework of the national states.

Directly related to the documents of the Hague Congress is the group of articles written by Marx and Engels in order to publicise the key decisions of the Congress. They include the abovementioned speech by Marx at the meeting of International members in Amsterdam, the articles by Engels "On the Hague Congress of the International", "The Congress at The Hague (Letter to Enrico Bignami)", "Letters from London.—II. More about the Hague Congress", and "Imperative Mandates at the Hague Congress".

In their published writings on the Hague Congress, Marx and Engels showed its historical significance and revealed the essence of the struggle that had taken place there between the revolutionary-proletarian trend and the anarchist-reformist bloc.

They summed up the results of the battle against the Bakuninists in the pamphlet *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association,* written at the request of the Hague Congress. On the basis of numerous documents this pamphlet presented an exhaustive picture of the Bakuninist Alliance's disorganising activities within the International and exposed the intrigues and subterfuges to which the leaders of the Alliance had resorted in order to assert their dominance in the I.W.M.A.

After making a critical analysis of the programmatic documents of the Alliance and what its leaders were publishing in the press, the authors of the pamphlet revealed the futility of the Bakuninists'

ideological arsenal, their petty-bourgeois levelling notions of the future society in the spirit of "barrack communism", their calls for rebellion and general destruction, and their orientation on the déclassé sections of society as allegedly the most revolutionary force. Marx and Engels regarded as totally unworthy of revolutionaries the contempt which the Alliance leaders showed for the ethical standards accepted in the working-class movement, their indiscriminate choice of methods of struggle, their use of mystification and deceit, and their actions based on the principle of "the end justifies the means".

The chapter "The Alliance in Russia" demonstrated the harm that Bakunin's and Nechayev's adventuristic activities had done to the Russian revolutionary movement. Marx and Engels contrasted to the Bakuninists' line the Russian revolutionary trend that was taking shape under the influence of Nikolai Chernyshevsky, of whom they wrote with great respect. As we see from his correspondence, it was at this time that Marx had the idea of writing a biography of that Russian revolutionary democrat and socialist.

The pamphlet noted that after the Hague Congress the anarchistic sectarians had launched a hostile campaign aimed at discrediting its decisions and openly refused to submit to them at their separate congresses and local rallies. Their example was followed by the British reformists. The answer to these splitting actions came with the resolutions passed on January 26 and May 30, 1873, by the New York General Council, which signalled the final organisational disassociation from the anarchists. According to these resolutions, all federations, sections and individuals who refused to recognise the decisions of the Hague Congress were declared to have placed themselves outside the ranks of the International Working Men's Association.

A substantial body of materials included in the volume reflect the systematic support that the founders of Marxism gave to the activities of the International's national organisations. Before the Hague Congress they had performed this work mainly as corresponding secretaries of the General Council for several countries—Marx for Germany and Russia, Engels for Italy, Spain, and Portugal. In this capacity they wrote numerous documents and appeals addressed to the sections of the International and individual members, explaining the various tasks that faced the international proletarian organisation and publicising its decisions (see pp. 54-56, 60-61, 74-76, 137-38, 153, 168-69, 184, 211-13, 217, 288-93). At

meetings of the General Council Marx and Engels reported regularly on the state of the working-class movement in various countries. After the Congress in The Hague and the General Council's move to New York these activities did not cease, although they assumed a different character. Marx and Engels constantly helped the Council as its representatives in Europe and supplied it with important information (see, for example, the "Notes for the General Council" compiled by Engels, pp. 414-16).

Because of the great moral authority they enjoyed, they exerted a direct influence on the working-class movement in various countries. They strengthened their connections with the leaders of national contingents of the working class, and their correspondence with them became even more intensive.

The contribution of the founders of Marxism to the working-class press of various countries, their journalistic writings continued to play an important part in rallying and providing revolutionary training for those who participated in the proletariat's struggle. Articles and despatches from Marx and Engels were published in the German newspaper *Der Volksstaat*, and in the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, which came out in German in the USA, in the British papers *The Eastern Post* and *The International Herald*, in the Spanish *La Emancipacion*, the Portuguese *O Pensamento Social*, the Italian *La Plebe, Gazzettino Rosa*, and others.

The contributions that Engels made to the Italian paper *La Plebe*, for example, were of great importance in establishing the Italian working-class movement. His articles about English agricultural labourers' strike, the Hague Congress, the actions of the Irish members of the International in defence of arrested Fenians, and the situation in Spain (see pp. 148-50, 283-84, 294-96, 298-300), published under the general title of "Letters from London", kept Italian workers informed about the proletarian movement in other countries and helped Italy's working class to strengthen its international ties and overcome anarchist influence.

Some of the documents published in this volume are connected with the part Marx and Engels continued to play in those years in the British working-class movement. The position of the International, which openly declared its solidarity with the Paris Commune, brought about the final break between the General Council and a number of trade union leaders who had taken part in the founding and activities of the International Working Men's Association but were negative in their attitude to the Commune. The British Federal Council, set up in October 1871 by decision of

the London Conference of the International, gave Marx and Engels a stronghold in the struggle for the broad masses of the British working class from 1871 to 1873. Making every effort to boost the revolutionary trend in the British working-class movement, they helped the British Federal Council to consolidate its ties with the workers, popularised the ideas of scientific socialism through its members, and guided the struggle against the reformist elements that had infiltrated the Council.

Marx and Engels did all they could to draw the participants in the Irish working-class movement into the International. They supported the idea of creating an independent Irish organisation of the International, regarding it as the basis for the future formation of an Irish working-class party independent of the bourgeois nationalists. Marx and Engels fought hard to overcome the hostility between English and Irish workers that was being artificially inflamed by the English bourgeoisie, and to dispel the chauvinistic prejudices spread by the English reformist leaders. "If members of a conquering nation called upon the nation they had conquered and continued to hold down to forget their specific nationality and position, to 'sink national differences' and so forth, that was not Internationalism, it was nothing else but preaching to them submission to the yoke, and attempting to justify and to perpetuate the dominion of the conqueror under the cloak of Internationalism," Engels said at the meeting of the General Council on May 14, 1872 (p. 155).

For Marx and Engels, one of the crucial means of influencing the British workers in the struggle against reformist ideology was their contributing to the newspaper *The International Herald*, which was in practice the organ of the British Federal Council. In an effort to use this paper to broaden the outlook of British working-class readers and awaken their interest in the emancipation struggle of their class brothers in other countries, Engels published in several of its issues in 1873 the "Communication from the Continent" and "News on the International Labour Movement".

Actions by the reformist elements against the decisions of the Hague Congress brought the internal conflict in the British Federation to a higher pitch, and in December 1872 this led to a split in the British Federal Council. A number of documents reflect the efforts of Marx and Engels to rally the revolutionary forces in the British organisations of the International. The "Address of the British Federal Council to the Sections, Branches, Affiliated Societies and Members of the International Working Men's

Association", and the "Reply to the Second Circular of the Self-styled Majority of the British Federal Council", both of which were written by Marx, and the appeal composed by Engels and entitled "The Manchester Foreign Section to All Sections and Members of the British Federation" showed up the splitting activities of the reformists who had been expelled from the International. Marx and Engels helped to consolidate the victory over the reformists at the Manchester Congress of the British Sections, held in June 1873. The decisions of this congress—recognition of the need to set up a working-class party, and to nationalise all the means of production, recognition of the workers' right to offer armed resistance to the exploiters, proclamation of the red banner, the banner of the British organisations in the International, etc.—testified to the acceptance of Marxist ideas by the vanguard of Britain's working class. Engels pointed out that "no English workers' congress has ever advanced such far-reaching demands" (p. 449). The activities of the British Federation of the International, guided by Marx and Engels, kept alive the revolutionary tendency in the British working-class movement, despite the temporary dominance of reformism in the movement.

Marx and Engels saw the causes of the increasing influence of reformist ideology on union-organised British workers in the peculiar development of British capitalism, in the economic situation in Britain at that time. In his article "The English Elections", written in February 1874, Engels noted that "no separate political working-class party has existed in England since the downfall of the Chartist Party in the fifties. This is understandable in a country in which the working class has shared more than anywhere else in the advantages of the immense expansion of its large-scale industry. Nor could it have been otherwise in an England that ruled the world market..." (p. 613). Emphasising that, in the mass, the English workers participated in political struggle "almost exclusively as the extreme left wing of the 'great Liberal Party'", Engels pointed out that the English proletariat was confronted with the task of organising a strong independent working-class party.

Marx and Engels attached exceptional importance to developing the German proletariat's emancipation struggle. The course of events after the Franco-Prussian war and the Paris Commune increasingly confirmed Marx's and Engels' conclusion that the centre of the European working-class movement was shifting from France to Germany, where the first ever national

working-class party to accept the revolutionary principles of the International had been operating since 1869. They saw the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party as a bastion for rallying the forces of the international working class, as its vanguard contingent. In current conditions it was a task of utmost urgency to get German Social-Democracy on to a sounder theoretical basis, to inoculate it against petty-bourgeois tendencies, and strengthen its ties with the masses. Marx and Engels maintained permanent contact with Bebel, Liebknecht and other party leaders, and helped them to work out a tactical platform and to overcome individual mistakes; they became regular contributors to the party's central organ—*Der Volksstaat.* Engels was a particularly frequent contributor. He explained to the German workers the situation in the international working-class movement and exposed the Lassalleans' slanderous attempts to misrepresent the campaign waged by the revolutionary proletarians against the Bakuninists at the Hague Congress and after it (see "From the International", "On the Articles in the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*", "The International and the *Neuer*", etc.).

Engels used the opportunities afforded by the Social-Democratic press as a means of training the German working class and its party to be irreconcilable towards the reactionary internal system and the aggressive foreign policy of the ruling classes, towards militarism and chauvinism. In his articles "The 'Crisis' in Prussia" and "The Imperial Military Law" he showed that the German Empire, created in 1871 under the aegis of the Prussia of the Junkers, was a military police state, a forcing ground for the arms race and preparations for new wars of aggression. Engels noted the hostility towards the masses, especially the proletariat, of the policy pursued by Bismarck's government, its desire to provide maximum protection for the interests of the most reactionary class—the Junkers, who were clinging to their feudal privileges. Engels poured scorn on the liberal bourgeoisie and its crawling subservience to Bismarck. "The Prussian bourgeoisie," he wrote, "does not *want* political dominance; rotten without having reached maturity, ... it has already arrived, without ever having ruled, at the same stage of degeneration that the French bourgeoisie has attained after eighty years of struggles and a long period of dominance" (p. 405).

In his works of those years Engels laid bare the Bonapartist nature of the state system of the German Empire and the policies of its upper crust. He noted that the form of state that had developed in Prussia, and in Germany's imperial structure which

was built according to the same pattern, "is pseudo-constitutionalism, a form which is at once both the present-day form of the dissolution of the old absolute monarchy and the form of existence of the Bonapartist monarchy" (p. 363). Taking as an example the Prussian-Bismarckian version of the Bonapartist state, Engels singled out the essential features of Bonapartism: manoeuvring between the main contesting classes of bourgeois society, concentration of power in the hands of the military-bureaucratic caste, apparent independence of the state apparatus, decay and corruption of the ruling clique, etc.

A profound analysis of the socio-political situation that had arisen in the Germany of the early 1870s is to be found in the supplement Engels wrote in 1874 to the Preface of 1870 for *The Peasant War in Germany*. Proceeding from this analysis, Engels formulated the tasks confronting the advanced German workers. Lenin described the thoughts he expressed in this connection as "recommendations to the German working-class movement, which had become strong, practically and politically" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 370). Engels showed the immense importance of revolutionary theory for the socialist working-class movement. He pointed out that the proletarian party could fulfil its historic mission only if it were armed with the theory of scientific socialism and had learned to dovetail this theory with the practice of revolutionary struggle. "...Socialism," Engels wrote, "since it has become a science, demands that it be pursued as a science, that is, that it be studied. The task will be to spread with increased zeal among the masses of workers the ever more lucid understanding thus acquired and to knit together ever more strongly the organisation both of the party and of the trade unions" (p. 631). Defining the three inseparably linked directions in which the working-class struggle should be pursued—theoretical, political and economico-practical—Engels stressed that the warrant of success lay in the unity of these three forms of class struggle.

Engels put a high priority on implanting the ideas of proletarian internationalism among the German workers. He indicated that German Social-Democracy, as the most highly organised contingent of the international working-class movement, bore a special responsibility. He urged it "to safeguard the true international spirit, which allows no patriotic chauvinism to arise and which readily welcomes every new advance of the proletarian movement, no matter from which nation it comes" (ibid.).

Linked with the published works of Engels are his manuscript

"Varia on Germany", which emerged from an unaccomplished plan to write a detailed historical study that would help the German workers to draw correct lessons from their country's past. In these "Varia" the Marxist conception of German history from the late Middle Ages is expounded in compact form. Engels reveals the causes of Germany's fragmentation, its political and economic backwardness, and the historical roots of reaction. The adventuristic, anti-popular policy of the ruling classes of the German states, particularly Junker Prussia, the inability of the German burghers and their heirs, the bourgeoisie, to find a revolutionary solution in the struggle with feudalism had resulted in Germany's being unable right up to the middle of the 19th century to complete the process of bourgeois reforms. Engels compared Germany's historical development with that of several other European countries and offered profound thoughts on the process of the formation of nations and national states, and also on German culture, literature and philosophy.

Looking into the future, Engels predicted the collapse of the Prussian-German militarist state.

By the autumn of 1873, during preparations for the Congress of the International in Geneva, Marx and Engels came to the conclusion that the International Working Men's Association, as an organisation for uniting the militant forces of the proletariat, no longer measured up to the new historical conditions. They were both as free of dogmatism over matters concerning the organisation of the proletarian struggle as they were in other matters. They believed that the very process of its development generated the need to change its organisational forms. This development virtually brought the activities of the International Working Men's Association to an end in late 1873, although it was not officially disbanded until 1876. "The First International had played its historical part, and now made way for a period of a far greater development of the labour movement in all countries in the world, a period in which the movement grew in *scope,* and *mass* socialist working-class parties in individual national states were formed" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 21, 1977, p. 49).

The First International, guided by Marx and Engels, performed its historical tasks. It gave an enormous impulse to the development of the working-class struggle for emancipation and rallied tens of thousands of proletarians in Europe and America round the banner of proletarian internationalism. For the first time, the working-class movement emerged on the international

scene as a powerful factor of social progress, as a standard-bearer in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. Thanks to the efforts of Marx and Engels and their comrades, an important step was taken towards imbuing the broad masses with the ideas of scientific socialism. During the years of the International the ideological arsenal of revolutionary theory was itself notably enriched with new conclusions and generalisations. Various kinds of pre-Marxist petty-bourgeois socialism were defeated and loosing their influence. A revolutionary proletarian party was founded in Germany and the ground was prepared for the setting up of similar parties in other countries. A whole galaxy of proletarian revolutionaries—organisers, journalists, propagandists—was formed in the ranks of the International Working Men's Association under the guidance of Marx and Engels. The International performed a great service in evolving the tactics of proletarian organisations, in establishing trade unions, and in developing the working-class press. Its revolutionary traditions of solidarity action by the workers of different countries in defence of the economic and political interests of the working people, of opposing aggressive wars and supporting national-liberation movements have been of enduring value to subsequent generations of proletarian fighters. "It is unforgettable, it will remain for ever in the history of the workers' struggle for their emancipation" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, 1977, p. 240).

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The volume contains 110 works by Marx and Engels. Of these, 40 were written in English, 25 in German, 16 in French, 20 in Italian, and 8 in Spanish; one work was written in the mixture of English, French and German. Twenty-eight works are published in English for the first time.

Any misprints or slips of the pen have been corrected in the text with explanations in footnotes where necessary.

Foreign words and expressions in the text of the original have been preserved in the form in which they were used by the authors, and are given in italics, with the translation usually supplied in a footnote. The English words and expressions used by Marx and Engels in texts written in German, French and other languages, are given in small caps; large passages written in English are marked with initial and closing asterisks.

The volume was compiled, the text prepared and the preface and notes were written, the index of quoted and mentioned

literature, and the subject index were prepared by Tatyana Vasilyeva. The name index and the index of periodicals were prepared by Yelizaveta Ovsyannikova. The volume was edited by Lev Golman (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The translations were made by David Forgacs, John Peet, Barrie Selman, Veronica Thomson, Joan and Trevor Walmsley (Lawrence & Wishart); Geoffrey Nowell-Smith; Sergei Syrovatkin (Progress Publishers), and edited by Nicholas Jacobs (Lawrence & Wishart), Yelena Kalinina, Mzia Pitskhelauri, Jane Sayer, Victor Schnittke, Andrei Skvarsky, Anna Vladimirova, Yelena Vorotnikova (Progress Publishers) and scientific editor Vladimir Mosolov (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The volume was prepared for the press by Margarita Lopukhina, Lyudmila Mikhailova, Alla Varavitskaya and Yelena Vorotnikova (Progress Publishers).

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## WORKS

October 1871-July 1874

# Karl Marx

## [GENERAL RULES AND ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION][1]

### GENERAL RULES OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

*Considering,*

That the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class-rule;

That the economical subjection of the man of labour to the monopolizer of the means of labour, that is the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence;

That the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means;

That all efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labour in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries;

That the emancipation of labour[a] is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries;

That the present revival of the working classes in the most industrious countries of Europe, while it raises a new hope, gives solemn warning against a relapse into the old errors, and calls for

[a] The German edition has "the emancipation of the working class".—*Ed.*

the immediate combination of the still disconnected movements;

*For these Reasons—*

The International Working Men's Association has been founded.

*It declares:*

That all societies and individuals adhering to it will acknowledge truth, justice, and morality, as the basis of their conduct towards each other and towards all men, without regard to colour, creed, or nationality;

That it acknowledges *no rights without duties, no duties without rights;*

And in this spirit the following rules have been drawn up.

1. This Association is established to afford a central medium of communication and co-operation[a] between Working Men's Societies existing in different countries and aiming at the same end; viz., the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation of the working classes.

2. The name of the Society shall be "The International Working Men's Association".

3. There shall annually meet a General Working Men's Congress, consisting of delegates of the branches of the Association. The Congress will have to proclaim the common aspirations of the working class, take the measures required for the successful working of the International Association, and appoint the General Council of the Society.

4. Each Congress appoints the time and place of meeting for the next Congress. The delegates assemble at the appointed time and place without any special invitation. The General Council may, in case of need, change the place, but has no power to postpone the time of meeting. The Congress appoints the seat and elects the members of the General Council annually. The General Council thus elected shall have power to add to the number of its members.

On its annual meetings, the General Congress shall receive a public account of the annual transactions of the General Council. The latter may, in cases of emergency, convoke the General Congress before the regular yearly term.

5. The General Council shall consist of working men from the different countries represented in the International Association. It shall from its own members elect the officers necessary for the

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[a] The German edition has "systematic co-operation".—*Ed.*

# GENERAL RULES

AND

# ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS

OF THE

# INTERNATIONAL WORKING-MEN'S ASSOCIATION.

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OFFICIAL EDITION, REVISED BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

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LONDON:

Printed for the General Council by

EDWARD TRUELOVE, 256, HIGH HOLBORN.

1871.

Title page of the English edition of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association

transaction of business, such as a treasurer, a general secretary, corresponding secretaries for the different countries, etc.

6. The General Council shall form an international agency between the different national and local groups of the Association, so that the working men in one country be constantly informed of the movements of their class in every other country: that an inquiry into the social state of the different countries of Europe be made simultaneously, and under a common direction[a]; that the questions of general interest mooted in one society be ventilated by all; and that when immediate practical steps should be needed—as, for instance, in case of international quarrels—the action of the associated societies be simultaneous and uniform. Whenever it seems opportune, the General Council shall take the initiative of proposals to be laid before the different national or local societies. To facilitate the communications, the General Council shall publish periodical reports.

7. Since the success of the working men's movement in each country cannot be secured but by the power of union and combination, while, on the other hand, the usefulness of the International General Council must greatly depend on the circumstance whether it has to deal with a few national centres of working men's associations, or with a great number of small and disconnected local societies; the members of the International Association shall use their utmost efforts to combine the disconnected working men's societies of their respective countries into national bodies, represented by central national organs. It is self-understood, however, that the appliance of this rule will depend upon the peculiar laws of each country, and that, apart from legal obstacles, no independent local society shall be precluded from directly corresponding with the General Council.

8. Every section has the right to appoint its own secretary corresponding with the General Council.

9. Everybody who acknowledges and defends the principles of the International Working Men's Association is eligible to become a member. Every branch is responsible for the integrity of the members it admits.

10. Each member of the International Association, on removing his domicile from one country to another, will receive the fraternal support of the Associated Working Men.

11. While united in a perpetual bond of fraternal co-operation,

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[a] The French edition has "in a common spirit".—*Ed.*

the working men's societies joining the International Association will preserve their existent organizations intact.

12. The present rules may be revised by each Congress, provided that two-thirds of the delegates present are in favour of such revision.

13. Everything not provided for in the present rules will be supplied by special regulations, subject to the revision of every Congress.

## ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS, REVISED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE CONGRESSES (1866 TO 1869), AND BY THE LONDON CONFERENCE (1871)

### *I*

### *The General Congress*

1. Every member of the International Working Men's Association has the right to vote at elections for, and is eligible as, a delegate to the General Congress.

2. Every branch, whatever the number of its members, may send a delegate to the Congress.

3. Each delegate has but one vote in the Congress.

4. The expenses of the delegates are to be defrayed by the branches and groups which appoint them.

5. If a branch be unable to send a delegate, it may unite with other neighbouring branches for the appointment of one.

6. Every branch or group consisting of more than 500 members may send an additional delegate for every additional 500 members.

7. Only the delegates of such societies, sections, or groups as form parts of the International, and shall have paid their contributions to the General Council, will in future be allowed to take their seats and to vote at Congresses. Nevertheless, for such countries where the regular establishment of the International may have been prevented by law, delegates of trades' unions and working men's co-operative societies will be allowed to participate in Congress debates on questions of principle, but not to discuss, or to vote on, administrative matters.

8. The sittings of the Congress will be twofold—administrative sittings, which will be private, and public sittings, reserved for the

discussion of, and the vote upon, the general questions of the Congress programme.

9. The Congress programme, consisting of questions placed on the order of the day by the preceding Congress, questions added by the General Council, and questions submitted to the acceptance of that Council by the different sections, groups, or their committees, shall be drawn up by the General Council.

Every section, group, or committee which intends to propose, for the discussion of the impending Congress, a question not proposed by the previous Congress, shall give notice thereof to the General Council before the 31st of March.

10. The General Council is charged with the organization of each Congress, and shall, in due time, through the medium of the Federal Councils or Committees, bring the Congress programme to the cognizance of the branches.

11. The Congress will appoint as many committees as there shall be questions submitted to it. Each delegate shall designate the committee upon which he may prefer to sit. Each Committee shall read the memorials presented by the different sections and groups on the special question referred to it. It shall elaborate them into one single report, which alone is to be read at the public sittings. It shall moreover decide which of the above memorials shall be annexed to the official report of the Congress transactions.

12. In its public sittings, the Congress will, in the first instance, occupy itself with the questions placed on the order of the day by the General Council, the remaining questions to be discussed afterwards.

13. All resolutions on questions of principle shall be voted upon by division (*appel nominal*).

14. Two months[a] at latest before the meeting of the annual Congress, every branch or federation of branches shall transmit to the General Council a detailed report of its proceedings and development during the current year. The General Council shall elaborate these elements into one single report, which alone is to be read before Congress.

## *II*
## *The General Council*

1. The designation of General Council is reserved for the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association.

[a] The French edition has "one month".—*Ed.*

The Central Councils of the various countries, where the International is regularly organized, shall designate themselves as Federal Councils, or Federal Committees, with the names of the respective countries attached.

2. The General Council is bound to execute the Congress Resolutions.

3. As often as its means may permit, the General Council shall publish a *bulletin* or report embracing everything which may be of interest to the International Working Men's Association.

For this purpose it shall collect all the documents to be transmitted by the Federal Councils or Committees of the different countries and such others as it may be able to procure by other means.

The *bulletin*, drawn up in several languages, shall be sent gratuitously to the Federal Councils or Committees, which are to forward one copy to each of their branches.

In case the General Council should be unable to publish such *bulletins*, it shall every three months send a written communication to the different Federal Councils or Committees, to be published in the newspapers of their respective countries, and especially in the International organs.

4. Every new branch or society intending to join the International, is bound immediately to announce its adhesion to the General Council.

5. The General Council has the right to admit or to refuse the affiliation of any new branch or group, subject to appeal to the next Congress.

Nevertheless, wherever there exist Federal Councils or Committees, the General Council is bound to consult them before admitting or rejecting the affiliation of a new branch or society within their jurisdiction; without prejudice, however, to its right of provisional decision.

6. The General Council has also the right of suspending, till the meeting of next Congress, any branch of the International.

7. In case of differences arising between societies or branches of the same national group, or between groups of different nationalities, the General Council shall have the right of deciding such differences, subject to appeal to the next Congress, whose decision shall be final.

8. All delegates appointed by the General Council to distinct missions shall have the right to attend, and be heard at, all meetings of Federal Councils or Committees, district and local

Committees, and local branches, without, however, being entitled to vote thereat.

9. English, French, and German editions of the General Rules and Regulations are to be reprinted from the official texts published by the General Council.

All versions of the General Rules and Regulations in other languages shall, before publication, be submitted to the General Council for approval.

## *III*

### *Contributions to Be Paid to the General Council*

1. An annual contribution of One Penny[a] per member shall be levied from all branches and affiliated societies for the use of the General Council. This contribution is intended to defray the expenses of the General Council, such as the remuneration of its General Secretary, costs of correspondence, publications, preparatory work for Congresses, etc. etc.

2. The General Council shall cause to be printed uniform adhesive stamps representing the value of one penny each, to be annually supplied, in the numbers wanted, to the Federal Councils or Committees.

3. These stamps are to be affixed to a special sheet of the *livret* or to a copy of the Rules which every member of the Association is held to possess.[b]

4. On the 1st of March of each year, the Federal Councils or Committees of the different countries[c] shall forward to the General Council the amounts of the stamps disposed of, and return the unsold stamps remaining on hand.

5. These stamps, representing the value of the individual contributions, shall bear the date of the current year.

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[a] The French and German editions have "10 centimes" and "one groschen" respectively.—*Ed.*

[b] In the German and French editions Article 3 reads as follows: "The Federal Councils or Committees shall provide the local Committees, or, in their absence, their respective branches, with the number of stamps corresponding to the number of their members." Then follow articles 4, 5 and 6 which correspond to articles 3, 4 and 5 in the English edition.—*Ed.*

[c] The French edition has "of the different countries or localities".—*Ed.*

## *IV*

### *Federal Councils or Committees*

1. The expenses of the Federal Councils or Committees shall be defrayed by their respective branches.
2. The Federal Councils or Committees shall send one report at least every month to the General Council.
3. The Federal Councils or Committees shall transmit to the General Council every three months a report on the administration and financial state of their respective branches.
4. Any Federation may refuse to admit or may exclude from its midst societies or branches. It is, however, not empowered to deprive them of their International character, but it may propose their suspension to the General Council.

## *V*

### *Local Societies, Branches, and Groups*

1. Every branch is at liberty to make rules and bye-laws for its local administration, adapted to local circumstances and the laws of its country. But these rules and bye-laws must not contain anything contrary to the General Rules and Regulations.
2. All local branches, groups, and their committees are henceforth to designate and constitute themselves simply and exclusively as branches, groups, and committees of the International Working Men's Association, with the names of their respective localities attached.
3. Consequently, no branches or groups will henceforth be allowed to designate themselves by sectarian names,—such as Positivists, Mutualists, Collectivists, Communists, etc., or to form separatist bodies, under the name of *sections of propaganda,* etc., pretending to accomplish special missions distinct from the common purposes of the Association.
4. Art. 2 of this division does not apply to affiliated Trades' Unions.
5. All sections, branches, and working men's societies affiliated to the International are invited to abolish the office of President of their respective branch or society.
6. The formation of female branches amongst the working class is recommended. It is, however, understood that this resolution

does not at all intend to interfere with the existence, or formation of branches composed of both sexes.

7. Wherever attacks against the International are published, the nearest branch or committee is held to send at once a copy of such publication to the General Council.

8. The addresses of the offices of all International Committees and of the General Council are to be published every three months in all the organs of the Association.

## *VI*

### *General Statistics of Labour*

1. The General Council is to enforce Article 6 of the Rules[a] relating to general statistics of the working class, and the Resolutions of the Geneva Congress, 1866, on the same subject.

2. Every local branch is bound to appoint a special Committee of Statistics, so as to be always ready, within the limits of its means, to answer any question which may be put to it by the Federal Council or Committee of its country or by the General Council.

It is recommended to all branches to remunerate the secretaries of the Committees of Statistics, considering the general benefit the working class will derive from their labour.

3. On the 1st of August of each year the Federal Councils or Committees will transmit the materials collected in their respective countries to the General Council, which, in its turn, is to elaborate them into a general report, to be laid before the Congresses or Conferences annually held in the month of September.[b]

4. Trades' Unions and International branches refusing to give the information required, shall be reported to the General Council, which will take action thereupon.

5. The Resolutions of the Geneva Congress, 1866, alluded to in Article 1 of this division are the following.[2]

One great International combination of efforts will be a statistical inquiry into the situation of the working classes of all civilized countries[c] to be instituted by the working classes

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[a] The reference is to Article 6 of the "Provisional Rules of the Association" (present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 15-16). The French edition refers to Article 5 of the *Statuts et Règlements*, London, 1866, p. 5 (cf. *Rules of the International Working Men's Association*, London [1867], p. 5. See present edition, Vol. 20, p. 443).—*Ed.*

[b] The words "annually held in the month of September" are omitted in the French edition.—*Ed.*

[c] The French edition has "of different countries".—*Ed.*

themselves. To act with any success, the materials to be acted upon must be known. By initiating so great a work, the working men will prove their ability to take their own fate into their own hands.

The Congress therefore proposes that in each locality where branches of our Association exist, the work be immediately commenced, and evidence collected on the different points specified in the subjoined scheme of inquiry; the Congress invites the working men of Europe and the United States of America to co-operate in gathering the elements of the statistics of the working class; reports and evidence to be forwarded to the General Council. The General Council shall elaborate them into a report, adding the evidence as an appendix. This report, together with its appendix, shall be laid before the next annual Congress, and after having received its sanction, be printed at the expense of the Association.

General scheme of inquiry, which may of course be modified by each locality. 1. Industry, name of. 2. Age and sex of the employed. 3. Number of the employed. 4. Salaries and wages; (*a*) apprentices; (*b*) wages by the day or piece work; scale paid by middle men. Weekly, yearly average. 5. (*a*) Hours of work in factories. (*b*) The hours of work with small employers and in home work,[a] if the business be carried on in those different modes. (*c*) Nightwork and daywork. 6. Meal-times and treatment. 7. Sort of workshop and work; overcrowding, defective ventilation, want of sunlight, use of gaslight, cleanliness, etc. 8. Effect of employment upon the physical condition. 9. Moral condition. Education. 10. State of trade: whether season trade, or more or less uniformly distributed over the year, whether greatly fluctuating, whether exposed to foreign competition—whether destined principally for home or foreign consumption, &c.[b]

## APPENDIX

The Conference held at London from 17th to 23rd September, 1871, has charged the General Council to issue a new, authentic and revised edition, in English, French, and German, of the "General Rules and Regulations of the International Working Men's Association"; for the following reasons:—

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[a] The rest of the sentence is omitted in the French edition.—*Ed.*

[b] The French and German editions add Point 11: "Particular laws on the relations between the worker and the employer". The German edition has Point 12: "The dietary and housing conditions of the workers".—*Ed.*

## *I. General Rules*

The Geneva Congress (1866) adopted, with a few additions, the Provisional Rules of the Association, published at London in November, 1864. It also decided (see "Congrès ouvrier de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, tenu à Genève du 3 au 8 Septbre., 1866", Genève, 1866, p. 27, note), that the General Council should publish the official and obligatory text of the Rules as well as of the Regulations voted by the Congress.[a] The General Council was prevented from executing this order by the seizure, on the part of the Bonapartist Government, of the minutes of the Geneva Congress on their transit through France.[3] When at last, through the intercession of Lord Stanley, then British Foreign Secretary, the minutes were recovered, a French edition had already been issued at Geneva, and the text of the Rules and Regulations contained in it was at once reproduced in all French-speaking countries. This text was faulty in many respects.

1. The Paris edition of the London Provisional Rules had been accepted as a true translation; but the Paris Committee to which this translation is due, had not only introduced most important alterations[4] in the preamble of the Rules which, on the interpellation of the General Council, were represented as changes unavoidable under the existing political state of France. From an insufficient acquaintance with the English language, it had also misinterpreted some of the articles of the Rules.

2. The Geneva Congress having to give a final character to the Provisional Rules, the Committee appointed for this purpose simply struck out all passages in which anything of a provisional nature was alluded to, without noticing that several of these passages contained most important matter of no provisional character whatever. In the English edition published after the Lausanne Congress (1867) the same omissions are repeated.

## *II. Administrative Regulations*

The Administrative Regulations hitherto published conjointly with the Rules, are but those voted by the Geneva Congress (1866). It thus became necessary to codify the further regulations voted by subsequent Congresses and by the late London Conference.

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[a] The French edition adds here: "in its report on the Congress".—*Ed.*

The following publications have been made use of for the present revised edition:—

"Address and Provisional Rules of the International Working Men's Association", &c. London. 1864.

"Rules of the International Working Men's Association". London. 1867.

"Congrès ouvrier de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, tenu à Genève du 3 au 8 Septbre., 1866". Genève, 1866.[a]

"Procès-verbaux du Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, réuni à Lausanne, du 2 au 8 Septbre., 1867". Chaux-de-Fonds. 1867.

"Troisième Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs (Brussels Congress)—Compte-rendu officiel". Bruxelles. 1868.

"The International Working Men's Association. Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868". London. 1869.

"Compte-rendu du 4me Congrès International, tenu à Bâle en Septbre., 1869". Bruxelles. 1869.

"Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association, held at Basel, 1869". Published by the General Council. London. 1869.

"Quatrième Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, tenu à Bâle, 1869. Rapport du délégué des Sections de la Fabrique à Genève". Genève. 1869.

"Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association, assembled at London, 1871". London. 1871.

For the Basel Congress, the German report of the Congress proceedings, published in fly-sheets at Basel, and the notes taken during the Congress by the General Secretary,[b] have also been consulted.

How these various sources have been made use of for the purposes of the present revised edition will appear from the following statement.[c]

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[a] The French edition has an additional source: "Compte-rendu du Congrès de Genève" (publié d'après les procès-verbaux par le Conseil général dans le *Courrier international*, Londres, mars et avril 1867).—*Ed.*

[b] J. G. Eccarius.—*Ed.*

[c] In the French edition this paragraph reads as follows: "In the following report, next to the articles of the present Rules and Regulations, the corresponding articles of previous editions are indicated, as well as information relating to administrative resolutions, compiled here for the first time. The changes in the French text, made by the decision of the Conference, to bring it into accord with the English one, have not been indicated."—*Ed.*

## GENERAL RULES

*Preamble.*—After the words, "*For these reasons*", there have been restored the words, "the International Working Men's Association has been founded". See Provisional Rules, p. 13.[a]

The passage, "They hold it the duty of a man", &c., has been omitted, because there exist two equally authentic versions of it, irreconcilable with each other. The true meaning of it is, besides, already contained in the passage immediately preceding, and in that immediately following: "No rights without duties", &c.[5]

Art. 3 is restored from Art. 3 of Provisional Rules.

Art. 4.—Part of Art. 3 and the whole of Art. 4 of Rules, London, 1867.

Art. 5.—Introductory part of Art. 3, Rules, 1867. The words "a president" have been omitted, in agreement with Administrative Resolution I. of Basel Congress.[6]

Art. 6.—Art. 5, Rules, 1867. The words "Co-operating Associations" have been changed into "national and local groups of the Association", because the expression, in some translations, has been misinterpreted as meaning co-operative societies.[b]

Art. 7.—Art. 6, Rules, 1867.

Art. 8.—Art. 10, Rules, 1867.

Art. 10.—Art. 8, Rules, 1867.

Art. 12 forms Art. 13 of the Administrative Regulations in "Rules, 1867".[c]

Art. 13.—Art. 12, Rules, 1867.

Art. 7, Rules, 1867, has been omitted, because its insertion was contrary to a resolution of the Lausanne Congress. See "Procès-verbaux du Congrès de Lausanne", p. 36.[d]

## ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS

### *I. The General Congress*

Art. 1.—Art. 11 of Regulations voted by Geneva Congress ("Congrès de Genève", Genève, 1866, p. 26, [27,] &c); Art. 10, Rules, &c, 1867, which is incomplete.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 14-15. The reference to the "Provisional Rules" is omitted in the German edition.—*Ed.*

[b] The sentence is omitted in the French edition.—*Ed.*

[c] The French edition refers to another source: "Règlement administratif. Art. 15, Congrès ouvrier de Genève".—*Ed.*

[d] This point is omitted in the French edition.—*Ed.*

Art. 2.—Art. 9, Congrès de Genève; Art. 6, Rules, &c, 1867.
Art. 3.—Art. 13, Congrès de Genève; Art. 11, Rules, &c, 1867.
Art. 4.—Art. 10, Congrès de Genève; Art. 9, Rules, &c, 1867.
Art. 5.—Art. 9, Congrès de Genève; Art. 7, Rules, &c, 1867.
Art. 6.—Art. 12, Congrès de Genève; Art. 8, Rules, &c, 1867.
Art. 7.—Basel Administrative Regulations, VIII.
Art. 8.—For this article the Guide pratique pour le Congrès de l'Internationale (Compte-rendu du Congrès de Bâle, Bruxelles, 1869) has been completed by the other materials on the Basel Congress, quoted above.
Art. 9.—First part as for Art. 8. Second part, Resolution of Lausanne Congress (Procès-verbaux, p. 74, 1).
Art. 10.—Art. 1*b*, Congrès de Genève; Art. 1*b*, Rules, &c, 1867.
Art. 11.—Guide Pratique, Basel Congress, Art. 3 and 11.
Art. 12.—Guide Pratique, &c, Art. 10.
Art. 13.—Guide Pratique, &c, Art. 7.
Art. 14.—Guide Pratique, &c, Art. 4.

### *II. The General Council*

Art. 1.—London Conference, 1871, II. 1.
Art. 2.—Congrès de Genève, Art. 1; Rules, &c, 1867, Art. 1.
Art. 3.—The two first Alineas, Art. 2 and Art. 1*a*; Congrès de Genève, and Rules, &c, 1867. Third Alinea, Art. 3, Congrès de Genève. Last Alinea, Lausanne Congress, Procès-verbaux, p. 37, Art. 2.
Arts. 4 to 7.—Basel Administrative Resolutions, IV. to VII.
Art. 8.—London Conference, III.
Art. 9.—Resolution of London Conference, sittings of 18th and 22nd September.

### *III. Contributions to Be Paid to the General Council*

Art. 1.—First Alinea, Lausanne Congress, Procès-verbaux, p. 37, 3; and Art. IX., Basel Administrative Resolutions. Second Alinea, Art. 4, Congrès de Genève, and Rules, 1867.
Arts. 2 to 6.—London Conference, IV., 1 to 5.

### *IV. Federal Councils or Committees*

Art. 1.—Art. 6, Congrès de Genève, and Rules, 1867.
Art. 2.—Art. 5, ditto.

Art. 3.—Brussels Congress, "Compte-rendu Officiel", p. 50, Appendice, Séances Administratives, Resolution № 3.
Art. 4.—Art. VI., Basel Administrative Resolutions.

### *V. Local Societies, Branches, and Groups*

Art. 1.—Art. 14, Congrès de Genève; Art. 12, Rules, &c, 1867.
Arts. 2 to 4.—London Conference, II., 2 to 4.
Art. 5.—Art. I., Basel Administrative Resolutions.
Art. 6.—London Conference, V.
Art. 7.—Art. II., Basel Administrative Resolutions.
Art. 8.—Art. III., ditto.

### *VI. General Statistics of Labour*

Arts. 1 to 4.—London Conference, VI., 1 to 4.
Art. 5.—Resolution of Geneva Congress (London edition of Geneva and Brussels Congress Resolutions, p. 4).

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*By order, and in the name of the London Conference,* 1871,

### The General Council

*R. Applegarth, M. J. Boon, Fred. Bradnick, G. H. Buttery, V. Delahaye, Eugène Dupont* (on mission), *Wm. Hales, G. Harris, Hurliman, Jules Johannard, Harriet Law, Fred. Lessner, Lochner, Ch. Longuet, C. Martin, Zévy Maurice, Henry Mayo, George Milner, Ch. Murray, Pfänder, John Roach, Rühl, Sadler, Cowell Stepney, Alfred Taylor, W. Townshend, E. Vaillant, John Weston.*[a]

### Corresponding Secretaries

*Leó Frankel,* for Austria and Hungary; *A. Herman,* Belgium; *T. Mottershead,* Denmark; *A. Serraillier,* France; *Karl Marx,* Germany and Russia; *Charles Rochat,* Holland; *J. P. McDonnell,* Ireland; *Fred. Engels,* Italy and Spain; *Walery Wróblewski,* Poland;

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[a] Both the French and German editions have the names of Ant. Arnaud, F. Cournet and G. Ranvier among the General Council members, and the German edition, Vitale Regis as well; besides that the words "(on mission)" after the name of Eugène Dupont are omitted in the German edition.—*Ed.*

*Hermann Jung*, Switzerland; *J. G. Eccarius*, United States; *Le Moussu*, for French Branches of United States.

*Charles Longuet*, Chairman
*Hermann Jung*, Treasurer
*John Hales*, General Secretary

256, *High Holborn, W.C., London,*
*24th October*, 1871

Drawn up in October 1871

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Reproduced from the English pamphlet checked with the French and German editions

# Frederick Engels

## [RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL EXPELLING GUSTAVE DURAND FROM THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION][7]

The General Council having received full evidence that Gustave Durand, working jeweller of Paris, ex-delegate of the jewellers to the Federal Chamber of Paris Working Men,[8] ex-chief of Battalion of the National Guards, ex-chief cashier at the Delegation of Finance under the Commune, passing as a refugee in London, has served, and is now serving, as a spy for the French police upon the Communal refugees and especially upon the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, and has already received 725 francs for his services.

The said Gustave Durand is therefore branded as infamous[a] and expelled from the International Association.

This resolution to be published in all the organs of the International.

Adopted by the General Council on October 7, 1871

First published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 159 and *Der Volksstaat*, No. 83, on October 14, 1871

Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council checked with the newspapers

[a] *Der Volksstaat* has "a traitor" instead of "infamous".—*Ed.*

28 VENDEMMIALE 80 — LODI — 19 OTTOBRE 1871

LA PLEBE

GIORNALE REPUBBLICANO

# Frederick Engels

## [TO ENRICO BIGNAMI, EDITOR OF *LA PLEBE*][9]

London, October 13 [1871]

Citizen Editor of *La Plebe*,

The General Council has entrusted me with sending you the enclosed resolution[a] and requesting that you publish it in the columns of your esteemed newspaper.

I remain yours sincerely,

*Frederick Engels*,
Secretary for Italy

First published in *La Plebe*, No. 122, October 19, 1871

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the Italian

[a] F. Engels, "Resolution of the General Council Expelling Gustave Durand from the International Working Men's Association" (see this volume, p. 21).—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [DECLARATION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL ON NECHAYEV'S MISUSE OF THE NAME OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION][10]

International Workingmen's Association

The Conference of the Delegates of the International Workingmen's Association, assembled at London from the 17th to the 23d September 1871, has charged the General Council to declare publicly:

that *Netschajeff* has never been a member or an agent of the International Workingmen's Association;

that his assertions[a] to have founded a branch at Brussels and to have been sent by a Brussels branch on a mission to Geneva, are false;

that the above said Netschajeff has fraudulently used the name of the International Workingmen's Association in order to make dupes and victims in Russia.

By order of the General Council, etc.

14 October 1871

Adopted by the General Council on October 16, 1871

First published in *Qui vive!*, No. 14, October 18, 1871 and in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 88, November 1, 1871

Reproduced from the manuscript checked with the text in *Der Volksstaat*

[a] *Der Volksstaat* has the following words inserted here: "(made known through the political process in St. Petersburg)".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL ON THE RULES OF THE FRENCH SECTION OF 1871][11]

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION
256, High Holborn, London.—W.C.

### RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL ADOPTED AT THE MEETING OF OCTOBER 17, 1871

TO CITIZEN MEMBERS OF THE FRENCH SECTION OF 1871

Citizens,

Considering the following articles of the administrative resolutions voted on by the Basle Congress: Article 4. "Every new section or society which comes into existence and wishes to join the International must immediately notify the General Council of its adherence."

Article 5. "The General Council is entitled to accept or to refuse the affiliation of every new society or group, etc."[a]

The General Council confirms the Rules of the French Section of 1871 with the following modifications:

I. That in Article 2 the words "*justify his means of existence*" be erased and that it should simply be said: in order to be admitted as member of the section a person must present guarantees of morality, etc.

Article 9 of the General Rules states:

"Everybody who acknowledges and defends the principles of the International Working Men's Association is eligible to become a member. Every branch is responsible for the integrity of the members it admits."[b]

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[a] *Compte-rendu du IV^e Congrès international, tenu à Bâle en septembre 1869*, Brussels, 1869, p. 172.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and further on Marx quotes the 1867 English edition of the General Rules and Regulations, published in accordance with the Geneva Congress decisions—*Rules of International Working Men's Association*, London [1867] (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 444). In the manuscript the last sentence in this paragraph is repeated in English in brackets.—*Ed.*

In dubious cases a section may well take information about means of existence as "guarantee of morality", while in other cases, like those of the refugees, workers on strike, etc., absence of means of existence may well be a guarantee of morality. But to ask candidates to justify their means of existence as a general condition to be admitted to the International, would be a bourgeois innovation contrary to the spirit and letter of the General Rules.

II. (1) Considering that Article 4 of the General Rules states: "The Congress elects the members of the General Council with power to add to their numbers" [a]; that consequently the General Rules only recognise two ways of election for General Council members: either their election by the Congress, or their co-option by the General Council; that the following passage of Article 11 of the Rules of the French Section of 1871: "One or several delegates shall be sent to the General Council" is therefore contrary to the General Rules which give no branch, section, group or federation the *right* to send delegates to the General Council.

That Article 12 of the Regulations prescribes: "Every section is at liberty to make Rules and Bye-Laws for its local administration, suitable to the peculiar circumstances and laws of the different countries. *But these Bye-Laws must not contain anything contrary to the General Rules.*" [b]

For these reasons:

The General Council cannot admit the above-mentioned paragraph of the Rules of the "French Section of 1871".

(2) It is quite true that the different sections existing in London had been invited to send delegates to the General Council which, so as not to violate the General Rules, has always proceeded in the following manner:

It has first determined the number of delegates to be sent to the General Council by each section, reserving itself the right to accept or refuse them depending on whether it considered them able to fulfil the general functions it has to perform. These delegates became members of the General Council not by virtue of the fact that they were delegated by their sections but by virtue of the right of co-opting new members accorded to the Council by the General Rules.

Having acted up to the decision taken by the last Conference

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[a] Cf. this volume, p. 4 and present edition, Vol. 20, p. 442. In the manuscript this sentence is in English; it is repeated in French in brackets.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. present edition, Vol. 20, p. 446.—*Ed.*

both as the General Council of the International Working Men's Association and as the Central Council for England,[12] the Council in London thought it useful to admit, besides the members that it co-opted directly, members originally delegated by their respective sections.

It would have been a big mistake to identify the electoral procedure of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association with that of the Paris Federal Council which was not even a national Council nominated by a national Congress like, for example, the Brussels Federal Council or that of Madrid.

The Paris Federal Council being only a delegation of the Paris sections, the delegates of these sections could well be invested with an imperative mandate on a council where they had to defend the interests of their section. The General Council's electoral procedure is, on the contrary, defined by the General Rules and its members would not accept any other imperative mandate than that of the General Rules and Regulations.

(3) The General Council is ready to admit two delegates from the "French Section of 1871" on the terms prescribed by the General Rules and never contested by the other sections existing in London.

III. In Article 11 of the Rules of the "French Section of 1871", this paragraph appears:

> "*Each member of the section should not accept any delegation to the General Council other than that of his section.*"

Interpreted literally, this paragraph could be accepted since it says only that a member of the "French Section of 1871" should not present himself to the General Council as delegate from another section.

But if we take into consideration the paragraph that precedes it, Article 11 means nothing else but completely changing the General Council's composition and making out of it, contrary to Article 3 of the General Rules, a delegation of London sections where the influence of local groups would be substituted for that of the whole *International Working Men's Association.*

The meaning of the paragraph in Article 11 from the Rules of the "French Section of 1871" is clearly confirmed by the obligation which it imposes for opting between the title of member of the Section and the function of member of the General Council.

For these reasons the General Council cannot admit the above-mentioned paragraph since it is contrary to the General

Rules and deprives it of its right to recruit forces everywhere in the general interest of the International Working Men's Association.

IV. The General Council is sure that the "French Section of 1871" will understand the necessity for the proposed modifications and will not hesitate to bring its Rules into conformity with the letter and spirit of the General Rules and Regulations and that it will thereby forestall any discord which, in the present circumstances, could only hinder the progress of the International Working Men's Association.

Greetings and equality.
In the name and by order of the General Council

*Auguste Serraillier,*
Corresponding Secretary for France

Adopted by the General Council on October 17, 1871

Printed according to A. Serraillier's manuscript

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 17, Moscow, 1960

Translated from the French

The Eastern Post.

No 160. LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1871 ONE PENNY.

# Frederick Engels

## [ON THE PROGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION IN ITALY AND SPAIN

### ENGELS' RECORD OF HIS REPORT AT THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF OCTOBER 17, 1871][13]

The news from Italy was of a most cheering character, the spread of the Association being really wonderful in that country. Three months ago Mazzini stated that there was only one town in Italy, where the International counted numerous adherents.[a] Now, from one end of the country to the other, it is fully established. It is represented in the press by one, if not two, daily papers in Rome; a daily paper in Milan; a semi-weekly one in Turin; weekly papers in Ravenna, Lodi, Pavia, Girgenti, and Catania, besides a number of other papers published in smaller localities. These papers are subject to incessant Government prosecutions; one of them the *Proletario Italiano* of Turin had six consecutive numbers seized by the Police, and one or more actions at law brought against it for each number seized; nevertheless, these papers continue undaunted in their crusade against the Priests, the capitalists, and Mazzini, who has been attacking the International because it was not religious.[b] The Government has dissolved two International sections in Florence and Naples, but the result has only been the immediate formation of new sections all over the country. In Girgenti, the new section has just published its rules,[c] preceded by the translation of the Statutes, published by the General Council,[d] in Ravenna six Republican and Working Men's Societies, have organised themselves into sections of the International, with a common Council.

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[a] G. Mazzini, "Agli operai italiani", *La Roma del Popolo,* No. 20, July 13, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid.—*Ed.*

[c] *Statuto e Regolamento della Società Internazionale degli Operai seguiti dal Regolamento interno della Sezione Girgentina,* Girgenti, 1871.—*Ed.*

[d] *Statuts et règlements. 1866,* London [1866].—*Ed.*

Garibaldi's letters, in which he gives his adhesion to the Association, are everywhere reprinted and commented on, and have evidently helped a great many waverers to make up their minds in favour of the International.[a] The power of Mazzini over the workmen of Italy is thoroughly broken.

In Spain the progress of the Association has been as rapid as in Italy. The Spanish trades' unions, having been created almost exclusively by the International, form an essential part of its organisation. The trades' unions of each locality have a local trades' council, corresponding directly with the Spanish Federal Council at Madrid, on general matters relating to the International; while each trade all over the country again is under the direction of a Central Board, corresponding with the Spanish Federal Council on all matters relating to its trade.

This organisation, as finally settled by the Conference of Valencia, held from the 10th to the 18th of September, 1871, is now being carried out all over Spain.[14] There is scarcely a single large town in Spain without its local "Trades' Council", and a great many small towns are organized upon the same principle. New sections are forming everywhere, and individual adhesions are coming in by hundreds. The Republican party, which only a short time ago attacked the International as a party of "Jesuits", has been made to feel its power acutely. The rising of the Commune in Paris had already split the Republican party in two camps. The middle class section took the side of Versailles, while the younger elements and the Republican working men, supported the Commune. This latter section has been drawn, naturally, nearer and nearer to the International, and will soon enter its ranks, thus strengthening it by the adhesion of numerous and valuable new elements. The Republican papers belonging to this section begin to advocate the nationalization of the land, and other socialistic tenets; to these belong *La Asociacion,* of Leon; *El Comunero,* of Madrid; *La Justicia,* of Malaga; *El Trabajo,* of Ferrol, and others. At a great Republican meeting, held in Madrid October 15th, the proposal for joint action with the International was cheered enthusiastically.

First published in *The Eastern Post,* No. 160, October 21, 1871

Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] The reference is to G. Garibaldi's letters of August 20, 1871 to the editorial boards of *Il Romagnolo* and *Il Proletario Italiano,* and to his letter of September 20, 1871 to *The Echo* in London, which were reprinted by other newspapers.—*Ed.*

GAZZETTINO ROSA

MONITOR QUOTIDIANO

CENTESIMI 5 MILANO E PROVINCIA L'Ufficio è in Milano, via S. Pietro all'Orto. 23 UN NUMERO ARRETRATO CENT. 10

# Frederick Engels

## [TO THE EDITORS OF THE *GAZZETTINO ROSA*

### COVERING LETTER TO THE "DECLARATION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL ON NECHAYEV'S MISUSE OF THE NAME OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION"]

In the trial, known by the name of Nechayev, conducted several months ago before the Court of Assizes of St. Petersburg, a number of assertions relating to the International Working Men's Association were made, assertions which naturally attracted the attention of the Conference of Delegates of this Association in session in London.

The Conference consequently took the following decision, ordering it to be published in the organs of the International.[a]

London, October 20, 1871

Certified copy
*Frederick Engels*,
Secretary for Italy

First published in *Gazzettino Rosa*, No. 306, November 3, 1871 and in *L'Eguaglianza*, No. 18, November 12, 1871

Printed according to *Gazzettino Rosa*

Translated from the Italian

Published in English for the first time

[a] This is followed by the text of the "Declaration of the General Council on Nechayev's Misuse of the Name of the International Working Men's Association" in Engels' translation (see p. 23 of this volume).— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [STATEMENT BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL CONCERNING ALEXANDER BAILLIE COCHRANE'S LETTER][15]

TO THE EDITOR OF *THE EASTERN POST*

Sir,—A letter appeared in *The Times* on October 31st on the International, signed Alexander Baillie Cochrane, which I ask space to reply to in your columns. In the first instant, Mr. A. B. C. is

"ignorant whether Mr. Odger is still president of the English branch of this society".

Ever since September, 1867, the office of president of the General Council of the International, which Mr. A. B. C. calls the English branch of this society, has been abolished.[16] It is well-known that after the publication of our manifesto on the civil war in France[a] (in June last) Mr. Odger withdrew from the General Council.

Having read some continental gossip about the composition of our conference of delegates, held in London last September, Mr. A. B. C. applies this information to the public meeting held in St. Martin's Hall, on the 28th September, 1864. At that meeting, as the writer in *The Times* of October 27th correctly stated,[b] the provisional council of the International Working Men's Association was elected, but not "Mr. Odger elected president, Mr. Cremer and Mr. Wheeler, Secretary" as Mr. A. B. C. says.

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[a] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*.—*Ed.*

[b] [J. G. Eccarius,] "The International Working Men's Association", *The Times*, No. 27205, October 27, 1871.—*Ed.*

Mr. A. B. C. then proceeds to prove the trustworthiness of his information by the following "authentic document"—

Firstly—

"The red flag is the symbol of universal love."

This authentic document is nothing but the preamble of one of the innumerable forgeries, lately published, in the name of the International by the Paris police, and disowned at the time by the General Council.

Secondly—

"The programme of Geneva, under the presidency" (it is rather hard to make out how a programme can be under a presidency) "of the Russian Michael Bakounine was accepted by the General Council of London, July 1869."

This programme of Geneva is nothing else but the statutes of the "Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste", of Geneva, already quoted in Jules Favre's circular on the International. Now, in reply to that circular I stated, (see *The Times*, of June 13th) the General Council never issued such a document.[a] On the contrary, it issued a document which quashed the original statutes of the Alliance.[b]

I may now add that the conference, lately held at London, has finally disposed of the Alliance, founded by Michael Bakounine,[c] and that the *Journal de Genève*, this worthy representative of the party tenets of Mr. A. B. C., has taken up the defence of the Alliance against the International.[d]

Thirdly—Mr. A. B. C. pulls out of his bundle of "authentic documents" some garbled extract from private letters written by our friend Eugène Dupont, long since published by the Bonapartist ex-procureur Oscar Testut.[17] Before Mr. A. B. C. set out for the Continent in search of this "trustworthy information", it had already gone the round of the English Press.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, "Statement by the General Council on Jules Favre's Circular" (published in *The Times* under the signature of John Hales).—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, "The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy".—*Ed.*

[c] See present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 429-30.—*Ed.*

[d] "La Liberté dans l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Confédération Suisse. Genève, le 27 octobre 1871", *Journal de Genève*, No. 254, October 27, 1871.—*Ed.*

Mr. Alexander Baillie Cochrane calls our society "infamous". How am I to call a society which instructs the business of law-making to that same Alexander Baillie Cochrane?

I am, Sir,

Yours obediently,

*John Hales,*
General Secretary

International Working Men's Association
256, High Holborn

Written on October 31, 1871

Reproduced from the newspaper

Adopted by the General Council on October 31, 1871

First published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 163, November 11, 1871

№ 91. Sonnabend, den 11. November. 1871.

Der Volksstaat

Organ der sozial-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei und der Internationalen Gewerksgenossenschaften.

# Frederick Engels

## [ON THE COMPANY SWINDLE IN ENGLAND]

*London,* November 4.—We here are now in the full swing of prosperity and thriving business—*we,* i.e., official England, the big capitalists. There is a surplus of capital on the market and it is looking everywhere for a profitable home; bogus companies, set up for the happiness of mankind and the enrichment of the entrepreneurs, are shooting up out of the ground like mushrooms. Mines, asphalt quarries, horse-drawn tramways for big cities, and iron works seem to be the most favoured at the moment. Mines are being offered for sale on the Volga and in New Mexico; people are buying asphalt quarries in Savoy, the Jura and Hanover; Lisbon and Buenos Aires are to have horse-drawn tramways, and so on. The sole aim of all these joint-stock companies is, of course, briefly to raise the value of the stock so the entrepreneurs can rid themselves of their share at a profit; what then becomes of the stockholders does not bother them: "After us the deluge!"[a] In three or four years, five-sixths of these companies will have gone the way of all flesh and, with them, the money of the ensnared stockholders. As always, it will be mainly small people who put their savings into these "most reliable and profitable" enterprises and always, when the swindle has forced the stock up to its peak on the market—and it serves them right. The stock exchange swindle is one of the most effective ways of transferring the ostensibly, and in part probably genuinely, self-earned assets of the small people into the pockets of the big capitalists, so even the most stupid can see that, in the social order of today, there can be no such thing as capital "earned by one's

[a] These words are attributed to Louis XV and Mme. de Pompadour.—*Ed.*

own labour"; that all existing capital is nothing other than the fruit of other people's work taken without payment. And if the practice of swindling people out of their money by setting up bogus companies has, of late, got really into its stride in Germany and Austria, if princes and Jews, imperial chancellors and petty clerics are in joint pursuit of the savings of the small people, we can only welcome this.

This deluge of capital on the money market reflects, however, only the way big industry is blossoming. In almost all branches of production work is going ahead at a brisker pace than it has for many a year. This is the picture in England's two main industries, where iron and cotton are the raw materials.

At last, the Lancashire spinners again have enough cotton to be able to extend their mills on a massive scale; and they will not let the opportunity slip. In the small town of Oldham alone there are fifteen new mills under construction, with an average of fifty thousand spindles each—a total of 750,000 spindles, almost as many as there are (excluding Alsace) in the whole of the Customs Union[18]! A corresponding number of weaving-looms is being provided, and the picture is the same in the other Lancashire towns. The machine factories have work for months ahead, in some cases a year, and can demand any price, if only they can deliver. In short, things again look as they did in 1844, after the Chinese market was opened up,[19] when the manufacturers' only fear was that they might not be able to satisfy the huge demand. As they said at the time, they had to make clothes for 300 million people! Then came the reverses of 1845 and 1847, when it suddenly turned out that the 300 million Chinese had, so far, been making their own clothing, thank you very much, and huge surpluses of English-made goods accumulated on all markets, with no one to buy them, while the manufacturers and speculators went bankrupt in their hundreds. That is what will happen again this time; these people never learn anything, and even if they do, they are forced by the intrinsic law of capitalist production constantly to repeat the old, familiar cycle of boom, overproduction and crisis, and to repeat it on an ever-increasing scale until, finally, the proletariat rises and liberates society from enduring this absurd cycle.

In the *Volksstaat*, one Herr *Schwitzguébel* demands,[a] on behalf of some federal committee in Romance Switzerland of which I have

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[a] A. Schwitzguébel, "An die Redaktion des *Volksstaat* in Leipzig", *Der Volksstaat*, No. 81, October 7, 1871.—*Ed.*

no knowledge, that I explain what I published in the *Volksstaat* concerning Herr *Elpidin*.[a] I have had no dealings whatsoever with Herr Schwitzguébel and cannot be answerable in this matter to just any third party who chooses to take issue with me. If, however, Herr Elpidin himself should contact the editor's office on this matter, I shall place myself at his disposal and, in that event, shall ask the editor of the *Volksstaat* to inform Herr Elpidin of my address, so he may contact me directly.

Written on November 4, 1871

First published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 91, November 11, 1871

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] F. Engels, "The Address *The Civil War in France* and the English Press", *Der Volksstaat*, No. 54, July 5, 1871 (Elpidin was accused of espionage in the last paragraph of the article).— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL ON THE FRENCH SECTION OF 1871][20]

International Working Men's Association

### RESOLUTIONS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL ADOPTED AT ITS MEETING OF NOVEMBER 7, 1871

#### *I. Preliminary remarks*

The General Council considers that the ideas expressed by the "French Section of 1871" about a radical change to be made in the articles of the General Rules concerning the constitution of the General Council have no bearing on the question which it ought to discuss.

With regard to the insulting references to the General Council made by that section, these will be judged for what they are worth by the councils and federal committees of the various countries.

The Council merely wishes to note:

That *three years* have not yet elapsed since the Basle Congress (which met on September 6-11, *1869*), as the above-mentioned section deliberately asserts;

That in 1870, on the eve of the Franco-Prussian war, the Council addressed a general circular to all the federations, including the Paris Federal Council, proposing that the seat of the General Council be transferred from London[a];

That the replies received were unanimously in favour of retaining the present seat of the Council and of prolonging its term of office;

That in 1871, as soon as the situation permitted, the General Council summoned a Conference of Delegates, this being the only action possible in the given circumstances;

That at this Conference delegates from the Continent gave voice[b] to the misgivings in their respective countries that the

[a] See K. Marx, *Confidential Communication to All Sections.—Ed.*

[b] In the second manuscript this sentence begins as follows: "That at this Conference, held in London on September 17-23, 1871, delegates from the Continent, as members of the French section are fully aware, gave voice...".—*Ed.*

co-option of too large a number of French refugees would destroy the international character of the General Council;

That the Conference (see its "Resolutions, etc." XV[a]) "leaves it to the discretion of the General Council to fix, according to events, the day and place of meeting of the next Congress or Conference which might replace it".

With regard to the said section's claim to exclusive representation of "the French revolutionary element", because its members include ex-presidents of Paris workers' societies, the Council remarks:

The fact that this or that person has in the past been president of a workers' society may well be taken into account by the General Council, but does not in itself constitute the "right" to a seat on the Council or to represent the "revolutionary element" on that body. If this were so, the Council would be obliged to grant membership to M. Gustave Durand, former President of the Paris Jewellers' Society and secretary of the French section in London. Moreover, members of the General Council are bound to represent the principles of the International Working Men's Association, rather than the opinions and interests of this or that corporation.

### *II. Objections presented by the "French Section of 1871" at the General Council meeting of October 31 to the resolutions of October 17*

1) With respect to the following passage from Article 2 of the section's Rules:

"In order to be admitted as member of the section, a person must justify his means of existence, present guarantees of morality, etc."

the section remarks:

"The General Rules make the sections responsible for the morality of their members and, as a consequence, recognise the right of sections to demand the guarantees *they think necessary.*"

On this argument, a section of the International founded by TEETOTALLERS could include in its own rules this type of article: "To be admitted as member of the section, a person must swear to abstain from all alcoholic drinks." In short, it would be always possible for individual sections to impose in their local rules the most absurd

[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 22, p. 429.—*Ed.*

and incongruous conditions of admittance into the International, under the pretext that they "think it necessary in this way" to discharge their responsibility for the integrity of their members.

In its Resolution I of October 17, the General Council stated that there may be "cases in which the absence of means of existence may well be a guarantee of morality". It is of the opinion that the section repeated this point unnecessarily when it said that "refugees" are "above suspicion by virtue of the eloquent proof of their poverty".

As to the phrase that strikers' "means of existence" consist of "the strike fund" this might be answered by saying, first, that this "fund" is often fictitious.[a]

Moreover, official English inquiries have shown that the majority of English workers who, generally speaking, enjoy better conditions than their brothers on the Continent, are forced as a result of strikes and unemployment, or because of insufficient wages or terms of payment and many other causes, to resort incessantly to pawnshops or to *borrowing*, that is, to "means of existence" about which one cannot demand information without interfering in an unqualified manner in a person's private life.

There are two alternatives.

Either the section sees "means of existence" purely as "guarantees of morality",[b] in which case the General Council's proposal that "to be admitted as member of the section a person must present guarantees of morality" serves the purpose since it assumes (see Resolution I of October 17) that "in dubious cases a section may well take information about means of existence *as guarantee of morality*".

Or in Article 2 of its Rules the section deliberately refers to the furnishing of information about "means of existence" as a condition for admission, over and above the "guarantees of morality" which it is empowered to require, in which case the General Council affirms that "it is a bourgeois innovation contrary to the letter and spirit of the General Rules".

2) With respect to the General Council's rejection of the following clause of Article 11 of the section's Rules:

"One or several delegates shall be sent to the General Council"

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[a] The second manuscript continues as follows: "and is it not the case that strikes invariably result in deprivation and suffering for the strikers, which fact appears to have been ignored by the 1871 Section."—*Ed.*

[b] The second manuscript continues as follows: "in order to avoid its responsibility".—*Ed.*

the section states:

"We are not unaware ... that the literal sense of the General Rules confers on it" (the General Council) "the right to accept or reject delegates."

This is a patent demonstration of the fact that[a] the section is not familiar with the literal sense of the General Rules.

In actual fact, the General Rules, which recognise only *two* ways of election to the General Council, namely, election by the Congress or co-option by the Council itself, *nowhere* state that the Council has the right to accept or reject delegates from the sections or groups.

The admission of delegates initially proposed by the London sections has always been a purely *administrative measure* on the part of the General Council, which in this case only made use of its power of co-option (see Resolution II, 2, of the General Council of October 17). The exceptional circumstances which led the General Council to have recourse to co-option of this kind were explained at sufficient length in its resolutions of October 17.

In the same resolution (II, 3) the Council declared that it would admit delegates from the "French Section of 1871" *on the same conditions* as those from the London sections. It cannot, however, be expected to give serious consideration to a demand that would grant this section a privileged position contrary to the General Rules.

By the inclusion of the following paragraph in Article 11 of its Rules:

"One or several delegates *shall be sent* to the General Council",

the "French Section of 1871" is claiming the right to send delegates to the General Council allegedly basing itself on the General Rules. It acted as though fully convinced that it possessed this imaginary right, and even before the section had been recognised by the General Council (see Article VI of the Administrative Resolutions of the Basle Congress[b]), it did not hesitate to send "by right" to the General Council meeting of October 17 two delegates,[c] armed with "imperative mandates" in the name of the 20 full members of the section. Finally, in its latest communication it again insists on "the duty and right to send delegates to the General Council".

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[a] The second manuscript continues as follows: "on this point as on many others".—*Ed.*

[b] *Compte-rendu du IV^e Congrès international, tenu à Bâle, en septembre 1869,* Brussels, 1869, p. 172.—*Ed.*

[c] Chautard and Camélinat.—*Ed.*

The section attempts to justify its claims by seeking a precedent in the position of Citizen Herman on the General Council. It pretends to be unaware of the fact that Citizen Herman was co-opted into the General Council at the recommendation of the *Belgian Congress,*[21] and in no way represents a Liège section.[a]

3) With respect to the General Council's refusal to recognise the following passage in the section's Rules:

"Each member of the section should not accept any delegation to the General Council other than that of his section",

the section states:

"In response to this, we shall limit ourselves to the observation that our Rules pertain to our section alone; our agreements are of no concern or relevance to anyone but ourselves, and this claim in no way contradicts the General Rules which include no provision on this subject."

It is difficult to comprehend how the Rules which include no provision on the right of delegation to the General Council, should suddenly specify the conditions of this delegation. On the other hand, it is not so difficult to see that the section's own Rules do not apply outside its field of competence. Nevertheless, it cannot be admitted that the specific rules of any section "are of no concern or relevance to anyone but that section alone".[b] For were the General Council to approve Article 11 of the Rules of the "French Section of 1871", for example, it would be obliged to insert it into the rules of all the other sections, and this article, once it began to apply generally, would completely nullify the right of co-option conferred on the Council by the General Rules.[c]

For these reasons:

I) The General Council reaffirms in their entirety its resolutions of October 17, 1871[d];

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[a] The second manuscript continues as follows: "although he is in fact a member of it".—*Ed.*

[b] The second manuscript continues as follows: "This kind of argument would mean, firstly, the negation of the homogeneity and of the principle of solidarity uniting the groups and committees of the International and, secondly, it would fetter the Federal Councils as well as the General Council."—*Ed.*

[c] The second manuscript continues as follows: "Finally, if this article were adopted, the Federal Councils and even the national Congresses would be restricted to the utmost in their activity owing to its delegates being faced with the alternative of remaining members of their section or of the delegation. This would be the case with the Belgian national Congress and the Liège section, to which Citizen Herman belongs, if this article were included in its Regulations, as the French Section of 1871 seems to demand."—*Ed.*

[d] In the second manuscript the next paragraph II is crossed out, and in paragraph I "reaffirms and declares final" is substituted for "reaffirms in their entirety".—*Ed.*

II) In the event of these resolutions not being accepted by the section before the Council's meeting on November 21, the corresponding secretaries should bring the following documents to the notice of the Federal Councils or Committees of the various countries or, where these do not exist, to the notice of the local groups: the Rules of the "French Section of 1871", the mandate of that section's delegates presented to the General Council at its meeting on October 17, the General Council's resolutions of October 17, the reply of the "French Section of 1871" presented to the General Council at its meeting on October 31, and the Council's final resolutions of November 7.

London, November 7, 1871

In the name and by order
of the General Council[a]

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 17, Moscow, 1960

Printed according to Marx's manuscript checked with Delahaye's manuscript (second manuscript)

Translated from the French

[a] In the second manuscript there follow the signature and the addressee: "Corresponding Secretary for France *Auguste Serraillier*. To Citizen Members of the French Section of 1871."—Ed.

# Frederick Engels

## [GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI'S STATEMENT AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE WORKING CLASSES IN ITALY

### ENGELS' RECORD OF HIS REPORT AT THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF NOVEMBER 7, 1871][22]

The news from Italy was of a peculiar interest, letters were received from a number of Italian cities, amongst whom were Turin, Milan, Ravenna, and Girgenti. These confirmed in every respect the immense strides with which the Association was advancing in Italy. The working-classes, in the towns at least, were rapidly abandoning Mazzini, whose denunciations of the International had no effect whatever upon the masses.[a] But Mazzini's denunciations had produced one good effect; they had caused Garibaldi, not only to pronounce himself entirely in favour of our Association, but also, on this very question, to come to an open rupture with Mazzini. In a long letter addressed to M. Petroni,[b] a Sardinian lawyer, who has been since elected president of the Italian Working Men's Congress,[23] now sitting at Rome, Garibaldi expresses his indignation that the Mazzinians should venture to speak of him as of an old fool, who always had done what ever the men surrounding him, his satellites and flatterers, had persuaded him to do. Who were these satellites, he asks? Were they the men of his staff that came with him from South America in 1848, those he found at Rome in '49, or those of his staff of '59 and '60, or those who fought with him recently against the Prussians?[24] If so, he maintains they were men whose names will for ever live in the memory of grateful Italy. But let them re-enter these satellites and flatterers.

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[a] See G. Mazzini, "Il moto delle classi artigiane e il congresso", "L'Internazionale Svizzera", and "L'Internazionale. Cenno storico", *La Roma del Popolo*, Nos. 28-31, September 7, 14, 21 and 28, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] G. Garibaldi's letter was published in *La Favilla*, No. 255, October 31, 1871, and other newspapers.—*Ed.*

"I repeat it, you have not even the merit of originality, when you dig up again my satellites and flatterers have always led that grey-headed baby from Nice by the nose. And while you, Petroni, were suffering for eighteen years in the prisons of the Inquisition, the people of your sect (the Mazzinians) were the very men accused by the Royalists, of being my satellites and followers. Read all the dynastic trash published especially since 1860, and there you will find Garibaldi might be good for something if he had not the misfortune of being led by Mazzini, and to be surrounded by the Mazzinians. This is all false, and you may ask those that have known me more closely and more intimately, whether they ever found a man more obstinate than myself when I had made up my mind to do something which I had recognised to be right. Ask Mazzini himself, whether he has found me to be easily persuaded whenever he attempted to draw me over to some of his impracticable realities. Ask Mazzini whether the origin of our disagreement is not this, that, in 1848, I told him he was doing wrong in holding back in the city, under one pretext or another, the youth of Milan, while our army was fighting the enemy on the Mincio. And Mazzini is a man who never forgives if any one touches his infallibility."

Garibaldi then states that Mazzini, in 1860, did everything in his power to frustrate and to render abortive the general's expedition to Sicily, which ended in the unification of Italy; that when Mazzini heard of Garibaldi's success, he insisted upon the latter proclaiming the Republic in Italy, a thing absurd and utterly foolish under the circumstances, and he[a] finally reproaches "the great exile, whom everybody knew to be in Italy", with his meanness in bespattering the fallen of Paris,[b] the only men who in this time of tyranny, of lies, of cowardice and degradation have waved high, even while dying, the sacred banner of rights and justice. He continues,

"You cry anathema upon Paris, because Paris destroyed the Vendôme Column and the house of Thiers. Have you ever seen a whole village destroyed by the flames for having given shelter to a volunteer, or a franc-tireur? And that not only in France, the same in Lombardy, in Venetia. As to the palaces set fire to in Paris by petroleum, let them ask the priests who, from their intimate acquaintance with the hell-fire about which they preach, ought to be good judges, what difference there is between petroleum fire and those fires which the Austrians lit in order to burn down the villages in Lombardy and Venetia, when those countries were still under the yoke of the men who shot Ugo Bassi, Ciceruacchio and his two sons, and thousands of Italians who committed the sacrilege of demanding a free Rome and a free Italy.

"When the light of day shall once have dispersed the darkness which covers Paris, I hope that you, my friend, will be more indulgent for the acts caused by the desperate situation of a people which, certainly, was badly led, as it generally happens to nations, who allow themselves to be allured by the phraseology of the *doctrinaires*, but who, in substance, fought heroically for their rights. The detractors

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[a] G. Garibaldi.— *Ed.*

[b] G. Mazzini, "Il Comune di Francia", *La Roma del Popolo*, No. 9, April 26, 1871.— *Ed.*

of Paris may say what they like, they will never succeed in proving that a few miscreants and foreigners—as they said of us in Rome in 1849—have resisted for three months against a grand army, backed as it was by the most potent armies of Prussia.

"And the International? What need is there to attack an Association almost without knowing it? Is that Association not an emanation of the abnormal state of society all over the world? A society where the many have to slave for bare subsistence, and where the few, by lies and by force, appropriate the greater portion of the produce of the many, without having earned it by the sweat of their brow, must not such a society excite the discontent, and the vengeance of the suffering masses.

"I wish that the International should not fare as did the people of Paris—that is to allow itself to be circumvented by the concoctors of doctrines which would drive it to exaggerations, and finally to ridicule; but that it should well study, before trusting them, the character of the men who are to lead it on the path of moral and material improvement."

He returns for a moment to Mazzini,

"Mazzini and I, we are both old; but no one speaks of reconciliation between him and me. Infallible people die, but they do not bend. Reconciliation with Mazzini? there is only one possible way for it—to obey him; and of that I do not feel myself capable."

And finally the old soldier proves by referring to his past, that he has always been a true International, that he has fought for liberty everywhere and anywhere, first in South America, then offering his services to the Pope[a] (aye, even to the Pope, when he played the liberal), then under Victor Emmanuel, lastly in France, under Trochu and Jules Favre—and he concludes,

"I and the youth of Italy are ready to serve Italy, also side by side with you, the Mazzinians, if it should be necessary."

This crowning letter of Garibaldi's, coming as it does after a number of others, in which he has plainly expressed his sympathies for the International, but abstained from speaking plainly as to Mazzini, has had an immense effect in Italy, and will induce many recruits to rally round our banner.

It was also announced that a full report of the working men's Congress at Rome would be laid before the next meeting of the Council.[b]

First published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 163, November 11, 1871

Reproduced from the newspaper

[a] Pius IX.—*Ed.*

[b] On November 14, 1871.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [WORKING MEN'S CONGRESS AT ROME.— BEBEL'S SPEECHES IN THE REICHSTAG

### ENGELS' RECORD OF HIS REPORT AT THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF NOVEMBER 14, 1871][25]

From Italy numerous communications had again come to hand. From them it appeared that the so-called Working Men's Congress at Rome was but a dodge of Mazzini's, intended to deceive the public as to the giant strides with which the International is advancing in Italy. In the course of last summer the local leaders of the well-organised Mazzinian party in many large Italian towns, for the first time, and quite unexpectedly, became aware of the fact that they were losing the absolute hold they had hitherto possessed over the working-classes. The sound instinct of the Italian working men had enabled them to see that the working men of Paris, under the Commune, execrated as they were by the common voice of the ruling classes of Europe, had been in reality but the champions of the cause of the whole proletariat; and when Mazzini gave the word to his followers to join in the general middle-class outcry against the people of Paris,[a] he himself destroyed the foundation of his hitherto almost undisputed sway over the Italian workmen. The working people of the Italian towns then began to see that they had class interests reaching beyond Mazzini's republic; that these interests were the same for all workmen all over the civilised world; and that there was a vast society in existence for the upholding of these common interests—the International. Moreover, they had been tired, for some time, of Mazzini's religious preachings, quite out of place as they were in the most priest-ridden country in Europe, and of his everlastingly reminding them that the grand object of their lives was the

[a] G. Mazzini, "Il Comune di Francia", *La Roma del Popolo*, No. 9, April 26, 1871.—*Ed.*

performance of duties, while he never spoke of their rights. Mazzini thought it best to nip this counter-movement in the bud. He had, for the last twenty years, virtually directed the mutual benefit societies of working-men, the Oddfellows, Foresters, and Druids of Italy, societies in which politics were officially forbidden, and where even the commonest objects of an ordinary trades' union were rigorously excluded. The presidents, secretaries, and boards of these societies were generally Mazzinian, and with their help some demonstration in favour of decrying Mazzinianism might be got up. Now, up to 1864 these societies had held annual Congresses; the last was held in Naples in the above year, when an act of fraternization was agreed to, embodying a kind of constitution, with a central committee for common affairs, &c. But since then no Congress had been called. By the assistance of the societies in Liguria, Mazzini now had a new Congress called, which met at Rome, on the 1st of November. How this Congress was composed is best shown by what happened in the Roman Working Men's Society. There the board happened to be anti-Mazzinian, and, because the invitation of the Ligurians had called upon the Congress to discuss political questions, this board refused to send delegates because the discussion of politics was against the general rules. In fact, wherever the boards of the workmen's societies were not composed of Mazzinians, no delegates were sent, as the Mazzinian papers themselves aver; from which it is pretty clear that the delegates sent were elected, not by the members, but by the boards of the various societies. Under these circumstances the mass of the Italian Internationals protested against this Congress if it should pretend to represent the mass of the Italian working men. A few only assisted at its meetings, in order to be able to watch the proceedings.

The Congress opened its sittings on the 1st November. Mazzini and Garibaldi were elected honorary presidents, and that a week after Garibaldi's letter to Petroni appeared, in which he had finally broken with Mazzini![a] Then the act of fraternisation of the Naples Congress was re-discussed. On this occasion a delegate proposed that it should be amended by adding a declaration that the Congress adhered expressly to the principles of Giuseppe Mazzini. The debate was long, but the old Mazzinian organisation at last prevailed. Thirty-four voted yes, nineteen no, six abstained, ten were absent. By a majority of fifteen upon the number of votes given, but by a minority of one upon the total number of

[a] See this volume, pp. 43-45.—*Ed.*

delegates sent to the Congress, the Italian Oddfellows and Druids have bound themselves, for the space of one year, to whatever Mazzini may say or do. Needless to say that the three representatives of International sections retired under protest immediately.[a] We may add that already in the first preliminary meeting of Congress it had been privately settled that neither the question of the International nor any religious question should be discussed. The standing orders were to be suspended in favour of Mazzini only!

The other votes of the Congress were of interest to the Mazzinians alone. They represent attempts to galvanise back into life the dying influence of Mazzini, attempts utterly fruitless in presence of the immense International movement now pervading the Italian working class. The Radical Italian press in Rome, especially *La Capitale* and *Il Tribuno,*[b] severely blame the Congress for its implicit note of confidence in Mazzini. The latter paper says:

> "This vote was a verdict upon the plot between Mazzini and Garibaldi; between the theological notions of the high priest, and the downright affirmations of the working man's rights." It was intended to say to Garibaldi:—"You are wrong in denying the principles of Mazzini, which are those of the Italian working class; it was intended to say to the vanquished of the Commune that the Royalist squires of Versailles were right in shooting them down; it was intended to say to the International that the various Governments did right in trying to kill it, and that Italy would oppose a dam to the torrents coming down upon privilege and monopoly. It would have been well if the Italian workmen, in Congress united, had thoroughly discussed, and well examined every proposition, but instead of this the exceptions taken even before the questions themselves arose, the Ait Philosophus,[c] the word of the master accepted as a gospel, constitutes acts damaging no one but that party which was compelled to recur to similar means in order to get rid of a propaganda it could not otherwise vanquish."

The same paper has a remarkable article on the Agricultural labours or small peasants in Italy, which demanded that all the immense estates now uncultivated or left in the state of bogs, should be declared the property of the labouring class, unless reclaimed and cultivated by their owners within a limited time.

In the German Parliament, our friend Bebel has spoken twice.[d] In the first speech, he attacked the increasing military expenditure.

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[a] C. Cafiero, G. Montel and A. Tucci.—*Ed.*

[b] *Ciceruacchio. Il Tribuno.—Ed.*

[c] Said the philosopher.—*Ed.*

[d] A. Bebel's speeches at the Reichstag sittings of October 30 and November 8, 1871, *Der Volksstaat,* Nos. 91 and 92, November 11 and 15, 1871.—*Ed.*

All this vast army, he said, is needed principally against the working people at home. But you, gentlemen of the middle class, with the rapid increase of your factories and workshops, you yourselves created such a rapid increase of the numbers of the working-class that you will never be able to increase your army at the same rate.

In the second speech, upon the Liberal motion that all German States should be bound to have representative institutions, Bebel said that all constitutions of the German States, great and small, were not worth the paper upon which they were written; the Prussian Executive Covernment were supreme and did what they liked all over Germany, and he wished that all the small states, falsely supposed to be the last refuges of liberty, were swallowed up by Prussia, so as to place the people for once face to face with their true enemy, the Prussian Government. Upon his declaring that he did not except the constitutions of the German Empire from this sweeping condemnation, the House, upon the motion of the speaker,[a] stopped him in the midst of his speech.

This is liberty of discussion, as understood by the aristocrats, bureaucrats, capitalists, and lawyers of the German Parliament. The one working-man amongst them is so much a match for the whole of the rest that they have to put him down by main force.

First published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 164, November 18, 1871; reprinted in the second issue, November 19, 1871

Reproduced from the newspaper

[a] Dr. Simpson.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## DECLARATION[26]

I Karl Marx of 1 Maitland park Road Haverstock Hill in the County of Middlesex, Secretary for Germany of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, do solemnly and sincerely declare as follows

1) That the German Social Democratic Working Men's Party whose Committee in the beginning of September One thousand eight hundred and seventy was still seated at Brunswick[27] has never demanded to be enrolled as part and parcel or as a Section of the International Working Men's Association.

2) That for this reason such an enrolment has never taken place.

3) That many members of the aforesaid German Social Democratic Working Men's Party have on their demand been individually admitted as Members of the International Working Men's Association.

4) That this Declaration is made at the request of Wilhelm Bracke a Merchant at Brunswick and himself a Member of the International Working Men's Association.

And I make this solemn Declaration conscientiously believing the same to be true and by virtue of the provisions of an Act made and passed in the Session of Parliament of the fifth and sixth years of the reign of His late Majesty King William the Fourth, intituled "An Act to Repeal an Act of the present Session of Parliament intituled An Act for the more effectuell abolition of Oaths and Affirmations taken and made in various departments of the State, and to substitute Declarations in lieu thereof, and for the more entire suppression of voluntary and extra judicial Oaths

and Affidavits and to make other provisions for the abolition of unnecessary Oaths."

Subscribed and Declared at the Mansions House in the City of London this seventeenth day of November 1871.

*Karl Marx*

Before me Sills John Gibbons, Lord Mayor

First published, in English, in *Der Proceß gegen den Ausschuß der Socialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei*, Brunswick, 1871, p. 151

Reproduced from the book

# Karl Marx

## [STATEMENT SENT BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO THE EDITORS OF THE *FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG UND HANDELSBLATT*][28]

On page 2 of the *Frankfurter Zeitung,* No. 326, is a report, dated *London,* November 18, which runs as follows:

"At its last meeting the London section of the *International* passed the following resolution: 'The outstanding services of Sir Charles Dilke to the people's cause give him the right to recognition by the people; therefore he is invited to accept the title of honorary member of the international working men's union.' At an earlier meeting Kossuth was elected member."

The *International* does not recognise any honorary membership. In all probability the above-mentioned decision relates to a small London society, which first called itself "The International Democratic Association" and later changed its name to the "Universal Republican League".[29] It has no connection whatsoever with the *International.*

In the name of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association

Corresponding Secretary for Germany,

*Karl Marx*

Written on November 24, 1871

First published in *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt,* No. 333, November 28, 1871

Printed according to the newspaper checked with the manuscript

# Frederick Engels

## TO THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE SPANISH REGION IN MADRID

London, November 25, 1871

Since the return of Citizen Lorenzo from the last conference[a] we have not had any news from you. I have written two letters to you; the last one, dated the eighth of this November, which was registered, asked you to write to us immediately to explain this long silence. We have not yet received any answer but we have heard that a small minority of members of the International, seeking to sow divisions in the ranks of the association, is conspiring against the resolutions of the Conference and the General Council, spreading calumnies of all sorts.[30] We have no doubt that your mysterious silence is caused by your having received letters of this type. If this is the case, we want you to inform us of the accusations and insinuations expressed against us, as is your duty, so that we can refute them.

In any case, you cannot prolong this silence which is contrary to our General Rules which instruct you to send us regular reports. We ask for an immediate reply to this letter; if you do not reply to it, we shall have to conclude that your silence is deliberate and that you believe the calumnies which we have mentioned, without having the courage to inform us of them. And we shall have to proceed in that case in the manner which the interest of the International will dictate.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the rough manuscript

Translated from the Spanish

Published in English for the first time

[a] London Conference.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## TO THE EDITORS OF *IL PROLETARIO ITALIANO*[31]

Citizens,

In your issue No. 39 you publish an announcement by Turin workers which contains the following:

"We hereby publicly announce that the decision of the Grand Council in London to subordinate socialism to politics was communicated to us by the editors of the *Proletario* immediately after it was made and that the decision was not of an official nature since it was withdrawn by the Grand Council in view of the fact that many European associations would have rejected it outright, as would we."

This assertion obliges the General Council to declare:

1) that it never took any decision to subordinate socialism to politics,

2) that it therefore could not have withdrawn such a decision,

3) that no European or American association could reject such a decision, or has indeed rejected any other decision of the General Council.

The position of the General Council as regards the political action of the proletariat is sufficiently well defined.

It is defined:

1) By the General Rules, in which the fourth paragraph of the *preamble* runs: "That the economical emancipation of the working classes is the great end *to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means.*"[a]

2) By the text of the Inaugural Address of the Association (1864), this official and essential commentary on the Rules, which says:

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[a] See this volume, p. 3.—*Ed.*

"The lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies. So far from promoting, they will continue to lay every possible impediment in the way of the emancipation of labour... To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes." [a]

3) By the resolution of the Congress of Lausanne (1867) to the effect that: "The social emancipation of the workmen is inseparable from their political emancipation." [b]

4) By Resolution IX of the London Conference (September 1871) which, in agreement with the above, reminds the members of the International that in the struggle of the working classes their economical movement and their political action are indissolubly united.[c]

The Council has always followed the line of conduct thus prescribed and will do so in future. It therefore declares the above communication made by persons unknown to the editors of the *Proletario* to be false and slanderous.

By order and in the name of the General Council
Secretary for Italy,
*F. E.*

P. S. I have just received *La Révolution Sociale* from Geneva which says that a small group in the Jura has rejected the decisions of the London Conference.[32] The General Council has received no official communication as yet. As soon as it does, it will take the necessary measures.

November 29, 1871

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the rough manuscript

Translated from the Italian

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 20, p. 12.—*Ed.*

[b] *Procès-verbaux du Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs réuni à Lausanne du 2 au 8 septembre 1867,* La Chaux-de-Fonds, 1867, p. 19.—*Ed.*

[c] See present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 426-27.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [CREDENTIALS FOR GIUSEPPE BORIANI][33]

November 30, 1871

Citizen Giuseppe Boriani is accepted member of the International Working Men's Association and is authorised to admit new members and form new sections, on condition that he, and the members and sections newly admitted, recognise as obligatory the official documents of the Association, namely:

The General Rules and Administrative Regulations,
The Inaugural Address,
Resolutions of the Congresses,
The resolutions of the London Conference of September 1871.

By order and in the name of the General Council
Secretary for Italy,
*Frederick Engels*[a]

First published in: Max Nettlau, *Bakunin e l'Internazionale in Italia dal 1864 al 1872*, Geneva, 1928

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the Italian

[a] The document bears the stamp "International Working Men's Association, 256, High Holborn, London.—W. C." and the oval seal "International Working Men's Association. General Council. London".—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [THE POSITION OF THE DANISH MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION

### ENGELS' RECORD OF HIS REPORT AT THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF DECEMBER 5, 1871][34]

A report was received from Denmark referring chiefly to the condition of the agricultural labourers, and the agitation taking place amongst them. In Denmark there are but two official political parties—the "*Doctrinaires*" who represent the capitalist class, and the "*Peasants Friends*", as they call themselves, who represent the landed proprietors including the landed nobility, and the large peasant owner. They also pretend to represent the agricultural labourers, but as a matter of course nothing was ever done for them. The nobility are comparatively powerless in Denmark, so the large peasant holders form the bulk of the "*Peasants Friends*" party. The small farmers and labourers have hitherto been led by them, for though a few representatives of the latter class had been elected to Parliament, they acted under the influence of the large peasant holders, and were used as mere instruments by them.

The International aims at freeing the small peasants and agricultural labourers from this submission to the men who grow rich out of their labour, and is endeavouring to form them into an independent party—distinct from the so-called "*Peasants Friends*", but in intimate union with the working men of the towns. This new labourer's party starts with the basis laid down by the Congress of Basle, *the Nationalisation of the Land*.[35]

"It is a truth more and more acknowledged," says *Socialisten*, our Copenhagen organ, "that the land is the common property of the people, that the people ought to cultivate it in common, enjoy its common produce, and hand over its excess (rent) to the state for common purposes."[a]

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[a] L. Pio, "Om vore Landboforhold", *Socialisten*, No. 17, November 4, 1871.—*Ed.*

But as the land in Denmark is principally the property of a numerous class of Peasant Proprietors, each holding from 50 to 100 acres of good soil, the immediate expropriation of such a considerable body would be impossible. A plan has therefore been proposed, which offers many advantages to the holder as well as to the labourers, that is, to establish Agricultural Co-operative Societies consisting of peasant holders and labourers, for the common cultivation of the land, now cultivated by them individually. The small and medium farms would thus be replaced by farms of 500 acres and upwards, and would allow of the introduction of agricultural implements, steam culture, and other modern improvements, which cannot be taken advantage of, when agriculture is conducted on a small scale. The necessary capital is to be advanced by the state on the security of the land belonging to each association; these propositions are necessarily of a very elementary character, but they appear to be well adapted to the intellect and capacity of the agricultural population, whilst the constant reference to the *Nationalisation of the land as the ultimate end of the movement*, will powerfully assist in breaking up that political subserviency in which the large landowners, with the help of the parson, the village schoolmaster, and the government official, have hitherto held the agricultural labourers.

First published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 167, December 9, 1871

Reproduced from the newspaper

# Frederick Engels

## [ON THE POSITION OF THE INTERNATIONAL'S SECTIONS IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES][36]

With regard to the Conference's resolution on politics,[a] I am pleased to announce that the Spanish federation has fully accepted it, as can be seen from the latest issues of the *Emancipacion* of Madrid and the *Federacion* of Barcelona (December 3).[b] The transformation of the *International* in Spain into a distinct and independent political party is now secure. We are doing wonderfully in Spain: from 19 to 20,000 new members in under three months! In Denmark the *International* has only been in existence for three months and it has 2,000 members in the capital alone, a smaller city than Milan. The peasants are joining in large numbers too, and a big campaign is being prepared for the forthcoming elections, which promise to give us a strong and respectable representation in the Danish Parliament.

We are doing well in Germany and Holland. In France we have 26 newspapers and the sections are re-forming behind M. Thiers' back.

Written between December 5 and 10, 1871

First published in *La Plebe*, No. 144, December 12, 1871

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the Italian

Published in English for the first time

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[a] The reference is to Resolution IX ("Political Action of the Working Class") of the London Conference of the International (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 426-27).— *Ed.*

[b] "La politica de la Internacional", *La Emancipacion*, No. 24, November 27, 1871; reprinted in *La Federacion*, No. 120, December 3, 1871.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [DECLARATION SENT BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO THE EDITORS OF ITALIAN NEWSPAPERS CONCERNING MAZZINI'S ARTICLES ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL][37]

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION,
256, High Holborn, London.—W.C.
December 6, 1871

TO THE EDITOR OF *LA ROMA DEL POPOLO*

Dear Sir,

I count on you having the honesty to publish the enclosed declaration. If we are going to fight, let's fight honestly.

Yours most respectfully,
*F. Engels*,
General Council Secretary for Italy

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

TO THE EDITORS OF *LA ROMA DEL POPOLO*

In number 38 of *La Roma del Popolo* Citizen Giuseppe Mazzini publishes the first of a series of articles entitled "Documents about the International".[a] Mazzini notifies the public:

"I ... have gathered from all the sources I was able to refer to all its resolutions, all the spoken and written declarations of its influential members."

And these are the documents he intends publishing. He begins by giving two samples.

I. "The abstention" (from political action) "went so far that some of the French founders [of the International] promised Louis Napoleon that they would renounce all political action provided he grant the workers I don't know what sum of material aid."

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[a] Published on November 16, 1871; the next two articles of the series appeared in *La Roma del Popolo*, Nos. 39 and 41, November 23 and December 7, 1871.—*Ed.*

We defy Citizen Mazzini to prove this assertion which we regard as calumnious.

II. "In a speech at the Berne Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom in 1868, Bakunin said: 'I want the equalisation of individuals and classes: without this an idea of justice is impossible and peace will not be established. The worker must no longer be deceived with lengthy speeches. *He must be told what he ought to want, if he doesn't know himself.* I'm a collectivist, not a communist, and if I demand the abolition of inheritance rights, I do so to arrive at social equality more quickly'."

Whether Citizen Bakunin pronounced these words or not is quite immaterial for us. What is important for the General Council of the International Working Men's Association to establish is:

1) that these words, as Mazzini himself asserts, were spoken at a congress not of the International but of the bourgeois League of Peace and Freedom;

2) that the International congress, which met at Brussels in September 1868, disavowed this same congress of the *League of Peace and Freedom* by a special vote[38];

3) that when Citizen Bakunin pronounced these words, he was not even a member of the International;

4) that the General Council has always opposed the repeated attempts to substitute for the broad programme of the International Working Men's Association (which has made membership open to Bakunin's followers) Bakunin's narrow and sectarian programme, the adoption of which would automatically entail the exclusion of the vast majority of members of the International;

5) that the International can therefore in no way accept responsibility for the acts and declarations of Citizen Bakunin.

As for the other documents about the International, which Citizen Mazzini intends to publish shortly, the General Council hereby declares that it is only responsible for its official documents.

By order and in the name of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association,

Secretary for Italy,

*Frederick Engels*

First published in *La Plebe*, No. 144, December 12, 1871; *Gazzettino Rosa*, No. 345, December 12, 1871; *La Roma del Popolo*, No. 43, December 21, 1871

Printed according to *La Roma del Popolo* checked with Engels' rough manuscript

Translated from the Italian

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE EASTERN POST*[39]

Sir,—In his last epistle to you, Mr. Charles Bradlaugh makes the report of the sitting of the General Council of December 12th,[a]—a sitting from which I was absent in consequence of illness—the pretext for discharging upon me his ruffianism. He says,

"I feel indebted to Karl Marx for his enmity."[b]

My enmity to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh! Ever since the publication of the "Address on the Civil War in France", Mr. Bradlaugh's voice has chimed in with the world-wide chorus of slander against the "International" and myself. I treated him, like the other revilers, with contemptuous silence. This was more than the grotesque vanity of that huge self-idolater could stand. I "calumniated" him because I took no notice of his calumnies. My silence drove him mad; in a public meeting he denounced me as *a Bonapartist* because, in the "Address on the Civil War", I had, forsooth, laid bare the historic circumstances that gave birth to the Second Empire. He now goes a step further and transforms me into a *police agent of Bismarck.* Poor man! He must needs show that the lessons he has recently received at Paris from the infamous Emile de Girardin and his *clique* are not lost upon him. For the present, I shall "betray him" to the German public by giving the greatest possible circulation to his epistle. If he be kind enough to

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[a] J. Hales, "International Working Men's Association", *The Eastern Post,* No. 168, December 16, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] C. Bradlaugh, "To the Editor of *The Eastern Post*", *The Eastern Post,* No. 168 (second edition), December 17, 1871.—*Ed.*

clothe his libels in a more tangible shape, I shall "betray him" to an English law-court.

I am, Sir,

Yours obediently,

*Karl Marx*

London, December 20th

First published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 169, December 23, 1871

Reproduced from the newspaper

# Frederick Engels

## THE CONGRESS OF SONVILLIER AND THE INTERNATIONAL[40]

It is hardly necessary to enlarge upon the present position of the International Working Men's Association. On the one hand, owing to the tremendous events in Paris,[a] it has become stronger and more widespread than ever before; on the other we find almost all the European governments united against it—Thiers and Gorchakov, Bismarck and Beust, Victor Emmanuel and the Pope,[b] Spain and Belgium. A general drive against the International has been launched, all the powers of the old world, the courts-martial and civil courts, the police and the press, squires from the backwoods and bourgeois, vie with each other in persecuting it, and there is hardly a spot on the entire continent where every means is not used to outlaw this fear-inspiring great brotherhood of workers.

At this very moment of general and inevitable disorganisation caused by the forces of the old society, when unity and solidarity are more indispensable than ever, at this very moment a small number of the Internationals—whose number by their own admission is steadily diminishing—in some corner of Switzerland has chosen to throw an apple of discord in the shape of a public circular among the members of the International. These people—they call themselves the *Federation of the Jura*—are essentially the same who under the leadership of Bakunin have continuously undermined the unity in the French-speaking part of Switzerland for more than two years and who through their assiduous private correspondence with kindred notabilities in various countries have

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[a] The proletarian revolution of March 18, 1871 and the Paris Commune.—*Ed.*
[b] Pius IX.—*Ed.*

obstructed concerted action in the International. So long as these intrigues were confined to Switzerland or done on the quiet we did not want to give them wide publicity, but this circular compels us to speak.

Because this year the General Council has not convened a Congress but a Conference,[a] a circular to all sections of the International has been adopted by the Federation of the Jura at its Congress at Sonvillier on November 12. Large numbers of the circular were printed and mailed in all directions requesting all sections to press for the immediate convocation of a Congress. Why a Conference *had* to take the place of a Congress is perfectly clear, at least to us in Germany and Austria. If we had been represented at a Congress our delegates on their return would have been immediately apprehended and placed into safe custody, and the delegates from Spain, Italy and France would have been in the same position. But a Conference which held no public debates but only committee meetings could very well take place, for the names of the delegates would not be published. It had the disadvantage that it could not decide fundamental issues or make any changes in the General Rules, that it had no legislative power at all and could pass merely administrative decisions designed to facilitate the putting into practice of the organisational measures laid down by the General Rules and Congress resolutions. But nothing more was required under the circumstances, it was merely a question of adopting measures to deal with the present emergency, and a Conference was sufficient for the purpose.

The attacks on the Conference and its decisions, however, were merely a pretext. In fact, the present circular only makes passing mention of them. It considers, on the contrary, that the evil is far more deep-rooted. It asserts that according to the General Rules and the original Congress resolutions the International is nothing but "a free federation of autonomous" (independent) "sections", whose aim is the emancipation of the workers by the workers themselves

> "without any directing authority, even if set up by voluntary agreement".

The General Council therefore was nothing but "a simple statistical and correspondence bureau". But this original basis was very soon distorted, first by conferring on the General Council the right to co-opt new members, and even more by the resolutions of

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[a] The London Conference of the International held on September 17-23, 1871.—*Ed.*

the Basle Congress, which gave the General Council the right to suspend individual sections till the next Congress and to decide controversies provisionally until the Congress adopted a relevant resolution.[a] This placed dangerous powers in the hands of the General Council and turned the free association of independent sections into a hierarchical and authoritarian organisation of "disciplined sections", so that

> "the sections are entirely under the control of the General Council, which can arbitrarily either refuse to admit them or suspend their work".

To our German readers, who know only too well the value of an organisation that is able to defend itself, all this will seem very strange. And this is quite natural, for Mr. Bakunin's theories, which appear here in their full splendour, have not yet penetrated into Germany. A workers' association which has inscribed upon its banner the motto of struggle for the emancipation of the working class is to be headed, not by an executive committee, but merely by a statistical and correspondence bureau! For Bakunin and his companions, however, the struggle for the emancipation of the working class is a mere pretext; their real aim is quite different.

> "The future society should be nothing but a universalisation of the organisation which the International will establish for itself. We must therefore try to bring this organisation as close as possible to our ideal... The International, embryo of the future human society, must henceforth be the faithful image of our principles of liberty and federation, and must reject any principle leading to authoritarianism, to dictatorship."

We Germans have earned a bad name for our mysticism, but we have never gone the length of such mysticism. The International is to be the prototype of a future society in which there will be no executions à la Versailles, no courts-martial, no standing armies, no inspection of private correspondence, and no Brunswick criminal court[41]! Just now, when we have to defend ourselves with all the means at our disposal, the proletariat is told to organise not in accordance with requirements of the struggle it is daily and hourly compelled to wage, but according to the vague notions of a future society entertained by some dreamers. Let us try to imagine what our own German organisation would look like according to this pattern. Instead of fighting the government and the bourgeoisie, it would meditate on whether each paragraph of our General Rules and each resolution passed by the Congress

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[a] *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association, Held at Basle, in Switzerland. From the 6th to the 11th September 1869,* London [1869], p. 21.— *Ed.*

presented a true image of the future society. In place of our executive committee there would be a simple statistical and correspondence bureau; it would have to deal as best it knew with the independent sections, which are so independent that they can accept no steering authority, be it even one set up by their own free decision; for they would thus violate their primary duty—that of being a true model of the future society. Co-ordination of forces and joint action are no longer mentioned. If in each individual section the minority submits to the decision of the majority, it commits a crime against the principles of freedom and accepts a principle which leads to authority and dictatorship! If Stieber and all his associates, if the entire black cabinet,[42] if all Prussian officers were ordered to join the Social-Democratic organisation in order to wreck it, the committee, or rather the statistical and correspondence bureau, must by no means keep them out, for this would amount to establishing a hierarchical and authoritarian organisation! And above all, there should be no disciplined sections! Indeed, no party discipline, no centralisation of forces at a particular point, no weapons of struggle! But what, then, would happen to the model of the future society? In short, where would this new organisation get us? To the cowardly, servile organisation of the early Christians, those slaves, who gratefully accepted every kick and whose grovelling did indeed after 300 years win them the victory of their religion—a method of revolution which the proletariat will surely not imitate! Like the early Christians, who took heaven as they imagined it as the model for their organisation, so we are to take Mr. Bakunin's heaven of the future society as a model, and are to pray and hope instead of fighting. And the people who preach this nonsense pretend to be the only true revolutionaries!

As far as the International is concerned, all this is still a long way off. Until the Congress passes new decisions it is the duty of the General Council to carry out the Basle resolutions and it will do its duty. Just as it did not hesitate to expel the Tolains and Durands, so it will see to it that admission to the International will remain barred for the Stiebers & Co., even if Mr. Bakunin should consider this dictatorial.

But how did these reprehensible Basle resolutions come into being? Very simply. The Belgian delegates proposed them, and *no one supported them more ardently than Bakunin and his friends*, especially Schwitzguébel and Guillaume, who signed the circular in question! But then matters were of course quite different. These gentlemen then hoped to secure a majority and that the General

Council would be dominated by them. At that time they wanted to make the General Council as strong as possible. And now—now it is quite a different matter. Now the grapes are sour, and the Council is to be reduced to a simple statistical and correspondence bureau, so that Bakunin's chaste future society should not have to blush.

These people, professional sectarians, who, with all their mystical early-Christian doctrines, form an insignificant minority in the International, have the effrontery to reproach the General Council and its members with wanting

"to make their particular programme, their personal tenets the predominant ones in the International; they regard their private ideas as the official theory which alone should be entitled to full recognition in the Association".

This is indeed bold language. Anyone who has been able to follow the internal history of the International knows that for nearly three years now these people have been mainly occupied in trying to force their sectarian doctrine on the Association as its general programme, and having failed in this they underhandedly seek to pass off Bakunin's phrases as the general programme of the International. Nevertheless, the General Council protested only against this insinuation but has so far never challenged their right to belong to the International or freely to propagate their sectarian humbug as such. How the General Council will look upon their latest circular is yet to be seen.

These people have themselves brilliantly demonstrated what they have achieved by their new organisation. Wherever the International did not encounter the violent resistance of reactionary governments, it has made enormous advances since the Paris Commune. What do we see, on the other hand, in the Swiss Jura, where these gentlemen were free to run things their own way during the last eighteen months? Their own report to the Sonvillier Congress (printed in the Geneva journal *La Révolution Sociale* of November 23) says:

"These terrible events could not but exert a *partly demoralising* and partly beneficial influence on our sections... Then the gigantic struggle which the proletariat has to wage against the bourgeoisie will begin, and that makes people think ... some withdraw (*s'en vont*) and hide their cowardice, others rally closer than ever in support of the regenerating principle of the International.—This is at present the dominant fact of the internal history of the International in general and of our Federation in particular."[a]

[a] "Rapport du Comité fédéral romand. Siégeant à St.-Imier-Sonvillier, présenté au Congrès régional de la fédération romande de l'Internationale, tenu à Sonvillier, le 12 novembre 1871". [Signed:] Adhémar Schwitzguébel, *La Révolution Sociale*, No. 5, November 23, 1871.—*Ed.*

What is new here is the statement that this happened in the International in general, where just the opposite took place. It is true that this happened in the Jura Federation. According to these gentlemen themselves, the Moutier section has suffered least of all, but has achieved nothing:

> "Though no new sections were set up, it is to be hoped that, etc." ... and this section was after all "in a particularly favourable position because of the excellent temper of the population" ... "the Grange section has been reduced to a small nucleus of workers".

Two sections in Biel never answered the letters of the Committee, and the same applies to the sections in Neuchâtel and one in Locle; the third section in Biel

> "is for the time being dead" ... although "there is still some hope of the International in Biel reviving".

The Saint-Blaise section is dead; that of Val de Ruz has vanished, no one knows how; after a prolonged agony the central section at Locle was dissolved, but has managed to reconstitute itself, evidently for the purpose of the Congress elections; that of La Chaux-de-Fonds is in a critical position; the watch-makers' section in Courtelary is now transforming itself into a trades association and adopting the rules of the association of Swiss watch-makers; it thus adopts the rules of an organisation which is not part of the International; the central section at the same district has suspended its activities because its members have formed separate sections at Saint-Imier and Sonvillier (which has not prevented this central section from sending two delegates to the Congress, in addition to the delegates from Saint-Imier and Sonvillier); after an outstanding career the Catébat section had to dissolve itself as a result of intrigues by the local bourgeois, and the same happened to the Corgémont section; finally in Geneva one section is still in existence.

That is what in eighteen months the representatives of a free federation of independent sections headed by a statistical and correspondence bureau have done to a flourishing, though not widespread or numerous, Federation. And that in a country where they had complete freedom of action and at a time when everywhere else the International had made gigantic advances. And at the very moment when they themselves exhibit this picture of their miserable failure, when they utter this cry of helplessness and dissolution, they demand that we should divert the International from the course it has hitherto followed, a

course which has made it what it is now, and lead it along the path which brought the Jura Federation from a comparatively flourishing state to complete dissolution.

Written not later than January 3, 1872

First published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 3, January 10, 1872

Printed according to the newspaper

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE EASTERN POST*

Sir,—In *The National Reformer* of January 7th, Mr. Charles Bradlaugh says:

"We only meant to allege that Dr. Marx had, in former times, given information to his own Government."[a]

I simply declare that this is a calumny, as ridiculous as it is infamous. I call upon Mr. Bradlaugh to publish any fact that could afford him even the slightest pretext for his statement. For his personal tranquility I add that he shall not be "challenged".

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

*Karl Marx*

January 16th

First published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 173, January 20, 1872

Reproduced from the newspaper

[a] C. Bradlaugh, "Rough Notes and Readings", *The National Reformer*, No. 1, January 7, 1872.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE EASTERN POST*[a]

Sir,—In his immortal poem, Dante says that one of the most cruel tortures of an exile is the necessity of having to rub elbows with all sorts of people.[b] I have deeply felt the truth of his complaint when being forced to enter for a moment into a public controversy with men like Messrs. Charles Bradlaugh and Co. I shall, however, no longer allow him to turn the quarrel he has fastened upon me into the cheap and convenient means of advertising himself abroad.

He published against me an accusation which, if published in Germany, would have made him the laughing-stock of all parties.[c] I thereupon challenged him to publish such facts as might have lent him the slightest pretext for a calumny as ridiculous as it is infamous. I did so in order, not to justify myself, but to expose him. With the low cunning of a solicitor's clerk he tries to escape this liability by inviting me to a "Court of Honour".

Does he really fancy that a Bradlaugh, or the editors of the Paris *demi-monde* Press, or those of the Bismarckian papers at Berlin, or the *Tages-Presse* at Vienna, or the *Criminal-Zeitung* at New York, or the *Moscow Gazette*,[d] have only to slander me, in order to make me amenable to clear my public character, and even to do so before a "Council of Honour", of which the friends of those "honourable" gentlemen must form part?

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[a] The letter is provided with the editor's headline: "Dr. Karl Marx and Mr. Bradlaugh".—*Ed.*

[b] Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, Paradise, Canto XVII.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 71.—*Ed.*

[d] *Московскія вѣдомости.*—*Ed.*

I have done with Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, and leave him to all the comforts he may derive from the quiet contemplation of his own self.

I am, Sir,

Yours obediently,

*Karl Marx*

Written before January 28, 1872

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 174, January 28 (second edition), 1872

# Frederick Engels

## [LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF THE *GAZZETTINO ROSA*][43]

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION
256, High Holborn, London.—W. C.
London, February 7

TO THE CITIZEN EDITOR OF THE *GAZZETTINO ROSA*

Citizen,

For several months now, the *Libero Pensiero* of Florence has not ceased to attack the International, as if the great workers' association could get jealous of the society of rationalist prebendaries promoted by this newspaper. Up till now it seemed superfluous for me to reply to these attacks, but when the aforementioned publication sinks to the level of spreading rumours of a Bismarckian sort in Italy against the International and its General Council, it is time to protest. I have therefore sent the following letter to the *Libero Pensiero*, and I should like you to publish it in the *Gazzettino Rosa* as well.

Fraternal greetings,

*F. Engels*,

General Council Secretary for Italy

TO MR. LUIGI STEFANONI, EDITOR OF *IL LIBERO PENSIERO*

Dear Sir,

Issue number 1 of the *Libero Pensiero*, January 4, 1872, contains an article, "L'Internazionale ed il Consiglio supremo di Londra", to which I must submit a brief reply.

It says in the article:

"We should like to ask what mandate Mr. Engels has to represent Italy."

I do not claim and have never claimed to represent Italy. I have the honour of being, in the General Council, the secretary with

special responsibility for corresponding with Italy, a capacity in which it is my duty to represent the Council, not Italy.

The article then gives translations of several items of correspondence from London taken from the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* of Berlin, items which are full of the most infamous slanders against the General Council and the whole International. To these I shall not reply. One does not engage in dispute with that newspaper. It is well known throughout Germany what the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* is: a newspaper funded by Bismarck, the organ of Prussian governmental socialism. If you require more detailed information about this paper, write to your correspondent Liebknecht in Leipzig and you will get all you want. Allow me merely to add that if you are keen to have such slanders against the International you will find them in abundance in the *Figaro, Gaulois, Petit-Journal* and the other newspapers of the Parisian *demi-monde,* in the London *Standard,* the *Journal de Genève,* the Vienna *Tages-Presse* and the *Moscow Gazette,*[a] authorities which will relieve you of having to quote this poor devil Schneider.

In an editorial note it says:

"Perhaps this alludes to the communist secret society set up by Karl Marx in Cologne in 1850; when it was uncovered, as usual, many poor devils fell into the clutches of the Prussian police, while the principal organisers fled in safety to London."

Whoever told you this was lying. I was a member of this society.[44] It was founded neither by Marx, nor in 1850, nor in Cologne. It was already in existence at least ten years previously. Marx and I had already been in England for a year, exiles driven out by the Prussian government, when the Cologne section, through its own imprudence, fell into police hands. If you want further information you can ask Mr. Becker, mayor of Dortmund and member of the Prussian and German parliaments; Klein, doctor and municipal councillor in Cologne; Bürgers, editor of the *Wiesbadener Zeitung*; Lessner, tailor and member of the General Council of the International in London. All of these were sentenced in this trial against the communists.[45]

I beg you to publish this correction in your next issue.

Yours sincerely,

*Frederick Engels*

First published in *Gazzettino Rosa*, No. 50, February 20, 1872 and in *Il Libero Pensiero*, February 22, 1872

Printed according to the *Gazzettino Rosa*

Translated from the Italian

[a] *Московскія вѣдомости.—Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## TO THE SECTION OF COMMERCIAL EMPLOYEES IN BARCELONA[46]

Citizens,[a]

In reply to your letter of January 23, I regret that I cannot give you the addresses of the sections of your occupation because no such sections are known to us. What you say, relating to your country, about commercial employees being very opposed to proletarian progress also applies to other countries: this class generally consists of lackeys of the bourgeoisie who expect sooner or later to become bourgeois themselves. There are many honourable exceptions; but I believe that you are the first to succeed in forming a section of your profession.

If you also want to send me about twenty copies of your circular, I will disseminate them in the big commercial cities of Europe and America and it will serve well for propaganda.

Greetings and Social Revolution.

Written on February 16, 1872

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 33, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the rough manuscript

Translated from the Spanish

Published in English for the first time

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[a] In the rough manuscript there is a note in Engels' hand: "Barcelona 23 January 72. Section of commercial employees. Answered. 16 February. The reply enclosed."— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## DECLARATION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[47]

The Swiss authorities have thought proper, upon a simple reclamation of the Russian Foreign Office, sent in violation of the Federal Constitution direct to a magistrate at Iverdun, to search the house of Citizen Outine at Geneva, under the infamous pretext that he might be implicated in the forgery of Russian paper money—a scandalous affair, in which, wonderful to say, the Russian State Councillor, Kamensky, charged to prosecute the forgers, figures at the same time as their ringleader. They seized the papers of Outine, and exposed all his Russian, German, and English correspondence to the scrutiny of a Russian translator, whose very name they refused to give. Citizen Outine, up to December 1871, was editor of the International organ, *L'Égalité*, and consequently his correspondence was for the greater part that of the International, and provided with the stamps of its different committees. Had it not been for the interference of his legal adviser, Citizen Amberny, to whom the Council tenders its best thanks, Outine's papers and himself would have been handed over to the Russian Government, with which Switzerland has not even a treaty of extradition.

The Russian Government, met at home by a daily growing opposition, has taken advantage of the sham conspiracies of men like Netchayeff, who did not belong to the International, to prosecute opponents at home under the pretext of being Internationals. Now it takes another step in advance. Supported by its faithful vassal, Prussia, it commences an intervention in the internal concerns of Western nations by calling upon their magistrates to hunt down in its service the International. It opens its campaign in a Republic, and the Republican authorities

hastened to make themselves the humble servants of Russia. The General Council considers it sufficient to denounce the designs of the Russian Cabinet, and the subserving of its Western helpmates, to the workmen of all nations.

Written on February 20, 1872

Reproduced from *The Eastern Post*

First published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 178, February 24, 1872 (second edition) and in *The International Herald*, No. 1, March 2, 1872

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## FICTITIOUS SPLITS IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### PRIVATE CIRCULAR FROM THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[48]

Until now the General Council has completely refrained from any interference in the International's internal conflicts and has never replied publicly to the overt attacks launched against it during more than two years by some members of the Association.

But if the persistent efforts of certain meddlers to deliberately maintain confusion between the International and a society[a] which has been hostile to it since its origin allowed the General Council to maintain this reserve, the support which European reaction finds in the scandals provoked by that society at a time when the International is undergoing the most serious crisis since its foundation obliges it to present a historical review of all these intrigues.

### I

After the fall of the Paris Commune, the General Council's first act was to publish its Address on *The Civil War in France*[b] in which it came out in support of all the Commune's acts which, at the moment, served the bourgeoisie, the press and the governments of Europe as an excuse to heap the most vile slander on the vanquished Parisians. A part of the working class still failed to realise that their cause was lost. The Council came to understand

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[a] International Alliance of Socialist Democracy.— *Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France.*— *Ed.*

the fact, among other things, by the resignation of two of its members, Citizens Odger and Lucraft, who repudiated all support of the Address. It may be said that the unity of views among the working class regarding the Paris events dates from the publication of the Address in all the civilised countries.

On the other hand, the International found a very powerful means of propaganda in the bourgeois press and particularly in the leading English newspapers, which the Address forced to engage in the polemic kept going by the General Council's replies.[49]

The arrival in London of numerous refugees from the Commune made it necessary for the General Council to constitute itself as a Relief Committee and for more than eight months perform this function, which lay quite outside its regular duties.[50] It goes without saying that the vanquished and exiles from the Commune had hothing to hope for from the bourgeoisie. As for the working class, the appeals for aid came at a difficult moment. Switzerland and Belgium had already received their contingent of refugees whom they had either to support or send on to London. The funds collected in Germany, Austria and Spain were sent to Switzerland. In England, the big fight for the nine-hour working day, the decisive battle of which was fought at Newcastle,[51] had exhausted both the workers' individual contributions and the funds set up by the Trades Unions, which could be used, incidentally, according to the rules, only for labour conflicts. Meanwhile, by tireless work and active correspondence, the Council succeeded in raising, bit by bit, a certain amount of money, which it distributed weekly. The American workers responded more generously to its appeal. It is unfortunate that the Council could not avail itself of the millions which the terrified bourgeoisie believed the International to have amassed in its safes!

After May 1871, some of the Commune's refugees were asked to join the Council,[52] in which, as a result of the war, the French side was no longer represented. Among the new members were some old Internationals and a minority composed of men known for their revolutionary energy whose election was an act of homage to the Paris Commune.

Along with all these preoccupations, the Council had to prepare for the Conference of Delegates that it had just called.[53]

The violent measures taken by the Bonapartist government against the International had prevented the holding of the Congress at Paris, which had been provided for by a resolution of

N° 1.

LES

# PRÉTENDUES SCISSIONS

DANS

# L'INTERNATIONALE

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## CIRCULAIRE PRIVÉE

DU

## CONSEIL GÉNÉRAL

DE

## L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS

GENÈVE
IMPRIMERIE COOPÉRATIVE, RUE DU CONSEIL-GÉNÉRAL, 8
1872

Title page of Marx's and Engels' pamphlet *Fictitious Splits in the International*

the Basle Congress. Using the right conferred upon it by Article 4 of the Rules,[a] the General Council, in its circular of July 12, 1870, convened the Congress at Mainz.[54] In letters addressed at the same time to the various federations, it proposed that the General Council should transfer its seat from England to another country and asked that the delegates be provided with imperative mandates to that effect. The federations unanimously insisted that it should remain in London.[55] The Franco-Prussian war, which broke out a few days later, made holding of any congress impossible. It was then that the federations which we consulted authorised us to fix the date of the next Congress depending on the course of events.

As soon as the political situation permitted, the General Council called a private Conference, acting on the precedents of the 1865 Conference[56] and the private administrative meetings of each Congress. A public Congress was impossible and could only have resulted in the continental delegates being denounced at a moment when European reaction was celebrating its orgies; when Jules Favre was demanding from all governments, even the British, the extradition of refugees as common criminals; when Dufaure was proposing to the Rural Assembly a law banning the International,[57] a hypocritical counterfeit of which was later presented by Malou to the Belgians; when, in Switzerland, a Commune refugee[b] was put under preventative arrest while awaiting the federal government's decision on the extradition order; when hunting down members of the International was the ostensible basis for an alliance between Beust and Bismarck, whose anti-International clause Victor Emmanuel was quick to adopt; when the Spanish Government, putting itself entirely at the disposal of the butchers of Versailles, was forcing the Madrid Federal Council to seek refuge in Portugal[58]; at a time, lastly, when the International's prime duty was to strengthen its organisation and to accept the gauntlet thrown down by the governments.

All sections in regular contact with the General Council were invited in good time to the Conference, which, even though it was not to be a public meeting, nevertheless faced serious difficulties. In view of the internal situation France was, of course, unable to elect any delegates. In Italy, the only organised section at the time

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[a] *Rules of the International Working Men's Association. Founded September 28th, 1864*, London [1867].—*Ed.*

[b] A. E. Razoua.—*Ed.*

was that of Naples; but just as it was about to nominate a delegate it was broken up by armed force. In Austria and Hungary, the most active members were imprisoned. In Germany, some of the more well-known members were persecuted for the crime of high treason, others landed in gaol, and the party's funds were spent on aid to their families.[59] The Americans, though they sent the Conference a detailed Memorandum on the situation of the International there, employed the delegation's money for maintaining the refugees.[60] All federations, in fact, recognised the necessity of substituting the private Conference for a public Congress.

After meeting in London from September 17 to 23, 1871, the Conference authorised the General Council to publish its resolutions; to codify the Administrative Regulations and publish them with the General Rules, as reviewed and corrected, in three languages; to carry out the resolution to replace membership cards with stamps; to reorganise the International in England[61]; and, lastly, to provide the necessary money for these various purposes.

Following the publication of the Conference proceedings, the reactionary press of Paris and Moscow, of London and New York, denounced the resolution on working-class policy[62] as containing such dangerous designs—*The Times* accused it of "a cold and calculating judgment[a]—that it was necessary to outlaw the International with all possible speed. On the other hand, the resolution that dealt a blow at the fraudulent sectarian sections[63] gave the international police a long-awaited excuse to start a noisy campaign ostensibly for the unrestricted autonomy of the workers whom it professed to protect against the despicable despotism of the General Council and the Conference. The working class felt itself so "heavily oppressed", indeed, that the General Council received from Europe, America, Australia and even the East Indies, reports regarding the admission of new members and the formation of new sections.

## II

The denunciations in the bourgeois press, like the lamentations of the international police, found a sympathetic echo even in our Association. Some intrigues, directed ostensibly against the Gener-

[a] *The Times*, No. 27200, October 21, 1871, p. 7.—*Ed.*

al Council but in reality against the Association, were hatched in its midst. At the bottom of these intrigues was the inevitable *International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*, fathered by the Russian Mikhail Bakunin. On his return from Siberia, the latter began to write in Herzen's *Kolokol* preaching the ideas of Pan-Slavism and racial war,[a] conceived out of his long experience. Later, during his stay in Switzerland, he was nominated to the steering Committee of the League of Peace and Freedom founded in opposition to the International. When this bourgeois society's affairs went from bad to worse, its president, Mr. G. Vogt, acting on Bakunin's advice, proposed to the International's Congress which met at Brussels in September 1868 to conclude an alliance with the League. The Congress unanimously proposed two alternatives: either the League should follow the same goal as the International, in which case it would have no reason for existing; or else its goal should be different, in which case an alliance would be impossible. At the League's Congress held in Berne a few days after, Bakunin made an about-face. He proposed a makeshift programme whose scientific value may be judged by this single phrase: "*economic and social equalisation of classes*".[64] Backed by an insignificant minority, he broke with the League in order to join the International, determined to replace the International's General Rules by his makeshift programme, which had been rejected by the League, and to replace the General Council by his personal dictatorship. To this end, he created a special instrument, the *International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*, intended to become an International within the International.

Bakunin found the necessary elements for the formation of this society in the relationships he had formed during his stay in Italy, and in a small group of Russian emigrants, serving him as emissaries and recruiting officers among members of the International in Switzerland, France and Spain. Yet it was only after repeated refusals of the Belgian and Paris Federal Councils to recognise the *Alliance* that he decided to submit for the General Council's approval his new society's rules, which were nothing but a faithful reproduction of the "misunderstood" Berne programme. The Council replied by the following circular dated December 22, 1868[65]:

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[a] М. А. Бакунинъ, «Русскимъ, польскимъ и всѣмъ славянскимъ друзьямъ», *Колоколъ*, No. 122/123, February 15, 1862, supplement.—*Ed.*

### *The General Council to the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*

Just about a month ago a certain number of citizens formed in Geneva the *Central Initiative Committee* of a new international society named *The International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*, stating it was their "*special mission* to study political and philosophical questions on the basis of the grand principle of *equality*, etc.".

The programme and rules published by this Initiative Committee were communicated to the General Council of the International Working Men's Association only on December 15, 1868. According to these documents, the said Alliance is "absorbed entirely in the International", at the same time as it is established entirely outside the Association. Besides the General Council of the *International*, elected successively at the Geneva, Lausanne and Brussels congresses, there is to be, in line with the rules drawn up by the Initiative Committee, another General Council in Geneva, which is self-appointed. Besides the local groups of the *International*, there are to be local groups of the *Alliance*, which through their national bureaus, operating independently of the national bureaus of the *International*, "*will ask the Central Bureau of the Alliance to admit them into the International*"; the *Alliance* Central Committee thereby takes upon itself the right of admittance to the *International*. Lastly, the *General Congress of the International Working Men's Association* will have its counterpart in the *General Congress of the Alliance*, for, as the rules of the Initiative Committee state, at the annual working men's congress the delegation of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy, as a branch of the International Working Men's Association, "*will hold its meetings in a separate building*".

Considering,

that the existence of a second international body operating within and outside the International Working Men's Association would be the surest means of its disorganisation;

that every other group of individuals, anywhere, would have the right to imitate the Geneva initiative group, and, under more or less plausible excuses, to bring into the International Working Men's Association other international associations with other special missions;

that the International Working Men's Association would thereby soon become a plaything of any meddlers of whatever nationality or party;

that the Rules of the International Working Men's Association

furthermore admit only local and national branches into its membership (see Article I and Article VI of the Rules)[a];

that sections of the International Working Men's Association are forbidden to adopt rules or administrative regulations contrary to the General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association (see Article XII of the Administrative Regulations);

that the Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association can be revised by the General Congress only, provided two-thirds of the delegates present vote in favour of such a revision (see Article XIII of the Administrative Regulations);

that a decision on this question is already contained in the resolutions against the *League of Peace*, unanimously passed at the General Congress in Brussels;

that in these resolutions the Congress declared that there was no justification for the existence of the *League of Peace* since, according to its recent declarations, its aim and principles were identical with those of the International Working Men's Association;

that a number of members of the initiative group of the Alliance, as delegates to the Brussels Congress, had voted for these resolutions;

The General Council of the International Working Men's Association unanimously resolved at its meeting of December 22, 1868, that:

1) All articles of the rules of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy, defining its relations with the International Working Men's Association, are declared null and void;

2) The International Alliance of Socialist Democracy may not be admitted as a branch of the International Working Men's Association.

*G. Odger*, Chairman of the meeting
*R. Shaw*, General Secretary

London, December 22, 1868

A few months later, the Alliance again appealed to the General Council and asked whether, *yes or no*, it accepted its *principles*. If yes, the Alliance was ready to dissolve itself into the International's sections. It received a reply in the following circular of March 9, 1869[66]:

[a] *Rules of the International Working Men's Association. Founded September 28th, 1864*, London [1867].—*Ed.*

*The General Council to the Central Committee of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*

According to Article I of our Rules, the Association admits all working men's societies aiming at the same end, viz., *the mutual protection, progress and complete emancipation of the working class.*

The sections of the working class in the various countries finding themselves in different conditions of development, it follows necessarily that their theoretical opinions, which reflect the real movement, should also differ.

The community of action, however, established by the International Working Men's Association, the exchange of ideas facilitated by the public organs of the different national sections, and, lastly, the direct debates at the General Congresses, are sure gradually to engender a common theoretical programme.

Consequently, it is not the function of the General Council to subject *the programme of the Alliance to a critical examination.* We have not to inquire whether, *yes or no,* it is an adequate expression of the proletarian movement. All we have to establish is whether it may contain anything contrary to the *general tendency* of our Association, that is, *the complete emancipation of the working class.* There is one sentence in your programme which fails in this respect. Article 2 reads:

"It" (Alliance) "seeks, above all, the *political, economic, and social equalisation of classes.*"

The *equalisation of classes,* literally interpreted, means *harmony between Capital and Labour* so persistently preached by the bourgeois socialists. It is not the logically impossible *equalisation of classes,* but on the contrary the *abolition of classes,* this true secret of the proletarian movement, which forms the great aim of the *International Working Men's Association.*

Considering, however, the context, in which the phrase *equalisation of classes* occurs, it seems to be a mere slip of the pen. The General Council feels confident that you will be anxious to remove from your programme a phrase which may give rise to such dangerous misunderstandings.[a] The principles of our Association

[a] In accordance with the General Council's demand Article 2 of the programme of the Alliance was amended as follows: "It aims above all at the complete and final abolition of classes and the political, economic and social equalisation of men and women."—*Ed.*

permit every section freely to shape its own theoretical programme, except in cases when the general policy of our Association is contradicted.

There exists, therefore, no obstacle to the *transformation* of the sections of the Alliance into sections of the International Working Men's Association.

*The dissolution of the Alliance, and the entrance of its sections into the International* once settled, it would, according to our Regulations, become necessary *to inform the Council of the seat and the numerical strength of each new section.*

*Meeting of the General Council*
*of March 9, 1869*

Having accepted these conditions, the Alliance was admitted to the International by the General Council, misled by certain signatures affixed to Bakunin's programme and supposing the Alliance was recognised by the Romance Federal Committee in Geneva which, on the contrary, had always refused to have any dealings with it. Thus, it had achieved its immediate goal: to be represented at the Basle Congress. Despite the dishonest means employed by his supporters, means used on this and solely on this occasion, in an International Congress, Bakunin was deceived in his expectation of seeing the Congress transfer the seat of the General Council to Geneva and give an official sanction to the old Saint-Simonian rubbish, to the immediate abolition of hereditary rights which he had made the practical point of departure of socialism. This was the signal for the open and incessant war which the Alliance waged not only against the General Council but also against all International sections which refused to adopt this sectarian clique's programme and particularly the doctrine of total abstention from politics.

Even before the Basle Congress, when Nechayev came to Geneva, Bakunin got together with him and founded, in Russia, a secret society among students. Always hiding his true identity under the name of various "revolutionary committees", he sought autocratic powers based on all the tricks and mystifications of the time of Cagliostro. The main means of propaganda used by this society consisted in compromising innocent people in the eyes of the Russian police by sending them communications from Geneva in yellow envelopes stamped in Russian on the outside "Secret Revolutionary Committee". The published accounts of the Nechayev trial[67] bear witness to the infamous abuse of the

*International*'s name.*

The Alliance commenced at this time a public polemic directed against the General Council, first in the Locle *Progrès*, then in the Geneva *Égalité*, the official newspaper of the Romance Federation, onto which several members of the Alliance had wiggled their way following Bakunin. The General Council, which had scorned the attacks published in the *Progrès*, Bakunin's personal organ, could not ignore those from the *Égalité*, which it was bound to believe were approved by the Romance Federal Committee. It therefore published the circular of January 1, 1870[a] which said:

"We read in the *Égalité* of December 11, 1869:

"'It is *certain* that the General Council is neglecting extremely important matters. We remind it of its obligations under Article 1 of the Regulations: The General Council is *commissioned* to carry the resolutions of the Congress into effect, etc. We could put enough questions to the General Council for its replies to make up quite a long report. They will come later... Meanwhile, etc. ...'

"The General Council does not know of any article, either in the Rules, or the Regulations, which would oblige it to enter into correspondence or into polemic with the *Égalité* or to provide 'replies to questions' from newspapers. The Federal Committee of Geneva alone represents the branches of Romance Switzerland vis-à-vis the General Council. When the Romance Federal Committee addresses requests or reprimands to us through the only legitimate channel, that is to say through its secretary, the General Council will always be ready to reply. But the Romance Federal Committee has no right either to abdicate its functions in favour of the *Égalité* and *Progrès*, or to let these newspapers usurp its functions. Generally speaking, the General Council's administrative correspondence with national and local committees cannot be published without greatly prejudicing the Association's general interests. Consequently, if the other organs of the International were to follow the example of the *Progrès* and the *Égalité*, the General Council would be faced with the alternative of either discrediting itself publicly by its silence or violating its obligations by replying publicly. The *Égalité* joins the *Progrès* in *inviting* the *Travail* (Paris paper) to denounce, on its part, the General Council. That is almost a League of Public Welfare.[68]"

* An extract from the Nechayev trial will be published shortly. The reader will find there a sample of the maxims, both stupid and infamous, which Bakunin's friends have laid at the door of the *International*.

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[a] See K. Marx, *The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland* (present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 84-85).—*Ed.*

Meanwhile, before having read this circular, the Romance Federal Committee had already expelled supporters of the Alliance from the editorial board of the *Égalité*.

The January 1, 1870 circular, like those of December 22, 1868 and March 9, 1869, was approved by all International sections.

It goes without saying that none of the conditions accepted by the Alliance have ever been fulfilled. Its sham sections have remained a mystery to the General Council. Bakunin sought to retain under his personal direction the few groups scattered in Spain and Italy and the Naples section which he had detached from the International. In the other Italian towns he corresponded with small cliques composed not of workers but of lawyers, journalists and other bourgeois doctrinaires. At Barcelona some of his friends maintained his influence. In some towns in the South of France the Alliance made an effort to found separatist sections under the direction of Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc, of Lyons, about whom we shall have more to say later. In a word, the international society within the International continued to operate.

The big blow—the attempt to take over the leadership of Romance Switzerland—was to have been executed by the Alliance at the Chaux-de-Fonds Congress, opened on April 4, 1870.

The battle began over the right to admit the Alliance delegates, which was contested by the delegates of the Geneva Federation and the Chaux-de-Fonds sections.

Although, on their own calculation, the Alliance supporters represented no more than a fifth of the Federation members, they succeeded, thanks to repetition of the Basle manoeuvres, to procure a fictitious majority of one or two votes, a majority which, in the words of their own organ (see the *Solidarité* of May 7, 1870),[a] represented no more than *fifteen* sections, while in Geneva alone there were thirty! On this vote, the Romance Congress split into two groups which continued their meetings independently. The Alliance supporters, considering themselves the legal representatives of the whole of the Federation, transferred the Romance Federal Committee's seat to La Chaux-de-Fonds and founded at Neuchâtel their official organ, the *Solidarité*, edited by Citizen Guillaume. This young writer had the special job of decrying the Geneva "factory workers",[69] those odious "bourgeois", of waging war on the *Égalité*, the Romance Federation newspaper, and of preaching total abstention from politics. The authors of the most

[a] "Deux organes socialistes...", *La Solidarité*, No. 5, May 7, 1870.—*Ed.*

important articles on this theme were Bastelica in Marseilles, and Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc in Lyons, the two big pillars of the Alliance.

On their return, the Geneva delegates convened their sections in a general assembly which, despite opposition from Bakunin and his friends, approved their actions at the Chaux-de-Fonds Congress. A little later, Bakunin and the more active of his accomplices were expelled from the old Romance Federation.

Hardly had the Romance Congress closed when the new Chaux-de-Fonds Committee called for the intervention of the General Council in a letter signed by F. Robert, secretary, and by Henri Chevalley, president, who was denounced two months later as a *thief* by the Committee's organ the *Solidarité* of July 9.[a] After having examined the case of both sides, the General Council decided on June 28, 1870 to keep the Geneva Federal Committee in its old functions and invite the new Chaux-de-Fonds Federal Committee to take a local name.[b] In the face of this decision which foiled its plans, the Chaux-de-Fonds Committee denounced the General Council's *authoritarianism*, forgetting that it had been the first to ask for its intervention. The trouble that the persistent attempts of the Chaux-de-Fonds Committee to usurp the name of the Romance Federal Committee caused the Swiss Federation obliged the General Council to suspend all official relations with the former.

Louis Bonaparte had just surrendered his army at Sedan. From all sides arose protests from International members against the war's continuation. In its address of September 9, the General Council, denouncing Prussia's plans of conquest, indicated the danger of her triumph for the proletarian cause and warned the German workers that they would themselves be the first victims.[c] In England, the General Council organised MEETINGS which condemned the pro-Prussian tendencies of the court. In Germany, the International workers organised demonstrations demanding recognition of the Republic and "an honourable peace for France"....

Meanwhile, his bellicose nature gave the hot-headed Guillaume (of Neuchâtel) the brilliant idea of publishing an *anonymous*

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[a] "Communications du Comité fédéral romand", *La Solidarité*, No. 14, July 9, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *General Council Resolution on the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland.—Ed.*

[c] K. Marx, *Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War.—Ed.*

manifesto as a supplement and under cover of the official newspaper *Solidarité*, calling for the formation of a Swiss volunteer corps to fight the Prussians, something which he had always been prevented from doing doubtlessly by his abstentionist convictions.[70]

Then came the Lyons uprising.[71] Bakunin rushed there and, supported by Albert Richard, Gaspard Blanc and Bastelica, installed himself on September 28 in the Town Hall, where he *refrained* from posting a guard, however, lest it would be viewed as a political act. He was driven out in shame by several National Guards at the moment when, after a difficult accouchement, his decree on the *abolition of the State* had just seen the light of day.

In October 1870, the General Council, in the absence of its French members, co-opted Citizen Paul Robin, a refugee from Brest, one of the best-known supporters of the Alliance, and, what is more, the instigator of several attacks in the *Égalité* against the General Council where, since that moment, he acted constantly as official correspondent of the Chaux-de-Fonds Committee. On March 14, 1871, he suggested the calling of a private Conference of the International to sift out the Swiss trouble. Foreseeing that important events were in the making in Paris, the Council flatly refused. Robin returned to the question on several occasions and even suggested that the Council take a definite decision on the conflict. On July 25, the General Council decided that this affair would be one of the questions for the Conference due to be convened in September 1871.

On August 10, the Alliance, hardly eager to see its activities looked into by a Conference, declared itself dissolved as from the 6th of August.[72] But on September 15, it reappeared and requested admission to the Council under the name of the *Atheist Socialist Section*, According to Administrative Resolution No. V of the Basle Congress,[a] the Council could not admit it without consulting the Geneva Federal Committee, which was exhausted after its two years of struggle against the sectarian sections. Moreover, the Council had already told the English Christian workers' societies (Young Men's Christian Association) that the International did not recognise theological sections.

On August 6, the date of the dissolution of the Alliance, the Chaux-de-Fonds Federal Committee renewed its request to enter into official relations with the Council and said that it would continue to ignore the June 28 resolution and to regard itself, in

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[a] See *Compte-rendu du IVe Congrès international, tenu à Bâle, en septembre 1869*, Brussels, 1869, p. 172.— *Ed.*

relation to Geneva, as the Romance Federal Committee, and "that it was up to the General Congress to judge this affair". On September 4, the same Committee challenged the Conference's competence, even though it had been the first to call for its convocation. The Conference could have replied by questioning the competence of the Paris Federal Committee which the Chaux-de-Fonds Committee had requested before the siege of Paris to deliberate on the Swiss conflict.[73] But it confined itself to the General Council decision of June 28, 1870 (see the motives expounded in the *Égalité* of Geneva, October 21, 1871[74]).

## III

The presence in Switzerland of some of the outlawed French who had found refuge there put some life back into the Alliance.

The Geneva members of the International did all they could for the emigrants. They came to their aid right from the beginning, initiated a wide campaign and prevented the Swiss authorities from serving an extradition order on the refugees as demanded by the Versailles government. Several risked the grave danger by going to France to help the refugees to gain the frontier. Imagine the surprise of the Geneva workers when they saw several of the ringleaders such as B. Malon* immediately come to an understanding with the Alliance people and with the help of N. Zhukovsky, ex-Secretary of the Alliance, try to found at Geneva, outside of the Romance Federation, the new "Section of Propaganda and Revolutionary Socialist Action".[75] In the first article of its rules it

* Do the friends of B. Malon, who have been advertising him in a stereotyped way for the last three months as *the founder of the International*, who have called his book [*La troisième défaite du prolétariat français*] the *only independent work on the Commune*, know the attitude taken by this assistant of the Mayor of Batignolles on the eve of the February elections? At that time, B. Malon, who did not yet foresee the Commune and saw nothing more than the success of his election to the Assembly, plotted to get himself put on the list of the four committees as a member of the International. To these ends he insolently denied the existence of the Paris Federal Council and submitted to the committees the list of a section founded by himself at Batignolles as coming from the entire Association.—Later, on March 19, he insulted in a public document the leaders of the great Revolution accomplished on the eve.—Today, this anarchist from top to toe prints or has printed what he was saying a year ago to the four committees: I am the International! B. Malon has hit on a way of parodying Louis XIV and Perron the chocolate manufacturer at one and the same time. It was Perron who declared that his chocolate was the *only* ... edible chocolate!

"pledges allegiance to the General Rules of the International Working Men's Association, *while reserving for itself the complete freedom of action* and initiative to which it is entitled as a logical consequence of the principle of autonomy and federation recognised by the Rules and *Congresses* of the Association".

In other words, it reserves for itself full freedom to continue the work of the Alliance.

In a letter from Malon, of October 20, 1871, this new section for the third time asked the General Council for admission into the International. Conforming to Resolution V of the Basle Congress, the Council consulted the Geneva Federal Committee which vigorously protested against the Council recognising this new "seedbed of intrigues and dissentions". The Council acted, in fact, in a rather "authoritarian" manner so as not to bind the whole Federation to the will of B. Malon and N. Zhukovsky, the Alliance's ex-Secretary.

The *Solidarité* having gone out of business, the new Alliance supporters founded the *Révolution Sociale* under the supreme management of Madame André Léo who had just said at the Lausanne Peace Congress that

"Raoul Rigault and Ferré were the two sinister figures of the Commune who, up till then" (up till the execution of the hostages), "had not stopped calling for bloody measures, albeit always in vain".[a]

From its very first issue, the newspaper hastened to put itself on the same level as the *Figaro, Gaulois, Paris-Journal* and other disreputable sheets, reproducing the mud they were throwing at the General Council. It thought the moment opportune to fan the flames of national hatred, even within the International. It called the General Council a German committee led by a Bismarckian brain.*

After having definitely established that certain General Council members could not boast of being *"Gauls first and foremost"* the *Révolution Sociale* could find nothing better than to take up the second slogan put in circulation by the European police and to denounce the Council's *authoritarianism.*

What, then, were the facts on which this childish rubbish rested? The General Council had let the Alliance die a natural death and,

* Here is the national composition of the Council: 20 Englishmen, 15 French, 7 Germans (of whom five are foundation members of the International), 2 Swiss, 2 Hungarians, 1 Pole, 1 Belgian, 1 Irishman, 1 Dane and 1 Italian.

[a] A. Léo, *La guerre sociale. Discours prononcé au Congrès de la Paix à Lausanne (1871)*, Neuchâtel, 1871, p. 7.—*Ed.*

in accord with the Geneva Federal Committee, had prevented it from being resurrected. Moreover, it had suggested to the Chaux-de-Fonds Committee to take a name which would permit it to live in peace with the great majority of International members in Romance Switzerland.[76]

Apart from these "authoritarian" acts, what use did the General Council make, between October 1869 and October 1871, of the fairly extensive powers that the Basle Congress had conferred upon it?

1) On February 8, 1870, the Paris "Society of Positivist Proletarians" applied to the General Council for admission. The Council replied that the principles of the positivists, the part of the society's special rules concerning capital, were in flagrant contradiction with the preamble of the General Rules; that the society had therefore to drop them and join the International not as "positivists" but as "proletarians", while remaining free to reconcile their theoretical ideas with the Association's general principles. Realising the justness of this decision, the section joined the International.

2) At Lyons, there was a split between the 1865 section and a recently-formed section in which, amidst honest workers, the Alliance was represented by Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc. As had been done in similar cases, the judgment of a court of arbitration, formed in Switzerland, was turned down. On February 15, 1870, the recently-formed section, besides requesting the General Council to resolve the conflict by virtue of Resolution VII of the Basle Congress, sent it a ready-made resolution excluding and branding the members of the 1865 section, which was to be signed and sent back by *return mail.* The Council condemned this unprecedented procedure and demanded that the evidence be produced. In reply to the same request, the 1865 section said that the accusatory documents against Albert Richard, which had been submitted to the court of arbitration, had been seized by Bakunin, who refused to give them up. Consequently, it could not completely satisfy the desires of the General Council. The Council's decision on the affair, dated March 8, met with no objection from either side.[77]

3) The French branch in London, which had admitted people of a more than dubious character, had been gradually transformed into a sleeping partners concern run by Mr. Félix Pyat. He used it to organise damaging demonstrations calling for the assassination of Louis Bonaparte, etc., and to spread his absurd manifestos in France under cover of the International. The

General Council confined itself to declaring in the Association's organs that Mr. Pyat was not a member of the International and it could not be responsible for his actions.[a] The French branch then declared that it no longer recognised either the General Council or the Congresses; it plastered the walls of London with bills proclaiming that with the exception of itself the International was an anti-revolutionary society. The arrest of French members of the International on the eve of the plebiscite, on the pretext of a conspiracy, plotted in reality by the police and to which Pyat's manifestos gave an air of credibility, forced the General Council to publish in the *Marseillaise* and *Réveil* its resolution of May 10, 1870,[b] declaring that the so-called French branch had not belonged to the International for over two years, and that its agitation was the work of police agents.[78] The need for this *démarche* was proved by the declaration of the Paris Federal Committee, published in the same newspapers, and by that of the Paris members of the International during their trial, both declarations referring to the Council's resolution. The French branch disappeared at the outbreak of the war, but like the Alliance in Switzerland, it was to reappear in London with new allies and under other names.

During the last days of the Conference, a "French Section of 1871", about 35 members strong, was formed in London among the Commune refugees. The first "authoritarian" act of the General Council was to publicly denounce the secretary of this section, Gustave Durand, as a French police spy.[c] The documents in our possession prove the intention of the police to assist Durand, firstly, to attend the Conference and then to secure for him membership in the General Council. Since the rules of the new section directed its members not to "accept any delegation to the General Council other than that of their section", Citizens Theisz and Bastelica withdrew from the Council.

On October 17, the section delegated to the Council two of its members, holding imperative mandates; one was none other than Mr. Chautard, ex-member of the artillery committee. The Council refused to admit them prior to an examination of the rules of the

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[a] K. Marx, *Resolution of the General Council on Félix Pyat's Provocative Behaviour.—Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Draft Resolution of the General Council on the "French Federal Section in London".—Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 21.—*Ed.*

"1871 section".* Suffice it to recall here the principal points of the debate to which these rules gave rise. Article 2 states:

"In order to be admitted as member of the section, a person must justify his means of existence, present guarantees of morality, etc."

In its resolution of October 17, 1871,[a] the Council proposed deleting the words *"justify his means of existence"*.

"In dubious cases," said the Council, "a section may well take information about means of existence as 'guarantee of morality', while in other cases, like those of the refugees, workers on strike, etc., absence of means of existence may well be a guarantee of morality. But to ask candidates to justify their means of existence as a general condition to be admitted to the International, would be a bourgeois innovation contrary to the spirit and letter of the General Rules." The section replied:

"The General Rules make the sections responsible for the morality of their members and, as a consequence, recognise the right of sections to demand the guarantees *they think necessary*."

To this the General Council replied, November 7[b]:

"On this argument, a section of the International founded by TEETOTALLERS (*société de tempérance*) could include in its own rules this type of article: To be admitted as member of the section, a person must swear to abstain from all alcoholic drinks. In a word, the most absurd and most incongruous conditions of admittance into the International could be imposed by sections' rules, always on the pretext that they intend, in this way, to be assured of the morality of their members... 'The means of existence of strikers,' adds the French Section of 1871, 'consist of the strike fund.' This might be answered by saying, first, that this fund is often fictitious... Moreover, official English questionnaires have proved that the majority of English workers ... is forced—by strikes or unemployment, by insufficient wages or terms of payment, as well as many other causes—to resort incessantly to pawnshops or to *borrowing*. These are means of existence about which one cannot demand information without interfering in an unqualified manner in a

* A little later, this Chautard whom they had wanted to put on the General Council was expelled from his section as an agent of Thiers' police. He was accused by the same people who had judged him worthy among all others of representing them on the General Council.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 24-27.— *Ed.*
[b] Cf. ibid., pp. 37-42.— *Ed.*

person's private life. There are thus two alternatives: either the section is only to seek guarantees of morality through means of existence, in which case the General Council's proposal serves the purpose... Or the section, in Article 2 of its rules, intentionally says that the members have to provide information as to their means of existence as a condition of admission, *over and above* the guarantees of morality, in which case the Council affirms that it is a bourgeois innovation, contrary to the letter and spirit of the General Rules."

Article 11 of their rules states:

"One or several delegates shall be sent to the General Council."

The Council asked for this article to be deleted "because the International's General Rules do not recognise any right of the sections to send delegates to the General Council". "The General Rules," it added, "recognise only two ways of election for General Council members: either their election by the Congress, or their co-option by the General Council..."

It is quite true that the different sections existing in London had been invited to send delegates to the General Council which, so as not to violate the General Rules, has always proceeded in the following manner: it has first determined the number of delegates to be sent by each section, reserving itself the right to accept or refuse them depending on whether it considered them able to fulfil the general functions assigned to them. These delegates became members of the General Council not by virtue of their nomination by their sections, but by virtue of the right that the Rules accord the Council to co-opt new members. Having operated up to the decision taken by the last Conference both as the International Association's General Council and as the Central Council for England, the London Council thought it expedient to admit, besides the members that it co-opted directly, also members nominated initially by their respective sections. It would be a serious mistake to identify the General Council's electoral procedure with that of the Paris Federal Council which was not even a national Council nominated by a national Congress like, for example, the Brussels Federal Council or that of Madrid. The Paris Federal Council was only a delegation of the Paris sections... The General Council's electoral procedure is defined in the General Rules ... and its members would not accept any other imperative mandate than that of the Rules and General Regulations... If we take into consideration the article that precedes it, Article 11 means nothing else but a complete change of the

General Council's composition, turning it, contrary to Article 3 of the General Rules, into a delegation of the London sections, in which the influence of local groups would be substituted for that of the whole International Working Men's Association. Lastly, the General Council, whose first duty is to carry out the Congress resolutions (see Article 1 of the Geneva Congress's Administrative Regulations), said that it "considers that the ideas expressed by the 'French Section of 1871' about a radical change to be made in the articles of the General Rules concerning the constitution of the General Council have no bearing on the question..."

Moreover, the Council declared that it would admit two delegates from the section on the same conditions as those of the other London sections.

The "1871 section", far from being satisfied with this reply, published on December 14 a "declaration"[a] signed by all its members, including the new secretary who was shortly expelled as a scoundrel from the refugee society. According to this declaration, the General Council, by refusing to usurp the legislative functions, was accused of "a gross distortion of the social idea".

Here are some samples of the good faith displayed in the drawing up of this document.

The London Conference approved the conduct of the German workers during the war.[79] It was apparent that this resolution, proposed by a Swiss delegate,[b] seconded by a Belgian delegate[c] and approved unanimously, only referred to the German members of the International who paid and are still paying for their anti-chauvinist behaviour during the war by imprisonment. Furthermore, in order to avoid any possible misinterpretation, the Secretary of the General Council for France had just explained the true sense of the resolution in a letter published by the journals *Qui Vive!*,[d] *Constitution, Radical, Émancipation, Europe*,[e] etc. Nonetheless, eight days later, on November 20, 1871, fifteen members of the French Section of 1871 inserted in *Qui Vive!* a "protest" full of abuse against the German workers and denounc-

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[a] *Déclaration de la Section française fédéraliste de 1871, siégeant à Londres*, London, 1871. Although it was refused admission by the General Council the section put the words "International Working Men's Association" before the title of the pamphlet. E. Navarre signed the declaration as the section's secretary.—*Ed.*

[b] Nikolai Utin.—*Ed.*

[c] Alfred Herman.—*Ed.*

[d] A. Serraillier, "Au citoyen Vermersch, rédacteur du *Qui Vive!*", *Qui Vive!*, No. 39, November 16, 1871.—*Ed.*

[e] Presumably *Courrier de l'Europe*.—*Ed.*

ing the Conference resolution as irrefutable proof of the General Council's "pan-Germanic idea". On the other hand, the entire feudal, liberal and police press of Germany seized avidly upon this incident to demonstrate to the German workers how their international dreams had come to naught. In the end the November 20 protest was endorsed by the entire 1871 section in its December 14 declaration.

To show "the dangerous slope of authoritarianism down which the General Council was slipping" the declaration cited "the publication by the very same *General Council* of an *official* edition of the General Rules as *revised by it*".

One glance at the new edition of the Rules is enough to see that each new article has, in the appendix, reference to the original sources establishing its authenticity[a]! As for the words "*official* edition", the first Congress of the International decided that "the *official and obligatory* text of the Rules and Regulations would be published by the General Council" (see *Congrès ouvrier de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, tenu à Genève du 3 au 8 septembre 1866*, page 27, note).

Naturally enough, the 1871 section was in continuous contact with the dissidents of Geneva and Neuchâtel. One Chalain, a member who had shown more energy in attacking the General Council than he had ever shown in defending the Commune, was unexpectedly rehabilitated by B. Malon, who quite recently levelled very grave charges against him in a letter to a Council member. The French Section of 1871, however, had scarcely launched its declaration when civil war exploded in its ranks. First Theisz, Avrial and Camélinat withdrew. Thereafter the section broke up into several small groups, one of which was led by Mr. Pierre Vésinier, expelled from the General Council for his slander against Varlin and others, and then cast out of the International by the Belgian Commission appointed by the Brussels Congress of 1868. Another of these groups was founded by B. Landeck who had been relieved by the sudden flight of police prefect Piétri, on September 4, of his obligation,

> "scrupulously fulfilled, not to engage any more in *political affairs*, nor in the International in France!" (see *Troisième procès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs de Paris*, 1870, p. 4).

On the other hand, the mass of French refugees in London have formed a section which is in complete harmony with the General Council.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 3-20.— *Ed.*

## IV

The men of the Alliance, hidden behind the Neuchâtel Federal Committee and determined to make another effort on a vaster scale to disorganise the International, convened a Congress of their sections at Sonvillier on November 12, 1871.—Back in July two letters from *maître* Guillaume to his friend Robin had threatened the General Council with the same kind of campaign if it did not agree to recognise them to be in the right "*vis-à-vis* the Geneva bandits".

The Sonvillier Congress was composed of sixteen delegates claiming to represent nine sections in all, including the new "Section of Propaganda and Revolutionary Socialist Action" of Geneva.

The Sixteen made their début by publishing the anarchist decree declaring the Romance Federation dissolved, and the latter hastened to restore to the Alliance members their "autonomy" by driving them out of all sections. However, the Council has to recognise that a stroke of good sense brought them to accept the name of the Jura Federation that the London Conference had given them.

The Congress of Sixteen then proceeded to "reorganise the International" by attacking the Conference and the General Council in a circular to all federations of the International Working Men's Association.

The authors of the circular accuse the General Council first of all of having called in 1871 a Conference instead of a Congress. The preceding explanations show that these attacks were made directly against the International as a whole, which had unanimously agreed to convene a Conference at which, incidentally, the Alliance was properly represented by Citizens Robin and Bastelica.

The General Council has had its delegates at every Congress; at the Basle Congress, for example, it had six. The Sixteen claim that

> "the majority of the Conference was fraudulently assured in advance by the admission of six General Council delegates with deciding vote".

In actual fact, among the General Council delegates at the Conference, the French refugees were none other than the representatives of the Paris Commune, while its English and Swiss members could only take part in the sessions on rare occasions, as is attested to by the Minutes which will be submitted before the next Congress. One Council delegate had a mandate from a

national federation.[a] According to a letter addressed to the Conference, the mandate of another was withheld because of the news of his death in the papers.[b] That left one delegate. Thus, the Belgians alone outnumbered the Council by 6 to 1.

The international police, who in the person of Gustave Durand were kept out, complained bitterly about the violation of the General Rules by the convening of a "secret" conference. They were not conversant enough with our General Regulations to know that the administrative sittings of the Congresses *have to be in private.*

Their complaints, nonetheless, found a sympathetic echo with the Sonvillier Sixteen who cried out:

> "And on top of it all, a decision of this Conference declares that the General Council will itself fix the time and place of the next Congress or of the *Conference to replace it*; thus, we are threatened with the suppression of the General Congresses, these great public sessions of the International."

The Sixteen refused to see that this decision had no other purpose but to show to the various governments that, despite all the repressive measures, the International was firmly resolved to hold its general meetings one way or another.

At the general assembly of the Geneva sections, held on December 2, 1871, which gave a bad reception to Citizens Malon and Lefrançais, the latter put forward a proposal confirming the decrees passed by the Sonvillier Sixteen and censuring the General Council, as well as disavowing the Conference.[80]—The Conference had resolved that "the Conference resolutions not intended for publicity *will be* communicated to the *Federal Councils of the various countries by* the corresponding secretaries of the *General Council*". This resolution, which was in complete conformity with the General Rules and Regulations, was fraudulently revised by B. Malon and his friends to read as follows:

> "*Some* Conference resolutions *shall* be communicated *only* to the Federal Councils *and* to the corresponding secretaries."

They further accused the General Council of having "violated *the principle of sincerity*" in refusing to hand over to the police, by means of "*publicity*", the resolutions which were aimed exclusively at reorganising the International in the countries where it is proscribed.

Citizens Malon and Lefrançais complain further that

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[a] A. Herman held a mandate of the Liège sections (Belgium).— *Ed.*

[b] This refers to Marx.— *Ed.*

"the Conference had aimed a blow at freedom of thought and its expression ... in conferring upon the General Council the right to denounce and disavow any publicity organ of the sections and federations that discussed either the principles on which the Association rests, or the respective interests of the sections and federations, or finally the general interests of the Association as a whole (see the *Égalité* of October 21)".

What, then, had the *Égalité* of October 21 published? It had published a resolution in which the Conference "gives warning that henceforth the General Council will be bound to publicly denounce and disavow all newspapers calling themselves organs of the International which, following the example of the *Progrès* and the *Solidarité*, should discuss in their columns, before the middle-class public, questions exclusively reserved for the local or Federal Committees and the General Council, or for the private and administrative sittings of the Federal or General Congresses".[a]

To appreciate properly the sour-sweet lamentation of B. Malon we must bear in mind that this resolution puts an end once and for all to the attempts of some journalists who wished to substitute themselves for the responsible committees of the International and to play therein the role that the journalists' Bohemia is playing in the bourgeois world. As a result of one such attempt the Geneva Federal Committee had seen some members of the *Alliance* edit the *Égalité*, the official organ of the Romance Federation, in a manner completely hostile to the latter.

Incidentally, the General Council had no need of the London Conference to "publicly denounce and disavow" the improper use of the press, for the Basle Congress had decided (Resolution II) that:

"All newspapers containing attacks on the Association must be immediately sent by the sections to the General Council."[b]

"It is evident," says the Romance Federal Committee in its December 20, 1871 declaration (*Égalité*, December 24) "that this article was adopted not in order that the General Council might keep in its files newspapers which attack the Association, but to enable it to reply, and to nullify in case of need, the pernicious effect of slander and malevolent denigrations. It is also evident that this article refers in general to all newspapers, and that if we do not want to leave the attacks of the bourgeois papers without retaliation, it is all the more necessary to disavow, through our main representative body, i.e., the General Council, those newspapers whose attacks against us are made under cover of the name of our Association."

Let us note, in passing, that *The Times*, that Leviathan of the capitalist press, the *Progrès* (of Lyons), a publication of the liberal

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[a] K. Marx, *Resolution of the London Conference relating to the Split in Romance Switzerland* (cf. present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 421-22).

[b] *Compte-rendu du IVe Congrès international, tenu à Bâle, en septembre 1869*, Brussels, 1869, p. 172.—*Ed.*

bourgeoisie, and the *Journal de Genève*, an ultra-reactionary paper, have brought the same charges against the Conference and used virtually the same terms as Citizens Malon and Lefrançais.

After having challenged the convocation of the Conference and, later, its composition and its allegedly secret character, the Sixteen's circular challenged even the Conference resolutions.

Stating first that the Basle Congress had surrendered its rights

"having authorised the General Council to grant or refuse admission to, or to suspend, the sections of the International",

it accuses the Conference, farther on, of the following sin:

"This Conference has ... taken resolutions ... which tend to turn the International, which is a free federation of autonomous sections, into a hierarchical and authoritarian organisation of disciplined sections placed entirely under the control of a General Council which may, at will, refuse their admission or suspend their activity!!"

Still farther on, the circular once more takes up the question of the Basle Congress which had allegedly "distorted the nature of the General Council's functions".

The contradictions contained in the circular of the Sixteen may be summed up as follows: the 1871 Conference is responsible for the resolutions of the 1869 Basle Congress, and the General Council is guilty of having observed the Rules which require it to carry out Congress resolutions.

Actually, however, the real reason for all these attacks against the Conference is of a more profound nature. In the first place, it thwarted, by its resolutions, the intrigues of the *Alliance* men in Switzerland. In the second place, the promoters of the Alliance had, in Italy, Spain and part of Switzerland and Belgium, created and upheld with amazing persistence a calculated confusion between *Bakunin's makeshift programme and the programme of the International Working Men's Association.*

The Conference drew attention to this deliberate misunderstanding in its two resolutions on proletarian policy and sectarian sections. The motivation of the first resolution, which makes short work of the political abstention preached by Bakunin's programme, is given fully in its recitals, which are based on the General Rules, the Lausanne Congress resolution and other precedents.*

* The Conference resolution on the *political action of the working class* reads as follows:

"Considering the following passage of the original Rules: 'The economical emancipation of the workmen is the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate *as a means*';

We now pass on to the sectarian sections:

The first phase of the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie is marked by a sectarian movement. That is logical at a time when the proletariat has not yet developed sufficiently to act as a class. Certain thinkers criticise social antagonisms and suggest fantastic solutions thereof, which the mass of workers is left to accept, preach and put into practice. The sects formed by these initiators are abstentionist by their very nature, i.e., alien to all real action, politics, strikes, coalitions, or, in a word, to any united movement. The mass of the proletariat always remains indifferent or even hostile to their propaganda. The Paris and Lyons workers did not want the Saint-Simonians, the Fourierists, the Icarians,[81] any more than the Chartists and the English trades unionists

"That the Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association (1864) states: 'The lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies. So far from promoting, they will continue to lay every possible impediment in the way of the emancipation of labour... To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes';

"That the Congress of Lausanne (1867) has passed this resolution: 'The social emancipation of the workmen is inseparable from their political emancipation';

"That the declaration of the General Council relative to the pretended plot of the French Internationals on the eve of the plebiscite (1870) says: 'Certainly by the tenor of our Rules, all our branches in England, on the Continent, and in America have the special mission not only to serve as centres for the militant organisation of the working class, but also to support, in their respective countries, every political movement tending towards the accomplishment of our ultimate end—the economical emancipation of the working class';

"That inaccurate translations of the original Rules have given rise to false interpretations which have been harmful to the development and action of the International Working Men's Association;

"In presence of an unbridled reaction which violently crushes every effort at emancipation on the part of the working men, and pretends to maintain by brute force the distinction of classes and the political domination of the propertied classes resulting from it;

"Considering, besides,

"That against this collective power of the propertied classes the working class cannot act, as a class, except by *constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes*;

"That this constitution of the working class into a political party is indispensable in order to ensure the triumph of the Social Revolution and its ultimate end—the abolition of classes;

"That the combination of forces which the working class has already effected by its economical struggles ought at the same time to serve as a lever for its struggles against the political power of its exploiters.

"The Conference recalls to the members of the *International*:

"That in the militant state of the working class, its economical movement and its political action are indissolubly united."

wanted the Owenists. These sects act as levers of the movement in the beginning, but become an obstruction as soon as the movement outgrows them; after which they become reactionary. Witness the sects in France and England, and lately the Lassalleans in Germany who, after having hindered the proletariat's organisation for several years, ended by becoming simple instruments of the police. To sum up, we have here the infancy of the proletarian movement, just as astrology and alchemy are the infancy of science. If the International were to be founded it was necessary that the proletariat would go through this phase.

Contrary to the sectarian organisations with their vagaries and rivalries, the International is a genuine and militant organisation of the proletarian class of all countries united in their common struggle against the capitalists and the landowners, against their class power organised in the state. The International's Rules, therefore, speak of only simple "working men's societies", all following the same goal and accepting the same programme, which presents a general outline of the proletarian movement, while leaving its theoretical elaboration to be guided by the needs of the practical struggle and the exchange of ideas in the sections, unrestrictedly admitting all shades of socialist convictions in their organs and Congresses.

Just as in every new historical phase old mistakes reappear momentarily only to disappear forthwith, so within the International there followed a resurrection of sectarian sections, though in a less obvious form.

The Alliance, while considering the resurrection of the sects a great step forward, is in itself conclusive proof that their time is over: for, if initially they contained elements of progress, the programme of the Alliance, in tow of a "Mohammed without the Koran", is nothing but a heap of pompously worded ideas long since dead and capable only of frightening bourgeois idiots or serving as evidence to be used by the Bonapartist or other prosecutors against members of the International.*

The Conference, at which all shades of socialism were represented, unanimously acclaimed the resolution against sectarian sections, fully convinced that this resolution, bringing the Interna-

* Recent police publications on the *International*, including the Jules Favre circular to foreign powers and the report of Sacase, a deputy in the Rural Assembly, on the Dufaure project, are full of quotations from the Alliance's pompous manifestos.[82] The phraseology of these sectarians, whose radicalism is wholly restricted to verbiage, is extremely useful for promoting the aims of the reactionaries.

tional back to its true ground, would mark a new stage of its development. The Alliance supporters, whom this resolution dealt a fatal blow, construed it only as the General Council's victory over the International, through which, as their circular pointed out, the General Council assured "the domination of the special programme" of some of its members, "their personal doctrine", "the orthodox doctrine", "the official theory, and the sole permissible within the Association". Incidentally, this was not the fault of those few members, but the necessary consequence, "the corrupting effect", of the fact that they were members of the General Council, for

> "it is absolutely impossible for a person who has power" (!) "over his fellows to remain a moral person. The General Council is becoming a hotbed of intrigue".

According to the opinion of the Sixteen, the General Rules of the International should be censured for the grave mistake of authorising the General Council to co-opt new members. Thus authorised, they claim,

> "the Council could, whenever it saw fit, co-opt a group numerous enough to completely change the nature of its majority and its tendencies".

They seem to think that the mere fact of belonging to the General Council is sufficient to destroy not only a person's *morality*, but also his common sense. How else can we suppose that a majority will transform itself into a minority by voluntary co-options?

At any rate, the Sixteen themselves do not appear to be very sure of all this, for they complain further on that the General Council has been

> "composed for five years running of *the same persons, continually re-elected*",

and immediately afterwards they repeat:

> "*most of them* are not regular mandatories, *not having been elected by a Congress*".

The fact is that the body of the General Council is constantly changing, though some of the founding members remain, as in the Belgian, Romance, etc., Federal Councils.

The General Council must fulfil three essential conditions, if it is to carry out its mandate. In the first place, it must have a numerically adequate membership to carry on its diverse functions; secondly, a membership of "working men belonging to the different nations represented in the International Association"; and, lastly, workers must be the predominant element therein. Since the exigencies of the worker's job incessantly cause changes

in the membership of the General Council, how can it fulfil all these indispensable conditions without the right of co-option? The Council nonetheless considers a more precise definition of this right necessary, as it indicated at the recent Conference.

The re-election of the General Council's original membership, at successive Congresses, at which England was definitely under-represented, would seem to prove that it has done its duty within the limits of the means at its disposal. The Sixteen, on the contrary, view this only as a proof of the "blind confidence of the Congresses" carried at Basle to the point of

"a sort of voluntary abdication in favour of the General Council".

In their opinion, the Council's "normal role" should be "that of a simple correspondence and statistical bureau". They justify this definition by adducing several articles extracted from an incorrect translation of the Rules.

Contrary to the rules of all bourgeois societies, the International's General Rules touch only lightly on its administrative organisation. They leave its development to practice, and its regularisation to future Congresses. Nevertheless, inasmuch as only the unity and joint action of the sections of the various countries could give them a genuinely international character, the Rules pay more attention to the General Council than to the other bodies of the organisation.

Article 5 of the original Rules[a] states:

"The General Council shall form an *international agency* between the different" national and local groups,

and proceeds to give some examples of the manner in which it is to function. Among these examples is a request to the Council to see that

"when immediate practical steps should be needed, as, for instance, in case of international quarrels, the action of the associated societies be simultaneous and uniform".

The article continues:

"Whenever it seems opportune, the General Council shall take the initiative of proposals to be laid before the different national or local societies."

In addition, the Rules define the Council's role in convening and arranging Congresses, and charge it with the preparation of certain reports to be submitted thereto. In the original Rules so little distinction is made between the spontaneous action of various

[a] Here and further on the authors quote from the *Rules of the International Working Men's Association* (present edition, Vol. 20, p. 443).—*Ed.*

groups and unity of action of the Association as a whole, that Article 6 states:

"Since the success of the working men's movement in each country cannot be secured but by the power of union and combination, while, on the other hand, the activity of the General Council will be more effective ... the members of the International Association shall use their utmost efforts to combine the disconnected working men's societies of their respective countries into national bodies, represented by central organs."

The first administrative resolution of the Geneva Congress (Article I) says:

"The General Council is commissioned *to carry* the resolutions of the Congress *into effect*." [a]

This resolution legalised the position that the General Council has held ever since its origin: that of the Association's *executive delegation*. It would be difficult to carry out orders without enjoying moral "authority" in the absence of any other "freely recognised authority". The Geneva Congress at the same time charged the General Council with publishing "the official and obligatory text of the Rules".

The same Congress resolved (Administrative Resolution of Geneva, Article 14):

"Every section has the right to draw up its own rules and regulations adapted to local conditions and to the laws of its own country, but they must not contain anything contrary to the General Rules and Regulations" [p. 27].

Let us note, first of all, that there is not the least allusion either to any special declarations of principles, or to any special tasks which this or that section should set itself apart from the common goal pursued by all the groups of the International. The issue simply concerns the right of sections to adapt the General Rules and Regulations "to local conditions and to the laws of their country".

In the second place, who is to establish whether or not the local rules conform to the General Rules? Evidently, if there would be no "authority" charged with this function, the resolution would be null and void. Not only could police or hostile sections be formed, but also the intrusion of declassed sectarians and bourgeois philanthropists into the Association could warp its character and, by force of numbers at Congresses, crush the workers.

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[a] *Congrès ouvrier de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, tenu à Genève du 3 au 8 septembre 1866*, Geneva, 1866, p. 26.—*Ed.*

Since their origin, the national and local federations have exercised in their respective countries the right to admit or reject new sections, according to whether or not their rules conformed to the General Rules. The exercise of the same function by the General Council is provided for in Article 6 of the General Rules, which allows *local independent societies*, i.e., societies formed outside the federal body in the country concerned, the right to establish direct contacts with the General Council. The *Alliance* did not hesitate to exercise this right in order to fulfil the conditions set for the admission of delegates to the Basle Congress.

Article 6 of the Rules deals further with legal obstacles to the formation of national federations in certain countries where, consequently, the General Council is asked to function as a Federal Council (see *Procès-verbaux du Congrès, etc., de Lausanne, 1867*, p. 13[a]).

Since the fall of the Commune, these legal obstacles have been multiplying in the various countries, making action by the General Council therein, designed to keep doubtful elements out of the Association, more necessary than ever. Thus, for instance, the French committees recently demanded the General Council's intervention to rid themselves of informers, and why, in another great country,[b] members of the International requested it not to recognise any section which has not been formed by its direct mandatary or by themselves. Their request was motivated by the necessity of ridding themselves of *agents-provocateurs*, whose burning zeal manifested itself in the rapid formation of sections of unparalleled radicalism. On the other hand, the so-called anti-authoritarian sections do not hesitate to appeal to the Council the moment a conflict arises in the midst, nor even to ask it to deal severely with their adversaries, as in the case of the Lyons conflict. More recently, since the Conference, the Turin Working Men's Federation decided to declare itself a section of the International. As the result of the split that followed, the minority formed a society called "Emancipation of the Proletarian".[83] It joined the International and began by passing a resolution in favour of the Jura people. Its newspaper, *Il Proletario*, is filled with outbursts against all authoritarianism. When sending in the society's subscriptions,

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[a] A slip of the pen. Article 6 of the General Rules was adopted at the 1866 Geneva Congress of the International. See *Congrès ouvrier de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, tenu à Genève du 3 au 8 septembre 1866*, Geneva, 1866, pp. 13-14.—*Ed.*

[b] Austria.—*Ed.*

the secretary[a] warned the General Council that the old federation would probably also send its subscriptions. Then he continues:

"As you will have read in the *Proletario*, the *Emancipation of the Proletarian* society ... has declared ... its rejection of all solidarity with the bourgeoisie, who, under the mask of workers, are organising the *Working Men's Federation*",

and begs the Council to

"communicate this resolution to all sections and to refuse the 10 centimes in subscriptions in the event of their being sent".*

Like all the International's groups, the General Council is required to carry on propaganda. This it has accomplished through its manifestos and its agents, who laid the basis for the first organisations of the International in North America, in Germany and in many French towns.

Another function of the General Council is to aid strikers and organise their support by the entire International (see General Council reports to the various Congresses). The following fact, *inter alia*, indicates the importance of its intervention in the strike movement. The Resistance Society of the English Foundrymen is in itself an international Trades Union with branches in other countries, notably in the United States. Nonetheless, during a strike of American foundrymen, the latter found it necessary to invoke the intercession of the General Council to prevent English foundrymen being brought into America.[84]

The growth of the International obliged the General Council and all Federal Councils to assume the role of arbiter.

The Brussels Congress resolved that:

"The Federal Councils shall transmit to the General Council every three months a report on the *administration* and *financial state* of their respective branches" (Administrative Resolution No. 3[b]).

Lastly, the Basle Congress, which provokes the bilious wrath of the Sixteen, occupied itself solely with regulating the administra-

* At this time these were the *apparent* ideas of the Emancipation of the Proletarian society, represented by its corresponding secretary, a friend of Bakunin. Actually, however, this section's tendencies were quite different. After expelling this double-dealing traitor for embezzlement and for his friendly relations with the Turin police chief, the society set forth its explanations, which cleared up all misunderstanding between it and the General Council.

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[a] Carlo Terzaghi.— *Ed.*

[b] *Troisième Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Compte-rendu officiel*, Brussels, September 1868. Supplement to the journal *Le Peuple Belge*, p. 50.— *Ed.*

tive relations engendered by the Association's continuing development. If it extended unduly the limits of the General Council's powers, whose fault was it if not that of Bakunin, Schwitzguébel, F. Robert, Guillaume and other delegates of the Alliance, who were so anxious to achieve just that? Or will they accuse themselves of "blind confidence" in the London General Council?

Here are two resolutions of the Basle Congress:

"No. IV. Each new section or society which is formed and wishes to be part of the International, must immediately announce its adhesion to the General Council",

and "No. V. The General Council has the right to admit or reject the affiliation of any new society or group, subject to appeal at the next Congress."

As for local independent societies formed outside the federal body, these articles only confirm the practice observed since the International's origin, the maintaining of which is a matter of life or death for the Association. But extending this practice and applying it indiscriminately to every section or society in the process of formation is going too far. These articles do authorise the General Council to intervene in the internal affairs of the federations; but they have never been applied in this sense by the General Council. It defies the Sixteen to cite a single case where it has intervened in the affairs of new sections desirous of affiliating themselves with existing groups or federations.

The resolutions cited above refer to sections in the process of formation, while the resolutions given below refer to sections already recognised:

"VI. The General Council has equally the right to suspend until the next Congress any section of the International."

"VII. When conflicts arise between the societies or branches of a national group, or between groups of different nationalities, the General Council shall have the right to decide the conflict, subject to appeal at the next Congress which will decide definitely."[a]

These two articles are necessary for extreme cases, although up to the present the General Council has never had recourse to them. The review presented above shows that the Council has never suspended any section and, in cases of conflict, has only acted as arbiter at the request of the two parties.

We arrive, at last, at a function imposed on the General Council by the needs of the struggle. However shocking this may be for supporters of the Alliance, it is the very persistence of the attacks

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[a] *Compte-rendu du IVe Congrès international, tenu à Bâle, en septembre 1869*, Brussels, 1869, p. 172.— *Ed.*

to which the General Council is subjected by all the enemies of the proletarian movement that has placed it in the vanguard of the defenders of the International Working Men's Association.

## V

Having dealt with the International such as it is, the Sixteen proceed to tell us what it should be.

Firstly, the General Council should be nominally a simple correspondence and statistical bureau. Once it has been relieved of its administrative functions, its correspondence would be concerned only with reproducing the information already published in the Association's newspapers. The correspondence bureau would thus become needless. As for statistics, that function is possible only if a strong organisation, and especially, as the original Rules expressly say, a common direction are provided. Since all that smacks very much of "authoritarianism", however, there might perhaps be a bureau, but certainly no statistics. In a word, the General Council would disappear. The Federal Councils, the local committees and other "authoritarian" centres would go by the same token. Only the autonomous sections would remain.

What, one may ask, will be the purpose of these "autonomous sections", freely federated and happily rid of all superior bodies, "even of the superior body elected and constituted by the workers"?

Here it becomes necessary to supplement the circular by the report of the Jura Federal Committee submitted to the Congress of the Sixteen.

> "In order to make the working class the real representative of humanity's new interests", its organisation must be "guided by the idea that will triumph. *To evolve* this idea from the needs of our epoch, from mankind's vital aspirations, by a consistent study of the phenomena of social life, *to then carry* this idea to our workers' organisations,—such should be our aim, etc." Lastly, there must be created "amidst our working population a real revolutionary socialist *school*".

Thus, the autonomous workers' sections are in a trice converted into *schools,* of which these gentlemen of the Alliance will be the masters. They *evolve the idea* by "consistent studies" which leave no trace behind. They then "*carry* this idea to our workers' organisations". To them, the working class is so much raw material, a chaos into which they must breathe their Holy Spirit before it acquires a shape.

All of which is but a paraphrase of the old Alliance programme[85] beginning with these words:

"The socialist minority of the League of Peace and Freedom, having broken away from this League", proposes to found "a new Alliance of Socialist Democracy ... adopting as its *special mission* the study of political and philosophical questions..."

This is the *idea* that is being "*evolved*" therefrom!

"Such an enterprise ... would provide sincere socialist democrats of Europe and America with the *means* of being understood and of affirming *their ideas*." *

That is how, on its own admission, the minority of a bourgeois society slipped into the International shortly before the Basle Congress with the exclusive aim of utilising it *as a means* for posing before the working masses as a hierarchy of a secret science that may be expounded in four phrases and whose culminating point is "the economic and social equality of the classes".

Apart from this "theoretical mission", the new organisation proposed for the International also has its practical aspect.

"The future society," says the circular of the Sixteen, "should be nothing but a universalisation of the organisation which the International will establish for itself. We must therefore try to bring this organisation as close as possible to our ideal."

"How could one expect an egalitarian and free society to grow out of an authoritarian organisation? That is impossible. The International, embryo of the future human society, must henceforth be the faithful image of our principles of liberty and federation."

In other words, just as the medieval convents presented an image of celestial life, so the International must be the image of the New Jerusalem, whose "embryo" the Alliance bears in its womb. The Paris Communards would not have failed if they had understood that the Commune was "the embryo of the future human society" and had cast away all discipline and all arms, that is, the things which must disappear when there are no more wars!

Bakunin, however, the better to establish that despite their "consistent studies" the Sixteen did not hatch this pretty project of

* The gentlemen of the Alliance, who continue to reproach the General Council for calling a private Conference at a time when the convocation of an open Congress would be the height of treachery or folly, these absolute proponents of clamour and publicity organised within the International, in contempt of our Rules, a real secret society directed against the International itself with the aim of bringing its sections, unbeknown to them, under the sacerdotal direction of Bakunin.

The General Council intends to demand at the next Congress an investigation of this secret organisation and its promoters in certain countries, such as Spain, for example.

disorganisation and disarmament in the International when it was fighting for its existence, has just published the original text of that project in his report on the International's organisation (see *Almanach du Peuple pour 1872*, Geneva).[a]

## VI

Now turn to the report presented by the Jura Committee at the Congress of the Sixteen.

"A perusal of the report," says their official organ, *Révolution Sociale* (November 16), "will give the *exact measure* of the devotion and practical intelligence that we can expect from the Jura Federation members."[b]

It begins by attributing to "these terrible events"—the Franco-Prussian war and the Civil War in France—a "somewhat *demoralising*" influence ... "on the situation within the International's sections".

If, in fact, the Franco-Prussian war could not but lead to the *disorganisation* of the sections because it drew great numbers of workers into the two armies, it is no less true that the fall of the empire and Bismarck's open proclamation of a war of conquest provoked in Germany and England a violent struggle between the bourgeoisie, which sided with the Prussians, and the proletariat, which more than ever demonstrated its international sentiments. This alone should have been sufficient for the International to have gained ground in both countries. In America, the same fact produced a split in the vast German proletarian émigré group; the internationalist party definitely dissociating itself from the chauvinist party.

On the other hand, the advent of the Paris Commune gave an unprecedented boost to the expansion of the International and to a vigorous support of its principles by sections of all nationalities, except the Jura sections, whose report continues thus: "The beginning of the gigantic struggle ... has caused people to think... Some go away to hide their weakness... For many this situation" (within their ranks) "is a sign of decrepitude", but "on the contrary ... this *situation is capable of transforming the International completely*" according to their own pattern. This modest wish will be

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[a] M. Bakounine, "L'Organisation de l'Internationale", *Almanach du Peuple*, 1872.— *Ed.*

[b] "Le Congrès de Sonvillier", *La Révolution Sociale*, No. 4, November 16, 1871.— *Ed.*

understood after a deeper examination of so propitious a situation.

Leaving aside the dissolved Alliance, replaced since by the Malon section, the Committee had to report on the situation in twenty sections. Among them, seven simply turned their backs on the Alliance; this is what the report has to say about it:

"The section of *box-makers* and that of *engravers and guillocheurs of Bienne* have never replied to *any* of the communications that we sent them.

"The sections of *Neuchâtel* craftsmen, i.e., *joiners, box-makers, engravers and guillocheurs,* have made *no* reply to letters from the Federal Committee.

"We have not been able to obtain *any* news of the *Val-de-Ruz* section.

"*The section of engravers and guillocheurs of Locle* has given *no* reply to letters from the Federal Committee."

That is what is described as *free* intercourse between the autonomous sections and their Federal Committee.

Another section, that

"of *engravers and guillocheurs* of the *Courtelary* district after three years of stubborn perseverance ... at the present time ... is forming a resistance society"

*independent of the International,* which does not in the least deter them from sending two delegates to the Congress of the Sixteen.

Next come four completely defunct sections:

"The *central section of Bienne* has currently been *dissolved*; one of its devoted members wrote to us recently, however, saying that *all hope* of seeing the rebirth of the International at Bienne *is not lost.*

"The *Saint-Blaise* section has been *dissolved.*

"The Catébat section, after a brilliant existence, *has had to yield* to the intrigues woven by the masters" (!) "of this district in order to dissolve this *valiant*" (!) "section.

"Lastly, the Corgémont section also has *fallen victim* of intrigues on the part of the employers."

The *central section of Courtelary district* follows, which

"took the wise step of *suspending* its activity",

which did not deter it from sending two delegates to the Congress of the Sixteen.

Now we come to four sections whose existence is more than problematical.

"The *Grange* section has been reduced to a *small nucleus* of socialist workers... Their local action is paralysed by their numerically modest membership.

"The *central section of Neuchâtel has suffered considerably* from the events, and *would have inevitably disbanded* if it were not for the dedication and activity of some of its members.

"*The central section of Locle, hovering between life and death* for some months, ended up by *being dissolved.* It has been reconstituted quite recently, however",

evidently for the sole purpose of sending two delegates to the Congress of the Sixteen.

"The *Chaux-de-Fonds section of socialist propaganda* is in a *critical situation*... Its position, far from getting better, *tends rather to deteriorate*."

Next come two sections, the *study-circles of Saint-Imier* and of *Sonvillier*, which are only mentioned in passing, without so much as a word about their circumstances.

There remains the model section, which, to judge by its name of *central* section, is nothing but the residue of other defunct sections.

"The central section of *Moutier* is certainly the one that has suffered least... Its Committee has been in constant contact with the Federal Committee... *No sections have yet been founded*..."

That is easily explained:

"The activity of the Moutier section was especially *facilitated* by the *excellent attitude* of a working population ... with a traditional life style; we would like to see the working class of this district make itself still more independent of political elements."

One can see, in fact, that this report

"gives the *exact measure* of the devotion and *practical intelligence* that we can expect from the Jura Federation members".

They might have rounded it off by adding that the workers of La Chaux-de-Fonds, the original seat of their committee, have always refused to have anything to do with them. Just recently, at the general assembly of January 18, 1872, they replied to the circular of the Sixteen by a unanimous vote confirming the London Conference resolutions, as also the Romance Congress resolution of May 1871:

"To exclude forever from the International Bakunin, Guillaume and their supporters."

Is it necessary to say anything more about the gallantry of this sham Sonvillier Congress which, in its own words, "caused war, open war within the International"?

Certainly these men, who make more noise than their stature warrants, have had an incontestable success. The whole of the liberal and police press has openly taken their side; they have been backed in their personal slander of the General Council and the insipid attacks aimed against the International by ostensible reformers in many lands:—by the bourgeois republicans in England, whose intrigues were exposed by the General Council; by

the dogmatic free-thinkers in Italy, who, under the banner of Stefanoni, have just formed a "Universal Society of Rationalists", with obligatory seat [headquarters] in Rome, an "authoritarian" and "hierarchical" organisation, monasteries for atheist monks and nuns, whose rules provide for a marble bust in the Congress hall for every bourgeois who donates ten thousand francs[86]; and, lastly, by the Bismarck socialists in Germany, who, apart from their police mouthpiece, the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, played the role of "white shirts"[87] for the Prusso-German empire.

The Sonvillier conclave requests all sections of the International, in a pathetic appeal, to insist on the urgency of an immediate Congress "to curb the consistent encroachments of the London Council", according to Citizens Malon and Lefrançais, but actually to replace the International with the Alliance. This appeal received such an encouraging response that they immediately set about falsifying a resolution voted at the last Belgian Congress. Their official organ (*Révolution Sociale*, January 4, 1872) writes as follows:

> "Lastly, which is even more important, the Belgian sections met at the Congress of Brussels on December 24 and 25 and voted unanimously for a resolution identical with that of the Sonvillier Congress, on the urgency of convening a General Congress."

It is important to note that the Belgian Congress voted the very opposite. It charged the Belgian Congress, which was not due to meet until the following June, to draft new General Rules for submission to the *next Congress* of the International.[88]

In accordance with the will of the vast majority of members of the International, the General Council is to convene the annual Congress only in September 1872.

## VII

Some weeks after the Conference, Messrs. Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc, the most influential and most ardent members of the *Alliance*, arrived in London. They came to recruit, among the French refugees, aides willing to work for the restoration of the Empire, which, according to them, was the only way to rid themselves of Thiers and to avoid being left destitute. The General Council warned all concerned, including the Brussels Federal Council, of their Bonapartist plots.

In January 1872, they dropped their mask by publishing a pamphlet entitled *L'Empire et la France nouvelle. Appel du*

*peuple et de la jeunesse à la conscience française*, by Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc. Brussels, 1872.

With the modesty characteristic of the charlatans of the Alliance, they declaim the following humbug:

"We who have built up the great army of the French proletariat ... we, the most influential leaders of the International in France,* ... happily, we have not been shot, and we are here to flaunt in their face (to wit: *ambitious parliamentarians, smug republicans, sham democrats of all sorts*) the banner under which we are fighting, and despite the slander, threats, and all manner of attacks that await us, to hurl at an amazed Europe the cry that comes from the very heart of our conscience and that will soon resound in the hearts of all Frenchmen: ***'Long live the Emperor!'***

"Napoleon III, disgraced and scorned, must be splendidly reinstated";

and Messrs. Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc, paid out of the secret funds of Invasion III, are specially charged with this restoration.

Incidentally, they confess:

"It is the normal evolution of our ideas that has made us imperialists."

Here is a confession that should give pleasure to their co-religionists of the *Alliance*. As in the heyday of the *Solidarité*, A. Richard and G. Blanc mouth again the old clichés regarding "abstention from politics" which, on the principle of their "normal evolution", can become a reality only under the most absolute despotism, with the workers abstaining from any meddling in politics, much like the prisoner abstaining from a walk in the sun.

* Under the heading "Au Pilori!", *L'Égalité* (of Geneva), February 15, 1872, had this to say:

"The day has not yet come to describe the story of the defeat of the movement for the Commune in the South of France; but what we can announce today, we, most of whom witnessed the deplorable defeat of the Lyons insurrection on April 30,[89] is that one of the reasons for the insurrection's failure was the cowardice, the treachery and the thievery of G. Blanc, who intruded everywhere carrying out the orders of A. Richard, who kept in the shade.

"By their carefully prepared manoeuvres these rascals intentionally compromised many of those who took part in the preparatory work of the insurrectionary Committees.

"Further, these traitors managed to discredit the International at Lyons to such an extent that by the time of the Paris Revolution the International was regarded by the Lyons workers with the greatest distrust. Hence the total absence of organisation, hence the failure of the insurrection, a failure which was bound to result in the fall of the Commune which was left to rely on its own isolated forces! It is only since this bloody lesson that our propaganda has been able to rally the Lyons workers around the flag of the International.

"Albert Richard was the pet and prophet of Bakunin and company."

"The time of the revolutionaries," they say, "is over ... communism is restricted to Germany and England, especially Germany. That, moreover, is where it had been developed in earnest for a long time, to be subsequently spread throughout the International, and this disturbing expansion of *German influence* in the Association has in no small degree contributed to retarding its development, or rather, to giving it a new course in the sections of central and southern France, whom no German has ever supplied with a slogan."

Perhaps this is the voice of the great hierophant,[a] who has taken upon himself, ever since the Alliance's foundation, in his capacity as a Russian, the special task of representing the *Latin races*? Or do we have here the "true missionaries" of the *Révolution Sociale* (November 2, 1871) denouncing

"the backward march which the German and Bismarckian minds endeavour to foist upon the International"?

Fortunately, however, the true tradition has survived, and Messrs. Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc have not been shot! Thus, their own "contribution" consists in "setting a new course" for the International in central and southern France to follow, by an effort to found Bonapartist sections, *ipso facto* basically "autonomous".

As for the constitution of the proletariat as a political party, as recommended by the London Conference,

"*after the restoration of the Empire, we*"—Richard and Blanc—"shall quickly deal not only with the socialist theories but also with any attempts to implement them through revolutionary organisation of the masses".

Briefly, exploiting the great "autonomy principle of the sections" which "constitutes the real strength of the International ... especially in the *Latin* countries (*Révolution Sociale*, January 4)",

these gentlemen base their hopes on anarchy within the International.

Anarchy, then, is the great war-horse of their master Bakunin, who has taken nothing from the socialist systems except a set of labels. All socialists see anarchy as the following programme: once the aim of the proletarian movement, i.e., abolition of classes, is attained, the power of the State, which serves to keep the great majority of producers in bondage to a very small exploiter minority, disappears, and the functions of government become simple administrative functions. The Alliance reverses the whole process. It proclaims anarchy in proletarian ranks as the most infallible means of breaking the powerful concentration of social

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[a] Mikhail Bakunin.—*Ed.*

and political forces in the hands of the exploiters. Under this pretext, it asks the International, at a time when the old world is seeking a way of crushing it, to replace its organisation with anarchy. The international police want nothing better for perpetuating the Thiers republic, while cloaking it in a royal mantle.*

General Council:

*R. Applegarth, Antoine Arnaud, M. J. Boon, F. Bradnick, G. H. Buttery, F. Cournet, Delahaye, Eugène Dupont, W. Hales, Hurliman, Jules Johannard, Harriet Law, F. Lessner, Lochner, Marguerittes, Constant Martin, Zévy Maurice, Henry Mayo, George Milner, Charles Murray, Pfänder, Vitale Regis, J. Rozwadowski, John Roach, Rühl, G. Ranvier, Sadler, Cowell Stepney, Alf. Taylor, W. Townshend, Ed. Vaillant, John Weston, F. J. Yarrow.*

Corresponding Secretaries:

*Karl Marx*, Germany and Russia; *Leó Frankel*, Austria and Hungary; *A. Herman*, Belgium; *Th. Mottershead*, Denmark; *J. G. Eccarius*, United States; *Le Moussu*, French sections in the United States; *Aug. Serraillier*, France; *Charles Rochat*, Holland; *J. P. MacDonnell*, Ireland; *Fred. Engels*, Italy and Spain; *Walery Wróblewski*, Poland; *H. Jung*, Switzerland.

* In the report on the Dufaure law, Sacase, the Rural Assembly deputy, attacks above all the International's "organisation". He positively hates that organisation. After having verified "the mounting popularity of this formidable Association", he goes on to say: "This Association rejects ... the shady practices of the sects that preceded it. Its organisation was created and modified quite openly. Because of the power of this organisation ... it has steadily extended its sphere of activity and influence. It is expanding throughout the world." Then he gives a "short description of the organisation" and concludes: "Such is, in its wise unity ... the plan of this vast organisation. Its strength lies in its very conception. It also rests in its numerous adherents, who are linked by their common activities, and, lastly, in the invincible impulse which drives them to action."

*Charles Longuet*, Chairman of the meeting
*Hermann Jung*, Treasurer
*John Hales*, General Secretary

33, Rathbone Place, W.
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Translated from the French

# Karl Marx

## RESOLUTIONS ON THE SPLIT IN THE UNITED STATES' FEDERATION PASSED BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE I.W.A. IN ITS SITTINGS OF 5TH AND 12TH MARCH, 1872[90]

### I. THE TWO FEDERAL COUNCILS

*Art. 1.* Considering, that Central Councils are but instituted in order to secure, in every country, to "the Working Men's movement the power of union and combination" (Art. 7 of the General Rules)[a]; that, consequently, the existence of two rival Central Councils for the same federation is an open infraction of the General Rules;

The General Council calls upon the two provisional Federal Councils at New York to re-unite and to act as one and the same provisional Federal Council for the United States until the meeting of an American General Congress.

*Art. 2.* Considering, that the efficiency of the Provisional Federal Council would be impaired if it contained too many members who have only quite recently joined the International Working Men's Association;

The General Council recommends that such new-formed sections as are numerically weak, should combine amongst each other for the appointment of a few common delegates.

### II. GENERAL CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES' FEDERATION

*Art. 1.* The General Council recommends the convocation, for the 1st of July 1872, of a General Congress of the delegates of sections and affiliated societies of the United States.

*Art. 2.* To this Congress will belong the appointment of the

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[a] See this volume, p. 7.— *Ed.*

members of the Federal Council for the United States. It may, if convenient, empower the Federal Council thus appointed to add to itself a certain limited number of members.

*Art. 3.* This Congress will have the sole power of determining the bye-laws and regulations for the organisation of the I.W.A. in the United States, "but such bye-laws and regulations must not contain anything contrary to the General Rules and Regulations of the Association" (Adm. Reg., V. Art. 1).[a]

## III. SECTIONS[b]

*Art. 1.* Considering, that Section No. 12 at New York has not only passed a formal resolution by virtue of which "each section" possesses "the independent right" to construe, according to its fancy, "the proceedings of the several congresses" and the "General Rules and Regulations",[c] but moreover has fully acted up to this doctrine which, if generally adopted, would leave nothing of the I.W.A. but its name;

that the same section has never ceased to make the I.W.A. the vehicle of issues some of which are foreign to, while others are directly opposed to, the aims and purposes of the I.W.A.;

For these reasons the General Council considers it its duty to put in force Administrative Resolution VI of the Bâle Congress[d] and to declare Section No. 12 *suspended* till the meeting of the next General Congress of the I.W.A. which is to take place in September 1872.

*Art. 2.* Considering, that the I.W.A., according to the General Rules, is to consist exclusively of "working men's societies" (see Art. 1, Art. 7 and Art. 11 of the General Rules);

that, consequently, Art. 9 of the General Rules to this effect: "Everybody who acknowledges and defends the principles of the I.W.A. is eligible to become a member", although it confers upon the active adherents of the *International*, who are no working men,[e] the right either of individual membership or of admission to working men's sections, does in no way legitimate the foundation

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[a] Cf. ibid., p. 12.—*Ed.*

[b] In the *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* this part is headed "Section XII".—*Ed.*

[c] "Appeal of Section No. 12", *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, No. 19 (71), September 23, 1871.—*Ed.*

[d] *Compte-rendu du IVe Congrès international, tenu à Bâle, en septembre 1869*, Brussels, 1869, p. 172.—*Ed.*

[e] The words "who are no working men" are omitted in the *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*.—*Ed.*

of sections, exclusively or principally composed of members not belonging to the working class;

that for this very reason the General Council was some months ago precluded from recognising a Slavonian section, exclusively composed of students[91];

that, according to the General Regulations V, 1, the General Rules and Regulations are to be adapted "to local circumstances of each country";

that the social conditions of the United States, though in many other respects most favourable to the success of the working-class movement, peculiarly facilitate the intrusion into the *International* of bogus reformers, middle-class quacks and trading politicians;

For these reasons the General Council recommends that in future there be admitted no new[a] American section of which two-thirds at least do not consist of wage-labourers.

*Art. 3.* The General Council calls the attention of the American Federation to Resolution II, 3, of the London Conference relating to "sectarian[b] sections" or "separatist bodies pretending to accomplish special missions" distinct from the common aim of the Association,[c] viz., to emancipate the man of labour from his "economical subjection to the monopoliser of the means of labour", which "lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence" (see Preamble of the General Rules).[d]

Written on about March 5, 1872

First published in *La Emancipacion*, No. 43, April 6, 1872; *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, No. 103, May 4, 1872; *Der Volksstaat*, No. 37, May 8, 1872

Reproduced from the manuscript checked with the *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*

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[a] The word "new" is omitted in the *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*.—*Ed.*

[b] The word "sectarian" is omitted in the *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*.—*Ed.*

[c] K. Marx and F. Engels, ***Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871*** (present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 423-24).—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, p. 3.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF *LA LIBERTÉ*

London, March 12, 1872

Dear Sir,

In the book by Citizen *G. Lefrançais, Sur le mouvement communaliste*, which only came to my attention a few days ago, I find on page 92 the following passage:

"The letter subsequently written to Citizen Serraillier by Karl Marx, the principal inspirer of the German section of the International, on the subject of the elections of February 8, in which he criticises with some bitterness the intervention of the French section in these elections, is sufficient evidence that rightly or wrongly the International was then reluctant to become involved in active politics."

Immediately after the publication of my alleged letter to Serraillier I declared in *The Times*, the *Courrier de l'Europe*, the *Zukunft* of Berlin, etc., that this letter was a fabrication of the *Paris-Journal*.[92] From his part, Serraillier publicly denounced the police journalist who was the true author of this letter. Since almost all the organs of the International and even some Parisian newspapers have taken note of our statements, I am really astonished to see Citizen Lefrançais publicly endorse the falsehood circulated by Henri de Pène.

Yours faithfully,

*Karl Marx*

First published in *La Liberté*, No. 11, March 17, 1872

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx

## RESOLUTIONS OF THE MEETING HELD TO CELEBRATE THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARIS COMMUNE[93]

[I]

"That this meeting assembled to celebrate the anniversary of the 18th March last, declares, that it looks upon the glorious movement inaugurated upon the 18th March, 1871, as the dawn of the great social revolution which will for ever free the human race from class rule."

[II]

"That the incapacity and the crimes of the middle classes, extended all over Europe by their hatred against the working classes, have doomed old society no matter under what form of government—Monarchical or Republican."

[III]

"That the crusade of all governments against the International, and the terror of the murderers of Versailles as well as of their Prussian conquerors, attest the hollowness of their successes, and the presence of the threatening army of the proletariat of the whole world gathering in the rear of its heroic vanguard crushed by the combined forces of Thiers and William of Prussia."

Written between March 13 and 18, 1872

First published in *La Liberté* No. 12, March 24, 1872 and in *The International Herald,* No. 3, March 30, 1872

Reproduced from *The International Herald*

# Frederick Engels

## TO THE SPANISH FEDERAL COUNCIL

We have received your letter of March 15, and we thank you for the detailed report about the present state of our Association in Spain, a very satisfying state in the circumstances at the moment.[94] We will publish the most important elements of this report, we will send you a letter for the Saragossa Congress, and we will send you a telegram[a] later. The telegram will be in the name of the General and British Federal Councils. As for France, with the Dufaure law[95] against the International, there is no way to maintain a Federal Council, but we will write to Paris so that the "Ferré Section"[96] sends you a letter for the Congress—there will be no signatures but you will receive it signed "Ferré Section", which will be in order. In Germany the recent trials have disorganised the Association for the moment, and as you will know Liebknecht and Bebel have been condemned to two years in prison, mainly because of involvement with the International[97]; sending a telegram from there would be impracticable at the moment; however we have sent your letter to Germany.

There is no problem about stamps. Ask for as many stamps as you think you will need, and send us the quotas or parts of the quotas *received* before the 1st July; then two or three weeks before the General Congress you can send us the rest with the stamps which you have not used. We have a large quantity and it will not matter if your delegates at the Congress return us a thousand or two.

Yesterday afternoon Jung the treasurer did not come to the Council. I have sent him the receipt to sign and when I have it

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[a] See this volume, pp. 137-39.—*Ed.*

back from him I shall send it with the letter for the Saragossa Congress.

We hope that you will submit the resolutions of the London Conference to the Regional Congress for their approval. These resolutions have so far been recognised by the German, Romance, German-Swiss (Zurich), English, Dutch and American federations and by the French and Irish sections.

Written on March 27, 1872

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the rough manuscript

Translated from the Spanish

Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx

## THE NATIONALISATION OF THE LAND[98]

The property in the soil is the original source of all wealth, and has become the great problem upon the solution of which depends the future of the working class.[a]

I do not intend discussing here all the arguments put forward by the advocates of private property in land, by jurists, philosophers and political economists, but shall confine myself firstly to state that they have tried hard to disguise the primitive fact of conquest under the cloak of "*Natural Right*". If conquest constituted a natural right on the part of the few, the many have only to gather sufficient strength in order to acquire the natural right of reconquering what has been taken from them.

In the progress of history the conquerors found it convenient to give to their original titles, derived from brute force, a sort of social standing[b] through the instrumentality of laws imposed by themselves.

At last comes the philosopher and demonstrates that those laws imply and express the universal consent of mankind.[c] If private property in land be indeed founded upon such an universal consent, it will evidently become extinct from the moment the majority of a society dissent from warranting it.

However, leaving aside the so-called "rights" of property, I assert that the economical development of society, the increase and concentration of people, the very circumstances that compel the capitalist farmer to apply to agriculture collective and organised

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[a] In the rough manuscript the sentence is preceded by the note "Ad p. 1".—*Ed.*

[b] The rough manuscript has "sanction" instead of "standing".—*Ed.*

[c] The rough manuscript has "society" instead of "mankind".—*Ed.*

labour, and to have recourse to machinery and similar contrivances, will more and more render the nationalisation of land a "*Social Necessity*", against which no amount of talk about the rights of property can be of any avail. The imperative wants of society will and must be satisfied, changes dictated by social necessity will work their own way, and sooner or later adapt legislation to their interests.

What we require is a daily increasing production and its exigencies cannot be met by allowing a few individuals to regulate it according to their whims and private interests, or to ignorantly exhaust the powers of the soil. All modern methods, such as irrigation, drainage, steam ploughing, chemical treatment and so forth, ought to be applied to agriculture at large. But the scientific knowledge we possess, and the technical means of agriculture we command, such as machinery, etc., can never be successfully applied but by cultivating the land on a large scale.

If cultivation on a large scale proves (even under its present capitalist form, that degrades the cultivator himself to a mere beast of burden) so superior, from an economical point of view,[a] to small and piecemeal husbandry, would it not give an increased impulse to production if applied on national dimensions?

The ever-growing wants of the people on the one side, the ever-increasing price of agricultural produce on the other, afford the irrefutable evidence that the nationalisation of land has become a social necessity.

Such a diminution of agricultural produce as springs from individual abuse, will, of course, become impossible whenever cultivation is carried on under the control[b] and for the benefit of the nation.

All the citizens I have heard here today during the progress of the debate, on this question, defended the nationalisation of land, but they took very different views of it.[c]

France was frequently alluded to, but with its *peasant proprietorship* it is farther off the nationalisation of land than England with its landlordism.[d] In France, it is true, the soil is accessible to all who can buy it, but this very facility has brought about a division

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[a] The words "from an economical point of view" are not to be found in the rough manuscript.— *Ed.*

[b] In the rough manuscript the end of the sentence reads: "at the cost and for the benefit of the nation".— *Ed.*

[c] The phrase, presumably, belongs to Dupont since it is absent in the rough manuscript.— *Ed.*

[d] In the rough manuscript the sentence is preceded by the note "+p. 5".— *Ed.*

Page of Marx's manuscript *The Nationalisation of the Land*

into small plots cultivated by men with small means and mainly relying upon the land by exertions of themselves and their families. This form of landed property and the piecemeal cultivation it necessitates, while excluding all appliances of modern agricultural improvements, converts the tiller himself into the most decided enemy to social progress and, above all, the nationalisation of land. Enchained to the soil upon which he has to spend all his vital energies in order to get a relatively small return, having to give away the greater part of his produce to the state, in the form of taxes, to the law tribe in the form of judiciary costs, and to the usurer in the form of interest, utterly ignorant of the social movements outside his petty field of employment; still he clings with fanatic fondness to his bit of land and his merely nominal proprietorship in the same. In this way the French peasant has been thrown into a most fatal antagonism to the industrial working class.

Peasant proprietorship being then the greatest obstacle to the nationalisation of land, France, in its present state, is certainly not the place where we must look to for a solution of this great problem.

To nationalise the land, in order to let it out in small plots to individuals or working men's societies, would, under a middle-class government, only engender a reckless competition among themselves and thus result in a progressive increase of "*Rent*" which, in its turn, would afford new facilities to the appropriators of feeding upon the producers.

At the International Congress of Brussels, in 1868, one of our friends said:

> "Small private property in land is doomed by the verdict of science, large land property by that of justice. There remains then but one alternative. The soil must become the property of rural associations or the property of the whole nation. The future will decide that question."[a]

I say on the contrary[b]; the social movement will lead to this decision that the land can but be owned by the nation itself. To give up the soil to the hands of associated rural labourers, would be to surrender society to one exclusive class of producers.

The nationalisation of land will work a complete change in the

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[a] Marx quotes César De Paepe's report on land property at the meeting of the Brussels Congress of the International Working Men's Association on September 11, 1868 (see *Troisième Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Compte-rendu officiel*, Brussels, 1868, p. 35 et seq.).—*Ed.*

[b] In the rough manuscript the end of the sentence reads: "the future will decide that the land cannot be owned but nationally".—*Ed.*

relations between labour and capital, and finally, do away with the capitalist form of production, whether industrial or rural. Then class distinctions and privileges will disappear together with the economical basis[a] upon which they rest. To live on other people's labour will become a thing of the past. There will be no longer any government or state power, distinct from society itself! Agriculture, mining, manufacture, in one word, all branches of production, will gradually be organised in the most adequate manner. *National centralisation of the means of production* will become the national[b] basis of a society composed of associations of free and equal producers, carrying on the social business on a common and rational plan. Such is the humanitarian[c] goal to which the great economic movement of the 19th century is tending.

Written in March-April 1872

First published in *The International Herald*, No. 11, June 15, 1872

Reproduced from the newspaper checked with the rough manuscript

[a] In the rough manuscript the end of the sentence reads: "from which they originate and society will be transformed into an association of free producers".—*Ed.*

[b] The rough manuscript has "natural" instead of "national".—*Ed.*

[c] This word is crossed out in the rough manuscript.—*Ed.*

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Frederick Engels

# TO CITIZEN DELEGATES OF THE REGIONAL SPANISH CONGRESS ASSEMBLED AT SARAGOSSA[99]

London, April 3, 1872

Citizens,

The General Council of the International Working Men's Association has asked me to congratulate you on its behalf on the occasion of the second congress of the Spanish sections. You are indeed to be congratulated for the results you have obtained in so short a time. The International, founded in Spain less than three years ago, now covers the whole country with its sections and federations, is established in all the towns and is penetrating into the countryside. Thanks to your efforts, and also to the senseless and ridiculous persecution by successive governments of your country, it has been possible to obtain these fine results and make the International a real force in Spain. We ought not to forget, at the same time, that these results are also due to the special constitution of our Association which leaves every national or local federation complete freedom of action, granting the central organs only such powers as are absolutely essential to enable them to safeguard the unity of the programme and common interests, and to prevent the Association from becoming a plaything of bourgeois intrigues and police machinations.[a]

You have probably still to come in for further persecutions. Remember then that there are other countries, like France, Germany, and Austria and Hungary, where the members of the

[a] The rough copy of the letter continues: "No bourgeois association would ever be able to subsist in such conditions; the merit of the modern proletariat is that it organised for the common struggle an association embracing all civilised countries and yet in no way restricting the autonomy of each federation."—*Ed.*

International suffer even harsher government repression and yet do not bow their heads, knowing, as you know, that persecution is the best means of propaganda for our Association, and that there is no force in the world strong enough to suppress the ever-growing revolutionary movement of the modern proletariat. In order to destroy the International it would be necessary to destroy the soil of which it is the natural product: modern society itself.

Greetings and fraternity,
On behalf of the General Council
Secretary for Spain,
*Frederick Engels*

First published in *La Emancipacion*, No. 44, April 13, 1872 and in other newspapers of the International

Printed according to the newspaper checked with the rough copy of the letter in French

Translated from the Spanish

# Frederick Engels

## [TO THE SARAGOSSA CONGRESS][100]

London, April 6 [1872]

The General Council and the British Federal Council greet the Congress of Saragossa. Long live the emancipation of the proletariat!

*Engels*

First published in *La Emancipacion*, No. 44, April 13, 1872

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the Spanish

# Karl Marx

## [DECLARATION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION CONCERNING COCHRANE'S SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS][101]

The performances of the Versailles Rural Assembly, and of the Spanish Cortes, with intent to extinguish the International, very properly aroused a noble spirit of emulation in the breasts of the representatives of the Upper Ten Thousand in the British House of Commons. Accordingly, on the 12th April, 1872, Mr. B. Cochrane, one of the most representative men, as far as Upper Class intellect is concerned, called the attention of the House to the sayings and doings of that formidable society. Being a man not much given to reading, he had qualified himself for his task by a journey of inspection to a few of the Continental headquarters of the International, undertaken last autumn, and had, on his return, hastened to secure, by a letter to *The Times*, a kind of provisional protection for his right of priority to this subject.[a] His speech in Parliament betrays, what in any other man would be considered a wilful and premeditated ignorance of what he is talking about. With one exception the many official publications of the International are unknown to him; in their stead, he quotes a jumble of passages from petty publications by private individuals in Switzerland, for which the International, as a body, is as much responsible as the British Cabinet is for the speech of Mr. Cochrane. According to that speech,

> "the great majority of those who joined the society in England, and their number was 180,000, was totally ignorant of the principles it was intended to carry out, which were carefully concealed from them while they were giving their subscriptions".[b]

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[a] A. B. Cochrane, "To the Editor of *The Times*", *The Times*, No. 27208, October 31, 1871, p. 6.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Cochrane's speech in the House of Commons on April 12, 1872 is cited from *The Times*, No. 27350, April 13, 1872.—*Ed.*

Now, the principles intended to be carried out by the International, are laid down in the preamble to the General Rules, and Mr. Cochrane is in happy ignorance of the fact that no one can enter the Association without giving his express adhesion to them. Again,

"the society, as originally constituted, was founded upon the principles of the Trades' Unions, and no political element was then introduced into it".

Not only does the preamble to the original General Rules contain a strong political element, but the political tendencies of the Association are very fully developed in the Inaugural Address, published in 1864, contemporaneously with these Rules.[102] Another wonderful discovery is this, that Bakounine was "charged" to reply, in the name of the International, to the attacks of Mazzini, which is simply an untruth. After giving a quotation from Bakounine's pamphlet,[a] he continues:

"We might smile at such bombastic nonsense, but when these papers emanated from London" (from which they did *not* emanate) "was it surprising that Foreign Governments should take alarm?"

And is it surprising that Mr. Cochrane should become their spokesman in England? Another charge is that the International had just started "a newspaper" in London, which is another untruth. However, let Mr. Cochrane console himself, the International has plenty of organs of its own in Europe and America, and in almost all civilised languages.

But the gist of the whole speech is contained in the following:

"He should be *able to show* that the Commune and the International Association were, in reality, one, and that the International Society located" (?) "in London, had given orders to the Commune to burn Paris, and to murder the Archbishop of that City."

And now for the proofs. Eugène Dupont, as chairman of the Brussels Congress of September, 1868, truly stated that the International aimed at a social revolution. And what is the secret link between this statement of Eugène Dupont in 1868 and the deeds of the Commune in 1871? That

"only last week Eugène Dupont was arrested in Paris, to which he had gone secretly from this country. Now, this M. Eugène Dupont was a member of the Commune and also a member of the International Society".

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[a] This refers to Bakunin's *Risposta d'un Internazionale a Giuseppe Mazzini*, published in Milan in 1871.—*Ed.*

Unfortunately for this very conclusive mode of reasoning, A. Dupont, the member of the Commune, who has been arrested in Paris, was not a member of the International, and E. Dupont, the member of the International, was not a member of the Commune. The second proof is:

"Bakounine said, at Geneva, July, 1869, when the Congress met under his presidency:—'The International proclaims itself Atheist'."

Now there never took place an International Congress at Geneva, in July, 1869; Bakounine never presided at any International Congress, and was never charged to make declarations in its name. Third proof:—The *Volksstimme*, the International organ at Vienna, wrote:

"For us the red flag is the symbol of universal love, let our enemies beware, lest they turn it into the symbol of universal terror."

The same paper, moreover, stated in so many words that the General Council in London was, in fact, the General Council of the International, that is to say, its central administrative delegation. Fourth proof:—In one of the French trials of the International, Tolain ridiculed the assertion of the public prosecutor, that

"it was sufficient for the president of the International" (who does not exist) "to raise his finger to command obedience over the whole surface of the globe".

The muddling brain of Mr. Cochrane turns Tolain's denial into a confirmation. Fifth proof:—The manifesto of the General Council on the Civil War in France,[a] from which Mr. Cochrane quotes the defence of the reprisals against the hostages, and of the use of fire, as measures of warfare, necessary under the circumstances. Now, as Mr. Cochrane approves of the massacres committed by the Versaillese, are we to infer that he had *ordered* them, although he is surely innocent of the murder of anything but game? Sixth proof:

"There was a meeting held between the leaders of the International and the Commune before the burning of Paris."

This is exactly as true as the report which a short time ago went the round of the Italian press to the effect that the General Council of the International had sent, on a tour of inspection to the Continent, its truly and well-beloved Alexander Baillie-Cochrane, who reported most satisfactorily on the flourishing state

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[a] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France.—Ed.*

of the organisation, and stated that it counted seventeen millions of members. Final proof:

"In the decree of the Commune which commanded the destruction of the Column of the Place Vendôme, the approval of the International is signified."

Nothing of the kind is stated in that decree, although the Commune was, no doubt, fully aware that the whole International all over the world would applaud this resolution.

Such then is the, according to *The Times* newspaper, irrefutable evidence for Cochrane's statement that the Archbishop of Paris[a] was killed and Paris burnt by the direct order of the General Council of the International in London. Compare his incoherent rant to the report of M. Sacase, on the law against the International in Versailles,[103] and you will be able to realise the distance still existing between a French Rural and a British Dogberry.[b]

Of Mr. Cochrane's *fidus Achates*, Mr. Eastwick, we should say with Dante: "Look at him and pass on",[c] were it not for his absurd assertion that the International is responsible for the *Père Duchêne* of Vermersch, whom the learned Mr. Cochrane calls Vermuth.

If it is an unmixed pleasure to have an opponent like Mr. Cochrane, it is a grievous calamity to have to undergo the patronage, as far as it goes, of Mr. Fawcett. If he is bold enough to defend the International against forcible measures, which the British Government neither dare not care to take, he has at the same time that sense of duty and high moral courage which compel him to pass upon it his supreme professoral condemnation. Unfortunately the pretended doctrines of the International which he attacks, are but concoctions of his own poor brain.

"The State," he says, "was to do this and that, and find money to carry out all their projects. The first article of the programme was that the State should buy up all the land, and all the instruments of production, and let them out at a fair and reasonable price to the people."[d]

As to the buying up of the land by the State under certain circumstances and the letting of it out to the people at a fair and reasonable price, let Mr. Fawcett settle that with his theoretical

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[a] Georges Darboy.—*Ed.*

[b] Dogberry—a character in Shakespeare's comedy *Much Ado about Nothing.*—*Ed.*

[c] Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, Hell, Canto III.—*Ed.*

[d] Here and below Fawcett's speech in the House of Commons on April 12, 1872 is cited from *The Times*, No. 27350, April 13, 1872.—*Ed.*

teacher Mr. John Stuart Mill, and with his political Chief Mr. John Bright. The second article

"proposes that the State should regulate the hours of labour".

The historical learning of our Professor shines out brilliantly when he makes the International the author of the British Factory and Workshops' Acts, and his economical proficiency comes out to equal advantage in his appreciation of those acts. Third article—

"That the State should provide gratuitous education."

Such broad facts as the existence of gratuitous education in the United States and Switzerland, and their beneficial results, what are they compared to the gloomy vaticinations of Professor Fawcett? Fourth article—

"That the State should lend capital to co-operative societies."

There is here a slight mistake; Mr. Fawcett mixes up the demands put forth by Lassalle, who died before the foundation of the International, with the principles of the International. By the by, Lassalle invoked the precedent of the State loans, which, under the pretext of agricultural improvements, and by the instrumentality of Parliament, the British landed proprietors had so generously granted to themselves. Fifth article—

"as the coping-stone, it was proposed that the whole revenue of the country should be raised by a graduated tax upon property".

This is really too bad; to make the demands of Mr. Robert Gladstone and his Liverpool middle-class Financial Reformers the "coping-stone" of the International!

This great political economist, Mr. Fawcett, whose claim to scientific fame rests entirely upon a vulgarisation, for the use of schoolboys, of Mr. John Stuart Mill's compendium of political economy,[a] confesses that "the confident predictions" (for the free-traders) "of five and twenty years ago had been falsified by facts".

At the same time he is confident of his ability to allay the giant proletarian movement of our days by repeating over and over again, in a still more diluted form, the very same stale phrases by which those false predictions of twenty-five years ago were propped up. His sham defence of the International, which is, in reality, an humble apology for his former pretended sympathies with the working classes, will, it is to be hoped, open the eyes of

[a] J. St. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy with Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy*, Vols. 1, 2, London, 1848.—*Ed.*

such English working men as are still taken in by the sentimentalism, under which Mr. Fawcett hitherto tried to hide his scientific nullity.

Now if Mr. B. Cochrane represents the political intellect, and Mr. Fawcett the economical science of the British House of Commons, how does this "pleasantest of all London Clubs" compare with the American House of Representatives, which, on the 13th December, 1871, passed an act for the establishment of a Labour Statistics Office,[104] and declared that this act was passed at the express desire of the International Working Men's Association, which the House recognised as one of the most important facts of the present age?

The General Council:

*R. Applegarth, A. Arnaud, M. Barry, M. J. Boon, F. Bradnick, G. H. Buttery, F. Cournet, E. Delahaye, Eugène Dupont, W. Hales, Hurliman, Jules Johannard, C. Keen, Harriet Law, F. Lessner, Lochner, C. Longuet, Marguerittes, C. Martin, Zévy Maurice, H. Mayo, G. Milner, Ch. Murray, Pfänder, J. Rozwadowski, V. Regis, J. Roach, Rühl, G. Ranvier, Sadler, Cowell Stepney, A. Taylor, W. Townshend, E. Vaillant, J. Weston, De Wolfers, F. J. Yarrow*

Corresponding Secretaries:

*Leó Frankel*, for Austria and Hungary; *A. Herman*, Belgium; *T. Mottershead*, Denmark; *A. Serraillier*, France; *Karl Marx*, Germany and Russia; *C. Rochat*, Holland; *J. P. McDonnell*, Ireland; *F. Engels*, Italy and Spain; *Walery Wróblewski*, Poland; *Hermann Jung*, Switzerland; *J. G. Eccarius*, United States; *Le Moussu*, for French Branches of United States; *J. Hales*, General Secretary

Written between April 13 and 16, 1872

Reproduced from the leaflet

First published as a leaflet on April 17, 1872, and later on in some organs of the International

# Frederick Engels

## TO THE SOCIETY OF FERRARESE WORKERS[105]

Citizens,

In reply to your kind letter of March 3 I thank you, on behalf of the General Council, for your adherence to the International Working Men's Association. I must at the same time inform you that before accepting it, the Council requires clarification of the significance of the reservation you make about your "autonomy".

When an association is formed, the first requirement is to draw up rules and administrative regulations such as you yourselves possess, and as the International possesses too. You are perhaps not familiar with the latter and I am therefore enclosing a copy in French. Kindly submit them to your society and, if you agree to abide by them, let me know. These General Rules and Administrative Regulations are the only laws which our association possesses and which could limit your autonomy. But as you yourselves must realise, there cannot be two sorts of section in the International, one which accepts the collective laws and one which rejects them.[a] I hope, though, that you will have no difficulty in agreeing to these laws, made by the workers of the whole of Europe after seven years of annual meetings and recognised by all.

Administrative Regulation V, Article 1, says that "every branch is at liberty to make rules and bye-laws for its local administration, adapted to local circumstances and the laws of its country".[b] But these rules and bye-laws must not contain anything contrary to the

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[a] Further on it is crossed out in the rough copy: "preserving its autonomy".—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 12.—*Ed.*

General Rules and Regulations.[a] Administrative Regulation II, Article 5, which leaves to the General Council the responsibility for accepting or rejecting each new section, entrusts it with the task of checking whether the rules and regulations of these new sections are in accordance with this article. I should be grateful, therefore, if you would send the Council a copy of your rules so that this formality can be carried out.

Written on April 16, 1872

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the rough copy of the letter

Translated from the Italian

Published in English for the first time

[a] Further on it is crossed out in the rough copy: "As Italy does not yet have a regular Federal Council, the General Council reserves the right to check the rules and bye-laws of the Italian sections."—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## LETTERS FROM LONDON[106]

### I

### [THE ENGLISH AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS' STRIKE]

London, April 20, 1872

The labour movement in England has made enormous progress in the last few days. It has established itself—solidly—among the agricultural labourers. In Great Britain, as is well known, all the land belongs to an extremely small number of large landowners who receive, in the form of rent, annual incomes ranging from 100,000 lire in the case of the poorest to several million for the richest. The Marquis of Westminster enjoys an annual income of over 10 million lire.

The land is divided up into large lots, worked by a small number of agricultural labourers, with the aid of machines, on behalf of the tenant farmer. There are no small peasant proprietors. The number of agricultural workers, already small in proportion to the area of land they cultivate is decreasing every year as a result of the introduction of new machinery. Hence the English agricultural labourers—ignorant, slaves of the soil as were never seen before and at the same time victims of competition—form the lowest paid class of the population. On several occasions they have rebelled against their hard fate. In 1831, in the south of England, they burned the farmers' corn and hay ricks.[107] A few years ago they did the same thing in Yorkshire. From time to time there have been attempts at setting up resistance societies among them, but with no real results. The present movement, however, has in a few weeks assumed dimensions which guarantee it an enormous success. This movement began among the labourers of Warwickshire. They demanded a rise in their wages from 11 or 12 shillings (13 or 14 francs) a week to 16 shillings (19 francs). In order to obtain it they formed a resistance society and went on strike.[108] There was general horror among the landowners,

farmers and Tories of the county; the labourers, slaves in body and mind, after over a thousand years were daring to rebel against the authority of the masters! And they really did rebel. They struck with such effect that in two or three weeks the rebellion spread to all the labourers not just of Warwickshire but of the eight neighbouring counties. The union of agricultural labourers was for the frightened landlords and farmers what the *International* is for the reactionary governments of Europe: the scarecrow at the mere mention of whose name they quake. And they mounted an opposition, but in vain; the union, helped by the counsel and by the experience of the resistance societies of the industrial workers, grew and became more solid every day. It was supported, moreover, by the public opinion of the bourgeoisie itself. The bourgeoisie, despite its contract of political alliance with the aristocracy, permanently wages a sort of little economic war with it. Since at present it is enjoying a state of great industrial prosperity in which it needs many workers, nearly all the agricultural labourers on strike found themselves transported to the towns, where they were employed and paid much better than they could have been on the land. Hence the strike was completely successful, with the landlords and farmers of all England spontaneously raising labourers' wages by 25 and 30 per cent. From this first great victory will date a new era in the intellectual and social life of the rural proletariat, which has entered as a mass into the movement of the urban proletarians against the tyranny of capital.

Last week, the English Parliament discussed the *International*. Mr. Cochrane, a rabid reactionary, accused the terrible workers' association of having ordered the Paris Commune to murder the archbishop[a] and set fire to the city! He then demanded repressive measures against the General Council which is based, for the moment, in London. Naturally the government replied that the members of the International, like all the inhabitants of England, are responsible before the law alone, and as they have not yet broken it there was no reason to persecute them.[b] It is believed

[a] Georges Darboy.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to the reply of Bruce, Home Secretary, at the sitting of the House of Lords on April 12, 1872 in connection with A. B. Cochrane's speech against the International Working Men's Association (*The Times*, No. 27350, April 13, 1872).—*Ed.*

that the General Council of the Association will be replying to Mr. Cochrane's falsehoods.[a]

Written on April 20, 1872

First published in *La Plebe*, No. 48, April 24, 1872

Signed: *F. E.*
"Our correspondence"

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the Italian

[a] See this volume, pp. 140-45.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [ON THE POLICE PERSECUTION OF THE MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL THEODORE CUNO][109]

It has been known for some time that a conspiracy had been entered into by the Governments of Germany, Austria, and Italy, for the purpose of hunting down the Internationals. How this conspiracy works may be seen from the following facts:—A prominent member of the International at Milan, Citizen Theodore Cuno, a native of Prussia and an engineer, having lost his place in a large machine shop, was, on the 25th February, arrested, and all his papers, and all photographs in his possession (including that of his father, &c.) were seized. He was transported, in chains, to Verona, where he was kept in prison for nearly a month amongst thieves and murderers, and treated exactly as they were, while his papers were sent to Rome to be examined. On the 29th March, chained to a common criminal, he was transported to the frontier, and handed over to the Austrian authorities. Here, for the first time, he was allowed to learn the reason which had caused all this. What was his astonishment when he read that he had been arrested because

> "he was in Milan idle, a vagabond, and without means of existence, and, moreover, a dangerous agent of the International Socialist party, and for all these reasons expelled from the kingdom of Italy"!

Now, so far from being idle, he was, on the lst of March, to have entered upon a very lucrative place at Como as manager of a factory, and so far from being without means of existence, the Italian authorities on parting with him, had to hand him over 111 francs of his own money! The Austrians could not make out this contradiction, but, instead of letting him free gave him in charge of a policeman who had to see him, at Cuno's expense, to the

Bavarian frontier; and thus, Cuno had not only to pass another seven nights in prison, but to spend the greater part of his money too. At the Bavarian frontier, thanks, no doubt, to the want of proper instructions, as also to the homely stupidity of the Bavarian police, he obtained intelligence that a telegram was sent to his relatives and on receipt of a satisfactory reply, he was at last set at liberty. Thus, it appears, that the European police league against the International is a reality. Cuno could have been sent to the Swiss frontier, and there set at liberty; but instead, he must be handed over to the Austrians, and by them to the Bavarians, to be sent from prison to prison as a common criminal. There is the liberalism of "free" Constitutional monarchies.

Written on April 22-23, 1872

Reproduced from *The Eastern Post*

First published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 187, April 27, 1872 and in *Gazzettino Rosa*, No. 127, May 7, 1872

# Frederick Engels

## TO THE SOCIETY OF FERRARESE WORKERS[110]

[*Draft letter*]

[London,] May 10 [1872]

Confirmation given that the reservation concerning autonomy is sufficiently outlined in this letter. Promise to send all our publications.

Request for report on their strength, position, etc.

I inform that the General Council will soon devote itself to preparations for the Congress and that the Congress will take place in September.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 33, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

# Frederick Engels

## [RELATIONS BETWEEN THE IRISH SECTIONS AND THE BRITISH FEDERAL COUNCIL

### ENGELS' RECORD OF HIS REPORT AT THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF MAY 14, 1872][111]

Citizen Engels said the real purport of this motion was to bring the Irish sections under the jurisdiction of the British Federal Council, a thing to which the Irish sections would never consent, and which the Council had neither the right nor the power to impose upon them. According to the Rules and Regulations, this Council had no power to compel any section or branch to acknowledge the supremacy of any Federal Council whatsoever. It was certainly bound, before admitting or rejecting any new branch, within the jurisdiction of any Federal Council, to consult that Council. But he maintained that the Irish sections in England were no more under the jurisdiction of the British Federal Council than the French, German or Italian sections[a] in this country. The Irish formed, to all intents and purposes, a distinct nationality of their own, and the fact that they used the English language could not deprive them of the right, common to all, to have an independent national organisation within the International.

Citizen Hales had spoken of the relations between England and Ireland as if they were of the most idyllic nature, something like those between England and France at the time of the Crimean war, when the ruling classes of the two countries never tired of praising each other, and everything breathed the most complete harmony. But the case was quite different. There was the fact of seven centuries of English conquest and oppression of Ireland, and so long as that oppression existed, it was an insult to Irish working men to ask them to submit to a British Federal Council.

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[a] The Minute Book of the General Council has: "French, German, Italian or Polish sections".—*Ed.*

The position of Ireland with regard to England was not that of an equal, it was that of Poland with regard to Russia. What would be said if this Council called upon Polish sections to acknowledge the supremacy of a Russian Federal Council in Petersburg, or upon Prussian Polish, North Schleswig, and Alsatian sections to submit to a Federal Council in Berlin? Yet what it was asked to do with regard to Irish sections was substantially the same thing. If members of a conquering nation called upon the nation they had conquered and continued to hold down to forget their specific nationality and position, to "sink national differences" and so forth, that was not Internationalism, it was nothing else but preaching to them submission to the yoke, and attempting to justify and to perpetuate the dominion of the conqueror under the cloak of Internationalism. It was sanctioning the belief, only too common among the English working men, that they were superior beings compared to the Irish, and as much an aristocracy as the mean Whites of the Slave States considered themselves to be with regard to the Negroes.

In a case like that of the Irish, true Internationalism must necessarily be based upon a distinctly national organisation; the Irish, as well as other oppressed nationalities, could enter the Association only as equals with the members of the conquering nation, and under protest against the conquest. The Irish sections, therefore, not only were justified, but even under the necessity to state in the preamble to their rules that their first and most pressing duty, as Irishmen, was to establish their own national independence. The antagonism between Irish and English working men in England had always been one of the most powerful means by which class rule was upheld in England. He recollected the time when he saw Feargus O'Connor and the English Chartists turned out of the Hall of Science in Manchester by the Irish.[112] Now, for the first time, there was a chance of making English and Irish working men act together in harmony for their common emancipation, a result attained by no previous movement in their country. And no sooner had this been effected, than they were called upon to dictate to the Irish, and to tell them they must not carry on the movement in their own way, but submit to be ruled by an English Council! Why, that was introducing into the International the subjugation of the Irish by the English.

If the promoters of this motion were so brimful of the truly International spirits, let them prove it by removing the seat of the British Federal Council to Dublin, and submit to a Council of Irishmen.

As to the pretended collisions between Irish and English branches, they had been provoked by attempts of members of the British Federal Council to meddle with the Irish sections, to get them to give up their specific national character and to come under the rule of the British Council.

Then the Irish sections in England could not be separated from the Irish sections in Ireland; it would not do to have some Irishmen dependent upon a London Federal Council and others upon a Dublin Federal Council. The Irish sections in England were our base of operations with regard to the Irish working men in Ireland; they were more advanced, being placed in more favourable circumstances, and the movement in Ireland could be propagated and organised only through their instrumentality. And were they to wilfully destroy their own base of operations and cut off the only means of which Ireland could be effectually won for the International? For it must not be forgotten that the Irish sections, and rightly so, would never consent to give up their distinct national organisation and submit to the British Council. The question, then, amounted to this: were they to leave the Irish alone, or were they to turn them out of the Association? If the motion was adopted by the Council, the Council would inform the Irish working men, in so many words, that, after the dominion of the English aristocracy over Ireland, after the dominion of the English middle class over Ireland, they must now look forth to the advent of the dominion of the English working class over Ireland.

Written on about May 14, 1872

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 18, Moscow, 1961

Reproduced from the manuscript checked with the Minute Book of the General Council

# Karl Marx

## DECLARATION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL CONCERNING THE UNIVERSAL FEDERALIST COUNCIL[113]

Some weeks ago a pamphlet was published under the title "Universal Federalist Council of the International Working Men's Association and of the Republican Socialist Societies adhering". This pamphlet pretends nothing less than to inaugurate a *coup d'état* within the International. It announces the formation of a second General Council, and it denounces both the organisation of the International, and the administration of its General Council. Now, who are the members of this new self-constituted Council, and the authors of these denunciations? Among the names affixed to the document we find, firstly, that of Citizen John Weston, a member of the General Council, and its former treasurer, who, in a letter to the Council, declares his name to have been made use of without his authority. Secondly, six delegates from the Universal Republican League,[114] a society entirely foreign to the International. Thirdly, two delegates from an "International Republican Federalist Section", which section is totally unknown to the International. Fourthly, two delegates from the Land and Labour League,[115] which society does not form any part of the International. Fifthly, two self-styled delegates of the German Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein, but, in fact, delegates of a few Germans who were excluded from that society on account of their openly avowed hostility to the International.[116] Lastly, four delegates of two French societies counting together less than a score of members, and which the General Council had declined to admit as branches; amongst these we find M. Vésinier, excluded from the International by a committee appointed by the Brussels Congress in 1868,[117] and M. Landeck, whom the hasty flight of Louis

Bonaparte's prefect of police,[a] on the 4th of September, 1870, liberated from the engagement he had voluntarily taken towards that officer, and "scrupulously kept, not to occupy himself any more, in France, either with politics or with the International" (see the published report of the third trial of the International at Paris[b]) and who only lately was expelled from the Society of the Communard Refugees in London.

It must be evident, even to the signatories of this document, that a conclave of such entire strangers to the International has exactly as much right to meddle with its organisation and to constitute itself its General Council, as the General Council of the International has to interfere with the organisation, and to declare itself the Board of Directors of the Great Northern Railway.

No wonder that these men are utterly ignorant of the history and organisation of the International. How should they be expected to know that according to our rules the General Council has to render its accounts to the General Congresses, and not to them? or that, when in 1870 the breaking out of the war prevented the Congress meeting an unanimous vote of all federations empowered the General Council to continue in office until political circumstances should permit the convocation of a public Congress? As to the fund collected by the General Council in favour of the refugees, the sum total received has, from time to time, been acknowledged in the published reports of the Council meetings, and our treasurer, Citizen Jung, 4, Charles-street, Northampton-square, Clerkenwell, holds the receipts for every farthing expended, which receipts, as well as the accounts, can be inspected any day by any of the donors. Such an inspection will show not only that the Council has devoted a great portion of its time to this object, quite foreign to its regular functions, but also that itself, as a body, and its individual members, have contributed to the refugee fund within the limits of their means.

Since the growth and power of the International have become what they are, the only way in which rival and hostile societies can attempt to attack it with any chance of success is to usurp its name in order to undermine its strength. This has been so well understood by the whole press-gang of the Governments, and of the ruling classes, that the same papers, from police press to so-called democratic and republican, which carefully suppress

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[a] J. M. Piétri.—*Ed.*

[b] *Troisième procès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs à Paris*, Paris, 1870, p. 4.—*Ed.*

every official declaration of the General Council, always hasten to keep all Europe well-informed of insignificant and ridiculous manifestations like that of this "Universal Federalist Council".

The General Council:

*R. Applegarth, A. Arnaud, M. Barry, M. J. Boon, F. Bradnick, G. H. Buttery, E. Delahaye, Eugène Dupont, J. G. Eccarius, W. Hales, Hurliman, Jules Johannard, C. Keen, Harriet Law, F. Lessner, Lochner, C. Longuet, Marguerittes, C. Martin, Zévy Maurice, H. Mayo, G. Milner, T. Mottershead, Pfänder, J. Rozwadowski, V. Regis, J. Roach, Rühl, G. Ranvier, Sadler, G. Sexton, Cowell Stepney, A. Taylor, W. Townshend, E. Vaillant, J. Weston, De Wolfers, F. J. Yarrow.*

Corresponding Secretaries:

*Leó Frankel*, for Austria and Hungary; *A. Herman*, Belgium; *F. Cournet*, Denmark; *A. Serraillier*, France; *Karl Marx*, Germany and Russia; *C. Rochat*, Holland; *J. P. McDonnell*, Ireland; *F. Engels*, Italy and Spain; *Walery Wróblewski*, Poland; *Hermann Jung*, Switzerland; *Le Moussu*, for French Branches of United States.

*C. Murray*, Chairman,
*H. Jung*, Treasurer,
*John Hales*, Gen. Sec.

33, Rathbone-place, London, W.
May 20th, 1872

First published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 191, May 26, 1872 (second edition) and in other newspapers of the International

Reproduced from *The Eastern Post*

# Karl Marx

## STEFANONI AND THE INTERNATIONAL AGAIN

### (LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF THE *GAZZETTINO ROSA*)[118]

London, May 23, 1872

Dear Editor,

In the *Libero Pensiero* of March 28, Mr. Stefanoni rightly foresaw that, despite his misfortune with Liebknecht,[119] I would continue to reply with silence to his incessant slanders. If I now break this silence, it is because Mr. Karl Vogt, a man whom I politically and morally assassinated in Germany with my book *Herr Vogt*, is revealed to be the inspiration behind the assertions of his coreligionist Stefanoni.

Mr. Stefanoni cites, taking it from Vogt's book[a] against me and the German communist party in general, the fairy story about my relations with the spy Cherval. Yet he takes care to suppress the letter from J. Ph. Becker of Geneva which exposes Vogt's crass inventions in the most humorous fashion (see *Herr Vogt*, p. 21).[b]

This slander and others of like nature, with which Vogt fills his smutty book, were reproduced a few days after it was published in the *National Zeitung* of Berlin. I immediately commenced legal proceedings for libel in London. In accordance with Prussian law, I had to go first through a preliminary procedure, in other words, obtain permission from the courts to prosecute the editor[c] of the *National Zeitung*. I therefore had to go up the entire ladder of the tribunals, from the investigating magistrate to the supreme court, with absolutely no result. In a word, they prohibited me from embarking on a trial that would have been so compromising for

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[a] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, December 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 60-64.—*Ed.*

[c] F. Zabel.—*Ed.*

Mr. Vogt (who in his *Politische Studien*[a] had precisely invited Prussia to take possession of the rest of Germany by force of arms), and also so compromising for a newspaper which did the government's work under the mask of a fictitious opposition, and which later revealed itself to be the most servile tool of Bismarck—a trial, finally, that would give full satisfaction to a man who was torn to shreds, on command from above, by the entire prostituted press of Germany.

All the episodes of my struggle with the Prussian tribunals, together with the documents I submitted to them in support of my case, are to be found printed in my book *Herr Vogt*, and must therefore be familiar to the worthy Mr. Stefanoni too.

Mr. Stefanoni also cites my *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (1853)[b] in order to prove what? That I had relations with the German communists. Of that I am proud.

Besides, the true purpose of that publication was to show that the Communist League was not a secret society according to the definition of the penal code, and that for this reason the Prussian government was forced to get the notorious Stieber and his go-betweens to fabricate a series of false documents attributed to me and the accused.[120] Today, in Germany, there is nobody, not even among the Bismarckians, who dares to deny this fact. That Mr. Stefanoni should make common cause not only with Vogt but also with Stieber is too rich, even for an *esprit fort* of Stefanoni's calibre.

In your newspaper of April 18, Mr. Stefanoni renews the attack. I had given abundant proof in my book that in 1859 Mr. Vogt sold himself to Bonaparte, taking up the role of his principal agent in Germany and Switzerland. Ten years later, the indiscretion of his friends Jules Favre and Co. merely served to verify the fact.[121]

It is utterly false that I, through some supposed Germanic interest, took up the defence of Austria against Mr. Vogt, the valiant champion of Italy. In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49 I backed the cause of Italy against the majority in the German parliament and press.[c] Later, in 1853 and at other times, I assumed in the *New-York Tribune* the defence of a man with

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[a] A reference to C. Vogt's *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas*, Geneva and Berne, 1859, pp. 152-53 et seq.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 395-457.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., Vols. 7-9.—*Ed.*

whose principles I was in permanent opposition—Mazzini.[a] In a word, I always took the side of revolutionary Italy against Austria.

But the war of 1859 was a different matter altogether. I denounced it because it would prolong the Bonapartist empire for another decade, subject Germany to the regime of the Prussian horde and make Italy what it is today.[122] Mazzini, for once, was of my opinion (see *Pensiero e Azione* of 2 to 15 May 1859[b]). He, like me, was assailed at that time by the inevitable Mr. Vogt.

Although I was ready to denounce Mr. Vogt as a Bonapartist agent, I nevertheless had to deny the authorship of an anonymous circular launched against him by Mr. Karl Blind. Mr. Stefanoni quotes, following Vogt, the declarations which the latter obtained from the publisher[c] and printers with the aim of proving that Blind was not the author of the circular and that it had not been printed by the aforementioned publisher.

Yet if Mr. Stefanoni had read my book, as he claims, he would have found reproduced on pages 186-187[d] the *declarations made under oath to the English court* by the aforementioned printer and one of his colleagues,[e] asserting that it was precisely Karl Blind who was the author of the anonymous circular!

From Vogt, Mr. Stefanoni passes to Herzen. First of all he asserts that Herzen attended the foundation meeting of the International, and he gives the date of the Association's foundation as 1867. Everybody knows that the International was founded in September 1864 at a meeting in Longacre, at which Herzen was not present. The evangelist of rationalism, Mr. Stefanoni, handles details of time and place exactly like his predecessors in the New Testament eighteen centuries ago. Nearly ten years before the founding of the International I refused to speak on the same platform as Mr. Herzen, the Russian Panslavist, at a public demonstration.[f]

Herzen, in a posthumous book brought to light by his son,[g] a book brimming with lies about me,[123] does not dare to say that I

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[a] This refers to Marx's correspondence published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on December 12, 1853 and also to his article "Mazzini and Napoleon" (present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 511-12; Vol. 15, pp. 485-89).—*Ed.*

[b] G. Mazzini, "La Guerra", *Pensiero e Azione*, No. 17, May 12-16, 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] Fidelio Hollinger.—*Ed.*

[d] See present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 128-30.—*Ed.*

[e] Wiehe and Vögele.—*Ed.*

[f] See present edition, Vol. 39, pp. 522-25.—*Ed.*

[g] A. A. Herzen. A reference to *Сборникъ посмертныхъ статей Александра Ивановича Герцена*, Geneva, 1870.—*Ed.*

designated him as a *Russian spy*, as the veracious Mr. Stefanoni maintains. Besides, those who thirst for enlightenment about the esteem in which the amateur socialist Herzen is to be held have only to read Serno-Solovyovich's pamphlet *Our Internal Affairs.*[a]

I have the honour, Sir, of being your devoted

*Karl Marx*

Written on May 23, 1872

First published in *Gazzettino Rosa*, No. 148, May 28, 1872 and in *Il Libero Pensiero*, August 1, 1872

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Translated from the Italian

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[a] А. Серно-Соловьевичъ, «*Наши домашнія дѣла.* Отвѣтъ г. Герцену на статью „Порядокъ торжествуетъ“» (III. *Колоколъ*, No. 233), Vevey, 1867.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [REPLY TO BRENTANO'S ARTICLE][124]

TO THE EDITORS OF *DER VOLKSSTAAT*

A friend[a] has sent me, from Germany, *Concordia. Zeitschrift für die Arbeiterfrage,* No. 10, dated March 7, in which this "organ of the German Manufacturers' Association" publishes an editorial entitled *"How Karl Marx Quotes".*

In the Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association I quote, amongst other material, a portion of Gladstone's budget speech of April 16, 1863, which is not contained in Hansard's semi-official report of parliamentary debates.[125] On this basis, with comfortable manufacturers' logic the *Concordia* concludes: "This sentence is nowhere to be found in Gladstone's speech", and jubilates in the fullness of its heart with this mocking sentence in manufacturers' German, printed in mocking bold face:

**"Marx has added the sentence lyingly, both in form and in content."**

It would, in fact, be extremely strange if the Inaugural Address, originally printed in English in London under Gladstone's very eyes, had placed in his mouth a sentence interpolated by me, a sentence that, for seven and a half years, circulated unchallenged in the London press, to be finally detected by the "learned men" of the German Manufacturers' Association in Berlin.

The sentence in question of the Inaugural Address reads as follows:

"THIS INTOXICATING AUGMENTATION OF WEALTH AND POWER IS ENTIRELY CONFINED TO CLASSES OF PROPERTY" (P. 6, INAUGURAL ADDRESS etc.).[b] (In the

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[a] W. Liebknecht.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 20, p. 7.—*Ed.*

German translation literally: *"Diese berauschende Vermehrung von Reichtum und Macht ist ganz und gar beschränkt auf Eigentumsklassen."*)

In an article in *The Fortnightly Review* (November 1870), which attracted great attention and was discussed by all the London press, Mr. Beesly, Professor of History at the university here, quoted as follows, p. 518:

> *"AN INTOXICATING AUGMENTATION OF WEALTH AND POWER, AS MR. GLADSTONE OBSERVED, ENTIRELY CONFINED TO CLASSES OF PROPERTY."* (In the German translation: *"Eine berauschende Vermehrung von Reichtum und Macht, wie Herr Gladstone bemerkte, ganz und gar beschränkt auf Eigentumsklassen."*)[a]

Yet Professor Beesly's article appeared six years later than the Inaugural Address! Good! Let us now take a specialised publication, intended solely for the City and published not only *before* the appearance *of the Inaugural Address*, but even *before the International Working Men's Association was founded.* It is entitled: *THE THEORY OF EXCHANGES. THE BANK CHARTER ACT OF 1844.* London 1864, published by T. Cautley Newby, 30, Welbeck Street.[b] It examines Gladstone's budget speech at length and p. 134 gives the following quotation from this speech:

> *"THIS INTOXICATING AUGMENTATION OF WEALTH AND POWER IS ENTIRELY CONFINED TO CLASSES OF PROPERTY."* (In the German translation: *"Diese berauschende Vermehrung von Reichtum und Macht ist ganz und gar beschränkt auf Eigentumsklassen"*),

that is, word for word, exactly what I quoted.

This proves irrefutably that the German Manufacturers' Association *"lied both in form and in content"* in decrying this "sentence" as a fabrication "by me"!

Incidentally: honest old *Concordia* printed in bold face another passage, in which Gladstone prattled about an elevation of the English working class, over the last 20 years, that was supposedly "extraordinary and unparalleled in all countries and in all periods". The bold-face type is supposed to indicate that I had suppressed this passage. On the contrary! In the Inaugural Address I emphasised most strongly the screaming contrast between this shameless phrase and the "APPALLING STATISTICS", as

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[a] E. S. Beesly, "The International Working Men's Association", *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. XLVII, November 1, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Its author is Henry Roy.—*Ed.*

Professor Beesly rightly calls them, contained in the official English reports on the same period.*

The author of the *THEORY OF EXCHANGES* quoted, like myself, not from Hansard, but from a London newspaper which, on April 17, published the April 16 budget speech. In my collectanea of cuttings for 1863, I have searched in vain for the relevant extract and thus, also, for the name of the newspaper that published it. This is, however, not important. Although the parliamentary reports of the London newspapers always differ from one another, I was certain that none of them could completely suppress such a striking quotation from Gladstone. So I consulted *The Times* of April 17, 1863—it was then, as now, Gladstone's organ—and there I found, on p. 7, column 5, in the report on the budget speech:

"THAT IS THE STATE OF THE CASE AS REGARDS THE *WEALTH OF THIS COUNTRY.* I MUST SAY FOR ONE, I SHOULD LOOK ALMOST WITH APPREHENSION AND WITH PAIN UPON *THIS INTOXICATING AUGMENTATION OF WEALTH AND POWER,* IF IT WERE MY BELIEF THAT IT WAS CONFINED TO *CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES.* THIS TAKES NO COGNIZANCE AT ALL OF THE CONDITION OF THE LABOURING POPULATION. *THE AUGMENTATION I HAVE DESCRIBED,* AND WHICH IS FOUNDED, I THINK, UPON ACCURATE RETURNS, *IS AN AUGMENTATION ENTIRELY CONFINED TO CLASSES OF PROPERTY.*"

In the German translation: "So steht's mit *dem Reichtum dieses Landes.* Ich für meinen Teil würde beinahe mit Besorgnis und mit Pein auf *diese berauschende Vermehrung von Reichtum und Macht blicken,* wenn ich sie auf die *wohlhabenden Klassen* beschränkt glaubte.** Es ist hier gar keine Notiz genommen von der arbeitenden Bevölkerung. *Die Vermehrung, die ich beschrieben habe*" (which he now characterised as *"diese berauschende Vermehrung von Reichtum und Macht"*) *"ist ganz und gar beschränkt auf Eigentumsklassen".*

So, on April 16, 1863, Mr. Gladstone declared *"both in form and in content"* in the House of Commons, as reported in his own organ, *The Times,* on April 17, 1863 that *"this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to the classes possessed of property",* and his apprehension gives him a sort of shiver, but only because of his scruples that this was confined to one part of this class, the part in really easy circumstances.

*Italiam, Italiam!*[a] Finally we arrive at *Hansard.* In its edition, here botchily corrected, Mr. Gladstone was bright enough clumsily

* Other whimsical apologetics from the same speech are dealt with in my work *Capital* (P. 638, 639).[126]

** The words "EASY CLASSES", "CLASSES IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES" were apparently first introduced BY *Wakefield* for the really rich portion of the propertied class [E. G. Wakefield, *England and America. A Comparison of the Social and Political State of Both Nations,* Vols. I-II, London, 1833].

[a] Virgil, *Aeneid,* III.—*Ed.*

to excise the passage that would be, after all, compromising on the lips of an English Chancellor of the Exchequer. This is, incidentally, traditional English parliamentary practice, and by no means the invention of little Lasker versus Bebel.[127] A careful comparison of Gladstone's speech itself, as it appeared in *The Times*, and its subsequent form, as distorted by the same Gladstone, would provide an amusing description of this unctuous, phrase-mongering, quibbling and strictly-religious bourgeois hero, who timidly displays his piousness and his liberal ATTITUDES OF MIND.

One of the most infuriating things in my work *Capital* consists in the masses of official proof describing how manufacturers work, something in which no scholar could previously find a thing wrong. In the form of a rumour this even reached the ears of the gentlemen of the German Manufacturers' Association, but they thought:

> "Was kein Verstand der Verständigen sieht,
> Das übet in Einfalt ein kindlich' Gemüt."[a]

No sooner said than done. They find a suspicious-looking quotation in the Inaugural Address and turn for information to a business friend in London, the first best Mundella, and he, being a manufacturer himself, rushes to despatch overseas, in black and white, the extract from Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. Now they have my fabrication secret. I manufacture not only the text, but the quotations too. Drunk with victory, they trumpet out to the world *"How Karl Marx Quotes!"* So my *wares* were discredited, once and for all, and, as is fitting for manufacturers, in the way of normal business, without the expense of learned men.

The irksome subsequent events will perhaps teach the Manufacturing Associates that, however well they may know how to fake goods, they are as well fitted to judge literary goods as a donkey is to play the lute.

*Karl Marx*

London, May 23, 1872

First published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 44, June 1, 1872

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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[a] "What the knowledge of the knowing cannot find,
May be seen by an innocent childish mind."

Fr. Schiller, *Die Worte des Glaubens.—Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## TO THE *EMANCIPATION OF THE PROLETARIAN* SOCIETY IN TURIN [128]

[*Outline of a letter*]

In Milan, Ferrara, Naples, everywhere there are friends of Bakunin. As for the *Fascio Operaio*[a] of Bologna, we have never had a word from it. The Jura party, abandoned everywhere, seems to want to make Italy its great fortress. This party has formed within the International a secret society[b] for the purpose of dominating it; we have in our possession proofs as regards Spain, it must be the same thing in Italy. These men, who always have on their lips the words autonomy and free federation, treat the workers like a flock of sheep which is good only for being directed by the heads of this secret society and used to attain ends unknown to the masses. You have had a good example of this in Terzaghi (investigations are being made concerning the handing over of the letter). The Jura Committee, having revolted against the whole organisation of the International, and knowing that it would have had great difficulty in justifying itself at the Congress in the coming September, is now searching everywhere for letters and mandates originating from the General Council in order to fabricate a false accusation against us. We fully agree to all our letters being read at the Congress but it does not suit us to learn that the same letters which we wrote to this or that section have been placed at the disposal of these gentlemen.[c129]

Meanwhile we ask you to postpone any decision and then act as the interests of the International dictate to you; I hope that you

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[a] Workers' Union.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—*Ed.*

[c] The record published in the Russian edition further has: "The circular [*Fictitious Splits in the International*] informs".—*Ed.*

will discover that it was not the General Council, but certainly these Jura men, acting exclusively in the interest of the ambition of Bakunin, the head of the secret society, who sowed the discord.

(Request an immediate reply concerning the letter.)

Written on June 14, 1872

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to *La Corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani 1848-1895*, Milan, 1964, pp. 226-27

Translated from the Italian

The International
HERALD.
Official Organ of the British Section of the International Working Men's Association.
No. 13 SATURDAY, JUNE 29, 1872. ONE PENNY.

# Frederick Engels

## [ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL ON THE CONVOCATION AND THE AGENDA OF THE CONGRESS AT THE HAGUE][130]

1. Considering the resolution of the Basel Congress fixing the seat of the next Congress at Paris, also the resolution of the General Council dated July 12th, 1870, by which, it being then impossible to hold a Congress at Paris, and conformably with Art. 4 of the General Rules, the Congress was convoked to meet at Mayence.

Considering further that up to this day the government persecutions[a] directed against the International in France, as well as in Germany, render impossible the meeting of a Congress either in Paris or in Mayence.

Conformably with Art. 4 of the General Rules[b] which confers upon the General Council the rights of changing, in case of need, the place of meeting of the Congress, the General Council convokes the next Congress of the I.W.M.A. for Monday, September 2nd, at The Hague, Holland.

2. Considering that the questions contained in the programme of the Congress which was to be held at Mayence on the 5th September 1870[c] do not correspond with the present wants of the International, these wants having been profoundly affected by the great historic events which have taken place since then.

That numerous sections and federations belonging to various countries have proposed that the next Congress should occupy itself with the revision of the General Rules and Regulations.

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[a] The manuscript has "prosecutions".—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 4.—*Ed.*

[c] Cf. K. Marx, "Programme for the Mainz Congress of the International".—*Ed.*

1872

Le Conseil Général de l'Asso. Int. des Tr. RJ 645

Vu la résolution du Congrès de Bâle [illegible] le siège

[illegible] du prochain Congrès à Paris

Vu la résolution du C.G. [illegible] conformément à l'art. 4 des Statuts généraux, et vis-à-vis de l'impossibilité de tenir un Congrès à Paris

le Congrès est fut transporté à se réunir à La Haye;

Considérant qu'à [illegible] ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible] ~~[illegible]~~ les poursuites gouvernementales dirigées contre l'Internat. tant en France qu'en Allemagne, rendent impossible la réunion du Congrès soit à Paris soit à La Haye;

~~[illegible]~~

Le Conseil Gal convoque le prochain Congrès de l'Asso. Int. des Tr., pour le lundi 2 Septembre 1872, à La Haye (Hollande).

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Considering the Resolution of the Congress of Basel fixing the seat of the next Congress at Paris;

Also the resolution of the Gen. C. dated 12/7/70, by which it being then impossible to hold a Congress in Paris, in conformity with Art. 4 of the General Rules, the Congress was transferred thereto;

Considering further that up to this day the governmental persecutions directed against the Intl. exist in France as in Germany, [illegible] rendering impossible the convening of Congresses either in Paris or in Germany —

Conformably with Art. 4 of the General Rules which confers upon the G.C. the right of changing, in case of need, the place of meeting of the Congress;

~~[illegible]~~

The G.C. convokes the next Congress for one of the I.W.M.A. for Monday Sept. 2nd 1872, at The Hague, Holland.

Page of Engels' manuscript with the announcement of the General Council on the convocation of the I.W.M.A.'s Congress at The Hague

That the persecutions to which the International finds itself exposed at this moment in almost all European countries, impose upon it the duty of strengthening its organization:

The General Council, while reserving to itself the faculty of drawing up hereafter a more extensive programme, to be completed by the propositions of the sections and federations, places on the order of the day, as the most important questions to be discussed by the Congress of The Hague, the revision of the General Rules and Regulations.

Written between June 18 and 28, 1872

First published in *The International Herald*, No. 13, June 29, 1872

Reproduced from the newspaper checked with Engels' rough manuscript

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## PREFACE TO THE 1872 GERMAN EDITION OF THE *MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY*[131]

The Communist League,[132] an international association of workers, which could of course be only a secret one under the conditions obtaining at the time, commissioned the undersigned, at the Congress held in London in November 1847, to draw up for publication a detailed theoretical and practical programme of the Party. Such was the origin of the following *Manifesto*, the manuscript of which travelled to London, to be printed, a few weeks before the February Revolution.[a] First published in German, it has been republished in that language in at least twelve different editions in Germany, England and America.[133] It was published in English for the first time in 1850 in *The Red Republican*, London, translated by Miss Helen Macfarlane, and in 1871 in at least three different translations in America.[134] A French version first appeared in Paris shortly before the June insurrection of 1848[135] and recently in *Le Socialiste* of New York. A new translation is in the course of preparation. A Polish version appeared in London shortly after it was first published in German. A Russian translation was published in Geneva in the sixties. Into Danish, too, it was translated shortly after its first appearance.[136]

However much the state of things may have altered during the last twenty-five years, the general principles laid down in this *Manifesto* are, on the whole, as correct today as ever. Here and there some detail might be improved. The practical application of the principles will depend, as the *Manifesto* itself states, everywhere and at all times, on the obtaining historical conditions, and, for that reason, no special stress is laid on the revolutionary

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[a] The 1848 revolution in France.—*Ed.*

measures proposed at the end of Section II. That passage would, in many respects, be very differently worded today. In view of the gigantic strides of Modern Industry in the last twenty-five years, and of the accompanying improved and extended party organisation of the working class, in view of the practical experience gained, first in the February Revolution, and then, still more, in the Paris Commune, where the proletariat for the first time held political power for two whole months, this programme has in some details become antiquated. One thing especially was proved by the Commune, *viz.*, that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery, and wield it for its own purposes". (See *The Civil War in France. Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association*, German edition, p. 19, where this point is further developed.[a]) Further, it is self-evident that the criticism of socialist literature is deficient in relation to the present time, because it comes down only to 1847; also, that the remarks on the relation of the Communists to the various opposition parties (Section IV), although in principle still correct, yet in practice are antiquated, because the political situation has been entirely changed, and the progress of history has swept from off the earth the greater portion of the parties there enumerated.

But, then, the *Manifesto* has become an historical document which we have no longer any right to alter. A subsequent edition may perhaps appear with an introduction bridging the gap from 1847 to the present day; this reprint was too unexpected to leave us time for that.

*Karl Marx*
*Frederick Engels*

London, June 24, 1872

First published in *Das kommunistische Manifest. Neue Ausgabe mit einem Vorwort der Verfasser*, Leipzig, 1872

Printed according to the pamphlet

[a] See present edition, Vol. 22, p. 328.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [RESOLUTIONS OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON MIKHAIL BAKUNIN AND THE ALLIANCE][137]

1. That it would not reply to Bakunin's letter.[a][138]
2. Citizen Engels was to write to Valencia, to the Federal Council, to ask it to account for its relations with the *Alliance*, since the Council had at least three of its members belonging to this society.[b]
3. The Sub-Committee was to request the General Council to propose the expulsion of Bakunin and the members of the Alliance at the next Congress.

Adopted at the sitting of the Sub-Committee on July 5, 1872

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

First published, in Russian, in *Generalny Sovet Pervogo Internatsionala. 1871-1872*, Moscow, 1965

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[a] M. Bakounine, "Aux compagnons rédacteurs du *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*", *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne...*, No. 10-11, June 15, 1872.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 211-13.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE INTERNATIONAL IN AMERICA[139]

Our readers will already be aware from our American correspondence that a split has occurred amongst the members of the International in the United States. What has happened in New York in the last few months is, in fact, so unique in the history of the International that it is worth presenting it in context. For that purpose, we shall base what we have to say on an article from the *Emancipacion*, published in Madrid (June 22),[a] and will supplement it with the original documents at our disposal.

It is a well-established fact that, in Europe, the bourgeoisie and the governments made the International into a fearful bogey that has subsequently properly fulfilled its task and so alarmed all good citizens that no one need fear that the International will ever be diverted from its original aims by a mass influx of bourgeois elements. Things take a different course in America. That which sends European bourgeois and governments into convulsions appears, by contrast, interesting there. A society that has grown up on a purely bourgeois foundation, without a landowning nobility or a monarchy, laughs at the childish mortal terror of the European bourgeoisie which—even in France, intellectually at least—has still not outgrown the scourge of the monarchy and the nobility. The more fearful, therefore, the International appeared in Europe and the more monstrously it was presented by the correspondents of the American press—and no one is more adept at painting a lurid picture than these gentlemen—the more

[a] [P. Lafargue,] "La burguesia y la Internacional en los Estados-Unidos", *La Emancipacion*, No. 54, June 22, 1872.—*Ed.*

widespread the view became in America that the time was now right for making both financial and political capital out of it.

The extent to which American society is ahead of European is strikingly exemplified by the fact that it was two American *ladies* who first discovered this and attempted to set up a business on the basis of it. Whilst the men of the European bourgeoisie trembled in fear of the International, two female members of the American bourgeoisie, Mrs. Victoria Woodhull and her sister Miss Tenni Claflin (who publish *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*) conceived the plan of exploiting this society of horrors—and they almost got away with it.

Both these sisters, millionairesses, advocates of women's emancipation and especially "free love", resolutely joined the International. Section No. 9 was set up under the leadership of Miss Claflin, Section No. 12 under that of Mrs. Woodhull; new sections soon followed in the most diverse parts of America, all set up by adherents of the two sisters. According to the currently valid arrangements, every section had the right to send a delegate to the Central Committee, which met in New York. The consequence was that, very soon, this federal council, which had originally been made up of German, Irish and French workers, was swamped by a whole host of bourgeois American adventurers of all sorts and of both sexes. The workers were pushed into the background; victory for the two speculating sisters seemed assured. Then Section No. 12 took centre stage and explained to the founders of the American International what it was really all about.

On August 30, 1871, Section 12 issued its own manifesto over the signature of W. West, secretary. It reads:

> "The object of the International is simply to emancipate the labourer, male and female, by the conquest of political power. It involves, first, the Political Equality and Social Freedom of men and women alike. *Political Equality* means the personal participation of each in the preparation, administration and execution of the laws by which all are governed. *Social Freedom* means absolute immunity from impertinent intrusion in all affairs of exclusively personal concernment, such as religious belief, the *sexual relation, habits of dress, etc.* The proposition involves, secondly, the establishment of an *Universal Government*" for the whole world. "Of course, the *abolition* of [...] even *differences of language* are embraced in the programme." [a]

So there might be no misunderstanding as to the aim involved, a form of organisation is called for, according to which

> "if practicable, for the convenience of political action, there should be a section

[a] "Appeal of Section No. 12", *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, No. 19 (71), September 23, 1871.—*Ed.*

formed in every ... election district. There must ... be instituted in every town a municipal Committee or Council, corresponding with the Common Councils; in every State a State Committee or Council, corresponding with the State legislature, and in the Nation a National Committee or Council, corresponding with the United States National Congress... The work of the International, includes nothing less than the institution, within existing forms, of another form of Government, which shall supersede them all."

It is not, then, for the overthrow, but for the exploitation of the principles of the existing state, that, according to this, the International has come into existence. Mr. West was, in fact, right in proclaiming (*Woodhull & Cl. Weekly*, March 2, 1872):

"The issue of the 'Appeal' of Section 12 was a *new departure* in the history of the International!"

In order to accomplish this "new departure" it was, above all, necessary to shake off the fetters of the previous General Rules and Congress decisions, the validity of which had remained uncontested. Accordingly, Section No. 12 proclaimed (*W. & C. Weekly*, October 21, 1871)

"the independent right of each section" freely to interpret the congress decisions and the Rules and Regulations of the General Council (it should read the General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the Association) "each section being alone responsible for its own action".[a]

The nonsense now went too far. Instead of sections of workers, sections consisting of all kinds of bourgeois swindlers, free-lovers, spirit-rappers, spirit-rapping shakers,[140] etc., were set up, and so Section No. 1, the first section of the International to be formed in America (Germans), finally issued an appeal in which, in contrast to this swindle, emphasis was laid on the essentially proletarian character of the Association. The American parent section, No. 12, replied immediately. In *W. & C. W.* of November 18, 1871, it declares, through its secretary West:

"The extension of equal citizenship to women, the world over, must *precede any general change in the* [...] *relations of capital and labour*... Section 12 would also remonstrate against the vain assumption, running all through the Protest" (of Section 1) "under review, that the International Working Men's Association is *an organisation of the working classes.*"

On November 25, there followed another protest from Section 12, which says:

"The statement" (contained in the General Rules) that the working classes can

[a] "The Internationals", *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, No. 23 (75), October 21, 1871.—*Ed.*

only be emancipated by their own efforts, "cannot be denied, yet it is true so far as it describes the fact that *the working classes cannot be emancipated against their will.*" [a]

War finally broke out between the exploiters of the state, place-seekers, free-lovers, spirit-rappers and other bourgeois swindlers, on the one hand, and, on the other, the workers who, in their naïveté, actually imagined that the International Working Men's Association was an organisation not of the bourgeois, but of the working class in America too. The German Section No. 1 demanded that the Central Committee exclude Section 12 and the delegates of all sections that did not consist, at least two-thirds, of wage labourers. This demand caused a split in the Central Committee; some of the Germans and the Irish together with some Frenchmen supported Section 1, whilst the Americans, together with the majority of the French and two German (Schweitzer) sections formed a new central committee.

On December 4, the old committee (which we shall call No. I) issued a circular describing the circumstances as follows:

"In the Central Committee, which is supposed to be a defence against all reformist swindles, the majority finally consisted of reformists and benefactors of the nation who had already almost sunk into oblivion, and thus it came about that the people who preached the gospel of free love sat most fraternally beside those who want to bless the whole world with a common language; supporters of land co-operatives, spiritualists, atheists, and deists, each trying to ride his own particular hobby-horse. Particularly Section 12 (Woodhull)... The first step that has to be taken here, in order to advance the movement, is to organise and, at the same time, to stimulate the revolutionary element, which lies in the conflict of interests of worker and capitalist... The delegates of sections 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 16, 21, 23, 24, 25 and other sections, having seen that all efforts to direct this nonsense were in vain, therefore decided, after the old Central Committee had been indefinitely adjourned (December 3, 1871) to found a new one, *which consists of actual workers.*" [b]

In the meantime, central committee No. II (Woodhull) continued to meet and filled its places with a host of delegates from allegedly new sections that had been established mainly by virtue of the efforts of sections 9 and 12, but were, in the main, so weak that they scarcely had enough members to fill the barest minimum of officers' positions (secretary, treasurer, etc.).

Both committees appealed to the General Council in London. In the meantime, various sections (e.g., French No. 10 and all the Irish sections) withdrew from both committees pending the decision of the General Council.

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[a] "Protest of Section 12", *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, No. 2 (80), November 25, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] *New-Yorker Demokrat*, December 9, 1871.—*Ed.*

On March 5 and 12, the General Council passed the resolutions that have already been published in the *Volksstaat* (No. 37).[a] They suspended Section 12, advised that both committees combine until an American Congress was held to decide the matter, and recommended for the future that all sections not consisting, at least two-thirds, of wage labourers should not be admitted. Although, for good reasons, these resolutions almost exclusively took the form of recommendations, they determined the future of the International in America. By supporting as they did committee No. I, they made it impossible for the bourgeois of committee No. II to continue exploiting the name of the International for their own particular purposes.

Since the beginning of the split and in direct contravention of Resolution No. 17 of the London Conference, which laid down that all internal affairs of the Association should be dealt with only within the sections and federations and not in public,[b] committee No. II had been inviting reporters from the New York press to all its proceedings, and had seen to it that the whole matter was discussed in the most disreputable bourgeois papers. The same thing happened at this point, when this committee set about the General Council, which it had imagined it had duped. The activities of committee No. II made it possible for the worst of the New York newspapers, such as the *Herald*, etc., to declare the whole thing a squabble between Germans and Frenchmen, between communism and socialism, etc., and the opponents of the workers in New York were jubilant at the alleged destruction of the International in America.

However, in all that, committee No. II was constantly at pains to inform the world that the International was not a workers' organisation, but a bourgeois one. As early as December 16, 1871, its organ *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* declared:

"Where *our* committee is concerned, there is no need to prove that two-thirds or any part of a section shall be *wages-slaves, as if it were a crime to be free*";

and on May 4, 1872, it declared again:

"In this decree of the General Council its authors presume to recommend that in future no American section be admitted, of which two-thirds at least are not *wages-slaves*. Must they be *politically slaves* also? As well one thing or the other. [...]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 124-26.— *Ed.*

[b] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association*, XVII. Split in the French-speaking Part of Switzerland (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 430-31).— *Ed.*

The intrusion of 'bogus reformers, benefactors of the nation, middle-class quacks and trading politicians' is mostly to be feared from that class of citizens who have nothing better to depend upon than the *proceeds of wages-slavery.*"

This was committee No. II's last word on one count. Not only was it absurd to believe that the International Working Men's Association was an association of workers—in addition to that, it could only fulfil its purpose really properly if it excluded all workers and wages-slaves, or at least declared them suspect.

What, precisely, is the purpose of the International Working Men's Association (without working men) in America? This, too, is now explained to us. The elections for a new President of the United States were approaching.

On March 2, 1872, those two ladies' paper *W. & C. W.*, forever with us, carried an article entitled "The Coming Combination Convention" in which it may be read that:

"There is a proposition under consideration by the representatives of the various reformatory elements of the country looking to a grand consolidated convention to be held in this city in May... Indeed, if this convention acts wisely, who can say that the fragments of the defunct Democratic" (i.e., sympathetic towards slavery) "Party may not make themselves known and take part in it... Everybody of *Radicals* should be represented at it", etc.

Week after week the same paper carries appeals to all kinds of world reformers:

"Labour, Land, Peace and Temperance reformers, and Internationals and Women Suffragists, [...] as well as all others, who believe that the time has come" to carry out the principles of true morality and religion (sic!),[a]

signed first of all by Victoria Woodhull, then by Th. H. Banks, R. W. Hume, G. R. Allen, W. West, G. W. Maddox, T. Millot, in short by the main people of committee No. II. All these appeals expressly state that the delegate convention would nominate candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency of the United States.

On May 9, 10, and 11, at the Apollo Hall in New York, this monstrous delegate convention finally got underway. All the male and female cranks of America assembled there. Committee No. II was present in a body. It was decided that *Mrs. Victoria Woodhull* should be nominated *as candidate for the presidency of the United States*, and, in fact, in the *name of the International*!

The whole of America responded with resounding laughter. Of

[a] [Woodhull, V. C. et al.] "The Party of the People to Secure and Maintain Human Rights, to Be Inaugurated in the U.S, in May, 1872", *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, Nos. 21-25 (99-103), April 6, 13, 20, 27 and May 4, 1872.—*Ed.*

course, those Americans who had a vested interest and were indulging in speculation, did not allow this to divert them. It was a different story with the Germans and Frenchmen who had allowed themselves to be talked into it. Section 2 (French) withdrew its delegate from committee No. II and declared its support for the resolutions of the General Council. Section 6 (German) likewise withdrew its delegate, Dr. Grosse, former private secretary to the Berliner Schweitzer, from committee No. II, and refused to have anything to do with committee No. II until it declared its support for the resolutions of the General Council. On May 20, a further eight sections—French and German—withdrew from committee No. II, which now represents only the well-known, ambiguous American elements, which, in fact, had belonged together even before they had joined the International—Madame Victoria Woodhull, together with assorted accomplices. They now declare that they intend to establish a separate, exclusively American International, which, of course, they are free to do.

In the meantime, in response to an inquiry from the German section in St. Louis and the French section in New Orleans, the General Council has declared that it only recognises committee No. I (now the provisional Federal Council of the United States).[141] Thus, Madame Victoria Woodhull's campaign to conquer the International has achieved its ultimate goal.

The *Emancipacion* adds:

"Having heard these facts, all impartial observers must wonder: when and how might this scandal have ended, if there had been no General Council with authority to uphold the basic principles of the International and to suspend sections and federations who sought to change the character of the Association for their own political or personal ends."

Written not later than July 9, 1872

First published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 57, July 17, 1872

Printed according to the newspaper

# Frederick Engels

## TO CITIZEN VINCENZO SPOTTI, SECRETARY OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN PARMA [142]

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION
33, Rathbone Place, London

July 18, 1872

Dear Citizen,

From your kind letter dated June 7 (postmarked Parma, July 9 and delivered here on July 13), I conclude that your Society wishes to become affiliated to the great International Working Men's Association.

As your rules [a] do not contain anything contrary to the General Rules and Regulations of the Association, there is no obstacle to your affiliation. It will only be necessary for you to adhere to the General Rules and Regulations of the Association, of which I enclose a copy in French (there being no complete and authentic edition in Italian).

I should be grateful if you would discuss this proposal and let me know the outcome if affirmative so that I may complete the necessary formalities for your affiliation.

Fraternal greetings.

In the name of the General Council

Secretary for Italy,

*Frederick Engels*

Write to the address I sent you last time, i.e. that of my place, so that your letter reaches me sooner.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the manuscript checked with the text in *La corrispondenza de Marx e Engels...*

Translated from the Italian

Published in English for the first time

[a] *Comitato per l'Emancipazione delle Classi Lavoratrici. Statuto*, Parma [1872].—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## TO THE STRIKING MINERS OF THE RUHR VALLEY[143]

The German capitalist press is calling on you to drop your demands for an eight-hour shift and a 25 per cent wage increase, and is saying that you should resume work so that German industry might avoid having to get its coal from England, thus letting German money go abroad instead of using it to pay for German labour.

This is the eternal miserable whine of the bourgeois, heard whenever the workers get up on their own feet and try to make any demands. In England, where they have been telling the same old story for forty years or so now, nobody takes any notice any more. In this particular instance, however, it is worth pointing out that the capitalist press is deliberately trying to mislead you, by telling you that all the mine-owners and manufacturers need to do is just to write to England to get all the coal they want.

In England, coal consumption has increased since 1869 at an unprecedented rate, owing to the general upturn that has occurred in English industry since then, to the increase in the number of factories, the enlarged consumption by the railways, the immense growth of marine steam-ship traffic—but mainly owing to the colossal extension of the iron industry, which, in the last three years, has far outstripped all previous periods of prosperity. *The Daily News*, a liberal capitalist paper (edition of July 15[a] of this year) has this to say on the subject:

"One of the principal reasons for the recent advance in the price of coal is undoubtedly the sudden and unexampled improvement in the iron trade. [...] The

[a] *Der Volksstaat* mistakenly has: "July 12". Further on Marx quotes from "The Position of the British Coal Trade", *The Daily News*, No. 8179, July 15, 1872.—*Ed.*

North of England raises about one-fourth of the total quantity of coal produced in Great Britain. A large portion of this" goes to "London and the South and East of England with fuel. It has also been extensively used for steam-ship purposes; but more recently the development of the iron trade in Cleveland" (quite close to the mines) "caused a sudden demand for coal for local purposes. The growth of a trade requiring now at the rate of, perhaps, not less than from *five to six millions of tons** of coal per annum, naturally gave a great stimulus to the coal trade [...]. In addition to this, however, we have to consider the rapid rise of the west-coast hematite iron district. The blast-furnaces in Cumberland and Lancashire derive their fuel almost exclusively from the Durham coal-field," and, according to moderate estimates, need "*one million and a half tons* of coal" annually [...]. "In the North of England alone the new blast-furnaces now in course of erection [...] would require [...] *three-quarters of a million tons* of coal per annum. Then there are new rolling mills and several blast-furnaces in the west-coast district. It is no matter of surprise, therefore, that the fuel question became a subject of vital importance in the whole North of England, and the natural result was that prices speedily went up. In South Staffordshire, Scotland, South Wales, Derbyshire, the West Riding, and other parts of the country, the same causes operated to bring about higher prices of fuel."

Under these circumstances, the English miners did the same as you: they demanded higher wages and shorter working hours. The English mine-owners, as always superior to their German competitors in insight and worldly wisdom, put up no serious resistance, but rather accepted all the demands. Hear what *The Daily News* says further on this point:

"Wages were advanced from time to time... The miners also went in for systematic shortening of [...] a day's work. Altogether it is asserted by practical men that the quantity of coal now raised is not more per man than about 60 per cent of what was produced when trade was dull and wages were [...] much lower than they are now. This difficulty might be met by the employment of more men, but the men are not to be had all at once. It is true they are being drafted in to some extent from the agricultural districts; but pitmen want a good deal of training, so that the amount of relief thus to be obtained will be comparatively small and slow in its operation. At this moment the men *have succeeded* in some parts of the country in getting a reduction of the hours of labour *to eight per day*, whilst *in all parts advances in wages are succeeding each other so rapidly* that there seems no alternative but higher selling prices."

Then there is another circumstance to be borne in mind. *Almost throughout England the topmost coal seams are exhausted* and the mines have to be sunk deeper and deeper. Hear, again, the article in *The Daily News*:

"the best portions of these valuable deposits" in South Staffordshire "have been worked out. In many parts of that once rich mineral tract, the mines are exhausted, and the pit mounds are fast being converted into arable and grazing land, though thousands of acres" (pit mounds) "yet remain an almost desolate

* The English ton is almost the exact equivalent of 2,000 *Zollpfunds* or 1,000 kilos.

waste. The resources of the district are not, however, yet used up. Mines are being sunk to greater depths round the confines of the coal field... But under existing circumstances, even with improved modern appliances for mining purposes, it is increasingly expensive to raise material, besides which it has now to be carried further before it reaches the iron manufacturer... What we have said about South Staffordshire applies also to many other parts of the country. The coal has now to be won from greater depths, and has to be conveyed longer distances to the works where it is principally consumed."

The consequence is that, as *The Daily News* points out, coal prices at the pit-head "have doubled", and that *there is now a real shortage of coal*, which is claiming the attention of the whole country. Another paper, the English capitalists' main economic journal *The Economist*, says in its July 13[a] edition:

"Since the beginning of the present year coal has been rising rapidly in price, till it is now between 60 and 100 per cent dearer than it was twelve months ago... Before a week or two is over, the whole rise may be a good deal more than 100 per cent, with little sign of any immediate check to the movement. Coal exports in June of this year were 1,108,000 tons, or 4 per cent more than in June last year, but its value was £758,000, or 53 per cent more. This year the value of the coal exports in June was on average 13s 9d" (or 4 thalers $17^1/_2$ groschen) "per ton; last year it was 9s 4d" (or 3 thalers $3\,^1/_2$ groschen).

*The Spectator*, a third capitalist paper (July 20), also reports that, in London, good house coal has increased in price from 23s, or 7 thalers 20 groschen, to 35s, or 11 thalers 20 groschen.

From these facts you can see what to make of the mine-owners' and manufacturers' threat to get their coal from England. **Mr. Alfred Krupp can issue as many ukases as he wishes; he will have to pay dearer for English coal than for Ruhr coal, and it is very questionable too whether he will get it at all.**

In my capacity as Secretary for Germany of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association I considered it my duty to bring these facts to your notice.

*Karl Marx*

London, July 21, 1872[b]

First published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 60, July 27, 1872

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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[a] *Der Volksstaat* mistakenly has: "July 20". What follows is Marx's summary of a passage from "The Great Rise in the Price of Coal", *The Economist*, No. 1507, July 13, 1872.—*Ed.*

[b] In *Der Volksstaat* mistakenly: "1871".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE GENERAL COUNCIL'S REPLY TO THE PROTEST OF THE JURA FEDERATION AGAINST THE CONVENING OF A CONGRESS AT THE HAGUE][144]

General Council of the International Working Men's Association
33, Rathbone Place,
Oxford Street, London

To Citizen Schwitzguébel, Corresponding Secretary of the Jura Federal Committee

I have placed your letter of July 15 inst. before the General Council and it has instructed me to inform you that its decision to hold the next Congress at The Hague was reached after due consideration of all the arguments contained in your letter, and that this choice was dictated by the following considerations:

The Congress could not be held in Switzerland, since that is the place of origin and focal point of the disputes; the Congress is always influenced to some extent by the place in which it is held; in order to add more weight to its decisions and enhance the wisdoms of its debates, the local character must be avoided, for which it was necessary to choose a place remote from the main centre of disputes.

You can scarcely be ignorant of the fact that three of the last four Congresses were held in Switzerland,[a] and that at Basle the Belgian delegates were most insistent that the next Congress should be held either at Verviers or in Holland.

In spite of the relative freedom which she enjoys, Switzerland can hardly claim the right to monopolise Congresses.

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[a] In Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867) and Basle (1869).—*Ed.*

The Romance Federal Council has also expressed its dissatisfaction with the General Council's choice and does not approve it.

Greetings and equality,

*H. Jung,*
Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland

July 28, 1872

First published in *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne...*, No. 14, August 1, 1872

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

# Karl Marx

## [REPLY TO BRENTANO'S SECOND ARTICLE][145]

TO THE EDITORS OF *DER VOLKSSTAAT*

In the *Concordia* of July 4, the German Manufacturers' Association attempted to prove to me that its "learned men" were as well fitted to judge literary goods as the Association was to fake commercial ones.

With reference to the passage from Gladstone's budget speech of April 16, 1863, as quoted in the Inaugural Address of the International, the manufacturers' organ (No. 10) stated:

**"Marx has added the sentence lyingly, both in form and in content."**

It thus declares that I fabricated the sentence in both form and content, with hair and bones. Even more: it knows exactly how I did so. The paper writes: "The fact that Gladstone mentioned this, etc., *was utilised by Marx in order to have Gladstone say*, etc." By quoting the sentence from a work published *before* the Inaugural Address, the *Theory of Exchanges*, I exposed the crude lie of the manufacturers' organ.[a] As the paper itself tells, it then ordered from London this work, which it did not know, and convinced itself of the facts of the matter. How could it lie itself out of the situation? See here:

"When we stated that Marx had lyingly added the sentence in question to Gladstone's speech, we did not claim, either in form or in content, *that he himself had also fabricated it.*"

Here we obviously have a case of equivocation peculiar to the mind of manufacturers. For example, when a manufacturing swindler, in agreement with business colleagues, sends out into the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 164-67.—*Ed.*

world rolls of ribbon that contain, instead of the alleged three dozen ells only two dozen, then he has in fact *lyingly added* one dozen ells, precisely because he "*has not fabricated*" them. Why, moreover, should lyingly added sentences not behave just like lyingly added ells? "The understandings of the greater part of men," says Adam Smith, "are necessarily formed by their ordinary employments",[a] the understandings of the manufacturer included.

Through the *Volksstaat*, I extended the erudite materials of the manufacturers' organ, not only with the quotation from the *Theory of Exchanges*, but also with the pages from my work *Capital* concerning Gladstone's budget speeches. Now, from the material with which I provided it, the paper attempts to prove that I did not quote the disputed passage from a "London newspaper", but from the *Theory of Exchanges*. The chain of arguments is another sample of manufacturers' logic.

I told the manufacturers' sheet that the *Theory of Exchanges* quotes on page 134 exactly as I quoted, and it discovers—that I quoted exactly as the *Theory of Exchanges* quotes on page 134.

And further!

"And the glosses too, which Marx bases on the contradiction contained in this version, are already contained in that book."

This is simply a lie. On page 639 of *Capital*, I give my glosses to the words in Gladstone's speech:

"While the rich have been growing richer, the poor have been growing less poor. Whether the extremes of poverty are less, I do not presume to say."

My remark on this is: "How lame an anti-climax! If the working-class has remained 'poor', only 'less poor' in proportion as it produces for the wealthy class 'an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power', then it has remained relatively just as poor. If the extremes of poverty have not lessened, they have increased, because the extremes of wealth have." [146] And these "glosses" are nowhere to be found in the *Theory of Exchanges*.

"And the glosses too ... are already contained in that book, *in particular also* the quotation from Molière given in Note 105 on p. 640 of *Capital*." [147]

So "in particular also" I quote Molière, and leave it up to the "learned men" of the *Concordia* to detect and communicate to the public the fact that the quotation comes from the *Theory of*

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[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. 2, London, 1776, Book V, Ch. I, Art. 2, p. 366.—*Ed.*

*Exchanges.* In fact, however, I state expressly in Note 105, p. 640 of *Capital* that the author of the *Theory of Exchanges* "*characterises with the following quotation from Molière*" the "continual crying contradictions in Gladstone's Budget speeches".

Finally:

"...in the same way the statement of the London Orphan Asylum about the rising prices of foodstuffs quoted by Marx appears on p. 135 of that book, though Marx bases his claim for its correctness not on that book, but on that book's sources (see *Capital*, p. 640, Note 104)".

The *Concordia* advisedly forgets to inform its readers that "that book" gives *no sources.* What was it trying to prove? That I took from that "book" a passage from Gladstone's speech without knowing its source. And how does the *Concordia* prove it? By the fact that I really did take a quotation from that book, and checked it with the original sources, independent of the book!

Referring to my quotation from Professor Beesly's article in *The Fortnightly Review* (November 1870), the *Concordia* remarks:

"This article by Professor Beesly deals, in fact, with the history of the International, and as the author himself informs every enquirer, was written on the basis of material provided him by *Marx* himself."

Professor Beesly states:

"To no one is the success of the association so much due as to Dr. Karl Marx, who, in his acquaintance with the history and statistics of the industrial movement in all parts of Europe, is, I should imagine, without a rival. I am largely indebted to him for the information contained in this article."[a]

All the material with which I supplied Professor Beesly referred exclusively to the history of the International, and not a word concerned the Inaugural Address, which he had known since its publication. The context in which his above remark stood left so little doubt on this point that *The Saturday Review,* in a review of his article,[b] more than hinted that *he himself* was the author of the Inaugural Address.*

The *Concordia* asserts that Professor Beesly did not quote the passage in question from Gladstone's speech, but only stated "*that the Inaugural Address contained that quotation*". Let us look into this.

* Professor Beesly drew my attention, in writing, to this *quid pro quo.*

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[a] E. S. Beesly, "The International Working Men's Association", *The Fortnightly Review,* Vol. XLVII, November 1, 1870, pp. 529-30.—*Ed.*

[b] "Mr. Beesly and the International Association", *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art,* No. 785, November 12, 1870, pp. 610-11.—*Ed.*

Professor Beesly states:

"The address [...] is probably the most striking and powerful statement of the workman's case as against the middle class that has ever been compressed into a dozen small pages. I wish I had space for copious extracts from it."

After mentioning the "frightful statistics of the Blue Books",[148] to which the Address refers, he goes on:

"From these appalling statistics the address passes on to the income-tax returns, from which it appeared that the taxable income of the country had increased in eight years twenty per cent, 'an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power', *as Mr. Gladstone observed*, 'entirely confined to classes of property'."[a]

Professor Beesly sets the words: "*as Mr. Gladstone observed*" outside quotation marks, saying these words on his own behalf, and thus proves to the *Concordia* with the greatest clarity that he knows Gladstone's budget speech—solely from the quotation in the Inaugural Address! As the London business friend of the German Manufacturers' Association, he is the only man who knows Gladstone's budget speeches, just as he, and he alone, knows: "Persons with an income under 150 pounds sterling, in fact, pay no income tax in England." (See the *Concordia*, Nos. 10 and 27.) Yet English tax officials suffer from the *idée fixe* that this tax only stops at incomes *under* **100** pounds sterling.

Referring to the disputed passage in the Inaugural Address, the manufacturers' paper stated:

"*Yet this sentence is nowhere to be found in Gladstone's speech.*" I proved the contrary with a quotation from the *Times* report of April 17, 1863. I gave the quotation in the *Volksstaat* in both English and German, since a commentary was necessary on account of Gladstone's assertion that he would "look almost with apprehension and with pain upon *this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power*, if it were my belief that it was confined to the CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES". Basing myself on Wakefield, I declared that the "CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES"—an expression for which there is no German equivalent—means the "really rich", "the really prosperous portion" of the propertied classes. Wakefield actually calls the real middle class "THE UNEASY CLASS", which is in German roughly "die ungemächliche Klasse".*

The manufacturers' worthy organ not only suppresses my

*"THE MIDDLE OR UNEASY CLASS" ("ENGLAND AND AMERICA", London, 1833, v. I, p. 185).

[a] E. S. Beesly, op. cit., p. 518; italics by Marx.—*Ed.*

exposition, it ends the passage I quoted with the words: "Marx quotes *The Times* to this point", thus leaving the reader to suppose that it had quoted from my translation; in fact, however, the paper, leaving my version aside, does not translate "*CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES*" as "wohlhabenden Klassen"[a] but as "Klassen, die sich in *angenehmen Verhältnissen befinden*".[b] The paper believes its readers capable of understanding that not all sections of the propertied class are "prosperous", though it will always be a "pleasant circumstance" for them to possess property. Even in the translation of my quotation, as given by the *Concordia*, however, Gladstone describes the progress of capitalist wealth as "*this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power*", and remarks that here he has "*taken no cognizance at all* of the condition of the labouring population", closing with words to the effect that this "*augmentation is entirely confined to the classes possessed of property*". Once the "learned man" of the German Manufacturers' Association has, in the report of *The Times* of April 17, 1863, thus had Gladstone say "both in form and in content", the same as I had him say in the Inaugural Address, he strikes his swollen breast, brimming with conviction, and blusters:

"*Yet despite this ... Marx has the impudence* to write in the *Volksstaat* of June 1: '*Both in form and in content* Mr. Gladstone declared on April 16, 1863 in the House of Commons, as reported in his own organ, *The Times*, on April 17, 1863 that '*this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to the classes possessed of property*'."

The "learned man" of the German Manufacturers' Association obviously knows exactly what to offer his readership!

In the *Volksstaat* of June 1, I remarked that the *Concordia* was trying to make its readers believe I had suppressed in the Inaugural Address Gladstone's phrases about the improvement in the condition of the British working class, though in fact the exact opposite was the case, and I stressed there with great emphasis the glaring contradiction between this declamation and the officially established facts. In its reply of July 4, the manufacturers' paper repeated the same manoeuvre. "Marx quotes *The Times* to this point," the paper says, "we quote further." In confrontation with the paper, I needed only to quote the disputed passage, but let us look for a moment at the "further".

After pouring forth his panegyric on the increase of capitalist wealth, Gladstone turns to the working class. He takes good care

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[a] Prosperous classes.—*Ed.*

[b] Classes finding themselves in *pleasant circumstances.—Ed.*

not to say that it had shared in the "*intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power*". On the contrary, he goes on, according to *The Times*: "Now, *the augmentation of capital* is of indirect benefit to the labourer, etc." He *consoles* himself further on with the fact "that while the rich have been growing *richer* the poor have been growing *less poor*". Finally, he asserts that he and his enriched parliamentary friends "have the *happiness* to know" the opposite of what parliamentary enquiries and statistical data prove to be the fact, viz.,

> "that the average condition of the British labourer has improved during the last 20 years in a degree which we know to be extraordinary, and which we may almost pronounce to be unparalleled in the history of any country and of any age".

Before Mr. Gladstone, all his predecessors "*had the happiness*" to supplement the picture of the augmentation of capitalist wealth in their budget speeches with self-satisfied phrases about the improvement in the condition of the working class. Yet he gives the lie to them all; for the millennium dates only from the passing of the Free Trade legislation. The correctness or incorrectness of Gladstone's reasons for consolation and congratulation is, however, a matter of indifference here. We are concerned solely with this: that, from his standpoint, the pretended "extraordinary" improvement in the condition of the working class in no way contradicts the "intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power that is entirely confined to the classes possessed of property". On the contrary. It is the orthodox doctrine of the mouthpieces of capital—Mr. Gladstone being one of the best paid—that the most infallible means for working men *to benefit themselves* is—*to enrich* their exploiters.

The shameless stupidity or stupid shamelessness of the manufacturers' organ culminates in its assurance: "The report in *The Times* just gives, formally more contracted, what the shorthand report by Hansard gives *verbatim*." * Now let us see both reports:

| I | II |
|---|---|
| *From Gladstone's speech of April 16, 1863, printed in "The Times" of April 17, 1863* | *From Gladstone's speech of April 16, 1863, printed by Hansard, Vol. 170, parliamentary debates of March 27 to May 28, 1863* |

* The manufacturers' paper appears actually to believe that the big London newspapers employ no shorthand writers for their parliamentary reports.

"That is the state of the case as regards the wealth of this country. I must say for one, I should look almost with apprehension and with pain upon *this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power* if it were my belief that it was confined to the CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES. This takes no cognisance at all of the condition of the labouring population. *The augmentation I have described ... is an augmentation entirely confined to the classes possessed of property.*[a] Now the augmentation of capital is of indirect benefit to the labourer etc."

"Such [...] is the state of the case as regards the general progress of accumulation; but, for one, I must say that I should *look with some degree of pain,* and with much apprehension, upon *this extraordinary and* **almost** *intoxicating growth,* if it were my belief that it is confined to THE CLASS OF PERSONS WHO MAY BE DESCRIBED AS IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES. The figures which I have quoted take little or no cognizance of the condition of those who do not pay income tax; *or,* in other words, sufficiently accurate for *general truth* (!), they do not take cognizance of the *property* (!) of the labouring population, *or* (!) of the increase of its *income.* Indirectly, indeed, the mere augmentation of capital is of the *utmost* advantage to the labouring class, etc."

I leave it to the reader himself to compare the stilted, involved, complicated CIRCUMLOCUTION OFFICE[b] style of the Hansard publication with the report in *The Times.*

Here it is enough to establish that the words of the *Times* report: "*This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power ... the augmentation I have described ... is an augmentation entirely confined to the classes possessed of property*", are in part garbled by Hansard and in part completely suppressed. Their emphatic *"exact wording"* escaped no earwitness. For example:

*"The Morning Star", April 17, 1863 (Gladstone's budget speech of April 16, 1863).*

"I must say, for one, I should look with apprehension and with pain upon *this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power,* if it were my belief that it was confined to the CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES. *THIS GREAT INCREASE OF WEALTH* takes no cognizance at all of the condition of the labouring population. *THE AUGMENTATION IS AN AUGMENTATION ENTIRELY CONFINED TO THE CLASSES POSSESSED OF PROPERTY.* BUT *THAT AUGMENTATION* must be of indirect benefit to the labouring population, etc."

*"The Morning Advertiser", April 17, 1863 (Gladstone's budget speech of April 16, 1863).*

"I must say, for one, I should look almost with apprehension and ALARM upon *this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power,* if it were my belief that it was

[a] Marx's italics.—*Ed.*
[b] The name is taken from Ch. Dickens' *Little Dorrit.*—*Ed.*

confined to the CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES. *This great increase of wealth* takes no cognisance at all of the condition of the labouring population. *THE AUGMENTATION STATED is an augmentation entirely confined to the CLASSES POSSESSED OF PROPERTY. THIS AUGMENTATION* must be of indirect benefit to the labouring population, etc."

Thus, Gladstone subsequently filched away from the semi-official Hansard report of his speech the words that he had uttered in the House of Commons on April 16, 1863: "*This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power ... is an augmentation entirely confined to the classes possessed of property.*" The *Concordia* did not, therefore, find this in the excerpt provided by their business friend in London, and trumpeted:

"Yet this sentence is nowhere to be found in Gladstone's speech. **Marx has added the sentence lyingly, both in form and in content.**"

It is no surprise that they now weepingly tell me that it is the critical "*custom*" to quote parliamentary speeches as officially falsified, and not as they were actually delivered. Such a "custom" in fact accords with the "general" Berlin "education", and the limited thinking of the German Manufacturers' Association, which is typical of Prussian subjects.[149] Lack of time forces me to end, once and for all, my pleasurable exchange of opinions with the Association, but as a farewell, another nut for its "learned men" to crack. In what article did a man—and what was his name—utter to an opponent of a rank at least equal with that of the *Concordia,* the weighty words: "*Asinus manebis in secula seculorum*" *?

*Karl Marx*

London, July 28, 1872

First published in *Der Volksstaat,* No. 63, August 7, 1872

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Published in English for the first time

* "Thou wilt remain an ass for evermore."

# Karl Marx

## [AMENDMENTS TO THE GENERAL RULES AND ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL IN THE SUMMER OF 1872][150]

### GENERAL RULES OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

Art 1. This Association is *founded* to *organise common action by the workers* of different countries[151] aiming at the same end; viz., the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation of the working classes.

Art. 4. Each Congress appoints the time and place of meeting for the next Congress. The delegates assemble at the appointed time and place without any special invitation. The General Council may, in case of need, change the place *and the date of the Congress and, with the sanction of the majority of the federations, may replace it with a private Conference which shall have the same powers. However, the Congress or the Conference which may replace it must meet within three months after the date fixed by the previous Congress.*

The Congress appoints the seat and elects the members of the General Council annually, *three from each nationality. The Council thus elected has the power to replace members who have resigned or who are unable, for one reason or another, to carry out their duties, and to co-opt members when the Congress elects fewer members than stipulated by the Rules.*

On its annual meetings, the General Congress shall receive a public account of the annual transactions of the General Council. The latter may, in cases of emergency, convoke the General Congress before the regular yearly term.

Art. 7. Since the success of the working men's movement in each country cannot be secured but by the power of union and combination, while, on the other hand, the usefulness of the International General Council must greatly depend on the

Que tous les efforts tendant à ce but ont jusqu'ici échoué, faute de solidarité entre les travailleurs des différentes professions dans le même pays et d'une union fraternelle entre les classes ouvrières des divers pays ;

Que l'émancipation du travail, n'étant un problème ni local ni national, mais social, embrasse tous les pays dans lesquels existe la société moderne, et nécessite, pour sa solution, le concours théorique et pratique des pays les plus avancés ;

Que le mouvement qui vient de renaître parmi les ouvriers des pays les plus industrieux de l'Europe, tout en réveillant de nouvelles espérances, donne un solennel avertissement de ne pas retomber dans les vieilles erreurs et de combiner le plus tôt possible les efforts encore isolés ;

*Pour ces raisons,*

*L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* a été fondée.

*Elle déclare,*

Que toutes les sociétés et individus y adhérant reconnaîtront comme base de leur conduite envers tous les hommes, sans distinction de couleur, de croyance et de nationalité, la *Vérité*, la *Justice* et la *Morale*.

*Pas de devoirs sans droits, pas de droits sans devoirs.*

C'est dans cet esprit que les statuts suivants ont été conçus :

Art. 1er. — L'Association est ~~établie~~ fondée pour ~~créer~~ organiser un point central de communication et de coopération entre les sociétés ouvrières des différents pays aspirant au même but, savoir : le concours mutuel, le progrès et le complet affranchissement de la classe ouvrière.

Art. 2. — Le nom de cette association sera : *Association Internationale des Travailleurs.*

3) Art. 3. — Tous les ans aura lieu un Congrès ouvrier général composé de délégués des branches de l'Association. Ce Congrès proclamera les aspirations communes de la classe ouvrière, prendra l'initiative des mesures nécessaires pour le succès de l'œuvre de l'Association Internationale, et en nommera le Conseil général.

4) Art. 4. — Chaque Congrès fixera la date et le siége de la réunion du Congrès suivant. Les délégués se réuniront de plein droit aux lieu et jour désignés, sans qu'une convocation spéciale soit nécessaire. En cas d'urgence, le Conseil général peut changer le lieu du Congrès, sans se remettre toutefois la date.

Tous les ans, le Congrès réuni indiquera le siége du Conseil général, ~~et en nommera les membres. Le Conseil général aura en outre le droit de s'adjoindre de nouveaux membres.~~

A chaque Congrès annuel, le Conseil général fera un rapport public de ses travaux. Il pourra, au cas de besoin, convoquer le Congrès avant le terme fixé.

5) Art. 5. — Le Conseil général se composera de travailleurs appartenant aux différentes nations représentées dans l'Association Internationale. Il choisira dans son sein les membres du bureau nécessaires pour la gestion des affaires, ~~tels que trésorier, secrétaire général, secrétaires particuliers pour les différents pays, etc.~~

6) Art. 6. — Le Conseil général fonctionnera comme agent international entre les différents groupes nationaux et locaux, de telle sorte que les ouvriers de chaque pays soient constamment au courant des mouvements de leur classe dans les autres pays ; qu'une enquête sur l'état social soit faite simultanément et dans un même esprit ; — que les questions d'intérêt général,

Pages of the French edition of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the First International with corrections by Marx

circumstance whether it has to deal with a few national centres of working men's associations, or with a great number of small and disconnected local societies; the members of the International Association shall use their utmost efforts to combine the disconnected working men's societies of their respective countries into national bodies, represented by central national organs *which, as far as possible, should be international in their composition.* It is self-understood, however, that the appliance of this rule will depend upon the peculiar laws of each country, and that, apart from legal obstacles, no independent local society shall be precluded from directly corresponding with the General Council.

*Art. 8.*[152] *In its struggle against the collective power of the propertied classes, the working class cannot act as a class except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes.*

*This constitution of the working class into a political party is indispensable in order to insure the triumph of the social revolution, and of its ultimate end, the abolition of classes.*

*The combination of forces which the working class has already effected by its economical struggles ought, at the same time, to serve as a lever for its struggles against the political power of its exploiters.*

*The lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies, and for the enslavement of labour. The conquest of political power has therefore become the great duty of the working class.*

Art. 9. Everybody who acknowledges and defends the principles of the International Working Men's Association is eligible to become a member.

*However, in order to guarantee the proletarian character of the Association, no less than two-thirds of the members of each branch must consist of wage-workers.*[153]

Every branch is responsible for the integrity of the members it admits.

Art. 11. The working men's *resistance* societies joining the International Association *may* preserve their existent organisations intact.[154]

# ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS, REVISED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE CONGRESSES (1866 TO 1869), AND BY THE LONDON CONFERENCE (1871)

## I

### The General Congress

1. Every member *of a branch* of the International Working Men's Association has the right to vote at elections for the General Congress, and *every member of the Association* is eligible as a delegate.

2. *Every branch or group of branches consisting of not less than 50 members may send a delegate to the Congress.*

3.[a] *Every branch or group of branches numbering more than 50 members may send an additional delegate for every additional 10 members.*

7. The sittings of the Congress will be twofold—administrative sittings, which will be private, and public sittings, reserved for the discussion of, and the vote upon, the questions *of principle* of the Congress programme.

8. The Congress *official* programme, consisting of questions placed on the order of the day by the preceding Congress, questions added by the General Council, and questions submitted to the acceptance of that Council by the different sections, groups, or their committees, *and which it will accept*, shall be drawn up by the General Council.

Every section, group, or committee which intends to propose, for the discussion of the impending Congress, a question not proposed by the previous Congress, shall give notice thereof to the General Council before the 31st of March.

## II

### The General Council

2. The General Council is bound to execute the Congress resolutions *and to take care that in every country the basic principles of the International are strictly observed.*

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[a] With the introduction of this new article the subsequent articles of this section have been renumbered.—*Ed.*

3. *The General Council shall publish a report of its proceedings every week.*

4. Every *group which is outside federal associations* intending to join the International is bound immediately to announce its adhesion to the General Council.

6.[155] The General Council has also the right to suspend *branches, sections, Federal Councils or committees, and federations of the International,* till the meeting of the next Congress.

*Nevertheless, in the case of sections belonging to a federation, the General Council will exercise this right only after having consulted the respective Federal Council.*

*In the case of the dissolution of a Federal Council, the General Council shall, at the same time, call upon the sections of the respective Federation to elect a new Federal Council within 30 days at most.*

*In the case of the suspension of an entire federation, the General Council shall immediately inform thereof the whole of the federations. If the majority of them demand it, the General Council shall convoke an extraordinary conference, composed of one delegate for each nationality, which shall meet within one month and finally decide upon the question.*

*Nevertheless, it is well understood that the countries where the International is prohibited shall exercise the same rights as the regular federations.*

8. All delegates appointed by the General Council to distinct missions shall have the right to attend, and be heard at, all *federal or local* meetings *of the organisations of the International,* without, however, being entitled to vote thereat.

## V

### Local Societies, Branches, and Groups

2. *Conformity of the local rules and regulations with the General Rules and Regulations shall be established by the Federal Councils and, for branches outside the federal associations, by the General Council.*[a]

9. The addresses of the *Federal Committees* and of the General Council are to be published every three months in all the organs of the Association.

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[a] With the introduction of this new article the subsequent articles of this section have been renumbered.— *Ed.*

## VI

### General Statistics of Labour

General scheme of inquiry, which may of course be modified by each locality

1. Industry, *which?*

5. (a) Hours of work in factories. (b) The hours of work with small employers and in home work. (c) Nightwork and daywork. (d) *Hours of rest.*

6. *Regulations in workshops.*

12. *Habitation and nourishment.*

Drawn up in June-August 1872

First published, in Russian, in *Problemy mira i sotsializma*, No. 4, 1964

Reproduced from the 1871 English edition of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations. The amendments made in Marx's hand in the French copy of the Rules and Regulations are translated from the French

# Frederick Engels

## THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION [156]

Citizens,

The General Council finds itself under the necessity of publicly denouncing to you the existence, within the International, of intrigues which, although in full work for several years past, have never been even suspected by the majority among you.

In our private circular dated 5th March 1872, on "the pretended divisions within the International",[a] we were compelled to call your attention to the manoeuvres of the so-called "Alliance of Socialist Democracy", manoeuvres aiming at the creation of discord in our ranks, and at the handing over, in an underhand manner, of the supreme direction of our Association to a small clique directed by Michael Bakounine.

The Alliance of Socialist Democracy, you will recollect, published, at its very origin, a set of rules which, if we had sanctioned them, would have given it a double existence, within and without the International at the same time. It would have had its own sections, federations and congresses at the side of the sections, federations and congresses of the International, and yet it pretended to take part in the latter. Its aim was to supersede our General Rules by the special programme of M. Bakounine and to force upon our Association his personal dictatorship.

The General Council, by its circular of the 22 December 1868, repelled these pretentions.[b] It admitted the Alliance of Socialist

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[a] See this volume, pp. 79-123.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, "The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy". Below, Engels sets forth the Council's second letter, also written by Marx, dated March 9, 1869, "The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the Central Bureau of the Internation-

Democracy into the International on the express condition only, that it should cease to be an international body; that it should dissolve its organisation; that its sections should enter simply as local sections. These conditions were formally accepted by the Alliance. But of all its pretended sections, only the Central Section of Geneva entered into our Association. The others remained a mystery to the General Council, thus leaving it under the impression that they did not exist.

And now, three years later, we are put in possession of documents which prove irrefragably that this same Alliance of Socialist Democracy, in spite of its formal promise, has continued and does continue to exist as an international body within the International, and that in the shape of a secret society; that it is still directed by M. Bakounine; that its ends are still the same, and that all the attacks which for the last twelve months have been directed apparently against the London Conference and the General Council, but in reality against the whole of our organisation, have had their source in this Alliance. The same men who accuse the General Council of authoritativeness without ever having been able to specify one single authoritative act on its part, who talk at every opportunity of the autonomy of sections, of the free federation of groups; who charge the General Council with the intention of forcing upon the International its own official and orthodox doctrine and to transform our Association into a hierarchically constituted organisation—these very same men, in practice, constitute themselves as a secret society with a hierarchical organisation, and under a, not merely authoritative, but absolutely dictatorial leadership; they trample under their feet every vestige of autonomy of sections and federations; they aim at forcing upon the International, by means of this secret organisation, the personal and orthodox doctrine of M. Bakounine. While they demand that the International should be organised from below upwards, they themselves, as members of the Alliance, humbly submit to the word of command which is handed down to them from above.

Need we say that the very existence of such a secret society within the International is a flagrant breach of our General Rules? These Rules know only one kind of members of the International, with rights and duties equal for all; the Alliance separates them into two classes, the initiated and the profane, the latter destined

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al Alliance of Socialist Democracy". Both documents are included into *Fictitious Splits in the International* (see this volume, pp. 86-87 and 88-89).—*Ed.*

to be led by the first, by means of an organisation whose very existence is unknown to them. The International demands of its adherents to acknowledge Truth, Justice and Morality as the basis of their conduct; the Alliance imposes upon its adepts, as their first duty, mendacity, dissimulation and imposture, by ordering them to deceive the profane Internationals as to the existence of the secret organisation and to the motives and ends of their own words and actions. The programme of the International is laid down in our Rules and known to all; that of the Alliance has never been avowed and is unknown up to this day.

The nucleus of the Alliance is in the federation of the Jura. From it the watchword is issued which is taken up and repeated immediately by the other sections and by the newspapers belonging to the secret organisation. In Italy, a certain number of societies are controlled by it. These societies call themselves International sections, but have never either demanded their admission, or paid any contributions, or fulfilled any of the other conditions prescribed by our Regulations. In Belgium, the Alliance has a few influential agents. In the South of France, it has several correspondents, among them pluralists, who couple their functions of correspondents to the Alliance with the office of clerk to the inspector of police. But the country where the Alliance is organised most effectively, and where it has the most extended ramifications is Spain. Having managed to slip itself quietly and from the commencement into the ranks of the Spanish Internationals, it has managed to control, most of the time, the successive Federal Councils and Congresses. The most devoted Internationals in Spain were induced into the belief that this secret organisation existed everywhere within our Association and that it was almost a duty to belong to it. This delusion was destroyed by the London Conference where the Spanish delegate,[a] himself a member of the Alliance, could convince himself that the contrary was the fact, and by the lies and violent attacks which, immediately afterwards, Bakounine ordered his faithful flock to launch against the Conference and the General Council. After a prolonged struggle within the Alliance, those of its Spanish members who had more at heart the International than the Alliance, retired from the latter. Immediately they were assaulted by the most atrocious insults and calumnies on the part of those who remained faithful to the secret society. Twice they were expelled from the local federation of Madrid, in open violation of the existing regulations. When they

[a] Anselmo Lorenzo.— *Ed.*

proposed constituting themselves as the "New Federation of Madrid",[157] the Federal Council refused its authorisation and returned the contributions they had proffered. And here we must state that out of eight members of that Federal Council there are five (Vicente Rossell, Peregrin Montoro, Severino Albarracin, Francisco Tomás, and Franco Martinez) whom we know to be members of the Alliance; it is moreover likely that there are others besides these. Thus the sections and local federations of Spain, so proud of their autonomy, are led like a flock of sheep, without even suspecting it, by secret orders sent from Switzerland, which the Federal Council has to carry out without a murmur, under penalty of being outlawed by the Alliance.

The Spanish Federal Council, in order to ensure the election, as delegates for the Congress at The Hague, of members of the Alliance, has sent to the sections and local federations a private circular dated 7th July, in which it calls upon them for an extraordinary contribution with which to defray the expenses of the delegates, and moreover orders them, authoritatively, to vote for a certain number of delegates, to be elected by the whole of the Spanish Internationals; all voting papers to be sent to the Federal Council which would ascertain the result of the election.[a] In this manner, the success of the candidates of the Alliance was placed beyond all doubt. Moreover, the Federal Council announced that it will draw up instructions[b] by which the delegates elected shall be bound. As soon as we had cognisance of this plot to have the delegates of the Alliance sent to the Congress with the money of the International, and had received, besides, the proofs of the complicity of the Spanish Federal Council in the manoeuvres of the secret society, we have summoned it, on the 24th July:

1) To hand us in a list of all members of the Alliance in Spain, with the designation of such offices as they may hold in the International;

2) To institute an inquiry into the character and action of the Alliance in Spain, as well as into its organisation and its ramifications beyond the frontier;

3) To send us a copy of their private circular of July 7th[c];

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[a] In the French manuscript the end of the sentence reads: "orders them, authoritatively, to elect these delegates by voting for a list for the whole of Spain, so that the Federal Council itself will be charged with polling the votes".— *Ed.*

[b] The French manuscript has "a mandate imperative for all" instead of "instructions".— *Ed.*

[c] *Federación Regional Española. Circular reservada,* Valencia, July 7, 1872.— *Ed.*

4) To explain to us how they reconciliated with their duties towards the International, the presence, in the Federal Council, of at least three notorious members of the Alliance;

5) To send a categorical reply by return.[a]

This reply could have been in our hands on the 1st August at latest. But only on the 5th August we received a letter dated Valencia, Aug. 1st (postmark illegible), in which a reply was deferred under the pretence that the members of the Council did not understand our letter which was written in French, and that time was required to translate it. That same Council, in its letter of June 15th, had requested us to send them our publications, etc., as much as possible in French, they (the members of the Council) being somewhat familiarised with that language! Thus the pretence is false; all that is wanted is to make us lose time while it is precious.

We are therefore under the necessity of denouncing to all the members of the Association, and above all to the Spanish Internationals, the Spanish Federal Council as *traitors towards the International Working Men's Association.* Instead of faithfully fulfilling the mandate entrusted to them by the Spanish Internationals, they have made themselves the organ of a society not only foreign, but hostile to the International. Instead of obeying the General Rules and Regulations, and the resolutions of the General and Spanish Congresses, they obey to secret orders emanating from M. Bakounine. The very existence of a Federal Council composed, in its majority, of members of a secret society foreign to the International, is a flagrant violation of our General Rules.

These are, Citizens, the facts which we have to lay before you before the elections for the Congress take place. For the first time in the history of the working-class struggles, we stumble over a secret conspiracy plotted in the midst of that class, and intended to undermine, not the existing capitalist[b] *régime*, but the very Association in which that *régime* finds its most energetic opponent. It is a conspiracy got up to hamper the proletarian movement. Thus, wherever we meet it, we find it preaching the emasculating doctrine of absolute abstention from political action; and while the plain profane Internationals are persecuted and imprisoned over nearly all Europe, the valiant members of the Alliance enjoy a quite exceptional immunity.

Citizens, it is for you to choose. What is at stake at this moment,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 211-13.—*Ed.*

[b] The French manuscript has "exploiter".—*Ed.*

is neither the autonomy of sections, nor the free federation of groups, nor the organisation from below upwards, nor any other formula equally pretentious and sonorous; the question today is this: Do you want your central organs composed of men who recognise no other mandate but yours, or do you want them composed of men elected by surprise, and who accept your mandate with the resolution to lead you, like a flock of sheep, as they may be directed by secret instructions emanating from a mysterious personage in Switzerland?

To unveil the existence of this secret society of dupers, is to crush its power. The men of the Alliance themselves are not foolish enough to expect that the great mass of the Internationals would knowingly submit to an organisation like theirs, its existence once made known. Yet there is complete incompatibility between the dupers and those who are intended for the dupes, between the Alliance and the International.

Moreover, it is time once and for all to put a stop to those internal quarrels provoked every day afresh within our Association, by the presence of this parasite body. These quarrels only serve to squander forces which ought to be employed in fighting the present middle-class *régime.* The Alliance, in so far as it paralyses the action of the International against the enemies of the working class, serves admirably the middle class and the governments.

For these reasons, the General Council will call upon the Congress of The Hague to expel from the International all and every member of the Alliance and to give the Council such powers as shall enable it effectually to prevent the recurrence of similar conspiracies.[a]

Written on August 4-6, 1872

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XIII, Part II, Moscow, 1940

Reproduced from the English manuscript checked with the French manuscripts

[a] The French manuscript further has: "The General Council".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## TO THE SPANISH SECTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION [158]

London, August 8, 1872

In view of the intrigues launched against the *International Working Men's Association* by some members of the Alliance secret society, the Executive Committee of the General Council had, at its meeting of July 24, 1872, instructed Citizen F. Engels, Secretary for Spain, to write the Spanish Federal Council in Valencia the following letter:

TO THE SPANISH FEDERAL COUNCIL

Citizens,

We hold proof that within the International, and particularly in Spain, there exists a secret society called the *Alliance of Socialist Democracy*. This society, whose centre is in Switzerland, considers it its special mission to guide our great Association in keeping with its own particular tendencies and lead it towards goals unknown to the vast majority of International members. Moreover, we know from the Seville *Razon* that at least three members of your Council belong to the Alliance.

When this society was formed in 1868 as a public society, the General Council was obliged to refuse it admission to the International, so long as it preserved its international character, for it pretended to form a second international body functioning within and without the *International Working Men's Association*. The Alliance was admitted to the International only after promising to limit itself to being purely a local section in Geneva (see the private circular of the General Council on *Fictitious Splits etc.*, p. 7 onwards [a]).

[a] See this volume, pp. 86-87.—*Ed.*

If the organisation and character of this society were already contrary to the spirit and the letter of our Rules, when it was still public, its secret existence within the International, in spite of its promise, represents no less than treason against our Association. The International knows but one type of members, all with equal rights and duties; the Alliance divides them into two classes, the initiated and the uninitiated, the latter doomed to be led by the former by means of an organisation of whose very existence they are unaware. The International demands that its adherents should acknowledge Truth, Justice and Morality as the basis of their conduct; the Alliance obliges its supporters to hide from the uninitiated members of the International the existence of the secret organisation, the motives and the aim of their words and deeds. The General Council had already announced in its private circular that at the coming Congress it would demand an inquiry into this Alliance, which is a veritable conspiracy against the International. The General Council is also aware of the measures taken by the Spanish Federal Council on the insistence of the men of the Alliance in the interests of their society, and is determined to put an end to this underhand dealing. With this end in view, it requests from you for the report it will be presenting at the Hague Congress:

1) a list of all the members of the Alliance in Spain, with indication of the functions they fulfil in the International;

2) information about the nature and activities of the Alliance, and also about its organisation and ramifications outside Spain;

3) a copy of your private circular of July 7[a];

4) an explanation of how you reconcile your duties towards the International with the presence in your Council of at least three notorious members of the Alliance.

Unless it receives *a categoric and exhaustive answer by return*, the General Council will be obliged to denounce you publicly in Spain and abroad for having violated the spirit and the letter of the General Rules, and having betrayed the International in the interests of a secret society that is not only alien but hostile to it.

Greetings and fraternity.

On behalf of the General Council

Secretary for Spain,

*Frederick Engels*

33, Rathbone Place, W.
London, July 24, 1872

[a] *Federación Regional Española. Circular reservada*, Valencia, July 7, 1872.—*Ed.*

The Spanish Federal Council replied to the inquiries of the General Council in a letter dated "Valencia, August 1", and received in London on August 5. It ran as follows:

"Comrades, we have received your last letter, but as it is in French we are unable to acquaint ourselves with its contents since our usual translator is not in Valencia. We have asked another comrade to translate it as soon as possible so that we can answer it."

At its meeting of August 8, 1872, the Executive Committee of the General Council decided that pending the receipt of the requested information from the Spanish Federal Council, it was necessary to publish the above letter in order to move all the Spanish federations and sections to undertake their general inquiries into the existence, acts and aims of the Alliance secret society.

The Executive Committee
of the General Council:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Leó Frankel*, Corresponding Secretary for | Austria and Hungary |
| *J. P. McDonnell* | Ireland |
| *F. Engels* | Spain and Italy |
| *A. Serraillier* | France |
| *Le Moussu* | America |
| *Hermann Jung* | Switzerland |
| *Karl Marx* | Germany and Russia |

Chairman of the meeting

*Walery Wróblewski*, Secretary for Poland

Secretary of the meeting

*F. Cournet*, Secretary for Holland

Written on August 8, 1872

First published in *La Emancipacion*, No. 62, August 17, 1872

Printed according to the newspaper checked with the rough manuscript in French

Translated from the Spanish

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE TIMES*[159]

Sir,—In your issue of to-day I find a paragraph headed "The International", containing, after "the Paris papers", a pretended circular of the "Grand Council" of that Association, and bearing my signature as "General Secretary".

I beg to state, in reply, that this document is from beginning to end a forgery. No such circular was ever issued by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, nor could I have signed anything of the sort as General Secretary, inasmuch as I have never occupied that position.

I request you to publish the above in your next number, and remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

*Karl Marx*

[London] 1, Maitland-park-road, N. W., Aug. 15 [1872].

First published in *The Times*, No. 27457, August 16, 1872

Reproduced from the newspaper

# Frederick Engels

## THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO THE NEW MADRID FEDERATION[160]

The Executive Committee, entrusted by the General Council with temporarily carrying out all the administrative business of the Association,

in view of the New Madrid Federation's letter of August 5, requesting its recognition by the General Council;

in view of the Spanish regional Federal Council's resolution of July 16, refusing to admit the said federation;

considering that, formally, it would be absurd to share in this matter the attitude of a regional Federal Council, the majority of which are members of a secret society hostile to the International, and which the General Council intends opposing at the Congress;

considering that, essentially, the founders of the New Madrid Federation are the very people who were the first in Spain to dare disassociate themselves from this secret society called the *Alliance of Socialist Democracy*, and disclose and thwart its schemes.

For these reasons,

the Executive Committee, on behalf of the General Council, has resolved to recognise the New Madrid Federation and enter into regular and direct relations with it.

London, August 15, 1872

In the name of the Executive Committee
Secretary for Spain,
*Frederick Engels*

First published in *La Emancipacion*, No. 63, August 24, 1872

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the Spanish

# Frederick Engels

## [ON THE RIMINI CONFERENCE][161]

The *Bakuninists* have now finally placed themselves outside the International. A conference (ostensibly of the International, in reality of the Italian Bakuninists) has been held in *Rimini*. Of the 21 sections represented, only *one*, that from Naples, really belonged to the International. The other 20, in order not to endanger their "autonomy", had deliberately *neglected to take all the measures* on which the Administrative Regulations of the International make admission conditional; they had neither written to the General Council requesting admission, nor sent their subscriptions. And these 21 "International" sections decided unanimously in Rimini on August 6:

"The Conference solemnly declares to all workers of the world that the Italian Federation of the International Working Men's Association severs all solidarity with the General Council in London, proclaiming instead, all the louder, its economic solidarity with all workers, and urges all sections that do not share the authoritarian principles of the General Council *to send* their representatives on September 2, 1872 *not to The Hague, but to Neuchâtel in Switzerland* in order to open the general anti-authoritarian Congress there on the same day."

First published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 68, August 24, 1872

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# Frederick Engels

## [ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO THE ITALIAN SECTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION CONCERNING THE RIMINI CONFERENCE][162]

33, Rathbone Place, London
August 23, 1872

We have received a resolution, dated Rimini, August 6, from the Conference of what claims to be the Italian Federation of the International Working Men's Association, breaking all solidarity with the General Council in London and calling *on its own authority* an anti-authoritarian Congress[a] in Neuchâtel, Switzerland, to which all sections of the same opinion are invited to send delegates, instead of to The Hague, where the regular Congress of the International is to be held.

It should be pointed out that of the 21 sections whose delegates have signed this resolution, there is *only one* (Naples) which belongs to the International. None of the other 20 sections has ever fulfilled any of the conditions prescribed by our General Rules and Regulations for the admission of new sections. An Italian federation of the Working Men's Association therefore does not exist. Those who want to found it, form their own international outside the great Working Men's Association.

It will be the task of the Hague Congress to deliberate on these usurpations.

In the name and by order of the General Council
Secretary for Italy,
*Frederick Engels*[b]

First published in part in *La Plebe*, No. 95, August 28, 1872 and in *Il Ladro*, September 3, 1872; and in full in *Il Popolino*, No. 20, September 29, 1872

Printed according to *Il Popolino* checked with the rough copy of the letter

Translated from the Italian

[a] The rough copy of the letter has "a so-called anti-authoritarian Congress".— *Ed.*

[b] In *Il Popolino* the letter begins with the address: "To the Turin Sections"; there is the postscript after the signature: "*N.B.* The letter containing the 25 lire was not received."— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [RESOLUTION ON THE BEHAVIOUR OF MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL AT THE CONGRESS][163]

No member of the General Council should have the right to accuse another before the International Working Men's Congress until discussion of the election of members of the General Council.

Adopted at the sitting of the Sub-Committee on August 28, 1872

First published, in Russian, in *Generalny Sovet Pervogo Internatsionala. 1871-1872*, Moscow, 1965

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

# Karl Marx

## REPORT OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO THE FIFTH ANNUAL CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION, HELD AT THE HAGUE,

### FROM THE 2nd TO THE 7th SEPTEMBER 1872[164]

[*The International Herald*, No. 27, October 5, 1872]

Citizens,[a]—Since our last Congress at Basel, two great wars have changed the face of Europe: the Franco-German War and the Civil War in France. Both of these wars were preceded, accompanied, and followed by a third war—the war against the International Working Men's Association.

The Paris members[b] of the International had told the French people publicly and emphatically, that voting the plebiscite[165] was voting despotism at home and war abroad.[c] Under the pretext of having participated in a plot for the assassination of Louis Bonaparte, they were arrested on the eve of the plebiscite, the 23rd of April, 1870. Simultaneous arrests of Internationalists took place at Lyons, Rouen, Marseilles, Brest, and other towns. In its declaration of May 3rd, 1870, the General Council stated[d]:

"This last plot will worthily range with its two predecessors of grotesque memory. The noisy and violent measures against our French sections are exclusively intended to serve one single purpose—the manipulation of the plebiscite."[e]

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[a] The leaflet and *Der Volksstaat* have "working men" instead of "citizens".—*Ed.*

[b] In *L'Internationale, La Liberté* and other newspapers this sentence begins as follows: "When the empire demanded that France should sanctify its existence with a new plebiscite, the Paris members..."—*Ed.*

[c] "Manifeste antiplébiscitaire des sections parisiennes fédérées de l'Internationale et de la chambre fédérale des sociétés ouvrières. A tous les travailleurs français" published in *La Marseillaise*, No. 125, April 24, 1870, and as a leaflet in Paris, 1870.—*Ed.*

[d] K. Marx, "Concerning the Persecution of the Members of the French Sections" (cf. present edition, Vol. 21, p. 128).—*Ed.*

[e] Here the leaflet and *Der Volksstaat* have: "We were right."—*Ed.*

In point of fact, after the downfall of the December empire its governmental successors published documentary evidence[a] to the effect that this last plot had been fabricated by the Bonapartist police itself, and that on the eve of the plebiscite, Ollivier, in a private circular, directly told his subordinates,

"The leaders of the International must be arrested or else the voting of the plebiscite could not be satisfactorily proceeded with."

The plebiscitary farce once over, the members of the Paris Federal Council were indeed condemned, on the 8th of July, by Louis Bonaparte's own judges, but for the simple crime of belonging to the International and not for any participation in the sham plot.[166] Thus the Bonapartist government considered it necessary to initiate the most ruinous war that was ever brought down upon France, by a preliminary campaign against the French sections of the International Working Men's Association. Let us not forget that the working class in France rose like one man to reject the plebiscite. Let us no more forget that

"the stock-exchanges, the cabinets, the ruling classes, and the press of Europe celebrated the plebiscite as a signal victory of the French emperor over the French working class."—(Address of General Council on the Franco-Prussian War, 23rd July, 1870.)

A few weeks after the plebiscite, when the imperialist press commenced to fan the warlike passions amongst the French people, the Paris Internationalists, nothing daunted by the government persecutions, issued their appeal of the 12th of July, "to the workmen of all nations", denounced the intended war as a "criminal absurdity", telling their "brothers of Germany", that

their "division would only result in the complete triumph of despotism on both sides of the Rhine", and declaring that "we, the members of the International Association, know of no frontiers."[b]

Their appeal met with an enthusiastic echo from Germany, so that the General Council was entitled to state,

"The very fact that while official France and Germany are rushing into a fratricidal feud, the workmen of France and Germany send each other messages of peace and good will—this great fact, unparalleled in the history of the past—opens the vista of a brighter future. It proves that in contrast to old society with

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[a] *Papiers et correspondance de la Famille impériale*, Vol. 1, Paris, [1870-]1871, pp. 314-26.—*Ed.*

[b] "Aux travailleurs de toutes les nations", *Le Réveil*, No. 409, July 12, 1870.—*Ed.*

its economical miseries and its political delirium, a new society is springing up whose international rule will be *peace*, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same— *Labour.* The pioneer of that new society is the International Working Men's Association."—(Address of July 23rd, 1870.)

Up to the proclamation of the Republic, the members of the Paris Federal Council remained in prison, while the other members of the Association were daily denounced to the mob as traitors acting in the pay of Prussia.

With the capitulation of Sedan, when the second empire ended as it began, by a parody,[167] the Franco-German War entered upon its second phase. It became war against the French people. After her repeated solemn declarations to take up arms for the sole purpose of repelling foreign aggression, Prussia now dropped the mask and proclaimed a war of conquest. From that moment she found herself compelled not only to fight the Republic in France, but simultaneously the International in Germany. We can here but hint at a few incidents of that conflict.

[*The International Herald,* No. 28, October 12, 1872]

Immediately after the declaration of war, the greater part of the territory of the North German Confederation, Hanover, Oldenburg, Bremen, Hamburg, Brunswick, Schleswig-Holstein, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and the province of Prussia, were placed in a state of siege, and handed over to the tender mercies of General Vogel von Falckenstein. This state of siege, proclaimed as a safeguard against the threatening foreign invasion, was at once turned into a state of war against the German Internationals.

The day after the proclamation of the Republic at Paris, the Brunswick Central Committee of the German Democratic Socialist Working Men's Party, which forms a section of the International within the limits imposed by the law of the country, issued a manifesto (5th September) calling upon the working class to oppose by all means in their power the dismemberment of France, to claim a peace honourable for that country, and to agitate for the recognition of the French Republic.[168] The manifesto denounced the proposed annexation of Alsace and Lorraine as a crime tending to transform all Germany into a Prussian barracks, and to establish war as a permanent European institution. On the 9th September, Vogel von Falckenstein had the members of the Brunswick Committee arrested, and marched off in chains, a distance of 600 miles, to Loetzen, a Prussian fortress, on the Russian frontier, where their ignominious treatment was to serve

as a foil to the ostentatious feasting of the Imperial guest at Wilhelmshöhe.[169] As arrests, the hunting of workmen from one German state to another, suppression of proletarian papers, military brutality, and police-chicane in all forms, did not prevent the International vanguard of the German working class from acting up to the Brunswick manifesto, Vogel von Falckenstein, by an ukase of September 21st,[a] interdicted all meetings of the Democratic Socialist party. That interdict was cancelled by another ukase of October 5th, wherein he naively commands the police spies

> "to denounce to him personally all individuals who, by public demonstrations, shall encourage France in her resistance against the conditions of peace imposed by Germany, so as to enable him to render such individuals innocuous during the continuance of the war".

Leaving the cares of the war abroad to Moltke, the King of Prussia contrived to give a new turn to the war at home. By his personal order of the 17th October, Vogel von Falckenstein was to lend his Loetzen captives to the Brunswick District Tribunal, the which, on its part, was either to find grounds for their legal durance, or else return them to the safe keeping of the dread general.

Vogel von Falckenstein's proceedings were, of course, imitated throughout Germany, while Bismarck, in a diplomatic circular, mocked Europe by standing forth as the indignant champion of the right of free utterance of opinion, free press, and free meetings, on the part of the peace party in France. At the very same time that he demanded a freely-elected National Assembly for France, in Germany he had Bebel and Liebknecht imprisoned for having, in opposition to him, represented the International in the German Parliament, and in order to get them out of the way during the impending general elections.[170]

His master, William the Conqueror,[b] supported him, by a decree from Versailles, prolonging the state of siege, that is to say, the suspension of all civil law, for the whole period of the elections. In fact, the King did not allow the state of siege to be raised in Germany until two months after the conclusion of peace with France.[171] The stubbornness with which he was insisting upon the state of war at home, and his repeated personal meddling with his own German captives, prove the awe in which he, amidst the din of victorious arms and the frantic cheers of the whole middle class,

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[a] 1870.—*Ed.*
[b] William I.—*Ed.*

held the rising party of the proletariat. It was the involuntary homage paid by physical force to moral power.

If the war against the International had been localised, first in France, from the days of the plebiscite to the downfall of the Empire, then in Germany during the whole period of the resistance of the Republic against Prussia, it became general since the rise, and after the fall, of the Paris Commune.

On the 6th of June, 1871, Jules Favre issued his circular to the Foreign Powers demanding the extradition of the refugees[a] of the Commune as common criminals, and a general crusade against the International as the enemy of family, religion, order, and property, so adequately represented in his own person.[172] Austria and Hungary caught the cue at once. On the 13th June, a raid was made on the reputed leaders of the Pesth Working Men's Union, their papers were seized, their persons sequestered, and proceedings were instituted against them for high treason.[173] Several delegates of the Vienna International, happening to be on a visit to Pesth, were carried off to Vienna, there to undergo a similar treatment. Beust asked and received from his parliament a supplementary vote of £30,000,

> "on behalf of expenses for political information that had become more than ever indispensable through the dangerous spread of the International all over Europe".

Since that time a true reign of terror against the working class has set in in Austria and Hungary. In its last agonies the Austrian Government seems still anxiously to cling to its old privilege of playing the Don Quixote of European reaction.

A few weeks after Jules Favre's circular, Dufaure proposed to his rurals a law which is now in force, and punishes as a crime the mere fact of belonging to the International Working Men's Association, or of sharing its principles.[174] As a witness before the rural committee of enquiry on Dufaure's Bill, Thiers boasted that it was the offspring of his own ingenious brains, and that he had been the first to discover the infallible panacea of treating the Internationals as the Spanish Inquisition had treated the heretics. But even on this point he can lay no claim to originality. Long before his appointment as saviour of society, the true law which the Internationals deserve at the hands of the ruling classes had been laid down by the Vienna courts.

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[a] The leaflet and *Der Volksstaat* have "members" instead of "refugees".—*Ed.*

[*The International Herald*, No. 29, October 19, 1872]

On the 26th July, 1870, the most prominent men of the Austrian proletarian party were found guilty of high treason, and sentenced to years of penal servitude, with one fast day in every month.[175] The law laid down was this:—

> The prisoners, as they themselves confess, have accepted and acted according to the programme of the German Working Men's Congress of Eisenach (1869). This programme embodies the programme of the International. The International is established for the emancipation of the working class from the rule of the propertied class, and from political dependence. That emancipation is incompatible with the existing institutions of the Austrian state. Hence, whoever accepts and propagates the principles of the International programme, commits preparatory acts for the overthrow of the Austrian Government, and is consequently guilty of high treason.

On the 27th November, 1871, judgment was passed upon the members of the Brunswick Committee. They were sentenced to various periods of imprisonment. The court expressly referred, as to a precedent, to the law laid down at Vienna.

At Pesth, the prisoners belonging to the Working Men's Union, after having undergone for nearly a year a treatment as infamous as that inflicted upon the Fenians[176] by the British Government, were brought up for judgment on the 22nd April, 1872. The public prosecutor, here also, called upon the court to apply to them the law laid down at Vienna. They were, however, acquitted.

At Leipzig, on the 27th March, 1872, Bebel and Liebknecht were sentenced to two years imprisonment in a fortress for attempted high treason upon the strength of the law as laid down at Vienna. The only distinctive feature of this case is that the law laid down by a Vienna judge was sanctioned by a Saxon jury.

At Copenhagen the three members of the Central Committee of the International, Brix, Pio, and Geleff, were thrown into prison on the 5th of May[a] because they had declared their firm resolve to hold an open air meeting in the teeth of a police order forbidding it. Once in prison they were told that the accusation against them was extended, that the socialist ideas in themselves were incompatible with the existence of the Danish state, and that consequently the mere act of propagating them constituted a crime against the Danish constitution. Again the law as laid down in Vienna! The accused are still in prison awaiting their trial.[177]

The Belgian government, distinguished by its sympathetic reply to Jules Favre's demand of extradition, made haste to propose, through Malou, a hypocritical counterfeit of Dufaure's law.

[a] 1872.—*Ed.*

His Holiness Pope Pius IX gave vent to his feelings in an allocution to a deputation of Swiss Catholics.

"Your government," said he, "which is republican, thinks itself bound to make a heavy sacrifice for what is called liberty. It affords an asylum to a goodly number of individuals of the worst character. It tolerates that sect of the International which desires to treat all Europe as it has treated Paris. These gentlemen of the International who are no gentlemen, are to be feared because they work for the account of the everlasting enemy of God and mankind. What is to be gained by protecting them! One must pray for them."

Hang them first and pray for them afterwards!

Supported by Bismarck, Beust, and Stieber, the Prussian spy-in-chief, the Emperors of Austria and Germany met at Salzburg in the beginning of September, 1871, for the ostensible purpose of founding a holy alliance against the International Working Men's Association.[178]

"Such a European Alliance," declared the *North German Gazette*,[a] Bismarck's private *moniteur*,[b] "is the only possible salvation of state, church, property, civilisation, in one word, of everything that constitutes European states."

Bismarck's real object, of course, was to prepare alliances for an impending war with Russia and the International was held up to Austria as a piece of red cloth is held up to a bull.

Lanza suppressed the International in Italy by simple decree. Sagasta declared it an outlaw in Spain,[179] probably with a view to curry favour with the English stock exchange. The Russian government which, since the emancipation of the serfs, has been driven to the dangerous expedient of making timid concessions to popular claims today, and withdrawing them tomorrow, found in the general hue and cry against the International a pretext for a recrudescence of reaction at home. Abroad, with the intention of prying into the secrets of our Association, it succeeded in inducing a Swiss judge to search, in presence of a Russian spy, the house of Outine, a Russian International, and the editor of the Geneva *Égalité*, the organ of our Romance Federation.[180] The republican government of Switzerland has only been prevented by the agitation of the Swiss Internationals from handing up to Thiers refugees of the Commune.

Finally, the government of Mr. Gladstone, unable to act in Great Britain, at least set forth its good intentions by the police terrorism exercised in Ireland against our sections then in course

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[a] *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung.—Ed.*

[b] Herald.— *Ed.*

of formation, and by ordering its representatives abroad to collect information with respect to the International Working Men's Association.

But all the measures of repression which the combined government intellect of Europe was capable of devising, vanish into nothing before the war of calumny undertaken by the lying power of the civilised world. Apocryphal histories and mysteries of the International, shameless forgeries of public documents and private letters, sensational telegrams, followed each other in rapid succession; all the sluices of slander at the disposal of the venal respectable press were opened at once to set free a deluge of infamy in which to drown the execrated foe. This war of calumny finds no parallel in history for the truly international area over which it has spread, and for the complete accord in which it has been carried on by all shades of ruling class opinion. When the great conflagration took place at Chicago, the telegraph round the world announced it as the infernal deed of the International; and it is really wonderful that to its demoniacal agency has not been attributed the hurricane ravaging the West Indies.

In its former annual reports, the General Council used to give a review of the progress of the Association since the meeting of the preceding Congress. You will appreciate, citizens,[a] the motives which induce us to abstain from that course upon this occasion. Moreover, the reports of the delegates from the various countries, who know best how far their discretion may extend, will in a measure make up for this deficiency. We confine ourselves to the statement that since the Congress at Basel, and chiefly since the London Conference of September 1871, the International has been extended to the Irish in England and to Ireland itself, to Holland, Denmark, and Portugal, that it has been firmly organised in the United States, and that it has established ramifications in Buenos Aires, Australia, and New Zealand.

The difference between a working class without an International, and a working class with an International, becomes most evident if we look back to the period of 1848. Years were required for the working class itself to recognise the Insurrection of June, 1848, as the work of its own vanguard. The Paris Commune was at once acclaimed by the universal proletariat.

You, the delegates of the working class, meet to strengthen the militant organisation of a society aiming at the emancipation of labour and the extinction of national feuds. Almost at the same

[a] The leaflet and *Der Volksstaat* have "working men" instead of "citizens".— *Ed.*

moment, there meet at Berlin the crowned dignitaries of the old world in order to forge new chains and to hatch new wars.[181]

Long life to the International Working Men's Association!

Written in late August 1872

First published as a leaflet: *Offizieller Bericht des Londoner Generalrats, verlesen in öffentlicher Sitzung des Internationalen Kongress*, Brunswick, 1872, and in the newspapers: *Der Volksstaat*, No. 75, September 18, 1872; *La Liberté*, No. 39, September 29, 1872; *L'Internationale*, No. 195, October 6, 1872; *La Emancipacion*, Nos. 68 and 69, October 5 and 13, 1872; *The International Herald*, Nos. 27, 28 and 29, October 5, 12 and 19, 1872

Reproduced from *The International Herald* checked with the leaflet and newspapers

# Frederick Engels

## REPORT ON THE ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY PRESENTED IN THE NAME OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO THE CONGRESS AT THE HAGUE[182]

The Alliance of Socialist Democracy was founded by M. Bakunin towards the end of 1868. It was an international society claiming to function, at the same time, both within and without the International Working Men's Association. Composed of members of the Association, who demanded the right to take part in all meetings of the International's members, this society, nevertheless, wished to retain the right to organise its own local groups, national federations and congresses alongside and in addition to the Congresses of the International. Thus, right from the onset, the Alliance claimed to form a kind of aristocracy within our Association, or élite with its own programme and possessing special privileges.

The letters which were exchanged between the Central Committee of the Alliance and our General Council at that time are reproduced on pp. 7-9 of the circular *Fictitious Splits in the International*[a] (appendix No. 1). The General Council refused to admit the Alliance as long as it retained its distinct international character; it promised to admit the Alliance only on the condition that the latter would dissolve its special international organisation, that its sections would become ordinary sections of our Association, and that the Council should be informed of the seat and numerical strength of each new section formed.

The following is the reply dated June 22, 1869, to these demands received from the Central Committee of the Alliance, which[b] has henceforth become known as the "Geneva Section of

[a] See this volume, pp. 86-89.— *Ed.*

[b] Further the following is crossed out in the manuscript: "changed its name for the occasion".— *Ed.*

the Alliance of Socialist Democracy" in its relations with the General Council.

"As agreed between your Council and the Central Committee of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, we have consulted the various groups of the Alliance on the question of its dissolution as an organisation outside the International Working Men's Association... We are pleased to inform you that a great majority of the groups share the views of the Central Committee which intends to announce the dissolution of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy. *The question of dissolution has today been decided.* In communicating this decision to the various groups of the Alliance, we have invited them to follow our example and constitute themselves into sections of the International Working Men's Association, and seek recognition as such either from you or from the Federal Councils of the Association in their respective countries. Confirming receipt of your letter addressed to the former Central Committee of the Alliance, we are sending today for your perusal the rules of our section, and hereby request your official recognition of it as a section of the International Working Men's Association..." (Signed) Acting Secretary, Ch. Perron (appendix No. 2).

A copy of these rules of the Alliance may be found among appendices *No. 3.*

The Geneva section proved to be the only one to request admission to the International. Nothing was heard about other allegedly existing sections of the Alliance. Nevertheless, in spite of the constant intrigues of the Alliancists who sought to impose their special programme on the entire International and gain control of our Association, one was bound to accept that the Alliance had kept its word and disbanded itself. The General Council, however,[a] has received fairly clear indications which forced it to conclude that the Alliance had never dissolved and that, in spite of its solemn undertaking, it existed and was continuing to function as a secret society, using this underground organisation to realise its original aim—that of domination. Its existence, particularly in Spain, became increasingly apparent as a result of discord within the Alliance itself, an account of which is given below. For the moment, suffice it to say that a circular drawn up by members of the old Spanish Federal Council, who were at the same time members of the Central Committee of the Alliance in Spain (see *Emancipacion*, No. 61, p. 3, column 2, appendix No. 4),[183] exposed the existence of the Alliance.[b] The circular, dated June 2, 1872[c]

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[a] Further the words "from May of this year" are crossed out in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[b] Further the following is crossed out in the manuscript: "finding it impossible to reconcile their duties within the International with their position as members of a secret society within its ranks, on June 2 they addressed".—*Ed.*

[c] Error in the rough manuscript. As is evident from what follows the circular in question was published a fortnight after that of June 2, 1872.—*Ed.*

and published in the *Emancipacion* (No. 59, appendix No. 5), informed all the sections of the Alliance in Spain that the signatories had dissolved themselves as a section of the Alliance and invited other sections to follow their example.[184]

The publication of this circular caused the Alliance newspaper, the Barcelona *Federacion* (No. 155, August 4, 1872), to publish the rules of the Alliance (*appendix No. 6*), thus putting the existence of this society beyond question.

A comparison of the rules of the secret society with the rules presented by the Geneva section of the Alliance to the General Council shows, firstly, that the introductory programme to the first document is identical to that of the second. There are merely a few changes in wording, as a result of which Bakunin's special programme is given more succinct expression in the secret rules.

Below is an exact table of:

| Geneva rules | | Secret rules |
|---|---|---|
| Art. 1 | corresponds literally to | Art. 5 |
| Art. 2 | corresponds generally to | Art. 1 |
| Art. 3 | corresponds literally to | Art. 2 |
| Arts. 4. & 5 | correspond generally to | Art. 3 |
| Art. 6 | corresponds generally to | Art. 4 |

The secret rules themselves are based on the Geneva rules. Thus, Article 4 of the secret rules corresponds literally to Article 3 of the Geneva rules; Articles 8 and 9 in the Geneva rules correspond in abbreviated form to Article 10 of the secret rules, as do the Geneva Articles 15-20 to Article 3 of the secret rules.

Contrary to the actual practice of the Alliancists, the Geneva Article 7 advocates the "*strong* organisation" of the International and binds all members of the Alliance to "uphold ... the decisions of the Congresses and *the authority of the General Council*". This article is not to be found in the secret rules, but evidence of its original inclusion in these rules is provided by the fact that it is reproduced almost word for word in Article 15 of the regulations of the Madrid *sección de oficios varios*[a] (appendix No. 7) which also includes the programme of the Alliance.

It is, therefore, clear that we are dealing with one and the same society and not with two separate societies. At the same time as the

[a] Section combining various types of professions.—*Ed.*

Geneva Central Committee was assuring the General Council that the Alliance had been disbanded, and was admitted as a section of the International on the basis of this assurance, the ringleaders of this Central Committee led by M. Bakunin were strengthening the organisation of this same Alliance, turning it into a secret society and preserving that very international character which they had undertaken to abolish. The good faith of the General Council and of the whole International, to whom the correspondence had been submitted, was betrayed in a most disgraceful manner. Having once committed such a deception, these men were no longer held back by any scruples from their machinations to subordinate the International, or, if this were unsuccessful, to disorganise it.

Below we quote the main articles of the secret rules:

"1) The Alliance of Socialist Democracy *shall consist of members of the International Working Men's Association* and has as its aim the propaganda and development of the principles of *its* programme, and the study of all means suited to advance direct and *immediate* emancipation of the working class.

"2) In order to achieve the best possible results and not to compromise the development of social organisation, the Alliance shall be *entirely secret.*

"4) No person shall be admitted to membership if he has not accepted beforehand the principles of the programme completely and sincerely, etc.

"5) The Alliance shall do its utmost *to exert from within its influence on the local workers' federation* in order to prevent the latter from embarking on a reactionary or anti-revolutionary course.

"6)[a] Any member *may be dismissed from membership of the Alliance* on a majority decision *without any reason being given.*"

Thus, the Alliance is a secret society formed within the International itself, having a programme of its own differing widely from that of the International, a society which has as its aim the propaganda of that programme which it considers to be the only true revolutionary one. The society binds its members to act in such a way inside their local federation of the International as to prevent it from embarking on a reactionary or anti-revolutionary course, i.e., from the slightest deviation from the programme of the Alliance. In other words, the aim of the Alliance is to impose its sectarian programme on the whole International by means of its secret organisation. This can be most effectively achieved by taking over the local and Federal Councils and the General Council, using the power of a secret organisation to elect members of the Alliance to these bodies. This was precisely what the Alliance did in cases where it felt that it had a good chance of success, as we shall see below.

[a] In the manuscript mistakenly: "9".—*Ed.*

Clearly no one would wish to hold it against the Alliancists for propagating[a] their own programme. The International is composed of socialists of the most various shades of opinion. Its programme is sufficiently broad to accommodate all of them; the Bakuninist sect was admitted on the same conditions as all the others. The charge levelled against it is precisely its violation of these conditions.

The secret nature of the Alliance, however, is an entirely different matter. The International cannot ignore the fact that in many countries, Poland, France and Ireland among them, secret organisations are a legitimate means of defence against government terrorism. However, at its London Conference the International stated that it wished to remain completely dissociated from these societies and would not, consequently, recognise them as sections. Moreover, and this is the crucial point, we are dealing here with a secret society created for the purpose of combatting not a government, but the International itself.

The organisation of a secret society of this kind is a blatant violation, not only of the contractual obligations to the International, but also of the letter and spirit of our General Rules.[b] Our Rules know only one kind of members of the International with equal rights and duties for all. The Alliance separates them into two castes: the initiated and the uninitiated, the aristocracy and the plebs, the latter destined to be led by the first by means of an organisation whose very existence is unknown to them. The International demands of its members that they should acknowledge Truth, Justice and Morality as the basis of their conduct; the Alliance imposes upon its adepts, as their first duty, mendacity, dissimulation and imposture, by ordering them to deceive the uninitiated members of the International as to the existence of the secret organisation and to the motives and aims of their words and actions. The founders of the Alliance knew only too well that the vast majority of uninitiated members of the International would never consciously submit to such an organisation were they aware of its existence. This is why they made it "entirely secret". For it is essential to emphasise that the secret nature of this Alliance is not aimed at eluding government vigilance, otherwise it would not have begun its existence as a public society; this secret nature[c] had as its sole aim the deception of the uninitiated members of the

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[a] Further the word "openly" is crossed out in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[b] Further the words "and Regulations" are crossed out in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[c] Further the following is crossed out in the manuscript: "as the facts have shown".—*Ed.*

International, proof of which is the base way in which the Alliance deceived the General Council. Thus we are dealing with a genuine conspiracy against the International. For the first time in the history of the working-class struggle, we stumble upon a secret conspiracy plotted in the midst of the working class, and intended to undermine, not the existing exploiting regime, but the very Association in which that regime finds its fiercest opponent.

Moreover, it would be ludicrous to assert that a society has made itself secret in order to protect itself from the persecution of existing governments, when that same society is everywhere advocating the emasculating doctrine of complete abstention from political action and states in its programme (Article 3, preamble to the secret rules) that it

> "rejects any revolutionary action which does not have as its immediate and direct aim the triumph of the workers' cause over capital".

How then has this secret society acted within the International?

The reply to this question is already given in part in the private circular of the General Council entitled *Fictitious Splits etc.* But due to the fact that the General Council was not yet at that time aware of the actual size of the secret organisation, and in view of the many important events which have taken place subsequently, this reply can be regarded only as most incomplete.

Let it be said right from the start that the activities of the Alliance fall into two distinct phases. The first is characterised by the assumption that it would be successful in gaining control of the General Council and thereby securing supreme direction of our Association. It was at this stage that the Alliance urged its adherents to uphold the "strong organisation" of the International and, above all,

> "the *authority* of the General Council and of the Federal Council and Central Committee";

and it was at this stage that gentlemen of the Alliance demanded at the Basle Congress that the General Council be invested with those wide powers which they later rejected with such horror as being *authoritarian.*

The Basle Congress destroyed, for the time being at least, the hopes nourished by the Alliance.[a] Since that time it has carried on

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[a] Further the following is crossed out in the manuscript: "whose activities were reduced to local intrigue (described in detail in the private circular *Fictitious Splits*). It remained fairly quiet until the point ... when the London Conference re-affirmed the original programme of the International as opposed to that of the Alliance with its resolutions on working-class policy and sectarian sections."—*Ed.*

the intrigues referred to in the *Fictitious Splits*; in the Jura district of Switzerland, in Italy and in Spain it has not ceased to push forward its special programme in place of that of the International. The London Conference put an end to this misunderstanding with its resolutions on working-class policy and sectarian sections. The Alliance immediately went into action again. The Jura Federation, the stronghold of the Alliance in Switzerland, issued its Sonvillier circular[a] against the General Council, in which the strong organisation, the authority of the General Council and the Basle resolutions, both proposed and voted for by the very people who were signatories to the circular, were denounced as *authoritarian*—a definition that, apparently, sufficed to condemn them out of hand; in which mention was made of "war, the open war that has broken out in our ranks"; in which it was demanded that the International should assume the form of an organisation adapted, not to the struggle in hand, but to some vague ideal of a future society, etc. From this point onwards tactics changed. An order was issued. Wherever the Alliance had its branches, in Italy and particularly in Spain, the authoritarian resolutions of the Basle Congress and the London Conference, as also the authoritarianism of the General Council, were subjected to the most violent attacks. Now there was nothing but talk of the autonomy of sections, free federated groups, anarchy, etc. This is quite understandable. The influence of the secret society within the International would naturally increase as the public organisation of the International weakened. The most serious obstacle in the path of the Alliance was the General Council, and this was consequently the body which came in for the most bitter attacks, although, as we shall see, the Federal Councils also received the same treatment whenever a suitable opportunity presented itself.

The Jura circular had no effect whatsoever, except in those countries where the International was more or less influenced by the Alliance, namely, in Italy and Spain. In the latter the Alliance and the International were founded simultaneously, immediately after the Basle Congress. Even the most devoted members of the International in Spain were led to believe that the programme of the Alliance was identical to that of the International, that this secret organisation existed everywhere and that it was almost the duty of all to belong to it. This illusion was destroyed by the London Conference, where the Spanish delegate,[b] himself a

[a] *Circulaire à toutes les fédérations de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Sonvillier, le 12 novembre 1871*, Geneva, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] Anselmo Lorenzo.—*Ed.*

member of the Central Committee of the Alliance in his country, could convince himself that the contrary was the fact, and also by the Jura circular itself, whose bitter attacks and lies against the Conference and the General Council were immediately taken up by all the organs of the Alliance. The first result of the Jura circular in Spain was the emergence of disagreements within the Spanish Alliance itself between those who were first and foremost members of the International and those who would not recognise it, since it had not come under Alliance control. The struggle, at first carried on in private, soon flared up in public at meetings of the International. When the Federal Council which had been elected by the Valencia Conference (September 1871)[185] demonstrated by its actions that it preferred the International to the Alliance, the majority of its members was expelled from the local Madrid Federation, where the Alliance was in control.[186] They were reinstated by the Saragossa Congress and two of them,[a] Mora and Lorenzo, were re-elected to the new Federal Council,[b] in spite of the fact that all the members of the old Council had previously announced that they would not recognise it.[c]

The Saragossa Congress[187] gave rise to fears on the part of the ringleaders of the Alliance that Spain might slip out of their hands. The Alliance immediately began a campaign against the authority of the Spanish Federal Council, similar to that which the Jura circular had directed against the so-called authoritarian powers of the General Council. A thoroughly democratic and at the same time coherent form of organisation had been worked out in Spain by the Barcelona Congress[188] and the Valencia Conference. Thanks to the activity of the Federal Council elected in Valencia (activity which was approved by a special vote of the Congress), this organisation achieved the outstanding successes referred to in the general report.[d] Morago, the leading light of the Alliance in Spain, declared at Saragossa that the powers conferred on the Federal Council in the Spanish organisation were *au-*

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[a] Further the following is crossed out in the manuscript: "its most active members".— *Ed.*

[b] Further the following is crossed out in the manuscript: "meeting in Valencia".— *Ed.*

[c] Further the following is crossed out in the manuscript: "The Congress had chosen Valencia for the seat of the Federal Council in the hope that it would prove to be neutral territory and that these disagreements would not break out afresh. However, three of the five members of the new Federal Council were henchmen of the Alliance and, as a result of co-option, their number increased to at least five. On the other hand, the Alliance, fearing lest the leadership [...]".— *Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 219-27.— *Ed.*

*thoritarian,* that it was essential to restrict them, and to deprive the Council of the right to accept or reject new sections and decide whether their rules were in accordance with the rules of the federation, in short, to reduce its role to that of a mere correspondence and statistics bureau. After rejecting Morago's proposals, the Congress resolved to preserve the existing authoritarian form of organisation (see *Estracto de las actas del segundo congreso obrero*, etc.,[a] pp. 109 and 110, appendix No. 8.[189] The relevant evidence given by Citizen Lafargue, a delegate to the Saragossa Congress, will be of great importance).

In order to isolate the new Federal Council from the disagreements, which had arisen in Madrid, the Congress transferred it to Valencia. However, the cause of the disagreements, namely, the antagonism, which had begun to develop between the Alliance and the International, was not of a local nature. Unaware even of the existence of the Alliance, the Congress set up a new Council composed entirely of members of that society; two of them, Mora and Lorenzo, opposed it and Mora refused a seat on the Council. The General Council's circular *Fictitious Splits,* which was a reply to the Jura circular, obliged all members of the International to make an open statement of their allegiance either to the International or to the Alliance. The polemics between *Emancipacion* on the one hand and the Alliance newspapers, the Barcelona *Federacion* and the Seville *Razon,* on the other, became increasingly virulent. Finally, on June 2 the members of the former Federal Council—the editors of the *Emancipacion* and members of the Spanish Central Committee of the Alliance—decided to address a circular to all the Spanish sections of the Alliance, in which they announced their dissolution as a section of the secret society and called on other sections to follow their example. Vengeance followed swiftly. They were immediately expelled again from the local Madrid Federation in flagrant violation of the existing regulations. Following this, they reorganised themselves into a New Madrid Federation and requested recognition from the Federal Council.

However, in the meantime the Alliancist element in the Council, strengthened by co-option, had gained complete control, causing Lorenzo to resign. The request of the New Madrid Federation met with a blank refusal on the part of the Federal Council, which was already concentrating all its efforts on ensuring the election of

[a] *Estracto de las actas del segundo Congreso Obrero de la Federacion regional Española, celebrado en Zaragoza en los dias 4 al 11 de abril de 1872, segun las actas y las notas tomadas por la comisión nombrada al efecto en el mismo,* Valencia, 1872.—*Ed.*

Alliance candidates to the Congress at The Hague. To this end the Council sent a private circular to local federations dated July 7, in which, repeating the slanderous remarks of the *Federacion* concerning the General Council, it proposed that the federations should send to the Congress a single delegation from the whole of Spain elected by a majority vote, the list of those elected to be drawn up by the Council itself. (Appendix No. 9.) It is obvious to anyone familiar with the secret society existing within the International in Spain that such a procedure would have meant the election of Alliance men to attend the Congress on funds provided by members of the International. As soon as the General Council, which was not sent a copy of the circular, got to know of these facts,[a] it addressed a letter dated July 24 to the Spanish Federal Council, which is attached as an appendix (No. 10).[b] The Federal Council[c] replied on August 1 to the effect that it would require time in order to translate our letter which had been written in French, and on August 3 it addressed an evasive reply to the General Council published in the *Federacion* (appendix No. 11). In this reply it sided with the Alliance. On receipt of the letter of August 1, the General Council had already published the correspondence in the *Emancipacion.*

It must be added that as soon as the secret organisation was discovered it was claimed that the Alliance had already been dissolved at the Saragossa Congress. The Central Committee had not, however, been informed to this effect (appendix No. 4).

The New Madrid Federation denies this, and it should have known. In general, the claim that the Spanish section of an international society such as the Alliance could dissolve itself without first consulting the other national sections is patently absurd.

Immediately after this the Alliance attempted a coup d'état. Realising that it would not be able to secure itself an artificial majority at the Hague Congress by means of the same manoeuvres employed at Basle and La Chaux-de-Fonds,[190] the Alliance took advantage of the Conference held at Rimini[d] by the self-styled Italian Federation in order to make a public announcement of the

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[a] Further the following is crossed out in the manuscript: "this was the very moment when it received the first irrefutable evidence of the existence of the secret organisation".— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 211-13.— *Ed.*

[c] Further the following is crossed out in the manuscript: "at first trying to gain time under the pretext that the translation".— *Ed.*

[d] See this volume, p. 216.— *Ed.*

split. The Conference delegates passed a unanimous resolution (see appendix No. 12). Thus the Congress of the Alliance stood in opposition to that of the International. However, it was soon realised that this plan had no chance of success. It was abandoned, and the decision was taken to go to The Hague, with the very same Italian sections, of which *only one* out of twenty-one belongs to our Association, having the audacity to send their delegates to the Hague Congress which they had already rejected!

Considering:

1) That the Alliance (the main organ of which is the Central Committee of the Jura Federation), founded and led by M. Bakunin, is a society hostile to the International, insofar as it aims at dominating or disorganising the latter;

2) That as a consequence of the foregoing the International and the Alliance are incompatible;

The Congress resolves:

1) That M. Bakunin and all the present members of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy be expelled from the International Working Men's Association and be granted readmission to it only after a public renunciation of all connections with this secret society;

2) That the Jura Federation be expelled as such from the International.

Written in late August 1872

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XIII, Part II, Moscow, 1940

Printed according to the rough manuscript

Translated from the French

# Frederick Engels

## [MOTION FOR THE PROCEDURE OF DEBATE ON THE GENERAL RULES AND ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS][191]

I propose to begin discussion of the second chapter of the Administrative Regulations concerning the General Council and, after that, of Articles 3, 4, 5 and 6 of the Rules dealing with the same subject.

*F. Engels*

Submitted to the Hague Congress on September 6, 1872

First published, in Russian, in *Gaagsky kongress Pervogo Internatsionala. 2-7 sentyabrya 1872. Protokoly i dokumenty,* Moscow, 1970

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [PROPOSAL ON THE TRANSFER OF THE SEAT AND ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL FOR 1872-1873][192]

We propose that the General Council for 1872-1873 be transferred to New York and be composed of the following members of the North American Federal Council: *Kavanagh, Saint Clair, Cetti, Levièle, Laurel, F. J. Bertrand, F. Bolte*, and *C. Carl.* It shall have the right to co-opt new members, but its total membership shall not exceed 15.

*Karl Marx, F. Engels, Geo. Sexton, Walery Wróblewski, Ch. Longuet, A. Serraillier, J. P. MacDonnell, Eugène Dupont, F. Lessner, Le Moussu, M. Maltman Barry*[a]

The Hague, September 6, 1872

Submitted to the Hague Congress on September 6, 1872

First published in [E. Vaillant,] *Internationale et révolution. À propos du congrès de La Haye*, London, 1872

Printed according to the manuscript written by Marx

Translated from the French

[a] All the signatures are handwritten.— *Ed.*

Nous proposons que pour l'an 1872-73 le siège du Conseil Général soit transféré à New-York et qu'il soit composé des membres suivants du Conseil Fédéral pour l'Amérique du Nord: Kavanagh, H. Clair, Letti, Levisle, Lamel, F. J. Bertrand, F. Bolte et L. Carl. Ils auront le droit d'adjonction, mais le nombre total des membres du Conseil Général n'excédera jamais celui de 15.

Karl Marx  F. Engels.
Gen Lepton
Wany Wroblewski  Cha Longuet
La Haye
6 Sept, 1872
A. Serraillier  J. P. McDonnell
Eugene Dupont  L. Lafiner
M. Maltman Barry

Facsimile of Marx's manuscript with a proposal to transfer the seat of the General Council to New York

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## RESOLUTIONS OF THE GENERAL CONGRESS HELD AT THE HAGUE

### FROM THE 2nd TO THE 7th SEPTEMBER, 1872 [193]

### I

### RESOLUTION RELATIVE TO THE GENERAL RULES

The following article which resumes the contents of Resolution IX of the Conference of London (September 1871) to be inserted in the Rules after Article 7, viz.:—

*Article 7a.*—In its struggle against the collective power of the propertied classes, the working class cannot act as a class except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes.

This constitution of the working class into a political party is indispensable in order to insure the triumph of the social revolution, and of its ultimate end, the abolition of classes.

The combination of forces which the working class has already effected by its economical struggles ought, at the same time, to serve as a lever for its struggles against the political power of landlords and capitalists.[a]

The lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies, and for the enslavement of labour. The conquest of political power has therefore become the great duty of the working class.

Adopted by 29 votes against 5, and 8 abstentions.[b]

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[a] The French edition has here "its exploiters" instead of "landlords and capitalists".—*Ed.*

[b] The French text of the resolutions continues as follows:

"Voted for: Arnaud, J. Ph. Becker, B. Becker, Cournet, Dereure, Dumont, Dupont, Duval, Eccarius, Engels, Farkas, Friedländer, Frankel, Hepner, Heim, Johannard, Kugelmann, Lafargue, Longuet, Le Moussu, Mottershead, Pihl, Ranvier, Serraillier, Sorge, Swarm, Vaillant, Wilmot, MacDonnel.

"Voted against: Brismée, Coenen, Gerhard, Schwitzguébel, Van der Hout.

## II

## RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO THE ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS

1. Powers of the General Council.

Articles II, 2 and 6 have been replaced by the following articles:—

"*Article 2.*—The General Council is bound to execute the Congress Resolutions, and to take care that in every country the principles and the General Rules and Regulations of the International are strictly observed.

"*Article 6.*—The General Council has also the right to suspend Branches, Sections, Federal Councils or committees, and federations of the International, till the meeting of the next Congress.

"Nevertheless, in the case of sections belonging to a federation, the General Council will exercise this right only after having consulted the respective Federal Council.

"In the case of the dissolution of a Federal Council, the General Council shall, at the same time, call upon the Sections of the respective Federation to elect a new Federal Council within 30 days at most.

"In the case of the suspension of an entire federation, the General Council shall immediately inform thereof the whole of the federations. If the majority of them demand it, the General Council shall convoke an extraordinary conference, composed of one delegate for each nationality, which shall meet within one month and finally decide upon the question.

"Nevertheless, it is well understood that the countries where the International is prohibited shall exercise the same rights as the regular federations."

Article 2 was adopted by 40 votes against 4; abstentions, 11.[a]

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"Abstained: Van den Abeele, Dave, Eberhardt, Fluse, Guillaume, Herman, Sauva, Marselau.

"The Congress officially decided to recognise as valid the votes of the delegates who could not attend the sitting because of their work in commissions. The following delegates voted for: Cuno, Lucain, Marx, Vichard, Walter, Wróblewski; 6 in all. Not a vote against."

In Engels' manuscript the following passage is crossed out: "As the resolution obtained more than two-thirds of the votes, according to Article 12 of the General Rules, it henceforth becomes part of the General Rules."—*Ed.*

[a] The French text of the resolutions continues as follows:

"Voted for: Arnaud, Barry, J. Ph. Becker, B. Becker, Cournet, Cuno, Dereure, Dumont, Dupont, Duval, Engels, Farkas, Frankel, Friedländer, Hepner, Heim, Johannard, Kugelmann, Lafargue, Lessner, Le Moussu, Longuet, Lucain, MacDon-

2. Contributions to be paid to the General Council:—With regard to the proposal, on the one hand to raise, on the other to reduce, the amount of their contributions, the Congress had to decide whether the actual amount of 1d.[a] per annum, should be altered or not. The Congress maintained the penny by 17 votes against 12, and 8 abstentions.[b]

## III

## RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF TRADES' SOCIETIES[c]

The new General Council is entrusted with the special mission to establish International trades unions.

For this purpose it will, within the month following this Congress, draw up a circular which shall be translated and published in all languages, and forwarded to all trades' societies whose addresses are known, whether they are affiliated to the International or not.

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nell, Marx, Milke, Pihl, Ranvier, Roach, Sauva, Scheu, Serraillier, Sexton, Sorge, Swarm, Schumacher, Vaillant, Vichard, Walter, Wróblewski.

"Voted against: Fluse, Gerhard, Splingard, Van der Hout.

"Abstained: Alerini, Coenen, Dave, Eberhardt, Guillaume, Herman, Morago, Marselau, Farga Pellicer, Schwitzguébel, Van den Abeele.

"Article 6—adopted by 36 votes against 6, abstentions, 16.

"Voted for: Arnaud, Barry, J. Ph. Becker, B. Becker, Cournet, Cuno, Dereure, Dupont, Duval, Engels, Farkas, Frankel, Friedländer, Hepner, Heim, Johannard, Kugelmann, Lafargue, Lessner, Le Moussu, Longuet, Ludwig, MacDonnell, Marx, Milke, Pihl, Ranvier, Serraillier, Schumacher, Sexton, Sorge, Swarm, Vaillant, Vichard, Walter, Wróblewski.

"Voted against: Brismée, Coenen, Fluse, Herman, Sauva, Splingard.

"Abstained: Alerini, Cyrille, Dave, Dumont, Eberhardt, Guillaume, Lucain, Marselau, Morago, Mottershead, Farga Pellicer, Roach, Schwitzguébel, Van den Abeele, Van der Hout, Wilmot."—*Ed.*

[a] The French text has "10 centimes" here and below.—*Ed.*

[b] The French text of the resolutions continues as follows:

"Voted against the contribution being altered: J. Ph. Becker, Brismée, Coenen, Cyrille, Dupont, Duval, Eberhardt, Eccarius, Farkas, Fluse, Gerhard, Herman, Hepner, Serraillier, Sorge, Swarm, Wilmot.

"Voted for the contribution being altered: Dumont, Engels, Frankel, Heim, Johannard, Lafargue, Le Moussu, Longuet, Lucain, MacDonnell, Pihl, Sauva.

"Abstained: Alerini, Dave, Dereure, Guillaume, Marselau, Morago, Farga Pellicer, Schwitzguébel.

"The following delegates, obliged to leave The Hague before this question was discussed, handed in their vote in writing for the raising of the contribution: Arnaud, Cournet, Ranvier, Vaillant."—*Ed.*

[c] The French text has here "societies of resistance" instead of "trades' societies".—*Ed.*

In this circular every Union[a] shall be called upon to enter into an International union of its respective trade.

Every Union[a] shall be invited to fix itself the conditions under which it proposes to enter the International Union of its trade.

The General Council shall, from the conditions fixed by the Unions,[b] adopting the idea of International union, draw up a general plan, and submit it to the provisional acceptance of the Societies.[c]

The next Congress will finally settle the fundamental treaty for the International trades unions.

(Voted unanimously minus a few abstentions, the number of which has not been stated in the minutes.)

## IV

## RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO THE ADMISSION OF SECTIONS[d]

1. *Section 2* (New York, French) *of the North American Federation.*—This Section had been excluded by the American Federal Council. On the other hand, it had not been recognised as an independent Section by the General Council. It was not admitted by the Congress. Voted against the admission, 38; for, 9; abstained, 11.

2. *Section 12* (New York, American) *of the North American Federation.*—Suspended by the General Council.[e]

In the course of the debate on the credentials of Section 12, the following resolution was adopted by 47 votes against 0; abstentions, 9:

"The International Working Men's Association, based upon the principle of the abolition of classes, cannot admit any middle class Sections."[f]

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[a] The French text has here "trades' society" instead of "Union".—*Ed.*

[b] The French text has here "societies" instead of "Unions".—*Ed.*

[c] The French text adds here: "which would wish to enter the International trades unions".—*Ed.*

[d] *In the French edition, item 1 is preceded by the following text:*

"The Mandate Commission was composed as follows: Gerhard (50 votes), Ranvier (44), Roach (41), Marx (41), MacDonnell (39), Dereure (36), Frankel (22)."—*Ed.*

[e] See this volume, p. 125.—*Ed.*

[f] After this the French text of the resolutions has:

"Voted for: Arnaud, J. Ph. Becker, Barry, Brismée, Cournet, Cuno, Coenen, Dave, Dereure, Dietzgen, Dupont, Duval, Eberhardt, Fluse, Farkas, Frankel,

Section 12 was excluded by 49 votes against 0; abstentions, 9.[a]

3. *Section of Marseilles.*—This Section, quite unknown to the General Council, and to the French Sections in correspondence with the latter, is not admitted. Against the admission, 38; for, 0; abstentions, 14.

4. *Section of Propaganda and Revolutionary Action, at Geneva.*—This Section, which is but the resurrection of the (public) "Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste", of Geneva, dissolved in August 1871, had been recognised neither by the Romance Federal Committee nor by the General Council, which, indeed, had returned its contributions when sent by the Jurassian Federal Committee. The Congress resolved to suspend it till after the debate on the second[b] *Alliance.* The suspension was voted unanimously, less a few abstentions not counted.

5. *New Federation of Madrid.*—The new Federation of Madrid was formed by the members of the previous Spanish Federal Council, after the old Federation of Madrid, in flagrant breach of the rules then in force, had expelled them for having denounced the conspiracy of the secret alliance against the International Working Men's Association. They addressed themselves, in the first instance, to the Spanish Federal Council, which refused to affiliate the new Federation. They then addressed themselves to the General Council,[c] which took upon itself the responsibility of

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Friedländer, Guillaume, Gerhard, Heim, Hepner, Herman, Johannard, Kugelmann, Lafargue, Le Moussu, Lessner, Lucain, Marx, Milke, Mottershead, Pihl, Ranvier, Sauva, Scheu, Schumacher, Serraillier, Sexton, Sorge, Splingard, Swarm, Vaillant, Vichard, Wilmot, Wróblewski, Walter, Van den Abeele.

"Abstained: Alerini, Eccarius, Harcourt, Marselau, Morago, Farga Pellicer, Roach, Schwitzguébel, Van der Hout."—*Ed.*

[a] After this the French text of the resolutions has:

"Voted for the exclusion: Arnaud, Barry, J. Ph. Becker, Brismée, Cournet, Coenen, Cuno, Dave, Dereure, Dietzgen, Dumont, Dupont, Duval, Eberhardt, Fluse, Farkas, Frankel, Friedländer, Gerhard, Heim, Hepner, Herman, Johannard, Kugelmann, Lafargue, Le Moussu, Lessner, Lucain, MacDonnell, Marx, Milke, Pihl, Ranvier, Roach, Sauva, Scheu, Schumacher, Serraillier, Sexton, Sorge, Splingard, Swarm, Vaillant, Van den Abeele, Van der Hout, Vichard, Wilmot, Wróblewski, Walter.

"Abstained: Alerini, Eccarius, Guillaume, Harcourt, Marselau, Morago, Farga Pellicer, Mottershead, Schwitzguébel."—*Ed.*

[b] The French text has "secret" instead of "second". Further the following passage is crossed out in Engels' manuscript: "Forced to stop its work right after this discussion, the Congress has not decided this question."—*Ed.*

[c] In Engels' manuscript the following passage is crossed out: "which recognised it without first asking the Spanish Federal Council, as is laid down in the Administrative Rules. In this case, the General Council was acting on its own

recognising it[a] without consulting the Spanish Council, amongst whose eight members not less than five belonged to the Alliance.

The Congress admitted this Federation by 40 votes against 0; the few abstentions were not counted.

## V

## AUDIT OF THE ACCOUNTS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL

The Committee appointed by the Congress for the auditing of the accounts of the General Council for the year 1871-72, was composed of the following citizens:—Dumont, for France; Alerini, for Spain; Farkas, for Austria and Hungary; Brismée, for Belgium; Lafargue, for the new Federation of Madrid and for Portugal; Pihl, for Denmark; J. Ph. Becker, for German Switzerland; Duval, for the Romance Swiss Federation; Schwitzguébel, for the Jurassian Swiss Federation; Dave, for Holland; Dereure, for America; and Cuno, for Germany.

The accounts submitted to this Committee were approved and signed by all its members excepting Dave, absent.

The accounts having been read, the Congress approved of them by a unanimous vote.

## VI

## POWERS ISSUED BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL, AND BY FEDERAL COUNCILS

The Congress resolved, "To annul all powers issued, as well by the General Council as by any of the Federal Councils, to members of the International in such countries where the Association is prohibited, and to reserve to the new General Council the exclusive right of appointing, in those countries, the plenipotentiaries of the International Working Men's Association."

Adopted unanimously, less a few abstentions not specially counted.

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responsibility and despite of the Regulations, because the Spanish Federal Council had at least 5 secret Alliance members amongst its 8 members. It was for disclosing this conspiracy against the International Working Men's Association that they wanted to ban the New Madrid Federation."—*Ed.*

[a] See this volume, p. 215.—*Ed.*

## VII

## RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO THE ALLIANCE

The Committee charged with the inquiry regarding the (second[a]) Alliance of Socialist Democracy, consisted of the citizens—Cuno (33 votes), Lucain (24), Splingard (31), Vichard (30), and Walter (29).

In its report to the Congress, the majority of this Committee declared that "the secret Alliance was established with rules entirely opposed to those of the International". It proposed:—

"To exclude from the International Michael Bakounine, as founder of the Alliance, and for a personal affair.

"To exclude Guillaume and Schwitzguébel, as members of the Alliance.

"To exclude B. Malon, Bousquet* (Secretary of Police at Béziers, France), and Louis Marchand, as convicted of acts aiming at the disorganisation of the International Working Men's Association.

"To withdraw the charges against Alerini, Marselau, Morago, Farga Pellicer, and Joukowski, upon their formal declaration that they no longer belong to the Alliance.

"To authorise the Committee to publish the documents upon which their conclusions were based."

The Congress resolved—

"1. To exclude Michael Bakounine. Voted for, 27; against, 6; abstentions, 7.[b]

"2. To exclude Guillaume. 25 for, 9 against, 8 abstentions.[c]

* The Committee was not acquainted with the fact that M. Bousquet, upon the demands of his Section, had already been excluded by a formal vote of the General Council.

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[a] The French text has here "secret" instead of "second".—*Ed.*

[b] The French text of the resolutions continues as follows:

"Voted for: J. Ph. Becker, Cuno, Dereure, Dumont, Dupont, Duval, Engels, Farkas, Frankel, Heim, Hepner, Johannard, Kugelmann, Lafargue, Le Moussu, Longuet, Lucain, MacDonnell, Marx, Pihl, Serraillier, Sorge, Swarm, Vichard, Wilmot, Walter, Wróblewski.

"Voted against: Brismée, Dave, Fluse, Herman, Coenen, Van den Abeele.

"Abstained: Alerini, Guillaume, Marselau, Morago, Sauva, Splingard, Schwitzguébel."—*Ed.*

[c] The French text of the resolutions continues as follows:

"Voted for: J. Ph. Becker, Cuno, Dumont, Dupont, Duval, Engels, Farkas, Frankel, Heim, Hepner, Johannard, Kugelmann, Lafargue, Le Moussu, Longuet, Lucain, Marx, Pihl, Serraillier, Sorge, Swarm, Vichard, Walter, Wilmot, Wróblewski.

"Voted against: Brismée, Cyrille, Dave, Fluse, Herman, Coenen, Sauva, Splingard, Van den Abeele.

"3. Not to exclude Schwitzguébel. For exclusion 15; against 16; abstentions, 7.[a]

"4. To refrain from voting upon the other exclusions proposed by the Committee. Adopted unanimously, minus some few abstentions.

"5. To publish the documents relating to the Alliance. Adopted unanimously, minus some few abstentions."

It is to be noted that these votes upon the Alliance were taken after a great number of French[b] and German delegates had been obliged to leave.

## VIII

## RESIDENCE AND COMPOSITION OF THE NEXT GENERAL COUNCIL

1. Vote upon the change of residence of the General Council. Voted for the change, 26; against, 23; abstentions, 9.[c]

2. The seat of the General Council has been transferred to New York, by 30 votes against 14, for London, and 12 abstentions.[d]

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"Abstained: Alerini, Dereure, Friedländer, MacDonnell, Marselau, Morago, Farga Pellicer, Schwitzguébel."—*Ed.*

[a] The French text of the resolutions continues as follows:

"Voted for the exclusion: J. Ph. Becker, Cuno, Dumont, Engels, Farkas, Heim, Hepner, Kugelmann, Le Moussu, Marx, Pihl, Splingard, Walter, Vichard, Wróblewski.

"Voted against: Brismée, Coenen, Cyrille, Dave, Dereure, Dupont, Fluse, Frankel, Herman, Johannard, Longuet, Sauva, Serraillier, Swarm, Wilmot, Van den Abeele.

"Abstained: Duval, Lafargue, Lucain, MacDonnell, Marselau, Morago, Farga Pellicer."

In the French text the number of those who voted against is 17.—*Ed.*

[b] Engels' manuscript has here "French, English".—*Ed.*

[c] The French text of the resolutions continues as follows:

"Voted for: Barry, J. Ph. Becker, Brismée, Cuno, Dave, Dumont, Dupont, Engels, Harcourt, Johannard, Kugelmann, Lafargue, Lessner, Le Moussu, Longuet, MacDonnell, Marx, Roach, Sauva, Serraillier, Sexton, Sorge, Swarm, Vichard, Van den Abeele, Wróblewski.

"Voted against: Arnaud, B. Becker, Cournet, Dereure, Duval, Farkas, Frankel, Friedländer, Gerhard, Heim, Hepner, Herman, Lucain, Ludwig, Milke, Pihl, Ranvier, Schumacher, Splingard, Vaillant, Wilmot, Walter, Van der Hout.

"Abstained: Cyrille, Eberhardt, Fluse, Guillaume, Marselau, Morago, Farga Pellicer, Schwitzguébel, Alerini."—*Ed.*

[d] The French text of the resolutions continues as follows:

"Voted for New York: J. Ph. Becker, B. Becker, Brismée, Cuno, Coenen, Dave, Dumont, Dupont, Engels, Farkas, Fluse, Friedländer, Herman, Kugelmann, Lafargue, Lessner, Le Moussu, Longuet, Lucain, MacDonnell, Marx, Pihl, Roach, Serraillier, Sexton, Splingard, Swarm, Vichard, Van den Abeele, Wróblewski.

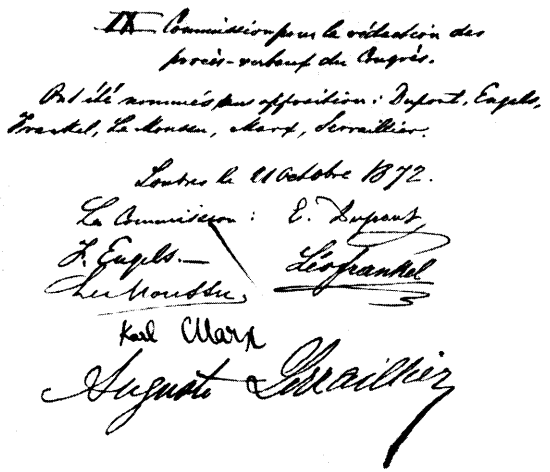

Page of the manuscript of the Hague Congress resolutions

3. The Congress resolved to appoint twelve members, residing in New York, to the General Council, with the faculty of adding them[a] to that number. The following were elected:—

| | Votes | | Votes |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bertrand (German) | 29 | Carl (German) | 28 |
| Bolte (German) | 29 | David (French) | 26 |
| Laurel (Swede) | 29 | Dereure (French) | 26 |
| Kavanagh (Irish) | 29 | Fornaccieri (Italian) | 25 |
| Saint Clair (Irish) | 29 | Speyer (German) | 23 |
| Levièle (French) | 28 | Ward (American) | 22 |

## IX

## PLACE OF MEETING OF NEXT CONGRESS

The proposition that the new Congress should meet in Switzerland, and that the new General Council should determine in what town, was adopted. There voted for Switzerland 15, for London 5, for Chicago 1, and for Spain 1.

## X

## COMMITTEE TO DRAW UP THE MINUTES

The following were appointed, without opposition:—Dupont, Engels, Frankel, Le Moussu, Marx and Serraillier.

Committee { *E. Dupont, F. Engels, Leó Frankel, Le Moussu, Karl Marx, Auguste Serraillier*

London, 21st October, 1872

First published as a pamphlet: *Résolutions du congrès général tenu à la Haye du 2 au 7 septembre 1872*. London, 1872, and in the newspapers *La Emancipacion*, No. 72, November 2, 1872, and *The International Herald*, No. 37, December 14, 1872

Reproduced from the text of *The International Herald* checked with Engels' manuscript and the pamphlet

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"Voted for London: Arnaud, Cournet, Dereure, Duval, Frankel, Heim, Hepner, Ludwig, Milke, Ranvier, Schumacher, Vaillant, Wilmot, Walter.

"Abstained: Cyrille, Eberhardt, Gerhard, Guillaume, Johannard, Alerini, Marselau, Morago, Farga Pellicer, Sorge, Schwitzguébel, Van der Hout."

In the French text the number of the abstained is 13.—*Ed.*

[a] The French text has here "three other members" instead of "them".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## ON THE HAGUE CONGRESS

[A CORRESPONDENT'S REPORT OF A SPEECH MADE AT A MEETING IN AMSTERDAM ON SEPTEMBER 8, 1872][194]

In the 18th century the kings and potentates were in the habit of assembling at The Hague to discuss the interests of their dynasties.

It is there that we decided to hold our workers' congress despite the attempts to intimidate us. In the midst of the most reactionary population we wanted to affirm the existence, the spreading and hopes for the future of our great Association.

When our decision became known, there was talk of emissaries we had sent to prepare the ground. Yes, we have emissaries everywhere, we do not deny it, but the majority of them are unknown to us. Our emissaries in The Hague were the workers, whose labour is so exhausting, just as in Amsterdam they are workers too, workers who toil for sixteen hours a day. Those are our emissaries, we have no others; and in all the countries in which we make an appearance we find them ready to welcome us, for they understand very quickly that the aim we pursue is the improvement of their lot.

The Hague Congress has achieved three main things:

It has proclaimed the necessity for the working classes to fight the old disintegrating society in the political as well as the social field; and we see with satisfaction that henceforth this resolution of the London Conference will be included in our Rules.[a]

A group has been formed in our midst which advocates that the workers should abstain from political activity.

We regard it as our duty to stress how dangerous and fatal we considered those principles to be for our cause.

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[a] See this volume, p. 243.— *Ed.*

One day the worker will have to seize political supremacy to establish the new organisation of labour; he will have to overthrow the old policy which supports the old institutions if he wants to escape the fate of the early Christians who, neglecting and despising politics, never saw their kingdom on earth.

But we by no means claimed that the means for achieving this goal were identical everywhere.

We know that the institutions, customs and traditions in the different countries must be taken into account; and we do not deny the existence of countries like America, England, and if I knew your institutions better I might add Holland, where the workers may achieve their aims by peaceful means. That being true we must also admit that in most countries on the Continent it is force which must be the lever of our revolution; it is force which will have to be resorted to for a time in order to establish the rule of the workers.[a]

The Hague Congress has endowed the General Council with new and greater powers. Indeed, at a time when the kings are assembling in Berlin and when from this meeting of powerful representatives of feudalism and the past there must result new and more severe measures of repression against us[195]; at a time when persecution is being organised, the Hague Congress rightly believed that it was wise and necessary to increase the powers of its General Council and to centralise, in view of the impending struggle, activity which isolation would render impotent. And, by the way, who but our enemies could take alarm at the authority of the General Council? Has it a bureaucracy and an armed police to ensure that it is obeyed? Is not its authority solely moral, and does it not submit its decisions to the Federations which have to carry them out? In these conditions, kings, with no army, no police, no magistracy, and reduced to having to maintain their power by moral influence and authority, would be feeble obstacles to the progress of the revolution.

Finally, the Hague Congress transferred the seat of the General Council to New York. Many, even of our friends, seemed to be surprised at such a decision. Are they then forgetting that America is becoming the world of workers *par excellence*; that every year half a million men, workers, emigrate to that other continent, and that the International must vigorously take root in that soil where the worker predominates? Moreover, the decision

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[a] In place of this sentence *Der Volksstaat* has: "But this is not the case in all countries." — *Ed.*

taken by the Congress gives the General Council the right to co-opt those members whom it judges necessary and useful for the good of the common cause. Let us rely on its wisdom to choose men equal to the task and able to carry with a steady hand the banner of our Association in Europe.

Citizens, let us bear in mind this fundamental principle of the International: solidarity! It is by establishing this life-giving principle on a reliable base among all the workers in all countries that we shall achieve the great aim which we pursue. The revolution must display solidarity, and we find a great example of this in the Paris Commune,[a] which fell because there did not appear in all the centres, in Berlin, Madrid, etc., a great revolutionary movement corresponding to this supreme uprising of the Paris proletariat.

For my part I will persist in my task and will constantly work to establish among the workers this solidarity which will bear fruit for the future. No, I am not withdrawing from the International, and the rest of my life will be devoted, like my efforts in the past, to the triumph of the social ideas which one day, be sure of it, will bring about the universal rule of the proletariat.

First published in *La Liberté*, No. 37, September 15, 1872; *La Emancipacion*, No. 66, September 21, 1872; *Der Volksstaat*, No. 79, October 2, 1872

Printed according to *La Liberté* checked with *Der Volksstaat*

Translated from the French

[a] In *Der Volksstaat* the end of the sentence reads as follows: "which only fell because precisely this solidarity was lacking in the workers of the other countries".— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF *LE CORSAIRE*[196]

Dear Sir,

The *Figaro* of September 11 reproduces a conversation which I am alleged to have had with the correspondent of the *Soir*.[a] The *Figaro*-type press can allow itself any calumny without anybody taking the trouble to point it out, but when the mercenary imagination of a correspondent goes so far as to put in my mouth grave accusations against my friends of the ex-General Council, I feel bound to say that he has violated all the rules of truth in daring to claim to have exchanged a single word with me.

I profit by this opportunity to let our friends and enemies know that I never dreamed of resigning from the International and that the transfer of the General Council to New York was proposed by me and several other members of the previous General Council.

It is false to report that Bakunin and his acolyte Guillaume were expelled as heads of a so-called federalist party. The expulsion of Bakunin and Guillaume was motivated by the creation within our Association of a secret society, the *Alliance of Socialist Democracy*, which claimed to direct the International to aims contrary to its principles.

The resolution of the London Conference on the political action of the working class was approved by the great majority of the Congress, and its insertion in the General Rules was voted.[b]

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[a] "On continue à ne pas voir...", *Le Figaro*, September 11, 1872. The article is signed ". ˙ .".— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 243.— *Ed.*

The working-class public of The Hague and Amsterdam were most sympathetic towards the Congress.

So much for the value of the reports in the reactionary press.

Yours sincerely,

*Karl Marx*

The Hague, September 12, 1872

First published in *Le Corsaire*, September 15, 1872; *Gazzettino Rosa*, No. 260, September 18, 1872; *La Emancipacion*, No. 66, September 21, 1872; *Il Popolino*, No. 19, September 22, 1872

Printed according to *Le Corsaire*

Translated from the French

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE DAILY NEWS*

Sir,—On my return from The Hague, I find that your paper attributes to me the intention of removing to New York, in the wake of the General Council of the I.W.A.[a] In reply, I beg to state that I intend and always intended remaining in London. Months ago I communicated to my friends here in London, and to my correspondents on the Continent, my firm resolve not to remain a member of the General Council, or indeed of any administrative body whatsoever, as my scientific labours would not permit me to do so any longer. As to the distorted reports of the press about the proceedings of the Congress at The Hague, they will be set at rest by the impending publication of the official Congress Minutes.[197]

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

*Karl Marx*

Modena Villas,
Maitland Park, N.W.
September 17

First published in *The Daily News*, No. 8235, September 18, 1872

Reproduced from the newspaper

[a] "The New Constitution of the International", *The Daily News*, No. 8230, September 12, 1872.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## ON THE HAGUE CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL[198]

[*Der Volksstaat*, No. 78, September 28, 1872]

The Congress comprised 64 delegates, sixteen of whom represented France, ten Germany, seven Belgium, five England, five North America, four Holland, four Spain, three the Romance Federation of Switzerland, two the Jura Federation of Switzerland, one Ireland, one Portugal, one Poland, one Austria, one Hungary, one Australia, and two Denmark. A number of them held mandates from two or three countries, so that the distribution given above is not quite accurate. According to their country of origin twenty of them were French, sixteen Germans, eight Belgians, six English, three Dutch, three Spanish, two Swiss, two Hungarian, one Polish, one Irish, one Danish, one Corsican.[199] At no previous congress had so many nations been represented.

The verification of the mandates took nearly three days. The reason for this was that the affiliation of various Sections to the International was disputed. Thus No. 2 (French) Section of New York, which after taking part in the last congress of the American Federation subsequently opposed its decisions, was therefore expelled from the Federation by the American Federal Council. As it had not been recognised since then as an independent section by the General Council and its exclusion from the Congress had not been opposed, its delegate[a] could not be admitted or its mandate acknowledged. (Administrative Regulations II, Articles 5, 6; IV, Article 4.)[b]

The opposite was the case with the credentials of the New Madrid Federation. This comprised a number of workers who had

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[a] A. Sauva.—*Ed.*

[b] Error in *Der Volksstaat*: "III, Article 4". See this volume, p. 12.—*Ed.*

been expelled from the old Madrid Federation under all sorts of pretexts and in flagrant violation of the local Rules. The real reason was that they had accused the secret society "The Alliance of Socialist Democracy" organised within the Spanish International of betraying the International. They consequently organised themselves into the New Madrid Federation and applied to the Spanish Federal Council for recognition. The Federal Council, adhering in the majority if not entirely to the Alliance, refused. The General Council, to whom they then applied, having recognised them as an independent Federation,[a] they sent their delegate,[b] whose credentials were disputed by the delegates of the Spanish Federation. In this case the General Council disregarded the prescriptions of the Administrative Regulations (II, 5), according to which it ought to have consulted the Spanish Federal Council before admitting the New Madrid Federation; it did not do this because, on the one hand, there was danger in delay, and secondly because the Spanish Federal Council had placed itself in rebellion against the International by openly siding with the Alliance.

The Congress approved the General Council's way of acting by a large majority, nobody voting against, and thus the New Madrid Federation was recognised.

A similar question arose in respect of the credentials of the Geneva "Section of Revolutionary Propaganda", which the General Council, on the request of the Geneva Romance Federal Committee, had not recognised. The credentials, and with them the whole section, remained suspended until the end of the Congress, and as the case could not be settled for lack of time, the section is still suspended.

The General Council's right to be represented by six delegates as at previous congresses was recognised after weak objections.

The four delegates of the Spanish Federation, who had not sent any subscriptions for the past accounting year, were not admitted until the subscriptions had been paid.

Finally, the delegate of the American Section No. 12,[c] the one which caused all the scandal in New York (as related earlier in *Der Volksstaat*[d]), was unanimously rejected after pleading a long time

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[a] F. Engels, "The General Council to the New Madrid Federation", see this volume, p. 215.— *Ed.*

[b] P. Lafargue.— *Ed.*

[c] W. West.— *Ed.*

[d] F. Engels, "The International in America", see this volume, pp. 177-83.— *Ed.*

for Section No. 12, and accordingly Section No. 12 ultimately finds itself outside the International.

We see that under the form of verifying the mandates nearly all the practical questions which had occupied the International for a year were examined and settled. By a majority of from 38 to 45 against a minority of from 12 to 20, who mostly abstained altogether from voting, every single action of the General Council was approved by the Congress and it was given one vote of confidence after another.

An Italian delegate had also arrived, Signor Cafiero, chairman of the Rimini conference at which on August 6[a] twenty-one sections (twenty of which have not fulfilled a single one of the conditions laid down by the Rules for their admission and hence do not belong to the International) adopted a decision to break off all solidarity with the General Council and to hold a congress of like-minded sections on September 2, not at The Hague, but at Neuchâtel in Switzerland.

They apparently changed their minds and Signor Cafiero came to The Hague, but he was reasonable enough to keep his mandate in his pocket and to attend the Congress as an onlooker, relying on his membership card.

At the very first vote—the election of the commission to verify the mandates—the assembly split into a majority and a minority which, with few exceptions, remained a solid body till the end. France, Germany, America, Poland, Denmark, Ireland, Austria, Hungary, Portugal, the Romance Federation of Switzerland, and Australia formed the majority. Belgium, the Spanish and the Jura Federation, Holland, one French and one American delegate formed the minority, which on most questions abstained entirely or in part from voting. The English delegates voted dividedly and unevenly. The core of the majority was formed by the Germans and the French, who held together as though the great military, government and state actions[200] of the year 1870 had never occurred. The unanimity of the German and French workers was sealed on the second anniversary of the capitulation at Sedan—a lesson for Bismarck no less than for Thiers!

When the matter of the mandates had been settled, came the first urgent question—the position of the General Council. The first debate at the public sitting on the Wednesday evening already proved that there could be no talk of its *abolition*. The

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[a] Error in *Der Volksstaat*: "August 7".—*Ed.*

high-sounding phrases about free federation, autonomy of sections and so on died away ineffectively before the compact majority who were obviously determined not to let the International develop into a plaything. The delegates of those countries where the International has to wage a real struggle against the state power, that is to say those who take the International most seriously, the Germans, French, Austrians, Hungarians, Poles, Portuguese and Irish, were of the view that the General Council should have definite powers and should not be reduced to a mere "post-box", a "correspondence and statistics bureau" as the minority demanded.

Accordingly, to Article 2, Section II of the Administrative Regulations, which reads:

"The General Council is bound to execute the Congress Resolutions",

was added the following, adopted by 40 votes for to 5 against and 4 abstentions:

"and to take care that the basic principles and the General Rules and Regulations of the International are strictly observed".

And Article 6 of the same section:

"The General Council has also the right to suspend any Section from the International till the next Congress" will henceforth read:

"The General Council has the right to suspend a Section, a Federal Council, or a Federal Committee and a whole Federation.

"Nevertheless, in the case of Sections belonging to a Federation, the General Council shall consult the respective Federal Council.

"In the case of the dissolution of a Federal Council, the General Council shall arrange the election of a new Federal Council within 30 days at most.

"In the case of the suspension of an entire Federation, the General Council shall inform thereof the whole of the Federations. If the majority of them demand it, the General Council shall convoke an extraordinary conference, composed of one delegate for each nationality, which shall meet within one month and finally decide upon the question." (36 for, 11 against, 9 abstentions.)

Thus the position of the General Council, which according to the previous Rules and Congress resolutions could have been doubtful, was made sufficiently clear. The General Council is the Association's executive committee, and as such has definite powers in respect of the Sections and Federations. These powers have not been really extended by the above-quoted decisions, they have only been formulated better and provided with such guarantees as will never allow the General Council to lose awareness of its

responsibility. After this resolution there can be less talk of dictatorship of the General Council than ever before.

The introduction of these two articles into the Administrative Regulations satisfied the most urgent requirement. Owing to the short time available a detailed revision of the General Rules was dispensed with. Nevertheless, in this respect there still remained an important point to be discussed. Serious differences had arisen over the programme as regards the political activity of the working class. In the Jura Federation of Switzerland, in Spain and in Italy the Bakuninist sect had preached absolute abstention from all political activity, in particular from all elections, as a principle of the International. This misunderstanding had been removed by Resolution IX of the London Conference in September 1871; on the other hand, the Bakuninists had decried this resolution too, as exceeding the powers of the conference. The Congress clarified the matter once more by adopting the London[a] Conference resolution by a two-thirds majority in the following formulation:

"In its struggle against the collective power of the propertied classes, the proletariat cannot act as a class except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes. This constitution of the proletariat into a political party is indispensable in order to insure the triumph of the social revolution, and of its ultimate end, the abolition of classes.

"The combination of forces which the working class has already effected by its economical struggles ought, at the same time, to serve as a lever for its struggles against the political power of its exploiters.

"The lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies, and for the enslavement of labour. The conquest of political power has therefore become the great duty of the proletariat."

This resolution was adopted by 28 votes to 13 (including abstentions). Moreover, four French and six German delegates who had had to leave earlier had handed in their votes in writing *for* the new articles of the General Rules, so that the real majority amounted to 38.

This resolution has made it impossible for the abstentionists to

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[a] Error in *Der Volksstaat*: "English".—*Ed.*

spread the delusion that abstention from all elections and all political activity is a principle of the International. If this sect, the same one which from the very beginning has caused all the discords in the International, now finds it compatible with its principles to remain in the International, that is its business; certainly nobody will try to keep it in.

The next point was the election of the new General Council. The majority of the previous General Council[201]—Marx, Engels, Serraillier, Dupont, Wróblewski, MacDonnell and others—moved that the General Council should be transferred to New York and the eight members of the American Federal Council appointed to it and that the American Federation should add another seven. The reason for this proposal was that most active members of the previous General Council had been obliged recently to devote all their time to the International, but were no longer in a position to do so. Marx and Engels had already informed their friends months earlier that it was possible for them to pursue their scientific work only on the condition that they retired from the General Council.

Others had similar motives. As a result, the General Council, if it were to remain in London, would be deprived of those very members who had so far been doing all the actual work, both the correspondence and the literary work. And then there were two elements in London both striving to gain the upper hand in the General Council, and in such conditions they would probably have done so.

One of these elements consisted of the French Blanquists (who, it is true, had never been recognised by Blanqui), a small coterie who replaced discernment of the real course of the movement with revolutionary talk, and propaganda activity with petty spurious conspiracy leading only to useless arrests. To hand over the leadership of the International in France to these people would mean senselessly throwing our people there into prison and disorganising again the thirty *départements* in which the International is flourishing. There were enough opportunities at the Congress itself for people to become convinced that the Internationals in France would put up with anything rather than the domination of these gentlemen.

The second dangerous element in London comprised those English working-class leaders in whose face Marx at the Congress had flung the words: it is a disgrace to be among these English working-class leaders, for almost all of them have sold themselves to Sir Charles Dilke, Samuel Morley, or even Gladstone. These

men, who have so far been kept down or outside by the compact Franco-German majority in the General Council, would now play quite a different role, and the activity of the International in England would not only come under the control of the bourgeois radicals, but probably even under the control of the government.

A transfer was therefore necessary, and once this was recognised, New York was the only place which combined the two necessary conditions: security for the Association's archives and an international composition of the General Council itself. It took some pains to carry this transfer through; this time the Belgians separated from the minority and voted for London, and the Germans in particular insisted on London. Nevertheless, after several votings the transfer to New York was decided and the following twelve members of the General Council were appointed, with the right to increase the number to fifteen: Kavanagh and Saint Clair (Irishmen), Laurel (a Swede), Fornaccieri (an Italian), David, Levièle, Dereure (Frenchmen), Bolte, Bertrand, Carl, Speyer (Germans), and Ward (an American).

It was further decided to hold the next Congress in Switzerland and to leave it to the General Council to determine the place.

[*Der Volksstaat*, No. 81, October 9, 1872]

After the election of the new General Council, Lafargue, in the name of the two Federations he represented, the Portuguese and the New Madrid Federation, tabled the following motion, which was adopted unanimously:

"The new General Council is entrusted with the special mission to establish International trades unions.

"For this purpose it will, within the month following this Congress, draw up a circular which it shall have printed and send to all the working-men's societies whose addresses it possesses, whether they are affiliated to the International or not.

"In this circular it shall call upon the working-men's societies to establish an International trades union for their respective trades.

"Every society shall also be invited to fix itself the conditions under which it wishes to enter the International Union of its trade.

"The General Council is directed to collect all the conditions proposed by the working-men's societies which have accepted the idea and to work them up into general draft Rules which will be submitted for provisional acceptance to all the societies wishing to join.

"The next Congress will finally confirm this agreement in due form."

In this way from the very beginning the new General Council was set an important task in practical organisation the solution of which might well alone suffice to give the allegedly dead International a hitherto unknown upswing.

Finally came the question of the "*Alliance*". After working for a long time the commission which had to prepare this point for the Congress at last had its report ready on Saturday[a] at 9 p.m. The report declared that the Rules and the aims of the Alliance were in contradiction with those of the International and demanded the expulsion of its founder, Bakunin, of the two leaders of the Jura Federation, Guillaume and Schwitzguébel, as the chief agents of the Alliance, and moreover of B. Malon and two others besides. It was proved to the majority of the commission that the Alliance was a secret society founded for conspiracy not against the government, but against the International. At the Basle Congress the Bakuninists had still hoped they would be able to seize the leadership in the International. That was why they themselves at the time proposed the famous Basle resolutions by which the General Council's powers were extended. Disappointed and again deprived of the fulfilment of their hopes by the London Conference, up to the time of which they had won considerable ground in Spain and Italy, they changed their tactics. The Jura Federation, which was entirely under the control of the Alliance, issued its Sonvillier circular in which the Basle resolutions once proposed by their own delegates were suddenly attacked as the source of all evil, as inspired by the evil spirit, the spirit of "authoritarianism", and in which complete autonomy, a free alliance of independent factions was put forward as the only aim for the International. Naturally. When a secret society formed for the purpose of exercising leadership over a bigger open society cannot directly achieve supreme leadership, the best means for it to achieve its purpose is to disorganise the open society. When there is no central authority and no national central agencies or only such as are deprived of all powers, conspiring intriguers can best ensure themselves the leadership of the whole indirectly, by their concerted action. The members of the Alliance of the Jura, Spain and Italy acted with great unanimity according to this plan and the disorganisation was to be carried so far at the Hague Congress that not only the General Council, but *all* central

[a] September 7, 1872.— *Ed.*

agencies, all the Congress resolutions and even the General Rules, with the exception of the Preamble, were to be abolished. The Italians had already included this in their Rules, and the Jura delegates had received definite instructions to propose this to the Congress and to withdraw in the event of its not being adopted. But they were grossly mistaken. Original documents were laid before the commission proving the link between all these intrigues in Spain, Italy and Switzerland, making it clear that the secret link lay precisely in the "*Alliance*" itself, whose slogan was provided by Bakunin and to which Guillaume and Schwitzguébel belonged. In Spain, where the Alliance had long been an open secret, it had been dissolved, as the delegates from that country belonging to it assured, and on these repeated assurances they were not subjected to disciplinary measures.

The debate on this question was heated. The members of the "Alliance" did all they could to draw out the matter, for at midnight the lease of the hall expired and the Congress had to be closed. The behaviour of the members of the Alliance could not but dispel all doubt as to the existence and the ultimate aim of their conspiracy. Finally the majority succeeded in having the two main accused who were present—Guillaume and Schwitzguébel—take the floor; immediately after their defence the voting took place. Bakunin and Cuillaume were expelled from the International, Schwitzguébel escaped this fate, owing to his personal popularity, by a small majority; then it was decided to amnesty the others.

These expulsions constitute an open declaration of war by the International to the "Alliance" and the whole of Mr. Bakunin's sect. Like every other shade of proletarian socialism Bakunin's sect was admitted in the International on the general condition of maintaining peace and observing the Rules and the Congress resolutions. Instead of doing so, this sect led by dogmatic members of the bourgeoisie having more ambition than ability tried to impose its own narrow-minded programme on the whole of the International, violated the Rules and the Congress resolutions and finally declared them to be authoritarian trash which no true revolutionary need be bound by. The almost incomprehensible patience with which the General Council put up with the intrigues and calumny of the small band of mischief-makers was rewarded only with the reproach of dictatorial behaviour. Now at last the Congress has spoken out, and clearly enough at that. Just as clear will be the language of the documents concerning the Alliance and Mr. Bakunin's doings in general which the Commission will publish

in accordance with the Congress decision.[a] Then people will see what villainies the International was to be misused for.

Immediately after the voting a statement of the minority was read out, signed jointly by the Jura, Belgian, Dutch and four Spanish delegates, and also by one French and one American delegate, declaring that after the rejection of all their proposals they were still willing to remain in touch with the General Council as regards statistics and correspondence and the payment of subscriptions, but would suffer no interference by the General Council in the internal life of the Federations. In the event of such interference by the General Council all the undersigned Federations would declare their solidarity with the Federation concerned, such interference being justifiable only in blatant violation of the Rules adopted by the Geneva Congress.

The signatories of this statement thus declare themselves to be bound only by the Geneva Rules of 1866, but not by the subsequent alterations and Congress decisions. But they are forgetting that the Geneva Rules themselves acknowledge the binding force of all Congress decisions and thus the whole of their reservation falls to pieces. For the rest, this document signifies absolutely nothing and was received by the Congress with the indifference it deserves. The signatories exceeded their powers inasmuch as they wish

1. to oblige their respective Federations to set up a separate alliance[202] within the International and

2. to oblige these Federations to acknowledge only the Geneva Rules as being valid and to invalidate all other, subsequent Congress decisions.

The whole document, apparently forced on the duped minority only by the Alliance blusterers, is therefore worthless. And if a Section or a Federation were to try to contest the validity of the International's Congress decisions collected in our Rules and Administrative Regulations, the new General Council will not hesitate to do its duty as the old one did in respect of American Section No. 12. That is still a long way off for the separate alliance.

We note further that in the course of the same afternoon (Saturday) the General Council's accounts for the past financial year were audited, found correct and approved.

After yet another address from the Hague Section to the

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[a] K. Marx, F. Engels, "The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association" (see this volume, pp. 454-580).—*Ed.*

Congress had been read out the Congress was closed at half-past midnight with shouts of: "Long live the International Working Men's Association!"

Written after September 17, 1872

First published in *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 78 and 81, September 28 and October 9, 1872

Printed according to the newspaper

# Frederick Engels

## THE CONGRESS AT THE HAGUE

### (LETTER TO ENRICO BIGNAMI)[203]

London, October 1, 1872

Dear Bignami,

From September 2 to 7, the 64 delegates of the International Working Men's Association held their sittings at The Hague. Of these delegates 16 represented France; 10, Germany; 7, Belgium; 5, England; 5, America; 4, Holland; 4, Spain; 3, the Romance Federation (Switzerland); 2, the Jura Federation (idem); 1, Ireland; 1, Austria; 1, Hungary; 1, Poland; 1, Portugal; 1, Australia; and 2, Denmark. According to nationalities there were: 20 Frenchmen, 16 Germans, 8 Belgians, 6 Englishmen, 1 Pole, 1 Irishman, 1 Corsican, and 1 Dane.

The verification of the mandates took more than two days. In this form, all the internal questions which had occupied the International since the last Congress were examined, and in almost every case it was a question of the General Council's activity.

Of the three mandates held by Citizen Lafargue, representing Portugal and two Spanish local federations, one, that of the New Madrid Federation, was contested by the other Spanish delegates. The New Madrid Federation, formed by members of the International arbitrarily expelled from the old federation in violation of the General Rules, had not been recognised by the Spanish Federal Council; it had then applied directly to the General Council in London, which had recognised it.[a]

The Congress unanimously confirmed that decision.

The six delegates whom the General Council had sent, basing itself on the action of previous congresses, and who, by the way, with one exception, were also provided with other mandates, were

[a] See this volume, p. 215.— *Ed.*

admitted. The mandate of the delegate sent by the Section of Propaganda and Revolutionary Action of Geneva,[a] a section not recognised by the General Council, was suspended for the whole duration of the Congress, and the section was not recognised. The four delegates of the Spanish Federation were not admitted until they had paid the subscriptions they were owing to the General Council for the year 1871-1872. And finally, the delegate of Section No. 12 of New York,[b] which had been suspended by the General Council, was not admitted to the Congress, despite a speech which lasted more than an hour. All these decisions, adopted by a majority of three quarters of the votes, were at the same time expressions of confidence in the General Council, whose "authoritarian" action (as some are pleased to call it) was entirely approved by the immense majority of the Congress.

After these discussions, which smoothed out many differences which had arisen within the International, and which were therefore by no means without profit, the question of the General Council was posed. Was it necessary to abolish it? In the event of its being preserved, was it to retain its powers, or was it to be reduced to a mere correspondence and statistics bureau, a *boîte aux lettres*,[c] so to speak? The answer of the Congress left no doubt on this score: Article 2, Section II of the Administrative Regulations was formulated as follows:

"The General Council is bound to execute the Congress resolutions."

To this the Congress at The Hague added:

"and to take care that in every country the principles and the General Rules and Regulations of the International are strictly observed" (40 votes for this addition, 5 against, and 11 abstentions).

Article 6 of the same section, which confers on the General Council the right to suspend a section, was formulated as follows:

"*Article 6.* The General Council has also the right to suspend sections, federal councils or committees, and federations of the International, till the meeting of the next Congress.

"Nevertheless, in the case of sections belonging to a federation, the General Council will exercise this right only after having consulted the respective Federal Council [...][d]

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[a] N. Zhukovsky.— *Ed.*

[b] W. West.— *Ed.*

[c] Letter-box.— *Ed.*

[d] Engels omits one paragraph from the Hague Congress Resolution on Article 6, Section II of the Administrative Regulations (cf. this volume, p. 244).— *Ed.*

"In the case of the suspension of an entire federation, the General Council shall immediately inform thereof all federations. If the majority of them demand it, the General Council shall convoke an extraordinary conference, composed of one delegate for each nationality, which shall meet within one month and finally decide upon the question.

"Nevertheless, it is well understood that the countries where the International is prohibited shall exercise the same rights as the regular federations."

It is clear that this new article of the Regulations defining with great clarity the powers of the General Council, contains the necessary guarantees against their abuse.

The Congress declared its will that the General Council should be invested with authority, but responsible. This article was adopted by a majority of 36 votes to 11 with 9 abstentions.

Then came the question of the new General Council. If the General Council, whose powers were on the point of expiring, wished to be re-elected as a whole or partially, it was sure of an almost unanimous vote, since the Belgians and the Dutch had separated from the minority on this question and voted for London. A proof that Marx, Engels, Serraillier, Wróblewski, Dupont, and the other members of the previous Council had by no means demanded wider and better defined powers of the General Council for themselves personally was their motion that the General Council should be transferred to New York, this being the only place, besides London, where the principal conditions were ensured, namely safety of the archives and the international character of the Council's composition. Of all the proposals moved by the previous Council, this was the only one which encountered any difficulty, since all the delegates, with the exception of the Jura Federation representatives and the Spaniards, agreed to leave the direction of the International in the same hands as it had been before. Only after the most active and well-known members of the previous Council had stated that they declined to be re-elected, was the transfer to New York adopted by a majority vote. The Congress went on to the election of the New Council, which was composed of 2 Irishmen, 1 Swede, 1 Italian, 3 Frenchmen, 1 American, and 4 Germans, with the right to co-opt three other members.

It is known that Resolution IX of the London Conference (September 1871) on the political action of the working class was vigorously opposed as being allegedly contrary to the principles of the International by the Jurassians, some of the Spaniards and the

majority of the Italians. Nevertheless, that resolution now constitutes Article 8[a] of the General Rules of the International, which is as follows:

"*Article 8.* In its struggle against the collective power of the propertied classes, the proletariat cannot act as a class except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes.

"This constitution of the proletariat into a political party is indispensable in order to insure the triumph of the social revolution, and of its ultimate end, the abolition of classes. The combination of forces which the working class has already effected by its economical struggles ought, at the same time, to serve as a lever for its struggles against the political power of its exploiters. The lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies, and for the enslavement of labour. The conquest of political power has therefore become the great duty of the proletariat."[b]

This resolution was adopted by 28 votes to 13 (counting the abstentions), and as the majority exceeded two-thirds, this resolution has been included in the General Rules. To this majority we must also add the votes of 6 German and 4 French delegates who were obliged to leave The Hague and had left their vote in writing for the resolution; thus abstention from politics was condemned by a majority of three-quarters of the votes to one quarter.

There remained only one important question. The General Council had denounced to the Congress the existence within the International of a secret society directed not against the existing governments, but against our Association itself. The members of this secret society, headed by its founder, Mikhail Bakunin, were divided into three categories according to the degree of their initiation. It set itself the aim of seizing the central leadership of the International, or, failing that, to disorganise it in order thus the better to ensure their own influence. With this objective, slogans on the *autonomy* of sections and *resistance* to the "authoritarian" tendencies of the General Council were spread.

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[a] Under this number the article entered the draft of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations formulated by the General Council in the summer of 1872 (cf. this volume, p. 201). The Hague Congress included it into the General Rules under No. 7a.— *Ed.*

[b] Cf. this volume, p. 243.— *Ed*

The Congress appointed a commission to investigate the question of this society, and its report was read out at the closing sitting. The report contained proof of the existence of this secret society and of its hostile character. The report ended with a motion to expel from the International Bakunin, Guillaume, Schwitzguébel, Malon and two others.

The conclusions of this report concerning the Alliance were accepted by the Congress; as for the individuals, Bakunin and Guillaume were expelled, Schwitzguébel was saved by a small minority, and the others were amnestied.

These were the principal decisions of the Hague Congress; they are definite enough, and at the same time extremely moderate. The General Council, supported by a majority of three to one, did its utmost to ensure for the new Council a clear and well defined position, to establish with clarity the political programme of the International which had been placed in doubt by a sectarian minority and to eliminate a secret society which, instead of conspiring against the existing governments, conspired against the International itself. Then the General Council refused to have itself re-elected and had to go to great trouble for its resignation to be accepted.

The majority at the Congress was composed mainly of French, German, Hungarian, Danish, Polish, Portuguese, Irish, Australian and American delegates and the delegates of Romance Switzerland; the minority consisted of Belgians, Dutchmen, Spaniards, the delegates of the Jura Federation, and one American. The English delegates were divided in various ways at the voting. Not once did the minority (including the abstainers) exceed 20 out of 64 delegates; generally it numbered between 12 and 16.

There was one Italian delegate present, the chairman of the federation established at Rimini,[a] but he did not submit his mandate; the Congress would certainly not have accepted it. He attended the sittings as a spectator.

On my return from The Hague, I found in the Mantua *Favilla* an article signed Atheist which disputed the correctness of the assertion that out of the 21 sections whose delegates signed the Rimini resolution, only one (that of Naples) belonged to the *International.*

"In saying further that only the Naples section is in order, the Big Council is lying. The Milan workers' circle, the Girgenti society, that of Ravenna, that of

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[a] Carlo Cafiero.— *Ed.*

Rome, and the Turin section, which was the initiator, have long since paid the ten centesimi fixed by the General Rules."[a]

In order to make sure who is lying, the General Council or Mr. Atheist, it is sufficient to note that neither the Milan section nor that of Girgenti, nor that of Turin appear among the signatories of the Rimini resolution, and that the Rome section did not apply to the General Council until after that conference (and I believe it was not the same section which was represented at Rimini).

The Italian Internationals may rest assured that as long as an *International*, a *Congress*, a *General Council*, *General Rules* and *Regulations* exist, no section will be recognised by the Congress or by the Council so long as it refuses to recognise the conditions fixed by the General Rules and Regulations, which are the same for all.

*Frederick Engels*

First published in *La Plebe*, No. 106, October 5, 1872

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the Italian

[a] [C. Terzaghi.] "Correspondence from Turin", *La Favilla*, No. 184, September 3, 1872. Signed: "Ateo".—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## IMPERATIVE MANDATES AT THE HAGUE CONGRESS[204]

The betrayals of their electors committed recently by many deputies to parliament have caused the return to fashion of the old imperative mandates of the Middle Ages which had been abolished by the Revolution of 1789. We shall not discuss here the principle of such mandates. We shall only note that if all electors gave their delegates imperative mandates concerning all points on the agenda, meetings and debates of the delegates would be superfluous. It would be sufficient to send the mandates to a central counting office which would count up the votes and announce the results. This would be much cheaper.

What is important for us to show is the most unusual situation in which imperative mandates place their holders at the Hague Congress—a situation which can serve as a very good lesson to the enthusiastic supporters of such mandates.

The delegates of the Spanish Federation, elected, as we know, owing to the influence of the Federal Council,[a] had an imperative mandate to ask

"that the votes be counted according to the number of those represented by the delegates holding an imperative mandate; that the votes of those represented by delegates not provided with an imperative mandate will not count until the sections or federations which they represent have discussed and voted on the questions debated at the Congress... In case the Congress persists in the traditional system of

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[a] See this volume, p. 208. The mandate for the delegates of the Spanish Federation quoted below was published as a separate leaflet (*Mandato Imperativo*. In: *Asociacion Internacional de los Trabajadores. Federacion Regional Española*. Circular. Valencía. August 22, 1872).—*Ed.*

voting, our delegates will take part in the discussion, but will abstain from voting." *

This mandate therefore demands that the Congress, before dealing with anything else, should adopt the following three decisions:

1. To change the articles of the Administrative Regulations dealing with the mode of voting.
2. To decree that delegates not holding an imperative mandate should not have the right to vote.
3. To declare that these changes would apply immediately to the present Congress.

It was immediately pointed out to the delegates of the Spanish Federation that even if the Congress adopted their petitions Nos. 1 and 2, petition No. 3 would be inadmissible. The Hague Congress had been called on the basis of certain of the Association's organisational rules. It certainly had the right to change them, but if it did change them, it would at the same time have destroyed the basis of its own existence and would have placed itself in the absolute necessity to dissolve itself immediately, after convoking a new congress, whose delegates would be elected on the basis of the new organisational rules. To apply these new rules to the present Congress would be to make them retroactive and to violate every principle of justice. Consequently, whether or not the Congress adopted proposals Nos. 1 and 2, it could by no means adopt proposal No. 3; and if the Spanish delegates had received and accepted a mandate which was in flagrant contradiction with itself, a mandate which made it impossible for them to vote at any session of the Congress, whose fault was it?

The case was so clear that neither the minority, nor even the delegates of our region, found words to contest it. Consequently they remained present at the Congress without voting, and this ultimately so much exasperated the Dutch that one of them[b] asked:

* The Jura *Bulletin*, which is known to be the organ of the Alliance leaders, published in its latest issue a short account of the sessions of the Hague Congress, the authenticity of which can be judged by the following, which we translate word for word: "The Spaniards, who are supported by the Belgians and the Jurassians, demanded that the voting should be conducted not by individuals, but by *federations*."[a] Is this what the mandate of the Spanish Federation demanded?

[a] [J. Guillaume,] "Le Congrès de la Haye", *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne...*, No. 17-18, September 15-October 1, 1872.—*Ed.*

[b] Isaac Salomon Van der Hout.—*Ed.*

"Why didn't you stay at home if you have a mandate which forbids you to vote and deprives the minority of four votes every time a vote is taken?"

But for a real Alliance mandate and an Alliance way of using it, the *Jura* Federation had no peers.

Here is the mandate of its delegates[a]:

"The delegates of the Jura Federation are given an imperative mandate to present to the Congress of The Hague the following principles as the basis of the organisation of the International:

"Any group of workers which accepts the programme of the International as it has been formulated by the preamble to the General Rules voted at the Geneva Congress, and which undertakes to observe economic solidarity in respect of all the workers and groups of workers in the struggle against monopoly capital shall be a section of the International enjoying full rights."

Here, indeed, the General Rules and Regulations are abolished. If the preamble is allowed to remain, that is only because, no conclusions being drawn from it, it is simply lacking in common sense.

"The federal principle being the basis of the organisation of the International," the mandate continues, "the sections federate freely among themselves and the federations federate freely among themselves, and do so with full autonomy, setting up, in accordance with their needs, all the organs of correspondence, statistics bureaux etc., which they deem suitable.

"The Jura Federation sees as a consequence of the above-mentioned principles the suppression of the General Council and of all authority in the International."

Thus, the General Council, the federal councils, the local councils, and various kinds of rules and regulations which possess "authority" are to be abolished. Each one will act as he thinks fit, "with full autonomy".

"The Jura delegates must act in complete solidarity with the Spanish, Italian and French delegates and all those who openly protest against the authoritarian principle. Consequently, refusal to admit a delegate of these federations must lead to the *immediate withdrawal* of the Jura delegates. Similarly, if the Congress does not accept the organisational principles of the International set forth above, the delegates will have to *withdraw* in agreement with the delegates of the anti-authoritarian federations."

Let us now see what use the Jura delegates made of this imperative mandate. In the first place, there were no French anti-authoritarian delegates at the Congress except one,[b] a madman, who did, in fact, "withdraw" very noisily many times, but

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[a] The mandate for the delegates of the Jura Federation to the Hague Congress was published in the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne...*, No. 15-16, August 15-September 1, 1872.— *Ed.*

[b] Victor Cyrille.— *Ed.*

always returned because he could never get a single other anti-authoritarian delegate to follow him. The mandate of Sauva of Section No. 2 (anti-authoritarian) of New York was annulled,[a] but the *Jurassians* remained at the Congress. That of the Section of *Propaganda and Revolutionary Socialist Action in Geneva*—a section which belonged directly to the Jura Federation—remained suspended until the end of the Congress,[b] and the *Jurassians* behaved as though nothing had happened. The mandate of Section No. 12 of New York which they themselves had encouraged to resist the General Council, was annulled,[c] and the *Jurassians* remained undisturbed. As for the mandate of the Italian delegate[d] that was present, they did not even attempt to present it.

But were the principles of organisation—or rather disorganisation—proposed by the Jurassians, adopted by the Congress? Not at all; exactly the opposite: the Congress decided to strengthen the organisation, that is, according to them, the authority. Did they withdraw after this? Nothing of the sort. They merely declared that they would abstain from voting in future.

So this was the proper way to use an imperative mandate. The delegate complies with it if it suits him and if not, he pleads unforeseen circumstances and ultimately does what is to his advantage. After all, is it not a duty for the anti-authoritarians to disregard the *authority* of imperative mandates just as all other authority? The radically Alliancist spirit which was so well revealed in the imperative mandate of the Jurassians was supplemented by the really anarchist manner in which they ignored that mandate. Does it not follow from this that these delegates are more initiated members of the Alliance than their Spanish counterparts?

The *Jura* mandate gives occasion for other reflections too. This mandate reveals on the whole the activities taking place in the Alliance, where, despite all the talk about *anarchy, autonomy, free federation* etc., there are in reality only two things: *authority* and *obedience*. A few weeks before Schwitzguébel and Guillaume wrote their own mandates, abolishing the General Rules except for the preamble, their friends, delegates, who did not belong to the International, at the Rimini Conference, drew up the rules of the self-styled Italian Federation, consisting of the preamble to the general rules and the regulations of the federation. Thus the

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[a] See this volume, p. 246.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid, p. 247.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid, pp. 246-47.—*Ed.*
[d] Carlo Cafiero.—*Ed.*

organisation whose creation had been voted by the Rimini Conference *rejected* the General Rules. It is obvious that in their activities the men of the Alliance always obey secret and uniform orders. It was such secret orders that were undoubtedly obeyed by the Barcelona *Federacion* too, when it unexpectedly started preaching the disorganisation of the International. This was because the strong organisation of our Association in Spain was becoming a threat to the secret leaders of the Alliance. This organisation gives the working class too much strength and creates thereby difficulties to the secret rule of the gentlemen of the Alliance, who know perfectly well that fish are best caught in troubled waters.

Destroy the organisation, and the waters will be as troubled as you can wish. Destroy above all the trade unions, declare war on strikes, reduce working-class solidarity to empty words and you will have complete freedom for your pompous but empty and doctrinarian phrases. That is, if the workers of our region allow you to destroy the result of their four years of work, the organisation, which is, beyond doubt, the best in the whole of the International.

Returning to the imperative mandates, we still have one question to solve: Why do the Alliancists, who are inveterate enemies of the principle of authority in any form, so obstinately insist on the authority of imperative mandates? Because for a secret society like theirs, one existing within a public organisation like the International, there is nothing more convenient than the imperative mandate. The mandates of the Alliance members will all be identical, while the mandates of the sections not influenced by the Alliance or opposing it will contradict one another, so that very often the absolute majority, and always the relative majority, will belong to the secret society; whereas at a congress where there are no imperative mandates, the common sense of the independent delegates will swiftly unite them in a common party against the party of the secret society. This is an extremely effective means of domination, which is why the Alliance, despite all its *anarchism*, supports its authority.

Before finishing we must say that for the Spanish Federal Council, consisting of Alliancists, the most convenient form of action was the creation of a *collective* imperative mandate, a fact which was bound to lead to this mandate being the mandate of the Federal Council, or, what is the same, an Alliance mandate. All federations of our region that accepted the proposal of the Council contrary to the Regulations, sent extraordinary subscrip-

tions to Valencia to pay the travelling expenses of the delegates, and together with these subscriptions the results of the voting in each local federation, and together with the results of the voting—the imperative mandate of the federation, in order to "unite all the mandates and create a *collective imperative mandate*". We readily admit that given a *loyal attitude* and *good will*, the Regional Council would have been able to count the votes of all the local federations, but to join in one the different opinions of all the federations, the Regional Council needed either supreme intelligence or a miraculous crucible in which it would probably have fused the various imperative mandates. And what came out of this new sort of crucible? What was bound to come out—the opinion of the Regional Council. We defy all the Alliancists to point out to us a chemico-electoral procedure which could produce another result.

The Spanish Federal Council, so anti-authoritarian, so anarchistic etc., thus *centralised* subscriptions in its hands so as to send delegates to The Hague; it *conducted* the elections of those delegates itself, and did it so skilfully that only Alliancists were elected, and, to crown it all, it composed the *collective imperative mandate*, which, it maintained, expressed the will of the members of the International in Spain.

Greater respect cannot be paid to autonomy.

Written before October 4, 1872

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in *La Emancipacion*, No. 69, October 13, 1872

Translated from the Spanish

# Frederick Engels

## LETTERS FROM LONDON

### II

### [MORE ABOUT THE HAGUE CONGRESS][205]

London, October 5, 1872

I hope that the outcome of the Hague Congress will make our Italian "autonomous" friends think. They ought to know that wherever there is an organisation, some autonomy is sacrificed for the sake of unity of action. If they do not realise that the *International* is a society organised for struggle, and not for fine theories, I am very sorry, but one thing is certain: the great *International* will leave Italy to act on its own until it agrees to accept the conditions common to all.

In the secret Alliance of Socialist Democracy there are three grades: international brethren (a tiny number), national brethren, and mere Alliancists. C.[a] is an *international* brother, just as Guillaume (chief of Bakunin's general staff) and one or two Spaniards.

Among the French delegates, five came from France under fictitious names, the others are refugees of the Commune. I attach the list, in which the names and localities of the French sections are not given so as not to betray them to the police.[b] But we have re-organised in more than thirty of the French *départements* and the *International* there is stronger and more active than ever.

It was gratifying to see the French and the Germans always voting in agreement at The Hague: it was obvious that all the wars, the conquests, the national hatred did not exist for the *International.* It was this union of the French and the Germans that led to all the resolutions without exception being adopted.

The reason for the transfer of the General Council to New York was: 1. The firm determination of Marx, Serraillier, Dupont and

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[a] Carlo Cafiero.—*Ed.*

[b] *Liste nominale des délégués composant le 5-me Congrès universel, tenu à la Haye (Hollande), du 2 au 7 Septembre 1872,* Amsterdam [1872].—*Ed.*

Engels not to accept a new mandate. Marx and Engels have scientific works to complete and have not had time for this in the past two years; 2. The certainty that in the event of their resignation a General Council in London would be composed as far as the French were concerned of *Blanquists* who, with their *simulation* of conspiracy, would lead to the arrest of the majority of our members in France—if they were accepted by these at all; as far as the English were concerned, of corrupt men used to selling themselves to the liberal bourgeoisie and to Mr. Gladstone's *radical* agents; and as for all the other nationalities, they would not be represented at all, since Wróblewski, MacDonnell and Frankel did not want to remain on it without Marx and the others.

Whatever the bourgeois press may say, we were well received by the workers of The Hague. Once the reactionaries sent a handful of drunks to us to sing the Dutch national royal anthem after the ending of the sitting. We let them sing and, passing through them, replied with the *Marseillaise.* Even the minority at the Congress would have been sufficient to disperse them by force. At the last sitting, on the Saturday,[a] a numerous public gave the speakers a lot of applause.

First published in *La Plebe,* No. 107, October 8, 1872

Signed: *Federico Engels*
"Our correspondence"

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the Italian

[a] September 7.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## TO THE BRITISH FEDERAL COUNCIL, INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

[CONCERNING PORTUGUESE STRIKES][a]

122 Regent's Park Road. N.W.
London, 16th October, 1872

Citizens,

I had the honour of submitting to you, by citizen Dupont, at your meeting of September 26, a communication addressed to me by the Lisbon Federal Council regarding some trade matters of International Sections there, which required immediate action here.[206] I have seen this communication published in *The International Herald*[b] but have not had any intimation that the Federal Council has taken any further steps in the matter.

As I am bound to give an account to my Lisbon Correspondents of what I have done on behalf of the parties interested, I hope the Federal Council will be good enough to let me know whether anything, and what, has been done by the Council with regard to the subject in question.

I remain Citizens fraternally yours,

*F. E.*

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Reproduced from the rough manuscript

[a] The rough manuscript has Engels' note: "London, 16 October 72. To Brit. Fed. Council wegen [on account of] Portug. Strikes."—*Ed.*

[b] E. Hill, "International Working Men's Association. Federal Council", *The International Herald*, No. 27, October 5, 1872.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITORS OF *DER VOLKSSTAAT*[207]

The leading article in No. 84 of the *Volksstaat*—"Vom Haager Kongress. III"[a]—contains a factual error concerning me which I consider it necessary to rectify, and that, be it noted, only because it has slipped into the *Volksstaat*. If I considered it worth the trouble to rectify the lies, calumnies, infamy and even involuntary "errors" of the press which is hostile to me, I would not have a minute left for actual work!

The article cited says:

"Lafargue, far from being Marx's 'adjutant', *abstained from voting* when it was a question of expelling Schwitzguébel, Guillaume's comrade, although the motion for expulsion[208] was tabled by *Marx*."

That motion was tabled by the commission of inquiry appointed by the Congress, not by me. What I proposed at the Congress was the *expulsion of the Alliance* and the appointment of a commission of inquiry for that purpose. I appeared in front of this commission, just like others, as a witness for the prosecution. Only towards the end of the inquiry, at the last moment, and indeed during a sitting of the Congress, was I called upon. Previously, one of the members of the commission had desired a private meeting with me to elucidate purely factual questions. I refused, in order to avoid even the appearance of any personal influence on the commission.

When I was questioned by the commission I did not say a word about Schwitzguébel or his bell-wether, Guillaume. I mentioned

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[a] Of October 19, 1872; the article was written by A. Hepner.—*Ed.*

only *one* of the Alliancists[a] attending the Congress and expressed my conviction that either he was not a member of the "secret" Alliance or that in any case he had for a long time been excluded from it.

I voted at the last Congress sitting *for* Schwitzguébel's expulsion because the proofs of his membership of the "secret" Alliance were exactly the same as those of Guillaume's. In these circumstances, Schwitzguébel's emotional poor-sinner speech could not shake my conviction. Let it be noted in passing that Mr. Guillaume *lies*—as incidentally every member of a "secret" society is obliged to do—intentionally in the *Bulletin jurassienne* when he avers that Schwitzguébel had declared solidarity with him.[b] On the contrary. Guillaume stated with great emphasis that Schwitzguébel would stand or fall with him, but Schwitzguébel turned a deaf ear to this cry *in extremis*[c]! His poor-sinner speech made no mention of Guillaume, and it was this poor-sinner speech that bribed the majority. As a member of the commission for publication of the Congress proceedings I naturally had to go very carefully into the official Minutes of the Congress.

In respect of Lafargue it must be noted that the honest Biedermann[d] is lying when he designates him as delegate for Barcelona.[209] Lafargue was delegated by the Portuguese Federal Council, the New Madrid Federation and also by a Spanish Section.

*Karl Marx*

London, October 20, 1872

First published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 86, October 26, 1872

Printed according to the newspaper

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[a] Tomás Morago.—*Ed.*

[b] [J. Guillaume,] "Le Congrès de la Haye", *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne...*, No. 17-18, September 15-October 1, 1872.—*Ed.*

[c] At the point of death.—*Ed.*

[d] A pun on Biedermann, which means "honest man" and was also the name of the editor of the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## REPORT TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE I.W.M.A. UPON THE SITUATION IN SPAIN, PORTUGAL AND ITALY[210]

### 1. SPAIN

In Spain the International was originally founded as a mere appendix to Bakounine's secret society, the *Alliance*, to which it was to serve as a kind of recruiting ground and at the same time as the lever by which to control the whole proletarian movement. You will see by and by that their Alliance intends openly to restore the Spanish International, at the present time, to this same subordinate position.

In consequence of this dependance, the special doctrines of the Alliance: immediate abolition of the state, anarchy, anti-authoritarism, abstention from all political action etc. were preached in Spain as *the doctrines* of the International. At the same time, every prominent member of the International was at once received into the secret organization and made to believe that this system of controlling the public association by the secret society existed everywhere and was a matter of course.

This took place in 1869 and the first man who introduced the International into Spain, along with the Alliance, was the Italian *Fanelli* who now, in spite of his abstentional convictions, is a member of the Italian parliament. In June 1870 took place the first Congress of the Spanish International at Barcelona and here the plan of organization was adopted which, afterwards fully developed by the Conference of Valencia (September 1871),[211] is now in force and has given the most excellent results.

As everywhere else, the part taken by (and also that ascribed to) our Association in the revolution of the Paris Commune, brought the International into prominence in Spain also. This prominence and the first attempted Government prosecutions following immediately afterwards, swelled our ranks in Spain very much.

Still, at the time of the Valencia Conference there existed only 13 local federations in Spain, besides single isolated Sections in various places.

The Conference of Valencia had left the Federal Council in Madrid where it had been placed by the Barcelona Congress, and had left its composition much the same as before; one important individual however, Tomas Gonzalez Moràgo (delegate at the Hague) had not been reelected. When, during the first Government prosecutions in June 1871, the Federal Council had for a time to seek a refuge in Lisbon, Moràgo abandoned his post at the moment of danger and this was the cause of his exclusion from the new Federal Council. From that moment began the secret war, which ended in an open split.

Immediately after the Valencia Conference, the Conference of London (September 1871) took place.[212] The Spaniards sent a delegate, Anselmo Lorenzo, who for the first time brought the news back to Spain that the secret "Alliance" was *not* an understood thing throughout our Association and that on the contrary the General Council and the majority of the Federations were directly opposed to the Alliance, as far as its existence was then known.

Shortly afterwards *Sagasta* began his prosecutions against the International which he declared was outside the law.[213] Moràgo, then still member of the Local Council of Madrid, again deserted his post and resigned. But the government threats were not followed up by any serious action; the right of *public* meeting was indeed denied to the International, but the sections and councils continued to hold their meetings undisturbed. The only effect of this government interference was an immense increase in the number of adherents to the International. At the Congress of Saragossa, April 1872,[214] the Association numbered 70 local federations regularly constituted, while in 100 other localities the work of organization and propaganda was actively pursued. There were moreover 8 Trades organized in Unions all over the country and under the control of the International, and the great union of all the mill-hands in Spain (mechanics, spinners and weavers) was upon the point of being constituted.

In the interval the secret war within the International had been carried on and it now commenced to take another and more important turn. The personal spite of Moràgo (who exercised great local influence in Madrid, his repeated desertions notwithstanding) against the members of the new Federal Council appointed at Valencia, was no longer the sole motive power of this

war. The resolutions of the London Conference on the public branch of the Alliance and on the political action of the working class had aroused the fury of the leaders of the secret Alliance, and especially of the men in the higher degrees of secret initiation who received their instructions direct from Bakounine, and of whom Moràgo was one. This fury was expressed in the Sonvillier circular of the Jura Federation demanding the immediate convocation of an extraordinary Congress. In this question, the Federal Council of Spain, in accordance with many of the sections, hesitated to take part against the General Council and the London Conference, and this constituted a new crime. Moreover in January 1872 Paul Lafargue came to Madrid, and having entered into friendly relations with the members of the Federal Council, soon convinced them, by numerous facts, that the whole Jurassian affair was an intrigue, based upon calumny, to disorganize the International. From that moment their fate was doomed. The members of the Federal Council being at the same time editors of the *Emancipacion*, the Local Council picked a quarrel with that paper and then had them expelled from the Local Federation of Madrid. This expulsion was annulled by the Congress of Saragossa, but the immediate end was attained: to render the continuance of the Federal Council at Madrid impossible by personal squabbles. The Federal Council was indeed removed to Valencia and its composition entirely changed. Of the members of the previous Council, who were reelected, Mora declined at once and Lorenzo resigned very soon on the account of differences which ensued. The members who remained, were mostly members of the secret Alliance.[a]

After the Congress of Saragossa the split between the men of the Alliance and those who preferred the International to the Alliance became more and more apparent. At last, on June 2d 1872, the members of the previous Federal Council (Mesa, Mora, Pauly, Pagés and others), who formed at the same time the majority of the Madrid section of the Alliance, issued a circular to all the sections of the same secret Society, announcing their dissolution as such section and inviting them to follow their example.[215] The next day, they were under a false pretence, and by an open breach of the rules, expelled from the Local Federation of the Madrid International. Out of 130 members only

[a] Then follows the sentence crossed out in the manuscript: "As the International Congress of September 1872 approached, the manoeuvres of the Alliance to secure to itself a majority at the Congress, became more evident."—*Ed.*

15 had been present at this vote. They then formed a new Federation,[a] but the Federal Council refused to recognise them; the General Council, upon application, recognised them without consulting the Spanish Federal Council, and this act was sanctioned by the Congress at the Hague.

The reason why the late General Council did not consult the Spanish Council on this occasion, was this. The General Council, having at last received sufficient evidence of the existence and action of the Alliance in Spain and of the fact that a majority, if not all, of the members of the Spanish Council belonged to it, had written to that council, demanding explications and informations regarding the secret society.[b] In its reply, dated 3d August 1872, the Spanish Council openly took sides with the Alliance, stating moreover that the Alliance was dissolved. To refer to a Council which, in a collision between the International and a secret society within its ranks, had already taken the part of that secret society, would have evidently been more than superfluous, and the Hague Congress has fully sanctioned the action of the General Council.

To insure the election of men of the Alliance as delegates to the Hague, the Federal Council, by a private circular, never communicated by them to the General Council, resorted to manoeuvres, exposed at the Congress, manoeuvres which, had it not been for the uncommon leniency of the majority at the Hague, might have sufficed to invalidate the credentials of the four delegates[c] sent by the Spanish Federation.

Thus, the state of things in Spain now is as follows:

There exist in Spain only two local federations which openly and thoroughly acknowledge the resolutions of the Hague Congress and the new General Council: the new federation of Madrid and the federation of Alcalá de Henares. Unless they can succeed in drawing over to their side the bulk of the Spanish International, they will form the nucleus of a new Spanish Federation.

The great bulk of the Spanish International are still under the leadership of the Alliance which predominates in the Federal Council as well as in the most important Local Councils. But there are plenty of symptoms to show that the Congress resolutions have not been without great effect upon the masses in Spain. There the name of the International has a great weight, and its official expression, the Congress, a great moral influence. Thus, the men

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[a] New Madrid Federation.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 211-13.—*Ed.*

[c] Moràgo, Alerini, Farga Pellicer, Marselau.—*Ed.*

of the Alliance have a hard struggle to convince the masses that they are in the right. The opposition begins to become serious. The factory workers of Catalonia, with a Trades Union, counting 40 000 members, are taking the lead and demand the convocation of an extraordinary Spanish Congress to hear the reports of the delegates to the Hague and to examine into the conduct of the Federal Council. The organ of the New Madrid Federation, *La Emancipacion*, perhaps the best paper the International now possesses anywhere, exposes the Alliance every week, and from the numbers I have sent over to cit. Sorge, the General Council can convince themselves, with what energy, good sense, and theoretical insight into the principles of our Association it carries on the struggle. Its present editor, José Mesa, is without doubt by far the most superior man we have in Spain, both as to character and talent and indeed one of the best men we have anywhere.

I have taken upon myself to advise our Spanish friends not to be in too great a hurry to force on the extraordinary Congress, but to prepare for it as much as possible. In the meantime I have contributed to the *Emancipacion* both Congress reports and other articles[a] and continue to do so, because Mesa, the only one now at Madrid who can use the pen with effect, cannot do everything, in spite of the wonderful energy, he displays. And I have no doubt that, if our friends in Spain are seconded well by the action of the General Council, we shall there overcome every obstacle and rescue from the influence of the Alliance humbugs one of the finest organizations within the International.

*Fred. Engels,*
Ex-Secretary for Spain

London, October 31, 1872

First published, in English, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Reproduced from the manuscript

[a] See this volume, pp. 277-82.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## TO THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' ASSOCIATION OF LOWER LOMBARDY (SECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL) IN LODI[216]

London, November 13, 1872

Citizens,

It is with great pleasure that I have received the news of your formation as a section of the International, and I have immediately informed the new General Council in New York. I append below the address for direct correspondence with the General Council, while I remain always at your disposal for any information, clarification or service you may desire.

Fraternal greetings,

*Frederick Engels*

First published in *La Plebe*, No. 117, November 17, 1872

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the Italian

Published in English for the first time

# Frederick Engels

## LETTERS FROM LONDON[217]

### III

### [MEETING IN HYDE PARK]

London, November 14, 1872

The *Liberal* English Government has at the moment no less than 42 Irish political prisoners in its prisons and treats them with quite exceptional cruelty, far worse than thieves and murderers. In the good old days of King Bomba,[a] the head of the present *Liberal* cabinet, Mr. Gladstone, travelled to Italy and visited political prisoners in Naples; on his return to England he published a pamphlet[b] which disgraced the Neapolitan government before Europe for its unworthy treatment of political prisoners.

This does not prevent this selfsame Mr. Gladstone from treating in the very same way the Irish political prisoners, whom he continues to keep under lock and key. The Irish members of the International in London decided to organise a *giant* demonstration in Hyde Park (the largest public park in London, where all the big popular meetings take place during political campaigns) to demand a general amnesty. They contacted all London's democratic organisations and formed a committee which included McDonnell (an Irishman), Murray (an Englishman) and Lessner (a German)—all members of the last General Council of the *International*.

A difficulty arose: at the last session of Parliament the government passed a law which gave it the right to regulate public meetings in London's parks. It made use of this and had the regulation posted up to warn those who wanted to hold such a

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[a] Ferdinand II; further on *La Plebe* has "son".—*Ed.*

[b] W. Gladstone, *Two Letters to the Earl of Aberdeen on the State Persecutions of the Neapolitan Government*, London, 1851.—*Ed.*

public meeting that they must give a written notification to the police two days prior to calling it, indicating the names of the speakers.[a] This regulation carefully kept hidden from the London press destroyed with one stroke of the pen one of the most precious rights of London's working people—the right to hold meetings in parks when and how they please. To submit to this regulation would be to sacrifice one of the people's rights.

The Irish, who represent the most revolutionary element of the population, were not men to display such weakness. The committee unanimously decided to act as if it did not know of the existence of this regulation and to hold their meeting in defiance of the government's decree.

Last Sunday[b] at about three o'clock in the afternoon two enormous processions with bands and banners marched towards Hyde Park. The bands played Irish songs and the *Marseillaise*; almost all the banners were Irish (green with a gold harp in the middle) or red. There were only a few police agents at the entrances to the park and the columns of demonstrators marched in without meeting with any resistance. They assembled at the appointed place and the speeches began.

The spectators numbered at least thirty thousand and at least half had a green ribbon or a green leaf in their buttonhole to show they were Irish; the rest were English, German and French. The crowd was too large for all to be able to hear the speeches and so a second MEETING was organised nearby with other orators speaking on the same theme. Forceful resolutions were adopted demanding a general amnesty and the repeal of the coercion laws which keep Ireland under a permanent state of siege. At about five o'clock the demonstrators formed up into files again and left the park, thus having flouted the regulation of Gladstone's government.

This is the first time an Irish demonstration has been held in Hyde Park; it was very successful and even the London bourgeois press cannot deny this. It is also the first time the English and Irish sections of our population have united in friendship. These two elements of the working class, whose enmity towards each other was so much in the interests of the government and wealthy classes, are now offering one another the hand of friendship; this gratifying fact is due principally to the influence of the last

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[a] This refers to the Act for the Regulation of the Royal Parks and Gardens of June 27, 1872.—*Ed.*

[b] November 3, 1872.—*Ed.*

General Council of the International, which has always directed all its efforts to unite the workers of both nations on a basis of complete equality. This meeting, of November 3, will usher in a new era in the history of London's working-class movement.

You might ask: "What is the government doing? Can it be that it is willing to reconcile itself to this slight? Will it allow its regulation to be flouted with impunity?"

Well, this is what it has done: it placed two police inspectors and two agents by the platforms in Hyde Park and they took down the names of the speakers. On the following day, these two inspectors brought a suit against the speakers before the *justice of the peace.* The justice sent them a summons and they have to appear before him next Saturday. This course of action makes it quite clear that they don't intend to undertake extensive proceedings against them. The government seems to have admitted that the Irish or, as they say here, the Fenians have beaten it and will be satisfied with a small fine. The debate in court will certainly be interesting and I shall inform you of it in my next letter.[a] Of one thing there can be no doubt: the Irish, thanks to their energetic efforts, have saved the right of the people of London to hold meetings in parks when and how they please.

First published in *La Plebe,* No. 117, November 17, 1872

Signed: *F. Engels*

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the Italian

[a] See this volume, pp. 298-300.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## MANDATE TO E. LARROQUE[218]

[*Draft*]

[London,] December 9, 72
122, Regent's Park Road

A. Serraillier

I, the undersigned, charged by the G. C. of the Assoc. with the receipt and payment, through its hands, of sums of money which may be remitted to me for it, by virtue of powers dated the 27/10/72

Authorise Citizen E. Larroque of Bordeaux to collect and forward to me all sums of money due, either to the preceding G. C. or to the present C., for subscriptions, stamps, printed matter, etc., in the Midi of France.

This authorisation is subject to the confirmation of the G. C. to which it has been communicated.

Signed *F. E.*

For the signature of the G. C.
*A. Serraillier*

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# Frederick Engels

## LETTERS FROM LONDON

### IV

### [MEETING IN HYDE PARK.—SITUATION IN SPAIN]

London, December 11, 1872

The trial by the British government of speakers at the Irish MEETING in Hyde Park[a] has brought a storm on its head. It is true that the justice of the peace made the accused pay a fine of five pounds. But the trial has completely proved the illegality in several respects of the new regulation on public parks, such that the Court of Appeal, which is now handling the case, will have to absolve the accused.

And this is not all: after this first MEETING, not a Sunday goes by without public assemblies in Hyde Park; and the government dare not disturb a single orator. On one occasion there was a meeting there in support of policemen, who had come out on strike; on another a MEETING was held simply to reaffirm the right of assembly in parks.

A strike by policemen? I hear you say. Yes indeed; England is a devil of a country in which strikes penetrate everywhere. I remember that fifteen years ago the POLICEMEN of Manchester went on strike for a wage increase and were completely successful after just two days. A few weeks ago the policemen of the capital threatened to strike because a wage increase of about 20 per cent had been refused them. At the last moment the government deemed it expedient to comply with all their demands. By way of reprisal, however, it punished the secretary of the *resistance society* which the policemen had formed; and as he did not agree to submit to the punishment inflicted on him he was removed from office. A re-action then broke out in the ranks of the police and the Hyde Park meeting was announced. The government gave

[a] See this volume, pp. 294-96.— *Ed.*

way once again, granting the rebels an amnesty before the meeting took place—with the exception of the aforementioned secretary. This goes to show that in England—beneath its utterly aristocratic appearance—the spirit of the bourgeoisie has penetrated everywhere. What other nation is so bourgeois as to be able to permit itself *resistance societies* and strikes among policemen?

The news that has reached us of the attitude of the various federations of the *International* to the resolutions of the Hague Congress is most satisfying. In Holland (where that country's delegates had voted with the minority) a regional congress deliberated in conformity with the spirit of the great Association.[219] It was agreed that the Rules and Regulations of the General Council in New York should be followed, while reserving the right to make observations which are considered necessary at the Universal Congress, to be held in September 1873, and not to recognise the right of any other Congress to make decrees on the general interests of the Association.

In Spain too, where the leaders of the Hague minority thought they held absolute sway, the good sense of the workers is making headway. The partisans of the *Alliance*, who are at the head of the Federal Council, have called a regional Congress for December 25 in Cordova. This Congress, following the agenda voted at the previous one in Saragossa, should deal with the matter of bringing the Spanish federal organisation into line with the resolutions to be adopted by the international general Congress.[220] And yet the Federal Council has put on the agenda a choice between the resolutions of the international Congress at The Hague and the anti-international Congress at Saint-Imier.[221] This constitutes a flagrant violation of the General Rules. The New Federation of Madrid has consequently launched an appeal to all the truly international federations (namely those which recognise the General Rules and resolutions of Congresses) to elect a new provisional Federal Council.[a] Important federations and sections, such as those of Lérida, Badalona, Denia and Pont de Vilumara, have already responded with their support. In addition, the federations of Gracia, Toledo, Alcalá and a large number of those in Cádiz and Valencia have declared themselves against the present Federal Council. In Gracia, a manufacturing suburb of Barcelona, after three nights of discussions sustained by the

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[a] "La Nueva Federacion Madrileña á todas las federaciones, secciones é individuos de la Asociacion Internacional en España", *La Emancipacion*, No. 73, November 9, 1872.—*Ed.*

*Alliancists* of Barcelona, the local federation—500 members strong—unanimously deliberated all the Hague resolutions and agreed to rebuke the Spanish delegates for their conduct at the last General Congress. In Valencia the Federal Council itself, seeing that it was in danger of being beaten in plenary session, blocked a vote which might have gone against it—a step which provoked splits.[222] And this is just the beginning of the movement in Spain. In a few weeks it will be strong enough to prove that the Spanish workers are not going to let the *International* be thrown into disarray for the profit of the leaders of a handful of secret societies.

The Hague Congress dealt with a certain Bousquet, secretary of the police commissariat at Béziers, who had infiltrated the ranks of the *International*, but who had in fact already been expelled at his section's request by the last General Council.[a] This gentleman, who was subsequently promoted by M. Thiers to the rank of chief of the police brigade in his town, found a defender in issue No. 21 of the *Bulletin jurassien*.[b] Hardly surprising, given that from the ranks of the Jura Federation have emerged two gentlemen—Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc—who are currently collaborating with M. Louis Napoleon.

First published in *La Plebe*, No. 122, December 14, 1872

Signed: *F. Engels*

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[a] See this volume, p. 249.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Montels, "Compagnons rédacteurs...", *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne...*, No. 20/21, November 10, 1872.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD*[223]

*Dear Citizen,*—We have hitherto considered it superfluous to reply to the slanders and lies which the "autonomous" Mr. John Hales never tires spreading, with reference to us. But when such calumnies are bandied about under the name, and with the pretended authority of the British Federal Council, they are calculated to do harm to the International generally, and we are compelled to break our silence.

This Mr. Hales, who all at once turns up as the champion of the "autonomy" of sections and federations, practically interprets that autonomy as his own personal autocracy. He has got himself appointed, firstly, minute secretary; secondly, corresponding secretary (at home and abroad); thirdly, treasurer of the British Federal Council; but as he cannot fulfil all these duties at once, he, fourthly, appoints other members of that Council to do so in the capacity of his servants. And fifthly, he writes letters to all parts of the world in the name, but without the knowledge or sanction of the British Federal Council.

Thus, we find in No. 23 of the *Bulletin jurassien*, an official letter of the secessionist Jurassien Committee addressed to the British Federal Council,[a] in reply to a letter, also published, of Mr. John Hales.[b] The existence of this letter, we are sure, was quite unknown to the British Federal Council.

He asserts therein:

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[a] "Le Comité fédéral jurassien a adressé la réponse suivante au Conseil fédéral anglais".—*Ed.*

[b] J. Hales, "Au Comité fédéral de la Fédération jurassienne. Londres, le 6 novembre 1872".—*Ed.*

"This Congress" (at the Hague) "has ... unmasked the hypocrisy of the men of the late General Council, who attempted to organise a vast secret society within our association, and that under the pretext of destroying another secret society, the existence of which they invented for their own purposes."

Mr. Hales is an admirable logician. The exclusion from the International, by Congress, of the *alliance*, proves to him the hypocrisy of the late General Council in disowning that body. As to the *alliance* invented, and the secret conspiracy organised by the General Council, citizen Jung, now a member of the Federal Council, is best adapted to give it all the information required. As former secretary for Switzerland, he knows the doings of the "Alliance", and as member of the Executive Committee of the late General Council[224] he knows all about the "Conspiracy" invented by John Hales. The performances of the public "Alliance" have been already publicly exposed in the circular of the late General Council, *Les prétendues scissions*, etc.[a] The secret action of that society will be brought to daylight by the publication, now preparing, of the documents in the hands of the committee of inquiry appointed by the Hague Congress.[b]

Mr. Hales complains that

"while I was General Secretary of the Council, I never knew, and never could obtain, the addresses of the Continental Federations".

When secretary to the General Council, and its only paid officer, Mr. Hales had no other duties than to prepare the minutes, to send an extract of them to the press, and to correspond with English Sections and Trades' Unions.

The correspondence with other federations, continental or otherwise, was entrusted to unpaid secretaries with whose action he had no business to meddle. How he fulfilled his duty of correspondence within his own department, is shown by a special resolution of the General Council transferring that duty to Citizen Milner.[225]

Mr. Hales states further:

"One day the British Federal Council received a very important letter from the Spanish Federal Council, but the writer, Citizen Anselmo Lorenzo, had forgotten to give his address; the British Federal Council requested Citizen Engels, then corresponding secretary for Spain, to give them the address of Lorenzo; Citizen Engels refused formally. Lately, he gave us the same refusal with regard to the Lisbon Federal Council."

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[a] See this volume, pp. 79-123.— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 454-580.— *Ed.*

All that Citizen Engels knows about the matter is, that the Spanish letter in question was sent to him by Citizen Jung with the simple request to translate it, which he did. Of a request of the British Federal Council to have Lorenzo's address, he knows nothing, and would be thankful for an extract of its minutes to that effect.

As to the Lisbon affair, the Portuguese Council applied to Engels for his assistance in a strike,[226] and the very first thing Engels did was to request the co-operation of the British Federal Council, while at the same time he took such other measures as were in his power. After repeated verbal applications, through members of the Federal Council, and after one written application,[a] Engels received, about two months later, a letter from Mr. Hales, stating that the Council had taken some action in the matter, and applying for the Lisbon address. To this letter Engels sent no reply, being then fully aware that Hales wanted such addresses merely for the purpose of his own personal intrigues. As to other members of the British Federal Council, no such reserve was ever thought of. When Jung, in the name of the Federal Council, demanded the addresses in Berlin, Leipzig, and Vienna, they were at once forwarded to him.

The publication of extracts from the minutes of the late General Council, mostly written by Mr. Hales himself, will lay bare the motives of his rancour against that body. To speak in the words of his own letter to the Jurassien Committee, it will then be seen that

"whoever has not been closely acquainted with the defunct General Council, cannot form an idea of the way in which facts are distorted"

by Mr. John Hales.

Yours fraternally,

*F. Engels,*
*Karl Marx*

Written on December 19-20, 1872

First published in *The International Herald*, No. 38, December 21, 1872 and in *La Emancipacion*, No. 80, December 28, 1872

Reproduced from *The International Herald*

[a] See this volume, p. 285.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE MANCHESTER FOREIGN SECTION TO ALL SECTIONS AND MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH FEDERATION[227]

*Fellow Working Men,*

We feel compelled to address you in reply to a circular issued by those who call themselves the majority of the British Federal Council, and appealing to you to join them in open rebellion against the fundamental compact of our association.[a]

In that circular the majority of the Federal Council asserts that the minority have rendered all work impossible, and brought matters to a deadlock, owing to the last meeting having been dissolved by the chairman[b] in the midst of business in order to prevent discussion.[228]

It appears strange, at the first glance, that a majority should be brought to a deadlock by a minority, when a simple vote would have sufficed to silence that minority. Hitherto *minorities* have seceded often enough. This is the first instance of a *majority* seceding; and this fact alone is sufficient to render the whole proceeding more than suspicious. As to the pretence of the action of the chairman at one solitary meeting, we are credibly informed that, on that occasion, the chairman dissolved the meeting half an hour after the time for breaking up, at half past eleven, because members of the majority insisted upon interrupting the order of the day.

The Federal Council is divided, according to the circular, upon the question whether the resolutions of the General Congress of

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[a] *To the Branches, Sections and Members of the British Federation of the International Working Men's Association.* [Signed:] Hales, J., Bennett, G. [London,] December 10, 1872.—*Ed.*

[b] Samuel Vickery.—*Ed.*

our Association, held at The Hague in September last, are to be considered valid or not. Now, for members of the International, this is not a question at all. According to its General Rules, Article 3, the duty of the General Congress is to "take the measures required for the successful working of our Association".[a] The Congress is its legislative power. Its resolutions are binding upon all. Those who do not like them may either leave the Association, or try to reverse them at the next Congress. But no individual member, no section, no Federal Council, no local or national congress, has the right to declare them null and void, while pretending to remain within the International.

The signataries of the circular pretend that the Hague Congress was not fairly constituted, and in no way represented the majority of the members of the Association. That Congress was regularly convoked by the General Council, in accordance with Art. 4 of the General Rules. It was attended by 64 delegates, representing 15 different nationalities, and belonging, individually, to 12 different nationalities. No previous Congress could boast of such a truly international composition. That the resolutions taken were penetrated by the true spirit of internationalism is proved by the fact that they were almost all taken by majorities of three to one, and that the delegates of the two nations lately involved in fratricidal war—the French and the Germans—almost always voted for them to a man. If England, through its own fault, was not very numerously represented, is that a reason to invalidate the Congress?

The circular complains of the Congress resolution as to the political action of the working class.[b] They say it was taken after the majority of the delegates had left. The official report published in No. 37 of *The International Herald* (December 14th), shows that 48 delegates out of 64 voted on the question, out of which 35 voted in favour of the resolution. Among these 35 we find the name of Mr. Mottershead, who now signs a circular repudiating it.

Now what is this resolution? It is the same in substance, and mostly in words too, as that adopted at the General Conference held in London in September, 1871, and published officially, along with the rest of the resolutions, on the 17th October of that year by the General Council,[c] and has the signatures, among

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[a] Cf. this volume, p. 4.—*Ed.*

[b] See ibid., p. 243.—*Ed.*

[c] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the*

others, of John Hales, Th. Mottershead, H. Jung, F. Bradnick, H. Mayo, and John Roach! The General Council being bound to enforce the Conference resolutions, how is it that none of these citizens then thought fit to resign his seat on the General Council, and to protest against this resolution, now found out, all at once, to be so dangerous?

The circular totally falsifies the purport of this resolution, as will be easily seen by referring to its text as published in No. 37 of *The International Herald.* The resolution does not, as is pretended, make political action obligatory upon Trades' Unions and other politically neutral bodies. It merely demands the formation, in every country, of a distinct working class party, opposed to all middle class parties. That is to say, it calls here in England upon the working class to refuse any longer to serve as the fag-end of the "great Liberal party", and to form an independent party of their own, as they did in the glorious times of the great Chartist movement.

Thus the alleged breach of faith towards the Trades' Unions turns out to be a pure invention. But, we may be allowed to ask, *where are* the Trades' Unions *now* that at one time had affiliated themselves to the International? The cash accounts of last year show that they had almost every one disappeared during Citizen Hales' secretaryship.

The next complaint is that the General Council has been removed to New York, and that there are neither English nor Americans upon it. The new General Council is composed of men of five different nationalities, and if the English in New York keep aloof from the International, they have but themselves to blame, if they are not represented at the Council. While that Council was in London, the English were always far more strongly represented than any other nation, and very often formed the absolute majority; while the French, for instance, at one time were not represented at all. But the English cannot claim this as a vested right. The Hague Congress, when, in virtue of the duty and right conferred upon it by Art. 3 of the General Rules, it elected the new General Council, chose what was in its opinion the best locality, and in that locality the best men. The signataries of the Circular may be of a different opinion, but that does not affect the right of the Congress.

The Circular pretends that, by this action, the sections and

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*International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871.—Ed.*

federations are deprived of the right they possessed, of deciding upon the policy to be pursued in their respective countries. This is again untrue. Whether the General Council sit in London, in New York, or anywhere else, the rights of the sections and federations remain the same. But, says the Circular, to prevent disobedience upon this point,

> "the Congress armed this General Council with the power of suspending any section, federation, or federal council whenever it pleased, without assigning any reason for so doing".

Untrue, again. The right of suspending any section had been already conferred upon the General Council by the Basel Congress (1869). The official publication of the Hague Congress Resolutions, resolution II, art. 1, (*The International Herald*, No. 37) shows that, if the powers of the General Council have been increased, or rather better defined, they have also been surrounded by safeguards previously not existing.[a] Thus, if the General Council dissolve a Federal Council, it has to provide *within 30 days*, for the election of a new one; and thus, after all, the federation itself remains the ultimate judge. If the General Council suspend a whole federation, it has, if the rest of the federations demand it, to submit its decision *within one month* to the final judgment of a conference of delegates of all federations. And this is what the circular calls: the power of suspension without assigning any reason!

Fellow working men! whether you individually approve or disapprove of the resolutions passed at the Hague, they are at this moment *the law of the International*. If there are those among you who disapprove of them, they have their remedy at the next Congress. But neither any section, nor the British Federal Council, nor any national Congress called by it, has the right to repudiate resolutions of a General Congress lawfully convoked. Whoever attempts such a thing, places himself virtually outside the pale of the International, and that, in effect, the signataries of the circular have done. To allow such action to rule the International would be tantamount to its dissolution.

Even in the countries whose delegates formed the minority at the Hague, a strong re-action has set in against the secessionist tendencies fostered by those delegates. While in America, in France, in Germany, in Poland, in Austria, in Hungary, in Portugal, and in the whole of Switzerland, with the exception of a little knot of scarcely 200 men, the Hague resolutions are gladly

[a] See this volume, p. 244.— *Ed.*

accepted, the Dutch Internationals, in Congress assembled, have resolved to stand by the New York General Council, and to lay any grievances they may have before the next lawful General Congress of September, 1873, and before no other.[229] In Spain, where a secessionist movement similar to that inaugurated by the circular in question, was attempted by the Federal Council, the resistance against it is growing stronger every day, and section after section adheres to the Hague resolutions.

Fellow working men! for all these reasons, we protest against the convocation of any British Congress which is to sit in judgment upon the law of the Association as established by the delegates of all nations represented in it.

We protest against any Congress convoked at such a short notice as that called for the 5th January.[230]

We urge upon all sections to submit the foregoing to the consideration of their members, remembering that the future of our Association in England rests upon their action in the present crisis.

It is necessary that we recognise as legitimate delegates to the Federal Council only those who will uphold the authority of the Congress of the Hague, and endeavour to carry out the resolutions passed there.

Adopted at the general meeting of the Manchester Foreign Section, held on Saturday, 21st December, 1872.

Fraternal greeting to all members of our Association.

*P. Zürcher*, Chairman of the Meeting
*F. Kupper*, General and German Secretary
*O. Wyss*, French Secretary

Written on about December 20, 1872

Reproduced from the leaflet

First published as a leaflet on December 23, 1872

# Karl Marx

## ADDRESS OF THE BRITISH FEDERAL COUNCIL TO THE SECTIONS, BRANCHES, AFFILIATED SOCIETIES AND MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[231]

*Citizens,*

At our sitting of December 19th, 1872, our attention was called to a Manifesto issued by the representatives of the party of secession in England.[a] We at once took the resolution to forward to every section a notice calling upon them to suspend their judgment thereon until they had our reply before them, which we promised to get out at once, and at a special meeting of the British Federal Council, held on Monday evening, December 23rd, the following was unanimously adopted in reply to the allegations made in the above mentioned Manifesto.

(1). The dead-lock has been caused by the constant introduction of Hales' personal matter; both he and Mottershead have already, on the General Council, by their mutual charges of corruption, attempted to cause a similar dead-lock there. The dead-lock at the meeting alluded to was caused by Mottershead, being drunk, rendering the dissolution of the meeting necessary, at half-past eleven, by constantly repeating violent personal charges against the Chairman[b]; such dissolution being demanded by none more than by Hales. The members will long ago have seen in *The International Herald* that the South Lambeth Section withdrew its delegate because the majority obstructed all real business.

(2). The real reason of this circular is an understanding between the secessionist minority of the Hague Congress to call all sorts of

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[a] *To the Branches, Sections and Members of the British Federation of the International Working Men's Association.* [Signed:] Hales, J., Bennett, G. [London,] December 10, 1872.—*Ed.*

[b] Samuel Vickery (see also the previous document, pp. 304-06).—*Ed.*

congresses in all countries about Christmas and to get them to confirm their secessionist action. Thus similar congresses have been called in Belgium and in Spain for the 25th December (against which in Spain there is a strong opposition, getting stronger every day).[232] The English Sections are to be now bamboozled into assisting the plot without knowing what is going on.

(3). The circular now before us has not been laid before the Federal Council. Nothing shows better how its authors feared discussion, than that they concocted it, behind the back of the Council, in a hole and corner meeting. Has it ever been seen before that a majority, instead of outvoting a minority seceded from it? What do the majority want a special Congress for, when a simple vote of the Council which they profess to command, will decide the question in their favour?

(4). The signataries of this circular dare not yet go the full length of the continental secessionists, who plainly state that they repudiate the authority of every Congress except the first held at Geneva. In the mean time, they begin by impugning the validity of the Congress of the Hague, the most International and indeed the first really International Congress of the Association, because it was the first where the majority was not national or even merely local. If that congress was not fairly constituted, why did Citizen Roach who was a member of the Committee for examination of credentials, sign the report of that Committee? Yet he now signs the circular protesting against the Congress.

(5). They say they will stand by the General Rules as they existed prior to the Congress of the Hague. These Rules say, art. 3. "The Congress will have to take the measures required for the successful working of the Association and appoint the General Council of the Society." Art. 12. "The present Rules may be revised by each Congress provided that two-thirds of the delegates present are in favour of such revision."[a] The General Rules give no right whatever to any Local or Federal Congresses to revise the resolutions of any General Congress. Therefore the signataries of this circular declare themselves in open revolt not only against the Constitution of the International as fixed by the Congress of the Hague, but also against those General Rules which they declare they will stand by.

Now which are the resolutions of the Hague Congress which are so distasteful to the signataries of the circular?

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[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 4 and 8.—*Ed.*

The first is the resolution about the political action of the Working Class[a] which, they assert, has been passed after the majority of the Delegates had left. This is so far from true, that out of the 64 Delegates who took part in the Congress, 48 took part in the vote on this resolution, and out of these 35, or more than two-thirds, voted for it, amongst whom Citizen Mottershead, who has nevertheless signed the present circular. Moreover, most of the Delegates who had left, had also left with the chairman a written declaration that they were in favour of the resolution.

The resolution itself is nothing but an extract from the resolution No. IX. of the Conference of London, September, 1871, published, along with the other resolutions, by the General Council on the 17th October, 1871,[b] and to which are appended the names of Citizens Bradnick, Mayo, Mottershead, Jung, Roach, and Hales, the latter as general Secretary. This resolution of the Conference quotes the general rules, the Inaugural Address, a Resolution of the Congress of Lausanne, and all the action of the General Council from the beginning, to prove that what it asserts is merely an explanation, in the same sense, of what has always been the officially adopted policy of the Association. Before the Hague Congress, the General Council resolved unanimously to propose to that Congress the introduction of this very resolution into the General Rules; Citizen Jung was acting as secretary that evening, Hales having been suspended.[233] And even the Nottingham Congress, to the resolutions of which the circular refers, as to a precedent, adopted a resolution virtually the same.[234]

As to the pretended turning adrift of Trades Unions by this resolution, the Congress, quite on the contrary, has even gone further than the General Rules or any previous Congress in favour of Trades Unions. It charged the New General Council to constitute an International Bond between the Trades Unions, to admit to it even Trades Unions that do not belong to the International, to invite every Trades Union to state itself the terms upon which it will enter such bond, and to draw up a general plan to be submitted to the provisional acceptance of all Trades Unions adhering, previous to its final sanction by the next Congress.

The next complaint is the removal of the General Council to New York. This amounts simply to the assertion that no General

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[a] See this volume, p. 243.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871.—Ed.*

Council upon which Messrs Hales, Mottershead, Jung, Bradnick, Mayo and Roach do not sit, can pretend to represent the International.

Another complaint is that the powers of this General Council have been increased. Now the first resolution to that effect taken at the Hague was the following. "The General Council is bound to execute the Congress Resolutions, and to take care that in every country the principles and the General Rules and Regulations of the International are strictly observed."[a] This resolution was proposed to the Congress in consequence of a unanimous vote of the late General Council.[235] How could it be put in force if the General Council had not the power to suspend bodies acting within the International, against the International? Besides, the Hague resolutions relating to the right of suspension of Sections, Federal Councils and Federations, have in reality limited the power given by the Congress of Basle (see Administrative Regulation 2, article 6 & 7),[b] and subjected in every case the action of the General Council to a counter check.

Everywhere on the Continent, the governments and the middle-class press are supporting the attempts of the men who try to provoke a secession in the ranks of the Association, while those who cling to the International are everywhere arrested, and their newspapers prosecuted by the police. While the secessionists glory in the assertion, that the International by their exertions is everywhere in a state of dissolution, and in rebellion against the Hague resolutions, the fact is that the Association is stronger than ever, and that the Hague resolutions are fully endorsed in France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Portugal, America, Denmark, Poland, and Switzerland, excepting, in the latter country, some 150 secessionists. In Holland, although the delegates of that country voted at the Hague with the minority, a Congress has been held which resolved to remain faithful to the General Council, and to recognise no other General Congress but the regular one of September, 1873, to be held in Switzerland.[236] In Spain where the secessionists expected to carry everything before them, because they had the Federal Council on their side, the opposition against them is growing stronger every day. Even in Italy Sections are continuing to send in their adhesion to the New General Council, and this New English Congress dodge is the last resource the secessionists are driven to.

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[a] See this volume, p. 244.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 244 and 10.—*Ed.*

In reply to the propositions of the circular, we have to submit the following:—

(1). We declare any Congress held in England for the purpose of revising the resolutions passed at the Congress of the Hague to be illegal, because every Federation has the right of objecting at the next General Congress. Further the only legal Congress of the British Federation is the one to be held in Manchester at Whitsuntide next,[237] in accordance with the resolution passed at the Nottingham Congress of July, 1872.

(2). We call upon the Sections to revoke the powers given to the subscribers of the circular and to send new delegates to represent them on the Federal Council.

(3). We call upon the Sections to appoint a Committee to which the minutes of the Federal Council will be submitted and who will draw its own conclusions as to who obstructed and who forwarded the work of the Association, and who acted in the interest of the enemies of the working classes.

(4). We call upon the Sections to appoint a commission to inquire into the organisation, number of members and date of establishment of the Sections, and particularly the respective number of delegates they used to send to the Federal Council.

The Sections now being in possession of both Manifestoes, we leave the matter in their hands and only ask that their decision may be communicated to us at once.

But we unhesitatingly affirm that we are acting in accordance with the rules and constitution of the Association, and in the real interest of the working classes.

Long life to the International Working Men's Association.

*F. Hurry*, South Lambeth Section, Chairman
*E. Hills*, West End Section
*F. Lessner*, Nottingham Congress, ex-member of the General Council, Founder of the I.W.M.A.
*W. H. Riley*, Nottingham Congress
*Ch. Murray*, Normanby Section, ex-member of the General Council
*G. Milner*, National Reform League, ex-member of the General Council
*J. Mitchell*, Hinckley Section, Leicestershire
*G. A. Weiler*, London German Section

*S. Vickery*, Birkenhead Section
*Eugène Dupont*, Manchester Section, ex-member of the General Council, Founder of the I.W.M.A.

All communications to be sent to Citizen *Riley*, Editor of *The International Herald*, 7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, London.

London, December 23rd, 1872

Drawn up on December 20, 1872

Reproduced from the leaflet

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April 73.

Laura Lafargue
der Verfasser

# Zur Wohnungsfrage.

Von

**Friedrich Engels.**

Separatabdruck aus dem „Volksstaat".

Leipzig, 1872.

Verlag der Expedition des „Volksstaat".

Title page of the separate reprint of Engels' *The Housing Question*, Part I, with the author's dedication to Laura Lafargue

# Frederick Engels

## THE HOUSING QUESTION[238]

### Part I

### HOW PROUDHON SOLVES THE HOUSING QUESTION

In No. 10 and the following issues of the *Volksstaat* may be found a series of six articles on the housing question.[a] These articles are worthy of attention only because, apart from some long-forgotten would-be literary writings of the forties, they are the first attempt to transplant the Proudhonist school to Germany. This represents such an enormous step backward in comparison with the whole course of development of German socialism, which delivered a decisive blow precisely to the Proudhonist ideas as far back as twenty-five years ago,* that it is worth while answering this attempt immediately.

The so-called housing shortage, which plays such a great role in the press nowadays, does not consist in the fact that the working class generally lives in bad, overcrowded and unhealthy dwellings. *This* shortage is not something peculiar to the present; it is not even one of the sufferings peculiar to the modern proletariat in contradistinction to all earlier oppressed classes. On the contrary, all oppressed classes in all periods suffered rather uniformly from it. In order to put an end to *this* housing shortage there is only *one* means: to abolish altogether the exploitation and oppression of the working class by the ruling class.—What is meant today by housing shortage is the peculiar intensification of the bad housing conditions of the workers as a result of the sudden rush of population to the big cities; a colossal increase in rents, still greater

* In Marx: *Misère de la philosophie etc.*, Brussels and Paris, 1847.

[a] [A. Mülberger,] "Die Wohnungsfrage", *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 10-13, 15, 19, February 3, 7, 10, 14, 21, March 6, 1872.—*Ed.*

congestion in the separate houses, and, for some, the impossibility of finding a place to live in at all. And *this* housing shortage gets talked of so much only because it is not confined to the working class but has affected the petty bourgeoisie as well.

The housing shortage from which the workers and part of the petty bourgeoisie suffer in our modern big cities is one of the innumerable *smaller*, secondary evils which result from the present-day capitalist mode of production. It is not at all a direct result of the exploitation of the worker *as* worker by the capitalist. This exploitation is the basic evil which the social revolution wants to abolish by abolishing the capitalist mode of production. The cornerstone of the capitalist mode of production is, however, the fact that our present social order enables the capitalist to buy the labour power of the worker at its value, but to extract from it much more than its value by making the worker work longer than is necessary to reproduce the price paid for the labour power. The surplus value produced in this fashion is divided among the whole class of capitalists and landowners, together with their paid servants, from the Pope and the Emperor down to the night watchman and below. We are not concerned here with how this distribution comes about, but this much is certain: that all those who do not work can live only on the pickings from this surplus value, which reach them in one way or another. (Compare *Marx's "Capital"*, where this was propounded for the first time.)

The distribution of this surplus value, produced by the working class and taken from it without payment, among the non-working classes proceeds amid extremely edifying squabblings and mutual swindling. In so far as this distribution takes place by means of buying and selling, one of its chief methods is the cheating of the buyer by the seller; and in retail trade, particularly in the big cities, this has become an absolute condition of existence for the seller. When, however, the worker is cheated by his grocer or his baker, either in regard to the price or the quality of the merchandise, this does not happen to him in his specific capacity as a worker. On the contrary, as soon as a certain average measure of cheating has become the social rule in any place, it must in the long run be adjusted by a corresponding increase in wages. The worker appears before the shopkeeper as a buyer, that is, as the owner of money or credit, and hence not at all in his capacity as a worker, that is, as a seller of labour power. The cheating may hit him, and the poorer class as a whole, harder than it hits the richer social classes, but it is not an evil which hits him exclusively, which is peculiar to his class.

And it is just the same with the housing shortage. The expansion of the big modern cities gives the land in certain sections of them, particularly in those which are centrally situated, an artificial and often enormously increasing value; the buildings erected in these areas depress this value, instead of increasing it, because they no longer correspond to the changed circumstances; they are pulled down and replaced by others. This takes place above all with centrally located workers' houses, whose rents, even with the greatest overcrowding, can never, or only very slowly, increase above a certain maximum. They are pulled down and in their stead shops, warehouses and public buildings are erected. Through its Haussmann in Paris,[a] Bonapartism exploited this tendency tremendously for swindling and private enrichment. But the spirit of Haussmann has also been abroad in London, Manchester and Liverpool, and seems to feel itself just as much at home in Berlin and Vienna. The result is that the workers are forced out of the centre of the towns towards the outskirts; that workers' dwellings, and small dwellings in general, become rare and expensive and often altogether unobtainable, for under these circumstances the building industry, which is offered a much better field for speculation by more expensive dwelling houses, builds workers' dwellings only by way of exception.

This housing shortage, therefore, certainly hits the worker harder than it hits any more prosperous class, but it is just as little an evil which burdens the working class exclusively as is the cheating of the shopkeeper, and, as far as the working class is concerned, when this evil reaches a certain level and attains a certain permanency, it must similarly find a certain economic adjustment.

It is largely with just such sufferings as these, which the working class endures in common with other classes, and particularly the petty bourgeoisie, that petty-bourgeois socialism, to which Proudhon belongs, prefers to occupy itself. And thus it is not at all accidental that our German Proudhonist seizes chiefly upon the housing question, which, as we have seen, is by no means exclusively a working-class question; and that he declares it to be, on the contrary, a true, exclusively working-class question.

"The *tenant* is in the same position in relation to the *house-owner* as the *wage-worker* in relation to the *capitalist*."[b]

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[a] The words "in Paris" were added by Engels in the 1887 edition.—*Ed.*

[b] [A. Mülberger,] op. cit., *Der Volksstaat*, No. 12, February 10, 1872.—*Ed.*

This is totally untrue.

In the housing question we have two parties confronting each other: the tenant and the landlord, or house-owner. The former wishes to purchase from the latter the temporary use of a dwelling; he has money or credit, even if he has to buy this credit from the house-owner himself at a usurious price in the shape of an addition to the rent. It is a simple commodity sale; it is not a transaction between proletarian and bourgeois, between worker and capitalist. The tenant—even if he is a worker—appears as *a man with money*; he must already have sold his commodity, a commodity peculiarly his own, his labour power, to be able to appear with the proceeds as the buyer of the use of a dwelling or he must be in a position to give a guarantee of the impending sale of this labour power. The peculiar results which attend the sale of labour power to the capitalist are completely absent here. The capitalist causes the purchased labour power first to produce its own value but secondly to produce a surplus value, which remains in his hands for the time being, subject to distribution among the capitalist class. In this case, therefore, an excess value is produced, the sum total of the existing value is increased. In a renting transaction the situation is quite different. No matter how much the landlord may overreach the tenant it is still only a transfer of already *existing*, previously *produced* value, and the total sum of values possessed by the landlord and the tenant *together* remains the same after as it was before. The worker is always cheated of a part of the product of his labour, whether that labour is paid for by the capitalist below, above or at its value; the tenant,only when he is compelled to pay for the dwelling above its value. It is therefore a complete misrepresentation of the relation between landlord and tenant to attempt to make it equivalent to the relation between worker and capitalist. On the contrary, we are dealing here with a quite ordinary commodity transaction between two citizens, and this transaction proceeds according to the economic laws which govern the sale of commodities in general, and in particular the sale of the commodity "landed property". The building and maintenance costs of the house or of the part of the house in question enter first into the calculation; the value of the land, determined by the more or less favourable situation of the house, comes next; the relation between supply and demand existing at the moment decides in the end. This simple economic relation expresses itself in the mind of our Proudhonist as follows:

"The house, once it has been built, serves as a *perpetual legal title* to a definite fraction of social labour although the real value of the house has been paid to the

owner long ago more than adequately in the form of rent. Thus it comes about that a house which, for instance, was built fifty years ago, during this period covers the original cost price two, three, five, ten and more times over in its rent yield." [a]

Here we have at once Proudhon in his entirety. First, it is forgotten that the rent must not only pay the interest on the building costs, but must also cover repairs and the average amount of bad debts and unpaid rents as well as the occasional periods when the house is untenanted,[b] and finally must pay off in annual instalments the building capital which has been invested in a house, which is perishable and which in time becomes uninhabitable and worthless. Secondly, it is forgotten that the house rent must also pay interest on the increased value of the land upon which the building is erected and that, therefore, a part of it consists of ground rent. Our Proudhonist immediately declares, it is true, that since this increment is brought about without the landowner having contributed anything, it does not equitably belong to him but to society as a whole. However, he overlooks the fact that he is thereby in reality demanding the abolition of landed property, a point which would lead us too far if we went into it here. And finally he overlooks the fact that the whole transaction is not at all one of buying the house from its owner, but of buying only its use for a certain time. Proudhon, who never bothered himself about the real, the actual conditions under which any economic phenomenon occurs, is naturally also unable to explain how the original cost price of a house is under certain circumstances paid back ten times over in the course of fifty years in the form of rent. Instead of examining this not at all difficult question economically and establishing whether it is really in contradiction to economic laws, and if so how, Proudhon resorts to a bold leap from economics into jurisprudence: "The house, once it has been built, serves as a *perpetual legal title*" to a certain annual payment. How this comes about, *how* the house *becomes* a legal title, on this Proudhon is silent. And yet that is just what he should have explained. Had he examined this question he would have found that all the legal titles in the world, no matter how perpetual, could not give a house the power of obtaining its cost price back ten times, over the course of fifty years, in the form of rent, but that only economic conditions (which may have obtained social recognition in the form of legal titles) can accomplish this. And with this he would again be where he started from.

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[a] [A. Mülberger,] op. cit., *Der Volksstaat*, No. 10, February 3, 1872.—*Ed.*

[b] The rest of the sentence was added by Engels in the 1887 edition.—*Ed.*

The whole Proudhonist teaching rests on this saving leap from economic reality into legal phraseology. Every time our good Proudhon loses the economic hang of things—and this happens to him with every serious problem—he takes refuge in the sphere of law and appeals to *eternal justice*.

"Proudhon begins by taking his ideal of justice, of '*justice éternelle*', from the juridical relations that correspond to the production of commodities; thereby, it may be noted, he proves, to the consolation of all good citizens, that the production of commodities is a form of production as everlasting as justice. Then he turns round and seeks to reform the actual production of commodities, and the actual legal system corresponding thereto, in accordance with this ideal. What opinion should we have of a chemist, who, instead of studying the actual laws of the molecular changes in the composition and decomposition of matter, and on that foundation solving definite problems, claimed to regulate the composition and decomposition of matter by means of the 'eternal ideas', of '*naturalité* and *affinité*'? Do we really know any more about 'usury', when we say it contradicts '*justice éternelle*', '*équité éternelle*', '*mutualité éternelle*', and other '*vérités éternelles*', than the fathers of the church did when they said it was incompatible with '*grâce éternelle*', '*foi éternelle*', and '*la volonté éternelle de Dieu*'?" (Marx, *Capital*, p. 45[a]).

Our Proudhonist does not fare any better than his lord and master:

> "The rent agreement is one of the thousand exchanges which are as necessary in the life of modern society as the circulation of the blood in the bodies of animals. Naturally, it would be in the interest of this society if all these exchanges were pervaded by a *conception of right*, that is to say, if they were carried out everywhere according to the strict demands of justice. In a word, the economic life of society must, as Proudhon says, raise itself to the heights of *economic right*. In reality, as we know, exactly the opposite takes place."[b]

Is it credible that five years after Marx had characterised Proudhonism so summarily and convincingly precisely from this decisive angle, one can still print such confused stuff in the German language? What does this rigmarole mean? Nothing more than that the practical effects of the economic laws which govern present-day society run contrary to the author's sense of justice and that he cherishes the pious wish that the matter might be so

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[a] Engels quotes from the first (1867) German edition of Volume One of *Capital*; see also the English edition which was edited by Engels (*Capital*, Vol. I, London, 1887, p. 56).—*Ed.*

[b] [A. Mülberger,] op. cit., *Der Volksstaat*, No. 11, February 7, 1872.—*Ed.*

arranged as to remedy this situation.—Yes, if toads had tails they would no longer be toads! And is then the capitalist mode of production not "pervaded by a conception of right", namely, that of its own right to exploit the workers? And if the author tells us this is not *his* conception of right, are we one step further?

But let us go back to the housing question. Our Proudhonist now gives his "conception of right" free rein and treats us to the following moving declamation:

> "We do not hesitate to assert that there is no more terrible mockery of the whole culture of our lauded century than the fact that in the big cities 90 per cent and more of the population have no place that they can call their own. The real nodal point of moral and family existence, hearth and home, is being swept away by the social whirlpool... In this respect we are far below the savages. The troglodyte has his cave, the Australian his clay hut, the Indian his own hearth, but the modern proletarian is practically suspended in mid-air," etc.[a]

In this jeremiad we have Proudhonism in its whole reactionary form. In order to create the modern revolutionary class of the proletariat it was absolutely necessary to cut the umbilical cord which still bound the worker of the past to the land. The hand weaver who had his little house, garden and field along with his loom was a quiet, contented man, "godly and honourable" despite all misery and despite all political pressure; he doffed his cap to the rich, to the priest and to the officials of the state and inwardly was altogether a slave. It is precisely modern large-scale industry which has turned the worker, formerly chained to the land, into a completely propertyless proletarian, liberated from all traditional fetters,[b] *a free outlaw*; it is precisely this economic revolution which has created the sole conditions under which the exploitation of the working class in its final form, in capitalist production, can be overthrown. And now comes this tearful Proudhonist and bewails the driving of the workers from hearth and home as though it were a great retrogression instead of being the very first condition of their intellectual emancipation.

Twenty-seven years ago I described, in *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, the main features of just this process of driving the workers from hearth and home, as it took place in the eighteenth century in England.[c] The infamies of which the land and factory owners were guilty in so doing, and the deleterious effects, material and moral, which this expulsion inevitably had on the workers concerned in the first place, are there also described

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[a] Ibid.—*Ed.*

[b] *Der Volksstaat* has "culture" instead of "fetters".—*Ed.*

[c] See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 307-27.—*Ed.*

as they deserve. But could it enter my head to regard this, which was in the circumstances an absolutely necessary historical process of development, as a retrogression "below the savages"? Impossible! The English proletarian of 1872 is on an infinitely higher level than the rural weaver of 1772 with his "hearth and home". And will the troglodyte with his cave, the Australian with his clay hut or the Indian with his own hearth ever accomplish a June insurrection[239] or a Paris Commune?

That the situation of the workers has on the whole become materially worse since the introduction of capitalist production on a large scale is doubted only by the bourgeois. But should we therefore look backward longingly to the (likewise very meagre) fleshpots of Egypt,[240] to rural small-scale industry, which produced only servile souls, or to "the savages"? On the contrary. Only the proletariat created by modern large-scale industry, liberated from all inherited fetters including those which chained it to the land, and herded together in the big cities, is in a position to accomplish the great social transformation which will put an end to all class exploitation and all class rule. The old rural hand weavers with hearth and home would never have been able to do it; they would never have been able to conceive such an idea, not to speak of desiring to carry it out.

For Proudhon, on the other hand, the whole industrial revolution of the last hundred years, the introduction of steam power and large-scale factory production which substitutes machinery for hand labour and increases the productivity of labour a thousandfold, is a highly repugnant occurrence, something which really ought never to have taken place. The petty bourgeois Proudhon aspires to a world in which each person turns out a separate and independent product that is immediately consumable and exchangeable in the market. Then, as long as each person receives back the full value of his labour in the form of another product, "eternal justice" is satisfied and the best possible world created. But this best possible world of Proudhon has already been nipped in the bud and trodden underfoot by the advance of industrial development, which long ago destroyed individual labour in all the big branches of industry and which is destroying it daily more and more in the smaller and even smallest branches, which is setting social labour supported by machinery and the harnessed forces of nature in its place, and whose finished product, immediately exchangeable or consumable, is the joint work of the many individuals through whose hands it has had to pass. And it is precisely this industrial revolution which has raised

the productive power of human labour to such a high level that—for the first time in the history of mankind—the possibility exists, given a rational division of labour among all, of producing not only enough for the plentiful consumption of all members of society and for an abundant reserve fund, but also of leaving each individual sufficient leisure so that what is really worth preserving in historically inherited culture—science, art, forms of intercourse, etc.—may not only be preserved but converted from a monopoly of the ruling class into the common property of the whole of society, and may be further developed. And here is the decisive point: as soon as the productive power of human labour has risen to this height, every excuse disappears for the existence of a ruling class. After all, the ultimate basis on which class differences were defended was always: there must be a class which need not plague itself with the production of its daily subsistence, in order that it may have time to look after the intellectual work of society. This talk, which up to now had its great historical justification, has been cut off at the root once and for all by the industrial revolution of the last hundred years. The existence of a ruling class is becoming daily more and more a hindrance to the development of industrial productive power, and equally so to that of science, art and especially of forms of cultural intercourse. There never were greater boors than our modern bourgeois.

All this is nothing to friend Proudhon. He wants "eternal justice" and nothing else. Each shall receive in exchange for his product the full proceeds of his labour, the full value of his labour. But to calculate this in a product of modern industry is a complicated matter. For modern industry obscures the particular share of the individual in the total product, which in the old individual handicraft was obviously represented by the finished product. Further, modern industry eliminates more and more individual exchange, on which Proudhon's whole system is built up,[a] namely, direct exchange between two producers each of whom takes the product of the other in order to consume it. Consequently a reactionary streak runs through the whole of Proudhonism; an aversion to the industrial revolution and the desire, sometimes overtly, sometimes covertly expressed, to drive the whole of modern industry out of the temple—steam engines, mechanical looms and the rest of the business—and to return to old, respectable hand labour. That we would then lose nine hundred and ninety-nine thousandths of our productive power,

[a] The rest of the sentence was added by Engels in the 1887 edition.—*Ed.*

that the whole of humanity would be condemned to the worst possible labour slavery, that starvation would become the general rule—what does all that matter if only we succeed in organising exchange in such a fashion that each receives "the full proceeds of his labour", and that "eternal justice" is realised? *Fiat justitia, pereat mundus!*[a]

Let justice be done though the whole world perish!

And the world would perish in this Proudhonist counter-revolution if it were at all possible to carry it out.

It is, however, self-evident that, even with social production conditioned by modern large-scale industry, it is possible to assure each person "the full proceeds of his labour", so far as this phrase has any meaning at all.[b] And it has a meaning only if it is extended to purport not that each individual worker becomes the possessor of "the full proceeds of his labour", but that the whole of society, consisting entirely of workers, becomes the possessor of the total product of their labour, which product it partly distributes among its members for consumption, partly uses for replacing and increasing its means of production, and partly stores up as a reserve fund for production and consumption.

After what has been said above, we already know in advance how our Proudhonist will solve the great housing question. On the one hand, we have the demand that each worker have and own his own home in order that we may no longer be *below the savages*. On the other hand, we have the assurance that the two, three, five or tenfold repayment of the original cost price of a house in the form of rent, as it actually takes place, is based on a *legal title*, and that this legal title is in contradiction to *"eternal justice"*. The solution is simple: we abolish the legal title and by virtue of eternal justice declare the rent paid to be a payment on account of the cost of the dwelling itself. If one has so arranged one's premisses that they already contain the conclusion, then of course it requires no greater skill than any charlatan possesses to produce the result, prepared beforehand, from the bag and proudly point to unshakeable logic whose result it is.

And so it happens here. The abolition of rented dwellings is proclaimed a necessity, and couched in the form of a demand that every tenant be turned into the owner of his dwelling. How are we to do that? Very simply:

[a] The motto of Ferdinand I, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.—*Ed.*

[b] The next sentence was added by Engels in the 1887 edition.—*Ed.*

"Rented dwellings will be redeemed... The previous house-owner will be paid the value of his house to the last farthing. Hitherto the tenant has paid rent as his tribute to the perpetual title of capital, now, from the day when the redemption of rented dwellings is proclaimed, the exactly fixed sum paid by the tenant will become the annual instalment paid for the dwelling which has passed into his possession... Society ... transforms itself in this way into a totality of free and independent owners of dwellings."[a]

The Proudhonist finds it a crime against eternal justice that the house-owner can without working obtain ground rent and interest[b] out of the capital he has invested in the house. He decrees that this must cease, that capital invested in houses shall no longer yield interest; nor ground rent either, so far as it represents purchased landed property. Now we have seen that the capitalist mode of production, the basis of present-day society, is in no way affected hereby. The pivot on which the exploitation of the worker turns is the sale of his labour power to the capitalist and the use which the capitalist makes of this transaction, the fact that he compels the worker to produce far more than the paid value of his labour power amounts to. It is this transaction between capitalist and worker which produces all the surplus value afterwards divided in the form of ground rent, commercial profit, interest on capital,[c] taxes, etc., among the diverse varieties of capitalists and their servitors. And now our Proudhonist comes along and believes that if we were to prohibit *one single variety* of capitalists, and at that of capitalists who purchase no labour power directly and therefore also cause no surplus value to be produced, from making profit or receiving interest,[d] it would be a step forward! The mass of unpaid labour taken from the working class would remain exactly the same even if house-owners were to be deprived tomorrow of the possibility of receiving ground rent and interest.[e] However, this does not prevent our Proudhonist from declaring:

"The abolition of rented dwellings is thus one of the *most fruitful and magnificent aspirations* which have ever sprung from the womb of the revolutionary idea and it must become one of the *primary demands* of the Social-Democracy."[f]

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[a] [A. Mülberger,] op. cit., *Der Volksstaat*, No. 12, February 10, 1872.—*Ed.*

[b] *Der Volksstaat* has "profit" instead of "interest".—*Ed.*

[c] The words "interest on capital" were added by Engels in the 1887 edition.—*Ed.*

[d] The words "or receiving interest" were added by Engels in the 1887 edition.—*Ed.*

[e] *Der Volksstaat* has "profit" instead of "interest".—*Ed.*

[f] [A. Mülberger,] op. cit., *Der Volksstaat*, No. 12, February 10, 1872.—*Ed.*

This is exactly the type of market cry of the master Proudhon himself, whose cackling was always in inverse ratio to the size of the eggs laid.

And now imagine the fine state of things if each worker, petty bourgeois and bourgeois were compelled by paying annual instalments to become first part owner and then full owner of his dwelling! In the industrial districts in England, where there is large-scale industry but small workers' houses and each married worker occupies a little house of his own, there might possibly be some sense in it. But the small-scale industry in Paris and in most of the big cities on the Continent is supplemented by large houses in each of which ten, twenty or thirty families live together. Supposing that on the day of the world-delivering decree, when the redemption of rent dwellings is proclaimed, Peter is working in an engineering works in Berlin. A year later he is owner of, if you like, the fifteenth part of his flat consisting of a little room on the fifth floor of a house somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Hamburger Tor. He then loses his job and soon afterwards finds himself in a similar flat on the third floor of a house in the Pothof in Hanover with a wonderful view of the courtyard. After five months' stay there he has just acquired $^{1}/_{36}$ part of this property when a strike sends him to Munich and compels him by a stay of eleven months to assume ownership of exactly $^{11}/_{180}$ of a rather gloomy abode on the street level behind the Ober-Angergasse. Subsequent removals, such as nowadays are so frequent with workers, saddle him further with $^{7}/_{360}$ of a no less desirable residence in Saint Gall, $^{23}/_{180}$ of another one in Leeds, and $^{347}/_{56223}$, figured out exactly in order that "eternal justice" may have nothing to complain about, of a third flat in Seraing. And now, of what use are all these shares in flats to our Peter? Who is to give him the real value of these shares? Where is he to find the owner or owners of the remaining shares in his various one-time flats? And what exactly are the property relations regarding any big house whose floors hold, let us say, twenty flats and which, when the redemption period has elapsed and rented flats are abolished, belongs to perhaps three hundred part owners who are scattered all over the world? Our Proudhonist will answer that by that time the Proudhonist exchange bank[241] will exist, which will pay to anyone at any time the full labour proceeds for any labour product, and will therefore pay out also the full value of a share in a flat. But in the first place we are not at all concerned here with the Proudhonist exchange bank since it is nowhere mentioned in the articles on the housing question; secondly it rests on the

peculiar error that if someone wants to sell a commodity he will necessarily always find a buyer for its full value, and thirdly it went bankrupt in England more than once under the name of LABOUR EXCHANGE BAZAAR,[242] before Proudhon invented it.

The whole conception that the worker should *buy* his dwelling rests again on the reactionary basic outlook, already emphasised, of Proudhonism, according to which the conditions created by modern large-scale industry are morbid excrescences, and society must be brought forcibly, that is, against the trend which it has been following for a hundred years, to a condition in which the old stable handicraft of the individual is the rule, and which, generally speaking, is nothing but an idealised restoration of small-scale enterprise, which has gone and is still going to rack and ruin. Once the workers are flung back into these stable conditions and the "social whirlpool" has been happily removed, the worker can naturally again make use of property in "hearth and home", and the above redemption theory appears less absurd. Proudhon only forgets that in order to accomplish all this he must first of all put back the clock of world history a hundred years, and that if he did he would turn the present-day workers into just such narrow-minded, crawling, sneaking servile souls as their great-great-grandfathers were.

As far, however, as this Proudhonist solution of the housing question contains any rational and practically applicable content it is already being carried out today, but this realisation does not spring from "the womb of the revolutionary idea", but from—the big bourgeois themselves. Let us listen to an excellent Spanish newspaper, *La Emancipacion*, of Madrid, of March 16, 1872[a]:

"There is still another means of solving the housing question, the way proposed by Proudhon, which dazzles at first glance, but on closer examination reveals its utter impotence. Proudhon proposed that tenants should be converted into buyers on the instalment plan, that the rent paid annually be booked as an instalment on the redemption payment of the value of the particular dwelling, so that after a certain time the tenant would become its owner.[243] This method, which Proudhon considered very revolutionary, is being put into operation in all countries by companies of speculators who thus secure double and treble the value of the houses by raising the rents. M. Dollfus and other big manufacturers in North-Eastern France have carried out this system not only in order to make money but, in addition, with a political idea at the back of their minds.

"The cleverest leaders of the ruling class have always directed their efforts towards increasing the number of small owners in order to build an army for themselves against the proletariat. The bourgeois revolutions of the last century

[a] [P. Lafargue,] "Articulos de primera necesidad. II. La Habitacion", *La Emancipacion*, No. 40, March 16, 1872.—*Ed.*

divided up the big estates of the nobility and the church into small allotments, just as the Spanish republicans propose to do today with the still existing large estates, and created thereby a class of small landowners which has since become the most reactionary element in society and a permanent hindrance to the revolutionary movement of the urban proletariat. Napoleon III aimed at creating a similar class in the towns by reducing the denominations of the individual bonds of the public debt, and M. Dollfus and his colleagues sought to stifle all revolutionary spirit in their workers by selling them small dwellings to be paid for in annual instalments, and at the same time to chain the workers by this property to the factory once they worked in it.[244] Thus the Proudhon plan, far from bringing the working class any relief, even turned directly against it." *

How is the housing question to be settled, then? In present-day society, just as any other social question is settled: by the gradual economic levelling of demand and supply, a settlement which reproduces the question itself again and again and therefore is no settlement. How a social revolution would settle this question not only depends on the circumstances in each particular case, but is also connected with much more far-reaching questions, one of the most fundamental of which is the abolition of the antithesis between town and country. As it is not our task to create utopian systems for the organisation of the future society, it would be more than idle to go into the question here. But one thing is certain: there is already a sufficient quantity of houses in the big cities to remedy immediately all real "housing *shortage*", provided they are used judiciously. This can naturally only occur through the expropriation of the present owners by quartering in their houses homeless workers or workers overcrowded in their present homes. As soon as the proletariat has won political power, such a measure prompted by concern for the common good will be just as easy to carry out as are other expropriations and billetings by the present-day state.

However, our Proudhonist is not satisfied with his previous achievements in the housing question. He must raise the question

* How this solution of the housing question by means of chaining the worker to his own "home" is arising spontaneously in the neighbourhood of big or rapidly rising American towns can be seen from the following passage of a letter by Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Indianapolis, November 28, 1886: "In, or rather near, Kansas City we saw some miserable little wooden shacks, containing about three rooms each, still in the wilds; the land cost 600 dollars and was just big enough to put the little house on it; the latter cost a further 600 dollars, that is, together, 4,800 marks, for a miserable little thing, an hour away from the town, in a muddy desert." In this way the workers must shoulder heavy mortgage debts in order to obtain even these dwellings, and now indeed become the slaves of their employers. They are tied to their houses, they cannot go away, and must put up with whatever working conditions are offered them. [*Note by Engels to the 1887 edition.*]

from the level ground into the sphere of higher socialism in order that it may prove there also an essential "fractional part of the social question":

"Let us now assume that the productivity of capital is really taken by the horns, as it must be sooner or later, for instance, by a transitional law which *fixes the interest on all capitals at one per cent*, but mark you, with the tendency to make even this rate of interest approximate more and more to the zero point, so that finally nothing more will be paid than *the labour necessary to turn over the capital.* Like all other products, houses and dwellings are naturally also included within the purview of this law... The owner himself will be the first one to agree to a sale because otherwise his house would be unused and the capital invested in it simply useless."[a]

This passage contains one of the chief articles of faith of the Proudhonist catechism and offers a striking example of the confusion prevailing in it.

The "productivity of capital" is an absurdity that Proudhon takes over uncritically from the bourgeois economists. The bourgeois economists, it is true, also begin with the proposition that labour is the source of all wealth and the measure of value of all commodities; but they likewise have to explain how it comes about that the capitalist who advances capital for an industrial or handicraft business receives back at the end of it not only the capital which he advanced but also a profit over and above it. In consequence they are compelled to entangle themselves in all sorts of contradictions and to ascribe also to capital a certain productivity. Nothing proves more clearly how completely Proudhon remains enmeshed in bourgeois thinking than the fact that he has taken over this phrase about the productivity of capital. We have seen at the very beginning that the so-called "productivity of capital" is nothing but the quality inherent in it (under present-day social relations, without which it would not be capital at all) of being able to appropriate the unpaid labour of wage-workers.

However, Proudhon differs from the bourgeois economists in that he does not approve of this "productivity of capital," but on the contrary, discovers in it a violation of "eternal justice". It is this productivity which prevents the worker from receiving the full proceeds of his labour. It must therefore be abolished. But how? By lowering the *rate of interest* by compulsory legislation and finally reducing it to zero. Then, according to our Proudhonist, capital will cease to be productive.

The interest on loaned *money* capital is only a part of profit; profit, whether on industrial or commercial capital, is only a part

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[a] [A. Mülberger,] op. cit., *Der Volksstaat*, No. 13, February 14, 1872.— *Ed.*

of the surplus value taken by the capitalist class from the working class in the form of unpaid labour. The economic laws which govern the rate of interest are as independent of those which govern the rate of surplus value as could possibly be the case with laws of one and the same form of society. But as far as the distribution of this surplus value among the individual capitalists is concerned, it is clear that for industrialists and merchants who have in their businesses large amounts of capital advanced by other capitalists the rate of profit must rise—all other things being equal—to the same extent as the rate of interest falls. The reduction and final abolition of interest would, therefore, by no means really take the so-called "productivity of capital" "by the horns". It would do no more than re-arrange the distribution among the individual capitalists of the unpaid surplus value taken from the working class. It would not give an advantage to the worker as against the industrial capitalist, but to the industrial capitalist as against the rentier.

Proudhon, from his legal standpoint, explains the rate of interest, as he does all economic facts, not by the conditions of social production, but by the state laws in which these conditions receive their general expression. From this point of view, which lacks any inkling of the interconnection between the state laws and the conditions of production in society, these state laws necessarily appear as purely arbitrary orders which at any moment could be replaced just as well by their exact opposites. Nothing is, therefore, easier for Proudhon than to issue a decree—as soon as he has the power to do so—reducing the rate of interest to one per cent. And if all the other social conditions remain as they were, this Proudhonist decree will simply exist on paper only. The rate of interest will continue to be governed by the economic laws to which it is subject today, all decrees notwithstanding. Persons possessing credit will continue to borrow money at two, three, four and more per cent, according to circumstances, just as before, and the only difference will be that rentiers will be very careful to advance money only to persons with whom no litigation is to be expected. Moreover, this great plan to deprive capital of its "productivity" is as old as the hills; it is as old as—the *usury laws* which aim at nothing else but limiting the rate of interest, and which have since been abolished everywhere because in practice they were continually broken or circumvented, and the state was compelled to admit its impotence against the laws of social production. And the re-introduction of these medieval and unworkable laws is "to take the productivity of capital by the

horns"? One sees that the closer Proudhonism is examined the more reactionary it appears.

And when thereupon the rate of interest has been reduced to zero in this fashion, and interest on capital therefore abolished, then "nothing more will be paid than the labour necessary to turn over the capital". This is supposed to mean that the abolition of the rate of interest is equivalent to the abolition of profit and even of surplus value. But if it were possible *really* to abolish interest by decree, what would be the consequence? The class of *rentiers* would no longer have any inducement to loan out their capital in the form of advances, but would invest it industrially, either on their own or through joint-stock companies. The mass of surplus value extracted from the working class by the capitalist class would remain the same; only its distribution would be altered, and even that not much.

In fact, our Proudhonist fails to see that already now, in commodity purchase in bourgeois society, no more is paid on the average than "the labour necessary to turn over the capital" (it should read, necessary for the production of the commodity in question). Labour is the measure of value of all commodities, and in present-day society—apart from fluctuations of the market—it is absolutely impossible that in the aggregate more should be paid on the average for commodities than the labour necessary for their production. No, no, my dear Proudhonist, the difficulty lies elsewhere. It is contained in the fact that "the labour necessary to turn over the capital" (to use your confused terminology) is simply *not fully paid for*! How this comes about you can look up in Marx (*Capital*, pp. 128-60[a]).

But that is not enough. If interest *on capital* is abolished, *house* rent is abolished with it; for, "like all other products, houses and dwellings are naturally also included within the purview of this law". This is quite in the spirit of the old Major who summoned his one-year volunteer recruit and declared:

"I say, I hear you are a doctor; you might report from time to time at my quarters; when one has a wife and seven children there is always something to patch up."

Recruit: "Excuse me, Major, but I am a doctor of philosophy."

Major: "That's all the same to me; one sawbones is the same as another."

Our Proudhonist behaves the same way: house rent or interest

[a] Cf. the English edition of *Capital*, Vol. I, London, 1887, pp. 143-78.— *Ed.*

on capital, it is all the same to him. Interest is interest[a]; sawbones is sawbones.

We have seen above that the rent price, commonly called house rent, is composed as follows: 1) a part which is ground rent; 2) a part which is interest on the building capital, including the profit of the builder; 3) a part which goes for repairs and insurance; 4) a part which has to amortise the building capital inclusive of profit in annual deductions according to the rate at which the house gradually depreciates.

And now it must have become clear even to the blindest that

"the owner himself will be the first one to agree to a sale because otherwise his house would be unused and the capital invested in it simply useless".

Of course. If the interest on loaned capital is abolished, no house-owner can thereafter obtain a penny piece in rent for his house, simply because house rent may also be spoken of as rent *interest* and because such rent interest contains a part which is really interest on capital. Sawbones is sawbones. Whereas the usury laws relating to ordinary interest on capital could be made ineffective only by circumventing them, yet they never touched the rate of house rent even remotely. It was reserved for Proudhon to imagine that his new usury law would without more ado regulate and gradually abolish not only simple interest on capital but also the complicated house rent for dwellings.[b] Why then the "simply useless" house should be purchased for good money from the house-owner, and how it is that under such circumstances the

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[a] The original has "Zins ist Zins"; a pun on "Mietzins" (house rent) and "Kapitalzins" (interest on capital).—*Ed.*

[b] The passage "We have seen above ... house rent for dwellings" was edited by Engels for the 1887 edition; in *Der Volksstaat* No. 53 of July 3, 1872 it runs as follows:

"We have seen above that the rent price, commonly called house rent, is composed as follows: 1) a part which is ground rent, 2) a part which is profit, not interest, on the building capital, 3) a part which is the cost of repairs, maintenance, and insurance. It contains no part which is interest on capital, unless the house is encumbered with a mortgage debt.

"And now it must have become clear even to the blindest that 'the owner himself will be the first one to agree to a sale because otherwise his house would be unused and the capital invested in it simply useless'. Of course. If the interest on loaned capital is abolished, no house-owner can thereafter obtain a penny piece in rent for his house, simply because house rent may also be spoken of as rent *interest*. Sawbones is sawbones."

After the sentence "It contains no part which is interest on capital, unless the house is encumbered with a mortgage debt" in the 1872 separate reprint of Part I of *The Housing Question* Engels made the following note, omitted in the 1887 edition:

house-owner would not pay money himself to get rid of this "simply useless" house in order to save himself the cost of repairs—about this we are left in the dark.

After this triumphant achievement in the sphere of higher socialism (Master Proudhon called it suprasocialism[a]) our Proudhonist considers himself justified in flying still higher:

> "All that still has to be done now is to draw some conclusions in order to cast complete light from all sides on our so important subject."[b]

And what are these conclusions? Things which follow as little from what has been said before as the worthlessness of dwelling houses from the abolition of interest. Stripped of the pompous and solemn phraseology of our author, they mean nothing more than that, in order to facilitate the business of redemption of rented dwellings, the following is desirable: 1) exact statistics on the subject; 2) a good sanitary inspection force; 3) co-operatives of building workers to undertake the building of new houses. All these things are certainly very fine and good, but, despite all the vociferous phrases in which they are enveloped, they by no means cast "complete light" into the obscurity of Proudhonist mental confusion.

One who has achieved such great things has the right to address a serious exhortation to the German workers:

> "Such and similar questions, it would seem to us, are well worth the attention of the Social-Democracy.... Let it seek to clarify its mind, as here on the housing question, so also on other and equally important questions, such as *credit, state debts, private debts, taxes,*" etc.[c]

Thus, our Proudhonist here confronts us with the prospect of a whole series of articles on "similar questions", and if he deals with them all as thoroughly as with the present "so important subject", the *Volksstaat* will have copy enough for a year. But we are in a position to anticipate—it all amounts to what has already been said: interest on capital is to be abolished and with that the interest

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"*For the capitalist* who buys a ready-built house, part of the rent price, which is not composed of ground rents and overhead expenses, may *appear* in the form of interest on capital. But this alters nothing because it does not matter whether the builder of the house lets it himself or sells it for that purpose to another capitalist."—*Ed.*

[a] P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1846, p. III (Proudhon has "suprasocial").—*Ed.*

[b] [A. Mülberger,] op. cit., *Der Volksstaat*, No. 13, February 14, 1872.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid.—*Ed.*

on public and private debts disappears, credit will be gratis, etc. The same magic formula is applied to any and every subject and in each particular case the same astonishing result is obtained with inexorable logic, namely, that when interest on capital has been abolished no more interest will have to be paid on borrowed money.

They are fine questions, by the way, with which our Proudhonist threatens us: *Credit!* What credit does the worker need besides that from week to week, or the credit he obtains at the pawnshop? Whether he gets this credit free or at interest, even at the usurious interest charged by the pawnshop, how much difference does that make to him? And if he did, generally speaking, obtain some advantage from it, that is to say, if the cost of production of labour power were reduced, would not the price of labour power be bound to fall?—But to the bourgeois, and in particular to the petty bourgeois, credit is an important matter, and it would be a very fine thing for the petty bourgeois in particular if credit could be obtained at any time, and besides without payment of interest. "State debts!" The working class knows that it did not make them, and when it comes to power it will leave the payment of them to those who contracted them. "Private debts!"—see credit. "Taxes!" A matter that interests the bourgeoisie very much but the worker only very little. What the worker pays in taxes goes in the long run into the cost of production of labour power and must therefore be compensated for by the capitalist. All these things which are held up to us here as highly important questions for the working class are in reality of essential interest only to the bourgeois, and still more so to the petty bourgeois; and, despite Proudhon, we maintain that the working class is not called upon to safeguard the interests of these classes.

Our Proudhonist has not a word to say about the great question which really concerns the workers, that of the relation between capitalist and wage-worker, the question of how it comes about that the capitalist can enrich himself by the labour of his workers. True enough, his lord and master did occupy himself with it, but introduced absolutely no clearness into the matter. Even in his latest writings he has got essentially no farther than he was in his *Philosophie de la misère*, which Marx so strikingly reduced to nothingness in 1847.[a]

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[a] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon.—Ed.*

It was bad enough that for twenty-five years the workers speaking Romance languages had almost no other socialist mental pabulum than the writings of this "socialist of the Second Empire", and it would be a double misfortune if the Proudhonist theory were now to inundate Germany too. However, there need be no fear of this. The theoretical standpoint of the German workers is fifty years ahead of that of Proudhonism, and it will be sufficient to make an example of this *one* question, the housing question, to save further trouble in this respect.

## Part II

## HOW THE BOURGEOISIE SOLVES THE HOUSING QUESTION

### I

In the section on the *Proudhonist* solution of the housing question it was shown how greatly the petty bourgeoisie is directly interested in this question. However, the big bourgeoisie is also very much interested in it, even if indirectly. Modern natural science has proved that the so-called "bad districts", in which the workers are crowded together, are the breeding places of all those epidemics which from time to time afflict our towns. Cholera, typhus, typhoid fever, small-pox and other ravaging diseases spread their germs in the pestilential air and the poisoned water of these working-class quarters. Here the germs hardly ever die out completely, and as soon as circumstances permit they develop into epidemics and then spread beyond their breeding places into the more airy and healthy parts of the town inhabited by Messrs. the capitalists. Capitalist rule cannot allow itself the pleasure of generating epidemic diseases among the working class with impunity; the consequences fall back on it and the angel of death rages in the ranks of the capitalists as ruthlessly as in the ranks of the workers.

As soon as this fact had been scientifically established the philanthropic bourgeois became inflamed with a noble spirit of competition in their solicitude for the health of their workers. Societies were founded, books were written, proposals drawn up, laws debated and passed, in order to stop up the sources of the ever-recurring epidemics. The housing conditions of the workers were investigated and attempts made to remedy the most crying evils. In England particularly, where the largest number of big

towns existed and where the bourgeoisie itself was, therefore, running the greatest risk, extensive activity began. Government commissions were appointed to inquire into the hygienic conditions of the working classes. Their reports, honourably distinguished from all continental sources by their accuracy, completeness and impartiality, provided the basis for new, more or less thoroughgoing laws. Imperfect as these laws are, they are still infinitely superior to everything that has been done in this direction up to the present on the Continent. Nevertheless, the capitalist order of society reproduces again and again the evils to be remedied, and does so with such inevitable necessity that even in England the remedying of them has hardly advanced a single step.

Germany, as usual, needed a much longer time before the chronic sources of infection existing there also reached the acute stage necessary to arouse the somnolent big bourgeoisie. But he who goes slowly goes surely, and so among us too there finally has arisen a bourgeois literature on public health and the housing question, a watery extract of its foreign, and in particular its English, predecessors, to which it is sought fraudulently to impart a semblance of higher conception by means of fine-sounding and unctuous phrases. *Die Wohnungszustände der arbeitenden Classen und ihre Reform*, by Dr. *Emil Sax*, Vienna, 1869, belongs to this literature.

I have selected this book for a presentation of the bourgeois treatment of the housing question only because it makes the attempt to summarise as far as possible the bourgeois literature on the subject. And a fine literature it is which serves our author as his "sources"! Of the English parliamentary reports, the real main sources, only three, the very oldest,[a] are mentioned by name; the whole book proves that its author has *never glanced at even a single one of them.* On the other hand, a whole series of banal bourgeois, well-meaning philistine and hypocritical philanthropic writings are enumerated: Ducpétiaux, Roberts, Hole, Huber,[245] the proceedings of the English social science (or rather social bosh) congresses,[b] the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für das Wohl der arbeitenden Klassen* in Prussia, the official Austrian report on the World Exhibition in Paris,[c] the official Bonapartist reports on the same

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[a] For 1837, 1839 and 1842.—*Ed.*

[b] *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science*, London, 1859-1865.—*Ed.*

[c] *Bericht über die Welt-Ausstellung zu Paris im Jahre 1867*, Vienna, 1869.—*Ed.*

subject,[a] *The Illustrated London News*,[b] *Über Land und Meer*,[c] and finally "a recognised authority", a man of "acute practical perception", of "convincing impressiveness of speech", namely—*Julius Faucher*[d]! All that is missing in this list of sources is the *Gartenlaube, Kladderadatsch* and the Fusilier Kutschke.[e]

In order that no misunderstanding may arise concerning the standpoint of Herr Sax, he declares on page 22:

"By social economy we mean the doctrine of national economy in its application to social questions; or to put it more precisely, the totality of the ways and means which this science offers us *for raising the so-called*" (!) "*propertyless classes to the level of the propertied classes, on the basis of its 'iron' laws within the framework of the order of society at present prevailing.*"

We shall not go into the confused idea that generally speaking "the doctrine of national economy", or political economy, deals with other than "social" questions. We shall get down to the main point immediately. Dr. Sax demands that the "iron laws" of bourgeois economics, the "framework of the order of society at present prevailing", in other words, the capitalist mode of production, must continue to exist unchanged, but nevertheless the "so-called propertyless classes" are to be raised "to the level of the propertied classes". Now, it is an unavoidable preliminary condition of the capitalist mode of production that a really, and not a so-called, propertyless class, should exist, a class which has nothing to sell but its labour power and which is therefore compelled to sell its labour power to the industrial capitalists. The task of the new science of social economy invented by Herr Sax is, therefore, to find ways and means—in a state of society founded on the antagonism of capitalists, owners of all raw materials, instruments of production and means of subsistence, on the one hand, and of propertyless wage-workers, who call only their labour power and nothing else their own, on the other hand—by which,

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[a] *L'Enquête du dixième groupe*, Paris, 1867.—*Ed.*

[b] Ed. Chadwick, "Report on Dwellings Characterised by Cheapness Combined with the Conditions Necessary for Health and Comfort", *The Illustrated London News*, Vol. 51, No. 1434/1435, July 6, 1867.—*Ed.*

[c] L. Walesrode, "Eine Arbeiter-Heimstätte in Schwaben", *Über Land und Meer*, Nos. 35, 36, 44 and 45, 1868.—*Ed.*

[d] J. Faucher, "Die Bewegung für Wohnungsreform", *Vierteljahrschrift für Volkswirthschaft und Kulturgeschichte*, Vol. 4, 1865 and Vol. 3, 1866; "Bericht über die Verhandlungen des neunten Kongresses deutscher Volkswirthe zu Hamburg am 26., 27., 28. und 29. August 1867", ibid., Vol. 3, 1867.—*Ed.*

[e] Pseudonym of Gotthelf Hoffmann, author of nationalist soldier songs.—*Ed.*

under this state of society, all wage-workers can be turned into capitalists without ceasing to be wage-workers. Herr Sax thinks he has solved this question. Perhaps he would be so good as to show us how all the soldiers of the French army, each of whom carries a marshal's baton in his knapsack since the days of the old Napoleon, can be turned into field marshals without at the same time ceasing to be privates. Or how it could be brought about that all the forty million subjects of the German Empire could be made German emperors.

It is the essence of bourgeois socialism to want to maintain the basis of all the evils of present-day society and at same time to want to abolish the evils themselves. As already pointed out in the *Communist Manifesto*, the bourgeois socialists are desirous of "redressing social grievances, in order to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society"; they want "*a bourgeoisie without a proletariat*".[a] We have seen that Herr Sax formulates the problem in exactly the same fashion. Its solution he finds in the solution of the housing problem. He is of the opinion that

> "by improving the housing of the labouring classes it would be possible successfully to remedy the material and spiritual misery which has been described, and thereby"—by a radical improvement of the housing conditions *alone*—"to raise the greater part of these classes out of the morass of their often hardly human conditions of existence to the pure heights of material and spiritual well-being" (page 14).

Incidentally, it is in the interest of the bourgeoisie to gloss over the fact of the existence of a proletariat created by the bourgeois relations of production and determining the continued existence of these relations. Therefore Herr Sax tells us (page 21) that the expression labouring classes is to be understood as including all "impecunious social classes", "and, in general, people in a small way, such as handicraftsmen, widows, pensioners" (!), "subordinate officials, etc." as well as actual workers. Bourgeois socialism extends its hand to the petty-bourgeois variety.

Whence the housing shortage then? How did it arise? As a good bourgeois, Herr Sax is not supposed to know that it is a necessary product of the bourgeois social order; that it cannot fail to be present in a society in which the great labouring masses are exclusively dependent upon wages, that is to say, upon the quantity of means of subsistence necessary for their existence and for the propagation of their kind; in which improvements of the machinery, etc., continually throw masses of workers out of

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, p. 513.—*Ed.*

employment; in which violent and regularly recurring industrial fluctuations determine on the one hand the existence of a large reserve army of unemployed workers, and on the other hand drive the mass of the workers from time to time on to the streets unemployed; in which the workers are crowded together in masses in the big towns at a quicker rate than dwellings come into existence for them under the prevailing conditions, in which, therefore, there must always be tenants even for the most infamous pigsties; and in which finally the house-owner in his capacity as capitalist has not only the right but, by reason of competition, to a certain extent also the duty of ruthlessly making as much out of his property in house rent as he possibly can. In such a society the housing shortage is no accident; it is a necessary institution and can be abolished together with all its effects on health, etc., only if the whole social order from which it springs is fundamentally refashioned. That, however, bourgeois socialism dare not know. It *dare* not explain the housing shortage as arising from the existing conditions. And therefore it has no other way but to explain the housing shortage by moralising that it is the result of the wickedness of man, the result of original sin, so to speak.

"And here we cannot fail to recognise—and in consequence we cannot deny" (daring conclusion!)—"that the blame ... rests partly *with the workers themselves*, those who want dwellings, and partly, the much greater part, it is true, with those who undertake to supply the need or those who, although they have sufficient means at their command, make no attempt to supply the need, namely, *the propertied, higher social classes*. The latter are to be blamed ... because they do not make it their business to provide for a sufficient supply of good dwellings." [Page 25.]

Just as Proudhon takes us from the sphere of economics into the sphere of legal phrases, so our bourgeois socialist takes us here from the economic sphere into the moral sphere. And nothing is more natural. Whoever declares that the capitalist mode of production, the "iron laws" of present-day bourgeois society, are inviolable, and yet at the same time would like to abolish their unpleasant but necessary consequences, has no other recourse but to deliver moral sermons to the capitalists, moral sermons whose emotional effects immediately evaporate under the influence of private interest and, if necessary, of competition. These moral sermons are in effect exactly the same as those of the hen at the edge of the pond in which she sees the brood of ducklings she has hatched out gaily swimming. Ducklings take to the water although it has no beams, and capitalists pounce on profit although it is

heartless. "There is no room for sentiment in money matters," was already said by old Hansemann,[a] who knew more about it than Herr Sax.

"Good dwellings are so expensive that *it is absolutely impossible* for the greater part of the workers to make use of them. Big capital ... is shy of investing in houses for the working classes ... and as a result these classes and their housing needs fall mostly a prey to the speculators." [Page 27.]

Disgusting speculation—big capital naturally never speculates! But it is not ill will, it is only ignorance which prevents big capital from speculating in workers' houses:

"House-owners do not *know* at all what a great and important role ... is played by a normal satisfaction of housing needs; *they do not know what they are doing to the people* when they offer them, as a general rule so irresponsibly, bad and harmful dwellings, and, finally, they do not *know* how they damage themselves thereby." (Page 27.)

However, the ignorance of the capitalists must be supplemented by the ignorance of the workers before a housing shortage can be created. After Herr Sax has admitted that "the very lowest sections" of the workers "are obliged" (!) "to seek a night's lodging wherever and however they can find it in order not to remain altogether without shelter and in this connection are absolutely defenceless and helpless", he tells us:

"For it is a well-known fact that many among them" (the workers) "from carelessness, but chiefly from ignorance, deprive their bodies, one is almost inclined to say, with virtuosity, of the conditions of natural development and healthy existence, in that they *have not the faintest idea* of rational hygiene and, in particular, of the enormous importance that attaches to the dwelling in this hygiene." (Page 27.)

Here however the bourgeois donkey's ears protrude. Where the capitalists are concerned "blame" evaporates into ignorance, but where the workers are concerned ignorance is made the cause of their guilt. Listen:

"Thus it comes" (namely, through ignorance) "that if they can only save something on the rent they will move into dark, damp and inadequate dwellings, which are in short a mockery of all the demands of hygiene ... that often several families together rent a single dwelling, and even a single room—all this in order to spend as little as possible on rent, while on the other hand they *squander* their income *in truly sinful fashion on drink and all sorts of idle pleasures*."

The money which the workers "waste on spirits and tobacco" (page 28), the "life in the pubs with all its regrettable consequen-

[a] D. Hansemann's speech at the 34th sitting of the First United Diet, June 8, 1847. *Preussens Erster Reichstag*, Part 7, Berlin, 1847, p. 55.— *Ed.*

ces, which drags the workers again and again like a dead weight back into the mire", lies indeed like a dead weight in Herr Sax's stomach. The fact that under the existing circumstances drunkenness among the workers is a necessary product of their living conditions, just as necessary as typhus, crime, vermin, bailiff and other social ills, so necessary in fact that the average figures of those who succumb to inebriety can be calculated in advance, is again something that Herr Sax cannot allow himself to know. My old primary school teacher used to say, by the way: "The common people go to the pubs and the people of quality go to the clubs," and as I have been in both I am in a position to confirm it.

The whole talk about the "ignorance" of both parties amounts to nothing but the old phrases about the harmony of interests of labour and capital. If the capitalists knew their true interests, they would give the workers good houses and improve their position in general; and if the workers understood their true interests, they would not go on strike, they would not go in for Social-Democracy, they would not play politics, but would be nice and follow their betters, the capitalists. Unfortunately, both sides find their interests altogether elsewhere than in the sermons of Herr Sax and his countless predecessors. The gospel of harmony between capital and labour has been preached for almost fifty years now, and bourgeois philanthropy has expended large sums of money to prove this harmony by building model institutions; yet, as we shall see later, we are today exactly where we were fifty years ago.

Our author now proceeds to the practical solution of the problem. How little revolutionary Proudhon's proposal to make the workers *owners* of their dwellings was can be seen from the fact that bourgeois socialism even before him tried to carry this proposal out in practice and is still trying to do so. Herr Sax also declares that the housing problem can be completely solved only by transferring property in dwellings to the workers. (Pages 58 and 59.) More than that, he goes into poetic raptures at the idea, giving vent to his feelings in the following outburst of enthusiasm:

"There is something peculiar about the longing inherent in man to own land; it is an urge which not even the *feverishly pulsating business life* of the present day has been able to abate. It is the unconscious appreciation of the significance of the economic achievement represented by landownership. With it the individual obtains a secure hold; he is rooted firmly in the earth, as it were, and every enterprise" (!) "has its most permanent basis in it. However, the blessings of landownership extend far beyond these material advantages. Whoever is fortunate enough to call a piece of land his own has *reached the highest conceivable stage of economic independence*; he has a territory on which he can rule with *sovereign* power; he is *his*

*own master*; he has a certain power and a *sure support* in time of need; his self-confidence develops and with this his moral strength. Hence the deep significance of property in the question before us... The worker, today helplessly exposed to all the vicissitudes of economic life and in constant dependence on his employer, would thereby be saved to a certain extent from this precarious situation; *he would become a capitalist* and be safeguarded against the dangers of unemployment or incapacitation as a result of the credit which his real estate would open to him. *He would thus be raised from the ranks of the propertyless into the propertied class.*" (Page 63.)

Herr Sax seems to assume that man is essentially a peasant, otherwise he would not falsely impute to the workers of our big cities a longing to own land, a longing which no one else has discovered in them. For our workers in the big cities freedom of movement is the prime condition of existence, and landownership can only be a fetter to them. Give them their own houses, chain them once again to the soil and you break their power of resistance to the wage cutting of the factory owners. The individual worker might be able to sell his house on occasion, but during a big strike or a general industrial crisis[a] all the houses belonging to the workers affected would have to be put up for sale and would therefore find no purchasers or be sold off far below their cost price. And even if they all found purchasers, Herr Sax's whole grand housing reform would have come to nothing and he would have to start from the beginning again. However, poets live in a world of fantasy, and so does Herr Sax, who imagines that a landowner has "reached the highest stage of economic independence", that he has "a sure support", that "he *would become a capitalist* and be safeguarded against the dangers of unemployment or incapacitation as a result of the credit which his real estate would open to him", etc. Herr Sax should take a look at the French and our own Rhenish small peasants. Their houses and fields are loaded down with mortgages, their harvests belong to their creditors before they are reaped, and it is not they who rule with sovereign power on their "territory" but the usurer, the lawyer and the bailiff. That certainly represents the highest conceivable stage of economic independence—for the usurer! And in order that the workers may bring their little houses as quickly as possible under the same sovereignty of the usurer, our well-meaning Herr Sax carefully points to the *credit* which their *real estate* can secure them in times of unemployment or incapacitation instead of their becoming a burden on the poor rate.

[a] The words "or a general industrial crisis" were added by Engels in the 1887 edition.— *Ed.*

In any case, Herr Sax has solved the question raised in the beginning: the worker "*becomes a capitalist*" by acquiring his own little house.

Capital is the command over the unpaid labour of others. The little house of the worker can therefore become capital only if he rents it to a third person and appropriates a part of the labour product of this third person in the form of rent. But the house is prevented from becoming capital precisely by the fact that the worker lives in it himself, just as a coat ceases to be capital the moment I buy it from the tailor and put it on. The worker who owns a little house to the value of a thousand thalers is, true enough, no longer a proletarian, but it takes Herr Sax to call him a capitalist.

However, this capitalist streak of our worker has still another side. Let us assume that in a given industrial area it has become the rule that each worker owns his own little house. In that case *the working class of that area lives rent-free*; housing expenses no longer enter into the value of its labour power. Every reduction in the cost of production of labour power, that is to say, every permanent price reduction in the worker's necessities of life is equivalent "on the basis of the iron laws of the doctrine of national economy" to a depression of the value of labour power and will therefore finally result in a corresponding drop in wages. Wages would thus fall on an average as much as the average sum saved on rent, that is, the worker would pay for his own house, but not, as formerly, in money to the house-owner, but in unpaid labour to the factory owner for whom he works. In this way the savings of the worker invested in his little house would in a certain sense become capital, however not capital for him but for the capitalist employing him.

Herr Sax thus lacks the ability to turn his worker into a capitalist even on paper.

Incidentally, what has been said above applies to all so-called social reforms which can be reduced to saving schemes or to cheapening the means of subsistence of the worker. Either they become general and then they are followed by a corresponding reduction of wages or they remain quite isolated experiments and then their very existence as isolated exceptions proves that their realisation on an extensive scale is incompatible with the existing capitalist mode of production. Let us assume that in a certain area a general introduction of consumers' co-operatives succeeds in reducing the cost of the means of subsistence for the workers by 20 per cent. Hence in the long run wages would fall in that area

by approximately 20 per cent, that is to say, in the same proportion as the means of subsistence in question enter into the budget of the workers. If the worker, for example, spends three-quarters of his weekly wage on these means of subsistence, wages would in the end fall by $^3/_4 \times 20 = 15$ per cent. In short, as soon as any such saving reform has become general, the worker's wages diminish by as much as his savings permit him to live cheaper. Give *every* worker an independent income of 52 thalers, achieved by saving, and his weekly wage must finally fall one thaler. Therefore, the more he saves the less he will receive in wages. He saves, therefore, not in his own interest but in the interest of the capitalist. What else is needed to "stimulate" in him "in the most powerful fashion ... the primary economic virtue, thrift"? (Page 64.)

Incidentally, Herr Sax tells us immediately afterwards that the workers are to become house-owners not so much in their own interest as in the interest of the capitalists:

> "However, not only the working class but society as a whole has the greatest interest in seeing as many of its members as possible bound" (!) "to the land" (I should like to see Herr Sax himself even for once in this posture).[a] "...All the secret forces which set on fire the volcano called the social question which glows under our feet, the proletarian bitterness, the hatred, ... the dangerous confusion of ideas, ... must all disappear like mist before the morning sun when ... the workers themselves enter in this fashion into the ranks of the propertied class." (Page 65.)

In other words, Herr Sax hopes that by a shift in their proletarian status, such as would be brought about by the acquisition of a house, the workers would also lose their proletarian character and become once again obedient toadies like their forefathers, who were also house-owners. The Proudhonists should lay this thing to heart.

Herr Sax believes he has thereby solved the social question:

> "*A juster distribution of goods*, the riddle of the Sphinx which so many have already tried in vain to solve, does it not now lie before us as a tangible fact, has it not thereby been taken from the regions of ideals and brought into the realm of reality? And if it is carried out, does this not mean the achievement of one of the highest aims, one which even the *socialists of the most extreme tendency present as the culminating point of their theories*?" (Page 66.)

It is really lucky that we have worked our way through as far as this, because this shout of triumph is the "summit" of the Saxian book. From now on we once more gently descend from "the

[a] In the 1887 edition, Engels made the quotation shorter by deleting here the following sentence: "Landownership ... diminishes the number of those who struggle against the rule of the propertied class."— *Ed.*

regions of ideals" to flat reality, and when we get down we shall find that nothing, nothing at all, has changed in our absence.

Our guide takes us the first step down by informing us that there are two systems of workers' dwellings: the COTTAGE SYSTEM, in which each working-class family has its own little house and if possible a little garden as well, as in England; and the barrack system of the large tenement houses containing numerous workers' dwellings, as in Paris, Vienna, etc. Between the two is the system prevailing in Northern Germany. Now it is true, he tells us, that the COTTAGE SYSTEM is the only correct one, and the *only one* whereby the worker can acquire the ownership of his own house; besides, he argues, the barrack system has very great disadvantages with regard to hygiene, morality and domestic peace. But, alas and alack! says he, the COTTAGE SYSTEM is not realisable in the centres of the housing shortage, in the big cities, on account of the high cost of land, and one should, therefore, be glad if houses were built containing from four to six flats instead of big barracks, or if the main disadvantages of the barrack system were alleviated by various ingenious building devices. (Pages 71-92.)

We have come down quite a bit already, haven't we? The transformation of the workers into capitalists, the solution of the social question, a house of his own for each worker—all these things have been left behind, up above in "the regions of ideals". All that remains for us to do is to introduce the COTTAGE SYSTEM into the countryside and to make the workers' barracks in the cities as tolerable as possible.

On its own admission, therefore, the bourgeois solution of the housing question has come to grief—it has come to grief owing to the *antithesis between town and country*. And with this we have arrived at the kernel of the problem. The housing question can be solved only when society has been sufficiently transformed for a start to be made towards abolishing the antithesis between town and country, which has been brought to its extreme point by present-day capitalist society. Far from being able to abolish this antithesis, capitalist society on the contrary is compelled to intensify it day by day. On the other hand, already the first modern utopian socialists, Owen and Fourier, correctly recognised this. In their model structures the antithesis between town and country no longer exists. Consequently there takes place exactly the opposite of what Herr Sax contends: it is not that the solution of the housing question simultaneously solves the social question, but that only by the solution of the social question, that is, by the abolition of the capitalist mode of production, is the solution of

the housing question made possible. To want to solve the housing question while at the same time desiring to maintain the modern big cities is an absurdity. The modern big cities, however, will be abolished only by the abolition of the capitalist mode of production, and when this is once set going there will be quite other issues than supplying each worker with a little house of his own.

In the beginning, however, each social revolution will have to take things as it finds them and do its best to get rid of the most crying evils with the means at its disposal. And we have already seen that the housing *shortage* can be remedied immediately by expropriating a part of the luxury dwellings belonging to the propertied classes and by compulsory quartering in the remaining part.

If now Herr Sax, continuing, once more leaves the big cities and delivers a verbose discourse on working-class colonies to be established *near* the towns, if he describes all the beauties of such colonies with their common "water supply, gas lighting, air or hot-water heating, laundries, drying-rooms, bath-rooms, etc.", each with ist "nursery, school, prayer hall" (!), "reading-room, library, ... wine and bear hall, dancing and concert hall in all respectability", with steam power fitted to all the houses so that "to a certain extent production can be transferred back from the factory to the domestic workshop"—this does not alter the situation at all. The colony he describes has been directly borrowed by Herr Huber[a] from the socialists Owen and Fourier and merely made entirely bourgeois by discarding everything socialist about it. Thereby, however, it has become really utopian. No capitalist has any interest in establishing such colonies, and in fact none such exists anywhere in the world, except in Guise in France, and that was built by a follower of Fourier,[246] not as profitable speculation but as a socialist experiment.* Herr Sax might just as well have quoted in support of his bourgeois project-spinning the example of the communist colony HARMONY HALL[247] founded by Owen in Hampshire at the beginning of the forties and long since defunct.

* And this one also has finally become a mere site of working-class exploitation. See the Paris *Socialiste* of 1886.[b] [*Note by Engels to the 1887 edition.*]

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[a] V. A. Huber, "Ueber innere Colonisation", *Janus*, 1846, Parts 7 and 8.—*Ed.*

[b] "Le Familistère de Guise" and "Le programme de M. Godin", *Le Socialiste*, Nos. 45 and 48, July 3 and 24, 1886.—*Ed.*

In any case, all this talk about building colonies is nothing more than a lame attempt to soar again into "the regions of ideals" and it is immediately afterwards again abandoned. We descend rapidly again. The simplest solution now is

> "that the employers, the factory owners, should assist the workers to obtain suitable dwellings, whether they do so by building such themselves or by encouraging and assisting the workers to do their own building, providing them with land, advancing them building capital, etc." (Page 106.)

With this we are once again out of the big towns, where there can be no question of anything of the sort, and back in the country. Herr Sax now proves that here it is in the interest of the factory owners themselves that they should assist their workers to obtain tolerable dwellings, on the one hand because it is a good investment, and on the other hand because the inevitably

> "resulting uplift of the workers ... must entail an increase of their mental and physical working capacity, which naturally is of ... no less ... advantage to the employers. With this, however, the right point of view for the participation of the latter in the solution of the housing question is given. It appears as the outcome of a *latent association*, as the outcome of the care of the employers for the physical and economic, mental and moral well-being of their workers, which is concealed for the most part under the cloak of humanitarian endeavours and which is its own pecuniary reward because of its successful results: the producing and maintaining of a diligent, skilled, willing, contented and *devoted* working class." (Page 108.)

The phrase "latent association" with which Huber attempts to endow this bourgeois philanthropic drivel with a "loftier significance",[a] does not alter the situation at all. Even without this phrase the big rural factory owners, particularly in England, have long ago realised that the building of workers' dwellings is not only a necessity, a part of the factory equipment itself, but also that it pays very well. In England whole villages have grown up in this way, and some of them have later developed into towns. The workers, however, instead of being thankful to the philanthropic capitalists, have always raised very considerable objections to this "COTTAGE SYSTEM". Not only are they compelled to pay monopoly prices for these houses because the factory owner has no competitors, but immediately a strike breaks out they are homeless because the factory owner throws them out of his houses without any more ado and thus renders any resistance very difficult. Details can be studied in my *Condition of the Working-Class in England*, pp. 224 and 228.[b] Herr Sax, however, thinks that these

[a] V. A. Huber, *Sociale Fragen. IV. Die latente Association*, Nordhausen, 1866.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 471-72, 477.—*Ed.*

objections "hardly deserve refutation" (page 111). But does he not want to make the worker the owner of his little house? Certainly, but as

> "the employers must always be in a position to dispose of the dwelling in order that when they dismiss a worker they may have room for the one who replaces him", well then, there is nothing for it but "to make provision for such cases *by agreeing that the ownership shall be revocable*." (Page 113.)*

This time we have stepped down with unexpected suddenness. First it was said the worker must own his own little house. Then we were informed that this was impossible in the towns and could be carried out only in the country. And now we are told that ownership even in the country is to be "*revocable* by agreement"! With this new sort of property for the workers discovered by Herr Sax, with this transformation of the workers into capitalists "revocable by agreement", we have safely arrived again on level ground, and have here to examine what the capitalists and other philanthropists have *actually* done to solve the housing question.

## II

If we are to believe our Dr. Sax, much has already been done by these gentlemen, the capitalists, to remedy the housing shortage, and the proof has been provided that the housing problem can be solved on the basis of the capitalist mode of production.

First of all, Herr Sax cites to us the example of—Bonapartist France! As is known, Louis Bonaparte appointed a commission at the time of the Paris World Exhibition ostensibly to report upon the situation of the working classes in France, but in reality to describe their situation as blissful in the extreme, to the greater glory of the Empire. And it is to the report of *this* commission,

* In this respect too the English capitalists have long ago not only fulfilled but far exceeded all the cherished wishes of Herr Sax. On Monday, October 14, 1872, the court in Morpeth for the establishment of the lists of parliamentary electors had to adjudicate a petition on behalf of 2,000 miners to have their names enrolled on the list of parliamentary voters. It transpired that the greater number of these men, according to the regulations of the mine at which they were employed, were *not* to be regarded *as lessees* of the dwellings in which they lived but as occupying these dwellings *on sufferance*, and could be thrown out of them at any moment without notice. (The mine-owner and house-owner were naturally one and the same person.) The judge decided that these men were not lessees but *servants*, and as such not entitled to be included in the list of voters. (["The Miners' Right to Vote",] *The Daily News*, [No. 8258,] October 15, 1872.)

composed of the corruptest tools of Bonapartism,[a] that Herr Sax refers, particularly because the results of its work are, "according to the authorised committee's *own statement*, fairly complete for France". And what are these results? Of eighty-nine big industrialists or joint-stock companies which gave information, thirty-one had built *no* workers' dwellings at all. According to Sax's own estimate the dwellings that were built house at the most from 50,000 to 60,000 people and consist almost exclusively of no more than two rooms for each family!

It is obvious that every capitalist who is tied down to a particular rural locality by the conditions of his industry—water power, the location of coal mines, iron-ore deposits and other mines, etc.—must build dwellings for his workers if none are available. To see in this a proof of "latent association", "an eloquent testimony to a growing understanding of the question and its wide import", a "very promising beginning" (page 115), requires a highly developed habit of self-deception. For the rest, the industrialists of the various countries differ from each other in this respect also, according to their national character. For instance, Herr Sax informs us (page 117):

> "In *England only quite recently* has increased activity on the part of employers in this direction been observable. This refers in particular to the out-of-the-way hamlets in the rural areas... The circumstance that otherwise the workers often have to walk a long way from the nearest village to the factory and arrive there so exhausted that they do not perform enough work is the employers' main *motive for building* dwellings for their workers. However, the number of those who have a *deeper understanding* of conditions and who combine with the cause of housing *reform* more or less all the other elements of latent association is also increasing, and it is these people to whom credit is due for the establishment of those flourishing colonies... The names of Ashton in Hyde, Ashworth in Turton, Grant in Bury, Greg in Bollington, Marshall in Leeds, Strutt in Belper, Salt in Saltaire, Ackroyd in Copley, and others are well known on this account throughout the United Kingdom."

Blessed simplicity, and still more blessed ignorance! The English rural factory owners have only "quite recently" been building workers' dwellings! No, my dear Herr Sax, the English capitalists are really big industrialists, not only as regards their purses but also as regards their brains. Long before Germany possessed a really large-scale industry they had realised that for factory production in the rural districts expenditure on workers' dwellings was a necessary part of the total investment of capital, and a very profitable one, both directly and indirectly. Long before the

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[a] *L'Enquête du dixième groupe*, Paris, 1867.—*Ed.*

struggle between Bismarck and the German bourgeois had given the German workers freedom of association,[248] the English factory, mine and foundry owners had had practical experience of the pressure they can exert on striking workers if they are at the same time the landlords of those workers. "The flourishing colonies" of a Greg, an Ashton and an Ashworth are so "recent" that even forty years ago they were hailed by the bourgeoisie as models, as I myself wrote twenty-eight years ago. (*The Condition of the Working-Class in England.* Note on pp. 228-30.[a]) The colonies of Marshall and Akroyd (that is how the man spells his name) are about as old, and the colony of Strutt is even much older, its beginnings reaching back into the last century. Since in England the average duration of a worker's dwelling is reckoned as forty years, Herr Sax can calculate on his fingers the dilapidated condition in which these "flourishing colonies" are today. In addition, the majority of these colonies are now no longer in the countryside. The colossal expansion of industry has surrounded most of them with factories and houses to such an extent that they are now situated in the middle of dirty, smoky towns with 20,000, 30,000 and more inhabitants. But all this does not prevent German bourgeois science, as represented by Herr Sax, from devoutly repeating today the old English paeans of praise of 1840, which no longer have any application.

And to give us old Akroyd as an example![b] This worthy was certainly a philanthropist of the first water. He loved his workers, and in particular his female employees, to such an extent that his less philanthropic competitors in Yorkshire used to say of him that he ran his factories exclusively with his own children! True, Herr Sax contends that "illegitimate children are becoming more and more rare" in these flourishing colonies (page 118). Yes, illegitimate children *born out of wedlock*, for in the English industrial districts the pretty girls marry very young.

In England the establishment of workers' dwellings close to each big rural factory and simultaneously *with* the factory has been the rule for sixty years and more. As already mentioned, many of these factory villages have become the nucleus around which later on a whole factory town has grown up with all the evils which a factory town brings with it. These colonies have therefore not

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 4, p. 477.— *Ed.*

[b] Engels changed this sentence in the 1887 edition; earlier it read as follows: "And to give us old A. as an example—I do not wish to name him since he is long dead and buried."— *Ed.*

solved the housing question; on the contrary, they *first really created* it in their localities.

On the other hand, in countries which in the sphere of large-scale industry have only limped along behind England, and which really got to know what large-scale industry is only after 1848, in France and particularly[a] in Germany, the situation is quite different. Here it was only colossal foundries and factories which decided after much hesitation to build a certain number of workers' dwellings—for instance, the Schneider works in Creusot and the Krupp works in Essen. The great majority of the rural industrialists let their workers trudge miles through the heat, snow and rain every morning to the factories, and back again every evening to their homes. This is particularly the case in mountainous districts, in the French and Alsatian Vosges districts, in the valleys of the Wupper, Sieg, Agger, Lenne and other Rhineland-Westphalian rivers. In the Erzgebirge the situation is probably no better. The same petty niggardliness occurs among both Germans and French.

Herr Sax knows very well that the very promising beginning as well as the flourishing colonies mean less than nothing. Therefore, he tries now to prove to the capitalists that they can obtain magnificent rents by building workers' dwellings. In other words, he seeks to show them a new way of cheating the workers.

First of all, he holds up to them the example of a number of London building societies, partly philanthropic and partly speculative, which have shown a net profit of from four to six per cent and more. It is not at all necessary for Herr Sax to prove to us that capital invested in workers' houses yields a good profit. The reason why the capitalists do not invest still more than they do in workers' dwellings is that more expensive dwellings bring in still greater profits for their owners. Herr Sax's exhortation to the capitalists, therefore, amounts once again to nothing but a moral sermon.

Now, as far as these London building societies are concerned, whose brilliant successes Herr Sax so loudly trumpets forth, they have, according to his own figures—and every sort of building speculation is included here—provided housing for a total of 2,132 families and 706 single men, that is, for less than 15,000 persons! And is it presumed seriously to present in Germany this sort of childishness as a great success, although in the East End of London alone a million workers live under the

[a] The word was added by Engels in the 1887 edition.— *Ed.*

most miserable housing conditions? The whole of these philanthropic efforts are in fact so miserably futile that the English parliamentary reports dealing with the condition of the workers never even mention them.

We will not speak here of the ludicrous ignorance of London displayed throughout this whole section. Just one point, however. Herr Sax is of the opinion that the Lodging House for Single Men in Soho went out of business because there "was no hope of obtaining a large clientele" in this neighbourhood. Herr Sax imagines that the whole of the West End of London is one big luxury town, and does not know that right behind the most elegant streets the dirtiest workers' quarters are to be found, of which, for example, Soho is one. The model lodging house in Soho, which he mentions and which I already knew twenty-three years ago, was much frequented in the beginning, but closed down because no one could stand it there, and yet it was one of the best.

But the workers' town of Mulhouse in Alsace—that is surely a success, is it not?

The Workers' City in Mulhouse is the great show-piece of the continental bourgeois, just as the one-time flourishing colonies of Ashton, Ashworth, Greg and Co. are of the English bourgeois. Unfortunately, the Mulhouse example is not a product of "latent" association but of the open association between the Second French Empire and the capitalists of Alsace. It was one of Louis Bonaparte's socialist experiments, for which the state advanced one-third of the capital. In fourteen years (up to 1867) it built 800 small houses according to a defective system, an impossible one in England where they understand these things better, and these houses are handed over to the workers to become their own property after thirteen to fifteen years of monthly payments of an increased rental. It was not necessary for the Bonapartists of Alsace to invent this mode of acquiring property; as we shall see, it had been introduced by the English co-operative building societies long before. Compared with that in England, the extra rent paid for the purchase of these houses is rather high. For instance, after having paid 4,500 francs in instalments during fifteen years, the worker receives a house which was worth 3,300 francs fifteen years before. If the worker wants to go away or if he is in arrears with only a single monthly instalment (in which case he can be evicted), six and two-thirds per cent of the original value of the house is charged as the annual rent (for instance, 17 francs a month for a house worth 3,000 francs) and the rest is paid out to him, but *without a penny of*

*interest.* It is quite clear that under such circumstances the society is able to grow fat, quite apart from "state assistance". It is just as clear that the houses provided under these circumstances are better than the old tenement houses in the town itself, if only because they are built outside the town in a semi-rural neighbourhood.

We need not say a word about the few miserable experiments which have been made in Germany; even Herr Sax, on page 157, admits their woefulness.

What, then, exactly do all these examples prove? Simply that the building of workers' dwellings is profitable from the capitalist point of view, even when not all the laws of hygiene are trodden underfoot. But that has never been denied; we all knew that long ago. *Any* investment of capital which satisfies an existing need is profitable if conducted rationally. The question, however, is precisely, why the housing shortage continues to exist *all the same,* why the capitalists all the same do not provide sufficient healthy dwellings for the workers. And here Herr Sax has again nothing but exhortations to make to capital and fails to provide us with an answer. The real answer to this question we have already given above.

Capital does not *want* to abolish the housing shortage even if it could; this has now been finally established. There remain, therefore, only two other expedients: self-help on the part of the workers, and state assistance.

Herr Sax, an enthusiastic worshipper of self-help, is able to report miraculous things about it also in regard to the housing question. Unfortunately he is compelled to admit right at the beginning that self-help can only effect anything where the COTTAGE SYSTEM either already exists or where it is feasible, that is, once again only in the rural areas. In the big cities, even in England, it can be effective only in a very limited measure. Herr Sax then sighs:

> "Reform in this way" (by self-help) "can be effected only in a *roundabout way* and therefore *always* only imperfectly, namely, only in so far as the principle of private ownership is so strengthened as to react on the quality of the dwelling." [Page 170.]

This too could be doubted; in any case, "the principle of private ownership" has not exercised any reforming influence on the "quality" of the author's style. Despite all this, self-help in England has achieved such wonders

> "that thereby everything done there along other lines to solve the housing problem has been *far exceeded*".

Herr Sax is referring to the English BUILDING SOCIETIES and he deals with them at great length particularly because

"very inadequate or erroneous ideas are current about their character and activities in general. The English BUILDING SOCIETIES are by no means ... associations for building houses or building co-operatives; they can be described ... in German rather as something like '*Hauserwerbvereine*' [associations for the acquisition of houses]. They are associations whose object it is to accumulate funds from the periodical contributions of their members in order then, out of these funds and according to their size, to grant loans to their members for the purchase of a house.... The BUILDING SOCIETY is thus a savings bank for one section of its members, and a loan bank for the other section. The BUILDING SOCIETIES are, therefore, mortgage credit institutions designed to meet the requirements of the workers which, in the main ... use the savings of the workers ... to assist persons of the same social standing as the depositors to purchase or build a house. As may be supposed, such loans are granted by mortgaging the real estate in question, and on condition that they must be paid back at short intervals in instalments which combine both interest and amortisation.... The interest is not paid out to the depositors but always *placed to their credit and compounded*.... The members can demand the return of the sums they have paid in, plus interest ... at any time by giving a month's notice." (Pages 170 to 172.) "There are over 2,000 such societies in England; ... the total capital they have accumulated amounts to about £15,000,000. In this way about 100,000 *working-class* families have already obtained possession of their own hearth and home—a social achievement which it would certainly be difficult to parallel." (Page 174.)

Unfortunately here too the "but" comes limping along immediately after:

"But a perfect solution of the problem has *by no means been achieved* in this way, for the reason, if for no other, that the acquisition of a house is something only the *better situated* workers ... can afford.... In particular, sanitary conditions are often not sufficiently taken into consideration." (Page 176.)

On the Continent "such associations ... find only little scope for development". They presuppose the existence of the COTTAGE SYSTEM, which here exists only in the countryside; and in the countryside the workers are not yet sufficiently developed for self-help. On the other hand, in the towns where real building co-operatives could be formed they are faced with "very considerable and serious difficulties of all sorts". (Page 179.) They could build only COTTAGES and that will not do in the big cities. In short, "this form of co-operative self-help" cannot "in the present circumstances—and hardly in the near future either—play the chief role in the solution of the problem before us". These building societies, you see, are still "in their initial, undeveloped stage". "This is true even of England." (Page 181.)

Hence, the capitalists *will* not and the workers *cannot*. And with this we could close this section if it were not absolutely necessary

to provide a little information about the English BUILDING SOCIETIES, which the bourgeois of the Schulze-Delitzsch type always hold up to our workers as models.[249]

These BUILDING SOCIETIES are not workers' societies, nor is it their main aim to provide workers with their own houses. On the contrary, we shall see that this happens only very exceptionally. The BUILDING SOCIETIES are essentially of a speculative nature, the small ones, which were the original societies, not less so than their big imitators. In a public house, usually at the instigation of the proprietor, on whose premises the weekly meetings then take place, a number of regular customers and their friends, shopkeepers, office clerks, commercial travellers, master artisans and other petty bourgeois—with here and there perhaps a mechanic or some other worker belonging to the aristocracy of his class—get together and found a building co-operative. The immediate occasion is usually that the proprietor has discovered a comparatively cheap plot of land in the neighbourhood or somewhere else. Most of the members are not bound by their occupations to any particular locality. Even many of the shopkeepers and craftsmen have only business premises in the town but no living quarters. Everyone in a position to do so prefers to live in the suburbs rather than in the centre of the smoky town. The building plot is purchased and as many COTTAGES as possible erected on it. The credit of the more substantial members makes the purchase possible, and the weekly contributions together with a few small loans cover the weekly costs of building. Those members who aim at getting a house of their own receive COTTAGES by lot as they are completed, and the appropriate extra rent serves for the amortisation of the purchase price. The remaining COTTAGES are then either let or sold. The building society, however, if it does good business, accumulates a more or less considerable sum. This remains the property of the members, provided they keep up their contributions, and is distributed among them from time to time, or when the society is dissolved. Such is the life history of nine out of ten of the English building societies. The others are bigger associations, sometimes formed under political or philanthropic pretexts, but in the end their chief aim is always to provide a more profitable mortgage investment for the savings of the *petty bourgeoisie*, at a good rate of interest and the prospect of dividends from speculation in real estate.

The sort of clients these societies speculate on can be seen from the prospectus of one of the largest, if not the largest, of them. The BIRKBECK BUILDING SOCIETY, 29 AND 30, SOUTHAMPTON BUILDINGS,

CHANCERY LANE, LONDON, whose gross receipts since its foundation total over £10,500,000 (70,000,000 thalers), which has over £416,000 in the bank or invested in government securities, and which at present has 21,441 members and depositors, introduces itself to the public in the following fashion:

"Most people are acquainted with the so-called three-year system of the piano manufacturers, under which anyone renting a piano for three years becomes the owner of the piano after the expiration of that period. Prior to the introduction of this system it was almost as difficult for people of limited income to acquire a good piano as it was for them to acquire their own house. Year after year such people had paid the rent for the piano and spent two or three times the money the piano was worth. What applies to a piano applies also to a house... However, as a house costs more than a piano, ... it takes longer to pay off the purchase price in rent. In consequence the directors have entered into an arrangement with house-owners in various parts of London and its suburbs which enables them to offer the members of the BIRKBECK BUILDING SOCIETY and others a great selection of houses in the most diverse parts of the town. The system which the Board of Directors intends to put into operation is as follows: it will let these houses for twelve and a half years and at the end of this period, providing that the rent has been paid regularly, the tenant will become the absolute owner of the house without any further payment of any kind... The tenant can also contract for a shorter space of time with a higher rental, or for a longer space of time with a lower rental... *People of limited income, clerks, shop assistants,* and others can make themselves independent of landlords immediately by becoming members of the BIRKBECK BUILDING SOCIETY."

That is clear enough. There is no mention of workers, but there is of people of limited income, clerks and shop assistants, etc., and in addition it is assumed that, as a rule, the applicants *already possess a piano.* In fact we do not have to do here with workers at all but with petty bourgeois and those who would like *and are able* to become such; people whose incomes gradually rise as a rule, even if within certain limits, such as clerks and similar employees. The income of the worker, on the contrary, at best remains the same in amount, and in reality falls in proportion to the increase of his family and its growing needs. In fact only a few workers can, by way of exception, belong to such societies. On the one hand their income is too low, and on the other hand it is of too uncertain a character for them to be able to undertake responsibilities for twelve and a half years in advance. The few exceptions where this is not valid are either the best-paid workers or foremen.*

* We add here a little contribution on the way in which these building associations, and in particular the London building associations, are managed. As is known, almost the whole of the land on which London is built belongs to about a dozen aristocrats, including the most eminent, the Duke of Westminster, the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Portland, etc. They originally leased out the separate building sites for a period of ninety-nine years, and at the end of that period took

For the rest, it is clear to everyone that the Bonapartists of the workers' town of Mulhouse are nothing more than miserable apers of these petty-bourgeois English building societies. The sole difference is that the former, in spite of the state assistance granted to them, swindle their clients far more than the building societies do. On the whole their terms are less liberal than the average existing in England, and while in England interest and compound interest are calculated on each deposit and can be withdrawn at a month's notice, the factory owners of Mulhouse put both interest and compound interest into their own pockets and repay no more than the amount paid in by the workers in hard five-franc pieces. And no one will be more astonished at this difference than Herr Sax who has it all in his book without knowing it.

Thus, workers' self-help is also no good. There remains state assistance. What can Herr Sax offer us in this regard? Three things:

> "First of all, the state must take care that in its legislation and administration all those things which in any way result in accentuating the housing shortage among the working classes are abolished or appropriately remedied." (Page 187.)

Consequently, revision of building legislation and freedom for the building trades in order that building shall be cheaper. But in England building legislation is reduced to a minimum, the building trades are as free as the birds in the air; nevertheless, the housing shortage exists. In addition building is now done so cheaply in England that the houses shake when a cart goes by and every day some of them collapse. Only yesterday (October 25, 1872) six of them collapsed simultaneously in Manchester and

possession of the land with everything on it. They then let the houses on shorter leases, thirty-nine years for example, on a so-called REPAIRING LEASE, according to which the leaseholder must put the house in good repair and maintain it in such condition. As soon as the contract has progressed thus far, the landlord sends his architect and the district SURVEYOR to inspect the house and determine the repairs necessary. These repairs are often very considerable and may include the renewal of the whole frontage, or of the roof, etc. The leaseholder now deposits his lease as security with a building association and receives from this society a loan of the necessary money—up to £1,000 and more in the case of an annual rental of from £130 to £150—for the building repairs to be made at *his* expense. These building associations have thus become an important intermediate link in a system which aims at securing the continual renewal and maintenance in habitable condition of London's houses belonging to the landed aristocracy without any trouble to the latter and at the cost of the public. And this is supposed to be a solution of the housing question for the workers! [*Note by Engels to the 1887 edition.*]

seriously injured six workers.[a] Therefore, that is also no remedy.

"Secondly, the state power must prevent individuals in their narrow-minded individualism from spreading the evil or calling it forth anew." [Page 187.]

Consequently, sanitary and building-police inspection of workers' dwellings; transference to the authorities of power to forbid the occupancy of dilapidated and unhygienic houses, as has been the case in England since 1857. But how did it come about there? The first law, that of 1855 (the NUISANCES REMOVAL ACT), was "a dead letter", as Herr Sax admits himself, as was the second, the law of 1858 (the LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT) (page 197). On the other hand Herr Sax believes that the third law, the ARTISANS' DWELLINGS ACT, which applies only to towns with a population of over 10,000, "certainly offers favourable testimony of the great understanding of the British Parliament in social matters" (page 199). But as a matter of fact this assertion does no more than "offer favourable testimony" of the utter ignorance of Herr Sax in English "matters". That England in general is far in advance of the Continent "in social matters" is a matter of course. England is the motherland of modern large-scale industry; the capitalist mode of production has developed there most freely and extensively of all, its consequences show themselves there most glaringly of all and therefore it is likewise there that they first produced a reaction in the sphere of legislation. The best proof of this is factory legislation. If however Herr Sax thinks that an Act of Parliament only requires to become legally effective in order to be carried immediately into practice as well, he is grievously mistaken. And this is true of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT more than of any other act (with the exception, of course, of the WORKSHOPS ACT). The administration of this law was entrusted to the urban authorities, which almost everywhere in England are recognised centres of corruption of every kind, of nepotism and JOBBERY.* The agents of

* JOBBERY is the use of a public office to the private advantage of the official or his family. If, for instance, the director of the state telegraph of a country becomes a silent partner in a paper factory, provides this factory with timber from his forests and then gives the factory orders for supplying paper for the telegraph offices, that is, true, a fairly small but still quite a pretty "JOB", inasmuch as it demonstrates a complete understanding of the principles of JOBBERY[b]; such as, by the way, in the days of Bismarck was a matter of course and to be expected.

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[a] "Fall of Six Houses in Manchester", *The Daily News*, No. 8268, October 26, 1872.—*Ed.*

[b] The rest of the sentence was added by Engels in the 1887 edition.—*Ed.*

these urban authorities, who owe their positions to all sorts of family considerations, are either incapable of carrying into effect such social laws or disinclined to do so. On the other hand it is precisely in England that the state officials entrusted with the preparation and execution of social legislation are usually distinguished by a strict sense of duty—although in a lesser degree today than twenty or thirty years ago. In the town councils the owners of unsound and dilapidated dwellings are almost everywhere strongly represented either directly or indirectly. The system of electing these town councils by small wards makes the elected members dependent on the pettiest local interests and influences; no town councillor who desires to be re-elected dare vote for the application of this law in his constituency. It is comprehensible, therefore, with what aversion this law was received almost everywhere by the local authorities, and that up to the present it has been applied only in the most scandalous cases—and even then, as a general rule, only as the result of the outbreak of some epidemic, such as in the case of the small-pox epidemic last year in Manchester and Salford. Appeals to the Home Secretary have up to the present been effective only in such cases, for it is the principle of every *Liberal* government in England to propose social reform laws only when compelled to do so and, if at all possible, to avoid carrying into effect those already existing. The law in question, like many others in England, is of importance only because in the hands of a government dominated by or under the pressure of the workers, a government which would at last really administer it, it will be a powerful weapon for making a breach in the existing social state of things.

"Thirdly," the state power ought, according to Herr Sax, "to make the most extensive use possible of all the positive means at its disposal to allay the existing housing shortage." [Page 187.]

That is to say, it should build barracks, "truly model buildings", for its "subordinate officials and servants" (but then these are not workers!), and "grant loans ... to municipalities, societies and also to private persons for the purpose of improving the housing conditions of the working classes" (page 203), as is done in England under the Public Works Loan Act, and as Louis Bonaparte has done in Paris and Mulhouse. But the Public Works Loan Act also exists only on paper. The government places at the disposal of the commissioners a maximum sum of £50,000, that is, sufficient to build at the utmost 400 cottages, or in forty years a total of 16,000 cottages or dwellings for at the most 80,000

persons—a drop in the bucket! Even if we assume that after twenty years the funds at the disposal of the commission were to double as a result of repayments, that therefore during the past twenty years dwellings for a further 40,000 persons have been built, it still is only a drop in the bucket. And as the COTTAGES last on the average only forty years, after forty years the liquid assets of £50,000 or £100,000 must be used every year to replace the most dilapidated, the oldest of the COTTAGES. This, Herr Sax declares on page 203, is carrying the principle into practice correctly "and to an unlimited extent"! And with this confession that even in England the state, "to an unlimited extent", has achieved next to nothing, Herr Sax concludes his book, but not without having first delivered another homily to all concerned.*

It is perfectly clear that the state as it exists today is neither able nor willing to do anything to remedy the housing calamity. The state is nothing but the organised collective power of the possessing classes, the landowners and the capitalists, as against the exploited classes, the peasants and the workers. What the individual capitalists (and it is here only a question of these because in this matter the landowner, who is concerned, also acts primarily in his capacity as a capitalist) do not want, their state also does not want. If therefore the *individual* capitalists deplore the housing shortage, but can hardly be moved to palliate even superficially its most terrifying consequences, the *collective* capitalist, the state, will not do much more. At most it will see to it that that measure of superficial palliation which has become customary is carried into execution everywhere uniformly. And we have seen that this is the case.

But, one might object, in Germany the bourgeois do not rule as yet; in Germany the state is still to a certain extent a power hovering independently over society, which for that very reason

* In recent English Acts of Parliament giving the London building authorities the right of expropriation for the purpose of new street construction, a certain amount of consideration is given to the workers thus turned out of their homes. A provision has been inserted that the new buildings to be erected must be suitable for housing those classes of the population previously living there. Big five or six storey tenement houses are therefore erected for the workers on the least valuable sites and in this way the letter of the law is complied with. It remains to be seen how this arrangement will work, for the workers are quite unaccustomed to it and in the midst of the old conditions in London these buildings represent a completely foreign development. At best, however, they will provide new dwellings for hardly a quarter of the workers actually evicted by the building operations. [*Note by Engels to the 1887 edition.*]

represents the collective interests of society and not those of a single class. *Such* a state can certainly do much that a bourgeois state cannot do, and one ought to expect from it something quite different in the social field also.

That is the language of reactionaries. In reality however the state as it exists in Germany is likewise the necessary product of the social basis out of which it has developed. In Prussia—and Prussia is now decisive—there exists side by side with a landowning aristocracy, which is still powerful, a comparatively young and extremely cowardly bourgeoisie, which up to the present has not won either direct political domination, as in France, or more or less indirect domination as in England. Side by side with these two classes, however, there exists a rapidly increasing proletariat which is intellectually highly developed and which is becoming more and more organised every day. We therefore find here, alongside of the basic condition of the old absolute monarchy—an equilibrium between the landed aristocracy and the bourgeoisie—the basic condition of modern Bonapartism—an equilibrium between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. But both in the old absolute monarchy and in the modern Bonapartist monarchy the real governmental authority lies in the hands of a special caste of army officers and state officials. In Prussia this caste is replenished partly from its own ranks, partly from the lesser primogenitary aristocracy, more rarely from the higher aristocracy, and least of all from the bourgeoisie. The independence of this caste, which appears to occupy a position outside and, so to speak, above society, gives the state the semblance of independence in relation to society.

The form of state which has developed with the necessary consistency in Prussia (and, following the Prussian example, in the new Imperial constitution of Germany) out of these contradictory social conditions is pseudo-constitutionalism, a form which is at once both the present-day form of the dissolution of the old absolute monarchy and the form of existence of the Bonapartist monarchy. In Prussia pseudo-constitutionalism from 1848 to 1866 only concealed and facilitated the slow decay of the absolute monarchy. However, since 1866, and still more since 1870, the upheaval in social conditions, and with it the dissolution of the old state, has proceeded in the sight of all and on a tremendously increasing scale. The rapid development of industry, and in particular of stock-exchange swindling, has dragged all the ruling classes into the whirlpool of speculation. The wholesale corruption imported from France in 1870 is developing at an unprece-

dented rate. Strousberg and Péreire take off their hats to each other. Ministers, generals, princes and counts gamble in stocks in competition with the most cunning stock-exchange wolves, and the state recognises their equality by conferring baronetcies wholesale on these stock-exchange wolves. The rural nobility, who have been industrialists for a long time as manufacturers of beet sugar and distillers of brandy, have long left the old respectable days behind and their names now swell the lists of directors of all sorts of sound and unsound joint-stock companies. The bureaucracy is beginning more and more to despise embezzlement as the sole means of improving its income; it is turning its back on the state and beginning to hunt after the far more lucrative posts on the administration of industrial enterprises. Those who still remain in office follow the example of their superiors and speculate in stocks, or "acquire interests" in railways, etc. One is even justified in assuming that the lieutenants also have their hands in certain speculations. In short, the decomposition of all the elements of the old state and the transition from the absolute monarchy to the Bonapartist monarchy is in full swing. With the next big business and industrial crisis not only will the present swindle collapse, but the old Prussian state as well.*

And this state, in which the non-bourgeois elements are becoming more bourgeois every day, is it to solve "the social question", or even only the housing question? On the contrary. In all economic questions the Prussian state increasingly comes under the control of the bourgeoisie. And if legislation in the economic field since 1866 has not been adapted even more to the interests of the bourgeoisie than has actually been the case, whose fault is that? The bourgeoisie itself is chiefly responsible, first because it is too cowardly to press its own demands energetically, and secondly because it resists every concession if the latter simultaneously provides the menacing proletariat with new weapons. And if the political power, that is, Bismarck, is attempting to organise the proletariat for its own needs to keep the political activity of the bourgeoisie in check, what else is that if not a necessary and quite familiar Bonapartist recipe which pledges the state to nothing more, as far as the workers are concerned, than a few benevolent phrases and at the utmost to a minimum of state assistance for building societies *à la* Louis Bonaparte?

* Even today, in 1886, the only thing that holds together the old Prussian state and its basis, the alliance of big landownership and industrial capital sealed by the protective tariffs, is fear of the proletariat, which has grown tremendously in numbers and class-consciousness since 1872. [*Note by Engels to the 1887 edition.*]

The best proof of what the workers have to expect from the Prussian state lies in the utilisation of the French milliards[250] which have given a new, short reprieve to the independence of the Prussian state machine in regard to society. Has even a single thaler of all these milliards been used to provide shelter for those Berlin working-class families which have been thrown on to the streets? On the contrary. As autumn approached, the state caused to be pulled down even those few miserable hovels which had given them a temporary roof over their heads during the summer. The five milliards are going rapidly enough the way of all flesh: for fortresses, cannon and soldiers; and despite Wagner's asininities, and despite Stieber's conferences with Austria,[251] less will be allotted to the German workers out of those milliards than was allotted to the French workers out of the millions which Louis Bonaparte stole from France.

## III

In reality the bourgeoisie has only one method of settling the housing question after *its* fashion—that is to say, of settling it in such a way that the solution continually poses the question anew. This method is called "*Haussmann*".

By the term "Haussmann" I do not mean merely the specifically Bonapartist manner of the Parisian Haussmann—breaking long, straight and broad streets right through the closely-built workers' quarters and lining them on both sides with big luxurious buildings, the intention having been, apart from the strategic aim of making barricade fighting more difficult, to develop a specifically Bonapartist building trades' proletariat dependent on the government and to turn the city into a luxury city pure and simple. By "Haussmann" I mean the practice, which has now become general, of making breaches in the working-class quarters of our big cities, particularly in those which are centrally situated, irrespective of whether this practice is occasioned by considerations of public health and beautification or by the demand for big centrally located business premises or by traffic requirements, such as the laying down of railways, streets, etc. No matter how different the reasons may be, the result is everywhere the same: the most scandalous alleys and lanes disappear to the accompaniment of lavish self-glorification by the bourgeoisie on account of this tremendous success, but—they appear again at once somewhere else, and often in the immediate neighbourhood.

In *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* I gave a picture of Manchester as it looked in 1843 and 1844.[a] Since then the construction of railways through the centre of the city, the laying out of new streets and the erection of great public and private buildings have broken through, laid bare and improved some of the worst districts described there, others have been abolished altogether; although, apart from the fact that sanitary-police inspection has since become stricter, many of them are still in the same state or in an even worse state of dilapidation than they were then. On the other hand, thanks to the enormous extension of the town, whose population has since increased by more than a half, districts which were at that time still airy and clean are now just as overbuilt, just as dirty and congested as the most ill-famed parts of the town formerly were. Here is but one example: On page 80 et seq. of my book I described a group of houses situated in the valley bottom of the Medlock River, which under the name of LITTLE IRELAND was for years the disgrace of Manchester.[b] Little Ireland has long ago disappeared and on its site there now stands a railway station built on a high foundation. The bourgeoisie pointed with pride to the happy and final abolition of Little Ireland as to a great triumph. Now last summer a great inundation took place, as in general the rivers embanked in our big cities cause more and more extensive floods year after year for reasons that can be easily explained. And it was then revealed that Little Ireland had not been abolished at all, but had simply been shifted from the south side of Oxford Road to the north side, and that it still continues to flourish. Let us hear what *The Manchester Weekly Times*, the organ of the radical bourgeoisie of Manchester, has to say in its issue of July 20, 1872[c]:

"The *one* good result which we may hope to obtain from the calamity which befell the inhabitants of the property built on the low lying ground near the banks of the Medlock on Saturday last, is that public attention will be concentrated on the palpable violation of sanitary laws which has been permitted so long to exist under the noses of the Corporation officers and the sanitary committee of the City Council. A correspondent in yesterday's paper, in a pithy letter, indicated only too feebly the shameful condition of some of the cellar dwelling houses in the neighbourhood of Charles-street and Brook-street, which were inundated by the flood. A minute investigation of one of the courts named in our correspondent's letter, which was made yesterday by our reporter, enables us fully to confirm all his statements, and to endorse his opinion that the cellar dwellings contained in it ought to have been closed long ago, or rather that their habitation ought never to

[a] See present edition, Vol. 4, p. 347 et seq.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 361.—*Ed.*

[c] "The Floods in the Medlock. Charles-Street Pit", *The Manchester Weekly Times*, No. 763, July 20, 1872.—*Ed.*

have been allowed. Squire's Court consists of a group of seven or eight dwelling houses at the junction of Charles-street and Brook-street, over which the passenger, who reached the lowest step in the dip of Brook-street under the railway arches, may pass daily, unconscious of the knowledge that human beings burrow in the depths beneath him. It is hidden from public view, and is only accessible to those whom misery compels to seek a shelter in its grave-like seclusion. Even when the ordinary sluggish weir-pent waters of the Medlock are at their ordinary height, the floors of these dwellings can only be a few inches above their level, and are liable after any heavy shower to have their 'soughs' or drainpipes surcharged with filthy water and their dwellings poisoned by the pestiferous vapours which flood water invariably leaves as its souvenir... Squire's Court lies at even a lower level than these cellars ... 20 feet below the level of the street, and the foul water forced up the 'soughs' by the rising flood in the river on Saturday reached to the roofs. Knowing so much as this, we had expected on our visit yesterday to find the court deserted, or occupied only by the officers of the health committee, engaged in flushing the foetid walls and distributing disinfectants. The only thing we did observe, ... was a labouring man engaged, under the superintendence of a tenant (who had been so far fortunate that he possessed an upper storey to his cellar dwelling, in which he officiates as a barber, and carries on a miscellaneous business), in digging into a heap of mud and putrid matter collected in a corner, from which he was filling a wheelbarrow... The barber's cellar had been pretty well set to rights, but he directed us to a lower depth, where were a series of dwellings, regarding which he said if he were a scholar he should write to the newspapers, insisting that they should be shut up. Guided at last to Squire's Court proper, we found a buxom and healthy-looking Irishwoman busily engaged in her washtub. With her husband, a night watchman, she had lived in the court for six years, and had brought up a large family... Inside the house the water-mark had risen to within a few inches of the roof, the windows had been broken in, the furniture remaining in the house was a confused heap of broken and sodden timber... The tenant said that he had kept the place sweet by whitewashing its damp walls once in two months... This discovery made, our reporter on entering found three houses standing back to back, with those in the outer square. Two of these were occupied. The smell arising from them was so sickening that a few minutes' stay within their foetid portals was sufficient to upset the stomach of a healthy man ... this dismal dwelling place was occupied by a family of seven in all, everyone of whom had slept in the house on Thursday night" (the day of the beginning of the flood). "The woman who gave our reporter this information instantly corrected herself. Neither she nor her husband had slept at all. They had lain on the bare boards, but the smell of the place was so offensive that they had been vomiting during a great part of the night... On Saturday she ... had been obliged to wade breast-high through the flood, bearing two children in her arms... She agreed that the place was not fit for a pig to live in, but had been induced against her will to accept it, because of the cheapness of the rent (only 1s. 6d." (15 groschen) "a week), and because her husband, a labourer, had of late been much out of work through illness. The reflections raised in one's mind by the contemplation of this wretched court, and the poor creatures whom poverty has forced into it as into a premature grave, is one of almost utter hopelessness... In the public interest, however, we are forced to say a word. Observation during the past few days assures us that Squire's Court is a type, though perhaps an extreme one, of many other places in the neighbourhood which it is a reflection upon the health committee to have permitted so long to exist; if their further occupation under existing circumstances be allowed, the committee will incur a responsibility

and the neighbourhood a danger of infectious visitation the seriousness of which we have no desire to prognosticate."

This is a striking example of how the bourgeoisie settles the housing question in practice. The breeding places of disease, the infamous holes and cellars in which the capitalist mode of production confines our workers night after night, are not abolished; they are merely *shifted elsewhere*! The same economic necessity which produced them in the first place produces them in the next place also. As long as the capitalist mode of production continues to exist it is folly to hope for an isolated settlement of the housing question or of any other social question affecting the lot of the workers. The solution lies in the abolition of the capitalist mode of production and the appropriation of all the means of subsistence and instruments of labour by the working class itself.

## Part III

## SUPPLEMENT ON PROUDHON AND THE HOUSING QUESTION

### I

In No. 86 of the *Volksstaat*, A. Mülberger[a] reveals himself as the author of the articles criticised by me in No. 51 and subsequent numbers of the paper.[b] In his answer he overwhelms me with such a series of reproaches, and at the same time confuses all the issues to such an extent that willy-nilly I am compelled to reply to him. I shall attempt to give my reply, which to my regret must be made to a large extent in the field of personal polemics enjoined upon me by Mülberger himself, a general interest by presenting the chief points once again and if possible more clearly than before, even at the risk of being told once more by Mülberger that all this "contains nothing essentially new either for him or for the other readers of the *Volksstaat*".

Mülberger complains of the form and content of my criticism. As far as the form is concerned it will be sufficient to reply that at the time I did not even know who had written the articles in question. There can, therefore, be no question of any personal "prejudice" against their author; against the solution of the

[a] A. Mülberger, "Zur Wohnungsfrage", *Der Volksstaat*, No. 86, October 26, 1872.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 317-37.—*Ed.*

housing problem put forward in the articles I was of course in so far "prejudiced" as I was long ago acquainted with it from Proudhon and my opinion on it was firmly fixed.

I am not going to quarrel with friend Mülberger about the "tone" of my criticism. When one has been so long in the movement as I have, one develops a fairly thick skin against attacks, and therefore one easily presumes the existence of the same in others. In order to compensate Mülberger I shall endeavour this time to bring my "tone" into the right relation to the sensitiveness of his epidermis (outer layer of the skin).

Mülberger complains with particular bitterness that I said he was a Proudhonist, and he protests that he is not. Naturally I must believe him, but I shall adduce proof that the articles in question—and I had to do with them alone—contain nothing but undiluted Proudhonism.

But according to Mülberger I have also criticised Proudhon "frivolously" and have done him a serious injustice.

> "The doctrine of the petty bourgeois Proudhon has become an accepted dogma in Germany, which is even proclaimed by many who have never read a line of him."

When I express regret that for twenty years the workers speaking Romance languages have had no other mental pabulum than the works of Proudhon, Mülberger answers that as far as the Latin workers are concerned, "the principles formulated by Proudhon are almost everywhere the driving spirit of the movement". This I must deny. First of all, the "driving spirit" of the working-class movement nowhere lies in "principles", but everywhere in the development of large-scale industry and its effects, the accumulation and concentration of capital, on the one hand, and of the proletariat, on the other. Secondly, it is not correct to say that in the Latin countries Proudhon's so-called "principles" play the decisive role ascribed to them by Mülberger; that "the principles of anarchism, of the *Organisation des forces économiques*, of the *liquidation sociale*, etc., have there ... become the true bearers of the revolutionary movement". Not to speak of Spain and Italy, where the Proudhonist panacea has gained some influence only in the still more botched form presented by Bakunin, it is a notorious fact for anyone who knows the international working-class movement that in France the Proudhonists form a numerically rather insignificant sect, while the mass of the French workers refuses to have anything to do with the social reform plan drawn up by Proudhon under the

titles of *Liquidation sociale* and *Organisation des forces économiques*.[a] This was shown, among other things, in the Commune. Although the Proudhonists were strongly represented in the Commune, not the slightest attempt was made to liquidate the old society or to organise the economic forces according to Proudhon's proposals. On the contrary, it does the Commune the greatest honour that in all its economic measures the "driving spirit" was not any set of "principles", but simple, practical needs. And therefore these measures—abolition of night work in the bakeries, prohibition of monetary fines in the factories, confiscation of shut-down factories and workshops and handing them over to workers' associations—were not at all in accordance with the spirit of Proudhonism, but certainly in accordance with the spirit of German scientific socialism. The only social measure which the Proudhonists put through was the decision *not* to confiscate the Bank of France, and this was partly responsible for the downfall of the Commune. In the same way, when the so-called Blanquists made an attempt to transform themselves from mere political revolutionists into a socialist workers' faction with a definite programme—as was done by the Blanquist fugitives in London in their manifesto, *Internationale et révolution*—they did not proclaim the "principles" of the Proudhonist plan for the salvation of society, but adopted, and almost literally at that, the views of German scientific socialism on the necessity of political action by the proletariat and of its dictatorship as the transition to the abolition of classes and, with them, of the state—views such as had already been expressed in the *Communist Manifesto*[b] and since then on innumerable occasions. And if Mülberger even draws the conclusion from the Germans' disdain of Proudhon that there has been a lack of understanding of the movement in the Latin countries "down to the Paris Commune", let him as proof of this lack tell us what work from the Latin side has understood and described the Commune even approximately as correctly as has the *Address of the General Council of the International on the Civil War in France*, written by the German Marx.

The only country where the working-class movement is directly under the influence of Proudhonist "principles" is Belgium, and precisely as a result of this the Belgian movement comes, as Hegel would say, "from nothing through nothing to nothing".[c]

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[a] P. J. Proudhon, *Idée générale de la révolution au XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1868.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 504-06.—*Ed.*

[c] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik, Werke*, Vol. 4, Berlin, 1834, Part 1, Section 2, pp. 15, 75, 145.—*Ed.*

When I consider it a misfortune that for twenty years the workers of the Latin countries fed intellectually, directly or indirectly, exclusively on Proudhon, I do not mean that thoroughly mythical dominance of Proudhon's reform recipe—termed by Mülberger the "principles"—but the fact that their economic criticism of existing society was contaminated with absolutely false Proudhonist phrases and that their political actions were bungled by Proudhonist influence. Whether thus the "Proudhonised workers of the Latin countries" "stand more in the revolution" than the German workers, who in any case understand the meaning of scientific German socialism infinitely better than the Latins understand their Proudhon, we shall be able to answer only after we have learnt what "to *stand* in the revolution" really means. We have heard talk of people who "stand in Christianity, in the true faith, in the grace of God", etc. But "standing" in the revolution, in the most violent of all movements? Is, then, "the revolution" a dogmatic religion in which one must believe?

Mülberger further reproaches me with having asserted, in defiance of the express wording of his articles, that he had declared the housing question to be an exclusively working-class question.

This time Mülberger is really right. I overlooked the passage in question. It was irresponsible of me to overlook it, for it is one most characteristic of the whole tendency of his disquisition. Mülberger actually writes in plain words:

"As we have been so frequently and largely exposed to the *absurd* charge of pursuing a *class policy*, of striving for *class domination*, and such like, we wish to stress first of all and expressly that the housing question is by no means a question which affects the proletariat exclusively, but that, *on the contrary*, it interests *to a quite prominent extent the middle classes proper*, the small tradesmen, the petty bourgeoisie, the whole bureaucracy... The housing question is precisely that point of social reform which more than any other seems appropriate to reveal the *absolute inner identity of the interests of the proletariat*, on the one hand, and the interests of the *middle classes proper* of society, on the other. The middle classes suffer just as much as, and *perhaps even more* than, the proletariat under the oppressive fetters of the rented dwelling... Today the middle classes proper of society are faced with the question of whether they ... can summon sufficient strength ... to participate in the process of the transformation of society in alliance with the youthful, vigorous and energetic workers' party, a transformation *whose blessings will be enjoyed above all by them*."[a]

Friend Mülberger thus makes the following points here:

1. "We" do not pursue any "class policy" and do not strive for

[a] A. Mülberger, *Die Wohnungsfrage. Eine sociale Skizze. Separat-Abdruck aus dem "Volksstaat"* (The Housing Question. A Social Study. Separate Reprint from the *Volksstaat*), Leipzig, 1872.—*Ed.*

"class domination". But the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, just *because* it is a *workers' party*, necessarily pursues a "class policy", the policy of the working class. Since each political party sets out to establish its rule in the state, so the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party is necessarily striving to establish *its* rule, the rule of the working class, hence "class domination". Moreover, *every* real proletarian party, from the English Chartists onward, has put forward a class policy, the organisation of the proletariat as an independent political party, as the primary condition of its struggle, and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the immediate aim of the struggle. By declaring this to be "absurd", Mülberger puts himself outside the proletarian movement and inside the camp of petty-bourgeois socialism.

2. The housing question has the advantage that it is not an exclusively working-class question, but a question which "interests to a quite prominent extent" the petty bourgeoisie, in that "the middle classes proper" suffer from it "just as much as, and perhaps even more than", the proletariat. If anyone declares that the petty bourgeoisie suffers, even if in one respect only, "perhaps even more than the proletariat", he can hardly complain if one counts him among the petty-bourgeois socialists. Has Mülberger therefore any grounds for complaint when I say:

"It is largely with just such sufferings as these, which the working class endures in common with other classes, and particularly the petty bourgeoisie, that petty-bourgeois socialism, to which Proudhon belongs, prefers to occupy itself. And thus it is not at all accidental that our German Proudhonist seizes chiefly upon the housing question, which, as we have seen, is by no means exclusively a working-class question."[a]

3. There is an "absolute inner identity" between the interests of the "middle classes proper of society" and the interests of the proletariat, and it is not the proletariat, but these middle classes proper which will "enjoy above all" the "blessings" of the coming process of transformation of society.

The workers, therefore, are going to make the coming social revolution "above all" in the interests of the petty bourgeoisie. And furthermore, there is an absolute inner identity of the interests of the petty bourgeoisie and those of the proletariat. If the interests of the petty bourgeoisie have an inner identity with those of the workers, then those of the workers have an inner identity with those of the petty bourgeoisie. The petty-bourgeois

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[a] See this volume, p. 319.—*Ed.*

standpoint has thus as much right to exist in the movement as the proletarian standpoint, and it is precisely the assertion of this equality of right that is called petty-bourgeois socialism.

It is therefore perfectly consistent when, on page 25 of the separate reprint, Mülberger extols "petty industry" as the "actual *buttress* of society", "because in accordance with its very nature it combines within itself the three factors: labour—acquisition—possession, and because in the combination of these three factors it places no bounds to the capacity for development of the individual"; and when he reproaches modern industry in particular with destroying this nursery for the production of normal human beings and "making out of a virile *class* continually reproducing itself an unconscious *heap* of humans who do not know whither to direct their anxious gaze". The petty bourgeois is thus Mülberger's model human being and petty industry is Mülberger's model mode of production. Did I defame him, therefore, when I classed him among the petty-bourgeois socialists?

As Mülberger rejects all responsibility for Proudhon, it would be superfluous to discuss here any further how Proudhon's reform plans aim at transforming all members of society into petty bourgeois and small peasants. It will be just as unnecessary to deal with the alleged identity of interests of the petty bourgeoisie and the workers. What is necessary is to be found already in the *Communist Manifesto*. (Leipzig edition, 1872, pp. 12 and 21.[a])

The result of our examination is, therefore, that side by side with the "myth of the petty bourgeois Proudhon" appears the reality of the petty bourgeois Mülberger.

## II

We now come to one of the main points. I accused Mülberger's articles of falsifying economic relationships after the manner of Proudhon by translating them into legal terminology. As an example of this, I picked the following statement by Mülberger:

"The house, once it has been built, serves as a *perpetual legal title* to a definite fraction of social labour although the real value of the house has been paid to the owner long ago more than adequately in the form of rent. *Thus it comes about* that a house which, for instance, was built fifty years ago, during this period covers the original cost price two, three, five, ten and more times over in its rent yield."[b]

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 494 and 509-10.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 320-21.—*Ed.*

Mülberger now complains as follows:

"This *simple, sober statement of fact* causes Engels to enlighten me to the effect that I should have explained *how* the house became a 'legal title'—something which was quite beyond the scope of my task.... A *description* is one thing, an *explanation* another. When I say with Proudhon that the economic life of society should be pervaded by a *conception of right*, I am *describing* present-day society as one in which, true, not every conception of right is absent, but in which the *conception of right of the revolution* is absent, a fact which Engels himself will admit."[a]

Let us keep for the moment to the house which has been built. The house, once it has been let, yields its builder ground rent, repairing costs, and interest on the building capital invested, including as well the profit made thereon in the form of rent[b]; and, according to the circumstances, the rent, paid gradually, can amount to twice, thrice, five times or ten times as much as the original cost price. This, friend Mülberger, is the "simple, sober statement" of "fact", an *economic* fact; and if we want to know "how it comes" that it exists, we must conduct our examination in the economic field. Let us therefore look a little closer at this fact so that not even a child may misunderstand it any longer. As is known, the sale of a commodity consists in the fact that its owner relinquishes its use-value and pockets its exchange-value. The use-values of commodities differ from one another among other things in the different periods of time required for their consumption. A loaf of bread is consumed in a day, a pair of trousers will be worn out in a year, and a house, if you like, in a hundred years. Hence, in the case of durable commodities, the possibility arises of selling their use-value piecemeal and each time for a definite period, that is to say, to *let* it. The piecemeal sale therefore realises the exchange-value only gradually. As a compensation for his renouncing the immediate repayment of the capital advanced and the profit accrued on it, the seller receives an increased price, interest, whose rate is determined by the laws of political economy and not by any means in an arbitrary fashion. At the end of the hundred years the house is used up, worn out and no longer habitable. If we then deduct from the total rent paid for the house the following: 1) the ground rent together with any increase it may have experienced during the period in question, and 2) the sums expended for current repairs, we shall find that the

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[a] A. Mülberger, "Zur Wohnungsfrage", *Der Volksstaat*, No. 86, October 26, 1872.—*Ed.*

[b] In *Der Volksstaat* this part of the sentence reads as follows: "The house, once it has been let, yields its builder ground rent, repairing costs, and profit on the building capital invested in the form of rent".—*Ed.*

remainder is composed on an average as follows: 1) the building capital originally invested in the house, 2) the profit on this, and 3) the interest on the gradually maturing capital and profit.[a] Now it is true that at the end of this period the tenant has no house, but neither has the house-owner. The latter has only the lot (provided that it belongs to him) and the building material on it, which, however, is no longer a house. And although in the meantime the house may have brought in a sum "which covers the original cost price five or ten times over", we shall see that this is solely due to an increase of the ground rent. This is no secret to anyone in such cities as London where the landowner and the house-owner are in most cases two different persons. Such tremendous rent increases occur in rapidly growing towns,[b] but not in a farming village, where the ground rent for building sites remains practically unchanged. It is indeed a notorious fact that, apart from increases in the ground rent, house rents produce on an average no more than seven per cent per annum on the invested capital (including profit) for the house-owner, and out of this sum repair costs, etc., must be paid. In short, a rent agreement is quite an ordinary commodity transaction which theoretically is of no greater and no lesser interest to the worker than any other commodity transaction, with the exception of that which concerns the buying and selling of labour power, while practically the worker faces the rent agreement as one of the thousand forms of bourgeois cheating, which I dealt with on page 4 of the separate reprint.[c] But, as I proved there, this form is also subject to economic regulation.

Mülberger, on the other hand, regards the rent agreement as nothing but pure "arbitrariness" (page 19 of the separate reprint) and when I prove the contrary to him he complains that I am telling him "solely things which to his regret he already knew himself".

But all the economic investigations into house rent will not enable us to turn the abolition of the rented dwelling into "one of the most fruitful and magnificent aspirations which have ever sprung from the womb of the revolutionary idea".[d] In order to accomplish this we must translate the simple fact from sober economics into the really far more ideological sphere of jurispru-

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[a] The words "and profit" were added by Engels in the 1887 edition.—*Ed.*

[b] *Der Volksstaat* has "in rapidly growing big towns".—*Ed.*

[c] The reference is to the separate reprint of F. Engels' *Zur Wohnungsfrage*, Part I, Leipzig, 1872 (see this volume, p. 318).—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, p. 327.—*Ed.*

dence. "The house serves as a perpetual legal title" to house rent, and "*thus it comes*" that the value of a house can be paid back in rent two, three, five or ten times. The "legal title" does not help us a jot to discover how it really "does come", and therefore I said that Mülberger would have been able to find out *how* it really "does come" only by inquiring how the house becomes a legal title. We discover this only after we have examined, as I did, the *economic* nature of house rent, instead of quarrelling with the legal expression under which the ruling class sanctions it.—Anyone who proposes the taking of economic steps to abolish rent surely ought to know a little more about house rent than that it "represents the tribute which the tenant pays to the perpetual title of capital".[a] To this Mülberger answers, "A description is one thing, an explanation another."

We have thus converted the house, although it is by no means everlasting, into a perpetual legal title to house rent. We find, no matter how "it comes", that by virtue of this legal title, the house brings in its original value several times over in the form of rent. By the translation into legal phraseology we are happily so far removed from economics that we now can see no more than the phenomenon that a house can gradually get paid for in gross rent several times over. As we are thinking and talking in legal terms, we apply to this phenomenon the measuring stick of right, of justice, and find that it is *unjust*, that it is not in accordance with the "conception of right of the revolution", whatever that may be, and that therefore the legal title is no good. We find further that the same holds good for interest-bearing capital and leased agricultural land, and we now have the excuse for separating these classes of property from the others and subjecting them to exceptional treatment. This consists in the demands: 1) to deprive the owner of the right to give notice to quit, the right to demand the return of his property; 2) to give the lessee, borrower or tenant the gratuitous use of the object transferred to him but not belonging to him; and 3) to pay off the owner in instalments over a long period without interest. And with this we have exhausted the Proudhonist "principles" from this angle. This is Proudhon's "social liquidation".

Incidentally, it is obvious that this whole reform plan is to benefit almost exclusively the petty bourgeois and the small peasants, in that it *consolidates* them in their position as petty bourgeois and small peasants. Thus "the petty bourgeois

[a] Cf. this volume, p. 327.—*Ed.*

Proudhon", who, according to Mülberger, is a mythical figure, suddenly takes on here a very tangible historical existence.

Mülberger continues:

"When I say with Proudhon that the economic life of society should be pervaded by a *conception of right,* I am *describing* present-day society as one in which, true, not every conception of right is absent, but in which the conception of right of the revolution is absent, a fact which Engels himself will admit."[a]

Unfortunately I am not in a position to do Mülberger this favour. Mülberger demands that society *should* be pervaded by a conception of right and calls that a description. If a court sends a bailiff to me with a summons demanding the payment of a debt, then, according to Mülberger, it does no more than *describe* me as a man who does not pay his debts! A description is one thing, and a presumptuous demand is another. And precisely herein lies the essential difference between German scientific socialism and Proudhon. We describe—and despite Mülberger every real description of a thing is at the same time an explanation of it—economic relationships as they are and as they are developing, and we provide the proof, strictly economically, that their development is at the same time the development of the elements of a social revolution: the development, on the one hand, of a class whose conditions of life necessarily drive it to social revolution, the proletariat, and, on the other hand, of productive forces which, having grown beyond the framework of capitalist society, must necessarily burst that framework, and which at the same time offer the means of abolishing class distinctions once and for all in the interest of social progress itself. Proudhon, on the contrary, demands of present-day society that it shall transform itself not according to the laws of its own economic development, but according to the precepts of justice (the "*conception* of right" does not belong to him, but to Mülberger). Where we prove, Proudhon, and with him Mülberger, *preaches* and laments.

What kind of thing "the conception of right of the revolution" is I am absolutely unable to guess. Proudhon, it is true, makes a sort of goddess out of "*the* Revolution", the bearer and executrix of his "Justice", in doing which he then falls into the peculiar error of mixing up the bourgeois revolution of 1789-94 with the coming proletarian revolution. He does this in almost all his works, particularly since 1848; I shall quote only one as an example, namely, the *Idée générale de la révolution*, pages 39 and 40

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[a] Here and below Engels quotes from: A. Mülberger, "Zur Wohnungsfrage", *Der Volksstaat*, No. 86, October 26, 1872.—*Ed.*

of the 1868 edition. As, however, Mülberger rejects all and every responsibility for Proudhon, I am not allowed to explain "the conception of right of the revolution" from Proudhon and remain therefore in Egyptian darkness.

Mülberger says further:

"But neither Proudhon nor I appeal to an 'eternal justice' in order thereby to *explain* the existing unjust conditions, or even expect, as Engels imputes to me, the improvement of these conditions from an appeal to this justice."

Mülberger must be banking on the idea that "in Germany Proudhon is, in general, as good as unknown". In all his works Proudhon measures all social, legal, political and religious propositions[a] with the rod of "justice", and rejects or recognises them according to whether they conform or do not conform to what he calls "justice". In the *Contradictions économiques*[b] this justice is still called "eternal justice", *justice éternelle.* Later on, nothing more is said about eternity, but the idea remains in essence. For instance, in *De la justice dans la révolution et dans l'église*, 1858 edition, the following passage is the text of the whole three-volume sermon (Vol. 1, page 42):

"What is the basic principle, the organic, regulating, sovereign principle of societies, the principle which subordinates all others to itself, which rules, protects, represses, punishes, and in case of need even suppresses all rebellious elements? Is it religion, the ideal or *interest*? ... In my opinion this principle is *justice*.—What is justice? *It is the very essence of humanity.* What has it been since the beginning of the world? Nothing.—What ought it to be? Everything."

Justice which is the very essence of humanity, what is that if not *eternal* justice? Justice which is the organic, regulating, sovereign basic principle of societies, which has nevertheless been nothing up to present, but which ought to be everything—what is that if not the stick with which to measure all human affairs, if not the final arbiter to be appealed to in all conflicts? And did I assert anything else but that Proudhon cloaks his economic ignorance and helplessness by judging all economic relations not according to economic laws, but according to whether they conform or do not conform to his conception of this eternal justice? And what is the difference between Mülberger and Proudhon if Mülberger demands that "all these exchanges in the life of modern society" should be "pervaded by a *conception of right*, that is to say", should

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[a] *Der Volksstaat* has "all social, legal, and political conditions, all theoretical, philosophical, and religious propositions".—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère.*—*Ed.*

"everywhere be carried out according to the *strict demands of justice*"[a]? Is it that I can't read, or that Mülberger can't write?

Mülberger says further:

"Proudhon knows as well as Marx and Engels that the actual driving spirit in human society is the economic and not the juridical relations; he also knows that the given conceptions of right among a people are only the expression, the imprint, the product of the economic relations—and in particular the relations of production... In a word, for Proudhon right is a historically evolved economic product."

If Proudhon knows all this (I am prepared to let the unclear expressions used by Mülberger pass and take his good intentions for the deed), if Proudhon knows it all "as well as Marx and Engels", what is there left to quarrel about? The trouble is that the situation with regard to Proudhon's knowledge is somewhat different. The economic relations of a given society present themselves in the first place as *interests*. Now, in the passage which has just been quoted from his opus Proudhon says in so many words that the "regulating, organic, sovereign basic principle of societies, the principle which subordinates all others to itself", is not *interest* but *justice*. And he repeats the same thing in all the decisive passages of all his works, which does not prevent Mülberger from continuing:

"...The idea of economic right, as it was developed by Proudhon most profoundly of all in *La guerre et la paix*, completely coincides with the basic ideas of Lassalle so excellently expressed by him in his foreword to the *System der erworbenen Rechte*."

*La guerre et la paix* is perhaps the most schoolboyish of all the many schoolboyish works of Proudhon, but I could not have expected it to be put forward as proof of Proudhon's alleged understanding of the German materialist conception of history, which explains all historical events and ideas, all politics, philosophy and religion, from the material, economic conditions of life of the historical period in question. The book is so little materialistic that it cannot even construct its conception of war without calling in the help of the *creator*:

"However, the creator, who chose this form of life for us, had his own purposes." (Vol. II, page 100, 1869 edition.)

On what historical knowledge the book is based can be judged from the fact that it believes in the historical existence of the Golden Age:

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[a] Cf. this volume, p. 322.—*Ed.*

"In the beginning, when the human race was still sparsely spread over the earth's surface, nature supplied its needs without difficulty. It was the Golden Age, the age of peace and plenty." (Ibid., page 102.)

Its economic standpoint is that of the crassest Malthusianism:

"When production is doubled, the population will soon be doubled also" (page 106).[252]

In what does the materialism of this book consist, then? In that it declares the cause of war to have always been and still to be: "pauperism" (for instance, page 143). Uncle Bräsig was just such an accomplished materialist when in his 1848 speech he placidly uttered these grand words: "The cause of the great poverty is the great *pauvreté*."

Lassalle's *System der erworbenen Rechte* bears the imprint of the illusions of not only the jurist, but also the Old Hegelian. On page VII, Lassalle declares expressly that also "in *economics* the conception of acquired right is the driving force of all further development", and he seeks to prove (page XI) that "right is a rational organism developing *out of itself*" (and not, therefore, out of economic prerequisites). For Lassalle it is a question of deriving right not from economic relations, but from

"the concept of the will itself, of which the philosophy of law [right—Rechtsphilosophie] is only the development and exposition" (page XII).

So, where does this book come in here? The only difference between Proudhon and Lassalle is that the latter was a real jurist and Hegelian, while in both jurisprudence and philosophy, as in all other matters, Proudhon was merely a dilettante.

I know perfectly well that this man Proudhon, who notoriously continually contradicts himself, occasionally makes an utterance which looks as though he explained ideas on the basis of facts. But such utterances are devoid of any significance when contrasted with the basic tendency of his thought, and where they do occur they are, besides, extremely confused and inherently inconsistent.

At a certain, very primitive stage of the development of society, the need arises to bring under a common rule the daily recurring acts of production, distribution and exchange of products to see to it that the individual subordinates himself to the common conditions of production and exchange. This rule, which at first is custom, soon becomes *law*. With law, organs necessarily arise which are entrusted with its maintenance—public authority, the state. With further social development, law develops into a more or less comprehensive legal system. The more intricate this legal

system becomes, the more is its mode of expression removed from that in which the usual economic conditions of the life of society are expressed. It appears as an independent element which derives the justification for its existence and the substantiation of its further development not from the economic relations but from its own inner foundations or, if you like, from "the concept of the will". People forget that their right derives from their economic conditions of life, just as they have forgotten that they themselves derive from the animal world. With the development of the legal system into an intricate, comprehensive whole a new social division of labour becomes necessary; an order of professional jurists develops and with these legal science comes into being. In its further development this science compares the legal systems of various peoples and various times not as a reflection of the given economic relationships, but as systems which find their substantiations in themselves. The comparison presupposes points in common, and these are found by the jurists compiling what is more or less common to all these legal systems and calling it *natural right.* And the stick used to measure what is natural right and what is not is the most abstract expression of right itself, namely, *justice.* Henceforth, therefore, the development of right for the jurists, and for those who take their word for everything, is nothing more than a striving to bring human conditions, so far as they are expressed in legal terms, ever closer to the ideal of justice, *eternal* justice. And always this justice is but the ideologised, idealised expression of the existing economic relations, now from their conservative, and now from their revolutionary angle. The justice of the Greeks and Romans held slavery to be just; the justice of the bourgeois of 1789 demanded the abolition of feudalism on the ground that it was unjust. For the Prussian Junker even the miserable district regulations are a violation of eternal justice.[253] The conception of eternal justice, therefore, varies not only with time and place, but also with the persons concerned, and belongs among those things of which Mülberger correctly says, "everyone understands something different". While in everyday life, in view of the simplicity of the relations discussed, expressions like right, wrong, justice, and sense of right are accepted without misunderstanding even with reference to social matters, they create, as we have seen, the same hopeless confusion in any scientific investigation of economic relations as would be created, for instance, in modern chemistry if the terminology of the phlogiston theory were to be retained. The confusion becomes still worse if one, like Proudhon, believes in this social phlogiston,

"justice", or if one, like Mülberger, avers that the phlogiston theory is as correct as the oxygen theory.*

III

Mülberger further complains that I called his "emphatic" utterance,

"that there is no more terrible mockery of the whole culture of our lauded century than the fact that in the big cities 90 per cent and more of the population have no place that they can call their own"[a]

— a reactionary jeremiad. To be sure. If Mülberger had confined himself, as he pretends, to describing "the horrors of the present time" I should certainly not have said one ill word about "him and his modest words". In fact, however, he does something quite different. He describes these "horrors" as the *result* of the fact that the workers "*have no place that they can call their own*". Whether one laments "the horrors of the present time" for the reason that the ownership of houses by the workers has been abolished or, as the Junkers do, for the reason that feudalism and the guilds have been abolished, in either case nothing can come of it but a reactionary jeremiad, a song of sorrow at the coming of the inevitable, of the historically necessary. Its reactionary character lies precisely in the fact that Mülberger wishes to re-establish individual house ownership for the workers—a matter which history has long ago put an end to; that he can conceive of the emancipation of the workers in no other way than by making everyone once again the owner of his own house.

And further:

"I declare most emphatically, the real struggle is to be waged against the capitalist mode of production; only *from its transformation* is an improvement of housing conditions to be hoped for. Engels sees nothing of all this ... I presuppose

* Before the discovery of oxygen chemists explained the burning of substances in atmospheric air by assuming the existence of a special igneous substance, phlogiston, which escaped during the process of combustion. Since they found that simple substances on combustion weighed more after having been burned than they did before, they declared that phlogiston had a negative weight so that a substance without its phlogiston weighed more than one with it. In this way all the main properties of oxygen were gradually ascribed to phlogiston, but all in an *inverted* form. The discovery that combustion consists in a combination of the burning substance with another substance, oxygen, and the discovery of this oxygen disposed of the original assumption, but only after long resistance on the part of the older chemists.

[a] See this volume, p. 323.—*Ed.*

the complete settlement of the social question in order to be able to proceed to the abolition of the rented dwelling."[a]

Unfortunately, I still see nothing of all this even now. It surely is impossible for me to know what someone whose name I never heard presupposes in the secret recesses of his mind. All I could do was to stick to the printed articles of Mülberger. And there I find even today (pages 15 and 16 of the reprint) that Mülberger, in order to be able to proceed to the abolition of the rented dwelling, presupposes nothing except—the rented dwelling. Only on page 17 he takes "the productivity of capital by the horns", to which we shall come back later. Even in his answer he confirms this when he says:

"It was rather a question of showing how, *from existing conditions*, a complete transformation in the housing question could be achieved."

From existing conditions, and from the transformation (read: abolition) of the capitalist mode of production, are surely diametrically opposite things.

No wonder Mülberger complains when I regard the philanthropic efforts of M. Dollfus and other manufacturers to assist the workers to obtain houses of their own as the only possible practical realisation of his Proudhonist projects. If he were to realise that Proudhon's plan for the salvation of society is a fantasy resting completely on the basis of *bourgeois* society, he would naturally not believe in it. I have never at any time called his good intentions in question. But why then does he praise Dr. Reschauer[b] for proposing to the Vienna City Council that it should imitate Dollfus' projects?

Mülberger further declares:

"As far as the antithesis between town and country is particularly concerned, it is utopian to want to abolish it. This antithesis is a natural one, or more correctly, one that has arisen historically.... The question is not one of *abolishing* this antithesis, but of finding political and social forms in which it would be *harmless*, indeed even *fruitful*. In this way it would be possible to expect a peaceful adjustment, a gradual balancing of interests."

So the abolition of the antithesis between town and country is utopian, *because* this antithesis is a natural one, or more correctly, one that has arisen historically. Let us apply this same logic to other contrasts in modern society and see where we land. For instance:

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[a] Here and below Engels quotes from: A. Mülberger, "Zur Wohnungsfrage", *Der Volksstaat*, No. 86, October 26, 1872.—*Ed.*

[b] H. Reschauer, *Die Wohnungsnoth und ihr schädlicher Einfluß auf die Kleingewerbetreibenden und Lohnarbeiter*, Vienna, 1871.—*Ed.*

"As far as the antithesis between" the capitalists and the wage-workers "is particularly concerned, it is utopian to want to abolish it. This antithesis is a natural one, or more correctly, one that has arisen historically. The question is not one of *abolishing* this antithesis, but of finding political and social forms in which it would be *harmless*, indeed even *fruitful*. In this way it would be possible to expect a peaceful adjustment, a gradual balancing of interests."

And with this we have once again arrived at Schulze-Delitzsch.

The abolition of the antithesis between town and country is no more and no less utopian than the abolition of the antithesis between capitalists and wage-workers. From day to day it is becoming more and more a practical demand of both industrial and agricultural production. No one has demanded this more energetically than Liebig in his writings on the chemistry of agriculture, in which his first demand has always been that man shall give back to the land what he receives from it, and in which he proves that only the existence of the towns, and in particular the big towns, prevents this.[a] When one observes how here in London alone a greater quantity of manure than is produced by the whole kingdom of Saxony is poured away every day into the sea with an expenditure of enormous sums, and what colossal structures are necessary in order to prevent this manure from poisoning the whole of London, then the utopia of abolishing the antithesis between town and country is given a remarkably practical basis. And even comparatively unimportant Berlin has been suffocating in the malodours of its own filth for at least thirty years. On the other hand, it is completely utopian to want, like Proudhon, to upheave present-day bourgeois society while maintaining the peasant as such. Only as uniform a distribution as possible of the population over the whole country, only an intimate connection between industrial and agricultural production together with the extension of the means of communication made necessary thereby—granted the abolition of the capitalist mode of production—will be able to deliver the rural population from the isolation and stupor in which it has vegetated almost unchanged for thousands of years. To be utopian does not mean to maintain that the emancipation of humanity from the chains which its historic past has forged will be complete only when the antithesis between town and country has been abolished; the utopia begins

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[a] Justus von Liebig, *Die Chemie in ihrer Anwendung auf Agricultur und Physiologie*, Part 1, Brunswick, 1862, pp. 128-29 et seq.—*Ed.*

only when one ventures, "from existing conditions", to prescribe the *form* in which this or any other antithesis of present-day society is to be resolved. And this is what Mülberger does by adopting the Proudhonist formula for the settlement of the housing question.

Mülberger then complains that I have made him to a certain extent co-responsible for "Proudhon's monstrous views on capital and interest", and declares:

> "I presuppose the alteration of the relations of production *as an accomplished fact,* and the transitional law regulating the rate of interest does not deal with relations of production but with the social turnover, the relations of circulation... The alteration of the relations of production, or, as the German school says more accurately, the abolition of the capitalist mode of production, certainly does not result, as Engels *tries to make me say,* from a transitional law abolishing interest, but from the *actual seizure of all the instruments of labour,* from the seizure of industry as a whole by the working people. Whether the working people will in that event worship" (!) "redemption sooner than immediate expropriation is not for either Engels or me to decide."

I rub my eyes in astonishment. I am reading Mülberger's disquisition through once again from beginning to end in order to find the passage where he says his redemption of the rented dwelling presupposes as an accomplished fact "the actual seizure of all the instruments of labour, the seizure of industry as a whole by the working people", but I am unable to find any such passage. It does not exist. There is nowhere mention of "actual seizure", etc., but there is the following on page 17:

> "Let us now assume that the productivity of capital *is really taken by the horns,* as it must be sooner or later, for instance, *by a transitional law which fixes the interest on all capitals at one per cent,* but mark you, with the tendency to make even this rate of interest approximate more and more to the zero point... Like all other products, houses and dwellings are naturally also included within the purview of this law... We see, therefore, from this angle that the redemption of the rented dwelling *is a necessary consequence of the abolition of the productivity of capital in general.*"[a]

Thus it is said here in plain words, quite contrary to Mülberger's latest about-face, that the productivity of capital, by which confused phrase he admittedly means the capitalist mode of production is really "taken by the horns" by a law abolishing interest, and that precisely as a result of such a law "the redemption of the rented dwelling is a necessary consequence of the abolition of the productivity of capital in general". Not at all, says Mülberger now. That transitional law "does not deal with relations of *production* but with relations of *circulation*". In view of

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[a] A. Mülberger, *Die Wohnungsfrage* (see this volume, p. 331).—*Ed.*

this crass contradiction, "equally mysterious for wise men as for fools", as Goethe would say,[a] all that is left for me to do is to assume that I am dealing with two separate and distinct Mülbergers, one of whom rightly complains that I "tried to make him say" what the other caused to be printed.

It is certainly true that the working people will ask neither me nor Mülberger whether in the actual seizure they will "worship redemption sooner than immediate expropriation". In all probability they will prefer not to "worship" at all. However, there never was any question of the actual seizure of all the instruments of labour by the working people, but only of Mülberger's assertion (page 17) that "the whole content of the solution of the housing question is comprised in the word *redemption*". If he now declares this redemption to be extremely doubtful, what was the sense in giving the two of us and our readers all this unnecessary trouble?

Moreover, it must be pointed out that the "actual seizure" of all the instruments of labour, the taking possession of industry as a whole by the working people, is the exact opposite of the Proudhonist "redemption". In the latter case the *individual worker* becomes the owner of dwelling, the peasant farm, the instruments of labour; in the former case, the "working people" remain the collective owner of the houses, factories and instruments of labour, and will hardly permit their use, at least during a transitional period, by individuals or associations without compensation for the cost. In the same way, the abolition of property in land is not the abolition of ground rent but its transfer, if in a modified form, to society. The actual seizure of all the instruments of labour by the working people, therefore, does not at all preclude the retention of rent relations.

In general, the question is not whether the proletariat when it comes to power will simply seize by force the instruments of production, the raw materials and means of subsistence, whether it will pay immediate compensation for them or whether it will redeem the property therein by small instalment payments. To attempt to answer such a question in advance and for all cases would be utopia-making, and that I leave to others.

## IV

There was need to consume so much ink and paper in order to bore a way through Mülberger's diverse twists and turns to the

[a] Cf. Goethe, *Faust*, Part I, Scene 6 ("Hexenküche").— *Ed.*

real point at issue, a point which Mülberger carefully evades in his answer.

What were Mülberger's positive statements in his article?

*First*: that "the difference between the original cost price of a house, building site, etc., and its present value" belongs by right to society.[a] In the language of economics, this difference is called ground rent. Proudhon too wants to appropriate this for society, as one may read in his *Idée générale de la révolution*, page 219 of the 1868 edition.

*Secondly*: that the solution of the housing problem consists in everyone becoming the owner instead of the tenant of his dwelling.

*Thirdly*: that this solution shall be put into effect by passing a law turning rent payments into instalment payments on the purchase price of the dwelling.—Points 2 and 3 are both borrowed from Proudhon, as anyone can see in the *Idée générale de la révolution*, page 199 et seq., where on page 203 a project of the law in question is to be found already drafted.

*Fourthly*: that the productivity of capital is taken by the horns by a transitional law reducing the rate of interest provisionally to one per cent, subject to further reduction later on. This point has also been taken from Proudhon, as may be read in detail on pages 182 to 186 of the *Idée générale*.

With regard to each of these points I have cited the passage in Proudhon where the original of the Mülberger copy is to be found, and I ask now whether I was justified in calling the author of an article containing completely Proudhonist and nothing but Proudhonist views a Proudhonist or not? Nevertheless, Mülberger complains about nothing more bitterly than that I call him a Proudhonist because I "came upon a few *expressions* that are peculiar to Proudhon"! On the contrary. The "*expressions*" all belong to Mülberger, their *content* belongs to Proudhon. And when I then supplement this Proudhonist disquisition with Proudhon, Mülberger complains that I am ascribing to him the "monstrous views" of Proudhon!

What did I reply to this Proudhonist plan?

*First*: that the transfer of ground rent to the state is tantamount to the abolition of individual property in land.

*Secondly*: that the redemption of the rented dwelling and the transfer of property in the dwelling to the party who was the tenant hitherto does not at all affect the capitalist mode of production.

[a] A. Mülberger, *Die Wohnungsfrage*, p. 8.—*Ed.*

*Thirdly*: that with the present development of large-scale industry and towns this proposal is as absurd as it is reactionary, and that the reintroduction of the individual ownership of his dwelling by each individual would be a step backward.

*Fourthly*: that the compulsory reduction of the rate of interest on capital would by no means attack the capitalist mode of production[a]; and that, on the contrary, as the usury laws prove, it is as old as it is impossible.

*Fifthly*: that the abolition of interest on capital by no means abolishes the payment of rent for houses.

Mülberger has now admitted points 2 and 4. To the other points he makes no reply whatever. And yet these are just the points around which the whole debate centres. Mülberger's answer, however, is not a refutation: it carefully avoids dealing with all economic points, which after all are the decisive ones. It is a personal complaint, nothing more. For instance, he complains when I anticipate his announced solution of other questions, for example, state debts, private debts and credit, and say that his solution will everywhere be the same, namely, that, as in the housing question, the abolition of interest, the conversion of interest payments into instalment payments on the capital sum, and free credit. Nevertheless, I am still ready to bet that if these articles of Mülberger see the light of day, their essential content will coincide with Proudhon's *Idée générale*: credit, page 182; state debts, page 186; private debts, page 196—just as much as his articles on the housing question coincided with the passages I quoted from the same book.

Mülberger takes this opportunity to inform me that questions such as taxation, state debts, private debts and credit, to which is now added the question of communal autonomy, are of the greatest importance to the peasant and for propaganda in the countryside. To a great extent I agree, but 1) up to the moment there has been no discussion of the peasant, and 2) the Proudhonian "solutions" of all these problems are just as absurd economically and just as essentially bourgeois as his solution of the housing problem. *I* need hardly defend myself against Mülberger's suggestion that I fail to appreciate the necessity of drawing the peasants into the movement. However, I certainly consider it folly to recommend the Proudhonian quackery to them for this purpose. There is still very much big landed property in Germany. According to Proudhon's theory all this ought to be

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[a] *Der Volksstaat* has "capitalist production".—*Ed.*

divided up into small peasant farms, which, in the present state of scientific agriculture and after the experience with small land allotments in France and Western Germany, would be positively reactionary. The big landed estates which still exist will rather afford us a welcome basis for the carrying on of agriculture on a large scale—the only system of farming which can utilise all modern facilities, machinery, etc.—by associated workers, and thus demonstrating to the small peasants the advantages of large-scale operation by means of association. The Danish socialists, who in this respect are ahead of all others, saw this long ago.[a]

It is equally unnecessary for me to defend myself against the suggestion that I regard the existing infamous housing conditions of the workers as "an insignificant detail". As far as I know, I was the first to describe in German these conditions in their classical form as they exist in England; not, as Mülberger opines, because they "violated my *sense of justice*"—anyone who insisted on writing books about all the facts which violated his sense of justice would have a lot to do—but, as can be read in the Preface to my book,[b] in order to provide a factual basis, by describing the social conditions created by modern large-scale industry, for German socialism, which was then arising and expending itself in empty phrases. However, it never entered my head to try to settle the so-called housing *question* any more than to occupy myself with the details of the still more important *food question*. I am satisfied if I can prove that the production of our modern society is sufficient to provide all its members with enough to eat, and that there are houses enough in existence to provide the working masses for the time being with roomy and healthy living accommodation. To speculate on how a future society might organise the distribution of food and dwellings leads directly to *utopia*. The utmost we can do is to state from our understanding of the basic conditions of all modes of production up to now that with the downfall of the capitalist mode of production certain forms of appropriation which existed in society hitherto will become impossible. Even the transitional measures will everywhere have to be in accordance with the relations existing at the moment. In countries of small landed property they will be substantially different from those in countries where big landed property prevails, etc. Mülberger himself shows us better than anyone else where one arrives at if

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[a] F. Engels, "The Position of the Danish Members of the International on the Agrarian Question" (see this volume, pp. 57-58).—*Ed.*

[b] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 302-04).—*Ed.*

one attempts to find separate solutions for so-called practical problems like the housing question, etc. He first took 28 pages to explain[a] that "the whole content of the solution of the housing question is comprised in the word *redemption*", and then, when hard pressed, begins to stammer in embarrassment that it is really very doubtful whether, on actually taking possession of the houses, "the working people will worship redemption" sooner than some other form of expropriation.[b]

Mülberger demands that we should become *practical*, that we should not "come forward merely with dead and abstract formulas" when "faced with real practical relations", that we should "proceed beyond abstract socialism and *come close to the definite concrete relations of society*". If Mülberger had done this he might perhaps have rendered great service to the movement. The first step in coming close to the definite concrete relations of society is surely that one should learn what they are, that one should examine them according to their existing economic interconnections. But what do we find in Mülberger's articles? Two whole sentences, namely:

1. "The tenant is in the same position in relation to the house-owner as the wage-worker in relation to the capitalist." [Page 13.]

I have proved on page 6 of the reprint that this is totally wrong,[c] and Mülberger has not a word to say in reply.

2. "However, the bull which" (in the social reform) "must be taken by the horns is *the productivity of capital*, as the liberal school of political economy calls it, a thing which *in reality does not exist*, but which in *its seeming existence* serves as a cloak for all the inequality which burdens present-day society."[d]

Thus, the bull which has to be taken by the horns "*in reality does not*" exist, and therefore also has no "horns". Not the bull itself is the evil, but his *seeming existence*. Despite this, "the so-called productivity" (of capital) "is able to conjure up houses and towns" whose existence is anything but "seeming". (Page 12.) And a man who, although Marx's *Capital* "is familiar also to him", jabbers in this hopelessly confused fashion about the relation of capital and labour, undertakes to show the German workers a new and better path, and presents himself as the "master builder" who is

"clear about the architectural structure of the future society, at least in its main outlines"! [Page 13.]

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[a] *Der Volksstaat* has "to explain in detail".—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 385.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., p. 320.—*Ed.*
[d] A. Mülberger, *Die Wohnungsfrage*, p. 7 (cf. this volume, p. 331).—*Ed.*

No one has come closer "to the definite concrete relations of society" than Marx in *Capital*. He spent twenty-five years investigating them from all angles, and the results of his criticism contain throughout also the germs of so-called solutions, in so far as they are possible at all today. But that is not enough for friend Mülberger. That is all abstract socialism, dead and abstract formulas. Instead of studying the "definite concrete relations of society", friend Mülberger contents himself with reading through a few volumes of Proudhon which, although they offer him next to nothing concerning the definite concrete relations of society, offer him, on the contrary, very definite concrete miraculous remedies for all social evils. He then presents this ready-made plan for social salvation, this Proudhonian *system*, to the German workers under the pretext that *he* wants "to say good-bye to the *systems*", while I "choose the opposite path"! In order to grasp this I must assume that I am blind and Mülberger deaf so that any understanding between us is utterly impossible.

But enough. If this polemic serves for nothing else it has in any case the value of having given proof of what there really is to the practice of these self-styled "practical" socialists. These practical proposals for the abolition of all social evils, these universal social panaceas, have always and everywhere been the work of founders of sects who appeared at a time when the proletarian movement was still in its infancy. Proudhon too belongs to them. The development of the proletariat soon casts aside these swaddling-clothes and engenders in the working class itself the realisation that nothing is less practical than these "practical solutions", concocted in advance and universally applicable, and that practical socialism consists rather in a correct knowledge of the capitalist mode of production from its various aspects. A working class which knows what's what in this regard will *never* be in doubt in any case as to which social institutions should be the objects of its main attacks, and in what manner these attacks should be executed.

Written in May 1872-January 1873

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Printed according to the 1887 edition checked with the newspaper text

# Karl Marx

## POLITICAL INDIFFERENTISM[254]

"The working class must not constitute itself as a political party; it must not, under any pretext, engage in political action, for to combat the State is to recognise the State: and this is contrary to eternal principles. Workers must not go on strike; for to struggle to increase one's wages or to prevent their decrease is like recognising *Wages*: and this is contrary to the eternal principles of the emancipation of the working class!

"If in the political struggle against the bourgeois State the workers succeed only in extracting concessions, then they are guilty of compromise; and this is contrary to eternal principles. All peaceful movements, such as those in which English and American workers have the bad habit of engaging, are therefore to be despised. Workers must not struggle to establish a legal limit to the working day, because this is to compromise with the masters, who can then only exploit them for 10 or 12 hours, instead of 14 or 16. They must not even exert themselves in order legally to prohibit the employment in factories of children under the age of ten, because by such means they do not bring to an end the exploitation of children under ten: they thus commit a new compromise, which stains the purity of the eternal principles.

"Workers should even less desire that, as happens in the United States of America, the State whose BUDGET is swollen by what is taken from the working class should be obliged to give primary education to the workers' children; for primary education is not complete education. It is better that working men and working women should not be able to read or write or do sums than that they should receive education from a teacher in a school run by the State. It is far better that ignorance and a working day of 16

hours should debase the working classes than that eternal principles should be violated!

"If the political struggle of the working class assumes violent forms and if the workers replace the dictatorship of the bourgeois class with their own revolutionary dictatorship, then they are guilty of the terrible crime of *lèse-principe*; for, in order to satisfy their miserable profane daily needs and to crush the resistance of the bourgeois class, they, instead of laying down their arms and abolishing the State, give to the State a revolutionary and transitory form. Workers must not even form single unions for every trade, for by so doing they perpetuate the social division of labour as they find it in bourgeois society; this division, which fragments the working class, is the true basis of their present enslavement.

"In a word, the workers should fold their arms and stop wasting time in political and economic movements. These movements can never produce anything more than short-term results. As truly religious men they should scorn daily needs and cry out with voices full of faith: 'May our class be crucified, may our race perish, but let the eternal principles remain immaculate!' As pious Christians they must believe the words of their pastor, despise the good things of this world and think only of going to Paradise. In place of Paradise read the *social liquidation* which is going to take place one day in some or other corner of the globe, no one knows how, or through whom, and the mystification is identical in all respects.

"In expectation, therefore, of this famous social liquidation, the working class must behave itself in a respectable manner, like a flock of well-fed sheep; it must leave the government in peace, fear the police, respect the law and offer itself up uncomplaining as cannon-fodder.

"In practical everyday life, workers must be the most obedient servants of the State; but in their hearts they must protest energetically against its very existence, and give proof of their profound theoretical contempt for it by acquiring and reading literary treatises on its abolition; they must further scrupulously refrain from putting up any resistance to the capitalist regime apart from declamations on the society of the future, when this hated regime will have ceased to exist!"

It cannot be denied that if the apostles of political indifferentism were to express themselves with such clarity, the working class would make short shrift of them and would resent being insulted by these doctrinaire bourgeois and displaced gentlemen, who are

so stupid or so naive as to attempt to deny to the working class any real means of struggle. For all arms with which to fight must be drawn from society as it is and the fatal conditions of this struggle have the misfortune of not being easily adapted to the idealistic fantasies which these doctors in *social science* have exalted as divinities, under the names of *Freedom*, *Autonomy*, *Anarchy*. However, the working-class movement is today so powerful that these philanthropic sectarians dare not repeat for the economic struggle those *great truths* which they used incessantly to proclaim on the subject of the political struggle. They are simply too cowardly to apply them any longer to strikes, combinations, single-craft unions, laws on the labour of women and children, on the limitation of the working day, etc., etc.

Now let us see whether they are still able to be brought back to the good old traditions, to modesty, good faith and eternal principles.

The first socialists (Fourier, Owen, Saint-Simon, etc.), since social conditions were not sufficiently developed to allow the working class to constitute itself as a militant class, were necessarily obliged to limit themselves to dreams about the *model society* of the future and were led thus to condemn all the attempts such as strikes, combinations or political movements set in train by the workers to improve their lot. But while we cannot repudiate these patriarchs of socialism, just as chemists cannot repudiate their forebears the alchemists, we must at least avoid lapsing into their mistakes, which, if we were to commit them, would be inexcusable.

Later, however, in 1839, when the political and economic struggle of the working class in England had taken on a fairly marked character, Bray, one of Owen's disciples and one of the many who long before Proudhon hit upon the idea of *mutualism*, published a book entitled *Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy*.[a]

In one of the chapters on the inefficacy *of all the remedies aimed for by the present struggle*, he makes a savage critique of all the activities, political or economic, of the English working class, condemns the political movement, strikes, the limitation of the working day, the restriction of the work of women and children in factories, since all this—or so he claims—instead of taking us out of the present state of society, keeps us there and does nothing but render the antagonisms more intense.

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[a] The title of the book is in English in the original with the Italian translation in brackets.— *Ed.*

This brings us to the oracle of these doctors of social science, M. Proudhon. While the master had the courage to declare himself energetically opposed to all economic activities (combinations, strikes, etc.) which contradicted his redemptive theories of *mutualism*, at the same time by his writings and personal participation, he encouraged the working-class political movement, and his disciples do not dare to declare themselves openly against it. As early as 1847, when the master's great work, *Système des contradictions économiques*,[a] had just appeared, I refuted his sophisms against the working-class movement.* None the less, in 1864, after the Ollivier law, which granted the French workers, in a very restrictive fashion, a certain right of combination,[255] Proudhon returned to the charge in a book, *De la capacité politique des classes ouvrières*, published a few days after his death.

The master's strictures were so much to the taste of the bourgeoisie that *The Times*, on the occasion of the great tailors' strike in London in 1866, did Proudhon the honour of translating him and of condemning the strikers with the master's very words. Here are some selections.

The miners of Rive-de-Gier went on strike; the soldiers were called in to bring them back to reason.[256]

Proudhon cries: "The authority which had the miners of Rive-de-Gier shot acted disgracefully. But it was acting like Brutus of old caught between his paternal love and his consular duty: it was necessary to sacrifice his sons to save the Republic. Brutus did not hesitate, and posterity dare not condemn him." **

In all the memory of the proletariat there is no record of a bourgeois who has hesitated to sacrifice his workers to save his interests. What Brutuses the bourgeois must then be!

"Well, no: there is no right of combination, just as there is no right to defraud or steal or to commit incest or adultery." ***

There is however all too clearly a right to *stupidity*.

What then are the eternal principles, in whose name the master fulminates his mystic anathema?

* See in the book *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon* (Paris, 1847, published by A. Frank, Chapter II, para. 5, "Strikes and Combinations of Workers"[b]).

** P. J. Proudhon, *De la capacité politique des classes ouvrières*, Paris, 1868, published by Lacroix and Co., p. 327.

*** Op. cit., p. 333.

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[a] Here and below the titles of Proudhon's works are given in Italian.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 206-12.—*Ed.*

*First eternal principle*:

"Wage rates determine the price of commodities" [p. 340].

Even those who have no knowledge of political economy and who are unaware that the great bourgeois economist Ricardo in his *On the Principles of Political Economy*,[a] published in 1817, has refuted this long-standing error once and for all, are however aware of the remarkable fact that British industry can sell its products at a price far lower than that of any other nation, although wages are relatively higher in England than in any other European country.

*Second eternal principle*:

"The law which authorises combinations is highly anti-juridical, anti-economic and contrary to any society and order" [p. 335].

In a word, "contrary to the economic *Right* of free competition" [p. 334].

If the master had been a little less *chauvin*, he might have asked himself how it happened that forty years ago a law, thus contrary to the *economic rights of free competition*, was promulgated in England,[257] and that as industry develops, and alongside it *free competition*, this law—so contrary to *any society and order*—imposes itself as a necessity even to bourgeois states themselves. He might perhaps have discovered that this right (with a capital R) exists only in the *Economic Manuals* written by the Brothers Ignoramus of bourgeois political economy, in which manuals are contained such pearls as this: *Property is the fruit of labour ... of others*, they neglect to add.

*Third eternal principle*:

"Therefore, under the pretext of raising the working class from its condition of so-called social inferiority, it will be necessary to start by denouncing a whole class of citizens, the class of bosses, entrepreneurs, masters and bourgeois; it will be necessary to rouse workers' democracy to despise and to hate these unworthy members of the middle class; it will be necessary to prefer mercantile and industrial war to legal repression, and class antagonism to the State police." *

The master, in order to prevent the working class from escaping from its condition of so-called *social inferiority*, condemns the combinations that constitute the working class as a class antagonistic to the respectable *category of masters, entrepreneurs and bourgeois*,

* Op. cit., pp. 337-38.

[a] In the original the title of Ricardo's book is given in Italian.— *Ed.*

who for their part certainly prefer, as does Proudhon, *the State police to class antagonism*. To avoid any offence to this respectable class, the good M. Proudhon recommends to the workers (up to the coming of the *mutualist regime*, and despite its serious disadvantages) "freedom or competition, our only guarantee".*

The master preached indifferentism in matters of economics—*so as to protect freedom or bourgeois competition*, our only guarantee. His disciples preach indifferentism in matters of politics—so as to protect bourgeois freedom, their only guarantee. If the early Christians, who also preached political indifferentism, needed an emperor's arm to transform themselves from oppressed into oppressors, so the modern apostles of political indifferentism do not believe that their own eternal principles impose on them abstinence from worldly pleasures and the temporal privileges of bourgeois society. However we must recognise that they display a stoicism worthy of the early Christian martyrs in supporting those 14 or 16 working hours such as overburden the workers in the factories.

London, January 1873

Written in December 1872-early January 1873

First published in December 1873 in the collection *Almanacco Repubblicano per l'anno 1874*

Signed: *Karl Marx*

Printed according to the collection

Translated from the Italian

* Op. cit., p. 334.

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE TIMES*

Sir,—My attention is called to a paragraph in *The Times* of to-day[a] headed "Karl Marx and the International". It is there asserted that the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, while calling upon the different federations and sections to propose themselves the plenipotentiaries to be appointed by the General Council, has declared it

> "imperatively necessary that an exact copy should be simultaneously forwarded to Karl Marx in London. The drift of this is that none will receive credentials but those acceptable to and approved by Karl Marx in London, and as these agents will, as a matter of course, have to be in constant communication with him, he will be virtually the autocrat of the movement".

The circular in question is published, among others, in the Leipsic *Volksstaat* of the 25th of December.[b] It calls upon the German members of the Association to send a copy of their proposals to the late corresponding secretary for Germany (that is to say, to me) for the purpose of authentication. It is evident that the new General Council cannot know either the persons or their handwriting. The service demanded from me appeared to the New York General Council so much a matter of course that I was not even previously communicated with upon the subject. With the authentication of agents for the other countries, where the free organization of the International meets with legal impediments, I have nothing whatever to do.

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[a] No. 27576, January 2, 1873.—*Ed.*

[b] "Der Generalrath der Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation an alle Föderationen, Sektionen, Comites und Mitglieder der Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation in Deutschland. New-York, den 1. Dez. 1872". [Signed:] F. A. Sorge, *Der Volksstaat*, No. 103, December 25, 1872.—*Ed.*

The paragraph further states,

"In France these agents expel members without a hearing, and dissolve sections, committees, and federations at pleasure."

Your correspondent will have to explain how these agents can commit all these horrors before a single one of them has been appointed. If in France individuals have been expelled from the International,[a] it has been by the local sections, and not at all by the New York General Council.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

*Karl Marx*

January 2

First published in *The Times*, No. 27577, January 3, 1873

Reproduced from the newspaper

[a] The reference is to Louis Marchand, Abel Bousquet and Paul Brousse.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE "CRISIS" IN PRUSSIA

The "great nation" of France has, indeed, been ousted by the "great nation" of Germany, and rightly so. In Versailles, a political crisis arises because the French rural squirearchy are conspiring to replace the existing republic with the monarchy[258]; at the same time, a crisis breaks out in Berlin because the rural squirearchy of Prussia are unwilling to sacrifice the old feudal estate-police, to which they are still entitled, eighty years after the French Revolution. Can anyone doubt for a moment longer the superiority of German "culture" over French civilisation? With their customary superficiality, the French squabble about mere *forms*, such as republic and monarchy. The thorough Prussians get to the bottom of the matter by safeguarding, not a day too early, in 1872—the last in Europe to do so except for Mecklenburg and Russia—the foundation of society, the peasants' backsides, from the squires' flogging—or may be not!

Nothing is more indicative of the wretched attitude of the Prussian bourgeoisie than this entire farce about district regulations.[259] In 1848, Prussia had its revolution; the bourgeoisie held power in its hands; an oath of loyalty from the army to the constitution—no matter what kind of constitution—would have sufficed to secure power to the bourgeoisie. The feudal elements and the bureaucrats were so terrified that, at the time, the abolition of the remnants of feudalism seemed to be a matter of course. The first draft constitutions of 1848 and even 1849 did, in fact, contain all the essentials for this development, if only in the usual miserable form. The very slightest resistance from the bourgeoisie would

have sufficed to make a return of the feudal rights impossible; for, apart from the few rural squires, nobody had any interest in this happening, except for the romantic Frederick William IV. Yet hardly had European reaction triumphed when the Prussian bourgeoisie crawled to the feet of Manteuffel, responding to every cut from his whip with grateful tail-wagging. Not only did it return the estate-police and all sorts of other feudal rubbish to the landed nobility east of the Elbe; it chastised itself for its sinful liberalism by destroying, on its own, even the liberty to exercise trades instituted in 1808, and by restoring the guilds in the middle of the nineteenth century.[260]

The bourgeoisie is, at best, an unheroic class. Even its most brilliant achievements, those in England in the seventeenth century and those in France in the eighteenth, were not gained in battle by the bourgeoisie itself, but won for it by the popular masses, the workers and peasants. In France, too, the bourgeoisie rescued itself from the terror of the June days of 1848[261] by throwing itself at the feet of a play-actor[a]; in England, too, 1848 was followed by a long period of reaction; but in both countries this reaction was based on the pretext of protecting the foundations of *bourgeois* society from attacks by the proletariat. In Prussia, the result of the revolution was to permit the romantic Frederick William IV finally to fulfil the medieval desires of his heart, as triumphant reaction swept away a multitude of anti-romantic institutions that had smuggled their way into the Prussian state in the period from Frederick II until Stein and Hardenberg. On the pretext of protecting it from the proletariat, bourgeois society was once again placed under the rule of feudalism. No bourgeoisie in the world can boast of such a period of ignominy as that experienced by the Prussian bourgeoisie under Manteuffel. In what other country would it have been possible to hail a man like Hinckeldey a champion and martyr of liberty?[262]

Finally, as a result of conflicting palace intrigues, along comes the *New Era*.[263] An old-style liberal ministry unexpectedly falls into the lap of the bourgeoisie, and the latter, the most cowardly of all bourgeoisies, not having raised a finger to bring it into being, suddenly imagines that it is at the helm of the state, that the old Prussian military and police state has vanished, that it can appoint and depose ministers and impose its will on the Court. If the Manteuffel period had proved the cowardliness of the bourgeoisie, the New Era exposed its political incompetence.

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[a] Louis Bonaparte.— *Ed.*

The price at which the old-liberal ministry was admitted was the re-organisation of the army. The Italian war[264] provided the desired opportunity to demand this of the Diet. On the one hand, the mobilisation of 1859 had proved that the old army organisation had become totally obsolete. On the other, the indifference with which the annexation of Savoy and Nice was greeted in France proved that French chauvinism could only be effectively set in motion by the prospect of conquests on the Rhine, i.e., by a war against Prussia. It was thus evident that, as soon as Louis Bonaparte's position as emperor was again placed in jeopardy by internal developments in France, this danger could only be warded off by a war against Prussia, which, without alliances, could only result in the defeat of the old Prussian army. On the other hand, although itself essentially a military state, Prussia had not created the necessity for the large armies of nowadays. It was too weak for this. Yet all the less could it steer clear of the common continental necessity since its ambiguous "policy of having a free hand" had cut it off from all reliable alliances. Finally, whatever the nature of the re-organisation of the army, the Prussian bourgeoisie must have realised *it* could not prevent it. Its one correct plan of action could, therefore, only be to barter the approval of the inevitable re-organisation for as many political concessions as possible. But the Prussian bourgeoisie, though still black and blue from the trampling it had received from the Manteuffel regime, all at once started getting above itself. It suddenly imagined itself to be the decisive power in the state; it rejected the re-organisation of the army. With that, the dream was again over. Bismarck came to teach them that their paper constitution and their votes in the Chambers were nothing but dead wood, that in Prussia it was the King who ruled and the Chambers were only there to say Yes. The army re-organisation was carried out despite the constitution and the deputies were treated once again *à la* Manteuffel.[265] After a brief sham resistance, of which it tired sooner than its adversary Bismarck did, the bourgeoisie found in the Danish war[266] the first pretext for making bashful attempts at a reconciliation; and after Sadowa[267] it no longer showed any embarrassment at all, falling enthusiastically at Bismarck's feet, to figure from now on only in his retinue; after the French war[a] its enthusiasm no longer knew any bounds. From then on it belonged to Bismarck body and soul, and was virtually absorbed by him.

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[a] The Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71.—*Ed.*

There is, however, a thing in this world that Hegel discovered and called "the irony of history".[268] This irony of history has played its game with greater men than Bismarck, and the Prussian state and Bismarck also succumbed to it. From the moment the long-desired goals of Prussian policy were, one by one, attained—from that moment, the foundations of the Prussian state began to shake. Old Prussia is essentially based on the Junkerdom, from which officers and bureaucracy are chiefly recruited. The Junkers exist in their most flourishing form only in the six eastern provinces, and need, their estates being mostly limited, certain feudal privileges in order to exist. Without these, most Junkers would soon sink to the level of ordinary landowners. As long as there were only the two western provinces[a] to compete with it, the Junkerdom was in no danger. But the annexations of 1866[269] had already strengthened the bourgeois and peasant element in the state to a tremendous degree. It was not merely legitimist humbug, but rather the justified awareness of its own position being endangered that provoked the resistance of the Stahl-Gerlach party[270] to these annexations. The incorporation of the petty states in the North German Confederation, the transfer of the decisive state functions to this Confederation, the consequent mediatisation of the Prussian Upper House, the final accession of the southern states[271]—all these events were just so many hard blows to the Junkerdom, which only formed a tiny minority in the Empire. Yet this is not all. Every government, even the most despotic, is compelled to govern with due regard for the existing conditions, or else it breaks its neck. Prussia could subjugate Little Germany, but it could not impose its Junkerdom on the twenty-five million Germans west of the Elbe. On the contrary: the Junkers, a necessity for old Prussia, became a fetter on the "Empire". Just as Bismarck had been compelled, against his earlier intentions, to introduce freedom to pursue trades, freedom of movement between the individual states and other bourgeois reforms—admittedly in a bureaucratically mutilated form—the irony of history finally condemned him, the Junker *par excellence*, to use the axe on the Junkers by having recourse to district regulations.

These district regulations are some of the most woe-begone laws ever made. Their content may be summarised in two words. They deprive the *individual* Junker of the power appertaining to him by virtue of feudal prerogative, in order, in the guise of district

[a] Westphalia and the Rhine Province.—*Ed.*

self-administration, to give it back to the Junker *class*. As before, medium-size and big landed property will dominate in the agricultural districts of the eastern provinces; it will even receive a new accretion of power through having been allocated rights hitherto belonging to the state. The individual Junker, however, loses the privileged position he used to enjoy as a feudal lord. He descends to the level of an ordinary modern landowner—thus ceasing to be a Junker. But thereby the foundations of old Prussia are undermined and, therefore, the Upper House was quite right, from its own point of view, to resist the district regulations. With the district regulations—no Junkerdom, and without Junkerdom—no more Prussia as such.

The Prussian bourgeoisie remained worthy of itself in this affair. At first, it was claimed that the district regulations were merely an instalment on self-administration; they had to be accepted because, at the time, nothing better could be achieved; they were a compromise with the government, but in future not another inch should be conceded. The Upper House rejects the district regulations. Although already bound by the compromise vis-à-vis the House of Deputies, the government demands new concessions from it. The House is brave enough to grant them without any further ado; in return, the bourgeois are promised a wholesale creation of new peers[272] and are presented with the prospect of a reform of the Upper House. The new peers are created—twenty-five generals and bureaucrats—and the Upper House accepts. The compromise is saved, but—the reform of the Upper House has been shelved. Comfort is taken in the idea that the district regulations are still a quite enormous step forward—and along comes the news of the ministerial crisis. Roon, Selchow, Itzenplitz wish to resign—a sweeping victory for the Liberals—inevitability of a liberal...?—no, not precisely!—of a *united* ministry! Our bourgeois are so modest. In fact, they are content with even less. Bismarck vacates the premiership; Roon, the opponent of the district regulations, succeeds him; yet another general[a] enters the ministry; Selchow and Itzenplitz remain; the united ministry is less united than ever, with the feudal elements in it strengthened, while the bourgeois calmly continues to swill down his beer in the proud awareness that, when all is said and done, Bismarck is still the soul of the whole affair.

This example describes exactly the position of the Prussian bourgeoisie. It claims the credit for the fact that Bismarck is

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[a] A. K. G. von Kameke.—*Ed.*

forced, by the historical situation in which he has placed Prussia and by the industrial progress of the last twenty years, to do what it itself was too cowardly to push through between 1848 and 1850. It does not even have the courage to force its Bismarck to carry out these small reforms in a straightforward, openly bourgeois way without police-state bungling; it loudly rejoices that Bismarck is compelled to—castrate—its own demands of 1846.[273] And, mark well, only its economic demands—which not even a thousand Bismarcks could prevent being put into effect, even if they wanted to. The *political* demands, the transfer of political power to the bourgeoisie, are now only mentioned for decency's sake, if at all. The Prussian bourgeoisie does not *want* political dominance; rotten without having reached maturity, as official Russia already was in the age of Voltaire, it has already arrived, without ever having ruled, at the same stage of degeneration that the French bourgeoisie has attained after eighty years of struggles and a long period of dominance. *Panem et circenses*, bread and circuses, the degenerate Roman plebs demanded of their emperors; *panem et circenses*, soaring profits and brute luxury, are what the Prussian bourgeoisie, not the Prussian people, demand of theirs. The Roman plebeians were swept away, along with their emperors, by the Germanic barbarians; behind the Prussian bourgeoisie, the German workers loom up menacingly.

Written at the beginning of January 1873

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Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx

## [REPLY TO THE SECOND CIRCULAR OF THE SELF-STYLED MAJORITY OF THE BRITISH FEDERAL COUNCIL][274]

The new circular of the self-styled majority of the B.F.C.[a] pretends to be a reply to the two circulars of the B.F.C. and of the Manchester Foreign Section.[b] In reality it does not refute one single point raised in these circulars. It merely attempts to throw dust into the eyes of its readers by personal gossip, slander, and lies, relying upon the unavoidable want of acquaintance, on the part of the newly-formed Sections, with the history of the International.

It is very characteristic, that of six members of the Executive Committee whose signatures figure at the bottom of that circular,[c] two, Messers. Jung and Pape, have no longer any *locus standi*[d] on the B.F.C. They were delegates, the first for Middlesbro', the second for Nottingham, and one of the above Sections has withdrawn the credential, while the other unanimously repudiated the manifesto. We shall quote some instances only of the impudence of assertion which distinguishes the document in question.

As to the so-called official reports, it says,

"No list of delegates to the Hague has been given, though the Circulars glibly speak of '64'."

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[a] *Address of the British Federal Council to the Branches, Sections, Affiliated Societies, and Members of the Federation. British Federation of the International Working Men's Association*, London [1873].— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 304-14.— *Ed.*

[c] H. Jung, H. Mayo, F. Pape, R. Foster, J. Grout and J. Hales.— *Ed.*

[d] Recognised position.— *Ed.*

The report here mentioned is merely an official edition of the *resolutions passed by the Congress*,[a] and the list of delegates, already printed at the Hague, and reprinted in most continental papers, International or Middle-class, would have been out of place. Besides, the report gives for every vote, the numbers voting, and where a division took place, the names too.

"Resolutions have been suppressed, or cooked—for instance—the resolution relative to the contribution to the General Council was to raise the contribution to the General Council to 1s. per year for every member of the Association, Trades Unions included."

The official report states 2nd, under the heading "Contributions to be paid to the General Council". With regard to the demands, on the one hand to raise, on the other to diminish the rate of contributions, the Congress maintained the 1d. by 17 votes against 12, and 8 abstentions.[b] What is there suppressed?

As to the "cooking" of resolutions, let them dare to point out one resolution of the Report which is not in strict accordance with the minutes.

What, on the other hand, the authors of this circular are capable of in the line of "cooking", is shown by their assertions regarding the Congress resolutions on political action. In the first instance the phrase, "The conquest of political power has become the great duty of the working class", has been literally inserted in Resolution IX of the London conference from the Inaugural Address of the International (1864) although they pretend that it had been invented by the Hague Congress.

Secondly, the authors of the Circular maintain that it is a mis-translation to render the French "*doit* servir" by the English "*ought* to serve".[c] If a mistake had been made, it would have been made by the late General Council in the official English translation of the original French text of the Conference Resolutions. But there is no mistake. As the authors of the Circular do not appear to be on the best terms with either their English or their French, we must refer them to any common dictionary, for instance, Boyer's English-French dictionary, Paris, Baudry, 1854, under *ought* "It ought to be so, cela doit être ainsi."

In order to disprove the statement that the Hague resolutions are fully endorsed in France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Portugal, America, Denmark, Poland and Switzerland, the circular

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[a] See this volume, pp. 243-53.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 245.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., p. 243.—*Ed.*

of John Hales demands the addresses of the secretaries of these different countries. As to Germany, he has only to look to the *Volksstaat* and half a dozen other working men's papers; as to Austria and Hungary, to the *Volkswille*; as to Portugal, to the *Pensamento Social*; as to Denmark, to the *Socialist*; as to Spain, to the *Emancipacion*; as to Holland, to *De Werkman*; as to Italy, to the *Plebe*; as to Switzerland, to the *Égalité* and the *Tagwacht*. With regard to America, the only working-men's federation there existing appointed last year for its Federal Council, the very men now forming the General Council.[275] With regard to Poland and France, the addresses of the respective correspondents will certainly not be entrusted to the discretion of John Hales and Co.

As to the "spontaneous" character of the secession movement, the simple fact is that the Secessionist Congress held in September last, in opposition to the International Hague Congress, at St. Imier,[276] passed a formal resolution to organize that movement everywhere by "coming to an immediate agreement with all Sections and Federations" favourable to Secession so as to be able to hold a secessionist "International Congress within six months at latest".[a]

Written in mid-January 1873

First published in *The International Herald*, No. 43, January 25, 1873

Reproduced from the newspaper checked with Marx's partly extant manuscript

[a] "Les deux Congrès de Saint-Imier", *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne...*, No. 17-18, September 15-October 1, 1872, p. 14.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [NEWS ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL ON THE CONTINENT][277]

### I

[*The International Herald*, No. 41, January 11, 1873]

From the Continent we receive the following information:— From the Italian International newspaper *La Plebe*,[a] it appeared that the Italian Government, which nowhere interferes with the Secessionist Sections, had opened a campaign of violent prosecutions against the Lodi Section, which had recognised the new General Council, and adhered to the Hague resolutions. The Section was dissolved and warrants of arrest launched against all the members of the Committee, three of whom were actually thrown into prison, while the six others escaped. Amongst those arrested is Bignami, the editor of the *Plebe*. The number of that paper containing the address of the General Council (published in No. 34 of *The International Herald*)[b] was also seized on that account, while the most violent manifestoes of the Secessionists are freely allowed to circulate. The prisoners are to be tried for high treason.

Our Madrid paper *La Emancipacion*, states that the movement of resistance to the secessionist action of the Spanish Federal Council is growing daily.[c] The moment that Council convoked a Congress

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[a] This refers to the articles "Sequestro LIX", "Uno post unum", "Jeri é stato", and to Petrus, "Ai lettori!" in *La Plebe*, Nos. 119-121, December 4, 8 and 12, 1872.— *Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the General Council address of October 20, 1872, "To the Federations, Affiliated Societies, Sections and All Members of the International Working Men's Association" published by *The International Herald*, No. 34, November 23, 1872; the Italian translation appeared in *La Plebe*, No. 118, November 27, 1872.— *Ed.*

[c] "La Nueva Federacion Madrileña á todas las federaciones y secciones de la Asociacion Internacional en España", *La Emancipacion*, No. 76, November 30, 1872.— *Ed.*

to meet at Cordova on the 26th December,[278] in order to accept or reject the Hague resolutions, the New Federation of Madrid declared that by this action the Council had placed itself outside the pale of the International, and called upon all Sections and Local Federations not to send delegates to the Secession Congress, but to appoint a new provisional Federal Council.[a] To this proposition have adhered the local Federations of Lérida, Toledo, Saragossa, Vitoria, Alcalá de Henares, the New Federation of Cadiz, and important Sections of Valencia, Denia, Pont de Vilumara, and other places. Besides these the Federation of Gracia (manufacturing suburb of Barcelona) has adhered to the Hague resolutions, and blamed the conduct of the Spanish delegates at that Congress, while the Federation of Granada has resolved to send a delegate[b] to the Secession Congress at Cordova, but has elected for that purpose a staunch anti-secessionist.[279] No doubt the Spanish Federal Council will have it all their own way at Cordova, but that will only bring the crisis to a head.

From a letter from Portugal,[280] it appeared that the working-class movement there, organised by the International, was growing to extraordinary dimensions. In Lisbon and neighbourhood alone, above fifteen thousand working men had been organised in Trades' Unions, and the organisation was spreading to Oporto and the North. The whole of these societies have been formed by, and continue under the direct influence of the International, which, however, is prevented by the laws of the country to organise itself with full liberty. The International paper, *O Pensamento Social*, is now self-supporting. We may add that in Portugal there are no secessionists. The Hague resolutions have been not only unanimously endorsed, but received with enthusiasm. The *Pensamento*, in its No. 25, contains an article declaring the Hague Congress to be the most important one ever held since the foundation of the International, and hailing its resolutions as establishing an immense progress in the development of the Association.[c]

It will be seen by the above statements that the late majority of the British Federal Council have, in their action, imitated to the letter that of the Spanish Secessionist Council. It is thus evident

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[a] "La Nueva Federacion Madrileña á todas las federaciones, secciones é individuos de la Asociacion Internacional en España", *La Emancipacion*, No. 73, November 9, 1872.—*Ed.*

[b] Mariano Rodriguez.—*Ed.*

[c] "O Congreso da Internacional na Haya", *O Pensamento Social*, No. 25, October 6, 1872.—*Ed.*

that they have been acting upon the same plan here and in Spain, and have been led by the same wire-pullers. Unfortunately in Spain a number of true Internationals have joined the late insurrection, and this may give the Secessionists a momentary advantage.[281]

## II

[*The International Herald*, No. 44, February 1, 1873]

A letter from the Spanish Federal Council invited our attention to the fact that the engine-drivers and stokers are now on strike in Spain, and that the railway companies are sending to England, Belgium, and other countries for men to use in defeating the attempts of their employees to improve their position. Our Council appointed a committee to draw up a paragraph containing a statement of the case, and to send it to the newspapers.[282] The committee attended to its duty, as proved by the appearance of the paragraph in the papers published the following Saturday.[a] Other steps for making the Spanish strike known to the engine-drivers and stokers of England were adopted.

## III

[*The International Herald*, No. 45, February 8, 1873]

The news we have from the Continent is interesting.

The report from Germany brought intelligence of a great victory. The International deputy to the German Parliament, Bebel, who had been sentenced by a Saxon Law-court for offences committed in a speech, to be imprisoned for nine months, and to lose all rights derived from public election, has just been re-elected on the 20th January, by the majority of 10,470 votes[283] against 4,420 given to the government candidate.[b] This is the third time that Bebel has been elected in his district, and by 2,500 more votes than he had at any previous election. Thus, Bismarck will again have to face the only man who, in the present parliament, dares openly to oppose him in the interest of the working class, and

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[a] February 1, 1873.— *Ed.*

[b] Ernst Petzold.— *Ed.*

the only man of whom he is really afraid. Everything has been done to prevent Bebel's re-election; intimidation, dissolution, by the police, of meetings of electors, etc.; the candidate opposed to him was about the decentest man they could find, but in spite of all these efforts, the working men of Glauchau and neighbourhood gave Bebel nearly three votes out of every four votes polled, and that without any Samuel Morley to pay expences.

Further details have arrived respecting the Secessionist Congress in Spain. It appears that it was to all intents and purposes a Minority Congress. Out of 101 local federations, counting altogether 398 Sections, only 41 local federations, or 57 Sections, were represented; so that the votes passed at that Congress have been taken by delegates representing less than one sixth of the Sections existing in Spain. The above statistics being taken from the secessionist paper "*La Federacion*",[a] will not be disputed. To act by surprise, and to get a minority vote to sanction their acts, is everywhere the policy of the Secessionists; another proof that they are everywhere acting under the same secret instructions.

In France, numerous arrests of pretended members of the International have taken place in almost all the large towns. It is of course impossible to know whether the real members of the Association have been found out, and even if it were known, it could not be published, in the interests of the parties arrested, as it is now punishable in France to belong to the International. All that is known is, that the few secessionists in France have gone scot-free. They, on the contrary, are on such excellent terms with M. Thiers's government, that, for instance, at Béziers they are represented by a superintendent of police, a certain Bousquet, for whose honesty the gospel of the secession party, the *Bulletin jurassien*, has lately vouched in the most enthusiastic manner.[284]

## IV

[*The International Herald*, No. 46, February 15, 1873]

From Portugal we hear that the Portuguese Federation, on learning that the so-called Spanish congress at Cordova had declared for secession, immediately wrote to the new federation of

[a] "Tercer Congreso Regional de la Federacion Española" and "Movimento obrero universal. España", *La Federacion*, Nos. 177 and 178, January 4 and 11, 1873.— *Ed.*

Madrid (International) to declare that Portugal, to a man, stood by the Association against the Secessionists; that attempts had been made to introduce into their ranks the secret "Alliance", and that Bakounine, himself, had written to one of them,[a] persuading them to push that secret society; but that they unanimously resolved to express to Bakounine their formal disapprobation of the acts of the Alliance. This letter to the New Federation of Madrid is written and signed by the Secretary, Franca, by order, and in the name of the delegates of the sections, and published in the Madrid *Emancipacion* of the first of February. The Portuguese Federation now counts more than 15,000 members; it has, in Lisbon alone, 48 sections of trades, each forming a Trade's Union. So much for the assertion of the Secessionists, that all the organized federations are with them!

Written in January-mid-February 1873

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The International Herald*, Nos. 41, 44, 45 and 46, January 11, February 1, 8 and 15, 1873

[a] This refers to M. Bakunin's letter to F. Mora of April 5, 1872 (see this volume, pp. 578-80).—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## NOTES FOR THE GENERAL COUNCIL[285]

1. *The International Herald* and the *Emancipacion* sent regularly, hope they have arrived.

2. The Hales gang actually did hold their congress on January 26, all 10 of them; they dare not even say which sections they claim to represent. A wretched fiasco. Naturally decided not to recognise the Hague decisions or the General Council. Report—first half—in *The Eastern Post*, February 1; today's contains no continuation![286] The Federal Council will send you the things officially. These people have lost almost all their support, apart from Hales' personal following in the East End of London. One of the signatories of Hales' first circular,[a] Bennett, has returned to our people with strict orders from his section (Halifax) to stand by them and the LAWFUL Association. He was only re-admitted after much EATING OF HUMBLE PIE. (See today's *International Herald*.[b])

3. In *Lodi*, the *Plebe* is remaining loyal, though not breaking openly with the others, which they would not be able to do for the time being anyway. But the others themselves are carrying things to the limit. They are convening an Italian congress for March 15, but only intend to admit sections that have recognised the Rimini resolutions[287] or recognise them by the deadline! So much for autonomy and free federations. It is all right to trample the Rules of the International underfoot, but the Rimini resolutions are sacrosanct.

[a] *To the Branches, Sections and Members of the British Federation of the International Working Men's Association*, [London,] December 10, 1872.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Mitchell, S. Vickery, "International Working Men's Association. British Federal Council", *The International Herald*, No. 45, February 8, 1873.—*Ed.*

4. We greatly regret that the G.C., instead of simply stating that the Jurassians have *resigned* by rejecting the Hague resolutions and forming a separate league [Sonderbund], has merely suspended them.[288] First, it is always possible that a conference will be demanded. Second, the issue now comes before Congress in a quite different form: their delegates must be admitted provisionally, until their mandate has been put to the vote. Third, the G.C. must take the same steps against the Belgians and the Spaniards, ditto against the Hales gang, and these successive suspensions make a much worse impression than if the G.C. had waited a few more weeks, until it knew the results of the Belgian and Spanish congresses, and then issued one general proclamation setting out the formal reasons and also explaining in simple terms that one cannot be both inside and outside the International, cannot claim to belong to it and simultaneously declare its rules invalid, and then *purement et simplement* stating that those in question had placed themselves outside the International.

5. I hope the relevant resolution has been sent to Sonvillier and Geneva from there, as I have received no instruction to this effect. As far as Serraillier is concerned, he cannot send anything there at the moment, with arrests raining down and all correspondence with France cut.

6. Your authorised representative *Larroque* has collected his authorisation here himself—as a refugee. From here he went to San Sebastián, where he will get the thing moving again.

7. In *Portugal* all is well, as the *Emancipacion* sent today shows. We also have private letters from there; the people are working very hard on the TRADE UNIONS.

8. In Lodi only Bignami is left. The party[a] committee in Hamburg has sent them 20 thalers and Oberwinder 50 guldens from Vienna, which has not failed to have an effect.

9. Cuno's manoeuvre, to disguise himself as Capestro, has already been exposed in the Brussels *Internationale*.[289]

10. If the G.C. is not already receiving the secessionist sheets, some unknown name will have to take out a subscription to them. Here, with the greatest difficulty and by roundabout ways, we obtain *one* copy of each, and not always that—we still have not received the last three issues of the *Bulletin jurassien*. So, with the best will in the world, we cannot procure them for you. Anyway, they are only *L'Internationale* (Brussels), the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne* (Sonvillier) and *La Federacion* (Barcelona).

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[a] Social-Democratic Workers' Party.— *Ed.*

11. I have spoken to Le Moussu about the STAMPS; he will procure them, just as last year.[290] Yet it is odd that this could not be done in New York.

12. What has become of MacDonnell? He must have arrived long since. I have neither seen nor heard anything of him.

Must catch the post.

Best wishes,
*F. Engels*

London, February 8, 1873[a]

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[a] In the manuscript mistakenly: "1872".—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE REPUBLIC IN SPAIN[291]

It is hard to say which has sunk lower in the last three years, the monarchy or the republic. The monarchy—on the continent of Europe, at least—is everywhere assuming its final form, Caesarism, at an increasing pace. Everywhere sham constitutionalism with universal suffrage, an overgrown army as the buttress of government, bribery and corruption as the chief means of government, and enrichment through corruption and fraud as the sole end of government, are irresistibly undermining all the splendid constitutional guarantees, the artificial balance of forces, of which our bourgeois dreamt in the idyllic days of Louis Philippe, when even the most corrupt were still angels of innocence compared with the "great men" of today. As the bourgeoisie daily loses the character of a class temporarily indispensable in the social organism, shedding its specific social functions to become a mere gang of swindlers, its state turns into an institution for the protection, not of production, but of the overt theft of products. Not only does this state carry its own condemnation within itself; it has actually already been condemned by history in Louis Napoleon. Yet it is also the last possible form of monarchy. All other forms of monarchy are worn out and obsolete. After it, the only possible type of state left is the republic.

The republic, however, is not faring any better. From 1789 to 1869, it was the ideal of enthusiastic freedom fighters, always aspired to, attained after a hard, bloody struggle, and scarcely attained—fleeing again. Since a King of Prussia[a] succeeded in

[a] William I.—*Ed.*

setting up a French republic all that has changed. From 1870—and this is the progress attained—republics are no longer made by republicans, precisely because there are no pure republicans left, but by royalists despairing of the monarchy. To avoid civil war, the monarchist-minded bourgeois are consolidating the republic in France and proclaiming it in Spain[292]—in France, because there are too many pretenders; in Spain, because the last possible king[a] is on strike.

Herein lies a twofold advance.

First, the magic that hitherto surrounded the name of the republic has been dispelled. After the events in France and in Spain, only a Karl Blind can cling to the superstitious belief in the miraculous effects of a republic. The republic is finally seen in Europe, too, for what it is in essence, and in America in actual fact—*as the consummate form of the rule of the bourgeoisie.* I say "finally in Europe, too", because republics like Switzerland, Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck and the ex-free city of Frankfort—God rest her soul—are irrelevant here. The modern republic, with which alone we are concerned at this point, is the political organisation of a great people, not the provincial political institution of a city, a canton or a club of cantons that has been historically handed down from the Middle Ages, assuming more or less democratic forms, and, at best, replacing patrician rule with a peasant rule that is scarcely any better. Switzerland exists partly through the indulgence and partly through the jealousy of its great neighbours; whenever these are united, it is forced to swallow its republican phrases and obey orders. Such countries exist only as long as they do not attempt to intervene in the course of history, which is why they are neutralised and thus prevented from doing so. The era of the *true* European republics dates from September 4, or rather from the day of Sedan,[293] even if a brief Caesarist setback (under no matter which pretender) might be possible. And in this sense, it might be said that the Thiers republic is the final realisation of the republic of 1792; the republic of the Jacobins without the self-deception of the Jacobins. From now on, the working class can no longer have any illusions about the nature of the modern republic: the type of state in which the rule of the bourgeoisie achieves its final, consummate expression. In the modern republic political equality, which is still subject to certain exceptions in all monarchies, is at last fully implemented. And this political equality—what is it but the

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[a] Amadeo I.—*Ed.*

declaration that class differences do not concern the state, that the bourgeois have as much right to be bourgeois as the workers to be proletarians?

Yet this final, consummate form of bourgeois rule, the republic, is only introduced by the bourgeois themselves with the utmost reluctance; it forces itself on them. Why this curious contradiction? Because the introduction of the republic means breaking with all political tradition; because it requires every political institution to justify its existence; because, therefore, all the traditional influences that support the powers that be under the monarchy fall away. In other words: if the modern republic is the consummate form of bourgeois rule, it is also the type of state that frees the class struggle from its last fetters and prepares the battleground for it. The modern republic is, in fact, nothing but this battleground. And this is the second advance. On the one hand, the bourgeoisie feels that its end is near as soon as the ground of the monarchy is whipped away from under its feet and, with it, all the conservative power that resided in the superstitious belief of the uneducated masses, particularly in the countryside, in the traditional supremacy of the royal houses—no matter whether this superstition worships the kingdom of God's grace, as in Prussia, or the legendary peasant emperor Napoleon, as in France. On the other hand, the proletariat feels that the funeral dirge of the monarchy is simultaneously the clarion call for the decisive battle with the bourgeoisie. The modern republic is nothing but the stage cleared for the last great class struggle in world history—and this is what gives it its tremendous significance.

In order, however, for this class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat to be decided, these two classes must be sufficiently developed in the countries concerned, at least in the large towns. In Spain this is only the case in individual parts of the country. In Catalonia, large-scale industry is relatively highly developed. In Andalusia and some other areas big landed property and large-scale agriculture—landowners and wage-labourers—prevail; in most of the country small farmers prevail in rural areas, small industry in the towns. The conditions for a proletarian revolution are thus relatively poorly developed, and, for precisely this reason, there still remains a great deal to be done in Spain for a bourgeois republic; above all, its mission here is to clear the stage for the imminent class struggle.

A primary necessity is the *abolition of the army* and the introduction of a *people's militia*. Geographically, Spain is so favourably situated that it can only be seriously attacked by one

neighbour, and even then only along the short front of the Pyrenees; a front that does not even comprise an eighth of its total perimeter. Moreover, the conditions of the terrain in the country are such that they complicate mobile warfare by large armies in the same measure as they facilitate irregular popular warfare. We saw this under Napoleon, who at times despatched up to 300,000 men to Spain, but they were always defeated by the people's dour resistance; we have seen this countless times since then and see it to this day in the impotence of the Spanish army in the face of the few gangs of Carlists in the mountains.[294] A country like this has no pretext for an army. Furthermore, since 1830 the army in Spain has merely been the lever of all those generals' plots which have brought down the government every few years with a military revolt, in order to replace old thieves with new. To dissolve the Spanish army is to release Spain from civil war. This, then, would be the first demand the Spanish workers should make on the new government.

Once the army is abolished, the main reason that the Catalans, in particular, are demanding a federal state organisation disappears. Revolutionary Catalonia, the great working-class suburb of Spain, as it were, has hitherto been kept down by heavy concentrations of troops, just as Bonaparte and Thiers kept Paris and Lyons down. This is why the Catalans demanded the division of Spain into federal states with independent administration. If the army goes, so does the main reason for this demand; it will be possible to achieve independence in principle without the reactionary destruction of national unity, and without reproducing a larger Switzerland.

The financial legislation of Spain, as regards both internal taxes and border tariffs, is nonsensical from start to finish. A bourgeois republic can do a great deal about this. The same applies to the confiscation of the landed property of the Church, which has often been confiscated but has always been amassed once again, and, last but not least, the provision of highways, which are nowhere in a worse state than here.

A few years of peaceful bourgeois republic would prepare the ground in Spain for a proletarian revolution in a way that would surprise even the most advanced Spanish workers. Instead of repeating the bloody farce of the previous revolution,[a] instead of staging isolated, easily crushed rebellions, it is to be hoped that the

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[a] Engels means the earlier stages of the Spanish bourgeois revolution of 1868-74.— *Ed.*

Spanish workers will make use of the republic in order to join together more firmly and organise themselves with a view to an approaching revolution, a revolution *they* will command. The bourgeois government of the new republic is merely seeking an excuse to suppress the revolutionary movement and shoot down the workers, as the republicans Favre and consorts did in Paris. May the Spanish workers not give them the excuse!

Written in the latter half of February 1873

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Published in English for the first time

# Frederick Engels

## ON AUTHORITY[295]

A number of socialists have latterly launched a regular crusade against what they call the *principle of authority*. It is sufficient for them to say that this or that act is *authoritarian* for it to be condemned. This summary mode of procedure is being abused to such an extent that it has become necessary to look into the matter somewhat more closely. Authority, in the sense in which the word is used here, means: the imposition of the will of another upon ours; on the other hand, authority presupposes subordination. Now, since these two words sound bad and the relationship which they represent is disagreeable to the subordinated party, the question is to ascertain whether there is any way of dispensing with it, whether—given the conditions of present-day society—we could not create another social system, in which this authority would be given no scope any longer and would consequently have to disappear. On examining the economic, industrial and agricultural conditions which form the basis of present-day bourgeois society, we find that they tend more and more to replace isolated action by combined action of individuals. Modern industry with its big factories and mills, where hundreds of workers supervise complicated machines driven by steam, has superseded the small workshops of the separate producers; the carriages and wagons of the highways have been substituted by railway trains, just as the small schooners and sailing feluccas have been by steam-boats. Even agriculture falls increasingly under the dominion of the machine and of steam, which slowly but relentlessly put in the place of the small proprietors big capitalists, who with the aid of hired workers cultivate vast stretches of land. Everywhere combined action, the complication of processes dependent upon each

other, displaces independent action by individuals. But whoever mentions combined action speaks of organisation; now, is it possible to have organisation without authority?

Supposing a social revolution dethroned the capitalists, who now exercise their authority over the production and circulation of wealth. Supposing, to adopt entirely the point of view of the anti-authoritarians, that the land and the instruments of labour had become the collective property of the workers who use them. Will authority have disappeared or will it only have changed its form? Let us see.

Let us take by way of example a cotton spinning mill. The cotton must pass through at least six successive operations before it is reduced to the state of thread, and these operations take place for the most part in different rooms. Furthermore, keeping the machines going requires an engineer to look after the steam engine, mechanics to make the current repairs, and many other labourers whose business it is to transfer the products from one room to another, and so forth. All these workers, men, women and children, are obliged to begin and finish their work at the hours fixed by the authority of the steam, which cares nothing for individual autonomy. The workers must, therefore, first come to an understanding on the hours of work; and these hours, once they are fixed, must be observed by all, without any exception. Thereafter particular questions arise in each room and at every moment concerning the mode of production, distribution of materials, etc., which must be settled at once on pain of seeing all production immediately stopped; whether they are settled by decision of a delegate placed at the head of each branch of labour or, if possible, by a majority vote, the will of the single individual will always have to subordinate itself, which means that questions are settled in an authoritarian way. The automatic machinery of a big factory is much more despotic than the small capitalists who employ workers ever have been. At least with regard to the hours of work one may write upon the portals of these factories: *Lasciate ogni autonomia, voi che entrate!*[a] If man, by dint of his knowledge and inventive genius, has subdued the forces of nature, the latter avenge themselves upon him by subjecting him, in so far as he employs them, to a veritable despotism independent of all social organisation. Wanting to abolish authority in large-scale industry is

[a] "Leave, ye that enter in, all autonomy behind!" (Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, Hell, Canto III, Verse 3—paraphrased).— *Ed.*

tantamount to wanting to abolish industry itself, to destroy the power loom in order to return to the spinning wheel.

Let us take another example—the railway. Here, too, the co-operation of an infinite number of individuals is absolutely necessary, and this co-operation must be practised during precisely fixed hours so that no accidents may happen. Here, too, the first condition of the job is a dominant will that settles all subordinate questions, whether this will is represented by a single delegate or a committee charged with the execution of the resolutions of the majority of persons interested. In either case there is very pronounced authority. Moreover, what would happen to the first train despatched if the authority of the railway employees over the Hon. passengers were abolished?

But the necessity of authority, and of imperious authority at that, will nowhere be found more evident than on board a ship on the high seas. There, in time of danger, the lives of all depend on the instantaneous and absolute obedience of all to the will of one.

When I submitted arguments like these to the most rabid anti-authoritarians the only answer they were able to give me was the following: Yes, that's true, but here it is not a case of authority which we confer on our delegates, *but of a commission entrusted*! These gentlemen think that when they have changed the names of things they have changed the things themselves. This is how these profound thinkers mock at the whole world.

We have thus seen that, on the one hand, a certain authority, no matter how delegated, and, on the other hand, a certain subordination, are things which, independently of all social organisation, are imposed upon us together with the material conditions under which we produce and make products circulate.

We have seen, besides, that the material conditions of production and circulation inevitably develop with large-scale industry and large-scale agriculture, and increasingly tend to enlarge the scope of this authority. Hence it is absurd to speak of the principle of authority as being absolutely evil, and of the principle of autonomy as being absolutely good. Authority and autonomy are relative things whose spheres vary with the various phases of the development of society. If the autonomists confined themselves to saying that the social organisation of the future would restrict authority solely to the limits within which the conditions of production render it inevitable, we could understand each other; but they are blind to all facts that make the thing necessary and they passionately fight the word.

Why do the anti-authoritarians not confine themselves to crying

out against political authority, the state? All socialists are agreed that the political state, and with it political authority, will disappear as a result of the coming social revolution, that is, that public functions will lose their political character and be transformed into the simple administrative functions of watching over the true interests of society. But the anti-authoritarians demand that the authoritarian political state be abolished at one stroke, even before the social conditions that gave birth to it have been destroyed. They demand that the first act of the social revolution shall be the abolition of authority. Have these gentlemen ever seen a revolution? A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is; it is the act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other part by means of rifles, bayonets and cannon—authoritarian means, if such there be at all; and if the victorious party does not want to have fought in vain, it must maintain this rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries. Would the Paris Commune have lasted a single day if it had not made use of this authority of the armed people against the bourgeois? Should we not, on the contrary, reproach it for not having used it freely enough?

Therefore, either one of two things: either the anti-authoritarians don't know what they are talking about, in which case they are creating nothing but confusion; or they do know, and in that case they are betraying the movement of the proletariat. In either case they serve the reaction.

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Signed: *Federico Engels*

Printed according to the collection

Translated from the Italian

# Frederick Engels

## [NEWS ON THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MOVEMENT][296]

[I]

[*The International Herald*, No. 51, March 22, 1873]

### *Spain*

The strike of the engineers and stokers on the Northern Railway still continues.[a] The middle class papers state that the engineers and stokers, on strike of the Valencia Railway, have given in, but this is about the third time this assertion is made by them, and we shall not believe it until we see it confirmed in the Spanish International papers.

The demand of the International factory workers of Barcelona and neighbourhood for a reduction of the hours of work to ten, appears to have been complied with, as the factories keep working, and the respectable papers are ominously silent on this point. The hours of work, heretofore, were from 12 to 13. It is to be observed that this point has been carried principally by the men of Gracia, the manufactory suburb of Barcelona, and that they, as early as November last, had unanimously declared for the Hague Resolutions.

The letter-press compositors of Madrid have compelled the masters, without strike, to agree to the new terms proposed by them.

### *Germany*

The type-compositors of Germany are engaged in a struggle which threatens to become very severe. They have a Trades Union which numbers about 4,000, out of 7,000 type-compositors in all Germany. On the other hand, the master printers have a society

[a] See this volume, p. 411.— *Ed.*

also, by the rules of which, the masters bind themselves upon an appeal on behalf of the Committee in case of a serious strike, to discharge at once any Union men in their employ. Now, the type-compositors of Leipzig, a short time ago, went on strike for higher wages, and the masters' committee finding themselves beaten in Leipzig, have called upon the masters all over Germany to give notice to all Union men. This has been done in Leipzig, Berlin, Breslau,[a] Frankfort, Munich and most other large towns of Germany, so that unless an agreement is come to within a few days, the great mass of the compositors will be locked out by next Sunday week, and the whole German press and book trade completely disorganised. While thus the printing offices of the masters are completely paralyzed, the co-operative printing establishment of Leipzig is flourishing to such a degree that the orders on hand cannot be executed.

*Dresden.*—A Co-operative Carpenters and Joiners Association has been started.

### *Switzerland*

The strike of the jewellers of Geneva for the nine hours' working day still continues; at the same time the great majority of the masters have given in, and reopened their shops on the nine hours' system, so that with a little continued assistance to the men, the final victory cannot be doubtful.

This is the second great strike in Geneva which has been won through the intercession of the International.[297]

## [II]

[*The International Herald*, No. 52, March 29, 1873]

### *Spain*

The strike of the engineers and stokers on the railway from Valencia to Tarragona and Almansa has ended by the complete triumph of the men who have obtained all their demands. That on the Northern Railway of Spain, on the other hand, appears to have broken down for want of a proper organization.

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[a] Wrocław.—*Ed.*

At Barcelona, the coalheavers of the port have gained, in consequence of a short and successful strike, an advance of wages averaging 10d. a day—instead of 3s. 9d. they now get 4s. 7d. for every working day of eight hours.

### *Switzerland*

There will be held shortly a Swiss Working Men's Congress at Olten; the date has not yet been fixed.[298] A Swiss Shoemaker's Congress is preparing.

### *Germany*

The type-compositors' strike, alluded to in our last, appears to take a very favourable turn for the men. The masters had played out their great trump card, by calling upon all members of their society all over Germany to give notice to all members of the men's union that might be in their employ. But this appeal, though perfectly justified by the rules of the masters' society, does not appear to have been met everywhere with the necessary alacrity; indeed the Hamburg master printers declared it to be uncalled for, and left the society altogether rather than obey. In consequence the masters' committee has been obliged to eat humble pie and to apply to the men's committee—hitherto ignored and repudiated by them—to re-open negotiations for an amicable settlement of the dispute.

At Dresden, the International Trades Union of house painters, japanners, gilders, etc., has its central seat. This society established only a year ago, has not only compelled the masters to do away with Sunday obnoxious regulations, but also established a co-operative workshop in which numerous members of the associated trades find employment.

At Regensburg (Bavaria) the shoemakers, headed by the members of the International Shoemaker's Union, have gone on strike for a rise of wages.

At Mayence, a shoemakers' strike has been going on for a full month, without a prospect of being brought soon to a close; most of the unmarried men have left.

The Berlin coopers published an appeal to their colleagues in the north of Germany to form a Trades Union; they state that they have just carried a strike to a victorious end and wish to expand the organisation which has so far been locally successful.

In Hamburg the 350 workmen of a large piano-factory are on strike for an advance of wages.

In Görlitz (Silesia) the tailors have struck, on the 17th of March, for an advance of wages of 30 per cent; the masters offered 10 per cent which was refused.

The Berlin joiners and cabinet-makers are asking an advance of 33 per cent, and are determined to go on strike if not successful by peaceable means.

### *United States*

In New York, a German Working Men's paper[a] has been started under the auspices of the International. It exposes the shameful tricks by which the American manufactories coin money out of the sweat and the starvation of their workpeople. The Singer Sewing Machine Co., is chosen for a first example. Thus, the company's manager gives out the work, to the overlookers in every room in the shape of contracts; they again employ sub-contractors, these parcel out their jobs to other sub-sub-contractors, until finally the last understrapping contractor makes his own contract with the workpeople that have to do the real work. It is impossible to drive the "sweating system" any further; here we see it in its perfection. Not only the capitalist, but a whole hierarchy of understrappers are here directly interested in sweating a profit out of the workman's labour—no wonder that he, the workman, scarcely receives the pittance without which life and work become an impossibility.

## [III]

[*The International Herald*, No. 54, April 12, 1873]

### *Germany*

The letter-press printers' and compositors' strike continues. The masters' proposals, being unacceptable, have been refused by the men. In the meantime one master after another, especially in the smaller towns, have to give in, so that the prospects are very favourable for the men.

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[a] *Arbeiter-Zeitung.—Ed.*

At Hanover, the bookbinders' strike has ended in the complete victory of the men. Their demands, a ten hours' working day and an advance of wages of 25 per cent, have been accorded to in full by the masters. The bookbinders of Germany will hold a General Congress at Nuremberg on Easter Sunday.

At Chemnitz, the tailors demanded from their employers an advance of wages of 33 per cent, and the complete cessation of Sunday labour. These demands having been refused, the men went on strike on the 30th of March.

The shoemakers' strike at Mayence continues. Another strike in the same trade has broken out at Pforzheim; at Würzburg and at Erfurt strikes of that trade appear impending, the men asking an advance of wages.

The German Bricklayers Union announces a strike of bricklayers and masons at Flensburg for shorter hours of work. The basket makers at Hamburg are on strike for the same reason, as also the workpeople of a large cotton mill near Hanover.

### *Austria*

The Vienna tailors having demanded from their employers an advance of wages and a reduction of the hours of work, which was refused, the men of more than forty shops, including the principal ones, went on strike.

The same has occurred with the tailors at Graz.

### *Belgium*

A General European Tailors' Congress has just taken place at Brussels, at which the provisional Rules of a European Tailors' Union were adopted, to which all democratic socialist tailors' societies are invited to accede; all societies wishing to go on strike, to obtain, before striking, the approval of the rest, if they intend to claim the support of the European Union. An annual Congress of the Union is to take place.

### *Switzerland*

The Geneva Jewellers' strike is now finally brought to a close. The nine hours' working day has been victoriously carried.

At Zurich the carpenters and joiners, at Winterthur the tailors, are on strike for the usual reasons, shorter hours and higher wages.

At Neuchâtel, the shoemakers have gained an advance without resorting to a strike.

### *America*

The servant girls of Ottawa (Canada) have formed a Trades Union.

## [IV]

[*The International Herald*, No. 56, April 26, 1873]

### *Germany*

*Berlin.*—The gardeners' journeymen are on strike for ten hours and an advance of wages.—A strike of the pianoforte makers for 33 $^1/_2$ per cent advance of wages and 8 hours a day is impending.

*Munich.*—The working class movement here is very active. Almost all trades have their unions; a central Trades' Council is being formed. The jewellers have carried an advance of wages of 25 per cent; the tailors, without a strike, 15 per cent.

*Augsburg.*—A portion of the carpenters—those employed by the seven largest masters of the town, about 90 in all—are locked out, because they will not accept the new tariff of wages offered by the masters.

*Leipzig.*—The great struggle between the master printers and the type-compositors, which from here spread all over Germany, has ended in the complete victory of the men. The haughty masters have had to accept all the conditions imposed by the latter, namely, withdrawal of the general notice given to all union men, and settlement of a new scale of wages by a mixed committee of men and masters. These conditions being agreed to, the men's committee declared the strike at an end.

*Danzig.*[a]—The ships' carpenters' strike has ended in a defeat, owing to the direct interference of the government in favour of the masters, by threatening with dismissal every man employed in

[a] Gdansk.— *Ed.*

the navy yards who should support the strike, and other similar measures.

*Hamburg.*—A strike of the shoemakers of Hamburg, Altona, and neighbourhood is impending, as the masters seem determined to resist the demands of the men.

Of smaller strikes we noticed those of the ships' carpenters at Kiel (Holstein); the moulders at Itzehoe (Holstein); the cork cutters at Delmenhorst, about 900; the joiners and cabinet-makers at Bremerhaven, etc., principally caused by insufficient wages. All over Germany the organization of Trades Unions, local and national, and even international (comprising the workmen of each trade in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland) is progressing very actively, and wages are more and more approaching the English level.

## *Austria*

*Vienna.*—The tailors' strike continues. That of the engineers in a large machine shop, begun inconsiderately, has broken down completely. On the other hand, that of the file cutters has been triumphant; the whole of the masters have agreed to the 20 per cent advance asked by the men.

*Graz.*—The cabinet-makers and joiners went on strike on the 21st April for shorter hours and 20 per cent advance of wages. The shoemakers in a large shoe shop have struck for 11 hours a day, which is now the usual time in Vienna.

## *Hungary*

*Pesth.*—The Hungarian Working Men's Organization suppressed after the defeat of the Paris Commune, has now been re-established at a large meeting held on the 23rd March.[299] The Organization possesses two newspapers, one in the Hungarian, the other in the German language.[a] The committee is composed of old Internationals, amongst whom we find the name of C. Farkas,[b] delegate at the Hague Congress as treasurer.

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[a] The reference is to the weekly published in Hungarian (*Munkás-Heti-Krónika*) and German (*Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik*).— *Ed.*

[b] In the newspaper mistakenly: O. Farkas.—*Ed.*

### *Switzerland*

The Geneva jewellers' strike is now completely ended; the nine hours have been completely carried by the men. At Zurich the carpenters are out; six masters, so far, have given in. The tailors' strike at Winterthur continues. The tailors' demands at Lausanne have been acceded to by the employers to avoid a strike.

### *Belgium*

At Écaussinnes 200 quarrymen turned out, but the strike appears to have come to an end very soon. Particulars are wanting.

## [V]

[*The International Herald*, No. 57, May 3, 1873]

### *Switzerland*

The tailors' strike at Winterthur has been successful. All employers but one have acceded to the demands of the men.

The shoemakers of Zurich intend striking for higher wages and request the men of the trade to refrain from seeking work there.

### *Roumania*

The workpeople on the railway workshop at the Bucharest Station are on the point of striking unless the directors accede to their demands.

### *Germany*

The International Metal Workers' Union (Germany, Austria, and Switzerland) has convoked its annual Congress at Dresden for Whit-Sunday, June 1st.

*Hamburg.*—The Saddlers are on strike since the 19th April, the masters having declined acceding to the men's demands. The shoemakers' strike, of which we spoke as impending in our last

week's issue, has now broken out. The men are asking an advance of wages of 25 per cent. The ships' carpenters' strikes in various places of the North of Germany, of which we have already spoken, are principally caused by the masters' resistance to the newly formed German ships' carpenters' union which it is intended to nip in the bud; but the men stood out valiantly. As a matter of course, the Imperial German Navy Yard authorities at Kiel and elsewhere give all the support in their power to the masters.

*Munich.*—The shoemakers are on strike for 30 per cent advance of wages and 12 hours maximum daily labour. Masters employing 250 men have given in; 150 unmarried men have left the place, so that victory appears certain.

*Berlin.*—The shoemakers, about 3,000 in number, have struck for an advance of wages of 33 per cent. All unmarried men are leaving. The strike of the gardeners' assistants appears to have broken down, for want of a proper organization. This however is now being prepared. The men have formed a union with a view to speedy action.

*Pforzheim.*—The shoemakers' strike is at an end. The men asked for an advance of 20 per cent, and have got 15 per cent.

*Mayence.*—The strike in Wolfs' shoe-factory has been brought to a close by the employers withdrawing the notice of 15 per cent reduction of wages and paying to the men about £20 *towards the expenses of the strike.*

At Cologne the joiners, at Trier the tanners, were on the point of striking for higher wages.

### *Austria*

Workers in wood visiting the Vienna Exhibition are informed that the Committee of the Vienna Union of the trade meets at the Florian Tavern, Stumpergasse, Mariahilf, Vienna.

## [VI]

[*The International Herald*, No. 60, May 24, 1873]

### *America*

The Gasmen of the New York Gas Company went on strike on April 5th for the restoration of the eight hours working day, which had been conceded to them some time ago, but soon

lengthened again to 12 and 15 hours for night and day work respectively. The Republican police of the City of New York took at once the part of the Company, and sent strong detachments of constables to the different Gas Works: while the Charity Committee for Emigrants at once sent thither 200 Italians, just landed at Ward's Island,[a] to take the places of the men on strike. These Italians, marched to the works under a strong escort of police, and there compelled by brute force to perform a kind of work they were utterly unused to, and incompetent to perform, very soon demanded to be brought back to the Island. This was refused point blank and they were kept to work by the intervention of the police. Two of them tried to escape by climbing over the wall, but fell into the East River and were drowned; several others who tried the same experiment were recaptured by the police in the water; since then the Gas Works are surrounded, both on the land-side and on the water-side, by a cordon of police to prevent escapes from this new kind of prison. These Italians, moreover, are utterly incompetent for the work they are expected to perform.

This is the way in which the *Model Republic* proceeds, as soon as the working class, in demanding its rights, interferes with the interests of the comforts of the capitalist class.

### *Austria*

*Vienna.*—The File-cutters' strike continues. The Tailors' strike is at an end—the men have gained considerable advantages if they could not carry all their points; their wages have been raised and their hours of labour reduced.

*Graz.*—Great agitation among the journeymen Bakers in order to reduce the working hours, hitherto *from 18 to 20 a day*!—The Joiners' strike continues.

The working men's agitation in Austria is everywhere proceeding in a most satisfactory manner.

### *Hungary*

A general congress of the Hungarian Shoemakers is going to take place on the 1st June at Pesth. The Austrian Shoemakers

[a] Where the emigrants were placed in quarantine.— *Ed.*

intend to send delegates too. Amongst the questions to be discussed is the establishment of a normal working day of equal length all over the country, the establishment of a Hungarian Shoemaker's Union, and of co-operative workshops, etc.

### *Switzerland*

The Jewellers' strike just closed by the victory of the men, has again proved what fools the masters are to themselves when they resist the just demands of the workmen. Barely one fourth of the strikers have returned to work; the rest have found employment elsewhere, and the masters now have the greatest difficulty in finding the sufficient number of men. Serves them right.

### *Germany*

*Halle.*—A strike of Miners has been successful, it lasted only a few days, when the masters gave in.

*Hamburg.*—The Shoemakers' strike continues.

*Altenburg.*—The Tailors, after a short strike, obtained an advance of $16\,^2/_3$ per cent.

Numerous strikes are in preparation, among others, those of the Brushmakers of Berlin for 25 per cent advance; of the Saddlers of Stuttgart for 10 hours a day and 25 per cent advance, together with the abolition of compulsory boarding and lodging in the master's house.

A lock out has taken place among the Stonemasons of Zeitz and neighbourhood, but as this trade is internationally united in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, success is pretty safe. The same association has a strike on its hands at Hamburg.

The annual general congress of the German Building Trades, will take place at Chemnitz (Saxony) in June.

Written in March-May 1873 Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The International Herald*, Nos. 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 60, March 22 and 29, April 12 and 26, May 3 and 24, 1873

# Frederick Engels

## TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

122 Regent's Park Road N. W.
London 15-th April 1873

Citizens,

I have received your letter of the 21-st March along with Bill £8.-6 for Lodi. At the same time I received a letter from Bignami stating that he was again hiding in order to avoid being dragged to prison to undergo a sentence of imprisonment which he prefers doing later on after having been restored to better health. The money could therefore not have arrived at a more favourable moment. I got it changed for 200 francs in *French* banknotes which I sent to him immediately.

Le Moussu has undertaken to do the stamps[300] and I have repeatedly reminded him of it, but as far as I know they are not much advanced yet.

The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* has come to hand regularly.

The cost of printing of the Rules[a] in English and French was about £15 each, those in German were much cheaper as they were first printed in the *Volksstaat* and nothing charged for composition, but only for paper, printing and binding.[301] This of course could not be repeated now.

The report on the Alliance[b] is now being drawn up, and Lafargue & I work at it daily, no time is being lost. The documents were kept by Lucain at Brussels until after Christmas,[c] and he has some still.

German Rules are still here, several hundreds which are at the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 3-20.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 454-580.—*Ed.*

[c] This refers to the papers of the Commission to investigate the Bakuninist Alliance appointed at the Hague Congress.—*Ed.*

Council's[a] disposal. English none. French have all been sent to France, but not arrived. Perhaps we can recover some. We are trying.

As soon as the Alliance is put into shape, we shall do the Congress minutes.[302]

The *Emancipacion* of Madrid is dying if not dead. We have sent them £15.-, but as scarcely anybody paid for the copies received, it appears impossible to keep it up.[303] I am in correspondence with Mesa with regard to another paper to be started but cannot say what will be the result.

The *Pensamento Social* of Lisbon, an excellent paper which in its last number had a very good reply to the Spanish federal Commission of Alcoy on the Alliance question,[b] will also have to suspend its publication for a short time, but will reappear.

*The International Herald*, as you will have seen, also is on its last legs. We may try to keep it alive till the next English Congress (Whit-week)[304] after which it may be possible to start something else. The *Herald* is not worth much except as an organ of publicity for the B.F.C., but, as such, for the moment almost indispensable.

You will have seen from the French papers that Walter (Heddeghem) comes out as a downright spy. He is said to have been a Bonapartist *mouchard.*[c] At Toulouse, Swarm (Dentraygues) has not behaved much better, but not having read the full report, I cannot speak with certainty; at all events he was no *mouchard* before, but seems weak & capricious.

Fraternal Greeting

*F. Engels*

So far, no money has been received by me for the Council. No news either from Italy, except that temporarily the *Plebe* appears to be suspended too. The arrest of the Alliancists at Bologna & Mirandola will not last long, they will soon be liberated; if some of them are now and then arrested by mistake, they never suffer seriously.

First published in an abridged form, in English, in: *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Reproduced from the manuscript

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[a] British Federal Council.—*Ed.*

[b] "Da commissao de correspondencia...", *O Pensamento Social*, No. 51, April 5, 1873.—*Ed.*

[c] Police agent.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [ON THE ARTICLES IN THE *NEUER SOCIAL-DEMOKRAT*

### (FROM A LETTER TO A. HEPNER)][305]

For your further information about the *Neuer*'s notorious article,[a] we wish to draw your attention—and, in part, not for the first time—to the following: a) to the absurdity of maintaining that Bakunin is against conspiracies, when he has instigated a general conspiracy—the Alliance—within the International, admittedly not against the government, but against the International; b) the notion that the International in France could lead any kind of existence *other than* a "secret" one after the Dufaure Law[306]; that, however, a secret propaganda society and a conspiracy are two different things; c) the fact that the Hague Congress came out so energetically against the Blanquists, who wanted to make the International a vehicle for conspiracies, that they withdrew from the International and openly declared that they were against it because it lacked "revolutionary energy"; d) the fact that Heddeghem (Walter), the tall quiet man in The Hague with red hair—accompanied by a small woman dressed in mourning with a Mary Magdalene face, allegedly his "wife"—who has now been unmasked as an old police agent, was only put forward to the old General Council by Serraillier for admittance, along with his branch, after he [Heddeghem] had referred to the Blanquist *Ranvier*, a member of the General Council, and was acknowledged by the latter as *thoroughly reliable*; e) the fact that both Heddeghem and Dentraygues had the mandates of their sections[b] as laid down in the Rules, and thus *had* to be admitted to the Congress, so long

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[a] "Internationale Arbeiterassoziation", *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, No. 49, April 27, 1873.— *Ed.*

[b] Of the Paris and Toulouse sections respectively.— *Ed.*

as no charge was brought against them, which did not occur to any member of the minority; f) the fact that the *Neuer* cannot be considered anything but a police organ as it reiterates the catchphrase, disseminated by police agents and Bonapartists such as Vogt & Co., that Marx is attempting to act as an "international leader of conspirators"[a] and has already had "a dozen Communist trials", when the very actions of the Hague Congress, with whose majority Marx is identified, against the Blanquists prove the opposite, and the police lies about the *one* Communist trial of 1852 were exposed long ago by Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*; g) the fact that if anyone from the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* is now, for once, sentenced to imprisonment, we know what we are to think, since the *Neuer* has itself drawn attention to the police manoeuvre of having police agents sentenced along with the others, but allowing them to lead a more comfortable life in prison. "*May the workers always keep their eyes open!*"[b]

Incidentally, Dentraygues was no spy, but a down-at-heel character, who only became an informer in *cachot*[c] and then soon became an out-and-out creature of the police. On the other hand, Heddeghem was already a *mouchard*[d] under Bonaparte; we have *only* the Blanquists to thank for him. The "grand old freedom fighter" Bakunin, however, has always had *mouchards* in his ranks—for example, Albert Richard, who has been his right-hand-man for France since 1868, since the foundation of the Alliance. And as the Jurassians claim that they *also* have secret sections in France[e] (the trials prove the converse[307]), where then is the difference affected by the *Neuer*?

As far as the article in No. 45[f] is concerned, a few things still need to be said about the claims made in it. Opposition to the Hague Congress has been voiced by: 1. The so-called Italian Federation, which has never belonged to the International because it refuses to recognise the General Rules, and for this reason can

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[a] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, December 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] Engels ironically quotes from the article in the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* under discussion.—*Ed.*

[c] Gaol.—*Ed.*

[d] Police agent.—*Ed.*

[e] "Les proconsuls marxistes en France", *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne...*, No. 8, April 15, 1873.—*Ed.*

[f] "Internationale Arbeiterassoziation", *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, No. 45, April 18, 1873.—*Ed.*

never belong to the International until it falls in line.—On the other hand, a number of genuine Italian sections have recognised them, and are in regular contact with the General Council. 2. The Jura Federation, 150 men, as against 4,000-5,000 in French Switzerland alone; it has, therefore, been suspended. 3. The Belgians. 4. Some of the Spaniards, while others have set up the Federal Council in Valencia, which is in regular contact with the General Council in New York. 5. In England all of ten men, who have not got a single real section behind them, while the English Federal Council, supported by numerous sections, several of which are 500 or more strong, and which are increasing week by week, makes recognition of the Hague resolutions a basic condition for admission. 6. The fact that, in France, "*insofar as any organisation survives there*", it has remained loyal to The Hague and the General Council is demonstrated *precisely* by the trials that are the pretext for the article in No. 49. The "*refugees of the Commune*", neither as such nor in their "majority", have ever had occasion for "turning energetically against, etc." since the faction never existed. The Blanquists, all five of them, including four members of the Commune,[a] have withdrawn because the International would not allow itself to become the *tool* of their conspiracy. Otherwise *nothing* whatsoever has occurred to provide the remotest pretext for this lie.

Written in late April 1873

First published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 37, May 7, 1873

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] The four Communards were, apparently, A. Arnaud, M. E. Vaillant, F. É. Cournet and G. Ranvier. The fifth Blanquist was Walter (L. Van-Heddeghem).—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE INTERNATIONAL AND THE *NEUER*

London, May 2, 1873

No. 49 of the *Neuer* carries a mendacious article[a] about the latest trials of the International in France,[308] which will probably have earned its author an extra *douceur*[b] from the reptile funds,[309] so thickly does he lay on the lies. For the trial in Toulouse the *Neuer* refers to an article in the Brussels *Internationale*[c]; this article was itself borrowed from the *Liberté* and emanates from Mr. Jules Guesde,[d] a French refugee who, since his arrival in Geneva, has been blowing the Bakunist trumpet fit to burst, along with the other panjandrums in exile there, and was one of the signatories of the famous circular of the Jura Federation at the Jura Congress at Sonvillier (November 1871), in which the secret Alliance of Mr. Bakunin declared war on the public International.[e] We shall see presently what part Mr. Guesde played in the French International. He calls Mr. Dentraygues, who at this trial had denounced his co-defendants as members of the International, the general authorised representative of Marx and wants to transfer the blame for this betrayal and the subsequent sentences on Marx, the General Council, and the "authoritarian organisation from above".

Here are the facts.

On December 24, 1871, Mr. Dentraygues, a draughtsman at the railway office at Pézenas (Département Hérault), contacted the

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[a] "Internationale Arbeiterassoziation", *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, No. 49, April 27, 1873.— *Ed.*

[b] Consideration.— *Ed.*

[c] "Nous extrayons les lignes suivantes...", *L'Internationale*, No. 223, April 20, 1873.— *Ed.*

[d] J. Guesde, "Les arrestations continuent...", *La Liberté*, No. 15, April 13, 1873.— *Ed.*

[e] See this volume, pp. 64-70, 102-05 and 116-22.— *Ed.*

General Council to announce that a radical democratic committee representing seven trade unions, whose president he was, was seeking admission to the International. On January 4, the secretary for France[a] wrote to Pézenas to Calas (now sentenced to one year), who was fully accredited by a reference from the affiliated Social-Democratic committee in Béziers (Hérault)—its members were also sentenced and were, moreover, known to be trustworthy by several members of the Commune present in London. On January 14, Calas gave Dentraygues a declaration of trustworthiness, saying that he had reached agreement with him: "we will play into each other's hands". In March, Dentraygues moved to Toulouse; thus, at the time of his arrest, he had been active there for a full nine months, and far from complaining about him, the Toulouse Internationals had always lived in harmony with him, and confirmed this on August 18, by selecting him *unanimously* in all four—large—sections as their delegate to the Hague Congress. The four mandates, signed only by the members of the committee and the group leaders, bear a total of 67 signatures. If, then, the General Council appointed this man as its authorised representative for Toulouse and area, it was merely expressing the wishes of the Toulouse members themselves.

Now for Mr. Guesde.

On August 18, 1872, the Montpellier section informed the General Council that Mr. Paul Brousse, a correspondent and friend of Mr. Guesde, was trying to bring about a split in the section; he was demanding that the members refuse to pay the agreed contributions to the travel expenses of the Toulouse delegate, in fact do nothing at all until the Hague Congress had decided. Mr. Brousse, it was said, had been expelled from the section for this; it requested the General Council to expel him from the International. The letter was signed by Calas and three others. The General Council knew that Mr. Brousse was engaged in intrigues on behalf of the secessionists of the Jura Federation, but considered it unnecessary to attribute any further importance to the young man—he was a medical student—and let him go. Mr. Guesde, then in Rome, wrote in early October to the *Liberté*[b] branding the quite natural steps of the Montpellier section as "authoritarian"; but while he designated his friend Brousse by his initial only, he had the name "Calas in Montpellier" *printed in full.* The French police needed no further prompting. A letter

[a] A. Serraillier.— *Ed.*

[b] J. Guesde, "Rien ou presque rien...", *La Liberté,* No. 42, October 20, 1872.— *Ed.*

despatched about this time from the secretary of the General Council[a] to Calas was immediately intercepted at the post office; in it there was much talk of Dentraygues; Dentraygues was immediately arrested and, shortly afterwards, so was Calas.

Who, then, was the informer—Dentraygues or Guesde?

When Mr. Guesde further says that the despatch of *missi dominici*[b] by the General Council, that the coming and going of delegates from outside, whose description is well known to the police, is the best way to betray the International in France,[c] he is forgetting:

1. that the three authorised representatives of the General Council in France[d] were not benefactors who had arrived from outside, but people resident at the places that had authorised them, who enjoyed the trust of the sections themselves;

2. that the only international "delegates from outside" who figured in Southern France last autumn and winter had not been sent by the General Council, but by the secessionists of the Jura Federation. These gentlemen were so loudmouthed in public cafés in Toulouse, etc., shortly before the arrests, that the attention of the police was thereby directed to our Association; and only the real Internationals were seized, as always and everywhere, while the anarchistic braggarts enjoy the special protection of the upper police echelons.

Although Mr. Dentraygues has made certain revelations for personal reasons and from weakness, there are sufficient grounds for proving he was not a police spy up to his conviction. In any event, the gentlemen of the Alliance, whose co-founder was the present Bonapartist agent Albert Richard of Lyons, have no cause whatsoever to throw stones at others, still less has the *Neuer*, whose political past and present constitute the worst blemish on the German labour movement.

As far as the Paris trial is concerned, it is now established that Heddeghem was a police spy. This man, appointed secretary by his section in Paris, gave as his reference the Communard and member of the General Council *Ranvier*, who gave him a splendid

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[a] Engels apparently refers to A. Serraillier's letter to Calas of December 18, 1872, written on behalf of the New York General Council; it was intercepted by the French police.—*Ed.*

[b] Plenipotentiaries (in the Carolingian state, the appellation of officials exercising control over local administration).—*Ed.*

[c] [J. Guesde,] "Le Congrès de Mirandola...", *La Liberté*, No. 13, March 30, 1873.—*Ed.*

[d] Ch. Larroque, F. Argaing and L. Van-Heddeghem.—*Ed.*

testimonial with regard to his reliability and activity; Heddeghem was admitted on its basis. In this case, as in the first, the General Council had thus observed all the precautions at its disposal.

What is new is the assertion that Bakunin was expelled at The Hague because he wished to "eliminate the reprehensible engagement in secret conspiracies". The commission of the Hague Congress on the Alliance to which the rules of this Bakuninist secret conspiracy—not against the government but against the International—were submitted, came to a quite different result.

Just as new is the assertion that Marx has "experienced more than a dozen Communist trials of his followers". History knows of only one Communist trial, that in Cologne in 1852; but the *Neuer* is not paid for telling the truth. In any event, we shall bear in mind its final warning:

> "The manoeuvre of the police force, when they bring about a political trial, of formally convicting their secret agents, too, but ensuring that they have a comfortable life in prison thereafter."

We should give heed to this passage taken from the "Life" of Herr von Schweitzer.

"So may the workers always keep their eyes open", if one day the gentlemen of the *Neuer* should happen to be "formally convicted"!

First published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 38, May 10, 1873

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# Frederick Engels

## [COMMUNICATION FROM THE CONTINENT][310]

Communications from the Continent reported that the Secession movement, which had been set on foot in some places, had been followed by the usual result—Anarchy. Certain individuals, envying the cheap importance that the mere act of secession had given some of their fellows had resolved to learn the trick themselves, and had, of course, found no difficulty in setting up a very ready pretext in order to become Seceders from Secession. The attempt which had been made to remedy this state of things by inducing the erratic Sections to affiliate to the Jurassian Federation, though doubtless pleasing enough to M. M. Bakounin and Guillaume, whom it would have elevated to virtual dictatorship and to the national susceptibilities of a prime mover of the pernicious agitation in England,[a] had not been found so acceptable to the denizens of those other countries whose "Institutions" had escaped the blotting of a co-operative pennyworth of foggy elucidation.[311] Hence the anticipated result, the Secessionist fractions were rapidly thinning out into mere isolated groups, without a common understanding, except to quarrel with each other and to keep the peace towards the enemies of Labour—a situation which, though possibly not without its *charme* for a Morley, could only gain its full need of appreciation at the hands of a Thiers or a Bismarck.

Written on about May 22, 1873

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The International Herald*, No. 60, May 24, 1873

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[a] J. Hales.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

122 Regents Park Road N.W.
London, June 14th, 1873

*Citoyens,*

I have to reply to your two letters of the 11th April and 14th May. As communicated before,[a] the whole of the money for Lodi (fr. 200) was forwarded by me on April 10th to Bignami, new persecutions having arisen. The money was acknowledged by Bignami whose receipt I hold.— About 10 days ago, the *Plebe* has re-appeared and brought your address to the Spaniards and also, in a very prominent place, your declaration about the self-exclusion, from our Association, of the Secessionists.[312]

The documents in question have been sent to the Spanish Federal Council.

My copy of the alterations of rules as prepared for the late General Council[313] has disappeared, I have however been promised another which shall be forwarded as soon as received.

As the *Plebe* is alive again I shall report about Italian Emigration and Gas strike etc. in my first correspondence to that paper. I could not act before, my only correspondent Bignami being out of the way and not having given me another address.

Le Moussu has been reminded of the stamps.[b]

The £4.-3 are to hand and shall be used and directed as soon as a safe address in Paris can be found.

Fraternally yours,
*F. Engels*

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Reproduced from the manuscript

[a] See this volume, p. 437.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## FROM THE INTERNATIONAL[314]

For a long time, the *Volksstaat* has published nothing about the state of affairs in the International Working Men's Association except the official documents of the General Council in New York. It acted in the same way as all the other international papers and the greater part of the members of the Association itself. While the organs of the Hague minority led by the Bakuninist secret Alliance moved heaven and earth to present themselves as representatives of the real majority of the International, to defame and slander in every way the majority of the Congress, the old General Council and especially Marx, and to rally the unrecognised geniuses of all nations,—those attacked by them contented themselves with stating once and for all the real facts about the Hague Congress and to contrast the worst of the slanders against the facts. For the rest, they relied on the good sense of the workers and the actions of the General Council, which showed itself quite equal to the tasks of its position.

The following will show that this mode of action spontaneously adhered to without any further arrangements has borne fruit.

In *England*, several English members of the last General Council, in whose faces Marx threw in The Hague the accusation of corruption—on the basis of documentary proofs and their own admissions, without any of them daring to raise any objections—caused a split in the British Federal Council last December. They left and convened a secessionist congress, which consisted of *eleven* persons altogether, of whom no one even dared to say which sections they represented or whether they represented any at all.[315] The eleven persons spoke out in indignation against the Hague decisions and rallied under the banner of the

secessionists, foremost among them two foreigners, *Eccarius* and *Jung*. From that moment, there were two federal councils, with the difference, however, that one of them, the international one, had almost all sections behind it, while the other, the secessionist one, represented no one but its own members. The latter played out this comedy for several months, but has finally passed away. One cannot play this sort of farce before the English workers, schooled by a fifty-year-old movement. On the other hand, the British Federation of the International held a congress at Manchester on June 1 and 2,[316] which was undoubtedly an epoch-making event in the English labour movement. It was attended by 26 delegates who represented the main centres of English industry as well as several smaller towns. The report of the Federal Council differed from all previous documents of this kind by the fact that—in a country with a tradition of legality—it asserted the right of the working class to *use force in order to realise* its demands.[a]

The congress approved the report and decided that the red flag is to be the flag of the British adherents of the International; the working class demands not only the return of all landed property to the working people but also of all means of production; it calls for the eight-hour working day as a preliminary measure; it sends congratulations to the Spanish workers who have succeeded in establishing a republic and in electing ten workers to the Cortes; and requests the English Government immediately to release all Irish Fenians[317] still imprisoned.—Anyone familiar with the history of the English labour movement will admit that no English workers' congress has ever advanced such far-reaching demands. In any case, this congress and the miserable end of the separatist, self-appointed Federal Council has determined the attitude of the British Section of the International.

In *Switzerland*, the secessionists have it just as tough. It is known that the Jura Federation was, from time immemorial, the soul of all secessionism [Sonderbündlerei] in the International.[318] Already at the Hague Congress its delegates declared that they represented the true majority of the International and would prove it at the next congress. But time is the best adviser, even to those who blow their own trumpet. On April 27 and 28, the Jura Federation held its congress in Neuchâtel. It transpires from the proceedings that

[a] "Report of the British Federal Congress, held at Manchester, June 1 and 2, 1873 ", *General and British Federative Rules of the International Working Men's Association, together with a Report of the Second Annual Congress of the British Federation, held at Manchester, June 1st & 2nd, 1873* [London, 1873]. The resolutions of the congress mentioned below were also published in that volume.—*Ed.*

the federation has *eleven* Swiss sections, out of which *nine* were represented. The report of the committee does not say a single word on the situation in these eleven sections, on their strength, etc.; on the other hand it declares that the whole International is, so to speak, solidly behind their secessionism.[a] Now, will this enormous majority come out at the next general congress and overturn the decisions of the Hague Congress? No, not exactly. On the contrary, the same committee proposes—and these "autonomous" delegates immediately accept the proposal: Lest the new congress should again fall in the dangerous errors of the Hague Congress, the secessionist federations should hold their own congress in some Swiss city and recognise no congress that might be convened by the New York General Council.

The Hague Congress expressly instructed the General Council to select a Swiss city in which to hold the next congress.[b] The decision of the Jura Federation thus signifies nothing but yet another climb-down hiding behind loud phrases.

In fact, it was time for these gentlemen to cover their rear. On June 1 and 2—fatal days for the secessionists—the congress of Swiss workers was held at Olten. Out of 80 delegates, there were *five* (!) Jurassians. It was proposed to found a centralised Swiss workers' union.

The five delegates from Jura[c] countered with a proposal for an artificial federal system limited by all sorts of provisos which would have made the whole organisation ineffective. As they were in a hopeless minority, they set to the work of wasting other people's time, just as in The Hague. The congress lost the whole Sunday debating this so-called "fundamental issue". Finally, the majority found itself compelled, just as in The Hague, to shut these tiresome talkers up, in order to get to work. On Monday it was simply decided to found a centralised union, whereupon the five preachers read out a meaningless statement, left the hall and went home. And these people, these complete nothings in their own land, have for years proclaimed their vocation to reorganise the International!

Well, it never rains but it pours. In Italy, where the anarchists of the secessionist variety are lording it for the present, one of them, Crescio of Piacenza, sent his new paper *L'Avvenire Sociale* (The

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[a] "Le Congrès Jurassien, des 27 et 28 avril 1873", *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne...*, No. 9, May 1, 1873.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 253.—*Ed.*

[c] J. L. Pindy, J. Guillaume, L. Schwitzguébel, Ch. Gameter, H. Wenker.—*Ed.*

Social Future) to Garibaldi, who, as these gentlemen constantly claim, is one of them. The paper was full of angry invective against what they call "the authoritarian principle", which in their view is at the root of all evil. Garibaldi replied:

"Dear Crescio, hearty thanks, etc. You intend, in your paper, to make war upon untruth and slavery. That is a very fine programme, but I believe that the International, in fighting against the principle of authority, makes a mistake and obstructs its own progress. *The Paris Commune fell because there was in Paris no authority but only anarchy.*"[a]

This veteran fighter for freedom who achieved more in one year—i.e., 1860—than all the anarchists will ever attempt in the course of their life, places a great value on discipline because he himself had to discipline his troops, and he did it not like the official soldiers, by drill and the threat of the firing-squad, but when facing the enemy.

Unfortunately we have not yet come to the end of the list of mishaps which the secessionists had to endure. Only one thing was still missing and that too took place. The *Neuer*, whose police nose had long since caught the peculiar smell of these arch mischief-makers of the International, now supports them whole-heartedly. In issue 68 the paper states[b] that the rules drafted by the Belgians[319]—who had in fact left the International—completely correspond to its views and holds out the prospect of its joining the secessionists. Thus all our wishes have been fulfilled. When Hasselmann and Hasenclever appear at the secessionist congress, this separatist organisation will acquire its true character. On the right Bakunin, on the left Hasenclever and in the middle the hapless Belgians, who are led by the nose of their Proudhonist phrases!

Written on June 19-20, 1873

First published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 53, July 2, 1873

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English in full for the first time

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[a] G. Garibaldi, "Caro Crescio", *La Favilla*, No. 134, June 5, 1873 (cf. this volume, pp. 453 and 504).—*Ed.*

[b] "Internationale Arbeiterassoziation", *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, No. 68, June 18, 1873.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [NOTE ON A REVIEW OF E. RENAN'S *L'ANTÉCHRIST*][320]

I heard Renan's alleged discoveries, e.g., with regard to the exact dating, to the month, of the composition of the so-called Revelation of St. John, the solution of the mystical number 666=Νέρων Καῖσαρ and its confirmation by the variant 616=Nero Caesar, etc., etc.,[a] in Berlin in the winter term of 1841-42 at Professor Ferdinand Benary's lecture on the Apocalypse. Only Benary, the real solver of the mystical number, was honest enough to admit how much he owed to his predecessors,[b] while Mr. Renan, here as elsewhere, simply appropriates for himself the results of a protracted development in German science.

Written between July 5 and mid-July 1873

First published in *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 197 (First Instalment), July 18, 1873

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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[a] E. Renan, *L'Antéchrist*, Paris, 1873.— *Ed.*

[b] F. Benary, "Erklärung der Zahl 666 <χζσ'> in der Apocalypse <13, 18.> und ihrer Variante 616 <χισ'>", *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie...*, Vol. 1, Part 2, Berlin, 1836, pp. 205-06.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [COMMENT UPON GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI'S LETTER TO PROSPERO CRESCIO][321]

My dear Crescio,

Hearty thanks for sending to me your *Avvenire Sociale* which I shall read with interest.

You intend, in your paper, to make war upon untruth and slavery. That is a very fine programme, but I believe that the International, in fighting against the principle of authority, makes a mistake and obstructs its own progress. The Paris Commune fell because there was in Paris no authority but only anarchy. Spain and France are suffering from the same evil.

I wish success to the *Avvenire*, and,

Remain yours,
G. Garibaldi.[a]

It is necessary to explain that "the International" which Garibaldi evidently has in mind's eye is the Italian portion of the Association, the majority of which is, upon this very question of authority, in rebellion against the General Council. Garibaldi's censure of the "anti-authoritists" as they call themselves, is, therefore, a justification of the attitude which the Association generally, holds on this question.

Written between July 7 and 12, 1873

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 250, July 13, 1873

[a] G. Garibaldi, "Caro Crescio", *La Favilla*, No. 134, June 5, 1873.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## THE ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AND THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[322]

### REPORT AND DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED BY DECISION OF THE HAGUE CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL

### I

### INTRODUCTION

The International Working Men's Association, in setting itself the aim of rallying under one banner the scattered forces of the world proletariat and thus becoming the living representative of the community of interests that unites the workers, was bound to open its doors to socialists of all shades. Its founders and the representatives of the workers' organisations of the Old and New worlds who at international congresses sanctioned the General Rules of the Association, forgot that the very scope of its programme would allow the declassed elements* to worm their way in and establish, at its very heart, secret organisations whose efforts, instead of being directed against the bourgeoisie and the existing governments, would be turned against the International itself. Such has been the case with the *Alliance of Socialist Democracy.*

At the Hague Congress, the General Council demanded an inquiry into this secret organisation. The Congress entrusted the

* In French the *déclassés* are people of the propertied classes who were ousted or who broke away from that class without thereby becoming proletarians, such as business adventurers, rogues and gamblers, most of them professional literati or politicians, etc. The proletariat, too, has its *déclassé* elements; they make up the lumpenproletariat. [*Engels's note to the 1874 German edition.*]

# L'ALLIANCE

DE LA

# DÉMOCRATIE SOCIALISTE

ET

# L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS.

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RAPPORT ET DOCUMENTS PUBLIÉS PAR ORDRE DU CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DE LA HAYE.

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LONDRES :
A. DARSON, SUCCESSEUR DE FOUCAULT,
46B, RATHBONE PLACE, OXFORD ST.

HAMBOURG :
EN VENTE CHEZ OTTO MEISSNER.

1873.

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PRICE TWO SHILLINGS.

Title page of Marx and Engels' pamphlet *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*

task to a commission of five (citizens Cuno, Lucain, Splingard, Vichard and Walter, who resigned), which delivered its report at the session of September 7. The Congress passed the following resolution:

1. To expel from the International Mikhail Bakunin, as founder of the Alliance and also for an act committed on his own behalf;
2. To expel James Guillaume, as a member of the Alliance;
3. To publish the documents relating to the Alliance.

Since its members are scattered over various countries, the Commission of Inquiry into the Alliance was unable to publish the documents which were the basis of its report, and so Citizen Vichart, the only member resident in London, sent them to the protocol commission,[323] which is now publishing them, on its own responsibility, in the ensuing report.

The file on the Alliance was so voluminous that the commission sitting during the Congress only had time to familiarise itself with the most important documents in order to arrive at a practical conclusion; thus, most of the Russian material could not be submitted to it; and the report presented by it to the Congress,[a] since it only covered part of the question, can no longer be considered adequate. We have therefore been obliged to give a history of the Alliance so that the reader will be able to understand the meaning and importance of these documents.

The documents published by us belong to several categories. Some have already been published separately and mostly in French, but to understand the spirit of the Alliance properly, they must be compared with others, since, collated in this way, they appear in a new light. One of them is the programme of the public Alliance.[b] Other documents belong to the International and are being published for the first time; still others belong to the Spanish branch of the secret Alliance, whose existence was publicly disclosed in the spring of 1872[c] by members of the Alliance. Anyone who has followed the Spanish movement during this period will only find more detailed information on facts which have already been made more or less public. These documents are important, not because they are being published for the first time, but because it is the first time that they have been compared in such a manner as to reveal the common secret action from which

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[a] "Rapport de la commission d'enquête sur la Société l'Alliance", *La Liberté*, No. 37, September 15, 1872.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 577-78.— *Ed.*

[c] The original mistakenly has: "1871".— *Ed.*

they originated, and above all because we are comparing them with the two categories of documents which follow. The first consists of documents published in Russian which disclose the true programme and methods of the Alliance. These documents, thanks to the language which protected them, remained hitherto unknown in the West, and this circumstance made it possible for the authors to give free rein to their imagination and their language. The faithful translations furnished by us will allow the reader to gauge the intellectual, moral, political and economic worth of the Alliance's leaders.

The second category consists of a single document: the Alliance's secret statutes; it is the only document of any substantial length that is being published, for the first time, in this report. It may be asked whether revolutionaries are permitted to publish the statutes of a secret society, of a supposed conspiracy. First, these secret statutes were expressly named among the documents whose publication was demanded at the Hague Congress by the Alliance commission and none of the delegates, not even the member constituting the minority of the commission,[a] voted against this. This publication has therefore been formally ordered by the Congress, whose instructions we must carry out; but it is essential to point out the following:

Here we have a society which, under the mask of the most extreme anarchism, directs its blows not against the existing governments but against the revolutionaries who accept neither its dogma nor its leadership. Founded by a minority at a bourgeois congress,[324] it infiltrates the ranks of the international organisation of the working class, at first attempts to dominate it and, when this plan fails, sets to work to disorganise it. It brazenly substitutes its sectarian programme and narrow ideas for the broad programme and great aspirations of our Association; it organises within the public sections of the International its own little secret sections which obey the same instructions and in a good many instances succeed in gaining control of the public sections by prearranged action; in its newspapers it publicly attacks all those who refuse to submit to its will, and by its own avowal provokes open warfare within our ranks. It resorts to any means, any disloyalty to achieve its ends; lies, slander, intimidation, the stab in the back—it finds them all equally suitable. Finally, in Russia it substitutes itself entirely for the International and commits, in its name, crimes against the common law, acts of fraud and an assassination for

[a] Splingard.— *Ed.*

which the government and bourgeois press has blamed our Association. And the International must remain silent about all these acts because the society responsible for them is secret! The International has in its possession the statutes of this society, which is its mortal enemy; statutes in which it openly proclaims itself a modern Society of Jesus and declares that it has the right and the duty to practise all the methods employed by the Jesuits; statutes that explain in a flash the whole series of hostile acts to which the International has been subjected from this quarter; but the International must not make use of these statutes—that would be denouncing a secret society!

There is only one means of combating all these intrigues, but it will prove astonishingly effective; this means is complete publicity. Exposure of all these schemings in their entirety will render them utterly powerless. To protect them with our silence would be not only an act of naïveté that the leaders of the Alliance would be the first to ridicule; it would be sheer cowardice. What is more, it would be an act of treachery towards those Spanish members of the International who, while belonging to the secret Alliance, have not hesitated to divulge its existence and its mode of action, since it has set itself up in open hostility to the International. Besides, all that is contained in the secret statutes is to be found, in much more emphatic form, in the documents published in Russian by Bakunin and Nechayev themselves. The statutes are but their confirmation.

Let the ringleaders of the Alliance cry out that they have been denounced. We deliver them up to the scorn of the workers and the benevolence of the governments whom they have served so well in disorganising the proletarian movement. The Zurich *Tagwacht*, in a reply to Bakunin, had every right to say:

"If you are not a paid agent, the one thing quite certain is that a paid agent would never have succeeded in doing as much harm as you."[a]

## II

## THE SECRET ALLIANCE

The Alliance of Socialist Democracy is entirely bourgeois in origin. It did not emerge from the International; it is the

[a] "Diese Anmerkungen...", an editorial note to Bakunin's letter "An die Redaktion der *Tagwacht* in Zürich" of February 14, 1872, *Die Tagwacht*, No. 11, March 16, 1872.— *Ed.*

offspring of the League of Peace and Freedom, a still-born bourgeois republican society. The International was already firmly established when Mikhail Bakunin took it into his head to play the part of the proletariat's emancipator. The International only offered him a field of activity common to all its members. In order to secure advancement there, he would have had to win his spurs by dint of hard and dedicated work; he thought he would find a better opportunity and an easier path on the side of the bourgeois members of the League.

Thus, in September 1867, he had himself elected member of the Permanent Committee of the League of Peace, and he took his part seriously; it could even be said that he and Barni, now a deputy at Versailles, were the life and soul of this committee. Posing as theoretician of the League, Bakunin was to have published under its auspices a work entitled *Le fédéralisme, le socialisme et l'anti-théologisme.** However, he soon realised that the League was still an insignificant society and that the liberals of which it was composed only saw in its congresses a means of combining pleasure trips with high-flown harangues, while the International, in contrast, was growing from day to day. He now dreamed of grafting the League onto the International. To put this plan into practice, Bakunin, on Elpidin's introduction, had himself accepted in July 1868 as member of the Geneva Central Section[a]; on the other hand, he got the League Committee to adopt a proposal suggesting that the International Congress of Brussels should form a pact of offensive and defensive alliance between the two societies; and in order that the League's Congress should sanction this fiery initiative, he drew up, and then made the Committee endorse and distribute, a confidential circular to the "Gentlemen" of the League.[325] In it, he admitted frankly that the League, hitherto a hopeless farce, could not gain in importance except by opposing the alliance of the oppressors with

> "the alliance of the peoples, the alliance of the workers ... we will not become anything unless we wish to be the sincere and serious representatives of millions of workers."

The providential mission of the holy League was to present a bourgeois parliament, nominated by itself, to the working class, which was invited to entrust this body with its political management.

* This bible of *isms* was discontinued by the third sheet owing to lack of copy.

[a] Of the International.— *Ed.*

"In order to become a beneficial and real power," concludes the circular, "our League must become *the pure political expression* of the great economic and social interests and principles which are triumphantly developed and propagated today by the great International Association of the Working Men of Europe and America."

The Congress of Brussels had the temerity to reject the League's proposition.[326] Bakunin's disappointment and fury knew no bounds. On the one hand, the International was slipping out of his protection. On the other, the League's chairman, Professor Gustav Vogt, read him a stern lecture.

"Either you were not sure," he wrote to Bakunin, "of the effect of our invitation, in which case you have compromised our League; or you knew what a surprise your friends of the International had in store for us, in which case you have most infamously deceived us. I ask you what we are going to tell our Congress..." [327]

Bakunin replied in a letter which anyone was invited to read.

"I could not have foreseen," he said, "that the Congress of the International would reply with an insult as gross as it was pretentious, but this is due to the intrigues of a certain clique of Germans who detest the Russians" (verbally, he explained to his audience that this clique was Marx's). "You ask me what we are going to do. I earnestly request the honour of replying to this gross insult on behalf of the Committee, from the platform of our Congress."

Instead of keeping his word, Bakunin changed his tune. He proposed to the League's Berne Congress a programme of fantasy socialism in which he called for equalisation of classes and individuals,[a] in order to outdo the ladies of the League who had hitherto only demanded equalisation of the sexes. Defeated again, he left the Congress with an insignificant minority and went to Geneva.*

The alliance of bourgeois and workers dreamed of by Bakunin was not to be limited to a public alliance. The secret statutes of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Documents, No. 1[b]) contain indications which make it clear that, in the very heart of the League, Bakunin had laid the foundations for the secret society which was to control it. Not only are the names of the governing

* Among the secessionists, we find the names of Albert Richard from Lyons, now an agent of the Bonapartist police; Gambuzzi, a Neapolitan lawyer (see the chapter on Italy); Zhukovsky, later secretary of the public Alliance; and a certain Buttner, a Geneva tinsmith, who now belongs to the ultra-reactionary party.

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[a] *Discours de Bakounine et de Mroczkowski au deuxième Congrès de la Paix, à Berne, Kolokol*, No. 14/15, December 1, 1868.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 571.—*Ed.*

bodies identical to those of the League (Permanent Central Committee, Central Bureau, National Committees), but the secret statutes declare that the "majority of the founder members of the Alliance" are "former members of the Berne Congress". In order to win recognition for himself as head of the International, he had to present himself as head of another army whose absolute devotion to him was to be ensured by a secret organisation. After having openly planted his society in the International, he counted on extending its ramifications into all sections and on taking over absolute control by this means. With this aim, he founded the (public) Alliance of Socialist Democracy in Geneva. Ostensibly, this was only a public society which, although entirely absorbed by the International, was, however, to have a separate international organisation, a central committee, national bureaux, and sections independent of our Association; alongside our annual Congress, the Alliance was to hold its own publicly. But this public Alliance covered another which, in its turn, was controlled by the even more secret Alliance of the international brethren, the Bodyguard Hundred of the dictator Bakunin.

The secret statutes of the "organisation of the Alliance of the international brethren" indicate that in this Alliance there were "three grades: I. *The international brethren*; II. *the national brethren*; III. the half-secret, half-public organisation of the *International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*".

I. The international brethren, whose number is limited to a "hundred", form the college of cardinals. They are subordinate to a central committee and to national committees organised into executive bureaux and supervisory committees. These committees are themselves responsible to the "constituent", or general, assembly of at least two-thirds of the international brethren. These members of the Alliance

> "have no homeland other than the world revolution, no foreign land and no enemy other than the reaction. They reject any policy of negotiation and concession, and regard as reactionary any political movement which does not have as its immediate and direct goal the triumph of their principles".

But since this article relegates to the Greek Calends the political action of the Hundred, and since these irreconcilable ones do not intend to renounce the advantages attached to public functions, Article 8 reads:

> "No brother shall accept a public post except with the consent of the Committee to which he belongs."

We shall see, when we come to discuss Spain and Italy, how the leaders of the Alliance hastened to implement this article in practice. The international brethren

"are brethren ... each of whom must be sacred to all the others, more sacred than a blood brother. Each brother shall be helped and protected by all the others *to the limits of the possible.*"

The Nechayev affair will show us what this mysterious limit of the possible is.

"All the international brethren know one another. *No political secret must ever exist among them.* None may take part in any secret society whatever without the positive consent of his Committee and, if necessary, should the latter so demand, without that of the Central Committee. And he may take part only on condition that he reveals to them all the secrets that could interest them directly or indirectly."

The Pietris and the Stiebers only use inferior or lost people as informers; but by sending their false brethren into secret societies to betray secrets of the latter, the Alliance imposes the role of spy on the very men who, according to its plan, should take control of the "world revolution".—Moreover, the revolutionary buffoon crowns the ignoble with the grotesque.

"Only he may become an international brother who has sincerely accepted all the programme in all its consequences, theoretical and practical, and who adds revolutionary passion to intelligence, energy, honesty" (!) "and discretion—he *who has the devil in his flesh.*"

II. The national brethren are organised in each country as a national association by the international brethren and under the same plan, but in no case should they suspect even the existence of an international organisation.

III. The Secret International Alliance of Socialist Democracy, whose members are recruited everywhere, has a legislative body in the *Permanent Central Committee* which, when it meets, christens itself the General Secret Assembly of the Alliance. This meeting takes place once a year during the Congress of the International, or, in special cases, when convoked by the Central Bureau or else by the Geneva Central Section.

The *Geneva Central Section* is the "permanent delegation of the permanent Central Committee", and the "Executive Council of the Alliance". It is subdivided into the *Central Bureau* and the *Supervisory Committee.* The Central Bureau, consisting of 3 to 7 members, is the real executive power of the Alliance:

"it will receive its guidance from the Geneva Central Section and will pass on its communications, *not to say its secret orders,* to all the National Committees, from which it will receive secret reports at least once a month."

This Central Bureau has found a way of having its cake and eating it, of being secret and public at the same time; for, as part of the

"secret central section, the Central Bureau shall be a secret organisation ... as the executive directorate of the public Alliance, it shall be a public organisation".

And so it can be seen that Bakunin had already organised all the secret and public direction of his "dear Alliance" even before it existed, and that the members who took part in any election were only puppets in a play staged by himself. Moreover, he did not hesitate to say so, as we shall soon see.—The Geneva Central Section, whose task was to guide the Central Bureau, was itself only part of the comedy; for its decisions, although settled by majority vote, were only binding on the Bureau if the majority of its members did not wish to appeal against them to the general assembly, which it must convoke at three weeks' notice.

"To be regular, the General Assembly, when thus convoked, must be composed of two-thirds of all its members."

It can be seen that the Central Bureau had surrounded itself with all the constitutional guarantees necessary to ensure its independence.

One might be naive enough to believe that this autonomous Central Bureau had at least been freely elected by the Geneva Central Section. Nothing of the kind. The provisional Central Bureau had been

"presented to the Geneva initiating group as provisionally elected by all the founder members of the Alliance, of whom the majority, as former members of the Berne Congress, have returned to their countries" (except for Bakunin) "*after having delegated their powers to Citizen B.*"

The founder members of the Alliance were thus nothing more than a few bourgeois secessionists from the League of Peace.

In this way, the Permanent Central Committee, which had annexed the constituent and legislative power over the whole Alliance, was nominated by itself. The permanent executive delegation of this Permanent Central Committee, the Geneva Central Section, was nominated by itself and not by this Committee. The Central Executive Bureau of this Geneva Central Section, instead of being elected by it, was imposed on it by a group of individuals who had all "delegated their powers to Citizen B."

And so "Citizen B." is the pivot of the Alliance. To retain his pivotal function, the secret statutes of the Alliance say literally:

"Its ostensible form of government will be that of a presidency in a federative republic",—

a presidency prior to which the president already existed in permanent "Citizen B."

Since the Alliance is an international society, each country is to have a National Committee formed

"of all the members of the Permanent Central Committee who belong to the same nation".

It only requires three members to constitute a National Committee. To ensure the regularity of the hierarchical ladder,

"the National Committees will serve as the *sole* intermediaries between the Central Bureau and all the local groups of their country".

The National Committees

"shall have the task of organising the Alliance in their countries so that it shall *always be dominated* and represented at the Congresses by members of the Permanent Central Committee".

This is what is known in the language of the Alliance as organising from the bottom to the top. These local groups only have the right to approach the National Committees with their programmes and rules so that they might be submitted

"for confirmation by the Central Bureau, without which the local groups cannot belong to the Alliance".

Once this despotic and hierarchic secret organisation had been injected into the International, all that remained to finish matters was to disorganise it. All it needed for this was to anarchise and autonomise its sections and transform its central organs into simple letter-boxes—"correspondence and statistical bureaus"—as was, indeed, attempted later.

The list of revolutionary services rendered by permanent "Citizen B." was not so glorious that he could hope to make permanent in the secret Alliance, much less in the public one, the dictatorship which he had appropriated for his own convenience. He therefore had to hide it under democratic-sounding humbug. And so the secret statutes prescribe that the provisional Central Bureau (for which read the permanent citizen) will function until the Alliance's first public general assembly, which would nominate the members of the new Permanent Central Bureau. But

"as it is urgent that the Central Bureau should always consist of members of the Permanent Central Committee, this latter, through the organ of its National Committees, will take care to organise and *direct* all the local groups in such a way that they will *delegate* to this assembly *only members of the Permanent Central Committee* or, failing them, men *absolutely devoted to the leadership* of their respective National Committees, so that the Permanent Central Committee *should always have the upper hand* in the entire organisation of the Alliance".

These instructions were not given by a Bonapartist minister or prefect on the eve of the elections, but, in order to ensure his permanence, by the anti-authoritarian, quintessential, immense anarchist, the archpriest of the organisation from bottom to top, the Bayard of the autonomy of sections and the free federation of autonomous groups—Saint-Michael Bakunin.

So far we have analysed the secret organisation designed to perpetuate the dictatorship of "Citizen B."; now let us deal with his programme.

"The association of international brethren aims for a universal revolution, simultaneously social, philosophical, economic and political, so that of the present order of things—based on private property, exploitation, and the principle of authority, whether religious, metaphysical, bourgeois-doctrinaire, or even Jacobin-revolutionary—not a stone shall remain standing, first in all Europe and then throughout the rest of the world. With the cry of peace for the workers, liberty for all the oppressed and death to the rulers, exploiters and guardians of all kinds, we seek to destroy all states and all churches along with all their institutions and laws, religious, political, juridical, financial, police, university, economic and social, so that all these millions of poor human beings, deceived, enslaved, tormented and exploited, delivered from all their directors and benefactors, official and officious, collective and individual, may breathe at last with complete freedom."

Here indeed we have revolutionary revolutionism! The first condition for the achievement of this astounding goal is to refuse to fight the existing states and governments with the means employed by ordinary revolutionaries, but on the contrary to hurl resounding, grandiloquent phrases at

"the institution of the State and that which is both its consequence and basis—i.e., private property".

Thus it is not the Bonapartist State, the Prussian or Russian State that has to be overthrown, but an abstract State, the State as such, a State that nowhere exists. But while the international brethren in their desperate struggle against this State that is situated somewhere in the clouds know how to avoid the truncheons, the prison and the bullets that real states deal out to ordinary revolutionaries, we see on the other hand that they have reserved themselves the right, subject only to papal dispensation, to profit by all the advantages offered by these real bourgeois

states. Fanelli, an Italian deputy, Soriano, an employee of the government of Amadeus of Savoy, and perhaps Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc, Bonapartist police agents, show how amenable the Pope is in this respect... That is why the police shows so little concern over "the Alliance or, to put it frankly, the conspiracy" of Citizen B. against the abstract idea of the state.

The first act of the revolution, then, must be to decree the abolition of the state, as Bakunin did on September 28 in Lyons,[328] despite the fact that this abolition of the state is of necessity an authoritarian act. By the state he means all political power, revolutionary or reactionary,

> "for it matters little to us that this authority calls itself church, monarchy, constitutional state, bourgeois republic, or even revolutionary dictatorship. We detest them and we reject them all alike as infallible sources of exploitation and despotism".

And he goes on to declare that all the revolutionaries who, on the day after the revolution, want "construction of a revolutionary state" are far more dangerous than all the existing governments put together, and that

> "we, the international brethren, are the natural enemies of these revolutionaries"

because to disorganise the revolution is the first duty of the international brethren.

The reply to this bragging about the immediate abolition of the state and the establishment of anarchy has already been given in the last General Council's private circular on "Fictitious Splits in the International", of March 1872, page 37 [a]:

"Anarchy, then, is the great war-horse of their master Bakunin, who has taken nothing from the socialist systems except a set of labels. All socialists see anarchy as the following programme: once the aim of the proletarian movement, i.e., abolition of classes, is attained, the power of the State, which serves to keep the great majority of producers in bondage to a very small exploiter minority, disappears, and the functions of government become simple administrative functions. The Alliance reverses the whole process. It proclaims anarchy in proletarian ranks as the most infallible means of breaking the powerful concentration of social and political forces in the hands of the exploiters. Under this pretext, it asks the International, at a time when the old world is seeking a way of crushing it, to replace its organisation with anarchy."

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[a] See this volume, pp. 121-22.—*Ed.*

Let us see, however, just what the consequences of the anarchist gospel are; let us suppose the state has been abolished by decree. According to Article 6,[a] the consequences of this act will be: the bankruptcy of the state, an end to the payment of private debts by the intervention of the state, an end to the payment of all taxes and all contributions, the dissolution of the army, the magistrature, the bureaucracy, the police and the clergy (!); the abolition of official justice, accompanied by an auto-da-fé of all title-deeds and all judicial and civil junk, the confiscation of all productive capital and instruments of labour for the benefit of the workers' associations and an alliance of these associations, which "will form the Commune". This Commune will give individuals thus dispossessed the strict necessaries of life, while granting them freedom to earn more by their own labour.

What happened at Lyons has proved that merely decreeing the abolition of the state is far from sufficient to accomplish all these fine promises. Two companies of the bourgeois National Guards proved quite sufficient, on the other hand, to shatter this splendid dream and send Bakunin hurrying back to Geneva with the miraculous decree in his pocket. Naturally he could not imagine his supporters to be so stupid that they need not be given some sort of plan of organisation that would put his decree into practical effect. Here is the plan:

> "For the organisation of the Commune—a federation of permanently acting barricades and the functioning of a Council of the Revolutionary Commune by the delegation of one or two deputies from each barricade, and one per street, or per block, these deputies being invested with imperative mandates and always responsible and revocable at any time" (odd barricades, these barricades of the Alliance, where instead of fighting they spend their time writing mandates). "The *Commune Council*, thus organised, will be able to elect from its membership special *Executive Committees* for each branch of the revolutionary administration of the Commune."

The insurgent capital, thus constituted as a Commune, then proclaims to the other communes of the country that it renounces all claim to govern them; it invites them to reorganise themselves in a revolutionary way and then to send their responsible and recallable deputies, vested with their imperative mandates, to an agreed place where they will set up a federation of insurgent associations, communes and provinces and organise a revolutionary *force* capable of triumphing over reaction. This organisation will not be confined to the communes of the insurgent country; other provinces or countries will be able to take part in it, while

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[a] See pp. 575-76 of this volume.—*Ed.*

"the provinces, communes, associations and individuals that side with the reaction *shall be debarred from it*".

So the abolition of frontiers goes hand in hand with the most benevolent tolerance towards the reactionary provinces, which would not hesitate to resume the civil war.

Thus in this anarchistic organisation of the tribune-barricades we have first the Commune Council, then the executive committees which, to be able to be anything at all, must be vested with some power and supported by a public force; this is to be followed by nothing short of a federal *parliament*, whose principal object will be to organise this *public force*. Like the Commune Council, this parliament will have to assign *executive power* to one or more *committees* which by this act alone will be given an authoritarian character that the demands of the struggle will increasingly accentuate. We are thus confronted with a perfect reconstruction of all the elements of the "authoritarian State"; and the fact that we call this machine a "revolutionary Commune organised from bottom to top", makes little difference. The name changes nothing of the substance; organisation from bottom to top exists in any bourgeois republic and imperative mandates date from the Middle Ages. Indeed Bakunin himself admits as much when (in Article 8[a]) he describes his organisation as a "new revolutionary State".

As for the practical value of this plan of revolution with its talking instead of fighting, we shall say nothing.

Now we shall reveal the secret of all the Alliance's double and triple-bottomed boxes. To make sure that the orthodox programme is adhered to and that anarchy behaves itself properly,

"it is necessary that in the midst of popular anarchy, which will constitute the very life and energy of the revolution, *unity of revolutionary idea and action should find an organ*. This organ must be the *secret and world association of the international brethren*.

"This association proceeds from the conviction that revolutions are never made either by individuals or by secret societies. They come about, as it were, of their own accord, produced by the force of things, by the course of events and facts. They are prepared over a long time deep in the instinctive consciousness of the popular masses, and then they flare up.... All that a well-organised secret society can do is, first, to assist in the birth of the revolution by spreading among the masses ideas corresponding to their instincts, and to organise, not the army of the revolution—the army must always be the people" (cannon fodder), "but *a revolutionary General Staff* composed of devoted, energetic, intelligent and above all sincere friends of the people, who are not ambitious or vain, and who are capable of serving as intermediaries between the revolutionary idea" (monopolised by them) "and the popular instincts."

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[a] See p. 576 of this volume.—*Ed.*

"The number of these individuals should not, therefore, be too large. For the international organisation in the whole of Europe *a hundred firmly and seriously united revolutionaries would be sufficient.* Two or three hundred revolutionaries would be enough for the organisation of the biggest country."

So everything changes. Anarchy, the "unleashing of popular life", of "evil passions" and all the rest is no longer enough. To assure the success of the revolution one must have *unity of thought and action.* The members of the International are trying to create this unity by propaganda, by discussion and the public organisation of the proletariat. But all Bakunin needs is a secret organisation of one hundred people, the privileged representatives of the *revolutionary idea,* the general staff in the background, self-appointed and commanded by the permanent "Citizen B". Unity of thought and action means nothing but orthodoxy and blind obedience. *Perinde ac cadaver.*[a] We are indeed confronted with a veritable Society of Jesus.

To say that the hundred international brethren must "serve as intermediaries between the revolutionary idea and the popular instincts", is to create an unbridgeable gulf between the Alliance's revolutionary idea and the proletarian masses; it means proclaiming that these hundred guardsmen cannot be recruited anywhere but from among the privileged classes.

## III

## THE ALLIANCE IN SWITZERLAND

The Alliance, like Falstaff, found that "the better part of valour is discretion".[b] Also, the "devil in the flesh" of the international brethren did not prevent them from deferring humbly in every way to the power of the existing States, while protesting vigorously against the institution of the abstract State; but he directed their attacks solely against the International. First, they wanted to dominate it. Having failed to do so, they tried to disorganise it. We shall now show their activities in the different countries.

The international brethren were merely a general staff in the reserve: they lacked an army. They considered the International created to that end. If they were to be allowed to take command

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[a] "Be like unto a corpse." The phrase used by St. Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus, to formulate the Jesuit principle imposing unquestioning obedience on the junior members of the Society.— *Ed.*

[b] W. Shakespeare, *King Henry IV,* Part I, Act 5, Scene 4.— *Ed.*

of an army, they had to insinuate the public Alliance into the International. Fearing that the former might lose face if they applied to the General Council for admission, which would be tantamount to recognising its authority, they approached the Belgian and Paris Federal Councils several times and without success. These repeated refusals forced the Alliance to ask the General Council, on December 15, 1868, for affiliation.[a] They sent their statutes and their programme in which they openly announced their intentions (Documents, No. 2[b]). Although the Alliance declared itself "entirely absorbed by the International" it aspired to form a second international corps within the International. Alongside the International's General Council, elected by the Congresses, there was to be the Alliance's Central Committee, which would sit at Geneva and would be self-nominated; alongside the International's local groups, there would be the Alliance's local groups which, through the intermediary of their national bureaux, functioning outside the national bureaux of the International, "would apply to the Alliance's Central Bureau for their admission into the International". The Central Bureau of the Alliance was, then, appropriating the right of admittance to the International. Alongside the Congresses of the International, there were to be the Congresses of the Alliance, for "during the annual working men's Congresses, the Alliance's delegation" aspired to hold "its public sittings in separate premises".

On December 22, the General Council (in a letter published in its circular: *Fictitious Splits in the International*, p. 7[c]) stating that these aspirations were in flagrant contradiction to the International's rules, flatly rejected the affiliation of the Alliance. Several months later, the Alliance again applied to the General Council and demanded to know whether its principles were acceptable or not. In case of an affirmative answer, it declared itself prepared to dissolve and break up into simple sections of the International. On March 9, 1869, the General Council (see *Fictitious Splits in the International*, p. 8[d]) replied that for it to pronounce on the scientific value of the Alliance's programme would be to exceed its functions, and that if "equalisation of classes" was replaced by "abolition of classes", there would be no obstacle to converting the sections of the Alliance into sections of the International. It added:

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[a] The Alliance's address was dated November 29, 1868; on December 15 it was discussed in the General Council of the International.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 577-78.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., pp. 86-87.—*Ed.*

[d] Ibid., pp. 88-89.—*Ed.*

"*The dissolution of the Alliance and the entrance of its sections into the International* once settled, it would, according to our Regulations, become necessary *to inform the Council of the seat and the numerical strength of each new section.*"

On June 22, 1869, the Geneva section of the Alliance announced to the General Council as a *fait accompli* the dissolution of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy, all of whose sections had been invited "to transform themselves into the International sections". After this explicit declaration, and misled by some signatures on the programme which gave the impression that the Alliance had been recognised by the Romance Federal Committee, the General Council admitted it. It should be added that not one of the conditions accepted had ever been fulfilled. Far from it: the secret organisation hidden behind the public Alliance now went into full action. Behind the International's Geneva section was the Central Bureau of the secret Alliance; behind the International's sections of Naples, Barcelona, Lyons and Jura hid the secret sections of the Alliance. Relying on this free-masonry, whose existence was suspected neither by the mass of the International's membership nor by their administrative centres, Bakunin hoped to win control of the International at the Basle Congress in September 1869. At this Congress, thanks to its dishonest methods, the secret Alliance found itself represented by at least ten delegates, including the famous Albert Richard and Bakunin himself. They had brought with them a number of blank mandates which could not be used owing to the lack of reliable people, although they were offered to the Basle members of the International. Even this numerical strength, however, was not enough to make Congress sanction the abolition of the right of inheritance, that relic of Saint-Simon which Bakunin wanted to use as the practical point of departure for socialism[329]; much less was it able to impose on the Congress his dream of transferring the General Council from London to Geneva.

Meanwhile, there was open war in Geneva between the Romance Federal Committee, almost unanimously supported by the Geneva members of the International, and the Alliance. The latter's allies in this war were *Le Progrès* of Locle edited by James Guillaume, and *L'Égalité* of Geneva which, although an official organ of the Romance Federal Committee, was edited by a committee which mainly consisted of the Alliance members and attacked the Romance Federal Committee at every possible opportunity. Without losing sight of its great aim—the transfer of the seat of the General Council to Geneva—the editorial board of

*L'Égalité* launched a campaign against the existing General Council and invited *Le Travail* of Paris to lend its support. In its circular of January 1, 1870, the General Council declared that it considered it unnecessary to enter into controversy with these newspapers.[a] Meanwhile, the Romance Federal Committee had already removed the Alliance members from the editorial board of *L'Égalité.*

At this stage, the sect had not yet donned its anti-authoritarian mask. Believing that it would be able to take over the General Council, it was the first, at the Basle Congress, to put forward and edit the administrative resolutions conceding to the latter the "authoritarian powers" which it was to attack so violently two years later. Nothing gives a clearer picture of its idea of the General Council's authoritarian role than the following extract from *Le Progrès* of Locle edited by James Guillaume (December 4, 1869)[b] concerning the conflict between the *Social-Demokrat* and *Der Volksstaat*[330]:

> "It seems to us that it should be the *duty* of our Association's General Council to *intervene,* to open an inquiry into what is happening in Germany, to *decide* between Schweitzer and Liebknecht, and *thereby put a stop to the uncertainty* into which we are thrown by this strange situation."

Is it possible to believe that this is the same Guillaume who, in a circular from Sonvillier on November 12, 1871, reproached this same General Council, which had not been authoritarian enough previously, for having "wanted to introduce the *principle of authority* into the International"?[c]

Ever since they began to appear, the Alliance's newspapers had not confined themselves to propagating its special programme, in which no one could have seen any harm; but they insisted on creating and interposing a premeditated confusion between its own programme and that of the International. This occurred wherever the Alliance was running, or collaborating with, a newspaper—in Spain, in Switzerland, in Italy; but it was in the Russian publications that the system reached perfection.

The sect struck a decisive blow during the Congress of the Romance Federation at La Chaux-de-Fonds (April 4, 1870). It was a matter of forcing the Geneva sections to recognise the public Alliance of Geneva as being part of the federation and of

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[a] K. Marx, *The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland.—Ed.*

[b] "On sait que la presque totalité", *Le Progrès,* No. 25, December 4, 1869.—*Ed.*

[c] *Circulaire à toutes les fédérations de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, Sonvillier, le 12 novembre, 1871.—Ed.*

transferring the Federal Committee and its organ to a locality in Jura where the secret Alliance was in control.

When the Congress opened, two delegates from the "Alliance section" asked to be admitted. The Geneva delegates proposed the deferment of this matter until the end of the Congress and the immediate discussion of the programme as more important. They declared that their imperative mandate ordered them to resign rather than admit this section to their group

"in view of the intrigues and domineering tendencies of the Alliance people, and because to vote for the admission of the Alliance would be to vote for a split in the Romance Federation".[331]

But the Alliance did not want to miss this opportunity. The proximity of the little Jura sections had enabled them to obtain a feeble fictitious majority, since Geneva and the big centres of the International were only very weakly represented. On the insistence of Guillaume and Schwitzguébel, the section was admitted by a majority contested by only one or two votes. The Geneva delegates received from all the sections, which were immediately consulted by telegraph, the order to withdraw from the Congress. With the International's members at La Chaux-de-Fonds supporting the Genevans, the members of the Alliance had to leave the premises of the Congress, since they belonged to the local sections. Although, according to their own organ (see *La Solidarité* for May 7, 1870), they only represented fifteen sections, whereas Geneva alone had thirty, they usurped the name of the Romance Congress, nominated a new Romance Federal Committee, in which Chevalley and Cagnon * distinguished themselves, and promoted Guillaume's *La Solidarité* to the rank of the Romance Federation's organ. This young schoolmaster had the special mission of decrying "the factory workers"[332] of Geneva, those odious "bourgeois", of making war on *L'Égalité*, the newspaper of the Romance Federation, and of preaching absolute abstention in political matters. The most notable articles on this latter subject were written by Bastelica at Marseilles, and by the two pillars of the Alliance at Lyons, Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc.[a]

* Two months later, the organ of that same Committee, *La Solidarité* for July 9 warned that these two persons were *thieves*. They had in fact proved their anarchic revolutionism by robbing the Co-operative Association of Tailors at La Chaux-de-Fonds.

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[a] A. Bastelica, "Mon cher Guillaume...", *La Solidarité*, No. 5, May 7, 1870 and [A. Richard, G. Blanc], "La Commission fédérale", *La Solidarité*, Nos. 3 and 5, April 23 and May 7, 1870.— *Ed.*

Incidentally, the short-lived and fictitious majority of the Congress at La Chaux-de-Fonds had acted in flagrant violation of the statutes of the Romance Federation which it claimed to represent; and it should be noted that the Alliance's leaders had played an important part in compiling these statutes.[a] Under articles 53 and 55, any important decision by the Congress, to acquire force of law, had to be sanctioned by two-thirds of the federal sections. Now the sections of Geneva and La Chaux-de-Fonds alone, which had declared themselves opposed to the Alliance, constituted over two-thirds of the total number. At two big general meetings,[b] the International's Geneva members, in spite of opposition from Bakunin and his friends, almost unanimously approved the conduct of their delegates who, to general applause, suggested to the Alliance that it should stay where it belonged and give up its ambitions of entering the Romance Federation; on this condition, reconciliation could be achieved. Later, some disillusioned members of the Alliance proposed its dissolution, but Bakunin and his acolytes opposed this with all their might. Nevertheless, the Alliance continued to insist on joining the Romance Federation, which was then forced to decide on the expulsion of Bakunin and the other ringleaders.

And so there were now two Romance Federal committees, one at Geneva, the other at La Chaux-de-Fonds. The vast majority of the sections remained loyal to the former, while the latter had a following of only fifteen sections, many of which, as we shall see later, ceased to exist one by one.

Hardly had the Romance Congress closed, when the new Committee at La Chaux-de-Fonds in a letter signed by F. Robert, secretary, and Henri Chevalley, chairman (see note above, p. 474), called for the intervention of the General Council. After examining the documents submitted by both sides, the General Council decided, on June 28, 1870, to let the Geneva Committee retain its old functions, and to invite the new Federal Committee of La Chaux-de-Fonds to adopt a local name.[c] Disappointed in its hopes by this decision, the Committee of La Chaux-de-Fonds denounced the General Council for authoritarianism, forgetting that it had

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[a] *Statuts pour la Fédération des Sections Romandes adoptés par le Congrès Romand, tenu à Genève au Cercle international des Quatre-Saisons, les 2, 3 et 4 janvier 1869*, Geneva, pp. 15-16.—*Ed.*

[b] Of April 9 and 10, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] K. Marx, *General Council Resolution on the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland.—Ed.*

been the first to ask for the latter's intervention.[a] The trouble caused to the Swiss Federation by this persistence in trying to usurp the name of the Romance Federal Committee forced the General Council to suspend all official relations with the Committee of La Chaux-de-Fonds.

On September 4, 1870, the Republic was proclaimed in Paris. The Alliance felt that the hour had come to "unchain the revolutionary hydra in Switzerland" (Guillaume's style). *La Solidarité* launched a manifesto[b] demanding the formation of Swiss volunteers to fight the Prussians. This manifesto, if we are to believe the pedagogue Guillaume, although "in no way *anonymous*", was nevertheless "unsigned". Unfortunately, all the Alliance's belligerent fervour evaporated after the seizure of the newspaper and the manifesto. "But I," exclaimed the seething Guillaume, who was burning to "risk his neck", "I have remained at my post ... by the newspaper's printing press" (*Bulletin jurassien*, June 15, 1872).[c]

The revolutionary movement in Lyons was just flaring up. Bakunin hastened to rejoin his lieutenant, Albert Richard, and his sergeants, Bastelica and Gaspard Blanc. On September 28, the day of his arrival, the people had occupied the Town Hall. Bakunin installed himself there. And then came the critical moment, moment anticipated for many years, when Bakunin could at last accomplish the most revolutionary act that the world had ever seen: he decreed the *Abolition of the State*. But the State, in the shape and form of two companies of bourgeois National Guards, made an entry through a door which had inadvertently been left unguarded, cleared the hall, and forced Bakunin to beat a hasty retreat to Geneva.

At the very moment when the belligerent Guillaume was defending the September Republic "at his post", his faithful Achates, Robin, fled from this Republic and sought refuge in London. Although aware that he was one of the Alliance's most fanatic supporters and, moreover, the author of the attacks launched against it in *L'Égalité*, and in spite of the reports from the Brest sections on Robin's far from courageous conduct, the General Council accepted him owing to the absence of its French

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[a] [J. Guillaume,] "Le Conseil général...", *La Solidarité*, No. 16, July 23, 1870.— *Ed.*

[b] [J. Guillaume, G. Blanc,] "Manifeste aux sections de l'Internationale", *La Solidarité*, No. 22, supplement, September 5, 1870.— *Ed.*

[c] J. Guillaume, "Au Comité fédéral jurassien", *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne...*, No. 10/11, June 15, 1872.— *Ed.*

members. From that moment on, Robin never ceased to act as the officious correspondent of the Committee of La Chaux-de-Fonds. On March 14, 1871, he proposed convoking a private conference of the International to clear up the Swiss dispute. The Council, realising in advance that great events were brewing in Paris, flatly refused. Robin made several more attempts and even proposed that the Council should make a definite decision on the dispute. On July 25, the General Council decided that this matter should be one of the questions submitted to the Conference which was to be convoked in September 1871.

On August 10, the Alliance, little desirous of seeing its activities scrutinised by a conference, announced that it had been dissolved as from the sixth of that month. However, reinforced by a few French refugees, it soon reappeared under other names, such as the "Section of Socialist Atheists" and the "Section of Propaganda and Revolutionary Socialist Action". In conformity with Resolution V of the Basle Congress and by agreement with the Romance Federal Committee, the General Council refused to recognise these sections, which were new hotbeds of intrigue.[333]

The London Conference (September 1871) confirmed the General Council's decision of June 28, 1870 concerning the Jura dissidents.

*La Solidarité* had ceased to exist, and the new adherents of the Alliance founded *La Révolution Sociale*, one of whose contributors was Mme. André Léo. At the Congress of the League of Peace in Lausanne,[a] when Ferré was in prison waiting for the time when he would go to Satory, she had declared that

> Raoul Rigault and Ferré were the two sinister figures of the Commune who, until then" (the execution of the hostages)[334] "had not ceased to demand bloody measures, though always unsuccessfully".[b]

From its first issue, this newspaper had striven to put itself on the same level as *Le Figaro*, *Le Gaulois*, and *Le Paris-Journal* and other filthy rags by republishing their scurrilous attacks on the General Council. It now considered the time ripe for fanning the flames of national hatred even within the International itself. According to it, the General Council was a German committee master-minded by a Bismarck.

With its three resolutions concerning the Swiss dispute, the political action of the working class, and the public disowning of

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[a] On September 26, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Léo, *La guerre sociale.* Discours prononcé au Congrès de la Paix à Lausanne. Neuchâtel 1871.—*Ed.*

Nechayev, the Conference had hit the Alliance hard. The first of these resolutions placed the blame directly on the pseudo-Romance Committee at La Chaux-de-Fonds and approved the action of the General Council.[a] It advised the Jura sections to join the Romance Federation, and in the event of this union not proving possible, it decided that the sections representing the mountains should take the name of the Jura Federation. It was stated that if their committee continued its newspaper war in front of the bourgeois public, these papers would be disowned by the General Council.—The second resolution, on the political action of the working class,[b] nullified the confusion which Bakunin had wished to cause in the International by inserting into his programme the doctrine of absolute abstention in political matters.—The third resolution, on Nechayev,[c] was a direct threat to Bakunin. It will be seen later, when we discuss Russia, to what extent Bakunin was personally interested in hiding the nefarious deeds of the Alliance from Western Europe.

The Alliance rightly saw this as a declaration of war, and immediately went into action. The Jura sections which supported the pseudo-Romance committee met in Congress on November 12, 1871 at Sonvillier. There were sixteen delegates present who claimed to represent nine sections. In accordance with the report by the Federal Committee,[d] the Courtelary section, represented by two delegates, "had suspended its activities"; the central section of Locle "had ended by dissolving itself", but had temporarily reconstituted itself in order to send two delegates to the Congress of sixteen; the section representing the engravers and guillocheurs of Courtelary (two delegates) "formed as a resistance society" outside the International; the propaganda section of La Chaux-de-Fonds (one delegate) "is in a critical situation, and its position, far from improving, tends rather to deteriorate". The central section of Neuchâtel (two delegates, one of them Guillaume) "has suffered considerably, and would have inevitably fallen, but for the dedication of several members". The two social study circles of Sonvillier and Saint-Imier (four delegates) in the district of

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Resolutions of the London Conference.* "Split in the French-Speaking Part of Switzerland". See present edition, Vol. 22, p. 430.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association.* Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871. See also this volume, pp. 105-06.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 23.—*Ed.*

[d] *Rapport du Comité Fédéral Romand.* [Signed:] A. Schwitzguébel. *La Révolution Sociale,* No. 5, November 23, 1871.—*Ed.*

Courtelary were formed, according to the report, due to the dissolution of the Courtelary central section; now, the few members of this district had themselves represented three times, and by six delegates! The Moutier section (one delegate) seemed only to consist of its Committee. And so of sixteen delegates, fourteen represented dead or moribund sections. But to gain some idea of the damage done to this federation by the preaching of anarchy, one must read this report a little further. Of twenty-two sections, only nine were represented at the Congress; seven had never replied to any of the Committee's communications, and four were declared well and truly defunct. And this is the federation which believed itself called to shake the International to its very foundations!

The Congress of Sonvillier began, however, by submitting to the London Conference, which had imposed on it the name of the Jura Federation; but at the same time, as proof of anarchism, it declared that the whole of the Romance Federation was dissolved. (The latter restored autonomy to the Jurassians by driving them out of the sections.) The Congress then put out its bombastic circular with the principal aim of protesting against the legality of the Conference and of appealing to a general Congress which should be convoked as soon as possible.[a]

The circular accused the International of having deviated from its spirit, which was no less than "an immense protest against authority". Until the Congress of Brussels, everything had been for the best in the best of all possible societies; but at Basle, the delegates lost their heads and, prey to "blind trust", they "violated the spirit and the letter of the general statutes" in which the autonomy of each section and each group of sections had been so clearly proclaimed. Now the International had written the word authority on its banners, but the Jura Federation, that puppet of the Alliance, had written autonomy of the sections. We have already seen how the Alliance means to put this autonomy into practice.

The sins of the Basle Congress were exceeded even more by those of the London Conference, whose resolutions

> "tend to turn the International, a free federation of autonomous sections, into an hierarchic and authoritarian organisation of disciplined sections placed entirely under the control of the General Council which can arbitrarily either refuse to admit them or suspend their work".

[a] *Circulaire à toutes les fédérations de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs.—Ed.*

The members of the Alliance who drew up this circular evidently forgot that their secret rules were only made to consolidate an "hierarchic and authoritarian organisation" dominated by permanent "Citizen B.", and that instructions were being given in it to "discipline" the sections and place them not only "in the hands", but under "the *high* hand", of that same "citizen".

If the sins of the Conference were mortal, then the sin of sins, the sin against the holy spirit, was committed by the General Council. There were "several individuals" in it who considered their

"mandate" (as Council members) "to be their own private property, and London seemed to them the immutable capital of our Association.... Some went so far ... as to make their particular programme, their personal tenets the predominant ones in the International ... as the only official theory acknowledged in the Association ... and in this way an orthodoxy gradually formed with its seat at London and the members of the General Council as its representatives."

In short, they wanted to establish the unity of the International by "centralisation and dictatorship".—In this same circular, the Alliance aspired to dominate the International "with its own particular programme", declaring it to be "an immense protest against authority" and proclaiming that the emancipation of the workers by the workers themselves must be achieved "without any controlling authority, even though this authority has been elected and sanctioned by the workers". We shall see that wherever the Alliance had any influence, it did exactly what it falsely accused the General Council of doing—it tried to impose its ridiculous travesty of a theory as "the only official theory acknowledged in the Association".*—This only affected the Alliance's public and

* Mazzini, for example, held the entire International responsible for the grotesque inventions of pope Bakunin.[a] The General Council felt itself obliged to declare publicly in the Italian newspapers that it "has always opposed the repeated attempts to substitute for the broad, comprehensive programme of the International Working Men's Association (which has made membership open to Bakunin's followers) Bakunin's narrow and sectarian programme, the adoption of which would automatically entail the exclusion of the vast majority of members of the International".[b] Jules Favre's circular, the report of the Rural Sacase on our Association, the reactionary discussions during the debates by the Spanish Cortès on the International,[335] and, finally, all the public attacks launched against it, are riddled with quotations of ultra-anarchist phrases that originated in the Bakuninist camp.

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[a] G. Mazzini. "Documenti sull'Internazionale", *La Roma del Popolo*, No. 38, November 16, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] F. Engels, *Declaration Sent by the General Council to the Editors of Italian Newspapers Concerning Mazzini's Articles about the International* (see this volume, pp. 60-61).—*Ed.*

open activities. As for its secret activities, "the spirit and the letter" of the secret statutes have already enlightened us concerning the degree of "orthodoxy", of "personal doctrine", of "centralisation" and of "dictatorship" which reigned in this "free federation of autonomous groups". We fully realise that the Alliance wanted to prevent the working class from creating for itself a common leadership, since Bakunin's providence had already foreseen this when setting up his *Alliance* as the general staff of the revolution.

Far from wanting to impose an orthodoxy on the International, the General Council had proposed at the London Conference that the sectarian names of certain sections should be abolished, and this proposition was accepted unanimously.*

Here is the General Council's statement on sects in its private circular (*Fictitious Splits*, p. 24[a]).

"The first phase of the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie is marked by a sectarian movement. That is logical at a time when the proletariat has not yet developed sufficiently to act as a class. Certain thinkers criticise social antagonisms and suggest fantastic solutions thereof, which the mass of workers is left to accept, preach and put into practice. The sects formed by these initiators are abstentionist by their very nature, i.e., alien to all real action, politics, strikes, coalitions, or, in a word, to any united movement. The mass of the proletariat always remains indifferent or even hostile to their propaganda. The Paris and Lyons workers did not want the Saint-Simonians, the Fourierists, the Icarians, any more than the Chartists and the English trades unionists wanted the Owenists. These sects act as levers of the movement in the beginning, but become an obstruction as soon as the movement outgrows them; after which they become reactionary. Witness the sects in France and England, and lately the Lassalleans in Germany who, after having hindered the proletariat's organisation for several years, ended by becoming simple instruments of the

* Resolution II of the Conference, Art. 2: "All local branches, sections, groups and their committees are henceforth to designate and constitute themselves simply and exclusively as branches, sections, groups and committees of the International Working Men's Association, with the names of their respective localities attached." Art. 3: "Consequently, no branches, sections or groups will henceforth be allowed to designate themselves by sectarian names, such as Positivists, Mutualists, Collectivists, Communists, etc., or to form separatist bodies under the name of *sections of propaganda*, etc., pretending to accomplish special missions distinct from the common purposes of the Association."

[a] See this volume, p. 106-07.—*Ed.*

police. To sum up, we have here the infancy of the proletarian movement, just as astrology and alchemy are the infancy of science. If the International were to be founded it was necessary that the proletariat would go through this phase.

"Contrary to the sectarian organisations with their vagaries and rivalries, the International is a genuine and militant organisation of the proletarian class of all countries united in their common struggle against the capitalists and the landowners, against their class power organised in the state. The International's Rules, therefore, speak of only simple 'working men's societies', all following the same goal and accepting the same programme, which presents a general outline of the proletarian movement, while leaving its theoretical elaboration to be guided by the needs of the practical struggle and the exchange of ideas in the sections, unrestrictedly admitting all shades of socialist convictions in their organs and Congresses."

The Alliance did not want the International to be a militant society. The circular demanded that it should be the faithful image of the future society:

> "We must therefore try to bring this organisation as close as possible to our ideal.... The International, embryo of the future human society, must henceforth be the faithful image of our principles of liberty and federation, and must reject any principle leading to authoritarianism, to dictatorship."

If the Jura Federation had succeeded in its plan to transform the International into the faithful image of a society which did not yet exist, and to forbid it any means of concerted action, with the secret aim of subjecting it to the "authoritarianism and dictatorship" of the Alliance and its permanent dictator, "Citizen B.", this would have gratified the desires of the European police, who wanted nothing more than to see the International forced to retreat.

To prove to their former colleagues of the League of Peace and to the radical bourgeoisie that the campaign which they had just launched was directed against the International and not against the bourgeoisie, the men of the Alliance sent their circular to all the radical newspapers. M. Gambetta's *La République française* hastened to acknowledge their services with an article full of encouragement for the Jurassians and attacks on the London Conference.[a] The *Bulletin jurassien*, happy to have found this support in the bourgeois press, reproduced *in extenso* this article in

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[a] "Questions ouvrières", *La République française*, No. 125, March 11, 1872.— *Ed.*

its issue No. 3,[a] thus showing that the ultra-revolutionary members of the Alliance and the Gambettists of Versailles were united by an *entente* that was indeed *cordiale*. To spread more widely among the bourgeoisie the welcome tidings of an incipient split in the International, the Sonvillier circular was sold in the streets of several French cities, notably Montpellier, on market day. It is known that the sale of printed matter on the streets, in France, must be authorised by the police.*

This circular was distributed by the bale wherever the Alliance thought it could recruit friends and malcontents against the General Council. The result was almost negligible. The Spanish members of the Alliance declared themselves opposed to the convocation of the Congress as demanded by the circular and even had the audacity to send reprimands to the Pope.[337] In Italy, only one person, Terzaghi, declared himself in favour of the Congress for a while. In Belgium, where there were no known members of the Alliance, but where the International's entire movement was floundering in a morass of bourgeois phrases about political abstention, autonomy, liberty, federation, and decentralisation and was stuck fast in its own petty parochial interests, the circular had some success. Although the Belgian Federal Council abstained from supporting the convocation of an extraordinary General Congress—which, incidentally, would have been absurd, since Belgium had been represented by six delegates at the Conference—it drew up draft general statutes which simply suppressed the General Council. When this proposition was discussed at the Belgian Congress, the delegate for Lodelinsart[b] observed that the best criterion, for the workers, was the mood of their employers. To judge solely by the joy which the idea of suppressing the General Council engendered among the employers, it could be claimed that it was impossible to

"commit a bigger blunder than to decree this suppression".[c]

The proposition was consequently rejected.[338] In Switzerland, the Romance Federation protested vigorously,[339] but everywhere else the circular was merely received with the silence of contempt.

* The Toulouse Trial. See *La Réforme* (of Toulouse), March 18, 1873.[336]

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[a] "Les socialistes n'ayant plus d'organes...", *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne...*, No. 3, March 15, 1872, p. 3.—*Ed.*

[b] Joseph Hubert.—*Ed.*

[c] "Congrès Ouvrier Belge du 14 juillet", *L'Internationale*, No. 184, July 21, 1872.—*Ed.*

The General Council replied to the Sonvillier Circular and to the Alliance's continual manoeuvrings with a private circular: *Fictitious Splits in the International* dated March 5, 1872. A large part of this circular has been summarised above. The Hague Congress effectively dealt with these intrigues and with the intriguers themselves.

Indeed, these men who made a noise out of all proportion to their importance, met with indisputable success. The whole of the liberal and police press openly sided with them; in their personal defamation of the General Council and their impotent attacks on the International, they were backed by self-styled reformers from all countries: in England, by the bourgeois republicans whose intrigues were foiled by the General Council[a]; in Italy, by the dogmatic free-thinkers who, under Stefanoni's banner, proposed to found a "universal society of rationalists"[340] with an obligatory seat at Rome, an "authoritarian" and "hierarchic" organisation, atheist monasteries and convents, etc., and whose statutes award a marble bust to be installed in the Congress hall for every bourgeois who donates ten thousand francs; finally, in Germany, by the Bismarckian socialists who, apart from their police newspaper, the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, act as whiteshirts[341] for the Prusso-German Empire.

When *La Révolution Sociale* ceased publication, the Alliance used as its official press organ the *Bulletin jurassien* which, under the pretext of protecting the autonomous sections against the authoritarianism of the General Council and against the usurpations of the London Conference, was working to disorganise the International. Its issue of March 20, 1872 frankly averred that

> "by International it does not mean this or that organisation embracing part of the proletariat today. Organisations are secondary and transitory.... The International is, to put it more generally, the feeling of solidarity among the exploited which dominates the modern world".[b]

The International reduced to a pure "feeling of solidarity" will be even more platonic than Christian charity. To give proof of the honest methods applied by the *Bulletin*, we quote the following passage from a letter by Tokarzewicz, editor-in-chief of the Polish newspaper *Wolność* in Zurich:

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[a] K. Marx, *Declaration of the General Council Concerning the Universal Federalist Council* (see this volume, pp. 157-59).—*Ed.*

[b] "Le 18 mars", *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne...*, No. 4, March 20, 1872.—*Ed.*

"In the *Bulletin jurassien* No. 13, there is a *programme of the Polish Socialist Society of Zurich* which will publish its newspaper *Wolność* in a few days. We authorise you, three days after the receipt of this letter, to inform the International's General Council that the programme is *false.*" [342]

The issue of this *Bulletin* for June 15 contains the answers from the Alliance members (Bakunin, Malon, Claris, Guillaume, etc.)[a] to the General Council's private circular. Their answers do not answer any of the accusations which the General Council brought against the Alliance and its leaders. The pope,[b] at a loss for explanations, decided to close the debate by calling the circular "a pile of filth".

"Moreover," he declared, "I have always reserved the right to bring all my calumniators before a jury of honour, which the next Congress will doubtless not refuse me. *And as soon as this jury* OFFERS ME *all the guarantees of an impartial and serious trial,* I will be able to reveal to it, with all the necessary details, all the facts, both political and personal, without fearing the inconveniences and dangers of an indiscreet disclosure."

Needless to say, Citizen B. risked his neck—as usual. He did not appear at The Hague.

The Congress was drawing near, and the Alliance knew that before it was held, a report was to be published on the Nechayev affair. Citizen Utin had been commissioned by the Conference to compile it. It was of vital importance that this report should not be published before the Congress, so that the members would not be fully informed about it. Citizen Utin went to Zurich to carry out his task. Hardly had he settled there, when he was the victim of an assassination attempt which we unhesitatingly ascribe to the Alliance. In Zurich, Utin had no enemies apart from a few Slavs of the Alliance under the "high hand" of Bakunin. Moreover, the organisation of ambushes and assassinations is one of the methods of struggle recognised and employed by this society; we shall see other examples in Spain and Russia. Eight persons who spoke a Slavonic language lay in wait for Utin in an isolated spot near a canal. When he drew near them, they attacked him from behind, hit him repeatedly on the head with large stones, inflicted a dangerous wound on one of his eyes, and would have killed him and thrown him into the canal after first beating him up, had it

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[a] M. Bakunin, "Aux compagnons rédacteurs..."; B. Malon, "Je n'accorde pas..."; A. Claris, "La bonne foi..."; J. Guillaume, "Au Comité fédéral jurassien", *Bulletin de la fédération jurassienne...*, No. 10/11, June 15, 1872.— *Ed.*

[b] M. Bakunin.— *Ed.*

not been for the arrival of four German students.[a] On seeing them, the assassins fled. This attempt did not prevent Citizen Utin from finishing his work and sending it to the Congress.[b]

## IV

## THE ALLIANCE IN SPAIN

After the Congress of the *League of Peace* held at Berne in September 1868,[c] Fanelli, one of the Alliance's founders and a member of the Italian parliament, went to Madrid. He had been furnished with references by Bakunin for Garrido, deputy at Cortès, who put him in touch with republican circles, bourgeois and working-class alike. A short while after, in November of that year, Alliance membership cards were sent from Geneva to Morago, Cordova y Lopez (republican with ambitions of becoming a deputy and the editor of the *Combate*, a bourgeois newspaper), and to Rubau Donadeu (unsuccessful candidate for Barcelona, founder of a pseudo-socialist party). The knowledge of the arrival of these membership cards threw the young international section of Madrid into confusion. President Jalvo withdrew, not wanting to belong to an association which harboured a secret society composed of bourgeois and which allowed itself to be ruled by that society.

As early as the Basle Congress, the Spanish International had been represented by two Alliance members, Farga Pellicer and Sentiñon, the latter being featured on the official list of delegates as "delegate for the Alliance".[d] After the Congress of the Spanish International in Barcelona (June[e] 1870),[343] the Alliance established itself at Palma, Valencia, Malaga and Cadiz. In 1871, sections were founded at Seville and Cordoba. At the beginning of 1871, Morago and Viñas, delegates of the Barcelona Alliance, suggested to members of the Federal Council (Francisco Mora, Angel Mora, Anselmo Lorenzo, Borrell, etc.) ... the foundation of an Alliance section in Madrid; but the latter objected, saying that the Alliance

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[a] This assault took place on June 18, 1872.—*Ed.*

[b] N. Outine, *Au V^me^ Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs à La Haye*, manuscript (see English translation in *The Hague Congress of the First International, September 2-7, 1872. Minutes and Documents*, Moscow, 1976.—*Ed.*

[c] The original mistakenly has: "1869".—*Ed.*

[d] *Compte-rendu du IV^e^ Congrès international, tenu à Bâle, en septembre 1869*, Brussels, 1869.—*Ed.*

[e] The original mistakenly has: "July".—*Ed.*

was a dangerous society if it was secret, and useless if it was public. For the second time, the mere mention of the name was enough to sow the seeds of discord in the heart of the Federal Council; Borrell even uttered these prophetic words:

"From now on, all trust between us is dead."[a]

But when government persecution forced the members of the Federal Council to emigrate to Portugal, it was there that Morago succeeded in convincing them of the usefulness of this secret association, and it was there that the Alliance section of Madrid was founded at their initiative. At Lisbon, a few Portuguese, who were members of the International, were affiliated to the Alliance by Morago. Finding, however, that these newcomers did not offer him enough guarantees, he founded, without their knowledge, another Alliance group consisting of the worst elements among the bourgeois and the workers, recruited from the freemasons. This new group, which included an unfrocked curate named Bonança, attempted to organise the International by sections of ten members who, under its direction, were to help carry out the schemes of the Comte de Péniche, and whom this political intriguer managed to drag into a dangerous venture of which the sole aim was to put him in power. In view of the Alliance intrigues in Portugal and Spain, the Portuguese members of the International withdrew from this secret society and at the Hague Congress they pressed for its expulsion from the International as a public safety measure.

At the Conference of the Spanish International at Valencia (September 1871),[344] the Alliance delegates, also delegates of the International as always, gave their secret society a complete organisation for the Iberian peninsula. The majority of them, believing that the Alliance programme was identical to that of the International, that this secret organisation existed everywhere, that it was almost a duty to join it, and that the Alliance was striving to develop and not dominate the International, decided that all the members of the Federal Council should be initiated. As soon as Morago, who until then had not dared to return to Spain, heard about this fact, he came to Madrid in all haste and accused Mora of "wanting to subordinate the Alliance to the International", which was contrary to the Alliance's intentions. And to give weight to this opinion, he let Mesa read, the following January, a letter

[a] The quotation is from the pamphlet by P. Lafargue, *A los Internacionales de la region Española*, Madrid, 1872.—*Ed.*

from Bakunin in which the latter evolved a Machiavellian plan for domination over the working class. This plan was as follows:

"The Alliance must appear to exist within the International, but in reality at a certain distance from it, in order better to observe and control it. For this reason, members who belong to Councils and Committees of International sections must *always be in the minority in the Alliance sections.*" (Statement by José Mesa, dated September 1, 1872, addressed to the Hague Congress).[345]

At a meeting of the Alliance, Morago accused Mesa of having betrayed Bakunin's society by initiating all the members of the Federal Council, which gave them a majority in the Alliance section and established, in fact, the domination of the International over the Alliance. To avoid this domination, the secret instructions prescribed that only one or two Alliance members should infiltrate into the councils or committees of the International and control them under the direction and with the support of the Alliance section where all resolutions were passed which the International ought to adopt.—From that moment, Morago declared war on the Federal Council and, as in Portugal, founded a new Alliance section which remained unknown to those under suspicion. The initiates at various points in Spain backed him up and began to accuse the Federal Council of neglecting its duties to the Alliance, as is proved by a circular from the Valencia Alliance section (January 30, 1872) signed "Damon", Montoro's Alliance pseudonym.[346]

When the Sonvillier circular arrived, the Spanish Alliance took care not to side with Jura. Even the mother section of Barcelona, in an official letter of November 14, 1871, treated pope Michael, whom it suspected of personal rivalry with Karl Marx,* very curtly and in an altogether heretic manner.

* Copies of this letter, addressed by Alerini "on behalf of the Barcelona group" of the Alliance to "my dear Bastelica and dear friends", were sent to all the sections of the Spanish Alliance. Here are some extracts:

"The present General Council cannot last beyond next year's Congress, and its baneful activities can only be temporary.... A public rupture, on the contrary, would deal our cause a blow from which it would only recover with difficulty, assuming it resisted. We cannot, then, encourage in any way your *separatist tendencies*... Some of us have wondered if, apart from the question of principle, there might not also be in it, or alongside it, *personal problems—problems of rivalry, for instance, between our friend Michael and Karl Marx, between the members of the old A. and the General Council*... We have been distressed to see, in *La Révolution Sociale*, the attacks on the General Council and Karl Marx[a] ... When we know the opinion

[a] The reference is to the anonymous articles [written by A. Léo] "Comment les socialistes honnêtes" and "L'esprit de l'Association internationale", *La Révolution Sociale*, Nos. 2 and 3, November 2 and 9, 1871.—*Ed.*

The Federal Council supported this letter, which shows how little influence the Swiss centre had in Spain at the time. But afterwards it was noticeable that grace had fallen on the recalcitrant hearts. At a meeting of the Madrid Federation of the International (January 7, 1872), at which the Sonvillier circular was discussed, the new group, headed by Morago, prevented the reading of the Romance Federation's counter-circular[a] and suppressed the discussion. On February 24, Rafar (Alliance pseudonym of Rafael Farga) wrote to the Alliance's Madrid section:

"It is essential to kill the reactionary influences and authoritarian tendencies of the General Council."

However, it was only at Palma in Majorca that the Alliance was able to achieve the public adherence of the International's members to the Jura circular. It can be seen that ecclesiastical discipline was beginning to break the last attempts at resistance to the infallibility of the pope.

Faced with all this underground work, the Spanish Federal Council realised that it must get rid of the Alliance as soon as possible. The government persecutions furnished it with a pretext. In the event of the International's dissolution, it proposed to form secret groups of "defenders of the International" into which the Alliance sections would imperceptibly merge. The introduction of numerous members was bound to change the character of the sections, and they would finally disappear with these groups on the day when the persecutions ceased. But the Alliance guessed at the hidden purpose of this plan and foiled it, although without this organisation, the International's existence in Spain would have been in jeopardy if the government had carried out its threats. The Alliance, on the contrary, made the following proposal:

"If we are outlawed, it would be useful to give the International an external form which *could be allowed by the government*; the local councils would be like secret cells which, under the Alliance's influence, would impose on the sections a wholly revolutionary direction." (Circular of the Alliance's Seville section, October 25, 1871.[347])

of our friends on the peninsula, *who are influencing the local councils*, then this might change our attitude towards a general decision, to which we shall conform in every respect, etc., etc."

The old A. is the public Alliance nipped in the bud by the General Council. The copy of the letter from which we have taken these passages is in Alerini's handwriting.

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[a] "Réponse du Comité Fédéral Romand à la circulaire des 16 signataires membres du Congrès de Sonvilliers", *L'Égalité*, No. 24, December 24, 1871.— *Ed.*

Cowardly in action, bold in words—such was the Alliance in Spain, as elsewhere.

The London Conference's resolution on working-class politics[a] forced the Alliance into open hostilities with the International and gave the Federal Council an opportunity to state its perfect agreement with the great majority of the International's membership. Furthermore, it suggested the idea of forming a big working men's party in Spain. To achieve this aim, the working class would first have to be completely isolated from all the bourgeois parties, especially the Republican party which recruited most of its voters and active supporters from the workers. The Federal Council advised abstention in all elections of deputies, whether monarchist or republican. To rid the people of all illusions about the pseudo-socialist phraseology of the Republicans, the editors of *La Emancipacion*, who were also members of the Federal Council, sent a letter to the representatives of the Federalist Republican party, who were holding a congress in Madrid, in which they asked them for practical measures and called on them to state their attitude to the International's programme.[348] This meant delivering a serious blow to the Republican party. The Alliance undertook to soften it, since it was, on the contrary, in league with the Republicans.[349] In Madrid, it founded a newspaper, *El Condenado*, which adopted as its programme the three cardinal virtues of the Alliance: *Atheism*, *Anarchy*, and *Collectivism*, but which preached to the workers that they should not demand a reduction in working hours. "Brother" Morago had a fellow contributor in Estévanez, one of the three members of the Republican party's Directing Committee and lately governor of Madrid and Minister for War. At Malaga, Pino, a member of the Federal Commission of the pseudo-International, and, at Madrid, Felipe Martin, now the Alliance's commercial traveller, were serving the Republican party as electoral agents. And in order to have its Fanelli in the Spanish Cortès, the Alliance proposed backing Morago's candidature.

The Alliance already had two serious grudges against the Federal Council: 1) the latter had abstained on the Jura question; 2) it had also attempted to infringe its [the Alliance's] inviolability. After the Council adopted a position over the Republican party which wrecked all the Alliance's plans, the latter decided to destroy it. The letter to the Republican Congress was taken by the Alliance as a declaration of war. *La Igualdad*, the party's most

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 426-27.—*Ed.*

influential organ, violently attacked the editors of *La Emancipacion* and accused them of having sold themselves to Sagasta.[a] The *Condenado* encouraged this disgraceful charge by maintaining a stubborn silence. The Alliance did more for the Republican party. As a result of this letter, it had the editors of *La Emancipacion* expelled from the International's Madrid Federation, which it dominated.

In spite of government persecution, the Federal Council, during its six-month period of administration after the Conference of Valencia, had raised the number of local federations from 13 to 70; it had, in 100 other localities, prepared the setting up of local federations and had organised eight trades into national resistance societies; moreover, the great association of Catalan factory workers was being formed under its auspices. These services had given the members of the Council such moral influence that Bakunin felt it necessary to bring them back on to the path of truth with a long fatherly admonition sent to Mora, the Council's general secretary, on April 5, 1872 (see Documents, No. 3[b]). The Congress of Saragossa (April 4-11, 1872),[350] despite the efforts of the Alliance, which was represented by at least twelve delegates, annulled the expulsion and renominated two of the expelled members for the new Federal Council,[c] ignoring their repeated refusals to accept their candidatures.

During the Congress of Saragossa, as always, the Alliance was holding secret meetings on the side. The members of the Federal Council proposed dissolving the Alliance. To prevent the proposal being rejected, it was neatly circumvented. Two months later, on June 2, those same citizens, in their capacity as leaders of the Spanish Alliance and on behalf of its Madrid section, sent the other sections a circular[351] in which they renewed their proposal, giving the following reason:

"The Alliance has deviated from the path which it should, in our opinion, have taken in this region; it has falsified the idea which brought it into being and, instead of being an integral part of our great Association, an active element which would have given impetus to the different organisations of the International by helping and encouraging them in their development, it has broken away completely from the rest of the Association and has become an organisation apart and, as it were, superior, with tendencies towards domination, introducing mistrust, discord

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[a] "Segun dice el combate...", "No quieron acabas...", *La Igualdad*, Nos. 1069 and 1074, March 19 and 24, 1872.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 578-80.—*Ed.*

[c] Francisco Mora and Anselmo Lorenzo.—*Ed.*

and division among us.... At Saragossa, instead of bringing solutions and ideas, it has, on the contrary, only put impediments and obstacles in the way of the important work of the Congress."[a]

Of all the Spanish Alliance sections, only the one at Cadiz responded by announcing its dissolution. On the very next day, the Alliance again had the signatories of the June 2 circular expelled from the International's Madrid Federation. It used as its pretext an article in *La Emancipacion* of June 1 which demanded an enquiry into

"the sources of the wealth acquired by ministers, generals, magistrates, public officials, mayors, etc. ... and by all those in politics who, without having exercised any public functions, have lived under the wing of the governments, lending them their support in the Cortès and hiding their iniquities under a mask of false opposition ... and whose property should have been confiscated as a first measure on the day after a revolution".[b]

The Alliance saw this as a direct attack on its friends in the Republican party and accused the editors of *La Emancipacion* of having betrayed the cause of the proletariat under the pretext that in demanding the confiscation of property stolen from the State, they implicitly recognised private property. Nothing demonstrates more clearly the reactionary spirit which was hidden under the Alliance's revolutionary charlatanism and which it wanted to inject into the working class. Nothing proves more clearly the bad faith of the Alliance members than the expulsion, as defenders of private property, of the very men whom they had anathematised for their communist ideas.

This new expulsion was made in violation of the rules in force prescribing the formation of a jury of honour for which the accused could nominate two out of the seven jurors, against whose verdict he could appeal to the section's general assembly.[c] Instead of all this, the Alliance, in order to avoid any restriction of its autonomy, had the expulsion decreed at the same sitting at which it made the accusation. Out of the section's total membership of 130, only 15 were present, and these were in league with one another. The expelled members appealed to the Federal Council.[d]

This Council, thanks to the Alliance's intrigues, had been transferred to Valencia. Of the two members of the old Federal

[a] Circular "Seccion de la A... de Madrid. 2 de junio de 1872", *La Emancipacion*, No. 59, July 27, 1872, p. 3.—*Ed.*

[b] "Informacion revolucionaria", *La Emancipacion*, No. 51, June 1, 1872.—*Ed.*

[c] *Estatutos de la Federacion Regional Española de la Asociacion Internacional de los Trabajadores.—Ed.*

[d] See "Nueva Federacion Madrileña. Circular. Madrid 22 de julio de 1872", *La Emancipacion*, No. 59, July 27, 1872.—*Ed.*

Council who were re-elected at the Congress of Saragossa, Mora had not accepted and Lorenzo had tendered his resignation shortly afterwards. From that moment, the Federal Council belonged body and soul to the Alliance. And so it responded to the appeal of the expelled members with a declaration of its incompetence, although Article 7 of the Spanish Federation's rules imposed on it the duty of suspending, with the right of appeal to the next Congress, any local federation which violated the statutes. The expelled members then formed a "new federation" and demanded recognition from the Council which, in deference to the autonomy of the sections, formally refused. The New Madrid Federation then approached the General Council, which accepted it in conformity with Articles II, 7 and IV, 4 of the Administrative Regulations.[a] The Hague General Congress approved this act and *unanimously* admitted the delegate from the New Madrid Federation.[b]

The Alliance realised the full importance of this first rebellious move. It realised that, unless it were nipped in the bud, the Spanish International, so docile hitherto, would slip out of its hands; and so it set in motion all the means at its disposal, honest and otherwise. It began with defamation. It announced in the newspapers and posted up in the section halls the names of the expelled members: Angel and Francisco Mora, José Mesa, Victor Pagés, Iglesias, Saenz, Calleja, Pauly and Lafargue were dubbed traitors. Mora, who, to carry out his duties as general secretary, had given up his job and for long months had been maintained by his brother, since there were no funds out of which to pay him, was accused of having lived at the International's expense. Mesa, who was editing a fashion magazine to earn his living and had just translated an article for an illustrated journal, was alleged to have sold himself to the bourgeoisie. Lafargue was charged with the mortal sin of having, by a gargantuan dinner, submitted to the temptations of St. Anthony the weak flesh of Martinez and Montoro, two members of the new Federal Council of the Alliance, as if they carried their consciences in their paunches. We are only mentioning here the public and published libels. These measures failing to yield the results desired, the next move was intimidation. In Valencia, Mora was lured into an ambush by members of the Federal Council who were waiting for him armed with clubs. He was rescued by the members of the local federation

[a] See this volume, pp. 10, 12.—*Ed.*

[b] Paul Lafargue.—*Ed.*

who knew the ways of these gentlemen and asserted that it was in the face of arguments equally striking that Lorenzo had tendered his resignation. At Madrid, a similar attempt was made shortly afterwards on Iglesias. The Alliance congregation of the Index marked out *La Emancipacion* for the censure of the faithful. At Cadiz, to instil a salutary fear into the hearts of the sinful, it was stated that any person selling *La Emancipacion* would be expelled from the International as a traitor. The Alliance's anarchy takes the form of inquisitorial practice.

As was its custom, the Alliance tried to have all the representation of the Spanish International at the Hague Congress made up of its own members. To this end, the Federal Council passed round the sections a private circular[a] whose existence was carefully kept secret from the New Madrid Federation. It proposed to send to the Congress a collective representation elected by the votes of all members of the International, and to raise a general contribution of 25 centimos per head to defray the expenses. Since the local federations had no time to arrive at an agreement on the candidatures, it was clear, as the facts proved, that the Alliance's official candidates, delegated to the Congress at the International's expense, would be elected. However, this circular fell into the hands of the New Madrid Federation and was forwarded to the General Council which, knowing that the Federal Council was subordinate to the Alliance, saw that the moment for action had arrived and sent a letter to the Spanish Federal Council, in which it was stated:

"Citizens,

"We hold proof that within the International, and particularly in Spain, there exists a secret society called the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. This society, whose centre is in Switzerland, considers it its special mission to guide our great Association in keeping with its own particular tendencies and lead it towards goals unknown to the vast majority of International members. Moreover, we know from the Seville *Razon* that at least three members of your Council belong to the Alliance...

"If the organisation and character of this society were already contrary to the spirit and the letter of our Rules, when it was still public, its secret existence within the International, in spite of its promise, represents no less than treason against our Association.

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[a] *Asociación Internacional de los Trabajadores. Federación Regional Española. Circular reservada.* "Compañeros: uno de los actos más trascendentales de nuestra gran Asociación...", Valencia, July 7, 1872.— *Ed.*

The International knows but one type of members, all with equal rights and duties; the Alliance divides them into two classes, the initiated and the uninitiated, the latter doomed to be led by the former by means of an organisation of whose very existence they are unaware. The International demands that its adherents should acknowledge *Truth, Justice and Morality* as the basis of their conduct; the Alliance obliges its supporters to hide from the uninitiated members of the International the existence of the secret organisation, the motives and even the aim of their words and deeds."[a]

The General Council also asked them to provide certain material for the inquiry into the Alliance which it intended to present to the Hague Congress, and an explanation of how they reconciled their duties to the International with the presence in the heart of the Federal Council of at least three notorious members of the Alliance.

The Federal Council replied with an evasive letter in which, however, it recognised the Alliance's existence.

Since the manoeuvres which we have been discussing seemed inadequate to guarantee the success of the election, the Alliance went so far in its newspapers as to nominate Farga, Alerini, Soriano, Marselau, Mendez and Morago as official candidates. The result of the voting was: Marselau—3,568; Morago—3,442; Mendez—2,850; Soriano—2,751. Of the other candidates, Lostau obtained 2,430 votes in four Catalan towns which were clearly not yet properly disciplined; Fusté scored 1,053 votes at Sans in Catalonia. None of the other candidates gained more than 250 votes. To ensure the election of Farga and Alerini, the Federal Council gave the city of Barcelona, where the Alliance predominated, the privilege of nominating its own delegates, who were, naturally, Alerini and Farga.—The same official circular stated that the four Catalan towns which had nominated Lostau and Fusté, thus rejecting the Alliance's official candidates, paid 2,654 reales (663 frs. 50 c.) for the delegation's expenses whereas the other Spanish cities, on which the Alliance had foisted its own candidates, since the workers were little accustomed to managing their own affairs, only paid a total of 2,799 reales (699 frs. 75 c.). The New Madrid Federation had good reason to say that the money of the International's members was being used to send the Alliance's delegates to the Hague.[b] Furthermore, the Alliance's

[a] See this volume, pp. 211-12.—*Ed.*

[b] "Compañeros ... Madrid, 21 de julio de 1872", *La Emancipacion*, No. 59, July 27, 1872.—*Ed.*

Federal Council did not pay in full the subscriptions due to the General Council.

All this was not enough for the Alliance. It had to have an Alliance imperative mandate for its delegates, and this is how it was wangled. Through its circular of July 7, the Federal Council demanded, and obtained, the authorisation to lump together in one collective mandate the imperative mandates issued by the local federations. This manoeuvre, worse than any Bonapartist plebiscite,[352] allowed the Alliance to draw up for its delegation a mandate which it intended to impose on the Congress, while forbidding its own delegates to take part in the voting unless an immediate change was made in the manner of voting as prescribed to the International in its Administrative Regulations. That this was mere mystification is proved by the fact that the Spanish delegates at the Congress of Saint-Imier,[353] despite their mandate, took part in the voting which was being carried out by federations, the manner so much praised by Castelar and practised by the League of Peace.*

* *Sentiñon*, a doctor of medicine in Barcelona, a personal friend of Bakunin, and one of the founders of the Spanish Alliance, advised members of the International well before the Hague Congress not to pay their subscriptions to the General Council because it would use them to buy rifles. He tried to prevent the Spanish International from defending the cause of the defeated Commune. Imprisoned for a press offence, he launched a manifesto in which he courageously renounced the International, which was being persecuted at the time. Shunned for this by the whole of the working class in Barcelona, he nevertheless continued to be one of the Alliance's secret leaders, for in a letter of August 14, 1871, three months after the collapse of the Commune, Montoro, a member of the Alliance, referred an Alliance correspondent to Sentiñon who, he said, could recommend him and confirm his Alliance membership.

*Viñas*, a medical student, whom Sentiñon, in a letter of January 26, 1872, recommended to Liebknecht as "the soul of the International in Barcelona", left the International during the persecution so as not to compromise his family, although the police did not even bother to imprison him.

*Farga Pellicer*, another Alliance leader, was accused in the same letter from Sentiñon of having absconded during the persecution, leaving the others to take the legal responsibility for his articles. The rabbit-like courage of the Alliance members boldly asserts, at all times and in all places, their anti-authoritarian autonomy. Their way of protesting against the authority of the bourgeois state is to take flight.

*Soriano*, another leader, and a professor of ... occult sciences, withdrew from the International at the height of the persecution. At the Congress of Saragossa, he opposed, with pathetic courage, the public holding of the Congress demanded by Lafargue and other delegates, because he considered it imprudent to provoke the anger of the authorities. Recently, under Amadeus, Soriano accepted a government post.

## V

## THE ALLIANCE IN ITALY

In Italy, the Alliance preceded the International. Pope Michael stayed there and built up numerous contacts among the young radical elements of the bourgeoisie. The first section of the Italian International, the one at Naples, was, since the time of its foundation, controlled by these bourgeois and Alliance elements. Gambuzzi,* a lawyer and one of the founders of the Alliance, raised his "model worker" Caporusso to the chairmanship of the section. At the Basle Congress, Bakunin, arm in arm with his faithful Caporusso, represented the Neapolitan members of the International, whereas Fanelli,** the Antonelli of the Alliance and a delegate for workers' associations formed outside the International, was delayed *en route* owing to illness.

*Morago,* shopkeeper and frequenter of taverns, preserved his autonomy as a professional gambler by living on the earnings of his wife and his apprentices. When the Federal Council emigrated to Lisbon, he deserted his post as member of the Council and suggested throwing the International's papers into the sea. When Sagasta outlawed the International, he again deserted his post as member of the Madrid local Council and sheltered from the storm in the haven of the Alliance. Although lacking a Christ, the Alliance abounded in St. Peters.

*Clementé Bové,* as Chairman of the Catalan Factory Workers' Association (las tres clases de vapor[354]), was discharged and expelled for his excessively autonomous handling of funds.

*Dionisio Garcia Fraile,* called "our dear colleague" by *La Federacion,* an Alliance organ, in its issue of July 28, 1872, where he published a long letter full of attacks on the New Madrid Federation, worked for the police at Saint-Sebastien and embezzled funds belonging to sections of the International.

* "One of Caporusso's most fervent partisans was the lawyer Carlo Gambuzzi, who thought he had found in him the ideal chairman for an International section. It was Gambuzzi who furnished him with the necessary means to go to the Basle Congress. When Caporusso's expulsion was decided upon in the general assembly of the section, Gambuzzi protested vigorously against the publication of this fact in the *Bulletin,* and also persuaded his friends not to insist on the insertion in the bulletin of the other shameful fact, the embezzlement of 300 frs." (Letter from Cafiero, July 12, 1871).[355]

** Fanelli had long been a member of the Italian parliament. On being questioned about this matter, Gambuzzi stated that it was an excellent thing to be a deputy; that it made you immune to the police and allowed you to travel free of charge on all the Italian railways. The Alliance forbade the workers all political action, since to demand of the State any regulation of working hours for women and children was to recognise the State and to acknowledge the principle of evil; but the Alliance's bourgeois leaders had papal dispensations which allowed them to sit in parliament and enjoy the privileges offered by bourgeois States. Fanelli's atheistic and anarchistic activities in the Italian parliament had been limited, so far, to a high-flown eulogy of the authoritarian Mazzini, the man of "Dio e popolo".

His close friendship with the Holy Father went to our brave Caporusso's head. On returning to Naples, he thought himself superior to the other Alliance members; he behaved as if he were the boss of the section.

"His trip to Basle changed Caporusso completely... He came back from the Congress with strange ideas and pretensions entirely contrary to our association's principles. He spoke, at first quietly, then openly in an imperious manner, of powers which he did not, and could not, have; he affirmed that the General Council had confidence in no one but himself, and that if the section did not bow to his will, he had been empowered to dissolve it and found another." (Official report from the Naples section to the General Council, November[a] 1871, drawn up and signed by Carmelo Palladino, Alliance lawyer.)[b]

Caporusso's powers must have come from the Alliance's Central Committee, for the International never issued any of the kind. The good Caporusso, who only saw the International as a source of personal profit, nominated his son-in-law, an ex-Jesuit and an unfrocked priest,[c]

"professor of the International, and compelled the unfortunate workers to swallow his tirades on respect for private property and other fatuities of bourgeois political economy" (letter from Cafiero).*

He then sold himself to the capitalists, who were disturbed about the progress being made by the International in Naples. On their orders, he dragged the Neapolitan furriers into a completely hopeless strike. Imprisoned with three other members, he pocketed the sum of 300 frs. sent by the section for the maintenance of the four prisoners. These noble deeds led to his expulsion from the section, which continued to exist until it was forcibly dissolved (August 20, 1871). But the Alliance, on escaping from police persecution, profited by this to take the International's place. When sending the official report quoted above, Carmelo

* Rebuffed at Naples, Caporusso had the nerve, two years later, to try and inflict this same individual on the General Council with the following testimonial: "Citizen Chairman of the International, the great problem of labour and capital, which was dealt with at the Working Men's Congress of Basle and which is today taxing the minds of all classes, has now been solved. The man who has been studying the complex problem of the social question is my son-in-law, my daughter's husband, who, examining the decisions of this Congress and invoking the favours of science, has picked up the thread of the difficult knot wherewith to put into perfect equilibrium the working-class family and the bourgeoisie, each in its own right", etc. (signed: Stefano Caporusso).[356]

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[a] The original has: "July".— *Ed.*

[b] Carmelo Palladino, *Relazione Sulla Sezione Napoletana dell'Associazione Internazionale dei Lavoratori. Napoli,* November 13, 1871 (manuscript).— *Ed.*

[c] Michelangelo Statuti.— *Ed.*

Palladino protested on November 13, 1871 against the London Conference in the very terms and with the very arguments used in the Sonvillier circular dated one day earlier.

In November 1871, a section consisting of various elements was formed in Milan.[357] It included workers, mainly mechanics brought by Cuno, alongside students, journalists from the small newspapers, and clerks, all completely under the influence of the Alliance. Owing to his pan-Germanic origins, Cuno was debarred from these mysteries. However, he made sure that after a pilgrimage to Locarno, the Rome of the Alliance, these young bourgeois were organised into a section of the secret society. Shortly afterwards (February 1872), Cuno was arrested and deported by the Italian police.[a] Thanks to this heavenly providence, the Alliance now had a free field, and gradually gained control over the Milan section of the International.

On October 8, 1871, the *Working Men's Federation* was formed in Turin.[358] It asked the General Council for admission to the International. Its secretary, Carlo Terzaghi, wrote literally: "*Attendiamo i vostri ordini*" (we await your *orders*). To prove that the International in Italy, from its first steps, must work its way through the bureaucratic channels of the Alliance, he announced that[359]

> "the Council will receive through Bakunin a letter from the Working Men's Association in Ravenna declaring itself a section of the International".[b]

On December 4, Carlo Terzaghi informed the General Council that the *Working Men's Federation* was divided, since the majority were Mazzinists and the minority had formed a section called *Emancipation of the Proletarian.* He profited by the occasion to ask the Council for money for his newspaper *Il Proletario.* It was not the General Council's business to provide for the needs of the press; but there was in London a committee which was engaged in collecting funds to assist the International's press. The committee was about to send a subsidy of 150 frs., when the *Gazzettino Rosa* announced that the Turin section had openly sided with Jura and had decided to send a delegate to a world congress convoked by the Jura Federation.[c] Two months later, Terzaghi boasted to Regis that he had taken this resolution after having received Bakunin's instructions personally, at Locarno. In view of this hostile attitude to the International, the committee did not send the money.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 151-52.—*Ed.*

[b] C. Terzaghi's letter to the General Council of October 10, 1871.—*Ed.*

[c] "Movimento operajo", *Gazzettino Rosa,* No. 360, December 28, 1871.—*Ed.*

Although Terzaghi was the Alliance's right arm at Turin, the true papal nuncio there was a certain Jacobi, a self-styled Polish physician. In order to explain the hatred which he felt for the so-called pan-Germanism of the General Council, this doctor member of the Alliance accused it of

"negligence and inertia in the Franco-Prussian war; it should be blamed for the failure of the Commune, in that it did not use its immense power to support the movement in Paris, and its Germanic tendencies are conspicuous when one considers that, at the walls of Paris, in the German army, there were 40,000 members of the International" (!), "and the General Council could not, or would not, use its influence to prevent the continuation of the war" (!!—Report from Regis to the General Council, March 1, 1872).[360]

Confusing the General Council with the Press Committee, he accused it of "following the theory of corrupt and corrupting governments" by refusing the 150 francs to Terzaghi of the Alliance. To prove that this complaint came from the bottom of the Alliance's heart, Guillaume considered it his duty to repeat it at the Hague Congress.

While Terzaghi was publicly beating the big anti-authoritarian drum of the Alliance in his newspaper, he was secretly writing to the General Council and asking it to refuse authoritatively the subscriptions of the *Working Men's Federation* of Turin and demanding the formal excommunication of the journalist Beghelli, who was not even a member of the International. This same Terzaghi, the "friend (*amicone*) of the Turin prefect of police, who used to offer him vermouth when they met" (official report of the Federal Council of Turin, April 5, 1872[a]), denounced at a public meeting the presence of the refugee Regis, sent to Turin by the General Council. Given these leads, the police went in pursuit of Regis, who only managed to cross the frontier thanks to the section's help.

Terzaghi ended his Alliance assignment in Turin as follows. When serious charges were levelled against him, he

"threatened to burn the section's books if he were not re-elected secretary, if they refused to submit to his authority, or if they censured him in any way. In any one of these cases, he would take his revenge by becoming a police agent, (*questurino*)" (report of the Turin Federal Council, quoted above).

Terzaghi had good reason for wanting to intimidate the section. In his capacity as treasurer and secretary, he had helped himself to the funds far too liberally in the truly Alliance fashion. Despite the

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[a] C. Bert, *Associazione Internazionale dei Lavoratori. Società l'Emancipazione del Proletario Regione Piemontese,* Turin, April 5, 1872.—*Ed.*

Council's official ban, he had allotted himself an allowance of 90 frs.; he had entered in the books, as paid, sums which had not been paid and which had disappeared from the funds. The balance sheet personally drawn up by him showed 56 frs. in hand which could not be found and which he refused to make good, as well as declined to pay for 200 subscription stamps received from the General Council. The General Assembly unanimously threw him out (*scaccio*) (see report quoted above). The Alliance, which always respected the autonomy of sections, ratified this expulsion by immediately nominating Terzaghi honorary member of the Florentine section and, later, as delegate for that section to the Conference of Rimini.[361]

In a letter of March 10 a few days later, Terzaghi explained his expulsion to the General Council as follows: he had tendered his resignation as member and secretary of that section of riff-raff and spies (*canaglia et mardocheria*) because it was "composed of government agents and Mazzinists", and they had tried to pin the blame on him "do you know what for? For preaching war on capital!" (a war which he had been practising on the section's funds). The letter was intended to prove that the General Council had been strangely misled about the character of this brave Terzaghi who asked for nothing better than to be its humble servant. After all, he had "always declared that, to be a member of the International, it was necessary to pay one's subscriptions to the General Council"—contrary to the secret orders of the Alliance.

"If we joined the Congress of Jura, it was not to make war on you, dear friends; we were merely swimming with the stream. Our aim was to bring a word of peace into the conflict. As for the centralisation of the sections, without depriving them, however, of some of their own autonomy, I find it very useful".—"I hope that the higher Council will refuse to admit the Mazzinist *Working Men's Federation.* You may be sure that no one will dare tax you with authoritarianism. Myself, I assume all the responsibility... If it were available, I would like to have an accurate biography of Karl Marx. We haven't an authentic one in Italy, and I would like to be the first to have this honour."

And what was behind all this toadying?

"Not for myself, but for the cause, so as not to give way to my numerous enemies and to show them that the International is united, I earnestly beg you, if there is still time, to allow me the subsidy of 150 frs. which was decreed to me by the higher Council."

Imagining himself to be immune, Terzaghi seems to have made himself so impossible in Florence with new escapades that even *Fascio Operaio*[a] was forced to disown him. Let us hope that the Jura Committee will better appreciate his services.

[a] Workers' Union.— *Ed.*

If in Terzaghi the Alliance had found its true representative, it was in Romagna that it found its real territory, where it formed its group of so-called International sections whose first rule of conduct was not to observe the General Rules, not to announce their own formation, and not to pay subscriptions to the General Council. They were true autonomous sections. They adopted the name of *Fascio Operaio* and served as centres for various working men's associations. Their first Congress, held at Bologna on March 17, 1872, was asked:

"In the general interest, and to guarantee the complete autonomy of the *Fascio Operaio*, should we subject it to the direction of the General Committee in London or to the one in Jura, or should it remain entirely independent, while keeping up relations with both committees?"

The reply was in the form of the following resolution:

"The Congress does not recognise the General Committee of London or that of Jura as anything other than mere correspondence and statistical bureaux, and instructs the local representation in Bologna to establish relations with both of them and to report back to the sections."[a]

The *Fascio Operaio* committed a great blunder in disclosing the mysterious existence of the Alliance's secret centre to the profane. The Jura Committee felt obliged to make a public denial of its secret existence.—As for the General Council, the representation at Bologna never once informed it of its own existence.

As soon as the Alliance heard about the convocation of the Hague Congress, it pushed to the fore its *Fascio Operaio* which, in the name of its autonomous authority, or its authoritarian autonomy, grabbed the title of Italian Federation and convoked a conference at Rimini on August 5. Of the 21 sections represented there, only one, that of Naples, belonged to the International, whereas none of the really active sections of the International was represented, not even that of Milan. This Conference disclosed the Alliance's plan of campaign in the following resolution:

"Considering that the London Conference (September 1871) has tried to impose, with its resolution IX, on the whole International Working Men's Association an authoritarian doctrine which is that of the *German Communist Party*;

"that the General Council is the promoter and supporter of this fact;

"that the doctrine of the *authoritarian communists* is the negation of the revolutionary sentiment of the Italian proletariat;

"that the General Council has employed highly unworthy methods, such as

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[a] "Associazione Internazionale dei Lavoratori. Fascio Operaio. Federazione Italiana—Regione di Bologna. Primo Congresso Regionale. Sunto del Processo Verbale", *Il Fascio Operaio*, No. 13, March 24, 1872.—*Ed.*

calumny and mystification, with the sole aim of imposing its special *communist authoritarian* doctrine on entire International Association;

"that the General Council has reached the height of unworthiness with its private circular, dated London, March 5, 1872, in which, pursuing its work of calumny and mystification, it reveals all its craving for authority, particularly in the two remarkable passages following:

"'*It would be difficult to carry out orders without enjoying moral "authority", in the absence of any other "freely recognised authority"*'. (Private circular, p. 27[a]).

"'*The General Council intends to demand at the next Congress an investigation of this secret organisation and its promoters in certain countries, such as Spain, for example* (p. 31[b]);

"that the reactionary spirit of the General Council has provoked the revolutionary resentment of the Belgians, the French, the Spaniards, the Slavs, the Italians, and some of the Swiss, and has also provoked the proposition for the suppression of the Council and likewise the reform of the General Rules;

"that the General Council, not without reason, has convoked the General Congress at The Hague, the place furthest removed from these revolutionary countries;

"FOR THESE REASONS,

"The Conference solemnly declares to all the workers of the world that from this moment the Italian Federation of the International Working Men's Association breaks off all solidarity with the General Council of London, affirming at the same time economic solidarity with all the workers and proposing to all sections which do not share the authoritarian principles of the General Council that they send their representatives on September 2, 1872 not to The Hague, but to Neuchâtel (Switzerland) for the opening of the general anti-authoritarian Congress on the same day.

"Rimini, August 6, 1872. For the Conference: Carlo Cafiero, chairman, Andrea Costa, secretary".[c]

The attempt to substitute the *Fascio Operaio* for the General Council was a total failure. Even the Spanish Federal Council, a mere branch of the Alliance, did not dare to submit the Rimini resolution to the vote of the International's Spanish members. The Alliance, to make amends for its blunder, went to the Hague Congress without cancelling the convocation of its anti-authoritarian Congress at Saint-Imier.

Italy had only become the promised land of the Alliance by special act of grace. Pope Michael unveils this mystery for us in his letter to Mora (Documents, No. 3[d]):

"Italy has what other countries lack: a youth which is passionate, energetic, *completely at a loss, with no prospects, with no way out*, and which, despite its bourgeois origins, is not morally and intellectually exhausted like the bourgeois youth of other countries. Today it is throwing itself headlong into revolutionary socialism,

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[a] See this volume, p. 110.— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 115.— *Ed.*

[c] *Associazione Internazionale dei Lavoratori. Federazione Italiana. Prima Conferenza. Risoluzione*, Rimini, August 6, 1872.— *Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 578-80.— *Ed.*

accepting *our entire programme*, the programme of the Alliance. Mazzini, our mighty antagonist *of genius*" *(sic)* "is dead, and the Mazzinist party is completely disorganised, and Garibaldi is letting himself be carried away more and more by that youth which bears his name, but is going, or rather running, infinitely further ahead of him." *

The Holy Father is right. The Alliance in Italy is not a "workers' union", but a rabble of *déclassés*. All the so-called sections of the Italian International are run by lawyers without clients, doctors with neither patients nor medical knowledge, students of billiards, commercial travellers and other tradespeople, and principally journalists from small papers with a more or less dubious reputation. Italy is the only country where the International press—or what calls itself such—has acquired the typical characteristics of *Le Figaro*. One need only glance at the writing of the secretaries of these so-called sections to realise that it is the work of clerks or professional authors. By taking over all the official posts in the sections in this way, the Alliance managed to compel the Italian workers, every time they wanted to enter into relations with one another or with the other councils of the International, to resort to the services of *déclassé* members of the Alliance who found in the International a "career" and a "way out".

## VI

## THE ALLIANCE IN FRANCE

The French members were not very numerous but they were more keen. At Lyons, the Alliance was led by Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc, and at Marseilles by Bastelica—all three of whom were active contributors to the newspapers run by Guillaume. It is thanks to them that the Alliance succeeded in disorganising the movement at Lyons in September 1870. This movement, for them,

* Here is what Garibaldi himself says about this: "My dear Crescio—hearty thanks for sending to me your *Avvenire Sociale* which I shall read with interest. You intend, in your paper, to make war upon untruth and slavery. That is a very fine programme, but I believe that the International, in fighting against the principle of authority, makes a mistake and obstructs its own progress. The Paris Commune fell because there was in Paris no authority but only anarchy, Spain and France are suffering from the same evil. I wish success to the *Avvenire*, and, remain yours, G. Garibaldi.»[a]

[a] *La Favilla*, No. 134, June 5, 1873 (cf. this volume, p. 453).—*Ed.*

was only important in that it allowed Bakunin to launch his unforgettable decree on the abolition of the State.—The activities of the Alliance after the failure of the Lyons insurrection are neatly summed up in the following passage from a letter by Bastelica (Marseilles, December 13, 1870[a]):

"Our real power among the workers is enormous; but our section has not been reorganised since the last persecutions. We dare not do this for fear that *in the absence of the leaders, the elements may disintegrate.* We are biding our time."

That Bastelica, then in a foot regiment, could at any moment be sent away from Marseilles, was sufficient reason for him to hinder the reorganisation of the International section, so essential to its autonomy did he consider the presence of Alliance leaders.—The most evident result of the Alliance's activities was to discredit in the eyes of the workers of Lyons and Marseilles the International, which, as always and everywhere, it claimed to represent.

The end of Richard and Blanc is known. In the autumn of 1871, they turned up in London and attempted to recruit from among the French refugees auxiliaries for a Bonapartist restoration. In January 1872, they published a brochure: L'EMPIRE ET LA FRANCE NOUVELLE. *Appel du peuple et de la jeunesse a la conscience française,* by Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc, Brussels, 1872.

With the usual modesty of the Alliance's quacks, they trotted out their patter as follows:

"We, who have formed the great army of the French proletariat ... we, the most influential leaders of the International in France ... happily, we have not been shot, and we are here to raise before them (*ambitious parliamentarians, bloated republicans, self-styled democrats of all kinds*) the standard under which we fight, and to fling forth to an astounded Europe—despite the calumnies, despite the threats, despite the attacks of every kind in store for us—this cry which issues from the depths of our conscience and which shall resound ere long in the hearts of all the French:—

LONG LIVE THE EMPEROR!"

We shall refrain from investigating whether these two members of the Alliance who had become imperialists owing to the "normal progression of their ideas", were mere "riff-raff", as they were called by their old friend Guillaume at The Hague, or whether the pope of the Alliance had given them the special mission of joining the ranks of the Bonapartist agents. The documents of the Russian Alliance which, according to the secret statutes, will unveil the mystery of mysteries of this mysterious society and from which

[a] The letter was addressed to Paul Lafargue.—*Ed.*

we shall be citing extracts further on, state expressly that the international brethren must infiltrate everywhere and may even receive orders to enrol in the police force. Incidentally, the veneration of these two brethren for their emperor of the peasants does not exceed that in which Bakunin held his own tsar of the peasants in 1862.[a]

After the fall of the Commune, the International grew rapidly in all the French cities which had not been infiltrated by the Alliance. At the Hague Congress, the Secretary for France[b] was able to announce that the International had its organisations in over thirty departments. The two principal Alliance correspondents for France, Benoît Malon and Jules Guesde (the latter was a signatory of the Sonvillier circular) who knew about this rapid development of our Association, tried to disorganise it in the Alliance's favour. When their letters failed to have the desired effect, emissaries were sent, including a Russian named Mechnikov; but their efforts came to nothing. These same individuals who impudently accused the General Council of preventing the workers from

> "organising themselves in each country freely, spontaneously, and according to their own spirit, and particular customs" (letter from Guesde, September 22, 1872)[362]

told the workers—as soon as they began to organise themselves freely, spontaneously, etc., but in complete harmony with the General Council—that the Germans in the Council were oppressing them and that there was no salvation outside their orthodox anti-authoritarian church. The French workers, who were aware only of the oppression from the Versailles, sent these letters to the General Council and asked them what it all signified.

This move by the Alliance in France is the best proof that, as soon as it began to lose hope of dominating the International, it began to fight it. Every section which was not brought under its domination was regarded as an enemy more hostile even than the bourgeoisie. *He who is not for us, is against us* is the rule which it openly avowed in its Russian manifestos.[c] For the Alliance, the success of the general movement was a misfortune if that movement did not bow under the yoke of its sectarianism. And at

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[a] An allusion to the estimation of Alexander II in Bakunin's pamphlet *Народное Дѣло. Романовъ, Пугачевъ или Пестель?* (see this volume, pp. 562-63).— *Ed.*

[b] Auguste Serraillier.— *Ed.*

[c] «Кто не за насъ, тотъ противъ насъ», *Изданія Общества «Народной Расправы»*, No. 2; М. Бакунинъ, *Къ офицерамъ русской арміи.* Geneva, 1870.— *Ed.*

the very time when the French working class needed above all some kind of organisation, the Alliance went to the aid of Thiers and the Rurals[363] by declaring war on the International.

Now let us see who were the Alliance's agents during its campaign in favour of the Versailles.

At Montpellier, M. Guesde had for confidant a man named Paul Brousse, a medical student, who was attempting to carry out Alliance propaganda through the whole department of Hérault, where Guesde had formerly been editor of the *Droits de l'Homme.* Shortly before the Hague Congress, when members of the International for the South of France met to subscribe for a common delegate to the Congress, Brousse tried to persuade the Montpellier section not to pay its share and not to say anything until the Congress had settled matters under discussion. The Committee for the South—the Montpellier section, decided to ask the Congress to exclude Brousse from the International for having "acted disloyally in provoking a split in the heart of the section."[364] His friend Guesde, in a communication sent in October from Rome to the *Liberté* of Brussels,[a] denounced this authoritarian move against Brousse and cited Calas of Montpellier as the instigator, writing out his name in full, whereas he referred to Brousse by his initials. Alerted by this denunciation, the police kept watch on Calas, and immediately afterwards confiscated a letter in the post from Serraillier to Calas in which much was said about Dentraygues of Toulouse. On December 24, Dentraygues was arrested.

The Alliance's most active helpers at Narbonne were: Gondres, unmasked as a police informer; Bacave who, at Narbonne and Perpignan, was carrying out the duties of police agent; and de Saint-Martin, a lawyer and a correspondent of Malon's. In 1866, M. de Saint-Martin had applied for a post in the Ministry of the Imperial Court and the Fine Arts. When he was sentenced in 1869 to pay fine of 800 frs. for a press offence, republicans collected money to pay his fine; but Saint-Martin, instead of using the funds for this purpose, went on a little trip to Paris at the expense of the workers who, to avoid a scandal, had to contribute all over again. Shortly after the May days in 1871,[365] the same Saint-Martin applied to the Versailles government for the post of sub-prefect.

Here is another Alliance agent: in November 1871, Calas wrote to Serraillier:

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[a] J. Guesde, "Rien ou presque rien...", *La Liberté*, No. 42, October 20, 1872.—*Ed.*

"You may count on Citizen Abel Bousquet's absolute devotion to the social cause, he is ... chairman of the Socialist Committee of Béziers."

Two days later, on November 13, Serraillier received the following statement:

"Convinced that our mutual friend, Citizen Calas, has been badly let down in that this citizen relied on M. Bousquet, Chairman of the Electoral Committee of Béziers, and the latter is most unworthy of this, since he is secretary to the Central Police Commissioner for Béziers ... in agreement with Citizen Calas, who has recognised the mistake of which he was the victim, we shall ask Citizen Serraillier to regard as cancelled the last letter sent to him by Citizen Calas and, moreover, we shall ask him, if it can be done, to have M. Bousquet expelled from the International. By authority of the socialist democracy of Béziers and Pézénas" (here follow the signatures).

Serraillier profited by this statement to denounce, in *L'Emancipation* of Toulouse (December 19, 1871), this M. Bousquet as a police agent.[a]—A letter dated Narbonne, July 24, 1872, says that M. Bousquet

"is combining the functions of brigadier chief of police with those of travelling agent for the Genevan dissidents".[366]

It is therefore only natural that the *Bulletin jurassien* of November 10, 1872 should have come out in his defence.[b]

## VII

## THE ALLIANCE AFTER THE HAGUE CONGRESS

It is known that at the last sitting of the Hague Congress, the fourteen delegates of the minority tabled a declaration of protest against the resolutions adopted.[c] This minority consisted of the following delegates: four Spanish, five Belgian, two Jurassian, two Dutch, and one American.

After having agreed at Brussels with the Belgians on the principles for common action against the new General Council, the Jurassians and the Spaniards left for Saint-Imier in Switzerland to hold the anti-authoritarian Congress which the Alliance had arranged to have convoked by its acolytes in Rimini.

This Congress was preceded by that of the Jura Federation,

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[a] A. Serraillier, "A la rédaction de *L'Émancipation* de Toulouse", *L'Emancipation*, No. 1243, December 19, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Montels, "Compagnons rédacteurs...", *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne...*, No. 20/21, November 10, 1872 (see also this volume, p. 300).—*Ed.*

[c] "Déclaration de la minorité", *La Liberté*, No. 37, September 15, 1872.—*Ed.*

which rejected the resolutions of The Hague, notably the one expelling Bakunin and Guillaume. As a result, the Federation was suspended by the General Council.[367]

The Alliance was fully represented at the anti-authoritarian congress. Beside the Spaniards and the Jurassians, there were six Italian delegates, including Costa, Cafiero, Fanelli, and Bakunin in person; two delegates claimed to represent "several French sections", and another delegate—two American ones. In all, fifteen "allies". This Congress finally offered Bakunin "all the guarantees of an impartial and serious trial"[a]; and here, too, complete unanimity prevailed. These men, of whom at least half did not belong to the International, appointed themselves members of a supreme tribunal called upon to pronounce the final sentence upon the acts of a General Congress of our Association. They announced their absolute rejection of all resolutions passed by the Hague Congress and refused to recognise in any way the powers of the new General Council elected by it. Finally, they formed, on behalf of their federations and without any form of mandate to that effect, an offensive and defensive alliance, a "pact of friendship, of solidarity, and of mutual defence", against the General Council and all those who recognised the resolutions of the Hague Congress. They defined their abstentionist anarchism in the following resolution, which was a direct condemnation of the Paris Commune:

> "The Congress declares 1) that the destruction of all political power is the first duty of the proletariat; 2) that *any organisation of supposedly provisional and revolutionary political power aiming to bring about this destruction can only be yet another hoax* and will be as dangerous to the proletariat as *all* governments in existence today."[b]

Finally, it was decided to invite the other autonomist federations to join the new *pact* and to hold a second anti-authoritarian Congress six months later.

The split within the International was thus proclaimed. From that moment, the Jura Committee openly took over the management of the dissidents' affairs. The part of the International which followed it was no more than the old public Alliance reconstituted and serving as a cover and tool for the secret Alliance.

On returning to Spain, the four Aymon sons, members of the

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[a] See this volume, p. 485.—*Ed.*

[b] "Les deux congrès de Saint-Imier", *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne...*, No. 17/18, September 15-October 1, 1872, p. 12.—*Ed.*

Spanish Alliance,[a] published a manifesto full of calumnies against the Congress at The Hague and flattery for the one at Saint-Imier.[b] The Federal Council supported this libel and, on the orders of the Swiss centre, convoked at Cordoba for December 25, 1872 the regional Congress which was not to have taken place until April 1873. The Swiss centre, for its part, hastened to disclose to everybody the subordinate position which the Council had been occupying beside it. Over the head of the Spanish Council, the Jura Committee sent the Saint-Imier resolutions to all the local federations in Spain.

At the Congress of Cordoba, there were only 36 federations represented out of 101 (the official number given by the Federal Council); and so this was a minority Congress if ever there was one. The newly formed federations were represented by numerous delegates; Alcoy had six, and yet this federation had never been represented before in a regional Congress. Even during the time of the Hague Congress, it had not yet existed, since it had not provided one vote or one centime to the Spanish delegation. The important and active federations, such as Gracia (500 members), Badalona (500), Sabadell (125), Sans (1,061), were conspicuous by their absence. In a list of forty-eight delegates, there were fourteen notorious Alliance members, of whom ten represented federations of which they were not members and which probably did not even know them. Sure of the majority which it had engineered, the Alliance gave itself a free hand. The regional federation's statutes, drawn up at Valencia and sanctioned at Saragossa, were scrapped, the Spanish Federation decapitated, and its Federal Council replaced by a simple correspondence and statistical commission which did not even retain the function of sending in the Spanish subscriptions to the General Council. Finally, the Alliance broke with the International, rejecting the resolutions of the Hague Congress and adopting the Saint-Imier pact. It went so far in its anarchy as to repudiate in advance the next General Congress and to substitute for it a new *anti-authoritarian* Congress

"*in case the first one does not restore the dignity and independence of the International by repudiating the Hague Congress*".[c]

At The Hague, the Alliance wanted to impose, by means of the Spanish imperative mandate, the manner of voting which best suited it at the time. At Cordoba, it went so far as to prescribe,

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[a] Alerini, Farga Pellicer, Morago and Marselau.— *Ed.*

[b] "Memoria. A todos los Internacionales Españoles", Valencia, 1872.— *Ed.*

[c] "El Congreso de Córdoba", *La Federacion*, No. 179, January 18, 1873.— *Ed.*

nine months in advance, the resolutions which must be adopted by the next General Congress. It must be admitted that the autonomy of sections and federations could not be pushed any further.

In expelling the Alliance and its leaders from the International, the Hague Congress gave fresh impetus to the anti-Alliance movement in Spain. The New Madrid Federation was supported in its newly launched campaign by the federations of Saragossa, Vitoria, Alcalá de Henares, Gracia, Lerida, Denia, Pont de Vilumara, Toledo, Valencia, the new federation of Cadiz, etc. The Federal Council's circular convoking the Congress of Cordoba asked it to set itself up in judgment on the resolutions passed at the Hague General Congress.[a] This was in flagrant violation not only of the General Rules, but also of the Spanish regional statutes, which stated in Article 13:

"The Federal Council will implement, and will cause to be implemented, the resolutions of the regional and *international* Congresses."

The New Madrid Federation reacted with a circular to the other local federations[b] in which it declared that by this act the Federal Council had put itself outside the International, and asked them to replace it with a new provisional council whose mission would be strict observance of the Rules and not passive obedience to the Alliance's orders. This proposal was accepted; a new Federal Council was appointed with its seat at Valencia. In its first circular (February 2, 1873), it declared itself to be "the faithful guardian of the International's Rules as drawn up and sanctioned at the international and regional Congresses", and protested vigorously against those who wished to sow

"anarchy within the International, anarchy before revolution, disarmament before triumph! What a joy to the bourgeoisie!"[c]

The Belgians held their Congress at the same time as the Spaniards and likewise rejected the Hague resolutions. The General Council replied to them, as to the Spanish secessionists,

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[a] "Asociacion Internacional de los Trabajadores. Federacion Regional Española. Consejo Federal. Circular á todas las federaciones locales". [November 14, 1872]. [Signed:] Vicente Rossell, Vicente Torres. *La Federacion*, No. 171, November 23, 1872.— *Ed.*

[b] "La Nueva Federacion Madrileña. Á todas las federaciones... Madrid, 1° de noviembre de 1872", *La Emancipacion*, No. 73, November 9, 1872.— *Ed.*

[c] "Asociacion Internacional de los Trabajadores. Consejo Federal de la Region Española. Compañeros..., Valencia, 2 de febrero de 1873", *La Emancipacion*, No. 85, February 8, 1873.— *Ed.*

with the resolution of January 26, 1873, which declared that "all societies or individuals refusing to acknowledge the Congress resolutions, or wilfully neglecting to perform the duties imposed by the rules and administrative regulations—place themselves outside of, and cease to belong to the International Working Men's Association." On May 30, it finalised this declaration with the following resolution:

"Whereas the Congress of the Belgian federation, held at Brussels on the 25th & 26th day of December 1872, resolved to declare null & void the resolutions of the 5th General Congress;

"Whereas the Congress of a part of the Spanish federation, held at Cordoba from December 25th [1872] to January 2nd 1873, resolved: to repudiate the resolutions of the 5th General Congress & to adopt the resolutions of an anti-international meeting;

"Whereas a meeting, held at London January 26th 1873, resolved: to repudiate the action taken by the 5th General Congress;

"The General Council of the International Workingmen's Association in obedience to the statutes & administrative regulations & in accordance with its resolution of January 26th 1873, hereby declares:

"All regional & local federations, sections & individuals having participated in & recognising the resolutions of the above mentioned meetings & Congresses at Brussels, Cordoba & London,—*have placed themselves outside of & are no longer members of the International Workingmen's Association.*"

At the same time, it declared once more that no regional Italian federation of the International exists, since no organisation calling itself by this name has fulfilled the minimal conditions for admission and affiliation as imposed by the Rules and Administrative Regulations. In different parts of Italy, however, there are sections which are in order as far as the General Council is concerned and are in communication with it.

For their part, the Jurassians held another Congress on April 27 and 28 at Neuchâtel. There were nineteen delegates present from ten Swiss sections, and a so-called section from Alsace; two Swiss sections and one French section sent no delegates. The Jura Federation thus claimed to count twelve sections in Switzerland. But the delegate for Moutier[a] declared that he had only come to speak in favour of reconciliation with the International, and had an imperative mandate not to take part in the work of the

[a] Henri Favre.—*Ed.*

Congress. Moutier had, in fact, broken away from the Jura Federation after the Congress of Saint-Imier. This left *eleven* sections. The fact that the report from the Committee[a] scrupulously abstained from giving the slightest indication about their internal position and their strength gives us the right to assume that they had no more vitality than at the time of the Congress of Sonvillier. In compensation, the report draws up in battle order the external forces of the Jurassians, the allies whom the Alliance gained after the Hague Congress. According to this report, they were nearly all federations of the International:

"Italy"—But we have seen that there is no Italian federation.

"Spain"—Although the majority of the Spanish International members have moved across into the secessionist camp, we have just seen that the Spanish Federation still exists and is in regular communication with the General Council.

"France, in what is seriously organised there", that is, the "section of France", which apologised to the Congress of Neuchâtel for not having sent a delegate. We are taking good care not to disclose to the Jurassians what is still "seriously organised" in France, despite the latest persecutions, which have demonstrated well enough on whose side this serious organisation was and which, as always, have solicitously spared the few Alliance members in France.

"The whole of Belgium"—is the dupe of the Alliance, whose principles she is far from sharing.

"Holland, except for one section"—that is to say, *two* Dutch sections supported not the Saint-Imier pact, but the anti-separatist declaration of the minority at The Hague.

"England, except for a few dissidents"!—The "dissidents", that is to say, the vast majority of the English sections of the International, held their Congress on June 1 and 2 at Manchester, where twenty-six delegates were present representing twenty-three sections[368]; whereas the "England" of the Jurassians had no sections or Federal Council, much less a Congress.

"America, apart from a few dissidents"!—The American Federation of the International exists and functions regularly in complete harmony with the General Council. It has its Federal Council and its Congresses. The "America" of the Jura Committee consists purely of those bourgeois dealers in free love, paper money, public appointments and bribes, who were represented so

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[a] "Rapport du Comité Fédéral Jurassien...", *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne...*, No. 9, May 1, 1873.—*Ed.*

magnificently at the Hague Congress by Mr. West that even the Jura delegates dared not speak or vote in his favour.

"The Slavs"—that is to say, the "Slav section of Zurich", which, as always, figures as a whole race. The Poles, the Russians, and the Austrian and Hungarian Slavs of the International, as open enemies of the secessionists, do not count.

This is what the allies of the Alliance amounted to. If the eleven Jura sections were no more real than the majority of these allies, their committee had good reason to keep silent about them.

In this battle order of the Alliance, Switzerland was conspicuous by her absence. There were very good reasons for this. A month later, on June 1 and 2, a general Swiss Working Men's Congress was held in Olten to organise resistance and strikes.[369] Five Jurassians[a] there preached the gospel of absolute autonomy of the sections; they made the Congress waste over half its time. Finally, the matter had to be put to vote. The result was that of eighty delegates, seventy-five voted against the five Jurassians who had no alternative but to leave the hall.

At its secret gatherings, however, the Alliance apparently did not subscribe, where its real forces were concerned, to the illusions which it wanted to impose on the public. At that same Congress of Neuchâtel, it had the following resolution adopted:

> "Considering that, in accordance with the General Rules, the General Congress of the International meets every year without need of convocation by the General Council, the Jura Federation proposes to all the federations of the International that they should meet for a General Congress on Monday, September 1, in a Swiss town."

And to prevent this congress from repeating the "fatal errors of The Hague", it was requested that the Alliance delegates and their allies should meet, on August 28, for an anti-authoritarian Congress. From the debate on this proposition, it emerges that

> "for us, the only General Congress of the International will be the one convoked directly by the federations themselves, and not the *one which the so-called General Council of New York might attempt to convoke*".[b]

Here, then, is the split carried to extremes with all the attendant consequences. The members of the International will go to the congress which the preceding Congress has instructed the General Council to convoke in a Swiss town of its own choosing. The

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[a] James Guillaume, J.-L. Pindy, Henri Wenker, Léon Schwitzguébel, Charles Gameter.— *Ed.*

[b] "Le Congrès jurassien, des 27 et 28 avril 1873", *L'Internationale*, No. 228, May 18, 1873.— *Ed.*

Alliance members and their suite of dupes will go to a congress convoked by themselves on the strength of their autonomy. We wish them a pleasant journey.

## VIII

## THE ALLIANCE IN RUSSIA

### 1. THE NECHAYEV TRIAL

The Alliance's activities in Russia were revealed to us by the political trial known as "the Nechayev affair" which took place in July 1871 before the Court of Justice in St. Petersburg. For the first time in Russia, a political trial took place before a jury and in public. All the accused, numbering over eighty men and women, belonged, with a few exceptions, to the student youth. From November 1869 to July 1871, they were kept in detention in the dungeons of the fortress[a] in St. Petersburg, with the result that two of them died and several others went insane. They were brought out of prison to be condemned to the Siberian mines, to penal servitude, and to imprisonment for fifteen, twelve, ten, seven and two years. And those acquitted by the public tribunal were then exiled as an "administrative measure".

Their crime was that they had belonged to a secret society which had usurped the name of the International Working Men's Association, to which they had been affiliated by an emissary of the international revolutionary committee who carried mandates stamped with a fake seal of the International; and this emissary had forced them to commit a series of frauds and had obliged several of them to help him in an assassination. It was this assassination which put the police on the trail of the secret society; but, as always, the emissary disappeared. The police showed such perspicacity in their investigations that it was possible to assume a detailed denunciation. Throughout the whole of this affair, the role of the emissary was highly ambiguous. This emissary was Nechayev, who carried a certificate-mandate to the following effect:

"The bearer of this certificate is one of the authorised representatives of the Russian branch of the World Revolutionary Alliance.—No. 2771."

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[a] Peter and Paul Fortress.—*Ed.*

This certificate carried: 1) a stamp, in French: "European Revolutionary Alliance. General Committee"; 2) date—May 12, 1869; 3) signature—*Mikhail Bakunin.**

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In 1861, as a result of the fiscal measures intended to deprive poor young people of a higher education, and as a result of disciplinary steps aimed at subjecting them to arbitrary police control, the students made a vigorous and unanimous protest which they took from their meetings out into the streets to be expressed in impressive demonstrations. St. Petersburg University was then closed for a time and the students were imprisoned or exiled. This government move drove the young people into secret societies which inevitably resulted in large numbers of the members being imprisoned, banished, or sent to Siberia. Others, to provide the necessary means for the poor students to continue their studies, founded mutual aid funds. The more serious of them decided not to give the government any further pretext for suppressing these funds, which were organised so that business matters could be discussed at small meetings. These business meetings provided the opportunity to discuss political and social questions at the same time. Socialist ideas had penetrated so deeply among the Russian student youth, who were mainly the sons of peasants and other poor people, that they already dreamed of putting them immediately into practice. Every day, this movement spread further in the educational institutions and injected into Russian society poor young people of plebeian origin who were instructed in, and permeated with, socialist ideas. The heart and soul of this movement's theoretical aspect was Chernyshevsky, now in Siberia.[370] It was at this point that Nechayev, profiting by the International's prestige and the enthusiasm of the young, tried to convince the students that the time had passed for concern with such trivialities, now that there existed a huge secret society affiliated to the International and occupied in fomenting world revolution and ready for immediate action in Russia. He managed to hoodwink a few young people and inveigle them into committing criminal acts, which gave the police the pretext for

* *St. Petersburg Gazette*[a], 1871, Nos. 180, 181, 187 and others.

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[a] *С.-Петербургскія Вѣдомости.—Ed.*

crushing the whole of this student movement, so dangerous to official Russia.

In March 1869, there arrived at Geneva a young Russian who tried to ingratiate himself with all the Russian emigrants by posing as a delegate from the St. Petersburg students. He introduced himself under various names. Some of the emigrants knew positively that no delegate had been sent from that city; others, after talking to the supposed delegate, took him for a spy. In the end, he let himself be known by his real name, which was Nechayev. He said that he had escaped from the St. Petersburg fortress, where he had been incarcerated as one of the chief instigators of the disorders which had broken out in January 1869 in the capital's educational institutions. Several of the emigrants, who had suffered long spells of detention in this fortress, knew from experience that all escape was impossible, and so they were aware that on this point Nechayev was lying; on the other hand, since the newspapers and letters which they received with the names of wanted students never mentioned Nechayev, they regarded his alleged revolutionary activity as mere legend. But Bakunin took up Nechayev's cause and made a tremendous fuss about it. He proclaimed to all and sundry that this was the "envoy extraordinary of the great secret organisation existing and active in Russia". Bakunin was beseeched not to disclose to this person the names of his acquaintances whom he could compromise. Bakunin gave his word; how he kept it will be shown by the documents of the trial.

During an interview that Nechayev requested of a refugee,[a] he was forced to admit that he was not the delegate of any secret organisation, but he had, he said, comrades and acquaintances whom he wished to organise, adding that it was essential to gain control over the old emigrants in order to influence the young people with their prestige and to profit by their printing press and their money. Shortly afterwards, *Words* came out, addressed to the students by Nechayev and Bakunin.[b] In it, Nechayev repeated the legend of his escape and appealed to the young people to devote themselves to the revolutionary struggle. In the student unrest Bakunin discovers "an all-destroying spirit opposed to the State ...

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[a] N. I. Utin.— *Ed.*

[b] The reference is to Bakunin's leaflet *Нѣсколько словъ къ молодымъ братьямъ въ Россіи* and Nechayev's *Студентамъ университета, академіи и тех[нологического] института въ Петербургѣ*, Geneva, 1869.— *Ed.*

which has emerged from the very depths of the people's life" *; he congratulates his "young brethren on their revolutionary tendencies.... This means that the end is in sight of this infamous Empire of all the Russias!" His anarchism served him as a pretext to take a swipe at the Poles, accusing them of only working

"for the restoration of their historic state" (!!).—"They dream, therefore, of a new enslavement of their people", and should they succeed "they would become our enemies as much as the oppressors of their own people. We shall fight them in the name of the social revolution and liberty for the whole world".

Bakunin is clearly in agreement with the tsar on this issue: The Poles must be prevented at all costs from managing their internal affairs as they think fit. During all Polish insurrections, the official Russian press has always accused the Polish insurgents of being "the oppressors of their own people". A touching point of agreement between the organs of the Third Department ** and the archanarchist of Locarno!

The Russian people, Bakunin continues, are at present living in conditions similar to those that forced them to rise under Tsar Alexei, father of Peter the Great. Then it was Stenka Razin, the Cossack brigand chief, who placed himself at their head and showed them "the road" to "freedom". In order to rise today the people are waiting only for a new Stenka Razin; but this time he

"will be replaced by the legion of *déclassé* young men who already live the life of the people... Stenka Razin, no longer an individual hero but a collective one" (!) "consequently they have an invincible hero behind them. Such a hero are all the magnificent young people over whom his spirit already soars."

To perform this role of a collective Stenka Razin, the young people must prepare themselves through ignorance:

"Friends, abandon with all speed this world doomed to destruction. Leave its universities, its academies, its schools [...] and go among the people," to become "the mid-wife of the people's self-emancipation, the uniter and organiser of their forces and efforts. Do not bother at this moment with learning, in the name of which they would bind you, castrate you... Such is the belief of the finest people in the West... The world of the workers of Europe and America calls you to join them in a fraternal alliance."

* It shall be noted that these *Words* were published at the very moment of the persecutions and sentences, when the young people were doing their utmost to moderate their movement which the police themselves found it so advantageous to exaggerate.

** The Third Department of the Imperial Russian Chancellory is the Central Bureau of the secret political police in Russia.

In its secret statutes, the Alliance tells its third-grade members that

"the principles of this organisation ... shall be even more explicitly exposed in the programme of the Russian socialist democracy".[a]

We have here the beginnings of this promise's fulfilment. In addition to the habitual anarchist phrases and the chauvinistic hatred of the Poles that Citizen B. has never been able to conceal, we see him here for the first time acclaiming the Russian brigand as the type of the true revolutionary and preaching to Russian young the cult of ignorance, under the pretext that modern science is merely official science (can one imagine an official mathematics, physics or chemistry?), and that this is the opinion of the finest people in the West. Finally he ends his leaflet by letting it be understood that through his mediation the International is proposing an alliance to these young people, whom he forbids even the *learning* of the Ignorantines.[371]

This evangelical *Word* played a great part in the Nechayev conspiracy. It was read secretly to every neophyte before his initiation.

At the same time as this *Word* (1869), anonymous Russian publications came out: 1) *The Setting of the Revolutionary Question*[b]; 2) *The Principles of Revolution*[c]; 3) *Publications of the "People's Judgment" Society* ("Narodnaya Rasprava") No. 1, summer 1869, Moscow.[d]—All these writings were printed in Geneva, as is proved by the fact that the type was identical with that used for other Russian publications in Geneva—furthermore, this fact was a matter of public notoriety among all the Russian emigrants,—which did not prevent these publications from carrying on their first page the stamp: "Printed in Russia—Gedruckt in Russland", to mislead the Russian students into thinking that the secret society possessed considerable resources in Russia itself.

*The Setting of the Revolutionary Question* gives away its authors at once. The same phrases, the same expressions as those used by Bakunin and Nechayev in their *Words*:

"Not only the state must be destroyed, but also revolutionaries of the State and the cabinet. We are certainly for the people."

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[a] See this volume, p. 573.—*Ed.*

[b] [M. Бакунин,] *Постановка революціоннаго вопроса.* Here and below the titles of Bakunin's and Nechayev's works, as well as those of some other authors, are given in the original in French.—*Ed.*

[c] *Начала Революціи.* (Written by M. Bakunin or S. Nechayev), Geneva, 1869.—*Ed.*

[d] *Изданія Общества «Народной Расправы»*, No. 1.—*Ed.*

By the law of anarchist assimilation, Bakunin assimilates himself to the student youth:

"The government itself shows us the road *we* must follow to attain *our* goal, that is to say, the goal of the people. It drives *us* out of the universities, the academies, the schools. We are grateful to it for having thus put us on such glorious, such firm ground. Now we have ground under our feet, now we can do things. And what are we going to do? Teach the people? That would be stupid. The people know themselves, and better than we do, what they need" (compare the secret statutes which endow the masses with "popular instincts", and the initiates with "the revolutionary idea" [a]). "Our task is not to teach the people but to rouse them." Up to now "they have always rebelled in vain because they have rebelled separately... We can render them extremely valuable assistance, we can give them what they have lacked so far, what has been the principal cause of all their defeats. We can give them the unity of universal movement by rallying their own forces."

This is where the doctrine of the Alliance, anarchy at the bottom and discipline at the top, emerges in all its purity. First by rioting comes the "unleashing of what today are called the evil passions" but "in the midst of popular anarchy, which will constitute the very life and energy of the revolution, unity of revolutionary idea and action should find an organ". That organ will be the world Alliance, Russian section, the *Society of the People's Judgment.*

But Bakunin is not to be satisfied merely with youth. He calls all brigands to the banner of his Alliance, Russian section.

"Brigandage is one of the most honourable forms of the Russian people's life. The brigand is a hero, a protector, a people's avenger, the irreconcilable enemy of the state, and of all social and civil order established by the state, a fighter to the death against the whole civilisation of the civil servants, the nobles, the priests and the crown... He who fails to understand brigandage understands nothing of Russian popular history. He who is not in sympathy with it, cannot be in sympathy with Russian popular life, and has no heart for the measureless, age-long sufferings of the people; he belongs to the enemy camp, among the supporters of the state... Brigandage is the sole proof of the vitality, the passion and the strength of the people... The brigand in Russia is the true and only revolutionary—the revolutionary without phrases, without rhetoric culled from books, an indefatigable revolutionary, irreconcilable and irresistible in action, a popular and social revolutionary, not a political or class revolutionary... The brigands in the forests, in the towns and in the villages scattered all over Russia, and the brigands held in the countless gaols of the empire make up a single, indivisible, close-knit world—the world of the Russian revolution. It is here, and here alone, that the real revolutionary conspiracy has long existed. He who wants to undertake real conspiracy in Russia, who wants a people's revolution, must go into this world... Following the road pointed out to us now by the government, which drives us from the academies, the universities and schools, let us throw ourselves, brethren, among the people, into the people's movement, into the brigand and peasant rebellion

[a] See this volume, p. 576.— *Ed.*

and, maintaining a true and firm friendship among ourselves, let us rally into a single mass all the scattered outbursts of the muzhiks" (peasants). "*Let us turn* them into a people's revolution, meaningful but ruthless." *

In the second leaflet, *The Principles of Revolution*, we find a development of the order given in the secret statutes that "not a stone shall remain standing"[b]. All must be destroyed in order to produce "complete amorphism", for if even "one of the old forms" be preserved, it will become the "embryo" from which all the other old social forms will be regenerated. The leaflet accuses the political revolutionaries who do not take this amorphism seriously of deceiving the people. It accuses them of having erected

"new gallows and scaffolds where the surviving brother revolutionaries have been done to death... So it is that the people have not yet known a real revolution... A real revolution does not need individuals standing at the head of the crowd and commanding it, but men hidden invisibly among the crowd and forming an invisible link between one crowd and another, and thus invisibly giving one and the same direction, one spirit and character to the movement. This is the sole purpose of bringing in a secret preparatory organisation and only to this extent is it necessary."

Here, then, the existence of the *international brethren*, so carefully concealed in the West, is exposed to the Russian public and the Russian police. Further the leaflet goes on to preach systematic assassination and declares that for people engaged in practical revolutionary work all argument about the future is

"criminal because it hinders *pure destruction* and hampers the advent of the beginning of the revolution. We believe only in those who show their devotion to the cause of revolution by deeds, without fear of torture or imprisonment, and we renounce all words that are not immediately followed by deeds. We have no further use for aimless propaganda that does not set itself a definite time and place for realisation of the aims of revolution. What is more, it stands in our way and we shall make every effort to combat it... We shall silence by force the chatterers who refuse to understand this."

* To mystify his readers Bakunin confuses the leaders of the popular uprisings of the 17th and 18th centuries with the brigands and thieves of the Russia of today. As regards the latter, the reading of Flerovsky's book *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia*[a] would disillusion the most romantic souls concerning these poor creatures from whom Bakunin proposes to form the sacred phalanx of the Russian revolution. The sole brigandage—apart from the governmental sphere, of course—still being carried out on a large scale in Russia is the stealing of horses, run as a commercial enterprise by the capitalists, of whom the "revolutionaries without phrases" are but the tools and victims.

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[a] Н. Флеровскій, *Положеніе рабочаго класса въ Россіи. Наблюденія и изслѣдованія*, St. Petersburg, 1869.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 573.— *Ed.*

These threats were addressed to the Russian emigrants who had not bowed to Bakunin's papal authority and whom he called doctrinaires.

"We break all ties with the political emigrants who refuse to return to their country to join our ranks, and until these ranks become evident, with all those who refuse to work for their public emergence on the scene of Russian life. *We make exception for the emigrants who have already declared themselves workers of the European revolution.* From now on we shall make no further repetitions or appeals... He who has ears and eyes will hear and see the men of action, and if he does not join them his destruction will be no fault of ours, just as it will be no fault of ours if all who hide behind the scenes are cold-bloodedly and pitilessly destroyed, along with the scenery that hides them."

At this point we can see right through Bakunin. While enjoining the emigrants on pain of death to return to Russia as agents of his secret society—like the Russian police-spies who would offer them passports and money to go there and join in conspiracies—he grants himself a papal dispensation to remain peacefully in Switzerland as "a worker of the European revolution", and to occupy himself composing manifestos that compromise the unfortunate students whom the police hold in their prisons.

"While not recognising any other activity but that of destruction, we acknowledge that the forms in which it manifests itself may be extremely varied: poison, dagger, noose, etc. The revolution sanctifies all without distinction. The field is open!—Let all young and healthy minds undertake at once the sacred work of destroying evil, purging and enlightening the Russian land by fire and sword, uniting fraternally with those who will do the same thing throughout Europe."

Let us add that in this sublime proclamation the inevitable brigand figures in the melodramatic person of Karl Moor (from Schiller's *Robbers*), and that No. 2 of *The People's Judgment*,[a] quoting a passage from this leaflet, calls it straight out "*a proclamation of Bakunin's*".

Number 1 of the *Publications of the "People's Judgment"* Society* begins by proclaiming that the general uprising of the Russian people is imminent and close at hand.[b]

"We, that is to say, that part of the popular youth which have reached a certain stage of development, we must clear the way for it; in other words, we must

* Bakunin and Nechayev always translate this expression as "justice populaire", but the Russian word "rasprava" means not justice, but judgment, or rather revenge.

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[a] «Кто не за насъ, тотъ противъ насъ», *Изданія Общества «Народной Расправы»*, No. 2, St. Petersburg, 1870.— *Ed.*

[b] «Всенародное возстаніе», *Изданія Общества «Народной Расправы»*, No. 1, Moscow, 1869.— *Ed.*

eliminate all the obstacles to its progress and prepare favourable conditions for it... In view of the imminence of the uprising, we deem it necessary to unite into a single indissoluble whole all revolutionary efforts scattered all over Russia. That is why we have decided to publish, *on behalf of the revolutionary centre*, leaflets in which every one of our coreligionaries scattered all over Russia, every one of the workers for the sacred cause of the Revolution, although unknown to us, will always see what we want and where we are going."

The leaflet then states:

"Thought has value for us only inasmuch as it serves the great cause of *universal pan-destruction*. The revolutionary who studies the revolution in books will never be good for anything... We have no more faith in words. The word has value for us only when it is followed by action; but not all is action which bears the name. For example, the modest and too circumspect organisation of secret societies which have no external manifestations is, in our view, nothing but ridiculous and disgusting child's play. By external manifestations, we mean only a series of acts positively destroying something, a person, a thing, an enchainment which hinders popular emancipation... Without sparing our lives, without stopping before any threat, any obstacle, any danger, etc., we must, by a series of audacious and, yes, arrogant attempts, burst into the life of the people and inspire them with faith [...] in their own powers, awaken them, rally them and urge them on to the triumph of their own cause."

But suddenly the revolutionary phrases of the *Judgment* turn into attacks on *The People's Cause*,[a] a Russian newspaper published in Geneva which defended the programme and organisation of the International. It was, as we see, of the greatest importance for the Alliance propaganda that Bakunin was carrying out in Russia in the name of the International, that a newspaper unmasking his fraud should be silenced.

"If this newspaper continues in the same fashion, we shall not hesitate to express and demonstrate to it what our relations with it must be... We are convinced that all serious men will now lay aside all theory, and the more so all doctrinairism. *We can prevent* the publication of writings which, though sincere, are nevertheless contrary to our banner, *by various practical means at our disposal.*"

After these threats to its dangerous rival, the *People's Judgment* continues:

"Among the leaflets lately published abroad, we recommend, almost without any reserve, *Bakunin's appeal to the déclassé student youth*... Bakunin is right when he advises to leave the academies, the universities, and the schools, and to go among the people."

Bakunin noticeably never lets slip the occasion to offer himself a swing of the censer.

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[a] *Народное Дѣло. La Cause du Peuple.—Ed.*

The second article is entitled: "A glimpse at the past and present notions of the *cause*."[a] We have just seen Bakunin and Nechayev threatening the Russian organ of the International abroad. In this article, we shall see them descend on Chernyshevsky, the man who, in Russia, had done most to draw into the socialist movement the student youth whom they claimed to represent.

"Certainly, the peasants have never engaged in imagining forms of the future social order; nevertheless, after the elimination of all obstructions (that is, after the pan-destructive revolution, which is the first thing to be accomplished and consequently the most important one for us), they will be able to arrange their lives with more sense than can be found in the theories and projects of the doctrinarian socialists who want to impose themselves on the people as teachers and, even worse, directors. In the eyes of people not corrupted by the spectacles of civilisation, the tendencies of these unwanted teachers are only too obvious. They seek, under the pretext of science and art,etc., to prepare *cosy little niches* for themselves and their kind. Even if these tendencies were disinterested and naive, even if they were but the inevitable fruit of all order imbued with modern civilisation, the people would gain nothing by them. The ideal goal of social equality was incomparably better achieved in the Cossack society organised by Vasily Us in Astrakhan after the departure of Stenka Razin, than in Fourier's phalansteries, the institutions of Cabet, Louis Blanc and other socialist savants" (!), "or in the associations of Chernyshevsky."

Here follows a page of invective against the latter and his comrades.

The *cosy little niche* that Chernyshevsky was preparing for himself was presented to him by the Russian government in the form of a prison cell in Siberia, whereas Bakunin, relieved of this danger in his capacity as worker for the European revolution, limited himself to demonstrations *from without*. And it was at the very time when the government severely forbade the mere mention of Chernyshevsky's name in the press, that Messrs Bakunin and Nechayev attacked him.

Our "amorphous" revolutionaries continue:

"We undertake to demolish this rotten social edifice... We come from the people with our skins rent by the teeth of the existing order; we come guided by hatred for all that is not of the people, having no notion of moral obligations or of any kind of honesty towards this world which we hate and of which we expect nothing but evil. We have but one single invariable and negative plan: that of merciless destruction. We categorically renounce the elaboration of future conditions of life, this task being incompatible with our activities, and for that reason we regard as futile all purely theoretical brain work... We undertake exclusively the destruction of the existing social order."

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[a] «Взглядъ на прежнее и нынѣшнее пониманіе дѣла», *Изданія Общества «Народной Расправы»*, No. 1.—*Ed.*

These two demonstrators from without are insinuating that the attempted assassination of the tsar[a] in 1866 was one of a "series of pan-destructive acts" committed by their own secret society:

"It was Karakozov who began our sacred work on April 4, 1866. Only since that time has the consciousness of their revolutionary powers been stirring to life among the young people... It was an example, a deed! No propaganda can be of such great significance."

They then draw up a long list of "creatures" condemned by the committee to immediate death. Several "will have their tongues torn out" ... but

"*we shall not touch the tsar* ... we shall save him for the judgment of the people, of the peasants; this right belongs to all the people ... so let our executioner live until the moment of the popular storm... "

No one will venture to doubt that these Russian pamphlets, the secret statutes, and all the works published by Bakunin since 1869 in French,[b] come from one and the same source. On the contrary, all these three categories complement one another. They correspond to some extent to the three degrees of initiation into the famous organisation of pan-destruction. The French brochures of Citizen B. are written for the rank and file of the Alliance, whose prejudices are taken into account. They are told of nothing but pure anarchy, of anti-authoritarianism, of a free federation of autonomous groups and other equally harmless things: a mere jumble of words. The secret statutes are intended for the international brethren of the West; there anarchy becomes "the complete unleashing of people's life ... of evil passions", but underneath this anarchy there lies the secret directing element—the brothers themselves; they are given only a few vague indications on the morality of the Alliance, stolen from Loyola, and the necessity of leaving not a stone standing is mentioned only in passing, because these are Westerners brought up on philistine prejudices and some allowances have to be made for them. They are told that the truth, too blinding for eyes not yet accustomed to true anarchism, will be fully revealed in the programme of the Russian section. Only to the born anarchists, to the people elect, to his young people of Holy Russia does the prophet dare to speak out openly. There anarchy means universal pan-destruction;

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[a] Alexander II.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the following Bakunin's works: *Programme de la Section de l'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste; Quelques paroles—A mes jeunes frères en Russie; Lettres à un Français sur la crise actuelle. Septembre 1870; L'Empire knouto-germanique et la révolution sociale.*—*Ed.*

the revolution, a series of assassinations, first individual and then *en masse*; the sole rule of action, the Jesuit morality intensified; the revolutionary type, the brigand. There, thought and learning are absolutely forbidden to the young as mundane occupations that could lead them to doubt the all-destructive orthodoxy. Those who persist in adhering to these theoretical heresies or who apply their vulgar criticism to the dogmas of universal amorphism are threatened with a holy inquisition. Before the youth of Russia the Pope need feel no restraint either in the form or substance of his utterances. He gives his tongue free play and the complete absence of ideas is expressed in such grandiloquent verbiage that it cannot be reproduced in French without weakening its comic effect. His language is not even real Russian. It is Tartar, so a native Russian has stated.[a] These small men with atrophied minds puff themselves up with horrific phrases in order to appear in their own eyes as giants of revolution. It is the fable of the frog and the ox.[b]

What terrible revolutionaries! They want to annihilate and amorphise everything, "absolutely everything". They draw up lists of proscribed persons, doomed to die by their daggers, their poison, their ropes, by the bullets from their revolvers; they "will tear out the tongues" of many, but they will bow before the majesty of the tsar. Indeed, the tsar, the officials, the nobility, the bourgeoisie may sleep in peace. The Alliance does not make war on the established states, but on the revolutionaries who do not stoop to the role of supernumeraries in this tragicomedy. Peace to the palaces, war on the cottages! Chernyshevsky was libelled; the editors of *The People's Cause* were warned that they would be silenced "by various practical means at our disposal"; the Alliance threatened to assassinate all revolutionaries who were not with it. This is the only part of their pan-destructive programme which they began to carry out. We shall now describe the first exploit of this nature.

After April 1869, Bakunin and Nechayev began preparing the ground for the revolution in Russia. They sent letters, proclamations and telegrams from Geneva to St. Petersburg, Kiev, and other cities. They knew, however, that they could not send letters and proclamations, much less telegrams, to Russia without the "Third Department" (the secret police) knowing about them. All

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[a] N. I. Utin.— *Ed.*

[b] La Fontaine, "La grenouille qui se veut faire aussi grosse que le bœuf", Paris, 1779.— *Ed.*

this could have no purpose other than that of compromising others. These cowardly tricks of men who risked nothing in their fine city of Geneva resulted in the arrest of a great many persons in Russia. However, they were warned of the danger that they were causing. We have in our hands proof that the following passage in a letter from Russia was communicated to Bakunin:

"For mercy's sake, let Bakunin know that if he holds anything sacred in the revolution, he must stop sending his lunatic proclamations, which are leading to searches in several cities and to arrests, and are paralysing all serious work."[372]

Bakunin replied that it was all nonsense and that Nechayev had left for America. But, as will be seen later, Bakunin's clandestine code makes it obligatory to

"compromise completely ... the ambitious men and liberals of different shades ... so that retreat becomes impossible for them, and make use of them". (*The Revolutionary Catechism*,[373] § 19.)[a]

Here is one proof. On April 7, 1869, Nechayev wrote to Mme. Tomilova, wife of a colonel who later died of grief after the arrest of his wife, that "there is an enormous amount to be done in Geneva", and he urged her to send a reliable man for talks with him.

"The cause on which we must take counsel does not concern only *our trade*, but that of all Europe. Things are in ferment here. There's a soup boiling up that Europe will never manage to swallow. So make haste."

Then comes the Geneva address. This letter did not reach its destination; it was confiscated in the post by the secret police, and resulted in the arrest of Mme. Tomilova, who only learned about it during the investigation. (Report of the Nechayev trial, *St. Petersburg Gazette*, No. 187, 1871.*)

Here is another fact which demonstrates Bakunin's circumspection in organising a conspiracy. Mavritsky, a student at the Kiev Academy, received proclamations which had been sent to him from Geneva. He immediately handed them over to the government, which hastened to send to Geneva a trustworthy man, that is, a spy. Bakunin and Nechayev formed a close association with this delegate from the south of Russia, supplied him with

* All the facts cited by us in connection with the Nechayev conspiracy are extracts from the reports of the trial as published in the *St. Petersburg Gazette*. We shall quote the number of the issue from which they have been taken.

[a] See this volume, p. 547.— *Ed.*

proclamations and the addresses of persons whom Nechayev claimed to know in Russia, and gave him what could only be taken as a letter of confidence and recommendation (*St. Petersburg Gazette*, No. 187).

On September 3 (September 15, new style), 1869, Nechayev introduced himself in Moscow to Uspensky, a young man he had known before going abroad, as emissary of the World Revolutionary Committee in Geneva, and showed him the mandate quoted above. He told Uspensky that emissaries from this European Committee would be coming to Moscow furnished with similar mandates, and that he, Nechayev, had been given the mission of

"organising a secret society among the student youth ... to provoke a popular uprising in Russia".

On Uspensky's recommendation, Nechayev, in order to find a safe refuge, went to the Agricultural Academy, which was some distance from the city, and contacted Ivanov, one of the students best known for their devotion to the interests of the young and the people. Henceforth, the Agricultural Academy was to be Nechayev's centre of activity. First, he introduced himself under a false name and told how he had travelled a great deal in Russia; that the people were ready to rise everywhere and would have done so long ago had not the revolutionaries advised them to wait patiently until the completion of their great and powerful organisation, which was going to combine all the revolutionary forces of Russia. He urged Ivanov and other students to join this secret society, headed by an all-powerful Committee in whose name everything was done, but whose composition and locale must remain unknown to its members. This Committee and this organisation constituted the *Russian Branch of World Union, of the Revolutionary Alliance, of the International Working Men's Association!* *

Nechayev began by distributing the above-mentioned *Words* among the students to show them that Bakunin, the celebrated revolutionary of 1848 who had escaped from Siberia, was playing an important role in Europe, that he was the chief plenipotentiary

* It should be noted that in Russian the words for association, union and alliance (*obshchestvo, soyuz, tovarishchestvo*) are more or less synonymous and can often be used indiscriminately. Similarly, the word for international is mostly rendered by "world" (*vsemirny*). In the Russian press, "International Association" is thus often translated by words which could equally well be rendered into French as "Alliance universelle". It was by making use of this confusion in terms that Bakunin and Nechayev succeeded in exploiting our Association's name and in ruining about a hundred young people.

of the workers, that he signed the mandates issued by the General Committee of the World Association, and that this hero advised them to give up their studies, etc. To give them a striking example of devotion unto death, he read them a poem by Ogarev, Bakunin's friend and the editor of Herzen's *Kolokol*; entitled *The Student*, it was dedicated to his "young friend Nechayev".[374] In it, Nechayev was represented as the ideal student, as the "indefatigable fighter since childhood". Ogarev sang of how Nechayev suffered in his early years for the sake of the living work of science; how his devotion to the people had grown; how, pursued by the vengeance of the tsar and by the fear of the Boyars, he took to a life of wandering (*skitanye*, or vagabondage); how he went on a pilgrimage to cry out to the peasants from east to west: "Assemble together, rise up courageously", etc. etc.; how he ended his life in penal servitude amid the snows of Siberia; how, being no hypocrite, he remained faithful all his life to the struggle; and how, till his last breath, he repeated: "All the people must conquer their land and their liberty!" This Alliance poem was published in the spring of 1869, when Nechayev was amusing himself in Geneva. Batches of it were sent to Russia along with the other proclamations. It would seem that the mere act of copying out this poem had the effect of inspiring a feeling of self-sacrifice in the neophytes, for, on the Committee's instructions, Nechayev had it copied out and distributed by each new initiate (statements by several of the defendants).

Music seems to be the only thing which was to escape the amorphism to which universal pan-destruction reduced all the arts and sciences. On behalf of the Committee, Nechayev ordained that propaganda should be carried out by means of *revolutionary music*, and tried hard to find a tune to which this poetic masterpiece could be sung by the young people (*St. Petersburg Gazette*, No. 190).

The mystic legend of his death did not prevent him from hinting that Nechayev might well be still alive, or from telling, under oath of secrecy, that Nechayev was in the Urals as a worker and that he had founded workers' associations there. (*St. Petersburg Gazette*, No. 202). He disclosed this mainly to those who were "good for nothing", that is, to those who dreamed of founding working men's associations, in order to inspire them with admiration for this fabulous hero. Finally, when the legends of his imaginary escape from the St. Petersburg Fortress[a] and of his

[a] Peter and Paul Fortress.— *Ed.*

poetic death in Siberia had sufficiently prepared their minds and he believed that the initiates were well enough versed in the catechism, he finally brought about his evangelical resurrection and announced that he was Nechayev in person! But it was no longer the Nechayev of old, ridiculed and despised by the students of St. Petersburg, as is affirmed by the witnesses and the defendants; this was the plenipotentiary of the World Revolutionary Committee. The miracle of his transformation had been engineered by Bakunin. Nechayev had complied with all the conditions demanded by the statutes of the organisation he preached; he had "distinguished himself by actions known and appreciated by the Committee"; he had, in Brussels, organised and directed an important strike by members of the International; the Belgian Committee had sent him as delegate to the Geneva International, where he had met Bakunin, and since, to use his own expression, "he disliked resting on his laurels", he had returned to Russia to begin "revolutionary activities". He gave an assurance that a whole general staff of sixteen Russian refugees had come with him.*

Uspensky, Ivanov, and four or six other young people appear to have been the only ones in Moscow who let themselves be taken in by this balderdash. Four of these initiates were ordered to recruit new adherents and to form circles or small sections. The plan of organisation is to be found in the documents of the trial; it conforms in almost every point to that of the secret Alliance. The "general rules of the organisation" were read out before the court, and not one of the principal initiates disputed their authenticity. Furthermore, issue No. 2 of *The People's Judgment* edited by Bakunin and Nechayev admitted the authenticity of the following articles:

"The organisation is based on *trust* in the individual.—No member knows to which grade he belongs, that is to say, whether he is far from or near the centre.—*Obedience to the Committee's orders must be absolute, without any objections.*—Renunciation of all property in favour of the Committee, which can dispose of it.—Any member who has recruited a certain number of proselytes to our cause and who has proved by his deeds the degree of his strength and abilities, may familiarise himself with these rules and, later, with the society's statutes to a greater or lesser extent. The degree of his strength and abilities is assessed by the Committee."[a]

* None of the Russian refugees re-entered Russia, and in any case there are no sixteen Russian political refugees to be found in the whole of Europe.

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[a] «Извѣщеніе и предостереженіе отъ Комитета», *Изданія Общества «Народной Расправы»*, No. 2, St. Petersburg, 1870.—*Ed.*

To hoodwink the Moscow members, Nechayev told them that the organisation in St. Petersburg was already an enormous one, whereas in reality not a single circle or section existed there. In a moment of forgetfulness, he exclaimed to an initiate[a]: "In St. Petersburg, they have been faithless to me like women and have betrayed me like slaves." When in St. Petersburg, however, he said that the organisation was making admirable progress in Moscow.

When, in this latter city, they asked to see a member of the Committee, he invited a young St. Petersburg officer,[b] who was interested in the student movement, to come with him to Moscow and see the circles there. The young man agreed, and on the way Nechayev consecrated him "*delegate extraordinary of the Committee of the International Association of Geneva*".

"You could not," he said, "be admitted to our meetings if you were not a member, but here is a mandate certifying that you are a member of the International Association, and as such you will be admitted."

The mandate bore a French stamp and read: "The bearer of this mandate is the plenipotentiary representative of the International Association." The other defendants affirm that Nechayev assured them that this stranger was the "true agent of the Geneva Revolutionary Committee" (*St. Petersburg Gazette,* Nos. 225 and 226).

Dolgov, a friend of Ivanov, testifies that

"when speaking of the secret society organised with the aim of supporting the people in the event of an uprising and of directing the insurrection so as to ensure its success, Nechayev also spoke of the International Association and said that Bakunin was serving as a contact with it" (No. 198).

Ripman confirms that

"to divert him from his ideas on cooperative associations, Nechayev told him that there was an International Working Men's Association in Europe, and that to attain the goal pursued by the International, it was enough to join this Association, a section of which already existed in Moscow" (No. 198).

Further on, we see from the statements of the defendants that Nechayev was misrepresenting the International as a secret society and his own society as a branch of the International. He also assured the initiates that their Moscow section was going to proceed by strikes and associations on a large scale, just like the International. When the accused Ripman asked him for the society's programme, Nechayev read him several passages from a

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[a] I. G. Pryzhov.— *Ed.*
[b] Shimanovsky.— *Ed.*

French leaflet on the aims of the society. The defendant understood that this leaflet was the International's programme and added:

"Since there had been a lot of talk about this society in the press, I did not see anything very criminal in Nechayev's proposition."

Kuznetsov,[a] one of the chief defendants, said that Nechayev had read the programme of the International Association (No. 181). His brother[b] stated that

"he had seen them at his brother's place copying out a French leaflet which must have been the society's programme" (No. 202).

The defendant Klimin declared that he had been read

"the programme of the International Association with a few lines written as a postscript by Bakunin ... but as far as I remember, this programme was couched in very vague terms and said nothing about the means of achieving the aim, but spoke only of equality in general" (No. 199).

The defendant Gavrishev explained that the

"French leaflet, insofar as it was possible to grasp its meaning, contained an exposition of the principles held by the representatives of socialism who had had their Congress at Geneva".

Finally, the deposition of the defendant Svyatsky completely clarifies for us the nature of this mysterious French leaflet: during the search, he was found in possession of a leaflet written in French and entitled: *Programme de l'Alliance internationale de la democratie socialiste.*

"Much had been said about the *International Association* in the newspapers," he said, "and I was interested to know *its* programme for purely theoretical purposes" (*St. Petersburg Gazette,* No. 230.)

These depositions prove that the secret programme of the Alliance had been passed off in manuscript as the International's programme. That the World Revolutionary Committee, of which Nechayev said he was an emissary, and the Central Bureau of the Alliance (Citizen B.) were identical is proved by the deposition of the chief defendant, Uspensky, who declared that he had collected together all the minutes of the circle's meetings "in order to send an account to Bakunin in Geneva". Pryzhov, one of the principal defendants, testified that Nechayev had ordered him to go to Geneva with a report for Bakunin.

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[a] Alexei Kuznetsov.— *Ed.*
[b] Semyon Kuznetsov.— Ed.

Owing to lack of space, we are not going to mention here all the lies, stupidities, swindles, and acts of violence on the part of Bakunin's agent which were brought to light by the trial. We will only take note of the more striking examples.

Everything was a mystery in this organisation. Dolgov said that

"before joining this society, he would have liked to know its organisation and means. Nechayev had replied that that was a secret and he would get to know it later" (*St. Petersburg Gazette*, No. 198).

When the members ventured to ask questions, Nechayev shut them up, saying that in accordance with the statutes, no one had the right to know anything until he had distinguished himself by some act (No. 199).

"As soon as we had agreed to become members of the society," declared one of the accused,[a] "Nechayev began to terrorise us with the power and might of the Committee which, according to him, existed and directed us. He said that the Committee had its own police, and that if anybody broke his word or acted contrary to the orders of individuals who were more *highly placed* than our circle, the Committee would have recourse to vengeance." The defendant confessed that "having noticed Nechayev's swindles, he informed him that he intended to withdraw completely from this business and go to the Caucasus to recover his health. Nechayev told him that this was not allowed, and that the Committee could punish him with death if he dared to leave the society. He also ordered him to go to a meeting and speak there of the secret society in order to recruit new members, and to read the poem on Nechayev's death. When the defendant refused, Nechayev threatened him. 'You're not here to discuss matters,' he shouted. 'You're obliged to obey the Committee's orders without objection'" (No. 198).

If this were only an isolated instance, there might be grounds for doubt; but several of the defendants, who could not possibly have come to an understanding with one another, testify to exactly the same thing.—Another declared that the circle's members, on realising that they had been tricked, wanted to leave the society but did not dare do so for fear of the Committee's revenge (No. 198).

One witness, speaking of one of his accused friends, said: The accused Florinsky did not know how to shake off Nechayev, who was preventing him from getting on with his work. The witness advised him to leave Moscow and go to St. Petersburg, but Florinsky replied that Nechayev would find him in St. Petersburg just as he did in Moscow; that Nechayev was outraging the convictions of a great many young people by terrorising them, and that what Florinsky seemed to fear was a denunciation on Nechayev's part.

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[a] F. F. Ripman.—*Ed.*

"It was said, and I heard it," testified Likhutin, "that Nechayev was sending very violent letters from abroad to his acquaintances to compromise them and get them arrested. This way of acting was one trait of his character" (No. 186).

Yenisherlov stated even that he was beginning to regard Nechayev as a government agent.

During the meeting of a small circle, one of the members, Klimin, in reply to a stranger who was present as emissary of the Committee and expressed his dissatisfaction with the conduct of the circle, said that

"they themselves were also dissatisfied; that at the beginning the recruits were told that each section could act more or less independently without passive obedience being demanded of its members; but subsequently things had been run quite differently and the Committee was reducing them to the state of slaves" (No. 199).

Nechayev used to issue his orders on pieces of paper stamped: "Russian Section of the World Revolutionary Alliance. Form for the public", and he formulated his instructions as follows: "The Committee orders you to..." carry out such-and-such, go to such-and-such a place, etc.

One young officer, who had become disillusioned, wanted to leave the society. Nechayev seemed to agree to this, but he demanded compensation. The officer had to obtain for him a bill for 6,000 rubles (nearly 20,000 frs.) signed by Kolachevsky. In 1866, Kolachevsky, after Karakozov's attempt to assassinate the tsar, had been detained with his two sisters[a] for a long period. At the time of the present incident, one of them was serving a second term in prison for a political offence. The whole family was under rigorous police surveillance and Kolachevsky could expect to be arrested at any moment. Nechayev made use of this situation. On his orders, the young officer mentioned above invited Kolachevsky to his own place under a false pretext, entered into conversation with him, and gave him some proclamations, which the other took out of curiosity. No sooner had Kolachevsky gone out into the street, than he was accosted by an officer who ordered the other to follow him, announcing that he was working for the Third Department (secret police), and that he knew that Kolachevsky had on his person proclamations of a seditious nature. Now the possession of these alone is enough to lead to years of detention and penal servitude for a man if he has had the misfortune already to have been compromised in a political matter. The self-styled agent of the Third Department invited Kolachevsky to

[a] Alla Nikolayevna and Lyudmila Nikolayevna Kolachevskaya.— *Ed.*

get into a carriage, and, once they were inside, offered him the chance to buy himself off by signing on the spot a bill for 6,000 rubles. Forced to choose between this offer and the prospect of going to Siberia, Kolachevsky signed. The next day, another young man, Negreskul, on learning of this business, suspected Nechayev of being involved, immediately sought out the supposed agent of the Third Department, and demanded an explanation of his swindle. The latter denied everything; the bill had been hidden and was not retrieved until later during the search. The discovery of the conspiracy and Nechayev's flight made it impossible for him to cash the note.—Negreskul had known Nechayev for a long time and had been the victim of one of his swindles in Geneva. Bakunin had then tried to recruit him. Later, they had extorted a hundred rubles from him (No. 230). He had ended up by being compromised by Nechayev, although he detested him and thought him capable of any villainy. He was arrested and died in prison.

We have seen that Ivanov had been one of Nechayev's first recruits. He was one of the most beloved and most influential students at the Moscow Agricultural Academy. He devoted himself to bettering the lot of his comrades and organised aid societies and dining rooms where poor students could eat free of charge and which served as a cover for meetings at which they discussed social questions. He devoted all his spare time to teaching the children of peasants living near the Academy. His comrades testify that he threw himself passionately into all these activities, giving away his last kopek and quite often sacrificing his own hot meals.

Ivanov was struck by the stupidity of the terrorist proclamations issued by Nechayev and Bakunin. He could not understand why the Committee kept ordering the distribution of *Words*, Ogarev's *Song of Death*, *The People's Judgment* and, finally, Bakunin's *Appeal to the Russian Nobility*, a purely aristocratic proclamation.* He

* Here are some extracts from the *Appeal to the Russian Nobility*,[375] a proclamation published by Bakunin: "What privileges have we received for having, during the first half of the 19th century, been the mainstay of the throne which has been shaken to its very foundations so many times; for having, in 1848, during the storms of popular madness unleashed over Europe, saved by our noble deeds the Russian empire from the socialist utopias that threatened to invade it?... What have we been accorded for having saved the Empire from dismemberment, for having extinguished in Poland the flames of the conflagration which threatened to set all Russia on fire, for having, to this very moment, worked with unsparing energy and with unparalleled courage to destroy the revolutionary elements in Russia?—Was it not from our midst that there came Mikhail Muravyov, that gallant man whom Alexander II himself, for all his feeble-mindedness, named the saviour of his country?—What have we gained from all this? For all these inestimable services,

began to lose patience and to ask where this Committee was, what it was doing, and what sort of a Committee it was that invariably put Nechayev in the right and the other members in the wrong. He expressed a desire to see someone from this Committee. He had acquired the right to this, since Nechayev himself had promoted him to a rank equivalent to that of member of a national committee of the secret Alliance. It was then that Nechayev extricated himself from this predicament by staging the comedy, as described above, of the emissary from the Geneva International.

One day, Nechayev ordered the transfer to the Committee of money intended for the students' mutual aid society. Ivanov protested, and a quarrel ensued. Other comrades urged Ivanov to submit to the Committee's decision, since they had accepted the statutes which demanded this submission. Ivanov gave way to their insistences and grudgingly complied. Nechayev then began thinking out a plan for getting rid of this man whom he probably regarded as a doctrinaire revolutionary deserving death. He engaged Uspensky in theoretical conversations on punishment, on the elimination of disloyal members who, by their rebellion, could compromise and ruin the whole vast secret organisation.

The manner in which Nechayev ran his secret society was such as to engender doubts concerning the serious nature of the organisation. The sections had to hold regular sittings to examine the academic registers of the names of all the students, to mark those who were considered likely recruits, and to investigate means of procuring money. One such means was subscription lists for "students who have suffered", that is, who had been administratively banished. The proceeds from these lists went straight into the Committee's pocket, that is to say, Nechayev's. The sections had to obtain all kinds of clothes which were kept in a safe place and were used by Nechayev as disguise during his flight. But the principal occupation consisted in copying out the *Song of Death* and the proclamations cited above. The members of the conspiracy had to write down as accurately as possible everything that was

we have been skinned of everything we possess... Our present appeal is a declaration by a *vast majority of the Russian nobility* which has long been *ready and organised...* We feel our strength in our right, we boldly throw down the gauntlet before the despot, the German princeling Alexander II Saltykov-Romanov, and we challenge him to a noble and knightly combat *which must be taken up in* 1870 between the descendants of Rurik and the party of the Russian independent nobility."

"Muravyov, that gallant man", is nothing but the executioner of Poland.

said at their meetings, and Nechayev threatened them with the Committee, which had its spies everywhere, in the event of them daring to hide anything. Each had to bring to the circle written reports on everything that he had been doing in between meetings, and these reports had to be compiled into a summary for despatch to Bakunin.

All these puerile and inquisitorial practices made Ivanov doubt the very existence of the Committee and the much vaunted powers of this organisation. He began to suspect that it all boiled down to preposterous exploitation and a colossal hoax. He confided to his close friends that if things stayed as they were and if they were given nothing better to do than these silly tasks, he would break with Nechayev and would found a serious organisation himself.

It was then that Nechayev took a decisive step. He gave the order for his proclamations to be put up in the students' dining rooms. Ivanov realised that the posting up of these proclamations would lead to the closing of the dining rooms, the banning of meetings, and the dispersal of the best students. He therefore opposed the measure (this is, in fact, what happened: the students' dining room was closed down and all the delegates appointed to manage it were exiled). A quarrel flared up over this, during which Nechayev kept repeating his stereotyped statement: "It's the Committee's orders!"

Ivanov was in utter despair. On November 20, 1869, he approached a member of the section, Pryzhov, and informed him that he was quitting the society. Pryzhov communicated this statement to Uspensky who, in his turn, hastened to inform Nechayev and, a few hours later, these three met at Kuznetsov's place, where Nikolayev also had lodgings. Nechayev announced that Ivanov must be punished for rebelling against the Committee's orders, and that he must be eliminated to prevent him from doing them any more damage. Kuznetsov, Ivanov's close friend, apparently did not grasp Nechayev's intention, and so the latter declared that Ivanov must be killed. Pryzhov shouted to Kuznetsov: "Nechayev is mad, he wants to kill Ivanov, he must be prevented." Nechayev put a stop to their hesitation with his habitual statement: "Do you also want to rebel against the Committee's orders? If there's no other way of killing him, I'll go to his room tonight with Nikolayev and we'll strangle him." He then suggested luring Ivanov that night to a grotto in the Academy park under pretext of digging up a printing-press which had been hidden for a long time, and they would assassinate him there.

Thus, even at this supreme moment, Nechayev himself paid tribute to Ivanov's loyalty. He was sure that, in spite of his resignation, Ivanov would come and help to dig up the printing-press, and that he was incapable of betraying him since, if he had been harbouring any such intention, he would have carried it out before leaving the society or immediately afterwards. If Ivanov had wanted to denounce Nechayev to the police, he had the chance to get them caught in the act. Quite to the contrary, Ivanov was delighted to have positive proof at last that this organisation actually existed, a tangible sign that it possessed the means of action, even if it were only printer's type. Forgetting all the threats so often made by Nechayev to the unfaithful, he hastened to leave a friend with whom he was having tea and at whose place Nikolayev had called on Nechayev's orders, and off he went in obedience to the summons.

In the darkness of the night, Ivanov went unsuspectingly towards the grotto. Suddenly, a cry rang out. Someone had jumped on him from behind. A terrible struggle began, with nothing to be heard but the grunting of Nechayev and the groans of his victim, whom he was strangling with his bare hands. Then a shot rang out, and Ivanov fell down dead. Nechayev's revolver bullet had pierced Ivanov's skull. "Quick, rope and stones," shouted Nechayev, rummaging through the dead man's pockets for papers and money. They then threw him into a pond.

On returning to Kuznetsov's place, the assassins took measures to hide the traces of their crime. They burned Nechayev's blood-stained shirt. The accomplices were gloomy and uneasy. Suddenly, a second revolver shot rang out and a bullet whistled past Pryzhov's ear. Nechayev apologised for "having wanted to show Nikolayev how his revolver worked". The witnesses unanimously testified that this had been another assassination attempt. Nechayev had wanted to kill Pryzhov because the latter had dared in the morning to protest against the murder of Ivanov.

Immediately afterwards, Nechayev rushed from Moscow to Petersburg with Kuznetsov, leaving Uspensky to act in Moscow. At Petersburg, he made a pretence of always being busy with his organisation; but, to his great astonishment, Kuznetsov noted that there was even less of an organisation there than in Moscow. He dared to question Nechayev: "Where is the Committee, then? Would it be you, by any chance?"—Nechayev denied this again and assured him that the Committee existed. He returned to Moscow and admitted to Nikolayev that since Uspensky had already been arrested, the same would happen to all the others

very soon, and that "he did not know what he ought to do any more". It was then that Nikolayev, his most faithful follower, decided to ask him if the famous Committee really existed, or if Nechayev himself was its sole embodiment.

"Without giving a positive reply to this question, he told me that all means were permissible for drawing people into such a cause, that this rule was also practised abroad, that this rule was *followed by Bakunin* just as by others, and that if such men submitted to this rule, it was entirely natural that he, Nechayev, should act in the same manner" (No. 181).

He then ordered Nikolayev to go with Pryzhov to Tula and fraudulently extort a passport from a worker who was an old friend of Nikolayev's. He later went to Tula himself, where he entreated a Mme. Alexandrovskaya to accompany him to Geneva; it was absolutely necessary for him.

Mme. Alexandrovskaya had been seriously compromised during the disturbances of 1861 and 1862. She even had been committed to prison, where her conduct had left much to be desired. In a fit of frankness, she had written a confession to her judges, and this confession had compromised many people. After all this, she was interned in a provincial town under police surveillance. As she was afraid of not being able to obtain a passport, Nechayev procured one for her, no one knows how. It might be asked why Nechayev had sought out for his travelling companion a woman whose company alone would be enough to get him arrested at the frontier. However, he arrived in Geneva safe and sound with Mme. Alexandrovskaya at his side and, while his wretched dupes were being thrown into prison cells, he and Bakunin set about preparing the second issue of *The People's Judgment*. Bakunin, unbelievably proud to see the *Journal de Genève*[a] mention the Nechayev conspiracy with himself as having played the principal part, forgot that his *The People's Judgment* claimed to be published in Moscow, and he inserted in it a whole page of the article from the *Journal de Genève* in French. As soon as the journal was ready, Mme. Alexandrovskaya was given the task of taking it into Russia with other proclamations. At the frontier, an agent of the Third Department, who was waiting for Mme. Alexandrovskaya, confiscated the parcel. After her arrest, she gave him a list of names which could not have been known except to Bakunin alone.—One

[a] "On s'occupe...", *Journal de Genève*, No. 3, January 5, 1870. Reprinted from *Изданія Общества «Народной Расправы»*, No. 2, the article «Въ послѣднихъ числахъ...» — *Ed.*

of the accused in the Nechayev affair, and one of his closest friends,[a] admitted to the tribunal that

"he had hitherto considered Bakunin an honest man, and he could not understand how he and others could have subjected this woman in such a craven fashion to the danger of arrest".

If Bakunin evaded the necessity of himself going to Russia in order to direct in person the great revolution whose imminent explosion he predicted, at least he worked in Europe as if he had "the devil in his flesh". *Le Progrès* of Locle, the organ of the Swiss Alliance, published long excerpts from *The People's Judgment*.[b] In it, Guillaume praised the great successes of the great Russian socialists,[c] and declared that his abstentionist programme was identical to that of the great Russian socialists.* At the Congress of La Chaux-de-Fonds, when Utin attempted to disclose Nechayev's nefarious deeds, Guillaume interrupted him by saying that to speak of these men was espionage.[d] As for Bakunin, he was writing in *La Marseillaise* as if he had just returned from "a long journey through distant lands which are not reached by free newspapers"[e] so as to create the impression that matters in Russia were taking such a revolutionary turn that he considered his presence there essential.

We now come to the dénouement of the tragi-comedy of the Russian Alliance. In 1859, Herzen had received a bequest of 25,000 frs. from a young Russian to carry on revolutionary propaganda in Russia.[377] Herzen, who had never wanted to release this sum to just anybody, nevertheless let himself be caught by Bakunin, who managed to relieve him of it by assuring him that Nechayev represented a vast and powerful secret organisation. Nechayev therefore thought himself entitled to demand his share. But the two international brethren, whom the assassination of

* In 1868, less than two years before the Congress of La Chaux-de-Fonds at which the Alliance members had their doctrine of political abstention sanctioned, Bakunin deploring, in *La Démocratie* of Chassin,[376] the political abstention of the French workers, wrote: "Political abstention is a stupidity invented by scoundrels to deceive idiots."

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[a] Alexei Kuznetsov.— *Ed.*

[b] "Événements de Russie", *Le Progrès*, No. 6, February 5, 1870.— *Ed.*

[c] [J. Guillaume,] "Le congrès de la Chaux-de-Fonds", *Le Progrès*, No. 14, April 2, 1870.— *Ed.*

[d] "Procès-verbaux du Congrès Romand", *L'Égalité*, No. 18, April 30, 1870.— *Ed.*

[e] M. Bakounine, "Herzen", *La Marseillaise*, No. 72, March 2, 1870.— *Ed.*

Ivanov had failed to split, began quarrelling over a money matter. Bakunin refused. Nechayev left Geneva and published in London, in the spring of 1870, a Russian newspaper *The Commune* (*Obshchina*) in which he publicly claimed from Bakunin the rest of the capital which the latter had received from the then deceased Herzen.[a] Here, indeed, is proof that the international brethren

> "never attack one another, nor settle their differences in public".[b]

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The leading article in the second issue of *The People's Judgment* contains yet another funeral dirge in poetic prose on Nechayev, that hero always dead and always living.[c] This time, the hero had been strangled by the gendarmes who were taking him to Siberia. Disguised as a workman, he had been arrested at Tambov while drinking in a tavern. This arrest had led to extraordinary unrest in government circles. They could speak of nothing but "Nechayev in disguise ... denunciations ... secret societies ... Bakuninists ... revolution". On the occasion of Nechayev's death, the governor of Perm has sent a telegram to Petersburg. The text of this telegram is quoted in full. Another telegram, also quoted in full, was sent to the Third Department, and *The People's Judgment* knew that "having received this telegram, the chief of police jumped in his chair and smiled an evil smile all that evening". Thus it was that Nechayev died a second time.

Ivanov's murder is admitted in the article, which describes it as

> "an act of vengeance by the society on a member for any deviation from his duties. The stern logic of true workers for the cause must not stop at any act leading to the success of the cause, much less at acts which may save the cause and avert its ruin".

For Bakunin, the "success of the cause" was the imprisonment of eighty young people.

The second article is entitled: "He who is not for us, is against us",[d] and contains an apologia for political assassination. The fate of Ivanov, who is not mentioned by name, is promised to all revolutionaries who do not adhere to the Alliance:

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[a] С. Нечаевъ, «Письмо къ Огареву и Бакунину», *Община*, No. 1, London, 1870.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 568.— *Ed.*

[c] «Въ послѣднихъ числахъ...», *Изданія Общества «Народной Расправы»*, St. Petersburg, 1870.— *Ed.*

[d] «Кто не за насъ, тотъ противъ насъ», *Изданія Общества «Народной Расправы»*, No. 2.— *Ed.*

"The critical moment has come ... military operations between the two camps have commenced ... it is no longer possible to remain neutral: to abide by the golden mean is out of the question, for this would mean being caught in the cross-fire between two hostile armies which have begun shooting at one another; this would mean exposing oneself pointlessly to death, it would mean falling under fire from both sides without a chance of defending oneself. It would mean suffering the lashes and tortures of the Third Department, or falling under the bullets of our revolvers."

Next come expressions of gratitude, apparently ironical, to the Russian government for its

"cooperation in the development and the rapid advance of our work, which is approaching its much-desired goal at a headlong speed".

At the very time when the two heroes were thanking the government for speedily bringing closer "the much-desired goal", all the members of the so-called secret organisation were under arrest.—Then the article makes a new appeal. It "welcomes with open arms all fresh and honest forces", but warns them that once they have submitted to these embraces, they must yield to all the exigencies of the society:

"Any renunciation, any withdrawal from the society, made knowingly through lack of faith in the truth and justice of certain principles, leads to removal from the list of the living".

And our two heroes ridicule those who have been arrested; they are nothing more than petty liberals; the true members of the organisation are protected by the secret society, which does not allow them to be apprehended.

The third article is entitled: *The Fundamental Principles of the Social Order of the Future*.[a] This article shows that if the ordinary mortal is punished like a criminal for even thinking about the social organisation of the future, this is because the leaders have arranged everything in advance.

"The ending of the existing social order and the renewal of life with the aid of the new principles can be accomplished *only by concentrating all the means of social existence in the hands of* OUR COMMITTEE, *and the proclamation of compulsory physical labour for everyone*.

"The committee, as soon as the present institutions have been overthrown, proclaims that everything is common property, orders the setting up of workers' societies" (*artels*) "and at the same time publishes statistical tables compiled by experts and pointing out what branches of labour are most needed in a certain locality and what branches may run into difficulties there.

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[a] «Главныя основы будущаго общественнаго строя», *Изданія Общества «Народной Расправы»*, No. 2.— *Ed.*

"For a certain number of days assigned for the revolutionary upheaval and the disorders that are bound to follow, each person must join one or another of these *artels* according to his own choice... All those who remain isolated and unattached to workers' groups without sufficient reason will have no right of access either to the communal eating places or to the communal dormitories, or to any other buildings assigned to meet the various needs of the brother-workers or that contain the goods and materials, the victuals or tools reserved for all members of the established workers' society; in a word, he who without sufficient reason has not joined an *artel*, will be left without means of subsistence. All the roads, all the means of communication will be closed to him; he will have no other alternative but work or death."

Each *artel* will elect from its members an assessor ("*otsenshchik*"), who regulates the work, keeps the books on production and consumption and the productivity of every worker, and acts as a go-between with the general office of the given locality. The office, consisting of members elected from among the *artels* of the locality, conducts exchange between these *artels*, administers all the communal establishments (dormitories, canteens, schools, hospitals) and directs all public works:

"All general work is managed by the office, while all individual work requiring special skills and craftsmanship is performed by special *artels*."

Then comes a long set of rules on education, hours of work, feeding of children, freeing of inventors from work and so on.

"With full publicity, knowledge and activity on the part of everyone all ambition, as we now know it, all deception will disappear without a trace, will vanish forever... Everyone will endeavour to produce as much as possible for society and consume as little as possible; all the pride, all the ambition of the worker of those times will rest in the awareness of his usefulness to society."

What a beautiful model of barrack-room communism! Here you have it all: communal eating, communal sleeping, assessors and offices regulating education, production, consumption, in a word, all social activity, and to crown all, OUR COMMITTEE, anonymous and unknown to anyone, as the supreme director. This is indeed the purest anti-authoritarianism.

To give this absurd plan of practical organisation the semblance of a theoretical basis, a small note is attached to the very title of this article:

"Those who wish to know the complete theoretical development of *our* principal theses, will find them in the writing published by *us*: *Manifesto of the Communist Party*."

In fact, the Russian translation of the Manifesto (German) of the Communist Party, 1847,[378] was announced, price one franc, in

every issue of the *Kolokol* in 1870, alongside Bakunin's *Appeal to the Officers of the Russian Army*[a] and the two issues of *The People's Judgment*. The very Bakunin who abused this Manifesto to lend weight to his Tartar fantasies in Russia, had it denounced by the Alliance in the West as an ultra-heretical writing preaching the baleful doctrines of German authoritarian communism (see the resolution of the Rimini Conference,[b] Guillaume's address at The Hague,[379] *Bulletin jurassien* No. 10-11,[c] the *Federacion* of Barcelona,[d] etc.)

Now that the common herd knows the role "our committee" is destined to perform, it is easy to understand this competitive hatred of the state and of any centralisation of the workers' forces. Assuredly, while the working class continues to have any representative bodies of its own, Messrs. Bakunin and Nechayev, revolutionising under the incognito of "our committee", will not be able to put themselves in possession of the public wealth or reap the benefit of this sublime ambition which they so ardently desire to inspire in others—that of working much to consume little!

## 2. *THE REVOLUTIONARY CATECHISM*

Nechayev took great care of a booklet written in cypher and called *The Revolutionary Catechism*. He claimed that the possession of this book was the special privilege of any emissary or agent of the International Association. According to all the depositions and the strong evidence provided by the lawyers, this catechism had been written by Bakunin, who never dared to deny paternity. Furthermore, the form and the content of this work clearly show that it came from the same source as the secret statutes, the *Words*, the proclamations, and *The People's Judgment*, which we have already mentioned. The revolutionary catechism was only a supplement to these. These pan-destructive anarchists, who want to reduce everything to amorphism in order to create anarchy in morality, push bourgeois immorality to the limit. We have already been able to assess, from a few examples, the worth of this Alliance morality whose dogmas, purely Christian in origin, were first drawn up

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[a] М. Бакунинъ, *Къ офицерамъ русской арміи*.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 502-03.—*Ed.*

[c] "Réponse à M. Lafargue", *Bulletin de la Fédération jurasienne...*, No. 10/11, June 15, 1872.—*Ed.*

[d] "El Congreso de La Haya", *La Federacion*, No. 164, October 5, 1872.—*Ed.*

in meticulous detail by the Escobars of the 17th century.[380] The only difference being that the Alliance exaggerated the terms to the ridiculous and replaced the Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church of the Jesuits with its arch-anarchist and pan-destructive "holy revolutionary cause". The revolutionary catechism is the official code of this morality, formulated systematically and quite openly this time. We are publishing it *in extenso*, just as it was read before the tribunal during the sitting of July 8, 1871.

*The revolutionary's duties to himself*

§ 1. The revolutionary is a dedicated man. He has neither personal interests, nor affairs, nor feelings, nor attachments, nor property, nor even a name. Every part of him is absorbed by one sole interest, one sole thought, one sole passion: the revolution.

§ 2. In the depths of his being, not only in words, but in deeds, he has severed all ties with civil order and with the entire civilised world, with laws, decencies, morality, and the conventions generally accepted in that world. He is its implacable enemy, and if he continues to live in it, it is only to destroy it more surely.

§ 3. A revolutionary despises all doctrinairism and renounces worldly science, leaving it for future generations. He only knows one science: that of destruction. For that purpose and none other, he studies mechanics, physics, chemistry, and perhaps medicine. With the same goal, he studies living science day and night—men, characters, positions, and all conditions of the existing social order in all possible spheres. The goal remains the same: the destruction, as quickly as possible and as certainly as possible, of this foul (*poganyi*) order.

§ 4. He despises public opinion. He despises and hates the existing social morality with all its instincts and in all its manifestations. For him, everything is moral that favours the triumph of the revolution, and everything is immoral and criminal that impedes it.

§ 5. The revolutionary is a dedicated man. He has no mercy for the State in general or for the entire civilised class of society, and he should no more expect mercy for himself. Between him and society there is a struggle, open or concealed, but always incessant, irreconcilable, and to the death. He must accustom himself to withstand torture.

§ 6. Strict with himself, he must be the same with others. All feelings of affection, all the softening feelings of kinship, friendship, love and gratitude must be stifled in him by a unique and cold passion for the revolutionary cause. For him, there is only one joy, one consolation, one reward and one satisfaction: the success of the revolution. Night and day, he must have only one thought and one goal—implacable destruction. Pursuing this goal coldly and without respite, he must himself be ready to perish and to destroy with his own hands all that which obstructs the achievement of this goal.

§ 7. The nature of the true revolutionary excludes all romanticism, all sensitivity, all enthusiasm, and all involvement; it even excludes personal hatred and vengeance. Revolutionary passion, having become with him a habit every day and every moment, must be combined with cold calculation. Everywhere and always he must obey not his personal impulses, but whatever is prescribed to him by the general interests of the revolution.

*Duties of the revolutionary to his comrades in revolution*

§ 8. The revolutionary can only have friendship and affection for the man who has proved by his deeds that he is, like him, a revolutionary agent. The degree of friendship, devotion, and other obligations towards such a comrade are only measured by the degree of his usefulness in the practical work of the pan-destructive (*vserazrushitelnaya*) revolution.

§ 9. It is superfluous to speak of solidarity among revolutionaries, for in it lies all the strength of the revolutionary cause. The revolutionary comrades who find themselves at the same level of revolutionary consciousness and passion must, as much as possible, deliberate in common on all important matters and make their decisions unanimously. In the execution of a matter thus decided, each must rely on himself as much as possible. In the execution of a series of destructive acts, each must act on his own and not have recourse to the assistance or advice of his comrades, unless it is indispensable for success.

§ 10. Each comrade should have at hand several revolutionaries from the second and third rank, that is, from those who have not been fully initiated. He must consider them as part of the general revolutionary capital placed at his disposal. He must expend his share of the capital economically and try to extract from it as much profit as possible. He regards himself as capital destined to be expended for the triumph of the revolutionary cause, but it is capital which he cannot dispose of alone and without the consent of all the fully initiated comrades.

§ 11. When a comrade finds himself in danger, then in order to decide whether or not he should be saved, the revolutionary must not consider any personal feeling, but solely the interest of the revolutionary cause. Consequently, he must calculate, on the one hand, the degree of usefulness furnished by his comrade and, on the other, the quantity of revolutionary forces necessary to rescue him; he must see which way the scales tip and he must act accordingly.

*Duties of the revolutionary to society*

§ 12. A new member, after having proved his worth, not by words, but by deeds, can only be accepted by the association unanimously.

§ 13. A revolutionary enters the world of the State, the world of the classes, the so-called civilised world, and lives in it solely because he has faith in its imminent and total destruction. He is not a revolutionary if he holds on to anything whatever in this world. *He must not hesitate before the destruction of any position, tie or man belonging to this world.* He must hate everything and everybody equally. So much the worse for him if he has in this world ties of kinship, friendship, or love; *he is not a revolutionary if these ties can stay his hand.*

§ 14. With the aim of implacable destruction, a revolutionary can, and often must, live in society, while pretending to be entirely different from what he really is. A revolutionary must penetrate everywhere, into the upper and the middle classes alike, into the merchant's shop, into the church, into the aristocratic palace, into the bureaucratic, military and literary world, into the *Third Department* (secret police), and even into the imperial palace.

§ 15. The whole of this foul society must be divided into several categories. The first consists of those who are condemned to death without delay. The comrades should draw up lists of these condemned men in the order of their relative harmfulness to the success of the revolutionary cause, so that the first numbers may be disposed of before the others.

§ 16. In drawing up these lists and in establishing these categories, no influence should be exerted by the personal villainy of a man, or even by the hatred which he inspires in the members of the organisation or in the people. This villainy and this hatred may even be useful to some extent in stirring up a popular revolt. The only consideration should be taken of the measure of profit for the revolutionary cause which may result from the death of a certain person. Consequently, the first to be destroyed must be those who are most dangerous to the revolutionary organisation and whose violent and sudden death can most frighten the government and break its strength by depriving it of energetic and intelligent agents.

§ 17. The second category should consist of people who are allowed to live provisionally (!) so that by a series of monstrous acts they will drive the people to the inevitable revolt.

§ 18. The third category covers a large number of highly placed brutes or individuals who are remarkable neither for their minds nor for their energy, but who, by virtue of their position, have wealth, connections, influence, and power. We must exploit them in every way possible, outwit them, confuse them, and, wherever possible, by *possessing ourselves of their filthy secrets*, make them our slaves. In this way, their power, connections, influence and wealth will become an inexhaustible treasure and an invaluable help in various enterprises.

§ 19. The fourth category is composed of various ambitious men in the State service, and liberals of different shades. We can conspire with these on their own programme, putting up an appearance of following them blindly. We must get them into our hands, *seize their secrets, compromise them completely*, so that retreat becomes impossible for them, and make use of them to cause trouble within the State.

§ 20. The fifth category consists of doctrinaires, conspirators, revolutionaries, all those who babble at meetings and on paper. They must be constantly encouraged and inveigled into practical and dangerous[a] demonstrations which will have the effect of eliminating the majority, while making true revolutionaries out of some.

§ 21. The sixth category is very important—the women, who must be divided into three classes: first, useless women without spirit or heart, who must be exploited in the same way as the third and fourth categories of men; second, fervent, devoted and capable women, who are nevertheless not with us because they have not yet arrived at a practical and phraseless revolutionary awareness; they must be used like the fifth category of men; finally, women who are entirely with us, that is to say, who have been fully initiated and who have accepted our programme in its entirety. We must treat them as the most valuable of our treasures, for without their help we can do nothing.

### *Duties of the Association to the people*

§ 22. The Association has no goal other than the total emancipation and the happiness of the people, that is to say, manual workers (*chernorabochi lyud*). But, convinced that this emancipation and this happiness cannot be achieved except by means of a people's revolution which will destroy everything, *the Association will employ all its means and all its forces to magnify and increase the ills and evils* which must finally exhaust the patience of the people and stir them to a mass uprising.

§ 23. By a people's revolution, the Society does not mean a movement directed after the classic model of the West, which, always hesitating before property and

[a] In the Russian text: "golovolomnye" (lit. "breakneck").—*Ed.*

the traditional social system of so-called civilisation and morality, has hitherto restricted itself to the overthrow of one political form in order to replace it with another and to creating a so-called revolutionary State. The only revolution which can be beneficial to the people is that which will destroy from bottom to top the whole idea of the State and will turn upside-down all the traditions, state system, and classes in Russia.

§ 24. To this end, the Society has no intention of imposing on the people any kind of organisation from above. The future organisation will undoubtedly emerge from the movement and life of the people, but that is the concern of future generations. Our concern is terrifying, total, implacable and universal destruction.

§ 25. Consequently, in drawing closer to the people, we must above all join up with the elements of the people's life which, since the foundation of the Muscovite State, have not ceased to protest, not only with words, but with their deeds, against everything which is directly or indirectly tied up with the State, against the nobility, against the bureaucracy, against the clergy, against the business[a] world, and against petty tradesmen, the exploiters of the people.[b] We must join the adventurist world of the brigands, who are the true and unique revolutionaries in Russia.

§ 26. To concentrate this world into a single pan-destructive and invincible force—that is the whole meaning of our organisation, our conspiracy, and our task.

To criticise this masterpiece would be to weaken its comic impact. It would also mean taking too seriously this amorphous pan-destroyer who succeeded only in making a single personage of Rodolphe, Monte-Christo, Karl Moor and Robert Macaire. We shall limit ourselves to stating, with the aid of a few comparisons, that the spirit and even the terms of the catechism, without counting the laborious exaggerations, are identical to those of the secret statutes and other Russian works of the Alliance.

The three grades of initiation defined in the Alliance's secret statutes are reproduced in § 10 of the catechism, where mention is made of "revolutionaries from the second and third rank... who have not been fully initiated".—The duties of the international brethren as defined in Article 6 of the rules are the same as those enjoined by §§ 1 and 13 of the catechism.—The conditions under which the brethren can accept governmental posts as defined in Article 8 of the rules "are even more explicitly defined"[c] in § 14 of the catechism, where they are given to understand that they may join the police if so ordered.—The advice given to the brethren (Rules, Article 9) to consult one another, is reproduced in § 9 of the catechism.—Articles 2, 3 and 6 of the programme of the international brethren attribute to the revolution precisely the same character as §§ 22 and 23 of the catechism.—The Jacobins

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[a] In the Russian text: "gildeiskogo" ("pertaining to a merchant guild or order").— *Ed.*

[b] In the Russian text: "kulaka-miroyeda" ("the bloodsucker kulak").— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 568.— *Ed.*

of Article 4 of the programme become, in § 20 of the catechism, a subdivision of "the fifth category of men", condemned to death in both documents.—The ideas expressed in Articles 5 and 8 of the programme on the progress of a truly anarchist revolution are the same as those in § 24 of the catechism.

The condemnation of science in § 3 of the catechism recurs in all the Russian publications. The idealisation of the brigand as the type of the revolutionary, which does not exist in the *Words* except in embryo, is openly affirmed and preached in all the other writings: The "fifth category" of § 20 of the catechism is applied, in *The Setting of the Revolutionary Question*, to "Revolutionaries of the State and the Cabinet". Here, as in §§ 25 and 26, it is stated that the first duty of the revolutionary is to throw himself into brigandage. It is only *The Principles of Revolution* and *The People's Judgment* that begin to preach the pan-destruction ordained by §§ 6, 8 and 26 of the catechism, and systematic assassination in §§ 13, 15, 16 and 17.

### 3. BAKUNIN'S APPEAL TO THE OFFICERS OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY

Bakunin, however, tried to leave no room for doubt over his complicity in the so-called Nechayev conspiracy. He published a proclamation: *To the Officers of the Russian Army*, dated "Geneva, January 1870" and signed Mikhail Bakunin.[a] This proclamation, "price one franc", was announced as Bakunin's work in all the issues of the *Kolokol* for 1870. Here are some extracts.

It begins by declaring, as Nechayev had done in Russia, that

> "the hour of the last struggle between the house of Romanov-Holstein-Gottorp and the Russian people is approaching, the struggle between the Tartar-German yoke and the broad liberty of the Slavs. Spring is on our threshold, and the battle will commence in the first days of spring ... the revolutionary force is ready and its triumph is assured in the presence of the profound and general mass discontent now reigning all over Russia".

An organisation exists to direct this imminent revolution, for a secret organisation is like the general staff of an army, and this army is the entire people.[b]

> "In my appeal to the young Russian brothers, I said that Stenka Razin who will put himself at the head of the masses during the destruction, so clearly at hand, of the Russian Empire, will no longer be an individual hero, but a collective Stenka

[a] M. Бакунинъ, *Къ офицерамъ русской арміи*.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 576.—*Ed.*

Razin.[a] Every man who is not a fool will easily understand that I was speaking of a secret organisation existing and acting already at this moment, strong in the discipline, devotion, and passionate self-sacrifice of its members and in their passive obedience to all the instructions of *an unique committee* which knows everything and is known by no one.

"The members of this committee have achieved total self-renunciation. This is what gives them the right to demand absolute renunciation from all the other members of the organisation. They have to such an extent renounced everything most coveted by vain, ambitious, and the power-seeking men, that, having finally renounced personal property, public or official power, and, in general, all fame in society, they have condemned themselves to eternal oblivion, ceding to others glory, external appearances, and the renown of the cause, and only keeping for themselves, and even then always collectively, the very essence of this cause.

"*Like the Jesuits*, only not with the aim of enslaving, but with that of liberating the people, each of them has even renounced his own will. In the committee, as in the whole organisation, it is not the individual who thinks, wishes and acts, but the collective. Such a renunciation of his own life, his own thought and his own will may seem impossible, even revolting, to many. It is, in fact, difficult to achieve, but it is indispensable. It will seem particularly difficult to the novices, to those who have only just joined the organisation, to men who have not yet lost the habit of wordy and futile bragging, to men who play at honour, personal dignity and right, to those who in general let themselves be diverted by the wretched phantoms of a supposed humanity, behind which can be seen, in Russian society, a general servility towards the most vile and abject realities of life. This renunciation will seem painful to those who seek in a great cause the satisfaction of their vanity and an occasion for phrase-making, and who love the cause not for its own sake, but for the drama which it confers on them personally."

"Each new member joins our organisation voluntarily, knowing in advance that once he has become a part of it, he belongs to it entirely and not to himself any more. *Entry into the organisation is voluntary, but to leave it is impossible*, since every member who resigns will undoubtedly endanger the very existence of the organisation, which must not depend on the irresponsibility, the whims or discretion, however great or small it may be, or on the honesty and the strength of one or several individuals... Consequently, whoever wishes to join must know in advance that he is giving himself to it entirely, with all that he possesses by way of strength, means, knowledge and life, *unreturnably*... This is clearly and precisely expressed in its programme, which has been published and is obligatory for all members of the committee and for all those who do not belong to it... If a member is truly inspired by" (revolutionary) "passion, everything that the organisation demands of him will seem easy. It is a known fact that passion acknowledges no difficulties; it recognises nothing as impossible, and the greater the obstacles are, the greater is the screwing up of the will, strength, and knowledge of the man moved by passion. There is no room for minor personal passions in a man possessed by this passion; he does not even need to sacrifice them, because they do not exist in him any more. A serious member of the association has stifled in himself all feeling of curiosity, and he remorselessly persecutes this failing in all others. Although he recognises himself as worthy of all confidence, and precisely because he is worthy of it, that is to say, because he is a serious man, he does not seek, and does not even want to know, more than is necessary for him to fulfil as well as possible the mission entrusted to him. He only discusses business with

[a] М. Бакунинъ, *Нѣсколько словъ къ молодымъ братьямъ въ Россіи*, Geneva, 1869, (see this volume, p. 518).— *Ed.*

persons who have been allocated to him, and he says nothing which has been forbidden by the orders he has received, and in general he conforms strictly and unconditionally to the orders and instructions which come down to him *from above*, without ever asking, or even wanting to ask about the position of the organisation to which he belongs, since he naturally wishes to be entrusted with as many tasks as possible, but he nevertheless waits patiently for the moment when it will be entrusted to him.

"So rigid and so absolute a discipline may astonish and even shock the novice; but it will neither astonish nor offend a serious member, a man truly strong and sensible. On the contrary, it will afford him pleasure and guarantee his security, provided that he is under the influence of that absorbing passion, which I have already mentioned: for the people's triumph. A serious member will realise that such discipline is an indispensable pledge of the relative impersonality of each member, a *sine qua non* of the common triumph; that this discipline alone is capable of forming a true organisation and of creating a collective revolutionary force which, basing itself on the elemental power of the people, will be in a condition to conquer the formidable force of the State organisation.

"You may ask: how can you submit to the *dictatorial* control of a Committee unknown to you? But the Committee is known to you: first, by its published programme, which has been drawn up with such clarity and precision, and which is explained in even greater detail to every member who joins the organisation. Secondly, it recommends itself to you by the blind confidence placed in it by persons whom you know and respect—the confidence which makes you give preference to this organisation rather than to any other. It makes itself known even still more fully to the active members of the organisation by its indefatigable and determined activity, which extends everywhere and always conforms to the programme and goal of the organisation. And everybody submits voluntarily to its *authority*, becoming more and more convinced, through practical experience, on the one hand, of its truly astonishing foresight, of its vigilance, of its energy so full of wisdom and of its ability to match its instructions to the sought-after goal; and, on the other hand, of the necessity and salutary effect of such discipline.

"I could be asked: if the identity of the personnel constituting the Committee remains an impenetrable mystery to everyone, how were you able to find out about it and convince yourself of its real worth?—I will answer this question frankly. I do not know a single member of this Committee, nor the number of its members, nor its place of residence. I know one thing: it is not abroad, but is in Russia itself, as is only right; for a Russian revolutionary committee abroad would be an absurdity, the very idea of which could only occur to those empty-headed and stupidly ambitious phrasemongers who belong to the emigration and who hide their conceited and evilly intriguing inactivity behind the sonorous name of *The People's Cause*.*

"After the Decembrist conspiracy of the nobility (1825),[381] the first serious attempt at organisation was made by Ishutin and his comrades.[382] The existing organisation is the first organisation of revolutionary forces in the whole of Russia which has truly succeeded. It has profited by all preparations and experience; no reaction will force it to dissolve; it will survive all governments, and it will not cease to act until its entire programme has become daily life in Russia and everywhere else in the world.

* The reader will remember that this was the title of a Russian newspaper of the International published in Geneva by a few young Russians who knew perfectly well the real worth of the so-called committee and Bakunin's organisation.

"About a year ago, the Committee thought it would be useful to inform me of its existence and it sent me its programme, together with an exposition of the general plan of revolutionary action in Russia. Completely in agreement with both of these, and having assured myself that the enterprise, like the men who had taken the initiative with it, was truly serious, I did what, in my opinion, every honest refugee ought to do: I submitted unconditionally to the authority of the Committee as the sole representative and controlling body of the revolution in Russia. If I am addressing you today, I am only obeying the Committee's orders. I cannot say more to you about this. I will add one more word on this subject. I know the organisation's plan sufficiently well to be convinced that no force is capable of destroying it. Even if, in the imminent struggle, the popular party has to suffer a new defeat—which none of us fears, since we all believe in the forthcoming triumph of the people—but even if our hopes should be dashed, in the midst of the most appalling reprisals, in the midst of the most savage reaction, the organisation will still remain safe and sound...

"The basis of the programme is the widest and most humanitarian possible: complete liberty and complete equality of all human beings, based on communal ownership and communal labour and equally obligatory to all except, of course, those who would rather die of hunger than work.

"This is the present programme of the working people in all countries, and it fully corresponds to the age-old demands and the instincts of our people... In submitting this programme to the lower orders[a] of the people, the members of our organisation are astounded to notice how immediate and broad is their grasp of it, and with what eagerness they accept it. This means that the programme is ready. It is unvarying. He who is for this programme will come with us. He who is against us is the friend of the people's enemies, the tsar's gendarme, the tsar's executioner, our own enemy...

"I have told you that our organisation is solidly built and now I add that it has taken root so strongly among the people that, even if we suffer a defeat, the reaction will be powerless to destroy it...

"The servile press, obedient to the orders of the Third Department, is trying to persuade the public that the government has managed to seize the conspiracy by its very roots. It has not seized anything whatever. The Committee and the organisation are intact and always will be, the government will soon be convinced of this, for the explosion of the people is near at hand. It is so near, that everyone must now decide if he wishes to be our friend, the friend of the people, or our enemy instead and that of the people. To all friends, to whatever place or position they belong, our ranks are open. But how are we to find you, you will ask? The organisation, *which surrounds you on all sides*, which counts among you its *numerous* adherents, will itself find him who seeks with sincere desire and strong will to serve the cause of the people. He who is not with us, is against us. Choose."

In this pamphlet signed with his name, Bakunin pretends not to know the place and composition of the Committee on whose behalf he speaks and on whose behalf Nechayev acted in Russia. However, the only authority which the latter had to act on the Committee's behalf was signed by Mikhail Bakunin, and the only man who received reports on the activity of the sections was, once again, Mikhail Bakunin. And so when Mikhail Bakunin vows

[a] The Russian text of Bakunin's appeal has "chernorabochemu lyudu" ("to unskilled workers") instead of "lower orders".—*Ed.*

passive obedience to the committee, it is to Mikhail Bakunin himself that he swears obedience.

We consider it useless to insist that the trend and even the language of this work signed by Bakunin are entirely identical with the other anonymous Russian documents. What we want to point out is the manner in which Bakunin applied the morality of the catechism here. He commences, first, by preaching it to the Russian officers. He tells them that he and the other initiates have simultaneously carried out a duty and filled a gap in setting themselves up as the Jesuits of the revolution and that, as far as the Committee is concerned, they have no more personal will than the celebrated "corpse" of the Society of Jesus. In order that the officers should not be shocked by the murder of Ivanov, he tries to make them understand the necessity of assassinating every member who would like to leave the secret society. He then applies this same morality to his own readers by lying flagrantly to them. Bakunin knew that the government had arrested not only all the initiates in Russia, but ten times more that number of persons who had been compromised by Nechayev for belonging to the famous "fifth category" of the catechism; that there was no longer so much as the shadow of an organisation in Russia; that its Committee no longer existed there and never had existed apart from Nechayev, then with him in Geneva; furthermore, that this pamphlet would not bring in a single recruit in Russia; that it could only furnish the Government with a pretext for fresh persecutions. Yet he proclaimed that the Government had seized nothing whatever; that the Committee was still holding sessions in Russia and was displaying indefatigable and determined activity that extended everywhere, truly astounding foresight, vigilance, energy full of wisdom, and staggering ingenuity (the statements made at the trial testify to this); that his secret organisation, the only serious one that had existed in Russia since 1825, was intact; that it had penetrated down to the lower orders of the people, who were eagerly accepting its programme; that the officers were surrounded by it; that the revolution was imminent and would break out in a few months, in the spring of 1870. It was purely to give himself the pleasure of the drama which it conferred on him personally in front of his false international brethren and in front of his mirror that Bakunin, who pretended to have "renounced his own life, his own thought, and his own will", to be superior to the "wordy and futile bragging" of "men who play at honour, personal dignity, and right", that he, Mikhail Bakunin, addressed the Russians with these lies and this bragging.

This same man who in 1870 preaches to the Russians passive, blind obedience to orders coming from above and from an anonymous and unknown committee; who declares that Jesuitical discipline is the condition *sine qua non* of victory, the only thing capable of defeating the formidable centralisation of the State—not just the Russian state but any state; who proclaims a communism more authoritarian than the most primitive communism—this same man, in 1871, weaves a separatist and disorganising movement into the fabric of the International under the pretext of combating the authoritarianism and centralisation of the German Communists, of introducing autonomy of the sections, a free federation of autonomous groups, and of making the International what it should be: the image of the future society. If the society of the future were modelled on the Alliance, Russian section, it would far surpass the Paraguay of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers,[383] so dear to Bakunin's heart.

## IX

## CONCLUSION

While granting the fullest freedom to the movements and aspirations of the working class in various countries, the International had nevertheless succeeded in uniting it into a single whole and making the ruling classes and their governments feel for the first time the worldwide power of the proletariat. The ruling classes and the governments recognised this fact by concentrating their attacks on the executive body of our whole Association, the General Council. These attacks became increasingly intense after the fall of the Commune. And this was the moment that the Alliancists, on their part, chose to declare open war on the General Council! They claimed that its influence, a powerful weapon in the hands of the International, was but a weapon directed against the International itself. It had been won in a struggle not against the enemies of the proletariat but against the International. According to them, the General Council's domineering tendencies had prevailed over the autonomy of the sections and the national federations. The only way of saving autonomy was to decapitate the International.

Indeed the men of the Alliance realised that if they did not seize this decisive moment, it would be all up with their plans for the secret direction of the proletarian movement of which Bakunin's

hundred international brethren had dreamed. Their invective wakened approving echoes in the police press of all countries.

Their resounding phrases about autonomy and free federation, in a word, war-cries against the General Council, were thus nothing but a manoeuvre to conceal their true purpose—to disorganise the International and by doing so subordinate it to the secret, hierarchic and autocratic rule of the Alliance.

Autonomy of the sections, free federation of the autonomous groups, anti-authoritarianism, anarchy—these were convenient phrases for a society of the "declassed" "with no prospects and no way out", conspiring within the International to subject it to a secret dictatorship and impose upon it the programme of M. Bakunin!

Stripped of its melodramatic finery, this programme amounts to the following:

1. All the depravities in which the life of declassed persons ejected from the upper strata of society must inevitably become involved are proclaimed to be so many ultra-revolutionary virtues.

2. It is regarded as a matter of principle and necessity to debauch a small minority of carefully selected workers, who are enticed away from the masses by a mysterious initiation, by making them take part in the game of intrigues and deceit of the secret government, and by preaching to them that through giving free rein to their "evil passions" they can shake the old society to its foundations.

3. The chief means of propaganda is to attract young people by fantastic lies about the extent and power of the secret society, prophecies of the imminent revolution it has prepared and so on, and to compromise in government eyes the most progressive people from among the well-to-do classes with a view to exploiting them financially.

4. The economic and political struggle of the workers for their emancipation is replaced by the universal *pan-destructive* acts of heroes of the underworld—this latest incarnation of revolution. In a word, one must let loose the street hooligans suppressed by the workers themselves in "the revolutions on the Western classical model", and thus place gratuitously at the disposal of the reactionaries a well-disciplined gang of *agents provocateurs.*

It is hard to say what predominates in the theoretical elucubrations and practical endeavours of the Alliance—clowning or infamy. Nevertheless, it has succeeded in provoking within the International a muffled conflict which for two years has hindered the actions of our Association and has culminated in the secession

of some of the sections and federations. The resolutions adopted by the Hague Congress against the Alliance were therefore merely a matter of duty: the Congress could not allow the International, that great creation of the proletariat, to fall into nets spread by the riff-raff of the exploiting classes. As for those who wish to deprive the General Council of the prerogatives without which the International would be nothing but a confused, disjointed and, to use the language of the Alliance, "amorphous" mass, we cannot regard them otherwise than as traitors or dupes.

London, July 21, 1873

*The Commission: E. Dupont, F. Engels, Léo Frankel, C. Le Moussu, Karl Marx, Aug. Serraillier*[a]

# X

# APPENDIX

## 1. BAKUNIN'S HEGIRA[384]

In 1857, Bakunin was sent to Siberia, not to forced labour, as his accounts would have us believe, but simply to live there in exile. At that period, the governor of Siberia was Count Muravyov-Amursky, Bakunin's cousin and a relative of the Muravyov who was the executioner of Poland. Thanks to this relationship and to the services which he had rendered to the government, Bakunin enjoyed exceptional position and favours in Siberia.

Petrashevsky, leader and organiser of the 1849 conspiracy,[385] was in Siberia at that time. Bakunin adopted an openly hostile attitude to him and tried to harm him in every way possible, which was easy for him as a cousin of the governor-general. His persecution of Petrashevsky gave Bakunin further grounds for governmental favours. A shady affair, which had considerable repercussions in Siberia and in Russia, put an end to this struggle between the two exiles. As a result of criticism levelled against the conduct of a highly-placed official who was playing at liberalism, a storm broke out in the governor-general's entourage and ended in a duel[b] to the death. Now this whole affair stank so much of personal intrigues and fraudulent dealings, that the whole population was disturbed and accused the chief officials of having

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[a] See this volume, pp. 454-57.—*Ed.*

[b] Between F. A. Beklemishev and M. S. Neklyudov, who was killed.—*Ed.*

assassinated the victim of the duel, a young friend of Petrashevsky's. Unrest took on such proportions that the government became fearful of a popular riot. Bakunin sided with the high officials, Muravyov included. He used his influence to have Petrashevsky exiled to a remoter place and he defended Petrashevsky's persecutors in a long letter signed by him as witness and sent to Herzen.[386] The latter, when publishing it in the *Kolokol*,[a] suppressed all the attacks against Petrashevsky; but the manuscript copy made of this letter while on its way to St. Petersburg was circulated there, and so the original text reached the public.

The merchants of Siberia, who are generally more liberal than those in Russia, wanted to found a university there in order not to have to send their children any more to distant schools in Russia, and to create an intellectual centre in those parts. For this, they needed imperial authorisation.[b] Muravyov, advised and encouraged by Bakunin, opposed this project. Bakunin's hatred of science goes back a long way. This is perfectly well-known in Siberia. Challenged on this point several times by the Russians, Bakunin could not deny it, but always explained his conduct by saying that, *while preparing for his escape*, he sought to win the good graces of his cousin the governor.

Not only did Bakunin use and abuse governmental favours, but for trifling sums of money he obtained them in abundance for the capitalists, contractors and tax-farmers. Bakunin's proclamations, confiscated from Nechayev's victims and published by the government in 1869 and 1870, contained lists of proscribed persons, including the notorious Katkov, editor-in-chief of the *Moscow Gazette*.[c] The latter took his revenge by publishing the following disclosure in his newspaper: he had in his possession letters sent to him by Bakunin from London on his arrival from Siberia, in which he begged Katkov, as an old friend, to advance him several thousand rubles.[d] Bakunin admits that during his stay in Siberia he had been receiving an annuity from a vodka tax-farmer[e] who paid him for ensuring, by his intercession, the good graces of the

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[a] [M. Бакунин,] «Письмо въ редакцію по поводу дуэли Беклемишева съ Неклюдовым», *Колоколъ*, приложение «Подъ судъ!», л.л. 6, 7, July 1 and 15, 1860.—*Ed.*

[b] By Alexander II.—*Ed.*

[c] *Московскія вѣдомости.—Ed.*

[d] [M. H. Катков,] «Самое тяжелое впечатлѣніе...», *Московскія Вѣдомости*, No. 4, January 6, 1870. (Katkov referred to Bakunin's letter from Irkutsk of January 2, 1861.)—*Ed.*

[e] Dmitry Benardaki.—*Ed.*

governor. This dishonourable fee (Bakunin ceased to collect it after his escape) weighed on his conscience; he wanted to send back to the tax-farmer the money received from him. He asked his friend Katkov for an advance to enable him to perform this good deed. Katkov refused.

At the time when Bakunin sent this request to his old friend Katkov, the latter had long since won his spurs in the service of the Third Department, devoting his newspaper to denunciations of the Russian revolutionaries and particularly of Chernyshevsky, as well as of the Polish revolution. And so, in 1862, Bakunin requested money of a man whom he knew to be a denouncer and a literary bandit in the pay of the Russian Government. Bakunin has never dared to deny this grave charge.

Supplied with money obtained by the methods already known to us, and enjoying the high protection of the governor, Bakunin was able to escape with the greatest of ease. Not only did he procure a passport in his own name to travel in Siberia, he obtained the official assignment of inspecting the region as far as its eastern frontiers. Once he arrived at the port of Nikolayevsk, he crossed without difficulty to Japan, from where he was able calmly to embark for America and arrive in London at the end of 1861. Thus did this new Mohammed accomplish his miraculous hegira.

## 2. BAKUNIN'S PAN-SLAV MANIFESTO

On March 3, 1861, Alexander II proclaimed, to the tumultuous plaudits of all liberal Europe, the emancipation of the serfs. The efforts of Chernyshevsky and the revolutionary party to obtain the preservation of communal landownership had produced results, but in a manner so unsatisfactory that, even before the proclamation of the manifesto emancipating the serfs,[387] Chernyshevsky sadly admitted:

> "Had I known that the question raised by me was to receive such a solution, I would have preferred to suffer a defeat rather than win such a victory. I would rather they had acted as they had intended, without any regard for our claims."

And, indeed, the act of emancipation was nothing but a swindle. A large part of the land was taken away from its real owners, and a system was proclaimed whereby the peasants could buy back their land. This act of bad faith by the tsar gave Chernyshevsky and his party a new and irresistible argument against imperial reforms. The liberals, ranging themselves under Herzen's banner, bayed at the top of their voices: "Thou hast conquered,

O Galilean!"[a] By Galilean, they meant Alexander II.—From that moment, the liberal party, whose chief organ was Herzen's *Kolokol*, never ceased to sing the praises of the tsar-liberator and, to distract the public's attention from the complaints and claims which were stirred up by this anti-popular act, they asked the tsar to continue his emancipatory work and to launch a crusade for the liberation of the oppressed Slav peoples and for the achievement of pan-Slavism.

In the summer of 1861, Chernyshevsky, in the journal *Sovremennik*, denounced the manoeuvres of the pan-Slavists and told the Slav peoples the truth about the state of affairs in Russia and about the selfish obscurantism of their false friends, the pan-Slavists.[b] It was then that Bakunin, on his return from Siberia, judged that the moment had arrived for him to step forward. He wrote the first part of a long manifesto published as a supplement by *Kolokol* on February 15, 1862, and entitled: *To the Russian, Polish and All Slav Friends*.[c] The second part never appeared.

The manifesto begins with the following declaration:

> "I have retained the audacity of all-conquering thought, and in heart, will and passion I have remained true to my friends, to the great common cause, to myself... I now appear before you, my old and tested friends, and you, my young friends, who live by one thought and one will with us, and I ask you: admit me to your midst again and may I be permitted, with you and in your midst, to devote all my remaining life to the struggle for Russian freedom, for Polish freedom, for the freedom and independence of all Slavs."

If Bakunin addresses this humble prayer to his old and young friends, it is because

> "it is bad to be active in a foreign land. I experienced this in the revolutionary years: neither in France nor in Germany was I able to gain a foothold. And so, while preserving all my ardent sympathy of former years for the progressive movement of the whole world, in order not to waste the rest of my life I must henceforth limit my direct activity to Russia, Poland, and the Slavs. These three separate worlds are inseparable in my love and in my faith."

In 1862, eleven years ago, at the age of forty-seven,[d] the great

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[a] А. И. Герценъ, «На канунѣ», *Колоколъ*, London, No. 93, March 1, 1861.—*Ed.*

[b] Н. Г. Чернышевскій, «Національная безтактность», *Современникъ*, No, 7, St. Petersburg, July 1861; *idem*, «Народная безтолковость», *Современникъ*, No. 9/10, St. Petersburg, September-October 1861.—*Ed.*

[c] М. А. Бакунинъ, «Русскимъ, польскимъ и всѣмъ славянскимъ друзьямъ», *Колоколъ*, No. 122/123, February 15, 1862, supplement.—*Ed.*

[d] The original mistakenly has: "51 years" (Bakunin was born in May 1814).—*Ed.*

anarchist Bakunin preached the cult of the state and pan-Slav patriotism.

"It might be said that the Great-Russian people has hitherto lived only the external life of the state. However burdensome its position may have been within, reduced to extreme ruin and slavery, it has nevertheless cherished the unity, strength and greatness of Russia, and has been ready to make any sacrifice for their sake. And so there has been a growing awareness among the Great-Russian people of the state and patriotism, not in words, but in deeds. And so it alone has survived as a people among the Slav tribes; it alone has held out in Europe and made itself felt by all as a force... Do not fear that it may lose its legitimate influence and the political force which it has acquired solely by struggles lasting three centuries and accomplished by martyr-like abnegation to safeguard its state integrity... Let us send the Tartars to Asia, the Germans to Germany, and let us be a free people, a purely Russian people..."

To lend more authority to this pan-Slav propaganda, which ends by calling for a crusade against the Tartars and the Germans, Bakunin refers the reader to the Emperor Nicholas:

"They say that Emperor Nicholas himself, not long before his death, when preparing to declare war on Austria, wanted to call all the Austrian and Turkish Slavs, Magyars and Italians to a general uprising. He had stirred up against himself an eastern storm and, to defend himself against it, he wanted to transform himself from a despotic emperor into a revolutionary emperor. They say that his proclamations to the Slavs as also an appeal to the Poles had already been signed by him. However much he hated Poland, he understood that, without it, a Slav uprising was impossible ... he overcame his aversion to such an extent that he was ready, it is said, to recognise the independent existence of Poland, but ... only beyond the Vistula."

The very man who, since 1868, has played the internationalist, preached, in 1862, a war of the races in the interests of the Russian Government. Pan-Slavism is an invention of the St. Petersburg cabinet and has no other goal but to extend Russia's European frontiers further west and south. But since one dare not announce to the Austrian, Prussian and Turkish Slavs that their destiny is to be absorbed into the great Russian Empire, one represents Russia to them as the power which will deliver them from the foreign yoke and which will reunite them in a great free federation. Thus, pan-Slavism is open to various shades of interpretation, from the pan-Slavism of Nicholas to that of Bakunin; but they all tend to the same end and all are, at bottom, in an *entente cordiale*, as is proved by the passage which we have just quoted. The manifesto[a] to which we now turn will leave us in no doubt on this score.

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[a] M. A. Бакунинъ, *Народное Дѣло. Романовъ, Пугачевъ, или Пестель?* London, 1862.— *Ed.*

## 3. BAKUNIN AND THE TSAR

We have seen that, consequent upon the emancipation of the serfs, war broke out between the liberal and the revolutionary parties in Russia. Round Chernyshevsky, leader of the revolutionary party, there gathered a whole phalanx of journalists, a large group of officers, and the student youth. The liberal party was represented by Herzen, a few pan-Slavists, and a large number of peaceful reformers and admirers of Alexander II. The government lent its support to the liberals. In March 1861, the university students in Russia declared themselves vigorously in favour of the affranchisement of Poland. In the autumn of 1861, they tried to resist the "coup d'état" which wanted, by disciplinary and fiscal measures, to deprive the poor students (over two-thirds of the total number) of the chance to receive a higher education. The government declared this protest to be a riot, and in Petersburg, Moscow and Kazan, hundreds of young people were thrown into gaols, expelled from the universities, or banned from them after three months' detention. And for fear that these young people might aggravate the discontent of the peasants, a decree of the State Council forbade ex-students all access to public functions in the villages. But the persecutions did not stop there. Professors such as Pavlov were exiled; public courses organised by students who had been expelled from the universities, were shut down; fresh police hunts were undertaken on the most futile pretexts; the "student youth fund", only just authorised, was abruptly suppressed; newspapers were banned. All this brought the indignation and agitation of the radical party to a head and compelled it to resort to the underground press. At this point, a manifesto entitled *Young Russia* was published with an epigraph by Robert Owen.[388] This manifesto exposed clearly and in detail the internal situation of the country, the state of the various parties and of the press, and, in proclaiming communism, deduced the necessity for a social revolution. It called on all serious people to group round the radical banner.

Hardly had this manifesto issued from the underground press, when, by a fatal coincidence (unless the police had a hand in it), numerous fires broke out in St. Petersburg. The government and the reactionary press joyously seized on the occasion to accuse the young people and all the radical party of incendiarism. The prison cells filled up again, and the roads to exile were once more thronged with victims. Chernyshevsky was arrested and thrown into the St. Petersburg fortress, from where, after two

long years of intense suffering, he was sent to forced labour in Siberia.

Before this catastrophe, Herzen and Gromeka, who later contributed to the pacification of Poland as governor of one of its provinces, delivered a series of furious attacks, the former in London, the latter in Russia, on the radical party, and insinuated that Chernyshevsky would perhaps end up by receiving a decoration.[a]—In as moderate an article as possible, Chernyshevsky called on Herzen to consider carefully the consequences of the new role which the *Kolokol* was going to play in open hostility to the Russian revolutionary party.[b] Herzen pompously declared that he was ready to pronounce, in the presence of those he called international democrats—Mazzini, Victor Hugo, Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, etc.—the famous toast to the health of the great tsar-liberator[c] and, "whatever is said", he added, "by the revolutionary *Daniels* of Petersburg, I know that despite all their protests, this toast will find a favourable echo in the Winter Palace" (the tsar's residence).[d] The revolutionary Daniels were Chernyshevsky and his friends.[389]

Bakunin got the better of Herzen. It was when the revolutionary party was completely routed and Chernyshevsky was in prison, that Bakunin published, at the age of fifty-one,[e] his notorious pamphlet to the peasant tsar: *Romanov, Pugachev or Pestel. The People's Cause.* By Mikhail Bakunin, 1862.

"Many are still wondering whether there will be a revolution in Russia. It is taking place gradually, it reigns everywhere, in everything, in all minds. It acts still more successfully through the hands of the government than through the efforts of its own adherents. It will not abate and will not cease until it has regenerated the Russian world, until it has created a new Slav world.

"The dynasty is working to bring about its own destruction. It seeks its salvation in wishing to stop the life of the people which is awakening instead of protecting it. This life, if it were understood, could have raised the imperial house to hitherto unknown heights of power and glory... It is a pity! Rarely has it fallen to the lot of the tsar's house to play so majestic and so beneficent a role. Alexander II could so

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[a] [А. И. Герцен,] "Very Dangerous!!!", *Колоколъ*, No. 44, June 1, 1859.—*Ed.*

[b] [Н. Г. Чернышевский,] «Политика. Похвала миру.—Сраженія при Мадженті и Сольферино.—Причины слабости австрійской арміи. Причина, по которой былъ заключенъ миръ», *Современникъ*, No. 7, July 1859.—*Ed.*

[c] [А. И. Герцен,] «10 апрѣля 1861 и убійства въ Варшавѣ», *Колоколъ*, No. 96, April 15, 1861.—*Ed.*

[d] [А. И. Герцен,] «Лишніе люди и желчевики», *Колоколъ*, No. 83, October 15, 1860.—*Ed.*

[e] Bakunin's age is given here according to Utin's report; in fact, Bakunin was born on May 30, 1814.—*Ed.*

easily become the idol of the people, the first peasant tsar,* mighty not through fear, but through the love, liberty and prosperity of his people. Relying on that people, he could become the saviour and head of the entire Slav world...

"For that all that was necessary was a Russian heart, broad and strong in magnanimity and truth. All Russian and Slav living reality went to him with open arms, ready to serve as a pedestal for his historic greatness."

Bakunin then demands the abolition of the state of Peter the Great, of the *German* state, and the creation of the "new Russia". The fulfilment of this task is entrusted to Alexander II.

"His beginning was magnificent. He proclaimed freedom for the people, freedom and a new life after a thousand years of slavery. It seemed as if he wanted to organise the Russia of the peasants" (*zemskaya Rossiya*), "because in Peter's state a free people was unthinkable. On February 19, 1861, in spite of all the shortcomings and absurd contradictions in the Ukase on the Emancipation of the peasants, Alexander II was the greatest, most loved and most powerful tsar who ever existed in Russia."—However, "liberty is contrary to all the instincts of Alexander II", because he is German, and "a German will never understand and never love the Russia of the peasants ... he only dreamed of strengthening the edifice of Peter's state ... having undertaken a thing that is fatal and impossible, he is working to his own ruin and that of his house, and he is on the point of plunging Russia into a bloody revolution".

According to Bakunin, all the contradictions of the ukase on emancipation, all the shootings of peasants, the student disturbances, all the terror, in a word,

"is fully explained by the tsar's lack of a Russian spirit and of a heart loving the people, by his insane striving to preserve Peter's state at all costs ... and yet it is he, he alone who could accomplish in Russia the most serious and most beneficial revolution without shedding a drop of blood. He can still do so now. If we despair of the peaceful outcome, it is not because it would be too late, but because we have ended up by despairing of Alexander II and his ability to understand what is the only way of saving himself and Russia. To stop the movement of the people who are wakening up after a thousand years of sleep is impossible. But if the tsar were to put himself firmly and boldly at the head of the movement, his power for the good and the glory of Russia would be unlimited."

For this, he would only have to give the peasants land, liberty, and *SELF-GOVERNMENT*.

"Do not fear that regional *SELF-GOVERNMENT* might break the ties between the provinces, that the unity of the Russian land might be shaken; the autonomy of the provinces will be only administrative, internally legislative, juridical, but not political. And in no country, with the exception, perhaps, of France, is the people endowed to the same extent as in Russia with a sense of unity, of harmony, of integrity of the state, and of national greatness."

* The title of peasant tsar (*Zemsky Tsar*) conferred on Alexander II was invented by Bakunin and the *Kolokol*.

At that time, the convocation of a national assembly[a] was being demanded in Russia. Some wanted it to resolve the financial difficulties, others to put an end to the monarchy. Bakunin wanted it to express the unity of Russia and to consolidate the power and greatness of the tsar.

"Since the unity of Russia has hitherto found its expression only in the person of the tsar, it needs another representation, that of a national assembly... The question is not to know whether or not there will be a revolution, but whether it will be peaceful or bloody. It will be peaceful and beneficial if the tsar, putting himself at the head of the popular movement, undertakes, with the national assembly, broadly and resolutely to transform Russia radically in the spirit of freedom; but if he wishes to retreat, or stops at half-measures, the revolution will be frightful. It will then take on the character of a pitiless massacre in consequence of the uprising of the entire people... Alexander II can still save Russia from total ruin and from bloodshed."

Thus, in 1862, the revolution, for Bakunin, meant the total ruin of Russia, and he beseeched the tsar to save the country from it. For many Russian revolutionaries, the convocation of a national assembly would be equivalent to the collapse of the imperial house; but Bakunin puts an end to their hopes and announces to them that

"a national assembly will be against them and for the tsar. And if the national assembly should be hostile to the tsar? It is not possible; it is the people who will send their delegates, the people whose faith in the tsar is without limits to this day and who respect everything about him. Whence, then, would the hostility come?.. There is no doubt that if the tsar convoked the national assembly now" (February 1862), "he would, for the first time, find himself surrounded by men sincerely devoted to him. If the anarchy[b] lasts a few years longer, the attitudes of the people may change. Life moves fast in our times. But, at present the people are for the tsar and against the nobility, against the officials, against everything that wears German dress" (that is to say, European-style dress). "In the official Russian camp, all are enemies of the people, *all except the tsar.* Who, then, will try to speak to the people against the tsar? And even if someone should try to do so, would the people believe him? *Was it not the tsar who emancipated the peasants against the will of the nobility, against the general desire of the officials?*

"Through their delegates, the Russian people will meet *their* tsar face to face for the first time. It is a decisive moment, critical to the highest degree. Will they like one another? The whole future of the tsar and of Russia will depend on this meeting. The confidence and devotion of the delegates towards the tsar will be boundless. Relying on them, going to meet them with faith and love, he will elevate his throne to a height and a security which it has never attained before. But what if, instead of the tsar-emancipator, the people's[c] tsar, the delegates find in him a

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[a] In the Russian text here and subsequently Bakunin uses the term "vsenarodny Zemsky Sobor" ("elective council of the whole people").—*Ed.*

[b] The Russian text has: "bezuryaditsa" ("lack of order").—*Ed.*

[c] The Russian text has: "zemsky". "Zemsky tzar"—tsar elected by all the people of the land, or by the Zemstvo.—*Ed.*

Petersburg emperor in Prussian uniform, a narrow-hearted German? What if, instead of the expected liberty, the tsar gives them nothing, or next to nothing?.. Then, woe to tsarism! At least it will be the end of the Petersburg, German, Holstein-Gottorp emperorship.

"If, at this fatal moment, when the question of life or death, of peace or blood, is about to be decided for the whole of Russia, if the tsar of the people were to appear before the national assembly as a *good and loyal tsar,* loving Russia, ready to give the people an organisation according to its will, what could he not do with such a people! Who would dare to rise up against him? Peace and confidence would be re-established as if by a miracle, money would be found, and everything would be arranged simply, naturally, without prejudice to anybody, and to the general satisfaction. *Guided by such a tsar,* the national assembly would create a new Russia. No malevolent attempt, no hostile force, would be in a state to fight against the reunited might of the tsar and the people... May one hope that this alliance will become fact? We have every reason to say No.

Whatever he might say, Bakunin does not despair of dragging his tsar along, and in order to persuade him, he threatens him with the revolutionary youth who, if the tsar does not make haste, will be able to accomplish its mission and find its way to the people.

"And why is this youth not for you, but against you? That is a great misfortune for you ... they need, above all, liberty and truth. But why has it abandoned the tsar? Why has it declared itself against him who first gave liberty to the people?... Has it perhaps let itself be carried away *by the abstract revolutionary ideal and the sonorous word 'republic'*? That may be partly so, but it is only a secondary and superficial cause. The majority of our progressive youth understands well that *Western abstractions,* whether conservative, bourgeois, liberal, and democratic, *are not applicable to the Russian movement...* The Russian people is not moved according to abstract principles ... the Western ideal is alien to it, and all attempts by conservative, liberal or even revolutionary doctrinairism to subject it to its own tendencies will be futile ... it has its own ideal ... it will bring new principles into history, will create another civilisation, *a new religion,* a new right, a new life.

"Faced with this great, serious, and even terrible figure of the people one dare not commit stupidities. Youth will abandon the ridiculous and disgusting role of impostrous schoolteachers... What could we teach the people? If one leaves aside the natural sciences and mathematics, the last word of our science will be the negation of the so-called immutable truths of the Western doctrine, the complete negation of the West."

Bakunin then descends on the authors of *Young Russia* accusing them of doctrinairism, of wanting to set themselves up as the people's teachers, of having compromised the cause, of being children who do not understand anything and who have drawn their ideas from a few Western books which they have read.— The government, which at that time arrested these same young people as incendiaries, hurled the same reproaches at them. And so to reassure his tsar, Bakunin announces that

"the people do not support this revolutionary party ... the vast majority of our youth belongs to the people's party, to the party which has as its sole and single aim the triumph of the people's cause. This party has no prejudices either for or against the tsar, and if the tsar, having begun the great work, had not betrayed the people, it would never have abandoned him, and even now it is not too late for him; and even now that youth would follow him with joy provided he would march at the head of his people. It would not allow itself to be stopped *by any of the Western revolutionary prejudices.* It is time for the Germans to go to Germany. If the tsar had realised that henceforth he must be the head not of an enforced centralisation, but of *a free federation of free peoples,* then, relying on a solid and regenerated force, allying himself with Poland and the Ukraine, breaking all the detested German alliances, and boldly raising the pan-Slav banner, he would become *the saviour of the Slav world.*

"Yes, indeed, war on the Germans is a good and indispensable thing for the Slavs, at all events better than stifling the Poles to please the Germans. To rise and free the Slavs from the yoke of the Turks and the Germans will be a necessity and a sacred duty of the emancipated Russian people."

In the same pamphlet, he calls on the revolutionary party to rally under the banner of the people's cause. Here are some articles of faith from the programme of this popular cause *à la* tsar:

"Article 1. We" (Bakunin and Co.) "want popular *SELF-GOVERNMENT* in the commune, in the province,[a] in the region and, finally, in the state, with or without the tsar—it doesn't matter, according as the people wish.—Article 2. ...We are ready, and duty commands us, to come to the aid of Lithuania, Poland, and the Ukraine so as to prevent all violence, and to protect them against all their external enemies, especially the Germans.—Article 4. With Poland, Lithuania, and the Ukraine, we wish to lend a hand to all our Slav brothers now groaning under the yoke of the kingdom of Prussia and of the Austrian and Turkish empires, and we undertake not to sheathe the sword as long as a single Slav remains in German, Turkish, or any other slavery."

Article 6 prescribes an alliance with Italy, Hungary, Rumania and Greece. These were the very alliances then being sought by the Russian Government.

"Article 7. We shall strive, with all the other Slav tribes, to make the cherished dream of the Slavs come true, to establish a great and free pan-Slav federation, [...] so that there shall be but a sole indivisible pan-Slav power.

"This is the vast programme of the Slav cause, this is the last indispensable word of the Russian popular cause. To this cause we have devoted our whole life.

"And now, where shall we go, and with whom shall we march? We have said where we want to go; we have also said with whom we shall march—with none other than the people. It remains to be known whom we shall follow. Shall we

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[a] "Volost", "uyezd" in the Russian text.—*Ed.*

follow Romanov, Pugachev, or a new Pestel, if one can be found?*

"Let us tell the truth. *We would prefer to follow Romanov,* if Romanov could, and would, transform himself from a Petersburg emperor into a peasant tsar. We would willingly rally under his banner, because the Russian people still recognises him, and because his power is already created, ready to act, and could become an invincible force if he gave it the popular baptism. We would follow him, moreover, because *he alone* can accomplish the great peaceful revolution without shedding a drop of Russian or Slav blood. Bloody revolutions sometimes become necessary owing to human stupidity; nevertheless they are a great evil and a great misfortune, not only as regards their victims, but as regards the purity and the fullness of the goal for which they are accomplished. We saw this during the French revolution.

"Thus, our attitude to Romanov is clear. *We are not his enemies,* any more than we are his friends. We are the friends of the Russian popular cause, of the Slav cause. If the tsar is at the head of this cause, we shall follow him; but if he opposes it, we shall be his enemies. Therefore, the whole question is to know whether he wishes to be the Russian tsar, the peasant tsar, Romanov, or the Petersburg, the Holstein-Gottorp emperor. Does he wish to serve Russia, the Slavs, or the Germans? This question will soon be settled, and then we shall know what we must do."

Unfortunately, the tsar did not deem it appropriate to convoke the national assembly for which Bakunin, in this pamphlet, was already proposing his own candidature. He gained nothing out of his electoral manifesto and his genuflexions before Romanov. Humiliatingly deceived in his frank confidence, he had no alternative but to throw himself headlong into pan-destructive anarchy.

After this lucubration of a teacher who prostrated himself before his peasant tsar, his pupils and friends, Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc, had every right to cry at the top of their voices: "Long live Napoleon III, emperor of the peasants!"

## XI

## DOCUMENTS

### 1. THE SECRET STATUTES OF THE ALLIANCE

The copy of these statutes which is now in our possession is partly written in Bakunin's hand. He gave copies not only to his initiates, but to many more people whom he hoped to seduce with the disclosure of his splendid programme. The vanity of the author proved stronger than the sinister furtiveness of the mystifier.

* Romanov is the tsar's surname. Pugachev was the leader of a great Cossack uprising under Catherine II. Pestel was the leader of the 1825 conspiracy against Nicholas I. He was hanged.

# ORGANISATION OF THE ALLIANCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL BRETHREN[a]

## THREE GRADES:

I. *International brethren.*
II. *National brethren.*
III. The half-secret, half-public organisation of *the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy.*

## I. RULES OF THE INTERNATIONAL BRETHREN

1. The International Brethren have no homeland other than the world Revolution, no foreign land and no enemy other than the Reaction.

2. They reject any policy of negotiation and concession, and regard as reactionary any political movement which does not have as its immediate and direct goal the triumph of their principles.

3. They are Brethren—they never attack one another, nor settle their differences in public or in front of the courts. Their only justice is a jury of arbitrators, elected from among the brethren by the two parties.

4. Each must be sacred to all the others, more sacred than a blood brother. Each brother shall be helped and protected by all the others to the limits of the possible.

5. Only he may become an international brother who has sincerely accepted all the programme in all its consequences, theoretical and practical, and who adds *revolutionary passion* to intelligence, energy, honesty and discretion, he who has the devil in his flesh. We impose neither duty nor sacrifice. But he who has this passion will do many things without even imagining that he is making sacrifices.

6. A brother must have neither business, interests, nor duties more serious and more sacred than the service of the revolution and of our secret Association, which must serve the revolution.

7. A brother always has the right to refuse to render the services demanded of him by the Central Committee or by his National Committee, but many successive refusals will lead to his being considered unconscientious or lazy, and he may be suspended by his National Committee and, on the representation of this latter, temporarily expelled by the Central Committee pending a final decision by the Constituent Committee.

8. No brother shall accept a public post except with the consent of the Committee to which he belongs.—None shall undertake public actions or appearances contrary or even foreign to the line of conduct determined by his Committee and without having consulted the latter. Every time that two or more brothers are together, they shall consult each other on all important public matters.

9. All the International Brethren know one another. *No political secret must ever exist among them.* None may take part in any secret society whatever without the positive consent of his Committee and, if necessary, should the latter so demand, without that of the Central Committee.—And he may take part only on condition that he reveals to them all the secrets that could interest them directly or indirectly.

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[a] [M. A. Bakunin,] *Organisation de l'Alliance des Frères Internationaux*, manuscript.—*Ed.*

10. The organisation of International Brethren is subdivided as follows: A. *The General, or Constituent, Committee.* B. *The Central Committee.* C. *The National Committees.*

A. *The General Committee*

This is an assembly of all or at least two-thirds of the International Brethren convoked regularly either at stipulated intervals, or in extraordinary assembly by a majority of the Central Committee. It is the supreme constituent and executive power of our entire organisation, whose programme, rules and organic statutes it can modify.

B. *The Central Committee*

Consists of: a) the *Central Bureau,* and b) the *Central Supervisory Committee.* The latter's members are all the international brethren who, not belonging to the Bureau, are sufficiently near to be convoked at two days' notice, and, naturally, all brethren who happen to be passing through. For the rest, they are guided in all their mutual relationships by the Rules of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Articles 2-4).[a]

C. *The National Committees*

Each National Committee shall consist of all the international brethren (irrespective of nationality) who are in or near the centre of the national organisation. Each National Committee is subdivided equally into: a) a *National Executive Bureau,* and b) a *National Supervisory Committee.* This latter will include all international brethren present who are not in the Bureau. The same relationships as in the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.

11. The admission of a new brother requires the *unanimity* of all members present (not less than three) of the National Committee and the *confirmation* by a two-thirds majority of the *Central Committee.* The *Central Committee* may admit a new member by the unanimous agreement of all its members.

12. Each National Committee is to meet at least once a week to control and activate the organisational, propaganda and administrative work of its Bureau.—It is the natural judge of the conduct of each member in everything affecting his revolutionary dignity or relations with society. Its verdicts must be presented to the Central Committee for confirmation. It will direct the activities and all the public appearances of all members. Either through its Bureau or through a brother designated by it, it must maintain regular correspondence with the *Central Bureau,* to which it must write at least once every fortnight.

13. The *National Committee* will organise a secret *Association* of the National Brethren in its country.

## II. THE NATIONAL BRETHREN

14. The National Brethren must be organised in each country so that they can never deviate from the guidance of the general organisation of the International Brethren, and notably from that of the *General Committee* and of the *Central Committee*. Their programmes and their rules may only be finally put into operation after they have received the sanction of the *Central Committee*.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 570-71.—*Ed.*

15. Each National Committee may, if it finds it useful, establish among them two categories: a) that of National Brethren who know one another all over the country, and b) that of Brethren who do not know one another except in small groups.—In no case will the National Brethren even suspect the existence of an international organisation.

16. The *provincial centres*, consisting entirely or partly of international brethren or national brethren of the first category, shall be established at all the principal points in the country, with the mission of promoting as thoroughly and as far as possible the secret organisation and the propaganda of its principles—not contenting themselves with acting in the cities, but also trying to propagate them in the villages and among the peasants.

17. The National Committees shall attempt to raise the necessary financial means as soon as possible, not only for the success of their own organisation, but also for the general needs of the whole Association. They will therefore send a part—half?—to the Central Bureau.

18. The National Bureaux must be very active, remembering that the principles, programmes and rules are of no worth unless the persons who have to put them into execution have the devil in their flesh.

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## SECRET ORGANISATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

1. The *Permanent Central Committee* of the Alliance consists of all the members of the *Permanent National Committees* and of those of the *Geneva Central Section*.

When together, all these members constitute the *Secret General Assembly* of the Alliance, which is the constituent and supreme power of the Alliance and which will meet at least once a year at the Working Men's Congress as delegates of the Alliance's different national groups; it may also be convoked at any time equally by the *Central Bureau* or by the *Geneva Central Section*.

2. The Geneva Central Section is the permanent delegation of the permanent Central Committee. It is composed of all the members of the *Central Bureau* and of all those of the *Supervisory Committee*, who must always be members of the permanent Central Committee.—The *Central Section* will be the *Supreme Executive Council* of the Alliance, within the limits of the Constitution and of the line of conduct which can only be laid down and modified by the *General Assembly*. It will decide on all questions of execution (not of constitution and general policy) by a simple majority of votes, and its resolutions thus adopted shall be *binding* on the *Central Bureau*, unless the Bureau, by a majority of its members, wishes to appeal to the *General Assembly*, which it must convoke in this case at three weeks' notice.—To be regular, the *General Assembly*, when thus convoked, must be composed of two-thirds of all its members.

3. The *Central Bureau*, the executive power, will consist of 3 to 5 or even 7 members, who must always at the same time be *members of the Permanent Central Committee*. Like one of the two parts which make up the *Secret Central Section*, the *Central Bureau* shall be a secret organisation. As such, it will receive its guidance from the *Central Section* and will pass on its communications, not to say its secret orders, to all the *National Committees*, from which it will receive secret reports at least once a month. As the *Executive Directorate* of the public Alliance, it shall be a public organisation. As such, it shall be on more or less private or public terms, according to country and circumstances, with all the *National Bureaux*, from which it shall also receive reports once a month. Its ostensible form of government

will be that of a presidency in a federative republic. The *Central Bureau*, as the secret as well as public executive power of the Alliance, shall activate the society's secret and public propaganda and shall promote its development in all countries by all possible means. It shall administer the part of the finances which, in accordance with Article 6 of the public regulations,[a] are sent to it from all countries for general needs. It shall publish a newspaper and pamphlets, and shall send travelling agents to form Alliance groups in the countries where there are none. In all the measures which it adopts for the good of the Alliance, it shall moreover submit to the decisions of the majority of the *Secret Central Section*, to which, incidentally, all its members shall belong. As an organisation both secret and public, and since it must be composed entirely of members of the *Permanent Central Committee*, the *Central Bureau* must always be a direct representation of this *Committee*. The *Provisional Central Bureau* will now be presented to the *Geneva initiating group* as provisionally elected by *all the founder members of the Alliance*, of whom the majority, as former members of the Berne Congress,[b] have returned to their countries after having delegating their powers to Citizen B.[c] This Bureau will function until the first public General Assembly which, in accordance with Article 7 of the public Regulations,[d] must meet as a branch of the International Working Men's Association at the next Working Men's Congress. It follows that members of the *New Central Bureau* must be nominated by this Assembly. But as it is urgent that the *Central Bureau* should always consist solely of members of the *Permanent Central Committee*, this latter, through the organ of its national committees, will take care to organise and direct all the local groups in such a way that they will delegate to this Assembly only members of the Permanent Central Committee, or, failing them, men absolutely devoted to the leadership of their respective national committees, so that the Permanent Central Committee should always have the upper hand in the entire organisation of the Alliance.

4. The *Supervisory Committee* shall exercise control over all the actions of the Central Bureau.—It shall consist of all the members of the Permanent Central Committee resident either in the place itself, or near the residence of the *Central Bureau*, and also all the members temporarily present or just passing through, with the exception of the members who make up the Bureau. At the request of two members of the Supervisory Committee, all the members of the latter must at three days' notice meet with the members of the Central Bureau to constitute the *Assembly of the Central Section of the Supreme Executive Council*, whose rights are defined in Article 2.

5. The *National Committees* will be formed of all the members of the Permanent Central Committee who belong to the same nation.—As soon as there are three members of the Permanent Central Committee who belong to the same nation, they will be invited by the Bureau and, if necessary, by the Central Section, to form the National Committee of their country. Each National Committee may create a new member of the Central Committee of its country, but not otherwise than by the unanimous agreement of all the members. As soon as a new member has been appointed by a National Committee, the latter shall immediately inform the Central Bureau, which shall register this new member and shall thereby confer on him all the rights of a member of the Permanent Central Committee.—The Geneva *Central Section* is likewise invested with the power to create new members by the unanimous agreement of all its members.

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[a] See this volume, p. 578.—*Ed.*

[b] The League of Peace and Freedom.—*Ed.*

[c] Mikhail Bakunin.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, p. 578.—*Ed.*

Each *National Committee* has, as its special mission, the foundation and organisation of the public as well as secret national group of the Alliance in its country. It shall be the group's supreme chief and administrator through its *National Bureau*, which it shall have the task of creating and forming entirely of Permanent Central Committee members. The *national committees* shall have the same relationship, rights and powers with regard to their respective Bureaux as the *central section* with regard to the *Central Bureau*.—The *national committees*, which shall be formed by combining their respective *bureaux* and *supervisory committees*, shall recognise no authority other than the *Central Bureau*, and shall serve as the sole intermediaries between this latter and all the *local groups* of their country for propaganda and administration, and likewise for the collecting and paying in of subscriptions. The *national committees*, through their respective bureaux, shall have the task of organising the Alliance in their countries so that it shall always be dominated and represented at the Congresses by members of the Permanent Central Committee.

As the national bureaux organise their local groups, they shall make it their concern to submit the regulations and programme to the central bureau for confirmation, without which the local groups cannot belong to the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy.

## PROGRAMME OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

1. The International Alliance has been founded to promote the organisation and acceleration of the World Revolution on the basis of the principles proclaimed in our programme.

2. In conformity with these principles, the goal of the revolution cannot be other than: *a*) The destruction of all ruling powers and all religious, monarchic, aristocratic and bourgeois authority in Europe. Consequently, the destruction of all existing states with all their political, juridical, bureaucratic and financial institutions. *b*) The reconstitution of a new society on the sole basis of freely associated labour, taking collective ownership, equality and justice as the starting point.

3. The Revolution as we conceive it, or rather as the force of circumstances today inevitably presents it, is essentially international or universal in character. In view of the menacing coalition of all the privileged interests and all the reactionary powers in Europe, which have at their disposal all the formidable means given them by a cleverly organised organisation, and in view of the profound schism which reigns everywhere today between the bourgeoisie and the workers, no national revolution will succeed if it does not extend at once to all the other nations, and it will never cross the frontiers of a country and adopt this universal character unless it carries within itself all the elements of this universality—that is to say, unless it is an openly socialist revolution, destructive of the state, and creative of liberty through equality and justice; for nothing henceforth shall be able to reunite, electrify, and arouse the great and only true power of the century—the workers—except the total emancipation of labour on the ruins of all the institutions which protect hereditary landownership and capital.

4. Since the impending Revolution can only be universal, the Alliance, or, not to mince words, the conspiracy which must prepare, organise and accelerate it, must also be universal.

5. The Alliance will pursue a double aim: *a*) It will endeavour to disseminate among the masses of all countries the right ideas on politics, social economy, and all philosophical questions. It will carry out active propaganda by means of newspapers, pamphlets and books, and also by founding public associations. *b*) It will seek to affiliate to itself all intelligent, energetic, discreet and well-disposed men who are sincerely devoted to our ideas, in order to form all over Europe, and as far as possible in America, an invisible network of dedicated revolutionaries who have become more powerful through this very Alliance.

## PROGRAMME AND OBJECTIVES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL BRETHREN

1. The principles of this organisation are the same as those of the programme of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy. They are even more explicitly defined, as regards women, the family from the point of view of religion and law, and the state, in the programme of the *Russian Socialist Democracy*.

The Central Bureau moreover reserves the right to present shortly a more comprehensive theoretical and practical exposition of these principles.

2. The association of international brethren aims for a universal revolution, simultaneously social, philosophical, economic and political, so that of the present order of things—based on private property, exploitation, domination and the principle of authority, whether religious, metaphysical, bourgeois-doctrinaire, or even Jacobin-revolutionary—not a stone shall remain standing, first in all Europe and then throughout the rest of the world. With the cry of peace for the workers, liberty for all the oppressed, and death to the rulers, exploiters and guardians of all kinds, we seek to destroy all states and all churches along with all their institutions and laws, religious, political, juridical, financial, police, university, economic and social, so that all these millions of poor human beings, deceived, enslaved, tormented and exploited, delivered from all their directors and benefactors, official and officious, collective and individual, may breathe at last with complete freedom.

3. Convinced that individual and social evil resides far less in individuals than in the organisation of things and in social position, we shall be humane as much from a sense of justice as from considerations of utility, and we shall destroy positions and things without pity in order to be able to spare human beings without any danger to the Revolution. We deny to society *free will* and the supposed right to punish. Justice itself, taken in the most humane and broadest sense, is but a negative and transitional idea, as it were. It poses social problems, but it does not think them over, merely indicating the only possible way to human liberation, namely, the humanisation of society through liberty in equality; the positive solution can only be given through the increasingly rational organisation of society. This solution, which is so desirable and is the ideal that we all have in common ... is the liberty, morality, intelligence and well-being of each through the solidarity of all—human fraternity.

Every human individual is the involuntary product of the natural and social environment in which he is born and develops, and which continues to exert an influence upon him. The three great causes of all human immorality are: inequality, political, economic and social; the ignorance which is its natural result; and their inevitable consequence—*slavery*.

Since the organisation of society is always and everywhere the sole cause of the crimes committed by men, it is hypocritical or obviously absurd on society's part to punish criminals, when all punishment presumes culpability and the criminals are

never culpable. The theory of culpability and punishment is a theological issue, that is to say, it is a combination of religious hypocrisy and the absurd.

The only right which can be allowed to society in its present state of transition is the natural right to *assassinate* the criminals, which it has itself produced, in the interests of its own protection, and not the right to judge and condemn them. This right will not even be one in the strictly accepted sense of the word; it will be rather a natural fact, distressing but unavoidable, a sign and product of the impotence and stupidity of the existing society; and the more society is able to avoid using it, the nearer it will be to its own actual liberation. All revolutionaries, all oppressed, all suffering victims of the existing organisation of society, whose hearts are naturally full of vengeance and hatred, would do well to remember that the kings, oppressors and exploiters of all kinds are as much to blame as the criminals who have emerged from the masses: they are malefactors, but they are not to blame, since they too are, like ordinary criminals, the involuntary products of the existing order of society. One should not be surprised if, at the first moment, the insurgent people kill a great many of them—this will be an inevitable calamity, perhaps, as futile as the damage caused by a tempest.

But this natural fact will be neither moral nor even useful. In this respect, history is full of lessons: the terrible guillotine of 1793, which could not be accused of idleness or tardiness, did not succeed in destroying the nobility in France. The aristocracy there was, if not completely destroyed, at least profoundly shaken, not by the guillotine, but by the confiscation and sale of its estates. And, in general, it may be said that political massacres have never killed parties; they have shown themselves above all impotent against the privileged classes, since power is rooted much less in men than in the positions which are given to the privileged by the organisation of things, that is to say, by the *institution of the state* and by its consequence and also by its natural basis, *private property*.

To carry out a radical revolution, one must therefore attack positions and things, one must destroy property and the state; then there will be no need to destroy men and to condemn oneself to the unfailing and inevitable reaction which has never failed and never will fail to produce the massacre of human beings in any society.

But in order to have the right to be humane to human beings without endangering the revolution, one must be ruthless with positions and things; it will be necessary to destroy everything, and, above all and before everything else, property and its inevitable corollary—the *State*. This is the whole secret of the revolution.

One should not be surprised at the Jacobins and the Blanquists who became socialists by necessity rather than by conviction, and for whom socialism is a means, not an end of the Revolution, since they want the dictatorship, that is to say, the centralisation of the state, and the state will lead them by a logical and inevitable necessity to the reconstitution of property—it is quite natural, we say, that, not wishing to carry out a radical revolution against things, they dream of a bloody revolution against men.—But this bloody revolution, founded on the construction of a powerfully centralised revolutionary state, would inevitably result, as we shall prove more fully later, in a military dictatorship under a new master. Consequently, the triumph of the Jacobins or the Blanquists would mean the death of the Revolution.

4. We are the natural enemies of those revolutionaries—future dictators, regulators and tutors of the revolution—who, even before the existing monarchic, aristocratic and bourgeois states have been destroyed, already dream of creating new revolutionary states as centralised as, and even more despotic than the existing states, and who have acquired so great a habit of order created from above

and so great a horror of what seems to them like disorder, but is nothing other than the frank and natural expression of the people's life, that even before a good and salutary disorder has been produced by the revolution, they already dream of putting an end to it and of muzzling it by the force of an authority which will have nothing of revolution but the name, but which will, in effect, be no more than a new reaction, since it will really be a new condemnation of the masses, governed by decrees, to obedience, stagnation and death, that is, to slavery and exploitation by a new quasi-revolutionary aristocracy.

5. We understand revolution to mean the unleashing of what today are called the evil passions and the destruction of what, in the same language, is called "public order".

We do not fear anarchy, and we invoke it, convinced that from this anarchy, that is to say, from the complete manifestation of the people's life unleashed, there must emerge liberty, equality, justice, a new order, and the very force of Revolution against Reaction. This new life—the people's revolution—will doubtless not delay in organising itself, but will create its revolutionary organisation from bottom to top and from the circumference to the centre—in conformity with the principle of liberty, and not from top to bottom, nor from the centre to the circumference after the manner of all authority—for it matters little to us that this authority calls itself Church, Monarchy, constitutional State, bourgeois Republic, or even revolutionary dictatorship. We detest them and we reject them all alike as infallible sources of exploitation and despotism.

6. The revolution, as we understand it, must from the very first day destroy, radically and totally, the state and all the state's institutions. The natural and necessary consequences of this destruction will be: *a*) the bankruptcy of the state; *b*) an end to the payment of private debts by the intervention of the state, leaving each debtor the right to pay if he wants; *c*) an end to the payment of all taxes and to the deduction of all contributions, direct or indirect; *d*) the dissolution of the army, the magistrature, the bureaucracy, the police and the clergy; *e*) the abolition of official justice, the withdrawal of everything which juridically called itself law, together with the exercise of those laws. Consequently, the abolition and *auto-da-fé* of all title-deeds, deeds of inheritance, purchase, gift, and all trials—in a word, of all juridical and civil red tape. Everywhere and in everything, revolutionary acts instead of the law created and guaranteed by the state; *f*) the confiscation of all productive capital and instruments of labour for the benefit of working men's associations, which should collectively use them for production; *g*) the confiscation of all church and state property, and likewise of individually owned precious metals for the benefit of the Federative Alliance of all the working men's associations, that is, the Alliance which will form the Commune.

In return for the confiscated goods, the Commune will give what is strictly necessary to all individuals thus deprived, who may later gain more by their own work if they are able and willing.—*h*) For the organisation of the Commune—a federation of permanently acting barricades and the functioning of a Council of the Revolutionary Commune by the delegation of one or two deputies from each barricade and one per street, or per block, these deputies being invested with imperative mandates and always responsible and revocable at any time. The Commune Council, thus organised, will be able to elect from its membership special executive committees for each branch of the revolutionary administration of the Commune. *i*) A declaration by the insurgent capital, once organised as a commune, that, having destroyed the authoritarian and tutelary state, which it was entitled to do since it had been the state's slave like all the other localities, it renounces its right, or rather all claims, to direct or dictate to the provinces. *k*) An appeal to all provinces, communes, and associations, while allowing them all to follow the

example set by the capital, first *to reorganise themselves* in a revolutionary way, and then to delegate to an agreed place of assembly their deputies, all likewise empowered with imperative mandates and responsible and revocable, to constitute a federation of associations, communes and provinces which have risen in the name of the same principles, and to organise a revolutionary force capable of triumphing over the reaction. The sending, not of official revolutionary commissars with shoulder sashes, but of revolutionary propagandists into all the provinces and communes—above all among the peasants, who can be turned into revolutionaries neither by principles nor by the decrees of some dictatorship, but only by revolutionary action itself, that is to say, by the consequences which will infallibly be produced in all the communes by the complete cessation of the official juridical life of the state. Abolition of the national state also in the sense that any foreign country, province, commune, association, or even isolated individual that rises in the name of the same principles, shall be received into the revolutionary federation without regard for existing state frontiers, although they belong to different political or national systems; and in the sense that any of one's own provinces, communes, associations and individuals that side with the Reaction, shall be excluded from it. It is, then, by the very fact of the spreading and organisation of the revolution with a view to the mutual defence of the insurgent countries, that the universality of the revolution shall triumph, based on the abolition of frontiers and on the destruction of the states.

7. There can be no victorious political or national revolution henceforth unless the political revolution becomes a social revolution, and unless the national revolution, precisely because of its character, radically socialist and destructive of the state, becomes the universal revolution.

8. Since the revolution must be carried out everywhere by the people, and since the supreme direction of it must always remain with the people organised into a free federation of agricultural and industrial associations, the new and revolutionary state, organising itself from bottom to top by way of revolutionary delegation, and embracing all the countries that have risen in the name of the same principles without regard for the old frontiers and for differences in nationality, will have as its goal the administration of the public services and not the government of the peoples. It will constitute the *new homeland, the Alliance of the Universal Revolution* against the Alliance of all the reactionary forces.

9. This organisation excludes any idea of dictatorship and of tutelary ruling power. But for the very establishment of this revolutionary alliance and for the triumph of the revolution against the reaction, it is necessary that in the midst of popular anarchy which will constitute the very life and energy of the revolution, *unity of revolutionary idea and action should find an organ*. This organ must be the *secret and world Association of the international brethren*.

10. This association proceeds from the conviction that revolutions are never made either by individuals, or even by secret societies. They come about, as it were, of their own accord, produced by the force of things, by the course of events and facts. They are prepared over a long time deep in the instinctive consciousness of the popular masses, and then they flare up, often induced, apparently, by insignificant causes. All that a well-organised secret society can do is, first, to assist in the birth of the revolution by spreading among the masses ideas corresponding to their instincts, and to organise, not the army of the revolution—the army must always be the people—but a sort of revolutionary general staff composed of devoted, energetic, intelligent and above all sincere friends of the people, who are not ambitious or vain, and who are capable of serving as intermediaries between the revolutionary idea and the popular instincts.

11. The number of these individuals should not, therefore, be too large. For the

international organisation in the whole of Europe, a hundred firmly and seriously united revolutionaries would be sufficient. Two or three hundred revolutionaries would be enough for the organisation of the biggest country.

## 2. PROGRAMME AND REGULATIONS OF THE PUBLIC ALLIANCE[a]

The *socialist minority of the League of Peace and Freedom* having broken away from this league owing to the majority vote at the Berne Congress, which made a formal declaration opposing the fundamental principle of all the working men's associations, namely, the *economic and social equality of classes and individuals*, has thereby adhered to the principles proclaimed by the *Working Men's Congresses* held at Geneva, Lausanne and Brussels. Several members of this minority, who belong to different nations, have suggested to us that we organise a new *International Alliance of Socialist Democracy* wholly merged with the great *International Working Men's Association*, but adopting *as its special mission* the study of political and philosophical questions on the same basis of this great principle of the universal and real equality of all human beings on earth.

Convinced, for our part, of the *usefulness* of such an enterprise, which *will give* the sincere socialist democrats of Europe and America *a means of understanding one another and of affirming their ideas* without any pressure from the false socialism which bourgeois democracy now finds it useful to flaunt, we have thought it our duty to take the joint initiative with these friends in forming this new organisation.

Consequently, we have set ourselves up as the central section of the *International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*, and we are today publishing its *Programme* and *Regulations*.

## PROGRAMME OF THE INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

1) The *Alliance* declares itself to be atheist; it strives for the abolition of cults, the substitution of science for faith and of human justice for divine justice.

2) It seeks, above all, the *political, economic and social equalisation of classes* and of individuals of both sexes, commencing *with the abolition of the right of inheritance*, so that in future the enjoyment of the benefits should be equal to the production of each, and so that, in conformity with the decision taken by the last Congress of workers at Brussels, the land and instruments of labour, like all other capital, by becoming the collective property of society as a whole, may not be used except by the workers, that is to say, by agricultural and industrial associations.

3) It requires all children of both sexes, from the day of their birth, to have equality of the means of development, that is to say, maintenance, education and training at all levels in science, industry and the arts, being convinced that this equality, at first purely economic and social, will eventually lead to the increasing natural equality of individuals by eliminating all the artificial inequalities which are historical products of social organisation as false as it is iniquitous.

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[a] [M. Bakounine,] *Programme et règlement de l'Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste*, Geneva, 1868.—*Ed.*

4) As the enemy of all despotism, *recognising no political form other than the republican*, and rejecting outright all reactionary alliance, the Alliance also rejects all political action which does not have for its immediate and direct goal the triumph of the cause of the workers against Capital.

5) It recognises that all the political and authoritarian states now existing, *as they are reduced more and more to the simple administrative functions* of the public services in their respective countries, must disappear in the universal union of free Associations, agricultural and industrial alike.

6) Since the social question cannot find a definitive and practicable solution except on the basis of the international or universal solidarity of the workers of all countries, the *Alliance* rejects any policy founded on so-called patriotism and the rivalry of nations.

7) It wants the universal Association of all the local Associations through liberty.

## REGULATIONS

1) The *International Alliance of Socialist Democracy* is constituted as a *branch* of the *International Working Men's Association*, all of whose General Rules it accepts.

2) The *founder-members of the Alliance* provisionally organise a *Central Bureau* at Geneva.

3) The founder-members belonging to the same country constitute the *National Bureau* of that country.

4) The National Bureaux have the mission of establishing, in all localities, *local groups* of the *Alliance of Socialist Democracy* which, through the intermediary of their respective National Bureaux, will apply to the Central Bureau of the *Alliance* for admission to the *International Working Men's Association*.

5) All the local groups will form their bureaux in accordance with the custom adopted by the local sections of the *International Working Men's Association*.

6) All members of the *Alliance* undertake to pay a subscription of *ten centimes* per month, of which half shall be retained for its own needs by each national group, and the other half shall be remitted to the funds of the Central Bureau for its general needs.

In countries where this sum is considered too high, the National Bureaux, in agreement with the Central Bureau, may reduce it.

7) During the annual Congress of Workers, the *Delegation of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy*, as a branch of the *International Working Men's Association*, shall hold its public sessions in a separate place.

## 3. LETTER FROM BAKUNIN TO FRANCISCO MORA IN MADRID

(Written in French)

"April 5, 1872, Locarno,

"Dear *Ally* and Comrade,

"As our friends at Barcelona have invited me to write to you, I do so with all the more pleasure since I have learned that I also, like my friends, *our allies* of the Jura Federation, have become, in Spain as much as in other countries, the target for the calumnies of the London General Council. It is indeed a sad thing that in this time of terrible crisis, when the fate of the proletariat of all Europe is being

decided for many decades to come, and when all the friends of the proletariat, of humanity and justice, should unite fraternally to make a front against the common enemy, the world of the privileged which has been organised into a state—it is very sad, I say, that men who have, moreover, rendered great services to the International in the past, should be impelled today by evil authoritarian passions, should lower themselves to falsification and the sowing of discord, instead of creating everywhere the free union which alone can create strength.

"To give you a fair idea of the line which we are taking, I have only one thing to tell you. Our programme is yours; it is the very one which you proclaimed at your Congress last year,[a] and if you stay faithful to it, you are with us for the simple reason that we are with you. We detest the principle of dictatorship, governmentalism and authority, just as you detest them; we are convinced that all political power is an infallible source of depravity for those who govern, and a cause of servitude for those who are governed.—The state signifies domination, and human nature is so made that all domination becomes exploitation. As enemies of the state in all its manifestations anyway, we certainly do not wish to tolerate it within the International. We regard the London Conference and the resolutions which it passed as an ambitious intrigue and a coup d'état, and that is why we have protested, and shall continue protesting to the end. I am not touching on personal questions, alas! they will take up too much time at the next world Congress, if this Congress takes place, which I strongly doubt myself; for if things continue to proceed as they are doing, there will soon no longer be a single point on the continent of Europe where the delegates of the proletariat will be able to assemble in order to debate in freedom. All eyes are now fixed on Spain, and on the outcome of your Congress.[b] What will come of it? This letter will reach you, if it reaches you at all, after this Congress. Will it find you at the height of revolution or at the height of reaction? All our friends in Italy, France and Switzerland are waiting for news from your country with unbearable anxiety.

"You doubtless know that the International and *our dear Alliance* have progressed enormously in Italy of late. The people, in the country as much as in the towns, are now in an entirely revolutionary situation, that is to say, they are economically desperate; the masses are beginning to organise themselves in a most serious manner and their interests are beginning to become ideas.—Up to now, what was lacking in Italy was not instincts, but organisation and an idea. Both are coming into being, so that Italy, after Spain and with Spain, is perhaps the most revolutionary country at this moment. Italy has what other countries lack: a youth which is passionate, energetic, *completely at a loss, with no prospects, with no way out,* and which, despite its bourgeois origins, is not morally and intellectually exhausted like the bourgeois youth of other countries. Today, it is throwing itself headlong into revolutionary socialism *accepting our entire programme, the programme of the Alliance.* Mazzini, our mighty antagonist of genius, is dead, the Mazzinist party is completely disorganised, and Garibaldi is letting himself be carried away more and more by that youth which bears his name, but is going, or rather running, infinitely further ahead of him. I have sent to our friends in Barcelona an Italian address; I shall soon send them others. It is good and it is necessary that the *Alliancists* in Spain should enter into direct relations with those in Italy. Are you receiving the Italian socialist newspapers? I recommend above all: the *Eguaglianza* of Girgenti, Sicily; the

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[a] The reference is apparently to the Spanish Federation Congress in Barcelona (June 1870).—*Ed.*

[b] Bakunin refers to the Spanish Federation Congress in Saragossa (April 4-11, 1872).—*Ed.*

*Campana* of Naples; the *Fascio Operaio* of Bologna; *Il Gazzettino Rosa*, and, above all, *Il Martello* of Milan—unfortunately the latter has been banned and all the editors imprisoned.

"In Switzerland, I recommend to you two *Alliancists*: James Guillaume (Switzerland, Neuchâtel, 5, rue de la Place d'Armes) and *Adhémar Schwitzguébel*, engraver (member and corresponding secretary of the Committee of the Jura Federation), Switzerland, Jura Bernois, Sonvillier, Mr. Adhémar Schwitzguébel, engraver." (Bakunin's address follows.)

"*Alliance* and fraternity.

*M. Bakunin*

"Please convey my greetings to *brother* Morago, and ask him to send me his newspaper.

"Are you receiving the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*?

"Please burn this letter, as it contains names."

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The Hague Congress has expelled Bakunin from the International, not only as a founder of the Alliance, but also for a personal deed.[390] The authentic document in support of this deed is still in our hands, but political considerations oblige us to refrain from publishing it.

*The End*

Written between April and July 1873

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Printed according to the pamphlet

Translated from the French

# Frederick Engels

## THE BAKUNINISTS AT WORK

### AN ACCOUNT OF THE SPANISH REVOLT IN THE SUMMER OF 1873[391]

### I

The report just published by the Hague Commission on Mikhail Bakunin's secret Alliance* has revealed to the working world the underhand activities, the dirty tricks and phrase-mongery by which the proletarian movement was to be placed at the service of the inflated ambition and selfish ends of a few misunderstood geniuses. Meanwhile these would-be-great men have given us the opportunity in Spain to see something of their practical revolutionary activity. Let us see how they put into practice their ultra-revolutionary phrases about anarchy and autonomy, about the abolition of all authority, especially that of the state, and the immediate and complete emancipation of the workers. We are at last able to do this, since, apart from the newspaper reports about the events in Spain, we now have the report of the New Madrid Federation of the International[a] presented to the Geneva Congress.[393]

As we know, at the time the split in the International occurred the odds were in favour of the members of the secret Alliance in Spain; the great majority of Spanish workers followed their lead. When the Republic was proclaimed in February 1873, the Spanish members of the Alliance found themselves in a quandary. Spain is such a backward country industrially that there can be no question

* *L'Alliance de la Démocratie socialiste,* London, 1873. The German edition was published under the title: ***Ein Komplott gegen die Internationale*** (Bookshop of the *Vorwärts*).[392]

[a] *La Nueva Federación Madrileña á los delegados al sexto Congreso general. Madrid 24 de agosto de 1873.— Ed.*

there of *immediate* complete emancipation of the working class. Spain will first have to pass through various preliminary stages of development and remove quite a number of obstacles from its path. The Republic offered a chance of going through these stages in the shortest possible time and quickly surmounting the obstacles. But this chance could be taken only if the Spanish working class played an active *political* role. The labour masses felt this; they strove everywhere to participate in events, to take advantage of the opportunity for action, instead of leaving the propertied classes, as hitherto, a clear field for action and intrigues. The government announced that elections were to be held to the Constituent Cortes.[a] What was the attitude of the International to be? The leaders of the Bakuninists were in a predicament. Continued political inaction became more ridiculous and impossible with every passing day; the workers wanted "to see things done".[b] The members of the Alliance on the other hand had been preaching for years that no part should be taken in a revolution that did not have as its aim the immediate and complete emancipation of the working class, that political action of any kind implied recognition of the State, which was the root of all evil, and that therefore participation in any form of elections was a crime worthy of death. How they got out of this fix is recounted in the already mentioned Madrid report:

"The same people who rejected the Hague resolution on the political attitude of the working class and who trampled under foot the Rules of the [International Working Men's] Association, thus bringing division, conflict and confusion into the Spanish Section of the International; the same people who had the effrontery to depict us to the workers as ambitious place-hunters, who, under the pretext of establishing the rule of the working class, sought to establish their own rule; the same people who call themselves autonomists, anarchist revolutionaries, etc., have on this occasion flung themselves into politics, bourgeois politics of the worst kind. They have worked, not to give political power to the working class—on the contrary this idea is repugnant to them—but to help to power a bourgeois faction of adventurers, ambitious men and place-hunters who call themselves Intransigent (irreconcilable) Republicans.

"Already on the eve of the general election to the Constituent Cortes the workers of Barcelona, Alcoy and other towns wanted to know what political line they should adopt in the parliamentary struggle and other campaigns. Two big meetings were therefore held, one in Barcelona, the other in Alcoy; at both meetings the Alliance members went out of their way to prevent any decision being reached as to what political line was to be taken by the International" (nota bene: by their own International). "It was therefore decided that the *International, as an association, should not engage in any political activity whatever, but that its members, as*

[a] On May 10, 1873.—*Ed.*

[b] J. W. Goethe, *Zueignung*.—*Ed.*

*individuals, could act on their own as they thought fit and join the party they chose,* in accordance with their famous doctrine of autonomy! And what was the result of the application of this absurd doctrine? That most of the members of the International, including the anarchists, took part in the elections with no programme, no banner, and no candidates, thereby helping to bring about the election of almost exclusively bourgeois republicans. Only two or three workers got into the Chamber, and they represent absolutely nothing, their voice has not once been raised in defence of the interests of our class, and they cheerfully voted for all the reactionary motions tabled by the majority."

That is what Bakuninist "abstention from politics" leads to. At quiet times, when the proletariat knows beforehand that at best it can get only a few representatives to parliament and have no chance whatever of winning a parliamentary majority, the workers may sometimes be made to believe that it is a great revolutionary action to sit out the elections at home, and in general, not to attack the State in which they live and which oppresses them, but to attack the State as such which exists nowhere and which accordingly cannot defend itself. This is a splendid way of behaving in a revolutionary manner, especially for people who lose heart easily; and the extent to which the leaders of the Spanish Alliance belong to this category of people is shown in some detail in the aforementioned publication.[a]

As soon as events push the proletariat into the fore, however, abstention becomes a palpable absurdity and the active intervention of the working class an inevitable necessity. And this is what happened in Spain. The abdication of Amadeo ousted the radical monarchists[394] from power and deprived them of the possibility of recovering it in the near future; the Alfonsists[395] stood still less chance at the time; as for the Carlists, they, as usual, preferred civil war to an election campaign.[396] All these parties, according to the Spanish custom, abstained. Only the federalist Republicans, split into two wings, and the bulk of the workers took part in the elections. Given the enormous attraction which the name of the International still enjoyed at that time among the Spanish workers and given the excellent organisation of the Spanish Section which, at least for practical purposes, still existed at the time, it was certain that any candidate nominated and supported by the International would be brilliantly successful in the industrial districts of Catalonia, in Valencia, in the Andalusian towns and so on, and that a minority would be elected to the Cortes large enough to decide the issue whenever it came to a vote between the two wings of the Republicans. The workers were aware of this;

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[a] See this volume, pp. 486-97.—*Ed.*

they felt that the time had come to bring their still powerful organisation into play. But the honourable leaders of the Bakuninist school had been preaching the gospel of unqualified abstention too long to be able suddenly to reverse their line; and so they invented that deplorable way out—that of having the International abstain as a body, but allowing its members as individuals to vote *as they liked.* The result of this declaration of political bankruptcy was that the workers, as always in such cases, voted for those who made the most radical speeches, that is, for the Intransigents, and considering themselves therefore more or less responsible for subsequent steps taken by their deputies, became involved in them.

## II

The members of the Alliance could not possibly persist in the ridiculous position into which their cunning electoral policy had landed them; it would have meant the end of their control over the International in Spain. They had to act, if only for the sake of appearances. Salvation for them lay in a *general* STRIKE.

In the Bakuninist programme a general STRIKE is the lever employed by which the social revolution is started. One fine morning all the workers in all the industries of a country, or even of the whole world, stop work, thus forcing the propertied classes either humbly to submit within four weeks at the most, or to attack the workers, who would then have the right to defend themselves and use this opportunity to pull down the entire old society. The idea is far from new; this horse was since 1848 hard ridden by French, and later Belgian socialists; it is originally, however, an English breed. During the rapid and vigorous growth of Chartism among the English workers following the crisis of 1837, the "holy month", a strike on a national scale was advocated as early as 1839 (see Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England,* Second Edition [1892], p. 234[a]) and this had such a strong appeal that in July 1842 the industrial workers in northern England tried to put it into practice.—Great importance was also attached to the general STRIKE at the Geneva Congress of the Alliance held on September 1, 1873,[397] although it was universally admitted that this required a well-formed organisation of the

[a] See present edition, Vol. 4, p. 520; *Der Volksstaat* refers to the first German edition: *Die Lage der Arbeitenden Klasse in England,* Leipzig, 1845, p. 279.—*Ed.*

working class and plentiful funds. And there's the rub. On the one hand the governments, especially if encouraged by political abstention, will never allow the organisation or the funds of the workers to reach such a level; on the other hand, political events and oppressive acts by the ruling classes will lead to the liberation of the workers long before the proletariat is able to set up such an ideal organisation and this colossal reserve fund. But if it had them, there would be no need to use the roundabout way of a general STRIKE to achieve its goal.

No one with any knowledge of the secret springs of the Alliance can doubt that the idea of using this well-tried method originated in the Swiss centre. Be that as it may, the Spanish leaders saw in this a way of doing something without actually delving in "politics" and they gladly took it. The miraculous qualities of a general STRIKE were everywhere propounded and preparations were made to start it at Barcelona and Alcoy.

Meanwhile the political situation was steadily heading for a crisis. Castelar and his associates, the old federal republican braggarts, were frightened by the movement, which had outgrown them. They were obliged to hand over the reigns of government to Pi y Margall,[a] who sought a compromise with the Intransigents. Of all the official republicans, Pi was the only Socialist, the only one who realised that the republic had to depend on the support of the workers. He promptly produced a programme of social measures which could be carried out immediately and would not only benefit the workers directly but eventually lead to further steps, thus at least giving the first impetus to the social revolution. But the Bakuninist members of the International, who were obliged to reject even the most revolutionary measures if they emanated from the "State", preferred to support the most preposterous swindlers among the Intransigents rather than a minister. Pi's negotiations with the Intransigents dragged on. The Intransigents began to lose patience, and the most hot-headed of them started a cantonal uprising in Andalusia. The leaders of the Alliance now had to act too if they did not want to trail in the wake of the intransigent bourgeois. And so a general STRIKE was ordered.

Presently, among other things, a poster was issued in Barcelona stating:

"Workers! We are calling a general STRIKE to show the profound abhorrence we

[a] On June 11, 1873.—*Ed.*

feel on seeing the government using the army fight our brother workers, while neglecting the struggle against the Carlists", etc.[a]

The workers of Barcelona—Spain's largest industrial city, which has seen more barricade fighting than any other city in the world—were asked to oppose the armed government force not with arms in their hands, but with a general strike, that is, a measure directly involving only individual bourgeois, but not their collective representative—the State power. During the period of peacetime inaction, the workers of Barcelona had been able to listen to the inflammatory phrases of mild men like Alerini, Farga Pellicer and Viñas; but when the time came to act, when Alerini, Farga Pellicer and Viñas first announced their fine election programme, then proceeded to calm passions, and finally, instead of issuing a call to arms declared a general STRIKE, the workers actually despised them. Even the weakest Intransigent showed more energy than the strongest member of the Alliance. The Alliance and the International, which was hoodwinked by it, lost all influence and when these gentlemen called for a general STRIKE claiming that this would paralyse the government the workers simply ridiculed them. What the activities of the false International did achieve, however, was that Barcelona took no part in the cantonal uprising. Barcelona was the only town whose participation could have provided firm support for the working-class element, which was everywhere strongly represented in the movement, and thus held out the prospect of the workers ultimately controlling the entire movement. Furthermore, with the participation of Barcelona, victory would have been as good as won. But Barcelona did not raise a finger; the workers of Barcelona, who had seen through the Intransigents and been cheated by the Alliance, remained inactive, thus allowing the Madrid government to secure the final victory. All of which did not prevent Alerini and Brousse, members of the Alliance (the report on the Alliance contained further details about them[b]), from stating in their paper, the *Solidarité Révolutionnaire*:

"The revolutionary movement is spreading like wildfire throughout the peninsula ... *nothing has as yet happened* in Barcelona, *but the revolution is permanent in the market place*!"[c]

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[a] Engels probably quotes from *La Solidarité Révolutionnaire*, No. 6, July 16, 1873.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 488, 495, 507-10.—*Ed.*

[c] "Le mouvement révolutionnaire...", *La Solidarité Révolutionnaire*, No. 6, July 16, 1873. Quotations below are taken from the same article.—*Ed.*

But it was the revolution of the Alliancists, which consists in beating the big drum and for this reason remains "permanently" in the same "place".

At the same time the general STRIKE became the order of the day in Alcoy. Alcoy is a new industrial town of some 30,000 inhabitants, where the International, in its Bakuninist form, gained a foothold only a year ago and spread rapidly. Socialism, in any form, went down well with these workers, who until then had known nothing of the movement; the same thing happens in Germany where occasionally in some backward town the General Association of German Workers[398] suddenly gains a large temporary following. Alcoy was therefore chosen as the seat of the Bakuninist Federal Commission for Spain,[399] and it is the work of this Federal Commission that we are going to see here.

On July 7, a workers' meeting voted for a general STRIKE and on the following day sent a deputation to the alcalde (the mayor) asking him to summon the manufacturers within 24 hours and present to them the workers' demands. Albors, the alcalde, a bourgeois Republican, stalled off the workers, sent to Alicante for troops and advised the manufacturers not to yield but to barricade themselves in their houses. He himself would remain at his post. After a meeting with the manufacturers—we are here following the official report of the Alliance Federal Commission dated July 14, 1873[a]—Albors, who had originally promised the workers to remain neutral, issued a proclamation in which he "insulted and slandered the workers and sided with the manufacturers thus destroying the rights and the freedom of the strikers and challenging them to fight". How the pious wishes of a mayor can destroy the rights and the freedom of the strikers is not made clear. Anyway, the workers led by the Alliance notified the municipal council through a committee that if it did not intend to remain neutral during the strike as it promised, it had better resign in order to avoid a conflict. The committee was turned away and as it was leaving the town hall, the police opened fire on the peaceful and unarmed people standing in the square. This is how the fight started, according to the report of the Alliance. The people armed themselves, and a battle began which was said to have lasted "twenty hours". On one side, the workers, whose number is given by the *Solidarité Révolutionnaire* as 5,000, on the other, 32 gendarmes in the town hall and a few armed men in four or five houses in the market place. These houses were burnt

[a] "Á los Trabajadores", *La Federacion*, No. 206, July 26, 1873.—*Ed.*

down by the people in the good Prussian manner. Eventually the gendarmes ran out of ammunition and had to surrender.

"There would have been less misfortunes to lament," says the report of the Alliance Commission, "if the Alcalde Albors had not deceived the people by pretending to surrender and then cowardly ordering the murder of those who entered the town hall relying on his word. And the Alcalde himself would not have been killed by the justly enraged population had he not fired his revolver point-blank at those who went to arrest him."

And what were the casualties in this battle?

"Although we cannot know exactly the number of dead and wounded" (on the people's side) "we can nevertheless say that they numbered *no less than ten.* On the side of provokers there were no less than *fifteen* dead and wounded."

This was the first street battle of the Alliance. For twenty hours, 5,000 men[a] fought against 32 gendarmes and a few armed bourgeois, and defeated them after they had run out of ammunition, losing *ten men* in all. The Alliance may well drum Falstaff's dictum into the heads of its adepts that "the better part of valour is discretion".[b]

Needless to say, all the horror stories carried by the bourgeois papers about factories senselessly burnt down, numerous gendarmes shot down, and of people having petrol poured over them and set on fire, are pure inventions. The victorious workers, even if led by members of the Alliance whose motto is, "to hell with ceremony!", always treat their defeated adversaries far too generously, and so the latter accuse them of all the misdeeds which *they themselves* never fail to perpetrate when they are victorious.

And so victory had been won.

The *Solidarité Révolutionnaire* writes jubilantly: "Our friends in Alcoy, numbering 5,000, are masters of the situation."

And what did these "masters" do with their "situation"?

Here the report of the Alliance and its newspaper leave us in the lurch and we have to rely on the ordinary newspaper reports. From these we learn that a "Committee of Public Safety", that is, a revolutionary government, was then set up in Alcoy. To be sure, at their Congress at Saint-Imier[400] (Switzerland), on September 15, 1872, the members of the Alliance decided that

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[a] *Der Volksstaat* does not give the number of people.—*Ed.*

[b] W. Shakespeare, *The First Part of King Henry IV*, Act V, Scene 4.—*Ed.*

"any organisation of political, so-called provisional or revolutionary authority, can be nothing but a new fraud and would be just as dangerous for the proletariat as any of the now existing governments".[a]

The members of the Spanish Federal Commission, meeting at Alcoy, had moreover done everything they could to get this resolution adopted also by the Congress of the Spanish Section of the International. And yet we find that Severino Albarracin, a member of this Commission, and, according to some reports, also Francisco Tomas, its secretary, were members of this provisional and revolutionary government, the Committee of Public Safety, of Alcoy!

And what did this Committee of Public Safety do? What measures did it adopt to bring about "the immediate and complete emancipation of the workers"? It forbade any man to leave the city, although women were allowed to do so, provided they ... had a *pass*! The enemies of all authority re-introducing a pass! Everything else was utter confusion, inactivity and helplessness.

Meanwhile, General Velarde was coming up from Alicante with troops. The government had every reason for wishing to deal with the local insurrections in the provinces quietly. And the "masters of the situation" in Alcoy had every reason for wanting to extricate themselves from a situation which they did not know how to handle. Accordingly, Deputy Cervera, who acted as a go-between, had an easy task. The Committee of Public Safety resigned, and on July 12 the troops entered the town without meeting any resistance, the only promise made to the Committee of Public Safety for this being ... a general amnesty. The Alliance "masters of the situation" had once again extricated themselves from a tight spot. And there the Alcoy adventure ended.

The Alliance report tells us that at Sanlúcar de Barrameda, near Cádiz,

"the Alcalde closed down the premises of the International and his threats and his incessant attacks on the personal rights of the citizens incensed the workers. A commission demanded of the minister observance of the law and the re-opening of the premises which had been arbitrarily closed down. Mr. Pi agreed to this in principle ... but refused to comply in practice. It became clear to the workers that the Government was determined to outlaw their Association; they dismissed the local authorities and appointed others in their place, who re-opened the premises of the Association."[b]

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[a] "Les deux Congrès de Saint-Imier", *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne...*, No. 17-18, September 15-October 1, 1872, p. 13.—*Ed.*

[b] "Á los Trabajadores", *La Federacion*, No. 206, July 26, 1873.—*Ed.*

"In Sanlúcar ... the people are masters of the situation!" the *Solidarité Révolutionnaire* writes triumphantly. The members of the Alliance, who here too, contrary to their anarchist principles, formed a revolutionary government, did not know what to do with their power. They wasted time in futile debates and paper resolutions, and when General Pavía, on August 5, after taking Seville and Cádiz, sent a few companies of the Soria brigade to Sanlúcar he encountered ... no resistance.

Such were the heroic deeds performed by the Alliance where it had no competition.

## III

The street fighting in Alcoy was immediately followed by a revolt of the Intransigents in Andalusia. Pi y Margall was still at the helm, engaged in continuous negotiations with the leaders of this party with the object of forming a ministry with them; why then did they begin an uprising before the negotiations had failed? The reason for this rash action has never been properly explained; it is however certain, that the main concern of the Intransigents was the actual establishment of a federal republic as quickly as possible in order to seize power and the many new administrative posts that were to be created in the various cantons. The splitting up of Spain had been deferred too long by the Cortes in Madrid, and so they had to tackle the job themselves and proclaim sovereign cantons everywhere. The attitude hitherto maintained by the (Bakuninist) International, which since the elections was deeply involved in the actions of the Intransigents, gave grounds for counting on the Bakuninists' support: indeed, had not the Bakuninists just seized Alcoy by force and were thus in open conflict with the government? The Bakuninists moreover had for years been preaching that all revolutionary action from above was an evil, and everything should be organised and carried through from below. And now here was an opportunity to apply the famous principle of autonomy from below, at least in a few towns. Predictably, the Bakuninist workers fell into the trap and pulled the chestnuts out of the fire for the Intransigents, only to be rewarded later by their allies with the usual kicks and bullets.

What was the position of the members of the Bakuninist International in all this movement? They helped to evolve its federalist particularism; they put into practice as far as possible their anarchist ideal. The same Bakuninists who in Cordoba a few

months earlier had declared that to establish a revolutionary government was to betray and cheat the workers, the same Bakuninists now sat in all the revolutionary municipal governments of Andalusia, but always in a minority, so that the Intransigents could do whatever they wished. While the latter retained the political and military leadership, the workers were put off with pompous phrases or resolutions purporting to introduce social reforms of the crudest and most meaningless sort, which moreover existed only on paper. As soon as the Bakuninist leaders demanded real concessions, they were scornfully repulsed. When talking to English newspaper correspondents, the Intransigent leaders of the movement hastened to dissociate themselves from these so-called "members of the International" and to renounce all responsibility for them, declaring that their leaders and all fugitives from the Paris Commune were being kept under strict police supervision. Finally, as we shall see, the Intransigents in Seville, during the battle with the government troops, fired also on their Bakuninist allies.[a]

Thus it happened that within a few days the whole of Andalusia was in the hands of the armed Intransigents. Seville, Málaga, Granada, Cádiz, etc. were taken almost without resistance. Each town proclaimed itself a sovereign canton and set up a revolutionary committee (junta). Murcia, Cartagena, and Valencia followed suit. A similar attempt, but of a more peaceful nature, was made in Salamanca. Thus, nearly all the large Spanish cities were held by the insurgents, with the exception of Madrid, the capital, which is purely a luxury city and hardly ever plays a decisive role, and of Barcelona. If Barcelona had risen success would have been almost assured, and in addition it would have provided powerful support for the working-class element of the movement. But, as we have seen, the Intransigents in Barcelona were comparatively powerless, whereas the Bakuninists, who were still very strong there at the time, used the general STRIKE only for *appeasement purposes.* Thus, Barcelona this time was not at its post.

Nevertheless, the uprising, though started in a senseless way, had a fair chance of success if conducted with some intelligence, even if in the manner of the Spanish military revolts, in which the garrison of one town rises, marches to the next town and wins over the garrison there which had been propagandised in advance,

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[a] *Der Volksstaat* (No. 106) printed the following three paragraphs, apparently by mistake, at the end of Article III. Engels replaced them when preparing the article for the 1894 collection *Internationales aus dem Volksstaat (1871-1875).—Ed.*

and, growing like an avalanche, advances on the capital, until a successful engagement or the desertion to its side of the troops sent out against it, decides the victory. This method was eminently suited to the occasion. The insurgents had long been organised everywhere into volunteer battalions, whose discipline, it is true, was poor, but certainly no worse than that of the remnants of the old Spanish army, which for the most part had been disbanded. The only reliable troops the government had were the gendarmes (*guardias civiles*), and these were scattered all over the country. The thing was to prevent the gendarmes from mustering, and this could only be done by boldly giving battle in the open field. No great risk was involved in this since the government could send against the volunteers only troops that were just as undisciplined as they themselves. And if they wanted to win, this was the only way to go about it.

But no. The federalism of the Intransigents and their Bakuninist tail consisted precisely in the fact that each town acted on its own, declaring that the important thing was not co-operation with other towns but separation from them, thus precluding any possibility of a combined attack. What was an unavoidable evil during the German Peasant War and the German insurrections of May 1849, namely, the fragmentation and isolation of the revolutionary forces which enabled the government troops to smash one revolt after the other,[401] was here proclaimed a principle of supreme revolutionary wisdom. Bakunin had that satisfaction. As early as September 1870 (in his *Lettres à un français*[a]) he had declared that the only way to drive the Prussians out of France by a revolutionary struggle was to do away with all forms of centralised leadership and leave each town, each village, each parish to wage war on its own. If one thus opposed the Prussian army under its centralised command with unfettered revolutionary passion victory would be ensured. Confronted with the collective mind of the French people, thrown at last on its own resources, the individual mind of Moltke would obviously sink into insignificance. The French then refused to see this, but in Spain Bakunin had won a brilliant victory, as we have already seen and shall yet see.

Meanwhile, this uprising, launched without reason like a bolt from the blue, had made it impossible for Pi y Margall to continue his negotiations with the Intransigents. He was compelled to

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[a] [M. Bakounine,] *Lettres à un français sur la crise actuelle* [Neuchâtel, 1870].— *Ed.*

resign,[a] and was replaced by pure republicans like Castelar, undisguised bourgeois, whose primary aim was to crush the working-class movement, which they had previously used but which had now become a hindrance to them. One division under General Pavía was sent against Andalusia, another under General Campos against Valencia and Cartagena. The main body consisted of gendarmes drawn from all over Spain, all of them old soldiers whose discipline was still unshaken. Here too, as during the attacks of the Versailles army on Paris, the gendarmes were to bolster up the demoralised regulars and to form the spearhead of the attacking columns, a task which in both cases they fulfilled to the best of their abilities. Besides the gendarmes, the divisions contained a few rather diminished line regiments, so that each of them numbered some 3,000 men. This was all the Government was able to raise against the insurgents.

General Pavía took the field round about July 20. A detachment of gendarmes and line troops under Ripoll occupied Cordoba on the 24th. On the 29th Pavía attacked the barricaded Seville, which fell to him on the 30th or 31st, the dates are often not clearly stated in these telegrams. Leaving behind a flying column to put down the surrounding country, he marched against Cádiz, whose defenders only fought on the approaches to the city, and with little spirit at that, and then, on August 4, they allowed themselves to be disarmed without resistance. In the days that followed, Pavía disarmed, also without resistance, Sanlúcar de Barrameda, San Roque, Tarifa, Algeciras, and a great many other small towns, each of which had set itself up as a sovereign canton. At the same time he sent detachments against Málaga, which surrendered on August 3, and Granada, which surrendered on August 8, without offering any resistance. Thus by August 10, in less than a fortnight and almost without a struggle, the whole of Andalusia had been subdued.

On July 26, Martinez Campos began the attack on Valencia. The revolt there had been raised by the workers. When the split in the Spanish International occurred, the real International had the majority in Valencia, and the new Spanish Federal Council was transferred there.[402] Soon after the proclamation of the Republic, when revolutionary battles lay ahead, the Bakuninist workers of Valencia, mistrusting the Barcelona leaders who cloaked their appeasement policy with ultra-revolutionary phrases, offered the members of the real International their co-operation in all local

[a] On July 18, 1873.—*Ed.*

movements. When the cantonal movement started, both groups, making use of the Intransigents, immediately attacked and ejected the troops. Who formed the Valencian junta remains unknown, but from the reports of the English newspaper correspondents it appears that workers definitely predominated in the junta, just as they did among the Valencian Volunteers. The same correspondents spoke of the Valencian insurgents with a respect which they were far from showing towards the other rebels, who were mostly Intransigents; they praised their discipline and the order which prevailed in the city, and predicted a long resistance and a hard struggle. They were not mistaken. Valencia, an open city, withstood the attacks of Campos' division from July 26 to August 8, that is longer than the whole of Andalusia.

In the province of Murcia, the capital of the same name was occupied without a fight; after the fall of Valencia Campos moved against Cartagena, one of the strongest fortresses in Spain, protected on the landward side by a rampart and advanced forts on the commanding heights. The 3,000 government troops, who had no siege artillery whatsoever, and whose light field guns were of course powerless against the heavy artillery of the forts, had to confine themselves to laying siege to the city from the landward side. This was of little avail, however, as long as the people of Cartagena dominated the sea with the naval vessels they had captured in the harbour. The insurgents, who, while the fight had been going on in Valencia and Andalusia, were wholly preoccupied with their own affairs, began to think of the outside world after the other revolts had been quelled, when they themselves began to run short of money and provisions. Only then did they make an attempt to march on Madrid, which was at least 60 German miles[a] away, more than twice as far as, for instance, Valencia or Granada! The expedition ended in disaster not far from Cartagena. The siege precluded any possibility of further land sorties, so they attempted sorties with the aid of the fleet. And what sorties! There could be no question of raising revolts again with the aid of Cartagena warships in the coastal towns which had recently been subdued. The fleet of the Sovereign Canton of Cartagena therefore confined itself to threatening to shell the other coastal towns from Valencia to Málaga, which, according to the theory of the people of Cartagena, were likewise sovereign—and if need be to shell them in actual fact if they failed to deliver on board the required provisions and war

[a] The German mile is equal to 7,420,438 metres.—*Ed.*

contribution in hard cash. While these cities, as sovereign cantons, had been fighting the government, Cartagena adhered to the principle of "every man for himself". Now when they had been defeated the principle which was held to be valid was—"everyone for Cartagena!" That was how the Intransigents of Cartagena and their Bakuninist supporters interpreted the federalism of the sovereign cantons.

In order to reinforce the ranks of the fighters for liberty, the government of Cartagena released from the local jail about 1,800 convicts—Spain's worst robbers and murderers. After the disclosures made in the report on the Alliance there can no longer be any room for doubt that this revolutionary step was suggested to it by the Bakuninists. The report shows Bakunin enthusiastically advocating the "unleashing of all evil passions" and holding up the Russian brigand as a model for all true revolutionaries.[a] What is fair for the Russian is fair for the Spaniard. When the local government of Cartagena released the "evil passions" of the 1,800 jailed cut-throats, thereby carrying demoralisation among its troops to the extreme limit, it acted wholly in the spirit of Bakunin. And when, instead of battering down its own fortifications, the Spanish government awaited the fall of Cartagena through the internal disorganisation of its defenders, it was pursuing an entirely correct policy.

## IV

Now let us hear what the report of the New Madrid Federation has to say about the whole movement.

"On the second Sunday in August a Congress was to be held in Valencia, which, among other things, was to determine the attitude the Spanish International Federation was to adopt towards the important political events taking place in Spain since February 11, the day the Republic was proclaimed. But this nonsensical" (descabellada, literally: dishevelled) "cantonal uprising, which was such an abject failure and in which members of the International eagerly took part in almost all the insurgent provinces, has not only brought the work of the Federal Council to a standstill by dispersing most of its members, but has almost completely disorganised the local federations and, what is worse, exposed their members to the full measure of hatred and persecution that an ignominiously started and defeated popular insurrection always entails....

"When the cantonal uprising started, when the juntas, i.e., the cantonal governments, were formed, these people" (the Bakuninists) "who had spoken so

[a] See this volume, pp. 520-21.—*Ed.*

violently against political power, and accused us of authoritarianism, lost no time in joining those governments. And in important cities such as Seville, Cádiz, Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Granada and Valencia, many members of the International who call themselves anti-authoritarians sat on the cantonal juntas with no programme other than that of autonomy for the provinces or cantons. This is officially established by the proclamations and other documents issued by those juntas over the signatures of well-known members of this International.

"Such a flagrant contradiction between theory and practice, between propaganda and action, would be of small account if our Association could have derived any benefit from it, or if it could have advanced the organisation of our forces, or in any way furthered the attainment of our main goal—the emancipation of the working class. Just the opposite took place, as it was bound to in the absence of the primary condition, namely, the active collaboration of the Spanish proletariat, which could have been so easily achieved by acting in the name of the International. There was no agreement between the local federations; the movement was abandoned to individual or local initiative without leadership (apart from that *which the mysterious Alliance was able to force upon it, and that Alliance to our shame still dominates the Spanish International*) and without any programme other than that of our natural enemies, the bourgeois republicans. Thus, the cantonal movement suffered the most ignominious defeat without offering hardly any resistance, and dragging down with it also the prestige and organisation of the International in Spain. For every excess, every crime, every outrage that takes place the republicans today blame the members of the International. We are even assured, that at Seville during the fighting the Intransigents fired at their own allies, the members of the" (Bakuninist) "International. Taking clever advantage of our follies, the reactionaries are inciting the republicans to persecute us and vilify us in the eyes of the indifferent masses; it seems that what they were unable to achieve in the days of Sagasta, i.e., to give the International a bad name among the great mass of Spanish workers, they may be able to achieve now.

"A number of workers' sections in Barcelona dissociated themselves from the International and publicly protested against the people of the newspaper *La Federación*" (the main organ of the Bakuninists) "and their inexplicable attitude. In Jérez, Puerto de Santa Maria and elsewhere the federations have decided to dissolve themselves. The few members of the International who lived in Loja (Granada province) were expelled by the population. In Madrid, where people still enjoy the greatest freedom, the old" (Bakuninist) "federation shows no sign of life, while ours is compelled to remain inactive and silent if it does not want to take the blame for other people's sins. In the northern cities the Carlist war, which is becoming more bitter day by day, precludes any activity on our part. Finally, in Valencia, where the government won the day after a struggle lasting a fortnight, the members of the International who have not fled are forced to remain in hiding, and the Federal Council has been dissolved."

So much for the Madrid report. As we see, it agrees in all particulars with the above historical account.

What then is the result of our whole investigation?

1. As soon as they were faced with a serious revolutionary situation, the Bakuninists had to throw the whole of their old programme overboard. First they sacrificed their doctrine of absolute abstention from political, and especially electoral, ac-

tivities. Then anarchy, the abolition of the State, shared the same fate. Instead of abolishing the State they tried, on the contrary, to set up a number of new, small states. They then dropped the principle that the workers must not take part in any revolution that did not have as its aim the immediate and complete emancipation of the proletariat, and they themselves took part in a movement that was notoriously bourgeois. Finally they went against the dogma they had only just proclaimed—that the establishment of a revolutionary government is but another fraud, another betrayal of the working class—for they sat quite comfortably in the juntas of the various towns, and moreover almost everywhere as an impotent minority outvoted and politically exploited by the bourgeoisie.

2. This renunciation of the principles they had always been preaching was made moreover in the most cowardly and deceitful manner and was prompted by a guilty conscience, so that neither the Bakuninists themselves nor the masses they led had any programme or knew what they wanted when they joined the movement. What was the natural consequence of this? It was that the Bakuninists either prevented any action from being taken, as in Barcelona, or drifted into sporadic, desultory and senseless uprisings, as in Alcoy and Sanlúcar de Barrameda; or that the leadership of the uprising was taken over by the intransigent bourgeois, as was the case in most of the revolts. Thus, when it came to doing things, the ultra-revolutionary rantings of the Bakuninists either turned into appeasement or into uprisings that were doomed to failure, or, led to their joining a bourgeois party which exploited the workers politically in the most disgraceful manner and treated them to kicks into the bargain.

3. Nothing remains of the so-called principles of anarchy, free federation of independent groups, etc., but the boundless, and senseless fragmentation of the revolutionary resources, which enabled the government to conquer one city after another with a handful of soldiers, practically unresisted.

4. The outcome of all this is that not only have the once so well organised and numerous Spanish sections of the International—both the false and the true ones—found themselves involved in the downfall of the Intransigents and are now actually dissolved, but are also having ascribed to them innumerable atrocities, without which the philistines of all nationalities cannot imagine a workers' uprising, and this may make impossible, perhaps for years to come, the international re-organisation of the Spanish proletariat.

5. In short, the Bakuninists in Spain have given us an unparalleled example of how a revolution should *not* be made.

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# Frederick Engels

## VARIA ON GERMANY[403]

### I. INTRODUCTION 1500-1789

1. Germany more and more fragmented and the centre weakened end of 15th century, with France and England already more or less centralised and the nation in the process of formation. This impossible in Germany because 1. feudalism developed later than in the countries that had suffered conquest[a]; 2. Germany had French and Slavonic constituents and saw Italy as belonging to it and Rome as its centre—thus no *national* complex; 3. because, and this is the main thing, the individual provinces and groups of provinces were still utterly isolated from one another, no traffic, etc. (vid. *Peasant War*).[b] The Hansa, the Rhenish League of Cities and Swabian League of Cities[404] represented natural, but separate groups.

Ad I, 1. Spain, France, England end 15th century grown together into constituted national states. This consolidation epoch-making for 15th century (Spain—unification of the Catalan and Castilian nationalities; Portugal, the Iberian Holland, had established its right to a separate existence through its navigation; France—through the dynasty-allodium, which gradually absorbed the nation.—England (England only reached this stage after being forced to renounce its Quixotic plans for conquest of France—similar to Germany's Roman campaigns—which would have bled it white, as the Roman campaigns had bled white Germany)—by the Wars of the Roses,[405] which destroyed the nobility.—Germany

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[a] The allusion is to the conquest of Western Europe by the Germanic tribes in the 5th-6th centuries.—*Ed.*

[b] See F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany* (present edition, Vol. 10, p. 401).—*Ed.*

would still have been centralised despite its economic desultoriness, indeed earlier (e.g., under the Ottos), had it not been for the fact 1) that the Roman emperorship, with its claim to world domination, ruled out the establishment of a national state and dissipated its energies on the Italian campaigns of conquest (after-effects in Austria until 1866!), in which German interests were continually betrayed, and 2) that the system of elective monarchy never permitted a merging of the nation with the imperial allodium but always—and particularly in the 15th, decisive, century—changed dynasties as soon as their allodium grew too great for the princes.—In France and Spain, too, there was economic fragmentation, overcome by force.

The "Kulturkampf"[406] between the Emperor and the Pope in the Middle Ages split Germany and Italy (where the Pope was an obstacle to national unity and, at the same time, often apparently its champion, but in such a way that, e.g., Dante saw the saviour of Italy in the foreign Emperor[a]) and, by 1500, the Pope had positioned himself right across Italy as the prince possessing the middle of the country, and made unity physically impossible.

2. Nevertheless, Germany would have grown into a single entity through the natural development of trade, the Germanisation of the Slavs and the loss of the French provinces[407] and of Italy since the world trade route passed through Germany, had two decisive events not occurred to prevent this:

—1) The German burghers made their revolution—which, in accordance with the spirit of the age, appeared in a religious form—the Reformation. But how lousy! Impossible without the imperial knights and the peasants; but all 3 estates prevented by conflicting interests: knights often the robbers of the towns (vid. Mangold von Eberstein) and oppressors of the peasants, and towns also peasant-bashers (Council of Ulm and peasants![408]); imperial knights rise up first, are left in the lurch by the burghers, perish; peasants rise up, are *directly opposed* by the burghers. At the same time, the bourgeois religious revolution so castrated that it appeals to the *princes*, and the latter are given the leadership. Ad 2, 1: Specifically theological-theoretical character of the German revolution of the 16th century. Predominant interest in things not of this world, abstraction from wretched reality—basis of subsequent theoretical superiority of the Germans from Leibniz to Hegel.

—2) The world trade route removed from Germany, and

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[a] Dante Alighieri, *De Monarchia*.—*Ed.*

Germany pushed into an isolated corner, whereby the power of the burghers broken, the Reformation *ditto.*

—3) Result that *cuius regio, eius religio*,[a] and that Germany actually disintegrated into a predominantly Protestant North, predominantly Catholic but very mixed Southwest, and exclusively Catholic Southeast. This already predetermined developments of 1740-1870 (Prussia, split between North and South, finally Little Germany[409] and Austria). Opposite of France. Suppression of the Huguenots (vid. "Varia" p. 2[b]).

3. Germany, once condemned industrially to passivity and setbacks, was bound to be more exposed to the influences of changing political factors than industrially active and progressive countries. (Develop this in general terms.) The split into 2 parties placed civil war on the agenda; enumeration of the wars up to 1648—civil war. French exploitation of the opportunity and the alliance with and *payment of the Protestant princes* and German mercenaries. Culminates in the Thirty Years War.[410] Thirty Years War—Irishmen in Germany, Germans in Ireland, 1693 and 1806.[411] Description of the devastation. Result: economically, socially, politically—losses to France; settlement by Sweden and Denmark in Germany; the guarantee-powers' right of intervention; total collapse of the central power; right of rebellion against the Emperor, civil war and treason *guaranteed by Europe* to the German princes.

4. 1648-1789

a. Political condition. The German princes exploit the Peace of Westphalia by trying to outdo one another in selling themselves to foreign countries, and these—France, and also the princes—exploit Germany's weakness in order gradually to appropriate all Germany's French possessions and encircle Alsace. Historical right of France, and Teutons' outcry about "robbery".[412] Unchanging nature of linguistic boundaries (vid. Menke[c]) since circa A.D. 1000, except for the districts left of the Vosges. This the general situation. In particular: Rise of a rival power to Austria and the empire in the North: Prussia. Beginning of the realisation of the division into North and South. Critique of Prussian history.

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[a] The ruler of a country determines its religion (the underlying principle of the Augsburg Religious Peace of 1555; it ended a series of Catholic-Protestant wars in Germany by leaving it to the respective princes to lay down the religion for their subjects).— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 607-08.— *Ed.*

[c] [K.] Spruner and [H. Th.] Menke, *Hand-Atlas für die Geschichte des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*, Gotha, [1871-]1880.— *Ed.*

Frederick II.—Rise of Russia and Frederick II's subjection to Russian policy.—Because of Prussia the civil wars now wars of rivalry between Austria and Prussia.

b. *Economic matters.* For all that, *slow recovery from the consequences of the Thirty Years War* and renewed crawling up of the burghers. Only the possession of *infamous* virtues made this revival possible in such circumstances. For all that, economic progress only made possible through political intervention—by the infamy of the princes and the money paid to them from abroad. This proves how deeply humiliated Germany was economically. This period the source of the patriarchal régime. After 1648, the state really called on to perform social functions and forced to assume them by financial embarrassment; where it failed to exercise them—stagnation (the Westphalian bishoprics). What a state of humiliation! And how lousy the state aid! In relation to the world market, purely passive; only as *neutrals* in great world wars (American and Revolutionary Wars until 1801)[413] was anything to be earned. On the other hand, powerless against the robber states. (Thanks to the French Revolution this European disgrace eliminated.)

c. Literature and language utterly degenerate; theology wooden dogmatism; in other sciences Germany also in a state of degradation, yet rays of hope: J. Böhme (again, a sign of the philosophers to come), Kepler, Leibniz—again abstraction from the existing, the real. *Bach.*

d. State of Germany in 1789. a) Agriculture—peasant conditions. Serfdom, corporal punishment, dues. b) Industry—a sheer starvation affair, essentially manual labour, but in England already the beginnings of large-scale industry, and German industry, before it was even fully developed, doomed to die. c) Trade—passive. d) Social status of the burghers vis-à-vis nobility and government.—e) Political obstacle to development: fragmentation. Description as in Menke. Tolls, prevention of river traffic. FREE TRADE along internal borders forced through by dismemberment. Tolls chiefly urban consumption dues.

These princes, powerless to do good, even when enlightened—as Schubart's patrons[414] and Karl August—all were happy to join the Confederation of the Rhine,[415] rather than fight a war. Invasion of 1806[a] the test, when it was a matter of life or death for them. Moreover, all of these 1,000 princes absolute monarchs, coarse, uneducated scoundrels, from whom no cooperation could

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[a] Napoleon's army invaded Germany in the course of France's war against Prussia.—*Ed.*

be expected, moods always en masse (Schlözer[a]). Trade in soldiers during American War.—Yet their worst atrocity was their *mere existence.* And alongside them, on the eastern frontier, Prussia in the North, Austria in the South, both greedily stretching out their hands for the territories—the only two that could have saved the situation, if only one of them was there, but whose inevitable rivalry made any such solution impossible. A sheer blind-alley, only from outside could help come—the French Revolution brought it. Only 2 signs of life: military skill, and also literature and philosophy and conscientious, objective scientific investigation, whereas in France, as early as 18th century, mainly partisan writings, albeit first-class ones—in Germany all this was a flight from reality into ideal regions. "*Man*" and the development of the language; 1700 barbarism, 1750 Lessing and Kant, soon Goethe, Schiller, Wieland, Herder; Gluck, Händel, Mozart.

## 1789-1815

1. The German enclaves in Alsace-Lorraine, etc.—already half under French sovereignty—joined the French Revolution; thus an excuse for war.[416] Prussia and Austria *now suddenly united.* Valmy.[417] Defeat of linear tactics by massed artillery. Fleurus and Jemappes.[418] Defeat of the Austrian cordon tactics? Capture of the left bank of the Rhine. Rejoicing of the peasants and the liberal towns could not be dispelled even by odd cases of extortion, or Napoleon's bloodtaxes.—Peace of Amiens and the most important act of the Imperial Deputation—the dissolution of the Empire.[419] Confederation of the Rhine. The abolition of small states by Napoleon unfortunately failed to go far enough. He, always revolutionary vis-à-vis the princes, would have gone further if the petty princes had not humbled themselves so abjectly before him. 1806, Napoleon's error was not to have destroyed Prussia altogether.—Economic facts on Germany under the Continental Blockade.[420]—This period of the utmost humiliation from abroad coincides with the heyday of literature and philosophy and the culmination of music in Beethoven.

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[a] A. L. Schlözer, *Briefwechsel meist historischen und politischen Inhalts*, Vols. 1-10, Göttingen, 1776-1782. *Staats-Anzeigen*, Vols. 1-18, Göttingen, 1782-1793.— *Ed.*

## VARIA ON GERMANY 1789-1873

Prussia: und sint Weletabi so wir Wilzi heizzent etc.[a]

*Prussian Army*: hungry of old. Höpfner 1788-1806.[b]—Scarcity of funds under Frederick William III. Embezzlement (1st and 9th Guard Artillery Comp. coats, 1842). Old harness in the armoury.—Frederick William III also peaceful, owing to need to summon the *estates* in the event of war.—1st turning-point 1848.—Waldersee and needle (gun). 2nd turning-point the mobilisation 1850 and finally the Italian War,[421] army reorganisation, rejection of the old ways. Since 1864 much self-criticism and purely businesslike procedure. Nevertheless, total misunderstanding of the character of Prussian army organisation.—Tragi-comic conflict: the state *must* wage political wars, for distant interests that never arouse national enthusiasm, and to this end requires an army that is only any good for national defence and the offensives resulting immediately therefrom (1814 and 1870).—This conflict will be the downfall of the Prussian state and the Prussian army—probably in a war with Russia, which might last 4 years and would yield nothing but disease and shattered bones.

*Jewish element* absolutely vital to Germany; the Jews a class that stood even lower than the serfs, no homeland, no rights (cf. Gülich on Frederick William II[c]), but free and because dependent on trade, an element of the future in themselves; therefore able to react while the mass unable to react to the pressure; also livelier and more active by nature than the Germans, rise under Napoleonic rule (Rothschild and the Elector of Hesse[422]); soon after 1815 strong enough in North and West Germany to break the ghetto law where it had been imposed (Frankfurt); Börne and Heine; penetration into literature, especially the daily press; character of the Jewish man of letters to aim at immediate practical gain; character of the Jewish merchant, Polish and German tradition of petty swindling, only disappearing in the 2nd

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[a] And there are the Weletabi, whom we call Wilzi. Engels gives a free rendering of a passage from Notker Laber's 11th-century translation of Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*. In: J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, Göttingen, 1828, p. 488.—*Ed.*

[b] E. von Höpfner, *Der Krieg von 1806 und 1807. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Preussischen Armee nach den Quellen des Kriegsarchivs bearb*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1850.—*Ed.*

[c] G. Gülich, *Geschichtliche Darstellung des Handels, der Gewerbe und des Ackerbaus der bedeutendsten handeltreibenden Staaten unsrer Zeit*, Vol. 2, Jena, 1830, pp. 242-53, 530-33.—*Ed.*

Page of the manuscript *Varia on Germany*

or 3rd generation—finally merging more and more, the Germans become Jewish and the Jews German.

*German trading colonies abroad* even before 1789, but only significant after 1814. Only since 1848 real lever for Germany's entry into world trade, but then tremendously effective. Gradual growth. Character of the trading colonies until 1848—generally uneducated and ashamed of their country. (Mchr.[a] English in 10 German dialects.) Inadequate protection (Weerth's Mexican story and his experience with German diplomats in South America in general[423]); German world trade language through the colonies and the Jews in Eastern Europe (details of these) and through Hamburg posts in Scandinavia. The fact that in trade, outside Romance Europe and at most the Levant, German goes further than French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, in short all languages except English. Now rapid expansion of German colonies—cf. the fear of the English in London itself.

*Epigonic literature*—starting as early as Heine—its mission the polishing of the language, much needed. This achieved in poetry; prose worse than ever.

*General feeling 1859-63 on the left bank of the Rhine they were becoming French again*—not wished for, not opposed, but they submitted and would also have voted for the inevitable. How much better, then, the Alsatians!—Utter lack of trust in Prussia on account of its attitude and powerlessness [18]59. In addition, reaction among German chauvinists against Bonapartist Rhenish cravings, Alsace and Lorraine German!

Schleswig Holstein—England's eastern Ireland on account of cattle and butter imports, ruin of agriculture at the expense of cattle-raising, emigration, now still in its beginnings, the rest of North German marshlands facing the same fate.

*Gold and silverware, jewellery* considerable export from Hanau, Pforzheim, Gmünden, Berlin, etc. (K.Z.[b]).

*Prussian Rules concerning servants*[424]—not to be forgotten! And one-year volunteers in France.

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[a] Thus in the manuscript. Presumably: Manchester.—*Ed.*
[b] *Kölnische Zeitung* (?).—*Ed.*

During *the Huguenot wars*[425] respect for the monarchy, as representing the nation, already so great that *only* the King was permitted, both legally and by public opinion, to make foreign alliances and engage foreign auxiliaries. The others always rebels and traitors. This never more evident than at the death of Henry III—when Henry IV, merely by virtue of the royal name, is able to achieve final victory.

The eventual suppression of Protestantism in France was no misfortune for France—*teste* Bayle, Voltaire and Diderot. Similarly, its suppression in Germany would not have been a disaster for Germany, but certainly *for the world.* It would have imposed the Catholic *form* of development of the Romance countries on Germany, and as the English form of development was also semi-Catholic and medieval (universities, etc., colleges, PUBLIC SCHOOLS are all Protestant monasteries), the entire Protestant German form of education (education at home or in private houses, students living out and choosing [courses of lectures]) would have been swept away and European intellectual development would have become infinitely uniform. France and England exploded prejudices of *fact*, Germany those of *form*, *pattern.* Hence, also, partly, the amorphous nature of everything German, till now still bound up with great drawbacks, such as the fragmentation into small states, but a tremendous gain for the nation's capacity for development, one that will bear its full fruits only in the future, when this one-sided stage has been passed.

Then: *German Protestantism the only modern form of Christianity worth criticising*. Catholicism, even in the 18th century, *beneath criticism*, object of *polemics* (what asses, therefore, are the Old Catholics![426]). The English having disintegrated into *x* sects, with no theological development, or one every step of which became fixed as a sect. The German alone has a theology and thus an object of criticism—historical, philological and philosophical. *This supplied by Germany*, impossible without German Protestantism and yet absolutely necessary. A religion such as Christianity is not destroyed by ridicule and invective *alone*; it also needs *to be overcome scientifically*, i.e., *explained historically*, which is beyond even the natural sciences.

Holland and Belgium, separated from Germany by the moors between the Rhine and North Sea, by the Ardennes and Venn in the South, play vis-à-vis Germany the role of Phoenicia vis-à-vis Palestine, and also the same lamentation as in the old prophets, customary in Germany.

Flanders from the partition of Verdun[427] until after 1500 a part

of France—hence the establishment of the French language—promoted by Flemish trade in the Middle Ages, when the merchants certainly spoke no Flemish with the Italian, etc., merchants. Now the Teutomaniacs are demanding the restoration of the Flemish language, which even the Dutch do not recognise as full-fledged; the Flemish movement of the priests! IT IS TIME the Flemish finally had *one* language instead of 2, and that can only be French.

After the discovery of America, Germany's agriculture, industry and trade a perpetual patient experimentation—agriculture vid. the many unsuccessful attempts in Langethal[a]—industry everywhere and always things which, scarcely instituted, were forced off the world market—most striking example linen; on a small scale, e.g., the Wuppertal industry 1820-60—trade ditto. This only now placed on a normal footing.

Even in 1848 Germany's main export still—*human beings.* 1) ordinary emigration. 2) prostitution: in East Prussia regular establishments of higher and lower status for training girls to be whores of every variety and FIT FOR ANYTHING—from the sailors' brothel to the "educated" cavalier's mistress and, on all sorts of false pretext, sent abroad where most of them first met their fate. Many of those in a better position accepted their lot, even sending their *maquerelle* tender letters of thanks, in which they always concealed their prostituted position, figuring as governesses, companions or as brilliantly married. Bergenroth was of the opinion that all this was impossible without the authorities—FOR A CONSIDERATION?—turning a blind eye; he says it was always very difficult to get hold of any tangible evidence in judicial inquiries. From Petersburg and Stockholm to Antwerp the entire Baltic and North Sea coast was supplied with East Prussian women.—3) the vagabond girls from the Vogelsberg area of Hesse and Nassau, who travelled around the fairs in England as BROOMGIRLS[428] (the older ones also with barrel organs), but particularly those shipped to America as HURDY-GURDIES and making up the lowest stratum of prostitution there. 4) the young merchants of the Hansa and the Rhenish factory towns, later from Saxony and Berlin, too, and 5) then just beginning, later developing strongly, the chemists (the Liebig school in Giessen), with whores the chief export of the Grand Duchy of Hesse.—Emigrants to Holland from Westphalia—now common for Dutch to seek work in the Westphalian industrial areas.

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[a] Chr. Ed. Langethal, *Geschichte der teutschen Landwirtschaft,* Part 2, Book 4, Jena, 1856.—*Ed.*

The stinginess of the German governments, especially that of Prussia of 1815-70, apparent in everything: poor-quality dirty coinage; *ditto* banknotes; coarse office paper; writing-sand (all official documents a frightful sight); fat, clumsily carved stamps; everything coarse, not least the officials themselves. French, English, Belgian money, post-marks, banknotes, everything gave an impression of superiority from the outset.

The awkwardness of German for everyday use, together with its enormous facility in dealing with the most difficult topics is partly the cause—or a symptom?—of the fact that, in most disciplines, the Germans have the greatest men, whereas their mass production is unusually awful rubbish. Literature: the numerous solid second-rate poets in England, the brilliant mediocrity that fills almost all French literature, are almost entirely absent in Germany. Our second-rate writers hardly bear reading a generation later. *Ditto* philosophy: alongside Kant and Hegel—Herbart, Krug, Fries and finally Schopenhauer and Hartmann. The genius of the great ones finds its complement in the unthinking nature of the Educated Mass, thus no name is more spurious than that of the "*nation* of thinkers". *Ditto* military literature. Only in things that are more or less independent of language is it any different, and second-rate people, too, important in Germany: natural sciences and particularly music. Our historical works unreadable.

The present so-called German Empire: The setting of the Nibelungs is Germany's 2 greatest rivers, the Rhine and the Danube. It would seem unnatural to us if Worms, the home of Kriemhild and scene of Siegfrid's deeds, were French. But is it any less unnatural for the Danube region to lie outside the German Empire, for Rüdiger of Bechelaren once again to be, as it were, a vassal of the Magyar Etzel? And how did Walther von der Vogelweide describe Germany: "Von der Elbe unz an den Rîn und hinwider unz an Ungerlant"[a]—the Old German Austria is outside Germany, and the then non-German East Elbe region is the centre and focal point! And that calls itself a German Empire!

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[a] "From the Elbe to the Rhine and in the other direction as far as Hungary", *Die Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide*, 4th edition, Berlin, 1864, pp. 56-57.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## THE ENGLISH ELECTIONS[429]

London, February 22, 1874

The English parliamentary elections are now over. The brilliant Gladstone, who could not govern with a majority of sixty-six, suddenly dissolved Parliament, ordered elections within eight to fourteen days, and the result was—a majority of more than fifty *against* him. The second Parliament elected under the Reform Bill of 1867 and the first by secret ballot has yielded a *strong conservative majority.*[430] And it is particularly the big industrial cities and factory districts, where the workers are now absolutely in the majority, that send Conservatives to Parliament. How is this?

This is primarily the result of Gladstone's attempt to effect a *coup d'état* by means of the elections. The election writs were issued so soon after the dissolution that many towns had hardly five days, most of them hardly eight, and the Irish, Scotch and rural electoral districts at most fourteen days for reflection. Gladstone wanted to stampede the voters, but *coup d'état* simply won't work in England and attempts to stampede rebound upon those who engineer them. In consequence, the entire mass of apathetic and wavering voters voted solidly against Gladstone.

Moreover, Gladstone had ruled in a way that directly flouted John Bull's traditional usage. There is no denying that John Bull is dull-witted enough to consider his government to be not his lord and master, but his servant, and at that the only one of his servants whom he can discharge forthwith without giving any notice. Now, if the party in office time and again allows its ministry, for very practical reasons, to spring a big surprise with theatrical effect on occasions when taxes are reduced or other financial measures instituted, it permits this sort of thing only by

way of exception in case of important legislative measures. But Gladstone had made these legislative stage tricks the rule. His major measures were mostly as much of a surprise to his own party as to his opponents. These measures were practically foisted upon the Liberals, because if they did not vote for them they would immediately put the opposition party in power. And if the contents of many of these measures, e.g., the Irish Church Bill and the Irish Land Bill,[431] were for all their wretchedness an abomination to many old liberal-conservative Whigs, so to the whole of the party was the manner in which these bills were forced upon it. But this was not enough for Gladstone. He had secured the abolition of the purchase of army commissions by appealing without the slightest need to the authority of the Crown instead of Parliament,[432] thereby offending his own party. In addition he had surrounded himself with a number of importunate mediocrities who possessed no other talent than the ability to make themselves needlessly obnoxious. Particular mention must be made here of Bruce, Home Secretary, and Ayrton, the real head of the London local government. The former was distinguished for his rudeness and arrogance towards workers' deputations; the latter ruled London in a wholly Prussian manner, for instance, in the case of the attempt to suppress the right to hold public meetings in the parks. But since such things simply can't be done here, as is shown by the fact that the Irish immediately held a huge mass meeting in Hyde Park[a] right under Mr. Ayrton's nose in spite of the parks regulations, the Government suffered a number of minor defeats and increasing unpopularity in consequence.

Finally, the secret ballot has enabled a large number of workers who usually were politically passive to vote with impunity against their exploiters and against the party in which they rightly see that of the big barons of industry, namely, the Liberal Party. This is true even where most of these barons, following the prevailing fashion, have gone over to the Conservatives. If the Liberal Party in England does not represent large-scale industry as opposed to big landed property and high finance, it represents nothing at all.

Already the previous Parliament ranked below the average in its general intellectual level. It consisted mainly of the rural gentry and the sons of big landed proprietors, on the one hand, and of bankers, railway directors, brewers, manufacturers and sundry other rich upstarts, on the other; in between, a few statesmen,

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[a] On November 3, 1872 (see this volume, pp. 294-96).—*Ed.*

jurists and professors. Quite a number of the last-named representatives of the "intellect" failed to get elected this time, so that the new Parliament represents big landed property and the money-bags even more exclusively than the preceding one. It differs, however, from the preceding one in comprising two new elements: two workers[a] and about fifty Irish HOME RULERS.[433]

As regards the workers it must be stated, to begin with, that no separate political working-class party has existed in England since the downfall of the Chartist Party[434] in the fifties. This is understandable in a country in which the working class has shared more than anywhere else in the advantages of the immense expansion of its large-scale industry. Nor could it have been otherwise in an England that ruled the world market;, and certainly not in a country where the ruling classes have set themselves the task of carrying out, parallel with other concessions, one point of the Chartists' programme, the People's Charter, after another. Of the six points of the Charter two have already become law: the secret ballot and the abolition of property qualifications for the candidates. The third, universal suffrage, has been introduced, at least approximately; the last three points are still entirely unfulfilled: annual re-elections, payment of members, and, most important, equal electoral areas.

Whenever the workers lately took part in general politics in particular organisations they did so almost exclusively as the extreme left wing of the "great Liberal Party" and in this role they were duped at each election according to all the rules of the game by the great Liberal Party. Then all of a sudden came the Reform Bill which at one blow changed the political status of the workers. In all the big cities they now form the majority of the voters and in England the Government as well as the candidates for Parliament are accustomed to court the electorate. The chairmen and secretaries of TRADES UNIONS and political working men's societies, as well as other well-known labour spokesmen who might be expected to be influential in their class, had overnight become important people. They were visited by Members of Parliament, by lords and other well-born rabble, and sympathetic enquiry was suddenly made into the wishes and needs of the working class. Questions were discussed with these "labour leaders" which formerly evoked a supercilious smile or the mere posture of which used to be condemned; and one contributed to collections for working-class purposes. It thereupon quite naturally occurred to

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[a] A. Macdonald and T. Burt.—*Ed.*

the "labour leaders" that they should get themselves elected to Parliament, to which their high-class friends gladly agreed in general, but of course only for the purpose of frustrating as far as possible the election of workers in each particular case. Thus the matter got no further.

Nobody holds it against the "labour leaders" that they would have liked to get into Parliament. The shortest way would have been to proceed at once to form anew a strong workers' party with a definite programme, and the best political programme they could wish for was the People's Charter. But the Chartists' name was in bad odour with the bourgeoisie precisely because theirs had been an outspokenly proletarian party, and so, rather than continue the glorious tradition of the Chartists, the "labour leaders" preferred to deal with their aristocratic friends and be "respectable", which in England means acting like a *bourgeois.* Whereas under the old franchise the workers had to a certain extent been compelled to figure as the tail of the radical bourgeoisie, it was inexcusable to make them go on playing that part after the Reform Bill had opened the door of Parliament to at least sixty working-class candidates.

This was the turning point. In order to get into Parliament the "labour leaders" had recourse, in the first place, to the votes and money of the bourgeoisie and only in the second place to the votes of the workers themselves. But by doing so they ceased to be workers' candidates and turned themselves into bourgeois candidates. They did not appeal to a working-class party that still had to be formed but to the bourgeois "great Liberal Party". Among themselves they organised a mutual election assurance society, the LABOUR REPRESENTATION LEAGUE,[435] whose very slender means were derived in the main from bourgeois sources. But this was not all. The radical bourgeois has sense enough to realise that the election of workers to Parliament is becoming more and more inevitable; it is therefore in their interest to keep the prospective working-class candidates under their control and thus postpone their actual election as long as possible. For that purpose they have their Mr. *Samuel Morley,* a London millionaire, who does not mind spending a couple of thousand pounds in order, on the one hand, to be able to act as the commanding general of this sham labour general staff and, on the other, with its assistance to let himself be hailed by the masses as a friend of labour, out of gratitude for his duping the workers. And then, about a year ago, when it became ever more likely that Parliament would be dissolved, Morley called his faithful together in the London Tavern. They all appeared, the

Potters, Howells, Odgers, Haleses, Mottersheads, Cremers, Eccariuses and the rest of them—a conclave of people every one of whom had served, or at least had offered to serve, during the previous parliamentary elections, in the pay of the bourgeoisie, as an agitator for the "great Liberal Party". Under Morley's chairmanship this conclave drew up a "labour programme" to which any bourgeois could subscribe and which was to form the foundation of a mighty movement to chain the workers politically still more firmly to the bourgeoisie and, as these gentlemen thought, to get the "founders" into Parliament. Besides, dangling before their lustful eyes these founders already saw a goodly number of Morley's five-pound notes with which they expected to line their pockets before the election campaign was over. But the whole movement fell through before it had fairly started. Mr. Morley locked his safe and the founders once more disappeared from the scene.

Four weeks ago Gladstone suddenly dissolved Parliament. The inevitable "labour leaders" began to breathe again: either they would get themselves elected or they would again become well-paid itinerant preachers of the cause of the "great Liberal Party". But alas! the day appointed for the elections was so close that they were cheated out of both chances. True enough, a few did stand for Parliament; but since in England every candidate, before he can be voted upon, must contribute two hundred pounds (1,240 thalers) towards the election expenses and the workers had almost nowhere been organised for this purpose, only such of them could stand as candidates seriously as obtained this sum from the bourgeoisie, i.e., as acted *with its gracious permission.* With this the bourgeoisie had done its duty and in the elections themselves allowed them all to suffer a complete fiasco.

Only two workers got in, both miners from coal pits. This trade is very strongly organised in three big TRADES UNIONS, has considerable means at its disposal, controls an indisputed majority of the voters in some constituencies and has worked systematically for direct representation in Parliament ever since the Reform Acts were passed. The candidates put up were the secretaries of the three TRADES UNIONS. The one, Halliday, lost out in Wales; the other two came out on top: *Macdonald* in *Stafford* and *Burt* in *Morpeth.* Burt is little known outside of his constituency. Macdonald, however, betrayed the workers of his trade when, during the negotiations on the last mining law,[a] which he attended as the

[a] This refers to "An Act to consolidate and amend the Act relating to the Regulation of Coal Mines and certain Miners" of August 10, 1872.—*Ed.*

representative of his trade, he sanctioned an amendment which was so grossly in the interests of the capitalists that even the Government had not dared to include it in the draft.

At any rate, the ice has been broken and two workers now have seats in the most fashionable debating club of Europe, among those who have declared themselves the first gentlemen of Europe.

Alongside of them sit at least fifty Irish HOME RULERS. When the Fenian (Irish-republican) rebellion of 1867[436] had been quelled and the military leaders of the Fenians had either gradually been caught or driven to emigrate to America, the remnants of the Fenian conspiracy soon lost all importance. Violent insurrection had no prospect of success for many years, at least until such time as England would again be involved in serious difficulties abroad. Hence a legal movement remained the only possibility, and such a movement was undertaken under the banner of the HOME RULERS, who wanted the Irish to be "masters in their own house". They made the definite demand that the Imperial Parliament in London should cede to a special Irish Parliament in Dublin the right to legislate on all purely Irish questions; very wisely nothing was said meanwhile about what was to be understood as a purely Irish question. This movement, at first scoffed at by the English press, has become so powerful that Irish M.P.s of the most diverse party complexions—Conservatives and Liberals, Protestants and Catholics (Butt, who leads the movement, is himself a Protestant) and even a native-born Englishman sitting for Galway—have had to join it. For the first time since the days of O'Connell, whose REPEAL movement[437] collapsed in the general reaction about the same time as the Chartist movement, as a result of the events of 1848—he had died in 1847—a well-knit Irish party once again has entered Parliament, but under circumstances that hardly permit it constantly to compromise à la O'Connell with the Liberals or to have individual members of it sell themselves retail to Liberal governments, as after him has become the fashion.

Thus both motive forces of English political development have now entered Parliament: on the one side the workers, on the other the Irish as a well-knit national party. And even if they may hardly be expected to play a big role in this Parliament—the workers will certainly not—the elections of 1874 have indisputably ushered in a new phase in English political development.

Written on February 22, 1874

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# Frederick Engels

## THE IMPERIAL MILITARY LAW[438]

### I

[*Der Volksstaat*, No. 28, March 8, 1874]

It is truly comical the way the National Liberals and the men of Progress[439] are acting in the Imperial Diet with respect to §1 of the Military Law:

"The effective strength of the army in peacetime in non-commissioned officers and soldiers shall, *until the issue of further legal regulations*, amount to 401,659 men."[a]

This paragraph, they cry, is unacceptable; it cancels out the Imperial Diet's budgetary rights and turns the approval of military estimates into a mere farce!

Quite right, gentlemen! And precisely *because* this is so, *because* the article is unacceptable, you will accept it in its essentials. Why make so much fuss because you are expected to bend your knees once again, as you have so often done before with such grace?

The root of the whole wretched business is the re-organisation of the Prussian army. It engendered the glorious conflict.[440] During the whole period of the conflict, the liberal opposition put into practice Manteuffel's principle: "He who is strong gives way bravely."[441] After the Danish War their braveness in giving way increased considerably. Yet when Bismarck returned in triumph from Sadowa in 1866 and went so far as to apply for an indemnity for his previous unauthorised expenditure—then their giving way no longer knew any bounds.[442] The military estimate was immediately approved, and in Prussia what has once been

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[a] *Entwurf eines Reichs-Militär-Gesetzes.* Engels quotes from a newspaper. Cf. *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags. 2. Legislatur-Periode. I. Session. 1874*, Vol. 3, Berlin, 1874.—*Ed.*

approved is, according to the Prussian constitution, approved forever, for "the current" (once approved) "taxes shall continue to be raised"![a]

Then came the North German Imperial Diet, which debated the constitution of the Confederation.[443] There was much talk of budgetary rights, the government proposal was declared unacceptable on the grounds of inadequate control over finances; there was much twisting and turning this way and that, and finally they swallowed the bitter pill and transferred the regulations of the Prussian constitution on the military estimate to the North German Confederation on all major points. By this measure, the strength of the army in peacetime was already raised from 200,000 to 300,000 men.

Then came the glorious war of 1870, and with it the "German Empire". Another constituent (!) Imperial Diet and a new imperial constitution.[444] More high-minded speeches and countless reservations on account of the budgetary rights. And what did the gentlemen decide?

The Imperial Constitution §60:

"The strength of the German army in peacetime is set until December 31, 1871, at one per cent of the population of 1867 and shall be provided *pro rata* in respect of the same by the individual federal states. *After this date, the strength of the army in peacetime shall be laid down by means of imperial legislation.*"[b]

One per cent of the population of 1867 means 401,000 men. This effective strength has since been prolonged by decision of the Imperial Diet until December 31, 1874.

§62: "To meet the expenditure for the whole of the German army and the institutions appertaining to the same, the Emperor shall have 225 thalers multiplied by the number of men constituting the peacetime strength of the army according to §60 placed annually at his disposal until December 31, 1871. *After December 31, 1871, these amounts shall continue to be paid to the Imperial Exchequer by the individual states of the Confederation. For the purpose of calculating the same, the peacetime effective strength provisionally laid down in §60 shall be retained until changed by imperial law.*"

That was the third time our Nationals had knelt down before the inviolable military estimate. And when Bismarck now comes and demands that the happy *provisorium* be turned into an even happier *definitivum*, these gentlemen cry out at the infringement of the budgetary rights, which they themselves have sacrificed three times in a row!

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[a] Engels quotes §109 of the 1850 Prussian constitution.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below cf. "Verfassung des Deutschen Reichs", *Reichs-Gesetzblatt*, No. 628, Berlin, 1871.—*Ed.*

My dear Sirs, the Nationals! Go in for "practical politics"! Make allowances for "current circumstances"! Cast your "unattainable ideals" overboard and carry on bravely "on the basis of the realities"! You have not only said A, you have already said B and C, so do not hesitate to say D! Dithering and dathering is no use here. Now is the time for another of your glorious "compromises" whereby the government gets its own way entirely and you may be pleased to get off without being kicked. Leave budgetary rights to the English, bogged down in their materialism, to the decadent French and the backward Austrians and Italians; do not cling to "foreign models", do a "genuinely German job"! Yet *if* you absolutely insist on having budgetary rights, then there's only one thing to do: next time elect only Social-Democrats!

## II

[*Der Volksstaat*, No. 29, March 11, 1874]

That the Nationals are stupid—despite all their smart little Laskers—we have known for a long time, and they know it themselves. Yet we would not have believed that they were as stupid as Moltke thinks they are. The Master of Silence spoke for a whole hour in the Imperial Diet and yet remained the Master of Silence; for he withheld from his audience virtually all of what he himself thinks. Only on two issues did he frankly speak his mind: first, that the fatal §1 is absolutely necessary, and second, with the splendid words:

> "What we have conquered with arms in half a year, we must guard with arms for half a century, lest it be snatched away from us again. Since our successful wars we have gained respect everywhere, love nowhere."[a]

*Habemus confitentem reum.* Here we have the guilty party brought to confession.[b] When Prussia came out with its annexation demands after Sedan,[445] it claimed: the new border is determined solely by strategic necessity; we are only taking what we absolutely need to safeguard ourselves; within this new border and after the completion of our fortifications we shall be able to look forward to any attack with equanimity.—And this is certainly true, from a purely strategic point of view.

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[a] Here and below Engels quotes Moltke's speech in the German Imperial Diet on February 16, 1874.—*Ed.*

[b] Engels quotes from Cicero's *Oratio pro Q. Ligario.*—*Ed.*

The fortified line along the Rhine, with its three major bases, Cologne, Coblenz and Mainz, had only two faults. First, it could be circumvented by way of Strasbourg; second, it lacked an advance line of fortified points giving depth to the whole position. The annexation of Alsace-Lorraine eliminated both of these drawbacks. Strasbourg and Metz now form the first line; Cologne, Coblenz and Mainz, the second; all of them are first-class strongholds, with well advanced forts and capable of resisting modern rifled artillery; moreover, they are situated at such distances from one another as best to afford the colossal armies of today freedom of movement, on terrain extremely well-suited to defence. As long as the neutrality of Belgium is respected, a French attack may be easily confined to the narrow strip of land between Metz and the Vosges; it is also possible, if deemed desirable, to retreat behind the Rhine at the outset, thus forcing the French to weaken themselves before the first major battle by despatching troops to Metz, Strasbourg, Coblenz and Mainz. It is a position unequalled in strength throughout Europe; the Venetian Quadrilateral[446] was child's play in comparison with this almost impregnable position.

Yet precisely the capture of this almost impregnable position forces Germany, according to Moltke, to defend its conquests by arms for half a century! The strongest position does not defend itself, it needs defending; defence requires soldiers; and so the stronger the positions the more soldiers are needed, and so on, in an eternal vicious circle. In addition, the newly recovered "lost brother-tribe" in Alsace-Lorraine[a] simply does not want anything to do with Mother Germania and the French are obliged, come what may, to attempt to liberate the Alsatians and Lorrainians from the Germanic embrace at the first opportunity. The strong position is thus outweighed by the fact that Germany has forced the French to side with anyone who wishes to attack her. In other words, this strong position *contains within it the seed of a European coalition against the German Empire.* No amount of three-Emperor or two-Emperor meetings[447] and toasts alters this in the slightest, and nobody knows this better than Moltke and Bismarck; as Moltke, in fact, discreetly puts it in this melancholy sentence:

"Since our successful wars we have gained respect everywhere, love nowhere!"

So much for the *truth* according to Moltke. Now for his *fictions.*[b]

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[a] This may be an allusion to a passage in A. Wagner's pamphlet *Elsass und Lothringen und ihre Wiedergewinnung für Deutschland,* Leipzig, 1870, p. 36.—*Ed.*

[b] In the original: "Dichtung" (poetry, fiction)—an allusion to Goethe's autobiographical work *Dichtung und Wahrheit. Aus meinem Leben.* (Truth and Poetry. From My Life).—*Ed.*

We shall waste no time discussing the sentimental sigh with which the great strategist announces his sorrow that the army is unfortunately obliged to consume such colossal sums for the good of the people, posing, as it were, as a Prussian Cincinnatus who desires nothing more ardently than to be promoted from General Field-Marshal to cabbage-farmer. Still less shall we dwell on the hackneyed theory that, on account of the poor education given to the nation by the school-master, every German must be sent to spend three years at the high-school where the sergeant-major is the professor. We are not speaking to Nationals here, as poor Moltke was obliged to do. We shall pass on at once to the staggering military tall stories that, to the universal amusement of the great General Staff, he told his astonished audience.

It is again a matter of justifying the large German armaments by the allegedly even larger ones of the French. And so Moltke discloses to the Imperial Diet that the French Government already has the right to call 1,200,000 men to arms for the regular army and over a million for the territorial army. In order to place these men, "indeed only a part of them", the French had increased their cadres. They now had 152 infantry regiments (as against 116 before the war), 9 new battalions of fusiliers, 14 new cavalry regiments, 323 batteries instead of the former 164. And "these reinforcements have not yet stopped". The peacetime effective strength of the army amounts to 40,000 men more than in 1871, now being set at 471,170. Instead of the eight army corps with which the French faced us at the outbreak of the war, France will, in future, have 18, and a nineteenth for Algiers; the national assembly is virtually imposing money for armaments on the government, the local authorities provide free training grounds and officers' messes, and build barracks at their own expense, displaying an almost violent patriotism such as could only be wished for in Germany—in short, everyone is preparing for a great war of revenge.

Now, if the French government had done everything with which Moltke credits it, it would have been doing no more than its duty. After defeats such as those of 1870, it is the first duty of the government to build up the defences of the nation sufficiently to guard against a recurrence of such disasters. Precisely the same thing happened to the Prussians in 1806; their entire obsolete army was transported free of charge to France as prisoners of war. After the war, the Prussian government did its utmost to make the whole nation capable of bearing arms; the men were only given six months' training, and despite Moltke's aversion to the militia, we

have Blücher's word for it that, after the first few engagements, these "militia patteljohns",[448] as he expressed himself, were every bit as good as the battalions of the line. If the French government did likewise, if it devoted all its energies to making the whole nation capable of bearing arms in five or six years—it would only be doing its duty. But the opposite is the case. With the exception of the newly-formed battalions, squadrons and batteries, which, up to now, have only reached the level of the German organisation *of the line,* everything else exists *solely on paper,* and France is militarily weaker than ever.

"France," says Moltke, "has faithfully copied all our military institutions... Above all, they have introduced universal compulsory military service, basing it on a 20-year commitment, whereas ours is for only 12 years."

If this were really so, what does the difference between 20 years and 12 years amount to? Where is the German who would really be relieved of his militia commitment after 12 years? Is it not generally said: the 12 years only come into effect when we have enough men; until then you will have to remain in the militia for 14, 15, 16 years? And why have we exhumed the extinct Landsturm,[449] if not to render every German who was ever in uniform liable to military service for the rest of his earthly life?

In fact, however, universal compulsory military service in France is of a rather special character. France lacks precisely the semi-feudal eastern provinces of Prussia that form the real basis of the Prussian state and the new German Empire; provinces providing recruits who obey without question, and never become much wiser afterwards, as militiamen, either. The extension of universal compulsory military service to the western provinces already showed in 1849 that one man's meat is another man's poison[450]; the extension now made to the whole of Germany will create men trained in arms who will put the Moltkes and Bismarcks out of business, at the very latest by the time the twelve years so dear to Moltke are up—should the whole little scheme last that long.

In France, then, not even the basis exists for universal compulsory military service to create soldiers obedient to reaction. In France the Prussian non-commissioned officer was an obsolete concept even before the Great Revolution. Minister of War Saint-Germain introduced Prussian flogging in 1776; but the flogged soldiers shot themselves, and flogging had to be abolished the very same year. Really introduce universal compulsory military service in France, train the mass of the population in the use of

arms, and where would Thiers and Mac-Mahon be? But Thiers and Mac-Mahon, although far from geniuses, are not the schoolboys Moltke makes them out to be. On paper they have set up universal compulsory military service, certainly; in reality they have been insisting with the greatest obstinacy on *five-year* service under the colours.[451] Now, everyone knows that universal compulsory military service is quite incompatible even with the Prussian three-year term of service; either one must accept a peacetime effective strength for Germany of at least 600,000 men, or one must allow men to draw lots for exemption, as does happen. What peacetime effective strength would a five-year term of service yield in France under universal compulsory military service? Almost a million; but even Moltke cannot manage to impute even half this figure to the French.

The same day Moltke impressed his audience so astonishingly, the *Kölnische Zeitung* published a "military announcement" about the French army.[a] These military announcements come to the *Kölnische Zeitung* from a very good semi-official source, and the military "swineherd" concerned will have received a first-class ticking-off for dropping this clanger at such an eminently unsuitable juncture. For the man actually tells the truth. He states that the latest official French statistics prove

> "that France would scarcely be able to carry out the military goal that she has set herself in the new defence law, even by stretching her powers to the utmost".

According to him, "the strength of the army for this year has been set at 442,014 men". First, however, the Republican Gendarmerie Guard of 27,500 must be deducted from this figure; "yet according to the budget figures given for the individual services the actual strength of the army, in fact, amounts to only 389,965 men". From this must be subtracted

> "*recruited* troops (the Foreign Legion and native Algerian units), administrative troop bodies and cadres of non-commissioned officers and re-enlisted soldiers, which were fixed at 120,000 men, according to the earlier authentic French figures. However, even estimating the real effective strength of the same at only 80,000 men, there only remains—with regard to recruitment—an actual army strength of 309,000 men, *consisting of five annual intakes of the first contingent and one of the second* (reserve) *contingent.* The one annual intake of the second contingent consists of 30,000 men, and thus *the annual enlisted intake of the first contingent and annual recruit intake of the same may be calculated as 55,800 men each.* If we then add to this the 30,000 men of the second contingent, *the largest annual recruitment to the French army would still be only 99,714 men*".

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[a] "Die französische Heer- und Flottenstärke für 1874", *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 48, February 17, 1874, 1st supplement, p. 3.—*Ed.*

Thus: the French call up about 60,000 men annually for five years' service, making 1,200,000 men in 20 years, and if we deduct such wastage as actually occurs in the Prussian militia, a maximum of 800,000 men. Further, 30,000 men for one year's service—worthless militiamen, according to Moltke—makes 600,000 men in 20 years, after deductions for wastage 400,000 men at the most. Thus, when the French have, undisturbed for 20 years, indulged the patriotism so praised by Moltke, they will eventually be able to confront the Germans, not with Moltke's 2,200,000 men, but at the most with 800,000 trained soldiers and 400,000 militiamen, whereas Moltke can already easily mobilise one and a half million fully trained German soldiers at any time. It is against these facts that one should weigh the amusement that Moltke's speech—greeted with astonishment by the Imperial Diet—produced among the General Staff.

One must allow this to Moltke: As long as he was dealing with naive adversaries like Benedek and Louis Napoleon, he engaged in thoroughly *honest* warfare. He followed the strategic rules discovered by Napoleon I to the letter, meticulously and scrupulously. No enemy could reproach him with ever having employed surprise, secrecy, or any other vulgar ruse of war. Consequently it could be doubted whether Moltke really was a genius. This doubt has been removed since Moltke has had to fight opponents who are his equals—the geniuses of the Imperial Diet. In confrontation with the latter he has demonstrated that he can outfool his opponents if necessary. There is no longer any doubt of it: Moltke is a genius.

But what may we suppose Moltke really thinks of the French armaments? Here, too, we have a number of indications to help us.—Moltke and Bismarck were under no illusions about the fact that, just as the victories of 1866 could not fail to elicit a cry for revenge for Sadowa from official circles in France, neither could the successes of 1870 fail to impose "revenge for Sedan" on official Russia. Hitherto the obedient servant of Russia, Prussia had suddenly revealed itself as the foremost military power of Europe; such an immense shift in the European situation to the detriment of Russia was tantamount to a defeat for Russian policy; the cry for revenge rang out loud enough in Russia. Under the circumstances, Berlin thought it better to settle the matter as soon and as rapidly as possible, without leaving the Russians any time to arm. The measures taken at the time by the Prussians to prepare for war against Russia we shall perhaps discuss on another occasion; suffice it to say that, in the summer of 1872, they were

more or less ready, particularly with the plan of campaign, which this time did not aim to be a "blow to the heart".[a] Then Tsar Alexander of Russia came uninvited on an imperial visit to Berlin, presenting "in an authoritative place" certain documents that brought the little plan to nothing. The renewed Holy Alliance, directed, to begin with, against Turkey, replaced for the time being the ultimately inevitable war against Russia.

This little plan naturally also provided for the eventuality of France's allying herself with Russia against Prussia. In this event, it was decided to remain on the defensive against France. And how many men were then considered sufficient to repel all French attacks?

An army of two hundred and fifty thousand men!

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[a] This expression ("Stoss ins Herz") was used by the Prussian Ambassador to Italy Charles George Usedom in his despatch of June 17, 1866 concerning joint actions by Prussia and Italy in the war against Austria.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [SUPPLEMENT TO THE PREFACE OF 1870 FOR *THE PEASANT WAR IN GERMANY*][452]

The preceding passage[a] was written over four years ago. It is still valid today. What was true after Sadowa and the partition of Germany is being reconfirmed after Sedan and the establishment of the Holy German Empire of the Prussian nation.[453] So little do "world-shaking" grand performances of state[454] in the realm of so-called high politics change the direction of the historical movement.

What these grand performances of state are able to do, however, is to accelerate this movement. And in this respect, the authors of the above-mentioned "world-shaking events" have had involuntary successes, which they themselves surely find most undesirable but which, all the same, for better or for worse, they have to accept.

The war of 1866 shook the old Prussia to its foundations. After 1848 it had a hard time bringing the rebellious industrial element—bourgeois as well as proletarian—of the Western provinces,[b] under the old discipline again; still, this had been accomplished, and the interests of the Junkers of the Eastern provinces[c] again became, next to those of the army, the dominant interests in the state. In 1866 almost all Northwest Germany became Prussian. Apart from the irreparable moral injury the Prussian crown by the grace of God suffered owing to its having swallowed three other crowns by the grace of God,[455] the centre of

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[a] F. Engels, "Preface to the Second Edition of 1870 of *The Peasant War in Germany*".—*Ed.*

[b] Rhine Province and Westphalia.—*Ed.*

[c] Prussia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Poznan, Silesia and Saxony.—*Ed.*

gravity in the monarchy now shifted considerably to the west. The five million Rhinelanders and Westphalians were reinforced, first, by the four million Germans annexed directly, and then by the six million annexed indirectly, through the North German Confederation.[456] And in 1870 there were further added the eight million Southwest Germans,[457] so that in the "New Empire", the fourteen and a half million old Prussians (from the six East Elbian provinces, including, besides, two million Poles) were confronted by some twenty-five million who had long outgrown the old Prussian Junker-feudalism. In this way the very victories of the Prussian army shifted the entire basis of the Prussian state structure; the Junker domination was becoming increasingly intolerable even for the government. At the same time, however, the extremely rapid industrial development caused the struggle between bourgeois and worker to supersede the struggle between Junker and bourgeois, so that internally also the social foundations of the old state underwent a complete transformation. The basic condition for the monarchy, which had been slowly rotting since 1840, was the struggle between nobility and bourgeoisie, in which the monarchy held the balance. From the moment when it became necessary instead of protecting the nobility against the onrush of the bourgeoisie to protect all the propertied classes against the onrush of the working class, the old, absolute monarchy had to go over completely to the form of state expressly devised for this purpose: *the Bonapartist monarchy.* This transition of Prussia to Bonapartism I have already discussed elsewhere (*The Housing Question*, Part 2, pp. 26 et seq.[a]). What I did not have to stress there, but what is very essential here, is that this transition was the *greatest progress* made by Prussia since 1848, so much had Prussia lagged behind in modern development. It was, to be sure, still a semi-feudal state, whereas Bonapartism is, at any rate, a modern form of state which presupposes the abolition of feudalism. Hence, Prussia has had to begin to get rid of its numerous survivals of feudalism, to sacrifice Junkerdom as such. This, naturally, is being done in the mildest possible form and to the favourite tune of: *Immer langsam voran!*[b] Take the notorious district regulations.[458] It abolishes the feudal privileges of the individual Junker in relation to his estate only to restore them as privileges of the totality of big landowners in relation to the entire

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[a] See this volume, pp. 363-64.—*Ed.*

[b] "Always slowly forward"—the refrain of the folk song *Die Krähwinkler Landwehr* ("Landwehr from the sleepy village") which appeared in 1813.—*Ed.*

district. The substance remains, being merely translated from the feudal into the bourgeois dialect. The old Prussian Junker is being forcibly transformed into something resembling an English SQUIRE, and need not have offered so much resistance because the one is as stupid as the other.

Thus it has been the peculiar fate of Prussia to complete its bourgeois revolution—began in 1808 to 1813 and advanced to some extent in 1848—in the pleasant form of Bonapartism at the end of this century. If all goes well and the world remains nice and quiet, and all of us live long enough, we may see—perhaps in 1900—that the government of Prussia will actually have abolished all feudal institutions and that Prussia will finally have arrived at the point where France stood in 1792.

The abolition of feudalism, expressed positively, means the establishment of bourgeois conditions. As the privileges of the nobility fall, legislation becomes more and more bourgeois. And here we come to the crux of the relation of the German bourgeoisie to the government. We have seen that the government is *compelled* to introduce these slow and petty reforms. However, in its dealings with the bourgeoisie it portrays each of these small concessions as a *sacrifice* made to the bourgeois, as a concession wrung from the crown with the greatest difficulty, for which they, the bourgeois, ought in return to concede something to the government. And the bourgeois, though the true state of affairs is fairly clear to them, allow themselves to be fooled. This is the origin of the tacit agreement that forms the mute basis of all Reichstag and Prussian Chamber debates in Berlin. On the one hand, the government reforms the laws at a snail's pace in the interest of the bourgeoisie, removes the feudal obstacles to industry as well as those which arose from the multiplicity of small states, establishes uniform coinage, weights and measures, freedom of occupation, etc., puts Germany's labour power at the unrestricted disposal of capital by granting freedom of movement, and favours trade and swindling. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie leaves all actual political power in the hands of the government, votes taxes, loans and soldiers, and helps to frame all new reform laws in a way as to sustain the full force and effect of the old police power over undesirable elements. The bourgeoisie buys gradual social emancipation at the price of the immediate renunciation of political power. Naturally, the chief reason why such an agreement is acceptable to the bourgeoisie is not fear of the government but fear of the proletariat.

However wretched a figure our bourgeoisie may cut in the

political field, it cannot be denied that as far as industry and commerce are concerned it is at last doing its duty. The impetuous growth of industry and commerce referred to in the preface to the second edition[a] has since proceeded with still greater vigour. What has taken place in this respect since 1869 in the Rhine-Westphalian industrial region is quite unprecedented for Germany and reminds one of the upsurge in the English manufacturing districts at the beginning of this century. The same thing holds true for Saxony and Upper Silesia, Berlin, Hanover and the seaports. At last we have world trade, a really big industry, a really modern bourgeoisie. But in return we have also had a real crash,[459] and have likewise got a real, powerful proletariat.

The future historian will attach much less importance in the history of Germany from 1869 to 1874 to the roar of battle at Spichern, Mars-la-Tour[460] and Sedan, and everything connected therewith, than to the unpretentious, quiet but constantly progressing development of the German proletariat. As early as 1870, the German workers were subjected to a severe test: the Bonapartist war provocation and its natural effect, the general national enthusiasm in Germany. The German socialist workers did not allow themselves to be confused for a single moment. They did not show any hint of national chauvinism. They kept their heads in the midst of the wildest jubilation over the victory, demanding "an equitable peace with the French republic and no annexations". Not even the state of siege could silence them. No battle glory, no talk of German "imperial magnificence", produced any effect on them; liberation of the entire European proletariat was still their sole aim. One may say with assurance that in no other country have the workers hitherto been put to so hard a test and acquitted themselves so splendidly.

The state of siege during the war was followed by trials for high treason, for *lèse majesté*, for insulting officials, and by the ever increasing police chicanery of peacetime. The *Volksstaat* usually had three or four editors in prison at one time and the other papers too. Every party speaker of any distinction had to stand trial at least once a year and was almost always convicted. Deportations, confiscations and the breaking-up of meetings proceeded in rapid succession, thick as hail. All in vain. The place of every man arrested or deported was at once filled by another; for every broken-up meeting two new ones were called, and thus the arbitrary power of the police was worn down in one place

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 96-97.—*Ed.*

after the other by endurance and strict conformity to the law. All this persecution had the opposite effect to that intended. Far from breaking the workers' party or even bending it, it served only to enlist new recruits and consolidated the organisation. In their struggle with the authorities and also individual bourgeois, the workers showed themselves intellectually and morally superior, and proved, particularly in their conflicts with the so-called "providers of work", the employers, that they, the workers, were now the educated class and the capitalists were the ignoramuses. Moreover, they conduct the fight for the most part with a sense of humour, which is the best proof of how sure they are of their cause and how conscious of their superiority. A struggle thus conducted on historically prepared soil must yield good results. The successes of the January elections stand unique in the history of the modern workers' movement[461] and the astonishment they caused throughout Europe was fully justified.

The German workers have two important advantages over those of the rest of Europe. First, they belong to the most theoretical people of Europe, and have retained the sense of theory which the so-called "educated" classes of Germany have almost completely lost. Without German philosophy, particularly that of Hegel, German scientific socialism—the only scientific socialism that has ever existed—would never have come into being. Without the workers' sense of theory this scientific socialism would never have entered their flesh and blood as much as is the case. What an incalculable advantage this is may be seen, on the one hand, from the indifference to theory which is one of the main reasons why the English working-class movement crawls along so slowly in spite of the splendid organisation of the individual trades, and on the other hand, from the mischief and confusion wrought by Proudhonism in its original form among the French and Belgians, and in the form further caricatured by Bakunin among the Spaniards and Italians.

The second advantage is that, chronologically speaking, the Germans were about the last to come into the workers' movement. Just as German theoretical socialism will never forget that it rests on the shoulders of Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen—three men who, in spite of all their fantastic notions and all their utopianism, stand among the most eminent thinkers of all time and whose genius anticipated innumerable things the correctness of which is now being scientifically proved by us—so the practical workers' movement in Germany ought never to forget that it developed on the shoulders of the English and French movements, that it was

able simply to utilise their dearly paid experience and could now avoid their mistakes, which were then mostly unavoidable. Where would we be now without the precedent of the English TRADE UNIONS and French workers' political struggles, and especially without the gigantic impulse of the Paris Commune?

It must be said to the credit of the German workers that they have exploited the advantages of their situation with rare understanding. For the first time since a workers' movement has existed, the struggle is being waged pursuant to its three sides—the theoretical, the political and the economico-practical (resistance to the capitalists)—in harmony and in its interconnections, and in a systematic way. It is precisely in this, as it were concentric, attack that the strength and invincibility of the German movement lies.

Due to this advantageous situation, on the one hand, and to the insular peculiarities of the English and the forcible suppression of the French movement, on the other, the German workers stand for the moment in the vanguard of the proletarian struggle. How long events will allow them to occupy this place of honour, cannot be foretold. But let us hope that as long as they occupy it they will fill it fittingly. This demands redoubled efforts in every field of struggle and agitation. In particular, it will be the duty of the leaders to gain an ever clearer insight into all theoretical questions, to free themselves more and more from the influence of traditional phrases inherited from the old world outlook, and constantly to keep in mind that socialism, since it has become a science, demands that it be pursued as a science, that is, that it be studied. The task will be to spread with increased zeal among the masses of workers the ever more lucid understanding thus acquired and to knit together ever more strongly the organisation both of the party and of the trade unions. Even if the votes cast for the Socialists in January have formed quite a decent army, they are still far from constituting the majority of the German working class; encouraging as are the successes of propaganda among the rural population, infinitely more remains to be done in this field. Hence, we must make it a point not to slacken the struggle, and to wrest from the enemy one town, one constituency after the other; the main point, however, is to safeguard the true international spirit, which allows no patriotic chauvinism to arise and which readily welcomes every new advance of the proletarian movement, no matter from which nation it comes. If the German workers progress in this way, they will not be marching exactly at the head of the movement—it is not at all in the interest of this movement

that the workers of any particular country should march at its head—but will occupy an honourable place in the battle line; they will stand armed for battle when either unexpectedly grave trials or momentous events demand of them added courage, added determination and energy.

*Frederick Engels*

London, July 1, 1874

First published in: Friedrich Engels, *Der Deutsche Bauernkrieg*, Leipzig, 1875

Printed according to the book

# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

# Karl Marx

## [NOTES ON THE CONDITION OF THE REFUGEES FROM THE COMMUNE][462]

460 (foreigners) arrested on the fall of the Commune. 5 months on the pontoons. Order of nonsuit.

Disembarked at Newhaven; had not received any food on the boat. They were released scarcely clothed, without money, told to apply to their respective consuls for help in getting out of their plight.

Made their way, partly on foot, from Newhaven to London.

Written in early November 1871

First published, in Russian, in *Kommunist*, No. 2, Moscow, 1971

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx

## AMERICAN SPLIT[463]

### MAY 1872[a]

**15 October 1871* was published in the journal of *Woodhull* (a banker's woman, free-lover, and general humbug) and *Claflin* (her sister in the same line) an *Appeal of Section No. 12* (founded by *Woodhull*, and almost exclusively consisting of middle-class humbugs and worn-out Yankee swindlers in the Reform business; *Section IX* is founded by Miss Claflin).

*An Appeal of Section XII* (to the *English-speaking citizens* of the United States) (d.d. August 30, 1871, signed by *W. West*, Secretary of Section 12).*

The following are extracts from this APPEAL:

* "The object of the International is simply to emancipate the labourer, male and female, by the conquest of political power." "It involves, first, the *Political Equality* and *Social Freedom* of men and women alike." "*Political Equality* means the personal participation of each in the preparation, administration and execution of the laws by which all are governed." "*Social Freedom* means *absolute immunity* from impertinent intrusion in all affairs of exclusively personal concernment, such as religious belief, the *sexual relation, habits of dress*, etc."

"The proposition involves, secondly, the *establishment of a Universal Government*... Of course, the abolition of ... even *differences of language are embraced in the programme*." *[b]

* "Section No. 12" invites the formation of "English-speaking sections" in the United States upon this programme.*

That the whole organisation for *PLACE-HUNTING* and *ELECTORAL PURPOSES*:

* "If practicable, *for the convenience of political action*, there should be a section formed *in every primary election district*."

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[a] The heading was given by Engels on a separate sheet of paper.—*Ed.*

[b] *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, No. 19 (71), September 23, 1871.—*Ed.*

"There must ultimately be instituted *in every town a Municipal Committee or Council*, corresponding with the Common Councils; in every State a State Committee or Council, corresponding with the State legislature, and in the Nation a National Committee or Council, corresponding with the United States National Congress."

"The work of the International includes nothing less than the institution, *within existing forms, of another form of Government*, which shall supersede them all." *

This APPEAL—and the formation thereupon OF ALL SORTS OF MIDDLE-CLASS HUMBUG SECTIONS, FREE-LOVERS, SPIRITISTS, SPIRITIST SHAKERS,[464] etc.—gave rise to a split in which SECTION I (German) of the OLD COUNCIL demanded the expulsion of SECTION 12, the non-admittance of sections in which at least two-thirds of the membership are not workers.

First, 5 dissidents set up, on *November 19, 1871*, a separate COUNCIL consisting of Yankees, Frenchmen, Germans, etc.

*In "Woodhull's, etc., Journal" of 18 November 1871, SECTION 12* (West as SECRETARY) protests against SECTION I, and states there, among other things:

* "The simple truth is that Political Equality and Social Freedom for all alike, of all races, both sexes, and *every condition*, are necessary precursors of the more radical reforms demanded by the International."

*"The extension of equal citizenship to women*, the world over, *must* **precede** *any general change in the subsisting relations of capital and labour."* "Section 12 would also remonstrate against the vain assumption, running all through the Protest (of Section I) under review, that the International Working Men's Association *is an organisation of the working classes..."* *

Previously, already in *"Woodhull's Journal" of October 21, 1871*, SECTION 12 ASSERTS

* "*the independent right of each section* to have, hold and *give expression to its own constructions of said proceedings of the several Congresses*, and *the Rules and Regulations* (!) of said General Council, *each section being alone responsible for its own action*".*

*"Woodhull's, etc., Journal". 25 November 1871. Protest of SECTION 12* against "*ADDRESS OF SECTION I*" (the same address that you[a] have reprinted in Italian etc. papers).

* "It is not true that the 'common understanding or agreement' of the working men of all countries, of itself, standing alone, constitutes the Association... The statement that the emancipation of the working classes can only be conquered by themselves, cannot be denied, *yet it is true so far as it describes the fact that the working classes cannot be emancipated against their will*."

*3 December 1871.* The new Federal Council for North America formally * constituted (Yankees, Germans, Frenchmen).

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[a] Engels.—*Ed.*

*4 December*. The old Council (10 Ward Hotel) denounces the swindlers in a Circular to all the Sections of the International in the United States. It says, among other things:

"In the Committee (the old Central Committee), which is supposed to be a defence against all reformist swindles, the majority finally consisted of reformists and benefactors of the nation who had already almost sunk into oblivion... Thus it came about that the people who preached the gospel of free love sat most fraternally beside those who wanted to bless the whole world with one common language—supporters of land cooperatives, *spiritualists*, atheists and deists—each trying to ride his own particular hobby-horse. Particularly Section 12 Woodhull... The first step that has to be taken here, in order to advance the movement, is to organise and, at the same time, to stimulate the revolutionary element, which lies in the conflict of interests of capitalist and worker...

"The delegates of sections 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 16, 21, 23, 24, 25 and other sections, having seen that all efforts to direct this nonsense were in vain, therefore decided, after the old Central Committee had been adjourned *sine die* (3 December 1871) to found a new one, *which consists of actual workers* and from which all those who can only confuse matters must be excluded" (*"New-Yorker Demokrat", 9 December 1871*).

West elected as delegate for the new Council.

It should be noted that the new Council very quickly filled with delegates, mostly from new sections, founded by Section 9 (Claflin) and Section 12 (Woodhull), riffraff, besides mostly so weak that they were too few in numbers to nominate the necessary officers.

In the meantime the *Woodhull Journal* (West, etc.) lied shamelessly asserting that they were certain of the support of the General Council.

Both councils appealed to the General Council. Various sections, such as the French Section 10 (New York) and all the Irish sections recalled their delegates from both councils pending a decision of the General Council. About the lies of the *Woodhull Journal*, article in the *issue of December 2* under the title "*Section 12 Sustained.—The Decision of the General Council*". (That was the decision of the General Council of November 5, 1871, in which the Central Committee, on the contrary, makes a stand against the ambition of Section 12, *as Yankees*, to replace it.)

*Resolutions of the General Council of March 5 and 12, 1872.*[a]

The fate of the Internationals in the United States depended on that. (Incidentally, note the humbug cult of myself which the *Woodhull Journal* has boosted to date.)

As soon as the resolutions came to New York, the people of the

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[a] A slip of the pen in Marx's manuscript: 1871. See this volume, pp. 124-26.—*Ed.*

COUNTER COMMITTEE took up their old policy. Previously they had discussed the original SPLIT in the most disreputable bourgeois papers of New York. Now they did the same against the General Council (presenting the whole thing as a struggle between the French and the Germans, between socialism and communism) amid jubilant cries of all organs hostile to the workers.

Very characteristic marginal notes in "*Woodhull's Journal*", *4 May, 1872* on the resolutions of the GENERAL COUNCIL.

*Before that,* "*Woodhull's Journal*", *16 DECEMBER 1871*:

* "No new test of membership, as that two-thirds or any part of a section shall be *wages-slaves, as if it were a crime to be free,* was required." *

(That is to say, in the composition of the COUNTER COUNCIL.)

"*Woodhull's Journal*", *4 MAY 1872.*

* "...In this decree of the General Council its authors presume to recommend that in future no *American* section be admitted, of which two-thirds at least are not wages-slaves. *Must they be politically* slaves also? As well one thing as the other..." "The intrusion into the International Working Men's Association of *bogus reformers, middle-class quacks* and *trading politicians* is mostly to be feared from *that class of citizens* who have nothing better to depend upon *than the proceeds of wages-slavery.*" *

Meanwhile, as the PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS approached, the cloven foot came into the open—namely that the International should assist in the ELECTION of—*Madame Woodhull*!

A propos. Before that: "*Woodhull's etc. Journal*", *2 MARCH 1872* in an ARTICLE *SIGNED W. West* one reads:

* "The issue of the 'Appeal' of Section 12 to the English-speaking citizens of the United States in August last, *was a new departure in the history of the International,* and *has resulted in the recognition by the General Council of Political Equality and Social Freedom of both sexes alike,* and of the essential *political* character of the work *before us.*" *[a]

"*Woodhull's etc. Journal*", *2 MARCH 1872.* Under the title "*The Coming Combination Convention*" it says:

* "There is a proposition under consideration by the representatives of the various reformatory elements of the country looking to a grand consolidated convention to be held in this city in May next, during Anniversary week... Indeed, if this convention in May acts wisely, who can say that *the fragments of the defunct* [...] *Democratic Party* [may not come to it ... that every individual who loves equality and justice, and who prices truth and principle more than the Republican or the Democratic party][b] will come out from them and take part in the proposed convention... *Everybody of Radicals* everywhere in the United States should, as soon as the call is made public, take immediate steps to be represented in it." *

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[a] W. West, *To the Members of Section Twelve of the I.W.A.—Ed.*

[b] Omission in the text. The text in square brackets restored from the newspaper.—*Ed.*

(A propos. The *Woodhull Journal*—I cannot find the date—comforts the *Spiritist Sections* by arguing that they can tell the General Council to go to the devil.)

*"Woodhull etc. Journal", April 6, 1872*:

* "Every day the evidence, that the convention called for the 9 and 10 May, by representatives of the various reforms ... is to be a spontaneous uprising of the people, increases in volume." *

In addition, the *National Women Suffrage Association* demands:

* "This Convention will ... *consider the nominations for President and Vice-President of the United States.*" *

Ditto under the title:

* "*The Party of the People to secure and maintain human rights, to be inaugurated in the United States, in May, 1872.*" *

The appeal signed, first, by *Victoria C. Woodhull*, then *Theodore H. Banks, R. W. Hume* (fellows, and Banks one of the founders, of the *Counter Council*). In this appeal: The Convention will consider "nominations for President and Vice-President of the United States". Especially invited

* "Labor, Land, Peace and Temperance reformers, and *Internationals* and *Women Suffragists*—including all the various Suffrage Associations—as well as *all others*, who believe the time has come when the principles of eternal justice and human equality should be carried into our halls of legislation." *

*"Woodhull etc. Weekly", 13 April 1872*. The presidency dodge is becoming more and more obvious. This time for a change

* "*Internationals*, and other Labor Reformers—the friends of peace, temperance and education, and by all those who believe that the time has come to carry the principles of true morality *and religion* into the State House, the Court and the Market Place".*

*Under the title*: "*The Party of the People* etc." a new appeal, as ever with *Victoria C. Woodhull* at the head; in the retinue, the chief scoundrels of the Counter Council, *Th. H. Banks, R. W. Hume, G. R. Allen, William West, G. W. Maddox* (later chairman of the Apollo meeting), *J. T. Elliott* (the English secretary of the Counter Council), *T. Millot* (delegate of the French Section II).

*"Woodhull etc. Weekly"* (it is not called a journal), 20 April, 1872. Continuation of the same dodge.

The lists grow, the *duce*, as always, V. C. Woodhull (there are "Honorables"[a] among them).

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[a] Members of the US Congress.—*Ed.*

"*Woodhull etc. Weekly*", *27 April, 1872.* Continuation of the same advertising. (Begins to publish lists of delegates.)

"*Woodhull etc. Weekly*", *May 4, 1872.* Continuation of the DODGE. (Continual printing of the same and larger lists.)

"*Woodhull etc. Weekly*", *25 May, 1872.* At last (9, 10, 11 MAY APOLLO HALL SCANDAL) Woodhull FOR PRESIDENT OF UNITED STATES, F. Douglass FOR VICE-president. (*Maddox* OF COUNTER COUNCIL, chairman of the CONVENTION, FIRST DAY.) LAUGHING-STOCK OF NEW YORK AND UNITED STATES.

Other officials of the COUNTER COUNCIL: *John T. Elliott*, VICE-president, *G. R. Allen*, SECRETARY (and MEMBER OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS AND PLATFORM). In the latter COMMITTEE: *Th. H. Banks* (one of the 5 founders of the COUNTER COUNCIL of November 19, 1871). MRS. *Maria Huleck* also on a COMMITTEE. In *CENTRAL NATIONAL COMMITTEE AT New York* for the UNITED STATES figured *G. R. Allen, Th. H. Banks* (next to COLONEL Blood, MEMBER of SECTION 12, and junior husband of Victoria), *I. B. Davis*.

*BREAK-UP OF THE COUNTER COUNCIL.*

SECTION 2 (FRENCH) removes *Laugrand* as DELEGATE (previously FRENCH SECRETARY of the COUNTER COUNCIL). Accuse the fellows

* "of using the organisation for political purposes, and as a sort of adjunct to the free-love branch of the women's rights' party... Citizen *Millot* stated* (he proposed the WITHDRAWAL of SECTION 2 from the COUNTER COUNCIL, [the proposal] WAS accepted) *upon the introduction of the Resolution that only 3 sections—9 (Claflin), 12 (Woodhull) and 35—were represented in the Apollo Hall 'odds and ends' Convention, by scheming men for political purposes, and that the delegation in the said convention pretending to act for the Federal Council was a spurious one and self-appointed."*

(*But the FEDERAL COUNTER COUNCIL DID NOT REPUDIATE THEM.*) ("*The World*", *MAY 13, 1872*).

*SECTION 6* (German) recalls its delegate E. Grosse (ex-private secretary of H. von Schweitzer) and declares that it will withdraw unless the COUNTER COUNCIL accepts all the resolutions of the GENERAL COUNCIL.

*Le Socialiste* (New York), May 18, 1872.

Section 2, of New York, at a sitting on Sunday, May 12, passed the following resolutions:

"Considering, etc., etc.,

"That Section 2 has reason to believe that the Jewellers' Union refuses to affiliate with the International, and that in the meantime a delegate continues to represent it at the Federal Council;

"That Section 2 has reasons to believe that other delegates represent *fictitious sections or sections consisting* of 6 or 8 members;

"Section 2 declares: An enquiry is necessary etc..."

"Considering that, *rightly or wrongly,* Section 12 has been suspended by the General Council acting in virtue of the power vested in it by the Basle Congress; Section 2 protests against keeping at the Federal Council of a delegate from Section 12 with a deciding vote.

"Finally, considering that the International is *an Association of workers having for its goal the liberation of workers by the workers themselves*:

"Section 2 protests against *the admission of sections composed mostly of non-workers.*"[a]

*Another resolution of* SECTION *2.*

"Section 2,

"Fully recognising in principle the electoral rights for women, *in the face of insinuations of citizen Woodhull,* at a meeting in the Apollo Hall, *leading the public to believe that the International supports the candidates of that Assembly,*

"Declares:

"That, for the present, the International neither can nor has any right to be taken in tow by any political party in America; for not one of them represents the aspirations of workers, and not one of them has the economic emancipation of workers as its programme and goal.

"Section 2 thinks:

"That our sole object must be, for the present, the organisation and greater solidarity of the working class in America."

Under the title "Internationaux, prenez garde à vous!", the same issue of the *Socialiste* has this to say, among other things:

"The International is not and cannot be persecuted in America; the politicians, far from aiming at its destruction, only think of using it as a lever or point of support for the triumph of their personal views. Once the International lets itself be drawn to that path, it will cease to be *an Association of Workers* and become a ring of politicians.

"The signal of alarm was given a long time ago; but the convention at Apollo Hall, nominating, *in the name of the International,* Madame Woodhull as candidate for the presidency, must henceforth open the eyes of even the least clairvoyant. Internationals of America, take care!"

* "*The World*", *May 20, 1872.*

*Sitting of Counter Council, 19 May 1872.* Maddox (of Apollo Hall) in the Chair. *Withdrawal of 8 delegates* (*for 8 sections*) (*French and German*).

"*Herald*", *May 20, 1872**

brings the same session UNDER THE HEADING:

* "*The French* [*are*] *insulted and leave in disgust... Terrible slang used. But 1,500 Members in the United States. A Split among the Internationals of London. The Woodhull Crowd Victorious.*"

*Resolution of General Council of 28 May 1872,* by which—in reply to the questions put by the German Section of St. Louis and the

[a] This and the following extracts in the manuscript are in French.—*Ed.*

French Section of* New Orleans—*the old Council (*Provisional Federal Council for the United States*) *is alone recognised.**

Written after May 28, 1872

First published, in Russian, in *Generalny Sovet Pervogo Internatsionala. 1871-1872*, Moscow, 1965

Reproduced from the manuscript

Translated from the German and French

Published in English in full for the first time

# Karl Marx

## [EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL FOR JUNE 1870-APRIL 1872][465]

### COUNCIL SITTINGS

*Sitting of Council June 28, 1870*

Marx proposes Brussels for next General Council etc. Resolution to be sent to all sections.

Carried.

Hales announces reconsideration.

*July 5.* Continuation of debate. Debate adjourned.

*July 12.* Marx: "to write to the sections to ask them to consider the advisability of removing the Council from London. If they were favourable to a removal then Brussels should be proposed" (with mandates should the delegates come) (instruction to delegates). Only 3 vote for Hales amendment.

*Mayence Congress Programme.*

*Sitting of Aug. 2.*

Serraillier read letter from Belgium in which Amsterdam was proposed as the seat of the Congress. It would be near to all except Italy and Spain. Belgium wants the Council to remain at London, declines its transference to Brussels.

*Debate on Congress.*

Marx against the Brussels proposal for Amsterdam. All the sections ought to be written to and asked whether they would consent to a postponement. Instead of a Congress a Conference might perhaps be held as in 1865.

*Jung against Congress.* Swiss called to arms (60,000 men).

*Hales* (*seconded by Eccarius*) proposed that the sections should be appealed to to state whether they were in favour of postponement and if so to give the Council power to fix the date of convocation. (*Carried.*)

*Marx*: if the sections agreed, a conference might be held here, but he was for an appeal.

*Aug. 9.* Spaniards propose Barcelona as seat of the Congress.

*Aug. 16.* Jung communicated letter from the German Swiss

Committee agreeing to the postponement of Congress and leaving it to the Council to appoint time and place; to the same effect letter of the German Social Democratic Party. Both against removal of the Council from London.

*Aug. 23.* Serraillier read letter from the Belgian Council in which the postponement of the Congress agreed to. Ditto from Romance Geneva Committee, Council to remain at London.

Postponement of Congress resolved.

*Sitting of Nov. 22* (documents found on the Bonaparte gvt).

"On the eve of the Plebiscite Ollivier had written to all the towns of France that the leaders of the International must be arrested else the voting could not be satisfactorily proceeded with."

*Sitting of Nov. 29.* Marx communicated that our Brunswick friends had been brought back from Loetzen in chains, to be tried for high treason. To frighten the middle class the police organs published long articles to tell the people these men were allies of the International Association—subvert everything, establish Universal Republic.

*1871*

*March 14.* Robin moves to convoke conference of delegates. (Rejected.)

*July 25.* Engels proposes convocation of conference, seconded by Robin.

*In this month Archbishop of Malines established* a Catholic Workingmen's International Association with a view to counteract the I.W.A.

[*1872*]

*Feb. 20.* Art. Utin.[a]

*12 March.* Resolutions on United States.[b]

*16 April. Cochrane. Fawcett.*[c]

Drawn up after August 27, 1872

Reproduced from the manuscript

First published, in Russian, in *Gaagsky kongress Pervogo Internatsionala, 2-7 sentyabrya 1872 g. Protokoly i documenty*, Moscow, 1970

[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association* (see this volume, pp. 77-78).—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Resolutions on the Split in the United States' Federation Passed by the General Council of the I.W.A. in Its Sittings of 5th and 12th March, 1872* (see this volume, pp. 124-26).—*Ed.*

[c] K. Marx, *Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association Concerning Cochrane's Speech in the House of Commons* (see this volume, pp. 140-45).—*Ed.*

New York Section No. 1 der Int. Arb. Ass.
in Nord Amerika.

Zj 1193

Mandat

Inhaber dieses „Karl Marx" wurde in der Sitzung obiger Sektion am 28ten Juli 1872 als Vertreter für dieselbe auf den allgem. Congress im Haag erwählt und ist der Vertreter der Sektion 1 New York hiermit ermächtigt für letztern seine gültige Stimme abzugeben.

28ten Juli 1872

C. Speyer cor. Sec.

F. A. Sorge, Vorsitzender
der Sitzung.

Mandate issued to Marx by New York Section No. 1 for him to take part in the Hague Congress

Sg 1185

# Vollmacht.

Die Breslauer Mitglieder der Internationalen Arbeiter-Association beauftragen Herrn Friedrich Engels in London mit ihrer Vertretung auf dem Congreß der Internationalen Arbeiter-Association am 2ten Septbr. dieses Jahres im Haag.

Breslau den 19ten August 1872.

Heinrich Oelsner
Paul Borik
Hermann Kriemisch

Mandate issued to Engels by the Breslau Section for him to take part in the Hague Congress

This is to certify that Mr. Frdr. Engels of London is duly elected to represent section six of the I. W. A of New York North America in the General Congress which is to be held at Hague from the 2 of September 1872.

New York August 8th 1872.

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For. F. Bertrand
Chairman pro temp.

John Stock Secretary

To certify the genuineness of the above credentials I affix hereunto the seal of the Federal Council for North America and my signature

New York, August 9th, 1872.

F. Bolte, Gen. Sy.
of the F. C. I. W. A. N. A.

Workingmens

Mandate issued to Engels by New York Section No. 6 for him to take part in the Hague Congress

# NOTES
# AND
# INDEXES

# NOTES

1 The original text of the *Rules of the International Working Men's Association* was written by Marx in English in October 1864 and approved by the Central Council (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 14-16). In 1867, an English text of the *Rules* and *Administrative Regulations* was printed in London, with the changes introduced at the Geneva and Lausanne congresses (ibid., pp. 441-46). The next congresses—in Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869)—adopted a number of resolutions which were additions to the Rules. However, the texts of the Rules then in circulation did not contain these additions and amendments and this led to inaccurate translations in a number of countries. The London Conference adopted the resolution, moved by Marx, on a new and authentic edition of the Rules and Administrative Regulations in English, German and French, and decided that in future all translations into other languages should be approved by the General Council. On Engels' proposition, a special meeting of the General Council of October 7, 1871 appointed a commission to prepare the new edition of the General Rules and resolutions of the conference. It included Karl Marx, Hermann Jung and Auguste Serraillier. On October 24, the General Council approved the work done on the new edition of the Rules.

The text of the Rules and Administrative Regulations was revised in accordance with the resolutions of all congresses and the London (1871) Conference of the International, the clauses which had become invalid being excluded. An "Appendix", which substantiated in detail all amendments and additions, was written anew. At the General Council meeting of October 31 Engels reported that the Rules and Administrative Regulations were almost ready for the press but that it was impossible to print them in three languages simultaneously as was decided at the conference. In view of that he proposed to publish them in each language separately. Marx and Engels directly supervised the translation of the Rules and Regulations into German and French.

The *London Conference* of the International was held from September 17 to 23, 1871. The Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 and reaction in Europe, which intensified after the fall of the Paris Commune, frustrated the convocation of the regular congress in 1871. But the need to define the tasks of the working-class movement, to draw general conclusions from the experience of the Commune and the struggle against the sectarian elements, especially the Bakuninists, demanded collective decisions. Under those conditions, the General Council, headed by Marx and Engels, considered it

expedient, having received the agreement of the majority of federations to hold a closed conference of the International's delegates.

The most important decision of the London Conference was formulated in Resolution IX, "Political Action of the Working Class", which declared the need to found, in each country, an independent proletarian party whose aim would be the conquest of political power by the working class. Other Conference decisions covered a wide range of tactical and organisational issues: the combination of various forms of proletarian struggle, legal and illegal, peaceful and non-peaceful; the alliance of the working class and the peasantry; the organisation of trade unions under the leadership of the International; the struggle against sectarianism and conspiracies, etc. p. 3

2 The Geneva Congress resolution, cited below, on the statistical inquiry into the situation of the working classes reproduced almost word for word the relevant passages in the "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions" written by Marx on the eve of the Congress (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 186). p. 13

3 Jules Gottraux, a Swiss-born subject of Great Britain and a member of the International, was detained by the French police on the French-Swiss frontier on September 30, 1866, when he was returning to London from Switzerland. The police confiscated letters, printed matter, and other material entrusted to him by the International's leaders in Geneva for delivery to the General Council. The seized documents included the preliminary report on the work of the Geneva Congress which had been drawn up by Council member Joseph Card and published in French in Geneva as a pamphlet. (Later, this gave rise to rumours that the French authorities had confiscated the Congress minutes, which in fact had bv that time been brought to London by Hermann Jung.) The General Council decided to lodge a complaint about this wanton act and to use the fact publicly to expose the regime of the Second Empire. At the beginning of December, the Council addressed the British Foreign Secretary, requesting him to make a corresponding démarche to the French government, which forced the French authorities to return, on December 21, the materials taken from Gottraux. p. 15

4 The French edition of the Provisional Rules, issued by the Administration of the Paris Section (Henri Louis Tolain, Ernest Edouard Fribourg, Charles Mathieu Limousin) at the end of 1864-beginning of 1865, interpreted some principles of the Rules in a Proudhonist spirit and distorted them in translation. p. 15

5 When Marx edited the General Rules of 1871 he deleted the following sentence: "They hold it the duty of a man to claim the rights of a man and a citizen, not only for himself, but for every man, who does his duty", previously included on the insistence of the other members of the Sub-Committee (see Marx's letter to Engels of November 4, 1864, present edition, Vol. 42, pp. 16-18). p. 17

6 Marx has in mind the resolution of the Basle Congress of 1869 which approved the decision of the General Council of September 24, 1867 to abolish the post of President of the General Council. p. 17

7 The question of Gustave Durand was considered at a special meeting of the General Council on October 7, 1871, at which Durand's correspondence with the French police officers was produced. Durand was instructed to participate in the London Conference of the International with espionage as an ulterior

motive and also to become a member of the General Council. The resolution on Durand's expulsion was drawn up and submitted to the meeting by Engels. He also translated it into French and Italian. p. 21

8 The *Federal Chamber of Working Men's Societies*—an association of trade unions and other workers' societies in Paris—was formed on the International's initiative in 1869. The Chamber organised aid for workers on strike and maintained close ties with the International. p. 21

9 This letter was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967. p. 22

10 On October 7, 1871, the General Council, in accordance with the London Conference decision, instructed Marx to draw up a declaration to the effect that the International Working Men's Association had nothing to do with the so-called Nechayev conspiracy. The text of the declaration was approved at the General Council meeting on October 16, 1871. The declaration is written on the form of the General Council together with Marx's letter to John Hales of October 14, 1871.

In 1869 Nechayev established contacts with Bakunin and developed activities for the purpose of founding in Russia a secret society, Narodnaya Rasprava (People's Judgment). The study circles organised by Nechayev advocated anarchist ideas of "absolute destruction". Sharp criticism of the Tsarist regime and the call to wage resolute struggle against it attracted revolutionary-minded students and middle-class intellectuals (*raznochintsy*) to the Nechayev organisation. Nechayev received from Bakunin the credentials of the European Revolutionary Union and used them to pass himself off as a representative of the International, thereby misleading the members of the organisation.

When Nechayev's organisation was broken up and its members tried in St. Petersburg in the summer of 1871, his adventurist methods were made public—blackmail, intimidation, deception and the like. The bourgeois press made use of the trial to denigrate the International, which was, in fact, not associated with Nechayev in any way.

The General Council's declaration was translated into French and Italian by Engels. It was published in German in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 88, November 1, 1871 (signed by Marx as Corresponding Secretary for Germany and Russia); in French, in *Qui vive!* No. 14, October 18, and in *L'Égalité*, No. 21, November 5; in Italian, in *Gazzettino Rosa*, No. 306, November 3, *L'Eguaglianza*, No. 18, November 12 and in *La Plebe*, No. 122, October 19, 1871; in Russian, in *Недѣля*, No. 16, October 19 (31), *С.-Петербургскія вѣдомости*, No. 292, October 23 (November 4), *Биржевые вѣдомости*, No. 290, October 23 (November 4), *Донъ*, No. 83, November 4(16), 1871; in English, in *The Daily News* (between October 16 and 30, 1871) (the Institute of Marxism-Leninism does not have the issue at its disposal; the fact of publication is known from the Russian newspaper *Недѣля*, No. 16, October 19 (31), 1871). p. 23

11 The *Resolution on the Rules of the French Section of 1871* was written by Marx and adopted unanimously at the General Council meeting of October 17, 1871.

The French Section of 1871 was formed in London in September 1871 by French refugees, mostly petty-bourgeois intellectuals. It also included proletarians, among them former Communards Albert Félix Theisz, Augustin Avrial and Zéphyrin Camélinat. The spy Durand insinuated himself into the Section but was soon exposed by the General Council. The leaders of the

Section established close contacts with Bakunin's followers in Switzerland and joined them in attacking the organisational principles of the International. The Rules of the French Section of 1871 were submitted to the General Council at its special meeting on October 16 and referred to the Council's commission for examination. At the General Council meeting of October 17 Marx made a report on the Rules and submitted this Resolution, which is extant as a manuscript in the hand of Auguste Serraillier, Secretary for France.

The Resolution was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967. p. 24

12 The resolution adopted on the recommendation of the London Conference on September 22, 1871 provided for the establishment of a Federal Committee (Council) for England (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 428). Until then Marx was of the opinion that the General Council, better than any other body, could function as the leading organ of the International Working Men's Association in Britain, since it promoted the education of the British workers in an internationalist spirit and helped them to overcome the influence of bourgeois ideology. However, the General Council's vastly extended activities in 1871 made Marx consider it advisable to set up a special Federal Council for England. p. 26

13 The minutes of the General Council meeting of October 17, 1871 have only a brief entry on Engels' speech: "Citizen *Engels* reported the progress of the Association in Italy and Spain." Engels handed his own record of the speech, as in other cases, to Secretary of the General Council John Hales for publication in *The Eastern Post*. The manuscript is not extant. p. 28

14 A secret conference of the delegates from the local Spanish federations of the International Working Men's Association took place in Valencia on September 10-18, 1871. It adopted the Rules of the Spanish branch of the International and model rules for local federations and sections. The conference decisions bore the stamp of anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist ideas (it adopted the Bakuninist thesis of abstention from the political struggle, formation of the International's organisations according to the trade principle and others). However, the Spanish Federal Council elected at the conference included several General Council supporters (Francisco Mora, Pablo Iglesias, José Mesa). p. 29

15 Engels wrote this statement in connection with a letter from Alexander Baillie Cochrane, a British Conservative M. P., published in *The Times*, No. 27208, October 31, 1871. Cochrane reproduced allegations by the bourgeois French and British papers and libelled the International by ascribing to it the documents of Bakunin's Alliance of Socialist Democracy. Engels read out the statement at the General Council meeting of October 31, and it was approved. Since the *Times* editors refused to publish it, the statement appeared in *The Eastern Post*. p. 31

16 See Note 6. p. 31

17 A reference to the excerpt from the General Council's confidential circular letter to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland published by Oscar Testut in the police collection of the International's documents early in 1871. Written by Marx, the circular letter (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 84-91) was sent to all sections. The excerpt published by Testut had been taken from the copy seized by the French police; this copy was signed by Eugène Dupont

as Corresponding Secretary for France (see O. Testut, *L'Internationale*, 3rd edition, Paris-Versailles, 1871, pp. 237-38). p. 32

18 The *Customs Union* (Zollverein) of German states (it initially included 18 states) was founded in 1834 to establish a common customs frontier, and was headed by Prussia. By the 1840s, the Union embraced all the German states except Austria, the Hanseatic towns (Bremen, Lübeck, Hamburg) and some small states. Formed under the pressure for an all-German market, the Customs Union subsequently promoted Germany's political unification, completed in 1871. p. 35

19 A reference to the consequences of the Anglo-Chinese war of 1840-42, known as the First Opium War. The British imposed the Nanking Treaty on China in 1842, the first of a series of treaties concluded by the Western powers with China, which reduced it to the level of a semi-colony. The Nanking Treaty made China open five of its ports to British commerce—Canton, Shanghai, Amoy, Ningpo and Foochow. p. 35

20 The French Section rejected the General Council's Resolution on the Rules of the French Section of 1871 (see Note 11). It attacked the General Council and demanded that all the principles of the General Rules concerning the Council's rights and functions should be completely revised. The Section's reply signed by Augustin Avrial was discussed by the General Council on November 7, 1871. Auguste Serraillier, Corresponding Secretary for France, made a report on this matter and also submitted a resolution written by Marx which was adopted unanimously. The stand taken by the General Council prompted such working-class leaders as Albert Félix Theisz, Avrial, Zéphyrin Camélinat and other former Communards to dissociate themselves from the Section. By the beginning of 1872 the French Section split up into several hostile groups. A new section of French émigrés supporting the General Council was set up in London.

This resolution is extant in two manuscripts, one in Marx's hand, the other in Pierre Louis Delahaye's and signed by Serraillier (this being presumably the final version of the resolution). The second manuscript has a note pencilled on it by Engels: "Conseil Général 7 nov. 71. Section française de Londres."

It was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. p. 37

21 A reference to the Sixth half-yearly congress of the Belgian Federation of the International Working Men's Association which took place in Brussels on December 25 and 26, 1870. Alfred Herman was coopted into the General Council on Engels' proposal at the meeting of July 18, 1871. He was recommended for the post of Corresponding Secretary for Belgium by the Belgian Federal Council. p. 41

22 The minutes of the General Council meeting of November 7, 1871 have the following record of Engels' report: "Citizen *Engels* reported that he had a great deal of information from the sections in Italy, which he would hand over to the Secretary for the weekly report in the *Eastern Post.* Garibaldi's letter, in which he had finally broken with Mazzini, had exercised great influence in Italy and as (soon as) it (had) been received, it would be included in the report." Engels' manuscript is not extant. p. 43

23 The regular (twelfth) congress of the Italian workers' societies (mainly mutual aid societies), most of which were under Mazzini's influence, was held in Rome

from November 1 to 6, 1871. A split followed when the delegates from the International's sections in Naples and Girgenti (Cafiero, G. de Montel and A. Tucci) opposed the Mazzinists' principles. For details about the congress see this volume, pp. 46-48. p. 43

24 A reference to the main stages in the revolutionary activity of Garibaldi and his comrades-in-arms: the independence struggle of the republics of Rio Grande and Uruguay (South America) in the 1830s-40s; the 1848-49 revolution in Italy, in particular, the heroic defence of the Roman Republic in 1849; the military operations against the Austrians in Northern Italy in 1859 and the "expedition of the Thousand" to Sicily in 1860, which led to the unification of Italy. In 1870-71 Garibaldi headed the Italian and international volunteers who fought in the Franco-Prussian war on the side of the French Republic. p. 43

25 The minutes of the General Council meeting of November 14, 1871 have the following entry on Engels' report: "Citizen *Engels* gave a full report of the Working Men's Congress which was held in Rome. The whole affair was a sham organised by Mazzini to revive his waning influence, and had been a complete failure." Engels' manuscript is not extant. p. 46

26 The Declaration was intended for the defence of Wilhelm Bracke and other members of the Committee (administrative board) of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenach) at the trial which took place in Brunswick on November 23-25, 1871. The Committee members were arrested in September 1870 as a result of the internationalist position taken by the Party during the Franco-Prussian war; they were accused of "infringement upon public order". The main accusation was their involvement with the International Working Men's Association. But the Social-Democratic Workers' Party at its inaugural congress in Eisenach in 1869 took into account the German legislation on the workers' unions and, while supporting the International's programme, did not join it officially; the legislation, however, did not prohibit German citizens' individual membership of foreign societies. The accused were sentenced to a few months' imprisonment. p. 50

27 In accordance with the organisational structure of the Eisenach Party, the seat of the Committee was named at its annual meeting, it being in turn one of the main German cities; the Council was elected from the members of the local organisation. Brunswick was the first seat of the Committee. At the time the Declaration was written the newly elected Council had been based in Hamburg (since August 1871). p. 50

28 The Statement was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. p. 52

29 The *Universal Republican League*—an international organisation founded in London in April 1871. Its leaders included bourgeois radical Charles Bradlaugh, trade-unionist George Odger, petty-bourgeois journalists Victor Le Lubez, Pierre Vésinier and others. The League put forward a mixed programme in which democratic demands (the nationalisation of the land, universal suffrage) were placed side by side with a call for the establishment of a world federative republic. The League's activists claimed leadership in the international working-class movement and, together with other anti-Marxist elements, waged a struggle against the General Council of the International. p. 52

[30] Engels is referring to the Bakuninists who, within the International, set up branches of their secret Alliance of Socialist Democracy in a number of Spanish cities in 1870-71 and tried to seize the leadership in the Spanish Federal Council.

The letters, sent by Engels to the Spanish Federal Council, after the London Conference, in particular that of November 8, 1871, are not extant. p. 53

[31] Engels wrote this letter in reply to the publication by *Il Proletario Italiano*, on November 23, 1871, of the Bakuninists' charges against the General Council of the International and the London Conference decisions, allegedly made by the Turin workers.

The letter appeared in *Il Proletario Italiano* (see M. Nettlau, *Bakunin e l'Internazionale in Italia dal 1864 al 1872*, Geneva, 1928, p. 269).

The letter was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. p. 54

[32] A reference to the congress of the Bakuninist Jura Federation in Sonvillier on November 12, 1871 which adopted the "Circulaire à toutes les fédérations de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs".

The Sonvillier circular countered the decisions of the London Conference of the International with the anarchist dogmas on political indifferentism and complete autonomy of sections; it also calumniated the General Council of the International. The Bakuninists suggested that all federations should demand an immediate congress to revise the General Rules of the International and to condemn the General Council's actions. p. 55

[33] This document was drawn up by Engels in reply to a letter from Enrico Bignami, a leader of the International's section in Lodi, dated November 14, 1871. The latter informed the Council that sections of the International had been formed in Ferrara and other Italian towns and asked it to send the documents authorising certain citizens of Romagna, Giuseppe Boriani among them, to form new sections.

This document was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. p. 56

[34] This report, made by Engels at the General Council meeting of December 5, 1871 and submitted in written form for insertion in the newspaper report on the meeting, was not recorded in the Minutes. Engels' manuscript is not extant. p. 57

[35] On September 10, 1869, the Basle Congress of the International (September 6-11) adopted the resolution, confirming the one already adopted by the Brussels Congress (1868), in favour of the collective ownership of the land. p. 57

[36] This item was published in *La Plebe* in the section "The Latest News" and began with the words: "A member of the International writes us from London". The item, apparently, is part of Engels' letter to the editor of the paper, Enrico Bignami, which is not extant. p. 59

[37] This Declaration of the General Council, written by Engels on December 5, 1871 was sent to *La Roma del Popolo* with the covering letter of December 6 and, according to Engels' note in the rough manuscript, between December 5 and 7 also to a number of other Italian newspapers.

The Declaration was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. p. 60

38 The Brussels Congress of the International (September 5-13, 1868) refused to accept the invitation of the League of Peace and Freedom to participate officially in its forthcoming congress in Berne. The resolution of the Brussels Congress recommended members of the International to attend it only in an individual capacity.

The *League of Peace and Freedom* was a pacifist organisation set up in 1867 with the active participation of Victor Hugo, Giuseppe Garibaldi and other democrats. Voicing the anti-militarist sentiments of the masses, the League's leaders did not reveal the social sources of wars. In 1867-68 Bakunin took an active part in the work of the League; under his influence it tried to use the working-class movement and the International Working Men's Association for its own purposes. At the League's second congress which took place in Berne between September 21 and 25, 1868, Bakunin moved a resolution on the necessity for the economic and social "equalisation of classes". Having failed to win support at the congress, Bakunin and his followers withdrew from the League and that same year set up the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. p. 61

39 This letter was occasioned by the slanderous attacks the publisher of *The National Reformer*, radical Charles Bradlaugh made against Marx in his public lecture in London on December 11, 1871, and also in his letter to *The Eastern Post* (published on December 16). At the General Council meeting of December 19, Marx drew attention to the close connection of Bradlaugh's attacks with the campaign of persecution the bourgeois politicians and the press waged against the International, which especially intensified after the Paris Commune and the publication of the General Council's address *The Civil War in France*; he pointed out Bradlaugh's affinity with the venal journalists in France. p. 62

40 Engels wrote this article for *Der Volksstaat*, in reply to the circular to all sections of the International (see Note 32) adopted at the Sonvillier Congress and directed against the decisions of the London Conference. In his letters to Wilhelm Liebknecht of January 3 and 18, 1872, Engels wrote that he intended to have that article distributed (in translation and as copies of *Der Volksstaat* carrying it) in the countries which had become centres of Bakuninist propaganda, namely, Belgium, Italy and Spain.

This article was published in English for the first time in Marx, Engels, Lenin, *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 64

41 *Versailles* was the seat of the Thiers Government which in the spring of 1871 fought and defeated the Paris Commune, killing many thousands of Communards.

*Brunswick criminal court*—a district court where the members of the Committee (administrative board) of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, arrested by the Prussian authorities, were tried in November 1871 (see Note 26). p. 66

42 *Black Cabinet* (Cabinet noir), or *Black Bureau*—a secret institution, established at the postal departments in France, Prussia, Austria and several other states to inspect private correspondence. It existed since the time of the absolute monarchies in Europe. p. 67

43 Engels wrote this letter after a campaign of slander against the International in the newspaper *Il Libero Pensiero*, edited by Luigi Stefanoni.

To undermine the influence of the International Working Men's Association, Stefanoni presented himself in November 1871 as the initiator of the "Universal Society of Rationalists", allegedly destined to put into practice the principles of the International but without "its negative features". He put forward a utopian idea of redeeming land from landowners and setting up agricultural colonies as a universal means to solve the social question. His programme was rejected by the Italian workers and his scheme for founding the Society of Rationalists was never implemented.

Engels nicknamed the rationalists "prebendaries" (from the Latin word "praebenda"—possessions of the Catholic Church accumulated through gifts and legacies), alluding to their plan of solving the social problem by creating a land fund out of donations.

This letter was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. p. 74

44 A reference to the *Communist League*, the first international communist organisation of the proletariat, formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847, as a result of the reorganisation of the League of the Just (a secret association of workers and artisans that appeared in the 1830s and had communities in Germany, France, Switzerland and England). The programme and organisational principles of the Communist League were drawn up with the direct participation of Marx and Engels. The League's members took an active part in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany in 1848-49. In the summer of 1850, disagreements arose in the League between the supporters of Marx and Engels and the Willich-Schapper sectarian group which tried to impose on the League the adventurist tactic of embarking on revolution immediately, irrespective of the actual situation. The discord resulted in a split within the League. Owing to police persecution and arrests of League members in May 1851, the activities of the Communist League as an organisation in Germany practically ceased. On November 17, 1852, on a motion by Marx, the London District announced the dissolution of the League. p. 75

45 The *Cologne Communist trial* (October 4-November 12, 1852) was organised and stage-managed by the Prussian government. The defendants were members of the Communist League, arrested in the spring of 1851 on charges of "treasonable plotting". The forged documents and false evidence presented by the police authorities were not only designed to secure the conviction of the defendants but also to compromise the proletarian organisation as a whole. Seven of the defendants were sentenced to imprisonment in a fortress for terms ranging from three to six years. The dishonest tactics of the Prussian police state to combat the international working-class movement were exposed by Engels in his article "The Late Trial in Cologne" and, in greater detail, by Marx in his pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11). p. 75

46 The rough draft of this document was written by Engels on the letter from Arturo Guardiola of January 23, 1872, in which he reported that the Barcelona commercial employees had formed a section of the International and asked for addresses of similar sections in other countries. Engels communicated this news at the General Council meeting of January 30. p. 76

47 This Declaration was approved at the General Council meeting of February 20, 1872. A copy of the Declaration in Hermann Jung's hand is extant. p. 77

48 At the General Council meeting of March 5, Marx set forth the main points of the circular and stated that the great value of the document consisted in the "historical development of the principles and policy of the Association".

*Fictitious Splits in the International* exposed to the international proletariat the genuine aims of the anarchists and their ties with the circles alien to the working class cause; it described Bakunin's Alliance as a sect hostile to the workers' movement.

*Fictitious Splits in the International* was published late in May 1872 as a pamphlet in French under the signature of all the General Council members and sent to all the federations of the International. It was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. p. 79

49 In reply to the slanders heaped on the International by the bourgeois press after the publication of the General Council's address *The Civil War in France*, Marx and Engels sent to *The Times*, *The Standard*, *The Daily News* and other English newspapers a number of statements and letters on behalf of the General Council in defence of the Paris Commune, explaining the stand taken by the International (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 364-68, 370-71). p. 80

50 In June 1871, on Marx's initiative, the General Council began to raise funds and distributed them among the Communards who had fled from France to England to escape persecution by the Versailles government; it also helped to find jobs for many of them. In July, the General Council formed a special Relief Committee which included Marx, Engels, Jung and others. In September 1871 the Communards themselves formed a Committee to provide direct aid for the refugees, but the General Council and its individual members (Marx, Engels, Dupont, Jung and Stepney among them) continued to collect money and find jobs for them. p. 80

51 Since the late 1850s, the nine-hour working day had become a major demand of the English workers. In May 1871, a big strike of the building and engineering workers headed by the Nine Hours' League, started in Newcastle. Burnett, the Chairman of the League, requested the General Council of the International to help resist the importation of strike breakers. The General Council sent its two members, Georg Eccarius and James Cohn, to the Continent to explain the importance of the struggle in Newcastle. Thus the importation was checked. In October the strike in Newcastle ended with victory for the workers; a 54-hour working week was introduced. p. 80

52 After the defeat of the Paris Commune, a number of its leaders who had emigrated to England were coopted into the General Council of the International: Antoine Arnaud, André Bastelica, Frédéric Cournet, Pierre Louis Delahaye, Leo Frankel, Margueritte, Constant Martin, Benjamin Le Moussu, Gabriel Ranvier, Vitale Regis, Charles Rochat, Joséf Rozwadowski, Albert Félix Theisz, Edouard Vaillant, Walery Wróblewski. p. 80

53 On Engels' motion, the General Council resolved to convene a closed conference of the International in London. Since that time Marx and Engels had done a great deal of organisational and theoretical work to prepare it: they outlined its programme and drafted resolutions, which had been previously discussed at the General Council meetings. p. 80

54 The General Council's decision to hold the next congress in Mainz instead of Paris was taken on May 17, 1870. On July 12, acting on Marx's proposal, the General Council approved the draft programme of the Mainz Congress (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 143-44). p. 83

55 At the General Council meeting of June 28, 1870 Marx proposed that all sections of the Association should discuss the question of moving the seat of the General Council so as to avoid creating privileged conditions for workers of one particular country. The proposition had been discussed at several meetings of the Council and then adopted; on July 14, 1870 Marx wrote "Confidential Communication to All Sections" (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 142). The sections, however, opposed the transfer of the Council's seat, considering London the most suitable place for the leading body of the International Working Men's Association. p. 83

56 On September 25-29, 1865, a preliminary conference was held in London in lieu of a scheduled congress in Brussels. The General Council's decision to postpone the congress and convene the conference was taken at Marx's insistence, who held that local organisations of the International were yet not strong enough either ideologically or organisationally. p. 83

57 On May 26, 1871, Jules Favre, Foreign Minister of France, sent a circular dispatch to French diplomatic representatives abroad, which ordered them to press European governments for arrest and extradition of the Commune refugees as common criminals.

Minister of Justice Dufaure tabled a law, drafted by a specially appointed commission of the National Assembly, under which affiliation with the International was punishable by imprisonment. The law was passed on March 14, 1872. p. 83

58 On June 7, 1871, Bismarck sent a message to Schweinitz, German Ambassador to Vienna, recommending that he and the Austrian government co-ordinate action against the workers' organisations. On June 17, Bismarck sent Beust, the Chancellor of Austria-Hungary, a memorandum on the measures taken in Germany and France against the International. Emperor of Germany William I and Emperor of Austria Francis Joseph met in Gastein in August 1871 and in September in Salzburg for a special discussion of measures to be taken against the International.

The Italian government joined the general anti-International campaign: in August 1871, it banned the Naples section and began persecuting members of the International, Theodor Cuno in particular (see this volume, pp. 151-52).

The Spanish government, too, adopted repressive measures against the workers' organisations and the sections of the International in the spring and summer of 1871; this forced Francisco Mora, Tomás Morago and Anselmo Lorenzo, members of the Spanish Federal Council, to emigrate temporarily to Lisbon. p. 83

59 In Austria-Hungary Oberwinder, Andreas Scheu, Most and Papst, active members of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party, were arrested and brought to trial for high treason in July 1870; some workers' societies were likewise persecuted.

On September 9, 1870, Wilhelm Bracke, Leonhard Bornhorst, Samuel Spier and other members of the Brunswick Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party were arrested and brought to trial for the

publication, on September 5, of a manifesto against the militarist plans of the Prussian government (see Note 26).

In the latter half of December 1870, Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel were arrested for their opposition to the predatory war; they were charged with conspiring to commit treason and, in March 1872, sentenced to a two-year term of imprisonment in the fortress. p. 84

60 On August 12, 1871, the Central Committee of the North American Federation of the International Working Men's Association decided against sending its delegates to the London Conference and to spend the money at its disposal on the assistance to the Commune refugees. A special commission was appointed to draw up the report for the Conference. A memorandum describing the conditions of the workers in the USA and difficulties in the work of the Committee itself was unanimously adopted by the Central Committee on August 20; it was then sent to the General Council. Marx briefly reported on it at the sitting of the Conference on September 22, 1871. p. 84

61 The London Conference, on Marx's proposal, instructed the General Council to form a Federal Council (Committee) for England (see Note 12). The London Federal Council was founded on October 25, 1871. It consisted of representatives of the London sections and trade unions affiliated with the International. After a number of local sections joined the Federation in March 1872, it began to function as the British Federal Council. From the very beginning, a group of reformists, headed by John Hales, were among its leaders. The reformists sought to oppose the British Council to the General Council and did not recognise its internationalist stand; they also refused to recognise the decisions of the Hague Congress. Some members of the British Council (Samuel Vickery, William Harrison Riley, George Milner, Friedrich Lessner among them) came out against the reformists and actively supported Marx and Engels. In early December 1872, a split occurred in the Federal Council; the part of it that still supported the decisions of the Hague Congress constituted the British Federal Council. Marx and Engels actively assisted it in its organisational work. The reformists failed in their attempts to lead the British Federation of the International. p. 84

62 This refers to Resolution IX of the London Conference of 1871—"Political Action of the Working Class"—which stressed the necessity to organise a workers' political party as an indispensable condition for the victory of the socialist revolution and the attainment of its ultimate aim: a classless society (see this volume, pp. 105-06). p. 84

63 This refers to Resolution II of the London Conference of 1871—"Designations of National Councils, etc."—which barred various sectarian, conspiratorial and such like groups from the International (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 423-24). p. 84

64 On the *League of Peace and Freedom* and the resolution moved by Bakunin at its congress in Berne in September 1868 see Note 38. p. 85

65 Johann Philipp Becker, a member of the Provisional Committee of the Alliance, sent the Alliance's Programme and the Rules to the General Council on November 29, 1868. Both these documents were read out at its meeting on December 15. On that day Marx forwarded them to Engels asking for his comments. On December 18 Engels complied with this request and on December 22 Marx's draft reply with Engels' remarks taken into account, was read out by Hermann Jung at the General Council meeting and adopted, with

slight changes, as a circular letter. The circular letter was sent out as a confidential communication; it was first published by Marx and Engels in the *Fictitious Splits in the International.* p. 85

66 This circular was written in reply to the second application of the Alliance's Central Bureau (of February 27, 1869) to the General Council with the statement that it was ready to dissolve the international Alliance, provided the General Council approved its programme and admitted its local sections into the International. The circular was written by Marx who obtained Engels' approval; it was accepted unanimously by the General Council on March 9, 1869 (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 45-46). The document was first published by Marx and Engels in the *Fictitious Splits in the International.* p. 87

67 On the *Nechayev trial* see Note 10. p. 90

68 The *League of Public Welfare* (*Ligue* (universelle) *du bien public*)—an association of bourgeois pacifists of various social strata and political convictions. It was founded in 1863 by the French journalist Edmond Potonié and later merged with the League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 38). p. 90

69 "*Factory workers*", i.e. those who worked for La Fabrique, the production of watches and jewellery in Geneva and its environs carried on in large and small manufactory-type workshops; also home-workers in these trades. p. 91

70 This refers to the *Manifeste aux Sections de l'Internationale* written by the Bakuninists James Guillaume and Gaspard Blanc and published in Neuchâtel as a supplement to the newspaper *La Solidarité*, No. 22, September 5, 1870. p. 93

71 The capitulation of the French army at Sedan, on September 2, 1870 (see Note 293) and the fall of the French Empire that followed sparked off revolutionary workers' uprisings in a number of French cities. In Lyons, Marseilles and Toulouse, people formed their own government bodies, communes, which, despite the short terms of their existence, carried out important revolutionary measures. On September 15 Bakunin arrived at Lyons and tried to take over the leadership of the movement and implement his anarchistic programme. On September 28 the anarchists attempted a coup d'état, which failed. p. 93

72 In a letter of August 10, 1871. to Hermann Jung, Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland, Nikolai Zhukovsky, Secretary of the Bakuninist section in Geneva named "The Alliance of Socialist Democracy. Central Section", sent the resolution of August 6 on the voluntary dissolution of the section. p. 93

73 In April 1870, Paul Robin, a follower of Bakunin, proposed to the Paris Federal Council that it should recognise the Federal Committee formed by the anarchists at a congress in La Chaux-de-Fonds as the Romance Federal Committee and announce in *La Marseillaise* that its supporters were only *bona fide* members of the International. The Paris Council refused to examine the matter as coming within the competence of the General Council. p. 94

74 This refers to Resolution XVII of the London Conference of 1871—"Split in the French-Speaking Part of Switzerland" (Vol. 22, pp. 430-31).

It was published in abridged form in the separate edition of the resolutions of the Conference and in full in *L'Égalité*, No. 20, October 21, 1871 (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 419-22). p. 94

75 The *Section of Propaganda and Revolutionary Socialist Action* was founded in Geneva on September 6, 1871 in place of the Geneva section, Alliance of Socialist Democracy, dissolved in August. It was organised by its former members, Nikolai Zhukovsky, Charles Perron and others and some French refugees, Jules Guesde and Benoît Malon in particular. On September 8, October 4 and 20, 1871, the section applied to the General Council with the request to be admitted into the International; the General Council refused to comply because it had received a negative opinion on the matter from the Romance Federal Committee in Geneva. p. 94

76 On June 28, 1870, the General Council adopted the resolution moved by Marx to let the Romance Federal Council keep its name and suggested that the Chaux-de-Fonds Council should adopt another name. The London Conference confirmed the resolution of June 28, 1870, and recommended that the Jura sections should join the Romance Federation and, in case this was impossible, should be called the Jura Federation. p. 96

77 The conflict between the members of the old Lyons Section (Adrien Schettel among them), close to the French Republicans, and the group headed by the Bakuninist Albert Richard was discussed by the General Council on March 8, 1870. The Council adopted Marx's report on this question which declared all the accusations of the parties in the conflict to be without the least foundation and based on a mode of procedure aimed at exciting personal animosities and producing divisions in the ranks of the International Working Men's Association (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 108-09). The General Council decision, signed by the Corresponding Secretary for France, Eugène Dupont, was published in *L'Internationale*, No. 63, March 27, 1870. p. 96

78 The public meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the June 1848 insurrection of the Paris workers was held on June 29, 1868 in London. Félix Pyat, described in certain newspapers as a leader of the International, made a speech in which he called for terrorist acts against Napoleon III. At its meeting of July 7 the General Council resolved, on Marx's proposal, to disavow Pyat's behaviour (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 7). When the resolution appeared in the press, a split took place in the London French Section, of which Pyat was a member. Eugène Dupont, Hermann Jung, Paul Lafargue and other proletarian members withdrew from it. A group of petty-bourgeois French refugees, headed by Pyat, lost ties with the International but retained its name and repeatedly supported anti-proletarian elements in opposition to Marx's line in the General Council.

The question of official dissociation from this group was raised in the General Council more than once. In the spring of 1870 when a third trial against members of the International, charged with a conspiracy to assassinate Napoleon III, was in preparation in France, this dissociation became all the more necessary since the incriminatory material included documents of the so-called French Section in London, in which the International was identified with a secret republican society, headed by Pyat. This prompted Marx to draw up a resolution to the effect that the International had nothing to do with that group, and it was adopted by the General Council on May 10, 1870. p. 97

79 The reference is to Resolution 2 in the section "Special Votes of the Conference" which declared that the German working men had done their internationalist duty during the Franco-German war of 1870-71 (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 428). p. 100

80 At a meeting of the Geneva sections of December 2, 1871, Benoît Malon, Gustave Lefrançais and François Charles Ostyn proposed a resolution directed against the General Council and the London Conference decisions and based on the French translation of the International's Rules that had been distorted in a Proudhonist spirit. The meeting, however, rejected the proposal and adopted a resolution approving the decisions of the London Conference and expressing solidarity with the General Council. The draft of Malon's anarchist resolution was published in *La Révolution Sociale,* No. 7, December 7, 1871.
p. 103

81 The *Icarians* were the followers of Etienne Cabet, champion of peaceful utopian communism and the author of *Voyage en Icarie,* which gave a fantastic picture of a future communist society. p. 106

82 In a circular letter of June 6, 1871 to the diplomatic representatives of France, Foreign Minister Jules Favre called upon all the governments to join forces in the struggle against the International. Marx and Engels wrote "Statement by the General Council on Jules Favre's Circular" (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 361-63).

Sacase made his report in the National Assembly on February 5, 1872, on behalf of the commission appointed to consider the Dufaure law (see Note 57).
p. 107

83 The *Working Men's Federation* was founded in Turin in the autumn of 1871 and was influenced by the Mazzinists. In December 1871, the proletarian elements split away from the Federation and formed the *Emancipation of the Proletarian Society,* later admitted to the International as a section; up to February 1872, it was headed by a secret police agent, Carlo Terzaghi. p. 111

84 This refers to the *International Foundrymen's Union* which, as its leader William Sylvis wrote in a letter read out at the General Council meeting of July 9, 1867, had spent a lot of money in 1866-67 in support of the strikers.

The Union was founded in 1859 and took final shape in 1863 under the leadership of Sylvis, who became its president. The Union amalgamated the local foundrymen's associations on a national scale, had its organisations in British Columbia and Canada and led strikes. It did much to strengthen other US trade unions. p. 112

85 The quotations below are taken from the Programme of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy drawn up by Bakunin and published as a leaflet in Geneva in 1868 in French and German. The full text of the Programme is given by Marx and Engels in "The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association" (see this volume, pp. 577-78). p. 115

86 On Luigi Stefanoni's attempts to undermine the International's influence on the Italian workers by establishing the "Universal Society of Rationalists" see Note 43. Marx's and Engels' articles in the Italian press (see this volume, pp. 74-75 and 160-63) helped to frustrate his attempts to subject the Italian working-class movement to bourgeois influence. p. 119

87 By the Bismarck socialists, Marx and Engels meant the leaders of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers (founded in May 1863) and they called their newspaper, the *Neuer Social-Demokrat,* the police mouthpiece because both pursued a policy of accommodation to the Bismarck regime and attacked the revolutionary proletarian wing in the German workers' movement and in the International.

The name "*white shirts*" (les blouses blanche) refers to the gangs of declassed elements recruited by the police of the Second Empire. Pretending to be workers, they staged provocatory demonstrations and disturbances, thus providing the authorities with pretexts for persecuting genuine workers' organisations. p. 119

88 The Congress of the Belgian Federation of the International Working Men's Association, held in Brussels on December 24 and 25, 1871, when discussing the Sonvillier circular, did not support the Swiss anarchists' demand for the immediate convocation of a general congress of the International, though it did instruct the Belgian Federal Council to draft new General Rules for the Association. True to its anarchist spirit, this draft abolished the General Council.

At the Hague Congress of the International (September 1872) the Belgian delegates together with the anarchist minority voted against the decisions of the General Council on the changes in the Rules and Administrative Regulations, aimed at strengthening the Association organisationally and widening the powers of its leading body. p. 119

89 The workers' insurrection in Lyons on April 30, 1871, in support of the Paris Commune, was suppressed by the army and police on May 1. It was preceded by the unsuccessful attempt by the workers of Lyons on March 22-25 to overthrow the local administration of the Versailles government and establish a local Commune. Both insurrections failed largely because the anarchists, who claimed leadership, fell victim to spontaneity, denied the role of the revolutionary leaders and adopted wrong tactics. p. 120

90 In December 1870 in New York representatives of several sections formed a Central Committee as the leading body of the International in the United States. In July 1871, Sections No. 9 and No. 12, headed by the bourgeois feminists Victoria Woodhull and Tenessee Claflin, joined these sections and began campaigning, in the name of the International, for bourgeois reforms. On September 27, 1871, without the knowledge of the New York Central Committee, Section No. 12 demanded that the General Council recognise it as the leading section in the United States. At the same time it conducted a campaign in the newspapers against those sections which maintained the proletarian character of the organisation. In its resolution of November 5 the General Council rejected the claims of Section No. 12 and confirmed the powers of the New York Central Committee. Nevertheless Section No. 12 continued to attack the Central Committee which led to a split in December 1871 between the proletarian and petty-bourgeois sections. Two councils were formed in New York: the Provisional Federal Council (committee No. 1) which included Friedrich Sorge, Friedrich Bolte and others, and committee No. 2 headed by Woodhull and other bourgeois reformers from Section No. 12. The General Council resolutely supported the proletarian wing of the North American Federation, and Section No. 12 was suspended from the International pending the next congress. On May 28, 1872, the General Council announced the Provisional Federal Council the only leader of the International in the USA. The North American Federation Congress in July 1872 elected the standing Federal Council, its members being almost all those of the Provisional Council. For causes of the split in the North American Federation, see Engels' "The International in America" and Marx's draft manuscript "American Split" (this volume, pp. 177-83 and 636-43).

The resolutions have survived in two manuscripts: Marx's rough manu-

script in English and the French translation of these resolutions in Charles Rochat's hand with Marx's corrections on a form with the stamp "International Working Men's Association". p. 124

91 Under the direct influence of anarchists, Serbian and Bulgarian students in Zurich organised a small group "Slavenski Savez" within the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. After several attempts in the spring of 1872 to constitute itself as a section of the International and the General Council's refusal to recognise it, the group (whose programme was drawn up by Bakunin) affiliated to the Jura Federation in June-July 1872 and ceased to exist in the summer of 1873. p. 126

92 On March 14, 1871, the French reactionary *Paris-Journal* stated in its article "Le Grand Chef de l'International" that it had at its disposal Marx's letter to Auguste Serraillier which testified to the contradictions between the French and German members of the International; on March 19, the forged letter was published in the newspaper. The libel of the French press was taken up by the London newspapers, *The Times* included. It was refuted at the General Council meeting of March 21, 1871, and also in a special letter to the editor of *The Times* drafted by Marx and Engels (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 285) and Marx's statement to the editor of *Der Volksstaat* (ibid., pp. 288-90). Moreover, the *Paris-Journal* provocative fiction was exposed in the *Courrier de l'Europe* on March 18 by Serraillier. p. 127

93 At its meeting of February 20, 1872, the General Council adopted Hermann Jung's proposal to celebrate the anniversaries of the Paris Commune by mass meetings in London. To prepare the first meeting, a special committee was appointed which included Jung. J. Patrick MacDonnell, George Milner, Alfred Taylor and Martin James Boon. Marx was to be one of the chief organisers and Engels, on Jung's request, was to draft resolutions. The meeting, however, did not take place because at the last moment the owner of the hall refused to let it. Nevertheless, the members of the International and the former Communards held a ceremonial meeting on March 18, 1872 to mark the first anniversary of the Paris Commune. The meeting, on the proposal of the Communards Albert Félix Theisz and Zéphyrin Camélinat and the General Council member Milner, adopted three resolutions which coincide word for word with the French manuscript in Jenny's (Marx's daughter) hand with Marx's corrections.

On the occasion of the second anniversary of the Paris Commune in March 1873, the British Federal Council of the International adopted a special declaration consisting of a collection of extracts from Marx's *The Civil War in France.* p. 128

94 Engels communicated the contents of the letter from the Spanish Federal Council at the General Council meeting of March 26, 1872. p. 129

95 On the *Dufaure law* see Note 57. p. 129

96 The *Ferré Section*, named after the Communard Theophil Ferré who was shot by the Versaillists, was one of the first French sections of the International set up in Paris after the defeat of the Commune. The section took its final form in April 1872; its foundation was confirmed by the Sub-Committee of the General Council, on Marx's proposal, on July 27, 1872, after its Rules had been examined by the General Council standing committee for revising rules. p. 129

97 For the persecution of the members of the German workers' movement see notes 26 and 59. p. 129

98 Marx was prompted to write this work by the discussion of the nationalisation of the land question in the Manchester Section of the International. In his letter to Engels of March 3, the organiser of the section Eugène Dupont wrote about the confusion among the members over the agrarian question. He also formulated five points of his future speech and asked Marx and Engels to comment on them so that he could take them into account before the meeting of the section. Marx substantiated his views in detail. Dupont made his report (which coincided almost word for word with Marx's rough manuscript) at a meeting of the section on May 8, 1872; it was published in *The International Herald* on June 15, 1872, under the heading "The Nationalisation of the Land. A Paper read at the Manchester Section of the International Working Men's Association"; neither the author nor the speaker were named. p. 131

99 This letter was written by Engels on the instruction of the General Council and read out at the congress of the Spanish Federation of the International on April 7, 1872.

The congress was held at Saragossa from April 4 to 11, 1872. It was attended by 45 delegates representing 31 local federations. The police, on government instructions, wrecked its public sittings.

A sharp struggle developed at the congress between the followers of the General Council of the International, whose mouthpiece was the newspaper *La Emancipacion*, and the adherents of the Bakuninist Alliance. The latter managed to have some of their anarchist resolutions adopted and secured seats for the Alliance members in a newly elected Spanish Federal Council which, after having moved from Madrid to Valencia, became wholly Bakuninist. Further sharpening of the contradictions among the Spanish organisations of the International resulted in a break of the *Emancipacion* group with the Bakuninists.

Apart from publications in *La Emancipacion*, No. 44, April 13, *La Liberté*, No. 17, April 28 and *Der Volksstaat*, No. 36, May 4, 1872 and also in the pamphlet *Estracto Internacional de las actas del Segundo Congreso Obrero de la Federacion Regional Española, celebrado en Zaragoza en los dias 4 al 11 de Abril de 1872, segun las actas y las notas tomadas por la comision nombrada al effecto en el mismo*, Engels' rough manuscript in French has also survived.

The letter was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. p. 137

100 On the *Saragossa Congress* see Note 99. The telegram was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. p. 139

101 This declaration occasioned by Alexander Cochrane-Baillie's slanderous speech in the House of Commons, was read out by Marx at the General Council meeting on April 16, 1872. By the Council's decision, it was published in the name of the International Working Men's Association as a leaflet and also in the newspapers *The Eastern Post*, No. 186, April 20, *The International Herald*, No. 5, April 27 (the beginning was omitted), *La Emancipacion*, No. 49, May 18, *O Pensamento Social*, No. 14, May 1872. In the leaflet the text was preceded by the words: "At a full meeting of the General Council of the above Association, held at the Council-room, 33, Rathbone-place, on Tuesday evening, citizen Longuet in the chair, the following declaration was unanimously adopted, in reply to the strictures in the late debate in the House of Commons." p. 140

102 The preamble to the Provisional Rules of the Association, containing the basic programmatic principles of the first international organisation of the working class, was incorporated unchanged in the General Rules approved by the Geneva Congress of 1866. The tasks of the proletariat's political struggle were formulated in Paragraph 3, reading, in part, as follows: "...The economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means" (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 14). The Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association, drawn up simultaneously with the Provisional Rules, demonstrated the proposition that "to conquer political power has ... become the great duty of the working classes" (ibid., p. 12). The International called upon the working class "to master themselves the mysteries of international politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective Governments; to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power" (ibid., p. 13). p. 141

103 On *Sacase's report* see Note 82. p. 143

104 The *act for the establishment of a federal Labour Statistics Office* was adopted by the House of Representatives of the US Congress but afterwards turned down by the Senate. p. 145

105 At the General Council meeting of March 19, 1872, Engels announced that he had received a letter from Ferrara of March 3 which stated that the Ferrara workers' society was going to join the International, provided it retained its own autonomy. Engels explained in his reply that the recognition of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations was an indispensable condition for the admission of a new section to the International. Engels' letter, as well as the International's documents forwarded by him to the Ferrara society, helped its members to overcome the anarchist influence. On May 7, acting on Engels' proposal, the General Council recognised the Ferrara society as a section of the International. p. 146

106 This article marked the beginning of Engels' regular contributions to the Italian newspaper *La Plebe* which continued until the end of 1872. Before this, in 1871, the newspaper published extracts from Engels' letters and some documents of the General Council of the International which he had sent to Italy. At the request of the editor Enrico Bignami, Engels wrote several articles. The first article was supplied with the note: "Under this heading we shall henceforth print letters which one respected citizen has pledged to write to us from London." Engels discontinued his contributions at the beginning of 1873 because government persecution made the regular publication of the newspaper impossible, and resumed them in 1877. In this volume the editorial subtitles of this and most of the other articles of the series correspond to their titles in Gianni Bosio's collection *Karl Marx. Friedrich Engels. Scritti italiani,* Milan-Rome, 1955. This article was published in English for the first time in Marx and Engels, *Articles on Britain,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. p. 148

107 In 1830-31, extremely hard conditions caused spontaneous rebellions of agricultural workers in the south and east of England. The new agricultural machines led to mass unemployment among the farm-hands who, in protest, burned hay ricks and damaged machines. The rebels were severely dealt with by the army. p. 148

108 In late March 1872, the agricultural workers of Warwickshire formed a union which headed a strike that soon spread to the neighbouring counties. The strike was supported by the trade unions of industrial workers. Their financial

aid and the need for extra workers promoted the struggle of the agricultural workers. A national union of agricultural workers headed by Joseph Arch was founded in May 1872 and by the end of 1873, it numbered about 100,000 members. The struggle for a shorter working day and higher wages went on till 1874 and was victorious in a number of counties. p. 148

109 At the General Council meeting of April 23, 1872, Engels communicated details concerning the police persecution of Theodor Cuno, the German socialist and a leader of the Milan Section of the International. Engels drew on the Italian newspapers and Cuno's letter of April 22. Engels regarded this persecution as a concrete expression of the conspiracy of the European reactionary governments against the International and thought it very important to expose it. p. 151

110 Engels wrote this draft after the General Council recognised the Ferrara workers' society as a section of the International (see Note 105). Engels put it down on the clean third page of the letter from the Ferrara society of April 27, in which its members, in reply to Engels' letter of April 16 (see this volume, pp. 146-47), agreed to interprete their autonomy in accordance with the Rules of the International. There is a note by Engels on the fourth page: "Ferrara 27 aprile 72. Sezione di Ferrara. Btw. 10 Mai" (Ferrara, April 27, 72. Section of Ferrara. Answered May 10). The full text of Engels' letter to the Ferrara society has not been found.

An excerpt from this document was published in English for the first time in *The Hague Congress of the First International. September 2-7, 1872. Reports and Letters*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978.

p. 153

111 At its meeting of May 14, 1872, the General Council discussed the relations between the Irish sections emerging in England and Ireland and the British Federal Council. Engels exposed the chauvinism of John Hales and some other English members of the General Council and British Council who opposed an independent Irish organisation and its struggle for Ireland's independence. During the discussion the majority of the General Council supported Engels.

Engels' speech is extant in the form of his own record made for the newspaper and, in part, as the entry in the Minute Book of the General Council. It was not published because the General Council decided not to include the discussion of the Irish question in the report for the press. The General Council feared that the publication of certain speeches, that of Hales, in particular, would damage the International's reputation.

Engels' record of his report was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. p. 154

112 On March 8, 1842, a clash between the Chartists and the Irish was provoked in Manchester by the bourgeois nationalist leaders of the Irish National Association of Repealers who advocated abrogation of the Union of 1801 and were hostile to the working-class movement in England, Chartism in particular. The Repealers drove out a group of Chartists and Feargus O'Connor from the Hall of Science where O'Connor was to deliver a lecture. p. 155

113 This declaration was read out by Marx at the General Council meeting of May 21, 1872, and adopted by the Council. It was occasioned by the pamphlet *Conseil fédéraliste universel de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs et des*

*sociétés républicaines socialistes adhérentes*, which was published in London in April 1872 in French, English and German and contained libels against the leaders of the International.

The *Universal Federalist Council* was set up early in 1872 and included the remaining members of the French Section of 1871 (see notes 11 and 20), members of various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois organisations, a few Lassalleans expelled from the German Workers' Educational Society in London and other people who strove to worm their way into the leadership of the International. They concentrated their attacks on the London Conference resolutions relating to the political action of the working class and to the struggle against sectarianism. The Hague Congress of the International decided to include the resolution on political action of the working class in the General Rules and so inflicted a decisive blow on the elements hostile to the International. The Universal Federalist Council summoned its congress in London in late September 1872 and tried to pass it off as a congress of the International Working Men's Association. Further activity of the Federalist Council developed into a struggle between various groups for the leadership of the "movement".

Apart from *The Eastern Post*, the declaration was published in nearly all the press organs of the International, including *The International Herald*, No. 9, June 1, *Der Volksstaat*, No. 44, June 1, *La Liberté*, No. 22, June 22, *La Emancipacion*, No. 52, June 8, *O Pensamento Social*, No. 16, June, *L'Égalité*, No. 13, June 23, 1872.

In *La Emancipacion* it ended with the following editorial comment: "This important document, exposing as it does the intrigues of the bourgeois parties, reveals their desire to split the ranks of the International and paralyse its activities. In all countries, in Britain and Germany, in Belgium and Switzerland, in America and Italy, the bourgeoisie strives to distort the principles of workers' solidarity so as to wreak havoc in our Association. Let it serve us as a lesson." p. 157

114 See Note 29. p. 157

115 The *Land and Labour League* was founded, with the participation of General Council members, in London in October 1869. Along with general democratic demands, its programme included those for the nationalisation of land, a shorter working day, and Chartist demands for universal suffrage and home colonisation. By the autumn of 1870, however, the influence of the reformists had increased in the League and by 1872 it had lost contact with the International. p. 157

116 In late 1871, a group of Lassalleans who slandered the General Council were expelled from the *German Workers' Educational Society* in London.

This Society was founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other leaders of the League of the Just. After the Communist League came into existence in 1847, members of the League's local communes played the leading role in the Society. In 1847 and 1849-50 Marx and Engels took an active part in its work, but they, as well as a number of their supporters, abandoned the Society on September 17, 1850, since most of its members sided with the sectarian Willich-Schapper group. Marx and Engels resumed their work in the Society in the late 1850s. When the International was founded, the Society became the German Section of the International Association in London and, since the end of 1871, a section of the British Federation. The Educational Society existed till 1918, when it was closed down by the British government.

p. 157

117 Drawing on the protests against Pierre Vésinier's slanders against the French members of the International, the Brussels Congress of 1868 instructed the Brussels Section to demand proofs of his accusations from Vésinier and, should they be insufficient, expel him from the International.

On October 26, 1868, the Brussels Section resolved to expel Vésinier from the International. p. 157

118 Marx wrote this article in reply to Luigi Stefanoni's libellous item "Marx-Vogt-Herzen" printed in the *Libero Pensiero* on April 18, 1872, and directed against the International and Marx. Engels exposed Stefanoni in the press earlier (see this volume, pp. 74-75). Stefanoni's continuous attacks and his direct contacts with the Bakuninist Alliance and the Lassalleans compelled Marx to follow suit. Exposures made by Marx, Engels and the Italian members of the International frustrated Stefanoni's attempts to subjugate the Italian workers' movement to bourgeois influence. p. 160

119 Planning to organise the Universal Society of Rationalists (see Note 43), Luigi Stefanoni tried to secure support of prominent members of the republican and workers' movement. With this aim in view he applied to Wilhelm Liebknecht. Liebknecht, unaware of Stefanoni's plans and being in the dark about his contacts with the Bakuninist Alliance and the Lassalleans, replied with a letter of greetings which was published in *Libero Pensiero* on January 18, 1872, of which fact he informed Engels. In his reply of February 15, Engels explained the state of affairs to Liebknecht; the latter wrote a sharp letter to Stefanoni on February 29 to say that he refused to have anything to do with Stefanoni and, in the name of the German Social-Democracy, to declare full solidarity with the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. Engels translated this letter into Italian and had it published, through Carlo Cafiero, in the *Gazzettino Rosa* of April 20, 1872. p. 160

120 A reference to those accused in the *Cologne Communist trial* of 1852 (see Note 45). p. 161

121 After the fall of the Second Empire, the collection of documents *Papiers et correspondance de la Famille impériale,* was published in Paris in 1871. It had a note (Vol. II, p. 161) which confirmed the payment of 40,000 francs to Karl Vogt in 1859. p. 161

122 On the articles by Marx and Engels on the war of France and Piedmont against Austria, see present edition, Vol. 16. Mazzini's manifesto *La Guerra* (mentioned below) was translated by Marx and published, somewhat abridged, in *The New-York Daily Tribune* (see K. Marx, "Mazzini's Manifesto", ibid., pp. 355-59). p. 162

123 A collection of Herzen's posthumous articles contained excerpts from his memoirs *Byloye i Dumy* (My Past and Thoughts), in particular the chapter "The Germans in Emigration". p. 162

124 This letter was prompted by a libellous article published anonymously in the *Concordia,* No. 10, March 7, 1872. The author was the German bourgeois economist Luigi Brentano, who sought to discredit Marx as a scientist by accusing him of misquoting the sources. On March 30, Liebknecht sent Engels the relevant copy of the *Concordia* and insisted on a reply to it in *Der Volksstaat.* Marx's reply appeared in *Der Volksstaat* on June 1, and the *Concordia* responded with another article by Brentano, again published anonymously, to which Marx answered with an article in *Der Volksstaat,* No. 63, August 7, 1872

(see this volume, pp. 190-97). After Marx's death, the accusation was repeated by the English bourgeois economist Sedley Taylor. The allegation that Marx had misquoted the sources was completely refuted by his daughter Eleanor in two letters to the *To-Day* journal in February and March 1884 and by Engels in the Preface to the fourth German edition of *Capital* in June 1890 and in the pamphlet *Brentano contra Marx*, published in 1891. p. 164

125 The phrase from Gladstone's speech of April 16, 1863, quoted by Marx, was printed in almost all the reports of parliamentary debates published by the London newspapers (*The Times*, *The Morning Star*, *The Daily Telegraph* and others of April 17, 1863); it was omitted in the semi-official *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (Vol. 170, London, 1863) where the texts were corrected by the speakers themselves. p. 164

126 Marx refers to the pages of the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital* (1867) that correspond to pp. 667 and 668 of the 1887 English edition of *Capital* edited by Engels. p. 166

127 In a polemic with August Bebel in the German Reichstag on November 8, 1871, the National-Liberal Lasker said that should the German Social-Democratic workers dare to follow the example of Paris Communards, the "respectable and propertied citizens would club them to death". In the stenographic report, however, he replaced the last few words with the milder "would keep them in hand". Bebel brought this substitution to light, and Lasker became a laughing-stock among the workers. He was nicknamed "little Lasker" because of his diminutive stature. p. 167

128 On the Emancipation of the Proletarian Society see Note 83.

The draft was published in English for the first time in *The Hague Congress of the First International. September 2-7, 1872. Reports and Letters*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 168

129 This apparently refers to Engels' letters to Carlo Cafiero which the latter passed to one of the leaders of the Bakuninist Alliance, James Guillaume. The *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, No. 6, May 10, 1872, stated that it had at its disposal some letters written by Engels "to his Italian friends" in the autumn of 1871. p. 168

130 At its meeting of June 11, 1872, the General Council, on Marx's proposal, resolved to convene the next congress in Holland on September 2, 1872; the main question on the agenda was to be that of strengthening the International organisationally (revision of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations). At its next meeting, on June 18, the General Council decided to hold the congress at The Hague and appointed a special Committee (Engels, Edouard Vaillant and J. Patrick MacDonnell) to prepare an official announcement on the coming congress. It was written by Engels and, apart from *The International Herald*, was published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 53, July 3, *Die Tagwacht*, No. 27, July 6, *L'Internationale*, No. 182, July 7, *L'Égalité*, No. 14, July 7, *La Emancipacion*, No. 57, July 13, *Le Mirabeau*, No. 156, July 14, *La Liberté*, No. 28, July 14, *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, No. 13 (Supplement), July 15, *O Pensamento Social*, No. 18, July, *La Plebe*, No. 88, August 3, 1872.

Engels' rough manuscript in French and English is extant. p. 170

131 The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was written by Marx and Engels as the programme of the Communist League (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 477-519) and first published in German in February 1848 in London as a pamphlet. In

March-July 1848, the *Manifesto* was published in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*, the democratic press organ of the German refugees. That same year it was reprinted in pamphlet form in London; certain misprints of the first edition were corrected and this text was used by Marx and Engels for subsequent authorised editions.

The 1872 German edition of the *Manifesto* with Marx's and Engels' preface and slight corrections in the text was brought out on the initiative of the editors of *Der Volksstaat*.

This preface was included into many editions in other languages.

This preface was published in English for the first time in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Glasgow, 1909. p. 174

132 See Note 44. p. 174

133 Besides German editions of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* mentioned in Note 131, between 1848 and 1872 the work was also published in German, in full and in part, in Germany, Austria, Britain and the USA in the periodicals: *Die Hornisse, Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue, Republik der Arbeiter, Die Revolution, Arbeit-Blatt*; in the collections: *Wermuth-Stieber. Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jarhunderts. Leipziger Hochverrathprozeß* and in pamphlet form: *Das Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*, London and Berlin, 1860 and Chicago, 1871. p. 174

134 A reference to "Manifesto of the German Communist Party", *The Red Republican*, Nos. 21-24, November 9, 16, 23 and 30, 1850, London; "Manifesto of the German Communist Party", *The World*, November 21, 1871, New York (in fragments); "Manifesto of the German Communist Party", *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, No. 7, December 30, 1871.

In England, besides the translation by Helen Macfarlane mentioned in the text, fragments from the introduction and chapters I and II were translated by William Stepney and published in *The Social Economist*, August 1 and September 1, 1869. p. 174

135 The reference is to the heroic insurrection of the Paris workers in June 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 124-28, 130-64).

The French translation of the *Manifesto* of 1848 has not been found.

In New York, the French Section of the International published the translation of chapters I and II: "Manifest de Karl Marx", *Le Socialiste*, Nos. 16-17, 19-24 and 26, January 27, February 10, 17 and 24, March 2, 9, 16 and 30, 1872. p. 174

136 The Russian translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was published in Geneva in 1869 in Chernetsky's printshop. Recently doubts have arisen whether the Russian translation was done by Bakunin; some scholars believe it might have been done by N. N. Lyubavin.

This translation contained certain mistakes, distorting the meaning. The shortcomings of the first publication were eliminated in the translation by Georgi Plekhanov, which appeared in Geneva in 1882.

The Polish and Danish translations of 1848 have not been found. p. 174

137 This is the record of Engels' proposals tabled at the meeting of the Sub-Committee of the General Council on July 5, 1872. Marx and Engels were instructed to give the General Council their opinion of the Alliance's secret activity. In line with this resolution, Engels drew up the draft address to all the members of the International Association, and this was discussed at a General Council meeting in August 1872 (see this volume, pp. 205-10).

The *Sub-Committee* (Standing Committee) or the *Executive Committee* was formed out of the Committee appointed simultaneously with the foundation of the International Association to draw up its programme and the Rules. It included the General Secretary of the Association, the Treasurer and the corresponding secretaries for different countries. The Sub-Committee had a wide range of duties: it carried on the routine management of the Association and drew up documents which were later considered by the General Council.

This document was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. p. 176

138 The reference is to Bakunin's letter in response to the private circular *Fictitious Splits in the International* which was full of spiteful attacks on the General Council. p. 176

139 Engels wrote this article for *Der Volksstaat*; he drew on Marx's extracts from the newspapers and letters of the members of the International concerning the split in the North American Federation (see this volume, pp. 636-43). One of his sources was an article in the Madrid newspaper *La Emancipacion*, No. 54, June 22, 1872: "La burguesia y la Internacional en los Estados-Unidos" (The bourgeoisie and the International in the United States) which exposed the attempts of bourgeois reformers to use that American organisation in their own interests.

Engels' article was published in English for the first time in Marx and Engels, *On the United States*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979. p. 177

140 The *Shakers*—members of a religious sect in the USA. p. 179

141 A reference to the resolution of the General Council of May 28, 1872, which was not recorded in the Minute Book. It is reproduced in Marx's extracts on the split in the North American Federation (see this volume, pp. 642-43). p. 183

142 Engels drafted this rough letter (first published, in Russian, in 1935) on the margins of the letter from the *Committee for the Emancipation of the Working Classes* in Parma of July 7, 1872, addressed to the General Council; the document bears a note in Engels' hand: "Received 16 Juli. Beantwortet 18 Juli." (Received July 16. Answered July 18.) The fair copy of the letter was found in Parma and first published, in the language of the original, in *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani, 1848-1895*, Milan, 1964. p. 184

143 About 20,000 miners of the Ruhr Valley went on strike on June 18, 1872. They demanded a 25 per cent increase in wages and an eight-hour working day. After five weeks of struggle, the workers were defeated. p. 185

144 This document was written by Marx who communicated its contents at the General Council Sub-Committee meeting of July 27, 1872.

The document was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. p. 188

145 Marx wrote this letter because the *Concordia*, No. 27, July 4, published anonymously a second article by Luigi Brentano, entitled "Wie Karl Marx sich vertheidigt" (How Karl Marx defends himself). (See Note 124.) Adolf Hepner, an editor of *Der Volksstaat*, sent this new article to Marx c/o Engels and asked for a prompt reply stressing the importance of the struggle against the pseudo-socialist bourgeois trend (Katheder-Socialism) to which the author of the article belonged. p. 190

146 Here and below Marx quotes and refers to the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital*, Hamburg, 1867. In the 1887 English edition, published in London and edited by Engels, the relevant passages are to be found on p. 668. p. 191

147 This note in the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital* refers to Molière; the poetical quotation is from Boileau, *Satirae*, VIII. p. 191

148 *Blue Books*—a series of British parliamentary and foreign policy documents published in blue covers since the seventeenth century. p. 193

149 This refers to the words of the Prussian Minister of the Interior von Rochow. In an address of January 15, 1838, to the citizens of Elbin, dissatisfied with the expulsion of seven oppositional professors from the Hanover Diet, Rochow wrote: "Loyal subjects are expected to exhibit due obedience to their King and sovereign, but their limited thinking should keep them from interfering in the affairs of heads of state." p. 197

150 The draft General Rules and Administrative Regulations, revised, on Marx's proposal, by the General Council in June-August 1872, were supposed to be confirmed by the Hague Congress of the International (September 2-7, 1872). Lack of time and the general situation at the Congress, compelled Marx, Engels and their associates to propose only a few major amendments and additions to the Rules.

The original document is a copy of the official 1871 French edition of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations with the amendments and additions approved by the General Council, inserted by Marx himself.

Only articles with Marx's amendments are published in this volume. Changes approved by the General Council are set in italics. p. 198

151 The former General Rules had: "to afford a central medium of communication and co-operation between Working Men's Societies existing in different countries" (see this volume, p. 4). Marx proved the expediency of the alteration at the General Council meeting on July 16, 1872, and this was recorded in the Minute Book: "Upon Rule I Citizen *Marx* proposes to strike out the words relative 'to a central medium' upon the ground that the development of the Association has changed the conditions and he moves the insertion of the following words instead: 'To organise common action between the working classes of different countries.' He says the alteration was rendered necessary to prevent misinterpretations." p. 198

152 Article 8 of the former Rules read: "Every section has the right to appoint its own secretary corresponding with the General Council." The new draft of the article was a version of Resolution IX "Political Action of the Working Class" adopted by the London Conference of 1871 (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 426-27). The draft was approved by the Hague Congress that included it in the Rules as Article 7a (see this volume, p. 243). According to the Minutes of the General Council meeting on July 23, 1872, Marx and Engels substantiated the inclusion of the article in the Rules as follows: "Citizen *Engels* seconds it—the same reasons that made us adopt it at the Conference still exist and we shall have to fight it out at the Congress.

"Citizen *Marx* says there is another view; we have two classes of enemies: the abstentionists, and they have attacked the resolution more than any other; the working class of England and America let the middle classes use them for political purposes; we must put an end to it by exposing it." p. 201

153 Marx proposed this addition to Article 9 of the Rules at the General Council meeting of July 23, 1872, drawing on the experience of the North American sections which successfully employed this principle in the struggle against bourgeois reformists. p. 201

154 Article 12 on the terms for the revision of the Rules and Article 13 on the additions to the Administrative Regulations remained unchanged (cf. this volume, p. 8). p. 201

155 A separate sheet of paper has survived in the Minute Book of the General Council with the text of this article written in English by Engels:

"6. The General Council has also the right of suspending, till the meeting of next Congress, any branch, section, Federal Council, or Federation of the International.

"Nevertheless, with regard to branches belonging to a federation, it will exercise this right only after having consulted the respective Federal Council.

"In case of the dissolution of a Federal Council, the General Council shall, at the same time, call upon the branches composing such federation to elect a new Federal Council within thirty days.

"In the case of the suspension of a whole federation, the General Council is bound to inform thereof immediately all the remaining federations. If the majority of the federations should demand it, the General Council shall convoke an extraordinary Conference composed of the delegate for each federation, which Conference shall meet within a month and decide finally on the matter. It is well understood that the countries where the International may be prohibited, shall have the same rights as the regular federations." p. 203

156 In the summer of 1872, after the circular *Fictitious Splits in the International* had been published, Marx and Engels received from Paul Lafargue, José Mesa, Nikolai Utin and others a large number of documents proving the existence of the secret Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy within the International Working Men's Association. The preparations for the Hague Congress made the exposure of the Alliance's subversive activities all the more important. At a meeting on July 5, 1872, the Sub-Committee decided to request the General Council to propose the expulsion of Bakunin and other members of the Alliance at the coming congress of the International (see this volume, p. 176 and Note 137). On August 6, Engels submitted to the Council a draft address to all members of the Association, written on behalf of the Sub-Committee. A heated discussion ensued and by a majority vote Engels' draft was adopted.

The document has survived in the form of Engels' two manuscripts in French, one of them with insertions in Charles Longuet's hand, and also in the form of Engels' manuscript in English which is reproduced in this volume.

The document was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. p. 205

157 The *New Madrid Federation* was formed on July 8, 1872, by the editors of *La Emancipacion* expelled from the Madrid Federation by the anarchist majority for having exposed the secret Alliance's activities in Spain. Paul Lafargue was very active in organising the New Madrid Federation and in its work. When the Spanish Federal Council refused to admit the New Madrid Federation, the latter appealed to the General Council, on behalf of which the Executive Committee (the Sub-Committee) recognised it as a Federation of the International on August 15, 1872 (see this volume, p. 215). The New Madrid Federation campaigned determinedly against anarchist influences, propagated

the ideas of scientific socialism and fought for an independent workers' party in Spain. p. 208

158 This document was adopted at the meeting of the Sub-Committee of the General Council on August 8, 1872. As is seen from the rough manuscript in French, the first paragraph was written by Marx (in the manuscript it is supplied with the subtitle "Introduction") and the rest by Engels.

It was published, besides *La Emancipacion*, in *La Federacion*, No. 157, August 18, *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*, Nos. 15-16, August 15-September 1 and, in excerpts, in *The Times*, No. 27476, September 7, 1872 (in Eccarius' report).

The document was first published in English in full in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968.

The *Sub-Committee*—see Note 137. p. 211

159 Marx wrote this letter because *The Times*, No. 27456, August 15, 1872, reprinted from the Paris newspapers a forged circular of the General Council of the International on the coming Congress at The Hague. p. 214

160 The New Madrid Federation (see Note 157) published this letter together with the information that it had been recognised by the General Council of the International.

The letter was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. p. 215

161 The conference of the Italian anarchist groups (Bakunin helped to prepare it) took place in Rimini on August 4-6, 1872. It resolved to set up an Italian national anarchist organisation, the self-styled Italian Federation of the International, and to sever all relations with the General Council. No section in other countries, not even Bakuninist organisations, supported the attempt of the conference to counter the coming Hague Congress of the International with an "anti-authoritarian" congress in Neuchâtel. p. 216

162 Engels sent this address of the General Council to the Italian sections of the International in Milan, Turin, Ferrara and Rome, which were officially recognised by the General Council and were in constant contact with it.

The editors of *Il Popolino*, the Turin Section's weekly, published in April-October 1872, prefaced it with the following note: "In printing this letter, we inform the reader that we could not do so earlier since the editorial board of the *Emancipazione del proletario*, to whom it was addressed, had been imprisoned because of a strike; the interrupted contacts with them were only resumed recently."

Engels' rough copy of the letter in Italian bears the inscription: "Rome, Ferrara, Milan, Turin."

The address was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. p. 217

163 The Resolution was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. p. 218

164 The task of the Hague Congress was to adopt the resolutions of the 1871 London Conference on the political activity of the working class and against the sectarian sections. Marx and Engels devoted much effort to preparing the

Congress. With their active participation the General Council discussed and adopted the proposals to the Congress on the changes in the Rules and Regulations of the International, first of all, on the inclusion in the Rules of the resolution on the political activity of the working class and on the extension of the General Council's powers.

The Hague Congress was the most representative. Sixty-five delegates from 15 national organisations were present. The Congress summed up the many years' struggle waged by Marx, Engels and their associates against all kinds of petty-bourgeois sectarianism in the workers' movement, Bakuninism above all. The anarchist leaders were expelled from the International. The Hague Congress decisions laid the foundation for future independent political parties of the working class in various countries.

At its meeting of July 19, 1872, the Sub-Committee instructed Marx to write the General Council's report and to deliver it at the Hague Congress. The report was confirmed by the General Council at the end of August. Before reading it in German at the open session of the Congress on September 5, Marx warned those present that he would only outline the work of the International since the report was intended for the press. The report was then read by the Congress secretaries in French, English and Dutch and adopted by all delegates except those from Spain. p. 219

165 On April 23, 1870, the French government published a decree on holding a plebiscite, the purpose of which was to bolster up the shaky position of the government of Napoleon III. The questions were so worded that it was impossible to express disapproval of the Second Empire's policy without also opposing all democratic reforms. The plebiscite took place on May 8, 1870 and demonstrated a considerable growth of opposition to the Bonapartist regime. p. 219

166 This refers to the third trial of the members of the Paris organisation of the International, held from June 22 to July 8, 1870. Thirty-eight people, active in the workers' movement, were put on trial, including Eugène Varlin (he managed to flee), Leo Frankel, Jules Johannard, Augustin Avrial, Louis Chalain. The accused were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment—from two months to a year—and were fined. p. 220

167 An ironical allusion to the outward semblance of historical events preceding the establishment and the fall of the two empires in France, i. e. of Napoleon I and of Napoleon III. In both cases the empires were established after coup d'états (on November 9, 1799 and on December 2, 1851) and fell after military defeats and the capture of the emperors (Napoleon I was defeated at Waterloo on July 18, 1815 and Napoleon III together with the French Army capitulated at Sedan on September 2, 1870, during the Franco-Prussian war). p. 221

168 On September 5, 1870, the Brunswick Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party issued a manifesto "An alle deutschen Arbeiter". It was published as a leaflet and also in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 73, September 11, 1870. All the members of the Committee were arrested on September 9 (see notes 26 and 59). p. 221

169 *Wilhelmshöhe* (near Kassel)—a castle of the Prussian Kings where Napoleon III, former Emperor of France, was held prisoner by the Prussians from September 5, 1870 to March 19, 1871. p. 222

170 On November 26, 1870, when the German Reichstag discussed the question of new loans for the war with France, August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht

refused to vote for them and demanded that a peace treaty without annexations should be concluded with the French Republic as soon as possible. Bebel was arrested on December 17 and Liebknecht somewhat later (see Note 59).

Despite this, Bebel was again elected deputy to the Reichstag during the general elections in March 1871. p. 222

171 The Franco-Prussian war ended with the preliminary peace treaty of Versailles (February 26, 1871), and the final peace was signed in Frankfurt on May 10, 1871. Under its terms, France lost Alsace and Eastern Lorraine; part of France remained occupied by German troops until the war indemnity of 5,000 million francs was paid out. p. 222

172 On Jules Favre's circular of June 6, 1871 see Note 82; for his circular dispatch of May 26, 1871 on the extradition of the Commune refugees see Note 57. p. 223

173 The *General Working Men's Union*, the first socialist organisation in Hungary set up in Pesth in February 1868, conducted the socialist propaganda in major industrial towns and directed workers' strikes. Its leaders (Károly Farkas, Antal Ihrlinger) were also members of the Hungarian Section of the International Association and had contacts with Austrian and German Social-Democrats and directly with Marx. On June 11, 1871, the Union organised a demonstration of solidarity with the Paris Commune. The government dissolved the Union, and its leaders and representatives of the Austrian working class who had come from Vienna were arrested on charge of treason. They were acquitted, however, for lack of evidence and under pressure of public opinion. p. 223

174 On the *Dufaure law* see Note 57. p. 223

175 On the persecution of the leaders of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party in the summer of 1870 see Note 59. p. 224

176 The *Fenians* were Irish revolutionaries who named themselves after the "Feni" — the name of the ancient inhabitants of Ireland. Their first organisations appeared in the 1850s in the USA among the Irish immigrants and later in Ireland itself. The secret Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, as the organisation was known in the 1860s, aimed at establishing an independent Irish republic by means of an armed uprising. The Fenians, who objectively expressed the interests of the Irish peasantry, came chiefly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia and believed in conspiracy tactics. The British government attempted to suppress the Fenian movement by severe police reprisals. The Fenians in British prisons were brutally treated, the cruelties becoming even worse after the abortive uprising of Fenians in February-March 1867. The General Council of the International more than once came out in defence of the Fenians and condemned the punitive measures taken against them by the British government (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 339 and Vol. 21, pp. 3-4, 407-10). p. 224

177 Louis Pio, Paul Johansen Geleff and Harold Brix, the leaders of the Danish Federation of the International, were arrested as early as May 1872, and sentenced in March 1873 to various terms of imprisonment (from four to six years) for an attempt "to organise a coup d'état and establish a socialist state". In August the authorities banned the sections of the International in Denmark. p. 224

178 For the meeting of William I and Francis Joseph in Salzburg see Note 58. p. 225

179 In his circular of August 14, 1871, Giovanni Lanza, Italian Minister of the Interior, ordered the dissolution of the International's sections. On August 20, the Naples Section was disbanded.

In January 1872, Práxedes Mateo Sagasta, Spanish Minister of the Interior, issued a similar circular. Lanza's and Sagasta's circulars were a reply by the Italian and Spanish governments to Jules Favre's call for a joint struggle against the International. p. 225

180 Between January 26 and 28, 1872, the house of Nikolai Utin was searched and his private papers and the documents of the International Association were inspected. On February 20, the General Council expressed its resolute protest against this act of arbitrariness in a special declaration written by Marx and Engels (see this volume, pp. 77-78). p. 225

181 The Emperors of Germany (William I), Austria-Hungary (Francis Joseph) and Russia (Alexander II) met in Berlin in September 1872 to resurrect the reactionary alliance of these countries. An important point in the discussion was a joint struggle against the revolutionary movement. p. 227

182 At the very first sittings of the Hague Congress when the mandates were discussed, a question was raised on the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy as a secret sectarian organisation the existence of which within the International contradicted the Rules. Marx and other delegates proposed to appoint a special committee to inquire into the secret activities of the Alliance. The committee included Theodor Cuno, Roch Splingard, Walter, Lucain (Frédéric Potel) and Paul Vichard. Engels' report and the documents mentioned in it were submitted to the committee on September 5, 1872. It also heard reports on the Alliance by other delegates but could not bring its work up to the end in view of the abundance of documents and testimonies; however, drawing on the material examined, it came to the conclusion that the Alliance was incompatible with the International and proposed on September 7, to expel Bakunin, James Guillaume and other Alliance members from the International Association.

On the whole, the Congress adopted the motion and also resolved to make public the documents on the Alliance which were in the possession of the committee (see this volume, p. 250).

Engels' report has survived as a rough manuscript in French. It was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International, 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. p. 228

183 A reference to the circular, written by Victor Pagés in the name of the New Madrid Federation (see Note 157), to members of the Spanish Federation of the International. The circular was published in *La Emancipacion*, No. 61, August 10, 1872. A clipping from this issue is extant with Engels' note in red pencil: "No. 4." p. 229

184 The circular of June 2, 1872, was drawn up by José Mesa, Victor Pagés, Francisco Mora, Pablo Iglesias and other editors of *La Emancipacion* who were at that time also members of the Alliance. It was published in issue No. 59, July 27, 1872. p. 230

185 On the conference of the Spanish Federation in Valencia see Note 14. p. 235

186 In March 1872, editors of *La Emancipacion* Francisco Mora, José Mesa, Pablo Iglesias, Victor Pagés, Inocente Calleja and Hipolito Pauly, then members of the Spanish Federal Council, elected by the Valencia Conference, were expelled from the local Madrid Federation by its anarchist majority. The cause was the editors' open letter of February 25, 1872, to the representatives of the Republican Federalist Party who gathered in Madrid. The letter showed that its authors had abandoned the anarchist principle of abstention from politics, and this was considered by the Bakuninists as "a violation of the principles" of the International Association. p. 235

187 On the *Saragossa Congress* see Note 99. p. 235

188 The Spanish sections of the International held their first *congress at Barcelona* on June 19, 1870; it was attended by 90 delegates representing 150 workers' societies. The Congress founded the Spanish Federation of the International Working Men's Association and elected the Federal Council. It adopted an address to the General Council in which it declared its recognition of the General Rules of the International; it drafted the Rules of the Spanish Federation, as well as of local federations and sections (the final version of the Rules was adopted by the 1871 conference in Valencia). However, influenced by its anarchist participants, the Congress adopted a resolution recommending abstention from political struggle. p. 235

189 There has been preserved a copy of the pamphlet with extracts from the Saragossa Congress papers, which Engels submitted to the committee of the Hague Congress. The copy bears Engels' notes. p. 236

190 By sending delegates from small, and very often non-existent, sections the anarchists tried to secure an artificial majority and take over the leadership of the International (at the Basle Congress in 1869) and of the Romance Federation (at its congress in La Chaux-de-Fonds on April 4-6, 1870) (see this volume, pp. 89, 91). p. 237

191 Engels submitted this motion on September 6, 1872, so as to concentrate the delegates' attention on those changes in the General Rules and Administrative Regulations which were to strengthen discipline and centralisation of the International and to extend the powers of its leading body, the General Council. Marx also spoke at the same sitting in favour of the extension of the General Council's powers. During the discussion of the organisational question on September 5-6, the majority of the delegates supported Marx and Engels and rebuffed the Bakuninists' attempts to deprive the General Council of its function and to transform it into a mere statistical and correspondence bureau.

Engels' motion was published in English for the first time in *The Hague Congress of the First International. September 2-7, 1872. Minutes and Documents*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976. p. 239

192 The European reaction prevented the General Council from having its seat anywhere but London. However, the growing activity of sectarian and reformist elements had led to a sharp struggle within the International, and a danger arose that the General Council might be seized either by the French Blanquist refugees, who sought to turn the International into the tool of their adventurist and voluntarist policy of immediate "arrangement of a revolution", or by the English reformists. Under these circumstances, it was expedient to temporarily transfer the seat of the General Council to the USA. Engels substantiated this motion in his speech on September 6, 1872. The Blanquist delegates, who voted on other points with Marx and Engels against the Bakuninists and

reformists, tried to turn down this motion and, having failed to do so, walked out.

A copy of this proposal, certified by Theodor Cuno, is extant in the Congress documents. A facsimile of Marx's manuscript in French was first published in H. Schlüter, *Die Internationale in Amerika*, Chicago, 1918. It was published in English for the first time in *The Hague Congress of the First International. September 2-7, 1872. Minutes and Documents*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976. p. 240

193 The official text of the resolutions adopted by the Hague Congress was compiled in French and edited by Marx and Engels, members of the committee appointed to prepare the minutes and resolutions of the Congress for publication. It also included Eugène Dupont, Leo Frankel, Auguste Serraillier and Benjamin Le Moussu.

Most of the resolutions were based on the proposals by Marx and Engels which were adopted by the General Council during the preliminary discussion of the Congress agenda in the summer of 1872.

Engels' manuscript of the full French text of the resolutions prepared for the press is extant, The present volume reproduces the resolutions from *The International Herald*. The differences in reading between the newspaper publication, the French pamphlet (which, in contrast to the English text, gives almost all the voting lists) and Engels' manuscript are given in footnotes. p. 243

194 On the invitation of the Dutch Federal Council most delegates to the Hague Congress went to Amsterdam when the Congress was over to meet the local section of the International. The meeting took place on September 8, 1872. Speeches were made by Marx, Friedrich Sorge, Paul Lafargue and other delegates. Marx delivered his speech in German and French; it was published in the Dutch, Belgian, French, German, Spanish and English press, in particular, in *The Times*, No. 27479, September 11, 1872, in Eccarius' record. The Belgian and French newspapers gave the most accurate records of Marx's speech, which tally. *Der Volksstaat* published it, with certain changes, according to the Belgian *Liberté*. Adolf Hepner wrote to Marx on September 26 that they could not print his speech verbatim, for in the conditions prevailing in Germany mention of the need for a violent revolution would immediately provide a pretext for a case against the newspaper. The Dutch *Algemeen Handelsblad* gave a résumé of Marx's speech. Its correspondent wrote: "After Citizen Sorge, there was a speech by Citizen *Marx*... The speaker said that formerly The Hague had been a centre of European diplomacy. Here, hardly had peace treaties been signed when plans of all sorts of war had been made. In sharp contrast to that was the congress of workers, whose purpose was to make war impossible. The International had been told that The Hague was the most reactionary city in Holland and that its ignorant population would 'tear to pieces' the 'scum of the Paris Commune'. But that was all the more reason for choosing precisely that 'blood-thirsty' city to show that the International did not fear any reactionary excesses. Moreover, it hoped to find here, too, people who sympathised with it, such as were to be found wherever there were working people.

"Citizen Marx went on to consider the results of the Congress, which had just finished work. He qualified them as important. A strong concentration of power in the hands of the General Council was an imperative necessity in the face of the conference in Berlin, which, in the speaker's opinion, presaged a general attack on the proletariat, persecution and repression of the working class. Until the International came forward as a closely united organisation, it

would not be able to make the movement universal, to succeed in making it arise everywhere simultaneously, and its efforts would produce no significant results. The speaker cited the example of the Paris Commune. Why had it been defeated? Because it had remained isolated. If, simultaneously with the uprising in Paris, revolutions had flared up in Berlin, Vienna and other capitals, there would have been a greater chance of success.

"The speaker defended the use of force when other means produce no result. Barricades were not necessary in North America because there the proletarians would, if they wanted, achieve victory through elections. The same applied to England and some other countries where the working class enjoyed freedom of speech. But in the enormous majority of states revolution must replace legality because otherwise—by false magnanimity, a wrongly directed sense of justice—it would not be possible to achieve the necessary goal. Vigorous, energetic propaganda must prepare and support this revolution. For these reasons it was also extremely necessary to have an enormous centralisation of power in the hands of the General Council.

"Citizen Marx said that the Congress decided yesterday (Saturday) to transfer the General Council from London to New York. He approved this decision. America was a country of working men. Every year hundreds of thousands of people went there, driven out of Europe or forced to go by privation. What a new and beneficial field of activity for the efforts of the International. The speaker hoped that this step would produce good results.

"As for himself, he was giving up the title of member of the General Council, but—contrary to rumours—not the title of member of the International! Quite the contrary. Having freed himself of the burden of administrative activity, he would devote himself with new energy to the task to which he had given 25 years of his life and to which he would devote himself to his very last breath: the emancipation of labour. (*Stormy applause.*)"

Marx's speech, as reported by *La Liberté*, was published in English for the first time in K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain*, Second Edition, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1962. p. 254

195 For the meeting of the three emperors see Note 181. p. 255

196 The letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx, *On the First International*. Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1973, pp. 310-11. p. 257

197 After the Hague Congress Marx and Engels, as members of the commission appointed to edit the minutes and resolutions of the Congress, prepared these documents for publication. In October-December 1872 the resolutions of the Congress were published in French and English (see Note 193). The work on preparing the minutes for publication remained unfinished. p. 259

198 A series of articles on the Hague Congress of the International for *Der Volksstaat* was to be written by one of its editors, Adolf Hepner, who was a delegate to the Congress. The first article was published on September 25, 1872. Soon Hepner was arrested and the editors asked two other delegates, Engels and Fritz Milke, a printer, to write reports on the Congress for them. Both complied with the request. Engels' report was published in the newspaper as the second article of the series with the following editorial note: "Article II is not written by the author of Article I. When, owing to the arrest of our correspondent, we were unable to receive some of his papers—which was also the reason for our reports appearing so late—we

asked two other participants in the Congress for reports. When the two reports arrived, *Hepner*'s papers relating to the Congress were also found and so we are in a position to present our readers with a choice of three different reports." *Der Volksstaat* published Milke's article and the beginning of Engels' article in the same issue on September 28 and Hepner's material, as the continuation of the series, i.e. as articles III and IV, on October 19, November 6, 13 and 27, 1872. Engels' article was published in the newspaper on September 28 and October 9; at the end of the first instalment the editors noted: "The end of Article II in the next issue", and the concluding part had the editorial heading: "The Hague Congress (End of Article II)".

The minor differences between the resolutions quoted by Engels and their official version are due to the fact that when Engels wrote the article there was no official text of the resolutions, adopted by the editorial committee on October 21.

The article was published in English for the first time in *The Hague Congress of the First International. September 2-7, 1872. Reports and Letters*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978. p. 260

199 The data given by Engels here and in his article on the Hague Congress published in *La Plebe* (see this volume, p. 271.), differ somewhat from the list of delegates and from Friedrich Sorge's record which says that the Congress was attended by 65 delegates, among them 18 Frenchmen, 15 Germans, 7 Belgians, 5 Englishmen, 5 Spaniards, 4 Dutchmen, 4 Swiss, 2 Austrians, 1 Dane, 1 Hungarian, 1 Australian, 1 Irishman and 1 Pole. p. 260

200 The original has *Kriegs-, Haupt- und Staatsaktion*. The term has a double meaning. First, in the 17th and the first half of the 18th century, it denoted plays performed by German touring companies. The plays were rather formless historical tragedies, bombastic and at the same time coarse and farcical.

Second, the term can denote major political events. It was used in this sense by a trend in German historical science known as "objective historiography". p. 262

201 By the time the Hague Congress was convened in September 1872, the General Council comprised 50 members; 18 of them took part in the work of the Congress: six as the delegates from the General Council and 12 had mandates of different sections. Twelve voted for the motion by Marx and Engels to transfer the seat of the General Council to New York. p. 265

202 Here and below the original has *Sonderbund*. Engels ironically gives this name to the anarchists and their allies by analogy with the separate union of reactionary Catholic cantons in Switzerland in the 1840s. Marx and Engels often applied this name to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group which split from the Communist League in 1850 (see Note 44). p. 269

203 After *La Plebe* published Engels' articles "The Congress at The Hague" and "Letters from London.—II" (see this volume, pp. 283-84), Enrico Bignami, the editor of the newspaper, wrote to Engels on October 17, 1872: "As you see from the *Plebe*, I published your reports, which aroused great interest. Costa speaks of them in the *Favilla*, others in other newspapers."

This article was published in English for the first time in *The Hague Congress of the First International. September 2-7, 1872. Reports and Letters*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978. p. 271

204 José Mesa, an editor of *La Emancipacion*, informed Engels in his letter of October 5, 1872, that he had received Engels' article on October 4 and found it "very good and very opportune". The editors tried to make it look like an article written in Spain and published it unsigned. It was published in English for the first time in *The Hague Congress of the First International. September 2-7, 1872. Reports and Letters*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978. p. 277

205 This article was published in English for the first time in *The Hague Congress of the First International. September 2-7, 1872. Reports and Letters*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978. p. 283

206 The Portuguese Federal Council sent a letter to the British Federal Council c/o Engels, with the request to take urgent measures to prevent the importation of strike-breakers from Britain. The threat of importation arose because all the foundry workers of Lisbon went on strike on September 19, 1872. The strikers were joined by the workers of other trades and they demanded shorter working hours. The Portuguese Federation of the International supported the strike in Lisbon. Its letter was read out at the meeting of the British Federal Council on September 26 and published in *The International Herald* on October 5, 1872. p. 285

207 This letter was published in English for the first time in *The Hague Congress of the First International. September 2-7, 1872. Reports and Letters*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978. p. 286

208 When publishing Marx's letter, the editors of *Der Volksstaat* gave the following footnote here: "Unfortunately the words 'of the Alliance' have been omitted by negligence here. Because of this misprint one could really think that Marx tabled the motion to expel Schwitzguébel, which was not the case." Marx quoted from one of the articles on the Hague Congress written by Adolf Hepner (see Note 198). p. 286

209 The article "On the Hague Congress. III" criticised Karl Biedermann's article in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* saying that Paul Lafargue was the Barcelona delegate to the Hague Congress. p. 287

210 Engels' letter of October 5, 1872, to Friedrich Sorge (on October 11 Sorge was co-opted into the General Council in New York and elected its General Secretary), shows that he wanted to send to America his report on the position of the International in Spain, Portugal and Italy. On November 2, however, Engels wrote that he enclosed only the report on Spain. That Engels intended to send reports on Italy and Portugal later is seen from the extant manuscript in which the material on Spain is marked "1". There is no information whether the reports were sent or not. p. 288

211 For the *Congress at Barcelona* see Note 188.
For the *Conference of Valencia* see Note 14. p. 288

212 For the *London Conference of the International* see Note 1. p. 289

213 For *Sagasta's circular* see Note 179. p. 289

214 For the *Saragossa Congress* see Note 99. p. 289

215 For the *circular of June 2, 1872* see Note 184. p. 290

216 Engels wrote about the formation of the Lodi Section in October 1872, the Rules of which corresponded to the General Rules of the International, to the General Secretary Friedrich Sorge in his letter of November 2, 1872. On

December 22, the General Council accepted the section into the International on Engels' proposal. In early 1873, the section ceased its activity because of police persecution. p. 293

217 This article was published in English for the first time in Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, and in Marx and Engels, *Articles on Britain*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. p. 294

218 In his letter to Engels of December 6, 1872, Auguste Serraillier wrote that E. Larroque, a leader of the International's section in Bordeaux, had requested a provisional mandate in the name of the New York Council for the Midi. Engels drafted the mandate on the blank fourth page of Serraillier's letter. The fair copy of the mandate, probably sent by Engels to Serraillier for signature, is not extant.

Larroque's mandate was confirmed by the General Council at its meeting of December 22, 1872. p. 297

219 Engels is referring to the congress of representatives of several Dutch sections of the International convened in Amsterdam on November 24, 1872, by the Dutch Federal Council in connection with the anarchists' opposition to the decisions of the Hague Congress. The congress resolved to support the General Council. p. 299

220 The congress of Spanish anarchists in Cordova was held between December 25, 1872 and January 2, 1873. The congress turned down the decisions of the Hague Congress and the General Rules of the International Working Men's Association and supported the resolutions of the international congress of anarchists in Saint-Imier, Switzerland (September 1872).

On the *Saragossa Congress* see Note 99. p. 299

221 A congress of representatives of secret organisations of the Bakuninist Alliance from various countries was held in Saint-Imier on September 15-16, 1872, on the initiative of the Jura Federation. The congress decided to reject the resolutions of the Hague Congress and the authority of the General Council. It adopted a special resolution against the political struggle of the working class and the necessity of an independent political party of the proletariat. Its address called upon sections to oppose the General Council and to convene their own "anti-authoritarian" congress in six months' time. The decisions of the Saint-Imier Congress signified an actual split in the International. p. 299

222 The Gracia Federation meeting took place on November 4-6, 1872. On hearing the report on the Hague Congress delivered by an Alliance leader Charles Alerini it rejected the anarchists' proposal to support the Saint-Imier Congress decisions and approved the Hague Congress resolutions by a majority vote.

The Valencia Federation meeting was held on November 9, 1872. It rejected the Alliance members' proposal to include the demand to support the decisions of the Saint-Imier Congress in the imperative mandate of the delegate to the Cordova Congress. p. 300

223 After the Hague Congress English reformists and Swiss anarchists attacked all the Congress decisions, in particular, the resolutions on the political action of the working class and on the extension of the General Council's powers. When the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, No. 23 of December 1, 1872, published John Hales' letter of November 6 and the reply to it by Alliance member Schwitzguébel, Marx and Engels decided to rebuff Hales and his supporters in the press. When publishing their letter, the editors of *La Emancipacion* prefaced it with the note:

"Below we give the letter which Citizens Marx and Engels, our comrades and friends, forwarded to *The International Herald*, a newspaper published in London, in protest against Mr. John Hales' false assertions, the assertions which the Alliance organs here, always ready to support lies, reproduce with great pleasure." p. 301

224 See Note 137. p. 302

225 That John Hales abused his powers as General Secretary of the General Council was more than once discussed at the Council meetings. Since the spring of 1872, Hales had been opposing the Council majority that supported Marx. At the Nottingham congress of the British Federation held on July 21-22, 1872, he urged the adoption of the resolution on the "autonomy" of the British Federal Council. Taking this fact into consideration and the support he gave to bourgeois reformists expelled from the International in the USA, the General Council unanimously decided, on July 23, 1872, to suspend Hales as Council Secretary until the final investigation of his case. The correspondence with the British sections and trade unions which had been neglected by Hales was temporarily entrusted to George Milner as the Corresponding Secretary. p. 302

226 See Note 206. p. 303

227 The *Manchester Foreign Section* of the International Association was formed in August 1872 mostly from the refugee workers. It waged a vigorous struggle against the reformist wing of the British Federal Council that rejected the decisions of the Hague Congress, and supported efforts made by Marx and Engels to strengthen the British Federation and rid it of the disorganising elements. Engels wrote the present address at the Section's request in response to the circular of December 10, 1872, issued by the reformists who had split from the British Federal Council. The circular called upon the British sections of the International to defy the Hague Congress resolutions and to convene the Federation's extraordinary congress in London in January 1873. Approved by the Manchester Foreign Section, Engels' address was published as a leaflet and forwarded to all members of the International in Britain.

The address was also published in *La Emancipacion*, No. 82, January 11, 1873, and in *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Nos. 5 and 6, March 8 and 15, 1873. p. 304

228 A reference to the British Federal Council meeting of December 5, 1872, which was to abolish the post of Council General Secretary, held by Hales, and to appoint a Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, a secretary responsible for the minutes and other officials. The intention of the British Federal Council to prevent abuse of power on the part of its reformist leaders was a direct pretext for the split in the Council that followed. p. 304

229 On the congress of the Dutch Federation see Note 219. p. 308

230 The congress, convoked in London on January 26, 1873 (instead of January 5 as originally planned) by the reformists who had seceded from the British Federation, showed that they had failed to take with them the majority of the English sections of the International Working Men's Association. The congress, attended by 12 men only, refused to recognise the Hague Congress resolutions and thus actually placed itself outside the International. A Federal Council formed by the secessionists discontinued its meetings in the spring of 1873, and the sections which supported it either disintegrated or returned to the British Federation. p. 308

231 This address, like the address of the Manchester Foreign Section written by Engels (see Note 227), was a reply to the reformists' splitting activities in the British Federation. The address, read out by Council member John Mitchell at the meeting of the British Federal Council on December 23, 1872, was unanimously approved by that body, published as a leaflet and sent to the sections. p. 309

232 The regular congress of the Belgian Federation of the International took place in Brussels on December 25 and 26, 1872. Influenced by the anarchists, the congress rejected the resolutions of the Hague Congress and supported those of the anarchist congress at Saint-Imier.

On the congress of Spanish anarchists in Cordova held from December 25, 1872 to January 2, 1873 see Note 220. p. 310

233 On the General Council's preparation of a draft of the revised General Rules and Administrative Regulations for submission to the Hague Congress and the proposal (made by Edouard Vaillant) to include into the Rules the resolution of the 1871 London Conference on the political action of the working class see notes 150 and 152.

On the suspension of Hales from the post of General Secretary see Note 225. p. 311

234 The first congress of the British sections of the International Working Men's Association was held in Nottingham on July 21 and 22, 1872. The congress approved the resolutions of the London Conference of the International and the activities of the General Council. The congress adopted a resolution "On Political Action" which considered it necessary for the working class to wage political struggle for its social emancipation and with this in view to create an independent workers' party. The reformist delegates tried to impose on the congress their narrow interpretation of political action of the working class in the spirit of liberal labour policy, and to distract the general attention from formulating the socialist aims of the working-class movement. They succeeded in having a number of their representatives elected to the British Federal Council. p. 311

235 This resolution was proposed by Leo Frankel and supported by Engels; it was discussed as an amendment to Article 2, Section II of the Administrative Regulations and adopted at a meeting of the General Council on June 25, 1872. p. 312

236 On the congress of the Dutch Federation see Note 219. p. 312

237 The second congress of the British Federation of the International Working Men's Association was held in Manchester on June 1 and 2, 1873. Marx and Engels took an active part in the preparation for the congress and in the working out of its political platform. The congress was attended by 26 delegates from 23 sections, who—in contrast to the reformist secessionists of the British Federation—recognised the resolutions of the 1872 Hague Congress. It adopted resolutions which stressed the necessity to create an independent political party of the proletariat, demanded socialisation of the land and all the means of production, and corroborated adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism. Engels highly appreciated the results of the Manchester congress in his article "From the International" (see this volume, p. 449). p. 313

238 In his work *The Housing Question* Engels substantiated the basic tenets of scientific socialism and criticised the utopian views of petty-bourgeois socialists and bourgeois social reformers. The work consisted of three parts, each of which appeared in the course of Engels' acute polemics with advocates of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois projects for solving the housing question.

Part I was an immediate answer to anonymous articles under the general heading "Die Wohnugsfrage", reprinted by *Der Volksstaat* (Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13, 15 and 19 of February 3, 7, 10, 14, 21 and March 6, 1872) from the Austrian *Volkswille.* It became known later that the author was doctor of medicine, Proudhonist Arthur Mülberger. On May 7, 1872, Engels wrote to Liebknecht: "As soon as I have time, I shall write you an article on the housing shortage and against the absurd Proudhonist stories that have appeared in a series of articles on the subject in the *Volksstaat.*" By May 22, 1872, Part I was finished and published in *Der Volksstaat,* Nos. 51-53, June 26 and 29 and July 3, 1872. A fragment of the manuscript of Part I is extant.

In October 1872 Engels wrote Part II in which he criticised the philanthropic views of social problems presented in the spirit of bourgeois socialism by E. Sax in *Die Wohnungszustände der arbeitenden Classen und ihre Reform.* Part II was published in *Der Volksstaat,* Nos. 103 and 104, December 25 and 28, 1872, and Nos. 2 and 3, January 4 and 8, 1873.

Part III appeared as a new reply to Mülberger to whom the editors of *Der Volksstaat* granted space for objections to Engels. Engels had been working over this part in January 1873 and it was published in *Der Volksstaat,* Nos. 12, 13, 15 and 16, February 8, 12, 19 and 22, 1873.

Following the publication in *Der Volksstaat,* all the three parts of Engels' work were successively brought out by the *Volksstaat* Publishers in Leipzig in three separate prints; two of them—*Zur Wohnungsfrage* and *Zur Wohnungsfrage. Zweites Heft: Wie die Bourgeoisie die Wohnungsfrage löst*—appeared in 1872, and the last—*Zur Wohnungsfrage. Drittes Heft: Nachtrag über Proudhon und die Wohnungsfrage*—in 1873. Part II was also printed by the *Volkswille,* Nos. 3-9, January 1873.

In 1887, a second edition of Engels' work came out in Hottingen and Zurich under the title *Zur Wohnungsfrage.* Engels made a number of changes and additions in the text and wrote a Preface for it (see present edition, Vol. 26).

The work was published in English for the first time as a pamphlet: F. Engels, *The Housing Question,* Lawrence, London, 1935. p. 317

239 See Note 135. p. 324

240 According to the biblical legend (Exodus 16:3), during the Israelites' flight from Egypt the most faint-hearted among them were driven by the hardships of the journey and by hunger to recall the flesh pots of Egypt, longing for the days of captivity when at least they had enough to eat. p. 324

241 The attempt to organise an exchange bank on the basis of the utopian principle of non-monetary exchange, was made by Proudhon during the 1848-49 revolution. Proudhon believed that such a bank would eliminate, through a credit reform, social injustice and help achieve his ideal—a society of equal commodity-producers freely exchanging services and the products of their labour. However, the Banque du peuple, founded by him on January 31, 1849 in Paris, went bankrupt even before it began to function regularly and was closed down early in April of the same year. p. 328

242 *Labour Exchange Bazaars,* or *Equitable Labour Exchange Bazaars or Offices,* were organised by cooperative workers' societies in various cities of England. The

first such bazaar was arranged by Robert Owen in London in September 1832 and existed till mid-1834. Products of labour were exchanged there for labour paper money, its unit of value being a working hour. Such enterprises were a utopian attempt to organise a non-monetary exchange under the conditions of capitalist commodity economy, and they soon went bankrupt. p. 329

243 Proudhon proposed such a solution of the housing question in his *Idée générale de la révolution au XIXe siècle* (the first edition appeared in Paris in 1851; in the Paris edition of 1868, see pp. 199-204). As early as 1851 Engels, at Marx's request, made a detailed critical analysis of the book. Having shown the infeasibility of Proudhon's general reformist idea and his anarchist views, Engels also noted the utopian character of his project for turning a house tenant into an owner, which Proudhon proposed as a measure to implement the so-called "social liquidation"—a peaceful transformation of society in the spirit of petty-bourgeois ideals (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 560-61). Engels had in his library a copy of the 1868 edition of Proudhon's book. The notes in the margins of that volume were probably made by Engels when he worked on *The Housing Question*. p. 329

244 The reference is to the decree signed by Louis Bonaparte on January 22, 1852. By this decree, the state issued a loan of 10,000,000 francs (one-third of the necessary capital) for building dwellings for the workers. In Mulhouse (Alsace) the manufacturer Jean Dollfus founded the Société des cités ouvrières for this purpose. The workers became the owners of the houses built by this society after they paid an increased monthly rent for about 15 years.

Below, in Part II, Engels elaborated on the true aims of this enterprise and its results (see p. 354). p. 330

245 In his book Emil Sax refers to numerous works by the authors mentioned, among them to the following: Ed. Ducpétiaux, "De l'amélioration des habitations de la classe ouvrière en Angleterre" in *Congrès général d'hygiène de Bruxelles. Session de 1852. Compte-rendu des séances.* Brussels, 1852; idem, *Projet d'Association financière pour l'amélioration des habitations et l'assainissement des quartiers habités par la classe ouvrière à Bruxelles*, Brussels, 1846; idem, *Texte des résolutions votées.—Appendice. Plans*, Brussels, 1852; James Hole, *The Homes of Working Classes with Suggestions for Their Improvement*, London, 1866; V. A. Huber, *Genossenschaftliche Briefe aus Belgien, Frankreich u. England*, Vols. 1, 2, Hamburg [1855]; idem, *Sociale Fragen*. IV. Die latente Association, Nordhausen, 1866; idem, "Ueber die geeignetsten Maßregeln zur Abhülfe der Wohnungsnoth" in *Die Wohnungsfrage mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die arbeitenden Klassen*, Berlin, 1865; idem, "Ueber innere Colonisation" in *Janus*, Vol. 1, Nos. 7, 8, Berlin, 1846; idem, "Die Wohnungsfrage" in *Concordia*, Nos. 2, 3, Leipzig, 1861; idem, "Die Wohnungsfrage in Frankreich und England" in *Zeitschrift des Central-Vereins in Preußen für das Wohl der arbeitenden Klassen*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Leipzig, 1859; idem, *Die Wohnungsnoth der kleinen Leute in großen Städten*, Leipzig, 1857; H. Roberts, *The Dwellings of the Labouring Classes, Their Arrangement and Construction*, London [1850]; idem, "The dwellings of the labouring classes, their improvement through the operation of government measures, by those of public bodies and benevolent associations, as well as by individual efforts" in *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. 1858*, London, 1859; idem, *The Essentials of a Healthy Dwelling, and the Extension of Its Benefits to the Labouring Population*, London, 1862; idem, *Home Reform: or, What the Working Classes May Do to Improve Their Dwellings*, London

[1852]; idem, "The measures adopted in England for promoting improvement in the dwellings of the labouring classes" in *Congrès international de Bienfaisance de Londres. Session de 1862*, Vol. 2, London, Brussels, Ghent, Leipzig, Paris, 1863; idem, "On the progress and present aspect of the movement for improving the dwellings of the labouring classes" in *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. 1860*, London, 1861; idem, *The Physical Condition of the Labouring Classes, Resulting from the State of Their Dwellings, and the Beneficial Effects of Sanitary Improvements Recently Adopted in England*. Rev. Ed., London, 1866. p. 338

246 In 1859, a French manufacturer, Jean Baptiste André Godin, founded a socialist colony in Guise (Aisne Department in the north of France) on a model of Fourier's phalanstery, with production and everyday life organised on a cooperative basis. By the 1880s the colony, named Familistère, turned into a capitalist joint-stock enterprise. p. 348

247 *Harmony Hall* was a communist colony established in Hampshire (South England) at the end of 1839 by English utopian socialists headed by Robert Owen. It existed until 1845. Engels characterised it in one of his earlier articles, "Description of Recently Founded Communist Colonies Still in Existence" (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 223-27). p. 348

248 In June 1869, the Reichstag of the North German Confederation, established after Prussia's victory in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, adopted the new Trades Rules which came into force on October 1, 1869. These Rules eliminated all the limitations of free enterprise previously in existence in Prussia and other German states. The bourgeoisie had long been pressing for this concession on the part of Bismarck's government. At the same time the Reichstag had to abolish the articles of the former Trades Rules which prohibited the creation of workers' coalitions (trades unions). p. 352

249 Engels is referring to an idea spread by Schulze-Delitzsch, a German economist, that the creation of workers' cooperative societies would peacefully solve the social question within the framework of a capitalist society. Schulze-Delitzsch and his supporters used this idea and tried to put it into practice as a means of distracting the workers from the proletarian revolutionary movement. p. 357

250 A reference to the 5,000-million francs indemnity which France had to pay to Germany under the terms of the Frankfurt Peace Treaty of May 10, 1871 (see Note 171). p. 365

251 Engels is referring to the statements made by Adolf Wagner in a number of his books and speeches (see, for example, his *Rede über die sociale Frage*, Berlin, 1872, pp. 55-58) to the effect that the revival of economic activity in Germany after the 5,000-million francs indemnity had been received would considerably improve the condition of the working people.

On the talks between Bismarck and Beust, Chancellor of Austria-Hungary, and also between the Emperors William I and Francis Joseph in Gastein and Salzburg in August-September 1871 see Note 58. Calling them Stieber's conferences after a senior police official of that name, Engels emphasised their anti-worker and police character. p. 365

252 Among Engels' manuscripts the excerpts have survived which he made early in 1873 from Proudhon's *La guerre et la paix* (published in 1869) when he was preoccupied with Part III of *The Housing Question*. Engels supplied these excerpts with his own comments in which he stressed Proudhon's idealistic views, his misunderstanding of the laws of social development, and his

pretentious unsubstantiated judgments. "Everywhere there is nothing but pretentiousness and sheer assertion instead of proof and development of thought," Engels stated. As regards Proudhon's explanation of the origin of social inequality, he noted, "It is not deduced from the laws of economic and historical development, but, as everything else, wars included, from psychological reasons..." Engels also pointed out that Proudhon's theory of population was close to Malthus' false doctrine which stated that population tends to increase faster than the means of subsistence for natural reasons, and, therefore, alleged that the distress of the working people cannot be explained by social conditions. p. 380

253 The District Regulations for the provinces of Prussia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Posen, Silesia and Saxony, adopted in December 1872, were part of an administrative reform in Prussia. It abolished patrimonial power of the Junkers and introduced certain elements of local self-government (community elders were to be elected and district councils under government officials were introduced). The reform aimed at greater centralisation of the Junker bourgeois state in the interests of the Junkers in general and preserved, in fact, all the privileges of individual representatives of this class. They were given an opportunity to be elected or nominated to most of the offices in local government or have their protégés there. Nevertheless the reform met with strong resistance of conservative nobility and landed aristocracy, especially in the Prussian Upper House. For details see Engels' article "The 'Crisis' in Prussia" (this volume, pp. 400-05). p. 381

254 As the editorial board of *La Plebe* intended to start a yearbook *Almanacco Repubblicano* in 1873, the newspaper editor Enrico Bignami requested Engels on July 31, 1872 and Marx on October 10, 1872 to write articles for this collection. Engels wrote an article "On Authority" (see Note 295), and Marx wrote the present article, "Political Indifferentism". Marx's original, which was probably written in French, is not extant. Translated by Bignami, the article was published in the *Almanacco Repubblicano per l'anno 1874* only in December 1873. The publication could not be started earlier because of the police persecution. In Engels' lifetime Marx's article was reprinted by the Milanese *La Battaglia* (Vol. 1, No. 15, July 14) in the summer of 1894.

The article was published in English for the first time in *The Plebs*, Vol. XIV, No. 11, London, 1922. p. 392

255 In May 1864, the Corps législatif repealed the so-called Le Chapelier Law of 1791 on the prohibition of workers' associations and adopted, on May 24, another one after the project of a moderate republican Emile Ollivier. It granted workers the right of combination but prohibited assemblies. p. 395

256 The strike of stone-masons and miners in Rive-de-Gier (a town south of Lyons) broke out in the spring of 1844. The strike, caused by hard labour conditions and low wages, was suppressed by the troops. p. 395

257 The reference is to the act of the British Parliament which in 1824 cancelled the prohibition of workers' coalitions and provided the basis for the legalisation of trades unions. p. 396

258 Engels is alluding to the growing desire of the French reactionaries to restore the monarchy after the fall of the Paris Commune. Monarchist elements prevailed in the National Assembly (nicknamed the Rural Assembly) which was elected in February 1871 and had its seat in Versailles. However, the attempts at restoration were hampered by the quarrels continuing between various

monarchist factions and, above all, by the fear felt by the greater part of the bourgeoisie of a new revolutionary action by the republican-minded masses. Therefore many bourgeois politicians, Thiers, President of the Republic, among them, preferred to leave the republican form of government intact, preserving at the same time the monarchist institutions ("a republic without republicans"). p. 400

259 See Note 253. p. 400

260 Engels is referring to the restoration of patrimonial jurisdiction (that is, the landlord's right to exercise police and legal functions with respect to peasants dependent on him), which was abolished in 1848-49 but actually sanctioned by the law of April 14, 1856, for the six provinces of the Kingdom of Prussia lying east of the Elbe (Prussia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Posen, Silesia and Saxony).

On February 9, 1849, the Prussian government issued two decrees prescribing changes in the Trades Rules, which introduced Trades Councils (Gewerberäte) and Trades Courts (Gewerbegerichte), thus virtually restoring medieval trade legislation. These decrees nullified attempts to eliminate the medieval barriers to industrial and commercial activities which were made in the period of liberal reforms in Prussia after its defeat in the war against Napoleonic France. In particular, they actually annulled the decree of October 24, 1808 on the elimination of guild restrictions and monopolies, and also the order of December 26, 1808 which declared, in general terms, the freedom of industry and commerce. p. 401

261 Engels is referring to the June insurrection of the Paris proletariat, see Note 135. p. 401

262 In 1856, the head of the Prussian police department Hinckeldey was killed in a duel by Baron Rochow, a representative of an ultra-conservative grouping interested in the business of a gambling-house closed down by the police. A number of bourgeois newspapers, the Berlin *National Zeitung* (No. 119/120, March 11, 1856) in particular, responded to this event with laudatory articles about Hinckeldey, describing him as a champion of liberty and progress. p. 401

263 The reference is to the "liberal" course announced by Prince William of Prussia (King of Prussia since 1861) when he became regent in October 1858. He made the Manteuffel ministry resign and called the moderate liberals to power. The bourgeois press dubbed this the policy of the "New Era". It was, in fact, solely intended to strengthen the position of the Prussian monarchy and the Junkers. This soon became clear to the representatives of the liberal opposition whose hopes had been deceived and who refused to approve the government project of a military reform. p. 401

264 A reference to the war waged by France and the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont), on the one side, and Austria, on the other, from April 29 to July 8, 1859. Austria suffered a defeat and was compelled to cede Lombardy to Piedmont, while Piedmont, in its turn, ceded Savoy and Nice to Bonapartist France. During the war, the Prussian government, pursuing the "policy of having a free hand", declared neutrality. p. 402

265 Engels is referring to the so-called constitutional conflict in Prussia which started in February 1860 when the liberal majority of the Provincial Diet refused to approve the projected army reorganisation moved by von Roon, Minister of War. The government, however, soon succeeded in obtaining allocations for the maintenance of the army in fighting trim, and this helped it to begin the planned reorganisation. In March 1862, the liberal majority

refused to approve the military expenditure and demanded that the ministry should be answerable to the Provincial Diet. The government dissolved the Diet and fixed a new election. In late September the Bismarck ministry was formed which, in October of the same year, dissolved the Diet again and began to effect a military reform without the Diet's sanction. The conflict was settled only in 1866, when after Prussia's victory over Austria the Prussian bourgeoisie gave in to Bismarck. For details see Engels' "The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party" (present edition, Vol. 20). p. 402

266 This refers to the war of Prussia and Austria against Denmark in 1864 over Schleswig and Holstein, duchies subject to Denmark but inhabited mainly by Germans. Austria joined the war in the fear that if its rival, Prussia, fought on its own, it would enjoy all the fruits of victory. Denmark was defeated. Schleswig and Holstein were declared joint possessions of Austria and Prussia, which aggravated the conflict between the two countries. After its defeat in the war against Prussia in 1866, Austria had to renounce its right to the duchies in Prussia's favour. p. 402

267 On July 3, 1866, a decisive battle of the Austro-Prussian war took place near the village of Sadowa at Königgrätz (Hradec Králové), Bohemia. The Austrian troops suffered a major defeat. p. 402

268 Engels, apparently, refers to the idea of the recurrence of historical events which Hegel expressed in his work *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*, the first edition of which was published in Berlin in 1837 (see Part 3, Section 2, entitled "Rom vom zweiten punischen Krieg bis zum Kaiserthum"). Hegel also repeatedly expressed the idea that in the process of dialectical development there is bound to be a transition from the stage of formation and efflorescence to that of disintegration and ruin (see, in particular, G.W.F. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts* (Part 3, Section 3, § 347).

Hegel's idea was developed by Marx in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 103), *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction* (Vol. 3, p. 179), *The Deeds of the Hohenzollern Dynasty* (Vol. 9, p. 421), and by Engels in his letter to Marx of December 3, 1851 (Vol. 38, p. 505). p. 403

269 As a result of Prussia's victory in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, Prussia annexed the Kingdom of Hanover, the Electorate of Hesse-Kassel, the Grand Duchy of Nassau, the free city of Frankfort on the Main, and the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig. p. 403

270 The Stahl-Gerlach party, or party of the *Kreuz-Zeitung* (as the *Neue Preußische Zeitung* was called), was formed during the revolution of 1848-49 and consisted of representatives of the counter-revolutionary court clique and feudal Junkers. Striving to restore limited absolutism, the party defended privileges of the aristocracy and nobility. It opposed Bismarck's policy of Germany's unification from above seeing it as a threat to feudal privileges. p. 403

271 The *North German Confederation* was a federative state formed in 1867 under Prussia's supremacy after its victory in the Austro-Prussian war. It replaced the German Confederation which was established in 1815. The North German Confederation incorporated 19 German states and three free cities. The King of Prussia was declared president of the Confederation and commander-in-chief of the confederate armed forces; he was also in charge of foreign policy. The creation of the North German Confederation was an important stage in

implementing the so-called Little Germany plan for the unification of Germany (without Austria) which was carried out by Bismarck. In 1870 the Confederation was joined by Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg and Hesse-Darmstadt. In January 1871 upon the formation of the German Empire the Confederation ceased to exist. p. 403

272 As a rule, the British Parliament created new peers when the government sought to form a majority in the House of Lords which would support its measures. The ruling circles in several other countries also used this device to influence the upper chambers (the Prussian Upper House, in particular). p. 404

273 The Prussian bourgeoisie was pressing its demands with increased force in 1845-46, its hopes for liberal reform having failed to materialise at Frederick William IV's ascension to the throne in 1840. In 1845, almost all the provincial diets demanded a constitution. In his memorandum of 1846 David Hansemann, a wealthy bourgeois of the Rhine Province, suggested that an all-Prussian parliament should be summoned, the Customs Union strengthened and enlarged, patrimonial jurisdiction and a number of other privileges of the nobility abolished, freedom of the press and the jury system introduced, etc. p. 405

274 This reply was published together with the official communication of the British Federal Council which read as follows: "A circular having appeared, signed by a former Corresponding Secretary of the British Federal Council, and others, convening a so-called Congress for the 26th inst., we hereby declare that the time of assemblage and purpose of the said proposed Congress are illegal, and that members of the Association taking part in the said so-called Congress, as well as Sections authorising members to take part in it will render themselves liable to expulsion from our Association."

On the secessionist congress of the reformist elements of the British Federation see Note 230. p. 406

275 The First Congress of the North American Federation of the International Working Men's Association which took place in New York between July 6 and 8, 1872, elected the Federal Council consisting of: C. Carl, F. Bertrand, F. Bolte, E. David, E. Levièle, S. Cavanagh, Saint-Clair, Laurell and Cetti. When the seat of the General Council was transferred to New York by decision of the Hague Congress, all these persons, except Cetti, became Council members; David, however, soon left it and Saint-Clair and Levièle actually did not take part in its activities. The co-optation into the Council of Friedrich Sorge, Marx's and Engels, associate, and his election as General Secretary on October 11, 1872, were conducive to unity among the efficient and stable proletarian elements in the Council. p. 408

276 See Note 221. p. 408

277 In December 1872, after the split in the British Federation of the International Working Men's Association, *The International Herald* became an official newspaper of the new British Federal Council. Wishing to support the paper, Engels considered it necessary to keep it as well informed as possible about the development of the international working-class movement, and especially about the activities of the International on the Continent. The paper published his communications on the subject in the reports on the meetings of the British Federal Council written by Samuel Vickery. Some of Engels' communications

were published, apparently, in abridged form. In a letter to Engels of February 15, 1873, which is extant, William Riley, the newspaper's editor, apologised for the incomplete publication of the material received. p. 409

278 See Note 220. p. 410

279 On the meeting of the Gracia Federation see Note 222.

Mariano Rodriguez, delegate of the Federation of Granada to the Congress at Cordova, had an imperative mandate which required full approval of the Hague Congress resolutions. Engels obtained this information from José Mesa's letter of December 29, 1872. p. 410

280 Apparently, Engels is referring to one of the letters he received from Nobre Franca, Secretary of the Lisbon Section. p. 410

281 Obviously, Engels means the participation of members of the International's federations of Gracia and Cadiz in the armed insurrection of republican federalists in Andalusia in November 1872 and of members of the New Madrid Federation in the armed insurrection in Madrid in late November-early December 1872. p. 411

282 In his letter to Engels of January 18, 1873, José Mesa asked Engels to inform the workers in England and Belgium, through the International's periodicals, about the railwaymen's strike in Spain in order to prevent the importation of strike-breakers.

The strike by the engine-drivers and stokers on the railway lines Almansa-Valencia and Tarragona-Almansa began on December 23, 1872, and successfully ended in early April 1873. The strikers demanded shorter working hours and higher wages.

A committee appointed by the British Federal Council to prevent the importation of strike-breakers, reported at the Council meeting of January 30, 1873, that it had sent notices on the strike to a number of English newspapers, in particular, to *The Standard, Reynolds's Newspaper* and *Railway Servant's Gazette.* One of these notices was published in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, No. 1173 on February 2, 1873. p. 411

283 On July 6, 1872, August Bebel was sentenced by the Leipzig circuit court to the nine months imprisonment (in addition to two years in the fortress to which he and Liebknecht had been sentenced earlier) and was deprived of his powers as deputy to the Reichstag on the charge of *lèse majesté.* Bebel's speeches at the meetings on February 19 and 26, 1872, served as grounds for the sentence. Bebel won a victory at the additional elections to the Reichstag in the district of Glauchau-Meerane, where he had been elected before. Engels most likely drew this information from *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 9 and 10, January 29 and February 1, 1873. p. 411

284 By decision of the Committee of the Jura Federation, the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, No. 20/21, November 10, 1872, published Jules Montels' letter with a protest against the expulsion from the International, by the Beziers section, of an anarchist Abel Bousquet, Secretary of Police. p. 412

285 The *Notes for the General Council*, and Engels' letters to the General Council of the International Working Men's Association of April 15 and June 14, 1873 (see this volume, pp. 437-38 and 447), show that Engels as well as Marx rendered immediate support to the leading body of the International in New

York, supplied it with the necessary information and assisted in taking the correct decisions. The *Notes* have survived as a manuscript by Engels. This text does not fully coincide with the one first published in part in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906. p. 414

286 The first part of the report on the secessionist London Congress of the British Federation—"Congress of the International Working Men's Association"—was published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 227, February 1, 1873. The second and concluding part of the report appeared in the second edition of No. 228 of February 9, 1873, on the next day after the *Notes* were written. p. 414

287 The Second Congress of the Italian anarchists who had formed their federation at the Rimini Conference (see Note 161) was set for March 15 in Mirandola; later, however, it was transferred to Bologna. It took place on March 15-17, 1873. p. 414

288 By its decision of January 5, 1873, the International General Council in New York suspended the anarchist Jura Federation from the Association until the next Congress.

The critical remarks made by Marx and Engels in their letters to Sorge and Engels' statement here concerning the unsatisfactory character of this decision, made the General Council in New York revise it. On January 26, 1873, the Council adopted a resolution which stated that all the societies and individuals refusing to recognise the Hague Congress decisions and comply with the demands of the International's Rules and Administrative Regulations, thereby put themselves outside its ranks. Another resolution of the Council of May 30, 1873 confirmed and elaborated on this decision.

On Sonderbund see Note 202. p. 415

289 After the Hague Congress Theodor Cuno emigrated to America. He signed an appeal of Section 29 of the International Working Men's Association to the New Madrid Federation of January 10, 1873 with the assumed name of Capestro. The Brussels *Internationale*, No. 212, February 2, 1873 reported on this fact, stating that Cuno and Capestro were one and the same person. p. 415

290 Membership stamps were issued by decision of the London Conference of 1871 and were affixed to the membership card to indicate payment of the annual subscription. By decision of the General Council of December 22, 1872 these stamps continued to be issued in London. The French émigré Le Moussu, an engraver, undertook to manufacture a cliché and print them. p. 416

291 This article was published as a leader in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 18, March 1, 1873. The term "Caesarism" which is not to be found in any other work by Engels shows the interference—though slight—of an editor. In the Spanish translation the last paragraph was omitted. José Mesa, editor of *La Emancipacion*, wrote in this connection to Engels on March 11, 1873: "You must have seen that I allowed myself to omit the last paragraph in your article from the *Volksstaat* which I thought somewhat discouraging. I apologise a thousand times to you."

While working on the article, Engels apparently discussed with Marx the problems that arose in it. Consequently, a number of the conclusions and points it contains—on the essence of Bonapartism, on the republic as a form of the bourgeois state, on the attitude of the working class to it—may have been the result of their cooperation. p. 417

292 In September 1868, the fifth bourgeois revolution began in Spain and continued till 1874. This struck a blow at the absolutist reactionary forces which supported the survivals of feudalism in the country. Queen Isabella II fled and the liberals came to power, advocating a constitutional monarchy. In 1870, Amadeo, representative of the Savoy dynasty, was elected to the throne. His position, however, proved very unstable in the situation of a deepening domestic crisis, growth of pro-republican moods among the masses and, at the same time, constant attacks from the right, i.e. of the reactionary monarchist elements. On February 9, 1873, Amadeo abdicated, and on February 11 a republic was proclaimed in Spain. This opened up a new stage in the development of the revolution and led to the further exacerbation of the class struggle and to deeper contradictions in the republican camp itself. p. 418

293 The surrender of the French army under MacMahon and the capture of Emperor Napoleon III by the Prussians during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, took place on September 2, 1870 at Sedan.

The Sedan disaster hastened the collapse of the Second Empire and led to a republic in France being proclaimed on September 4, 1870. p. 418

294 The *Carlists*—a clerical-absolutist group which supported the claims of Don Carlos, King Ferdinand VII's brother, to the Spanish throne in the first half of the 19th century. Leaning for support on the reactionary military circles and Catholic clergy, as well as the backward peasantry from the mountainous regions of Spain, the Carlists unleashed a civil war in 1833 which lasted till 1840 (the 1st Carlist war). When Don Carlos died in 1855, the Carlists supported the candidature of his grandson, Don Carlos, Jr. In 1872, during the political crisis, the Carlists became more active and this led to another civil war (2nd Carlist war) which did not end until 1876. p. 420

295 Engels wrote this article after repeated requests by Enrico Bignami to Marx and Engels to send him articles for the collection *Almanacco Repubblicano* (see Note 254). Bignami addressed Engels for the first time on July 31, 1872. On November 3, 1872, Bignami informed Engels that he had received his article written, apparently, in October. However, Bignami was arrested and the manuscript was lost. Bignami wrote to Engels about this loss on March 2, 1873, and asked him to send, if possible, either a copy of that article or something else for the collection planned. In March 1873 Engels sent Bignami the second version of the article "On Authority" which was published in December of that year in the *Almanacco Repubblicano per l'anno 1874.*

The article was published in English for the first time in *The New Review*, No. 4, New York, 1914. p. 422

296 Engels' notes on the labour movement in Europe and America are thematically linked with his "News on the Activities of the International on the Continent" which was published in the same newspaper, *The International Herald*, in January-February 1873 (see this volume, pp. 409-13). As distinct from the "News on the Activities of the International on the Continent", published in the reports on the meetings of the British Federal Council of the International, the "News on the International Labour Movement" was published separately under the headings "Continental Trade News" and "Foreign Trade News". The labour press of different countries, notably the Leipzig *Volksstaat* and the Madrid *Emancipacion*, as well as the information Engels drew from the extensive correspondence with his friends and associates, served as a source for the "News on the International Labour Movement". p. 426

297 The first strike won through the assistance of the International was the strike of Geneva builders; it took place in March-April 1869. The campaign of support organized by the International forced the employers to meet the workers' demands: introduce a common pay by the hour and raise wages from 15 to 25 centimes per hour. p. 427

298 The congress of Swiss Working Men took place in Olten between June 1 and 3, 1873. Apart from the Swiss sections of the International Working Men's Association, it was attended by representatives of trades unions, cooperatives, educational and other workers' societies. The congress founded the Swiss Workers' Union, which existed until 1880 and amalgamated various workers' organisations on the principles of the International. p. 428

299 The reference is to the Hungarian General Working Men's Union (see Note 173).

On March 23, 1873, the meeting at Budapest proclaimed the foundation of the Hungarian Workers' Party whose aim was to unite representatives of all trends in the Hungarian workers' movement. The Workers' Party was dissolved by a governmental decree of May 10, 1873. p. 432

300 See Note 290. p. 437

301 See Note 1. p. 437

302 On the preparing the Hague Congress minutes for publication see Note 197. p. 438

303 The last issue of *La Emancipacion* came out on April 12, 1873. p. 438

304 This refers to the Second Congress of the British Federation of the International fixed for June 1 and 2, 1873 in Manchester (see Note 237). p. 438

305 This article is part of Engels' letter to Adolf Hepner, editor of *Der Volksstaat,* written in late April 1873 in connection with the libellous article about the International Working Men's Association in the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, No. 49, April 27, 1873. The letter was not meant for the press, but the newspaper editors published a part of it without mentioning the author in *Der Volksstaat,* No. 37, May 7, 1873. On May 2, Engels wrote "The International and the *Neuer*", specially for the *Volksstaat*, which appeared in No. 38 on May 10, 1873 (see this volume, pp. 442-45). p. 439

306 See Note 57. p. 439

307 In many French cities at the end of 1872 and the beginning of 1873, the police, who had obtained information from their informers and spies (in particular, from Van-Heddeghem), made numerous arrests of members of the International's sections. Trials were organised in a number of cities. The first took place in Paris in February-early March 1873. The four accused were sentenced to imprisonment from one to three years. A major trial of members of the International was held in Toulouse from March 10 to 26. The organisers of the trial widely used the testimony of Dentraygues, a member of the Toulouse section, who had divulged, during the preliminary investigation and at the trial itself, information about the composition and activities of nearly all the sections of the International in the Midi. Twenty-two out of the 38 accused were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Police and court reprisals inflicted a heavy blow on the French organisations of the International Working Men's Association. p. 440

308 See Note 307. p. 442

309 The *reptile press fund*—a special money fund at Bismarck's disposal for bribing the press. It got this name after Bismarck's speech in the Prussian Provincial Diet in January 1869 when he applied the word "reptiles" to mercenary agents. After this, the left press began to use the expression to denote the government-bribed semi-official press. p. 442

310 *The International Herald* included this communication in its report on the regular meeting of the British Federal Council, which took place on May 8, 1873. p. 446

311 This is an allusion to the attempts made by John Hales, former General Secretary of the General Council of the International, after the transfer of the General Council from London to New York, to turn the breakaway reformist wing of the British Federal Council into a sort of centre for all the federations opposing the decisions of the Hague Congress. Hales' claims to leadership in the international working-class movement did not find support on the Continent. p. 446

312 A reference to the General Council decision of January 26, 1873, published in *La Plebe*, No. 14, June 1, 1873.

The address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association to Spanish workers of February 23, 1873 was occasioned by the proclamation of a republic in Spain. It was published in *La Plebe*, No. 13, May 26, 1873.

After a temporary suspension from March 23, 1873, caused by police persecution, *La Plebe* resumed publication after May 15, 1873. p. 447

313 Engels is referring to the draft General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International, revised by the General Council in the summer of 1872 for the Hague Congress (see Note 150). p. 447

314 One fragment of this article was published in English for the first time in Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, and another in Marx, Engels, Lenin, *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 448

315 On the split in the British Federation of the International and the London Congress of its breakaway reformist wing in January 1873 see notes 228 and 230. p. 448

316 See Note 237. p. 449

317 See Note 176. p. 449

318 On the application of the words "Sonderbund", "Sonderbündler", etc., to the anarchist secessionists in Engels' works of the period see Note 202. p. 449

319 A reference to the draft of the new Rules of the International Working Men's Association, worked out by the Belgian Federal Council in the anarchist spirit before the Hague Congress of the International (see Note 88). p. 451

320 Renan's book *L'Antéchrist* (Paris, 1873) was the fourth volume of his comprehensive *Histoire des origines du christianisme*, Vols I-VIII, Paris, 1863-1883. A review of this book was included in an anonymous report marked "Paris, June 26" and published in *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 181, Supplement 3, July 2, 1873. Engels' note on the review was freely translated into Serbo-Croat by an anonymous author in the Belgrade Church journal *Православље* (Orthodoxy),

No. 9, September 1873. The author referred to the *Kölnische Zeitung* and mentioned Engels.

Engels mentions Prof. Ferdinand Benary's lectures, which he attended at Berlin University as an external student when he did military service as a volunteer in Berlin from September 1841 to October 1842.

Engels examined in detail the problem of the dating and composition of the last book in the New Testament, the Revelation of St. John the Divine or the Apocalypse (from Greek *apokálypsis*, revelation), in his articles "The Book of Revelation" and "On the History of Early Christianity", written in 1883 and 1894. p. 452

321 Engels attached great importance to Giuseppe Garibaldi's criticism of anarchist doctrines and did his best to make known the ideas Garibaldi had expressed on that score in his letter to Prospero Crescio. Engels quoted from his letter in the German translation in his article "From the International", published in *Der Volksstaat* in early July 1873. He inserted it as a footnote in the pamphlet *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* written in French (see this volume, pp. 451, 504). To familiarise the members of the British Federation of the International with the letter, Engels translated it into English for the meeting of the British Federal Council on July 8, 1873. It was included in the report on the meeting, published in *The Eastern Post* on July 13, 1873. Engels supplied the translation with a short comment which he may have written after the meeting of the Council, when the report on it was being prepared for the press. p. 453

322 Marx and Engels wrote this work, with the assistance of Paul Lafargue, between April and July 1873, drawing on a large number of documents presented to the commission of inquiry into the activities of the secret Alliance, appointed by the Hague Congress. Among them was the material sent by Lafargue, José Mesa and others from Spain, J. Ph. Becker from Switzerland, N. F. Danielson and N. N. Lyubavin from Russia, and a large report written by N. I. Utin on the instructions of the London Conference of 1871. Some of the documents reached Marx and Engels only after the Hague Congress.

A number of preparatory materials are extant, including a list of documents used in the process of work. This list, drawn up by Engels, shows that the authors had at their disposal French translations of a few Russian editions sent in by Utin. That is why a number of Bakunin's documents are quoted according to their French translation.

*The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* was published as a pamphlet in French in late August-early September 1873; in the summer of 1874 it came out in Brunswick in German (in S. Kokosky's translation) under the title "Ein Complot gegen die Internationale Arbeiter-Association" (A Conspiracy Against the International Working Men's Association). Engels took a direct part in the editing of the German translation. In October 1873-January 1874, the Introduction and the first four chapters of this work were published in the New York *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. The work was published in English for the first time in *The Hague Congress of the First International, September 2-7, 1872. Minutes and Documents*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976. p. 454

323 A reference to the commission which was to prepare the minutes and resolutions of the Hague Congress of the International for publication. It was elected at the Congress sitting on September 7, 1872, and consisted of Karl

Marx, Frederick Engels, Eugène Dupont, Leo Frankel, Benjamin Le Moussu and Auguste Serraillier (see Note 197). p. 457

324 A reference to the second congress of the bourgeois pacifist League of Peace and Freedom held in Berne in September 1868. The congress rejected a resolution moved by Bakunin on September 23 and supported by an insignificant minority, after which Bakunin and his followers withdrew from the League (see Note 38). p. 458

325 A reference to the confidential circular of the Bureau of the Permanent Committee of the League of Peace and Freedom, written by Bakunin in August 1868 and signed by Gustav Vogt, President of the Bureau. Marx and Engels had a copy of the circular sent to Mikhail Elpidin. This copy with notes by Bakunin and Utin is inscribed "No. 1" in Engels' hand. p. 460

326 The decision of the Brussels Congress (September 6-13, 1867) to reject the offer from the League of Peace and Freedom to merge with the International Working Men's Association derived from the position of the General Council towards the League worked out by Marx as early as August 1867 (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 204). p. 461

327 Gustav Vogt's letter to Bakunin and a fragment from Bakunin's reply (below) are quoted according to the report on the Alliance written by Nikolai Utin for the Hague Congress on the instructions of the London Conference (see Note 322). Utin's report was published in English for the first time in *The Hague Congress of the First International, September 2-7, 1872. Minutes and Documents*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976. p. 461

328 On the Lyons events of September 1870 and Bakunin's role in them see Note 71. p. 467

329 The Basle Congress of the International (September 6-11, 1869) became the scene of the first clash between the adherents of Marx's scientific socialism and the followers of Bakunin's anarchism over the abolition of the right of inheritance. With the discussion on this point Bakunin sought to distract the workers from solving urgent problems of the programme and tactics. Preparing for the Congress, Marx drew up a report of the General Council on the right of inheritance (see present edition, Vol. 21). It was read at the Congress by Johann Eccarius. The report branded as erroneous the attempts, originally made by the followers of Saint-Simon, to regard the right of inheritance not as a juridical consequence but as a cause of the existing economic organisation of society. The Congress took no decision on this point, since not a single proposal gained the necessary absolute majority of votes. However, Bakunin's well-prepared attempt to impose his ideas on the International failed. p. 472

330 This refers to the struggle between the Lassalleans and the Eisenachers in Germany which intensified after the Basle Congress of the International. The Bakuninist press organs used this to accuse the General Council of allegedly holding aloof from settling the conflict. In October 1869, in a series of anonymous articles in *Der Social-Demokrat*, Johann Baptist Schweitzer, a Lassallean leader, heaped libels upon the leaders of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers), in particular, upon Wilhelm Liebknecht. He alleged that they had rejected the socialist programme and the resolutions of the Basle Congress on the social property in land, for the benefit of the petty-bourgeois People's Party which opposed these decisions. Leonhard

Bonhorst, member of the Brunswick Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, used the columns of *Der Volksstaat* to refute Schweitzer (Nos. 8 and 9, October 27 and 30, 1869). The position of the General Council of the International in the conflict between the Eisenachers and the Lassalleans, Liebknecht and Schweitzer, was explained by Marx in the circular letter "The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland" (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 90-91). p. 473

331 The declaration of Duplaix, Weyhermann, Perret and Utin, Geneva delegates, to the congress of the Romance Federation in La Chaux-de-Fonds, is quoted according to the report on the Alliance written by Utin for the Hague Congress on the instructions of the London Conference. p. 474

332 See Note 69. p. 474

333 On the Section of Propaganda and Revolutionary Socialist Action see Note 75.

The resolution of the Basle Congress of 1869 on the order of admittance of new sections to the International Working Men's Association empowered the General Council to admit or refuse to admit new sections. Where federal councils existed, their opinion had to be taken into account when this question arose. p. 477

334 In early April 1871, trying to prevent the execution of captured Communards by the Versailles counter-revolutionaries, the Paris Commune proclaimed persons guilty of dealings with Versailles to be hostages. On May 23 and 24, 1871, in reply to the atrocities committed by the Versailles troops after they had entered Paris, several hostages were shot by the Communards. p. 477

335 On Jules Favre's circular and Sacase's report see Note 82.

In October 1871, the Chamber of Deputies of the Spanish Cortes debated the intention of the bourgeois government legislatively to dissolve the Spanish organisations of the International. Right-wing deputies taking part in the discussion used the Alliance documents and police-forged material to calumniate the International. Although the Republican representatives (Castelar, Garrido and others) resisted and proved that the proposed measures contradicted the Constitution, the government was given support. In January 1872, Sagasta, Minister of the Interior, published a circular which ordered a dissolution of the International in Spain (see Note 179). p. 480

336 On the *Toulouse trial* of members of the International see Note 307. The reference is to the report on a court session of March 17, published in *La Réforme*, No. 669, March 18, 1873. p. 483

337 A reference to the letter from the Alliance member Charles Alerini to André Bastelica of November 14, 1871, sent by the Barcelona Section to all the sections of the International in Spain (see below, pp. 488-89). The Pope here means Bakunin. A copy of the letter was presented by Engels to the Hague Congress among other documents on the Alliance. p. 483

338 The draft General Rules of the International drawn up in the anarchist spirit by representatives of the Belgian Federal Council (see Note 88), were discussed at the regular congress of the Belgian Federation on May 19 and 20, 1872, and at its extraordinary congress on July 14 of the same year in Brussels. At both congresses part of the delegates opposed the abolition of the General Council proposed in the draft. The extraordinary congress decided by a majority vote to retain the General Council, but with very limited powers. The draft Rules, adopted with this amendment, reflected on the whole the growing influence of

anarchism within the Belgian Federation. In accordance with the draft, the Belgian delegates to the Hague Congress supported the Bakuninists and sided with them against the revolutionary proletarian wing of the International. p. 483

339 The meeting of the International's sections held in Geneva on December 2, 1871, adopted a resolution censuring the decisions of the anarchist congress at Sonvillier. On December 20, 1871, the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland adopted a special address, "Réponse du Comité fédéral romand à la circulaire des 16 signataires, membres du Congrès de Sonvilliers", which was published in *L'Égalité*, No. 24 of December 24, 1871. The editors of *L'Égalité* also published their own protest. p. 483

340 See Note 43. p. 484

341 See Note 87. p. 484

342 This is a quotation from the letter written on August 2, 1872 by Jósef Tokarzewicz, member of the Polish Section of the International in Zurich, to Walery Wróblewski, the General Council's Corresponding Secretary for Poland. The translation of the letter into French made by Engels is extant.

The *Programme of the Socialist-Revolutionary Polish Society in Zurich* was written by Bakunin and published on July 27, 1872 in the supplement to the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, No. 13. The Polish Social-Democratic Association, which appeared under the influence of the anarchist elements, first adopted this programme but later rejected it on the initiative of Tokarzewicz.

The newspaper *Wolność* (Freedom) was not published. p. 485

343 See Note 188. p. 486

344 See Note 14. p. 487

345 This statement addressed to the delegates of the international Congress at The Hague and containing facts which revealed the existence of the secret Alliance in Spain, José Mesa sent to Engels who handed it over to the commission of inquiry into the Alliance activities. The statement was published in English for the first time in *The Hague Congress of the First International, September 2-7, 1872. Minutes and Documents*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976. p. 488

346 A reference to the handwritten confidential circular of the Valencia section ("Seccion internácional de Valencia. Circular") to the Spanish sections of the International, which proposed a fight for total decentralisation and an "anarchist commune" in the event of a revolution. p. 488

347 The circular of the Seville section of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, written by Nicola Marselau, was sent to the Madrid Section of the International on October 25, 1871. It formulated decisions adopted by the section in view of the government repressions. p. 489

348 A reference to the open letter of *La Emancipacion*'s editors "A los representantes del Partido Republicano Federal reunidos en Madrid". The letter was dated February 25, 1872, and published in *La Emancipacion*, No. 38 of March 3, 1872. The anarchist members of the Council of the Madrid Federation of the International demanded that the editors should withdraw the letter, but Mesa, who was *La Emancipacion*'s editor and also acting Secretary of the Spanish Federal Council, flatly refused to comply with this demand. On March 9, 1872, after consultation with other members of the Council, he sent the Republicans a similar letter in the name of the Federal Council. p. 490

349 On March 7, 1872, the anarchist Council of the Madrid Federation addressed a letter to the meeting of representatives of the Republican Federalist Party, in which it dissociated itself from the letter of *La Emancipacion*'s editors (see Note 348) and stated that it contradicted the principles of the International. The Madrid Council's letter was published in the radical Republican newspaper *La Igualdad*, No. 1059, March 9, 1872, and in *La Emancipacion*, No. 40, March 16, 1872. p. 490

350 See Note 99. p. 491

351 See Note 184. p. 491

352 The government of Napoleon III held a plebiscite on May 8, 1870 (see Note 165). p. 496

353 See Note 221. p. 496

354 The *Unión de las tres clases de vapor* (Union of the Three Categories of Factory Workers) was one of the first trades unions in Catalonia and amalgamated weavers, spinners and day-labourers employed at textile mills. The Union was a collective member of the International. p. 497

355 This letter was addressed to Engels and described the state of affairs in the Naples Section of the International (see *La Corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani. 1848-1895*, Milan, 1964). It is also quoted in the text below. p. 497

356 Quoted from Stefano Caporusso's letter to George Odger, dated January 21, 1872. p. 498

357 The Milan section of the International was formed by Theodor Cuno who acted on Engels' advice. In December 1871, under Cuno's influence, some members of the local Mazzinian Society of Moral and Mutual Assistance and Education of the Workers withdrew from this organisation and formed an Emancipation of the Proletarian Society which declared itself a section of the International on January 7, 1872. On January 30, 1872, Engels reported to the General Council on the formation of the Milan Section stating that its Rules conformed to the International's principles; thereupon the section was admitted to the Association. Under Engels' guidance, Cuno persistently opposed the anarchist members of the section, and as a result, prior to and at the Hague Congress, the section did not support the anarchists in their struggle against the General Council. p. 499

358 See Note 83. p. 499

359 Here and above the quotations are from Carlo Terzaghi's letter to Engels of October 10, 1871. Terzaghi's messages to the General Council of December 4, 1871 and March 10, 1872 were also written in the form of letters to Engels. p. 499

360 On Engels' proposal, Vitale Regis, member of the General Council and former Communard, was sent to Italy in February 1872 to establish contacts between the Italian sections and the Council and counteract the Bakuninist influence. In the latter half of February, Regis spent ten days in Milan and Turin where he studied the situation in the local sections and popularised the decisions of the International Working Men's Association. Drawing on Engels' instructions, Regis

explained to the members of the Milan and Turin sections the radical difference between the anarchist views and the principles and tasks of the International. Regis' report on his trip to Italy was written in the form of the letter to Engels of March 1, 1872. p. 500

361 On the *Conference of Rimini* see Note 161. Its resolution against the decisions of the London Conference and the General Council is given below (see pp. 502-03). p. 501

362 Jules Guesde's letter to the members of the Montpellier section of the International was addressed to Gironis, one of the section's leaders. On November 20, 1872, Gironis sent this letter to the General Council. p. 506

363 The original has "Ruraux"—a contemptuous nickname for members of the Versailles National Assembly of 1871, which consisted mainly of monarchist conservatives: provincial landlords, officials, rentiers and tradesmen elected in rural electoral districts. p. 507

364 A reference to a letter addressed by André Calas and other leaders of the Montpellier section on August 18, 1872 to the General Council of the International c/o Louis Monnesau. Engels refers to it in his article "The International and the *Neuer*" (see this volume, p. 443). p. 507

365 A reference to the slaughter of Communards in the last week of May 1871 by the Versailles troops after their invasion of Paris. p. 507

366 This letter was written by J. Martin to Auguste Serraillier. p. 508

367 On September 15, 1872, a short extraordinary congress of the Jura Federation was held in Saint-Imier, where a secessionist congress of the anarchists (see Note 221) opened on the same day. All delegates of the extraordinary congress also took part in the secessionist congress. For that reason, the New York General Council resolved on January 5, 1873 to suspend the Jura Federation from the International Working Men's Association until the next congress. Marx and Engels regarded this resolution as rather inconsistent in the struggle against anarchist disorganisers, since the Jura Federation actually placed itself outside the International by its refusal to comply with the resolutions of the Hague Congress (see F. Engels, "Notes for the General Council", this volume, p. 415). Acting on advice from London, the New York General Council adopted new, more radical resolutions of January 26 and May 30, 1873, against the dissidents. p. 509

368 See Note 237. p. 513

369 See Note 298. p. 514

370 Nikolai Chernyshevsky was arrested on July 7, 1862. Until 1864 he was kept in the Peter and Paul Fortress in St. Petersburg and then sentenced to deportation for life to Siberia with seven years' hard labour. p. 516

371 *Frères ignorantins*—the name of a religious order founded in Reims in 1680; its members undertook to dedicate their lives to teaching the children of the poor; in the schools organised by this order the pupils received mainly religious instruction and acquired but meagre knowledge of other subjects. p. 519

372 An excerpt from this letter was quoted in Nikolai Utin's report to the Hague Congress of the International. Utin did not name the author but noted that his devotion to the people's cause must have been known to Bakunin, to whom the letter was communicated. p. 527

373 *The Revolutionary Catechism*—a document which was written in Geneva in the summer of 1869, enciphered and printed in several copies. A copy was discovered in 1869, during the search of the apartment of P. G. Uspensky, a member of the Nechayev organisation. The text was deciphered by the police and reproduced in *Pravitelstvenny Vestnik* (The Government Bulletin), No. 162, July 9 (21), 1871. Marx and Engels had this issue at their disposal.

The French translation of this document is extant; it was made by Utin and enclosed with his report to the Hague Congress of the International under the title "'The Catechism' written by Bakunin in Russian". It was this translation that was used here and in more detail below, in section 2 of this chapter. Some researchers attribute the authorship of the document to Bakunin, others to Nechayev (in the latter case, probably written with Bakunin's help or drawing on his works and ideas). Utin was convinced that it had been written by Bakunin. p. 527

374 Originally Nikolai Ogarev dedicated his poem *The Student* to his and Herzen's friend S. I. Astrakov, who died in 1866. When Bakunin received the manuscript, he wrote back to Ogarev that it would be "more useful for the cause" if the poem were dedicated to Nechayev. With this dedication, the poem was published as a leaflet (Geneva, 1869), and Nechayev used it as a sort of credentials from Ogarev. p. 529

375 The proclamation *Благородное российское дворянство!* (Appeal to Russian Nobility) was published anonymously in Geneva in 1870. Its authors were Sergei Nechayev and Nikolai Ogarev. The French translation of the excerpts from this proclamation is extant; it was made by Utin and enclosed with his report to the Hague Congress of the International. This translation was used by Marx and Engels. Utin thought that Bakunin had participated in writing the proclamation. It was probably based on the appeal *Русское дворянство* (The Russian Nobility), drawn up by Bakunin in 1869. p. 535

376 Bakunin's letter (given here in a free rendering) to Charles Louis Chassin, editor of *La Démocratie*, was written in April 1868 for the sample off-prints published from March 1868. The proposed newspaper contributors were to expound their views in them. Bakunin's letter was published in late April 1868 in several off-prints and then reprinted in a number of other newspapers, in particular, in the Berlin *Die Zukunft*, No. 230, June 19, 1868 (under the title "Zum Programm der Demokratie"). Engels had this German reprint at his disposal. p. 540

377 The reference is to the money which was handed over to Alexander Herzen in 1858 by the Russian landlord Pavel Bakhmetyev for revolutionary propaganda (the so-called Bakhmetyev Fund). In May 1869, under pressure from Bakunin and Ogarev, Herzen agreed to divide the fund into two parts, one of which Ogarev gave to Nechayev. In March 1870, after Herzen's death, Nechayev received the second half from Ogarev, too. p. 540

378 See Note 136. p. 543

379 James Guillaume spoke at the sitting of the Hague Congress on September 6, 1872, when the inclusion of Resolution IX of the London Conference "On the Political Action of the Working Class" into the General Rules of the International was discussed. In opposition to it, Guillaume advocated the Bakuninist principles of abstention from politics and of the abolition of state and declared that an erroneous, from his point of view, authoritarian idea of

replacing bourgeois power with workers' power, had been moved as early as in the *Communist Manifesto*. (Guillaume's speech was summarised in the Belgian *La Liberté*, No. 31, September 15, 1872, in the report "Le Congrès de la Haye".) p. 544

380 The *Escobars*—followers of the Spanish Jesuit Escobar y Mendoza (1589-1669) who preached that pious intentions justify actions condemned by ethics and laws (the end justifies the means). p. 545

381 On December 14 (26), 1825, members of secret societies of Russian revolutionary nobles opposed to the autocracy and the feudal-serf system headed the insurrection of the St. Petersburg garrison units. They are known in history as the *Decembrists*. The Decembrists sought to prevent the oath of allegiance being taken to the new Emperor, Nicholas I, and to secure the introduction of civic liberties and the convocation of a Constituent Assembly to decide the question of a Constitution. The insurrection was suppressed by Tsarist troops. The same fate befell an uprising in the Ukraine in late December 1825. The Decembrists were subjected to severe reprisals. Five of their leaders were hanged and 121 men sentenced to hard labour and exile in Siberia. p. 551

382 A reference to members of the secret revolutionary society organised in Moscow in September 1863 by Nikolai Ishutin. Originally, it was a circle affiliated with the underground revolutionary-democratic organisation Zemlya i Volya (Land and Freedom) (1862-64), but when the latter ceased to exist it acted on its own. The society had contacts with underground circles in St. Petersburg and a number of provincial towns, and kept in touch with Polish revolutionaries. The society's aim was to work for a peasants' revolution which, in the opinion of its members, would lead to the establishment of socialism. The idea of seizing power by a revolutionary organisation with the purpose of handing the government of the state over to the people, was very popular among them. Individual terror was proposed as one of the means of struggle. Dmitry Karakozov was a member of the society; after his abortive attempt on the life of Alexander II in April 1866, the organisation was partly discovered by the police and some of its leaders were subjected to repression. p. 551

383 A reference to the Jesuit theocratic state which was formed in 1610 in South America, mainly on the territory of what is now Paraguay, and existed until 1768. The domination of the Jesuit Order assumed a form of cruel colonial exploitation of the local Indians who were driven by Jesuit missionaries by force or deceit to special settlements. p. 554

384 *Hegira*—the flight of Muhammad, founder of Islam, and his followers from Mecca to Medina to escape persecution which took place in September 622. This year is regarded as the beginning of the Muslim era. p. 556

385 This refers to a group of young people, mainly intellectuals, who rallied round Mikhail Butashevich-Petrashevsky in St. Petersburg in 1844. From 1845 their meetings became regular ("Petrashevsky's Fridays"). They held democratic views and condemned the autocracy and serfdom. The most radical among them regarded a popular revolution as the main means for changing the existing order. The young people vigorously championed utopian socialism, and discussed social and political problems as well as—particularly under the influence of the 1848 revolution in Europe—plans for setting up an active revolutionary organisation. However, the members of the Petrashevsky circle failed to put their plans into effect: in April 1849 they were arrested and

subjected to repression. The court martial sentenced 21 of them to be shot, but at the last moment the death sentence was commuted to exile and hard labour. Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin and some other prominent figures in the Russian culture were members of the Petrashevsky circle.

p. 556

386 M. S. Neklyudov, an official serving under the Governor-General of Eastern Siberia in Irkutsk, N. N. Muravyov-Amursky, was systematically baited by the latter's entourage, particularly by F. A. Beklemishev. On April 16, 1859, a duel between Neklyudov and Beklemishev took place with the connivance of the administration; Neklyudov was killed. This caused a protest on the part of broad democratic circles in Irkutsk. Butashevich-Petrashevsky made a denunciatory speech at Neklyudov's graveside. Neklyudov's funeral turned into a huge demonstration. The *Kolokol* reported the details of the duel in the supplement "Подъ судъ!" (Put Them on Trial!). Muravyov's hangers-on protested against these accusations and sent, through Bakunin, their refutations to Herzen, editor of the *Kolokol*. Bakunin's letter, mentioned here, was published by Herzen unsigned and with editorial notes on July 1 and 15, 1860.

p. 557

387 The Manifesto on the abolition of serfdom was signed by Alexander II on February 19 (March 3), 1861, and made public on March 6 (18) of the same year. It marked the beginning of the peasant reform introduced by the ruling classes in the conditions of the profound crisis of the serf system and the growing threat of a popular revolution. The peasants were granted personal freedom but deprived of a considerable part of the land toiled by them. They were to buy back the plots they still kept. The terms of redemption made the peasants debtors to the state, which paid a lump redemption sum to the landowners and then exacted heavy payments from the peasants for several decades, making the village commune collectively responsible for the timely payment.

Progressive, revolutionary-democratic circles in Russia severely criticised the anti-popular reform. Before long even those Russian democrats (e.g. Alexander Herzen) who initially cherished liberal illusions about the emancipatory intentions of the Tsarist government towards the peasants were disappointed in the Manifesto.

p. 558

388 The manifesto *Молодая Россія* (Young Russia) was written by Pyotr Zaichnevsky, a member of a revolutionary student circle which lithographed and distributed illegal literature. It was published in mid-May 1862 on behalf of the so-called Central Revolutionary Committee. The manifesto expressed the views of the most radical Russian revolutionaries and was widely circulated in Moscow, St. Petersburg and the provinces.

The following words from Herzen's *My Past and Thoughts*, Part Six, "England (1852-1854)", Chapter IX, "Robert Owen", served as the epigraph: "Do you understand now on whom the future of individuals and nations depends?... On *you and me*, for example. How can we be idle after that?"

p. 561

389 A reference to the disagreements between Herzen, on the one hand, and Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov, on the other, caused by Herzen's liberal attitudes in appraising the emancipation of the serfs, then in preparation by the Tsarist government. For some time Herzen hoped that the educated and sober-minded section of the nobility would succeed in persuading the Tsar to

resolve the peasant question radically and peacefully. He regarded the revolutionary tactics of the radicals in the democratic movement as extremist and dangerous, and therefore likely to play into the hands of the reactionary serf-owners. It was in this spirit that he argued against Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov (the article "Very Dangerous!!!", *Kolokol*, June 1, 1859, and others). The revolutionary democrats, for their part, vigorously attacked Herzen's vacillations in *Sovremennik* and in letters to *Kolokol*. In the 1860s Herzen broke with liberalism and joined the revolutionary democrats in their active struggle for the consolidation of the Russian revolutionary forces.

p. 562

390 Among the documents submitted by Marx and Engels to the special commission of the Hague Congress elected to investigate the activities of the secret Alliance, was a letter written by Nechayev in February 1870 on Bakunin's instructions and addressed, on behalf of the non-existent Russian revolutionary organisation, to Lyubavin who was preparing the publication of the first volume of *Capital* in Russia. Lyubavin was threatened with violence unless he released Bakunin from his obligations concerning the translation of Volume I of *Capital* into Russian. Lyubavin sent the letter to Marx c/o Danielson in August 1872.

p. 580

391 The series of articles *The Bakuninists at Work* was written in the wake of the events in Spain during the summer of 1873, which were the culmination of the Spanish bourgeois revolution of 1868-74 (see Note 292). Engels focussed his attention on the involvement of the Spanish Bakuninists in the abortive cantonal revolts (July-September) organised in the south and south-east of the country by the Intransigents, an extremist republican grouping that advocated the partition of Spain into independent cantons. The Intransigents and their Bakuninist allies were dissatisfied with the radical social measures undertaken by the Left republican government of Pi y Margall (sale of state and Church lands, establishment of mixed commissions to regulate labour conditions, a free regime in the colonies, etc.) and with the Constitution drawn up by the Cortes, which proclaimed a federative republic. They weakened the republican camp by forcing Pi y Margall to resign on July 18, 1873, and thus paved the way for the establishment of a military dictatorship in Spain early in 1874 and then for the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy.

Engels drew his information from the periodical press and various documents of the Spanish sections of the International, above all from a report submitted by the New Madrid Federation to the Geneva Congress of the International held on September 8-13, 1873.

Following the publication in *Der Volksstaat*, Engels' series of articles came out as a pamphlet entitled *Die Bakunisten an der Arbeit. Denkschrift über den letzten Aufstand in Spanien* (Leipzig, November 1873); in April-May 1874 it was published in the New York *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Nos. 11-13 and 15-16). In 1894 *The Bakuninists at Work* was included in the collection of Engels' articles *Internationales aus dem "Volksstaat" (1871-75)* published by *Vorwärts* Publishers in Berlin. For that publication Engels provided the Preliminary Remark (see present edition, Vol. 27) and made several corrections.

The work was published in English for the first time in K. Marx, F. Engels, *Revolution in Spain*, Lawrence & Wishart, International Publishers, London-New York, 1939.

p. 581

392 The text published in *Der Volksstaat* in 1873 and the reprint of the same year had no author's note, but a reference in brackets: "see the article 'Cagliostro

Bakunin' in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 87 et seqq." This anonymously published article contained a brief summary in German of Marx's and Engels' *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* with excerpts from different chapters. It was written by Adolf Hepner and published in *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 87-90 of September 19, 21, 24 and 26, 1873. Engels referred to it because a full German translation of the work about the Alliance was then just being prepared. p. 581

393 On July 1, 1873, the General Council in New York officially announced the convocation of the regular congress of the International in Geneva on September 8. It was to discuss revision of the Rules, organisation of an international trades union association, the political activity of the organised workers, labour statistics, and other questions. Initially Marx and Engels intended to be present at the congress and take part in its work but after an analysis of the situation within the International, concluded that the congress could not be really representative. Almost all the organisations of the International, being unable to send delegates, transferred their mandates to members of the Romance Federation of Switzerland. This was also the case with the New Madrid Federation (see Note 157) whose leaders sent a copy of their report to the Geneva Congress to Engels in London. What prompted Marx and Engels to change their attitude towards the congress was mainly their growing awareness that the IWMA as a form of international association could no longer meet the needs of the expanding proletarian movement.

At the sixth congress of the International Association in Geneva (September 8-13, 1873) 28 delegates out of 31 belonged to the Swiss organisations of the International or its émigré sections in Switzerland. Only 3 delegates represented other countries.

The congress heard the report of the General Council and reports from the localities. While discussing the Rules the majority of the delegates led by J. Ph. Becker confirmed the decisions of the Hague Congress of 1872 on expanding the functions of the General Council. The congress underlined the need for the working class to carry on a political struggle, and adopted a resolution on further measures to establish an international association of trades unions. New York remained the seat of the General Council. The Geneva Congress of 1873 was the last congress of the International. p. 581

394 A reference to the liberal-constitutional monarchists who supported the protégé of the European powers on the Spanish throne, King Amadeo of Savoy. p. 583

395 The *Alfonsists*—a reactionary political grouping in Spain who backed Alfonso (son of Isabella II), the Bourbon pretender to the Spanish throne. He was proclaimed King (Alfonso XII) in 1874. The Alfonsists relied on the big landowners, the clergy and the upper crust of the bourgeoisie. p. 583

396 See Note 294. p. 583

397 A reference to the congress, held in Geneva from September 1 to 6, 1873, of representatives of the anarchist and reformist organisations which had challenged the resolutions of the Hague Congress and thereby placed themselves outside the International, as stated in the decisions of the General Council of January 26 and May 30, 1873. The congress was convened by the Bakuninist Geneva Section of Propaganda and Revolutionary Socialist Action (see Note 75). The congress proclaimed the negation of all authority the basic principle of the international anarchist association, abolished the General

Council, denied congresses the right to adopt resolutions on questions of principle, and dropped Article 7a, on the political action of the working class, from the General Rules. p. 584

398 See Note 87. p. 587

399 By decision of the congress of Spanish anarchists in Cordova (see Note 220) of December 30, 1872, the Spanish Federal Council was replaced by a Federal Commission with limited powers (for details see K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association,* this volume, p. 510). p. 587

400 See Note 221. p. 588

401 A reference to the great insurrection of the German peasants in 1524-25 known as the German Peasant War, and to the uprisings in Saxony, the Rhine Province of Prussia, the Palatinate and Baden in May 1849 in defence of the Imperial Constitution drawn up by the Frankfurt National Assembly but rejected by the German princes. The struggle for the Imperial Constitution (in the Palatinate and Baden it continued until July 1849) was the final stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848-49 in Germany.

See Engels' *The Peasant War in Germany* and *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution,* present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 397-482, 147-239. p. 592

402 On the initiative of the New Madrid Federation the adherents of the General Council of the International in Spain formed, in January 1873, a new Spanish Federal Council in Valencia to counterbalance the actions of the anarchist federations, which had substituted the Federal Commission for the Federal Council (see this volume, pp. 511-12). p. 593

403 These manuscripts show that Engels intended to write a treatise on German history. He gave his attention to the subject on repeated occasions, particularly in 1873-74. He wrote to Wilhelm Liebknecht on January 27, 1874: "I wanted to write something on Germany for the *Volksstaat,* but to do so immersed myself into economic and statistical research so deeply that the result will probably be a booklet, if not a whole book." Engels' plan, however, remained unfulfilled. Apart from the preparatory materials, two draft manuscripts are extant. The first one is divided into two sections. The "Introduction. 1500-1789", outlines the opening part of the planned work, in which Engels intended to trace German history up to the French Revolution. The second section of this manuscript, "1789-1815",is a plan for the study of German history of that period. The second manuscript, entitled "Varia on Germany. 1789-1873", deals mainly with the 19th century up to contemporary developments. Unlike the first one, this manuscript consists of separate notes unconnected chronologically and touching upon individual aspects of the historical development of Germany both in the period indicated by the title, and in earlier times.

Excerpts from *Varia on Germany* were published in English in *V.O.K.S.-Bulletin,* Nos. 11 and 12, Moscow-Riga, 1945, and in F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1956. p. 599

404 *The Hansa. The Hanseatic League*—a commercial and political alliance of medieval German towns along the southern coasts of the North and Baltic seas, and the rivers running into them; its aim was to establish a trade monopoly in Northern Europe. The Hanseatic League reached its prime in the latter half of the 14th century, and began to decay at the end of the 15th century.

The *Rhenish League of Cities* and the *Swabian League of Cities* of Western and Southern Germany were formed in the 1370s for the protection of the trade routes and for the defence of the cities against feudal lords. The two leagues merged in 1381. At the end of the 14th century these unstable associations dissolved. p. 599

405 *The Wars of the Roses* (1455-85)—wars between the royal houses of York and Lancaster fighting for the throne, the white rose being the badge of York, and the red rose that of Lancaster. The Yorkists were supported by some of the big feudal landowners from the south-eastern, more economically developed part of the country and also by the knights and townspeople, while the Lancastrians were backed by the feudal aristocracy of the backward North and of Wales. The wars almost completely wiped out the ancient feudal nobility and brought Henry VII to power to form a new dynasty, that of the Tudors, who set up an absolute monarchy in England. p. 599

406 Applying the term "Kulturkampf" to the struggle between the German emperors and the popes in the Middle Ages, Engels hints at the Bismarck government's conflict with the Pope and the Catholic circles in 1872-79, which was known by that name. On the pretext of secularising national culture the Bismarck government introduced anti-Catholic reforms directed against the opposition Centre party which expressed the separatist, anti-Prussian views of the landowners, the bourgeoisie and part of the peasantry in the Catholic regions of Germany (above all South-West Germany). One of the aims of the Kulturkampf was to intensify national oppression in the Polish lands under Prussian rule. In order to consolidate the forces of reaction against the growing workers' movement, Bismarck repealed most of the reforms in the late 1870s and early 1880s. p. 600

407 A reference to Franche-Comté and French Lorraine which were initially part of the German Empire but then passed to France. p. 600

408 A reference to the support lent by the Council of Ulm to the Swabian rulers in their punitive expeditions against the rebellious peasants during the 1524-25 Peasant War in Germany. p. 600

409 *Little Germany*—a plan for the unification of Germany from above under Prussia's aegis and excluding Austria; supported by the majority of the German bourgeoisie. p. 601

410 *The Thirty Years War* (1618-48)—a European war, in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs, and the Catholic German princes rallied around the banner of Catholicism and fought the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands, and a number of Protestant German states. The rulers of Catholic France—rivals of the Habsburgs—supported the Protestant camp. Germany was the main battle scene and object of plunder and territorial claims. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) sealed the political dismemberment of Germany. p. 601

411 The reference is to the participation of Irish emigrants in the Thirty Years War as mercenaries of the Imperial army and to the use of German mercenaries by the English for police service in Ireland and the suppression of the Irish national liberation movement. p. 601

412 Engels has in mind the claims of German chauvinists to Alsace and Lorraine on the pretext that by "historical" right these provinces belonged to the German

Empire in the Middle Ages. Marx and Engels repeatedly stressed that the historical destinies of Alsace, which had passed to France during the Thirty Years War, and of Lorraine, finally annexed by the French in 1766, had been indissolubly linked with France since the time of the French Revolution. They sharply criticised the Bismarck government for the annexation of these provinces in 1871. p. 601

413 A reference to the American War of Independence (1776-83) and the wars France waged against the counter-revolutionary coalitions of European states for a number of years since the French Revolution. p. 602

414 Engels refers to several German princes (dukes Leopold of Dassau, Ernst Friedrich of Coburg and others) who patronised the 18th-century German agronomist Johann Christian Schubart and applied his agricultural methods on their estates. p. 602

415 A confederation of the states of Western and Southern Germany founded in 1806 under the protection of Napoleon I. These states officially broke with the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, which soon ceased to exist. The confederation fell apart after Napoleon I lost the military campaign of 1813. p. 602

416 This refers to the estates of the German imperial princes (mainly ecclesiastical) in Alsace and Lorraine. After the two provinces were annexed by France, the princes became vassals of both the French king and the German emperor. The secularisation of Church property by the French Revolution, extended to Alsace and Lorraine, served as a pretext for a declaration of war on the French Republic by the coalition of European powers (Austria, Prussia, etc.) in 1792. p. 603

417 On September 20, 1792, at Valmy (North-Eastern France), the French revolutionary forces halted the Austro-Prussian interventionists commanded by the Duke of Brunswick. The interventionists were compelled to retreat and on October 5 were thrown back over the French border. p. 603

418 In the battle of *Jemappes* (Belgium) on November 6, 1792, the French revolutionary army won a major victory over the Austrians.

At *Fleurus* (Belgium) on June 26, 1794, the French revolutionary army routed the Austrian army. p. 603

419 The *Peace of Amiens* was concluded by Napoleonic France and Britain on March 27, 1802. It marked the end of the war between France and the second European coalition (formed in late 1798-early 1799). The Peace of Amiens was but a short respite in the Anglo-French struggle for world domination. In May 1803 the war between Britain and France recommenced.

Napoleon I took advantage of his victory over Austria (a member of the coalition) and the Lunéville peace treaty of February 9, 1801, which gave France the left bank of the Rhine, to establish his hegemony in Germany. Under his pressure a special Imperial deputation at the Imperial Diet of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation in Regensburg adopted, in February 1803, a decree which secularised the Church estates, reduced the number of free cities and annexed the small secular principalities to the large ones (the so-called mediatisation). In all, 112 small states were abolished in Germany, their territory being turned over to Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg and Nassau (they later constituted the Confederation of the Rhine), which were to form, under Napoleon I's plan, a counterbalance to Austria and Prussia. The implementation of the Imperial deputation's resolutions undermined the foundations of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, which was

finally abolished in August 1806 after Austria had suffered a series of defeats in the war of the third European coalition against Napoleonic France. p. 603

420 The *Continental System*, or the *Continental Blockade*, proclaimed by Napoleon I after the crushing defeat of the Prussian army by the French in 1806, prohibited trade between the countries of the European Continent and Great Britain. p. 603

421 A reference to the so-called great mobilisation of the Prussian army in November 1850 during the Austro-Prussian conflict when the two powers attempted to intervene in an uprising in the Electorate of Hesse. This conflict was part of the struggle between Prussia and Austria for supremacy in Germany. Engels described the mobilisation, which revealed grave shortcomings in the Prussian army, in his work *The Role of Force in History* (see present edition, Vol. 26).

On the *Italian war of 1859* see Note 264. p. 604

422 A reference to the financial transactions of Mayer Amschel Rothschild, owner of the Frankfurt banking-house. During the Napoleonic wars he added to his fortune by putting into circulation the assets of his debtor William, the Elector of Hesse. p. 604

423 In 1852-56, Georg Weerth made several trips to the West Indies and Latin America as representative of a trading firm. Engels possibly alludes to what Weerth told his friends. p. 607

424 The *Prussian Rules concerning servants* (Gesinde-Ordnung für sammtliche Provinzen der Preußischen Monarchie) were issued on November 8, 1810; they defined the legal status of landowners' servants who had been freed by an edict of 1807. The Rules preserved many features of feudal dependence in the relations between servants and masters. p. 607

425 This refers to the wars fought by the French Catholics and the Calvinists (Huguenots), with short intervals, between 1562 and 1598. The religious struggle reflected the deep social and political contradictions in France—the growing discontent of the masses, the clashes between different groupings within the ruling class, the feudal aristocracy's opposition to the centralising policy of absolutism (assertion by the Huguenot nobility in the southern and western provinces of their medieval liberties, and later the struggle of the Catholic nobles against the King). The religious wars ended with the Edict of Nantes, signed by King Henry IV in 1598. It left Catholicism as the dominant religion, but Huguenots were allowed to hold services in their castles and in some towns and villages, and were granted certain civil rights. Clashes between Catholics and Huguenots continued, however, in later years. In 1685 the Edict of Nantes was repealed. p. 608

426 The *Old Catholics*—followers of a Christian trend which broke away from official Catholicism after the Vatican Council of 1869-70. They refused to recognise the supreme authority of the Pope as well as papal infallibility and certain other dogmas of the Catholic Church. Old Catholicism originated in Germany, and then spread to Austria, Switzerland, the Netherlands, the USA and other countries. p. 608

427 Under the Verdun treaty of 843, the Carolingian Empire was divided into three kingdoms. The lands west of the Rhine, Flanders included, formed part of the West Frankish Kingdom. p. 608

428 German girls who came to England in the 1820s-40s to sell brooms in the markets. p. 609

429 This article was published in English for the first time in K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953. p. 611

430 On January 26, 1874, Gladstone, the leader of the Liberal Party, dissolved Parliament and called for new elections with a view to obtain a strong liberal majority in the House of Commons. As a result 350 Conservatives, 244 Liberals and 58 Irish MPs were elected to the House of Commons. On February 21 a Conservative government was formed with Disraeli at the head.

A Bill on the second electoral reform in England was passed on August 15, 1867. It extended the suffrage to house and flat tenants in the towns and considerably lowered the property qualification for rural voters. As a result, the number of voters increased from one to two million. The extension of electoral rights benefited the petty bourgeoisie and the top layer of the working class.

The Act on secret ballot was passed by Parliament on July 18, 1872. p. 611

431 The *Irish Church Bill* was moved by Gladstone and passed by Parliament on July 26, 1869. Like other Liberal measures, it was intended to weaken the Irish national movement by combining repression with certain concessions to some sections of Irish society. Under this Bill, the Church of England was separated from the state in Ireland and made equalised in status with the Catholic and Presbyterian churches. It remained, however, the biggest landowner, exploiting the labour of the Irish peasants.

The *Land Bill* was submitted by Gladstone under the pretext of aid to the Irish tenants and was passed on August 1, 1870. Its numerous reservations and qualifications virtually left intact the powers of the big English landlords in Ireland who retained the right to raise the rent and evict tenants. The Bill stipulated that in the latter case the landlords were to pay the tenants for soil improvement, and laid down a court procedure for determining the size of the compensation. The Bill considerably hastened the concentration of landed property in Ireland and the ruin of small Irish tenants. p. 612

432 A reference to the army reform act passed in 1871, which among other things banned the purchase of officers' commissions. This caused an obstruction in the House of Lords, but Gladstone secured the ban by the royal decree of July 20, 1871. p. 612

433 The *Home Rulers*—members of the Home Rule party, founded in the autumn of 1872. They expressed the interests of the progressive Irish bourgeoisie and demanded self-government for Ireland, i.e. the autonomous Irish parliament and national administrative bodies within the framework of the United Kingdom. From 1874 onwards they constituted a large opposition faction in the House of Commons of the English Parliament and gradually became a considerable political force. The Home Rulers intended to carry out their programme by peaceful parliamentary means but soon the more radical among them adopted the tactics of obstruction and made common cause with the revolutionary-democratic wing of the national movement in organising mass actions for agrarian reforms in Ireland. By the turn of the century the Home Rule party, now dominated by the Right Liberal advocates of a compromise

with the English government, had become an impediment to the national liberation struggle. p. 613

434 The reference is to the National Charter Association, the first mass working-class party, which was founded in 1840 and had about 50 thousand members in its heyday. The Left wing of the party strove to combine the struggle for its political programme—the People's Charter—with social demands. With the decline of the Chartist movement after 1848 the National Charter Association lost its mass character. However, it continued to play an important part in the attempts of the revolutionary elements (Ernest Jones and others), made in the first half of the 1850s, to reorganise Chartism on socialist lines. p. 613

435 The *Labour Representation League* was founded in November 1869. It included trades union leaders who sought to secure the election of worker candidates to the House of Commons largely through compromise with the Liberal Party. The League ceased to exist in about 1880. p. 614

436 See Note 176. p. 616

437 From the 1820s, the Repeal movement became widespread in Ireland. Its aim was to revoke the Anglo-Irish Union of 1801, which had eliminated all traces of Irish autonomy. In the early 1840s, the Repealers' Association was formed; the Liberals who headed it (Daniel O'Connell and others) regarded the agitation for the repeal of the Union only as a means to obtain individual concessions from the British government for the benefit of the propertied upper crust of Irish society. Following the defeat of the Irish national uprising of 1848 and the advance of reaction in England and Ireland, the Repealers' Association was dissolved. p. 616

438 This series of articles was written by Engels in connection with the Reichstag debates on a bill calling for an increase in the strength of the peacetime army. Known as the Septennate Law, it endorsed for the coming seven years the military budget and a 401.5-thousand-strong peacetime standing army. The law imposed the Prussian military system on the whole of Germany and reflected the growth of German militarism and aggressive aspirations of the German ruling circles concealed behind the fuss about "war danger" on the part of France. p. 617

439 *The Men of Progress*—members of the Party of Progress formed in June 1861. It demanded the unification of Germany under the aegis of Prussia, the convocation of an all-German parliament, and the formation of a liberal ministry responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. After the unification of Germany in 1871 the men of Progress, unlike the National Liberals, went into opposition, if only in words. Their fear of the working-class movement made them reconcile themselves to the rule of the Prussian Junkers in semi-absolutist Germany. Their vacillations in policy reflected the political instability of the sections they relied on—the commercial bourgeoisie, the small factory-owners and, in part, the artisans.

The *National Liberals*—a party of the German big bourgeoisie formed in the autumn of 1866 as a result of a split in the Party of Progress. The main goal of the National Liberals was to unite the German states under Prussia's supremacy. Their policy reflected the German liberal bourgeoisie's capitulation to Bismarck and increasingly took on traits of allegiance after the unification of Germany. They practically renounced their earlier liberal demands, including

those of the 1866 programme on the necessity "above all to defend the budgetary rights" of the representative bodies. p. 617

440 The Prussian army was reorganised in 1859-61.
On the constitutional conflict in Prussia see Note 265. p. 617

441 Engels quotes from Manteuffel's speech in the Second Chamber of the Prussian Diet on December 3, 1850, concerning the Olmütz agreement with Austria under which Prussia had to temporarily renounce its claims to domination in Germany (see *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen der durch die Allerhöchste Verordnung vom 2. November 1850 einberufenen Kammern. Zweite Kammer,* Vol. I, Berlin, 1851, p. 44). p. 617

442 On the *Danish War* see Note 266.
On the *Battle of Sadowa* see Note 267.
In September 1867, the Prussian Chamber of Deputies passed by a majority vote a bill on indemnity introduced by the Minister of Finance. It relieved the Bismarck government of responsibility for the funds it had spent on military purposes without legal sanction during the constitutional conflict. p. 617

443 The North German Imperial Diet, in session from February 24 to April 17, 1867, approved the formation of the North German Confederation (see Note 271) and adopted its Constitution. p. 618

444 This refers to the Imperial Diet, which first met on March 21, 1871 and endorsed the Constitution of the German Empire on April 14. p. 618

445 See Note 293. p. 619

446 The *Venetian Quadrilateral* was a strongly fortified position in North Italy formed by the fortresses of Verona, Legnago, Mantua and Peschiera. It played an important role as an operational base in the wars of the 19th century. p. 620

447 A reference to the meeting of the emperors William I and Francis Joseph in Salzburg in September 1871 and to that of the emperors William I, Francis Joseph and Alexander II in Berlin in September 1872 (see notes 58 and 181). p. 620

448 Blücher's expression "Landwehr-Patteljohns" (militia battalions) cited by Engels is to be found in I. Scherr's *Blücher. Seine Zeit und sein Leben.* Vol. 3, Leipzig, 1863, pp. 178-79.
The *Landwehr,* first raised in Prussia in 1813 as a people's militia to fight against Napoleon I's troops, embraced men of older age groups liable for call-up who had completed their service with the regular army and the reserve. In peacetime Landwehr units were only called up sporadically for training courses. In wartime the Landwehr of the first levy (men aged from 26 to 32) was used to replenish the army in the field; the Landwehr of the second levy (men from 32 to 39) was employed for garrison duty. Under the law of the North German Confederation of November 9, 1867 on universal conscription, the Landwehr of the second levy was dissolved, the Landwehr now being confined to a contingent of men aged from 27 to 32. p. 622

449 The *Landsturm*—a militia first set up in Prussia in 1813-14. It was formed of men aged 17 and older who served neither in the regular army nor in the navy

and was only raised when there was a threat of foreign intervention. Under the law of 1814 the age of men liable for Landsturm service was limited to 50 years, under that of 1867—to 42 years. p. 622

450 A reference to the abortive attempt by the Prussian government to call up the Landwehr reservists in the western provinces of Prussia for the suppression of the uprising in defence of the Imperial Constitution, which engulfed Western and Southern Germany in May 1849. The Landwehr reservists in Rhenish Prussia and Westphalia refused to obey orders on the grounds that under the laws of September 3, 1814 and November 21, 1815 the Landwehr could only be called up in the event of foreign aggression. Moreover, in a number of cases they sided, arms in hand, with the insurgent people. p. 622

451 This refers to the army recruitment law of July 27, 1872 which introduced universal conscription in France (with a five-year term of service); however, its application allowed for a great number of exemptions. p. 623

452 While preparing the third edition of his *Peasant War in Germany,* written in 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 10), Engels amplified the preface to the second edition, written in February 1870. The new version of the preface was published in the third edition of *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg,* Leipzig, 1875 (the book actually came out late in October 1874). This volume contains the second part of the preface, dated by Engels July 1, 1874. The first part, in accordance with the time when it was written, is to be found in Volume 21 of the present edition, pp. 93-100. p. 626

453 Engels means the proclamation of the German Empire on January 18, 1871, at Versailles, which made King William I of Prussia the German Emperor.

Here Engels parodies the name of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation (962-1806) thus stressing that the unification of Germany was effected under Prussian supremacy and was followed by the Prussification of the German provinces.

On the *battle of Sadowa* see Note 267.

On the *battle of Sedan* see Note 293. p. 626

454 On Engels' use of the term "Haupt- und Staatsaktion" see Note 200. p. 626

455 See Note 269. p. 626

456 See Note 271. p. 627

457 The South-West German states of Baden, Hesse, Bavaria and Württemberg joined the North German Confederation in the course of the Franco-Prussian war even before the official proclamation of the German Empire in January 1871. Their accession was formalised by special treaties, signed in November 1870. The federal state thus formed was officially called the German Union (Deutscher Bund), and from December 9, 1870, the German Empire (Deutsches Reich). p. 627

458 See Note 253. p. 627

459 A reference to the 1873 crisis, which put an end to the period of rapid industrial expansion in Germany, marked by an unprecedented development of business speculation, profiteering and stock-jobbing. p. 629

460 In the battle of *Spichern* in Lorraine (also called the battle of *Forbach*) on

August 6, 1870, the Prussian troops defeated the French units. It was one of the first major engagements of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71.

In the battle of *Mars-la-Tour* (also known as the battle of *Vionville*) on August 16, 1870, the German troops succeeded in stopping and cutting off the retreat of the French Rhenish army from Metz. p. 629

461 Nine Social-Democrats were elected to the Imperial Diet on January 10, 1874, polling more than 350,000, or 6 per cent of the vote. Among the elected were August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, who were then serving prison terms. p. 630

462 These notes were presumably written by Marx in connection with the measures taken by the General Council of the International to organise aid for the refugees of the Paris Commune (see Note 50). p. 635

463 These notes and excerpts in English, German and French were written by Marx when he was studying the reports and letters of the leaders of the US sections of the International, as well as American newspaper reports on the split in the North American Federation. Marx intended to use this material for the further unmasking of the bourgeois reformists and other sectarians in the US sections of the International, who had responded to the General Council resolutions of March 5 and 15, 1872 on the split in the US Federation (see this volume, pp. 124-26) with fierce attacks on the leaders of the International. Marx's notes were also widely used by Engels for his work "The International in America" (see this volume, pp. 177-83).

In the languages of the original the notes were first published in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. p. 636

464 See Note 140. p. 637

465 These extracts were drawn up by Marx at the end of August 1872 shortly before the Hague Congress of the International. Earlier, when preparing for the London Conference of 1871, he and Engels made extracts from the Minutes of the General Council for the period from September 1869 to early September 1871 (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 554-64). Marginal lines and marks on both manuscripts show that Marx and Engels used these extracts in their work on the relevant documents of the International.

These extracts were published in English for the first time in *The Hague Congress of the First International, September 2-7, 1872. Minutes and Documents*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976. p. 644

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*Ashworth, Edmund* (1801-1881)—English manufacturer, Liberal.—351, 354

*Attila* (*Etzel*) (d. 453)—King of the Huns (433-53).—610

*Avrial, Augustin Germain* (1840-1904)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; mechanical engineer; Left Proudhonist; member of the Federal Council of the Paris sections of the International; member of the Paris Commune; emigrated to England.—101

*Ayrton, Acton Smee* (1816-1886)—English politician, Liberal M.P. (1857-74); Chief Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings (1869-73).—612

B

*Bacave, Henri*—police agent, insinuated himself into the Narbonne Section of the International; supported anarchists; was exposed in 1873.—507

*Bach, Johann Sebastian* (1685-1750)—German composer.—602

*Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich* (*Bakounine, Michael*) (1814-1876)—Russian revolutionary, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; an ideologist of Narodism and anarchism; opposed Marxism in the International; was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress (1872) for his divisive activities.—32, 61, 64, 66-68, 85, 89-92, 96, 105, 112, 115, 118, 120, 121, 141, 142, 168, 176, 205-07, 228, 230, 231, 238, 249, 257, 267, 268, 274, 275, 283, 290, 413, 439, 440, 442, 445, 446, 451, 457, 459-62, 464, 466-70, 472, 475-76, 478, 480, 482, 485-86, 488, 496, 497, 499, 503, 505, 506, 509, 516-25, 526-32, 535-37, 539-41, 543, 544, 549, 551-55, 556-60, 562-68, 571, 579-81, 584, 592, 595, 630

*Banks, Theodore H.*—member of the International in the USA, house-painter; bourgeois Radical.—182, 640, 641

*Barni, Jules Romain* (1818-1878)—French idealist philosopher, Republican; an organiser of the League of Peace and Freedom; deputy to the National Assembly from 1872.—460

*Barry, Maltman* (1842-1909)—English journalist, socialist; member of the International; member of the General Council (1872) and British Federal Council (1872-74); delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); supported Marx and Engels in the struggle against Bakuninists and English reformists.—145, 159, 240, 244, 245, 250

*Bassi, Ugo* (1801-1849)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; shot by the Austrians.—44

*Bastelica, André Augustin* (1845-1884)—a leading figure in the French and Spanish working-class movement, Corsican by birth, printer; Bakuninist; member of the General Council of the International (1871), delegate to the London Conference of 1871.—92, 93, 97, 102, 474, 476, 488, 504-05

*Bayard, Pierre Terrail, seigneur de* (c. 1475-1524)—French warrior, glorified by his contemporaries as *Le chevalier sans peur et sans reproche* (the Knight Without Fear and Without Reproach).—466

*Bayle, Pierre* (1647-1706)—French sceptic philosopher, critic of religious dogmatism.—608

*Bebel, August* (1840-1913)—a leading figure in the international and German working-class movement; turner; President of the Union of German Workers' Associations from 1867; member of the International, deputy to the Reichstag from 1867; one of the founders and leaders of German Social-Democracy; opposed the Lassalleans; took an internationalist stand during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71; came out in support of the Paris Commune; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—46, 48, 129, 167, 222, 224, 411-12

*Becker, Bernhard* (1826-1891)—German journalist, follower of Lassalle, President of the General Association of German Workers (1864-65); subsequently supported the Eisenachers; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—243, 244, 250

*Becker, Hermann Heinrich* (1820-1885)—German lawyer and journalist, member of the Communist League from 1850; one of the accused at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); member of the Party of Progress in the 1860s; later National-Liberal.—75

*Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886)—prominent figure in the international and German working-class movement, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; organised sections of the International in Switzerland and Germany; delegate to the London Conference (1865) and all the congresses of the International; editor of *Der Vorbote* (1866-71); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—160, 243-50

*Beesly, Edward Spencer* (1831-1915)—British historian and politician, Radical, positivist philosopher; professor at London University, in 1870-71 supported the International and the Paris Commune.—165, 193

*Beethoven, Ludwig van* (1770-1827)—German composer.—603

*Beghelli, Giuseppe* (1847-1877)—Italian journalist, democrat; took part in Garibaldi's campaigns; in 1871 member of the Working Men's Federation in Turin.—500

*Beklemishev, Fyodor Andreyevich*—clerk in the office of Governor-General of Eastern Siberia Muravyov-Amursky.—556

*Benardaki, Dmitry Yegorovich* (1799-1870)—Russian landowner and manufacturer.—557

*Benary, Franz Simon Ferdinand* (1805-1880)—German Orientalist, philologist, and Bible scholar, professor in Berlin.—452

*Benedek, Ludwig August von* (1804-1881)—Austrian general, Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian army during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—624

*Bennett, George*—member of the British Federal Council of the International (1872-73).—414

*Bergenroth, Gustav Adolph* (1813-1869)—German historian and journalist; petty-bourgeois democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; left Germany in 1850.—609

*Bert, Cesare*—Italian mechanic, an organiser of the Turin Section of the International; in 1871-72 supported the General Council; later joined the anarchists; delegate to the anarchist Congress in Geneva (1873).—500

*Bertrand, Francis J.*—cigar-maker; German by birth; member of the North American Federal Council of the

International (1872) and the editorial board of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*; member of the General Council elected by the Hague Congress (1872).—240, 253, 266

*Bervi, Vassily Vassilyevich* (pseudonym *Flerovsky, N.*) (1829-1918)—Russian economist and sociologist; democrat; Narodnik utopian socialist; author of the book *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia*.—521

*Beust, Friedrich Ferdinand, Count von* (1809-1886)—Saxon and Austrian statesman, opposed the unification of Germany under the supremacy of Prussia; in 1849-66 held several ministerial posts in the Government of Saxony; Foreign Minister (1866-71) and Chancellor of Austria-Hungary (1867-71), Ambassador to London (1871-78) and to Paris (1878-82).—64, 83, 223, 225

*Biedermann, Friedrich Karl* (1812-1901)—German historian and journalist, Liberal; a National-Liberal in the 1860s; editor of the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (1863-79).—287

*Bignami, Enrico* (1846-1921)—prominent figure in the Italian democratic and working-class movement, journalist; took part in Garibaldi's campaigns; organiser of the Lodi Section of the International; editor of *La Plebe* (1868-82); from 1871 regularly corresponded with Engels; opposed anarchism.—22, 271, 409, 415, 437, 447

*Bismarck-Schönhausen, Otto, Prince von* (1815-1898)—statesman of Prussia and Germany, diplomat; Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-72, 1873-90), Chancellor of the North German Confederation (1867-71) and of the German Empire (1871-90); carried through the unification of Germany by counter-revolutionary means.—62, 64, 75, 83, 95, 116, 119, 161, 222, 225, 262, 352, 360, 364, 402-05, 411, 446, 477, 484, 617, 618, 620, 622, 624

*Blanc, Gaspard Antoine* (b. 1845)—French Bakuninist; took part in the Lyons uprising in 1870; after the suppression of the Paris Commune, sided with the Bonapartists.—92, 93, 96, 119-21, 300, 467, 474, 476, 505, 567

*Blanc, Jean Joseph Charles Louis* (1811-1882)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, historian; member of the Provisional Government and President of the Luxembourg Commission in 1848; pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie; a leader of petty-bourgeois refugees in London in the 1850s-60s; deputy to the National Assembly of 1871; opposed the Paris Commune.—524, 562

*Blanqui, Louis Auguste* (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, utopian communist; organised secret societies and plots; sentenced to imprisonment several times.—265

*Blind, Karl* (1826-1907)—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in London in the 1850s; National-Liberal from the 1860s.—162, 418

*Blood, James*—American Radical.—641

*Blücher, Gebhard Leberecht von* (1742-1819)—Prussian field marshal; took part in wars against the French Republic and Napoleonic France.—622

*Böhme, Jakob* (1575-1624)—German artisan, pantheist philosopher; expressed ideas on the dialectical development of the world.—602

*Bolte, Friedrich*—prominent figure in the American working-class movement; cigar-maker; Secretary of the North American Federal Council of the International (1872), member of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* editorial board; member of the General Council (1872-74) elected at the Hague Congress.—240, 253, 266

*Bonança*—Portuguese anarchist.—487

*Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Boon, Martin James*—British mechanic; follower of the social-reformist views of James Bronterre O'Brien, a Chartist; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72); member of the British Federal Council (1872).—19, 122, 145, 159

*Boriani, Giuseppe*—participant in the Italian working-class movement of the 1870s; member of the International.—56

*Börne, Ludwig* (1786-1837)—German critic and writer.—604

*Borrel(l), Enrique*—Spanish anarchist, tailor; a founder of the first sections of the International in Spain; member of the Spanish Federal Council (1870-71).—486, 487

*Bousquet, Abel*—French anarchist, expelled from the Bézièrs Section of the International as a police agent.—249, 300, 399, 412, 508

*Bové, Clementé*—Spanish anarchist, weaver; Chairman of the factory workers' trade union of Catalonia.—497

*Bracke, Wilhelm* (1842-1880)—German Social-Democrat; publisher of socialist literature in Brunswick; a founder and leader of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; deputy to the Reichstag (1877-79).—50

*Bradlaugh, Charles* (1833-1891)—English Radical, editor of the *National Reformer*; sharply attacked Marx and the International Working Men's Association.—62, 71-73

*Bradnick, Frederick*—member of the General Council of the International (1870-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871); following the Hague Congress (1872) joined the reformist wing of the British Federal Council.—19, 122, 145, 159, 306, 311, 312

*Bray, John Francis* (1809-1897)—English utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen.—394

*Brentano, Lujo* (1844-1931)—German vulgar economist; a representative of Katheder-Socialism.—164, 190

*Bright, John* (1811-1889)—British manufacturer; one of the Free Trade leaders and founders of the Anti-Corn Law League; leader of the Left wing of the Liberal Party from the early 1860s; held several ministerial posts in Liberal cabinets.—144

*Brismée, Désiré Jean François* (1822-1888)—prominent figure in the Belgian democratic and working-class movement; printer; Proudhonist; a founder of the Belgian Section of the International (1865); member of the Belgian Federal Council from 1869; joined Bakuninists at the Hague Congress (1872), subsequently dissociated himself from the anarchists.—243, 245-50

*Brix, Harald Frederik Valdemar* (1841-1881)—Danish journalist; a founder of the sections of the International in Copenhagen; editor of the *Socialisten*; an organiser of the Danish Social-Democratic Party (1876).—224

*Brousse, Paul Louis Marie* (1854-1912)—French petty-bourgeois socialist: physician; participant in the Paris Commune; sided with the anarchists; in 1879 became a member of the French Workers' Party; a leader of the opportunist trend of the Possibilists.—399, 443, 507, 586

*Bruce, Henry Austin, 1st Baron Aberdare* (1815-1895)—British statesman, Liberal, Home Secretary (1868-73).—149, 612

*Brunetti, Angelo* (nicknamed *Ciceruacchio*) (1800-1849)—Italian revolutionary; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; shot by the Austrians.—44

*Brutus, Lucius Junius* (6th cent. B.C.)—according to legend, founder of the Roman Republic, Roman Consul (509 B.C.); condemned his own sons to death for conspiring against the Republic.—395

*Bürgers, Heinrich* (1820-1878)—German radical journalist; member of the Communist League; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; from 1850 member of the Communist League Central Authority; one of the accused at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); member of the Party of Progress in the 1860s-70s.—75

*Burt, Thomas* (1837-1922)—English trade-unionist, miner; Secretary of the Northumberland Miners' Association; M.P. (1874-1918); supported the Liberal Party.—613, 615

*Butt, Isaac* (1813-1879)—Irish lawyer and politician, Liberal M.P. (1852-65, 1874-78); counsel for the defence at the trial of the Fenians (1860s); leader of the Irish Home Rule League in 1872-75.—616

*Buttery, G. H.*—member of the General Council of the International (1871-72).—19, 122, 145, 159

*Buttner, Hugo*—Swiss whitesmith; participant in the League of Peace and Freedom; member of the Bakuninist Alliance.—461

C

*Cabet, Étienne* (1788-1856)—French writer, utopian communist; author of *Voyage en Icarie*.—524

*Cafiero, Carlo* (1846-1892)—participant in the Italian working-class movement, member of the International; in 1871 corresponded with Engels, pursued the General Council's line in Italy; one of the founders of the Italian anarchist organisations from 1872; abandoned anarchism at the end of the 1870s.—48, 262, 275, 280, 283, 497, 498, 503, 509

*Cagliostro, Alessandro, Count (Giuseppe Balsamo)* (1743-1795)—Italian adventurist and hoaxer.—89

*Cagnon (Cognon), Émile*—French anarchist, engraver; lived in Switzerland; member of the Romance Federal Committee; in 1870 expelled from the International for embezzlement.—474

*Calas, André* (born c. 1825)—French upholsterer; Secretary of the section of the International in Montpellier; supported the policy of the General Council; in 1873 was sentenced to one-year imprisonment.—443, 507, 508

*Calleja, Inocente*—prominent figure in the Spanish working-class movement, jeweller; member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1871-72), the *Emancipacion* editorial board (1871-73) and the New Madrid Federation (1872-73); opposed the anarchists.—493

*Camélinat, Zéphyrin Rémy* (1840-1932)—prominent figure in the French working-class and socialist movement, bronze-worker; a leader of the Paris sections of the International; participant in the Paris Commune.—40, 101

*Campos*—see *Martinez de Campos, Arsenio*

*Caporusso, Stefano (Étienne)*—Italian anarchist, tailor; one of the founders of the Neapolitan Section of the International and its chairman; delegate to the Basle Congress (1869); in 1870 was expelled from the section for embezzlement.—497, 498

*Carl, Conrad* (d. 1890)—German refugee in the USA from 1854; tailor; member of the North American Federal Council of the International; elected to the General Council at the Hague Congress (1872); in 1873 editor of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*; after 1875 abandoned the working-class movement.—240, 253

*Castelar y Ripoll, Emilio* (1832-1899)—Spanish politician, historian and writer; leader of the Right-wing Republicans; in September 1873-January 1874 head of the government which

paved the way for the restoration of monarchy in Spain.—496

*Catherine II* (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-96).—567

*Cervera, Rafael* (1828-1908)—Spanish politician; Federal Republican; deputy to the Constituent Cortes (1873).—589

*Cetti*—member of the North American Federal Council of the International.—240

*Chalain, Louis Denis* (1845-1888)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, metal-turner; member of the Paris Commune; emigrated to England, where for some time he was a member of the French Section of 1871, which opposed the General Council; later joined the anarchists.—101

*Charles Augustus* (*Karl August*) (1757-1828)—duke of Saxe-Weimar (from 1758); grand duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach (from 1815).—602

*Chassin, Charles Louis* (1831-1901)—French journalist and historian, Republican; participant in the League of Peace and Freedom; founder and editor of the *Démocratie* (1868-70).—540

*Chautard, B.*—French police agent who found his way into workers' organisations; member of the French Section of 1871 in London; was exposed and expelled from the section.—40, 98

*Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich* (1828-1889)—Russian revolutionary democrat and utopian socialist; materialist philosopher; writer and literary critic, one of the predecessors of Russian Social-Democracy.—516, 524, 526, 558, 559, 561-62

*Cherval, Julien* (real name *Joseph Crämer*)—police spy for Prussia and France; gained entry into the Communist League and led one of the Paris communities belonging to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group; accused of complicity in the so-called Franco-German plot in Paris in February 1852; escaped from prison with the connivance of the police.—160

*Chevalley, Henri*—Swiss anarchist, tailor.—92, 474, 475

*Cicero* (*Marcus Tullius Cicero*) (106-43 B.C.)—Roman orator, statesman and philosopher.—619

*Ciceruacchio*—see *Brunetti, Angelo*

*Cincinnatus* (*Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus*) (c. 519-438 B.C.)—Roman patrician, Consul (460 B.C.), dictator (458 and 439 B.C.); according to legend, was an ordinary man and worked his own small farm.—621

*Claflin, Tennessee Celeste* (1845-1923)—American bourgeois feminist; sought to use the International's organisation in the USA for her own ends; together with her sister, Victoria Woodhull, published *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*.—178

*Claris, Aristide* (1843-1916)—French journalist, anarchist; took part in the Paris Commune; emigrated to Switzerland, where he joined the anarchist Section of Propaganda and Revolutionary Socialist Action; editor of the *Révolution Sociale* (1871-72).—485

*Cochrane-Baillie, Alexander Dundas Ross Wishart* (1816-1890)—British politician and man of letters; Conservative M.P.—31, 33, 140-43, 145, 149-50, 645

*Coenen, Philip(pe)* (1842-1892)—a leading figure in the Belgian working-class movement, shoe-maker; Secretary of the editorial board of the Antwerp newspaper *De Werker*; delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868), London Conference (1871) and Hague Congress (1872) of the International; at the latter he joined the anarchist minority; subsequently one of the organisers of the Belgian

Socialist Party (1879).—243, 245-47, 249, 250

*Cordova y Lopez, Francisco*—Spanish journalist, Republican; from 1868 member of the Bakuninist Alliance in Madrid.—486

*Costa, Andrea* (1851-1910)—prominent figure in the Italian working-class and socialist movement; in the 1870s a leader of the anarchist organisations in Italy; in 1879 criticised anarchism; subsequently worked for the establishment of a political workers' party.—503, 509

*Cournet, Frédéric Étienne* (1839-1885)—French revolutionary, Blanquist; member of the Paris Commune; emigrated to England; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); withdrew from the International in view of the decision by the Congress to transfer the General Council to New York.—19, 122, 145, 159, 213, 243-47, 250, 253, 441

*Cremer, William Randal* (1838-1908)—active participant in the British trade union and pacifist movement; a founder of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (1860); member of the London Tradès Council, participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held at St. Martin's Hall (September 28, 1864); member of the General Council of the International and its General Secretary (1864-66); in 1870-71 opposed the campaign in defence of the French Republic; subsequently Liberal M.P.—31, 615

*Crescio, Prospero*—Italian journalist; supporter of Garibaldi; joined the Bakuninists; editor of the newspaper *Avvenire Sociale* in Piacenza.—451, 453, 504

*Cuno, Edward Heinrich*—engineer and architect; father of Theodor Friedrich Cuno.—151

*Cuno, Theodor Friedrich* (pseudonym *Capestro, Frederico*) (1846-1934)—prominent figure in the German and the international working-class movement, engineer; actively opposed the anarchists in Italy; organiser of the Milan Section of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); after the Congress, emigrated to the USA and took part in the International's activities there.—151-52, 244, 245, 246-47, 249-50, 415, 457, 499

*Cyrille, Marie Antoine Victor*—French anarchist, shop assistant; took part in the Paris Commune; refugee in Italy, Switzerland, Belgium; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); subsequently became a police agent.—245, 250, 253, 279

D

*Dante, Alighieri* (1265-1321)—Italian poet.—72, 143, 600

*Darboy, Georges* (1813-1871)—French theologian, archbishop of Paris from 1863; shot by the Commune as a hostage in May 1871.—143, 149

*Dave, Victor* (1847-1922)—member of the Belgian Federal Council of the International, journalist; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); sided with the anarchist minority.—244-50

*David, Edouard*—prominent figure in the French and American working-class movement; was elected to the General Council at the Hague Congress of the International (1872), but refused.—253, 266

*Davis, Ira*—American Radical.—641

*Delahaye, Victor Alfred* (1838-1897)—French mechanic, Proudhonist; member of the International from 1865, participant in the Paris Commune; emigrated to England; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871).—19, 122, 145

*Dentraygues, Émile Jean Philippe* (pseudonym *Swarm*) (b. 1836)—French railway worker; member of the section of the International in Toulouse; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); betrayed his friends at the Toulouse Trial (1873).—243, 245, 247, 249, 250, 438-40, 442-44, 507

*De Paepe, César Almé Désiré* (1841-1890)—Belgian socialist, compositor, subsequently physician; one of the founders of the Belgian sections of the International, delegate to the London conferences (1865 and 1871), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; following the Hague Congress (1872) supported the Bakuninists for some time; a founder of the Belgian Workers' Party.—135

*Dereure, Louis Simon* (1838-1900)—prominent figure in the French and the international working-class movement, shoe-maker; Blanquist, member of the Paris Commune, emigrated to the USA; delegate to the Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International; member of the General Council (1872-74); from 1882, member of the French Workers' Party.—243-50, 253, 266

*De Wolfers, Alfred Charles Daniel Edouard* (b. 1841)—took part in the Paris Commune, refugee in London; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72).—145, 159

*Dickens, Charles John Huffam* (1812-1870)—English novelist.—196

*Diderot, Denis* (1713-1784)—French philosopher of the Enlightenment, atheist, leader of the Encyclopaedists.—608

*Dietzgen, Joseph* (1828-1888)—German Social-Democrat, leather-worker; self-taught philosopher who independently arrived at dialectical materialism; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—246

*Dilke, Charles Wentworth* (1843-1911)—British politician and writer; a leader of the Radical wing of the Liberal Party, M.P.—52, 265

*Dolgov, Nikolai Stepanovich* (born c. 1844)—Russian revolutionary Narodnik; took part in student disturbances in 1869; member of the Nechayev organisation; in the 1870s was close to the Land and Freedom society.—531, 533

*Dollfus, Jean* (1800-1887)—Alsace manufacturer, bourgeois philanthropist; Mayor of Mulhouse.—329, 383

*Douglass, Frederick* (c. 1817-1895)—outstanding leader of the Abolitionist movement; participant in John Brown's raid in 1855 and in the American Civil War; active advocate of women's rights.—641

*Ducpétiaux, Édouard* (1804-1868)—Belgian journalist and statistician; bourgeois philanthropist; inspector of prisons and charity institutions.—338

*Dufaure, Jules Armand Stanislas* (1798-1881)—French lawyer and politician, Orleanist; in the 1840s held several ministerial posts; one of the organisers of the suppression of the Paris Commune; Minister of Justice (1871-73, 1875-76 and 1877-79); Prime Minister (1876, 1877-79).—83, 107, 122, 129, 223-24, 439

*Dumont*—see *Faillet, Eugène Louis*

*Dupont, Eugène* (c. 1837-1881)—prominent figure in the international working-class movement; musical instrument maker; took part in the June 1848 uprising in Paris; from 1862 on lived in London; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872), Corresponding Secretary for France (1865-71); participant in the majority of congresses and conferences of the International; associate of Marx; be-

came a member of the British Federal Council of the International in 1872; moved to the USA in 1874.—19, 32, 122, 132, 145, 159, 240, 243-46, 249-50, 253, 265, 273, 283, 314, 556

*Dupont, Jean Martial Aminthe* (b. 1841)—French revolutionary; sided with the Blanquists; bank clerk; member of the Paris Commune.—142

*Durand, Gustave*—member of the section of the International in Lyons; police agent; after the suppression of the Paris Commune, went to London, where he passed himself off as a refugee; Secretary of the French Section of 1871; in October 1871 was expelled from the International.—21, 38, 67, 97, 103

*Duval, Théodore*—prominent figure in the Swiss working-class movement, joiner; a founder of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; at the beginning of 1870 left the Bakuninists; member of the Romance Federal Committee of the International; opposed the Bakuninists; delegate to the Hague (1872) and Geneva (1873) congresses.—243-50, 253

E

*Eastwick, Edward Backhouse* (1814-1883)—British diplomat and Orientalist, Conservative M.P. (1868-74).—143

*Eberhardt*—Belgian tailor; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; sided with the anarchist minority.—244-47, 250, 253

*Eberstein, Mangold von*—West-German knight; engaged in hostilities with Nuremberg and other towns from 1516.—600

*Eccarius, Johann Georg* (1818-1889)—prominent figure in the international and German working-class movement, tailor; refugee in London; member of the Communist League, member of the General Council of the International (1864-72), Council's General Secretary (1867-May 16, 1871); Corresponding Secretary for America (1870-72); from 1865 to 1872 delegate to all the International's conferences and congresses; associate of Marx up to 1872; after the Hague Congress, joined the reformist wing of the British Federal Council.—16, 20, 122, 145, 159, 243, 245, 247, 449, 615

*Elliott, John T.*—American democrat; member of the International.—640

*Elpidin, Mikhail Konstantinovich* (1835-1908)—took part in the student movement in Russia in the 1860s; then emigrated to Switzerland; member of the Bakuninist Alliance.—36, 460

*Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895)—19, 22, 30, 36, 53, 55, 56, 59-61, 74-76, 122, 129-30, 137-39, 145-47, 150, 154, 159, 168, 175, 176, 184, 211, 213, 215, 217, 239, 240, 243-50, 253, 265, 273, 276, 283-85, 292, 293, 296, 297, 298, 300, 302, 303, 315, 319, 321, 325, 326, 327, 330, 338, 342, 344, 348, 349, 353, 359, 360, 362, 364-66, 369-71, 373-80, 382, 383, 385-90, 391, 415, 416, 418, 422-25, 437, 438, 447, 556, 581, 591, 627, 632, 636, 637, 645

*Estévanez y Murphy, Nicolás* (1838-1914)—Spanish politician and writer; Republican; took part in the 1868-74 revolution; Governor of Madrid (1873).—490

F

*Faillet, Eugène Louis* (pseudonym *Dumont*) (1840-1912)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; took part in the Paris Commune; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from the sections in Paris and Rouen; subsequently member of the

French Workers' Party.—243-45, 247-50

*Fanelli, Giuseppe* (1827-1877)—Italian democrat; participant in the 1848-49 revolution and Garibaldi's campaign of 1860; Mazzinist; close friend of Bakunin from the mid-1860s; organiser of the first sections of the International and anarchist groups in Spain (1868); delegate to the Basle Congress of the International (1869); deputy to the Italian parliament from 1865.—288, 467, 486, 490, 497, 509

*Farga Pellicer, Rafael* (1840-1903)—Spanish anarchist, printer and journalist; an organiser and leader of anarchist groups and first sections of the International in Spain, one of the leaders of the secret Alliance, editor of the *Federacion* (1869-72); delegate to the Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International.—245, 247, 249, 250, 291, 486, 489, 495, 496, 510, 586

*Farkas, Károly* (*Carl*) (1843-1907)—prominent figure in the Hungarian working-class and socialist movement; exponent of Marxism, metal-worker; an organiser and leader of the section of the International in Hungary; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—243-50, 432

*Faucher, Julius* (*Jules*) (1820-1878)—German journalist, Young Hegelian; advocate of Free Trade; refugee in England from 1850 till 1861; author of works on the housing question; member of the Party of Progress.—339

*Favre, Claude Gabriel Jules* (1809-1880)—French lawyer and politician; a leader of the republican bourgeois opposition from the late 1850s; Foreign Minister (1870-71), an organiser of the suppression of the Paris Commune and of the struggle against the First International.—32, 45, 83, 107, 161, 223, 224, 421, 480

*Favre, Henri*—watch-maker; chairman of the section of the International in Moutier-Grandval (Switzerland); opposed the principles of the Bakuninist Jura Federation and complied with the decisions of the Hague Congress (1872).—512

*Fawcett, Henry* (1833-1884)—English vulgar economist; follower of John Stuart Mill; M.P. from 1865; Liberal.—143-45, 645

*Ferdinand I* (1503-1564)—Austrian Archduke; Holy Roman Emperor (1556-64).—326

*Ferdinand II* (1810-1859)—King of Naples (1830-59), nicknamed King Bomba for the bombardment of Messina in 1848.—294

*Ferré, Théophile Charles* (1846-1871)—French revolutionary, Blanquist; member of the Paris Commune; member and later leader of the Committee of Public Safety and Deputy-Procurator of the Commune; shot by the Versaillese.—95, 477

*Flerovsky, N.*—see *Bervi, Vassily Vassilyevich*

*Florinsky, Ivan Ivanovich* (born c. 1845)—student of the Agricultural Academy in Moscow; member of the Nechayev organisation; in 1871 sentenced to six months' imprisonment.—533

*Fluse, Pierre Joseph* (1841-1909)—Belgian Proudhonist, weaver; delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Brussels (1868) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International, supported the Bakuninists.—244-46, 249, 250

*Fornaccieri*—participant in the American working-class movement, Italian by birth; member of the General Council of the International, elected at the Hague Congress (1872).—253, 266

*Foster, Robert*—Secretary of the British Federal Council of the International

(1871-72), member of its reformist wing.—406

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—347, 348, 394, 524, 630

*Franca*—see *Nobre Franca, José Correia*

*Frankel, Léo* (1844-1896)—a leading figure in the Hungarian and the international working-class movement, jeweller; member of the Paris Commune; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); associate of Marx and Engels.—19, 122, 145, 159, 213, 243-47, 249-50, 253, 284, 556

*Frederick II (the Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—401, 602

*Frederick William II* (1744-1797)—King of Prussia (1786-97).—604

*Frederick William III* (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—604

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—401

*Friedländer, Hugo*—German Social-Democrat; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from the section in Zurich.—243, 244, 246, 250

*Fries, Jakob Friedrich* (1773-1843)—German idealist philosopher.—610

*Fusté, Luis*—Spanish cooper; member of the section of the International in Sans.—495

G

*Gambetta, Léon* (1838-1882)—French statesman, bourgeois Republican, member of the Government of National Defence (1870-71); Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1881-82).—482

*Gambuzzi, Carlo* (1837-1902)—Italian lawyer; Mazzinist at the beginning of the 1860s; then anarchist; a leader of the secret Bakuninist Alliance and anarchist organisations in Italy.—461, 497

*Gameter, Charles*—Swiss anarchist; member of the Bakuninist Jura Federation.—450, 514

*Garcia Fraile, Dionisio*—Spanish anarchist, member of the group of the Bakuninist Alliance in Saint-Sebastien, police agent; expelled from the International in 1872 for embezzlement of section funds.—497

*Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; participant in the revolution of 1848-49; in the 1850s and 1860s headed the struggle for national liberation and the unification of the country; defended the Paris Commune; welcomed the establishment of sections of the International in Italy.—29, 43-45, 47, 48, 451, 453, 504, 579

*Garrido y Tortosa, Fernando* (1821-1883)—Spanish Federal Republican, utopian socialist, deputy to the Cortes (1869-73).—486

*Gavrishev, Georgi Yakovlevich* (born c. 1846)—student of the Agricultural Academy in Moscow; member of the Nechayev organisation; in 1871 sentenced to four months' imprisonment.—532

*Geleff, Paul Johansen* (1842-1921)—an organiser of sections of the International in Denmark (1871); a founder of the Danish Social-Democratic Party (1876); subsequently abandoned the working-class movement.—224

*Gerhard, Hendrick* (1829-1886)—one of the founders and leaders of the Dutch sections of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); sided with the Bakuninists.—245, 247, 250, 253

*Gerlach, Ernst Ludwig von* (1795-1877)—Prussian reactionary politi-

cian, one of the founders of the Conservative Party and its organ *Neue Preussische Zeitung* (1848).—403

*Gibbons, Sills John*—Lord Mayor of London in 1871.—51

*Girardin, Émile de* (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician, lacked principles in politics.—62

*Gladstone, Robert* (1811-1872)—English businessman; bourgeois philanthropist; cousin of William Ewart Gladstone.—144

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory; later Peelite; a leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the nineteenth century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55 and 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—164-66, 190-97, 225, 265, 284, 294-95, 611, 612, 615

*Gluck, Christoph Willibald von* (1714-1787)—German composer.—603

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German writer and thinker.—386, 582, 603, 620

*Gondres, Eugène* (b. 1825)—police agent, insinuated himself into the Narbonne Section of the International; was exposed in 1873.—507

*Gorchakoff (Gorchakov), Alexander Mikhailovich, Prince* (1798-1883)—Russian statesman and diplomat; Foreign Minister (1856-82); State Chancellor (1867-82).—64

*Grant, James* (1802-1879)—English journalist; editor of *The Morning Advertiser* (1850-71).—351

*Greg, Robert Hyde* (1795-1875)—English manufacturer, Liberal.—352, 354

*Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl* (1785-1863)—German philologist; a founder of comparative linguistics.—604

*Gromeka, Stepan Stepanovich* (1823-1877)—Russian journalist, moderate Liberal; during the Polish uprising in 1863-64, was Chairman of the Commission on peasant questions in Poland, later Governor.—562

*Grosse, Eduard*—German refugee in the USA, Lassallean; member of the International.—183, 641

*Grout, John*—member of the British Federal Council of the International (1872), member of its reformist wing.—406

*Guesde, Jules (Basile, Mathieu)* (1845-1922)—prominent figure in the French and the international working-class and socialist movement; sided with the anarchists in the first half of the 1870s; later a founder of the French Workers' Party (1879) and exponent of Marxism in France.—442-44, 506, 507

*Guillaume, James* (1844-1916)—Swiss teacher, anarchist, participant in the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International; one of the organisers of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; editor of the newspapers *Le Progrès, La Solidarité* and *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*; at the Hague Congress (1872) was expelled from the International for his divisive activities.—67, 91, 92, 102, 113, 118, 244-46, 249, 250, 257, 267, 268, 275, 280, 286, 287, 446, 450, 457, 473-76, 478, 485, 500, 504, 505, 509, 514, 540, 544, 580

*Gülich, Gustav von* (1791-1847)—German economist and historian; author of works on the history of economics.—604

## H

*Hales, John* (b. 1839)—British trade unionist, weaver; member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its Secretary (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; headed

the reformist wing of the British Federal Council in 1872.—20, 32, 123, 145, 154, 159, 301-03, 306, 309, 311, 312, 406, 408, 414, 415, 446, 615, 644

*Hales, William*—member of the General Council of the International (1867, 1869-72).—19, 122, 145, 159

*Halliday, Thomas* (1835-1919)—a leader of British trade unionists, Chairman of the Amalgamated Association of Miners (1869-75); supported the policy of the Liberal Party.—615

*Händel, Georg Friedrich* (*George Frederick*) (1685-1759)—German composer, citizen of Great Britain from 1726.—603

*Hansard, Thomas Curson* (1776-1833)—English publisher; printed reports on the Parliamentary sittings; after his death they continued to be published under his name.—166-67, 195-97

*Hansemann, David Justus Ludwig* (1790-1864)—big German capitalist; a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Minister of Finance of Prussia in March-September 1848.—342

*Harcourt, W. E.*—miner; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from Australia.—247, 250

*Hardenberg, Karl August von, Prince* (1750-1822)—Prussian statesman and diplomat; Foreign Minister (1804-06, 1807), Chancellor of State (1810-22); champion of moderate reforms; supported the policy of the Holy Alliance after 1815.—401

*Harris, George*—active in the British working-class movement, follower of James Bronterre O'Brien, a Chartist; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72), Finance Secretary of the Council (1870-71).—19

*Hartmann, Karl Robert Eduard von* (1842-1906)—German idealist philosopher.—610

*Hasenclever, Wilhelm* (1837-1889)—German Social-Democrat, Lassallean; President of the General Association of German Workers in 1871-75.—451

*Hasselmann, Wilhelm* (b. 1844)—one of the leaders of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; in 1871-75 editor of the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*; member of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany from 1875; expelled from the party as anarchist in 1880.—451

*Haussmann, Georges Eugène, Baron* (1809-1891)—French politician, Bonapartist; prefect of the Seine Department (1853-70); directed work on the reconstruction of Paris.—319, 365

*Heddeghem*—see *Van-Heddeghem, L.*

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—classical German philosopher.—370, 403, 600, 610, 630

*Heim, Ludwig*—see *Oberwinder, Heinrich*

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—607

*Henry III* (1551-1589)—King of France (1574-89).—608

*Henry IV* (1553-1610)—King of France (1589-1610).—608

*Hepner, Adolf* (1846-1923)—German Social-Democrat; an editor of *Der Volksstaat*; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—243-45, 247, 249, 250, 286, 439

*Herbart, Johann Friedrich* (1776-1841)—German idealist philosopher and teacher.—610

*Herder, Johann Gottfried von* (1744-1803)—German writer and literary theorist of the Enlightenment, a founder of the *Sturm-und-Drang* movement.—603

*Herman, Alfred* (1843-1890)—active in the Belgian working-class movement, sculptor; an organiser of sections of the International in Belgium; member of the General Council and Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1871-72); at the Hague Congress (1872) joined the anarchist minority.—19, 41, 103, 122, 145, 159, 244-45, 247, 249, 250

*Herzen, Alexander Alexandrovich* (1839-1906)—Russian physiologist; son of Alexander Ivanovich Herzen.—162

*Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich* (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher and writer; emigrated in 1847.—162, 529, 540, 541, 557, 558, 561-62

*Hills, Edmund*—Secretary of the British Federal Council of the International (1872), opposed its reformist wing.—285, 313

*Hinckeldey, Karl Ludwig Friedrich von* (1805-1856)—Prussian official, Chief Commissioner of Berlin police from 1848; President of the Police Department in the Ministry of the Interior from 1853.—401

*Hoffmann, Gotthelf* (pseudonym *Füsilier Kutschke*) (1844-1924)—German poet, author of the nationalist soldier's songs.—339

*Hole, James* (1820-1895)—English publicist, author of a book on housing conditions of the working class.—338

*Hollinger, Fidelio*—German refugee, owner of a printing-house in London.—162

*Höpfner, Friedrich Eduard Alexander von* (1797-1858)—Prussian general, military writer.—604

*Hout, Isaak Salomon van der* (b. 1843)—Dutch worker; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from the sections in Amsterdam.—243, 245, 247, 250, 253, 278

*Howell, George* (1833-1910)—a leader of the British trade unions, mason; participant in the Chartist movement, Secretary of the London Trades Council (1861-62), participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (October 1864 to 1869); opposed revolutionary tactics.—615

*Huber, Victor Aimé* (1800-1869)—German publicist and historian of literature, conservative.—338, 348, 349

*Hubert, Joseph*—Belgian miner, member of the International; at the extraordinary Congress of the Belgian Federation in July 1872 came out for preserving General Council's functions.—483

*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885)—French writer, Republican; after the Bonapartist coup d'état of December 2, 1851 emigrated from France.—562

*Huleck, Maria*—member of the General Council of the International (1868); emigrated to the USA, joined the group of bourgeois reformers.—641

*Hume, Robert William*—American Radical; one of the leaders of the National Labour Union; member of the International and correspondent of the General Council; subsequently joined the group of bourgeois reformers.—182, 640

*Hurliman*—member of the General Council of the International (1871-72); delegate from the Swiss Society in London.—19, 122, 145, 159

*Hurry, F.*—member of the British Federal Council of the International (1872-73), opposed its reformist wing.—313

I

*Iglesias, Pablo* (1850-1925)—prominent figure in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement, printer;

member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1871-72), the *Emancipacion* editorial board (1871-73), and the New Madrid Federation (1872-73); opposed anarchists; a founder of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (1879).—493

*Ishutin, Nikolai Andreyevich* (1840-1879)—Russian revolutionary; founder and leader of the secret revolutionary society in Moscow (1863-66); was arrested in 1866 and sentenced to death, commuted to penal servitude for life.—551

*Itzenplitz, Heinrich August Friedrich, Count* (1799-1883)—Prussian statesman, Minister of Trade (December 1862-May 1873).—404

*Ivanov, Ivan Ivanovich* (d. 1869)—student of the Agricultural Academy in Moscow; participant in the student movement in the 1860s and the Nechayev organisation; was murdered by Nechayev.—528, 530, 531, 535-38, 541, 553

## J

*Jacoby, Pavel Ivanovich*—Russian refugee, physician, friend of Bakunin; propagated anarchism in Italy in the early 1870s.—500

*Jalvo, Juan*—Spanish anarchist; founded the groups of the Bakuninist Alliance in Spain; Chairman of Madrid Section of the International.—486

*Johannard, Jules Paul* (1843-1892)—active in the French working-class movement, lithographer, member of the General Council of the International (1868-69, 1871-72) and Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1868-69); member of the Paris Commune, Blanquist; emigrated to London; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—19, 122, 145, 159, 243-45, 247, 249, 250, 253

*Jung, Hermann* (1830-1901)—prominent figure in the international and Swiss working-class movement, watch-maker; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland (November 1864 to 1872); Treasurer of the General Council (1871-72); Vice-President of the London Conference (1865); Chairman of the Geneva (1866), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and of the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council (1872); supported Marx before the Hague Congress (September 1872), later joined the reformist wing.—20, 122-23, 129, 145, 158, 159, 189, 213, 302, 303, 306, 311, 312, 406, 449, 644

## K

*Kameke, Arnold Karl Georg von* (1817-1893)—Prussian general, fought in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71; War Minister (1873-74).—404

*Kamensky, Gavriil Pavlovich* (1824-1898)—agent of the tsarist government abroad; in 1872, was, in his absence, sentenced to imprisonment by the Swiss court for the forgery of bank notes.—77

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804)—founder of the German classical philosophy.—603, 610

*Karakozov, Dmitry Vladimirovich* (1840-1866)—Russian revolutionary; in April 1866 made an attempt upon Alexander II's life; was hanged.—525, 534

*Katkov, Mikhail Nikiforovich* (1818-1887)—Russian journalist; in the 1830s and 40s was close to democratic circles; later moderate Liberal; sided with reaction from 1863; editor of the *Moscow Gazette* (*Московскія вѣдомости*) (1850-55, 1863-87).—557

*Kavanagh, Samuel*—participant in the American working-class movement, Irishman by birth; member of the General Council elected at the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—240, 253, 266

*Keen, Charles*—participant in the British working-class movement; Chartist in the past; member of the General Council of the International (1872).—145, 159

*Kepler, Johannes* (1571-1630)—German astronomer.—602

*Klein, Johann Jacob* (1817-c. 1896)—doctor in Cologne, member of the Communist League, defendant at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); acquitted by the jury.—75

*Klimin, Innokenty Fyodorovich* (b. 1847)—student of the Agricultural Academy in Moscow, member of the Nechayev organisation; in 1871 sentenced to one-year imprisonment.—532, 534

*Kolachevskaya, Alla Nikolayevna* (born c. 1845)—sister of Andrei Kolachevsky; prosecuted in the Nechayev organisation's case; was released in 1870 under police surveillance.—534

*Kolachevskaya, Lyudmila Nikolayevna* (born c. 1850)—sister of Andrei Kolachevsky; prosecuted in the Nechayev organisation's case; was released in 1870 under police surveillance.—534

*Kolachevsky, Andrei Nikolayevich* (c. 1848-1888)—participant in the student movement in Russia in the 1860s; prosecuted in the Nechayev organisation's case; acquitted by the jury.—534

*Kossuth, Lajos* (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement; head of the Hungarian revolutionary government in 1848-49; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated from Hungary.—52

*Krug, Wilhelm Traugott* (1770-1842)—German idealist philosopher, follower of Kant.—610

*Krupp, Alfred* (1812-1887)—German manufacturer.—187, 353

*Kugelmann, Ludwig* (1828-1902)—German physician, participant in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the International; delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International; friend of Marx.—243, 244, 247, 249, 250

*Kupper, F.*—Secretary of Manchester Foreign Section of the International (1872); opposed reformists.—308

*Kuznetsov, Alexei Kirillovich* (1845-1928)—Russian revolutionary, student of the Agricultural Academy in Moscow, member of the Nechayev organisation; in 1871 was sentenced to ten years of penal servitude.—532, 537-40

*Kuznetsov, Semyon Kirillovich* (born c. 1847)—student of the Agricultural Academy in Moscow in 1869; member of the Nechayev organisation; arrested in December 1869; discharged in 1871; brother of Alexei Kuznetsov.—532

L

*Lafargue, Paul* (1842-1911)—prominent figure in the international and French working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International; Corresponding Secretary for Spain (1866-69), helped to organise the International's sections in France (1869-70), Spain and Portugal (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); a founder of the French Workers' Party; disciple and associate of Marx and Engels.—236, 243-45, 247-50, 261, 266, 271, 286, 287, 290, 437, 493, 496

*La Fontaine, Jean de* (1621-1695)—French fabulist.—526

*Landeck, Bernard* (b. 1832)—French jeweller, refugee in London; member of the French Section of 1871 and the Universal Federalist Council, both of which opposed the General Council of the International.—101, 157

*Langethal, Christian Eduard* (1806-1878)—German botanist and historian of agriculture.—609

*Lanza, Giovanni* (1810-1882)—Italian statesman, Liberal; Minister of Finance (1858-59), Minister of the Interior (1864-65), Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior (1869-73).—225

*Larroque, Charles (Édouard)* (b. 1829)—participant in the French working-class movement and in the Paris Commune, a leader of the International's section in Bordeaux; in 1873 fled to Spain where he conducted the work of Bordeaux sections as a representative of the General Council.—297, 415, 444

*Lasker, Eduard* (1829-1884)—German politician, a founder and a leader of the National-Liberal Party; deputy to the Reichstag from 1867.—167, 619

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German journalist, lawyer, in 1848-49 took part in the democratic movement; founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863), adherent of the unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy, one of the originators of the opportunist trend in the German working-class movement.—144, 379, 380

*Laugrand, P.*—French refugee in the USA.—641

*Laurel(l), Carl Malcom Ferdinand*—took part in the American working-class movement, Swede by birth, member of the General Council elected at the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—240, 253, 266

*Law, Harriet* (1832-1897)—a leading figure in the democratic and atheist movement in England, member of the General Council (1867-72) and the International's Manchester Section (1872).—19, 122, 145, 159

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician, democrat; member of the Provisional Government (1848), deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies where he headed the petty-bourgeois Montagne Party; emigrated to England after the demonstration of June 13, 1849.—562

*Lefrançais, Gustave Adolphe* (1826-1901)—took part in the 1848 revolution in France; member of the International from the late 1860s; Left Proudhonist, member of the Paris Commune, emigrated to Switzerland where he sided with the anarchists.—103, 105, 119, 127

*Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, Baron von* (1646-1716)—German idealist philosopher and mathematician.—600, 602

*Le Moussu, Benjamin Constant* (b. 1846)—participant in the French working-class movement, engraver; member of the Paris Commune, emigrated to London; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for the French-speaking sections in America (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against the Bakuninists.—20, 122, 145, 159, 213, 240, 243-45, 247, 249-50, 253, 416, 437, 447, 556

*Léo, André* (real name *Léodile Champseix*) (1832-1900)—French writer, took part in the Paris Commune, emigrated to Switzerland, supported the anarchists.—95, 477, 488

*Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim* (1729-1781)—German writer, critic and philosopher of the Enlightenment.—603

*Lessner, Friedrich* (1825-1910)—prominent figure in the German and the international working-class movement, tailor; member of the Communist League, participant in the revolution of 1848-49, a refugee in London from 1856; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872); took part in the London conferences of 1865 and 1871, and the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; member of the British Federal Council; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—19, 75, 122, 145, 159, 240, 244, 247, 250, 294, 313

*Levièle, E.*—member of the American working-class movement, French by birth, member of the General Council elected at the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—240, 253, 266

*Liebig, Justus, Baron von* (1803-1873)—German chemist, a founder of agricultural chemistry.—384, 609

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and the international working-class movement, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League and of the International, delegate to the Basle Congress (1869); from 1867 deputy to the Reichstag; a founder and leader of the German Social-Democracy, editor of the *Volksstaat* (1869-76); during the Franco-Prussian War took an internationalist stand, supported the Paris Commune; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—75, 129, 160, 164, 222, 224, 473, 496

*Likhutin, Ivan Nikitich* (born c. 1848)—took part in the student movement in 1869, founded a circle connected with Nechayev in Petersburg, sentenced to sixteen months' imprisonment (1871).—534

*Lochner, Georg* (born c. 1824)—active member of the German and the international working-class movement, joiner; member of the Communist League and of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1867 and 1871-72); delegate to the London conferences of 1865 and 1871; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—19, 122, 145, 159

*Longuet, Charles* (1839-1903)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, journalist, Proudhonist; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67, 1871-72), delegate to the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and the Hague (1872) congresses and the London Conference (1871); member of the Paris Commune, emigrated to England; later joined the opportunist group of Possibilists.—19, 20, 123, 145, 159, 240, 243-45, 249, 250

*Lorenzo, Anselmo* (1841-1914)—active member of the Spanish working-class movement, printer; a founder of the International's sections in Spain, member of the Spanish Federal Council (1870-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871).—53, 207, 234, 236, 289, 290, 302, 303, 486, 491, 493-94

*Lostau, Baldomero* (born c. 1845)—Spanish mechanic, federal Republican, member of the International; elected to the Cortes in 1871.—495

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—94

*Louis XV* (1710-1774)—King of France (1715-74).—34

*Louis Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Napoleon*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—417

*Loyola, St. Ignatius of (Inigo López de Recalde)* (1491-1556)—Spanish nobleman, in 1540 founded and headed the Society of Jesus.—470, 525

*Lucain*—see *Potel, Frédéric*

*Lucraft, Benjamin* (1809-1897)—a leader of the British trade unions, furniture-maker; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address *The Civil War in France* and left the Council.—80

*Ludwig, Gustav*—German Social-Democrat, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from the Mainz Section.—245, 250, 253

M

*Macdonald, Alexander* (1821-1881)—British trade unionist, miner, President of the National Union of Mineworkers; member of Parliament from 1874, supported Liberal Party's policy.—613, 615

*M(a)cDonnell, Joseph Patrick* (1845-1906)—active member of the Irish working-class movement; member of the General Council of the International, Corresponding Secretary for Ireland (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872), member of the British Federal Council (1872); in December of 1872 emigrated to the USA, took part in the American working-class movement.—19, 122, 145, 159, 213, 240, 244-46, 249, 250, 265, 284, 294, 416

*Macfarlane, Helen*—a Chartist on the staff of *The Democratic Review* (1849-50) and *The Red Republican* (1850); translated the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* into English.—174

*Machiavelli, Niccolò* (1469-1527)—Italian politician, philosopher, historian and writer.—488

*Mac-Mahon, Marie Edmé Patrice Maurice, duc de Magenta* (1808-1893)—French military figure and politician, marshal, Bonapartist; during the Franco-Prussian War commanded the First Corps, then the Châlon Army, was captured at Sedan; Commander-in-Chief of the Versaillese Army, an organiser of the suppression of the Paris Commune; President of the Republic (1873-79).—623

*Maddox (Maddock* or *Maddoss), G. W.*—American Radical.—182, 640-42

*Mahomet*—see *Mohammed*

*Malon, Benoît* (1841-1893)—French socialist, member of the International and of the Paris Commune; emigrated to Italy, then to Switzerland where he sided with the anarchists; later a leader of the opportunist trend of the Possibilists.—94, 101, 103, 104, 117, 119, 249, 267, 275, 485, 506, 507

*Malou, Jules Edouard, François Xavier* (1810-1886)—Belgian statesman, belonged to the Catholic Party, Minister of Finance (1844-47, 1870-78), Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1871-78).—83, 224

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—British vulgar economist, founder of the misanthropic theory of population.—380

*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von* (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman; Minister of the Interior (1848-50), Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1850-58).—401, 402, 617

*Marchand, Louis Joseph Gabriel* (1842-1901)—French Bakuninist; from 1871 refugee in Switzerland, contributed to *La Révolution Sociale*; expelled from the International.—249, 399

*Marguerittes, Édouard Louis Marie* (b. 1835)—French revolutionary, Blanquist, took part in the Paris Commune, emigrated to London; member of the General Council of

the International (1871-72).—122, 145, 159

*Marselau, Nicolás Alonso*—Spanish anarchist, a leader of the Spanish organisation of the Bakuninist Alliance, editor of the *Razon* in Seville (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—244-45, 247, 249, 250, 253, 291, 495, 510

*Marshall, Alfred* (1842-1924)—British economist.—351, 352

*Martin, Constant* (1839-1906)—French revolutionary, Blanquist, took part in the Paris Commune, emigrated to London; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871).—19, 122, 145, 159

*Martin, Felipe*—Spanish anarchist.—490

*Martinez de Campos, Arsenio* (1831-1900)—Spanish general; in 1873 suppressed a cantonal uprising in Catalonia and Valencia, headed the monarchical coup d'état which brought to power Alfonso XII (December 24, 1874); War Minister (1881-83).—593, 594

*Martinez, Franco (Francisco)*—Spanish anarchist, dyer, member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1872-73).—208, 493

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883)—19, 50-52, 63, 71-73, 75, 103, 122, 127, 131, 132, 145, 159-67, 175, 187, 188, 190-94, 197, 199, 213, 214, 240, 243, 244, 247, 249-50, 253, 254-59, 265, 273, 284, 286, 287, 303, 317, 318, 322, 333, 336, 370, 379, 390, 395, 397-99, 440, 445, 448, 461, 488, 501, 556, 644-45

*Marx-Aveling, Eleanor* (1855-1898)—participant in the British and international working-class movement, Karl Marx's younger daughter, married to Edward Aveling.—330

*Mavritsky, Vasily Abramovich* (c. 1847-1910)—student of the Kiev theological seminary, prosecuted in the Nechayev organisation's case, the investigation was stopped for lack of evidence.—527

*Mayo, Henry*—took part in the British working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72) and the British Federal Council (1872); in the latter he joined the reformist wing.—19, 122, 145, 159, 306, 311, 312, 406

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, democrat, a leader of the national liberation movement in Italy; when the International was founded in 1864, tried to bring it under his influence; in 1871 opposed the Paris Commune and the General Council.—28, 29, 43-48, 60, 61, 141, 162, 480, 497, 504, 562, 579

*Mechnikov, Lev Ilyich* (1838-1888)—Russian geographer, sociologist and journalist; took part in Garibaldi's campaign (1860); contributed to *Kolokol* and *Sovremennik*; in the second half of the 1860s was close to Bakunin.—506

*Méndez, Juan*—Spanish anarchist.—495

*Menke, Heinrich Theodor* (1819-1892)—German geographer and ethnographer.—601, 602

*Mesa y Leompart, José* (1840-1904)—participant in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement, printer; an organiser of the International's sections in Spain, member of the Spanish Federal Council (1871-72), of the *Emancipacion* editorial board (1871-73), the New Madrid Federation (1872-73), fought anarchism; a founder of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (1879); translated works by Marx and Engels into Spanish.—290, 292, 438, 487, 488, 493

*Milke, Fritz*—German Social-Democrat, printer, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from the Berlin Section.—245, 247, 250, 253

*Mill, John Stuart* (1806-1873)—British economist and positivist philosopher, follower of the classical school of political economy.—144

*Millot, Théodore*—French refugee in the USA, bookbinder, member of the International; took bourgeois radicalist stand.—182, 640

*Milner, George*—took part in the British working-class movement, Irish by birth, tailor; follower of the Chartist O'Brien's views; member of the General Council of the International (1868-72) and the British Federal Council (1872-73), came out against its reformist wing.—19, 122, 145, 159, 302, 313

*Mitchell, John*—member of the British Federal Council of the International (1872-73), came out against its reformist wing.—313

*Mohammed* (or *Muhammed, Mahomet*) (c. 570-632)—semi-legendary founder of Islam.—107, 558

*Molière, Jean Baptiste* (real name *Poquelin*) (1622-1673)—French dramatist.—191, 192

*Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard von, Count* (1800-1891)—Prussian field marshal, military writer, Chief of the Prussian (1857-71) and the Imperial (1871-88) General Staff.—222, 592, 619-24

*Montel, Guglielmo*—member of the International in Italy.—48

*Montoro, Peregrin* (pseudonym *Damon*)—Spanish anarchist, weaver, member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1872-73).—208, 488, 493, 496

*Mora, Angel*—participant in the Spanish working-class movement, carpenter; member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1870-72), of the *Emancipacion* editorial board (1871-73) and the New Madrid Federation (1872-73); fought against anarchist influence.—486, 493

*Mora, Francisco* (1842-1924)—took part in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement, shoe-maker; an organiser of the International's sections in Spain and Portugal; member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1870-72), of the *Emancipacion* editorial board (1871-73), and the New Madrid Federation (1872-73); fought against anarchist influence; an organiser of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (1879).—235, 236, 290, 413, 486, 487, 491-93, 503, 578

*Morago, González, Tomás* (d. 1885)—Spanish anarchist, engraver; a founder and leader of the Bakuninist Alliance in Spain, member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1870-71); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—236, 245, 247, 249, 250, 287, 289-91, 486-90, 495, 497, 510

*Morley, Samuel* (1809-1886)—British manufacturer and politician, Liberal M.P. (1865, 1868-85).—265, 412, 446, 615

*Mottershead, Thomas G.* (c. 1826-1884)—British weaver, participant in the Chartist movement, member of the General Council of the International (1869-72); Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); a representative of the reformist wing of the British Federal Council, opposed Marx.—19, 122, 145, 159, 243, 247, 305, 306, 309, 311, 312, 615

*Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus* (1756-1791)—Austrian composer.—603

*Mülberger, Arthur* (1847-1907)—German petty-bourgeois journalist, Proudhonist, physician.—368-79, 381-83, 385-91

*Mundella, Anthony John* (1825-1897)—British manufacturer and statesman, M.P. (from 1868), held several ministerial posts.—167

*Muravyov, Mikhail Nikolayevich, Count* (1796-1866)—Russian statesman, during the Polish uprising (1863) was Governor-General in Poland, for the brutal suppression of the uprising was called "hangman".—536, 556

*Muravyov-Amursky, Nikolai Nikolayevich, Count* (1809-1881)—Russian statesman, Governor-General of Eastern Siberia (1847-61).—556, 557

*Murray, Charles Joseph*—member of the British working-class movement, shoe-maker; took part in the Chartist movement, follower of O'Brien's views; member of the General Council of the International (1870-72) and the British Federal Council (1872-73); supporter of Marx and Engels.—19, 122, 145, 159, 294, 313

N

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—340, 419, 420, 602, 603, 604, 624

*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—Emperor of the French (1852-70).—60, 92, 96, 107, 120, 157-58, 161, 219, 220, 300, 330, 350, 354, 361, 364, 401, 402, 417, 420, 438, 440, 461, 466, 467, 567, 624

*Navarre, E.*—Secretary of the French Section of 1871 (London) which the General Council did not admit to the International.—100

*Nechayev (Netschajeff), Sergei Gennadyevich* (1847-1882)—Russian revolutionary, conspirator, representative of the extremely adventurist trend in anarchism; in 1869-71 was connected with Bakunin; in 1872 was extradited by the Swiss authorities to the Russian government, sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment, died in the Peter and Paul Fortress in St. Petersburg.—23, 30, 77, 89, 459, 463, 478, 485, 515-17, 519, 522-24, 527-41, 544, 549, 552, 553, 557

*Negreskul, Mikhail Fyodorovich* (c. 1843-1871)—took part in the student movement in the 1860s, in 1869 arrested in connection with the Nechayev organisation's case, discharged because of illness (1870).—535

*Neklyudov, Mikhail Sergeyevich* (d. 1859)—Russian lawyer, employee in the office of the Eastern Siberian Administration in Irkutsk, killed by Beklemishev at a duel.—556

*Nero (Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus)* (37-68)—Roman Emperor (54-68).—452

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—560, 567

*Nikolayev, Nikolai Nikolayevich* (born c. 1850)—member of the Nechayev organisation, in 1871 sentenced to seven years and four months' imprisonment and to settlement in Siberia.—538, 539

*Nobre Franca, José Correia*—took part in the Portuguese working-class movement, an organiser of the International's sections in Lisbon.—413

*Notker, Labeo* (c. 952-1022)—German monk, taught at the monastic school of St. Gallen, Switzerland; translated into German and annotated a number of works by ancient and medieval authors.—604

O

*Oberwinder, Heinrich* (1846-1914)—participant in the Austrian working-class movement, journalist; Lassallean in the early 1860s, later joined the Eisenachers; delegate to the Basle (1869) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; in the late 1870s abandoned working-class movement, subsequently exposed as a police agent.—249, 250, 253, 415

*O'Connell, Daniel* (1775-1847)—Irish lawyer and politician, leader of the Liberal wing of the national libera-

tion movement; organiser and leader of the Repeal Association.—616

*O'Connor, Feargus Edward* (1794-1855)—a leader of the Left wing of the Chartist movement, founder and editor of *The Northern Star*; reformist after 1848.—155

*Odger, George* (1820-1877)—a leader of the British trade unions, shoe-maker; member of the London Trades Council; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), its President (1864-67), took part in the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866); in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address *The Civil War in France* and left the Council.—31, 80, 87, 615

*Ogarev, Nikolai Platonovich* (1813-1877)—Russian revolutionary democrat, poet and journalist, friend and associate of Alexander Herzen.—529

*Ol(l)ivier, Émile* (1825-1913)—French politician, moderate Republican, Bonapartist from the end of the 1860s; head of the government (January-August 1870).—220, 395, 645

*Otto(n)s*—first emperors of the Holy Roman Empire; its founder Otto I (962-73), German King of the Saxon dynasty, and his followers Otto II (973-83) and Otto III (983-1002).—600

*Outine*—see *Utin (Outine), Nikolai Isaakovich*

*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—British utopian socialist.—347, 348, 394, 561, 630

P

*Pagés, Victor* (born c. 1850)—participant in the Spanish working-class movement, shoe-maker; member of the Spanish Federal Council (1871-72), of the *Emancipacion* editorial board (1871-73), the New Madrid Federation (1872-73); fought against anarchist influence in Spain.—290, 493

*Palladino, Carmelo* (1842-1896)—Italian anarchist, barrister, a leader of the Bakuninist Alliance, a founder of anarchist organisations in Italy, member of the International's Neapolitan Section.—498

*Pape, Fletcher*—member of the International's British Federal Council (from 1871), belonged to the reformist wing.—406

*Pauly, Hipolito*—participant in the Spanish working-class movement, printer; member of the International's Spanish Federal Council (1871-72), of the *Emancipacion* editorial board (1871-73), the New Madrid Federation (1872-73); fought against anarchist influence in Spain.—290, 493

*Pavía y Rodriguez de Alburquerque, Manuel* (1827-1895)—Spanish general and politician, in 1873 suppressed the cantonal uprising in Andalusia, carried out the coup d'état (January 2-3, 1874) which brought the monarchist Serrano to power; Senator from 1880.—590, 593

*Pavlov, Platon Vasilyevich* (1823-1895)—Russian historian, professor; in 1862 deported from Petersburg for the connection with revolutionary circles.—561

*Pène, Henri de* (1830-1888)—French journalist, monarchist; founder and chief editor of the *Paris-Journal* (1868-88).—127

*Péniche, count*—Portuguese aristocrat, head of a masonic lodge, organiser of a secret society in 1872.—487

*Péreire, Isaac* (1806-1880)—French banker, Bonapartist, founded the joint-stock bank Crédit Mobilier together with his brother Émile (1852).—364

*Perron*—chocolate manufacturer.—94

*Perron, Charles Eugène* (1837-1919)—Swiss anarchist, member of the Central Bureau of the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy, editor of *L'Égalité* (1869), an editor of *La Solidarité* and a leader of the Jura Federation; later abandoned the working-class movement.—229

*Pestel, Pavel Ivanovich* (1793-1826)—a leader of the Decembrist movement, founder and leader of the Southern Society.—567

*Peter I (the Great)* (1672-1725)—Tsar of Russia (1682-1721), Emperor of Russia (1721-25).—518, 563

*Petrashevsky (Butashevich-Petrashevsky), Mikhail Vasilyevich* (1821-1866)—Russian revolutionary, utopian socialist, organiser of the progressive Russian intellectuals' circle in Petersburg (1844); in 1849 was arrested and sentenced to death, then commuted to penal servitude for life.—556, 557

*Petroni, Giuseppe* (1812-1888)—Italian journalist and politician, Mazzinist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; sentenced to life imprisonment in 1853, released in 1870; editor of the *Roma del Popolo*.—43, 44, 47

*Petzold, Ernst*—German lawyer, legal officer, Liberal, candidate for election to the Reichstag in Glauchau-Meerane (1873).—411

*Pfänder (Pfander), Karl* (c. 1819-1876)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, painter; refugee in London from 1845; member of the Communist League's Central Authority, of the International's General Council (1864-67 and 1870-72); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—19, 122, 145, 159

*Piétri, Joseph Marie* (1820-1902)—French politician, Bonapartist, Prefect of police in Paris (1866-70).—101, 463

*Pihl, Sophus Theodor* (1840-1881)—delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from the Copenhagen Section.—243, 245, 247, 249-50

*Pindy, Jean Louis* (1840-1917)—French engraver, member of the International (from 1867), of the Paris Commune; emigrated to Switzerland where he sided with the anarchists; member of the Bakuninist Jura Federation's Committee.—450, 514

*Pino, Miguel*—Spanish anarchist, mechanic, founder of the Bakuninist Alliance group in Malaga.—490

*Pio, Louis* (1841-1894)—participant in the Danish working-class and socialist movement; an organiser of the International's Danish sections (1871); editor of *Socialisten*; a founder of the Danish Social-Democratic Party (1876); in 1877 emigrated to America.—57, 224

*Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti)* (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—45, 64, 225

*Pi y Margall, Francisco* (1824-1901)—Spanish politician, historian, lawyer, philosopher and writer; leader of the Left federalist Republicans, was influenced by utopian socialist ideas; took part in the revolutions (1854-56 and 1868-74), Minister of the Interior (February 13-June 11, 1873), temporary President of the Republic (June 11-July 18, 1873).—585, 589, 590, 592

*Pompadour, Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, marquise de* (1721-1764)—Louis XV's mistress.—34

*Potel, Frédéric* (pseudonym *Lucain*) (died in December 1872)—French refugee in Belgium, engineer; took part in the Paris Commune; member of the International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—244-45, 247, 249, 250, 437, 457

*Potter, George* (1832-1893)—a leader of the British trade unions, carpenter;

member of the London Trades Council and a leader of the Amalgamated Union of Building Workers; editor of *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*; pursued a policy of compromise with the liberal bourgeoisie.—615

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French journalist, economist and sociologist, a founder of anarchism.—317, 319, 320-23, 324, 325, 327-29, 331, 332, 334-35, 336-37, 341, 343, 369-71, 372, 373-74, 376-80, 381, 384, 385, 387, 388, 391, 394-95, 397

*Pryzhov, Ivan Gavrilovich* (1829-1885)—Russian historian, ethnographer and journalist, member of the Nechayev organisation; in 1871, sentenced to twelve years of penal servitude and life settlement in Siberia.—531, 537-39

*Pugachev, Yemelyan Ivanovich* (c. 1742-1775)—leader of the anti-serfdom uprising of peasants and Cossacks in Russia (1773-75); executed in Moscow.—567

*Pyat, Félix* (1810-1889)—French journalist, dramatist and politician; democrat, took part in the 1848 revolution; in 1849 emigrated to Switzerland, then to Belgium and England; conducted a slander campaign against Marx and the International, using for this purpose the French Section in London; member of the Paris Commune.—96

R

*Ranvier, Gabriel* (1828-1879)—French revolutionary, Blanquist, member of the Paris Commune, emigrated to England; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); left the International after the decision to transfer the General Council to New York.—19, 122, 145, 159, 243, 245-47, 250, 253, 439, 441, 444

*Razin, Stepan Timofeyevich* (c. 1630-1671)—leader of an anti-serfdom uprising of peasants and Cossacks in Russia (1670-71); executed in Moscow.—518, 524, 549

*Razoua, Angèle Eugène* (1830-1878)—French journalist, Republican, sided with neo-Jacobins; took part in the Paris Commune, emigrated to Geneva, contributed to several newspapers.—83

*Regis, Vitale* (pseudonyms *Carlo Boggio, Étienne Péchard*)—Italian revolutionary, member of the International's Italian section in London; participant in the Paris Commune, member of the General Council (1871-72); took part in the 1873 revolutionary events in Spain.—19, 122, 145, 159, 499, 500

*Renan, Joseph Ernest* (1823-1892)—French historian, idealist philosopher, author of works on the origins of Christianity.—452

*Reschauer, Heinrich* (b. 1838)—Austrian writer and journalist, Liberal.—383

*Reuter, Fritz* (1810-1874)—German humorous writer and poet, wrote in Low German dialect.—380

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—British economist.—396

*Richard, Albert Marie* (1846-1925)—French journalist, a leader of the International's section in Lyons; member of the Bakuninist Alliance, took part in the Lyons uprising in September 1870; after the suppression of the Paris Commune became a Bonapartist.—91, 93, 96, 119-21, 300, 440, 444, 461, 467, 472, 474, 476, 505, 567

*Rigaut, Raoul* (1846-1871)—Ftench revolutionary, Blanquist; member of the Paris Commune, member of the Public Safety Committee, Procurator of the Commune, shot by the Versaillese troops.—95, 477

*Riley, William Harrison* (1835-1907)—British journalist, Republican, socialist, editor and publisher of the *International Herald*; member of the International's British Federal Council (1872-73), opposed the reformist wing.—313, 314

*Ripman, Fyodor Fyodorovich* (b. 1842)—student of the Agricultural Academy in Moscow, member of the Nechayev organisation; in 1871 sentenced to one-year imprisonment.—531, 533

*Ripoll*—took part in suppression of cantonal uprisings in Spain in the summer of 1873.—593

*Roach, Thomas John*—member of the British working-class movement; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); Corresponding Secretary of the British Federal Council (1872), belonged to its reformist wing.—19, 122, 145, 159, 245-47, 250, 306, 310-12

*Robert, Fritz* (1845-1899)—Swiss teacher, Bakuninist, member of the editorial board of *La Solidarité*.—92, 113, 475

*Roberts, Henry* (d. 1876)—British architect, philanthropist.—338

*Robin, Paul Charles Louis Jean* (1837-1912)—French teacher, Bakuninist, a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; member of the International's General Council (1870-71); delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) and the London Conference (1871).—93, 102, 476, 645

*Rochat, Charles Michel* (b. 1844)—took part in the French working-class movement; member of the Paris Federal Council of the International, participant in the Paris Commune; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Holland (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference of 1871.—19, 122, 145, 159

*Rodriguez, Mariano*—member of the International's Granada Federation (1872-73), joined Bakuninists in 1873.—410

*Romanovs*—dynasty of the Russian tsars and emperors (1613-1917).—567

*Roon, Albrecht Theodor Emil, Count von* (1803-1879)—Prussian statesman and military figure, from 1873 field marshal-general, War Minister (1859-73) and Naval Minister (1861-71), Minister-President of Prussia (January-November 1873).—404

*Rossell, Vicente*—Spanish anarchist, weaver, member of the Spanish Federal Council (1872-73).—208

*Rothschild, Mayer Amschel* (or *Meyer Anselm*) (1743-1812)—head of the banking firm in Frankfurt am Main.—604

*Roy, Henry*—English physician and economist.—165

*Rozwadowski, Józef* (1846-c. 1878)—Polish revolutionary, participant in the 1863-64 uprising in Poland; took part in the Paris Commune, emigrated to England; member of the General Council of the International (1872).—122, 145, 159

*Rubau Donadeu, José*—Spanish anarchist, lithographer, a founder and leader of the Bakuninist Alliance in Spain.—486

*Rühl, J.*—German worker, member of the General Council of the International (1870-72).—19, 122, 145, 159

S

*Sacase, Jean François* (1808-1884)—French legal officer, monarchist, deputy to the National Assembly from 1871.—107, 122, 143, 480

*Sadler, Michael Thomas*—participant in the British working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72).—19, 122, 145, 159

*Sáenz, Valentin*—took part in the Spanish working-class movement, commercial employee; member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1871-72), of the *Emancipacion* editorial board (1871-73), and the New Madrid Federation (1872-73); fought against anarchist influence in Spain.—493

*Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo* (1827-1903)—Spanish statesman, leader of the Liberal Party, Minister of the Interior (1871-72), Foreign Minister (1874), Prime Minister (1881-83, 1885-90, 1892-95, 1897-99, 1901-02).—225, 289, 491, 497, 596

*Saint-Clair, E. P.*—participant in the American working-class movement, Irish by birth, member of the General Council elected at the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—240, 253, 266

*Saint-Germain, Claude-Louis, comte de* (1707-1778)—French general, War Minister (1775-77).—622

*Saint-Martin, D., de*—French barrister, Bakuninist.—507

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—89, 394, 472, 630

*Salt, Sir Titus* (1803-1876)—English manufacturer.—351

*Sauva, Arsène*—French socialist, tailor; follower of Cabet, an organiser of the Icarian colonies in the USA; took part in the Paris Commune, emigrated to the USA; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872), where he supported the anarchist minority; participant in the socialist movement in America in the 1870s.—244-45, 247, 249, 250, 260, 280

*Sax, Emil* (1845-1927)—Austrian economist.—338-55, 359-61

*Scheu, Heinrich* (1845-1926)—Austrian Social-Democrat, member of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), emigrated to England in 1873.—245, 247

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German writer.—167, 522, 603

*Schlözer, August Ludwig von* (1735-1809)—German historian and statistician.—603

*Schneider, Josef*—German worker, Lassallean, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, at the end of 1871 expelled from it for divisive activities; libelled Marx and his supporters in the German press.—75

*Schneider, Joseph Eugène* (1805-1875)—French manufacturer, owner of the metallurgical plants in Creusot.—353

*Schopenhauer, Arthur* (1788-1860)—German idealist philosopher, exponent of voluntarism, irrationalism and pessimism.—610

*Schubart, Johann Christian* (1734-1787)—German agronomist.—602

*Schulze-Delitzsch, Franz Hermann* (1808-1883)—German economist and liberal politician, supporter of unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy, a founder of the National Association and leader of the Party of Progress; tried to divert workers from revolutionary struggle by organising co-operative societies.—357, 384

*Schumacher, Georg* (1844-1917)—German Social-Democrat, tanner, later businessman; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from the Solingen Section; expelled from the Social-Democratic Party in 1898.—245, 247, 250, 253

*Schweitzer, Johann Baptist von* (1833-1875)—German barrister, a leader of the Lassalleans; editor of the *Social-Demokrat* in 1864-67; President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71), supported the policy of unification of Germany

under Prussia's supremacy, fought against the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; expelled from the General Association for his contacts with the Prussian authorities (1872).—180, 183, 445, 473, 641

*Schwitzguébel, Adhémar* (1844-1895)—Swiss anarchist, engraver, member of the International; a leader of the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the Jura Federation; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—67, 68, 113, 188, 243-47, 267-68, 275, 280, 286, 287, 474, 478, 580

*Schwitzguébel, Léon*—Swiss anarchist, member of the Bakuninist Jura Federation.—36, 450, 514

*Selchow, Werner von*—Prussian statesman, Minister of Agriculture (December 1862-January 1873).—404

*Sentiñon, Gaspar* (d. 1903)—Spanish anarchist, physician, a founder and leader of the Bakuninist Alliance in Spain; delegate to the Basle Congress of the International (1869).—486, 496

*Serno-Solovyovich, Alexander Alexandrovich* (1838-1869)—Russian revolutionary democrat, follower of Chernyshevsky, took part in the revolutionary movement in Russia in the early 1860s, then emigrated to Geneva; member of the International, participant in the Swiss working-class movement.—163

*Serraillier, Auguste Daniel* (b. 1840)—participant in the French and international working-class movement, shoe-maker; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72), Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1870) and France (1871-72); member of the Paris Commune; delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress of the International (1872), member of the British Federal Council (1873-74); supporter of Marx and Engels.—19, 27, 42, 122, 127, 145, 159, 213, 240, 243, 247, 249-50, 253, 265, 273, 283, 297, 415, 439, 444, 507-08, 556, 644, 645

*Sexton, George*—British socialist, physician; member of the General Council of the International (May-August 1872), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); fought against the reformist wing in the British Federal Council (1872-73).—159, 240, 245, 247, 250

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English poet and dramatist.—470, 588

*Shaw, Robert* (d. 1869)—participant in the British working-class movement, house-painter; took part in the inaugural meeting of the International held at St. Martin's Hall on September 28, 1864; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69), Council's Treasurer (1867-68); Corresponding Secretary for America (1867-69); took part in the London Conference (1865) and the Brussels Congress (1868).—87

*Shimanovsky*—Russian army officer, was close to the Nechayev organisation.—531

*Dr. Simpson*—member of the German Reichstag.—49

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—191

*Sorge, Friedrich Adolf* (1828-1906)—prominent figure in the international and American working-class and socialist movement, took part in the 1848 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA in 1852; organised the International's American sections, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), member of the General Council in New York and its General Secretary (1872-74); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—243-47, 249, 250, 253, 292, 398

*Soriano, Trinidad* (d. after 1913)—Spanish anarchist.—467, 495, 496

*Soria Santa Cruz, Federico de* (1815-1891)—Spanish general, suppressed the cantonal uprising in Andalusia in 1873; Military Governor of Cadiz (1874-75).—590

*Speyer, Karl* (b. 1845)—German carpenter; in the 1860s Secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, in 1870 emigrated to the USA; member of the General Council of the International in New York from October 1872.—253, 266

*Spichiger, Auguste* (d. 1919)—Swiss anarchist, Chairman of the Bakuninist sections' Congress in Sonvillier (1871).—479

*Splingard, Roch Jules Jean Baptiste* (1843-1889)—Belgian anarchist, barrister, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—245, 247, 249, 250, 457, 458

*Spotti, Vincenzo*—member of the International in Parma (1872).—184

*Spruner von Merz, Karl* (1803-1892)—German historian and cartographer.—601

*Stahl, Friedrich Julius* (1802-1861)—German lawyer, philosopher and reactionary politician, a founder of the Prussian Conservative Party.—403

*Stanley, Edward Henry, Earl of Derby* (1826-1893)—British statesman, Tory; Conservative in the 1860s-70s, later Liberal; Secretary of State for Colonies (1858, 1882-85) and Secretary for India (1858-59); Foreign Secretary (1866-68, 1874-78).—15

*Statuti, Michelangelo*—Italian clergyman, after renouncing orders took part in the activities of the Neapolitan Section of the International.—498

*Stefanoni, Luigi* (1842-1905)—Italian writer and journalist, democrat, rationalist, took part in Garibaldi's campaigns, founder and editor of *Il Libero Pensiero*, supported Bakuninists.—74, 119, 160-62, 484

*Stein, Heinrich Friedrich Karl, Baron von* (1757-1831)—Prussian statesman, in 1804-08 held several high-ranking posts, an initiator of moderate reforms.—401

*Stepney, Cowell William Frederick* (1820-1872)—participant in the British working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its Treasurer (1868-70); delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and the London Conference (1871), member of the British Federal Council (1872).—19, 122, 145, 159

*Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882)—Prussian police officer, Chief of the Prussian political police (1850-60), an organiser of the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); during the Franco-Prussian war Chief of military police and of the German intelligence on French territory.—67, 161, 225, 463

*Strousberg, Bethel Henry* (or *Barthel Heinrich*) (real name *Strausberg, Baruch Hirsch*) (1823-1884)—railway entrepreneur; till 1855 lived in London, then in Berlin; went bankrupt in 1875.—364

*Strutt, Edward, Baron Belper* (1801-1880)—British liberal politician, member of the House of Commons.—351, 352

*Svyatsky, Vladimir Ivanovich* (born c. 1847)—student of the Agricultural Academy in Moscow, prosecuted as a member of Nechayev's Petersburg circle, acquitted in 1871.—532

*Swarm*—see *Dentraygues, Émile Jean Philippe*

T

*Taylor, Alfred*—British worker, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72) and the

British Federal Council (1872).—19, 122, 145, 159

*Terzaghi, Carlo* (b. 1845)—Italian barrister and journalist, Secretary of the Emancipation of the Proletarian society in Turin; became police agent in 1872.—112, 168, 275-76, 483, 499-501

*Testut, Oscar*—French lawyer, close to police circles; author of a book on the organisation and history of the International, published in 1871-72 with a police-informative purpose.—32

*Theisz, Albert Frédéric Félix* (1839-1881)—participant in the French working-class movement, engraver, Proudhonist; member of the Paris Commune, emigrated to England; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72) and its Treasurer.—97, 101

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Orleanist, Prime Minister (1836, 1840); head of the executive power (Chairman of the Council of Ministers) (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73), chief organiser of the suppression of the Paris Commune.—44, 59, 64, 98, 119, 122, 128, 223, 225, 262, 300, 412, 418, 420, 446, 507, 623

*Tokarzewicz, Józef* (pseudonym *J. T. Hodi*) (1840-1919)—Polish revolutionary, journalist and writer; in 1863 emigrated to France and later to Switzerland; member of the Polish Section of the International in Zurich; fought against Bakuninist influence on the Polish refugees.—484

*Tolain, Henri Louis* (1828-1897)—participant in the French working-class movement, engraver, Right Proudhonist, a leader of the Paris Section of the International, delegate to its several congresses; after February 8, 1871 deputy to the National Assembly, during the Paris Commune took sides of the Versaillese; in 1871 was expelled from the International; later a senator.—67, 142

*Tomás Oliver (Tomas), Francisco* (c. 1850-1903)—Spanish anarchist, bricklayer, member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1872-73).—208, 589

*Tomilova* (née *Drittenpreis*), *Yelizaveta Khristianovna* (born c. 1839)—prosecuted in the Nechayev organisation's case, acquitted in 1871; in the 1880s took part in the People's Will circle in Saratov.—527

*Townshend, William*—British worker, member of the General Council of the International (1869-72), participant in the socialist movement in the 1880s.—19, 122, 145, 159

*Trochu, Louis Jules* (1815-1896)—French general and politician, Orleanist, head of the Government of National Defence and Commander-in-Chief of the Paris armed forces (September 1870-January 1871), sabotaged city's defence.—45

*Tucci, Alberto*—member of the Neapolitan Section of the International.—48

U

*Us, Vasily Rodionovich* (d. 1671)—Don Cossack, associate of Stepan Razin, a leader of the peasants' uprising in Russia (1670-71).—524

*Uspensky, Pyotr Gavrilovich* (c. 1847-1881)—a member of the Nechayev organisation, in 1871 sentenced to fifteen years of penal servitude and to settlement in Siberia.—528, 530, 532, 536-38

*Utin (Outine), Nikolai Isaakovich* (1845-1883)—Russian revolutionary, took part in the student movement, member of the Land and Freedom society; refugee from 1863, an organiser of the Russian Section of the International in Geneva, delegate to the London Conference (1871); supported Marx and the General Coun-

cil in their struggle against Bakunin and his adherents; in the mid-1870s abandoned the revolutionary movement.—77, 100, 225, 485, 517, 526, 540, 562, 645

V

*Vaillant, Marie Edouard* (1840-1915)—French revolutionary, Blanquist, member of the Paris Commune, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871), Lausanne (1867) and the Hague (1872) congresses; withdrew from the International in connection with the decision to transfer the General Council to New York; a founder of the Socialist Party of France.—19, 122, 145, 159, 243-47, 250, 253, 441

*Van-Heddeghem, L.* (pseudonym *Walter*) (born c. 1847)—police agent who penetrated the Paris sections of the International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); exposed in 1873.—244, 247, 249-50, 438-41, 444, 457

*Varlin, Louis Eugène* (1839-1871)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, bookbinder, Left Proudhonist, a leader of the International in France, delegate to the London Conference (1865), Geneva (1866) and Basle (1869) congresses; member of the Paris Commune, shot by the Versaillese at the end of May 1871.—101

*Velarde, José Maria*—Spanish general, captain-general of Catalonia in April-September 1873.—589

*Vermersch, Eugène Marie Joseph* (1845-1878)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, participant in the republican movement; during the Paris Commune published the newspaper *Père Duchêne*; emigrated to England where he published the newspaper *Qui Vive!* attacking the International and the General Council.—143

*Vésinier, Pierre* (1824-1902)—French journalist, an organiser of the French Section of the International in London, expelled from the Central Council for slander (1866) and in 1868 from the International; member of the Paris Commune, emigrated to England, Secretary of the French Section of 1871 and member of the Universal Federalist Council, opposed Marx and the General Council of the International.—101, 157

*Vichard, Paul Eugène* (1835-1883)—participant in the French working-class movement, took part in the Paris Commune, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—244, 245, 247, 249, 250, 457

*Vickery, Samuel*—Secretary of the British Federal Council (1872-73), fought against its reformist wing; Chairman of the British Federation Congress in Manchester (1873).—304, 309, 314, 414

*Victor Emmanuel (Vittorio Emanuele) II* (1820-1878)—King of Piedmont (Sardinia) (1849-61), King of Italy (1861-78).—45, 64, 83

*Viñas, Garcia José* (1848-1931)—Spanish medical student, anarchist, an organiser of the Bakuninist Alliance in Spain (1868), took part in the revolutionary events of 1873.—486, 496, 586

*Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro)* (70-19 B.C.)—Roman poet.—166

*Vogel von Falckenstein, Eduard* (1797-1885)—German general, during the Franco-Prussian war Governor-General of the coastal regions of Germany.—221-22

*Vögele, August*—compositor at the Hollinger printing shop in London (1859).—162

*Vogelweide, Walther, von der* (1170-1230)—German medieval poet.—610

*Vogt, Gustav* (1829-1901)—Swiss lawyer, writer and radical politician,

pacifist, an organiser of the League of Peace and Freedom; Karl Vogt's brother.—85, 461

*Vogt, Karl* (1817-1895)—German naturalist, vulgar materialist, petty-bourgeois democrat; in 1849 left Germany; in the 1850s-60s Napoleon III's secret agent, a participant of slanderous campaign against proletarian revolutionaries.—160-62, 440

*Voltaire* (real name *François Marie Arouet*) (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—405, 608

W

*Wagner, Adolf* (1835-1917)—German vulgar economist, Katheder-Socialist.—365, 620

*Wakefield, Edward Gibbon* (1796-1862)—British statesman and economist, proposed a theory of colonisation.—166, 193

*Waldersee, Friedrich Gustav, Count von* (1795-1864)—Prussian general and military writer, War Minister (1854-58).—604

*Walter*—see *Van-Heddeghem, L.*

*Ward, Osborne*—participant in the American working-class movement, mechanic, member of the International's section in Brooklyn, was influenced by bourgeois reformists; at the Hague Congress of the International (1872) was elected member of the General Council, but refused.—253, 266

*Weerth, Georg* (1822-1856)—German proletarian poet and journalist, member of the Communist League; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); friend of Marx and Engels; in the 1850s visited Latin American states as a travelling agent of the British trade firm.—607

*Weiler, G. Adam* (1841-1894)—German refugee in the USA and from 1862 in England, cabinet-maker, member of the International (from 1865), member of the British Federal Council (1872-73) and its last Secretary; supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against reformists, later member of the Social-Democratic Federation.—313

*Wenker, Henri*—Swiss anarchist, joiner, member of the Bakuninist Jura Federation.—450, 514

*West, William*—American Radical, Secretary of Section No. 12 in New York, expelled from the International by the General Council and the Hague Congress (1872).—178, 179, 182, 261, 272, 514, 636-39, 640

*Weston, John*—participant in the British working-class movement, carpenter, then businessman, Owenite; took part in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, member of the General Council of the International (1864-72), member of the British Federal Council (1872).—19, 122, 145, 157, 159

*Wheeler, George William*—took part in the British working-class movement, participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, member of the General Council of the International (1864-67), Treasurer of the Council (1864-65, 1865-67).—31

*Wiehe, Johann Friedrich*—compositor at the Hollinger printing shop in London (1859).—162

*Wieland, Christoph Martin* (1733-1813)—German writer of the Enlightenment.—603

*William I, the Conqueror* (c. 1027-1087)—Duke of Normandy, King of England (from 1066).—222

*William I* (1743-1821)—Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel (under the name of

*William IX*) (1785-1803), Elector of Hesse-Cassel (1803-07, November 1813 to 1821).—604

*William I* (1797-1888)—King of Prussia (1861-88), Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—128, 417

*William IV* (1765-1837)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1830-37).—50

*Wilmart, Raimond* (pseudonym *Wilmot*)—French revolutionary, took part in the Paris Commune, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from Bordeaux sections; in 1873 emigrated to Buenos Aires where he propagated the International's principles.—243-47, 249, 250, 253

*Wilmot*—see *Wilmart, Raimond*

*Wolf*—owner of a shoe factory in Mainz.—434

*Woodhull, Victoria Claflin* (1838-1927)—American feminist, in 1871-72 tried to become a leader of the International's North American Federation; headed Section No. 12 in New York, expelled from the International by the General Council and the Hague Congress (1872).—178-80, 182, 183, 636, 638-42

*Wróblewski, Walery* (1836-1908)—prominent figure in the Polish and international working-class movement, revolutionary democrat, a leader of the Polish uprising (1863-64); general of the Paris Commune, member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), fought against Bakuninists.—19, 122, 145, 159, 213, 240, 244, 247, 249, 250, 265, 273, 284

*Wyss, O.*—French secretary of the Manchester foreign section of the International, supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against reformists; later emigrated to the USA.—308

Y

*Yarrow* (*Jarrow*), *F. J.*—prominent figure in the British trade-unionist movement, cabinet-maker; member of the General Council of the International (1866-68 and 1872).—122, 145, 159

*Yenisherlov, Georgi Petrovich* (born c. 1849)—student at the Petersburg Technological Institute, took part in the student disturbances in 1868-69, prosecuted in the Nechayev organisation's case, released for lack of evidence.—534

Z

*Zabel, Friedrich* (1802-1875)—German liberal journalist, editor of the Berlin *National-Zeitung* (1848-75).—160

*Zaichnevsky, Pyotr Grigoryevich* (1842-1896)—Russian revolutionary, organised the student movement in the early 1860s in Moscow and a circle to disseminate illegal literature; author of the *Young Russia* proclamation; sentenced to penal servitude and exile to Siberia where he continued revolutionary propagandist activities.—561

*Zévy, Maurice*—member of the General Council of the International (1866-72), Corresponding Secretary for Hungary (1870-71).—19, 122, 145, 159

*Zhukovsky* (*Joukowsky, Joukowski*), *Nikolai Ivanovich* (1833-1895)—Russian anarchist, participant in Petersburg revolutionary circles in the early 1860s; refugee in Switzerland from 1862; a leader of the Bakuninist Alliance.—94, 249, 272, 461

*Zürcher, P.*—member of the Manchester foreign section of the International (1872), opposed the reformist wing in the British Federal Council.—308

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*Anthony*—Christian saint, according to legend, hermit in the Nubian desert.—493

*Aymon's sons*—heroes in the French early medieval legends; Alard, Richard, Guichard and Renaud de Montauban, sons of Count Dordona Aymon, took part in the vassals' struggle against Charles the Great (8th-9th cent.).—509

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*Gargantua*—the title character in Rabelais' *Gargantua et Pantagruel.*—493

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*John Bull*—the title character in John Arbuthnot's book *The History of John Bull* (18th cent.). His name is often used to personify England and Englishmen.—611

*Karl Moor*—the main character in Schiller's drama *Die Räuber.*—522, 548

*Kri(e)mhild*—a character in the German medieval poem *Nibelungenlied;* sister of Gunter, King of Burgundy; fiancée, then wife of Siegfrid; after his death, wife of Etzel, King of the Huns.—610

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*Mary Magdalene* (Bib.)—according to the evangelical legend, a sinner who repented.—439

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*Peter* (Bib.)—one of Christ's Twelve Apostles; according to the evangelical legend, he renounced his Teacher three times.—497

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*Rodolphe, Prince of Gerol(d)stein*—the main character in Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris.*—548

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*Siegfri(e)d*—hero of the old German epics and a medieval poem *Nibelungenlied.*—610

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*Il Fascio Operaio*—an Italian anarchist weekly published in Bologne from December 1871 to September 1872.—502-03, 580

*La Favilla*—an Italian paper, at first, democratic, published in Mantua in 1866-94, in 1871-72, daily; in the first half of the 1870s was under the influence of anarchists.—43, 275-76, 451, 453, 504

*La Federacion*—a Spanish workers' weekly, organ of the Barcelona Federation of the International, published in Barcelona from 1869 to 1873; was under the Bakuninists' influence.—59, 230, 236, 237, 281, 412, 415, 497, 510-11, 544, 587, 589, 596

*Le Figaro*—a French conservative paper published in Paris from 1854, from 1866, daily; was connected with the Government of the Second Empire.—75, 95, 257, 477, 504

*The Fortnightly Review*—an English historical, philosophical, and literary magazine founded in 1865 by a group of radicals, subsequently it became liberal in character, under this title it was published in London till 1934.—165, 192

*Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*—a democratic daily published in Frankfurt am Main from 1856 (under this title from 1866) to 1943.—52

*Die Gartenlaube. Illustriertes Familienblatt*—a literary weekly published in Leipzig in 1853-1903 and in Berlin in 1903-43.—339

*La Gaulois*—a conservative-monarchist daily, organ of the big bourgeoisie and aristocracy, published in Paris from 1867 to 1929.—75, 95, 477

*Gazzettino Rosa*—an Italian daily, organ of the Left Mazzinists, published in Milan from 1868 to 1873; in 1871-72 came out in defence of the Paris Commune, printed documents of the International; in 1872 was under the influence of anarchists.—30, 61, 74, 75, 152, 160, 163, 258, 499, 580

*Herald*—see *The New-York Herald*

*La Igualdad*—a Spanish radical daily published in Madrid in 1868-70; a number of utopian socialists and republicans contributed to the paper, from the early 1870s it also expressed anarchist ideas.—491

*The Illustrated London News*—a weekly magazine published since 1842.—339

*L'Internationale*—a Belgian weekly, organ of the Belgian sections of the International, published in Brussels from 1869 to 1873; in 1873 took an anarchist stand.—219, 227, 415, 442, 483, 514

*The International Herald*—an English republican weekly published in London from March 1872 to October 1873, from May 1872 to May 1873 (with intervals) was organ of the British Federal Council of the International; published documents and correspondences by Marx and Engels.—78, 128, 136, 173, 219, 221, 224, 227, 285, 301, 303, 305-07, 309, 314, 408-14, 426, 427, 429, 431, 433, 434, 438, 446

*Изданія Общества «Народной Расправы»* (Publications of the "People's Judgment" Society)—anarchist publication, which appeared in two issues in 1869 under the editorship of Bakunin and Nechayev; both issues were printed in Geneva.—506, 519, 522, 523, 530, 540-44

*Janus, Jahrbücher deutscher Gesinnung, Bildung und That*—a German conservative yearly published in Berlin from 1845 to 1848.—348

*Journal de Genève national, politique et littéraire*—a Swiss conservative daily, founded in 1826.—32, 75, 105, 539

*La Justicia*—a Spanish republican paper published in Malaga in 1871-73.—29

*Kladderadatsch*—an illustrated satirical weekly published from 1848 to 1944 in Berlin; in the 19th century held liberal positions.—339

*Kölnische Zeitung*—a German daily, under this title it was published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; organ of the Rhenish bourgeoisie and National-Liberal party; in the 1870s was Bismarck's mouthpiece.—452, 607, 623

*Колоколъ* (The Bell)—a revolutionary-democratic newspaper, was published by Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Ogarev from 1857 to 1867 in Russian and in 1868-69 in French under the title *Kolokol* (La Cloche) with Russian supplements; until 1865 was published in London, later in Geneva.—85, 163, 461, 529, 557, 559, 562-63

*Колоколъ. Орган русскаго освобожденія, основанный А. И. Герценомъ*—was the title under which Sergei Nechayev and Vladimir Serebrennikov published six issues of the paper in spring 1870 in Geneva.—544, 549

*Il Ladro*—an Italian paper published in Florence from August 20, 1872.—217

*Il Libero Pensiero*—an Italian weekly magazine, organ of the republican rationalists, published in Florence in 1866-76, attacked the International and its General Council.—74, 75, 160, 163

*La Liberté*—a Belgian democratic paper published in Brussels from 1865 to 1873, in 1872-73, weekly; from 1867, organ of the International in Belgium.—127, 128, 219, 256, 442-44, 457, 507, 508

*The Manchester Weekly Times*—an English liberal paper published in Manchester since December 1857.—366

*La Marseillaise*—a French daily, organ of the Left-wing republicans, published in Paris with the participation of Blanquists from December 1869 to September 1870, printed materialis on the activity of the International and on the working-class movement.—97, 219, 540

*Il Martello*—an Italian paper published in Milan in February-March 1872, organ of the Milan Section of the International.—580

*The Morning Advertiser*—a daily published in London from 1794 to 1934; in the 1850s and 1860s reflected the interests of the radical bourgeoisie.—196

*The Morning Star*—an English daily, organ of the Free Traders, published in London from 1856 to 1869.—196

*Московскія вѣдомости* (Moscow Gazette)—a Russian paper published from 1756 to 1917; from 1859, daily; from the 1850s assumed a reactionary character.—72, 75, 557

*Munkás-Heti-Krónika*—see *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik*

*Народное дѣло* (*La Cause du Peuple*)—a magazine (from April 1870, newspaper) published in Geneva in 1868-70 by a group of Russian revolutionary émigrés, the first issue was prepared by Bakunin; in October 1868, the editors, among whom was Nikolai Utin, broke off relations with Bakunin and opposed his views; in April 1870 it became the organ of the Russian Section of the International Working Men's Association which pursued the policy of Marx and the General Council.—523, 526, 551

*The National Reformer*—an English weekly magazine of bourgeois radicals published in London from 1860 to 1893.—71

*National Zeitung* (*National-Zeitung*)—a German liberal daily published under this title in Berlin in 1848-1915.—160

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a daily published in Cologne under the editorship of Marx from June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849 (with an interval between September 27 and October 12, 1848), organ of the revolutionary-proletarian wing of the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; Engels was among its editors.—161

*Neuer Social-Demokrat*—a German daily published in Berlin from 1871 to 1876 three times a week, organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; from sectarian stance waged a struggle against the leaders of the International and of the German Social-Democratic Labour Party, supported Bakuninists and representatives of other anti-proletarian trends.—75, 119, 439, 440, 442, 444, 445, 451, 484

*New-York Daily Tribune*—an American daily published from 1841 to 1924, organ of the US Left-wing Whigs until the mid-1850s and later of the Republican Party; it voiced progressive views and opposed slavery. Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862.—161-62

*New-Yorker Demokrat*—a weekly of German democratic émigrés in the USA published under different titles from 1845 to 1876.—180, 638

*The New-York Herald*—a US daily of the Republican Party published from 1835 to 1924, favoured compromise with the slave-owners of the South during the Civil War.—181, 642

*Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*—a conservative daily published in Berlin from 1861 to 1918, in the 1860s-80s, semi-official organ of the government of Bismarck.—225

*Obshchina* (Commune)—the paper, the first issue of which came out under this title in September 1870 in London and was edited by Sergei Nechayev and Vladimir Serebrennikov; the second issue, published in 1871, was destroyed by the publishers themselves.—541

*Paris-Journal*—a conservative daily connected with the police, was published by Henri de Pène from 1868 to 1874 in Paris, libelled the International and the Paris Commune.—95, 127, 477

*O Pensamento Social*—a Portuguese socialist weekly newspaper published from February 1872 to April 1873 in Lisbon; organ of the International sections.—408, 410, 421, 438

*Pensiero e Azione*—organ of the Italian democrats, published under the editorship of Mazzini, appeared twice a month in 1858-59 in London and in 1860 in Lugano and Genoa.—162

*Le Père Duchêne*—a French daily published in Paris by Eugène Vermersch from March 6 to May 21, 1871; was close in its trend to the Blanquist press.—143

*Le Petit Journal*—a French bourgeois daily published in Paris from 1863 to 1944.—75

*La Plebe*—an Italian paper published under the editorship of Enrico Bignami in Lodi from 1868 to 1875 and in Milan from 1875 to 1883; before the early 1870s, was of democratic trend, later of socialist; in 1872-73, organ of the International sections; supported the General Council in its struggle against anarchists, published the documents of the International and articles by Engels.—22, 59, 61, 150, 217, 276, 284, 293, 296, 300, 408, 409, 414, 438, 447

*Il Popolino*—a weekly, official organ of the Turin Section of the International, published in Turin from April 15 to October 6, 1872.—217, 258

*Le Progrès*—a Swiss paper, organ of the Bakuninists; opposed the General Council of the International, published in Le Locle from December 1868 to April 1870 under the editorship of James Guillaume.—90, 104, 472, 473, 540

*Le Progrès de Lyon*—a French bourgeois daily published in Lyon from 1860.—104

*Il Proletario*—see *Il Proletario Italiano*

*Il Proletario Italiano*—an Italian paper published in Turin under the editorship of a secret police agent Terzaghi in 1871, organ of the Turin Section of the International, supported Bakuninists; from 1872 to 1874 was published under the title *Il Proletario*.—28, 29, 54, 111, 499

*Qui Vive!*—a daily published in London in 1871, organ of the French Section of 1871.—23, 100

*Le Radical*—a French republican daily published in Paris in 1871-72.—100

*La Razon*—a Spanish weekly, organ of the anarchists, was published in Seville in 1871-72.—211, 236, 494

*The Red Republican*—a Chartist weekly published in London by George Harney from June to November 1850; the English translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Marx and Engels appeared in it.—174

*La Réforme. Journal du Midi*—a French paper published in Toulouse from 1870.—483

*Reichs-Gesetzblatt*—a German government paper, organ of the Ministry of Home Affairs, was founded in Berlin in 1867, published under this title from 1871.—618

*La République Française*—a French daily of the radical trend, founded by Léon Gambetta in Paris in November 1871 as organ of the parliamentary faction of the Republican League, was published up to (and including) 1924.—482

*La Réveil*—a French weekly, a daily from May 1869, organ of the Left republicans, was published under the editorship of Charles Delescluse in Paris from July 1868 to January 1871; printed documents of the International and materials on the working-class movement.—97, 220

*La Révolution Sociale*—an anarchist weekly published in Geneva from October 1871 to January 1872; from November 1871, official organ of the Bakuninist Jura Federation.—55, 68, 69, 95, 116, 119, 121, 477, 478, 484, 488

*La Roma del Popolo*—a weekly on questions of religion, philosophy, politics, and literature, organ of the petty-bourgeois democracy, published in Rome from 1871 to 1872; published articles by Mazzini against the International.—28, 43, 44, 46, 60, 61, 480

*Il Romagnolo*—an Italian democratic weekly published in Parma with intervals from September 1868 to October 1871.—29

*С.-Петербургскія вѣдомости* (St. Petersburg Gazette)—a Russian daily, official government organ, published from 1728 to 1917; under this title appeared from 1728 to 1914.—516, 527-35, 539

*The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*—an English conservative weekly magazine published in London from 1855 to 1938.—192

*Der Social-Demokrat*—organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers, under this title was published in Berlin from December 15, 1864 to 1871; Johann Baptist Schweitzer was its editor in 1864-67; under the title *Neuer Social-Demokrat* was published from 1871 to 1876.—473

*Le Socialiste*—a daily published in New York from October 1871 to May 1873; organ of the French sections of the International in the USA; after the Hague Congress (1872) broke off with the International.—174, 641-42

*Le Socialiste*—a French weekly, founded by J. Guesde in Paris in 1885; up to 1902, organ of the Workers' Party, later organ of the French Socialists; Engels was its contributor in the 1880s and 90s.—348

*Socialisten*—a Danish workers' paper published in Copenhagen from July 1871 to May 1874, first as a weekly and from April 1872, as a daily; organ of the Danish sections of the International.—57, 408

*Le Soir*—a French bourgeois daily published in Paris from 1869 to 1932.—257

*La Solidarité*—a Swiss daily, organ of the Bakuninists, was edited by James Guillaume from April to September 1870 in Neuchâtel and from March to May 1871 in Geneva.—91, 92, 95, 104, 120, 474, 476-77

*La Solidarité Révolutionnaire*—a weekly published in Barcelona in French from June to September 1873, organ of the Committee for Revolutionary Socialist Propaganda for Southern France, founded by Alerini and Brousse for popularising anarchist ideas in France and among the refugees of the Paris Commune.—586-88, 590

*Современникъ* (Contemporary)—a Russian literary and political magazine published in St. Petersburg from 1836 to 1866 (from 1843, a monthly); was founded by Pushkin; from 1847, its editors were Nekrasov and Panayev;

Belinsky, Dobrolyubov, Chernyshevsky contributed to it; organ of the Russian revolutionary democracy in the 1860s.—559

*The Spectator*—an English weekly published in London from 1828; at the beginning was liberal in character, later, conservative.—187

*The Standard*—an English conservative daily founded in London in 1827.—75

*Die Tages-Presse*—an Austrian daily published in Vienna from 1869 to 1878.—72, 75

*Die Tagwacht*—a Swiss social-democratic paper published in Zurich from 1869 to 1880; in 1869-73 organ of the German sections of the International in Switzerland, later, of the Swiss Workers' Union and of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland.—408, 459

*The Times*—an English conservative daily founded in London in 1785.—31, 32, 84, 104, 127, 140, 143, 166, 193-96, 214, 395, 398, 399

*El Trabajo*—a Spanish republican paper published in El Ferrol in the early 1870s.—29

*Le Travail*—a French daily of the Paris sections of the International published in Paris from October 3 to December 12, 1869; Louis Eugène Varlin was among its major contributors.—90, 473

*Il Tribuno*—see *Ciceruacchio. Il Tribuno*

*Über Land und Meer*—a German illustrated weekly magazine published in Stuttgart from 1858 to 1923.—339

*Vierteljahrschrift für Volkswirthschaft und Kulturgeschichte*—a German liberal magazine published in Berlin from 1863 to 1893.—339

*Der Volksstaat*—central organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, published in Leipzig from October 2, 1869 to September 29, 1876 twice a week (from July 1873, three times a week) under the general editorship of Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel played an important role in its publishing, Marx and Engels were among its contributors.—21, 23, 35, 48, 70, 126, 164, 167, 181, 183, 185, 187, 190, 191, 193, 194, 197, 216, 219, 223, 226-27, 255, 256, 260-62, 264, 266, 270, 286, 287, 317, 319, 321-23, 327, 331, 334, 335, 368, 371, 374-78, 383, 388, 390, 391, 398, 405, 408, 421, 437, 441, 445, 448, 451, 473, 584, 588, 591, 598, 616, 617, 619, 625, 629

*Die Volksstimme*—an Austrian workers' paper published in Vienna twice a month from April to December 1869, supported the General Council of the International.—142

*Volkswille*—an Austrian workers' paper published in Vienna from January 1870 to June 1874 (once a week up to October 1872, later, twice a week); printed documents of the International.—408

*De Werkman*—a Dutch workers' weekly published in Amsterdam from 1868 to 1874, organ of the Amsterdam Section of the International from 1869.—408

*Wiesbadener Zeitung*—a German paper published from 1872 to 1881.—75

*Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*—a paper published by bourgeois feminists Victoria Woodhull and Tenessee Claflin in New York from 1870 to 1876; organ of the

US Section No. 12 excluded from the International by the General Council and the Hague Congress (1872).—125, 126, 178, 180-82, 636-41

*The World*—an American daily of the Democrats published in New York from 1860 to 1931.—641-42

*Zeitschrift des Central-Vereins in Preussen für das Wohl der arbeitenden Klassen*—a German philanthropic magazine published by Guido Weiß in Leipzig.—338

*Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie*—a German theoretical magazine of the Hegelian trend published under the editorship of Bruno Bauer in Berlin from 1836 to 1838.—452

*Die Zukunft*—a German democratic paper, organ of the petty-bourgeois People's Party, published in Königsberg (Kaliningrad) in 1867 and in Berlin from 1868.—127

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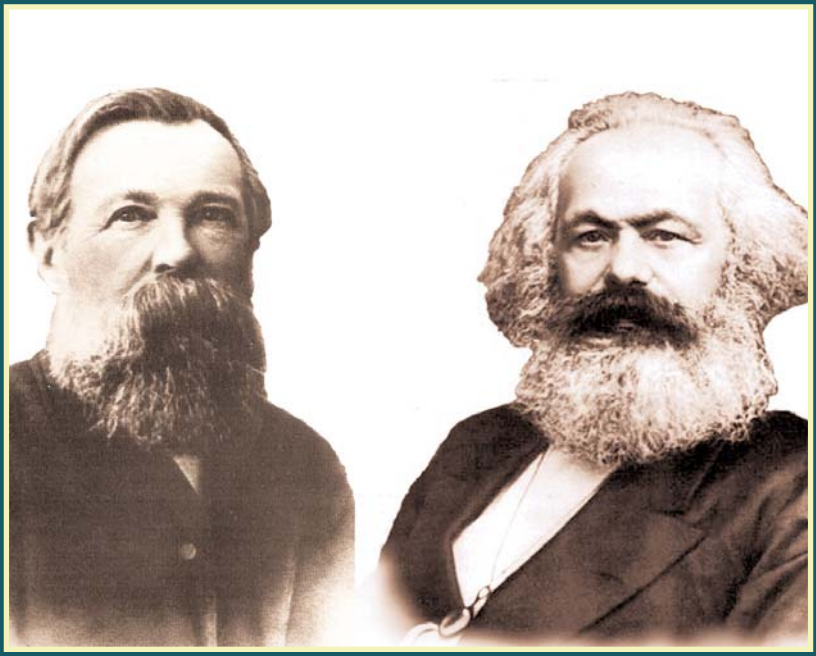

## VOLUME 24

Marx and Engels 1874-83

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 24

## Marx and Engels 1874-83

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PETER and BETTY ROSS: Works 5, 6 (Letter to Wilhelm Bracke), 18, 24, 26, 48, 59, 62; Appendix 3

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# Preface

Volume 24 of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels covers the period between May 1874 and May 1883.

These years were an important stage in the development of the international working-class movement that began after the Paris Commune of 1871. The Paris Commune enriched the proletariat with the invaluable experience of class struggle, but at the same time demonstrated that the objective and subjective conditions for the transfer of power to the working people were not yet ripe and, above all, that there was a lack of independent mass proletarian parties armed with the theory of scientific socialism and capable of leading the working class in the struggle for the radical transformation of society. After the defeat of the Commune the working class was faced with the task of rallying its forces and preparing for new revolutionary battles, and the need to form proletarian parties in individual countries came to the fore. The period of the spread of Marxism began, a "period ... of the formation, growth and maturing of mass socialist parties with a proletarian class composition" (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 19, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1980, pp. 295-96).

In the works in this volume Marx and Engels continue their analysis of the historical experience of the International Working Men's Association and the Paris Commune. They show that, in the new historical conditions, the organisational form of the International no longer corresponded to the aims of the proletariat's class struggle. Thanks to the International, the understanding of the idea of proletarian internationalism and the unity of the working class's aims and tasks had risen to a new level. "The social democratic working-men's parties," Marx wrote, "organised on

more or less national dimensions ... form as many international groups, no longer single sections thinly scattered through different countries and held together by an eccentric General Council, but the working masses themselves in continuous, active, direct intercourse, cemented by exchange of thought, mutual services, and common aspiration" (see this volume, p. 239). Marx and Engels skilfully related the tasks of the workers' parties in separate countries to the aims of the whole international working-class movement.

The formation of the socialist parties took place at a time of bitter ideological struggle waged by the representatives of the Marxist trend against alien class influences and petty-bourgeois views, fostered by the socially heterogeneous composition of the working class, and against reformist, opportunist and anarchist trends in the working-class movement itself. The fight for ideological unity on the basis of scientific socialism forms the main substance of Marx's and Engels' theoretical and practical activities as leaders of the international working-class movement in the period under review.

London, where Marx and Engels were living at that time, was still the ideological centre of the international working-class movement. Prominent figures in the workers' parties appealed to Marx and Engels, as acknowledged authorities, for help and advice. Their correspondence, their contributions to the working-class press, the publication of their new and republication of their old works, propagated the ideas of Marxism in the international working-class movement.

The experience of the Paris Commune called for a thorough-going elaboration of the problems of the state and revolution, the fundamental propositions of Marxism on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the role of the party, and the problem of what allies the proletariat should have in the fight for the radical transformation of society. Of prime importance was the task of providing an integral and systematic exposition of Marxism, defending its theoretical principles, revealing the universal character of its dialectical method, and teaching revolutionary socialists how to apply the theory creatively, how to work out scientific programmes and tactics for their parties and rebuff the opponents of Marxism.

The present volume includes a considerable number of works written by Marx and Engels specifically for the German pro-

letariat. This was explained by the fact that during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71) the centre of the European workers' movement had been shifted from France to Germany (p. 211). As Engels wrote, "the German workers' position in the van of the European movement rests *essentially* on their genuinely international attitude during the war" (p. 68). Analysis of the achievements and mistakes of German Social-Democracy enabled Marx and Engels to examine the general problems of the theory and tactics of the whole international working-class movement. Indisputably, the most important of their works on this subject are Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* and Engels' letter to Bebel of March 18-28, 1875, both responses to the draft programme for the Gotha Congress. This congress united the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (Eisenachers), the first mass party based on the principles of the First International and led by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, and the General Association of German Workers led by followers of Ferdinand Lassalle.

Marx and Engels had maintained that this union should have taken place only if the Lassallean leaders were ready "to abandon their sectarian slogans and their state aid, and to accept in its essentials the Eisenach Programme of 1869 or an improved edition of it adapted to the present day. Our party has *absolutely nothing to learn* from the Lassalleans in the theoretical sphere" (see Engels' letter to August Bebel of March 18-28, 1875; this volume, p. 67).

Marx and Engels saw the draft of the Gotha programme as an unacceptable ideological concession and surrender to Lassalleanism. They regarded as totally inadmissible the inclusion in the programme of the proposition that in relation to the working class all other classes were reactionary and of the "iron law of wages", which was founded on false theoretical premisses (pp. 68-69). They also condemned the programme's virtual rejection of "the principle that the workers' movement is an international one" (p. 68), the brushing aside of the problem of the trade unions, and much else. They argued cogently that these propositions, by dragging the party backwards in the theoretical sphere, would do grave harm to the German workers' movement. In his letter to Bebel, Engels stressed that "a *new* programme is after all a banner planted in public, and the outside world judges the party by it" (p. 72). The Gotha programme, he showed, was a step backwards in comparison with the Eisenach programme.

Critical analysis of the draft Gotha programme gave Marx a handle for expounding his views on the crucial theoretical

questions of scientific socialism on the basis of his previous socio-economic research and, above all, on *Capital*. The *Critique of the Gotha Programme* is mainly concerned with the Marxist theory of the state and socialist revolution. In contrast to the Gotha programme, in which the state was treated "as an independent entity" (p. 94), Marx revealed the class, exploitative nature of the bourgeois state. He also examined the role of the state after the victory of the socialist revolution and stressed that a relatively long period would inevitably be required to carry out the immense creative work of the revolutionary remoulding of society. "Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*" (p. 95).

In his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* Marx elaborated new aspects of the theory of the future communist society as a social formation developing according to its objective laws. It was here that he first set forth the proposition on the two phases of communist society, the two stages of the great transformative process embracing the sphere of production and production relations, the distribution of material goods, people's political and intellectual life, morality and the right. In the first phase, under socialism, we have to deal with a society "just as it *emerges* from capitalist society, which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth-marks of the old society" (p. 85).

Marx criticised the Lassallean thesis of the programme that under socialism every worker would possess the total product of his labour, the "undiminished proceeds of labour" (p. 84). He pointed out that even after the abolition of private property in the means of production, before becoming available for individual consumption the total social product would have to reimburse the funds set aside for the replacement of the means of production, for its further expansion, and for public needs. The first phase of communism presupposes the equality of the members of society only in the sense of their equal relationship to the means of production that have become public property, their equal obligation to work, and their equal rights to various social goods and services. This form of distribution embodies the social justice of the socialist society: "The individual producer receives back from society—after the deductions have been made—exactly what he gives to it" (p. 86).

Only at the next stage, with its very high development of all the productive forces and of the productivity of social labour, would radical changes take place in people's material standard of living, in their labour conditions and consciousness. Marx draws a picture of communist society in which the individual, freed of the struggle for his daily bread and fear of the future, will be able to realise all the abilities of his personality, its harmonious development, and be able to shed the possessive instincts and nationalist prejudices inbred by centuries. "Only then," Marx wrote, "can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs!" (p. 87).

The *Critique of the Gotha Programme* was aimed not only against Lassalleanism, against opportunist trends in the German working-class movement, but also against vulgar socialism as a whole. It exposed its inherent basic methodological defect—failure to understand the determining role of social production, the desire to shift the centre of gravity, both in criticism of the existing society and in projects for social transformation, into the sphere of distribution. "The vulgar socialists ... have taken over from the bourgeois economists the consideration and treatment of distribution as independent of the mode of production and hence the presentation of socialism as turning principally on distribution" (p. 88).

The rapid growth of Social-Democracy's influence in Germany, its sweeping advance among the mass of the German workers, and the successes of the Socialist Workers' Party at the elections to the Reichstag (see pp. 250, 251), were a cause of grave concern to Bismarck. On October 19, 1878, using as a pretext two attempts on the life of William I, in which the Social-Democrats were in no way involved, the government passed a "Law against the Harmful and Dangerous Aspirations of Social-Democracy", which remained in force right up to 1890. This so-called Exceptional Law Against the Socialists, better known as the Anti-Socialist Law, virtually proscribed the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany.

In September 1878, even before the law was introduced, on the basis of the minutes of the Reichstag sitting at which the government Bill was debated, Marx outlined an exposé entitled "The Parliamentary Debate on the Anti-Socialist Law" in which he resolutely repudiates the reactionaries' attempts to accuse revolutionary Social-Democracy of terrorism and identify it with the anarchistic elements; he unmasks the provocative police methods Bismarck's government resorted to in the Reichstag to cast a

veneer of legality over its actions. "Indeed," Marx wrote, "the government is seeking to suppress *by force* a development it dislikes but cannot *lawfully* attack" (p. 249).

In this article Marx poses the question of the dialectical relationship between the peaceful and non-peaceful forms of the proletariat's struggle. He emphasises that in countries where the conditions are favourable the working class can count on the peaceful acquisition of power. But even in this case it must be aware that this peaceful path may be blocked by forces "interested in restoring the former state of affairs" (p. 248). The choice of path, peaceful or non-peaceful, is determined not by the subjective desires of the movement's leaders or their doctrines but by the line-up of class forces, the behaviour of the ruling class, the form in which it resists the maturing social changes. "An historical development," Marx writes, "can remain 'peaceful' only for so long as its progress is not forcibly obstructed by those wielding social power at the time" (ibid.).

At a difficult time for the German Social-Democrats, Marx and Engels helped them to find new forms of activity, to evolve a correct tactical line. A special role was played by the "Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and others", written by Marx and Engels in September 1879. This is one of the key documents of Marxism against opportunism in the working-class movement. Marx and Engels sharply criticised the opportunist programme of the party's reformist wing (the so-called Manifesto of the Zurich Trio—Karl Höchberg, Eduard Bernstein and Karl Schramm). These are, the Circular Letter said, "the representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, terrified lest the proletariat, impelled by its revolutionary situation, should 'go too far'. Instead of resolute political opposition—general conciliation; instead of a struggle against government and bourgeoisie—an attempt to win them over and talk them round; instead of defiant resistance to maltreatment from above—humble subjection and the admission that the punishment was deserved" (p. 267).

In a situation when Marxism had begun to spread widely in the mass working-class movement, its ideological opponents no longer dared openly to declare themselves its adversaries. Instead they tried to revise Marxism from within, by peddling an eclectic hotch-potch of vulgar materialist, idealistic and pseudo-socialist views as scientific socialism. The Circular Letter was designed to scotch this danger. It exposes the class and ideological roots of opportunism and proves the need to clear the ground of them. Marx and Engels noted that this phenomenon was due to the

influence of the petty bourgeoisie on the proletariat, the penetration of non-proletarian ideology into the working-class movement. Repudiation of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie was being preached under the flag of Marxism. "On paper," the Circular Letter stated, "it is recognised because there is no denying it any longer, but in practice it is glossed over, suppressed, emasculated" (p. 267). The authors of the letter urged the German Social-Democrats to dissociate themselves from the "adulterating element" in the workers' party (p. 269) and to strengthen its class character. "For almost 40 years," Marx and Engels wrote, "we have emphasised that the class struggle is the immediate motive force of history and, in particular, that the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat is the great lever of modern social revolution; hence we cannot possibly co-operate with men who seek to eliminate that class struggle from the movement" (p. 269).

As Marx and Engels stressed, with the Anti-Socialist Law in operation the position of the party organ became especially important. It should "crowd on sail" (p. 262), educating the proletarian masses in the spirit of revolutionary class struggle, defending the interests of the working class. The working-class party could play its vanguard role only if it clearly understood the revolutionary aims of the proletarian movement, and remained unshakeably loyal to them.

Under a regime of police terror the party must learn to combine legal and illegal forms of struggle, to use the parliamentary platform, to work out a consistently class-oriented stand for the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag, and to maintain strict party discipline. Marx and Engels warned the party of the danger of the "parliamentary disease" (p. 261). Triumphs in parliamentary elections, as Engels wrote in his article "The Anti-Socialist Law in Germany.—The Situation in Russia", had "made some people believe that it was no longer necessary to do anything else in order to obtain the final victory of the proletariat" (p. 251).

The articles Marx and Engels contributed to the workers' press did much to spread the ideas of proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary theory of class struggle, and to strengthen the ideological platform of the Social-Democratic parties which were being set up. They also enhanced their prestige as the acknowledged leaders of the international working-class movement and strengthened their personal ties with the leaders of various parties. In these years, as Marx's health declined, this journalistic work fell more and more on Engels.

Especially important were Engels' contributions to the German workers' newspapers, the organs of the German Social-Democratic Party, *Der Volksstaat, Vorwärts, Die Neue Welt,* and from 1881 to *Der Sozialdemokrat,* and others. Expressing a standpoint he shared with Marx, Engels actively opposed all attempts to identify Social-Democracy with the anarchist trends existing in one or another guise in the German and international working-class movement. Both men set out to explode the false thesis that the very doctrine of scientific socialism prompted people to commit excesses and terrorist acts and inclined them towards voluntarist decisions. In *Refugee Literature,* which opens the present volume, Engels made a detailed study of the programme drawn up by Blanquists forced to emigrate after the Commune. He took apart their thesis that a revolution could be made by an insignificant minority "according to a plan worked out in advance", and that it could begin "at any time" (p. 14). Emphasising that one could not "play at revolution", he countered the Blanquists' misconceived thesis on the ruling out of compromises. Engels wrote with irony: "They imagine that, as soon as *they* have only the good will to jump over intermediate stations and compromises, everything is assured" (p. 17). In his own name and that of Marx he was equally firm in condemning the sectarian-anarchist trends that had emerged among the German Social-Democrats since the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law, and that were most patently expressed in the statements of Johann Most and the London émigré paper, *Freiheit,* which Most had founded (pp. 478-79).

In his works "Semi-Official War-Cries", *Prussian Schnapps in the German Reichstag* and "The Vicar of Bray", Engels showed the reactionary aggressive character of Bismarck's empire, the socio-economic roots of the political influence wielded by the Prussian "Schnapps-Junkers" and Prussian militarism (see p. 124). Engels' series of articles on Wilhelm Wolff, the closest friend and associate of Marx and Engels, Marx's epilogue to the second edition of *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne,* and the speeches by Marx and Engels on February 7, 1876 at the German Workers' Educational Society in London, acquainted the new generation of workers with the history and revolutionary traditions of Germany's proletarian movement.

Besides the articles about Wilhelm Wolff, Engels' essay *The Mark,* which showed the evolution of agrarian relations in Germany from the ancient community (the mark) up to the 1870s, was of great importance for determining the tactics of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party with regard to the German

peasantry. Engels here traced the main stages in the transformation of the peasants from free members of the communities into serfs, and exposed the true nature of the half-hearted reforms introduced in Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century (see pp. 454-55). He stressed that the small-scale peasant farming had become "a method of production more and more antiquated, less and less capable of yielding a livelihood" (p. 455). For the peasantry the future lay in reviving the mark, "not in its old, outdated form, but in a rejuvenated form", that would enable the peasants to use the advantages of large-scale farming and modern machinery, but "without capitalists by the community itself" (p. 456). In this the peasants would find their natural allies in the workers and the proletarian party (ibid.).

Marx and Engels contributed to the French socialist newspaper, *L'Égalité*, founded in 1877 on the initiative of Jules Guesde. In March 1880 it printed two articles by Engels entitled "The Socialism of Mr. Bismarck", attacking social demagoguery of the Bonapartist variety. With specific examples from Bismarck's policies, Engels demonstrated the illusory nature of the ideas of state socialism current among some of the French socialists, their belief that the bourgeois state could carry through social reforms affecting the bedrock of bourgeois relations.

The theoretical section of the programme of the French Workers' Party formulated by Marx at the request of the French socialists ("Preamble to the Programme of the French Workers' Party") was of particular significance. The party was founded in October 1879 at a constituent congress in Marseilles. This preamble, published not only in *L'Égalité*, but in a number of other papers, contained, as Marx put it in a letter to Friedrich Adolf Sorge on November 5, 1880, "a definition of the Communist aim" (see present edition, Vol. 46). The preamble regarded the emancipation of the proletariat as "that of all human beings without distinction of sex or race". In setting the workers the task of taking over the means of production and bringing them into collective ownership Marx stressed that "this collective appropriation can only spring from the revolutionary action of the producing class—or proletariat—organised as an independent political party" (p. 340).

The development of theory in the French socialist movement was deeply influenced by a work written by Engels at the request

of Paul Lafargue, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, which Marx described as an "*introduction to scientific socialism*" (p. 339). First published in the French magazine *La Revue socialiste*, it was issued in the same year 1880 as a separate edition. Written with a notable clarity of style, this pamphlet, which Engels based on three chapters from *Anti-Dühring*, became available to a wide circle of working-class readers. In Engels' lifetime the pamphlet appeared in authorised German and English editions, was translated into many other European languages and played an important part in propagating the ideas of Marxism throughout the international labour movement.

In this work Engels set out to arm the vanguard of the proletarian movement with an understanding of the relationship between utopian and scientific socialism. This was a counterstroke to the attempts that were being made to obliterate the difference between them and to present Marx's teaching as a variety of the socialist utopias. Acknowledging the historical role of utopian socialism, Engels treated it as one of the theoretical sources of Marxist theory. He gave a systematic account of the genesis of scientific socialism, which, as he pointed out, had emerged as a logical phenomenon, conditioned by the whole course of history. Called into being by the need to explain the proletariat's revolutionary struggle, to build a scientific theory for the movement, Marxism was the result of a synthesis of the achievements of previous science and culture. "Like every new theory," wrote Engels, "modern socialism had, at first, to connect itself with the intellectual stock-in-trade ready to its hand, however deeply its roots lay in the material economic facts" (p. 285).

From the overall achievements of Marxist thought Engels singled out two of Marx's great discoveries, which played a decisive role in converting socialism from a utopia into a science—the materialist conception of history, which reveals the laws of social development and proves the inevitability of the socialist revolution; and the theory of surplus value, which lays bare the essence of capitalist exploitation.

The emergence of Marxism, Engels noted, which had opened up a new stage in the history of human thought, also revolutionised socialist thinking. In contrast to the speculative constructs propounded by the utopian socialists, scientific socialism based its conclusions on a profound theoretical analysis of reality, on getting to the bottom of social phenomena, on revealing the objective laws of social life. This was why scientific socialism could provide a genuine theoretical foundation for the workers' rev-

olutionary struggle, an ideological weapon for the socialist transformation of society. With its appearance on the scene, Engels wrote, this struggle was placed on a realistic basis. It was scientific socialism which had identified the historical mission of the proletariat as the force destined, in alliance with all the working people, to bring about the socialist revolution, and which had overcome the gap between socialist theory and the working-class movement and armed the proletarian masses with a knowledge of the prospects of their struggle, with scientific forecast of the future society.

Developing the theory of socialist revolution, Engels made the point that the fundamental contradiction of capitalism—the contradiction between the social nature of production and the private character of appropriation—could be resolved only by a proletarian revolution. The proletariat, having taken power, would first of all turn the means of production into public property. Engels believed the organisation of socialist production on the basis of socialised property was the decisive condition for the building of the future society. Socialist society, he predicted, would be the first to be capable of regulating social production by conscious application of the objective laws of its development. The role of social consciousness would thus grow in importance. Society would be able to guide its economic activity according to plan and control the key social processes. "To accomplish this act of universal emancipation," Engels wrote, "is the historical mission of the modern proletariat" (p. 325).

At the close of the 1870s symptoms of change began to appear in the British labour movement. The economic crisis of 1877-78 hit the great mass of the workers very hard and narrowed the economic ground for reformist illusions, thereby stimulating interest in social questions. Engels regarded this moment as favourable for a statement of his views in the British trade union newspaper, *The Labour Standard*, and between the beginning of May and the beginning of August 1881 he wrote a total of 11 articles for it. In them he expounded in popular form the main propositions of scientific socialism and Marxist political economy, explaining to British workers the mechanism of capitalist exploitation. Referring in the title of one of the articles to the popular trade union slogan "A Fair Day's Wages for a Fair Day's Work", Engels proved that by its very nature capitalism ruled out fairness. He tried to emphasise the idea that the basic demand of the

proletarian struggle should be the slogan: "Possession of the means of work—raw material, factories, machinery—by the working people themselves!" (p. 378).

In his articles for *The Labour Standard* Engels showed that the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat was historically inevitable. It was bound to become a political struggle, the struggle for power (see p. 386). Engels gave theoretical substance to the significance of the workers' economic struggle and showed the role of the trade unions as its organisers. At the same time he pointed out that their activities could not rid the worker of capitalist slavery (p. 385). For the proletariat to achieve success, he emphasised, the working class must be organised as a class, there must be an independent political party of the proletariat. Engels devoted a special article to this important question—"A Working Men's Party". "In England," he wrote, "a real democratic party is impossible unless it be a working men's party... No democratic party in England, as well as elsewhere, will be effectively successful unless it has a distinct working-class character" (pp. 405-06). The lack of an independent proletarian party, Engels noted, had left England's working class content to form, as it were, "the tail of the 'Great Liberal Party'" for nearly a quarter of a century (p. 404). These articles by Engels exerted a definite influence on the young generation in the British socialist movement. James Macdonald, later to be one of the representatives of the Marxist wing of the British socialists, said what really attracted him to socialism were Engels' articles in *The Labour Standard* (*How I Became a Socialist*, London, [1896,] pp. 61-62).

Several articles written by Engels in 1877-78 for the Italian socialist paper *La Plebe* ("British Agricultural Labourers Want to Participate in the Political Life of Their Country", "On the Socialist Movement in Germany, France, the United States and Russia", and others) have been included in this volume. Here he told the Italian workers about the experience and successes of the proletariat's struggle in various countries, wrote about the movement of the agricultural labourers in England, which at that time was of particular interest to the Italian socialists. Engels developed the idea of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and concentrated special attention on the importance of drawing the broad masses of the agricultural proletariat into the revolutionary struggle.

In the 1870s and early 1880s Marx and Engels kept a close watch on the economic and social development of the USA, noting the unprecedented concentration of capital, the growth of big companies controlling the activity of major branches of industry and trade and owning huge amounts of property in land, finance and the railways. In Engels' articles "The French Commercial Treaty", "American Food and the Land Question" and others, and also in the Preface that Marx and Engels wrote for the second Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* the attention of European workers is focussed on Britain's loss of its industrial monopoly and the inevitability of the United States' predominance in the world market (see pp. 392-93). Marx and Engels analyse these processes from the standpoint of the prospects for the labour movement in Europe and the struggle waged by the American proletariat. For the American socialist weekly *The Labor Standard* Engels wrote a series of articles on the labour movement in Europe, entitled "The Workingmen of Europe in 1877", in which he popularised the ideas of proletarian internationalism.

The interest Americans displayed in Marx as an individual and his ideas is illustrated by two documents included in the Appendices to this volume—the accounts of his interviews with a correspondent from *The Chicago Tribune* and with John Swinton, the editor of *The Sun,* an influential progressive bourgeois paper. These documents gave readers not only the main biographical facts about Marx and the history of the International, but also expounded his point of view on the problems of the labour movement in the USA. Rejecting the allegation that socialist ideas were "alien" to the United States, Marx stressed that "Socialism has sprung up in that country without the aid of foreigners, and was merely caused by the concentration of capital and the changed relations between the workmen and their employers" (p. 573). Developing ideas on the historically law-governed character and driving forces of revolution, Marx emphasised: "No revolution can be made by a party, *but by a nation*" (p. 576).

In these years Marx and Engels devoted much attention to the economic and social situation in Russia and the development of the Russian revolutionary movement. They studied the economy, agrarian system and social relations in Russia after the peasant reform of 1861 and read extensively Russian scientific literature and fiction. They were personally acquainted with many Russian

revolutionaries, scientists and journalists. A prominent place was given to the study of Russian culture and language, which, in the words of Engels, is "a language that, both for its own sake, as one of the richest and most powerful living languages, and on account of the literature thereby made accessible, richly deserves study" (pp. 27-28). Marx and Engels valued Nikolai Chernyshevsky and Nikolai Dobrolyubov as profound revolutionary-democratic thinkers and writers. Engels called them "two socialist Lessings" (p. 23).

In a country where the working class had not yet become an organised force and was as yet incapable of leading a nation-wide struggle, the Russian revolutionary movement was represented by the Narodniks (Populists). While eager to help the Russian revolutionaries, Marx and Engels criticised their idealistic notions, their failure to grasp the link between legal, political institutions and the interests of definite classes of society. In the third and fourth articles of his series *Refugee Literature,* Engels took the side of one of the prominent ideologists of Narodism, Pyotr Lavrov, in his polemic with another Narodnik, Pyotr Tkachov, on the tasks of revolutionary propaganda in Russia. Engels resolutely objected to irresponsible "impetuous rodomontades" about an immediate uprising (p. 36) without taking into account the objective conditions and preliminary revolutionary propaganda, and to the voluntarist statements by Tkachov that "the revolutionary ... must assume the right to summon the people to revolt ... without waiting until the course of historical events announces the moment" (p. 35).

In the last article of his *Refugee Literature* ("On Social Relations in Russia"), and in a letter to the editors of *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* and in drafts of his reply to a letter from Vera Zasulich, Engels and Marx respectively made a profound analysis of the socio-economic relations in Russia after the peasant reform of 1861. They regarded it as a milestone in the history of Russia, the beginning of a new stage in the country's development (see p. 199, etc.). The abolition of serfdom in Russia in 1861 was connected with the mounting discontent of the peasants and the growth of peasant movement. Marx and Engels noted the decisive factors in the build-up of the revolutionary situation in Russia in the 1870s: the robbing of the peasantry as a result of the 1861 reform, the growth of the mass peasant movement and the protest of "the enlightened strata of the nation" (p. 50). Engels foresaw the revolutionary situation in Russia at the end of the 1870s and the beginning of the 1880s. Already in 1875 he had expressed the firm conviction that revolution in that country was "far closer than it would appear on

the surface" (p. 11). Marx and Engels also hoped that the foreign-policy troubles the Tsarist government was experiencing in connection with the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 would precipitate revolutionary events in Russia.

Marx and Engels believed that the coming revolution in Russia should be a bourgeois-democratic, mostly peasant, revolution (see e.g. pp. 204-05). They saw that its prospects would be closely connected with the class struggle of the European proletariat. This revolution, Engels wrote in 1878, "means such a change in the whole situation of Europe as must be hailed with joy by the workingmen of every country as a giant step towards their common goal—the universal emancipation of Labor" (p. 229; see also p. 426). Marx and Engels thought that a revolution in Russia would start a process "which, maybe after long and violent struggles, must ultimately and certainly lead to the establishment of a Russian Commune" (p. 372).

The question raised by Marx and Engels as to whether the non-capitalist development of Russia was possible, whether it would have to endure the torments of all the stages of economic evolution that the peoples of the industrially developed countries of Europe had endured before it, was of the greatest theoretical importance. Central to this question was the fate of the peasant commune. Marx and Engels showed that communal ownership of the land was not an exclusively Russian phenomenon, but one of the most ancient social institutions, an institution to be found "among all Indo-Germanic peoples ... from India to Ireland" (p. 46).

The commune could become "the fulcrum of social regeneration in Russia" only if it were ensured "the normal conditions of spontaneous development" (p. 371). Such conditions could be created only out of a successful democratic revolution in Russia, which would free it of exploitation "by trade, landed property and usury" and by "a new capitalist vermin" (pp. 354-55). In themselves neither the artel nor the commune could serve as a means of transition to socialism. This meant that the productive forces of society should be "developed so far that they permit the final destruction of class distinctions" (p. 39).

Only a revolution in Russia, Marx and Engels believed, and its support by the victorious working class of the developed capitalist countries (see p. 426) could offer the opportunity of reviving the archaic institution of the rural commune and remoulding it on socialist lines. Only such a revolution could open up for Russia the prospect of transition to socialism bypassing the stage of capitalist

development. While acknowledging such a possibility, Marx and Engels made a sober assessment of the growth of the capitalist economy in Russia and its probable consequences. Marx stressed: "If Russia continues along the path it has followed since 1861, it will miss the finest chance that history has ever offered to a nation, only to undergo all the fatal vicissitudes of the capitalist system" (p. 199).

The Preface to the second Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1882), the translation of which was prepared by Georgi Plekhanov, provides a useful resumé of the views of Marx and Engels on the development of the revolutionary movement in Russia. Whereas in 1848-49 the reactionary governments and the European bourgeoisie, they wrote, "found their only salvation from the proletariat ... in Russian intervention", now the tsar is "a prisoner of war of the revolution", and "Russia forms the vanguard of revolutionary action in Europe" (p. 426). They also clearly defined their point of view on the fate of the peasant community: "If the Russian Revolution becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that the two complement each other, the present Russian common ownership of land may serve as the starting point for communist development" (p. 426). This path for Russia did not come about in this way in the course of history. However, this definition suggests that Marx and Engels saw the theoretical possibility of non-capitalist path of development for industrially underdeveloped countries in the event of a victorious socialist revolution in countries with highly developed productive forces.

Marx and Engels consider the problems of the liberation of Poland and the involvement in the revolutionary movement of other oppressed nations of Europe, and also the revolutionary changes in Austria-Hungary, in direct connection with the tasks and prospects of the Russian revolution. In the first article of his *Refugee Literature* Engels repeats and develops the idea he had first expressed in 1847: "A people that oppresses others cannot emancipate itself" (p. 11). This work and also the speeches made by Marx and Engels at meetings in honour of the anniversaries of the Polish uprisings of 1830 and 1863, raised the question of the organic link between the struggle of the working class against the exploiting society and that of the oppressed peoples for their national liberation (see pp. 57-58). The liberation of the Polish people from social and national oppression was thus linked with the struggle of the Russian people to overthrow the tsarist autocracy.

The section "From the Preparatory Materials" contains two very important manuscripts written by Marx, unpublished in his or Engels' lifetime. The first is his conspectus of Bakunin's *Statehood and Anarchy*, which Marx compiled in 1874 and the beginning of 1875 and in which he summed up, as it were, the ideological struggle with Bakuninism in the First International. In contrast to Bakunin's subjective and voluntarist arguments for the possibility of a social revolution at any time and in any place, Marx developed the proposition that "a radical social revolution is bound up with definite historical conditions of economic development" (p. 518). Showing the nonsensical character of Bakunin's slogan on the immediate "abolition of the state", Marx formulated the idea of the necessity of establishing the rule of the proletariat, the proletarian state, in which with the assumption of power the workers would have to suppress "the strata of the old world who are struggling against them" and keep power in their hands "as long as the economic basis of class society has not been destroyed" (p. 521). Here Marx states his views on the tactics of the proletarian party towards the peasantry. On coming to power the proletariat must "take the measures needed to enable the peasant to directly improve his condition, i.e. to win him over to the revolution; these measures, however, contain the seeds which will facilitate the transition from the private ownership of the land to collective ownership, so that the peasant arrives at this economically of his own accord" (p. 517). The important ideas expressed in this manuscript on the maturing of the social preconditions for the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and the petty-bourgeois strata in general, and the dangers of anarchism and voluntarism in the work of social transformation, were reflected and developed by Marx and Engels in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, *Refugee Literature*, the drafts of the letter to Vera Zasulich and other works mentioned earlier.

The second manuscript is the "Marginal Notes on Adolph Wagner's *Lehrbuch der politischen Oekonomie*". Criticising the bourgeois economist Adolph Wagner, an "armchair socialist", Marx explains and specifies certain key propositions of his own economic theory, its subject and method. He exposes the dishonest tricks used by bourgeois economists in their "criticism" of him, their idealist approach to the analysis of economic phenomena and interpretation of them as reflections of the evolution of legal standards. Replying to Wagner's criticism of the theory of value in *Capital*, Marx stresses that for him the subject is not "value" and

not "exchange value" but *commodity* (p. 544). Here he sets forth his method of analysing the commodity, the foundations of its "duality" determined by the dual character of labour embodied in it—its specific determinateness, on the one hand, and simply as the expenditure of human labour power, on the other. Marx also speaks of the historicism of his economic theory; in his analysis use-value "still only comes under consideration when such a consideration stems from the analysis with regard to economic formations, not from arguing hither and thither about the concepts or words 'use-value' and 'value'" (p. 546). Marx thus emphasises that his investigation deals not with an abstract logical construction but with analysis of the existing economic reality.

The volume contains some vivid biographical material about Marx by Engels. These are "Karl Marx", written in 1877 for the *Volks-Kalender* almanac, and also the obituary and funeral oration with which Engels marked the death of his friend on March 14, 1883 ("Draft of a Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx", "Karl Marx's Funeral" and "On the Death of Karl Marx"). Engels provides a model analysis of Marx's life and work. He saw Marx as a great scientist, who looked upon science "above all things as a grand historical lever, as a revolutionary power in the most eminent sense of the word" (p. 463). For Marx, according to Engels, theory was always inseparable from practice: "The struggle for the emancipation of the class of wages-labourers from the fetters of the present capitalist system of economic production," Engels wrote, "was his real element" (p. 464). Engels also showed Marx's role as organiser and leader of the class struggle of the proletariat, the true creator of the Communist League and the International Working Men's Association. "An immeasurable loss has been sustained both by the militant proletariat of Europe and America," Engels said at Marx's funeral, "and by historical science, in the death of this man" (p. 467). Engels concluded his funeral oration with the prophetic words, "His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work!" (p. 469).

* * *

The volume contains 66 works by Marx and Engels, of which 28 appear in English for the first time, including *Prussian Schnapps in the German Reichstag, Wilhelm Wolff,* "The Anti-Socialist Law in

Germany.—The Situation in Russia", "The Socialism of Mr. Bismarck" by Engels, and the "Notes on Bakunin's Book *Statehood and Anarchy*" by Marx. Among the materials published in the Appendices, four documents make their first appearance in English. The drafts of Marx's letter to Vera Zasulich in the main section of the volume are printed for the first time in English in full, in strict accordance with the manuscript.

The volume is arranged in chronological order with the exception of Engels' letter to August Bebel of March 18-28, 1875, which is traditionally placed together with the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* by Marx. Engels' manuscripts *On the Early History of the Germans* and *The Frankish Period*, written during the period covered by Volume 24, are printed in Volume 26 of the present edition because these works are connected with Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.*

In cases where works by Marx or Engels have survived in several languages, the English version—manuscript or printed—is reproduced in this volume. Significant differences in reading with versions in other languages are indicated in the footnotes.

All the texts have been translated from the German except where otherwise stated. Headings supplied by the editors where none existed in the original are given in square brackets. The asterisks indicate footnotes by the authors; the editors' footnotes are indicated by index letters.

Misprints in proper and geographical names, figures, dates, and so on, have as a rule been corrected without comment by checking with the sources used by Marx and Engels. The known literary and documentary sources are referred to in footnotes and in the index of quoted and mentioned literature. Words written in English in the original are given in small caps; longer passages written in English in the original are placed in asterisks.

When working on this volume, the editors made use of the results of the scientific research done when preparing for print volumes 24 (Section I) and 25 (Section I) of *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe* (*MEGA*$_2$), a new complete edition of the *Works* of Marx and Engels in the languages of the original.

The volume was compiled and the preface and notes written by Marina Doroshenko and Valentina Ostrikova (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). The materials of the volume covering the period from May 1874 to September 1878, as well as the drafts of Marx's letter to Vera Zasulich and the manuscripts in

the section "From the Preparatory Materials", were prepared by Marina Doroshenko. The materials from September 1878 to May 1883 and the documents in the Appendices were prepared by Valentina Ostrikova.

The name index, the index of quoted and mentioned literature, the index of periodicals and the glossary of geographical names were prepared by Yelena Kofanova.

The entire volume was edited by Valentina Smirnova (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The translations were made by David Forgacs, Rodney and Krystyna Livingstone, Peter and Betty Ross, Barrie Selman, and Joan and Trevor Walmsley (Lawrence & Wishart) and edited by Nicolas Jacobs (Lawrence & Wishart), Jane Sayer, Stephen Smith, Lydia Belyakova, Anna Vladimirova and Yelena Vorotnikova (Progress Publishers), and Vladimir Mosolov, scientific editor (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The volume was prepared for the press by the editor Yelena Kalinina.

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## WORKS

May 1874-May 1883

Frederick Engels

# REFUGEE LITERATURE[1]

Written between mid-May 1874 and April 1875

First published in *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 69, 73, 117 and 118, June 17 and 26, October 6 and 8, 1874; Nos. 36, 37, 43, 44 and 45, March 28, April 2, 16, 18 and 21, 1875. Article V appeared as a separate pamphlet: F. Engels, *Soziales aus Rußland*, Leipzig, 1875. Articles I, II and V were reprinted in the book: F. Engels, *Internationales aus dem "Volksstaat" (1871-75)*, Berlin, 1894

Signed: *F. Engels*

Printed according to the newspaper, checked (Articles I, II and V) with the text of the 1894 edition

Published in English in full for the first time

# I

## A POLISH PROCLAMATION[2]

When the Tsar of Russia arrived in London, the entire police force there was already astir. It was claimed that the Poles wanted to shoot him, the new Berezowski had already been found and was better armed than before, in Paris.[3] The houses of well-known Poles were surrounded by plain-clothes policemen, and the police inspector with special responsibility for surveillance of Poles under the Empire was even summoned from Paris. The police precautions along the Tsar's route from his residence into the City were organised according to positively strategic principles—and all this trouble for nothing! No Berezowski showed up, no pistol shots were fired, and the Tsar, who was trembling quite as much as his daughter, got off with a fright. All this trouble was not, however, entirely in vain, for the Tsar awarded a tip of £5 to every police superintendent and £2 to every police inspector (33 and 14 talers[a] respectively) who had been on duty for his sake.

Meanwhile, the Poles had other things on their minds than murdering the noble Alexander. The society called "The Polish People"[4] issued an "Address of the Polish Refugees to the English People", signed: General W. Wróblewski, President, J. Kryński, Secretary. This address was distributed in large numbers in London during the Tsar's visit. With the exception of *Reynolds's Newspaper*,[b] the London press unanimously refused to publish it: "England's guest" should not be insulted!

The address starts by pointing out to the English that it was no honour, but an insult, for the Tsar to visit them at the very

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[a] In the 1894 edition: "100 and 40 marks".—*Ed.*

[b] *Reynolds's Newspaper*, No. 1240, May 17, 1874.—*Ed.*

moment he was making preparations in Central Asia to overthrow English rule in India, and that if England, instead of lending a willing ear to the blandishments of the Tsar, this ostensible father of the peoples he oppresses, were to be less indifferent to the Poles' aspirations to independence, England, as well as the rest of Western Europe, could quietly stop their colossal armaments. And this is quite correct. The background to all European militarism is Russian militarism. As a reserve in the war of 1859 on the side of France, in 1866 and 1870 on the side of Prussia,[5] the Russian army enabled the leading military power of the day to vanquish its enemy in isolation. As the leading European military power, Prussia is a direct creation of Russia, although she has since grown too large for her patron's liking.

The address continues:

"By her geographical situation and by her readiness at any moment to fight in the cause of humanity, Poland always was, and in future always will continue to be, the foremost champion of justice, civilisation and social development in all North Eastern Europe. Poland has incontestably proved this by her centuries of resistance to the invasions of Eastern Barbarians[6] on the one hand, and to the inquisition, then oppressing nearly the entire West, on the other. How was it that the Nations of Western Europe were enabled peaceably to occupy themselves with the development of their social vitality precisely in the most decisive epoch of modern times? Merely because on the Eastern frontier of Europe the Polish soldier stood sentry, always watchful, always ready to charge, always prepared to sacrifice his health, his property, his life. It was owing to the shelter of Polish arms, that on Europe's awakening to a new life in the sixteenth century, the arts and sciences could flourish afresh, that commerce, industry and wealth could attain their present wonderful extension. What, for instance, would have become of the legacy of civilisation left to the West by the labour of two centuries, had not Poland, herself threatened by Mongolian hordes at her back, come to the rescue of Central Europe threatened by the Turks, and broken the Ottoman power by the brilliant victory under the walls of Vienna[7]?"[a]

The address goes on to argue that even today it is essentially Poland's resistance that prevents Russia from turning her forces on the West and that has even managed to disarm the most dangerous allies of Russia, her pan-Slavist agents. The most renowned Russian historian, Pogodin, says, in a work printed by the order and at the expense of the Russian government,[b] that Poland, hitherto the most painful sore on Russia's body, must become her right hand by restoring her as a small, weak kingdom under the sway of some Russian Prince—that would be the strongest bait for the Turkish and Austrian Slavonians:

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[a] *Address of the Polish Refugees to the English People*, London, 1874, p. 2.—*Ed.*

[b] М. П. Погодинъ, *Польской вопросъ. Собраніе разсужденій, записокъ и замѣчаній. 1831-1867.*—*Ed.*

"We shall [...] proclaim this in a manifesto, England and France will bite their lips, and as for Austria it will be her death-blow.... All the Poles, even the most irreconcilable, will fly to our embrace; the Austrian and Prussian Poles will reunite with their brothers. All Slavonic races now oppressed by Austria, Czechs, Croats, Hungarians (!), even the Slavonians of Turkey, will long for the hour when they shall be able to breathe as freely as the Poles. We shall be a race of a hundred millions under one sceptre, and then, ye nations of Europe, come and try your strength with us!" [8]

Unfortunately, this beautiful plan lacked only the main thing: the consent of Poland. But

"to all those allurements—the world knows it—Poland replied: I will live and must live, if I am to live at all, not as the tool of a foreign Tsar's plans for world conquest, but as a free nation among the free nations of Europe".[a]

The address then explains in further detail how Poland has confirmed this unshakeable decision of hers. At the critical moment of her existence, at the outbreak of the French Revolution, Poland was already crippled by the first partition and divided between four states.[9] Yet she had the courage to raise the banner of the French Revolution on the Vistula—by the Constitution of the 3rd of May, 1791 [10]—a deed that earned her a place high above all her neighbours. The old Polish economy was thus destroyed; given a few decades of peaceful development, undisturbed from outside, and Poland would have become the most advanced and most powerful country east of the Rhine. It would not, however, suit the partition powers for Poland to rise once again, and even less for her to rise through the naturalisation of revolution in north-eastern Europe. Her fate was sealed: the Russians imposed on Poland what Prussians, Austrians and Imperial troops attempted in France in vain.[11]

"Kościuszko fought simultaneously for Polish independence and the principle of equality. [...] And it is notorious that from the moment of the loss of her national independence and in spite of it, Poland, in virtue of her innate patriotism and of her solidarity with all nations struggling for the rights of humanity, became the most active champion of justice outraged, no matter in what country, fighting on whatever battlefield tyranny was resisted. Unbroken by her own disasters, unshaken by the blindness and ill will of European governments, Poland has not for one moment been unmindful of the duties imposed upon her by herself, by history and by regard for the future." [b]

At the same time, she has also developed the principles on which this future, the new Polish republic, will be organised: they are laid down in the manifestoes of 1836, 1845 and 1863.[12]

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[a] *Address...*, pp. 3-4.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 4.—*Ed.*

"The first of those manifestoes, while asserting the unshakeable national rights of Poland, proclaims at the same time the *equality of rights of the peasantry*.[a] That of 1845, issued on Polish soil, in the then free city of Cracow,[13] and sanctioned by delegates from all parts of Poland, proclaims not only this equality of rights, but also the principle that the *soil*, cultivated by the peasantry for centuries, *shall become their property*.[a] — In the part of Poland stolen by the Muscovites, the landlords, accepting the above manifestoes as part and parcel of Polish national law, had long before the imperial so-called Emancipation Proclamation resolved to settle this internal matter, which troubled their consciences, voluntarily and by agreement with the peasantry (1859-1863). The Polish land question was resolved, in principle, by the Constitution of May 3rd, 1791; if since then the Polish peasantry have been oppressed it was solely in consequence of the despotism and *Machiavellism*[a] of the Tsar who based his domination upon the mutual antagonism of landlords and peasants. The resolution was taken long before the imperial proclamation of February 19th, 1861; and this proclamation, applauded by the whole of Europe and pretending to establish equal rights for the peasants, is merely a cloak for one of the ever-repeated attempts of the Tsar to take unto himself other people's property. The Polish rural populace is just as oppressed as before, but—*the soil has become the property of the Tsar*! And as a punishment for the bloody protest raised in 1863 against the treacherous barbarism of her oppressors,[14] Poland has had to undergo a series of brutal persecutions such as would shake with horror even the tyranny of past centuries. [...]

"And yet neither the cruel yoke of the Tsar, though it has now weighed on her for a full century, nor the indifference of Europe, have been able to kill Poland.

"We have lived and we shall live by virtue of our own will, our own strength and our own social and political development, which renders us superior to our oppressors; for their existence is based, from beginning to end, upon brute force, prisons and the gallows, and their chief means of action abroad are clandestine machinations, treacherous surprises and, finally, conquest by force."[b]

Let us, however, leave the address, which has been adequately characterised by the above extracts, in order to append to it some observations on the importance of the Polish question for the German workers.

No matter how much Russia had developed since Peter the Great, no matter how much her influence had grown in Europe (to which Frederick II of Prussia contributed more than a little, even though he knew full well what he was doing), she nevertheless remained essentially just as non-European a power as, for example, Turkey, until the moment she seized Poland. The first partition of Poland was in 1772; in 1779 in the Peace of Teschen[c] Russia was already demanding[d] the attested right to

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[a] Italicised by Engels.— *Ed.*

[b] *Address...*, pp. 4-5.— *Ed.*

[c] *Traité de paix entre Sa Majesté l'Impératrice de Hongrie et de Bohème, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, conclu et signé à Teschen le treize mai 1779, avec un article séparé et les conventions, garanties et actes annexés.*— *Ed.*

[d] In the 1894 edition added: "and received".— *Ed.*

interfere in German affairs.[15] That should have taught the German princes a lesson; yet Frederick William II, the only Hohenzollern ever to offer serious resistance to Russian policy, and Francis II agreed to the complete break-up of Poland. After the Napoleonic wars, Russia took, in addition, the lion's share of the previously Prussian and Austrian Polish provinces and now appeared openly as Europe's arbiter, a role she continued to play, without interruption, until 1853. Prussia was evidently proud of being allowed to crawl before Russia; Austria followed reluctantly, but always gave way at the crucial moment for fear of revolution, against which the Tsar remained the last bulwark. Thus, Russia became the stronghold of European reaction, without denying herself the pleasure of preparing further conquests in Austria and Turkey with pan-Slavist rabble-rousing. During the years of revolution, the crushing of the Hungarians by Russia[16] was just as decisive an event for Eastern and Central Europe as was the June battle in Paris for the West[17]; and when Tsar Nicholas shortly afterwards sat in judgment on the King of Prussia[a] and the Emperor of Austria[b] in Warsaw, Russia's domination set the seal on the domination of reaction in Europe.[18] The Crimean War liberated the West and Austria from the Tsar's insolence[19]; Prussia and the small states of Germany were all the more willing to crawl before him; but, in 1859, he was already chastising the Austrians for their disobedience by ensuring that his German vassals did not side with them,[20] and in 1866 Prussia completed the punishment of Austria.[21] We have already seen above that the Russian army constitutes the pretext for and the reserve of all European militarism. Only the fact that Nicholas had challenged the West in 1853, relying on his million soldiers (who, admittedly, existed largely on paper only), provided Louis Napoleon with an excuse in the Crimean War to turn the then rather enfeebled French army into the strongest in Europe. Only because the Russian army prevented Austria from siding with France in 1870[22] was Prussia able to defeat France and to complete the Prusso-German military monarchy. Behind all these grand performances of state[23] we see the Russian army. And even if the victory of Germany over France will just as surely produce a war between Russia and Germany—unless Russia's internal development soon enters a revolutionary flux—as the victory of Prussia over Austria at Sadowa[24] entailed

[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*
[b] Francis Joseph I.—*Ed.*

the Franco-German War,* the Russian army will always be prepared to oppose any movement in the interior of Prussia. Even today, official Russia is the stronghold and bulwark of all European reaction, her army the reserve of all other armies, ensuring the suppression of the working class in Europe.

Yet it is the German workers who are first exposed to the onslaught of this large reserve army of oppression, both in the so-called German Empire and in Austria. As long as the Russians stand behind the Austrian and German bourgeoisie and governments, the sting is taken out of the entire German labour movement. So we, more than any others, have an interest in ridding ourselves of Russian reaction and the Russian army.

Moreover, in doing this we have only one reliable ally, which will remain reliable in all circumstances: *the Polish people.*

Through her historical development and her present position, Poland is faced, far more than France is, with the choice of either being revolutionary or perishing. And this scotches all the silly talk concerning the essentially aristocratic nature of the Polish movement. There are plenty of Polish refugees who have aristocratic cravings; but once Poland herself enters the movement it becomes revolutionary through and through, as we have seen in 1846[25] and 1863. These movements were not simply national; they were also aimed directly at liberating the peasants and transferring landed property to them. In 1871 the great mass of Polish refugees in France entered the service of the Commune[26]; was this an act of aristocrats? Did that not prove that these Poles were at the very apex of the modern movement? Since Bismarck introduced the *Kulturkampf*[27] in Posen[a] and, on the pretext of striking a blow against the Pope,[b] searches out Polish textbooks, suppresses the Polish language and does his utmost to drive the Poles into the arms of Russia, what happens? The Polish aristocracy is increasingly siding with Russia to at least reunify Poland under Russian rule; the revolutionary masses reply by offering to ally themselves with the German workers' party and fighting in the ranks of the International.

In 1863, Poland showed that she could not be done to death, and continues to show this every day. Her claim to an

* This is already stated in the "Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-German War" (dated September 9, 1870).

[a] The 1894 edition has: "Poland".— *Ed.*

[b] Pius IX.— *Ed.*

independent existence in the European family of nations is irrefutable. Her restoration, however, is a necessity for two nations in particular: for the Germans and for the Russians themselves.

A people that oppresses others cannot emancipate itself. The power it needs to oppress others is ultimately always turned against itself. As long as there are Russian soldiers in Poland, the Russian people cannot liberate itself politically or socially. At the present stage of development in Russia, however, it is beyond dispute that the day Russia loses Poland, the movement will become strong enough in Russia herself to bring down the existing order. The independence of Poland and revolution in Russia imply each other. Meanwhile, Polish independence and revolution in Russia—which is far closer than it would appear on the surface, given the complete social, political and financial breakdown and the corruption that pervades the whole of official Russia—mean for the German workers that the bourgeoisie, the governments, in short, reaction in Germany, will be reduced to their own forces, forces that we shall, in time, overcome.

## II

## PROGRAMME OF THE BLANQUIST COMMUNE REFUGEES[28]

After every unsuccessful revolution or counter-revolution, feverish activity develops among the émigrés who escaped abroad. Party groups of various shades are formed, which accuse each other of having driven the cart into the mud, of treason and of all other possible mortal sins. They also maintain close ties with the homeland, organise, conspire, print leaflets and newspapers, swear that it will start over again within the next twenty-four hours, that victory is certain and, in the wake of this expectation, distribute government posts. Naturally, disappointment follows disappointment, and since this is attributed not to inevitable historical conditions, which they do not wish to understand, but to accidental mistakes by individuals, recriminations accumulate and result in general bickering. Such is the history of all refugee societies, from the royalist émigrés of 1792[29] to those of today; and those among the émigrés who have common sense and reason give up this fruitless squabbling as soon as this can properly be done, and turn to something more useful.

The French emigration after the Commune has not escaped this inevitable fate either. Owing to the European smear campaign, which attacked all equally, and especially in London, where the French emigration had its common centre in the General Council of the International, for some time it was compelled to conceal its internal squabbles at least from the outside world. In the last two years, however, it was no longer able to hide the process of disintegration that is progressing rapidly in its ranks. An open quarrel flared up everywhere. In Switzerland some of the refugees joined the Bakuninists, notably under the influence of *Malon*, who was one of the founders of the secret Alliance.[30] Then, in London,

the so-called Blanquists split off from the International and formed a group that called itself the Revolutionary Commune.[31] Later, a number of other groups emerged that were, however, constantly fusing and reorganising, and did not produce anything worthwhile even as regards manifestoes, whereas the Blanquists have just issued the proclamation to the "Communeux",[a] calling the world's attention to their programme.

They are called Blanquists not because they are a group founded by Blanqui—of the 33 signatories to the programme only a few may ever have spoken to Blanqui—but because they want to act in his spirit and in accordance with his tradition. Blanqui is essentially a political revolutionary, a socialist only in sentiment, because of his sympathy for the sufferings of the people, but he has neither socialist theory nor definite practical proposals for social reforms. In his political activities he was essentially a "man of action", believing that, if a small well-organised minority should attempt to effect a revolutionary uprising at the right moment, it might, after scoring a few initial successes, carry the mass of the people and thus accomplish a victorious revolution. Naturally, under Louis Philippe he was able to organise this nucleus only in the form of a secret society, and it met the fate usually reserved for conspiracies: the people, fed up with the constant proffering of empty promises that it would soon begin, finally lost all patience, became rebellious, and there remained only the alternative of letting the conspiracy collapse or of striking without any external cause. They struck (May 12, 1839), but the insurrection was immediately suppressed.[32] This Blanqui conspiracy, by the way, was the only one in which the police never succeeded in gaining a foothold; for the police, the insurrection came like a bolt from the blue.—Since Blanqui regards every revolution as a coup de main by a small revolutionary minority, it automatically follows that its victory must inevitably be succeeded by the establishment of a dictatorship—not, it should be well noted, of the entire revolutionary class, the proletariat, but of the small number of those who accomplished the coup and who themselves are, at first, organised under the dictatorship of one or several individuals.

Obviously, Blanqui is a revolutionary of the old generation. These views on the course of revolutionary events have long since become obsolete, at least as far as the German workers' party is concerned, and in France, too, they meet the approval only of the less mature or more impatient workers. We shall also find that, in

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[a] *Aux Communeux*, London, June 1874.—*Ed.*

the programme in question, definite limitations have been imposed on these views. However, our London Blanquists too are guided by the principle that revolutions do not generally occur by themselves, but are made; that they are made by a relatively small minority and according to a plan worked out in advance; and, finally, that at any time it may "soon begin". With such principles people naturally become irretrievable victims of all the self-deceptions of the refugees and plunge from one folly into another. Most of all they want to play the role of Blanqui—the "man of action". But little good can be accomplished here by good will alone; Blanqui's revolutionary instinct, his ability to reach quick decisions are not, however, given to all, and no matter how much Hamlet may speak of action, he still remains Hamlet. Moreover, when our thirty-three men of action find that there is absolutely nothing to be done in the field they call action, our thirty-three Brutuses fall into a contradiction with themselves, which is comical rather than tragic, a contradiction wherein the tragedy is not heightened by the gloomy appearance they assume, as though they are a lot of "Möros, of the cloak and dagger",[a] which, by the way, does not even enter their heads. What can they do? They are preparing for the next "outburst", by drawing up proscription lists for the future, to cleanse (*épuré*) the ranks of the people who took part in the Commune, which is why the other refugees call them the *pure* (*les purs*). Whether or not they have themselves assumed that title I do not know; it would ill fit some of them. Their meetings are closed, their decisions are kept secret, but this does not prevent their being echoed throughout the whole French Quarter the following morning. As always happens with such serious men of action, when they have nothing to do—they have picked first a personal, then a literary quarrel with a worthy opponent, one of the most notorious members of the Paris petite press, a certain Vermersch, who under the Commune published the *Père Duchêne*, a miserable caricature of Hébert's newspaper of 1793. In reply to their moral indignation, this gentleman published a pamphlet in which he branded them as "rogues or accomplices of rogues"[b] and poured a veritable stream of abusive invectives at them:

> Each word a night-pot
> and not an empty one at that.[c]

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[a] F. Schiller, *Die Bürgschaft* ("Damon und Phintias"), 1st stanza.—*Ed.*

[b] E. Vermersch, *Un mot au public*, London, April 1874; *Les partageux. Poème*, May 12, 1874.—*Ed.*

[c] H. Heine, "Disputation", Verse 86, *Romanzero. Drittes Buch. Hebräische Melodien.*—*Ed.*

And our thirty-three Brutuses find it worthwhile to pick a public quarrel with such an opponent!

If one thing is certain it is that, after the exhausting war, after the hunger in Paris and, notably, after the awful blood-letting of the May days in 1871,[33] the Paris proletariat needs a long rest to recuperate, and that every premature attempt at an insurrection can only end in a new, perhaps still more horrible defeat. Our Blanquists hold a different view. In their opinion, the disintegration of the monarchic majority in Versailles[34] ushers in

> "the fall of Versailles, the revanche for the Commune. This is because we are approaching a great historical moment, one of the great crises when the people, apparently succumbing in wretchedness and condemned to death, resume their revolutionary advance with renewed force".[a]

So, it starts all over again, and what is more, immediately. This hope for an immediate "revanche for the Commune" is not merely an émigré illusion; it is an essential article of faith for people who have taken it into their heads to play "men of action" at a time when absolutely nothing can be done in their sense, that is, in the sense of precipitating a revolution. All the same, since it is to begin, they feel that "the time has come for all refugees who still have a spark of life left in them to define their position".[b] And thus the thirty-three tell us that they are 1) atheists, 2) Communists, 3) revolutionaries.

Our Blanquists have a basic feature in common with the Bakuninists, in that they want to represent the most far-reaching, most extreme trend. It is for this reason, incidentally, that the Blanquists, while opposing the Bakuninists over aims, often agree with them over means. It is, therefore, a question of being more radical than all others as regards atheism. Luckily, it is easy enough these days to be an atheist. In the European workers' parties atheism is more or less self-understood, even though in some countries it is quite often similar to that of the Spanish Bakuninist who declared: to believe in God is against all socialism, but to believe in the Virgin Mary is something quite different, and every decent Socialist should naturally do so. As regards the German Social-Democratic workers,[c] it can be said that atheism has already outlived its usefulness for them; this pure negation does not apply to them, since they no longer stand in theoretical, but only in practical opposition to all belief in God: they are *simply*

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[a] *Aux Communeux*, p. 2.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid.—*Ed.*

[c] The 1894 edition has: "As regards the great majority of the German Social-Democratic workers".—*Ed.*

*through with God*, they live and think in the real world and are, therefore, materialists. The same probably applies to France. If not, there could be nothing simpler than to organise the mass distribution among the workers of the splendid French materialist literature of the last century, of the literature in which the French spirit has attained its sublime expression as regards both form and content, and which, considering the level of science that existed then, even today stands exceedingly high as regards content, and still unexcelled as regards form. This, however, does not suit our Blanquists. To prove that they are the most radical of all, God, as in 1793,[35] is decreed out of existence:

> "Let the Commune forever deliver mankind from this spectre of past misery" (God), "of this cause" (non-existent God a cause!) "of their present misery.—There is no room for priests in the Commune; every religious service, every religious organisation must be banned."[a]

And this demand to transform the people *par ordre du mufti*[b] into atheists is signed by two members of the Commune,[c] who surely must have had sufficient opportunity to discover, first, that anything can be decreed on paper but that this does not mean that it will be carried out; second, that persecution is the best way of strengthening undesirable convictions! This much is certain: the only service that can still be rendered to God today is to make atheism a compulsory dogma and to surpass Bismarck's anticlerical *Kulturkampf* laws by prohibiting religion in general.

The second point of the programme is communism. Here we find ourselves on more familiar ground for the ship we are sailing here is called the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, published in February 1848. Already in the autumn of 1872 the five Blanquists who had left the International embraced a socialist programme that, in all its essential features, was that of present-day German communism, and based their withdrawal solely on the refusal of the International to play at revolution after the fashion of those five.[36] Now the council of the thirty-three has adopted this programme, with all its materialist view of history, even though its translation into Blanquist French leaves much to be desired where the wording of the *Manifesto* was not kept almost verbatim, as for example, in this phrase:

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[a] *Aux Communeux*, p. 4.—*Ed.*

[b] by order of the mufti, by order from above.—*Ed.*

[c] A slip of the pen; the proclamation is signed by four members of the Commune: Édouard Vaillant, Émile Eudes, Jean Clement and Frédéric Cournet.—*Ed.*

"The bourgeoisie has removed the mystic veils from the exploitation of labour in which this last expression of all forms of slavery was formerly shrouded: governments, religions, the family, laws, institutions of both the past and present are finally revealed in this society, resting on the simple opposition of capitalists and wage-workers, as the instruments of oppression, with whose help the bourgeoisie upholds its rule and suppresses the proletariat."[a]

Let us compare this with the *Communist Manifesto*, Section I: "In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation. The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-labourers. The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation," etc.[b]

Yet as soon as we leave theory aside and get down to practice, the peculiar stand of the thirty-three becomes evident:

"We are Communists because we want to arrive at our aim without stop-overs at intermediate stations, without entering into compromises, which only put off victory and prolong slavery."[c]

The German Communists are Communists because, through all intermediate stations and compromises, created not by them but by historical development, they clearly perceive[d] the ultimate aim: the abolition of classes, the establishment of a society in which there will be no private ownership of land and means of production. The thirty-three are Communists because they imagine that, as soon as *they* have only the good will to jump over intermediate stations and compromises, everything is assured, and if, as they firmly believe, it "begins" in a day or two, and they take the helm, "communism will be introduced" the day after tomorrow. And they are not Communists if this cannot be done immediately. What childish naïveté to advance impatience as a convincing theoretical argument!

Finally, our thirty-three are "revolutionaries".[e] As regards the bandying of big words, the Bakuninists are known to have done everything humanly possible in this respect. But our Blanquists feel obliged to outdo them. But how? It will be remembered that the whole socialist proletariat, from Lisbon and New York to Budapest and Belgrade, immediately adopted responsibility for

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[a] *Aux Communeux*, pp. 4-5.—*Ed.*
[b] See present edition, Vol. 6, p. 487.—*Ed.*
[c] *Aux Communeux*, p. 5.—*Ed.*
[d] The 1894 edition has: "they clearly perceive and pursue".—*Ed.*
[e] *Aux Communeux*, p. 7.—*Ed.*

the actions of the Paris Commune *en bloc.* But that is not enough for our Blanquists:

"As far as we are concerned, we claim our share of the responsibility for the executions" (under the Commune) "of the enemies of the people" (a list of the executed is appended), "we claim our share of the responsibility for the arson that destroyed the instruments of monarchic or bourgeois oppression or protected those engaged in struggle."[a]

A lot of follies are unavoidably committed in every revolution, as they are indeed at all other times, and when at last people calm down sufficiently to be able to review events critically, they inevitably draw the following conclusion: we have done many things that it would have been better to leave undone, and have failed to do many things that it would have been better to do, and that is why things took a bad turn. But what a lack of critical attitude is needed to declare the Commune impeccable and infallible and to assert that, every time a house was burned down or a hostage shot, this was a case of retributive justice, right down to the dot on the "i". Is this not tantamount to asserting that, during the week in May, the people shot precisely the number of people, and no more, than was necessary, that exactly those buildings were burned down, and no more, than had to be burned down? Is that not tantamount to saying of the first French revolution: each one beheaded got his deserts, first those whom Robespierre beheaded, and then Robespierre himself? Such childish patter results when essentially quite good-natured people give in to the urge to appear savagely brutal.

Enough. In spite of all the foolish actions taken by the refugees and the droll attempts to make boy Karl (or Eduard?)[b] appear awe-inspiring, some definite progress can be noted in this programme. It is the first manifesto in which *French workers rally to the cause of present-day German communism.* Moreover, these workers are of a trend that regards the French as the chosen people of the revolution, and Paris the revolutionary Jerusalem. To have brought them this far is to the indisputable credit of *Vaillant,* who is one of the signatories and who, as is widely known, has a good knowledge of the German language and of German socialist writing. The German socialist workers who, in 1870, proved that any national chauvinism is absolutely alien to them, may consider it a favourable omen that the French workers are adopting correct theoretical principles, even though these come from Germany.

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[a] *Aux Communeux,* pp. 11-12.—*Ed.*

[b] Engels plays on the words of Philipp II from Schiller's drama *Don Carlos* (Act I, Scene 6). In the 1894 edition the words "(or Eduard?)"—an allusion to Édouard Vaillant—are omitted.—*Ed.*

## III[37]

In London a review entitled *Vperyod!* (Forward)[a] is appearing in the Russian language and at irregular intervals. It is edited by a personally most respectable scholar,[b] whom the prevailing strict etiquette in Russian refugee literature prevents me from naming. For even those Russians who pose as out-and-out revolutionary ogres, who dub it a betrayal of the revolution to respect anything at all—in their polemics even they respect the appearance of anonymity with a conscientiousness only equalled in the English bourgeois press; they respect it even when it becomes comical, as it does here, because all the Russian refugees and the Russian government know perfectly well what the man's name is. It would never occur to us to let out such a carefully kept secret without good reason; but since the child must have a name, let us hope that the editor of the *Forward* will excuse us if, for the sake of brevity, in this article we call him by the popular Russian name *Peter*.

In his philosophy, Friend Peter is an eclectic who selects the best from all the different systems and theories: try everything and keep the best! He knows that everything has a good side and a bad side, and that the main thing is to appropriate the good side of everything without being saddled with the bad, too. Since every thing, every person, every theory has these two sides, a good and a bad, every thing, every person, every theory is as good and as bad as any other in this respect, hence, from this vantage point, it would be foolish to become impassioned for or against one or the other. From this point of view, the struggles and disputes of the

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[a] *Впередъ! Непеpiодическое обозрѣніе.— Ed.*

[b] P. L. Lavrov.— *Ed.*

revolutionaries and socialists amongst themselves are bound to appear sheer fatuous absurdities that serve no better purpose than to please their opponents. Moreover, nothing could be more understandable for a man of this opinion than to attempt to bring all of these mutually hostile factions together and earnestly enjoin them no longer to treat reaction to this scandalous spectacle, but exclusively to attack the common adversary. All the more natural, of course, if one comes from Russia, where the labour movement is, as we know, so extremely highly developed.

The *Forward* is, then, full of exhortations urging concord on all socialists or urging them, at least, to avoid all *public* discord. When the Bakuninists' attempts to subjugate the International to their rule under false pretences, by lies and deceit, occasioned the well-known split in the Association, again it was the *Forward* that exhorted us to unity. This unity could, of course, only be attained by immediately letting the Bakuninists have their way and delivering the International up to their secret conspiracies, tied hand and foot. One was not unprincipled enough to do so; one accepted the challenge; the Hague Congress came to its decision, threw out the Bakuninists and resolved to publish the documents justifying this expulsion.[38]

There was a great deal of lamentation on the editorial board of the *Forward* over the fact that the entire labour movement had not been sacrificed to dear "unity". Yet even greater was the horror when the compromising Bakuninist documents really did appear in the commission's report (see "Ein Komplott gegen die Internationale",[39] German edition, Brunswick, Bracke). Let us hear from the *Forward* itself:

> "This publication ... has the character of caustic polemics against persons who are in the foremost ranks of the Federalists, ... its contents are topped up with private matters which could only have been collected by hearsay, and the credibility of which could consequently not have been indisputable for the authors."[a]

In order to prove to the people who implemented the decision of the Hague Congress what a colossal crime they had committed, the *Forward* refers to a feuilleton in the *Neue Freie Presse* by a certain Karl Thaler,[b] which,

> "having emerged from the bourgeois camp, merits particular attention because it proves most clearly the importance for the common enemies of the working class,

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[a] [P. L. Lavrov,] "Лѣтопись рабочаго движенія", *Впередъ! Непеpіодическое обозрѣніе,* Zurich, 1874, Vol. II, Part II, Ch. II, p. 26.— *Ed.*

[b] Karl von Thaler, "Rothe Jesuiten", *Neue Freie Presse* (Morgenblatt), Nos. 3284 and 3285, October 14 and 15, 1873 (in the section *Feuilleton*).— *Ed.*

for the bourgeoisie and governments of the mutually accusatory pamphlets of the contenders for supremacy among the ranks of the workers".[a]

First let us remark that the Bakuninists are here presented simply as "*Federalists*", as opposed to the alleged *Centralists*, as if the author believed in this non-existent opposition invented by the Bakuninists. That this was not, in fact, the case will become evident. Second, let us remark that from this feuilleton, written to order for such a venal bourgeois sheet as the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse*, the conclusion is drawn that *genuine* revolutionaries should not expose merely *ostensible* revolutionaries because these mutual accusations provide amusement for the bourgeois and governments. I believe that the *Neue Freie Presse* and all this press rabble could write ten thousand articles without having the slightest effect on the stance of the German workers' party. Every struggle has moments when one cannot deny one's opponent a certain satisfaction, if one is not to inflict positive damage on oneself. Fortunately, we have got so far that we can allow our opponents this private pleasure if we thereby achieve real successes.

The main charge, however, is that the report is full of private matters the credibility of which could not have been indisputable for the authors, because they could only have been collected by hearsay. How Friend Peter knows that a society like the International, which has its official organs throughout the civilised world, can only collect such facts by hearsay is not stated. His assertion is, anyway, frivolous in the extreme. The facts in question are attested by authentic evidence, and those concerned took good care not to contest them.

But Friend Peter is of the opinion that private matters, such as private letters, are sacred and should not be published in political debates. To accept the validity of this argument on any terms is to render the writing of all history impossible. The relationship between Louis XV and Du Barry or Pompadour was a private matter, but without it the whole pre-history of the French Revolution is incomprehensible. Or, to take a step towards the present: if an innocent girl called Isabella[b] is married to a man[c] who, according to experts (assessor Ulrichs, for example) cannot stand women and hence only falls in love with men—if, finding herself neglected, she takes men wherever she finds them, then that is purely a private matter. But if the said innocent Isabella is

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[a] [P. L. Lavrov,] "Лѣтопись рабочаго движенія", *Впередъ!*, Zurich, 1874, Vol. II, Part II, Ch. II, p. 26.— *Ed.*

[b] Isabella II—Queen of Spain.— *Ed.*

[c] Francisco de Asis.— *Ed.*

Queen of Spain and one of these young men kept by her is a young officer called Serrano[a]; if this Serrano is promoted field marshal and prime minister in recognition of the heroic deeds he has performed behind closed doors, is then supplanted and overthrown by another,[b] subsequently throws his faithless sweetheart out of the country with the help of other companions in misfortune, and after a variety of adventures eventually himself becomes dictator of Spain and such a great man that Bismarck does his utmost to persuade the Great Powers to recognise him—then this private affair between Isabella and Serrano becomes a piece of Spanish history, and anyone wishing to write about modern Spanish history and knowingly concealing this titbit from his readers would be falsifying history. Again, if one is describing the history of a gang like the Alliance, among whom there is such a large number of tricksters, adventurers, rogues, police spies, swindlers and cowards alongside those they have duped, should one falsify this history by knowingly concealing the individual villainies of these gentlemen as "private matters"? Much as it may horrify Friend Peter, he may rely on it that we are not done with these "private matters" by a long chalk. The material is still mounting up.

When, however, the *Forward* describes the report as a clumsy concoction of essentially private facts, it is committing an act that is hard to characterise. Anyone who could write such a thing had either not read the report in question at all; or he was too limited or prejudiced to understand it; or else he was writing something he knew to be incorrect. Nobody can read the "Komplott gegen die Internationale" without being convinced that the private matters interspersed in it are the most insignificant part of it, are illustrations meant to provide a more detailed picture of the characters involved, and that they could all be cut without jeopardising the main point of the report. The organisation of a secret society, with the sole aim of subjecting the European labour movement to a hidden dictatorship of a few adventurers, the infamies committed to further this aim, particularly by Nechayev in Russia[40]—this is the central theme of the book, and to maintain that it all revolves around private matters is, to say the least, irresponsible.

To be sure, it may be extremely painful for some Russians suddenly to see the dirty side—and it certainly is very dirty—of

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[a] Francisco Serrano y Dominguez.—*Ed.*

[b] Luis Gonzáles Bravo.—*Ed.*

the Russian movement ruthlessly exposed to Western Europe. But who is to blame? Who else but those Russians themselves who represent this dirty side, who, not satisfied with deceiving their own compatriots, attempted to subordinate the whole European labour movement to their personal ends? If Bakunin and company had restricted their heroic deeds to Russia, people in Western Europe would hardly have troubled to train their sights on them. The Russians themselves would have done that. But as soon as those gentlemen, who do not even understand the rudiments of the conditions and development of the West European labour movement, seek to play the dictator with us, it ceases to be amusing: one simply fires at them pointblank.

Anyway, the Russian movement can take such revelations with equanimity. A country that has produced two writers of the stature of Dobrolyubov and Chernyshevsky, two socialist Lessings, will not be destroyed because, all at once, it spawns a humbug like Bakunin and a few immature little students, who inflate themselves with big words like frogs, and finally gobble one another up. Even among the younger Russians we know people of first-class theoretical and practical talents and great energy, people who have the advantage over the French and the English, thanks to their knowledge of languages, in their intimate acquaintance with the movement in different countries, and over the Germans in their cosmopolitan versatility. Those Russians who understand and participate in the labour movement can only regard it as a service rendered to have been relieved of complicity in the Bakuninists' acts of villainy. All this does not, however, prevent the *Forward* from concluding its account with the words:

"We do not know what the authors of this pamphlet think of the results it has achieved. The majority of our readers would probably share the feeling of depression with which we have read it and with which we record these sorry phenomena in our pages, in pursuance of our duty as chroniclers."[a]

With this feeling of depression on the part of Friend Peter we conclude the first section of our tale. The second begins with the following paragraph from the same volume of the *Forward*:

"Our readers will be pleased to receive another piece of news in a similar vein. With us, in our ranks, we also have the well-known writer Peter Nikitich Tkachov; after four years' detention he has succeeded in escaping from the place where he was interned and condemned to inactivity, to reinforce our ranks."[b]

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[a] [P. L. Lavrov,] Op. cit., p. 27.—*Ed.*

[b] *Впередъ! Непеpіодическое обозрѣніе*, Vol. II, Part 2, Zurich, 1874: *Изъ Иркутска.* In the section: *Что дѣлается на Родинѣ?*, p. 115.—*Ed.*

We learn who the well-known writer Tkachov is from a Russian pamphlet, *The Tasks of Revolutionary Propaganda in Russia*, which he himself published in April 1874 and which depicts him as a green grammar-school boy of singular immaturity, the Karlchen Missnick, as it were, of Russian revolutionary youth. He tells us that many people have asked him to collaborate in the *Forward*; he knew the editor was a reactionary; nevertheless, he considered it his duty to take the *Forward* under his wing, although—it should be noted—it had not asked for him. On arriving he finds, to his astonishment, that the editor, Friend Peter, presumes to make the final decision on the acceptance or rejection of articles. *Such* an undemocratic procedure naturally infuriates him; he composes a detailed document claiming, for himself and the other staff (who—it should be noted—had not asked for it), "in the name of justice, on the basis of purely theoretical considerations ... equality of rights and obligations" (with the editor-in-chief) "with regard to everything affecting the literary and economic side of the enterprise".[a]

Here we see straightaway the immaturity that, while it does not dominate the Russian refugee movement, is, nevertheless, more or less endured. A Russian scholar, who has a considerable reputation in his own country, becomes a refugee and acquires the means to found a political journal abroad. Scarcely has he managed to do this, when some more or less enthusiastic youth comes along, unasked, and offers to take part, on the more or less childish condition that he should have an equal voice with the founder of the journal in all literary and financial matters. In Germany he would have been laughed at. But the Russians are not so coarse. Friend Peter goes to great pains to convince him that he is wrong, both "in the name of justice and on the basis of purely theoretical considerations"—naturally in vain. Tkachov, offended, withdraws like Achilles to his tent[41] and fires off his pamphlet against Friend Peter, whom he calls a "philistine philosopher".[b]

With a stifling heap of eternally repeated Bakuninist phrases about the nature of true revolution, he accuses Friend Peter of the crime of *preparing* the people for revolution, of seeking to bring them to a "clear understanding and awareness of their needs". Anyone, however, who wishes to do that is no revolutionary, but a man of peaceful progress, i.e., a reactionary, a supporter of

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[a] П. Н. Ткачёвъ, *Задачи революціонной пропаганды въ Россіи*, [London,] 1874, p. VIII.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 10.—*Ed.*

"bloodless revolution in the German taste".[a] The true revolutionary "knows that the people are always ready for revolution"[b]; anyone who does not believe this does not believe in the people, and faith in the people "constitutes our strength". To anyone who does not realise this, the writer quotes a pronouncement by Nechayev, this "typical representative of our modern youth". Friend Peter says we must wait until the people are ready for revolution—"but we cannot and will not wait"[c]; the true revolutionary differs from the philistine philosopher in that he "assumes the right to summon the people to revolution at any time".[d] And so on.

Here in Western Europe we would simply dismiss all this childish nonsense with the answer: "If your people are ready for revolution at any time, if you assume the right to summon them to revolution at any time, and if you simply cannot wait, why do you go on boring us with your prattle, why, for goodness sake, don't you go ahead and strike now?"

But our Russians do not view matters quite so simply. Friend Peter thinks that Mr. Tkachov's childish, tedious and contradictory observations, which revolve in an eternal circle, may exert the seductive attraction of a *mons veneris*[42] on Russian youth, and, as the faithful Eckart of this youth, he issues an admonitory exhortation of sixty closely printed pages against them.[e] In this he sets out his own views on the nature of revolution, investigating in deadly earnest whether or not the people are ready for revolution and in what circumstances revolutionaries have the right to summon them to revolution or not and similar niceties, which at this level of generality have about as much value as the scholastics' studies of the Virgin Mary. In the process, "the Revolution" itself becomes a sort of Virgin Mary, theory becomes faith, activity in the movement becomes a religion, and the whole debate takes place not on *terra firma*, but in a cloudy sky of generalities.

Here, however, Friend Peter becomes involved in a tragic contradiction with himself. He, the preacher of unity, the opponent of all polemics, of all "mutually accusatory pamphlets" within the revolutionary party, cannot, of course, do his duty as Eckart, without also engaging in polemics; he cannot reply to his opponent's accusations without similarly accusing him. Friend

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[a] Ibid., p. 8.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 10.— *Ed.*
[c] Ibid., p. 34.— *Ed.*
[d] Ibid., p. 10.— *Ed.*
[e] [P. L. Lavrov,] *Русской соціально-революціонной молодёжи*, [London,] 1874.— *Ed.*

Peter will himself testify to the "feeling of depression" that accompanies this "sorry phenomenon".

His pamphlet begins as follows:

"Of two evils, one must choose the lesser.

"I know full well that all this refugee literature of mutually accusatory pamphlets, of polemics about who is the genuine friend of the people and who is not, who is honest and who is not, and, in particular, who is genuine representative of Russian youth, of the true revolutionary party—that all this literature about the personal dirt of the Russian emigration is as repugnant to the reader as it is insignificant for the revolutionary struggle, and can only gratify our enemies—this I know, and yet I find it *necessary* to pen these lines, necessary with my own hand to swell the number of these wretched writings by one more, to the tedium of our readers and the delight of our enemies—necessary, because of two evils, one must choose the lesser."[a]

Splendid. But why is it that Friend Peter, who evinces so much Christian tolerance in the *Forward* and demands the same of us towards the tricksters we have exposed—tricksters whom, as we shall see, he knows as well as we do,—that he did not even have the modicum of tolerance towards the writers of the report to ask himself whether they, too, were obliged to choose the lesser of two evils? Why must the fire first burn his own fingers before he realises that there might be even greater evils than a little harsh polemics against people who, in the guise of ostensibly revolutionary activity, were endeavouring to debase and destroy the entire European labour movement?

Let us, however, be indulgent towards Friend Peter; fate has been rather hard on him. No sooner has he done, in full consciousness of his own guilt, what he reproaches us with doing, than Nemesis drives him on and forces him to supply Mr. Karl Thaler with new material for several more articles in the *Neue Freie Presse.*

"Or," he asks the ever-ready madcap Tkachov, "has your agitation already done its work? Is your organisation perhaps ready? Ready? Really ready? Or have we here that notorious secret committee of 'typical' revolutionaries, the committee that consists of two men and circulates decrees?[43] Our young people have been told so many lies, they have been so often deceived, their trust so shamefully abused, that they will not, all at once, believe in the readiness of the revolutionary organisation."[b]

For the Russian reader it is, of course, unnecessary to add that the "two men" are Bakunin and Nechayev. Further:

"But there are those who claim to be friends of the people, supporters of the social revolution, and who, at the same time, bring to their activity that mendaciousness and dishonesty that I have described above as a belch of the old

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[a] Ibid., p. 3.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 17.—*Ed.*

society.... These people used the bitterness of the supporters of the new social order against the injustice of the old society, asserting the principle that, in war, every means is allowable. Among these *allowable* means they included the deception of their collaborators, the deception of the people whom they, nevertheless, claimed to serve. They were prepared to lie to everyone and anyone solely in order to organise a sufficiently strong party, just as if a strong social-revolutionary party could be produced without the honest solidarity of its members! They were ready to arouse in the people the old passions of banditry and enjoyment without work.... They were ready to exploit their friends and comrades, to make them tools of their plans; they were ready verbally to defend the most complete independence and autonomy of persons and sections, while at the same time organising the most pronounced secret dictatorship and training their supporters in the most sheep-like and thoughtless obedience, as if the social revolution could be carried out by a union of exploiters and exploited, by a group of people whose actions are, at every turn, a slap in the face for everything their words preach!"[a]

It is incredible, but true: these lines, which resemble an extract from the "Komplott gegen die Internationale" as closely as one egg does another, were written by the very man who, a few months before, had described that pamphlet as a crime against the common cause, because of its attacks on the very same people, attacks that were in complete agreement with the above lines. Well, let us be satisfied with this.

If, however, we now look back on Mr. Tkachov, with his great pretensions and utterly insignificant achievements, and at the little *malheur* that befell our Friend Peter on this occasion, we might well consider it our turn to say:

"We do not know what the authors think of the results achieved. The majority of our readers would probably share the feeling of 'amusement' with which we have read it and with which we record these 'strange' phenomena in our pages, in pursuance of our duty as chroniclers."

Joking aside, however. Many peculiar phenomena in the Russian movement to date are explained by the fact that, for a long time, every Russian publication was a closed book to the West, and that it was, therefore, easy for Bakunin and his consorts to conceal from it their goings-on, which had long been known to the Russians. They zealously spread the assertion that even the dirty sides of the Russian movement should—in the interests of the movement itself—be kept secret from the West; anyone who communicated Russian matters to the rest of Europe, in so far as they were of an unpleasant nature, was a traitor. That has now ceased. Knowledge of the Russian language—a language that, both for its own sake, as one of the richest and most powerful living languages, and on account of the literature thereby made

[a] Ibid., pp. 44, 45.—*Ed.*

accessible, richly deserves study—is no longer a great rarity, at any rate among the German Social-Democrats. The Russians will have to bow to the inevitable international fate: their movement will henceforth develop in full view and under the surveillance of the rest of Europe. Nobody has had to pay so dearly for their earlier isolation than they themselves. But for this isolation, it would never have been possible to cheat them so disgracefully for years on end, as Bakunin and his consorts did. Those who will derive the greatest benefit from the West's criticism, from the international interaction of the various West European movements on the Russian movement and vice versa, from the eventual fusion of the Russian movement with the all-European movement, are the Russians themselves.

## IV[44]

The readers of the *Volksstaat* have suffered a misfortune. Some of them may still remember that, in my last article on "refugee literature" (Nos. 117 and 118),[a] I dealt with some passages from the Russian periodical *Forward* and a pamphlet by its editor.[b] Quite by chance I happened to mention a Mr. Peter Tkachov, who has published a little pamphlet attacking the aforementioned editor,[c] and with whom I had only concerned myself as little as was absolutely necessary. I described him, to judge by the form and content of his immortal work, "as a green grammar-school boy of singular immaturity, the Karlchen Missnick, as it were, of Russian revolutionary youth"[d] and pitied the editor of the *Forward* for deeming it necessary to bandy words with such an adversary. I was soon to learn, however, that the boy Karl is beginning to get cross with me[e] and entangling me, too, in polemics with him. He publishes a pamphlet: *Offener Brief an Herrn Friedrich Engels* by Peter Tkachov, Zurich, typography by *Tagwacht*, 1874. The fact that, in it, I have all sorts of things foisted on to me that Mr. Tkachov must know I have never maintained would be a matter of indifference to me; but the fact that he gives the German workers quite a false picture of the situation in Russia, in order to justify the activities of the Bakuninists in relation to Russia, makes a reply necessary.

In his open letter, Mr. Tkachov consistently sets himself up as a representative of Russian revolutionary youth. He maintains that I "dispensed advice to the Russian revolutionaries ... urging them to

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[a] See this volume, pp. 19-28.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 25.— *Ed.*
[c] Ibid., p. 24.— *Ed.*
[d] Ibid.— *Ed.*
[e] Ibid., p. 18.— *Ed.*

enter into an alliance with me (!)"[a]; at the same time I had depicted them, "the representatives of the Russian revolutionary party abroad", their efforts and their literature in the "most unfavourable colours to the German labour world"; he says: "You express your utter contempt for *us Russians* because *we* are so 'stupid' and 'immature'," etc. "...'green grammar-school boys', as you please to call *us*"—and finally there follows the inevitable trump-card: "By mocking *us* you have done our common enemy, the Russian state, a valuable service." I have subjected him, Mr. Tkachov claims, "to every conceivable kind of abuse".[b]

Now, nobody knows better than Peter Nikitich Tkachov that there is not a single grain of truth in all this. First, in the article in question, I held no one responsible for Mr. Tkachov's utterances other than Mr. Tkachov himself. It never occurred to me to see him as a representative of the Russian revolutionaries. If he appoints himself as such, thereby transferring the green grammar-school boy and other pleasantries from his shoulders on to theirs, then I must definitely protest. Among Russian revolutionary youth there are, of course, as everywhere, people of widely differing moral and intellectual calibre. Yet its general level, even after taking full account of the time difference and the essentially different milieu, is undoubtedly still far higher than our German student youth has ever attained, even during its best period in the early 1830s. Nobody but Mr. Tkachov himself gives him the right to speak on behalf of these young people in their entirety. Indeed, even though he reveals himself as a true Bakuninist on this occasion, I nevertheless doubt at the moment whether he has the right to conduct himself as the representative of the small number of Russian Bakuninists whom I described as "a few immature little students, who inflate themselves with big words like frogs, and finally gobble one another up".[c] But even if this were the case, it would only be a new version of the old story of the three tailors of Tooley Street in London, who issued a proclamation that started, "We, the people of England, declare"[45] etc.* Thus, the main point that needs to be made is that the "Russian revolutionaries" do not

* What's the betting that Mr. Tkachov will say that, with the above anecdote, I have betrayed the proletariat by depicting tailors as such in a "ridiculous light"[d]?

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[a] P. Tkatschoff, *Offener Brief an Herrn Friedrich Engels...*, Zurich, 1874, p. 3.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 3, 7, 10 and 11.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 23.—*Ed.*

[d] P. Tkatschoff, *Offener Brief...*, p. 10.—*Ed.*

come into it, now any more than before, and that for Tkachov's "we" it is necessary to substitute "I", throughout.

I am supposed to have given him "advice". I haven't the faintest idea what he is talking about. I may have let fly a few *blows*, Peter Nikitich, but *advice*[a]? Be so kind as to furnish proof.

At the end of my last article, I am supposed to have urged him or his ilk to enter into an alliance with me. I will pay Mr. Tkachov ten marks in Bismarck's coin of the realm[46] if he can demonstrate that.

I am supposed to have maintained that he is "stupid", and he puts the word in quotation marks. Although I would not deny that he has hidden his talents—if that is the appropriate word here—under a bushel of considerable size in both these works, it is open to anyone to ascertain that the word "stupid" does *not occur once* anywhere in my article. But if all else fails, the Bakuninists resort to bogus quotations.

Further, I am supposed to have "mocked" him and portrayed him in a "ridiculous light". Granted, Mr. Tkachov will never be able to force me to take his pamphlet seriously. We Germans are widely reputed to be boring, and must have richly deserved this reputation on many an occasion. That does not, however, oblige us in all circumstances to be as boring and pompous as the Bakuninists. The German labour movement has acquired a singularly humorous character from its skirmishes with police, state prosecutors and prison-warders; why should I deny it? Mr. Tkachov has full permission to mock me and depict me in a ridiculous light, if he can manage it without imputing any lies to me.

Now the incomparable accusation: by portraying Mr. Tkachov in a light befitting him and his works, I have "done our common enemy, the Russian state, a valuable service"! Similarly, he says at another point: by describing him as I have, I am breaching "the basic principles of the programme of the International Working Men's Association"! Here we see the true Bakuninist. These gentlemen, as true revolutionaries, shun no means against us, particularly in the dark; but if one fails to treat *them* with the greatest respect, if one drags *their* antics into the light, criticises *them* and their ringing phrases, then one is serving the Tsar of Russia and breaching the basic principles of the International. Precisely the opposite is the case, in fact. The one who has done

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[a] In the original a play on the words *Schläge* (blows) and *Ratschläge* (advice).—*Ed.*

the Russian government a service is no other than Mr. Tkachov. If the Russian police had any sense, it would spread this gentleman's pamphlet throughout Russia in large numbers. On the one hand, it could hardly find a better means of discrediting the Russian revolutionaries, whom the writer claims to represent, in the eyes of all sensible people. On the other hand, it is always possible that some worthy but inexperienced young people would allow it to provoke them to rash acts, thus delivering themselves into a trap.

But, says Mr. Tkachov, I have subjected him to "every conceivable kind of abuse". Now a certain kind of abuse, the so-called invective, is one of the most effective forms of rhetoric, employed by all great orators when necessary; the most powerful English political writer, William Cobbett, possessed a supreme command of it that is still admired to this day and serves as an unsurpassed model. Mr. Tkachov himself also indulges in a good deal of "abuse" in his pamphlet. So, if I *had* indulged in abuse, that would not in itself have been wrong of me at all. But as I did not become rhetorical with regard to Mr. Tkachov, as I did not take him seriously at all, I *cannot* have used abuse to attack him. Let us examine what I said about him.

I called him "a green grammar-school boy of singular immaturity". Immaturity may refer to character, mind or knowledge. As far as immaturity of character is concerned, I made the following addition to Mr. Tkachov's own account:

"A Russian scholar, who has a considerable reputation in his own country, becomes a refugee and acquires the means to found a political journal abroad. Scarcely has he managed to do this, when some more or less enthusiastic youth comes along, unasked, and offers to take part, on the more or less childish condition that he should have an equal voice with the founder of the journal in all literary and financial matters. In Germany he would have been laughed at."[a]

I hardly think I need adduce any further evidence of immaturity of character. Immaturity of mind is sufficiently demonstrated by the further quotations from Mr. Tkachov's pamphlet that follow below. As far as knowledge is concerned, the dispute between the *Forward* and Mr. Tkachov largely concerns this: the editor of the *Forward* demands that the Russian revolutionary youth should learn something, should enrich themselves with serious and thorough information, should acquire critical faculties in accordance with accepted methods, should work

[a] See this volume, p. 24.— *Ed.*

at their self-development and self-education by the sweat of their brow. Tkachov rejects such advice with disgust:

> "Again and again I must express the feeling of profound indignation that it has always aroused in me... Learn! Educate yourselves! Oh God, how can a *living* human being say such a thing to another *living* human being! Wait! Study and finish your education! But have we the right to wait" (with revolution to wit)? "Have we the right to waste time on education?" (p. 14). "Knowledge is probably a necessary precondition for peaceful progress, but it is not necessary at all for the revolution" (p. 17).[a]

So, if Mr. Tkachov evinces profound indignation at the very injunction to study, if he declares all knowledge superfluous for a revolutionary, if, in addition, he does not betray even the slightest trace of knowledge in his entire pamphlet, he himself writes out the testimony to his own immaturity, and I have but ascertained the fact. Yet anyone who makes out this testimony himself can, in our opinion, aspire *at most* to the educational level of a grammar-school boy. Thus, by attributing the highest possible level to him, rather than abusing him, I was perhaps doing him even too much credit.

Furthermore, I said that Mr. Tkachov's observations were childish (for examples of this, see the quotations in this article), tedious (surely even the writer himself would not deny this), contradictory (as the editor of the *Forward* has demonstrated) and revolving in an eternal circle (which is also true). I then go on to speak of his great pretensions (which I have simply related in his own terms) and his utterly insignificant achievements (which the present article demonstrates more than adequately). Where, then, is all the abuse? Surely, it cannot be abuse to compare him with Karlchen Missnick, Germany's favourite grammar-school boy and one of the most popular German writers. But stay! Did I not say of him that he had retired like Achilles to his tent and from there fired off his pamphlet against the *Forward*?[b] That must be the crux of the matter. In the case of a man whose hackles rise at the mere mention of studying, who can boldly take Heine's words:

> And all his ignorance
> He acquired himself,[c]

as his motto, I dare say one may assume that it is the first time he has come across the name Achilles. And as I link Achilles with "tent" and "firing", perhaps Mr. Tkachov imagines that this Achilles is a Russian N.C.O. or a Turkish bashibazouk[47] and it

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[a] П. Ткачёвъ, *Задачи революціонной пропаганды въ Россіи.— Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 24.— *Ed.*

[c] H. Heine, *Kobes I.— Ed.*

must, therefore, be a breach of etiquette to call him an Achilles. Let me, however, assure Mr. Tkachov that the Achilles of whom I speak was the greatest hero of Greek legend, and that the said retreat to his tent provided the material for the greatest heroic epic of all time, the *Iliad*, which even Mr. Bakunin will confirm for him. If my assumption should be correct I would then, of course, be forced to declare that Mr. Tkachov is *not* a grammar-school boy at all.

Mr. Tkachov goes on to say:

"Despite all this I ventured, however, to express the conviction that the social revolution can be easily called into life. 'If it is so easy to call it into life,' you remark, 'why do you not do so, instead of talking about it?'—It seems to you to be ridiculous, childish behaviour... I and those who think as I do are convinced that the practicability of the social revolution in Russia presents no problems, that it is possible at any moment to induce the Russian people to make a general revolutionary protest (!). True, this conviction commits us to a certain amount of practical activity, but it does not militate in the least against the usefulness and necessity of literary propaganda. It is not enough that *we* are convinced; we want others, too, to share our conviction. The more like-minded comrades we have, the stronger we shall feel, the easier it will be for us to achieve a practical solution to the task."[a]

That really does take the cake. It sounds so nice, so sensible, so cultivated, so reasonable. It quite sounds as though Mr. Tkachov had only written his pamphlet[b] to demonstrate the usefulness of literary propaganda, and I, the impatient greenhorn, had answered him: "The devil take literary propaganda, let's get cracking!" Now, what is the true state of affairs?

Mr. Tkachov commences his pamphlet by straightaway giving newspaper propaganda (and that is surely the most effective form of literary propaganda) a vote of no confidence, saying that one should not "expend too much revolutionary energy on it", for "it does far more harm through inappropriate use, than it does the good through appropriate use".[c] So enthusiastic is our Tkachov about literary propaganda in general. In particular, though, if one wishes to engage in such propaganda and recruit like-minded comrades, mere rhetoric is no good; one must examine causes, and treat the matter theoretically, i.e., in the final analysis, scientifically. On this point, Mr. Tkachov tells the editor of the *Forward*:

"Your philosophical struggle, that purely theoretical, scientific propaganda to which your journal is devoted, ... is, from the point of view of the interests of the revolutionary party, not merely useless; it is even harmful."[d]

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[a] P. Tkatschoff, *Offener Brief...*, pp. 9-10.— *Ed.*

[b] *Задачи революціонной пропаганды въ Россіи.— Ed.*

[c] П. Ткачёвъ, *Задачи революціонной пропаганды въ Россіи*, p. II.— *Ed.*

[d] Ibid., p. 37.— *Ed.*

It is evident that the more we investigate Mr. Tkachov's views on literary propaganda, the more bogged down we become, and the further we are from discovering what he wants. So what does he really want? Let us listen to a little more:

"Do you not realise that the revolutionary always assumes and must assume the right to summon the people to revolt; that he differs from philistine philosophers in that, without waiting until the course of historical events announces the moment, he himself chooses this moment, in that he knows that the people are always ready for revolution (p. 10) ... Whoever does not believe in the possibility of the revolution in the present does not believe in the people, does not believe in the people's readiness for revolution (p. 11) ... That is why we cannot wait, why we maintain that revolution is an urgent necessity in Russia, and particularly necessary *at the present time*; we permit no hesitation, no delay. Now or very late, perhaps *never* (p. 16)! ... Every people exposed to despotism, enslaved by exploiters ... any such people (and *all* peoples are in this position) is by virtue of the very conditions of its social order—revolutionary; it is always *capable*, it is always *willing* to make revolution; it is always ready for revolution (p. 17)... But we cannot and will not wait (p. 34)... Now is no time for long, protracted arrangements and eternal preparations—let everyone pack his possessions and hasten on his way. The question of what is to be done[48] must no longer concern us. It has long since been settled. It is to make revolution.—How? To the best of one's ability" (p. 39[-40]).

This seems clear enough to me. So I asked Karlchen Missnick: If nothing else will do, if the people are ready for revolution, and you are too; if you are simply unwilling and unable to wait any longer, and have no right to wait; if you claim the right to choose the moment to strike, and if it is, at last, "now or never!"—well, dear Karlchen, do what you cannot refrain from doing, make revolution today and smash the Russian state into a thousand pieces, otherwise you will end up by bringing about an even greater misfortune!

And what does Karlchen Missnick do? Does he strike? Does he destroy the Russian state? Does he liberate the Russian people, "this unfortunate people, streaming in blood, with the crown of thorns, nailed to the cross of slavery",[a] whose suffering prevents him from waiting any longer?

Not a bit of it. Karlchen Missnick, with tears of injured innocence in his eyes, appears before the German workers saying: See what lies that depraved Engels is imputing to me! He claims I spoke of striking immediately; yet it is not a question of that, but of making *literary propaganda*, and this Engels, who does nothing more himself than make literary propaganda, has the effrontery to pretend that he does not understand "the usefulness of literary propaganda".[b]

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[a] Ibid., p. 34.—*Ed.*

[b] P. Tkatschoff, *Offener Brief...*, p. 10.—*Ed.*

But stay! Make literary propaganda! But have we the right to wait, have we the right to waste time on literary propaganda? After all, every minute, every hour the revolution is delayed costs the people a thousand victims (p. 14)![a] Now is no time for literary propaganda; the revolution must be carried out now, or perhaps never—we permit no hesitation, no delay. And we are supposed to make literary propaganda! Oh God, how can a living human being say such a thing to another human being, and this human being's name is Peter Tkachov!

Was I wrong when I described these impetuous rodomontades, now so basely denied, as "childish"? They are so childish that one would think the writer had gone as far as was humanly possible in this respect. And yet he has since surpassed himself. The editor of the *Forward* quotes a passage from a proclamation to the Russian peasants, penned by Mr. Tkachov. In it Mr. Tkachov describes the state of affairs after a completed social revolution as follows:

> "And then the peasant would embark on a merry life with song and music ... his pockets would be full, not of coppers but of gold ducats. He would have all kinds of beasts and poultry in the farmyard, as many as he desired. On the table he would have every kind of meat, and festive cakes, and sweet wines, and the table would be laid from morn to night. And he would eat and drink as much as his belly would hold, but he would work no more than he had a mind to. And there would be no one who dared to force him: go, eat!—go, lie down on the stove!"[b]

And the person capable of perpetrating this proclamation complains when I confine myself to calling him a green grammar-school boy of rare immaturity!

Mr. Tkachov continues:

> "Why do you reproach us with conspiracies? If we were to renounce conspiratorial, secret, underground activities, we would have to renounce all revolutionary activity. But you also castigate us for not wanting to depart from our conspiratorial ways here in the European West and thus disturbing the great international labour movement."[c]

First, it is untrue that the Russian revolutionaries have no other means at their disposal than pure conspiracy. Mr. Tkachov himself has just stressed the importance of literary propaganda, from abroad into Russia! Even within Russia oral propaganda among the people themselves, particularly in the cities, can never be quite excluded as a method, whatever Mr. Tkachov may find it in his interest to say about it. The best proof of this is that, in the latest

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[a] П. Ткачёвъ, *Задачи революціонной пропаганды въ Россіи.*— *Ed.*

[b] П. Лавровъ, *Русской соціально-революціонной молодежи*, [London,] 1874, p. 47.— *Ed.*

[c] P. Tkatschoff, *Offener Brief...*, p. 7.— *Ed.*

mass arrests in Russia, it was not the educated nor the students, but the workers who were in the majority.[49]

Second, I undertake to fly to the moon, even before Tkachov liberates Russia, as soon as he proves that I have ever, anywhere, at any time in my political career, declared that conspiracies were to be universally condemned in all circumstances. I undertake to bring him back a souvenir from the moon as soon as he proves that any other plots are mentioned in my article but the one against the International by the Alliance. Indeed, if only the Russian Bakuninists really were to conspire seriously against the Russian Government! If only, instead of fraudulent conspiracies based on lies and deceit against their co-conspirators, like that of Nechayev,[50] this "typical representative of our present-day youth" according to Tkachov,[a] instead of plots against the European labour movement like the Alliance, fortunately exposed and thus destroyed—if only they, the "doers" (*dejateli*), as they boastfully call themselves, would at last, for once, perform a deed proving that they really possess an organisation and that they are concerned with something else apart from the attempt to form a dozen! Instead, they cry out loud to all and sundry: We conspire, we conspire!—just like operatic conspirators roaring in four parts: "Silence, silence! Make not a sound!"[b] And all the tales about far-reaching conspiracies only serve as a cloak to hide nothing more than revolutionary inactivity vis-à-vis governments and ambitious cliquishness within the revolutionary party.

It is precisely our ruthless exposure of this entire fraud in the *Komplott gegen die Internationale* that causes these gentlemen to wax so indignant. It was "tactless". In exposing Mr. Bakunin we were seeking "to besmirch one of the greatest and most selfless representatives of the revolutionary epoch in which we live", and with "dirt", at that. The dirt that came to light on this occasion was, to the very last particle, of Mr. Bakunin's own making, and not his worst by any means. The pamphlet in question made him out to be far cleaner than he really was. We *simply quoted* § 18 of the "Revolutionary Catechism", the article stipulating how to behave vis-à-vis the Russian aristocracy and bourgeoisie, how "to seize hold of their dirty secrets and thereby make them our slaves, so that their wealth, etc., becomes an inexhaustible treasure and a valuable support in all kinds of undertaking".[51] We have not yet

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[a] П. Ткачёвъ, *Задачи революціонной пропаганды въ Россіи*, [London,] 1874, p. 19.—*Ed.*

[b] G. Verdi, *Rigoletto*, Scene II. Libretto by Piave with changes according to Victor Hugo's *Le roi s'amuse*.—*Ed.*

related how this article has been translated into practice. This is a story that would be long in the telling, but it will, in due course, be told.

It thus turns out that all the accusations Mr. Tkachov has made against me, with that virtuous mien of injured innocence that becomes all Bakuninists so well, are all based on claims he not only knew to be false, but were also a pack of lies that he himself had concocted. Whereupon we take our leave of the personal part of his "Open Letter".

## V

## ON SOCIAL RELATIONS IN RUSSIA[52]

On the subject matter, Mr. Tkachov tells the German workers that, as regards Russia, I possess not even a "little knowledge",[a] possess nothing but "ignorance", and he feels himself, therefore, obliged to explain the real state of affairs to them, particularly the reasons that, just at the present time, a social revolution could be accomplished in Russia with the greatest of ease, much more easily than in Western Europe.

"We have no urban proletariat, that is undoubtedly true; but, then, we also have no bourgeoisie; ...our workers will have to fight only against the *political power*—the *power of capital* is with us still only in embryo. And you, sir, are undoubtedly aware that the fight against the former is much easier than against the latter."[b]

The revolution that modern socialism strives to achieve is, briefly, the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a new organisation of society by the destruction of all class distinctions. This requires not only a proletariat to carry out this revolution, but also a bourgeoisie in whose hands the social productive forces have developed so far that they permit the final destruction of class distinctions. Among savages and semi-savages there likewise often exist no class distinctions, and every people has passed through such a state. It could not occur to us to re-establish this state, for the simple reason that class distinctions necessarily emerge from it as the social productive forces develop. Only at a certain level of development of these social productive forces, even a very high level for our modern conditions, does it

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[a] P. Tkatschov, *Offener Brief an Herrn Friedrich Engels...*, pp 3-5.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid.—*Ed.*

become possible to raise production to such an extent that the abolition of class distinctions can constitute real progress, can be lasting without bringing about stagnation or even decline in the mode of social production. But the productive forces have reached this level of development only in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie, therefore, in this respect also is just as necessary a precondition for the socialist revolution as is the proletariat itself. Hence a man who says that this revolution can be more easily carried out in a country where, *although* there is no proletariat, there is no bourgeoisie *either,* only proves that he has still to learn the ABC of socialism.

The Russian workers—and these workers are, as Mr. Tkachov himself says, "tillers of the soil and, as such, not proletarians but *owners*"[a]—have, therefore, an easier task, because they do not have to fight against the power of capital, but "only against the political power", against the Russian state. And this state

> "appears only at a distance as a power... It has no roots in the economic life of the people; it does not embody the interests of any particular estate... In your country the state is no imaginary power. It stands four square on the basis of capital; it embodies in itself" (!!) "certain economic interests... In our country the situation is just the reverse—our form of society owes its existence to the state, to a state hanging in the air, so to speak, one that has nothing in common with the existing social order, and has its roots in the past, but not in the present."[b]

Let us waste no time over the confused notion that the economic interests need the state, which they themselves create, in order to acquire a *body,* or over the bold contention that the Russian form of society (which, of course, must also include the communal property of the peasants) owes its existence to the state, or over the contradiction that this same state "has nothing in common" with the existing social order, which is supposed to be its very own creation. Let us rather examine at once this "state hanging in the air", which does not represent the interests of even a single estate.

In European Russia, the peasants possess 105 million dessiatines,[c] the nobility (as I shall here term the big landowners for the sake of brevity)—100 million dessiatines of land, of which about half belong to 15,000 nobles, each of whom consequently possesses, on average, 3,300 dessiatines.[d] The area belonging to the peasants is, therefore, only a trifle bigger than that of the nobles. So, you see,

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[a] P. Tkatschoff, *Offener Brief...*, p. 8.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 6.—*Ed.*

[c] *Dessiatine*—measure of land in Russia until 1917—equals 2,7 acres. Here and below Engels quotes data from *Военно-статистическій сборникъ.* Выпускъ IV. St. Petersburg, 1871, pp. 105, 108, 200 and 203.—*Ed.*

[d] *Der Volksstaat* and the 1894 edition mistakenly have: "33,000".—*Ed.*

the nobles have not the slightest interest in the existence of the Russian state, which protects them in the possession of half the country. To continue: the peasants pay 195 million rubles land tax annually for their half, the nobles—13 million! The lands of the nobles are, on average, twice as fertile as those of the peasants, because during the settlement[a] for the redemption of the *corvée*,[53] the state not only took the greater part, but also the best part of the land from the peasants and gave it to the nobles, and for this worst land the peasants had to pay the nobility the price of the best.* And the Russian nobility has no interest in the existence of the Russian state!

The peasants—taken in the mass—have been put by the redemption into a most miserable and wholly untenable position. Not only has the greatest and best part of their land been taken from them, so that, in all the fertile parts of the empire, the peasant land is far too small—under Russian agricultural conditions—for them to be able to make a living from it. Not only were they charged an excessive price for it, which was advanced to them by the state and for which they now have to pay interest and instalments on the principal to the state. Not only is almost the whole burden of the land tax thrown upon them, while the nobility escapes almost scot-free—so that the land tax alone consumes the entire ground rent value of the peasant land and more, and all further payments which the peasant has to make and which we will speak of immediately are direct deductions from that part of his income which represents his wages. Then, in addition to the land tax, to the interest and depreciation payments on the money advanced by the state, since the recent introduction of local administration there are the provincial and district imposts as well.[55] The most essential consequence of this "reform" was fresh tax burdens for the peasants. The state retained its revenues in their entirety, but passed on a large part of its expenditures to the provinces and districts, which imposed new taxes to meet them, and in Russia it is the rule that the higher estates are almost tax exempt and the peasants pay almost everything.

Such a situation is as if specially created for the usurer, and with the almost unequalled talent of the Russians for trading on a

* The exception was Poland,[54] where the government wanted to ruin the nobility hostile to it and to draw the peasants to its side. [Note to the text published in *Der Volksstaat*; in the 1875 and 1894 editions it was omitted.]

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[a] "Общее положенiе о крестьянахъ, вышедшихъ изъ крѣпостной зависимости", *Санктпетербургскiя Вѣдомости*, Nos. 53 and 54, March 7 and 8, 1861.—*Ed.*

lower level, for taking full advantage of favourable business situations and the swindling inseparable from this—Peter I long ago said that one Russian could get the better of three Jews—the usurer makes his appearance everywhere. When taxes are about to fall due, the usurer, the *kulak*—frequently a rich peasant of the same village community—comes along and offers his ready cash. The peasant must have the money at all costs and is obliged to accept the conditions of the usurer without demur. But this only gets him into a tighter fix, and he needs more and more ready cash. At harvest time, the grain dealer arrives; the need for money forces the peasant to sell part of the grain he and his family require for their subsistence. The grain dealer spreads false rumours, which lower prices, pays a low price and often even part of this in all sorts of highly priced goods; for the TRUCK SYSTEM[56] is also highly developed in Russia. It is quite obvious that the great corn exports of Russia are based directly on starvation of the peasant population.—Another method of exploiting the peasant is the following: a speculator rents domain land from the government for a long term of years, and cultivates it himself as long as it yields a good crop without manure; then he divides it up into small plots and lets out the exhausted land at high rents to neighbouring peasants, who cannot manage on the income from their allotment. Here we have precisely the Irish MIDDLEMEN,[57] just as above the English TRUCK SYSTEM. In short, there is no country in which, in spite of the pristine savagery of bourgeois society, capitalistic parasitism is so developed, so covers and entangles the whole country, the whole mass of the population with its nets, as in Russia. And all these bloodsuckers of the peasants are supposed to have no interest in the existence of the Russian state, the laws and law courts of which protect their sleek and profitable practices!

The big bourgeoisie of Petersburg, Moscow, and Odessa, which has developed with unprecedented rapidity over the last decade, chiefly owing to the railways, and which cheerfully "went smash" along with the rest during the last swindle years, the grain, hemp, flax and tallow exporters, whose whole business is built on the misery of the peasants, the entire Russian large-scale industry, which only exists thanks to the protective tariffs granted it by the state—have all these important and rapidly growing elements of the population no interest in the existence of the Russian state? To say nothing of the countless army of officials, which swarms over Russia and plunders her, and here constitutes a real social estate. And when Mr. Tkachov assures us that the Russian state has "no

roots in the economic life of the people", that "it does not embody the interests of any particular estate", that it hangs "in the air", methinks it is not the Russian state that hangs in the air, but rather Mr. Tkachov.

It is clear that the condition of the Russian peasants, since the emancipation from serfdom, has become intolerable and cannot be maintained much longer, and that for this reason alone, if for no other, a revolution is in the offing in Russia. The question is only: what can be, what will be the result of this revolution? Mr. Tkachov says it will be a social one. This is pure tautology. Every real revolution is a social one, in that it brings a new class to power and allows it to remodel society in its own image. But he wants to say it will be a socialist one; it will introduce into Russia the form of society at which West European socialism aims, even before we in the West succeed in doing so—and that under the conditions of a society in which both proletariat and bourgeoisie appear only sporadically and at a low stage of development. And this is supposed to be possible because the Russians are, so to speak, the chosen people of socialism, and have artels and communal ownership of the land.

The artel, which Mr. Tkachov mentions only incidentally, but with which we deal here because, since the time of Herzen, it has played a mysterious role with many Russians[58]; the artel in Russia is a widespread form of association, the simplest form of free co-operation, such as is found for hunting among hunting tribes. Word and content are not of Slavic but of Tatar origin. Both are to be found among the Kirghiz, Yakuts, etc., on the one hand, and among the Lapps, Samoyeds[59] and other Finnish peoples, on the other.* That is why the artel developed originally in the North and East, by contact with Finns and Tatars, and not in the South-West. The severe climate necessitates industrial activity of various kinds, and so the lack of urban development and of capital is replaced, as far as possible, by this form of co-operation.—One of the most characteristic features of the artel, the collective responsibility of its members for one another to third parties, was originally based on blood relationship, like the mutual liability [Gewere] of the ancient Germans, blood vengeance, etc.—Moreover, in Russia the word artel is used for every form not only of collective activity, but also of collective institution. The *Bourse* is also an artel.[a]

* On the artel, compare *inter alia*: *Sbornik materialov ob Arteljach v Rossiji* (Collection of Material on Artels in Russia), St. Petersburg, 1873, Part I.

[a] Engels left out this sentence from the 1894 edition.—*Ed.*

In workers' artels, an elder (*starosta, starshina*) is always chosen who fulfils the functions of treasurer, bookkeeper, etc., and of manager, as far as necessary, and who receives a special salary. Such artels are formed:

1. for temporary enterprises, after the completion of which they dissolve;
2. for the members of one and the same trade, for instance, porters, etc.;
3. for permanent enterprises, industrial in the proper sense of the word.

They are established by a contract signed by all the members. Now, if these members cannot bring together the necessary capital, as very often happens, such as in the case of cheeseries and fisheries (for nets, boats, etc.), the artel falls prey to the usurer, who advances the amount lacking at a high interest rate, and thereafter pockets the greater part of the income from the work. Still more shamefully exploited, however, are the artels that hire themselves in a body to an employer as wage-labourers. They direct their industrial activity themselves and thus save the capitalist the cost of supervision. The latter lets to the members huts to live in and advances them the means of subsistence, which in turn gives rise to the most disgraceful TRUCK SYSTEM. Such is the case with the lumbermen and tar distillers in the Archangel gubernia, and in many trades in Siberia, etc. (Cf. Flerovsky, *Položenie rabočago klassa v Rossiji.* "The Condition of the Working Class in Russia", St. Petersburg, 1869).[60] Here, then, the artel serves to *facilitate* considerably the exploitation of the wage-worker by the capitalist. On the other hand, there are also artels which themselves employ wage-workers, who are *not* members of the association.

It is thus seen that the artel is a co-operative society that has arisen spontaneously and is, therefore, still very undeveloped, and as such neither exclusively Russian, nor even Slavic. Such societies are formed wherever there is a need for them. For instance, in Switzerland among the dairy farmers and in England among the fishermen, where they even assume a great variety of forms. The Silesian navvies (Germans, not Poles), who built so many German railways in the forties, were organised in fully fledged artels. True, the predominance of this form in Russia proves the existence in the Russian people of a strong impulse to associate, but is far from proving their ability to jump, with the aid of this impulse, from the artel straight into the socialist order of society. For that, it is necessary above all that the artel itself should be capable of

development, that it shed its primitive form, in which, as we saw, it serves the workers less than it does capital, and rise *at least* to the level of the West European co-operative societies. But if we are to believe Mr. Tkachov for once (which, after all that has preceded, is certainly more than risky), this is by no means the case. On the contrary, he assures us with a pride highly indicative of his standpoint:

"As regards the co-operative and credit associations on the German" (!) "model, recently artificially transplanted to Russia, these have met with complete indifference on the part of the majority of our workers and have been a failure almost everywhere." [a]

The modern co-operative society has at least proved that it can run large-scale industry profitably on its own account (spinning and weaving in Lancashire). The artel is so far not only incapable of doing this; it must of necessity even be destroyed by big industry if it does not develop further.

The communal property of the Russian peasants was discovered in 1845 by the Prussian Government Councillor Haxthausen and trumpeted to the world as something absolutely wonderful, although Haxthausen could still have found survivals enough of it in his Westphalian homeland and, as a government official, it was even part of his duty to know them thoroughly. It was from Haxthausen that Herzen, himself a Russian landowner, first learned that his peasants owned the land in common, and he made use of the fact to describe the Russian peasants as the true vehicles of socialism, as born communists, in contrast to the workers of the aging, decayed European West, who would first have to go through the ordeal of acquiring socialism artificially. From Herzen this knowledge came to Bakunin, and from Bakunin to Mr. Tkachov. Let us listen to the latter:

"Our people ... in its great majority ... is permeated with the principles of common ownership; it is, if one may use the term, instinctively, traditionally communist. The idea of collective property is so closely interwoven with the whole world outlook of the Russian people" (we shall see immediately how far the world of the Russian peasant extends) "that today, when the government begins to understand that this idea is incompatible with the principles of a 'well-ordered' society, and in the name of these principles wishes to impress the idea of individual property on the consciousness and life of the people, it can succeed in doing so only with the help of the bayonet and the knout. It is clear from this that our people, despite its ignorance, is much nearer to socialism than the peoples of Western Europe, although the latter are more educated." [b]

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[a] P. Tkatschoff, *Offener Brief...*, p. 8.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 5.—*Ed.*

In reality, communal ownership of the land is an institution found among all Indo-Germanic peoples at a low level of development, from India to Ireland, and even among the Malays, who are developing under Indian influence, for instance, on Java. As late as 1608, in the newly conquered North of Ireland, the legally established communal ownership of the land served the English as a pretext for declaring the land to be ownerless and, as such, escheated to the Crown. In India, a whole series of forms of communal ownership has been in existence down to the present time. In Germany it was general; the communal lands still to be found here and there are a relic of it; and often still distinct traces of it, temporary divisions of the communal lands, etc., are also to be found, especially in the mountains. More exact references and details with regard to old German communal ownership may be consulted in the various writings of *Maurer*, which are classic on this question.[a] In Western Europe, including Poland and Little Russia, at a certain stage in social development, this communal ownership became a fetter, a brake on agricultural production, and was increasingly eliminated. In Great Russia (that is, Russia proper), on the other hand, it persists until today, thereby proving, in the first place, that here agricultural production and the social conditions in the countryside corresponding to it are still very undeveloped, as is actually the case. The Russian peasant lives and has his being only in his village community; the rest of the world exists for him only in so far as it interferes with his community. This is so much the case that, in Russian, the same word "*mir*" means, on the one hand, "world" and, on the other, "peasant community". "*Ves' mir*", the whole world, means to the peasant the meeting of the community members. Hence, when Mr. Tkachov speaks of the "*world* outlook" of the Russian peasants,[b] he has obviously translated the Russian "*mir*" incorrectly. Such a complete isolation of individual communities from one another, which creates throughout the country similar, but the very opposite of common, interests, is the natural basis for *oriental despotism*; and from India to Russia this form of society, wherever it has prevailed, has always produced it and always found its complement in it. Not only the Russian state in general, but even its specific form, tsarist despotism, instead of hanging in the air, is

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[a] G. L. von Maurer, *Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark-, Hof-, Dorf-, und Stadt-Verfassung und der öffentlichen Gewalt*; *Geschichte der Dorfverfassung in Deutschland*; *Geschichte der Fronhöfe, der Bauernhöfe und der Hofverfassung in Deutschland*; *Geschichte, der Markenverfassung in Deutschland*.— *Ed.*

[b] P. Tkatschoff, *Offener Brief...*, p. 5.— *Ed.*

a necessary and logical product of Russian social conditions with which, according to Mr. Tkachov, it has "nothing in common"!—Further development of Russia in a *bourgeois* direction would here also destroy communal ownership little by little, without any need for the Russian government to intervene with "bayonet and knout". And this especially since the communally owned land in Russia is not cultivated by the peasants in common, so that the product may then be divided, as is still the case in some districts in India; on the contrary, from time to time the land is divided up among the various heads of families, and each cultivates his allotment for himself. Consequently, very great differences in degree of prosperity are possible and actually exist among the members of the community. Almost everywhere there are a few rich peasants among them—here and there millionaires—who play the usurer and suck the blood of the mass of the peasants. No one knows this better than Mr. Tkachov. While he wants the German workers to believe that the "idea of collective ownership" can be driven out of the Russian peasants, these instinctive, traditional communists, only by bayonet and knout, he writes on page 15 of his Russian pamphlet[a]:

"Among the peasants a class of *usurers* (*kulakov*) is making its way, a class of people who *buy up* and *rent* the lands of peasants and nobles—a muzhik aristocracy."

These are the same kind of bloodsuckers as we described more fully above.

The severest blow to communal ownership was dealt again by the redemption of the *corvée*. The greater and better part of the land was allotted to the nobility; for the peasant there remained scarcely enough, often not enough, to live on. In addition, the forests were given to the nobles; the wood for fuel, implements and building, which the peasant formerly might fetch there for nothing, he now has to buy. Thus, the peasant has nothing now but his house and the bare land, without means to cultivate it and, on average, without enough land to support him and his family from one harvest to the next. Under such conditions and under the pressure of taxes and usurers, communal ownership of the land is no longer a blessing; it becomes a fetter. The peasants often run away from it, with or without their families, to earn their living as migratory labourers, and leave their land behind them.*

* On the position of the peasants compare, *inter alia*, the official report of the government commission on agricultural production (1873), and further, Skaldin,

[a] *Задачи революціонной пропаганды въ Россіи.—Ed.*

It is clear that communal ownership in Russia is long past its period of florescence and, to all appearances, is moving towards its disintegration. Nevertheless, the possibility undeniably exists of raising this form of society to a higher one, if it should last until the circumstances are ripe for that, and if it shows itself capable of developing in such manner that the peasants no longer cultivate the land separately, but collectively*; of raising it to this higher form without it being necessary for the Russian peasants to go through the intermediate stage of bourgeois small holdings. This, however, can only happen if, before the complete break-up of communal ownership, a proletarian revolution is successfully carried out in Western Europe, creating for the Russian peasant the preconditions requisite for such a transition, particularly the material things he needs, if only to carry through the revolution, necessarily connected therewith, of his whole agricultural system. It is, therefore, sheer bounce for Mr. Tkachov to say that the Russian peasants, although "owners", are "nearer to socialism" than the propertyless workers of Western Europe. Quite the opposite. If anything can still save Russian communal ownership and give it a chance of growing into a new, really viable form, it is a proletarian revolution in Western Europe.

Mr. Tkachov treats the political revolution just as lightly as he does the economic one. The Russian people, he relates, "protests incessantly" against its enslavement, now in the form of "religious sects ... refusal to pay taxes ... robber bands" (the German workers will be glad to know that, accordingly, Schinderhannes[a] is the father of German Social-Democracy) "... incendiarism ... revolts ... and hence the Russian people may be termed an instinctive revolutionist". Therefore, Mr. Tkachov is convinced that "it is only necessary to evoke an outburst in a number of places at the same time of all the accumulated bitterness and discontent, which ... is always seething in the breast of our people". Then "the union of the revolutionary forces will come about *of itself*, and the fight ... must end favourably for the people's cause. Practical

*W Zacholusti i w Stolice* (In the Backwoods and in the Capital), St. Petersburg, 1870; the latter publication by a liberal conservative.

* In Poland, particularly in the Grodno gubernia, where the nobility for the most part was ruined by the insurrection of 1863, the peasants now frequently buy or rent estates from the nobles and cultivate them unpartitioned and *on their collective account*. And these peasants have not had communal ownership for centuries and are not Great Russians, but Poles, Lithuanians and Byelorussians.

[a] *Schinderhannes*: nickname of Johann Bückler, a notorious German robber.—*Ed.*

necessity, the instinct of self-preservation", will then achieve, quite of themselves, "a firm and indissoluble alliance among the protesting village communities".[a]

It is impossible to conceive of a revolution on easier and more pleasant terms. One starts shooting, at three or four places simultaneously, and the "instinctive revolutionist", "practical necessity" and the "instinct of self-preservation" do the rest "of themselves". Being so dead easy, it is simply incomprehensible why the revolution has not been carried out long ago, the people liberated and Russia transformed into the model socialist country.

Actually, matters are quite different. The Russian people, this instinctive revolutionist, has, true enough, made numerous isolated peasant revolts against the *nobility* and against individual officials, but *never against the tsar*, except when *a false tsar* put himself at its head and claimed the throne. The last great peasant rising,[61] under Catherine II, was only possible because Yemelyan Pugachov claimed to be her husband, Peter III, who allegedly had not been murdered by his wife, but dethroned and clapped in prison, and had now escaped. The tsar is, on the contrary, the earthly god of the Russian peasant: *Bog vysok, Car daljok*—God is on high and the tsar far away, is his cry in hour of need. There is no doubt that the mass of the peasant population, especially since the redemption of the *corvée*, has been reduced to a condition that increasingly forces on it a fight also against the government and the tsar; but Mr. Tkachov will have to try to sell his fairy-tale of the "instinctive revolutionist" elsewhere.

Then again, even *if* the mass of the Russian peasants were ever so instinctively revolutionary, even *if* we imagined that revolutions could be made to order, just as one makes a piece of flowered calico or a teakettle—even then I ask, is it permissible for anyone over twelve years of age to imagine the course of a revolution in such an utterly childish manner as is the case here? And remember, further, that this was written after the first revolution made on this Bakuninist model—the Spanish one of 1873—had so brilliantly failed.[62] There, too, they let loose at several places simultaneously. There, too, it was calculated that practical necessity and the instinct of self-preservation would, of themselves, bring about a firm and indissoluble alliance between the protesting communities. And what happened? Every village community, every town defended only itself; there was no question of mutual assistance and, with only 3,000 men, Pavia overcame one town

[a] P. Tkatschoff, *Offener Brief...*, pp. 5-6, 9.—*Ed.*

after another in a fortnight and put an end to the entire anarchist glory (cf. my *Bakuninists at Work*, where this is described in detail).

Russia undoubtedly is on the eve of a revolution. Her financial affairs are in extreme disorder. Taxes cannot be screwed any higher, the interest on old state loans is paid by means of new loans, and every new loan meets with greater difficulties; money can now be raised only on the pretext of building railways! The administration, corrupt from top to bottom as of old, the officials living more from theft, bribery and extortion than on their salaries. The entire agricultural production—by far the most essential for Russia—completely dislocated by the redemption settlement of 1861; the big landowners, without sufficient labour power; the peasants without sufficient land, oppressed by taxation and sucked dry by usurers; agricultural production[a] declining by the year. The whole held together with great difficulty and only outwardly by an Oriental despotism the arbitrariness of which we in the West simply cannot imagine; a despotism that, from day to day, not only comes into more glaring contradiction with the views of the enlightened classes and, in particular, with those of the rapidly developing bourgeoisie of the capital, but, in the person of its present bearer, has lost its head, one day making concessions to liberalism and the next, frightened, cancelling them again and thus bringing itself more and more into disrepute. With all that, a growing recognition among the enlightened strata of the nation concentrated in the capital that this position is untenable, that a revolution is impending, and the illusion that it will be possible to guide this revolution along a smooth, constitutional channel. Here all the conditions of a revolution are combined, of a revolution that, started by the upper classes of the capital, perhaps even by the government itself, must be rapidly carried further, beyond the first constitutional phase, by the peasants; of a revolution that will be of the greatest importance for the whole of Europe, if only because it will destroy at one blow the last, so far intact, reserve of the entire European reaction. This revolution is surely approaching. Only two events could still delay it: a successful war against Turkey or Austria, for which money and firm alliances are necessary, or—a premature attempt at insurrection, which would drive the possessing classes back into the arms of the government.

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[a] The 1894 edition has: "agricultural output".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## EPILOGUE
## [TO *REVELATIONS CONCERNING THE COMMUNIST TRIAL IN COLOGNE*][63]

The *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, which the *Volksstaat* now considers it timely to reprint, originally appeared in Boston (Massachusetts) and in Basle. Most of the latter edition was confiscated at the German border. The pamphlet saw the light of day a few weeks after the trial closed. At that point, it was of prime importance to waste no time, hence a good many errors of detail were inevitable. An example of this is the list of names of the Cologne jury. Thus, a certain Levy and not M. Hess is said to have been the author of the Red Catechism.[64] And W. Hirsch assures us in his "Rechtfertigungsschrift"[a] that Cherval's escape from gaol in Paris was pre-arranged by Greif, the French police and Cherval himself, in order that the latter might act as an informer in London during the court proceedings. This is likely, as the forgery of a bill of exchange committed in Prussia and the resultant risk of extradition were bound to bring Crämer[b] (Cherval's real name) to heel. My account of the incident is based on Cherval's "confessions" to a friend of mine. Hirsch's statement casts an even harsher light on Stieber's perjury, the intrigues of the Prussian embassies in London and Paris, and the shameless intervention by Hinckeldey.

When the *Volksstaat* started to reprint the pamphlet in its columns, I was for a moment undecided whether or not it might

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[a] W. Hirsch, "Die Opfer der Moucharderie. Rechtfertigungsschrift", *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, Nos. 3-6, April 1, 8, 15 and 22, 1853. See also Marx's *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17, p. 64) and *Hirsch's Confessions* (ibid., Vol. 12, pp. 40-43).—*Ed.*

[b] A pun: *Crämer*—Cherval's real name, *Krämer* (in German) means huckster.—*Ed.*

be appropriate to omit Section VI (The Willich-Schapper Group).[a] On further consideration, however, any mutilation of the text appeared to me to be a falsification of an historical document.

The violent suppression of a revolution leaves behind a shock in the minds of its protagonists, particularly those forced into exile far from the domestic scene—a shock that, for a time, renders even the most able people, as it were, not responsible for their actions. They are unable to accept the course of history; they are loth to realise that the form of the movement has changed. Hence the conspiratorial and revolutionary games they play, equally compromising for themselves and for the cause they serve; hence, too, the errors of Schapper and Willich. In the North American Civil War, Willich showed that he was more than a visionary, and Schapper, a life-long champion of the labour movement, confessed and acknowledged his momentary aberration soon after the Cologne trial. Many years later, on his death-bed, the day before he died, he spoke to me with scathing irony about that time of "refugee foolishness".—Nevertheless, the circumstances in which the *Revelations* were written explain the bitterness of the attack on the involuntary accomplices of the common enemy. In times of crisis, thoughtlessness is a crime against the party calling for public expiation.

*"The whole existence of the political police depends on the outcome of this trial!"* With these words, written during the Cologne court proceedings to the embassy in London (see my pamphlet *Herr Vogt*, p. 27[b]), Hinckeldey betrayed the secret of the Communist trial. "The whole existence of the political police" is not merely the existence and activities of the staff immediately concerned with this area. It is the subordination of the entire governmental machinery, including the courts (see the Prussian disciplinary law for judicial officials of May 7, 1851[c]) and the press (see reptile funds[65]), to that institution, just as the entire state system of Venice was once subordinated to the State Inquisition.[66] The political police, paralysed during the revolutionary storm in Prussia, needed re-organising along the lines of the second French Empire.

After the demise of the 1848 revolution, the German labour

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 445-52.—*Ed.*

[b] A reference to the 1860 edition published in London (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 67).—*Ed.*

[c] *Gesetz, betreffend die Dienstvergehen der Richter und die unfreiwillige Versetzung derselben auf eine andere Stelle oder in den Ruhestand. Vom 7. Mai 1851.* In: *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preußischen Staaten*, No. 13, 1851.—*Ed.*

movement continued to exist only in the form of theoretical propaganda, confined to narrow circles; the Prussian Government was not for a moment deceived about its harmlessness in practice. The government's Communist witch-hunt served simply as a prelude to its reactionary crusade against the liberal bourgeoisie, and the bourgeoisie itself steeled the main weapon of this reaction, the political police, by sentencing the workers' representatives and acquitting Hinckeldey-Stieber. Stieber thus earned his spurs at the assizes in Cologne. At that time Stieber was a humble low-ranking policeman ruthlessly pursuing a higher salary and promotion; now Stieber stands for the unrestricted rule of the political police in the new holy Prussian-German empire. Thus he has, to a certain extent, become a moral person, moral in the metaphorical sense, as, for example, the Reichstag is a moral creation. This time the political police is not striking at the workers in order to hit the bourgeoisie. Quite the reverse. Precisely in his position as dictator of the German liberal bourgeoisie, Bismarck considers himself strong enough to drive[a] the workers' party out of existence. The German proletariat can, therefore, measure the progress of the movement it has achieved since the Cologne Communist trial by Stieber's growth in stature.

The Pope's infallibility is small beer compared with that of the political police. After for decades sticking young hotheads in gaol in Prussia for advocating German unity,[67] the German Empire and the German monarchy, it is today even incarcerating bald-headed old men for refusing to advocate these divine gifts. Today it is just as vainly attempting to eradicate the *enemies of the Empire* as it once tried to eradicate the *friends of the Empire.* What glaring proof that it is not called on to make history, even if it were only the history of the quarrel over the Emperor's beard!

The Communist trial in Cologne itself brands the state power's impotence in its struggle against social development. The royal Prussian state prosecutor ultimately based the guilt of the accused on the fact that they secretly disseminated the subversive principles of the *Communist Manifesto.*[b] Are not the same principles being proclaimed openly in the streets in Germany twenty years later? Do they not resound even from the tribune of the Reichstag? Have they not journeyed round the world, in the shape of the *Programme of the International Working Men's Association,*[68] despite all the government arrest-warrants? Society

[a] Marx uses here the verb *stiebern* coined from the name of Stieber.— *Ed.*
[b] by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.— *Ed.*

simply does not find its equilibrium until it revolves around the sun of labour.

At the end of the *Revelations* it says: "*Jena!* ... that is the final outcome of a government[69] that requires such methods in order to survive and of a society that needs such a government for its protection. The word that should stand at the end of the Communist trial is—*Jena!*"[a]

An accurate prediction indeed, giggles the first Treitschke to happen along, with a proud reference to Prussia's latest feat of arms and the Mauser rifle. Suffice it for me to point out that there is not only an *inner Düppel*,[70] but also an *inner Jena*.

London, January 8, 1875

*Karl Marx*

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 457.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## FOR POLAND[71]

This year, too, a memorial celebration was held in London to commemorate the Polish uprising of January 22, 1863. Large numbers of our German party comrades took part in the celebration; several of them made speeches, among whom were Engels and Marx.

"There has been talk here," said Engels, "about the reasons for the revolutionaries of all countries to sympathise with Poland's cause and intervene on its behalf. Only one thing has been forgotten to mention, namely this: that the political situation in which Poland has been placed is a thoroughly revolutionary one, leaving Poland with no other choice than to be revolutionary or to perish. This was already evident after the first partition, which was brought about by the efforts of the Polish nobility to maintain a constitution and privileges which had lost their right to existence and were harming the country and public order instead of preserving peace and securing progress.[72] Already after the first partition a section of the nobility acknowledged the mistake and came to the conviction that Poland could only be restored by revolution;—and ten years later we saw Poles fighting for liberty in America.[73] The French Revolution of 1789 found an immediate echo in Poland. The Constitution of 1791[74] with the rights of man became the banner of revolution on the banks of the Vistula and turned Poland into the vanguard of revolutionary France, and that at the very moment when the three powers which had already despoiled Poland once were uniting in order to march to Paris and strangle the revolution.[75] Could they stand back and allow revolution to gain a foothold in the centre of the coalition? Unthinkable. Again they hurled themselves on Poland, this time

with the intention of completely depriving it of its national existence. The unfolding of the revolutionary banner was one of the chief reasons for the subjugation of Poland. The country that has been dismembered and struck off the list of nations because it was revolutionary can seek its salvation nowhere else but in revolution. And for this reason we find Poles in all revolutionary struggles. Poland realised this in 1863, and during the uprising whose anniversary we are celebrating today published the most radical revolutionary programme[a] that has ever been drawn up in Eastern Europe. It would be ridiculous should one consider the Polish revolutionaries to be aristocrats wishing to reconstruct the aristocratic Poland of 1772, just because there exists a Polish aristocratic party. The Poland of 1772 is lost and gone forever. No power will be capable of raising it out of the grave. The new Poland, which the revolution will put on its feet, is as fundamentally different socially and politically from the Poland of 1772 as the new society towards which we are hastening is fundamentally different from present-day society.

"One more word. No one can enslave a people with impunity. The three powers that murdered Poland have been severely punished. Look at my own country: Prussia-Germany. Under the signboard of national unification we brought upon us the Poles, the Danes and the French—and have a *threefold Venice*[76]; we have enemies everywhere, we have encumbered ourselves with debts and taxes in order to maintain countless masses of soldiers who must also serve to suppress the German workers. Austria, even official Austria, knows full well how dearly that little bit of Poland has cost her. At the time of the Crimean War, Austria was prepared to go to war against Russia provided that Russian Poland was occupied and liberated. However, that did not agree with Louis Napoleon's plans, and still less with Palmerston's. And as far as Russia is concerned, we see: in 1861 the first major movement broke out among the students, all the more dangerous since the people were everywhere in a state of great agitation as a result of the emancipation of the serfs; and what did the Russian government do, well realising the danger?—It *provoked the uprising of 1863 in Poland*[77]; for it has been *proved* that this uprising was its work. The movement amongst the students, the profound agitation of the people vanished at once, giving way to Russian chauvinism, which descended on Poland once it was a question of

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[a] *Centralny Narodowy Komitet jako tymczasowy Rząd Narodowy. Dan w Warszawie 22 Stycznia 1863.—Ed.*

maintaining Russian rule there. Thus perished the first significant movement in Russia as a result of the calamitous struggle against Poland. The restoration of Poland is indeed in the interest of revolutionary Russia, and I hear tonight with pleasure that this opinion agrees with the convictions of the Russian revolutionaries" (who had expressed this view at the meeting[78]).

Marx said roughly this: The Working Men's Party of Europe takes the keenest interest in the emancipation of Poland, and the original programme of the International Working Men's Association declares the restoration of Poland to be one of the goals of working-class politics.[a] What are the reasons for this special interest of the Working Men's Party in the fate of Poland?

Firstly, of course, sympathy for a subjugated people, which by continuous heroic struggle against its oppressors has proved its historic right to national independence and self-determination. It is by no means a contradiction that the *international* Working Men's Party should strive for the restoration of the Polish nation. On the contrary: only when Poland has re-conquered its independence, when it once again exercises control over itself as a free people, only then can its internal development recommence and will it be able to take part in its own right in the social transformation of Europe. As long as a viable people is fettered by a foreign conqueror, it must necessarily apply all its strength, all its efforts, all its energy against the enemy from without; for this length of time, then, its inner life remains paralysed, it remains unable to work for social emancipation. Ireland, Russia under Mongolian rule, etc., provide striking proof of this thesis.

Another reason for the sympathy of the Working Men's Party for the resurrection of Poland is its special geographical, military and historical position. The partition of Poland is the mortar binding together the three great military despotisms: Russia, Prussia and Austria. Only the reconstitution of Poland can break this bond and thus remove the greatest obstacle to the social emancipation of the peoples of Europe.

The main reason for the sympathy of the working class towards Poland is, however, this: Poland is not merely the only Slavic tribe, it is the only European people that has fought and is fighting as the *cosmopolitan soldier of the revolution.* Poland shed its blood during the American War of Independence; its legions fought under the banner of the first French Republic; by its revolution of

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[a] K. Marx, "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association" (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 13).—*Ed.*

1830 it prevented the invasion of France that had been decided by the partitioners of Poland; in 1846 in Cracow it was the first in Europe to plant the banner of social revolution; in 1848 it played an outstanding part in the revolutionary struggle in Hungary, Germany and Italy; finally, in 1871 it supplied the Paris Commune with its best generals and most heroic soldiers.

In the brief moments when the popular masses of Europe were able to move freely, they remembered what they owe to Poland. After the victorious March Revolution in Berlin in 1848, the first deed of the people was to release the Polish prisoners, Mieroslawski and his comrades-in-suffering, and proclaim the restoration of Poland[79]; in Paris, in May 1848, Blanqui marched at the head of the workers against the reactionary National Assembly in order to force it to accept armed intervention for Poland[80]; finally, in 1871, when the Parisian workers had constituted themselves as the government, they honoured Poland by entrusting its sons with the military leadership of their forces.

Neither at the present moment does the German Working Men's Party allow itself to be the least misled by the reactionary conduct of the Polish deputies in the German Reichstag; it knows that these gentlemen are not acting on behalf of Poland but of their own private interests; it knows that the Polish peasant, the Polish worker, in short, every Pole who is not blinded by class interests, must realise that *Poland has and can only have one ally in Europe—the Working Men's Party.*[81]—*Long Live Poland!*

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# Frederick Engels

## SEMI-OFFICIAL WAR-CRIES[82]

Once again the press reptiles[83] of the German Empire have received orders to sound the war-trumpets. That godless and degenerate country France will simply not, at any price, leave Germany in peace, that god-fearing country bursting out in glorious bloom under the rule of stock-exchange swindles, floatation[84] and the crash. France is re-arming on the most colossal scale, and the high-pressure velocity at which these armaments are being carried out is the best proof that it intends, if possible next year, to attack the innocent, peace-loving Bismarckian Empire, which, as we all know, has never done anything to offend anyone, which is tirelessly disarming and about which only the subversive press has spread the slander that it has just turned two million citizens into reserve soldiers by a *Landsturm* Law.[85]

The press reptiles are in a difficult position. While in the service of the Foreign Office they have to portray the Empire as a lamb of infinite meekness, the Ministry of War finds it in its interest to make it clear to the German bourgeois that something is actually happening in return for their heavy taxes, that the armaments decided on are really being produced, the fortifications really being built, the cadres and mobilisation plans for the large number of soldiers "on leave" are being completed, that the combat readiness of the army is increasing with every day that passes. And as the announcements made in this connection are authentic and, moreover, originate from experts, we are perfectly able to judge the war-cries of the press toads.

The new French Cadre Law[86] provides the pretext for all the noise. Let us then compare the institutions thus created in France—for the time being still on paper—with those actually

existing in Germany, restricting ourselves for brevity's sake to the decisive branch of the service, the infantry.

On the whole, the new French law turns out to be a considerably worsened version of the Prussian one.

The French infantry of the line is supposed to consist of 144 regiments of the line, 4 Zouave and 3 Turco regiments of 4 battalions each,[87] 30 rifle battalions, 4 foreign and 5 penal battalions, in all 643 battalions, while the German army of the line admittedly only amounts to 468 battalions. This superiority of the French line is, however, purely apparent.

Firstly, the French battalion, like the Prussian, does indeed have four companies, but each company has only four officers instead of five; and of these four, one is a reserve officer, which is a species that *simply does not yet exist* in France. In France they have hitherto had one officer to every 35-40 men, and on account of the outdated and cumbersome French drill regulations this is necessary, while Prussia has managed quite well with one officer to 50 men. But this is also the maximum, and the committee of the National Assembly that dealt with this law was agreed that *no more than* 200 men might be placed in each company. The French company is thus 25 per cent weaker numerically than the Prussian, and as the reserve officer does not exist at present, and will not exist for many years to come, it is also far from being its equal organisationally. But as the company—because of the breech-loader[88]—has now become the tactical unit in battle and the action of the company columns and of the skirmishers based on them requires *strong* companies, the National Assembly has hereby inflicted the greatest harm on the French Army that it could have inflicted.

The French line on a war-footing therefore comprises

| | |
|---|---|
| 606 battalions of the line with 800 men each ..... | 484,800 men |
| Zouaves, Turcos, Foreign Legion, Penal Battalions ..... | 46,000 " |
| total | 530,800 men. |

From this number, though, at least 40,000 men must be subtracted for Algeria, who only become available when new formations are capable of relieving them. This leaves, then, 490,800 infantrymen at the outbreak of war. The 468 battalions of the German infantry each comprise 1,050 men on a war-footing, a total of 490,480 men according to official figures, almost exactly as many as the French line.

So far, then, equality of numbers, with Germany having a better and stronger organisation. But now comes the difference.

As far as France is concerned, the above 643 weak battalions comprise all the infantry for which there exists any war organisation at all. Certainly, the 318 depot companies of the line and of the riflemen are said to contain a total of 249,480 extra reserves (including 50 or 40 officers and non-commissioned officers per company), but of these only the men actually exist up to now, and these are for the greater part quite untrained, and those who are trained have mostly had only six months' service. As for the officers and non-commissioned officers, *a quarter* are available, at the most. By the time these 318 depot companies are turned into 318 mobile battalions, the entire campaign may have been decided, and those who do go into action will not exceed the quality of the mobile guards of 1870.[89] Then there is the Territorial Army, which is composed of the men between 30 and 40 years old, and is to be organised in 144 regiments of 3 battalions each, making 432 battalions. All this exists only on paper. In order to put such a scheme really into effect, 10,000 officers and 20,000 non-commissioned officers are needed, of which almost literally not a single one is yet available. And where are these officers to come from? It took almost two generations before the one-year volunteers provided serviceable reserve and *Landwehr*[90] officers in Prussia; right up to the forties, they were regarded as a liability in nearly all regiments and treated accordingly. And in France, where such an institution infringes all traditions of revolutionary equality, where those serving one year are despised by the officers and hated by the men, there is quite simply no chance of getting anywhere. Yet no other source of reserve officers exists.

As far as the non-commissioned officers and men are concerned, it will be remembered that the victors of Sadowa in 1866[91] boasted that the long existence of the *Landwehr* system in Prussia gave them a lead of 20 years over any other country that might adopt the same system; not until the oldest annual intakes consisted of trained men would equality with Prussia be attained. This appears to have been forgotten now, as does the fact that in France only half of the annual contingent actually serves, the other half being released after six months' service (which is totally inadequate in view of the present pedantic regulations). The reserves and militia in France thus chiefly consist of recruits, in contrast to their Prussian counterparts. And they pretend to be frightened of the present French Territorial Army, which consists

of the same untrained cannon-fodder that in 1870 and 1871 could not hold its ground on the Loire and at Le Mans against German units which were only half as strong, but disciplined! [92]

But there is more to tell yet. In Prussia, after bitter experience, they have finally learnt how to mobilise. In eleven days the whole army is ready for combat, the infantry much sooner. But this requires that everything is organised in the simplest way and, in particular, that every individual soldier on leave is assigned in advance to the unit he is to join. The basis for this is that every regiment has its own permanent recruitment district, from which the corresponding *Landwehr* regiment also draws most of its recruits. The new French law, on the contrary, assigns the recruits and reservists to the regiment that happens to be in the district at the time of mobilisation. This was done out of attachment to a tradition handed down from the days of Napoleon whereby the individual regiments are garrisoned in all parts of France in turn and are supposed to be recruited as far as possible from the whole of France. Being obliged to drop the latter, they stuck all the more determinedly to the former, thus rendering impossible that permanent organic link between regiment command and territorial district command which ensures rapid mobilisation in Prussia. Even if this senseless change, which is bound to cause much more trouble for the specialised branches than for the infantry, *only* delays the mobilisation of the latter for three days, in the face of an active adversary they will be the most important three days of the entire campaign.

So what do all the immense French armaments come to? An infantry of the line equal to the German in numbers but more poorly organised, which, moreover, has to call up a number of men with only six months' training in order to get on a war-footing; a first reserve which is dominated by men with only six months' training for which at best a quarter of the necessary officers and non-commissioned officers are available; a second reserve of predominantly untrained men without any officers whatsoever, and for both reserves, of course, a total lack of regular cadres. In addition, the certain prospect of *never* being able to procure the officers that are lacking under the present system, so that in the case of war neither of the reserves will be able to perform better than the battalions hurriedly established in the autumn and winter of 1870.

Now let us take a look at the German Empire, which is gentle like a lamb and which supposedly does not even have any teeth, even less baring them. We have already shown the existence of an

infantry of the line of 468 battalions, with 490,480 men on a war-footing. But to this must be added the following new formations.

Since the beginning of 1872 each battalion has been allocated another 36 recruits, making 17,000 men per year in round figures. Furthermore, a full quarter of the men have been released after two years' service, this, however, being compensated by an equal number of new recruits, making about 28,000 men. Thus a total of 45,000 more men are being recruited and trained every year than hitherto, making by the end of 1875, in three years, 135,000 men, to which must be added 12,000 one-year volunteers (at 4,000 per year); all in all 147,000 men, or just enough to form a fourth battalion in each of the 148 regiments. The surplus reserve companies for this purpose have already been "organisationally prepared" in all the regiments of the line since the same time, i.e. the officers and non-commissioned officers of the line and of the reserves due to enter these battalions have already been selected. The fourth battalions can thus be on the march at the most two or three days after the first three, reinforcing the army by 148 battalions of 1,050 men = 155,400 men. But these figures do not by any means express the full addition to its strength that the field army thereby receives. Anyone who saw the Prussian fourth battalions in 1866 knows that, consisting chiefly of strong, physically mature men of 24-27 years, they are the vital core of the army.

Alongside the formation of the fourth battalions, the organisation of the reserve battalions—148 in number, not to mention the reserve companies of the riflemen—is going ahead. They are composed of the surplus trained reservists and the untrained men of the second reserve.[93] Their strength was officially given as 188,690 men in 1871. By this it should be understood, however, that the cadres of officers and non-commissioned officers already appointed in peacetime are capable of training this number of men, for the second reserve alone, whose first class now has an annual intake of about 45,000 men, supplies in seven annual contingents far more than the above figure. The reserve battalions are, in fact, the reservoirs from which the battalions in the field, weakened by combat and even more by hardship, obtain the necessary re-inforcements of more or less trained men, and which then go on bringing themselves up to strength again from the second reserves.

At the same time as the line and the reserve troops, the *Landwehr* is mobilised. The cadres of the *Landwehr,* likewise

already appointed in peacetime, comprise 287 battalions (to be brought up to 301). In the two last wars the *Landwehr* battalions were only brought up to 800 men; accepting this very low envisaged strength, we find that the German Empire can muster a *Landwehr* infantry of 229,600 organised troops, while an annually increasing surplus still remains available for subsequent use.

As if this were not enough, the *Landsturm* has also been revived. According to semi-official reports, by the end of 1874 the war-strength of the German infantry had already been increased by 234 *Landsturm* battalions (at 800 men = 187,200 men) excluding the rifle companies; which can only mean that the cadres for these battalions have at least been appointed after a fashion. But this is far from exhausting the *Landsturm* for according to Voigts-Rhetz's triumphant announcement in Reichstag it embraces "five per cent of the population, two million men".[a]

So what does the balance-sheet look like?

France has an infantry of the line, including the troops serving in Algeria, of 530,800 men, and that is its total organised infantry. Even if we include the whole of the first reserve, insofar as it possesses *any* apparent organisation at all, 254,600 men (288 depot companies of 800 men, 30 rifle depots of 540 men and 8,000 surplus convicts), it still only makes 785,400 men on foot.

As for the German Empire, eleven days after the mobilisation order it can muster:

| | |
|---|---|
| an infantry of the line of ..... | 490,480 men |
| Two or three days later | |
| another 148 battalions ..... | 155,400 " |
| In another fortnight | |
| 287 *Landwehr* battalions of 800 men ..... | 229,600 " |
| And after another fortnight | |
| 234 *Landsturm* battalions of 800 men ..... | 187,200 " |
| making a total infantry of ..... | 1,062,680 men |

which already in peace-time is completely organised and supplied in advance with all necessities, backed up by 148 reserve battalions with a strength of 188,690 (see above) for filling the gaps caused

[a] J. von Voigts-Rhetz made this announcement in his speech in the German Reichstag on January 11, 1875. See *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstages*. 2. Legislatur-Periode. II. Session 1874/75. Zweiter Band. Berlin, 1875, p. 945.—*Ed.*

by the campaign. All in all, an organised infantry body of 1,251,370 men.

Does anyone think we are exaggerating? By no means. We are still lagging behind the truth by neglecting various small factors which all the same amount to quite a respectable total when added up. Here is the evidence.

The *Kölnische Zeitung* of December 27, 1874 contains a "military announcement" emanating from the War Ministry[a] from which we gather the following. At the end of 1873 the German Army on a war-footing amounted to:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1,361,400 men, of which infantry ..... | 994,900 men. |
| In 1874 were added the fourth battalions ..... | 155,400 " |
| and 234 battalions of the *Landsturm* ..... | 187,200 " |
| a total infantry of ..... | 1,337,500 men, |

in other words, almost 100,000 men more than in our estimate. The same article puts the strength of the entire war capability of all arms at 1,723,148 men, of whom 39,948 are officers; while the French, on the other hand, have at the most 950,000 troops organised in advance, of which 785,000 are infantrymen!

As regards the quality of the troops—assuming the average warlike tendencies of each nation to be the same—that of the French army has certainly not improved since the war. The government has done everything to demoralise the troops, particularly by placing them in barracks, where in winter a soldier can neither drill nor do anything else and is reduced exclusively, as it were, to drinking absinth. There is a lack of non-commissioned officers, the companies are weak, the cavalry regiments are seriously short of horses. The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* emphasised this fact as late as January 15[b]; at the time it was still preaching peace!

But the new army legislation places at the disposal of the French minister of war: 704,714 men of the line, 510,294 reserves, a territorial army of 582,523 men and its reserves of 625,633 men, making 2,423,164 men in all, which in an emergency can be brought up to 2,600,000! Certainly—although after careful

[a] "Die Steigerung der deutschen Kriegsstärke im Jahre 1874 und die Vergleichstellung derselben zu der Wehrmacht der andern europäischen Mächte", *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 358, December 27, 1874 (in the section *Militärische Mittheilungen. Deutschland*).—*Ed.*

[b] See *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 12, January 15, 1875 (in the section *Politischer Tagesbericht*).—*Ed.*

scrutiny of the relevant documents, General Lewal announces that this total must be reduced to 2,377,000. And even this is enough to drive the best war minister mad. What on earth is he supposed to do with this host of men, almost two-thirds of whom are untrained? Where is he to obtain the officers and non-commissioned officers without whom he cannot train, much less organise, them?

In Germany the position is quite different. The strength of the army on a war-footing is already assumed to be 1,500,000 men in the motives of the Imperial Military Law.[a] But as a result of this law, these are supplemented by five annual contingents of the second reserve, whose liability to service has been extended from their 27th year to the end of their 31st—45,000 men every year—making about 200,000 men. At least 200,000 surplus men over and above the war capability had already been on the registers. And in addition, there is the *Landsturm* with fully two million men; so that the German war minister has 3,900,000 men, if not *four million*, at his disposal. This army, as the semi-official quoted above says,

> "even with conscription up to 1,800,000 men *and more*, will, with the exception of the recruits conscripted into the reserve army, consist throughout of experienced soldiers with a complete military training, a state which is not likely to be reached in France, including the Territorial Reserve, *for another twenty years*".

We can see that it is not France but the German Empire of the Prussian Nation[94] that is the true representative of militarism. Four million soldiers, ten per cent of the population! Let them go on. It suits us perfectly that the system is being taken to the furthest extremes. This system cannot be ultimately broken from without by another victorious military state, only from within, by its own inevitable consequences. And the more it is exaggerated, the sooner it will collapse. Four million soldiers! Social-Democracy will also be indebted to Bismarck when he raises the figure to five or six million and then as soon as possible starts calling up girls too.

Written between April 6 and 18, 1875

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Signed: *F. E.*

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[a] *Motive* [*zum Reichsmilitärgesetz*]. See *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstages*. 2. Legislatur-Periode. I. Session 1874. Dritter Band. *Anlagen zu den Verhandlungen des Reichstages*, Berlin, 1874.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## LETTER TO AUGUST BEBEL[95]

London, March 18-28, 1875

Dear Bebel,

I have received your letter of February 23 and am glad to hear that you are in such good bodily health.

You ask me what we think of the unification affair. We are, unfortunately, in exactly the same boat as yourself. Neither Liebknecht nor anyone else has let us have any kind of information, and hence we too know only what is in the papers—not that there was anything in them until a week or so ago, when the draft programme appeared. That astonished us not a little, I must say.

Our party had so often held out a conciliatory hand to the Lassalleans, or at least proffered co-operation, only to be rebuffed so often and so contemptuously by the Hasenclevers, Hasselmanns and Tölckes as to lead any child to the conclusion that, should these gentlemen now come and themselves proffer conciliation, they must be in a hell of a dilemma. Knowing full well what these people are like, however, it behoves us to make the most of that dilemma and insist on every conceivable guarantee that might prevent these people from restoring, at our party's expense, their shattered reputation in general working-class opinion. They should be given an exceedingly cool and cautious reception, and union be made dependent on the degree of their readiness to abandon their sectarian slogans and their state aid,[96] and to accept in its essentials the Eisenach Programme of 1869[97] or an improved edition of it adapted to the present day. Our party has *absolutely nothing to learn* from the Lassalleans in the theoretical sphere, i.e. the crux of the matter where the programme is

concerned, but the Lassalleans doubtless have something to learn from the party; the first prerequisite for union was that they cease to be sectarians, Lassalleans, i.e. that, first and foremost, they should, if not wholly relinquish the universal panacea of state aid, at least admit it to be a secondary provisional measure alongside and amongst many others recognised as possible. The draft programme shows that our people, while infinitely superior to the Lassallean leaders in matters of theory, are far from being a match for them where political guile is concerned; once again the "honest men"[98] have been cruelly done in the eye by the dishonest.

To begin with, they adopt the high-sounding but historically false Lassallean dictum: in relation to the working class all other classes are only one reactionary mass. This proposition is true only in certain exceptional instances, for example in the case of a revolution by the proletariat, e.g. the Commune, or in a country in which not only has the bourgeoisie constructed state and society after its own image but the democratic petty bourgeoisie, in its wake, has already carried that reconstruction to its logical conclusion. If, for instance, in Germany, the democratic petty bourgeoisie were part of this reactionary mass, then how could the Social-Democratic Workers' Party have gone hand in hand with it, with the People's Party,[99] for years on end? How could the *Volksstaat* derive virtually all its political content from the petty-bourgeois democratic *Frankfurter Zeitung*? And how can one explain the adoption in this same programme of no less than seven demands that coincide exactly and word for word with the programme of the People's Party and of petty-bourgeois democracy? I mean the seven political demands, 1 to 5 and 1 to 2, of which there is not one that is not *bourgeois*-democratic.[100]

Secondly, the principle that the workers' movement is an international one is, to all intents and purposes, utterly denied in respect of the present, and this by men who, for the space of five years and under the most difficult conditions, upheld that principle in the most laudable manner. The German workers' position in the van of the European movement rests *essentially* on their genuinely international attitude during the war[101]; no other proletariat would have behaved so well. And now this principle is to be denied by them at a moment when, everywhere abroad, workers are stressing it all the more by reason of the efforts made by governments to suppress every attempt at its practical application in an organisation! And what is left of the internationalism of the workers' movement? The dim prospect—not

even of subsequent co-operation among European workers with a view to their liberation—nay, but of a future "international brotherhood of peoples"—of your Peace League bourgeois "United States of Europe"![102]

There was, of course, no need whatever to mention the International as such. But at the very least there should have been no going back on the programme of 1869, and some sort of statement to the effect that, *though first of all* the German workers' party is acting within the limits set by its political frontiers (it has no right to speak in the name of the European proletariat, especially when what it says is wrong), it is nevertheless conscious of its solidarity with the workers of all other countries and will, as before, always be ready to meet the obligations that solidarity entails. Such obligations, even if one does not definitely proclaim or regard oneself as part of the "International", consist for example in aid, abstention from blacklegging during strikes, making sure that the party organs keep German workers informed of the movement abroad, agitation against impending or incipient dynastic wars and, during such wars, an attitude such as was exemplarily maintained in 1870 and 1871, etc.

Thirdly, our people have allowed themselves to be saddled with the Lassallean "iron law of wages" which is based on a completely outmoded economic view, namely that on average the workers receive only the *minimum* wage because, according to the Malthusian theory of population, there are always too many workers (such was Lassalle's reasoning). Now in *Capital* Marx has amply demonstrated that the laws governing wages are very complex, that, according to circumstances, now this law, now that, holds sway, that they are therefore by no means iron but are, on the contrary, exceedingly elastic, and that the subject really cannot be dismissed in a few words, as Lassalle imagined. Malthus' argument, upon which the law Lassalle derived from him and Ricardo (whom he misinterpreted) is based, as that argument appears, for instance, on p. 5 of the *Arbeiterlesebuch*, where it is quoted from another pamphlet of Lassalle's,[103] is exhaustively refuted by Marx in the section on "Accumulation of Capital"[a]. Thus, by adopting the Lassallean "iron law" one commits oneself to a false proposition and false reasoning in support of the same.

Fourthly, as its *one and only social* demand, the programme puts forward—Lassallean state aid in its starkest form, as stolen by Lassalle from Buchez.[104] And this, after Bracke has so ably

[a] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VII (see present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

demonstrated the sheer futility of that demand[a]; after almost all, if not all, of our party speakers have, in their struggle against the Lassalleans, been compelled to make a stand against this "state aid"! Our party could hardly demean itself further. Internationalism sunk to the level of Amand Goegg, socialism to that of the bourgeois republican Buchez, who *confronted the socialists* with this demand in order to supplant them!

But "state aid" in the Lassallean sense of the word is, after all, at most only *one* measure among many others for the attainment of an end here lamely described as "paving the way for the solution of the social question", as though in our case there were still a social *question* that remained *unsolved* in theory! Thus, if you were to say: The German workers' party strives to abolish wage labour and hence class distinctions by introducing co-operative production into industry and agriculture, and on a national scale; it is in favour of any measure calculated to attain that end!—then no Lassallean could possibly object.

Fifthly, there is absolutely no mention of the organisation of the working class as a class through the medium of trade unions. And that is a point of the utmost importance, this being the proletariat's true class organisation in which it fights its daily battles with capital, in which it trains itself and which nowadays can no longer simply be smashed, even with reaction at its worst (as presently in Paris). Considering the importance this organisation is likewise assuming in Germany, it would in our view be indispensable to accord it some mention in the programme and, possibly, to leave some room for it in the organisation of the party.

All these things have been done by our people to oblige the Lassalleans. And what have the others conceded? That a host of somewhat muddled and *purely democratic demands* should figure in the programme, some of them being of a purely fashionable nature—for instance "legislation by the people" such as exists in Switzerland and does more harm than good, if it can be said to do anything at all. *Administration* by the people—that would at least be something. Similarly omitted is the first prerequisite of all liberty—that all officials be responsible for all their official actions to every citizen before the ordinary courts and in accordance with common law. That demands such as freedom of science and freedom of conscience figure in every liberal bourgeois programme and seem a trifle out of place here is something I shall not enlarge upon.

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[a] W. Bracke, *Der Lassalle'sche Vorschlag*, Brunswick, 1873.—*Ed.*

The free people's state is transformed into the free state. Grammatically speaking, a free state is one in which the state is free vis-à-vis its citizens, a state, that is, with a despotic government. All the palaver about the state ought to be dropped, especially after the Commune, which had ceased to be a state in the true sense of the term. The *people's state* has been flung in our teeth *ad nauseam* by the anarchists, although Marx's anti-Proudhon piece[a] and after it the *Communist Manifesto*[b] declare outright that, with the introduction of the socialist order of society, the state will dissolve of itself and disappear. Now, since the state is merely a transitional institution of which use is made in the struggle, in the revolution, to keep down one's enemies by force, it is utter nonsense to speak of a free people's state; so long as the proletariat still *makes use* of the state, it makes use of it, not for the purpose of freedom, but of keeping down its enemies and, as soon as there can be any question of freedom, the state as such ceases to exist. We would therefore suggest that *Gemeinwesen*[c] be universally substituted for *state*; it is a good old German word that can very well do service for the French "Commune".

"The elimination of all social and political inequality", rather than "the abolition of all class distinctions", is similarly a most dubious expression. As between one country, one province and even one place and another, living conditions will always evince a *certain* inequality which may be reduced to a minimum but never wholly eliminated. The living conditions of Alpine dwellers will always be different from those of the plainsmen. The concept of a socialist society as a realm of *equality* is a one-sided French concept deriving from the old "liberty, equality, fraternity", a concept which was justified in that, in its own time and place, it signified a *phase of development*, but which, like all the one-sided ideas of earlier socialist schools, ought now to be superseded, since they produce nothing but mental confusion, and more accurate ways of presenting the matter have been discovered.

I shall desist, although almost every word in this programme, a programme which is, moreover, insipidly written, lays itself open to criticism. It is such that, should it be adopted, Marx and I could *never* recognise a *new* party set up on that basis and shall have to consider most seriously what attitude—public as well as private—we should adopt towards it.[105] Remember that abroad *we* are held

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[a] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon.*—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party.*—*Ed.*

[c] Commonalty.—*Ed.*

responsible for any and every statement and action of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party. E.g. by Bakunin in his work *Statehood and Anarchy*,[a] in which we are made to answer for every injudicious word spoken or written by Liebknecht since the inception of the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*. People imagine that we run the whole show from here, whereas you know as well as I do that we have hardly ever interfered in the least with internal party affairs, and then only in an attempt to make good, as far as possible, what we considered to have been blunders—and *only theoretical* blunders at that. But, as you yourself will realise, this programme marks a turning-point which may very well force us to renounce any kind of responsibility in regard to the party that adopts it.

Generally speaking, less importance attaches to the official programme of a party than to what it does. But a *new* programme is after all a banner planted in public, and the outside world judges the party by it. Hence, whatever happens there should be no going-back, as there is here, on the Eisenach programme. It should further be considered what the workers of other countries will think of this programme; what impression will be created by this genuflection on the part of the entire German socialist proletariat before Lassalleanism.

I am, moreover, convinced that a union on *this* basis would not last a year. Are the best minds of our party to descend to repeating, parrot-fashion, Lassallean maxims concerning the iron law of wages and state aid? I'd like to see you, for one, thus employed! And were they to do so, their audiences would hiss them off the stage. And I feel sure that it is precisely on *these* bits of the programme that the Lassalleans are insisting, like Shylock the Jew on his pound of flesh.[b] The split will come; but we shall have "made honest men" again of Hasselmann, Hasenclever and Tölcke and Co.; we shall emerge from the split weaker and the Lassalleans stronger; our party will have lost its political virginity and will never again be able to come out whole-heartedly against the Lassallean maxims which for a time it inscribed on its own banner; and then, should the Lassalleans again declare themselves to be the sole and most genuine workers' party and our people to be bourgeois, the programme would be there to prove it. All the socialist measures in it are *theirs*, and *our* party has introduced

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[a] Бакунинъ, *Государственность и анархія*, [Geneva,] 1873 (for Marx's notes on this book see this volume, pp. 485-526).—*Ed.*

[b] Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, Act I, Scene 3.—*Ed.*

nothing save the demands of that petty-bourgeois democracy which it has *itself* described in that same programme as part of the "reactionary mass"!

I had held this letter back in view of the fact that you would only be released on April 1, in honour of Bismarck's birthday,[106] not wanting to expose it to the risk of interception in the course of an attempt to smuggle it in. Well, I have just had a letter from Bracke, who has also felt grave doubts about the programme and asks for our opinion. I shall therefore send this letter to him for forwarding, so that he can read it without my having to write the whole thing over again. I have, by the way, also spoken my mind to Ramm; to Liebknecht I wrote but briefly. I cannot forgive his not having told us a *single word* about the whole business (whereas Ramm and others believed he had given us exact information) until it was, in a manner of speaking, too late. True, this has always been his wont—hence the large amount of disagreeable correspondence which we, both Marx and myself, have had with him, but this time it really is too bad, and *we definitely shan't act in concert with him.*

Do see that you manage to come here in the summer; you would, of course, stay with me and, if the weather is fine, we might spend a day or two taking sea baths, which would really do you good after your long spell in jail.

Ever your friend,

*F. E.*

Marx has just moved house. He is living at 41 Maitland Park Crescent, NW London.

First published in the book:
A. Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, Part 2,
Stuttgart, 1911

Printed according to the book

Karl Marx

# CRITIQUE OF THE GOTHA PROGRAMME[107]

Written in April-early May 1875

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. I, No. 18, 1891

Printed according to the manuscript

# LETTER TO WILHELM BRACKE

London, May 5, 1875

Dear Bracke,

Will you be so kind, after you have read the following marginal notes on the unity programme,[a] to pass them on for Geib and Auer, Bebel and Liebknecht to see. Notabene. *The manuscript should be returned to you* so as to be at my disposal if needs be. I have more than enough to do, and, as it is, must take on far more work than laid down for me by my doctor. Hence it was by no means a "pleasure" to write such a lengthy screed. Yet it was necessary if the steps I shall have to take later on are not to be misinterpreted by the party friends for whom this communication is intended.

After the Unity Congress is over, Engels and I will publish a short statement to the effect that we entirely disassociate ourselves from the said programme of principles and have nothing to do with it.

This is indispensable because of the view taken abroad—a totally erroneous view, carefully nurtured by party enemies—that we are secretly directing the activities of the so-called Eisenach Party from here. Only recently, in a newly published Russian work,[b] Bakunin suggests that I, for instance, am responsible, not only for that party's every programme, etc., but actually for every step taken by Liebknecht from the day he began co-operating with the People's Party.

Aside from this, it is my duty to refuse recognition, even by maintaining a diplomatic silence, to a programme which, I am

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[a] "Programm der deutschen Arbeiterpartei", *Der Volksstaat*, No. 27, March 7, 1875.—*Ed.*

[b] Бакунинъ, *Государственность и анархія*.—*Ed.*

convinced, is altogether deplorable as well as demoralising for the party.

Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programmes. Hence, if it was impossible to advance *beyond* the Eisenach Programme—and circumstances at the time precluded this—they should simply have come to an agreement about action against the common foe. But to draw up programmes of principles (instead of waiting till a longish spell of common activity has prepared the ground for that sort of thing) is to set up bench marks for all the world to see, whereby it may gauge how far the party has progressed.

The leaders of the Lassalleans came because circumstances forced them to. Had they been told from the start that there was to be no haggling over principles, they would have been *compelled* to content themselves with a programme of action or a plan of organisation for common action. Instead, our people allow them to present themselves armed with mandates, and recognise those mandates as binding, thus surrendering unconditionally to men who are themselves in need of help. To crown it all, they are holding another congress *prior to the congress of compromise,* whereas our own party is holding its congress *post festum.*[a] Obviously their idea was to elude all criticism and not allow their own party time for reflection. One knows that the mere fact of unification is enough to satisfy the workers, but it is wrong to suppose that this momentary success has not been bought too dear.

Besides, the programme's no good, even apart from its canonisation of the Lassallean articles of faith.

I shall shortly be sending you the final instalments of the French edition of *Capital.* Printing was held up for a considerable time by the French government ban. The thing will be finished this week or at the beginning of next. Have you received the six previous instalments? [108] Would you also very kindly send me the *address* of Bernhard Becker, to whom I must likewise send the final instalments.

The *bookshop* of the *Volksstaat* has peculiar manners. For instance, they haven't as yet sent me so much as a single copy of their reprint of the *Cologne Communist Trial.*[b]

With kind regards.

Your

*Karl Marx*

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[a] After the event.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.*—*Ed.*

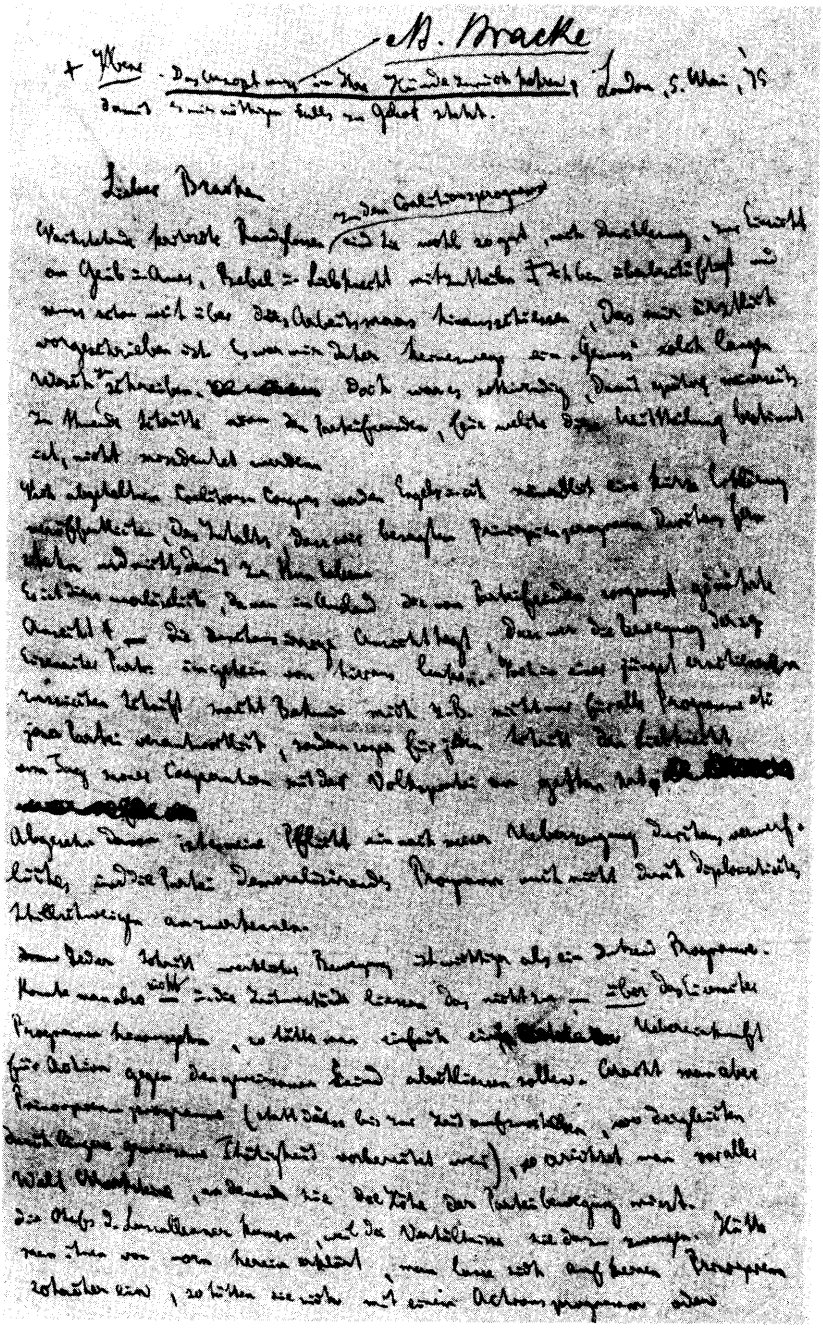

The first page of Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme*

# MARGINAL NOTES ON THE PROGRAMME OF THE GERMAN WORKERS' PARTY

## I

1. "Labour is the source of all wealth and all culture, *and since* useful labour is possible only in society and through society, the proceeds of labour belong undiminished with equal right to all members of society."[a]

*First part of the paragraph*: "Labour is the source of all wealth and all culture."

Labour is *not the source* of all wealth. *Nature* is just as much the source of use values (and it is surely of such that material wealth consists!) as labour, which itself is only the manifestation of a force of nature, human labour power. The above phrase is to be found in all children's primers and is correct insofar as it is *implied* that labour is performed with the pertinent objects and instruments. But a socialist programme cannot allow such bourgeois phrases to pass over in silence the *conditions* that alone give them meaning. And insofar as man from the outset behaves towards nature, the primary source of all instruments and objects of labour, as an owner, treats her as belonging to him, his labour becomes the source of use values, therefore also of wealth. The bourgeois have very good grounds for ascribing *supernatural creative power* to labour; since precisely from the fact that labour is determined by nature, it follows that the man who possesses no other property than his labour power must, in all conditions of society and culture, be the slave of other men who have made themselves the owners of the material conditions of labour. He can work only with their permission, hence live only with their permission.

Let us now leave the sentence as it stands, or rather limps. What would one have expected in conclusion? Obviously this:

"Since labour is the source of all wealth, no one in society can appropriate wealth except as the product of labour. Therefore, if

[a] Here and below Marx quotes the draft of the "Programm der deutschen Arbeiterpartei", *Der Volksstaat*, No. 27, March 7, 1875.—*Ed.*

he himself does not work, he lives by the labour of others and also acquires his culture at the expense of the labour of others."

Instead of this, by means of the verbal rivet "*and since*" a second proposition is added in order to draw a conclusion from this and not from the first one.

*Second part of the paragraph:* "Useful labour is possible only in society and through society."

According to the first proposition, labour was the source of all wealth and all culture; therefore no society is possible without labour. Now we learn, conversely, that no "useful" labour is possible without society.

One could just as well have said that only in society can useless and even socially harmful labour become a gainful occupation, that only in society can one live by being idle, etc., etc.—in short, one could just as well have copied the whole of Rousseau.

And what is "useful" labour? Surely only labour which produces the intended useful result. A savage—and man was a savage after he had ceased to be an ape—who kills an animal with a stone, who collects fruits, etc., performs "useful" labour.

*Thirdly. The conclusion*: "And since useful labour is possible only in society and through society, the proceeds of labour belong undiminished with equal right to all members of society."

A fine conclusion! If useful labour is possible only in society and through society, the proceeds of labour belong to society—and only so much therefrom accrues to the individual worker as is not required to maintain the "condition" of labour, society.

In fact, this proposition has at all times been made use of *by the champions of the state of society prevailing at any given time.* First come the claims of the government and everything that sticks to it, since it is the social organ for the maintenance of the social order; then come the claims of the various kinds of private owners for the various kinds of private property are the foundations of society, etc. One sees that such hollow phrases can be twisted and turned as desired.

The first and second parts of the paragraph have some intelligible connection only in the following wording:

"Labour becomes the source of wealth and culture only as social labour", or, what is the same thing, "in and through society".

This proposition is incontestably correct, for although isolated labour (its material conditions presupposed) can create use values, it can create neither wealth nor culture.

But equally incontestable is the other proposition:

"In proportion as labour develops socially, and becomes

thereby a source of wealth and culture, poverty and destitution develop among the workers, and wealth and culture among the non-workers."

This is the law of all history hitherto. What, therefore, had to be done here, instead of setting down general phrases about "*labour*" and "*society*", was to prove concretely how in present capitalist society the material, etc., conditions have at last been created which enable and compel the workers to lift this historical curse.

In fact, however, the whole paragraph, bungled in style and content, is only there in order to inscribe the Lassallean catchword of the "undiminished proceeds of labour" as a slogan at the top of the party banner. I shall return later to the "proceeds of labour", "equal right", etc., since the same thing recurs in a somewhat different form further on.

> 2. "In present-day society, the means of labour are the monopoly of the capitalist class; the resulting dependence of the working class is the cause of misery and servitude in all their forms."

This sentence, borrowed from the Rules of the International, is incorrect in this "improved" edition.[109]

In present-day society the means of labour are the monopoly of the landowners (the monopoly of land ownership is even the basis of the monopoly of capital) *and* the capitalists. In the passage in question, the Rules of the International mention neither the one nor the other class of monopolists. They speak of the "*monopoly of the means of labour, that is, the sources of life*". The addition, "sources of life", makes it sufficiently clear that land is included in the means of labour.

The correction was introduced because Lassalle, for reasons now generally known,[110] attacked *only* the capitalist class and not the landowners. In England, the capitalist is mostly not even the owner of the land on which his factory stands.

> 3. "The emancipation of labour demands the raising of the means of labour to the common property of society and the collective regulation of the total labour with a fair distribution of the proceeds of labour."

"The raising of the means of labour to common property"! Ought obviously to read their "conversion into common property". But this only in passing.

What are "*proceeds of labour*"? The product of labour or its value? And in the latter case, is it the total value of the product or only that part of the value which labour has newly added to the value of the means of production consumed?

"Proceeds of labour" is a loose notion which Lassalle has put in the place of definite economic concepts.

What is "fair" distribution?

Do not the bourgeois assert that present-day distribution is "fair"? And is it not, in fact, the only "fair" distribution on the basis of the present-day mode of production? Are economic relations regulated by legal concepts or do not, on the contrary, legal relations arise from economic ones? Have not also the socialist sectarians the most varied notions about "fair" distribution?

To understand what is implied in this connection by the phrase "fair distribution", we must take the first paragraph and this one together. The latter presupposes a society wherein "the means of labour are common property and the total labour is collectively regulated", and from the first paragraph we learn that "the proceeds of labour belong undiminished with equal right to all members of society".

"To all members of society"? To those who do not work as well? What remains then of "the undiminished proceeds of labour"? Only to those members of society who work? What remains then of "the equal right" of all members of society?

But "all members of society" and "equal right" are obviously mere phrases. The crucial point is this, that in this communist society every worker must receive his "undiminished" Lassallean "proceeds of labour".

Let us take first of all the words "proceeds of labour" in the sense of the product of labour; then the collective proceeds of labour are the *total social product.*

From this must now be deducted:

*First,* cover for replacement of the means of production used up.

*Secondly,* additional portion for expansion of production.

*Thirdly,* reserve or insurance funds to provide against accidents, disturbances caused by natural factors, etc.

These deductions from the "undiminished proceeds of labour" are an economic necessity and their magnitude is to be determined according to available means and forces, and party by computation of probabilities, but they are in no way calculable by equity.

There remains the other part of the total product, intended to serve as means of consumption.

Before this is divided among the individuals, there has to be again deducted from it:

*First, the general costs of administration not directly appertaining to production.*

This part will, from the outset, be very considerably restricted in comparison with present-day society and it diminishes in proportion as the new society develops.

*Secondly, that which is intended for the common satisfaction of needs,* such as schools, health services, etc.

From the outset this part grows considerably in comparison with present-day society and it grows in proportion as the new society develops.

*Thirdly, funds for those unable to work,* etc., in short, for what is included under so-called official poor relief today.

Only now do we come to the "distribution" which the programme, under Lassallean influence, has alone in view in its narrow fashion, namely, to that part of the means of consumption which is divided among the individual producers of the collective.

The "undiminished proceeds of labour" have already unnoticeably become converted into the "diminished" proceeds, although what the producer is deprived of in his capacity as a private individual benefits him directly or indirectly in his capacity as a member of society.

Just as the phrase of the "undiminished proceeds of labour" has disappeared, so now does the phrase of the "proceeds of labour" disappear altogether.

Within the collective society based on common ownership of the means of production, the producers do not exchange their products; just as little does the labour employed on the products appear here *as the value* of these products, as a material quality possessed by them, since now, in contrast to capitalist society, individual labour no longer exists in an indirect fashion but directly as a component part of the total labour. The phrase "proceeds of labour", objectionable even today on account of its ambiguity, thus loses all meaning.

What we are dealing with here is a communist society, not as it has *developed* on its own foundations, but on the contrary, just as it *emerges* from capitalist society, which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth-marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges.

Accordingly, the individual producer receives back from society—after the deductions have been made—exactly what he gives to it. What he has given to it is his individual quantum of labour. For example, the social working day consists of the sum of the individual hours of work; the individual labour time of the individual producer is the part of the social working day contributed by him, his share in it. He receives a certificate from society that he has furnished such and such an amount of labour (after deducting his labour for the common funds), and with this certificate he draws from the social stock of means of consumption as much as the same amount of labour costs. The same amount of labour which he has given to society in one form he receives back in another.

Here obviously the same principle prevails as that which regulates the exchange of commodities, as far as this is the exchange of equal values. Content and form are changed, because under the altered circumstances no one can give anything except his labour, and because, on the other hand, nothing can pass to the ownership of individuals except individual means of consumption. But, as far as the distribution of the latter among the individual producers is concerned, the same principle prevails as in the exchange of commodity-equivalents: a given amount of labour in one form is exchanged for an equal amount of labour in another form.

Hence, *equal right* here is still in principle—*bourgeois right*, although principle and practice are no longer at loggerheads, while the exchange of equivalents in commodity exchange only exists *on the average* and not in the individual case.

In spite of this advance, this *equal right* is still constantly encumbered by a bourgeois limitation. The right of the producers is *proportional* to the labour they supply; the equality consists in the fact that measurement is made with an *equal standard*, labour. But one man is superior to another physically or mentally and so supplies more labour in the same time, or can work for a longer time; and labour, to serve as a measure, must be defined by its duration or intensity, otherwise it ceases to be a standard of measurement. This *equal* right is an unequal right for unequal labour. It recognises no class distinctions, because everyone is only a worker like everyone else; but it tacitly recognises the unequal individual endowment and thus productive capacity of the workers as natural privileges. *It is, therefore, a right of inequality, in its content, like every right.* Right by its nature can exist only as the application of an equal standard; but unequal individuals (and

they would not be different individuals if they were not unequal) are measurable by an equal standard only insofar as they are made subject to an equal criterion, are taken from a *certain* side only, for instance, in the present case, are regarded *only as workers* and nothing more is seen in them, everything else being ignored. Besides, one worker is married, another not; one has more children than another, etc., etc. Thus, given an equal amount of work done, and hence an equal share in the social consumption fund, one will in fact receive more than another, one will be richer than another, etc. To avoid all these defects, right would have to be unequal rather than equal.

But these defects are inevitable in the first phase of communist society as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth-pangs from capitalist society. Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development which this determines.

In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and thereby also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour has become not only a means of life but life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of common wealth flow more abundantly—only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs!

I have dealt at greater length with the "undiminished proceeds of labour", on the one hand, and with "equal right" and "fair distribution", on the other, in order to show what a crime it is to attempt, on the one hand, to force on our Party again, as dogmas, ideas which in a certain period had some meaning but have now become obsolete verbal rubbish, while again perverting, on the other, the realistic outlook, which it cost so much effort to instil into the Party but which has now taken root in it, by means of ideological, legal and other trash so common among the Democrats and French Socialists.

Quite apart from the analysis so far given, it was in general a mistake to make a fuss about so-called *distribution* and put the principal stress on it.

Any distribution whatever of the means of consumption is only a consequence of the distribution of the conditions of production themselves. The latter distribution, however, is a feature of the mode of production itself. The capitalist mode of production, for

example, rests on the fact that the material conditions of production are in the hands of non-workers in the form of capital and land ownership, while the masses are only owners of the personal condition of production, of labour power. If the elements of production are so distributed, then the present-day distribution of the means of consumption results automatically. If the material conditions of production are the collective property of the workers themselves, then there likewise results a distribution of the means of consumption different from the present one. The vulgar socialists (and from them in turn a section of the Democrats) have taken over from the bourgeois economists the consideration and treatment of distribution as independent of the mode of production and hence the presentation of socialism as turning principally on distribution. After the real relation has long been made clear, why retrogress again?

4. "The emancipation of labour must be the work of the working class, in relation to which all other classes are *only one reactionary mass.*"

The main clause is taken from the introductory words of the Rules of the International,[a] but "improved". There it is said: "The emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves"; here, on the contrary, the "working class" has to emancipate—what? "Labour". Let him understand who can.

In compensation, the subordinate clause, on the other hand, is a Lassallean quotation of the first water: "in relation to which (the working class) all other classes are *only one reactionary mass*".

In the *Communist Manifesto* it is said: "Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a *really revolutionary class.* The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of Modern Industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product."[b]

The bourgeoisie is here conceived as a revolutionary class—as the bearer of large-scale industry—in relation to the feudal lords and the middle estates, who desire to maintain all social positions that are the creation of obsolete modes of production. Thus they

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 20, p. 441.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., Vol. 6, p. 494.—*Ed.*

do not form *together with the bourgeoisie* only one reactionary mass.

On the other hand, the proletariat is revolutionary in relation to the bourgeoisie because, having itself grown up on the basis of large-scale industry, it strives to strip off from production the capitalist character that the bourgeoisie seeks to perpetuate. But the *Manifesto* adds that the "middle estates" are becoming revolutionary "in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat".

From this point of view, therefore, it is again nonsense to say that they, "together with the bourgeoisie", and with the feudal lords into the bargain, "form only one reactionary mass" in relation to the working class.

Did anyone proclaim to the artisans, small manufacturers, etc., and *peasants* during the last elections: In relation to us you, together with the bourgeoisie and feudal lords, form only one reactionary mass?[111]

Lassalle knew the *Communist Manifesto* by heart, as his faithful followers know the gospels written by him. If, therefore, he has falsified it so grossly, this has occurred only to put a good colour on his alliance with absolutist and feudal opponents against the bourgeoisie.

In the above paragraph, moreover, his oracular saying is dragged in by the hair, without any connection with the botched quotation from the Rules of the International. Thus it is here simply an impertinence, and indeed not at all displeasing to Mr. Bismarck, one of those cheap pieces of insolence in which the Marat of Berlin[112] deals.

> 5. "The working class strives for its emancipation first of all *within the framework of the present-day national state,* conscious that the necessary result of its efforts, which are common to the workers of all civilised countries, will be the international brotherhood of peoples."

Lassalle, in opposition to the *Communist Manifesto* and to all earlier socialism, conceived the workers' movement from the narrowest national standpoint. He is being followed in this—and that after the work of the International!

It is altogether self-evident that, to be able to fight at all, the working class must organise itself at home *as a class* and that its own country is the immediate arena of its struggle. To this extent its class struggle is national, not in substance, but, as the

*Communist Manifesto* says, "in form".[a] But the "framework of the present-day national state", for instance, the German Empire, is itself in its turn economically "within the framework of the world market", politically "within the framework of the system of states". Every businessman knows that German trade is at the same time foreign trade, and the greatness of Mr. Bismarck consists, to be sure, precisely in his pursuing his kind of *international* policy.

And to what does the German workers' party reduce its internationalism? To the consciousness that the result of its efforts "will be the *international brotherhood of peoples*"—a phrase borrowed from the bourgeois League of Peace and Freedom, which is intended to pass as equivalent to the international brotherhood of the working classes in the joint struggle against the ruling classes and their governments. So not a word *about the international functions* of the German working class! And it is thus that it is to defy its own bourgeoisie—which is already linked up in brotherhood against it with the bourgeois of all other countries—and Mr. Bismarck's international policy of conspiracy!

In fact, the internationalism of the programme stands *even infinitely below* that of the Free Trade Party. The latter also asserts that the result of its efforts will be "the international brotherhood of peoples". But it also *does* something to make trade international and by no means contents itself with the consciousness—that all peoples are carrying on trade at home.

The international activity of the working classes does not in any way depend on the existence of the "*International Working Men's Association*". This was only the first attempt to create a central organ for that activity; an attempt which was a lasting success on account of the impulse which it gave, but which was no longer realisable in *its first historical form* after the fall of the Paris Commune.

Bismarck's *Norddeutsche* was absolutely right when it announced, to the satisfaction of its master, that the German workers' party had forsworn internationalism in the new programme.[113]

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 495, 502-03.—*Ed.*

## II

> "Starting from these basic principles, the German workers' party strives by all legal means for the *free state—and*—socialist society; the abolition of the wage system *together with* the *iron law of wages*—and—exploitation in every form; the elimination of all social and political inequality."

I shall return to the "free" state later.

So, in future, the German workers' party has got to believe in Lassalle's "iron law of wages"[114]! That this may not be lost, the nonsense is perpetrated of speaking of the "abolition of the wage system" (it should read: system of wage labour) "*together with* the iron law of wages". If I abolish wage labour, then naturally I abolish its laws too, whether they are of "iron" or sponge. But Lassalle's attack on wage labour turns almost solely on this so-called law. In order, therefore, to prove that the Lassallean sect has won, the "wage system" must be abolished "*together with* the iron law of wages" and not without it.

It is well known that nothing of the "iron law of wages" is Lassalle's except the word "iron" borrowed from Goethe's "eternal, iron, great laws".[a] The word *iron* is a label by which the true believers recognise one another. But if I take the law with Lassalle's stamp on it and, consequently, in his sense, then I must also take it with his substantiation. And what is that? As Lange already showed, shortly after Lassalle's death, it is the Malthusian theory of population (preached by Lange himself).[b] But if this theory is correct, then again I can*not* abolish the law even if I abolish wage labour a hundred times over, because the law then governs not only the system of wage labour but *every* social system. Basing themselves directly on this, the economists have been proving for fifty years and more that socialism cannot abolish destitution, *which has its basis in nature,* but can only make it *general,* distribute it simultaneously over the whole surface of society!

But all this is not the main thing. *Quite apart* from the *false* Lassallean formulation of the law, the truly outrageous retrogression consists in the following:

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[a] Quoted from Goethe's poem *Das Göttliche,* sixth stanza.—*Ed.*

[b] F. A. Lange, *Die Arbeiterfrage in ihrer Bedeutung für Gegenwart und Zukunft,* Duisburg, 1865, pp. 108-12.—*Ed.*

Since Lassalle's death there has asserted itself in *our* Party the scientific understanding that *wages* are not what they *appear* to be, namely the *value*, or *price*, *of labour*, but only a masked form for the *value*, or *price*, *of labour power*. Thereby the whole bourgeois conception of wages hitherto, as well as all the criticism hitherto directed against this conception, was thrown overboard once for all and it was made clear that the wage-worker has permission to work for his own subsistence, that is, *to live* only insofar as he works for a certain time gratis for the capitalist (and hence also for the latter's co-consumers of surplus value); that the whole capitalist system of production turns on increasing this gratis labour by extending the working day or by developing productivity, that is, increasing the intensity of labour power, etc.; that, consequently, the system of wage labour is a system of slavery, and indeed of a slavery which becomes more severe in proportion as the social productive forces of labour develop, whether the worker receives better or worse payment. And after this understanding has gained more and more ground in our Party, one returns to Lassalle's dogmas although one must have known that Lassalle *did not know* what wages were, but following in the wake of the bourgeois economists took the appearance for the essence of the matter.

It is as if, among slaves who have at last got behind the secret of slavery and broken out in rebellion, a slave still in thrall to obsolete notions were to inscribe on the programme of the rebellion: Slavery must be abolished because the feeding of slaves in the system of slavery cannot exceed a certain low maximum!

Does not the mere fact that the representatives of our Party were capable of perpetrating such a monstrous attack on the understanding that has spread among the mass of our Party prove by itself with what criminal levity and with what lack of conscience they set to work in drawing up this compromise programme!

Instead of the indefinite concluding phrase of the paragraph, "the elimination of all social and political inequality", it ought to have been said that with the abolition of class distinctions all social and political inequality arising from them would disappear of itself.

III

> "The German workers' party, in order *to pave the way for the solution of the social question,* demands the establishment of producers' co-operative societies with *state aid under the democratic control of the working people.* The producers' co-operative societies *are to be called into being* for industry and agriculture on such a scale *that the socialist organisation of the total labour will arise from them.*"

After the Lassallean "iron law of wages", the panacea of the prophet. The way for it is "paved" in worthy fashion. In place of the existing class struggle appears a newspaper scribbler's phrase: "*the* social *question*", for the "*solution*" of which one "paves the way". Instead of arising from the revolutionary process of the transformation of society, the "socialist organisation of the total labour" "arises" from the "state aid" that the state gives to the producers' co-operative societies which the *state,* not the worker, "*calls into being*". It is worthy of Lassalle's imagination that with state loans one can build a new society just as well as a new railway! [115]

From the remnants of a sense of shame, "state aid" has been put—"under the democratic control of the working people".

In the first place, the "working people" in Germany consist in their majority of peasants, and not of proletarians.

Secondly, "democratic" means in German "*volksherrschaftlich*" ["by the rule of the people"]. But what does "control of the working people by the rule of the people" mean? And particularly in the case of working people who, through these demands that they put to the state, express their full consciousness that they neither rule nor are ripe for rule!

It would be superfluous to deal here with the criticism of the recipe prescribed by Buchez in the reign of Louis Philippe in *opposition* to the French Socialists and accepted by the reactionary workers of the *Atelier.* The chief offence does not lie in having inscribed this specific nostrum in the programme, but in taking a retrograde step at all from the standpoint of a class movement to that of a sectarian movement.

That the workers desire to establish the conditions for co-operative production on a social scale, and first of all on a national scale, in their own country, only means that they are working to transform the present conditions of production, and it has nothing in common with the foundation of co-operative

societies with state aid. But as far as the present co-operative societies are concerned, they are of value *only* insofar as they are the independent creations of the workers and not protégés either of the governments or of the bourgeois.

[IV]

I come now to the democratic section.

A. "*The free basis of the state.*"

First of all, according to II, the German workers' party strives for "the free state".[a]

Free state—what is it?

It is by no means the purpose of the workers, who have got rid of the narrow mentality of humble subjects, to set the state "free". In the German Empire the "state" is almost as "free" as in Russia. Freedom consists in converting the state from an organ superimposed upon society into one completely subordinate to it, and even today forms of state are more free or less free to the extent that they restrict the "freedom of the state".

The German workers' party—at least if it adopts the programme—shows that its socialist ideas are not even skin-deep, in that, instead of treating existing society (and this holds good for any future one) as the *basis* of the existing *state* (or of the future state in the case of future society), it treats the state rather as an independent entity that possesses its own "*intellectual, ethical and libertarian bases*".

And what of the wild abuse which the programme makes of the words "*present-day state*", "*present-day society*", and of the still more riotous misconception it creates in regard to the state to which it addresses its demands?

"Present-day society" is capitalist society, which exists in all civilised countries, more or less free from medieval admixture, more or less modified by the particular historical development of each country, more or less developed. On the other hand, the "present-day state" changes with a country's frontier. It is different in the Prusso-German Empire from that in Switzerland,

[a] See this volume, p. 91.—*Ed.*

and different in England from that in the United States. "The *present-day* state" is, therefore, a fiction.

Nevertheless, the different states of the different civilised countries, in spite of their motley diversity of form, all have this in common that they are based on modern bourgeois society, more or less capitalistically developed. They have, therefore, also certain essential characteristics in common. In this sense it is possible to speak of the "present-day state", in contrast with the future, in which its present root, bourgeois society, will have died off.

The question then arises: what transformation will the state undergo in communist society? In other words, what social functions will remain in existence there that are analogous to present state functions? This question can only be answered scientifically, and one does not get a flea-hop nearer to the problem by a thousandfold combination of the word people with the word state.

Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.*

Now the programme deals neither with this nor with the future state of communist society.

Its political demands contain nothing beyond the old democratic litany familiar to all: universal suffrage, direct legislation, popular rights, a people's militia, etc. They are a mere echo of the bourgeois People's Party, of the League of Peace and Freedom. They are all demands which, insofar as they are not exaggerated in fantastic presentation, have already been *implemented.* Only the state to which they belong does not lie within the borders of the German Empire, but in Switzerland, the United States, etc. This sort of "state of the future" is a *present-day state,* although existing outside the "framework" of the German Empire.

But one thing has been forgotten. Since the German workers' party expressly declares that it acts within "the present-day national state", hence within its own state, the Prusso-German Empire—its demands would indeed otherwise be largely meaningless, since one only demands what one has not yet got—it should not have forgotten the chief thing, namely that all those pretty little gewgaws rest on the recognition of what is called sovereignty of the people and hence are appropriate only in a *democratic republic.*

Since one has not the courage—and wisely so, for the

circumstances demand caution—to demand the democratic republic, as the French workers' programmes under Louis Philippe and under Louis Napoleon did, one should not have resorted to the subterfuge, neither "honest"[a] nor decent, of demanding things which have meaning only in a democratic republic from a state which is nothing but a police-guarded military despotism, embellished with parliamentary forms, alloyed with a feudal admixture and at the same time already influenced by the bourgeoisie, and bureaucratically carpentered, and then assuring this state into the bargain that one imagines one will be able to force such things upon it "by legal means".

Even vulgar democracy, which sees the millennium in the democratic republic and has no suspicion that it is precisely in this last form of state of bourgeois society that the class struggle has to be fought out to a conclusion—even it towers mountains above this kind of democratism which keeps within the limits of what is permitted by the police and not permitted by logic.

That, in fact, by the word "state" is meant the government machine or the state insofar as it forms a special organism separated from society through division of labour, is shown alone by the words

"the German workers' party demands *as the economic basis of the state*: a single progressive income tax," etc.

Taxes are the economic basis of the government machinery and of nothing else. In the state of the future existing in Switzerland, this demand has been pretty well fulfilled. Income tax presupposes various sources of income of the various social classes, and hence capitalist society. It is, therefore, nothing remarkable that the Liverpool FINANCIAL REFORMERS, bourgeois headed by Gladstone's brother,[b] are putting forward the same demand as the programme.[116]

B. "The German workers' party demands as the intellectual and ethical basis of the state:

1. "Universal and *equal education of the people* by the state. Universal compulsory school attendance. Free instruction."

*Equal education of the people?* What idea lies behind these words? Is it believed that in present-day society (and it is only with this that one is dealing) education can be *equal* for all classes? Or is it

[a] See this volume, p. 68.—*Ed.*

[b] Robertson Gladstone.—*Ed.*

demanded that the upper classes also shall be compulsorily reduced to the modicum of education—the elementary school—that alone is compatible with the economic conditions not only of the wage labourers but of the peasants as well?

"Universal compulsory school attendance. Free instruction". The former exists even in Germany, the latter in Switzerland and in the United States in the case of elementary schools. If in some states of the latter country "upper" educational institutions are also "free", that only means in fact defraying the cost of the education of the upper classes from the general tax receipts. Incidentally, the same holds good for "free administration of justice" demanded under A, 5. The administration of criminal justice is to be had free everywhere; that of civil justice is concerned almost exclusively with conflicts over property and hence affects almost exclusively the propertied classes. Are they to carry on their litigation at the expense of the national coffers?

The paragraph on the schools should at least have demanded technical schools (theoretical and practical) in combination with the elementary school.

"*Education of the people by the state*" is altogether objectionable. Defining by a general law the expenditures on the elementary schools, the qualifications of the teaching staff, the subjects of instruction, etc., and, as is done in the United States, supervising the fulfilment of these legal specifications by state inspectors, is a very different thing from appointing the state as the educator of the people! Government and Church should rather be equally excluded from any influence on the school. Particularly, indeed, in the Prusso-German Empire (and one should not take refuge in the rotten subterfuge that one is speaking of a "state of the future"; we have seen how matters stand in this respect) the state has need, on the contrary, of a very stern education by the people.

But the whole programme, for all its democratic clang, is tainted through and through by the Lassallean sect's servile belief in the state, or, what is no better, by a democratic belief in miracles, or rather it is a compromise between these two kinds of belief in miracles, both equally remote from socialism.

"Freedom of science" says a paragraph of the Prussian Constitution.[a] Why, then, here?

"*Freedom of conscience*"! If one desired at this time of the *Kulturkampf*[117] to remind liberalism of its old catchwords, it surely

[a] *Verfassungs-Urkunde für den preußischen Staat vom 31. Januar 1850,* Art. 20. In: *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preußischen Staaten,* Berlin, 1850, Nr. 3.—*Ed.*

could have been done only in the following form: Everyone should be able to attend to his religious as well as his bodily needs without the police sticking their noses in. But the workers' party ought at any rate in this connection to have expressed its awareness of the fact that bourgeois "freedom of conscience" is nothing but the toleration of all possible kinds of *religious unfreedom of conscience,* and that for its part it endeavours rather to liberate the conscience from the witchery of religion. But one chooses not to transgress the "bourgeois" level.

I have now come to the end, for the appendix that now follows in the programme does not constitute a *characteristic* component part of it. Hence I can be very brief here.

2. "*Normal working day.*"

In no other country has the workers' party limited itself to such a vague demand, but has always fixed the length of the working day that it considers normal under the given circumstances.

3. "Restriction of female labour and prohibition of child labour."

The standardisation of the working day must include the restriction of female labour, insofar as it relates to the duration, breaks, etc., of the working day; otherwise it could only mean the exclusion of female labour from branches of industry that are especially unhealthy for the female body or are morally objectionable to the female sex. If that is what was meant, it should have been said.

"*Prohibition of child labour*"! Here it is absolutely essential to state the *age limit.*

A *general prohibition* of child labour is incompatible with the existence of large-scale industry and hence an empty, pious wish.

Its implementation—if it were possible—would be reactionary, since, with a strict regulation of the working time according to the different age groups and other precautionary stipulations for the protection of children, an early combination of productive labour with education is one of the most potent means for the transformation of present-day society.

4. "State supervision of factory, workshop and domestic industry."

In consideration of the Prusso-German state it should definitely have been demanded that the inspectors are to be removable only

by a court of law; that any worker can have them prosecuted for neglect of duty; that they must belong to the medical profession.

5. "Regulation of prison labour."

A petty demand in a general workers' programme. In any case, it should have been clearly stated that there is no intention from fear of competition to allow ordinary criminals to be treated like beasts, and especially that there is no desire to deprive them of their sole means of betterment, productive labour. This was surely the least one might have expected from Socialists.

6. "An effective liability law."

It should have been stated what is meant by an "effective" liability law.

Let it be noted, incidentally, that in speaking of the normal working day the part of factory legislation that deals with health regulations and safety measures, etc., has been overlooked. The liability law only comes into operation when these regulations are infringed.

In short, this appendix too is distinguished by slovenly editing.

*Dixi et salvavi animam meam.*[a]

[a] I have spoken and saved my soul (Ezekiel 3:18 and 19).—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [INTRODUCTION TO THE PAMPHLET *ON SOCIAL RELATIONS IN RUSSIA*][118]

The following lines[a] were written on the occasion of a debate in which I became involved with a Mr. Peter Nikitich Tkachov. In an article about the Russian periodical *Forward*, published in London (*Volksstaat*, 1874, Nos. 117 and 118),[b] I had cause to mention this gentleman's name quite in passing, but in such a way as to draw his esteemed hostility down upon myself. Without delay Mr. Tkachov issued an "Offener Brief an Herrn Friedrich Engels", Zurich, 1874, in which he attributes all manner of odd things to me and then, in contrast to my crass ignorance, treats his readers to his own opinion on the state of things in general and the prospects for social revolution in Russia. Both form and content of this concoction bore the usual Bakuninist stamp. As it had been published in German, I thought it worth the effort to reply in the *Volksstaat* (cf. *Refugee Literature*, Nos. IV and V, *Volksstaat*, 1875, No. 36, et seq.). The first part of my reply dealt mainly with the Bakuninist approach to literary debate, which is simply to accuse your opponent of telling a pack of direct lies.[c] By virtue of being published in the *Volksstaat* this predominantly personal part has been given a sufficient airing. It is for that reason that I now set it aside and for this separate impression, which has been requested by the publishing house, leave only the second part intact, the part which deals mainly with the social conditions in Russia as they have taken shape since 1861, since what has become known as the emancipation of the peasants.

Developments in Russia are of the greatest importance for the German working class. The existing Russian Empire represents

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[a] See this volume, pp. 39-50.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 19-28.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., pp. 29-38.—*Ed.*

# Soziales aus Rußland.

Von

## Friedrich Engels.

Leipzig.

Druck und Verlag der Genossenschaftsbuchdruckerei.

1875.

The title-page of Engels' pamphlet *On Social Relations in Russia*, Leipzig, 1875

the last great mainstay of all West European reaction. That was demonstrated with striking clarity in 1848 and 1849. Because Germany neglected to stir up revolt in Poland in 1848 and to wage war on the Russian Tsar[a] (as the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had demanded from the outset[119]) that same Tsar was able in 1849 to put down the Hungarian revolution, which has advanced to the gates of Vienna, to sit in judgement over Austria, Prussia and the minor German states at Warsaw in 1850, and to restore the old Federal Diet.[120] And only a few days ago at the beginning of May 1875—just the same as 25 years ago, the Russian Tsar[b] received the homage of his vassals in Berlin and proved that he is still today the arbiter of Europe's fate.[121] No revolution can achieve ultimate success in Western Europe whilst the present Russian state exists alongside it. But Germany is its closest neighbour, and it will therefore be Germany that will feel the first impact of the Russian armies of reaction. The overthrow of Tsarist Russia, the elimination of the Russian Empire, is therefore one of the first conditions of the German proletariat's ultimate triumph.

It is by no means essential, however, for this overthrow to be brought about from outside, although a foreign war could accelerate it considerably. Within the Russian Empire itself there are elements which are working energetically to bring about its ruin.

First there are the *Poles*. A century of oppression has placed them in a position where they must either be revolutionary, supporting every truly revolutionary uprising in the West as a first step towards the liberation of Poland, or they must perish. And at this very moment they are in a position where they can seek West European allies only in the camp of the proletariat. For a century now they have been continually betrayed by all the bourgeois parties of the West. The bourgeoisie in Germany has only been a force to be reckoned with since 1848, and since that time it has been hostile towards Poland. As for France, Napoleon betrayed Poland in 1812, and, as a consequence of that betrayal, lost his campaign, his crown and his empire; in 1830 and 1846 the bourgeois royalty followed his example, as did the bourgeois republic in 1848, and the Second Empire during the Crimean campaign and in 1863. Each betrayed Poland as contemptuously as the other. And even today the radical bourgeois republicans of France grovel before the Tsar, seeking in reward for a renewed betrayal of Poland to bargain on a revanchist alliance against

[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*
[b] Alexander II.—*Ed.*

Prussia, in just the same way as the German imperial bourgeois idolise that same Tsar as the protector of peace in Europe, i.e. of German-Prussian annexations. Only amongst the revolutionary workers do the Poles find sincere and unreserved support, because the two share the same interest in the overthrow of their common enemy, and because the liberation of Poland is synonymous with that overthrow.

But the activity of the Poles is confined to a particular locality. It is limited to Poland, Lithuania, and Little Russia; the actual core of the Russian Empire, Great Russia, remains practically untouched by their efforts. The forty million inhabitants of Great Russia constitute much too large a people and have had far too unique a development to force a movement on them from outside. That is not at all necessary, however. Of course, the mass of the Russian people, the peasants, have gone on for centuries, from generation to generation, living their dull, unimaginative lives in a sort of ahistorical torpor; and the only changes that occurred to interrupt this desolate condition were isolated and fruitless uprisings and new waves of repression carried out by nobility and government. The Russian government itself put an end to this ahistorical existence (in 1861) with the abolition of serfdom which could not be delayed any longer and the redemption of the *corvée*—a measure which was introduced with such amazing cunning that it is leading the majority of both the peasants and the nobility towards certain ruin. The very conditions themselves, therefore, which the Russian peasant is now obliged to face, force him into the movement, a movement which, of course, is still in its very initial stages, but which is bound to advance thanks to the daily worsening economic situation of the mass of the peasants. The rumbling dissatisfaction of the peasants is already a fact which must be acknowledged by the government, by all those who are disaffected, and by the opposition parties alike.

It follows from this that, if below the discussion centres on Russia, then what is meant is not the whole of the Russian Empire but Great Russia alone, i.e. the territory whose westernmost gubernias are Pskov and Smolensk, and whose southernmost gubernias are Kursk and Voronezh.

Written in the latter half of May 1875

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Published in English for the first time

# Frederick Engels

## [LETTER TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION IN NEW YORK]

London, August 13, 1875
122 Regent's Park Road, NW

TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL
OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

Citizens!

The circulars[122] sent to me with the letter from Secretary Speyer (June 4, received 21st) have been put into circulation according to the instructions, and I have been able to do the following in the interests of the cause:

1. On account of its amalgamation with the Lasselleans and its over-generous policy in accepting new members—roughly 120—the Working Men's Society (German section) here[123] would not be suitable for *confidential* communications, unless one wished them to be *published immediately*. I therefore gave circulars to Lessner and Frankel, who agreed with me that the content was not suitable for official release to the Society, and that we should have to confine ourselves to communicating it to suitable persons, and work behind the scenes in other ways to promote the matter in question. Since it is fairly certain that no *German* workers will be sent to Philadelphia from here, it will not affect the practical consequences in any way.

2. Our friend Mesa from Madrid, who now lives in Paris, happened to be here when the circular arrived. He showed a keen interest in the matter; I translated the circular for him, and as he knows members of the committee that administers the subscriptions in Paris to the workers' donations to Philadelphia, I dare say that, with his well-known energy, he will be able to get something done. He is also sending it to Spain.

3. I could not send it to Belgium, as the whole Belgian International supports the Alliancists,[124] and it is not in our interests to communicate the plan to *them*. I have no addresses for

Portugal and Italy. The *Plebe* of Lodi has virtually joined the Alliancists and would be quite capable of publishing the story straightaway.[a]

4. As Germany, Austria and Switzerland are not mentioned in the instructions, and the General Council has plenty of direct contacts with these countries,[125] I have taken *no* steps there, so as not to frustrate any action that may have been taken directly on the spot.

5. The circular has been very well received by all who have seen it, and the just proposal for a conference is universally regarded as the sole practical one. It appears impossible to us here, however, to hold a ballot on the issue. The Society here has already been mentioned. Other sections in England have all fizzled out; the best people have mostly left. In Denmark, France and Spain, where the International is officially prohibited, there can be no question of a ballot. In Germany there has never been a vote on anything like this and, after uniting with the Lassalleans, they have totally renounced the already loose connection with the International. In these circumstances, the American votes should be enough to cover the General Council if it tables the motion for a decision, especially since we know from a reliable source that the Alliancists are not holding a congress this year either (and probably never will again).

6. Would it not be a good thing if a brief announcement were placed in the European party newspapers around the time the exhibition opens, to the effect that: "Socialist workers visiting the exhibition in Philadelphia are asked to go to ... (address), where they will be put in touch with the Philadelphia party comrades", or if we founded a "committee for the accommodation of socialist workers, or to protect them against trickery" and published its address? The latter, in particular, would look very innocent, but a few private letters would suffice to make the true state of affairs known.

Fraternal greetings,

*F. Engels*

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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[a] See this volume, pp. 174-78.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [SPEECH AT THE MEETING HELD TO COMMEMORATE THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE POLISH UPRISING OF 1863][126]

Citizens! The role of Poland in the history of Europe's revolutions is a role that stands apart. Any revolution in the West which does not succeed in involving Poland and ensuring its independence and liberty is doomed to defeat. Let us take the revolution of 1848 as an example. It covered an area more extensive than any previous revolution; it swept along in its current Austria, Hungary, Prussia. But it came to a halt at the borders of Poland occupied by the armies of Russia. When Tsar Nicholas received the news of the February Revolution, he said to his entourage: Gentlemen, we shall mount our horses.[127] At this he promptly mobilised his troops and concentrated them in Poland, in order to let them overrun rebellious Europe at the opportune moment. For their part, the revolutionaries knew perfectly well that the ground where the decisive battle would be fought was Poland. On May 15 the people of Paris, to cries of "Long Live Poland!", invaded the National Assembly to force it to go to war for Polish independence. At the same time, in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx and I demanded that Prussia should immediately declare war on Russia in order to set Poland free, and we were supported by all advanced democrats in Germany.[128] Thus in France and Germany they knew perfectly well where the decisive point was: with Poland, revolution was assured; without Poland, it was bound to fail. But in France M. Lamartine, in Prussia Frederick William IV, the Tsar's[a] brother-in-law, and his bourgeois minister Mr. Camphausen, had no intention whatever of themselves breaking the power of Russia, in which they saw quite

[a] Nicholas I.— *Ed.*

rightly their last safeguard against the revolutionary tide. Nicholas was able to do without getting on his horse; his troops, for the time being, could confine themselves to containing Poland and threatening Prussia, Austria and Hungary until the moment when the progress of the Hungarian insurgents threatened Austrian reaction, victorious in Vienna. This was when the Russian armies overran Hungary, and by crushing the Hungarian revolution ensured the victory of reaction throughout the West. Europe was at the Tsar's feet because Europe had abandoned Poland. In truth, Poland is not like any other country. As far as revolution is concerned, it is the keystone of the European edifice; whichever is able to hold its ground in Poland, revolution or reaction, will end up by dominating the whole of Europe. And it is this quite special character which gives to Poland the importance which it has for all revolutionaries and which elicits from us, to this day, the cry: "*Long Live Poland!*"

Speech delivered on January 22, 1876

First published in the newspaper *Впередъ!* (London), No. 27, February 15, 1876

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Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

Frederick Engels

# PRUSSIAN SCHNAPPS IN THE GERMAN REICHSTAG[129]

Written in February 1876

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I

On February 4, Mr. von Kardorff questioned the Imperial government about the high taxes imposed on German "*Sprit*"[a] in England and Italy. He drew the attention of the honourable gentlemen to the fact that (as reported by the *Kölnische Zeitung*[b])

"in our eastern and northern provinces vast stretches of somewhat infertile, sterile land, covering hundreds of square miles, have, as a result of potato cultivation on a very large scale, successfully developed into arable land with a relatively high crop yield, and that the reason for growing potatoes here lies in turn in the fact that scattered throughout these regions are numerous distilleries where *Sprit* is manufactured as an agricultural side-line. Whereas in earlier times there used to be roughly 1,000 people to the square mile living in these parts, the land is now able to support roughly 3,000 people per square mile as a result of *Sprit* manufacture, because the distilleries provide an essential market for the potatoes which, on account of their bulk, are difficult to transport and cannot be transported at all in winter due to the frost. Secondly, the distilleries convert the potatoes into valuable and easily transportable alcohol, and, ultimately, make the land more fertile thanks to the numerous residues which can be used for fodder. Just how important the interests in question are, will be clear to anyone who considers that the taxation on spirits provides us with some 36 million marks of state revenue, despite the fact that Germany levies the lowest tax on spirits in the world, one fifth of that imposed in Russia, for example".

The Prussian Junkers must really have been getting above themselves recently, daring, as they have, to draw the attention of the world to their "*Sprit* industry", commonly known as schnapps distilling.

In the last century only small quantities of schnapps were distilled in Germany, and from grain only. Although they did not

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[a] Spirit.— *Ed.*

[b] *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 36, February 5, 1876 (in the section *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstages*).— *Ed.*

know how to remove the fusel oil which the schnapps also contained (we shall be returning to this point later), as they were still completely ignorant of the fusel oil's existence; they did know from experience that the quality of the schnapps improved considerably after it was stored for some time, that it lost its burning taste, and that when consumed it was less intoxicating and less damaging to one's health. The petty-bourgeois conditions under which it was distilled at that time and the still undeveloped demand, which was more concerned with quality than quantity, made it possible almost everywhere to store the product in cellars for years, thus giving it a less harmful character as the more damaging constituent parts were converted in a gradual chemical process. At the end of the last century we thus find distilling being carried out on a fairly wide scale mainly restricted to a few towns—Münster, Ulrichstein, Nordhausen and others—and their products usually bearing the epithet "old".

About the beginning of this century the distilleries increased in number in the countryside as side-lines of the larger landed proprietors and tenants, especially in Hanover and Brunswick. They found a market, on the one hand, due to the steady increase in the consumption of schnapps, and, on the other hand, due to the needs of the ever-growing and ever-warring armies which, for their part, again carried the taste for schnapps constantly further afield. Thus after the peace of 1814[130] the distilling industry was able to extend further and further and, in the form already described, quite different from that of the old town distilleries, to gain a firm foothold as a side-line run by the managers of large estates on the Lower Rhine, Prussian Saxony, Brandenburg and Lusatia.

However, the turning-point for the distilling industry was the discovery that one could produce schnapps profitably not only from grain but also from *potatoes*. That revolutionised the whole industry. On the one hand, the main activity of the distilling industry shifted once and for all from the town to the countryside, and the petty-bourgeois producers of the good old drink were ousted more and more by the infamous producers of potato rot-gut, the big landowners. On the other hand, and this is historically of much greater significance, the big grain-distilling landowner was displaced by the big potato-distilling landowner; the distilling industry moved increasingly from the fertile grain-growing land to the infertile potato-growing land, in other words from North-West Germany to North-East Germany—to *Old Prussia* east of the Elbe.

This turning-point came at the time of the harvest failure and famine of 1816. Despite the improved harvests of the two succeeding years, grain prices remained so high as a consequence of the continuing export of grain to England and other countries that it became almost impossible to use grain for distilling purposes. A hogshead of schnapps, which had only cost 39 talers in 1813, was sold in 1817 for 70 talers. At this point potatoes replaced grain and in 1823 a hogshead of schnapps was to be had for as little as 14 to 17 talers!

How was it, then, that the poor Junkers from the east of the Elbe, allegedly totally ruined by the war and the sacrifices they had made for their fatherland, obtained the means with which to convert their pressing mortgage debts into lucrative schnapps distilleries? It is true that the favourable trading conditions of the years 1816 to 1819 brought them very good returns and increased their credit as a result of the generally rising price of land, but this was far from sufficient. On top of that our patriotic Junkers received, in the first instance, state aid in various direct and indirect forms, and, secondly, there was a further factor at work, to which we must devote our particular attention. It will be remembered that in Prussia in 1811 the commutation of statute labour, and the dispute between the peasants and the landlords in general, were settled in law in such a way that payment in kind could be transformed into money payment.[a] This could be turned into capital and commuted either in cash in specific instalments, or by the peasant ceding a piece of land to the lord, or in a combination of cash and of land. This law remained a dead letter until the high grain prices of 1816 to 1819 put the peasants in a position to proceed with commutation. From 1819 onwards commutation went ahead rapidly in Brandenburg, more slowly in Pomerania, and slower still in Posen and Prussia. The money thus lawfully but unjustly misappropriated from the peasants (for they had had statute labour unjustly forced upon them), in so far as it was not immediately squandered according to traditional aristocratic custom, was employed mainly to finance the setting-up of distilleries. The distilling industry also expanded to the same extent in the three other provinces mentioned, as the peasants provided the financial means for it through the commutation of their statute labour. The schnapps industry of the Prussian

[a] *Edikt die Regulirung der gutsherrlichen und bäuerlichen Verhältnisse betreffend, vom 14. September, 1811.* In: *Gesezt-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preußischen Staaten,* No. 21, Berlin, 1811.— *Ed.*

Junkers was thus founded literally on the money taken from the peasants. And business boomed, particularly after 1825. Just two years later, in 1827, 125 million quarts of schnapps were distilled in Prussia, that is $10^1/_2$ quarts per head of the population, at an overall value of 15 million talers; in contrast to this, Hanover, fifteen years earlier Germany's first schnapps state, produced a mere 18 million quarts.

It will be evident that from now on the whole of Germany was caught in a veritable tidal wave of Prussian potato rot-gut, at least wherever the single states or customs unions of single states did not manage to stem the flow by raising customs barriers against it. Fourteen talers an awm consisting of 180 quarts, that is a quart for 2 groschen and 4 pfennigs on the wholesale market! Drunkenness, which previously had cost three and four times as much, was something available, day in day out, even to the very poorest now that a man could stay deeply under the influence for a whole week at a cost of 15 silver groschen.

The effects of these quite unprecedentedly low schnapps prices, which were felt at different places at different times but almost always completely without warning, were quite incredible. I can still well remember how, at the end of the twenties, the low cost of schnapps suddenly overtook the industrial area of the Lower Rhine and the Mark. In the Berg country particularly, and most notably in Elberfeld-Barmen, the mass of the working population fell victim to drink. From nine in the evening, in great crowds and arm in arm, taking up the whole width of the street, the "soused men" tottered their way, bawling discordantly, from one inn to the other and finally back home. Given the level of education of the workers at that time and the utter hopelessness of their situation, it was not surprising. Especially in blessed Wuppertal, where for sixty years one industry has given way to another, and where as a result one section of the workers was constantly oppressed if not unemployed, whilst another section (at that time the dye-workers) was well paid by the prevailing standards. And if, as was the case at that time, the workers of Wuppertal had only a choice between the earthly schnapps of the public houses and the divine schnapps of the pietistic priests—is it any wonder that they preferred the former, as bad as it was?

And it was very bad. It was sent out and drunk new, just as it emerged from the cooling apparatus, without further purification and containing all its fusel oils. All schnapps that is distilled from the husks of pressed grapes, from beet, grain or potatoes contains this fusel oil, which is a mixture of higher alcohols, i.e., of liquids

of a similar composition to that of ordinary alcohol but containing more carbon and hydrogen (including primary propyl alcohol, isobutyl alcohol, but overwhelmingly amyl alcohol). All these types of alcohol are more noxious than the normal spirits of wine (ethyl alcohol), and the dose required to produce a toxic effect is much lower than with the latter. Professor Binz at Bonn proved recently,[a] after conducting numerous experiments, that the intoxicating effects of our alcoholic beverages, as well as the unpleasant after-effects they produce in the form of a laudable hangover or the more serious symptoms of illness and poisoning, are attributable much less to the usual spirits of wine, or ethyl alcohol, than to the higher alcohols, in other words fusel oil. Nor do they simply have a more intoxicating and more destructive effect, they also determine the nature of the intoxication. Everyone knows from his own observations, if not from experience, what the different effects on the brain are from getting drunk on wine (even different sorts of wine), on beer and on schnapps. The more fusel oil in the drink and the more unwholesome the composition of that fusel oil, the more excessive and wild the intoxication. But it is well known that of all distilled spirits new, unpurified potato schnapps contains the greatest quantity of fusel oil with the least favourable composition. The effect of such unusually large quantities of that drink on such an excitable and volatile population as that to be found in the Berg country was therefore just what one might have expected. The drunkenness proved to be of a totally different nature. That merry-making which previously ended in good-natured tipsiness and only seldom in excess, where of course it was then not uncommon for the knife to be involved, that kind of merry-making now degenerated into a riot and inevitably ended in a brawl, there never being any lack of knife wounds, and the fatal stabbings constantly increasing in their frequency. The priests put it down to increasing godlessness, the lawyers and other philistines to the dances held in public houses. The real cause was Prussian fusel oil flooding onto the scene, simply having its normal physiological effect and dispatching hundreds of poor souls off to prison, to work on fortress construction.

The acute effect of cheap schnapps continued to be felt for years, until it gradually more or less petered out. But its influence

[a] See Carl Binz's speech on the intoxicating effect of alcoholic beverages, *Berliner klinische Wochenschrift*, No. 4, January 24, 1876 (in the section *Niederrheinische Gesellschaft in Bonn. Sitzung vom 3. Juni 1875*).—*Ed.*

on people's morals lingered on; for the working class schnapps was more of a need in life than it had been before, and its quality, even if it did improve a little, stayed well below that of the old grain spirit.

And what happened in the Berg country also happened elsewhere. At no time were the lamentations of the philistines about an increase in excessive schnapps consumption among the workers more widespread, more unanimous and more clamorous than during the period from 1825 to 1835. It is even open to question whether or not that state of dullness in which the North German workers passively witnessed the events of 1830, without being affected by them, was not due largely to schnapps, which at that time had them more than ever in its grip. Serious and especially successful uprisings occurred only in wine-producing regions, or in those German states which had more or less protected themselves against Prussian schnapps by means of tariffs.[131] That was not the first time that schnapps had saved the Prussian state.

The only industry to have had more devastating direct effects—and even then not on its own people, but on foreigners—was the Anglo-Indian opium industry used to poison China.

In the meantime schnapps production continued on its merry way, expanding further and further eastwards, and forcing acre upon acre of the North-East German desert of sand and marshes to surrender to the potato. Not content with bestowing its favours on its own country, it strove to make the blessings of old-Prussian fusel oil available to foreign lands. Ordinary schnapps was distilled once more, so that part of the water contained in it could be removed, and the aqueous and impure spirit of wine thus obtained was called *Sprit*, which is the Prussian translation of the word *Spiritus*. The higher alcohols all have higher boiling points than ethyl alcohol. Whilst the latter boils at $78\,^1/_2°$ on the centigrade thermometer, the boiling point of primary propyl alcohol is 97°, that of isobutyl alcohol 109° and that of amyl alcohol 132°. Now one would think that with careful distillation at least the major part of the latter, the main constituent of fusel oil, would be left behind along with a part of the isobutyl alcohol, and that at the very most a part of the latter would be distilled along with most of the primary propyl alcohol, which, however, is present in fusel oil in only very small quantities. But even the scientific chemists forgo using distillation to separate the three lower alcohols concerned here, and can only extract amyl alcohol from fusel oil by a process of fractionated distillation, which

cannot be applied in a distillery. As it is, distilling in a schnapps factory in the country is a pretty unsophisticated business. No wonder then that the *Sprit* produced at the beginning of the forties still contained considerable amounts of fusel oil, as anyone could easily tell by smelling it; pure or only aqueous spirit of wine is almost odourless.

This *Sprit* went mainly to Hamburg. What happened to it? Part went to countries which did not bar its entry by means of tariffs—Stettin was also involved in this export trade; but the major portion was used in Hamburg and Bremen for the adulteration of rum. Distilled in the West Indies partly from sugar cane itself, but mainly from the waste products of the cane during the sugar-making process, this was the only spirit still able to compete, because of its low production costs, with potato schnapps as a sort of luxury drink for the masses. Now to produce a "fine" but also cheap rum, they would take, for example, a barrel of really fine Jamaica rum, three to four barrels of cheap, bad Barbary rum and two to three barrels of Prussian potato *Sprit*—and this or a similar mixture produced the required result. This "poison", as merchants themselves involved in the adulteration have called it in my presence, was shipped to Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Russia. To a very significant extent, however, it also made its way up the Elbe or via Stettin to the regions from which the noble *Sprit* had originally come, and was partly drunk there as rum, and partly smuggled into Austria and Poland.

The Hamburg merchants did not stop at producing adulterated rum. It was their own peculiar kind of ingenuity which made them the first to see the world-shaking role that Prussian schnapps was destined to play in the future. They had already tried their hands at all sorts of other drinks, and even at the end of the thirties nobody in the North German territories outside Prussia who knew anything about wine would take French white wines from Hamburg, because it was generally claimed that they were sweetened there with lead acetate and thus contaminated. Nevertheless, potato *Sprit* soon became the basis for an ever-growing liquor adulteration business. Rum was followed by cognac, which required somewhat more skill in its treatment. Soon they began treating wine with *Sprit*, and finally they got round, without using any wine at all, to producing port and Spanish wines from *Sprit*, water and vegetable juices, which were often displaced by chemicals. Business flourished all the more when such practices were either directly forbidden in many countries, or came so close

to breaking the law that it was not considered advisable to try one's hand at them. But Hamburg was the centre of unrestricted free trade, and so "for Hamburg's health and happiness" they went on adulterating to their heart's content.

However, the adulteration business did not remain a monopoly for long. After the revolution of 1848, when in France the exclusive domination of big finance capital and a few prominent industrial magnates was temporarily replaced by the rule of the whole bourgeoisie, the French producers and traders began to realise what magic powers lay dormant in such a barrel of Prussian potato *Sprit*. They began to adulterate their cognac whilst it was still at home instead of sending it abroad in its pure state, and even more to ennoble the cognac (which is what, for the sake of brevity, I call all schnapps distilled from the husks of pressed grapes) intended for home consumption by adding considerable quantities of Prussian potato *Sprit*. This made cognac—the only spirit to be consumed on a large scale in France—significantly cheaper. The Second Empire supported this manoeuvre, of course, in the interests of the suffering masses, and thus we find on the fall of the Napoleonic dynasty that, thanks to the merciful effects of old Prussian schnapps, drunkenness, almost unknown there previously, had grown to significant proportions in France.

An unprecedented series of bad vintages and finally the commercial treaty of 1860, which opened up England to the French wine trade,[132] gave rise to a new advance. The weak wines from bad years, whose acidity was not to be removed with sugar, needed to have alcohol added to them so that they would keep. They were therefore mixed with Prussian *Sprit*. Furthermore, the English palate was accustomed to strong wines—the natural French country wines, which were now sent for export in great quantities, were too weak and too cold for the English. What better to give them robustness and warmth than Prussian *Sprit*? Bordeaux increasingly became the centre for the adulteration of French, Spanish and Italian wines, which were transformed there into "fine Bordeaux", and—for the use of Prussian *Sprit*.

Indeed, Spanish and Italian wines. Since the consumption of French red wines—and no bourgeois will drink any other—has increased so enormously in England, North and South America, and the colonies, even the almost inexhaustible abundance of wines in France no longer suffices. Almost all the useful vintage from Northern Spain, including the whole of the vintage from Rioja in the Ebro valley, which is rich in wines, goes to Bordeaux. And Genoa, Leghorn and Naples send whole shiploads of wine to

the same place. Whilst Prussian *Sprit* makes these wines capable of withstanding transport by sea, the export trade forces up the price of wine in Spain and Italy to such an extent that it is way beyond the means of the working population, who used to drink it every day. In its place they drink schnapps, and the main ingredient of that schnapps is once again—Prussian potato *Sprit*. Indeed, Mr. von Kardorff complains in the Reichstag that in Italy this is not yet happening on a large enough scale.

Wherever we turn we find Prussian *Sprit*. Prussian *Sprit* extends incomparably further than the arm of the imperial German government. And wherever we find this *Sprit* it serves one main purpose—that of adulteration. It is used to make Southern European wines suitable for shipment and thus to deprive the indigenous working population of them. And just as Achilles' lance heals the wounds which it has made,[133] so Prussian *Sprit* at the same time offers the working classes who have been robbed of their wine a substitute in the form of adulterated schnapps! Potato *Sprit* is to Prussia what iron and cottons are to England, the article which represents her on the world market. The latest adept and, at the same time, regenerator of socialism, Mr. Eugen Dühring, may well therefore extol the virtues of distilling as "primarily a ... natural link (of industry) with agriculture", and proclaim triumphantly:

"The production of spirits is of such significance that it will tend to be underrated rather than overrated!"[a]

To be sure, the Prussian for "Anch'io son pittore" (I too am a painter, as Correggio said[134]) is "I too am a schnapps distiller".

However, we have by no means exhausted the wondrous exploits of Prussian potato schnapps.

"Whereas in earlier times," says Mr. von Kardorff, "there used to be roughly 1,000 people to the square mile living in these parts, the land is now able to support *roughly 3,000 people per square mile as a result of Sprit manufacture.*"[b]

And on the whole that is correct. I do not know what period Mr. von Kardorff refers to when he quotes the population as being a thousand per square mile. There must certainly have been such a period. If, however, we exclude the provinces of Saxony and Silesia, where distilling has a less conspicuous part to play

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[a] E. Dühring, *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie*, Berlin, 1873, pp. 263-64.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 111.—*Ed.*

alongside other industries, and also Posen, the greater part of which frustrates all government efforts by continuing to display no especial desire to be anything other than Polish, then we are left with the three provinces of Brandenburg, Pomerania and Prussia. Together these three provinces cover a surface area of 2,415 square miles. In 1817 they had a total population of 3,479,825, or 1,441 per square mile; in 1871 it was 7,432,407, or 3,078 per square mile. We quite agree with Mr. von Kardorff in regarding the growth in population mainly as a consequence, direct or indirect, of schnapps distilling. If we add the Altmark, northern agricultural Lower Silesia, and the predominantly German part of Posen, where the population will have developed in a similar way, then we have the actual schnapps-producing area, and at one and the same time the *heart of the Prussian monarchy*. And this opens up an entirely new perspective. Distilling now reveals itself as being the real material basis of present-day Prussia. Without it the Prussian Junkers would have perished; their estates would have been bought up in part by large land magnates who would have formed a less numerous aristocracy along English lines[135]; in part they would have been broken up and would have formed the basis for an independent peasantry. Without it the heart of Prussia would have remained a land with a population of about 2,000 inhabitants to the square mile, incapable of playing any part in history, either good or bad, until bourgeois industry developed sufficiently to rule the roost socially and perhaps politically here as well. Distilling has given a different turn to developments. On ground which produces practically nothing except potatoes and clod-hopping Junkers, and the latter en masse, it was able to defy the competition of the world. Favoured more and more by demand—for reasons already explained—it was able to elevate itself to the position of the world's central schnapps-producing factory. Under the prevailing social relations, this meant nothing other than the development, on the one hand, of a class of medium-size landowners whose younger sons provided the main material for the army officers and for the bureaucracy, i.e., a new lease of life for the Junkers, and, on the other hand, the development of a relatively rapidly growing class of semi-bondsmen, from which the mass of the "core regiments" of the army are recruited. If anyone is interested in the situation of this mass of workers, who are free in name, but for the most part kept almost completely in bondage to the squire by means of annual contracts, through payments in kind, through housing conditions, and finally by the manorial police, which with the

advent of the new district regulations[136] only assumed a different form, he can consult the writings of Professor von der Goltz.[137] In short, then, the question is: What was it that enabled Prussia more or less to digest the morsels west of the Elbe that it swallowed in 1815,[138] to stifle the revolution in Berlin in 1848, to assume the leadership of German reaction in 1849 despite the uprisings in Rhenish Westphalia,[139] to wage war with Austria in 1866, and in 1871 to get the whole of Little Germany[140] to accept the leadership of this most backward, most stable, least educated, still semi-feudal part of Germany? It was the distilling of schnapps.

## II

Meanwhile let us return to the Reichstag.[a] The protagonists in the debate are Mr. von Kardorff, Mr. von Delbrück and the Hamburg representative in the Federal Council[141] Krüger.[b] Listening to this debate, it seems almost as if we are doing a shameful wrong to Prussian potato spirits. It is not Prussian but rather Russian *Sprit* which is causing all the trouble. Mr. von Kardorff complains that Hamburg industrialists are converting Russian schnapps (which, as Mr. Krüger expressly emphasises, is distilled from *grain*, not potatoes) into *Sprit*, "sending it out as German *Sprit*, and thus damaging the reputation of German *Sprit*". Mr. Delbrück "has been told that passing it off as *Sprit* in this way would involve great difficulties, since as yet no one has succeeded in producing *odourless Sprit* from Russian schnapps as has been done with German schnapps". However, he added cautiously: "Of course, gentlemen, I am in no position to judge."

So, it is not Prussian potato spirit but Russian grain spirit which is causing all the trouble. Prussian potato *Sprit* is "odourless", i.e. free from fusel oil; no one has as yet managed to produce an odourless Russian *Sprit* from grain, and it therefore contains fusel oil, and if it is sold as Prussian *Sprit*, then it detracts from the reputation that the latter has as being free from fusel oil. If we accept this, however, then we have, in a roguish and most disloyal

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[a] See this volume, p. 111.—*Ed.*

[b] See the speeches made by W. von Kardorff, M. F. R. von Delbrück and D. Ch. F. Krüger in the German Reichstag on February 4, 1876, *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 36, February 5, 1876 (in the section *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstages*).—*Ed.*

manner, slandered Prussian *Sprit*, free from fusel oil as it is. Let us examine the position as it really is.

Indeed a process exists for removing fusel oil from schnapps by treating it with red-hot charcoal. As a consequence of this the *Sprit* which has come onto the market recently has generally contained less fusel oil. However, there is the following difference between the two kinds of *Sprit* that we are concerned with here: grain spirit can be freed of fusel oil *completely* without any great effort, whilst, on the other hand, removing fusel oil from potato *Sprit* is a much more difficult process, and is actually impossible in large-scale production, so that even the purest spirit distilled from potato schnapps always leaves behind a smell of fusel oil when rubbed onto the hand. Therefore it is a rule that only spirit distilled from grain is used by dispensing chemists and in the making of fine liqueurs, and never *Sprit* distilled from potatoes, or at least this should be the case (for adulteration takes place here too!).

And a few days after the *Kölnische Zeitung* reported on the above schnapps debate it carried (February 8, first page) in its miscellaneous reports the following plaintive cry from a tippler on the Rhine:

> "It would be particularly desirable now to prove that *potato Sprit is being added to weak wine as well. A disconcerting dazed feeling in the head* afterwards does indeed point to it, too late however. Potato *Sprit still has fusel oil in it*, the otherwise unpleasant smell of which is concealed by the wine's own particular taste. *This kind of adulteration is among the most common.*" [a]

Finally, in order to pacify the old-Prussian schnapps distillers, Mr. Krüger lets the doubtful fact be known that Russian spirit distilled from grain is fetching *four marks more* on the Hamburg market than Prussian potato *Sprit*. On February 7 the latter was quoted in Hamburg at 35 marks for 100 litres, and that means that Russian spirit fetches a price which is 12% better than that paid for Prussian *Sprit*, the reputation of which it is allegedly damaging!

And now, after hearing all these facts, look at the expression of injured innocence of this maligned, "odourless", reputation-conscious and virtuous Prussian product, allegedly so completely free of fusel oil, and which costs only 35 pfennigs a litre, cheaper than beer! If one examines that debate in the light of these facts,

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[a] *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 39, February 8, 1876 (in the section *Vermischte Nachrichten*).— *Ed.*

is one not tempted to ask: Just exactly who is making a fool of whom?

The benign influence of Prussian fusel oil is world-embracing, for it finds its way, with potato *Sprit*, into every kind of drink. From the sour, weak and badly seasoned Mosel wine and Rhine wine, which is magically transformed with the aid of potato sugar and potato *Sprit* into Brauneberger and Niersteiner, from the bad red wine which has been flooding England since Gladstone's commercial treaty,[142] and which is called "Gladstone" there, to the Château Lafitte and champagne, port and Madeira, which the bourgeois drink in India, China, Australia and America, there is not a drink in whose composition Prussian fusel oil does not play a part. The production of these drinks is flourishing wherever wine is grown and wherever wine is stored in great quantities, and the producers hail potato *Sprit* with dithyrambic shouts of joy. But what about the consumers? Well, the consumers become aware of it when they suffer that "disconcerting dazed feeling in the head", which is how fusel oil confers its blessings on one, and they try to avoid suffering its blessings. In Italy, as Mr. von Kardorff says, the commercial treaty[143] is applied in such a way as to make Prussian *Sprit* pay far too high a tariff. Belgium, America and England make it impossible to export *Sprit* to them by levying high tariffs. In France the customs officials stick red labels on barrels of *Sprit*, so as to distinguish them as Prussian—which is really quite the first time that the French customs officials have done anything beneficial to the community! In short, things have gone so far that Mr. von Kardorff cries out in desperation:

> "Gentlemen, if you visualise the position of the German *Sprit* industry you will find *that all countries are closing their borders to our Sprit in the greatest of fear!*"

Naturally enough. The gracious effects of this *Sprit* have gradually become known the world over, and the only way to avoid that "disconcerting dazed feeling in the head" is not to allow the confounded rot-gut into the country in the first place.

And now, on top of this, a storm cloud is rising from the East, heavy and moist, above the heads of the hard-pressed schnapps Junkers. Their big brother in Russia, the last refuge of all time-honoured institutions for combatting modern destructive mania, has also begun to distill schnapps and to export it, and it is grain schnapps, and, what is more, he is supplying it just as cheaply as the Prussian Junkers their potato schnapps. The production and export of this Russian schnapps is increasing year by year, and, though it may so far have been purified into *Sprit* in Hamburg, Mr. Delbrück now tells us that

"in the Russian ports ... already in the process of being constructed are a number of plants, equipped with first-rate apparatus for the purification of Russian schnapps",[a]

and he tells the Junker gentlemen to expect Russian competition to outstrip them with every passing year. Mr. von Kardorff is only too well aware of this and he demands that the government forbid the transporting of Russian spirits across Germany forthwith.

As a free conservative member of parliament, Mr. von Kardorff really ought to be in a better position to appreciate the attitude of the German imperial government with respect to Russia. After the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, and the scandalous war reparations of five thousand million,[144] as a result of which France was bound to become an ally of *each and every* enemy of Germany, and given the policy of seeking to be respected, or rather feared, but never looked on with affection by others, there remained only *one* choice: either quickly to defeat Russia as well, or to secure the alliance with Russia (in as much as Russia can be depended upon) by becoming the obedient servant of Russian diplomacy. As they were unable to decide in favour of the first alternative, they were obliged to choose the second. Prussia, and with it the empire, is once more as dependent on Russia as it was after 1815 and 1850; and just as in 1815 the "Holy Alliance"[145] serves as the cloak for this dependence. The result of all those glorious victories is that Germany continues, as before, to be the fifth wheel on the coach of Europe. And then Bismarck is surprised that the German public should continue to be concerned about affairs abroad where the really crucial decisions are being taken, instead of being concerned about the doings of the imperial government, which is of no consequence in Europe, and about the speeches in the Reichstag, which is of no consequence in Germany! Forbid the transporting of Russian *Sprit* across Germany! I should like to see the Imperial Chancellor who would dare such a thing without at the same time having a declaration of war against Russia safely in his pocket! And with Mr. von Kardorff making such a curious demand of the imperial government one might almost be led to believe that not only *drinking* schnapps but even the very act of *distilling* it was sufficient to cloud the mind. For indeed more famous distillers of schnapps than Mr. von Kardorff have lately made up their minds to do things for which, from their own point of view, there has been absolutely no rational explanation.

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[a] See this volume, p. 122.—*Ed.*

For the rest, nothing is easier to understand than the fact that the Russian competition should be filling our schnapps Junkers with an uncanny feeling of dread. In the interior of Russia there are great tracts of land where grain is to be had just as cheaply as potatoes are in Prussia. In addition to that, fuel is mostly cheaper in Russia than in our distilling districts. All the necessary material conditions are on hand. Small wonder then that a section of the Russian nobility should do just as the Prussian Junkers do and invest in distilleries the money advanced by the state as credit to the peasants for commutation of statute labour. Nor is it any wonder that these distilleries should spread rapidly, given the constantly growing market and the preference that there will be for schnapps distilled from grain costing the same or slightly more than schnapps distilled from potatoes, and that even now the time can be envisaged when their product pushes Prussian potato *Sprit* off the market completely. Complaining and moaning will be to no avail. The laws of capitalist production, as long as it continues to exist, are just as unrelenting for Junkers as for Jews. Thanks to the Russian competition, the day is fast approaching when Holy Ilion will collapse, when the glorious Prussian schnapps industry will vanish from the world market and continue at most to befuddle the home market. But on the day that the distiller's helmet is wrested from the Prussian Junkers and they are left only with their coats of arms or at most their army helmets, on that day Prussia is finished. Irrespective of the course that world history might otherwise take, and disregarding the possibility, probability or even inevitability of fresh wars or upheavals—the competition from Russian schnapps alone is bound to ruin Prussia by destroying the industry which keeps the agriculture of the eastern provinces at its present level of development. In so doing, it also destroys the conditions essential for the life of the Junkers east of the Elbe and of their 3,000 bondsmen to the square mile; and in doing that, it destroys the basis of the Prussian state: the material that goes to make up the officers as well as the non-commissioned officers and the soldiers who obey their orders whatever happens, and in addition to that the material that goes to make up the core of the bureaucracy, the material that stamps its specific character on present-day Prussia. With the collapse of schnapps distilling, Prussian militarism collapses, and without it Prussia is nothing. Then those eastern provinces will sink back into that station in Germany that befits them in accordance with their low population density, their industry, which is enslaved to agriculture, their semi-feudal conditions, and their lack of bourgeois development

and general culture. Then, relieved of the pressure of this semi-medieval rule, the remaining regions of the German Empire will heave a sigh of relief and assume the position befitting them in accordance with their industrial development and more advanced culture. The eastern provinces themselves will seek out other industries, less dependent on agriculture and conceding less ground to the feudal mode of production, and in the intervening period they will place their army at the disposal not of the Prussian state but of Social-Democracy. The rest of the world will rejoice to see the end at last of Prussian fusel-oil poisoning; but the Prussian Junkers and the Prussian state, then at last "dissolved into Germany",[a] will have to console themselves with the words of the poet:

> Surviving immortal in song,
> In life it must perish.[b]

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[a] Frederick William IV, "An mein Volk und die deutsche Nation, am 21. März 1848". In: *Reden, Proklamationen, Botschaften, Erlasse und Ordres*, Berlin, 1851, p. 10.— *Ed.*

[b] F. Schiller, *Die Götter Griechenlands*.— *Ed.*

Frederick Engels

# WILHELM WOLFF[146]

Written between June and September 1876

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Signed: *Frederick Engels*

Printed according to the journal, checked with the text of the book

Published in English for the first time

If I am not mistaken it was towards the end of April 1846. Marx and I were then living in a Brussels suburb; we were engaged in a joint piece of work[a] when we were informed that a gentleman from Germany wished to speak to us. We found a short but very stockily built man; the expression on his face proclaimed both goodwill and quiet determination; the figure of an East German peasant in the traditional clothes of an East German provincial bourgeois. It was Wilhelm Wolff. Persecuted for infringing the press laws,[147] he had been fortunate enough to evade the Prussian prisons. We did not suspect at first sight what a rare man lay concealed under this inconspicuous exterior. A few days were enough to put us on terms of cordial friendship with this new comrade in exile and to convince us that it was no ordinary man we were dealing with. His cultured mind schooled in classical antiquity, his wealth of humour, his clear understanding of difficult theoretical problems, his passionate hatred of all oppressors of the masses, his energetic and yet tranquil nature soon revealed themselves; but it took long years of collaboration and friendly association in struggle, victory and defeat, in good times and bad, to prove the full extent of his unshakable strength of character, his absolute, unquestionable reliability, his steadfast sense of duty equally exacting towards friend, foe and self.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*.— *Ed.*

I

Wilhelm Wolff was born on June 21, 1809 in Tarnau, near Frankenstein in Silesia. His father was an hereditary serf and also kept the court *kretscham* (the inn—Polish *karczma*—where the village assizes took place), which did not save him from having to perform statute labour with his wife and children for his worthy lord. Wilhelm was thus not only familiar with the frightful plight of the East German bondsmen from early childhood, but also suffered it himself. But he learnt more besides. His mother, of whom he always spoke with particular affection and who possessed an education unusual for her station, roused and nursed in him anger at the shameless exploitation and disgraceful treatment of the peasants by the feudal lords. And we shall see how this anger fermented and seethed in him all his life when we reach the period when he was finally able to give vent to it in public. This peasant lad's talents and lust for knowledge soon attracted attention; if possible he was to go to grammar school, but what obstacles there were to be surmounted before this could be achieved! Quite apart from financial difficulties there was the worthy lord and his steward, without whom nothing could be done. Although serfdom had been abolished in name in 1810,[148] feudal tributes, statute labour, patrimonial jurisdiction and the manorial police remained in existence, thus preserving serfdom in practice. And the worthy lord and his officials were far more inclined to make peasant lads into swineherds than students. However, all barriers were successfully negotiated. Wolff gained admission to the grammar school at Schweidnitz and then went to university in Breslau. At both of these institutions he had to earn the greater part of his living by giving private lessons. At

university he preferred to devote his energies to classical philology; but he was not one of those hair-splitting philologists of the old school; the great poets and prosaists of the Greeks and Romans were received by him with genuine understanding and remained his favourite reading as long as he lived.

He had almost concluded his university studies when the persecution of the Demagogues[149] by the Federal Diet[150] and the Austrian and Prussian governments, which had died down in the twenties, was resumed. A member of the Students' Association,[151] he too was arrested in 1834, dragged from prison to prison for years while inquiries proceeded, and finally sentenced. For what? I do not think that he ever found it worth the trouble of saying. Suffice it to say that he was taken to the fortress at Silberberg. There he found comrades in suffering, Fritz Reuter among others. A few months before Wolff's death, the latter's *Ut mine Festungstid* came into his hands, and no sooner had he discovered the author to be his old fellow-sufferer than he sent news to him through the publisher.[152] Reuter answered him straightaway in a long and very friendly letter, which I have here in front of me and which proves that on January 12, 1864, at least, the old Demagogue was certainly not the kind of man to knuckle under meekly:

> "I've been sitting here now for nearly thirty years," he writes, "until my hair has turned grey, waiting for a thorough-going revolution, documenting the people's will energetically once and for all, but to what avail? ... If only the Prussian people would at least refuse to pay taxes; it is the only means of getting rid of Bismarck and Co. and worrying the old king to death."[153]

At Silberberg Wolff experienced the many sufferings and few joys of the incarcerated Demagogues which Fritz Reuter has described so vividly and with such humour in the above book. It was pitiful compensation for the damp casemates and bitterly cold winters that the old cliffside castle had a garrison of old invalids, so-called *Garnisöner*, who were not unduly harsh and were sometimes approachable at the price of a schnapps or a four groschen piece. Be that as it may, by 1839 Wolff's health had suffered so much that he was pardoned.[154]

He went to Breslau and tried to make his way as a teacher. But he had reckoned without his host, and his host was the Prussian government. Interrupted in the middle of his studies by his arrest, he had not been able to complete the prescribed three years at the university, let alone take his examinations. And in Prussian China only someone who had done all this in accordance with the rules and regulations was considered to be a competent scholar. Anyone

else, however learned he might be in his field, as Wolff was in classical philology, was outside the guild and prevented from making public use of his knowledge. There remained the prospect of struggling through as a private tutor. But a government permit was needed for that, and when Wolff applied for one it was *denied* him. The Demagogue would have had to starve to death or return to do statute labour in his native village if there had been no Poles in Prussia. A landowner from Posen[a] took him on as a domestic tutor; he spent several years here, of which he always spoke with particular pleasure.[155]

Having returned to Breslau, after much tribulation and contention he finally obtained the permission of a highly esteemed royal government to give private lessons, and could now at least earn a modest living. Being a man of very few needs, he did not ask for more. This was when he resumed the struggle against the prevailing oppression, as far as this was possible under the dreadful conditions of the time. He had to restrict himself to bringing to public attention isolated instances of the despotism of civil servants, landowners and manufacturers, and even then encountered obstacles with the censors. But he refused to be diverted from his purpose. The newly established High Court of Censorship had no more regular and persistent client than Wolff, the private tutor from Breslau. Nothing afforded him greater pleasure than to dupe the censors, which, given the stupidity of most of them, was not all that difficult as soon as one became somewhat familiar with their weak spots. Thus it was he who scandalised pious spirits to the limit by discovering the following popular "song" of the repentant sinner in an old hymn book which was still in use in some places, and publishing it in the Silesian local newspapers:

I really am a gallows-bird,
One of the truly bad ones,
And gobble up my sins unheard
As Russians eat up onions.

A cringing dog, I pray to Thee,
Lord, cast the bone of grace to me,
Do take me by the ear and throw
Me to Thy Heaven, though I be low.[b]

This song spread throughout Germany like wildfire, provoking the resounding laughter of the godless and the indignation of

[a] Tytus Adam Dzialyński.— *Ed.*
[b] *Gesangbuch.* See *Schlesische Provinzial-Blätter,* Breslau, Vol. 112, 1840.— *Ed.*

those "that are quiet in the land".[156] The censor received a harsh reprimand, and the government once again began to keep a watchful eye on this private tutor Wolff, this turbulent hare-brain whom five years' fortress had failed to tame. And it was not long before another pretext was found to put him on trial. After all, the old Prussian legislation[157] was spread out over the country like an ingeniously contrived system of traps, snares, pitfalls and nets which not even loyal subjects could always avoid, while the disloyal ones were all the more certain to get caught in them.

The press offence with which Wolff was charged at the end of 1845 or early 1846 was so trifling that none of us can now recall the exact circumstances.[158] But the persecution attained such dimensions that Wolff, who had had quite enough of Prussian prisons and fortresses, evaded imminent arrest by leaving for Mecklenburg.* Here he found a safe refuge amongst friends until his unimpeded passage from Hamburg to London could be arranged. In London, where he participated for the first time in a public association—the still existing German Communist Workers' Educational Society[160]—he did not remain long but then came, as we have already related, to Brussels.

* According to Wermuth-Stieber: *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des 19. Jahrhunderts*, II, p. 141,[159] Wolff was sentenced to three months' confinement in a fortress by the Breslau Supreme Court in 1846 for "offences against the press laws". [Added by Engels in 1886.]

II

In Brussels he soon found employment in a correspondence agency[161] which had been set up there, supplying German newspapers with French, English and Belgian news, edited, as far as circumstances permitted, along Social-Democratic lines. When the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* placed itself at the disposal of our party Wolff worked for that too. In the Brussels German Workers' Society,[162] which was founded by us at this time, Wolff was soon among the favourite speakers. He would give a weekly survey of current events which was always a masterpiece of popular presentation, both humorous and powerful, in which he castigated in particular, and quite rightly, the pettiness and meanness of both masters and subjects in Germany. These political surveys were such a favourite theme of his that he would deliver them to any society in which he took part, and always with the same mastery of popular presentation.

The February Revolution broke out and found an immediate response in Brussels. Every evening crowds of people gathered in the Great Market place in front of the City Hall, which was occupied by the civil guard and gendarmerie; the numerous public houses around the market place were packed. People were shouting, "Vive la République!", and singing the *Marseillaise*,[a] pushing and shoving and being shoved back. The government was apparently keeping as quiet as a mouse, but called up the reserves and men on leave in the provinces. It had the most respected Belgian republican, Mr. Jottrand, secretly informed that the King[b]

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[a] Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle, *Chant de guerre de l'armée du Rhin* (*Marseillaise*).— *Ed.*

[b] Leopold I.— *Ed.*

was prepared to abdicate should the people so wish, and that he could hear this from the King himself as soon as he liked. Jottrand was in fact told by Leopold that he was himself a republican at heart and would never stand in the way if Belgium should wish to constitute itself a republic; his only wish was that everything should take place properly and without bloodshed, and he hoped incidentally to receive a decent pension. The news was swiftly and secretly put out and had such a soothing effect that no attempt at insurrection was made. But scarcely were the reserves gathered together and the majority of troops concentrated around Brussels—three or four days were enough in that tiny country—when there was no more talk of abdication; suddenly one evening the gendarmerie went into action with the flats of their swords against the crowds in the market place, and arrests were made right, left and centre. Among the first to be beaten and arrested was Wolff, who had been quietly proceeding home. Dragged into the City Hall, he was given a further beating by the raging and drunken city militia, and, after several days' imprisonment, dispatched over the border to France.

He did not stay long in Paris. The March Revolution in Berlin and the preparations for the Frankfurt Parliament and the Berlin Assembly prompted him first to go to Silesia to campaign for radical elections there.[163] As soon as we had started a newspaper, whether in Cologne or in Berlin, he wanted to join us. His general popularity and his powerful vernacular eloquence succeeded in getting radical candidates elected, particularly in the rural constituencies, who without him would not have stood a chance.

In the meanwhile the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* appeared on June 1 in Cologne, with Marx as editor-in-chief, and Wolff soon came to take over his duties on the editorial board.[164] His inexhaustible energy, his scrupulous, unswerving conscientiousness had the drawback for him that the young people, of whom the entire editorial board consisted, sometimes took an extra break in the certitude that "Lupus[a] will see that the paper comes out", and I cannot claim to have been wholly innocent of this myself. Thus it was that in the early days of the paper Wolff had less to do with leading articles than with the day-to-day jobs. But he soon found a way of turning these, too, into an independent activity. Under the regular heading "Aus dem Reich" the news from the small states of Germany was assembled; the small-state and small-town narrow-mindedness and philistinism of both the rulers and the

[a] Nickname of Wilhelm Wolff (Latin *Lupus* means "wolf").—*Ed.*

ruled were treated with incomparable humour. At the same time he gave his survey of current events in the Democratic Society[165] every week, which soon made him one of the most popular and effective speakers here too.

The stupidity and cowardice of the bourgeoisie, which had been rising ever higher since the June battle in Paris,[166] had again allowed reaction to summon up its strength. The camarillas of Vienna, Berlin, Munich, etc., were working hand in hand with the noble Imperial Regent[a] and behind the scenes was Russian diplomacy, pulling the strings on which these puppets danced. Now, in September 1848, the moment for action was approaching for these gentlemen. Under direct and indirect Russian pressure (conveyed by Lord Palmerston) the first Schleswig-Holstein campaign was decided by the ignominious Malmö ceasefire. The Frankfurt Parliament stooped so far as to ratify it, thus publicly and unquestionably renouncing the revolution. The Frankfurt uprising of September 18 was the response; it was put down.[167] Almost simultaneously the crisis between the Constitutional Agreement Assembly[168] and the Crown had broken out. On August 9, the Assembly had requested the government in an extremely mild, indeed timid resolution to be so good as to do something to prevent the reactionary officers from indulging in their shameless conduct so publicly and offensively.[169] When it demanded in September that this resolution be put into effect, the response was the appointment of the openly reactionary Pfuel ministry with a general at its head (September 19) and the appointment of the notorious Wrangel as Supreme General of Brandenburg: two broad hints to the Berlin Agreers either to go down on their knees or to expect a rude dispersal. General excitement set in. In Cologne, too, public meetings were held and a Committee of Public Safety appointed.[170] The government decided to deliver the first blow in Cologne. Consequently on the morning of September 25, a number of democrats were arrested, including the present Mayor,[b] then generally known as "Red Becker".[c] The excitement mounted. In the afternoon a public meeting was held on the Altenmarkt. Wolff presided. The civic militia were formed up on all sides, not objecting to the democratic movement but giving first priority to their own welfare. In response to an inquiry, they stated that they were there to protect the public. Suddenly people crowded into the market place with the cry: "The Prussians are coming!" Joseph Moll, also arrested

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[a] Archduke John.— *Ed.*

[b] In the 1886 edition: "the recently deceased, subsequent Mayor".— *Ed.*

[c] Hermann Heinrich Becker.— *Ed.*

the same morning but freed by the people, who was then speaking, shouted: "Citizens, do you intend to run away from the Prussians?" "No, no!" was the answer. "Then we must build barricades!" and they set to work at once.—The outcome of the day of barricades in Cologne is well known. Provoked by a false alarm, without encountering any resistance, without any arms—the civic militia went prudently home—the whole movement came, quite bloodlessly, to nothing; the government achieved its purpose: Cologne was declared in a state of siege, the civic militia disarmed, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* banned and its editorial staff compelled to go abroad.

III

The state of siege in Cologne was short-lived. It ended on October 4. On the 12th the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* resumed publication.[171] Wolff had gone to Dürkheim in the Palatinate where he was left in peace. There was a warrant out for his arrest as for several others of the editorial staff, for conspiracy, etc.; but our Wolff did not bide long in the Palatinate, and when the grape harvest was over he suddenly turned up in the editorial office again, 17 Unter Hutmacher. He managed to find rooms next door, from where he was able to cross the yard into the office without setting foot in the street. However, he soon tired of captivity; disguised in a long overcoat and a cap with a long peak, he sallied out into the darkness nearly every evening on the pretext of buying tobacco. He believed that no one recognised him, although his curiously gnarled figure and determined gait were absolutely unconcealable; anyway he was not betrayed. Thus he lived for several months while the warrants out for the rest of us were gradually lifted. Finally on March 1, 1849 we were informed that there was no longer any danger, and Wolff now went before the examining magistrate, who also declared that, being based on exaggerated police reports, the whole case had been dropped.[172]

Meanwhile the Berlin Assembly had been sent packing and Manteuffel's period of reaction had set in.[173] One of the first measures of the new government was to reassure the feudal lords of the Eastern Provinces regarding their disputed right to unpaid peasant labour. After the March days the peasants of the Eastern Provinces had ceased to perform statute labour, and in places even forced the worthy lords to give them a written disclaimer

concerning such labour. It was thus merely a matter of declaring this existing state of affairs legal, and the long oppressed peasant east of the Elbe would be a free man at last. But the Berlin Assembly, a full 59 years after August 4, 1789, when the French National Assembly had abolished *all* feudal burdens without compensation, had still not been able to summon up the courage to take the same step. It somewhat eased the terms for the commutation of statute labour; but only a few of the most scandalous and infuriating feudal rights were to be abolished without compensation. Yet before this Bill[174] was finally passed the Assembly was broken up, and Mr. Manteuffel declared that *this* Bill would not be passed into law by the government.[a] This destroyed the hopes of the Old Prussian peasants subject to statute labour, and the need now was to influence them by explaining to them the position they were facing. And Wolff was just the man for this. Not only was he the son of a bondsman and had himself been forced to do statute labour as a child; not only had he retained the full fervour of his hatred towards the feudal oppressors which this childhood had aroused in him; no one knew the feudal method of enslavement so well in all its details as he did, and this in the very province that provided a complete pattern-card of all its manifold forms—Silesia.[b]

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[a] [Declaration of the Prussian ministry regarding "Entwurf eines Gesetzes betreffend die unentgeltliche Aufhebung verschiedener Lasten und Abgaben vom 10. Juli 1848,] *Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger*, No. 223, December 13, 1848 (in the section *Nichtamtlicher Theil, Deutschland. Preußen*).— *Ed.*

[b] In place of the following text, up to "Few of the many inflammatory articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung...*" (see this volume, p. 146), Engels wrote in 1886:

"Thus Wolff opened the campaign against the feudal lords, which culminated in the *Silesian Milliard* and to which I refer below. It was a campaign which by right ought to have been waged by the bourgeoisie. It was, after all, precisely the struggle against feudalism that was the mission of this class in world history. But as we have seen, it failed to wage it, or only pretended to do so. Thanks to the social and political backwardness of Germany, the German bourgeoisie everywhere left its own political interests in the lurch, because the proletariat was already looming up behind it. The vague hopes and desires of the Parisian workers in February, but even more their four-day battle of desperation in June 1848, terrified not only the bourgeoisie of France but of all Europe. And in Germany even simple democratic demands, such as they had themselves long since carried out legally in Switzerland, seemed to the quaking bourgeois to be attacks on their property, their security, their lives, etc. As cowardly as ever, the German bourgeois sacrificed their common, i.e., political interests so that each might save his private interest, his capital. Rather a return to the old bureaucratic-feudal absolutism than a victory of the bourgeoisie as a class, than a modern bourgeois state attained in a revolutionary way and strengthening the revolutionary class, the proletariat! That was the German bourgeoisie's cry of anguish, in the midst of which reaction triumphed all along the line.

In the issue of December 17, 1848 he opened the campaign in an article on the above-mentioned statement by the ministry.[a] On December 29 there followed a second, more blunt one on the imposed "Decree concerning the interim settlement of seignorial-peasant relations in Silesia".[b]

This decree, says Wolff,

"is an invitation to our lords the princes, counts, barons, etc., to make haste 'in the interim' to rob and plunder the rural population under the semblance of law to an extent that will enable them, after this fat year, to survive the lean ones all the more easily. Before March Silesia was the promised land of the worthy landowners. By the redemption laws since 1821 [175] the feudal Junkers had made themselves as comfortable as they conceivably could. As a result of the redemptions, which were always and everywhere passed and put into effect for the benefit of the privileged and the ruination of the rural people, the Silesian Junkers had obtained the tidy sum of about 80 millions in hard cash, arable land, and interest from the hands of the rural population. And the redemptions were still far from being completed. Hence their rage at the godless revolution of 1848. The country people refused to go on doing statute labour for the worthy lords like docile cattle, and to go on paying the terrible impositions, interest and dues of all kinds. The amounts of money flowing into the coffers of the landowners underwent a serious decline."

The Berlin Assembly took the settlement of these relations in hand.

"There was danger in delay. This was understood by the camarilla of Potsdam, which is equally adept at filling its money-bags from the sweat and blood of the country folk. So, away with the Assembly! Let us make the laws ourselves as they seem most lucrative to us!—And so it happened. The decree for Silesia published in the *Staats-Anzeiger* is nothing but an entangled snare with all the trimmings, in which the rural population, should it once venture in, will be irrevocably lost."

Wolff then demonstrates that the decree essentially marks the restoration of the pre-March conditions, concluding:

"Only what's the use? The worthy lords need money. Winter is here with its balls, masquerades, enticing gambling-tables, etc. The peasants who have furnished the funds for amusement hitherto, must go on supplying them. The Junkers wish to enjoy at least one more merry carnival and exploit the November achievements

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"Thus the party of the proletariat had to take up the struggle at the point where the bourgeoisie had absconded from the battlefield. And Wolff took up the struggle against feudalism in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. But not in such a way as to afford the bourgeois any joy; no, in truly revolutionary fashion, in such a manner that the bourgeoisie was just as appalled at these articles exhaling the spirit of the great French Revolution as the feudal lords and the government themselves."—*Ed.*

[a] See Wolff's article on Manteuffel's statement against the abolition of feudal duties, *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 171, December 17, 1848 (in the section *Deutschland. Köln*).—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Engels quotes Wolff's article ["Decree on the Abolition of Feudal Duties without Compensation in Silesia",] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 181, December 29, 1848 (in the section *Deutschland. Köln*).—*Ed.*

of absolutism to the utmost. They are right to make haste, dancing and celebrating with defiant arrogance. For soon these divinely favoured aristocratic orgies may be mingled with scenes of Galician fury." [176]

There followed on January 20 a new article by Wolff[a] which dealt with this field. The party of reaction had got a village mayor, Krengel from Nessin near Kolberg, and a number of day labourers to address an inquiry to the King[b] whether it was true that His Majesty really intended to *split up landed property* and *turn it over to the propertyless*.

"One can imagine", says Wolff, "the mortal terror and sleepless nights of the day labourers of Nessin when they heard of such intentions. What? The King wants to split up landed property? We day labourers who have up till now tilled the field of our worthy lords so joyously for 5 silver groschen a day—are we supposed to cease being day labourers and work on our own fields? Our worthy lord, who owns 80 to 90 domains and a mere few hundred thousand *morgen*[c]—is he to be forced to give up so and so many *morgen* to us?—No, at the mere thought of such a frightful disaster our day labourers were atremble in every limb. They had never a peaceful moment until they were reassured that they were not to be pitched into this bottomless misery, that the menacing *morgen* of land were to be warded off and the worthy lords left in peace just as before."

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[a] "(Das königl. Patent an die Bauern)", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 200, January 20, 1849 (in the section *Deutschland. Köln*).—*Ed.*

[b] See [An Inquiry from the Electors of Nessin to Frederick William IV, "Berlin. 12. Januar"], *Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger*, No. 14, January 14, 1849.—*Ed.*

[c] *Morgen* = 0.6 or 0.9 of an acre depending on local variations.—*Ed.*

IV

All that, however, was still only skirmishing. Around the beginning of 1849 the French Social-Democrats started with increasing frequency to raise the proposal made earlier that the thousand million francs given by the state to the aristocrats returning from emigration in 1825 as compensation for estates lost in the Great Revolution should be demanded back and employed in the interest of the working masses.[a] On March 16, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* carried a leading article on this question and on the very next day Wolff published a piece called *The Prussian Milliard.*

"The knight Schnapphanski" (Lichnowski) "is dead.[177] But highwaymen we still have in plenty. The Junkers of Pomerania and Brandenburg have joined forces with the other Prussian Junkers. They have donned the holy coat of the respectable bourgeois and call themselves 'Association for the Protection of Property of All Classes of the People', *feudal* property naturally... Their intention is nothing less than to cheat the Rhine Province, among others, out of some 20 million talers and to pocket the money. The plan is not a bad one. The Rhinelanders may particularly pride themselves on the fact that the Junkers of Thadden-Trieglaff in Eastern Pomerania, the von Arnims and the von Manteuffels as well as a few thousand cabbage Junkers wish to do them the honour of paying their debts in Rhenish money."

The fact of the matter was that Mr. von Bülow-Cummerow, then known as Bülow-Kummervoll,[b] had hit on a little plan[c] and got it accepted by the above association of Junkers—or as Wolff

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[a] See K. Marx and F. Engels, "The Milliard" (present edition, Vol. 9, pp. 79-83).—*Ed.*

[b] A play on words: *Cummerow* is a proper name, *Kummervoll*—woeful.—*Ed.*

[c] [E. G. G. von] Bülow-Cummerow, *Die Grundsteuer und Vorschläge zu ihrer Ausgleichung.*—*Ed.*

called it, the Junker Parliament—and sent to the government and the chambers as a petition, a plan for settling the question of land tax in Prussia. On the one hand, the landowning peasants, especially of the Western Provinces, were complaining that they had to pay *too much* land tax; on the other, the aristocratic big landowners of the Eastern Provinces were paying *no* land tax *at all*, although the law of October 27, 1810[a] had imposed it on them along with all other landowners. The Junker Parliament had found a way of alleviating *both* evils. Let us listen to Wolff:

"The Junkers are willing 'to make sacrifices in order to eliminate the discord now prevailing'.[b] So they say. Who would have expected such magnanimity of them? Of what do these sacrifices consist, however? They propose that the revenue from all land-holdings should be fixed by a rough assessment, and then the land tax distributed throughout the state at the same percentage of this revenue. Well, their generosity is by no means large, since they are now simply intending to do what they have been legally obliged to do for the last 38 years. But to continue! Do they demand that the Junkers and the landowning knights who have hitherto illegally refused to pay tax—should repay this tax, perhaps? No: since from now on they are to have the grace to pay their taxes, they should be *compensated by an appropriate capital payment*",—namely, 25 times the amount of the future tax. "On the other hand, those who have hitherto been unfairly debited an excessive land tax should—not, for instance, have the excess refunded to them—but, on the contrary, they should be enabled to *discharge the surplus*", by buying themselves out with a single payment of 18-20 times the amount involved, according to the circumstances.—"The higher taxes will be paid by the peasants in the Eastern Provinces and, apart from them, particularly by the Rhine Province. The peasants of Altland and the Rhinelanders are thus now expected to pay for this with their capital too. Hitherto the noble landowners of the Eastern Provinces have been paying no land taxes at all, or very little.... And they, then, are to receive the money which the Rhinelanders and the peasants are supposed to raise."

There follows a survey of the land tax paid by the various provinces in 1848 and their land areas, from which it emerges:

"The Rhineland pays for every square mile on average approximately five times as much land tax as Prussia, Posen and Pomerania, and four times as much as the March of Brandenburg."

Admittedly the land is better; however,

"at a conservative estimate, the Rhine Province probably has to pay about a million talers more in land tax than would be its due according to the average valuation. According to the Bill proposed by the Junker Parliament the Rhinelanders would thus have to pay as a punishment for this another 18 to 22 million talers in cash, which would flow into the pockets of the Junkers of the Eastern Provinces! The state would simply act as the banker. These are the tremendous sacrifices which

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[a] *Edikt über die Finanzen des Staats und die neuen Einrichtungen wegen der Abgaben u.s.w.* In: *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preußischen Staaten*, No. 2, Berlin, 1810.—*Ed.*

[b] [E. G. G. von] Bülow-Cummerow, *Die Grundsteuer...*, Berlin, 1849, p. 36.—*Ed.*

these cabbage Junkers and pigs are inclined to make; that is the protection which they wish to extend to property. Just as every pickpocket protects property....

"The Rhinelanders, especially the Rhenish peasants, and no less the Westphalian and Silesian ones, would do well to look around without delay to see where they can raise the money to pay the Junkers. A hundred million talers are not so easy to come by these days.

"So whilst in France the peasants are demanding a thousand million francs from the aristocracy, in Prussia the aristocracy is demanding five hundred million francs from the peasants!

"Three cheers for the Berlin March Revolution!"

Mere defence, however, was not sufficient to counter the insolence of the Prussian Junkers. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* sought and found its strength in attack, and thus in the issue of March 22, 1849 Wolff commenced a series of articles called *The Silesian Milliard*, in which he calculated what sums of money, money-value and landed property the *Silesian* aristocracy alone had wrested from the peasants since the redemption of feudal dues began. Few of the many inflammatory articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had such an effect as these, eight in number, which appeared between March 22 and April 25. Orders for the newspaper from Silesia and the other Eastern Provinces increased at a furious rate; individual issues were requested and eventually, since the exceptional freedom of the press allowed us by Rhenish law was lacking in the other provinces, and there was no question of a reprint under their noble local law, someone came up with the idea of secretly reprinting in Silesia the entire eight issues as near to the original in appearance as possible and disseminating them in thousands of copies—a procedure to which the editorial board was naturally the last to object.

V[a]

In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of March 22, 1849 Wolff opened his attack on the Silesian Junkers as follows:

"Scarcely had the Chamber of the Court and cabbage Junkers" (which met on February 26, 1849 on the basis of the imposed constitution and the imposed electoral law [178])"been constituted when a motion for the settlement, i.e. redemption of feudal dues, was proposed. The worthy lords are in a hurry. They wish to squeeze enough out of the rural population before closing-time to be able to put by a tidy sum for any hard times that may be on the way and send it abroad in advance of their persons.

"For the terror, for the nameless dread which they suffered during the period after the March 'misunderstanding' in Berlin and its immediate consequences, they are now seeking to extract a doubly dear balsam out of the pockets of their beloved village subjects.

"*Silesia*, particularly, hitherto the golden land of feudal and industrial barons, is to be thoroughly rifled once again in order that the splendour of its land-owning knights may shine on, enhanced and fortified.

"Immediately after the appearance of the imposed provisional Redemption Law in December last year, we demonstrated[b] that it is solely calculated to benefit the worthy landowners, that the so-called little man is entirely at the mercy of the whims and caprices of the powerful, even in the composition of the court of arbitration. Nevertheless, the knights are still not content with it. They are demanding a law bestowing yet more concessions on the knightly purse.

"In March and April 1848, many noble lords in Silesia made out written documents to their peasants renouncing all tithes and duties previously required of those subject to the estate. To save their manors from burning and themselves from becoming strange adornments on many a stately lime or courtly poplar, they gave away their so-called well-earned rights with a stroke of the pen. Luckily for them, paper was very patient at that time too.

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[a] Sections V-VIII and part of Section IX up to the words: "On May 19 the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was suppressed..." (see this volume, p. 164) are omitted in the 1886 edition.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 142.— *Ed.*

"When, instead of marching forward, the revolution got stuck in the bog of philistinism and complacent temporising, these gentlemen pulled out their deeds of renunciation, not in order to fulfil them but to submit them to the criminal court as evidence in the inquiry into the rebellious peasant mob."

Wolff now relates how the bureaucracy, under the leadership of the Oberpräsident Pinder and with the aid of mobile military columns, forced the peasants to perform their old duties; how the peasants were left with no other hope but the Berlin Agreement Assembly; how Messrs. Agreers, instead of declaring first and foremost all feudal tithes abolished without compensation, frittered away the time with inquiries into the nature, origins, etc. of these admirable feudal duties and tithes, until the reactionaries had regained sufficient strength to send the entire Assembly packing before it had reached any decision at all about the abolition of feudal burdens; how the new Redemption Law was imposed and how even this arch-reactionary law failed to satisfy the worthy lords and they made even more extravagant demands.

But our lord knights had reckoned without their host, this host being

"the Silesian peasant, not the bourgeois peasant with three, four or more hides of land but that mass of smaller peasants, estate gardeners and free gardeners, cottagers and livers-in,[179] who have hitherto been the real beasts of burden of the big landowners and who, according to the plans of the latter, should continue as such in future in a different form.

"In 1848 this mass would have been content with abolition of feudal burdens without compensation.... After the bitter apprenticeship of the final months of 1848 and those that have elapsed of 1849, the Silesian agrarian population, the 'little man', is increasingly coming to realise that the knightly landowners, instead of seizing new riches by means of a cleverly devised Redemption Law, should by right return at least that part of the booty with which they lined their pockets with the aid of the previous redemption laws.... From village to village people are now occupied with the question of how much our lords the robber knights have stolen from the rural people over the last thirty years alone."

The situation is not as simple as in France, where compensation of 1,000 million francs in round figures—almost 300 million talers—was extorted from the nation, so that "the French peasant knows how much he must be refunded in capital and interest". In Prussia the exploitation took place year in, year out, and up till now only the individual peasant knew what he and his village had paid.

"But now a rough estimate has been made for the whole province, showing that in the guise of redemption the rural population has paid the worthy lords more than 80 million talers, partly in land and partly in hard cash and interest. In addition to this there are the annual tithes and duties of the hitherto non-emancipated. For the last thirty years this sum amounts to at least 160 million talers, yielding together with the above a total of approximately 240 million talers.

"Now that these calculations have come to their knowledge, the country people have seen the light, and its brightness is causing the feudal accomplices to cower in fear. They have devoured 240 million from the pockets of the country people and 'we must get back our 240 million at the first opportunity'—that is now the idea circulating among the Silesian country people; it is the demand which is already being spoken aloud in thousands of villages.

"The ever-growing awareness that *if* there is to be any talk of compensation for feudal burdens then it is the *peasants* who must be compensated for the knightly robbery perpetrated on them—this is an 'achievement' which will soon bear fruit. It will not be overthrown by any dictatorial wiles. The next revolution will bring it to bear in practice, and the Silesian peasants will then probably be able to devise a 'Compensation Law' restoring not only the stolen capital but also the 'customary interests' to the pockets of the people."

By what "legal title" the Junker gentlemen appropriated this sum is the lesson of the second article in the issue of March 25, 1849.[a]

"With regard to the manner in which the 'rights' of the robber knights were acquired, eloquent testimony is provided not only by every page of mediaeval history but by every year right up to recent times. The mediaeval knightly sword managed splendidly to ally itself with the goose-quill of the lawyer and the civil service horde. Force was transformed with a fortune-teller's sleight of hand into 'rights', into 'well-earned rights'. An example from last century. In the eighties in Silesia at the initiative of the aristocracy, commissions were created for the establishment of land registers,[180] the mutual duties and obligations of landowner and peasant.... The commissions, composed of nobles and their creatures, worked in exemplary fashion—in the interest of the aristocracy. Nevertheless these gentlemen by no means succeeded everywhere in producing land registers that were 'confirmed'" (recognised by the peasants). "Where they did, though, it was solely by force or trickery.... It is rather naively stated in the introduction to a number of such deeds that the peasants had not consented to put their crosses to them (at that time only very few were able to write) and that they had been forced partly by threats and partly by the actual use of armed force to sign these documents defrauding themselves and their descendants. On the basis of such 'well-earned rights' the worthy knights of Silesia have been able over the last thirty years to distil that tidy little sum of 240 million talers from the sweat and blood of the peasant estate into their ancestral coffers."

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[a] [Wilhelm Wolff,] "Die schlesische Milliarde", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 255, March 25, 1849.— *Ed.*

## VI

From the direct exploitation of the peasants by the aristocracy, Wolff proceeds to the various indirect forms, in which the participation of the state plays a major role.

Firstly, *land tax*, which was still levied in Silesia in 1849 according to a land register devised in 1749.[181] In this land register the acreage entered for the land of the nobles was less than the real amount, and for the peasants more, right from the outset; the yield of a *morgen* of pasture or arable land was assessed at one taler and the land tax levied on this basis. Woods and pastures were exempt. Since then the nobles had cleared whole stretches of forestland and brought considerable areas of wasteland under cultivation. Tax continued to be paid according to the acreage of cultivable land entered in the land register of 1749! The tax remaining constant for both parties, the peasant with no wasteland to bring under cultivation was thus considerably overburdened, or to put it bluntly: swindled. Furthermore:

"A large section of the knights, precisely that section which *owns the largest* and *most lucrative estate complexes*, has hitherto, under the style of 'well-earned rights' as mediatised peers[182] *not yet paid a penny in land tax*.

"If we estimate the land tax which the worthy knights have failed to pay (either too little or none at all) over the last thirty years at about 40 million talers—and that is probably letting them off lightly—and add to it the 240 million talers stolen directly from the pockets of the Silesian country people, we arrive at a total of 280 million" (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of March 25, 1849).

Then follows the graduated tax. A Silesian peasant, whom Wolff singles out of the masses,

"owns 8 *morgen* of land of medium quality, paying a host of tithes annually to his 'worthy' lord, is obliged to perform a large amount of statute labour every year, and still has to pay graduated tax of 7 Sgr. 6 Pf. per month, making 3 talers per

annum. Contrasted with him we have a worthy lord with the most extensive estates, with forests and meadows, iron-works, zinc ore mines, coal mines, etc., e.g. arch-wailer,[183] Russophile, democrat-eater and Deputy to the Second Chamber, Count Renard. This man has an annual income of 240,000 talers. He pays on the highest grade 144 talers graduated tax annually. Compared with the above peasant owner with 8 *morgen* he should have been paying at least 7,000 talers per year in graduated tax, making 140,000 talers over 20 years. Thus in 20 years he has paid 137,120 talers too little."

Wolff then compares the amount of graduated tax paid by the same Count Renard with the tax paid by a farmhand with a wage of 10 talers per year, paying $^1/_2$ taler or 5 per cent of his cash income, and with that of a farm-maid who out of a wage of 6 talers per year also pays $^1/_2$ taler in graduated tax, or 8 $^1/_3$ per cent of her income. The result is that over 20 years the noble count has paid 237,120 talers graduated tax too little compared with the farmhand and even 397,120 talers too little compared with the maid.

"According to the sovereign will of Frederick William IV, Eichhorn-Ladenberg and the rest of the Christian-Germanic fellowship, primary school" (cf. the Eichhorn rescripts until the beginning of 1848) "should be restricted purely to reading, writing and the most elementary arithmetic. The first four rules of arithmetic, then, would still be allowed to the peasants. There was no need for the primary school, however, to teach the peasant the various rules, particularly subtraction, or deduction and extraction. In Silesia, at least, the divinely favoured robber knights have subtracted so much from around him and out of him that he for his part now ought to succeed at the first possible opportunity with flying colours in this form of subtraction applied to the worthy lords."

Wolff then gives another example of this subtraction practice of the Silesian nobility: The waste hides.

"Wherever rustic hosts" (i.e. peasants) "were ruined by war, epidemics, conflagrations or other disasters, the seigneur was swiftly at hand in order to absorb the land of the farm concerned, either wholly or partly, into his dominion as a 'waste hide'. But you lords were careful not to take over land tax, house tax and the other burdens. These had to be borne either by the whole community or by the subsequent owner, who often only received a third, a sixth or an eighth of the previous land area in the bill of sale, but all the previous taxes, tithes and services. You did the same with common grazing and arable land when, for example, the above-mentioned causes had led to a more or less complete depopulation of the village. You seized these and other opportunities to combine as many lands as possible. But the communities and the individual peasants had to bear communal, school, church, district and other burdens unextenuated, as if they had never been deprived of a whit.... The yardstick with which you seek to measure us, shall be used to measure you, the peasant will reply to you.

"In your raging appetite for compensation, you have blindly rushed into a veritable hornets' nest of popular damages; if, provoked as they are, they one day fly out, you may easily find yourselves suffering scrupulously accurate *damages* as well as a good helping of *damage*!"[a] (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of March 27).

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[a] A play on words in the original: *Entschädigung*—compensation, damages, *Beschädigung*—damage, injury.—*Ed.*

In the next article (in the issue of March 29) Wolff describes the procedure during redemption of the actual feudal dues. Under the notorious General Commissions, which were charged with the execution of this business throughout the province, there were the Royal Landed Estate Commissaries and their aides, the Royal Conductors of Surveying and the actuaries. As soon as the application for redemption had been made by the landowner or the peasant, these officials appeared in the village, where they were straightaway lavishly entertained and suborned by the worthy lord up at the manor-house.

"Often this suborning had already taken place earlier, and since the worthy knights do not spare the champagne if anything may be thereby achieved, the seignorial efforts to please were generally successful."

Certainly there were incorruptible officials here and there, yet they were exceptions and even then the peasants were not helped.

"In cases in which the Landed Estate Commissary himself observed the letter of the law, it was of little benefit to the peasants as soon as the Conductor or his officials were won over by the lord of the dominion. It was even worse for the peasants if, as was generally the case, the most cordial understanding prevailed between Landed Estate Commissary, Conductor and sovereign. Then the knightly heart was gay and rejoiced.

"In all the plenitude of power with which the Old Prussian bureaucracy was adept at decking out its dependents, the Royal Commissary would now enter the district *kretscham*[a] where the peasants were assembled. He would never fail to remind the peasants that he was here 'in the name of the King' to negotiate with them.

"'In the name of the King!' At this phrase all the sombre figures such as gendarmes, executors, seignorial judges, district councillors, etc. appear simultaneously in front of the peasant's eyes. Had he not always been oppressed and exploited by them all in that name! 'In the name of the King!' That sounded to him like the stocks and prison, it sounded like taxes, tithes, statute labour and fees.[184] For he was obliged to pay all these 'in the name of the King'. If the Commissary's introduction did not do the trick, if the community or the individual peasant proved to be refractory and went against the plans of the lord of the domain and Commissary, then the latter would be transmogrified into the Olympian Thunderer, hurling one holy hell and damnation after the other into the midst of the nonplussed peasant throng, then adding more mildly: If you persist in such foolish excesses, I tell you that you will *pay* for it in full. This symbolic seizure of the peasant's purse would then generally decide the issue: obligations and counter-obligations could now be adjusted to suit the wishes of the lord."

Now came the surveying, and in the process the corrupt Conductor would cheat the peasants for the benefit of the landowner. For the assessment of usufruct, land quality, etc. the district mayors were brought in as experts, and these too would usually deliver judgment in favour of the landowner. After all this had been settled and the size in *morgen* of the land left for the

[a] See this volume, p. 132.—*Ed.*

peasants after the deduction of the area to be relinquished to the worthy lord as compensation for the loss of feudal dues had finally been established, the worthy knights generally prevailed on the Landed Estate Commissary to place the fields of the little man, if at all possible, on the worst side. The good land was added to that of the estate, and in return the peasants would be allocated estate fields which were regularly flooded in wet years. And then again, the peasants would be tricked out of another part of their fields by the Conductor during the final survey. In the vast majority of cases the peasants were helpless; as a rule anyone who brought a court case was ruined by it; only in quite exceptionally favourable circumstances was a peasant able to obtain his rightful dues.

The end of the business came with the drafting and signing of all the recesses and documents of settlement by the General Commission and—the general expenses account, which betokened the real beginning of the countryman's distress.

"To characterise these accounts there is no other epithet than: shameless. No matter how the peasant protested or tore his hair: it was all to no avail. After all, it was his purse they were after; the exchequer took its share of stamp duty in advance, and the rest went to pay the General Commission, the Landed Estate Commission etc. This veritable swarm of officials lived in ease and plenty. Through their position as Landed Estate Commissary, poor lads have with the aid of knightly nefariousness risen very quickly to become the owners of knightly estates themselves. It scarcely needs pointing out that the power in the General Commission lay in the hands of the nobles. Without them the little deals of our worthy knights would not have prospered so well."

In good Old Prussian fashion, no account of the total expenses of the General Commission has ever been published, so the people even do not know how much the redemption of feudal dues, insofar as it had been effected by 1848, actually cost them. But the individual communities and peasants will never forget how much they were forced to "cough up" at this time.

"For instance, a small village, whose peasants did not even own 30 *morgen* between them, had to pay recess expenses of 137 talers; in another, a peasant with 7 *morgen* of fields incurs costs of no less than 29 talers... The robber-knights' compensation dish was so delicious that, spiced with a few Christian-Germanic ingredients, it will not be missing from the table of the high and noble lords in days to come, either. This tastes of more!—say the Silesian robber-knights, wiping their whiskers with a chuckle and smacking their chops as the cabbage Junkers do."

Wolff wrote this 27 years ago, and the events he describes belong to the period 1820-48; but on reading them today one seems to be reading an account of the procedure by which the serfs of Russia were emancipated and became so-called free

peasants after 1861. It agrees to the finest detail. In one feature after another this cheating of the peasants in favour of the worthy lords is the same. And just as in all official and liberal accounts the Russian redemption is described as an enormous benefit for the peasants, as the greatest step forward in Russian history, in the same way official and national-servile historiography describes to us that piece of Old Prussian peasant-swindling as a world-liberating event which puts the great French Revolution—which in fact was the cause of the redemption business—in the shade!

## VII

The Silesian nobility's list of sins is still not exhausted. In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of April 5, Wolff recounts how the introduction of freedom of trade in Prussia[a] offered the robber-knights a new opportunity to swindle the country folk.

"As long as he was still under the obligation to join a guild, the rural artisan or tradesman paid the worthy landowner an annual fee, as a rule quite high, for his craft or business. In return he enjoyed the advantage of being protected by the landowner against competition from others through refusal of trading permits; and in addition, the landowner had to bring his work to him. This was precisely the position faced by the millers, brewers, butchers, smiths, bakers, *kretscham-* or inn-keepers, shopkeepers, etc."

When freedom of trade was introduced, the protection afforded to the privileged artisans ceased and everywhere competition sprang up. In spite of this the landowners continued to exact the fee paid up till then, under the pretext that it did not relate to the craft but to the land, and the courts, likewise overwhelmingly on the side of the nobility, recognised these preposterous claims in the great majority of cases. Yet this was not enough. In time the worthy lords had their own water mills and windmills constructed, and later steam-powered mills too, thus constituting unbeatable competition for the previously privileged miller, and yet they still forced him to go on paying the old tax for the former monopoly, under the pretext that it was either ground rent or compensation for certain insignificant repairs to the watercourse incumbent on the landowner, or such like. Thus Wolff quotes the case of a

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[a] *Edikt über die Einführung einer allgemeinen Gewerbe-Steuer. Vom 28. Oktober 1810.* In: *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preußischen Staaten*, No. 4, Berlin, 1810.—*Ed.*

water mill with two conduits, without any arable land, which had to pay 40 talers per annum to the landowner, although he had built a rival mill so that one miller after the other went bankrupt at the first mill. All the better for the landowner: the mill had to be sold and at every change of hands the worthy lord levied 10% of the purchase sum in fees for himself! Similarly, a windmill to which belonged no more than the ground on which it stood had to pay the landowner 53 talers per annum. Such was also the situation of the blacksmiths, who had to continue to pay or redeem the old monopoly fee, although not only was the monopoly abolished but the same landowner who pocketed the fee was competing with them with his own smithy—and likewise with the other artisans and tradesmen: the fee was either discharged by "recess" or still paid, although the other part of the agreement, protection against outside competition, had long since been dropped.

So far we have considered only the various forms of exploitation which the feudal nobility employed against the landowning country people, peasants with two or more hides down to free gardeners, free cottagers and meadow cottagers and whatever all the people may be called who possess at least a little cottage and generally a garden as well. There remained a numerically strong class neither in the service of the worthy lord nor owning a cottage or even a square foot of land.

"This is the class of lodgers, the livers-in, in short the *tenants*; people who have rented a room, usually a wretched hovel, for 4-8 talers per year from the peasants, gardeners, landless cottagers. Either they are movers, i.e. people who, having passed on their farms to relatives or sold them to strangers, have retired into a small room there, with or without retaining 'a share' in their former property, or—and these are the majority—they are poor day-labourers, village artisans, weavers, miners, etc."[a]

How to get at these people? Patrimonial jurisdiction, that splendid state of affairs (only now due to be abolished by the district regulations) whereby the landowner exercises jurisdiction over his ex-subjects, had to provide the pretext. It stipulated that when the worthy lord delivered one of the subjects of his jurisdiction into gaol, then he had to bear the cost of the prisoner's keep as well as that of the inquiry. For this the worthy lord received all the fees which were payable under patrimonial jurisdiction. If the arrested person was a peasant, the worthy lord made him pay back all the costs, and in extreme cases had his

[a] [Wilhelm Wolff,] "Zur schlesischen Milliarde (Das Schutzgeld)", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 270, April 12, 1849.—*Ed.*

house and farm sold. But in order to cover the costs which any arrested lodgers might cause him, the landowner imposed an annual *caution money*, called by the more genteel name of jurisdiction money, on all persons of this class under his jurisdiction.

"Some of the worthy lords," says Wolff (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of April 12), "contented themselves with one taler a year; others imposed 1 $^1/_2$ talers, and others took their impertinence so far as to demand 2 talers per year from this section of the rural proletariat. With this blood money gathered in there was all the more gambling and whoring in the capital and at the spas.

"When there was no money whatsoever to be squeezed out, the worthy lord or his bailiff would convert the caution money into 6, 10 or even 12 gratis days' labour" (which the lodger had to work gratis for the worthy lord). "Cash laughs! So if the lodger could not pay, the executor was usually set on him to take away his last remaining rags, the last bed, table and chair. A few of the worthy lords refrained from this barbarism and demanded no caution money, not because it was an arrogant right but because in their patriarchal clemency they did not care to make use of this alleged right.

"In this way then, with few exceptions, the lodger has been shamefully plundered year in, year out for the benefit of the landowner's purse. The poor weaver, for instance, exploited by the factory-owner on the one hand, with a wage of 3-4 silver groschen a day, with $^1/_2$ taler of graduated tax for the state, with dues to the school, Church and community, was nevertheless forced to pay the worthy lord one or two talers caution money, which should be properly called blood money. It was the same for the miner, and for all the other landless people.

"What benefit does he, the lodger, derive from this? The fact that if he has been driven by poverty, misery and brutality to stealing or other crimes and is brought to justice, then he may remain in prison or house of correction happy in the knowledge that he and the class of lodgers to which he belongs have already paid the prison costs into the landowner's purse a hundredfold in advance.... The lodger who has paid caution money—let us put it at 1 $^1/_3$ talers per year on average—for thirty years *without* going to gaol has been obliged to throw 40 talers cash into the landowner's purse, not counting interest and interest on interest. For this the landowner pays interest on capital of more than 1,000 talers borrowed from the *Landschaft*" (the credit association of the knightly landowners).

"What a lucrative source of income the robber-knights found in caution money may be deduced from the fact that in most villages there are as many if not more lodgers than householders. We recollect one of the smallest robber-knights who owned three domains and extorted from the lodgers in his three villages 240 talers per year in caution money, with which he paid off the interest on capital borrowed from the *Landschaft*" (raised on his estate) "of 6,000 talers...

"After all this the naive may believe that the worthy knights really do pay any criminal costs which may arise out of their prenumerando" (by prepayment) "filled purses. Such naive faith will be utterly shattered by knightly speculation. Many cases are known to us from the twenties and from later years in which the knights in their insolence not only raised the caution money from the lodgers but forced their beloved village subjects to meet partly $^1/_3$, partly $^1/_2$ and in several villages $^2/_3$ of any inquiry and gaol expenses."

## VIII

In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of April 14, Wolff deals with the *hunting right*, which was abolished without compensation in 1848 and whose restoration or purchase with "damages" the noble Junkers were then vociferously demanding.

"The *sanctification of game* had the consequence that they preferred to shoot down a confounded peasant rather than a hare, partridge or similar protected creatures. When hunting with drovers, taken from among their beloved village subjects, they were not unduly inhibited; even if one of the drovers was shot at or stretched out dead there was at most an inquiry and no more was said. Moreover, several cases from that patrimonial heyday are known to us in which the noble knight fired a charge of buckshot into the legs or hindparts of one drover or another—purely for his private delectation. Even beyond the actual hunt the worthy knights would indulge in such pastimes with passion. We always recall in this connection the baron who fired a round of buckshot into the thigh of a woman gleaning corn in one of his harvested fields despite his prohibition, and then recounted his heroic exploit at the dinner table in select robber-knightly company with undisguised self-satisfaction.... On the other hand, the beloved village subjects had the pleasure of 'roboting' (doing service) as drovers at the great noble hunt. Every farmer, i.e. every owner of a field and every cottager, was directed to provide a drover 'first thing in the morning' for the great noble hunt for so and so many days. It must certainly have made the worthy knights' hearts beat with ecstasy to have a mob of ill-clad, often barefoot, starving villagers trotting along beside them on cold, wet October and November days. The whip hung by the hunting bag for the good and edification of hounds and drovers. It was usually the latter who received the lion's share.... Other knights started large pheasant farms.... Woe to the woman or girl who through carelessness or lack of tracking sense came too close to one of the count's pheasant nests or alarmed the hen.... I have myself in my youth been an eye-witness to how a peasant's wife for the said reason was thrashed in a most barbaric and bestial manner and crippled by a young robber-knight, without even a cock crowing afterwards. They were a poor people, and protesting, i.e. bringing a court-case, requires money, and also some confidence in justice, things which in the majority of the Silesian peasants are found sparingly, if at all.

"Seething with rage, the peasant had to watch as the knightly gentlemen, with or without their hunters, or as these alone chased across the field which he had cultivated with toil and trouble, trampling and putting to waste, sparing no fruit of the field, high or low, thick or thin. Right through the middle or over and away they galloped with the hunters and hounds. If the peasant presumed to object, a laugh of derision was his answer, in the mildest case; many are those who have suffered worse, with beaten bodies to show for it. The cabbage in the peasant's field was sought out by the divinely favoured and protected hare as fodder, and the peasant planted his trees so as to still the hunger of the hare in winter.... But this damage cannot compare with that inflicted on him by deer and wild boar, which were protected throughout most of Silesia. Wild boar, red deer and roe deer often rooted up, devoured and trampled in a single night what was supposed to serve the peasant or the 'little man' as food and payment of taxes and tithes for a whole year. Of course, the injured party was free to sue for damages. Indeed, individuals and whole communities have tried it. The outcome of such cases will be self-evident to anyone who has acquired during his life even a remote idea of the old Prussian civil service, judiciary and trial procedure.... After interminable writing and petitioning the peasant would obtain judgement in a few years, if fortune favoured him, against the noble lord, and if he viewed it in broad daylight and added it all up, he would find that he had been cheated to the extreme.... But the number of villages on whose rustic fields the divinely favoured wild boar, red deer and roe deer have harried and ravaged for thirty years, more severely every year, amounts to over a thousand. We know several of them, by no means among the largest, which have suffered 200-300 talers worth of damage annually solely on account of the protected big game."

And if the nobility now demands compensation for the abolition of this hunting right, then Wolff counters that demand with this one:

"Full compensation for all damage done by game, for all the ravages which have been inflicted on our lands for the last thirty years by the divinely favoured roe deer, red deer, wild boar and by the worthy knights themselves; to put it in round figures:

"Compensation of at least 20 million talers!"

The conclusion of the whole thing (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of April 25, 1849) is an article on the Polish part of the province, Upper Silesia, which in autumn 1847 was struck by a famine as severe as that which was simultaneously depopulating Ireland. As in Ireland, famine typhus also broke out in Upper Silesia and spread like the plague. The following winter it broke out once again, yet without any failure of the harvest, flooding or other calamity having occurred. What is the explanation? Wolff replies:

"The greater part of the land is in the hands of big landowners, the fiscus" (state) "and in mortmain.[185] Only $^2/_5$ of the total landed property is in the hands of the peasants, and is overloaded with statute labour and tithes to the landowners, as well as taxes to the state, the Church, school, district and community to the most incredible and shameless extent, whereas the worthy lords, compared with the peasants, pay the state a mere pittance at the most.... When rent-day arrives the silver interest is wrung out of the peasant with the knout, should he fail to pay

voluntarily. And so lack of capital and credit and an excess of tithes and services to the robber-knights as well as to the state and Church, forced the peasant to throw himself into the arms of the Jew and perish helplessly struggling in the toils of the artful usurer.

"In the age-old humiliation and servitude to which the rural population of Upper Silesia has been subjected by the Christian-Germanic government and its robber-knights, the peasant has found his only solace, as well as a restorative and half his nourishment, in *alcohol*. One must give the worthy lords their due: they supplied the peasants with ample quantities of this commodity from their distilleries at ever cheaper prices.... Alongside the mud-huts of the Water-Polack[186] peasants where famine, typhus and brutishness have made their abode, the sumptuous palaces, castles and other properties of the Upper Silesian magnates appear all the more romantic.... On the one hand, the incredibly rapid accumulation of riches and colossal annual revenues of their 'lordships'. On the other, the advancing impoverishment of the masses.

"The day wage for agricultural labourers is mean in the extreme: for a man 5-6 silver groschen, for a woman $2^1/_2$-3 silver groschen may even be regarded as a high rate. Many are compelled to work for a day wage of 4 and 2 silver groschen respectively, and even less. Their diet consists almost solely of potatoes and schnapps. If only the labourer had even had these two items in sufficient quantity, then at least starvation and typhus would have spared Upper Silesia. When, however, the staple food became steadily dearer and scarcer as a result of potato blight, and the day wage not only failed to rise but actually fell—people had resort to plants which they picked in the fields and woods, couch grass and roots, making soup with stolen hay and eating the flesh of dead animals. Their strength evaporated. Schnapps became more expensive—and even worse than before. *Schenker* is the name given to those persons, most often Jews, who in return for an enormous rent to the worthy lords sell the schnapps to the public. The *Schenker* was already accustomed to diluting the schnapps with appropriate amounts of water and then strengthening it again with all kinds of ingredients, chief among which being *oil of vitriol*. This poisonous adulteration increased from year to year, being carried to an extreme after the outbreak of potato blight. The stomach of the peasant, weakened by hay and couch-grass soups, could no longer take such medicine. Considering the poor clothing, the filthy, unsanitary housing, the cold in winter, and the lack either of work or of strength to work, one realises how, no more and no less than in Ireland, these famine conditions very soon gave rise to typhus. 'The people had nothing in reserve!' There we have the explanation of it all. They were continually exploited and drained dry by the state and the robber-knights to such an extent that at the slightest increase in their misery they were bound to perish.... The robber-knights, the civil servant caste, and the whole divinely favoured royal Prussian government horde did business, drew salaries, distributed gratuities, while down below in the common strata of the people, lashed by famine and typhus, they started to die off in their hundreds like animals and went on dying.

"Not much better off than the day-labourers are the farmers, or those who possess a house with a plot of land, whether larger or smaller. They too derive their main sustenance from potatoes and schnapps. They have to sell what they produce to raise the tithes payable to the landowner, the state, etc.... And to be forced to perform estate service" (for the worthy lord), "to be barbarically maltreated by the lord or his officials with the knout, to be forced, toiling, starving and beaten, to witness and endure the luxury and arrogance of the robber-knights and a snarling caste of officials—this was and is the lot of a great part of the Water-Polack population....

"The sort of treatment meted out to the estate servants, the farmhands and maids of the lords may be readily gauged from what the village subjects liable to labour service and the so-called wage-labourers had to endure. Here, too, the knout is the Alpha and Omega of the robber-knights' gospel....

"The robber-knights rule and dispose as they please. From their ranks are taken the *Landrats*; they train the domanial and district police, and the entire bureaucracy works in their interests. Then there is the fact that the Water-Polack peasant does not have German officialdom over him—which might be too humane—but an old Prussian one, with its Prussian language and its own provincial law. Exploited, maltreated, derided, whipped and cast into fetters by all quarters, the Upper Silesian peasant was bound eventually to reach the point he has reached. Starvation and plague were bound to ripen as the final fruits in this genuine Christian-Germanic soil. Whoever still has the power to steal, does so. That is the only form for the Irishised Upper Silesian to actually put up opposition to Christian Teutonism and the robber-knights. The next step is beggary; the pauperised figures may be seen moving from one place to another in droves. In the third rank we discover those who lack the strength or aptitude for either stealing or begging. It is to their beds of mouldering straw that the epidemic angel of death pays his most productive visits. These are the fruits of a century of divinely favoured monarchist government and the robber knighthood and bureaucracy allied with it."

And as before, Wolff now demands that the knights compensate the peasants, that all statute labour and money dues be abolished without compensation, and finally that all the large estates of the Upper Silesian magnates be broken up. This would naturally not occur, he notes, under the Manteuffel-Brandenburg government, and thus "the Upper Silesians would continue as before to fall prey to famine and famine typhus in huge numbers", which proved to be literally true, until the tremendous upsurge of Upper Silesian industry in the fifties and sixties entirely revolutionised the living conditions of the whole region, and increasingly replaced brutal feudal exploitation with civilised, but even more thorough, modern bourgeois exploitation.

IX

We have deliberately quoted large extracts from *The Silesian Milliard*, not only because it conveys with the utmost clarity the character of Wolff, but also because it gives a true picture of the conditions which prevailed until 1848 throughout rural Prussia, with the exception of the Rhine Province, in Mecklenburg, Hanover, and a few other small states, as well as the whole of Austria. Where redemption had taken place the peasant had been defrauded; but for half to two-thirds of the peasant population—according to locality—feudal service and tithes to the landowner remained, with little prospect of a more rapid rate of redemption until the thunderbolt of 1848 and the ensuing period of industrial development all but swept away these relics of the Middle Ages as well. We say "all but" because in Mecklenburg feudalism continues to exist with undiminished power, and also in other backward areas of Northern Germany there are as likely as not districts where redemption has not yet been effected. In 1849 caution money and a few other less important feudal dues were abolished without compensation in Prussia; the other burdens were redeemed more rapidly than before because the nobility, after the experiences of 1848 and with the constant difficulty of extracting profitable labour from the recalcitrant peasants, was now itself pressing for redemption. Finally, with the district regulations, there disappeared the landowners' seignorial jurisdiction, eliminating, at least formally, feudalism in Prussia.

But only formally. Wherever large-scale landed property is prevalent, the big landowners retain a semi-feudal dominance, even under otherwise modern bourgeois conditions of management. Only the forms of this dominant position vary. They are

different in Ireland, where the land is cultivated by small tenant farmers, and different in England and Scotland, where moneyed tenants run large leasehold farms with the aid of wage labourers. The domination of the nobility prevalent in Northern Germany, especially in the East, approaches the latter form. The large estates are mostly run by the owners themselves and more rarely by large tenants, with the aid of servants and day labourers. The servants are subject to the Regulations for Servants, which in Prussia date from 1810 and are so clearly designed for feudal conditions that they *expressly permit* "minor acts of violence" by the nobility against the servants, while *expressly forbidding* the latter on pain of criminal punishment to offer active resistance to assault from their master, except if their life or health be endangered! (General Regulations for Servants, §§ 77, 79).[a] Partly by their contracts but partly by the predominant system of payment in kind—which also includes housing—the day labourers are reduced to a state of dependence on the landowner quite equal to that of the servants; and so even today there flourishes east of the Elbe the patriarchal treatment of farm labourers and domestic servants, with the punches in the face, blows from the stick and cuts of the whip which Wolff has described to us in Silesia. Unfortunately the common people are getting more and more rebellious and are in some places already refusing to tolerate any longer these paternal measures for their betterment.

Since Germany is still preponderantly an agricultural country, and the mass of the population therefore gain their livelihood from farming and live in the country, it remains the chief but also the most difficult task of the workers' party to make the agricultural workers' interests and position clear to them. The first step towards this is that the party should itself become familiar with the interests and position of the agricultural workers. Those party comrades whom circumstances permit would be doing the cause a great service by comparing Wolff's accounts with present conditions, collating the changes which have occurred and describing the present situation of the agricultural workers. In addition to the day labourer proper, the small peasant should not be ignored either. How have the redemptions progressed since 1848? Has the peasant had his ears boxed as soundly as before in the process? Such questions, among others, emerge on their own from reading *The Silesian Milliard*, and if the business of answering them were

[a] *Gesinde-Ordnung für sämmtliche Provinzen der Preußischen Monarchie. Vom 8. November 1810.* In: *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preußischen Staaten*, No. 5, Berlin, 1810.— *Ed.*

undertaken seriously and the resulting material published in the party organ, this would be a greater service to the workers' cause than any number of articles about the organisation in detail of the society of the future.[187]

One more point is raised by the conclusion of Wolff's articles. Since 1849 Upper Silesia has developed into one of the focal points of German industry. As in the rest of Silesia, this industry is situated mainly in the countryside, in large villages or newly emerging towns, far from the urban centres. If we are concerned with spreading Social-Democracy in the countryside, Silesia, and particularly Upper Silesia, offers the most suitable locality for use as a lever. In spite of this, Upper Silesia, at least, seems to have been virgin soil for socialist propaganda up till now. The language cannot amount to an obstacle; on the one hand, the use of German has greatly increased there with the growth of industry, on the other, there are surely enough socialists who speak Polish.

But back to our Wolff. On May 19 the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was suppressed after the last issue had appeared printed in red. Apart from 23 pending press trials the Prussian police had so many other pretexts for seizing each individual member of the editorial board that they all left Cologne and Prussia immediately. Most of us went to Frankfurt, where the decisive point seemed near at hand. The victories of the Hungarians provoked the Russian invasion; the conflict between the governments and the Frankfurt Parliament on account of the Imperial Constitution had given rise to various insurrections, of which those in Dresden, Iserlohn and Elberfeld had been suppressed, while those in the Palatinate and in Baden were still in progress. Wolff had an old Breslau mandate in his pocket as the substitute for that old distorter of history, Stenzel; they had only got wailer Stenzel through by including the agitator[188] Wolff as his substitute. Like all good Prussians, Stenzel had naturally obeyed the Prussian government's order of recall from Frankfurt. Wolff now took his place.[189]

The Frankfurt Parliament, having sunk through its own idling and stupidity from the position of the most powerful assembly that had ever convened in Germany to the most utter impotence, now evident to all the governments, even to the Imperial Government it had appointed itself and to the very Parliament itself, was at a loss what to do, caught between the governments which had massed their forces, and the people who had risen to defend the Imperial Constitution. There was still everything to be gained if only the Parliament and the leaders of the South German

movement showed courage and determination. A parliamentary decision calling the armies of Baden and the Palatinate to Frankfurt to defend the Assembly would have sufficed. The Assembly would thereby have regained the confidence of the people at a stroke. The defection of the troops of Hesse and Darmstadt, and the accession of Württemberg and Bavaria to the movement could then have been anticipated with certainty; the small states of central Germany would likewise have been brought in; Prussia would have had its hands full, and, in the face of such a mighty movement in Germany, Russia would have been compelled to retain in Poland part of the troops subsequently employed with success in Hungary. Thus Hungary could have been saved at Frankfurt, and moreover there was every likelihood that with the spread of a victorious revolution in Germany, the outbreak that was daily expected in Paris would not have dissolved into the uncontested defeat of the radical philistines which occurred on June 13, 1849.[190]

The prospects were as favourable as they could be. The advice to summon the guard of Baden and the Palatinate was given[a] in Frankfurt, that to march to Frankfurt even without a summons, in Mannheim.[b] But neither the Baden leaders nor the Frankfurt parliamentarians had the courage, energy, intelligence or initiative.[c]

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[a] In the 1886 edition Engels added: "by all of us".— *Ed.*

[b] In the 1886 edition Engels added: "by Marx and myself".— *Ed.*

[c] See also Engels' "The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution" (present edition, Vol. 10).— *Ed.*

## X

Instead of acting, the Parliament decided—as if it had not spoken too much already—to speak again, namely, in a "Proclamation to the German Nation". A commission was appointed which produced two drafts, the one approved by the majority having been prepared by Uhland. Both of them were feeble, bloodless and powerless, expressing nothing but their own helplessness and dejection and the bad conscience of the Assembly itself. At the debate on May 26, they gave our Wolff the opportunity to speak his mind to the honourable parliamentarians once and for all. The shorthand record of this speech runs[a]:

"Wolff of Breslau:

"'Gentlemen! I have registered my name against the Proclamation to the Nation that has been composed by the majority and read out here, because I think it utterly inadequate in the present conditions, because I find it too weak—suitable solely as an article for publication in those newspapers which represent the party that has conceived it, but not as a Proclamation to the German Nation. Since a second has now been read out, I shall only remark in passing that I would oppose this one even more strongly, for reasons that I do not need to give here.' (Voice from the Centre: 'Why not?') 'I am speaking only of the majority proclamation; it is after all so moderate that even Mr. Buss could not object to it too much, and that is certainly the worst recommendation for any proclamation. No, gentlemen, if you wish to retain any influence whatsoever over the people, you must not speak to the people in the way you do in the Proclamation; you must not speak of legality, of legal grounds and so on, but of illegality, in the same way as the governments, as the *Russians*, and by Russians I mean Prussians, Austrians, Bavarians and Hanoverians.' (Commotion and laughter.) 'These are all included under the

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[a] W. Wolff [Speech in the Frankfurt National Assembly on May 26, 1849], *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen constituirenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main*, No. 229, May 28, 1849, Vol. 9, Frankfurt am Main, 1849, p. 6749.—*Ed.*

common name of Russians.' (Great amusement.) 'Yes, gentlemen, in this Assembly, too, the Russians are represented. You must say to them: Just as you adopt the legal point of view, so shall we. This is the viewpoint of *force*, and in parenthesis you ought to explain that legality means opposing the cannons of the Russians with force, with well-organised storming-parties. If you have to issue a proclamation at all, then issue one in which you declare from the very outset *the first traitor to the people, the Imperial Regent,*[a] *an outlaw.'* ('Order!' Vigorous applause from the gallery.) '*And all the ministers too!*' (Renewed commotion.) 'Oh no, I will not be intimidated. He *is* the first traitor to the people.'

"President Reh: 'I think that Mr. Wolff has discarded all respect. He cannot describe the Archduke Imperial Regent as a traitor to the people before this House, and I must therefore call him to order...'

"Wolff: 'For my part, I accept the call to order and declare that I *intended* to be out of order, that he and his ministers *are traitors.*' (From all sides of the House: 'Order, this is scandalous!')

"President: 'I must deny you leave to speak.'

"Wolff: 'Well, I *protest*; it was my intention to speak here in the name of the people and to say what the people are thinking. I protest against every proclamation which is worded in this spirit.'"

These few words descended like a thunderbolt on the terrified Assembly. For the first time the real state of affairs had been clearly and openly expressed to its members. The treachery of the Imperial Regent and his ministers was a public secret; every one of those present saw it occurring before their very eyes; but no one dared to put into words what he saw. And now comes this disrespectful little Silesian and all at once demolishes their whole conventional house of cards! Even the "determined Left" could not help protesting energetically against the unforgivable breach of all parliamentary decorum which this simple statement of the truth constituted, through the mouth of their worthy representative Mr. Karl Vogt (Vogt—the man who was sent a remittance of 40,000 francs in August, 1859, according to the lists of sums paid by Louis Napoleon to his agents, published in 1870 [191]). Mr. Vogt enriched the debate with the following shabbily embarrassed and infamously mendacious[b] protest[c]:

"'Gentlemen, I have requested leave to speak in order to defend the crystal-clear stream that has flowed from a poetic soul into this proclamation against the unworthy filth that has been thrown into the same or' (!) 'hurled at the same' (!), 'to defend these words against the muck which has piled up in this latest movement, threatening to swamp and defile everything there. Yes, gentlemen! It is

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[a] Archduke John.— *Ed.*

[b] A play on words in the original: *verlegnen* (embarrassed) and *verlognen* (mendacious).— *Ed.*

[c] K. Vogt [Protest against Wolff's speech in the Frankfurt National Assembly on May 26, 1849], *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen constituirenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main*, No. 229, May 28, 1849, Vol. 9, Frankfurt am Main, 1849, p. 6751.— *Ed.*

muck and filth which are being cast in this' (!) 'way at all that may be considered pure, and I express my most profound indignation that such a thing' (!) 'could have happened.' "

Since Wolff had not mentioned Uhland's *editing* of the proclamation at all, but simply found its content too weak, one is at a loss to understand to what Mr. Vogt is actually referring with his indignation and his "filth" and "muck". But on the one hand there was the memory of the ruthless way in which the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had always treated false brethren of Vogt's sort; on the other, rage at Wolff's straight language, which made the time-serving game of these false brethren henceforth impossible. Forced to choose between real revolution and reaction, Mr. Vogt declares himself in favour of the latter and the Imperial Regent and his ministers—of "all that may be considered pure". Unfortunately, the reactionaries wanted nothing to do with Mr. Vogt.

The very same day Wolff challenged Mr. Vogt to a duel with pistols through the deputy Würth from Sigmaringen, and when Mr. Vogt declined to shoot it out, threatened him with physical chastisement. Mr. Vogt, although physically a giant compared with Wolff, now fled under the protection of his sister, not showing his face anywhere except in her company. Wolff let the loudmouth go.

Everyone knows how a few days after the scene, the Assembly itself recognised the correctness of Wolff's utterances by fleeing from its own Imperial Regent and his government to Stuttgart.[192]

## XI

We are nearing the end. Wolff remained at his post in Stuttgart even when the National Assembly was dispersed by the troops from Württemberg, then going to Baden and finally to Switzerland with the other refugees. He chose Zurich as his place of residence, where he immediately established himself as a private tutor, but naturally encountered fierce competition from the many other graduate refugees living there. In spite of the indigent life which ensued, Wolff would have stayed in Switzerland. But it became increasingly obvious that the Swiss Federal Council,[193] obedient to the voice of European reaction, was determined little by little to harry all these refugees out of Switzerland, as Wolff put it. For most of them, this meant emigrating to America, and this was what the governments wanted. Once the refugees were on the other side of the ocean there was no being pestered by them.

Wolff too often pondered on the idea of emigrating to America, which the many friends of his who had gone there urged him to do. When the "harrying" became too much for him, he arrived, half-decided, in London in June 1851, where we gave him a place of abode for the time being. Here too the competition as a private tutor was very keen. Wolff was scarcely able to earn the paltriest living despite the greatest exertions. He did his utmost to keep his position a secret from his friends, as always when things were going badly for him. Nonetheless, he had been obliged by the end of 1853 to run up debts of about £37 (750 marks), which weighed very heavily on him; he wrote in his diary the same summer:

"On June 21, 1853 I had to spend my birthday in almost horrible DISTRESS."

His intention of going to America would probably have been put into effect, had not a likewise fugitive German doctor in Manchester,[a] who was a friend of Wolff's from Breslau, obtained him enough private lessons in Manchester through his connections to enable him at least to live off them. And so he made the move in early January 1854.[194] In the beginning, certainly, things were rather touch-and-go. But his livelihood was assured, and then Wolff, with his extraordinary flair for getting on with children and winning their affection, was able to count on gradually extending his sphere of activities just as soon as he was known among the Germans there. This did not fail to happen. After a few years he found himself in a fairly comfortable material position for his demands, adored by his pupils, universally popular and respected by young and old, Englishmen and Germans on account of his uprightness, sense of duty and his cheerful amiability. It was in the nature of things that he mainly came into contact with bourgeois, in other words, more or less politically hostile elements; but although he never compromised either his character or his convictions in the slightest, only very rarely did he have to weather any conflicts, and this he did honourably. At that time we were all cut off from public political activity; we were silenced by the reactionary legislation, utterly ignored by the daily press and hardly honoured by a refusal from the publishers in response to any of our offers; Bonapartism seemed to have triumphed over socialism forever. For several years Wolff was the only comrade I had in Manchester with the same views as myself; no wonder that we met almost daily and that I then again had more than ample opportunity of admiring his almost instinctively correct assessment of current events.

Suffice it to take a single instance to illustrate Wolff's conscientiousness. He set one of his pupils a sum in arithmetic from a textbook. He compared the answer with the one given in the so-called key, and found it wrong. But when the boy always arrived at the same answer after repeated attempts Wolff did the sum himself and discovered that the boy was right; the key contained a printer's error. At once Wolff sat down and worked through every sum in the book in order to make sure that there were no more such errors in the key: "That's never going to happen to me again!"

This conscientiousness was, in fact, the cause of his death, not even 55 years old. In the spring of 1864 he started suffering from

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[a] Louis Borchardt.— *Ed.*

severe headaches due to overwork, which gradually resulted in almost total insomnia. His doctor had gone away; he refused to consult any other. All pleas for him to cancel or limit his lessons for a while were in vain; whatever he had taken on, he wanted to see through. Only when he simply could not endure it any more did he occasionally cancel his lessons. But it was too late. The headaches caused by saturation of the brain with blood went from bad to worse, the insomnia became ever more unremitting. A blood-vessel in the cerebrum burst, and after repeated cerebral haemorrhages death occurred on May 9, 1864. With him, Marx and I lost our most faithful friend, and the German revolution a man of irreplaceable worth.

# Frederick Engels

## [LETTER TO ENRICO BIGNAMI ON THE GERMAN ELECTIONS OF 1877][195]

My dear Bignami,

Your Berlin correspondent[a] will have given you all the details of the German elections.[196] Our triumph has been such as to strike terror into the hearts of the bourgeoisie both in Germany and abroad; here in London the shock wave has rippled throughout the press. The most significant thing is not the number of new electoral colleges we have won, although it is worth noting that the Emperor William, the King of Saxony[b] and the most petty princeling in Germany (the prince of Reuss)[c] all now reside in colleges represented by socialist workers and are, consequently, themselves represented by socialists. What is important, as well as these majorities, are the strong minorities obtained both in the cities and the countryside. In Berlin, 31,500; in Hamburg, Barmen-Elberfeld, Nuremberg and Dresden, 11,000 votes each city; not only in the countryside of Schleswig-Holstein, Saxony and Brunswick but even in the fortress of feudalism, in Mecklenburg, we had strong minorities of agricultural workers. On January 10, 1874 we had 350,000 votes; on January 10, 1877 we had at least 600,000.[197] The vote enables us to reckon our forces; the battalions are now able to tell you what are the army corps of German socialism passing in review on election day. The moral effect—on the socialist party which registers its progress with delight, on the workers who are still indifferent, and on our enemies—is enormous; and it is a good thing that once every three years the

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[a] E. Dörenberg.— *Ed.*
[b] Albert.— *Ed.*
[c] Heinrich XXII.— *Ed.*

mortal sin of going to the polls is committed. The abstentionists[198] can say what they like; a single event like the elections of January 10 is worth more than all their "revolutionary" phrases. And when I say *battalions and army corps* I am not speaking metaphorically. At least half if not more of these men of 25 (the minimum age) who voted for us spent two to three years in uniform and they know perfectly well how to handle a needle gun and a rifled cannon, and they belong to the army reserve. A few years more of this sort of progress and we shall have the reserves and the *Landwehr*[199] (three quarters of the war army) with us in such a way as to immobilise the armed forces as a whole and make any kind of offensive war impossible.

Some people will say: But why not have the revolution right away? Because, not having more than 600,000 votes out of 5 and a half million, and these votes being scattered in many areas, we would certainly be defeated, and we would see ruined by foolhardy uprisings and senselessness a movement which only requires a little time to lead us to certain victory. It is obvious that our adversaries will not let themselves be beaten easily, that the Prussians are not going to let their war army become infected with socialism without reacting against it. But the more reaction and repression there is, the higher the flood will mount, until it sweeps away the flood gates. Do you know what happened in Berlin? On the night of January 10, all the streets surrounding the socialist Committee[200] rooms were packed with a crowd which even the police put at 22,000. Thanks to our party's perfect organisation and discipline, this Committee was the first to have the definitive election result. When it was declared, the whole crowd shouted an enthusiastic *hurrah*—for whom?—those elected?—no: "*for our most active agitator, the King's prosecutor Tessendorff*". The latter was always renowned for his judicial proceedings against the socialists; through his violence he doubled our numbers.

This is how our people respond to the measures of violence: they are not worried by them, rather they provoke them as the best means of agitation.

A fraternal greeting from your

*F. Engels*

Written on February 13, 1877

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Central Organ der Sozialdemokratie Deutschlands.
Nr. 32. Freitag, 16. März 1877.

# Frederick Engels

## FROM ITALY[201]

The socialist movement in Italy too has at last been placed on a firm foundation and shows every sign of developing rapidly and successfully. But to enable the reader to fully grasp the turnabout that has taken place, we have to retrace the history of how Italian socialism emerged.

The beginnings of the movement in Italy can be traced back to Bakuninist influences. While a passionate but extremely muddled class hatred against their exploiters was dominant among the working masses, an army of young lawyers, doctors, writers, clerks, etc., under Bakunin's personal command, seized the leadership in every place where the revolutionary proletarian element appeared. All of them, albeit with varying degrees of initiation, were members of the secret Bakuninist "Alliance"[202] whose aim was to impose its leadership on the entire European workers' movement, and thus enable the Bakuninist sect surreptitiously to gain dominance in the coming social revolution. A detailed account of this can be found in the pamphlet *Ein Complot gegen die Internationale* (published by Bracke in Brunswick).[a]

This worked splendidly as long as the workers' movement itself was still in the process of formation. The extravagant Bakuninist revolutionary phrases aroused the desired applause everywhere; even the elements which stemmed from earlier political revolutionary movements were swept along in the current, and alongside Spain, Italy became, in Bakunin's own words, "the most revolutionary country in Europe".[203] Revolutionary in the sense of there

[a] See K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (present edition, Vol. 23).— *Ed.*

being much ado about nothing. In contrast to the essentially political struggle by which the English workers' movement, followed by the French and finally the German movement, had become big and powerful, here all political activity was rejected since it implied recognition of "the State", and "the State" was the epitome of all evil. Hence, the ban on the formation of a workers' *party*; the ban on the fight for safeguards against exploitation, e.g., a standard working day, limitation of female and child labour; and above all a ban on participation in any *elections*. On the other hand, we have the command to agitate, organise and conspire for the coming revolution, which, when it drops from the skies, should be carried through without any provisional government and with the total destruction of all state and state-like institutions, solely by the initiative (secretly directed by the Alliance) of the working masses. "But do not ask me how!"[a]

As we have already said, as long as the movement was in its infancy this all went splendidly. The vast majority of Italian towns are still largely isolated from world traffic, which they know only in the shape of tourist traffic. These towns supply the local peasants with handicraft products and facilitate the sale of agricultural produce over a larger area; moreover, the landowning nobility live in these towns and spend their revenue there; and, finally, a multitude of foreigners bring their money there. The proletarian elements in these towns are not very numerous, still less advanced, and moreover include a strong admixture of people who have no regular or steady jobs, as is favoured by tourism and the mild climate. Ultra-revolutionary phrases, which tacitly implied dagger and poison, fell upon fertile soil here to begin with. But there are also industrial towns in Italy, especially in the north, and as soon as the movement gained a foothold among the truly proletarian masses of *these* towns such a hazy diet could no longer suffice, nor could *these* workers allow those failed young bourgeois—who had thrown themselves into socialism because, to use Bakunin's words, their "career had reached a deadlock"—to patronise them in the long run.

And so it happened. The dissatisfaction of the North Italian workers at the ban on all political action, i.e., on all *real* action which went further than idle talk and conspiratorial humbug, grew with every passing day. The German electoral victories of 1874[204] and the unification of the German socialists achieved in their wake did not go unnoticed in Italy either. The elements

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[a] H. Heine, *Buch der Lieder. Junge Leiden, Lieder VIII.—Ed.*

which stemmed from the old republican movement and had only reluctantly submitted to the "anarchistic" clamour increasingly began to find the opportunity to stress the necessity of political struggle and to voice the rising opposition in the newspaper *La Plebe.* This weekly, republican during the first years of its existence, had soon joined the socialist movement and kept aloof as long as possible from all "anarchical" sectarianism. When, finally, the working masses in Northern Italy outgrew their obtrusive leaders and created a real movement in place of the fantastic one, they found in the *Plebe* a willing organ prepared from time to time to publish heretical hints about the necessity of political struggle.

Had Bakunin been alive, he would have fought this heresy in his usual manner. He would have imputed "authoritarianism", a craving for domination, ambition and so on to the people connected with the *Plebe*; he would have made all manner of petty personal criticisms against them and would have had this repeated time and again in all organs of the Alliance in Switzerland, Italy and Spain. Only as a secondary thought would he have demonstrated that all these crimes were simply the inevitable consequences of that original deadly sin—the heresy of recognising political action; for political action implied recognition of the State, and since the State was the embodiment of authoritarianism, of domination, it followed that everybody who stood for working-class political action must logically stand for political domination for himself, and hence be an enemy of the working class—stone him! Bakunin used this method, which he borrowed from the late Maximilien Robespierre, with great skill, but applied it far too often and far too uniformly. This was nevertheless the only method which promised at least momentary success.

But Bakunin had died[a] and the secret world government had passed into the hands of Mr. James Guillaume of Neuchâtel in Switzerland. The cunning man of the world was superseded by a strait-laced pedant who applied the fanaticism of the Swiss Calvinists to the anarchist doctrine. The true faith had to be asserted at all costs and the narrow-minded schoolmaster of Neuchâtel had in any case to be recognised as the Pope of this true faith. The *Bulletin of the Jura Federation*[b]—a Federation with an avowedly hardly 200 members as against the 5,000 of the Swiss Workers' Association[205]—was designated as the official gazette of

[a] On July 1, 1876.—*Ed.*

[b] *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l'Association internationale des travailleurs.—Ed.*

the sect and began bluntly to "rebuke" those who were vacillating in their faith. But the workers of Lombardy who had formed the North Italian Federation[206] were no longer willing to tolerate these rebukes. And when last autumn the Jurassic bulletin even presumed to *order* the *Plebe* to get rid of a Paris correspondent who had incurred Mr. Guillaume's displeasure,[a] the friendship came to an end. The bulletin continued to accuse the *Plebe* and the North Italians of heresy, but the latter now knew what was what; they knew that the preaching of anarchy and autonomy served to conceal the claim of a few plotters to dictate their orders to the whole workers' movement.

"Four short and very calm lines in the note have greatly irritated the Jura bulletin, and it tries to make out that we were enraged by it, whereas we were merely *amused*. Indeed, one would have to be very childish to swallow the bait of people who, ill with envy, knock at all doors and by means of vilification seek to solicit a bit of malice against us and our friends. The hand which has long been going around, *sowing* the seeds of *discord and strife*, is too well known for anyone to be still deceived by its Jesuit (Loyolite) machinations" (*La Plebe*, January 21, 1877).[b]

And in the issue of February 26[c] these same people are called "a few narrow-minded *anarchistic* and—what a monstrous contradiction!—at the same time *dictatorial* minds"; this is the best proof that these gentlemen have been seen for what they are in Milan and that they can cause no more mischief there.

The finishing touches were made by the German elections of January 10 and by the concomitant turnabout in the Belgian movement—the abandonment of the previous policy of political abstention and its replacement by agitation for universal suffrage and factory legislation. The North Italian Federation held a congress in Milan on February 17 and 18.[d] In its resolutions the congress refrains from all unnecessary and misplaced hostility towards the Bakuninist groups of the Italian members of the International. They even expressed willingness to send delegates to the congress called for in Brussels which will attempt to unite the various components of the European workers' movement. But at the same time they express three points with the utmost firmness which are of decisive importance for the Italian movement, namely:

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[a] "Nouvelles de l'extérieur. Italie", *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l'Association internationale des travailleurs*, No. 51, December 17, 1876.—*Ed.*

[b] "Quattro piccole righe...", *La Plebe*, No. 3, January 21, 1877.—*Ed.*

[c] "Abbiamo ricevuto...", *La Plebe*, No. 7, February 26, 1877.—*Ed.*

[d] "Congresso Socialista di Milano", ibid.—*Ed.*

1. that *all* available means—hence also political means—must be used to promote the movement;

2. that the socialist workers must set up a socialist *party*, which is to be independent of any other political or religious party;

3. that the North Italian Federation, without prejudice to its own autonomy, and on the basis of the *original* Rules of the International,[a] considers itself a member of this great association and moreover *independent* of all other Italian associations which, however, will as before continue to receive proof of its solidarity.[b]

And so—political struggle, organisation of a political party and separation from the anarchists. By adopting these resolutions, the North Italian Federation has definitively broken with the Bakuninist sect and taken its stand on the common ground of the great European workers' movement. And since it embraces the industrially advanced regions of Italy—Lombardy, Piedmont and Venetia—it is bound to be successful. Against the rational means of agitation which experience has shown to be effective in all other countries, the cliquishness of the Bakuninist quacks will quickly reveal its impotence, and in the South of the country too the Italian proletariat will throw off the yoke imposed by people who derive their mission to lead the workers' movement from their position as down-and-out bourgeois.

Written between March 6 and 11, 1877

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Printed according to the newspaper

[a] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 14-16.—*Ed.*

[b] "Congresso Socialista di Milano", *La Plebe*, No. 7, February 26, 1877.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## [BRITISH AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS WANT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THEIR COUNTRY][207]

London, June 5

At a meeting of delegates of the agricultural associations which took place a few days ago at Exeter Hall, Joseph Arch spoke out forcefully against the war[208] and received rapturous applause. The leader of the farm labourers' party revealed himself to be an uninhibited advocate of peace, especially because the sacrifices which war entails weigh increasingly heavily on the workers more than on the other social classes. The agricultural labourers in Britain do not yet participate officially in the political life of their country, but these impressive demonstrations of opposition to war cannot help having a certain influence also on those classes upon which the politics of the nation depends. The agricultural labourers are beginning to feel the need of playing a direct part in this political life themselves, and therefore at their meeting at Exeter Hall they also dealt in particular with the extension of franchise.[209] They still constitute a caste of poor pariahs, not only in economic terms but politically too. They therefore hammer at the door of Parliament and ask to go in: they no longer want to be what they have been up till now. One can easily imagine that their claims are not viewed favourably by all those—and they are many, particularly among the clergy—who consider the subjection of the agricultural labourers to be the basis of the whole British politico-economic system. On the other hand, the members of the bourgeois parliamentary opposition are coming forward to take control of this farm labourers' movement themselves and use it to destroy their political opponents currently in government. At the head of this bourgeois opposition stands Mr. Bright, who also spoke at the Exeter Hall meeting and, deftly leaving out the big economic-social issue, made a resounding political accusation

against the men who are at present in power. This is understandable: the economic-social terrain is a highly arduous and tricky one for the bourgeoisie. In fact the aristocracy in Britain has always shown itself to be far less inhibited on this terrain because its social position does not force it to speculate, as the bourgeoisie does, on everything and everyone in order to get rich. The workers understand this state of affairs perfectly and so when they want to wrest concessions they turn more hopefully to the aristocracy than to the bourgeoisie, as they have demonstrated in a recent appeal to Lord Beaconsfield.[210] So long as this situation continues, so long as the workers can play see-saw with some small profit between bourgeoisie and aristocracy, Britain will certainly not experience violent socialist agitations such as occur in other countries, where the ruling classes simply constitute, in relation to the workers, a great, reactionary, compact and inexorable mass. But once the working classes are no longer able to draw any profit from the rival competition between the interests of the landed aristocracy and the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie, because that competition will no longer exist, then we shall have in Britain too the start of the real revolutionary period. Up till now the aristocracy mollified the working masses with philanthropic concessions; now the bourgeoisie is trying its hand by lending support to the workers' political tendencies and taking possession of them in order to direct them. We are on the brink of the period of universal suffrage: and on this terrain the bourgeoisie is hastening to display all its skills and wiles, in other words to make political concessions in order to safeguard its own economic interests and leave the aristocracy behind. Nevertheless, this whole mechanism of relations between the three social elements—proletarians, bourgeoisie and aristocrats—has had the effect on the proletarians of making them feel no longer like children or sentimentalists but of realising—as a speaker at Exeter Hall aptly put it—that their relations with the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy can only be *business relations.*

The social movement in Britain—as you can see—is slow, it is evolutionist, not revolutionary, but it is nonetheless a movement forwards.

Written on June 5, 1877

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# Frederick Engels

## [BRITISH AGRICULTURAL UNION AND THE COLLECTIVIST MOVEMENT IN THE COUNTRYSIDE]

London, June 14

I realised that my last article[a] was incomplete, and therefore feel it to be my due to write the present one. I spoke there about the Agricultural Union,[211] founded 6 years ago by citizen Arch, who is now famous throughout Britain for this initiative and for the quality of his public speaking: he is a real tribune, somewhat unrefined, but powerful in his lack of refinement.

The Union began its propaganda over the wages question. The farm workers earned no more than the equivalent of 16 lire (Italian) a week. Arch, with the help of some able friends, increased the membership of the Agricultural Union by over 50 thousand in 3 or 4 years and was able to organise a strike of 30 thousand men. The strike was successful, and wages rose by two and a half lire a week in the Eastern counties. At the same time provisions were adopted to let farm workers emigrate to America and Australia or move from one English county to another. These transfers obtained the desired effect of raising wages where manpower decreased. This struggle was conducted to good effect until 1874.[212] But after this date things changed. There was an attempt to tackle the question of an expropriation of the land in favour of the State, as the famous economist Stuart Mill had already proposed.[b] The questions of universal suffrage and popular education were also raised. Note, however, a very significant circumstance, namely that the movement in favour of collective property was almost exclusively the work of those who broke away from citizen Arch, whose constant

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[a] See this volume, pp. 179-80.— *Ed.*

[b] J. S. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy with Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy*, London, 1848.— *Ed.*

predilection was for those issues which did not touch the holy altar of the individual ownership of land. Indeed, in the presence of the collectivist movement, he felt disposed to preach a sort of conciliation between agricultural labourers and their exploiters; in the presence, in other words, of the revolutionary idea of collectivism he felt himself to be a conservative: he reserved all his hostility for the upper aristocracy. He thought it useful to woo the tenant farmers a little, to avoid having them as avowed enemies in the parliamentary elections. It is therefore not unlikely that we shall see citizen Arch in the House of Commons: there is already a certain amount of agitation in this direction and Arch is willing to stand as a candidate for membership. All this does not stop the collectivist movement from making headway: indeed even at the recent MEETING of the Agricultural Union [213] something was said about it. After recognising the need for great improvements in agriculture, the desire was expressed for a law which would place all cultivable land in the hands of a representative body and indemnify the owners. This expropriation would be intended to benefit the working people—those people, in other words, in whose hands the future prosperity of agriculture lies.

I have been concerned to set this out for you because I want the Italian socialists to have a clear idea of the spirit of our Agricultural Union and the movement agitating round it.

Written on June 14, 1877

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# Frederick Engels

## KARL MARX[214]

Karl Marx, the man who was the first to give socialism, and thereby the whole workers' movement of our day, a scientific foundation, was born in Trier in 1818. He studied in Bonn and Berlin, at first taking up jurisprudence, but he soon devoted himself exclusively to the study of history and philosophy, and in 1842 was on the point of qualifying as a dozent in philosophy when the political movement which had arisen since the death of Frederick William III directed his life into a different career. With his collaboration, the leaders of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie, Messrs. Camphausen, Hansemann, and others had founded in Cologne the *Rheinische Zeitung*, and in the autumn of 1842, Marx, whose criticism of the proceedings of the Rhine Province Assembly[a] had attracted very great attention, was put at the head of the paper. The *Rheinische Zeitung* naturally appeared under censorship, but the censors could not cope with it.* The *Rheinische Zeitung* almost always got through the articles which mattered; the censor was first supplied with insignificant fodder for him to strike out, until he either gave way of himself or was compelled to give way by the threat that then the paper would not appear the next day. Ten newspapers with the same courage as the *Rheinische Zeitung* and whose publishers allowed a few hundred talers extra to be expended on typesetting—and censorship would have been made impossible

* The first censor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* was Police Councillor Dolleschall, the same man who once struck out an advertisement in the *Kölnische Zeitung* of the translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy* by Philalethes (later King John of Saxony) with the remark: One must not make a comedy of divine affairs.

[a] K. Marx, "Proceedings of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly".— *Ed.*

in Germany as early as 1843. But the German newspaper owners were petty-minded, timid philistines, and the *Rheinische Zeitung* carried on the struggle alone. It wore out one censor after another; finally it came under a double censorship; after the first censorship the Regierungspräsident[a] had once more and finally to censor it. Even that was to no avail. In early 1843, the government declared that it was impossible to cope with this newspaper and suppressed it without further ado.

Marx, who in the meanwhile had married the sister of von Westphalen, later a reactionary minister, moved to Paris, and there, in conjunction with A. Ruge, published the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, in which he opened the series of his socialist writings with a *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law.*[b] Further, together with F. Engels, *The Holy Family. Against Bruno Bauer and Co.*,[c] a satirical criticism of one of the latest forms assumed by the German philosophical idealism of the time.

The study of political economy and of the history of the Great French Revolution[215] still allowed Marx time enough for occasional attacks on the Prussian government[216]; the latter revenged itself in the spring of 1845 by securing from Guizot's ministry—Mr. Alexander von Humboldt is said to have acted as intermediary[217]—his expulsion from France. Marx shifted his domicile to Brussels and published there in French in 1848 "Discours sur le libre échange" (Speech on the Question of Free Trade)[218] and in 1847 *Misère de la philosophie*,[d] a criticism of Proudhon's *Philosophie de la misère*[e] (Philosophy of Poverty). At the same time he made use of the opportunity to found a German workers' association in Brussels[219] and so commenced practical agitation. The latter became still more important for him when he and his political friends in 1847 entered the secret Communist League, which had already been in existence for a number of years. Its whole structure was now radically changed; this association, which previously had been more or less conspiratorial, was transformed into a simple organisation of communist propaganda, which was

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[a] Carl Johann Heinrich Eduard von Gerlach.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction".—*Ed.*

[c] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Company.*—*Ed.*

[d] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon.*—*Ed.*

[e] P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou la Philosophie de la misère.*—*Ed.*

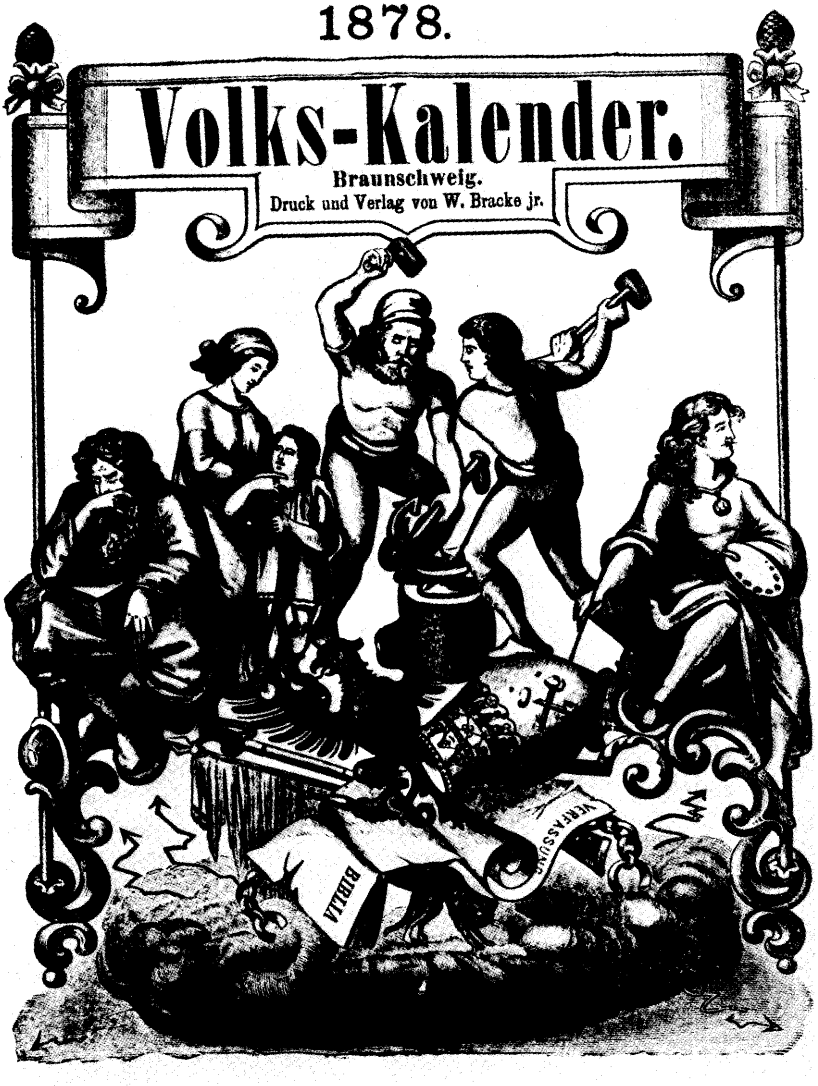


The title-page of *Volks-Kalender*, Brunswick, 1878

only secret because necessity compelled it to be so, the *first* organisation of the German Social-Democratic Party. The League existed wherever German workers' associations were to be found; in almost all of these associations in England, Belgium, France and Switzerland, and in very many of the associations in Germany, the leading members belonged to the League and the share of the League in the fledgling German workers' movement was very considerable. Moreover, our League was the first to emphasise the international character of the whole workers' movement and implement it in practice, having Englishmen, Belgians, Hungarians, Poles, etc., as members and organising international workers' meetings, especially in London.

The transformation of the League took place at two congresses held in 1847,[220] the second of which resolved on the elaboration and publication of the fundamental principles of the Party in a manifesto to be drawn up by Marx and Engels. Thus appeared *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, which first saw the light of day in 1848, shortly before the February Revolution, and has since been translated into almost all European languages.

The *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, in which Marx participated and which mercilessly exposed the blessings of the police regime of the fatherland, caused the Prussian government to try to effect Marx's expulsion once more, but in vain. When, however, the February Revolution resulted in popular movements also in Brussels, and a radical change appeared to be imminent in Belgium, the Belgian government arrested Marx without ceremony and deported him. In the meantime, the French Provisional Government had sent him through Flocon an invitation to return to Paris, and he accepted this call.

In Paris he came out especially against the swindle, widespread among the Germans there, of wanting to form the German workers in France into armed legions in order to carry the revolution and the republic into Germany. On the one hand, Germany had to make her revolution herself, and, on the other hand, every revolutionary foreign legion formed in France was betrayed in advance by the Lamartines of the Provisional Government to the government which was to be overthrown, as occurred in Belgium and Baden.

After the March Revolution, Marx went to Cologne where he founded the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which was in existence from June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849—the only paper which represented the standpoint of the proletariat within the democratic movement of the time, as shown e.g. in its unreserved support for the Paris

June insurgents of 1848,[221] which cost the paper the defection of almost all its shareholders. In vain the *Kreuz-Zeitung*[a] pointed to the "Chimborazo[b] insolence" with which the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* attacked everything sacred, from the King and Imperial Regent[c] down to the gendarme, and that, too, in a Prussian fortress with a garrison of 8,000 at that time; in vain was the rage of the Rhenish liberal philistines, who had suddenly become reactionary; in vain was the paper suspended for a lengthy period by martial law in Cologne in the autumn of 1848; in vain the Imperial Ministry of Justice in Frankfurt denounced article after article to the Cologne Public Prosecutor in order that judicial proceedings should be taken; under the very eyes of the police the paper calmly went on being edited and printed, and its distribution and reputation increased with the vehemence of its attacks on the government and the bourgeoisie. When the Prussian coup d'état took place in November 1848,[222] the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* called at the head of each issue upon the people to refuse to pay taxes and to meet force with force. In the spring of 1849, both on this account and because of another article,[d] it was made to face a jury, but on both occasions was acquitted. Finally, when the May revolts of 1848 in Dresden and the Rhine Province had been suppressed, and the Prussian campaign against the Baden-Palatinate uprising had been inaugurated by the concentration and mobilisation of considerable masses of troops,[223] the government believed itself strong enough to suppress the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* by force. The last number—printed in red—appeared on May 19.

Marx again went to Paris, but only a few weeks after the demonstration of June 13, 1849, he was faced by the French government with the choice of either moving his residence to Brittany or leaving France. He preferred the latter and moved to London, where he has lived uninterruptedly ever since.

An attempt to continue to issue the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in the form of a review (in Hamburg in 1850)[e] had to be given up after a while in view of the ever-increasing onslaughts of the reaction. Immediately after the coup d'état in France in December 1851, Marx published *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*

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[a] *Neue Preußische Zeitung.— Ed.*
[b] A peak in the Andes.— *Ed.*
[c] Frederick William IV and Archduke John of Austria.— *Ed.*
[d] "Arrests", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 35, July 5, 1848.— *Ed.*
[e] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.— Ed.*

(New York, 1852; second edition, Hamburg, 1869, shortly before the war). In 1853 he wrote *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (first printed in Basle, later in Boston and again recently in Leipzig).

After the condemnation of the members of the Communist League in Cologne, Marx withdrew from political agitation and for ten years devoted himself, on the one hand, to the study of the rich treasures offered by the library of the British Museum in the sphere of political economy, and, on the other hand, to writing for the *New-York Tribune*, which up to the outbreak of the American Civil War published not only contributions signed by him but also numerous leading articles on conditions in Europe and Asia from his pen. His attacks on Lord Palmerston, based on an exhaustive study of British official documents, were reprinted in London in pamphlet form.[a]

As the first fruit of his many years studying economics, there appeared in 1859 *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Part One (Berlin, Duncker). This work contains the first coherent exposition of the Marxian theory of value, including the doctrine of money. During the Italian War[224] Marx, in the German newspaper *Das Volk*, appearing in London, attacked Bonapartism, which at that time posed as liberal and played the part of liberator of the oppressed nationalities, and also the Prussian policy of the day, which under the cover of neutrality was seeking to fish in troubled waters. In this connection it was necessary to attack also Herr Karl Vogt, who at that time, on the commission of Prince Napoleon (Plon-Plon) and in the pay of Louis Napoleon, was carrying on agitation for the neutrality, and indeed the sympathy, of Germany. When Vogt heaped upon him the most abominable and deliberately false calumnies, Marx answered with *Herr Vogt* (London, 1860), in which Vogt and the other gentlemen of the imperial sham-democratic gang were exposed, and Vogt himself on the basis of both external and internal evidence was convicted of receiving bribes from the December Empire.[b] The confirmation came just ten years later: in the list of the Bonaparte hirelings, found in the Tuileries in 1870 and published by the September government, there was the following entry under the letter V: "Vogt—in August 1859 there were remitted to him—Frs. 40,000."[225]

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 341-406.—*Ed.*

[b] The empire of Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

At last, in 1867, there appeared in Hamburg: *Capital. A Critique of Political Economy*, Volume I, Marx's chief work, which expounds the foundations of his economic and socialist conceptions and the main features of his criticism of existing society, the capitalist mode of production and its consequences. The second edition of this epoch-making work appeared in 1872; the author is engaged in the elaboration of the second volume.

Meanwhile the workers' movement in various countries of Europe had regained strength to the extent that Marx could entertain the idea of realising a long-cherished wish: the foundation of a Workers' Association embracing the most advanced countries of Europe and America, which would demonstrate bodily, so to speak, the international character of the socialist movement both to the workers themselves and to the bourgeois and the governments—for the encouragement and strengthening of the proletariat, for striking fear into the hearts of its enemies. A public meeting in favour of Poland, which had just then again been crushed by Russia, held on September 28, 1864, in St. Martin's Hall, London, provided the occasion for bringing forward the matter, which was enthusiastically taken up. The *International Working Men's Association* was founded; a Provisional General Council, with its seat in London, was elected at the meeting, and Marx was the soul of this as of all subsequent General Councils up to the Hague Congress. He drafted almost every one of the documents issued by the General Council of the International, from the Inaugural Address, 1864, to the Address on the Civil War in France, 1871. To describe Marx's activity in the International is to write the history of this Association itself, which in any case lives on in the memory of European workers.

The fall of the Paris Commune put the International in an impossible position. It was thrust into the forefront of European history at a moment when it had everywhere been deprived of all possibility of successful practical action. The events which raised it to the position of the seventh Great Power simultaneously forbade it to mobilise its fighting forces and employ them in action, on pain of inevitable defeat and the setting back of the workers' movement for decades. In addition, from various sides elements were pushing themselves forward that sought to exploit the suddenly enhanced fame of the Association for the purpose of gratifying personal vanity or personal ambition, without understanding the real position of the International or without regard for it. A heroic decision had to be taken, and it was again Marx

who took it and who carried it through at the Hague Congress. In a solemn resolution, the International disclaimed all responsibility for the doings of the Bakuninists, who formed the centre of those unreasonable and unsavoury elements. Then, in view of the impossibility of also meeting, in the face of the general reaction, the increased demands which were being imposed upon it, and of maintaining its complete efficacy other than by a series of sacrifices which would have drained the workers' movement of its life-blood—in view of this situation, the International withdrew from the stage for the time being by transferring the General Council to America.[a] The results proved the correctness of this decision—which was at the time, and has been since, so often censured. On the one hand, it put a stop then and since to all attempts to make useless *putsches* in the name of the International, while, on the other hand, the continuing close intercourse between the socialist workers' parties of the various countries proved that the consciousness of the identity of interests and of the solidarity of the proletariat of all countries evoked by the International is able to assert itself even without the bond of a formal international association, which for the moment has become a fetter.

After the Hague Congress, Marx at last found peace and leisure again for resuming his theoretical work, and it is to be hoped he will be able before long to have the second volume of *Capital* ready for the press.

Of the many important discoveries through which Marx has inscribed his name in the annals of science, we can here dwell on only two.

The first is the revolution brought about by him in the whole conception of world history. The entire view of history hitherto was based on the conception that the ultimate causes of all historical changes are to be sought in the changing ideas of human beings, and that of all historical changes political changes are the most important and dominate the whole of history. But the question was not asked as to whence the ideas come into men's minds and what the driving causes of the political changes are. Only upon the newer school of French, and partly also of English, historians had the conviction forced itself that, since the Middle Ages at least, the driving force in European history had been the struggle of the developing bourgeoisie with the feudal aristocracy for social and political domination. Now Marx has proved that the whole of history hitherto is a history of class

[a] See present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 250-52.— *Ed.*

struggles, that in all the manifold and complicated political struggles the only thing at issue has been the social and political rule of classes of society, the maintenance of domination by older classes and the conquest of domination by newly arising classes. To what, however, do these classes owe their origin and their continued existence? They owe it to the particular material, physically sensible conditions in which society in a given period produces and exchanges its means of subsistence. The feudal rule of the Middle Ages rested on the self-sufficient economy of small peasant communities, which themselves produced almost all their requirements, in which there was almost no exchange and which received from the arms-bearing nobility protection from without and national or at least political cohesion. When the towns arose and with them separate handicraft industry and trade, at first internal and later international, the urban bourgeoisie developed, and already during the Middle Ages achieved, in struggle with the nobility, its inclusion in the feudal order as a likewise privileged estate. But with the discovery of the extra-European lands, from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards, this bourgeoisie acquired a far more extensive sphere of trade and therewith a new spur for its industry; in the most important branches handicrafts were supplanted by manufacture, now on a factory scale, and this again was supplanted by large-scale industry, which became possible owing to the discoveries of the previous century, especially that of the steam engine. Large-scale industry, in its turn, had an effect on trade, driving out the old manual labour in backward countries and creating the present-day new means of communication: steam engines, railways, electric telegraphy, in the more developed ones. Thus the bourgeoisie came more and more to combine social wealth and social power in its hands, while it still for a long period remained excluded from political power which was in the hands of the nobility and the monarchy supported by the nobility. But at a certain stage—in France since the Great Revolution—it also conquered political power, and now in turn became the ruling class over the proletariat and small peasants. From this point of view all the historical phenomena are explicable in the simplest possible way—with sufficient knowledge of the particular economic condition of society, which it is true is totally lacking in our professional historians—and in the same way the conceptions and ideas of each historical period are most simply to be explained from the economic conditions of life and from the social and political relations of the period, which are in turn determined by these

economic conditions. History was for the first time placed on its real basis; the palpable but previously totally overlooked fact that men must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, therefore must *work*, before they can fight for domination, pursue politics, religion, philosophy, etc.—this palpable fact at last came into its historical right.

This new conception of history, however, was of supreme significance for the socialist outlook. It showed that all history hitherto revolved around class antagonisms and class struggles, that there have always existed ruling and ruled, exploiting and exploited classes, and that the great majority of mankind has always been condemned to arduous labour and little enjoyment. Why is this? Simply because in all earlier stages of development of mankind production was so little developed that historical development could proceed only in this antagonistic form, that historical progress on the whole was assigned to the activity of a small privileged minority, while the great mass remained condemned to producing by their labour their own meagre means of subsistence and also the increasingly rich means of the privileged. But the same investigation of history, which in this way provides a natural and reasonable explanation of class rule hitherto, otherwise only explicable from the wickedness of man, also leads to the realisation that, in consequence of the so tremendously increased productive forces of the present time, even the last pretext has vanished, at least in the most advanced countries, for a division of mankind into rulers and ruled, exploiters and exploited; that the ruling big bourgeoisie has fulfilled its historic mission, that it is no longer capable of the leadership of society and has even become a hindrance to the development of production, as the trade crises, and especially the last great crash,[226] and the depressed condition of industry in all countries have proved; that historical leadership has passed to the proletariat, a class which, owing to its whole position in society, can only free itself by abolishing altogether all class rule, all servitude and all exploitation; and that the productive forces of society, which have outgrown the control of the bourgeoisie, are only waiting for the associated proletariat to take possession of them in order to bring about a state of things in which every member of society will be enabled to participate not only in production but also in the distribution and administration of social wealth, and which so increases the productive forces of society and their yield by planned operation of the whole of production that the satisfaction of all reasonable needs will be assured to everyone in an ever-increasing measure.

The second important discovery of Marx is the final elucidation of the relation between capital and labour, in other words, the demonstration how, within present society and under the existing capitalist mode of production, the exploitation of the worker by the capitalist takes place. Ever since political economy had put forward the proposition that labour is the source of all wealth and of all value, the question became inevitable: How is this then to be reconciled with the fact that the wage labourer does not receive the whole sum of value created by his labour but has to surrender a part of it to the capitalist? Both the bourgeois economists and the socialists exerted themselves to give a scientifically valid answer to this question, but in vain, until at last Marx came forward with the solution. This solution is as follows: The present-day capitalist mode of production presupposes the existence of two social classes—on the one hand, that of the capitalists, who are in possession of the means of production and subsistence, and, on the other hand, that of the proletarians, who, being excluded from this possession, have only a single commodity for sale, their labour power, and who therefore have to sell this labour power of theirs in order to obtain possession of means of subsistence. The value of a commodity is, however, determined by the socially necessary quantity of labour embodied in its production, and, therefore, also in its reproduction; the value of the labour power of an average human being during a day, month or year is determined, therefore, by the quantity of labour embodied in the quantity of means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of this labour power during a day, month or year. Let us assume that the means of subsistence of a worker for one day require six hours of labour for their production, or, what is the same thing, that the labour contained in them represents a quantity of labour of six hours; then the value of labour power for one day will be expressed in a sum of money which also embodies six hours of labour. Let us also assume that the capitalist who employs our worker pays him this sum in return, that is the full value of his labour power. If now the worker works six hours of the day for the capitalist, he has completely replaced the latter's outlay—six hours' labour for six hours' labour. But then there would be nothing in it for the capitalist, and the latter therefore looks at the matter quite differently. He says: I have bought the labour power of this worker not for six hours but for a whole day, and accordingly he makes the worker work 8, 10, 12, 14 or more hours according to circumstances, so that the product of the seventh, eighth and following hours is a product of unpaid labour and finds its way, to

begin with, into the pocket of the capitalist. Thus the worker in the service of the capitalist not only reproduces the value of his labour power, for which he receives pay, but over and above that he also produces a *surplus value* which, appropriated in the first place by the capitalist, is subsequently divided according to definite economic laws among the whole capitalist class and forms the basic stock from which arise ground rent, profit, accumulation of capital, in short, all the wealth consumed or accumulated by the non-labouring classes. But this proved that the acquisition of riches by the present-day capitalists consists just as much in the appropriation of the unpaid labour of others as that of the slaveowner or the feudal lord exploiting serf labour, and that all these forms of exploitation are only to be distinguished by the difference in manner and method by which the unpaid labour is appropriated. This, however, also removed the last justification for all the hypocritical phrases of the possessing classes to the effect that in the present social order right and justice, equality of rights and duties and a universal harmony of interests prevail, and present-day bourgeois society, no less than its predecessors, was exposed as a grandiose institution for the exploitation of the huge majority of the people by a small, ever-diminishing minority.

Modern, scientific socialism is based on these two important facts. In the second volume of *Capital*, these and other hardly less important scientific discoveries concerning the capitalist system of society will be further developed, and thereby those aspects of political economy not touched upon in the first volume will also undergo revolutionisation. May it be vouchsafed to Marx to be able soon to have it ready for the press.

Written in mid-June 1877

First published in the *Volks-Kalender*, Brunswick, 1878

Printed according to the text of the first publication

# Karl Marx

## [LETTER TO *OTECHESTVENNIYE ZAPISKI*][227]

Dear Sir,[a]

The author[b] of the article "Karl Marx Before the Tribunal of Mr. Zhukovsky" is obviously an intelligent man and, had he found a single passage in my account of "primitive accumulation" to support his conclusions, he would have quoted it. For want of such a passage he considers it necessary to seize hold of an annexe, a polemical sortie against a Russian "belletrist"[c] printed in the appendix to the first German edition of *Capital*. What do I there reproach this writer for? The fact that he discovered "Russian" communism not in Russia but in the book by Haxthausen,[d] the adviser to the Prussian Government, and that in his hands the Russian community serves only as an argument to prove that the old, rotten Europe must be regenerated by the victory of Pan-Slavism. My appreciation of this writer may be correct, it may be wrong, but in neither case could it provide the key to my views on the efforts "русскихъ людей найти для своего отечества путь развитія, отличный отъ того, которымъ шла и идетъ Западная Европа etc."[e]

In the Afterword to the second German edition of *Capital*—which the author of the article about Mr. Zhukovsky knows,

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[a] M. Ye. Saltykov-Shchedrin.— *Ed.*

[b] N. K. Mikhailovsky.— *Ed.*

[c] A. I. Herzen.— *Ed.*

[d] A. Haxthausen, *Studien über die innern Zustände, das Volksleben und insbesondere die ländlichen Einrichtungen Rußlands*.— *Ed.*

[e] "of Russians to find a path of development for their country which will be different from that which Western Europe pursued and still pursues etc."— *Ed.*

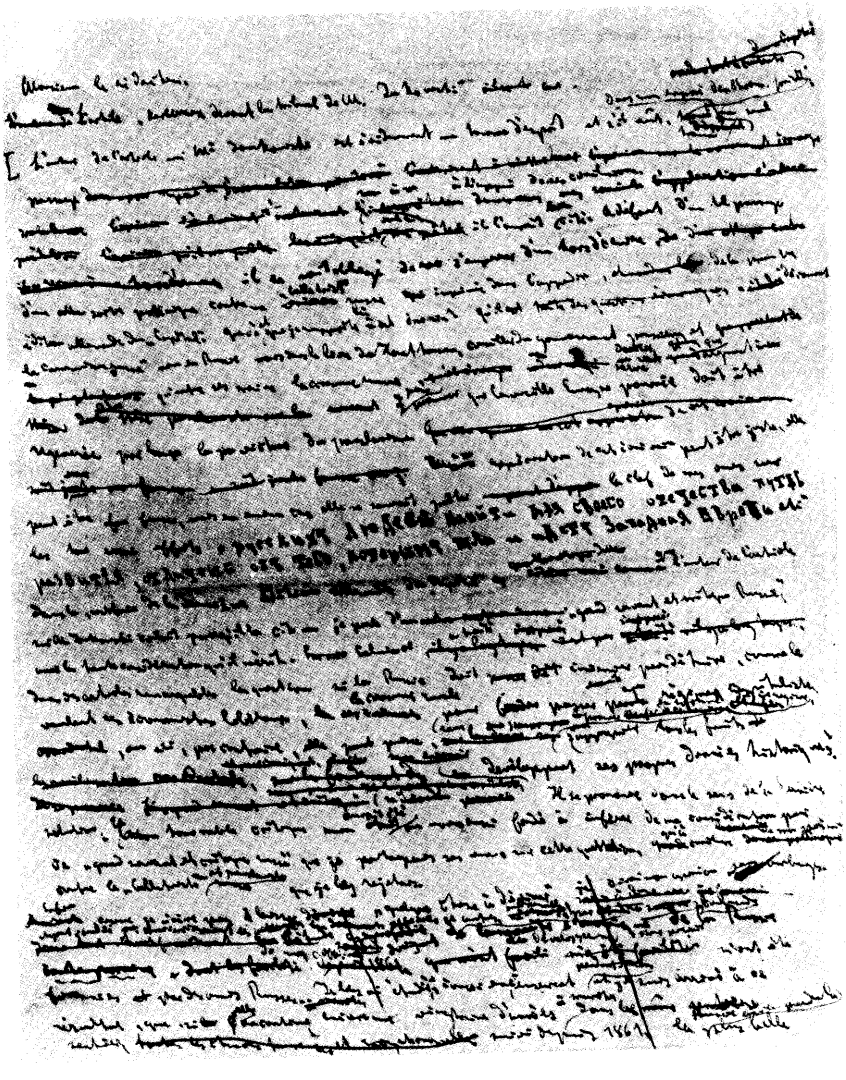

The first page of Marx's "Letter to *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*"

because he quotes it—I speak of "a great Russian scholar and critic"[a] with the high esteem which he deserves. In his noteworthy articles[b] the latter dealt with the question whether Russia should start, as its liberal economists wish, by destroying the rural community in order to pass to a capitalist system or whether, on the contrary, it can acquire all the fruits of this system without suffering its torments, by developing its own historical conditions. He comes out in favour of the second solution. And my honourable critic would have been at least as justified in inferring from my esteem for this "great Russian scholar and critic" that I shared his views on this question as he is in concluding from my polemic against the "belletrist" and Pan-Slavist that I rejected them.

Be that as it may, as I do not like to leave anything to "guesswork", I shall speak straight out. In order to reach an informed judgment of the economic development of contemporary Russia, I learned Russian and then spent several long years studying official publications and others with a bearing on this subject. I have arrived at this result: if Russia continues along the path it has followed since 1861, it will miss the finest chance that history has ever offered to a nation, only to undergo all the fatal vicissitudes of the capitalist system.[c]

## II

The chapter on primitive accumulation does not pretend to do more than trace the road by which in Western Europe the capitalist economic order emerged from the entrails of the feudal economic order. It thus describes the historical movement which by divorcing the producers from their means of production transforms them into wage-workers (proletarians in the modern sense of the word) and the owners of the means of production into capitalists. In this history, "every revolution which acts as a lever for the advancement of the capitalist class in its process of formation marks an epoch; above all that which, by stripping great masses of men of their traditional means of production and subsistence, suddenly hurls them on the labour market. But the basis of this whole development is the expropriation of the agricultural

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[a] N. G. Chernyshevsky.— *Ed.*

[b] Н. Чернышевскій, *Письма безъ адреса*, Цюрихъ, 1874.— *Ed.*

[c] This paragraph is crossed out in Marx's manuscript.— *Ed.*

producer. To date this has not been accomplished in a radical fashion anywhere except in England ... but all the other countries of Western Europe are undergoing the same process etc." (*Capital*, French edition, p. 315). At the end of the chapter the historical tendency of capitalist production is summed up thus: That it "itself begets its own negation with the inexorability which governs the metamorphoses of nature"; that it has itself created the elements of a new economic order, by giving the greatest impulse at once to the productive forces of social labour and to the integral development of every individual producer; that capitalist property, which actually rests already on a collective mode of production, can only be transformed into social property.

I do not give any proof at this point for the very good reason that this assertion itself is nothing but a summary recapitulation of long developments previously set out in the chapters on capitalist production.

Now, in what way was my critic[a] able to apply this historical sketch to Russia? Only this: if Russia is tending to become a capitalist nation, on the model of the countries of Western Europe,—and in recent years it has gone to great pains to move in this direction—it will not succeed without having first transformed a large proportion of its peasants into proletarians; and after that, once it has been placed in the bosom of the capitalist system, it will be subjected to its pitiless laws, like other profane peoples. That is all! But this is too little for my critic. It is absolutely necessary for him to metamorphose my historical sketch of the genesis of capitalism in Western Europe into a historico-philosophical theory of general development, imposed by fate on all peoples, whatever the historical circumstances in which they are placed, in order to eventually attain this economic formation which, with a tremendous leap of the productive forces of social labour, assures the most integral development of every individual producer. But I beg his pardon. This does me too much honour, and yet puts me to shame at the same time. Let us take an example. In various places in *Capital* I allude to the destiny of the plebeians of Ancient Rome. They were originally free peasants cultivating their own plots of land on their own account. In the course of Roman history they were expropriated. The same movement which cut them off from their means of production and subsistence involved not only the formation of large landed property but also the formation of large money capital. Thus, one fine morning, there

[a] N. K. Mikhailovsky.— *Ed.*

were on the one hand free men stripped of everything except their labour power, and on the other, in order to exploit this labour, the owners of all the acquired wealth. What happened? The Roman proletarians became not wage labourers but an idle "*MOB*", more abject than the former "*POOR WHITES*"[228] of the southern states of America; and alongside them there developed a mode of production that was not capitalist but based on slavery. Thus events strikingly analogous, but occurring in different historical milieux, led to quite disparate results. By studying each of these evolutions on its own, and then comparing them, one will easily discover the key to the phenomenon, but it will never be arrived at by employing the all-purpose formula of a general historico-philosophical theory whose supreme virtue consists in being supra-historical.

Written presumably in November 1877

First published in *Vestnik Narodnoi Voli*, No. 5, Geneva, 1886

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

# Karl Marx

## [TO AN EDITORIAL BOARD IN LONDON]

[London,] December 19, 1877
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Gentlemen,

Herewith a letter sent me from Breslau[a] for forwarding to you. The sender, Horovitz, though not known to me, has written saying he is a member of the Breslau section of the Social-Democratic Party.

With kind regards,

*Karl Marx*

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] Polish name: Wrocław.— *Ed.*

Anno XI. (Abbon. Postale) MILANO, 22 Gennaio 1878. (Abbon. Postale) Num. 3.

LA PLEBE

RIVISTA SOCIALISTA EBDOMADARIA

# Frederick Engels

## [ON THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN GERMANY, FRANCE, THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA][229]

The socialist movement in Germany is making admirable progress. There are currently 62 socialist periodicals, of which 46 are daily newspapers, 1 is a magazine and 15 are organs of *societies of resistance.* Moreover, 4 German-language newspapers and 1 magazine are published in Switzerland, 3 in Austria, 1 in Hungary, 6 in America. The total number of socialist periodical publications in German is:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Germany | 62 | 75[230] |
| Austria | 3 | |
| Hungary | 1 | |
| Switzerland | 3 | |
| America | 6 | |

and therefore the periodical literature of German socialism has more organs than all the other languages put together. I am not including in these figures the more or less socialist newspapers of the *university professors* (*Kathedersocialisten*)[231] but only the recognised organs of the party.

When a bourgeois wrote to me after the attempt on Bismarck's life[232]: "All (bourgeois) Germany is rejoicing that Bismarck was not killed", I replied: "We are pleased too, because he works for us as if he were paid for the job." You know I was right, because without the persecutions and the sufferings, without the militarism and the ever-increasing taxes, we would never have reached this point.

Although the crisis in France has obtained a less than satisfactory result, I believe that a state of affairs will follow from

it which will allow the French socialists to act by means of the press, public meetings and associations, and to organise into a *working-class party*, which is all that we can achieve at present, after the slaughter of 1871. Moreover, it is an accepted fact that France has made two main kinds of progress: the republicanism of the peasants and the formation of a republican army. The coup d'état of Ducrot, Batbie and company failed because the soldiers resolutely refused to march against the people.[233]

The worker question has been put on the agenda in America with the bloody strike of the employees of the big railways.[234] This will turn out to have been an epoch-making event in American history: the formation of a *working-class party* is thereby making great strides in the United States. It is advancing rapidly in that country, and we must follow its progress, to avoid being taken by surprise by the important successes which will soon be produced.

Russia, I believe, will play the most important part in the near future. The situation produced by the so-called emancipation of the serfs[a] was already intolerable before the war. This great reform had been so well managed that it ended up ruining nobles and peasants. It was followed by another reform which, on the pretext of providing provinces and districts with an administration based on elections that were to be more or less independent from the Central Government, had done nothing except raise the already unbearable levels of taxation.

The provinces were simply lumbered with the expenses of their own administration, so that the state paid less while continuing to receive the same tax revenues; hence there were new taxes for provincial and local expenditure. To this was added the general compulsion of military service, which was equivalent to a new and more severe tax and a new and more numerous army.

In this way financial ruin drew near with great strides. The country was already in a state of bankruptcy before the war. Russian high finance, after taking a lavish part in the fraudulent speculations of the 1871-73 period, plunged the nation into the financial crisis which erupted in 1873[235] in Vienna and Berlin and ruined Russian industry and commerce for years. In this state of affairs the Holy War against the Turk began,[236] and since no foreign loans were obtainable and domestic loans were insufficient, the nation had to resort to the millions held in Bank (reserve funds) and to the printing of credit notes. The result is that the value of paper money is falling daily and will soon reach its

[a] See this volume, p. 8.—*Ed.*

minimum levels, in no more than a year or two. In short, we have all the ingredients for a Russian 1789, necessarily to be followed by a 1793.[237] Whatever the outcome of the war, the Russian revolution is ready and it will break out soon, perhaps this year; it will begin, contrary to Bakunin's predictions, from above, in the palace, in the heart of the impoverished and *frondeuse* nobility. But once set in motion, it will sweep over the peasants, and you will then witness scenes in comparison with which those of '93 will pall. Once Russia has been pushed into revolution, the whole face of Europe will change. The old Russia has been up till now the great reserve army of European reaction; it performed this role in 1798, in 1805, in 1815, in 1830, in 1848. Once this reserve army is destroyed—just wait and see what will happen!

Written on January 12, 1878

First published in *La Plebe*, No. 3, January 22, 1878

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the Italian

Published in English in full for the first time

Frederick Engels

# THE WORKINGMEN OF EUROPE IN 1877[238]

Written between March 3 and 31, 1878

First published in *The Labor Standard* (New York), March 3, 10, 17, 24 and 31, 1878

Reproduced from the newspaper

THE LABOR STANDARD.

Devoted to the Organization and Emancipation of the Working People.

The Emancipation of the Working Classes must be achieved by the Working Classes themselves.

VOL. III.—No. 48. NEW YORK, SUNDAY, MARCH 3rd, 1878. Price 5 Cents

I

The past year has been an eventful and a fruitful one for the Working Class of Europe. Great progress has been made in almost all countries with regard to the organization and extension of a Workingmen's Party; unity, threatened at one time by a small but active sect,[a 239] has been virtually restored; the working-class movement has forced itself more and more into the foreground of every-day politics, and, a sure sign of approaching triumph, political events, no matter what turn they took, always turned out, in some way or other, favorable to the progress of that movement.

At its very outset, the year 1877 was inaugurated by one of the greatest victories ever gained by workingmen. On the 10th of January, the triennial elections, by universal suffrage, for the German Parliament (Reichstag) took place; elections which, ever since 1867, have given the German Workingmen's Party an opportunity of counting their strength and parading before the world their well organized and ever increasing battalions. In 1874, four hundred thousand votes fell to the candidates of labor; in 1877, more than six hundred thousand. Ten workingmen candidates[b] were elected on the 10th, while twenty-four more had to be ballotted for in the supplementary elections which took place a fortnight after. Of these twenty-four, only a few were actually returned,[c] all other parties uniting against them. But the important fact remained, that in all the large towns and industrial centres of the Empire the working-class movement had advanced

[a] See this volume, p. 213.— *Ed.*

[b] I. Auer, W. Blos, W. Bracke, A. Demmler, F. W. Fritzsche, W. Hasenclever, W. Liebknecht, J. Most, J. Motteler (Hasenclever received two mandates).— *Ed.*

[c] A. Bebel, A. Kapell, M. Rittinghausen.— *Ed.*

with giant strides, and that all these electoral districts were certain to fall into their hands at the next ballotting in 1880. Berlin, Dresden, the whole of the Saxon manufacturing districts, and Solingen had been conquered; in Hamburg, Breslau, Nuremberg, Leipzig, Brunswick, in Schleswig-Holstein and the manufacturing districts of Westfalia and the Lower Rhine, a coalition of all the parties had scarcely sufficed to defeat the working-class candidates by bare majorities. German democratic socialism was a power, and a rapidly growing one, with which henceforth all other powers in the country, governing or otherwise, would have to reckon. The effect of these elections was enormous. The middle class were seized with a perfect panic, all the more so as their press had constantly represented social democracy as dwindling down into insignificance. The working class, elated at their own victory, continued the struggle with renewed vigor and upon every available battlefield; while the workingmen of other countries, as we shall see, not only celebrated the victory of the Germans as a triumph of their own, but were stimulated by it to fresh exertions in order not to be left behind in the race for the emancipation of labor.

The rapid progress of the Workingmen's Party in Germany is not bought without considerable sacrifices on the part of those who take a more active part in it. Government prosecutions and sentences of fine, and oftener of imprisonment, hail down upon them, and they have long since had to make up their minds to passing the greater part of their lives in prison. Although most of these sentences are for short terms, a couple of weeks to three months, long terms are by no means of rare infliction. Thus, in order to protect the important mining and manufacturing district of Saarbrucken from the infection by social democratic poison, two agitators[a] have recently been sentenced to two years and a half each, for having ventured upon this forbidden ground. The elastic laws of the Empire offer plenty of pretexts for such measures, and where they are not sufficient, the judges are mostly quite willing to stretch them to the point required for a conviction.

A great advantage to the German movement is that the Trades' organization works hand in hand with the political organization. The immediate advantages offered by the Trades' organization draw many an otherwise indifferent man into the political movement, while the community of political action holds together,

[a] H. Kaulitz and R. Hackenberger.— *Ed.*

and assures mutual support to, the otherwise isolated Trades Unions.

The success obtained in the elections to the German Parliament has encouraged our German friends to try their chance on other electoral fields. Thus, in two of the State Parliaments, in the smaller States of the Empire, they have succeeded in electing workingmen, and have also penetrated into a good many Town Councils; in the Saxon manufacturing districts, many a town is governed by a social democratic Council. The suffrage being restricted in these elections, no great result can be hoped for; still, every seat carried, helps to prove to the governments and the middle class that henceforth they will have to reckon with the workingmen.

But the best proof of the rapid advance of conscious working-class organization is in the growing number of its periodical organs in the press. And here we have to overstep the boundaries of Bismarck's "Empire", for the influence and action of German social democracy is in no ways limited by these. There were publishing in the German language on the 31st of December 1877, in all, not less than seventy-five periodicals in the service of the Workingmen's Party. Of these in the German Empire 62 (amongst which 15 organs of as many Trades Unions), in Switzerland 3, in Austria 3, Hungary 1, America 6; 75 in all, more than the number of workingmen's organs in all other languages put together.

After the battle of Sedan,[240] in September 1870, the Executive Committee of the German Workingmen's Party told their constituents that by the results of the war the centre of gravity of the European working-class movement had been shifted from France to Germany, and that the German workmen had thus become invested with a higher trust and with new responsibilities which required on their part renewed exertions.[a] The year 1877 has proved the truth of this, and has proved, at the same time, the proletariat of Germany to have been in no wise inferior to the task of temporary leadership imposed upon it. Whatever mistakes some of the leaders may have made—and they are both numerous and manifold—the masses themselves have marched onwards resolutely, unhesitatingly and in the right direction. Their conduct, organization and discipline, form a marked contrast to the weakness, irresolution, servility and cowardice so characteristic of

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[a] "Manifest des Ausschusses der sozial-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei. An alle deutschen Arbeiter" [September 5, 1870], *Der Volksstaat*, No. 73, September 11, 1870.— *Ed.*

all middle-class movements in Germany. But while the German middle class has closed its career by sinking down into a more than Byzantine adulation of "William the Victorious"[a] and by surrendering itself, bound hand and foot to the wayward will of the one Bismarck,[241] the working class is marching from victory to victory, helped onwards and strengthened even by the very measures which government and middle class contrive in order to suppress it.

[a] William I.— *Ed.*

II

Great as was the effect of the German elections in the country itself, it was far greater abroad. And in the first instance, it restored that harmony to the European working-class movement which had been disturbed, for the last six years, by the pretensions of a small but extremely busy sect.

Those of our readers who have followed the history of the International Workingmen's Association, will recollect that, immediately after the fall of the Paris Commune, there arose dissensions in the midst of the great labor organization, which led to an open split, at the Hague Congress 1872, and to consequent disintegration.[242] These dissensions were caused by a Russian, Bakounine, and his followers, pretending to supremacy, by fair means or by foul, over a body of which they formed but a small minority. Their chief nostrum was an objection, on principle, to *all* political action on the part of the working class; so much so, that in their eyes, to vote at an election, was to commit an act of treason against the interests of the proletariat. Nothing, but downright, violent revolution would they admit as means of action. From Switzerland, where these "anarchists", as they called themselves, had first taken root, they spread to Italy and Spain, where, for a time, they actually dominated the working-class movement. They were more or less supported, within the "International", by the Belgians, who, though from different motives, also declared in favor of political abstention. After the split they kept up a show of organization and held congresses,[243] in which a couple of dozen men, always the same, pretending to represent the working class of all Europe, proclaimed their dogmas in its name. But already the German elections of 1874,

and the great advantage which the German movement experienced from the presence of nine[a] of its most active members in Parliament, had thrown elements of doubt in the midst of the "anarchists". Political events had repressed the movement in Spain,[b] which disappeared without leaving scarcely a trace; in Switzerland the party in favor of political action, which worked hand in hand with the Germans, became stronger every day and soon outnumbered the few anarchists at the rate of 300 to 1; in Italy, after a childish attempt at "social revolution" (Bologna, 1874)[244] at which neither the sense nor the pluck of the "anarchists" showed to advantage, the real working-class element began to look out for more rational means of action. In Belgium, the movement, thanks to the abstentionist policy of the leaders, which left the working class without any field for real action, had come to a dead stand. In fact, while the political action of the Germans led them from success to success, the working class of those countries, where abstention was the order of the day, suffered defeat after defeat, and got tired of a movement barren of results; their organizations dropped into oblivion, their press organs disappeared one after the other. The more sensible portion of these workmen could not but be struck by this contrast; rebellion against the "anarchist" and abstentionist doctrine broke out in Italy as well as in Belgium, and people began to ask themselves and each other, why for the sake of a stupid dogmatism they should be deprived of applying the very means of action which had proved itself the most efficacious of all. This was the state of things when the grand electoral victory of the Germans settled all doubts, overcame all hesitation. No resistance was possible against such a stubborn fact. Italy and Belgium declared for political action; the remnants of the Italian abstentionists, driven to despair, attempted another insurrection near Naples; some thirty anarchists proclaimed the "social revolution", but were speedily taken care of by the police.[245] All they attained was the complete breakdown of their own sectarian movement in Italy. Thus the anarchist organization, which had pretended to rule the working-class movement from one end of Europe to the other, was again reduced to its original nucleus, some two hundred men in the Jura district of Switzerland, where from the isolation of their mountain recesses, they continue to protest

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[a] A. Bebel, A. Geib, W. Hasenclever, W. Hasselmann, W. Liebknecht, J. Most, J. Motteler, O. Reimer, J. Vahlteich.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 49.— *Ed.*

against the victorious heresy of the rest of the world, and to uphold the true orthodoxy as laid down by the Emperor Bakounine, now defunct. And when in September last the Universal Socialist Congress met at Ghent, in Belgium[246]—a congress which they themselves had convoked—they found themselves an insignificant minority, face to face with the delegates of the united and unanimous great working-class organizations of Europe. The Congress, while energetically repudiating their ridiculous doctrines and their arrogant pretensions, and establishing the fact that they repudiated merely a small sect, extended to them, in the end, a generous toleration.

Thus, after a four years' intestine struggle, complete harmony was restored to the action of the working class of Europe, and the policy proclaimed by the majority of the last Congress of the International was thoroughly vindicated by events. A basis was now recovered upon which the workingmen of the different European countries could again act firmly together, and give each other that mutual support which constitutes the principal strength of the movement. The International Workingmen's Association had been rendered an impossi-[...][a] many, which forbade the workmen of these countries to enter into any such international bond. The Governments might have spared themselves all this trouble. The working-class movement had outgrown not only the necessity but even the possibility of any such formal bond; but not only has the work of the great Proletarian organization been fully accomplished, it continues to live itself, more powerful than ever, in the far stronger bond of union and solidarity, in the community of action and policy which now animates the working class of all Europe, and which is emphatically its own and its grandest work. There is plenty of variety of views amongst the workmen of the different countries, and even of those of each country taken by itself; but there are no longer any sects, no more pretensions to dogmatic orthodoxy and supremacy of doctrine, and there is a common plan of action originally traced by the International but now universally adopted because everywhere it has grown consciously or unconsciously out of the struggle of the necessities of the movement; a plan which, while adapting itself freely to the varying conditions of each nation and each locality, is nevertheless the same everywhere in its fundamental traits, and thus secures unity of purpose and general congruence of the means applied to obtain the common end, the emancipation of the working class through the working class itself.

[a] One or two lines are missing in the newspaper.— *Ed.*

III

In the preceding article, we have already foreshadowed the principal facts of interest connected with the history of the working-class movement in Italy, Spain, Switzerland and Belgium. Still, something remains to be told.

In Spain, the movement had rapidly extended between 1868 and 1872, when the International boasted of more than 30,000 paying members. But all this was more apparent than real, the result more of momentary excitement, brought on by the unsettled political state of the country than by real intellectual progress. Involved in the Cantonalist (federalist-republican) rising of 1873,[247] the Spanish International was crushed along with it. For a time it continued in the shape of a secret society, of which, no doubt, a nucleus is still in existence. But as it has never given any sign of life save sending three delegates to the Ghent Congress,[248] we are driven to the conclusion that these three delegates represent the Spanish working class much in the same way as whilom the three tailors of Tooley-street represented the People of England.[249] And whenever a political revulsion will give the workingmen of Spain the possibility of again playing an active part, we may safely predict that the new departure will not come from these "anarchist" spouters, but from the small body of intelligent and energetic workmen who, in 1872, remained true to the International[250] and who now bide their time instead of playing at secret conspiracy.

In Portugal the movement remained always free from the "anarchist" taint, and proceeded upon the same rational basis as in most other countries. The Portuguese workmen had numerous International sections and Trades' Unions; they held a very

successful Congress in January 1877,[251] and had an excellent weekly: "O Protesto" (The Protest). Still, they too were hampered by adverse laws, restrictive of the press and of the right of association and public meeting. They keep struggling on for all that, and are now holding another Congress at Oporto, which will afford them an opportunity of showing to the world that the working class of Portugal takes its proper share in the great and universal struggle for the emancipation of labor.

The workmen of Italy, too, are much obstructed in their action by middle-class legislation. A number of special laws[252] enacted under the pretext of suppressing brigandage and wide-spread secret brigand organizations, laws which give the government immense arbitrary powers, are unscrupulously applied to workmen's associations; their more prominent members equally with brigands are subjected to police supervision and banishment without judge or jury. Still the movement proceeds, and, best sign of life, its centre of gravity has been shifted from the venerable, but half-dead cities of Romagna to the busy industrial and manufacturing towns of the North, a change which secured the predominance of the real working-class element over the host of "anarchist" interlopers of middle-class origin who previously had taken the lead. The workmen's clubs and Trades' Unions, ever broken up and dissolved by the government, are ever reformed under new names. The Proletarian Press, though many of its organs are but short-lived in consequence of the prosecutions, fines and sentences of imprisonment against the editors, springs up afresh after every defeat, and, in spite of all obstacles, counts several papers of comparatively old standing. Some of these organs, mostly ephemeral ones, still profess "anarchist" doctrines, but that fraction has given up all pretensions to rule the movement and is gradually dying out, along with the Mazzinian or middle-class Republican party, and every inch of ground lost by these two factions is so much ground won by the real and intelligent working-class movement.

In Belgium, too, the centre of gravity of working-class action has been shifted, and this action itself has undergone an important change in consequence. Up to 1875, this centre lay in the French-speaking part of the country, including Brussels, which is half French and half Flemish; the movement was, during this period, strongly influenced by Proudhonist doctrines, which also enjoin abstention from political interference, especially from elections. There remained, then, nothing but strikes, generally repressed by bloody intervention of the military, and meetings in

which the old stock phrases were constantly repeated. The work-people got sick of this and the whole movement gradually fell asleep. But since 1875 the manufacturing towns of the Flemish-speaking portion entered into the struggle with a greater and, as was soon to be proved, a new spirit. In Belgium there are no factory laws whatever to limit the hours of labor of women or children; and the first cry of the factory voters of Ghent and neighborhood was for protection for their wives and children, who were made to slave fifteen and more hours a day in the Cotton Mills.[a] The opposition of the Proudhonist doctrinaires who considered such trifles as far beneath the attention of men occupied with transcendent revolutionism, was of no avail, and was gradually overcome. The demand of legal protection for factory-children became one of the points of the Belgian working-class platform, and with it was broken the spell which hitherto had tabooed political action. The example of the Germans did the rest, and now the Belgian workmen, like those of Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Portugal, Hungary, Austria and part of Italy, are forming themselves into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all other political parties, and aiming at the conquest of their emancipation by whatever political action the situation may require.

The great mass of the Swiss workmen—the German-speaking portion of them—had for some years been formed into a "Workmen's Confederation" which at the end of 1876 counted above 5,000 paying members. There was, alongside of them another organization, the "Grütli Society",[253] originally formed by the middle-class radicals for the spread of Radicalism amongst workmen and peasants; but gradually social democratic ideas penetrated into this widely-spread association and finally conquered it. In 1877, both these societies entered into an alliance, almost a fusion, for the purpose of organizing a Swiss political labor party; and with such vigor did they act that they carried, at the national vote, the new Swiss Factory Law, of all existing factory acts the one which is most favorable to the work-people.[254] They are now organizing a vigilant supervision to secure its due execution against the loudly proclaimed ill-will of the mill owners. The "anarchists", from their superior revolutionary standpoint, as a matter of course violently opposed all this action, denouncing it as a piece of arrant treason against what they call "the

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[a] "Manifest der sozialistischen Partei in Brabant (Belgien)", *Vorwärts*, Nos. 10 and 11, January 25 and 27, 1878.— *Ed.*

Revolution"; but as they number 200 at the outside and here as elsewhere are but a general staff of officers without an army, this made no difference.—The programme of the Swiss workingmen's Party is almost identical with that of the Germans, only too identical, having adopted even some of its more imperfect and confused passages. But the mere wording of the programme matters little, so long as the spirit which dominates the movement, is of the right sort.

The Danish workingmen entered the lists about 1870 and at first made very rapid progress.[255] By an alliance with the small peasant proprietors' party, amongst which they succeeded in spreading their views, they attained considerable political influence, so much so that the "United Left", of which the peasant party formed the nucleus, for a number of years had the majority in parliament.[256] But there was more show than solidity in this rapid growth of the movement. One day it was found out that two of the leaders[a] had disappeared after squandering the money collected for party purposes from the workingmen. The scandal caused by this was extreme, and the Danish movement has not yet recovered from the discouragement consequent upon it. Anyhow, if the Danish workingmen's party is now proceeding in a more unobtrusive way than before, there is every reason to believe that it is gradually replacing the ephemeral and apparent domination over the masses, which it has now lost, by a more real and more lasting influence.

In Austria and Hungary the working class has the greatest difficulties to contend with. Political liberty, as far as the press, meetings and associations are concerned, is there reduced to the lowest level consistent with a sham constitutional monarchy. A code of laws of unheard-of elasticity enables the Government to obtain convictions against even the mildest expression of the demands and interests of the working class. And yet the movement there, as well as elsewhere, goes on irrepressibly. The principal centres are the manufacturing districts of Bohemia, Vienna, and Pesth. Workingmen's periodicals are published in the German, the Bohemian and the Hungarian languages. From Hungary the movement has spread to Servia, where, before the war, a weekly newspaper was published in the Servian language,[b] but when the war broke out the paper was simply suppressed.

Thus, wherever we look in Europe, the working-class movement

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[a] L. Pio and P. Geleff.—*Ed.*

[b] *Народна волъа.—Ed.*

is progressing, not only favorably but rapidly, and what is more, everywhere in the same spirit. Complete harmony is restored, and with it constant and regular intercourse, in one way or another, between the workmen of the different countries. The men who founded, in 1864, the International Working Men's Association, who held high its banner during years of strife, first against external, then against internal foes, until political necessities even more than intestine feuds brought on disruption and seeming retirement—these men can now proudly exclaim: "The International has done its work; it has fully attained its grand aim—the union of the Proletariat of the whole world in the struggle against their oppressors."

IV

Our readers will have noticed that in the three preceding articles there has been scarcely any mention made of one of the most important countries of Europe—France, and for this reason: In the countries hitherto treated of, the action of the working class, though essentially a political action, is not intimately mixed up with general, or so to say official politics. The working class of Germany, Italy, Belgium etc., is not yet a political power in the State; it is a political power only prospectively, and if the official parties in some of these countries, Conservatives, Liberals, or Radicals, have to reckon with it, it is merely because its rapid onward progress makes it evident, that in a very short time the Proletarian party will be strong enough to make its influence felt. But in France it is different. The workmen of Paris, seconded by those of the large provincial towns, have ever since the great Revolution been a power in the State. They have been for nearly ninety years the fighting army of progress; at every great crisis of French history, they descended into the streets, armed themselves as best as they could, threw up barricades and provoked the battle, and it was their victory or defeat which decided the future of France for years to come. From 1789 to 1830, the revolutions of the middle class were fought out by the workmen of Paris; it was they who conquered the Republic in 1848, having mistaken that Republic to mean emancipation of labor, they were cruelly undeceived by the defeat inflicted on them, in June of the same year[257]; they resisted on the barricades Louis Napoleon's Coup d'État 1851[258] and were again defeated; they swept away in

September 1870 the defunct Empire[259] which the middle-class Radicals were too cowardly to touch. In March 1871 Thiers' attempt to take away from them the arms with which they had defended Paris against foreign invasion, forced them into the revolution of the Commune and the protracted struggle which ended with its bloody extinction.

A national working class which thus, for nearly a century, not only has taken a decisive part in every crisis of the history of its own country, but at the same time has always been the advanced guard of European Revolution, such a working class cannot live the comparatively secluded life which is still the proper sphere of action of the rest of the continental workmen. Such a working class as that of France is bound to its past history and by its past history. Its history, no less than its acknowledged decisive fighting power, has mixed it up indissolubly with the general political development of the country. And thus, we cannot give a retrospect of the action of the French working class without entering into French politics generally.

Whether the French working class had been fighting its own battle or the battle of the Liberal, Radical, or Republican middle class, every defeat it suffered has hitherto been followed by an oppressive political reaction, as violent as it was enduring. Thus, the defeats of June 1848 and December 1851 were succeeded by the eighteen years of the Bonapartist Empire, during which the press was fettered, the right of meeting and of association suppressed and the working class consequently deprived of every means of inter-communication and organization. The necessary result was that when the revolution of September 1870 came, the workmen had no other men to put into office, but those middle-class radicals who under the Empire had formed the official parliamentary opposition and who as a matter of course betrayed them and their country. After the stamping-out of the Commune, the working class, disabled for years in their fighting power, had but one immediate interest: to avoid the recurrence of such another protracted reign of repression, and with it the necessity of again fighting, not for their own direct emancipation, but for a state of things permitting them to prepare for the final emancipatory struggle. Now, in France there are four great political parties: three monarchist, the Legitimists, Orleanists and Bonapartists, each with a separate pretender to the crown; and the Republican party. Whichever of the three pretenders[a] were to

[a] Chambord, Napoleón Eugène Bonaparte and the Count of Paris.—*Ed.*

ascend the throne, he would in every case be supported by a small minority only of the people, he would consequently have to rely upon force only. Thus, the reign of violence, the suppression of all public liberties and personal rights, which the working class must wish to avoid, was the necessary concomitant of every Monarchist restoration. On the other hand the maintenance of the established Republican government left them at least the chance of obtaining such a degree of personal and public liberty as would allow them to establish a working-class press, an agitation by meetings and an organization as an independent political party, and moreover, the conservation of the Republic would save them the necessity of delivering a separate battle for its future re-conquest.

It was thus another proof of the high instinctive political intelligence of the French working class, that as soon as, on the 16th May last,[260] the great conspiracy of the three Monarchist factions declared war against the Republic, the workmen, one and all, proclaimed the maintenance of the Republic to be their chief immediate object. No doubt in this they acted as the tail of the middle-class Republicans and Radicals, but a working class which has no press, no meetings, no clubs, no political societies, what else can it be but the tail of the Radical middle-class party? What can it do, in order to gain its political independence, but support the only party which is bound to secure to the people generally, and therefore, to the workmen too, such liberties as will admit of independent organization? Some people say, the workmen at the last election ought to have put up their own candidates, but even in those places where they could have done so successfully, where were the working-class candidates, well known enough amongst their own class to find the necessary support? Why, the government since the Commune have taken good care to arrest, as a participator in that insurrection, every workman who made himself known even by private agitation in his own district of Paris.

The victory of the Republicans at the elections last November[261] was signal. It was followed by still more signal triumphs at the departmental, municipal and supplementary elections which followed it. The Monarchist conspiracy would, perhaps, not have given way for all that; but its hand was lamed by the unmistakable attitude of the army. Not only were there numerous Republican officers especially in the lower grades; but, what was more decisive, the mass of the soldiers refused to march against the Republic. That was the first result of the reorganization of the

army, by which bought substitutes had been done away with and the army transformed into a fair representation of the young men of all classes.[262] Thus, the conspiracy broke down without having to be broken up by force. And this, too, was much in the interest of the working class which, too weak yet after the blood-letting of 1871, can have no wish to waste again its greatest, its fighting power, in struggles for the benefit of others or to engage in a series of violent collisions before it has recovered its full strength.

But this Republican victory has yet another significance. It proves that since 1870 the country people have made a great step in advance. Hitherto, every working-class victory gained in Paris, was nullified in a very short time by the reactionist spirit of the small peasantry who form the great mass of the French population. Since the beginning of this century, the French peasantry had been Bonapartist. The second Republic, established by the Paris workingmen in February 1848, had been cancelled by the six million peasant votes given to Louis Napoleon in December following. But the Prussian invasion of 1870 has shaken the Imperialist faith of the peasantry, and the elections of November last prove that the mass of the country population had become Republican, and this is a change of the highest importance. It does not only mean that henceforth all Monarchist restoration has become hopeless in France. It means also the approaching alliance between the workingmen of the towns and the peasantry of the country. The small peasant proprietors established by the great Revolution are proprietors of the soil, but in name. Their farms are mortgaged to usurers; their crops are spent in the payment of interest and law-expenses; the notary, the attorney, the bailiff, the auctioneer are constantly threatening at their doors. Their position is fully as bad as that of the workingmen, and almost as insecure. And if these peasants now turn from Bonapartism to the Republic, they show by this that they no longer expect an improvement of their condition from those Imperialist miracles which Louis Napoleon ever promised and never performed. Thiers' faith in the mysterious powers of salvation held by an "Emperor of peasants" has been rudely dispelled by the second Empire. The spell is broken. The French peasantry are at last in a state of mind rational enough to look out for the real causes of the chronic distress and for the practical means to do away with it; and once set a thinking they must soon find out that their only remedy lies in an alliance with the only class that has no interest in their present miserable condition, the working class of the town.

Thus, however contemptible the present Republican govern-

ment of France may be, the final establishment of the Republic has at last given the French workingmen the ground upon which they can organize themselves as an independent political party, and fight their future battles, not for the benefit of others, but for their own; the ground, too, upon which they can unite with the hitherto hostile mass of the peasantry and thus render future victories not, as heretofore, short-lived triumphs of Paris over France, but final triumphs of all the oppressed classes of France, led by the workmen of Paris and the large provincial towns.

## V

## (CONCLUSION)

There is still another important European country to be considered—Russia. Not that there exists in Russia a working-class movement worth speaking of. But the internal and external circumstances in which Russia is placed are most peculiar and big with events of the highest importance with regard to the future, not only of the Russian workingmen, but those of all Europe.

In 1861 the government of Alexander II carried out the emancipation of the serfs, the transformation of the immense majority of the Russian people from bondsmen, attached to the soil and subject to forced labour for their landlord, into free peasant proprietors. This change, the necessity of which had long been evident, was effected in such a way that neither the former landlords nor the former serfs were the gainers by it. The peasant villages received allotments of soil, which henceforth were to be their own, while the landlords were to be paid for the value of the land thus ceded to the villages, and also, to a certain extent, for the claim they hitherto had possessed to the peasant's labor. As the peasants evidently could not find the money to pay the landlords, the State stepped in. One portion of this payment was effected by transferring to the landlord a portion of the land hitherto cultivated by the peasants for their own account; the rest was paid in the shape of government bonds, advanced by the State, and to be repaid to it with interest, in yearly instalments, by the peasants. The majority of the landlords sold these bonds and spent the money; they are thus not only poorer than before, but cannot find laborers to till their estates, the peasants actually declining to work upon them and to leave their own fields uncultivated. As to the peasants, their shares of land had not only been reduced in size

from what they had been before, and very often to an extent which, under Russian circumstances, left them insufficient to maintain a family; these shares had, in most instances, been taken from the very worst land on the estate, from bogs or other unclaimed lands, while the good land, hitherto owned by the peasants and improved by their labor, had been transferred to the landlords. Under these circumstances, the peasants, too, were considerably worse off than before; but besides this, they were expected to pay every year to the government the interest and part of the capital advanced by the State for buying them off, and, moreover, the taxes levied upon them increased from year to year. Furthermore, before emancipation, the peasants had possessed certain common rights on the estate lands of pasture for their cattle, the hewing of timber for building and other purposes, etc. These rights were expressly taken from them by the new settlement; if they wanted to exercise them again, they had to bargain with their former landlord.

Thus, while the majority of the landed proprietors became even more indebted, in consequence of the change, than they had been before, the peasantry were reduced to a position in which they could neither live nor die. The great act of emancipation, so universally extolled and glorified by the Liberal press of Europe, had created nothing but the groundwork and the absolute necessity of a future revolution.

This revolution, the government did all in its power to hasten on—the corruption pervading all official spheres, and leaving whatever power for good they might be supposed to possess—this hereditary corruption remained as bad as ever, and came to light glaringly in every public department at the outbreak of the Turkish war.[263] The finances of the empire, completely disordered at the end of the Crimean war,[a] were allowed to go from bad to worse. Loan after loan was contracted, until there was no other means of paying the interest of the old debts except by contracting new ones. During the first years of Alexander's[b] reign, the old imperial despotism had been somewhat relaxed; the press had been allowed more freedom, trial by jury established and representative bodies, elected by the nobility, the citizens of the towns, and the peasants respectively, had been permitted to take some share in local and provincial administration. Even with the Poles some political flirtation had been carried on. But the public

[a] in 1856.— *Ed.*
[b] Alexander II's.— *Ed.*

had misunderstood the benevolent intentions of the government. The press became too outspoken. The juries actually acquitted political prisoners which the government had expected them to convict against evidence. The local and provincial assemblies, one and all, declared that the government, by its act of emancipation, had ruined the country, and that things could not go on in that way any longer. A national assembly was even hinted at as the only means of getting out of troubles fast becoming insupportable. And finally, the Poles refused to be bamboozled with fine words, and broke out into a rebellion[264] which it took all the forces of the empire, and all the brutality of the Russian generals, to quell in torrents of blood. Then the government turned round again. Stern repression once more became the order of the day. The press was muzzled, the political prisoners were handed over to special courts, consisting of judges packed for the purpose, the local and provincial assemblies were ignored. But it was too late. The government, having once shown signs of fear, had lost its prestige. The belief in its stability, and in its power of absolutely crushing all internal resistance, had gone. The germ of a future public opinion had sprung up. The forces could not be brought back to the former implicit obedience to government dictation. Discussion of public matters, if only in private circles, had become a habit among the educated classes. And finally, the government, with all its desire to return to the unbridled despotism of the reign of Nicholas, still pretended to keep up, before the eyes of Europe, the appearances of the liberalism initiated by Alexander. The consequence was a system of vacillation and hesitation, of concessions made to-day and retracted to-morrow, to be again half-conceded and half-retracted in turns, a policy changing from hour to hour, bringing home to everybody the intrinsic weakness, the want of insight and of will, on the part of a government which was nothing unless it was possessed of a will and of the means to enforce it. What was more natural than that every day should increase the contempt felt for a government which, long since known to be powerless for good and obeyed only through fear, now proved that it doubted of its power of maintaining its own existence, that it had at least as much fear of the people as the people had of it? There was only one way of salvation for the Russian government, the way open to all governments brought face to face with overwhelming popular resistance—foreign war. And foreign war was resolved upon; a war, proclaimed before Europe as undertaken for the deliverance of Christians from protracted Turkish misrule, but proclaimed before the Russian

people as carried on for the bringing home of their Slavonic brethren in race from Turkish bondage into the fold of the Holy Russian Empire.

This war, after months of inglorious defeat, has now come to an end through the equally inglorious crushing of Turkish resistance, partly by treachery, partly by immensely superior numbers. But the Russian conquest of the greater part of Turkey in Europe is itself only the prelude to a general European war. Either Russia, at the impending European Conference (if that Conference ever meets), will have to recede so much from the position now gained, that the disproportion between the immense sacrifices and the puny results must bring the popular discontent to a violent revolutionary outburst; or else, Russia will have to maintain her newly conquered position in a European war. More than half exhausted as she is already, her government cannot carry her through such a war—whatever may be its final result—without important popular concessions. Such concessions, in the face of a situation as that described above, mean the commencement of a revolution. From this revolution the Russian government cannot possibly escape, if even it may succeed in delaying its outbreak for a year or two. But a Russian revolution means more than a mere change of government in Russia herself. It means the disappearance of a vast, though unwieldy, military power which, ever since the French Revolution, has formed the backbone of the united despotisms of Europe. It means the emancipation of Germany from Prussia, for Prussia has already been the creature of Russia, and has only existed by leaning upon her. It means the emancipation of Poland. It means the awakening of the smaller Slavonic nationalities of Eastern Europe from the Panslavist dreams fostered among them by the present Russian government. And it means the beginning of an active national life among the Russian people themselves, and along with it the springing up of a real working-class movement in Russia. Altogether, it means such a change in the whole situation of Europe as must be hailed with joy by the workingmen of every country as a giant step towards their common goal—the universal emancipation of Labor.

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## HERR BUCHER[265]

TO THE EDITOR[a] OF *THE DAILY NEWS*

Sir,

According to a telegram of Reuter's,[b]

"Herr Bucher, Councillor of Legation, is designated for the post of secretary and keeper of the records of the Congress."[266]

Should this "Herr Bucher" be the same Lothar Bucher who, during his long London exile, shone as a staunch partisan of the late Mr. David Urquhart, whose anti-Russian doctrines he held forth week by week in the Berlin *National Gazette*[c]; the same Lothar Bucher who, on his return to Berlin, turned so ardent a votary of Ferdinand Lassalle that the latter named him his testamentary executor, bequeathed him an annual revenue, and transferred the copyright of his works to Lothar Bucher[267]? Soon after Lassalle's death Lothar Bucher entered the Prussian Foreign Office, was made a "Councillor of Legation", and became Bismarck's confidential man-of-all-work.

He had the *naïveté* to address a letter to myself, inviting me, of course with the sanction of his master, to undertake the money article of the Prussian official *Staats-Anzeiger.*

The pecuniary terms were left to my discretion, while I was expressly told I should enjoy full liberty of treating the operations and the operators of the money market from my own "scientific"

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[a] W. K. Hales.— *Ed.*

[b] "We have received the following telegrams through Reuter's Agency: Eastern Affairs, Berlin, June 11." In the section *Latest Intelligence, The Times,* No. 29279, June 12, 1878.— *Ed.*

[c] *National-Zeitung.*— *Ed.*

standpoint. Since this odd incident I felt not a little amused at seeing Lothar Bucher's contributions as a member of the "International Working Men's Association" daily and yearly chronicled in the columns of the *Vorbote*,[a] an organ of the International, edited by Johann Philipp Becker at Geneva. If this be not a case of mistaken identity, and if there be anything in the reports that the Russian and German Governments, *à propos* of the attempts of Hoedel and Nobiling,[268] intend to propose to the Congress international measures against the spread of Socialism, then Herr Bucher is the very man to tell the Congress authoritatively that the organisation, the action, and the doctrines of the German Social-Democratic party have no more to do with these attempts than with the sinking of the *Grosser Kurfürst*,[269] or with the meeting of the Congress at Berlin; that the panic-mongering arrests throughout Germany and the whirlwind of dust raised by the Press-reptiles[270] serve the exclusive purpose of an electioneering cry for a Reichstag ready to sanction at last the solution, long since elaborated by Prince Bismarck, of the paradox problem how to endow the German Government with all the financial resources of a modern State, while, at the same time, reimposing upon the German people the ancient political regime scattered to pieces by the hurricane of 1848.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

*Karl Marx*

London, June 12

First published in *The Daily News*, No. 10030, June 13, 1878

Reproduced from the newspaper

[a] "Empfangsbescheinigungen der für die Zentralkasse von Außen eingegangenen Beträge", *Der Vorbote*, No. 9, September 1867; No. 10, October 1871.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [REPLY TO BUCHER'S "DECLARATION"][271]

Mr. Lothar Bucher has published a "declaration" in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of June 21,[a] which in the first instance establishes the unpleasant circumstance that my letter to *The Daily News* was reprinted by the National-Liberal and Party-of-Progress newspapers.[b] Mr. Bucher declares that 3,000 lines would be required in order to straighten out the distortions I had compressed together. Thirty lines are more than sufficient to establish once and for all the truth of Bucher's "corrections" and "supplementary statements".

The letter in which Mr. Bucher tries to bring me to heel for the *Staats-Anzeiger* is dated October 8, 1865, and thus originates from the period of the conflict between the Prussian liberal and Party-of-Progress bourgeoisie and Mr. von Bismarck. The letter says, amongst other things:

> "With regard to the content, it goes without saying that you *only follow your scientific conviction*; however, consideration for the readers — *haute finance*[c] — not the editorial office, will make it advisable that you allow the *innermost core* to shine through only for those properly versed in these matters."

By contrast, Mr. Bucher's "correction" says that he

> "asked Mr. Marx if he would supply the articles requested, in which it was important for the treatment to be objective. There is not a word in my letter pertaining to Mr. Marx's 'own scientific standpoint'".

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[a] A. L. Bucher [Declaration concerning Karl Marx's letter in *The Daily News*], Berlin, den 20. Juni, *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 145, June 21, 1878.— *Ed.*

[b] *Berliner Freie Presse*, No. 138, June 16 and *Vossische Zeitung*, No. 139, June 16, 1878.— *Ed.*

[c] Finance aristocracy.— *Ed.*

Further, the same letter says:

"The *Staats-Anzeiger* requires a monthly report on the movements in the money market (and, of course, also in the commodity market, inasmuch as the two are inseparable). I was asked if I could not perhaps recommend someone, and replied that no one would do it better than you. I have consequently been asked to contact you."

According to his own unambiguous words therefore, Mr. Bucher began his "correspondence" with me at the request of *someone* or other. By contrast, his "correction" asserts:

"*No one,* not even the editor of the *Staats-Anzeiger,*[a] knew anything of this correspondence or learned anything about it."

So much on Mr. Bucher's method of making corrections. And now a sample of his method when it comes to making supplementary statements!

My letter to *The Daily News* mentions only Mr. Bucher's "naive" inquiry of me, but refrains from mentioning a word about my answer to him. He, however, in his anxiety to make the "curious occurrence" appear in a trivial light, has to "supplement" me and therefore invents the following:

"Mr. Marx replied that he would not write for a reactionary newspaper."

How am I to answer with such banalities a letter whose "innermost core" doesn't "only" shine through, but flashes through blindingly in the following closing passage:

"Progress" (he means the liberal or Party-of-Progress bourgeoisie) "will cast its skin many times before it dies; and therefore anyone who wishes to have an effect within the state in his lifetime, *must rally round the government.*"

*Karl Marx*

London, June 27

Published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt,* No. 180, June 29, 1878; *Vossische Zeitung,* No. 152, July 2, 1878; *Vorwärts,* No. 78, July 5, 1878

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] Adolf Rutenberg.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## MR. GEORGE HOWELL'S HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-MEN'S ASSOCIATION[272]

I believe it worth while to illustrate by a few notes the most recent contribution—see the *Nineteenth Century* of July last—to the extensive spurious literature on the International's History, because its last expounder, Mr. George Howell, an ex-workman and ex-member of the General Council of that Association, may erroneously be supposed to have drawn his wisdom from sources not generally accessible.

Mr. Howell sets about his "History" by passing by the facts that, on September 28th, 1864, I was present at the foundation-meeting of the International, was there chosen a member of the provisional General Council, and soon after drew up the "Inaugural Address", and the "General Statutes" of the Association,[a] first issued at London in 1864, then confirmed by the Geneva Congress of 1866.

So much Mr. Howell knew, but, for purposes of his own, prefers to make "a German Doctor named Karl Marx" first appear at the London "Congress opened on September 25th, 1865".[b][273] There and then, he avers, the said "doctor" had "sown the seeds of discord and decay by the introduction of the *Religious Idea*".

In the first instance, no "Congress" of the International took place in September, 1865. A few delegates from the main

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[a] The reference is to the "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association" and the "Provisional Rules of the Association" (see present edition, Vol. 20).—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx quotes Howell's article "The History of the International Association", *The Nineteenth Century*. A Monthly Review, Vol. IV, London, 1878.—*Ed.*

continental branches of the Association met at London for the sole purpose of conferring with the General Council on the Programme of the "First Congress", which was to assemble at Geneva, in September, 1866. The real business of the Conference was transacted in private sittings, not at the semi-public meetings in Adelphi Terrace, exclusively made mention of by the exact historian, Mr. George Howell.

Like the other representatives of the General Council, I had to secure the acceptance by the Conference of our own programme, on its publication thus characterised, in a letter to the *Siècle*, by the French historian, Henri Martin:

"The breadth of view and the high moral, political, and economical conceptions which have decided the choice of questions composing the programme of the International Congress of Workingmen, which is to assemble next year, will strike with a common sympathy all friends of progress, justice, and liberty in Europe."[a]

By the way, a paragraph of the programme which I had the honour to indite for the General Council, runs thus:

"*The necessity of annihilating the Muscovite influence in Europe*, by the application of the principle of the right of nations to dispose of themselves, and the reconstruction of Poland upon a democratic and socialist basis."[274]

Upon this text Henri Martin put the gloss:

"We will take the liberty of remarking that the expression, 'democratic and socialist basis', is a very simple one as regards Poland, where the *social* framework needs reconstruction quite as much as the political framework, and where this basis has been laid down by the decrees of the anonymous government of 1863,[b] and accepted by all classes of the nation. This, then, is the reply of true socialism, of social progress in harmony with justice and liberty, to the advances of the Communist despotism of Muscovy. This secret of the people of Paris is now becoming the common secret of the peoples of Europe."

Unfortunately, the "people of Paris" had kept their "secret" so well that, quite unaware of it, two of the Paris delegates to the Conference, Tolain, now a senator of the French Republic, and Fribourg, now a simple renegade, inveighed against the very proposition which was to call forth the enthusiastic comment of the French historian.

The programme of the General Council contained not one syllable on "Religion", but at the instance of the Paris delegates the forbidden dish got into the bill of fare in store for the prospective Congress, in this dressing:

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[a] H. Martin, "L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs", *Le Siècle*, No. 11171, October 14, 1865.—*Ed.*

[b] *Centralny Narodowy Komitet jako tymczasowy Rząd Narodowy.—Ed.*

"Religious Ideas (not "The Religious Idea", as Howell's spurious version has it), their influence on the social, political and intellectual movement."

The topic of discussion thus introduced by the Paris delegates was left in their keeping.[275] In point of fact, they dropped it at the Geneva Congress of 1866, and no one else picked it up.

The London "Congress" of 1865, the "Introduction" there by "a German Doctor named Karl Marx" of the "Religious Idea", and the fierce feud thence arising within the International—this, his triple myth, Mr. George Howell caps by a legend. He says:

"In the Draft Address to the American people with regard to the abolition of slavery, the sentence, 'God made of one blood all nations of men', was struck out, etc."

Now the General Council issued an address, not to the American people, but to its President, Abraham Lincoln, which he gracefully acknowledged. The address, written by me,[a] underwent no alteration whatever. As the words "God made of one blood all nations of men" had never figured in it, they could not be "struck out".

The attitude of the General Council in regard to the "Religious Idea" is clearly shown by the following incident:—One of the Swiss branches of the *Alliance*, founded by Michael Bakunin,[276] and calling itself *Section des athées Socialistes*, requested its admission to the International from the General Council, but got the reply: "Already in the case of the Young Men's Christian Association the Council has declared that it recognizes *no theological sections*. (See page 13 of *Les prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale Circulaire du Conseil Général*, printed at Geneva.[b])"

Even Mr. George Howell, at that time not yet become a convert by close study of the *Christian Reader*, consummated his divorce from the International, not at the call of the "Religious Idea", but on grounds altogether secular. At the foundation of the *Commonwealth* as the "special organ" of the General Council, he canvassed keenly the "proud position" of Editor. Having failed in his "ambitious" attempt, he waxed sulky, his zeal grew less and less, and soon after he was no more heard of. During the most eventful period of the International he was therefore an outsider.

Conscious of his utter incompetence to trace the history of the Association, but at the same time eager to spice his article with

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[a] K. Marx, "To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America".— *Ed.*

[b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International* (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 93).— *Ed.*

strange revelations, he catches at the appearance, during the Fenian troubles,[277] of General Cluseret in London where, we are told, at the Black Horse, Rathbone Place, Oxford-street, the General met "a few men—fortunately Englishmen", in order to initiate them into his "plan" of "a general insurrection". I have some reason to doubt the genuineness of the anecdote, but suppose it to be true,[278] what else would it prove but that Cluseret was not such a fool as to intrude his person and his "plan" upon the General Council, but kept both of them wisely in reserve for "a few Englishmen" of Mr. Howell's acquaintance, unless the latter himself be one of these stout fellows in buckram[a] who, by their "fortunate" interference, contrived to save the British Empire and Europe from universal convulsion.

Mr. George Howell has another dark secret to disclose.

At the beginning of June, 1871, the General Council put forth an *Address on the Civil War in France*,[b] welcomed on the part of the London press by a chorus of execration. One weekly fell foul of "the infamous author", cowardly concealing his name behind the screen of the General Council. Thereupon I declared in *The Daily News* that I was the author.[c] This stale secret Mr. George Howell reveals, in July, 1878, with all the consequentiality of the man behind the curtain.

"The writer of that Address was Dr. Karl Marx. ...Mr. George Odger and Mr. Lucraft, both of whom were members of the Council when it (sic!) was adopted, repudiated it on its publication."[d]

He forgets to add that the other nineteen British members present acclaimed the "Address".

Since then, the statements of this Address have been fully borne out by the *Enquêtes* of the French Rural Assembly,[279] the evidence taken before the Versailles Courts-Martial, the trial of Jules Favre, and the memoirs of persons far from hostile to the victors.

It is in the natural order of things that an English historian of Mr. George Howell's sound erudition should haughtily ignore French prints, whether official or not. But I confess to a feeling of disgust when, on such occasions for instance as the Hödel and

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[a] Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, Part I, Act II, Scene IV. (When telling an invented story about his skirmish with a band of fellows, each time Falstaff increased their number and described them as dressed either in buckrams or in jackets made of Kendal cloth.) — *Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 22.— *Ed.*

[c] K. Marx, "To the Editor of *The Daily News*" (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 370).— *Ed.*

[d] G. Howell, op. cit., *The Nineteenth Century*, Vol. IV, p. 35.— *Ed.*

Nobiling attempts,[280] I behold great London papers ruminating the base calumnies, which their own correspondents, eye-witnesses, had been the first to refute.

Mr. Howell reaches the climax of snobbism in his account of the exchequer of the General Council.[a]

The Council, in its published *Report to the Congress of Basle* (1869), ridicules the huge treasure with which the busy tongue of the European police and the wild imagination of the capitalist had endowed it. It says,

> "If these people, though good Christians, had happened to live at the time of nascent Christianity, they would have hurried to a Roman bank there to pry into St. Paul's balance."[b]

Mr. Ernest Renan who, it is true, falls somewhat short of Mr. George Howell's standard of orthodoxy, even fancies the state of the primitive Christian communes sapping the Roman Empire might be best illustrated by that of the International Sections.

Mr. George Howell, as a writer, is what the crystallographer would call a "Pseudomorph",[281] his outer form of penmanship being but imitative of the manner of thought and style "natural" to the English moneyed man of sated virtue and solvent morals. Although he borrows his array of "figures" as to the resources of the General Council from the accounts yearly laid by that same Council before a public "International Congress", Mr. George Howell must not derogate from his "imitative" dignity by stooping to touch the obvious question: how came it to pass that, instead of taking comfort from the lean budgets of the General Council, all the governments of Continental Europe took fright at "the powerful and formidable organisation of the International Working-men's Association, and the rapid development it had attained in a few years". (See *Circular*[c] *of the Spanish Foreign Minister*[d] *to the representatives of Spain in Foreign Countries.*[282]) Instead of laying the Red Ghost by the simple process of shaking at its face the sorry returns of the General Council, why, in the name of common sense, did the Pope[e] and his bishops exorcise the International,[283] the French Rural Assembly outlaw it, Bismarck—at the Salzburg

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[a] G. Howell, op. cit., pp. 31-35.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, "Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association" (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 70).—*Ed.*

[c] See *Gaceta de Madrid*, No. 17, January 17, 1872 (in the section *Ministerio de la Gobernacion*).—*Ed.*

[d] Bonifacio.—*Ed.*

[e] Pius IX.—*Ed.*

meeting of the emperors of Austria and Germany[a]—threaten it with a Holy Alliance Crusade,[284] and the White Czar[b] commend it to his terrible "Third Division", then presided over by the emotional Schouvaloff?

Mr. George Howell condescends to admit: "Poverty is no crime, but it is fearfully inconvenient."[c] I admit, he speaks by book. The prouder he ought to have felt of his former fellowship with a Working-men's Association, which won world-wide fame and a place in the history of mankind, not by length of purse, but by strength of mind and unselfish energy.

However, from the lofty standpoint of an insular "philistine", Mr. George Howell reveals to the "cultured people" of the "Nineteenth Century", that the International was a "failure", and has faded away. In reality, the social democratic working-men's parties organised on more or less national dimensions, in Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Portugal, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and the United States of America, form as many international groups, no longer single sections thinly scattered through different countries and held together by an eccentric General Council, but the working masses themselves in continuous, active, direct intercourse, cemented by exchange of thought, mutual services, and common aspiration.[285]

After the fall of the Paris Commune, all working class organisation in France was of course temporarily broken, but is now in an incipient state of reforming. On the other hand, despite all political and social obstacles, the Slavs, chiefly in Poland, Bohemia, and Russia, participate at present in this international movement to an extent not to be foreseen by the most sanguine in 1872. Thus, instead of dying out, the International did only pass from its first period of incubation to a higher one where its already original tendencies have in part become realities. In the course of its progressive development, it will yet have to undergo many a change, before the last chapter of its history can be written.

Written at the beginning of July 1878

Reproduced from the journal

First published in *The Secular Chronicle, And Record of Freethought Progress*, Vol. X, No. 5, August 4, 1878

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[a] Francis Joseph I and William I.—*Ed.*

[b] Alexander II.—*Ed.*

[c] G. Howell, op. cit., p. 32.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON THE ANTI-SOCIALIST LAW

### (OUTLINE OF AN ARTICLE)][286]

### REICHSTAG SITTING OF SEPTEMBER 16 AND 17, 1878

*Vice-Bismarck—von Stolberg* spoke for 4 minutes, 7 seconds.

*FROM THE STENOGRAPHIC REPORT*

*Reichstag. 4th sitting. Monday, September 16, 1878. Speaker: Forckenbeck. //House met 11.30. Adjourned 3.40.//*[a]

*Deputising for the Imperial Chancellor, Minister of State, Count Stolberg-Wernigerode*: "What will matter is ... ensuring that in future no one can engage in such agitation *with the slightest semblance of legality.*"

*FROM THE SPEECHES AT THE SITTING OF SEPTEMBER 16*
*ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT*

*Bebel*: "Gentlemen, at the beginning of today's debate attention was specifically drawn by the *Imperial Chancellor's deputy* to the attempted assassinations,[287] as was similarly done a few days since in the *King's Speech*[288] and likewise in the *preamble* to the Bill submitted to us; everyone who has spoken today has likewise more or less touched on the assassination attempts, and everyone has designated those assassination attempts as the immediate occasion for this exceptional law,[289] nor could anything be more evident than that they were the cause thereof.—In that case, Gentlemen, the government might justly have been expected to express itself clearly and accurately in this respect, to give evidence as to what discoveries it had made, what facts incriminating us had been brought to light that might prove the existence of *just one*, if only an *ideological, connection* between the would-be assassins[b] and Social-Democracy. To this day, however, nothing of the kind has been done, all we have been given *has been empty words and accusations.* Similarly, we hear the parrot-cry: 'The assassination attempts were instigated by the Social-Democrats.' This is to accuse the Social-Democrats of 'being the party of regicides', etc.... We are quite unwilling to put up with the silence that has been maintained until this very day.... First and foremost, we are vitally concerned to know *what is contained in the numerous records made in writing in connection with the assassination attempts.* In particular, we insist on knowing what came to light during *the extraordinarily numerous interrogations that took place in various parts of Germany of*

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[a] Square brackets encountered in Marx's actual manuscript have been replaced with two oblique lines.—*Ed.*

[b] Emil Heinrich Max Hödel and Dr. Karl Eduard Nobiling.—*Ed.*

*members of our party and non-party members, of men of the most diverse political leanings who had any connection, however remote, with the would-be assassins. We, upon whom the guilt and the responsibility is being foisted,* insist that the matter be finally clarified. And this in particular *as regards the last assassination attempt which was the immediate occasion of the fresh elections to the Reichstag and the submission of this Bill...*

"I went away //from the *Vorwärts* where he had been making inquiries about Dr. Nobiling—this, late at night *on the 2nd of June* (1878)// very satisfied with what I had heard and, a few minutes later, came to a shop where, to my intense surprise, I found a despatch posted up which read:

"'*Berlin, 2 o'clock in the morning.* In the course of a later *judicial* examination, the would-be assassin, Nobiling, confessed that he subscribed to *socialist tendencies,* also that he had repeatedly attended socialist meetings here and that he had, for a week or more, already been intending to shoot His Imperial Majesty[a] because he regarded the removal of the Head of State to be in the interests of the public weal.'

"...The despatch that precipitated this piece of news into the world is explicitly designated an *official* one. Here, in my hand, I have the despatch which was *officially* delivered to the editorial board of the *Kreuz-Zeitung*[b] [290] with comments written by the *Kreuz-Zeitung*'s editor.[c] There is not a shadow of doubt as to the *official* nature of this despatch. Now, sundry trustworthy reports have shown that Nobiling was not subjected to any kind of *judicial* examination on the day of the attempted assassination or in the course of the ensuing night, that nothing was ascertained that could in any way be seriously regarded as a clue to the murderer's motives and his political convictions. Every one of you, Gentlemen, knows the nature of *Wolff's Telegraphic Agency* (Hear, hear!), everyone of you knows that despatches of this kind simply cannot go through without being officially approved. And that very word 'official' has, for good measure, been authoritatively appended to this despatch. Hence there can, in my view, be no doubt whatsoever that the said despatch was a deliberate and witting *forgery* on the part of the authorities, and was sent out into the world as such. (Hear, hear!) The despatch contains one of the most infamous calumnies ever to have been unloosed on the world from official sources and this, moreover, with the intention of casting the most odious suspicions on the whole of a large party, and of branding it as an accessory to a crime.

"Again, I would ask how it was possible that the government organs, the entire semi-official and official press and, in their wake, almost the whole of the rest of the press should, on the strength of the above-mentioned despatches, have been allowed, for weeks and months on end, to go on hitting out at us day after day in the most outrageous and libellous fashion; that it could, day after day, unloose upon the world the most hair-raising and disquieting accounts of *plots discovered, fellow culprits,* etc., without the government's ever, etc.... Rather, *the government did all in its power to disseminate and implant in the minds of an ever wider public* a belief in the accuracy of the untrue allegations; and, up till this very hour, the government's official representatives have not so much as deigned to cast any light whatsoever on the present obscurities...."

Bebel now turns to the question of harassment (p. 39, Column II).

"It is clear that every effort *was made* to provoke disturbances; the intention was to annoy us to the extreme, thus *inciting us to acts of violence of one kind or another.*

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[a] William I.—*Ed.*

[b] *Neue Preußische Zeitung.—Ed.*

[c] Edwin von Niebelschütz.—*Ed.*

The *attempted assassinations were patently not enough.* Had we been incited to acts of violence by that harassment, certain circles would have undoubtedly rejoiced at having been thus provided with an even greater wealth of material incriminating ourselves and hence with an excuse for the most drastic intervention, etc." Thereupon Bebel demands "that *the records should at long last be brought to light* and that these *be submitted, in printed form,* to the *Reichstag and in particular to the commission* entrusted with the task of examining the Bill under discussion. The demand I am making here is similar to that which, a few days ago, during the debate on the *Grosser Kurfürst* disaster,[291] was voiced, with complete justification and the assent of almost all sections of the House, with reference to the said disaster and *which was expressly admitted to be allowable by the Minister for Naval Affairs (von Stosch),*[a] *insofar as it lay within his competence (!).*"

//Bebel's request was greeted by the Reichstag with cries of "Quite right! Capital!"//

//And what was the Prussian government's reply to this crushing accusation? With Eulenburg for its mouthpiece, it replied that it would not submit the records and that there was no incriminating material whatever to hand.//

*Minister of the Interior, Count zu Eulenburg*: "As regards the first point,"

//information obtained by the representatives of the federal governments, "concerning the examination to which the criminal, Nobiling, since deceased, was subjected"//.[b]

1. "As regards the first point, I have to tell you that, *if submission be demanded, it would be for the Prussian judiciary to give a ruling* as to *the feasibility or admissibility of disclosing the transactions of the proceedings* that were instituted against Nobiling. This much, however, I am able to tell you, Gentlemen, and that is that Nobiling was subjected to *one* examination and that, in the course of that examination, *insofar as I have any knowledge of it,* he stated that he had participated in Social-Democratic meetings and found the doctrines put forward there to his liking. Having regard to the fact that it is for *the Prussian judiciary to give a ruling as to the submission of the files,* I must refrain from giving *any further information.*"

//All that Eulenburg is actually saying is: 1. that "*one*" examination took place; he is careful not to say a "judicial" examination. Equally, he omits to say *when* that one examination took place (no doubt after the bullet that went through his head had blown out part of his brains).// But the words attributed by Eulenburg to Nobiling in the course of this "one" examination (assuming that Nobiling *was in a condition to give an account of himself*) prove, firstly, that he did not describe himself as a *Social-Democrat,* or as a *member of the Social-Democratic Party*; all he said was that he had attended some of the latter's MEETINGS like many other philistines

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[a] The name has been inserted by Marx.—*Ed.*

[b] See *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags,* Vol. 1, Berlin, 1878, pp. 50-51.—*Ed.*

and had found "the doctrines put forward there to his liking". Hence those doctrines were not his doctrines. His attitude towards them was that of a newcomer. *Secondly*, that he never suggested there was *any* connection between his "assassination attempt" and the MEETINGS or the doctrines put forward there.

But that is not the end of the curious tale: Mr. Eulenburg is fabricating the "this much" he is able to tell, or saying problematically "that, in the course of that examination, *insofar as I have any knowledge of it*, he stated". According to this, therefore, Mr. Eulenburg has *never seen the record*; he knows it only from hearsay and can only tell as much "as has come to his knowledge in this way". But he at once proceeds to give himself the lie. Having just told everything "insofar as he had any knowledge of it", he goes on in his very next sentence to say:

"Having regard to the fact that it is for the Prussian judiciary to give a ruling as to the submission of the files, *I must refrain from giving any further information*."

In other words, he would compromise the government were he to "give" what he knows.

Incidentally: If only *one* interrogation took place, we also know "when", namely on the day when Nobiling was arrested with bullets in his brain and a sabre cut in the head, namely on the day, the same day that the notorious telegram was released,[a] *at 2 o'clock in the morning, on June 2.* Later, however, the government sought to make the *ultramontane* party[292] responsible for Nobiling. The interrogation, therefore, had revealed no *connection of any description* between Nobiling's assassination attempt and the Social-Democrats.

But Eulenburg has not yet concluded his confessions. He has to

"expressly point out that, as early as *May*, I stated from this place[293] that *the statement did not go so far as to say* that these *acts had been directly instigated by the Social-Democrats*; *neither am I now in a position to make such statement* ***nor, indeed, to add anything new along the same lines***."

Bravo! Eulenburg roundly admits that, for all the disgraceful harassment by police and interrogators which took place between Hödel's assassination attempt and the Reichstag MEETING, not *one shred of factual evidence* was produced in support of the government's pet "theory" regarding the attempted assassinations!

Eulenburg and Co., whose tender "regard" for the powers of the "Prussian judiciary" is such that the latter is assumed, after Hödel's decapitation and Nobiling's death,[294] to present an obstacle

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[a] "Die Frevelthat vom 2. Juni", *Neue Preußische Zeitung*, No. 126, June 4, 1878.—*Ed.*

to submitting the "records" to the Reichstag, the investigation thus being closed for good, did not scruple on the very day of Nobiling's assassination attempt, when the investigation of his case had barely begun, to issue a tendentiously worded "telegram", purportedly about the initial interrogation of Nobiling, thereby evoking delirium tremens in the German philistines and causing their press to build an edifice of lies thereon! What respect for the *judiciary* and more particularly for the similarly accused government!

Having thus declared that there is no *factual evidence* arising out of these attempted assassinations upon which to base an accusation against the Social-Democrats—and therefore refused to produce the records which would cast a grotesque light on this abhorrent circumstance, Mr. Eulenburg proceeds to say that the Bill in fact rests simply upon a "theory", the government's theory that

"the line of vehement agitation adopted *by Social-Democracy in the dissemination of its doctrines would be well-calculated to induce in* ***unruly spirits*** *the maturation of such tragic fruits* as we, to our most profound regret, have had to witness."

//Tragic fruits such as Sefeloge, Tschech, Schneider, Becker, Kullmann, Cohen (alias Blind)?//

"And I *believe* that in so saying, Gentlemen, I am still today *of one mind* with the *entire German press*,"

//i.e. insofar as it has been reptilized,[295] i.e. with the single exception of *independent papers of all complexions*//

"with the *sole exception* of the Social-Democratic section thereof".

(Outright *lies*, as before!)

//The meetings attended by Nobiling, like any other, took place *under the supervision* of a policeman; hence there was nothing insidious about them; the *doctrines* he listened to can only have related to the subjects on the *agenda*.//

After these *factually* false pronouncements about the "entire German press", Mr. Eulenburg may be

"certain of *encountering no contradiction from that quarter*".

In reply to Bebel, he has to "*recall* the attitude adopted towards these events by the Social-Democratic press" in order to prove "that Social-Democracy" does not, as it claims, "*abhor murder* in whatever guise".

*Proof*:

1. "The organs of Social-Democracy began by trying to demonstrate that the attempted assassinations were a put-up job" (CROWN PRINCE[a]).

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[a] Frederick William.—*Ed.*

//The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine* [*Zeitung*]'s complaints concerning the legal nature of German Social-Democratic agitation.//[296]

2. "When they saw that this offered no means of escape..., they changed their tune and asserted that neither of the criminals could be held accountable, depicting them as isolated lunatics and their deeds as manifestations such as had always occurred from time to time in every era"

//haven't they?//

"and for which no one could be held responsible."

//(Proves love of "murder".) (Many non-Social-Democratic journals did the same.)//

Instead of producing the "records" of which, according to his previous statement, he has no knowledge—or must, out of regard for the "Prussian judiciary", refrain from blabbing about—Mr. Eulenburg now demands that credence be attached, on the grounds of these "records" withheld by him, to the following:

"Gentlemen, the investigation which has been carried out has not yielded the slightest indication that the two men were in any way incapable of reflecting upon the consequences and implications of their acts. On the contrary, *all that it has been possible to establish* is that they were fully accountable for their actions and, in the latter case, //not, then, in that of the executed man, Hödel?// acted with *deliberate malice aforethought* such as has seldom been seen before."

3. "There has been a tendency in many of the organs of Social-Democracy *to excuse these actions, to exculpate their perpetrators.* Not they, but society"

//they were exculpated by the government in that the latter does not hold *them* responsible but "the doctrines of Social-Democracy" and the agitators of the working class—i.e. *one section of society* and its "doctrines"—//

"*was held* responsible *for the crimes*"

//i.e. the exculpation was not extended to the *acts*, otherwise they would not have been regarded as "*crimes*", and the question of "guilt" would not have been discussed at all//

"which had been committed."

(*Quotes* from *Vorwärts*,[a] with complete justification, with reference to Hödel.)

After all this clap-trap:

4. "Side by side with this, Gentlemen, there appeared comments on the heinous acts perpetrated or attempted against high-ranking officials in Russia. With reference to *Vera Zasulich's* assassination attempt"

//the St. Petersburg jury and the press throughout the world!!//

"and the murder of General *Mezentsov*"[297]

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[a] Eulenburg quotes "Das Attentat" in *Vorwärts*, No. 57, May 17, 1878.—*Ed.*

//more about this below, *re* Bismarck[a]//

"you will have seen in a paper published here the question: 'Well, what else could they have done? What other recourse did they have?'"[b]

5. "Finally, *Social-Democracy abroad* has explicitly and in so many words expressed its sympathy with these acts. The *Congress of the Jura Federation*, which *met at Fribourg* in July *of this year*, explicitly declared the acts of Hödel and Nobiling to be revolutionary acts which had its full sympathy, etc."[298]

But is German Social-Democracy "responsible" for the statements and MOVEMENTS of a clique hostile to it whose "assassinations" and [the like][c] in Italy, Switzerland, Spain //likewise Russia: Nechayev// have hitherto been confined exclusively to members of "the Marxian tendency"?[299]

//In referring to these same anarchists, Mr. Eulenburg had already remarked that one had had to relinquish the view that

"the attempted assassinations were a put-up job", "when even Social-Democratic organs abroad—I shall presently provide an example of this—expressed the conviction that nothing *of the kind* was the case";

he forgets to provide "the example".//

There now follows a *fine passage* on

the "*Marxian tendency*" and the "*tendency of the so-called Anarchists*"

(p. 51, Column I). They are different, but

"it *cannot be denied* that there is *a certain*" (what? *hostile*) "connection between all *these associations*"

as, indeed, there is a *certain* connection between all the manifestations of one and the same epoch. If they want to make a *cas pendable*[d] of this "*connection*", they must first of all show it to have a *distinctive character*, and not rest content with a phrase that is applicable to anything and everything in the universe where a "certain" connection exists between absolutely everything. The "Marxian tendency" has demonstrated that there is a definite connection between the "Anarchists'" doctrines and actions and those of the European "police". When the details of this connection were exposed in the report *The Alliance*, etc.,[e] the entire reptilian and respectable press held its peace. These "revelations" did not fit in with their idea of a "connection".

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[a] For Bismarck's speech at the Reichstag sitting of September 17, 1878 see *Stenographische Berichte...*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1878, p. 70.—*Ed.*

[b] See "Das Henkerbeil", *Berliner Freie Presse*, No. 195, August 23, 1878.—*Ed.*

[c] Not easily decipherable in the MS.—*Ed.*

[d] Capital offence.—*Ed.*

[e] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (present edition, Vol. 23).—*Ed.*

(Hitherto this clique has confined its attempted murders solely to members of the "Marxian" tendency.)

After this *faux fuyant*[a] Mr. Eulenburg proceeds, *via* an unobtrusive "and", to tack on a sentence which seeks to demonstrate the said "connection" by means of a false *locus communis*[b] and one, moreover, that was expressed in an exceptionally "critical" form:

"...and", he goes on, "and in such movements, *experience based upon the law of gravity*"

//a movement may be based on the law of gravity, e.g. the movement of a fall, but an experience is based *prima facie*[c] only on the phenomenon of the fall//

"has shown that *more extreme tendencies*"

//e.g. self-mutilation in Christianity//

"*gradually* gain the upper hand, and that the more moderate ones are unable to hold their own against them."

Firstly, to say that in historical movements it is the so-called extreme tendencies in any timely movement that gain the upper hand,—Luther versus Thomas Münzer, the Puritans versus the LEVELLERS, the Jacobins versus the Hébertistes[300]—is a *false locus communis*. History proves precisely the opposite. *Secondly*, however, the "anarchist" tendency is not an "extreme tendency" of German Social-Democracy,—something which Eulenburg should prove rather than insinuate. What is involved in the one case is the genuine historical movement of the working class; the other is a phantom of a *jeunesse sans issue*[d] intent on making history, and merely shows how the ideas of French socialism are caricatured in the *hommes déclassés*[e] of the upper classes. As a result, anarchism has suffered an almost universal eclipse, and continues to exist only where there is as yet no proper workers' movement. This is a fact.

All that Mr. Eulenburg proves is how dangerous it can be when the "police" take to "philosophising".

See the immediately ensuing sentence (Column I, p. 51) in which Eulenburg speaks *quasi re bene gesta*.[f]

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[a] Red herring.—*Ed.*
[b] Commonplace.—*Ed.*
[c] On the face of it.—*Ed.*
[d] Young people in a predicament.—*Ed.*
[e] Déclassé men.—*Ed.*
[f] As though all was as it should be.—*Ed.*

He now seeks to prove that "*the doctrines and objectives of Social-Democracy are harmful in all respects*"! And how? With three quotations.

But first let us look at the splendid way in which he makes the transition:

"And if you take a somewhat closer look at these doctrines and objectives of Social-Democracy, you will find that *the objective* is not, as said just now, *peaceful development*, but *that peaceful development is only a stage* intended to lead on to the *final objectives* which are unattainable by any means other than those of force."

//In the same way, perhaps, as the "National Association"[301] was a "stage" intended to lead on to the *forcible Prussification of Germany*,—that's how Mr. Eulenburg looks at the matter [with] "Blood and Iron".[a]//

If one takes the first part of the sentence, what he is saying is merely a tautology or an absurdity: If development has an "objective"—"final objectives"—then those "objectives" are its "objectives", the nature of the development being neither "peaceful" nor otherwise. What Eulenburg is in fact trying to say is: Peaceful development towards an objective is only a stage which is intended to lead on to the forcible development of the objective, and indeed, according to Mr. Eulenburg, this subsequent change from "peaceful" to "forcible" development is inherent in the objective it is seeking to attain. The objective in the case under consideration is the emancipation of the working class and the revolution (transformation) of society implicit therein. An historical development can remain "peaceful" only for so long as its progress is not forcibly obstructed by those wielding social power at the time. If in England, for instance, or the United States, the working class were to gain a majority in PARLIAMENT or CONGRESS, they could, by lawful means, rid themselves of such laws and institutions as impeded their development, though they could only do so insofar as society had reached a sufficiently mature development. However, the "peaceful" movement might be transformed into a "forcible" one by resistance on the part of those interested in restoring the former state of affairs; if (as in the American Civil War and French Revolution[302]) they are put down by *force*, it is as rebels against "lawful" force.

But what Eulenburg advocates is *forcible reaction* on the part of those in power against *development while still* at the "peaceful

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[a] An allusion to Bismarck's statement regarding the way of unifying Germany. See his speech at the 94th session of the Budget Commission of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies on September 30, 1862, *Berliner Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 458, October 2, 1862 (morning issue).—*Ed.*

stage", and this for the purpose of preventing subsequent "forcible" conflicts; the war cry of forcible counter-revolution against actually "peaceful" development; indeed, the government is seeking to suppress *by force* a development it dislikes but cannot *lawfully* attack. This is the necessary prelude to forcible revolutions.

It is an old story
which yet remains eternally new.[a]

Mr. Eulenburg now adduces three quotations in proof of Social-Democracy's doctrines of force:

1. *In his work on capital, Marx says:* "*Our* aims etc."

//But "*our*" aims is said, not in the name of German Social-Democracy, but in that of the *Communist Party.*// The passage is not from *Capital* which appeared in *1867,* but from the *Communist Manifesto* which had appeared in "1847",[303] i.e. twenty years before the "German Social-Democracy" was actually formed.

2. And in another passage, which is quoted in Mr. Bebel's work, *Unsere Ziele,* we read, as an assertion made by Marx:

//He [Eulenburg] himself, who quotes from *Capital* a passage that is not in it, naturally quotes passage that does appear in it as an assertion quoted elsewhere. (Cf. *passage* in *Capital, 2nd edition.*[b])// But the passage in Bebel runs:

"Thus we see that *force* plays its role at various periods of history, and it is probably not without good reason that *K. Marx* (in his book, '*Das Kapital' in which he depicts the course of development of capitalist production*) exclaims: 'Force is the midwife of *every old society pregnant with a new one.* It is itself an economic power'."[c]

3. Quotation from Bebel: What *Unsere Ziele* (Column I, p. 51) quotes is, in fact, the following:

"The course of this development depends on the intensity (power) with which the circles involved take hold of the movement; *it depends on the resistance encountered by the movement from its opponents.* Of one thing we may be sure: *The more vigorous the resistance, the more forcibly will the new conditions be brought about.* The problem will not at all be solved by a sprinkling of rose water."

//*Eulenburg* quotes this from *Bebel*'s "*Unsere Ziele*". It is to be found on *p. 16,* see *passage side-lined* on p. 16, ditto *15*; see ditto, *passage side-lined,* p. 43.// Again "falsified" because *quoted out of context.*

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[a] H. Heine, "Ein Jungling liebt ein Mädchen...", *Buch der Lieder,* Hamburg, 1839.— *Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Das Kapital,* Hamburg, 1872, p. 782 (see *Capital,* Vol. I, Part VIII, Chapter XXXI, present edition, Vol. 35).— *Ed.*

[c] A. Bebel, *Unsere Ziele,* 4th ed., Leipzig, 1874, p. 16.— *Ed.*

After this forceful performance, see the puerile and self-demolishing twaddle about *Bismarck's* "contacts" with the "leaders of Social-Democracy" (p. 51, Column II).[304]

*At the same sitting*:

*Stolberg's* speech was followed by *Reichensperger's*. His chief fear—that the law whereby everything was made subject to the police be also applied to other parties displeasing to the government; in addition, unending *Catholic* balderdash. (See side-lined passages, pp. 30-35).

Reichensperger was followed by *von Helldorff-Bedra*. Utterly naive:

"Gentlemen, the present law has the character of a preventive law in the most eminent sense of the word; it contains no penal clauses, but simply *empowers the police to issue prohibitions and attaches penalties to infringements of these patently unmistakable prohibitions*" (p. 36, Column I).

//It allows only the police to *prohibit everything* and does not *punish* the infringement of any law, but rather the "infringement" of the police ukase. A highly successful way of rendering *penal laws* superfluous.//

The "danger", admits *Mr. von Helldorff*, lies in the electoral victories of the Social-Democrats[305] which were not even prejudiced by the harassment consequent upon the assassination attempts! That calls for disciplinary action. Use of general suffrage in a manner displeasing to the government! (36, Column II).

However, the laddie concedes that Reichensperger is right and the "Complaints office", the "Federal Council Commission", nonsense.

"The only question *to be settled here is one that concerns the police*, and to circumscribe such an *authority by guaranteeing rights*—quite definitely wrong"; abuse can be combatted by showing "confidence in *politically highly placed officials*" (37, I and II). Demands "amendment of our suffrage" (38, I).

Written on about September 24, 1878

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Printed according to the manuscript

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# Frederick Engels

## [THE ANTI-SOCIALIST LAW IN GERMANY.— THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA][306]

London, March 21

...The last socialist elections in Germany prove that one cannot kill socialism just by stopping its mouth.[307] Indeed the law against the socialists will be a great success for us. It will complete the revolutionary education of the German workers...

With great effort and great sacrifices they had won the degree of freedom of the press, of association and assembly which they enjoyed. It was a continuous struggle, but in the end victory always remained on the side of the workers. They could organise, and whenever there was a general election it was a new triumph for them.

This legal agitation, however, made some people believe that it was no longer necessary to do anything else in order to obtain the final victory of the proletariat. This, in a country as poor in revolutionary traditions as Germany, could have been dangerous. Luckily, Bismarck's brutal action and the cowardice of the German bourgeoisie who support him have changed things. The German workers have proved just how much constitutional liberties are worth when the proletariat takes them seriously and uses them to combat capitalist domination. If any illusions still existed in this respect, our friend Bismarck has abruptly dispelled them. I say our *friend* Bismarck because no one has ever rendered so many services to socialism in Germany as he has. After preparing the revolution with the most advanced and intolerable militarism, with constantly increasing taxes, with an alliance between the State and the most shameless stock-jobbing, with a return to the most feudal and repressive traditions of the old Prussia, with persecutions as numerous as they were petty, and with public degradation and revilement inflicted on a bourgeoisie which, it must be said,

deserved no better,—after preparing the revolution in this way he crowns his labours by forcing the German proletariat to set out on the revolutionary road.

Our friend Bismarck can rest assured. The revolution he has so well prepared will be carried out by the German workers. When the signal is given by Russia, they will be ready.

For some years now I have been bringing the state of Russia, where a decisive movement is being prepared, to the attention of European socialists. The struggle between the government and the secret societies has taken on so violent a character there that it cannot last. The movement seems to be on the brink of exploding. The government agents are committing incredible atrocities. Against such wild animals one must defend oneself as one can, with powder and lead. Political assassination in Russia is the only means which men of intelligence, dignity and character possess to defend themselves against the agents of an unprecedented despotism.[308]

Powerful conspiracies in the army and even in the imperial Court, national opinion humiliated by the diplomatic defeats following the war,[309] the treasury empty, credit in ruins, the bankers refusing to grant loans unless they are guaranteed by a national assembly, and finally destitution. This is the balance of Russia.

Written on March 21, 1879

First published in *La Plebe*, No. 12, March 30, 1879

Signed: *F. Engels*

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the Italian

Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## CIRCULAR LETTER

### TO AUGUST BEBEL, WILHELM LIEBKNECHT, WILHELM BRACKE AND OTHERS[310]

Dear Bebel,

The delay in replying to your letter of August 20[a] has been due, on the one hand, to Marx's prolonged absence[311] and, on the other, to a number of incidents: first, the arrival of the "Richter" *Jahrbuch*, secondly that of Höchberg himself.[312]

I can only conclude that Liebknecht did not show you the last letter I wrote him, although I specifically instructed him to do so. Otherwise you would certainly not have adduced the same reasons as had been put forward by Liebknecht, and to which I had already *replied* in the aforesaid letter.[313]

Let us now run through the individual points with which we are concerned here.

### I. THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH CARL HIRSCH

Liebknecht asked Hirsch whether he would undertake to edit the party organ that was about to be founded in Zurich. Hirsch sought information as to the financing of the paper: what funds were available and who was providing them? Firstly, so as to know whether the paper might not peter out within a few months. Secondly, to ascertain who held the purse-strings, thus having the final say as to the paper's stance. Liebknecht's reply, telling Hirsch that "everything is in order; you will be getting further information from Zurich" (Liebknecht to Hirsch, July 28), didn't arrive.[314] But what did reach Hirsch from Zurich was a letter from

[a] The original erroneously has: "August 29".—*Ed.*

Bernstein (July 24) in which Bernstein informed him that "*We*[a] are being entrusted with the production and *supervision* (of the paper)". A discussion had taken place "between Viereck, Singer and *ourselves*" during which it was suggested

"that your position might be rendered somewhat difficult by the differences of opinion which you, as a *Laterne* man, have had with individual comrades, though *I* myself do not consider this objection carries much weight".

Not a word about the financing.

Hirsch answered by return on July 26, enquiring about the paper's material circumstances. Which comrades had undertaken to cover the deficit? Up to what amount and for how long?—The question of the editor's salary didn't enter into this at all; Hirsch merely wanted to know whether "means have been secured to ensure the paper's continued existence for at least a year".

On July 31, Bernstein replied, saying that any deficit there might be would be covered by voluntary contributions of which *some* (!) had already been subscribed. Hirsch's remarks about the stance he thought the paper should adopt, of which more below, elicited deprecating remarks and *injunctions*:

"It is all the more necessary for the *supervisory committee*[315] to insist on it in that it, in turn, is subject to control, i.e. is responsible. On these points, therefore, you must come to an understanding with the supervisory committee."

They asked him to reply by return, preferably by telegraph.

Hence, instead of getting a reply to his justified questions, Hirsch was informed that he was to be editor under a *supervisory* committee based in Zurich, with views differing very materially from his own and members of whose names he wasn't even informed!

Hirsch, quite justifiably outraged by this treatment, chose rather to come to an understanding with the Leipzigers. His letter of August 2 to Liebknecht must be known to you, since Hirsch *expressly demanded* that it be shown to you and Viereck. Hirsch is even willing to submit to a supervisory committee in Zurich, inasmuch as the latter is to put its comments to the editor in writing and these may be referred for decision to the controlling committee in Leipzig.[316]

In the meantime Liebknecht had written to Hirsch on July 28:

"*Of course* finance is available for the undertaking, seeing that it is backed by the entire party+(INCLUSIVE) Höchberg. But I'm not concerned with the details."

Nor does Liebknecht's next letter contain anything about the financing—only an assurance that the Zurich committee is not an

[a] Eduard Bernstein, Karl Höchberg and Karl August Schramm.—*Ed.*

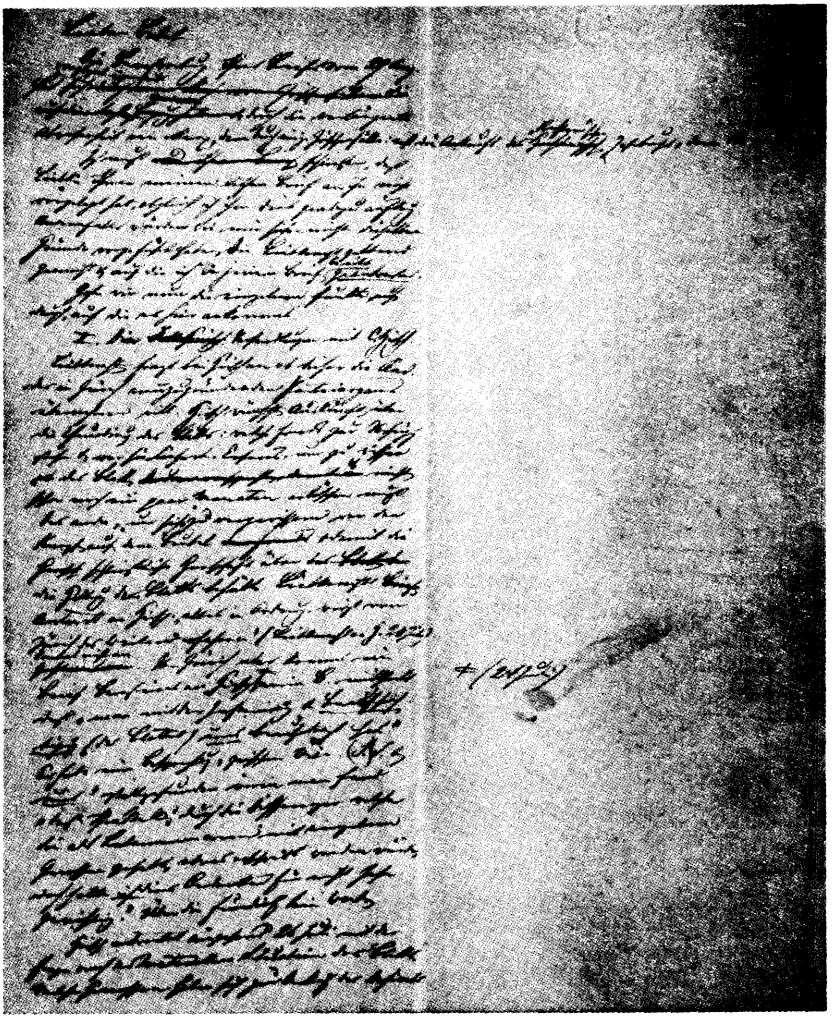

A page of the "Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and Others" by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

editorial committee, but is only to be entrusted with *administration* and the financial side. As late as August 14, Liebknecht wrote to me along the same lines, and asked that we persuade Hirsch to accept. You yourself, as late as August 20 were still so little acquainted with the actual circumstances that you wrote to me saying:

"He" (Höchberg) "has no more say in the editing of the paper than *any other well-known member of the party.*"

Finally, Hirsch received a letter from Viereck, dated August 11, containing the admission that

"the 3 men domiciled in Zurich are to, qua *editorial committee*, apply themselves to founding the paper and, subject to the agreement of the three Leipzigers, select an editor ... *so far as I recall*, the resolutions that were sent them also asserted that the (Zurich) founding committee mentioned under 2., was to assume *both political* and financial responsibility towards the party.... From this state of affairs it follows, or so it seems to me, that ... there can be no question of anyone assuming the editorship without the concurrence of the 3 men domiciled in Zurich and entrusted with the founding by the party".

Here at last was *something* definite, at least, for Hirsch to go on, if only in regard to the position of the editor vis-à-vis the Zurichers. They were an *editorial* committee; they were also *politically* responsible; without their concurrence no one could assume the editorship. In short, Hirsch was simply instructed to come to an understanding with three men in Zurich whose names had still not been disclosed to him.

But to make the confusion worse, Liebknecht added a postscript to Viereck's letter:

"Singer from Berlin was here just now and *informed* us that the supervisory committee in Zurich *is not*, as Viereck imagines, an *editorial* committee, but essentially an administrative committee which is financially responsible to the party, i.e. to ourselves, for the paper; of course, its members also have the right and the duty to discuss the editing with you (a right and a duty of which, by the way, *every* member is possessed); they are *not* empowered to place you under their *guardianship.*"

The Zurich trio and one member of the Leipzig committee—the *only one*[a] present at the discussions—insist that Hirsch is to be subject to official direction by Zurich, while another Leipzig member[b] contests this outright. And yet Hirsch is to make up his mind before these gentlemen are agreed amongst themselves! The fact that Hirsch was entitled to acquaint himself with the resolutions they had adopted and which embodied the conditions with which he was expected to comply, was entirely overlooked,

[a] Louis Viereck.—*Ed.*
[b] Wilhelm Liebknecht.—*Ed.*

the more so since it never seems to have occurred to the Leipzigers that they *themselves* should become properly acquainted with those resolutions. How, otherwise, can the above-mentioned inconsistency be accounted for?

If the Leipzigers were unable to agree upon the powers vested in the Zurich people, the latter harboured no doubts on this score.

Schramm to Hirsch, August 14:

"Had you not written at one time that in a similar case" (as that of Kayser),[a] "you would do just as you had done before, thus holding out the prospect of a similar *modus operandi*,[317] we would not be wasting words on the subject. As it is, however, and in view of that statement of yours, we must reserve the right to have the casting vote as to what articles the new paper should take."

The letter to Bernstein in which Hirsch was alleged to have said this was dated July 26, *long* after the conference in Zurich at which the Zurich trio's powers were laid down. But so much were those in Zurich already revelling in the sense of their own bureaucratic authority that, in reply to this subsequent letter of Hirsch's, they were already laying claim to new powers, namely the *decision* as to what articles should be included. The editorial committee was already a *censorship* committee.

Not until Höchberg arrived in Paris did Hirsch learn from him the *names* of the members of the two committees.[318]

If, then, discussions with Hirsch broke down, what was the cause?

1. The obstinate refusal, on the part of both Leipzig and Zurich, to give him any hard and fast information about the paper's financial basis and hence the likelihood of keeping it afloat, if only for a year. Not until he was over here did he learn from me (following your communication to me[b]) how much had been subscribed. Hence, the only conclusion it was really possible to draw from previous communications (the party + Höchberg) was either that the paper was already being largely financed by Höchberg or that it would soon be entirely dependent on his subsidies. And this latter eventuality is still far from being excluded. The sum of—if I read it right—800 marks is *precisely* the same (40 pounds sterling) as had to be contributed by the local association, *Freiheit*,[319] during the *first half year.*

2. Liebknecht's repeated assurances, which have since proved totally erroneous, that Zurich was to have no official control whatever over the editorship, and the resulting comedy of errors;

3. The certainty finally established that not only were the Zurich

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[a] See this volume, pp. 260-61.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to August Bebel's letter to Engels of August 20, 1879.—*Ed.*

people to control the editing, they were actually to censor it, and that the only role that would redound upon him, Hirsch, would be that of the man of straw.

His refusal at that juncture is something we cannot but approve. The Leipzig committee, or so we hear from Höchberg,[320] has received reinforcements in the shape of two more who do not live in the place[a] and hence that committee can intervene quickly only if the three Leipzigers are agreed. As a result, the real centre of gravity has altogether shifted to Zurich, and Hirsch or, for that matter, any true revolutionary and proletarian-minded editor, would not have been able to work with the people there for any length of time. More about this later.

## II. THE PROPOSED STANCE OF THE PAPER

As early as July 24 Bernstein had informed Hirsch that the differences he, as a *Laterne* man, had had with individual comrades would render his position more difficult.

Hirsch replied[b] that in his view the paper's stance would in general have to be the same as that of the *Laterne*, i.e. such as to avoid prosecution in Switzerland and not cause undue alarm in Germany. He inquired who those comrades might be and continued:

> "I know of only one and can promise you that in a similar case of *undisciplined conduct* I should deal with him in exactly the same way."

Whereupon Bernstein, conscious of his newly acquired dignity as official censor, replied:

> "Now as regards the paper's stance, it is the view of the supervisory committee that the *Laterne* should not serve as a model; in our view the paper should be less taken up with political radicalism, but rather adopt a line that is socialist on principle. Instances such as the attack upon Kayser, which was frowned on by all comrades without exception" (!), "must under all circumstances be avoided."[c]

And so on and so forth. Liebknecht called the attack on Kayser "a bloomer", and so dangerous did it seem to Schramm that he immediately imposed censorship on Hirsch.[d]

Hirsch again wrote to Höchberg, saying that a case such as that of Kayser

> "could not occur should an official party organ exist, whose lucid expositions and friendly hints *could* not be so presumptuously brushed aside by a deputy".

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[a] Ignaz Auer and Karl Grillenberger.—*Ed.*

[b] On July 26, 1879.—*Ed.*

[c] Eduard Bernstein's letter to Carl Hirsch of July 31, 1879.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, p. 258.—*Ed.*

Viereck also wrote, saying that what was required of the new paper was that it adopt a

"dispassionate attitude and, in so far as possible, bury the hatchet"; it ought not to be an "enlarged version of the *Laterne*" and "the most Bernstein can be reproached with is that he holds views that are too moderate, if reproach it be at a time when we cannot, after all, crowd on sail".

Well, now, what is this Kayser case, this unpardonable crime Hirsch is supposed to have committed? In the Reichstag, Kayser spoke in favour of and voted for protective tariffs, the only one of the Social-Democratic deputies to do so. Hirsch accused him of having infringed party discipline, in that Kayser

1. voted for indirect taxation, the abolition of which is expressly demanded by the party programme[a];

2. voted Bismarck funds, thus infringing the first and fundamental rule of our party tactics: not a farthing for this government.

Hirsch is undeniably right on both counts. And, after Kayser had spurned, on the one hand, the party programme to which the deputies, by their resolution in congress, had in effect been solemnly pledged and, on the other hand, the most imperative and all-important rule of party tactics, after he had voted Bismarck *funds, out of gratitude for the Anti-Socialist Law,*[321] Hirsch was again perfectly justified in our opinion in handling him as roughly as he did.

We have never understood how it was that this attack upon Kayser could have aroused such a furore in Germany. I am now told by Höchberg that it was the "faction" which gave Kayser *permission* to act as he did, and Kayser is held to be covered by that permission.

If such is the case, then it is really too bad. In the first place, Hirsch could have known no more than the rest of the world about this secret resolution.[b] Then, again, the discredit incurred by the party, for which previously Kayser alone could have been blamed, is all the greater for this affair, as is Hirsch's merit in having brought to light in public and for all the world to see Kayser's preposterous phraseology and his even more preposterous vote, thus saving the honour of the party. Or has German

[a] See "Programm der sozialistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands", *Der Volksstaat*, No. 59, May 28, 1875.—*Ed.*

[b] Deleted in the manuscript: "Even admitting that two or three other Social-Democratic deputies (for it is unlikely that any more were there) had allowed themselves to be misled into permitting Kayser to recite his inanities in front of all and sundry, and vote Bismarck funds, it was their duty publicly to assume responsibility for this and then wait and see what Hirsch would say."—*Ed.*

Social-Democracy indeed been infected with the parliamentary disease, believing that, with the popular vote, the Holy Ghost is poured upon those elected, that meetings of the faction are transformed into infallible councils and factional resolutions into sacrosanct dogma?

Admittedly, a bloomer has been made—not by Hirsch, however, but by the deputies who gave Kayser the protection of their resolution. And if those upon whom, above all others, it is incumbent to see that party discipline is maintained, themselves so glaringly infringe that party discipline by a resolution of this kind, then so much the worse. But it is even worse still if they have the audacity to believe that it was not Kayser, by his speech and vote, or the other deputies by their resolution, who infringed party discipline, but Hirsch, inasmuch as he attacked Kayser despite that resolution about which, moreover, he knew nothing.

For the rest, there can be no doubt that the policy the party had adopted towards the question of protective tariffs was as muddled and vacillating as it has always been in regard to virtually all economic questions—e.g. state railways[322]—when they have become a practical issue. The reason for this is that the party organs, notably *Vorwärts*, rather than subject such questions to a thorough discussion, have preferred to apply themselves to the construction of the future social order. When, *subsequent to* the Anti-Socialist Law, the question of protective tariffs suddenly became a live issue, views on the subject diverged, assuming a wide variety of nuances, and there was absolutely no one to hand possessing the qualification that would have enabled him to form a lucid and accurate opinion, namely a knowledge of conditions in German industry and the latter's position in the world market. Again, as was bound to happen, protectionist tendencies cropped up here and there amongst the electorate, tendencies which, it was felt, ought also to be taken into consideration. The only possible way out of the confusion would have been to take a purely political view of the question (as was done in the *Laterne*), but this was not pursued with any determination. Thus it was inevitable that in this debate, the party acted for the first time in a hesitant, uncertain and muddled way and ended up by thoroughly discrediting itself through the person of and in company with Kayser.

The attack on Kayser is now being used as a pretext to admonish Hirsch, in tones ranging through the whole gamut, to the effect that the new paper must on no account repeat the excesses of the *Laterne*, must be less taken up with political radicalism and rather adopt a line that is dispassionate and

socialist on principle. And this from Viereck no less than from Bernstein who, precisely because he is too moderate, appears to the former to be the right man, seeing that just now we cannot, after all, crowd on sail.

But why go abroad at all, unless one intends to crowd on sail? Abroad, there's nothing to prevent this being done. In Switzerland there are no German press, combination and penal laws. Hence, not only can one say things there, which could not, even before the Anti-Socialist Law, be said at home because of the ordinary German laws, but one is actually *duty-bound* to do so. For here one is under the eyes, not of Germany alone, but of Europe and it is one's duty, insofar as the *Swiss* laws allow, openly to proclaim for Europe's benefit the methods and aims of the German party. Anyone in Switzerland seeking to abide by the *German* laws would only prove that he is deserving of those German laws and that he has, in effect, nothing to say save what he was allowed to say in Germany before the Exceptional Law. Nor should any account be taken of the possibility that the editors might be temporarily deprived of the chance to return to Germany. Anyone who is not prepared to run that risk is not fit to occupy so exposed and honourable a post.

More. If the German party was ostracised by the Exceptional Law, this was precisely *because* it was the only serious opposition party in Germany. If, in an organ published abroad, it renders thanks to Bismarck by abandoning its role as the only serious opposition party, by behaving in a nice, docile manner and adopting a dispassionate stance when kicked, it only proves that it deserved to be kicked. Of all the German émigré papers that have appeared abroad since 1830, the *Laterne* is undoubtedly one of the most moderate. If, however, even the *Laterne* was too insolent—then the new organ could not but compromise the party in the eyes of sympathisers in non-German countries.

## III. THE MANIFESTO OF THE ZURICH TRIO

In the meantime we have received Höchberg's *Jahrbuch*, containing an article, "Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland,"[a] which, as Höchberg himself informed me, was actually written by the three members of the Zurich committee.[b]

[a] See this volume, p. 253. *Jahrbuch für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik*, Jg. 1, 1. Hälfte, Zurich-Oberstrass, 1879, pp. 75-96. The parentheses, abridgements and italics in the following quotations are by Engels.— *Ed.*

[b] Höchberg, Bernstein and Schramm.— *Ed.*

Here we have their authentic critique of the movement up till now, and hence their authentic programme for the new paper's stance insofar as this is dependent on them.

At the very start we read:

"The movement, regarded by Lassalle as an eminently political one, to which he sought to rally not only the workers but all honest democrats, and *in the van of which* were to march the independent representatives of science and *all men imbued with a true love of mankind*, was trivialised under the chairmanship of J. B. von Schweitzer into a *one-sided struggle of the industrial workers to promote their own interests*." [a]

I shall not inquire whether and to what extent this is historically true. The specific charge against Schweitzer is that Schweitzer *trivialised* Lassalleanism, here regarded as a bourgeois democratic-philanthropic movement, into a one-sided struggle of the industrial workers to promote their own interests—*trivialised* it by *emphasising* its character as a class struggle of industrial workers against the bourgeoisie.[b] He is further charged with having "repudiated bourgeois democracy".[c] But has bourgeois democracy any business to be in the Social-Democratic Party at all? If it consists of "honest men", it surely cannot wish to join, and if it nevertheless wishes to join, this can only be for the purpose of stirring up trouble.

The Lassallean party "chose to present itself in a most *one-sided* manner as a *workers' party*".[d] The gentlemen who wrote those

[a] *Jahrbuch für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik*, p. 84.—*Ed.*

[b] These two sentences were substituted by the authors for the following passage deleted in the manuscript: "Schweitzer was a great blackguard, but very talented intellectually. His particular merit consisted in his having broken free of the original, narrow Lassalleanism with its limited panacea of state aid... Whatever wrong he may have done out of corrupt motives and however much, too, he may have clung to the Lassallean panacea of state aid in order to preserve his domination, he nevertheless had the merit of having broken free of the original, narrow Lassalleanism, of having broadened the party's economic horizons and thus paved the way for its subsequent merger with the German party as a whole. The class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie, that pivot of all revolutionary socialism, had already been advocated by Lassalle. If Schweitzer stressed this point even more strongly it was, at any rate, a step forward so far as the cause was concerned, however much of a pretext he may thus have afforded dangerous individuals for calling his dictatorship in question. It may rightly be said that he turned Lassalleanism into a *one-sided* struggle of the *industrial* workers to promote their own interests. But one-sided only in the sense that, for reasons that were politically corrupt, he wished to have nothing to do with the farm workers' struggle to promote their own interests vis-à-vis the big landowners. It is not that with which he is reproached here; rather the 'trivialisation' consists in his emphasising its character as a class struggle of industrial workers against the bourgeoisie."—*Ed.*

[c] *Jahrbuch für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik*, p. 84.—*Ed.*

[d] Ibid., p. 85.—*Ed.*

words are themselves members of a party which presents itself in the most one-sided manner as a workers' party, and now hold office in the same. Here we have a complete incompatibility. If they think as they write, they ought to leave the party or at least resign from office. If they don't, it is tantamount to admitting that they intend to use their official position to combat the party's proletarian character. Hence the party is betraying itself if it allows them to remain in office.

Thus, in the view of these gentlemen, the Social-Democratic Party ought *not* to be a one-sided workers' party but a many-sided party of "all men imbued with a true love of mankind". This it is to prove, above all, by divesting itself of crude proletarian passions and applying itself, under the direction of educated philanthropic bourgeois, "to the formation of good taste" and "the acquisition of good manners" (p. 85). After which the "seedy appearance" of some of the leaders would give way to a respectable "bourgeois appearance".[a] (As though the outwardly seedy appearance of those referred to here were not the least that could be held against them!) After which, too,

> "there will be an *influx of supporters* from the ranks of the *educated* and *propertied* classes. *These*, however, must first be won over if the ... agitation engaged in is to have *perceptible results*...". German socialism has laid "too much stress on winning over the *masses*, thus omitting to prosecute vigorous" (!)"propaganda amongst the so-called upper strata of society". For "the party still lacks men who are fit to represent it in the Reichstag". It is, however, "desirable and necessary to entrust the mandates to men who have had the time and the opportunity to become thoroughly conversant with the relevant material. Only rarely and in exceptional cases does ... the simple working man and small master craftsman have sufficient leisure for the purpose".[b]

Therefore elect bourgeois!

In short, the working class is incapable of emancipating itself by its own efforts. In order to do so it must place itself under the direction of "educated and propertied" bourgeois who alone have "the time and the opportunity" to become conversant with what is good for the workers. And, secondly, the bourgeois are not to be combatted—not on your life—but *won over* by vigorous propaganda.

If, however, you wish to win over the upper strata of society, or at least their well-intentioned elements, you mustn't frighten them—not on your life. And here the Zurich trio believe they have made a reassuring discovery:

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[a] *Jahrbuch für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik*, p. 86.— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 87-89.— *Ed.*

"Now, at the very time it is oppressed by the Anti-Socialist Law, the party is showing that it *does not wish* to pursue the path of forcible, bloody revolution, but rather is determined ... to tread the path of legality, i.e. of *reform*."[a]

If, therefore, the 5-600,000 Social-Democratic voters, $^1/_{10}$ to $^1/_8$ of the total electorate—and dispersed, what is more, over the length and breadth of the country—have sense enough not to beat their heads against a wall and attempt a "bloody revolution" with the odds at one to ten, this is supposed to prove that they will, for all time, continue to *deny* themselves all chance of exploiting some violent upheaval abroad, a sudden wave of revolutionary fervour engendered thereby, or even a people's *victory* won in a clash arising therefrom! Should Berlin ever be so uneducated as to stage another March 18,[323] it would behove the Social-Democrats not to take part in the fighting as "louts besotted with barricades" (p. 88) but rather to "tread the path of legality", to placate, to clear away the barricades and, if necessary, march with the glorious army against the one-sided, crude, uneducated masses. Or if the gentlemen insist that that's not what they meant, then what did they mean?

But there's better in store.

"Hence, the more calm, sober and considered it (the Party) shows itself to be in its criticism of existing circumstances and its proposals to change the same, the less likelihood is there of a repetition of the present successful move" (introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law) "by means of which conscious reaction has scared the bourgeoisie out of their wits by holding up the red spectre" (p. 88).

In order to relieve the bourgeoisie of the last trace of anxiety, it is to be shown clearly and convincingly that the red spectre really is just a spectre and doesn't exist. But what is the secret of the red spectre, if not the bourgeoisie's fear of the inevitable life-and-death struggle between itself and the proletariat, fear of the unavoidable outcome of the modern class struggle? Just abolish the class struggle, and the bourgeoisie and "all independent persons" will "not hesitate to go hand in hand with the proletarians"![b] In which case the ones to be hoodwinked would be those self-same proletarians.

Let the party, therefore, prove, by its humble and subdued demeanour, that it has renounced once and for all the "improprieties and excesses"[c] which gave rise to the Anti-Socialist Law. If it voluntarily undertakes to remain wholly within the bounds of the Anti-Socialist Law, Bismarck and the bourgeoisie will, no

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[a] *Jahrbuch für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik*, pp. 87-88.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 88.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., p. 87.—*Ed.*

doubt, oblige by rescinding what would then be a redundant law!

"Let no one misunderstand us"; we don't want "to relinquish our party and our programme,[a] but in our opinion we shall have enough to do for years to come if we concentrate our whole strength, our entire energies, on the attainment of certain immediate objectives which must in any case be won before there can be any thought of realising more ambitious aspirations."[b]

Then, too, the bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and workers, who "are now scared off ... by ambitious demands",[c] will join us *en masse.*

The programme is not to be *relinquished,* but merely *postponed*—for some unspecified period. They accept it—not for themselves in their own lifetime but posthumously, as an heirloom for their children and their children's children. Meanwhile they devote their "whole strength and energies" to all sorts of trifles, tinkering away at the capitalist social order so that at least something should appear to be done without at the same time alarming the bourgeoisie. Here I can only commend that communist, Miquel, who gives proof of his unshakable belief in the inevitable downfall of capitalist society within the next few hundred years by swindling it for all he's worth, contributing manfully to the crash of 1873, and thus *really* doing something towards the collapse of the existing order.[324]

Another offence against good manners was the "exaggerated attacks on the *Gründer*",[84] who, after all, were "only children of their time"; hence "the vilification of Strousberg and suchlike men ... would have been better omitted".[d] Sadly we are all "children of our time", and if this be sufficient grounds for excuse, it is no longer permissible to attack anyone, and we for our part would have to desist from all polemic, all struggle; we would calmly submit whenever kicked by our opponents, because we would know in our wisdom that they are "only children of their time" and cannot act otherwise than they do. Instead of repaying them their kicks with interest, we should rather, it seems, feel sorry for the poor fellows.

Similarly, our support for the Commune had one drawback, at any rate, namely

"that it put off people otherwise well-disposed towards us, and generally increased the *hatred* felt for us by the *bourgeoisie*". Moreover, the party "cannot be wholly exonerated from having brought about the October Law,[325] for it had needlessly exacerbated the *hatred of the bourgeoisie*".[e]

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[a] "Programm der sozialistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands".—*Ed.*

[b] *Jahrbuch für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik,* p. 88.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid.—*Ed.*

[d] Ibid., p. 95.—*Ed.*

[e] Ibid., pp. 95, 96.—*Ed.*

There you have the programme of the three censors of Zurich. As regards clarity, it leaves nothing to be desired. Least of all so far as we're concerned, since we are still only too familiar with all these catch-phrases of 1848. There are the voices of the representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, terrified lest the proletariat, impelled by its revolutionary situation, should "go too far". Instead of resolute political opposition—general conciliation; instead of a struggle against government and bourgeoisie—an attempt to win them over and talk them round; instead of defiant resistance to maltreatment from above—humble subjection and the admission that the punishment was deserved. Every historically necessary conflict is reinterpreted as a misunderstanding and every discussion wound up with the assurance: we are, of course, all agreed on the main issue. The men who in 1848 entered the arena as bourgeois democrats might now just as well call themselves Social-Democrats. To the former, the democratic republic was as unattainably remote as the overthrow of the capitalist order is to the latter, and therefore utterly irrelevant to present political practice; one can conciliate, compromise, philanthropise to one's heart's content. The same thing applies to the class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie. On paper it is recognised because there is no denying it any longer, but in practice it is glossed over, suppressed, emasculated. The Social-Democratic Party *should not* be a workers' party, it should not bring upon itself the hatred of the bourgeoisie or, for that matter, of anyone else; above all, it should prosecute vigorous propaganda amongst the bourgeoisie; instead of laying stress on ambitious goals which are calculated to frighten off the bourgeoisie, and unattainable anyway in our own generation, it should rather devote all its strength and energies to those petty-bourgeois stop-gap reforms which provide new props for the old social order and which might, perhaps, transform the ultimate catastrophe into a gradual, piecemeal and, as far as possible, peaceable process of dissolution. These are the same people who keep up an appearance of ceaseless activity, yet not only do nothing themselves but also try to ensure that nothing at all is done save—chin-wagging; the same people whose fear of any kind of action in 1848 and '49 held back the movement at every step and finally brought about its downfall; the same people who never see reaction and then are utterly dumbfounded to find themselves at last in a blind alley in which neither resistance nor flight is possible; the same people who want to confine history within their narrow philistine horizons, and over whose heads history invari-

ably proceeds to the order of the day.

As for their socialist import, this has already been adequately criticised in the *Manifesto*, Chapter: "German, or 'True' Socialism". Wherever the class struggle is thrust aside as a distasteful, "crude" manifestation, the only basis still left to socialism will be a "true love of mankind" and empty phrases about "justice".

It is an inevitable manifestation, and one rooted in the process of development, that people from what have hitherto been the ruling class also join the militant proletariat and supply it with educative elements. We have already said so clearly in the *Manifesto*. But in this context there are two observations to be made:

*Firstly*, if these people are to be of use to the proletarian movement, they must introduce genuinely educative elements. However, in the case of the vast majority of German bourgeois converts, this is not the case. Neither the *Zukunft* nor the *Neue Gesellschaft* has contributed anything that might have advanced the movement by a single step. Here we find a complete lack of genuinely educative matter, either factual or theoretical. In place of it, attempts to reconcile superficially assimilated socialist ideas with the most diverse theoretical viewpoints which these gentlemen have introduced from the university or elsewhere, and of which each is more muddled than the last thanks to the process of decay taking place in what remains of German philosophy today. Instead of first making a thorough study of the new science, each man chose to adapt it to the viewpoint he had brought with him, not hesitating to produce his own brand of science and straightaway assert his right to teach it. Hence there are, amongst these gentlemen, almost as many viewpoints as there are heads; instead of elucidating anything, they have only made confusion worse—by good fortune, almost exclusively amongst themselves. The party can well dispense with educative elements such as these for whom it is axiomatic to teach what they have not learnt.

*Secondly*, when people of this kind, from different classes, join the proletarian movement, the first requirement is that they should not bring with them the least remnant of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, etc., prejudices, but should unreservedly adopt the proletarian outlook. These gentlemen, however, as already shown, are chock-full of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas. In a country as petty-bourgeois as Germany, there is certainly some justification for such ideas. But only *outside* the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. If the gentlemen constitute themselves a Social-Democratic petty-bourgeois party, they are fully within their

rights: in that case we could negotiate with them and, according to circumstances, form an alliance with them, etc. But within a workers' party they are an adulterating element. Should there be any reason to tolerate their presence there for a while, it should be our duty *only* to tolerate them, to allow them no say in the Party leadership and to remain aware that a break with them is only a matter of time. That time, moreover, would appear to have come. How the Party can suffer the authors of this article to remain any longer in their midst seems to us incomprehensible. But should the Party leadership actually pass, to a greater or lesser extent, into the hands of such men, then the Party will be emasculated no less, and that will put paid to its proletarian grit.

As for ourselves, there is, considering all our antecedents, only one course open to us. For almost 40 years we have emphasised that the class struggle is the immediate motive force of history and, in particular, that the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat is the great lever of modern social revolution; hence we cannot possibly co-operate with men who seek to eliminate that class struggle from the movement. At the founding of the International we expressly formulated the battle cry: The emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class itself.[a] Hence we cannot co-operate with men who say openly that the workers are too uneducated to emancipate themselves, and must first be emancipated from above by philanthropic members of the upper and lower middle classes. If the new party organ is to adopt a policy that corresponds to the opinions of these gentlemen, if it is bourgeois and not proletarian, then all we could do—much though we might regret it—would be publicly to declare ourselves opposed to it and abandon the solidarity with which we have hitherto represented the German Party abroad. But we hope it won't come to *that.*

It is intended that this letter should be communicated to all five members of the committee in Germany,[326] and also to Bracke....

Nor have we any objection to its being communicated to the people in Zurich.

Written on September 17-18, 1879

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 20, p. 14.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [ABOUT KARL BLIND][327]

The article ought to be headed, not "Prince Napoleon etc.",[a] but "I". For every once the name of Prince Napoleon occurs in it, the pronoun "I" occurs at least 20 times, not to count its inflected cases and derived forms. What it says of Prince Napoleon, has all been printed more than once, and what it says about "I", has, alas, also been related, printed, and published more than once in England, as the proprietors and editors of sundry reviews, defunct and alive, know to their sorrow.[328]

Deprived of its false pretence, the paper gives a new version of Mr. Blind's old tale: How Karl Blind, by various untoward circumstances, was unfortunately prevented from changing the course of history. First comes the oft repeated story which forms his chief stock-in-trade, how he was sent on a diplomatic mission by the moribund provisional governments of the South German insurrection of 1849[329] ostensibly to the then government of the French Republic, but in reality to the revolutionary government of Ledru-Rollin which, it was expected, would be shortly installed by a popular commotion. Alas! the government which had sent him, was unceremoniously chased into Swiss exile by the Prussians, and the demonstration of the 13th June, which was to establish the government to which he was really accredited, was equally unceremoniously put down.[330] Of his rather grotesque mission from a dead to an unborn government, he had the good fortune to be relieved by the existing French government who arrested him as a participator in the "pacific" demonstration of

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[a] K. Blind, "Prince Napoleon and European Democracy", *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol. 20, London, 1879, pp. 504-21.—*Ed.*

the unarmed Paris national guard on the 13th June, [and] finally expelled [from] the country. Had the government which sent him but remained alive, and had the government to which he was really sent, but come into existence, what would not Karl Blind have been enabled to do? By procuring himself from somebody in Baden a sham mission to somebody in Paris, he had contrived to eschew "diplomatically" even the least possibility of a dangerous encounter with the approaching Prussian army. At all events he had done something.[a]

Again, in 1870, on the outbreak of the Franco-German war, there was a chance of Italy joining France. But Karl Blind watched. "Had King Victor Emmanuel etc." (page 519). But again, it was an embassy from one non-existing government to another. Louis Napoleon refused Rome to Victor Emmanuel, thus forcing the latter to take the town in the teeth of France, and rendering the Italian alliance impossible.[331] Again, the services and offers of Karl Blind, whatever these offers may have been worth, were declined, and that eternal diplomatist *in partibus*,[b] instead of changing the route of history, had to be satisfied with the "warmest thanks" of Mazzini.

Who can help being reminded of the braggart who, when involved in a *fracas*, shouted: "Hold me back, friends, or else I shall commit some fearful deed!" Unfortunately for the world, but perhaps fortunately for Mr. Karl Blind, whenever he is about to step into the foreground of historical action, some untoward event prevents him from accomplishing that "fearful deed" which was to render him immortal.

Let us hope that this is the last lucubration, at least in English, written by Karl B. on K. B. in the interest of K. B.

Written between October 5 and 9, 1879

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Reproduced from the manuscript

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[a] The last two sentences were written by Marx. In the margin of the previous page of Engels' manuscript, Marx wrote another version: "By getting his opportune acceptance of a sham mission abroad, he had contrived to render impossible any encounter of Karl Blind with the Prussian troops then invading Baden."— *Ed.*

[b] *In partibus infidelium*—literally: in parts inhabited by unbelievers. The words are added to the title of Roman Catholic bishops appointed to purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries.— *Ed.*

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L'ÉGALITÉ

ORGANE COLLECTIVISTE RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE

PARAISSANT LE MERCREDI

Frederick Engels

# THE SOCIALISM OF MR. BISMARCK[332]

## I. THE CUSTOMS TARIFF

In the debate on the notorious law which places the German socialists outside the law,[333] Mr. Bismarck declared that repression alone was not enough to crush socialism; what was needed, in addition, were measures to remedy the undeniable social ills, to ensure the regularity of work, to forestall industrial crises and what have you. He promised to introduce these "positive" measures of social welfare.[a] For, he said, when one has directed the affairs of one's country for 17 years, as I have done, one is entitled to consider oneself a competent judge in matters of political economy; which is like someone saying that eating potatoes for 17 years is enough to give one a thorough knowledge of agronomy.

In any case, this time Mr. Bismarck was true to his word. He has bestowed on Germany two grand "social measures", and he has not finished yet.

The first was a customs tariff[b] which was to ensure that German industry was allowed exclusive rights to the domestic market.

Until 1848 Germany had had no large-scale industry properly speaking. Labour dominated. Steam, mechanisation were simply

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[a] See O. Bismarck's speeches in the Reichstag on the Anti-Socialist Law on September 17 and October 9, 1878, *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags*. 4. Legislatur-Periode. I. Session 1878. Erster Band. Berlin, 1878, pp. 70, 125.—*Ed.*

[b] "Gesetz, betreffend den Zolltarif des Deutschen Zollgebiets und den Ertrag der Zölle und der Tabacksteuer. Vom 15. Juli 1879", *Reichs-Gesetzblatt*, No. 27, 1879.—*Ed.*

the exception. In 1848 and 1849, having incurred a shameful defeat in the political sphere because of its cowardice, the German bourgeoisie consoled itself by launching eagerly into large-scale industry. The face of the country was rapidly transformed. Anyone who had not seen Rhenish Prussia, Westphalia, Royal Saxony, High Silesia, Berlin and the seaports since 1849 could no longer recognise them in 1864. Steam and machines had invaded the entire country. Large factories had mostly supplanted the small workshops. Steamships gradually replaced sailing vessels, first in coastal traffic, then in transatlantic trade. Railways multiplied; in the construction yards, in the coal and iron-ore mines there was activity the like of which the sluggish Germans would hitherto not have believed themselves capable of. Compared with the development of large-scale industry in England and even in France, all this was small beer; but anyway it was a beginning. Moreover, all this had been done without any help from the governments, without any grants or export subsidies, and under a customs tariff which, compared with the tariffs of other continental countries, might be considered very free-trade indeed.

This industrial movement, let it be said in passing, did not fail to have the social consequences which it has had everywhere. The German industrial workers had, until then, vegetated in conditions reminiscent of the Middle Ages. Generally speaking, they still had some chance of gradually becoming petty bourgeois, masters of their trade, owners of several hand looms, etc. Now all this disappeared. The workers, becoming the employees of the big capitalists, started to form a permanent class, a real proletariat. But he who says "proletariat" says "socialism". Furthermore, there still remained a trace of the liberties which the workers had won at the barricades in 1848. Thanks to these two circumstances German socialism, which before 1848 had had to restrict itself to underground propaganda and a secret organisation whose members were few, was now able to unfold in the full light of day and to penetrate into the masses. Hence 1863 is the year which saw the recommencement of socialist agitation by Lassalle.[334]

Then came the war of 1870, the peace of 1871 and the milliards.[335] If France was far from ruining herself by paying them, Germany came within a hair's breadth of its demise by receiving them. Recklessly squandered by a government of upstarts in an upstart empire, the milliards fell into the hands of high finance, which hastened to make them bear fruit on the Stock Exchange. Berlin saw the return of the heyday of Crédit mobilier.[336] It was a race to see who could start more public and

mixed liability companies, banks, building societies and financial institutions, railway construction companies, factories of all kinds, shipyards, companies speculating in land and buildings, and other things whose industrial trappings were no more than an excuse for the most bare-faced jobbing. The alleged public needs of commerce, communications, consumption, etc., simply served as a cloak for the frantic need of the Stock Exchange wolves to make these milliards work as long as they had them in their hands. Besides, all this was seen in Paris in the glorious days of Péreire and Fould; the same jobbers were at work in Berlin, reappearing under the names of Bleichroeder and Hansemann.

What had happened in Paris in 1867, what had happened many times in London and New York, happened all over again in 1873 in Berlin: unbridled speculation terminated in a general collapse. Companies went bankrupt in their hundreds; the shares of those which survived became unsaleable; the rout was complete all along the line. But in order to speculate it had been necessary to create the means of production and communication, the factories, railways, etc., whose shares had been the object of this speculation. At the time of the crash it was found that the public need which had served as a pretext had been outstripped by far; that in four years more railways, factories, mines, etc., had been created than the normal development of industry would have produced in a quarter of a century.

After the railways, to which we shall return below, speculation had been chiefly directed at the iron and steel industry. The mills had multiplied rapidly; more than one plant had been set up that put Creuzot in the shade. Unfortunately, on the day of the crisis it turned out that there were no consumers for this gigantic production. The large manufacturing companies found themselves on the verge of bankruptcy. As the good German patriots they were, their directors sought help from the government: protective tariffs that would secure for them the exploitation of the domestic market against competition from English iron. But if one demanded protective tariffs for iron, one could not deny other industries, even agriculture, the same protection. So noisy agitation for tariff protection was organised throughout Germany, agitation which allowed Mr. Bismarck to introduce a customs tariff which was supposed to fulfil this purpose. This tariff, which became law in the summer of 1879, is now in force.[337]

But German industry, such as it was, had always lived in the fresh air of free competition. Arriving last on the scene, after England and France, it had been obliged to confine itself to filling

the small gaps left for it by its predecessors; to providing, on a large scale, articles that were too paltry for the English, too tawdry for the French; to manufacturing on a small scale products that were always changing, *cheap goods* at a *low price*. Let it not be thought that this is merely an assertion of our own: these are the very words of the official assessment of German products as set out in Philadelphia (1876) by the official commissioner of the German Government, Mr. Reuleaux, a man with a European scientific reputation.[a]

An industry of this kind can only assert itself in neutral markets if there is free trade at home. If one expects German textiles, processed metals and machinery to withstand foreign competition abroad, then all the raw materials necessary for their production, cotton, linen or silk thread, pig iron or metal wire, must be available at the same low price at which their foreign competitors buy them. So you have the choice of two things. If you wish to continue exporting textiles and the products of the metal industry, then free trade is necessary, at the risk of seeing these industries use materials taken from abroad. If, on the other hand, you wish to protect spinning and the production of crude metals in Germany with customs tariffs—then you will soon have ruled out the possibility of exporting the products of which thread and crude metal are the raw materials.

By protecting spinning and metallurgy with his notorious tariff, Mr. Bismarck destroyed the last chance which German textiles, processed metals, needles and machinery had until then of finding an outlet abroad. But the Germany whose agriculture produced a surplus for export in the first half of the century cannot now do without a supplement of foreign agricultural products. If Mr. Bismarck forbids his industry to produce for export, with what will he pay for these imports and many others which all the tariffs in the world will not prevent him from needing.

To solve this question called for nothing less than the genius of Mr. Bismarck combined with that of his Stock Exchange friends and advisers. This is how it is done:

Let us take iron. The period of speculation and feverish production has bestowed on Germany two firms (the Dortmund Union and Laurahütte), each of which has the capacity to produce, on its own, enough on average to satisfy the country's entire consumption. Then there is the gigantic Krupp concern in Essen, another similar one in Bochum, and then an infinite

[a] See F. Reuleaux, *Briefe aus Philadelphia*, Brunswick, 1877, p. 5.—*Ed.*

number of smaller ones. As a result, domestic iron consumption is covered three or four times over, at least. One might say that this is a situation necessitating most urgently unlimited free trade, which is alone capable of securing an outlet for this enormous excess production. One might say so—but this is not the opinion of those involved. Since there are at most a dozen companies that matter and which dominate the others, one forms what the Americans call a *RING*: an association to maintain prices at home and regulate exports.

As soon as there is a bid for rails or other products of their factories, the Committee designates by turns the member who is to undertake the work, and fixes the price at which he is to do so. The other associates submit tenders at a higher price, similarly agreed in advance. As a result, all competition ceases; there is an absolute monopoly. The same thing goes for exports. To ensure the implementation of this plan, each member of the *RING* deposits with the Committee a blank bill for 125,000 francs, to be put into circulation and presented for payment as soon as the signatory has broken the agreement. In this way the price of the monopoly extorted from the German consumers will permit the factories to sell abroad their excess production at prices that even the English refuse—and the German philistine (who anyway deserves it) pays the piper. This is how German exports are becoming possible again, thanks to the same protective tariffs which in the eyes of the common people appear to be destroying it.

Do you want examples? Last year an Italian railway company, which we could name, needed 30,000 or 40,000 tons (of 1,000 kg) of rails. After long negotiations an English factory took 10,000; the rest of the order went to the Dortmund Union, which offered delivery at a price that was turned down in England. An English competitor, asked why he could not offer better terms than the German concern, replied: "Who on earth can compete with a bankrupt?"

In Scotland a railway bridge was to be constructed across an arm of the sea near Edinburgh. 10,000 tons of Bessemer steel were needed for this bridge. Who accepted the lowest price, who defeated all competitors, and on the native soil of the great iron industry, England? A German, protected by Bismarck in more ways than one, Mr. Krupp of Essen, the "Cannon King".

So much for iron. It goes without saying that this fine system can only delay the inevitable bankruptcy of these big conspiring companies for a few years. Meanwhile, as the other industries imitate them, they will ruin not the foreign competition but their

own country. It is almost like living in a country of madmen; yet all the facts recounted above have been taken from bourgeois free-trade newspapers in Germany herself. Organising the demolition of German industry on the pretext of protecting it—are they wrong, then, those German socialists who have been repeating for years that Mr. Bismarck is working for socialism, as if he were in their pay?

## II. THE STATE RAILWAYS

From 1869 to 1873, during the rising tide of speculation in Berlin, two institutions, at times hostile, at times in alliance, shared the domination of the Stock Exchange: the Discount Society[338] and the Bleichroeder bank. These were, so to speak, the Péreires and the Mirès of Berlin. Speculation being chiefly directed at the railways, these two banks had the idea of making themselves indirect masters of most of the major lines already in existence or under construction. By buying and holding a certain number of shares in each one they would dominate their boards of directors; the shares themselves would be the deposit for loans with which to buy new shares, and so on. A pure repetition, of course, of the ingenious little operation which first brought the two Péreires to the height of success and ended with the Crédit mobilier crisis, as we know. At the beginning the Berlin Péreires met with the same success.

In 1873 the crisis came. Our two banks found themselves burdened with their heaps of railway shares which could no longer be made to cough up the millions which they had swallowed. The plan to subjugate the railway companies had failed. So they changed their tack, and tried to sell them to the state. The plan to concentrate all the railways in the hand of the Imperial Government has its origin not in the social welfare of the country but in the individual welfare of two insolvent banks.

The implementation of the plan was not too difficult. They had "interested" a good many members of parliament in the new companies, thus dominating the national liberal and moderate conservative parties, in other words the majority. Some high officials of the Empire, some Prussian ministers, had had a hand in the shady deals whereby these companies were founded. In the last resort, Bleichroeder was Mr. Bismarck's banker and financial factotum. So they were not short of means.

Meanwhile, to make it worthwhile selling the railway shares to

the Empire, it was necessary to raise the price of the shares. So, in 1873, they created an "imperial railways office"[339]; its head,[a] a well-known shady speculator, at once raised the fares on all German railways by 20%, which was supposed to increase net revenue and hence also the value of the shares by about 35%. This was the only step which this gentleman took; it was the only reason why he had accepted his duties; therefore he resigned shortly afterwards.

Meanwhile, they had succeeded in giving Bismarck a taste for the plan. But the petty kingdoms[b] resisted; the Federal Council[340] refused point-blank. A new change of tack: it was resolved that Prussia should first buy all the Prussian railways, selling them, should the occasion arise, to the Empire.

Moreover, there was another ulterior motive for the Imperial Government to wish to acquire the railways. And this is related to the French milliards.

Out of these milliards they had kept back some considerable sums in order to form three "imperial funds", one for the construction of a parliament building, the second for fortresses, and finally, the third for the invalids of the last three wars. The total sum amounted to 926 million francs.

The most important and at the same time the strangest of these three funds was the one for the invalids. It was designed to eat itself up; that is to say, the day the last of these invalids was dead, the fund itself, capital and interest, would also have disappeared. A fund which consumes itself sounds like the invention of madmen once more. But these were no madmen; it was the shady speculators of the Discount Society who had invented it, and for a good reason. This is why it took nearly a year to get the government to accept the idea.

However, it seemed to our jobbers that the fund would not devour itself fast enough. Moreover, they believed it was their duty to endow the other two funds with the same fine property of devouring themselves. The means was simple. Even before a law had laid down the nature of the securities in which these funds would be invested, a commercial company owned by the Prussian Government[341] was authorised to buy up suitable stocks and shares. This company turned to the Discount Society, which sold, for the three imperial funds, 300 million francs worth of railway shares, at that time unsaleable, which we could specify.

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[a] Alfred Scheele.— *Ed.*

[b] Bavaria, Saxony and Württemberg.— *Ed.*

Among these shares were 120 millions in Magdeburg-Halberstadt and amalgamated lines, an almost bankrupt railway which had served to ensure enormous profits to the speculators, but had scarcely any chance of bringing in any return at all to the shareholders. This may be imagined when one bears in mind that the board of directors had issued shares to a value of 16 millions to meet the cost of constructing three branch lines and that this money disappeared entirely without the lines even having been started. And the invalid fund is the proud owner of a good many of these shares in non-existent railways.

The acquisition of these lines by the Prussian State would legalise at a stroke the purchase of shares in them by the Empire; it would give them a certain real value. This is the interest of the Imperial Government in the affair. Hence the line which we are concerned with here was among the first whose purchase was proposed by the Prussian Government and ratified by the chambers.

The price paid to the shareholders by the State was well above the real value, even of the good lines. Which is demonstrated by the constant rise in their shares as soon as the resolution to buy them was known and especially once the conditions of sale were announced. Two major lines, whose shares were worth 103 and 108 respectively in December 1878, were subsequently bought by the State; today they are quoted at 148 and 158. Hence nothing was more difficult for the shareholders than to conceal their joy while the deal was being negotiated.

It goes without saying that this rise brought happiness mainly to the big jobbers of Berlin who were in on the secret intentions of the government. The Stock Exchange, still rather depressed in the spring of 1879, gained new life. Before finally parting with their dear shares, the speculators made use of them to organise a new orgy of jobbing.

It is plain to see: the German Empire is just as completely under the yoke of the Stock Exchange as was the French Empire in its day. It is the stockbrokers who prepare the projects which the Government has to carry out—for the profit of their pockets. Yet in Germany they have an advantage which the Bonapartist Empire lacked: if the Imperial Government encounters resistance among its princelings it turns into the Prussian Government, which will certainly not find any in its own chambers, true branches of the Stock Exchange that they are.

What's that? Hasn't the General Council of the International said it already, immediately after the war of 1870: "You,

Mr. Bismarck, have only overthrown the Bonapartist régime in France *in order to re-establish it in your own country*!"[342]

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Frederick Engels

# SOCIALISM: UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC[343]

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# SOCIALISM

# UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC

BY

FREDERICK ENGELS

*TRANSLATED BY EDWARD AVELING*

*D.Sc., Fellow of University College, London*

WITH A SPECIAL INTRODUCTION BY THE AUTHOR

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I

Modern Socialism is, in its essence, the direct product of the recognition, on the one hand, of the class antagonisms, existing in the society of to-day, between proprietors and non-proprietors, between capitalists and wage-workers; on the other hand, of the anarchy existing in production. But, in its theoretical form, modern Socialism originally appears ostensibly as a more logical extension of the principles laid down by the great French philosophers of the eighteenth century. Like every new theory, modern Socialism had, at first, to connect itself with the intellectual stock-in-trade ready to its hand, however deeply its roots lay in material economic facts.

The great men, who in France prepared men's minds for the coming revolution, were themselves extreme revolutionists. They recognised no external authority of any kind whatever. Religion, natural science, society, political institutions, everything, was subjected to the most unsparing criticism: everything must justify its existence before the judgment-seat of reason, or give up existence. Reason became the sole measure of everything. It was the time when, as Hegel says, the world stood upon its head*;

* This is the passage on the French Revolution: "Thought, the concept of law, all at once made itself felt, and against this the old scaffolding of wrong could make no stand. In this conception of law, therefore, a constitution has now been established, and henceforth everything must be based upon this. Since the sun had been in the firmament, and the planets circled round him, the sight had never been seen of man standing upon his head—*i.e.*, on the Idea—and building reality after this image. Anaxagoras first said that the Nous, reason, rules the world; but now, for the first time, had man come to recognise that the Idea must rule the mental reality. And this was a magnificent sunrise. All thinking Beings have

first, in the sense that the human head, and the principles arrived at by its thought, claimed to be the basis of all human action and association; but by and by, also, in the wider sense that the reality which was in contradiction to these principles had, in fact, to be turned upside down. Every form of society and government then existing, every old traditional notion was flung into the lumber-room as irrational; the world had hitherto allowed itself to be led solely by prejudices; everything in the past deserved only pity and contempt. Now, for the first time, appeared the light of day, the kingdom of reason; henceforth superstition, injustice, privilege, oppression, were to be superseded by eternal truth, eternal Right, equality based on Nature and the inalienable rights of man.

We know to-day that this kingdom of reason was nothing more than the idealised kingdom of the bourgeoisie; that this eternal Right found its realisation in bourgeois justice; that this equality reduced itself to bourgeois equality before the law; that bourgeois property was proclaimed as one of the essential rights of man; and that the government of reason, the Contrat Social of Rousseau,[345] came into being, and only could come into being, as a democratic bourgeois republic. The great thinkers of the eighteenth century could, no more than their predecessors, go beyond the limits imposed upon them by their epoch.

But, side by side with the antagonism of the feudal nobility and the burghers, who claimed to represent all the rest of society, was the general antagonism of exploiters and exploited, of rich idlers and poor workers. It was this very circumstance that made it possible for the representatives of the bourgeoisie to put themselves forward as representing, not one special class, but the whole of suffering humanity. Still further. From its origin, the bourgeoisie was saddled with its antithesis: capitalists cannot exist without wage-workers, and, in the same proportion as the mediaeval burgher of the guild developed into the modern bourgeois, the guild journeyman and the day-labourer, outside the guilds, developed into the proletarian. And although, upon the whole, the bourgeoisie, in their struggle with the nobility, could

participated in celebrating this holy day. A sublime emotion swayed men at that time, an enthusiasm of reason pervaded the world, as if now had come the reconciliation of the Divine Principle with the world." [Hegel: "Philosophy of History", 1840, p. 535.[a]] Is it not high time to set the Anti-Socialist Law[344] in action against such teachings, subversive and to the common danger, by the late Professor Hegel?

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte* (*Werke*, 2. Aufl., Bd. IX, Berlin, 1840, S. 535-36).— *Ed.*

claim to represent at the same time the interests of the different working-classes of that period, yet in every great bourgeois movement there were independent outbursts of that class which was the forerunner, more or less developed, of the modern proletariat. For example, at the time of the German Reformation and the Peasants' War, the Anabaptists[346] and Thomas Münzer; in the great English Revolution, the Levellers[347]; in the great French Revolution, Babeuf.

There were theoretical enunciations corresponding with these revolutionary uprisings of a class not yet developed; in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Utopian pictures of ideal social conditions[348]; in the eighteenth, actual communistic theories (Morelly and Mably).[a] The demand for equality was no longer limited to political rights; it was extended also to the social conditions of individuals. It was not simply class privileges that were to be abolished, but class distinctions themselves. A Communism, ascetic, denouncing all the pleasures of life, Spartan, was the first form of the new teaching. Then came the three great Utopians: Saint-Simon, to whom the middle-class movement, side by side with the proletarian, still had a certain significance; Fourier; and Owen, who in the country where capitalist production was most developed, and under the influence of the antagonisms begotten of this, worked out his proposals for the removal of class distinction systematically and in direct relation to French materialism.

One thing is common to all three. Not one of them appears as a representative of the interests of that proletariat, which historical development had, in the meantime, produced. Like the French philosophers, they do not claim to emancipate a particular class to begin with, but all humanity at once. Like them, they wish to bring in the kingdom of reason and eternal justice, but this kingdom, as they see it, is as far as heaven from earth, from that of the French philosophers.

For, to our three social reformers, the bourgeois world, based upon the principles of these philosophers, is quite as irrational and unjust, and, therefore, finds its way to the dust-hole quite as readily as feudalism and all the earlier stages of society. If pure reason and justice have not, hitherto, ruled the world, this has been the case only because men have not rightly understood them. What was wanted was the individual man of genius, who has now arisen and who understands the truth. That he has now arisen,

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[a] See Morelly, *Code de la nature*, Paris, 1841 and Mably, *De la législation, ou principes des loix*, Amsterdam, 1776.—*Ed.*

that the truth has now been clearly understood, is not an inevitable event, following of necessity in the chain of historical development, but a mere happy accident. He might just as well have been born 500 years earlier, and might then have spared humanity 500 years of error, strife, and suffering.

We saw how the French philosophers of the eighteenth century, the forerunners of the Revolution, appealed to reason as the sole judge of all that is. A rational government, rational society, were to be founded; everything that ran counter to eternal reason was to be remorselessly done away with. We saw also that this eternal reason was in reality nothing but the idealised understanding of the eighteenth-century citizen,[a] just then evolving into the bourgeois. The French Revolution had realised this rational society and government.

But the new order of things, rational enough as compared with earlier conditions, turned out to be by no means absolutely rational. The State based upon reason completely collapsed. Rousseau's Contrat Social had found its realisation in the Reign of Terror, from which the bourgeoisie, who had lost confidence in their own political capacity, had taken refuge first in the corruption of the Directorate,[349] and, finally, under the wing of the Napoleonic despotism. The promised eternal peace was turned into an endless war of conquest. The society based upon reason had fared no better. The antagonism between rich and poor, instead of dissolving into general prosperity, had become intensified by the removal of the guild and other privileges, which had to some extent bridged it over, and by the removal of the charitable institutions of the Church. The "freedom of property" from feudal fetters, now veritably accomplished, turned out to be, for the small capitalists and small proprietors, the freedom to sell their small property, crushed under the overmastering competition of the large capitalists and landlords, to these great lords, and thus, as far as the small capitalists and peasant proprietors were concerned, became "freedom *from* property". The development of industry upon a capitalistic basis made poverty and misery of the working masses conditions of existence of society. Cash payment became more and more, in Carlyle's phrase,[b] the sole nexus between man and man. The number of crimes increased from year to year. Formerly, the feudal vices had openly stalked about in broad daylight; though not eradicated, they were now at

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[a] The German edition of 1891 has: "the idealised understanding of the middle burgher".—*Ed.*

[b] See Th. Carlyle, *Past and Present*, London, 1843, p. 198.—*Ed.*

any rate thrust into the background. In their stead, the bourgeois vices, hitherto practised in secret, began to blossom all the more luxuriantly. Trade became to a greater and greater extent cheating. The "fraternity" of the revolutionary motto[350] was realised in the chicanery and rivalries of the battle of competition. Oppression by force was replaced by corruption; the sword, as the first social lever, by gold. The right of the first night was transferred from the feudal lords to the bourgeois manufacturers. Prostitution increased to an extent never heard of. Marriage itself remained, as before, the legally recognised form, the official cloak of prostitution, and, moreover, was supplemented by rich crops of adultery.

In a word, compared with the splendid promises of the philosophers, the social and political institutions born of the "triumph of reason" were bitterly disappointing caricatures. All that was wanting was the men to formulate this disappointment, and they came with the turn of the century. In 1802 Saint-Simon's Geneva letters appeared; in 1808 appeared Fourier's first work, although the groundwork of his theory dated from 1799; on January 1, 1800, Robert Owen undertook the direction of New Lanark.[351]

At this time, however, the capitalist mode of production, and with it the antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, was still very incompletely developed. Modern Industry, which had just arisen in England, was still unknown in France. But Modern Industry develops, on the one hand, the conflicts which make absolutely necessary a revolution in the mode of production, and the doing away with its capitalistic character—conflicts not only between the classes begotten of it, but also between the very productive forces and the forms of exchange created by it. And, on the other hand, it develops, in these very gigantic productive forces, the means of ending these conflicts. If, therefore, about the year 1800, the conflicts arising from the new social order were only just beginning to take shape, this holds still more fully as to the means of ending them. The "have-nothing" masses of Paris, during the Reign of Terror, were able for a moment to gain the mastery, and thus to lead the bourgeois revolution to victory in spite of the bourgeoisie themselves. But, in doing so, they only proved how impossible it was for their domination to last under the conditions then obtaining. The proletariat, which then for the first time evolved itself from these "have-nothing" masses as the nucleus of a new class, as yet quite incapable of independent political action, appeared as an oppressed,

suffering order, to whom, in its incapacity to help itself, help could, at best, be brought in from without, or down from above.

This historical situation also dominated the founders of Socialism. To the crude conditions of capitalistic production and the crude class conditions corresponded crude theories. The solution of the social problems, which as yet lay hidden in undeveloped economic conditions, the Utopians attempted to evolve out of the human brain. Society presented nothing but wrongs; to remove these was the task of reason. It was necessary, then, to discover a new and more perfect system of social order and to impose this upon society from without by propaganda, and, wherever it was possible, by the example of model experiments. These new social systems were foredoomed as Utopian; the more completely they were worked out in detail, the more they could not avoid drifting off into pure phantasies.

These facts once established, we need not dwell a moment longer upon this side of the question, now wholly belonging to the past. We can leave it to the literary small fry to solemnly quibble over these phantasies, which to-day only make us smile, and to crow over the superiority of their own bald reasoning, as compared with such "insanity". For ourselves, we delight in the stupendously grand thoughts and germs of thought that everywhere break out through their phantastic covering, and to which these Philistines are blind.

Saint-Simon was a son of the great French Revolution, at the outbreak of which he was not yet thirty. The Revolution was the victory of the third estate, *i.e.*, of the great masses of the nation, *working* in production and in trade, over the privileged *idle* classes, the nobles and the priests. But the victory of the third estate soon revealed itself as exclusively the victory of a small part of this "estate", as the conquest of political power by the socially privileged section of it, *i.e.*, the propertied bourgeoisie. And the bourgeoisie had certainly developed rapidly during the Revolution, partly by speculation in the lands of the nobility and of the Church, confiscated and afterwards put up for sale, and partly by frauds upon the nation by means of army contracts. It was the domination of these swindlers that, under the Directorate, brought France[a] to the verge of ruin, and thus gave Napoleon the pretext for his *coup d'état.*

Hence, to Saint-Simon the antagonism between the third estate and the privileged classes took the form of an antagonism between

[a] The German edition of 1891 further has: "and the Revolution".—*Ed.*

"workers" and "idlers". The idlers were not merely the old privileged classes, but also all who, without taking any part in production or distribution,[a] lived on their incomes. And the workers were not only the wage-workers, but also the manufacturers, the merchants, the bankers. That the idlers had lost the capacity for intellectual leadership and political supremacy had been proved, and was by the Revolution finally settled. That the non-possessing classes had not this capacity seemed to Saint-Simon proved by the experiences of the Reign of Terror. Then, who was to lead and command? According to Saint-Simon, science and industry, both united by a new religious bond, destined to restore that unity of religious ideas which had been lost since the time of the Reformation—a necessarily mystic and rigidly hierarchic "new Christianity". But science, that was the scholars; and industry, that was, in the first place, the working bourgeois, manufacturers, merchants, bankers. These bourgeoisie were, certainly, intended by Saint-Simon to transform themselves into a kind of public officials, of social trustees; but they were still to hold, *vis-à-vis* of the workers, a commanding and economically privileged position. The bankers especially were to be called upon to direct the whole of social production by the regulation of credit. This conception was in exact keeping with a time in which Modern Industry in France and, with it, the chasm between bourgeoisie and proletariat was only just coming into existence. But what Saint-Simon especially lays stress upon is this: what interests him first, and above all other things, is the lot of the class that is the most numerous and the most poor ("*la classe la plus nombreuse et la plus pauvre*").[352]

Already, in his Geneva letters, Saint-Simon lays down the proposition that

"all men ought to work".

In the same work he recognises also that the Reign of Terror was the reign of the non-possessing masses.

"See," says he to them, "what happened in France at the time when your comrades held sway there; they brought about a famine."[b]

But to recognise the French Revolution as a class war, and not simply one between nobility and bourgeoisie, but between nobility,

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[a] The German edition of 1891 has "commerce" instead of "distribution".—*Ed.*

[b] Engels quotes the second letter from Saint-Simon's *Lettres d'un habitant de Genève à ses contemporains*, Paris [1803]. In the edition: G. Hubbard, *Saint-Simon, sa vie et ses travaux* (Paris, 1857), these quotations are on pages 143 and 135.—*Ed.*

bourgeoisie, and the non-possessors, was, in the year 1802, a most pregnant discovery. In 1816, he declares that politics is the science of production, and foretells the complete absorption of politics by economics.[353] The knowledge that economic conditions are the basis of political institutions appears here only in embryo. Yet what is here already very plainly expressed is the idea of the future conversion of political rule over men into an administration of things and a direction of processes of production—that is to say, the "abolition of the State", about which recently there has been so much noise.

Saint-Simon shows the same superiority over his contemporaries, when in 1814, immediately after the entry of the allies into Paris, and again in 1815, during the Hundred Days' War,[354] he proclaims the alliance of France with England, and then of both these countries with Germany, as the only guarantee for the prosperous development and peace of Europe.[355] To preach to the French in 1815 an alliance with the victors of Waterloo required as much courage as historical foresight.[356]

If in Saint-Simon we find a comprehensive breadth of view, by virtue of which almost all the ideas of later Socialists, that are not strictly economic, are found in him in embryo, we find in Fourier a criticism of the existing conditions of society, genuinely French and witty, but not upon that account any the less thorough. Fourier takes the bourgeoisie, their inspired prophets before the Revolution, and their interested eulogists after it, at their own word. He lays bare remorselessly the material and moral misery of the bourgeois world. He confronts it with the earlier philosophers' dazzling promises of a society in which reason alone should reign, of a civilisation in which happiness should be universal, of an illimitable human perfectibility, and with the rose-coloured phraseology of the bourgeois ideologists of his time. He points out how everywhere the most pitiful reality corresponds with the most high-sounding phrases, and he overwhelms this hopeless fiasco of phrases with his mordant sarcasm.

Fourier is not only a critic; his imperturbably serene nature makes him a satirist, and assuredly one of the greatest satirists of all time. He depicts, with equal power and charm, the swindling speculations that blossomed out upon the downfall of the Revolution, and the shopkeeping spirit prevalent in, and characteristic of, French commerce at that time. Still more masterly is his criticism of the bourgeois form of the relations between the sexes, and the position of woman in bourgeois society. He was the first to declare that in any given society the degree of woman's

emancipation is the natural measure of the general emancipation.[357]

But Fourier is at his greatest in his conception of the history of society. He divides its whole course, thus far, into four stages of evolution—savagery, barbarism, the patriarchate, civilisation. This last is identical with the so-called civil, or bourgeois, society of to-day—*i.e.*, with the social order that came in with the sixteenth century. He proves

"that the civilised stage raises every vice practised by barbarism in a simple fashion into a form of existence, complex, ambiguous, equivocal, hypocritical"[a]—

that civilisation moves in "a vicious circle", in contradictions which it constantly reproduces without being able to solve them; hence it constantly arrives at the very opposite to that which it wants to attain, or pretends to want to attain,[b] so that, *e.g.*,

"under civilisation poverty is born of superabundance itself".[c]

Fourier, as we see, uses the dialectic method in the same masterly way as his contemporary, Hegel. Using these same dialectics, he argues, against the talk about illimitable human perfectibility, that every historical phase has its period of ascent and also its period of descent,[d] and he applies this observation to the future of the whole human race. As Kant introduced into natural science the idea of the ultimate destruction of the earth, Fourier introduced into historical science that of the ultimate destruction of the human race.

Whilst in France the hurricane of the Revolution swept over the land, in England a quieter, but not on that account less tremendous, revolution was going on. Steam and the new tool-making machinery were transforming manufacture into modern industry, and thus revolutionising the whole foundation of bourgeois society. The sluggish march of development of the manufacturing period changed into a veritable storm and stress period of production. With constantly increasing swiftness the splitting-up of society into large capitalists and non-possessing proletarians went on. Between these, instead of the former stable middle-class, an unstable mass of artisans and small shopkeepers,

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[a] See Ch. Fourier, *Théorie de l'unité universelle*, Vols. 1 and 4. In: *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. 2, Paris, 1843, pp. 78-79 and Vol. 5, Paris, 1841, pp. 213-14.— *Ed.*

[b] See Ch. Fourier, *Le nouveau monde industriel et sociétaire, ou invention du procédé d'industrie attrayante et naturelle distribuée en séries passionnées.* In: *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. 6, Paris, 1845, pp. 27-46, 390.— *Ed.*

[c] Ibid., p. 35.— *Ed.*

[d] Ibid., Vol. 1, Paris, 1841, p. 50 et seq.— *Ed.*

the most fluctuating portion of the population, now led a precarious existence.

The new mode of production was, as yet, only at the beginning of its period of ascent; as yet it was the normal, regular method of production—the only one possible under existing conditions. Nevertheless, even then it was producing crying social abuses—the herding together of a homeless population in the worst quarters of the large towns; the loosening of all traditional moral bonds, of patriarchal subordination, of family relations; overwork, especially of women and children, to a frightful extent; complete demoralisation of the working-class, suddenly flung into altogether new conditions, from the country into the town, from agriculture into modern industry, from stable conditions of existence into insecure ones that changed from day to day.

At this juncture there came forward as a reformer a manufacturer 29 years old—a man of almost sublime, childlike simplicity of character, and at the same time one of the few born leaders of men. Robert Owen had adopted the teaching of the materialistic philosophers: that man's character is the product, on the one hand, of heredity, on the other, of the environment of the individual during his lifetime, and especially during his period of development. In the industrial revolution most of his class saw only chaos and confusion, and the opportunity of fishing in these troubled waters and making large fortunes quickly. He saw in it the opportunity of putting into practice his favourite theory, and so of bringing order out of chaos. He had already tried it with success, as superintendent of more than five hundred men in a Manchester factory. From 1800 to 1829, he directed the great cotton mill at New Lanark, in Scotland, as managing partner, along the same lines, but with greater freedom of action and with a success that made him a European reputation. A population, originally consisting of the most diverse and, for the most part, very demoralised elements, a population that gradually grew to 2,500, he turned into a model colony, in which drunkenness, police, magistrates, lawsuits, poor laws, charity, were unknown. And all this simply by placing the people in conditions worthy of human beings, and especially by carefully bringing up the rising generation. He was the founder of infant schools, and introduced them first at New Lanark. At the age of two the children came to school, where they enjoyed themselves so much that they could scarcely be got home again. Whilst his competitors worked their people thirteen or fourteen hours a day, in New Lanark the working-day was only ten and a half hours. When a crisis in cotton

stopped work for four months, his workers received their full wages all the time. And with all this the business more than doubled in value, and to the last yielded large profits to its proprietors.

In spite of all this, Owen was not content. The existence which he secured for his workers was, in his eyes, still far from being worthy of human beings.

"The people were slaves at my mercy."

The relatively favourable conditions in which he had placed them were still far from allowing a rational development of the character and of the intellect in all directions, much less of the free exercise of all their faculties.

"And yet, the working part of this population of 2,500 persons was daily producing as much real wealth for society as, less than half a century before, it would have required the working part of a population of 600,000 to create. I asked myself, what became of the difference between the wealth consumed by 2,500 persons and that which would have been consumed by 600,000?" *

The answer was clear. It had been used to pay the proprietors of the establishment 5 per cent on the capital they had laid out, in addition to over £300,000 clear profit. And that which held for New Lanark held to a still greater extent for all the factories in England.

"If this new wealth had not been created by machinery, imperfectly as it has been applied, the wars of Europe, in opposition to Napoleon, and to support the aristocratic principles of society, could not have been maintained. And yet this new power was the creation of the working-classes." **

To them, therefore, the fruits of this new power belonged. The newly-created gigantic productive forces, hitherto used only to enrich individuals and to enslave the masses, offered to Owen the foundations for a reconstruction of society; they were destined, as the common property of all, to be worked for the common good of all.

Owen's Communism was based upon this purely business foundation, the outcome, so to say, of commercial calculation. Throughout, it maintained this practical character. Thus, in 1823, Owen proposed the relief of the distress in Ireland by Communist colonies, and drew up complete estimates of costs of founding

* From "The Revolution in Mind and Practice", p. 21, a memorial addressed to all the "red Republicans, Communists and Socialists of Europe", and sent to the provisional government of France, 1848, and also "to Queen Victoria and her responsible advisers".[358]

** Note, l. c., p. 22.

them, yearly expenditure, and probable revenue.[a] And in his definite plan for the future, the technical working out of details is managed with such practical knowledge—ground plan, front and side and bird's-eye views all included[b]—that the Owen method of social reform once accepted, there is from the practical point of view little to be said against the actual arrangement of details.

His advance in the direction of Communism was the turning-point in Owen's life. As long as he was simply a philanthropist, he was rewarded with nothing but wealth, applause, honour, and glory. He was the most popular man in Europe. Not only men of his own class, but statesmen and princes listened to him approvingly. But when he came out with his Communist theories, that was quite another thing. Three great obstacles seemed to him especially to block the path to social reform: private property, religion, the present form of marriage. He knew what confronted him if he attacked these—outlawry, excommunication from official society, the loss of his whole social position. But nothing of this prevented him from attacking them without fear of consequences, and what he had foreseen happened. Banished from official society, with a conspiracy of silence against him in the press, ruined by his unsuccessful Communist experiments in America, in which he sacrificed all his fortune, he turned directly to the working-class and continued working in their midst for thirty years. Every social movement, every real advance in England on behalf of the workers links itself on to the name of Robert Owen. He forced through in 1819, after five years' fighting, the first law limiting the hours of labour of women and children in factories.[359] He was president of the first Congress at which all the Trade Unions of England united in a single great trade association.[360] He introduced as transition measures to the complete communistic organisation of society, on the one hand, co-operative societies for retail trade and production. These have since that time, at least, given practical proof that the merchant and the manufacturer are socially quite unnecessary. On the other hand, he introduced labour bazaars for the exchange of the products of labour through the medium of labour-notes, whose unit was a single hour of work[361]; institutions necessarily doomed to failure, but completely anticipating Proudhon's bank of exchange of a much later

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[a] See R. Owen, *Report of the Proceedings at the Several Public Meetings, held in Dublin ... on the 18th March, 12th April, 19th April and 3rd May*, Dublin, 1823.—*Ed.*

[b] See R. Owen, *The Book of the New Moral World, Containing the Rational System of Society, Founded on Demonstrable Facts, Developing the Constitution and Laws of Human Nature and of Society*, London, 1842-1844, parts 1-7.—*Ed.*

period,[362] and differing entirely from this in that it did not claim to be the panacea for all social ills, but only a first step towards a much more radical revolution of society.

The Utopians' mode of thought has for a long time governed the socialist ideas of the nineteenth century, and still governs some of them. Until very recently all French and English Socialists did homage to it. The earlier German Communism, including that of Weitling, was of the same school. To all these Socialism is the expression of absolute truth, reason, and justice, and has only to be discovered to conquer all the world by virtue of its own power. And as absolute truth is independent of time, space, and of the historical development of man, it is a mere accident when and where it is discovered. With all this, absolute truth, reason, and justice are different with the founder of each different school. And as each one's special kind of absolute truth, reason, and justice is again conditioned by his subjective understanding, his conditions of existence, the measure of his knowledge and his intellectual training, there is no other ending possible in this conflict of absolute truths than that they shall be mutually exclusive one of the other. Hence, from this nothing could come but a kind of eclectic, average Socialism, which, as a matter of fact, has up to the present time dominated the minds of most of the socialist workers in France and England. Hence, a mish-mash allowing of the most manifold shades of opinion; a mish-mash of such critical statements, economic theories, pictures of future society by the founders of different sects as excite a minimum of opposition; a mish-mash which is the more easily brewed the more the definite sharp edges of the individual constituents are rubbed down in the stream of debate, like rounded pebbles in a brook.

To make a science of Socialism, it had first to be placed upon a real basis.

## II

In the meantime, along with and after the French philosophy of the eighteenth century had arisen the new German philosophy, culminating in Hegel. Its greatest merit was the taking up again of dialectics as the highest form of reasoning. The old Greek philosophers were all born natural dialecticians, and Aristotle, the most encyclopaedic intellect of them, had already analysed the most essential forms of dialectic thought. The newer philosophy, on the other hand, although in it also dialectics had brilliant exponents (*e.g.* Descartes and Spinoza), had, especially through English influence, become more and more rigidly fixed in the so-called metaphysical mode of reasoning, by which also the French of the eighteenth century were almost wholly dominated, at all events in their special philosophical work. Outside philosophy in the restricted sense, the French nevertheless produced masterpieces of dialectic. We need only call to mind Diderot's "Le Neveu de Rameau",[363] and Rousseau's "Discours sur l'origine et les fondemens de l'inégalité parmi les hommes". We give here, in brief, the essential character of these two modes of thought.

When we consider and reflect upon nature at large, or the history of mankind, or our own intellectual activity, at first we see the picture of an endless entanglement of relations and reactions, permutations and combinations, in which nothing remains what, where, and as it was, but everything moves, changes, comes into being and passes away. We see, therefore, at first the picture as a whole, with its individual parts still more or less kept in the background; we observe the movements, transitions, connections, rather than the things that move, combine, and are connected.

This primitive, naive, but intrinsically correct conception of the world is that of ancient Greek philosophy, and was first clearly formulated by Heraclitus: everything is and is not, for everything is fluid, is constantly changing, constantly coming into being and passing away.[a]

But this conception, correctly as it expresses the general character of the picture of appearances as a whole, does not suffice to explain the details of which this picture is made up, and so long as we do not understand these, we have not a clear idea of the whole picture. In order to understand these details we must detach them from their natural or historical connection and examine each one separately, its nature, special causes, effects, etc. This is, primarily, the task of natural science and historical research; branches of science which the Greeks of classical times, on very good grounds, relegated to a subordinate position, because they had first of all to collect materials for these sciences to work upon. A certain amount of natural and historical material must be collected before there can be any critical analysis, comparison, and arrangement in classes, orders, and species. The foundations of the exact natural sciences were, therefore, first worked out by the Greeks of the Alexandrian period,[364] and later on, in the Middle Ages, by the Arabs. Real natural science dates from the second half of the fifteenth century, and thence onward it has advanced with constantly increasing rapidity. The analysis of Nature into its individual parts, the grouping of the different natural processes and objects in definite classes, the study of the internal anatomy of organised bodies in their manifold forms—these were the fundamental conditions of the gigantic strides in our knowledge of Nature that have been made during the last four hundred years. But this method of work has also left us as legacy the habit of observing natural objects and processes in isolation, apart from their connection with the vast whole; of observing them in repose, not in motion; as constants, not as essentially variables; in their death, not in their life. And when this way of looking at things was transferred by Bacon and Locke from natural science to philosophy, it begot[b] the narrow, metaphysical mode of thought peculiar to the last century.

To the metaphysician, things and their mental reflexes, ideas, are isolated, are to be considered one after the other and apart

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[a] Heraclitus, *Fragmente.—Ed.*

[b] The French edition of 1880 and the German edition of 1891 further have: "the specific narrow-mindedness of the last centuries, the metaphysical mode of thought".— *Ed.*

from each other, are objects of investigation fixed, rigid, given once for all. He thinks in absolutely irreconcilable antitheses. "His communication is 'yea, yea; nay, nay'; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil."[a] For him a thing either exists or does not exist; a thing cannot at the same time be itself and something else. Positive and negative absolutely exclude one another; cause and effect stand in a rigid antithesis one to the other.

At first sight this mode of thinking seems to us very luminous, because it is that of so-called sound commonsense. Only sound commonsense, respectable fellow that he is, in the homely realm of his own four walls, has very wonderful adventures directly he ventures out into the wide world of research. And the metaphysical mode of thought, justifiable and necessary as it is in a number of domains whose extent varies according to the nature of the particular object of investigation, sooner or later reaches a limit, beyond which it becomes one-sided, restricted, abstract, lost in insoluble contradictions. In the contemplation of individual things, it forgets the connection between them; in the contemplation of their existence, it forgets the beginning and end of that existence; of their repose, it forgets their motion. It cannot see the wood for the trees.

For everyday purposes we know and can say, *e.g.*, whether an animal is alive or not. But, upon closer inquiry, we find that this is, in many cases, a very complex question, as the jurists know very well. They have cudgelled their brains in vain to discover a rational limit beyond which the killing of the child in its mother's womb is murder. It is just as impossible to determine absolutely the moment of death, for physiology proves that death is not an instantaneous, momentary phenomenon, but a very protracted process.

In like manner, every organic being is every moment the same and not the same; every moment it assimilates matter supplied from without, and gets rid of other matter; every moment some cells of its body die and others build themselves anew; in a longer or shorter time the matter of its body is completely renewed, and is replaced by other molecules[b] of matter, so that every organic being is always itself, and yet something other than itself.

Further, we find upon closer investigation that the two poles of an antithesis, positive and negative, *e.g.*, are as inseparable as they are opposed, and that despite all their opposition, they mutually

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[a] Matthew 5:37.—*Ed.*

[b] In the French (1880) and German (1891) editions: "atoms".—*Ed.*

interpenetrate. And we find, in like manner, that cause and effect are conceptions which only hold good in their application to individual cases; but as soon as we consider the individual cases in their general connection with the universe as a whole, they run into each other, and they become confounded when we contemplate that universal action and reaction in which causes and effects are eternally changing places, so that what is effect here and now will be cause there and then, and *vice versa*.

None of these processes and modes of thought enters into the framework of metaphysical reasoning. Dialectics, on the other hand, comprehends things and their representations, ideas, in their essential connection, concatenation, motion, origin, and ending. Such processes as those mentioned above are, therefore, so many corroborations of its own method of procedure.

Nature is the proof of dialectics, and it must be said for modern science[a] that it has furnished this proof with very rich materials increasing daily, and thus has shown that, in the last resort, Nature works dialectically and not metaphysically; that she does not move in the eternal oneness of a perpetually recurring circle, but goes through a real historical evolution.[b] In this connection Darwin must be named before all others. He dealt the metaphysical conception of Nature the heaviest blow by his proof that all organic beings, plants, animals, and man himself, are the products of a process of evolution going on through millions of years.[c] But the naturalists who have learned to think dialectically are few and far between, and this conflict of the results of discovery with preconceived modes of thinking explains the endless confusion now reigning in theoretical natural science, the despair of teachers as well as learners, of authors and readers alike.

An exact representation of the universe, of its evolution, of the development of mankind, and of the reflection of this evolution in the minds of men, can therefore only be obtained by the methods of dialectics with its constant regard to the innumerable actions and reactions of life and death, of progressive or retrogressive changes. And in this spirit the new German philosophy has worked. Kant began his career by resolving the stable solar system of Newton and its eternal duration, after the famous initial impulse had once been given, into the result of a historic process,

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[a] In the French (1880) and German (1891) editions: "modern natural science".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1891 German edition has: "a real history".—*Ed.*

[c] See Ch. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, London, 1859.—*Ed.*

the formation of the sun and all the planets out of a rotating nebulous mass. From this he at the same time drew the conclusion that, given this origin of the solar system, its future death followed of necessity. His theory half a century later was established mathematically by Laplace, and half a century after that the spectroscope proved the existence in space of such incandescent masses of gas in various stages of condensation.[365]

This new German philosophy culminated in the Hegelian system. In this system—and herein is its great merit—for the first time the whole world, natural, historical, intellectual, is represented as a process, *i.e.*, as in constant motion, change, transformation, development; and the attempt is made to trace out the internal connection that makes a continuous whole of all this movement and development. From this point of view the history of mankind no longer appeared as a wild whirl of senseless deeds of violence, all equally condemnable at the judgment-seat of mature philosophic reason, and which are best forgotten as quickly as possible; but as the process of evolution of man himself. It was now the task of the intellect to follow the gradual march of this process through all its devious ways, and to trace out the inner law running through all its apparently accidental phenomena.

That the Hegelian system did not solve the problem it propounded is here immaterial. Its epoch-making merit was that it propounded the problem. This problem is one that no single individual will ever be able to solve. Although Hegel was—with Saint-Simon—the most encyclopaedic[a] mind of his time, yet he was limited, first, by the necessarily limited extent of his own knowledge, and, second, by the limited extent and depth of the knowledge and conceptions of his age. To these limits a third must be added. Hegel was an idealist. To him the thoughts within his brain were not the more or less abstract pictures of actual things and processes, but, conversely, things and their evolution were only the realised pictures of the "Idea", existing somewhere from eternity before the world was. This way of thinking turned everything upside down, and completely reversed the actual connection of things in the world. Correctly and ingeniously as many individual groups of facts were grasped by Hegel, yet, for the reasons just given, there is much that is botched, artificial, laboured, in a word, wrong in point of detail. The Hegelian system, in itself, was a colossal miscarriage—but it was also the last of its kind. It was suffering, in fact, from an internal and

[a] The German edition of 1891 has: "universal".—*Ed.*

incurable contradiction. Upon the one hand, its essential proposition was the conception that human history is a process of evolution, which, by its very nature, cannot find its intellectual final term in the discovery of any so-called absolute truth. But, on the other hand, it laid claim to being the very essence of this absolute truth. A system of natural and historical knowledge, embracing everything, and final for all time, is a contradiction to the fundamental law of dialectic reasoning. This law, indeed, by no means excludes, but, on the contrary, includes the idea that the systematic knowledge of the external universe can make giant strides from age to age.

The perception of the fundamental contradiction in German idealism led necessarily back to materialism, but *nota bene,* not to the simply metaphysical, exclusively mechanical materialism of the eighteenth century. Old materialism looked upon all previous history as a crude heap of irrationality and violence[a]; modern materialism sees in it the process of evolution of humanity, and aims at discovering the laws thereof. With the French of the eighteenth century, and even with Hegel, the conception obtained of Nature as a whole, moving in narrow circles, and forever immutable, with its eternal celestial bodies, as Newton, and unalterable organic species, as Linnaeus, taught.[366] Modern materialism embraces the more recent discoveries of natural science, according to which Nature also has its history in time, the celestial bodies, like the organic species that, under favourable conditions, people them, being born and perishing. And even if Nature, as a whole, must still be said to move in recurrent cycles, these cycles assume infinitely larger dimensions. In both aspects, modern materialism is essentially dialectic, and no longer requires the assistance of that sort of philosophy which, queen-like, pretended to rule the remaining mob of sciences. As soon as each special science is bound to make clear its position in the great totality of things and of our knowledge of things, a special science dealing with this totality is superfluous or unnecessary. That which still survives of all earlier philosophy is the science of thought and its laws—formal logic and dialectics. Everything else is subsumed in the positive science of Nature and history.

Whilst, however, the revolution in the conception of Nature could only be made in proportion to the corresponding positive materials furnished by research, already much earlier certain

[a] In the French (1880) and German (1891) editions this part of the sentence reads as follows: "In contrast to naively revolutionary, simple rejection of all previous history".—*Ed.*

historical facts had occurred which led to a decisive change in the conception of history. In 1831, the first working-class rising took place in Lyons[367]; between 1838 and 1842, the first national working-class movement, that of the English Chartists,[368] reached its height. The class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie came to the front in the history of the most advanced countries in Europe, in proportion to the development, upon the one hand, of modern industry, upon the other, of the newly-acquired political supremacy of the bourgeoisie. Facts more and more strenuously gave the lie to the teachings of bourgeois economy as to the identity of the interests of capital and labour, as to the universal harmony and universal prosperity that would be the consequence of unbridled competition. All these things could no longer be ignored, any more than the French and English Socialism, which was their theoretical, though very imperfect, expression. But the old idealist conception of history, which was not yet dislodged, knew nothing of class struggles based upon economic interests, knew nothing of economic interests; production and all economic relations appeared in it only as incidental, subordinate elements in the "history of civilisation".

The new facts made imperative a new examination of all past history. Then it was seen that *all* past history, with the exception of its primitive stages, was the history of class struggles; that these warring classes of society are always the products of the modes of production and of exchange[a]—in a word, of the *economic* conditions of their time; that the economic structure of society always furnishes the real basis, starting from which we can alone work out the ultimate explanation of the whole superstructure of juridical and political institutions as well as of the religious, philosophical, and other ideas of a given historical period. Hegel had freed history from metaphysics—he had made it dialectic; but his conception of history was essentially idealistic. But now idealism was driven from its last refuge, the philosophy of history[b]; now a materialistic treatment of history was propounded, and a method found of explaining man's "knowing" by his "being", instead of, as heretofore, his "being" by his "knowing".

From that time forward Socialism was no longer an accidental discovery of this or that ingenious brain, but the necessary outcome of the struggle between two historically developed classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Its task was no longer

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[a] The German edition of 1891 has: "and of intercourse".—*Ed.*

[b] The German edition of 1891 has: "the conception of history".—*Ed.*

to manufacture a system of society as perfect as possible, but to examine the historico-economic succession of events from which these classes and their antagonism had of necessity sprung, and to discover in the economic conditions thus created the means of ending the conflict. But the Socialism of earlier days was as incompatible with this materialistic conception as the conception of Nature of the French materialists was with dialectics and modern natural science. The Socialism of earlier days certainly criticised the existing capitalistic mode of production and its consequences. But it could not explain them, and, therefore, could not get the mastery of them. It could only simply reject them as bad. The more strongly this earlier Socialism denounced the exploitation of the working-class, inevitable under Capitalism, the less able was it clearly to show in what this exploitation consisted and how it arose. But for this it was necessary—(1) to present the capitalistic method of production in its historical connection and its inevitableness during a particular historical period, and therefore, also, to present its inevitable downfall; and (2) to lay bare its essential character, which was still a secret. This was done by the discovery of *surplus-value.* It was shown that the appropriation of unpaid labour is the basis of the capitalist mode of production and of the exploitation of the worker that occurs under it; that even if the capitalist buys the labour-power of his labourer at its full value as a commodity on the market, he yet extracts more value from it than he paid for; and that in the ultimate analysis this surplus-value forms those sums of value from which are heaped up the constantly increasing masses of capital in the hands of the possessing classes. The genesis of capitalist production and the production of capital were both explained.

These two great discoveries, the materialistic conception of history and the revelation of the secret of capitalistic production through surplus-value, we owe to Marx. With these discoveries Socialism became a science. The next thing was to work out all its details and relations.

III

The materialist conception of history starts from the proposition that the production of the means to support human life[a] and, next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structure; that in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders, is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought, not in the *philosophy*, but in the *economics* of each particular epoch. The growing perception that existing social institutions are unreasonable and unjust, that reason has become unreason, and right wrong,[b] is only proof that in the modes of production and exchange changes have silently taken place, with which the social order, adapted to earlier economic conditions, is no longer in keeping. From this it also follows that the means of getting rid of the incongruities that have been brought to light, must also be present, in a more or less developed condition, within the changed modes of production themselves. These means are not to be invented by deduction from fundamental principles, but are to be discovered in the stubborn facts of the existing system of production.[c]

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[a] The words "of the means to support human life" are missing in the German edition of 1891.—*Ed.*

[b] Goethe, *Faust*, Erster Teil, "Studierzimmer".—*Ed.*

[c] In the German edition of 1891 this sentence reads: "These means are not to be *invented* in the head, but are to be *discovered* with the help of the head in the existing material facts of production."—*Ed.*

What is, then, the position of modern Socialism in this connexion?

The present structure of society—this is now pretty generally conceded—is the creation of the ruling class of to-day, of the bourgeoisie. The mode of production peculiar to the bourgeoisie, known, since Marx, as the capitalist mode of production, was incompatible with[a] the feudal system, with the privileges it conferred upon individuals, entire social ranks and local corporations, as well as with the hereditary ties of subordination which constituted the framework of its social organisation. The bourgeoisie broke up the feudal system and built upon its ruins the capitalist order of society, the kingdom of free competition, of personal liberty,[b] of the equality, before the law, of all commodity owners,[c] of all the rest of the capitalist blessings. Thenceforward the capitalist mode of production could develop in freedom. Since steam, machinery, and the making of machines by machinery[d] transformed the older manufacture into modern industry, the productive forces evolved under the guidance of the bourgeoisie developed with a rapidity and in a degree unheard of before. But just as the older manufacture, in its time, and handicraft, becoming more developed under its influence, had come into collision with the feudal trammels of the guilds, so now modern industry, in its more complete development, comes into collision with the bounds within which the capitalistic mode of production holds it confined. The new productive forces have already outgrown the capitalistic mode of using them. And this conflict between productive forces and modes of production is not a conflict engendered in the mind of man, like that between original sin and divine justice. It exists, in fact, objectively, outside us, independently of the will and actions even of the men that have brought it on. Modern Socialism is nothing but the reflex, in thought, of this conflict in fact; its ideal reflection in the minds, first, of the class directly suffering under it, the working-class.

Now, in what does this conflict consist?

Before capitalistic production, *i.e.*, in the Middle Ages, the

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[a] In the German edition of 1891 the end of this sentence reads as follows: "the local and social-estate privileges as well as with the mutual personal ties of the feudal system".—*Ed.*

[b] The French (1880) and German (1891) editions have: "the freedom of movement".—*Ed.*

[c] The German edition of 1891 has: "the equality of commodity owners".—*Ed.*

[d] In the French (1880) and German (1891) editions the beginning of the sentence reads as follows: "Since steam and the new machine tools".—*Ed.*

system of petty industry obtained generally, based upon the private property of the labourers in their means of production; in the country, the agriculture of the small peasant, freeman or serf; in the towns, the handicrafts organised in guilds.[a] The instruments of labour—land, agricultural implements, the workshop, the tool—were the instruments of labour of single individuals, adapted for the use of one worker, and, therefore, of necessity, small, dwarfish, circumscribed. But, for this very reason they belonged, as a rule, to the producer himself. To concentrate these scattered, limited means of production, to enlarge them, to turn them into the powerful levers of production of the present day—this was precisely the historic role of capitalist production and of its upholder, the bourgeoisie. In the fourth section of *Capital*[b] Marx has explained in detail, how since the fifteenth century this has been historically worked out through the three phases of simple co-operation, manufacture, and modern industry. But the bourgeoisie, as is also shown there, could not transform these puny means of production into mighty productive forces, without transforming them, at the same time, from means of production of the individual into *social* means of production only workable by a collectivity of men. The spinning-wheel, the handloom, the blacksmith's hammer, were replaced by the spinning-machine, the power-loom, the steam-hammer; the individual workshop, by the factory implying the co-operation of hundreds and thousands of workmen. In like manner, production itself changed from a series of individual into a series of social acts, and the products from individual to social products. The yarn, the cloth, the metal articles that now came out of the factory were the joint product of many workers, through whose hands they had successively to pass before they were ready. No one person could say of them: "I made that; this is *my* product."

But where, in a given society, the fundamental form of production is that spontaneous division of labour which creeps in gradually and not upon any preconceived plan, there the products take on the form of *commodities*, whose mutual exchange, buying and selling, enable the individual producers to satisfy their manifold wants. And this was the case in the Middle Ages. The peasant, *e.g.*, sold to the artisan agricultural products and bought from him the products of handicraft. Into this society of individual producers, of commodity-producers, the new mode of production thrust

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[a] The words "organised in guilds" were added in the English edition.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part IV (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

itself. In the midst of the old division of labour, grown up spontaneously and upon *no definite plan,* which had governed the whole of society, now arose division of labour upon *a definite plan,* as organised in the factory; side by side with *individual* production appeared *social* production. The products of both were sold in the same market, and, therefore, at prices at least approximately equal. But organisation upon a definite plan was stronger than spontaneous division of labour. The factories working with the combined social forces of a collectivity of individuals produced their commodities far more cheaply than the individual small producers. Individual production succumbed in one department after another. Socialised production revolutionised all the old methods of production. But its revolutionary character was, at the same time, so little recognised, that it was, on the contrary, introduced as a means of increasing and developing the production of commodities. When it arose, it found ready-made, and made liberal use of, certain machinery for the production and exchange of commodities: merchants' capital, handicraft, wage-labour. Socialised production thus introducing itself as a new form of the production of commodities, it was a matter of course that under it the old forms of appropriation remained in full swing, and were applied to its products as well.

In the mediaeval stage of evolution of the production of commodities, the question as to the owner of the product of labour could not arise. The individual producer, as a rule, had, from raw material belonging to himself, and generally his own handiwork, produced it with his own tools, by the labour of his own hands or of his family. There was no need for him to appropriate the new product. It belonged wholly to him, as a matter of course. His property in the product was, therefore, based *upon his own labour.* Even where external help was used, this was, as a rule, of little importance, and very generally was compensated by something other than wages. The apprentices and journeymen of the guilds worked less for board and wages than for education, in order that they might become master craftsmen themselves.

Then came the concentration of the means of production and of the producers in large workshops and manufactories, their transformation into actual socialised means of production and socialised producers.[a] But the socialised producers and means of

[a] The words "and of the producers" and "and socialised producers" are missing in the German edition of 1891.—*Ed.*

production and their products[a] were still treated, after this change, just as they had been before, *i.e.*, as the means of production and the products of individuals. Hitherto, the owner of the instruments of labour had himself appropriated the product, because, as a rule, it was his own product and the assistance of others was the exception. Now the owner of the instruments of labour always appropriated to himself the product, although it was no longer *his* product but exclusively the product of the *labour of others.* Thus, the products now produced socially were not appropriated by those who had actually set in motion the means of production and actually produced the commodities, but by the *capitalists.* The means of production, and production itself, had become in essence socialised. But they were subjected to a form of appropriation which presupposes the private production of individuals, under which, therefore, every one owns his own product and brings it to market. The mode of production is subjected to this form of appropriation, although it abolishes the conditions upon which the latter rests.*

This contradiction, which gives to the new mode of production its capitalistic character, *contains the germ of the whole of the social antagonisms of to-day.* The greater the mastery obtained by the new mode of production over all important fields of production and in all manufacturing countries, the more it reduced individual production to an insignificant residuum, *the more clearly was brought out the incompatibility of socialised production with capitalistic appropriation.*

The first capitalists found, as we have said, alongside of other forms of labour,[b] wage-labour ready-made for them on the market. But it was exceptional, complementary, accessory, transitory wage-labour. The agricultural labourer, though, upon occasion, he hired himself out by the day, had a few acres of his own

* It is hardly necessary in this connexion to point out, that, even if the form of appropriation remains the same, the *character* of the appropriation is just as much revolutionised as production is by the changes described above. It is, of course, a very different matter whether I appropriate to myself my own product or that of another. Note in passing that wage-labour, which contains the whole capitalistic mode of production in embryo, is very ancient; in a sporadic, scattered form it existed for centuries alongside of slave-labour. But the embryo could duly develop into the capitalistic mode of production only when the necessary historical pre-conditions had been furnished.

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[a] In the German edition of 1891 the beginning of the sentence reads as follows: "But the socialised means of production and products".— *Ed.*

[b] The words "alongside of other forms of labour" were added in the English edition.— *Ed.*

land on which he could at all events live at a pinch. The guilds were so organised that the journeyman of to-day became the master of to-morrow. But all this changed, as soon as the means of production became socialised and concentrated in the hands of capitalists. The means of production, as well as the product, of the individual producer became more and more worthless; there was nothing left for him but to turn wage-worker under the capitalist. Wage-labour, aforetime the exception and accessory, now became the rule and basis of all production; aforetime complementary, it now became the sole remaining function of the worker. The wage-worker for a time became a wage-worker for life. The number of these permanent wage-workers was further enormously increased by the breaking-up of the feudal system that occurred at the same time, by the disbanding of the retainers of the feudal lords, the eviction of the peasants from their homesteads, etc. The separation was made complete between the means of production concentrated in the hands of the capitalists on the one side, and the producers, possessing nothing but their labour-power, on the other. *The contradiction between socialised production and capitalistic appropriation manifested itself as the antagonism of proletariat and bourgeoisie.*

We have seen that the capitalistic mode of production thrust its way into a society of commodity-producers, of individual producers, whose social bond was the exchange of their products. But every society, based upon the production of commodities, has this peculiarity: that the producers have lost control over their own social inter-relations. Each man produces for himself with such means of production as he may happen to have, and for such exchange as he may require to satisfy his remaining wants. No one knows how much of his particular article is coming on the market, nor how much of it will be wanted. No one knows whether his individual product will meet an actual demand, whether he will be able to make good his cost of production or even to sell his commodity at all. Anarchy reigns in socialised production.

But the production of commodities, like every other form of production, has its peculiar, inherent laws inseparable from it; and these laws work, despite anarchy, in and through anarchy. They reveal themselves in the only persistent form of social inter-relations, *i.e.*, in exchange, and here they affect the individual producers as compulsory laws of competition. They are, at first, unknown to these producers themselves, and have to be discovered by them gradually and as the result of experience. They work themselves out, therefore, independently of the producers,

and in antagonism to them, as inexorable[a] natural laws of their particular form of production. The product governs the producers.

In mediaeval society, especially in the earlier centuries, production was essentially directed towards satisfying the wants of the individual. It satisfied, in the main, only the wants of the producer and his family. Where relations of personal dependence existed, as in the country, it also helped to satisfy the wants of the feudal lord. In all this there was, therefore, no exchange; the products, consequently, did not assume the character of commodities. The family of the peasant produced almost everything they wanted: clothes and furniture, as well as means of subsistence. Only when it began to produce more than was sufficient to supply its own wants and the payments in kind to the feudal lord, only then did it also produce commodities. This surplus, thrown into socialised exchange and offered for sale, became commodities.

The artisans of the towns, it is true, had from the first to produce for exchange. But they, also, themselves supplied the greatest part of their own individual wants. They had gardens and plots of land. They turned their cattle out into the communal forest, which, also, yielded them timber and firing. The women spun flax, wool, and so forth. Production for the purpose of exchange, production of commodities, was only in its infancy. Hence, exchange was restricted, the market narrow, the methods of production stable; there was local exclusiveness without, local unity within; the mark* in the country, in the town, the guild.

But with the extension of the production of commodities, and especially with the introduction of the capitalist mode of production, the laws of commodity-production, hitherto latent, came into action more openly and with greater force. The old bonds were loosened, the old exclusive limits broken through, the producers were more and more turned into independent, isolated producers of commodities. It became apparent that the production of society at large was ruled by absence of plan, by accident, by anarchy; and this anarchy[c] grew to greater and greater height. But the chief means by aid of which the capitalist mode of production intensified this anarchy of socialised production, was the exact

* See Appendix.[b]

[a] The German edition of 1891 has: "blindly working".— *Ed.*

[b] Here Engels refers to his work *The Mark* (see this volume, pp. 439-56).— *Ed.*

[c] In the German edition of 1891 the beginning of the sentence reads as follows: "The anarchy of socialised production became apparent and".— *Ed.*

opposite of anarchy. It was the increasing organisation of production, upon a social basis, in every individual productive establishment. By this, the old, peaceful, stable condition of things was ended. Wherever this organisation of production was introduced into a branch of industry, it brooked no other method of production by its side.[a] The field of labour became a battleground. The great geographical discoveries, and the colonisation following upon them, multiplied markets and quickened the transformation of handicraft into manufacture. The war did not simply break out between the individual producers of particular localities. The local struggles begot in their turn national conflicts, the commercial wars of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.[369]

Finally, modern industry and the opening of the world-market made the struggle universal, and at the same time gave it an unheard-of virulence. Advantages in natural or artificial conditions of production now decide the existence or non-existence of individual capitalists, as well as of whole industries and countries. He that falls is remorselessly cast aside. It is the Darwinian struggle of the individual for existence transferred from Nature to society with intensified violence. The conditions of existence natural to the animal appear as the final term of human development. The contradiction between socialised production and capitalistic appropriation now presents itself as *an antagonism between the organisation of production in the individual workshop and the anarchy of production in society generally.*

The capitalistic mode of production moves in these two forms of the antagonism immanent to it from its very origin. It is never able to get out of that "vicious circle", which Fourier had already discovered.[b] What Fourier could not, indeed, see in his time is, that this circle is gradually narrowing; that the movement becomes more and more a spiral, and must come to an end, like the movement of the planets, by collision with the centre. It is the compelling force of anarchy in the production of society at large[c] that more and more completely turns the great majority of men into proletarians; and it is the masses of the proletariat again who

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[a] The German edition of 1891 has one more sentence here: "Wherever it took possession of handicraft, it destroyed its old form."—*Ed.*

[b] See Ch. Fourier, *Le nouveau monde industriel et sociétaire, ou invention du procédé d'industrie attrayante et naturelle distribuée en séries passionnées.* In: *Oeuvres complètes,* Vol. 6.—*Ed.*

[c] The German edition of 1891 has here: "It is the compelling force of the social anarchy of production".—*Ed.*

will finally put an end to anarchy in production. It is the compelling force of anarchy in social production that turns the limitless perfectibility of machinery under modern industry into a compulsory law by which every individual industrial capitalist must perfect his machinery more and more, under penalty of ruin.

But the perfecting of machinery is the making human labour superfluous. If the introduction and increase of machinery means the displacement of millions of manual, by a few machine, workers, improvement in machinery means the displacement of more and more of the machine-workers themselves. It means, in the last instance, the production of a number of available wage-workers in excess of the average needs of capital, the formation of a complete industrial reserve army, as I called it in 1845,* available at the times when industry is working at high pressure, to be cast out upon the street when the inevitable crash comes, a constant dead weight upon the limbs of the working-class in its struggle for existence with capital, a regulator for the keeping of wages down to the low level that suits the interests of capital. Thus it comes about, to quote Marx, that machinery becomes the most powerful weapon in the war of capital against the working-class; that the instruments of labour constantly tear the means of subsistence out of the hands of the labourer; that the very product of the worker is turned into an instrument for his subjugation.[b] Thus it comes about that the economising of the instruments of labour becomes at the same time, from the outset, the most reckless waste of labour-power, and robbery based upon the normal conditions under which labour functions[c]; that machinery, "the most powerful instrument for shortening labour-time, becomes the most unfailing means for placing every moment of the labourer's time and that of his family at the disposal of the capitalist for the purpose of expanding the value of his capital" (*Capital*, English edition, p. 406). Thus it comes about that over-work of some becomes the preliminary condition for the idleness of others, and that modern industry, which hunts after

* "The Condition of the Working-Class in England" (Sonnenschein & Co.), p. 84.[a]

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[a] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*. With Preface written in 1892. Translated by Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky, London, Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1892 (see present edition, Vol. 4, p. 384).— *Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part IV, Chapter XV, Sections 5 and 9 (present edition, Vol. 35).— *Ed.*

[c] Ibid., Part IV, Chapter XV, Section 8, Sub-section "b": "Reaction of the Factory System on Manufacture and Domestic Industries".— *Ed.*

new consumers over the whole world, forces the consumption of the masses at home down to a starvation minimum, and in doing thus destroys its own home market. "The law that always equilibrates the relative surplus population, or industrial reserve army, to the extent and energy of accumulation, this law rivets the labourer to capital more firmly than the wedges of Vulcan did Prometheus to the rock. It establishes an accumulation of misery, corresponding with accumulation of capital. Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time, accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole, *i.e.*, on the side of the class that produces *its own product in the form of capital*" (Marx's *Capital* [Sonnenschein & Co.], p. 661). And to expect any other division of the products from the capitalistic mode of production is the same as expecting the electrodes of a battery not to decompose acidulated water, not to liberate oxygen at the positive, hydrogen at the negative pole, so long as they are connected with the battery.

We have seen that the ever-increasing perfectibility of modern machinery is, by the anarchy of social production, turned into a compulsory law that forces the individual industrial capitalist always to improve his machinery, always to increase its productive force. The bare possibility of extending the field of production is transformed for him into a similar compulsory law. The enormous expansive force of modern industry, compared with which that of gases is mere child's play, appears to us now as a *necessity* for expansion, both qualitative and quantitative, that laughs at all resistance. Such resistance is offered by consumption, by sales, by the markets for the products of modern industry. But the capacity for extension, extensive and intensive, of the markets is primarily governed by quite different laws that work much less energetically. The extension of the markets cannot keep pace with the extension of production. The collision becomes inevitable, and as this cannot produce any real solution so long as it does not break in pieces the capitalist mode of production, the collisions become periodic. Capitalist production has begotten another "vicious circle".

As a matter of fact, since 1825, when the first general crisis broke out, the whole industrial and commercial world, production and exchange among all civilised peoples and their more or less barbaric hangers-on, are thrown out of joint about once every ten years. Commerce is at a standstill, the markets are glutted, products accumulate, as multitudinous as they are unsaleable, hard cash disappears, credit vanishes, factories are closed, the mass of

the workers are in want of the means of subsistence, because they have produced too much of the means of subsistence; bankruptcy follows upon bankruptcy, execution upon execution. The stagnation lasts for years; productive forces and products are wasted and destroyed wholesale, until the accumulated mass of commodities finally filter off, more or less depreciated in value, until production and exchange gradually begin to move again. Little by little the pace quickens. It becomes a trot. The industrial trot breaks into a canter, the canter in turn grows into the headlong gallop of a perfect steeplechase of industry, commercial credit, and speculation, which finally, after breakneck leaps, ends where it began—in the ditch of a crisis. And so over and over again. We have now, since the year 1825, gone through this five times, and at the present moment (1877) we are going through it for the sixth time. And the character of these crises is so clearly defined that Fourier hit all of them off, when he described the first as "*crise pléthorique*", a crisis from plethora.[a]

In these crises, the contradiction between socialised production and capitalist appropriation ends in a violent explosion. The circulation of commodities is, for the time being, stopped. Money, the means of circulation, becomes a hindrance to circulation. All the laws of production and circulation of commodities are turned upside down. The economic collision has reached its apogee. *The mode of production is in rebellion against the mode of exchange.*

The fact that the socialised organisation of production within the factory has developed so far that it has become incompatible with the anarchy of production in society, which exists side by side with and dominates it, is brought home to the capitalists themselves by the violent concentration of capital that occurs during crises, through the ruin of many large, and a still greater number of small, capitalists. The whole mechanism of the capitalist mode of production breaks down under the pressure of the productive forces, its own creations. It is no longer able to turn all this mass of means of production into capital. They lie fallow, and for that very reason the industrial reserve army must also lie fallow. Means of production, means of subsistence, available labourers, all the elements of production and of general wealth, are present in abundance. But "abundance becomes the source of distress and want" (Fourier), because it is the very thing that prevents the transformation of the means of production and

[a] See Ch. Fourier, *Le nouveau monde industriel et sociétaire, ou invention du procédé d'industrie attrayante et naturelle distribuée en séries passionnées.* In: *Oeuvres complètes,* Vol. 6, pp. 393-94.—*Ed.*

subsistence into capital. For in capitalistic society the means of production can only function when they have undergone a preliminary transformation into capital, into the means of exploiting human labour-power. The necessity of this transformation into capital of the means of production and subsistence stands like a ghost between these and the workers. It alone prevents the coming together of the material and personal levers of production; it alone forbids the means of production to function, the workers to work and live. On the one hand, therefore, the capitalistic mode of production stands convicted of its own incapacity to further direct these productive forces. On the other, these productive forces themselves, with increasing energy, press forward to the removal of the existing contradiction, to the abolition of their quality as capital, to the *practical recognition of their character as social productive forces.*

This rebellion of the productive forces, as they grow more and more powerful, against their quality as capital, this stronger and stronger command that their social character shall be recognised, forces the capitalist class itself to treat them more and more as social productive forces, so far as this is possible under capitalist conditions. The period of industrial high pressure, with its unbounded inflation of credit, not less than the crash itself, by the collapse of great capitalist establishments, tends to bring about that form of the socialisation of great masses of means of production which we meet with in the different kinds of joint-stock companies. Many of these means of production and of distribution are, from the outset, so colossal, that, like the railroads, they exclude all other forms of capitalistic exploitation. At a further stage of evolution this form also becomes insufficient. The producers on a large scale in a particular branch of industry in a particular country unite in a "Trust", a union for the purpose of regulating production. They determine the total amount to be produced, parcel it out among themselves, and thus enforce the selling price fixed beforehand. But trusts of this kind, as soon as business becomes bad, are generally liable to break up, and, on this very account, compel a yet greater concentration of association. The whole of the particular industry is turned into one gigantic joint-stock company; internal competition gives place to the internal monopoly of this one company. This has happened in 1890 with the English *alkali* production, which is now, after the fusion of 48 large works, in the hands of one company, conducted upon a single plan, and with a capital of £6,000,000.

In the trusts, freedom of competition changes into its very

opposite—into monopoly; and the production without any definite plan of capitalistic society capitulates to the production upon a definite plan of the invading socialistic society. Certainly this is so far still to the benefit and advantage of the capitalists. But in this case the exploitation is so palpable that it must break down. No nation will put up with production conducted by trusts, with so barefaced an exploitation of the community by a small band of dividend-mongers.

In any case, with trusts or without, the official representative of capitalist society—the State—will ultimately have to undertake the direction of production.* This necessity for conversion into State-property is felt first in the great institutions for intercourse and communication—the post-office, the telegraphs, the railways.

If the crises demonstrate the incapacity of the bourgeoisie for managing any longer modern productive forces, the transformation of the great establishments for production and distribution[a] into joint-stock companies, trusts, and State property, shows how unnecessary the bourgeoisie are for that purpose. All the social functions of the capitalist are now performed by salaried employees. The capitalist has no further social function than that of pocketing dividends, tearing off coupons, and gambling on the Stock Exchange, where the different capitalists despoil one

* I say "have to". For only when the means of production and distribution have *actually* outgrown the form of management by joint-stock companies, and when, therefore, the taking them over by the State has become *economically* inevitable, only then—even if it is the State of to-day that effects this—is there an economic advance, the attainment of another step preliminary to the taking over of all productive forces by society itself. But of late, since Bismarck went in for State-ownership of industrial establishments, a kind of spurious Socialism has arisen, degenerating, now and again, into something of flunkeyism, that without more ado declares *all* State-ownership, even of the Bismarckian sort, to be socialistic. Certainly, if the taking over by the State of the tobacco industry is socialistic, then Napoleon and Metternich must be numbered among the founders of Socialism. If the Belgian State, for quite ordinary political and financial reasons, itself constructed its chief railway lines; if Bismarck, not under any economic compulsion, took over for the State the chief Prussian lines,[370] simply to be the better able to have them in hand in case of war, to bring up the railway employees as voting cattle for the Government, and especially to create for himself a new source of income independent of parliamentary votes—this was, in no sense, a socialistic measure, directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously. Otherwise, the Royal Maritime Company,[371] the Royal porcelain manufacture, and even the regimental tailor of the army would also be socialistic institutions, or even, as was seriously proposed by a sly dog in Frederick William III's reign, the taking over by the State of the brothels.

[a] The German edition of 1891 has here: "communication".— *Ed.*

another of their capital. At first the capitalistic mode of production forces out the workers. Now it forces out the capitalists, and reduces them, just as it reduced the workers, to the ranks of the surplus population, although not immediately into those of the industrial reserve army.

But the transformation, either into joint-stock companies and trusts, or into State-ownership, does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces. In the joint-stock companies and trusts this is obvious. And the modern State, again, is only the organisation that bourgeois society takes on in order to support the external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments, as well of the workers as of individual capitalists. The modern State, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital.[a] The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers—proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head. But, brought to a head, it topples over. State-ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution.

This solution can only consist in the practical recognition of the social nature of the modern forces of production, and therefore in the harmonising the modes of production, appropriation, and exchange with the socialised character of the means of production. And this can only come about by society openly and directly taking possession of the productive forces which have outgrown all control except that of society as a whole. The social character of the means of production and of the products to-day reacts against the producers, periodically disrupts all production and exchange, acts only like a law of Nature working blindly, forcibly, destructively. But with the taking over by society of the productive forces, the social character of the means of production and of the products will be utilised by the producers with a perfect understanding of its nature, and instead of being a source of disturbance and periodical collapse, will become the most powerful lever of production itself.

Active social forces work exactly like natural forces: blindly,

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[a] The French (1880) and German (1891) editions have: "the ideal total capitalist".— *Ed.*

forcibly, destructively, so long as we do not understand, and reckon with, them. But when once we understand them, when once we grasp their action, their direction, their effects, it depends only upon ourselves to subject them more and more to our own will, and by means of them to reach our own ends. And this holds quite especially of the mighty productive forces of to-day. As long as we obstinately refuse to understand the nature and the character of these social means of action—and this understanding goes against the grain of the capitalist mode of production and its defenders—so long these forces are at work in spite of us, in opposition to us, so long they master us, as we have shown above in detail.

But when once their nature is understood, they can, in the hands of the producers working together, be transformed from master demons into willing servants. The difference is as that between the destructive force of electricity in the lightning of the storm, and electricity under command in the telegraph and the voltaic arc; the difference between a conflagration, and fire working in the service of man. With this recognition at last of the real nature of the productive forces of to-day, the social anarchy of production gives place to a social regulation of production upon a definite plan, according to the needs of the community and of each individual. Then the capitalist mode of appropriation, in which the product enslaves first the producer and then the appropriator, is replaced by the mode of appropriation of the products that is based upon the nature of the modern means of production; upon the one hand, direct social appropriation, as means to the maintenance and extension of production—on the other, direct individual appropriation, as means of subsistence and of enjoyment.

Whilst the capitalist mode of production more and more completely transforms the great majority of the population into proletarians, it creates the power which, under penalty of its own destruction, is forced to accomplish this revolution. Whilst it forces on more and more the transformation of the vast means of production, already socialised, into State property, it shows itself the way to accomplishing this revolution. *The proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production into State property.*

But, in doing this, it abolishes itself as proletariat, abolishes all class distinctions and class antagonisms, abolishes also the State as State. Society thus far, based upon class antagonisms, had need of the State. That is, of an organisation of the particular class which was *pro tempore* the exploiting class, an organisation for the

purpose of preventing any interference from without with the existing conditions of production, and therefore, especially, for the purpose of forcibly keeping the exploited classes in the condition of oppression corresponding with the given mode of production (slavery, serfdom, wage-labour). The State was the official representative of society as a whole; the gathering of it together into a visible embodiment. But it was this only in so far as it was the State of that class which itself represented, for the time being, society as a whole; in ancient times, the State of slave-owning citizens; in the middle ages, the feudal lords; in our own time, the bourgeoisie. When at last it becomes the real representative of the whole of society, it renders itself unnecessary. As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection; as soon as class rule, and the individual struggle for existence based upon our present anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from these, are removed, nothing more remains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a State, is no longer necessary. The first act by virtue of which the State really constitutes itself the representative of the whole of society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—this is, at the same time, its last independent act as a State. State interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous, and then dies out of itself; the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production. The State is not "abolished". *It dies out.* This gives the measure of the value of the phrase "a free State",[a] both as to its justifiable use at times by agitators, and as to its ultimate scientific insufficiency; and also of the demands of the so-called anarchists for the abolition of the State out of hand.

Since the historical appearance of the capitalist mode of production, the appropriation by society of all the means of production has often been dreamed of, more or less vaguely, by individuals, as well as by sects, as the ideal of the future. But it could become possible, could become a historical necessity, only when the actual conditions for its realisation were there. Like every other social advance, it becomes practicable, not by men understanding that the existence of classes is in contradiction to justice, equality, etc., not by the mere willingness to abolish these classes, but by virtue of certain new economic conditions. The separation of society into an exploiting and an exploited class, a

[a] See this volume, pp. 71 and 94-96.—*Ed.*

ruling and an oppressed class, was the necessary consequence of the deficient and restricted development of production in former times. So long as the total social labour only yields a produce which but slightly exceeds that barely necessary for the existence of all; so long, therefore, as labour engages all or almost all the time of the great majority of the members of society—so long, of necessity, this society is divided into classes. Side by side with the great majority, exclusively bond slaves to labour, arises a class freed from directly productive labour, which looks after the general affairs of society: the direction of labour, State business, law, science, art, etc. It is, therefore, the law of division of labour that lies at the basis of the division into classes. But this does not prevent this division into classes from being carried out by means of violence and robbery, trickery and fraud. It does not prevent the ruling class, once having the upper hand, from consolidating its power at the expense of the working-class, from turning their social leadership into an intensified exploitation of the masses.

But if, upon this showing, division into classes has a certain historical justification, it has this only for a given period, only under given social conditions. It was based upon the insufficiency of production. It will be swept away by the complete development of modern productive forces. And, in fact, the abolition of classes in society presupposes a degree of historical evolution, at which the existence, not simply of this or that particular ruling class, but of any ruling class at all, and, therefore, the existence of class distinction itself has become an obsolete anachronism. It presupposes, therefore, the development of production carried out to a degree at which appropriation of the means of production and of the products, and, with this, of political domination, of the monopoly of culture, and of intellectual leadership by a particular class of society, has become not only superfluous, but economically, politically, intellectually a hindrance to development.

This point is now reached. Their political and intellectual bankruptcy is scarcely any longer a secret to the bourgeoisie themselves. Their economic bankruptcy recurs regularly every ten years. In every crisis, society is suffocated beneath the weight of its own productive forces and products, which it cannot use, and stands helpless, face to face with the absurd contradiction that the producers have nothing to consume, because consumers are wanting. The expansive force of the means of production bursts the bonds that the capitalist mode of production had imposed upon them. Their deliverance from these bonds is the one precondition for an unbroken, constantly-accelerated development

of the productive forces, and therewith for a practically unlimited increase of production itself. Nor is this all. The socialised appropriation of the means of production does away, not only with the present artificial restrictions upon production, but also with the positive waste and devastation of productive forces and products that are at the present time the inevitable concomitants of production, and that reach their height in the crises. Further, it sets free for the community at large a mass of means of production and of products, by doing away with the senseless extravagance of the ruling classes of to-day, and their political representatives. The possibility of securing for every member of society, by means of socialised production, an existence not only fully sufficient materially, and becoming day by day more full, but an existence guaranteeing to all the free development and exercise of their physical and mental faculties—this possibility is now for the first time here, but *it is here.**

With the seizing of the means of production by society, production of commodities is done away with, and, simultaneously, the mastery of the product over the producer. Anarchy in social production is replaced by systematic, definite organisation. The struggle for individual existence disappears. Then for the first time, man, in a certain sense, is finally marked off from the rest of the animal kingdom, and emerges from mere animal conditions of existence into really human ones. The whole sphere of the conditions of life which environ man, and which have hitherto ruled man, now comes under the dominion and control of man, who for the first time becomes the real, conscious lord of Nature, because he has now become master of his own social organisation. The laws of his own social action, hitherto standing face to face with man as laws of Nature foreign to, and dominating, him, will then be used with full understanding, and so mastered by him. Man's own social organisation, hitherto confronting him as a

* A few figures may serve to give an approximate idea of the enormous expansive force of the modern means of production, even under capitalist pressure. According to Mr. Giffen,[372] the total wealth of Great Britain and Ireland amounted, in round numbers, in

1814 to £2,200,000,000.
1865 to £6,100,000,000.
1875 to £8,500,000,000.

As an instance of the squandering of means of production and of products during a crisis, the total loss in the German iron industry alone, in the crisis 1873-78, was given at the second German Industrial Congress (Berlin, February 21, 1878) as £22,750,000.

necessity imposed by Nature and history, now becomes the result of his own free action. The extraneous objective forces that have hitherto governed history pass under the control of man himself. Only from that time will man himself, more and more consciously, make his own history—only from that time will the social causes set in movement by him have, in the main and in a constantly growing measure, the results intended by him. It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom.

Let us briefly sum up our sketch of historical evolution.[a]

I. *Mediaeval Society.*—Individual production on a small scale. Means of production adapted for individual use; hence primitive, ungainly, petty, dwarfed in action. Production for immediate consumption, either of the producer himself or of his feudal lord. Only where an excess of production over this consumption occurs is such excess offered for sale, enters into exchange. Production of commodities, therefore, only in its infancy. But already it contains within itself, in embryo, *anarchy in the production of society at large.*

II. *Capitalist Revolution.*—Transformation of industry, at first by means of simple co-operation and manufacture. Concentration of the means of production, hitherto scattered, into great workshops. As a consequence, their transformation from individual to social means of production—a transformation which does not, on the whole, affect the form of exchange. The old forms of appropriation remain in force. The capitalist appears. In his capacity as owner of the means of production, he also appropriates the products and turns them into commodities. Production has become a *social* act. Exchange and appropriation continue to be *individual* acts, the acts of individuals. *The social product is appropriated by the individual capitalist.* Fundamental contradiction, whence arise all the contradictions in which our present-day society moves, and which modern industry brings to light.

A. Severance of the producer from the means of production. Condemnation of the worker to wage-labour for life. *Antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.*

B. Growing predominance and increasing effectiveness of the laws governing the production of commodities. Unbridled competition. *Contradiction between socialised organisation in the individual factory and social anarchy in production as a whole.*

C. On the one hand, perfecting of machinery, made by competition compulsory for each individual manufacturer, and

[a] The German edition of 1891 has: "of the course of development".—*Ed.*

complemented by a constantly growing displacement of labourers. *Industrial reserve army.* On the other hand, unlimited extension of production, also compulsory under competition, for every manufacturer. On both sides, unheard of development of productive forces, excess of supply over demand, over-production, glutting of the markets, crises every ten years, the vicious circle: excess here, of means of production and products—excess there, of labourers, without employment and without means of existence. But these two levers of production and of social well-being are unable to work together, because the capitalist form of production prevents the productive forces from working and the products from circulating, unless they are first turned into capital—which their very superabundance prevents. The contradiction has grown into an absurdity. *The mode of production rises in rebellion against the form of exchange.* The bourgeoisie are convicted of incapacity further to manage their own social productive forces.

D. Partial recognition of the social character of the productive forces forced upon the capitalists themselves. Taking over of the great institutions for production and communication, first by joint-stock companies, later on by trusts, then by the State. The bourgeoisie demonstrated to be a superfluous class. All its social functions are now performed by salaried employees.

III. *Proletarian Revolution.*—Solution of the contradictions. The proletariat seizes the public power, and by means of this transforms the socialised means of production, slipping from the hands of the bourgeoisie, into public property. By this act, the proletariat frees the means of production from the character of capital they have thus far borne, and gives their socialised character complete freedom to work itself out. Socialised production upon a predetermined plan becomes henceforth possible. The development of production makes the existence of different classes of society thenceforth an anachronism. In proportion as anarchy in social production vanishes, the political authority of the State dies out. Man, at last the master of his own form of social organisation, becomes at the same time the lord over Nature, his own master—free.

To accomplish this act of universal emancipation is the historical mission of the modern proletariat. To thoroughly comprehend the historical conditions and thus the very nature of this act, to impart to the now oppressed proletarian class a full knowledge of the conditions and of the meaning of the momentous act it is called upon to accomplish, this is the task of the theoretical expression of the proletarian movement, scientific Socialism.

# Karl Marx

## [NOTE ON *THE POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY*][373]

*The Poverty of Philosophy* by Karl Marx appeared in 1847[a] shortly after the *Economic Contradictions* by Proudhon,[b] which bore the sub-title *Philosophy of Poverty*. What prompted us to reprint this book, the first edition of which is out of print, was the fact that it contains the seeds of the theory developed after twenty years' work in *Capital*. Reading the *Poverty of Philosophy* and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, published by Marx and Engels in 1848, might thus serve as an introduction to the study of *Capital* and the works of other modern socialists who, like Lassalle, have derived their ideas from them. By authorising this republication in our journal, Marx wished to give us a token of his sympathy.

We must say a few more words about the drastic tone of this polemic against Proudhon. On the one hand, Proudhon, while attacking the official economists such as Dunoyer, Blanqui the Academician and the whole clique around the *Journal des Économistes*,[c] knew how to appeal to their vanity at the same time as he heaped coarse insults on the utopian socialists and communists whom Marx honoured as the forebears[d] of modern socialism. On the other hand, to prepare the way for the critical and materialist socialism which alone can render the real, historical

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[a] K. Marx, *Misère de la philosophie. Réponse à la philosophie de la misère de M. Proudhon*, Paris, Brussels, 1847.— *Ed.*

[b] P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou philosophie de la misère*, Vols. 1-2, Paris, 1846.— *Ed.*

[c] Léon Faucher, Charles Duchâtel, Louis François Benoiston de Châteauneuf, Maurice Rubichon, and Edelestand Duméril.— *Ed.*

[d] *L'Égalité* has here: "initiators".— *Ed.*

development of social production intelligible, it was necessary to break abruptly with the ideological economics of which Proudhon was unwittingly the last incarnation.

Besides, in an article published in the Berlin *Social-Demokrat*[a] on the death of Proudhon, Marx did justice to this fighter's great qualities, to his manly attitude after the days of June 1848,[374] and to his talent as a political writer.

Written in late March or early April 1880

First published in *L'Égalité*, No. 12, April 7, 1880

Printed according to the manuscript, checked with the newspaper

Translated from the French

[a] K. Marx, "On Proudhon", *Der Social-Demokrat*, Nos. 16-18, February 1, 3 and 5, 1865 (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 26-33).— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## WORKERS' QUESTIONNAIRE[375]

### I

1) Which is your branch of industry?

2) Is the concern in which you work carried on by private capitalists or by a joint-stock company? Give the names of the private employer or the manager of the company.

3) State the number of persons employed.

4) State their sex and age.

5) Which is the lowest age at which children—male or female—are admitted?

6) State the number of overlookers and *other employés* who are no common wage-labourers.

7) Are apprentices employed and how many?

8) Are there besides the usual and regularly employed workmen others called in from abroad at certain seasons?

9) Is your master's business exclusively or mainly carried on for local customers, for the general home-market, or for export to Foreign countries?

10) Is the place of work rural or townish?

11) If your industry is carried on in a country-place, does it form your main subsistence or is it accessory to, or combined with, agriculture?

12) Is the work entirely or mainly hand-work or machine work?

13) State the division of labour in the business where you are employed.

14) Is steam-power employed as the motive power?

15) State the number of sets of working rooms in which the different parts of the business are carried on and describe that part of the industrial process in which you are employed, not only

technically, but with respect to the muscular and nervous strain it imposes and its general effects upon the health of the operative.

16) Describe the sanitary state of the place of work in regard to size (the space left for each operative), ventilation, temperature, whitewashing, *lieux d'aisance*, general cleanliness, noise of machinery, dust, dampness etc.

17) Is there any supervision, governmental or municipal, over the sanitary state of the working place?

18) Are there any peculiar deleterious influences in your business which breed specific diseases amongst the workmen?

19) Is the working place overcrowded with machinery?

20) Are the motive power, the machinery of transmission and the working machinery so secured as to prevent bodily harm to the workmen?

21) State the main accidents to limb and life of the operatives during your personal experience.

22) If working in a mine, state the precautionary measures taken by your employer to secure ventilation and to prevent explosions and other dangerous accidents.

23) If working in a metal manufacture, chemical manufacture, for railways or other specially perilous industry, state whether precautionary measures are taken by your employer.

24) What means of illumination, gas-light, petroleum etc. are applied in your working place?

25) Are there sufficient means of escape within and outside of the working buildings in case of fire?

26) In case of an accident, is the employer *legally* bound to indemnify the sufferer or his family?

27) If not, does he indemnify anyhow the parties that have come to grief in the work of enriching him?

28) Does there exist any medical attendance at your working place?

29) If you work at home, state the condition of your working room; whether you use any tools or also little machines; whether you employ your wife and children or other helpmates, adults or children, male or female; whether you work for private customers or for an "entrepreneur"; whether you engage directly with him or through middlemen.

## II

1) State the usual daily hours of work and the usual number of working days in the week.

2) State the number of holidays during the year.

3) Which are the interruptions of the working day?

4) Are meal-times fixed at certain regular intervals or are they irregularly taken?[a]

5) Is work performed during meal-times?

6) If steam-power is employed, state the actual time of starting and stopping it.

7) Is there night-work?

8) State the working time of children and young persons under 16 years of age.

9) Do different sets of children and young persons relieve each other during the working day?

10) Are such *legislative enactments* as exist for children's labour enforced by the government and strictly carried out by the employers?

11) Do there exist any schools for children and young persons engaged in your industry? If so, at what hours of the day are the children in school? What are they taught?

12) Where the work is continued night and day, what shifting system—relays of one set of workmen by another—is employed?

13) To what extent are the usual hours of work lengthened during times of business pressure?

14) Is the cleansing of machinery performed by an extra number of workmen, hired to the purpose, or is it gratuitously done by the operatives employed at the machines, during their usual working day?

15) Which are the regulations and penalties with regard to the exact attendance of workmen at the time when the day's work begins or when it recommences after meals?

16) How much time is daily lost to you by going from home to the working place and by returning home from the working place?

## III

1) Which is the mode of engagement with your master? Are you engaged daily, weekly, monthly etc.?

2) Which is the term stipulated for your receiving or giving notice of leave?

3) In case of breach of contract, if the master be the defaulter, which penalties does he incur?

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[a] Here the following question was added by Charles Longuet: "Are they taken in or outside of the building?" — *Ed.*

4) If the workman be the defaulter, which penalties does he incur?

5) If apprentices are employed, state the terms of their contract.

6) Is your occupation regular or irregular?

7) Is your branch of industry mainly carried on in certain seasons or is work, in ordinary times, more or less evenly distributed over the whole year? If your work is bound to certain seasons, how do you live in the interval?

8) Are your wages calculated by time or by peace-work?

9) If by time, are they reckoned by the single hour or by the whole working day?

10) Are extra wages—and which—paid in case of *overtime*?

11) If your wages are paid *à la pièce*, state the method of fixing them; if you be employed in industries where the mass of the work done is estimated by measurement or by weight (as f.i. in coal-mines), are there trickeries recurred to by your master and his underlings in order to defraud you of part of your earnings?

12) If you are paid by piece-work, is the quality of the article made a pretext for fraudulent deduction from wages?

13) Whether calculated by time or by piece-work, *at what terms* are your wages paid? In other words how long a credit must you give to your master before receiving pay for work done? Is it paid after the lapse of a week, a month etc.?

14) Have you found that such delay in the payment of wages obliges you to frequently recur to the *monts de piété*,[a] paying there high interest, and denuding you of things you ought to have at your command, or to take credit from shopkeepers, and, by becoming their debtors, to become their prey?

15) Are the wages paid directly by the "patron" or through a middleman, "*marchandeur*"[b] etc.?

16) If the wages are paid through "*marchandeurs*" or other middlemen, state the terms of your engagement.

17) State the daily or weekly amount of your wages in money.

18) State the wages for the same time of the women and children co-operating with you in the same workshop.

19) State the highest and lowest day wages during last month.

20) State the highest and lowest piece wages during last month.

21) State your actual earnings during the same time, and if you have a family, also those of your wife and children.

22) Are the wages paid in money or partly otherwise?

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[a] Pawnshops.— *Ed.*

[b] Contractor.— *Ed.*

23) If you rent your house accommodation from your employer, state on what terms? Does he deduct the house-rent from your wages?

24) *State the price of your necessaries*, such as[a]:

a) the pay for your dwelling and the terms on which it is rented; the number of rooms of which it consists; how many people live in it; repair and insurance; purchase and repair of furniture; lodging; heating, lighting, water etc.;

b) nourishment: bread, meat, vegetables (potatoes etc.); milk products, eggs, fish; butter, oil, lard, sugar, salt, spice; coffee, tea, chicory; beer, cider, wine etc.; tobacco;

c) clothes (for the parents and the children); washing; articles of hygiene, bath, soap etc.;

d) various expenses, such as for mail, loan and payment for keeping things in pawnshops; expenses for teaching children in school, paying for apprenticeship, purchase of journals, books etc. Contributions to societies for mutual relief, to strike fund, to associations, TRADES-UNIONS etc.;

e) expenses, if there are any, connected with the exercise of your trade;

f) taxes.

25) Try to arrange in form of a budget your weekly and yearly income (and that of your family, if you have one) and your weekly and yearly expense.

26) Have you remarked during your personal experience a greater rising in the necessaries of life (such as house-rent, price of food etc.) than in that of wages?

27) State changes in the *taux de salaires* for as long a time as you can remember.

28) State fall of wages during the times of stagnation or crisis.

29) State rise of wages in so-called times of prosperity.

30) State interruption of work through change of fashion, and partial or general crises.

31) State the changes *in the price of the articles* you produce or the services you render as compared with the *simultaneous changes* or permanency of your wages.

32) Have in the time of your experience workmen been displaced by the introduction of machines or other improvements?

33) Has with the development of machinery and the productive power of labour the intensity and the duration of labour decreased or increased?

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[a] Points a-f were written by Marx in French.— *Ed.*

34) Are you aware of any rise of wages in consequence of improved production?

35) Have you ever known instances wherein an ordinary operative was enabled to retire, at 50 years of age, on money earned as a wages-labourer?

36) What is the number of years for which, in your branch of industry, an operative of average health can continue his work?

## IV

1) Do trades-unions exist in your trade, and how are they managed?

2) How many strikes have occurred in your trade during your personal experience?

3) How long did those strikes last?

4) Were they partial or general?

5) Was their purpose an increase of wages or resistance to the reduction of the same; or did they relate to the length of the working day; or did they arise from any other motive?

6) What was their result?

7) Does your trade support the strikes of workmen belonging to other trades?

8) State the rules and the penalties for breach of them established by your master for the government of his wages-labourers.[a]

9) Do there exist combinations between the masters for imposing upon the workmen reduction of wages, increase of working day, interference with strikes, and generally for enforcing their behests upon the working class?

10) Has, in your experience, the government abused the public force in the service of the masters against their men?

11) Has the same government, in your experience, ever interfered for the men against the encroachments and unlawful combinations of the masters?

12) Does the same government enforce the factory laws, as far as they exist, against the masters? Do its inspectors—if there are any—strictly fulfil their duties?

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[a] The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: "in his workshop, where he, of course, unites the supreme legislative, judiciary and executive powers in his hands".— *Ed.*

13) Do there exist in your workshop or your trade, societies for mutual relief and assistance in cases of accidents, sickness, death, temporary incapacity for work, old age etc.?

14) Is the membership in such societies voluntary or compulsory? Are their funds exclusively under the control of the workmen?

15) If the contributions to such funds are compulsory and under the control of the master, does he deduct the contributions from the wages; does he pay interest for them? Have the working-men giving or receiving leave their instalments returned?

16) Are there working-men's co-operative enterprises in your department of industry? How are they managed? Do they also employ extraneous operatives for wages in the same way as the capitalists do?

17) Are there in your trade workshops where part of the retribution of the operative is paid under the name of wages and another part in so-called shares in the master's profit? Compare the entire income of those operatives with that of others where there does not exist this so-called partnership. State the engagements of workmen living under this regime. State whether they are allowed to participate in strikes etc. or whether they are only permitted to be the obedient "subjects" of their master.

18) Which is the general physical, intellectual and moral condition of working-men and working-women in your branch of trade?

Drawn up in the first half of April 1880 Reproduced from the manuscript

First published in *La Revue socialiste*, No. 4, April 20, 1880

# Karl Marx

## [INTRODUCTION TO THE FRENCH EDITION OF ENGELS' *SOCIALISM: UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC*][376]

The pages which form the subject of the present pamphlet, first published as three articles in the *Revue socialiste*,[a] have been translated from the latest book by Engels *Revolution in Science*.[b]

Frederick Engels, one of the foremost representatives of contemporary socialism, distinguished himself in 1844 with his *Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy*, which first appeared in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, published in Paris by Marx and Ruge. The *Outlines* already formulates certain general principles of scientific socialism. Engels was then living in Manchester, where he wrote (in German) *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (1845), an important work to which Marx did full justice in *Capital*.[c] During his first stay in England he also contributed—as he later did from Brussels—to *The Northern Star*, the official journal of the socialist[d] movement, and to the *New Moral World* of Robert Owen.

During his stay in Brussels he and Marx founded the German workers' communist club,[377] linked with Flemish and Walloon

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[a] F. Engels, "Le socialisme utopique et le socialisme scientifique, I-III", *La Revue socialiste*, Nos. 3-5, March 20, April 20 and May 5, 1880 (see this volume, pp. 281-325).— *Ed.*

[b] F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring. Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*. In the Introduction to the French edition of Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* the following sentence was added: "They were revised by the author who introduced diverse additions in the third chapter in order to make the dialectical movement of the economic forces of capitalist production more comprehensible to the French reader."— *Ed.*

[c] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part III, Chapter X; Part IV, Chapter XV; Part VII, Chapters XXIV, XXV (present edition, Vol. 35).— *Ed.*

[d] The 1880 edition has "Chartist" instead of "socialist".— *Ed.*

working men's clubs, and, with Bornstedt, the *Deutsche-Brüsseler Zeitung*. At the invitation of the German committee (residing in London) of the *League of the Just*,[378] they joined this society, which had originally been set up by Karl Schapper after his flight from France, where he had taken part in the Blanqui conspiracy of 1839.[379] From then on the League was transformed into an international *League of Communists* after the suppression of the usual formalism of secret societies. Nevertheless, in those circumstances the society had to remain a secret as far as governments were concerned. In 1847 at the International Congress held by the League in London, Marx and Engels were instructed to draft the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*,[380] published immediately before the February Revolution and translated[a] into almost all the European languages.[b]

In the same year they were involved in founding the *Democratic Association of Brussels*,[381] an international and public association, where the delegates of the radical bourgeois and those of the proletarian[c] workers met.

After the February Revolution, Engels became one of the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (*Nouvelle Gazette Rhénane*), founded in 1848 by Marx in Cologne and suppressed in June 1849[d] by a Prussian coup d'état. After taking part in the rising at Elberfeld Engels fought in the Baden campaign[e] against the Prussians (June and July 1849) as the aide-de-camp of Willich, who was then colonel of a battalion of *francs-tireurs*.[382]

In 1850, in London, he contributed to the Review of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*[f] edited by Marx and printed in Hamburg. There Engels for the first time published *The Peasant War in Germany*, which 19 years later appeared again in Leipzig as a pamphlet and ran into three editions.

After the resumption of the socialist movement in Germany, Engels contributed to the *Volksstaat* and *Vorwärts* his most

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[a] The 1880 edition further has: "at once into almost".— *Ed.*

[b] The following passage was added in the French edition which appeared in 1880: "The *Communist Manifesto* is one of the most valuable documents of modern socialism; even today it remains one of the most vigorous and clearest expositions of the development of bourgeois society and the formation of the proletariat which must put an end to capitalist society; as in *The Poverty of Philosophy* by Marx, published a year earlier, here, for the first time, the theory of class struggle is clearly formulated."— *Ed.*

[c] The 1880 edition has here: "socialist".— *Ed.*

[d] The last issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* came out on May 19, 1849.— *Ed.*

[e] The 1880 edition has: "the Baden and Palatinate campaign".— *Ed.*

[f] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.*— *Ed.*

The first page of Marx's "Introduction to the French Edition of Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*"

important articles, most of which were reprinted in the form of pamphlets such as *On Social Relations in Russia, The Prussian Schnapps in the German Reichstag, The Housing Question, The Cantonalist Rising in Spain,*[a] etc.

In 1870, after leaving Manchester for London, Engels joined the General Council of the International, where he was entrusted with the correspondence with Spain, Portugal and Italy.

The series of final articles which he contributed to the *Vorwärts* under the ironic title of *Herr Dühring's Revolution in Science*[b] (in response to the allegedly new theories of Mr. E. Dühring on science in general and socialism in particular) were assembled in one volume and were a great success among German socialists. In the present pamphlet we reproduce the most topical excerpt from the theoretical section of the book, which constitutes what might be termed an *introduction to scientific socialism.*

Written on about May 4-5, 1880

First published in a pamphlet: F. Engels, *Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique,* Paris, 1880

Printed according to the manuscript, checked with the 1880 edition

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] A reference to *The Bakuninists at Work.*— *Ed.*

[b] In the 1880 edition the title is given in French and, in brackets, in German — *Herrn Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft.*— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [PREAMBLE TO THE PROGRAMME OF THE FRENCH WORKERS' PARTY][383]

Considering

That the emancipation of the producing class is that of all human beings without distinction of sex or race;

That the producers cannot be free unless they are in possession of the means of production;

That there are only two forms in which the means of production can belong to them:

1) the individual form, which has never existed as a general state of affairs and which is increasingly eliminated by industrial progress;

2) the collective form, whose material and intellectual elements are shaped by the very development of capitalist society;

Considering

That this collective appropriation can only spring from the revolutionary action of the producing class—or proletariat—organised into an independent political[a] party;

That such an organisation must be striven for, using all the means at the disposal of the proletariat, including[b] universal suffrage, thus transformed from the instrument of deception which it has been hitherto into an instrument of emancipation;

The French socialist workers,

Adopting as the object of their efforts in the economic sphere the return of all the means of production to collective ownership, have decided, as a *means of organisation and struggle*, to take part in the elections with the following *minimum* programme.[384]

Written on about May 10, 1880

First published in *Le Précurseur*, No. 25, June 19, 1880

Printed according to *L'Égalité*, No. 24, June 30, 1880, checked with the text of *Le Précurseur*

Translated from the French

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[a] In *Le Précurseur* the word is omitted.—*Ed.*

[b] *Le Précurseur* has here: "above all".—*Ed.*

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# L'ÉGALITÉ

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## PROGRAMME ÉLECTORAL DES TRAVAILLEURS SOCIALISTES

Considérant,

Que l'émancipation de la classe productive est celle de tous les êtres humains sans distinction de sexe ni de race :

Que les producteurs ne sauraient être libres qu'autant qu'ils seront en possession des moyens de production;

Qu'il n'y a que deux formes sous lesquelles les moyens de production peuvent leur appartenir :

1° La forme individuelle qui n'a jamais existé à l'état de fait général et qui est éliminée de plus en plus par le progrès industriel;

2° La forme collective dont les éléments matériels et intellectuels sont constitués par le développement même de la société capitaliste.

Considérant,

Que cette appropriation collective ne peut sortir que de l'action révolutionnaire de la classe productive — ou prolétariat — organisée en parti politique assumé;

Qu'une pareille organisation doit être poursuivie par tous les moyens dont dispose le proletariat, y compris le suffrage universel transformé ainsi d'instrument de duperie qu'il a été jusqu'ici en instrument d'émancipation ;

Les travailleurs socialistes français en donnant pour but à leurs efforts, dans l'ordre économique, le retour à la collectivité de tous les moyens de production, ont décidé comme *moyen d'organisation et de lutte* d'entrer dans les élections avec le programme *minimum* suivant :

### A. — *Programme politique.*

1° Abolition de toutes les lois sur la presse, les réunions et les associations et surtout de la loi contre l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. — Suppression du livret, cette mise en carte de la classe ouvrière, et de tous les articles du Code établissant l'infériorité de l'ouvrier vis-à-vis du patron.

2° Suppression du budget des cultes et retour à la nation, « des biens dits de main-morte, meubles et immeubles, appartenant aux corporations religieuses » (Décret de la Commune du 2 avril 1871), y compris toutes les annexes industrielles et commerciales de ces corporations.

3° Armement général du peuple.

4° La Commune maîtresse de son administration et de sa police.

### B. — *Programme économique.*

1° Repos du lundi ou interdiction légale pour les employeurs de faire travailler le lundi. — Réduction légale de la journée de travail à 8 heures pour les adultes. — Interdiction du travail des enfants dans les ateliers privés au-dessous de 14 ans; et, de 14 à 18 ans, réduction légale de la journée de travail à 6 heures.

2° Minimum légal des salaires, déterminé, chaque année, d'après le prix local des denrées.

3° Egalité de salaire pour les travailleurs des deux sexes.

4° Instruction scientifique et technologique de tous les enfants, mis pour leur entretien à la charge de la société représentée par l'Etat et par les Communes.

5° Suppression de toute immixtion des employeurs dans l'administration des caisses ouvrières de secours mutuels, de prévoyance, etc., restituées à la gestion exclusive des ouvriers.

6° Responsabilité des patrons en matière d'accidents, garantie par un cautionnement versé par l'employeur, et proportionné au nombre des ouvriers employés et aux dangers que présente l'industrie.

*L'Égalité,* No. 24, June 30, 1880, containing Marx's "Preamble to the Programme of the French Workers' Party"

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## TO THE MEETING IN GENEVA HELD TO COMMEMORATE THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE POLISH REVOLUTION OF 1830[385]

Citizens!

After the first partition of their country, Poles who had left their fatherland crossed the Atlantic in order to defend the great American republic, which had just come into being.[386] Kościuszko fought side by side with Washington. In 1794, when the French Revolution was resisting the coalition forces with difficulty, the glorious Polish revolt deflected danger away from it.[387] Poland lost its independence, but the Revolution survived. The defeated Poles joined the army of the sans-culottes and helped to smash feudal Europe.[388] Finally, in 1830, when Tsar Nicholas and the Prussian King[a] sought to carry out their plans to restore the Legitimist monarchy with a new attack on France, the Polish Revolution,[389] whose memory you are celebrating today, blocked their path: "Order was restored in Warsaw."

The cry "Long live Poland!" which then resounded throughout Western Europe was not merely an expression of sympathy and admiration for the patriotic fighters who were crushed with brutal force—with this cry men hailed the people whose revolts all ended so unhappily for itself but always halted the advance of the counter-revolution, the people whose best sons never ceased to fight the struggle of resistance by everywhere going into battle under the banner of the popular revolutions. On the other hand, the partition of Poland consolidated the Holy Alliance, which served as a disguise for the Tsar's hegemony over all the governments of Europe. Thus the cry "Long live Poland!" has

[a] Frederick William III.—*Ed.*

really meant: Death to the Holy Alliance, death to the military despotism of Russia, Prussia and Austria, death to Mongol rule over modern society.

Since 1830, when the bourgeoisie in France and England more or less took power in their hands, the proletarian movement began to grow. Since 1840 the propertied classes of England were already obliged to resort to force of arms to resist the Chartist Party, this first militant organisation of the working class. Then in 1846 in the last corner of independent Poland, Cracow, the first political revolution to proclaim socialist demands broke out.[390] From that time on, Poland forfeited all the ostensible sympathies of the whole of Europe.[a]

In 1847 the first international congress of the proletariat[391] met secretly in London. One outcome of this congress was the writing of the *Communist Manifesto*, which ended with the new revolutionary watchword: "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!" Poland had its representatives at this congress, and at a public meeting in Brussels[392] the famous Lelewel and his supporters declared their adhesion to the resolutions of the congress.—In 1848 and 1849 numerous Poles served in the revolutionary German, Italian, Hungarian and Romanian armies, distinguishing themselves as soldiers and commanders.[393] Although the socialist aspirations of this age were drowned in the bloodbath of the June days,[394] the revolution of 1848 nevertheless—and this should not be forgotten—turned Europe for a moment into one community by seizing it almost entirely with its flame, and in this way prepared the ground for the International Working Men's Association. The Polish insurrection of 1863,[395] by giving rise to a joint protest of English and French workers at the international machinations of their governments, formed the starting point for the International, which was founded with the participation of Polish exiles. Finally, the Paris Commune[396] found its true champions among the Polish refugees and after its fall, it was sufficient to be a Pole to be shot by the war tribunals in Versailles.

Thus outside the borders of their country the Poles have played a major part in the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat; in this struggle they were predominantly its international combat force.

May this struggle develop among the Polish people itself, may our propaganda and the refugee press[b] support it, and may it unite with

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[a] The Polish pamphlet has here: "property-owning Europe".—*Ed.*

[b] The Polish pamphlet has: "revolutionary press".—*Ed.*

the unequalled[a] endeavours of our Russian brothers; this will be yet another reason to echo the cry of old: "Long live Poland!" Fraternal Greetings!

London, November 27, 1880

(Signed) *Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Paul Lafargue, F. Lessner*[b]

First published in *Le Précurseur*, No. 49, December 4, 1880

Printed according to the newspaper, checked with the text of the Polish pamphlet *Sprawozdanie z międzynarodowego zebrania zwolanego w 50-letnią rocznicę listopadowego powstania*, Geneva, 1881

Translated from the French

[a] This word is omitted in the Polish pamphlet.—*Ed.*

[b] The Polish pamphlet further has: "Former members of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association".—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [DRAFTS OF THE LETTER TO VERA ZASULICH][397]

### [FIRST DRAFT][398]

1) In dealing with the genesis of capitalist production I stated that it is founded on "the complete separation of the producer from the means of production" (p. 315, column I, French edition of *Capital*) and that "the basis of this whole development *is the expropriation of the agricultural producer.* To date this has not been accomplished in a radical fashion anywhere except in England... But *all the other countries of Western Europe* are undergoing the same process" (l.c., column II).[a]

I thus *expressly* limited the "historical inevitability" of this process[399] to the *countries of Western Europe.* And why? Be so kind as to compare Chapter XXXII, where it says:

The "process of elimination transforming individualised and scattered means of production into socially concentrated means of production, of the pigmy property of the many into the huge property of the few, this painful and fearful expropriation of the working people, forms the origin, the genesis of capital... *Private property,* based on personal labour ... will be supplanted by *capitalist private property,* based on the exploitation of the labour of others, on wage labour" (p. 341, column II).[b]

Thus, in the final analysis, it is a question of the *transformation of one form of private property into another form of private property.* Since the land in the hands of the Russian peasants has never been *their private property,* how could this development be applicable?

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[a] Karl Marx, *Le Capital,* Paris, [1872-1875,] p. 315 (see *Capital,* Vol. I, Part VIII, "The So-Called Primitive Accumulation", Chapter XXVI: "The Secret of Primitive Accumulation", present edition, Vol. 35).— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid.

A page of the first draft of Marx's letter to Vera Zasulich

2) From the historical point of view the only serious argument put forward in favour of the *fatal dissolution* of *the Russian peasants'* commune is this: By going back a long way communal property of a more or less archaic type[400] may be found throughout Western Europe; everywhere it has disappeared with increasing social progress. Why should it be able to escape the same fate in Russia alone? I reply: because in Russia, thanks to a unique combination of circumstances, the rural commune, still established on a nationwide scale, may gradually detach itself from its primitive features and develop directly as an element of collective production on a nationwide scale. It is precisely thanks to its contemporaneity with capitalist production that it may appropriate the latter's *positive acquisitions* without experiencing all its frightful misfortunes. Russia does not live in isolation from the modern world; neither is it the prey of a foreign invader like the East Indies.

If the Russian admirers of the capitalist system denied the *theoretical* possibility of such a development, I would ask them this question: In order to utilise machines, steam engines, railways, etc., was Russia forced, like the West, to pass through a long incubation period in the engineering industry? Let them explain to me, too, how they managed to introduce in their own country, in the twinkling of an eye, the entire mechanism of exchange (banks, credit institutions, etc.), which it took the West centuries to devise?

If at the time of emancipation the rural communes had first been placed in conditions of normal prosperity; if the immense public debt, mostly paid for at the expense of the peasants, with the other enormous sums provided through the agency of the State (and still at the expense of the peasants) to the "new pillars of society",[401] transformed into capitalists,—if all this expenditure had been applied to further developing the rural commune, no one would today be envisaging the "historical inevitability" of the destruction of the commune: everyone would recognise in it the element of regeneration of Russian society and an element of superiority over the countries still enslaved by the capitalist regime.

Another circumstance favouring the preservation of the Russian commune (by the path of development) is the fact that it is not only contemporaneous with capitalist production but has outlasted the era when this social system still appeared to be intact; that it now finds it, on the contrary, in Western Europe as well as in the United States, engaged in battle both with science, with the

popular masses, and with the very productive forces which it engenders.[a] In a word, it finds it in a crisis which will only end in its elimination, in the return of modern societies to the "archaic" type of communal property, a form in which, in the words of an American writer[b] quite free from any suspicion of revolutionary tendencies and subsidised in his work by the Washington government, "the new system" towards which modern society tends "will be A REVIVAL IN A SUPERIOR FORM of an archaic social type". So we must not let ourselves to be alarmed at the word "archaic".

But then we would at least have to be familiar with these vicissitudes. We know nothing about them. In one way or another this commune perished in the midst of incessant wars, foreign and internal; it probably died a violent death. When the Germanic tribes came to conquer Italy, Spain, Gaul, etc.,[402] the commune of the archaic type no longer existed. Yet its *natural viability* is demonstrated by two facts. There are sporadic examples which survived all the vicissitudes of the Middle Ages and have been preserved into our own day, for instance the district of Trier, in my native country. But more importantly, it imprinted its own characteristics so effectively on the commune which replaced it—a commune in which the arable land has become private property, whereas forests, pastures, common lands, etc., still remain communal property—that Maurer,[c] when analysing this commune of secondary formation, was able to reconstruct the archaic prototype. Thanks to the characteristic features borrowed from the latter, the new commune introduced by the Germanic peoples in all the countries they invaded was the sole centre of popular liberty and life throughout the Middle Ages.

If we know nothing about the life of the *commune* or about the manner and time of its disappearance after the age of Tacitus, at least we know the starting point, thanks to Julius Caesar.[d] In his day the land was already shared out annually, but between the *gentes* and the tribes of the Germanic confederations, and not yet between the individual members of the commune. The *rural commune* in Germany is therefore descended from a more archaic

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[a] The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: "In a word, that it has turned into an arena of blatant antagonisms, of periodic crises, conflicts, disasters; that, increasingly blind, it reveals its incompetence; that it is a transitory system of production destined to be eliminated by the return of society...".— *Ed.*

[b] L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery, through Barbarism to Civilisation*, London, 1877, p. 552.— *Ed.*

[c] G. L. von Maurer, *Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark-, Hof-, Dorf- und Stadt-Verfassung und der öffentlichen Gewalt*, Munich, 1854.— *Ed.*

[d] Gaius Julius Caesar, *Commentarii de bello Gallico*.—*Ed.*

type; it was the product of a spontaneous development instead of being imported fully developed from Asia. There—in the East Indies—we also encounter it, and always as the *final stage* or final period of the archaic formation.

To assess the possible outcomes from a purely theoretical point of view, that is to say, assuming normal conditions of life, I must now point out certain characteristic features which distinguish the "agricultural commune" from the more archaic types.

Firstly, previous primitive communities are all based on the natural kinship of their members; by breaking this strong but tight bond, the agricultural commune is better able to spread and to withstand contact with strangers.

Next, in this form the house and its complement, the courtyard, are already the private property of the cultivator, whereas long before the introduction of agriculture the communal house was one of the material bases of previous communities.

Finally, although arable land remains communal property, it is divided periodically between the members of the agricultural commune, so that each cultivator tills the fields assigned to him on his own account and appropriates as an individual the fruits thereof, whereas in more archaic communities production took place communally and only the yield was shared out. This primitive type of cooperative or collective production resulted, of course, from the weakness of the isolated individual, and not from the socialisation of the means of production. It is easy to see that the dualism inherent in the "agricultural commune" might endow it with a vigorous life, since on the one hand communal property and all the social relations springing from it make for its solid foundation, whereas the private house, the cultivation of arable land in parcels and the private appropriation of its fruits permit a development of individuality which is incompatible with conditions in more primitive communities.

But it is no less evident that this very dualism might in time become a source of decay. Apart from all the influences of hostile surroundings, the mere gradual accumulation of chattels which begins with wealth in the form of cattle (even admitting wealth in the form of serfs), the increasingly pronounced role which the movable element plays in agriculture itself, and a host of other circumstances inseparable from this accumulation but which it would take me too long to go into here, will eat away at economic and social equality and give rise to a conflict of interests at the very heart of the commune, entailing first the conversion of arable land into private property and ending with the private appropria-

tion of the forests, pastures, common lands, etc., which have already become *communal appendages* of private property.

This is why the "agricultural commune" occurs everywhere as the *most recent type* of the archaic form of societies, and why in the historical development of Western Europe, ancient and modern, the period of the agricultural commune appears as a period of transition from communal property to private property, as a period of transition from the primary form to the secondary one. But does this mean that in all circumstances the development of the "agricultural commune" must follow this path? Not at all. Its constitutive form allows this alternative: either the element of private property which it implies will gain the upper hand over the collective element, or the latter will gain the upper hand over the former. Both these solutions are *a priori* possible, but for either one to prevail over the other it is obvious that quite different historical surroundings are needed.[a] All this depends on the historical surroundings in which it finds itself (see p. 10[b]).[c]

Russia is the sole European country where the "agricultural commune" has kept going on a nationwide scale up to the present day. It is not the prey of a foreign conqueror, as the East Indies, and neither does it lead a life cut off from the modern world. On the one hand, the common ownership of land allows it to transform individualist farming in parcels directly and gradually into collective farming, and the Russian peasants are already practising it in the undivided grasslands; the physical lie of the land invites mechanical cultivation on a large scale; the peasant's familiarity with the contract of *artel*[403] facilitates the transition from parcel labour to cooperative labour; and, finally, Russian society, which has so long lived at his expense, owes him the necessary advances for such a transition.[d] On the other hand, the

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[a] This sentence was written by Marx on p. 8 of his manuscript with the indication of the place it referred to ("ad 5 *****"). A version of this sentence is also on p. 9 where it was not, probably by mistake, crossed out.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx is presumably referring to p. 10 of his manuscript, to the following passage: "The best proof that this development of the 'rural commune'... the most archaic type—collective production and appropriation" (see this volume, p. 357).— *Ed.*

[c] The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: "Coming now to the agrarian commune in Russia, I discount for the time being all the miseries which overwhelm it. I consider only the capacity for further development which its constitutive form and its historical surroundings allow it."— *Ed.*

[d] The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: "Certainly, it would be necessary to begin by placing the commune in a normal state *on its present basis*, on the

*contemporaneity* of western production, which dominates the world market, allows Russia to incorporate in the commune all the positive acquisitions devised by the capitalist system without passing through its Caudine Forks.[404]

If the spokesmen of the "new pillars of society" were to deny the *theoretical* possibility of the suggested evolution of the modern rural commune, one might ask them: Was Russia forced to pass through a long incubation period in the engineering industry, as was the West, in order to arrive at the machines, the steam engines, the railways, etc.? One would also ask them how they managed to introduce in their own country in the twinkling of an eye the entire mechanism of exchange (banks, joint-stock companies, etc.), which it took the West centuries to devise?

There is one characteristic of the "agricultural commune" in Russia which afflicts it with weakness, hostile in every sense. That is its isolation, the lack of connexion between the life of one commune and that of the others, this *localised microcosm* which is not encountered everywhere as an immanent characteristic of this type but which, wherever it is found, has caused a more or less centralised despotism to arise on top of the communes. The federation of Russian republics of the North proves that this isolation, which seems to have been originally imposed by the vast expanse of the territory, was largely consolidated by the political destinies which Russia had to suffer after the Mongol invasion.[405] Today it is an obstacle which could easily be eliminated. It would simply be necessary to replace the *volost*,[406] the government body, with an assembly of peasants elected by the communes themselves, serving as the economic and administrative organ for their interests.

One circumstance very favourable, from the historical point of view, to the preservation of the "agricultural commune" by the path of its further development is the fact that it is not only the contemporary of Western capitalist production and is thus able to appropriate its fruits without subjecting itself to its *modus operandi*, but has outlasted the era when the capitalist system still appeared to be intact; that it now finds it, on the contrary, in Western Europe as well as in the United States, engaged in battle both with the working-class masses, with science, and with the very productive forces which it engenders—in a word, in a crisis which will end in its elimination, in the return of modern societies to a

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other hand, since the peasant is everywhere the enemy of too many sudden changes."—*Ed.*

superior form of an "archaic" type of collective property and production.

It goes without saying that the evolution of the commune would be carried out gradually, and that the first step would be to place it in normal conditions on *its present basis.*

Theoretically speaking, then, the Russian "rural commune" can preserve itself by developing its basis, the common ownership of land, and by eliminating the principle of private property which it also implies; it can become a *direct point of departure* for the economic system towards which modern society tends; it can turn over a new leaf without beginning by committing suicide; it can gain possession of the fruits with which capitalist production has enriched mankind, without passing through the capitalist regime, a regime which, considered solely from the point of view of its possible *duration* hardly counts in the life of society. But we must descend from pure theory to the Russian reality.[a]

3) To expropriate the agricultural producers it is not necessary to chase them off their land, as was done in England and elsewhere; nor is it necessary to abolish communal property by means of an ukase. Go and seize from the peasants the product of their agricultural labour beyond a certain measure, and despite your gendarmerie and your army you will not succeed in chaining them to their fields! In the last years of the Roman Empire, the provincial decurions[407]—not peasants but landowners—fled from their houses, abandoning their lands, even selling themselves into slavery, all in order to get rid of a property which was no longer anything more than an official pretext for extorting money from them, mercilessly and pitilessly.

From the time of the so-called emancipation of the peasants the Russian commune has been placed by the State in abnormal economic conditions and ever since then it has never ceased to overwhelm it with the social forces concentrated in its hands. Exhausted by its fiscal exactions, the commune became an inert thing, easily exploited by trade, landed property and usury. This oppression from without unleashed in the heart of the commune

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[a] This paragraph is to be found on p. 10 of Marx's manuscript with the exact indication to transfer it to p. 7 ("ad p. 7"). On p. 7 of the manuscript the following passage is crossed out: "If we descend from theory to reality no one can conceal the fact that the Russian commune is today faced with a conspiracy of interests and powerful forces. Apart from its incessant exploitation by the State, which exists at the expense of the peasants, the establishment of a certain part of the capitalist system—finance, stock exchange, bank, railway construction speculation, commerce".—*Ed.*

itself the conflict of interests already present, and rapidly developed the seeds of decay. But that is not all. At the expense of the peasants the State has forced, as in a hothouse, some branches of the Western capitalist system which, without developing the productive forces of agriculture in any way, are most calculated to facilitate and precipitate the theft of its fruits by unproductive middlemen. It has thus cooperated in the enrichment of a new capitalist vermin, sucking the already impoverished blood of the "rural commune".[a]

...In a word, *the State* has given its assistance to the precocious development of the technical and economic means most calculated to facilitate and precipitate the exploitation of the agricultural producer, that is to say, of the largest productive force in Russia, and to enrich the "new pillars of society".

5) This combination of destructive influences, unless smashed by a powerful reaction, is bound to lead to the death of the rural commune.

But one wonders why all these interests (including the large industries placed under government protection), seeing that they are doing so well out of the current state of the rural commune—why would they deliberately conspire to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs? Precisely because they sense that this "current state" is no longer tenable, and that consequently the current method of exploiting it is now outdated. Already the poverty of the agricultural producer has affected the land, which is becoming barren. Good harvests succeed famines by turns. The average of the last ten years showed agricultural production not simply standing still but actually declining. Finally, for the first time Russia now has to import cereals instead of exporting them. So there is no time to lose. There must be an end to it. It is necessary to make an intermediate rural class of the more or less prosperous minority of the peasants, and turn the majority into proletarians, without mincing matters. To this end the spokesmen of the "new pillars of society" denounce the very wounds which they have inflicted on the commune as being as many natural symptoms of its decrepitude.

Disregarding all the miseries which are at present overwhelming the Russian "rural commune", and considering only its constitutive form and its historical surroundings, it is first of all evident

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[a] The passage from the words "At the expense of the peasants..." till the end of the paragraph was transferred by Marx to page 7 of the manuscript from page 10 with a special mark ("ad p. 7").—*Ed.*

that one of its fundamental characteristics, communal ownership of the land, forms the natural basis of collective production and appropriation. What is more, the Russian peasant's familiarity with the contract of *artel* would ease the transition from parcel labour to collective labour, which he already practises to a certain extent in the undivided grasslands, in land drainage and other undertakings of general interest. But for collective labour to supplant parcel labour—the source of private appropriation—in agriculture in the strict sense, two things are required: the economic need for such a change, and the material conditions to bring it about.

As for the economic need, it will be felt by the "rural commune" itself from the moment it is placed in normal conditions, that is to say, as soon as the burdens weighing on it are removed and its cultivable land has assumed a normal extent. Gone are the days when Russian agriculture called for nothing but land and its parcel cultivator, armed with more or less primitive tools. These days have passed all the more swiftly as the oppression of the agricultural producer infects and lays waste his fields. What he needs now is cooperative labour, organised on a large scale. Moreover, will the peasant who lacks[a] the necessary things for cultivating two or three dessiatines[b] be better off with ten times the number of dessiatines?

But where are the tools, the manure, the agronomic methods, etc., all the means that are indispensable to collective labour, to come from? It is precisely this point which demonstrates the great superiority of the Russian "rural commune" over archaic communes of the same type. Alone in Europe it has kept going on a vast, nationwide scale. It thus finds itself in historical surroundings in which its contemporaneity with capitalist production endows it with all the conditions necessary for collective labour. It is in a position to incorporate all the positive acquisitions devised by the capitalist system without passing through its Caudine Forks. The physical lie of the land in Russia invites agricultural exploitation with the aid of machines, organised on a vast scale and managed by cooperative labour. As for the costs of establishment—the intellectual and material costs—Russian society owes this much to the "rural commune", at whose expense it has lived for so long and to which it must still look for its "element of regeneration".

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[a] Crossed out in the manuscript: "the necessary capital, tools, horses and other necessary technical means for cultivating two or three dessiatines".—*Ed.*

[b] Marx transliterated this Russian measure of land (=approximately 2.7 acres) in Latin characters.—*Ed.*

The best proof that this development of the "rural commune" is in keeping with the historical trend of our age is the fatal crisis which capitalist production has undergone in the European and American countries where it has reached its highest peak, a crisis that will end in its destruction, in the return of modern society to a higher form of the most archaic type—collective production and appropriation.

Since so many different interests, and especially those of the "new pillars of society" erected under the benign rule of Alexander II, have gained a good deal from the *present state* of the "rural commune", why would they deliberately plot to bring about its death? Why do their spokesmen denounce the wounds inflicted on it as so much irrefutable proof of its natural decrepitude? Why do they wish to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs?

Simply because the economic facts, which it would take me too long to analyse here, have revealed the mystery that the *current state of the commune is no longer tenable* and that soon, by sheer force of circumstances, the current method of exploiting the mass of the people will no longer be in fashion. So new measures are needed—and the innovation stealthily introduced in widely differing forms always comes down to this: abolish communal property, make an intermediate rural class of the more or less prosperous minority of the peasants, and turn the majority into proletarians, without mincing matters.

On the one hand, the "rural commune" has nearly been brought to the point of extinction; on the other, a powerful conspiracy is keeping watch with a view to administering the final blow. To save the Russian commune, a Russian revolution is needed. For that matter, the holders of political and social power are doing their very best to prepare the masses for just such a disaster.

And the historical situation of the Russian "rural commune" is unparalleled! Alone in Europe, it has kept going not merely as scattered debris such as the rare and curious miniatures in a state of the archaic type which one could still come across until quite recently in the West, but as the virtually predominant form of popular life covering an immense empire. If it possesses in the communal ownership of the soil the basis of collective appropriation, its historical surroundings, its contemporaneity with capitalist production, lend it all the material conditions of communal labour on a vast scale. It is thus in a position to incorporate all the positive acquisitions devised by the capitalist system without passing through its Caudine Forks. It can gradually replace parcel farming with large-scale agriculture assisted by machines, which

the physical lie of the land in Russia invites. It can thus become *the direct point of departure* for the economic system towards which modern society tends, and turn over a new leaf without beginning by committing suicide. On the contrary, it would be necessary to begin by putting it on a normal footing.

But opposing it is landed property controlling almost half the land—and the best land, at that—not to mention the domains of the State. That is where the preservation of the "rural commune" by way of its further development merges with the general trend of Russian society, of whose regeneration it is the price.

Even from the economic point of view alone, Russia can emerge from its agrarian *cul-de-sac* by developing its rural commune; it would try in vain to get out of it by capitalised farming on the English model, to which all the social conditions of the country are inimical.[a]

In order to be able to develop, it needs above all to live, and there is no escaping the fact that at the moment the life of the "rural commune" is in jeopardy.

Apart from the reaction of any other destructive element from hostile surroundings, the gradual growth of chattels in the hands of private families, e.g. their wealth in the form of cattle, and sometimes even slaves or serfs—this sort of private accumulation is, in itself, enough to eat away at primitive economic and social equality in the long run, and give rise in the very heart of the commune to a conflict of interests which first undermines the communal ownership of arable land and ends by removing that of the forests, pastures, common lands, etc., after first converting them into a *communal appendage* of private property.

4) The history of the decline of primitive communities (it would be a mistake to place them all on the same level; as in geological formations, these historical forms contain a whole series of primary, secondary, tertiary types, etc.) has still to be written. All we have seen so far are some rather meagre outlines. But in any event the research has advanced far enough to establish that: (1) the vitality of primitive communities was incomparably greater

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[a] This paragraph is taken from the third draft of the letter to Vera Zasulich where Marx indicated with a mark "ad 12□" the necessity of transferring this paragraph to p. 12 of the first draft, while on p. 12 he marked with □ the exact place of insertion. Then the following text is crossed out on p. 12 of the manuscript: "Therefore it is only in the midst of a general uprising that the isolation of the rural commune, the lack of connexion between the life of one commune and that of the others, in a word the *localised microcosm* which deprives it of historical initiative, can be broken..."—*Ed.*

than that of Semitic, Greek, Roman, etc. societies, and, *a fortiori*, that of modern capitalist societies; (2) the causes of their decline stem from economic facts which prevented them from passing a certain stage of development, from historical surroundings not at all analogous with the historical surroundings of the Russian commune of today.

When reading the histories of primitive communities written by bourgeois writers it is necessary to be on one's guard. They do not even shrink from falsehoods. Sir Henry Maine, for example, who was a keen collaborator of the British Government in carrying out the violent destruction of the Indian communes, hypocritically assures us that all the government's noble efforts to support the communes were thwarted by the spontaneous forces of economic laws! [a]

5) You know perfectly well that today the very existence of the Russian commune has been jeopardised by a conspiracy of powerful interests; crushed by the direct extortions of the State, fraudulently exploited by the "capitalist" intruders, merchants, etc., and the land "owners", it is undermined, into the bargain, by the village usurers, by conflicts of interests provoked in its very heart by the situation prepared for it.

To expropriate the agricultural producers it is not necessary to chase them off their land, as was done in England and elsewhere; nor is it necessary to abolish communal property by an ukase. On the contrary: go and seize the *product* of their agricultural labour beyond a certain point and, despite all the gendarmes at your command, you will not succeed in keeping them on the land! In the last years of the Roman Empire the provincial decurions—large landowners—left their lands, becoming vagabonds, even selling themselves into slavery, simply in order to get rid of a "property" which was no more than an official pretext for extorting money from them.

At the same time as the commune is bled dry and tortured, its land rendered barren and poor, the literary lackeys of the "new pillars of society" ironically depict the wounds inflicted on it as so many symptoms of its spontaneous decrepitude. They allege that it is dying a natural death and they would be doing a good job by shortening its agony. As far as this is concerned, it is no longer a matter of solving a problem; it is simply a matter of beating an enemy. To save the Russian commune, a Russian revolution is needed. For that matter, the government and the "new pillars of

[a] H. S. Maine, *Village-Communities in the East and West*, London, 1871.—*Ed.*

society" are doing their best to prepare the masses for just such a disaster. If revolution comes at the opportune moment, if it concentrates all its forces so as to allow the rural commune full scope, the latter will soon develop as an element of regeneration in Russian society and an element of superiority over the countries enslaved by the capitalist system.

## [SECOND DRAFT][408]

1) I showed in *Capital* that the metamorphosis of *feudal production* into *capitalist production* had its starting point in the *expropriation of the producer*, and more particularly that "*the basis of this whole development is the expropriation of the agricultural producer*" (p. 315 of the French ed.). I continue: "To date this (the expropriation of the agricultural producer) has not been accomplished in a radical fashion anywhere except in England ... *all the other countries of Western Europe* are undergoing the same process" (l.c.).

So I expressly *limited* this "historical inevitability" to the "*countries of Western Europe*". In order to eliminate the slightest doubt about my thinking, I state on p. 341:

"*Private property*, as the antithesis to social, collective property, exists only where ... *the external conditions of labour* belong to *private individuals*. But according as these private individuals are labourers or not labourers, private property changes its form."

Thus the process which I analysed has replaced one form of the private and parcelled property of the labourers with the capitalist property of a tiny minority (l.c., p. 342),[a] *caused one kind of property to be substituted for another*. How could this be applicable to Russia, where land is not and never has been the "private property" of the agricultural producer? *So the only conclusion* which they would be justified in drawing from the progress of things in the West is this: to establish capitalist production in Russia it would be necessary to start by abolishing communal property and expropriating the peasants, i.e. the great mass of the people. This, by the way, is the wish of the Russian liberals,[b] but does their *wish* prove

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[a] See this volume, p. 346.— *Ed.*

[b] Crossed out in the manuscript: "who wish to naturalise capitalist production in their country and, consistent with themselves, transform the great mass of peasants into simple wage-earners".— *Ed.*

any more than the wish of Catherine II to transplant into Russian soil the Western guild system of the Middle Ages?[409]

1) Thus the expropriation of the agricultural producers in the West served to "transform the private and parcelled property of the labourers" into the private and concentrated property of the capitalists.[410] But none the less it is the substitution of one form of private property for another form of private property. In Russia, on the contrary, it would be a question of substituting capitalist property for communist property.

2) From the historical point of view there is only one serious argument in favour of *the fatal dissolution* of Russian communist property. It is this: communist property existed everywhere throughout Western Europe; everywhere it has disappeared with social progress. Why would it escape the same fate in Russia alone?

Certainly! If capitalist production is to establish its sway in Russia, the great majority of the peasants, i.e. of the Russian people, must be converted into wage-earners and consequently expropriated by the advance abolition of their communist property. But in any event, the Western precedent would not prove anything at all![a]

2) The Russian "Marxists" of whom you speak are quite unknown to me.[411] To the best of my knowledge, the Russians with whom I am in personal contact hold diametrically opposed views.[412]

3) From the historical point of view the only serious argument in favour of *the fatal dissolution* of Russian communal property is this: communal property existed everywhere throughout Western Europe, yet everywhere it has disappeared with social progress; how would it be able to escape the same fate in Russia?

In the first place, in Western Europe the death of communal property and the birth of capitalist production are separated from one another by an immense interval[b] embracing a whole series of successive economic revolutions and evolutions, of which capitalist production is merely the most recent. On the one hand, it has resulted in a wondrous development of the social productive forces[c]; but on the other hand, it has revealed its own

[a] The crossed-out version of this sentence reads: "...does not prove anything at all as regards 'the historical inevitability' of this process".— *Ed.*

[b] Then there follows a sentence crossed out in the manuscript: "The death of communal property did not give birth to capitalist production".— *Ed.*

[c] Crossed out in the manuscript: "On the other hand, although it only dates from yesterday, it has already revealed its purely transitory nature, and, even more, the incompatibility between itself and the life of society".— *Ed.*

incompatibility with the very forces which it engenders. Its history is henceforth no more than a history of antagonisms, crises, conflicts and disasters. In the last place, it has revealed to the entire world, except those blinded by self-interest, its purely transitory nature. The nations in which it has attained its highest peak in Europe and America aspire only to break its chains[a] by replacing capitalist production with cooperative production, and capitalist property with a *higher form* of the archaic type of property, i.e. communist[b] property.

If Russia were isolated in the world, if it therefore had to work out for itself the economic conquests which Western Europe has only acquired by passing through a long series of evolutions, from the existence of its primitive communities to its present state, there would be no doubt, at least in my eyes, that its communities would be fatally condemned to perish with the progressive development of Russian society. But the situation of the Russian commune is absolutely different from that of the primitive communities of the West. Russia is the only country in Europe where communal property has kept going on a vast, nationwide scale, but at the same time Russia exists in modern historical surroundings, it is contemporary with a higher culture, it is linked to a world market dominated by capitalist production. By appropriating the positive results of this mode of production, it is thus in a position to develop and transform the still archaic form of its rural commune, instead of destroying it. (Let me note in passing that the form of communist property found in Russia is the most modern form of the archaic type, which has itself passed through a whole series of evolutions.) If the supporters of the capitalist system in Russia deny the feasibility of such a plan, let them prove that to exploit machines Russia was forced to pass through the incubation period of mechanical production! Let them explain to me how they succeeded in introducing in their own country in a few days, so to speak, the mechanism of exchange (banks, credit institutions, etc.), which it took the West centuries to devise.[c]

4) What is threatening the life of the Russian commune is neither

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[a] Crossed out in the manuscript: "of capitalist production and capitalist property, which corresponds to it, and appropriate the positive results of capitalist production by returning to a higher form of an archaic type".— *Ed.*

[b] Originally, for the word "communist" Marx had written "collective".— *Ed.*

[c] Further, the following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: "Although the capitalist system is on the decline in the West and is approaching the time when it will be no more than an 'archaic' formation, its Russian supporters are...".— *Ed.*

historical inevitability nor a theory; it is oppression by the State and exploitation by capitalist intruders, who have been made powerful at the expense of the peasants by the very same State.

4) The archaic or primary formation of our globe itself contains a series of layers of differing ages, one superimposed on the other; in the same way, the archaic form of society reveals to us a series of different types, marking progressive epochs. The Russian rural commune belongs to the most recent type of this chain. Under it, the agricultural producer already has private ownership of the house in which he lives and the garden which forms the complement to it. This is the first element of decay in the archaic form, an element unknown in older forms. On the other hand, the latter are all based on the natural relations of kinship between the members of the commune, whereas the type to which the Russian commune belongs, released from this tight bond, is thereby capable of further development. The isolation of rural communes, the lack of connexion between the life of one and the life of another, this localised microcosm is not encountered everywhere as an immanent characteristic of the last of the primitive types; but everywhere it is found it always gives rise to a central despotism over and above the communes. In Russia it seems to me an easy matter to do away with this primitive isolation, imposed by the vast extent of the territory, as soon as the government shackles have been cast off.

I am now coming to the heart of the matter. There is no denying that the archaic type, to which the Russian commune belongs, conceals an intimate dualism which, given certain historical conditions, might entail ruin. The ownership of the land is communal, but each peasant tills and uses his field on his own account, just like the small peasant in the West. Communal ownership, parcel farming of the land—this combination, useful in more distant times, becomes dangerous in our own age.[a] On the one hand, the possession of chattels, an element which is playing an increasingly important part in agriculture itself, progressively differentiates the fortune of the members of the commune and there gives rise to a conflict of interests, especially under fiscal pressure from the State; on the other hand, the economic superiority of communal property, as the basis of cooperative and combined labour, is lost. But it should not be forgotten that in

[a] Crossed out in the manuscript: "especially under fiscal pressure from the State", "especially in a society in which exchange is already heavily commercial".—*Ed.*

farming the undivided grasslands the Russian peasants already practise the collective method, that their familiarity with the contract of *artel* would greatly facilitate the transition from parcel farming to collective farming, that the physical lie of the land in Russia encourages combined mechanised farming on a large scale, and that finally Russian society, which has so long lived at the expense of the rural commune, owes it the first advances necessary for this change. Of course, it is only a question of a gradual change which would commence by placing the commune on a normal footing on its *present* basis.

5) Leaving aside any more or less theoretical question, I need not tell you that today the very existence of the Russian commune is threatened by a conspiracy of powerful interests. A certain kind of capitalism, nourished at the expense of the peasants through the agency of the State, has risen up in opposition to the commune; it is in its interest to crush the commune. It is also in the interest of the landed proprietors to set up the more or less well-off peasants as an intermediate agrarian class, and to turn the poor peasants—that is to say the majority—into simple wage-earners. This will mean cheap labour! And how would a commune be able to resist, crushed by the extortions of the State, robbed by business, exploited by the landowners, undermined from within by usury?

[THIRD DRAFT][413]

Dear Citizen,

To deal thoroughly with the questions posed in your letter of February 16 I would have to go into matters in detail and break off urgent work, but the concise exposé which I have the honour of presenting to you will, I trust, suffice to dispel any misunderstandings with regard to my so-called theory.

I. In analysing the genesis of capitalist production I say: "At the core of the capitalist system, therefore, lies the complete separation of the producer from the means of production ... the basis of this whole development is *the expropriation of the agricultural producer.* To date this has not been accomplished in a radical fashion anywhere except in England... *But all the other countries of Western Europe* are undergoing the same process" (*Capital,* French ed., p. 315).

Hence the "historical inevitability" of this process is *expressly* limited to the *countries of Western Europe.* The cause of that limitation is indicated in the following passage from Chapter XXXII: "*Private property, based on personal labour* ... will be supplanted by *capitalist*

*private property*, based on the exploitation of the labour of others, on wage labour" (l.c., p. 341).

In this Western movement, therefore, what is taking place is the *transformation of one form of private property into another form of private property*. In the case of the Russian peasants, *their communal property* would, on the contrary, have to be *transformed into private property*. Whether one asserts or denies the inevitability of that transformation, the reasons for and against have nothing to do with my analysis of the genesis of the capitalist system. At the very most one might infer from it that, given the present state of the great majority of Russian peasants, the act of converting them into small proprietors would merely be the prelude to their rapid expropriation.

II. The most serious argument which has been put forward against the Russian commune amounts to this:

Go back to the origins of Western societies and everywhere you will find communal ownership of the land; with social progress it has everywhere given way to private property; so it will not be able to escape the same fate in Russia alone.

I will not take this argument into account except in so far as it is based on European experiences. As for the East Indies, for example, everyone except Sir Henry Maine and others of his ilk realises that the suppression of communal landownership out there was nothing but an act of English vandalism, pushing the native people not forwards but backwards.

Primitive communities are not all cast from the same die. On the contrary, taken all together, they form a series of social groupings which differ in both type and age, marking successive stages of evolution. One of these types, which convention terms *the agricultural commune*, is also that of the *Russian commune*. Its counterpart in the West is the *Germanic commune*, which is of very recent date. It did not yet exist in the days of Julius Caesar, nor did it exist any longer when the Germanic tribes came to conquer Italy, Gaul, Spain, etc. In Julius Caesar's day there was already an annual share-out of the arable land between groups, the *gentes* and the *tribes*, but not yet between the individual families of a commune; farming was probably also carried out in groups, communally. On Germanic soil itself this community of the archaic type turned, by natural development, into the *agricultural commune* as described by Tacitus. From that time on we lose sight of it. It perished obscurely amidst incessant wars and migrations; perhaps it died a violent death. But its natural viability is proved by two incontestable facts. Some scattered examples of this model survived all the vicissitudes of the Middle Ages and have been

preserved into our own day, for instance the district of Trier in my own country. But, more importantly, we find the imprint of this "agricultural commune" so clearly traced on the commune that succeeded it that Maurer, in analysing the latter, was able to reconstruct the former. The new commune, in which arable land belongs to its cultivators as *private property*, at the same time as forests, pastures, common lands, etc., remain *communal property*, was introduced by the Germanic peoples in all the countries which they conquered. Thanks to the characteristics borrowed from its prototype, it became the sole centre of popular liberty and life throughout the Middle Ages.

The "rural commune" is also found in Asia, among the Afghans, etc., but everywhere it appears as the *most recent type* and, so to speak, as the last word in the *archaic formation* of societies. It is in order to emphasise this fact that I went into the Germanic commune in some detail.

We must now consider the most characteristic features distinguishing the "agricultural commune" from more archaic communities.

1) All other communities are based on blood relations between their members. One cannot enter them unless one is a natural or adopted relative. Their structure is that of a family tree. The "agricultural commune" was the first social grouping of free men not held together by blood-ties.

2) In the agricultural commune, the house and its complement, the courtyard, belonged to the agricultural producer as an individual. The *communal house* and *collective dwelling*, on the other hand, were the economic basis of more primitive communities, long before the introduction of the pastoral or agrarian way of life. True, one finds agricultural communes where the houses, despite having ceased to be collective dwelling places, periodically change owners. Individual usufruct is thus combined with communal property. But such communes still carry their birthmark: they are in a state of transition between a more archaic community and the agricultural commune proper.

3) The arable land, inalienable and communal property, is periodically divided between members of the agricultural commune in such a way that everyone tills the fields assigned to him on his own account and appropriates the fruits thereof as an individual. In more primitive communities the work is carried out communally and the communal product is shared out according as it is required for consumption, excepting the portion reserved for reproduction.

One can understand that the *dualism* inherent in the constitution of the agricultural commune is able to endow it with a vigorous life. Freed from the strong but tight bonds of natural kinship, communal ownership of the land and the social relations stemming from it guarantee it a solid foundation, at the same time as the house and the courtyard, the exclusive domain of the individual family, parcel farming and the private appropriation of its fruits give a scope to individuality incompatible with the organism of more primitive communities.

But it is no less evident that in time this very dualism might turn into the germ of decomposition. Apart from all the malign influences from without, the commune carries the elements of corruption in its own bosom. Private landed property has already slipped into it in the guise of a house with its rural courtyard, which can be turned into a stronghold from which to launch the assault on the communal land. That is nothing new. But the vital thing is parcel labour as a source of private appropriation. It gives way to the accumulation of personal chattels, for example cattle, money and sometimes even slaves or serfs. This movable property, beyond the control of the commune, subject to individual exchanges in which guile and accident have their chance, will weigh more and more heavily on the entire rural economy. There we have the destroyer of primitive economic and social equality. It introduces heterogeneous elements, provoking in the bosom of the commune conflicts of interests and passions designed first to encroach on the communal ownership of arable lands, and then that of the forests, pastures, common lands, etc., which once converted into *communal appendages* of private property will fall to it in the long run.

As the last phase of the primitive formation of society, the agricultural commune is, at the same time, a transitional stage leading to the secondary formation, and hence marks the transition from a society founded on communal property to a society founded on private property. The secondary formation, of course, includes the series of societies resting on slavery and serfdom.

But does this mean to say that the historical career of the agricultural commune must inevitably come to such an end? Not at all. Its innate dualism admits of an alternative: either the property element will gain the upper hand over the collective element, or vice versa. It all depends on the historical environment in which the commune is placed.

Let us discount for the time being all the miseries besetting the

agricultural commune in Russia and consider only its capacity for further development. It occupies a unique position, without precedent in history. Alone in Europe, it is still the predominant organic form of rural life throughout an immense empire. The common ownership of land provides it with the natural basis for collective appropriation, and its historical setting, its contemporaneity with capitalist production, lends it—fully developed—the material conditions for cooperative labour organised on a vast scale. It can thus incorporate the positive acquisitions devised by the capitalist system without passing through its Caudine Forks. It can gradually replace parcel farming with combined agriculture assisted by machines, which the physical lie of the land in Russia invites. Having been first restored to a normal footing in its present form, it may become the *direct starting point* for the economic system towards which modern society tends and turn over a new leaf without beginning by committing suicide.[a]

The English themselves attempted some such thing in the East Indies; all they managed to do was to ruin native agriculture and double the number and severity of the famines.

But what about the anathema which affects the commune—its isolation, the lack of connexion between the life of one commune and that of the others, this *localised microcosm* which has hitherto prevented it from taking any historical initiative? It would vanish amidst a general turmoil in Russian society.

The familiarity of the Russian peasant with the *artel* would especially facilitate the transition from parcel labour to cooperative labour, which he already applies anyway, to a certain extent, in the tedding of the meadows and such communal undertakings as the land drainage, etc. A quite archaic peculiarity, the pet aversion of modern agronomists, still tends in this direction. If on arriving in any country you find that the arable land shows traces of a strange dismemberment, lending it the appearance of a chessboard composed of small fields, you need be in no doubt that it is the domain of an extinct agricultural commune! Its members, without having studied the theory of ground rent, perceived that the same

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[a] The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: "But opposing it is landed property, holding in its clutches almost half the land—and the best land, at that—not to mention the domains of the State. That is where the preservation of the agricultural commune by way of its further development merges with the general trend of Russian society, whose regeneration can only be achieved at this price. Even from the economic point of view alone, Russia would try in vain to escape from the impasse by turning to capitalist farming on the English model, to which all the social conditions of the country are inimical."—*Ed.*

amount of labour, expended on fields differing in natural fertility and location, will give differing yields. To spread the fortunes of labour more evenly, they therefore divided the land first into a certain number of areas, determined by the natural and economic divergences of the soil, and then broke up all these larger areas into as many parcels as there were labourers. Then each man was given a plot of land in each area. It goes without saying that this arrangement, perpetuated by the Russian commune into our own day, is at odds with the requirements of agronomy. Apart from other disadvantages, it entails a waste of energy and time. Nevertheless, it favours the transition to collective farming, with which it seems to be so much at odds at first glance. The parcel...[a]

Written in late February and early March 1881

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Translated from the French

[a] The manuscript breaks off here.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [LETTER TO VERA ZASULICH][414]

London, March 8, 1881
41 Maitland Park Road, N.W.

Dear Citizen,

A nervous complaint which has assailed me periodically over the last ten years has prevented me from replying any sooner to your letter of February 16. I am sorry that I cannot provide you with a concise exposé, intended for publication, of the question you have done me the honour of putting to me. Months ago I promised the St. Petersburg Committee[415] to let them have a piece on the same subject. I hope, however, that a few lines will suffice to dispel any doubts you may harbour as to the misunderstanding in regard to my so-called theory.

In analysing the genesis of capitalist production I say:

"At the core of the capitalist system, therefore, lies the complete separation of the producer from the means of production ... the basis of this whole development is the *expropriation of the agricultural producer.* To date this has not been accomplished in a radical fashion anywhere except in England... But *all the other countries of Western Europe* are undergoing the same process" (*Capital,* French ed., p. 315).

Hence the "historical inevitability" of this process is *expressly* limited to the *countries of Western Europe.* The cause of that limitation is indicated in the following passage from Chapter XXXII:

"*Private property, based on personal labour* ... will be supplanted by *capitalist private property,* based on the exploitation of the labour of others, on wage labour" (l.c., p. 341).

In this Western movement, therefore, what is taking place is the *transformation of one form of private property into another form of*

*private property.* In the case of the Russian peasants, *their communal property* would, on the contrary, have to be *transformed into private property.*

Hence the analysis provided in *Capital* does not adduce reasons either for or against the viability of the rural commune, but the special study I have made of it, and the material for which I drew from original sources, has convinced me that this commune is the fulcrum of social regeneration in Russia, but in order that it may function as such, it would first be necessary to eliminate the deleterious influences which are assailing it from all sides, and then ensure for it the normal conditions of spontaneous development.

I have the honour to be, dear Citizen,

Yours very faithfully,

*Karl Marx*

Written on March 8, 1881

First published in *Marx-Engels Archives,* Book I, Moscow, 1924

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SLAVONIC MEETING, MARCH 21st 1881, IN CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARIS COMMUNE[416]

Citizen,

With great regret we have to inform you that we are not able to attend your meeting.

When the Commune of Paris succumbed to the atrocious massacre organised by the defenders of "Order", the victors little thought that ten years would not elapse before an event would happen in distant Petersburg[417] which, maybe after long and violent struggle, must ultimately and certainly lead to the establishment of a Russian Commune;

that the King of Prussia[a] who had prepared the Commune by besieging Paris and thus compelling the ruling bourgeoisie to arm the people—that that same King of Prussia, ten years after, besieged in his own capital by Socialists, would only be able to maintain his throne, by declaring the state of siege in his capital Berlin.[418]

On the other hand, the Continental governments who after the fall of the Commune by their persecutions compelled the International Working Men's Association to give up its formal, external organisation—these governments who believed they could crush the great International Labour Movement by decrees and special laws—little did they think that ten years later that same International Labour Movement, more powerful than ever, would embrace the working classes not only of Europe but of America also; that the common struggle for common interests against a common enemy would bind them together into a new

[a] William I.— *Ed.*

and greater spontaneous International, outgrowing more and more all external forms of association.

Thus the Commune which the powers of the old world believed to be exterminated lives stronger than ever, and thus we may join you in the cry: *Vive la Commune!*

Written on March 21, 1881

Reproduced from the manuscript

First published, in Russian, in *Pravda*, No. 308, November 7, 1933

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE DAILY NEWS*[419]

Sir,[a]

*The Daily News* of to-day, in an article entitled: "Prosecution of the *Freiheit* Journal",[b] states that the number of that paper, containing an article on the death of the Emperor of Russia,[c] "also contained some allusion to the perpetrator of the Mansion House mystery". As this statement is open to an interpretation altogether at variance with the contents of the article in question; as that article is entirely unconnected with the one on the St. Petersburg affair and as Mr. Most the editor is at present not in a position to defend himself in the press, we beg to ask you to insert the following literal translation of all that is said, in the number of the *Freiheit* alluded to, with regard to the "Mansion House mystery".

*Freiheit*, 19th March, 1881:

"On Wednesday evening a parcel full of gunpowder, about 15 lb., was placed by an 'unknown' hand before the Mansion House in the City. It was burning at one end, but 'accidentally' a policeman at once observed this and was plucky enough to put it out. Now we do not see what purpose might possibly have been served by this powder explosion. Anyhow, the international police appear to have known how to make capital out of it. For on the following evening Government was to be asked in Parliament what measures they intended to take against the Socialist bands

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[a] W. K. Hales.— *Ed.*

[b] *The Daily News*, No. 10906, March 31, 1881.— *Ed.*

[c] Alexander II. See Most's article "Endlich!" in the *Freiheit*, No. 12, March 19, 1881.— *Ed.*

which had established themselves in London.[a] However, the Home Secretary[b] did not think proper to do anything besides shrugging his shoulders, and that was all the international police got for their pains."[c]

We are, Sir, your obedient servants,

*Karl Marx*
*Frederick Engels*

London, March 31[d]

Written on March 31, 1881

First published in *The Daily News*, No. 10907, April 1, 1881

Reproduced from the manuscript, collated with the newspaper

[a] See "Nihilists in London", *The Times*, No. 30145, March 18, 1881.— *Ed.*
[b] Sir William Harcourt.— *Ed.*
[c] [J. Most,] "England", *Freiheit*, No. 12, March 19, 1881.— *Ed.*
[d] Engels' manuscript has no date or signatures.— *Ed.*

The Labour Standard:
AN ORGAN OF INDUSTRY.
No 1.] LONDON SATURDAY, MAY 7, 1881. [Price One Penny.

# Frederick Engels

## A FAIR DAY'S WAGES FOR A FAIR DAY'S WORK[420]

This has now been the motto of the English working-class movement for the last fifty years. It did good service in the time of the rising Trades Unions after the repeal of the infamous Combination Laws in 1824[421]; it did still better service in the time of the glorious Chartist movement, when the English workmen marched at the head of the European working class. But times are moving on, and a good many things which were desirable and necessary fifty, and even thirty years ago, are now antiquated and would be completely out of place. Does the old, time-honoured watchword too belong to them?

A fair day's wages for a fair day's work? But what is a fair day's wages, and what is a fair day's work? How are they determined by the laws under which modern society exists and develops itself? For an answer to this we must not apply to the science of morals or of law and equity, nor to any sentimental feeling of humanity, justice, or even charity. What is morally fair, what is even fair in law, may be far from being socially fair. Social fairness or unfairness is decided by one science alone—the science which deals with the material facts of production and exchange, the science of political economy.

Now what does political economy call a fair day's wages and a fair day's work? Simply the rate of wages and the length and intensity of a day's work which are determined by competition of employer and employed in the open market. And what are they, when thus determined?

A fair day's wages, under normal conditions, is the sum required to procure to the labourer the means of existence

necessary, according to the standard of life of his station and country, to keep himself in working order and to propagate his race. The actual rate of wages, with the fluctuations of trade, may be sometimes above, sometimes below this rate; but, under fair conditions, that rate ought to be the average of all oscillations.

A fair day's work is that length of working day and that intensity of actual work which expends one day's full working power of the workman without encroaching upon his capacity for the same amount of work for the next and following days.

The transaction, then, may be thus described—the workman gives to the Capitalist his full day's working power; that is, so much of it as he can give without rendering impossible the continuous repetition of the transaction. In exchange he receives just as much, and no more, of the necessaries of life as is required to keep up the repetition of the same bargain every day. The workman gives as much, the Capitalist gives as little, as the nature of the bargain will admit. This is a very peculiar sort of fairness.

But let us look a little deeper into the matter. As, according to political economists, wages and working days are fixed by competition, fairness seems to require that both sides should have the same fair start on equal terms. But that is not the case. The Capitalist, if he cannot agree with the Labourer, can afford to wait, and live upon his capital. The workman cannot. He has but wages to live upon, and must therefore take work when, where, and at what terms he can get it. The workman has no fair start. He is fearfully handicapped by hunger. Yet, according to the political economy of the Capitalist class, that is the very pink of fairness.

But this is a mere trifle. The application of mechanical power and machinery to new trades, and the extension and improvements of machinery in trades already subjected to it, keep turning out of work more and more "hands"; and they do so at a far quicker rate than that at which these superseded "hands" can be absorbed by, and find employment in, the manufactures of the country. These superseded "hands" form a real industrial army of reserve for the use of Capital. If trade is bad they may starve, beg, steal, or go to the workhouse[422]; if trade is good they are ready at hand to expand production; and until the very last man, woman, or child of this army of reserve shall have found work—which happens in times of frantic over-production alone—until then will its competition keep down wages, and by its existence alone strengthen the power of Capital in its struggle with Labour. In the race with Capital, Labour is not only handicapped, it has to drag a

cannon-ball riveted to its foot. Yet that is fair according to Capitalist political economy.

But let us inquire out of what fund does Capital pay these very fair wages? Out of capital, of course. But capital produces no value. Labour is, besides the earth, the only source of wealth; capital itself is nothing but the stored-up produce of labour. So that the wages of Labour are paid out of labour, and the working man is paid out of his own produce. According to what we may call common fairness, the wages of the labourer ought to consist in the produce of his labour. But that would not be fair according to political economy. On the contrary, the produce of the workman's labour goes to the Capitalist, and the workman gets out of it no more than the bare necessaries of life. And thus the end of this uncommonly "fair" race of competition is that the produce of the labour of those who do work, gets unavoidably accumulated in the hands of those that do not work, and becomes in their hands the most powerful means to enslave the very men who produced it.

A fair day's wages for a fair day's work! A good deal might be said about the fair day's work too, the fairness of which is perfectly on a par with that of the wages. But that we must leave for another occasion. From what has been stated it is pretty clear that the old watchword has lived its day, and will hardly hold water nowadays. The fairness of political economy, such as it truly lays down the laws which rule actual society, that fairness is all on one side—on that of Capital. Let, then, the old motto be buried for ever and replaced by another:

POSSESSION OF THE MEANS OF WORK—
RAW MATERIAL, FACTORIES, MACHINERY—
BY THE WORKING PEOPLE THEMSELVES.

Written on May 1-2, 1881

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The Labour Standard* (London), No. 1, May 7, 1881, as a leading article

# Frederick Engels

## THE WAGES SYSTEM

In a previous article[a] we examined the time-honoured motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work", and came to the conclusion that the fairest day's wages under present social conditions is necessarily tantamount to the very unfairest division of the workman's produce, the greater portion of that produce going into the capitalist's pocket, and the workman having to put up with just as much as will enable him to keep himself in working order and to propagate his race.

This is a law of political economy, or, in other words, a law of the present economical organisation of society, which is more powerful than all the Common and Statute Law of England put together, the Court of Chancery[423] included. While society is divided into two opposing classes—on the one hand, the capitalists, monopolisers of the whole of the means of production, land, raw materials, machinery; on the other hand, labourers, working people deprived of all property in the means of production, owners of nothing but their own working power; while this social organisation exists the law of wages will remain all-powerful, and will every day afresh rivet the chains by which the working man is made the slave of his own produce—monopolised by the capitalist.

The Trades Unions of this country have now for nearly sixty years fought against this law—with what result? Have they succeeded in freeing the working class from the bondage in which capital—the produce of its own hands—holds it? Have they enabled a single section of the working class to rise above the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 376-78.—*Ed.*

situation of wages-slaves, to become owners of their own means of production, of the raw materials, tools, machinery required in their trade, and thus to become the owners of the produce of their own labour? It is well known that not only they have not done so, but that they never tried.

Far be it from us to say that Trades Unions are of no use because they have not done that. On the contrary, Trades Unions in England, as well as in every other manufacturing country, are a necessity for the working classes in their struggle against capital. The average rate of wages is equal to the sum of necessaries sufficient to keep up the race of workmen in a certain country according to the standard of life habitual in that country. That standard of life may be very different for different classes of workmen. The great merit of Trades Unions, in their struggle to keep up the rate of wages and to reduce working hours, is that they tend to keep up and to raise the standard of life. There are many trades in the East-end of London whose labour is not more skilled and quite as hard as that of bricklayers and bricklayers' labourers, yet they hardly earn half the wages of these. Why? Simply because a powerful organisation enables the one set to maintain a comparatively high standard of life as the rule by which their wages are measured; while the other set, disorganised and powerless, have to submit not only to unavoidable but also to arbitrary encroachments of their employers: their standard of life is gradually reduced, they learn how to live on less and less wages, and their wages naturally fall to that level which they themselves have learnt to accept as sufficient.

The law of wages, then, is not one which draws a hard and fast line. It is not inexorable with certain limits. There is at every time (great depression excepted) for every trade a certain latitude within which the rate of wages may be modified by the results of the struggle between the two contending parties. Wages in every case are fixed by a bargain, and in a bargain he who resists longest and best has the greatest chance of getting more than his due. If the isolated workman tries to drive his bargain with the capitalist he is easily beaten and has to surrender at discretion; but if a whole trade of workmen form a powerful organisation, collect among themselves a fund to enable them to defy their employers if need be, and thus become enabled to treat with these employers as a power, then, and then only, have they a chance to get even that pittance which, according to the economical constitution of present society, may be called a fair day's wages for a fair day's work.

The law of wages is not upset by the struggles of Trades Unions. On the contrary, it is enforced by them. Without the means of resistance of the Trades Unions the labourer does not receive even what is his due according to the rules of the wages system. It is only with the fear of the Trades Union before his eyes that the capitalist can be made to part with the full market value of his labourer's working power. Do you want a proof? Look at the wages paid to the members of the large Trades Unions, and at the wages paid to the numberless small trades in that pool of stagnant misery, the East-end of London.

Thus the Trades Unions do not attack the wages system. But it is not the highness or lowness of wages which constitutes the economical degradation of the working class: this degradation is comprised in the fact that, instead of receiving for its labour the full produce of this labour, the working class has to be satisfied with a portion of its own produce called wages. The capitalist pockets the whole produce (paying the labourer out of it) because he is the owner of the means of labour. And, therefore, there is no real redemption for the working class until it becomes owner of all the means of work—land, raw material, machinery, etc.—and thereby also the owner of THE WHOLE OF THE PRODUCE OF ITS OWN LABOUR.

Written on May 15-16, 1881

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The Labour Standard* (London), No. 3, May 21, 1881, as a leading article

# Frederick Engels

## TRADES UNIONS

### I

In our last issue we considered the action of Trades Unions as far as they enforce the economical law of wages against employers.[a] We return to this subject, as it is of the highest importance that the working classes generally should thoroughly understand it.

We suppose no English working man of the present day needs to be taught that it is the interest of the individual capitalist, as well as of the capitalist class generally, to reduce wages as much as possible. The produce of labour, after deducting all expenses, is divided, as David Ricardo has irrefutably proved, into two shares: the one forms the labourer's wages, the other the capitalist's profits.[b] Now, this net produce of labour being, in every individual case, a given quantity, it is clear that the share called profits cannot increase without the share called wages decreasing. To deny that it is the interest of the capitalist to reduce wages, would be tantamount to say that it is not his interest to increase his profits.

We know very well that there are other means of temporarily increasing profits, but they do not alter the general law, and therefore need not trouble us here.

Now, how can the capitalists reduce wages when the rate of wages is governed by a distinct and well-defined law of social economy? The economical law of wages is there, and is irrefutable. But, as we have seen, it is elastic, and it is so in two ways. The rate

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[a] See this volume, pp. 379-81.— *Ed.*

[b] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, London, 1817, pp. 90-145.— *Ed.*

of wages can be lowered, in a particular trade, either directly, by gradually accustoming the workpeople of that trade to a lower standard of life, or, indirectly, by increasing the number of working hours per day (or the intensity of work during the same working hours) without increasing the pay.

And the interest of every individual capitalist to increase his profits by reducing the wages of his workpeople receives a fresh stimulus from the competition of capitalists of the same trade amongst each other. Each one of them tries to undersell his competitors, and unless he is to sacrifice his profits he must try and reduce wages. Thus, the pressure upon the rate of wages brought about by the interest of every individual capitalist is increased tenfold by the competition amongst them. What was before a matter of more or less profit, now becomes a matter of necessity.

Against this constant, unceasing pressure unorganised labour has no effective means of resistance. Therefore, in trades without organisation of the workpeople, wages tend constantly to fall and the working hours tend constantly to increase. Slowly, but surely, this process goes on. Times of prosperity may now and then interrupt it, but times of bad trade hasten it on all the more afterwards. The workpeople gradually get accustomed to a lower and lower standard of life. While the length of working day more and more approaches the possible maximum, the wages come nearer and nearer to their absolute minimum—the sum below which it becomes absolutely impossible for the workman to live and to reproduce his race.

There was a temporary exception to this about the beginning of this century. The rapid extension of steam and machinery was not sufficient for the still faster increasing demand for their produce. Wages in these trades, except those of children sold from the workhouse[424] to the manufacturer, were as a rule high; those of such skilled manual labour as could not be done without were very high; what a dyer, a mechanic, a velvet-cutter, a hand-mule spinner, used to receive now sounds fabulous. At the same time the trades superseded by machinery were slowly starved to death. But newly-invented machinery by-and-by superseded these well-paid workmen; machinery was invented which made machinery, and that at such a rate that the supply of machine-made goods not only equalled, but exceeded, the demand. When the general peace, in 1815,[425] re-established regularity of trade, the decennial fluctuations between prosperity, over-production, and commercial panic began. Whatever advantages the workpeople had preserved

from old prosperous times, and perhaps even increased during the period of frantic over-production, were now taken from them during the period of bad trade and panic; and soon the manufacturing population of England submitted to the general law that the wages of unorganised labour constantly tend towards the absolute minimum.

But in the meantime the Trades Unions, legalised in 1824,[a] had also stepped in, and high time it was. Capitalists are always organised. They need in most cases no formal union, no rules, officers, etc. Their small number, as compared with that of the workmen, the fact of their forming a separate class, their constant social and commercial intercourse stand them in lieu of that; it is only later on, when a branch of manufactures has taken possession of a district, such as the cotton trade has of Lancashire, that a formal capitalists' Trades Union becomes necessary. On the other hand, the workpeople from the very beginning cannot do without a strong organisation, well-defined by rules and delegating its authority to officers and committees. The Act of 1824 rendered these organisations legal. From that day Labour became a power in England. The formerly helpless mass, divided against itself, was no longer so. To the strength given by union and common action soon was added the force of a well-filled exchequer—"resistance money", as our French brethren expressively call it. The entire position of things now changed. For the capitalist it became a risky thing to indulge in a reduction of wages or an increase of working hours.

Hence the violent outbursts of the capitalist class of those times against Trades Unions. That class had always considered its long-established practice of grinding down the working class as a vested right and lawful privilege. That was now to be put a stop to. No wonder they cried out lustily and held themselves at least as much injured in their rights and property as Irish landlords do nowadays.[426]

Sixty years' experience of struggle have brought them round to some extent. Trades Unions have now become acknowledged institutions, and their action as one of the regulators of wages is recognised quite as much as the action of the Factories and Workshops Acts as regulators of the hours of work. Nay, the cotton masters in Lancashire have lately even taken a leaf out of the workpeople's book, and now know how to organise a strike, when it suits them, as well or better than any Trades Union.

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[a] "An Act to repeal the Laws relative to the Combination of Workmen; and for other Purposes therein mentioned [21st June, 1824]".—*Ed.*

Thus it is through the action of Trades Unions that the law of wages is enforced as against the employers, and that the workpeople of any well-organised trade are enabled to obtain, at least approximately, the full value of the working power which they hire to their employer; and that, with the help of State laws, the hours of labour are made at least not to exceed too much that maximum length beyond which the working power is prematurely exhausted. This, however, is the utmost Trades Unions, as at present organised, can hope to obtain, and that by constant struggle only, by an immense waste of strength and money; and then the fluctuations of trade, once every ten years at least, break down for the moment what has been conquered, and the fight has to be fought over again. It is a vicious circle from which there is no issue. The working class remains what it was, and what our Chartist forefathers were not afraid to call it, a class of wages slaves. Is this to be the final result of all this labour, self-sacrifice, and suffering? Is this to remain for ever the highest aim of British workmen? Or is the working class of this country at last to attempt breaking through this vicious circle, and to find an issue out of it in a movement for the ABOLITION OF THE WAGES SYSTEM ALTOGETHER?

Next week we shall examine the part played by Trades Unions as organisers of the working class.

## II

So far we have considered the functions of Trades Unions as far only as they contribute to the regulation of the rate of wages and ensure to the labourer, in his struggle against capital, at least some means of resistance. But that aspect does not exhaust our subject.

The struggle of the labourer against capital, we said. That struggle does exist, whatever the apologists of capital may say to the contrary. It will exist so long as a reduction of wages remains the safest and readiest means of raising profits; nay, so long as the wages system itself shall exist. The very existence of Trades Unions is proof sufficient of the fact; if they are not made to fight against the encroachments of capital what are they made for? There is no use in mincing matters. No milksop words can hide the ugly fact that present society is mainly divided into two great antagonistic classes—into capitalists, the owners of all the means for the employment of labour, on one side; and working men, the owners of nothing but their own working power, on the other.

The produce of the labour of the latter class has to be divided between both classes, and it is this division about which the struggle is constantly going on. Each class tries to get as large a share as possible; and it is the most curious aspect of this struggle that the working class, while fighting to obtain a share only of its own produce, is often enough accused of actually robbing the capitalist!

But a struggle between two great classes of society necessarily becomes a political struggle. So did the long battle between the middle or capitalist class and the landed aristocracy; so also does the fight between the working class and these same capitalists. In every struggle of class against class, the next end fought for is political power; the ruling class defends its political supremacy, that is to say its safe majority in the Legislature; the inferior class fights for, first a share, then the whole of that power, in order to become enabled to change existing laws in conformity with their own interests and requirements. Thus the working class of Great Britain for years fought ardently and even violently for the People's Charter,[427] which was to give it that political power; it was defeated, but the struggle had made such an impression upon the victorious middle class that this class, since then, was only too glad to buy a prolonged armistice at the price of ever-repeated concessions to the working people.

Now, in a political struggle of class against class, organisation is the most important weapon. And in the same measure as the merely political or Chartist Organisation fell to pieces, in the same measure the Trades Unions Organisation grew stronger and stronger, until at present it has reached a degree of strength unequalled by any working-class organisation abroad. A few large Trades Unions, comprising between one and two millions of working men, and backed by the smaller or local Unions, represent a power which has to be taken into account by any Government of the ruling class, be it Whig or Tory.

According to the traditions of their origin and development in this country, these powerful organisations have hitherto limited themselves almost strictly to their function of sharing in the regulation of wages and working hours, and of enforcing the repeal of laws openly hostile to the workmen. As stated before, they have done so with quite as much effect as they had a right to expect. But they have attained more than that—the ruling class, which knows their strength better than they themselves do, has volunteered to them concessions beyond that. Disraeli's Household Suffrage[428] gave the vote to at least the greater portion of the

organised working class. Would he have proposed it unless he supposed that these new voters would show a will of their own—would cease to be led by middle-class Liberal politicians? Would he have been able to carry it if the working people, in the management of their colossal Trade Societies, had not proved themselves fit for administrative and political work?

That very measure opened out a new prospect to the working class. It gave them the majority in London and in all manufacturing towns, and thus enabled them to enter into the struggle against capital with new weapons, by sending men of their own class to Parliament. And here, we are sorry to say, the Trades Unions forgot their duty as the advanced guard of the working class. The new weapon has been in their hands for more than ten years, but they scarcely ever unsheathed it. They ought not to forget that they cannot continue to hold the position they now occupy unless they really march in the van of the working class. It is not in the nature of things that the working class of England should possess the power of sending forty or fifty working men to Parliament and yet be satisfied for ever to be represented by capitalists or their clerks, such as lawyers, editors, etc.

More than this, there are plenty of symptoms that the working class of this country is awakening to the consciousness that it has for some time been moving in the wrong groove[429]; that the present movements for higher wages and shorter hours exclusively, keep it in a vicious circle out of which there is no issue; that it is not the lowness of wages which forms the fundamental evil, but the wages system itself. This knowledge once generally spread amongst the working class, the position of Trades Unions must change considerably. They will no longer enjoy the privilege of being the only organisations of the working class. At the side of, or above, the Unions of special trades there must spring up a general Union, a political organisation of the working class as a whole.

Thus there are two points which the organised Trades would do well to consider, firstly, that the time is rapidly approaching when the working class of this country will claim, with a voice not to be mistaken, its full share of representation in Parliament. Secondly, that the time also is rapidly approaching when the working class will have understood that the struggle for high wages and short hours, and the whole action of Trades Unions as now carried on, is not an end in itself, but a means, a very necessary and effective means, but only one of several means towards a higher end: the abolition of the wages system altogether.

For the full representation of labour in Parliament, as well as for the preparation of the abolition of the wages system, organisations will become necessary, not of separate Trades, but of the working class as a body. And the sooner this is done the better. There is no power in the world which could for a day resist the British working class organised as a body.

Written on about May 20, 1881

Reproduced from the newspaper

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# Frederick Engels

## THE FRENCH COMMERCIAL TREATY

On Thursday, June 9, in the House of Commons, Mr. Monk (Gloucester) proposed a resolution to the effect that

> "no commercial treaty with France will be satisfactory which does not tend to the development of the commercial relations of the two countries by a further reduction of duties".[a]

A debate of some length ensued.[430] Sir C. Dilke, on behalf of the Government, offered the mild resistance required by diplomatic etiquette. Mr. A. J. Balfour (Tamworth)[431] would compel foreign nations, by retaliatory duties, to adopt lower tariffs. Mr. Slagg (Manchester) would leave the French to find out the value of our trade to them and of theirs to us, even without any treaty. Mr. Illingworth (Bradford) despaired of reaching free-trade through commercial treaties. Mr. Mac Iver (Birkenhead) declared the present system of free-trade to be only an imposture, inasmuch as it was made up of free imports and restricted exports. The resolution was carried by 77 to 49, a defeat which will hurt neither Mr. Gladstone's feelings nor his position.

This debate is a fair specimen of a long series of ever-recurring complaints about the stubbornness with which the stupid foreigner, and even the quite as stupid colonial subject, refuse to recognise the universal blessings of free-trade and its capability of remedying all economic evils. Never has a prophecy broken down so completely as that of the Manchester School[432]—free-trade, once established in England, would shower such blessings over the country that all other nations must follow the example and throw

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[a] See "The French Commercial Tariff", *The Times*, No. 30217, June 10, 1881.— *Ed.*

their ports open to English manufactures. The coaxing voice of the free-trade apostles remained the voice of one crying in the wilderness. Not only did the Continent and America, on the whole, increase their protective duties[433]; even the British Colonies, as soon as they had become endowed with self-government,[434] followed suit; and no sooner had India been placed under the Crown than a 5 per cent duty on cotton goods was introduced even there,[435] acting as an incentive to native manufactures.

Why this should be so is an utter mystery to the Manchester School. Yet it is plain enough.

About the middle of last century England was the principal seat of the cotton manufacture, and therefore the natural place where, with a rapidly rising demand for cotton goods, the machinery was invented which, with the help of the steam engine, revolutionised first the cotton trade, and successively the other textile manufactures. The large and easily accessible coalfields of Great Britain, thanks to steam, became now the basis of the country's prosperity. The extensive deposits of iron ore in close proximity to the coal facilitated the development of the iron trade, which had received a new stimulus by the demand for engines and machinery. Then, in the midst of this revolution of the whole manufacturing system, came the anti-Jacobin and Napoleonic wars,[436] which for some twenty-five years drove the ships of almost all competing nations from the sea, and thus gave to English manufactured goods the practical monopoly of all Transatlantic and some European markets. When in 1815 peace was restored, England stood there with her steam manufactures ready to supply the world, while steam engines were as yet scarcely known in other countries. In manufacturing industry, England was an immense distance in advance of them.

But the restoration of peace soon induced other nations to follow in the track of England. Sheltered by the Chinese Wall of her prohibitive tariff,[437] France introduced production by steam. So also did Germany, although her tariff was at that time far more liberal[438] than any other, that of England not excepted. So did other countries. At the same time the British landed aristocracy, to raise their rents, introduced the Corn Laws,[439] thereby raising the price of bread and with it the money rate of wages. Nevertheless the progress of English manufactures went on at a stupendous rate. By 1830 she had laid herself out to become "the workshop of the world". To make her the workshop of the world in reality was the task undertaken by the Anti-Corn Law League.[440]

There was no secret made, in those times, of what was aimed at by the repeal of the Corn Laws. To reduce the price of bread, and thereby the money rate of wages, would enable British manufacturers to defy all and every competition with which wicked or ignorant foreigners threatened them. What was more natural than that England, with her great advance in machinery, with her immense merchant navy, her coal and iron, should supply all the world with manufactured articles, and that in return the outer world should supply her with agricultural produce, corn, wine, flax, cotton, coffee, tea, etc.? It was a decree of Providence that it should be so, it was sheer rebellion against God's ordinance to set your face against it. At most France might be allowed to supply England and the rest of the world with such articles of taste and fashion as could not be made by machinery, and were altogether beneath the notice of an enlightened millowner. Then, and then alone, would there be peace on earth and goodwill towards men; then all nations would be bound together by the endearing ties of commerce and mutual profit; then the reign of peace and plenty would be for ever established, and to the working class, to their "hands", they said: "There's a good time coming, boys—wait a little longer." Of course the "hands" are waiting still.

But while the "hands" waited the wicked and ignorant foreigners did not. They did not see the beauty of a system by which the momentary industrial advantages possessed by England should be turned into means to secure to her the monopoly of manufactures all the world over and for ever, and to reduce all other nations to mere agricultural dependencies of England—in other words, to the very enviable condition of Ireland. They knew that no nation can keep up with others in civilisation if deprived of manufactures, and thereby brought down to be a mere agglomeration of clodhoppers. And therefore, subordinating private commercial profit to national exigency, they protected their nascent manufactures by high tariffs, which seemed to them the only means to protect themselves from being brought down to the economical condition enjoyed by Ireland.

We do not mean to say that this was the right thing to do in every case. On the contrary, France would reap immense advantages from a considerable approach towards Free Trade. German manufactures, such as they are, have become what they are under Free Trade, and Bismarck's new Protection tariff[a] [441]

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[a] *Gesetz, betreffend den Zolltarif des Deutschen Zollgebiets und den Ertrag der Zölle und der Tabacksteuer. Vom 15. Juli 1879. (Nr. 1320).—Ed.*

will do harm to nobody but the German manufacturers themselves. But there is one country where a short period of Protection is not only justifiable but a matter of absolute necessity—America.

America is at that point of her development where the introduction of manufactures has become a national necessity. This is best proved by the fact that in the invention of labour-saving machinery it is no longer England which leads, but America. American inventions every day supersede English patents and English machinery. American machines are brought over to England; and this in almost all branches of manufactures. Then America possesses a population the most energetic in the world, coalfields against which those of England appear almost as a vanishing quantity, iron and all other metals in plenty. And is it to be supposed that such a country will expose its young and rising manufactures to a long, protracted, competitive struggle with the old-established industry of England, when, by a short term of some twenty years of protection, she can place them at once on a level with any competitor? But, says the Manchester School, America is but robbing herself by her protective system. So is a man robbing himself who pays extra for the express train instead of taking the old Parliamentary train—fifty miles an hour instead of twelve.

There is no mistake about it, the present generation will see American cotton goods compete with English ones in India and China, and gradually gain ground in those two leading markets; American machinery and hardware compete with the English makes in all parts of the world, England included; and the same implacable necessity which removed Flemish manufactures to Holland, Dutch ones to England, will ere long remove the centre of the world's industry from this country to the United States. And in the restricted field which will then remain to England she will find formidable competitors in several Continental nations.

The fact cannot be longer shirked that England's industrial monopoly is fast on the wane. If the "enlightened" middle class think it their interest to hush it up, let the working class boldly look it in the face, for it interests them more than even their "betters". These may for a long time yet remain the bankers and money-lenders of the world, as the Venetians and the Dutch in their decay have done before them. But what is to become of the "hands" when England's immense export trade begins to shrink down every year instead of expanding? If the removal of the iron shipbuilding trade from the Thames to the Clyde was sufficient to reduce the whole East-end of London to chronic pauperism, what

will the virtual removal of all the staple trades of England across the Atlantic do for England?

It will do one great thing: it will break the last link which still binds the English working class to the English middle class. This link was their common working of a national monopoly. That monopoly once destroyed, the British working class will be compelled to take in hand its own interests, its own salvation, and to make an end of the wages system. Let us hope it will not wait until then.

Written in mid-June 1881

Reproduced from the newspaper

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# Frederick Engels

## TWO MODEL TOWN COUNCILS

We have promised our readers to keep them informed of the working men's movements abroad as well as at home. We have now and then been enabled to give some news from America, and today we are in a position to communicate some facts from France—facts of such importance that they well deserve being discussed in our leading columns.

In France they do not know the numerous systems of public voting which are still in use in this country. Instead of having one kind of suffrage and mode of voting for Parliamentary elections, another for municipal, a third for vestry elections and so forth, plain Universal Suffrage and vote by ballot are the rule everywhere. When the Socialist Working Men's Party was formed in France,[442] it was resolved to nominate working men's candidates not only for Parliament, but also for all municipal elections; and, indeed, at the last renewal of Town Councils for France, which took place on January 9 last, the young party was victorious in a great number of manufacturing towns and rural, especially mining, communes. They not only carried individual candidates, they managed in some places to obtain the majority in the councils, and one council, at least, as we shall see, was composed of none but working men.[443]

Shortly before the establishment of the *Labour Standard*, there was a strike of factory operatives in the town of Roubaix, close on the Belgian frontier. The Government at once sent troops to occupy the town, and thereby, under the pretext of maintaining order (which was never menaced), tried to provoke the people on strike to such acts as might serve as a pretext for the interference of the troops. But the people remained quiet, and one of the principal causes which made them resist all provocations was the action of the Town Council. This was composed, in its majority, of working men. The subject of the strike was brought before it, and

amply discussed. The result was that the Council not only declared the men on strike to be in the right, but also actually *voted the sum of 50,000 francs, or £2,000, in support of the strikers.* That subsidy could not be paid, as according to French law the prefect of the department has the right to annul any resolutions of Town Councils which he may consider as exceeding their powers. But nevertheless the strong moral support thus given to the strike by the official representation of the township was of the greatest value to the workmen.

On June 8 the Mining Company of Commentry, in the centre of France (Department Allier), discharged 152 men who refused to submit to new and more unfavourable terms. This being part of a system employed for some time for the gradual introduction of worse terms of work, the whole of the miners, about 1,600, struck. The Government at once sent the usual troops to overawe or provoke the strikers. But the Town Council here, too, at once took up the cause of the men. In their meeting of June 12 (a Sunday to boot) they passed resolutions to the following effect:—

1. Whereas it is the duty of society to ensure the existence of those who, by their work, permit the existence of all; and whereas if the State refuses to fulfil this duty the communes are bound to fulfil it, this Council resolves to take up a loan of 25,000 francs (£1,000) with the consent of the highest rated inhabitants, which sum is to be devoted for the benefit of the miners whom the unjustifiable discharge of 152 of their body has compelled to strike work.

Carried unanimously, against the veto of the Mayor alone.

2. Whereas the State, in selling the valuable national property of the mines of Commentry to a joint-stock company, has thereby handed over the workmen there employed to the tender mercies of the said company; and whereas, consequently, the State is bound to see that the oppression exercised by the company upon the miners is not carried to a degree threatening their very existence; whereas, however, the State, by placing troops at the disposal of the company during the present strike, has not even preserved its neutrality, but taken sides with the company,

This Council, in the name of the working-class interests which it is its duty to protect, calls upon the sub-prefect of the district.

1. To recall at once the troops whose presence, entirely uncalled for, is a mere provocation; and

2. To intervene with the manager of the company and induce him to revoke the measure which has caused the strike.

Carried unanimously.

In a third resolution, also carried unanimously, the Council, fearing that the poverty of the commune will frustrate the loan voted above, opens a public subscription in aid of the strikers, and appeals to all the other municipal councils of France to send subsidies for the same object.

Here, then, we have a striking proof of the presence of working

men, not only in Parliament, but also in municipal and all other local bodies. How differently would many a strike in England terminate if the men had the Town Council of the locality to back them! The English Town Councils and Local Boards, elected to a great extent by working men, consist at present almost exclusively of employers, their direct and indirect agents (lawyers, etc.), and at the best, of shopkeepers. No sooner does a strike or lock-out occur than all the moral and material power of the local authorities is employed in favour of the masters and against the men; even the police, paid out of the pockets of the men, are employed exactly as in France the troops are used, to provoke them into illegal acts and hunt them down. The Poor Law authorities in most cases refuse relief to men who, in their opinion, might work if they liked. And naturally so. In the eyes of this class of men, whom the working people suffer to form the local authorities, a strike is an open rebellion against social order, an outrage against the sacred rights of property. And therefore, in every strike or lock-out all the enormous moral and physical weight of the local authorities is placed in the masters' scale so long as the working class consent to elect masters and masters' representatives to local elective bodies.

We hope that the action of the two French Town Councils will open the eyes of many. Shall it be for ever said, and of the English working men too, that "they manage these things better in France"? The English working class, with its old and powerful organisation, its immemorial political liberties, its long experience of political action, has immense advantages over those of any continental country. Yet the Germans could carry twelve working-class representatives for Parliament,[444] and they as well as the French have the majority in numerous Town Councils. True, the suffrage in England is restricted; but even now the working class has a majority in all large towns and manufacturing districts. They have only to will it, and that potential majority becomes at once an effective one, a power in the State, a power in all localities where working people are concentrated. And if you once have working men in Parliament, in the Town Councils and Local Boards of Guardians,[445] etc., how long will it be ere you will have also working men magistrates, capable of putting a spoke in the wheels of those Dogberries who now so often ride roughshod over the people?

Written in the latter half of June 1881

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Reproduced from the newspaper

# Frederick Engels

## AMERICAN FOOD AND THE LAND QUESTION

Since autumn 1837 we have been quite accustomed to see money panics and commercial crises imported from New York into England. At least one out of every two of the decennial revulsions of industry broke out in America. But that America should also upset the time-honoured relations of British agriculture, revolutionise the immemorial feudal relations between landlord and tenant at will, smash up English rents, and lay waste English farms, was a sight reserved for the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

And yet so it is. The virgin soil of the Western prairie—which is now coming into cultivation, not by piecemeal but in thousands of square miles—is now beginning to rule the price of wheat, and, consequently, the rent of wheat land. And no old soil can compete with it. It is a wonderful land, level, or slightly undulating, undisturbed by violent upheavals, in exactly the same condition in which it was slowly deposited at the bottom of a Tertiary ocean; free from stones, rocks, trees; fit for immediate cultivation without any preparatory labour. No clearing or draining is required; you pass the plough over it and it is fit to receive the seed, and will bear twenty to thirty crops of wheat in succession and without manuring. It is a soil fit for agriculture on the grandest scale, and on the grandest scale it is worked. The British agriculturist used to pride himself of his large farms as opposed to the small farms of Continental peasant proprietors; but what are the largest farms in the United Kingdom compared to the farms of the American prairie, farms of 40,000 acres and more, worked by regular armies of men, horses, and implements, drilled, commanded, and organised like soldiers?

This American revolution in farming, together with the revolutionised means of transport as invented by the Americans, sends over to Europe wheat at such low prices that no European farmer can compete with it—at least not while he is expected to pay rent. Look at the year 1879, when this was first felt. The crop was bad in all Western Europe; it was a failure in England. Yet, thanks to American corn, prices remained almost stationary. For the first time the British farmer had a bad crop and low prices of wheat at the same time. Then the farmers began to stir, the landlords felt alarmed. Next year, with a better crop, prices went lower still. The price of corn is now determined by the cost of production in America, plus the cost of transport. And this will be the case more and more every year, in proportion as new prairie-land is put under the plough. The agricultural armies required for that operation—we find them ourselves in Europe by sending over emigrants.

Now, formerly there was this consolation for the farmer and the landlord, that if corn did not pay meat would. The plough-land was turned into grass-land, and everything was pleasant again. But now that resource is cut off too. American meat and American cattle are sent over in ever-increasing quantities. And not only that. There are at least two great cattle-producing countries which are on the alert for methods permitting them to send over to Europe, and especially to England, their immense excess of meat, now wasted. With the present state of science and the rapid progress made in its application, we may be sure that in a very few years—at the very latest—Australian and South American beef and mutton will be brought over in a perfect state of preservation and in enormous quantities. What is then to become of the prosperity of the British farmer, of the long rent-roll of the British landlord? It is all very well to grow gooseberries, strawberries, and so forth—that market is well enough supplied as it is. No doubt the British workman could consume a deal more of these delicacies—but then first raise his wages.

It is scarcely needful to say that the effect of this new American agricultural competition is felt on the Continent too. The small peasant proprietor mostly mortgaged over head and ears and paying interest and law expenses where the English and Irish farmer pays rent, he feels it quite as much. It is a peculiar effect of this American competition that it renders not only large landed property, but also small landed property useless, by rendering both unprofitable.

It may be said that this system of land exhaustion, as now

practised in the Far West, cannot go on for ever, and things must come right again. Of course, it cannot last for ever; but there is plenty of unexhausted land yet to carry on the process for another century. Moreover, there are other countries offering similar advantages. There is the whole South Russian steppe, where, indeed, commercial men have bought land and done the same thing. There are the vast pampas of the Argentine Republic, there are others still; all lands equally fit for this modern system of giant farming and cheap production. So that before this thing is exhausted it will have lived long enough to kill all the landlords of Europe, great and small, at least twice over.

Well, and the upshot of all this? The upshot will and must be that it will force upon us the nationalisation of the land and its cultivation by co-operative societies under national control. Then, and then alone, it will again pay both the cultivators and the nation to work it, whatever the price of American or any other corn and meat may be. And if the landlords in the meantime, as they seem to be half inclined to do, actually do go to America, we wish them a pleasant journey.

Written in late June 1881

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# Frederick Engels

## THE WAGES THEORY OF THE ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE

In another column we publish a letter from Mr. J. Noble[a] finding fault with some of our remarks in a leading article of the *Labour Standard* of June 18.[b] Although we cannot, of course, make our leading columns the vehicle of polemics on the subject of historical facts or economic theories, we will yet, for once, reply to a man who, though in an official party position, is evidently sincere.

To our assertion that what was aimed at by the repeal of the Corn Laws was to "reduce the price of bread and thereby the money rate of wages", Mr. Noble replies that this was a "Protectionist fallacy" persistently combated by the League, and gives some quotations from Richard Cobden's speeches and an address of the Council of the League to prove it.[446]

The writer of the article in question was living at the time in Manchester—a manufacturer amongst manufacturers.[447] He is, of course, perfectly well aware of what the official doctrine of the League was. To reduce it to its shortest and most generally-recognised expression (for there are many varieties) it ran thus:—The repeal of the duty on corn will increase our trade with foreign countries, will directly increase our imports, in exchange for which foreign customers will buy our manufactures, thus increasing the demand for our manufactured goods; thus the demand for the labour of our industrial working population will increase, and therefore wages must rise. And by dint of repeating

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[a] J. Noble, "The Anti-Corn Law League and Wages", *The Labour Standard*, No. 10, July 9, 1881.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 389-93.—*Ed.*

this theory day after day and year after year the official representatives of the League, shallow economists as they were, could at last come out with the astounding assertion that wages rose and fell in inverse ratio, not with profits, but with the price of food; that dear bread meant low wages and cheap bread high wages. Thus, the decennial revulsions of trade which have existed before and after the repeal of the Corn duties were, by the mouthpieces of the League, declared to be the simple effects of the Corn Laws, bound to disappear as soon as those hateful laws were removed; that the Corn Laws were the only great obstacle standing between the British manufacturer and the poor foreigners longing for that manufacturer's produce, unclad and shivering for want of British cloth. And thus Cobden could actually advance, in the passage quoted by Mr. Noble, that the depression of trade and the fall in wages from 1839 to 1842 was the consequence of the very high price of corn during these years, when it was nothing else but one of the regular phases of depression of trade, recurring with the greatest regularity, up to now, every ten years; a phase certainly prolonged and aggravated by bad crops and the stupid interference of greedy landlord legislation.

Well, this was the official theory of Cobden, who with all his cleverness as an agitator was a poor business man and a shallow economist; he no doubt believed it as faithfully as Mr. Noble believes it to this day. But the bulk of the League was formed of practical men of business, more attentive to business and generally more successful in it than Cobden. And with these matters were quite different. Of course, before strangers and in public meetings, especially before their "hands", the official theory was generally considered "the thing". But business men, when intent upon business, do not generally speak their mind to their customers, and if Mr. Noble should be of a different opinion, he had better keep off the Manchester Exchange. A very little pressing as to what was meant by the way in which wages must rise in consequence of free trade in corn, was sufficient to bring it out that this rise was supposed to affect wages as expressed in commodities, and that it might be quite possible that the money rate of wages would not rise—but was not that substantially a rise of wages? And when you pressed the subject further it usually came out that the money rate of wages might even fall while the comforts supplied for this reduced sum of money to the working man would still be superior to what he enjoyed at the time. And if you asked a few more close questions as to the way, how the

expected immense extension of trade was to be brought about, you would very soon hear that it was this last contingency upon which they mainly relied: a reduction in the money rate of wages combined with a fall in the price of bread, etc., more than compensating for this fall. Moreover, there were plenty to be met who did not even try to disguise their opinion that cheap bread was wanted simply to bring down the money rate of wages, and thus knock foreign competition on the head. And that this, in reality, was the end and aim of the bulk of the manufacturers and merchants forming the great body of the League, it was not so very difficult to make out for any one in the habit of dealing with commercial men, and therefore in the habit of not always taking their word for gospel. This is what we said and we repeat it. Of the official doctrine of the League we did not say a word. It was economically a "fallacy", and practically a mere cloak for interested purposes, though some of the leaders may have repeated it often enough to believe it finally themselves.

Very amusing is Mr. Noble's quotation of Cobden's words about the working classes "rubbing their hands with satisfaction" at the prospect of corn at 25s. a quarter. The working classes at that time did not disdain cheap bread; but they were so full of "satisfaction" at the proceedings of Cobden and Co. that for several years past they had made it impossible for the League in the whole of the North to hold a single really public meeting. The writer had the "satisfaction" of being present, in 1843, at the last attempt of the League to hold such a meeting in Salford Town Hall, and of seeing it very nearly broken up by the mere putting of an amendment in favour of the People's Charter.[448] Since then the rule at all League meetings was "admission by ticket", which was far from being accessible to everyone. From that moment "Chartist obstruction" ceased. The working masses had attained their end—to prove that the League did *not*, as it pretended, represent them.

In conclusion, a few words about the wages theory of the League. The average price of a commodity is equal to its cost of production; the action of supply and demand consists in bringing it back to that standard around which it oscillates. If this be true of all commodities, it is true also of the commodity Labour (or more strictly speaking, Labour-force). Then the rate of wages is determined by the price of those commodities which enter into the habitual and necessary consumption of the labourer. In other words, all other things remaining unchanged, wages rise and fall with the price of the necessaries of life. This is a law of political

economy against which all the Perronet Thompsons, Cobdens, and Brights will ever be impotent. But all other things do not always remain unchanged, and therefore the action of this law in practice becomes modified by the concurrent action of other economical laws; it appears darkened, and sometimes to such a degree that you must take some trouble to trace it. This served as a pretext to the vulgarising and vulgar economists dating from the Anti-Corn Law League to pretend, first, that Labour, and then all other commodities, had no real determinable value, but only a fluctuating price, regulated by supply and demand more or less without regard to cost of production, and that to raise prices, and therefore wages, you had nothing to do but increase the demand. And thus you got rid of the unpleasant connection of the rate of wages with the price of food, and could boldly proclaim that in this crude, ridiculous doctrine that dear bread meant low wages and cheap bread high wages.

Perhaps Mr. Noble will ask whether wages are not generally as high, or even higher, with to-day's cheap bread than with the dear taxed bread before 1847? That would take a long inquiry to answer. But so much is certain: where a branch of industry has prospered and at the same time the workmen have been strongly organised for defence, their wages have generally not fallen, and sometimes perhaps risen. This merely proves that the people were underpaid before. Where a branch of industry has decayed, or where the workpeople have not been strongly organised in Trades Unions, these wages have invariably fallen, and often to starvation level. Go to the East-end of London and see for yourselves!

Written at the beginning of July 1881

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# Frederick Engels

## A WORKING MEN'S PARTY

How often have we not been warned by friends and sympathisers, "Keep aloof from party politics!" And they were perfectly right, as far as present English party politics are concerned. A labour organ must be neither Whig nor Tory, neither Conservative nor Liberal, or even Radical, in the actual party sense of that word. Conservatives, Liberals, Radicals, all of them represent but the interests of the ruling classes, and various shades of opinion predominating amongst landlords, capitalists, and retail tradesmen. If they do represent the working class, they most decidedly misrepresent it. The working class has interests of its own, political as well as social. How it has stood up for what it considers its social interests, the history of the Trades Unions and the Short Time movement shows. But its political interests it leaves almost entirely in the hands of Tories, Whigs, and Radicals, men of the upper class, and for nearly a quarter of a century the working class of England has contented itself with forming, as it were, the tail of the "Great Liberal Party".

This is a political position unworthy of the best organised working class of Europe. In other countries the working men have been far more active. Germany has had for more than ten years a Working Men's party (the Social-Democrats), which owns ten seats in Parliament, and whose growth has frightened Bismarck into those infamous measures of repression of which we give an account in another column.[a] Yet in spite of Bismarck, the Working Men's party progresses steadily; only last week it carried sixteen elections for the Mannheim Town Council and one for the Saxon

[a] See this volume, pp. 407-09.—*Ed.*

Parliament. In Belgium, Holland, and Italy the example of the Germans has been imitated; in every one of these countries a Working Men's party exists,[449] though the voter's qualification there is too high to give them a chance of sending members to the Legislature at present. In France the Working Men's party is just now in full process of organisation; it has obtained the majority in several Municipal Councils at the last elections,[a] and will undoubtedly carry several seats at the general election for the Chamber next October. Even in America where the passage of the working class to that of farmer, trader, or capitalist, is still comparatively easy, the working men find it necessary to organise themselves as an independent party.[450] Everywhere the labourer struggles for political power, for direct representation of his class in the Legislature—everywhere but in Great Britain.

And yet there never was a more widespread feeling in England than now, that the old parties are doomed, that the old shibboleths have become meaningless, that the old watchwords are exploded, that the old panaceas will not act any longer. Thinking men of all classes begin to see that a new line must be struck out, and that this line can only be in the direction of democracy. But in England, where the industrial and agricultural working class forms the immense majority of the people, democracy means the dominion of the working class, neither more nor less. Let, then, that working class prepare itself for the task in store for it,—the ruling of this great empire; let them understand the responsibilities which inevitably will fall to their share. And the best way to do this is to use the power already in their hands, the actual majority they possess in every large town in the kingdom, to send to Parliament men of their own order. With the present household suffrage,[451] forty or fifty working men might easily be sent to St. Stephen's,[452] where such an infusion of entirely new blood is very much wanted indeed. With only that number of working men in Parliament, it would be impossible to let the Irish Land Bill[453] become, as is the case at present, more and more an Irish Land Bull, namely, an Irish Landlords' Compensation Act; it would be impossible to resist the demand for a redistribution of seats, for making bribery really punishable, for throwing election expenses, as is the case everywhere but in England, on the public purse, etc.

Moreover, in England a real democratic party is impossible unless it be a working men's party. Enlightened men of other classes (where they are not so plentiful as people would make us

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[a] See this volume, pp. 394-96.—*Ed.*

believe) might join that party and even represent it in Parliament after having given pledges of their sincerity. Such is the case everywhere. In Germany, for instance, the working-men representatives are not in every case actual working men. But no democratic party in England, as well as elsewhere, will be effectively successful unless it has a distinct working-class character. Abandon that, and you have nothing but sects and shams.

And this is even truer in England than abroad. Of Radical shams there has been unfortunately enough since the break-up of the first working men's party which the world ever produced—the Chartist party. Yes, but the Chartists were broken up and attained nothing. Did they, indeed? Of the six points of the People's Charter,[454] two, vote by ballot and no property qualification, are now the law of the land. A third, universal suffrage, is at least approximately carried in the shape of household suffrage; a fourth, equal electoral districts, is distinctly in sight, a promised reform of the present Government. So that the break-down of the Chartist movement has resulted in the realisation of fully one-half of the Chartist programme. And if the mere recollection of a past political organisation of the working class could effect these political reforms, and a series of social reforms besides, what will the actual presence of a working men's political party do, backed by forty or fifty representatives in Parliament? We live in a world where everybody is bound to take care of himself. Yet the English working class allows the landlord, capitalist, and retail trading classes, with their tail of lawyers, newspaper writers, etc., to take care of its interests. No wonder reforms in the interest of the workman come so slow and in such miserable dribbles. The workpeople of England have but to will, and they are the masters to carry every reform, social and political, which their situation requires. Then why not make that effort?

Written in mid-July 1881

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# Frederick Engels

## BISMARCK AND THE GERMAN WORKING MEN'S PARTY

The English middle-class Press has lately been very silent about the atrocities committed by Bismarck and his understrappers against the members of the Social-Democratic Working Men's Party in Germany. The only exception, to some extent, has been the *Daily News*.[a] Formerly, when despotic Governments abroad indulged in such vagaries at the expense of their subjects, the outcry was great indeed in the English dailies and weeklies. But here the oppressed parties are working men, and proud of the name, and the Press representatives of "Society", of the "Upper Ten", suppress the facts and almost seem, by the obstinacy of their silence, to approve of them. What business, indeed, have working men with politics? Leave that to their "betters"! And then there is this other reason for the silence of the English Press: It is very hard to attack Bismarck's Coercion Act[455] and the way he carries it out, and in the same breath to defend Mr. Forster's coercion proceedings in Ireland.[456] This is a very sore point, and must not be touched. The middle-class Press can scarcely be expected to point out itself how much the moral position of England in Europe and America has been lowered by the present Government's action in Ireland.

At every general election the German Working Men's party turned up with rapidly-increasing numbers; at the last but one above 500,000; at the last one more than 600,000 votes fell to

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[a] See the following telegraphic reports: "News from Berlin", "Socialism in Saxony", "The Social Democrats in Germany", "News from Berlin", *The Daily News*, Nos. 10981, 10983, 10994, 10997, June 27 and 29, and July 12 and 15, 1881.— *Ed.*

their candidates.[457] Berlin elected two, Elberfeld-Barmen, one; Breslau, Dresden, one each; ten seats were conquered in the face of the coalition of the Government with the whole of the Liberal, Conservative, and Catholic parties, in the face of the outcry created by the two attempts at shooting the Emperor,[458] which all other parties agreed to make the Working Men's party responsible for. Then Bismarck succeeded in passing an Act by which Social-Democracy was outlawed. The Working Men's newspapers, more than fifty, were suppressed, their societies and clubs broken up, their funds seized, their meetings dissolved by the police, and, to crown all, it was enacted that whole towns and districts might be "proclaimed", just as in Ireland. But what even English Coercion Bills[459] have never ventured upon in Ireland Bismarck did in Germany. In every "proclaimed" district the police received the right to expel any man whom it might "reasonably suspect" of Socialistic propaganda. Berlin was, of course, at once proclaimed, and hundreds (with their families, thousands) of people were expelled. For the Prussian police always expel men with families; the young unmarried men are generally let alone; to them expulsion would be no great punishment, but to the heads of families it means, in most cases, a long career of misery if not absolute ruin. Then Hamburg elected a working man member of Parliament,[460] and was immediately proclaimed. The first batch of men expelled from Hamburg was about a hundred, with families amounting, besides, to more than three hundred. The Working Men's party, within two days, found the means to provide for their travelling expenses and other immediate wants. Now Leipzig has also been proclaimed,[461] and without any other pretext but that otherwise the Government cannot break up the organisation of the party. The expulsions of the very first day number thirty-three, mostly married men with families. Three members of the German Parliament head the list[a]; perhaps Mr. Dillon will send them a letter of congratulation, considering that they are not yet quite so badly off as himself.[462]

But this is not all. The Working Men's party once being outlawed in due form, and deprived of all those political rights which other Germans are supposed to enjoy, the police can do with the individual members of that party just as they like. Under the pretext of searching for forbidden publications, their wives and daughters are subjected to the most indecent and brutal treatment. They themselves are arrested whenever it pleases the

[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel and Wilhelm Hasenclever.— *Ed.*

police, are remanded from week to week, and discharged only after having passed some months in prison. New offences, unknown to the criminal code, are invented by the police, and that code stretched beyond all possibility. And often enough the police finds magistrates and judges corrupt or fanatical enough to aid and abet them; promotion is at this price! What this all comes to the following astounding figures will show. In the year from October, 1879, to October, 1880, there were in Prussia alone imprisoned for high treason, treason felony, insulting the Emperor, etc., not less than 1,108 persons; and for political libels, insulting Bismarck, or defiling the Government, etc., not less than 10,094 persons. Eleven thousand two hundred and two political prisoners, that beats even Mr. Forster's Irish exploits!

And what has Bismarck attained with all his coercion? Just as much as Mr. Forster in Ireland. The Social-Democratic party is in as blooming a condition, and possesses as firm an organisation, as the Irish Land League.[463] A few days ago there were elections for the Town Council of Mannheim. The working-class party nominated sixteen candidates, and carried them all by a majority of nearly three to one. Again, Bebel, member of the German Parliament for Dresden, stood for the representation of the Leipzig district in the Saxon Parliament. Bebel is himself a working man (a turner), and one of the best, if not the best speaker in Germany. To frustrate his being elected, the Government expelled all his committee. What was the result? That even with a limited suffrage, Bebel was carried by a strong majority. Thus, Bismarck's coercion avails him nothing; on the contrary, it exasperates the people. Those to whom all legal means of asserting themselves are cut off, will one fine morning take to illegal ones, and no one can blame them. How often have Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster proclaimed that doctrine? And how do they act now in Ireland?

Written in mid-July 1881

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The Labour Standard* (London), No. 12, July 23, 1881, as a leading article

# Frederick Engels

## [TO THE EDITOR OF THE *FREIHEIT*][464]

[London,] July 22, 1881

*To the Editor of the "Freiheit"*

Mr. Norris A. Clowes, the *New York Star*'s correspondent in Ireland, who has been recommended to me from America,[465] has written as follows:

* "If Herr Most would like to make any statement to the *New York Star* public, I should be glad to give him the opportunity." *

To which I replied:

* "If you wish to enter into communication with Mr. Most, you had better write to the Editor[a] of the *Freiheit*, 252 Tottenham Court Road, W. London, who will be able to tell you whether such communication will be possible under present circumstances." *[466]

I hasten to bring this to your attention.

Yours faithfully,

*F. E.*

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Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English in full for the first time

[a] Karl Schneidt.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## COTTON AND IRON

Cotton and iron are the two most important raw materials of our time. Whichever nation is the leading one in the manufacture of cotton and iron articles, that nation heads the list of manufacturing nations generally. And because and as long as this is the case with England, therefore and so long will England be the first manufacturing nation of the world.

It might, then, be expected that the workers in cotton and iron should be remarkably well off in England; that, as England commands in the market, trade in these articles should be always good, and that at least in these two branches of industry the millennium of plenty, promised at the time of the Free Trade agitation,[467] should be realised. Alas! we all know that this is far from being the case, and that here, as in other trades, if the condition of the workpeople has not become worse, and in some instances even better, it is due exclusively to their own efforts—to strong organisation and hard-fought strikes. We know that after a few short years of prosperity about and after 1874 there was a complete collapse of the cotton and iron trades[468]; factories were closed, furnaces blown out, and where production was continued short time was the rule. Such periods of collapse had been known before; they recur, on an average, once in every ten years; they last their time, to be relieved by a new period of prosperity, and so on.

But what distinguishes the present period of depression especially in cotton and iron is this, that it has now for some years outlasted its usual duration. There have been several attempts at a revival, several spurts; but in vain. If the epoch of actual collapse

has been overcome, trade remains in a languid state, and the markets continue incapable to absorb the whole production.

The cause of this is that with our present system of using machinery to produce not only manufactured goods, but machines themselves, production can be increased with incredible rapidity. There would be no difficulty, if manufacturers were so minded, during the single period of prosperity to increase the plant for spinning and weaving, bleaching and printing cotton, so as to be able to produce fifty per cent more goods, and to double the whole production of pig-iron and iron articles of every description. The actual increase has not come up to that. But still it has been out of all proportion to what it was in former periods of expansion, and the consequence is—chronic over-production, chronic depression of trade. The masters can afford to look on, at least for a considerable time, but the workpeople have to suffer, for to them it means chronic misery and a constant prospect of the workhouse.[469]

This, then, is the outcome of the glorious system of unlimited competition, this the realisation of the millennium promised by the Cobdens, Brights, and Co.! This is what the workpeople have to go through if, as they have done for the last twenty-five years, they leave the management of the economical policy of the empire to their "natural leaders", to those "captains of industry" who, according to Thomas Carlyle, were called upon to command the industrial army of the country.[a] Captains of industry indeed! Louis Napoleon's generals in 1870 were geniuses compared to them. Everyone of these pretended captains of industry fights against every other, acts entirely on his own account, increases his plant irrespective of what his neighbours do, and then at the end they all find, to their great surprise, that overtrading has been the result. They cannot unite to regulate production; they can unite for one purpose only: *to keep down the wages of their workpeople.* And thus, by recklessly expanding the productive power of the country far beyond the power of absorption of the markets, they rob their workpeople of the comparative ease which a period of moderate prosperity would give them, and which they are entitled to after the long period of collapse, in order to bring up their incomes to the average standard. Will it not yet be understood that the manufacturers, as a class, have become incapable any longer to direct the great economical interests of the country, nay, even the

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[a] Th. Carlyle, *Latter-Day Pamphlets,* No. I: *The Present Time,* London, 1850, pp. 30-31, 42; *Past and Present,* London, 1843, pp. 361-69.— *Ed.*

process of production itself? And is it not an absurdity—though a fact—that the greatest enemy to the working people of England is the ever-increasing productivity of their own hands?

But there is another fact to be taken into consideration. It is not the English manufacturers alone who increase their productive powers. The same takes place in other countries. Statistics will not allow us to compare separately the cotton and iron industries of the various leading countries. But, taking the whole of the textile, mining, and metal-working industries, we can draw up a comparative table with the materials furnished by the chief of the Prussian Statistical Bureau, Dr. Engel, in his book, "Das Zeitalter des Dampfs" (The Age of Steam, Berlin, 1881).[a] According to his computation, there are employed in the above industries in the countries stated below steam-engines of the following total horse-power (one horse-power equal to a force lifting 75 kilogrammes to the height of one metre in one second), viz:

| | Textile Industries | Mining and Metal Works |
|---|---|---|
| England, 1871 | 515,800 | 1,077,000 h. p. |
| Germany, 1875 | 128,125 | 456,436 " |
| France | about 100,000 | 185,000 " |
| United States | about 93,000 | 370,000 " |

Thus we see that the total steam power employed by the three nations who are England's chief competitors amounts to three-fifths of the English steam power in the textile manufactures, and nearly equals it in mines and metal works. And as their manufactures progress at a far more rapid rate than those of this country, there can be scarcely a doubt that the combined produce of the former will soon surpass that of the latter.

Look, again, at this table, giving the steam horse-power employed in production, exclusive of locomotives and ships' engines:—

| | Horsepower |
|---|---|
| Great Britain | About 2,000,000 |
| United States | " 1,987,000 |
| Germany | " 1,321,000 |
| France | " 492,000 |

[a] The tables given below were compiled by Frederick Engels on the basis of the statistical data on pp. 178, 180 and 182-84 of Ernst Engel's book.— *Ed.*

This still more clearly shows how little there is left of the monopoly of England in steam manufactures, and how little Free Trade has succeeded in securing England's industrial superiority. And let it not be said that this progress of foreign industry is artificial, is due to protection. The whole of the immense expansion of the German manufactures has been accomplished under a most liberal Free Trade *régime*, and if America, owing to an absurd system of internal excise[470] more than anything else, is compelled to have recourse to a protection more apparent than real, the repeal of these excise laws would be sufficient to allow her to compete in the open market.

This, then, is the position in which twenty-five years of an almost absolute reign of Manchester School[471] doctrines have left the country. We think these results are such as to call for a speedy abdication of the Manchester and Birmingham gentlemen, so as to give the working classes a turn for the next twenty-five years. Surely they could not manage worse.

Written at the end of July 1881

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The Labour Standard* (London), No. 13, July 30, 1881, as a leading article

# Frederick Engels

## SOCIAL CLASSES—NECESSARY AND SUPERFLUOUS

The question has often been asked, in what degree are the different classes of society useful or even necessary? And the answer was naturally a different one for every different epoch of history considered. There was undoubtedly a time when a territorial aristocracy was an unavoidable and necessary element of society. That, however, is very, very long ago. Then there was a time when a capitalist middle class, a *bourgeoisie* as the French call it, arose with equally unavoidable necessity, struggled against the territorial aristocracy, broke its political power, and in its turn became economically and politically predominant. But, since classes arose, there never was a time when society could do without a working class. The name, the social status of that class has changed; the serf took the place of the slave, to be in his turn relieved by the free working man—free from servitude but also free from any earthly possessions save his own labour force. But it is plain: whatever changes took place in the upper, non-producing ranks of society, society could not live without a class of producers. This class, then, is necessary under all circumstances—though the time must come, when it will no longer be a class, when it will comprise all society.

Now, what necessity is there at present for the existence of each of these three classes?

The landed aristocracy is, to say the least, economically useless in England, while in Ireland and Scotland it has become a positive nuisance by its depopulating tendencies. To send the people across the ocean or into starvation, and to replace them by sheep or deer—that is all the merit that the Irish and Scotch landlords can lay claim to. Let the competition of American vegetable and

animal food develop a little further, and the English landed aristocracy will do the same, at least those that can afford it, having large town estates to fall back upon. Of the rest, American food competition will soon free us. And good riddance—for their political action, both in the Lords and Commons, is a perfect national nuisance.

But how about the capitalist middle class, that enlightened and liberal class which founded the British colonial empire and which established British liberty? The class that reformed Parliament in 1831,[472] repealed the Corn Laws,[473] and reduced tax after tax? The class that created and still directs the giant manufactures, and the immense merchant navy, the ever spreading railway system of England? Surely that class must be at least as necessary as the working class which it directs and leads on from progress to progress.

Now the economical function of the capitalist middle class has been, indeed, to create the modern system of steam manufactures and steam communications, and to crush every economical and political obstacle which delayed or hindered the development of that system. No doubt, as long as the capitalist middle class performed this function it was, under the circumstances, a necessary class. But is it still so? Does it continue to fulfil its essential function as the manager and expander of social production for the benefit of society at large? Let us see.

To begin with the means of communication, we find the telegraphs in the hands of the Government. The railways and a large part of the sea-going steamships are owned, not by individual capitalists who manage their own business, but by joint-stock companies whose business is managed for them by *paid employees*, by servants whose position is to all intents and purposes that of superior, better paid workpeople. As to the directors and shareholders, they both know that the less the former interfere with the management, and the latter with the supervision, the better for the concern. A lax and mostly perfunctory supervision is, indeed, the only function left to the owners of the business. Thus we see that in reality the capitalist owners of these immense establishments have no other action left with regard to them, but to cash the half-yearly dividend warrants. The social function of the capitalist here has been transferred to servants paid by wages; but he continues to pocket, in his dividends, the pay for those functions though he has ceased to perform them.

But another function is still left to the capitalist, whom the extent of the large undertakings in question has compelled to

"retire" from their management. And this function is to speculate with his shares on the Stock Exchange. For want of something better to do, our "retired" or in reality superseded capitalists, gamble to their hearts' content in this temple of mammon. They go there with the deliberate intention to pocket money which they were pretending to earn; though they say, the origin of all property is labour and saving—the origin perhaps, but certainly not the end. What hypocrisy to forcibly close petty gambling houses, when our capitalist society cannot do without an immense gambling house, where millions after millions are lost and won, for its very centre! Here, indeed, the existence of the "retired" shareholding capitalist becomes not only superfluous, but a perfect nuisance.

What is true for railways and steam shipping is becoming more and more true every day for all large manufacturing and trading establishments. "Floating"—transforming large private concerns into limited companies—has been the order of the day for the last ten years and more. From the large Manchester warehouses of the City to the ironworks and coalpits of Wales and the North and the factories of Lancashire, everything has been, or is being, floated. In all Oldham there is scarcely a cotton mill left in private hands; nay, even the retail tradesman is more and more superseded by "co-operative stores", the great majority of which are co-operative in name only—but of that another time. Thus we see that by the very development of the system of capitalists' production the capitalist is superseded quite as much as the handloom-weaver. With this difference, though, that the handloom-weaver is doomed to slow starvation, and the superseded capitalist to slow death from overfeeding. In this they generally are both alike, that neither knows what to do with himself.

This, then, is the result: the economical development of our actual society tends more and more to concentrate, to socialise production into immense establishments which cannot any longer be managed by single capitalists. All the trash of "the eye of the master", and the wonders it does, turns into sheer nonsense as soon as an undertaking reaches a certain size. Imagine "the eye of the master" of the London and North Western Railway! But what the master cannot do the workman, the wages-paid servants of the Company, *can* do, and do it successfully.

Thus the capitalist can no longer lay claim to his profits as "wages of supervision", as he supervises nothing. Let us remember that when the defenders of capital drum that hollow phrase into our ears.

But we have attempted to show, in our last week's issue,[a] that the capitalist class had also become unable to manage the immense productive system of this country; that they on the one hand expanded production so as to periodically flood all the markets with produce, and on the other became more and more incapable of holding their own against foreign competition. Thus we find that, not only can we manage very well without the interference of the capitalist class in the great industries of the country, but that their interference is becoming more and more a nuisance.

Again we say to them, "Stand back! Give the working class the chance of a turn."

Written in early August 1881

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The Labour Standard* (London), No. 14, August 6, 1881, as a leading article

[a] See this volume, pp. 411-14.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## DRAFT FOR THE SPEECH OVER THE GRAVE OF JENNY MARX[474]

The noble-hearted woman at whose grave we stand was born in Salzwedel in 1814. Her father, Baron W[estphalen], was soon afterwards appointed Regierungsrat in Trier where he became intimately acquainted with the Marx family. The children of both families grew up together. By the time M[arx] went to the university, he and his future wife knew that their fates would henceforth be inseparable.

In 1843, after Marx had first publicly distinguished himself as editor of the first *Rheinische Zeitung*, and after the suppression of that Paper by the Prussian government,[475] the marriage took place.[a] From that day she not only followed the fortunes, the labours, the struggles of her husband; she took an active part in them with the highest intelligence and the deepest passion.

The young couple went to Paris, into an exile, first voluntary, soon compulsory. Even in Paris the Prussian government persecuted him. With regret I have to state, that a man like A. v. Humboldt so far demeaned himself as to cooperate in inducing the Government of Louis Philippe to expel M[arx] from France. The family moved to Brussels. The revolution of February ensued. During the troubles caused by this event in Brussels, the Belgian police not only arrested Marx, they must needs throw into prison his wife too, and that without the pretence of a pretext.

The revolutionary effort of 1848 collapsed in the following year. New exile followed, first again in Paris, then, owing to fresh government interference, in London. And this time it was real exile with all its bitterness. The ordinary sufferings of exiles she

[a] On June 19, 1843.—*Ed.*

might have overcome—though in consequence of them she had to lose three children,[a] amongst them both her boys. But that all parties—governmental as well as oppositional, feudalist, liberal and so-called democratic, combined into one vast conspiracy against her husband, heaped upon him the vilest and most baseless calumnies; that the whole press without exception shut him out, that he stood helpless and defenceless before antagonists whom he and she must utterly despise—that hurt her to the life. And that lasted for years.

But not for ever. By and bye the working class of Europe found itself placed in political conditions which gave it at least *some* elbow-room. The International Working Men's Association was formed; it drew into the struggle one civilized country after the other, and in that struggle, foremost amongst the foremost, fought her husband. Then a time began for her which made up for many past sufferings. She lived to see the base slanders, heaped up around her husband, fly away as chaff before the wind; she lived to hear the doctrines of her husband, to stifle which the reactionists of all countries, feudalists as well as so-called democrats,[b] had spent all their efforts—to hear them proclaimed openly and victoriously in all civilized countries and in all civilized languages. She lived to see the revolutionary movement of the Proletariat seize one country after another, and raise its head, conscious of victory, from Russia to America. And one of her last joys, on her deathbed, was the splendid proof of irrepressible life, in spite of all repressive laws, which the German working class gave at the late elections.[476]

What such a woman, with such clear and critical intellect, with such political tact, with such passionate energy of character, with such capacity for self-sacrifice, has done in the revolutionary movement, that has not been pushed forward into publicity, that is not registered in the columns of the periodical press. That is only known to those who lived near her. But that I know, we shall often miss her bold and prudent counsels, bold without brag, prudent without sacrifice of honor.

Of her personal qualities I need not speak. Her friends know them and will never forget them. If ever woman found her highest happiness in rendering others happy, that woman was she.

The place where we stand is the best proof that she lived and died in the full conviction of atheist Materialism. Death had no

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[a] Edgar, Guido and Franziska.— *Ed.*

[b] The words "feudalists as well as so-called democrats" are omitted in *L'Égalité.—Ed.*

terrors for her. She knew that one day she would have to return, body and mind, to the bosom of that nature from which she had sprung. And we, who now have laid her in her last resting-place, let us cherish her memory and try to be like her.[a]

Written on December 2 or 3, 1881

First published in *L'Égalité*, No. 1, December 11, 1881

Reproduced from the manuscript, verified with the newspaper

[a] The last paragraph is omitted in *L'Égalité*.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## JENNY MARX, NÉE VON WESTPHALEN[477]

Once again death has claimed a victim from among the ranks of the old guard of proletarian, revolutionary socialism.

On December 2 this year, the wife of Karl Marx died in London after a long, painful illness.

She was born in Salzwedel. Her father,[a] a state counsellor, was soon afterwards posted to Trier, where he became a close friend of the Marx family. The children grew up together. These two highly talented natures found each other. When Marx entered university, it was already decided that their future destinies were to be inseparable.

The wedding took place in 1843,[b] after the suppression of the first *Rheinische Zeitung*,[478] which had, for a while, been edited by Marx. From then on, Jenny not only shared her husband's destiny, work, and struggles; she took part in them with the deepest understanding, with the most fervent passion.

The young couple moved to Paris, into a voluntary exile that all too soon became an actual one. The Prussian government persecuted Marx there, too. Alexander von Humboldt allowed himself to become a party to procuring a deportation order against Marx. The family was forced to leave for Brussels.

Then came the February Revolution. During the disturbances it engendered in Brussels, too, not only Marx was arrested. The Belgian police insisted on throwing his wife into prison as well, without any reason.

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[a] Ludwig von Westphalen.— *Ed.*

[b] On June 19.— *Ed.*

The revolutionary upsurge of 1848 collapsed as early as the following year. Renewed exile, first in Paris, then, as a result of further intervention by the French government, in London. And this time it was indeed, for Jenny Marx, exile with all its terrors. She would, nevertheless, have got over the material pressures beneath which she saw her two boys and a little daughter[a] sink into the grave. But the fact that government and bourgeois opposition, from the vulgar-liberal to the democratic, combined in a great conspiracy against her husband; that they heaped the vilest, most despicable slanders on him; that the entire press closed its columns to him, depriving him of any means of defence, so that he was left momentarily helpless against opponents whom he and she must despise—this hurt her to the life. And so it remained for a very long time.

But not forever. The European proletariat regained such conditions of existence as allowed it, to a certain extent, to move independently. The International was founded. The class struggle of the proletariat pressed on from one country to another, and Jenny's husband was among the foremost, in fact he was *the* foremost. Then there began for her a period that made up for many harsh sufferings. She lived to see the slanders that had rained down in torrents on Marx dispersed like chaff in the wind; she lived to hear his doctrines, which all reactionary parties, both feudal and democratic, had taken such tremendous pains to suppress, now preached from the rooftops in all civilised countries and in all cultured tongues. She lived to see the proletarian movement, to which her entire being was wedded, shake the foundations of the old world from Russia to America and press onwards, increasingly certain of victory and defying all resistance. *And one of her last joys was the striking evidence of indestructible vitality that our German workers provided in the last elections to the Reichstag.*[479]

The contribution made by this woman, with such a sharp critical intelligence, with such political tact, a character of such energy and passion, with such dedication to her comrades-in-struggle—her contribution to the movement over almost forty years has not become public knowledge; it is not inscribed in the annals of the contemporary press. It is something one must have experienced at first hand. But of one thing I am sure: just as the wives of the Commune refugees will often remember her—so, too, will the rest of us have occasion enough to miss her bold and

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[a] Edgar, Guido and Franziska.—*Ed.*

wise advice, bold without ostentation, wise without ever compromising her honour to even the smallest degree.[a]

Written on December 4, 1881

First published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 50, December 8, 1881

Signed: *Frederick Engels*

Printed according to the manuscript, checked with the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] The *Sozialdemokrat* further has: London, December 4, 1881.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND RUSSIAN EDITION OF THE *MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY*[480]

The first Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, translated by Bakunin, was published early in the sixties by the printing office of the *Kolokol*.[481] At that time the West could see in it (the *Russian* edition of the *Manifesto*) only a literary curiosity. Such a view would be impossible today.

What a limited field the proletarian movement still occupied at that time (December 1847) is most clearly shown by the last section of the *Manifesto*: the position of the Communists in relation to the different opposition parties in the various countries.[a] Russia and the United States of all places are missing here. It was the time when Russia constituted the last great reserve of all European reaction, when the United States absorbed the surplus proletarian forces of Europe through emigration. Both countries supplied Europe with raw materials and were at the same time markets for its industrial products. At that time both were, therefore, in one way or another, pillars of the existing European order.

How very different today! It was precisely European immigration that enabled North America to attain gigantic agricultural production, competition from which is shaking the very foundations of European landed property—large and small. Moreover, it enabled the United States to exploit its tremendous industrial resources with an energy and on a scale that must shortly break the prevailing industrial monopoly of Western Europe, and especially of England. Both circumstances react in revolutionary manner upon America itself. Step by step the smaller and middle landownership of the farmers, the basis of the whole political

[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 518-19.— *Ed.*

constitution, is succumbing to the competition of giant farms; simultaneously, a numerous proletariat and a fabulous concentration of capital are developing for the first time in the industrial regions.

And now Russia! During the Revolution of 1848-49, not only the European princes, but the European bourgeois as well, found their only salvation from the proletariat, which was just beginning to awaken, in Russian intervention. The Tsar[a] was proclaimed the chief of European reaction. Today he[b] is a prisoner of war of the revolution, in Gatchina,[482] and Russia forms the vanguard of revolutionary action in Europe.

The *Communist Manifesto* had as its object the proclamation of the inevitably impending dissolution of modern bourgeois property. But in Russia we find, face to face with the rapidly developing capitalist swindle and bourgeois landed property, which is just beginning to develop, more than half the land owned in common by the peasants. Now the question is: can the Russian *obshchina*,[c] a form of primeval common ownership of land, even if greatly undermined, pass directly to the higher form of communist common ownership? Or must it, conversely, first pass through the same process of dissolution as constitutes the historical development of the West?

The only answer possible today is this: If the Russian Revolution becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that the two complement each other, the present Russian common ownership of land may serve as the starting point for communist development.

*Karl Marx, Frederick Engels*

London, January 21, 1882

Published, in Russian, in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Geneva, 1882

Printed according to the manuscript

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[a] Nicholas I.— *Ed.*
[b] Alexander III.— *Ed.*
[c] *Obshchina*: village community.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## BRUNO BAUER AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY[483]

On April 13 in Berlin a man died who once played a role as a philosopher and a theologian but was hardly heard of for years, only attracting the attention of the public from time to time as a "literary eccentric". Official theologians, including Renan, plagiarised him and therefore maintained a silence of death about him. And yet he was worth more than them all and achieved more than any of them on an issue which interests us socialists too: on the issue of the historical origin of Christianity.

Let us take his death as an occasion to give a brief account of the present position on this question and Bauer's contribution to its solution.

The view that dominated from the free-thinkers of the Middle Ages to the Enlighteners of the eighteenth century, the latter included, that all religions, and therefore Christianity too, were the work of deceivers, was no longer sufficient once Hegel had set philosophy the task of showing a rational development in world history.[a]

It is obvious that if naturally arising religions, like the fetish worship of the Negroes or the common primitive religion of the Aryans,[484] come into being without deception playing any part, deceit by the priests very soon becomes inevitable in their further development. But in spite of all the sincere fanaticism, artificial religions cannot even at their foundation do without deception and the falsification of history. Christianity, too, has pretty achievements to boast of in this respect from the very beginning,

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte.* See G. W. F. Hegel, *Werke*, Bd. IX, 2. Aufl., Berlin, 1840, S. 11-15.— *Ed.*

as Bauer showed in his criticism of the New Testament.[a] But that only affirms a general phenomenon and does not explain the particular case in question.

A religion that brought the Roman world empire into subjection and dominated by far the larger part of civilised humanity for 1,800 years cannot be disposed of merely by declaring it to be nonsense gleaned together by deceivers. One cannot dispose of it before one succeeds in explaining its origin and its development from the historical conditions under which it arose and reached its dominating position. This applies especially to Christianity. The question to be solved, then, is how it came about that the masses in the Roman Empire preferred this nonsense—which was preached, into the bargain, by slaves and oppressed—to all other religions so that the ambitious Constantine finally saw in the adoption of this religion of nonsense the best means of exalting himself to the position of autocrat of the Roman world.[485]

Bruno Bauer contributed far more to answering this question than anybody else. No matter how much even the half-believing theologians of the period of reaction may have resisted it since 1849, he irrefutably proved the chronological order of the Gospels and their mutual interdependence, shown by Wilke from the purely linguistic standpoint,[b] by the very contents of the Gospels themselves. He exposed the utter lack of scientific spirit of Strauss' vague myth theory[c] according to which anybody can consider historical as much as he likes in the Gospel narrations. And if almost nothing from the whole content of the Gospels turns out to be historically provable—so that even the historical existence of a Jesus Christ can be questioned—Bauer has thereby only cleared the ground for the solution of the question: what is the origin of the ideas and thoughts that have been woven together into a sort

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[a] See the following books by Bruno Bauer: *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte des Johannes* (Bremen, 1840); *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker* (Vols. 1 and 2, Leipzig, 1841) and the third volume of this book entitled *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker und des Johannes* (Brunswick, 1842); *Kritik der Evangelien und Geschichte ihres Ursprungs* (Vols. 1-4, Berlin, 1850-52); *Die Apostelgeschichte. Eine Ausgleichung des Paulinismus und des Judenthums innerhalb der christlichen Kirche* (Berlin, 1850); *Kritik der paulinischen Briefe* (Abt. 1-3, Berlin, 1850-52).— *Ed.*

[b] Ch. G. Wilke, *Der Urevangelist oder exegetisch kritische Untersuchung über das Verwandtschaftsverhältniß der drei ersten Evangelien* (Dresden and Leipzig, 1838).— *Ed.*

[c] D. Fr. Strauß, *Das Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet* (Vols. 1-2, Tübingen, 1835-36); B. Bauer, *Philo, Strauß und Renan und das Urchristenthum* (Berlin, 1874).— *Ed.*

of system in Christianity, and how did they come to dominate the world?

Bauer studied this question until his death. His research reached its culminating point in the conclusion that the Alexandrian Jew Philo, who was still living about A.D. 40 but was already very old, was the real father of Christianity, and that the Roman stoic Seneca was, so to speak, its uncle.[a] The numerous writings attributed to Philo[b] which have been passed down to us do indeed originate in a fusion of allegorically and rationalistically conceived Jewish traditions with Greek, particularly stoic, philosophy.[486] This conciliation of Occidental and Oriental outlooks already contains all the essentially Christian ideas: the innate sinfulness of man, the *Logos*, the Word, which is with God and is God and which becomes the mediator between God and Man; atonement, not by sacrifices of animals, but by bringing one's own heart to God, and finally the essential feature that the new religious philosophy reverses the previous world order, seeks its disciples among the poor, the miserable, the slaves and the rejected and despises the rich, the powerful and the privileged, whence the precept to despise all worldly pleasures and to mortify the flesh.

On the other hand, Augustus saw to it in his time that not only the God-man, but also the so-called immaculate conception became formulas imposed by the empire. He not only had Caesar and himself worshipped as gods, he also had it spread that he, Augustus Caesar Divus, the Divine, was not the son of a human father but that his mother had conceived him of the god Apollo. But was not that god Apollo perhaps a relation of the one sung by Heinrich Heine?[487]

As we see, we need only the keystone and we have the whole of Christianity in its basic features: the incarnation of the *Logos* become man in a definite person and his sacrifice on the cross for the redemption of sinful mankind.

Truly reliable sources leave us uncertain as to how this keystone was historically introduced into the Stoic-Philonic doctrines. But this much is certain: it was not introduced by philosophers, either Philo's disciples or stoics. Religions are founded by people who feel a need for religion themselves and have a feeling for the religious needs of the masses, and as a rule this is not the case with philosophical schools. On the contrary we find that in times of general decay—now, for instance—philosophy and religious

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[a] B. Bauer, *Christus und die Caesaren. Der Ursprung des Christenthums aus dem römischen Griechenthum*, Berlin, 1877.—*Ed.*

[b] Philo, *Legum allegoriae*; *Quaestiones in Exodum*; *Quaestiones in Genesin*.—*Ed.*

dogmatism are shallowly and universally spread in a vulgarised form. While classical Greek philosophy in its last forms—particularly in the Epicurean school[488]—led to atheistic materialism, Greek vulgar philosophy led to the doctrine of a one and only God and of the immortality of the human soul. Likewise Judaism, rationally vulgarised in mixture and intercourse with aliens and half-Jews, came to neglect the ritual and transform the formerly exclusively Jewish national god, Jahveh,* into the one true God, the creator of heaven and earth, and adopt the idea of the immortality of the soul which was alien to early Judaism. Thus monotheistic vulgar philosophy came into contact with vulgar religion, which presented it with the ready-made one and only God. And so the ground was prepared on which the elaboration among the Jews of the likewise vulgarised Philonic notions could produce Christianity which, once produced, could find acceptance among the Greeks and Romans. The fact that it was popularised Philonic notions and not Philo's own works that gave birth to Christianity is proved by the New Testament's almost complete disregard of most of these works, particularly the allegorical and philosophical interpretation of the narrations of the Old Testament. This is an aspect to which Bauer did not devote enough attention.

One can get an idea of what Christianity looked like in its early form by reading the so-called Revelation of John. Wild, confused fanaticism, only the beginnings of dogmas, of the so-called Christian morals, only the mortification of the flesh, but on the other hand a multitude of visions and prophecies. The emergence of the dogmas and moral doctrine belongs to a later period in which the Gospels and the so-called Epistles of the Apostles were written. In this—at least as regards morality—unceremonious use was made of the philosophy of the stoics, of Seneca in particular. Bauer proved that the Epistles often copy the latter word: for word[b], in fact, even the faithful noticed this, but they maintained that Seneca had copied from the New Testament, though it had not yet been written in his

* As Ewald has already proved,[a] the Jews used dotted script (containing vowels and reading signs) to write under the consonants in the name of Jahveh, which it was forbidden to pronounce, the vowels of the word *Adonai*, which they read in its place. This was subsequently read as Jehovah. This word is therefore not the name of a god but only a vulgar mistake in grammar: in Hebrew it is simply impossible.

[a] H. Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis Christus*, Second ed., Vol. 4, Göttingen, 1852, pp. 222-24.— *Ed.*

[b] B. Bauer, *Christus und die Caesaren...*, pp. 47-61 ("Seneca im Neuen Testament").— *Ed.*

time. Dogma developed, on the one hand, in connection with the evangelical legend of Jesus which was then taking shape and, on the other hand, in the struggle between Jewish Christians and those of pagan origin.

Bauer also gives very valuable data on the causes which helped Christianity to triumph and attain world domination.[a] But here the German philosopher is prevented by his idealism from seeing clearly and formulating precisely. Phrases often replace substance at decisive points. Instead, therefore, of going into details on Bauer's views, we shall better give our own conception of this point, based on Bauer's works and also on our personal study.

The Roman conquest first directly dissolved in all subjugated countries the previous political systems and then indirectly also the old social conditions of life. Firstly, by substituting the simple distinction between Roman citizens and non-citizens or subjects of the state for the former organisation according to social estates (slavery apart). Secondly, and mainly, by exacting tribute in the name of the Roman state. If under the empire a limit was set as far as possible in the interest of the State to the governors' thirst for wealth, that thirst was replaced by ever more effective and oppressive taxation for the benefit of the state treasury, an exaction which was terribly destructive. Thirdly, and finally, Roman law was administered everywhere by Roman judges while the native social systems were declared invalid insofar as they did not tally with the provisions of Roman law. These three levers were bound to develop a tremendous levelling power, particularly when they were applied for a century or two to populations the most vigorous part of which had been either suppressed or taken away into slavery in the battles preceding, accompanying and often even following the conquest. Social relations in the provinces came nearer and nearer to those obtaining in the capital and in Italy. The population became more and more sharply divided into three classes thrown together out of the most varied elements and nationalities: rich people, including not a few emancipated slaves (cf. Petronius[b]), big landowners or usurers or both at once, like Seneca, the uncle of Christianity; propertyless free people, who in Rome were fed and amused by the state—in the provinces they got on as they could by themselves—and finally the great mass, the slaves. In relation to the state, i.e., the emperor, the first two classes had almost as few rights as the slaves in

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[a] B. Bauer, *Christus und die Caesaren...*; *Philo, Strauß und Renan...*— *Ed.*

[b] Engels is referring to Petronius' *Satyricon* where he describes a feast in the house of an emancipated slave, Trimalchionis, who became rich.— *Ed.*

relation to their masters. From the time of Tiberius to that of Nero in particular, it was a practice to sentence rich Romans to death in order to confiscate their property. The support of the government was, materially, the army, which was more like an army of hired mercenaries than the old Roman peasant army, and morally, the general view that there was no way out of this situation; that not, indeed, this or that emperor, but an empire based on military domination was an inevitable necessity. Here is not the place to examine what eminently material facts this view was based on.

General slackening and demoralisation were consonant with the general lawlessness and despair as to the possibility of better conditions. The few surviving old Romans of the patrician type and views were either removed or died out; Tacitus was the last of them. The others were glad if they were able to keep away from public life; all they existed for was to collect and enjoy riches, and to indulge in private gossip and private intrigue. The propertyless free citizens were state pensioners in Rome, but in the provinces their condition was an unhappy one. They had to work, and to compete with slave labour into the bargain. But they were confined to the towns. Besides them, there were in the provinces peasants, free landowners (here and there probably still in communal-ownership) and, as in Gaul, bondsmen for debts to big landowners. This class was the least affected by the social upheaval; it was also the one to resist the religious upheaval longest.* Finally, there were the slaves, deprived of rights and of their own will and the possibility to free themselves, as the defeat of Spartacus had already proved[489]; most of them, however, were former free citizens or sons of freed citizens. It must therefore have been among them that hatred of their condition of life was still generally vigorous, though externally powerless.

We shall find that the type of ideologists at the time corresponded to this state of affairs. The philosophers were either mere money-earning schoolmasters or buffoons in the pay of wealthy revellers. Some were even slaves. What became of them if they were fortunate is shown by Mr. Seneca. This stoic and preacher of virtue and abstinence was Nero's first court intriguer, which would not have been possible without servility; he secured

* According to Fallmerayer[a] the peasants in Maina, Peloponnesus, still offered sacrifices to Zeus in the ninth century.

[a] J. Ph. Fallmerayer, *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters.* Ein historischer Versuch, Part 1, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1830, p. 227.— *Ed.*

from Nero presents in money, estates, gardens and palaces, and, while he preached the poor man Lazarus of the Gospel, he was in reality the rich man in the same parable. Not until Nero wanted to get at him did he request the Emperor to take back all his presents, his philosophy being enough for him. Only a very few isolated philosophers like Persius had the courage to brandish the lash of satire over their degenerated contemporaries. But as for the second type of ideologists, the jurists, they enthused at the new system because the abolition of all differences between social estates allowed them broad scope in elaborating their favourite private law, in return for which they prepared for the emperors the vilest system of state law that ever existed.

With the political and social peculiarities of the peoples, the Roman Empire also doomed to ruin their particular religions. All religions of antiquity were naturally arising tribal and later national religions which sprang from and grew together with the social and political conditions of the respective peoples. Once these, their foundations, were destroyed and their traditional forms of society, their inherited political institutions and their national independence shattered, the religion corresponding to these naturally also collapsed. The national gods could suffer other national gods, in other nations beside them, as was the general rule in antiquity, but not above them. The transplantation of Oriental divinities to Rome was harmful only to the Roman religion, but could not check the decay of the Oriental religions. As soon as the national gods are unable to protect the independence and sovereignty of their nation, they engineer their own destruction. This was the case everywhere (except with peasants, especially in the mountains). What vulgar philosophical enlightenment—I almost said Voltairianism—did in Rome and Greece, was done in the provinces by Roman subjugation and the replacement of men proud of their freedom by desperate subjects and self-seeking ragamuffins.

Such was the material and moral situation. The present was unbearable, the future perhaps still more menacing. There was no way out. Only despair or refuge in the commonest sensuous pleasure, for *those* at least who could afford it, and they were a tiny minority. Otherwise, nothing but languid surrender to the inevitable.

But in all classes there were necessarily a number of people who, despairing of material salvation, sought in its stead a spiritual salvation, a consolation in their consciousness to save them from utter despair. This consolation could not be provided by the stoics,

any more than by the Epicurean school, for the very reason that they are philosophies and therefore not intended for the common consciousness and, secondly, because the conduct of their disciples brought the doctrines of the schools into disrepute. The consolation was to be a substitute not for the lost philosophy, but for the lost religion; it had to take on a religious form, just as anything which was to grip the masses then and even as late as the seventeenth century.

We hardly need to note that of those who were pining for such consolation of their consciousness, for this flight from the external world into the internal, the majority were among the *slaves*.

It was in the midst of this general economic, political, intellectual and moral decay that Christianity appeared. It was decisively at odds with all previous religions.

In all previous religions ritual had been the main thing. Only by taking part in the sacrifices and processions, and in the Orient by observing the most cumbersome diet and cleanliness regulations, could one show to what religion one belonged. While Rome and Greece were tolerant in the latter respect, there was in the Orient an obsession with religious prohibitions that contributed no little to the final collapse. People of two different religions (Egyptians, Persians, Jews, Chaldeans) could not eat or drink together, perform any everyday act together, or hardly speak to each other. It was largely due to this segregation of man from man that the Orient met its demise. Christianity knows no distinctive rituals, not even the sacrifices and processions of the classical world. By thus rejecting all national religions and their common ritual and addressing itself to all peoples without distinction, it becomes the *first potential world religion*. Judaism, too, with its new universal god, had made a start towards becoming a world religion; but the children of Israel always remained an aristocracy among the believers and the circumcised, and Christianity itself had to get rid of the notion of the superiority of the Jewish Christians (still dominant in the so-called Revelation of John) before it could really become a world religion. Islam itself, on the other hand, by preserving its specifically Oriental ritual, limited the area of its propagation to the Orient and the North Africa conquered and populated anew by Arab Bedouins; here it could become the dominant religion, but not in the West.

Secondly, Christianity struck a chord that was bound to echo in countless hearts. To all complaints about the wickedness of the times and the general material and moral misery, Christian consciousness of sin answered: It is so and it cannot be otherwise;

thou art to blame, ye are all to blame for the corruption of the world, thine and your own internal corruption! And where was the man who could deny it? *Mea culpa!*[a] The admission of each one's share in the responsibility for the general misfortune was irrefutable and was made now the precondition for the spiritual salvation which Christianity at the same time announced. And this spiritual salvation was so instituted that it could be easily understood by members of every old religious community. The idea of atonement to placate the offended deity was current in all the old religions; how could the idea of the self-sacrifice of the mediator atoning once and for all for the sins of humanity not easily find ground there? Christianity, therefore, clearly expressed the universal feeling that men themselves are guilty of the general decay as the consciousness of sin of each one; at the same time it provided, in the sacrificial death of its founder, a form easily understood everywhere of the universally longed-for internal salvation from the decadent world, the consolation of consciousness; it thus again proved its capacity to become a world religion and, indeed, a religion which suited the world as it then was.

So it happened that among the thousands of prophets and preachers in the desert that filled that period with their countless religious renovations the founders of Christianity alone met with success. Not only Palestine, but the entire Orient, swarmed with such founders of religions, and between them there raged what can be called a Darwinist struggle for ideological existence.[490] Thanks mainly to the elements mentioned above, Christianity won the day. How it gradually developed its character of a world religion by natural selection in the struggle of sects amongst themselves and against the pagan world is taught in detail by the history of the Church in the first three centuries.

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Signed: *F. Engels*

Printed according to the manuscript, checked with the text of the newspaper

[a] My fault.— *Ed.*

## Frederick Engels

### THE VICAR OF BRAY[491]

In good King Charles's golden days
    When loyalty no harm meant,
A zealous high-church man I was,
    And so I got preferment:
To teach my flock I never miss'd,
    Kings are by God appointed,
And damn'd are those that do resist.
    Or touch The Lord's Anointed,
And this is law I will maintain,
    Until my dying day, Sir,
That whatsoever king shall reign,
    *I*'ll be the vicar of Bray, Sir.

When royal James obtain'd the crown,
    And popery came in fashion,
The penal laws I hooted down,
    And read the Declaration:
The church of Rome I found would fit
    Full well my constitution;
And had become a Jesuit,
    But for the Revolution.
And this is law, &c.

When William was our King declar'd,
    To ease the nation's grievance;
With this new wind about I steer'd,
    And swore to him allegiance:
Old principles I did revoke,
    Set conscience at a distance;
Passive obedience was a joke,
    A jest was non-resistance.
And this is law, &c.

When gracious Ann became our queen,
The Church of England's glory,
Another face of things was seen,
And I became a Tory:
Occasional conformists base,
I damn'd their moderation;
And thought the church in danger was,
By such prevarication.
And this is law, &c.

When George in pudding-time came o'er,
And moderate men look'd big, Sir,
I turn'd a cat-in-pan once more,
And so became a Whig, Sir;
And thus preferment I procur'd
From our new faith's-defender;
And almost ev'ry day abjur'd
The Pope and the Pretender.
And this is law, &c.

Th'illustrious house of Hanover,
And Protestant succession;
To these I do allegiance swear—
While they can keep possession:
For in my faith and loyalty,
I never more will falter,
And George my lawful king shall be—
Until the times do alter.
And this is law I will maintain,
Until my dying day, Sir,
That whatsoever king shall reign,
*I*'ll be the vicar of Bray, Sir![a]

The above song is probably the only political folk song to have remained in favour in England for more than 160 years. This is largely attributable to its fine tune, which is still sung everywhere today. Moreover, the song is far from outdated, even with regard to present-day conditions in Germany. Though, in the meantime, as is only fit and proper, we have made some progress. The good vicar of the original had only to turn his coat at every

[a] The English poem is cited from Joseph Ritson, *A Select Collection of English Songs*, in three volumes, 2nd ed., Vol. II, London, 1813, pp. 141-43. For Engels' German translation of this poem see Note 491.—*Ed.*

change of monarch. But we Germans have, above our many political vicars of Bray, a true Pope of Bray,[a] who demonstrates his infallibility by himself radically overturning the entire political doctrine at ever decreasing intervals. Yesterday free trade, today protective tariffs[492]; yesterday freedom of craft, today compulsory guilds; yesterday *Kulturkampf*,[493] today off to Canossa[494] with flying colours—and why not? *Omnia in majorem Dei gloriam* (All for the greater glory of God), which in German means: everything in order to extract more taxes and more soldiers. And the poor little vicars have to go along with it; they have to "jump through the hoops", as they themselves put it again and again, and often, at that, without compensation. With what scorn our stern old vicar would look down on these puny successors of his—he, who was genuinely proud of the courage with which he maintained his position through every storm!

*Fr. Engels*[b]

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Published in English in full for the first time

[a] A reference to Bismarck.—*Ed.*
[b] There is no signature in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

Frederick Engels

# THE MARK[495]

Written in the middle of September-the first half of December 1882

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In a country like Germany, in which quite half the population live by agriculture, it is necessary that the socialist working-men, and through them the peasants, should learn how the present system of landed property, large as well as small, has arisen. It is necessary to contrast the misery of the agricultural labourers of the present time and the mortgage-servitude of the small peasants, with the old common property of all free men in what was then in truth their "fatherland", the free common possession of all by inheritance.

I shall give, therefore, a short historical sketch of the primitive agrarian conditions of the German tribes. A few traces of these have survived until our own time, but all through the Middle Ages they served as the basis and as the type of all public institutions, and permeated the whole of public life, not only in Germany, but also in the north of France, England, and Scandinavia. And yet they have been so completely forgotten, that recently G. L. Maurer has had to re-discover their real significance.[496]

Two fundamental facts, that arose spontaneously, govern the primitive history of all, or of almost all, nations; the grouping of the people according to kindred, and common property in the soil. And this was the case with the Germans. As they had brought with them from Asia the method of grouping by tribes and gentes, as they even in the time of the Romans so drew up their battle array, that those related to each other always stood shoulder to shoulder, this grouping also governed the partitioning of their new territory east of the Rhine and north of the Danube. Each tribe settled down upon the new possession, not according to

whim or accident, but, as Caesar expressly states,[a] according to the gens-relationship between the members of the tribe. A particular area was apportioned to each of the nearly related larger groups, and on this again the individual gentes, each including a certain number of families, settled down by villages. A number of allied villages formed a hundred (old high German, *huntari*; old Norse, *heradh*). A number of hundreds formed a *gau* or shire. The sum total of the shires was the people itself.

The land which was not taken possession of by the village remained at the disposal of the hundred. What was not assigned to the latter remained for the shire. Whatever after that was still to be disposed of—generally a very large tract of land—was the immediate possession of the whole people. Thus in Sweden we find all these different stages of common holding side by side. Each village had its village common land (*bys almänningar*), and beyond this was the hundred common land (*härads*), the shire common land (*lands*), and finally the people's common land. This last, claimed by the king as representative of the whole nation, was known therefore as *Konungs almänningar*. But all of these, even the royal lands, were named, without distinction, *almänningar*, common land.

This old Swedish arrangement of the common land, in its minute subdivision, evidently belongs to a later stage of development. If it ever did exist in Germany, it soon vanished. The rapid increase in the population led to the establishment of a number of daughter-villages on the *Mark*, i.e., on the large tract of land attributed to each individual mother village. These daughter-villages formed a single mark-association with the mother village, on the basis of equal or of restricted rights. Thus we find everywhere in Germany, so far as research goes back, a larger or smaller number of villages united in one mark-association. But these associations were, at least, at first, still subject to the great federations of the marks of the hundred, or of the shire. And, finally, the people, as a whole, originally formed one single great mark-association, not only for the administration of the land that remained the immediate possession of the people, but also as a supreme court over the subordinate local marks.

Until the time when the Frankish kingdom subdued Germany east of the Rhine, the centre of gravity of the mark-association seems to have been in the *gau* or shire—the shire seems to have formed the unit mark-association. For, upon this assumption alone

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[a] Gaius Julius Caesar, *Commentarii de bello Gallico*, Book VI, Chapter 22.—*Ed.*

is it explicable that, upon the official division of the kingdom, so many old and large marks reappear as shires.[a] Soon after this time began the decay of the old large marks. Yet even in the code known as the *Kaiserrecht*, the "Emperor's Law" of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, it is a general rule that a mark includes from six to twelve villages.[497]

In Caesar's time a great part at least of the Germans, the Suevi, to wit, who had not yet got any fixed settlement, cultivated their fields in common. From analogy with other peoples we may take it that this was carried on in such a way that the individual gentes, each including a number of nearly related families, cultivated in common the land apportioned to them, which was changed from year to year, and divided the products among the families. But after the Suevi, about the beginning of our era, had settled down in their new domains, this soon ceased. At all events, Tacitus (150 years after Caesar) only mentions the tilling of the soil by individual families.[b] But the land to be tilled only belonged to these for a year. Every year it was divided up anew and redistributed.

How this was done, is still to be seen at the present time on the Moselle and in the Hochwald, on the so-called "Gehöferschaften".[c] There the whole of the land under cultivation, arable and meadows, not annually it is true, but every three, six, nine, or twelve years, is thrown together and parcelled out into a number of "Gewanne", or areas, according to situation and the quality of the soil. Each Gewann is again divided into as many equal parts, long, narrow strips, as there are claimants in the association. These are shared by lot among the members, so that every member receives an equal portion in each Gewann.[d] At the present time the shares have become unequal by divisions among heirs, sales, etc.; but the old full share still furnishes the unit that determines the half, or quarter, or one-eighth shares. The uncultivated land, forest and pasture land, is still a common possession for common use.

The same primitive arrangement obtained until the beginning of this century in the so-called assignments by lot (Loosgüter) of the Rhein Palatinate in Bavaria, whose arable land has since been

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[a] The German edition of 1891 has here: "als Gerichtsgaue" ("as court-shires").— *Ed.*

[b] Publius Cornelius Tacitus, *Germania*.— *Ed.*

[c] Farmstead communities.— *Ed.*

[d] The 1891 German edition further has: "i.e. a plot of every stretch of land, of soil of every quality".— *Ed.*

turned into the private property of individuals. The Gehöferschaften also find it more and more to their interest to let the periodical re-division become obsolete and to turn the changing ownership into settled private property. Thus most of them, if not all, have died out in the last forty years and given place to villages with peasant proprietors[a] using the forests and pasture land in common.[498]

The first piece of ground that passed into the private property of individuals was that on which the house stood. The inviolability of the dwelling, that basis of all personal freedom, was transferred from the caravan of the nomadic train to the log house of the stationary peasant, and gradually was transformed into a complete right of property in the homestead. This had already come about in the time of Tacitus. The free German's homestead must, even in that time, have been excluded from the mark, and thereby inaccessible to its officials, a safe place of refuge for fugitives, as we find it described in the regulations of the marks of later times, and to some extent, even in the "leges Barbarorum", the codifications of German tribal customary law, written down from the fifth to the eighth century.[499] For the sacredness of the dwelling was not the effect but the cause of its transformation into private property.

Four or five hundred years after Tacitus, according to the same law-books, the cultivated land also was the hereditary, although not the absolute freehold property of individual peasants, who had the right to dispose of it by sale or any other means of transfer. The causes of this transformation, as far as we can trace them, are twofold.

First, from the beginning there were in Germany itself, besides the close villages already described, with their complete ownership in common of the land, other villages where, besides homesteads, the fields also were excluded from the mark, the property of the community, and were parcelled out among the individual peasants as their hereditary property. But this was only the case where the nature of the place, so to say, compelled it: in narrow valleys,[b] and on narrow, flat ridges between marshes, as in Westphalia; later on, in the Odenwald, and in almost all the Alpine valleys. In these places the village consisted, as it does now, of scattered individual dwellings, each surrounded by the fields belonging to it. A periodical re-division of the arable land was in these cases hardly

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[a] The 1891 German edition has: "with allotment peasants".— *Ed.*

[b] The 1891 German edition has here: "as in the Berg country".— *Ed.*

possible, and so what remained within the mark was only the circumjacent untilled land. When, later, the right to dispose of the homestead by transfer to a third person became an important consideration, those who were free owners of their fields found themselves in an advantageous position. The wish to attain these advantages may have led in many of the villages with common ownership of the land to the letting the customary method of partition die out and to the transformation of the individual shares of the members into hereditary and transferable freehold property.

But, second, conquest led the Germans on to Roman territory, where, for centuries, the soil had been private property (the unlimited property of Roman law), and where the small number of conquerors could not possibly altogether do away with a form of holding so deeply rooted. The connexion of hereditary private property in fields and meadows with Roman law, at all events on territory that had been Roman, is supported by the fact that such remains of common property in arable land as have come down to our time are found on the left bank of the Rhine—*i.e.*, on conquered territory, but territory *thoroughly Germanised.* When the Franks settled here in the fifth century, common ownership in the fields must still have existed among them, otherwise we should not find there Gehöferschaften and Loosgüter.[a] But here also private ownership soon got the mastery, for this form of holding only do we find mentioned, in so far as arable land is concerned, in the Ripuarian law of the sixth century.[500] And in the interior of Germany, as I have said, the cultivated land also soon became private property.

But if the German conquerors adopted private ownership in fields and meadows—*i.e.*, gave up at the first division of the land, or soon after, any re-partition (for it was nothing more than this), they introduced, on the other hand, everywhere their German mark system, with common holding of woods and pastures, together with the over-lordship of the mark in respect to the partitioned land. This happened not only with the Franks in the north of France and the Anglo-Saxons in England, but also with the Burgundians in Eastern France, the Visigoths in the south of France and Spain, and the Ostrogoths and Langobardians in Italy. In these last-named countries, however, as far as is known, traces of the mark government have lasted until the present time almost exclusively in the higher mountain regions.

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[a] land distributed by drawing lots.—*Ed.*

The form that the mark government has assumed after the periodical partition of the cultivated land had fallen into disuse, is that which now meets us, not only in the old popular laws of the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, but also in the English and Scandinavian law-books of the Middle Ages, in the many German mark regulations (the so-called *Weisthümer*[501]) from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, and in the customary laws (*coûtumes*) of Northern France.

Whilst the association of the mark gave up the right of, from time to time, partitioning fields and meadows anew among its individual members, it did not give up a single one of its other rights over these lands. And these rights were very important. The association had only transferred their fields to individuals with a view to their being used as arable and meadow land, and with that view alone. Beyond that the individual owner had no right. Treasures found in the earth, if they lay deeper than the ploughshare goes, did not, therefore, originally belong to him, but to the community. It was the same thing with digging for ores, and the like. All these rights were, later on, stolen by the princes and landlords for their own use.

But, further, the use of arable and meadow lands was under the supervision and direction of the community and that in the following form. Wherever three-field farming obtained—and that was almost everywhere—the whole cultivated area of the village was divided into three equal parts, each of which was alternately sown one year with winter seed, the second with summer seed, and the third lay fallow. Thus the village had each year its winter field, its summer field, its fallow field. In the partition of the land care was taken that each member's share was made up of equal portions from each of the three fields, so that everyone could, without difficulty, accommodate himself to the regulations of the community, in accordance with which he would have to sow autumn seed only in his winter field, and so on.

The field whose turn it was to lie fallow returned, for the time being, into the common possession, and served the community in general for pasture. And as soon as the two other fields were reaped, they likewise became again common property until seed-time, and were used as common pasturage. The same thing occurred with the meadows after the aftermath. The owners had to remove the fences upon all fields given over to pasturage. This compulsory pasturage, of course, made it necessary that the time of sowing and of reaping should not be left to the individual, but be fixed for all by the community or by custom.

All other land, *i.e.*, all that was not house and farmyard, or so much of the mark as had been distributed among individuals, remained, as in early times, common property for common use; forests, pasture lands, heaths, moors, rivers, ponds, lakes, roads and bridges, hunting and fishing grounds. Just as the share of each member in so much of the mark as was distributed was of equal size, so was his share also in the use of the "common mark". The nature of this use was determined by the members of the community as a whole. So, too, was the mode of partition, if the soil that had been cultivated no longer sufficed, and a portion of the common mark was taken under cultivation. The chief use of the common mark was in pasturage for the cattle and feeding of pigs on acorns. Besides that, the forest yielded timber and firewood, litter for the animals, berries and mushrooms, whilst the moor, where it existed, yielded turf. The regulations as to pasture, the use of wood, etc., make up the most part of the many mark records written down at various epochs between the thirteenth and the eighteenth centuries, at the time when the old unwritten law of custom began to be contested. The common woodlands that are still met with here and there, are the remnants of these ancient unpartitioned marks. Another relic, at all events in West and South Germany, is the idea, deeply rooted in the popular consciousness, that the forest should be common property, wherein every one may gather flowers, berries, mushrooms, beechnuts and the like, and generally so long as he does no mischief, act and do as he will. But this also Bismarck remedies, and with his famous berry-legislation[502] brings down the Western Provinces to the level of the old Prussian squirearchy.

Just as the members of the community originally had equal shares in the soil and equal rights of usage, so they had also an equal share in the legislation, administration, and jurisdiction within the mark. At fixed times and, if necessary, more frequently, they met in the open air to discuss the affairs of the mark and to sit in judgment upon breaches of regulations and disputes concerning the mark. It was, only in miniature, the primitive assembly of the German people, which was, originally, nothing other than a great assembly of the mark. Laws were made, but only in rare cases of necessity. Officials were chosen, their conduct in office examined, but chiefly judicial functions were exercised. The president had only to formulate the questions. The judgment was given by the aggregate of the members present.

The unwritten law of the mark was, in primitive times, pretty much the only public law of those German tribes, which had no

kings; the old tribal nobility, which disappeared during the conquest of the Roman empire,[a] or soon after, easily fitted itself into this primitive constitution, as easily as all other spontaneous growths of the time, just as the Celtic clan-nobility, even as late as the seventeenth century, found its place in the Irish holding of the soil in common. And this unwritten law has struck such deep roots into the whole life of the Germans, that we find traces of it at every step and turn in the historical development of our people. In primitive times, the whole public authority in time of peace was exclusively judicial, and rested in the popular assembly of the hundred, the shire, or of the whole tribe. But this popular tribunal was only the popular tribunal of the mark adapted to cases that did not purely concern the mark, but came within the scope of the public authority. Even when the Frankish kings began to transform the self-governing shires into provinces governed by royal delegates, and thus separated the royal shire-courts from the common mark tribunals, in both the judicial function remained vested in the people. It was only when the old democratic freedom had been long undermined, when attendance at the public assemblies and tribunals had become a severe burden upon the impoverished freemen, that Charlemagne, in his shire-courts,[b] could introduce judgment by Schöffen, lay assessors, appointed by the king's judge, in the place of judgment by the whole popular assembly.* But this did not seriously touch the tribunals of the mark. These, on the contrary, still remained the model even for the feudal tribunals in the Middle Ages. In these, too, the feudal lord only formulated the issues, whilst the vassals themselves found the verdict. The institutions governing a village during the Middle Ages are but those of an independent village mark, and passed into those of a town as soon as the village was transformed into a town, *i.e.*, was fortified with walls and trenches. All later constitutions of cities have grown out of these original town mark regulations. And finally, from the assembly of the mark were copied the arrangements of the numberless free associations of mediaeval times not based upon common holding

* Not to be confused with the Schöffen courts after the manner of Bismarck and Leonhardt,[503] in which lawyers and lay assessors combined find verdict and judgment. In the old judicial courts there were no lawyers at all, the presiding judge had no vote at all, and the Schöffen or lay assessors gave the verdict independently.

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[a] The 1891 German edition has: "which disappeared during the Völkerwanderung or soon after it".— *Ed.*

[b] The 1891 German edition has: "in most shire-courts".— *Ed.*

of the land, and especially those of the free guilds. The rights conferred upon the guild for the exclusive carrying on of a particular trade were dealt with just as if they were rights in a common mark. With the same jealousy, often with precisely the same means in the guilds as in the mark, care was taken that the share of each member in the common benefits and advantages should be equal, or as nearly equal as possible.

All this shows the mark organisation to have possessed an almost wonderful capacity for adaptation to the most different departments of public life and to the most various ends. The same qualities it manifested during the progressive development of agriculture and in the struggle of the peasants with the advance of large landed property. It had arisen with the settlement of the Germans in Germania Magna, that is, at a time when the breeding of cattle was the chief means of livelihood, and when the rudimentary, half-forgotten agriculture which they had brought with them from Asia was only just put into practice again. It held its own all through the Middle Ages in fierce, incessant conflicts with the land-holding nobility. But it was still such a necessity that wherever the nobles had appropriated the peasants' land, the villages inhabited by these peasants, now turned into serfs, or at best into *coloni* or dependent tenants, were still organised on the lines of the old mark, in spite of the constantly increasing encroachments of the lords of the manor. Farther on we will give an example of this. It adapted itself to the most different forms of holding the cultivated land, so long as only an uncultivated common was still left, and in like manner to the most different rights of property in the common mark, as soon as this ceased to be the free property of the community.[a] It died out when almost the whole of the peasants' lands, both private and common,[b] were stolen by the nobles and the clergy, with the willing help of the princes. But economically obsolete and incapable of continuing as the prevalent social organisation of agriculture it became only when the great advances in farming of the last hundred years made agriculture a science and led to altogether new systems of carrying it on.

The undermining of the mark organisation began soon after the conquest of the Roman empire.[c] As representatives of the nation,

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[a] In the German edition of 1891 this sentence ends as follows: "as soon as this [the Mark] ceased to be free".— *Ed.*

[b] The 1891 German edition reads here: "both divided and undivided".— *Ed.*

[c] The German edition of 1891 has here: "after the Völkerwanderung".— *Ed.*

the Frankish kings took possession of the immense territories belonging to the people as a whole, especially the forests, in order to squander them away as presents to their courtiers, to their generals, to bishops and abbots. Thus they laid the foundation of the great landed estates, later on, of the nobles and the Church. Long before the time of Charlemagne, the Church had a full third of all the land in France, and it is certain that, during the Middle Ages, this proportion held generally for the whole of Catholic Western Europe.

The constant wars, internal and external, whose regular consequences were confiscations of land, ruined a great number of peasants, so that even during the Merovingian dynasty,[504] there were very many free men owning no land. The incessant wars of Charlemagne broke down the mainstay of the free peasantry. Originally every freeholder owed service, and not only had to equip himself, but also to maintain himself under arms for six months. No wonder that even in Charlemagne's time scarcely one man in five could be actually got to serve. Under the chaotic rule of his successors, the freedom of the peasants went still more rapidly to the dogs. On the one hand, the ravages of the Northmen's invasions, the eternal wars between kings, and feuds between nobles, compelled one free peasant after another to seek the protection of some lord. Upon the other hand, the covetousness of these same lords and of the Church hastened this process; by fraud, by promises, threats, violence, they forced more and more peasants and peasants' land under their yoke. In both cases, the peasants' land was added to the lord's manor, and was, at best, only given back for the use of the peasant in return for tribute and service. Thus the peasant, from a free owner of the land, was turned into a tribute-paying, service-rendering appanage of it, into a serf. This was the case in the western Frankish kingdom,[505] especially west of the Rhine. East of the Rhine, on the other hand, a large number of free peasants still held their own, for the most part scattered, occasionally united in villages entirely composed of freemen. Even here, however, in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, the overwhelming power of the nobles and the Church was constantly forcing more and more peasants into serfdom.

When a large landowner—clerical or lay—got hold of a peasant's holding, he acquired with it, at the same time, the rights in the mark that appertained to the holding. The new landlords were thus members of the mark and, within the mark, they were, originally, only regarded as on an equality with the other members of it, whether free or serfs, even if these happened to be their own

bondsmen. But soon, in spite of the dogged resistance of the peasants, the lords acquired in many places special privileges in the mark, and were often able to make the whole of it subject to their own rule as lords of the manor. Nevertheless the old organisation of the mark continued, though now it was presided over and encroached upon by the lord of the manor.

How absolutely necessary at that time the constitution of the mark was for agriculture, even on large estates, is shown in the most striking way by the colonisation of Brandenburg and Silesia by Frisian and Saxon settlers, and by settlers from the Netherlands and the Frankish banks of the Rhine. From the twelfth century, the people were settled in villages on the lands of the lords according to German law, *i.e.*, according to the old mark law, so far as it still held on the manors owned by lords. Every man had house and homestead; a share in the village fields, determined after the old method by lot, and of the same size for all; and the right of using the woods and pastures, generally in the woods of the lord of the manor, less frequently in a special mark. These rights were hereditary. The fee simple of the land continued in the lord, to whom the colonists owed certain hereditary tributes and services. But these dues were so moderate, that the condition of the peasants was better here than anywhere else in Germany. Hence, they kept quiet when the peasants' war broke out. For this apostasy from their own cause they were sorely chastised.

About the middle of the thirteenth century there was everywhere a decisive change in favour of the peasants. The crusades[506] had prepared the way for it. Many of the lords, when they set out to the East, explicitly set their peasant serfs free. Others were killed or never returned. Hundreds of noble families vanished, whose peasant serfs frequently gained their freedom. Moreover, as the needs of the landlords increased, the command over the payments in kind and services of the peasants became much more important than that over their persons. The serfdom of the earlier Middle Ages, which still had in it much of ancient slavery, gave to the lords rights which lost more and more their value; it gradually vanished, the position of the serfs narrowed itself down to that of simple hereditary tenants. As the method of cultivating the land remained exactly as of old, an increase in the revenues of the lord of the manor was only to be obtained by the breaking up of new ground, the establishing of new villages. But this was only possible by a friendly agreement with the colonists, whether they belonged to the estate or were strangers. Hence, in the documents of this time, we meet with a clear determination

and a moderate scale of the peasants' dues, and good treatment of the peasants, especially by the spiritual landlords. And, lastly, the favourable position of the new colonists reacted again on the condition of their neighbours, the bondmen, so that in all the North of Germany these also, whilst they continued their services to the lords of the manor, received their personal freedom. The Slav and Lithuanian peasants alone were not freed. But this was not to last.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the towns rose rapidly, and became rapidly rich. Their artistic handicraft, their luxurious life, throve and flourished, especially in South Germany and on the Rhine. The profusion of the town patricians aroused the envy of the coarsely-fed, coarsely-clothed, roughly-furnished, country lords. But whence to obtain all these fine things? Lying in wait for travelling merchants became more and more dangerous and unprofitable. But to buy them, money was requisite. And that the peasants alone could furnish. Hence, renewed oppression of the peasants, higher tributes, and more corvée; hence renewed and always increasing eagerness to force the free peasants to become bondmen, the bondmen to become serfs, and to turn the common mark-land into land belonging to the lord. In this the princes and nobles were helped by the Roman jurists, who, with their application of Roman jurisprudence to German conditions, for the most part not understood by them, knew how to produce endless confusion, but yet that sort of confusion by which the lord always won and the peasant always lost. The spiritual lords helped themselves in a more simple way. They forged documents, by which the rights of the peasants were curtailed and their duties increased. Against these robberies by the landlords,[a] the peasants, from the end of the fifteenth century, frequently rose in isolated insurrections, until, in 1525, the great Peasants' War overflowed Suabia, Bavaria, Franconia, extending into Alsace, the Palatinate, the Rheingau, and Thuringen. The peasants succumbed after hard fighting. From that time dates the renewed predominance of serfdom amongst the German peasants generally. In those places where the fight had raged, all remaining rights of the peasants were now shamelessly trodden under foot, their common land turned into the property of the lord, they themselves into serfs. The North German peasants, being placed in more favourable conditions, had remained quiet; their only reward was that they

[a] The German edition of 1891 has here: "by the princes, nobles and priests".— *Ed.*

fell under the same subjection, only more slowly. Serfdom is introduced among the German peasantry from the middle of the sixteenth century in Eastern Prussia, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Silesia, and from the end of that century in Schleswig-Holstein, and henceforth becomes more and more their general condition.

This new act of violence had, however, an economic cause. From the wars consequent upon the Protestant Reformation, only the German princes had gained greater power. It was now all up with the nobles' favourite trade of highway robbery. If the nobles were not to go to ruin, greater revenues had to be got out of their landed property. But the only way to effect this was to work at least a part of their own estates on their own account, upon the model of the large estates of the princes, and especially of the monasteries. That which had hitherto been the exception now became a necessity. But this new agricultural plan was stopped by the fact that almost everywhere the soil had been given to tribute-paying peasants. As soon as the tributary peasants, whether free men or *coloni*, had been turned into serfs, the noble lords had a free hand. Part of the peasants were, as it is now called in Ireland,[a] evicted, *i.e.*, either hunted away or degraded to the level of cottars, with mere huts and a bit of garden land, whilst the ground belonging to their homestead was made part and parcel of the demesne of the lord, and was cultivated by the new cottars and such peasants as were still left, in *corvée* labour. Not only were many peasants thus actually driven away, but the corvée service of those still left was enhanced considerably, and at an ever increasing rate. The capitalistic period announced itself in the country districts as the period of agricultural industry on a large scale, based upon the corvée labour of serfs.

This transformation took place at first rather slowly. But then came the Thirty Years' War.[507] For a whole generation Germany was overrun in all directions by the most licentious soldiery known to history. Everywhere was burning, plundering, rape, and murder. The peasant suffered most where, apart from the great armies, the smaller independent bands, or rather the freebooters, operated uncontrolled, and upon their own account. The devastation and depopulation were beyond all bounds. When peace came, Germany lay on the ground helpless, down-trodden, cut to pieces, bleeding; but, once again, the most pitiable, miserable of all was the peasant.

The land-owning noble was now the only lord in the country

[a] The German edition of 1891 has here: "to use the technical term".—*Ed.*

districts. The princes, who just at that time were reducing to nothing his political rights in the assemblies of Estates by way of compensation, left him a free hand against the peasants. The last power of resistance on the part of the peasants had been broken by the war. Thus the noble was able to arrange all agrarian conditions in the manner most conducive to the restoration of his ruined finances. Not only were the deserted homesteads of the peasants, without further ado, united with the lord's demesne; the eviction of the peasants was carried on wholesale and systematically. The greater the lord of the manor's demesne, the greater, of course, the corvée required from the peasants. The system of "unlimited corvée" was introduced anew; the noble lord was able to command the peasant, his family, his cattle, to labour for him, as often and as long as he pleased. Serfdom was now general; a free peasant was now as rare as a white crow. And in order that the noble lord might be in a position to nip in the bud the very smallest resistance on the part of the peasants, he received from the princes of the land the right of patrimonial jurisdiction, *i.e.*, he was nominated sole judge in all cases of offence and dispute among the peasants, even if the peasant's dispute was with him, the lord himself, so that the lord was judge in his own case! From that time, the stick and the whip ruled the agricultural districts. The German peasant, like the whole of Germany, had reached his lowest point of degradation. The peasant, like the whole of Germany, had become so powerless that all self-help failed him, and deliverance could only come from without.

And it came. With the French Revolution came for Germany also and for the German peasant the dawn of a better day. No sooner had the armies of the Revolution conquered the left bank of the Rhine, than all the old rubbish vanished, as at the stroke of an enchanter's wand—corvée service, rent dues of every kind to the lord, together with the noble lord himself. The peasant of the left bank of the Rhine was now lord of his own holding; moreover, in the Code Civil,[508] drawn up at the time of the Revolution and only baffled and botched by Napoleon, he received a code of laws adapted to his new conditions, that he could not only understand, but also carry comfortably in his pocket.

But the peasant on the right bank of the Rhine had still to wait a long time. It is true that in Prussia, after the well-deserved defeat at Jena,[509] some of the most shameful privileges of the nobles were abolished, and the so-called redemption of such peasants' burdens as were still left was made legally possible. But

to a great extent and for a long time this was only on paper. In the other German States, still less was done. A second French Revolution, that of 1830, was needed to bring about the "redemption" in Baden and certain other small States bordering upon France. And at the moment when the third French Revolution, in 1848, at last carried Germany along with it, the redemption was far from being completed in Prussia, and in Bavaria had not even begun. After that, it went along more rapidly and unimpeded; the corvée labour of the peasants. who had this time become rebellious on their own account, had lost all value.

And in what did this redemption consist? In this, that the noble lord, on receipt of a certain sum of money or of a piece of land from the peasant, should henceforth recognise the peasant's land, as much or as little as was left to him, as the peasant's property, free of all burdens; though all the land that had at any time belonged to the noble lord was nothing but land stolen from the peasants. Nor was this all. In these arrangements, the Government officials charged with carrying them out almost always took the side, naturally, of the lords, with whom they lived and caroused, so that the peasants, even against the letter of the law, were again defrauded right and left.

And thus, thanks to three French revolutions, and to the German one, that has grown out of them, we have once again a free peasantry. But how very inferior is the position of our free peasant of to-day compared with the free member of the mark of the olden time! His homestead is generally much smaller, and the unpartitioned mark is reduced to a few very small and poor bits of communal forest. But, without the use of the mark, there can be no cattle for the small peasant; without cattle, no manure; without manure, no agriculture. The tax-collector and the officer of the law threatening in the rear of him, whom the peasant of to-day knows only too well, were people unknown to the old members of the mark. And so was the mortgagee, into whose clutches nowadays one peasant's holding after another falls. And the best of it is that these modern free peasants, whose property is so restricted, and whose wings are so clipped, were created in Germany, where everything happens too late, at a time when scientific agriculture and the newly-invented agricultural machinery make cultivation on a small scale a method of production more and more antiquated, less and less capable of yielding a livelihood. As spinning and weaving by machinery replaced the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom, so these new methods of agricultural

production must inevitably replace the cultivation of land in small plots by landed property on a large scale, provided that the time necessary for this be granted.

For already the whole of European agriculture, as carried on at the present time, is threatened by an overpowering rival, *viz.*, the production of corn on a gigantic scale by America. Against this soil, fertile, manured by nature for a long range of years, and to be had for a bagatelle, neither our small peasants, up to their eyes in debt, nor our large landowners, equally deep in debt, can fight. The whole of the European agricultural system is being beaten by American competition. Agriculture, as far as Europe is concerned, will only be possible if carried on upon socialised lines, and for the advantage of society as a whole.

This is the outlook for our peasants. And the restoration of a free peasant class, starved and stunted as it is, has this value,—that it has put the peasant in a position, with the aid of his natural comrade, the worker, to help himself, as soon as he once understands *how.*[510]

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But how?—By means of reviving the mark, not in its old, outdated form, but in a rejuvenated form: by rejuvenating common landownership under which the latter would not only provide the small-peasant community with all the prerogatives of big farming and the use of agricultural machinery, but will also give them means to organise, along with agriculture, major industries utilising steam and water power, and to organise them without capitalists by the community itself.

To organise big farming and utilise agricultural machines means, in other words, to make superfluous the agricultural labour of most small peasants who today work their land themselves. And so that these people, made superfluous in agriculture, would not be left unemployed and would not have to go to towns and cities, it would be necessary to employ them in industry in the village itself, and that can only be profitably organised on a large scale with the aid of steam and water power.

How to arrange this? Think well on it, German peasants. Only the *Social-Democrats* can help you.

# Frederick Engels

## PREFACE TO THE FIRST GERMAN EDITION OF *SOCIALISM: UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC*[511]

The following work is derived from three chapters of my book: *Herrn E. Dührings Umwälzung der Wissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1878. I put them together for my friend Paul Lafargue for translation into French and added a few extra remarks. The French translation revised by me appeared first in the *Revue socialiste*[a] and then independently under the title: *Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique*, Paris, 1880. A rendering into Polish made from the French translation has just appeared in Geneva and bears the title: *Socyjalizm utopijny a naukowy*, Imprimerie de l'Aurore, Genève, 1882.

The surprising success of the Lafargue translation in the French-speaking countries and especially in France itself forced me to consider the question whether a separate German edition of these three chapters would not likewise be of value. Then the editors of the Zurich *Sozialdemokrat* informed me that a demand was generally being raised within the German Social-Democratic Party for the publication of new propaganda pamphlets, and they asked me whether I would not apply those three chapters to this purpose.[512] I was naturally in agreement with that and put my work at their disposal.

It was, however, not originally written for immediate popular propaganda. How could what was in the first place a purely scientific work be suitable for that? What changes in form and content were required?

So far as form is concerned, only the numerous foreign words could arouse doubts. But even Lassalle in his speeches and

[a] F. Engels, "Le socialisme utopique et le socialisme scientifique", I-III, *La Revue socialiste*, Nos. 3, 4 and 5, March 20, April 20 and May 5, 1880.—*Ed.*

propaganda writings was not at all sparing with foreign words, and to my knowledge there has been no complaint about it. Since that time our workers have read newspapers to a far greater extent and far more regularly and to the same extent they have become thereby more familiar with foreign words. I have restricted myself to removing all unnecessary foreign words. Where they were unavoidable, I have refrained from adding so-called explanatory translations. The unavoidable foreign words, usually generally accepted scientific-technical expressions, would not have been unavoidable if they had been translatable. Translation, therefore, distorts the sense; it confuses instead of explaining. Oral information is of much greater assistance.

The content on the other hand, I think I can assert, will cause German workers few difficulties. In general, only the third section is difficult, but far less so for workers, whose general conditions of life it concerns, than for the "educated" bourgeois. In the many explanatory additions that I have made here, I have had in mind not so much the workers as "educated" readers; persons of the type of the Deputy von Eynern, the Privy Councillor Heinrich von Sybel and other Treitschkes, who are governed by the irresistible impulse to demonstrate again and again in black and white their frightful ignorance and, following from this, their colossal misconception of socialism. If Don Quixote tilts his lance at windmills, that is in accordance with his office and his role; but it would be impossible for us to permit Sancho Panza anything of the sort.

Such readers will also be surprised that in a sketch of the history of the development of socialism they should encounter the Kant-Laplace cosmogony, modern natural science and Darwin, classical German philosophy and Hegel. But scientific socialism is after all an essentially German product and could arise only in that nation whose classical philosophy had kept alive the tradition of conscious dialectics: in Germany.* The materialist conception of history and its specific application to the modern class struggle

* "In Germany" is a slip of the pen. It should read "among Germans". For as indispensable, on the one hand, as German dialectics were for the genesis of scientific socialism, as equally indispensable for it were the developed economic and political conditions of England and France. The economic and political stage of development of Germany, which at the beginning of the forties was still more backward than today, could produce at the most caricatures of socialism (*cf. Communist Manifesto,* III, 1. c., "German, or 'True', Socialism" [a]). Only by the subjection of the economic and political conditions produced in England and France

[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 510-13.—*Ed.*

between proletariat and bourgeoisie was only possible by means of dialectics. And if the schoolmasters of the German bourgeoisie have drowned the memory of the great German philosophers and of the dialectics produced by them in a swamp of empty eclecticism—so much so that we are compelled to appeal to modern natural science as a witness to the preservation of dialectics in reality—we German Socialists are proud of the fact that we are descended not only from Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen, but also from Kant, Fichte and Hegel.

*Frederick Engels*

London, September 21, 1882

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Printed according to the book

to German dialectical criticism could a real result be achieved. From this angle, therefore, scientific socialism is not an *exclusively* German, but just as much as international product. [This footnote was added by Engels to the third German edition of 1883.]

# Frederick Engels

## JENNY LONGUET, NÉE MARX[513]

Jenny, the eldest daughter of Karl Marx, died at Argenteuil near Paris on January 11. About eight years ago she married *Charles Longuet*, a former member of the Paris Commune and at present co-editor of the *Justice*.[514]

Jenny Marx was born on May 1, 1844, grew up in the midst of the international proletarian movement and most closely together with it. Despite a reticence that could almost be taken for shyness, she displayed when necessary a presence of mind and energy which could be envied by many a man.

When the Irish press disclosed the infamous treatment that the Fenians sentenced in 1866 and later had to suffer in jail,[515] and the English papers stubbornly ignored the atrocities; and when the Gladstone Government, despite the promises it made during the election campaign, refused to amnesty them[516] or even to ameliorate their conditions, Jenny Marx found a means to make the pious Mr. Gladstone take immediate steps. She wrote two articles for Rochefort's *Marseillaise*[a] vividly describing how political prisoners are treated in free England. This had an effect. The disclosures in a big Paris newspaper could not be endured. A few weeks later O'Donovan Rosa and most of the others were free and on their way to America.

In the summer of 1871 Jenny, together with her youngest sister,[b] visited their brother-in-law Lafargue at Bordeaux. Lafargue, his wife, their sick child[c] and the two girls went from there to

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[a] Jenny Marx wrote eight articles on the Irish question for this newspaper (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 414-41).— *Ed.*

[b] Eleanor Marx.— *Ed.*

[c] Charles Étienne Lafargue.— *Ed.*

Bagnères-de-Luchon, a spa in the Pyrenees. Early one morning a gentleman came to Lafargue and said: "I am a police officer, but a Republican; an order for your arrest has been received; it is known that you were in charge of communications between Bordeaux and the Paris Commune. You have one hour to cross the border."

Lafargue with his wife and child succeeded in getting over the pass into Spain, for which the police took revenge by arresting the two girls. Jenny had a letter in her pocket from Gustave Flourens, the leader of the Commune who was killed near Paris; had the letter been discovered, a journey to New Caledonia[517] was sure to follow for the two sisters. When she was left alone in the office for a moment, Jenny opened a dusty old account book, put the letter inside and closed the book again. Perhaps the letter is still there. When the two girls were brought to his office, the prefect, the noble Count of Kératry, well remembered as a Bonapartist, closely questioned them. But the cunning of the former diplomat and the brutality of the former cavalry officer were of no avail when faced with Jenny's calm circumspection. He left the room in a fit of rage about "the energy that seems peculiar to the women of this family". After the dispatch of numerous cables to and from Paris, he finally had to release the two girls, who had been treated in a truly Prussian way during their detention.

These two incidents are characteristic of Jenny. The proletariat has lost a valiant fighter in her. But her mourning father has at least the consolation that hundreds of thousands of workers in Europe and America share his sorrow.

London, January 13, 1883

First published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 4, January 18, 1883

Signed: *Fr. Engels*

Printed according to the newspaper

# Frederick Engels

## TO THE *NEW YORKER VOLKSZEITUNG*

*London*, March 16, 1883

Karl Marx's death occurred at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, the 14th inst. at Argenteuil, France.[518] For several weeks Marx had been suffering from bronchitis, this being further complicated by an abscess of the lung, and ultimately an internal haemorrhage put an end to his life. His death was an easy and painless one.

*Frederick Engels*

First published in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 66, March 17, 1883

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# Frederick Engels

## DRAFT OF A SPEECH AT THE GRAVESIDE OF KARL MARX[519]

Scarcely 15 months ago most of us assembled round this grave, then about to become the last resting place of a grand and noble-hearted woman.[a] Today we have it reopened, to receive what remains of her husband.

Karl Marx was one of those pre-eminent men of whom a century produces not many. Charles Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature upon our planet. Marx is the discoverer of the fundamental law according to which human history moves and develops itself, a law so simple and self-evident that its simple enunciation is almost sufficient to secure assent. Not enough with that, Marx had also discovered the law [which] has created our actual state of society with its great class-division of capitalists and wages-labourers; the law according to which that society has become organised, has grown until it [has] almost outgrown itself, and according to which it must ultimately perish like all previous historical phases of society. Such results render it all the more painful that he should have been taken from us in the midst of his work, and that, much as he did, still more he left uncompleted.

But science, though dear to him, was far from absorbing him entirely. No man could feel a purer joy than he when a new scientific progress was secured anywhere, no matter whether practically applicable or not. But he looked upon science above all things as a grand historical lever, as a revolutionary power in the most eminent sense of the word. And as such he used, to such

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[a] Jenny Marx, neé von Westphalen.— *Ed.*

purpose he wielded that immense knowledge, especially of history in all its branches of which he disposed.

For he was indeed, what he called himself, a Revolutionist. The struggle for the emancipation of the class of wages-labourers from the fetters of the present capitalistic system of economic production, was his real element. And no more active combatant than he ever existed. The crowning effort of this part of his work was the creation of the International Working Men's Association of which he was the acknowledged leader from 1864-72. The Association has disappeared, as far as outward show goes; but the fraternal bond of union of the working men of all civilised countries of Europe and America is established once for ever, and continues to live even without any outward, formal bond of union.

No man can fight for any cause without creating enemies. And he has had plenty of them. For the greater part of his political life he was the best hated and best slandered man in Europe. But he scarcely ever noticed calumny. If ever man lived calumny down, he did, and at the time of his death he could look with pride upon the millions of his followers, in the mines of Siberia as well as in the workshops of Europe and America; he saw his economical theories adopted as the undisputed creed of universal socialism, and if he still had many opponents, there was scarcely one personal enemy left.[a]

Written between March 14 and 17, 1883

First published in the newspaper *La Justice,* No. 27, March 20, 1883

Reproduced from the manuscript, verified with the newspaper

[a] *La Justice* has two more paragraphs: "What Marx was in his private life, for his family and his friends—I have no force to express it at the moment. And there is no need to do so, because all of you who have come here to tell him your last farewell know this.

"Farewell, Marx! Your work and your name will endure through the ages."—*Ed.*

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Alle an die Redaktion und Expedition des „Sozialdemokrat". Alle

## Parteigenossen!

Hervorhebend auf die letztherigen Bekanntmachungen, die

**Allgemeine Parteiberathung**

betreffend, ersuchen wir Euch nochmals, die nöthigen Vorbereitungen baldigst treffen zu wollen.

Der Termin ist nöthig, die Zeiten der für die Parteiberathung bestimmten Parlamentsferien scheinen nicht aus auf den Ende dahinrollen Wagen mitzutheilen, damit wir deutschen zur rechten Zeit näheres Meldung zukommen lassen können.

Eine deutlich geschriebene sichere Adresse, an wen die betreffende Meldung gelangen soll, ist beizufügen.

Zürich, 1. März 1883.

Die Redaktion und Expedition des „Sozialdemokrat".

## Der Ostering.

Tag der Erlösung, nahe heran!
Siehe die Bäume in Blüthe und Bann,
Siehe die Wiesen geschmückt und geschaut,
Siehe die Arbeit geschwellt und gestreckt,
Siehe die Freiheit im Jünglingsgewand,
Tag der Erlösung, o komm', ich ist Zeit!

Finsterniß, erzittere vor Gegen, du hab'
Man die Wahrheit erkennt in an Heimat' Grab,
Und humanes Leben fo hätten hat entfaltet,
Habt den mächtigen Helfer gepfaffet,
Und wie die Sonne das Dunkel durchbricht,
Sei fo auch's Neue gebrungen zum Licht.

Man feiert jetzt herrliche Wunder noch heut'
Mit Lügengeschwätz und Gladiatorfest,
Doch siehe, der Hindernisse Schranken, fie haben
Die irdische Wahrheit auch's Neue begraben,
Sie wird von den Mächtigen gepeitscht, verfolgt,
Entrungen und endlich zur Ruhe gebracht.

Wie haben am Grabe wir Wächtern Wind,
Kein Angst neßig heute das Grabstein geschlt,
Nur durch der Völker vereinigtes Wollen
Bringt man den Heiland auf's Neue in's Leben,
Wenn an die Arbeit gemeinsam wir gehen,
Wird die Wahrheit erst wieder erstehn.

Drum, Proletarier, macht Euch bereit,
Zur Auferstehung in redlich ist Zeit,
Je lange die Freiheit im Kerker fehn schmachten,
Je lange wird Wahrheit und Recht schon verachtet.
Drum zusammen, ist Jener ein Mann,
Dann ruhet das Ostern der Freiheit heran.

M. K.

## Das Begräbniß von Karl Marx.

Sonntag 17. März, wurde Marx auf dem Friedhof zu Highgate zur Ruhe gelegt, im selben Grabe, in dem seine Frau vor fünfzehn Monaten beerdigt worden.

Am Grabe legte G. Lente zwei Kränze mit rothen Schleifen auf den Sarg, im Namen der Redaktion und Expedition des „Sozialdemokrat" und in dem des London Kommunistischen Arbeiterbildungsvereins.

Dann sprach F. Engels ungefähr folgendes in englischer Sprache:

„Am 14. März, Nachmittags ein Viertel vor drei, hat der größte lebende Denker aufgehört, zu denken. Kaum zwei Minuten allein gelassen, fanden wir ihn beim Eintreten in seinem Sessel ruhig entschlummert — aber für immer.

Was das Proletariat europäischer und amerikanischer Provinzen, was die historische Wissenschaft an diesem Mann verloren haben, das ist gar nicht zu ermessen. Bald genug wird sich die Lücke fühlbar machen, die der Tod diesem Gewaltigen gerissen hat.

Wie Darwin das Gesetz der Entwicklung der organischen Natur, so entdeckte Marx das Entwicklungsgesetz der menschlichen Geschichte: die bisher unter ideologischen Ueberwucherungen verdeckte einfache Thatsache, daß die Menschen vor allen Dingen zuerst essen, trinken, wohnen und sich kleiden müssen, ehe sie Politik, Wissenschaft, Kunst, Religion u. s. w. treiben können; daß also die Produktion der unmittelbaren materiellen Lebensmittel, und damit die jeweilenalige ökonomische Entwicklungsstufe eines Volkes oder eines Zeitabschnitts die Grundlage bildet, aus der sich die Staatseinrichtungen, die Rechtsanschauungen, die Kunst, und selbst die religiösen Vorstellungen der betreffenden Menschen entwickelt haben, und aus der sie daher auch erklärt werden müssen — nicht, wie bisher geschehen, umgekehrt.

„Damit noch genug. Marx entdeckte auch das spezielle Bewegungsgesetz der heutigen kapitalistischen Produktionsweise und der von ihr erzeugten bürgerlichen Gesellschaft. Mit der Entdeckung des Mehrwerths war hier plötzlich Licht geschaffen, während alle früheren Untersuchungen sowohl der bürgerlichen Oekonomen wie der sozialistischen Kritiker, im Dunkel sich verirrt hatten.

„Zwei solche Entdeckungen sollten für ein Leben genügen. Glücklich schon der, dem es vergönnt ist, nur eine solche zu machen. Aber auf jedem einzelnen Gebiet, das Marx der Untersuchung unterwarf, und dieser Gebiete waren sehr viele und keines hat er bloß flüchtig berührt — auf jedem, selbst auf dem der Mathematik, hat er selbständige Entdeckungen gemacht.

„So war der Mann der Wissenschaft. Aber das war noch lange nicht der halbe Mann. Die Wissenschaft war für Marx eine geschichtlich bewegende, eine revolutionirende Kraft. So reine Freude er jeder neuen Entdeckung in irgend einer theoretischen Wissenschaft, deren praktische Anwendung vielleicht noch gar nicht abzusehen, — eine ganz andere Freude empfand er, wenn es sich um eine Entdeckung handelte, die sofort revolutionär eingriff in die Industrie, in die geschichtliche Entwicklung überhaupt. So hat er die Entwicklung der Entdeckungen auf dem Gebiet der Elektricität und zuletzt noch die von Marc Deprez, genau verfolgt.

„Denn Marx war der Mann der Revolutionäre. Mitzuwirken, in dieser oder jener Weise, am Sturz der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft und der durch sie geschaffenen Staatseinrichtungen, mitzuwirken an der Befreiung des modernen Proletariats, dem er zuerst das Bewußtsein seiner eigenen Lage und seiner Bedürfnisse, das Bewußtsein der Bedingungen seiner Emancipation gegeben hatte — das war sein wirklicher Lebensberuf. Der Kampf war sein Element. Und er hat gekämpft mit einer Leidenschaft, einer Zähigkeit, einem Erfolg wie wenige. Erste rheinische Zeitung 1842, Pariser Vorwärts 1844, Deutscher brüsseler Zeitung 1847, neue rheinische Zeitung 1848—49, New-York Tribune 1852 bis 1861 — dazu Kampfbroschüren die Menge, Arbeit in Vereinen in Paris, Brüssel und London, bis endlich die große Internationale Arbeiterassoziation als Krönung des Ganzen entstand — unbestreitbar, daß war vielleicht ein Resultat, worauf sein Urheber Stolz sein konnte, höher er sonst auch nicht gestellt.

„Und bedenken wir Marx der beharrlichste und bestverleumdete Mann seiner Zeit. Regierungen, absolute wie republikanische, meinen ihn aus, Bourgeois, conservative wie extrem-demokratische, lagen ihm an die Werte Verläßerungen nach. Er schob das alles bei Seite, wie Spinnweb, achtete dessen nicht, antwortete nur, wenn äußerster Zwang da war. Und er ist gestorben, geliebt, geehrt, betrauert von Millionen revolutionärer Mitarbeiter, die von den Pariser Bergwerken an über ganz Europa und Amerika bis Kalifornien hin wohnen, und ich kann es ohne Lüge sagen: es werden noch unzählige Gegner haben, aber kaum noch einen persönlichen Feind.

„Sein Name wird durch die Jahrhunderte fortleben und so auch sein Werk!"

Marx' Schwiegersohn, Longuet, verlas dann folgende, in französischer Sprache eingegangene Briefe:

1. „Das Grab von Karl Marx gelegt von den russischen Sozialisten:

„Im Namen aller russischen Sozialisten sende ich einen letzten Schiedsgruß dem hervorragenden Meister unter allen Sozialisten unserer Zeit. Einer der größten Köpfe ist zerstoben, einer der energischsten Kämpfer gegen die Unterdrücker des Proletariats ist gestorben.

„Die russischen Sozialisten neigen sich vor dem Grabe des Mannes, dessen theoretische Verdienstlichkeit hat im Verlauf aller Bewegungen ihres schrecklichen Kampfes; einen Kampf, den sie fortführen werden, bis die Grundsätze der sozialen Revolution endgültig werden triumphirt haben. Die russische Sprache wird die erste, die eine Uebersetzung des „Kapitals" besitzt, welches Evangelium und prägnantestes Sozialistenwerk. Die Studenten der russischen Universitäten waren die ersten, denen es zu Theil wurde, eine sympathische Darlegung angehören der Theorien des genialsten Denkers, von der jetzt verlorenen Sache. Sicher bis jetzt, die Geschichte der „Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation" im Gegensatz behandeln in Bezug auf praktische Organisationsfragen, weniger sich doch fast bewegen vor der umfassenden Wissenschaft und der hohen Denkkraft, die bei Marx sich mit unbeugsamer Energie, der Kameradschaft der Menschlichkeit Gefühlsformen, und die Wahrhaftigkeit der gesammten Menschlichkeitsgefühle von seinen Entwicklungsformen zu ergründen verstanden. Und selbst die leidenschaftlichsten Gegner, die er unter den Reihen der revolutionären Sozialisten fand, konnten nicht anders als dem Mut gehorchen, den er der 35 Jahren, zusammen mit dem Freunde seiner Lebens, in die Welt hinausgeschleudert hatte:

„Proletarier aller Länder, vereinigt Euch!"

„Der Tod von Karl Marx wird betrauert von Allen, die seinen Gedanken zu erfassen und seinen Einfluß auf unsere Zeit zu schätzen verstanden.

„Und ich erlaube mir hinzuzufügen, daß er auch schmerzlicher betrauert wird von denen, die Marx im intimen Verkehr gekannt, besonders von denen, die ihn als Freund geliebt haben.

„Paris, 15. März 1883. P. Lawroff."

II. Telegramm.

„Die Pariser Genossenschaft der französischen Arbeiterpartei drückt ihren Schmerz aus beim Verlust des Denkers, dessen materialistische Geschichtsauffassung und dessen Analyse der kapitalistischen Produktion den wissenschaftlichen Sozialismus und die gegenwärtige revolutionäre kommunistische Bewegung geschaffen haben. Sie drückt ferner aus ihr Verehrung für den Meister Marx und ihre vollständige Zustimmung mit seinen Lehren.

„Paris, 16. März 1883. Der Sekretär: Lepine."

III. Telegramm.

„In meinem eigenen Namen und als Delegirter der spanischen Arbeiterpartei (Gesamtschaft von Madrid) drücke ich mich an dem angehenden Schmerz der Freunde und Tochter von Marx bei dem so grausamen Verlust des großen Sozialisten, der unser Aller Meister war.

„Paris, 16. März 1883. José Mesa y Leompart."

Darauf sprach Liebknecht, wie folgt, in deutscher Sprache:

„Ich bin aus der Mitte Deutschlands gekommen, um dem unvergeßlichen Lehrer und treuen Freund meine Liebe und Dankbarkeit auszusprechen. Dem treuen Freunde! Sein treuster Freund und Mitkämpfer hat Karl Marx sieben den heldengleichen Mann dieses Jahrhunderts genannt. Wohl. Er war der heldenhafteste, er ist aber auch der heldengleiche gewesen. Heldenhaft von den Unterdrückern und Ausbeutern des Volks, heldengleich von den Unterdrückten und Ausgebeuteten, soweit sie sich ihrer Lage bewußt sind. Das Volk der Unterdrückten und Ausgebeuteten liebt ihn, weil er es geliebt hat. Denn der Tode, dessen Verlust wir beklagen, war groß in seiner Liebe, wie in seinem Haß. Sein Haß war der Liebe entsprungen. Er war ein großes Herz, wie er ein großer Geist war. Das wissen Alle, die ihn kannten.

„Doch ich stehe hier nicht blos als Schüler und Freund; ich stehe hier auch als Vertreter der deutschen Sozialdemokratie, die mich beauftragt hat, die Gefühlen Ausdruck zu geben, welche sie ihren Lehrer empfindet, für den Mann, der unserer Partei geschaffen hat, soweit man in dieser Beziehung von Schaffen reden kann.

„Es würde sich nicht schicken, wollte ich hier mich in Schmäreden ergehen. War doch Niemand ein leidenschaftlicherer Feind der Phrase als Karl Marx. Das gerade ist kein unbedeutender Verdienst, daß er das Proletariat, die Partei des arbeitenden Volkes von der Phrase befreit und ihr die letzte, durch nichts zu rechtfertigende Basis des Wissenschaft gegeben hat. Revolutionär der Wissenschaft, Revolutionär durch die Wissenschaft, hat er den höchsten Gipfel der Wissenschaft erklommen, um herabzusteigen zum Volk und die Wissenschaft zum Gemeingut des Volkes zu machen.

„Die Wissenschaft ist die Befreierin der Menschheit.

„Die Naturwissenschaft befreit uns von Gott. Doch der Gott im Himmel lebt fort, auch wenn die Wissenschaft ihn getödtet hat.

„Die Gesellschaftswissenschaft, welche Marx dem Volke erschlossen hat, tödtet den Kapitalismus, und mit ihm die Götzen und Herren der Erde, welche so lange sie leben, den Gott nicht fallen lassen.

„Die Wissenschaft ist nicht deutsch. Sie kennt keine Schranken, vor Allem nicht die Schranken der Nationalität. Und so wurde der Schöpfer des „Kapital" unterstützt auch der Schöpfer der „Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation" werden.

„Die Macht der Wissenschaft, welche wir Marx verdanken, setzt uns in den Stand, alle Angriffen der Feinde zu trotzen, und den Kampf, welchen wir unternommen haben, mit fest ausgesteuerten Kräften fortzusetzen.

„Marx hat die Sozialdemokratie aus einer Sekte, aus einer Schule zu einer Partei gemacht, zu der Partei, welche jetzt schon unbeugsamer Kampfe, und dem Sieg entgegen geht.

„Und daß gilt nicht blos von uns Deutschen. Marx gehört dem Proletariat. Von Proletariern aller Länder war sein ganzes Leben umstanden. Die denkfähigen, denkenden Proletarier aller Länder sind ihm in dankbarer Verehrung zugethan.

„Es ist ein schwerer Schlag, der uns getroffen hat. Doch wir trauern nicht. Der Tode ist nicht tödt. Er lebt in dem Herzen, er lebt in dem Kopf des Proletariats. Solch Unsterblichkeit wird nicht verdienen, seiner Lehre wird in immer weiteren Kreisen wirksam sein.

„Gute zu trauern, wollen wir im Geiste des großen Todten handeln, mit aller Kraft fechten, daß möglichst bald der wirklich wahr, was er gedacht und erstrebt hat. Es heißt nie am Streben sein Genügsamkeit.

„Todter, lebender Freund! Wir werden den Weg, den du uns gezeigt hast, wandeln bis zum Ziel. Das geloben wir am Dienem Grabe!"

Am Grabe waren außer den schon Genannten noch gegenwärtig u. A. der andere Schwiegersohn von Marx, Paul Lafargue, Friedrich Lessner, 1852 im Kölner Kommunistenprozeß zu fünf Jahren Festung verurtheilt, G. Lochner, ebenfalls alles Mitglied des Bundes der Kommunisten. Die Naturwissenschaft war vertreten durch zwei Edelchristen reifen

A page of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 13, March 22, 1883, containing Engels' article "Karl Marx's Funeral"

# Frederick Engels

## KARL MARX'S FUNERAL[520]

On Saturday, March 17, Marx was laid to rest in Highgate Cemetery, in the same grave in which his wife had been buried fifteen months earlier.

At the graveside *Gottlieb Lemke* laid two wreaths with red ribbons on the coffin in the name of the editorial board and dispatching service of the *Sozialdemokrat* and in the name of the London *Communist Workers' Educational Society*.[521]

*Frederick Engels* then made the following speech in *English*:

"On the 14th of March, at a quarter to three in the afternoon, the greatest living thinker ceased to think. He had been left alone for scarcely two minutes, and when we came back we found him in his armchair, peacefully gone to sleep—but forever.

"An immeasurable loss has been sustained both by the militant proletariat of Europe and America, and by historical science, in the death of this man. The gap that has been left by the departure of this mighty spirit will soon enough make itself felt.

"Just as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history: the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc.; that therefore the production of the immediate material means of subsistence and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, art, and even the ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must,

therefore, be explained, instead of *vice versa*, as had hitherto been the case.

"But that is not all. Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois society that this mode of production has created. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light on the problem, in trying to solve which all previous investigations, of both bourgeois economists and socialist critics, had been groping in the dark.

"Two such discoveries would be enough for one lifetime. Happy the man to whom it is granted to make even one such discovery. But in every single field which Marx investigated—and he investigated very many fields, none of them superficially—in every field, even in that of mathematics, he made independent discoveries.

"Such was the man of science. But this was not even half the man. Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced quite another kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry and in historical development in general. For example, he followed closely the development of the discoveries made in the field of electricity and recently those of Marcel Deprez.

"For Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat, which *he* was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival. His work on the first *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842), the Paris *Vorwärts!* (1844), *Brüsseler Deutsche Zeitung*[a] (1847), the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49), the *New-York Tribune* (1852-61), and in addition to these a host of militant pamphlets, work in organisations in Paris, Brussels and London, and finally, crowning all, the formation of the great International Working Men's Association—this was indeed an achievement of which its founder might well have been proud even if he had done nothing else.

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[a] *Deutsche-Brüsseler Zeitung.—Ed.*

"And, consequently, Marx was the best-hated and most calumniated man of his time. Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. Bourgeois, whether conservative or ultra-democratic, vied with one another in heaping slanders upon him. All this he brushed aside as though it were cobweb, ignoring it, answering only when extreme necessity compelled him. And he died beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow-workers—from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America—and I make bold to say that though he may have had many opponents he had hardly one personal enemy.

"His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work!"

Then Marx's son-in-law *Longuet* read the following addresses which had been received in *French.*

## I. ON THE GRAVE OF KARL MARX FROM THE RUSSIAN SOCIALISTS

"In the name of all Russian socialists I send a last farewell greeting to the outstanding Master among all the socialists of our times. One of the greatest minds has passed away, one of the most energetic fighters against the exploiters of the proletariat has died.

"The Russian socialists bow before the grave of the man who sympathised with their strivings in all the fluctuations of their terrible struggle, a struggle which they shall continue until the final victory of the principles of the social revolution. The Russian language was the first to have a translation of *Capital,*[a] that gospel of contemporary socialism. The students of the Russian universities were the first to whose lot it fell to hear a sympathetic exposition of the theories of the mighty thinker whom we have now lost. Even those who were opposed to the founder of the International Working Men's Association in respect of practical questions of organisation were obliged always to bow before his comprehensive knowledge and lofty power of thought which penetrated the substance of modern capital, the development of the economic forms of society and the dependence of the whole history of mankind on those forms of development. Even the most vehement opponents that he found in the ranks of the revolutionary socialists could not but obey the call that he and his lifelong friend sent into the world 35 years ago:

"'*Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!*'

"The death of Karl Marx is mourned by all who have been able to grasp his thought and appreciate his influence upon our time.

"I allow myself to add that it will be still more deeply mourned by those who associated closely with Marx, especially by those who loved him as a friend.

Paris, March 15, 1883 "*P. Lavrov.*"

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[a] Карл Марксъ, *Капиталъ. Критика политической экономіи.* Переводъ съ нѣмецкаго. Томъ первый. Книга I. «Процессъ производства капитала». С.-Петербургъ, 1872.— *Ed.*

## II. TELEGRAM

"The Paris branch of the French Workers' Party expresses its grief at the loss of the thinker whose materialist conception of history and analysis of capitalist production founded scientific socialism and the present revolutionary communist movement. It also expresses its respect for Marx as a man and its complete agreement with his doctrines.

Paris, March 16, 1883 "The Secretary, *Lépine.*"

## III. TELEGRAM

"In my own name and as a delegate of the Spanish Workers' Party[522] (Madrid Branch), I share the immense grief of the friends and daughters of Marx at the cruel loss of the great Socialist who was the master of us all.

Paris, March 16, 1883 "*José Mesa y Leompart.*"

Then *Liebknecht* made the following speech in *German*:

"I have come from the heart of Germany to express my love and gratitude to my unforgettable teacher and faithful friend. To my faithful friend! Karl Marx's greatest friend and colleague has just called him the best-hated man of this century. That is true. He was the best-hated but he was also the best-loved. The best-*hated* by the oppressors and exploiters of the people, the best-*loved* by the oppressed and exploited, as far as they are conscious of their position. The oppressed and exploited people love him because *he* loved them. For the deceased whose loss we are mourning was great in his love as in his hatred. His hatred had love as its source. He was a great *heart* as he was a great *mind.* All who knew him know that.

"But I am here not only as a pupil and a friend, I am here as the representative of the *German Social-Democrats,* who have charged me with expressing their feelings for their *teacher,* for *the* man who *created* our party, as much as one can speak of creating in this connection.

"It would be out of place here to indulge in fine speeches. For nobody was a more vehement *enemy of phrasemongering* than Karl Marx. It is precisely his immortal merit that he *freed* the proletariat, the working people's party, *from phrases* and gave it the solid foundation of *science* that nothing can shake. A revolutionary in science and a revolutionary *through* science, he scaled the highest peak of science in order to come down to the people and to make science the common good of the people.

"Science is the liberator of humanity.

"The *natural* sciences free us from *God.* But God in heaven still lives on although science has killed him.

"The science of *society* that Marx revealed to the people kills capitalism, and with it the idols and masters of the *earth* who will not let God die as long as they live.

"Science is not *German.* It knows no barriers, and least of all the barriers of *nationality.* It was therefore natural that the creator of *Capital* should also become the creator of the *International Working Men's Association.*

"The basis of science, which we owe to Marx, puts us in a position to resist all attacks of the enemy and to continue with ever-increasing strength the fight which we have undertaken.

"Marx changed the Social-Democracy from a *sect*, a *school*, into a *party*, the party which is now fighting undaunted and which will be victorious.

"And that is true not only of us *Germans*. Marx belongs to the *proletariat*. It was to the proletariat of all countries that his life was dedicated. Proletarians who can think and do think in all countries have grateful reverence for him.

"It is a heavy blow that has fallen on us. But we do not mourn. The deceased is not dead. He lives in the *heart*, he lives in the *head* of the proletariat. His memory will not perish, his doctrine will be effective in ever broader circles.

"Instead of mourning, let us *act* in the spirit of the great man who has died and strive with all our strength so that the doctrine which he taught and for which he fought *will be put into practice* as soon as possible. That is the best way to honour his memory!

"Deceased, living friend, *we shall follow to the final aim the way you showed us. We swear it on your grave!*"

Besides those mentioned there were also present at the grave, among others, Karl Marx's other son-in-law, *Paul Lafargue*, *Friedrich Lessner*, who was sentenced at the Cologne Communist Trial in 1852[523] to five years' imprisonment in a fortress, and *G. Lochner*, also an old member of the Communist League.[524] The natural sciences were represented by two celebrities of the first magnitude, the zoologist Professor *Ray Lankester* and the chemist Professor *Schorlemmer*, both members of the London Academy of Sciences (Royal Society).[525]

Written on about March 18, 1883

First published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 13, March 22, 1883

Signed: *Fr. Engels*

Printed according to the newspaper

# Frederick Engels

## [TO THE EDITORS OF THE *NEW YORKER VOLKSZEITUNG*]

[London,] April 18, [18]83
122 Regent's Park Road

TO THE EDITORS OF THE *N. Y. VOLKSZEITUNG*

In your issue of the 15th you print my telegram to Sorge[a] as though it were addressed *to you*.[b]

In the issue of the 17th you make me say in my telegram to you that Marx died in Argenteuil.[c]

It is not our custom over here to take liberties of this kind with the names of other persons or to countenance such things if they are done to ourselves.

You have thus made it impossible for me to send you any further reports.

If you ever make similar misuse of my name in your paper again, I shall be compelled to request my old friend Sorge to announce that this was an outright falsification on your part.

Yours very truly,
*F. E.*

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

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[a] Engels is referring to his telegram to Friedrich Adolf Sorge of March 14, 1883 (see present edition, Vol. 46).— *Ed.*

[b] See an item, "London, 14. März, 1883" in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 64, March 15, 1883.— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 462.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## ON THE DEATH OF KARL MARX[526]

### I

I have subsequently received several further announcements on the occasion of this bereavement which demonstrate how widespread people's sympathy has been, and of which I have to render an account.

On 20th March Miss Eleanor Marx received the following telegram, written in French, from the Editorial Office of *The Daily News*:

"*Moscow*, 18th March. Editorial Office *Daily News*, London. Please be so kind as to convey to Mr. *Engels*, author of *The Working Classes in England*[a] and intimate friend of the late *Karl Marx*, our request that he lay a wreath on the coffin of the unforgettable author of *Capital*, bearing the following inscription:

"'In memory of the defender of workers' rights in theory and their implementation in practice—the students of the *Petrovsky* Agricultural Academy in Moscow.'[527]

"Mr. Engels is requested to tell us his address and the cost of the wreath. The amount due will be forwarded to him without delay.

"Students of the Petrovsky Academy in Moscow."

The dispatch was at any event too late for the funeral, which took place on 17th March.

In addition to that, our friend *P. Lavrov* in Paris remitted me an order on 31st March for 124.50 frs (£4.18s.9d.), sent in by students of the Technological Institute in *Petersburg*[528] and by Russian student women, also for a wreath to go on the grave of Karl Marx.

Thirdly, last week the *Sozialdemokrat* announced that Odessa students also wished for a wreath in their name to be placed on Marx's grave.[529]

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[a] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*.—*Ed.*

As the money received from Petersburg is easily enough for all three wreaths, I have taken the liberty of paying for the Moscow and Odessa wreaths from that as well. The preparation of the inscriptions, a somewhat unfamiliar practice here, has caused some delay, but the wreaths will be placed on the grave at the beginning of next week, and I shall then be able to render an account, in the *Sozialdemokrat*, of the money received.[a]

A beautiful, large wreath has reached us from *Solingen*, via the Communist Workers' Educational Society[530] here, "for the grave of Karl Marx from the workers of the scissors, knife and sword industry at Solingen". When we placed it on the grave on 24th March, we found that the long ends of the red silk bows on the wreaths from the *Sozialdemokrat* and the Communist Workers' Educational Society had been cut off and stolen by people desecrating the grave. Complaining to the trustees was to no avail, but will no doubt mean that the grave will be protected in future.

A Slavonic association in Switzerland[531] expresses the hope

> "that a special memorial will be established to Karl Marx through the setting-up of an international fund bearing his name in support of the victims of the great emancipation struggle and for the furtherance of that struggle itself",

and has sent an initial contribution which I have retained for the time being. Of course, the fate of this suggestion depends primarily on whether there is a response to it, and that is why I am publishing it here.

In order to counter the false rumours which are being circulated in the press with some actual facts, I am passing on the following brief details concerning the illness and death of our great theoretical leader.

Having been almost totally cured of an old liver complaint by three periods of treatment at Karlsbad,[532] Marx was left suffering only from a chronic stomach complaint and nervous exhaustion, which took the form of headaches and, mainly, persistent insomnia. Both complaints disappeared more or less after a visit to a seaside or health resort in the summer, and did not return, with more troublesome effects, until after the New Year. Chronic throat complaints and coughing, which also contributed to the insomnia, and chronic bronchitis were, on the whole, less troublesome. But it was to those very complaints that he was to succumb. Four or five weeks before the death of his wife[b] he was suddenly seized by a severe bout of pleurisy, complicated by

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[a] See this volume, pp. 476-77.— *Ed.*

[b] Jenny Marx died on December 2, 1881.— *Ed.*

bronchitis and incipient pneumonia. The affair was very dangerous, but it turned out well. He was then sent first of all to the Isle of Wight (early in 1882), and following that to Algiers. The journey was a cold one and he arrived in Algiers suffering from a renewed attack of pleurisy. In normal circumstances that would not have made so much difference. But in Algiers the winter and the spring were colder and rainier than ever. In April vain attempts were made to heat the dining room! The final result was that his overall condition became worse instead of better.

Having been sent from Algiers to Monte Carlo (Monaco), Marx arrived there, after a cold and damp voyage, suffering from a third but milder attack of pleurisy. On top of that constant bad weather, which he seemed to have brought with him specially from Africa. So here too he had to fight against a fresh bout of illness rather than have the opportunity to restore himself. Towards the beginning of summer he went to visit his daughter Madame Longuet at Argenteuil, and used his stay there to go to the sulphurous springs in the neighbouring town of Enghien to treat his chronic bronchitis. Despite the continued wet summer the treatment was a success, slow but to the satisfaction of the doctors.[a] They now sent him to Vevey on Lake Geneva, and there he recovered most, so that he was allowed to spend the winter, not in London, it is true, but on the south coast of England. Here he wanted at last to take up his work again. When he came to London in September, he looked well and often climbed Hampstead Hill (about 300 feet above his lodging) with me, without complaint. When the November fogs threatened to descend he was sent to Ventnor, the southern tip of the Isle of Wight. Immediately he was subjected again to wet weather and fog. The inevitable consequence was a fresh cold, coughing and so on; in short, weakening through confinement to his room when he should have been restoring himself by moving about in the fresh air. Then Madame Longuet died. The next day (12th January) Marx came to London, clearly suffering from bronchitis. This was soon complicated by laryngitis, which made it almost impossible for him to swallow. Able to bear the greatest of pain with the most stoic equanimity, he preferred to drink a litre of milk (which he had loathed his whole life long) rather than eat the appropriate solids. In February an ulcer developed in his lung. The medicaments had no effect on his body, surfeited as it was with medicines administered over the previous fifteen months; at most

[a] Gustave Dourlen and Feugier.—*Ed.*

they weakened his appetite and inhibited his digestion. He became visibly thinner, almost by the day. All the same, the illness was taking a relatively favourable course overall. His bronchitis was almost cured and it became easier for him to swallow. The doctors[a] were full of hope. Then, visiting him between two and three o'clock—the best time to see him—I suddenly found the whole house in tears: he was so ill that they thought it was probably the end. And yet that very morning he had taken wine, milk and soup with relish. Faithful old Lenchen Demuth, who had raised all his children from the cradle and has been with the household for forty years, went up to him and came straight back down: "Come with me, he's half asleep." When we went in, he was completely asleep, but forever. One cannot wish to die an easier death than Karl Marx did in his armchair.

And now, to close with, a piece of good news:

The manuscript of the second volume of *Capital* has been preserved *completely intact.* Whether it can be printed in its present form I am not yet in a position to say. There are more than 1,000 pages of folio. But "the process of circulation of capital" and "the forms of the process as a whole" are complete in a version dating from the years 1867-1870. There is the beginning of a later version and copious material in the form of critical extracts, particularly on Russian landownership, a good deal of which may yet be put to use.

His oral instruction was that his youngest daughter Eleanor and I should be his literary executors.

*London,* 28th April 1883

*Frederick Engels*

II

A beautiful wreath bearing an inscription on red ribbons was sent to Argenteuil by the Social-Democrats of *Erfurt*; fortunately someone happened to be available to bring it across; when it was laid on the grave, it was noticed that the red silk ribbons of the Solingen wreath had again been stolen.

Meanwhile the three wreaths for *Moscow, Petersburg* and *Odessa* were completed. To prevent the ribbons from being stolen, we were obliged to make it impossible for them to be used again by

[a] Horatio Bryan Donkin.—*Ed.*

making little incisions on the edges. They were laid on the grave yesterday. A shower of rain had so affected the ribbon on the Erfurt wreath that it could not be used for anything else, and thus escaped being stolen.

These three wreaths cost £1.1s.8d. each, a total of £3.5s.0d. I therefore have £1.13s.9d. left from the £4.18s.9d. that was sent to me, and I shall send that back to P. Lavrov in order to comply with the wishes of the donors.—

The death of a great man provides a first-rate opportunity for small people to make political, literary and actual capital out of it. Here just a few examples which should be made public, not to speak of the many which have occurred in private correspondence.

In a letter dated 2nd April *Philipp van Patten*, Secretary of the CENTRAL LABOR UNION in New York,[533] wrote to me as follows:

"In connection with the recent demonstration in honour of the memory of Karl Marx, when ... all factions united in testifying their regard for the deceased philosopher, there were very loud statements made by *John Most* and his friends to the effect that *he*, Most, was upon intimate terms with Karl Marx, that *he* had made his work *Das Kapital* popular in Germany and that Marx was in accord with the propaganda conducted by him.

"We have a high appreciation of the talents and the achievements of Marx but cannot believe that he was in sympathy with the anarchistic, disorganising methods of Most and I would like to obtain from you an expression of opinion as to Karl Marx's position upon the question of Anarchy versus Social-Democracy. Too much mischief has already been done here by the untimely and imprudent talk of Most and it is rather disagreeable for us to learn that so high an authority as Marx endorsed such tactics."

I replied to him in a letter on 18th April[a] [534]:

"My statement in reply to your inquiry of the 2nd April as to Karl Marx's position with regard to the Anarchists in general and Johann Most in particular shall be short and clear.

"Marx and I, ever since 1845,[535] have held the view that *one* of the final results of the future proletarian revolution will be the gradual dissolution and ultimate disappearance of that political organisation called *the State*; an organisation the main object of which has ever been to secure, by armed force, the economical subjection of the working majority to the wealthy minority. With the disappearance of a wealthy minority the necessity for an armed repressive State-force disappears also. At the same time we have always held, that in order to arrive at this and the other, far more important ends of the social revolution of the future, the

[a] The *Sozialdemokrat* further has: "which is given here in the German translation".—*Ed.*

proletarian class will first have to possess itself of the organised political force of the State and with its aid stamp out the resistance of the Capitalist class and re-organise society. This is stated already in the *Communist Manifesto* of 1847, end of Chapter II.[a]

"The Anarchists reverse the matter. They say, that the Proletarian revolution has to *begin* by abolishing the political organisation of the State. But after the victory of the Proletariat, the only organisation the victorious working class finds ready-made for use, is that of the State. It may require adaptation to the new functions.[b] But to destroy that at such a moment, would be to destroy the only organism by means of which the victorious working class can exert its newly conquered power, keep down its capitalist enemies and carry out that economical revolution of society, without which the whole victory must end in a defeat and in a massacre of the working class like that after the Paris Commune.[536]

"Does it require my express assertion, that Marx opposed these anarchist absurdities from the very first day that they were started in their present form by Bakunin? The whole internal history of the International Working Men's Association is there to prove it. The Anarchists tried to obtain the lead of the International by the foulest means, ever since 1867 and the chief obstacle in their way was Marx. The result of the five years' struggle was the expulsion, at the Hague Congress, September 1872, of the Anarchists from the International, and the man who did most to procure that expulsion, was Marx. Our old friend *F. A. Sorge* of Hoboken, who was present as a delegate, can give you further particulars if you desire.

"Now as to Johann Most. If any man asserts that Most, since he turned anarchist, has had any relations with, or support from Marx, he is either a dupe or a deliberate liar. After the first No. of the London *Freiheit* had been published,[c] Most did not call upon Marx and myself more than once, at most twice. Nor did we call on him or even meet him accidentally anywhere or at any time since his new-fangled anarchism had burst forth in that paper.[d] Indeed, we at last ceased to take it in as there was absolutely 'nothing in it'. We had for his anarchism and anarchist tactics the

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 505-06.— *Ed.*

[b] In the *Sozialdemokrat* this sentence reads: "This state may require very important changes before it can fulfil its new functions".— *Ed.*

[c] On January 4, 1879.— *Ed.*

[d] The words "since his new-fangled anarchism had burst forth in that paper" are omitted in the *Sozialdemokrat*.— *Ed.*

same contempt as for that of the people[a] from whom he had learnt it.

"While still in Germany, Most published a 'popular' extract of *Das Kapital*.[b] Marx was requested to revise it for a second edition. I assisted Marx in that work. We found it impossible to eradicate more than the very worst mistakes, unless we re-wrote the whole thing from beginning to end, and Marx consented his corrections being inserted on the express condition only that his name was never in any way connected with even this revised form of Johann Most's production.[c]

"You are perfectly at liberty to publish this letter in the *Voice of the People*,[d] if you like to do so."

From America to Italy.

About two years ago a young Italian, one Signor *Achille Loria* from Mantua, sent Marx a copy of a book he had written on ground-rent[537] together with a letter written in German in which he proclaimed himself to be a disciple and admirer of Marx. He also corresponded with him for some time after that. In the summer of 1882 he came to London and visited me twice. The second time I had occasion seriously to tell him my opinion about the fact that, in a pamphlet[e] which had appeared in the meantime, he had accused Marx of having deliberately misquoted.

Now this puny fellow, who got his wisdom from the German academic socialists,[538] has written an article on Marx in *Nuova Antologia*[f] and has the effrontery to send me, "his most worthy friend" (!!), a separate offprint. What constituted this effrontery will be clear from the following translation of my reply (I wrote to him in his language, for his German is even shakier than my Italian):

"I received your piece on Karl Marx. You are at liberty to subject his teachings to your most searching criticism and even to misunderstand them if you wish; you are at liberty to draft a biography of Marx which is a work of pure fantasy. However, what you are not at liberty to do, and it is a privilege I shall never

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[a] Engels is referring to Proudhon and Bakunin.— *Ed.*

[b] J. Most, *Kapital und Arbeit. Ein populärer Auszug aus "Das Kapital" von Karl Marx*, Chemnitz [1873].— *Ed.*

[c] It appeared in Chemnitz in 1876.— *Ed.*

[d] In the *Sozialdemokrat* the words "in the *Voice of the People*" are omitted.— *Ed.*

[e] A. Loria, *La teoria del valore negli economisti italiani*, Bologna, 1882, pp. 38-39.— *Ed.*

[f] A. Loria, "Karl Marx", *Nuova Antologia di scienze, lettere ed arti*, Vol. 38, Rome, 1883, pp. 509-42.— *Ed.*

grant to anybody, is to slander the character of my late friend.

"Already, in an earlier work, you have presumed to accuse Marx of having deliberately misquoted. When Marx read that, he compared his quotations and yours with the original texts and told me that his quotations were correct, and if anyone was deliberately misquoting, then it was you. And when I see how you now quote Marx, how you shamelessly have him speak of '*profit*' where he speaks of '*surplus value*'[a]—especially in view of the fact that he was constantly at pains to avoid the error of assuming that the two things were the same (which incidentally Mr. *Moore* and I explained to you orally when you were in London)—then I know whom to believe and who is deliberately misquoting.

"But that is a mere trifle by comparison with your 'firm and deeply held conviction ... that they' (the teachings of Marx) 'are all dominated by a *conscious sophism*'; that Marx 'did not allow himself to be held up by incorrect conclusions, *knowing full well that they were incorrect*'; that 'he was often a sophist who, *at the cost of the truth,* wished to arrive at the negation of the existing society', and that, as Lamartine says, 'he played with lies and truth as children play with knucklebones'.[b]

"In Italy, a land of ancient civilisation, that may be regarded as a compliment. Among the academic socialists too such a thing may be regarded as great praise, since, of course, those fine professors would never have been able to accomplish their numerous systems except 'at the cost of the truth'. We revolutionary communists regard the matter differently. We consider such assertions to be defamatory accusations, and since we know them to be fabrications, we hurl them back at their author who has defamed no one but himself with such inventions.

"It seems to me that you had a duty to inform the public as to the nature of that famous 'conscious sophism', which you say dominates all the teachings of Marx. But I have looked for it in vain. Nagott!" (Lombardic swearword for: nothing at all.)

"It takes a puny soul to imagine that a man like Marx 'always threatened his opponents with a second volume' which 'he never for one moment thought of writing'; that that second volume was nothing more than 'a crafty expedient of Marx's to avoid scientific arguments.'[c] That second volume is on hand and will shortly be published. Then at last you may perhaps learn to grasp the distinction between surplus value and profit.

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[a] Ibid., pp. 531-32.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid, pp. 510, 538-39.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., p. 532.—*Ed.*

"A German translation of this letter will appear in the next edition of the Zurich *Sozialdemokrat*.

"In closing, the sentiments I am gratified to express are no more than those you deserve."

That should suffice for today.

*London*, 12th May 1883

*Frederick Engels*

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# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

Karl Marx

# NOTES ON BAKUNIN'S BOOK *STATEHOOD AND ANARCHY*[539]

Written in April 1874-January 1875

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# BAKUNIN: STATEHOOD AND ANARCHY

## INTRODUCTION. PART I. 1873[a]

(Following this title on p. 1: Conflict («Борьба») in the International Working Men's Association.)

### «FOREWORD»

«In Italy as in Russia there was quite a significant number of such young people, incomparably more than in any other country»[540] (p. 7).[b]

«Indeed, perhaps nowhere is the social revolution as close as in Italy» (p. 8).

«In Italy there predominates that destitute proletariat who are spoken of with such profound contempt by Messrs. Marx and Engels, and in their wake the whole school of German Social-Democrats, and quite mistakenly, since it is in this class *and this class alone* and by no means in the bourgeois stratum of the working masses referred to above that *the entire intelligence and the entire strength of the coming social revolution is to be found*» (p. 8).

Contrast the German situation: here the government can rely, on the one hand, on its excellent etc., army, and, on the other hand,

«on the *patriotism of its loyal subjects*, on boundless national ambition and on that ancient, historical and no less boundless servility and worship of power which to this day characterise the German nobility, the German burghers» (bourgeoisie), «the German *bureaucracy*, the German church, the entire guild of *German* scholars and, under their combined influence, frequently enough, alas, the *German nation itself*» (p. 11).

«As can be seen, Prussia has swallowed up Germany. This means that as long as Germany remains a state, *it will necessarily remain the prime and chief representative and a constant source of all possible despotisms in Europe*», despite any pseudo-liberal, constitutional, democratic «*and even Social-Democratic forms*» (p. 11).

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[a] [M. A. Bakunin,] *Государственность и анархія.* Введеніе. Часть I. [Geneva,] 1873.— *Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx indicates in brackets pages in Bakunin's book.— *Ed.*

Ever since the middle of the [*16th*] *century* and *up to 1815* the chief source of all reactionary movements was Austria (i.e. as the representative of Germany); from 1815 to 1848 divided between Austria and Prussia, with the former predominating (Metternich) (p. 12); «*from 1815 this Holy Alliance of pure German reaction was joined, much more* ***for sport*** *than for profit, by our Tartar-German, all-Russian, imperial knout*» (p. 13).

To shift the responsibility from themselves the Germans try to persuade themselves and others that Russia was the chief instigator of the Holy Alliance. "In contrast to the German Social-Democrats, whose programme has as its first goal the establishment of a Pan-Germanic Empire, the Russian social revolutionaries are striving primarily to bring about the utter dissolution of our" (the Russian) "Empire", etc. (p. 13).

In the interest of the truth, «*not from any wish to defend the policy of the Petersburg cabinet*» (p. 13), Bakunin replies to the Germans as follows. (So as not to have to mention the creation of Prussia with Russian help, which had been forthcoming ever since Peter I, the great man overlooks the alliance under Catherine, as well as Russian influence over France since the Revolution and up to and *including* Louis Philippe.) (He likewise ignores the fact that from the beginning of the 18th century Russia had intrigued with England with the aim of subjugating Europe.) He starts with Alexander I and Nicholas and depicts their activities as follows:

«Alexander rushed hither and thither, bustled about and made a great fuss; Nicholas gave black looks and uttered threats. *But that was the end of it. They did nothing ... because they could not, since their friends, the Austrian and Prussian Germans, prevented them from acting; they had only been assigned an honorary role of playing the bogeyman*» (intimidation); «*the only countries to move were Austria, Prussia* and» "finally [under the leadership and with the consent of both]—the French Bourbons who moved against Spain"[541] (pp. 13, 14).

Russia only once crossed her frontiers and that was in 1849, to rescue Austria from the Hungarian revolution.[542] Apart from that she also suppressed the Polish revolution twice in this century with the aid of Prussia,[543] which had as great an interest in this as herself. Of course, «*a Russia of the people is unthinkable without Polish independence and freedom*» (p. 14).

*Neither intelligence, power or wealth* can give Russia *such predominance as to entitle her to a «decisive say» in Europe* (p. 14).

Russia can only take action at the behest of a Western power. (Thus Frederick II called on Catherine to partition Poland[544] and almost Sweden as well.)

As for the revolutionary movement in Europe, Russia, finding herself in the hands of Prussian politicians, played the role of bogeyman and not infrequently that of the screen behind which they were adept at concealing their own aggressive and reactionary manoeuvres. After their recent victories,[545] they no longer need this and don't do it any more (p. 15).

Now with Bismarck, Berlin is the visible chief and capital of reaction in Europe (p. 16). Reaction (Roman Catholic) in Rome, Versailles, and to some extent in Vienna and Brussels; knout-reaction in Russia; but the living, «intelligent», really «powerful» reaction is concentrated in Berlin and is spreading from the new German Empire to all parts of Europe, etc. (p. 16).

«*The federal organisation of the workers' associations, groups, communities, volosts and ultimately of regions and peoples, from below—this sole precondition of true, non-fictitious*

Part of a page from Marx's "Notes on Bakunin's Book *Statehood and Anarchy*"

*freedom*—is as opposed to their nature[a] as any economic autonomy is incompatible with them» (p. 17).

*Representative democracy* (представительная демократія) on the other hand has two requirements for its success: «state centralisation and the actual subjugation of the sovereign people by an intellectual minority which governs and unfailingly exploits it, while ostensibly representing it» (p. 17).

«The essence of *our Tartar-German Empire*» (p. 14).

The new German Empire is warlike; it must conquer or be conquered (pp. 17, 18): it has a «compelling aspiration to become a world state» (p. 18). Hegemony is merely the modest expression of this aspiration; its precondition is the weakness and subjugation of as many of the surrounding empires as possible.[b] The last French Empire had this role, at present the German has it, and «*In our view the German state is the only true state in Europe*» (p. 19).

«*State*» (*empire, royaume*[c]); «*ruler*» (*souverain, monarque, empereur, roi*[d]); *rule* (*régner, dominer*[e]). (In German, on the other hand, *Reich* originally referred only to a piece of territory (large OR small) with definite boundaries, named after the tribe, etc., the people it belonged to. For example, the region of the Upper Palatinate on the Regen up to Viechtach was called the *Viechtreich*; Aachnerreich; Vrankryk (in the Netherlands); the *Reich* of Nimwegen; *Reich* of Megen; the district of Trarbuch on the Moselle is still called Cröverreich to this day; Westrich is another region on the Moselle.)

France's «*career as a state*» is at an end; anyone who knows anything of the character of the French knows like us (Bakunin) that as France was able to be the «*predominant power*» for so long, she will find it impossible to accept a secondary position or even one of equality with others. She will prepare for a new war, for revenge, for the re-establishment of her lost первенства (primacy) (p. 19). But will she achieve it? Surely not. The latest events have shown that *patriotism*, the highest civic virtue (*эта высшая государственная добродетель*) no longer exists in France (p. 19). The patriotism of the upper classes[f] is nothing more than vanity which, however, they will abandon in favour of their real interests, as the last war demonstrated. The French rural population displayed just as little patriotism. Peasants ceased to be patriots once they became property owners. Only in Alsace and Lorraine, as if in mockery of the Germans, did French patriotism make its appearance. Patriotism survives now only *in the urban proletariat*. This is the main reason why the hatred of the propertied classes turned against them. But they are not patriotic in the true sense, because they are socialist (fraternal towards the workers of all other countries). They took up arms not against the German people, but against Germanic military despotism (pp. 20-22). The war began only four years after the First Geneva Congress[546] and the propaganda of the International created «*especially*» among the workers «*of Latin origin*» a new antipatriotic outlook (p. 22).

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[a] I.e. the nature of modern capitalist production and bank speculation.—*Ed.*

[b] Bakunin has "at least all the surrounding states".—*Ed.*

[c] Kingdom.—*Ed.*

[d] Sovereign, monarch, emperor, king.—*Ed.*

[e] Govern, dominate.—*Ed.*

[f] Bakunin has: "social-estates".—*Ed.*

This also became apparent at a MEETING in *Vienna* in *1868* "in response to a whole series of political and patriotic «*proposals*»" made by the young Germanic[a] bourgeois democrats.[547] The workers replied by saying that they were being exploited by them, had always been deceived and oppressed by them, and that all workers of all countries were their brothers... The international camp of working men was their only fatherland, the international world of exploiters their only enemy (pp. 22, 23). As proof they sent a telegram "to their Paris brethren, the pioneers of «workers' liberation throughout the world»" (p. 23).[b] This reply raised quite a furore in Germany; it sent waves of panic through all bourgeois democrats, including even Johann Jacoby, and "not only wounded their patriotic feelings but also offended against the official faith (государственную вѣру) of the school of Lassalle and Marx. Probably on the advice of the latter, Mr. Liebknecht, who is now one of the leaders of the German Social-Democrats, but who was at the time still a member of the bourgeois-democratic party (the defunct People's Party[548]), immediately left Leipzig for Vienna to have negotiations (переговоры) with the Viennese workers about the "*political tactlessness*" that had given rise to the scandal. In justice to him it must be said he acted so successfully that only a few months later, namely in August 1868, at the Nuremberg Congress of German workers, all the leaders of the Austrian proletariat subscribed without protest to the narrowly patriotic programme of the Social-Democratic Party"[549] (pp. 23, 24). This revealed "the profound gulf between the political leanings of the leaders of the Party, all of whom were more or less learned and bourgeois, and the revolutionary instincts of the *Germanic or at least the Austrian proletariat itself*". However, such instincts have barely developed in Germany and Austria since 1868, but have come on famously in Belgium, Italy, Spain and above all in France (p. 24). The French workers are fully conscious that, as social revolutionaries, they are working for the whole world (p. 25), "and more for the world than for themselves" (p. 25). "This dream" (эта мечта) "has become second nature to the French proletariat and has expelled the last vestiges of imperial patriotism from their minds and their hearts" (p. 26). When the French proletariat issued its call to arms, it was in the conviction that it was fighting as much for the freedom and rights of the German proletariat as for its own (p. 26). "They were not fighting for greatness and honour, but for victory over the hated «military power» which in the hands of the bourgeoisie had been the means of their oppression. They detested the German army, not because it was German, but because it was an army" (p. 26). The uprising of the Paris Commune against the Versailles National Assembly[550] and *against the saviour of the fatherland—Thiers*—makes crystal-clear the nature of the passion which alone motivates the French proletariat today for whom only a social-revolutionary war continues, etc., to exist (p. 27). In their passion for social revolution "*they proclaimed the ultimate dissolution of the French Empire, the shattering of the imperial unity of France, which is incompatible with the autonomy of the French Communes* (communities). The Germans only reduced the frontiers and the power (силу) of their political fatherland; they however aimed to «убить» (kill, destroy) it entirely, and as if to symbolise their treasonable intent, they toppled into the dust the Vendôme Column, the revered memorial of French glory"[551] (p. 27).

«Hence the state on the one hand, the social revolution on the other» (p. 29). This struggle at its sharpest in France; even among the peasants, at least in Southern France (p. 30). "And this hostile antagonism between two now

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[a] Bakunin has: "South German and Austrian".—*Ed.*

[b] "Die Arbeiter Wien's an die französischen und englischen Arbeiter. Wien, den 10. Juli 1868", *Der Vorbote*, No. 8, August, 1868, pp. 120-22.—*Ed.*

irreconcilable worlds constitutes the *second* reason why it is impossible for France to become once again a state of the first rank, the predominant «state»" (p. 30). The men of Versailles, the stock exchange, the bourgeoisie, etc., lost their heads when Thiers announced the withdrawal of the Prussian troops[552] (p. 31). «That is to say, the curious patriotism of the French bourgeoisie looks to the ignominious capitulation of the fatherland for its salvation» (p. 31).

"The sympathies for the Spanish revolution, evinced so clearly nowadays by French workers, *particularly in Southern France*,[553] where the proletariat evidently longs for fraternal alliance with the Spanish proletariat and would *even like to form a «people's» federation with them*, based on free labour and collective ownership" [p. 32],—

Народъ, people, nation (*natio, nasci*—something born, birth)—

"despite all national differences and state frontiers—these sympathies and aspirations, I say, prove that for the French proletariat above all, as well as for the privileged classes, the age of imperial patriotism is over" (p. 32).

«How then can such an ancient, incurably sick state» (like France) «take on the youthful and hitherto still healthy German state» (p. 33)? No form of state, no republic however democratic, can give the people what it needs, "i.e. the free (вольный—free, but also unbridled) organisation of its own interests from below (снизу въ верхъ), without any interference, tutelage, compulsion from above, because every such statehood (государство), even the most republican and most democratic, even the *so-called people's state*" (мнимо-народное государство) «*which has been thought up by Mr. Marx*, is in essence» nothing but the government of the masses from above by an intelligent and hence privileged minority, which rules as if it comprehended the real interests of the people better than the people itself" (pp. 34, 35).

Since therefore the propertied classes cannot satisfy the passion and the aspirations of the people, "only one means is left them—state force (государственное насилие), in a word, the «*state*», because the actual meaning of «*state*» is «*force*» (*violence, véhémence, force*), «*government by force*, concealed if possible, but if the worst comes to the worst, ruthless force», etc." (p. 35). Gambetta cannot mend matters here; the desperate struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat (in France) "calls for the deployment of all means and forces at the disposal of the government (the state), thus leaving no means and forces to spare to enable the French Empire to maintain its external supremacy over the European powers". «How could it compete with Bismarck's empire!» (p. 37). France must submit to the superior leadership, the friendly tutelage of the German Empire, just as the Italian state had to bow to the policies of the French (pp. 37, 38).

*England*: Influence greatly reduced. Following sentence characteristic:

«Even as recently as thirty years ago she would not have acquiesced so calmly in either *the German conquest of the Rhine provinces*, the re-establishment of Russian predominance on the Black Sea, or the Russian campaign in Khiva»[554] (p. 39). The reason for this complaisance, etc.—the struggle of the workers' world with the exploitative and politically dominant bourgeois world (p. 39). The social revolution is not far off there, etc. (l.c.).

*Spain and Italy*, not worth mentioning: they will never become dangerous and powerful states, not from the absence of material means but because the «spirit of the people» is directed towards quite different objectives (p. 39).

On this point: Spain roused herself again in the people's war against Napoleon[555] which was initiated by the untutored masses themselves. Nothing of the kind in Germany in 1812 and 1813. Remained unmoved until Napoleon's defeat in Russia. The Tirol the only exception[556] (pp. 40, 41).

Meanwhile:

«We have seen that the ownership of property sufficed to corrupt the French peasantry and to extinguish its last remaining sparks of patriotism» (p. 42). In Germany (1812-13) the young citizens or rather the loyal subjects (вѣрноподданные), stirred up by philosophers and poets, took up arms to protect and restore the German Empire, for it was just at this time that the idea of the Pan-Germanic Empire was born in Germany. In the meantime, the Spanish people rose up as one man (поголовно) to defend (отстоять) the freedom of their «homeland» and the independence of their «national life» against the ferocious and powerful oppressor (p. 43). Every form of government was then tried out in Spain, but to no purpose: despotism, constitutionalism, conservative republicanism, etc.; even the petty-bourgeois federal republic along Swiss lines (p. 43).

"Spain was seized (possessed) in real earnest by the demon of revolutionary socialism.[557] Andalusian and Estremaduran peasants, without asking anyone's permission or waiting for anyone's orders, made themselves masters of the estates of the erstwhile landowners. Catalonia, and particularly Barcelona, loudly assert their independence and autonomy. The people of Madrid proclaim a federal republic and refuse to subject the revolution to the future commands of a constituent assembly. Even in the North, in territory under Carlist control,[558] the social revolution is proceeding openly: the fueros (фуэросы)[559] are proclaimed, as is the independence of the districts and communities; all legal and civil records are burnt; throughout the whole of Spain the army fraternises with the people and drives away its officers. General bankruptcy has set in, public and private—the first prerequisite for social and economic revolution" (p. 44). "An end to finance, to the army, the courts, the police; away with government forces and with the «*state*»; what remains is the vigorous and fresh (свежий) people, sustained now only by the passion of the social revolution. Under the collective leadership of the International and the Alliance of Social Revolutionaries[560] it rallies and organises its forces, etc." (p. 44). The only living tradition still surviving in the Italian people is that of absolute autonomy, not only of the «областей» (province, region, district), but of the communities (общины).[a] To this, the «only political concept» which really is peculiar to the «people», we must add the historical and ethnographic «variety» of the «regions» where so many dialects are spoken that people in one «область» (which *en passant* also means "power, force") only understand the inhabitants of other «regions» with difficulty and sometimes not at all. But «socially», Italy is not disunited. On the contrary, there is a «common Italian character and type», by which Italians are distinguished from all other peoples, even southern ones (p. 45). The break-up of the latest Italian «state» will unfailingly have «free, social unification» as its consequence (p. 46). All this refers only to the «mass of the people».

In the «upper strata» of the Italian bourgeoisie, on the other hand, as in other countries, we find that «state unity has given rise to the *social unity of the class* of the privileged exploiters of the labour of the people, a unity which is now being steadily developed. This class is now known in Italy under the collective term

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[a] In Bakunin this reads "not even at the level of the province, but [only] in the communities".— *Ed.*

*Consorteria* ... the whole» official world, bureaucratic and military, police and judicial; big landowners, industrialists, merchants and bankers; the entire official and semi-official host of lawyers and writers, the whole parliament (p. 46).

But even the most terrible *destitution* (poverty), even when it afflicts «the many millions» of proletarians, is not a sufficient guarantee (залогъ) of revolution. When man (the destitute) is driven to *despair,* his rebellion becomes that much more possible... In desperation even the German ceases to reason; but an enormous amount is needed to drive him to despair... However, «destitution» and «despair» can do no more than provoke personal or at best local «*revolts*»; they are insufficient to grip «whole masses of the people». For that a «*universal popular ideal*» is needed which historically «always» evolves from the «depths of popular instinct», in addition a belief (вѣра) in one's right, «it could be said, a religious belief in this right».

This together with poverty and despair provides the right recipe for social revolution (pp. 47, 48).

"This is the situation in which the Italian people finds itself today" (p. 48).

In particular, it was the *International*—i.e. the Alliance, which has been especially effective in Italy in the last two years (1872 and 1873)—that acted as midwife to this ideal.

«It[a] pointed out to it [the proletariat] the objective to be achieved and at the same time provided it with the ways and means to organise the energies of the people» (p. 48).

"It is worthy of note that in Italy as in Spain it was not «Marx's state-communist programme» which carried the day (triumphed), but that in both countries there was a widespread and passionate endorsement of the *programme of the world-famous* (пресловутого) *Alliance* or «*League of Social Revolutionaries*» with its implacable declaration of war on «domination, governmental tutelage, prerogative and authority» of every kind"[561] (p. 49).

"Under these conditions the people can emancipate itself and establish its own particular mode of life «on the basis of the most extensive freedom» of each and everyone, but without constituting a threat at all to the liberty of other peoples" (p. 49).

Therefore, since Italy and Spain adhere to the programme of the Alliance, the social revolution in those countries is at hand, but no *policy of conquest* is to be feared from them (p. 49).

*The small states—Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden,* «for the very same reasons» (i.e. because they have embraced the programme of the Alliance!),

"but chiefly" because of "their political insignificance" (p. 49) present no threat but, on the contrary, have many reasons to "fear annexation by the new German Empire" (p. 50).

*Austria* sick unto death. Divided into two states, *Magyar-Slav* and *German-Slav*[562] (p. 50). The Germans wish for hegemony in the latter.

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[a] The propaganda of the International.—*Ed.*

"The Germans, «state-worshippers» and bureaucrats by nature, it can be said, base their pretentions on their historic right, i.e. on the right of conquest and «tradition», on the one hand, and on the alleged superiority of their culture, on the other" (p. 52). In recent years the Germans have been compelled to concede an independent «existence» to the Magyars. «Of all the tribes» that inhabit the Austrian Empire, the Magyars have the «most developed state-consciousness» after the Germans (p. 52). They assert their historic right to lord it over all the other tribes who live with them in the Kingdom of Hungary, even though they do not amount to much more than $^1/_3$ (l.c.) (viz. 5,500,000 Magyars, 5,000,000 Slavs, 2,700,000 Romanians, 1,800,000 Jews and Germans, around 500,000 other «tribes», making 15,500,000 all told) (l.c.). So the Austro-Hungarian Empire [divides] into 2: the Cisleithan state, Slav-German with 20,500,000 (7,200,000 Germans and Jews, 11,500,000 Slavs, about 1,800,000 Italians and other «tribes»); and the Magyar-Slav-Romanian-German state (p. 53).

In *Hungary*

the "majority of the population is subject to the Magyars, does not like them, bears their yoke grudgingly, hence perpetual struggle" (p. 53). The Magyars fear revolt from the Romanians and Slavs: hence in secret league with *Bismarck* who, "foreseeing the inevitable war with the Austrian Empire, which is destined to disappear, «makes advances» to the Magyars" (p. 54).

In the *Cisleithan* state the situation is no better; there the Germans want to rule over the Slav majority: "The Germans hate the Slavs as the master is wont to hate his slaves" (p. 54), fear their emancipation, etc. "Like all conquerors of foreign land and subjugators of foreign peoples, the Germans simultaneously and highly «unjustly» both hate and despise the Slavs" (l.c.). The Prussian Germans' main criticism of the Austrian government is that it is incapable of Germanicising the Slavs. "This, in their view and also in fact, constitutes the greatest crime against German patriotic interests in general and against *Pan-Germanism*" (p. 55) (his[a] emphasis). With the exception of the Poles, the Austrian Slavs have countered this Pan-Germanism with *Pan-Slavism*, which likewise is a piece of "nauseating folly", "an ideal incompatible with freedom and fatal to the people" (p. 55).

*Hereto* a footnote in which Mr. Bakunin threatens to treat this question at greater length; here he just calls on Russian revolutionary youth to resist this trend; he admits that Russian agents are busy propagating Pan-Slavism among the Austrian Slavs and trying to persuade them that the Tsar is *eager to free their land from the German yoke*, and "this at a time when the Petersburg Cabinet is «openly» betraying the whole of Bohemia and Moravia, selling them to Bismarck as a reward for the promised assistance in the East".

How does it come about, then, that in the Austro-Slav territories there is a whole class of educated, etc., people who either expect to be liberated by the Russians or even hope for "*the establishment of a Slav great power under the supremacy of the Russian Tsar*"? (p. 57).

This only goes to show "the degree to which this accursed German civilisation which is «*bourgeois*» in essence and hence «*statist*», has succeeded in entering the soul of the Slav patriots themselves ... they would remain completely German even

[a] Bakunin's.— *Ed.*

though the goal they are seeking to achieve is anti-German; using ways and means borrowed from the Germans they want, they think to free the Slavs from the German yoke. Because of their German education they cannot conceive of any way of obtaining their freedom but through the formation of Slav states or a single great Slav empire. They therefore set themselves a purely German objective because the «modern state»—centralist, bureaucratic, a police and military state after the fashion, for example, of the new German or «All-Russian» Empire—is a purely German «creation». In Russia it formerly contained a certain Tartar element, «but even in Germany there is certainly no lack of Tartar civility nowadays»" (p. 57).

"The entire nature, the entire character of the Slav tribe is definitely unpolitical, i.e. non-«statist». In vain do the Czechs hark back to (поминаютъ) their Great Moravian Empire[563] and the Serbs their Empire of Dušan. All such things are either ephemeral phenomena or old fairy-tales. The truth is that no single Slav tribe has ever of itself created a «state»" (p. 57).

*Polish Monarchy-Republic*:

founded under the dual influence of Germanism and Latinism, after the Slav people (холопъ—bondsman, serf) had been suppressed by the Szlachta who are not of Slav origin in the opinion of many Polish historians (such as «*Mickiewicz*») (p. 58).

*Bohemian state* (Czech):

patched together on the German model and openly influenced by the Germans; hence soon formed an organic part of the German Empire.

*Russian Empire*:

Tartar knout, Byzantine blessing (благословеніе) and German bureaucratic, military and police Enlightenment (p. 58).

"Hence it is indubitable that the Slavs have never established a «state» on their own initiative. Because they have never been a tribe bent on conquest. Only warlike people found «states» and they invariably found them for their own benefit and to the detriment of subjugated nations." The Slavs were predominantly peaceful, agrarian tribes; they lived cut off and independently in their communities, administered (управлять—also *govern*) in patriarchal fashion by their «elders» on the basis of the «electoral principle», collective ownership of land, no nobility, no special priest-caste, all equal, "implementing in a patriarchal and hence imperfect manner the idea of human fraternity". No political bonds between communities; only a defensive alliance in case of attacks from outside; no Slav «state»; but social, fraternal bonds between all Slav tribes, hospitable in the highest degree (pp. 58, 59). "Such an organisation rendered them defenceless against the incursions and attacks of warlike tribes, especially the Germans who sought to extend their rule everywhere" (p. 59). "The Slavs were exterminated in part, the majority subjugated by Turks, Tartars, Magyars and above all Germans" (p. 59). "The second half of the 10th century witnesses the beginning of the tormented, but also heroic history of their slavery" (p. 59).

"*Unfortunately for Poland* her leading parties (руководящія партіи) which to this day have belonged for the most part to the Szlachta, have not yet renounced their «statist» programme and, instead of striving for the liberation and «rebirth» of their «homeland» through social revolution, they remain the prisoners of ancient prejudices and seak either the protection of a Napoleon or else an alliance with the Jesuits and the Austrian feudal nobility" (p. 61).

In our century the Western and Southern Slavs have also awakened; Bohemia the centre for the one, Serbia for the other (pp. 61, 62).

The latest expression of the «state»: the *Pan-Germanic Empire*: "its days are numbered and all nations expect that its collapse will bring about their ultimate emancipation... Are the Slavs envious of the Germans for having earned the hatred of all the other peoples of Europe?" (p. 63)

*England* does not exist for this COFFEE-HOUSE politician; it is the true apex of bourgeois society in Europe.

Either there will be no Slav «state» at all, or else there will be a vast, all-devouring Pan-Slav, «St. Petersburg knout State» (pp. 64, 65).

Nor is it possible to oppose Pan-Germanic centralisation by forming a *Pan-Slav Federation* after the manner of the United States (p. 66). Federation in North America is possible only because there is no powerful «state» like Russia, Germany or France on the American continent adjacent to the great republic. Hence, *in order* to counter a victorious Pan-Germanism on the level of the «state» *or* politics, only one way remains: to establish a *Pan-Slav* «state».

Universal Slav servitude beneath the «All-Russian knout» (p. 67). But even this would be impossible. Numerically, there are almost three times as many Slavs in Europe as Germans. Despite this, a Pan-Slav Empire would never be able to match the Pan-Germanic Empire in terms of power and actual «political and military strength». Why not? "Because German blood, German instinct and the German tradition are all imbued with a passion for «state» order and «state» discipline"; with the Slavs the position is the reverse; "this is why they can only be disciplined by having the threat of a big stick hanging over them, while any German will swallow the stick with the conviction (съ убѣжденіемъ) of his own free will. To him freedom consists in «being drilled» and he «willingly bows down» to every authority. Furthermore, the Germans are earnest, diligent people, learned, thrifty, «orderly, careful and calculating», which does not prevent them from fighting splendidly if need be, namely when the authorities desire it. They proved this in the recent wars. Moreover, their military and administrative organisation has been perfected to the highest possible degree, beyond the reach of any other nation. So is it thinkable that the Slavs could ever match them on the plane of «statehood»? (pp. 68, 69). "The Germans look to the «state» for their life and their freedom; for the Slavs the «state» is a tomb. They seek their liberation outside the «state», not just in the struggle against the German «state», but in the «universal revolt» against «states» of every kind, in social revolution" (p. 69). "But «states» will not fall of their own accord: they can only be overthrown by an international social revolution which encompasses all nations and peoples" (p. 69). The Slavs' hostility to the state, which hitherto has been their weakness, becomes their strength for the present popular movement (p. 69). The moment is drawing near for the total emancipation of «the mass of unskilled workers» and for «their free social organisation «from below», without any «правительственного» (directing, governmental) interference, by means of *free economic*, «народных» (popular, public) «союзовъ» (union, alliance, coalition, federation), «disregarding» all old state frontiers and all national differences, on the sole basis of productive labour, humanised through and through and with total solidarity amidst all its diversity" (p. 70).

"Nationality is no universal human principle, but an historical, local fact having, like all «genuine» and harmless facts, an undoubted right to universal «recognition». Every people and even every «little people» has its own character, its manner and these in fact (именно) are what form the essence of nationality, the product of the whole of history and the totality of the conditions of life of the nationality.

Every people, like every individual, is «inevitably» what it is and has the undoubted right to be itself. This is what the entire so-called «national right» amounts to" (p. 70).

But it does not follow from this that one should lay down his nationality and the other his individuality as a «special principle», etc.: "The less they think about themselves, and the more they «are imbued» with a common humanity, then the more the nationality of the one and the individuality of the other gain in vitality and ideas" (p. 71). The Slavs too will only be able to assume «their rightful place» in history and in the free brotherhood of peoples if, jointly with others, they embrace universal interests (p. 71).

"In Germany the Reformation very quickly abandoned its «insurrectionary» character, which is anyway incompatible with the German temperament, and assumed the shape of a «peaceful state» reform which soon came to form the basis for the «most methodical», systematic, learned «state» despotism. In France, after a long and bloody struggle which made no small contribution to the growth of free thought in that country, they (desires for reform) were crushed by the victorious Catholic Church. In Holland, England and later in the United States of America they created a new civilisation which was *in essence anti-«statist»*, but «*bourgeois-economic*» and liberal" (p. 72).

This passage is very typical for Bakunin; the genuine capitalist state for him anti-governmental; secondly, the different developments in Germany, on the one hand, and Holland and England, on the other, are not the result of changes in world trade, but etc.

"The religious reform"

(also very brilliant that the Renaissance is only thought of in the context of religion)

"produced two main trends in civilised mankind: an *economic and liberal-«bourgeois»* trend, particularly in England and then in America, and the *despotic, «statist»*, essentially also «bourgeois»"—

he uses this word *bourgeois* both for capitalism and for the medieval philistines [Spießbürger] in Germany—

"and the *Protestant* trend, even though the latter is mixed with aristocratic Catholic elements which, incidentally, became completely subordinate to the «state». The chief representatives of this trend were *France* and *Germany*, the Austrian part to begin with and then the Prussian" (p. 73).

"The French Revolution founded a new universal human interest, the ideal of unlimited human liberty, but *exclusively in the political realm*; contradiction, political freedom [on its own] cannot be put into practice; freedom within a «state» is a lie. Resulted in two main tendencies. Systematic exploitation of the proletariat and the enrichment of a minority. On this exploitation of the people one party desires to set up a democratic republic, the other, more consistent, strives for the monarchic, i.e. an openly «state» despotism" (p. 73).

Against all these aspirations, there is a new trend "leading directly" to Bakunin (p. 74).[564]

"Therefore the Slav proletariat must join the International Working Men's Association *en masse*" (p. 75). "We have already had occasion to refer to the magnificent demonstration of international solidarity by the Viennese workers in

1868" (p. 75) against the Pan-Germanic programme. But the Austrian workers failed to follow this up with the necessary measures, "because they were stopped short (prevented) at the very first step by the patriotic-Germanic propaganda of Mr. Liebknecht and the other Social-Democrats who came with him to Vienna, it would seem, in July 1868 expressly for the purpose of throwing off course (leading astray) the true social instinct of the Austrian workers from the path of international revolution and diverting it towards political agitation in favour of establishing a «state», what they call «народным» (people's state), Pan-Germanic, of course—in short, for implementing the patriotic ideal of Count Bismarck,only on a Social-Democratic basis and by means of so-called legal «popular agitation»" (p. 76).

"For the Slavs this would mean voluntarily submitting to the German yoke and this [is] «repugnant» to every Slav heart (p. 77). Hence we shall not only not persuade our Slav brothers to enter the ranks of the Social-Democratic Party of the German workers which is presided over with dictatorial powers by Messrs. Marx and Engels and after them Messrs. Bebel, Liebknecht and some literary Jews; on the contrary, we must strive with all our might to prevent the Slav proletariat from «forming» a suicidal «alliance» with this party which is in no sense a «people's» party but in its tendency, its aims and its methods is purely «*bourgeois*» and moreover exclusively German, i.e. «fatal to Slavs»" (p. 77).

The Slav proletariat must not only not join this party, it must avoid all contact with it, and instead must strengthen its bonds with the International Working Men's Association. "The German Social-Democratic Party should on no account be confused with the International (p. 77). The political and patriotic programme of the former has almost nothing in common with the programme of the latter and is indeed diametrically opposed to it. At the Hague Congress the Marxists tried to impose it on the entire International.[565] But this attempt provoked a general loud protest from Italy, Spain, part of Switzerland, France, Belgium, Holland, England and even to some extent of the United States of America, so that it became apparent to the whole world that no one wants the German programme except for the Germans themselves" (p. 78).

The Slav proletariat must join the International *en masse*, form sections and, if it appears necessary, a «*Pan-Slav federation*» (p. 78).

*Serbia*, «*Serbian principality*»: The Serbs founded a «state» after emancipation from the Turks; its yoke heavier than that of the Turks (p. 79). At the mercy of bureaucratic «robbery» and despotism (l.c.). In Turkish Serbia there is neither a nobility nor very big landowners, nor industrialists, nor even particularly rich merchants; a new bureaucratic aristocracy has grown up, educated for the most part at government expense in Odessa, Moscow, Petersburg, Vienna, Germany, Switzerland and Paris (p. 79).

The Bulgarians want nothing to do with the Serbian «Dušan Kingdom»; nor do the «Croats», the «Montenegrins» and the Bosnian Serbs. For all these lands there is only one possible means of escape, and of unification—social revolution; «certainly not a *war* between states» which could lead only to their subjugation by Russia or Austria or both (p. 86).

In Czech Bohemia Wenceslas's kingdom and crown[566] have fortunately not yet been restored; the Viennese authorities treat it simply as a province, without even the privileges of Galicia; and yet there are as many political parties in Bohemia as in the dear[a] Slav «state». "Indeed, this damned German spirit of politicking and «statehood» has made such inroads into the education of Czech youth that there is

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[a] Bakunin has: "any" (p. 86).—*Ed.*

a serious risk of the latter ending up by «losing» the capacity «to understand their own people» " (p. 86). "In all Austrian towns where the Slav population has intermingled with the German, the Slav workers play the most active part in all the general rallies of the proletariat. But there are almost no workers' associations in these towns apart from those which have recognised the programme of German Social-Democracy, so that in effect the Slav workers, carried away by their social-revolutionary instincts, have been recruited into a party whose direct and loudly proclaimed goal is the foundation of a pan-Germanic «state», i.e. a vast German «prison» " (p. 88).

They must accept the programme of the International under the leadership of Bakunin (p. 89) (the *Slav section* in Zurich, a member of the Jura Federation,[567] is specially recommended as a recruiting office in the Note to p. 89).

*Austria* (Conclusion).

The Empire continues to exist only through the calculated tolerance of Prussia and Russia who do not yet wish to proceed with dismembering it because each is waiting for a favourable opportunity to seize the lion's share [p. 93].

*Russia*:

"There is but one constitution of benefit to the people—the destruction of the (Russian) Empire" (p. 96).

Does it have the military power to take on the new German Empire? At present this the only political issue in Russia (l.c.). "This question ... inexorably posed by Germany's new situation, i.e. by the fact that it «has grown» overnight (за одну ночь) «into a gigantic and omnipotent state». But all history shows, and rational logic confirms, that two states of equal strength cannot subsist side by side. One must conquer the other" (p. 97). This is essential for Germany. "After long, long political humiliation it has suddenly become the most powerful empire on the European continent. Can it endure beside itself, under its very nose as it were, a power entirely independent of it, one it has not yet subdued and which dares to claim equal status; and the power of Russia at that, «the most hated of all»!" (p. 97).

"There can be few Russians, we believe, who are unaware of the degree to which the Germans, all Germans, but chiefly the German bourgeois, and under their influence, alas!, the German people too, hate Russia" (p. 97). This hatred [is] one of Germany's most powerful national passions. (p. 98).

Initially, a genuine hatred by German civilisation for Tartar barbarism (p. 98). In the twenties the protest of political liberalism against political despotism (l.c.). They put the entire blame for the Holy Alliance onto Russia (l.c.). In the early thirties sympathy with the Poles, hatred of the Russians for suppressing the Polish uprising (l.c.). They forgot again that Prussia had helped to put down the Poles; Prussia gave her assistance because a Polish victory would have meant rebellion throughout the whole of Prussian Poland, which would have "nipped the «rising power» of the Prussian monarchy in the bud" (l.c.).

In the second half of the thirties the emerging Slav question provided a new reason to hate the Russians, one which gave that hate a political and national direction: the formation in Austria and Turkey of a Slav Party which hoped for and expected help from Russia. The idea of a Pan-Slav republican federation to which the Decembrists (Pestel, Muravyov-Apostol, etc.) aspired. Nicholas took it up, but in the form of a unified, Pan-Slav and autocratic «state» under his sceptre of

iron. In the early thirties and forties Russian agents travelled to the Slav territories from Petersburg and Moscow, some officially, others as unpaid volunteers; the latter belonged to the Moscow Slavophile Society.[568] Pan-Slav propaganda spread among the Southern and Western Slavs. Many pamphlets, some written in German, others translated into it. Fear among the Pan-Germanic public. *Bohemia—Russian!* Spoilt their appetite and ruined their sleep (p. 99). The greatest hatred of Russia from this time; for their part the Russians have no love for the Germans. Under these circumstances what possibility is there for the All-Russian[a] and Pan-Germanic Empires to live as neighbours? (p. 100). But there were and still are grounds for them both to keep the peace. *First: Poland* (l.c.). Austria opposed to partition, etc. For Austria, Poland a bulwark against Russia and Prussia. *Second: Austria,* which they wish to dismember. The partition of Austria will divide them, but until then nothing can separate them (pp. 100-102). *Third: the new German Empire,* hated by all and with no ally apart from Russia, and perhaps the *United States.* Still has much to do before it can achieve the idea of Pan-Germanic Empire; would have to take the whole of Lorraine away from France; to devour Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark and the Scandinavian peninsula; the Russian Baltic provinces, so as to achieve sole control of the Baltic. It would leave Hungary to the Magyars, Galicia with the Austrian Bukovina to the Russians; it would reserve its rights to the whole of Austria up to and including Trieste and also Bohemia, which the Russian Cabinet would not even dream of contesting... "*We*" (Bakunin) "*have certain knowledge that secret negotiations about the partition of the Austrian Empire in the shorter or longer term have long since been in train between the Petersburg and the German courts*", in the course of which each side naturally tries to dupe the other. On its own, the Prussian-German Empire [is] not capable of carrying out these great plans; "*hence an alliance with Russia is and will for a long time remain an «urgent necessity»*"... The same true of *Russia.* "*Conquest in every direction and at any price is the normal condition of life for the Russian Empire.*" In which direction then? To west or east? The western route is that of *Pan-Slavism* and *an alliance with France* against *the united military might of Prussia and Austria* and with the probable neutrality of *England and the United States.* The other, eastern, route leads to *India, Persia, Constantinople.* The enemies there [are] Austria and England, probably joined by France; allies—*Germany and the United States* (pp. 102-104).

The *first route* (*Pan-Slavism, against the German Empire*). The assistance of France worthless, her unity shattered forever, etc.; this route is revolutionary; it leads to an uprising of the peoples, the Slavs especially, against their legitimate «rulers», both Austrian and Prussian-German. Nicholas rejected this course of action from instinct, principle, etc. (!) But over and above that «it must not be forgotten that the liberation of Poland is absolutely impossible to All-Russian statehood». Centuries of struggle between two opposing forms of the «state»: the «will of the Sczlachta» and the Tsarist knout. The Poles often seemed on the verge of victory. But as soon as the people rose up—in Moscow in 1612,[569] and then the insurrection of the Ukrainians and the Lithuanian «serfs» under Bogdan Khmelnitsky[570]—it was at an end. "*The Russian knout triumphed thanks to the people.*"

This admission on p. 110.

The All-Russian knout-Empire built on the ruins of the Sczlachta Polish «state». "*Take these supports away from it,* i.e. the provinces which «formed part» of the Polish «state» up to 1772, and the All-Russian Empire will vanish" (p. 110).

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[a] Here Marx has: "Bcerussische", a word coined from Russian and German.—*Ed.*

These are the wealthiest, most fertile and best populated provinces; if they were lost the wealth and might of the Russian Empire would be halved. This loss would be followed by that of the «Baltic provinces» and, on the assumption that the Polish state were really invested with new life, it would wrest from Russia control of the whole of the Ukraine, which would become either a Polish province or an «independent state». Russia would thereby forfeit her frontier on the Black Sea; she would be cut off from Europe on every side and be forced into Asia. Some imagine that the Russian Empire could at least cede Lithuania to Poland. «No». The proximity of «Moscow» and Poland necessarily leads Polish patriotism to the conquest of the Baltic provinces and the Ukraine. Were the present Kingdom of Poland once freed, Warsaw would immediately unite with Vilna, Grodno, «Minsk» and Kiev, to say nothing of Podolia and Volhyniya. The Poles such a restless people that it cannot be given an inch of free space; it instantly becomes the focal point of general revolutionary resistance.[a] In 1841 there remained only one free city, Cracow, and Cracow became the focal point of general revolutionary resistance. The Russian Empire can only prolong its existence by *using the Muravyovian system «to keep» the Poles «down»*[571]... The Russian people has nothing in common with the Russian Empire; [their] interests are opposed.

At this point Bakunin puts forward the following proposition, a nonsensical one from the standpoint of his own system:

"As soon as the Russian Empire collapses and the Great Russians, Ukrainians and other peoples have established their freedom, the ambitious intentions of the Polish «state»-patriots will cease to hold any «terrors» for them" (*comment donc!*[b]). "They can be fatal only to the Empire" (p. 111). This is why the Tsar will not voluntarily give up the least patch of Polish territory. "And without liberating the Poles, can he call on the Slavs «to rebel»?" (pp. 104-111).

And in Nicholas' day the Pan-Slav way was more promising than today. At that time an uprising of the Magyars and the Italians against Austria was still to be counted on. At present Italy probably[c] neutral, since (in such an event) Austria would just hand over the few remaining Italian enclaves in her possession voluntarily. As for the Magyars, in view of their own «state»[d] position vis-à-vis the Slavs, they would vigorously support the Germans against Russia. The Russian Emperor could only rely on limited support from among the *Austrian* Slavs; if he tried to induce the *Turkish* Slavs to rise up too, then [he would face a] new enemy: *England*. But in the Austrian Empire there are no more than 17 million Slavs; of these 5 million are in *Galicia*, where the Poles would paralyse the Ruthenians; this leaves *12 million*, minus those serving in the Austrian army, who would fight against anyone their superiors commanded them to, as is the fashion in any army. These 12 million

(who, *according to Bakunin, are exclusively male and adult*)

are not concentrated in one or a few places; scattered over the whole expanse of the Austrian Empire, speaking very different dialects, mixed with Germans, Magyars, Italians and Romanians.

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[a] In Bakunin this part of the sentence reads: "people in it will instantly conspire and establish secret contacts with all the conquered regions so as to restore the Polish state".— *Ed.*

[b] To be sure! — *Ed.*

[c] Bakunin has: "undoubtedly".— *Ed.*

[d] Bakunin has: "dominating".— *Ed.*

"This is a huge number with which to keep the Austrian authorities and the Germans in general in a state of constant uneasiness, but it is very little to give the Russian armies serious support against the combined forces of Prussian Germany and Austria." The Russian government knows this and so does not even contemplate a Pan-Slav war against Austria, which would inevitably turn into war against the whole of Germany. Nevertheless, it does employ agents to disseminate actual Pan-Slav propaganda in the Austrian territories. It is very useful for it to have such blind, etc., supporters in all the Austrian provinces. "*This paralyses, impedes and alarms the Austrian government and strengthens the influence of Russia not just on Austria, but on the whole of Germany.* Imperial Russia incites the Austrian Slavs against Magyars and Germans, knowing full well that in the last analysis it would abandon them to the mercies of those Germans and Magyars" (pp. 112, 113).

By taking the western, Pan-Slav course of action Russia has to fight against all the Germans, both Prussian and Austrian, against the Magyars and against the Poles. Could Russia defeat even *Prussian Germany* alone in an *offensive war* (which she would have to conduct under the pretext of liberating the Slavs)? The Russian nation would have no interest in a war; for peoples in general have no interest in purely political wars conducted by governments; the only instance [of a popular war] in recent history [was] *Napoleon I*, but he was regarded rather as continuing the Revolution; the only genuine example [was] the *last Prussian war against the Second Empire.* At that time Pan-Germanic interest outweighed all others in the hearts and minds of all Germans without distinction, and at the present moment this is what constitutes the special strength of Germany... Russians displayed no interest in their government even in the *Crimean War*, "*which was a defensive war, not a war of conquest*".

This on p. 117; by contrast the war against Napoleon III was evidently a mere *offensive war*?[572]

The Russian peasant is not even aware that he is a Slav ... for the Slav peoples there must be war against all «states», to begin with in alliance with the Latin nations, who like the Slavs are threatened by the German policy of conquest... And then with the Germans, but only when they too have become opposed to the «state»... But until then an alliance of the Slavs and the Latin nations against the German politicians bent on conquest remains a necessity... "*Étrange*[a] vocation for the German tribe! By stirring up (arousing) universal alarm and universal hate against themselves, they unite the nations"... "In this sense the Russian people too [is] completely Slav." But its hostility does not extend to the point of declaring war against them on their own initiative; it will only reveal itself if the Germans invade Russia and try to set up their own rule there,—but it would take no part in an offensive war against the Germans... But do the government resources, both financial and military, suffice [for a war] against Germany?... In the situation postulated here (a Russian offensive) the Germans would be fighting on their own soil and «this time» there would be a truly «universal» uprising of all classes and of the entire population of Germany (pp. 114-120).

The Russian officer a better human being than the German... the latter a civilised wild animal... Germans, especially officers and officials, combine education with barbarism, erudition with servility... But for a *regular army* there is nothing more perfect than the German officer—his entire life: receiving and giving orders... Ditto the German soldier—ideal for the regular army both by nature and

[a] Strange.—*Ed.*

training... First break the soldier's body in and thereby the spirit... Discipline, etc.... The superiority of the German officers over those of other nations lies in their knowledge, their theoretical and practical grasp of military affairs, their ardent and completely pedantic devotion to soldiering, their precision, their methodicalness, «self-control», inexhaustible stamina (терпѣніе) and, on top of it all, a relative probity (честность). The organisation and equipment of the German army are genuine and not merely something that exists on paper, as with Napoleon III and as it will be with us. And then [there is] the administrative, civil and above all military control, so that widespread deception is impossible. "With us by contrast there is nothing but back-scratching *from bottom to top* and *from top to bottom,* so that it is almost impossible to discover the truth" (pp. 121-128).

(Last sentence p. 128.)

Even if Russia maintains a million troops, half of them are needed domestically to keep an eye on the beloved people. How many needed then for the Ukraine, Lithuania and Poland (p. 128).

Germany will have a real «million»-strong army, which in organisation, «drilling», morale, knowledge and equipment will be the best in the world. And behind it the entire people in arms "which in all probability would not have risen up against the French if Napoleon III rather than the Prussian Fritz[a] had been the victor in the last war, but which would rise up as one man against a Russian «invasion» "... But where will the Russian million be? On paper... Where the officers and the equipment?... No money... The Germans received 5 thousand million from the French.[573] At least 2 went on armaments... "Indeed at the moment the whole of Germany is transformed into a menacing arsenal, bristling on every side." At your very first step on German soil you will be utterly defeated and your offensive war will be turned into a defensive war at a stroke; the German army will cross the frontiers of the All-Russian Empire. Then a general uprising of the Russian people? "*Yes, if the Germans occupy Russian «regions» and march e.g. directly to Moscow*; but if they do not commit this act of folly, but march northwards towards Petersburg, through the Baltic provinces, there they will find many friends, not just among the bourgeois, the Protestant parsons and Jews, disaffected barons and their children, and students, but also among our countless Baltic generals, officers, officials both high and low who congregate in Petersburg but are also scattered throughout the whole of Russia; even more, they will lead Poland and the Ukraine to rise up against the Russian Empire" (pp. 128-131).

The Poles have no more dangerous or insidious enemy than Bismarck. "It appears as if he has made it his life's task to wipe (стереть) them from the face of the earth. And this does not prevent him from exhorting the Poles to rise up against Russia when German interests require it. And despite the fact that the Poles loathe him and Prussia, not to say *Germany as a whole, which the Poles «will not admit even to themselves, although in the depths of their souls there burns the same historical hatred of the Germans that is to be found among all the other Slav peoples»* ... the Poles will doubtless rise up at Bismarck's summons" (p. 133).

"In Germany and in Prussia herself a numerous and serious political party has existed for a very long time; even three parties: a liberal-progressive party, a purely democratic one and a Social-Democratic party,[574] which taken together have an undoubted majority in the German and Prussian parliaments, and an even more decisive one in society itself; these parties, which have foreseen and in part desire and, as it were, call forth a German war with Russia, have realised that the uprising

[a] William I.—*Ed.*

and the restoration of Poland «*within certain limits*»[a] will be the necessary precondition of that war" (p. 133). Neither Bismarck nor any of these parties has any wish to restore to Poland all the territories taken from her by Prussia: neither Königsberg nor Danzig, nor even the smallest portion of West Prussia; and only a very little of the Duchy of Posen. But they will give the Poles the whole of Galicia together with «Lvov» and Cracow since all this is *Austrian* at present, and as much of the Russian territory as they can seize. In addition, money, weapons and military aid, in the form of a Polish loan on German security of course... The Poles will jump at it... With a few exceptions the Poles do not concern themselves with the «*Slav* question»; they «find the Magyars much closer and more comprehensible»... Numerous parties among the Poles; in the background always the restoration of the Polish «state» within the frontiers of 1772. The only difference between the parties is that some favour one means and others another to achieve this end... Bismarck will demand that they formally renounce their claims to the greater part of the old Polish territories which are now Prussian... It is true, it will be a strange Poland that will have been restored under the aegis of Count Bismarck. But better a «strange» Poland than none at all; besides the Poles envisage the possibility of freeing themselves from Bismarck's protection at a later date... Poland will rise; Lithuania ditto, and, given a little bit of a squall, the Ukraine as well... The Polish patriots are poor socialists and at home they would not concern themselves with socialist revolutionary propaganda; even if they wished to do so, Bismarck would not permit it—«too close to Germany»... but it could be done in Russia and against Russia. A peasant «revolt» in Russia useful for the Germans and the Poles and not difficult to them; so many Poles and Germans scattered through Russia; all allies of Bismarck and the Poles: "Just picture our situation: our armies utterly defeated and in headlong flight; at their heels the Germans are marching on Petersburg, and in the south and west, the Poles are marching towards «Smolensk» and the Ukraine,—and at the same time, fired by foreign and home propaganda, a general, victorious peasants' revolt in Russia and the Ukraine."

(This sentence on p. 138.)

...In this way the German «state» would cut the Russian state off from Europe. "We are speaking, of course, of the Empire" (Russian) "and *not of the Russian people,* which, when *it needs to,* will find or «*make a path for itself*» (пробиться, clear, force its way, *percer, se faire jour*) *всюду дорогу* (everywhere, on all sides)."

(This sentence pp. 138-139.)

So, while the Russian people is *acting as a whole* and *forcing its way through* so as to prevent itself from being cut off from Europe, these anarchists conduct a *political war.* And what does Bakunin want? The Germans and Poles lay the Russian Empire in ruins but, at the same time, they trigger off a *general, victorious peasants' revolt* in Russia. Bismarck and the Poles will do nothing to prevent these peasants from asserting themselves as "anarchists". On the contrary, they make more effective propaganda among them than the "world-famous" Alliance; and once this anarchistic state of affairs has been established on such a giant scale, their Latin and Slav brethren will also catch fire. And it can change nothing

[a] Emphasis in Bakunin.—*Ed.*

about the matter whether this takes place as the result of a war started by Russia against Germany, or vice versa. Incidentally, since according to Bakunin there is nothing but a "*class of officials*" in *Serbia*, apart from the people, what shall the Serbian social revolution consist in, if not in the elimination of the class of officials, since it is this class which alone constitutes the «state» there? (pp. 138, 139)

Hence for the All-Russian Empire the road to Europe is now blocked; Count Bismarck holds the keys to its gates and nothing in the whole wide world could induce him to hand them over to Prince Gorchakov. But if the *north-western* route is blocked, then there remain the *southern* and the *south-eastern* routes—*Bokhara, Persia, Afghanistan, East India* and finally *Constantinople*. Russian politicians have long raised the question as to whether the capital and the centre of gravity of the Empire should not be transferred from Petersburg to Constantinople. It is true that these insatiable patriots wanted both, the Baltic and Constantinople. But they are getting used to the idea of giving that up; their eyes were opened above all by events of recent years, in particular the "union *of Schleswig-Holstein and Hanover with the Prussian Kingdom,*[575] *which was thereby transformed into a North Sea power*" (p. 139).

"All are familiar with the axiom that no «state» can lay claim to a place in the first rank without extensive frontiers to the sea which ensure it direct communication with the whole world and allow it direct participation in world communication, material and social, political and moral (политически-нравственном)" ... without that soon stagnation... China ... *A host of conditions must be fulfilled for a people* consolidated (замкнутый) into a «state» to participate in world communication; nowadays they include (принадлежитъ) «natural common sense and innate energy», education, the capacity for productive labour «and the *most extensive inner freedom*, impossible as this may be for the masses within a state». "But these conditions necessarily include also navigation, sea trade, because the sea as a form of transport surpasses all others—the railways included—in relative cheapness, speed and also freedom in the sense that the sea belongs to nobody. It may be that *air travel* will prove to be even more serviceable in every respect and will be particularly important because it will finally *level out* (уравняетъ) *the conditions of development and life of all countries*."

This is the central issue for Bakunin—*levelling out*, e.g. the whole of Europe to the level of Slovak mouse-trap sellers. ... "For the present, navigation remains the *chief instrument* for bringing about the well-being (the great progress, «the prosperity») of the peoples." This [is] the only point at which Mr. Bakunin speaks of *economic* conditions and understands that they create conditions and differences among peoples independent of the «state»...

Once states (государства) cease to exist and "a free, fraternal union of free productive associations, communities and «regional» federations" arises from the ruins of all states "in complete freedom and organising themselves from below, embracing, without distinctions of any kind, because free, peoples of all languages and nationalities,—once this is done, the way to the sea will be open to all in equal measure: directly for coastal dwellers and, for those living further from the sea, with the aid of the railways, which will be completely liberated from all «г-ных

попеченій» ([state] concern, welfare, care), «взиманій» (levies), taxes, restrictions, harassment, prohibitions, authorisations and interference. *But even then the coastal dwellers will enjoy a number of natural advantages, of an intellectual and ethical as well as a material kind.* Direct contact with the world market and world communication in general is extraordinarily conducive to development, including that of relations not thus levelled out, those living in the interior, denied these advantages, will *live and develop at a slower and more indolent pace than the coastal inhabitants. This is why air travel will be of such immense significance* ... but until then ... *the coastal inhabitants will form the vanguard in all respects and will constitute a sort of aristocracy of mankind.*"

*As in Britanny, for example!*

And the distinction between plains and highlands, river valleys, climate, soil, coal, iron, *acquired productive forces,* material and intellectual, language, literature, technical skills, etc. etc. Fourier tackles the problem of levelling out in a much more heroic manner (pp. 139-142).

In this connection Bakunin makes the discovery that Germany (as a non-maritime nation) *is inferior to Holland in trade* and *to Belgium in industry* (p. 143).

Prussia is now the embodiment, the head and hands of Germany, she has established (based) herself firmly on the *Baltic* and the *North Sea* (p. 145). Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, Mecklenburg, Oldenburg, Schleswig-Holstein—all Prussian; Prussia is building two large fleets with French money, one in the Baltic, the other in the North Sea, and with the aid of the ship-canal[576] now being dug to join the two seas, the two fleets will soon become one. Will soon be much stronger than the Russian Baltic fleet. Then to the devil with Riga, Reval, Finland, Petersburg, Kronstadt. To the devil with the significance of Petersburg. *Gorchakov* had to admit this to himself on the day when his ally Prussia plundered our confederate Denmark with impunity and as if with our consent.

*The Polish insurrection,* «Mr.» Bakunin![577]

"He should have grasped the fact that from the day on which Prussia, basing herself now on the whole of Germany and constituting in indissoluble unity with the latter the strongest continental power; since the time, in a word, when under the Prussian sceptre the new German Empire took up its present position on the Baltic and became such a threat to all neighbouring powers, the supremacy of Petersburgian Russia over that sea was at an end, Peter's great political creation lay in ruins, and with it the power of the All-Russian «state» was destroyed, *if it is not compensated for the loss of the open sea route in the north by the opening up of a new route in the south*" (pp. 145-147).

But how far open, *s'il vous plait?* As far as the English are concerned, [it was] "open" to the ramparts of Kronstadt.

"The approaches still in the hands of Denmark; but, after first federating with Germany of her own free will, Denmark will then find herself swallowed up by the Pan-Germanic Empire. Hence the entire Baltic soon an exclusively German sea and hence Petersburg's loss of political significance. Gorchakov must have realised this when he agreed to the dismemberment of Denmark and the union of Schleswig-Holstein with Prussia. Either he betrayed Russia or he received a formal guarantee from Bismarck to help Russia establish a new power in the south-east.

For Bakunin it is an established fact that an *offensive and defensive alliance between Prussia and Russia was concluded after the Paris Treaty*[578] *or at least at the period of the Polish insurrection of 1863.*

Hence Bismarck's nonchalance in launching the war with Austria and the greater part of Germany in the face of the threat of French intervention, and hence the even more decisive war with France. The slightest show of force by Russia on the frontier in either war, especially in the last one, would have put a stop to the victorious advance of the Prussian army. The whole of Germany, particularly the north of Germany, was completely denuded of troops in the last war; Austria only remained inactive because of Russian threats; Italy and England only refrained from intervening because Russia did not want them to. If she had not shown herself to be such a determined ally of Prussia, the Germans would never have taken Paris. But Bismarck was obviously convinced that Russia would not let him down. On what did this conviction rest? Bismarck knows that Russian and Prussian interests are entirely antagonistic, apart from on the Polish question. War between them inevitable. But there may be grounds for delaying it since each hopes to derive greater benefit from their enforced alliance until the day of crisis arrives. The German Empire far from secure either internally or externally. Internally, still a host of petty princes. Externally, Austria and France. Obeying an inner necessity, it contemplates new adventures,[579] new wars. Restoration of the mediaeval Empire with its original frontiers, based on the patriotic Pan-Germanic feeling that fills the whole of German society; [dreams of] annexing the whole of Austria with the exception of Hungary, but including Trieste as well as Bohemia, the whole of German-speaking Switzerland, a part of Belgium, the whole of Holland and Denmark, essential for the establishment of its naval power: plans stirring up a considerable section of western and southern Europe against it and their implementation not feasible without Russian agreement. Hence the Russian alliance still necessary for the new German Empire (pp. 148-151).

The All-Russian Empire, for its part, cannot dispense with the Prusso-Germanic alliance. It must advance towards the south-east—the Black Sea instead of the Baltic; otherwise [it will be] cut off from Europe; and for that *Constantinople* essential; otherwise can always be denied access to the Mediterranean, as was the case during the Crimean War. Hence Constantinople the great goal. This in conflict with the interests of the whole of southern Europe, France included; in conflict with English interests and even those of Germany, since if Russia had absolute control over the Black Sea, the entire Danube «basin» would be made directly dependent upon Russia. Despite this Prussia has formally promised Russia to assist her in her south-eastern policy; it is no less certain that she will break her promise at the first opportunity. But such a breach of the agreement not to be expected now, at the very beginning of its fulfilment. Prussia helped Russia to nullify the clauses of the Paris Peace Treaty; will support her just as strongly on the issue of Khiva. It is of benefit to the Germans that Russia should be engaged as far to the east as possible. What is the purpose of the Russian war against Khiva?... India? Not at all. *China* would be much simpler; and the Russian government is indeed planning something of the sort. "It is striving quite openly to detach Mongolia and Manchuria from China"; "one fine day we shall hear of a victory of Russian forces on the *western frontier* (!) of China... The Chinese feel themselves constricted within their own territory, too numerous; hence emigration to Australia, California; other masses may move to the north and north-west. And then in a trice Siberia, the whole area stretching from the Gulf of Tartary to the

Urals and the Caspian Sea, will cease to be Russian. In this giant territory, 12,200,000 square kilometres, more than 20 times as large as France (528,600 square kilometres), there are at present only 6 million inhabitants, of whom only about 2,600,000 are Russian, all others are natives of Tartar or Finnish origin, and the number of troops there is quite negligible... The Chinese will be able to cross the Urals and penetrate as far as the Volga... The increase in population makes it almost impossible for the Chinese to maintain an existence within the frontiers of China. In the Chinese interior there are vigorous, warlike people, reared amidst constant civil wars in which tens and hundreds of thousands have been annihilated at a stroke... In recent times they have become acquainted with European weapons and discipline, in short, with the «state» civilisation of Europe. At the same time, great barbarity; no instinct for freedom or humanity. At present they band together under the leadership of a crowd of military adventurers, American and European, who have made their way to China since the last Anglo-French expedition (1860),[580] this is the great threat from the East... And our Russian authorities are playing with this threat with all the naivety of a child... They want to extend their frontiers; and yet Russia neither has been to this day, nor will she ever be able, to populate the newly acquired Amur region where in a territory of 2,100,000 square kilometres, almost four times the size of France, there are a mere 65,000 inhabitants including the army and navy; and with all this there is the wretched condition of the Russian people driving it to a general «revolt»; and despite this the Russian government hopes to extend its sway over the whole of the Asiatic East. It would have to turn its back on Europe, as Bismarck wishes, and hurl its whole army into Siberia and Central Asia, and conquer the East like Tamerlane. But Tamerlane, unlike the Russian government, was followed by his own people"... As far as India is concerned, the Russians cannot help themselves to her in the face of English opposition... "But if we cannot conquer India, we can destroy or at least weaken the hold of the English there, provoke native «rebellions» against England, assist them, maintain them, if need be even with the aid of military intervention." "It will cost us very dear in terms of both money and men... What for?... To alarm the English to no purpose? «No», but because the English are in our way. Where are they in our way? *In Constantinople.*[a] As long as the English retain their power they will never and at no price in the world agree to Constantinople falling into our hands, becoming the new capital not just of the All-Russian Empire, but of a Slav and Eastern Empire too." This is why the Russian government is waging war in Khiva; this is the reason for its long-standing wish to move closer to India. "It is on the lookout for the spot where England is vulnerable, and, not finding one anywhere else, threatens her in India. In this way it attempts to reconcile England to the idea that Constantinople must become a Russian city"... Its supremacy in the Baltic irretrievably lost... The Russian Empire, built on the bayonet and the knout, hated by the mass of all the peoples, including the Slavs and starting with the Great Russians themselves, demoralised, disorganised, etc. ... is incapable of waging a war against the newly risen German Empire. Hence, "it is necessary to renounce the Baltic and to await the moment when the entire Baltic «region» will become a German province. *This can be prevented only by a «popular revolution»*. But such a revolution would be death to the «state», and our government will not look to it for its salvation".

(*This last sentence* p. 160.)

For our government the only solution lies in an alliance with Germany. Sacrificing the Baltic, it must look to the Black Sea for compensation and even for

[a] Italicised in Bakunin too.—*Ed.*

its political survival; and this can only be achieved with German aid. "The Germans have committed themselves to assist us. We have no doubt that a formal treaty has been agreed between Bismarck and Gorchakov." Naturally, the Germans have no intention of implementing it. They cannot abandon the mouth of the Danube and their Danube trade to the arbitrary will of the Russians; to set up a great Pan-Slav Empire in southern Europe would be suicidal for the Pan-Germanic Empire. But "to guide and push the Russian armies towards Central Asia, towards Khiva, on the pretext that this is the most direct way to Constantinople, that is quite another matter.". Gorchakov and Alexander II tricked by Bismarck, as Napoleon III had been before them.[581] But this is what has happened, and there is no use crying over spilt milk. It is impossible for the feeble Russian forces (дряблымъ силам) to overturn the new Germanic Empire; only the revolution could do that, and as long as it is not victorious in Russia or Europe the victor will be «statist» Germany which will carry all before her, and the Russian government, like all continental governments in Europe, will survive only with her permission and by her «favour»... "More than ever before the Germans have become our masters, and it is not for nothing that all the Germans in Russia celebrated the victory of the German armies over France with such noise and enthusiasm; it is not for nothing that all the Petersburg Germans gave such a triumphant welcome to the new Pan-Germanic Emperor." "At the present time, on the whole continent of Europe, only one truly independent «state» survives: Germany... The *chief reason* for this the «*community instinct*» which is the characteristic feature of the German people. The instinct on the one hand, for blind obedience towards the more powerful, [on the other,] for ruthless suppression of the weaker" (pp. 151-163).

There now follows a survey of the recent history of Germany (especially since 1815) as proof of her instinct for *servility* and suppression...

The Slavs in particular have had to suffer from the latter. The "*historic mission*" of the Germans at least in the north and east consisted, in their own view, in the extermination, enslavement and "forcible Germanisation" of the Slav tribes. "This long and «melancholy» history the memory of which is deeply rooted in every Slav heart will doubtless resound in the last inevitable struggle [of the Slavs] against the Germans unless the social revolution pacifies them first" (p. 164).

This is followed by a history of German patriotism since 1815. (His *material* from *Professor Müller's History from 1816 to 1866.*)[a]

"The political existence of the Prussian monarchy (in 1807) was only preserved thanks to the intercession of Alexander I" (pp. 168-169).[582]

*Fichte's Speeches to the German Nation*[583]: «But contemporary Germans, while retaining all the outsized pretentions of their patriotic philosopher, have renounced his humanism... The patriotism of Prince Bismarck or Mr. Marx is more accessible to them» (p. 171).

After Napoleon's flight from Russia, Bakunin maintains, "Frederick William III embraced his saviour, the Emperor of all the Russias, in Berlin with tears of «emotion and gratitude»" (l.c.).

"Only one course remained open to Austria: to avoid stifling Germany" by entering the German Confederation with all her possessions as she originally wanted, "while at the same time preventing Prussia from seizing the leadership of

[a] W. Müller, *Geschichte der Neuesten Zeit 1816-1866 mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Deutschlands,* Stuttgart, 1867.— *Ed.*

the German Confederation. Following this policy, she could reckon on the active help of France and Russia. *Russian policy until recent times*, i.e. up to the Crimean War, consisted above all in systematically encouraging the mutual rivalry between Austria and Prussia so that neither might gain the upper hand over the other, and at the same time, in sowing the seeds of mistrust and fear in the smaller and medium principalities of Germany, whilst protecting them from both Austria and Prussia" (p. 183). Prussia's influence chiefly moral; much expected of her (after 1815). Hence it was vital for Metternich to ensure that the (promised) constitution should not be granted and that Prussia should join Austria at the head of the reaction. "In his pursuit of this plan he discovered the most enthusiastic «support» in France which was ruled by the Bourbons and in Tsar Alexander who was manipulated by «Arakcheyev»" (p. 184).

"The Germans have no need of freedom. Life for them is simply unthinkable without authority, i.e. without a supreme will, a supreme idea and an iron hand «to drive them on». The stronger this hand, the prouder they are and life is more congenial to them" (p. 192).

*1830-1840.* Blind imitation of the French. "The Germans stopped devouring the Gauls and instead turned all their hatred towards the Russians" (p. 196). "Everything hinged on the outcome of the Polish revolution. If it had been victorious, the Prussian monarchy, cut off (separated) from its north-east rampart and compelled" to surrender if not all then at least a considerable part of its Polish possessions, "would have been forced to seek new bases in Germany herself, and since at the time it could not achieve this by conquest... it would have had to do so by means of liberal reforms" (p. 199). Following the defeat of the Poles, Frederick William III, who had performed such important services for his son-in-law Tsar Nicholas,[584] "cast off his mask and pursued the Pan-Germanic patriots even more vehemently than before" (p. 200).

"In the conviction that the mass of the people harbour all the elements of their future normal organisation in their *instincts*, as these have been developed to a greater or lesser extent by history, in their daily needs and their conscious or unconscious aspirations, we seek that ideal" (the ideal of social organisation) "in the people itself; and since every «state» power, every authority is by its very nature and its position placed outside the people and above it, and since it must necessarily strive to force the people to submit to rules and objectives alien to it, this is why we declare ourselves the enemies of all power vested in authority, the «state», the enemies of all «state» organisation in general and believe that the people can only be happy and free when «it creates its own life» by organising itself «from below», by means of autonomous and completely free associations (соединеній) and «without» any official tutelage «but not independently of various and equally free influences, both of people and parties»" (p. 213). These are "the convictions of the social revolutionaries, and this is why we are called anarchists" (p. 213). "Idealists of every kind, metaphysicians, positivists, advocates of the primacy of science over life, doctrinaire revolutionaries, all together, with the same zeal (жаромъ), although with differing arguments, defend (отстаиваютъ) the idea of the «state» and of «state» power, seeing in it, and *very logically*[a] in their way, the only salvation for society. *Very logically*[a] because, starting from the «assumption» that the *idea precedes life*, that *abstract theory takes precedence over social practice* and that therefore *the science of sociology must form the starting-point for social revolutions and transformations*, they necessarily arrive at the conclusion that since the idea, theory, science, at the present time at least, is everywhere the province of a very

[a] Italicised in Bakunin too.—*Ed.*

few people, this small number of people must therefore be entrusted with the management of society, and that they should provide not merely the inspiration, but also the leadership of every popular movement and that on the day after the revolution a new social organisation should be established not by the free association of popular organisations, communities, «districts, regions from below» in accordance with the people's requirements and instincts, but solely through the dictatorial authority of that learned minority, albeit a minority elected by the «will of the whole people»" (p. 214).

Hence the "doctrinaire revolutionaries" are never enemies of the «state», but only of existing governments whose place they wish to occupy as dictators (p. 215).

"And this is so true that at the present time when reaction is triumphant throughout Europe, when all the governments, etc., are making preparations under the leadership of Count Bismarck for a desperate struggle against the social revolution; at a time when it would seem that all sincere revolutionaries should join forces to resist the desperate onslaught of international reaction, we see the opposite, namely that under the leadership of Mr. *Marx* the doctrinaire revolutionaries everywhere take up the cudgels on behalf of «statehood» and the «worshippers of the state» and against the «*popular revolution*» (p. 216). In France they stood on the side of the «state» republican-reactionary Gambetta against the revolutionary *Ligue du Midi*[585] which alone could have saved France both from the German yoke and from the much more dangerous and now victorious coalition of clerics, Legitimists, Bonapartists and Orleanists; *in Spain they openly sided with Castelar, Pi y Margall and the Madrid Constituent Assembly*; lastly, in Germany and around her, in *Austria, Switzerland, Holland and Denmark*, they serve Count Bismarck whom *on their own admission they regard as an extremely useful revolutionary «statesman»* and assist him in the Pan-Germanisation[586] of all these countries" (pp. 216, 217).

(Feuerbach was still a metaphysician: "he had to make way for his «legitimate» successors, the leaders of the school of materialists or realists, most of whom, such as, for instance, Messrs. *Büchner, Marx* and others" have not yet succeeded in liberating themselves "from the dominance of metaphysical abstract thought") (p. 207).

"But the principal propagandist of socialism in Germany, at first in secret and not long afterwards in public, was *Karl Marx*. Mr. Marx played and still plays too important a role in the socialist movement of the German proletariat for it to be possible to overlook this remarkable personality without having made the attempt to describe some of his true characteristics. By origin Mr. Marx is a Jew. It may be said that he combines in himself all the virtues and defects of this gifted race. Nervous (нервный), as some say, to the point of cowardice, he is extraordinarily ambitious and vain, quarrelsome, intolerant and absolute like Jehovah, the God of his forefathers, and like Him, vindictive to the point of insanity. There is no lie, slander, which he would be incapable of inventing against anyone who had the misfortune to arouse his jealousy, or, what amounts to the same thing, his hatred. And he stops short at no intrigue, however «infamous», if only in his opinion (which incidentally is mostly mistaken) this intrigue can serve to strengthen his position, his influence or his power. In this respect he is a political «man» through and through. These are his negative characteristics. But he has also a great many positive qualities. He is very «clever» and extraordinarily versatile and «learned». A doctor of philosophy, it can be said that, as early as 1840 in Cologne he was the heart and soul of a very important circle of leading Hegelians[587] with whom he began to publish an oppositional journal[a] which was soon suppressed on

[a] *Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe.— Ed.*

ministerial orders. To this circle belonged the brothers Edgar and Bruno Bauer, Marx, Stirner and later in Berlin the first circle of German nihilists[588] whose cynical logic far surpassed that of the most ferocious Russian nihilists. In 1843 or 1844 Marx moved to Paris. There *for the first time* he *made contact* with the society of French and German communists[589] and with his compatriot, Moritz Hess,[a] another German Jew, who had been a learned economist and socialist even before him and who at this period exerted an important influence on the intellectual development of Mr. Marx. It is rare that one comes across a man who «knows» as much and has read «*as intelligently*» as Mr. Marx. Even at this early date the economy was the sole object of his concern. He studied the English economists with particular zeal since they excel all others in the positive character of their «knowledge» and in their practical sense, nourished by the facts of the English economy, their vigorous criticism and the scrupulous boldness of their conclusions. But to all this Mr. Marx added two new features of his own: the most abstract, «most ingenious» dialectics which he had acquired in the Hegelian school and which he frequently «pushed to mischievous, not to say perverted lengths», and the communist point of view. Mr. Marx read, it goes without saying, all the French socialists from St. Simon to Proudhon inclusively, the last named being someone he hated, as is well known, and there is no doubt that the merciless criticism that he directed against Proudhon contains more than a grain of truth[b]; Proudhon, despite all his efforts to stand on the firm ground of reality, remained an idealist and a metaphysician. His point of departure was the abstract idea of law; he proceeds from law to the economic fact, while Mr. Marx, on the other hand, has stated and proved the indubitable truth, which is confirmed by the entire history of human society, of peoples and of states, both past and present, that the economic fact everywhere took and takes precedence over juridical and political law. The «exposition» and proof of this truth is one of the principal scientific achievements of Mr. Marx. But the most remarkable fact, and one which Mr. Marx has never acknowledged, is that in the political sphere Mr. Marx is a direct disciple of M. Louis Blanc. Mr. Marx is incomparably «more intelligent» and incomparably more erudite than that «little unsuccessful» revolutionary and statesman; but as a German and despite «his respectable height», he served his apprenticeship with the diminutive Frenchman. And there is a simple explanation for this singular fact: the rhetorical Frenchman, as a bourgeois politician and a self-confessed follower of Robespierre, and the learned German in his threefold character as Hegelian, Jew and German, are both ferocious «worshippers of the state» and preachers of «state» communism, only with the difference that the one rests content with rhetorical declamations instead of arguments, and the other, as befits a learned and PAINSTAKING German, supported the principle which was equally dear to him with every subtlety of Hegelian dialectics and the whole wealth of his vast erudition. In around 1845 Mr. Marx became the leader of the German communists and subsequently, together with *Mr. Engels*, his devoted (неизмѣннымъ) friend, who was just as «intelligent», though less learned, albeit much more practical and no less capable of political slander, lies and intrigue, he founded a secret society of German communists or «state» socialists.[590] Their central committee, which was—of course—led by himself and Mr. Engels, was transferred to Brussels when both were expelled from Paris in 1846,[591] and it remained there until 1848. Incidentally, until that year their propaganda, although it had made some headway in Germany,

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[a] Moses Hess.— *Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon.— Ed.*

remained secret and «therefore did not penetrate to the outside world»" (pp. 221-225).

At the time (of the revolution of 1848) the urban proletariat in Germany, at least in its vast majority, was still beyond the reach of Marx's propaganda and beyond the organisation of his communist party. The latter was concentrated chiefly in the industrial towns of Rhenish Prussia, especially in Cologne; branches in Berlin, Breslau and, «finally», in Vienna, but very weak. Instinctively the German proletariat was naturally in favour of socialist aspirations, but no conscious demands for social revolution in 1848-49 even though the *Communist Manifesto* had been published as early as March 1848. It made almost no impression at all on the German people. The urban revolutionary proletariat still under the direct influence of the political party of radicals or at best the democrats (p. 230). At that time there was one more element in Germany, which now does not exist there, the revolutionary peasantry, or a peasantry at least ready to become revolutionary ... at that time it was ready for anything, even for a «general revolt». "In 1848 as in 1830 the German liberals and radicals feared nothing so much as such a «revolt»; nor do socialists of Marx's school like it any better. It is a well-known fact that Ferdinand Lassalle who confessed to being a direct disciple of the supreme leader of the communist party in Germany, which did not prevent his teacher from giving vent, after Lassalle's death, to his jealous and envious (malevolent—завистливое) dissatisfaction with his brilliant pupil, who had left his teacher far behind him in terms of practical politics; it is a well-known fact ... that Lassalle more than once gave it as his opinion that the defeat of the peasants' uprising in the 16th century and the subsequent strengthening and blossoming of the bureaucratic «state» in Germany was a real victory for the revolution. For the communist or socialist democrats of Germany, the peasantry, any peasantry, is reactionary; and the «state», every «state», even the Bismarckian one, revolutionary. And let no one imagine that we are slandering them. As proof that they actually think in this way we shall point to their speeches, their pamphlets, journalistic STATEMENTS and *lastly their letters*—all these things will be made available (представлено) to the Russian public in due course. Moreover, the Marxists cannot in fact think in any other way; «state worshippers» at any price, they must inevitably abominate every popular revolution, especially peasant ones, peasant[a] by their very nature and directly aiming at the destruction of the «state». As all-devouring Pan-Germanisers they must repudiate peasant revolution if only because that is the specific form of the Slav revolution" (pp. 230-232).

"Not only in 1848, but even now the German workers blindly submit to their leaders, while the leaders, the organisers of the *German Social-Democratic*[b] Party, lead them neither to liberty nor to international fraternity, but beneath the yoke of the Pan-Germanic «state»" (p. 254).

Bakunin recounts how *Frederick William IV* was afraid of Nicholas (reply to the Polish deputation in March 1848 and *Olmütz*, November 1850)[592] (pp. 254-257).

*1849-1858*: The German Confederation counted for less than nothing among the other great powers. "*Prussia was more than ever the slave of Russia*... Her subservience to the interests of the Petersburg court went so far that the Prussian Minister of War and the Prussian ambassador to the English court, a friend of the

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[a] "Anarchic" in Bakunin's text.— *Ed.*

[b] Italicised in Bakunin too.— *Ed.*

King's, were both dismissed because they had revealed their pro-western sympathies." Nicholas furious about Schwarzenberg's and Austria's ingratitude. "Austria, the natural enemy of Russia on account of her interests in the east, openly took sides with England and France against her. To the great indignation of the whole of Germany, Prussia remained «true to the last»" (p. 259). "Manteuffel became Prime Minister in November 1850 to put his signature to all the conditions of the Olmütz conference, which were humiliating in the extreme for Prussia, and to put the finishing touches to subjecting both Prussia and the whole of Germany to the hegemony of Austria. Such was the will of Nicholas ... such too were the aspirations of the major part of the Prussian Junkers or nobles who could not even bear to talk of merging Prussia into Germany and who were even more devoted to the Austrian" (?) "and All-Russian Emperors than to their own king" (p. 261).

"At this time (1866 et seq.) the so-called *People's Party* came into existence. Its centre Stuttgart. A group wanting federation with republican Switzerland was the main impetus behind the founding of the *Ligue de la Paix et de la Liberté*[593] (p. 271).

"Lassalle founded a mainly political party of German workers, organised it hierarchically and subjected it to strict discipline and to his dictatorship; in a word he did what Mr. Marx intended to do in the International in the next three years. Marx's attempt failed, but Lassalle's was completely successful" (p. 275).

"*The first act of the people's «state»*" (according to Lassalle) "will be the granting of unlimited credit to the workers' production and consumption associations, for only then will these be able to fight bourgeois capital and to defeat and absorb it in the not too distant future. When the process of absorbing it is completed, then the period of the radical transformation of society will commence. This is Lassalle's programme and this is the programme of the Social-Democratic Party. In actual fact it belongs not to Lassalle, but to Marx, who gave a complete «exposition» of it in the celebrated *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, published by him and Engels in 1848. And there is a «definite pointer to it» in the first *Manifesto of the International Association*[a] written by Marx in 1864, in the words: 'the great duty of the working classes', etc., or, as it is put in the *Communist Manifesto*, 'the first step in the revolution', etc., and ending with 'to concentrate all instruments of production in the hands of the «state»', i.e. of the proletariat «raised to the level of the *ruling estate*»"[b] (pp. 275, 276). "But is it not «clear» that Lassalle's programme is indistinguishable from that of Marx whom he ackhowledged as his teacher? In the pamphlet directed against Schulze-Delitzsch, Lassalle ... having explained his basic conception of the social and political development of modern society, says explicitly that the ideas themselves and even the terminology he uses belong not to him but to Mr. Marx[c]... All the «stranger» is it, therefore, to see the protest printed by Mr. Marx *after the death*[b] *of Lassalle* in the Preface to *Capital*. Marx complains bitterly that Lassalle has robbed him by appropriating his ideas.[594] This protest, a very «strange» one from a communist who preaches collective ownership but who does not comprehend the fact that an idea, once uttered, ceases to be the property of an individual. It would be another matter if Lassalle had «copied one or more pages»..." (p. 276). "In contrast to his teacher Marx, who is strong on theory and on intrigue behind the scenes or under cover, but loses all importance and force in the public arena, Lassalle was made by nature

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[a] K. Marx, "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association".— *Ed.*

[b] Italicised in Bakunin too.— *Ed.*

[c] F. Lassalle, *Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch der ökonomische Julian, oder: Capital und Arbeit*, Berlin, 1864.— *Ed.*

for open struggle in practical politics" (p. 277). "The entire liberal and democratic bourgeoisie deeply detested him; «like-minded comrades», socialists, Marxists and Marx himself, concentrated on him all the force of their malevolent envy (зависти). Indeed, their loathing of him equalled that felt by the bourgeoisie; during his life they did not venture to express their hatred because he was too strong for them" (pp. 277, 278).

"We have already expressed our deep aversion to the theory of Lassalle and Marx which recommends to the workers, if not as an ultimate ideal, at least as the principal immediate objective, the *establishment of a people's state* (народнаго государства), which, as they put it, will be nothing other than 'the proletariat «*raised to the level of the ruling estate*»'. The question is, if the proletariat is to be the ruling class, over whom will it rule? This means (this implies—значитъ) that another proletariat will remain which will be subject to this new domination, this new state (государству)."

It implies that as long as the other classes, above all the capitalist class, still exist, and as long as the proletariat is still fighting against it (for when the proletariat obtains control of the government its enemies and the old organisation of society will not yet have disappeared), it must use *forcible* means, that is to say, governmental means; as long as it remains a class itself, and the economic conditions which give rise to the class struggle and the existence of classes have not vanished they must be removed or transformed by force, and the process of transforming them must be accelerated by force.

"For example, the «крестьянская чернь», the vulgar peasants, the peasant rabble, who, as is well known, do not enjoy the goodwill of the Marxists and who, standing on the lowest rung of civilisation, will probably be governed by the urban and factory proletariat" [p. 278].

That is to say, where peasants en masse exist as owners of private property, where they even form a more or less considerable majority, as in all the states of the West European continent, where they have not yet disappeared and have not been replaced by agricultural day labourers, as in England, there the following may happen: either the peasants prevent or bring about the downfall of every workers' revolution, as they have done hitherto in France; or else the proletariat (for the peasant proprietor does not belong to the proletariat, and even if he does belong to it in terms of his actual position, he does not think of himself as belonging to it) must, as the government, take the measures needed to enable the peasant to directly improve his condition, i.e. to win him over to the revolution; these measures, however, contain the seeds which will facilitate the transition from the private ownership of the land to collective ownership, so that the peasant arrives at this economically of his own accord; but it is important not to antagonise the peasant, e.g. by proclaiming the

abolition of the right of inheritance or the abolition of his property; the latter is possible only where the capitalist tenant farmer has ousted the peasants, so that the actual farmer is as much a proletarian, a wage-labourer, as the urban worker, so that he has the same interests as the latter *directly* and not indirectly. Still less should smallholdings be strengthened by increasing the size of allotments simply by dividing up the large estates among the peasantry, as in Bakunin's revolutionary campaign.

"Or, if this question is considered from the national point of view, then it must be assumed that for the Germans the Slavs will, for the same reason, be placed in the same relationship of slavish dependency on the victorious German proletariat as that in which the latter finds itself vis-à-vis its own bourgeoisie" (p. 278).

Schoolboyish rot! A radical social revolution is bound up with definite historical conditions of economic development; these are its premisses. It is only possible, therefore, where alongside capitalist production the industrial proletariat accounts for at least a significant portion of the mass of the people. And for it to have any chance of victory, it must be able *mutatis mutandis*[a] at the very least to do as much directly for the peasants as the French bourgeoisie did in its revolution for the French peasantry at that time. A fine idea to imagine that the rule of the workers implies the oppression of rural labour! But this is where we glimpse Mr. Bakunin's innermost thought. He understands absolutely nothing of social revolution, only its political rhetoric; its economic conditions simply do not exist for him. Now since all previous economic formations, whether developed or undeveloped, have entailed the enslavement of the worker (whether as wage labourer, peasant, etc.), he imagines that *radical revolution* is equally possible in all these formations. What is more, he wants the European social revolution, whose economic basis is capitalist production, to be carried out on the level of the Russian or Slav agricultural and pastoral peoples, and that it should not surpass this level, even though he can see that *navigation* creates distinctions among brethren; but of course he only thinks of *navigation* because this distinction is familiar to all politicians! *Willpower*, not economic conditions, is the basis of his social revolution.

"Where there is a state (государство), there is inevitably domination (господство) and consequently there is also «slavery»; domination without slavery, hidden[b] or masked, is unthinkable—that is why we are enemies of the «state»" (p. 278).

"What does it mean to talk of the proletariat «raised to the level of the ruling estate»"?

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[a] With the necessary changes having been made.—*Ed.*

[b] Bakunin has: "open".—*Ed.*

It means that the proletariat, instead of fighting in individual instances against the economically privileged classes, has gained sufficient strength and organisation to use general means of coercion in its struggle against them; but it can only make use of such economic means as abolish its own character as wage labourer and hence as a class; when its victory is complete, its rule too is therefore at an end, since its class character will have disappeared.

"Will perhaps the entire proletariat stand at the head of the government?"

In a TRADES UNION, for example, does the entire union form its executive committee? Will all division of labour in the factory come to an end as well as the various functions arising from it? And with Bakunin's constitution «from below», will everyone be «at the top»? If so, there will be no one «at the bottom». Will all the members of the community at the same time administer the common interests of the «region»? If so, there will be no distinction between community and «region».

"There are about 40 million Germans. Does this mean that all 40 million will be members of the government?"

CERTAINLY! For the system starts with the self-government of the communities.

"The entire people will rule, and no one will be ruled."

When a person rules himself, he does not do so according to this principle; for he is only himself and not another.

"Then there will be no government, no state, but if there is a state, there will be both rulers and slaves."

That just means when class rule has disappeared there [will] be no state in the present political sense (p. 279).

"The dilemma in the theory of the Marxists is easily resolved. By people's government they" (i.e. Bakunin) "understand the government of the people by means of a small number of representatives chosen (elected) by the people."

Asine![a] This is democratic twaddle, political claptrap! Elections—a political form found in the tiniest Russian commune and in the artel. The character of an election does not depend on this name but on the economic foundation, the economic interrelations of the voters, and as soon as the functions have ceased to be political, 1) government functions no longer exist; 2) the distribution of general functions has become a routine matter which entails no domination; 3) elections lose their present political character.

"The universal suffrage of the whole people"—

[a] Ass.—*Ed.*

such a thing as the whole people, in the present meaning of the word, is an illusion—

"to elect its representatives and «rulers of state»—that is the last word of the Marxists and also of the democratic school—is a lie which conceals the despotism of the *ruling minority*, a lie that is all the more dangerous as it appears as the expression of the so-called will of the people."

With collective ownership the so-called will of the people disappears and makes way for the genuine will of the cooperative.

"So the result is the control of the vast majority of the people by a privileged minority. But this minority, the Marxists say,"

Where?

"will consist of workers. Yes, quite possibly of former workers, but, as soon as they have become the representatives or rulers of the people, *they cease to be workers*"—

no more than a factory owner today ceases to be a capitalist when he becomes a municipal councillor—

"and will gaze down upon the whole world of the common workers from the eminence of «statehood»; they will no longer represent the people, but only themselves and their «claims» to govern the people. Anyone who can doubt this knows nothing of human nature" (p. 279).

If Mr. Bakunin were familiar even with the position of a manager in a workers' co-operative factory, all his fantasies about domination would go to the devil. He should have asked himself: what forms could management functions assume within such a workers' state, if he wants to call it that? (p. 279).

"But these chosen people will become passionately convinced as well as learned socialists. The words '*learned socialism*'"—

never used—

"'*scientific socialism*'"—

used only in contrast to utopian socialism which wishes to foist new illusions onto the people instead of confining its scientific investigations to the social movement created by the people itself; see my book against Proudhon[a]—

"which recur repeatedly in the writings and speeches of the Lassalleans and Marxists, prove themselves that the so-called people's state will be nothing more than the highly despotic direction of the masses of the people by a new and very small aristocracy of genuinely or supposedly learned men. The people is not scientific; that means it will be wholly liberated from the cares of government, it will be completely incorporated into the herd that is to be governed. A fine liberation!" (pp. 279, 280).

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[a] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon.*—*Ed.*

"The Marxists perceive this" (!) "contradiction and, recognising that a government of scholars" (*quelle rêverie*!)[a] "will be the most oppressive, most hated and most despicable in the world, and that for all its democratic forms it will actually be a dictatorship, they console themselves with the thought that this dictatorship will be provisional and brief" [p. 280].

*Non, mon cher*!—The *class rule* of the workers over the strata of the old world who are struggling against them can only last as long as the economic basis of class society has not been destroyed.

"They say that their sole concern and objective will be *to educate and uplift the people*" (ale-house politician!) "both economically and politically to such a level that all government will soon become unnecessary and the state will completely lose its political, i.e. its «dominating» character, and will change of its own accord into the free organisation of economic interests and communities. This is an evident contradiction. If their state is truly a people's state, why destroy it, and if its abolition is necessary for the real liberation of the people, then how dare they call it a people's state?" (p. 280).

Apart from his harping on Liebknecht's *people's state*, which is nonsense directed against the *Communist Manifesto*, etc., it only means that, as the proletariat in the period of struggle leading to the overthrow of the old society still acts on the basis of the old society and hence still moves within political forms which more or less correspond to it, it has at that stage not yet arrived at its final organisation, and hence to achieve its liberation has recourse to methods which will be discarded once that liberation has been attained. Hence Mr. Bakunin deduces that the proletariat should rather do nothing at all... and just wait for the *day of universal liquidation*—the Last Judgement.

"By *our polemics* against them"

(which appeared, of course, before my book against Proudhon and the *Communist Manifesto*, and even before St. Simon) (a beautiful υστερον πρότερον[b])

"*we* have forced them to *admit* that freedom or anarchy"

(Mr. Bakunin has only translated Proudhon's and Stirner's anarchy into the barbaric idiom of the Tartars),

"i.e. the free organisation of the working masses from below" (nonsense!) "is the ultimate goal of social development and that every «state», the people's state included, is a yoke which engenders despotism, on the one hand, and slavery, on the other" (p. 280).

"They assert that this authoritarian yoke, dictatorship, is a transitional phase essential to the attainment of the complete liberation of the people: anarchy or freedom—the end; domination or dictatorship—the means. Hence in order to

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[a] What a fantastic idea!—*Ed.*

[b] *Hysteron proteron*: a figure of speech in which what should come last (*hysteron*) is put first (*proteron*); inversion of natural order.—*Ed.*

liberate the mass of the people, it is first necessary to enslave them. It is on this contradiction that our polemics rest. They assure us that only a dictatorship, their own of course, can form the basis of the people's freedom; we reply that no dictatorship can ever have any goal but to «perpetuate *itself*» and that it is «capable only of breeding and nurturing slavery in the people that is forced to endure it»; freedom can only be created by freedom" ([the freedom] of the permanent *citoyen* Bakunin), "i.e. by the «rebellion of the whole people» and the free organisation of the masses from below" (p. 281).

"Whereas the political and social theory of the anti-state socialists or anarchists leads «inexorably» and directly to a complete break with all governments, with all modes of bourgeois politics, leaving no alternative but social revolution,"

(leaving nothing of the social revolution but *phrases*),

"the opposite theory, the theory of the state communists and of scientific authority, on the pretext of political tactics, lures its supporters no less «inexorably» and ensnares them in an incessant process of «horsetrading» with governments and the various bourgeois political parties; that is to say, it drives them directly into the arms of the reaction" (p. 281). "The best proof of this is *Lassalle.* Who is ignorant of his relations and his deals with Bismarck? The liberals and democrats [...] used this to accuse him of venality. The same, though not so openly, has been «whispered» among various[a] followers of Mr. Marx in Germany" (p. 282).

Lassalle's attitude towards the mass of common workers was more like that of a doctor towards his patients than one brother to another. He would not have betrayed the people for anything in the world (l.c.). Lassalle had openly declared war on the liberals and democrats; he detested and despised them. Bismarck's attitude to them was the same. This was the first reason for their rapprochement. "The chief basis for this «rapprochement» was implicit in Lassalle's political and social programme, in the theory of communism founded by Mr. Marx" (p. 283).

"The principal point of this programme: the (supposed) liberation of the proletariat by means of the «state alone»... Two means ... the proletariat must carry out revolution in order to subject the state to it—this the heroic method ... according to the theory of Mr. Marx" ... the people must then put all power into his own hands and the hands of his friends... "They will found a single state bank, concentrating in their hands all commercial, industrial, agricultural and even scientific production, and divide the population into two armies, industrial and agricultural, under the direct command of engineers of the state who will form a new privileged scientific and political estate" (pp. 283, 284).

As for making a revolution, Germans themselves do not believe in it.—"It is necessary for another people to make a start or for some external «force» to drag them along or «give» them «a push»." Hence some other means required to obtain control of the state. Necessary to gain the sympathy of people who stand or can stand at the head of the state. In Lassalle's day, as today, Bismarck stood at the head of the state... Lassalle chiefly endowed with practical instinct and «intelligence», which are missing in Mr. Marx and his followers. Like all theoreticians, Marx a lifelong and «incorrigible» dreamer in practice. He demonstrated this by his hapless campaign in the International Association, whose goal was to set up his dictatorship in the International and to extend it through the International to the entire revolutionary movement of the proletariat in Europe and America. To set yourself such a goal you must be either a madman or a completely abstract

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[a] Bakunin has: "personal".—*Ed.*

theoretician. This year Mr. Marx suffered a complete and thoroughly merited defeat, but it "is unlikely to rid (избавить) him of his ambitious dreaming" (pp. 284, 285). "Such dreams, together with his desire to gain admirers and adherents among the bourgeoisie, led and lead Marx again and again to drive the proletariat into negotiations with the bourgeois radicals. Gambetta and Castelar—those are his «true» ideals" (pp. 284, 285). "These attempts, which have intensified in Marx in recent years, to make deals (сделкам) with the radical bourgeoisie, testify to two different dreams: first, if the radical bourgeoisie attains power, it will perhaps be in a position to «want» to use that power to the advantage of the proletariat, and second, it will be able to hold out against the reaction whose roots are hidden within itself" (p. 285).

As a practical man Lassalle realised this (i.e. that the radical bourgeoisie is neither willing nor able to liberate the people, but wishes only to exploit it); moreover he detested the German bourgeoisie; Lassalle also knew his fellow countrymen too well to expect any revolutionary initiative from them. Only Bismarck remained to him. "What brought them together was provided to him by Marxian theory itself: a unified, forcibly centralised state. Lassalle wanted this and Bismarck created it. How could they not come together?" Bismarck the enemy (!) of the bourgeois. His present activities prove that he is no fanatic and no slave of the aristocratic-feudal party... "His chief purpose, like that of Lassalle and Marx—the state. And therefore Lassalle proved himself to be incomparably more logical and practical than Marx, who ackhowledges Bismarck as a revolutionary, «albeit in his own way», and who dreams of his overthrow, probably because he occupies the first place in the state, a position which in Mr. Marx's opinion ought to be his." Lassalle lacked such vanity; therefore he did not recoil from the idea of forming an alliance with Bismarck. "In complete conformity with the political programme propounded by Messrs. Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*, Lassalle put only one demand to Bismarck: that he should make government credit available to workers' production associations." And at the same time, "in agreement with the programme, he began peaceful and legal agitation among the workers to achieve the introduction of the franchise" (pp. 288-289).

After Lassalle's death, alongside the *workers' educational societies* and Lassalle's *General Association of German Workers*, "a third party—the *Social-Democratic Party of the German Workers*—was formed under the direct influence of the friends and followers of Mr. Marx. At its head were Bebel, полуработникъ (a semi-worker), and Liebknecht, a complete theorist[a] and agent of Mr. Marx" (p. 289).

We have already referred to Liebknecht's activities in Vienna in 1868. These resulted in the *Nuremberg Congress*[b] (August 1868) at which the Social-Democratic Party was finally organised. "The desire (intention) of its founders, *acting under the direct leadership of Marx*, was to make it the Pan-Germanic section of the International Working Men's Association." But the German and, above all, the Prussian laws were opposed to such a union. Hence it was only touched on indirectly: "The Social-Democratic Party of the German Workers enters into relations with the International Working Men's Association within the limits permitted by German laws." "*There can be no doubt that this new party was founded in Germany with the secret hope and intention* of making use of it to introduce into the International the entire programme of Marx which the first Geneva Congress (of 1866) had rejected."[595] "Marx's programme became the programme of the Social-Democratic Party", the «conquest» of "political power" became the "first and immediate

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[a] "Direct disciple" in Bakunin.—*Ed.*

[b] Italicised in Bakunin too.—*Ed.*

objective", a recommendation followed by this significant phrase: "The conquest of political power (universal suffrage, freedom of the press, freedom of association and meetings, etc.) as the indispensable preliminary (предварительное) condition of the economic emancipation of the workers." "This phrase means: before advancing towards social revolution, the workers must carry out the political revolution, or, as better befits the German character, conquer, or, better still, acquire, political rights by means of peaceful agitation. But since *every* political movement *preceding* or, what *amounts* to the same thing, occurring *outside the social one* can be none other than a bourgeois movement, it follows that this programme recommends the German workers *first and foremost to acquire bourgeois interests and objectives* and *to carry out the political movement for the benefit of the radical bourgeoisie* which then in gratitude will not liberate the people, but will subject it to a new rule and new exploitation" (pp. 289-291).

"On the basis of this programme a moving reconciliation took place between the German and Austrian workers and the bourgeois radicals of the People's Party." On the basis of "the Nuremberg Congress delegates nominated by the Congress for the purpose went to *Stuttgart* where a formal defensive and offensive alliance was concluded[596] between the elders of the deceived workers and the ring-leaders of the bourgeois radical party. As a consequence of this alliance both groups appeared *together* at the second Congress of the *Ligue de la Paix et de la Liberté, which opened in September in Berne.* But a very remarkable fact. There was a split between the bourgeois socialists and the radicals on the one hand—and the social revolutionaries belonging to the party of the *Alliance* on the other" (pp. 291, 292).[597] "Marx's school has provided us with many examples of this (ability to call oneself a socialist and a friend of the people while remaining opposed to popular socialism); and the German dictator is very hospitable under the indispensable condition that people bow down to him, so that his banner covers a very large number of people who are bourgeois socialists and democrats from top to toe; even the *Ligue de la Paix et de la Liberté* could find refuge there if it were only prepared to acknowledge him as the top man (человекъ). If the bourgeois congress had proceeded in this fashion, the position of the Alliancists would have been incomparably more difficult; it would have led to the same struggle between the League and the Alliance that now rages between the Alliance and Marx. However, the League showed itself to be more stupid, but also more honest than the Marxists; it denied *equality*" (nonsense!) "in the economic sphere. It thereby cut itself off from the proletariat, died and left behind it only two shades who roam around uttering lamentations: Amand Goegg and the St. Simonist millionaire, Lemonier... Another FACT about this Congress: *the delegates who came from Nuremberg and Stuttgart, i.e. the workers mandated by the Nuremberg Congress of the new Social-Democratic Party of the German Workers* and the bourgeois Swabian *'People's Party', together with the majority of the League, voted unanimously against equality...* And a further remarkable FACT is that the *Brussels Congress of the International,* which concluded its deliberations some days before the one in Berne, repudiated all solidarity with the latter, and all the Marxists who took part in the Brussels Congress spoke and voted along those lines.[598] How could it come about then that *other Marxists,* acting like the first *under the direct influence* of Marx, should have gone along in such touching harmony with the majority at the Berne Congress? All that remained an enigma which has still not been resolved to the present day. The same contradiction became manifest throughout 1868 and even into 1869 in the *Volksstaat...* At times very powerful articles were printed in it against the bourgeois League; these were then followed by unmistakable «declarations» of affection, and at other times friendly remonstrances. The paper as it were implored the League to «moderate» its over-enthusiastic proclamations of

bourgeois instincts which compromised its defenders in the eyes of the workers. This indecision persisted in Mr. Marx's party up to September 1869, i.e. up to the Basle Congress. This Congress is epoch-making in the history of the International" (pp. 293-296).

For the first time the Germans appeared at an international congress, and they came as a party organised around a bourgeois political programme rather than a national people's[a] one. Under the leadership of Liebknecht they voted as one man. His first concern, understandably in view of his programme, was to put the political question before everything else. The Germans decisively defeated. The Basle Congress retained the programme of the International in all its purity; it refused to allow the Germans to mutilate it by introducing their bourgeois policies. It was in this way that the split in the International came about, and it was the Germans who were responsible for it. They wished to impose their narrowly bourgeois, national-political, exclusively German and Pan-Germanic programme on an association which was first and foremost international. "They were squarely defeated and the League of Social Revolutionaries, the Alliancists, were not slow to make use of this defeat.[b] Hence the bitter hatred of the Germans for the Alliance. The end of 1869 and first half of 1870 were filled with venomous attacks and even more insidious and not infrequently base intrigues by the Marxists against the Alliance people" (p. 296).

A victory by Napoleon III would not have had such long-lasting adverse effects as the German one (p. 297).

All Germans *without exception* rejoiced at the victory, even though they knew that it would set the seal on the predominance of the military; "not a single German, or scarcely one, was dismayed, all joined together in unanimous jubilation". Their passion: domination and slavery (p. 298). "*And what about the German workers? Well, the German workers did nothing at all, not a single vigorous demonstration of sympathy, of compassion for the workers of France.* A few MEETINGS where a few phrases were mouthed in which victorious national pride fell silent, so to speak, before the demonstration of international solidarity. But no one went beyond phrases, even though in Germany cleaned of all troops at the time it would have been possible to start and do something. It is true that a majority of workers had been drafted into the army where they distinguished themselves in carrying out their duty as soldiers, killed everyone, etc., at the command of their superiors and even took part in plundering. Some of them, while carrying out their warlike duty in this way, at the same time wrote heart-rending letters to the *Volksstaat* with vivid accounts of the barbarous crimes committed by the German armies in France" (pp. 298, 299). Meanwhile there were a few instances of bolder opposition: the protests of Jacoby, Liebknecht and Bebel; these were isolated and also very rare cases.

"We cannot forget the article published in the *Volksstaat* in *September 1870* in which Pan-Germanic victory jubilation is openly expressed. It begins with the words: 'Thanks to the victories gained by the German armies, the historical initiative has finally passed from France to Germany: we Germans, etc.'" (p. 299).

"In a word, we can say without any exception that the triumphant feeling of national military and political victory predominated and still predominates among all Germans. It is upon this that the power of the Pan-Germanic Empire and its great Chancellor, Count Bismarck, may be said chiefly to be founded" (p. 299).

"And do you know what ambition now predominates in the mind or the

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[a] Bakunin has: "social people's".— *Ed.*

[b] Bakunin has: "made no small contribution to this defeat".— *Ed.*

instinct of every German? The desire to expand (распространить) «far, wide» the German Empire" (p. 303). This passion is "now also the entire activity of the Social-Democratic Party. And do not imagine that Bismarck is such an ardent enemy of that party as he pretends (прикидывается). He is too «cunning» not to perceive that it serves him as an advance guard, spreading the idea of the Germanic state in Austria, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland. The dissemination of this Germanic idea is at present the principal aspiration of Mr. Marx who, as we have already remarked, has attempted to *renew* (возобновить) to his own advantage within the International the exploits and the victories of Count Bismarck. Bismarck holds all parties in his hand and is hardly likely to hand them over to Mr. Marx" (p. 304).

"Through the voice of its great Chancellor, this" (Pan-Germanic) "Empire has declared a war to the death on social revolution. Count Bismarck uttered this death sentence in the name of 40 million Germans who stand behind him and support him. Marx too, his envious rival, and behind him all the [ring-]leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party, for their part declared the same desperate war on social revolution. We shall discuss all this in depth in the next section" (pp. 307, 308). "Hitherto, it" (the social revolution) "has concentrated its forces in Southern Europe: Italy, Spain, France; but soon, we hope, the peoples of the north-west will rise up beneath its banner: Belgium, Holland and, above all, England, and then at last the Slav tribes too" (p. 308).

## APPENDIX

"The main features of the ideal" of the Russian people: 1. "the universal conviction, shared by the entire people, that the earth, the whole earth watered by their sweat and fertilised by the labour of their own hands, belongs to the people; 2. that the right to use it belongs not to the individual, but to the «community», to the «communal assembly» which shares it out among individuals for «a fixed period»; 3. quasi-absolute autonomy, communal self-administration and in consequence the resolutely hostile attitude of the «community» towards the state" (p. 10).

"The three negative features are: 1. the patriarchal state; 2. the engulfing of the individual by the «communal assembly»; 3. faith in the Tsar. One could add 4. the Christian faith, whether of the established church or the sects (p. 10); but this plays a less significant part in Russia than in Western Europe" (l.c.).

Points 2 and 3 are "natural consequences" of point 1, the «patriarchal state». Father, «communal assembly», the Tsar (p. 15). "The «community» is his world. It is nothing but the natural extension of his family, his clan. It is for this reason that the patriarchal principle dominates in it, the same odious despotism and the same general submissiveness and hence too the коренная (quintessential, deeply rooted) injustice and the same radical denial of every right of the individual, as in the family too. The decisions of the «communal assembly», whatever they may be, are law. «Who dares to go against the communal assembly?» enthuses the peasant with «amazement»... In the «communal assembly» only the «elders», the heads of the family, have the right to vote... But above the «community», above all the communities, stands the Tsar, the «universal» patriarch and progenitor, the father of all Russia. Hence his power is without limit" (p. 15). "Every community forms a «closed whole», and in consequence no community has, or feels the need for, any independent organic bonds with other communities. They are only joined to each other through the «Tsar, the Father», and only by virtue of the supreme, fatherly power which he wields" (pp. 15, 16).

# Frederick Engels

## NOTE ON PAGE 29 OF THE *HISTOIRE DE LA COMMUNE*[599]

### (M. THIERS' CEASEFIRE OF OCTOBER 30, 1870)[600]

It took all the stupidity and deceitfulness of the men of September 4[601] to call the news of this ceasefire "good news". Good indeed—for the Prussians.

The capitulation of Metz had just restored freedom of action to 6 Prussian army corps—120,000 men. Nobody but Trochu and Jules Favre could have failed to see that the imminent arrival of this new army in the centre of France would make any attempt to relieve Paris almost impossible, that this was not the moment for concluding ceasefires but for mounting a supreme military effort. Only a fortnight remained to do this; but this fortnight was precious, it was the critical phase of the war.

This was the situation.

In order to effect the blockade of Paris, the Germans had had to employ all their troops, with the exception of 3 divisions of infantry. They had *no reserves*, for these 3 divisions had, by occupying Orléans and Châteaudun forfeited this capacity, being held in check by the army of the Loire. To the west, north and east there was nothing but cavalry which, despite observing and covering a wide expanse of country, was incapable of holding it against infantry.

By the end of October the German line encircling Paris was already very heavily fortified towards the city; but any attack coming from outside would of necessity encounter the Prussians in open country. The appearance of 50,000 men, even young troops such as those which France then had at its disposal, would have been sufficient to break the blockade and restore communications between Paris and the rest of the country. But we have seen that it was necessary to act swiftly, and this is what happened:

The Paris government accepted a ceasefire which, although of short duration, gave relief to the German troops exhausted by the labours and sleepless nights of the blockade (October 30).

For his part, d'Aurelle de Paladines concentrated his army on November 2 at Vierzon with the intention of marching on Beaugency, of crossing the Loire there and advancing between the Prussians (22nd Division) occupying Châteaudun and the Bavarians who were holding Orléans. The march from Vierzon to Beaugency was about 45 kilometres and could easily be accomplished in two days. But if we are to believe a German source (*Militärische Gedanken und Betrachtungen* etc.[a]), Gambetta was simple enough to believe that an army of 40,000 men could travel by railway at the same speed as an ordinary person. So he ordered the general—instead of making his army march—to transport it by railway from Vierzon to Tours and from there to Beaugency. The general protested; Gambetta insisted. So instead of a march of *two days* and 45 kilometres, the army of the Loire made a railway journey of 180 kilometres which took it *five days* and which, moreover, could not remain hidden from enemy reconnaissance. Not until the 7th was it once again concentrated at Beaugency and ready for action. But three precious days had been lost, and the enemy had knowledge of the movement carried out.

And what days! November 3 was the most critical day: the Prussian cavalry, a whole brigade, was forced to abandon Mantes and to retire to Vert in the face of numerous *francs-tireurs*[602]; on the other hand, considerable French forces of all the arms were observed marching from Courville in the direction of Chartres. If the army of the Loire, instead of riding around in railway carriages, had attacked on the 4th, which it could have done; if it had pushed on between the Bavarians and the 22nd Prussian Division, which was an easy matter; if it had used its great numerical superiority to inflict a comprehensive defeat on them in turn and then to advance on Paris—then Paris would almost certainly have been liberated.

Moltke was by no means oblivious to the danger and had decided, if need be, to act as Napoleon had acted at Mantua[603]: to lift the blockade, to sacrifice the siege park under formation at Villacoublay, to concentrate his army for action in open country and not to restore the blockade until victory was won, that is, after the arrival of the Metz army. The baggage of the Versailles

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[a] [H. von Hannecken,] *Militärische Gedanken und Betrachtungen über den deutsch-französischen Krieg der Jahre 1870 und 1871 vom Verfasser des "Krieges um Metz"*, Mainz, 1871, pp. 185-86.—*Ed.*

headquarters had already been loaded on to waggons; all was ready for departure, all that remained was to harness the horses (according to the Swiss colonel von Erlach, an eye-witness[a]).

If the Prussians had been forced to lift the blockade of Paris, this might have given rise to pressure from the rest of Europe and an honourable peace.[b] In any event, the moral effect of such a feat would have been immense, first on Europe and then particularly on France and finally, in the opposite sense, on the Germans. And the material effects of such a feat! Paris would have had fifteen to twenty days at least to take in fresh supplies by all the railway lines from the south and the west, which would have enabled it to prolong its defence by one or two months. Moreover, an equivalent respite would have been obtained to organise the armies of the provinces; it would then no longer have been necessary to send them into battle without discipline, without training, without equipment, almost without arms. To give France a chance of success all that was needed was time; the opportunity to obtain it occurred on November 3 and 4; we have seen how this opportunity was missed.

Let us, however, follow the course of events.

Paris did not even make a sortie.

For a week the forces approaching Paris from the west made no attempt to attack. This is not surprising. These forces must have been rather weak; Gambetta's decree instructing M. de Kératry to organise the army of the west is dated October 22!

There remained the army of the Loire, which had come into the line on November 7 at Beaugency. Not until the 9th did d'Aurelle attack the Bavarians at Coulmiers; as soon as the latter saw that the retreat of the 22nd Prussian Division, which was marching towards them from the direction of Chartres, was assured, they retired to Tours, where this division joined them the following day, November 10. D'Aurelle *moved no more.* Meanwhile, three corps, 60,000 men, of the Metz army were approaching from the Seine by forced marches. Two more Prussian divisions (the 3rd and the 4th), which had been sent by rail from Metz, had already arrived outside Paris. Moltke could therefore afford to direct the 17th Prussian Division to Tours, where it arrived on the 12th. There were thus 4 German divisions, about 35,000 men, in the

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[a] Franz von Erlach, *Aus dem französisch-deutschen Kriege 1870-1871. Beobachtungen und Betrachtungen eines Schweizer-Wehrmanns*, Leipzig-Bern, 1874, p. 230.— *Ed.*

[b] For details, see F. Engels, "Fortified Capitals" (present edition, Vol. 22).— *Ed.*

line against the army of the Loire, which henceforth ceased to cause them any anxiety.

However, on November 14 considerable French forces moved from Dreux towards Houblon, two days' march from Versailles. Moltke, who still had nothing but his cavalry in this direction, was unable to conduct sufficient reconnaissance to discover what forces might lie behind this advance guard. On that day he was once again about to abandon Versailles and to lift the blockade (Blume[a]). This time, however, it was not a matter of days but of hours only. The first corps of the Metz army (IXth) reached Fontainebleau the same day; the IIIrd was due at Nemours between the 16th and the 18th; and the Xth on the 19th at Joigny sur Yonne. Moltke directed the 17th Division to Rambouillet, the 22nd to Chartres, the Bavarians to Auneau, that is between the army of the Loire, to which he left open the road to Paris, and the troops who were threatening Versailles from the west. This time d'Aurelle's inactivity was his salvation; if he had advanced into the gap that had opened up in front of him he would have been crushed between the two German forces ready to fall on his flanks. On November 19 the three corps of the 2nd Prussian army occupied Fontainebleau and Nemours, with their reserves on the Yonne; on November 20 the Ist army under Manteuffel had assembled on the line of the Oise from Compiègne to Noyon; the Metz army was protecting the blockade of Paris to the north and the south; the last chance of lifting the blockade had been lost, thanks to Trochu, Gambetta and d'Aurelle, whose mutual failings complemented one another, one might say, with the much-vaunted precision of the Prussian battalions.

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[a] W. Blume, *Die Operationen der deutschen Heere von der Schlacht bei Sedan bis zum Ende des Krieges...*, Berlin, 1872, pp. 69-71.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## [MARGINAL NOTES ON ADOLPH WAGNER'S *LEHRBUCH DER POLITISCHEN OEKONOMIE*

(SECOND EDITION), VOLUME I, 1879] [604]

1. Mr. Wagner's conception, the "*socio-legal conception*" (p. 2).[a] Thereby finds itself "*in accord with Rodbertus, Lange and Schäffle*" [605] (p. 2). For the "*main points of the foundation*" he refers to *Rodbertus and Schäffle.* Mr. Wagner says even of *piracy* as "unlawful acquisition" by *entire peoples,* that it is only robbery if "*a true jus gentium*[b] is presumed to obtain" (p. 18, Note 3).

His research is primarily devoted to the "*conditions of economic life in a community*" and he "*determines from them the sphere of the economic freedom of the individual*" (p. 2).

"The 'instinct to satisfy one's needs'" "does *not* function, and is not meant to function, as a *pure force of nature,* but, like every human instinct, it is subject to the guidance of reason and conscience. Every act resulting from it is therefore an *answerable* one, and is always governed by a *moral judgement,* though this is admittedly" (!) "itself liable to *historical change*" (p. 9).

As for "*Labour*" (p. 9, § 2), Mr. Wagner does not distinguish between the *concrete character of each kind of labour* and the *expenditure of labour power* common to all these concrete types of labour (pp. 9, 10).

"Even the *mere management of wealth* for the *purpose of procuring revenue* always necessitates activities which belong *to the concept of labour,* and likewise the *employment* of the income thus acquired for the satisfaction of needs" (p. 10, Note 6).

According to Wagner the *historico-legal* are the "*social categories*" (Note 6, p. 13).

"In particular *natural monopolies of location* have the effect, especially in *urban*" (!natural monopoly of the location in the City of London!) "conditions, then under

[a] Here and below Marx gave in brackets pages of Adolph Wagner's book.—*Ed.*
[b] International law.—*Ed.*

the influence of the *climate* for the *agricultural production* of entire countries, further, *natural monopolies of the specific fertility of the land*, e.g. with especially good vineyards, and indeed even between different peoples, e.g. in the *sale of tropical products* to countries of the temperate zone". //"One example are the *export duties* on products of a kind of natural monopoly, which are imposed in some countries (Southern Europe, tropical countries) on the safe assumption that they will be passed on to the foreign consumers" (Note 11, p. 15). In deducing export duties in the Southern countries from this, Mr. Wagner shows that he knows nothing of the "*history*" of these duties//[a]—"that goods at least partially free in nature become purely economic ones, sold as a matter of business to the highest bidder" (p. 15).

The sphere of *regular* exchange (*sale*) of goods is their *market* (p. 21).

*Among economic goods: "Relations to persons and things (res incorporales)* whose material completeness is based on an abstraction: a) *from absolutely free commerce*: the cases of *customers, firms*, etc., when advantageous relations with other people, which have been formed through human activity, may be granted and acquired *for payment*; b) due to certain *legal limitations of commerce*: exclusive manufacturing rights, real equities, privileges, monopolies, patents, etc." (pp. 22, 23).

Mr. Wagner subsumes "*services*" under "*economic goods*" (p. 23, Note 2 and p. 28). His real motive in doing so is his desire to portray Privy Councillor Wagner as a "*productive worker*"; for, he says

"the answer is prejudicial to an assessment of all of those classes which *professionally* perform *personal services*, such as *servants*, the members of the *liberal professions*, and hence also of the *state*. Only if services are reckoned in with economic goods, are the aforesaid classes *productive* in the economic sense" (p. 24).

The following is highly characteristic of the way of thinking of Wagner and company:

*Rau* had observed: it depends on the "*definition of wealth* and also of economic goods" whether "*services* also belong to them or not"[b]. Whereupon *Wagner* states: "*such a definition*" of "*wealth*" must be "*undertaken* which *includes services among economic goods*" (p. 28).

"*The decisive reason*" is, however,

"that the *means of satisfaction* cannot possibly consist solely of material goods, because *needs are not only related to the latter, but also to personal services* (in particular those of the state, such as *legal protection*, etc.)" (p. 28).

*Wealth*:

1. *purely economic* ... "*the supply of economic goods available* at a given time *as the real stock for the satisfaction of needs*" is "*wealth as such*", "parts of the total or people's or national wealth".

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[a] Square brackets encountered in Marx's actual manuscript have been replaced with two oblique lines.—*Ed.*

[b] K. H. Rau, *Grundsätze der Volkswirthschaftslehre*, 5th ed., Heidelberg, 1847, p. 63.—*Ed.*

2. "As *an historico-legal concept ... the stock of economic goods in the possession or property of an entity*", "*possession of wealth*" (p. 32). The latter is an *historico-legal relative concept of property.* Property conveys only *certain powers of disposal* and certain *powers of exclusion* vis-à-vis others. The *extent* of these powers *varies*" //i.e. historically// (p. 34). "All wealth in the second sense is *individual wealth,* the wealth of a physical or a legal entity" (l.c.).

*Public wealth,*

"in particular the wealth of *compulsory communal economies,* thus especially the wealth of *states, regions and communities.* This wealth is designated for *public use* (such as roads, rivers, etc.) and ownership thereof is assigned to the state etc., as the *legal representative of the public* (nation, local population, etc.) or it is *actual state and communal wealth,* namely, *administrative wealth,* which also goes to make possible the fulfilment of public services, or *finance wealth,* employed by the state to acquire revenues as the means for the fulfilment of its services" (p. 35).

Capital, *capitale,* is a translation of κεφάλειον signifying the claim in respect of a sum of money, as opposed to the *interest* (τόκος). In the Middle Ages there emerged *capitale, caput pecuniae* for the main thing, the essential, the original (p. 37). In German the word *Hauptgeld* was used (p. 37).

"*Capital, source of earnings, stock of goods bearing interest: a supply of mobile means of acquisition.*" As opposed to: "*stock for use*: a quantity of mobile consumable wares put together in any respect at all" (p. 38, Note 2).

*Circulating and standing capital* (p. 38, 2(a) and 2(b)).

*Value.* According to Mr. Wagner, Marx's theory of value is the "*cornerstone of his socialist system*" (p. 45). As I have never established a "*socialist system*", this is a fantasy of Wagner, Schäffle *e tutti quanti.*[a]

Further: according to which Marx

"finds the *common social substance of exchange-value,* the only thing he is here concerned with, in *labour,* the *magnitude of exchange-value* in the socially necessary labour time", etc. [p. 45].

Nowhere do I speak of "*the common social substance of exchange-value*"; I rather say that exchange-values (*exchange-value,* without at least two of them, does not exist) represent something *common to them,* which "is quite independent of their use-values" //i.e. here their natural form//, namely "*value*". This is what I write: "Therefore, the common substance that manifests itself in the exchange-value of commodities, whenever they are exchanged, is *their value.* The progress of our investigation will lead us back to exchange-value as the only form in which the value of commodities can manifest itself or be expressed. For the present,

[a] And all such people.—*Ed.*

however, we have to consider the nature of value *independently of this, its form*" (p. 13).[a]

Thus I do not say "the common social substance of exchange-value" is "labour", and as I deal with the *form of value*, i.e. the development of exchange-value, at some length in a separate section, it would be curious if I were to reduce this "form" to a "common social substance", labour. Mr. Wagner also forgets that for me neither "value" nor "exchange-value" are subjects, but *the commodity*.

Further:

> "This" (Marxian) "theory is, however, not so much a general theory of value as a *theory of cost*, related to *Ricardo*" (loc. cit.).

Mr. Wagner could have familiarised himself with the difference between me and Ricardo both from *Capital* and from *Sieber's work*[b] (if he knew Russian). Ricardo did indeed concern himself with labour solely as a *measure of the magnitude of value*, and was therefore unable to find any link between his theory of value and the nature of money.

When Mr. Wagner says that it is not a "general theory of value", he is quite right in his own sense, since he means by a general theory of value the hair-splitting over the word "value", which enables him to adhere to the traditional German professorial confusion between "use-value" and "value", since both have the word "value" in common. But when he goes on to say that it is a "*theory of cost*", then either it amounts to a tautology: commodities, as values, only represent something *social*, labour, and as far as the *magnitude of value* of a commodity is determined, according to me, by the *quantity of the labour-time contained*, etc., *in it*, in other words the normal amount of labour which the production of an article costs, etc.; and Mr. Wagner proves the contrary by declaring that this, etc., theory of value is not the "general" one, because it does not correspond with Mr. Wagner's view of the "general theory of value". Or else he says *something incorrect*: *Ricardo* (following Smith) lumps value and production costs together; I have already expressly pointed out in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political*

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[a] K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, Bd. I, Hamburg, 1872, p. 13. See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part I, Chapter I, Section 1: "The Two Factors of a Commodity: Use-Value and Value (the Substance of Value and the Magnitude of Value)" (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

[b] Н. Зиберъ, *Теорія цѣнности и капитала Д. Рикардо въ связи съ позднѣйшими дополненіями и разъясненіями. Опытъ критико-экономическаго изслѣдованія*, Kiev, 1871.—*Ed.*

*Economy* as well as in the notes in *Capital*[a] that *values* and *production prices* (which merely express in money the costs of production) do *not* coincide. Why not? That I have *not* told Mr. Wagner.

Furthermore, I "proceed arbitrarily" when I

"attribute these costs solely to what is termed labour output in the narrowest sense of the term. That always presupposes proof which is hitherto lacking, namely that the production process is possible entirely without the mediation of the activity of *private capitalists* in amassing and employing capital" (p. 45).

Quite the reverse: instead of foisting such future proofs on me, Mr. Wagner first ought to have proved that *a social production process*, not to mention the production process in general, *did not exist* in the very numerous communities which *existed before the appearance of private capitalists* (the Old Indian community, the South Slav family community, etc.). Besides, Wagner could only say: the exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class, in short, the character of capitalist production as depicted by Marx, is correct, but he is mistaken in regarding this economy as transitory, while Aristotle, on the contrary, was mistaken in *not* regarding the *slave economy* as transitory.

"As long as such proof has *not* been furnished" //in other words, as long as the capitalist economy exists//, "Then *profit on capital* is *also in fact* //the club-foot or ass's ear reveals itself here// "a '*constitutive*' element of value, *not*, as in the socialist view, simply a *deduction from*, or '*robbery*' *of*, the worker" (pp. 45, 46).

What "*a deduction from the worker*" is, deduction from his skin, etc., is not evident. At any rate, in my presentation even, "profit on capital" is in actual fact *not* "a *deduction* from, or robbery of, the worker". On the contrary, I depict the capitalist as the necessary functionary of capitalist production and demonstrate at great length that he not only "deducts" or "*robs*" but enforces the *production of surplus value*, thus first helping to create what is to be deducted; what is more, I demonstrate in detail that even if *only equivalents* were exchanged in the exchange of commodities, the capitalist—as soon as he pays the worker the real value of his labour-power—would have every right, i.e. such right as corresponds to this mode of production, to *surplus-value*. But all this does not make "profit on capital" the "*constitutive*" *element* of value but only proves that the value not "*constituted*" by the labour of the capitalist conceals a portion which he can appropriate

[a] See present edition, Vol. 29 and Marx's *Capital*, Vol. I, Part II, Chapter V and Part III, Chapter IX, Section 1: "The Degree of Exploitation of Labour-Power" (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

"legally", i.e. without infringing the law corresponding to the exchange of commodities.

"That theory is unduly preoccupied with this single value-determining element"

//1. Tautology. The theory is false because Wagner has a "general theory of value" which does not agree with it; his "value" is thus determined by "use-value", as is actually proved by the professorial salary; 2. Mr. Wagner substitutes for value the "market-price" at a given time, or the commodity-price diverging from it, which is something very different from value//, "[it considers] the *costs*, not the other, usefulness, *utility*, the *demand* element" //i.e. it does not lump together "value" and *use-value*, which is, after all, such a desirable thing for a born Confusius[a] like Wagner//.

"Not only does it not correspond to the *formation of exchange-value* in *present-day commerce*"

//he means *price formation*, which does not affect the *determination of value* in any way: moreover, the *formation of exchange-value* CERTAINLY does *take place in present-day commerce*, as any speculator, adulterater of goods, etc., knows, and this has nothing in common with *value formation*, but has a keen eye for formed values; what is more, in, e.g., the determination of the *value of labour power* I proceed from the assumption that it is really paid at its full value, which is *in fact not the case*. Mr. Schäffle is of the opinion in *Capitalismus*, etc., that that is "magnanimous" or some such thing. He simply means a scientifically necessary procedure//,

"but neither, as *Schäffle* excellently and *indeed conclusively*" (!) "demonstrates in the *Quintessenz* and especially in the *Socialer Körper*,[b] does it correspond to conditions as they are *bound to take shape in the Marxian hypothetical social state*".

//That is the social state, which Mr. Schäffle was courteous enough to "shape" for me, is transformed into "*the Marxian*" (not the "social state" foisted on to Marx in Schäffle's hypothesis).//

"This may be *strikingly* demonstrated with the example of grain and such like, whose *exchange-value* would—owing to the influence of fluctuating harvests when demand is fairly constant—of necessity have to be regulated *in some other way* than *simply according to costs even* in a system of '*social taxes*,'" [p. 45].

//So many words, so much nonsense. First, I have nowhere spoken of "*social taxes*", and in my *investigation of value* I have dealt with bourgeois relations, not with the application of this

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[a] A pun on Confucius and confusion.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Schäffle, *Bau und Leben des socialen Körpers*.—*Ed.*

theory of *value* to a "social state" not even constructed by me but by Mr. Schäffle for me. Second, if the price of grain rises after a bad harvest, then its *value* rises, for one thing, because a given amount of labour is *contained in a smaller product*; for another thing, its *selling price* rises by much more still. What has this to do with my theory of value? The more the grain is *sold over its value*, the more other commodities, whether in their natural form or in money form, will be sold *under their value* by exactly the same amount, even if their own money price does *not* fall. The *total value* remains the same, even if the expression of this *total value* in its entirety were to increase in money, in other words, if the sum total of "exchange-value" according to Mr. Wagner were to rise. This is the case if we assume that the *drop in price* of the total of the other commodities does not cover the *over-value price* (excess price) of the grain. But in this case, the exchange-value of money has fallen *pro tanto*[a] beneath its value; the total value of all commodities does not only remain the *same*, but even remains the same *expressed in money*, if money is included among the commodities. Further: the rise in price of grain beyond the increase in its value determined by the bad harvest will in any case be smaller in the "social state" than it is with present-day profiteering in grain. But then the "social state" will organise production from the outset in such a way that the annual supply of grain is only minimally dependent on changes in the weather. The volume of production—including supply and consumption—will be rationally regulated. Finally, supposing Schäffle's fantasies about it come true, what is the "social tax" meant to prove for or against my theory of value? Just as little as the coercive measures taken during a food shortage on a ship or in a fortress or during the French Revolution, etc., which pay no regard to *value*; and how terrible for the "social state" to infringe the *laws of value* of the "capitalist (bourgeois) state", hence, too, the theory of value! Nothing but infantile rot!//

The same Wagner graciously quotes from Rau:

"In order to avoid misunderstandings, it is necessary to establish what is meant by *value pure and simple*, and *it is in conformity with German usage* to choose *use-value* for this purpose"[b] (p. 46).

*Derivation of the concept of value* (p. 46 ff.)

It is from the *value-concept* that *use-value* and *exchange-value* are

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[a] Accordingly.—*Ed.*

[b] K. H. Rau, *Grundsätze der Volkswirthschaftslehre*, I. Abt., Leipzig and Heidelberg, 1868, p. 88.—*Ed.*

supposed to be derived d'abord[a] by Mr. Wagner, not as with me from a *concretum, the commodity,* and it is interesting to follow this *scholasticism* in its latest *Grundlegung.*[b]

"It is a *natural* striving of man to arrive at a *clear awareness* and *understanding* of the *relationship* which inner and outer *goods* bear to his *needs.* This is done through the *appreciation* (*valuation*) by which *value is attributed* to goods or things of the outside world and this value is *measured*" (p. 46), and he says, *p. 12*: "All means of satisfying one's needs are called *goods.*"

Thus, if in the first sentence we replace the word "goods" with its Wagnerian *conceptual content,* then the first sentence of the passage quoted becomes:

"It is a *natural striving of 'man' to arrive at a clear awareness and understanding* of the *relationship* which 'the inner and outer means of satisfying his needs' bear to *his needs.*" We may simplify this sentence somewhat by dropping "the *inner* means", etc., as Mr. Wagner happens to do immediately in the very next sentence by means of the word "or".

"*Man*"? If the category "man" is meant here, then he has "no" needs at all; if man in isolated juxtaposition with nature, then each individual must be considered a non-gregarious animal; if a man already existing in some kind of society—and this is what Mr. Wagner implies, since his "man" does have a language, even though he lacks a university education—then as a starting-point the specific character of this social man must be presented, i.e. the specific character of the community in which he lives, since in that case production, i.e. *the process by which he makes his living,* already has some kind of social character.

But for a professorial schoolmaster the relations between men and nature are a priori not *practical,* that is, relations rooted in action, but *theoretical,* and two relations of this kind are packed up together in the first sentence.

*First*: as the "*outer means of satisfying his needs*" or "*outer goods*" become transformed into "*things of the outside world*" in the next sentence, the first interlocked relation assumes the following form: man finds himself *in relation to the things of the outside world* as means of satisfying his needs. But men do not by any means begin by "finding themselves in this theoretical relationship to the *things of the outside world*". They begin, like every animal, by *eating, drinking,* etc., that is not by "finding themselves" in a relationship, but *actively behaving,* availing themselves of certain things of the outside world by action, and thus satisfying their needs. (They

[a] first of all.—*Ed.*

[b] *Grundlegung* (Foundation)—the title of Part One of Wagner's work.—*Ed.*

start, then, with production.) By the repetition of this process the capacity of these things to "satisfy their needs" becomes imprinted on their brains; men, like animals, also learn "theoretically" to distinguish the outer things which serve to satisfy their needs from all other. At a certain stage of evolution after their needs, and the activities by which they are satisfied, have, in the meanwhile, increased and further developed, they will linguistically christen entire classes of these things which they distinguished by experience from the rest of the outside world. This is bound to occur, as in the production process—i.e. the process of appropriating these things—they are continually engaged in active contact amongst themselves and with these things, and will soon also have to struggle against others for these things. But this linguistic label purely and simply expresses as a concept what repeated activity has turned into an experience, namely that certain outer things serve to satisfy the needs of human beings already living in certain social context //this being an essential prerequisite on account of the language//. Human beings only give a special (generic) name to these things because they already know that they serve to satisfy their needs, because they seek to acquire them by more or less frequently repeated activity, and therefore also to keep them in their possession; they call them "goods" or something else which expresses the fact that they use these things in practice, that these things are useful to them, and they give the thing this character of utility as if it possessed it, although it would hardly occur to a sheep that one of its "useful" qualities is that it can be eaten by human beings.

Thus: human beings actually started by appropriating certain things of the outside world as means of satisfying their own needs, etc. etc.; later they reached a point where they *also* denoted *them linguistically* as what they are for them in their practical experience, namely as *means of satisfying their needs,* as things which "satisfy" them. Now, if one terms the fact that human beings not only treat such things practically, as means of satisfying their needs, but also denote them in their thoughts and then linguistically as things which "*satisfy*" their needs, and hence *themselves* //as long as the need of man is not satisfied he is at *variance* with his needs and thus with himself//; if one terms this, "according to German linguistic usage", "attributing *value*" to them, then one has proved that the general concept "*value*" stems from the behaviour of human beings towards the things found in the outside world which satisfy their needs, and consequently that this is the *generic concept* of "*value*", and that all other kinds of

value, such as the chemical value [valency][a] of the elements, are no more than variations of it.[b]

It is "the natural striving" of a German economics professor to derive the economic category "value" from a "*concept*", and this he achieves by simply renaming what is *vulgo*[c] called "use-value" in political economy as "*value*" pure and simple, "according to German linguistic usage". And as soon as "value" pure and simple has been found, it serves in turn to *derive* "*use-value*" from "value pure and simple". To do this, one merely has to replace the "use" fragment, which one dropped earlier, in front of "value" pure and simple.

In fact it is Rau (see p. 88[d]) who tells us plainly that it "is necessary" (for the German professorial schoolmasters) "to lay down what is meant by *value pure and simple*", naively adding: "and it is *in accordance with German linguistic usage to select use-value* to this end". //In chemistry the *chemical* valency of an element is the number at which one of its atoms is able to combine with the atoms of other elements. But the combining weight of the atoms is also called "equivalency", the equal value of different elements, etc., etc. Therefore one must first define the concept "value pure and simple", etc., etc.//

If man relates to *things as* "*means of satisfying his needs*", then he relates *to them as* "*goods*", *according to Wagner.* He grants them the attribute of being "goods"; the *content of this operation* is in no way altered by the fact that Mr. Wagner renames this "*attributing value*". His own lazy consciousness immediately arrives at "an understanding" in the following sentence:

> "This is done through the *appreciation* (*valu*ation) by which *value is attributed to goods or things of the outside world* and this value is *measured*" [p. 46].

We shall waste no words on the fact that Mr. Wagner derives *value* from *valu*ation (he himself adds "*valu*ation" in brackets after the word *appreciation* in order to arrive "at a clear awareness and understanding" of the matter). "*Man*" has the "natural

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[a] A play on *Wert* meaning "value" and also "valency".—*Ed.*

[b] Deleted in the manuscript: "In the case of Mr. Wagner, however, this 'deduction' becomes even more splendid, since he deals with '*man*' not with '*men*'. This very simple deduction is expressed by Mr. Wagner like this: '"It is a *natural striving* of man" (read: of the German economics professor), "the relationship" whereby things of the outside world are not only means of satisfying human needs, but are acknowledged linguistically as such, and therefore also serve...'"—*Ed.*

[c] Commonly.—*Ed.*

[d] The page reference is to Rau's *Grundsätze der Volkswirthschaftslehre.*—*Ed.*

striving" to do this, to "appreciate" goods as "*values*", and thus permits Mr. Wagner to *derive* the promised achievement of the "concept of *value* in general". Not for nothing does Wagner smuggle in with the word "goods" the phrase "*or the things of the outside world*". His starting point was that man "relates" to the "things of the outside world", which are means of satisfying his needs, as to "*goods*". So he *appreciates* these things by the very fact that he relates to them as "goods". And we have already had an earlier "paraphrase" for this appreciation, to the effect that, e.g.:

> "As a *needy* being, man is in constant contact with the *outside world surrounding* him and *acknowledges that therein* lie *many of the conditions for his life and well-being*" (p. 8).

This, however, means no more than that he "*appreciates* the things of the outside world" insofar as they satisfy his "needy being", being means of satisfying his needs and therefore, as we have already heard, relates to them as "goods".

Now it is possible, particularly if one feels the "natural" professorial "striving" to derive the *concept of value in general*, to do this: to give "the things of the outside world" the attribute of "goods" and *dub* it "*attributing value*" to them. One might also have said: Since man relates to the things of the outside world which satisfy his needs as to "goods", he "prizes" them, thus attributing "*price*" to them, and thus the derivation of the concept "*price* pure and simple" by "*man*"'s own methods is supplied READY CUT to the German professor. Everything that the professor is unable to do himself, he makes "man" do; but this man is himself nothing more than the *professorial man* who claims to have understood the world once he has arranged it under abstract headings. But in so far as "attributing *value*" to the things of the outside world is simply another way of phrasing the expression of giving them the attribute of "*goods*", this is far from being the same, as Wagner wishes to make out, as attributing "*value*" *to the* "*goods*" *themselves* as a designation distinct from their "being goods". It is simply substituting the word "value" for the word "goods". //As we have seen, the word "*price*" could also be substituted. Even the word "*treasure*" could be substituted; since "*man*" labels certain "things of the outside world" "*goods*", he "treasures" them, and therefore relates to them as to a "*treasure*". Thus it can be seen how the three economic categories *value, price and treasure* could be conjured up by Mr. Wagner at a stroke out of "man's natural striving" to provide the professor with his bone-headed system of concepts (fancies).// But Mr. Wagner has the dim instinct to step out of his labyrinth of tautology and worm

his way into a "further something" or a "something further". Hence the phrase: "by which *value is attributed* to goods *or* things of the outside world, etc." Since the labelling of "things of the outside world" as *goods*, i.e., the distinguishing and fixing of these (in the mind) as *means of satisfying* human needs, is also dubbed by Mr. Wagner "attributing *value* to things", he can no more call this attributing *value* to "the *goods*" themselves than he could talk about *attributing value* to the "value" of the things of the outside world. But the salto mortale is performed with the words "*attributing value* to *goods or* the things of the outside world". Wagner should have said: the dubbing of certain things of the outside world "*goods*" may also be *called* "*attributing value*" to these things, and this is the Wagnerian *derivation* of the "*concept of value*" pure and simple or in general. The *content* is not altered by this *change* of linguistic expression. It is still only the *distinguishing* or *fixing in the mind* of the things of the outside world which are means of satisfying human needs; in fact, simply the *perception and acknowledgement of certain things of the outside world as means of satisfying the needs of* "*man*" (who as such, however, is actually suffering from a "need of concepts").

But Mr. Wagner wishes to make us, or himself, believe that instead of giving two names to the same content he has progressed from the designation "goods" to a further developed *designation* "value", distinct from the first, and he does this simply by substituting the word "goods" for "things of the outside world", a process which is further "obscured" by the fact that he *rather* substitutes the "things of the outside world" for "the goods". His own confusion thus achieves the certain effect of confusing his readers. He might also have reversed this splendid "derivation" as follows. By *differentiating* the things of the outside world, which are means of satisfying his needs, as such means of satisfaction, from the other things of the outside world, and therefore *according them special distinction*, he *pays tribute to them, attributes value to them*, or gives them the *attribute of* "*value*". This can also be expressed by saying that he grants them the attribute of "*goods*" as a characteristic, or respects or values them as "goods". Thereby the concept "*goods*" is *attributed* to the "*values*" *or* to the things of the outside world. And thus the concept of "*goods*" in general is "derived" from the concept of "value". All *derivations* of this kind are simply concerned with *diverting* attention from a problem which one is not capable of solving.

But in the same breath Mr. Wagner proceeds in all haste from the "value" *of goods* to the "*measurement*" of this value.

The content would remain exactly the same if the word "value" had not been smuggled in at all. It might be said: By dubbing certain things of the outside world which, etc., as "*goods*", man will eventually come to compare these "goods" with one another, and according to the hierarchy of his needs will arrange them in a certain order, i.e. if one likes to call it so, "*measure*" them. Wagner may not speak at all of the development of the *real measure of these goods* here, i.e. of the development of their *measure of quantity*, as this would remind the reader too sharply how little what is otherwise meant by "*measure of value*" is dealt with here.

//That the *distinguishing* of (reference to) things of the outside world which are means of satisfying human needs as "*goods*" may be *dubbed* "attributing value to these things"—this Wagner was able to prove not only by means of "German linguistic usage", as Rau did, but also: there is the Latin word *dignitas* = *dignity, merit, rank*, etc., which when applied to things also means "*value*"; *dignitas* is derived from *dignus*, and this from *dic*, POINT OUT, SHOW, *auszeichnen, zeigen*; *dignus* thus means "POINTED OUT"; hence, too, *digitus*, the finger with which one points out a thing, refers to it; Greek δείκ-νυμι, δάκ-τυλος (finger); Gothic: *ga-tecta* (dico); German: *zeigen*; and we could arrive at a lot more "derivations" bearing in mind that δείκνυμι (or δεικνύω) (to make visible, to bring to light, *to refer to*) has the same basic stem as δέχομαι—that is δέκ (to hold out, to *take*).//

What a lot of banality, tautological confusion, hair-splitting and underhand manoeuvring Mr. Wagner manages to pack into not quite 7 lines.

No wonder that after this feat, the obscure man (*vir obscurus*) continues with great self-assurance:

> "The much disputed *concept of value*, still *obscured* by many *investigations* frequently *of merely apparent depth*, resolves itself" (INDEED) //RATHER—"involves" itself// "if, as has been done hitherto" //namely by Wagner//, "we take the needs and the *economic nature* of man as our starting-point and on arriving at the *concept of goods—tie it up with the concept of value*" (p. 46).

Here we have the *concept* juggling, whose supposed *development* according to the *vir obscurus* boils down to "*tying up*", and to a certain extent "*tying on*".

*Further derivation of the concept of value*:

*Subjective and objective value. Subjective* and, in the *most general sense*, the *value of goods* = *importance* which "is attributed *to the goods on account of their usefulness ... not* a quality of the things in themselves, even if it objectively presupposes the usefulness of a thing" //thus presupposing "*objective*" *value*//. In the *objective*

sense one also understands by "*value*" and "*values*" the *value-possessing goods*, in which (!) good and value, goods and values *become* essentially "identical concepts" (pp. 46, 47).

After taking what is usually termed "*use-value*" and dubbing it "*value in general*" and then the "*concept of value*" pure and simple, Wagner can surely not fail to recall that the "value" "derived" (!) "in this way" (well, well!) is "*use-value*". After dubbing "use-value" the "concept of value" in general, or "value pure and simple", he discovers, on second thought, that he has simply been drivelling on about "use-value", and has thus "derived" it, drivelling and deriving now being for him "essentially" identical mental operations. But at this juncture we discover how subjective the hitherto "objective" confusion of ideas of the aforesaid Mr. Wagner really is. For he reveals a secret to us. Rodbertus had written a letter to him which may be read in the Tübingen *Zeitschrift*[a] of 1878, in which he, Rodbertus, expounds why there is "only one kind of value", use-value.

"I" (Wagner) "have come to support this view, the importance of which I have already emphasised in the first edition" [p. 48].

Of what Rodbertus says, Wagner says:

"This is quite correct and necessitates an alteration of the usual illogical '*division*' of '*value*' into *use-value and exchange-value*, which I had still undertaken in § 3 [in Wagner § 35] of the first edition" (p. 48, Note 4),

and the same Wagner places me (p. 49, Note) amongst those according to whom "use-value" should be entirely "removed" "from the science".

All this is "drivel". *De prime abord*,[b] I do not proceed from "concepts", hence neither from the "concept of value", and am therefore in no way concerned to "divide" it. What I proceed from is the simplest social form in which the product of labour presents itself in contemporary society, and this is the "*commodity*". This I analyse, initially in the *form in which it appears*. Here I find that on the one hand in its natural form it is a *thing for use*, alias a *use-value*; on the other hand, a *bearer of exchange-value*, and from this point of view it is itself an "exchange-value". Further analysis of the latter shows me that exchange-value is merely a "*form* of expression", an independent way of presenting the *value* contained in the commodity, and then I start on the analysis of the

[a] A. Wagner, "Einiges von und über Rodbertus-Jagetzow", *Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatswissenschaft*, Vol. XXXIV, Tübingen, pp. 199-237.— *Ed.*

[b] To begin with.— *Ed.*

latter. I therefore state explicitly, p. 36, 2nd ed.[a]: "When, at the beginning of this chapter, we said, in common parlance, that a commodity is both a use-value and an exchange-value, we were, precisely speaking, wrong. A commodity is a use-value or object of utility, and a 'value'. It manifests itself as this two-fold thing which it is, as soon as *its value* assumes an independent *form of expression distinct* from its natural form—the form of *exchange-value*", etc. Thus I do not divide *value* into use-value and exchange-value as opposites into which the abstraction "value" splits up, but the *concrete social form* of the product of labour, the "*commodity*", is on the one hand, use-value and on the other, "value", not exchange-value, since the mere *form* of expression is not its own *content.*

Second: only a *vir obscurus* who has not understood a word of *Capital* can conclude: Because Marx in a note in the first edition of *Capital*[606] rejects all the German professorial twaddle about "use-value" in general, and refers readers who want to know something about real use-values to "manuals dealing with merchandise"—for this reason *use-value* plays no part in his work. Naturally it does not play the part of its opposite, of "value", which has nothing in common with it, except that "value" occurs in the term "use-value". He might just as well have said that "exchange-value" is discarded by me because it is only the form of expression of value, and not "value" itself, since for me the "value" of a commodity is neither its use-value nor its exchange-value.

When one comes to analyse the "commodity"—the simplest concrete element of economics—one must exclude all relations which have nothing to do with the particular object of the analysis. Therefore I have said in a few lines what there is to say about the commodity in so far as it is a use-value, but on the other hand I have emphasised the *characteristic form* in which use-value—the product of labour—appears here, that is: "A thing can be useful, and the product of human labour, without being a commodity. Whoever [directly] satisfies his needs with the produce of his own labour, creates, indeed, use-values but not commodities. In order to produce commodities, *he must not only produce use-values, but use-values for others, social use-values*" (p. 15).[b] //This the root of

[a] K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, Bd. I, Hamburg, 1872. See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part I, Chapter I, Section 3, Point 4: "The Elementary Form of Value Considered as a Whole" (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, Bd. I, Hamburg, 1872. See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part I, Chapter I, Section 1: "The Two Factors of a Commodity: Use-Value and Value (the Substance of Value and the Magnitude of Value)" (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

Rodbertus' "*social use-value*".// Consequently use-value—as the use-value of a "commodity"—itself possesses a specific historical character. In primitive communities in which, e.g., means of livelihood are produced communally and distributed amongst the members of the community, the common product directly satisfies the vital needs of each community member, of each producer; the social character of the product, of the use-value, here lies in *its (common) communal character.* //Mr. Rodbertus on the other hand transforms the "social use-value" of the *commodity* into "social use-value" pure and simple, and is hence talking nonsense.//

As may be seen from the above, it would be sheer nonsense, in an analysis of the commodity—since it presents itself on the one hand as a use-value or goods, on the other hand as "value"—to "tie up" at this juncture all sorts of banal reflexions about use-values or goods which do not enter into the world of commodities, such as "state goods", "communal goods", etc. as Wagner and the German professor IN GENERAL does, or about goods like "health", etc. Where the state is itself a capitalist producer, as in the exploitation of mines, forests, etc., its product is a "commodity" and hence possesses the specific character of every other commodity.

On the other hand the *vir obscurus* has overlooked the fact that even in my analysis of the commodity I do not come to a halt with its dual way of presenting itself, but immediately proceed to show that in this duality of the commodity there presents itself the dual *character* of the *labour* whose product it is: of *useful* labour, i.e. the concrete modes of the labours which create use-values, and of abstract *labour*, of *labour as expenditure of labour power*, regardless of the "useful" way in which it is expended (on which the presentation of the production process later depends); that in the development of the *value form of the commodity*, in the final instance its money form, and thus of *money*, the *value* of a commodity presents itself in the *use-value* of the other commodity, i.e. in its natural form; that *surplus-value* itself is derived from a "specific" *use-value of labour power* belonging to it exclusively, etc., etc., that, in other words, for me use-value plays an important part quite different from its part in economics hitherto, but *note bene* it still only comes under consideration when such a consideration stems from the analysis with regard to economic formations, not from arguing hither and thither about the concepts or words "use-value" and "value".

For this reason when analysing the commodity I do not immediately drag in definitions of "capital", not even when

dealing with the "use-value" of the commodity. Such definitions are bound to be sheer nonsense as long as we have advanced no further than the analysis of the elements of the commodity.

What annoys (shocks) Mr. Wagner about my presentation, though, is that I will not do him the favour of complying with the patriotic German professorial "striving" for confusing use-value with value. Although German society is very much *post festum*, it has nevertheless gradually emerged from the feudal subsistence economy, or at least its predominance, into capitalist society, but the professors are still standing with one foot in the old muck—naturally enough. From being the serfs of landowners they have turned into the serfs of the state, *vulgo* the government. Therefore our *vir obscurus* too, who has not even noticed that my *analytic* method, which does not proceed from *man* but from a given economic period of society, has nothing in common with the German-professorial association-of-concepts method ("words are excellent for fighting with, with words a system may be built"[a]), therefore he says:

> "In harmony with the view of *Rodbertus* and also of *Schäffle* I place the *use-value* character *of all value* in the fore, and emphasise the assessment of use-value all the more, *since* the assessment of exchange-value is simply not applicable to many of the most important economic goods",

what compels him to speak out? so, as a civil servant, he feels obliged to confuse use-value and value!

> "*neither to the state and its services*, nor to other social economic relations" (p. 49, Note).

//This reminds one of the old chemists before the science of chemistry: as cooking butter, which is simply called butter in everyday life (according to the Nordic custom), has a soft consistency, they called *chloride, butter of zinc, butter of antimony*, etc. butter juices, thus, to use the words of the *vir obscurus*, "firmly adhering to the *butter* character of all chlorides, zinc and antimony compounds".// The whole rigmarole boils down to this: Because certain goods, especially *the state* (goods!) and its "*services*" //particularly the services of its professors of political economy// are *not* "commodities", the opposing characteristics contained in the "commodities" themselves //which also appear *explicitly* in the *commodity form* of the product of labour// must therefore be confused with one another! In the case of Wagner and Co. it is anyway hard to maintain that they have more to gain if their "services" are determined according to their "use-

[a] W. Goethe, *Faust*, Erster Theil, "Studierzimmer."—*Ed.*

value", according to their tangible "content" [*Gehalt*], rather than according to their "*salary*" [*Gehalt*] (through a "social tax", as Wagner expresses it [p. 45], i.e. are "assessed" according to their *payment*.[a]

//The only thing which clearly lies at the bottom of the German stupidity is the fact that linguistically the words *value* [*Wert*] or *worth* [*Würde*] were first applied to the useful things themselves which existed for a long time, even as "products of labour", before becoming *commodities*. But this has as little to do with the scientific determination of the "value" of the commodity as the fact that the word *salt* was first used by the ancients for cooking salt, and consequently *sugar*, etc. also figure as *varieties of salt* from Pliny onwards (INDEED, all colourless solids soluble in water and with a peculiar taste), and therefore the chemical category "salt" includes sugar, etc.//

//As the commodity is bought by the purchaser not because it has value but because it is a "use-value", and is used for definite purposes, it goes without saying that 1. use-values are "assessed" i.e. their *quality* is investigated (just as their *quantity* is weighed, measured, etc.); 2. if different sorts of commodities can be substituted for one another for the same use, one or the other will be given preference, etc., etc.//

In Gothic there is only one word for *Wert* and *Würde*: *vairths*, τιμή, //τιμάω, *assess*, i.e. evaluate; to determine the *price* or *value*, *to rate*; *metaphorically*: *to appreciate, esteem, honour, distinguish.* Τιμή—*assessment, hence*: determination of value or price, evaluation, valuation. Then: estimation, also, *value, price itself* (Herodotus, Plato), αἱ τιμαί—*expenses* in *Demosthenes.* Then: *estimation, honour*, respect, place of honour, honorary post, etc., *Rost's Greek-German Dictionary*.[b]//

*Value, price* (*Schulze, Glossar*[c]) *Gothic*: *vairths*, adj., ἄξιος, ἱκανός.

*Old Norse*: *verdhr*, worthy, *verdh, value, price*; *Anglo-Saxon*: *veordh, vurdh*; English: *worth*, adj. and noun, *value* and *dignity*

("*Middle High German*: *wert*, genitive *werdes*, adj. *dignus* and likewise *pfenning-wert*; *wert*, gen. *werdes*, value, worth, splendour; *aestimatio, commodity of definite value*, e.g. *pfenwert, pennyworth*; *werde*: meritum, *aestimatio*, dignitas, precious character" (*Ziemann*: *Middle High German Dictionary*[d]).

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[a] German *Gehalt* means both content and salary.—*Tr.*

[b] V. Ch. Fr. Rost, *Deutsch-Griechisches Wörterbuch*, Zweite Abteilung, M-Z, Göttingen, 1829, p. 359.—*Ed.*

[c] E. Schulze, *Gottlisches Glossar*, Magdeburg, 1847, p. 411.—*Ed.*

[d] A. Ziemann, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch zum Handgebrauch*, Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1838, pp. 634-35.—*Ed.*

*Wert* and *Würde* [value and worth] are thus closely related in both etymology and meaning. What conceals the fact is the *inorganic* (incorrect) *inflexion* of *Wert* which has become customary in Modern High German: *Werth, Werthes* instead of *Werdes*, since Gothic *th* corresponds to High German *d*, not *th* = *t*, and this is indeed still the case in Middle High German (*wert*, gen. *werdes*, loc. cit.). According to the rule in Middle High German, *d* at the end of a word became *t*, giving *wert* instead of *werd*, but genitive *werdes*.

But all this has as much or as little to do with the economic category "value" as with the *chemical valency of the chemical elements* (atomicity) or with the chemical equivalents or equal values (combining weights of the chemical elements).

Furthermore it should be noted that—even in this linguistic connection—if it follows automatically, as if by the nature of the thing, from the original identity of *Würde* and *Wert* that this word also referred to things, products of labour in their natural form—it was later directly applied unchanged to *prices*, i.e. value in its developed value-form, i.e. exchange-value, which has so little to do with the matter that the same word continued to be used for worth in general, for honorary offices, etc. Thus, linguistically speaking, there is no distinction here between use-value and value.

Let us now turn to the authority quoted by the *vir obscurus*, to *Rodbertus* //whose essay may be scrutinised in the *Tübinger Zeitschrift*//. The passage by Rodbertus cited by the *vir obscurus* is as follows:

From the *text on page 48:*

"There is only one *kind of value*, and that is use-value. This is either *individual* use-value or *social* use-value. The former stands in a relation to the individual and his needs, quite regardless of any social organisation."

//This is sheer nonsense (cf. *Capital*, p. 171 [a]), where, however, it says that the *labour-process*, as a useful activity for the production of use-values, etc., is "*equally common* to all its" (human life's) "*forms of society*" and "*is independent of each of them*".// //First, it is not the word "use-value" which stands in relation to the individual, but *concrete use-values*, and *which of these* "stand in a relation" to him (for these people everything always "stands"; everything is a question of "standing" [b]) is entirely dependent on the level of the social production process, therefore also corresponding to "a social organisation". But if Rodbertus only wishes to

[a] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part III, Chapter VII, Section 1: "The Labour-Process or the Production of Use-Values" (see present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

[b] A play on words: "steht"—stands and "ständisch"—of, or related to, the social estates.—*Ed.*

make the trivial statement that use-value which really stands in relation to an individual as an object of utility, relates to him as an individual use-value for him—then this is either a trivial tautology or it is incorrect, since not to mention such things as rice, maize, wheat or meat //which does not stand in any relation to a Hindu as food//, an individual's need for the title of Professor or Privy Councillor or an order is possible only in quite a definite "social organisation"//.

"The second is *use-value*, which a *social* organism consisting of many individual organisms (or individuals) has" (p. 48, text).

Lovely German! Is it the "use-value" of the "social organism" which is meant here, or is it a use-value in the possession of a "social organism" (as e.g. land in primitive communities), or is it the definite "social" form of use-value in a *social organism*, as e.g. in places where commodity production predominates, the use-value which a producer supplies must be a "use-value for others" and in this sense a "social use-value"? This is nothing but hot air and will lead us nowhere.

And so on to the second proposition of Wagner's Faust[a]:

"Exchange-value is simply the historical mantle and appendage of the social use-value from a particular period of history. By taking *an* exchange-value *as the logical opposite* of use-value, *one* is placing an historical concept in logical contrast to a logical concept, which is logically not admissible" (p. 48, Note 4). "That is quite correct!" crows Wagner ibidem.

Who is the "one" who is committing this? That Rodbertus means me, we may take for granted, since according to R. Meyer, his famulus, he has written a "big, fat manuscript" against *Capital*.[b] Who is placing things in logical contrast? Mr. Rodbertus, for whom "use-value" and "exchange-value" are both by nature mere "concepts". In fact in every price-list every individual sort of commodity undergoes this illogical process, distinguishing itself from the others as *goods*, *use-value*, as cotton, yarn, iron, grain, etc., and representing "goods" qualitatively different from the others *toto coelo*,[c] but simultaneously representing its *price* as qualitatively the same but quantitavely different of *the same essence*. It presents itself in its natural form for him who uses it, and in *value-form*, which is quite different from it and "common" to all other commodities, i.e. as *exchange-value*. The only "*logical*" contrast here is in Rodbertus and the German professorial schoolmasters related to him who proceed from the "concept" of value, not from the "social thing", the

[a] I. e. Rodbertus.—*Ed.*

[b] R. Meyer, *Briefe und Socialpolitische Aufsaetze von Dr. Rodbertus-Jagetzow*, Berlin [1881], Vol. I, p. 42.—*Ed.*

[c] In every respect.—*Ed.*

"commodity", who get this concept to split up into itself (duplicate itself), and then argue about which of these two phantoms of the mind is the real Jacob![a]

But what lurks in the gloomy background to these high-flown phrases is simply the immortal discovery that in all circumstances man must eat, drink, etc. //one cannot even continue: "clothe himself, or have a knife and fork or bed and dwelling", as this is not the case *in all circumstances*//; in short, that in all circumstances he must find external things already available in nature to satisfy his needs and appropriate them or fashion them out of what nature provides; in this actual procedure of his he thus always relates practically to certain external things as "use-values", i.e. he always treats them as objects for his use; hence according to Rodbertus use-value is a "logical" concept; thus, since man must also breathe, "breathing" is a "logical" concept, but not a "physiological" one at all. The entire shallowness of Rodbertus, however, emerges in his contrast between "logical" and "historical" concepts! He grasps "value" (the economic value, in contrast to the use-value of the commodity) only in its form of expression, in *exchange-value*, and since this only occurs when at least some part of the products of labour, the objects of utility, function as "*commodities*"—this not, however, happening from the outset, but only at a certain period of social development, in other words, at a definite stage of historical development—then *exchange-value* is a "historical" concept. Now if Rodbertus—and I will point out later why he did not see it—had gone on to analyse the exchange-value of commodities—for it only exists where *commodity* occurs in the plural, different sorts of commodities—then he would have found "value" behind this form of expression. If he had further gone on to investigate value, he would have further found that here the thing, the "use-value", amounts to a mere *concretisation* of human labour, as the *expenditure of equal human labour-power*, and therefore this content is presented as the *concrete* character of the *thing*, as a character appertaining essentially to *the thing itself*, although this objectivity does *not* appear in its natural form //which, however, necessitates a special *form of value*//. He would have found, then, that the "value" of the commodity merely expresses in a historically developed form something which also exists in all other historical forms of society, albeit *in a different form, namely the social character of labour*, insofar as it exists as *expenditure of "social" labour-power*. If, then, "the value" of the commodity is merely a

[a] Genesis 25:26.—*Ed.*

particular historical form of something which exists in all forms of society, the same must be true of the "social use-value", as it characterises the "use-value" of the commodity. Mr. Rodbertus has the measure of the magnitude of value from Ricardo; but he himself has neither examined nor grasped the substance of value any more than Ricardo did; e.g. the "*communal*" character of the [labour process] in the primitive community as the common organism of the labour-powers belonging together, and hence that of *their labour*, i.e. the expenditure of these powers.

Further treatment of Wagner's twaddle on this issue superfluous.

*Measure of the magnitude of value.* Mr. Wagner incorporates me here, but finds to his regret that I have "*eliminated*" the "*labour involved in capital formation*" (p. 58, Note 7).

"In commerce regulated by social organs, the determination of *tariff values* or *tariff prices* must be carried out with due consideration to this *cost-element*" //his term for the quantum of labour expended in production, etc.//, "as used to happen in principle in the case of the former state and trade tariffs, and would again have to take effect under any *new tariff system*" //read "socialist"!//. "However, in free commerce the *costs* are *not* the *sole* basis for determining exchange-values and prices, and cannot be in *any conceivable social situation*. For regardless of costs, there must always occur *fluctuations in* use-*value* and *need*, whose *influence on exchange-value and prices* (both contract and tariff prices) then modifies the *influence of costs*, and is bound to do so", etc. (pp. 58, 59). "The" //i.e. this!// "astute correction of the socialist doctrine of value... we owe to *Schäffle*"(!), who says in *Soz. Körper*,[a] III, p. 278: "No matter what kind of social influence over needs and production exists, there is no avoiding the fact that *all needs* always remain in equilibrium qualitatively and quantitatively with production. But if this is so, *the social cost-value quotients cannot simultaneously* be considered *proportionally as social use-value quotients*" (p. 59, Note 9).

That this merely amounts to the triviality of *market-prices* rising and falling above or below value and to the assumption that the theory of value developed by him for *bourgeois* society *is* predominant in the "Marxian social state" is shown by Wagner's phrase:

"They" (prices) "will occasionally deviate from them" [costs] to a lesser or greater extent, rising for goods whose use-value has become greater and falling for those whose use-value has become smaller. *Only in the long run* will costs continually assert themselves as the decisive regulator", etc. (p. 59).

*Law.* As for the fantasies of the *vir obscurus* about the economically creative influence of the *law*, one phrase will suffice, although he is forever dragging out the absurd point of view which it exemplifies:

"Individual enterprise has at its head, as the organ of its technical and economic

[a] A. E. Fr. Schäffle, *Bau und Leben des socialen Körpers*.—*Ed.*

activity..., a *person* as a legal and economic subject. Furthermore, this person is no purely economic entity but at the same time dependent on the arrangement of the *law*. For the latter determines who is to count as a person, and consequently who can stand at the head of a business", etc. (p. 65).

*Communications* and *transport* (pp. 75-76), *p. 80* (Note).

From *p. 82*: where the "*exchange in the (natural) constituents of the mass of goods*" //of an economy, alias dubbed "*exchange of goods*" by Wagner, is declared to be Schäffle's "*social exchange of matter*"—at least, one case of it; but I also used the word in the "natural" process of production for the exchange of matter between man and nature// *has been borrowed* from me, where exchange of matter first occurs in the analysis of C—M—C[a] and interruptions in the exchange of form, later also termed interruptions in the exchange of matter.

What Mr. Wagner goes on to say about the "*inner exchange*" of the goods in one branch of production (in his case an "individual enterprise"), partly with reference to their "use-value", partly with reference to their "value", is also discussed by me in the analysis of the first phase of *C—M—C*, namely *C—M*, in the example of the linen-weaver (*Capital*, pp. 85, 86-87), where I conclude by saying: "Our owners of commodities therefore find out that the same division of labour that turns them into independent private producers, [also] makes the social process of production and their relations within that process independent of them themselves, and that the seeming mutual independence of the individuals from one another is supplemented by a system of all-round material dependence" (*Capital*, p. 87).[b]

*Contracts for the commercial acquisition of goods.* Here the *vir obscurus* places mine and his on their heads. For him the law is first, and then comes commerce; in reality it is the other way round: first there is *commerce*, and then a *legal system* develops out of it. In the analysis of the circulation of commodities I have demonstrated that in developed bartering the participants tacitly acknowledge one another as equal persons and owners of the respective goods to be exchanged by them; they already *do* that while offering their goods to each other and agreeing to trade with each other. This *actual* relation, which only arises through and in the exchange, is later given *legal form* in the contract, etc.;

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[a] Commodity—money—commodity.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part I, Chapter III, Section 2: "The Medium of Circulation" (see present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

but this form neither creates its content, the exchange, nor the *relationship between the persons inherent in it*, but vice versa. Wagner, on the other hand:

"*This acquisition*" //of goods through commerce// "necessarily presupposes a definite *legal system, on whose basis*" (!) "commerce takes place", etc. (p. 84).

*Credit.* Instead of giving the development of money as a *means of payment*, Wagner immediately turns the process of circulation, insofar as it occurs in such a form that the two equivalents do not confront each other as C—M at the same time, into a "*credit transaction*" (p. 85 ff.), which is "tied up" with the fact that this is frequently linked with the payment of "interest"; it also serves to "inspire confidence" and thus to depict "confidence" as a basis for "credit".

About *Puchta's*,[a] etc., juridical conception of "*wealth*", according to which *debts*, too, belong to it as *negative components* (p. 86, Note 8).

*Credit* is "*consumptive credit*" or "productive credit" (p. 86). The former[b] predominating chiefly on a lower level of culture, the latter[c] on a "higher".

As for the *causes of debt* //causes of pauperism: fluctuations in the harvest, war service, slave competition// in Ancient Rome (Jhering, 3rd ed., p. 234, II, 2. *Geist des römischen Rechts*).[d]

According to Mr. Wagner, "consumptive credit" prevails on the "lower level" among "lower, distressed" and "higher, extravagant" classes. In fact, in England and America "*consumptive credit*" *is generally prevalent with the development of the deposit-bank system*!

"In particular ... *productive credit* proves to be an economic factor of the economy based on *private ownership of land and movable capital* and allowing *free competition*. It is tied up with the *possession* of wealth, not with wealth as a purely economic category", and is therefore only a "historico-*legal category*" (!) (p. 87).

*Dependence of individual enterprise and wealth on the effects of the outside world, especially the influence of the state of the economy.*

1. *Changes in use-value*: improve in some cases with the *passage of time*, being the condition for certain processes in nature (*wine, cigars, violins*, etc.).

"*Deteriorate* in the great *majority* of cases... dissolve into their material constituents, *coincidences* of every kind." Corresponds to "*change*" in exchange-value in the same direction, "*increase in value*" or "*decrease in value*" (pp. 96, 97). *Vid. concerning the house-rent agreement* in Berlin (p. 97, Note 2).

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[a] F. G. Puchta, *Pandekten*, Leipzig, 1877, §§ 34 and 219.—*Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript: "latter".—*Ed.*

[c] In the manuscript: "former".—*Ed.*

[d] Rudolph von Jhering, *Geist des römischen Rechts auf den verschiedenen Stufen seiner Entwicklung*, Leipzig, 1874, pp. 234-59.—*Ed.*

2. *Changes in human knowledge of the properties of the goods*: thereby "*increasing wealth*" in a *positive case.* //*Use of coal for the smelting of iron* in England around *1620*, when the decline in forests was already threatening the existence of the ironworks; chemical discoveries, such as that of iodine (utilisation of iodine-bearing salt springs). Phosphorite as a fertiliser, anthracite as a heating agent. Substances for gas-lighting, photography. Discovery of dyes and medicines. Gutta-percha, rubber. Vegetable ivory (from *Phytelephas macrocarpa*).[607] Creosote. Paraffin-wax candles. The use of *asphalt, of pine-needles* (pine-needle wool), of the gases in the blast-furnace, coal-tar for the preparation of aniline, woollen rags, sawdust, etc., etc.//. *In negative cases, a decrease in utility and therefore in value* (as following the discovery of trichinae in pork, poisons in dyes, plants, etc.) (pp. 97, 98). Discovery of *mining products* in the earth, of new useful properties of these products, discovery of a new application for them increases *fortune of the landowner* (p. 98).

3. *Economic situation.*

Influence of *all* of the external "conditions", which "essentially determine the *production of goods for commerce, demand and sale*" ... hence their "*exchange-value*", also that of "*the individual finished goods*" ... "entirely or mainly *independently*" of the "economic subject", "or proprietors" (p. 98). *The economic situation becomes a "crucial factor" in the "system of free competition"* (p. 99). Thus someone—"by means of the *principle of private property*"—gains "what he has not *earned*", and so someone else incurs a "*forfeit*", "*economically unwarranted losses*".

Concerning *speculation* (Note 10, p. 101). *Housing prices* (p. 102, Note 11). *Coal and iron industry* (p. 102, Note 12). *Innumerable changes in technology* reduce the value of industrial products as the instruments of production (pp. 102, 103).

In "an economy progressing in population and prosperity, the *favourable chances ...preponderate*, albeit with occasional temporary and local setbacks and fluctuations, in the case of *landed property*, especially *in the case of urban* (city) property" (p. 102).

"Thus the economic situation directs profits into the hands of the *landed proprietor*" (p. 103). "These, like most other *profits on value due to the state of the economy*... are simply *nothing but "gambling winnings"*, to which correspond "*gambling losses*" (p. 103).

Ditto about "Grain Trade" (p. 103, Note 15).

It must thus be

"openly acknowledged: ... the economic situation of the individual or family" is "*essentially* another *product of the* economic situation" and this "necessarily undermines the significance of *personal economic responsibility*" (pp. [104,] 105).

If, therefore, "the *present organisation* of the economy and the *legal basis* for it" (!), "hence private ownership of ... land and capital" etc. is "for them mainly an *immutable institution*", then, after a good deal of prattle, there are no means "of combatting ... *the causes*" //of the ensuing evils, such as stagnation in sales, crises, the dismissal of workers, wage-cuts, etc.//, "hence *not* of the evil itself", whereas Mr. Wagner imagines he is combatting the "symptoms", the "consequences of the evil" by meeting "*profits arising from the state of the economy*" with "taxes"—the "*losses*", "economically unwarranted", the product of the state of the economy, by a "rational ... *system of insurance*" (p. 105).

This, says the obscure man, is the result of considering the present mode of production and its "legal basis" as "immutable"; but his research, going more deeply than socialism, will get to grips with the "issue itself". *Nous verrons*,[a] won't we?

*Chief individual elements affecting the state of the economy.*

1. *Fluctuations in the harvest yields of staple foods* under the *influence of the weather* and political conditions, such as disruptions in cultivation due to war. Producers and consumers affected by it (p. 106). //On *grain merchants*: *Tooke, History of Prices*[b]; for *Greece*: *Böckh, Staatshaushalt der Athener*, I, 1, § 15; for *Rome*: *Jhering, Geist*, p. 238.[c] *Increased mortality among the lower strata of the population* nowadays with every *slight* rise in prices, "*certainly a proof how little the average wage* of the mass of the working classes *exceeds the amount absolutely essential* for life" (p. 106, Note 19). // *Improvements in means of communication* //"at the same time", he adds in Note 20, "the most important condition for a speculative grain trade able to level out prices" //, *changes in cultivation methods* //"*crop rotation economy*", by means of "the cultivation of *various* products which are favoured or handicapped differently by varying weather conditions" //; hence *smaller fluctuations in grain prices within shorter periods of time* compared with "the Middle Ages and antiquity". But fluctuations still very great even now (see Note 22, p. 107; FACTS ibid.).

2. *Changes in technology. New production methods.* Bessemer steel in place of iron, etc., p. 107 (cf. Note 23). *Introduction of machines instead of manual labour.*

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[a] We'll see.—*Ed.*

[b] Th. Tooke and W. Newmarch, *A History of Prices, and of the State of the Circulation, during the Nine Years 1848-1856*, Vol. V, London, 1857, Part I: "On the Prices of Corn from 1847 to 1856".—*Ed.*

[c] Rudolph von Jhering, *Geist des römischen Rechts auf den verschiedenen Stufen seiner Entwicklung.*—*Ed.*

3. Changes in the means of communication and transport, influencing the *spatial* movement of men and goods. Thereby in particular... *the value of land* and the articles of *low specific value*; whole branches of production compelled to make a difficult transition to other working methods (p. 107).

//In addition Note 24, ib.

*The increase in land value in the vicinity of good communications* on account of the better sales of products made there; *the facilitation of population concentration* in towns, hence *enormous rise in value of urban land* and land-*value* in the vicinity of such places. *Transport made easier* from *areas with hitherto low prices for grain* and other agricultural and forestry raw materials, mining products to areas with higher prices; the result being a deterioration of the economic situation for all elements of the population with a more stable income in the former[a] areas, and on the other hand the favouring of the producers and particularly the landowners in the same places. The easier *transport* (*import!*) of grain and other substances of low specific value has the reverse effect. Favours the consumers but prejudicial to the producers in the country of origin; necessitating a transition to other kinds of production, as in England from grain cultivation to stock-raising in the forties, as a result of the competition from cheap East European corn in Germany. Difficult situation for *German farmers* (first) owing to *the climate*, then owing to the *recent large wage increases*, which they are not able to add on to the products as easily as the industrialists, and so on.//

4. *Changes in taste! Fashions*, etc., often occurring rapidly in a short space of time.

5. *Political changes* in the sphere of national and international commerce (war, revolution, etc.); insofar as *confidence and lack of confidence* [become] *more and more important* with increasing division of labour, the extension of international etc., commerce, the role of the credit factor, the monstrous dimensions of modern warfare, etc. (p. 108).

6. *Changes in agricultural, business and trade policy* (example: Reform of the British Corn Laws).

7. Changes in the *geographic distribution* and *overall economic situation of the whole population*, such as migration from the country into the towns (pp. 108, 109).

8. *Changes in the social and economic situation of individual strata of the population*, such as through granting the freedom of coalition, etc. (p. 109). //*The French 5 milliards*,[608] Note 29, ib.//

*Costs in the individual enterprise.* In the "value"-producing "labour", in which all costs resolve themselves, "labour" in the proper *broad* sense, in particular, must also be included, whereby it "embraces *everything* which is necessary by way of purposeful human activities for the creation of revenues", hence particularly "the *intellectual labour* of the leader and the activity whereby

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[a] In the manuscript: "latter".—*Ed.*

capital is created and employed", "therefore" the "*capital gain*" financing this activity also belongs to the "constitutive elements of costs". "This view stands in contradiction to the socialist theory of value and costs and critique of capital" (p. 111).

The obscure man falsely attributes to me the view that "the *surplus-value* produced by the workers *alone* remains, *in an unwarranted manner*, in the hands of the capitalist entrepreneurs" (Note 3, p. 114). In fact I say the exact opposite: that the production of commodities must necessarily become "capitalist" production of commodities at a certain point, and that according to the *law of value* governing it, the "surplus-value" rightfully belongs to the capitalist and not the worker. Instead of engaging in such sophistry, the academic socialist character of the *vir obscurus* proves itself with the following banality, that the

> "uncompromising opponents of the socialists" "overlook the numerous actual *cases of exploitative relations* in which net profits are *not properly*" (!) "distributed, *and the individual enterprise production costs* of the companies are reduced far too much to the detriment of the workers (including the lenders of capital) and to the advantage of the employers" (l.c.).

*National income in England and France* (p. 120, χ—φ).

*The annual gross income of a nation*:

1. Sum total of goods *newly* produced that year. *Domestic raw materials* being included entirely according to their value; the *articles manufactured out of these and out of foreign materials* //to avoid a double assessment of raw products// at the *amount of increase in value attained by manufacturing labour*; *raw materials and semi-manufactured goods* sold and *transported in trade*, at the amount of the increase in value effected thereby.

2. *Import of money and commodities from abroad* in the form of interest from the *claims* of the country *arising from credit business*, or from *capital investments* by home nationals abroad.

3. *Freightage* actually paid to *domestic shipping companies* by means of the import of foreign goods *during the course of foreign trade and transit-trade.*

4. *Cash or commodities imported* from abroad *in the form of remittances to aliens staying in the country.*

5. *The import of non-repayable gifts*, such as *permanent tributes* to the country from abroad, or *continuing immigration and consequent regular immigration wealth.*

6. *Value surplus from the import of commodities and money resulting from international*[a] *trade* //but then deduct, 2. *export* abroad//.

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[a] Marx has mistakenly written "domestic" for "international".—*Ed.*

7. *Sum value of revenue from useful wealth* (as from dwelling-houses, etc.) (pp. 121, 122).

For the *net income* deduct, among other things, the "export of goods in payment for the *freightage of foreign shipping companies*" (p. 123). //The matter is not so simple: *the price of production (domestic) + freight = selling price.* If the country exports its own commodities in its own ships, then the foreign country pays the freight charges, if the market price prevailing there, etc.//

"Besides permanent tributes, regular payments to *foreign subjects abroad* (bribes and retainers, as paid by Persia to Greeks, *payments to foreign scholars* under Louis XIV, St. Peter's Money[609]) must be taken into account" (p. 123, Note 9).

Why not the *subsidies* which the German princes regularly used to receive from France and England?

*Vid.* the naive sorts of *income components of private individuals* consisting of "services performed by state and Church" (p. 125, Note 14).

*Individual and national assessment of value.*

*The destruction of a part of a stock of goods* in order to sell the rest at a higher price is called by *Cournot, Recherches sur les principes mathématiques de la théorie des richesses, 1838,* "une véritable création de richesse dans le sens commercial du mot"[a] (p. 127, Note 3).

Cf. as regards the decline of private individuals' consumption *supplies,* or, *as Wagner terms it, of their "useful capital"*, in our cultural period, in *Berlin* in particular, p. 128, Note 5, p. 129, Notes 8 and 10; in addition, too little money or *working capital* proper *in the production enterprise* itself, p. 130 and ibid., Note 11.

*Comparatively greater importance of foreign trade* nowadays, p. 131, Note 13, p. 132, Note 3.

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[a] "A true creation of wealth in the commercial sense of the word".—*Ed.*

# APPENDICES

# [DECLARATION BY KARL MARX ON HIS NATURALISATION IN ENGLAND][610]

*I Carl Marx*
*of No. 1 Maitland Park Road Haverstock Hill* in the County of *Middlessex, Doctor of Philosophy,* do solemnly and sincerely declare as follows:

That the statements contained in the paper writing now produced and shown to me marked with the letter "A" purporting to be a Memorial addressed by myself to *The Right Honourable Richard Assheton Cross, Esq., M.P.,* Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, praying for the Grant of a Certificate of Naturalisation under the provisions of the Act of Parliament made and passed in the 33rd year of the Reign of Her present Majesty Queen Victoria, Cap. 14 intituled "An Act to amend the Laws relating to the Legal Condition of Aliens and British Subjects", are true as therein set forth.

And I make this solemn Declaration conscientiously believing the same to be true and by virtue of the provisions of an Act made and passed in the 6th year of the Reign of His late Majesty King William IV intituled "An Act to repeal an Act of the present Session of Parliament intituled 'An Act for the more effectual Abolition of Oaths and Affirmations taken and made in various Departments of the State, and to substitute Declarations in law thereof and for the more entire suppression of voluntary and contra-judicial Oaths and Affidavits and to make other provisions for the abolition of unnecessary Oaths' ".

Declared *at Number 82 Saint Martin's Lane in the County of Middlessex* this *first day of August* One thousand eight hundred and *seventy four*

[signed]
*Karl Marx*

Before me
*Christ. R. Cuff,*
*A London Commissioner to administer oaths in Chancery.*

METROPOLITAN POLICE OFFICE

Scotland Yard

Detective Officer's
Special Report

17th August 1874

Carl Marx.—Naturalisation.

With reference to the above I beg to report that he is the notorious German agitator, the head of the International Society, and an advocate of Communistic principles. This man has not been loyal to his own King and Country.

The referees Messrs Seton, Mathesen, Manning, and Adcock are all British born subjects, and respectable householders. The statements made by them with reference to the time they have known the applicant are correct.

W. Reimers—Sergeant
J. Williams—Sergeant

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Reproduced from a photocopy of the originals

Published in English for the first time

# [SPEECHES BY KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS AT THE MEETING HELD TO CELEBRATE THE 36TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY IN LONDON, FEBRUARY 7, 1876][611]

Comrade *Carl Marx* then spoke about the work of the Society since its inception. The Society had been founded in 1840 by *Carl Schapper* in collaboration with 6 other like-minded persons. There existed an organisation within the Society, "The League of the Just",[612] which had its seat in various countries and opposed the oppression of the people. Four or five nationalities had been involved in the foundation of this Society. In 1845[613] a congress had been convened in London at which the Communist Manifesto had been worked out and whose motto was: "Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!" Marx then gave a most interesting account of the associations in those days, stating that the number of members had reached a level of 400-500. In March 1848 the Society was closed down by the British government,[614] which was otherwise not so swift to resort to police measures. The Chartist movement, which had received a great deal of support from the Society, may have been the cause of the closure. The organisation called "The League of the Just" was dissolved in 1849,[615] whereupon many members moved to America. In the fifties the Society worked more by itself, though it had always remained a refuge for the persecuted and oppressed. Marx then went on to discuss the present movement, stressing that the Society had contributed to its rise and he hoped that it would continue to do so.

Comrade *Frederick Engels* then recalled a faithful champion of truth and justice, *Wilhelm Weitling*. He was in fact the first person to try to spread the Communist idea in Germany. He was extradited by Switzerland to the Prussian government, which kept him in prison for a considerable time without any grounds. Weitling had died in America. His book *Garantien der Harmonie*

*und Freiheit* had appeared at the advice of his friends. The speaker further recalled Comrade *Moll*, who had been one of the first members and had been killed in Southern Germany in the battle for freedom. The speaker then came to the movement in Germany, saying that in his view it had achieved a strength unmatched in any country hitherto. The speaker was of the opinion that the socialist movement was bound to go forward, since agitators such as Bismarck, Eulenburg and Tessendorf were active on its behalf. [...]

Comrade *Wroblewski*, speaking in French, said: As long as there are Poles alive, the great movement of workers will have defenders in them; they will show by word and deed that their place is wherever the cause of the proletariat is being fought for. Speaker pays tribute to the workers' movement in all countries.

Comrade *Engels* translates Wroblewski's speech into German and then provides information on his activities. Wroblewski was a general and in 1863, during the Polish revolution,[616] managed to keep 2 Russian armies in check with a small band; he was sentenced to death by the Russian government and succeeded at some risk in escaping to France, where he earned his daily bread as a worker. When the Paris Commune rose up, he took part in its battles and defended the southern part of Paris[617]; also condemned to death by the Versailles people, he was fortunate enough to escape; he was still suffering greatly from the wounds he had incurred. [...]

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# [FREDERICK ENGELS' NOTICE ON THE DEATH OF HIS WIFE, LYDIA BURNS]

I herewith notify my friends in Germany that in the course of last night death deprived me of my wife *Lydia*, née *Burns*.

London, September 12, 1878

*Frederick Engels*

First published in *Vorwärts*, No. 110, September 18, 1878

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# [ACCOUNT OF KARL MARX'S INTERVIEW WITH THE *CHICAGO TRIBUNE* CORRESPONDENT][618]

## KARL MARX

### SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF *THE TRIBUNE*

*London*, Dec. 18.—In a little villa at Haverstock Hill, in the northwest portion of London, lives Karl Marx, the corner-stone of modern Socialism. He was exiled from his native country—Germany—in 1844,[619] for propagating revolutionary theories. In 1848 he returned, but in a few months was again exiled. He then took up his abode in Paris, but his political theories procured his expulsion from that city in 1849, and since that year his headquarters have been in London. His convictions have caused him trouble from the beginning. Judging from the appearance of his home, they certainly have not brought him affluence. Persistently during all these years he has advocated his views with an earnestness which undoubtedly springs from a firm belief in them, and, however, much we may deprecate their propagation, we cannot but respect to a certain extent the self-denial of the now venerable exile.

### OUR CORRESPONDENT HAS CALLED UPON HIM

twice or thrice, and each time the Doctor was found in his library, with a book in one hand and a cigarette in the other. He must be over 70 years of age. His physique is well-knit, massive, and erect. He has the head of a man of intellect, and the features of a cultivated Jew. His hair and beard are long, and iron-gray in color. His eyes are glittering black, shaded by a pair of bushy eyebrows. To a stranger he shows extreme caution. A foreigner can generally gain admission; but the ancient-looking German woman[a] who waits upon visitors has instructions to admit none

[a] Helene Demuth.—*Ed.*

who hail from the Fatherland, unless they bring letters of introduction. Once into his library, however, and, having fixed his one eye-glass in the corner of his eye, in order to take your intellectual breadth and depth, so to speak, he loses that self-restraint, and unfolds to you a knowledge of men and things throughout the world apt to interest one. And his conversation does not run in one groove, but is as varied as are the volumes upon his library shelves. A man can generally be judged by the books he reads, and you can form your own conclusions when I tell you a casual glance revealed Shakespeare, Dickens, Thackeray, Molière, Racine, Montaigne, Bacon, Goethe, Voltaire, Paine; English, American, French blue-books; works political and philosophical in Russian, German, Spanish, Italian, etc., etc. During my conversations I was struck with

HIS INTIMACY WITH AMERICAN QUESTIONS

which have been uppermost during the past twenty years. His knowledge of them, and the surprising accuracy with which he criticised our National and State legislation, impressed upon my mind the fact that he must have derived his information from inside sources. But, indeed, this knowledge is not confined to America, but is spread over the face of Europe. When speaking of his hobby,—Socialism,—he does not indulge in those melodramatic flights generally attributed to him, but dwells upon his utopian plans for "the emancipation of the human race" with a gravity and an earnestness indicating a firm conviction in the realization of his theories, if not in this century, at least in the next.

Perhaps Dr. Karl Marx is better known in America as the author of "Capital", and the founder of the International Society, or at least its most prominent pillar. In the interview which follows, you will see what he says of this Society as it at present exists. However, in the meantime, I will give you a few extracts from the printed general rules of

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY,

published in 1871, by order of the General Council, from which you can form an impartial judgment of its aims and ends. The preamble sets forth[a] "That the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves; that

[a] Further come quotations from the *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association* which appeared in London in December 1871 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 3-20).— *Ed.*

the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class rule; that the economical subjection of the man of labor to the monopolizer of the means of labor—that is, the sources of life—lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence; that all efforts aiming at the universal emancipation of the working classes have hitherto failed from want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labor in each country", and the preamble calls for "the immediate combination of the still disconnected movements". It goes on to say that the International Association acknowledge "no rights without duties, no duties without rights",—thus making every member a worker. The Association was formed at London "to afford a central medium of communication and co-operation between the Workingmen's Societies in the different countries, aiming at the same end, namely: the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation of the working classes". "Each member," the document further says, "of the International Association, on removing his domicile from one country to another, will receive the fraternal support of the associated workingmen."

THE SOCIETY CONSISTS

of a General Congress, which meets annually; a General Council, which forms "an international agency between the different national and local groups of the Association, so that the workingmen in one country can be constantly informed of the movements of their class in every other country". This Council receives and acts upon applications of new Branches or Sections to join the International, decides differences arising between the Sections, and, in fact, to use an American phrase, "runs the machine". The expenses of the General Council are defrayed by an annual contribution of an English penny per member. Then come the Federal Councils or Committees, and local Sections, in the various countries. The Federal Councils are bound to send one report at least every month to the General Council, and every three months a report on the administration and financial state of their respective branches. Whenever attacks against the Internationals are published, the nearest Branch or Committee is bound to send at once a copy of such publication to the General Council. The formation of Female Branches among the working classes is recommended.

THE GENERAL COUNCIL

comprises the following: R. Applegarth, M. J. Boon, Frederick Bradnick, G. H. Buttery, V. Delahaye, Eugène Dupont (on mission), William Hales, G. Harris, Hurliman, Jules Johannard, Harriet Law, Frederick Lessner, Lochner, Charles Longuet, C. Martin, Zévy Maurice, Henry Mayo, George Milner, Charles Murray, Pfander, John Roach, Rühl, Sadler, Cowell Stepney, Alfred Taylor, W. Townshend, E. Vaillant, John Weston. The Corresponding Secretaries for the various countries are: Leo Frankel, for Austria and Hungary; A. Herman, Belgium; T. Mottershead, Denmark; A. Serraillier, France; Karl Marx, Germany and Russia; Charles Rochat, Holland; J. P. McDonnell, Ireland; Frederick Engels, Italy and Spain; Walery Wroblewski, Poland; Hermann Jung, Switzerland; J. G. Eccarius, United States; Le Moussu, for French branches of United States.

During my visit to Dr. Marx I alluded to the platform given by J. C. Bancroft Davis in his official report of 1877,[620] as the clearest and most concise exposition of Socialism that I had seen. He said it was taken from the report of the Socialist reunion at Gotha, Germany, in May, 1875.[621] The translation was incorrect, he said, and he

VOLUNTEERED A CORRECTION,

which I append as he dictated:

*First*—Universal, direct, and secret suffrage for all males over 20 years, for all elections, Municipal and State.

*Second*—Direct legislation by the people. War and peace to be made by direct popular vote.

*Third*—Universal obligation to militia duty. No standing army.

*Fourth*—Abolition of all special legislation regarding press-laws and public meetings.

*Fifth*—Legal remedies free of expense. Legal proceedings to be conducted by the people.

*Sixth*—Education to be by the State,—general, obligatory, and free. Freedom of science and religion.

*Seventh*—All indirect taxes to be abolished. Money to be raised for State and Municipal purposes by a direct progressive income tax.

*Eighth*—Freedom of combination among the working classes.

*Ninth*—The legal day of labor for men to be defined. The work of women to be limited, and that of children to be abolished.

*Tenth*—Sanitary laws for the protection of life and health of laborers, and regulation of their dwellings and places of labor, to be enforced by persons selected by them.

*Eleventh*—Suitable provision respecting prison-labor.

In Mr. Bancroft Davis' report there is

A TWELFTH CLAUSE,

the most important of all, which reads: "State aid and credit for industrial societies, under democratic direction." I asked the Doctor why he omitted this, and he replied:

"When the reunion took place at Gotha, in 1875, there existed a division among the Social Democrats. The one wing were partisans of Lassalle; the others, those who had accepted in general the programme of the International organization, and were called the Eisenach party. That twelfth point was not placed on the platform, but placed in the general introduction by way of concession to the Lassallians. Afterwards it was never spoken of. Mr. Davis does not say that it was placed in the programme as a compromise having no particular significance, but gravely puts it in as one of the cardinal principles of the programme."

"But," I said, "Socialists generally look upon the transformation of the means of labor into the common property of society as the grand climax of the movement."

"Yes; we say that this will be the outcome of the movement, but it will be a question of time, of education, and the institution of a higher social status."

"This platform," I remarked, "applies only to Germany and one or two other countries."

"Ah!" he returned, "if you draw your conclusions from nothing but this, you know nothing of the activity of the party. Many of its points have no significance outside of Germany. Spain, Russia, England, and America have platforms suited to their peculiar difficulties. The only similarity in them is the end to be attained."

"And that is the supremacy of labor?"

"That is the

EMANCIPATION OF LABOR."

"Do European Socialists look upon the movement in America as a serious one?"

"Yes; it is the natural outcome of the country's development. It has been said that the movement has been imported by foreigners.

When labor movements became disagreeable in England, fifty years ago, the same thing was said; and that was long before Socialism was spoken of. In America, only since 1857 has the labor movement become conspicuous. Then Trades Unions began to flourish; then Trades-Assemblies were formed, in which the workers in different industries united; and after that came National Labor Unions.[622] If you consider this chronological progress, you will see that Socialism has sprung up in that country without the aid of foreigners, and was merely caused by the concentration of capital and the changed relations between the workmen and their employers."

"Now," asked our correspondent, "what has Socialism done so far?"

"Two things," he returned. "Socialists have shown the general universal struggle between capital and labor,—

THE COSMOPOLITAN CHARACTER,

in one word,—and consequently tried to bring about an understanding between the workmen in the different countries, which became more necessary as the capitalists became more cosmopolitan in hiring labor, pitting foreign against native labor not only in America, but in England, France, and Germany. International relations sprang up at once between the workingmen in the different countries, showing that Socialism was not merely a local, but an international problem, to be solved by the international action of workmen. The working classes moved spontaneously, without knowing what the ends of the movement will be. The Socialists invent no movement, but merely tell the workmen what its character and its ends will be."

"Which means the overthrowing of the present social system," I interrupted.

"This system of land and capital in the hands of employers, on the one hand," he continued, "and the mere working power in the hands of the laborers to sell as a commodity, we claim is merely an historical phase, which will pass away and give place to

A HIGHER SOCIAL CONDITION.

We see everywhere a division of society. The antagonism of the two classes goes hand in hand with the development of the industrial resources of modern countries. From a Socialistic standpoint the means already exist to revolutionize the present

historical phase. Upon Trades-Unions, in many countries, have been built political organizations. In America the need of an independent Workingmen's party has been made manifest. They can no longer trust politicians. Rings and cliques have seized upon the Legislature, and politics has been made a trade. But America is not alone in this, only its people are more decisive than Europeans. Things come to the surface quicker. There is less cant and hypocrisy than there is on this side of the ocean."

I asked him to give me a reason for the rapid growth of the Socialistic party in Germany, when he replied: "The present Socialistic party came last. Theirs was not the Utopian scheme which made some headway in France and England. The German mind is given to theorizing, more than that of other peoples. From previous experience the Germans evolved something practical. This modern capitalistic system, you must recollect, is quite new in Germany in comparison to other States. Questions were raised which had become almost antiquated in France and England, and political influences to which these States had yielded sprang into life when the working classes of Germany had become imbued with Socialistic theories. Therefore, from the beginning almost of modern industrial development, they have formed an

INDEPENDENT POLITICAL PARTY.

They had their own representatives in the German Parliament. There was no party to oppose the policy of the Government, and this devolved upon them. To trace the course of the party would take a long time; but I may say this: that, if the middle classes of Germany were not the greatest cowards, distinct from the middle classes of America and England, all the political work against the Government should have been done by them."

I asked him a question regarding the numerical strength of the Lassallians in the ranks of the Internationalists.

"The party of Lassalle," he replied, "does not exist. Of course there are some believers in our ranks, but the number is small. Lassalle anticipated our general principles. When he commenced to move after the reaction of 1848, he fancied that he could more successfully revive the movement by advocating co-operation of the workingmen in industrial enterprises.[623] It was to stir them into activity. He looked upon this merely as a means to the real end of the movement. I have letters from him to this effect."

"You would call it his nostrum?"

"Exactly. He called upon Bismarck, told him what he de-

signed,[624] and Bismarck encouraged Lassalle's course at that time in every possible way."

"What was his object?"

"He wished to use the working classes as a set-off against the middle classes who instigated the troubles of 1848."

"It is said that you are the head and front of Socialism, Doctor, and from your villa here pull the wires of all the associations, revolutions, etc., now going on. What do you say about it?"

The old gentleman smiled: "I know it.

IT IS VERY ABSURD;

yet it has a comic side. For two months previous to the attempt of Hoedel,[625] Bismarck complained in his *North German Gazette* that I was in league with Father Beckx, the leader of the Jesuit movement, and that we were keeping the Socialist movement in such a condition that he could do nothing with it."[a]

"But your International Society in London directs the movement?"

"The International Society has outlived its usefulness and exists no longer. It did exist and direct the movement; but the growth of Socialism of late years has been so great that its existence has become unnecessary. Newspapers have been started in the various countries. These are interchanged. That is about the only connection the parties in the different countries have with one another. The International Society, in the first instance, was created to bring the workmen together, and show the advisability of effecting organization among their various nationalities. The interests of each party in the different countries have no similarity. This spectre of the Internationalist leaders sitting at London is a mere invention. It is true that we dictated to foreign societies when the Internationalist organization was first accomplished. We were forced to exclude some Sections in New York, among them one in which Madam Woodhull was conspicuous. That was in 1871.[b] There are several American politicians—I will not name them—who wish to trade in the movement. They are well known to American Socialists."

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[a] See the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nos. 229, 234, 251 and 259, September 30, October 5 and 24, November 2, 1877 ("Politischer Tagesbericht").—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, "Resolutions on the Split in the United States' Federation Passed by the General Council of the I.W.A. in Its Sittings of 5th and 12th March, 1872" (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 124).—*Ed.*

"You and your followers, Dr. Marx, have been credited with all sorts of incendiary speeches against religion. Of course you would like to see the whole system destroyed, root and branch."

"We know," he replied after a moment's hesitation, "that violent measures against religion are nonsense; but this is an opinion: as Socialism grows,

RELIGION WILL DISAPPEAR.

Its disappearance must be done by social development, in which education must play a great part."

"The Rev. Joseph Cook, of Boston,—you know him—"

"We heard of him; a very badly informed man upon the subject of Socialism."

"In a lecture lately upon the subject, he said: 'Karl Marx is credited now with saying that, in the United States, and in Great Britain, and perhaps in France, a reform of labor will occur without bloody revolution, but that blood must be shed in Germany, and in Russia, and in Italy, and in Austria.'"[a]

"No Socialist," remarked the Doctor, smiling, "need predict that there will be a bloody revolution in Russia, Germany, Austria, and possibly in Italy if the Italians keep on in the policy they are now pursuing. The deeds of the French Revolution may be enacted again in those countries. That is apparent to any political student. But those revolutions will be made by the majority. No revolution can be made by a party,

BUT BY A NATION."

"The reverend gentleman alluded to," I remarked, "gave an extract from a letter which he said you addressed to the Communists of Paris in 1871. Here it is: 'We are as yet but 3,000,000 at most. In twenty years we shall be 50,000,000-100,000,000 perhaps. Then the world will belong to us, for it will be not only Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, which will rise against odious capital, but Berlin, Munich, Dresden, London, Liverpool, Manchester, Brussels, St. Petersburg, New York,—in short, the whole world. And before this new insurrection, such as history has not yet known, the past will disappear like a hideous nightmare; for the popular conflagration, kindled at a hundred

[a] F. J. Cook, "Secret Socialistic Societies". See Joseph Cook, *Boston Monday Lectures*, Vol. 2, London, 1893, p. 30.—*Ed.*

points at once, will destroy even its memory.'[a] Now, Doctor, I suppose you admit the authorship of that extract?"

"I never wrote a word of it. I never write

SUCH MELODRAMATIC NONSENSE.

I am very careful what I do write. That was put in *Le Figaro*, over my signature, about that time. There were hundreds of the same kind of letters flying about then. I wrote to the London *Times* and declared they were forgeries[b]; but, if I denied everything that has been said and written of me, I would require a score of secretaries."

"But you have written in sympathy with the Paris Communists?"

"Certainly I have, in consideration of what was written of them in leading articles; but the correspondence from Paris in English papers is quite sufficient to refute the blunders propagated in editorials. The Commune killed only about sixty people; Marshal MacMahon and his slaughtering army killed over 60,000. There has never been a movement so slandered as that of the Commune."

"Well, then, to carry out the principles of Socialism do its believers advocate assassination and bloodshed?"

"No great movement," Karl Marx answered, "has ever been inaugurated

WITHOUT BLOODSHED.

The independence of America was won by bloodshed, Napoleon captured France through a bloody process, and he was overthrown by the same means. Italy, England, Germany, and every other country gives proof of this, and as for assassination," he went on to say, "it is not a new thing, I need scarcely say. Orsini tried to kill Napoleon; Kings have killed more than anybody else; the Jesuits have killed; the Puritans killed at the time of Cromwell. These deeds were all done or attempted before Socialism was known. Every attempt, however, now made upon a Royal or State individual is attributed to Socialism. The Socialists would regret very much the death of the German Emperor[c] at the present time.

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[a] Ibid.—*Ed.*

[b] See K. Marx and F. Engels, "To the Editor of *The Times*"; K. Marx, "To the Editorial Boards of the *Volksstaat* and the *Zukunft*" and "To the Editor of *De Werker*" (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 285, 288-90 and 291).—*Ed.*

[c] William I.—*Ed.*

He is very useful where he is; and Bismarck has done more for the cause than any other statesman, by driving things to extremes."

I asked Dr. Marx

WHAT HE THOUGHT OF BISMARCK.

He replied that "Napoleon was considered a genius until he fell; then he was called a fool. Bismarck will follow in his wake. He began by building up a despotism under the plea of unification. His course has been plain to all. The last move is but an attempted imitation of a coup d'etat[626]; but it will fail. The Socialists of Germany, as of France, protested against the war of 1870 as merely dynastic. They issued manifestoes[627] foretelling the German people that, if they allowed the pretended war of defense to be turned into a war of conquest, they would be punished by the establishment of military despotism and the ruthless oppression of the productive masses.[628] The Social Democratic party in Germany, thereupon holding meetings and publishing manifestoes for an honorable peace with France, were at once prosecuted by the Prussian Government, and many of the leaders imprisoned.[629] Still their Deputies alone dared to protest, and very vigorously too, in the German Reichstag, against the forcible annexation of French provinces.[630] However, Bismarck carried his policy by force, and people spoke of the genius of a Bismarck. The war was fought, and, when he could make no more conquests, he was called upon for original ideas, and he has signally failed. The people began to lose faith in him. His popularity was on the wane. He needs money, and the State needs it. Under a sham Constitution he has taxed the people for his military and unification plans until he can tax them no longer, and now he seeks to do it with no Constitution at all. For the purpose of levying as he chooses, he has raised the ghost of Socialism, and has done everything in his power

TO CREATE AN EMEUTE."

"You have continual advices from Berlin?"

"Yes," he said, "my friends keep me well advised. It is in a perfectly quiet state, and Bismarck is disappoited. He has expelled forty-eight prominent men,—among them Deputies Hasselmann and Fritzsche, and Rackow, Baumann, and Auer, of the *Freie Presse.*[631] These men kept the workmen of Berlin quiet. Bismarck

knew this. He also knew that there were 75,000 workmen in that city upon the verge of starvation. Once those leaders were gone, he was confident that the mob would rise, and that would be the cue for a carnival of slaughter. The screws would then be put upon the whole German Empire; his pet theory of blood and iron[a] would then have full sway, and taxation could be levied to any extent. So far no emeute has occurred, and he stands to-day confounded at the situation and the ridicule of all statesmen."

First published in *The Chicago Tribune*, No. 6, January 5, 1879

Reproduced from the newspaper

Signed: *H.*

[a] An allusion to Bismarck's speech at the 94th session of the Budget Commission of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies on September 30, 1862, *Berliner Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 458, October 2, 1862 (morning issue).— *Ed.*

# [SIR MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE GRANT DUFF'S ACCOUNT OF A TALK WITH KARL MARX

## FROM A LETTER TO CROWN PRINCESS VICTORIA][632]

February 1, 1879

Madam,

Your Imperial Highness,[a] when I last had the honour of seeing you, chanced to express some curiosity about Carl Marx and to ask me if I knew him. I resolved accordingly to take the first opportunity of making his acquaintance; but that opportunity did not arise till yesterday when I met him at luncheon and spent three hours in his company.

He is a short, rather small man with grey hair and beard which contrast strangely with a still dark moustache. The face is somewhat round, the forehead well shaped and filled up—the eye rather hard but the whole expression rather pleasant than not, by no means that of a gentleman who is in the habit of eating babies in their cradles—which is I daresay the view which the Police takes of him.

His talk was that of a well-informed nay learned man—much interested in Comparative Grammar which had led him into the Old Slavonic and other out of the way studies and was varied by many quaint turns and little bits of dry humour, as when speaking of Hesekiel's life of Prince Bismarck he always referred to it, by way of contrast to Dr. Busch's book, as the *Old* Testament.[b]

It was all very *positif* slightly cynical—without any appearance of enthusiasm—interesting and often, as I thought, showing very correct ideas when he was conversing of the past or the present; but vague and unsatisfactory when he turned to the future.

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[a] Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa.—*Ed.*

[b] See G. Hesekiel, *Das Buch vom Grafen Bismarck*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1869; M. Busch, *Graf Bismarck und seine Leute während des Kriegs mit Frankreich*, Vols. 1-2, Leipzig, 1878.—*Ed.*

He looks, not unreasonably, for a great and not distant crash in Russia; thinks it will begin by reforms from above which the old bad edifice will not be able to bear and which will lead to its tumbling down altogether. As to what would take its place he had evidently no clear idea, except that for a long time Russia would be unable to exercise any influence in Europe.

Next he thinks that the movement will spread to Germany taking there the form of a revolt against the existing military system.

To my question "But how can you expect the army to rise against its commanders?" he replied—you forget that in Germany now the army and the Nation are nearly identical. These Socialists you hear about are trained soldiers like anybody else. You must not think of the standing army only. You must think of the Landwehr[633]—and even in the standing army there is much discontent. Never was an army in which the severity of the discipline led to so many suicides. The step from shooting oneself to shooting one's officer is not long and an example of the kind once set is soon followed.

But supposing I said the rulers of Europe came to an understanding amongst themselves for a reduction of armaments which might greatly relieve the burden on the people what would become of the Revolution which you expect it one day to bring about?

Ah was his answer they can't do that. All sorts of fears and jealousies will make that impossible. The burden will grow worse and worse as science advances for the improvements in the Art of Destruction will keep pace with its advance and every year more and more will have to be devoted to costly engines of war. It is a vicious circle—there is no escape from it. But I said you have never yet had a serious popular rising unless there was really great misery. You have no idea he rejoined how terrible has been the crisis through which Germany has been passing in these last five years.[634]

Well I said supposing that your Revolution has taken place and that you have your Republican form of Government—it is still a long long way to the realization of the special ideas of yourself and your friends. Doubtless he answered but all great movements are slow. It would merely be a step to better things as your Revolution of 1688 was—a mere stage on the road.[635]

The above will give Your Imperial Highness a fair idea of the kind of ideas about the near future of Europe which are working in his mind.

They are too dreamy to be dangerous except just in so far as the situation with its mad expenditure on armaments is obviously and undoubtedly dangerous.

If however within the next decade the rulers of Europe have not found means of dealing with this evil without any warning from attempted revolution I for one shall despair of the future of humanity at least on this continent.

In the course of conversation Carl Marx spoke several times both of Your Imperial Highness and of the Crown Prince[a] and invariably with due respect and propriety. Even in the case of eminent individuals of whom he by no means spoke with respect there was no trace of bitterness or savagery—plenty acrid and dissolvent criticism but nothing of the Marat tone.

Of the horrible things that have been connected with the International he spoke as any respectable man would have done.

One thing which he mentioned showed the dangers to which exiles who have got a revolutionary name are exposed. The wretched man Nobiling, he had learned, had when in England intended to come to see him. If he had done so he said I should certainly have admitted him for he would have sent in his card as an *employé* of the Dresden Bureau of Statistics and as I occupy myself with Statistics it would have interested me to talk with him—What a pleasant position I should have been in he added if he *had* come to see me!!"

Altogether my impression of Marx, allowing for his being at the opposite pole of opinion from oneself, was not at all unfavourable and I would gladly meet him again. It will not be he who whether he wishes it or not will turn the world upside down.

First published in A. Rothstein's article "A Meeting with Karl Marx", *The Times*, Literary Supplement, July 15, 1949

Reproduced from *MEGA*$_2$ Bd. I/25, S. 438-41

[a] Frederick William.— *Ed.*

# [ACCOUNT OF AN INTERVIEW OF KARL MARX WITH JOHN SWINTON, CORRESPONDENT OF *THE SUN*][636]

## KARL MARX

One of the most remarkable men of the day, who has played an inscrutable but puissant part in the revolutionary politics of the past forty years, is Karl Marx. A man without desire for show or fame, caring nothing for the fanfaronade of life or the pretence of power, without haste and without rest, a man of strong, broad, elevated mind, full of far-reaching projects, logical methods, and practical aims, he has stood and yet stands behind more of the earthquakes which have convulsed nations and destroyed thrones, and do now menace and appal crowned heads and established frauds, than any other man in Europe, not excepting Joseph Mazzini himself. The student of Berlin, the critic of Hegelianism, the editor of papers, and the old-time correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, he showed his qualities and his spirit; the founder and master spirit of the once dreaded International and the author of "Capital", he has been expelled from half the countries of Europe, proscribed in nearly all of them, and for thirty years past has found refuge in London. He was at Ramsgate,[637] the great seashore resort of the Londoners, while I was in London, and there I found him in his cottage, with his family of two generations. The saintly-faced, sweet-voiced, graceful woman of suavity who welcomed me at the door was evidently the mistress of the house and the wife of Karl Marx. And is this massive-headed, generous-featured, courtly, kindly man of 60, with the bushy masses of long revelling gray hair, Karl Marx? His dialogue reminded me of that of Socrates—so free, so sweeping, so creative, so incisive, so genuine—with its sardonic touches, its gleams of humor, and its sportive merriment. He spoke of the political forces and popular movements of the various countries of

Europe—the vast current of the spirit of Russia, the motions of the German mind, the action of France, the immobility of England. He spoke hopefully of Russia, philosophically of Germany, cheerfully of France, and sombrely of England—referring contemptuously to the "atomistic reforms" over which the Liberals of the British Parliament spend their time. Surveing the European world, country after country, indicating the features and the developments and the personages on the surface and under the surface, he showed that things were working toward ends which will assuredly be realized. I was often surprised as he spoke. It was evident that this man, of whom so little is seen or heard, is deep in the times, and that, from the Neva to the Seine, from the Urals to the Pyrenees, his hand is at work preparing the way for the new advent. Nor is his work wasted now any more than it has been in the past, during which so many desirable changes have been brought about, so many heroic struggles have been seen, and the French republic has been set up on the heights. As he spoke, the question I had put, "Why are you doing nothing now?" was seen to be a question of the unlearned, and one to which he could not make direct answer. Inquiring why his great work "Capital", the seed field of so many crops, had not been put into English as it has been put into Russian and French[a] from the original German, he seemed unable to tell, but said that a proposition for an English translation had come to him from New York.[638] He said that that book was but a fragment, a single part of a work in three parts, two of the parts being yet unpublished, the full trilogy being "Land", "Capital", "Credit",[639] the last part, he said, being largely illustrated from the United States, where credit has had such an amazing development. Mr. Marx is an observer of American action, and his remarks upon some of the formative and substantive forces of American life were full of suggestiveness. By the way, in referring to his "Capital", he said that any one who might desire to read it would find the French translation much superior in many ways to the German original.[640] Mr. Marx referred to Henri Rochefort the Frenchman, and in his talk of some of his dead disciples, the stormy Bakunin, the brilliant Lassalle, and others, I could see how his genius had taken hold of men who, under other circumstances, might have directed the course of history.

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[a] *Капиталъ. Критика политической экономіи.* Сочиненіе Карла Маркса. Переводъ съ нѣмецкаго. Томъ первый. Книга I. "Процессъ производства капитала", С.-Петербургъ, 1872; *Le Capital.* Par Karl Marx. Traduction de M. J. Roy, entièrement revisée par l'auteur, [Vol. I,] Paris.—*Ed.*

The afternoon is waning toward the twilight of an English summer evening as Mr. Marx discourses, and he proposes a walk through the seaside town and along the shore to the beach, upon which we see many thousand people, largely children, disporting themselves. Here we find on the sands his family party—the wife, who had already welcomed me, his two daughters with their children, and his two sons-in-law,[a] one of whom is a Professor in King's College, London,[b] and the other, I believe, a man of letters.[c] It was a delightful party—about ten in all—the father of the two young wives, who were happy with their children, and the grandmother of the children, rich in the joysomeness and serenity of her wifely nature. Not less finely than Victor Hugo himself does Karl Marx understand the art of being a grandfather; but, more fortunate than Hugo, the married children of Marx live to cheer his years. Toward nightfall he and his sons-in-law part from their families to pass an hour with their American guest. And the talk was of the world, and of man, and of time, and of ideas, as our glasses tinkled over the sea. The railway train waits for no man, and night is at hand. Over the thought of the babblement and rack of the age and the ages, over the talk of the day and the scenes of the evening, arose in my mind one question touching upon the final law of being, for which I would seek answer from this sage. Going down to the depth of language, and rising to the height of emphasis, during an interspace of silence, I interrogated the revolutionist and philosopher in these fateful words, "*What is*?" And it seemed as though his mind were inverted for a moment while he looked upon the roaring sea in front and the restless multitude upon the beach. "*What is*?" I had inquired, to which, in deep and solemn tone, he replied: "*Struggle!*"

At first it seemed as though I had heard the echo of despair; but, peradventure, it was the law of life.

First published in *The Sun*, No. 6, September 6, 1880

Reproduced from the newspaper

[a] Jenny and Charles Longuet with their children—Jean, Henri and Edgar—and Laura and Paul Lafargue.—*Ed.*

[b] Paul Lafargue.—*Ed.*

[c] Charles Longuet.—*Ed.*

# [STATEMENT ON THE CLOSURE OF *L'ÉGALITÉ*][641]

The editorial board of *L'Égalité*[a] had concluded an agreement with a printer[b] for two years, under which the latter bore the expenses and shared the profits equally with the editorial board. A sale of 6,000 copies would cover the expenses. The first issue sold 3,800 copies straightaway. But by the third issue the printer already declared that he no longer wished to pay out money in order to disseminate ideas which he did not share; henceforth he would pay only for the setting and the paper, the editorial board would have to provide the rest. Reference to the contract did not help. Accept or the paper closes (*c'est à prendre ou à laisser*). In return, he finally allowed the editorial board to receive the income from advertisements and sales outside Paris. Four days later the printer declared that this also had to stop; the editorial board would have to take over the newspaper on its own account. Since the board lacked the resources to do this, the newspaper was thus doomed. The editorial board will sue the man for breach of contract, but the newspaper remains dead and buried. The whole secret is that the man is being given a large *Orleanist* paper to print and has evidently been told that he must first show the damned socialists the door; after all, they had committed the crime of advocating the confiscation of the Orleans fortune.

Sent by Engels to Zurich on March 1, 1883

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 11, March 8, 1883

Published in English for the first time

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[a] Gabriel Deville, Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, Emile Massard.—*Ed.*
[b] A. Le Tailleur.—*Ed.*

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] Engels worked on the *Refugee Literature* series, with interruptions, from mid-May 1874 to April 1875. The articles were published as they were completed in the German Social-Democrats' newspaper, *Der Volksstaat.*

In 1875, Article V appeared as a separate pamphlet under the title *Soziales aus Rußland* (see Note 52).

Articles I, II and V were included by Engels in a collection of his works, *Internationales aus dem "Volksstaat" (1871-75)*, Berlin, 1894.

Individual articles were published in English, in full or abridged, in a number of collections. p. 3

[2] This article from the *Refugee Literature* series was written by Engels in mid-May-early June 1874 and printed in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 69, June 17, 1874 under his signature. The subtitle, "A Polish Proclamation", was added by Engels when the article was reprinted in 1894 (see Note 1).

The article was prompted by the address of the society called "The Polish People" (see Note 4) to the English people on the occasion of Alexander II's visit to England in May 1874. The stated purpose of the visit was the Emperor's wish to see his daughter Maria, the Duke of Edinburgh's wife, but actually it was undertaken to relax the tensions between Russia and England engendered by their clash of interests in Central Asia and Iran. Alexander II, who resided in Windsor Castle during his visit, came to London on May 15 and 18. On the measures taken by the London police see also Marx's letter to Ludwig Kugelmann of May 18, 1874 (present edition, Vol. 45).

This article was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Russian Menace to Europe*, London [1953], pp. 109-15, under the title "A Polish Proclamation". p. 5

[3] A reference to the assassination attempt on the Russian Emperor Alexander II made by Antoni Berezowski in Paris in 1867. Berezowski was sentenced to twenty years of hard labour. p. 5

[4] *The Polish People* (Związek Ludu Polskiego)—a revolutionary-democratic society set up in September 1872 on the initiative of Walery Wróblewski, Ludwik Oborski and Jan Kryński. The society included a number of Polish revolutionaries, members of the Paris Commune, and supported the line pursued by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. It drew

on the best traditions of the society Lud Polski of the 1840s, and linked the national and social emancipation of the Polish people with the international working-class movement. Its newspaper was the *Wici*. p. 5

5 Engels is referring to the war between the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont) and France, on the one hand, and Austria, on the other, which lasted from April 29 to July 1859.

Before the war Russia and France signed a secret treaty in Paris (on March 3, 1859) whereby Russia undertook to observe benevolent neutrality in the case of a Franco-Italian war against Austria.

The Austro-Prussian war of 1866 for supremacy in Germany was a major stage in the unification of Germany "from above" under Prussian hegemony, while the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 between France, on the one hand, and Prussia, Bavaria and Saxony, on the other, completed Germany's national unification under the aegis of the Prussian monarchy. p. 6

6 Engels is referring to the invasions of the Huns in the 5th century, of the Avars in the 6th century, and of the Mongols and Tartars in 1241, 1259 and 1287. p. 6

7 The reference is to the Polish-Turkish wars of the 17th century (1620-21, 1672-76 and 1683-99). On September 12, 1683, Polish troops led by Jan Sobieski, in collaboration with the Austrian army and the armies of the German principalities, smashed the Turkish army at Vienna. In 1699 the last war with Turkey ended with the Karlowitz Peace Treaty and the Turks' pledge to cease warring with Poland. p. 6

8 Engels gives this quotation according to the *Address of the Polish Refugees to the English People*, p. 3, which differs from the corresponding passage in Pogodin's book (see М. П. Погодинъ, *Польской вопросъ*, Moscow, 1867, pp. 54-55). p. 7

9 On February 6 (17), 1772, on the initiative of Prussia, a convention was signed in St. Petersburg, soon joined by Austria, defining preliminary terms for the partition of Poland. The final version was signed on July 25 (August 5) of the same year. This partition undermined the national independence of Poland, which was in a state of deep social and political crisis (see Note 72). By the fourth state, Engels probably meant Rzecz Pospolita, which was left with about two-thirds of its territory (on the role of the Polish nobility in these events, see this volume, p. 55). p. 7

10 The *Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791* (Ustawa Rządowa. Prawo Uchwalone) conveyed the aspirations of the progressive sections of the nobility and the urban bourgeoisie. It abolished the *liberum veto* and the elective monarchy (see Note 72). To consolidate the central authority and put an end to anarchy, it introduced hereditary monarchy and granted the urban bourgeoisie certain political and economic rights. Having removed some of the drawbacks of the state system of Rzecz Pospolita and crippled the political position of the big feudal aristocracy, the Constitution left virtually intact the feudal mode of production. The peasantry was still in bondage to the feudal aristocracy and the szlachta. But the Constitution alleviated to some extent the position of peasant serfs by recognising the legal force of commutation agreements between landowners and peasants (see also Engels' article "The Frankfurt Assembly Debates the Polish Question", present edition, Vol. 7, p. 351). p. 7

11 A reference to the opposition of the Polish magnates to the introduction of the Constitution of May 3, 1791. They summoned troops from Russia

which smashed the resistance of the Polish army and overthrew the government. Simultaneously, Prussia renounced its allied treaty with Poland under the pretext of its having been concluded prior to the Constitution of May 3. These events eventually led to a second partition of Poland between Russia and Prussia on January 12 (23), 1793. Soon after the second partition a resistance movement against the invaders gained strength in Poland, and in March 1794, an uprising headed by Tadeusz Kościuszko flared up. It led to the establishment of a provisional Polish government, on which Russia and Prussia declared war. The defeat of the uprising resulted in the third partition of Poland on the basis of the St. Petersburg Convention of October 13 (24), 1795, signed by Russia, Prussia and Austria. This partition put an end to Polish statehood. p. 7

[12] The *Manifesto of December 4, 1836* was issued in Paris by the refugee organisation Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie. As a whole it was of a bourgeois-democratic character.

The *Manifesto*, drawn up in late 1845 and published on February 22, 1846, was issued by the revolutionary government in Cracow.

The *Manifesto of January 22, 1863* was a programme of action published by the provisional committee Rząd Narodowy (Komitet Centralny) on the day when the Polish uprising began (see Note 14). The Manifesto and the decrees published at the same time outlined the insurgents' programme and called on the Polish people to take up arms. They also demanded that the estates' privileges and distinctions be abolished, and land be turned over to the peasants. p. 7

[13] The *free city of Cracow* (the *Cracow Republic*) was set up in 1815 by decision of the Congress of Vienna (1814-15). The formation of the Cracow Republic was a compromise reached by the governments of Russia, Austria and Prussia which laid claims to Cracow. This independence was purely nominal since in practice the Republic's constitution, which was determined by the above states or "guardians" and consolidated the rule of the landowners and bigger merchants, was limited by the residents of these states. After the suppression of the anti-feudal uprising of 1846 the Cracow Republic was abolished (see Note 25). p. 8

[14] A reference to the national uprising of 1863-64 in the Kingdom of Poland, the territory annexed to Russia by decision of the Vienna Congress of 1815. The uprising, which was directed against the tsarist autocracy, was provoked by the crisis of feudal relations within the Kingdom of Poland. The uprising began in January 1863. Its principal motive forces were the urban masses: artisans, workers and students. From the summer of 1863 a substantial part of the insurgent detachments was made up of peasants. However, the National Central Committee, which headed the uprising (see Note 12) and consisted mostly of the representatives of the petty-bourgeoisie and lesser nobility, did not dare encroach on the privileges of big landowners, and this isolated the movement from the majority of peasants. This was one of the main reasons for the defeat of the uprising. The governments of West European states, on whose interference the conservative leaders of the uprising pinned their hopes, did not go beyond diplomatic démarches and in fact betrayed the insurgents.

The uprising was, by and large, crushed by the Tsarist government by the autumn of 1863, though some units of the insurgents continued the struggle until the end of 1864.

The Polish uprising of 1863-64 met with warm support and sympathy in

Russian and European revolutionary-democratic quarters. The solidarity of the European workers with the Polish national liberation movement played a certain part in organising the International Working Men's Association (the First International). p. 8

[15] The *Peace of Teschen* was signed on May 13, 1779 on the conclusion of the war between Prussia and Austria for the Bavarian succession (1778-79). Russia was initially a mediator between the belligerents and after the signing of the treaty was, together with France, declared the guarantor state. p. 9

[16] On April 21, 1849, Francis Joseph of Austria appealed for help to Nicholas I, and in May 1849 the Russian army entered Hungary to take part in the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-49. The capitulation of the Hungarian revolutionary army at Világos on August 13, 1849 sealed the defeat of the revolution in the European countries. p. 9

[17] The reference is to the uprising of the Paris proletariat (June 23-26, 1848), which was brutally suppressed by the French bourgeoisie. It was the climax of the 1848 revolution in France and had an impact on revolutionary events in other European countries. Marx and Engels appraised the uprising and its historic significance in a series of articles published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, and in *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 130-49; Vol. 10, pp. 67-70). p. 9

[18] In May and October 1850 Warsaw was the scene of conferences in which representatives of Russia, Austria and Prussia were involved. They were convened on the initiative of the Russian Tsar in view of the mounting struggle between Austria and Prussia for mastery in Germany. The Tsar acted as arbiter in the dispute between Austria and Prussia and used his influence to make Prussia abandon its attempts to form a political confederation of German states under its own aegis.

On November 28, 1850 in Olmütz (Olomouc), an agreement was signed between Prussia and Austria under which Prussia was forced to temporarily renounce its claims to hegemony in Germany (see also this volume, p. 103). p. 9

[19] The *Crimean war* (1853-56), or the *Eastern war*, was waged by Russia against the allied forces of Britain, France, the Kingdom of Piedmont and Turkey for supremacy in the Near East. It ended with the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty (1856). The war is described by Marx and Engels in the articles included in volumes 13-15 of the present edition. p. 9

[20] During the Austro-Italo-French war of 1859 (see Note 5), the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs Alexander Gorchakov issued a circular on May 27, 1859, which effectively prevented the intervention of the small German states in the conflict. p. 9

[21] Engels is referring to the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 (see Note 5). p. 9

[22] Probably a hint at the Declaration of Neutrality issued by the Russian government and carried by *Pravitelstvenniy vestnik* (The Government Herald), No. 148, July 11 (23), 1870. For Austria-Hungary, the Russian stand was virtually a warning not to get involved into the war between France and Prussia. p. 9

[23] Engels uses the term *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* (principal and spectacular actions), which has several meanings. In the 17th and the first half of the 18th century it meant plays performed by German touring companies. The plays,

which were rather formless, presented tragic historical events in a bombastic and at the same time coarse and farcical way.

Secondly, the term can be used to denote major political events. It was used in this sense by a trend in German historical science known as "objective historiography". Leopold Ranke was one of its chief representatives. He regarded *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* as the main subject-matter of history.

p. 9

24 Engels is referring to the decisive battle of the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 (see Note 5), which took place on July 3, 1866, at Königgrätz (Hradec Králové), near the village of Sadowa. The battle of Sadowa ended in a crushing defeat for the Austrian troops and decided the outcome of the war. p. 9

25 The reference is to the national liberation and anti-feudal uprising in the city of Cracow (Galicia). The insurgents seized power on February 22, 1846 and set up a National Government which issued a manifesto abolishing feudal services. The uprising was put down in early March 1846. In November 1846 Austria, Prussia and Russia signed a treaty incorporating Cracow in the Austrian Empire.

On the uprising of 1863-64 see Note 14. p. 10

26 In the days of the Paris Commune about 400 Polish revolutionary refugees fought side by side with the Paris workers. The best-known among them were Walery Wróblewski and Jarosław Dąbrowski. General Wróblewski commanded one of the three Commune's armies. In early May 1871 General Dąbrowski was appointed commander-in-chief of all the Commune's armed forces. p. 10

27 *Kulturkampf* (struggle for culture)—the name given by bourgeois liberals to a system of measures implemented in the 1870s by Bismarck's government under the banner of a campaign for secular culture. It was directed against the Catholic Church and the Party of the Centre (see Note 292). Under the pretext of the anti-Catholic struggle Bismarck's government also intensified the national oppression of the Polish lands which had fallen under Prussia's sway. With this end in view it passed laws restricting the rights of the Catholic clergy. The law of March 1872 stripped the clergy of the right to supervise school education, thus undermining the influence of the Polish clergy in this field. Education was now controlled by the Empire's officials. Additionally, by the edicts of October 26, 1872 and October 27, 1873, all schools in Posen were to use German. p. 10

28 Article II in Engels' *Refugee Literature* series was prompted by the pamphlet *Aux Communeux* (To Communards), which was published in London in June 1874 on behalf of a group of Paris Commune refugees. It was a kind of programme of the Blanquists, members of *La Commune révolutionnaire* (see Note 31).

Engels' article appeared in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 73, June 26, 1874, under the heading "Flüchtlings-Literatur". Engels changed it to "Programm der Blanquistischen Kommune-Flüchtlinge" when reprinting this article in 1894 in the collection *Internationales aus dem Volksstaat (1871-75)*.

It was published in English for the first time in the collection: K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. Enlarged edition. Chicago, Kerr, 1934, pp. 133-44, under the title "The Program of the Blanquist Fugitives from the Paris Commune".

p. 12

29 A reference to the emigration of royalists at the time of the French Revolution.

It grew sharply after the uprising of August 10, 1792 in Paris and the overthrow of Louis XVI. p. 12

30 By the "secret Alliance" Engels calls here the *Alliance of Socialist Democracy. Central Section* which was founded by Bakunin in Geneva in May 1869, and in fact guided the activities of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. It was dissolved in 1871 and in place of it the *Section of Propaganda and Revolutionary Action* was founded in Geneva on September 6, 1871. The Section of Propaganda was organised by the former members of the Central Section, Nikolai Zhukovsky, Charles Perron and others, and some French refugees, Jules Guesde and Benoit Malon in particular. On September 8, October 4 and 20, 1871, the section applied to the General Council with the request to be admitted to the International. The General Council refused to comply because it had received a negative opinion on the matter from the Romance Federal Committee in Geneva.

The *Alliance of Socialist Democracy* was founded by Bakunin in Geneva in October 1868 as an international organisation of the anarchists. In 1869 the Alliance approached the General Council of the International Working Men's Association with a request to be admitted to the International. The General Council agreed to admit individual sections of the Alliance provided the latter dissolved as an independent organisation. On entering the International Bakunin did not actually comply with this decision and incorporated the Alliance into it under the guise of a section (called the "Alliance of Socialist Democracy. Central Section"). Marx, Engels and the General Council vigorously fought the Alliance exposing it as a sect hostile to the working-class movement (for details see present edition, Vol. 23). The Hague Congress of the International (1872) dealt a severe blow to the Bakuninists and expelled the Alliance's leaders from the International (see Note 38). p. 12

31 Late in 1872 the French Blanquist refugees withdrew from the International as a protest against the decision of the Hague Congress to transfer the seat of the General Council to New York. They set out their position in the pamphlet *Internationale et Révolution. A propos du Congrès de la Haye par des Réfugiés de la Commune. Ex-membres du Conseil Général de l'Internationale*, London, 1872. The Blanquists also accused the International of "escaping from revolution". In 1873 they set up the society called *La Commune révolutionnaire*. p. 13

32 Engels is referring to the uprising of May 12-13, 1839 in Paris prepared by the *Society of the Seasons* (La Société des Saisons), a secret republican socialist organisation that existed in Paris in 1837-39. It was founded by Auguste Blanqui and Armand Barbès for the purpose of overthrowing Louis Philippe's bourgeois monarchy, establishing a republic and implementing revolutionary egalitarian ideas. As a result of its conspiratorial tactics the society was suppressed when it attempted to stage the uprising. p. 13

33 A reference to the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, the siege of Paris and the suppression of the Communards between May 21 and 28, 1871. p. 15

34 The monarchists had an absolute majority in the French National Assembly which began its work in Versailles in 1871, but the supplementary elections of 1873 showed that the republicans' influence was increasing. p. 15

35 An allusion to the "de-Christianisation" policy pursued with particular vigour in the autumn of 1793 by the Left Jacobins. The campaign was spearheaded against the counter-revolutionary sections of the clergy. However, the mass of the population, particularly the peasantry, opposed the closing down of

churches. In late November, the Jacobin leader Maximilien Robespierre condemned this policy, and on December 5-8, 1793, the Convention passed a decree on the freedom of worship. p. 16

36 A reference to the former members of the International's General Council Arthur Arnaud, Édouard Vaillant, Frédéric Cournet, Constant Martin, Édouard Marguerittes and Gabriel Ranvier (see Note 31). Speaking about "those five", Engels probably excluded Ranvier from this group (see Engels' letter to Sorge of November 16, 1872, present edition, Vol. 44). p. 16

37 Engels' third article in the *Refugee Literature* series was written in late July-September 1874 in connection with the publication, in a journal entitled *Vperyod!* (Forward!), of Pyotr Lavrov's article «Лѣтопись рабочаго движенія» (A Chronicle of the Labour Movement), and his polemic with the Russian revolutionary Pyotr Tkachov. Engels considers the following pamphlets: П. Н. Ткачевъ, *Задачи революціонной пропаганды въ Россіи. Письмо къ редактору журнала «Впередъ!»* (The Tasks of Revolutionary Propaganda in Russia. A Letter to the Editor of the *Forward!* Magazine), and [П. Л. Лавров,] *Русской соціально-революціонной молодежи. По поводу брошюры: «Задачи революціонной пропаганды въ Россіи»* (To the Russian Social-Revolutionary Youth. Apropos of the Pamphlet: *The Tasks of Revolutionary Propaganda in Russia*).

Engels' article was printed in *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 117 and 118, October 6 and 8, 1874. Italicisation in the quotations is by Engels. He does not always observe the authors' italics. This article is published in English for the first time. p. 19

38 When discussing the mandates at the Hague Congress of the First International (September 2-7, 1872), the question arose of the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Note 30) as a secret sectarian organisation whose existence within the framework of the International went against its Rules. On the suggestion of Marx and some other delegates, a commission was set up to investigate the Alliance's clandestine activities. On September 5, 1872 it discussed Engels' report (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 228-38) and the reports of other Congress delegates concerning the Alliance. Having examined the materials, the commission arrived at the conclusion that the Alliance's activities were incompatible with the line of the International, and at the Congress meeting of September 7 it proposed that Bakunin and Guillaume, as well as a number of other members of the secret Alliance, be expelled from the International Association. The Congress approved as a whole the proposal of the commission and decided to make public the documents it had at its disposal which pertained to the Alliance. In pursuance of this decision, in April-July 1873, Marx and Engels in collaboration with Paul Lafargue wrote *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*, which was published as a pamphlet in French in August 1873 (see present edition, Vol. 23). p. 20

39 The German translation of the work by Marx and Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (see Note 38), appeared in 1874 under the title: "*Ein Complot gegen die Internationale Arbeiter-Association.* Im Auftrage des Haager Congresses verfaßter Bericht über das Treiben Bakunin's und der Allianz der socialistischen Demokratie. Deutsche Ausgabe von 'L'alliance de la démocratie socialiste et l'association internationale des travailleurs'. Uebersetzt von S. Kokosky. Braunschweig. Druck und Verlag von W. Bracke, 1874". Kokosky's translation was edited by Engels (see

Engels' letter to Friedrich Adolf Sorge, November 25, 1873, present edition, Vol. 44). p. 20

40 Sergei Nechayev, a Russian revolutionary, conspirator and anarchist, set up an underground organisation Narodnaya rasprava (People's Judgment) in Moscow in late 1869, consisting mostly of students of the Agricultural and Forestry Academy (see Note 527). Blackmail, mystification and deceit practised by Nechayev provoked a protest by student Ivan Ivanov, a member of the organisation. Fearing exposure, Nechayev staged his assassination and fled abroad. In Geneva, he tried to justify the assassination in the *People's Judgment* magazine, No. 2, 1870, and to print a programme of the organisation which, in Marx's and Engels' definition, was "a beautiful model of barrack-room communism" (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 543). With the exception of individual Bakuninists and Pyotr Tkachov, the various trends in the Russian liberation movement unanimously condemned Nechayev's methods. p. 22

41 Engels is referring to the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon, the Greek leader in the Trojan War. It is described in Book I of Homer's *Iliad*. p. 24

42 *Mons veneris*—literally the Mountain of Venus. Situated between Sonabe and Thüringe the mountain was, according to medieval German legends, the place where Venus lived. There, she held her court with heathen splendour and revelry. None of those who, charmed by music and sensuous allurements, entered her abode ever returned except Tannhäuser. p. 25

43 Lavrov probably hints at the fictitious World Revolutionary Alliance, on behalf of which Bakunin and Nechayev published, in 1869, a number of leaflets and pamphlets urging immediate revolution. p. 26

44 Engels wrote the fourth article in the *Refugee Literature* series on the advice of Marx. Having acquainted himself with Tkachov's *Offener Brief an Herrn Friedrich Engels. Verfasser der Artikel "Flüchtlings-Literatur" in Nr. 117 und 118 des "Volksstaat"* (Zurich, 1874), Marx passed it on to Engels with the following note upon the cover: "Go to it, but in jovial fashion. So stupid, that Bakunin may have *contributed*. What Peter Tkachov is above all trying to tell his readers is that you had treated *him* as an enemy, and he therefore invents all manner of disputes that never occurred" (see Marx's letter to Engels, February-March 1875, present edition, Vol. 45).

The article was printed by *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 36 and 37, March 28 and April 2, 1875.

Excerpts from it were published in English for the first time in the collection: K. Marx, F. Engels, *On Literature and Art*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, pp. 114, 408-09. In full, it appears in English for the first time. p. 29

45 This story is ascribed to Canning. He mentions three London tailors from Tooley Street who addressed a petition to the House of Commons opening with the words "We, the people of England!" p. 30

46 An ironical allusion to the law of July 9, 1873, which introduced a single monetary system in Germany, including a 10-mark coin. p. 31

47 *Bashibazouks*—irregular detachments of the Turkish army in the 18th and 19th centuries; the name was also given to troops noted for cruelty, plunder and lack of discipline. p. 33

48 A hint at Nikolai Chernyshevsky's *What Is to Be Done?* written in 1862 at the time of his imprisonment at the Peter and Paul Fortress (St. Petersburg). The

novel was a kind of programme of action for the more aware sections of Russia's young people. It had great impact on public consciousness and an important formative influence upon many revolutionaries. p. 35

49 The 1870s saw a new period in the development of Narodism (Russian populism), a movement of the intelligentsia, representatives of all strata of the population, at the bourgeois-democratic stage of the emancipation struggle in Russia (1861-95). Thousands of revolutionaries, as well as representatives of the democratic intelligentsia, began propaganda work in the countryside ("going into the thick of the people") in order to prepare a peasant revolution. In the spring and summer of 1874 the Narodniks launched large-scale mass action. In the autumn of 1874 mass arrests began, which Engels mentions in this article. He probably took the information about them, including the arrests of workers, from the editorial in *Vperyod!* headed "Panic in the Government" (written by Lavrov). "Going into the thick of the people" had been stopped by the government by late 1875. p. 37

50 See Note 40. p. 37

51 Marx believed that the *Revolutionary Catechism* was written by Bakunin in the summer of 1869 (see K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association,* present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 544-45). The real author of the *Catechism* was, most probably, Nechayev. The text was coded and several copies of it were printed in Geneva. p. 37

52 Article V from Engels' *Refugee Literature* was printed by *Der Volksstaat,* Nos. 43, 44 and 45 on April 16, 18 and 21, 1875, and as a separate pamphlet in Leipzig in late June-early July 1875 under the title *Soziales aus Rußland* (On Social Relations in Russia). In the second half of May Engels wrote an introduction to the pamphlet (see this volume, pp. 100-04), which was reproduced together with the article in the 1894 edition: F. Engels, *Internationales aus dem "Volksstaat" (1871-75).*

This article was printed in English for the first time in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Volume Two, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969, pp. 387-98. p. 39

53 The *corvée* (labour rent)—one of the forms of feudal land rent, unpaid forced labour of the serf peasant working on the estate of the feudal landowner and using his own tools. After the abolition of serfdom in Russia in 1861, part of the peasants that earlier belonged to the landowner (the so-called temporarily bound peasants) were obliged to perform gratuitous labour for the landowner or to pay quit-rent for the use of land. In 1881 a law was passed making the redemption of the peasants' plots obligatory, and abolishing the corvée in its overt form. However, it continued to exist as a statute labour up to the 1900s. p. 41

54 On February 19, 1864 the Russian Tsar passed an edict introducing an agrarian reform in Poland: the land that was in the peasants' use was to become their own property. Some of landless peasants were returned plots taken away earlier by the landlords. The latter were compensated from the treasury for the land that passed to the peasants. Despite the tiny size of most of the new holdings, and the fact that their owners were compelled to work on the landed estates, the reform of 1864 cleared the way for the development of capitalism in Poland to a larger extent than the reform of 1861 did in Russia. p. 41

55 A reference to the reform of 1864 in Russia, which introduced *Zemstvos*—

elective bodies for administering local matters (the building of roads and bridges, the organisation of schools, supplies of hospitals, expert agricultural assistance). p. 41

56 The *truck system*—a barter system introduced between employer and employed, which means the practice of paying wages otherwise than in cash (see F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 470, 471, 473, 539, 542). p. 42

57 Engels is referring to the sub-lease system in Ireland, under which middlemen, whose number could be up to a dozen, stood between the big landowner and the peasant working on the leased plot of land. p. 42

58 A reference to the Russian version of utopian socialism developed in the early 1850s by Alexander Herzen, a founder of revolutionary Narodism (see Note 49). Herzen believed that Russia would pass on to socialism in an "original" way thanks to the village commune, emancipation of peasants with land, peasant self-government, and the traditional right of the peasants to land. p. 43

59 *Samoyeds*—an old Russian name for a number of Siberian minor nationalities (Nentsi, Entsi, Nganasani and Selkups), which spoke Uralic languages. p. 43

60 Marx read Flerovsky's book in 1870. In a letter to the committee members of the Russian Section of the International of March 24, 1870 he expressed his appreciation of the book (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 110-11). Later Engels too read the book. p. 44

61 A reference to the Peasant War (1773-75) headed by Yemelyan Pugachov. p. 49

62 Engels is referring to the uprising which was launched in July 1873 by petty-bourgeois republicans and the Bakuninists in Andalusia and Valencia. It undermined the position of the left-republican government of Francisco Pi y Margall which came into office in 1873 as a result of the declaration of the first republic in Spain during the revolution of 1868-74. For more details, see Engels' *The Bakuninists at Work* (present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 585-95). p. 49

63 *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* is a forceful work in which Marx exposed the unseemly methods used by the Prussian police state against the communist movement. The pamphlet was published in Basle in January 1853, but in March almost the whole edition (2,000 copies) was confiscated by the police in the Baden frontier village of Weill on the way to Germany. In the USA the work was first published in instalments (on March 6 and April 2 and 28, 1853) in the Boston democratic newspaper *Neue-England-Zeitung* and at the end of April 1853 it was printed as a separate pamphlet by the same publishing house.

In 1874 this work was reprinted in 13 instalments in *Der Volksstaat* (Leipzig), with Marx named as its author for the first time. Preparing a separate edition of the *Revelations*, Wilhelm Liebknecht, the editor of the newspaper, on October 29, 1874 requested Marx to write a preface for it. On January 27, 1875, *Der Volksstaat* published Marx's epilogue to the *Revelations* dated January 8, 1875. The *Revelations* appeared as a book in Leipzig in 1875, reproducing the text from *Der Volksstaat* with this epilogue. p. 51

64 Documents of which Marx was not aware, specifically the letter of Moses Hess to Joseph Weydemeyer of July 21, 1850, confirm that Hess was the author of

the *Red Catechism* (*Rother Kathechismus für das deutsche Volk*, New York and Boston [1849 or 1850]). The place of publication is fictitious; the pamphlet was published in Germany in 1850. p. 51

65 The *reptile funds*—special money funds at the disposal of Bismarck which he used to buy venal journalists, nicknamed reptiles. The nickname was current in Germany in the 1870s. Bismarck was the first to use it, although in a different sense, speaking in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies on January 30, 1869 (by reptiles, he referred to the circles hostile to the government). However, the Left-wing press began to apply the word to the semi-official press bribed by the government. Speaking in the Reichstag on February 9, 1876, Bismarck was forced to admit that the new meaning of the word "reptiles" had gained wide currency in Germany. p. 52

66 By the *State Inquisition* Marx means the Council of Ten set up in the Republic of Venice in the 14th century, and the Collegium of State Inquisitors formed by it in the 15th century. p. 52

67 A conference of Austrian, Prussian, Bavarian, Saxonian and other ministers held in Karlsbad in 1819 adopted decrees to fight opposition movements spearheaded against the reactionary customs and laws in the German states and advocating the unification of Germany. The Karlsbad Decrees in particular made it possible to prosecute participants in the political demonstration in Gambach (May 1832) and in the actions of revolutionary democrats, including members of the Burschenschaften (see Note 151) in Frankfurt am Main in April 1833. They were repealed by the Federal Diet (see Note 150) on April 2, 1848. p. 53

68 The Programme of the International Working Men's Association was set forth by Marx in the "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association" and in the preamble to the "Provisional Rules of the Association". These documents were published for the first time by the General Council of the International in the pamphlet *Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association, Established September 28, 1864, at a Public Meeting Held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London* (see present edition, Vol. 20). p. 53

69 An allusion to the defeat of Prussia by Napoleonic France at Jena on October 14, 1806. The defeat led to Prussia's capitulation and revealed the instability of the social and political system of the Hohenzollern feudal monarchy. p. 54

70 Marx has "*inneres Düppel*", an expression first used in the meaning of "enemy within" ("Düppel im Innern") in a political survey published in the Bismarckian *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* on September 30, 1864. It became widely current later.

*Düppel* (Dybböl)—Danish fortification in Schleswig which the Prussians captured by storm on April 18, 1864, during the war of Prussia and Austria against Denmark. p. 54

71 This article reproduces Marx's and Engels' speeches at the meeting of January 23, 1875 in London organised by the Polish People society (see Note 4) to mark the 12th anniversary of the Polish uprising of 1863-64. It was written by Engels for *Der Volksstaat* and printed in it on March 24, 1875. The meeting was chaired by Walery Wróblewski. Speaking at it were members of the more advanced section of the revolutionary-democratic refugees from Poland, Russia, Germany, France and some other countries. Among them were members of the

Paris Commune Leo Frankel and Prosper Olivier Lissagaray. A report of the meeting, including the text of Marx's and Engels' speeches, was carried by the Polish magazine *Wici* (Zürich) on January 30, 1875, the Russian newspaper *Vperyod!* (Forward!) (February 15), and other periodicals. p. 55

72 Engels is referring to the system of constitutional principles of Rzecz Pospolita introduced after the formation of this state in 1569. Rzech Pospolita was a limited monarchy headed by an elective Diet, the king and the Polish nobility enjoying unlimited rights. The most odious principle was that of *liberum veto,* the right of any member of the Diet to ban any of its decisions, which by the 18th century resulted in extreme political anarchy and social and economic crisis.

On the first partition of Poland, see Note 9. p. 55

73 The reference is to the participation in the American War of Independence (1775-83) of Tadeusz Kościuszko and Kazimierz Pulaski, who were promoted to brigadier general for their service. p. 55

74 It is the first French Constitution, passed on September 3, 1791 by the National Convention. It was based on the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen adopted by the French Constituent Assembly on August 26, 1789, during the French Revolution. It proclaimed the main principles of the revolution: sovereignty of the people and the natural rights of man, the right to freedom, property, security and resistance to oppression. p. 55

75 The reference is to the military alliance concluded on February 7, 1792 by Austria and Prussia, supported by Russia,against the revolutionary France. On September 20, 1792, in the battle of Valmy, the French revolutionary army defeated the forces of the Austro-Prussian coalition. p. 55

76 The Italian region Venice, part of the Austrian Empire in 1797-1805 and 1814-66, was a centre of the Italian national liberation movement against Austrian oppression.

By "a threefold Venice" Engels implies the territories acquired by Prussia as a result of the three partitions of Poland (see notes 9 and 11) and the Vienna Treaty of 1815, as well as Schleswig-Holstein annexed by Prussia as a result of the Danish war of 1864 and Alsace-Lorraine annexed in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. p. 56

77 See Note 14. p. 56

78 As is clear from the report in *Vperyod!* (Forward!), No. 3, February 15 (3), 1875, "The Anniversary of the Polish Uprising of 1863 in London", the secretary of the newspaper's editorial board, Valerian Smirnov, spoke at the meeting of January 23, 1875 (see Note 71). Stressing the identity of interests of the Russian and the Polish workers, he declared, on behalf of the Russian revolutionaries, that each of them was ready, "when the time of the Polish people's revolution would arrive", to join the ranks of the Poles in order to gain "*social* freedom for the Polish people". Also speaking at the meeting was another Russian refugee, Dmitry Solovyov, who warned against the possible compromise between the szlachta liberal party and the Tsarist government. p. 57

79 The reference is to the amnesty of the Polish patriots kept prisoners in Prussia for an attempted uprising in Posen in 1846. The amnesty was declared by Frederick William IV in March 1848 under pressure of public opinion. p. 58

80 On May 15, 1848, Paris workers led by Blanqui, Barbès and others took revolutionary action against the anti-labour and anti-democratic policy of the

bourgeois Constituent Assembly, which opened on May 4. The demonstrators forced their way into the assembly premises, demanded the formation of a Ministry of Labour and presented a number of other demands, e.g., that assistance be rendered to the insurgent Poles in Posen. An attempt was made to form a revolutionary government. National Guards from the bourgeois quarters and the regular troops succeeded, however, in restoring the power of the Constituent Assembly. The leaders of the movement were arrested and put on trial. p. 58

81 In the report on this meeting carried by *Vperyod!* (Forward!), No. 3, February 15 (3), 1875—"The Anniversary of the Polish Uprising of 1863 in London"—the following sentence was added: "It is therefore necessary to popularise the principles of the International Association among the Polish people." This sentence, which was not included in the reports printed by the Polish periodicals (see Note 71) or in Engels' text for *Der Volksstaat*, was written in by Valerian Smirnov, who prepared the report for *Vperyod!* and insisted that he had heard it from Marx himself. In a letter to Marx of February 15, 1875, Smirnov asked him to confirm this fact. Marx's reply has not been found. p. 58

82 Engels wrote this article at the moment when, in the spring of 1875, relations between the German Empire and France sharply deteriorated after the French National Assembly approved the *Projet de loi relatif à la constitution des cadres et des effectifs de l'armée active et de l'armée territoriale.* Resolute Russian diplomatic interference prevented a war in Europe. Attaching great importance to Engels' article, which contained a critique of German militarism from the proletarian internationalist stand, the *Volksstaat* editorial board intended to publish it as a separate pamphlet. However, this intention was not carried out. p. 59

83 See Note 65. p. 59

84 In German the word *Gründung* is used here: a reference to *Gründertum*, the period of "prosperity" in Germany in 1871-73. It was made possible, to a large extent, by the war reparations of five thousand million francs and the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine under the terms of the Frankfurt Peace Treaty (1871), which concluded the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. Railway construction and the building of heavy-industry enterprises was in full swing, accompanied by the investment of enormous capital; industrial, construction and commercial joint-stock companies were mushrooming, as were banks and social security companies.

By 1873, the period of *Gründertum* in Germany had resulted in a crash followed by a protracted economic crisis that also affected Austria, Belgium, Britain, France, Holland, Italy, Russia and the USA, and continued up to 1879. p. 59

85 *Landsturm*—military militia formed in Prussia in 1813-14 from persons between the ages of 18 and 42 ineligible for military service because of disability, age, health, etc. The *Landsturm* was a reserve of the third levy. The *Landsturm Law* (*Gesetz über den Landsturm*) of February 12, 1875 developed the law of November 9, 1867 and provided for replenishing the *Landwehr* (see Note 90) from the *Landsturm* in case of threat of a hostile invasion. p. 59

86 Engels analyses the new French *Cadre Law* (of March 12, 1875) on the basis of the information contained in the article "Das Gesetz über die Cadres in Frankreich" published in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, Nos. 90-92 and 94, on April 1-3 and 5, 1875. p. 59

87 *Zouaves*—French colonial troops first formed in 1830. Originally they were composed of Algerians and French colonists and later of Frenchmen only, while Algerians were formed into special regiments of riflemen.

*Turcos* (Algerian riflemen)—French light infantry recruited, from 1842, from among the Algerians, with the exception of the officer corps and, partly, non-commissioned officers. p. 60

88 In the French army breech-loaders were called *Chassepôts* (from the inventor's name). They were adopted in the French army in 1867-68. p. 60

89 Under the law of 1868, the *mobile guards* were composed of persons of call-up age, fit for military service, who had not done either active military service or service in the reserves, and were intended for guard duty at the frontiers, service at the rear, and for garrison duties. By the beginning of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, the formation of mobile guards had not yet taken place; persons between the ages of 20 and 40 were recruited to it at the time of war. p. 61

90 *Landwehr* (the army reserve) in Prussia was formed at the time of the struggle against Napoleonic rule. In the 1840s, it was made up of persons up to 40 years of age who had served three years in the army and had been on the reserve list for at least two years. In peacetime, the *Landwehr* units were engaged in occasional military exercises; at the time of war, they were to do rear and garrison service. During the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, the *Landwehr* was used in active service along with the regular troops. p. 61

91 See Note 24. p. 61

92 The reference is to the 200,000-strong Second Loire Army formed in October-November 1870 by the French government mostly from recruits. This is also a reference to the battle at Loigny-Poupry, near Orléans, of December 2, 1870, where two French corps of the Loire Army suffered a defeat, and the battle of Le Mans, Western France, of January 10-12, 1871, where the Loire Army was also forced to retreat and sustained considerable losses. p. 62

93 Under the law of May 2, 1874 ("Reichs-Militärgesetz", *Reichs-Gesetzblatt*, Berlin, 1874, No. 1002), the second reserve (Ersatzreserve) consisted of men of call-up age who had been given grace due to insignificant disability or family circumstances. In wartime, it was used to replenish the army. p. 63

94 A punning reference to the name *The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation* founded in 962 by the German King Otto I. It included, at different times, German, Italian, Austrian, Hungarian and Bohemian lands, Switzerland and the Netherlands, forming a motley conglomeration of feudal kingdoms and principalities, church lands and free towns with different political structures, legal standards and customs. By the 18th century, the Empire, with a Hapsburg at its head, lost all political significance, and ceased to exist on August 6, 1806 as a result of the victory of Napoleon's army. p. 66

95 Engels' letter to August Bebel written between March 18 and 28, 1875 is closely connected with Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (see this volume, pp. 75-99) and is traditionally published together with the latter work. It conveyed the joint opinion of Marx and Engels concerning the fusion of two German workers' parties, the Eisenachers and the Lassalleans, scheduled for early 1875. The immediate reason for the letter was the publication of the draft programme of the future united Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (*Programm der deutschen Arbeiterpartei*) in *Der Volksstaat* (the organ of the

Eisenachers) and the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* (the organ of the Lassalleans) on March 7, 1875. The draft programme was approved with slight changes by the unity congress at Gotha on May 22-27, 1875, and came to be known as the Gotha Programme.

This letter was first published by Bebel, after the lapse of 36 years, in his *Aus meinem Leben*, Zweiter Teil, Stuttgart, 1911. In the present edition the letter is printed according to this book.

It was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Lawrence, London [1933], pp. 51-62. p. 67

96 A reference to one of Lassalle's programme theses on the establishment of workers' producer associations with the aid of the state. Lassalle and his followers repeatedly emphasised that what they had in mind was a state in which power would pass into the hands of the working people through universal suffrage. p. 67

97 Engels is referring to the *Programm und Statuten der sozial-demokratischen Arbeiter-Partei*, adopted at the general German workers' congress in Eisenach in August 1869 and published in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* on August 14, 1869. The congress founded the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany. By and large the programme complied with the principles of the International Working Men's Association. p. 67

98 The "*honest men*"—nickname of the members of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (the Eisenachers), as distinct from the members of the General Association of German Workers (the Lassalleans), the "dishonest men". p. 68

99 The *German People's Party*, established in September 1868, embraced the democratic section of the bourgeoisie, mostly in the South-German states. The party opposed the establishment of Prussian hegemony in Germany and advocated the idea of a federative German state. p. 68

100 A reference to the following articles of the draft Gotha Programme:

"The German workers' party demands as the free basis of the state:

"1. Universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot for all males who have reached the age of 21, for all elections in the state and in the community. 2. Direct legislation by the people with the right to initiate and to reject bills. 3. Universal military training. A people's militia in place of the standing army. Decisions regarding war and peace to be taken by a representative assembly of the people. 4. Abolition of all exceptional laws, in particular the laws on the press, associations and assembly. 5. Jurisdiction by the people. Administration of justice without fees.

"The German workers' party demands as the intellectual and moral basis of the state:

"1. Universal and equal education of the people by the state. Compulsory school attendance. Free instruction. 2. Freedom of science. Freedom of conscience." p. 68

101 The reference is to the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. p. 68

102 The *League of Peace and Freedom*—a pacifist organisation set up in Switzerland in 1867 with the active participation of Victor Hugo, Giuseppe Garibaldi and other democrats. The League asserted that it was possible to prevent wars by creating the "United States of Europe". Its leaders did not disclose the social sources of wars and often confined anti-militarist activity to mere declarations.

At the General Council meeting of August 13, 1867 Marx spoke against the International's official participation in the League's Inaugural Congress, since this would have meant solidarity with its bourgeois programme, but recommended that some members of the International should attend the Congress in their personal capacity in order to support revolutionary-democratic decisions (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 426-27, and Marx's letter to Engels of September 4, 1867, present edition, Vol. 42). p. 69

103 On page 5 of his *Arbeiterlesebuch* Lassalle quotes a passage about the "iron law of wages" from his pamphlet *Offnes Antwortschreiben an das Central-Comité zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitercongresses zu Leipzig*, Zurich, 1863, pp. 15-16. p. 69

104 Philippe Joseph Buchez, one of the first ideologists of the so-called Christian socialism, advanced a plan for the establishment of workers' producer associations with the aid of the state. p. 69

105 On October 12, 1875 Engels wrote to Bebel concerning this programme that, since both workers and their political opponents "interpreted it communistically", "it is *this circumstance alone* which has made it possible for Marx and myself not to disassociate ourselves publicly from a programme such as this. So long as our opponents as well as the workers continue to read our views into that programme, we are justified in saying nothing about it" (see present edition, Vol. 45). p. 71

106 In March 1872 August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht were sentenced to two years' confinement in a fortress for their adhesion to the International Working Men's Association and their socialist views. In April Bebel was sentenced, in addition, to nine months' imprisonment and deprived of his mandate as a Reichstag member for "insulting His Majesty". Liebknecht was released on April 15, 1874, while Bebel was freed on April 1, 1875. p. 73

107 Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, which analyses the draft programme of the future united Social-Democratic party, is a major contribution to the key theoretical issues of scientific communism and an example of uncompromising struggle against opportunism. It was written in April-early May 1875 and intended for the leadership of the Eisenachers. The manuscript *Marginal Notes on the Programme of the German Workers' Party* (*Randglossen zum Programm der deutschen Arbeiterpartei*) is prefaced by Marx's letter to Wilhelm Bracke of May 5, 1875 and forms a single whole with it. The work was sent to the leadership of the Eisenach party (specifically, to Wilhelm Bracke) on May 5.

For the first time, *Critique of the Gotha Programme* was published by Engels in 1891, together with Marx's letter to Bracke, despite opposition on the part of the opportunist German Social-Democratic leaders. It appeared in the theoretical organ of the German Social-Democrats, *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 1, No. 18, with Engels' foreword. As is known from Engels' letter to Karl Kautsky of February 23, 1891 (see present edition, Vol. 49), he had to agree to certain changes and omissions.

The *Critique* was published in English for the first time, according to the text in *Die Neue Zeit*, in *The Socialist Series*, number one, under the title: "The Socialist Programme. By Karl Marx", The Socialist Labour Press, Glasgow [1918]. p. 75

108 The authorised French translation of Volume One of *Capital* was published in instalments in Paris between 1872 and 1875 (*Le Capital*. Par Karl Marx.

Traduction de M. J. Roy, entièrement revisée par l'auteur. [Vol. 1.] Paris, éditeurs, Maurice Lachâtre et C^ie). After the final instalments had been published, the whole was brought together and published as a book. Since Lachâtre was prosecuted for his activity during the Paris Commune and his shop sequestered in 1875, the legal rights were passed on to A. Quêst, a government official, who did his best to hold up the printing and distribution of the book. p. 78

109 Marx is referring to the following passage in the *Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*: "That the economical subjection of the man of labour to the monopoliser of the means of labour, that is the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence" (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 441). p. 83

110 An allusion to Lassalle's secret contacts with the Bismarck government (mid-May 1863-February 1864). He promised support to the Prussian government in its struggle against the liberal bourgeoisie in exchange for the introduction of universal suffrage in the country. p. 83

111 The reference is to the address "An die Parteigenossen!" (*Der Volksstaat*, No. 105, October 31, 1873) issued by the leadership of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party before the elections to the German Reichstag on January 10, 1874. p. 89

112 An ironical reference to Hasselmann, the editor-in-chief of the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*. p. 89

113 In its editorial article (the "Politischer Tagesbericht" section) the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 67, March 20, 1875, wrote in connection with the draft programme of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany that "the Social-Democratic propaganda has become cautious in some ways: it has disavowed internationalism". p. 90

114 See Note 103. p. 91

115 See Note 96. p. 93

116 The *Liverpool Financial Reform Association* was founded in 1848, and for a long time Robertson Gladstone was its President. Its aim was to "advocate the adoption of a simple and equitable system of direct taxation, fairly levied upon property and income, in lieu of the present unequal, complicated, and expensively-collected duties upon commodities" (*Tracts of the Liverpool Financial Reform Association*, Liverpool, 1851, p. VII). p. 96

117 See Note 27. p. 97

118 Engels wrote this introduction for a separate edition of Article V from his *Refugee Literature* series (see Note 52). p. 100

119 Engels is referring to his own and Marx's articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*, which was edited by Marx in 1848-49 and published in Cologne, and, above all, to his "The Frankfurt Assembly Debates the Polish Question" and their joint work "German Foreign Policy and the Latest Events in Prague" (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 337-81 and 212-15). p. 103

120 Engels is referring to the talks that took place in Warsaw in October 1850 between Francis Joseph I of Austria and the Prussian Minister-President Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg, with the Russian Tsar Nicholas I as the mediator. p. 103

121 The Russian Tsar Alexander II and the Minister for Foreign Affairs Alexander Gorchakov visited Berlin in May 1875 at the time of the sharp deterioration of relations between France and Germany (see Note 82). p. 103

122 Engels is referring to the confidential circular of the International's General Council ("An alle Sectionen und Mitglieder der IAA, New York, 16. Mai 1875"). The Council proposed changing the decision to hold a general congress in September 1875, adopted at the Geneva Congress of the International in 1873, and convening a congress or conference in July 1876 in Philadelphia (USA) during the world industrial exhibition there. This was a calculation to guarantee the security of working-class delegates from Europe. p. 105

123 The reference is to the *German Workers' Educational Society* founded in London in February 1840. After the establishment of the Communist League in 1847 its members played the leading role in the Society. During various periods of its activity the Society had branches in working-class districts in London. In 1847, 1849-50 and in the late 1850s-mid-1870s, Marx and Engels took an active part in the Society's work. Its members were involved in the activity of the International Working Men's Association. The Society at large joined the International in 1865 as a section. It existed up to 1918, when it was closed down by the British government. p. 105

124 On December 25-26, 1872 Brussels hosted the Congress of the Belgian Federation of the International, at which the anarchists had a majority. The Congress voted down the decisions of the Hague Congress, stated its refusal to maintain contacts with the General Council in New York, and resolved to support the decisions of the international congress of anarchists which was held in Saint-Imier on September 15, 1872 and which openly declared the split of the International. In a resolution of May 30, 1873, the General Council said that the Belgian Federation had, in consequence of its actions, dissociated itself from the International.

For the *Alliancists* see Note 30. p. 105

125 The contacts of the General Council of the International in New York with Austria, Germany and Switzerland were maintained through Friedrich Adolph Sorge, who corresponded with Wilhelm Liebknecht, Johann Philipp Becker, Johann Schwarzinger and others. p. 106

126 Engels made this speech in German at the international meeting held on January 22, 1876 to mark the anniversary of the Polish uprising of 1863 and sponsored by the Polish People society (see Note 4). Afterwards, between January 22 and February 1, at the request of Walery Wróblewski, the Polish socialist who had chaired the meeting, Engels wrote the speech in French. This manuscript was used for the translation in this volume. The French text was probably used as the original for the first publication of the speech in *Vperyod!*, since the Russian text printed there (in the report on the meeting in the section "A Chronicle of the Labour Movement") is identical to the French text. p. 107

127 As some of his contemporaries stated, when Nicholas I received the news of the February revolution of 1848 in France, he exclaimed: "Gentlemen, mount your horses! A republic has been proclaimed in France!" p. 107

128 See Note 119. p. 107

129 *Prussian Schnapps in the German Reichstag* was written by Engels in February 1876. Its publication in *Der Volksstaat* and as a separate impression provoked irritation on the part of the authorities. As Engels wrote to Karl Kautsky on May 23, 1884, "'Prussian Schnapps' was a personal insult to Bismarck" (see present edition, Vol. 47). p. 109

130 A reference to the first Peace of Paris concluded on May 30, 1814 between the principal members of the sixth anti-French coalition (Russia, Austria, Britain and Prussia) and France after Napoleon's defeat. p. 112

131 Under the impact of the July Revolution of 1830 in France, urban dwellers in Saxony, Brunswick, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and other German lands launched revolutionary action, and an anti-feudal peasant revolt flared up in Hesse-Darmstadt, which was suppressed by troops. p. 116

132 A reference to the Anglo-French commercial treaty signed on January 23, 1860, which signified a triumph for the advocates of free trade in both countries and served the interests of the British industrial bourgeoisie. Under one of its articles tariffs for French wine were cut by half, and England undertook to further reduce them depending on the percentage of alcohol in the wine (see K. Marx, "The New Treaty Between France and England", present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 341-44). p. 118

133 A Greek myth says that at the time of the campaign against Troy the Greeks mistakenly engaged in combat with the troops of their ally Telephus, the son of Heracles. Telephus was wounded by Achilles and got cured when some rust from Achilles' spear was applied to his wound, following the oracle's prophecy. p. 119

134 As legend has it, Antonio da Correggio uttered these words standing before Raphael's *Saint Cecilia*. p. 119

135 *Der Volksstaat*, No. 24, February 27, 1876, p. 2, had "along Russian lines". The misprint was pointed out in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 27, March 5 in the "Berichtigung" section. p. 120

136 A reference to the administrative reform of 1872 in Prussia (*Kreisordnung für die Provinzen Preußen, Brandenburg, Pommern, Posen, Schlesien und Sachsen. Vom 13. Dezember 1872.* In: *Gezetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preußischen Staaten*, No. 41, Berlin, 1872). It abolished the patrimonial power of the Junkers and introduced elements of local self-government (elective elders in the communities, district councils at the *Landrats* elected in accordance with the representation system, etc.). The reform was aimed at consolidating the state apparatus and strengthening centralisation in the interests of the Junkers as a class. The Junkers in fact retained power in their localities themselves or by their protégés holding most of the elective posts. p. 121

137 Engels is referring to the following works by Theodor von der Goltz: *Beitrag zur Geschichte der Entwicklung ländlicher Arbeiterverhältnisse im nordöstlichen Deutschland bis zur Gegenwart*, Berlin, 1846; *Ländliche Arbeiterwohnungen*, Königsberg and Tilsit, 1865; *Die ländliche Arbeiterfrage und ihre Lösung*, Danzig, 1872; *Die Lage der ländlichen Arbeiter im Deutschen Reich*, Berlin, 1875; *Die soziale Bedeutung des Gesindewesens*, Danzig, 1873. p. 121

138 By decision of the Congress of Vienna (September 18, 1814-June 9, 1815), the greater part of the lands on the left and right banks of the Rhine and of those adjoining Westphalia were incorporated into Prussia. p. 121

139 The reference is to the uprisings in Western and Southern Germany (May 1849), which were part of the German people's campaign for the implementation of the Imperial Constitution approved in March 1849 by the Frankfurt National Assembly. The most powerful struggle in support of it developed in the Bavarian Palatinate and Baden. The combined Palatinate-Baden insurgent army, which included many workers' units, put up strong resistance to the Prussian-Bavarian-Württemberg troops who greatly exceeded the insurgents in numbers and strength. The insurgents' last stronghold, Rastatt, fell on July 23. The uprisings in the Palatinate and Baden in the spring and summer of 1849 were the closing events of the German revolution (see also F. Engels, "The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution", present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 147-239). p. 121

140 *Little Germany*—a plan for the unification of Germany from above under Prussia's aegis and excluding Austria; it was supported by the majority of the German bourgeoisie. p. 121

141 The *Federal Council* (Bundesrat), the supreme organ of the German Empire, consisted of 58 appointed representatives of 25 German states. With the Reichstag, which was elected by direct universal and equal ballot, it formed the Empire's legislative power. At the time of Bismarck, the Federal Council was a counter-weight to the Reichstag. Its policies were shaped mostly by Prussia, which was represented by 17 deputies and had the right of veto in questions pertaining to amendments in the constitution. p. 122

142 See Note 132. p. 124

143 A reference to the commercial treaty between Italy and the Customs Union signed on December 31, 1865.

The *Customs Union* (Zollverein) of German states, which established a common customs frontier, was set up in 1834 and headed by Prussia. By the 1840s the Union embraced most of the German states with the exception of Austria, the Hanseatic cities (Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck), and a few small states. Brought into being by the need to create an all-German market, the Customs Union became a factor in the promotion of the political unification of Germany. p. 124

144 Under the Frankfurt Peace Treaty of May 10, 1871, which concluded the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, France, among other things, was obliged to pay war reparations of five thousand million francs. p. 125

145 The *Holy Alliance*, an association of European monarchs, was founded in September 1815 on the initiative of the Russian Tsar Alexander I and the Austrian Chancellor Metternich to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries. During the 1848-49 revolution and subsequently, counter-revolutionary circles in Austria, Prussia and Russia attempted to revive the Holy Alliance in a modified form. p. 125

146 Engels wrote *Wilhelm Wolff* in June-September 1876 for *Die Neue Welt*, a journal edited by Wilhelm Liebknecht. Marx himself had intended to write a short biography of Wolff, one of the most prominent German proletarian

revolutionaries, to whom he dedicated the first volume of his *Capital*. Marx's "Biographical Notes on Wilhelm Wolff" exist, written immediately after Wolff's death (see present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 335-36). However, Marx could not carry out his plan since at that time he did not have the necessary information on the earlier period of Wolff's life.

With the biographical material, Engels gives a synopsis of Wolff's series of articles on the condition of the Silesian peasants written for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1849. The publication of Wolff's articles was one of the steps taken by the newspaper to involve Germany's peasant masses in the revolution. The articles present a broad factual and statistical picture of the exploitation of the peasants and demand that the peasants be given back the milliard marks that the landowners had stolen from them in the form of redemption payments. His articles entitled *Die schlesische Milliarde* were a tremendous success with the readers. In Silesia the Peasants' Union made 10,000 copies of the issues carrying these articles and distributed them among the peasants free of charge.

In 1886 Engels' *Wilhelm Wolff* was published as the first part of the introduction to Wolff's book *Die schlesische Milliarde. Abdruck aus der "Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung" März-April 1849. Mit Einleitung von Friedrich Engels*, Hottingen-Zurich, 1886; the second part of the introduction was a newly written work "On the History of the Prussian Peasants" (see present edition, Vol. 26). In that edition, Engels substantially supplemented the text of *Wilhelm Wolff* and omitted the chapters containing a synopsis of Wolff's articles.

In the passages dealing with Wolff's articles Engels renders rather than quotes the author. p. 129

147 Wolff was prosecuted for his report *Die oberschlesischen Wilddiebe und das preußische Militär. Breslau*, published in *Freikugeln*, No. 27, February 13, 1845, and sentenced to three months' confinement in a fortress. p. 131

148 The reference is to the *Edikt den erleichterten Besitz und den freien Gebrauch des Grund-Eigenthums, so wie die persönlichen Verhältnisse der Land-Bewohner betreffend*, which was passed on October 9, 1807 and came into force on November 11, 1810. p. 132

149 *Demagogues* (in Germany) were participants in the opposition movement of intellectuals. The name became current after the Karlsbad conference of ministers of the German states in August 1819 (see Note 67), which adopted a special decree against the intrigues of the Demagogues. p. 133

150 The *Federal Diet* (Bundestag)—a representative body of the German Confederation, an ephemeral union of German states, founded in 1815 by decision of the Congress of Vienna. Though it had no real power it was nevertheless a vehicle for feudal and monarchist reaction. During the 1848-49 revolution in Germany reactionary circles made vain attempts to revive the Federal Diet, intending to use it to prevent the democratic unification of Germany. After the defeat of the revolution the Federal Diet received its former rights in 1850 and survived till 1866. p. 133

151 *Students' Associations* (Burschenschaften) were formed in Germany during the liberation struggle against Napoleon I. They advocated the unification of Germany. In them, progressive ideas existed side by side with extreme nationalism. On the persecution of the Burschenschaften, see Note 67. p. 133

152 Wilhelm Wolff's letter to Fritz Reuter of December 30, 1863 which Engels mentions was first published in the *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, No. 6, 1957, pp. 1244-45. p. 133

153 Fritz Reuter's allusion is to the so-called constitutional conflict in Prussia between the government and the liberal opposition of the Chamber of Deputies (1860-66). In the course of it Bismarck was appointed Minister-President (September 24, 1862). He exercised authority in the absence of a budget approved by the Chamber and, therefore, his power could be effectively restricted only through refusal to pay taxes. p. 133

154 Wolff was released from the fortress on July 30, 1838. See Marx's "Biographical Notes on Wilhelm Wolff" (present edition, Vol. 19, p. 335). p. 133

155 Having been pardoned, Wolff lived in the estate of the Polish landowner Tytus Adam Działyński as a tutor. In the summer of 1840 he returned to Silesia. p. 134

156 Quoted from *The Old Testament* (Psalms 35:20). Engels is referring here to the Pietists.

The *Pietists*—adherents of a Lutheran trend which arose in Germany in the 17th century. Distinguished by extreme mysticism, it rejected rites and attached special importance to personal religious experience. p. 135

157 A reference to the *Allgemeines Landrecht für die Preußischen Staaten* promulgated in 1794. It included criminal, state, civil, administrative and ecclesiastical law and bore a distinct imprint of obsolete feudal legal standards.

After the annexation of the Rhine Province to Prussia in 1815 (see Note 138), the Prussian government tried to introduce Prussian Law into various legal spheres there to replace the French bourgeois codes in force in the province. This was accomplished by passing a series of laws, edicts and instructions aimed at restoring the feudal privileges of the nobility (primogeniture), Prussian criminal and marriage law, etc. These measures were resolutely opposed in the province and repealed after the March revolution by special decrees issued on April 15, 1848. p. 135

158 In his letter of December 30, 1863 to Fritz Reuter (see Note 152), Wilhelm Wolff wrote that the manuscript of one of his articles, which had fallen in the hands of the police, served as a pretext to institute court proceedings against him for infringing the press law (see Note 147). p. 135

159 This book was written by the police officials Wermuth and Stieber. The appendices to the first part, which purported to tell the history of the workers' movement for the information of police agents, reproduce some of the Communist League's documents that had fallen into the hands of the police. The second part contained a "black list" and biographical particulars of people connected with the workers' and democratic movement. p. 135

160 See Note 123. p. 135

161 Engels is referring to the *Bureau de Correspondance* set up in Brussels in 1845 by the German democratic journalist Sebastian Seiler (later a member of the Communist League). In October 1847, when Seiler withdrew from the bureau for reasons unknown, it was headed by Wilhelm Wolff and Louis Heilberg. p. 136

162 The *German Workers' Society* in Brussels was founded by Marx and Engels at the end of August 1847, its aim being the political education of the German workers who lived in Belgium and the dissemination of the ideas of scientific communism among them. With Marx, Engels and their followers at its head, the Society became the legal centre rallying the revolutionary proletarian forces

in Belgium. Its most active members belonged to the Communist League. The Society played an important part in founding the Brussels Democratic Association. After the February 1848 revolution in France, the Belgian authorities arrested and banished many of its members. p. 136

163 Wolff arrived in Breslau (Silesia) on April 13, 1848. There he joined the newly established Democratic Club, and was active in the propaganda campaign during the elections to the Frankfurt Parliament and the Berlin National Assembly. p. 137

164 Wolff arrived in Cologne in mid-June 1848. p. 137

165 The *Democratic Society* in Cologne was set up in April 1848; it embraced workers and artisans, as well as small businessmen. Marx, Engels and other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, who directed the Society's work, wanted to orientate it towards a struggle against the counter-revolutionary policy of the Prussian ruling circles and to expose the liberal bourgeoisie's policy of agreement. In April 1849, Marx and his followers, who had actually begun to organise an independent mass proletarian party, considered it best to dissociate themselves from the petty-bourgeois democrats and withdrew from the Society. Meanwhile, they continued to support the revolutionary actions of the German democratic circles. p. 138

166 See Note 17. p. 138

167 On August 26, 1848 in the Swedish city of Malmö, an armistice was signed in the war between Denmark and Prussia, which was part of the revolutionary struggle of the German people for the unification of Germany. In September 1848, the Frankfurt National Assembly ratified the armistice, which the Prussian government accepted from fear of the mounting revolutionary mood in Germany. This provoked a wave of protest and led to an uprising in Frankfurt am Main on September 18, 1848, which was suppressed by Prussian and Austrian troops. p. 138

168 The *Agreement Assembly* (Vereinbarungsversammlung) was the name given to the Prussian National Assembly convened in Berlin in May 1848 to draw up a constitution and consisting mostly of liberals leaning towards a compromise with the King. Frederick William IV, who spoke at the opening of the Assembly on May 22, demanded that when working out the constitution the deputies should be "in agreement with the Crown". p. 138

169 The immediate reason for the conflict was the shooting down on July 31, by the garrison of the Schweidnitz fortress in Silesia, of the civil guard and townspeople, as a result of which 14 people were killed and 32 seriously wounded. In the resolution of the Prussian National Assembly of August 9, 1848 the Minister of War was asked to warn officers to abstain from "reactionary tricks", and it was recommended that they resign from the army if they disagreed with the resolution. The Auerswald-Hansemann Ministry raised no objections because it was sure the deputies would not demand faithful implementation of the resolution. But the Minister of War's non-observance of the Assembly's recommendations led to a conflict between the Government and the Assembly and to a ministerial crisis. p. 138

170 Public meetings took place in Cologne on September 7, 13, 17 and 20, 1848. One of them, held on September 13 and organised by Wolff on behalf of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* editorial board, the Democratic Society and the Cologne Workers' Association, elected a Committee of Public Safety con-

sisting of 30 people. It included the leaders of the above-mentioned organisations and editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Engels proposed a draft address to the Berlin Assembly urging its deputies not to abandon their posts even under threat of armed force. The draft was unanimously approved. p. 138

171 The first issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* that appeared after the lifting of the state of siege in Cologne was dated October 12, 1848; under the procedure prevailing at that time it was printed on October 11. p. 140

172 These events took place on February 28, 1849. p. 140

173 The reference is to the transfer of the sittings of the Prussian National Assembly (see Note 168) from Berlin to Brandenburg. This was the beginning of a counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Prussia, which ended with the dissolution of the National Assembly and the imposition of a Constitution by the King on December 5, 1848 (the so-called imposed constitution; see Note 178). p. 140

174 The agrarian bill was submitted for consideration to the Prussian National Assembly on July 11, 1848. The debate began on October 10 and was not finished due to the dissolution of the Assembly (see Note 173). See Marx's article "The Bill Proposing the Abolition of Feudal Obligations" (present edition, Vol. 7, p. 295). p. 141

175 Under the Law of 1821 the peasant was either to transfer to the landowner one-third to a half of his plot or pay its value in cash as redemption for the corvée and obligations. p. 142

176 See Note 25. p. 143

177 Between August 1848 and January 1849 the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* published a series of feature articles by Georg Weerth entitled *Leben und Thaten des berühmten Ritters Schnapphanski*, which ridiculed Prince Lichnowski, a big Silesian landowner killed during the September insurrection in Frankfurt am Main (see Note 167). He was described under the name of Ritter Schnapphanski (from *Schnapphahn*, a highwayman, scrounger, and rogue). p. 144

178 On December 5, 1848 the Prussian National Assembly was dissolved and the Constitution imposed by the King made public (see Note 173). The Constitution introduced a two-chamber system; the age and property qualifications made the First Chamber a privileged Chamber of Gentry. By the electoral law of December 6, 1848, the right to vote in the two-stage elections to the Second Chamber was granted only to the so-called independent Prussians. The royal authority was vested with sweeping powers—the King was authorised to convene and dissolve the Chambers, appoint ministers, declare war and conclude peace. He was vested with full executive power, while sharing legislative power with the Chambers. p. 147

179 *Gardeners* (Gärtner) and *cottagers* (Häusler) had small plots of land but no draught animals, while the "livers-in" (Zuhausinnewohnern) were landless day-labourers. p. 148

180 *Land registers* (Urbarien)—inventories of feudal land possessions in Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bohemia introduced in the 12th century. They also contained the lists of peasant landholders and their duties. From the 13th

century the term *Urbarien* also began to be applied to inventories of taxes and other incomes as provided by law. p. 149

181 A mistake in *Die Neue Welt*: this land register (Kataster) was introduced in 1843. See A. Meitzen, *Der Roden und die landwirthschaftlichen Verhältnisse des Preussischen Staates nach dem Gebietsumfange vor 1866*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1868, p. 18. p. 150

182 *Mediatised peers* in Germany—owners of the imperial fiefs who formerly used to be in direct bondage to the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation (see Note 94), and were then subordinated to major princes, in the given case to the King of Prussia. p. 150

183 *Wailers* (Heuler)—the name of the republican democrats in Germany in 1848-49 applied to the moderate constitutionalists who, in turn, called their opponents "agitators" (Wühler). p. 151

184 Engels uses the word *Sportelgelder* here, which means fees payable by peasants for the conduct of legal cases. p. 152

185 *Mortmain*—in the Middle Ages the right of the feudal lord to inherit the property of a dead serf peasant. Since the property and the land of the dead peasant usually went to his heirs, the latter were obliged to pay an onerous fee for them to the lord. p. 159

186 *Water-Polacks* (Wasserpolacken)—original name of ferrymen on the Oder who were mainly natives of Upper Silesia. Subsequently it became widespread in Germany as a nickname for Silesian Poles. p. 160

187 A hint at Marx's and Engels' dissatisfaction with the line pursued by Wilhelm Liebknecht, editor-in-chief of *Der Volksstaat*, the official organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from October 1876, *Vorwärts* became the party's central organ; Liebknecht was also on its editorial board). Specifically, their displeasure was provoked by the publication of articles of a more general nature giving "pictures of future society" to the detriment of those "on topical questions" (see Engels' letter to Marx of May 28, 1876, present edition, Vol. 45). p. 164

188 See Note 183. p. 164

189 On May 14, 1849, on the order of Frederick William IV, the Prussian deputies were recalled from the Frankfurt Parliament. Wolff began his work in Parliament on May 21. p. 164

190 Engels is referring to the demonstration of petty-bourgeois democrats in Paris on June 13, 1849, organised by the Montagne in protest against sending French troops to suppress the revolution in Rome (see also K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*, present edition, Vol. 10, p. 99). p. 165

191 See *Papiers et correspondance de la famille impériale. Édition collationnée sur le texte de l'imprimerie nationale*, Vol. 2, Paris, 1870-71, p. 161. p. 167

192 After Frederick William IV of Prussia refused to accept the Imperial Crown offered him by the Frankfurt National Assembly, Prussia and Austria recalled their deputies. Deputies of other German states also left the Assembly. The left-wing petty-bourgeois deputies who remained in Frankfurt transferred the sessions to Stuttgart, on May 30, 1849, where the Assembly was dispersed by the Württemberg government's troops. p. 168

193 The *Federal Council* (Bundesrat)—the Swiss government which, in accordance with the Constitution of September 12, 1848, had legislative and executive power. p. 169

194 The letters of Marx, Engels and Marx's wife Jenny show that Wolff moved to Manchester in September 1853. p. 170

195 This letter opens a new period in Engels' work for the Italian newspaper *La Plebe*. He had contributed to it in 1871-72, when it was the organ of the International's sections and sided with the General Council in its struggle against the Bakuninists. At the request of its editor, Enrico Bignami, Engels resumed work for it in 1877, when *La Plebe* again began to appear regularly. Between late February 1877 and late March 1879 Engels wrote a number of articles on various subjects which appeared in the "Da Londra" section without a title. p. 172

196 The elections to the German Reichstag were held on January 10, 1877. p. 172

197 At the elections to the German Reichstag on January 10, 1877 the German Social-Democrats received more votes (493,288) than at the 1874 elections (see Note 204). p. 172

198 By the abstentionists Engels means the Italian anarchists, specifically Andrea Costa, Carlo Cafiero, Errico Malatesta and Carmelo Palladino, who did not recognise the need for political struggle on the part of the working class. They believed that the workers' participation in elections to representative bodies would only consolidate the power of the bourgeois state. p. 173

199 See Note 90. p. 173

200 The reference is to a public meeting in Tivoli convened on the initiative of the Central Electoral Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany.

A notice about it was printed in the *Vorwärts*, No. 7, January 17, 1877. p. 173

201 In late February 1877 Engels received several January and February issues of *La Plebe* sent by Enrico Bignami from Italy. In a letter to Marx of March 6 he wrote about his intention to prepare this material for the *Vorwärts*, central organ of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (see present edition, Vol. 45). Engels realised his plan in this article.

It was published in English for the first time in the collection: Marx, Engels, Lenin, *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism*, International Publishers, New York, 1972. p. 174

202 See notes 30 and 38. p. 174

203 Hereinafter Engels quotes Bakunin's letter to the Spanish socialist Francisco Mora of April 5, 1872 published, with other documents of the Alliance, in section XI of Marx's and Engels' work *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 578-80). p. 174

204 At the 1874 elections the German Social-Democrats received 351,952 votes. p. 175

205 The *Swiss Workers' Association* (Schweitzer Arbeiterbund) was set up at the congress of workers of trade, co-operative and other organisations, which took

place in Olten on June 1-3, 1873. Eighty delegates attended the Congress. This was the country's first mass, nation-wide workers' organisation. p. 176

206 The *North-Italian Federation* was established on October 15, 1876 in Milan on the initiative of the local circle for the study of social problems, at a meeting which was also attended by representatives of the socialist sections and circles of Lombardy, Veneto, Piedmont, Ferrara and the canton of Ticino (Switzerland). p. 177

207 This and the following articles (see this volume, pp. 181-82, 203-05) were printed unsigned in *La Plebe* (see also Note 195). p. 179

208 The meeting chaired by John Bright was held on May 16, 1877 at Exeter Hall in London. Of the 2,594 participants, 1,218 were members of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union, set up in May 1872, whose membership had reached 86,000 by 1874. Joseph Arch, the Union's leading activist, spoke on the attitude of English agricultural labourers to the Russo-Turkish war. He said that they "were determined their blood should not be spilt and their treasure expended in the support of Turkey ... there was not a class of her Majesty's subjects in the British realm that suffered more from the Crimean war than did the farm labourers. They had felt the pinch of hunger and want for twenty years in consequence of it" (quoted from "The County Franchise", *The Daily News*, No. 9694, May 17, 1877). p. 179

209 The following two resolutions were passed by the meeting of May 16, 1877 at Exeter Hall: "That in the opinion of this Conference it would be desirable to adopt an uniform Parliamentary franchise for borough and county constituencies; ... That it would be desirable so to redistribute political power as to obtain a more complete representation of the opinion of the electoral body" (quoted from "The County Franchise", *The Daily News*, No. 9694, May 17, 1877). p. 179

210 Probably a reference to the appeal to Prime Minister Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield, signed by representatives of the workers from England, Scotland and Ireland on March 6, 1877 (see "The Premier and Factory Operatives", *The Times*, No. 28883, March 7, 1877). p. 180

211 See Note 208. p. 181

212 A reference to the strikes of agricultural labourers in the counties of Central and Eastern England for a shorter working day and higher wages. They took place in 1872-74 and were headed by the National Agricultural Labourers' Union. By April 1874 the strikers managed to secure a pay rise. p. 181

213 See Note 208. p. 182

214 Engels wrote this work in mid-June 1877 at the request of Wilhelm Bracke, a leader of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany, for the *Volks-Kalender* which he edited (see Bracke's letter to Engels of April 13, 1877). It was published in English for the first time in: *Karl Marx, Man, Thinker and Revolutionist*. A symposium edited by D. Ryazanoff, London [1927], pp. 17-34. p. 183

215 A reference to Marx's stay in Kreuznach in May-October 1843, the time when he conceived the idea of his *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law* (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 3-129).

When writing this work, he felt the need for more historical material, and

with this in mind he began to study problems related, not only to the theory and history of the state as a whole, but also to the history of particular countries (England, France, Germany, the United States, Italy, Sweden) and major world-historical events, in particular the French Revolution, as can be seen from his five notebooks containing excerpts (the Kreuznach Notebooks). Having moved to Paris in 1844, Marx concentrated on political economy in his scientific studies. Their results were set forth in the work known as the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 229-346). p. 184

216 Engels is referring above all to Marx's "Critical Marginal Notes on the Article 'The King of Prussia and Social Reform. By a Prussian'" (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 189-206), which was one of the reasons for the closing down of the *Vorwärts!* and the expulsion of Marx and a number of other contributors from France by Guizot's order of January 16, 1845 issued under pressure from the Prussian government. p. 184

217 Engels' supposition has not been substantiated by facts. p. 184

218 The "Speech on the Question of Free Trade" was based on the material prepared by Marx for a speech he was to have delivered at the Congress of Economists in September 1847 (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 279-81, 287-90). Marx intended to speak at the Congress but its organisers closed the debate and refused to give him the floor. An account of Marx's speech appeared in the Belgian newspaper *Atelier Démocratique* on September 29, 1847. p. 184

219 See Note 162. p. 184

220 The First Congress of the Communist League was held in London on June 2-9, 1847. It was a final stage in the reorganisation of the League of the Just (see Note 378). The activity of Marx and Engels directed towards the ideological and organisational unity of the socialists and advanced workers prompted the leaders of the League, who resided in London from November 1846, to ask for their help in reorganising the League and drafting its new programme. When Marx and Engels were convinced that the leaders of the League of the Just were ready to adopt the principles of scientific communism as its programme, they accepted the offer to join the League made to them late in January 1847. Engels' active participation in the work of the Congress affected the course and the results of its proceedings. The League was renamed the Communist League, the old motto of the League of the Just "All men are brothers" was replaced by a new, Marxist one: "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!" The last sitting on June 9 approved the draft programme and the draft Rules of the League, which had been drawn up either by Engels or with his involvement (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 96-103 and 585-88).

The Second Congress of the Communist League was held on November 29-December 8, 1847. It instructed Marx and Engels to draw up the League's programme. In pursuance of this decision, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was written in January (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 477-519). p. 187

221 See Note 17. p. 188

222 See Note 173. p. 188

223 See Note 139. p. 188

224 This refers to the Austro-Italo-French war between the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont) and France, on the one hand, and Austria, on the other (April 29

to July 8, 1859). On July 11, the French and Austrian emperors concluded a separate preliminary peace in Villafranca. p. 189

225 See Note 191. p. 189

226 See Note 84. p. 193

227 Marx wrote this letter to the *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* editorial board probably in November 1877, soon after the magazine had printed, in October 1877, an article by the ideologist of Russian Narodism (populism) Nikolai Mikhailovsky, "Karl Marx Before the Tribunal of Mr. Zhukovsky". Mikhailovsky's article was a reply to the review of Volume One of Marx's *Capital* written by the Russian bourgeois economist Yuly Zhukovsky, "Karl Marx and His Book on Capital", and printed by *Vestnik Yevropy*, No. IX, 1877.

Marx's manuscript has come down to us in the form of a rough draft and contains many corrections and deletions. Two versions of the second part of the letter are extant, a concise and a longer one. With slight stylistic changes, the concise version repeats the more detailed one. The letter had not been posted and was found by Engels among Marx's papers after his death. Engels considered it necessary to make copies of the manuscript and enclosed one of them in his letter to Vera Zasulich in Geneva of March 6, 1884 (see present edition, Vol. 47). Marx's letter was first published in Russian in 1886 in *Vestnik Narodnoi Voli*, No. 5, in Geneva, and in German in the *New-Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 5, May 3, 1887 and in the *Sozialdemokrat*, No. 23, June 3, 1887 in Zurich.

The letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, "The Economic Development of Russia", *The Plebs*, No. 5, May 1920, pp. 70-72. p. 196

228 The term *poor whites* was applied in the ante-bellum South to those non-slaveholders who fell in the social class below yeomen farmers, artisans and sturdy frontiersmen. As originally used, the term carried a stigma beyond poverty and was applied only to a small group, usually squatters on the poorest lands. p. 201

229 This article, published unsigned in *La Plebe*, No. 3, January 22, 1878 (in the "Da Londra" section), had a short editorial preface: "From our vast and important correspondence from London we cite passages which are relevant to our present-day political and social situation."

The article was published in English for the first time, abridged, in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *On the United States*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979. p. 203

230 Engels borrowed the data pertaining to the development of the socialist press in these countries mostly from the *Vorwärts*, No. 152, December 30, 1877, and No. 3, January 9, 1878. p. 203

231 *Kathedersozialisten* (armchair or academic socialists)—representatives of a trend in bourgeois socialism that emerged in Germany in the 1860s-70s. In 1873 its champions (Gustav Schmoller, Adolph Wagner and Lujo Brentano) set up the society *Verein für Sozialpolitik* which had its own printed organ, *Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik*. Katheder-Socialists supported Bismarck's social policy, advocated class harmony and opposed the workers' revolutionary action. The term was used by a liberal, one Heinrich Bernhard Oppenheim, in the polemic with Adolph Wagner (see *National-Zeitung*, No. 573, December 7, 1871). p. 203

232 The attempt on Bismarck's life was made by a cooper's apprentice, Eduard Kulmann, on July 13, 1874 in Bad-Kissingen. It was staged by the Catholic clergy, which was outraged by the *Kulturkampf* policy (see Note 27). Bismarck was slightly wounded in the arm. p. 203

233 The reference is to the attempt of the French President Marshal MacMahon, the monarchists' placeman, to accomplish an anti-republican coup d'état. On May 16, 1877, the government herald *Journal Officiel* carried MacMahon's letter, which expressed dissatisfaction with the actions of Jules Simon, a bourgeois republican and Chairman of the Council of Ministers. The following day, a new ministry headed by Duke de Broglie, a monarchist, was appointed. On June 25 the Chamber of Deputies, formed mostly of republicans, was dissolved, and new elections were scheduled for October 14, 1877. However, at these elections the republicans scored a decisive victory. The attempt of MacMahon and his supporters (General Auguste Ducrot, Orleanist Anselme Batbie, and others) to bring about a coup d'état on December 13 met with the resistance of junior officers and particularly the soldiers, who shared the republican leanings of the French peasantry. On December 14 a government headed by Jules Dufaure was formed. MacMahon was forced to retire in January 1879 before his time was up. Moderate republican Jules Grévy was elected President. The bourgeois-republican system was established in France. p. 204

234 In 1877, a struggle between the workers and the employers flared up in the USA. One of its major features was the railway strike in Eastern Virginia in July 1877, triggered off by a 10-per cent cut in the wages at the three main railway lines leading to the West: Pennsylvania, Baltimore-Ohio, and New York Central. It took government troops and armed detachments of employers to suppress the strike. p. 204

235 On the financial crisis of 1873, see Note 84. p. 204

236 A reference to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. p. 204

237 The year 1789—the beginning of the French Revolution; 1793—the period of the Jacobin dictatorship. p. 205

238 Engels wrote this article for the American weekly *The Labor Standard* published in 1876-1900 by Joseph Patrick McDonnell, an activist in the Irish workers' movement who had emigrated to the USA. It appeared in Nos. 43-47 on March 3, 10, 17, 24 and 31, 1878. p. 207

239 The reference is to the Bakuninists. See notes 30 and 38. p. 209

240 The battle of Sedan took place on September 1, 1870, in the course of the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71), in which the French army was defeated. The Sedan catastrophe brought nearer the collapse of the Second Empire and led to the declaration of the republic in France on September 4, 1870. p. 211

241 Engels is referring to the behaviour of the Prussian middle class at the time of the Franco-Prussian war. On January 18, 1871, during the siege of Paris, the German Empire was ceremonially proclaimed at Versailles: 30 deputies of the Reichstag handed an address to King William I requesting him to accept the Imperial Crown. p. 212

242 See Note 38. p. 213

243 The international anarchist congresses, in which representatives of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy's secret organisations took part, were held in Saint-Imier

(September 15-16, 1872), Geneva (1873), Brussels (1874), Berne (1876) and Verviers (1877). The Saint-Imier Congress passed a decision opposing the resolutions of the Hague Congress and the expulsion of Bakunin and Guillaume from the International. p. 213

244 The reference is to the abortive attempt of Italian anarchists to launch an uprising in Bologna early in the morning of August 8, 1874. p. 214

245 In 1877, 26 Italian anarchists, who attempted an insurrection, captured the villages of Letion and Gallo not far from Naples. It was promptly suppressed by the police. p. 214

246 The Ghent Socialist Congress of September 9-16, 1877 was an attempt to unite the various socialist trends on an international scale. The Congress was attended by representatives of socialist parties (both established ones and those in the process of formation), as well as delegates of the anarchist International. Wilhelm Liebknecht represented the German Social-Democratic Party. On the major issues, the Congress adopted decisions directed against the anarchist minority. Specifically, it confirmed Article 7a added to the International's Rules by the Hague Congress on the need to set up an independent political party of the proletariat (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 243). The Congress showed that the anarchist trend was falling apart and that Marxism prevailed in the international working-class movement. To a certain extent the Ghent Congress paved the way for the formation of the Second International. Marx wrote to Friedrich Adolph Sorge on September 27, 1877: "The *Ghent* Congress, whatever else it left to be desired, at least had the advantage that Guillaume and Co. were totally abandoned by their former allies" (see present edition, Vol. 45). p. 215

247 See Note 62. p. 216

248 At the Ghent Congress (see Note 246), the Spanish Federation was represented by the Bakuninists José García Viñas and Tomás González Morago. It is possible that the third delegate mentioned by Engels was Trinidad Soriano. p. 216

249 See Note 45. p. 216

250 The reference is to the *New Madrid Federation* (Nueva Federación Madrileña) formed on July 8, 1872 by the members of the *Emancipacion* editorial board, who had been expelled from the Madrid Federation by an anarchist majority when the newspaper exposed the activities of the secret Alliance in Spain (José Mesa, Francisco Mora, Pablo Iglesias, etc.). Paul Lafargue played an active part in the organisation and work of the New Madrid Federation. The Federation fought against the spread of anarchist influence in Spain, popularised the ideas of scientific socialism, and campaigned for the establishment of an independent proletarian party in Spain. Engels contributed to its newspaper, *La Emancipacion*. p. 216

251 That was the first workers' congress in Portugal; it was held in Lisbon on February 1-4, 1877. The congress signified the final formation of the Portuguese Socialist Party founded in 1875; it adopted the Rules and a programme similar to the Gotha programme of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (see this volume, pp. 81-99) and elected the Party Central Committee. p. 217

252 After the Paris Commune the government adopted measures aimed against the organisations of the First International in Italy. In the summer of 1871 the International Democratic Society of Florence, which had twice publicly stated its sympathy with the Commune, and the Naples section of the International were dissolved. p. 217

253 The *Grütli Society* (Grütliverein), a Swiss petty-bourgeois reformist organisation, was founded in 1838 as an educational society for artisans and workers. The name *Grütliverein* was chosen to emphasise the Swiss national character of the association. Legend has it that in 1307, representatives of three Swiss cantons met at Grütli meadow and formed an alliance to fight against the arbitrary rule of the Habsburgs.

For the "Workmen's Confederation" mentioned in the text see Note 205. p. 218

254 The new *Swiss Factory Law* of March 23, 1877 was put into force by the referendum of October 21, 1877 despite the resistance by the bourgeoisie. p. 218

255 In April 1870 the first Social-Democratic group was set up in Copenhagen on the initiative of Niels Lorenzo Petersen, a representative of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. In the summer of 1871 the first section of the I.W.M.A. and somewhat later the Danish Federal Council were set up. p. 219

256 Members of the International in Denmark managed to win over to their side a substantial part of the peasantry. The United Left received 53 mandates at the elections to the Folketing in November 1873, and 71 mandates in April 1876. p. 219

257 See Note 17. p. 221

258 Napoleon's coup d'état of December 2, 1851 resulted in the regime of the Second Empire. p. 221

259 The mass revolutionary action in Paris which took place on September 4, 1870 led to the fall of the Second Empire and the declaration of the republic headed by the bourgeois government of National Defence. p. 222

260 See Note 233. p. 223

261 The reference is to the elections of October 14, 1877 (see Note 233), in which the republicans received 321 seats; the monarchists won 208 votes. p. 223

262 The law of 1872 in France introduced universal military service. At the same time it abolished the system of substitutes under which a person liable to military service could hire a substitute for money to serve instead of himself. p. 224

263 Engels is referring to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. p. 227

264 See Note 14. p. 228

265 This letter, signed by Marx, was written by Engels and him on June 12, 1878; a fragment of this letter in Engels' handwriting remains extant. p. 230

266 The reference is to the international congress (June 13-July 13, 1878) convened in Berlin on the initiative of Austria-Hungary and Britain, which opposed the consolidation of Russia's position in the Balkans. The Congress ended with the signing of the Treaty of Berlin which altered the terms of the San Stefano

Peace Treaty of 1878 that concluded the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. The new terms were unfavourable for Russia and the Slavic nations of the Balkan Peninsula. (See also Note 309.) p. 230

267 In his will drawn up on August 27, 1864, five days before his death, Lassalle named Bernhard Becker as his successor as President of the General Association of German Workers, and the Berlin lawyer Aurel Holthoff and Lothar Bucher as the executors of his will. p. 230

268 The reference is to the assassination attempt on William I made on May 11, 1878 by tinner Emil Hödel (Hoedel), who had been earlier expelled from the Leipzig Social-Democratic Association, and to that of June 2 made by the German anarchist Karl Eduard Nobiling who had never been a member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party. These events gave rise to a vicious campaign against the socialists and were an excuse for the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law in October 1878. p. 231

269 The German battleship *Großer Kurfürst* sank on May 31, 1878 in Pas de Calais at Folkestone (England) as a result of a collision with the German ship *König Wilhelm*. p. 231

270 See Note 65. p. 231

271 Marx's letter "Herr Bucher" (see this volume, pp. 230-31) was reprinted from *The Daily News* by many German papers. A number of errors were made in the translations; this prompted Bucher to come up with his "Declaration", to which Marx replied with the given item printed in German newspapers under the title "Marx und Bucher". p. 232

272 Marx wrote this article in early July 1878 in reply to Howell's "The History of the International Association" published by a monthly review, *The Nineteenth Century*. Howell's article contained libellous information about the history of the International and Marx's role in it. The editorial board of the monthly refused to print Marx's reply, and it appeared in *The Secular Chronicle, And Record of Freethought Progress*, Vol. X, No. 5, August 4, 1878. p. 234

273 By the congress, Howell is referring to the London Conference of the International held on September 25-29, 1865; taking part in its work were members of the Central Council (later renamed the General Council) and delegates from the International's sections in France, Germany, Belgium and Switzerland. The Conference heard the report of the Central Council, approved its financial statement and the programme of the International's first congress to be held in Geneva in September 1866. The London Conference, which Marx did a great deal to organise, played an important role at the time of the International's establishment. For the minutes of the Conference see *The General Council of the First International, 1864-1866. The London Conference 1865. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974. p. 234

274 The agenda of the London Conference, which was drawn up by Marx and approved by the General Council on July 25, 1865, thus defined the paragraph on the attitude of the working class to the struggle for the independence of Poland: "The Muscovite invasion of Europe, and the re-establishment of an integral and independent Poland" (see *The General Council of the First International, 1864-1866. The London Conference 1865. Minutes*, p. 305). At the Conference session of September 27, 1865, the delegates adopted the following resolution: "4th. That it is imperative to annihilate the invading influence of

Russia in Europe by applying to Poland 'the right of every people to dispose of itself', and re-establishing that country on a social and democratic basis" (ibid., p. 246). p. 235

275 Marx did not put the religious question on the agenda of the London Conference of 1865 (see Note 274). At the September 27 session this question, supported by Le Lubez, Fribourg, Holtorp, Howell and Tolain, was included on the agenda of the prospective congress. However, drawing up "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions", whose main provisions were adopted by the Geneva Congress as resolutions, Marx simply wrote under point 11: "*Religious Question.* To be left to the initiative of the French" (see *The General Council of the First International, 1864-66. The London Conference 1865. Minutes*, p. 351). p. 236

276 See notes 30 and 38. p. 236

277 By the "Fenian troubles" Marx means the abortive attempt at an uprising staged by the Fenians in February-March 1867. It was scheduled for February 11; the plan was drawn up with the assistance of the French republican Gustave Paul Cluseret, the future military delegate of the Paris Commune. The British authorities learned about the preparations; the uprising, which assumed the form of isolated actions, was brutally suppressed.

The *Fenians* were Irish revolutionaries who named themselves after the "Féne", the ancient population of Ireland. Their first organisations appeared in the 1850s in the USA among the Irish immigrants and later in Ireland itself. The secret Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, as the organisation was known in the early 1860s, aimed at establishing an independent Irish republic by means of an armed uprising. The Fenians, who expressed the interests of the Irish peasantry, came chiefly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals, and believed in conspiratorial tactics. The British government attempted to suppress the Fenian movement by severe police reprisals. p. 237

278 John Bredford Leno, member of the General Council of the First International (1864-67), mentioned this episode in his autobiography *The Aftermath*, London, 1892, pp. 71-72. p. 237

279 The *French Rural Assembly*—a derogatory nickname of the National Assembly which met in Bordeaux on February 12, 1871 and consisted mostly of monarchists: provincial landowners, officials, rentiers and tradesmen elected in the rural constituencies.

In late 1871 the Assembly undertook an investigation of the events of the Paris Commune. Its findings were published in *Enquête parlementaire sur l'insurrection du 18 mars*, Vols. I-III, Versailles, 1872. p. 237

280 See Note 268. p. 238

281 *Pseudomorph*—a term designating a natural or synthetic mineral having the crystalline form of another mineral rather than that normally characteristic of its composition. p. 238

282 Marx probably sets forth the circular issued by the Spanish government to the governors of the Spanish provinces. It said, in part: "This communist sect is a veritable conspiratorial society opposing everything existing. Having declared its absolute negation of God and the State, property and the family, it tries to elevate its socio-political theories to the category of principles. Its theories cannot be

considered by organised society otherwise than as a criminal philosophical utopia" (*Gaceta de Madrid*, No. 17, January 17, 1872). p. 238

283 The reference is to Pius IX's encyclic issued on December 8, 1864, "Quanta cura", and *Syllabus complectens praecipuos nostrae aetatis errores qui notantur in Allocutionibus consistorialibus, in Encyclicis aliusque Apostolicis litteris sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii Papae IX*", Cologne, 1864, pp. 23 and 29. p. 238

284 On March 14, 1872 the French National Assembly promulgated a law banning the International's organisations in France. At their meetings in Bad Gastein in August 1871 and Salzburg in September 1871, the German and the Austrian emperors specially discussed a joint campaign against the International. p. 239

285 By mid-1878, Social-Democratic parties existed in Germany (from 1869), Switzerland (from June 1878), Denmark (from 1876), Portugal (from 1875), and Belgium (from 1877). In the USA, the unity congress of socialist organisations held in Philadelphia founded the Labor Party of the USA, which in December 1877 was named the Socialist Labor Party of the USA. p. 239

286 Marx wrote these notes on the basis of the stenographic report on the first debate in the Reichstag of the Anti-Socialist Law (Gesetz gegen die gemeingefährlichen Bestrebungen der Sozialdemokratie. See: *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1878, pp. 29-91). The report was sent to Marx by Wilhelm Bracke, a leader of the German Social-Democrats. Marx's and Engels' letters (Marx to Engels on September 17, Engels to Marx on September 18 and Marx to Jenny Marx on September 17, 1878, see present edition, Vol. 45) show that they closely followed the debates in the Reichstag and the comments of the British press. The Law was passed on October 21, 1878 (see Note 289).

Marx intended this piece to be the basis for an article in *The Daily News* (see Marx's letter to Engels of September 24, 1878, present edition, Vol. 45), but his plan remained unrealised.

For the first time, Marx's manuscript was published in Russian in the *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), 1932, pp. 389-400. It appeared in German in *Werke*, Bd. 34, S. 491-500.

Excerpts from this work were published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *On the Socialist Revolution*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, pp. 61-62, and in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Socialist Revolution*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1981, pp. 241-42.

In the present edition the work is printed according to the manuscript. The italics in the quotations are Marx's. p. 240

287 See Note 268. p. 240

288 The King's speech on the occasion of the opening of the newly elected Reichstag (July 30, 1878) was made on September 9 by Count Otto Stolberg-Wernigerode, Vice-Chancellor of the German Empire, on the instruction of Crown Prince Frederick III (see *Stenographische Berichte...*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1878, pp. 1-2). p. 240

289 The *Exceptional Law against the Socialists* (Gezetz gegen die gemeingefährlichen Bestrebungen der Sozialdemokratie—the Law against the Harmful and Dangerous Aspirations of Social-Democracy) was introduced by the Bismarck government, supported by the majority in the Reichstag, on October 21, 1878

to counter the socialist and workers' movement. This law, better known as the Anti-Socialist Law, made the Social-Democratic Party of Germany illegal, banned all party and mass workers' organisations, and the socialist and workers' press; on the basis of this law socialist literature was confiscated and Social-Democrats subjected to reprisals. However, during its operation the Social-Democratic Party, assisted by Marx and Engels, uprooted both opportunist and "ultra-Left" elements and managed to substantially strengthen and widen its influence among the people by skilfully combining illegal and legal methods of work. Under pressure from the mass workers' movement, the Anti-Socialist Law was abrogated on October 1, 1890. For Engels' assessment of the law, see his article "Bismarck and the German Working Men's Party" (this volume, pp. 407-09). p. 240

290 Bebel is probably referring to the official despatch "Die Frevelthat vom 2. Juni" carried by the special issue of the *Neue Preußische Zeitung*, No. 126, June 4, 1878, with the note: "with some corrections". p. 241

291 At the sitting of September 13, 1878 the Navy Minister Albrecht von Stosch promised to promote the publication of the materials pertaining to the sinking of the battleship *Großer Kurfürst* (see Note 269) on which the Reichstag was insisting (see *Begründung, Beantwortung und Besprechung der Interpellation des Abgeordneten Mosle, betreffend den Zusammenstoß der Panzerschichte "König Wilhelm" und "Großer Kurfürst"*). p. 242

292 The *Ultramontanes*—representatives of a religious and political trend in Catholicism, advocates of the right of the Pope to interfere into the domestic affairs of any state.

In this case, by the Ultramontane party Marx means the so-called *Party of the Centre*, a political party of German Catholics formed in 1870-71, which mirrored the separatist tendencies prevailing among the higher clergy, landowners and bourgeoisie in Western and South-Western Germany. The party had a certain influence among the peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and workers and was in opposition to the Bismarck government, which was waging a vigorous campaign against it (see Note 27). p. 243

293 Eulenburg is referring to his speech in the Reichstag on May 23, 1878 during the debate of the Anti-Socialist Law submitted for consideration after Hödel's assassination attempt on May 11, 1878 (see Note 268). On May 24 the Reichstag rejected the Bill by 251 votes against 57 (see *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags*, Vol. 2, Berlin, 1878, p. 1511). p. 243

294 Hödel was executed on August 16, 1878. Nobiling died on September 10, 1878, as a result of an attempt to shoot himself in the head after the assassination attempt on William I's life (see Note 268). p. 243

295 See Note 65. p. 244

296 Marx probably made this remark on the basis of what Wilhelm Bracke said about the series of essays in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* in his speech of September 17, 1878, during the debate of the Anti-Socialist Law in the Reichstag (see *Stenographische Berichte...*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1878, p. 83). p. 245

297 Vera Zasulich made an assassination attempt on St. Petersburg's Governor Trepov on January 24 (February 5), 1878, who had ordered the arrested revolutionary Bogolyubov to be lashed; the gendarme chief Mezentsov was murdered by Sergei Stepnyak-Kravchinsky on August 4 (16) of the same year.

Vera Zasulich was acquitted by the jury. Her trial in St. Petersburg provoked a lively response in the European press. p. 245

298 The congress of the anarchist Jura Federation was held on August 3-5, 1878 in Fribourg (Switzerland). Its resolution was printed by *L'Avant-Garde*, No. 33, August 26, 1878, p. 2.

The *Jura Federation*, an anarchist organisation in Switzerland which was founded at a congress in Sonvillier (1871), united a number of small sections of the First International. It played the role of the international ideological and organisational centre of the anarchist movement and was led by members of the Bakuninist secret Alliance of Socialist Democracy, James Guillaume and Adhémar Schwitzguébel. In 1873 the Jura Federation was expelled from the International for its refusal to adhere to the decisions of the Hague Congress of the International (1872). The *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* was, in fact, the anarchists' central theoretical organ. The Federation ceased to exist in 1878. p. 246

299 Marx and Engels exposed the activities of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see notes 30 and 38) in their work *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (written in collaboration with Paul Lafargue) (see present edition, Vol. 23). It was published as a pamphlet in French (*L'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste et l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*, London, Hamburg, 1873) and in the German translation (*Ein Complot gegen die Internationale Arbeiter-Association*, Brunswick, 1874).

By the attempts on the members of the "Marxian tendency", Marx is referring to assaults on Nikolai Utin in Zurich on June 18, 1872, on Francisco Mora in September 1872, on Pablo Iglesias in Madrid on November 12, 1872, and on Anselmo Lorenzo in the same year (see present edition, Vol. 23). p. 246

300 The *Puritans* and *Levellers*—two political groups at the time of the English Revolution of the 17th century. The Puritans expressed the interests of the Calvinist Protestants; from the first half of the 17th century their movement was a political opposition to absolutism, the ideological banner of the Revolution. The complexity of the Puritans' social and political composition and religious convictions (by the early 17th century, two main trends, the Presbyterians and the Independents, were already clearly discernible) inevitably led to a sharp controversy within the "Puritan" parliamentary faction in the course of the Revolution. In 1645-47 a split took place among the Independents, as a result of which their Left wing, the *Levellers*, parted company with them. The Levellers were representatives of a radical democratic trend. They wanted to transform England into a republic with a one-House Parliament elected by universal suffrage, to remove all inequalities and introduce other democratic reforms. Attempting to get their programme accepted as the basis of the republican system, the Levellers instigated army mutinies in May and September 1649 but were defeated; after that, the movement declined.

The *Hébertistes*, at the time of the French Revolution, a political group in the Left Jacobin camp which was named after Jacques Renè Hébert, one of its leaders, and took its final shape in the winter of 1793-94. The trend conveyed the social discontent of small working men, demanded that the maximum be strictly observed and that profiteering and sabotage be ruthlessly combated. In March 1794, the Hébertistes threatened to rise against the Jacobin Committee of Public Safety but failed to gain the support of the revolutionary sections. On

March 14, 1794, most of their leaders and activists were arrested and guillotined. p. 247

301 The *National Association* (Deutscher National-Verein) (September 15, 1859 to October 19, 1867) was a party of the German liberal bourgeoisie which advocated the unification of Germany (without Austria) in a strong centralised state under the aegis of the Prussian monarchy. Its inaugural congress was held in Frankfurt in September 1859. p. 248

302 The reference is to the American Civil War (1861-65) and the French Revolution at the end of the 18th century. p. 248

303 This passage from the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* reads: "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions" (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 519). The *Manifesto* was published in February 1848 on behalf of the Communist League, whose first congress took place in June 1847 (see notes 220 and 590). p. 249

304 Eulenburg is referring to Bebel's statement in his speech of September 16 that at one time the "socially dangerous" aspirations of Social-Democracy were extensively supported by the Prussian government with a view to counteracting the opposition of the bourgeoisie. p. 250

305 At the 1871 elections to the Reichstag, Social-Democrats received 124,655 votes (3.2 per cent) and two mandates in the Reichstag; in 1874—351,952 votes (6.8 per cent) and ten mandates, one of which was lost as a result of supplementary elections; in 1877—493,288 (9.1 per cent) and 13 mandates, one of which was lost in supplementary elections; and in 1878—437,158 votes (7.6 per cent) and nine mandates. p. 250

306 This article was the last one in the series of articles sent by Engels to *La Plebe*. It appeared there on March 30, 1879 (No. 12), in the section "Nostra corrispondenza. Da Londra" without a title and was signed by Engels' name. It was prefaced by a short editorial introduction: "We have received a report from London from our outstanding friend F. Engels, one of the most prominent and illustrious leaders of international socialism.

"This report deserves particular attention thanks to the appreciation by Engels of the present situation in Germany and Russia. Therefore we find it useful to acquaint our readers with it too.

"We give almost the whole translation of this report." p. 251

307 The reference is to the supplementary elections to the Reichstag which were held in the Western electoral district of Breslau on February 5, 1879 because of the death of its deputy Heinrich Bürgers. The elections, which took place after the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist. Law (see Note 289), demonstrated the strength and unity of the working class. The workers nominated their own candidate Julius Kräcker, who received 7,544 votes, which, however, were not enough to get elected. (Engels wrote to Wilhelm Liebknecht on March 1, 1879: "The election in Breslau has made a splendid impression here too." See present edition, Vol. 45.) At the supplementary elections of February 27 in the Saxonian electoral district of Waldheim-Debeln, the Social-Democratic candidate won 4,322 votes. p. 251

308 When "going into the thick of the people" in 1873-75 failed (see Note 49), the Narodniks who had managed to escape arrest set up a new organisation in

St. Petersburg in 1876, which in 1878 came to be known as *Zemlya i Volya* (Land and Freedom). In their practical work, its members founded permanent "settlements" of revolutionaries in the countryside for the purpose of establishing close contacts with the peasantry and preparing a popular revolution. As the rest of the Narodniks, they believed that Russia's development could follow a non-capitalist social and economic path; its basis was to be the village commune. Regarding the peasantry as the main revolutionary force, members of Land and Freedom also conducted propaganda among workers, students and soldiers. Their achievement was the formation of a strong, battleworthy revolutionary organisation. Proceeding from the inevitability of a "forceful overthrow", they placed primary importance with "agitation through action" (strikes, mutinies, demonstrations). They considered terrorism acceptable only as a means of self-protection and taking vengeance on the government. Engels is referring specifically to the actions of Vera Zasulich and Sergei Stepnyak-Kravchinsky (see Note 297). p. 252

309 The reference is to the decisions of the Berlin international congress which revised the terms of the San Stefano Peace Treaty (see Note 266). In accordance with these decisions, the territory of self-governing Bulgaria envisaged by the San Stefano Treaty was cut by over a half, and an autonomous province, Eastern Roumelia, was formed out of Bulgarian regions to the south of the Balkans that was to remain under the Turkish rule; the territory of Montenegro was also substantially curtailed. The Treaty of Berlin confirmed that part of Bessarabia, which Russia had lost in 1856, was to be returned to her, but it also authorised the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary. The Russian government was forced to submit the San Stefano Treaty for revision to the international congress under pressure from Britain, which had seized Cyprus on the eve of the congress.

The Treaty of Berlin was signed by representatives of Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy and Turkey. p. 252

310 After the Anti-Socialist Law came into force in October 1878 (see Note 289), the publication of the Party's central organ, *Vorwärts*, as well as of other Party newspapers, was banned in Germany. In July-September 1879, when preparing to start the publication, in Zurich,of a new central organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat*, lively negotiations (mostly through correspondence), concerning the newspaper's political line and the composition of its editorial board, were under way between Leipzig (see Note 316), Zurich (see Note 315), Paris (Karl Hirsch) and London (Marx and Engels).

The draft of this letter was written by Engels after September 11 (see Engels' letter to Marx of September 11, 1879, present edition, Vol. 45) as a reply to August Bebel's letter of August 20, and on September 17-18, when Marx returned to London (see Note 311), it was discussed by them and given its final shape. This document, which has come down into history as the "Circular Letter", is one of the principal statements of Marx and Engels against Right-wing opportunism. In a letter to Sorge of September 19, 1879, Marx called it a circular letter intended "just for *private circulation* among the German leaders" (see present edition, Vol. 45).

In English, the letter was first published in the magazine *International Press Correspondence*, No. 39, Berlin, 1931, pp. 737-38 (an excerpt), and practically in full in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Correspondence 1846-1895*, Lawrence, London,

1934, pp. 362-77. The italics in the letters of third persons to each other and to Marx and Engels are Engels'. p. 253

311 Between August 8 and 20, Marx stayed on the Isle of Jersey, and between August 21 and September 17, 1879, he visited his eldest daughter Jenny in Ramsgate. p. 253

312 A reference to the programme article "Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland" written by Karl Höchberg (pen-name Ludwig Richter), Eduard Bernstein, and Karl August Schramm and printed anonymously in the *Jahrbuch für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik* (Jg. 1, 1. Hälfte, Zurich-Oberstrass, 1879) published by Höchberg in Zurich. This issue was received by Engels on August 28, 1879 immediately upon his return from Eastbourne.

On September 13 Höchberg visited Engels in London (on Engels' assessment of the authors' stand, see Note 315). p. 253

313 Engels' letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht of August 20, 1879 has not been found (for its content, see Engels' letter to Marx of August 20, 1879, present edition, Vol. 45). Bebel wrote to Engels on the same day (August 20) and could not, of course, see this letter. p. 253

314 Liebknecht's letter of July 28, 1879 was in fact received by Hirsch, which is borne out by his letter to Marx of August 2, 1879. p. 253

315 The *supervisory committee* or the *Zurichers*—Eduard Bernstein, Karl Höchberg and Karl August Schramm. On September 15, 1879 Engels wrote to Johann Philipp Becker concerning the stand of this committee: "The Zurich editorial committee which, under the general management of the Leipzigers, is to supervise and censor the paper, consists of Höchberg, Schramm and Bernstein ... all three are revealed to be common or garden bourgeois and pacific philanthropists" (see present edition, Vol. 45). p. 254

316 The *Leipzig controlling committee* or the *Leipzigers*—August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Louis Viereck to whom Engels is referring, drawing on Hirsch's information. In actual fact the Leipzig editorial committee originally comprised August Bebel, Wilhelm Fritzsche and Wilhelm Liebknecht, who were later joined by Karl Grillenberger and Ignaz Auer, who did not reside in Leipzig. p. 254

317 On May 17, 1879 the Social-Democratic Deputy Max Kayser made a speech in the Reichstag in support of the government's project for protective customs tarriffs. Marx and Engels sharply condemned Kayser, who supported the proposal introduced in favour of the big industrialists and landowners to the detriment of the masses, as well as the licence given to Kayser by some of the German Social-Democratic leaders (see letters: Engels to Marx of August 20, Marx to Engels of September 10, Marx to Sorge of September 19, and Engels to Bebel of November 14 and 24, 1879, present edition, Vol. 45).

Hirsch sharply criticised Kayser's speech in his articles "Die Zolldebatte", "Aus Breslau schreibt man der *Laterne*", and "Zur Kaiser'schen Rede und Abstimmung", which appeared in *Die Laterne*, a weekly published by Hirsch (Nos. 21 and 23, May 25 and June 8, 1879). p. 258

318 Hirsch and Höchberg met in Paris on August 15 and 16, 1879. p. 258

319 Engels is referring here to the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 123), which he ironically calls "the local association, *Freiheit*". The newspaper *Die Freiheit* was published at the time by Johann Most on the instruction and with the means of the Society. p. 258

320 Hirsch received this information from Höchberg when they met in Paris (see Note 318) and conveyed it to Engels in a letter of August 23, 1879. p. 259

321 See Note 289. p. 260

322 Bismarck's plan to introduce state management of all the German railways (see this volume, pp. 277-79) was discussed at the congress of the German Social-Democrats in Gotha in August 1876. The congress voted for the transfer of the privately owned railways to the state but noted also that the concentration of the railways in the hands of the Imperial government would promote the class interests of the bourgeoisie and the militarists (see *Protokoll des Socialisten-Congresses zu Gotha vom 19. bis 23. August 1876*, Berlin, 1876, p. 89). p. 261

323 The reference is to the barricade fighting in Berlin on March 18, which marked the beginning of the 1848-49 revolution in Germany. p. 265

324 An ironical reference to Johann Miquel, a former member of the Communist League and subsequently a leader of the National Liberals' right wing, who was founder and member of various joint-stock companies.

On "the crash of 1873" that followed the period of "prosperity" in Germany, see Note 84. p. 266

325 The reference is to the Anti-Socialist Law passed by the German Reichstag in October 1878 (see Note 289). p. 266

326 See Note 316. p. 269

327 Marx and Engels wrote this item at the request of Maltman Barry, a British journalist, formerly a member of the General Council of the First International. Barry intended to publicly expose Karl Blind, a former democrat, a National Liberal from the 1860s, who printed an article "Prince Napoleon and European Democracy" in *Fraser's Magazine* (Vol. 20, London, 1879, pp. 504-21).

Marx made several additions to the extant manuscript, which was written mostly by Engels.

It was published in English for the first time in *MEGA*$_2$, Abt. 1, Bd. 25, Berlin, 1985, S. 186-87. p. 270

328 Throughout his London emigration, Karl Blind contributed to a number of newspapers: *Hermann* (London), *The North British Daily Mail* (Glasgow), *The Morning Star* (London), *The Daily News* (London), and *The Pall Mall Gazette* (London). For an assessment of his activity, see Marx's letter to Liebknecht of April 6, 1871 (present edition, Vol. 43). p. 270

329 The reference is to the provisional government headed by the petty-bourgeois democrat Brentano, which was formed in Baden in the spring of 1849 during the uprising in Southern and Western Germany in defence of the Imperial Constitution (see Note 139). p. 270

330 See Note 190. p. 270

331 Having suppressed the bourgeois revolution in Italy (1848-49), the French troops, sent to the Papal States in 1849 for the restoration of the Pope's secular power, continued to occupy Rome up to 1870. For this reason, at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War the Italian government rejected the proposal to conclude an alliance against Prussia, and on September 20, 1870 incorporated Rome into the Kingdom of Italy. The Pope's secular power ceased to exist. p. 271

332 This work was written for the French socialist newspaper *L'Égalité* in late

February 1880. When working on it, Engels used facts found in Rudolph Meyer's *Politische Gründer und die Corruption in Deutschland*, Leipzig, 1877 (see Engels' letter to August Bebel of November 24, 1879, present edition, Vol. 45). p. 272

333 See Note 289. p. 272

334 In 1862, when the German working-class movement was livening up, Lassalle began a propaganda campaign with a view to establishing a political organisation of the German proletariat. Its outcome was the founding of the *General Association of German Workers* (Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein) at the congress of workers' associations held in Leipzig on May 23, 1863. The formation of the Association was an important step in the development of an independent nation-wide workers' movement in Germany and helped emancipate the workers from the ideological influence of the liberal bourgeoisie. However, the Association had a sectarian character and was guided in its work by Lassalle's somewhat outdated and utopian ideas.

When the International Working Men's Association (the First International) was formed, the sectarian, nationalistic line of the General Association's Lassallean leadership began to hinder the involvement of German workers in the international proletarian organisation. As the ideas of Marxism and the experience of the class struggle spread among them, the authority of the Lassallean doctrines was undermined, and the Association began to draw closer to the other trend in German Social-Democracy, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (the Eisenachers) founded in 1869 and headed by Bebel and Liebknecht. At the congress held in Gotha in May 1875 the General Association of German Workers and the Social-Democratic Workers' Party united into a single organisation, the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. p. 273

335 An allusion to the reparations received by Germany as a result of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 (see Note 144). p. 273

336 The *Crédit mobilier* (Société générale du Crédit mobilier)—a French joint-stock bank founded in 1852 by the Péreire brothers. Closely connected with and protected by the government of Napoleon III, it engaged in large-scale speculation. The bank was involved, in particular, in the railway-building business. It went bankrupt in 1867 and was liquidated in 1871. p. 273

337 The campaign for the introduction of protectionist laws unfolded in Germany at the outset of the 1873 crisis (see Note 84). On February 15, 1876 a number of protectionist unions formed a single organisation, *Centralverband Deutscher Industrieller zur Beförderung und Wahrung nationaler Arbeit.* In 1876, during the agrarian crisis, big landowners, Prussian Junkers above all, joined the campaign. In October 1877 the industrial and agrarian advocates of the reform concluded an agreement. In March 1878 a non-partisan *Freie wirtschaftliche Vereinigung* was formed, which 204 deputies joined at the very first session of the Reichstag in September-October 1878. In December of that year, Bismarck submitted his preliminary draft of the customs reform to a specially appointed commission. On July 12, 1879 the final draft was approved by the Reichstag, and came into force on July 15. The new customs tariff provided for a substantial increase in import taxes on iron, machinery and textiles, as well as on grain, cattle, lard, flax, timber, etc. p. 274

338 The *Discount Society* (Discontogesellschaft)—a discount bank founded in 1851 by David Hansemann in Berlin which later served as the model for this type of

establishment. In the 1870s, it mostly engaged in speculation in railway shares. p. 277

339 The *Imperial Railways Office* (Reichseisenbahnamt) was founded on June 27, 1873 and began to function on September 19 of that year. Its first director, Alfred Scheele, was involved in all speculations of the Discount Society (see Note 338), having a seat on its Board of Directors. p. 278

340 See Note 141. p. 278

341 The reference is to the *Prussian Maritime Trading Company* (Preussische Seehandlungsgesellschaft), a trade and credit society founded in 1772 and enjoying a number of important state privileges. It granted large credits to the government and from 1820 in fact acted as its banker and broker. In 1904 it was made the official Prussian State Bank. p. 278

342 A paraphrase of the following passage from the "First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War" written by Marx between July 19 and 23, 1870: "After her victory did Prussia dream one moment of opposing a free Germany to an enslaved France? Just the contrary. While carefully preserving all the native beauties of her old system, she superadded all the tricks of the Second Empire, its real despotism and its mock democratism, its political shams and its financial jobs, its high-flown talk and its low *légerdemains*. The Bonapartist regime, which till then only flourished on one side of the Rhine, had now got its counterfeit on the other. From such a state of things, what else could result but *war*?" (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 5-6). p. 280

343 In 1880, at Paul Lafargue's request, Engels rewrote three chapters of *Anti-Dühring*—Chapter I of the Introduction and chapters I and II of Part III (see present edition, Vol. 25)—into a separate popular work first printed in three issues of the French journal *La Revue socialiste*, in March-May 1880, and then, in the same year, as a separate pamphlet entitled *Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique*. Working on it, Engels made a number of additions and changes in the text. The translation into French was done by Paul Lafargue. A major impetus to the international currency of the work was the publication, in 1882, of the first authorised German edition entitled *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft* in which Engels also made some additions. Already in Engels' lifetime, the work was translated into many European languages and gained wide currency among the workers, thus effectively promoting the dissemination of Marxist ideas. The translations were made from the French pamphlet and, mostly, from the German edition.

The fourth authorised German edition of the work appeared in Berlin in 1891. Engels made a number of additions in it, which he did not include in the last edition of *Anti-Dühring* published in his lifetime, in 1894 (see these additions in the present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 630-42).

In the publication of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* a significant place attaches to the authorised English translation, made by Edward Aveling from the fourth German edition of 1891, which appeared in London in 1892. Engels called the first English-language publication in *The People*, a socialist New York newspaper (August-October 1891), a "pirated" edition with its miserable English (see Engels' letter to Friedrich Adolph Sorge, October 24, 1891, present edition, Vol. 49).

In the present edition, the work is reproduced from the authorised English edition of 1892 checked against the French edition of 1880 and the German

edition of 1891. The English translation is practically identical to the text of the fourth German edition; the more or less significant discrepancies are indicated in footnotes. p. 281

344 See Note 289. p. 286

345 According to Rousseau's theory, originally people lived in the natural state of equality. The emergence of private property led to property and political inequality which was consolidated by the appearance of the state. In the future only the state based on the people's voluntary accord was supposed to be capable of securing the citizens' political and economic equality (the *Contrat social* of Rousseau).

This theory is developed in Rousseau's *Discours sur l'origine et les fondemens de l'inégalité parmi les hommes,* Amsterdam, 1755, and *Du contrat social; ou, Principes du droit politique,* Amsterdam, 1762. p. 286

346 The *Reformation* (16th century)—a broad socio-political and ideological anti-feudal movement of complex social content and composition. It assumed a religious form of struggle against the Catholic doctrine and Church and spread over most of Western and Central Europe. Its climax was the Peasant War in Germany in 1524-25.

The *Anabaptists* (rebaptisers) belonged to one of the most radical and democratic religious-philosophical trends spread in Switzerland, Germany and the Netherlands during the Reformation. Members of this sect were so called because they repudiated infant baptism and demanded a second, adult baptism. p. 287

347 Engels is referring to the "true Levellers" or "Diggers", who broke away from the democratic republican Levellers' movement during the English bourgeois revolution of the mid-17th century. Representing the poorest sections of the population suffering from feudal and capitalist exploitation in town and countryside, the Diggers, in contrast to the rest of the Levellers, who defended private property, carried on propaganda for community of property and other ideas of egalitarian communism, attempting to establish common ownership of the land through collective ploughing of communal waste land. p. 287

348 Engels has in mind, above all, Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) and Tommaso Campanella's *City of the Sun* (1623). p. 287

349 The *Reign of Terror,* the period from May 31, 1793 to July 26, 1794, was one of the Jacobin revolutionary democratic dictatorship in France, when the Jacobins used revolutionary terror in response to the counter-revolutionary terror of the Girondists and the Royalists.

The *Directorate* or *Directory* (consisting of five directors of whom one was re-elected every year) was the leading executive body in France set up under the 1795 Constitution, adopted after the fall of the Jacobin revolutionary dictatorship in the summer of 1794. It governed France until Bonaparte's coup d'état of 1799 and expressed the interests of the big bourgeoisie. p. 288

350 The reference is to the motto of the French Revolution *"Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité".* p. 289

351 Saint-Simon's first work, *Lettres d'un habitant de Genève à ses contemporains,* was written in Geneva in 1802 and published anonymously in Paris in 1803, without specifying the place and date of publication. Engels made use of: G. Hubbard, *Saint-Simon, sa vie et ses travaux. Suivi de fragments des plus célèbres écrits de*

*Saint-Simon,* Paris, 1857. This edition contains inaccuracies in dating some of Saint-Simon's works.

Fourier's first major work was *Théorie des quatre mouvements et des destinées générales* written in the first years of the 19th century and anonymously published in Lyons in 1808 (Leipzig was indicated on the title page as the place of publication, probably for reasons of censorship).

*New Lanark*—a cotton mill near the Scottish town of Lanark; it was built in 1784 together with a small settlement. p. 289

352 Saint-Simon's idea that the purpose of society ought to be to improve the "lot of the class that is the most numerous and the most poor" is conveyed most distinctly in his last work, *Nouveau christianisme,* which first appeared anonymously in Paris in 1825. p. 291

353 A reference to the *Correspondance politique et philosophique. Lettres de H. Saint-Simon à un Américain.* The letters were published in the collection: H. Saint-Simon, *L'industrie, ou Discussions politiques, morales et philosophiques, dans l'intérêt de tous les hommes livrés à des travaux utiles et indépendans,* Vol. 2, Paris, 1817. In Hubbard's edition (see Note 351), this passage is to be found on pp. 155-57. p. 292

354 The allied armies of the sixth anti-French coalition (Russia, Austria, Britain, Prussia, and others) entered Paris on March 31, 1814. Napoleon's empire fell, and he was forced to abdicate and was exiled to the Island of Elba. The first restoration of the Bourbon monarchy took place in France.

The *Hundred Days*—the period of the short-lived restoration of Napoleon's empire, which lasted from the day of his arrival in Paris from Elba on March 20, 1815 to his second deposition on June 22 following his defeat at Waterloo (see Note 356). p. 292

355 The reference is to the following two works written by Saint-Simon with his follower Augustin Thierry: *De la réorganisation de la société européenne, ou de la nécessité et des moyens de rassembler les peuples de l'Europe en un seul corps politique, en conservant à chacun son indépendance nationale,* Paris, 1814, and *Opinion sur les mesures à prendre contre la coalition de 1815,* Paris, 1815. In Hubbard's edition (see Note 351), passages from the first work are to be found on pp. 149-54, and the content of both works is set forth on pp. 68-76. p. 292

356 On June 18, 1815 at Waterloo (Belgium), Napoleon's army was defeated by the Anglo-Dutch troops commanded by Wellington and the Prussian army commanded by Blücher. p. 292

357 Charles Fourier wrote in his *Théorie des quatre mouvements*: "Social advances and changes of periods are brought about by virtue of the progress of women towards liberty, and the decadences of the social order are brought about by virtue of the decrease of liberty of women." And further: "The extension of the privileges of women is the general principle of all social progress" (Fourier, *Oeuvres complètes,* Vol. I, Paris, 1841, pp. 195-96). p. 293

358 Robert Owen, *The Revolution in the Mind and Practice of the Human Race; or, the Coming Change from Irrationality to Rationality,* London, 1849. The facts from Owen's biography were borrowed from the same source. p. 295

359 In January 1815, at a public meeting in Glasgow, Owen proposed a number of measures to improve the conditions of children and adults employed at

factories. The Bill tabled on Owen's initiative in June 1815 was passed by Parliament only in July 1819, and only with reference to child labour. It forbade the employment of children under nine years of age in cotton spinning and weaving mills and also night work of children under sixteen; for this category the working day was limited to twelve hours, not counting breaks for meals; since these were arranged by mill-owners as they thought fit, the working day often lasted fourteen hours or more. p. 296

360 In October 1833 a congress of co-operative societies and trade unions was held in London with Owen in the chair, at which the *Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland* was formally established; its Charter was adopted in February 1834. According to Owen's idea, the Union was to take over the management of production, organise it along co-operative lines, and accomplish a complete transformation of society by peaceful means. Having met with strong resistance from the state and industrialists, the Union ceased to exist in August 1834. p. 296

361 The reference is to the *Equitable Labour Exchange Bazaars* which were founded by workers' co-operative societies in various English towns and cities; the first of these bazaars set up by Robert Owen in London on September 3, 1832 existed until mid-1834. p. 296

362 Proudhon's idea of organising a bank of exchange was first expounded in his *Organisation du Crédit et de la Circulation et Solution du problème social* which appeared in early April 1848, and was developed in detail in his later works. Proudhon's main idea was to replace gold and silver, as means of circulation, with bank-notes which were, in fact, impersonal bills. These notes were secured by products of labour which, as Proudhon believed, made them drastically different from the paper money issued by banks and secured by precious metals, landed estates, etc.

An attempt to carry through this project was the foundation, on January 31, 1849, of the Banque du peuple (People's Bank), which, however, went bankrupt and was closed down in early April 1849. p. 297

363 *Le neveu de Rameau* was written by Denis Diderot around 1762 and later revised twice by him. It was first published, in Goethe's German translation, in Leipzig in 1805. The French original was published in *Oeuvres inédites de Diderot,* Vol. 2, Paris, 1821, which was actually put out in 1823. p. 298

364 The *Alexandrian period* (Alexandrian culture, Alexandrian age) derives its name from the Egyptian city of Alexandria, a major centre of Hellenic culture. Alexandria, to which thousands of Greeks moved in the 3rd century B.C., saw the flourishing of mathematics, mechanics (Euclid and Archimedes), geography, astronomy, physiology and other sciences. p. 299

365 Kant's nebular hypothesis, according to which the solar system was originally formed out of a rotating nebulous mass, is expounded in his *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte und Theorie des Himmels, oder Versuch von der Verfassung und dem mechanischen Ursprunge des ganzen Weltgebäudes nach Newtonischen Grundsätzen abgehandelt,* Königsberg and Leipzig, 1755. The book was published anonymously.

Laplace's hypothesis of the origin of the solar system was set out for the first time in the last chapter of his treatise *Exposition du système du monde,* Vols. I-II, Paris, 4th year of the French Republic [1796]. In the sixth edition of

this book (1835), the last one prepared in Laplace's lifetime and published after his death, the hypothesis is expounded in Note VII to the work.

The existence in space of incandescent masses of gas similar to the original nebulous mass, which was postulated by the Kant-Laplace nebular hypothesis, was proved in 1864 by the English astronomer William Huggins, who made an extensive use of spectral analysis introduced in 1859 by Gustav Kirchhoff and Robert Bunsen. Here Engels uses the book by P. A. Secchi, *Die Sonne*, Brunswick, 1872, pp. 787, 789-90. p. 302

366 Carl von Linné, the Swedish natural scientist, was opposed to the theory of the historical development of the organic world. He believed that the number of species remained constant and stable since the time of their "creation" (see C. Linnaeus, *Systema naturae*, first edition, 1735). p. 303

367 Engels is referring to the uprising of Lyons weavers in late November 1831, which was brutally suppressed by the government. p. 304

368 The *Chartists*—participants in the first mass political revolutionary movement of the English proletariat in the 1830s-50s, who campaigned for the introduction of the People's Charter (see Note 427). It was the highest stage of the struggle of the working class in the period before the emergence of Marxism. p. 304

369 These wars were waged by the major European states for hegemony in trade with India and America and for colonial markets. Initially, the principal rivals were Britain and the Netherlands, later, Britain and France. Britain emerged victorious, controlling nearly all world trade by the end of the 18th century. p. 313

370 See Note 322. In 1879-82, the bulk of private railways in Prussia were handed over to the state. Later, it continued buying out the railways. p. 318

371 See Note 341. p. 318

372 The figures showing the total wealth of Great Britain and Ireland are cited from Robert Giffen's report, "Recent Accumulations of Capital in the United Kingdom", made at the Statistical Society on January 15, 1878 and printed by the London *Journal of the Statistical Society*, Vol. XLI, Part I, March 1878, pp. 12, 21. p. 323

373 Marx probably wrote this "Note" at the request of *L'Égalité*'s editorial board in late March or early April 1880 as the editorial introduction to his work to be published by the newspaper (it published only the foreword and § 1 of Chapter I).

The Introduction was published in English for the first time in: Marx, Engels, Lenin, *On Scientific Communism*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, p. 34. p. 326

374 Marx is referring, above all, to Proudhon's speech in the French National Assembly on July 31, 1848 (see *Compte rendu des séances de l'Assemblée nationale*, Vol. II, Paris, 1849, pp. 770-82). Marx devoted a special article to it entitled "Proudhon's Speech against Thiers" which was published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 66, August 5, 1848 (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 321-24). p. 327

375 Marx drew up this questionnaire in the first half of April 1880 at the request of Benoît Malon, publisher of *La Revue socialiste*. It was printed on April 20 there anonymously and also appeared as a separate leaflet (25,000 copies),

which was distributed throughout France. That Marx was its author was established from his letter to Sorge of November 5, 1880 (see present edition, Vol. 46). As distinct from Marx's manuscript, in the French edition the items were numbered consecutively and two more questions were added (No. 88: "Describe the action by the members of arbitration boards", and No. 101: "General observations"); besides there were some other additions.

The introduction opening the questionnaire noted that it was the first serious attempt to form an opinion of the condition of the French working class, and called on all urban and agricultural workers, as well as all socialists of France, to take part in it. It said: "We hope to find support for our cause among all the urban and agricultural workers, who understand that they alone can describe the hardships they endure with the full knowledge of the matter; that they alone, and not the saviours sent by Providence, can vigorously apply remedies in the struggle against social evils from which they suffer; we count also on the socialists of all schools who, striving for a social reform, must strive for an *exact* and *definite* knowledge of the conditions under which the working class, the class to which the future belongs, works and begins to move.

"These *instructions of labour* must be the first act which the Social-Democrats must perform in order to prepare a social renovation."

The French edition of the "Questionnaire" was the basis for the Italian (*La Lotta,* Milan, Nos. 1, 2, 8, July 1, 2, 8, 1880), the Polish (*Kwestyjonaryjusz robotniczy,* 1880, supplement to Nos. 10-11 of the *Równość,* July-August 1880), and the Dutch (*Recht voor Allen,* October 30, 1880) translations.

The "Questionnaire" was published in English for the first time as a leaflet, *A Workers' Enquiry. By Karl Marx,* London, Communist Party of Gr. Britain [1926].

In the present edition the "Questionnaire" is printed according to Marx's manuscript written in English and, in part, in French. p. 328

376 The Introduction to the French edition of Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (see Note 343) was written by Marx on about May 4-5, 1880. The manuscript contains a postscript in Marx's handwriting: "Dear Lafargue, here is the outcome of my consultations (yesterday evening) with Engels. Tidy up the language, leave the substance intact." The Introduction was initialled P.L. (Paul Lafargue) in the pamphlet.

The French version of the Introduction was used as the basis for the Polish (in: *Przedświt,* No. 6/7, December 1, 1881, and in: Fr. Engels, *Socyjalizm utopijny a naukowy,* Geneva, 1882, pp. III-V) and Russian translations (in: *Sotsialisticheskoye znaniye,* No. 1, Moscow, 1884, pp. 89-92).

In the present edition the Introduction is printed according to Marx's manuscript checked against the 1880 edition. The main discrepancies are pointed out in the footnotes. p. 335

377 A reference to the *Communist Correspondence Committee* formed by Marx and Engels at the beginning of 1846 in Brussels. Its aim was to prepare the ground for the creation of an international proletarian party. The Committee had no strictly defined composition. Besides the Belgian communist Philippe Gigot, Joseph Weydemeyer, Wilhelm Wolff, Edgar von Westphalen and others were its members at various times. As a rule, the Committee discussed problems of communist propaganda, corresponded with the leaders of existing proletarian organisations: the League of the Just (see Note 378) and the Chartists (see Note 368), tried to draw Proudhon, Cabet and other socialists into its work, and issued lithographed circulars. On the initiative of Marx and Engels,

correspondence committees and groups connected with the Brussels Committee were set up in Silesia, Westphalia and the Rhine Province, Paris and London. These committees played an important role in the development of international proletarian contacts and the organisation of the Communist League in 1847. p. 335

378 The *League of the Just*, the first political organisation of German workers and artisans, was formed between 1836 and 1838 as a result of a split in the Outlaws' League, which consisted of artisans led by petty-bourgeois democrats. Besides Germans, the League of the Just included workers of other nationalities. The views of its members showed the influence of various utopian socialist ideas, primarily those of Wilhelm Weitling. p. 336

379 Prominent members of the League of the Just (see Note 378): typesetter Karl Schapper, watchmaker Joseph Moll and others, were connected with the Blanquist secret *Société des Saisons*, which organised the Paris uprising of May 12-13, 1839 (see Note 32). Schapper and Moll took part in the uprising, were prosecuted by the French authorities and compelled to leave for England, where they headed local branches of the League. p. 336

380 See Note 220. p. 336

381 The *Democratic Association* (Association démocratique) was founded in Brussels in the autumn of 1847 and united proletarian revolutionaries, mainly German emigrants, and advanced bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats. On November 15, 1847, Marx was elected its Vice-President (the President was Lucien Jottrand, a Belgian democrat), and under his influence it became a centre of the international democratic movement. p. 336

382 The events of this period are described in Engels' *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 147-239). p. 336

383 After the socialist congress held in Marseilles in October 1879 set up the French Workers' Party (Parti Ouvrier Français), a group of French socialists headed by Jules Guesde addressed Marx and Engels, through Paul Lafargue, requesting them to help to draft an electoral programme of the French Workers' Party. Its preamble was formulated by Marx who dictated it to Guesde. Engels wrote to Eduard Bernstein about it on October 25, 1881: "A masterpiece of cogent reasoning, calculated to explain things to the masses in a few words" (see present edition, Vol. 46). Marx and Engels also took part in drawing up the practical section of the programme (the minimum programme; see Note 384).

The programme was first published in *Le Précurseur*, No. 25, June 19, 1880; however, Malon adulterated some of its tenets and "introduced sundry changes for the worse", Engels wrote to Eduard Bernstein on October 20, 1882 (see present edition, Vol. 46). The preamble in *L'Égalité*, No. 24, June 30, 1880 was probably printed from Guesde's notes. The programme appeared also in *Le Prolétaire*, July 10, 1880, *La Revue socialiste*, No. 10, July 20, 1880, and in a number of other French newspapers.

In 1880, the electoral programme was adopted as "the minimum programme" of the French Workers' Party at the Havre Congress. Its first separate edition appeared in Paris in 1883 under the title *Le Programme du Parti Ouvrier*.

In English, the preamble was published in full for the first time in: Marx, Engels, *The Socialist Revolution*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1981, pp. 252-53. p. 340

384 Further, *L'Égalité* printed the minimum programme:

A. Political Programme

1. Abolition of all laws on the press, meetings and associations, and especially the law against the International Working Men's Association.—Suppression of labour-books, this registration of the working class, and all articles of the code of law which place the workers in an unequal position vis-à-vis the employer.

2. Suppression of the budget for the cults and the return to the nation of "property, movable and immovable, belonging to religious corporations and considered unalienable" (the decree of the Commune of April 2, 1871), including the industrial and commercial enterprises of these corporations.

3. Universal arming of the people.

4. The commune is the master of administration and the police.

B. Economic Programme

1. Weekly day of rest on Mondays, in other words, the issue of a law forbidding the employers to demand that the employees work on Mondays.—Legal reduction of the working day to 8 hours for adults.—A ban on the use of child labour under the age of 14 by private enterprises, and legal reduction of the working day to 6 hours for the ages 14 to 18.

2. The fixing of minimum wage by law determined annually in accordance with the local prices for foodstuffs. [This item was entered into the programme on Guesde's insistence; see Marx's letter to Sorge, November 5, 1880, present edition, Vol. 46.]

3. Equal wages for workers of both sexes.

4. Scientific and technical instruction for all children at the expense of society provided by the state and the commune.

5. Elimination of any interference whatsoever of the employers in the management of the workers' mutual aid societies, insurance funds, etc., restoration of the exclusively workers' management in these matters.

6. The employers' responsibility for accidents guaranteed by their paying a deposit in proportion to the number of employed workers and those dangers that the work at the given enterprise presents.

7. Workers' participation in drawing up special rules for the various workshops.—Abolition of the employers' self-usurped right to impose fines on the workers or detract from their wages (the Commune's decree of April 27, 1871).

8. Revision of all contracts pertaining to the alienation of public property (banks, railways, mines, etc.), and exploitation of all state enterprises by the workers employed there.

9. Abolition of all indirect taxes and the transformation of all direct taxes into a progressive tax on incomes exceeding 3,000 francs and on legacies exceeding 20,000 francs. p. 340

385 This letter of greeting was read out at the meeting held on November 29, 1880 in Geneva to commemorate the Polish uprising of 1830 (see Note 389). The meeting was convened by the editorial board of the Polish magazine *Równość* and attended by nearly 500 socialists of different nationalities: Poles, Russians, Germans, Austrians, Frenchmen, Italians and Swiss. For Engels' assessment of the magazine's stand, see his letter to Kautsky of February 7, 1882 (present edition, Vol. 46).

The original of the letter is not extant. It was published for the first time in

French in the *Précurseur*, No. 49, December 4, 1880, and in Polish (translation from the French) in *Sprawozdanie z międzynarodowego zebrania zwołanego w 50-letnią rocznicę listopadowego powstania przez redakcyję "Równości" w Genewie*, Geneva, 1881, pp. 30-32. The discrepancies between the texts are indicated in the footnotes.

In English, the letter was published for the first time in the magazine *The Class Struggle*, Vol. 2, No. 5, New York, 1918, pp. 573-75. p. 343

386 On the first partition of Poland, see Note 9.

On the participation of Poles in the American War of Independence, see Note 73. p. 343

387 The reference is to the Polish national liberation uprising of March 12-November 16, 1794 led by Tadeusz Kościuszko. p. 343

388 After the defeat of the 1794 uprising and the third partition of Poland (see Note 11), some of the participants in the uprising emigrated to France. In October 1796, the Polish general Jan Henryk Dąbrowski submitted to the Directory (see Note 349) a plan for the formation of Polish legions which could fight against Austria. In January 1797 two Polish legions were formed within General Bonaparte's army. p. 343

389 This refers to the *Polish national liberation uprising* of November 1830-October 1831. Its participants belonged mostly to the revolutionary gentry, and its leaders to the aristocracy. The uprising was crushed by Russia aided by Prussia and Austria. Lack of support from the peasantry, due to the leaders' refusal to abolish serfdom, contributed to its defeat. p. 343

390 On the Cracow uprising of 1846, see Note 25.

The programme drawn up during the Cracow uprising by Edward Dembowski and expressing the interests of the peasantry and the urban poor demanded that the landless be given land, and that the condition of the working class be drastically improved by establishing national or "social" workshops. p. 344

391 See Note 220. p. 344

392 The public meeting in Brussels of February 22, 1848 was held to mark the second anniversary of the Cracow uprising. Marx and Engels were present and made speeches of greeting (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 545-52). p. 344

393 The reference is to the participation of Polish refugees in the European revolutionary movement of 1848-49. A number of prominent Polish revolutionaries took an active part in the revolutionary events in Hungary (Józef Bem, Henryk Dembiński und Ludwik Wysocki) and in the final stage of the revolution in Germany (Wiktor Heltman, Aleksander Krzyżanowski, Ludwik Mieroslawski). The poet Adam Mickiewicz organised a Polish legion in Italy for the struggle against Austrian oppression. Mierosławski led the struggle of the Sicilian insurgents against the troops of the Neapolitan King Ferdinand Bourbon. A Polish Southern legion was formed on the territory of the Danubian Principalities, which was involved in the liberation struggle of the local population. p. 344

394 See Note 17. p. 344

395 See Note 14. p. 344

396 See Note 26. p. 344

397 Dissent on issues of tactics and theory in the Narodnik Land and Freedom (see Note 308) led to its split into two organisations in 1879, People's Will and the Black Redistribution. A major theoretical problem in the Russian revolutionary movement of the time was that of the role of the village commune in the country's political and social transformation. On February 16, 1881, on behalf of her comrades, members of the Black Redistribution who later joined the Marxist Emancipation of Labour group, Vera Zasulich asked Marx to express his opinion on the prospects of Russia's historical development, and particularly the future of the village commune: "You are not unaware that your *Capital* is enjoying great popularity in Russia... But what you probably do not know is the role which your *Capital* plays in our discussions of the agrarian question in Russia and our rural commune. You know better than anvone else how important and urgent this question is in Russia..., especially for our socialist party...

"You will therefore understand, Citizen, to what extent we are interested in your opinion on this question and what great service you will be rendering us by conveying your ideas on the possible future of our rural commune and the theory of the historical inevitability for all countries of the world to pass through all the phases of capitalist production."

Marx wrote four drafts of his reply to Vera Zasulich's letter. Their analysis and comparison with the final version show that he went from a more detailed exposition of his views to a most laconic one. The first three drafts are published in this volume; the fourth, consisting of only two paragraphs, which have been included into the final version posted to Zasulich on March 8, 1881 (see this volume, pp. 370-71), is not reproduced in this edition.

For the first time, Marx's letter to Vera Zasulich and its drafts were published by the Marx-Engels Institute in: *Marx-Engels Archives*, Moscow, 1924 (in Russian translation), and *Marx-Engels-Archiv. Zeitschrift des Marx-Engels-Instituts in Moskau*, Vol. I, Frankfurt am Main [1925] (in the original French). However, due to the complex structure of the manuscript (see Note 298), in these editions some paragraphs were inserted in the wrong place and certain words deciphered incorrectly. The original version of the drafts, in strict accordance with the manuscript, was first published in: *MEGA*$_2$, Abt. I, Bd. 25, Berlin, 1985, S. 219-42.

The earlier publications in English (in: Marx, Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 3, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970, pp. 152-61; Marx, Engels, Lenin, *The Way to Socialism Bypassing Capitalism*, Novosti Press, Moscow, 1980, pp. 32-34; *Late Marx and the Russian Road. Marx and the Peripheries of Capitalism*, London [1984]) were based on the French text in the first publication in the *Marx-Engels-Archiv*. p. 346

398 The first and second drafts of Marx's letter to Vera Zasulich (see this volume, pp. 346-64) contain many deletions, insertions and marks for transferring passages from one page to another, etc. The first draft, the longest one, has seven large-size sheets filled in on both sides and contains many repetitions. The second draft is shorter and consists of three sheets: it is an attempt at a more concise exposition of the problem. The most significant deletions and indications for the transfer of fragments of the text are given in footnotes. p. 346

399 An allusion to the following passage from Zasulich's letter to Marx of February 16, 1881: "... the theory of the historical inevitability for all countries

of the world to pass through all the phases of capitalist production" (see Note 397). p. 346

400 Zasulich wrote to Marx on February 16, 1881: "Recently we have often heard the opinion that the rural commune is an archaic form which history, scientific socialism—in a word all that is the most indisputable—condemns to death" (for Marx's interpretation of "the archaic form" of the commune, see this volume, p. 350). p. 349

401 The expression "new pillars of society" (*nouvelles colonnes de la société*) dates back to Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin's *Убъжище Монрепо* (The Monreper Asylum), St. Petersburg, 1880, pp. 181, 189. There was a copy of this book in Marx's library containing his numerous marginal notes and markings. p. 349

402 The reference is, in particular, to the conquest of Italy by the Germanic tribe of Ostrogoths in 493 under the leadership of Theodoric. They founded a vast kingdom with Ravenna as the capital, which incorporated Italy, Sicily, Dalmatia and the lands to the north of Italy. p. 350

403 *Artel*—an association of small producers in pre-revolutionary Russia. There were carpenters', fishermen's, masons', wood-cutters', agricultural and other artels. p. 352

404 In 321 B.C. during the second Samnite war the Samnites defeated the Roman legions in the Caudine pass, near the ancient Roman town of Caudium, and compelled them to go under the "forks", which was the greatest shame for the defeated army. Hence the expression "to go under the Caudine Forks", i.e., to undergo extreme humiliation. p. 353

405 In 1237-41 Russian territories were invaded by the Mongols and Tartars who established a harsh rule there in the interests of the Mongol nomadic military-feudal nobility. After 240 years of resistance Russia finally threw off the Mongol yoke in 1480. p. 353

406 *Volost*—an administrative-territorial division in Russia in the 11th-first half of the 20th centuries. Marx wrote the word in Russian in the original. p. 353

407 *Decurions*, at the time of the decline of the Roman Empire, an estate embracing landowners of medium means. They were entrusted with the distribution and collection of taxes and the spending of public money. When entering office, they contributed considerable sums, and were then obliged to spend money for public needs and compensate for arrears when collecting taxes out of their own property. As the taxes in money and in kind rose, the decurions' position deteriorated to such an extent that by the edicts of 316 and 325 they were made to hold their offices for life, while their duties became hereditary and were only cancelled by death or financial ruin. p. 354

408 See Note 398. p. 360

409 The reference is to the general statute on the organisation of cities passed by Catherine II on April 21, 1785. Among other things, it included the regulations concerning the organisation of the trades into guilds and the rights and obligations of the craftsmen and apprentices. p. 361

410 Marx is probably referring to a similar passage from the French edition of his *Capital*, p. 341: "Private property, based on personal labour, this property which welds, so to say, an isolated and autonomous worker to the external

conditions of labour, will be supplanted by capitalist private property, based on the exploitation of the labour of others, on wage labour." p. 361

411 Marx replies to the following passage in Vera Zasulich's letter: "Recently we have often heard the opinion that the rural commune is an archaic form which history, scientific socialism—in a word all that is the most indisputable—condemns to death. The people preaching this call themselves your disciples *par excellence*: 'Marxists'. Their strongest argument is often: 'Marx says so.'

"'But how do you deduce this from his *Capital*? In it, he does not deal with the agrarian question and does not speak about Russia,' the objection is put to them.

"'He would have said this if he had spoken about our country,' your disciples reply, possibly just a bit too boldly." p. 361

412 Marx is referring, above all, to Pyotr Lavrov, Hermann Lopatin and Nikolai Danielson, with whom he kept in touch for years, as well as Lev Gartman, Nikolai Morozov and others, with whom he became acquainted in 1880-81. p. 361

413 The third draft consists of three single and one double sheet. Marx made a fair copy of the first four pages of the draft (a rough copy of the third and fourth pages is also extant). The last paragraph on p. 4 is crossed out (it is given in the footnote on p. 368 of this volume). The next two paragraphs beginning with "The English themselves attempted" up to the words "amidst a general turmoil in Russian society" are written on the third sheet on which earlier Marx started to write a letter and where the words "3 March 1881. My dear Sir, I shall in...", written in English, are extant. The end of the draft from the words "The familiarity of the Russian peasant" is on p. 1 and the top of p. 2 of the double sheet, with a note in its left corner "II Ende", and contains many deletions.

On the fourth draft, see notes 397 and 414. p. 364

414 The final version of Marx's letter to Vera Zasulich written on March 8, 1881 includes the full text of the fourth draft consisting of only two paragraphs ("A nervous complaint ... my so-called theory" and "Hence the analysis provided in *Capital* ... conditions of spontaneous development"); for this reason, it has not been printed separately in this edition.

Marx's letter to Zasulich was known to many Russian revolutionary Marxists, Georgi Plekhanov among them. p. 370

415 Marx is probably referring to the request to write a work on the Russian rural commune made by the revolutionary Narodnik Nikolai Morozov in December 1880 on behalf of the Executive Committee of the People's Will (see Note 417). p. 370

416 On March 21, 1881 Russian, Polish, Czech and Serbian socialists held a meeting in London to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Paris Commune. It was organised by the Russian revolutionary Narodniks Lev Gartman and Hermann Lopatin, with Gartman as the chairman.

Having been invited but unable to attend the meeting, Marx and Engels greeted it with an address to the chairman written in Engels' hand on March 21, 1881.

In English the address was published for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On the Paris Commune*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1980, pp. 271-72. p. 372

417 On March 1, 1881 in pursuance of the sentence passed by the People's

Will Executive Committee, Emperor Alexander II was assassinated in St. Petersburg.

People's Will was a revolutionary Narodnik organisation formed in Russia in August 1879 after the split in the Land and Freedom (see Note 308). Its founders were professional revolutionaries, advocates of political struggle against the autocracy. People's Will was the largest and most important revolutionary organisation of the *raznochintsi* (bourgeois-democratic) period in Russia's emancipation movement. Its activity was at its greatest in the early 1880s.

p. 372

418 Using § 28 of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 289), on November 28, 1878 Bismarck introduced the so-called minor state of siege in Berlin and its environs. In the spring of 1880 the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law was extended for another five years. p. 372

419 On March 19, 1881 Johann Most's newspaper *Freiheit* (No. 12) carried his article "Endlich!" devoted to the assassination of Alexander II (see Note 417), and a report entitled "England" about the attempt to explode the Lord Mayor's mansion in the London City. These publications were used as a pretext for Most's arrest by the British authorities on March 30; in June he was sentenced to 16 months' imprisonment.

While criticising Most's anarchist views and his pseudo-revolutionary phraseology (see Marx's letter to Friedrich Adolph Sorge of September 19, 1879, present edition, Vol. 45), Marx and Engels still believed it necessary to rise to his defence. Most's case was used by Bismarck during the debates on socialists in the German Reichstag on March 30 and 31, 1881.

This letter was written in Engels' handwriting and signed by both Marx and Engels when it appeared in *The Daily News*. p. 374

420 "A Fair Day's Wages for a Fair Day's Work" is the first in the series of articles written by Engels at the request of George Shipton, Secretary of the London Trades Council and editor of *The Labour Standard*, the organ of British trade unions. Engels contributed to it from May to early August 1881. The articles appeared regularly, almost weekly, as unsigned editorials. All in all, eleven articles were written, with the last one, "Social Classes—Necessary and Superfluous", printed on August 6. Engels stopped contributing to the paper because of the growth of opportunist elements in its editorial board (see Engels' letters to Marx of August 11, to George Shipton of August 10, 1881, and to Johann Philipp Becker of February 10, 1882, present edition, Vol. 46).

p. 376

421 On June 21, 1824, under mass pressure, Parliament repealed the ban on the trade unions by adopting "An Act to repeal the Laws relative to the Combination of Workmen, and for other Purposes therein mentioned" (the reference is to the repeal of "An Act to prevent unlawful Combinations of Workmen 12th July 1799"). However, in 1825 it passed a Bill on workers' combinations ("An Act to repeal the Laws relating to the Combination of Workmen, and to make other Provisions in lieu thereof 6th July 1825") which, while confirming the repeal of the ban on the trade unions, at the same time greatly restricted their activity. In particular, mere agitation for workers to join unions and take part in strikes was regarded as "compulsion" and "violence" and punished as a crime. p. 376

422 The Poor Law adopted in England in 1834 provided for only one form of relief for the able-bodied poor: workhouses with a prison-like regime in which

the workers were engaged in unproductive, monotonous and exhausting labour. The people called the workhouses "Bastilles for the poor". p. 377

423 The *Court of Chancery* or *Court of Equity*—one of the high courts of England which after the judicial reform of 1873 became a division of the High Court of Justice. The jurisdiction of the court, presided over by the Lord Chancellor, covered matters concerning inheritance, contractual obligations, joint-stock companies, etc. In a number of cases, the powers of this court overlapped those of other high courts. In counterbalance to the English common law accepted in other courts, the legal proceedings at the Court of Chancery were conducted on the basis of the so-called law of equity. p. 379

424 See Note 422. p. 383

425 The reference is to the *Vienna Congress* of European monarchs and their ministers (September 1814 to June 9, 1815), which set up a system of all-European treaties after the wars of the European powers against Napoleonic France. p. 383

426 Engels is referring to the landlords' discontent with the Land Bill passed by the Gladstone government on August 22, 1881 for the purpose of distracting the Irish peasants from the revolutionary struggle. The Bill restricted the landlords' right to evict tenants from their plots if they paid the rent in time; the rent was fixed for 15 years in advance. Despite the fact that the 1881 Law gave the landlords a chance to sell their lands to the state at a profit, and that the fixed rent remained very high indeed, the English landowners still opposed the Law trying to preserve their unlimited rule in Ireland. Despite the Law, illegal evictions from the land continued, which provoked the resistance of the Irish tenants (see notes 456, 462, 463). p. 384

427 The *People's Charter*, which contained the demands of the Chartists (see Note 368), was published in the form of a Parliamentary Bill on May 8, 1838. It contained six points: universal suffrage (for men of 21 and over), annual Parliaments, vote by ballot, equal electoral districts, abolition of the property qualification for MPs and payment of MPs. Petitions urging the adoption of the People's Charter were turned down by Parliament in 1839, 1842 and 1848. p. 386

428 The reference is to the second Reform Bill approved by Parliament on August 15, 1867 under pressure from the mass working-class movement and direct participation in it of the General Council of the First International. Under the new law, the property qualification for the voters was lowered, and their number doubled; suffrage was granted also to part of skilled workers. The bulk of the working population, however, was still deprived of the right to vote. p. 386

429 Starting from the late 1870s, the British working-class movement gradually freed itself from the influence of the Liberal Party.

The more advanced section of the workers took part in the activities of radical organisations and clubs, and campaigned for Irish self-determination. In 1879 the Midland Social-Democratic Association was set up in Birmingham, and in 1881 the Labour Emancipation League in London. Of great importance was the Democratic Federation founded in London in June 1881 and in 1884 transformed into the Social-Democratic Federation, which openly recognised Marxist principles. p. 387

430 The main question discussed in the House of Commons during the debate on

concluding a commercial treaty with France was the new common customs tariff adopted by the French government on May 8, 1881, which provided for some restrictions on imports in the interest of French industry. Despite the fact that the talks about the new treaty were repeatedly resumed throughout the year, the parties concerned failed to find an acceptable solution. p. 389

431 A. J. Balfour was elected to Parliament from Hertford, in Southeast England. p. 389

432 The *Manchester School*—a trend in economic thinking which reflected the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. Its supporters, known as Free Traders, advocated removal of protective tariffs and non-intervention by the government in economic life. The centre of the Free Traders' agitation was Manchester, where the movement was headed by two textile manufacturers, Richard Cobden and John Bright. In the 1840s and 1850s, the Free Traders were a separate political group, which later formed the Left wing of the Liberal Party. p. 389

433 This refers to the protective tariff tabled in Congress by the Republican Justin Smith Morrill and passed by the Senate on March 2, 1861. It raised customs duties considerably. Later, during the American Civil War and in 1867 and 1869, the tariff was repeatedly revised, and by 1869 it had raised the average size of import duties to 47 per cent. In 1870 and 1872, these duties were lowered to 10 per cent, but this was cancelled in 1875. p. 390

434 The first British colony which was granted the status of a dominion (in 1867) was Canada. p. 390

435 After the abolition of the East India Company in August 1858 India was placed under direct administration of the British Crown. Seeking to protect the national textile industry, the authorities introduced a 5-per cent duty on the English cotton goods imported by India. However, as early as 1879 the Lancashire manufacturers managed to get these duties cancelled, and in 1882 the duties on other goods were also abolished.

The *British East India Company* was founded in 1600. It enjoyed a monopoly of trade with the East Indies and played a decisive part in the establishment of the British colonial empire. p. 390

436 The reference is to the coalition wars of European states against the French Republic (1792-1802) and against Napoleon (1805-15). p. 390

437 In 1814 and 1822 the French authorities introduced high import tariffs on iron, in 1819, on grain, cattle and wool, and in 1826, doubled the tariffs on pig iron and steel. p. 390

438 The economic development of Germany was most adversely affected by her political fragmentation, the absence of universal commercial laws, internal customs barriers, and the multiplicity of currencies and of the weight and measure systems. On May 26, 1818 Prussia alone passed a law on the abolition of internal duties and the introduction of a universal customs tariff. p. 390

439 The *Corn Laws*, the first of which were passed as early as the 15th century, imposed high import duties on agricultural products in order to maintain high prices for these products on the domestic market. The Corn Laws served the interests of the big landowners (see Note 440). p. 390

440 The *Anti-Corn Law League* was founded in 1838 by the Manchester manufacturers and Free Trade leaders Richard Cobden and John Bright. By demanding complete freedom of trade, the League fought for the abolition of the Corn Laws (see Note 439). In this way, it sought to weaken the economic and political position of the landed aristocracy and lower the cost of living, thus making possible a lowering of the workers' wages. After the repeal of the Corn Laws (June 1846), the League ceased to exist. p. 390

441 See Note 337. p. 391

442 See Note 383. p. 394

443 At the municipal elections of January 9, 1881, the French Workers' Party obtained 40,000 votes and won all seats in the Town Council of Commentry. p. 394

444 From September 9, 1879 to June 15, 1881, the deputies to the Reichstag from the Social-Democratic faction were: August Bebel, Wilhelm Bracke, Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche, Wilhelm Hasselmann, Max Kayser, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Klaus Peter Reinders, Julius Vahlteich and Philipp Wiemer. After the death of Bracke and Reinders, their seats were filled by Ignaz Auer and Wilhelm Hasenclever.

At the Wyden Congress held on August 22, 1880, Hasselmann was expelled from the party and, correspondingly, from the Parliamentary group. At the supplementary elections the deputy mandate from Hamburg was received by Georg Wilhelm Hartmann. p. 396

445 The *Boards of Guardians*—local government bodies in England elected to administer the Poor Laws in parishes or districts. p. 396

446 In his letter John Noble quotes Richard Cobden's speeches in the House of Commons made on February 24, 1842 (see *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates.* Third series, Vol. 60, London, 1842, p. 1045) and February 27, 1846 (ibid., Vol. 84, London, 1846, pp. 285-86), as well as the address of the Anti-Corn Law League adopted by it at the Manchester meeting on August 20, 1842 and printed by *The Times*, No. 18069, August 23, 1842. p. 400

447 Engels was living in Manchester from December 1842 to late August 1844, where he studied commerce at the cotton mill belonging to the Ermen & Engels firm. p. 400

448 Engels describes his participation in the meeting of the Anti-Corn Law League in Salford in 1843 in his "Letters from London (I)" (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 381-82).

On the People's Charter, see Note 427. p. 402

449 In 1879, as a result of the merger of the Flemish and the Brabant socialist parties, the Belgian Socialist Party (Parti socialiste belge) was formed.

In 1881, the Social-Democratic groups in the Netherlands formed the Social-Democratic Union (Sociaal-Demokraatische Bond).

In the same year, the politically advanced and class-conscious workers and revolutionary intellectuals formed the Revolutionary-Socialist Party of Romagna (Partito Rivoluzionario di Romagna), which was the first step in the work to found an Italian workers' party. p. 405

450 See Note 285. p. 405

451 The reference is to the second electoral reform in England introduced in 1867 (see Note 428). Under the new law, the property qualification in the counties

was reduced to £12 of annual rent for tenant farmers; in the cities and towns suffrage was granted to all householders and lessees of houses, as well as to tenants residing in the locality for at least a year, and paying no less than £10 in rent. p. 405

452 *St. Stephen's*—the chapel where the House of Commons held its sessions from 1547 and until the fire of 1834. p. 405

453 The *Irish Land Bill* was passed on August 22, 1881 (see Note 426). p. 405

454 See Note 427. p. 406

455 See Note 289. p. 407

456 The introduction of the Land Bill (see Note 426) met with resistance on the part of the Irish tenants. Using the *Coercion Act* passed in March 1881, Chief Secretary for Ireland Forster applied extraordinary measures by sending troops to Ireland to evict the tenants who refused to pay the rent. p. 407

457 The reference is to the elections to the Reichstag of January 10, 1877 and July 30, 1878. p. 408

458 See Note 268. p. 408

459 *Coercion Bills* were passed by the British Parliament several times throughout the 19th century with a view to suppressing the revolutionary and national liberation movement in Ireland. Under them a state of siege was declared on Irish territory, and the English authorities were granted extraordinary powers. p. 408

460 On April 27, 1880 Georg Wilhelm Hartmann won the mandate at the supplementary elections to the Reichstag in the second district of Hamburg (see Note 444). p. 408

461 A minor state of siege was declared in Leipzig on June 27, 1881. Earlier, it had been introduced in Berlin (see Note 418) and on October 28, 1880, in Hamburg-Altona and the environs. p. 408

462 Using the Coercion Act,in May-October 1881 the English authorities arrested prominent Irish deputies, members of the Irish National Land League (see Note 463) headed by Charles Parnell, who opposed the introduction of the Land Bill of 1881 (see Note 426). Among the prisoners was John Dillon, an Irish political leader, member of the British Parliament, one of the League's leaders. p. 408

463 The *Irish National Land League*—a mass organisation founded in 1879 by the petty-bourgeois democrat Michael Davitt. The League united large sections of the Irish peasantry and the urban poor, and was supported by the progressive section of the Irish bourgeoisie. Its agrarian demands mirrored the spontaneous protest of the Irish masses against the landlords' and national oppression. However, some of the League's leaders adopted an inconsistent stand, and this was used by bourgeois nationalists (Parnell and others), who sought to reduce the activity of the League to the campaign for Home Rule, i.e. for the granting to Ireland of limited self-government within the framework of the British Empire. They did not advocate the abolition of English landlordism, a demand advanced by the revolutionary democrats. In 1881 the Land League was banned, but in actual fact it continued its activity until the late 1880s. p. 409

464 On July 20, 1881 Norris A. Clowes, the *New-York Star* correspondent, asked Engels to write a review of the British labour movement. Being pressed for

time, Engels referred him to his articles which *The Labour Standard* was at the time publishing as editorials (see this volume, pp. 376-409, 411-18). In response to Clowes' stated wish to enter into communication with Most, Engels advised him to write to the *Freiheit* editorial board. In this letter to the *Freiheit*, which is printed according to the manuscript, Engels informs the editorial board about this. The letter is written in German and English.

This letter was first published in the original in $MEGA_2$, Abt. I, Bd. 25, Berlin, 1985, S. 274. p. 410

465 Norris A. Clowes was recommended to Engels by Theodor Friedrich Cuno, a prominent figure in the German workers' movement, in a letter of July 10, 1881. After the Hague Congress of the First International (1872), Cuno emigrated to the USA and took part in the work of the International there. p. 410

466 An allusion to the fact that at the time Most was kept under arrest (see Note 419). p. 410

467 This refers to the activities of the Anti-Corn Law League (see Note 440). p. 411

468 In 1873-78, England entered the period of "great depression", a profound industrial crisis aggravated by the agrarian crisis, which lasted until the mid-1890s. The year 1874 witnessed a drop in the production of coal and iron ore. In 1875, the output of the cotton industry also decreased. p. 411

469 See Note 422. p. 412

470 The *system of internal excise*—one of the main types of indirect taxes, mostly on everyday essentials (salt, sugar, coffee, matches, etc.), as well as municipal, transport and other widely used services. It is included in the price of goods or service tariff, and is thus shifted onto the consumer. Excise duty is an important source of revenue for the state budget in the capitalist countries.

In the USA each state has its own excise system, covering cigarettes, alcohol and petrol. The first excise on whisky was introduced in the USA on March 3, 1791. p. 414

471 See Note 432. p. 414

472 This refers to the movement for Parliamentary reform in England in 1830-31. The 1832 Reform Act in England granted the franchise to property owners and leaseholders with no less than £10 annual income. The workers and the petty bourgeoisie, who were the main force in the campaign for the reform, remained unenfranchised. p. 416

473 The laws passed by the British Parliament on June 26, 1846—"An Act to amend the laws relating to the importation of corn" and "An Act to alter certain duties of customs"—abolished all restrictions on the import of grain into Great Britain, which was a major victory for the industrial bourgeoisie over the landed aristocracy (see also notes 439 and 440). p. 416

474 Engels wrote this draft in English. Its translation into French was printed in *L'Égalité*, No. 1, December 11, 1881 in the section "Angleterre". The author was named in the editorial preface.

In 1890-91, Paul Lafargue quoted Engels' speech in his article "K. Marx. Persönliche Erinnerungen" (*Die Neue Zeit*, Jg. 9, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, S. 41-42). In 1892, it was translated into Bulgarian from the text in *Die Neue Zeit* and

printed in the magazine *Den*, No. 3/4, Shumen, July-August 1892, pp. 233-34. p. 419

475 On January 19, 1843 the Prussian government decided to suppress as of April 1, 1843, the publication of the *Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*, which had been appearing in Cologne since January 1, 1842 and which, under the editorship of Marx (from October 1842), had acquired a revolutionary-democratic trend. Marx's resignation from the editorship on March 18, 1843 did not cause the government to rescind its decision, and the last issue appeared on March 31, 1843. p. 419

476 At the elections to the German Reichstag of October 27, 1881 the Social-Democrats received 312,000 votes and 12 mandates. p. 420

477 Engels wrote this obituary "Jenny Marx, Née von Westphalen" for *Der Sozialdemokrat*. It is based on the draft of his speech over Jenny's grave (see this volume, pp. 419-21).

The obituary was printed in issue No. 50 on December 8, 1881. That was Engels' first contribution to *Der Sozialdemokrat*.

On December 18, 1881 the obituary was reprinted by the *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik* (No. 51, Budapest). p. 422

478 See Note 475. p. 422

479 See Note 476. p. 423

480 Marx and Engels wrote this Preface on January 21, 1882 at the request of Pyotr Lavrov, who was in close contact with them. On January 23, the text was sent to Lavrov (see Marx's letter to Pyotr Lavrov of January 23, 1882, present edition, Vol. 46). It was first published, in Russian, in the magazine *Narodnaya Volya* of February 5, 1882. The separate edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (in Plekhanov's translation) with this preface appeared in Geneva in 1882 in the Russian Social-Revolutionary Library series.

In German, the Preface was first published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 16, April 13, 1882 (translated from the Russian text in the *Narodnaya Volya* magazine; see Engels' letter to Eduard Bernstein of April 17, 1882, present edition, Vol. 46). In 1890 Engels retranslated this preface from Russian into German for the new German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. It was this translation by Engels that served as the basis when the Preface was translated into Bulgarian, Polish, Romanian, Dutch, Italian and Czech.

Later, the lost German manuscript of the Preface was found; its facsimile was printed in the Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* that appeared in 1948.

The Preface appeared in English for the first time in: K. Marx, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. 1, International Publishers, New York, 1936, pp. 135-37. p. 425

481 The first Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (the translation is ascribed to Mikhail Bakunin or Nikolai Lyubavin) was printed at Chernetsky's printing office in Geneva in 1869, where Herzen's *Kolokol* (The Bell) was printed at that time. The translation contained a number of errors which distorted, at places, the meaning of the *Manifesto*. p. 425

482 After the assassination of Alexander II on March 1, 1881 (see Note 417), Alexander III was staying in Gatchina (the Russian tsars' country residence), fearing that new terrorist acts would be staged by the Executive Committee of the People's Will. p. 426

483 Engels wrote this article in the second half of April 1882 for *Der Sozialdemokrat*. He regarded it as his first official contribution to the newspaper as a staff member (see Engels' letter to August Bebel, June 21, 1882, present edition, Vol. 46).

The ideas he set forth in the article were further developed in his later works, "The Book of Revelation" (1883) (present edition, Vol. 26), and "On the History of Early Christianity" (1894) (present edition, Vol. 27).

This work appeared in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *On Religion*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, pp. 173-82. p. 427

484 *Aryans*—members of any of the prehistoric peoples who spoke Indo-Iranian. p. 427

485 Under the Christian tradition, the name of the Roman Emperor Flavius Valerius Constantinus Magnus, who in 330 transferred the capital of the empire from Rome to Constantinople, is associated with the radical turn from persecution of Christianity to the protection of the new religion, although this process had begun under his predecessors. p. 428

486 *Stoic philosophy* (3rd cent. B.C.-A.D. 2nd cent.) emerged in Greece; here the reference is to the late stoic philosophy (A.D. 1st-2nd cent.), which produced Seneca, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius. The stoic doctrine made a strong impact on the formation of Christianity. p. 429

487 Engels is referring to a character in Heine's satirical poem *Der Apollogott* (from *Romanzero*), a young blade, cantor at the Amsterdam synagogue, who imitated Apollo. p. 429

488 The *Epicurean school* of materialist philosophy was founded by Epicurus in the late 4th century B.C. and existed until the mid-4th century A.D. In their philosophical struggle against the Stoics, its members refused to recognise the gods' interference into mundane affairs and proceeded from the assumption that matter, which has an inner source of motion, is eternal. p. 430

489 Engels is referring to the slave uprising of 73-71 B.C. in Rome (according to some historians, 74-71 B.C.) led by Spartacus. p. 432

490 An ironical allusion to Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life.* p. 435

491 This work was written by Engels in late August-early September 1882. He had promised it to *Der Sozialdemokrat* on August 9 (see Engels' letter to Eduard Bernstein of August 9, 1882, present edition, Vol. 46). It was printed in issue No. 37, with Engels' signature, on September 7 under the title "Der Vikar von Bray. Aus dem Englischen von Friedrich Engels". Two drafts of the translation of the song are extant.

The text of the song with a footnote quoting several lines from Engels' conclusion in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, was also reprinted by the *Vorwärts*, Zurich, 1886, pp. 369-71.

Here is Engels' translation of the English song:

Zu König Karls Zeit, da noch war
Loyalität zu finden,
Dient' ich der Hochkirch ganz und gar,
Und so erwarb ich Pfründen.
Der König ist von Gott gesetzt—
So lehrt' ich meine Schafe—

Und wer ihm trotzt, ihn gar verletzt,
Den trifft die Höllenstrafe.
  Denn dieses gilt, und hat Bestand,
  Bis an mein End' soll's wahr sein:
  Daß wer auch König sei im Land,
  In Bray will *ich* Vikar sein.

Jakob nahm auf dem Throne Platz,
Das Papsttum kam zu Ehren:
Da galt's, die Katholikenhatz
Ins Gegenteil zu kehren.
Für mich auch, fand ich, paßten schon
Roms Kirch' und Priesterorden;
Kam nicht die Revolution,
Wär' ich Jesuit geworden.
  Denn dieses gilt und hat Bestand,
  Bis an mein End' soll's wahr sein:
  Daß wer auch König sei im Land,
  In Bray will *ich* Vikar sein.

Als König Wilhelm kam, der Held,
Und rettete die Freiheit,
Hab' ich mein Segel umgestellt
Nach dieses Windes Neuheit.
Der Knechtsgehorsam vor'ger Zeit,
Der war jetzt bald erledigt:
Der Tyrannei gebt Widerstreit!
So wurde nun gepredigt.
  Denn dieses gilt und hat Bestand,
  Bis an mein End' soll's wahr sein:
  Daß wer auch König sei im Land,
  In Bray will *ich* Vikar sein.

Als Anna wurde Königin,
Der Landeskirche Glorie,
Das hatte einen andern Sinn,
Und da ward ich ein Tory.
Für unsrer Kirch' Integrität,
Da galt es jetzt zu eifern,
Und Mäßigung und Laxität
Als sündhaft zu begeifern.
  Denn dieses gilt und hat Bestand,
  Bis an mein End' soll's wahr sein:
  Daß wer auch König sei im Land,
  In Bray will *ich* Vikar sein.

Als König Georg bracht' ins Land
Gemäßigte Politik, mein Herr,
Hab' nochmals ich den Rock gewandt,
Und so ward ich ein Whig, mein Herr.
Das war es, was mir Pfründen gab
Und Gunst bei dem Regenten;
Auch schwor ich fast alltäglich ab,
So Papst wie Prätendenten.

Denn dieses gilt und hat Bestand,
Bis an mein End' soll's wahr sein:
Daß wer auch König sei im Land,
In Bray will *ich* Vikar sein.

Hannovers hoher Dynastie—
Mit Ausschluß von Papisten—
Der schwör' ich Treu, so lange sie
Sich an dem Thron kann fristen.
Denn meine Treu wankt nimmermehr—
Veränd'rung ausgenommen—
Und Georg sei mein Fürst und Herr,
Bis andre Zeiten kommen.
Denn dieses gilt und hat Bestand,
Bis an mein End' soll's wahr sein:
Daß wer auch König sei im Land,
In Bray will *ich* Vikar sein.

The work was published in English in part for the first time in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *On Literature and Art,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, pp. 429-31. p. 436

492 See Note 337. p. 438

493 See Note 27. p. 438

494 In 1077, the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV travelled to Canossa (a castle in Northern Italy) to beg forgiveness of Pope Gregory VII, with whom he had engaged in political struggle. Since that time, the phrase "to go to Canossa" has come to mean a humiliating capitulation.

On May 14, 1872, at the time of the *Kulturkampf* (see Note 27), Bismarck declared in the Reichstag: "We shall not go to Canossa" (see *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstages,* Vol. 1, Berlin, 1872, p. 356), thus emphasising his determination to fight to the last against the Catholic clergy. However, in the late 1870s-early 1880s, in order to bring together all reactionary forces, he reconciled with the Catholic clergy and repealed nearly all the laws passed during the *Kulturkampf* period. p. 438

495 Engels wrote *The Mark* in mid-September-the first half of December 1882 as an appendix to the German edition of the pamphlet *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (see Note 343). The piece was highly appreciated by Marx, who read the manuscript (see Marx' letter to Engels, December 18, 1882, present edition, Vol. 46). In it Engels made use of some of the materials he had collected when researching the history of ancient Germans (see present edition, Vol. 26). In 1883 this essay was reprinted by *Der Sozialdemokrat,* Nos. 12-17 on March 15-April 19, and also published separately and entitled *Der deutsche Bauer. Was war er? Was ist er? Was könnte er sein?* (see Note 510). Together with *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific,* it was published in German four times in Engels' lifetime. The German edition was used when translating it into Danish, Dutch and Polish.

In 1892 *The Mark* appeared in English, also as an appendix to *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, in Edward Aveling's translation with Engels' special introduction. Engels wrote in this introduction: "The Appendix, 'The Mark', was written with the intention of spreading among the German Socialist Party some elementary knowledge of the history and development of landed

property in Germany. This seemed all the more necessary at a time when the assimilation by that party of the working people of the towns was in a fair way of completion, and when the agricultural labourers and peasants had to be taken in hand" (see present edition, Vol. 27).

In the present edition, the text is printed according to the authorised English edition of 1892 checked against the fourth German edition of 1891, which Engels read himself. The principal discrepancies are pointed out in footnotes. p. 439

496 The works of Georg Ludwig Maurer (12 volumes), united by a common theme, are studies of the agrarian, urban and state systems of medieval Germany. They are: *Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark-, Hof-, Dorf- und Stadt-Verfassung und der öffentlichen Gewalt,* Munich, 1854; *Geschichte der Markenverfassung in Deutschland,* Erlangen, 1856; *Geschichte der Fronhöfe, der Bauernhöfe und der Hofverfassung in Deutschland,* Vols. I-IV, Erlangen, 1862-63; *Geschichte der Dorfverfassung in Deutschland,* Vols. I-II, Erlangen, 1865-66; *Geschichte der Städteverfassung in Deutschland,* Vols. I-IV, Erlangen, 1869-71. The first, second and fourth works specially deal with the structure of the German mark. p. 441

497 The *Emperor's Law* (Kaiserrecht)—the law promulgated by the central authority of the medieval German Empire (see Note 94). Engels used the edition *Das Keyserrecht nach der Handschrift von 1372 in Vergleichung mit andern Handschriften und mit erläuternden Anmerkungen herausgegeben von Dr. H. E. Endemann,* Cassel, 1846. The data cited here by Engels can be found in the section "Von Rechte das die Waelde hant" (p. 244). p. 443

498 Hereinafter when describing the farmstead communes Engels uses Hanssen's *Die Gehöferschaften (Arbgenossenschaften) im Regierungsbezirk Trier.* Aus den Abhandlungen der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1863. Berlin, 1863, p. 19, and Maurer's *Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark-, Hof-, Dorf-, und Stadt-Verfassung und der öffentlichen Gewalt,* Munich, 1854, p. 74. p. 444

499 The *Leges barbarorum* (laws of the barbarians)—codes of law which originated between the 5th and the 9th centuries and were, in the main, a written record of the customary or prescriptive law of the various Germanic tribes. p. 444

500 The *Ripuarian Law*—the common law of the Ripuarian Franks, one of the Germanic tribes, recorded in *Lex Ripuaria* which was written between the 6th and the 8th centuries. *Lex Ripuaria* is the principal source for the study of the social system of the Ripuarian Franks and the process of their feudalisation. Private ownership of the arable land is dealt with in § 82 (scroll A) and § 84 (scroll B) of *Lex Ripuaria.* See one of the most complete publications: *Lex Ripuaria et lex Francorum Chamavorum,* ed. by R. Sohm, Hanover, 1883, p. 104. p. 445

501 *Weistümer*—a record of the common law of the marks in mediaeval Germany, Switzerland and Austria, as well as in some of the adjacent districts of Bohemia, France and other countries, dating back, in the main, to the 13th-18th centuries. The *Weistümer* mirror the economic life, the social struggle, legal relations and the daily life of the peasantry of that period. p. 446

502 Engels is referring to the law on forest thefts ("Gesetz, betreffend den Forstdiebstahl") passed on April 15, 1878, which prohibited, among other

things, the gathering of herbs, berries and mushrooms without special police permission. p. 447

503 The *Schöffen courts* were introduced in a number of German states after the 1848 revolution, and throughout Germany in 1871. At the time they consisted of a Crown judge and two jurors (Schöffen) who, as distinct from ordinary jurymen, not only gave their verdict of guilty or not guilty but also fixed the penalty; their members were specially selected from among the ruling classes. p. 448

504 The *Merovingian dynasty*—the first royal dynasty in the Frankish state (457-751), which derived its name from the legendary forefather Merovaeus. The Merovingians' policy promoted the emergence of feudal relations among the Franks. p. 450

505 The *Western Frankish Kingdom* was formed as a result of the disintegration of Charlemagne's empire, which was a short-lived and unstable military and administrative union. In 843, under the treaty of Verdun, the empire was divided among Charlemagne's three grandsons, children of Louis the Pious. One of them, Charles the Bald, received the Western part of the empire, which included the bulk of the territory of modern France and formed the Western Frankish Kingdom. The lands to the east of the Rhine (the core of future Germany) were given to Louis the German, and the strip lying in between, from the North Sea to Central Italy, became the realm of Charlemagne's eldest grandson, Lothar. p. 450

506 The *crusades* were military colonialist expeditions by the big West European feudal lords and Italian trading cities under the religious banner of recovering Jerusalem and other "Holy Lands" from the Mohammedans. Peasants also took part in the crusades, hoping thus to be freed from feudal oppression. History knows eight major crusades (1096-99, 1147-49, 1189-92, 1202-04, 1217-21, 1228-29, 1248-54 and 1270). Not only Mohammedan states in Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Tunisia but also the Christian Byzantine Empire were the objects of the crusaders' aggressive activities. The crusaders' conquests in the Eastern Mediterranean were not lasting, and were recovered by the Mohammedans. p. 451

507 The *Thirty Years' War* (1618-48)—a European war in which the Pope, the Spanish and the Austrian Habsburgs and the Catholic German princes, rallied under the banner of Catholicism, fought against the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands and a number of Protestant German states. The rulers of Catholic France, rivals of the Habsburgs, supported the Protestant camp. Germany was the principal battle area and the main object of plunder and territorial claims. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) sealed the political dismemberment of Germany. p. 453

508 *Code civil*—Napoleon's civil code issued in 1804, which he introduced in the conquered regions of Western and South-Western Germany. It remained in force in the Rhine Province after its incorporation into Prussia in 1815. p. 454

509 See Note 69. p. 454

510 The text that follows is Engels' addition to the separate edition of *The Mark* published in 1883 under the title *Der deutsche Bauer. Was war er? Was ist er? Was könnte er sein?* (see Note 495). This fragment was published in English for the

first time in: Marx, Engels, *Pre-Capitalist Socio-Economic Formations,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, p. 293. p. 456

511 Engels wrote this Preface for the first German edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (see Note 343). The first two paragraphs of the Preface were published in the article "Eine neue Propagandabroschüre" printed in *Der Sozialdemokrat,* No. 9, February 22, 1883, and the first full version appeared in: F. Engels, *Die Entwicklung des Socialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft,* Hottingen-Zurich, 1882, pp. 3-5 (the book came off the press in March 1883). It was used as the basis for four subsequent German editions (two in 1883, and in 1891 and 1894), two Dutch editions (1884 and 1885), and the Polish edition (1892).

The Preface was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works.* In two volumes, Vol. 1, International Publishers, New York, 1936, pp. 135-37). p. 457

512 The German edition of the book was prepared by Engels at the request of the *Sozialdemokrat* editorial board contained in Eduard Bernstein's letter to Engels of July 13, 1882 (see Engels' letter to Bernstein, August 9, 1882, present edition, Vol. 46). p. 457

513 Engels wrote this obituary on January 13, 1883 for *Der Sozialdemokrat.* It appeared there on January 18 with a short editorial introduction. On January 28, the *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik* reprinted the first two and the last paragraphs of the obituary.

The obituary was published in English for the first time in the collection: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 323-24. p. 460

514 Charles Longuet and Jenny Marx were married on October 10, 1872. p. 460

515 See Note 277. p. 460

516 One of the demagogic slogans of the Liberals that brought them victory at the elections was Gladstone's promise to solve the Irish question. In the summer and autumn of 1869, Ireland was the scene of a widespread campaign for an amnesty of the imprisoned Fenians. The numerous meetings (in Limerick and other cities) sent petitions to the British government demanding the release of the Irish revolutionaries. Gladstone, then head of the British government, stated his refusal to comply with these demands in his letters of October 18 and 23, 1869 to the prominent participants in the amnesty movement Henry O'Shea and Isaac Butt (see *The Times,* Nos. 26579 and 26583, October 23 and 27, 1869; for Marx's analysis of Gladstone's refusal, see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 407-10). p. 460

517 *New Caledonia*—a group of islands in the South-Western part of the Pacific with an extremely unhealthy climate, to which the Paris Communards were exiled. p. 461

518 The words "at Argenteuil, France" were arbitrarily inserted by the editors of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (in actual fact, Marx died in London). This fact, as well as the editors' unauthorised use of Engels' telegram to Sorge of March 14, caused Engels' sharp protest which he expressed in his letter to the editors of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (see this volume, p. 472). p. 462

519 Engels wrote the "Draft of a Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx" in English.

The first publication was in the French newspaper *La Justice,* No. 27,

March 20, 1883, in Engels' translation. The text was preceded by a short account of the funeral meeting at Marx's graveside which was probably written by Charles Longuet, the widower of Marx's eldest daughter, who was present at the funeral (in 1880, he had become a member of the *Justice* editorial board).

The French text printed by *La Justice* was used for the Italian translation in *La Plebe,* No. 4, April 1883, p. 41.

The draft was published in English for the first time in: *Karl Marx, Man, Thinker and Revolutionist,* Lawrence, London, 1927, pp. 43-46. p. 463

520 Engels wrote this article at the request of Eduard Bernstein for *Der Sozialdemokrat* on about March 18, 1883, immediately after Marx's funeral. He also included in it condolences from various persons and organisations, as well as Liebknecht's speech at the funeral.

The publication in *Der Sozialdemokrat* was reprinted in part (the letter and the telegrams from Paris were omitted) in the Hungarian *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik,* No. 13, April 1, 1883, and in full in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung,* No. 82, April 5, 1883.

An incomplete publication of this obituary appeared as a supplement to Marx's biography printed by the New York *Pionier. Illustrirter Volks-Kalender für 1891,* pp. 44-45.

The article was published in English for the first time in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow [1956], pp. 348-53. p. 467

521 See Note 123. p. 467

522 The *Spanish Socialist Workers' Party* (Partido Socialista Obrero de España) was founded on May 2, 1879 in Madrid by a group of former members of the Spanish Federation of the First International. Among its founders were José Mesa and Pablo Iglesias and other prominent activists of the Spanish workers' movement. The first workers' party in Spain, the Socialist Party launched an organised struggle of the Spanish proletariat for social emancipation. Up to 1881 it was illegal. In 1888, it held its first congress in Barcelona. p. 470

523 The *Cologne Communist Trial* (October 4-November 12, 1852) was organised and stage-managed by the Prussian government. The defendants were members of the Communist League arrested in the spring of 1851 on charges of "treasonable plotting". The forged documents and false evidence presented by the police authorities were not only designed to secure the conviction of the defendants but also to compromise their London comrades and the proletarian organisation as a whole. The dishonest tactics resorted to by the Prussian police state in fighting the international working-class movement were exposed by Engels in his article "The Late Trial in Cologne" and, in greater detail, by Marx in his pamphlets *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11) and *Herr Vogt* (Vol. 17, pp. 64-67). p. 471

524 See Note 220. p. 471

525 The *Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge*—the oldest scientific society in Great Britain founded in 1660 and formalised by Royal Charter in 1662. p. 471

526 This article was written by Engels at the request of the editors of *Der Sozialdemokrat.* It appeared there in Nos. 19 and 21 on May 3 and 17, 1883.

Part I of the article was reprinted by the *New Yorker Volkszeitung,* No. 120,

May 19, 1883; Part II (minus the first three paragraphs) appeared in the Hungarian *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik,* No. 22, June 3, 1883.

The letter to Philipp van Patten was translated from *Der Sozialdemokrat* into Polish (published in *Przedświt,* No. 18, Geneva, May 31, 1883) and into English (*Bulletin of the Social Labor Movement,* New York, June 1883).

An excerpt from Part I of the article was published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *The Socialist Revolution,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1981, pp. 262-63). p. 473

527 The *Agricultural and Forestry Academy* was founded in Petrovsko-Razumovskoye near Moscow in 1865. At present it is the Moscow Timiryazev Agricultural Academy. p. 473

528 The *St. Petersburg Practical Technological Institute of Emperor Nicholas I* was founded in 1828. p. 473

529 This announcement was printed by *Der Sozialdemokrat,* No. 17, April 19, 1883. The students from Odessa asked to write the following words on the wreath: "To Karl Marx, the author of *Capital* and founder of the International Working Men's Association, from a group of socialists of the Odessa University, his disciples and youth." p. 473

530 See Note 123. p. 474

531 Engels is referring to *Slavia,* the students' association which embraced young people from Slavic countries living in Zurich. p. 474

532 Marx was in Karlsbad from August 19 to September 21, 1874, from August 15 to September 11, 1875, and from August 15 to September 15, 1876. p. 474

533 The *Central Labor Union in New York*—an association of trade unions of New York set up in 1882 which in the 1880s was a mass workers' organisation embracing white and coloured people, both of American and foreign extraction. The Central Labor Union was headed by socialists who recognised the need for both professional and political organisation of the workers for the purpose of more efficiently guiding the working-class struggle. p. 477

534 Engels' letter to Philipp van Patten of April 18, 1883 was written in English (see present edition, Vol. 47). In this volume, it is reproduced from the original checked against the German translation by Engels published in *Der Sozialdemokrat.* The discrepancies are indicated in the footnotes. p. 477

535 Engels is referring to the exposition of their views in *The German Ideology* (written in 1845-46) (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 53, 380-81). p. 477

536 The defeat of the Paris Commune was followed by counter-revolutionary terror and the massacre of the revolutionary French proletariat. Over 30,000 Communards (according to other data, 40,000) were tortured and shot by Versailles troops without trial. The overall number of the executed, the exiled and the imprisoned reached 70,000, and, counting those who had fled because of reprisals, 100,000. p. 478

537 A. Loria, *La rendita fondiaria e la sua elisione naturale,* Milan, Naples, Pisa, 1880.

The copy of this book sent to Marx had a dedicatory inscription: "To the most penetrating, most brilliant and most knowledgeable writer on political economy. The author. Mantua. 1879". Loria's letter was dated November 23, 1879. p. 479

538 See Note 231. p. 479

539 Bakunin's *Statehood and Anarchy* appeared anonymously in Geneva in 1873 and was received by the Bakuninists as a programme document. Marx's work on this book was closely associated with the ideological and political struggle waged by Marx and Engels and their followers against anarchism, a struggle which went on even after the Bakuninists' defeat at the Hague Congress and the expulsion of the leaders of the Alliance from the International (see notes 30 and 38).

Marx's *Notes on Bakunin's Book* form an original critical and polemical work combining the analysis of the ideas of Bakunin, the ideologist of anarchism and, at that time, the principal opponent of Marxism, and profound criticism of anarchist doctrines with the development of the basic propositions of scientific communism on the state, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the alliance of the working class with the peasantry.

This work is part of a thick notebook of Marx's manuscripts, entitled *Russica II, 1875,* which contains synopses of works by Russian authors. The manuscript of the *Notes* amounts to 24 large-size sheets. Marx wrote direct quotations from Bakunin's book in Russian or in German translation, or gave brief rendering in German of separate passages. Marx's own text consists of laconic comments and lengthier insertions.

In the present volume all passages from Bakunin's text are in small type; the words and passages translated from the Russian are placed in «  », and those from the German are in "  ". Wherever Marx finds one or several equivalents to the Russian word in German or other languages these have been translated into English. Marx's own remarks are in long primer. The italics in the quotations are Marx's unless otherwise stated in the footnotes. p. 485

540 Bakunin is referring to the representatives of the bourgeoisie who "came heartily to hate the present order, the political, economic and social order, who had turned their backs on the class that had produced them and had given themselves completely to the people's cause" (pp. 6-7). p. 487

541 The reference is to the suppression of the revolutions in the Kingdom of Naples (1820-21) and Spain (1820-23) by decision of the congresses of the Holy Alliance (see Note 145), which sent Austrian troops to Italy (Troppau and Laibach congresses, 1820-21), and French troops to Spain (Verona congress, 1822). p. 488

542 See Note 16. p. 488

543 The reference is to the Polish uprisings of 1830 and 1863 (see notes 389 and 14). p. 488

544 The first partition of Poland (1772) was initiated by Frederick II of Prussia. Catherine II agreed to it because of Russia's difficult position owing to the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-74 and Austria's threat to enter the war on the side of Turkey (see also Note 9). p. 488

545 The reference is to Prussia's victories in the Austro-Prussian (1866) and the Franco-Prussian (1870-71) wars. p. 488

546 The Geneva Congress of the International Working Men's Association was held on September 3-8, 1866. p. 491

547 At the shooting festival (Schützenfest) in Vienna in August 1868, during the

discussion of Germany's unification, the South-German democrats, members of the People's Party (see Note 99), opposed Prussian hegemony in Germany. They advocated the plan for a "Great Germany" that would incorporate all German states, including Austria. p. 492

548 Wilhelm Liebknecht did not want to break organisationally with the petty-bourgeois People's Party (see Note 99) which he and Bebel had helped found in 1866, but he opposed participation of class-conscious workers in democratic organisations. On the other hand, he suggested that the democrats should join the workers' party. Marx and Engels always disapproved of Liebknecht's inconsistent and conciliatory policy (see, for instance, Marx's letter to Kugelmann of June 24, 1868, and Engels' letter to Kugelmann of July 10, 1869, present edition, Vol. 43). p. 492

549 The reference is to the Fifth Nuremberg Congress of the Union of German Workers' Associations led by August Bebel which was held on September 5-7, 1868. The congress signified the break of the Union's majority from the liberal bourgeoisie and its firm adherence to class proletarian stand. By 69 votes against 44 the delegates accepted the International's platform, which was put concisely in the new programme of the Union proposed to the congress. This programme declared the abolition of the capitalist system to be the goal, and the proletarian class struggle the means of attaining it. The congress stated that the workers would be able to emancipate themselves only by seizing political power and acting "jointly with the workers of all countries". p. 492

550 The reference is to the French National Assembly, the elections to which were held on February 8, 1871. The majority of the deputies were monarchists. After the uprising of March 18, 1871, the Assembly fled to Versailles, from where it fought against the Commune. p. 492

551 The *Vendôme Column* was erected in Paris between 1806 and 1810 as a tribute to the military victories of Napoleon I. On May 16, 1871, by the order of the Paris Commune, the Vendôme Column was destroyed as a symbol of militarism. p. 492

552 In the spring of 1873 the last units of the Prussian occupation troops were withdrawn from French territory. They were stationed there under the terms of the Frankfurt Peace of 1871, which concluded the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. p. 493

553 Marx is referring to the activities of the *Comité de propagande révolutionnaire socialiste de la France méridionale*. It was founded by the former Paris Commune refugees living in Barcelona Charles Alerini and Paul Brousse and the member of the International's Lyons section Camille Camet in the spring of 1873 for spreading anarchist ideas in France and among the Commune refugees. p. 493

554 The reference is to Alsace and the north-eastern part of Lorraine captured by Germany in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, to Russia's refusal to observe the article of the Paris Treaty of 1856 (see Note 578) which forbade it to maintain its navy in the Black Sea, and to the campaign undertaken by the Russian government in the spring of 1873 against the Khiva Khanate. p. 493

555 The reference is to the Spanish Revolution of 1808-14 (see K. Marx, "Revolutionary Spain", present edition, Vol. 13). p. 494

556 In 1809 Tirol was the scene of a popular uprising, headed by Andreas Hofer, against the Franco-Bavarian occupation. The uprising was a failure. p. 494

557 See Note 62. p. 494

558 The *Carlists*—a reactionary clerical-absolutist group in Spain consisting of adherents of the pretender to the Spanish throne Don Carlos, the brother of Ferdinand VII. Relying on the military and the Catholic clergy, and making use of the support of the backward peasants in some regions of Spain, the Carlists launched a civil war in 1833, which in fact turned into a struggle between the feudal-Catholic and liberal-bourgeois elements and led to the third bourgeois revolution (1834-43). After Don Carlos' death in 1855 the Carlists supported his grandson Don Carlos Jr. In 1872, in the situation of political crisis and sharper class conflicts, the Carlists stepped up their activity, which took on the scope of a new civil war that ended only in 1876. p. 494

559 *Fueros* here means the charters which, in medieval Spain, established the rights, privileges and duties of townspeople and members of village communities in matters of local government, jurisdiction, taxation, military service, etc. p. 494

560 A reference to the activity of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Note 30) during the fifth bourgeois revolution in Spain (see Note 62). p. 494

561 The programme of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy was drawn up by Bakunin and published as a leaflet in Geneva in 1868 in French and German. It proclaimed atheism, equality of classes and the abolition of the state, and rejected the need for political action on the part of the working class (for Marx's remarks and criticism of this programme, see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 207-11). p. 495

562 According to the Austro-Hungarian compromise of 1867 the Habsburg Empire was transformed into a dual constitutional monarchy, Austria-Hungary. The Czech territories were incorporated into Cisleithania—part of the empire with Austria as its centre, and Slovakia, into Transleithania with Hungary as its centre. p. 495

563 The *Great Moravian Kingdom* (the Great Moravian Principality) was the early-feudal state of the Western Slavs in the 9th-early 10th centuries. At the time of its flourishing, it embraced the territories of Moravia, Slovakia, Bohemia, Lužica, Pannonia, and probably Małopolska and part of the Slovenian lands. p. 497

564 An ironical allusion to the following passage from Bakunin's book: "Against these people-suppressing trends ... an entirely new trend has finally developed leading directly to the abolition of all exploitation and all political or legal, as well as governmental-administrative oppression, i.e. to the abolition of all classes by means of making all estates economically equal, and to the abolition of their last stronghold, the State" (p. 74). p. 499

565 Bakunin is referring to Article 7a, "On the Political Action of the Working Class", which was included into the "General Rules of the International Working Men's Association" by the majority vote at the Hague Congress (see Note 38). p. 500

566 *St. Wenceslas's crown*—a symbol of the Czech people's historical right to state independence. In the 1860s-early 1870s, the campaign of the Czechs for state

sovereignty and national equality proceeded under the banner of the restoration of the rights of St. Wenceslas's crown. p. 500

567 Under the direct influence of anarchists, Serbian and Bulgarian students in Zurich organised a small group, Slavenski Savez, within the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Note 30). After several attempts in the spring of 1872 to constitute itself as a section of the International and the General Council's refusal to recognise it, the group affiliated to the Jura Federation (see Note 298) in June-July 1872. The group's programme was drawn up by Bakunin and published as "Supplement 'B'" to his *Statehood and Anarchy*. The Slavenski Savez ceased to exist in the summer of 1873. p. 501

568 *Slavophiles* (A. Khomyakov, the brothers Aksakov, I. Kireevsky, Yu. Samarin and others)—representatives of a trend in the 19th-century Russian social and philosophical thought. In the late 1830s-1850s they advanced a theory of Russia's unique path of historical development which, in their opinion, differed from that of Western Europe. Among the characteristic features of their theory were monarchism, a negative attitude to revolution and a leaning towards religious-philosophical conceptions. The Slavophiles met mostly at the literary salons of Moscow. p. 502

569 The reference is to the liberation of Moscow on October 22-26, 1612 by the people's militia under Minin and Pozharsky, who united the country's patriotic forces at the final stage of the struggle against the Polish-Lithuanian and Swedish invaders in the early 17th century. p. 502

570 Bogdan Khmelnitsky led the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people in 1648-54 against the rule of the Polish szlachta and for the re-union with Russia. As a result, the Ukraine was re-united with Russia in a single state (1654). p. 502

571 Bakunin is referring to the bloody suppression of the Polish uprising of 1863-64 (see Note 14) by Mikhail Muravyov, the Governor-General of Lithuania and Byelorussia, who was nicknamed "the hangman" for this. p. 503

572 This remark relates to the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, the beginning of which Marx described as follows: "On the German side the war is a war of defence, but who put Germany to the necessity of defending herself? Who enabled Louis Bonaparte to wage war upon her? *Prussia*! It was Bismarck who conspired with that very same Louis Bonaparte for the purpose of crushing popular opposition at home, and annexing Germany to the Hohenzollern dynasty" (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 5). p. 504

573 See Note 84. p. 505

574 The three parties are:

The *National-Liberal Party*—the party of German and, above all, Prussian bourgeoisie formed in the autumn of 1866 after a split in the Party of Progress. The policies of the National Liberals mirrored the capitulation of a significant part of the liberal bourgeoisie to Bismarck's Junker government after Prussia's victory in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and the establishment of its supremacy in Germany.

The *Party of Progress* was founded in June 1861. It advocated the unification of Germany under Prussian aegis, the convocation of an all-German Parliament, and the establishment of a strong liberal Ministry responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. Its opposition to the Bismarck government was just so many words.

By the *Social-Democratic Party* Bakunin means the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (the so-called Eisenachers) and the General Association of German Workers uniting Lassalle's followers (see Note 334). p. 505

575 As a result of victory in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, Prussia substantially expanded its territory by incorporating small German states. Besides, Austria had to renounce its rights to Schleswig and Holstein (see Note 577). p. 507

576 The digging of the Kiel Canal, the project of which was first mentioned in the press in the 1870s, began in 1887. The opening took place on June 20, 1895. p. 508

577 After the defeat in the Austro-Danish-Prussian war of 1864 (see Note 70), Denmark lost Schleswig, Holstein and Lauenburg, which were declared the joint possession of Austria and Prussia. Contrary to the opinion of Gorchakov, who considered unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy damaging to Russian interests, Emperor Alexander II did not try to hamper Prussia's policy towards Denmark as a sign of gratitude for the "service" rendered by Prussia in the suppression of the Polish uprising of 1863 (see Note 14). This is what Marx means by his remark. p. 508

578 The *Paris Treaty*—the peace treaty that concluded the Crimean war (1853-56) (see Note 19). It was signed by Austria, Britain, France, Prussia, Sardinia and Turkey, on the one hand, and Russia on the other, at the Congress of Paris on March 30, 1856. Under the treaty, Russia ceded the mouth of the Danube and part of Bessarabia, renounced its protectorate over the Danubian Principalities and its protection of Christians in Turkey, agreed to the neutralisation of the Black Sea (involving the closure of the Straits to foreign warships and a ban on Russia and Turkey maintaining navies and naval arsenals on the Black Sea), and returned the fortress of Kars to Turkey in exchange for Sevastopol and other Russian towns held by the Allies. p. 509

579 A reference to the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation (see Note 94). p. 509

580 The reference is to the events of the Anglo-French-Chinese war of 1856-60 (Second Opium War). In August 1860 Anglo-French troops captured Tientsin and in October 1860 Peking. The Chinese government was forced to sign new, very damaging treaties with Britain and France in 1860. The war was an important step towards turning China into a semi-colony. p. 510

581 Preparing for a war with Austria (see Note 5), in the autumn of 1865 in Biarritz Bismarck managed to extract a promise of French neutrality in the war from Napoleon III in exchange for raising no objections to the incorporation of Luxembourg into the French Empire. Bismarck did not keep his promise. p. 511

582 The reference is to the *treaties of Tilsit*—peace treaties signed on July 7 and 9, 1807 by Napoleonic France, and Russia and Prussia, members of the fourth anti-French coalition. In an attempt to split defeated powers, Napoleon made no territorial claims on Russia and even succeeded in transferring some of the Prussian monarchy's eastern lands to Russia. The treaty imposed harsh terms on Prussia, which lost nearly half its territory to the German states dependent on France, was made to pay indemnities and had its army reduced. However, Russia, like Prussia, had to break its alliance with Britain and, to its disadvantage, join Napoleon's Continental System. Napoleon formed the vassal

Duchy of Warsaw on Polish territory seized by Prussia during the partitions of Poland at the end of the 18th century, and planned to use it as an advanced post in the event of war with Russia. p. 511

583 J. G. Fichte, *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (Berlin, 1808)—a course of lectures delivered by Fichte at Berlin University in the winter of 1807, when after the signing of the Peace of Tilsit Germany was in a state of extreme national humiliation. They developed the idea of the nation as a collective personality having its own, special vocation. Fichte called on his compatriots to unite; he believed that political independence can be attained through stronger moral principles and an education reform. According to him, a nation should foster an awareness of its vocation and duty. p. 511

584 Nicholas I was married in 1817 to the Prussian Princess Charlotte (Alexandra Fyodorovna), daughter of Frederick William III. p. 512

585 *Ligue du Midi*—a revolutionary-democratic organisation embracing 15 departments. It was set up on September 18, 1870 in Marseilles on the initiative of the more active section of the middle commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, and assumed responsibility for providing local defence in view of the weakness of the central authority. The League's programme included the basic democratic demands set forth by the French sections of the International. By late 1870 it had been declared illegal and disbanded. p. 513

586 In the notes for his *L'Empire knouto-germanique*, Bakunin wrote: "It is clear that urged by the same logic Mr. Engels could say in a letter written this year to a friend of ours, without the slightest irony but, on the contrary,quite seriously, that Mr. Bismarck, like King Victor Emmanuel, has rendered immense services to the revolution by creating great political centralisation in their respective countries" (*Archives Bakounine*, par A. Lehning, Vol. II, Leiden, 1965, p. 195).

It is probably this letter by Engels that is interpreted so freely by Bakunin in this work. Marx and Engels advocated a revolutionary way of uniting Germany and were sharply opposed to both the home and foreign policy pursued by Bismarck. In the works included in this volume (see pp. 251-52, 578), they emphasised that Bismarck's reactionary domestic policy was turning the German proletariat towards revolutionary struggle. p. 513

587 The reference is to the so-called *Doctors' Club*, a Berlin group of Young Hegelians in which Marx had a prominent place. The Young Hegelians drew radical atheistic conclusions from Hegel's philosophy, but at the same time removed philosophy from reality, turning it into a self-contained, determining force. In fact, the Young Hegelians were withdrawing more and more from practical revolutionary action.

Here and below, Bakunin made many inaccuracies when citing the facts of Marx's biography. p. 513

588 This refers to "*The Free*" (Die Freien)—a Berlin group of Left Hegelians which was formed in the first half of the 1840s and included Edgar Bauer, Max Stirner and others. Marx gave a highly negative assessment of the actions of "The Free" and of their empty abstract criticism. p. 514

589 See Note 378. p. 514

590 A reference to the *Communist League*—the first German and international communist organisation of the proletariat formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847 as a result of the reorganisation of the League of the Just (see Note 220). The League's members took an active

part in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany in 1848-49. In 1849 and 1850, after the defeat of the revolution, it was reorganised and continued its activities. In the summer of 1850 disagreements arose between the supporters of Marx and Engels and the sectarian Willich-Schapper group, which ended in a split within the League. Owing to police persecutions and arrests of League members in May 1851, the activities of the Communist League as an organisation practically ceased in Germany. On November 17, 1852, on a motion by Marx, the London District announced the dissolution of the League. The Communist League played an important historical role as the first proletarian party based on the principles of scientific communism, as a school of proletarian revolutionaries, and as the historical forerunner of the International Working Men's Association. p. 514

591 Marx moved to Brussels on February 3, 1845, after the French government had expelled him from Paris by the decree of January 16, 1845. At that time, Engels was in Barmen and joined Marx in Brussels on April 5, 1845. p. 514

592 See Note 18. p. 515

593 See Note 102. p. 516

594 In the note to the Preface to the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital* Marx wrote: "This is the more necessary, as even the section of Ferdinand Lassalle's work against Schulze-Delitzsch, in which he professes to give 'the intellectual quintessence' of my explanations on these subjects, contains important mistakes. If Ferdinand Lassalle has borrowed almost literally from my writings, and without any acknowledgement, all the general theoretical propositions in his economic works, *e.g.*, those on the historical character of capital, on the connexion between the conditions of production and the mode of production, &c. &c. even to the terminology created by me, this may perhaps be due to purposes of propaganda. I am here, of course, not speaking of his detailed working out and application of these propositions, with which I have nothing to do" (see present edition, Vol. 35). p. 516

595 The Geneva Congress of the International Working Men's Association adopted the principal ideas set forth in Marx's "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions" (present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 185-94) as its programme. p. 523

596 The *Nuremberg Congress* (see Note 549) sent a delegation to the conference of the People's Party (see Note 99), which took place on September 19-20, 1868 in Stuttgart and declared the Party's support for the Nuremberg programme. p. 524

597 The second congress of the League of Peace and Freedom was held on September 21-25, 1868 in Berne. p. 524

598 The reference is to the resolution on the League of Peace and Freedom adopted by the Brussels Congress of the International on September 12, 1868 in connection with the League's invitation to attend its congress in Berne in September 1868. The invitation was sent to the International on the initiative of Bakunin who, being a member of the League's Central Committee, sought to establish his authority over the International Working Men's Association (see *The General Council of the First International, 1868-1870. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, pp. 297-98). p. 524

599 In 1876 Prosper Olivier Lissagaray, a French republican journalist and member of the Paris Commune, published a book in Brussels entitled *Histoire de la Commune de 1871*. The author, who drew on extensive factual material, exposed the anti-national policies of the French ruling circles and showed the part played by the people in the history of the Paris Commune. In a letter to Wilhelm Bracke written on September 23, 1876, Marx said that this book was "the first *authentic* history of the Commune" (see present edition, Vol. 45). Believing this work important for the proletarian party, Marx did a great deal to have a German translation of it published (*Geschichte der Commune von 1871. Autorisirte deutsche Ausgabe nach dem vom Verfasser vervollständigten französischen Original*, Brunswick, 1877).

Engels' "Note on Page 29 of the *Histoire de la Commune*" provides, as it were, comments on the events that unfolded in France after the capitulation of Bazaine's army in Metz on October 27 and until the complete encirclement of Paris in mid-November 1870. Engels, who had earlier written a series of articles ("Notes on the War") for *The Pall Mall Gazette* (London), which appeared between July 1870 and June 1871 (see present edition, Vol. 22), had a good knowledge of the course of events and their underlying causes. He sent a copy of his comments to Lissagaray who on February 9, 1877 thanked the author for "a brilliant commentary" on the military events. Lissagaray included Engels' text in the second French edition of his book, part changed and part verbatim.

Engels' "Note" was first published, in Russian, in 1933. It now appears in English for the first time. p. 527

600 The reference is to the beginning of the talks on a truce held in Versailles on October 30 between Thiers, representative of the Government of National Defence, and Bismarck. The news about the betrayal that was being prepared and the capitulation of Metz that followed prompted the revolutionary action of Paris workers on October 31. Bismarck used the inaction of the French command during the talks, which allowed him to play for time, and on November 6 he broke off the talks. p. 527

601 Engels comments on the following passage from Lissagaray: "The men of September 4 believed themselves to be saved having obtained their aim. They put on the same level armistice and capitulation, 'good and bad news', convinced that Paris, despaired of victory, will open its arms to peace."

"*The men of September 4*"—a group of bourgeois politicians, monarchists and clericals, who comprised the so-called Government of National Defence set up after the revolution of September 4, 1870 in Paris. p. 527

602 *Francs-tireurs*—volunteers organised into small guerrilla units who took part in the defence of France against the invaders. The first units were formed during the wars against the anti-French coalitions in the late 18th-early 19th century. In 1867 *francs-tireurs*' societies began to spring up in France. When the Franco-Prussian war broke out and Prussian troops invaded French territory, members of these societies were called to arms by a special decree. When the regular French troops were defeated and blockaded in fortresses the number of *francs-tireurs*' units increased sharply. They mainly attacked transports, weaker detachments, railway trains and food depots, and did substantial damage to the enemy. p. 528

603 The reference is to the siege of Mantua (June 1796-February 2, 1797) by French troops during Napoleon I's Italian campaign of 1796-97. p. 528

604 The book which prompted Marx's notes was the second edition of Adolph Wagner's *Allgemeine oder theoretische Volkswirtschaftslehre,* erster Theil: *Grundlegung,* published in Leipzig and Heidelberg in 1879 as the first volume of *Lehrbuch der politischen Oekonomie* by Adolph Wagner and Erwin Nasse. It has been possible to date these notes by Marx's mention in his manuscript (see this volume, p. 550) of Rudolph Meyer's *Briefe und Socialpolitische Aufsaetze von Dr. Rodbertus-Jagetzow* which appeared in Berlin after January 1881.

In English, this work was first published in: K. Marx, *Texts on Method.* Translated and edited by Carver, Oxford, 1975, pp. 179-219. p. 531

605 Marx is probably referring to the following works: Rodbertus-Jagetzow, *Zur Erkenntniss unsrer Staatswirtschaftlichen Zustände* (Erstes Heft: *Fünf Theoreme,* Neubrandenburg and Friedland, 1842), *Soziale Briefe an Kirchmann* (Nos. 1-3, Berlin, 1850-51), *Zur Erklärung und Abhülfe der heutigen Creditnoth des Grundbesitzes.* I. *Die Ursachen der Noth.* II. *Zur Abhülfe* (Jena, 1869); Fr. A. Lange, *John Stuart Mills Ansichten über die sozialen Frage...* (Duisburg, 1865), *Die Arbeiterfrage...* (3rd ed., Winterthur, 1875); A. Schäffle, *Bau und Leben des socialen Körpers* (Vols. 1-4, Tübingen, 1875-78). p. 531

606 The note mentioned by Marx is to be found in his *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 270). p. 545

607 *Vegetable ivory* (Phytelephas)—species of an anomalous genus of palms from tropical South America. The seed or nuts, as they are usually called when fully ripe and hard, are used by the American Indians for making small ornamental articles and toys. They are imported into Britain in considerable quantities, frequently under the name of corozo nuts. p. 555

608 The reference is to the change in the social and economic position of Germany as a result of the 5,000 million francs it received from France after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 (see Note 144). p. 557

609 *St. Peter's Money* (*St. Peter's Penny* or *Pence*)—annual contributions from Catholics to the Papacy (originally, a silver penny from each family on the feast day of St. Peter). It continues to be an important source of revenue for the Pope's curia. p. 559

610 Getting ready to travel to Karlsbad for medical treatment in August 1874, Marx applied to become naturalised in Britain. This was a precaution against possible reprisals by the Austrian authorities. Marx left for Karlsbad on August 15, having failed to receive a reply to his application.

This document is an official blank on which information about Marx (in italics in the text) has been entered in a clerk's hand. Only the signature is Marx's. The special report by W. Reimers and J. Williams was written on a separate blank.

Appended to the application are the statements made by Marx's referees written on special blanks, as well as the letter of Morris R. Willis, Marx's lawyer, to the Secretary of State for the Home Department of August 29, 1874, requesting to know the reasons for the refusal to grant a Certificate of Naturalisation. p. 563

611 Apart from Marx and Engels, former Communards and other participants in the meeting spoke at the celebration held by the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 123). Friedrich Lessner, a veteran of the German and international workers' movement, sent a greeting.

An account of the meeting was featured by the *Neue Social-Demokrat* of Berlin, No. 20, February 18, 1876. The report published in this volume was drawn up on February 12 by Carl Scharr and printed by *Der Volksstaat*, No. 24, February 27, 1876, in the section "Aus England". Besides his own speech, Engels translated into German Walery Wróblewski's speech, indicating the milestones of his career. Wróblewski's speech was also included by the editorial board into the report on Engels' speech. Serious factual errors were made in the account of Marx's and Engels' speeches.

A report of the meeting was also carried by the Russian periodical *Nabat* published in Geneva, No. 4, 1876. It differed substantially from the text in *Der Volksstaat*, and also contained a great number of factual errors. p. 565

612 See Note 378. p. 565

613 The reference is to the second congress of the Communist League held on November 29-December 8, 1847 (see Note 220). A number of its members also belonged to the German Workers' Educational Society in London. p. 565

614 As is clear from the correspondence of the members of the London District of the Communist League with the League's Central Authority (see letters of March 15 and June 18, 1848 in *Der Bund der Kommunisten, Dokumente und Materialien*, Vol. I, Berlin, 1970, pp. 726-28 and 804-07), in early March 1848 the owner of the pub where the members of the Educational Society used to assemble cancelled the lease, and the meetings could no longer be held there. The author of the letter of March 15 stressed that in future the Society's meetings would be held only under police surveillance, and that the British government had established strict supervision over the connections between foreign revolutionaries and the Chartists (see Note 368). p. 565

615 An inaccuracy in the text: the reference is to the dissolution of the Communist League in November 1852. p. 565

616 See Note 14. p. 566

617 See Note 26. p. 566

618 Marx's interview with the correspondent of *The Chicago Tribune* took place in the first half of December 1878. Despite the several inaccuracies of the correspondent, this document has some biographical interest.

The German translation of the text of the interview was published, slightly abridged, in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 10, January 10, 1879 and reprinted by *Der Vorbote*, No. 2, January 11, 1879. *The Socialist* of Chicago (No. 18, January 11) reprinted the last part of the interview. The publication in *Der Vorbote* was used for the Danish translation, which appeared in the *Social-Demokraten*, Copenhagen, Nos. 84 and 85, April 9 and 10, 1879. p. 568

619 Marx left for Paris late in October 1843. p. 568

620 The reference is to the report of the American Ambassador to Berlin J. Ch. Bancroft Davis dispatched to the US Secretary of State Hamilton Fish on February 10, 1877. The part of the report referring to the socialist movement in Germany was printed in the official publication: *United States. State Department. Papers Relating to Foreign Relations of the United States*, Washington, 1877, pp. 175-80. p. 571

621 This refers to the programme of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany adopted by the unity congress in Gotha in May 1875. p. 571

622 The first national trade union in the USA—the National Typographical Union—was founded in 1850. By the 1860s the country had a whole network of local trade union organisations. In August 1866 the National Labor Union was formed in Baltimore, and in December 1869 the Noble Order of Knights of Labor in Philadelphia, which on January 1, 1878 became a legal body. Both organisations, while experiencing a strong petty-bourgeois influence, nevertheless advocated social reforms, including the eight-hour working day, women's rights, and higher wages. The economic crisis of 1873 and the prolonged slump which followed were the causes for vigorous strike action of American workers, with its peak being the miners' strike in Pennsylvania (the Long Strike) of 1874-75 and the national railway strike of 1877. p. 573

623 See Note 96. p. 574

624 See Note 110. p. 575

625 See Note 268. p. 575

626 The reference is to the Anti-Socialist Law promulgated on October 19, 1878 (see Note 289) and the introduction of a minor state of siege in Berlin (see Note 418). p. 578

627 On July 12, 1870 the Paris members of the International published in the *Réveil* an anti-war manifesto addressed to the workers of all nations, which was reprinted by *Der Volksstaat*, No. 57, July 17, 1870. A number of similar addresses were issued in France at that time. On July 16 a workers' meeting in Brunswick convened by the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party issued an address in protest against the war preparations made by the ruling classes, and for solidarity with the manifesto of the International's Paris members. Workers' meetings in Chemnitz and Munich also adopted similar manifestos and resolutions. p. 578

628 Marx quotes from memory his "First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War" written between July 19 and 23, 1870, and issued by the General Council as a leaflet at the outset of the war (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 3-8). p. 578

629 On September 5, 1870, after the defeat of the French army at Sedan, the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party with its headquarters in Brunswick issued a manifesto (*Manifest des Ausschusses der social-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei. An Alle deutschen Arbeiter!*) urging German workers to organise mass meetings of protest against the expansionist plans of the Prussian government. The Manifesto included parts of Marx's and Engels' "Letter to the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party" of August 22 and 30, 1870 (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 260-62). On September 9, members of the Brunswick Committee, Bracke, Bornhorst, Spier, Kühn and Gralle, as well as a printer, Sievers, were arrested for publishing the Manifesto and in November 1871 brought to trial on the fabricated charge of disturbing public order. p. 578

630 On November 26, 1870, when the German Reichstag discussed the question of credits for the war against France, Bebel and Liebknecht demanded that credits be refused and peace with the French Republic promptly concluded without annexations. The entire Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag together with Bebel and Liebknecht voted against the granting of credits on November 28. After the Reichstag session closed on December 17, Bebel, Liebknecht and Hepner were arrested and charged with high treason. p. 578

631 On November 28, 1878 a minor state of siege was declared in Berlin (see Note 418). The next day 67 members of the Social-Democratic Party, including their leaders Auer and Fritzsche, received deportation orders. p. 578

632 In this letter, addressed to Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa, the eldest daughter of Queen Victoria and wife of the Prussian Crown Prince, the future German Emperor Frederick III, the British politician Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff gives an account of his talk with Marx, which took place on January 31, 1879 at the Devonshire Club. The author first published excerpts from the letter in his *Notes from a Diary, 1873-1881*, London, 1898, pp. 103-06. Grant Duff took pains not to disclose the name of his addressee.

Despite the fact that the author did not always faithfully reproduce Marx's ideas, the letter is undoubtedly of interest as additional material throwing light on Marx's views of the revolutionary future of Russia and Germany, and also as evidence of the fear provoked in ruling quarters by the growth of the working-class movement and the prestige of its leader, Karl Marx. The letter was published in full for the first time in an article by Andrew Rothstein "A Meeting with Karl Marx" (*The Times* Literary Supplement, July 15, 1949, p. 464). p. 580

633 See Note 90. p. 581

634 The protracted economic crisis began in 1873 after the period known in history as *Gründertum* (see Note 84). p. 581

635 The reference is to the Glorious Revolution of 1688 (the overthrow of the Stuart dynasty and the enthronement of William III of Orange in 1689), after which constitutional monarchy was consolidated in England on the basis of a compromise between the landed aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. p. 581

636 Marx's interview with John Swinton, at that time editor of the progressive New York newspaper *The Sun*, took place in August 1880. Following the publication of an account of the interview Marx wrote to Swinton on November 4, 1880: "I have at the same time to thank you for your friendly article in *The Sun*" (see present edition, Vol. 46). After the interview, Marx kept in touch with Swinton for some time and sent him, at the latter's request, the French translation of *Capital*.

Marx's interview with Swinton was reprinted in the collection: John Swinton, *Current Views and Notes of Forty Days in France and England*, New York, 1880, pp. 41-45.

Swinton used this interview in his speech at the meeting organised by New York workers on March 19, 1883 on the occasion of Marx's death. See *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 15, April 5, 1883, and *Truth* (San Francisco), April 7, 1883. p. 583

637 Marx and his family took a rest at Ramsgate between early August and September 13, 1880. p. 583

638 Marx probably referred to Karl Daniel Adolph Douai's proposal to have *Capital* translated into English. As is clear from Sorge's letter to Marx of July 19, 1878, this plan had not been carried through. The English translation of Volume One of *Capital* appeared after Marx's death, in 1887. It was prepared by Engels, Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling. p. 584

639 Originally, while working on his economic manuscripts, Marx had planned to write six books: on capital, on landed property, on wage labour, on the state, on international trade and on the world market (see Marx's letters to Lassalle

of February 22, 1858, to Engels of April 2, 1858, and to Weydemeyer of February 1, 1859, present edition, Vol. 40). The plan was not realised. Questions of ground rent and credit were dealt with, at some length, in Volume Three of *Capital*. p. 584

640 The reference is to the authorised French translation of Volume One of *Capital* (see Note 108). Marx made substantial changes and additions in the manuscript of the translation. He believed that the French edition had an independent scientific value. On its basis, changes were introduced into the subsequent editions of Volume One in German, Russian and other languages. p. 584

641 This statement, written before February 26, 1883 probably by a staff member of *L'Égalité* (perhaps by Paul Lafargue) in view of the closure of the newspaper of the French Workers' Party, was sent by Engels to the *Sozialdemokrat* editorial board. It was enclosed with the letter of February 27-March 1, 1883 to the editor, Eduard Bernstein. "*L'Égalité* has gone phut again," wrote Engels, "and I would ask you to publish the following facts (see enclosed slip of paper) in the *Sozialdemokrat*" (see present edition, Vol. 46). The translation of this statement into German was probably made by Engels.

The facts cited relate to the fourth and fifth series of *L'Égalité*, whose publication was terminated and resumed several times since its foundation in 1877. The fourth series appeared from October 24, 1882 and throughout 1883. The fifth series was published between February 15 and 26, 1883.

The statement appeared in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 11, March 8, 1883, and was prefaced by the editorial note: "After a brief existence *L'Égalité* was unfortunately forced to close. The following has been written to us in this connection." p. 586

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*Arakcheyev, Alexei Andreyevich* (1769-1834)—Russian statesman; favourite of Paul I and Alexander I.—512

*Arch, Joseph* (1826-1919) — British politician, founder of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union in 1872 and its president, Liberal M.P. (1885-86, 1892-1900).—179, 181-82

*Aristotle* (384-322 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—298, 535

*Arnims*—family of margraves in Prussia, first mentioned in 1204.—144

*Atia*—mother of Roman Emperor Augustus.—429

*Auer, Ignaz* (1846-1907)—one of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany, reformist; saddler; for many years deputy to the Reichstag.—77, 209, 578

*Augustus, Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus* (63 B.C.-A.D. 14)—Roman Emperor (27 B.C.-A.D. 14).—429

*Aurelle de Paladines, Louis Jean Baptiste d'* (1804-1877)—French general; commanded the Army of the Loire during the Franco-Prussian war; Commander of the Paris National Guard (March 1871); deputy to the National Assembly (1871).—528-30

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*Babeuf, François Noël (Gracchus)* (1760-1797)—French revolutionary, advo-

cate of utopian egalitarian communism, organiser of the "conspiracy of equals".—287

*Bacon, Francis, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans* (1561-1626)—English philosopher, naturalist, historian and statesman.—299, 569

*Badinguet*—see *Napoleon III*

*Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich* (1814-1876)—Russian democrat, journalist, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; an ideologist of Narodism (populism) and anarchism in later years; opposed Marxism in the First International, was expelled from it at the Hague Congress (1872) for his splitting activities.—23, 26-28, 34, 37, 45, 72, 77, 174-77, 205, 213-14, 236, 425, 478, 487-526, 584

*Balfour, Arthur James Balfour, 1st Earl of* (1848-1930)—British statesman and philosopher, M.P. from 1874.—389

*Batbie, Anselme-Polycarpe* (1828-1887)—French politician, Orleanist, deputy to the National Assembly (1871); Senator (1876-79).—204

*Bauer, Bruno* (1809-1882)—German idealist philosopher, Young Hegelian; author of works on the history of Christianity; radical; National Liberal after 1866.—427-28, 430, 431, 514

*Bauer, Edgar* (1820-1886)—German philosopher and journalist, Young Hegelian; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; editor of the London *Neue Zeit* (1859); Prussian official after the 1861 amnesty; Bruno Bauer's brother and associate.—514

*Baumann, August*—German Social-Democrat; compositor; took part in socialist publications; at the time of the Anti-Socialist Law was deported from Germany; emigrated to the USA.—578

*Beaconsfield*—see *Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield*

*Bebel, August* (1840-1913)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; turner; member of the First International; deputy to the North German (1867-70) and the German Reichstag (1871-81 and from 1883); a founder and leader of German Social-Democracy; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—67, 71-73, 77, 214, 240-42, 244, 249, 253-54, 258, 408-09, 500, 523, 525

*Becker, Bernhard* (1826-1891)—German journalist and historian; follower of Lassalle; President of the General Association of German Workers (1864-65); subsequently joined the Eisenachers; delegate to the Hague Congress of the First International (1872).—78

*Becker, Hermann Heinrich* ("Red Becker") (1820-1885)—German lawyer and journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League from 1850; one of the accused in the Cologne Communist trial (1852), sentenced to five years' imprisonment; member of the Party of Progress in the 1860s; later National Liberal.—138

*Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886)—prominent figure in the international working-class movement; brushmaker; took part in the German and Swiss democratic movement in the 1830s and 1840s and in the 1848-49 revolution; prominent figure in the First International in the 1860s, delegate to all its congresses; editor of *Der Vorbote* (1866-71); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—231

*Becker, Oskar* (1839-1868)—student of Leipzig University; in 1861 made an attempt on William I's life; sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment; amnestied in 1866.—244

*Beckx, Pierre Jean* (1795-1887)—Belgian clergyman; head of the Order of Jesuits (1853-84).—575

*Benoiston de Châteauneuf, Louis François* (1776-1856)—French economist and

statistician; member of the editorial board of the *Journal des Économistes*.—326

*Berezowski, Antoni* (1847-c. 1916)—Polish revolutionary, took part in the 1863-64 uprising; emigrated after its suppression; in 1867 made an attempt on Alexander II's life in Paris; sentenced to 20 years of hard labour by a French court.—5

*Bernstein, Eduard* (1850-1932)—German Social-Democrat from 1872; editor of *Der Sozialdemokrat* (1881-90); after Engels' death came out with the revision of Marxism.—254, 257-66, 269

*Bervi, Vasily Vasilyevich* (pseudonym *N. Flerovsky*) (1829-1918)—Russian economist and sociologist; enlightener and democrat; author of *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia*.—44

*Bessemer, Sir Henry* (1813-1898)—British inventor of a new economical way of converting pig-iron into steel.—276, 556

*Bignami, Enrico* (1844-1921)—Italian journalist; took part in the national liberation struggle in Italy headed by Garibaldi; member of the First International; founder and editor of *La Plebe* (1868-83).—172-73

*Binz, Karl* (1832-1913)—German physician and pharmacologist; professor at Bonn University where he founded the Institute of Pharmacology in 1869.—115

*Bismarck* (or *Bismarck-Schönhausen*), *Otto, Prince von* (1815-1898)—statesman of Prussia and Germany, diplomat; Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-71) and Chancellor of the German Empire (1871-90); author of the Anti-Socialist Law (1878).—10, 16, 22, 53, 59, 66, 73, 89-90, 125, 133, 203, 211, 230-32, 238, 240, 246, 248, 250-52, 260-62, 265, 272, 274-77, 280, 318, 391, 404, 407-09, 447-48, 488, 493, 496, 500, 505-06, 508-13, 515, 522-23, 526, 574, 575, 578-79

*Blanc, Jean Joseph Charles Louis* (1811-1882)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, historian; member of the Provisional Government and President of the Luxembourg Commission in 1848; pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie; emigrated to England in August 1848; a leader of petty-bourgeois refugees in London; deputy to the National Assembly of 1871; opposed the Paris Commune.—514

*Blanqui, Jérôme Adolphe* (1798-1854)—French political economist; brother of Louis Auguste Blanqui.—326

*Blanqui, Louis Auguste* (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, utopian communist; organised several secret societies and plots; active participant in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; leader of the proletarian movement in France; sentenced to imprisonment several times; in 1871, was elected member of the Paris Commune in his absence while in prison.—13-14, 58, 336

*Bleichröder, Gerson von* (1822-1893)—German financier; head of a big banking house in Berlin; Bismarck's private banker and unofficial adviser on financial questions.—274, 277

*Blind, Karl* (1826-1907)—German democratic journalist; active participant in the revolutionary movement in Baden in 1848-49; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in London in the 1850s; National Liberal in the 1860s.—244, 270-71

*Blos, Wilhelm* (1849-1927)—German journalist and politician; member of the Social-Democratic Party (from 1872); deputy to the Reichstag (1877-1918, with short intervals); Minister-President of the Württemberg government (1918-20).—209

*Blume, Karl Wilhelm Hermann von* (1835-1919)—Prussian general and military writer; took part in the

Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71.—530

*Böckh, Philipp August* (1785-1867)—German philologist and historian of antiquity; professor and for a number of years rector of Berlin University.—556

*Bonaparte, Louis*—see *Napoleon III*

*Bonaparte, Napoléon Eugène Louis Jean Joseph* (1856-1879)—son of Napoleon III, got the title of Imperial Prince at his birth.—222

*Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul* (1822-1891)—son of Jérôme Bonaparte, cousin of Napoleon III; known under the nicknames of Plon-Plon and Red Prince.—189, 270

*Boon, Martin James*—British mechanic; prominent figure in the British working-class movement; follower of the social-reformist views of the Chartist James Bronterre O'Brien; member of the General Council of the First International (1869-72); Secretary of the Land and Labour League; member of the British Federal Council (1872).—571

*Borchardt, Louis* (1820-1883)—German physician, liberal; sentenced to imprisonment for his participation in the 1848-49 revolution; being released he emigrated to Bradford, then to Manchester; private doctor of Wilhelm Wolff; Engels' acquaintance.—170-71

*Bornstedt, Adalbert von* (1808-1851)—German journalist; founder and editor of the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* (1847-48); member of the Communist League, expelled from it in March 1848; as it turned out later he had contacts with the Prussian police.—336

*Bourbons*—royal dynasty in France (1589-1792, 1814-15, 1815-30), in Spain (1700-1808, 1814-68, 1874-1931 and since 1975) and in a number of Italian states.—488, 512

*Bracke, Wilhelm* (1842-1880)—German Social-Democrat; publisher of socialist literature in Brunswick; a founder (1869) and leader of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers); member of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag (1877-79).—20, 69, 73, 77-78, 174, 209, 253, 269

*Bradnick, Frederick*—member of the General Council of the First International (1870-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871); following the Hague Congress (1872) joined the reformist wing of the British Federal Council; expelled from the International by the General Council's decision of May 30, 1873.—571

*Brandenburg, Friedrich Wilhelm, Count von* (1792-1850)—Prussian general and statesman, head of the counter-revolutionary ministry (from November 1848 to November 1850).—161

*Bright, John* (1811-1889)—British manufacturer and politician, one of the Free Trade leaders and founders of the Anti-Corn Law League; M.P. (from 1843); leader of the Left wing of the Liberal Party from the early 1860s; held several ministerial posts.—179, 403, 412

*Brutus* (*Marcus Junius Brutus*) (c. 85-42 B.C.)—Roman politician, republican; an initiator of the conspiracy against Julius Caesar.—14-15

*Bucher, Lothar* (1817-1892)—Prussian official and journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848 and then a refugee in London; subsequently National Liberal and supporter of Bismarck.—230-33

*Buchez, Philippe Joseph Benjamin* (1796-1865)—French politician, historian, Christian Socialist.—69, 93

*Büchner, Georg* (1813-1837)—German dramatist and writer; revolutionary democrat; in 1834, an organiser of the secret revolutionary Gesellschaft der Menschenrechte (Society of

Human Rights) in Hesse; author of the address to the Hessian peasants bearing the motto: "Peace to the cabin; war to the palace".—513

*Bückler, Johann* (1777-1803)—German robber, nicknamed *Schinderhannes* (Hans the skin-flint).—48

*Bülow-Cummerow, Ernst Gottfried Georg von* (1775-1851)—German journalist and politician; expressed the interests of big landowners.—144

*Burns, Lydia* (*Lizzy, Lizzie*) (1827-1878)—Irish working woman; Frederick Engels' second wife.—567

*Busch, Moritz* (1821-1899)—German publicist.—580

*Buss, Franz Joseph von* (1803-1878)—German lawyer and politician; main representative of political Catholicism; deputy to the National Assembly in Frankfurt am Main (extreme Right wing) and in 1874-76 deputy to the German Reichstag (Centre).—166

*Buttery, G. H.*—member of the General Council of the First International (1871-72).—571

C

*Caesar* (*Gaius Julius Caesar*) (c. 100-44 B.C.)—Roman general, statesman and writer, author of *Commentarii de bello Gallico*.—350, 365, 429, 442-43

*Camphausen, Ludolf* (1803-1890)—banker in Cologne; a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prime Minister of Prussia (March-June 1848).—107, 183

*Carlyle, Thomas* (1795-1881)—British writer, historian and philosopher; supported the Tories; preached views bordering on feudal socialism up to 1848; later a relentless opponent of the working-class movement.—288, 412

*Castelar y Ripoll, Emilio* (1832-1899)—Spanish politician, historian and writer; leader of the Right-wing Republicans; President of the Republic (September 1873-January 1874); deputy to the Cortes after the restoration of monarchy in 1874.—513, 523

*Catherine II* (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-96).—49, 360, 488

*Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de* (1547-1616)—Spanish writer.—458

*Chambord, Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonné, comte de* (1820-1883)—last representative of the elder line of the Bourbons, grandson of Charles X, pretender to the French throne under the name of Henry V.—222

*Charlemagne* (*Charles the Great*) (c. 742-814)—King of the Franks (768-800) and Roman Emperor (800-14).—448, 450

*Charles II* (1630-1685)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1660-85).—436

*Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich* (1828-1889)—Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher, writer and literary critic.—23, 199

*Cherval, Julien* (real name *Joseph Crämer*)—Prussian police spy who had gained entry into the Communist League and led one of the Paris communities belonging to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group; accused of complicity in the so-called Franco-German plot in Paris in February 1852; escaped from prison with the connivance of the police; agent provocateur in Switzerland under the name of Nugent (1853-54).—51

*Clowes, Norris A.*—American journalist; in the early 1880s, the *New-York Star* correspondent in Ireland; acquaintance of Theodor Friedrich Cuno.—410

*Cluseret, Gustave Paul* (1823-1900)—French politician, general; joined Garibaldi's volunteers in Italy (1860); fought in the US Civil War; member of the First International; Bakuninist; the General Council's correspondent

in the USA in the spring of 1870; took part in revolutionary uprisings in Lyons and Marseilles (1870); member of the Paris Commune (1871); emigrated after its defeat.—237

*Cobbett, William* (c. 1762-1835)—British politician and journalist; from 1802 published *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*.—32

*Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865)—British manufacturer and politician; one of the Free Trade leaders and founders of the Anti-Corn Law League; M.P. (1841-65).—400-03, 412

*Cohen, Ferdinand* (c. 1842-1866)—German student, Karl Blind's stepson; made an unsuccessful attempt on Bismarck's life on May 7, 1866.—244

*Constantine I* (called "*The Great*") (c. 285-337)—Roman Emperor (306-37).—428

*Cook, Flavius Josephus* (*Joseph*) (1838-1901)—American theologian and preacher; his Boston Monday lectures enjoyed great popularity in the 1870s.—576

*Correggio* (*Antonio Allegri*) (c. 1489-1534)—Italian painter.—119

*Count of Paris*—see *Louis Philippe Albert d'Orleans, Count of*

*Cournot, Antoine Augustin* (1801-1877)—French mathematician, philosopher and economist; forerunner of the mathematical school of political economy; in his *Recherches sur les principes mathématiques de la théorie des richesses* tried to study economic phenomena with the help of mathematical methods.—559

*Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—leader of the English Revolution, Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653.—578

*Cross, Richard Assheton, first Viscount Cross* (1823-1914)—British statesman, Conservative; Home Secretary (1874-80 and 1885-86).—563

*Cuff, Christ. R.*—English court official.—563

D

*Dante, Alighieri* (1265-1321)—Italian poet.—183

*Darwin, Charles Robert* (1809-1882)—English naturalist, founder of the theory of natural selection of species.—301, 313, 435, 458, 463, 467

*Davis, John Chandler Bancroft* (1822-1907)—American lawyer and diplomat; the London *Times* correspondent (1854-61); Under-Secretary of State (1869, 1871 and 1873-74); Ambassador to Germany (1874-77).—571-72

*Delahaye, Victor Alfred* (1838-1897)—French mechanic; Proudhonist; member of the First International from 1865; took part in the Paris Commune (1871); emigrated to England after the suppression of the Commune; member of the General Council of the International and the British Federal Council (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871); returned to France in 1879.—571

*Delbrück, Martin Friedrich Rudolf von* (1817-1903)—Prussian and German statesman; supporter of Free Trade; one of Bismarck's close advisers up to 1876; deputy to the Reichstag (1878-81).—122, 124

*Demmler, Georg Adolf* (1804-1886)—German Social-Democrat, deputy to the Reichstag (1877-78).—209

*Demosthenes* (c. 384-322 B.C.)—Greek orator and politician; champion of democracy in slave-owning society.—548

*Demuth, Helene* (1820-1890)—housemaid and friend of the Marx family.—476, 568

*Deprez, Marcel* (1843-1918)—French

physicist and electrician; worked on the problem of electric energy transmission.—468

*Descartes, René* (in Latin: *Renatus Cartesius*) (1596-1650)—French philosopher, mathematician and naturalist.—298

*Deville, Gabriel Pierre* (1854-1940)—French socialist, active member of the French Workers' Party, journalist; staff member of *L'Égalité*; author of a popular exposition of Marx's *Capital*; left the working-class movement at the beginning of the 20th century.—586

*Dickens, Charles John Huffam* (1812-1870)—English novelist.—569

*Diderot, Denis* (1713-1784)—French philosopher of the Enlightenment, atheist, leader of the Encyclopaedists.—298

*Dilke, Sir Charles Wentworth, Baronet* (1843-1911)—British politician and writer; a leader of the Radical wing of the Liberal Party; Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (1880-82) and President of the local government board (1882-85).—389

*Dillon, John* (1851-1927)—Irish politician; a leader of the Irish National Land League; M.P. in 1880; in the 1880s was arrested several times and imprisoned.—408

*Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and author, a Tory leader; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68) and Prime Minister (1868 and 1874-80).—180, 386

*Dobrolyubov, Nikolai Alexandrovich* (1836-1861)—Russian revolutionary democrat; literary critic and journalist; materialist philosopher; one of the predecessors of Russian Social-Democracy.—23

*Dolleschall, Laurenz* (b. 1790)—police official in Cologne (1819-47), censor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—183

*Don Francisco de Asís de Borbón*—husband of Isabella II from 1846.—21

*Donkin, Horatio Bryan*—English physician, doctor of Marx and his family in 1881-83.—476

*Dörenberg, E.*—German journalist, Social-Democrat; staff member of the *Berliner Freie Presse*, Berlin correspondent of *La Plebe* (1877).—172

*Dourlen, Gustave*—French physician in Argenteuil, doctor of Marx and his family in 1881-82.—475

*Du Barry, Marie Jeanne Bécu, comtesse* (1743-1793)—favourite of Louis XV, King of France.—21

*Duchâtel, Charles Marie Tanneguy, comte de* (1803-1867)—French statesman, Orleanist, Minister of Trade (1834-36), Minister of the Interior (1839, 1840-February 1848); staff member of the *Journal des Économistes*; follower of Malthus.—326

*Ducrot, Auguste Alexandre* (1817-1882)—French general; deputy to the National Assembly from 1871; as Commander of the 8th Corps (1872-78) took part in monarchist plots against the Republic.—204

*Dühring, Eugen Karl* (1833-1921)—German eclectic philosopher and economist, petty-bourgeois socialist; lecturer at Berlin University (1863-77).—119, 339, 457

*Duméril, Edelestand Pontas* (1801-1871)—French philologist and palaeographer; staff member of the *Journal des Économistes*.—326

*Duncker, Franz Gustav* (1822-1888)—German politician and publisher, prominent figure in the Party of Progress; in 1868, together with Max Hirsch, founded reformist trade unions, known as Hirsch-Duncker unions, which existed until 1933.—189

*Dunoyer, Barthélemy Charles Pierre Joseph* (1786-1862)—French economist and politician.—326

*Dupont, Eugène* (c. 1837-1881)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; musical instrument maker; took part in the June 1848 uprising in Paris; from 1862 on, lived in London; member of the General Council of the First International (November 1864 to 1872); Corresponding Secretary for France (1865-71); participant in all the congresses (except for the Basle Congress of 1869) and conferences of the International; member of the British Federal Council of the International in 1872; associate of Marx and Engels; moved to the USA in 1874.—571

*Dušan*—see *Stephen Dushan*

E

*Eccarius, Johann Georg* (1818-1889)—German tailor and journalist; prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; member of the League of the Just and later of the Communist League; a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the First International (1864-72); the Council's General Secretary (1867-71); Corresponding Secretary for America (1870-72); delegate to all the International's congresses and conferences; associate of Marx up to 1871, subsequently joined the leaders of the British trade unions.—571

*Eichhorn, Johann Albrecht Friedrich* (1779-1856)—Prussian statesman, Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine (1840-48).—151

*Engel, Ernst* (1821-1896)—German statistician, head of the Royal Prussian Statistical Bureau in Berlin (1860-82).—413

*Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895).—32, 34, 50, 55, 57, 77, 100, 105-07, 131, 133, 140-41, 165, 170-71, 174, 181-82, 184, 187, 203, 252, 257-60, 262, 268, 269, 312, 318, 326, 335-36, 345, 372, 374, 379, 382, 400, 404, 410, 419-20, 422, 431, 437-38, 457-59, 467, 472-81, 487, 500, 565-67

*Epicurus* (341-270 B.C.)—Greek atomistic philosopher.—430, 434

*Erlach, Franz von* (1819-1889)—Swiss army officer and military writer; during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 was an observer at the German General Headquarters.—529

*Eulenburg, Botho, Count of* (1831-1912)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1878-81 and 1892-94); Prime Minister (1892-94); took part in the working out of the Anti-Socialist Law and in the persecution of Social-Democrats.—242-49

*Eulenburg, Friedrich Albrecht, Count of* (1815-1881)—Prussian statesman and diplomat; Minister of the Interior (1862-78).—566

*Ewald, Georg Heinrich August von* (1803-1875)—German orientalist; researcher and critic of the Bible.—430

*Eynern, Ernst von* (1838-1906)—German politician and businessman; from 1879 member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies; National Liberal; opposed Social-Democracy.—458

F

*Fallmerayer, Jakob Philipp* (1790-1861)—German historian and traveller.—432

*Faucher, Léonard (Léon) Joseph* (1803-1854)—French writer and politician, Malthusian economist, Orleanist; staff member of the *Journal des Économistes*; Minister of the Interior (December 1848-May 1849, 1851); later Bonapartist.—326

*Favre, Jules Claude Gabriel* (1809-1880)—French lawyer and politician; a leader of the bourgeois republican opposition from the late 1850s;

Foreign Minister (1870-71), together with Thiers headed the struggle against the Paris Commune; among others, inspired the struggle against the First International; Senator from 1876.—237, 527

*Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas* (1804-1872)—German materialist philosopher.—513

*Feugier*—French physician in Enghien, Marx's doctor from June to August 1882.—475

*Fichte, Johann Gottlieb* (1762-1814)—German philosopher.—459, 511

*Flerovsky, N.*—see *Bervi, Vasily Vasilyevich*

*Flocon, Ferdinand* (1800-1866)—French politician, journalist, democrat, an editor of *La Réforme* (1845); member of the Provisional Government (1848).—187

*Flourens, Gustave Paul* (1838-1871)—French naturalist and revolutionary, follower of Blanqui; contributed to *La Marseillaise*; one of the leaders of the Paris uprisings on October 31, 1870 and January 22, 1871; member of the Paris Commune and its Military Commission; on April 3, 1871 was killed by the Versaillists.—461

*Forckenbeck, Maximilian (Max) Franz August von* (1821-1892)—German politician, a founder of the Party of Progress (1861) and National-Liberal Party (1867); Chairman of the Reichstag (1874-79).—240

*Forster, William Edward* (1818-1886)—British manufacturer and statesman, Liberal M.P.; Chief Secretary for Ireland (1880-82); pursued a policy of brutal suppression of the national liberation movement.—407, 409

*Fould, Achille* (1800-1867)—French banker and politician, Orleanist, subsequently Bonapartist; Minister of Finance (1849-52, 1861-67); Minister of the Imperial Court (1852-60).—274

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—287, 289, 292-93, 313, 316, 459, 508

*Francis II* (1768-1835)—Holy Roman Emperor (1792-1806); Emperor of Austria as Francis I (1804-35).—9

*Francis Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-1916).—9, 239

*Frankel, Leo* (1844-1896)—prominent figure in the Hungarian and the international working-class movement; jeweller; member of the Paris Commune; Corresponding Secretary of the General Council of the First International for Austria and Hungary (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; a founder of the General Workers' Party of Hungary; associate of Marx and Engels.—105, 571

*Frederick II (the Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—488

*Frederick William* (1831-1888)—Prussian Crown Prince; married Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa in 1858; German Emperor and King of Prussia under the name of Frederick III (March-June 1888).—582

*Frederick William II* (1744-1797)—King of Prussia (1786-97).—8

*Frederick William III* (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—183, 318, 343, 511

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—9, 107, 143, 151, 188, 515

*Fribourg, Ernest Edouard*—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; engraver, later businessman; Proudhonist; participant in the inaugural meeting of the First International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; a leader of the Paris section of the International; delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866) of the International; in 1871

published a book, *L'Association internationale des travailleurs*, hostile to the International and the Paris Commune.—235

*Fritzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1825-1905)—a reformist leader of the German Social-Democratic and trade union movement; tobacco-worker; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; one of the founders (1863) and leaders of the General Association of German Workers; follower of Lassalle; joined the Eisenachers in 1869; deputy to the North German and the German Reichstag (1868-71 and 1877-81).—209, 578

G

*Gambetta, Léon* (1838-1882)—French statesman, bourgeois republican; member of the Government of National Defence (1870-71); Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1881-82).—493, 513, 523, 528-30

*Gartman, Lev Nikolayevich* (1850-1908)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik (populist); in 1879 took part in an act of terrorism of the People's Will group against Alexander II, following which emigrated to France; representative of the People's Will group abroad; left London for the USA at the end of 1881.—372

*Geib, August* (1842-1879)—German bookseller in Hamburg; Social-Democrat; member of the General Association of German Workers; participant in the Eisenach Congress (1869); treasurer of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (1872-78); deputy to the Reichstag (1874-77).—77, 214

*Geleff, Poul Johansen* (1842-1928)—participant in the Danish socialist and working-class movement; a founder of the Danish section of the First International (1871); one of the founders (1876) and leaders of the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark; emigrated to the USA in 1877.—219

*George I* (1660-1727)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1714-27).—437

*Gerlach, Carl Johann Heinrich Eduard von* (1792-1863)—Prussian politician; chief of the police in Berlin up to 1839; *Regierungspräsident* in Cologne (1839-45).—184

*Giffen, Sir Robert* (1837-1910)—English economist and statistician; head of the Statistics Department in the Board of Trade (1876-97); author of works on economics and statistics.—323

*Gladstone, Robertson* (c. 1806-1875)—British trader; a founder (1848) and for a long time President of the Liverpool Financial Reform Association, brother of William Ewart Gladstone.—96

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory, later Peelite; leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the nineteenth century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55 and 1859-66), Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—96, 124, 389, 409, 460

*Goegg, Amand* (1820-1897)—German journalist, democrat; member of the Baden Provisional Government in 1849; emigrated after the revolution; member of the League of Peace and Freedom, and its Vice-President in 1870; member of the Central Committee of the German Workers' Educational Society in Switzerland; member of the German-language section of the First International (1868); delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) of the International; member of the Central Committee of the People's Party; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany.—70, 524

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-

1832)—German poet.—91, 306, 547, 569

*Goltz, Theodor Alexander Georg Ludwig, Freiherr von der* (1836-1905)—German scientist, agronomist; author of works on agriculture.—121

*Gorchakov (Gorchakoff), Alexander Mikhailovich, Prince* (1798-1883)—Russian statesman and diplomat; envoy to Vienna (1854-56); Foreign Minister (1856-82).—507, 508, 511

*Grant Duff, Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone* (1829-1906)—British liberal politician and author, M.P. (1857-81); Under-Secretary of State for India (1868-74); Governor of Madras (1881-86).—580-81

*Greiff (Greif), Friedrich Wilhelm* (born c. 1819)—one of the chiefs of the Prussian secret service in London in the early 1850s.—51

*Grillenberger, Karl (Carl)* (1848-1897)—German publisher and editor of Social-Democratic newspapers; member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from 1869); deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-97).—259

*Guillaume, James* (1844-1916)—Swiss teacher, anarchist; follower of Bakunin; an organiser of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; member of the Swiss organisations of the First International from 1868; expelled from it at the Hague Congress (1872) for his splitting activities.—176, 177

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman, Orleanist; Foreign Minister (1840-48), Prime Minister (1847-48); virtually determined the home and foreign policy of France from 1840 to the February 1848 revolution; expressed the interests of the big financial bourgeoisie.—184

H

*Hackenberger, Rudolph*—an editor of the *Freie Volksstimme* in Saarbrücken, Social-Democrat.—210

*Hales, William*—member of the General Council of the First International (1867, 1869-72).—571

*Hales, W. K.*—publisher of the London *Daily News* (1878-81).—230-31, 374

*Hannecken, Karl August Bernhard Hermann von* (1810-1886)—Prussian officer and military writer.—528

*Hansemann, David Justus Ludwig* (1790-1864)—German capitalist, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Finance Minister (March-September 1848).—183, 274

*Harcourt, Sir William George Granville Venables Vernon* (1827-1904)—British statesman, Liberal M.P. (1868-80); Home Secretary (1880-85); leader of the Liberal Party (1894-98).—375

*Harris, George*—active in the British working-class movement; follower of the social-reformist views of the Chartist James Bronterre O'Brien; member of the National Reform League; member of the General Council of the First International (1869-72); Financial Secretary of the Council (1870-71).—571

*Hartmann, Georg Wilhelm*—German worker; member of the General Association of German Workers; from 1875, one of the two Chairmen of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany; deputy to the Reichstag (1878-81).—408

*Hasenclever, Wilhelm* (1837-1889)—German Social-Democrat, follower of Lassalle; leather-dresser, journalist; Secretary (from 1866) and President (1871-75) of the General Association of German Workers; one of the two Chairmen of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of

Germany (1875-76); member of its leadership (from 1878); deputy to the North German and the German Reichstag (1869-71, 1874-78, 1879-88).—209, 214, 408

*Hasselmann, Wilhelm* (1844-1916)—one of the leaders of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; editor of *Der Social-Demokrat* (1867-71) and *Neuer Social-Demokrat* (1871-76); member of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany from 1875; deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-76 and 1878-80); expelled from the party as an anarchist in 1880.—67, 72, 214, 578

*Haxthausen, August Franz Ludwig Maria, Freiherr von* (1792-1866)—Prussian official and writer; author of works on the agrarian system and the peasant commune in Russia.—45, 196

*Hébert, Jacques René* (1757-1794)—prominent figure in the French Revolution; leader of the Left wing of the Jacobins, publisher of *Le Père Duchesne* (1790-94).—14

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—285-86, 293, 298, 302-04, 427, 458-59, 514, 583

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—14, 33, 175, 249, 429

*Helldorf-Bedra, Otto Heinrich von* (1833-1908)—German politician, member of the Reichstag (1871-74, 1877-81 and 1884-93); a leader of the German Conservative Party.—250

*Henry IV* (1533-1610)—King of France (1589-1610).—237

*Heraclitus* (c. 540-c. 480 B.C.)—Greek philosopher; one of the founders of dialectics.—299

*Herman, Alfred*—active in the Belgian working-class movement; sculptor; a founder of sections of the First International in Belgium; member of the General Council and Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1871-72); delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868), the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; at the Hague Congress joined the anarchist minority.—571

*Herodotus* (c. 484-c. 424 B.C.)—Greek historian.—548

*Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich* (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat; materialist philosopher and writer; left Russia in 1847, from 1852 lived in England where he established the Free Russian Press and published the periodical *Polyarnaya Zvezda* (Polar Star) (1855-62, 1869) and the newspaper *Kolokol* (The Bell) (1857-67).—43, 45, 196

*Hesekiel, Georg Ludwig* (1819-1874)—German journalist and man of letters.—580

*Hess, Moses* (1812-1875)—German radical writer; a "true socialist" in the mid-1840s; member of the Communist League; sided with the separatist Willich-Schapper group; Lassallean in the 1860s; delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the First International.—51, 514

*Hinckeldey, Karl Ludwig Friedrich von* (1805-1856)—Prussian official; Chief Commissioner of Berlin police from 1848, President of the Police Department in the Ministry of the Interior from 1853.—51-53

*Hirsch, Carl (Karl)* (1841-1900)—German Social-Democrat, journalist, editor of a number of Social-Democratic newspapers; while in Paris in the summer of 1879 he propagated ideas of scientific socialism.—253-54, 257-61

*Hirsch, Wilhelm*—Hamburg shop assistant, Prussian police agent in London in the early 1850s.—51

*Höchberg, Karl* (pseudonym *Dr. Ludwig Richter*) (1853-1885)—German social-reformer; son of a rich merchant; in

1876 joined the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany; organised and financed a number of newspapers and journals.—253-54, 257-60, 262-67, 269

*Hödel (Hoedel), Emil Heinrich Max* (1857-1878)—tinner from Leipzig; on May 11, 1878 made an attempt on the life of William I.—231, 237, 243, 245-46, 575

*Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of Brandenburg Electors (1415-1701), Prussian Kings (1701-1918) and German Emperors (1871-1918).—9

*Homer*—semi-legendary epic poet of Ancient Greece, author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.—24, 34

*Howell, George* (1833-1910)—reformist leader of the British trade unions; mason; former Chartist; Secretary of the London Trades Council (1861-62); participant in the inaugural meeting of the First International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (October 1864 to 1869); participant in the London Conference of the International (1865); Secretary of the Reform League (1864-67) and the Parliamentary Committee of the British Congress of Trade Unions (1871-75); opposed revolutionary tactics; Liberal M.P. (1885-95).—234-39

*Hubbard, Nicolas Gustave* (1828-1888)—French economist and writer.—291

*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885)—French writer and statesman.—585

*Humboldt, Alexander (Friedrich Heinrich Alexander), Baron von* (1769-1859)—German naturalist, traveller and statesman; between 1830 and 1848 he was frequently sent on diplomatic missions to the court of Louis Philippe.—184, 419, 422

*Hurliman*—member of the General Council of the First International (1871-72); delegate from the Swiss Society in London.—571

I

*Illingworth, A.*—M.P. in 1881.—389

*Isabella II* (1830-1904)—Queen of Spain (1833-68).—21-22

J

*Jacoby, Johann* (1805-1877)—German radical writer and politician; a leader of the Left wing in the Prussian National Assembly (1848); in the 1870s, was close to the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany.—492, 525

*James II* (1633-1701)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1685-88).—436

*Jhering, Rudolf von* (1818-1892)—German jurist; taught Roman law at several universities; headed the "positive" and "practically-dogmatic" trend of the bourgeois school of law.—554, 556

*Johannard, Jules Paul* (1843-1892)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; lithographer; member of the General Council of the First International (1868-69, 1871-72) and Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1868-69); member of the Paris Commune (1871); was close to the Blanquists; emigrated to London after the suppression of the Commune; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872) of the International.—571

*Johann Nepomuk Maria Joseph* (pen-name *Philalethes*) (1801-1873)—Prince of Saxony, King of Saxony (1854-73), translator of Dante.—183

*John (Johann)* (1782-1859)—Archduke of Austria, field marshal, fought against Napoleon; Imperial Regent from June 1848 to December 1849.—138, 167-68, 188

*Jottrand, Lucien Léopold* (1804-1877)—Belgian lawyer and writer, democrat,

President of the Democratic Association in Brussels (1847).—136-37

*Jung, Hermann* (1830-1901)—prominent figure in the international and Swiss working-class movement; watchmaker; member of the General Council of the First International and Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland (November 1864 to 1872); participant in the London Conference (1865), Chairman of the Geneva (1866), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and of the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council; supported Marx before the Hague Congress of 1872; later joined the reformist leaders of the British trade unions; left the working-class movement in the late 1870s.—571

K

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—293, 301-02, 458-59

*Kapell, August* (b. 1844)—a founder of the General Association of German Carpenters; deputy to the German Reichstag (1877).—209

*Kardorff, Wilhelm von* (1828-1907)—German politician, deputy to the Reichstag (1868-1906); a founder of the party of "free Conservatives" ("Imperial party"); protectionist; supported Bismarck's foreign and home policy.—111, 119-20, 122, 124-25

*Kaulitz, Harry*—an editor of the *Freie Volksstimme* in Saarbrücken; Social-Democrat.—210

*Kayser, Max* (1853-1888)—German journalist; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany; member of the Reichstag (1878-87), belonged to the right wing of the Social-Democratic group.—258-61

*Kératry, Émile, comte de* (1832-1905)—French reactionary politician; Prefect of the Paris police (September-October 1870); later supervised the formation of territorial armed forces in Brittany; Prefect of the Haute Garonne Department (1871); in April 1871, suppressed the Commune in Toulouse.—461, 529

*Khmelnitsky, Bogdan (Zinovy)* (c. 1595-1657)—Ukrainian statesman and general, Hetman of the Ukraine; headed the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people against Polish domination (1648-54); initiator of the reunion of the Ukraine with Russia and advocate of her political autonomy (1654).—502

*Kościuszko, Tadeusz Andrzej Bonawentura* (1746-1817)—prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement in the 1790s; took part in the struggle for the independence of the North American colonies (1776-83); leader of the Polish uprising of 1794.—7, 343

*Krengel*—mayor of the village of Nessin (Eastern Prussia) in the 1840s.—143

*Krüger, Daniel Christian Friedrich* (1819-1896)—German lawyer and diplomat; represented Lübeck (from 1868) and Hamburg and Bremen (from 1873) in the Federal Council.—122-23

*Krupp, Alfred* (1812-1887)—big German steel and ordnance manufacturer, supplying many European states with guns and other weapons.—275-76

*Kryński (Krynski), Jan* (1811-1890)—Polish revolutionary; participant in the Polish uprising of 1863-64; refugee in London; member of the General Council (1865-67); Secretary of the society called "The Polish People".—5

*Kullmann, Eduard* (1853-1892)—German cooper, member of a Catholic trade union; on July 13, 1874 made an attempt on Bismarck's life in protest against his policy of restricting the rights of the Catholic Church in

Germany (*Kulturkampf*); died in prison.—244

L

*Ladenberg, Adalbert von* (1798-1855)—Prussian official; Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine (November 1848-December 1850).—151

*Lafargue, Charles Étienne* (1868-1872)—son of Laura and Paul Lafargue.—460-61

*Lafargue, Laura* (1845-1911)—Karl Marx's second daughter; prominent figure in the French working-class movement; translated many works of Marx and Engels into French; married Paul Lafargue in 1868.—460-61, 585

*Lafargue, Paul* (1842-1911)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; member of the General Council of the First International (from 1866); Corresponding Secretary for Spain (1866-69); helped to organise the First International's sections in France (1869-70), Spain and Portugal (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); a founder of the French Workers' Party; follower and associate of Marx and Engels; husband of Laura, Karl Marx's daughter, from 1868.—23, 26-27, 335-36, 345, 457, 460-61, 471, 585

*Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louis de* (1790-1869)—French poet, historian and politician; one of the leaders of the moderate republicans in the 1840s; Minister of Foreign Affairs and virtual head of the Provisional Government in 1848.—107, 187, 480

*Lange, Friedrich Albert* (1828-1875)—German philosopher and economist; from 1870 professor in Zurich and, from 1872, in Marburg; Neo-Kantian.—91, 531

*Lankester, Sir Edwin Ray* (1847-1929)—English scientist, professor of biology (from 1874).—471

*Laplace, Pierre Simon, marquis de* (1749-1827)—French astronomer, mathematician and physicist; independently of Kant, worked out and mathematically substantiated the hypothesis that the solar system developed from gaseous nebula.—302, 458

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German writer and lawyer; participant in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863); an initiator of an opportunist trend within the German working-class movement.—69-70, 72, 78, 83-84, 88-93, 230, 263, 273, 326, 457, 492, 515-16, 522-23, 572, 574, 584

*Lavrov, Pyotr (Peter) Lavrovich* (1823-1900)—Russian philosopher, sociologist and journalist; an ideologist of revolutionary Narodism (populism); emigrated in 1870; member of the First International; took part in the Paris Commune; editor of the journal *Vperyod!* (Forward!) (1873-76); adherent to the subjective method in sociology.—19-29, 32-34, 36, 469, 473, 477

*Law, Harriet* (1832-1897)—a leading figure in the atheist movement in England; member of the General Council (June 1867-72) and the Manchester Section of the First International (1872); publisher of *The Secular Chronicle* (1876-79).—571

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician; a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats; editor of *La Réforme*; Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government (1848); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies, where he headed the Montagne party; emigrated to England after the demonstration of June 13, 1849, and lived there until 1870;

deputy to the National Assembly (1871).—270

*Lelewel, Joachim* (1786-1861)—Polish historian and revolutionary; participant in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31; a leader of the democratic wing of the Polish refugees in France and, from 1833, in Brussels.—344

*Lemke, Gottlieb* (c. 1844-1885)—member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.—467

*Le Moussu, Benjamin Constant* (b. 1846)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; engraver; took part in the Paris Commune; emigrated to London after the suppression of the Commune; member of the General Council of the First International and Corresponding Secretary for the French-language sections in the USA (1871-72) and, from May 1872, for all sections of the International there; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against the Bakuninists.—571

*Leonhardt, Gerhard Adolf Wilhelm* (1815-1880)—German lawyer and statesman; Minister of Justice in Hanover (1865-66) and Prussia (1867-79).—448

*Leopold I* (1790-1865)—King of Belgium (1831-65).—136-37

*Lépine, Jules*—Secretary of the Paris branch of the French Workers' Party.—470

*Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim* (1729-1781)—German dramatist, critic and philosopher of the Enlightenment.—23

*Lessner, Friedrich* (1825-1910)—member of the Communist League; tailor; participant in the 1848-49 revolution; defendant at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); refugee in London from 1856; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the First International (November 1864-72); member of the British Federal Council (1872-73); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—105, 345, 471, 571

*Le Tailleur, A.*—publisher of *L'Égalité*.—586

*Levy, Joseph Moses* (1812-1888)—English journalist; one of the founders and publisher of *The Daily Telegraph* from 1855.—51

*Lewal, Jules Louis* (1823-1908)—French general and military theoretician; War Minister of France (1885).—66

*Lichnowski, Felix Maria, Prince von* (1814-1848)—Silesian landowner, Prussian army officer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing); killed during the September 1848 uprising in Frankfurt.—144

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League and of the First International; deputy to the North German (1867-70) and the German Reichstag from 1874 (with intervals); one of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—67, 72-73, 77, 209, 214, 253-57, 408, 470, 492, 500, 521, 525

*Lincoln, Abraham* (1809-1865)—American statesman; a leader of the Republican Party; President of the United States (1861-65); during the Civil War, under pressure from the masses, carried out a number of important bourgeois-democratic reforms, thus making possible the adoption of revolutionary methods of warfare; assassinated by a slaveholders' agent in April 1865.—236

*Linné, Carl von* (1707-1778)—Swedish naturalist; was the first to devise the

classification systems for plants and animals.—303

*Lissagaray, Prosper Olivier* (1838-1901)—French journalist; took part in the Paris Commune, emigrated to Great Britain after its defeat; author of *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (1876); on returning to France (1880), published the newspaper *La Bataille* (1882-83, 1888-93), which opposed the leaders of the French Workers' Party, Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue.—527

*Lochner, Georg* (born c. 1824)—active member of the working-class movement; joiner; member of the Communist League and of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the First International (November 1864-67 and 1871-72); delegate to the London conferences of the International (1865 and 1871); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—471, 571

*Locke, John* (1632-1704)—English dualist philosopher and economist.—299

*Longuet, Charles* (1839-1903)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; journalist; Proudhonist; member of the General Council of the First International (1866-67, 1871-72), Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1866); delegate to the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and the Hague (1872) congresses and the London Conference (1871); member of the Paris Commune (1871); later joined the Possibilists; in the 1880s-90s was elected to the Paris Municipal Council; in 1872 married Karl Marx's daughter Jenny.—330, 460, 469, 571, 585

*Longuet, Edgar* (1879-1950)—Marx's grandson, son of Jenny and Charles Longuet.—585

*Longuet, Henri* (1878-1883)—Marx's grandson, son of Jenny and Charles Longuet.—585

*Longuet, Jean, Frédéric, Laurent* (1876-1938)—Marx's grandson, son of Jenny and Charles Longuet.—585

*Longuet, Jenny* (1844-1883)—Marx's eldest daughter; prominent figure in the international working-class movement; wife of Charles Longuet (from 1872).—460-61, 475, 585

*Loria, Achille* (1857-1943)—Italian sociologist and economist.—479-80

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—559

*Louis XV* (1710-1774)—King of France (1715-74).—21

*Louis Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Napoleon*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—13, 93, 96, 419, 488

*Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, Count of Paris* (1838-1894)—Louis Philippe's grandson; pretender to the French throne.—222

*Lucraft, Benjamin* (1809-1897)—one of the reformist leaders of the British trade unions; furniture-maker; member of the General Council of the First International (1864-71); in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address *The Civil War in France* and left the General Council.—237

*Luther, Martin* (1483-1546)—German theologian and writer, a leader of the Reformation, founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany, ideologist of the German burghers.—247

M

*Mably, Gabriel Bonnot de* (1709-1785)—French sociologist, proponent of utopian egalitarian communism.—287

*McDonnell (MacDonnell), Joseph Patrick* (1847-1906)—active member of

the Irish working-class movement; member of the General Council of the First International and Corresponding Secretary for Ireland (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; in 1872 emigrated to the USA where he took part in the American working-class movement.—571

*MacIver, D.*—British M.P. from Birkenhead (1881).—389

*MacMahon, Marie Edmé Patrice Maurice, comte de, duc de Magenta* (1808-1893)—French military figure and politician, marshal, Bonapartist; an organiser of the suppression of the Paris Commune (1871), President of the Third Republic (1873-79).—577

*Maine, Sir Henry James Sumner* (1822-1888)—English comparative jurist and historian; as a member of the Governor General's Council for India (1862-69) took an active part in working out local English laws and in the colonial oppression of India.—359, 365

*Malon, Benoît* (1841-1893)—French socialist, member of the First International; took part in the formation of the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy (1868); delegate to the Geneva Congress of the International (1866); deputy to the National Assembly (1871); member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Italy and then to Switzerland; later, a leader and ideologist of the Possibilists.—12

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, author of a theory of population.—69, 91

*Manteuffel, Edwin Hans Karl, Baron von* (1809-1885)—German general, general field-marshal from 1873; during the Franco-Prussian war commanded the First Corps, then the First (from October 1870) and South (from January 1871) armies; Commander-in-Chief of the German occupational troops in France (1871-73).—530

*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von* (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (November 1848-November 1850); Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1850-58).—140-41, 161, 516

*Manteuffels*—aristocratic family from Pomerania, first mentioned in documents in 1287; in the 14th century settled in Saxony, Sweden and the Baltic area.—144

*Marat, Jean Paul* (1743-1793)—leading figure in the French Revolution, prominent Jacobin.—582

*Maria Alexandrovna, the Grand Duchess* (1853-1920)—Alexander II's daughter; wife of Alfred Ernest Albert, Duke of Edinburgh, from January 1874.—5

*Martin, Bon Louis Henri* (1810-1883)—French historian, Republican; deputy to the National Assembly (1871); Senator (from 1876).—235

*Martin, Constant* (1839-1906)—French employee, Blanquist; member of the Paris Federal Council of the First International; member of the Paris Commune; after its defeat emigrated to London, member of the General Council of the First International (1871-72); Secretary of the London Conference (1871); after the amnesty in 1880 returned to France.—571

*Marx, Edgar (Musch)* (1847-1855)—Karl Marx's son.—420, 423

*Marx, Eleanor (Tussy)* (1855-1898)—Karl Marx's youngest daughter, prominent figure in the British and international working-class movement; married Edward Aveling in 1884.—460-61, 473, 476

*Marx, Franziska* (1851-1852)—Karl Marx's daughter.—420, 423

*Marx, Heinrich Guido* (1849-1850)—Karl Marx's son.—420, 423

*Marx, Jenny* (née *von Westphalen*) (1814-1881)—Karl Marx's wife from June 1843.—184, 419-24, 463, 467, 474, 583, 585

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883).—32, 37-38, 51-55, 57, 69-73, 77-78, 81, 87-92, 107, 131, 137, 165, 170-71, 183-84, 187-96, 230-37, 246-47, 249, 253, 268, 269, 305, 307, 308, 315, 326, 327, 332, 335, 336, 345-46, 352-54, 355, 358, 360, 361-62, 364-66, 370-72, 374, 419-20, 422-23, 460-64, 467-80, 487, 492-93, 495, 500, 520-23, 532-37, 549-51, 557, 563-65, 568-85

*Massard, Nicolas Émile* (1857-1932)—French socialist, journalist; member of the French Workers' Party; staff member of *L'Égalité* in the early 1880s.—586

*Maurer, Georg Ludwig* (1790-1872)—German historian, studied the social system of ancient and medieval Germany.—46, 350, 366

*Mayo, Henry*—participant in the British working-class movement, member of the General Council of the First International (1871-72) and the British Federal Council (1872); in the latter he joined the reformist wing; opposed the decisions of the Hague Congress of the International; expelled from the International by the General Council's decision of May 30, 1873.—571

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—leader of the national liberation movement in Italy; headed the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850); when the International was founded in 1864 he tried to bring it under his influence; in 1871 opposed the Paris Commune and the International; hindered the development of the independent working-class movement in Italy.—217, 583

*Merovingians*—the first dynasty of Frankish kings that ruled from 457 to 751.—450

*Mesa y Leompart, José* (1840-1904)—participant in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement; printer; an organiser of the First International's sections in Spain, member of the Spanish Federal Council (1871-72) and the New Madrid Federation (1872-73); fought anarchism; one of the first propagandists of Marxism in Spain and a founder of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (1879); translated works by Marx and Engels into Spanish.—105, 470

*Metternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince von* (1773-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1809-21) and Chancellor (1821-48); an organiser of the Holy Alliance.—488, 512

*Meyer, Rudolph Hermann* (1839-1899)—German bourgeois economist and journalist, conservative.—550

*Mezentsov, Nikolai Vladimirovich* (1827-1878)—Russian statesman; from 1864, chief of staff of the political police corps; in 1876-78, chief of the political police.—245

*Mickiewicz, Adam* (1798-1855)—Polish poet and leader of the national liberation movement; emigrated in 1829; studied literature, culture and history of the Slav peoples.—497

*Mierosławski, Ludwik* (1814-1878)—leader of the Polish national liberation movement, took part in the 1830-31 uprising; helped to organise the uprising in Posen in 1846, was arrested; headed the 1848 uprising in Posen; in 1849, commanded the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army.—58

*Mikhailovsky, Nikolai Konstantinovich* (1842-1904)—Russian sociologist, journalist and literary critic; an ideologist of Narodism (populism);

an editor of *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* (Fatherland's Notes) (1868-84) and *Russkoye Bogatstvo* (Russian Wealth) (1892-1904).—196, 199-200

*Mill, John Stuart* (1806-1873)—British economist and positivist philosopher.—181

*Milner, George*—participant in the British working-class movement; Irish by birth; tailor; follower of the social-reformist views of the Chartist James Bronterre O'Brien; member of the National Reform League, the Land and Labour League, the First International's General Council (1868-72), and the British Federal Council (autumn 1872 to 1873); in the latter opposed the reformist wing; delegate to the London Conference (1871) of the International.—571

*Miquel, Johannes* (1828-1901)—German lawyer, politician and banker; member of the Communist League up to 1852, later a National Liberal; deputy to the North German and the German Reichstag (1867-77 and 1887-90), Finance Minister (1890-1901).—266

*Mirès, Jules Isaac* (1809-1871)—French banker, owner of several newspapers.—277

*Molière* (real name *Jean Baptiste Poquelin*) (1622-1673)—French dramatist.—569

*Moll, Joseph* (1812-1849)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; watchmaker; a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League, President of the Cologne Workers' Association (from July to September 1848), member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, was killed in the battle of the Murg.—138, 566

*Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard, Count von* (1800-1891)—military writer and strategist, ideologist of Prussian militarism, field marshal-general from 1871; Chief of Prussian (1857-71) and Imperial (1871-88) General Staff; virtually commander-in-chief during the Franco-Prussian war.—528-30

*Monk, Charles* (b. 1824)—British statesman, Liberal Unionist M.P. (1859, 1865-85).—389

*Montaigne, Michel de* (1533-1592)—French skeptical philosopher.—569

*Moore, Samuel* (1838-1911)—English lawyer, member of the First International; translated into English Volume One of Marx's *Capital* (in collaboration with Edward Aveling) and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; friend of Marx and Engels.—480

*Morago González, Tomás*—Bakuninist, delegate to the Ghent Congress of Socialists (September 1877).—216

*Morelly* (18th cent.)—French advocate of utopian egalitarian communism.—287

*Morgan, Lewis Henry* (1818-1881)—American ethnographer, archaeologist and historian of primitive society.—350

*Most, Johann Joseph* (1846-1906)—German anarchist, joined the working-class movement in the 1860s; deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-78); after the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law (1878) emigrated to England; founder (1879) and editor of the *Freiheit*; expelled from the German Socialist Workers' Party as an anarchist (in 1880); in 1882 emigrated to the USA and continued anarchist propaganda.—210, 214, 374, 410, 478-79

*Motteler, Julius* (1838-1907)—German Social-Democrat, a founder of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (1869), deputy to the Reichstag (1874-78, 1903-07).—209, 214

*Mottershead, Thomas G.* (c. 1826-1884)—

English weaver, a Chartist; member of the General Council of the First International (1869-72), Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); member of the British Federal Council; opposed Marx's line in the General Council and the British Federal Council; expelled from the International by decision of the General Council of May 30, 1873.—571

*Müller, Wilhelm* (1820-1892)—historian, professor in Tübingen.—511

*Münzer, Thomas* (c. 1490-1525)—leader of the urban plebeians and poor peasants during the Reformation and the Peasant War in Germany (1525); advocated egalitarian utopian communism.—287

*Muravyov-Apostol, Sergei Ivanovich* (1796-1826)—one of the leaders of the Decembrist movement in Russia, republican and opponent of serfdom; executed by Nicholas I together with the other four leaders of the Decembrist uprising of 1825.—501

*Muravyov, Mikhail Nikolayevich* (1796-1866)—Russian statesman, Minister of State Property (1857-63), opposed the Peasant Reform, Governor General of the North-Western Territory (1863-65); for the brutal suppression of the Polish uprising (1863-64) he was called "hangman".—503

*Murray, Charles Joseph*—active participant in the British workers' movement; shoemaker; follower of the social-reformist views of the Chartist James Bronterre O'Brien, member of the National Reform League and the Land and Labour League; member of the General Council of the First International (1870-72) and of the British Federal Council (1872-73); follower of Marx and Engels; an active member of the Social-Democratic Federation in the 1880s.—571

N

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—French statesman and general, first Consul of the French Republic (1799-1804); Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—9, 62, 103, 224, 288, 318, 390, 454, 494, 497, 504, 511, 528, 577

*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—nephew of Napoleon I; President of the Second Republic (December 1848 to 1851), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—9, 56, 96, 167, 188-89, 221, 224, 271, 412, 504, 511, 525, 578

*Napoleon, Prince (Plon-Plon)*—see *Bonaparte, Prince Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul*

*Nechayev (Netschajeff), Sergei Gennadyevich* (1847-1882)—Russian revolutionary, conspirator, representative of the extreme adventurist trend of anarchism; as a refugee in Switzerland in 1869-71 he was connected with Bakunin; in August 1869, having returned to Russia for a short time, he formed a secret organisation, Narodnaya rasprava (People's Judgement), in Moscow; used methods impermissible for a revolutionary and did serious harm to the Russian revolutionary movement; in 1872 was extradited by the Swiss authorities to the Russian government and was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment; died in the SS. Peter and Paul fortress in St. Petersburg.—22, 25-27, 37, 246

*Nero (Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus)* (A. D. 37-68)—Roman Emperor (54-68).—432-33

*Newton, Sir Isaac* (1642-1727)—English physicist, astronomer and mathematician, founder of classical mechanics.—301, 303

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—9, 103, 107-08, 228, 343, 426, 488, 501-03, 512, 515-16

*Niebelschütz, Edwin von*—German official, editor of the *Neue Preußische Zeitung* in 1876-81.—241

*Nobiling, Karl Eduard* (1848-1878)—German anarchist; on May 11, 1878 made an attempt on William I's life.—231, 238, 241-46

*Noble, John* (1827-1892)—British politician, Free Trader, advocate of the Anti-Corn Law League; author of works on finances.—400-03

O

*Odger, George* (1820-1877)—one of the leaders of the British trade unions; shoemaker; took part in founding the London Trades Council and was its Secretary from 1862 to 1872; member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland, the Land and Labour League and the Labour Representation League; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; member of the General Council of the First International (1864-71), its President (1864-67), took part in the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866), opposed revolutionary tactics; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address *The Civil War in France* and left the Council.—237

*O'Donovan Rossa, Jeremiah* (1831-1915)—a leader of the Fenian movement; publisher of *The Irish People* (1863-65); in 1865 was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment; amnestied in 1870, emigrated to the USA where he headed the Fenian organisation; retired from political life in the 1880s.—460

*Orleans*—a branch of the royal dynasty in France (1830-48).—586

*Orsini, Felice* (1819-1858)—Italian democrat, republican; prominent figure in the struggle for Italy's national liberation and unification, executed for his attempt on the life of Napoleon III.—577

*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—British utopian socialist.—287, 289, 294-96, 335, 459

P

*Paine, Thomas* (1737-1809)—English-born American author, Republican, participant in the American War of Independence (1775-83) and the French Revolution (1789-94).—569

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman, Tory at the beginning of his career, Whig from 1830 onwards; Foreign Secretary (1830-41, 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-65).—56, 138, 189

*Pavía y Albuquerque, Manuel* (1827-1895)—Spanish general and politician; in 1873 commanded the Republic's troops against the Carlists and suppressed the cantonalist uprising in Andalusia; Captain-General of New Castile (1873-74); carried out a monarchist coup d'état (January 2-3, 1874) which brought Serrano to power; Senator from 1880.—49

*Péreire, Isaac* (1806-1880)—French banker, Bonapartist, deputy to the Corps législatif; in 1852, together with his brother Émile Péreire, founded the joint-stock bank *Crédit mobilier,* which went bankrupt in 1867 and was liquidated in 1871; author of works on credit.—274, 277

*Péreire, Jacob Émile* (1800-1875)—French banker, adhered to the Saint-Simonists (1825-31); later a Bonapartist; a founder (1852) and director of the *Crédit mobilier.*—274, 277

*Persius (Aulus Persius Flaccus)* (A.D. 34-62)—Roman satirist, follower of Stoic philosophy.—433

*Pestel, Pavel Ivanovich* (1793-1826)—a leader of the Decembrist movement in Russia, founder and leader of the Southern Society.—501

*Peter I (the Great)* (1672-1725)—Tsar of Russia (1682-1721); Emperor of Russia (1721-25).—8, 42, 488, 508

*Peter III* (1728-1762)—Emperor of Russia (1761-62).—49

*Petronius (Gaius Petronius Arbiter)* (d. A.D. 66)—Roman satirist, the reputed author of *Satyricon* showing moral degradation of Roman society during Nero's reign.—431

*Pfander (Pfänder), Karl (Carl)* (c. 1818-1876)—participant in the German and international working-class movement, painter; from 1845, a refugee in London; a leader of the League of the Just; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, of the Communist League's Central Authority and of the General Council of the First International (1864-67 and 1870-72); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—571

*Pfuel, Ernst Heinrich Adolf von* (1779-1866)—Prussian general; Prime Minister and War Minister (September-October 1848).—138

*Philalethes*—see *Johann Nepomuk Maria Joseph*

*Philo (Philo Judaeus)* (21 or 28 B.C.—A.D. 41 or 49)—main representative of the Judaic religious philosophy of Alexandria; greatly influenced the formation of Christian theology.—428-30

*Pinder, Julius Hermann* (b. 1805)—Prussian official, moderate liberal; *Oberpräsident* of Silesia; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—148

*Pio, Louis Albert François* (1841-1894)—publisher of the workers' weekly *Socialisten*; actual founder of the International's sections in Denmark (1871); a founder of the Danish Social-Democratic Party (1876); fled to the USA in 1877.—219

*Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti)* (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—10, 238

*Pi y Margall, Francisco* (1824-1901)—Spanish politician, leader of the Left Republicans, utopian socialist; lawyer and writer; took part in the revolutions (1854-56 and 1868-74); Minister of the Interior (February 13-June 11, 1873); President *pro tem* of the republican government (June 11-July 18, 1873).—513

*Plato* (428 or 427-348 or 347 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—548

*Pliny the Elder (Gaius Plinius Secundus)* (A.D. 23 or 24-79)—Roman scholar, author of *Natural History* in 37 volumes.—548

*Pogodin, Mikhail Petrovich* (1800-1875)—Russian historian, writer and journalist.—6-7

*Pompadour, Jeanne Antoinette Poisson le Normant d'Étioles, marquise de* (1721-1764)—mistress of Louis XV of France.—21

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, petty-bourgeois socialist, economist and sociologist; a founder of anarchism.—71, 184, 296, 326-27, 479, 514, 520-21

*Puchta, Georg Friedrich* (1798-1846)—German lawyer; representative of the historical school of law.—554

*Pugachov, Yemelyan Ivanovich* (c. 1742-1775)—leader of an anti-feudal peasant and Cossack uprising in Russia (1773-75).—49

R

*Racine, Jean* (1639-1699)—French dramatist.—569

*Rackow, Heinrich*—German Social-Democrat; from 1879 a refugee in London; owner of a tobacco shop; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.—578

*Rau, Karl Heinrich* (1792-1870)—German political economist.—532, 537, 540, 543

*Reh, Theodor* (1801-1868)—German lawyer; in 1848-49, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre), its last President (1849).—167

*Reichensperger, August* (1808-1895)—Prussian politician and writer on art; deputy to the Second Chamber (1850-63) and to the North German and German Reichstag (1867-92); a leader of the Roman Catholic (Centre) Party.—250

*Reimer, O.*—follower of Lassalle; deputy to the Reichstag (1874).—214

*Reimers, W.*—sergeant of the English police (1874).—564

*Renan, Ernest* (1823-1892)—French historian of religion, Semitist, idealist philosopher.—238, 427

*Renard, Andreas, Count* (1795-1874)—Silesian landowner; deputy to the Second Chamber (Right wing) in 1849.—151

*Reuleaux, Franz* (1829-1905)—German scientist, founder of the German school of machine theory; member of the juries of the world exhibitions in Paris (1867), Vienna (1873) and Philadelphia (1876).—275

*Reuß (Reuss), Heinrich XXII, Prince von* (1846-1902).—172

*Reuter, Heinrich Ludwig Christian Fritz* (1810-1874)—German humorist writer; for participation in the student movement was sentenced to death (1833) which was commuted to thirty years' imprisonment; amnestied in 1840; began his literary activity in 1852.—133

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—English economist.—69, 382, 534, 551

*Richter, Ludwig*—see *Höchberg, Karl*

*Rittinghausen, Moritz* (1814-1890)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement; staff member of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49; deputy to the German Reichstag (1877-78 and 1881-84).—209

*Roach, Thomas John*—member of the General Council of the First International (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); Corresponding Secretary for the British Federal Council, belonged to its reformist wing (1872); expelled from the International by the General Council's decision of May 30, 1873.—571

*Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de* (1758-1794)—leader of the Jacobins in the French Revolution; head of the revolutionary government (1793-94).—18, 176, 514

*Rochat, Charles Michel* (b. 1844)—member of the Paris Federal Council, took part in the Paris Commune; Corresponding Secretary of the International's General Council for Holland (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871); in 1872 emigrated to Belgium.—571

*Rochefort, Henri, marquis de Rochefort-Luçay* (c. 1831-1913)—French journalist and politician, Left-wing republican; publisher of the journal *La Lanterne* (1868-69) and the newspaper *La Marseillaise* (1869-70); after the revolution of September 4, 1870 until October 31, member of the Government of National Defence; after the suppression of the Paris Commune was exiled to New Caledonia; monarchist from the end of the 1880s.—460, 584

*Rodbertus (Rodbertus-Jagetzow), Johann Karl* (1805-1875)—German economist; leader of the Left Centre in the

Prussian National Assembly in 1848; subsequently theoretician of "state socialism".—531, 544-47, 549-51

*Rost, Valentin Christian Friedrich* (1790-1862)—German philologist.—548

*Rousseau, Jean Jacques* (1712-1778)—French philosopher and writer of the Enlightenment.—82, 286, 288, 298

*Rubichon, Maurice* (1766-1849)—French economist, royalist, contributed to the *Journal des Économistes*.—326

*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian; published, jointly with Marx, the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*; Marx's ideological opponent after 1844; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in England in the 1850s; National Liberal after 1866.—184, 335

*Rühl, J.*—German worker, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London and of the General Council of the First International (1870-72).—571

*Rutenberg, Adolf* (1808-1869)—German journalist, Young Hegelian; member of the editorial board of the *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842); National Liberal after 1866.—233

S

*Sadler, Michael Thomas*—participant in the British working-class movement; member of the General Council of the First International (1871-72).—571

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—287, 289-92, 302, 459, 514, 521

*Saltykov (Saltykov-Shchedrin), Mikhail Yevgrafovich* (pseudonym *N. Shchedrin*) (1826-1889)—Russian satirical writer; in the 1840s took a great interest in the ideas of Saint-Simon and Fourier and was exiled to Vyatka "for harmful thoughts" (1848); Vice-Governor of Ryazan, then of Tver (1858-62); member of the editorial board of *Sovremennik* (1862-64); co-editor and shareholder of *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* (1868-84). Thanks to him these journals became the main tribune of the Russian democrats.—196

*Schäffle, Albert Eberhard Friedrich* (1831-1903)—German economist and sociologist; propagated abstention from the class struggle.—531, 533, 536-37, 547, 553

*Schapper, Karl* (c. 1812-1870)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Communist League's Central Authority; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; a leader of the separatist group that split away from the Communist League (1850); again drew close to Marx in 1856; member of the General Council of the First International (1865), participant in the London Conference of 1865.—52, 336, 565

*Scheele, Alfred*—head of the imperial railway office (1873-74).—278

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—14, 18, 127

*Schinderhannes*—see *Bückler, Johann*

*Schneider, Adam*—German carpenter, took part in an attempt on the life of Prince William (subsequently William I) on June 12, 1849.—244

*Schorlemmer, Carl* (1834-1892)—German organic chemist, dialectical materialist, professor in Manchester; member of the First International and of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party; member of scien-

tific societies in Great Britain, USA and Germany; friend of Marx and Engels.—471

*Schouvaloff*—see *Shuvalov, Pyotr Andreyevich*

*Schramm, Carl (Karl) August* (1830-1905)—German Social-Democrat; reformist; an editor of the *Jahrbuch für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik*; criticised Marxism in the second half of the 1870s; withdrew from the working-class movement in the 1880s.—257-59, 262-67, 269

*Schulze, Ernst*—German philologist, author of the *Gothisches Glossar*.—548

*Schwarzenberg, Felix, Prince zu* (1800-1852)—Austrian conservative statesman and diplomat; after the suppression of the Vienna uprising in October 1848 Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (November 1848-52).—516

*Schweitzer, Johann Baptist von* (1833-1875)—German journalist, follower of Lassalle, editor of *Der Social-Demokrat* (1864-67); President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71); supported Bismarck's policy of unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy; fought against the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; was expelled from the General Association for his contacts with the Prussian authorities (1872).—263

*Sefeloge, Maximilian Joseph* (1820-1859)—Prussian retired non-commissioned officer; made an attempt on the life of Frederick William IV on May 22, 1850; died in a lunatic asylum.—244

*Seneca, Lucius Annaeus* (c. 4 B.C.—A.D. 65)—Roman stoic philosopher, writer and statesman.—429-33

*Serraillier, Auguste* (1840-1878)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; shoemaker; member of the First International (from 1864) and of its General Council (1869-72), Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, Holland and Spain (1870) and France (1871-72); member of the Paris Commune; delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress of the International (1872); member of the International's British Federal Council (1873-74); supporter of Marx and Engels.—571

*Serrano y Domínguez, Francisco, conde de San Antonio, duque de la Torre* (1810-1885)—Spanish general and statesman, War Minister (1843); took part in the coup d'état of 1856; Foreign Minister (1862-63), head of the Provisional Government (1868-69), Regent of the Kingdom (1869-71), Prime Minister (1871 and 1872), President (1874), Ambassador to France (1883-84).—22

*Seton*—English house-owner.—564

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English poet and dramatist.—72, 237, 569

*Shuvalov (Schouvaloff), Pyotr Andreyevich, Count* (1827-1889)—Russian general and diplomat; chief of gendarmes and head of the Third Department of the Imperial Office (1866-74); Ambassador to Great Britain (1874-79).—239

*Sieber, Nikolai Ivanovich* (1844-1888)—Russian economist, one of the first popularisers and supporters of Marx's economic theories in Russia.—534

*Singer, Paul* (1844-1911)—prominent leader of the German working-class movement and the Social-Democratic group of the Reichstag, member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from 1869), deputy to the Reichstag (1884-1911).—254, 257

*Skaldin*—see *Yelenev, Fyodor Pavlovich*

*Slagg, J.*—member of the British Parliament from Manchester (1881).—389

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—534

*Socrates* (c. 470-399 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—583

*Sorge, Friedrich Adolph (Adolf)* (1828-1906)—German teacher, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA (1852), organised the First International's sections there; Secretary of the General Council, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), General Secretary of the General Council in New York (1872-74); took part in organising the Socialist Workers' Party of North America (1876-77); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—472, 478

*Soriano, Trinidad*—Bakuninist, delegate to the Ghent Congress of the Socialists (September 1877).—216

*Spartacus* (d. 71 B.C.)—leader of the greatest slave revolt in Ancient Rome (73-71 B.C.).—432

*Speyer, Karl* (b. 1845)—Secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society in London in the 1860s; carpenter; member of the General Council of the First International in London from 1870 and then in New York.—105

*Spinoza, Baruch* (or *Benedictus*) *de* (1632-1677)—Dutch philosopher.—298

*Stenzel, Gustav Adolph Harald* (1792-1854)—German historian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing, later Right Centre) in 1848.—164

*Stephen Dushan* (c. 1308-1355)—King of Serbia (from 1331), Tsar (from 1346); after long wars with Byzantium, annexed Macedonia (1345), Albania, Epir and Fessalia (1348) to Serbia and created a vast Greco-Serbian kingdom.—497, 500

*Stepney, Cowell William Frederick* (1820-1872)—participant in the British working-class movement, member of the Reform League, member of the General Council of the First International (1866-72) and its Treasurer (1868-70); delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and the London Conference (1871) of the First International; member of the British Federal Council (1872).—571

*Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882)—chief of the Prussian political police (1850-60), an organiser of and chief witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); together with Wermuth wrote the book *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.*—51, 53, 135

*Stirner, Max* (real name *Schmidt, Johann Caspar*) (1806-1856)—German Young Hegelian philosopher, an ideologist of individualism and anarchism.—514, 521

*Stolberg-Wernigerode, Otto, Graf zu* (from 1890 *Fürst zu*) (1837-1896)—German statesman and politician, deputy to the Reichstag (1871-78), Vice-Chancellor of the German Empire (1878-81); Conservative.—240, 250

*Stosch, Albrecht von* (1818-1896)—German general; during the Franco-Prussian war, Chief of the Commissariat of the German armies and later Chief of Staff of German occupational troops in France (1871); Navy Minister (1872-83).—242

*Strauss, David Friedrich* (1808-1874)—German Young Hegelian philosopher and writer; author of *Das Leben Jesu*; National Liberal after 1866.—428

*Strousberg, Bethel Henry* (real name *Baruch Hirsch Strausberg*) (1823-1884)—British railway industrialist, German by birth; went bankrupt in 1875.—266

*Swinton, John* (1830-1901)—Scottish-

born American journalist, editor of several influential New York newspapers, *The Sun* (1875-83) included; founder and editor of *John Swinton's Paper* (1883-87).—583-85

*Sybel, Heinrich von* (1817-1895)—German historian and politician, representative of the "Prussian school" of German historians; member of the North German Reichstag (1867); National Liberal; director of the Prussian State Archives (1875-95).—458

T

*Tacitus, Cornelius* (c. 55-120)—Roman historian, orator and politician.—350, 365, 432, 443-44

*Tamerlane* (or *Timur*) (1336-1405)—Gentral Asian soldier and conqueror, Emir (1370-1405), founder of a vast state in Asia with its capital in Samarkand.—510

*Taylor, Alfred*—British worker; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72) and the British Federal Council (1872-73).—571

*Tessendorff, Hermann Ernst Christian* (1831-1895)—Prussian public prosecutor, member of the Berlin Municipal Court (1873-79); from 1885 President of the Criminal Senate of the Supreme Court in Berlin; organised persecutions of Social-Democrats.—173, 566

*Thackeray, William Makepeace* (1811-1863)—English writer.—569

*Thadden-Trieglaff, Adolf von* (1796-1882)—Prussian landowner in Pomerania, reactionary; member of the first United Diet (1847).—144

*Thaler, Karl von* (b. 1836)—Austrian writer and journalist; opposed the First International; editor of and contributor to the *Neue Freie Presse* (1865-70 and 1873).—20-21, 26

*Thiers, Louis Adolph* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836 and 1840); head of the Orleanists after 1848; Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1871); suppressed the Paris Commune (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73).—222, 224, 492-93, 527

*Thompson, Thomas Perronet* (1783-1869)—British politician and economist, Free Trader.—403

*Tiberius* (*Tiberius Claudius Nero Caesar*) (42 B.C.—A.D. 37)—Roman Emperor (14-37).—432

*Tkachov* (*Tkatschoff*), *Pyotr* (*Peter*) *Nikitich* (1844-1886)—Russian revolutionary, journalist, ideologist of the Blanquist trend in the Narodnik movement; in the 1860s was several times arrested for participation in student unrest and revolutionary propaganda among students; fled abroad from exile (1873); contributed to Lavrov's journal *Vperyod!* in Zurich; after break with him (1874) worked in the Blanquist newspaper *Ni Dieu, ni Maître* (1880).—21-43, 45-49, 100

*Tolain, Henri Louis* (1828-1897)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; engraver; Proudhonist; member of the First Paris Bureau and Paris section of the First International, delegate to all congresses and conferences of the International in 1865-69; deputy to the National Assembly (1871); during the Paris Commune went over to the side of the Versaillists and was expelled from the International (1871); Senator during the Third Republic.—235

*Tooke, Thomas* (1774-1858)—English economist, adherent of the classical school in political economy, criticised Ricardo's theory of money.—556

*Townshend, William*—British worker; member of the General Council of the First International (1869-72),

took part in the socialist movement in the 1880s.—571

*Treitschke, Heinrich von* (1834-1896)—German historian and journalist, editor of the *Preußische Jahrbücher* (1866-69); deputy to the German Reichstag (1871-88) where he first joined the Right wing of the National Liberals and from the late 1870s supported conservatives.—54, 458

*Trochu, Louis Jules* (1815-1896)—French general and politician, Orleanist; took part in the conquest of Algeria (1830s-40s); head of the Government of National Defence; Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of Paris (September 1870-January 1871); sabotaged the city's defence; deputy to the National Assembly (1871).—527, 530

*Tschech, Heinrich Ludwig* (1789-1844)—Prussian official, democrat, burgomaster of Storkow in 1832-41, executed for an attempt on the life of Frederick William IV.—244

*Tussy*—see *Marx, Eleanor (Tussy)*

U

*Uhland, Johann Ludwig* (1787-1862)—German romantic poet; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848-49.—168

*Urquhart, David* (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician, Turcophile, went on diplomatic missions to Turkey in the 1830s; Tory M. P. (1847-52), exposed the foreign policy of Palmerston and the Whigs; founder and editor of *The Free Press* (1855-77), which appeared under the heading *Diplomatic Review* from 1866.—230

V

*Vahlteich, Carl Julius* (1839-1915)—German shoemaker and editor; a founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863), set up the Dresden section of the First International (1867), one of the founders of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (1869); deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-76 and 1878-81); emigrated to the USA (1881).—214

*Vaillant, Marie Édouard* (1840-1915)—French engineer, naturalist and physician, Blanquist; delegate to the Lausanne Congress (1867) and the London Conference (1871) of the First International; member of the Paris Commune, of the National Guard's Central Committee and of the General Council of the International (1871-72); after the Hague Congress (1872) withdrew from the International.—18, 571

*Van Patten, Philipp*—American bourgeois, joined the socialist movement; National Secretary of the Labor Party of the USA (from 1876) and of the Socialist Labor Party of the USA (from 1877 to 1883); later became a government official.—477

*Vermersch, Eugène Marie Joseph* (1845-1878)—French petty-bourgeois journalist, participant in the republican movement; during the Paris Commune (1871) published the newspaper *Le Père Duchêne*; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to England where he published *Vermersch-Journal* and *Qui Vive?* attacking the International and the General Council.—14-15

*Victor Emmanuel (Vittorio Emanuele) II* (1820-1878)—King of Piedmont (1849-61), King of Italy (1861-78).—271

*Victoria* (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901).—295, 563

*Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa* (1840-1901)—Queen Victoria's elder

daughter; from 1858 wife of the Prussian Crown Prince Frederick William.—580-82

*Viereck, Louis* (1851-1921)—German publisher and journalist; during the Anti-Socialist Law a leader of the Right wing of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany; member of the Reichstag (1884-87); discharged from all responsible party posts by decision of the St. Gallen Congress (1887); in 1896 emigrated to the USA and withdrew from the socialist movement.—254, 257, 260-62

*Viñas, José García*—Bakuninist, delegate to the Ghent Congress of the Socialists (September 1877).—216

*Vogt, Auguste*—Karl Vogt's younger sister.—168

*Vogt, Karl* (1817-1895)—German naturalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five Imperial regents (June 1849); emigrated to Switzerland in 1849; received subsidies from Napoleon III in the 1850s and 1860s, slandered proletarian revolutionaries; exposed by Marx in his pamphlet *Herr Vogt*.—167-68, 189

*Voigts-Rhetz, Julius von* (1822-1904)—Prussian general, participant in the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71), major general and Director of the General War Department (1873); later General Inspector of Artillery.—64

*Voltaire* (*François Marie Arouet*) (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—433, 569

W

*Wagner, Adolph* (1835-1917)—German bourgeois economist and politician, professor of political economy and finance; a founder of the socio-legal school in political economy; academic (Katheder) socialist.—531-59

*Washington, George* (1732-1799)—American statesman, Commander-in-Chief of the North American Army in the War of Independence (1775-83), First President of the USA (1789-97).—343

*Weitling, Wilhelm* (1808-1871)—one of the early leaders of the working-class movement in Germany; tailor; member of the League of the Just; a theoretician of utopian egalitarian communism; emigrated to the USA in 1849.—297, 565

*Wenceslas IV* (1361-1419)—King of Bohemia (1378-1419), Holy Roman Emperor (1378-1400).—500

*Wermuth, Carl Georg Ludwig* (c. 1803-1867)—chief of police in Hanover, an organiser of and witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); together with Stieber wrote the book *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*.—135

*Weston, John*—prominent figure in the British working-class movement; carpenter, follower of Owen; member of the General Council of the First International (1864-72), delegate to the London Conference (1865); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; a leader of the Land and Labour League; member of the British Federal Council.—571

*Westphalen, Johann Ludwig von* (1770-1842)—Jenny Marx's father, Privy Councillor in Trier.—419, 422

*Wilke, Christian Gottlob* (1786-1854)—German theologian, first Protestant, then Catholic; engaged in the philological-historical studies of the Bible.—428

*William I* (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, King of Prussia (1861-88),

Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—172, 212, 239, 241, 372, 408-09, 577

*William III* (1650-1702)—Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the Netherlands (1672-1702), King of Great Britain and Ireland (1689-1702).—436

*William IV* (1765-1837)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1830-37).—563

*Williams, J.*—sergeant of the British police (1874).—564

*Willich, Johann August Ernst* (1810-1878)—Prussian officer, retired from the army on account of his political views; member of the Communist League, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; a leader of the separatist group that split away from the Communist League in 1850; emigrated to the USA in 1853, took part in the US Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—52, 336

*Wolff, Bernhard* (1811-1879)—German journalist, owner of the Berlin newspaper *National-Zeitung* from 1848; founder of the first telegraphic agency in Germany (1849).—241

*Wolff, Johanna Christiane* (d. 1846)—younger sister of Wilhelm Wolff.—132

*Wolff, Johann Friedrich* (d. 1835)—Wilhelm Wolff's father.—132

*Wolff, Marie Rosine*—Wilhelm Wolff's mother.—132

*Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus)* (1809-1864)—German teacher, proletarian revolutionary; the son of a Silesian serf peasant; participant in the student movement; was imprisoned in Prussia (1834-39); from 1846 member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee; from March 1848 member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; took an active part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; in 1849 deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (extreme Left wing); emigrated to Switzerland in summer 1849 and to England in 1851; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—129-71

*Woodhull, Victoria Claflin* (1838-1927)—U.S. feminist, headed Section No. 12 which included bourgeois and petty-bourgeois members; was expelled from the International (1872).—575

*Wrangel, Friedrich Heinrich Ernst, Count von* (1784-1877)—Prussian general; took part in the counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Berlin and in dispersing the Prussian National Assembly in November 1848; from 1856, field marshal-general.—138

*Wróblewski, Walery* (1836-1908)—Polish revolutionary democrat, a leader of the Polish liberation uprising of 1863-64; general of the Paris Commune, after its defeat emigrated to London; sentenced to death in his absence; member of the General Council of the First International and Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); fought Bakuninists; headed the Polish People revolutionary society in London (1872); propagated the idea of a Russian-Polish revolutionary alliance; after amnesty returned to France; maintained contacts with Marx and Engels.—5, 571

*Würth, Carl Otto* (1803-1884)—lawyer, petty-bourgeois democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (extreme Left wing).—168

## Y

*Yelenev, Fyodor Pavlovich* (pseudonym *Skaldin*) (1827-1902)—Russian writ-

er, journalist, liberal; Secretary of the Editorial Commissions for the Preparation of the Peasant Reform of 1861 (1859-61); author of essays *In the Backwoods and in the Capital*; in 1868-96 member of the Council for the Press Affairs and simultaneously, from 1890, member of the Council of the Ministry of the Interior; from the 1870s took a reactionary stand.—47

Z

*Zasulich, Vera Ivanovna* (1849-1919)—participant in the Narodnik (from 1868) and later in the Social-Democratic movement in Russia; a founder (1883) and active member of the Emancipation of Labour group.—245, 346, 361, 364, 370-71

*Zévy, Maurice*—member of the General Council of the First International (1866-72), Corresponding Secretary for Hungary (1870-71); tailor.—571

*Zhukovsky, Yuly Galaktionovich* (1833-1907)—Russian economist, journalist, sociologist, eclectic; manager of the State Bank, senator; author of the article "Karl Marx and His Book on Capital", which slandered Marxism.—196

*Ziemann, Adolf* (1807-1842)—German philologist, author of works on the history of the German language.—548

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*Achilles* (Gr. Myth.)—a Greek warrior during the Trojan War, a character in Homer's *Illiad* and Shakespeare's tragedy *Troilus and Cressida*.—24, 33, 119

*Apollo*—Greek god of the arts.—429

*Christ, Jesus* (Bib.).—428, 431

*Don Quixote*—the title character in Cervantes' novel.—458

*Eckart*—hero of German medieval legends, loyal guard. In the Tannhäuser legend he guards the mountain of Venus, warning those who approach it of the danger of Venus' charms.—25

*Falstaff, Sir John*—a fat, merry, ribald and boastful knight in Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *King Henry IV*.—237

*Faust* or *Faustus*—hero of a medieval German legend, the title character in Goethe's tragedy and Marlowe's play *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*.—306, 550

*Hamlet*—the title character in Shakespeare's tragedy.—14

*Jacob* (Bib.)—traditional ancestor of the people of Israel.—430, 514

*Jahveh* (*Jehovah*) (Bib.).—430

*John, Saint* (*the Apostle*)—according to the New Testament, one of the twelve apostles of Christ, author of one of the Gospels and the Revelation of John (Apocalypse).—430, 434

*Karlchen Mießnick*—a half-taught person and mother's darling in the books of German humorist David Kalisch.—18, 24, 29, 33, 35

*Lazarus* (Bib.).—433

*Mammon*—wealth or the idol of wealth among some ancient peoples; in Christian ecclesiastical texts evil spirit, idol, personifying money-loving and money-grubbing.—417

*Mary* (Bib.).—15

*Möros*—character in Schiller's ballad *Bürgschaft*.—14

*Nemesis* (Gr. Myth.)—goddess of retributive justice.—26

*Paul, the Apostle* (Bib.).—238

*Peter, the Apostle* (Bib.).—559

*Prometheus* (Gr. Myth.)—a Titan who stole fire from the gods and gave it to men; was chained by Zeus to a rock.—315

*Sancho Panza* (*Pansa*)—a character in Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.—458

*Vulcan*—the Roman god of fire, the deity of smiths.—315

*Zeus* (Gr. Myth.)—the supreme god in classical times.—432

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*Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*—a weekly published by German petty-bourgeois refugees in New York from 1852 to 1911. In 1853 the paper printed articles libelling Marx and other proletarian revolutionaries associated with him.—51

*Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l'Association internationale des travailleurs*—organ of the Swiss anarchists, published in French under the editorship of James Guillaume in 1872-78, at first twice a month, and from July 1873, weekly.—176

*The Chicago Tribune*—a newspaper founded in 1847, a Republican organ in 1855-99.—568

*The Commonwealth*—a weekly of the General Council of the International published in London from February 1866 to July 1867 as the successor of *The Workman's Advocate;* Eccarius was its editor in February and March 1866; Marx was on the Board of Directors till June 1866; because of the growing influence of the trade unionists on the board, from June 1866 the newspaper virtually became an organ of bourgeois radicals.—236

*The Daily News*—a liberal daily of the British industrial bourgeoisie published in London from 1846 to 1930.—230-33, 237, 374, 407, 473

*Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*—a newspaper founded by the German refugees in Brussels and published from January 1847 to February 1848 twice a week. From September 1847 Marx and Engels regularly contributed to the newspaper and under their influence it became an organ of revolutionary communist propaganda.—136, 187, 336, 468

*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*—a German-language yearly published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge; only the first issue, a double one, appeared in February 1844. It carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—184, 335

*L'Égalité*—a French socialist paper founded in 1877 by Jules Guesde; from 1880 to 1883 it was published in Paris as the organ of the French Workers' Party. It appeared in six series. The first three series were published weekly (113 issues), the fourth and fifth—daily (56 issues). Of the sixth series only one issue appeared, in 1886. The series differed by subtitles.—326, 340, 586

*Le Figaro*—a French conservative newspaper published in Paris since 1854; from 1866 it appeared daily; was connected with the government of the Second Empire.—577

*Forward*—see *Впередъ!*

*Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*—a German democratic daily published in Frankfurt am Main from 1856 (under this title from 1866) to 1943.—68

*Freie Presse*—see *Neue Freie Presse*

*Freiheit*—a German weekly, organ of the anarchist group of Johann Most and Wilhelm Hasselmann; published in London (1879-82) and in New York (1882-1908).—258, 374, 410, 478

*Jahrbuch für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik*—a German-language journal of the social-reformist trend, published in Zurich from 1879 to 1881 by Karl Höchberg (pseudonym Dr. Ludwig Richter); three volumes appeared.—253, 262-66, 269

*Journal des Économistes. Revue mensuelle de l'économie politique et des questions agricoles, manufacturières et commerciales*—a liberal monthly published in Paris from December 1841 to 1943.—326

*La Justice*—a French daily, organ of the Radical Party published in Paris from 1880 to 1930. In 1880-96, under the leadership of its founder Georges Clémenceau, the paper was the organ of the Left-wing radicals, advocating a programme of democratic and social reforms and expressing the interests of the petty and middle bourgeoisie. In 1880 Charles Longuet entered the editorial board of the paper.—460, 464

*Kölnische Zeitung*—a German daily, organ of the liberal bourgeoisie, published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945.—65, 111, 123, 183

*Колоколъ* (The Bell)—a revolutionary-democratic newspaper; it was published by Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Ogaryov from 1857 to 1867 in Russian and in 1868-69 in French under the title *Kolokol (La Cloche)* with supplements in Russian; until 1865, it was published in London, then in Geneva.—425

*Königlich-Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger*—a daily newspaper of the Prussian government published in Berlin under this title from 1851 to 1871.—142, 230, 232, 233

*Kreuz-Zeitung*—see *Neue Preußische Zeitung*

*The Labour Standard. An Organ of Industry*—a weekly organ of the trade unions published in London from 1881 to 1885. In 1881 Frederick Engels contributed to it.—378, 382, 394, 400, 418

*Die Laterne*—a Social-Democratic satirical weekly; published in Brussels from December 1878 to June 1879 under the editorship of Carl Hirsch.—254, 259, 262

*La Marseillaise*—a daily newspaper, organ of the Left republicans, published in Paris from December 1869 to September 1870; the paper carried material on the activity of the International and the working-class movement.—460

*Народна вова* (People's Will)—a democratic paper published in Smederevo (Serbia) from December 1875 to June 1876.—219

*National-Zeitung*—a German daily published in Berlin from 1848 to 1915; it voiced liberal views in the 1850s.—230

*Neue Freie Presse*—a liberal daily which appeared in Vienna from 1864 to 1939.—20-21, 26, 578

*Die Neue Gesellschaft. Monatsschrift für Socialwissenschaft*—a reformist newspaper published in Zurich from October 1877 to March 1880.—268

*Neue Preußische Zeitung*—a conservative daily published in Berlin from June 1848 to 1939; organ of the Prussian Junkers and Court circles; it was also known as the *Kreuz-Zeitung* because the heading contained a cross bearing the slogan "Forward with God for King and Fatherland!"—188, 241

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Organ der Demokratie*—a daily published in Cologne under the editorship of Marx from June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849 (with an interval between September 27 and October 12, 1848); organ of the revolutionary-proletarian wing of the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany. Engels was among its editors.—103, 107, 137, 139-64, 168, 187-88, 336, 468

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*—a journal published by Marx and Engels from December 1849 to November 1850, theoretical organ of the Communist League.—336

*The New Moral World*—see *The New Moral World; and Gazette of the Rational Society*

*The New Moral World; and Gazette of the Rational Society*—English weekly founded by Robert Owen, published from 1834 to 1846, first in Leeds, then in London; Engels contributed to it from November 1843 to May 1845.—335

*New-York Daily Tribune*—a newspaper founded by Horace Greeley in 1841 and published until 1924; organ of the Left wing of the American Whigs until the mid-1850s and later of the Republican Party. It voiced progressive views and opposed Negro slavery in the 1840s and 1850s. Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862.—189, 468, 583

*New-Yorker Volkszeitung. Den Interessen des arbeitenden Volkes gewidmet*—a German-language socialist daily published from 1878 to 1932.—462, 472

*The New-York Star*.—410

*The Nineteenth Century. A Monthly Review*—an English liberal review published under this title in London from 1877 to 1900.—234-39

*Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*—a conservative daily published in Berlin from 1861 to 1918, an official organ of the Bismarck government in the 1860s-80s.—65-66, 90, 232, 245

*Norddeutsche Zeitung*—see *Zeitung für Norddeutschland*

*The Northern Star*—an English weekly, central organ of the Chartists, published from 1837 to 1852, first in Leeds, from November 1844 in London. Its founder and editor was Feargus O'Connor, George Harney being one of its co-editors. Engels contributed to the paper from 1843 to 1850.—335

*Nuova Antologia di scienze, lettere ed arti*—an Italian liberal magazine; published in Florence from 1866 to 1878 once a month, and in Rome from 1878 to 1943 twice monthly.—479

*Otechestvenniye Zapiski* (Fatherland's Notes)—a literary and socio-political monthly published in St. Petersburg from 1868 to 1884 under the editorship of N. A. Nekrasov (till 1877), M. Y. Saltykov-Shchedrin, G. Z. Yeliseyev and N. K. Mikhailovsky (after 1877). It was the literary mouthpiece of the Russian democrats and, in essence, an illegal organ of the underground revolutionaries; it was closed down by the government in 1884.—196

*Le Père Duchêne*—a French daily published in Paris by Eugène Vermersch from March 6 to May 22, 1871; was close in its trend to the Blanquist press.—14

*Le Père Duchesne*—a newspaper published in Paris from 1790 to 1794 by Jacques Hébert; it expressed the views of the urban semi-proletarian masses during the French Revolution.—14

*La Plebe*—an Italian monthly published under the editorship of Enrico Bignami in 1868-75 now in Lodi, now in Milan; from 1875 to 1883—irregularly, only in Milan; up to the early 1870s it was a bourgeois-democratic organ, then an organ of the socialist working-class movement. Engels contributed to it from late 1871. In 1872-74, as an organ of the Italian section of the International Working Men's Association, *La Plebe* pursued the line of the General Council, published articles by Marx and Engels, and the documents of the International.—106, 176-78

*O Protesto*—a Portuguese socialist weekly published in Lisbon from 1875 to January 1878.—217

*La Revue socialiste*—a French monthly founded by Benoît Malon as a republican-socialist organ, then it became a syndicalist and co-operative organ; it was published from 1880 in Lyons and Paris, from 1885 to 1914 in Paris. In the 1880s Marx and Engels contributed to the magazine.—335, 457

*Reynolds's Newspaper. A Weekly Journal of Politics, History, Literature and General Intelligence*—a radical weekly published by George Reynolds in London from 1850; it was connected with the labour movement; in 1871 it came out in defence of the Paris Commune.—5

*Rheinische Zeitung*—see *Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*

*Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*—a German daily founded on January 1, 1842, as an organ of the Rhenish bourgeois opposition, and published in Cologne till March 31, 1843. When edited by Marx (from October 15, 1842 to March 17, 1843), the paper became a mouthpiece of revolutionary-democratic ideas, which led to its suppression. Engels was one of its contributors.—183-84, 419, 422, 468

*Le Siècle*—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939. In the 1840s it was an oppositional organ which demanded electoral and other reforms; moderate republican in the 1850s.—235

*Der Social-Demokrat. Organ des Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitervereins*—a German Lassallean newspaper published under this title in Berlin from December 15, 1864 to 1871 (in 1864 weekly and from 1865 three times a week). Johann Baptist Schweitzer was its editor in 1864-67. Under the title *Neuer Social-*

*Demokrat* it was published from 1871 to 1876. Marx and Engels contributed to the paper for a short time but ceased to do so in February 1865, since they disagreed with the political line of the editors.—327

*Der Sozialdemokrat. Organ der Sozialdemokratie deutscher Zunge*—a German weekly, central organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany; published in Zurich from September 1879 to September 1888 and in London from October 1888 to September 27, 1890. In 1879-80 the paper was edited by Georg von Vollmar, and from 1881 to 1890 by Eduard Bernstein; Marx and Engels contributed to it.—457, 467, 473-74, 481

*Staats-Anzeiger*—see *Königlich-Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger*

*The Sun*—an American progressive bourgeois-democratic paper published in New York from 1833 to 1950.—583

*Die Tagwacht*—a German-language Social-Democratic paper published in Zurich from 1869 to 1880; in 1869-73, an organ of the German sections of the International in Switzerland, later, of the Swiss Workers' Union and of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland.—29

*The Times*—a daily founded in London in 1785 under the title of *Daily Universal Register;* appears as *The Times* since 1788.—577

*Voice of the People*—a weekly of the Socialist Workers' Party of North America published in New York from early 1883.—479

*Das Volk*—a German-language weekly published in London from May 7 to August 20, 1859; it was founded as the official organ of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; Marx took part in its publications beginning with issue No. 2, and in early July he virtually became its editor and manager.—189

*Der Volksstaat*—central organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party published in Leipzig from October 2, 1869 to September 29, 1876 first twice a week and from July 1873, three times a week.—29-32, 68, 78, 100, 336, 524-25, 565

*Der Vorbote. Organ der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation*—a monthly of the German sections of the International in Switzerland published in Geneva from 1866 to 1871 under the editorship of Johann Philipp Becker; on the whole, it upheld the line pursued by Marx and the General Council of the International by regularly publishing documents of the International and information about its activity in various countries.—230-31

*Vorwärts. Central-Organ der Socialdemokratie Deutschlands*—a newspaper published in Leipzig from October 1876 to October 1878. It appeared as a result of the merger of *Neuer Sozialdemokrat* and the *Volksstaat.* Marx and Engels constantly helped its editorial board. The publication was stopped, when the Anti-Socialist Law was issued.—241, 245, 261, 336, 339

*Vorwärts! Pariser Deutsche Zeitschrift*—a German-language newspaper published in Paris twice a week from January to December 1844; at first it was the organ of the moderate section of German emigrants and from May 1844 of their radical and democratic section. Marx and Engels, who collaborated in the production of this paper, strengthened its revolutionary tendencies. When Marx and several other contributors were expelled from France by the Guizot Government the paper ceased publication.—468

*Впередъ! Непеpiодическое обозрѣніе* (*Vperyod*—Forward)—a Russian magazine published from 1873 to 1877 first in Zurich, then in London; only five issues appeared; from 1873 to 1876 its publisher was Pyotr Lavrov. It published a lot of material concerning the working-class movement in the West and the activities of the International.—19-29, 32-34, 36, 100

*Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatswissenschaft*—a liberal politico-economic review published, with intervals, in Tübingen in 1844-48.—544, 549

*Zeitung für Norddeutschland*—a liberal newspaper published in Hanover from 1848 to 1872.—575

*Die Zukunft. Socialistische Revue*—a socio-reformist magazine published in Berlin from October 1877 to November 1878.—268

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# GLOSSARY OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES*

| | |
|---|---|
| Barmen-Elberfeld | Wuppertal |
| Breslau | Wrocław |
| Constantinople | Istanbul |
| Crakau | Kraków |
| Danzig | Gdańsk |
| Düppel | Dybböl |
| Dürkheim | Bad Dürkheim |
| Elberfeld | Wuppertal |
| Elberfeld-Barmen | Wuppertal |
| Frankenstein | Ząbkowice Śląskie |
| Karlsbad | Karlovy Vary |
| Kolberg | Kolobrzeg (Kołobrzeg) |
| Königsberg | Kaliningrad |
| Laurahütte | Laura Huta |
| Lower Silesia | Dolny Śląsk |
| Moravia | Morava (Moravskoslezská země) |
| Maina | Mani |
| Nessin | Nieżyn |
| Nimwegen | Nijmegen |
| Olmütz | Olomouc |
| Peloponnes | Peloponnesus, also Morea, Peloponnesos, Peloponnese |
| Persia | Iran |
| Posen | Poznań |
| Reval | Tallinn |
| St. Petersburg | Leningrad |
| Silesia | Śląsk, Siezsko |
| Schweidnitz | Świdnica |
| Silberberg | Srebrna Góra |
| Stettin | Szczecin |
| Upper Silesia | Górny Śląsk |
| Tarnau | Tarnów |
| Wilna | Vilnius |

* This glossary includes geographical names occurring in Marx's and Engels' works in the form customary in the press of the time but differing from the national names or from those given on modern maps. The left column gives geographical names as used in the original (when they differ from the national names of the time, the latter are given in brackets); the right column gives corresponding names as used on modern maps and in modern literature.—*Ed.*

# MARX & ENGELS
# COLLECTED WORKS

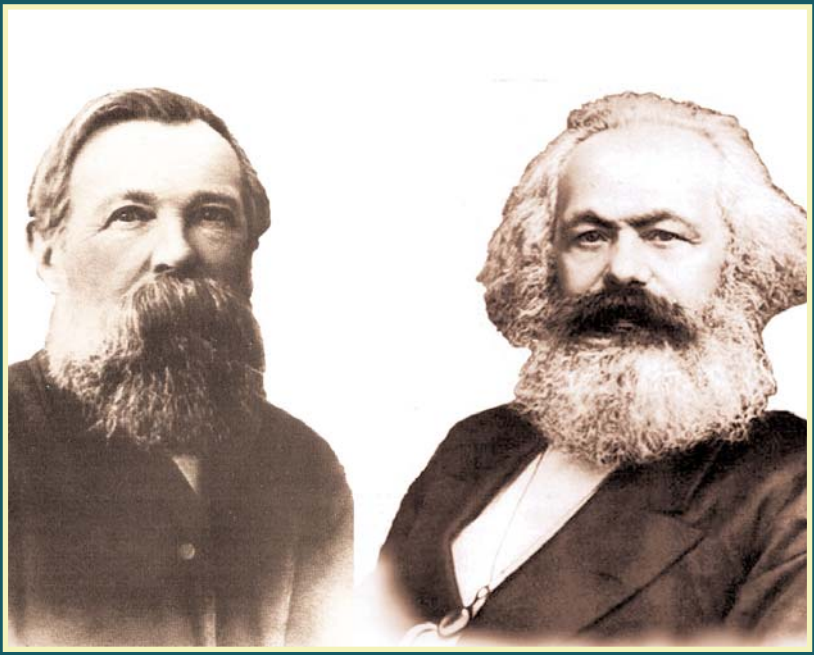

## VOLUME 25

Engels

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 25

Engels

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TRANSLATORS:

EMILE BURNS: *Anti-Dühring.*
Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science

CLEMENS DUTT: *Dialectics of Nature*

# Preface

Volume 25 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains two of Engels' most celebrated works, *Anti-Dühring* and *Dialectics of Nature.*

In *Anti-Dühring,* one of his most popular and widely known writings, Engels not only expounded the fundamental propositions of Marxism, but made substantial progress in the development of revolutionary theory. Lenin wrote that *Anti-Dühring* analyses the "highly important problems in the domain of philosophy, natural science and the social sciences" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 2, p. 25). *Anti-Dühring* made a substantial contribution to the ideological victory of Marxism over reformism and the various trends of utopian socialism.

*Anti-Dühring* became Marxist science's answer to the demands of a new stage in the development of the international working-class movement, which owed its inception to the heroic struggle of the Parisian Communards in 1871. The experience of the Paris Commune showed that a proletarian revolution could not succeed without a mass working-class party based on the principles of scientific communism. It was for this reason that in the 1870s the task of forming such parties in various countries became paramount. As the international working-class movement gained impetus and the influence of scientific socialism grew among the progressive part of the proletariat, attacks on Marxism were stepped up by its ideological opponents, the representatives of anarchism, reformism and petty-bourgeois utopian socialism.

Moreover, the rapid growth of the working-class movement and the authority of the Social Democratic parties that were being founded and becoming the main opposition to ruling classes, were attracting into the ranks of these parties members of the other classes, especially those from the petty-bourgeoisie. This led to the spread in the working-class movement of unscientific views hostile to Marxism which diverted the proletariat from the true goals of its economic and political struggle.

These phenomena were inherent in the whole working-class movement, but by the mid-1870s they became most clearly manifest in Germany, where the exacerbation of the class struggle facilitated the rapid growth of political consciousness and organisation on the part of the proletariat and its conversion into a significant political force. It was to Germany that the centre of the European working-class movement shifted after the defeat of the Paris Commune. Germany was the first country where, in 1869, at a congress in Eisenach, a mass working-class party was founded based on the ideological and organisational principles of Marxism. In the first half of the 1870s, among German workers who were active members of the socialist movement, there was a growing tendency towards the unification of the Social Democratic Workers' Party (the Eisenachers) with the General German Workers' Union (the Lassalleans). In 1875, at a congress in Gotha, both organisations were combined into a single party, the Eisenachers accepting an ideological compromise with the opportunist views of the Lassalleans. Marx and Engels regarded the concessions by the Eisenachers as a serious mistake fraught with grave consequences (see Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* and Engels' letter to Bebel of March 18-28, 1875, present edition, vols. 24 and 45).

The apprehensions of Marx and Engels were justified. After the unity congress in Gotha, the theoretical level of German Social Democracy fell significantly, when the views of Dr. Eugen Dühring, lecturer at Berlin University, became widespread among some Party members including its leaders. He became popular because of his speeches in defence of the oppressed masses and his struggle against the reactionary professors of that institution. Dühring's views were an eclectic mixture of various vulgar materialist, idealist, positivist, vulgar economic and pseudo-socialist views. As distinct from former opponents of Marxism, who had denounced mainly its political principles, Dühring attacked all the component parts of Marxism and claimed to have created a new all-embracing system of philosophy, political economy and socialism,

openly opposing his views to the revolutionary proletarian world outlook.

The spread of Dühring's views among members of the Social Democratic Party of Germany was a real threat to this major contingent of the international working-class movement and to its theoretical foundations. Engels therefore considered it his duty to defend and publicise the principles of Marxism within the German Social Democratic movement. In two years (1876-78), he wrote a major work that was first printed in *Vorwärts,* the newspaper of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, and was brought out as a separate book in 1878 under the title *Herrn Eugen Dührings Umwälzung der Wissenschaft (Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*—known in English as *Anti-Dühring),* in which Engels subjected Dühring's views to devastating criticism. Alongside his criticism of Dühring Engels expounded his own views on the problems that had at the time scientific and practical significance. His criticism of Dühring, to quote Engels himself, was turned into a positive exposition "of the dialectical method and of the communist world outlook" (this volume, p. 8).

*Anti-Dühring* not only disclosed and defended the basic postulates of Marxism, it also elaborated a number of fundamental new problems of revolutionary theory. It provided the first ever comprehensive presentation of Marxism as an integral, indivisible science. Engels' work met the objective need of the working-class movement for a true social science, namely Marxism.

Later, in the Preface to the second edition of *The Housing Question,* Engels explained why he personally had been obliged to take the initiative in the ideological struggle with Dühring: "As a consequence of the division of labour that existed between Marx and myself, it fell to me to present our opinions in the periodical press, and, therefore, particularly in the fight against opposing views, in order that Marx should have time for the elaboration of his great basic work [*Capital.—Ed.*]. Because of this, I had to expound our views in the majority of cases in polemical form, counterposing them to other views" (see present edition, Vol. 26).

Marx also took a direct part in the writing of *Anti-Dühring.* Engels consulted him when planning the work; Marx also helped to collect the necessary material, wrote a critical outline of Dühring's views on the history of economic doctrines, which was used as the basis for Chapter X of Part II of *Anti-Dühring* (pp. 211-43) and, finally, read and approved the whole manuscript. *Anti-Dühring* was thus the result of creative collaboration by Marx

and Engels, reflecting their joint views and giving a generalised account of the main propositions of Marxism.

Engels' book could only have arisen out of the theoretical foundations created by the development of Marxism from the moment of its emergence in the mid-1840s up to the mid-1870s. Engels made masterly use of the method, jointly created by him and Marx, of materialistic dialectics. He drew on a vast store of knowledge from philosophy, political economy, history, and on his own researches into natural science and the art of war. *Anti-Dühring* draws on the experience acquired by Marx and Engels in many years of ideological struggle. The book is notable for its polemical skill, which Marx and Engels had constantly perfected ever since their early appearances in print. In *Anti-Dühring,* Engels used and popularised not only Volume I of *Capital* and *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* but the ideas of Marx that were contained in his economic manuscripts, above all in those of 1857-1858 and 1861-1863 (see present edition, vols. 28-34), and also separate propositions from Marx's at the time still unpublished *Critique of the Gotha Programme.* All these ideas were repeatedly discussed by Marx and Engels both in private and in their correspondence.

In the Introduction to *Anti-Dühring,* Engels outlines in brief the development of the theoretical prerequisites of scientific socialism. While giving full recognition to the merits of Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen, he stresses that their "socialism is the expression of absolute truth, reason and justice and has only to be discovered to conquer all the world by virtue of its own power" (p. 20). As distinct from the utopians, Marxism put socialism on a realistic footing, demonstrating its close connection with the economic development of society and the class struggle. "Now," writes Engels, "idealism was driven from its last refuge, the philosophy of history ... and a method found of explaining man's 'knowing' by his 'being', instead of, as heretofore, his 'being' by his 'knowing'" (pp. 26-27). In this work Engels for the first time made a conclusion that Marx's two great discoveries, the materialist understanding of history and the theory of surplus-value, laid the theoretical foundations of scientific socialism (p. 27).

In Part I of *Anti-Dühring,* the philosophical teaching of Marxism is systematically expounded. A strictly materialist approach to the solution of the fundamental problem of philosophy runs through the whole of Engels' exposition. In the controversy with Dühring, he formulates and substantiates the most important thesis of materialism, namely, that the "unity of the world consists in its materiality"

(p. 41). Elaborating the dialectic teaching on the indivisibility of matter and motion, Engels shows that the infinitely multiform phenomena of nature are only various forms of the motion and development of matter. Thinking is a reflection of the material world. "To me," writes Engels, "there could be no question of building the laws of dialectics into nature, but of discovering them in it and evolving them from it" (pp. 12-13). Engels formulates here the classic definition of the interrelationship between matter and motion: *"Motion is the mode of existence of matter"* (p. 55). In this work, the materialistic interpretation of space and time as fundamental forms of all being is developed (see pp. 48-49).

Engels gives a detailed account of dialectics and explains its fundamental difference from the metaphysical mode of thinking. "To the metaphysician, things and their mental reflexes, ideas, are isolated, are to be considered one after the other and apart from each other, are objects of investigation fixed, rigid, given once for all" (p. 22). The dialectical method, however, takes things and their thought reflections in mutual connection, in movement, in emergence and disappearance.

Engels examines in detail the law of the unity and struggle of opposites, the transformation of quantitative changes into qualitative, and the law of negation of the negation. Referring to Marx's *Capital,* he quotes, in particular, examples from the field of economic relations in which it is stated that the quantitative change transforms the quality of things and, in the same way, the qualitative transformation of things changes their quantity (see p. 117). Stressing the fundamental significance of the law of negation of the negation, Engels shows that as distinct from the usual understanding of negation as simple elimination, dialectical negation is an essential factor in the emergence of a new quality, a universal form of the development process. The law of negation of the negation, writes Engels, is "an extremely general—and for this reason extremely far-reaching and important—law of development of nature, history, and thought" (p. 131).

After giving a definition of dialectics as "the science of the general laws of motion and development of nature, human society and thought" (ibid.), Engels also discloses the content of its categories: necessity and chance, essence and appearance, causality and interaction. He explains the interrelation between formal and dialectical logic and works out the basic laws of the second; he discloses the chief problems of the Marxist theory of cognition, including the interrelationship between absolute and relative truth. Criticising Dühring's subjective voluntaristic views, Engels shows

the actual correlation between freedom and necessity; and by clarifying the dialectic interrelation of these two categories he shows that freedom is based on the understanding of necessity, on cognition and use of the objective laws of nature and society. "Freedom of the will..." writes Engels, "means nothing but the capacity to make decisions with knowledge of the subject" (p. 105).

Proving the necessity for the dialectic-materialist method, Engels writes in *Anti-Dühring* that its application and the verification of the theory by practice make it possible to solve the most complex problems of the natural and social sciences.

The economics section of *Anti-Dühring* draws on the achievements of Marx's political economy. Engels substantiates in detail the scientific understanding of the subject of political economy, points to the difference between political economy in the wide as well as the narrow sense, and shows the historical character of the laws and categories of this science (see pp. 135-40). He also expounds ideas developed by Marx in the Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1858 about the dialectics of production, exchange and distribution, laying emphasis on the primacy of production. Engels singles out in particular the Marxist understanding of value, capital and surplus-value.

*Anti-Dühring* was a further stage in the development of the political economy of Marxism, above all in the economic substantiation of the theory of scientific communism. Engels indicates that Marx's explanation of the nature of capitalist exploitation and the creation of the theory of surplus-value is the central point of scientific socialism.

In *Anti-Dühring*, Engels notes new phenomena in the economics of the capitalist society which were to develop widely later, in the era of monopoly capitalism: the growth of joint-stock companies, the transfer of a number of branches of the national economy into the hands of the bourgeois state. Moreover, Engels stresses that these tendencies are not changing the exploitatory essence of the bourgeois mode of production, nor are they weakening the contradictions of the capitalist society but, on the contrary, are exacerbating them: "But the transformation, either into joint-stock companies, or into state ownership, does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces... The modern state, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital... The workers remain wage-workers—proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head... State ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the

conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution" (pp. 265-66).

Drawing on the study of trends in the development of capitalism, Engels puts forward in *Anti-Dühring* a scientifically grounded conception of the economic basis of the future communist society, formulates a number of its laws, drawing special attention to the planned nature of its development, and discloses the essence and machinery of the mutual interaction of production and distribution: "Distribution..." writes Engels, "will be regulated by the interests of production, and ... production is most encouraged by a mode of distribution which allows *all* members of society to develop, maintain and exercise their capacities with maximum universality" (p. 186). He speaks of the necessity for a rational distribution of productive forces and predicts certain features which must be inherent in labour under communism.

In Part III of his work, Engels gives an expanded exposition of the history and theory of scientific communism and indicates the qualitatively new stage achieved by Marxist thought in comparison with its predecessors (see pp. 244-54).

In *Anti-Dühring*, Engels develops the Marxist postulate that scientific communism is the theoretical expression of the proletarian movement and, using the results of Marx's research into the antagonisms prevalent in capitalist society, he discloses the proposition, finally formulated in Volume I of *Capital*, on the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism and the victory of the socialist revolution. Drawing on the materialist interpretation of history, Engels shows that the basic contradiction of capitalism lies in the contradiction between the social character of production and the private form of appropriation. It manifests itself as an opposition between the organisation of production at each separate enterprise and the anarchy of production in all society, as an antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It finds its solution in the proletarian revolution. The proletariat takes over power and converts the means of production into public property.

Engels examined the main features of the future communist society. As distinct from the representatives of critical utopian socialism, who constructed "the elements of a new society out of their own heads, because within the old society the elements of the new were not as yet generally apparent" (p. 253), he showed how, in the framework of the capitalist mode of production, conditions ripen for a transition to the new social system.

Discussing the transition from capitalism to communism, Engels stresses that when the means of production are in the hands of the socialist society and new relations of production are established that exclude the exploitation of man by man, anarchy in production will be replaced by its planned organisation in society as a whole. The growth of productive forces will be accelerated, and this will lead, once the higher phase of communism has been attained, to the complete disappearance of the negative consequences of the division of labour for the development of the individual. Labour will be changed from a heavy burden into the first demand of life (see pp. 269-70, 279-80). The antithesis between mental and physical labour and between town and country will disappear (see pp. 282-84). Class distinctions will be abolished and the state will die out: the government of persons will be replaced by the administration of things, and by conduct of processes of production (see pp. 267-68). Education will be combined with labour (see p. 306). Religion will disappear (see p. 302). People will become the real and conscious masters of nature and society. "The extraneous objective forces that have hitherto governed history pass under the control of man himself. Only from that time will man himself, with full consciousness, make his own history... It is the humanity's leap from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom" (p. 270).

Engels' work resulted in the total theoretical refutation of Dühring's views and the loss of their influence over the German Social Democrats. Engels irrefutably demonstrated that Dühring, with his claim to having created a system of his own superior to all the socialist theories, including Marxism, was merely a typical representative of that "bumptious pseudo-science" which "is forcing its way to the front everywhere and is drowning everything with its resounding—sublime nonsense" (p. 7). *Anti-Dühring* facilitated the adoption of Marxism by many representatives of the international working-class movement. Thanks to this book, eminent members of the German and international working-class movement, on their own admission, accepted Marxism as a whole world outlook that embraced philosophy, political economy and socialism, and as the strategy and tactics of the proletariat's class struggle. The international working-class movement acquired a true encyclopaedia of Marxist knowledge on which many generations of socialists of all countries were raised. As Lenin put it, *Anti-Dühring* became a "handbook for every class-conscious worker" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 19, p. 24).

Several years before beginning work on *Anti-Dühring*, Engels began writing a major work entitled *Dialectics of Nature*. From 1873 to 1876, he collected a considerable amount of material and wrote an Introduction to the planned work. Engels continued, in fact, to be preoccupied with these problems while working on *Anti-Dühring* (1876-78), in which he, in particular, drew on his drafts for *Dialectics of Nature*. However, the main chapters and articles, and also some fragments of *Dialectics of Nature*, were written after the publication of *Anti-Dühring*, from 1878 to 1882. Work on *Dialectics of Nature* remained unfinished since, after Marx's death, Engels shouldered the responsibility for the leadership of the international working-class movement, and the preparation for the press of volumes II and III of *Capital*, which were still in manuscript form. *Dialectics of Nature* gathered dust in the archives of the German Social Democratic Party for nearly half a century and was first published in the USSR in 1925. Although this work was unfinished and certain of its component parts are preparatory drafts and disjointed notes, it is in fact a complete whole, united by its general basic ideas and overall plan.

When creating a complete world outlook, Marx and Engels not only critically revised the achievements of their predecessors in philosophy, political economy and socialist and communist teachings, but they inevitably had to arrive at the necessity for also generalising in philosophical terms the main achievements of contemporary natural science, to disclose the dialectical character of the development of nature and thereby show the universality of the basic laws of materialist dialectics. In the Preface to the second edition of *Anti-Dühring*, Engels wrote: "Marx and I were pretty well the only people to rescue conscious dialectics from German idealist philosophy and apply it in the materialist conception of nature and history. But a knowledge of mathematics and natural science is essential to a conception of nature which is dialectical and at the same time materialist" (p. 11).

The deep interest shown by Marx and Engels in natural science and the development of technology was neither haphazard nor temporary, and it evinced itself very early. Their range of interests in natural science was very wide; they followed closely all outstanding discoveries in biology, anatomy, physiology, astronomy, physics, chemistry and other sciences. Furthermore, each had his own special interests. Marx was much preoccupied with mathematics and applied natural science, and also with the history of engineering and agrochemistry, which was to a considerable

extent determined by his researches into political economy. Engels was more familiar with the achievements of physics and biology, and he devoted much attention to the problems of theoretical natural science.

Since Marx was wholly absorbed in his main work, *Capital*, it was Engels who undertook the solution of the latest theoretical tasks raised by the whole course of development of the natural sciences. Practical opportunities for this appeared after Engels retired from the Manchester firm and moved to London. However, as it was necessary to work out a strategy for the working class, given the new historical conditions created by the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 and the Paris Commune, and because of his involvement in the International, Engels was only able to devote himself to theoretical work from 1873.

The task that Engels set himself in working on *Dialectics of Nature* (as on Part I of *Anti-Dühring*), was formulated in the Preface to the second edition of *Anti-Dühring*: "My recapitulation of mathematics and the natural sciences was undertaken in order to convince myself also in detail—of what in general I was not in doubt—that in nature, amid the welter of innumerable changes, the same dialectical laws of motion force their way through as those which in history govern the apparent fortuitousness of events" (p. 11).

In *Dialectics of Nature*, Engels drew on a mass of material concerning the history of natural science to demonstrate that the need for the development of productive forces had stimulated progress in engineering and science, especially natural science, particularly those aspects of it which in one way or another were connected with the demands of practice, of production itself.

There were three great landmarks in the development of natural science in the last century: the discovery in 1838-39 by M. J. Schleiden and T. Schwann of an integral cell theory of living organisms; the discovery and substantiation in 1842-47 of the law of the conservation of energy by R. Mayer, J. P. Joule, W. R. Grove, L. A. Colding and H. Helmholtz; and the appearance of Darwin's theory of the evolution of organic life. In a letter to Engels dated December 19, 1860, Marx stressed that Darwin's *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* is the book which "in the field of natural history, provides the basis for our views" (see present edition, Vol. 41, p. 232).

The philosophical significance of these natural science discoveries was that they proved in highly concentrated form the dialectical character of natural processes. However, as Engels

showed in *Dialectics of Nature*, a contradiction clearly emerged in the second half of the 19th century between the dialectical character of the new natural science material and the metaphysical method prevalent among the absolute majority of natural scientists. "The bulk of natural scientists are still held fast in the old metaphysical categories and helpless when these modern facts ... have to be rationally explained and brought into relation with one another" (p. 486).

This tendency made itself felt most distinctly among the representatives of vulgar materialism and positivism. In spite of serious differences, vulgar materialism and positivism converged to a considerable extent over the solution to the problem of the mutual relationship between philosophy and natural science. The representatives of vulgar materialism in Germany—K. Vogt, L. Büchner and J. Moleschott—found themselves brought closer to A. Comte, the founder of positivism, by the general tendency to reject philosophy and dialectics as speculative "drivel", useless to positive science.

Engels' service is that for the first time in the history of Marxism, in *Dialectics of Nature,* he comprehensively investigated the problem of the mutual relationship between philosophy and natural science, establishing their inseverable connection and constant mutual action. He showed that "the metaphysical conception has become impossible in natural science owing to the very development of the latter" and that "dialectics divested of mysticism becomes an absolute necessity for natural science" (pp. 313, 486). He presented the natural scientists with the task of consciously mastering the method of dialectic materialism.

Engels disclosed the content of materialist dialectics as a science dealing with universal connections, with the most general laws of all motion, with the laws of the development of nature, society and human thought. As in *Anti-Dühring,* he distinguished between the objective dialectics of the real world and its reflection—the subjective dialectics of thought. As in *Anti-Dühring,* he defined the basic laws of dialectics. He indicated that "the dialectical laws are real laws of development of nature, and therefore are valid also for theoretical natural science" (p. 357).

In *Dialectics of Nature,* Engels elaborates in detail on such problems and categories of dialectics as causality and interaction, necessity and chance, the classification of forms of judgment, the correlation of induction and deduction, and the role of hypothesis as a form of the development of natural science (see, for example, pp. 356-61, 505-08, 520, etc.).

Engels develops the basic propositions of dialectic materialism concerning matter and motion, space and time. In *Dialectics of Nature,* he works out a classification of the forms of motion of matter and a corresponding classification of the sciences. Engels wrote: "*Classification of the sciences,* each of which analyses a single form of motion, or a series of forms of motion that belong together and pass into one another, is therefore the classification, the arrangement, of these forms of motion themselves according to their inherent sequence, and herein lies its importance" (p. 528).

Outlining the development of the different sciences—mathematics, mechanics, physics, chemistry and biology, Engels singles out in mathematics the problem of the apparent *a priori* forms of mathematical abstractions (see pp. 323, 327, 333, etc.), in astronomy—the problem of the origin and development of the solar system (see pp. 510, 546-49), in physics—the doctrine of the transformation of energy (see p. 505), in chemistry—the problem of atomic structure (see pp. 358-59, 530-31, etc.), in biology—the problem of the origin and essence of life (see. pp. 329, 334-35, etc.), cell theory (see pp. 326, 328-29, etc.) and Darwinism (see pp. 452-54, 478, etc.). Engels' approach to the analysis of the fundamental problems of the separate sciences is a model of the dialectic-materialist principle of research into the mutual relations of philosophy and natural science. An analysis of the concrete sciences enriches Marxist philosophy which, in its turn, creates a methodological foundation for the given branch of knowledge.

In an essay *The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man,* Engels elaborated a labour theory of anthropogenesis and sociogenesis. He pointed out the decisive role of labour and the manufacture of tools both in the formation of man and in the emergence of human society. Drawing on the current facts of natural science and, in particular, on Darwin's discoveries, he showed how from the ape-like ancestor, as a result of a prolonged historical process, a qualitatively distinct thinking and creating being was formed—man.

Engels analyses various aspects of the problem of the interaction between man and nature. As distinct from the majority of 19th-century natural scientists and philosophers, who usually despised research into the influence of the practical and labour activity on the development of human thought, he wrote: "It is precisely the *alteration of nature by men,* not solely nature as such, which is the most essential and immediate basis of human thought,

and it is in the measure that man has learned to change nature that his intelligence has increased" (p. 511).

Engels criticised the views of the scientists who, trading on Darwin's name, tried to reduce "the whole manifold wealth of historical development, and complexity" to a "meagre and one-sided phrase 'struggle for existence'" (p. 584). "The interaction of bodies in non-living nature," he wrote in a fragment "The Struggle for Life", "includes both harmony and collisions, that of living bodies conscious and unconscious co-operation as well as conscious and unconscious struggle. Hence, even in regard to nature, it is not permissible one-sidedly to inscribe only 'struggle' on one's banners" (ibid.). He spoke out even more firmly against the vulgarising attempts to treat in a like spirit the history of society. He showed how more substantial was the dialectic-materialist approach to the analysis of the processes of the development of human society, drawing on the fundamental propositions of the materialist conception of history: "The conception of history as a series of class struggles is already much richer in content and deeper than merely reducing it to weakly distinguished phases of the struggle for existence" (p. 585).

Engels devoted much attention to examining the role of theoretical thought in understanding the world. He showed that the theoretical thought of each era has had various forms and different content, that "the science of thought is ... a historical science, the science of the historical development of human thought" (pp. 338-39). Engels also wrote about the fate of dialectics in the history of philosophy: about the birth of dialectical ideas among the ancient Greek thinkers and about the development of Hegelian dialectical philosophy. He pointed to the historical significance of Hegel's dialectics as one of the theoretical sources of Marxist philosophy. However, in calling the Hegelian system "a comprehensive compendium of dialectics", Engels pointed out that it developed "from an utterly erroneous point of departure" (p. 342). In *Dialectics of Nature*, he shows that only dialectics reworked in materialist terms could become a component part of Marxist philosophy.

Engels constantly emphasised the role of materialist dialectics as the sole method that gave the clue to an understanding of the laws of the development of nature and society. He said that "dialectics cannot be despised with impunity" (p. 354), and that it is the sole method of thought appropriate in the highest degree to the current stage of development of natural science (see pp. 493-94). Bestowing high praise on D. I. Mendeleyev's creation of the periodic

system of chemical elements, Engels writes: "By means of the—unconscious—application of Hegel's law of the transformation of quantity into quality, Mendeleyev achieved a scientific feat which it is not too bold to put on a par with that of Leverrier in calculating the orbit of the until then unknown planet Neptune" (p. 361). Engels shows that progressive philosophy not only serves as a theoretical and methodological basis for the natural science of its time, but also partly anticipates the development of specific fields of science and predicts future discoveries. Engels himself in *Dialectics of Nature* was able to anticipate several of the later discoveries by science.

In *Dialectics of Nature*, Engels examines the laws of scientific progress and its prospects. He affirms that scientific progress tends to increase man's chances of taking into consideration all the more remote consequences of his practical activity for the natural and social environment. All the existing modes of production had in view only the nearest, most immediate effects of labour and could not fully regulate its consequences. "This regulation," writes Engels, "however, requires something more than mere knowledge. It requires a complete revolution in our hitherto existing mode of production, and simultaneously a revolution in our whole contemporary social order" (p. 462).

In *Dialectics of Nature*, Engels wages an implacable war on various anti-scientific tendencies among the representatives of natural science—against vulgar materialism, metaphysics, idealism and agnosticism, against one-sided empiricism and mechanism, spiritualism and the influences of religious ideology. In an article "Natural Science in the Spirit World", he shows that contempt for dialectical thinking is fraught with the most baleful consequences for science: "The empirical contempt for dialectics is punished by some of the most sober empiricists being led into the most barren of all superstitions, into modern spiritualism" (p. 354). Engels firmly opposed any ideas that did not correspond to the latest achievements of the science of that time and decelerated further research. Thus, in *Dialectics of Nature*, he attacks the hypothesis of R. Clausius, W. Thomson and J. Loschmidt on the so-called "death of the universe through lack of heat".

Needless to say, during the past decades of the spectacular and revolutionary development of natural science, the factual material drawn on by Engels and also certain propositions put forward by him have inevitably dated. However, the general methodology and the general conception of *Dialectics of Nature* have retained and will continue to retain their abiding significance.

Even in its incomplete form, this work by Engels impresses with the wealth and depth of its theoretical content. *Dialectics of Nature* is an important stage in the development of dialectical materialism. In it, Engels substantially developed materialist dialectics and marked out the road to the solution of the main problems of the natural science of his time.

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The present volume reproduces for the first time in English the rough draft of the Introduction to *Anti-Dühring,* published in the language of the original by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU in the volume: *Marx/Engels Gesamtausgabe.* Friedrich Engels, *Herrn Eugen Dührings Umwälzung der Wissenschaft/Dialektik der Natur.* Sonderausgabe, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935, pp. 396-400.

*Dialectics of Nature* is being published in accordance with the thematic arrangement of the material as adopted in the following publications: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works,* Second Russian Edition, Vol. 20, Moscow, 1961 and Marx/Engels, *Werke,* Vol. 20, Berlin, 1962. In the present publication of *Dialectics of Nature,* corrections made in the preparation of Volume 26, *Marx/Engels Gesamtausgabe* (MEGA), Berlin [1985] have been taken into consideration.

The end of *Dialectics of Nature* is followed by Engels' list of titles and tables of contents of the folders (see p. 588 and Note 130).

The subsection "From Engels' Preparatory Writings for *Anti-Dühring*" does not contain the items which Engels himself used for *Dialectics of Nature.* They are included in the text of *Dialectics of Nature.* Among the other supplements, the volume contains Engels' manuscript, "Infantry Tactics, Derived from Material Causes. 1700-1870", and "Additions to the Text of *Anti-Dühring* Made by Engels in the Pamphlet *Socialism Utopian and Scientific*".

In addition to the notes, name index and the indices of quoted and mentioned literature and periodicals, there is an index of contents of the folders of *Dialectics of Nature* and a chronological list of chapters and fragments of *Dialectics of Nature.* As compared with previous editions, considerable additions have been made to the notes, especially to the dating of certain fragments of *Dialectics of Nature.* Compared with the Russian edition and *Werke,* the index of quoted and mentioned literature has been substantially augmented.

The page numbers of works quoted, and also editorial headings

and inserts are given in square brackets. Words written in English in the original are given in small caps. Quotations from Greek and French authors are given in English with an indication of their original language in the footnotes. Latin quotations are published in the text in the language of the original with a translation given in the footnotes.

The volume was compiled, the text prepared and notes written by Tatyana Chikileva (*Anti-Dühring*) and Yuri Vasin (*Dialectics of Nature*). The editor of the volume was Valentina Smirnova. The preface was written by Tatyana Chikileva, Valentina Smirnova and Yuri Vasin. The name index, the indices of quoted and mentioned literature and of periodicals were prepared by Tatyana Chikileva and Yuri Vasin (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The translations were made by Emile Burns and Clemens Dutt (Lawrence & Wishart) and edited by Natalia Karmanova, Margarita Lopukhina, Mzia Pitskhelauri, Andrei Skvarsky (Progress Publishers) and Georgi Bagaturia, scientific editor (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The Volume was prepared for the press by the editors Nadezhda Rudenko and Yelena Vorotnikova (Progress Publishers).

Frederick Engels

# ANTI-DÜHRING

## HERR EUGEN DÜHRING'S REVOLUTION IN SCIENCE[1]

Written in September 1876-June 1878

Published in *Vorwärts* from January 3, 1877 to July 7, 1878

First published as a separate book in Leipzig in 1878

Published according to the text of the 1894 edition

# Herrn Eugen Dühring's

# Umwälzung der Wissenschaft

Von

**Friedrich Engels**

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Dritte, durchgesehene und vermehrte Auflage

Stuttgart
Verlag von J. H. W. Dietz
1894

Title page of the third edition of Engels' *Anti-Dühring*

# PREFACES TO THE THREE EDITIONS

## I

The following work is by no means the fruit of any "inner urge". On the contrary.

When three years ago Herr Dühring, as an adept and at the same time a reformer of socialism, suddenly issued his challenge to his age,[a] friends in Germany repeatedly urged on me their desire that I should subject this new socialist theory to a critical examination in the central organ of the Social Democratic Party, at that time the *Volksstaat*. They thought this absolutely necessary if the occasion for sectarian divisions and confusions were not once again to arise within the Party, which was still so young and had but just achieved definite unity.[2] They were in a better position than I was to judge the situation in Germany, and I was therefore duty bound to accept their view. Moreover, it became apparent that the new convert was being welcomed by a section of the socialist press with a warmth which it is true was only extended to Herr Dühring's good will, but which at the same time also indicated that in this section of the Party press there existed the good will, precisely on account of Herr Dühring's good will, to take also, without examination, Herr Dühring's doctrine into the bargain.[3] There were, besides, people who were already preparing to spread this doctrine in a popularised form among the workers.[4] And finally Herr Dühring and his little sect were using all the arts of advertisement and intrigue to force the *Volksstaat* to take a definite stand in relation to the new doctrine which had come forward with such mighty pretensions.[5]

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[a] Ironic paraphrase of a famous dictum from F. Schiller's *Don Carlos*, Act 1, Scene 9.—*Ed.*

Nevertheless it was a year before I could make up my mind to neglect other work and get my teeth into this sour apple. It was the kind of apple that, once bitten into, had to be completely devoured; and it was not only very sour, but also very large. The new socialist theory was presented as the ultimate practical fruit of a new philosophical system. It was therefore necessary to examine it in the context of this system, and in doing so to examine the system itself; it was necessary to follow Herr Dühring into that vast territory in which he dealt with all things under the sun and with some others as well. That was the origin of a series of articles which appeared in the Leipzig *Vorwärts,* the successor of the *Volksstaat,* from the beginning of 1877 onwards and are here presented as a connected whole.

It was thus the nature of the object itself which forced the criticism to go into such detail as is entirely out of proportion to the scientific content of this object, that is to say, of Dühring's writings. But there are also two other considerations which may excuse this length of treatment. On the one hand it gave me, in connection with the very diverse subjects to be touched on here, the opportunity of setting forth in a positive form my views on controversial issues which are today of quite general scientific or practical interest. This has been done in every single chapter, and although this work cannot in any way aim at presenting another system as an alternative to Herr Dühring's "system", yet it is to be hoped that the reader will not fail to observe the connection inherent in the various views which I have advanced. I have already had proof enough that in this respect my work has not been entirely fruitless.

On the other hand, the "system-creating" Herr Dühring is by no means an isolated phenomenon in contemporary Germany. For some time now in Germany systems of cosmogony, of philosophy of nature in general, of politics, of economics, etc., have been springing up by the dozen overnight, like mushrooms. The most insignificant *doctor philosophiae* and even a student will not go in for anything less than a complete "system". Just as in the modern state it is presumed that every citizen is competent to pass judgment on all the issues on which he is called to vote; and just as in economics it is assumed that every consumer is a connoisseur of all the commodities which he has occasion to buy for his maintenance—so similar assumptions are now to be made in science. Freedom of science is taken to mean that people write on every subject which they have not studied, and put this forward as the only strictly scientific method. Herr Dühring, however, is one

of the most characteristic types of this bumptious pseudo-science which in Germany nowadays is forcing its way to the front everywhere and is drowning everything with its resounding—sublime nonsense. Sublime nonsense in poetry, in philosophy, in politics, in economics, in historiography, sublime nonsense in the lecture-room and on the platform, sublime nonsense everywhere; sublime nonsense which lays claim to a superiority and depth of thought distinguishing it from the simple, commonplace nonsense of other nations; sublime nonsense, the most characteristic mass product of Germany's intellectual industry—cheap but bad—just like other German-made goods, only that unfortunately it was not exhibited along with them at Philadelphia.[6] Even German socialism has lately, particularly since Herr Dühring's good example, gone in for a considerable amount of sublime nonsense, producing various persons who give themselves airs about "science", of which they "really never learnt a word".[7] This is an infantile disease which marks, and is inseparable from, the incipient conversion of the German student to Social Democracy, but which our workers with their remarkably healthy nature will undoubtedly overcome.

It was not my fault that I had to follow Herr Dühring into realms where at best I can only claim to be a dilettante. In such cases I have for the most part limited myself to putting forward the correct, undisputed facts in opposition to my adversary's false or distorted assertions. This applies to jurisprudence and in some instances also to natural science. In other cases it has been a question of general views connected with the theory of natural science—that is, a field where even the professional natural scientist is compelled to pass beyond his own speciality and encroach on neighbouring territory—territory on which he is, therefore, as Herr Virchow has admitted, just as much a "semi-initiate"[a] as any one of us. I hope that in respect of minor inexactitudes and clumsiness of expression, I shall be granted the same indulgence as is shown to one another in this domain.

Just as I was completing this preface I received a publishers' notice, composed by Herr Dühring, of a new "authoritative" work of Herr Dühring's: *Neue Grundgesetze zur rationellen Physik und Chemie.* Conscious as I am of the inadequacy of my knowledge of physics and chemistry, I nevertheless believe that I know my Herr Dühring, and therefore, without having seen the work itself, think that I am entitled to say in advance that the laws of physics and chemistry put forward in it will be worthy to take their place, by

[a] R. Virchow, *Die Freiheit der Wissenschaft im modernen Staat,* p. 13.—*Ed.*

their erroneousness or platitudinousness, among the laws of economics, world schematism, etc., which were discovered earlier by Herr Dühring and are examined in this book of mine; and also that the rhigometer, or instrument constructed by Herr Dühring for measuring extremely low temperatures, will serve as a measure not of temperatures either high or low, but simply and solely of the ignorant arrogance of Herr Dühring.

*London,* June 11, 1878

## II

I had not expected that a new edition of this book would have to be published. The subject matter of its criticism is now practically forgotten; the work itself was not only available to many thousands of readers in the form of a series of articles published in the Leipzig *Vorwärts* in 1877 and 1878, but also appeared in its entirety as a separate book, of which a large edition was printed. How then can anyone still be interested in what I had to say about Herr Dühring years ago?

I think that I owe this in the first place to the fact that this book, as in general almost all my works that were still current at the time, was prohibited within the German Empire immediately after the Anti-Socialist Law[8] was promulgated. To anyone whose brain has not been ossified by the hereditary bureaucratic prejudices of the countries of the Holy Alliance,[9] the effect of this measure must have been self-evident: a doubled and trebled sale of the prohibited books, and the exposure of the impotence of the gentlemen in Berlin who issue prohibitions and are unable to enforce them. Indeed the kindness of the Imperial Government has brought me more new editions of my minor works than I could really cope with; I have had no time to make a proper revision of the text, and in most cases have been obliged simply to allow it to be reprinted as it stood.

But there was also another factor. The "system" of Herr Dühring which is criticised in this book ranges over a very wide theoretical domain; and I was compelled to follow him wherever he went and to oppose my conceptions to his. As a result, my negative criticism became positive; the polemic was transformed into a more or less connected exposition of the dialectical method and of the communist world outlook championed by Marx and myself—an exposition covering a fairly comprehensive range of subjects. After its first presentation to the world in Marx's *Misère*

*de la philosophie*[a] and in the *Communist Manifesto*,[b] this mode of outlook of ours, having passed through an incubation period of fully twenty years before the publication of *Capital*,[c] has been more and more rapidly extending its influence among ever widening circles, and now finds recognition and support far beyond the boundaries of Europe, in every country which contains on the one hand proletarians and on the other undaunted scientific theoreticians. It seems therefore that there is a public whose interest in the subject is great enough for them to take into the bargain the polemic against the Dühring tenets merely for the sake of the positive conceptions developed alongside this polemic, in spite of the fact that the latter has now largely lost its point.

I must note in passing that inasmuch as the mode of outlook expounded in this book was founded and developed in far greater measure by Marx, and only to an insignificant degree by myself, it was self-understood between us that this exposition of mine should not be issued without his knowledge. I read the whole manuscript to him before it was printed, and the tenth chapter of the part on economics ("From *Kritische Geschichte*")[d] was written by Marx[10] but unfortunately had to be shortened somewhat by me for purely external reasons. As a matter of fact, we had always been accustomed to help each other out in special subjects.

With the exception of one chapter,[e] the present new edition is an unaltered reprint of the former edition. For one thing, I had no time for a thoroughgoing revision, although there was much in the presentation that I should have liked to alter. Besides I am under the obligation to prepare for the press the manuscripts which Marx has left, and this is much more important than anything else. Then again, my conscience rebels against making any alterations. The book is a polemic, and I think that I owe it to my adversary not to improve anything in my work when he is unable to improve his. I could only claim the right to make a rejoinder to Herr Dühring's reply. But I have not read, and will not read, unless there is some special reason to do so, what Herr Dühring has written concerning my attack[11]; in point of theory I have finished with him. Besides, I must observe the rules of decency in literary warfare all the more strictly in his regard, because of the despicable injustice that has since been done to him

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[a] *The Poverty of Philosophy*. See present edition, Vol. 6.—*Ed.*
[b] See present edition, Vol. 6.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., Vol. 35.—*Ed.*
[d] See this volume, pp. 211-43.—*Ed.*
[e] Ibid., pp. 254-71.—*Ed.*

by the University of Berlin. It is true that the University has not gone unpunished. A university which so abases itself as to deprive Herr Dühring, in circumstances which are well known, of his academic freedom[12] must not be surprised to find Herr Schweninger forced on it in circumstances which are equally well known.

The only chapter in which I have allowed myself some additional elucidation is the second of Part III, "Theoretical". This chapter deals simply and solely with the exposition of a pivotal point in the mode of outlook for which I stand, and my adversary cannot therefore complain if I attempt to state it in a more popular form and to make it more coherent. And there was in fact an extraneous reason for doing this. I had revised three chapters of the book (the first chapter of the Introduction and the first and second of Part III) for my friend Lafargue with a view to their translation into French[13] and publication as a separate pamphlet[a]; and after the French edition[b] had served as the basis for Italian[c] and Polish[d] editions, a German edition was issued by me under the title: *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft.* This ran through three editions within a few months, and also appeared in Russian[14] and Danish[e] translations. In all these editions it was only the chapter in question which had been amplified, and it would have been pedantic, in the new edition of the original work, to have tied myself down to its original text instead of the later text which had become known internationally.

Whatever else I should have liked to alter relates in the main to two points. First, to the history of primitive society, the key to which was provided by Morgan only in 1877.[f] But as I have since then had the opportunity, in my work: *Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigenthums und des Staats* (Zurich, 1884)[g] to work up the material which in the meantime had become available to me, a reference to this later work meets the case.

The second point concerns the section dealing with theoretical

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[a] Published in English under the title: *Socialism Utopian and Scientific.* See present edition, Vol. 24.—*Ed.*

[b] *Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique.*—*Ed.*

[c] *Il socialismo utopico e il socialismo scientifico.*—*Ed.*

[d] *Socyjalizm utopijny a naukowy.*—*Ed.*

[e] *Socialismens Udvikling fra Utopi til Videnskab.*—*Ed.*

[f] Engels refers to Morgan's main work *Ancient Society or Researches in the lines of human progress from savagery, through barbarism to civilisation.*—*Ed.*

[g] See present edition, Vol. 26.—*Ed.*

natural science. There is much that is clumsy in my exposition and much of it could be expressed today in a clearer and more definite form. I have not allowed myself the right to improve this section, and for that very reason am under an obligation to criticise myself here instead.

Marx and I were pretty well the only people to rescue conscious dialectics from German idealist philosophy and apply it in the materialist conception of nature and history. But a knowledge of mathematics and natural science is essential to a conception of nature which is dialectical and at the same time materialist. Marx was well versed in mathematics, but we could keep up with natural science only piecemeal, intermittently and sporadically. For this reason, when I retired from business and transferred my home to London,[15] thus enabling myself to give the necessary time to it, I went through as complete as possible a "moulting", as Liebig calls it,[16] in mathematics and the natural sciences, and spent the best part of eight years on it. I was right in the middle of this "moulting" process when it happened that I had to occupy myself with Herr Dühring's so-called natural philosophy. It was therefore only too natural that in dealing with this subject I was sometimes unable to find the correct technical expression, and in general moved with considerable clumsiness in the field of theoretical natural science. On the other hand, my lack of assurance in this field, which I had not yet overcome, made me cautious, and I cannot be charged with real blunders in relation to the facts known at that time or with incorrect presentation of recognised theories. In this connection there was only one unrecognised genius of a mathematician[a] who complained in a letter to Marx[17] that I had made a wanton attack upon the honour of $\sqrt{-1}$.[b]

It goes without saying that my recapitulation of mathematics and the natural sciences was undertaken in order to convince myself also in detail—of what in general I was not in doubt—that in nature, amid the welter of innumerable changes, the same dialectical laws of motion force their way through as those which in history govern the apparent fortuitousness of events; the same laws which similarly form the thread running through the history of the development of human thought and gradually rise to consciousness in thinking man; the laws which Hegel first developed in all-embracing but mystic form, and which we made it one of our aims to strip of this mystic form and to bring clearly

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[a] H. W. Fabian.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 112.—*Ed.*

before the mind in their complete simplicity and universality. It goes without saying that the old philosophy of nature—in spite of its real value and the many fruitful seeds it contained*—was unable to satisfy us. As is more fully brought out in this book, natural philosophy, particularly in the Hegelian form, erred because it did not concede to nature any development in time, any "succession", but only "co-existence". This was on the one hand grounded in the Hegelian system itself, which ascribed historical evolution only to the "spirit", but on the other hand was also due to the whole state of the natural sciences in that period. In this Hegel fell far behind Kant, whose nebular theory had already indicated the origin of the solar system,[c] and whose discovery of the retardation of the earth's rotation by the tides also had proclaimed the doom of that system.[d] And finally, to me there could be no question of

* It is much easier, along with the unthinking mob *à la* Karl Vogt, to assail the old philosophy of nature than to appreciate its historical significance. It contains a great deal of nonsense and fantasy but not more than the unphilosophical theories of the empirical natural scientists contemporary with that philosophy, and that there was also in it much that was sensible and rational began to be perceived after the theory of evolution became widespread. Haeckel was therefore fully justified in recognising the merits of Treviranus and Oken.[a] In his primordial slime and primordial vesicle Oken put forward as a biological postulate what was in fact subsequently discovered as protoplasm and cell. As far as Hegel is specifically concerned, he is in many respects head and shoulders above his empiricist contemporaries, who thought that they had explained all unexplained phenomena when they had endowed them with some force or power—the force of gravity, the power of buoyancy, the power of electrical contact, etc.—or where this would not do, with some unknown substance: the substance of light, of heat, of electricity, etc. The imaginary substances have now been pretty well discarded, but the power humbug against which Hegel fought still pops up gaily, for example, as late as 1869 in Helmholtz's Innsbruck lecture (Helmholtz, *Populäre Vorlesungen,* Issue II, 1871, p. 190).[b] In contrast to the deification of Newton which was handed down from the French of the eighteenth century, and the English heaping of honours and wealth on Newton, Hegel brought out the fact that Kepler, whom Germany allowed to starve, was the real founder of the modern mechanics of the celestial bodies, and that the Newtonian law of gravitation was already contained in all three of Kepler's laws, in the third law even explicitly. What Hegel proves by a few simple equations in his *Naturphilosophie,* § 270 and Addenda (Hegel's *Werke,* 1842, Vol. 7, pp. 98 and 113 to 115), appears again as the outcome of the most recent mathematical mechanics in Gustav Kirchhoff's *Vorlesungen über mathematische Physik,* 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1877, p. 10, and in essentially the same simple mathematical form as had first been developed by Hegel. The natural philosophers stand in the same relation to consciously dialectical natural science as the utopians to modern communism.

[a] E. Haeckel, *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte,* pp. 83-88.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 372-74.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., p. 24.—*Ed.*
[d] Ibid., pp. 392-96.—*Ed.*

building the laws of dialectics into nature, but of discovering them in it and evolving them from it.

But to do this systematically and in each separate department, is a gigantic task. Not only is the domain to be mastered almost boundless; natural science in this entire domain is itself undergoing such a mighty process of being revolutionised that even people who can devote the whole of their spare time to it can hardly keep pace. Since Karl Marx's death, however, my time has been requisitioned for more urgent duties, and I have therefore been compelled to lay aside my work.[a] For the present I must content myself with the indications given in this book, and must wait to find some later opportunity to put together and publish the results which I have arrived at, perhaps in conjunction with the extremely important mathematical manuscripts left by Marx.[18]

Yet the advance of theoretical natural science may possibly make my work to a great extent or even altogether superfluous. For the revolution which is being forced on theoretical natural science by the mere need to set in order the purely empirical discoveries, great masses of which have been piled up, is of such a kind that it must bring the dialectical character of natural processes more and more to the consciousness even of those empiricists who are most opposed to it. The old rigid antagonisms, the sharp, impassable dividing lines are more and more disappearing. Since even the last "true" gases have been liquefied, and since it has been proved that a body can be brought into a condition in which the liquid and the gaseous forms are indistinguishable, the aggregate states have lost the last relics of their former absolute character.[19] With the thesis of the kinetic theory of gases, that in perfect gases at equal temperatures the squares of the speeds with which the individual gas molecules move are in inverse ratio to their molecular weights, heat also takes its place directly among the forms of motion which can be immediately measured as such. Whereas only ten years ago the great basic law of motion, then recently discovered, was as yet conceived merely as a law of the *conservation* of energy, as the mere expression of the indestructibility and uncreatability of motion, that is, merely in its quantitative aspect, this narrow, negative conception is being more and more supplanted by the positive idea of the *transformation* of energy, in which for the first time the qualitative content of the process comes into its own, and the last vestige of an extramundane creator is obliterated. That the quantity of motion (so-called energy) remains unaltered when it is

[a] I.e., on *Dialectics of Nature*. See Note 130.—*Ed.*

transformed from kinetic energy (so-called mechanical force) into electricity, heat, potential energy, etc., and vice versa, no longer needs to be preached as something new; it serves as the already secured basis for the now much more pregnant investigation into the very process of transformation, the great basic process, knowledge of which comprises all knowledge of nature. And since biology has been pursued in the light of the theory of evolution, one rigid boundary line of classification after another has been swept away in the domain of organic nature. The almost unclassifiable intermediate links are growing daily more numerous, closer investigation throws organisms out of one class into another, and distinguishing characteristics which almost became articles of faith are losing their absolute validity; we now have mammals that lay eggs, and, if the report is confirmed, also birds that walk on all fours. Years ago Virchow was compelled, following on the discovery of the cell, to dissolve the unity of the individual animal being into a federation of cell-states—thus acting more progressively rather than scientifically and dialectically[20]—and now the conception of animal (therefore also human) individuality is becoming far more complex owing to the discovery of the white blood corpuscles which creep about amoeba-like within the bodies of the higher animals. It is however precisely the polar antagonisms put forward as irreconcilable and insoluble, the forcibly fixed lines of demarcation and class distinctions, which have given modern theoretical natural science its restricted, metaphysical character. The recognition that these antagonisms and distinctions, though to be found in nature, are only of relative validity, and that on the other hand their imagined rigidity and absolute validity have been introduced into nature only by our reflective minds—this recognition is the kernel of the dialectical conception of nature. It is possible to arrive at this recognition because the accumulating facts of natural science compel us to do so; but one arrives at it more easily if one approaches the dialectical character of these facts equipped with an understanding of the laws of dialectical thought. In any case natural science has now advanced so far that it can no longer escape dialectical generalisation. However it will make this process easier for itself if it does not lose sight of the fact that the results in which its experiences are summarised are concepts, that the art of working with concepts is not inborn and also is not given with ordinary everyday consciousness, but requires real thought, and that this thought similarly has a long empirical history, not more and not less than empirical natural science. Only by learning to assimilate

the results of the development of philosophy during the past two and a half thousand years will it rid itself on the one hand of any natural philosophy standing apart from it, outside it and above it, and on the other hand also of its own limited method of thought, which is its inheritance from English empiricism.

*London,* September 23, 1885

## III

The following new edition is a reprint of the former, except for a few very unimportant stylistic changes. It is only in one chapter—the tenth of Part II: "From *Kritische Geschichte*"[a] that I have allowed myself to make substantial additions, on the following grounds.

As already stated in the preface to the second edition, this chapter was in all essentials the work of Marx. I was forced to make considerable cuts in Marx's manuscript, which in its first wording had been intended as an article for a journal; and I had to cut precisely those parts of it in which the critique of Dühring's propositions was overshadowed by Marx's own revelations from the history of economics. But this is just the section of the manuscript which is even today of the greatest and most permanent interest. I consider myself under an obligation to give in as full and faithful a form as possible the passages in which Marx assigns to people like Petty, North, Locke and Hume their appropriate place in the genesis of classical political economy; and even more his explanation of Quesnay's economic *Tableau,* which has remained an insoluble riddle of the sphinx to all modern political economy. On the other hand, wherever the thread of the argument makes this possible, I have omitted passages which refer exclusively to Herr Dühring's writings.

For the rest I may well be perfectly satisfied with the degree to which, since the previous edition of this book was issued, the views maintained in it have penetrated into the social consciousness of scientific circles and of the working class in every civilised country of the world.

*London,* May 23, 1894

*F. Engels*

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[a] See this volume, pp. 211-43.—*Ed.*

# INTRODUCTION

## I. GENERAL

Modern socialism is, in its essence, the direct product of the recognition, on the one hand, of the class antagonisms existing in the society of today between proprietors and non-proprietors, between capitalists and wage-workers; on the other hand, of the anarchy existing in production. But, in its theoretical form, modern socialism originally appears ostensibly as a more logical extension of the principles laid down by the great French philosophers of the eighteenth century. Like every new theory, modern socialism had, at first, to connect itself with the intellectual stock-in-trade ready to its hand, however deeply its roots lay in economic facts.

The great men, who in France prepared men's minds for the coming revolution, were themselves extreme revolutionists. They recognised no external authority of any kind whatever. Religion, natural science, society, political institutions—everything was subjected to the most unsparing criticism; everything must justify its existence before the judgment-seat of reason or give up existence. Reason became the sole measure of everything. It was the time when, as Hegel says, the world stood upon its head[a]; first in the sense that the human head, and the principles arrived at by its thought, claimed to be the basis of all human action and association; but by and by, also, in the wider sense that the reality which was in contradiction to these principles had, in fact, to be turned upside down. Every form of society and government then existing, every old traditional notion was flung into the lumber-

[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte. In: Werke,* Bd. 9, pp. 535-36; see this volume, pp. 630-31.—*Ed.*

# Vorwärts

Central-Organ der Sozialdemokratie Deutschlands.

Nr. 1. Mittwoch, 3. Januar. 1877.


## Die feindlichen Brüder.

Es scheint sicher, wer es, wenn man die Herren Fortschrittler und Nationalliberalen bei der dritten Berathung des Justizgesetzes im Reichstage sah, wie sie gleich Kampfhähnen gegen einander sprangen, Federn aus der einen, Federn von den anderen Seite flürzten die Schwerter ein. Der Kampfruf der Fortschrittler war: Volksverrath! Höhnisch antworteten die Nationalliberalen: Schwindelpatriotismus!

Und wahrlich, die verstimmenen Nationalliberalen sollten Recht haben, denn die Fortschrittler sind nach wie vor immer die Alten. Ihre Leute haben noch immer offen, wie wollen „praktische Politik" treiben, mit unkundigen und der Regierung; diese erklärten: „unter solchen Umständen ist das Tafeltuch völlig zwischen uns entzwei geschnitten."

Doch mit Nichten — bei den hervorkehrenden Reichstagsvorbeiten gehen die feindlichen Brüder wieder wiederum — es ist wieder die alte Geschichte vom Schlagen und Vertragen.

Die Nationalliberalen haben einen Wahlaufruf erlassen, in welchem sie der „Pöbeleien" der Fortschrittspartei öffentlich Grossthuung thun, aber für die Zukunft trauen offiziellen Bruch ablehnen; der Wahlaufruf der Fortschrittspartei erklärt die Nationalliberalen gar nicht, spricht aber dagegen von rücksichtslosen Bestrebungen der Sozialdemokraten in wirthschaftlichen Dingen, denen man entgegentreten müsse.

Was steht also, daß die Entzweiung der Fortschrittler im Reichstage nur die Gutmüthigen, das Schandpublicum war, um bei den blinden Propagandas für die unbedingte Partei zu machen, daher heute alle Recht, wenn er den Fortschrittler Hänel heute Wort: „Schandpublicum" entgegenrief, heute heraus seine Papiere hervor und wurde genau, daß die „gemeinsamen Fortschritte" ebenso gut und gut sind von den Wählern wie von Nationalliberalen, weil dieser doch einen wählbarer ist als der Fortschritt, zu Grunde ziehen würden, als die Nationalliberalen es vor den nächstjährigen Diätenrat zu thun gewohnt sind.

Die fortschrittliche Entschlossenheit ist schon längst verschwunden.

Ueber den Wahlaufruf der Fortschrittspartei aber urtheilt der „Nürnberger Anzeiger", ein freisinniges Blatt, folgendermaßen:

„Der Wahlaufruf der deutschen Fortschrittspartei ist in mehr als einer Hinsicht interessant. Der Wähler ist heutzutage wenig für — wie sagen wir lieber — Kraftsätzchen, mit welcher jede Anspielung auf die übrigen Parteien, insbesondere die nationalliberale, vermieden ist. Und doch ist gerade hierin so viel, die Berliner Correspondenz der „Frankfurter Journale" schreibt zur Erklärung dieser auffallenden Thatsache: „Die gemäßigte Fraktion war über Berathung des Antrages, darüber einig, daß man es darauf ankommen sollte, im Aufruf selbst der Nationalliberalen anzugreifen; der Bruch mit dieser Partei ist auch das Compromiß ein so unthätiger geworden, und die Zwischenzeit dazwischen liegt so klar vor Augen, daß für Jeden, der sehen will, es keinerlei Angriffe mehr bedarfe." Aus dem Aufruf der Erklärung geht wie eine diplomatische Kunstgriff vor: denn wenn der Bruch der Fortschrittspartei mit den Nationalliberalismus ein „vollständiger" geworden ist, was könnte, was offen ausgesprochen? Die Fortschrittspartei ist somit gewaltigst, ihren Anhängern Alles, was sie will, zu einzugeben zu machen, daß hinten das eigene Denken sich gänzlich erspart. Wie weit, wenn ihrem Aufruf an und der Kampfesweise heit von ihrer Gewalthaft ab und überhaupt die ihrem Führern weniger auf politischen Verhältnisse als auf instinktiven Antriebe folgenden Massen ihrem Schicksale und Wahlrechte anbelangt, ist Verlorenen? Daß diese Gewaltigung, es müsse Jedermann den Bruch zwischen Nationalliberalismus und Fortschritt erkennen, eine total falsche ist und für den Aufruf die schamvollste Begründung, und sich gleichen kann, zeigt sich gerade in Bayern, da bekanntlich die dunkle und unaufklärliche Verwandung aller Unreinheit, die sich gerne „liberal" nennen, vom nationalen antifeudalen Demokraten bis zum Fortschrittsmann, unter dem Titel „bayerische Fortschrittspartei" existirt."

Das Blatt hat recht. Die Fortschrittler wollen gar nicht, daß der Bruch perfektion mit der Nationalliberalen klar vor Jedermann Augen liege, so schweigen diesen Bruch vor den Wählern einfach tot, und daß schon ist das zeitgemäßere Tatsächlich und wieder zusammenpfeifen.

So gehen in Frankfurt, Köln und Mainz National Liberalismus und Fortschritt bei den Wählern Hand in Hand. Man sieht alles, daß der „Bruch" mehr in radikaldig und in offenbar ist als die Herren von der Fortschrittsfraktion glauben — aber auch nicht glauben.

Wir sind der Ansicht — und die oder angeführten Thatsachen sprechen für dieselbe — daß die Fortschrittspartei den Schlachtruf gegen die nationalliberale Partei nicht rufen, um noch mir nur bei den Wählern einstreichig mit derselben gehen zu können.

Die Nationalliberalen erzürnen sich nun auch schon erkenntlich. So verlangt, daß dieselben in Breslau für die Fortschrittler Hänel und Stein stimmen, also für den „Schandspieler" Hänel. Und dieser „Schandspieler" Hänel hat niederum nichts besseres, daß in Mainz die Candidatur der Centrumsch-Debemann Dreiser von den Fortschrittlern unterstützt wird.

Die „Vorwärts" der feindlichen Brüder ist also jetzt schon unbegreiflich — die Zeiger der Hauptredaktion liegen sich schon in den Armen, und Gustaf Hänel ist der schandmäßige Spieler und daß gute alte deutsche Sprichwort sieht in immer vollen Ehre da: „Und schlägt sich, Und verträgt sich!"

## Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Philosophie.

Von Friedrich Engels.

I.

Der moderne Sozialismus ist seinem Inhalte nach zunächst das Ergebniß der Zuspitzung, einerseits der in der modernen Gesellschaft herrschenden Klassengegensätze von Besitzenden und Besitzlosen, Lohnarbeitern und Kapitalisten, andererseits der in der modernen Produktion herrschenden Anarchie. Aber seiner theoretischen Form nach erscheint er anfänglich als eine weiterentwickelte, angeblich konsequentere Fortbildung der von den großen französischen Aufklärern des 18. Jahrhunderts aufgestellten Grundsätze. Wie jede neue Theorie, wurde er, sobald er entstanden ist, das vorgeschaltete Gedankenmaterial, in best und seine Wurzel in den materiellen ökonomischen Thatsachen ins.

Die großen Männer, die in Frankreich die Köpfe für die bevorstehende Umwälzung klärten, waren selbst äußerst revolutionär. Sie erkannten keine äußere Autorität an, welcher Art sie auch sei. Religion, Naturanschauung, Gesellschaft, Staatsordnung, Alles wurde der schonungslosesten Kritik unterworfen; Alles sollte seine Existenz vor dem Richterstuhl der Vernunft rechtfertigen oder auf die Existenz verzichten. Der bedeutende Verstand wurde als einzig gut Maßstab Alles anwendet. Es war die Zeit, von welcher gesagt ist, die Welt sei bis dahin falsch worden, gerade in dem Sinn, daß der menschliche Kopf und die durch sein Denken gebildeten Sätze den Kopfstand machten, als Grundlage aller menschlichen Handlungen und Verhältnisse dienten zu gelten; dann aber gelangte man zu dem weiteren Sinn, daß die Wirklichkeit, die diesem Gesetze widerstreitet, in der That von eben jetzt unter umgekehrt wurde. Alle bisherigen Gesellschafts- und Staatsformen, alle überlieferten Vorstellungen wurden als unvernünftig [illegible] Seit hatte sich bisher lediglich das Vernunftreich [illegible] Vergangenen verdrängt. Der Mensch hat bis dahin [illegible] Kopfstand, das Reich der Vernunft, das Alles sollte der Vergangenheit, das Unvernünftige, das Unrechtmäßige verdrängen und [illegible] Gerechtigkeit, die in der Natur begründete Gleichheit und die unveräußerlichen Menschenrechte.

Wie wissen jetzt, daß dies Reich der Vernunft weiter nichts war, als das idealisirte Reich der Bourgeoisie, daß die ewige Gerechtigkeit ihre Verwirklichung fand in der Bourgeoisiejustiz, daß die Gleichheit auf der bürgerlichen Gleichheit vor dem Gesetz; [illegible] und der wesentlichste Menschenrechte proklamirt wurde [illegible] bürgerliche Eigenthum, und daß der Vernunftstaat, der Gesellschaftsordnung der Aufklärer [illegible] und nur wie jede andere Form des bürgerlichen, demokratischen Kapitalismus. Es wenig war alle diese Vorgänger hinaus der großen Denker des 18. Jahrhunderts über die Schranken hinaus, die ihnen ihre eigne Epoche gesetzt hatte.

Aber neben dem Gegensatz von Feudalwelt und Bürgerthum befand der allgemeine Gegensatz von Ausbeutern und Ausgebeuteten, von reichen Müßiggängern und arbeitenden Armen. Der es hob gerade dieser Umstand, der es den Vertretern der Bourgeoisie möglich machte, sich als Vertreter, nicht einer besonderen Klasse, sondern der ganzen leidenden Menschheit hinzustellen. Es wenig war alle diese Vorgänger hinaus der großen Denker des 18. Jahrhunderts über die Schranken hinaus, die ihnen ihre eigne Epoche gesetzt hatte.

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[illegible]

## Parlamentarischer Tagesspiegel.

(Gesch.)

[illegible]

room as irrational; the world had hitherto allowed itself to be led solely by prejudices; everything in the past deserved only pity and contempt. Now, for the first time, appeared the light of day, henceforth superstition, injustice, privilege, oppression, were to be superseded by eternal truth, eternal Right, equality based on nature and the inalienable rights of man.

We know today that this kingdom of reason was nothing more than the idealised kingdom of the bourgeoisie; that this eternal Right found its realisation in bourgeois justice; that this equality reduced itself to bourgeois equality before the law; that bourgeois property was proclaimed as one of the essential rights of man; and that the government of reason, the Contrat Social of Rousseau,[21] came into being, and only could come into being, as a democratic bourgeois republic. The great thinkers of the eighteenth century could, no more than their predecessors, go beyond the limits imposed upon them by their epoch.

But, side by side with the antagonism of the feudal nobility and the burghers, was the general antagonism of exploiters and exploited, of rich idlers and poor workers. It was this very circumstance that made it possible for the representatives of the bourgeoisie to put themselves forward as representing not one special class, but the whole of suffering humanity. Still further. From its origin the bourgeoisie was saddled with its antithesis: capitalists cannot exist without wage-workers, and, in the same proportion as the mediaeval burgher of the guild developed into the modern bourgeois, the guild journeyman and the day-labourer, outside the guilds, developed into the proletarian. And although, upon the whole, the bourgeoisie, in their struggle with the nobility, could claim to represent at the same time the interests of the different working classes of that period, yet in every great bourgeois movement there were independent outbursts of that class which was the forerunner, more or less developed, of the modern proletariat. For example, at the time of the German Reformation and the Peasant War, Thomas Münzer; in the great English Revolution, the Levellers[22]; in the great French Revolution, Babeuf. There were theoretical enunciations corresponding with these revolutionary uprisings of a class not yet developed; in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries utopian pictures of ideal social conditions[23]; in the eighteenth, actual communistic theories (Morelly and Mably). The demand for equality was no longer limited to political rights; it was extended also to the social conditions of individuals. It was not simply class privileges that were to be abolished, but class distinctions themselves. A commun-

ism, ascetic, Spartan, was the first form of the new teaching. Then came the three great utopians: Saint-Simon, to whom the middle-class movement, side by side with the proletarian, still had a certain significance; Fourier, and Owen, who in the country where capitalist production was most developed, and under the influence of the antagonisms begotten of this, worked out his proposals for the removal of class distinctions systematically and in direct relation to French materialism.

One thing is common to all three. Not one of them appears as a representative of the interests of that proletariat which historical development had, in the meantime, produced. Like the French philosophers, they do not claim to emancipate a particular class, but all humanity. Like them, they wish to bring in the kingdom of reason and eternal justice, but this kingdom, as they see it, is as far as heaven from earth, from that of the French philosophers.

For the bourgeois world, based upon the principles of these philosophers, is quite as irrational and unjust, and, therefore, finds its way to the dust-hole quite as readily as feudalism and all the earlier stages of society. If pure reason and justice have not, hitherto, ruled the world, this has been the case only because men have not rightly understood them. What was wanted was the individual man of genius, who has now arisen and who understands the truth. That he has now arisen, that the truth has now been clearly understood, is not an inevitable event, following of necessity in the chain of historical development, but a mere happy accident. He might just as well have been born 500 years earlier, and might then have spared humanity 500 years of error, strife, and suffering.

This mode of outlook is essentially that of all English and French and of the first German socialists, including Weitling. Socialism is the expression of absolute truth, reason and justice and has only to be discovered to conquer all the world by virtue of its own power. And as absolute truth is independent of time, space, and of the historical development of man, it is a mere accident when and where it is discovered. With all this, absolute truth, reason, and justice are different with the founder of each different school. And as each one's special kind of absolute truth, reason, and justice is again conditioned by his subjective understanding, his conditions of existence, the measure of his knowledge and his intellectual training, there is no other ending possible in this conflict of absolute truths than that they shall be mutually exclusive one of the other. Hence, from this nothing could come but a kind of eclectic, average socialism, which, as a

matter of fact, has up to the present time dominated the minds of most of the socialist workers in France and England. Hence, a mish-mash allowing of the most manifold shades of opinion; a mish-mash of less striking critical statements, economic theories, pictures of future society by the founders of different sects; a mish-mash which is the more easily brewed the more the definite sharp edges of the individual constituents are rubbed down in the stream of debate, like rounded pebbles in a brook.

To make a science of socialism, it had first to be placed upon a real basis.

In the meantime, along with and after the French philosophy of the eighteenth century had arisen the new German philosophy, culminating in Hegel. Its greatest merit was the taking up again of dialectics as the highest form of reasoning. The old Greek philosophers were all born natural dialecticians, and Aristotle, the most encyclopaedic intellect of them, had already analysed the most essential forms of dialectic thought. The newer philosophy, on the other hand, although in it also dialectics had brilliant exponents (e.g., Descartes and Spinoza), had, especially through English influence, become more and more rigidly fixed in the so-called metaphysical mode of reasoning, by which also the French of the eighteenth century were almost wholly dominated, at all events in their special philosophical work. Outside philosophy in the restricted sense, the French nevertheless produced masterpieces of dialectic. We need only call to mind Diderot's *Le neveu de Rameau*[24] and Rousseau's *Discours sur l'origine et les fondemens de l'inégalité parmi les hommes.* We give here, in brief, the essential character of these two modes of thought. We shall have to return to them later in greater detail.

When we consider and reflect upon nature at large or the history of mankind or our own intellectual activity, at first we see the picture of an endless entanglement of relations and reactions in which nothing remains what, where and as it was, but everything moves, changes, comes into being and passes away. This primitive, naive but intrinsically correct conception of the world is that of ancient Greek philosophy, and was first clearly formulated by Heraclitus: everything is and is not, for everything is *fluid,* is constantly changing, constantly coming into being and passing away.

But this conception, correctly as it expresses the general character of the picture of appearances as a whole, does not suffice to explain the details of which this picture is made up, and so long as we do not understand these, we have not a clear idea of

the whole picture. In order to understand these details we must detach them from their natural or historical connection and examine each one separately, its nature, special causes, effects, etc. This is, primarily, the task of natural science and historical research: branches of science which the Greeks of classical times, on very good grounds, relegated to a subordinate position, because they had first of all to collect the material. The beginnings of the exact natural sciences were first worked out by the Greeks of the Alexandrian period,[25] and later on, in the Middle Ages, by the Arabs. Real natural science dates from the second half of the fifteenth century, and thence onward it has advanced with constantly increasing rapidity. The analysis of nature into its individual parts, the grouping of the different natural processes and objects in definite classes, the study of the internal anatomy of organic bodies in their manifold forms—these were the fundamental conditions of the gigantic strides in our knowledge of nature that have been made during the last four hundred years. But this method of work has also left us as legacy the habit of observing natural objects and processes in isolation, apart from their connection with the vast whole; of observing them in repose, not in motion; as constants, not as essentially variables; in their death, not in their life. And when this way of looking at things was transferred by Bacon and Locke from natural science to philosophy, it begot the narrow, metaphysical mode of thought peculiar to the preceding centuries.

To the metaphysician, things and their mental reflexes, ideas, are isolated, are to be considered one after the other and apart from each other, are objects of investigation fixed, rigid, given once for all. He thinks in absolutely irreconcilable antitheses. "His communication is 'yea, yea; nay, nay'; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil."[a] For him a thing either exists or does not exist; a thing cannot at the same time be itself and something else. Positive and negative absolutely exclude one another; cause and effect stand in a rigid antithesis one to the other.

At first sight this mode of thinking seems to us very luminous, because it is that of so-called sound common sense. Only sound common sense, respectable fellow that he is, in the homely realm of his own four walls, has very wonderful adventures directly he ventures out into the wide world of research. And the metaphysical mode of thought, justifiable and even necessary as it is in a

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[a] Matthew 5:37.—*Ed.*

number of domains whose extent varies according to the nature of the particular object of investigation, sooner or later reaches a limit, beyond which it becomes one-sided, restricted, abstract, lost in insoluble contradictions. In the contemplation of individual things, it forgets the connection between them; in the contemplation of their existence, it forgets the beginning and end of that existence; of their repose, it forgets their motion. It cannot see the wood for the trees.

For everyday purposes we know and can say, e.g., whether an animal is alive or not. But, upon closer inquiry, we find that this is, in many cases, a very complex question, as the jurists know very well. They have cudgelled their brains in vain to discover a rational limit beyond which the killing of the child in its mother's womb is murder. It is just as impossible to determine absolutely the moment of death, for physiology proves that death is not an instantaneous momentary phenomenon, but a very protracted process.

In like manner, every organic being is every moment the same and not the same; every moment it assimilates matter supplied from without, and gets rid of other matter; every moment some cells of its body die and others build themselves anew; in a longer or shorter time the matter of its body is completely renewed, and is replaced by other atoms of matter, so that every organic being is always itself, and yet something other than itself.

Further, we find upon closer investigation that the two poles of an antithesis, positive and negative, e.g., are as inseparable as they are opposed, and that despite all their opposition, they mutually interpenetrate. And we find, in like manner, that cause and effect are conceptions which only hold good in their application to individual cases; but as soon as we consider the individual cases in their general connection with the universe as a whole, they run into each other, and they become confounded when we contemplate that universal action and reaction in which causes and effects are eternally changing places, so that what is effect here and now will be cause there and then, and vice versa.

None of these processes and modes of thought enters into the framework of metaphysical reasoning. Dialectics, on the other hand, comprehends things and their representations, ideas, in their essential connection, concatenation, motion, origin, and ending. Such processes as those mentioned above are, therefore, so many corroborations of its own method of procedure.

Nature is the proof of dialectics, and it must be said for modern science that it has furnished this proof with very rich materials

increasing daily, and thus has shown that, in the last resort, nature works dialectically and not metaphysically. But the naturalists who have learned to think dialectically are few and far between, and this conflict of the results of discovery with preconceived modes of thinking explains the endless confusion now reigning in theoretical natural science, the despair of teachers as well as learners, of authors and readers alike.

An exact representation of the universe, of its evolution, of the development of mankind, and of the reflection of this evolution in the minds of men, can therefore only be obtained by the methods of dialectics with its constant regard to the innumerable actions and reactions of life and death, of progressive or retrogressive changes. And in this spirit the new German philosophy has worked. Kant began his career by resolving the stable solar system of Newton and its eternal duration, after the famous initial impulse had once been given, into the result of a historic process, the formation of the sun and all the planets out of a rotating nebulous mass.[a] From this he at the same time drew the conclusion that, given this origin of the solar system, its future death followed of necessity. His theory half a century later was established mathematically by Laplace, and half a century after that the spectroscope proved the existence in space of such incandescent masses of gas in various stages of condensation.[26]

This new German philosophy culminated in the Hegelian system. In this system—and herein is its great merit—for the first time the whole world, natural, historical, intellectual, is represented as a process, i.e., as in constant motion, change, transformation, development; and the attempt is made to trace out the internal connection that makes a continuous whole of all this movement and development. From this point of view the history of mankind no longer appeared as a wild whirl of senseless deeds of violence, all equally condemnable at the judgment-seat of mature philosophic reason and which are best forgotten as quickly as possible, but as the process of evolution of man himself. It was now the task of the intellect to follow the gradual march of this process through all its devious ways, and to trace out the inner law running through all its apparently accidental phenomena.

That Hegel did not solve the problem is here immaterial. His epoch-making merit was that he propounded the problem. This

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[a] I. Kant, *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte und Theorie des Himmels, oder Versuch von der Verfassung und dem mechanischen Ursprunge des ganzen Weltgebäudes, nach Newton'schen Grundsätzen abgehandelt.—Ed.*

problem is one that no single individual will ever be able to solve. Although Hegel was—with Saint-Simon—the most encyclopaedic mind of his time, yet he was limited, first, by the necessarily limited extent of his own knowledge and, second, by the limited extent and depth of the knowledge and conceptions of his age. To these limits a third must be added. Hegel was an idealist. To him the thoughts within his brain were not the more or less abstract pictures of actual things and processes, but, conversely, things and their evolution were only the realised pictures of the "Idea", existing somewhere from eternity before the world was. This way of thinking turned everything upside down, and completely reversed the actual connection of things in the world. Correctly and ingeniously as many individual groups of facts were grasped by Hegel, yet, for the reasons just given, there is much that is botched, artificial, laboured, in a word, wrong in point of detail. The Hegelian system, in itself, was a colossal miscarriage—but it was also the last of its kind. It was suffering, in fact, from an internal and incurable contradiction. Upon the one hand, its essential proposition was the conception that human history is a process of evolution, which, by its very nature, cannot find its intellectual final term in the discovery of any so-called absolute truth. But, on the other hand, it laid claim to being the very essence of this absolute truth. A system of natural and historical knowledge, embracing everything, and final for all time, is a contradiction to the fundamental laws of dialectic reasoning. This law, indeed, by no means excludes, but, on the contrary, includes the idea that the systematic knowledge of the external universe can make giant strides from age to age.

The perception of the fundamental contradiction in German idealism led necessarily back to materialism, but, *nota bene,* not to the simply metaphysical, exclusively mechanical materialism of the eighteenth century. In contrast to the naively revolutionary, simple rejection of all previous history, modern materialism sees in the latter the process of evolution of humanity, it being its task to discover the laws of motion thereof. With the French of the eighteenth century, and with Hegel, the conception obtained of nature as a whole, moving in narrow circles, and forever immutable, with its eternal celestial bodies, as Newton, and unalterable organic species, as Linnaeus, taught. Modern materialism embraces the more recent discoveries of natural science, according to which nature also has its history in time, the celestial bodies, like the organic species that, under favourable conditions, people them, being born and perishing. And even if nature, as a whole, must still be said to

move in recurrent cycles, these cycles assume infinitely larger dimensions. In both cases modern materialism is essentially dialectic, and no longer needs any philosophy standing above the other sciences. As soon as each special science is bound to make clear its position in the great totality of things and of our knowledge of things, a special science dealing with this totality is superfluous. That which still survives, independently, of all earlier philosophy is the science of thought and its laws—formal logic and dialectics. Everything else is subsumed in the positive science of nature and history.

Whilst, however, the revolution in the conception of nature could only be made in proportion to the corresponding positive materials furnished by research, already much earlier certain historical facts had occurred which led to a decisive change in the conception of history. In 1831, the first working-class rising took place in Lyons; between 1838 and 1842, the first national working-class movement, that of the English Chartists, reached its height. The class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie came to the front in the history of the most advanced countries in Europe, in proportion to the development, upon the one hand, of modern industry [*grosse Industrie*], upon the other, of the newly-acquired political supremacy of the bourgeoisie. Facts more and more strenuously gave the lie to the teachings of bourgeois economy as to the identity of the interests of capital and labour, as to the universal harmony and universal prosperity that would be the consequence of unbridled competition. All these things could no longer be ignored, any more than the French and English socialism, which was their theoretical, though very imperfect, expression. But the old idealist conception of history, which was not yet dislodged, knew nothing of class struggles based upon economic interests, knew nothing of economic interests; production and all economic relations appeared in it only as incidental, subordinate elements in the "history of civilisation".

The new facts made imperative a new examination of all past history. Then it was seen that *all* past history was the history of class struggles[27]; that these warring classes of society are always the products of the modes of production and of exchange—in a word, of the *economic* conditions of their time; that the economic structure of society always furnishes the real basis, starting from which we can alone work out the ultimate explanation of the whole superstructure of juridical and political institutions as well as of the religious, philosophical, and other ideas of a given historical period. But now idealism was

driven from its last refuge, the philosophy of history; now a materialistic treatment of history was propounded, and a method found of explaining man's "knowing" by his "being", instead of, as heretofore, his "being" by his "knowing".

But the socialism of earlier days was as incompatible with this materialistic conception as the conception of nature of the French materialists was with dialectics and modern natural science. The socialism of earlier days certainly criticised the existing capitalistic mode of production and its consequences. But it could not explain them, and, therefore, could not get the mastery of them. It could only simply reject them as bad. But for this it was necessary (1) to present the capitalistic method of production in its historical connection and its inevitableness during a particular historical period, and therefore, also, to present its inevitable downfall; and (2) to lay bare its essential character, which was still a secret, as its critics had hitherto attacked its evil consequences rather than the process of the thing itself. This was done by the discovery of *surplus-value.* It was shown that the appropriation of unpaid labour is the basis of the capitalist mode of production and of the exploitation of the worker that occurs under it; that even if the capitalist buys the labour-power of his labourer at its full value as a commodity on the market, he yet extracts more value from it than he paid for; and that in the ultimate analysis this surplus-value forms those sums of value from which are heaped up the constantly increasing masses of capital in the hands of the possessing classes. The genesis of capitalist production and the production of capital were both explained.

These two great discoveries, the materialistic conception of history and the revelation of the secret of capitalistic production through surplus-value, we owe to *Marx.* With these discoveries socialism became a science. The next thing was to work out all its details and relations.

This, approximately, was how things stood in the fields of theoretical socialism and extinct philosophy, when Herr Eugen Dühring, not without considerable din, sprang on to the stage and announced that he had accomplished a complete revolution in philosophy, political economy and socialism.

Let us see what Herr Dühring promises us and how he fulfills his promises.

## II. WHAT HERR DÜHRING PROMISES

The writings of Herr Dühring with which we are here primarily concerned are his *Kursus der Philosophie,*[a] his *Kursus der National- und Sozialökonomie,*[b] and his *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Sozialismus.*[28] The first-named work is the one which particularly claims our attention here.

On the very first page Herr Dühring introduces himself as

"the man who *claims to represent* this power" (philosophy) "in his age and for its immediately foreseeable development"[c] [D. Ph. 1].

He thus proclaims himself to be the only true philosopher of today and of the "foreseeable" future. Whoever departs from him departs from truth. Many people, even before Herr Dühring, have *thought* something of this kind about themselves, but—except for Richard Wagner—he is probably the first who has calmly blurted it out. And the truth to which he refers is

"a final and ultimate truth" [2].

Herr Dühring's philosophy is

"the *natural* system or the *philosophy of reality*... In it reality is so conceived as to *exclude any tendency* to a visionary and subjectively limited conception of the world" [13].

This philosophy is therefore of such a nature that it lifts Herr Dühring above the limits he himself can hardly deny of his personal, subjective limitations. And this is in fact necessary if he is to be in a position to lay down final and ultimate truths, although so far we do not see how this miracle should come to pass.

This "natural system of knowledge which in itself is of value to the mind" [508] has, "without the slightest detraction from the profundity of thought, *securely established* the basic forms of being" [556-57]. From its "really critical standpoint" [404] it provides "the elements of a philosophy which is real and therefore directed to the reality of nature and of life, a philosophy which cannot allow the validity of any merely apparent horizon, but *in its powerfully revolutionising movement unfolds all earths and heavens of outer and inner nature*" [430]. It is a "new mode of thought" [543], and its results are "from the ground up original conclusions and views ... system-creating ideas [525] ... established truths" [527]. In it we have before us "a

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[a] *Cursus der Philosophie als streng wissenschaftlicher Weltanschauung und Lebensgestaltung.—Ed.*

[b] *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie einschliesslich der Hauptpunkte der Finanzpolitik.—Ed.*

[c] In all the quotations from Dühring's works italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

work which must find its strength in concentrated initiative" [38]—whatever that may mean; an "investigation *going to the roots* [200] ... a *deep-rooted* science [219] ... a *strictly scientific* conception of things and men [387] ... an *all-round penetrating* work of thought [D. C. III] ... a *creative* evolving of premises and conclusions controllable by thought [6] ... the *absolutely fundamental*" [150].

In the economic and political sphere he gives us not only

"historical and systematically comprehensive works" [532], of which the historical ones are, to boot, notable for "*my* historical depiction *in the grand style*" [D. K. G. 556], while those dealing with political economy have brought about "creative turns" [462],

but he even finishes with a fully worked-out socialist plan of his own for the society of the future, a plan which is the

"practical fruit of a *clear* theory *going to the ultimate roots of things*" [D. C. 555-56]

and, like the Dühring philosophy, is consequently infallible and offers the only way to salvation; for

"*only in that* socialist structure which *I* have sketched *in my Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie* can a true Own take the place of ownership which is merely apparent and transitory or even based on violence" [D. Ph. 242]. And the future has to follow these directions.

This bouquet of glorifications of Herr Dühring by Herr Dühring could easily be enlarged tenfold. It may already have created some doubt in the mind of the reader as to whether it is really a philosopher with whom he is dealing, or a—but we must beg the reader to reserve judgment until he has got to know the above-mentioned "deep-rootedness" at closer quarters. We have given the above anthology only for the purpose of showing that we have before us not any ordinary philosopher and socialist, who merely expresses his ideas and leaves it to the future to judge their worth, but quite an extraordinary creature, who claims to be not less infallible than the Pope, and whose doctrine is the only way to salvation and simply must be accepted by anyone who does not want to fall into the most abominable heresy. What we are here confronted with is certainly not one of those works in which all socialist literature, recently also German, has abounded—works in which people of various calibres, in the most straightforward way in the world, try to clear up in their minds problems for the solution of which they may be more or less short of material; works in which, whatever their scientific and literary shortcomings, the socialist good will is always deserving of recognition. On the contrary, Herr Dühring offers us principles which he declares are final and ultimate truths and therefore any views conflicting with

these are false from the outset; he is in possession not only of the exclusive truth but also of the sole strictly scientific method of investigation, in contrast with which all others are unscientific. Either he is right—and in this case we have before us the greatest genius of all time, the first superhuman, because infallible, man. Or he is wrong, and in that case, whatever our judgment may be, benevolent consideration shown for any good intentions he may possibly have had would nevertheless be the most deadly insult to Herr Dühring.

When a man is in possession of the final and ultimate truth and of the only strictly scientific method, it is only natural that he should have a certain contempt for the rest of erring and unscientific humanity. We must therefore not be surprised that Herr Dühring should speak of his predecessors with extreme disdain, and that there are only a few great men, thus styled by way of exception by himself, who find mercy at the bar of his "deep-rootedness".

Let us hear first what he has to say about the philosophers:

"*Leibniz*, devoid of any nobler sentiments ... that best of all court-philosophisers" [D. Ph. 346].

*Kant* is still just about tolerated; but after him everything got into a muddle [197]:

there followed the "wild ravings and equally childish and windy stupidities of the immediately succeeding epigoni, namely, a *Fichte* and a *Schelling* [227] ... monstrous caricatures of ignorant natural philosophising [56] ... the post-Kantian monstrosities" and "the delirious fantasies" [449] crowned by "a *Hegel*" [197]. The last-named used a "Hegel jargon" [D. K. G. 491] and spread the "Hegel pestilence" [D. Ph. 486] by means of his "moreover even in form unscientific demeanour" and his "crudities" [D. K. G. 235].

The natural scientists fare no better, but as only Darwin is cited by name we must confine ourselves to him:

"Darwinian semi-poetry and dexterity in metamorphosis, with their coarsely sentient narrowness of comprehension and blunted power of differentiation [D. Ph. 142] ... In our view what is specific to Darwinism, from which of course the Lamarckian formulations must be excluded, is *a piece of brutality directed against humanity*" [117].

But the socialists come off worst of all. With the exception at any rate of Louis Blanc—the most insignificant of them all—they are all and sundry sinners and fall short of the reputation which they should have before (or behind) Herr Dühring. And not only in regard to truth and scientific method—no, also in regard to

their character. Except for Babeuf and a few Communards of 1871 none of them are "men" [D. K. G. 239]. The three utopians are called "social alchemists" [237]. As to them, a certain indulgence is shown to Saint-Simon, in so far as he is merely charged with "exaltation of mind" [252], and there is a compassionate suggestion that he suffered from religious mania. With Fourier, however, Herr Dühring completely loses patience. For Fourier

"revealed every element of insanity ... ideas which one would normally have most expected to find in madhouses [276] ... the wildest dreams ... products of delirium..." [283]. "The unspeakably silly Fourier" [222], this "infantile mind" [284], this "idiot" [286], is withal not even a socialist; his phalanstery[29] is absolutely not a piece of rational socialism, but "a caricature constructed on the pattern of everyday commerce" [283].

And finally:

"Anyone who does not find those effusions" (of Fourier's, concerning Newton) "... sufficient to convince himself that in Fourier's name and in the whole of Fourierism it is only the first syllable" (*fou*—crazy) "that has any truth in it, *should himself be classed under some category of idiots*" [286].

Finally, Robert Owen

"had feeble and paltry ideas [295] ... his reasoning, so crude in ethics [296] ... a few commonplaces which degenerated into perversions ... nonsensical and crude way of looking at things [297] ... the course of Owen's ideas is hardly worth subjecting to more serious criticism [298] ... his vanity" [299-300]—and so on.

With extreme wit Herr Dühring characterises the utopians by reference to their names, as follows: Saint-Simon—*saint* (holy), Fourier—*fou* (crazy), Enfantin—*enfant* (childish) [303]; he only needs to add: Owen—o woe! and a very important period in the history of socialism has in four words been roundly condemned; and anyone who has any doubts about it "should himself be classed under some category of idiots".

As for Dühring's opinion of the later socialists, we shall, for the sake of brevity, cite him only on Lassalle and Marx:

*Lassalle*: "Pedantic, hair-splitting efforts to popularise ... rampant scholasticism ... a monstrous hash of general theories and paltry trash [509] ... Hegel-superstition, senseless and formless ... a horrifying example [511] ... peculiarly limited [513] ... pompous display of the most paltry trifles [514] ... our Jewish hero [515] ... pamphleteer [519] ... common [520] ... inherent instability in his view of life and of the world" [529].

*Marx*: "Narrowness of conception ... his works and achievements in and by themselves, that is, regarded from a purely theoretical standpoint, are without any permanent significance in our domain" (the critical history of socialism), "and in

the general history of intellectual tendencies they are to be cited at most as symptoms of the influence of one branch of modern sectarian scholastics [D. K. G. 495] ... impotence of the faculties of concentration and systematisation ... deformity of thought and style, undignified affectation of language ... anglicised vanity ... duping [497] ... barren conceptions which in fact are only bastards of historical and logical fantasy ... deceptive twisting [498] ... personal vanity [499] ... vile mannerisms ... snotty ... buffoonery pretending to be witty ... Chinese erudition [506] ... philosophical and scientific backwardness" [507].

And so on, and so forth—for this is only a small superficially culled bouquet out of the Dühring rose garden. It must be understood that, at the moment, we are not in the least concerned whether these amiable expressions of abuse—which, if he had any education, should forbid Herr Dühring from finding *anything* vile and snotty—are also final and ultimate truths. And—for the moment—we will guard against voicing any doubt as to their deep-rootedness, as we might otherwise be prohibited even from trying to find the category of idiots to which we belong. We only thought it was our duty to give, on the one hand, an example of what Herr Dühring calls

"the select language of the considerate and, in the real sense of the word, moderate mode of expression" [D. Ph. 260],

and on the other hand, to make it clear that to Herr Dühring the worthlessness of his predecessors is a no less established fact than his own infallibility. Whereupon we sink to the ground in deepest reverence before the mightiest genius of all time—if that is how things really stand.

# Part I

# PHILOSOPHY

## III. CLASSIFICATION. APRIORISM

Philosophy, according to Herr Dühring, is the development of the highest form of consciousness of the world and of life [D. Ph. 2], and in a wider sense embraces the *principles* of all knowledge and volition. Wherever a series of cognitions or stimuli or a group of forms of being come to be examined by human consciousness, the *principles* underlying these manifestations of necessity become an object of philosophy. These principles are the simple, or until now assumed to be simple, constituents of manifold knowledge and volition [8]. Like the chemical composition of bodies, the general constitution of things can be reduced to basic forms and basic elements. These ultimate constituents or principles, once they have been discovered, are valid not only for what is immediately known and accessible, but also for the world which is unknown and inaccessible to us. Philosophical principles consequently provide the final supplement required by the sciences in order to become a uniform system by which nature and human life can be explained [9]. Apart from the fundamental forms of all existence, philosophy has only two specific subjects of investigation—nature and the world of man [14]. Accordingly, our material arranges itself *quite naturally* into three groups, namely, the general scheme of the universe, the science of the principles of nature, and finally the science of mankind. This succession at the same time contains *an inner logical sequence,* for the formal principles which are valid for all being take precedence, and the realms of the objects to which they are *to be applied* then follow in the degree of their subordination [15].

So far Herr Dühring, and almost entirely word for word.

What he is dealing with are therefore *principles,* formal tenets derived from *thought* and not from the external world, which are to be applied to nature and the realm of man, and to which therefore nature and man have to conform. But whence does thought obtain these principles? From itself? No, for Herr Dühring himself says: the realm of pure thought is limited to logical schemata and mathematical forms [42] (the latter, moreover, as we shall see, is wrong). Logical schemata can only

relate to *forms of thought*; but what we are dealing with here is solely forms of *being,* of the external world, and these forms can never be created and derived by thought out of itself, but only from the external world. But with this the whole relationship is inverted: the principles are not the starting-point of the investigation, but its final result; they are not applied to nature and human history, but abstracted from them; it is not nature and the realm of man which conform to these principles, but the principles are only valid in so far as they are in conformity with nature and history. That is the only materialist conception of the matter, and Herr Dühring's contrary conception is idealistic, makes things stand completely on their heads, and fashions the real world out of ideas, out of schemata, schemes or categories existing somewhere before the world, from eternity—just like *a Hegel.*

In fact, let us compare Hegel's *Encyclopaedia*[30] and all its delirious fantasies with Herr Dühring's final and ultimate truths. With Herr Dühring we have in the first place general world schematism, which Hegel calls *Logic.* Then with both of them we have the application of these schemata or logical categories to nature: the philosophy of nature; and finally their application to the realm of man, which Hegel calls the philosophy of mind. The "inner logical sequence" of the Dühring succession therefore leads us "quite naturally" [D. Ph. 15] back to Hegel's *Encyclopaedia,* from which it has been taken with a loyalty which would move that wandering Jew of the Hegelian school, Professor Michelet of Berlin, to tears.[31]

That is what comes of accepting "consciousness", "thought", quite naturalistically, as something given, something opposed from the outset to being, to nature. If that were so, it must seem extremely strange that consciousness and nature, thinking and being, the laws of thought and the laws of nature, should correspond so closely. But if the further question is raised what thought and consciousness really are and where they come from, it becomes apparent that they are products of the human brain and that man himself is a product of nature, which has developed in and along with its environment; hence it is self-evident that the products of the human brain, being in the last analysis also products of nature, do not contradict the rest of nature's interconnections but are in correspondence with them.[32]

But Herr Dühring cannot permit himself such a simple treatment of the subject. He thinks not only in the name of humanity—in itself no small achievement—but in the name of the conscious and reasoning beings on all celestial bodies.

Indeed, it would be "a degradation of the basic forms of consciousness and knowledge to attempt to rule out or even to put under suspicion their sovereign validity and their unconditional claim to truth, by applying the epithet 'human' to them" [2].

Hence, in order that no suspicion may arise that on some celestial body or other twice two makes five [30-31], Herr Dühring dare not designate thought as being human, and so he has to sever it from the only real foundation on which we find it, namely, man and nature; and with that he tumbles hopelessly into an ideology[33] which reveals him as the epigone of the "epigone" Hegel [197]. By the way, we shall often meet Herr Dühring again on other celestial bodies.

It goes without saying that no materialist doctrine can be founded on such an ideological basis. Later on we shall see that Herr Dühring is forced more than once to endow nature surreptitiously with conscious activity, with what in plain language is called God.

However, our philosopher of reality had also other motives for shifting the basis of all reality from the real world to the world of thought. The science of this general world schematism, of these formal principles of being, is precisely the foundation of Herr Dühring's philosophy. If we deduce world schematism not from our minds, but only *through* our minds from the real world, if we deduce principles of being from what is, we need no philosophy for this purpose, but positive knowledge of the world and of what happens in it; and what this yields is also not philosophy, but positive science. In that case, however, Herr Dühring's whole volume would be nothing but love's labour lost.

Further: if no philosophy as such is any longer required, then also there is no more need of any system, not even of any natural system of philosophy. The perception that all the processes of nature are systematically connected drives science on to prove this systematic connection throughout, both in general and in particular. But an adequate, exhaustive scientific exposition of this interconnection, the formation of an exact mental image of the world system in which we live, is impossible for us, and will always remain impossible. If at any time in the development of mankind such a final, conclusive system of the interconnections within the world—physical as well as mental and historical—were brought about, this would mean that human knowledge had reached its limit, and, from the moment when society had been brought into accord with that system, further historical development would be cut short—which would be an absurd idea, sheer nonsense. Mankind

therefore finds itself faced with a contradiction: on the one hand, it has to gain an exhaustive knowledge of the world system in all its interrelations; and on the other hand, because of the nature both of men and of the world system, this task can never be completely fulfilled. But this contradiction lies not only in the nature of the two factors—the world, and man—it is also the main lever of all intellectual advance, and finds its solution continuously, day by day, in the endless progressive development of humanity, just as for example mathematical problems find their solution in an infinite series or continued fractions. Each mental image of the world system is and remains in actual fact limited, objectively by the historical conditions and subjectively by the physical and mental constitution of its originator. But Herr Dühring explains in advance that his mode of reasoning is such that it excludes any tendency to a subjectively limited conception of the world. We saw above that he was omnipresent—on all possible celestial bodies. We now see that he is also omniscient. He has solved the ultimate problems of science and thus nailed boards across the future of all science.

As with the basic forms of being, so also with the whole of pure mathematics: Herr Dühring thinks that he can produce it *a priori*, that is, without making use of the experience offered us by the external world, can construct it in his head.

In pure mathematics the mind deals "with its own free creations and imaginations" [D. Ph. 43]; the concepts of number and figure are "the adequate object of that pure science which it can create of itself" [42], and hence it has a "validity which is independent of *particular* experience and of the real content of the world" [43].

That pure mathematics has a validity which is independent of the *particular* experience of each individual is, for that matter, correct, and this is true of all established facts in every science, and indeed of all facts whatsoever. The magnetic poles, the fact that water is composed of hydrogen and oxygen, the fact that Hegel is dead and Herr Dühring alive, hold good independently of my own experience or that of any other individual, and even independently of Herr Dühring's experience, when he begins to sleep the sleep of the just. But it is not at all true that in pure mathematics the mind deals only with its own creations and imaginations. The concepts of number and figure have not been derived from any source other than the world of reality. The ten fingers on which men learnt to count, that is, to perform the first arithmetical operation, are anything but a free creation of the mind. Counting requires not only objects that can be counted, but also the ability to exclude all properties of the objects considered

except their number—and this ability is the product of a long historical development based on experience. Like the idea of number, so the idea of figure is borrowed exclusively from the external world, and does not arise in the mind out of pure thought. There must have been things which had shape and whose shapes were compared before anyone could arrive at the idea of figure. Pure mathematics deals with the space forms and quantity relations of the real world—that is, with material which is very real indeed. The fact that this material appears in an extremely abstract form can only superficially conceal its origin from the external world. But in order to make it possible to investigate these forms and relations in their pure state, it is necessary to separate them entirely from their content, to put the content aside as irrelevant; thus we get points without dimensions, lines without breadth and thickness, $a$ and $b$ and $x$ and $y$, constants and variables; and only at the very end do we reach the free creations and imaginations of the mind itself, that is to say, imaginary magnitudes. Even the apparent derivation of mathematical magnitudes from each other does not prove their *a priori* origin, but only their rational connection. Before one came upon the idea of deducing the *form* of a cylinder from the rotation of a rectangle about one of its sides, a number of real rectangles and cylinders, however imperfect in form, must have been examined. Like all other sciences, mathematics arose out of the *needs* of men: from the measurement of land and the content of vessels, from the computation of time and from mechanics. But, as in every department of thought, at a certain stage of development the laws, which were abstracted from the real world, become divorced from the real world, and are set up against it as something independent, as laws coming from outside, to which the world has to conform. That is how things happened in society and in the state, and in this way, and not otherwise, *pure* mathematics was subsequently *applied* to the world, although it is borrowed from this same world and represents only one part of its forms of interconnection—and it is only *just because of this* that it can be applied at all.

But just as Herr Dühring imagines that, out of the axioms of mathematics,

> "which also in accordance with pure logic neither require nor are capable of substantiation" [34],

he can deduce the whole of pure mathematics without any kind of empirical admixture, and then apply it to the world, so he likewise imagines that he can, in the first place, produce out of his head the

basic forms of being, the simple elements of all knowledge, the axioms of philosophy, deduce from these the whole of philosophy or world schematism, and then, by sovereign decree, impose this constitution of his on nature and humanity. Unfortunately nature is not at all, and humanity only to an infinitesimal degree, composed of the Manteuffelite Prussians of 1850.[34]

Mathematical axioms are expressions of the scantiest thought-content, which mathematics is obliged to borrow from logic. They can be reduced to two:

1) The whole is greater than its part. This statement is pure tautology, as the quantitatively conceived idea "part" is from the outset definitely related to the idea "whole", and in fact in such a way that "part" simply means that the quantitative "whole" consists of several quantitative "parts". In stating this explicitly, the so-called axiom does not take us a step further. This tautology can even in a way *be proved* by saying: a whole is that which consists of several parts; a part is that of which several make a whole; hence the part is less than the whole—in which the inanity of repetition brings out even more clearly the inanity of content.

2) If two quantities are equal to a third, they are equal to each other. This statement, as Hegel has already shown, is a conclusion, the correctness of which is vouched for by logic,[a] and which is therefore proved, although outside of pure mathematics. The remaining axioms relating to equality and inequality are merely logical extensions of this conclusion.

These meagre principles do not cut much ice, either in mathematics or anywhere else. In order to get any further, we are obliged to bring in real relations, relations and space forms which are taken from real bodies. The ideas of lines, planes, angles, polygons, cubes, spheres, etc., are all taken from reality, and it requires a pretty good portion of naive ideology to believe the mathematicians that the first line came into existence through the movement of a point in space, the first plane through the movement of a line, the first solid through the movement of a plane, and so on. Even language rebels against such a conception. A mathematical figure of three dimensions is called a solid body, *corpus solidum,* hence, in Latin, even a tangible object; it therefore has a name derived from sturdy reality and by no means from the free imagination of the mind.

But why all this prolixity? After Herr Dühring, on pages 42 and 43,[35] has enthusiastically sung the independence of pure mathematics

[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse,* § 188; also *Wissenschaft der Logik,* Book 3, Section I, Chapter 3, "d. Vierte Figur", and Section III, Chapter 2, "3. Der Lehrsatz".—*Ed.*

from the world of experience, its apriority, its preoccupation with the mind's own free creations and imaginations, he says on page 63:

"It is, of course, easily overlooked that those mathematical elements (number, magnitude, time, space and geometric motion) are *ideal only in their form, ... absolute magnitudes* are therefore something completely *empirical*, no matter to what species they belong", ... but "mathematical schemata are capable of characterisation which is adequate even though *divorced* from experience."

The last statement is more or less true of *every* abstraction, but does not by any means prove that it is not abstracted from reality. In world schematism pure mathematics arose out of pure thought—in the philosophy of nature it is something completely empirical, taken from the external world and then divorced from it. Which are we to believe?

## IV. WORLD SCHEMATISM

"All-embracing being is *one*. In its self-sufficiency it has nothing alongside it or over it. To associate a second being with it would be to make it something that it is not, namely, a part or constituent of a more comprehensive whole. Due to the fact that we extend our *unified* thought like a framework, nothing that should be comprised in this thought-*unity* can retain a duality within itself. Nor, again, can anything escape this thought-unity... The essence of all thought consists in bringing together the elements of consciousness into a unity [D. Ph. 16] ... It is the point of unity of the synthesis where the *indivisible idea of the world* came into being and the universe, as the name itself implies, is apprehended as something in which everything is united into *unity*" [17].

Thus far Herr Dühring. This is the first application of the mathematical method:

"Every question is to be decided *axiomatically* in accordance with simple basic forms, as if we were dealing with the simple ... principles of mathematics" [224].

"All-embracing being is one." If tautology, the simple repetition in the predicate of what is already expressed in the subject—if that makes an axiom, then we have here one of the purest water. Herr Dühring tells us in the subject that being embraces everything, and in the predicate he intrepidly declares that in that case there is nothing outside it. What colossal "system-creating thought" [525]!

This is indeed system-creating! Within the space of the next six lines Herr Dühring has transformed the *oneness* of being, by means of our unified thought, into its *unity*. As the essence of all thought consists in bringing things together into a unity, so being, as soon as it is conceived, is conceived as unified, and the idea of the world as indivisible; and because *conceived* being, the *idea of the world*, is unified, therefore real being, the real world, is also an indivisible unity. And with that

"there is no longer any room for things beyond, once the mind has learnt to conceive being in its homogeneous universality" [D. Ph. 523].

That is a campaign which puts Austerlitz and Jena, Königgrätz and Sedan completely in the shade.[36] In a few sentences, hardly a page after we have mobilised the first axiom, we have already done away with, cast overboard, destroyed, everything beyond the world—God and the heavenly hosts, heaven, hell and purgatory, along with the immortality of the soul.

How do we get from the oneness of being to its unity? By the very fact of conceiving it. In so far as we spread our unified thought around being like a frame, its oneness becomes a unity in thought, a thought-unity; for the essence of *all* thought consists in bringing together the elements of consciousness into a unity.

This last statement is simply untrue. In the first place, thought consists just as much in the taking apart of objects of consciousness into their elements as in the putting together of related elements into a unity. Without analysis, no synthesis. Secondly, without making blunders thought can bring together into a unity only those elements of consciousness in which or in whose real prototypes this unity already *existed before.* If I include a shoe-brush in the unity mammals, this does not help it to get mammary glands. The unity of being, or rather, the question whether its conception as a unity is justified, is therefore precisely what was to be proved; and when Herr Dühring assures us that he conceives being as a unity and not as twofold, he tells us nothing more than his own unauthoritative opinion.

If we try to state his process of thought in unalloyed form, we get the following: I begin with being. I therefore think what being is. The thought of being is a unified thought. But thinking and being must be in agreement, they are in conformity with each other, they "coincide". Therefore being is a unity also in reality. Therefore there cannot be anything "beyond". If Herr Dühring had spoken without disguise in this way, instead of treating us to the above oracular passages, his ideology would have been clearly visible. To attempt to prove the reality of any product of thought by the identity of thinking and being was indeed one of the most absurd delirious fantasies of—a Hegel.

Even if his whole method of proof had been correct, Herr Dühring would still not have won an inch of ground from the spiritualists. The latter would reply briefly: to us, too, the universe *is* simple; the division into this world and the world beyond exists only for our specifically earthly, original-sin standpoint; in and for

itself, that is, in God, all being is a unity. And they would accompany Herr Dühring to his other beloved celestial bodies and show him one or several on which there had been no original sin, where therefore no opposition exists between this world and the beyond, and where the unity of the universe is a dogma of faith.

The most comical part of the business is that Herr Dühring, in order to prove the non-existence of God from the idea of being, uses the ontological proof for the existence of God. This runs: when we think of God, we conceive him as the sum total of all perfections. But the sum total of all perfections includes above all existence, since. a non-existent being is necessarily imperfect. We must therefore include existence among the perfections of God. Hence God must exist. Herr Dühring reasons in exactly the same way: when we think of *being*, we conceive it as *one* idea. Whatever is comprised in *one* idea is a unity. Being would not correspond to the idea of being if it were not a unity. Consequently it must be a unity. Consequently there is no God, and so on.

When we speak of *being,* and *purely* of being, unity can only consist in that all the objects to which we are referring—*are*, exist. They are comprised in the unity of this being, and in no other unity, and the general dictum that they all *are* not only cannot give them any additional qualities, whether common or not, but provisionally excludes all such qualities from consideration. For as soon as we depart even a millimetre from the simple basic fact that being is common to all these things, the *differences* between these things begin to emerge—and whether these differences consist in the circumstance that some are white and others black, that some are animate and others inanimate, that some may be of this world and others of the world beyond, cannot be decided by us from the fact that mere existence is in equal manner ascribed to them all.

The unity of the world does not consist in its being, although its being is a precondition of its unity, as it must certainly first *be* before it can be *one.* Being, indeed, is always an open question beyond the point where our sphere of observation ends. The real unity of the world consists in its materiality, and this is proved not by a few juggled phrases, but by a long and wearisome development of philosophy and natural science.

To return to the text. The *being* which Herr Dühring is telling us about is

"not that pure, self-equal being which lacks all special determinants, and in fact represents only the counterpart of the idea of *nothing* or of the absence of idea" [D. Ph. 22].

But we shall see very soon that Herr Dühring's universe really starts with a being which lacks all inner differentiation, all motion and change, and is therefore in fact only a counterpart of the idea of nothing, and therefore really nothing. Only out of this *being-nothing* develops the present differentiated, changing state of the universe, which represents a development, a *becoming*; and it is only after we have grasped this that we are able, even within this perpetual change, to

"maintain the conception of universal being in a self-equal state" [D. Ph. 23].

We have now, therefore, the idea of being on a higher plane, where it includes within itself both inertness and change, being and becoming. Having reached this point, we find that

"genus and species, or the general and the particular, are the simplest means of differentiation, without which the constitution of things cannot be understood" [24].

But these are means of differentiation of *qualities*; and after these have been dealt with, we proceed:

"in opposition to genus stands the concept of magnitude, as of a homogeneity in which no further differences of species exist" [26];

and so from *quality* we pass to *quantity*, and this is always "*measurable*" [26].

Let us now compare this "sharp division of the general effect-schemata" [D.C. 6] and its "really critical standpoint" [D. Ph. 404] with the crudities, wild ravings and delirious fantasies of a Hegel.[a] We find that Hegel's logic starts from *being*—as with Herr Dühring; that being turns out to be *nothing*, just as with Herr Dühring; that from this being-nothing there is a transition to *becoming* the result of which is determinate being [Dasein], i.e., a higher, fuller form of being [Sein]—just the same as with Herr Dühring. Determinate being leads on to *quality*, and quality on to *quantity*—just the same as with Herr Dühring. And so that no essential feature may be missing, Herr Dühring tells us on another occasion:

"From the realm of non-sensation a transition is made to that of sensation, in spite of all quantitative gradations, only through a *qualitative leap*, of which we ... can say that it is infinitely different from the mere gradation of one and the same property" [142].

This is precisely the Hegelian nodal line of measure relations, in which, at certain definite nodal points, the purely quantitative

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[a] See this volume, p. 30.—*Ed.*

increase or decrease gives rise to a *qualitative leap*; for example, in the case of heated or cooled water, where boiling-point and freezing-point are the nodes at which—under normal pressure—the leap to a new state of aggregation takes place, and where consequently quantity is transformed into quality.

Our investigation has likewise tried to reach down to the roots, and it finds the roots of the deep-rooted basic schemata of Herr Dühring to be—the "delirious fantasies" of a Hegel, the categories of Hegelian *Logic*, Part I, the Doctrine of Being,[a] in strictly old-Hegelian "succession" and with hardly any attempt to cloak the plagiarism!

And not content with pilfering from his worst-slandered predecessor the latter's whole scheme of being, Herr Dühring, after himself giving the above-quoted example of the leaplike change from quantity into quality, says of Marx without the slightest perturbation:

> "How ridiculous, for example, is the reference" (made by Marx) "to the Hegelian *confused, hazy notion* that *quantity is transformed into quality*!" [D. K. G. 498].

Confused, hazy notion! Who has been transformed here? And who is ridiculous here, Herr Dühring?

All these pretty little things are therefore not only not "axiomatically decided", as prescribed, but are merely imported from outside, that is to say, from Hegel's *Logic*. And in fact in such a form that in the whole chapter there is not even the semblance of any internal coherence unless borrowed from Hegel, and the whole question finally trickles out in a meaningless subtilising about space and time, inertness and change.

From being Hegel passes to essence, to dialectics. Here he deals with the determinations of reflection, their internal *antagonisms* and contradictions, as for example, positive and negative; he then comes to *causality* or the relation of cause and effect and ends with *necessity*. Not otherwise Herr Dühring. What Hegel calls the doctrine of essence Herr Dühring translates into "logical properties of being" [D. Ph. 29]. These, however, consist above all in the "antagonism of forces" [31], in *opposites*. Contradiction, however, Herr Dühring absolutely denies; we will return to this point later. Then he passes over to *causality*, and from this to *necessity*. So that when Herr Dühring says of himself:

> "We, who do not philosophise *out of a cage*" [41],

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*.—*Ed.*

he apparently means that he philosophises *in* a cage, namely, the cage of the Hegelian schematism of categories.

## V. PHILOSOPHY OF NATURE. TIME AND SPACE

We now come to *philosophy of nature*. Here again Herr Dühring has every cause for dissatisfaction with his predecessors.

Natural philosophy "sank so low that it became an arid, spurious doggerel founded on ignorance", and "fell to the prostituted philosophistics of a Schelling and his like, rigging themselves out in the priesthood of the Absolute and hoodwinking the public". Fatigue has saved us from these "deformities"; but up to now it has only given place to "instability"; "and as far as the public at large is concerned, it is well known that the disappearance of a great charlatan is often only the opportunity for a lesser but commercially more experienced successor to put out again, under another signboard, the products of his predecessor". Natural scientists themselves feel little "inclination to make excursions into the realm of world-encompassing ideas", and consequently jump to "wild and hasty conclusions" in the theoretical sphere [D. Ph. 56-57].

The need for deliverance is therefore urgent, and by a stroke of good luck Herr Dühring is at hand.

In order properly to appreciate the revelations which now follow on the development of the world in time and its limitations in space, we must turn back again to certain passages in "world schematism" [15].

Infinity—which Hegel calls *bad* infinity[a]—is attributed to being, also in accordance with Hegel (*Encyclopaedia*, § 93), and then this infinity is investigated.

"The clearest form of an infinity which can be conceived *without contradiction* is the unlimited accumulation of numbers in a numerical series [18] ... As we can add yet another unit to any number, without ever exhausting the possibility of further numbers, so also to every state of being a further state succeeds, and infinity consists in the unlimited begetting of these states. This *exactly conceived* infinity has consequently only one single basic form with one single direction. For although it is immaterial to our thought whether or not it conceives an opposite direction in the accumulation of states, this retrogressing infinity is nevertheless only a rashly constructed thought-image. Indeed, since this infinity would have to be traversed in reality in the *reverse* direction, it would in each of its states have an infinite succession of numbers behind itself. But this would involve the impermissible contradiction of a counted infinite numerical series, and so it is contrary to reason to postulate any second direction in infinity" [19].

The first conclusion drawn from this conception of infinity is that the chain of causes and effects in the world must at some time have had a beginning:

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*, § 94.—*Ed.*

"an infinite number of causes which assumedly already have lined up next to one another is inconceivable, just because it presupposes that the uncountable has been counted" [37].

And thus a *final cause* is proved.

The second conclusion is

"the law of definite number: the accumulation of identities of any actual species of independent things is only conceivable as forming a definite number". Not only must the number of celestial bodies existing at any point of time be in itself definite, but so must also the total number of all, even the tiniest independent particles of matter existing in the world. This latter requisite is the real reason why no composition can be conceived without atoms. All actual division has always a definite limit, and must have it if the contradiction of the counted uncountable is to be avoided. For the same reason, not only must the number of the earth's revolutions round the sun up to the present time be a definite number, even though it cannot be stated, but all periodical processes of nature must have had some beginning, and all differentiation, all the multifariousness of nature which appears in succession must have its roots in one *self-equal state.* This state may, without involving a contradiction, have existed from eternity; but even this idea would be excluded if time in itself were composed of real parts and were not, on the contrary, merely arbitrarily divided up by our minds owing to the variety of conceivable possibilities. The case is quite different with the real, and in itself distinguished content of time; this real filling of time with distinguishable facts and the forms of being of this sphere belong, precisely because of their distinguishability, to the realm of the countable [64-65]. If we imagine a state in which no change occurs and which in its self-equality provides no differences of succession whatever, the more specialised idea of time transforms itself into the more general idea of being. What the accumulation of empty duration would mean is quite unimaginable [70].

Thus far Herr Dühring, and he is not a little edified by the significance of these revelations. At first he hopes that they will "at least not be regarded as paltry truths" [64]; but later we find:

"Recall to your mind *the extremely simple* methods by which *we* helped forward the concepts of infinity and their critique to a *hitherto unknown import* ... the elements of the universal conception of space and time, which have been given such *simple* form by the sharpening and deepening now effected" [427-28].

*We* helped forward! The deepening and sharpening now effected! Who are "we", and when is this "now"? Who is deepening and sharpening?

"Thesis: The world has a beginning in time, and with regard to space is also limited.—Proof: For if it is assumed that the world has no beginning in time, then an eternity must have elapsed up to every given point of time, and consequently an infinite series of successive states of things must have passed away in the world. The infinity of a series, however, consists precisely in this, that it can never be completed by means of a successive synthesis. Hence an infinite elapsed series of worlds is impossible, and consequently a beginning of the world is a necessary condition of its

existence. And this was the first thing to be proved.—With regard to the second, if the opposite is again assumed, then the world must be an infinite given total of co-existent things. Now we cannot conceive the dimensions of a quantum, which is not given within certain limits of an intuition, in any other way than by means of the synthesis of its parts, and can conceive the total of such a quantum only by means of a completed synthesis, or by the repeated addition of a unit to itself. Accordingly, to conceive the world, which fills all spaces, as a whole, the successive synthesis of the parts of an infinite world would have to be looked upon as completed; that is, an infinite time would have to be regarded as elapsed in the enumeration of all co-existing things. This is impossible. For this reason an infinite aggregate of actual things cannot be regarded as a given whole nor, therefore, as given *at the same time.* Hence it follows that the world is not infinite, as regards extension in space, but enclosed in limits. And this was the second thing" (to be proved).

These sentences are copied word for word from a well-known book which first appeared in 1781 and is called: *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* by *Immanuel Kant,* where all and sundry can read them, in the first part, Second Division, Book II, Chapter II, Section II: The First Antinomy of Pure Reason. So that Herr Dühring's fame rests solely on his having tacked on the *name*—Law of Definite Number—to an idea expressed by Kant, and on having made the discovery that there was once a time when as yet there was no time, though there was a world. As regards all the rest, that is, anything in Herr Dühring's exegesis which has some meaning, "We"—is Immanuel Kant, and the "now" is only ninety-five years ago. Certainly "extremely simple"! Remarkable "hitherto unknown import"!

Kant, however, does not at all claim that the above propositions are established by his proof. On the contrary; on the opposite page he states and proves the reverse: that the world has no beginning in time and no end in space; and it is precisely in this that he finds the antinomy, the insoluble contradiction, that the one is just as demonstrable as the other. People of smaller calibre might perhaps feel a little doubt here on account of "a Kant" having found an insoluble difficulty. But not so our valiant fabricator of "from the ground up original conclusions and views" [D. Ph. 525]; he indefatigably copies down as much of Kant's antinomy as suits his purpose, and throws the rest aside.

The problem itself has a very simple solution. Eternity in time, infinity in space, signify from the start, and in the simple meaning of the words, that there is no end in *any* direction, neither forwards nor backwards, upwards or downwards, to the right or to the left. This infinity is something quite different from that of an infinite series, for the latter always starts from one, with a first

term. The inapplicability of this idea of series to our object becomes clear directly we apply it to space. The infinite series, transferred to the sphere of space, is a line drawn from a definite point in a definite direction to infinity. Is the infinity of space expressed in this even in the remotest way? On the contrary, the idea of spatial dimensions involves six lines drawn from this one point in three opposite directions, and consequently we would have six of these dimensions. Kant saw this so clearly that he transferred his numerical series only indirectly, in a roundabout way, to the space relations of the world. Herr Dühring, on the other hand, compels us to accept six dimensions in space, and immediately afterwards can find no words to express his indignation at the mathematical mysticism of Gauss, who would not rest content with the usual three dimensions of space[37] [See D. Ph. 67-68].

As applied to time, the line or series of units infinite in both directions has a certain figurative meaning. But if we think of time as a series counted from *one* forward, or as a line starting from a *definite point,* we imply in advance that time has a beginning: we put forward as a premise precisely what we are to prove. We give the infinity of time a one-sided, halved character; but a one-sided, halved infinity is also a contradiction in itself, the exact opposite of an "infinity conceived without contradiction". We can only get past this contradiction if we assume that the *one* from which we begin to count the series, the point from which we proceed to measure the line is any *one* in the series, that it is any one of the points in the line, and that it is a matter of indifference to the line or to the series where we place this *one* or this point.

But what of the contradiction of "the counted infinite numerical series"? We shall be in a position to examine this more closely as soon as Herr Dühring has performed for us the clever trick of *counting it.* When he has completed the task of counting from $-\infty$ (minus infinity) to 0 let him come again. It is certainly obvious that, at whatever point he begins to count, he will leave behind him an infinite series and, with it, the task which he is to fulfil. Let him just reverse his own infinite series $1 + 2 + 3 + 4$ ... and try to count from the infinite end back to 1; it would obviously only be attempted by a man who has not the faintest understanding of what the problem is. And again: if Herr Dühring states that the infinite series of elapsed time has been counted, he is thereby stating that time has a beginning; for otherwise he would not have been able to start "counting" at all. Once again, therefore, he puts into the argument, as a premise, the thing that he has to prove.

The idea of an infinite series which has been counted, in other words, the world-encompassing Dühringian law of definite number, is therefore a *contradictio in adjecto,*[a] contains within itself a contradiction, and in fact an *absurd* contradiction.

It is clear that an infinity which has an end but no beginning is neither more nor less infinite than that which has a beginning but no end. The slightest dialectical insight should have told Herr Dühring that beginning and end necessarily belong together, like the north pole and the south pole, and that if the end is left out, the beginning just becomes the end—the *one* end which the series has; and vice versa. The whole deception would be impossible but for the mathematical usage of working with infinite series. Because in mathematics it is necessary to start from definite, finite terms in order to reach the indefinite, the infinite, all mathematical series, positive or negative, must start from 1, or they cannot be used for calculation. The abstract requirement of a mathematician is, however, far from being a compulsory law for the world of reality.

For that matter, Herr Dühring will never succeed in conceiving real infinity without contradiction. Infinity *is* a contradiction, and is full of contradictions. From the outset it is a contradiction that an infinity is composed of nothing but finites, and yet this is the case. The limitedness of the material world leads no less to contradictions than its unlimitedness, and every attempt to get over these contradictions leads, as we have seen, to new and worse contradictions. It is just *because* infinity is a contradiction that it is an infinite process, unrolling endlessly in time and in space. The removal of the contradiction would be the end of infinity. Hegel saw this quite correctly, and for that reason treated with well-merited contempt the gentlemen who subtilised over this contradiction.

Let us pass on. So time had a beginning. What was there before this beginning? The universe, which was then in a self-equal, unchanging state. And as in this state no changes succeed one another, the more specialised idea of time transforms itself into the more general idea of *being.* In the first place, we are here not in the least concerned with what ideas change in Herr Dühring's head. The subject at issue is not the *idea of time*, but *real* time, which Herr Dühring cannot rid himself of so cheaply. In the second place, however much the idea of time may convert itself into the more general idea of being, this does not take us one step further. For the basic forms of all being are space and time, and

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[a] Contradiction in definition.—*Ed.*

being out of time is just as gross an absurdity as being out of space. The Hegelian "being past away non-temporally"[a] and the neo-Schellingian "unpremeditatable being"[b] are rational ideas compared with this being out of time. And for this reason Herr Dühring sets to work very cautiously; actually it is of course time, but of such a kind as cannot really be called time; time, indeed, in itself does not consist of real parts, and is only divided up at will by our mind—only an actual filling of time with distinguishable facts is susceptible of being counted—what the accumulation of empty duration means is quite unimaginable. What this accumulation is supposed to mean is here beside the point; the question is, whether the world, in the state here assumed, has duration, passes through a duration in time. We have long known that we can get nothing by measuring such a duration without content just as we can get nothing by measuring without aim or purpose in empty space; and Hegel, just because of the weariness of such an effort, calls such an infinity *bad.* According to Herr Dühring time exists only through change; change in and through time does not exist. Just because time is different from change, is independent of it, it is possible to measure it by change, for measuring always requires something different from the thing to be measured. And time in which no recognisable changes occur is very far removed from *not* being time; it is rather *pure* time, unaffected by any foreign admixtures, that is, real time, time *as such.* In fact, if we want to grasp the idea of time in all its purity, divorced from all alien and extraneous admixtures, we are compelled to put aside, as not being relevant here, all the various events which occur simultaneously or one after another in time, and in this way to form the idea of a time in which nothing happens. In doing this, therefore, we have not let the concept of time be submerged in the general idea of being, but have thereby for the first time arrived at the pure concept of time.

But all these contradictions and impossibilities are only mere child's play compared with the confusion into which Herr Dühring falls with his self-equal initial state of the world. If the world had ever been in a state in which no change whatever was taking place, how could it pass from this state to alteration? The absolutely unchanging, especially when it has been in this state from eternity, cannot possibly get out of such a state by itself and pass over into

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik,* Book 2: "Das Wesen". In: *Werke,* Bd. 4, p. 3.—*Ed.*

[b] F. Engels, *Schelling and Revelation.* See present edition, Vol. 2, p. 220.—*Ed.*

a state of motion and change. An initial impulse must therefore have come from outside, from outside the universe, an impulse which set it in motion. But as everyone knows, the "initial impulse" is only another expression for God. God and the beyond, which in his world schematism Herr Dühring pretended to have so beautifully dismantled, are both introduced again by him here, sharpened and deepened, into natural philosophy.

Further, Herr Dühring says:

"Where magnitude is attributed to a constant element of being, it will remain unchanged in its determinateness. This holds good ... of matter and mechanical force" [D. Ph. 26].

The first sentence, it may be noted in passing, is a precious example of Herr Dühring's axiomatic-tautological grandiloquence: where magnitude does not change, it remains the same. Therefore the amount of mechanical force which exists in the world remains the same for all eternity. We will overlook the fact that, in so far as this is correct, Descartes already knew and said it in philosophy nearly three hundred years ago[a]; that in natural science the theory of the conservation of energy has held sway for the last twenty years; and that Herr Dühring, in limiting it to *mechanical* force, does not in any way improve on it. But where was the mechanical force at the time of the unchanging state? Herr Dühring obstinately refuses to give us any answer to this question.

Where, Herr Dühring, was the eternally self-equal mechanical force at that time, and what did it put in motion? The reply:

"The original state of the universe, or to put it more plainly, of an unchanging existence of matter which comprised no accumulation of changes in time, is a question which can be spurned only by a mind that sees the acme of wisdom in the self-mutilation of its own generative power" [78-79].

Therefore: either you accept without examination my unchanging original state, or I, Eugen Dühring, the possessor of creative power, will certify you as intellectual eunuchs. That may, of course, deter a good many people. But we, who have already seen some examples of Herr Dühring's generative power, can permit ourselves to leave this genteel abuse unanswered for the moment, and ask once again: But Herr Dühring, if you please, what about that mechanical force?

Herr Dühring at once grows embarrassed.

In actual fact, he stammers, "the absolute identity of that initial extreme state does not in itself provide any principle of transition. But we must remember that at

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[a] This proposition was the most fully developed in R. Des-Cartes, *Principia Philosophiae*, Pars secunda, XXXVI.— *Ed.*

bottom the position is similar with every new link, however small, in the chain of existence with which we are familiar. So that whoever wants to raise difficulties in the fundamental case now under consideration must take care that he does not allow himself to pass them by on less obvious occasions. Moreover, there exists the possibility of interposing successively graduated intermediate stages, and also a bridge of continuity by which it is possible to move backwards and reach the extinction of the process of change. It is true that from a purely conceptual standpoint this continuity does not help us pass the main difficulty, but to us it is the basic form of all regularity and of every known form of transition in general, so that we are entitled to use it also as a medium between that first equilibrium and the disturbance of it. But if we had conceived the so to speak" (!) "motionless equilibrium on the model of the ideas which are accepted without any particular objection" (!) "in our present-day mechanics, there would be no way of explaining how matter could have reached the process of change." Apart from the mechanics of masses there is, however, we are told, also a transformation of mass movement into the movement of extremely small particles, but as to how this takes place—"for this up to the present we have no general principle at our disposal and consequently we should not be surprised if these processes take place somewhat *in the dark*" [79-80, 81].

That is all Herr Dühring has to say. And in fact, we would have to see the acme of wisdom not only in the "self-mutilation of our generative power" [79], but also in blind, implicit faith, if we allowed ourselves to be put off with these really pitiable rank subterfuges and circumlocutions. Herr Dühring admits that absolute identity cannot of itself effect the transition to change. Nor is there any means whereby absolute equilibrium can of itself pass into motion. What is there, then? Three lame, false arguments.

Firstly: it is just as difficult to show the transition from each link, however small, in the chain of existence with which we are familiar, to the next one.—Herr Dühring seems to think his readers are infants. The establishment of individual transitions and connections between the tiniest links in the chain of existence is precisely the content of natural science, and when there is a hitch at some point in its work no one, not even Herr Dühring, thinks of explaining prior motion as having arisen out of nothing, but always only as a transfer, transformation or transmission of some previous motion. But here the issue is admittedly one of accepting motion as having arisen out of immobility, that is, *out of nothing.*

In the second place, we have the "bridge of continuity". From a purely conceptual standpoint, this, to be sure, does not help us over the difficulty, but all the same we are entitled to *use* it as a medium between immobility and motion. Unfortunately the continuity of immobility consists in *not* moving; how therefore it is

to produce motion remains more mysterious than ever. And however infinitely small the parts into which Herr Dühring minces his transition from complete non-motion to universal motion, and however long the duration he assigns to it, we have not got a ten-thousandth part of a millimetre further. Without an act of creation we can never get from nothing to something, even if the something were as small as a mathematical differential. The bridge of continuity is therefore not even an asses' bridge[a]; it is passable only for Herr Dühring.

Thirdly: so long as present-day mechanics holds good—and this science, according to Herr Dühring, is one of the most essential levers for the formation of thought—it cannot be explained at all how it is possible to pass from immobility to motion. But the mechanical theory of heat shows us that the movement of masses under certain conditions changes into molecular movement (although here too one motion originates from another motion, but never from immobility); and this, Herr Dühring shyly suggests, may possibly furnish a bridge between the strictly static (in equilibrium) and dynamic (in motion). But these processes take place "somewhat in the dark". And it is in the dark that Herr Dühring leaves us sitting.

This is the point we have reached with all his deepening and sharpening—that we have perpetually gone deeper into ever sharper nonsense, and finally land up where of necessity we had to land up—"in the dark". But this does not abash Herr Dühring much. Right on the next page he has the effrontery to declare that he has

"been able to provide a real content for the idea of self-equal stability directly from the behaviour of matter *and the mechanical forces*" [D. Ph. 82].

And this man describes other people as "charlatans"!

Fortunately, in spite of all this helpless wandering and confusion "in the dark", we are left with one consolation, and this is certainly edifying to the soul:

"The mathematics of the inhabitants of other celestial bodies can rest on no other axioms than our own!" [69].

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[a] In the original a play on words: *Eselsbrücke* (asses' bridge) means in German also an unauthorised aid in study used by dull-headed or lazy students; a crib or pony.—*Ed.*

## VI. PHILOSOPHY OF NATURE. COSMOGONY, PHYSICS, CHEMISTRY

Passing on, we come now to the theories concerning the manner in which the present world came into existence.

A state of universal dispersion of matter, we are told, was the point of departure of the Ionic philosophers, but later, particularly from the time of Kant, the assumption of a primordial nebula played a new role, gravitation and the radiation of heat having been instrumental in the gradual formation of separate solid celestial bodies. The contemporary mechanical theory of heat makes it possible to deduce the earlier states of the universe in a far more definite form. However, "the state of gaseous dispersion can be a starting-point for serious deductions only when it is possible to characterise beforehand more definitely the mechanical system existing in it. Otherwise not only does the idea in fact remain extremely nebulous, but also the original nebula, as the deductions progress, really becomes ever thicker and more impenetrable; ... meanwhile it all still remains in the vagueness and formlessness of an idea of diffusion that cannot be more closely determined", and so "this gaseous universe" provides us with "only an extremely airy conception" [D. Ph. 85-87].

The Kantian theory of the origin of all existing celestial bodies from rotating nebular masses was the greatest advance made by astronomy since Copernicus. For the first time the conception that nature had no history in time began to be shaken. Until then the celestial bodies were believed to have been always, from the very beginning, in the same states and always to have followed the same courses; and even though individual organisms on the various celestial bodies died out, nevertheless genera and species were held to be immutable. It is true that nature was obviously in constant motion, but this motion appeared as an incessant repetition of the same processes. Kant made the first breach in this conception, which corresponded exactly to the metaphysical mode of thought, and he did it in such a scientific way that most of the proofs furnished by him still hold good today. At the same time, the Kantian theory is still, strictly considered, only a hypothesis. But the Copernican world system, too, is still no more than this,[38] and since the spectroscopic proof of the existence of such red-hot gaseous masses in the starry heavens, proof that brooks no contradiction, the scientific opposition to Kant's theory has been silenced. Even Herr Dühring cannot complete his construction of the world without such a nebular stage, but takes his revenge for this by demanding to be shown the mechanical system existing in this nebular stage, and because no one can show him this, he applies all kinds of depreciatory epithets to this nebular stage of the universe. Contemporary science unfortunately

cannot describe this system to Herr Dühring's satisfaction. Just as little is it able to answer many other questions. To the question: Why do toads have no tails?—up to now it has only been able to answer: Because they have lost them. But should anyone get excited over that and say that this is to leave the whole question in the vagueness and formlessness of an idea of loss which cannot be determined more closely, and that it is an extremely airy conception, such an application of morality to natural science does not take us one step further. Such expressions of dislike and bad temper can be used always and everywhere, and just for that reason they should never be used anywhere. After all, who is stopping Herr Dühring from himself discovering the mechanical system of the primordial nebula?

Fortunately we now learn that

> the Kantian nebular mass "is far from coinciding with a completely identical state of the world medium, or, to put it another way, with the self-equal state of matter" [D. Ph. 87].

It was really fortunate for Kant that he was able to content himself with going back from the existing celestial bodies to the nebular ball, and did not even dream of the self-equal state of matter! It may be remarked in passing that when contemporary natural science describes the Kantian nebular ball as primordial nebula, this, it goes without saying, is only to be understood in a relative sense. It is primordial nebula, on the one hand, in that it is the origin of the existing celestial bodies, and on the other hand because it is the earliest form of matter which we have up to now been able to work back to. This certainly does not exclude but rather implies the supposition that before the nebular stage matter passed through an infinite series of other forms.

Herr Dühring sees his advantage here. Where we, with science, stand still for the time being at what for the time being is deemed primordial nebula, his science of sciences helps him much further back to that

> "state of the world medium which cannot be understood either as purely static in the present meaning of the idea, or as dynamic" [87]—

which therefore cannot be understood at all.

> "The unity of matter and mechanical force which we call the world medium is what might be termed a logical-real formula for indicating the self-equal state of matter as the prerequisite of all innumerable stages of evolution" [87-88].

We are clearly not by a long shot rid of the self-equal primordial state of matter. Here it is spoken of as the unity of matter and

mechanical force, and this as a logical-real formula, etc. Hence, as soon as the unity of matter and mechanical force comes to an end, motion begins.

The logical-real formula is nothing but a lame attempt to make the Hegelian categories "in itself" [*Ansich*] and "for itself" [*Fürsich*] usable in the philosophy of reality. With Hegel, "in itself" covers the original identity of the hidden, undeveloped contradictions within a thing, a process or an idea; and "for itself" contains the distinction and separation of these hidden elements and the starting-point of their conflict. We are therefore to think of the motionless primordial state as the unity of matter and mechanical force, and of the transition to movement as their separation and opposition. What we have gained by this is not any proof of the reality of that fantastic primordial state, but only the fact that it is possible to bring this state under the Hegelian category of "in itself", and its equally fantastic termination under the category of "for itself". Hegel help us!

Matter, Herr Dühring says, is the bearer of all reality; accordingly, there can be no mechanical force apart from matter. Mechanical force is furthermore a state of matter [See D. Ph. 73]. In the original state, when nothing happened, matter and its state, mechanical force, were one. Afterwards, when something began to happen, this state must apparently have become different from matter. So we are to let ourselves be dismissed with these mystical phrases and with the assurance that the self-equal state was neither static nor dynamic, neither in equilibrium nor in motion. We still do not know where mechanical force was in that state, and how we are to get from absolute immobility to motion without an impulse from outside, that is, without God.

The materialists before Herr Dühring spoke of matter and motion. He reduces motion to mechanical force as its supposed basic form, and thereby makes it impossible for himself to understand the real connection between matter and motion, which moreover was also unclear to all former materialists. And yet it is simple enough. *Motion is the mode of existence of matter.* Never anywhere has there been matter without motion, nor can there be. Motion in cosmic space, mechanical motion of smaller masses on the various celestial bodies, the vibration of molecules as heat or as electrical or magnetic currents, chemical disintegration and combination, organic life—at each given moment each individual atom of matter in the world is in one or other of these forms of motion, or in several forms at once. All rest, all equilibrium, is only relative, only has meaning in relation to one or other definite

form of motion. On the earth, for example, a body may be in mechanical equilibrium, may be mechanically at rest; but this in no way prevents it from participating in the motion of the earth and in that of the whole solar system, just as little as it prevents its most minute physical particles from carrying out the vibrations determined by its temperature, or its atoms from passing through a chemical process. Matter without motion is just as inconceivable as motion without matter. Motion is therefore as uncreatable and indestructible as matter itself; as the older philosophy (Descartes) expressed it, the quantity of motion existing in the world is always the same. Motion therefore cannot be created; it can only be transferred. When motion is transferred from one body to another, it may be regarded, in so far as it transfers itself, is active, as the cause of motion, in so far as the latter is transferred, is passive. We call this active motion *force,* and the passive, the *manifestation of force.* Hence it is as clear as daylight that a force is as great as its manifestation, because in fact the *same* motion takes place in both.

A motionless state of matter is therefore one of the most empty and nonsensical of ideas—a "delirious fantasy" of the purest water. In order to arrive at such an idea it is necessary to conceive the relative mechanical equilibrium, a state in which a body on the earth may be, as absolute rest, and then to extend this equilibrium over the whole universe. This is certainly made easier if universal motion is reduced to purely mechanical force. And the restriction of motion to purely mechanical force has the further advantage that a force can be conceived as at rest, as tied up, and therefore for the moment inoperative. For if, as is very often the case, the transfer of a motion is a somewhat complex process containing a number of intermediate links, it is possible to postpone the actual transmission to any moment desired by omitting the last link in the chain. This is the case, for instance, if a man loads a gun and postpones the moment when, by the pulling of the trigger, the discharge, the transfer of the motion set free by the combustion of the powder, takes place. It is therefore possible to imagine that during its motionless, self-equal state, matter was loaded with force, and this, if anything at all, seems to be what Herr Dühring understands by the unity of matter and mechanical force. This conception is nonsensical, because it transfers to the entire universe a state as absolute, which by its nature is relative and therefore can only affect *a part* of matter at any one time. Even if we overlook this point, the difficulty still remains: first, how did the world come to be loaded, since nowadays guns do not load

themselves; and second, whose finger was it then that pulled the trigger? We may turn and twist as much as we like, but under Herr Dühring's guidance we always come back again to—the finger of God.

From astronomy our philosopher of reality passes on to mechanics and physics, and voices the lament that the mechanical theory of heat has not, in the generation since its discovery, been materially advanced beyond the point to which Robert Mayer had himself developed it, bit by bit. Apart from this, the whole business is still very obscure;

> we must "always remember that in the states of motion of matter, static relations are also present, and that these latter are not measurable by the mechanical work ... if previously we described nature as a great worker, and if we now construe this expression strictly, we must furthermore add that the self-equal states and static relations do not represent mechanical work. So once again we miss the bridge from the static to the dynamic, and if so-called latent heat has up to now remained a stumbling-block for the theory, we must recognise a defect in this too, which can least be denied in its cosmic applications" [D. Ph. 90].

This whole oracular discourse is once again nothing but the outpouring of a bad conscience, which is very well aware that with its creation of motion out of absolute immobility it got irretrievably stuck in the mud, but is nevertheless ashamed to appeal to the only possible saviour, namely, the creator of heaven and earth. If the bridge from the static to the dynamic, from equilibrium to motion, cannot be found even in mechanics, including the mechanics of heat, under what obligations is Herr Dühring to find the bridge from his motionless state to motion? That would be a fortunate way for him to get out of his plight.

In ordinary mechanics the bridge from the static to the dynamic is—the external impulse. If a stone weighing a hundredweight is raised from the ground ten yards into the air and is freely suspended in such a way that it remains hanging there in a self-equal state and in a condition of rest, it would be necessary to have an audience of sucklings to be able to maintain that the present position of this body does not represent any mechanical work, or that its distance from its previous position is not measurable by mechanical work. Any passer-by will easily explain to Herr Dühring that the stone did not rise of itself to the rope, and any manual of mechanics will tell him that if he lets the stone fall again it performs in falling just as much mechanical work as was necessary to raise it the ten yards in the air. Even the simple fact that the stone is hanging up there represents mechanical work, for if it remains hanging long enough the rope breaks, as

soon as chemical decomposition makes it no longer strong enough to bear the weight of the stone. But it is to such simple basic forms, to use Herr Dühring's language, that all mechanical processes can be reduced, and the engineer is still to be born who cannot find the bridge from the static to the dynamic, so long as he has at his disposal a sufficient external impulse.

To be sure, it is a hard nut and a bitter pill for our metaphysician that motion should find its measure in its opposite, in rest. That is indeed a crying contradiction, and every *contradiction,* according to Herr Dühring, is *nonsense* [D. Ph. 30]. It is none the less a fact that a suspended stone represents a definite quantity of mechanical motion, which is measurable exactly by the stone's weight and its distance from the ground, and may be used in various ways at will, for example, by its direct fall, by sliding down an inclined plane, or by turning a shaft. The same is true of a loaded gun. From the dialectical standpoint, the possibility of expressing motion in its opposite, in rest, presents absolutely no difficulty. From the dialectical standpoint the whole antithesis, as we have seen, is only relative; there is no such thing as absolute rest, unconditional equilibrium. Each separate movement strives towards equilibrium, and the motion as a whole puts an end again to the equilibrium. When therefore rest and equilibrium occur they are the result of limited motion, and it is self-evident that this motion is measurable by its result, can be expressed in it, and can be restored out of it again in one form or another. But Herr Dühring cannot allow himself to be satisfied with such a simple presentation of the matter. As a good metaphysician he first tears open, between motion and equilibrium, a yawning gulf which does not exist in reality and is then surprised that he cannot find any bridge across this self-fabricated gulf. He might just as well mount his metaphysical Rosinante and chase the Kantian "thing-in-itself"; for it is that and nothing else which in the last analysis is hiding behind this undiscoverable bridge.

But what about the mechanical theory of heat and the tied-up or latent heat which "has remained a stumbling-block" for this theory?

If, under normal atmospheric pressure, a pound of ice at the temperature of the freezing point is transformed by heat into a pound of water of the same temperature, a quantity of heat disappears which would be sufficient to warm the same pound of water from 0° to 79.4° C, or to raise the temperature of 79.4 pounds of water by one degree. If this pound of water is heated to

boiling point, that is, to 100° C, and is then transformed into steam of 100° C, the amount of heat that disappears, by the time the last of the water has changed into steam, is almost seven times greater, sufficient to raise the temperature of 537.2 pounds of water by one degree. The heat that disappears is called *tied-up.* If, by cooling, the steam is again transformed into water, and the water, in its turn, into ice, the same quantity of heat as was previously tied up is now again set *free,* i.e., can be felt and measured as heat. This setting free of heat on the condensation of steam and the freezing of water is the reason why steam, when cooled to 100°, is only gradually transformed into water, and why a mass of water of freezing point temperature is only very gradually transformed into ice. These are the facts. The question is, what happens to the heat while it is tied up?

The mechanical theory of heat, according to which heat consists in a greater or lesser vibration, depending on the temperature and state of aggregation, of the smallest physically active particles (molecules) of a body—a vibration which under certain conditions can change into any other form of motion—explains that the heat that has disappeared has done work, has been transformed into work. When ice melts, the close and firm connection between the individual molecules is broken, and transformed into a loose juxtaposition; when water at boiling point becomes steam a state is reached in which the individual molecules no longer have any noticeable influence on one another, and under the influence of heat even fly apart in all directions. It is clear that the single molecules of a body are endowed with far greater energy in the gaseous state than they are in the fluid state, and in the fluid state again more than in the solid state. The tied-up heat, therefore, has not disappeared; it has merely been transformed, and has assumed the form of molecular tension. As soon as the condition under which the separate molecules are able to maintain their absolute or relative freedom in regard to one another ceases to exist—that is, as soon as the temperature falls below the minimum of 100° or 0°, as the case may be, this tension relaxes, the molecules again press towards each other with the same force with which they had previously flown apart; and this force disappears, but only to reappear as heat, and as precisely the same quantity of heat as had previously been tied up. This explanation is of course a hypothesis, as is the whole mechanical theory of heat, inasmuch as no one has up to now ever seen a molecule, not to mention one in vibration. Just for this reason it is certain to be full of defects as this still very young theory is as a whole, but it can at least explain

what happens without in any way coming into conflict with the indestructibility and uncreatability of motion, and it is even able to account for the whereabouts of heat during its transformations. Latent, or tied-up, heat is therefore in no way a stumbling-block for the mechanical theory of heat. On the contrary, this theory provides the first rational explanation of what takes place, and it involves no stumbling-block except in so far as physicists continue to describe heat which has been transformed into another form of molecular energy by means of the term "tied-up", which has become obsolete and unsuitable.

The self-equal states and conditions of rest in the solid, in the liquid and in the gaseous state of aggregation therefore represent, to be sure, mechanical work, in so far as mechanical work is the measure of heat. Both the solid crust of the earth and the water of the ocean, in their present aggregate states, represent a definite quantity of heat set free, to which of course corresponds an equally definite quantity of mechanical force. In the transition of the gaseous ball, from which the earth has developed, into the liquid and subsequently into the largely solid aggregate state, a definite quantity of molecular energy was radiated as heat into space. The difficulty about which Herr Dühring mumbles in his mysterious manner therefore does not exist, and though even in applying the theory cosmically we may come up against defects and gaps—which must be attributed to our imperfect means of knowledge—we nowhere come up against theoretically insuperable obstacles. The bridge from the static to the dynamic is here, too, the external impulse—the cooling or heating brought about by other bodies acting on an object which is in a state of equilibrium. The further we explore this natural philosophy of Dühring's, the more impossible appear all attempts to explain motion out of immobility or to find the bridge over which the purely static, the resting, can *by itself* pass to the dynamic, to motion.

With this we have fortunately rid ourselves for a time of the self-equal primordial state. Herr Dühring passes on to chemistry, and takes the opportunity to reveal to us three laws of nature's inertness which have so far been discovered by his philosophy of reality, viz.:

> (1) the quantity of all matter in general, (2) that of the simple (chemical) elements, and (3) that of mechanical force are constant [D. Ph. 97].

Hence: the uncreatability and indestructibility of matter, and also of its simple component parts, in so far as it is made up of

such, as well as the uncreatability and indestructibility of motion—these old facts known the world over and expressed most inadequately—is the only positive thing which Herr Dühring can provide us with as a result of his natural philosophy of the inorganic world. We knew all this long ago. But what we did not know was that they were "laws of inertness" and as such "schematic properties of the system of things". We are witnessing a repetition of what happened above to Kant[a]: Herr Dühring picks up some old familiar quip, sticks a Dühring label on it, and calls the result:

"from the ground up original conclusions and views ... system-creating ideas [525] ... deep-rooted science" [200, 219; D. C. 555-56].

But the need not by any means despair on this account. Whatever defects even the most deep-rooted science and the best-ordered society may have, Herr Dühring can at any rate assert one thing with confidence:

"The amount of gold existing in the universe must at all times have been the same, and it can have increased or diminished just as little as can matter in general" [D. Ph. 96].

Unfortunately Herr Dühring does not tell us what we can buy with this "existing gold".

## VII. PHILOSOPHY OF NATURE. THE ORGANIC WORLD

"A single and uniform ladder of intermediate steps leads from the mechanics of pressure and impact to the linking together of sensations and ideas" [D. Ph. 104].

With this assurance Herr Dühring saves himself the trouble of saying anything further about the origin of life, although it might reasonably have been expected that a thinker who had traced the evolution of the world back to its self-equal state, and is so much at home on other celestial bodies, would have known exactly what's what also on this point. For the rest, however, the assurance he gives us is only half right unless it is completed by the Hegelian nodal line of measure relations which has already been mentioned.[b] In spite of all gradualness, the transition from one form of motion to another always remains a leap, a decisive change. This is true of the transition from the mechanics of celestial bodies to that of smaller masses on a particular celestial body; it is equally true of the transition from the mechanics of masses to the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 44-46.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 42-43.— *Ed.*

mechanics of molecules—including the forms of motion investigated in physics proper: heat, light, electricity, magnetism. In the same way, the transition from the physics of molecules to the physics of atoms—chemistry—in turn involves a decided leap; and this is even more clearly the case in the transition from ordinary chemical action to the chemism of albumen which we call life.[39] Then within the sphere of life the leaps become ever more infrequent and imperceptible.—Once again, therefore, it is Hegel who has to correct Herr Dühring.

The concept of purpose provides Herr Dühring with a conceptual transition to the organic world. Once again, this is borrowed from Hegel, who in his *Logic*—the Doctrine of the Notion—makes the transition from chemism to life by means of teleology, or the science of purpose. Wherever we look in Herr Dühring we run into a Hegelian "crudity", which he quite unblushingly dishes out to us as his own deep-rooted science. It would take us too far afield to investigate here the extent to which it is legitimate and appropriate to apply the ideas of means and end to the organic world. In any case, even the application of the Hegelian "inner purpose"—i.e., a purpose which is not imported into nature by some third party acting purposively, such as the wisdom of providence, but lies in the necessity of the thing itself—constantly leads people who are not well versed in philosophy to thoughtlessly ascribing to nature conscious and purposive activity. That same Herr Dühring who is filled with boundless moral indignation at the slightest "spiritistic" tendency in other people assures us

"with certainty that the instinctive sensations were primarily created for the sake of the satisfaction involved in their activity" [D. Ph. 158].

He tells us that poor nature

"is obliged incessantly to maintain order in the world of objects" [159] and in doing so she has to settle more than one business "which requires more subtlety on the part of nature than is usually credited to her" [165]. But nature not only *knows* why she does one thing or another; she has not only to perform the duties of a housemaid, she not only possesses subtlety, in itself a pretty good accomplishment in subjective conscious thought; she has also a will. For what the instincts do in addition, incidentally fulfilling real natural functions such as nutrition, propagation, etc., "we should not regard as directly but only indirectly *willed*" [169].

So we have arrived at a consciously thinking and acting nature, and are thus already standing on the "bridge"—not indeed from the static to the dynamic, but from pantheism to deism. Or is Herr Dühring perhaps just for once indulging a little in "natural-philosophical semi-poetry"?

Impossible! All that our philosopher of reality can tell us of organic nature is restricted to the fight against this natural-philosophical semi-poetry, against "charlatanism with its frivolous superficialities and pseudo-scientific mystifications", against the "poetising features" [109] of *Darwinism.*

The main reproach levelled against Darwin is that he transferred the Malthusian population theory from political economy to natural science, that he was held captive by the ideas of an animal breeder, that in his theory of the struggle for existence he pursued unscientific semi-poetry, and that the whole of Darwinism, after deducting what had been borrowed from Lamarck, is a piece of brutality directed against humanity.

Darwin brought back from his scientific travels the view that plant and animal species are not constant but subject to variation. In order to follow up this idea after his return home there was no better field available than that of the breeding of animals and plants. It is precisely in this field that England is the classical country; the achievements of other countries, for example Germany, fall far short of what England has achieved in this connection. Moreover, most of these successes have been won during the last hundred years, so that there is very little difficulty in establishing the facts. Darwin found that this breeding produced artificially, among animals and plants of the same species, differences greater than those found in what are generally recognised as different species. Thus was established on the one hand the variability of species up to a certain point, and on the other the possibility of a common ancestry for organisms with different specific characteristics. Darwin then investigated whether there were not possibly causes in nature which—without the conscious intention of the breeder—would nevertheless in the long run produce in living organisms changes similar to those produced by artificial selection. He discovered these causes in the disproportion between the immense number of germs created by nature and the insignificant number of organisms which actually attain maturity. But as each germ strives to develop, there necessarily arises a struggle for existence which manifests itself not merely as direct bodily combat or devouring, but also as a struggle for space and light, even in the case of plants. And it is evident that in this struggle those individuals which have some individual peculiarity, however insignificant, that gives them an advantage in the struggle for existence will have the best prospect of reaching maturity and propagating themselves. These individual peculiarities have thus the tendency to descend by heredity, and

when they occur among many individuals of the same species, to become more pronounced through accumulated heredity in the direction once taken; while those individuals which do not possess these peculiarities succumb more easily in the struggle for existence and gradually disappear. In this way a species is altered through natural selection, through the survival of the fittest.

Against this Darwinian theory Herr Dühring now says that the origin of the idea of the struggle for existence, as, he claims, Darwin himself admitted, has to be sought in a generalisation of the views of the economist and theoretician of population, Malthus, and that the idea therefore suffers from all the defects inherent in the priestly Malthusian ideas of over-population [D. Ph. 101].—Now Darwin would not dream of saying that the *origin* of the idea of the struggle for existence is to be found in Malthus. He only says that his theory of the struggle for existence is the theory of Malthus applied to the animal and plant world as a whole. However great the blunder made by Darwin in accepting the Malthusian theory so naively and uncritically, nevertheless anyone can see at the first glance that no Malthusian spectacles are required to perceive the struggle for existence in nature—the contradiction between the countless host of germs which nature so lavishly produces and the small number of those which ever reach maturity, a contradiction which in fact for the most part finds its solution in a struggle for existence—often of extreme cruelty. And just as the law of wages has maintained its validity even after the Malthusian arguments on which Ricardo based it have long been consigned to oblivion, so likewise the struggle for existence can take place in nature, even without any Malthusian interpretation. For that matter, the organisms of nature also have their laws of population, which have been left practically uninvestigated, although their establishment would be of decisive importance for the theory of the evolution of species. But who was it that lent decisive impetus to work in this direction too? No other than Darwin.

Herr Dühring carefully avoids an examination of this positive side of the question. Instead, the struggle for existence is arraigned again and again. It is obvious, according to him, that there can be no talk of a struggle for existence among unconscious plants and good-natured plant-eaters:

"in the precise and definite sense the struggle for existence is found in the realm of brutality to the extent that animals live on prey and its devourment" [118].

And after he has reduced the idea of the struggle for existence to these narrow limits he can give full vent to his indignation at the brutality of this idea, which he himself has restricted to brutality. But this moral indignation only rebounds upon Herr Dühring himself, who is indeed the only author of the struggle for existence in this limited conception and is therefore solely responsible for it. It is consequently not Darwin who

"sought the laws and understanding of all nature's actions in the kingdom of the brutes" [117],—

Darwin had in fact expressly included the whole of organic nature in the struggle—but an imaginary bugbear dressed up by Herr Dühring himself. The *name*: the struggle for existence, can for that matter be willingly sacrificed to Herr Dühring's highly moral indignation. That the *fact* exists also among plants can be demonstrated to him by every meadow, every cornfield, every wood; and the question at issue is not what it is to be called, whether "struggle for existence" or "lack of conditions of life and mechanical effects" [118], but how this fact influences the preservation or variation of species. On this point Herr Dühring maintains an obstinate and self-equal silence. Therefore for the time being everything may remain as it was in natural selection.

But Darwinism "produces its transformations and differences out of nothing" [114].

It is true that Darwin, when considering natural selection, leaves out of account the *causes* which have produced the alterations in separate individuals, and deals in the first place with the way in which such individual deviations gradually become the characteristics of a race, variety or species. To Darwin it was of less immediate importance to discover these causes—which up to the present are in part absolutely unknown, and in part can only be stated in quite general terms—than to find a rational form in which their effects become fixed, acquire permanent significance. It is true that in doing this Darwin attributed to his discovery too wide a field of action, made it the sole agent in the alteration of species and neglected the causes of the repeated individual variations, concentrating rather on the form in which these variations become general; but this is a mistake which he shares with most other people who make any real advance. Moreover, if Darwin produces his individual transformations out of nothing, and in so doing applies exclusively "the wisdom of the breeder" [125], the breeder, too, must produce *out of nothing* his transfor-

mations in animal and plant forms which are not merely imaginary but real. But once again, the man who gave the impetus to investigate how exactly these transformations and differences arise is no other than Darwin.

In recent times the idea of natural selection was extended, particularly by Haeckel, and the variation of species conceived as a result of the mutual interaction of adaptation and heredity, in which process adaptation is taken as the factor which produces variations, and heredity as the preserving factor.[a] This is also not regarded as satisfactory by Herr Dühring.

"Real adaptation to conditions of life which are offered or withheld by nature presupposes impulses and actions determined by ideas. Otherwise the adaptation is only apparent, and the causality operative thereupon does not rise above the low grades of the physical, chemical and plant-physiological" [D. Ph. 115].

Once again it is the name which makes Herr Dühring angry. But whatever name he may give to the process, the question here is whether variations in the species of organisms are produced through such processes or not. And again Herr Dühring gives no answer.

"If, in growing, a plant takes the path along which it will receive most light, this effect of the stimulus is nothing but a combination of physical forces and chemical agents, and any attempt to describe it as adaptation—not metaphorically, but in the strict sense of the word—must introduce a *spiritistic* confusion into the concepts" [115].

Such is the severity meted out to others by the very man who knows exactly by whose *will* nature does one thing or another, who speaks of nature's *subtlety* and even of her *will*! Spiritistic confusion, yes—but where, in Haeckel or in Herr Dühring?

And not only spiritistic, but also logical confusion. We saw that Herr Dühring insists with might and main on establishing the validity in nature of the concept of purpose:

"The relation between means and end does not in the least presuppose a conscious intention" [102].

What, then, is adaptation without conscious intention, without the mediation of ideas, which he so zealously opposes, if not such unconscious purposive activity?

If therefore tree-frogs and leaf-eating insects are green, desert animals sandy-yellow, and animals of the polar regions mainly

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[a] See E. Haeckel, *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte,* p. 182 ff. On adaptation and heredity see this volume, pp. 582-83, 600-01.—*Ed.*

snow-white in colour, they have certainly not adopted these colours on purpose or in conformity with any ideas; on the contrary, the colours can only be explained on the basis of physical forces and chemical agents. And yet it cannot be denied that these animals, because of those colours, are purposively *adapted* to the environment in which they live, in that they have become far less visible to their enemies. In just the same way the organs with which certain plants seize and devour insects alighting on them are adapted to this action, and even purposively adapted. Consequently, if Herr Dühring insists that this adaptation must be effected through ideas, he as much as says, only in other words, that purposive activity must also be brought about through ideas, must be conscious and intentional. And this brings us, as is usually the case in his philosophy of reality, to a purposive creator, to God.

"An explanation of this kind used to be called deism, and was not thought much of"—Herr Dühring tells us—"but on this matter, too, views now seem to have been reversed" [111].

From adaptation we now pass on to heredity. Here likewise, according to Herr Dühring, Darwinism is completely on the wrong track. The whole organic world, Darwin is said to have asserted, descended from one primordial being, is so to speak the progeny of one single being. Dühring states that, in Darwin's view, there is no such thing as the independent parallel lines of homogeneous products of nature unless mediated by common descent; and that therefore Darwin and his retrospectively directed views had perforce to come to an end at the point where the thread of begetting, or other form of propagation, breaks off [111].

The assertion that Darwin traced all existing organisms back to *one* primordial being is, to put it politely, a product of Herr Dühring's "own free creation and imagination" [43]. Darwin expressly says on the last page but one of his *Origin of Species,*[a] sixth edition, that he regards

"all beings not as special creations, but as the lineal descendants *of some few beings*".[b]

And Haeckel even goes considerably further, assuming

"a quite independent stock for the vegetable kingdom, and a second for the animal kingdom", and between the two "a number of independent stocks of Protista, each

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[a] The title is given in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[b] Ch. Darwin, *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life,* p. 428. Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

of which, quite independently of the former, has developed out of one special archegone of the moneron type"[40] (*Schöpfungsgeschichte,* p. 397).[a]

This primordial being was only invented by Dühring in order to bring it into as great disrepute as possible by drawing a parallel with the primordial Jew [D. Ph. 110] Adam; and in this he—that is to say, Herr Dühring—suffers the misfortune of not having the faintest idea that this primordial Jew had been shown by Smith's Assyrian discoveries[41] to have been a primordial Semite, and that the whole biblical history of creation and the flood turns out to be a part of the old heathen religious myths which the Jew have in common with the Babylonians, Chaldeans and Assyrians.

It is certainly a bitter reproach against Darwin, and one for which he has no defence, that he comes to an end at once at the point where the thread of descent breaks off. Unfortunately it is a reproach which has been earned by the whole of our natural science. Where the thread of descent breaks off for it, it "ends". It has not yet succeeded in producing organic beings without descent from others; indeed, it has not yet succeeded even in producing simple protoplasm or other albuminous bodies out of chemical elements. With regard to the origin of life, therefore, up to the present, natural science is only able to say with certainty that it must have been the result of chemical action. However, perhaps the philosophy of reality is in a position to give some help on this point as it has at its disposal independent parallel lines of products of nature not mediated by common descent. How can these have come into existence? By spontaneous generation? But up to now even the most audacious advocates of spontaneous generation have not claimed that this produced anything but bacteria, embryonic fungi and other very primitive organisms—no insects, fishes, birds or mammals. But if these homogeneous products of nature—organic, of course, as here we are only dealing with these—are not connected by descent, they or each of their ancestors must, at the point "where the thread of descent breaks off", have been put into the world by a separate act of creation. So we arrive once again at a creator and at what is called deism.

Herr Dühring further declares that it was very superficial on Darwin's part

"to make the mere act of the sexual composition of properties the fundamental principle of the origin of these properties" [116].

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[a] E. Haeckel, *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte,* p. 397.—*Ed.*

This is another free creation and imagination of our deep-rooted philosopher. Darwin definitely states the opposite: the expression natural selection only implies the *preservation* of variations, not their origin (p. 63). This new imputation to Darwin of things he never said nevertheless helps us to grasp the following depth of Dühringian mentality:

> "If some principle of independent variation had been found in the inner schematism of generation, this idea would have been quite rational; for it is a natural idea to combine the principle of universal genesis with that of sexual propagation into a unity, and to regard so-called spontaneous generation, from a higher standpoint, not as the absolute antithesis of reproduction but just as a production" [116].

And the man who can write such rubbish is not ashamed to reproach Hegel for his "jargon" [D. K. G. 491]!

But enough of the peevish, contradictory grumbling and nagging through which Herr Dühring gives vent to his anger at the colossal impetus which natural science owes to the driving force of the Darwinian theory. Neither Darwin nor his followers among naturalists ever think of belittling in any way the great services rendered by Lamarck; in fact, they are the very people who first put him up again on his pedestal. But we must not overlook the fact that in Lamarck's time science was as yet far from being in possession of sufficient material to have enabled it to answer the question of the origin of species except in an anticipatory way, prophetically, as it were. In addition to the enormous mass of material, both of descriptive and anatomical botany and zoology, which has accumulated in the intervening period, two completely new sciences have arisen since Lamarck's time, and these are of decisive importance on this question: research into the development of plant and animal germs (embryology) and research into the organic remains preserved in the various strata of the earth's surface (palaeontology). There is in fact a peculiar correspondence between the gradual development of organic germs into mature organisms and the succession of plants and animals following each other in the history of the earth. And it is precisely this correspondence which has given the theory of evolution its most secure basis. The theory of evolution itself is however still in a very early stage, and it therefore cannot be doubted that further research will greatly modify our present conceptions, including strictly Darwinian ones, of the process of the evolution of species.

What, of a positive character, has the philosophy of reality to tell us concerning the evolution of organic life?

"The ... variability of species is a presupposition which can be accepted" [D. Ph. 115]. But alongside it there hold also "the independent parallel lines of homogeneous products of nature, not mediated by common descent" [111].

From this we are apparently to infer that the heterogeneous products of nature, i.e., the species which show variations, descend from each other but not so the homogeneous products. But this is not altogether correct either; for even with species which show variations,

"mediation by common descent is on the contrary quite a secondary act of nature" [114].

So we get common descent after all, but only "second class". We must rejoice that after Herr Dühring has attributed so much to it that is evil and obscure, we nevertheless find it in the end readmitted by the backdoor. It is the same with natural selection, for after all his moral indignation over the struggle for existence through which natural selection operates we suddenly read:

"The deeper basis of the constitution of organisms is thus to be sought in the conditions of life and cosmic relations, while the natural selection emphasised by Darwin can only come in as a secondary factor" [115].

So we get natural selection after all, though only second class; and along with natural selection also the struggle for existence, and with that also the priestly Malthusian overpopulation! That is all, and for the rest Herr Dühring refers us to Lamarck.

In conclusion he warns us against the misuse of the terms metamorphosis and development. Metamorphosis, he maintains, is an unclear concept [112], and the concept of development is permissible only in so far as laws of development can be really established [126]. In place of both these terms we should use the term "composition" [114], and then everything would be all right. It is the same old story over again: things remain as they were, and Herr Dühring is quite satisfied as soon as we just alter the names. When we speak of the development of the chicken in the egg we are creating confusion, for we are able to prove the laws of development only in an incomplete way. But if we speak of its "composition" everything becomes clear. We shall therefore no longer say: This child is developing finely but: It is composing itself magnificently. We can congratulate Herr Dühring on being a worthy peer of the author of the *Nibelungenring*[a] not only in his noble self-esteem but also in his capacity of composer of the future.[42]

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[a] R. Wagner.—*Ed.*

# VIII. PHILOSOPHY OF NATURE. THE ORGANIC WORLD

## (Conclusion)

"Ponder ... what positive knowledge is required to equip our section on natural philosophy with all its scientific premises. Its basis is provided firstly by all the fundamental achievements of mathematics, and then the principal propositions established by exact science in mechanics, physics and chemistry, as well as the general conclusions of natural science in physiology, zoology and similar branches of inquiry" [D. Ph. 517].

Such is the confidence and assurance with which Herr Dühring speaks of the mathematical and naturalistic erudition of Herr Dühring. It is impossible to detect from the meagre section concerned, and still less from its even more paltry conclusions, what deep-rooted positive knowledge lies behind them. In any case, in order to create the Dühring oracle on physics and chemistry, it is not necessary to know any more of physics than the equation which expresses the mechanical equivalent of heat, or any more of chemistry than that all bodies can be divided into elements and combinations of elements. Moreover, a person who can talk of "gravitating atoms" [81], as Herr Dühring does (p. 131) [D. Ph.], only proves that he is completely "in the dark" as to the difference between atoms and molecules. As is well known, it is only chemical action, and not gravitation or other mechanical or physical forms of motion, that is explained by atoms. And if anyone should read as far as the chapter on organic nature, with its vacuous, self-contradictory and, at the decisive point, oracularly senseless meandering verbiage, and its absolutely futile final conclusion, he will not be able to avoid forming the opinion, from the very start, that Herr Dühring is here speaking of things of which he knows remarkably little. This opinion becomes absolute certainty when the reader reaches his suggestion that in the science of organic beings (biology) the term composition should be used instead of development [114]. The person who can put forward such a suggestion shows that he has not the faintest suspicion of the formation of organic bodies.

All organic bodies, except the very lowest, consist of cells, small granules of albumen which are only visible when considerably magnified, with a nucleus inside. As a rule the cells also develop an outer membrane and the contents are then more or less fluid. The lowest cellular bodies consist of a single cell; the immense majority of organic beings are multi-cellular, congruous complexes of many cells which in lower organisms remain of a homogeneous type, but in higher organisms develop more and more varied

forms, groupings and functions. In the human body, for example, bones, muscles, nerves, tendons, ligaments, cartilages, skin, in a word, all tissues are either composed of cells or originated from them. But in all organic cellular structure, from the amoeba, which is a simple and most of the time skinless albuminous particle with a nucleus inside, up to man, and from the tiniest unicellular desmids up to the most highly developed plant, the manner in which the cells multiply is the same: by fission. The cell nucleus first becomes constricted in the middle, the constriction separating the two halves of the nucleus gets more and more pronounced, and at last they separate from each other and form two cell nuclei. The same process takes place in the cell itself; each of the two nuclei becomes the centre of an accumulation of cellular substance, linked to the other by a strip which is steadily growing narrower, until at last the two separate from each other and continue to exist as independent cells. Through such repeated cell fission the whole animal is gradually developed in full out of the embryonal vesicle of the animal egg, after it has been fertilised, and the replacement of used-up tissues is effected in the same way in the adult animal. To call such a process composition, and to say that to describe it as development is "pure imagination" [D. Ph. 126], certainly indicates a person who—however difficult this may be to believe at the present day—knows absolutely nothing of this process; here it is precisely and *exclusively* development that is going on, and indeed development in the most literal sense, and composition has absolutely nothing to do with it!

Later on we shall have something more to say about what Herr Dühring understands in general by life. In particular his conception of life is as follows:

> "The inorganic world too is a system of self-executing impulses; but it is only at the point where there begins real differentiation, with the circulation of substances through special channels from one internal point and according to a germ-scheme transmissible to a smaller structure, that we may venture to speak of real life in the narrower and stricter sense" [141].

This sentence is, in the narrower and stricter sense, a system of self-executing impulses (whatever they may be) of nonsense, even apart from its hopelessly confused grammar. If life first begins where real differentiation commences, we must declare that the whole Haeckelian kingdom of Protista and perhaps much else are dead, depending on the meaning we attach to the idea of differentiation. If life first begins when this differentiation can be

transmitted through a smaller germ-scheme, then at least all organisms up to and including unicellular ones cannot be regarded as living. If the circulation of substances through special channels is the hallmark of life, then, in addition to the foregoing, we must also strike from the ranks of the living the whole of the higher class of the Coelenterata (excepting however the Medusae), that is, all polyps and other zoophytes.[43] If the circulation of substances through special channels from one internal point is the essential hallmark of life, then we must declare that all those animals which have no heart and those which have more than one heart are dead. Under this heading would fall, in addition to those already enumerated, all worms, starfish and rotifers (Annuloida and Annulosa, Huxley's classification[44]), a section of the Crustacea (lobsters), and finally even a vertebrate animal, the lancelet (the Amphioxus). And moreover all plants.

In undertaking, therefore, to define real life in the narrower and stricter sense, Herr Dühring gives us four characteristics of life which totally contradict one another, one of which condemns to eternal death not only the whole vegetable kingdom but also about half the animal kingdom. Really no one can say that he misled us when he promised us "from the ground up original conclusions and views" [525]!

Another passage runs:

> "In nature, too, one simple type is the basis of all organisms, from the lowest to the highest", and this type is "fully and completely present in its general essence even in the most subordinate impulse of the most undeveloped plant" [305].

This statement is again "full and complete" nonsense. The most simple type found in the whole of organic nature is the cell; and it certainly is the basis of the higher organisms. On the other hand, among the lowest organisms there are many which are far below the cell—the protamoeba, a simple albuminous particle without any differentiation whatever, and a whole series of other monera and all bladder seaweeds (Siphoneae). All of these are linked with the higher organisms only by the fact that their essential component is albumen and that they consequently perform functions of albumen, i.e., live and die.

Herr Dühring further tells us:

> "Physiologically, sensation is bound up with the presence of some kind of nerve apparatus, however simple. It is therefore characteristic of all animal structures that they are capable of sensation, i.e., of a subjectively conscious awareness of their states. The sharp boundary line between plant and animal lies at the point where

the leap to sensation takes place. Far from being obliterated by the known transitional structures, that line becomes a logical necessity precisely through these externally undecided or undecidable forms" [D. Ph. 141-42].

And again:

"On the other hand, plants are completely and for all time devoid of the slightest trace of sensation, and even lack any capacity for it" [140].

In the first place, Hegel says (*Naturphilosophie*, § 351, Addendum) that

"sensation is the *differentia specifica*,[a] the absolute distinguishing characteristic of the animal".

So once again we find a Hegelian "crudity" [D. K. G. 235], which through the simple process of appropriation by Herr Dühring is raised to the honourable position of a final and ultimate truth.

In the second place, we hear for the first time here of transitional structures, externally undecided or undecidable forms (fine gibberish!) between plant and animal. That these intermediate forms exist; that there are organisms of which we cannot say flatly whether they are plants or animals; that therefore we are wholly unable to draw a sharp dividing line between plant and animal—precisely this fact makes it a logical necessity for Herr Dühring to establish a criterion of differentiation which in the same breath he admits will not hold water! But we have absolutely no need to go back to the doubtful territory between plants and animals; are the sensitive plants which at the slightest touch fold their leaves or close their flowers, are the insect-eating plants devoid of the slightest trace of sensation and do they even lack any capacity for it? This cannot be maintained even by Herr Dühring without "unscientific semi-poetry" [D. Ph. 56, 142].

In the third place, it is once again a free creation and imagination on Herr Dühring's part when he asserts that sensation is physiologically bound up with the presence of some kind of nerve apparatus, however simple. Not only all primitive animals, but also the zoophytes, or at any rate the great majority of them, show no trace of a nerve apparatus. It is only from the worms on that such an apparatus is regularly found, and Herr Dühring is the first person to make the assertion that those animals have no sensation because they have no nerves. Sensation is not necessarily associated with nerves, but undoubtedly with certain albuminous bodies which up to now have not been more precisely determined.

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[a] Specific difference.—*Ed.*

At any rate, Herr Dühring's biological knowledge is sufficiently characterised by the question which he does not hesitate to put to Darwin:

"Is it to be supposed that animals have developed out of plants?" [110].

Such a question could only be put by a person who has not the slightest knowledge of either animals or plants.

Of life in general Herr Dühring is only able to tell us:

"The metabolism which is carried out through a plastically creating schematisation" (what in the world can that be?) "remains always a distinguishing characteristic of the real life process" [141].

That is all we learn about life, while in the "plastically creating schematisation" we are left knee-deep in the meaningless gibberish of the purest Dühring jargon. If therefore we want to know what life is, we shall evidently have to look a little more closely at it ourselves.

That organic exchange of matter is the most general and most characteristic phenomenon of life has been said times out of number during the last thirty years by physiological chemists and chemical physiologists, and it is here merely translated by Herr Dühring into his own elegant and clear language. But to define life as organic metabolism is to define life as—life; for organic exchange of matter or metabolism with plastically creating schematisation is in fact a phrase which itself needs explanation through life, explanation through the distinction between the organic and the inorganic, that is, that which lives and that which does not live. This explanation therefore does not get us any further.

Exchange of matter as such takes place even without life. There is a whole series of processes in chemistry which, given an adequate supply of raw material, constantly reproduce their own conditions, and do so in such a way that a definite body is the carrier of the process. This is the case in the manufacture of sulphuric acid by the burning of sulphur. In this process sulphur dioxide, $SO_2$, is produced, and when steam and nitric acid are added, the sulphur dioxide absorbs hydrogen and oxygen and is converted into sulphuric acid, $H_2SO_4$. The nitric acid gives off oxygen and is reduced to nitric oxide; this nitric oxide immediately absorbs new oxygen from the air and is transformed into the higher oxides of nitrogen, but only to transfer this oxygen immediately to sulphur dioxide and to go through the same process again; so that theoretically an infinitely small quantity of

nitric acid should suffice to change an unlimited quantity of sulphur dioxide, oxygen and water into sulphuric acid.— Exchange of matter also takes place in the passage of fluids through dead organic and even inorganic membranes, as in Traube's artificial cells.[45] Here too it is clear that we cannot get any further by means of exchange of matter; for the peculiar exchange of matter which is to explain life needs itself to be explained through life. We must therefore try some other way.

*Life is the mode of existence of albuminous bodies,* and this mode of existence essentially consists in the constant self-renewal of the chemical constituents of these bodies.

The term albuminous body is used here in the sense in which it is employed in modern chemistry, which includes under this name all bodies constituted similarly to ordinary white of egg, otherwise also known as protein substances. The name is an unhappy one, because ordinary white of egg plays the most lifeless and passive role of all the substances related to it, since, together with the yolk, it is merely food for the developing embryo. But while so little is yet known of the chemical composition of albuminous bodies, this name is better than any other because it is more general.

Wherever we find life we find it associated with an albuminous body, and wherever we find an albuminous body not in process of dissolution, there also without exception we find phenomena of life. Undoubtedly, the presence of other chemical combinations is also necessary in a living body in order to induce particular differentiations of these phenomena of life; but they are not requisite for naked life, except in so far as they enter the body as food and are transformed into albumen. The lowest living beings known to us are in fact nothing but simple particles of albumen, and they already exhibit all the essential phenomena of life.

But what are these universal phenomena of life which are equally present among all living organisms? Above all the fact that an albuminous body absorbs other appropriate substances from its environment and assimilates them, while other, older parts of the body disintegrate and are excreted. Other, non-living, bodies also change, disintegrate or enter into combinations in the natural course of events; but in doing this they cease to be what they were. A weather-worn rock is no longer a rock; metal which oxidises turns into rust. But what with non-living bodies is the cause of destruction, with albumen is *the fundamental condition of existence.* From the moment when this uninterrupted metamorphosis of its constituents, this constant alternation of nutrition and excretion, no longer takes place in an albuminous body, the albuminous body

itself comes to an end, it decomposes, that is, *dies.* Life, the mode of existence of an albuminous body, therefore consists primarily in the fact that every moment it is itself and at the same time something else; and this does not take place as the result of a process to which it is subjected from without, as is the way in which this can occur also in the case of inanimate bodies. On the contrary, life, the metabolism which takes place through nutrition and excretion, is a self-implementing process which is inherent in, native to, its bearer, albumen, without which the latter cannot exist. And hence it follows that if chemistry ever succeeds in producing albumen artificially, this albumen must show the phenomena of life, however weak these may be. It is certainly open to question whether chemistry will at the same time also discover the right food for this albumen.

From the metabolism which takes place through nutrition and excretion, as the essential function of albumen, and from its peculiar plasticity proceed also all the other most simple factors of life: irritability, which is already included in the mutual interaction between the albumen and its food; contractibility, which is shown, even at a very low stage, in the consumption of food; the possibility of growth, which in the lowest forms includes propagation by fission; internal movement, without which neither the consumption nor the assimilation of food is possible.

Our definition of life is naturally very inadequate, inasmuch as, far from including *all* the phenomena of life, it has to be limited to those which are the most common and the simplest. From a scientific standpoint all definitions are of little value. In order to gain an exhaustive knowledge of what life is, we should have to go through all the forms in which it appears, from the lowest to the highest. But for ordinary usage such definitions are very convenient and in places cannot well be dispensed with; moreover, they can do no harm, provided their inevitable deficiencies are not forgotten.

But back to Herr Dühring. When things are faring badly with him in the sphere of earthly biology, he knows where to find consolation; he takes refuge in his starry heaven.

"It is not merely the special apparatus of an organ of sensation, but the whole objective world, which is adapted to the production of pleasure and pain. For this reason we take it for granted that the antithesis between pleasure and pain, and moreover *exactly* in the form with which we are familiar, is a universal antithesis, and must be represented *in the various worlds of the universe* by essentially homogeneous feelings... This conformity, however, is of *no little* significance, for it is the key to the *universe of sensations*... Hence the subjective cosmic world is to us not much more unfamiliar than the objective. The constitution of both spheres

must be conceived according to one concordant type, and in this we have the beginnings of a science of consciousness whose range is wider than merely terrestrial" [D. Ph. 139-40].

What do a few gross blunders in terrestrial natural science matter to the man who carries in his pocket the key to the universe of sensations? *Allons donc!*[a]

## IX. MORALITY AND LAW. ETERNAL TRUTHS

We refrain from giving samples of the mish-mash of platitudes and oracular sayings, in a word, of the simple *balderdash* with which Herr Dühring regales his readers for fifty full pages as the deep-rooted science of the elements of consciousness. We will cite only this:

"He who can think only by means of language has never yet learnt what is meant by *abstract* and *pure* thought" [D. Ph. 189].

On this basis animals are the most abstract and purest thinkers, because their thought is never obscured by the officious intrusion of language. In any case one can see from the Dühringian thoughts and the language in which they are couched how little suited these thoughts are to any language, and how little suited the German language is to these thoughts.

At last the fourth section brings us deliverance; apart from the liquefying pap of rhetoric, it does at least offer us, here and there, something tangible on the subject of *morality* and *law.* Right at the outset, on this occasion, we are invited to take a trip to the other celestial bodies:

the elements of morals "must occur in concordant fashion among all extra-human beings whose active reason has to deal with the conscious ordering of life impulses in the form of instincts... And yet our interest in such deductions will be small... Nevertheless it is an idea which *beneficently extends* our range of vision, when we think that on other celestial bodies individual and communal life must be based on a scheme which ... is unable to abrogate or escape from the general fundamental constitution of a rationally acting being" [192-93].

In this case, by way of exception, the validity of the Dühringian truths also for all other possible worlds is put at the beginning instead of the end of the chapter concerned; and for a sufficient reason. If the validity of the Dühringian conceptions of morality and justice is first etablished for all *worlds,* it is all the more easy beneficently to extend their validity to all *times.* But once again what is involved is nothing less than final and ultimate truth [2].

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[a] Well, really!—*Ed.*

The world of morals, "just as much as the world of general knowledge", has "its permanent principles and simple elements". The moral principles stand "above history and also above the present differences in national characteristics... The special truths out of which, in the course of evolution, a more complete moral consciousness and, so to speak, conscience are built up, may, in so far as their ultimate basis is understood, claim a validity and range similar to the insights and applications of mathematics. *Genuine truths are absolutely immutable* ... so that it is altogether stupid to think that the correctness of knowledge is something that can be affected by time and changes in reality" [196]. Hence the certitude of strict knowledge and the adequacy of common cognition leave no room, when we are in possession of our senses, for doubting the absolute validity of the principles of knowledge. "Even persistent doubt is itself a diseased condition of weakness and only the expression of *hopeless confusion*, which sometimes seeks to contrive the appearance of something stable in the systematic consciousness of its *nothingness*. In the sphere of ethics, the denial of general principles clutches at the geographical and historical variety of customs and principles, and once the inevitable necessity of moral wickedness and evil is conceded, it believes itself so much the more to be above the recognition of the great importance and actual efficacy of concordant moral impulses. This *mordant scepticism*, which is not directed against particular false doctrines but against mankind's very capacity to develop conscious morality, resolves itself ultimately into a real Nothing, in fact into something that is worse than pure nihilism [194] ... It flatters itself that it can easily dominate within its *utter chaos* of disintegrated ethical ideas and open the gates to unprincipled arbitrariness. But it is greatly mistaken: for mere reference to the inevitable fate of reason in error and truth suffices to show by this analogy alone that natural fallibility does not necessarily exclude the attainment of accuracy" [195].

Up to now we have calmly put up with all these pompous phrases of Herr Dühring's about final and ultimate truths, the sovereignty of thought, absolute certainty of knowledge, and so forth, because it is only at the point which we have now reached that the matter can be settled. Up to this point it has been enough to enquire how far the separate assertions of the philosophy of reality had "sovereign validity" and "an unconditional claim to truth" [2]; now we come to the question whether any, and if so which, products of human knowledge ever can have sovereign validity and an unconditional claim to truth. When I say "of *human* knowledge" I do not use the phrase with the intention of insulting the inhabitants of other celestial bodies, whom I have not had the honour of knowing, but only for the reason that animals also have knowledge, though it is in no way sovereign. A dog acknowledges his master to be his God, though this master may be the biggest scoundrel on earth.

Is human thought sovereign? Before we can answer yes or no we must first enquire: what is human thought? Is it the thought of the individual man? No. But it exists only as the individual thought of many milliards of past, present and future men. If, then, I say that the total thought of all these human beings,

including the future ones, which is embraced in my idea, is *sovereign,* able to know the world as it exists, if only mankind lasts long enough and in so far as no limits are imposed on its knowledge by its perceptive organs or the objects to be known, then I am saying something which is pretty banal and, in addition, pretty barren. For the most valuable result from it would be that it should make us extremely distrustful of our present knowledge, inasmuch as in all probability we are just about at the beginning of human history, and the generations which will put *us* right are likely to be far more numerous than those whose knowledge we—often enough with a considerable degree of contempt—have the opportunity to correct.

Herr Dühring himself proclaims it to be a necessity that consciousness, and therefore also thought and knowledge, can become manifest only in a series of individual beings. We can only ascribe sovereignty to the thought of each of these individuals in so far as we are not aware of any power which would be able to impose any idea forcibly on him, when he is of sound mind and wide awake. But as for the sovereign validity of the knowledge obtained by each individual thought, we all know that there can be no talk of such a thing, and that all previous experience shows that without exception such knowledge always contains much more that is capable of being improved upon than that which cannot be improved upon, or is correct.

In other words, the sovereignty of thought is realised in a series of extremely unsovereignly-thinking human beings; the knowledge which has an unconditional claim to truth is realised in a series of relative errors; neither the one nor the other can be fully realised except through an unending duration of human existence.

Here once again we find the same contradiction as we found above,[a] between the character of human thought, necessarily conceived as absolute, and its reality in individual human beings, all of whom think only limitedly. This is a contradiction which can be resolved only in the course of infinite progress, in what is—at least practically for us—an endless succession of generations of mankind. In this sense human thought is just as much sovereign as not sovereign, and its capacity for knowledge just as much unlimited as limited. It is sovereign and unlimited in its disposition, its vocation, its possibilities and its historical ultimate goal; it is not sovereign and it is limited in its individual realisation and in reality at any particular moment.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 35-36.—*Ed.*

It is just the same with eternal truths. If mankind ever reached the stage at which it should work only with eternal truths, with results of thought which possess sovereign validity and an unconditional claim to truth, it would then have reached the point where the infinity of the intellectual world both in its actuality and in its potentiality had been exhausted, and thus the famous miracle of the counted uncountable would have been performed.

But are there any truths which are so securely based that any doubt of them seems to us to be tantamount to insanity? That twice two makes four, that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, that Paris is in France, that a man who gets no food dies of hunger, and so forth? Are there then nevertheless *eternal* truths, final and ultimate truths [D. Ph. 2]?

Certainly there are. We can divide the whole realm of knowledge in the traditional way into three great departments. The first includes all sciences that deal with inanimate nature and are to a greater or lesser degree susceptible of mathematical treatment: mathematics, astronomy, mechanics, physics, chemistry. If it gives anyone any pleasure to use mighty words for very simple things, it can be asserted that *certain* results obtained by these sciences are eternal truths, final and ultimate truths; for which reason these sciences are known as the *exact* sciences. But very far from all their results have this validity. With the introduction of variable magnitudes and the extension of their variability to the infinitely small and infinitely large, mathematics, usually so strictly ethical, fell from grace; it ate of the tree of knowledge, which opened up to it a career of most colossal achievements, but at the same time a path of error. The virgin state of absolute validity and irrefutable proof of everything mathematical was gone for ever; the realm of controversy was inaugurated, and we have reached the point where most people differentiate and integrate not because they understand what they are doing but from pure faith, because up to now it has always come out right. Things are even worse with astronomy and mechanics, and in physics and chemistry we are swamped by hypotheses as if attacked by a swarm of bees. And it must of necessity be so. In physics we are dealing with the motion of molecules, in chemistry with the formation of molecules out of atoms, and if the interference of light waves is not a myth, we have absolutely no prospect of ever seeing these interesting objects with our own eyes. As time goes on, final and ultimate truths become remarkably rare in this field.

We are even worse off in geology which, by its nature, has to deal chiefly with processes which took place not only in our absence but in the absence of any human being whatever. The gleaning here of final and ultimate truths is therefore a very troublesome business, and the crop is extremely scanty.

The second department of science is the one which covers the investigation of living organisms. In this field there is such a multiplicity of interrelationships and causalities that not only does the solution of each question give rise to a host of other questions, but each separate problem can in most cases only be solved piecemeal, through a series of investigations which often require centuries; and besides, the need for a systematic presentation of interconnections makes it necessary again and again to surround the final and ultimate truths with a luxuriant growth of hypotheses. What a long series of intermediaries from Galen to Malpighi was necessary for correctly establishing such a simple matter as the circulation of the blood in mammals, how slight is our knowledge of the origin of blood corpuscles, and how numerous are the missing links even today, for example, to be able to bring the symptoms of a disease into some rational relationship with its cause! And often enough discoveries, such as that of the cell, are made which compel us to revise completely all formerly established final and ultimate truths in the realm of biology, and to put whole piles of them on the scrap-heap once and for all. Anyone who wants to establish really genuine and immutable truths here will therefore have to be content with such platitudes as: all men are mortal, all female mammals have lacteal glands, and the like; he will not even be able to assert that the higher animals digest with their stomachs and intestines and not with their heads, for the nervous activity, which is centralised in the head, is indispensable to digestion.

But eternal truths are in an even worse plight in the third, the historical, group of sciences, which study in their historical sequence and in their present resultant state the conditions of human life, social relationships, forms of law and government, with their ideal superstructure in the shape of philosophy, religion, art, etc. In organic nature we are at least dealing with a succession of processes which, so far as our immediate observation is concerned, recur with fair regularity within very wide limits. Organic species have on the whole remained unchanged since the time of Aristotle. In social history, however, the repetition of conditions is the exception and not the rule, once we pass beyond the primitive state of man, the so-called Stone Age; and when such

repetitions occur, they never arise under exactly similar circumstances. Such, for example, is the existence of an original common ownership of the land among all civilised peoples, or the way it was dissolved. In the sphere of human history our knowledge is therefore even more backward than in the realm of biology. Furthermore, when by way of exception the inner connection between the social and political forms of existence in any epoch comes to be known, this as a rule occurs only when these forms have already by half outlived themselves and are nearing extinction. Therefore, knowledge is here essentially relative, inasmuch as it is limited to the investigation of interconnections and consequences of certain social and state forms which exist only in a particular epoch and among particular peoples and are by their very nature transitory. Anyone therefore who here sets out to hunt down final and ultimate truths, genuine, absolutely immutable truths, will bring home but little, apart from platitudes and commonplaces of the sorriest kind—for example, that, generally speaking, men cannot live except by labour; that up to the present they for the most part have been divided into rulers and ruled; that Napoleon died on May 5, 1821, and so on.

Now it is a remarkable thing that it is precisely in this sphere that we most frequently encounter truths which claim to be eternal, final and ultimate and all the rest of it. That twice two makes four, that birds have beaks, and similar statements, are proclaimed as eternal truths only by those who aim at deducing, from the existence of eternal truths in general, the conclusion that there are also eternal truths in the sphere of human history—eternal morality, eternal justice, and so on—which claim a validity and scope similar to those of the insights and applications of mathematics. And then we can confidently rely on this same friend of humanity taking the first opportunity to assure us that all previous fabricators of eternal truths have been to a greater or lesser extent asses and charlatans, that they all fell into error and made mistakes; but that *their* error and *their* fallibility are in accordance with nature's laws, and prove the existence of truth and accuracy precisely in *his* case; and that he, the prophet who has now arisen, has in his bag, all ready-made, final and ultimate truth, eternal morality and eternal justice. This has all happened so many hundreds and thousands of times that we can only feel astonished that there should still be people credulous enough to believe this, not of others, oh no! but of themselves. Nevertheless we have here before us at least one more such prophet, who also, quite in the accustomed way, flies into highly moral indignation

when other people deny that any individual whatsoever is in a position to deliver the final and ultimate truth. Such a denial, or indeed mere doubt of it, is weakness, hopeless confusion, nothingness, mordant scepticism, worse than pure nihilism, utter chaos and other such pleasantries. As with all prophets, instead of critical and scientific examination and judgment one encounters moral condemnation out of hand.

We might have made mention above also of the sciences which investigate the laws of human thought, i.e., logic and dialectics. In these, however, eternal truths do not fare any better. Herr Dühring declares that dialectics proper is pure nonsense; and the many books which have been and are still being written on logic provide abundant proof that here, too, final and ultimate truths are much more sparsely sown than some people believe.

For that matter, there is absolutely no need to be alarmed at the fact that the stage of knowledge which we have now reached is as little final as all that have preceded it. It already embraces a vast mass of judgments and requires very great specialisation of study on the part of anyone who wants to become conversant with any particular science. But a man who applies the measure of genuine, immutable, final and ultimate truth to knowledge which, by its very nature, must either remain relative for many generations and be completed only step by step, or which, as in cosmogony, geology and the history of mankind, must always contain gaps and be incomplete because of the inadequacy of the historical material—such a man only proves thereby his own ignorance and perversity, even if the real thing behind it all is not, as in this case, the claim to personal infallibility. Truth and error, like all thought-concepts which move in polar opposites, have absolute validity only in an extremely limited field, as we have just seen, and as even Herr Dühring would realise if he had any acquaintance with the first elements of dialectics, which deal precisely with the inadequacy of all polar opposites. As soon as we apply the antithesis between truth and error outside of that narrow field which has been referred to above it becomes relative and therefore unserviceable for exact scientific modes of expression; and if we attempt to apply it as absolutely valid outside that field we really find ourselves altogether beaten: both poles of the antithesis become transformed into their opposites, truth becomes error and error truth. Let us take as an example the well-known Boyle's law. According to it, if the temperature remains constant, the volume of a gas varies inversely with the pressure to which it is subjected. Regnault found that this law does not hold good in certain cases.

Had he been a philosopher of reality he would have had to say: Boyle's law is mutable, and is hence not a genuine truth, hence it is not a truth at all, hence it is an error. But had he done this he would have committed an error far greater than the one that was contained in Boyle's law; his grain of truth would have been lost sight of in a sand-hill of error; he would have distorted his originally correct conclusion into an error compared with which Boyle's law, along with the little particle of error that clings to it, would have seemed like truth. But Regnault, being a man of science, did not indulge in such childishness, but continued his investigations and discovered that in general Boyle's law is only approximately true, and in particular loses its validity in the case of gases which can be liquefied by pressure, namely, as soon as the pressure approaches the point at which liquefaction begins. Boyle's law therefore was proved to be true only within definite limits. But is it absolutely and finally true within those limits? No physicist would assert that. He would maintain that it holds good within certain limits of pressure and temperature and for certain gases; and even within these more restricted limits he would not exclude the possibility of a still narrower limitation or altered formulation as the result of future investigations.* This is how things stand with final and ultimate truths in physics, for example. Really scientific works therefore, as a rule, avoid such dogmatically moral expressions as error and truth, while these expressions meet us everywhere in works such as the philosophy of reality, in which empty phrasemongering attempts to impose itself on us as the most sovereign result of sovereign thought.

But, a naive reader may ask, where has Herr Dühring expressly stated that the content of his philosophy of reality is final and even ultimate truth [D. Ph. 2]? Where? Well, for example, in the dithyramb on his system (page 13), a part of which we cited in

* Since I wrote the above it would seem already to have been confirmed. According to the latest researches carried out with more exact apparatus by Mendeleyev and Boguski, all true gases show a variable relation between pressure and volume; the coefficient of expansion for hydrogen, at all the pressures so far applied, has been positive (that is, the diminution of volume was slower than the increase of pressure); in the case of atmospheric air and the other gases examined, there is for each a zero point of pressure, so that with pressure below this point the coefficient is positive, and with pressure above this point their coefficient is negative. So Boyle's law, which has always hitherto been usable for practical purposes, will have to be supplemented by a whole series of special laws. (We also know now—in 1885—that there are no "true" gases at all. They have all been reduced to a liquid form.)[46]

Chapter II.[a] Or when he says, in the passage quoted above[b]: Moral truths, in so far as their ultimate bases are understood, claim the same validity as mathematical insights. And does not Herr Dühring assert that, working from his really critical standpoint [D. Ph. 404] and by means of those researches of his which go to the root of things [200], he has forced his way through to these ultimate foundations, the basic schemata, and has thus bestowed final and ultimate validity on moral truths? Or, if Herr Dühring does not advance this claim either for himself or for his age, if he only meant to say that perhaps some day in the dark and nebulous future final and ultimate truths may be ascertained, if therefore he meant to say much the same, only in a more confused way, as is said by "mordant scepticism" and "hopeless confusion" [194]—then, in that case, what is all the noise about, what can we do for you, Herr Dühring?[c]

If, then, we have not made much progress with truth and error, we can make even less with good and evil. This opposition manifests itself exclusively in the domain of morals, that is, a domain belonging to the history of mankind, and it is precisely in this field that final and ultimate truths are most sparsely sown. The conceptions of good and evil have varied so much from nation to nation and from age to age that they have often been in direct contradiction to each other.—But all the same, someone may object, good is not evil and evil is not good; if good is confused with evil there is an end to all morality, and everyone can do as he pleases.—This is also, stripped of all oracular phrases, Herr Dühring's opinion. But the matter cannot be so simply disposed of. If it were such an easy business there would certainly be no dispute at all over good and evil; everyone would know what was good and what was bad. But how do things stand today? What morality is preached to us today? There is first Christian-feudal morality, inherited from earlier religious times; and this is divided, essentially, into a Catholic and a Protestant morality, each of which has no lack of subdivisions, from the Jesuit-Catholic and Orthodox-Protestant to loose "enlightened" moralities. Alongside these we find the modern-bourgeois morality and beside it also the proletarian morality of the future, so that in the most advanced European countries alone the past, present and future provide three great groups of moral theories which are in force

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[a] See this volume, p. 28.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 79.—*Ed.*
[c] Goethe, *Faust*, Act I, Scene III ("Faust's Study").—*Ed.*

simultaneously and alongside each other. Which, then, is the true one? Not one of them, in the sense of absolute finality; but certainly that morality contains the maximum elements promising permanence which, in the present, represents the overthrow of the present, represents the future, and that is proletarian morality.

But when we see that the three classes of modern society, the feudal aristocracy, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, each have a morality of their own, we can only draw the one conclusion: that men, consciously or unconsciously, derive their ethical ideas in the last resort from the practical relations on which their class position is based—from the economic relations in which they carry on production and exchange.

But nevertheless there is great deal which the three moral theories mentioned above have in common—is this not at least a portion of a morality which is fixed once and for all?—These moral theories represent three different stages of the same historical development, have therefore a common historical background, and for that reason alone they necessarily have much in common. Even more. At similar or approximately similar stages of economic development moral theories must of necessity be more or less in agreement. From the moment when private ownership of movable property developed, all societies in which this private ownership existed had to have this moral injunction in common: Thou shalt not steal.[a] Does this injunction thereby become an eternal moral injunction? By no means. In a society in which all motives for stealing have been done away with, in which therefore at the very most only lunatics would ever steal, how the preacher of morals would be laughed at who tried solemnly to proclaim the eternal truth: Thou shalt not steal!

We therefore reject every attempt to impose on us any moral dogma whatsoever as an eternal, ultimate and for ever immutable ethical law on the pretext that the moral world, too, has its permanent principles which stand above history and the differences between nations. We maintain on the contrary that all moral theories have been hitherto the product, in the last analysis, of the economic conditions of society obtaining at the time. And as society has hitherto moved in class antagonisms, morality has always been class morality; it has either justified the domination and the interests of the ruling class, or ever since the oppressed class became powerful enough, it has represented its indignation against this domination and the future interests of the oppressed.

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[a] Exodus 20 : 15; Deuteronomy 5 : 19.—*Ed.*

That in this process there has on the whole been progress in morality, as in all other branches of human knowledge, no one will doubt. But we have not yet passed beyond class morality. A really human morality which stands above class antagonisms and above any recollection of them becomes possible only at a stage of society which has not only overcome class antagonisms but has even forgotten them in practical life. And now one can gauge Herr Dühring's presumption in advancing his claim, from the midst of the old class society and on the eve of a social revolution, to impose on the future classless society an eternal morality independent of time and changes in reality. Even assuming—what we do not know up to now—that he understands the structure of the society of the future at least in its main outlines.

Finally, one more revelation which is "from the ground up original" [D. Ph. 525] but for that reason no less "going to the root of things" [200]: With regard to the origin of evil,

"the fact that the *type of the cat* with the guile associated with it is found in animal form, stands on an even plane with the circumstance that a similar type of character is found also in human beings... There is therefore nothing mysterious about evil, unless someone wants to scent out something mysterious in the existence of a *cat* or of any animal of prey" [210-11].

Evil is—the cat. The devil therefore has no horns or cloven hoof, but claws and green eyes. And Goethe committed an unpardonable error in presenting Mephistopheles as a black dog[a] instead of a black cat. Evil is the cat! That is morality, not only for all worlds, but also—for cats[b]

## X. MORALITY AND LAW. EQUALITY

We have already had more than one occasion to make ourselves acquainted with Herr Dühring's method. It consists in dissecting each group of objects of knowledge to what is claimed to be their simplest elements, applying to these elements similarly simple and what are claimed to be self-evident axioms, and then continuing to operate with the aid of the results so obtained. Even a problem in the sphere of social life

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[a] Goethe, *Faust,* Act I, Scenes II and III ("At the City Gates" and "Faust's Study").—*Ed.*

[b] In German a play on words: *für die Katze* (for the cat) denotes something utterly useless or wasted effort.—*Ed.*

"is to be decided axiomatically, in accordance with particular, simple basic forms, just as if we were dealing with the simple ... basic forms of mathematics" [D. Ph. 224].

And thus the application of the mathematical method to history, morals and law is to give us also in these fields mathematical certainty of the truth of the results obtained, to characterise them as genuine, immutable truths.

This is only giving a new twist to the old favourite ideological method, also known as the *a priori* method, which consists in ascertaining the properties of an object, by logical deduction from the concept of the object, instead of from the object itself. First the concept of the object is fabricated from the object; then the spit is turned round, and the object is measured by its reflexion, the concept. The object is then to conform to the concept, not the concept to the object. With Herr Dühring the simplest elements, the ultimate abstractions he can reach, do service for the concept, which does not alter matters; these simplest elements are at best of a purely conceptual nature. The philosophy of reality, therefore, proves here again to be pure ideology, the deduction of reality not from itself but from a concept.

And when such an ideologist constructs morality and law from the concept, or the so-called simplest elements of "society", instead of from the real social relations of the people round him, what material is then available for this construction? Material clearly of two kinds: first, the meagre residue of real content which may possibly survive in the abstractions from which he starts and, secondly, the content which our ideologist once more introduces from his own consciousness. And what does he find in his consciousness? For the most part, moral and juridical notions which are a more or less accurate expression (positive or negative, corroborative or antagonistic) of the social and political relations amidst which he lives; perhaps also ideas drawn from the literature on the subject; and, as a final possibility, some personal idiosyncrasies. Our ideologist may turn and twist as he likes, but the historical reality which he cast out at the door comes in again at the window, and while he thinks he is framing a doctrine of morals and law for all times and for all worlds, he is in fact only fashioning an image of the conservative or revolutionary tendencies of his day—an image which is distorted because it has been torn from its real basis and, like a reflection in a concave mirror, is standing on its head.

Herr Dühring thus dissects society into its simplest elements, and discovers in doing so that the simplest society consists of at least *two* people. With these two people he then proceeds to

operate axiomatically. And so the basic moral axiom naturally presents itself:

> "Two human wills are as such *entirely equal* to each other, and in the first place the one can demand nothing positive of the other" [D. Ph. 200]. This "characterises the basic form of moral justice" [201], and also that of legal justice, for "we need only the wholly simple and elementary relation of *two persons* for the development of the fundamental concepts of law" [228].

That two people or two human wills are as such *entirely* equal to each other is not only not an axiom but is even a great exaggeration. In the first place, two people, even as such, may be unequal in sex, and this simple fact leads us on at once to the idea that the simplest elements of society—if we accept this childishness for a moment—are not two men, but a man and a woman, who found a *family*, the simplest and first form of association for the purpose of production. But this cannot in any way suit Herr Dühring. For on the one hand the two founders of society must be made as equal as possible; and secondly even Herr Dühring could not succeed in constructing from the primitive family the moral and legal equality of man and woman. One thing or the other: either the Dühringian social molecule, by the multiplication of which the whole of society is to be built up, is doomed beforehand to disaster, because two men can never by themselves bring a child into the world; or we must conceive them as two heads of families. And in that case the whole simple basic scheme is turned into its opposite: instead of the equality of people it proves at most the equality of heads of families, and as women are not considered, it further proves that they are subordinate.

We have now to make an unpleasant announcement to the reader: that from this point on for some considerable time he will not get rid of these famous two men. In the sphere of social relations they play a similar role to that hitherto played by the inhabitants of other celestial bodies, with whom it is to be hoped we have now finished. Whenever a question of economics, politics, etc., is to be solved, the two men instantly march up and settle the matter in the twinkling of an eye "axiomatically" [224]. An excellent, creative and system-creating discovery on the part of our philosopher of reality. But unfortunately, if we want to pay due regard to truth, the two men are not his discovery. They are the common property of the whole eighteenth century. They are already to be found in Rousseau's discourse on inequality (1754),[47] where, by the way, they prove axiomatically the opposite of Herr Dühring's contentions. They play a leading part with the economists, from Adam Smith to Ricardo; but in these they are at

least unequal in that each of the two carries on a different trade—as a rule one is a hunter and the other a fisherman—and that they mutually exchange their products. Besides, throughout the eighteenth century, they serve in the main as a purely illustrative example, and Herr Dühring's originality consists only in that he elevates this method of illustration into a basic method for all social science and a measure of all historical forms. Certainly it would be impossible to simplify further the "strictly scientific conception of things and men" [387].

In order to establish the fundamental axiom that two people and their wills are absolutely equal to each other and that neither lords it over the other, we cannot use any couple of men at random. They must be two people who are so thoroughly free from all reality, from all national, economic, political and religious relations which are found in the world, from all sexual and personal peculiarities, that nothing is left of either of them beyond the mere concept: human being, and then they are of course "entirely equal". They are therefore two complete phantoms conjured up by that very Herr Dühring who is everywhere scenting and denouncing "spiritistic" tendencies. These two phantoms are of course obliged to do everything which the man who conjured them into existence wants them to do, and for that very reason all their artifices are of no interest whatever to the rest of the world.

But let us pursue Herr Dühring's axiomatics a little further. The two wills can demand nothing positive of each other. If nevertheless one of them does so, and has its way by force, this gives rise to a state of injustice; and this fundamental scheme serves Herr Dühring to explain injustice, tyranny, servitude—in short, the whole reprehensible history of the past. Now Rousseau, in the essay referred to above, had already made use of two men to prove, likewise axiomatically, the very opposite: that is, given two men, A cannot enslave B by force, but only by putting B into a position in which the latter cannot do without A, a conception which, however, is much too materialistic for Herr Dühring. Let us put the same thing in a slightly different way. Two shipwrecked people are alone on an island, and form a society. Their wills are, formally, entirely equal, and this is acknowledged by both. But from a material standpoint there is great inequality. A has determination and energy, B is irresolute, lazy and flabby. A is quick-witted, B stupid. How long will it be before A regularly imposes his will on B, first by persuasion, subsequently by dint of habit, but always in form voluntarily? Servitude remains servitude,

whether the voluntary form is retained or is trampled underfoot. Voluntary entry into servitude was known throughout the Middle Ages, in Germany until after the Thirty Years' War.[48] When serfdom was abolished in Prussia after the defeats of 1806 and 1807, and with it the obligation of the gracious lords to provide for their subjects in need, illness and old age, the peasants petitioned the king asking to be left in servitude—for otherwise who would look after them when in distress? The two-men scheme is therefore just as "appropriate" to inequality and servitude as to equality and mutual help; and inasmuch as we are forced, on pain of extinction of society, to assume that they are heads of families, hereditary servitude is also provided for in the idea from the start.

But let this entire matter rest for the moment. Let us assume that Herr Dühring's axiomatics have convinced us and that we are enthusiastic supporters of the entire equality of rights as between the two wills, of "general human sovereignty" [D. Ph. 229], of the "sovereignty of the individual" [268]—veritable verbal colossi, compared with whom Stirner's "Ego" together with his Own[49] is a mere dwarf, although he also could claim a modest part in them. Well, then, we are now all *entirely equal* [200] and independent. All? No, not quite all.

There are also cases of "permissible dependence", but these can be explained "on grounds which are to be sought not in the activity of the two wills as such, but in a third sphere, as for example in regard to children, in their inadequate self-determination" [200].

Indeed! The grounds of dependence are not to be sought in the activity of the two wills as such! Naturally not, for the activity of one of the wills is actually restricted. But in a third sphere! And what is this third sphere? The concrete determination of one, the subjected, will as inadequate! Our philosopher of reality has so far departed from reality that, as against the abstract term "will", which is devoid of content, he regards the real content, the characteristic determination of this will, as a "third sphere". Be that as it may, we are obliged to state that the equality of rights has an exception. It does not hold good for a will afflicted with inadequate self-determination. *Retreat No. 1.*

To proceed.

"Where beast and man are blended in one person the question may be asked, on behalf of a second, entirely human, person, whether his mode of action should be the same as if persons who, so to speak, are only human were confronting each other [201] ... our hypothesis of two morally unequal persons, one of whom in some sense or other has something of the real beast in his character, is therefore

the typical basic form for all relations which, in accordance with this difference, may come about ... within and between groups of people" [202].

And now let the reader see for himself the pitiful diatribe that follows these clumsy subterfuges, in which Herr Dühring turns and twists like a Jesuit priest in order to determine casuistically how far the human man can go against the bestial man, how far he may show distrust and employ stratagems and harsh, even terrorist means, as well as deception against him, without himself deviating in any way from immutable morality.

So, when two persons are "morally unequal" [202], there again is no longer equality. But then it was surely not worth while to conjure up two entirely equal people, for there are no two persons who are morally entirely equal.—But the inequality is supposed to consist in this: that one person is human and the other has a streak of the beast in him. It is, however, inherent in the descent of man from the animal world that he can never entirely rid himself of the beast, so that it can always be only a question of more or less, of a difference in the degree of bestiality or of humanity. A division of mankind into two sharply differentiated groups, into human men and beast men, into good and bad, sheep and goats, is only found—apart from the philosophy of reality—in Christianity, which quite logically also has its judge of the universe to make the separation. But who is to be the judge of the universe in the philosophy of reality? Presumably the procedure will have to be the same as in Christian practice, in which the pious lambs themselves assume the office of judge of the universe in relation to their mundane goat-neighbours, and discharge this duty with notorious success. The sect of philosophers of reality, if it ever comes into being, will assuredly not yield precedence in this respect to the pious of the land. This, however, is of no concern to us; what interests us is the admission that, as a result of the moral inequality between men, equality has vanished once more. *Retreat No. 2.*

But, again, let us proceed.

"If one acts in accordance with truth and science, and the other in accordance with some superstition or prejudice, then ... as a rule mutual interference must occur [216]... At a certain degree of incompetence, brutality or perversity of character, conflict is always inevitable... It is not only children and madmen in relation to whom the ultimate resource is *force.* The character of whole natural groups and cultured classes in mankind may make the *subjection* of their will, which is hostile because of its perversity, an inevitable necessity, in order to guide it back to the ties held in common. Even in such cases the alien will is still recognised as *having equal rights*; but the perversity of its injurious and hostile activity has

provoked an *equalisation,* and if it is subjected to force, it is only reaping the reaction to its own unrighteousness" [D. Ph. 217].

So not only moral but also mental inequality is enough to remove the "entire equality" of the two wills and to call into being a morality by which all the infamous deeds of civilised robber states against backward peoples, down to the Russian atrocities in Turkestan, can be justified. When in the summer of 1873, General Kaufmann ordered the Tatar tribe of the Yomuds to be attacked, their tents to be burnt and their wives and children butchered—"in the good old Caucasian way", as the order was worded—he, too, declared that the subjection of the hostile, because perverted, will of the Yomuds, with the object of guiding it back to the ties held in common, had become an inevitable necessity, that the means employed by him were best suited to the purpose,[50] and that whoever willed the end must also will the means. Only he was not so cruel as to insult the Yomuds on top of it all and to say that it was just by massacring them for purposes of equalisation that he was recognising their will as having equal rights. And once again in this conflict it is the elect, those who claim to be acting in accordance with truth and science and therefore in the last resort the philosophers of reality, who have to decide what are superstition, prejudice, brutality and perversity of character and when force and subjection are necessary for purposes of equalisation. Equality, therefore, is now—equalisation by force; and the second will is recognised by the first to have equal rights through subjection. *Retreat No. 3,* here already degenerating into ignominious flight.

Incidentally, the phrase that the alien will is recognised as having equal right precisely through equalisation by means of force is only a distortion of the Hegelian theory, according to which punishment is the right of the criminal;

"punishment is regarded as containing the criminal's right and hence by being punished he is honoured as a rational being" (*Rechtsphilosophie,* § 100, Note).

With that we can break off. It would be superfluous to follow Herr Dühring further in his piecemeal destruction of the equality which he set up so axiomatically [224], of his general human sovereignty [229] and so on; to observe how he manages to set up society with his two men, but in order to create the state he requires a third because—to put the matter briefly—without a third no majority decisions can be arrived at, and without these, and so also without the rule of the majority over the minority, no

state can exist; and then how he gradually steers into calmer waters where he constructs his socialitarian state of the future, where one fine morning we shall have the honour to look him up. We have sufficiently observed that the entire equality of the two wills exists only so long as these two wills *will nothing*; that as soon as they cease to be human wills as such, and are transformed into real, individual wills, into the wills of two real people, equality comes to an end; that childhood, madness, so-called bestiality, supposed superstition, alleged prejudice and assumed incapacity on the one hand, and fancied humanity and knowledge of truth and science on the other hand—that therefore every difference in the quality of the two wills and in that of the intelligence associated with them—justifies an inequality of treatment which may go as far as subjection. What more can we ask, when Herr Dühring has so deep-rootedly, from the ground up, demolished his own edifice of equality?

But even though we have finished with Herr Dühring's shallow, botched treatment of the idea of equality, this does not mean that we have finished with the idea itself, which especially thanks to Rousseau played a theoretical, and during and since the great revolution[a] a practical political role, and even today still plays an important agitational role in the socialist movement of almost every country. The establishment of its scientific content will also determine its value for proletarian agitation.

The idea that all men, as men, have something in common, and that to that extent they are equal, is of course primeval. But the modern demand for equality is something entirely different from that; this consists rather in deducing from that common quality of being human, from that equality of men as men, a claim to equal political resp. social status for all human beings, or at least for all citizens of a state or all members of a society. Before that original conception of relative equality could lead to the conclusion that men should have equal rights in the state and in society, before that conclusion could even appear to be something natural and self-evident, thousands of years had to pass and did pass. In the most ancient, primitive communities, equality of rights could apply at most to members of the community; women, slaves and foreigners were excluded from this equality as a matter of course. Among the Greeks and Romans the inequalities of men were of much greater importance than their equality in any respect. It would necessarily have seemed insanity to the ancients that Greeks

[a] Reference by Engels to the French Revolution.—*Ed.*

and barbarians, freemen and slaves, citizens and peregrines, Roman citizens and Roman subjects (to use a comprehensive term) should have a claim to equal political status. Under the Roman Empire all these distinctions gradually disappeared, except the distinction between freemen and slaves, and in this way there arose, for the freemen at least, that equality as between private individuals on the basis of which Roman law developed—the completest elaboration of law based on private property which we know. But so long as the antithesis between freemen and slaves existed, there could be no talk of drawing legal conclusions from general equality of *men*; we saw this even recently, in the slave-owning states of the North American Union.

Christianity knew only *one* point in which all men were equal: that all were equally born in original sin—which corresponded perfectly to its character as the religion of the slaves and the oppressed. Apart from this it recognised, at most, the equality of the elect, which however was only stressed at the very beginning. The traces of community of goods which are also found in the early stages of the new religion can be ascribed to solidarity among the proscribed rather than to real equalitarian ideas. Within a very short time the establishment of the distinction between priests and laymen put an end even to this incipient Christian equality.—The overrunning of Western Europe by the Germans abolished for centuries all ideas of equality, through the gradual building up of such a complicated social and political hierarchy as had never existed before. But at the same time the invasion drew Western and Central Europe into the course of historical development, created for the first time a compact cultural area, and within this area also for the first time a system of predominantly national states exerting mutual influence on each other and mutually holding each other in check. Thereby it prepared the ground on which alone the question of the equal status of men, of the rights of man, could at a later period be raised.

The feudal Middle Ages also developed in their womb the class which was destined, in the course of its further development, to become the standard-bearer of the modern demand for equality: the bourgeoisie. Originally itself a feudal estate, the bourgeoisie developed the predominantly handicraft industry and the exchange of products within feudal society to a relatively high level, when at the end of the fifteenth century the great maritime discoveries opened to it a new career of wider scope. Trade beyond the confines of Europe, which had previously been carried on only between Italy and the Levant, was now extended to

America and India, and soon surpassed in importance both the mutual exchange between the various European countries and the internal trade within each individual country. American gold and silver flooded Europe and forced its way like a disintegrating element into every fissure, rent and pore of feudal society. Handicraft industry could no longer satisfy the rising demand; in the leading industries of the most advanced countries it was replaced by manufacture.

But this mighty revolution in the conditions of the economic life of society was, however, not followed by any immediate corresponding change in its political structure. The political order remained feudal, while society became more and more bourgeois. Trade on a large scale, that is to say, particularly international and, even more so, world trade, requires free owners of commodities who are unrestricted in their movements and as such enjoy equal rights; who may exchange their commodities on the basis of laws that are equal for them all, at least in each particular place. The transition from handicraft to manufacture presupposes the existence of a number of free workers—free on the one hand from the fetters of the guild and on the other from the means whereby they could themselves utilise their labour-power—workers who can contract with the manufacturer for the hire of their labour-power, and hence, as parties to the contract, have rights equal to his. And finally the equality and equal status of all human labour, because and in so far as it is *human* labour, found its unconscious but clearest expression in the law of value of modern bourgeois political economy, according to which the value of a commodity is measured by the socially necessary labour embodied in it.*—However, where economic relations required freedom and equality of rights, the political system opposed them at every step with guild restrictions and special privileges. Local privileges, differential duties, exceptional laws of all kinds affected in trade not only foreigners and people living in the colonies, but often enough also whole categories of the nationals of the country concerned; everywhere and ever anew the privileges of the guilds barred the development of manufacture. Nowhere was the road clear and the chances equal for the bourgeois competitors—and yet that this be so was the prime and ever more pressing demand.

* This derivation of the modern ideas of equality from the economic conditions of bourgeois society was first demonstrated by Marx in *Capital*.[a]

[a] See present edition, Vol. 35, Part I, Chapter I, Section 3, A, 3: "The Equivalent Form of Value".—*Ed.*

The demand for liberation from feudal fetters and the establishment of equality of rights by the abolition of feudal inequalities was bound soon to assume wider dimensions, once the economic advance of society had placed it on the order of the day. If it was raised in the interests of industry and trade, it was also necessary to demand the same equality of rights for the great mass of the peasantry who, in every degree of bondage, from total serfdom onwards, were compelled to give the greater part of their labour-time to their gracious feudal lord without compensation and in addition to render innumerable other dues to him and to the state. On the other hand, it was inevitable that a demand should also be made for the abolition of the feudal privileges, of the freedom from taxation of the nobility, of the political privileges of the separate estates. And as people were no longer living in a world empire such as the Roman Empire had been, but in a system of independent states dealing with each other on an equal footing and at approximately the same level of bourgeois development, it was a matter of course that the demand for equality should assume a general character reaching out beyond the individual state, that freedom and equality should be proclaimed *human rights*. And it is significant of the specifically bourgeois character of these human rights that the American constitution,[51] the first to recognise the rights of man, in the same breath confirms the slavery of the coloured races existing in America: class privileges are proscribed, race privileges sanctified.

As is well known, however, from the moment when the bourgeoisie emerged from feudal burgherdom, when this estate of the Middle Ages developed into a modern class, it was always and inevitably accompanied by its shadow, the proletariat. And in the same way bourgeois demands for equality were accompanied by proletarian demands for equality. From the moment when the bourgeois demand for the abolition of class *privileges* was put forward, alongside it appeared the proletarian demand for the abolition of the *classes themselves*—at first in religious form, leaning towards primitive Christianity, and later drawing support from the bourgeois equalitarian theories themselves. The proletarians took the bourgeoisie at its word: equality must not be merely apparent, must not apply merely to the sphere of the state, but must also be real, must also be extended to the social, economic sphere. And especially since the French bourgeoisie, from the great revolution on, brought civil equality to the forefront, the French proletariat has answered blow for blow with the demand for social, economic

equality, and equality has become the battle-cry particularly of the French proletariat.

The demand for equality in the mouth of the proletariat has therefore a double meaning. It is either—as was the case especially at the very start, for example in the Peasant War—the spontaneous reaction against the crying social inequalities, against the contrast between rich and poor, the feudal lords and their serfs, the surfeiters and the starving; as such it is simply an expression of the revolutionary instinct, and finds its justification in that, and in that only. Or, on the other hand, this demand has arisen as a reaction against the bourgeois demand for equality, drawing more or less correct and more far-reaching demands from this bourgeois demand, and serving as an agitational means in order to stir up the workers against the capitalists with the aid of the capitalists' own assertions; and in this case it stands or falls with bourgeois equality itself. In both cases the real content of the proletarian demand for equality is the demand for the *abolition of classes.* Any demand for equality which goes beyond that, of necessity passes into absurdity. We have given examples of this, and shall find enough additional ones when we come to Herr Dühring's fantasies of the future.

The idea of equality, both in its bourgeois and in its proletarian form, is therefore itself a historical product, the creation of which required definite historical conditions that in turn themselves presuppose a long previous history. It is therefore anything but an eternal truth. And if today it is taken for granted by the general public—in one sense or another—if, as Marx says, it "already possesses the fixity of a popular prejudice",[52] this is not the effect of its axiomatic truth, but the effect of the general diffusion and the continued appropriateness of the ideas of the eighteenth century. If therefore Herr Dühring is able without more ado to let his famous two men conduct their economic relations on the basis of equality, this is so because it seems quite natural to popular prejudice. And in fact Herr Dühring calls his philosophy *natural* because it is derived solely from things which seem to him quite natural. But why they seem natural to him is a question which of course he does not ask.

## XI. MORALITY AND LAW. FREEDOM AND NECESSITY

"In the sphere of politics and law the principles expounded in this course are based on the *most exhaustive specialised studies.* It is therefore ... necessary to proceed from the fact that what we have here ... is a consistent exposition of the *conclusions*

reached in the sphere of legal and political science. Jurisprudence was my original special subject and I not only devoted to it the customary three years of theoretical university preparation, but also, during a further three years of court practice, continued to study it particularly with a view to the *deepening* of its scientific content... And *certainly* the critique of private law relationships and the corresponding legal inadequacies could not have been put forward with *such confidence* but the consciousness that all the weaknesses of the subject *were known* to it as well as its stronger sides" [D. Ph. 537].

A man who is justified in saying this of himself must from the outset inspire confidence, especially in contrast with the

"one-time, admittedly neglected, legal studies of Herr Marx"[a] [D. K. G. 503].

And for that reason it must surprise us to find that the critique of private law relationships which steps on to the stage with such confidence is restricted to telling us that

"the scientific character of jurisprudence has not developed far" [D. Ph. 222-23], that positive civil law is injustice in that it sanctions property based on force [219], and that the "natural basis" of criminal law is *revenge* [224],—

an assertion of which in any case the only thing new is its mystical wrapping of "natural basis". The conclusions in political science are limited to the transactions of the famous three men, one of whom has hitherto held down the others by force, with Herr Dühring in all seriousness conducting an investigation into whether it was the second or the third who first introduced violence and subjection [265-66].

However, let us go a little more deeply into our confident jurist's most exhaustive specialised studies and his erudition deepened by three years of court practice.

Herr Dühring tells us of Lassalle that

he was prosecuted for "*inciting* to an attempt to steal a cash-box" but that "no sentence by the court could be recorded, as the so-called *acquittal for lack of evidence*, which was *then still possible*, supervened ... this *half* acquittal" [D. K. G. 510].

The Lassalle case referred to here came up in the summer of 1848, before the assizes at Cologne,[53] where, as in almost the whole of the Rhine Province, French criminal law was in force. Prussian law had been introduced by way of exception only for political offences and crimes, but already in April 1848 this exceptional application had been abrogated by Camphausen.

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[a] Cf. K. Marx, *Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*. See present edition, Vol. 29.—*Ed.*

French law has no knowledge whatever of the loose Prussian legal category of "inciting" to a crime, let alone inciting to an attempt to commit a crime. It knows only *instigation* to crime, and this, to be punishable, must have been committed "by means of gifts, promises, threats, abuse of authority or of power, culpable incitements or artifices" (*Code pénal*, art. 60).[54] The Ministry of State, steeped in Prussian law, overlooked, just as Herr Dühring did, the essential difference between the sharply defined French code and the vague indefiniteness of Prussian law and, subjecting Lassalle to a tendentiously conducted trial, egregiously failed in the case. Only a person who is completely ignorant of modern French law can venture to assert that French criminal procedure permitted the Prussian legal form of an acquittal for lack of evidence, this *half* acquittal; criminal procedure under French law provides only for conviction or acquittal, nothing between.

And so we are forced to say that Herr Dühring would certainly not have been able to perpetrate this "historical depiction in the grand style" [556] against Lassalle if he had ever had the *Code Napoléon*[55] in his hands. We must therefore state as a fact that modern French law, the *only* modern civil code, which rests on the social achievements of the great French Revolution and translates them into legal form, is *completely unknown* to Herr Dühring.

In another place, in the criticism of trial by jury with majority decision which was adopted throughout the Continent in accordance with the French model, we are taught:

> "Yes, it will *even* be possible to familiarise oneself with the idea, which for that matter is not without precedent in history, that a conviction *where opinion is divided* should be one of the impossible institutions in a perfect community [D. Ph. 402] ... This *important* and *profoundly intelligent* mode of thought, however, as already indicated above, must seem unsuitable for the traditional forms, because it is *too good* for them [D. Ph. 403].

Once again, Herr Dühring is ignorant of the fact that under English common law, i.e., the unwritten law of custom which has been in force since time immemorial, certainly at least since the fourteenth century, unanimity of the jury is absolutely essential, not only for convictions in criminal cases but also for judgments in civil suits. Thus the important and profoundly intelligent mode of thought, which according to Herr Dühring is *too good* for the present-day world, had had legal validity in England as far back as the darkest Middle Ages, and from England it was brought to Ireland, the United States of America and all the English colonies.

And yet the most exhaustive specialised studies failed to reveal to Herr Dühring even the faintest whisper of all this! The area in which a unanimous verdict by the jury is required is therefore not only infinitely greater than the tiny area where Prussian law is in force, but is also more extensive than all the areas taken together in which juries decide by majority vote. Not only is French law, the only modern law, totally unknown to Herr Dühring; he is equally ignorant of the only Germanic law which has developed independently of Roman authority up to the present day and spread to all parts of the world—English law. And why does Herr Dühring know nothing of it? Because the English brand of the juridical mode of thought

"would anyhow not be able to stand up against the schooling in the pure concepts of the classical Roman jurists given on German soil" [D. K. G. 456],

says Herr Dühring; and he says further:

"what is the English-speaking world with its childish hodgepodge language as compared with our natural language structure?" [D. Ph. 315.]

To which we might answer with Spinoza: *Ignorantia non est argumentum.* Ignorance is no argument.[56]

We can accordingly come to no other final conclusion than that Herr Dühring's most exhaustive specialised studies consisted in his absorption for three years in the theoretical study of the *Corpus juris*,[57] and for a further three years in the practical study of the noble Prussian law. That is certainly quite meritorious, and would be ample for a really respectable district judge or lawyer in old Prussia. But when a person undertakes to compose a legal philosophy for all worlds and all ages, he should at least have some degree of acquaintance with legal systems like those of the French, English and Americans, nations which have played quite a different role in history from that played by the little corner of Germany in which Prussian law flourishes. But let us follow him further.

"The variegated medley of local, provincial and national laws, which run counter to one another in the most various directions, in very arbitrary fashion, sometimes as common law, sometimes as written law, often cloaking the most important issues in a purely statutory form—this pattern-book of disorder and contradiction, in which particular points override general principles, and then at times general principles override particular points—is really not calculated to enable anyone to form a clear conception of jurisprudence" [278].

But where does this confusion exist? Once again, within the area where Prussian law holds sway, where alongside, over or under this

law there are provincial laws and local statutes, here and there also common law and other trash, ranging through the most diverse degrees of relative validity and eliciting from all practising jurists that scream for help which Herr Dühring here so sympathetically echoes. He need not even go outside his beloved Prussia—he need only come as far as the Rhine to convince himself that all this ceased to be an issue there for the last seventy years—not to speak of other civilised countries, where these antiquated conditions have long since been abolished.

Further:

"In a less blunt form the natural responsibility of individuals is screened by means of secret and therefore anonymous collective decisions and actions on the part of *collegia* or other institutions of public authority, which mask the personal share of each separate member" [218].

And in another passage:

"In our present situation it will be regarded as an *astonishing* and extremely stern demand if one opposes the glossing over and covering up of individual responsibility through the medium of collective bodies" [402].

Perhaps Herr Dühring will regard it as an astonishing piece of information when we tell him that in the sphere of English law each member of a judicial bench has to give his decision separately and in open court, stating the grounds on which it is based; that administrative collective bodies which are not elected and do not transact business or vote publicly are essentially a *Prussian* institution and are unknown in most other countries, and that therefore his demand can be regarded as astonishing and extremely stern only—in *Prussia.*

Similarly, his complaints about the compulsory introduction of religious practices in birth, marriage, death and burial [407] apply to Prussia alone of all the greater civilised countries, and since the adoption of civil registration they no longer apply even there.[58] What Herr Dühring can accomplish only by means of a future "socialitarian" state of things, even Bismarck has meanwhile managed by means of a simple law.—It is just the same with his "plaint over the inadequate preparation of jurists for their profession" [501], a plaint which could be extended to cover the "administrative officials" [503]—it is a specifically Prussian jeremiad; and even his hatred of the Jews, which he carries to ridiculous extremes and exhibits on every possible occasion, is a feature which if not specifically Prussian is yet specific to the region east of the Elbe. That same philosopher of reality who has a sovereign contempt for all prejudices

and superstitions is himself so deeply immersed in personal crotchets that he calls the popular prejudice against the Jews, inherited from the bigotry of the Middle Ages, a "natural judgment" based on "natural grounds", and he rises to the pyramidal heights of the assertion that

"socialism is the only power which can oppose population conditions with a rather strong Jewish admixture" [D. Ph. 393]. (Conditions with a Jewish admixture! What "natural" German!)

Enough of this. The grandiloquent boasts of legal erudition have as their basis—at best—only the most commonplace professional knowledge of quite an ordinary jurist of old Prussia. The sphere of legal and political science, the attainments in which Herr Dühring consistently expounds, "coincides" with the area where Prussian law holds sway. Apart from the Roman law, with which every jurist is fairly familiar, now even in England, his knowledge of law is confined wholly and entirely to Prussian law—that legal code of an enlightened patriarchal despotism which is written in a German such as Herr Dühring appears to have been trained in, and which, with its moral glosses, its juristic vagueness and inconsistency, its caning as a means of torture and punishment, belongs entirely to the pre-revolutionary epoch. Whatever exists beyond this Herr Dühring regards as evil[a]—both modern civil French law, and English law with its quite peculiar development and its safeguarding of personal liberty, unknown anywhere on the Continent. The philosophy which "does not allow the validity of any merely *apparent* horizon, but in its powerfully revolutionising movement unfolds all earths and heavens of outer and inner nature" [430]—has as its *real* horizon—the boundaries of the six eastern provinces of old Prussia,[59] and in addition perhaps the few other patches of land where the noble Prussian law holds sway; and beyond this horizon it unfolds neither earths nor heavens, neither outer nor inner nature, but only a picture of the crassest ignorance of what is happening in the rest of the world.

It is hard to deal with morality and law without coming up against the question of so-called free will, of man's mental responsibility, of the relation between necessity and freedom. And the philosophy of reality also has not only one but even two solutions of this problem.

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[a] Matthew 5:37.—*Ed.*

"All false theories of freedom must be replaced by, what we know from experience is the nature of the relation between rational judgment on the one hand and instinctive impulses on the other, a relation which *so to speak* unites them into a resultant force. The fundamental facts of this form of dynamics must be drawn from observation, and for the calculation in advance of events which have not yet occurred must also be estimated, *as closely as possible,* in general both as to their nature and magnitude. In this manner the silly delusions of inner freedom, which people have chewed on and fed on for thousands of years, are not only cleared away in thoroughgoing fashion, but are replaced by something positive, which can be made use of for the practical regulation of life" [187].

Viewed thus freedom consists in rational judgment pulling a man to the right while irrational impulses pull him to the left, and in this parallelogram of forces the actual movement proceeds in the direction of the diagonal. Freedom is therefore the mean between judgment and impulse, reason and unreason, and its degree in each individual case can be determined on the basis of experience by a "personal equation", to use an astronomical expression.[60] But a few pages later on we find:

"We base moral responsibility on freedom, which however means nothing more to us than susceptibility to conscious motives in accordance with our natural and acquired intelligence. All such motives operate with the inevitability of natural law, notwithstanding an awareness of possible contrary actions; but it is precisely on this unavoidable compulsion that we rely when we apply the moral levers" [218].

This second definition of freedom, which quite unceremoniously gives a knock-out blow to the first one, is again nothing but an extreme vulgarisation of the Hegelian conception. Hegel was the first to state correctly the relation between freedom and necessity. To him, freedom is the insight into necessity [*die Einsicht in die Notwendigkeit*]. "Necessity is *blind* only *in so far as it is not understood* [*begriffen*]."[a] Freedom does not consist in any dreamt-of independence from natural laws, but in the knowledge of these laws, and in the possibility this gives of systematically making them work towards definite ends. This holds good in relation both to the laws of external nature and to those which govern the bodily and mental existence of men themselves—two classes of laws which we can separate from each other at most only in thought but not in reality. Freedom of the will therefore means nothing but the capacity to make decisions with knowledge of the subject. Therefore the *freer* a man's judgment is in relation to a definite question, the greater is the *necessity* with which the content of this judgment will be determined; while the

[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften,* § 147, Addendum. Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

uncertainty, founded on ignorance, which seems to make an arbitrary choice among many different and conflicting possible decisions, shows precisely by this that it is not free, that it is controlled by the very object it should itself control. Freedom therefore consists in the control over ourselves and over external nature, a control founded on knowledge of natural necessity; it is therefore necessarily a product of historical development. The first men who separated themselves from the animal kingdom were in all essentials as unfree as the animals themselves, but each step forward in the field of culture was a step towards freedom. On the threshold of human history stands the discovery that mechanical motion can be transformed into heat: the production of fire by friction; at the close of the development so far gone through stands the discovery that heat can be transformed into mechanical motion: the steam-engine.—And, in spite of the gigantic liberating revolution in the social world which the steam-engine is carrying through, and which is not yet half completed, it is beyond all doubt that the generation of fire by friction has had an even greater effect on the liberation of mankind. For the generation of fire by friction gave man for the first time control over one of the forces of nature, and thereby separated him for ever from the animal kingdom. The steam-engine will never bring about such a mighty leap forward in human development, however important it may seem in our eyes as representing all those immense productive forces dependent on it—forces which alone make possible a state of society in which there are no longer class distinctions or anxiety over the means of subsistence for the individual, and in which for the first time there can be talk of real human freedom, of an existence in harmony with the laws of nature that have become known. But how young the whole of human history still is, and how ridiculous it would be to attempt to ascribe any absolute validity to our present views, is evident from the simple fact that all past history can be characterised as the history of the epoch from the practical discovery of the transformation of mechanical motion into heat up to that of the transformation of heat into mechanical motion.

True, Herr Dühring's treatment of history is different. In general, being a record of error, ignorance and barbarity, of violence and subjugation, history is a repulsive object to the philosophy of reality; but considered in detail it is divided into two great periods, namely (1) from the self-equal state of matter up to the French Revolution; (2) from the French Revolution up to Herr Dühring; the nineteenth century remains

"still in essence reactionary, indeed from the intellectual standpoint even more so" (!) "than the eighteenth". Nevertheless, it bears socialism in its womb, and therewith "the germ of a mightier regeneration than was fancied" (!) "by the forerunners and the heroes of the French Revolution" [D. Ph. 301].

The philosophy of reality's contempt for all past history is justified as follows:

"The few thousand years, the historical retrospection of which has been facilitated by original documents, are, together with the constitution of mankind so far, *of little significance* when one thinks of the succession of thousands of years which are still to come... The human race as a whole is still very young, and when in time to come scientific retrospection has tens of thousands instead of thousands of years to reckon with, the intellectually immature childhood of our institutions becomes a self-evident premise undisputed in relation to our epoch, which will then be revered as hoary antiquity" [302].

Without dwelling on the really "natural language structure" of the last sentence, we shall note only two points. Firstly, that this "hoary antiquity" will in any case remain a historical epoch of the greatest interest for all future generations, because it forms the basis of all subsequent higher development, because it has for its starting-point the moulding of man from the animal kingdom, and for its content the overcoming of obstacles such as will never again confront associated mankind of the future. And secondly, that the close of this hoary antiquity—in contrast to which the future periods of history, which will no longer be kept back by these difficulties and obstacles, hold the promise of quite other scientific, technical and social achievements—is in any case a very strange moment to choose to lay down the law for these thousands of years that are to come, in the form of final and ultimate truths, immutable truths and deep-rooted conceptions discovered on the basis of the intellectually immature childhood of our so extremely "backward" and "retrogressive" century. Only a Richard Wagner in philosophy—but without Wagner's talents—could fail to see that all the depreciatory epithets slung at previous historical development remain sticking also on what is claimed to be its final outcome—the so-called philosophy of reality.

One of the most significant morsels of the new deep-rooted science [219] is the section on individualisation and increasing the value of life. In this section oracular commonplaces bubble up and gush forth in an irresistible torrent for three full chapters. Unfortunately we must limit ourselves to a few short samples.

"The deeper essence of all sensation and therefore of all subjective forms of life rests on the *difference* between states... But for a *full*" (!) "life it can be shown without much trouble" (!) "that its appreciation is heightened and the decisive stimuli are developed, not by persistence in a particular state, but by a transition from one situation in life to another... The approximately self-equal state which is *so to speak* in permanent inertia and *as it were* continues in the same position of equilibrium, whatever its nature may be, has but little significance for the testing of existence... Habituation and *so to speak* inurement makes it something of absolute indifference and unconcern, something which is not very distinct from deadness. At most the torment of boredom also enters into it as a kind of negative life impulse... A life of stagnation extinguishes all passion and all interest in existence, both for individuals and for peoples. *But it is our law of difference through which all these phenomena become explicable*" [D. Ph. 362-63].

The rapidity with which Herr Dühring establishes his from the ground up original conclusions passes all belief. The commonplace that the continued stimulation of the same nerve or the continuation of the same stimulus fatigues each nerve or each nervous system, and that therefore in a normal condition nerve stimuli must be interrupted and varied—which for years has been stated in every textbook of physiology and is known to every philistine from his own experience—is first translated into the language of the philosophy of reality. No sooner has this platitude, which is as old as the hills, been translated into the mysterious formula that the deeper essence of all sensation rests on the difference between states, than it is further transformed into "*our* law of difference". And this law of difference makes "absolutely explicable" a whole series of phenomena which in turn are nothing more than illustrations and examples of the pleasantness of variety and which require no explanation whatever even for the most common philistine understanding and gain not the breadth of an atom in clarity by reference to this alleged law of difference.

But this far from exhausts the deep-rootedness of "*our* law of difference" [219].

"The sequence of ages in life, and the emergence of different conditions of life bound up with it, furnish a very obvious example with which to illustrate *our* principle of difference... Child, boy, youth and man experience the intensity of their appreciation of life at each stage not so much when the state in which they find themselves has already become fixed, as in the periods of transition from one to another" [363].

Even this is not enough.

"*Our* law of difference can be given an even more extended application if we take into consideration the fact that a repetition of what has already been tried or done has no attraction" [365].

And now the reader can himself imagine the oracular twaddle for which sentences of the depth and deep-rootedness of those cited form the starting-point. Herr Dühring may well shout triumphantly at the end of his book:

"The law of difference has become decisive both in theory and in practice for the appraisement and heightening of the value of life!" [558 ]

This is likewise true of Herr Dühring's appraisement of the intellectual value of his public: he must believe that it is composed of sheer asses or philistines.

We are further given the following extremely practical rules of life:

"The method whereby total interest in life can be kept active" (a fitting task for philistines and those who want to become such!) "consists in allowing the particular and *so to speak* elementary interests, of which the total interest is composed, to develop or succeed each other in accordance with natural periods of time. Simultaneously, for the same state the succession of stages may be made use of by replacing the lower and more easily satisfied stimuli by higher and more permanently effective excitations in order to avoid the occurrence of any gaps that are entirely devoid of interest. However, it will be necessary to ensure that the natural tensions or those arising in the normal course of social existence are not arbitrarily accumulated or forced or—the opposite perversion—satisfied by the lightest stimulation, and thus prevented from developing a want which is capable of gratification. In this as in other cases the maintenance of the natural rhythm is the precondition of all harmonious and agreeable movement. Nor should anyone set before himself the insoluble problem of trying to prolong the stimuli of any situation beyond the period allotted them by nature or by the circumstances" [375]—and so on.

The simpleton who takes as his rule for the "testing of life" these solemn oracles of philistine pedantry subtilising over the shallowest platitudes will certainly not have to complain of "gaps entirely devoid of interest". It will take him all his time to prepare his pleasures and get them in the right order, so that he will not have a moment left to enjoy them.

We should try out life, full life. There are only two things which Herr Dühring prohibits us:

first "the uncleanliness of indulging in tobacco", and secondly drinks and foods which "have properties that rouse disgust or are in general obnoxious to the more refined feelings" [261].

In his course of political economy, however, Herr Dühring writes such a dithyramb on the distilling of spirits that it is impossible that he should include spirituous liquor in this category; we are therefore forced to conclude that his prohibition covers only wine and beer. He has only to prohibit meat, too, and

then he will have raised the philosophy of reality to the same height as that on which the late Gustav Struve moved with such great success—the height of pure childishness.

For the rest, Herr Dühring might be slightly more liberal in regard to spirituous liquors. A man who, by his own admission, still cannot find the bridge from the static to the dynamic [D. Ph. 80] has surely every reason to be indulgent in judging some poor devil who has for once dipped too deep in his glass and as a result also seeks in vain the bridge from the dynamic to the static.

## XII. DIALECTICS. QUANTITY AND QUALITY

"The first and most important principle of the basic logical properties of being refers to the *exclusion of contradiction.* Contradiction is a category which can only appertain to a combination of thoughts, but not to reality. There are no contradictions in things, or, to put it another way, contradiction accepted as reality is itself the apex of absurdity [D. Ph. 30] ... The antagonism of forces measured against each other and moving in opposite directions is in fact the basic form of all actions in the life of the world and its creatures. But this opposition of the directions taken by the forces of elements and individuals does not in the slightest degree coincide with the idea of absurd contradictions [31] ... We can be content here with having cleared the fogs which generally rise from the supposed mysteries of logic by presenting a clear picture of the actual absurdity of contradictions in reality, and with having shown the uselessness of the incense which has been burnt here and there in honour of the dialectics of contradiction—the very clumsily carved wooden doll which is substituted for the antagonistic world schematism" [32].

This is practically all we are told about dialectics in the *Cursus der Philosophie.* In his *Kritische Geschichte,* on the other hand, the dialectics of contradiction, and with it particularly Hegel, is treated quite differently.

"Contradiction, according to the Hegelian logic, or rather Logos doctrine, is objectively present not in thought, which by its nature can only be conceived as subjective and conscious, but in things and processes themselves and can be met with in so to speak corporeal form, so that absurdity does not remain an impossible combination of thought but becomes an actual force. The reality of the absurd is the first article of faith in the Hegelian unity of the logical and the illogical.... The more contradictory a thing the truer it is, or in other words, the more absurd the more credible it is. This maxim, which is not even newly invented but is borrowed from the theology of the Revelation and from mysticism, is the naked expression of the so-called dialectical principle" [D. K. G. 479-80].

The thought-content of the two passages cited can be summed up in the statement that contradiction=absurdity, and therefore cannot occur in the real world. People who in other respects show a fair degree of common sense may regard this statement as

having the same self-evident validity as the statement that a straight line cannot be a curve and a curve cannot be straight. But, regardless of all protests made by common sense, the differential calculus under certain circumstances nevertheless equates straight lines and curves, and thus obtains results which common sense, insisting on the absurdity of straight lines being identical with curves, can never attain. And in view of the important role which the so-called dialectics of contradiction has played in philosophy from the time of the ancient Greeks up to the present, even a stronger opponent than Herr Dühring should have felt obliged to attack it with other arguments besides one assertion and a good many abusive epithets.

True, so long as we consider things as at rest and lifeless, each one by itself, alongside and after each other, we do not run up against any contradictions in them. We find certain qualities which are partly common to, partly different from, and even contradictory to each other, but which in the last-mentioned case are distributed among different objects and therefore contain no contradiction within. Inside the limits of this sphere of observation we can get along on the basis of the usual, metaphysical mode of thought. But the position is quite different as soon as we consider things in their motion, their change, their life, their reciprocal influence on one another. Then we immediately become involved in contradictions. Motion itself is a contradiction: even simple mechanical change of position can only come about through a body being at one and the same moment of time both in one place and in another place, being in one and the same place and also not in it. And the continuous origination and simultaneous solution of this contradiction is precisely what motion is.

Here, therefore, we have a contradiction which "is objectively present in things and processes themselves and can be met with in so to speak corporeal form". And what has Herr Dühring to say about it? He asserts that

> up to the present there is "no bridge" whatever "in rational mechanics from the strictly static to the dynamic" [D. Ph. 80].

The reader can now at last see what is hidden behind this favourite phrase of Herr Dühring's—it is nothing but this: the mind which thinks metaphysically is absolutely unable to pass from the idea of rest to the idea of motion, because the contradiction pointed out above blocks its path. To it, motion is simply incomprehensible because it is a contradiction. And in asserting the incomprehensibility of motion, it admits against its will the

existence of this contradiction, and thus admits the objective presence in things and processes themselves of a contradiction which is moreover an actual force.

If simple mechanical change of position contains a contradiction, this is even more true of the higher forms of motion of matter, and especially of organic life and its development. We saw above that life consists precisely and primarily in this—that a being is at each moment itself and yet something else.[a] Life is therefore also a contradiction which is present in things and processes themselves, and which constantly originates and resolves itself; and as soon as the contradiction ceases, life, too, comes to an end, and death steps in. We likewise saw that also in the sphere of thought we could not escape contradictions, and that for example the contradiction between man's inherently unlimited capacity for knowledge and its actual presence only in men who are externally limited and possess limited cognition finds its solution in what is—at least practically, for us—an endless succession of generations, in infinite progress.[b]

We have already noted that one of the basic principles of higher mathematics is the contradiction that in certain circumstances straight lines and curves may be the same. It also gets up this other contradiction: that lines which intersect each other before our eyes nevertheless, only five or six centimetres from their point of intersection, can be shown to be parallel, that is, that they will never meet even if extended to infinity. And yet, working with these and with even far greater contradictions, it attains results which are not only correct but also quite unattainable for lower mathematics.

But even lower mathematics teems with contradictions. It is for example a contradiction that a root of A should be a power of A, and yet $A^{\frac{1}{2}}=\sqrt{A}$. It is a contradiction that a negative quantity should be the square of anything, for every negative quantity multiplied by itself gives a positive square. The square root of minus one is therefore not only a contradiction, but even an absurd contradiction, a real absurdity. And yet $\sqrt{-1}$ is in many cases a necessary result of correct mathematical operations. Furthermore, where would mathematics—lower or higher—be, if it were prohibited from operation with $\sqrt{-1}$?

In its operations with variable quantities mathematics itself enters the field of dialectics, and it is significant that it was a

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[a] See this volume, pp. 76-77.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 35-36 and 80.—*Ed.*

dialectical philosopher, Descartes, who introduced this advance. The relation between the mathematics of variable and the mathematics of constant quantities is in general the same as the relation of dialectical to metaphysical thought. But this does not prevent the great mass of mathematicians from recognising dialectics only in the sphere of mathematics, and a good many of them from continuing to work in the old, limited, metaphysical way with methods that were obtained dialectically.

It would be possible to go more closely into Herr Dühring's antagonism of forces and his antagonistic world schematism only if he had given us something more on this theme than the mere *phrase.* After accomplishing this feat this antagonism is not even once shown to us at work, either in his world schematism or in his natural philosophy—the most convincing admission that Herr Dühring can do absolutely nothing of a positive character with his "basic form of all actions in the life of the world and its creatures". When someone has in fact lowered Hegel's "Doctrine of Essence" to the platitude of forces moving in opposite directions but not in contradictions, certainly the best thing he can do is to avoid any application of this commonplace.

Marx's *Capital* furnishes Herr Dühring with another occasion for venting his anti-dialectical spleen.

> "The absence of natural and intelligible logic which characterises these dialectical frills and mazes and conceptual arabesques... Even to the part that has already appeared we must apply the principle that in a certain respect and also in general" (!), "according to a well-known philosophical preconception, all is to be sought in each and each in all, and that therefore, according to this mixed and misconceived idea, it all amounts to one and the same thing in the end" [D. K. G. 496].

This insight into the well-known philosophical preconception also enables Herr Dühring to prophesy with assurance what will be the "end" of Marx's economic philosophising, that is, what the following volumes of *Capital* will contain, and this he does exactly seven lines after he has declared that

> "speaking in plain human language it is really impossible to divine what is still to come in the two" (final) "volumes"[61] [496].

This, however, is not the first time that Herr Dühring's writings are revealed to us as belonging to the "things" in which "contradiction is objectively present and can be met with in so to speak corporeal form" [479-80]. But this does not prevent him from going on victoriously as follows:

"Yet sound logic will in all probability triumph over its caricature... This pretence of superiority and this mysterious dialectical rubbish will tempt no one who has even a modicum of sound judgment left to have anything to do ... with these deformities of thought and style. With the demise of the last relics of the dialectical follies this means of duping ... will lose its deceptive influence, and no one will any longer believe that he has to torture himself in order to get behind some profound piece of wisdom where the husked kernel of the abstruse things reveals at best the features of ordinary theories if not of absolute commonplaces... It is quite impossible to reproduce the" (Marxian) "maze in accordance with the Logos doctrine without prostituting sound logic" [D. K. G. 497]. Marx's method, according to Herr Dühring, consists in "performing dialectical miracles for his faithful followers" [498], and so on.

We are not in any way concerned here as yet with the correctness or incorrectness of the economic results of Marx's researches, but only with the dialectical method used by Marx. But this much is certain: most readers of *Capital* will have learnt for the first time from Herr Dühring what it is in fact that they have read. And among them will also be Herr Dühring himself, who in the year 1867 (*Ergänzungsblätter* III, No. 3) was still able to provide what for a thinker of his calibre was a relatively rational review of the book[a]; and he did this without first being obliged, as he now declares is indispensable, to translate the Marxian argument into Dühringian language. And though even then he committed the blunder of identifying Marxian dialectics with the Hegelian, he had not quite lost the capacity to distinguish between the method and the results obtained by using it, and to understand that the latter are not refuted in detail by lampooning the former in general.

At any rate, the most astonishing piece of information given by Herr Dühring is the statement that from the Marxian standpoint "it all amounts to one and the same thing in the end" [496], that therefore to Marx, for example, capitalists and wage-workers, feudal, capitalist and socialist modes of production are also "one and the same thing"—no doubt in the end even Marx and Herr Dühring are "one and the same thing". Such utter nonsense can only be explained if we suppose that the mere mention of the word dialectics throws Herr Dühring into such a state of mental irresponsibility that, as a result of a certain mixed and misconceived idea, what he says and does is "one and the same thing" in the end.

We have here a sample of what Herr Dühring calls

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[a] E. Dühring, *Marx, Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Oekonomie, 1. Band.—Ed.*

"*my* historical depiction in the grand style" [556], or "the summary treatment which settles with genus and type, and does not condescend to honour what a Hume called the learned mob with an exposure in micrological detail; this treatment in a higher and nobler style is the only one compatible with the interests of complete truth and with one's duty to the public which is free from the bonds of the guilds" [507].

Historical depiction in the grand style and the summary settlement with genus and type is indeed very convenient for Herr Dühring, inasmuch as this method enables him to neglect all known facts as micrological and equate them to zero, so that instead of proving anything he need only use general phrases, make assertions and thunder his denunciations. The method has the further advantage that it offers no real foothold to an opponent, who is consequently left with almost no other possibility of reply than to make similar summary assertions in the grand style, to resort to general phrases and finally thunder back denunciations at Herr Dühring—in a word, as they say, engage in a slanging match, which is not to everyone's taste. We must therefore be grateful to Herr Dühring for occasionally, by way of exception, dropping the higher and nobler style, and giving us at least two examples of the unsound Marxian Logos doctrine.

"How comical is the reference to the confused, hazy Hegelian notion that quantity changes into quality, and that therefore an advance, when it reaches a certain size, becomes capital by this quantitative increase alone" [498].

In this "expurgated" presentation by Herr Dühring that statement certainly seems curious enough. Let us see how it looks in the original, in Marx. On page 313 (2nd edition of *Capital*),[a] Marx, on the basis of his previous examination of constant and variable capital and surplus-value, draws the conclusion that "not every sum of money, or of value, is at pleasure transformable into capital. To effect this transformation, in fact, a certain minimum of money or of exchange-value must be presupposed in the hands of the individual possessor of money or commodities."[b] He takes as an example the case of a labourer in any branch of industry, who works daily eight hours for himself—that is, in producing the value of his wages—and the following four hours for the capitalist, in producing surplus-value, which immediately flows into the pocket of the capitalist. In this case, one would have to

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[a] K. Marx, *Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, Hamburg, 1872. Further on Engels quotes according to this edition.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 35, Part III, Chapter XI.—*Ed.*

have at his disposal a sum of values sufficient to enable one to provide two labourers with raw materials, instruments of labour, and wages, in order to pocket enough surplus-value every day to live on as well as one of his labourers. And as the aim of capitalist production is not mere subsistence but the increase of wealth, our man with his two labourers would still not be a capitalist. Now in order that he may live twice as well as an ordinary labourer, and turn half of the surplus-value produced again into capital, he would have to be able to employ eight labourers, that is, he would have to possess four times the sum of values assumed above. And it is only after this, and in the course of still further explanations elucidating and substantiating the fact that not every petty sum of values is enough to be transformable into capital, but that in this respect each period of development and each branch of industry has its definite minimum sum, that Marx observes: "Here, as in natural science, *is shown*[a] the correctness of the law discovered by Hegel in his *Logic*, that merely quantitative changes beyond a certain point pass into qualitative differences."[b]

And now let the reader admire the higher and nobler style, by virtue of which Herr Dühring attributes to Marx the opposite of what he really said. Marx says: The fact that a sum of values can be transformed into capital only when it has reached a certain size, varying according to the circumstances, but in each case definite, minimum size—this fact is a *proof of the correctness* of the Hegelian law. Herr Dühring makes him say: *Because*, according to the Hegelian law, quantity changes into quality, "*therefore*" "an advance, when it reaches a certain size, becomes capital" [D. K. G. 498]. That is to say, the very opposite.

In connection with Herr Dühring's examination of the Darwin case, we have already got to know his habit, "in the interests of complete truth" and because of his "duty to the public which is free from the bonds of the guilds" [507], of quoting incorrectly. It becomes more and more evident that this habit is an inner necessity of the philosophy of reality, and it is certainly a very "summary treatment" [507]. Not to mention the fact that Herr Dühring further makes Marx speak of any kind of "advance" whatsoever, whereas Marx only refers to an advance made in the form of raw materials, instruments of labour, and wages; and that in doing this Herr Dühring succeeds in making Marx speak pure nonsense. And then he has the cheek to describe

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[a] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 35, Part III, Chapter XI.—*Ed.*

as *comic* the nonsense which he himself has fabricated. Just as he built up a Darwin of his own fantasy in order to try out his strength against him, so here he builds up a fantastic Marx. "Historical depiction in the grand style" [556], indeed!

We have already seen earlier, when discussing world schematism,[a] that in connection with this Hegelian nodal line of measure relations—in which quantitative change suddenly passes at certain points into qualitative transformation—Herr Dühring had a little accident: in a weak moment he himself recognised and made use of this line. We gave there one of the best-known examples—that of the change of the aggregate states of water, which under normal atmospheric pressure changes at 0° C from the liquid into the solid state, and at 100° C from the liquid into the gaseous state, so that at both these turning-points the merely quantitative change of temperature brings about a qualitative change in the condition of the water.

In proof of this law we might have cited hundreds of other similar facts from nature as well as from human society. Thus, for example, the whole of Part IV of Marx's *Capital*—production of relative surplus-value—deals, in the field of co-operation, division of labour and manufacture, machinery and modern industry, with innumerable cases in which quantitative change alters the quality, and also qualitative change alters the quantity, of the things under consideration; in which therefore, to use the expression so hated by Herr Dühring, quantity is transformed into quality and vice versa. As for example the fact that the co-operation of a number of people, the fusion of many forces into one single force, creates, to use Marx's phrase, a "new power", which is essentially different from the sum of its separate forces.[b]

Over and above this, in the passage which, in the interests of complete truth, Herr Dühring perverted into its opposite, Marx had added a footnote: "The molecular theory of modern chemistry first scientifically worked out by Laurent and Gerhardt rests on no other law."[c] But what did that matter to Herr Dühring? He knew that:

"the eminently modern educative elements provided by the natural-scientific mode of thought are lacking precisely among those who, like Marx and his rival Lassalle,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 42-43.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, p. 334. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part IV, Chapter XIII.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., p. 315. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part III, Chapter XI.—*Ed.*

make half-science and a little philosophistics the meagre equipment with which to vamp up their learning" [D. K. G. 504]—

while with Herr Dühring "the main achievements of exact knowledge in mechanics, physics and chemistry" [D. Ph. 517] and so forth serve as the basis—we have seen how. However, in order to enable third persons, too, to reach a decision in the matter, we shall look a little more closely into the example cited in Marx's footnote.

What is referred to here is the homologous series of carbon compounds, of which a great many are already known and each of which has its own algebraic formula of composition. If, for example, as is done in chemistry, we denote an atom of carbon by C, an atom of hydrogen by H, an atom of oxygen by O, and the number of atoms of carbon contained in each compound by *n*, the molecular formulas for some of these series can be expressed as follows:

$C_nH_{2n+2}$ —the series of normal paraffins
$C_nH_{2n+2}O$—the series of primary alcohols
$C_nH_{2n}O_2$—the series of the monobasic fatty acids.

Let us take as an example the last of these series, and let us assume successively that $n=1$, $n=2$, $n=3$, etc. We then obtain the following results (omitting the isomers):

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| $CH_2O_2$ | —formic acid — | boiling | point | 100° | melting | point | 1° |
| $C_2H_4O_2$ | —acetic acid | " | " | 118° | melting | point | 17° |
| $C_3H_6O_2$ | —propionic acid | " | " | 140° | " | " | — |
| $C_4H_8O_2$ | —butyric acid | " | " | 162° | " | " | — |
| $C_5H_{10}O_2$ | —valerianic acid | " | " | 175° | " | " | — |

and so on to $C_{30}H_{60}O_2$, melissic acid, which melts only at 80° and has no boiling point at all, because it cannot evaporate without disintegrating.

Here therefore we have a whole series of qualitatively different bodies, formed by the simple quantitative addition of elements, and in fact always in the same proportion. This is most clearly evident in cases where the quantity of all the elements of the compound changes in the same proportion. Thus, in the normal paraffins $C_nH_{2n+2}$, the lowest is methane, $CH_4$, a gas; the highest known, hexadecane, $C_{16}H_{34}$, is a solid body forming colourless crystals which melts at 21° and boils only at 278°. Each new member of both series comes into existence through the addition of $CH_2$, one atom of carbon and two atoms of hydrogen, to the molecular formula of the preceding member, and this quantitative change in the molecular formula produces each time a qualitatively different body.

These series, however, are only one particularly obvious example; throughout practically the whole of chemistry, even in the various nitrogen oxides and oxygen acids of phosphorus or sulphur, one can see how "quantity changes into quality", and this allegedly confused, hazy Hegelian notion appears in so to speak corporeal form in things and processes—and no one but Herr Dühring is confused and befogged by it. And if Marx was the first to call attention to it, and if Herr Dühring read the reference without even understanding it (otherwise he would certainly not have allowed this unparalleled outrage to pass unchallenged), this is enough—even without looking back at the famous Dühringian philosophy of nature—to make it clear which of the two, Marx or Herr Dühring, is lacking in "the eminently modern educative elements provided by the natural-scientific mode of thought" [D. K. G. 504] and in acquaintance with the "main achievements of ... chemistry" [D. Ph. 517].

In conclusion we shall call one more witness for the transformation of quantity into quality, namely—Napoleon. He describes the combat between the French cavalry, who were bad riders but disciplined, and the Mamelukes, who were undoubtedly the best horsemen of their time for single combat, but lacked discipline, as follows:

> "Two Mamelukes were undoubtedly more than a match for three Frenchmen; 100 Mamelukes were equal to 100 Frenchmen; 300 Frenchmen could generally beat 300 Mamelukes, and 1,000 Frenchmen invariably defeated 1,500 Mamelukes." [a]

Just as with Marx a definite, though varying, minimum sum of exchange-values was necessary to make possible its transformation into capital, so with Napoleon a detachment of cavalry had to be of a definite minimum number in order to make it possible for the force of discipline, embodied in closed order and planned utilisation, to manifest itself and rise superior even to greater numbers of irregular cavalry, in spite of the latter being better mounted, more dexterous horsemen and fighters, and at least as brave as the former. But what does this prove as against Herr Dühring? Was not Napoleon miserably vanquished in his conflict with Europe? Did he not suffer defeat after defeat? And why? Solely in consequence of having introduced the confused, hazy Hegelian notion into cavalry tactics!

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[a] *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France, sous Napoléon, écrits à Sainte-Hélène, par les généraux qui ont partagé sa captivité, et publiés sur les manuscrits entièrement corrigés de la main de Napoléon,* Vol. I, p. 262.—*Ed.*

## XIII. DIALECTICS. NEGATION OF THE NEGATION

"This historical sketch" (of the genesis of the so-called primitive accumulation of capital in England) "is relatively the best part of Marx's book, and would be even better if it had not relied on the dialectical crutch to help out its scholarly crutch. The Hegelian negation of the negation, in default of anything better and clearer, has in fact to serve here as the midwife to deliver the future from the womb of the past. The abolition of 'individual property', which since the sixteenth century has been effected in the way indicated above, is the first negation. It will be followed by a second, which bears the character of a negation of the negation and hence of a restoration of 'individual property', but in a higher form, based on the common ownership of land and of the instruments of labour. Herr Marx calls this new 'individual property' also 'social property', and in this there appears the Hegelian higher unity, in which the contradiction is supposed to be sublated, that is to say, in the Hegelian verbal jugglery, both overcome and preserved... According to this, the expropriation of the expropriators is, as it were, the automatic result of historical reality in its materially external relations... It would be difficult to convince a sensible man of the necessity of the common ownership of land and capital, on the basis of credence in Hegelian word-juggling such as the negation of the negation [D. K. G. 502-03]... The nebulous hybrids of Marx's conceptions will not however appear strange to anyone who realises what nonsense can be concocted with Hegelian dialectics as the scientific basis, or rather what nonsense must necessarily spring from it. For the benefit of the reader who is not familiar with these artifices, it must be pointed out expressly that Hegel's first negation is the catechismal idea of the fall from grace and his second is that of a higher unity leading to redemption. The logic of facts can hardly be based on this nonsensical analogy borrowed from the religious sphere [504] ... Herr Marx remains cheerfully in the nebulous world of his property which is at once both individual and social and leaves it to his adepts to solve for themselves this profound dialectical enigma" [505].

Thus far Herr Dühring.

So Marx has no other way of proving the necessity of the social revolution, of establishing the common ownership of land and of the means of production produced by labour, except by citing the Hegelian negation of the negation; and because he bases his socialist theory on these nonsensical analogies borrowed from religion, he arrives at the result that in the society of the future there will be dominant an ownership at once both individual and social, as Hegelian higher unity of the sublated contradiction.

But let the negation of the negation rest for the moment and let us have a look at the "ownership" which is "at once both individual and social". Herr Dühring characterises this as a "nebulous world", and curiously enough he is really right on this point. Unfortunately, however, it is not Marx but again Herr Dühring himself who is in this nebulous world. Just as his dexterity in handling the Hegelian method of "delirious raving" [D. Ph. 227, 449] enabled him without any difficulty to determine what the still unfinished volumes of *Capital* are sure to contain, so

here, too, without any great effort he can put Marx right *à la* Hegel, by imputing to him the higher unity of a property, of which there is not a word in Marx.

Marx says: "It is the negation of negation. This re-establishes individual property, but on the basis of the acquisitions of the capitalist era, i.e., on co-operation of free workers and their possession in common of the land and of the means of production produced by labour. The transformation of scattered private property, arising from individual labour, into capitalist private property is, naturally, a process, incomparably more protracted, arduous, and difficult, than the transformation of capitalistic private property, already practically resting on socialised production, into socialised property."[a] That is all. The state of things brought about by the expropriation of the expropriators is therefore characterised as the re-establishment of individual property, but *on the basis* of the social ownership of the land and of the means of production produced by labour itself. To anyone who understands plain talk this means that social ownership extends to the land and the other means of production, and individual ownership to the products, that is, the articles of consumption. And in order to make the matter comprehensible even to children of six, Marx assumes on page 56 "a community of free individuals, carrying on their work with the means of production in common, in which the labour-power of all the different individuals is consciously applied as the combined labour-power of the community", that is, a society organised on a socialist basis; and he continues: "The total product of our community is a social product. One portion serves as fresh means of production and *remains social.* But another portion is consumed by the members as means of subsistence. *A distribution of this portion amongst them is consequently necessary.*"[b] And surely that is clear enough even for Herr Dühring, in spite of his having Hegel on his brain.

The property which is at once both individual and social, this confusing hybrid, this nonsense which necessarily springs from Hegelian dialectics, this nebulous world, this profound dialectical enigma, which Marx leaves his adepts to solve for themselves—is yet another free creation and imagination on the part of Herr

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[a] K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, p. 793. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part VIII, Chapter XXXII.— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 56. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part I, Chapter I, Section 4. Italics by Engels.— *Ed.*

Dühring. Marx, as an alleged Hegelian, is obliged to produce a real higher unity, as the outcome of the negation of the negation, and as Marx does not do this to Herr Dühring's taste, the latter has to fall again into his higher and nobler style, and in the interests of complete truth impute to Marx things which are the products of Herr Dühring's own manufacture. A man who is totally incapable of quoting correctly, even by way of exception, may well become morally indignant at the "Chinese erudition" [D. K. G. 506] of other people, who always quote correctly, but precisely by doing this "inadequately conceal their lack of insight into the totality of ideas of the various writers from whom they quote". Herr Dühring is right. Long live historical depiction in the grand style [556]!

Up to this point we have proceeded from the assumption that Herr Dühring's persistent habit of misquoting is done at least in good faith, and arises either from his total incapacity to understand things or from a habit of quoting from memory—a habit which seems to be peculiar to historical depiction in the grand style, but is usually described as slovenly. But we seem to have reached the point at which, even with Herr Dühring, quantity is transformed into quality. For we must take into consideration in the first place that the passage in Marx is in itself perfectly clear and is moreover amplified in the same book by a further passage which leaves no room whatever for misunderstanding; secondly, that Herr Dühring had discovered the monstrosity of "property which is at once both individual and social" [505] neither in the critique of *Capital*, in the *Ergänzungsblätter*, which was referred to above,[a] nor even in the critique contained in the first edition of his *Kritische Geschichte*, but only in the second edition—that is, on the *third* reading of *Capital*; further, that in this second edition, which was rewritten in a socialist sense, it was deemed necessary by Herr Dühring to make Marx say the utmost possible nonsense about the future organisation of society, in order to enable him, in contrast, to bring forward all the more triumphantly—as he in fact does—"the economic commune as described by *me* in economic and juridical outline in my *Cursus*" [504]—when we take all this into consideration, we are almost forced to the conclusion that Herr Dühring has here deliberately made a "beneficent extension" of Marx's idea—beneficent for Herr Dühring.

But what role does the negation of the negation play in Marx?

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[a] See this volume, p. 114.—*Ed.*

On page 791 and the following pages he sets out the final conclusions which he draws from the preceding fifty pages of economic and historical investigation into the so-called primitive accumulation of capital.[62] Before the capitalist era, petty industry existed, at least in England, on the basis of the private property of the labourer in his means of production. The so-called primitive accumulation of capital consisted there in the expropriation of these immediate producers, that is, in the dissolution of private property based on the labour of its owner. This became possible because the petty industry referred to above is compatible only with narrow and primitive bounds of production and society and at a certain stage brings forth the material agencies for its own annihilation. This annihilation, the transformation of the individual and scattered means of production into socially concentrated ones, forms the prehistory of capital. As soon as the labourers are turned into proletarians, their conditions of labour into capital, as soon as the capitalist mode of production stands on its own feet, the further socialisation of labour and further transformation of the land and other means of production, and therefore the further expropriation of private proprietors, takes a new form. "That which is now to be expropriated is no longer the labourer working for himself, but the capitalist exploiting many labourers. This expropriation is accomplished by the action of the immanent laws of capitalistic production itself, by the concentration of capitals. One capitalist always kills many. Hand in hand with this concentration, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever extending scale, the co-operative form of the labour-process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical collective cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labour into instruments of labour only usable in common, the economising of all means of production by their use as the jointly owned means of production of combined, socialised labour. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolise all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organised by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. Capital[a] becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Concentration of the means

[a] Marx has: "Kapitalmonopol" K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, p. 793.—*Ed.*

of production and socialisation of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."[a]

And now I ask the reader: where are the dialectical frills and mazes and conceptual arabesques; where the mixed and misconceived ideas according to which everything is all one and the same thing in the end; where the dialectical miracles for his faithful followers; where the mysterious dialectical rubbish and the maze in accordance with the Hegelian Logos doctrine, without which Marx, according to Herr Dühring, is unable to put his exposition into shape? Marx merely shows from history, and here states in a summarised form, that just as formerly petty industry by its very development necessarily created the conditions of its own annihilation, i.e., of the expropriation of the small proprietors, so now the capitalist mode of production has likewise itself created the material conditions from which it must perish. The process is a historical one, and if it is at the same time a dialectical process, this is not Marx's fault, however annoying it may be to Herr Dühring.

It is only at this point, after Marx has completed his proof on the basis of historical and economic facts, that he proceeds: "The capitalist mode of production and appropriation, hence the capitalist private property, is the first negation of individual private property founded on the labour of the proprietor. Capitalist production begets, with the inexorability of a process of nature, its own negation. It is the negation of the negation"—and so on (as quoted above).[b]

Thus, by characterising the process as the negation of the negation, Marx does not intend to prove that the process was historically necessary. On the contrary: only after he has proved from history that in fact the process has partially already occurred, and partially must occur in the future, he in addition characterises it as a process which develops in accordance with a definite dialectical law. That is all. It is therefore once again a pure distortion of the facts by Herr Dühring when he declares that the negation of the negation has to serve here as the midwife to deliver the future from the womb of the past [D. K. G. 502-03], or that Marx wants anyone to be convinced of the necessity of the common ownership of land and capital [503] (which is itself a

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[a] K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, p. 793. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part VIII, Chapter XXXII.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid. See this volume, p. 121.—*Ed.*

Dühringian contradiction in corporeal form) on the basis of credence in the negation of the negation [479-80].

Herr Dühring's total lack of understanding of the nature of dialectics is shown by the very fact that he regards it as a mere proof-producing instrument, as a limited mind might look upon formal logic or elementary mathematics. Even formal logic is primarily a method of arriving at new results, of advancing from the known to the unknown—and dialectics is the same, only much more eminently so; moreover, since it forces its way beyond the narrow horizon of formal logic, it contains the germ of a more comprehensive view of the world. The same correlation exists in mathematics. Elementary mathematics, the mathematics of constant quantities, moves within the confines of formal logic, at any rate on the whole; the mathematics of variables, whose most important part is the infinitesimal calculus, is in essence nothing other than the application of dialectics to mathematical relations. In it, the simple question of proof is definitely pushed into the background, as compared with the manifold application of the method to new spheres of research. But almost all the proofs of higher mathematics, from the first proofs of the differential calculus on, are from the standpoint of elementary mathematics, strictly speaking, wrong. And this is necessarily so, when, as happens in this case, an attempt is made to prove by formal logic results obtained in the field of dialectics. To attempt to prove anything by means of dialectics alone to a crass metaphysician like Herr Dühring would be as much a waste of time as was the attempt made by Leibniz and his pupils to prove the principles of the infinitesimal calculus to the mathematicians of their time. The differential gave them the same cramps as Herr Dühring gets from the negation of the negation, in which, moreover, as we shall see, the differential also plays a certain role. Finally these gentlemen—or those of them who had not died in the interval—grudgingly gave way, not because they were convinced, but because it always came out right. Herr Dühring, as he himself tells us, is only in his forties, and if he attains old age, as we hope he may, perhaps his experience will be the same.

But what then is this fearful negation of the negation, which makes life so bitter for Herr Dühring and with him plays the same role of the unpardonable crime as the sin against the Holy Ghost does in Christianity?—A very simple process which is taking place everywhere and every day, which any child can understand as soon as it is stripped of the veil of mystery in which it was enveloped by the old idealist philosophy and in which it is to the

advantage of helpless metaphysicians of Herr Dühring's calibre to keep it enveloped. Let us take a grain of barley. Billions of such grains of barley are milled, boiled and brewed and then consumed. But if such a grain of barley meets with conditions which are normal for it, if it falls on suitable soil, then under the influence of heat and moisture it undergoes a specific change, it germinates; the grain as such ceases to exist, it is negated, and in its place appears the plant which has arisen from it, the negation of the grain. But what is the normal life-process of this plant? It grows, flowers, is fertilised and finally once more produces grains of barley, and as soon as these have ripened the stalk dies, is in its turn negated. As a result of this negation of the negation we have once again the original grain of barley, but not as a single unit, but ten-, twenty- or thirtyfold. Species of grain change extremely slowly, and so the barley of today is almost the same as it was a century ago. But if we take a plastic ornamental plant, for example a dahlia or an orchid, and treat the seed and the plant which grows from it according to the gardener's art, we get as a result of this negation of the negation not only more seeds, but also qualitatively improved seeds, which produce more beautiful flowers, and each repetition of this process, each fresh negation of the negation, enhances this process of perfection.—With most insects, this process follows the same lines as in the case of the grain of barley. Butterflies, for example, spring from the egg by a negation of the egg, pass through certain transformations until they reach sexual maturity, pair and are in turn negated, dying as soon as the pairing process has been completed and the female has laid its numerous eggs. We are not concerned at the moment with the fact that with other plants and animals the process does not take such a simple form, that before they die they produce seeds, eggs or offspring not once but many times; our purpose here is only to show that the negation of the negation *really does take place* in both kingdoms of the organic world. Furthermore, the whole of geology is a series of negated negations, a series of successive shatterings of old and deposits of new rock formations. First the original earth crust brought into existence by the cooling of the liquid mass was broken up by oceanic, meteorological and atmospherico-chemical action, and these fragmented masses were stratified on the ocean bed. Local upheavals of the ocean bed above the surface of the sea subject portions of these first strata once more to the action of rain, the changing temperature of the seasons and the oxygen and carbonic acid of the atmosphere. These same influences act on the molten masses of rock which

issue from the interior of the earth, break through the strata and subsequently cool off. In this way, in the course of millions of centuries, ever new strata are formed and in turn are for the most part destroyed, ever anew serving as material for the formation of new strata. But the result of this process has been a very positive one: the creation of a soil composed of the most varied chemical elements and mechanically fragmented, which makes possible the most abundant and diversified vegetation.

It is the same in mathematics. Let us take any algebraic quantity whatever: for example, $a$. If this is negated, we get $-a$ (minus $a$). If we negate that negation, by multiplying $-a$ by $-a$, we get $+a^2$, i.e., the original positive quantity, but at a higher degree, raised to its second power. In this case also it makes no difference that we can obtain the same $a^2$ by multiplying the positive $a$ by itself, thus likewise getting $a^2$. For the negated negation is so securely entrenched in $a^2$ that the latter always has two square roots, namely, $a$ and $-a$. And the fact that it is impossible to get rid of the negated negation, the negative root of the square, acquires very obvious significance as soon as we come to quadratic equations.—The negation of the negation is even more strikingly obvious in higher analysis, in those "summations of indefinitely small magnitudes" [D. Ph. 418] which Herr Dühring himself declares are the highest operations of mathematics, and in ordinary language are known as the differential and integral calculus. How are these forms of calculus used? In a given problem, for example, I have two variables, $x$ and $y$, neither of which can vary without the other also varying in a ratio determined by the facts of the case. I differentiate $x$ and $y$, i.e., I take $x$ and $y$ as so infinitely small that in comparison with any real quantity, however small, they disappear, that nothing is left of $x$ and $y$ but their reciprocal relation without any, so to speak, material basis, a quantitative ratio in which there is no quantity. Therefore, $\frac{dy}{dx}$, the ratio between the differentials of $x$ and $y$, is equal to $\frac{0}{0}$ but $\frac{0}{0}$ taken as the expression of $\frac{y}{x}$. I only mention in passing that this ratio between two quantities which have disappeared, caught at the moment of their disappearance, is a contradiction; however, it cannot disturb us any more than it has disturbed the whole of mathematics for almost two hundred years. And now, what have I done but negate $x$ and $y$, though not in

such a way that I need not bother about them any more, not in the way that metaphysics negates, but in the way that corresponds with the facts of the case? In place of $x$ and $y$, therefore, I have their negation, $dx$ and $dy$, in the formulas or equations before me. I continue then to operate with these formulas, treating $dx$ and $dy$ as quantities which are real, though subject to certain exceptional laws, and at a certain point *I negate the negation,* i.e., I integrate the differential formula, and in place of $dx$ and $dy$ again get the real quantities $x$ and $y$, and am then not where I was at the beginning, but by using this method I have solved the problem on which ordinary geometry and algebra might perhaps have broken their jaws in vain.

It is the same in history, as well. All civilised peoples begin with the common ownership of the land. With all peoples who have passed a certain primitive stage, this common ownership becomes in the course of the development of agriculture a fetter on production. It is abolished, negated, and after a longer or shorter series of intermediate stages is transformed into private property. But at a higher stage of agricultural development, brought about by private property in land itself, private property conversely becomes a fetter on production, as is the case today both with small and large landownership. The demand that it, too, should be negated, that it should once again be transformed into common property, necessarily arises. But this demand does not mean the restoration of the aboriginal common ownership, but the institution of a far higher and more developed form of possession in common which, far from being a hindrance to production, on the contrary for the first time will free production from all fetters and enable it to make full use of modern chemical discoveries and mechanical inventions.

Or let us take another example: The philosophy of antiquity was primitive, spontaneously evolved materialism. As such, it was incapable of clearing up the relation between mind and matter. But the need to get clarity on this question led to the doctrine of a soul separable from the body, then to the assertion of the immortality of this soul, and finally to monotheism. The old materialism was therefore negated by idealism. But in the course of the further development of philosophy, idealism, too, became untenable and was negated by modern materialism. This modern materialism, the negation of the negation, is not the mere re-establishment of the old, but adds to the permanent foundations of this old materialism the whole thought-content of two thousand years of development of philosophy and natural science, as well as of the history of these

two thousand years. It is no longer a philosophy at all, but simply a world outlook which has to establish its validity and be applied not in a science of sciences standing apart, but in the real sciences. Philosophy is therefore "sublated" here, that is, "both overcome and preserved" [D. K. G. 503]; overcome as regards its form, and preserved as regards its real content. Thus, where Herr Dühring sees only "verbal jugglery", closer inspection reveals an actual content.

Finally: Even the Rousseau doctrine of equality—of which Dühring's is only a feeble and distorted echo—could not have seen the light but for the midwife's services rendered by the Hegelian negation of the negation [502-03]—though it was nearly twenty years before Hegel was born.[63] And far from being ashamed of this, the doctrine in its first presentation bears almost ostentatiously the imprint of its dialectical origin. In the state of nature and savagery men were equal; and as Rousseau regards even language as a perversion of the state of nature, he is fully justified in extending the equality of animals within the limits of a single species also to the animal-men recently classified by Haeckel hypothetically as *Alali*: speechless.[a] But these equal animal-men had one quality which gave them an advantage over the other animals: perfectibility, the capacity to develop further; and this became the cause of inequality. So Rousseau regards the rise of inequality as progress. But this progress contained an antagonism: it was at the same time retrogression.

"All further progress" (beyond the original state) "meant so many steps seemingly towards the *perfection of the individual man,* but in reality towards the *decay of the race...* Metallurgy and agriculture were the two arts the discovery of which produced this great revolution" (the transformation of the primeval forest into cultivated land, but along with this the introduction of poverty and slavery through property). "For the poet it is gold and silver, but for the philosopher iron and corn, which have civilised *men* and ruined the human *race.*"[b]

Each new advance of civilisation is at the same time a new advance of inequality. All institutions set up by the society which has arisen with civilisation change into the opposite of their original purpose.

"It is an incontestable fact, and the fundamental principle of all public law, that the peoples set up their chieftains to safeguard their liberty and not to enslave them."

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[a] E. Haeckel, *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte,* p. 590-91.—*Ed.*
[b] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

And nevertheless the chiefs necessarily become the oppressors of the peoples, and intensify their oppression up to the point at which inequality, carried to the utmost extreme, again changes into its opposite, becomes the cause of equality: before the despot all are equal—equally ciphers.

"Here we have the extreme measure of inequality, *the final point which completes the circle and meets the point from which we set out*[a]: here all private individuals become equal once more, just because they are ciphers, and the subjects have no other law but their master's will." But the despot is only master so long as he is able to use force and therefore "when he is driven out", he cannot "complain of the use of force... Force alone maintained him in power, and force alone overthrows him; thus everything takes its natural course".

And so inequality once more changes into equality; not, however, into the former naive equality of speechless primitive men, but into the higher equality of the social contract. The oppressors are oppressed. It is the negation of the negation.

Already in Rousseau, therefore, we find not only a line of thought which corresponds exactly to the one developed in Marx's *Capital,* but also, in details, a whole series of the same dialectical turns of speech as Marx used: processes which in their nature are antagonistic, contain a contradiction; transformation of one extreme into its opposite; and finally, as the kernel of the whole thing, the negation of the negation. And though in 1754 Rousseau was not yet able to speak the Hegelian jargon [D. K. G. 491], he was certainly, sixteen years before Hegel was born, deeply bitten with the Hegelian pestilence, dialectics of contradiction, Logos doctrine, theologics, and so forth. And when Herr Dühring, in his shallow version of Rousseau's theory of equality, begins to operate with his victorious two men, he is himself already on the inclined plane down which he must slide helplessly into the arms of the negation of the negation. The state of things in which the equality of the two men flourished, which was also described as an ideal one, is characterised on page 271 of his *Philosophie* as the "primitive state". This primitive state, however, according to page 279, was necessarily sublated by the "robber system"—the first negation. But now, thanks to the philosophy of reality, we have gone so far as to abolish the robber system and establish in its stead the economic commune [504] based on equality which has been discovered by Herr Dühring—negation of the negation, equality on a higher plane. What a delightful spectacle, and how beneficently it extends our range of vision: Herr Dühring's

[a] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

eminent self committing the capital crime of the negation of the negation!

And so, what is the negation of the negation? An extremely general—and for this reason extremely far-reaching and important—law of development of nature, history, and thought; a law which, as we have seen, holds good in the animal and plant kingdoms, in geology, in mathematics, in history and in philosophy—a law which even Herr Dühring, in spite of all his stubborn resistance, has unwittingly and in his own way to follow. It is obvious that I do not say anything concerning the *particular* process of development of, for example, a grain of barley from germination to the death of the fruit-bearing plant, if I say it is a negation of the negation. For, as the integral calculus is also a negation of the negation, if I said anything of the sort I should only be making the nonsensical statement that the life-process of a barley plant was integral calculus or for that matter that it was socialism. That, however, is precisely what the metaphysicians are constantly imputing to dialectics. When I say that all these processes are a negation of the negation, I bring them all together under this one law of motion, and for this very reason I leave out of account the specific peculiarities of each individual process. Dialectics, however, is nothing more than the science of the general laws of motion and development of nature, human society and thought.

But someone may object: the negation that has taken place in this case is not a real negation: I negate a grain of barley also when I grind it, an insect when I crush it underfoot, or the positive quantity *a* when I cancel it, and so on. Or I negate the sentence: the rose is a rose, when I say: the rose is not a rose; and what do I get if I then negate this negation and say: but after all the rose is a rose?—These objections are in fact the chief arguments put forward by the metaphysicians against dialectics, and they are wholly worthy of the narrow-mindedness of this mode of thought. Negation in dialectics does not mean simply saying no, or declaring that something does not exist, or destroying it in any way one likes. Long ago Spinoza said: *Omnis determinatio est negatio*—every limitation or determination is at the same time a negation.[64] And further: the kind of negation is here determined, firstly, by the general and, secondly, by the particular nature of the process. I must not only negate, but also sublate the negation. I must therefore so arrange the first negation that the second remains or becomes possible. How? This depends on the particular nature of each individual case. If I grind a grain of

barley, or crush an insect, I have carried out the first part of the action, but have made the second part impossible. Every kind of thing therefore has a peculiar way of being negated in such manner that it gives rise to a development, and it is just the same with every kind of conception or idea. The infinitesimal calculus involves a form of negation which is different from that used in the formation of positive powers from negative roots. This has to be learnt, like everything else. The bare knowledge that the barley plant and the infinitesimal calculus are both governed by negation of negation does not enable me either to grow barley successfully or to differentiate and integrate; just as little as the bare knowledge of the laws of the determination of sound by the dimensions of the strings enables me to play the violin.—But it is clear that from a negation of the negation which consists in the childish pastime of alternately writing and cancelling *a,* or in alternately declaring that a rose is a rose and that it is not a rose, nothing eventuates but the silliness of the person who adopts such a tedious procedure. And yet the metaphysicians try to make us believe that this is the right way to carry out a negation of the negation, if we ever should want to do such a thing.

Once again, therefore, it is no one but Herr Dühring who is mystifying us when he asserts that the negation of the negation is a stupid analogy invented by Hegel, borrowed from the sphere of religion and based on the story of the fall of man and his redemption [D. K. G. 504]. Men thought dialectically long before they knew what dialectics was, just as they spoke prose long before the term prose existed.[a] The law of negation of the negation, which is unconsciously operative in nature and history and, until it has been recognised, also in our heads, was only first clearly formulated by Hegel. And if Herr Dühring wants to operate with it himself on the quiet and it is only that he cannot stand the name, then let him find a better name. But if his aim is to banish the process itself from thought, we must ask him to be so good as first to banish it from nature and history and to invent a mathematical system in which $-a \times -a$ is not $+a^2$ and in which differentiation and integration are prohibited under severe penalties.

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[a] An allusion to Molière's comedy *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme,* Act II, Scene 6.—*Ed.*

## XIV. CONCLUSION

We have now finished with philosophy; such other fantasies of the future as the *Cursus* contains will de dealt with when we come to Herr Dühring's revolution in socialism. What did Herr Dühring promise us? Everything. And what promises has he kept? None. "The elements of a philosophy which is real and accordingly directed to the reality of nature and of life" [D. Ph. 430], the "strictly scientific [387] conception of the world", the "system-creating ideas" [525], and all Herr Dühring's other achievements, trumpeted forth to the world by Herr Dühring in high-sounding phrases, turned out, wherever we laid hold of them, to be *pure charlatanism.* The world schematism which, "without the slightest detraction from the profundity of thought, securely established the basic forms of being" [556-57], proved to be an infinitely vulgarised duplicate of Hegelian logic, and in common with the latter shares the superstition that these "basic forms" [9] or logical categories have led a mysterious existence somewhere before and outside of the world, to which they are "to be applied" [15]. The philosophy of nature offered us a cosmogony whose starting-point is a "self-equal state of matter" [87]—a state which can only be conceived by means of the most hopeless confusion as to the relation between matter and motion; a state which can, besides, only be conceived on the assumption of an extramundane personal God who alone can induce motion in this state of matter. In its treatment of organic nature, the philosophy of reality first rejected the Darwinian struggle for existence and natural selection as "a piece of brutality directed against humanity" [117], and then had to readmit both by the back-door as factors operative in nature, though of second rank. Moreover, the philosophy of reality found occasion to exhibit, in the biological domain, ignorance such as nowadays, when popular science lectures are no longer to be escaped, could hardly be found even among the daughters of the "educated classes". In the domain of morality and law, the philosophy of reality was no more successful in its vulgarisation of Rousseau than it had been in its previous shallow version of Hegel; and, so far as jurisprudence is concerned, in spite of all its assurances to the contrary, it likewise displayed a lack of knowledge such as is rarely found even among the most ordinary jurists of old Prussia. The philosophy "which cannot allow the validity of any merely apparent horizon" is content, in juridical matters, with a real horizon which is coextensive with the territory in which Prussian law exercises

jurisdiction. We are still waiting for the "earths and heavens of outer and inner nature" [D. Ph. 430] which this philosophy promised to reveal to us in its mighty revolutionising sweep; just as we are still waiting for the "final and ultimate truths" [2] and the "absolutely fundamental" [150] basis. The philosopher whose mode of thought "excludes" any tendency to a "subjectively limited conception of the world" [13] proves to be subjectively limited not only by what has been shown to be his extremely defective knowledge, his narrowly construed metaphysical mode of thought and his grotesque conceit, but even by his childish personal crotchets. He cannot produce his philosophy of reality without dragging in his repugnance to tobacco, cats and Jews as a general law valid for all the rest of humanity, including the Jews. His "really critical standpoint" [404] in relation to other people shows itself by his insistently imputing to them things which they never said and which are of Herr Dühring's very own fabrication. His verbose lucubrations[a] on themes worthy of philistines, such as the value of life and the best way to enjoy life, are themselves so steeped in philistinism that they explain his anger at Goethe's *Faust* [112-13, 423]. It was really unpardonable of Goethe to make the unmoral Faust and not the serious philosopher of reality, Wagner, his hero.—In short, the philosophy of reality proves to be on the whole what Hegel would call "the weakest residue of the German would-be Enlightenment"—a residue whose tenuity and transparent commonplace character are made more substantial and opaque only by the mixing in of crumbs of oracular rhetoric. And now that we have finished the book we are just as wise as we were at the start; and we are forced to admit that the "new mode of thought" [543], the "from the ground up original conclusions and views" and the "system-creating ideas" [525], though they have certainly shown us a great variety of original nonsense, have not provided us with a single line from which we might have been able to learn something. And this man who praises his talents and his wares to the noisy accompaniment of cymbals and trumpets as loudly as any market quack, and behind whose great words there is nothing, absolutely nothing whatsoever—this man has the temerity to say of people like Fichte, Schelling and Hegel, the least of whom is a giant compared with him, that they are charlatans. Charlatan, indeed! But to whom had it best be applied?

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[a] In the original: "breite Bettelsuppen" (thin gruel for the poor)—an expression from Goethe's *Faust*, Act I, Scene VI ("The Witch's Kitchen").—*Ed.*

# Part II

# POLITICAL ECONOMY

## I. SUBJECT MATTER AND METHOD

Political economy, in the widest sense, is the science of the laws governing the production and exchange of the material means of subsistence in human society. Production and exchange are two different functions. Production may occur without exchange, but exchange—being necessarily an exchange of products—cannot occur without production. Each of these two social functions is subject to the action of external influences which to a great extent are peculiar to it and for this reason each has, also to a great extent, its own special laws. But on the other hand, they constantly determine and influence each other to such an extent that they might be termed the abscissa and ordinate of the economic curve.

The conditions under which men produce and exchange vary from country to country, and within each country again from generation to generation. Political economy, therefore, cannot be the same for all countries and for all historical epochs. A tremendous distance separates the bow and arrow, the stone knife and the acts of exchange among savages occurring only by way of exception, from the steam-engine of a thousand horse power, the mechanical loom, the railways and the Bank of England. The inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego have not got so far as mass production and world trade, any more than they have experience of bill-jobbing or a Stock Exchange crash. Anyone who attempted to bring the political economy of Tierra del Fuego under the same laws as are operative in present-day England would obviously produce nothing but the most banal commonplaces. Political economy is therefore essentially a *historical* science. It deals with material which is historical, that is, constantly changing; it must first investigate the special laws of each individual stage in the

evolution of production and exchange, and only when it has completed this investigation will it be able to establish the few quite general laws which hold good for production and exchange in general. At the same time it goes without saying that the laws which are valid for definite modes of production and forms of exchange hold good for all historical periods in which these modes of production and forms of exchange prevail. Thus, for example, the introduction of metallic money brought into operation a series of laws which remain valid for all countries and historical epochs in which metallic money is a medium of exchange.

The mode of production and exchange in a definite historical society, and the historical conditions which have given birth to this society, determine the mode of distribution of its products. In the tribal or village community with common ownership of land—with which, or with the easily recognisable survivals of which, all civilised peoples enter history—a fairly equal distribution of products is a matter of course; where considerable inequality of distribution among the members of the community sets in, this is an indication that the community is already beginning to break up. —Both large- and small-scale agriculture admit of very diverse forms of distribution, depending upon the historical conditions from which they developed. But it is obvious that large-scale farming always gives rise to a distribution which is quite different from that of small-scale farming; that large-scale agriculture presupposes or creates a class antagonism—slave-owners and slaves, feudal lords and serfs, capitalists and wage-workers—while small-scale agriculture does not necessarily involve class differences between the individuals engaged in agricultural production, and that on the contrary the mere existence of such differences indicates the incipient dissolution of smallholding economy.—The introduction and extensive use of metallic money in a country in which hitherto natural economy was universal or predominant is always associated with a more or less rapid revolutionisation of the former mode of distribution, and this takes place in such a way that the inequality of distribution among the individuals and therefore the opposition between rich and poor becomes more and more pronounced.—The local guild-controlled handicraft production of the Middle Ages precluded the existence of big capitalists and lifelong wage-workers just as these are inevitably brought into existence by modern large-scale industry, the credit system of the present day, and the form of exchange corresponding to the development of both of them—free competition.

But with the differences in distribution, *class differences* emerge.

Society divides into classes: the privileged and the dispossessed, the exploiters and the exploited, the rulers and the ruled; and the state, which the natural groups of communities of the same tribe had at first arrived at only in order to safeguard their common interests (e.g., irrigation in the East) and for protection against external enemies, from this stage onwards acquires just as much the function of maintaining by force the conditions of existence and domination of the ruling class against the subject class.

Distribution, however, is not a merely passive result of production and exchange; it in its turn reacts upon both of these. Each new mode of production or form of exchange is at first retarded not only by the old forms and the political institutions which correspond to them, but also by the old mode of distribution; it can secure the distribution which is suitable to it only in the course of a long struggle. But the more mobile a given mode of production and exchange, the more capable it is of perfection and development, the more rapidly does distribution reach the stage at which it outgrows its progenitor, the hitherto prevailing mode of production and exchange, and comes into conflict with it. The old primitive communities which have already been mentioned could remain in existence for thousands of years—as in India and among the Slavs up to the present day—before intercourse with the outside world gave rise in their midst to the inequalities of property as a result of which they began to break up. On the contrary, modern capitalist production, which is hardly three hundred years old and has become predominant only since the introduction of modern industry, that is, only in the last hundred years, has in this short time brought about antitheses in distribution—concentration of capital in a few hands on the one side and concentration of the propertyless masses in the big towns on the other—which must of necessity bring about its downfall.

The connection between distribution and the material conditions of existence of society at any period lies so much in the nature of things that it is always reflected in popular instinct. So long as a mode of production still describes an ascending curve of development, it is enthusiastically welcomed even by those who come off worst from its corresponding mode of distribution. This was the case with the English workers in the beginnings of modern industry. And even while this mode of production remains normal for society, there is, in general, contentment with the distribution, and if objections to it begin to be raised, these come from within the ruling class itself (Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen) and find no

response whatever among the exploited masses. Only when the mode of production in question has already described a good part of its descending curve, when it has half outlived its day, when the conditions of its existence have to a large extent disappeared, and its successor is already knocking at the door—it is only at this stage that the constantly increasing inequality of distribution appears as unjust, it is only then that appeal is made from the facts which have had their day to so-called eternal justice. From a scientific standpoint, this appeal to morality and justice does not help us an inch further; moral indignation, however justifiable, cannot serve economic science as an argument, but only as a symptom. The task of economic science is rather to show that the social abuses which have recently been developing are necessary consequences of the existing mode of production, but at the same time also indications of its approaching dissolution; and to reveal, within the already dissolving economic form of motion, the elements of the future new organisation of production and exchange which will put an end to those abuses. The wrath which creates the poet[a] is absolutely in place in describing these abuses, and also in attacking those apostles of harmony in the service of the ruling class who either deny or palliate them; but how little it *proves* in any particular case is evident from the fact that in *every* epoch of past history there has been no lack of material for such wrath.

Political economy, however, as the science of the conditions and forms under which the various human societies have produced and exchanged and on this basis have distributed their products—political economy in this wider sense has still to be brought into being. Such economic science as we possess up to the present is limited almost exclusively to the genesis and development of the capitalist mode of production: it begins with a critique of the survivals of the feudal forms of production and exchange, shows the necessity of their replacement by capitalist forms, then develops the laws of the capitalist mode of production and its corresponding forms of exchange in their positive aspects, that is, the aspects in which they further the general aims of society, and ends with a socialist critique of the capitalist mode of production, that is, with an exposition of its laws in their negative aspects, with a demonstration that this mode of production, by virtue of its own development, drives towards the point at which it makes itself impossible. This critique proves that the capitalist forms of

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[a] Juvenalis, *Satirae*, 1, 79 (si natura negat, facit indignatio versum).—*Ed.*

production and exchange become more and more an intolerable fetter on production itself, that the mode of distribution necessarily determined by those forms has produced a situation among the classes which is daily becoming more intolerable—the antagonism, sharpening from day to day, between capitalists, constantly decreasing in number but constantly growing richer, and propertyless wage-workers, whose number is constantly increasing and whose conditions, taken as a whole, are steadily deteriorating; and finally, that the colossal productive forces created within the capitalist mode of production which the latter can no longer master, are only waiting to be taken possession of by a society organised for co-operative work on a planned basis to ensure to all members of society the means of existence and of the free development of their capacities, and indeed in constantly increasing measure.

In order to complete this critique of bourgeois economics, an acquaintance with the capitalist form of production, exchange and distribution did not suffice. The forms which had preceded it or those which still exist alongside it in less developed countries, had also, at least in their main features, to be examined and compared. Such an investigation and comparison has up to the present been undertaken, in general outline, only by Marx, and we therefore owe almost exclusively to his researches[65] all that has so far been established concerning pre-bourgeois theoretical economics.

Although it first took shape in the minds of a few men of genius towards the end of the seventeenth century, political economy in the narrower sense, in its positive formulation by the physiocrats and Adam Smith, is nevertheless essentially a child of the eighteenth century, and ranks with the achievements of the contemporary great French philosophers of the Enlightenment, sharing with them all the merits and demerits of that period. What we have said of the philosophers[a] is also true of the economists of that time. To them, the new science was not the expression of the conditions and requirements of their epoch, but the expression of eternal reason; the laws of production and exchange discovered by this science were not laws of a historically determined form of those activities, but eternal laws of nature; they were deduced from the nature of man. But this man, when examined more closely, proved to be the average burgher of that epoch, on the way to becoming a bourgeois, and his nature consisted in

[a] See this volume, pp. 16, 19.—*Ed.*

manufacturing and trading in accordance with the historically determined conditions of that period.

Now that we have acquired sufficient knowledge of our "layer of critical foundations", Herr Dühring, and his method in the philosophical field, it will not be difficult for us to foretell the way in which he will handle political economy. In philosophy, in so far as his writings were not simply drivel (as in his philosophy of nature), his mode of outlook was a distortion of that of the eighteenth century. It was not a question of historical laws of development, but of laws of nature, eternal truths. Social relations such as morality and law were determined, not by the actual historical conditions of the age, but by the famous two men, one of whom either oppresses the other or does not—though the latter alternative, sad to say, has never yet come to pass. We are therefore hardly likely to go astray if we conclude that Herr Dühring will trace political economy also back to final and ultimate truths [D. Ph. 2], eternal natural laws, and the most empty and barren tautological axioms; that nevertheless he will smuggle in again by the backdoor the whole positive content of political economy, so far as this is known to him; and that he will not evolve distribution, as a social phenomenon, out of production and exchange, but will hand it over to his famous two men for final solution.[a] And as all these are tricks with which we are already familiar, our treatment of this question can be all the shorter.

In fact, already on page 2,[66] Herr Dühring tells us that

his economics links up with what has been "*established*" in his *Philosophie*, and "in certain essential points depends on *truths* of a higher order *which have already been consummated* [*ausgemacht*] in a higher field of investigation" [D. C. 2].

Everywhere the same importunate eulogy of himself; everywhere Herr Dühring is triumphant over what Herr Dühring has established and put out [*ausgemacht*]. Put out, yes, we have seen it to surfeit—but put out in the way that people put out a sputtering candle.[b]

Immediately afterwards we find

"the most general *natural laws* governing all economy" [4]—

so our forecast was right.

But these natural laws permit of a correct understanding of past history only if they are "investigated in that more precise determination which their results have experienced through the political forms of subjection and grouping. Institutions such

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[a] See this volume, pp. 89-91.—*Ed.*

[b] In German an untranslatable play on words: *ausmachen* means consummate and also put out.—*Ed.*

as slavery and wage bondage, along with which is associated their twin-brother, property based on force, must be regarded as social-economic constitutional forms of a purely political nature, and have hitherto constituted the frame within which the consequences of the natural economic laws could alone manifest themselves" [4-5].

This sentence is the fanfare which, like a *leitmotif* in Wagner's operas, announces the approach of the famous two men. But it is more than this: it is the basic theme of Herr Dühring's whole book. In the sphere of law, Herr Dühring could not offer us anything except a bad translation of Rousseau's theory of equality into the language of socialism,[a] such as one has long been able to hear much more effectively rendered in any workers' tavern in Paris. Now he gives us an equally bad socialist translation of the economists' laments over the distortion of the eternal natural economic laws and of their effects owing to the intervention of the state, of force. And in this Herr Dühring stands, deservedly, absolutely alone among socialists. Every socialist worker, no matter of what nationality, knows quite well that force only protects exploitation, but does not cause it; that the relation between capital and wage-labour is the basis of his exploitation, and that this was brought about by purely economic causes and not at all by means of force.

Then we are further told that

in all economic questions "two processes, that of production and that of distribution, can be distinguished". Also that J. B. Say, notorious for his superficiality, mentioned in addition a third process, that of consumption, but that he was unable to say anything sensible about it, any more than his successors [7-8] and that exchange or circulation is, however, only a department of production, which comprises all the operations required for the products to reach the ultimate consumer, the consumer proper [11-12].

By confounding the two essentially different, though also mutually dependent, processes of production and circulation, and unblushingly asserting that the avoidance of this confusion can only "give rise to confusion", Herr Dühring merely shows that he either does not know or does not understand the colossal development which precisely circulation has undergone during the last fifty years, as indeed is further borne out by the rest of his book. But this is not all. After just lumping together production and exchange into one, as simply production, he puts distribution *alongside* production, as a second, wholly external process, which has nothing whatever to do with the first. Now we have seen that

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[a] See this volume, pp. 89-95.—*Ed.*

distribution, in its decisive features, is always the necessary result of the production and exchange relations of a particular society, as well as of the historical conditions in which this society arose; so much so that when we know these relations and conditions, we can confidently infer the mode of distribution which prevails in this society. But we see also that if Herr Dühring does not want to be unfaithful to the principles "established" by him in his conceptions of morality, law and history, he is compelled to deny this elementary economic fact, especially if he is to smuggle his indispensable two men into economics. And once distribution has been happily freed of all connection with production and exchange, this great event can come to pass.

Let us first recall how Herr Dühring developed his argument in the field of morality and law. He started originally with *one* man, and he said:

> "One man conceived as being alone, or, what is in effect the same, out of all connection with other men, can have no *obligations*; for such a man there can be no question of what he *ought*, but only of what he wants, to do" [D. Ph. 199].

But what is this man, conceived as being alone and without obligations, but the fateful "primordial Jew Adam" [110] in paradise, where he is without sin simply because there is no possibility for him to commit any?—However, even this Adam of the philosophy of reality is destined to fall into sin. Alongside this Adam there suddenly appears—not, it is true, an Eve with rippling tresses, but a second Adam. And instantly Adam acquires obligations and—breaks them. Instead of treating his brother as having equal rights and clasping him to his breast, he subjects him to his domination, he makes a slave of him—and it is the consequences of this first sin, the original sin of the enslavement of man, from which the world has suffered through the whole course of history down to the present day—which is precisely what makes Herr Dühring think world history is not worth a farthing.

Incidentally, Herr Dühring considered that he had brought the "negation of the negation" sufficiently into contempt by characterising it as a copy of the old fable of original sin and redemption [see D. K. G. 504]—but what are we to say of *his* latest version of the same story? (for, in due time, we shall, to use an expression of the reptile press,[67] "get down to brass tacks" on redemption as well). All we can say is that we prefer the old Semitic tribal legend, according to which it was worth while for the man and woman to

abandon the state of innocence,[a] and that to Herr Dühring will be left the uncontested glory of having constructed his original sin with two men.

Let us now see how he translates this original sin into economic terms:

"We can get an appropriate cogitative scheme for the idea of production from the conception of a Robinson Crusoe who is facing nature alone with his own resources and has not to share with anyone else... Equally appropriate to illustrate what is most essential in the idea of distribution is the cogitative scheme of two persons, who combine their economic forces and must evidently come to a mutual understanding in some form as to their respective shares. In fact nothing more than this simple dualism is required to enable us accurately to portray some of the most important relations of distribution and to study their laws embryonically in their logical necessity... Co-operative working on an equal footing is here just as conceivable as the combination of forces through the complete subjection of one party, who is then compelled to render economic service as a slave or as a mere tool and is maintained also only as a tool... Between the state of equality and that of nullity on the one part and of omnipotence and solely-active participation on the other, there is a range of stages which the events of world history have filled in in rich variety. A universal survey of the various institutions of *justice* and *injustice* throughout history is here an essential presupposition" [D. C. 9-10] ...,

and in conclusion the whole question of distribution is transformed into an

"economic right of distribution" [10].

Now at last Herr Dühring has firm ground under his feet again. Arm in arm with his two men he can issue his challenge to his age.[b] But behind this trinity stands yet another, an unnamed man.

"Capital has not invented surplus-labour. Wherever a part of society possesses the monopoly of the means of production, the labourer, free or not free, must add to the working-time necessary for his own maintenance an extra working-time in order to produce the means of subsistence for the owners of the means of production, whether this proprietor be the Athenian καλὸς καγαθός,[c] Etruscan theocrat, civis Romanus (Roman citizen[d]), "Norman baron, American slave-owner, Wallachian Boyard, modern landlord or capitalist" (Marx, *Das Kapital,* Vol. 1, 2nd edition, p. 227).[e]

When Herr Dühring had thus learned what the basic form of exploitation common to all forms of production up to the present day

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[a] Genesis 3: 5-7.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 5, footnote.—*Ed.*

[c] Aristocrat.—*Ed.*

[d] The words in brackets are inserted into Marx's quotation by Engels.—*Ed.*

[e] See present edition, Vol. 35, Part III, Chapter X, Section 2.—*Ed.*

is—so far as these forms move in class antagonisms—all he had to do was to apply his two men to it, and the deep-rooted foundation of the economics of reality was completed. He did not hesitate for a moment to carry out this "system-creating idea" [D. Ph. 525]. Labour without compensation, beyond the labour-time necessary for the maintenance of the labourer himself—that is the point. The Adam, who is here called Robinson Crusoe, makes his second Adam—Man Friday—drudge for all he is worth. But why does Friday toil more than is necessary for his own maintenance? To this question, too, Marx step by step provides an answer. But this answer is far too long-winded for the two men. The matter is settled in a trice: Crusoe "oppresses" Friday, compels him "to render economic service as a slave or a tool" and maintains him "also only as a tool". With these latest "creative turns" [D. K. G. 462] of his, Herr Dühring kills as it were two birds with one stone. Firstly, he saves himself the trouble of explaining the various forms of distribution which have hitherto existed, their differences and their causes; taken in the lump, they are simply of no account—they rest on oppression, on force. We shall have to deal with this before long. Secondly, he thereby transfers the whole theory of distribution from the sphere of economics to that of morality and law, that is, from the sphere of established material facts to that of more or less vacillating opinions and sentiments. He therefore no longer has any need to investigate or to prove things; he can go on declaiming to his heart's content and demand that the distribution of the products of labour should be regulated, not in accordance with its real causes, but in accordance with what seems ethical and just to him, Herr Dühring. But what seems just to Herr Dühring is not at all immutable, and hence very far from being a genuine truth. For genuine truths [D. Ph. 196], according to Herr Dühring himself, are "absolutely immutable". In 1868 Herr Dühring asserted—*Die Schicksale meiner sozialen Denkschrift etc.*—that

> it was "a tendency of all higher civilisation *to put more and more emphasis on property*, and in this, not in confusion of rights and spheres of sovereignty, lies the essence and the future of modern development".

And furthermore, he was quite unable to see

> *"how a transformation of wage-labour into another manner of gaining a livelihood is ever to be reconciled with the laws of human nature and the naturally necessary structure of the body social".*[a]

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[a] E. Dühring, *Die Schicksale meiner socialen Denkschrift für das Preussische Staatsministerium*, p. 5.—*Ed.*

Thus in 1868, private property and wage-labour are naturally necessary and therefore just; in 1876[a] both of these are the emanation of force and "robbery" and therefore unjust. And as we cannot possibly tell what in a few years' time may seem ethical and just to such a mighty and impetuous genius, we should in any case do better, in considering the distribution of wealth, to stick to the real, objective, economic laws and not to depend on the momentary, changeable, subjective conceptions of Herr Dühring as to what is just or unjust.

If for the impending overthrow of the present mode of distribution of the products of labour, with its crying contrasts of want and luxury, starvation and surfeit, we had no better guarantee than the consciousness that this mode of distribution is unjust, and that justice must eventually triumph, we should be in a pretty bad way, and we might have a long time to wait. The mystics of the Middle Ages who dreamed of the coming millennium were already conscious of the injustice of class antagonisms. On the threshold of modern history, three hundred and fifty years ago, Thomas Münzer proclaimed it to the world. In the English and the French bourgeois revolutions the same call resounded—and died away. And if today the same call for the abolition of class antagonisms and class distinctions, which up to 1830[68] had left the working and suffering classes cold, if today this call is re-echoed a millionfold, if it takes hold of one country after another in the same order and in the same degree of intensity that modern industry develops in each country, if in one generation it has gained a strength that enables it to defy all the forces combined against it and to be confident of victory in the near future—what is the reason for this? The reason is that modern large-scale industry has called into being on the one hand a proletariat, a class which for the first time in history can demand the abolition, not of this or that particular class organisation, or of this or that particular class privilege, but of classes themselves, and which is in such a position that it must carry through this demand on pain of sinking to the level of the Chinese coolie. On the other hand this same large-scale industry has brought into being, in the bourgeoisie, a class which has the monopoly of all the instruments of production and means of subsistence, but which in each speculative boom period and in each crash that follows it proves that it has become incapable of any longer controlling the

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[a] I.e., in the second edition of Dühring's book *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie.—Ed.*

productive forces, which have grown beyond its power; a class under whose leadership society is racing to ruin like a locomotive whose jammed safety-valve the driver is too weak to open. In other words, the reason is that both the productive forces created by the modern capitalist mode of production and the system of distribution of goods established by it have come into crying contradiction with that mode of production itself, and in fact to such a degree that, if the whole of modern society is not to perish, a revolution in the mode of production and distribution must take place, a revolution which will put an end to all class distinctions. On this tangible, material fact, which is impressing itself in a more or less clear form, but with insuperable necessity, on the minds of the exploited proletarians—on this fact, and not on the conceptions of justice and injustice held by any armchair philosopher, is modern socialism's confidence in victory founded.

## II. THEORY OF FORCE

"In my system, the relation between general politics and the forms of economic law is determined in so definite a way and at the same time a way *so original* that it would not be superfluous, in order to facilitate study, to make special reference to this point. The formation of *political* relationships is *historically the fundamental thing,* and instances of *economic* dependence are only *effects* or special cases, and are consequently always *facts of a second order.* Some of the newer socialist systems take as their guiding principle the conspicuous semblance of a completely reverse relationship, in that they assume that political phenomena are subordinate to and, as it were, grow out of the economic conditions. It is true that these effects of the second order do exist as such, and are most clearly perceptible at the present time; but the *primary* must be sought in *direct political force* and not in any indirect economic power" [D. Ph. 538].

This conception is also expressed in another passage, in which Herr Dühring

"starts from the principle that the political conditions are the decisive cause of the economic situation and that the reverse relationship represents only a reaction of a second order ... so long as the political grouping is not taken for its own sake, as the starting-point, but is treated merely as a *stomach-filling agency,* one must have a portion of reaction stowed away in one's mind, however radical a socialist and revolutionary one may seem to be" [D. K. G. 230-31].

That is Herr Dühring's theory. In this and in many other passages it is simply set up, decreed, so to speak. Nowhere in the three fat tomes is there even the slightest attempt to prove it or to disprove the opposite point of view. And even if the arguments

for it were as plentiful as blackberries,[a] Herr Dühring would give us none of them. For the whole affair has been already proved through the famous original sin, when Robinson Crusoe made Friday his slave. That was an act of force, hence a political act. And inasmuch as this enslavement was the starting-point and the basic fact underlying all past history and inoculated it with the original sin of injustice, so much so that in the later periods it was only softened down and "transformed into the more indirect forms of economic dependence" [D. C. 19]; and inasmuch as "property founded on force" [D. Ph. 242], which has asserted itself right up to the present day, is likewise based on this original act of enslavement, it is clear that all economic phenomena must be explained by political causes, that is, by force. And anyone who is not satisfied with that is a reactionary in disguise.

We must first point out that only one with as much self-esteem as Herr Dühring could regard this view as so very "original", which it is not in the least. The idea that political acts, grand performances of state, are decisive in history is as old as written history itself, and is the main reason why so little material has been preserved for us in regard to the really progressive evolution of the peoples which has taken place quietly, in the background, behind these noisy scenes on the stage. This idea dominated all the conceptions of historians in the past, and the first blow against it was delivered only by the French bourgeois historians[b] of the Restoration period[69]; the only "original" thing about it is that Herr Dühring once again knows nothing of all this.

Furthermore: even if we assume for a moment that Herr Dühring is right in saying that all past history can be traced back to the enslavement of man by man, we are still very far from having got to the bottom of the matter. For the question then arises: how did Crusoe come to enslave Friday? Just for the fun of it? By no means. On the contrary, we see that Friday "is compelled to render *economic* service as a slave or as a mere tool and is maintained also only as a tool" [D. C. 9]. Crusoe enslaved Friday only in order that Friday should work for Crusoe's benefit. And how can he derive any benefit for himself from Friday's labour? Only through Friday producing by his labour more of the necessaries of life than Crusoe has to give him to keep him fit to work. Crusoe, therefore, in violation of Herr Dühring's express orders, "takes the political grouping" arising out of Friday's enslavement "not

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[a] Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, Part I, Act II, Scene IV.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Thierry, F. Cuizot, F. Mignet, A. Thiers.—*Ed.*

for its own sake, as the starting-point, but merely *as a stomach-filling agency*"; and now let him see to it that he gets along with his lord and master, Dühring.

The childish example specially selected by Herr Dühring in order to prove that force is "historically the fundamental thing", therefore, proves that force is only the means, and that the aim, on the contrary, is economic advantage. And "the more fundamental" the aim is than the means used to secure it, the more fundamental in history is the economic side of the relationship than the political side. The example therefore proves precisely the opposite of what it was supposed to prove. And as in the case of Crusoe and Friday, so in all cases of domination and subjection up to the present day. Subjugation has always been—to use Herr Dühring's elegant expression—a "stomach-filling agency" (taking stomach-filling in a very wide sense), but never and nowhere a political grouping established "for its own sake". It takes a Herr Dühring to be able to imagine that state taxes are only "effects of a second order", or that the present-day political grouping of the ruling bourgeoisie and the ruled proletariat has come into existence "for its own sake", and not as a "stomach-filling agency" for the ruling bourgeois, that is to say, for the sake of making profits and accumulating capital.

However, let us get back again to our two men. Crusoe, "sword in hand" [D. C. 23], makes Friday his slave. But in order to manage this, Crusoe needs something else besides his sword. Not everyone can make use of a slave. In order to be able to make use of a slave, one must possess two kinds of things: first, the instruments and material for his slave's labour; and secondly, the means of bare subsistence for him. Therefore, before slavery becomes possible, a certain level of production must already have been reached and a certain inequality of distribution must already have appeared. And for slave-labour to become the dominant mode of production in the whole of a society, an even far higher increase in production, trade and accumulation of wealth was essential. In the ancient primitive communities with common ownership of the land, slavery either did not exist at all or played only a very subordinate role. It was the same in the originally peasant city of Rome; but when Rome became a "world city" and Italic landownership came more and more into the hands of a numerically small class of enormously rich proprietors, the peasant population was supplanted by a population of slaves. If at the time of the Persian wars the number of slaves in Corinth rose to 460,000 and in Aegina to 470,000 and there were ten slaves to

every freeman,[70] something else besides "force" was required, namely, a highly developed arts and handicraft industry and an extensive commerce. Slavery in the United States of America was based far less on force than on the English cotton industry; in those districts where no cotton was grown or which, unlike the border states, did not breed slaves for the cotton-growing states, it died out of itself without any force being used, simply because it did not pay.

Hence, by calling property as it exists today property founded on force, and by characterising it as

"that form of domination *at the root of which lies* not merely the exclusion of fellow-men from the use of the natural means of subsistence, but also, what is far more important, the subjugation of man to make him do servile work" [5],

Herr Dühring is making the whole relationship stand on its head. The subjugation of a man to make him do servile work, in all its forms, presupposes that the subjugator has at his disposal the instruments of labour with the help of which alone he is able to employ the person placed in bondage, and in the case of slavery, in addition, the means of subsistence which enable him to keep his slave alive. In all cases, therefore, it presupposes the possession of a certain amount of property, in excess of the average. How did this property come into existence? In any case it is clear that it may in fact have been robbed, and therefore may be based on *force,* but that this is by no means necessary. It may have been got by labour, it may have been stolen, or it may have been obtained by trade or by fraud. In fact, it must have been obtained by labour before there was any possibility of its being robbed.

Private property by no means makes its appearance in history as the result of robbery or force. On the contrary. It already existed, though limited to certain objects, in the ancient primitive communities of all civilised peoples. It developed into the form of commodities within these communities, at first through barter with foreigners. The more the products of the community assumed the commodity form, that is, the less they were produced for their producers' own use and the more for the purpose of exchange, and the more the original spontaneously evolved division of labour was superseded by exchange also within the community, the more did inequality develop in the property owned by the individual members of the community, the more deeply was the ancient common ownership of the land undermined, and the more rapidly did the commune develop towards its dissolution and transformation into a village of smallholding peasants.

For thousands of years Oriental despotism and the changing rule of conquering nomad peoples were unable to injure these old communities; the gradual destruction of their primitive home industry by the competition of products of large-scale industry brought these communities nearer and nearer to dissolution. Force was as little involved in this process as in the dividing up, still taking place now, of the land held in common by the village communities [*Gehöferschaften*] on the Mosel and in the Hochwald; the peasants simply find it to their advantage that the private ownership of land should take the place of common ownership.[a] Even the formation of a primitive aristocracy, as in the case of the Celts, the Germans and the Indian Punjab, took place on the basis of common ownership of the land, and at first was not based in any way on force, but on voluntariness and custom. Wherever private property evolved it was the result of altered relations of production and exchange, in the interest of increased production and in furtherance of intercourse—hence as a result of economic causes. Force plays no part in this at all. Indeed, it is clear that the institution of private property must already be in existence for a robber to be able to *appropriate* another person's property, and that therefore force may be able to change the possession of, but cannot create, private property as such.

Nor can we use either force or property founded on force in explanation of the "subjugation of man to make him do servile work" in its most modern form—wage-labour. We have already mentioned the role played in the dissolution of the ancient communities, that is, in the direct or indirect general spread of private property, by the transformation of the products of labour into commodities, their production not for consumption by those who produced them, but for exchange. Now in *Capital,* Marx proved with absolute clarity—and Herr Dühring carefully avoids even the slightest reference to this—that at a certain stage of development, the production of commodities becomes transformed into capitalist production, and that at this stage "the laws of appropriation or of private property, laws that are based on the production and circulation of commodities, become by their own inner and inexorable dialectic changed into their[b] opposite. The exchange of equivalents, the original operation with which we

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[a] Engels used: G. Hanssen, *Die Gehöferschaften (Erbgenossenschaften) im Regierungsbezirk Trier.—Ed.*

[b] Here Engels omitted the word "direktes". See K. Marx, *Das Kapital,* p. 607.—*Ed.*

started, has now become turned round in such a way that there is only an apparent exchange. This is owing to the fact, first, that the capital which is exchanged for labour-power is itself but a portion of the product of others' labour appropriated without an equivalent; and, secondly, that this capital must not only be replaced by its producer, but replaced together with an added surplus[a]... At first property seemed to us to be based on a man's own labour... Now, however" (at the end of Marx's analysis), "property turns out to be the right, on the part of the capitalist, to appropriate the unpaid labour of others, and to be the impossibility, on the part of the labourer, of appropriating his own product. The separation of property from labour has become the necessary consequence of a law that apparently originated in their identity."[b] In other words, even if we exclude all possibility of robbery, force and fraud, even if we assume that all private property was originally based on the owner's own labour, and that throughout the whole subsequent process there was only exchange of equal values for equal values, the progressive development of production and exchange nevertheless brings us of necessity to the present capitalist mode of production, to the monopolisation of the means of production and the means of subsistence in the hands of the one, numerically small, class, to the degradation into propertyless proletarians of the other class, constituting the immense majority, to the periodic alternation of speculative production booms and commercial crises and to the whole of the present anarchy of production. The whole process can be explained by purely economic causes; at no point whatever are robbery, force, the state or political interference of any kind necessary. "Property founded on force" [D. C. 4] proves here also to be nothing but the phrase of a braggart intended to cover up his lack of understanding of the real course of things.

This course of things, expressed historically, is the history of the development of the bourgeoisie. If "political conditions are the decisive cause of the economic situation" [D. K. G. 230-31], then the modern bourgeoisie cannot have developed in struggle with feudalism, but must be the latter's voluntarily begotten pet child. Everyone knows that what took place was the opposite. Originally an oppressed estate liable to pay dues to the ruling feudal nobility,

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[a] In the original Marx has an English word "surplus", Engels also uses this word, but in brackets adds "Überschuß".—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, pp. 607-08. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part VII, Chapter XXIV, Section 1.—*Ed.*

recruited from all manner of serfs and villains, the burghers conquered one position after another in their continuous struggle with the nobility, and finally, in the most highly developed countries, took power in its stead; in France, by directly overthrowing the nobility; in England, by making it more and more bourgeois and incorporating it as their own ornamental head. And how did they accomplish this? Simply through a change in the "economic situation", which sooner or later, voluntarily or as the outcome of combat, was followed by a change in the political conditions. The struggle of the bourgeoisie against the feudal nobility is the struggle of town against country, industry against landed property, money economy against natural economy; and the decisive weapon of the bourgeoisie in this struggle was its means of *economic* power, constantly increasing through the development of industry, first handicraft, and then, at a later stage, progressing to manufacture, and through the expansion of commerce. During the whole of this struggle political force was on the side of the nobility, except for a period when the Crown played the bourgeoisie against the nobility, in order to keep one estate in check by means of the other[71]; but from the moment when the bourgeoisie, still politically powerless, began to grow dangerous owing to its increasing economic power, the Crown resumed its alliance with the nobility, and by so doing called forth the bourgeois revolution, first in England and then in France. The "political conditions" in France had remained unaltered, while the "economic situation" had outgrown them. Judged by his political status the nobleman was everything, the burgher nothing; but judged by his social position the burgher now formed the most important class in the state, while the nobleman had been shorn of all his social functions and was now only drawing payment, in the revenues that came to him, for these functions which had disappeared. Nor was that all. Bourgeois production in its entirety was still hemmed in by the feudal political forms of the Middle Ages, which this production—not only manufacture, but even handicraft industry—had long outgrown; it had remained hemmed in by all the thousandfold guild privileges and local and provincial customs barriers which had become mere irritants and fetters on production. The bourgeois revolution put an end to this. Not, however, by adjusting the economic situation to suit the political conditions, in accordance with Herr Dühring's precept—this was precisely what the nobles and the Crown had been vainly trying to do for years—but by doing the opposite, by casting aside the old mouldering political rubbish and creating political condi-

tions in which the new "economic situation" could exist and develop. And in this political and legal atmosphere which was suited to its needs it developed brilliantly, so brilliantly that the bourgeoisie has already come close to occupying the position held by the nobility in 1789[a]: it is becoming more and more not only socially superfluous, but a social hindrance; it is more and more becoming separated from productive activity, and, like the nobility in the past, becoming more and more a class merely drawing revenues; and it has accomplished this revolution in its own position and the creation of a new class, the proletariat, without any hocus-pocus of force whatever, in a purely economic way. Even more: it did not in any way will this result of its own actions and activities—on the contrary, this result established itself with irresistible force, against the will and contrary to the intentions of the bourgeoisie; its own productive forces have grown beyond its control, and, as if necessitated by a law of nature, are driving the whole of bourgeois society towards ruin, or revolution. And if the bourgeois now make their appeal to force in order to save the collapsing "economic situation" from the final crash, this only shows that they are labouring under the same delusion as Herr Dühring: the delusion that "political conditions are the decisive cause of the economic situation"; this only shows that they imagine, just as Herr Dühring does, that by making use of "the primary", "the direct political force", they can remodel those "facts of the second order" [D. Ph. 538], the economic situation and its inevitable development; and that therefore the economic consequences of the steam-engine and the modern machinery driven by it, of world trade and the banking and credit developments of the present day, can be blown out of existence by them with Krupp guns and Mauser rifles.[72]

## III. THEORY OF FORCE

### (Continuation)

But let us look a little more closely at this omnipotent "force" of Herr Dühring's. Crusoe enslaved Friday "sword in hand" [D. C. 23]. Where did he get the sword? Even on the imaginary islands of the Robinson Crusoe epic, swords have not, up to now, been known to grow on trees, and Herr Dühring provides no

[a] The year of the beginning of the French Revolution.—*Ed.*

answer to this question. If Crusoe could procure a sword for himself, we are equally entitled to assume that one fine morning Friday might appear with a loaded revolver in his hand, and then the whole "force" relationship is inverted. Friday commands, and it is Crusoe who has to drudge. We must apologise to the readers for returning with such insistence to the Robinson Crusoe and Friday story, which properly belongs to the nursery and not to the field of science—but how can we help it? We are obliged to apply Herr Dühring's axiomatic method conscientiously, and it is not our fault if in doing so we have to keep all the time within the field of pure childishness. So, then, the revolver triumphs over the sword; and this will probably make even the most childish axiomatician comprehend that force is no mere act of the will, but requires the existence of very real preliminary conditions before it can come into operation, namely, *instruments*, the more perfect of which gets the better of the less perfect; moreover, that these instruments have to be produced, which implies that the producer of more perfect instruments of force, *vulgo*[a] arms, gets the better of the producer of the less perfect instruments, and that, in a word, the triumph of force is based on the production of arms, and this in turn on production in general—therefore, on "economic power", on the "economic situation", on the *material* means which force has at its disposal.

Force, nowadays, is the army and navy, and both, as we all know to our cost, are "devilishly expensive". Force, however, cannot make any money; at most it can take away money that has already been made—and this does not help much either—as we have seen, also to our cost, in the case of the French milliards.[73] In the last analysis, therefore, money must be provided through the medium of economic production; and so once more force is conditioned by the economic situation, which furnishes the means for the equipment and maintenance of the instruments of force. But even that is not all. Nothing is more dependent on economic prerequisites than precisely army and navy. Armament, composition, organisation, tactics and strategy depend above all on the stage reached at the time in production and on communications. It is not the "free creations of the mind" [D. Ph. 43] of generals of genius that have had a revolutionising effect here, but the invention of better weapons and the change in the human material, the soldiers; at the very most the part played by generals

[a] Commonly speaking.—*Ed.*

of genius is limited to adapting methods of fighting to the new weapons and combatants.[a]

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, gunpowder came from the Arabs to Western Europe, and, as every school child knows, completely revolutionised the methods of warfare. The introduction of gunpowder and fire-arms, however, was not at all an act of force, but a step forward in industry, that is, an economic advance. Industry remains industry, whether it is applied to the production or the destruction of things. And the introduction of fire-arms had a revolutionising effect not only on the conduct of war itself, but also on the political relationships of domination and subjection. The procurement of powder and fire-arms required industry and money, and both of these were in the hands of the burghers of the towns. From the outset, therefore, fire-arms were the weapons of the towns, and of the rising town-supported monarchy against the feudal nobility. The stone walls of the noblemen's castles, hitherto unapproachable, fell before the cannon of the burghers, and the bullets of the burghers' arquebuses pierced the armour of the knights. With the defeat of the nobility's armour-clad cavalry, the nobility's supremacy was broken; with the development of the bourgeoisie, infantry and artillery became more and more the decisive types of arms; compelled by the development of artillery, the military profession had to add to its organisation a new and entirely industrial subsection, engineering.

The improvement of fire-arms was a very slow process. The pieces of artillery remained clumsy and the musket, in spite of a number of inventions affecting details, was still a crude weapon. It took over three hundred years for a weapon to be constructed that was suitable for the equipment of the whole body of infantry. It was not until the early eighteenth century that the flint-lock musket with a bayonet finally displaced the pike in the equipment of the infantry. The foot soldiers of that period were the mercenaries of princes; they consisted of the most demoralised elements of society, rigorously drilled but quite unreliable and only held together by the rod; they were often hostile prisoners of war who had been pressed into service. The only type of fighting

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[a] Further on, instead of the six following paragraphs, in the first manuscript of Part II of *Anti-Dühring* (see Notes 1 and 332), there followed a more detailed variant of the text, which Engels subsequently entitled "Infantry Tactics, Derived from Material Causes. 1700-1870" as a separate manuscript (see this volume, pp. 623-29).— *Ed.*

in which these soldiers could apply the new weapons was the tactics of the line, which reached its highest perfection under Frederick II. The whole infantry of an army was drawn up in triple ranks in the form of a very long, hollow square, and moved in battle order only as a whole; at the very most, either of the two wings might move forward or keep back a little. This cumbrous mass could move in formation only on absolutely level ground, and even then only very slowly (seventy-five paces a minute); a change of formation during a battle was impossible, and once the infantry was engaged, victory or defeat was decided rapidly and at one blow.

In the American War of Independence,[74] these unwieldy lines were met by bands of rebels, who although not drilled were all the better able to shoot from their rifled guns; they were fighting for their vital interests, and therefore did not desert like the mercenaries; nor did they do the English the favour of encountering them also in line and on clear, even ground. They came on in open formation, a series of rapidly moving troops of sharpshooters, under cover of the woods. Here the line was powerless and succumbed to its invisible and inaccessible opponents. Skirmishing was reinvented—a new method of warfare which was the result of a change in the human war material.

What the American Revolution had begun the French Revolution[75] completed, also in the military sphere. It also could oppose to the well-trained mercenary armies of the Coalition only poorly trained but great masses of soldiers, the levy of the entire nation. But these masses had to protect Paris, that is, to hold a definite area, and for this purpose victory in open mass battle was essential. Mere skirmishes would not achieve enough; a form had to be found to make use of large masses and this form was discovered in the *column.* Column formation made it possible for even poorly trained troops to move with a fair degree of order, and moreover with greater speed (a hundred paces and more in a minute); it made it possible to break through the rigid forms of the old line formation; to fight on any ground, and therefore even on ground which was extremely disadvantageous to the line formation; to group the troops in any way if in the least appropriate; and, in conjunction with attacks by scattered bands of sharpshooters, to contain the enemy's lines, keep them engaged and wear them out until the moment came for masses held in reserve to break through them at the decisive point in the position. This new method of warfare, based on the combined action of skirmishers and columns and on the partitioning of the

army into independent divisions or army corps, composed of all arms of the service—a method brought to full perfection by Napoleon in both its tactical and strategical aspects—had become necessary primarily because of the changed personnel: the soldiery of the French Revolution. Besides, two very important technical prerequisites had been complied with: first, the lighter carriages for field guns constructed by Gribeauval, which alone made possible the more rapid movement now required of them; and secondly, the slanting of the butt, which had hitherto been quite straight, continuing the line of the barrel. Introduced in France in 1777, it was copied from hunting weapons and made it possible to shoot at a particular individual without necessarily missing him. But for this improvement it would have been impossible to skirmish with the old weapons.

The revolutionary system of arming the whole people was soon restricted to compulsory conscription (with substitution for the rich, who paid for their release) and in this form it was adopted by most of the large states on the Continent. Only Prussia attempted, through its *Landwehr* system,[76] to draw to a greater extent on the military strength of the nation. Prussia was also the first state to equip its whole infantry—after the rifled muzzle-loader, which had been improved between 1830 and 1860 and found fit for use in war, had played a brief role—with the most up-to-date weapon, the rifled breech-loader. Its successes in 1866 were due to these two innovations.[77]

The Franco-German War was the first in which two armies faced each other both equipped with breech-loading rifles, and moreover both fundamentally in the same tactical formations as in the time of the old smoothbore flint-locks. The only difference was that the Prussians had introduced the company column formation in an attempt to find a form of fighting which was better adapted to the new type of arms. But when, at St. Privat on August 18,[78] the Prussian Guard tried to apply the company column formation seriously, the five regiments which were chiefly engaged lost in less than two hours more than a third of their strength (176 officers and 5,114 men). From that time on the company column, too, was condemned as a battle formation, no less than the battalion column and the line; all idea of further exposing troops in any kind of close formation to enemy gun-fire was abandoned, and on the German side all subsequent fighting was conducted only in those compact bodies of skirmishers into which the columns had so far regularly dissolved of themselves under a deadly hail of bullets, although this had been opposed by

the higher commands as contrary to order; and in the same way the only form of movement when under fire from enemy rifles became the *double.* Once again the soldier had been shrewder than the officer; it was *he* who instinctively found the only way of fighting which has proved of service up to now under the fire of breech-loading rifles, and in spite of opposition from his officers he carried it through successfully.

The Franco-German War marked a turning-point of entirely new implications. In the first place the weapons used have reached such a stage of perfection that further progress which would have any revolutionising influence is no longer possible. Once armies have guns which can hit a battalion at any range at which it can be distinguished, and rifles which are equally effective for hitting individual men, while loading them takes less time than aiming, then all further improvements are of minor importance for field warfare. The era of evolution is therefore, in essentials, closed in this direction. And secondly, this war has compelled all continental powers to introduce in a stricter form the Prussian *Landwehr* system, and with it a military burden which must bring them to ruin within a few years. The army has become the main purpose of the state, and an end in itself; the peoples are there only to provide soldiers and feed them. Militarism dominates and is swallowing Europe. But this militarism also bears within itself the seed of its own destruction. Competition among the individual states forces them, on the one hand, to spend more money each year on the army and navy, artillery, etc., thus more and more hastening their financial collapse; and, on the other hand, to resort to universal compulsory military service more and more extensively, thus in the long run making the whole people familiar with the use of arms, and therefore enabling them at a given moment to make their will prevail against the warlords in command. And this moment will arrive as soon as the mass of the people—town and country workers and peasants—*will have* a will. At this point the armies of the princes become transformed into armies of the people; the machine refuses to work and militarism collapses by the dialectics of its own evolution. What the bourgeois democracy of 1848 could not accomplish, just because it was *bourgeois* and not proletarian, namely, to give the labouring masses a will whose content would be in accord with their class position—socialism will infallibly secure. And this will mean the bursting asunder *from within* of militarism and with it of all standing armies.

That is the first moral of our history of modern infantry. The

second moral, which brings us back again to Herr Dühring, is that the whole organisation and method of warfare of the armies, and along with these victory or defeat, prove to be dependent on material, that is, economic conditions: on the human material and the armaments, and therefore on the quality and quantity of the population and on technical development. Only a hunting people like the Americans could rediscover skirmishing tactics—and they were hunters as a result of purely economic causes, just as now, as a result of purely economic causes, these same Yankees of the old States have transformed themselves into farmers, industrialists, seamen and merchants who no longer skirmish in the primeval forests, but instead all the more effectively in the field of speculation, where they have likewise made much progress in making use of large masses.—Only a revolution such as the French, which brought about the economic emancipation of the bourgeois and, especially, of the peasant, could find the mass armies and at the same time the free forms of movement which shattered the old rigid lines—the military counterparts of the absolutism which they were defending. And we have seen in case after case how advances in technique, as soon as they became applicable militarily and in fact were so applied, immediately and almost forcibly produced changes and even revolutions in the methods of warfare, often indeed against the will of the army command. And nowadays any zealous N.C.O. could explain to Herr Dühring how greatly, besides, the conduct of a war depends on the productivity and means of communication of the army's own hinterland as well as of the theatre of war. In short, always and everywhere it is the economic conditions and the instruments of economic power which help "force" to victory, without which force ceases to be force. And anyone who tried to reform methods of warfare from the opposite standpoint, on the basis of Dühringian principles, would certainly earn nothing but a beating.*

If we pass now from land to sea, we find that in the last twenty years alone an even more complete revolution has taken place

* This is already perfectly well known to the Prussian General Staff. "The *basis* of warfare is primarily the *economic* way of life of the peoples in general", said Herr Max Jähns, a captain of the General Staff, in a scientific lecture (*Kölnische Zeitung*, April 20, 1876, p. 3).[a]

[a] M. Jähns, *Machiavelli und der Gedanke der allgemeinen Wehrpflicht.* Italics by Engels.— *Ed.*

there. The warship of the Crimean War[79] was the wooden two- and three-decker of 60 to 100 guns; this was still mainly propelled by sail, with only a low-powered auxiliary steam-engine. The guns on these warships were for the most part 32-pounders, weighing approximately 50 centners, with only a few 68-pounders weighing 95 centners. Towards the end of the war, iron-clad floating batteries made their appearance; they were clumsy and almost immobile monsters, but to the guns of that period they were invulnerable. Soon warships, too, were swathed in iron armour-plating; at first the plates were still thin, a thickness of four inches being regarded as extremely heavy armour. But soon the progress made with artillery outstripped the armour-plating; each successive increase in the strength of the armour used was countered by a new and heavier gun which easily pierced the plates. In this way we have already reached armour-plating ten, twelve, fourteen and twenty-four inches thick (Italy proposes to have a ship built with plates three feet thick) on the one hand, and on the other, rifled guns of 25, 35, 80 and even 100 tons (at 20 centners[a]) in weight, which can hurl projectiles weighing 300, 400, 1,700 and up to 2,000 pounds to distances which were never dreamed of before. The warship of the present day is a gigantic armoured screw-driven steamer of 8,000 to 9,000 tons displacement and 6,000 to 8,000 horse power, with revolving turrets and four or at most six heavy guns, the bow being extended under water into a ram for running down enemy vessels. It is a single colossal machine, in which steam not only drives the ship at a high speed, but also works the steering-gear, raises the anchor, swings the turrets, changes the elevation of the guns and loads them, pumps out water, hoists and lowers the boats—some of which are themselves also steam-driven—and so forth. And the rivalry between armour-plating and the fire power of guns is so far from being at an end that nowadays a ship is almost always not up to requirements, already out of date, before it is launched. The modern warship is not only a product, but at the same time a specimen of modern large-scale industry, a floating factory—producing mainly, to be sure, a lavish waste of money. The country in which large-scale industry is most highly developed has almost a monopoly of the construction of these ships. All Turkish, almost all Russian and most German armoured vessels have been built in England; armour-plates that are at all serviceable are hardly made outside of Sheffield; of the three steelworks in

[a] German centner of 50 kilograms, i.e., half of the metric centner.—*Ed.*

Europe which alone are able to make the heaviest guns, two (Woolwich and Elswick) are in England, and the third (Krupp[80]) in Germany. In this sphere it is most palpably evident that the "direct political force" [D. Ph. 538] which, according to Herr Dühring, is the "decisive cause of the economic situation" [D. K. G. 231], is on the contrary completely subordinate to the economic situation, that not only the construction but also the operation of the marine instrument of force, the warship, has itself become a branch of modern large-scale industry. And that this is so distresses no one more than force itself, that is, the state, which has now to pay for one ship as much as a whole small fleet used to cost; which has to resign itself to seeing these expensive vessels become obsolete, and therefore worthless, even before they slide into the water; and which must certainly be just as disgusted as Herr Dühring that the man of the "economic situation", the engineer, is now of far greater importance on board than the man of "direct force", the captain. We, on the contrary, have absolutely no cause to be vexed when we see that, in this competitive struggle between armour-plating and guns, the warship is being developed to a pitch of perfection which is making it both outrageously costly and unusable in war,* and that this struggle makes manifest also in the sphere of naval warfare those inherent dialectical laws of motion on the basis of which militarism, like every other historical phenomenon, is being brought to its doom in consequence of its own development.

Here, too, therefore we see absolutely clearly that it is not by any means true that "the primary must be sought in direct political force and not in any indirect economic power" [D. Ph. 538]. On the contrary. For what in fact does "the primary" in force itself prove to be? Economic power, the disposal of the means of power of large-scale industry. Naval political force, which reposes on modern warships, proves to be not at all "direct" but on the contrary *mediated* by economic power, highly developed metallurgy, command of skilled technicians and highly productive coal-mines.

And yet what is the use of it all? If we put Herr Dühring in supreme command in the next naval war, he will destroy all fleets

* The perfecting of the latest product of modern industry for use in naval warfare, the self-propelled torpedo, seems likely to bring this to pass; it would mean that the smallest torpedo boat would be superior to the most powerful armoured warship. (It should be borne in mind that the above was written in 1878[81].)

of armoured ships, which are the slaves of the economic situation, without torpedoes or any other artifices, solely by virtue of his "direct force".

## IV. THEORY OF FORCE

### (Conclusion)

"It is a circumstance of great importance that as a matter of fact the domination over *nature,* generally speaking"(!), "only proceeded" (a domination proceeded!) "through the domination over *man.* The cultivation of landed property in tracts of considerable size never took place anywhere without the antecedent subjection of man in some form of slave-labour or corvée. The establishment of an economic domination over things has presupposed the political, social and economic domination of man over man. How could a large landed proprietor even be conceived without at once including in this idea also his domination over slaves, serfs, or others indirectly unfree? What could the efforts of an individual, at most supplemented by those of his family, have signified or signify in extensively practised agriculture? The exploitation of the land, or the extension of economic control over it on a scale exceeding the natural capacities of the individual, was only made possible in previous history by the establishment, either before or simultaneously with the introduction of dominion over land, of the enslavement of man which this involves. In the later periods of development this servitude was mitigated ... its present form in the more highly civilised states is wage-labour, to a greater or lesser degree carried on under police rule. Thus wage-labour provides the practical possibility of that form of contemporary wealth which is represented by dominion over wide areas of land and" (!) "extensive landed property. It goes without saying that all other types of distributive wealth must be explained historically in a similar way, and the indirect dependence of man on man, which is now the essential feature of the conditions which economically are most fully developed, cannot be understood and explained by its own nature, but only as a somewhat transformed heritage of an earlier direct subjugation and expropriation" [D. C. 18-19].

Thus Herr Dühring.

Thesis: The domination of nature (by man) presupposes the domination of man (by man).

Proof: The cultivation of landed *property in tracts of considerable size* never took place anywhere except by the use of bondmen.

Proof of the proof: How can there be large landowners without bondmen, as the large landowner, even with his family, could work only a tiny part of his property without the help of bondmen?

Therefore, in order to prove that man first had to subjugate man before he could bring nature under his control, Herr Dühring transforms "nature" without more ado into "landed property in tracts of considerable size", and then this landed property—ownership unspecified—is immediately further trans-

formed into the property of a large landed proprietor, who naturally cannot work his land without bondmen.

In the first place "domination over nature" and the "cultivation of landed property" are by no means the same thing. In industry, domination over nature is exercised on quite another and much greater scale than in agriculture, which is still subject to weather conditions instead of controlling them.

Secondly, if we confine ourselves to the cultivation of landed property consisting of tracts of considerable size, the question arises: whose landed property is it? And then we find in the early history of all civilised peoples, not the "large landed proprietors" whom Herr Dühring interpolates here with his customary sleight of hand, which he calls "natural dialectics",[82] but tribal and village communities with common ownership of the land. From India to Ireland the cultivation of landed property in tracts of considerable size was originally carried on by such tribal and village communities; sometimes the arable land was tilled jointly for account of the community, and sometimes in separate parcels of land temporarily allotted to families by the community, while woodland and pastureland continued to be used in common. It is once again characteristic of "the most exhaustive specialised studies" made by Herr Dühring "in the domain of politics and law" [D. Ph. 537] that he knows nothing of all this; that all his works breathe total ignorance of Maurer's epoch-making writings on the primitive constitution of the German mark,[83] the basis of all German law, and of the ever-increasing mass of literature, chiefly stimulated by Maurer, which is devoted to proving the primitive common ownership of the land among all civilised peoples of Europe and Asia, and to showing the various forms of its existence and dissolution. Just as in the domain of French and English law Herr Dühring "himself acquired all his ignorance",[a] great as it was, so it is with his even much greater ignorance in the domain of German law. In this domain the man who flies into such a violent rage over the limited horizon of university professors is himself today, at the very most, still where the professors were twenty years ago.

It is a pure "free creation and imagination" [43] on Herr Dühring's part when he asserts that landed proprietors and bondmen were required for the cultivation of landed property in tracts of considerable size. In the whole of the Orient, where the village community or the state owns the land, the very term

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[a] From Heine's poem *Kobes I.*—*Ed.*

landlord is not to be found in the various languages, a point on which Herr Dühring can consult the English jurists, whose efforts in India to solve the question: who is the owner of the land?—were as vain as those of the late Prince Heinrich LXXII of Reuss-Greiz-Schleiz-Lobenstein-Eberswalde[84] in his attempts to solve the question of who was the night-watchman. It was the Turks who first introduced a sort of feudal ownership of land in the countries conquered by them in the Orient. Greece made its entry into history, as far back as the heroic epoch, with a system of social estates which itself was evidently the product of a long but unknown prehistory; even there, however, the land was mainly cultivated by independent peasants; the larger estates of the nobles and tribal chiefs were the exception; moreover they disappeared soon after. Italy was brought under cultivation chiefly by peasants; when, in the final period of the Roman Republic, the great complexes of estates, the latifundia, displaced the small peasants and replaced them with slaves, they also replaced tillage with stockraising, and, as Pliny already realised, brought Italy to ruin (*latifundia Italiam perdidere*[a]). During the Middle Ages, peasant farming was predominant throughout Europe (especially in bringing virgin soil into cultivation); and in relation to the question we are now considering it is of no importance whether these peasants had to pay dues, and if so what dues, to any feudal lords. The colonists from Friesland, Lower Saxony, Flanders and the Lower Rhine, who brought under cultivation the land east of the Elbe which had been wrested from the Slavs, did this as free peasants under very favourable quit-rent tenures, and not at all under "some form of corvée" [D. C. 18].—In North America, by far the largest portion of the land was opened for cultivation by the labour of free farmers, while the big landlords of the South, with their slaves and their rapacious tilling of the land, exhausted the soil until it could grow only firs, so that the cultivation of cotton was forced further and further west. In Australia and New Zealand, all attempts of the British government to establish artificially a landed aristocracy came to nothing. In short, if we except the tropical and subtropical colonies, where the climate makes agricultural labour impossible for Europeans, the big landlord who subjugates nature by means of his slaves or serfs and brings the land under cultivation proves to be a pure figment of the imagination. The very reverse is the case. Where he makes his

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[a] Plinius, *Naturalis historiae,* Liber XVIII, § 35.—*Ed.*

appearance in antiquity, as in Italy, he does not bring wasteland into cultivation, but transforms arable land brought under cultivation by peasants into stock pastures, depopulating and ruining whole countries. Only in a more recent period, when the increasing density of population had raised the value of land, and particularly since the development of agricultural science had made even poorer land more cultivable—it is only from this period that large landowners began to participate on an extensive scale in bringing wasteland and grass-land under cultivation—and this mainly through the robbery of common land from the peasants, both in England and in Germany. But there was another side even to this. For every acre of common land which the large landowners brought into cultivation in England, they transformed at least three acres of arable land in Scotland into sheep-runs and eventually even into mere big-game hunting-grounds.

We are concerned here only with Herr Dühring's assertion that the bringing into cultivation of tracts of land of considerable size and therefore of practically the whole area now cultivated, "never and nowhere" took place except through the agency of big landlords and their bondmen—an assertion which, as we have seen, "presupposes" a really unprecedented ignorance of history. It is not necessary, therefore, for us to examine here either to what extent, at different periods, areas which were already made entirely or mainly cultivable were cultivated by slaves (as in the hey-day of Greece) or serfs (as in the manors of the Middle Ages); or what was the social function of the large landowners at various periods.

And after Herr Dühring has shown us this masterpiece of the imagination—in which we do not know whether the conjuring trick of deduction or the falsification of history is more to be admired—he exclaims triumphantly:

> "It goes without saying that all other types of distributive wealth *must be explained historically in similar manner*!" [19.]

Which of course saves him the trouble of wasting even a single word more on the origin, for example, of capital.

If, with his domination of man by man as a prior condition for the domination of nature by man, Herr Dühring only wanted to state in a general way that the whole of our present economic order, the level of development now attained by agriculture and industry, is the result of a social history which evolved in class antagonisms, in relationships of domination and subjection, he is saying something which long ago, ever since the *Communist*

*Manifesto*, became a commonplace. But the question at issue is how we are to explain the origin of classes and relations based on domination, and if Herr Dühring's only answer is the one word "force", we are left exactly where we were at the start. The mere fact that the ruled and exploited have at all times been far more numerous than the rulers and the exploiters, and that therefore it is in the hands of the former that the real force has reposed, is enough to demonstrate the absurdity of the whole force theory. The relationships based on domination and subjection have therefore still to be explained.

They arose in two ways.

As men originally made their exit from the animal world—in the narrower sense of the term—so they made their entry into history: still half animal, brutal, still helpless in face of the forces of nature, still ignorant of their own strength; and consequently as poor as the animals and hardly more productive than they. There prevailed a certain equality in the conditions of existence, and for the heads of families also a kind of equality of social position—at least an absence of social classes—which continued among the primitive agricultural communities of the civilised peoples of a later period. In each such community there were from the beginning certain common interests the safeguarding of which had to be handed over to individuals, true, under the control of the community as a whole: adjudication of disputes; repression of abuse of authority by individuals; control of water supplies, especially in hot countries; and finally when conditions were still absolutely primitive, religious functions. Such offices are found in aboriginal communities of every period—in the oldest German marks and even today in India. They are naturally endowed with a certain measure of authority and are the beginnings of state power. The productive forces gradually increase; the increasing density of the population creates at one point common interests, at another conflicting interests, between the separate communities, whose grouping into larger units brings about in turn a new division of labour, the setting up of organs to safeguard common interests and combat conflicting interests. These organs which, if only because they represent the common interests of the whole group, hold a special position in relation to each individual community—in certain circumstances even one of opposition—soon make themselves still more independent, partly through heredity of functions, which comes about almost as a matter of course in a world where everything occurs spontaneously, and partly because they become increasingly indispensable owing to the

growing number of conflicts with other groups. It is not necessary for us to examine here how this independence of social functions in relation to society increased with time until it developed into domination over society; how he who was originally the servant, where conditions were favourable, changed gradually into the lord; how this lord, depending on the conditions, emerged as an Oriental despot or satrap, the dynast of a Greek tribe, chieftain of a Celtic clan, and so on; to what extent he subsequently had recourse to force in the course of this transformation; and how finally the individual rulers united into a ruling class. Here we are only concerned with establishing the fact that the exercise of a social function was everywhere the basis of political supremacy; and further that political supremacy has existed for any length of time only when it discharged its social functions. However great the number of despotisms which rose and fell in Persia and India, each was fully aware that above all it was the entrepreneur responsible for the collective maintenance of irrigation throughout the river valleys, without which no agriculture was possible there. It was reserved for the enlightened English to lose sight of this in India; they let the irrigation canals and sluices fall into decay, and are now at last discovering, through the regularly recurring famines, that they have neglected the one activity which might have made their rule in India at least as legitimate as that of their predecessors.

But alongside this process of formation of classes another was also taking place. The spontaneously evolved division of labour within the family cultivating the soil made possible, at a certain level of well-being, the incorporation of one or more strangers as additional labour forces. This was especially the case in countries where the old common ownership of the land had already disintegrated or at least the former joint cultivation had given place to the separate cultivation of parcels of land by the respective families. Production had developed so far that the labour-power of a man could now produce more than was necessary for its mere maintenance; the means of maintaining additional labour forces existed; likewise the means of employing them; labour-power acquired a *value*. But the community itself and the association to which it belonged yielded no available, superfluous labour forces. On the other hand, such forces were provided by war, and war was as old as the simultaneous existence alongside each other of several groups of communities. Up to that time one had not known what to do with prisoners of war, and had therefore simply killed them; at an even earlier period, eaten them. But at the stage of "economic

situation" which had now been attained the prisoners acquired a value; one therefore let them live and made use of their labour. Thus force, instead of controlling the economic situation, was on the contrary pressed into the service of the economic situation. *Slavery* had been invented. It soon became the dominant form of production among all peoples who were developing beyond the old community, but in the end was also one of the chief causes of their decay. It was slavery that first made possible the division of labour between agriculture and industry on a larger scale, and thereby also Hellenism, the flowering of the ancient world. Without slavery, no Greek state, no Greek art and science; without slavery, no Roman Empire. But without the basis laid by Hellenism and the Roman Empire, also no modern Europe. We should never forget that our whole economic, political and intellectual development presupposes a state of things in which slavery was as necessary as it was universally recognised. In this sense we are entitled to say: Without the slavery of antiquity no modern socialism.

It is very easy to inveigh against slavery and similar things in general terms, and to give vent to high moral indignation at such infamies. Unfortunately all that this conveys is only what everyone knows, namely, that these institutions of antiquity are no longer in accord with our present conditions and our sentiments, which these conditions determine. But it does not tell us one word as to how these institutions arose, why they existed, and what role they played in history. And when we examine these questions, we are compelled to say—however contradictory and heretical it may sound—that the introduction of slavery under the conditions prevailing at that time was a great step forward. For it is a fact that man sprang from the beasts, and had consequently to use barbaric and almost bestial means to extricate himself from barbarism. Where the ancient communities have continued to exist, they have for thousands of years formed the basis of the cruellest form of state, Oriental despotism, from India to Russia. It was only where these communities dissolved that the peoples made progress of themselves, and their next economic advance consisted in the increase and development of production by means of slave labour. It is clear that so long as human labour was still so little productive that it provided but a small surplus over and above the necessary means of subsistence, any increase of the productive forces, extension of trade, development of the state and of law, or foundation of art and science, was possible only by means of a greater division of labour. And the necessary basis for

this was the great division of labour between the masses discharging simple manual labour and the few privileged persons directing labour, conducting trade and public affairs, and, at a later stage, occupying themselves with art and science. The simplest and most natural form of this division of labour was in fact slavery. In the historical conditions of the ancient world, and particularly of Greece, the advance to a society based on class antagonisms could be accomplished only in the form of slavery. This was an advance even for the slaves; the prisoners of war, from whom the mass of the slaves was recruited, now at least saved their lives, instead of being killed as they had been before, or even roasted, as at a still earlier period.

We may add at this point that all historical antagonisms between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes to this very day find their explanation in this same relatively undeveloped productivity of human labour. So long as the really working population were so much occupied with their necessary labour that they had no time left for looking after the common affairs of society—the direction of labour, affairs of state, legal matters, art, science, etc.—so long was it necessary that there should constantly exist a special class, freed from actual labour, to manage these affairs; and this class never failed, for its own advantage, to impose a greater and greater burden of labour on the working masses. Only the immense increase of the productive forces attained by modern industry has made it possible to distribute labour among all members of society without exception, and thereby to limit the labour-time of each individual member to such an extent that all have enough free time left to take part in the general—both theoretical and practical—affairs of society. It is only now, therefore, that every ruling and exploiting class has become superfluous and indeed a hindrance to social development, and it is only now, too, that it will be inexorably abolished, however much it may be in possession of "direct force".

When, therefore, Herr Dühring turns up his nose at Hellenism because it was founded on slavery, he might with equal justice reproach the Greeks with having had no steam-engines or electric telegraphs. And when he asserts that our modern wage bondage can only be explained as a somewhat transformed and mitigated heritage of slavery, and not by its own nature (that is, by the economic laws of modern society), this either means only that both wage-labour and slavery are forms of bondage and class domination, which every child knows to be so, or is false. For with equal justice we might say that wage-labour could only be explained as

a mitigated form of cannibalism, which, it is now established, was the universal primitive form of utilisation of defeated enemies.

The role played in history by force as contrasted with economic development is therefore clear. In the first place, all political power is originally based on an economic, social function, and increases in proportion as the members of society, through the dissolution of the primitive community, become transformed into private producers, and thus become more and more divorced from the administrators of the common functions of society. Secondly, after the political force has made itself independent in relation to society, and has transformed itself from its servant into its master, it can work in two different directions. Either it works in the sense and in the direction of the natural economic development, in which case no conflict arises between them, the economic development being accelerated. Or it works against economic development, in which case, as a rule, with but few exceptions, force succumbs to it. These few exceptions are isolated cases of conquest, in which the more barbarian conquerors exterminated or drove out the population of a country and laid waste or allowed to go to ruin productive forces which they did not know how to use. This was what the Christians in Moorish Spain did with the major part of the irrigation works on which the highly developed agriculture and horticulture of the Moors depended. Every conquest by a more barbarian people disturbs of course the economic development and destroys numerous productive forces. But in the immense majority of cases where the conquest is permanent, the more barbarian conqueror has to adapt himself to the higher "economic situation" [D. K. G. 231] as it emerges from the conquest; he is assimilated by the vanquished and in most cases he has even to adopt their language. But where—apart from cases of conquest—the internal state power of a country becomes antagonistic to its economic development, as at a certain stage occurred with almost every political power in the past, the contest always ended with the downfall of the political power. Inexorably and without exception the economic development has forced its way through—we have already mentioned the latest and most striking example of this: the great French Revolution. If, in accordance with Herr Dühring's theory, the economic situation and with it the economic structure of a given country were dependent simply on political force, it is absolutely impossible to understand why Frederick William IV after 1848 could not succeed, in spite of his "magnificent army",[85] ingrafting

the mediaeval guilds and other romantic oddities on to the railways, the steam-engines and the large-scale industry which was just then developing in his country; or why the tsar of Russia,[a] who is possessed of even much more forcible means, is not only unable to pay his debts, but cannot even maintain his "force" without continually borrowing from the "economic situation" of Western Europe.

To Herr Dühring force is the absolute evil; the first act of force is to him the original sin; his whole exposition is a jeremiad on the contamination of all subsequent history consummated by this original sin; a jeremiad on the shameful perversion of all natural and social laws by this diabolical power, force. That force, however, plays yet another role in history, a revolutionary role; that, in the words of Marx, it is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one,[b] that it is the instrument with the aid of which social movement forces its way through and shatters the dead, fossilised political forms—of this there is not a word in Herr Dühring. It is only with sighs and groans that he admits the possibility that force will perhaps be necessary for the overthrow of an economic system of exploitation—unfortunately, because all use of force demoralises the person who uses it. And this in spite of the immense moral and spiritual impetus which has been given by every victorious revolution! And this in Germany, where a violent collision—which may, after all, be forced on the people—would at least have the advantage of wiping out the servility which has penetrated the nation's mentality following the humiliation of the Thirty Years' War. And this parson's mode of thought—dull, insipid and impotent—presumes to impose itself on the most revolutionary party that history has known!

## V. THEORY OF VALUE

It is now about a hundred years since the publication in Leipzig of a book which by the beginning of the nineteenth century had run through over thirty editions; it was circulated and distributed in town and country by the authorities, by preachers and philanthropists of all kinds, and was generally prescribed as a

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[a] Alexander II.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Capital.* See present edition, Vol. 35, Part VIII, Chapter XXXI.—*Ed.*

reader for use in the elementary schools. This book was Rochow's *Kinderfreund.*[a] Its purpose was to teach the youthful offspring of the peasants and artisans their vocation in life and their duties to their superiors in society and in the state, and likewise to inspire in them a beneficent contentment with their lot on earth, with black bread and potatoes, serf labour, low wages, paternal thrashings and other delectations of this sort, and all that by means of the system of enlightenment which was then in vogue. With this aim in view the youth of the towns and of the countryside was admonished how wisely nature had ordained that man must win his livelihood and his pleasures by labour, and how happy therefore the peasant or artisan should feel that it was granted to him to season his meal with bitter labour, instead of, like the rich glutton, suffering the pangs of indigestion or constipation, and having to gulp down the choicest tit-bits with repugnance. These same platitudes that old Rochow thought good enough for the peasant boys and girls of the electorate of Saxony of his time, are served up to us by Herr Dühring on page 14 and the following pages of his *Cursus*[b] as the "absolutely fundamental" [D. Ph. 150] basis of the most up-to-date political economy.

"Human wants as such have their natural laws, and their expansion is confined within limits which can be transgressed only by unnatural acts and only for a time, until these acts result in nausea, weariness of life, decrepitude, social mutilation and finally salutary annihilation... A game of life consisting purely of pleasures without any further serious aim soon makes one *blasé*, or, what amounts to the same thing, exhausts all capacity to feel. Real labour, in some form or other, is therefore the natural social law of healthy beings... If instincts and wants were not provided with counterbalances they could hardly bring us even infantile existence, let alone a historically intensified development of life. If they could find satisfaction without limit and without effort they would soon exhaust themselves, leaving an empty existence in the form of boring intervals lasting until the wants were felt again... In every respect, therefore, the fact that the satisfaction of the instincts and passions depends on the surmounting of economic obstacles is a salutary basic law of both the external arrangement of nature and the inner constitution of man" [D. C. 14, 15, 16]—and so on, and so forth.

It can be seen that the commonest commonplaces of the worthy Rochow are celebrating their centenary in Herr Dühring, and do so, moreover, as the "deeper foundation" [11] of the one and only really critical and scientific "socialitarian system" [IV].

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[a] F. E. Rochow, *Der Kinderfreund. Ein Lesebuch zum Gebrauch in Landschulen.—Ed.*

[b] E. Dühring, *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie.—Ed.*

With the foundations thus laid, Herr Dühring can proceed to build. Applying the mathematical method, he first gives us, following the ancient Euclid's example, a series of definitions.[a] This is all the more convenient because it enables him at once to contrive his definitions in such a way that what is to be proved with their help is already partially contained in them. And so we learn at the outset that

> the governing concept in all prior political economy has been wealth and that wealth, as it really has been understood hitherto and as it has developed its sway in world history, is "economic power over men and things" [16-17].

This is doubly wrong. In the first place the wealth of the ancient tribal and village communities was in no sense a domination over men. And secondly, even in societies moving in class antagonisms, wealth, in so far as it includes domination over men, is mainly and almost exclusively a domination over men exercised *by virtue of*, and *through the agency of*, the domination over things. From the very early period when the capture of slaves and the exploitation of slaves became separate branches of business, the exploiters of slave-labour had to buy the slaves, acquiring control over men only through their prior control of things, of the purchase price of the slave and of his means of subsistence and instruments of labour. Throughout the Middle Ages large landed property was the prerequisite by means of which the feudal nobility came to have quit-rent peasants and corvée peasants. And nowadays even a six-year-old child sees that wealth dominates men exclusively by means of the things which it has at its disposal.

But what is it that makes Herr Dühring concoct this false definition of wealth, and why has he to sever the actual connection which existed in all former class societies? In order to drag wealth from the domain of economics over into that of morals. Domination over things is quite all right, but domination over men is an evil thing; and as Herr Dühring has forbidden himself to explain domination over men by domination over things, he can once again do an audacious trick and explain domination over men offhand by his beloved force. Wealth, as domination over men, is "robbery" [17]—and with this we are back again at a corrupted version of Proudhon's ancient formula: "Property is theft."[b]

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[a] Euclides, *Elementa.—Ed.*

[b] P. J. Proudhon, *Qu'est-ce que la propriété? ou Recherches sur le principe du droit et du gouvernement*, p. 2.—*Ed.*

And so we have now safely brought wealth under two essential aspects, production and distribution: wealth as domination over things—production wealth, the good side; wealth as domination over men—distribution wealth up to the present day, bad side, away with it! Applied to the conditions of today, this means: The capitalist mode of production is quite good and may remain, but the capitalist mode of distribution is no good and must be abolished. Such is the nonsense which comes of writing on economics without even having grasped the connection between production and distribution.

After wealth, value is defined as follows:

"Value is the worth which economic things and services have in commerce." This worth corresponds to "the price or any other equivalent name, for example, wages" [D. C. 19].

In other words, value is the price. Or rather, in order not to do Herr Dühring an injustice and give the absurdity of his definition as far as possible in his own words: value are the prices. For he says on page 19:

"value, and the prices expressing it in money"

—thus himself stating that the same value has very different prices and consequently also just as many different values. If Hegel had not died long ago, he would hang himself; with all his theologics he could not have thought up this value which has as many different values as it has prices. It requires once more someone with the positive assurance of Herr Dühring to inaugurate a new and deeper foundation for economics with the declaration that there is no difference between price and value except that one is expressed in money and the other is not.

But all this still does not tell us what value is, and still less by what it is determined. Herr Dühring has therefore to come across with further explanations.

"Speaking absolutely in general, the basic law of comparison and evaluation, on which value and the prices expressing it in money depend, belongs in the first place to the sphere of pure production, apart from distribution, which introduces only a second element into the concept of value. The greater or lesser obstacles which the variety of natural conditions places in the way of efforts directed towards the procurement of things, and owing to which it necessitates a greater or lesser expenditure of economic energy, determine also ... the greater or lesser value", [19-20] and this is appraised according to "the resistance offered by nature and circumstances to the procuring of things [20] ... The extent to which we invest our own energy into them" (things) "is the immediate determining cause of the existence of value in general and of a particular magnitude of it" [21].

In so far as there is a meaning in this, it is: The value of a product of labour is determined by the labour-time necessary for its production; and we knew that long ago, even without Herr Dühring. Instead of stating the fact simply, he has to twist it into an oracular saying. It is simply wrong to say that the dimensions in which anyone invests his energies in anything (to keep to the bombastic style) is the immediate determining cause of value and of the magnitude of value. In the first place, it depends on what thing the energy is put into, and secondly, how the energy is put into it. If someone makes a thing which has no use-value for other people, his whole energy does not produce an atom of value; and if he is stiff-necked enough to produce by hand an object which a machine produces twenty times cheaper, nineteen-twentieths of the energy he put into it produces neither value in general nor any particular magnitude of value.

Moreover it is an absolute distortion to transform productive labour, which creates positive products, into a merely negative overcoming of a resistance. In order to come by a shirt we should then have to set about it somewhat as follows: Firstly we overcome the resistance of the cotton-seed to being sown and to growing, then the resistance of the ripe cotton to being picked and packed and transported, then its resistance to being unpacked and carded and spun, further the resistance of the yarn to being woven, then the resistance of the cloth to being bleached and sewn, and finally the resistance of the completed shirt to being put on.

Why all this childish perversion and perversity? In order, by means of the "resistance", to pass from the "production value", the true but hitherto only ideal value, to the "distribution value", the value, falsified by force, which alone was acknowledged in past history:

"In addition to the resistance offered by nature ... there is yet another, a purely social obstacle... An obstructive power steps in between man and nature, and this power is once again man. Man, conceived as alone and isolated, faces nature as a free being... The situation is different as soon as we think of a second man who, sword in hand, holds the approaches to nature and its resources and demands a price, whatever form it may take, for allowing access. This second man ..., so to speak, puts a tax on the other and is thus the reason why the value of the object striven for turns out greater than it might have been but for this political and social obstacle to the procuring or production of the object... The particular forms of this artificially enhanced worth of things are extremely manifold, and it naturally has its concomitant counterpart in a corresponding forcing down of the worth of labour [23] ... It is therefore an illusion to attempt to regard value in advance as an equivalent in the proper sense of this term, that is, as something which is of equal worth, or as a relation of exchange arising from the principle that service and counter-service are equal... On the contrary, the criterion of a correct theory of

value will be that the most general cause of evaluation conceived in the theory does not coincide with the special form of worth which rests on compulsory distribution. This form varies with the social system, while economic value proper can only be a production value measured in relation to nature and in consequence of this will only change with changes in the obstacles to production of a purely natural and technical kind" [D. C. 24-25].

The value which a thing has in practice, according to Herr Dühring, therefore consists of two parts: first, the labour contained in it, and, secondly, the tax surcharge imposed "sword in hand". In other words, value in practice today is a monopoly price. Now if, in accordance with this theory of value, all commodities have such a monopoly price, only two alternatives are possible. Either each individual loses again as a buyer what he gained as a seller; the prices have changed nominally but in reality—in their mutual relationship—have remained the same; everything remains as before, and the far-famed distribution value is a mere illusion.—Or, on the other hand, the alleged tax surcharges represent a real sum of values, namely, that produced by the labouring, value-producing class but appropriated by the monopolist class, and then this sum of values consists merely of unpaid labour; in this event, in spite of the man with the sword in his hand, in spite of the alleged tax surcharges and the asserted distribution value, we arrive once again at the Marxian theory of *surplus-value.*

But let us look at some examples of the famous "distribution value". On page 135 and the following pages we find:

"The shaping of prices as a result of individual competition must also be regarded as a form of economic distribution and of the mutual imposition of tribute... If the stock of any necessary commodity is suddenly reduced to a considerable extent, this gives the sellers a disproportionate power of exploitation [135-36] ... what a colossal increase in prices this may produce is shown particularly by those abnormal situations in which the supply of necessary articles is cut off for any length of time" [137] and so on. Moreover, even in the normal course of things virtual monopolies exist which make possible arbitrary price increases, as for example the railway companies, the companies supplying towns with water and gas [see 153, 154], etc.

It has long been known that such opportunities for monopolistic exploitation occur. But that the monopoly prices these produce are not to rank as exceptions and special cases, but precisely as classical examples of the determination of values in operation today—this is new. How are the prices of the necessaries of life determined? Herr Dühring replies: Go into a beleaguered city from which supplies have been cut off, and find out! What effect

has competition on the determination of market prices? Ask the monopolists—they will tell you all about it!

For that matter, even in the case of these monopolies, the man with the sword in his hand who is supposed to stand behind them is not discoverable. On the contrary: in cities under siege, if the man with the sword, the commandant, does his duty, he, as a rule, very soon puts an end to the monopoly and requisitions the monopolised stocks for the purpose of equal distribution. And for the rest, the men with the sword, when they have tried to fabricate a "distribution value", have reaped nothing but bad business and financial loss. With their monopolisation of the East Indian trade, the Dutch brought both their monopoly and their trade to ruin. The two strongest governments which ever existed, the North American revolutionary government and the French National Convention, ventured to fix maximum prices, and they failed miserably.[86] For some years now, the Russian government has been trying to raise the exchange rate of Russian paper money—which it is lowering in Russia by the continuous emission of irredeemable banknotes—by the equally continuous bying up in London of bills of exchange on Russia. It has had to pay for this pleasure in the last few years almost sixty million rubles, and the ruble now stands at under two marks instead of over three. If the sword has the magic economic powers ascribed to it by Herr Dühring, why is it that no government has succeeded in permanently compelling bad money to have the "distribution value" of good money, or *assignats* to have the "distribution value" of gold? And where is the sword which is in command of the world market?

There is also another principal form in which the distribution value facilitates the appropriation of other people's services without counter-services: this is possession-rent, that is to say, rent of land and the profit on capital. For the moment we merely record this, to enable us to state that this is all that we learn of this famous "distribution value".—All? No, not quite. Listen to this:

"In spite of the twofold standpoint which manifests itself in the recognition of a production value and a distribution value, there is nevertheless always underlying these *something in common, the thing of which all values consist* and by which they are therefore measured. The immediate, natural measure is the expenditure of energy, and the simplest unit is human energy in the crudest sense of the term. This latter can be reduced to the existence time whose *self*-maintenance in turn represents the overcoming of a certain sum of difficulties in nutrition and life. Distribution, or appropriation, value is present in pure and exclusive form only where the power to dispose of unproduced things, or, to use a commoner expression, where these things themselves are exchanged for services or things of real production value.

The homogeneous element, which is indicated and represented in every expression of value and therefore also in the component parts of value which are appropriated through distribution without counter-service consists in the expenditure of human energy, which ... finds embodiment ... in each commodity" [D. C. 27].

Now what should we say to this? If all commodity values are measured by the expenditure of human energy embodied in the commodities, what becomes of the distribution value, the price surcharge, the tax? True, Herr Dühring tells us that even unproduced things—things which consequently cannot have a real value—can be given a distribution value and exchanged against things which have been produced and possess value. But at the same time he tells us that *all values*—consequently also purely and exclusively distributive values—consist in the expenditure of energy embodied in them. Unfortunately we are not told how an expenditure of energy can find embodiment in an unproduced thing. In any case one point seems to emerge clearly from all this medley of values: that distribution value, the price surcharge on commodities extorted as a result of social position, and the tax levied by virtue of the sword all once more amount to nothing. The values of commodities are determined solely by the expenditure of human energy, *vulgo*[a] labour, which finds embodiment in them. So, apart from the rent of land and the few monopoly prices, Herr Dühring says the same, though in more slovenly and confused terms, as the much-decried Ricardo-Marxian theory of value said long ago in clearer and more precise form.

He says it, and in the same breath he says the opposite. Marx, taking Ricardo's investigations as his starting-point, says: The value of commodities is determined by the socially necessary general human labour embodied in them, and this in turn is measured by its duration. Labour is the measure of all values, but labour itself has no value. Herr Dühring, after likewise putting forward, in his clumsy way, labour as the measure of value, continues:

this "can be reduced to the existence time whose self-maintenance in turn represents the overcoming of a certain sum of difficulties in nutrition and life" [D. C. 27].

Let us ignore the confusion, due purely to his desire to be original, of labour-time, which is the only thing that matters here, with existence time, which has never yet created or measured values. Let us also ignore the false "socialitarian" pretence which

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[a] Commonly speaking.—*Ed.*

the "*self*-maintenance" of this existence time is intended to introduce; so long as the world has existed and so long as it continues to exist every individual must maintain himself in the sense that he *himself* consumes his means of subsistence. Let us assume that Herr Dühring expressed himself in precise economic terms; then the sentence quoted either means nothing at all or means the following: The value of a commodity is determined by the labour-time embodied in it, and the value of this labour-time by the means of subsistence required for the maintenance of the labourer for this time. And, in its application to present-day society, this means: the value of a commodity is determined by the *wages* contained in it.

And this brings us at last to what Herr Dühring is really trying to say. The value of a commodity is determined, in the phraseology of vulgar economics, by the production outlays;

Carey, on the contrary, "brought out the truth that it is not the costs of production, but the costs of reproduction that determine value" (*Kritische Geschichte,* p. 401).

We shall see later what there is to these production or reproduction costs; at the moment we only note that, as is well known, they consist of wages and profit on capital. Wages represent the "expenditure of energy" embodied in commodities, the production value. Profit represents the tax or price surcharge extorted by the capitalist by virtue of his monopoly, the sword in his hand—the distribution value. And so the whole contradictory confusion of the Dühringian theory of value is ultimately resolved into the most beautiful and harmonious clarity.

The determination of the value of commodities by wages, which in Adam Smith still frequently appeared side by side with its determination by labour-time, has been banned from scientific political economy since Ricardo, and nowadays survives only in vulgar economics. It is precisely the shallowest sycophants of the existing capitalist order of society who preach the determination of value by wages, and along with this, describe the profit of the capitalist likewise as a higher sort of wages, as the wages of abstinence (reward to the capitalist for not playing ducks and drakes with his capital), as the premium on risk, as the wages of management, etc. Herr Dühring differs from them only in declaring that profit is robbery. In other words, Herr Dühring bases his socialism directly on the doctrines of the worst kind of vulgar economics. And his socialism is worth just as much as this vulgar economics. They stand and fall together.

After all, it is clear that what a labourer produces and what he costs are just as much different things as what a machine produces and what it costs. The value created by a labourer in a twelve-hour working-day has nothing in common with the value of the means of subsistence which he consumes in this working-day and the period of rest that goes with it. In these means of subsistence there may be embodied three, four or seven hours of labour-time, varying with the stage of development reached in the productivity of labour. If we assume that seven hours of labour were necessary for their production, then the theory of value of vulgar economics which Herr Dühring has accepted implies that the product of twelve hours of labour has the value of the product of seven hours of labour, that twelve hours of labour are equal to seven hours of labour, or that 12=7. To put it even more plainly: A labourer working on the land, no matter under what social relationships, produces in a year a certain quantity of grain, say sixty bushels of wheat. During this time he consumes a sum of values amounting of forty-five bushels of wheat. Then the sixty bushels of wheat have the same value as the forty-five bushels, and that in the same market and with other conditions remaining absolutely identical; in other words, sixty=forty-five. And this styles itself political economy!

The whole development of human society beyond the stage of brute savagery begins on the day when the labour of the family created more products than were necessary for its maintenance, on the day when a portion of labour could be devoted to the production no longer of the mere means of subsistence, but of means of production. A surplus of the product of labour over and above the costs of maintenance of the labour, and the formation and enlargement, out of this surplus, of a social production and reserve fund, was and is the basis of all social, political and intellectual progress. In history, up to the present, this fund has been the possession of a privileged class, on which also devolved, along with this possession, political domination and intellectual leadership. The impending social revolution will for the first time make this social production and reserve fund—that is, the total mass of raw materials, instruments of production and means of subsistence—a really social fund, by depriving that privileged class of the disposal of it and transferring it to the whole of society as its common property.

Of two alternative courses, one. Either the value of commodities is determined by the costs of maintenance of the labour necessary for their production—that is, in present-day society, by the wages.

In that case each labourer receives *in his wages the value of the product of his labour*; and then the exploitation of the wage-earning class by the capitalist class is an impossibility. Let us assume that the costs of maintenance of a labourer in a given society can be expressed by the sum of three marks. Then the product of a day's labour, according to the above-cited theory of the vulgar economists, has the value of three marks. Let us assume that the capitalist who employs this labourer, adds a profit to this product, a tribute of one mark, and sells it for four marks. The other capitalists do the same. But from that moment the labourer can no longer cover his daily needs with three marks, but also requires four marks for this purpose. As all other conditions are assumed to have remained unchanged, the wages expressed in means of subsistence must remain the same, while the wages expressed in money must rise, namely, from three marks to four marks a day. What the capitalists take from the working class in the form of profit, they must give back to it in the form of wages. We are just where we were at the beginning: if wages determine value, no exploitation of the worker by the capitalist is possible. But the formation of a surplus of products is also impossible, for, on the basis of the assumption from which we started, the labourers consume just as much value as they produce. And as the capitalists produce no value, it is impossible to see how they expect to live. And if such a surplus of production over consumption, such a production and reserve fund, nevertheless exists, and exists in the hands of the capitalists, no other possible explanation remains but that the workers consume for their self-maintenance merely the *value* of the commodities, and have handed over the commodities themselves to the capitalist for further use.

Or, on the other hand, if this production and reserve fund does in fact exist in the hands of the capitalist class, if it has actually arisen through the accumulation of profit (for the moment we leave the land rent out of account), then it necessarily consists of the accumulated surplus of the product of labour handed over to the capitalist class by the working class, over and above the sum of wages paid to the working class by the capitalist class. In this case, however, it is not wages that determine value, but the quantity of labour; in this case the working class hands over to the capitalist class in the product of labour a greater quantity of value than it receives from it in the shape of wages; and then the profit on capital, like all other forms of appropriation without payment of the labour product of others, is explained as a simple component part of this surplus-value discovered by Marx.

Incidentally, in Dühring's whole *Cursus* of political economy there is no mention of that great and epoch-making discovery with which Ricardo opens his most important work:

"The value of a commodity ... depends on the quantity of labour which is necessary for its production, and not on the greater or lesser compensation which is paid for that labour." [a]

In the *Kritische Geschichte* it is dismissed with the oracular phrase:

"It is not considered" (by Ricardo) "that the greater or lesser proportion in which wages can be an allotment of the necessaries of life" (!) "must also involve ... different forms of the value relationships!" [D. K. G. 215.]

A phrase into which the reader can read what he pleases, and is on safest ground if he reads into it nothing at all.

And now let the reader select for himself, from the five sorts of value served up to us by Herr Dühring, the one that he likes best: the production value, which comes from nature; or the distribution value, which man's wickedness has created and which is distinguished by the fact that it is measured by the expenditure of energy, which is not contained in it; or thirdly, the value which is measured by labour-time; or fourthly, the value which is measured by the costs of reproduction; or lastly, the value which is measured by wages. The selection is wide, the confusion complete, and the only thing left for us to do is to exclaim with Herr Dühring:

"The theory of value is the touchstone of the worth of economic systems!" [499.]

## VI. SIMPLE AND COMPOUND LABOUR

Herr Dühring has discovered in Marx a gross blunder in economics that a schoolboy would blush at, a blunder which at the same time contains a socialist heresy very dangerous to society.

Marx's theory of value is "nothing but the ordinary ... theory that labour is the cause of all values and labour-time is their measure. But the question of how the distinct value of so-called skilled labour is to be conceived is left in complete obscurity. It is true that in our theory also only the labour-time expended can be the measure of the natural cost and therefore of the absolute value of economic things; but here the labour-time of each individual must be considered absolutely equal, to start with, and it is only necessary to examine where, in skilled production, the labour-time of other persons ... for example in the tool used, is added to the separate labour-time of the individual. Therefore the position is not,

[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, p. 1.—*Ed.*

as in Herr Marx's hazy conception, that the labour-time of one person is in itself more valuable than that of another, because more average labour-time is condensed as it were within it, but all labour-time is in principle and without exception—and therefore without any need to take first an average—absolutely equal in value; and in regard to the work done by a person, as also in regard to every finished product, all that requires to be ascertained is how much of the labour-time of other persons may be concealed in what appears to be only his own labour-time. Whether it is a hand tool for production, or the hand, or even the head itself, which could not have acquired its special characteristics and capacity for work without the labour-time of others, is not of the slightest importance in the strict application of the theory. In his lucubrations on value, however, Herr Marx never rids himself of the ghost of a skilled labour-time which lurks in the background. He was unable to effect a thoroughgoing change here because he was hampered by the traditional mode of thought of the educated classes, to whom it necessarily appears monstrous to recognise the labour-time of a porter and that of an architect as of absolutely equal value from the standpoint of economics" [D. K. G. 499-500].

The passage in Marx which calls forth this "mightier wrath" [501] on Herr Dühring's part is very brief. Marx is examining what it is that determines the value of *commodities* and gives the answer: the human labour embodied in them. This, he continues, "is the expenditure of simple labour-power which, on an average, apart from any special development, exists in the organism of every ordinary individual... Skilled labour counts only as simple labour intensified, or rather, as multiplied simple labour, a given quantity of skilled being considered equal to a greater quantity of simple labour. Experience shows that this reduction is constantly being made. A commodity may be the product of the most skilled labour, but its value, by equating it to the product of simple unskilled labour, represents a definite quantity of the latter labour alone. The different proportions in which different sorts of labour are reduced to unskilled labour as their standard, are established by a social process that goes on behind the backs of the producers, and, consequently, appear to be fixed by custom".[a]

Marx is dealing here first of all only with the determination of the value of *commodities,* i.e., of objects which, within a society composed of private producers, are produced and exchanged against each other by these private producers for their private account. In this passage therefore there is no question whatever of "absolute value"—wherever this may be in existence—but of the value which is current in a definite form of society. This value, in this definite historical sense, is shown to be created and measured

[a] K. Marx, *Das Kapital,* p. 19. (See present edition, Vol. 35, Part I, Chapter I, Section 2.—*Ed.*

by the human labour embodied in the individual commodities, and this human labour is further shown to be the expenditure of simple labour-power. But not all labour is a mere expenditure of simple human labour-power; very many sorts of labour involve the use of capabilities or knowledge acquired with the expenditure of greater or lesser effort, time and money. Do these kinds of compound labour produce, in the same interval of time, the same commodity values as simple labour, the expenditure of mere simple labour-power? Obviously not. The product of one hour of compound labour is a commodity of a higher value—perhaps double or treble—in comparison with the product of one hour of simple labour. The values of the products of compound labour are expressed by this comparison in definite quantities of simple labour; but this reduction of compound labour is established by a social process which goes on behind the backs of the producers, by a process which at this point, in the development of the theory of value, can only be stated but not as yet explained.

It is this simple fact, taking place daily before our eyes in present-day capitalist society, which is here stated by Marx. This fact is so indisputable that even Herr Dühring does not venture to dispute it either in his *Cursus*[a] or in his history of political economy[b]; and the Marxian presentation is so simple and lucid that no one but Herr Dühring "is left in complete obscurity" by it. Because of his complete obscurity he mistakes the commodity value, which alone Marx was for the time being concerned with investigating, for "the natural cost", which makes the obscurity still more complete, and even for the "absolute value", which so far as our knowledge goes has never before had currency in political economy. But whatever Herr Dühring may understand by the natural cost, and whichever of his five kinds of value may have the honour to represent absolute value, this much at least is sure: that Marx is not discussing any of these things, but only the value of commodities; and that in the whole section of *Capital* which deals with value there is not even the slightest indication of whether or to what extent Marx considers this theory of the value of commodities[c] applicable also to other forms of society.

"Therefore the position is not," Herr Dühring proceeds, "as in Herr Marx's hazy conception, that the labour-time of one person is in itself more valuable than

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[a] E. Dühring, *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie.—Ed.*

[b] E. Dühring, *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Sozialismus.—Ed.*

[c] See present edition, Vol. 35, Part I, Chapter I.—*Ed.*

that of another, because more average labour-time is condensed as it were within it, but all labour-time is in principle and without exception—and therefore without any need to take first an average—absolutely equal in value" [D. K. G. 500].

It is fortunate for Herr Dühring that fate did not make him a manufacturer, and thus saved him from fixing the value of his commodities on the basis of this new rule and thereby running infallibly into the arms of bankruptcy. But say, are we here still in the society of manufacturers? No, far from it. With his natural cost and absolute value Herr Dühring has made us take a leap, a veritable *salto mortale,* out of the present evil world of exploiters into his own economic commune of the future, into the pure, heavenly air of equality and justice; and so we must now, even though prematurely, take a glance at this new world.

It is true that, according to Herr Dühring's theory, only the labour-time expended can measure the value of economic things even in the economic commune; but as a matter of course the labour-time of each individual must be considered absolutely equal to start with, all labour-time is in principle and without exception absolutely equal in value, without any need to take first an average. And now compare with this radical equalitarian socialism Marx's hazy conception that the labour-time of one person is in itself more valuable than that of another, because more average labour-time is condensed as it were within it—a conception which held Marx captive by reason of the traditional mode of thought of the educated classes, to whom it necessarily appears monstrous that the labour-time of a porter and that of an architect should be recognised as of absolutely equal value from the standpoint of economics!

Unfortunately Marx put a short footnote to the passage in *Capital* cited above: "The reader must note that we are not speaking here of the *wages* or value that the labourer *gets* for a given labour-time, but of the *value of the commodity* in which that labour-time is *materialised.*"[a] Marx, who seems here to have had a presentiment of the coming of his Dühring, therefore safeguards himself against an application of his statements quoted above even to the wages which are paid in existing society for compound labour. And if Herr Dühring, not content with doing this all the same, presents these statements as the principles on which Marx would like to see the distribution of the necessaries of life

[a] K. Marx, *Das Kapital,* p. 19. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part I, Chapter I, Section 2. Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

regulated in society organised socialistically, he is guilty of a shameless imposture, the like of which is only to be found in the gangster press.

But let us look a little more closely at the doctrine of equality in values. All labour-time is entirely equal in value, the porter's and the architect's. So labour-time, and therefore labour itself, has a value. But labour is the creator of all values. It alone gives the products found in nature value in the economic sense. Value itself is nothing else than the expression of the socially necessary human labour materialised in an object. Labour *can* therefore have *no* value. One might as well speak of the value of value, or try to determine the weight, not of a heavy body, but of heaviness itself, as speak of the value of labour, and try to determine it. Herr Dühring dismisses people like Owen, Saint-Simon and Fourier by calling them social alchemists [D. K. G. 237]. His subtilising over the value of labour-time, that is, of labour, shows that he ranks far beneath the real alchemists. And now let the reader fathom Herr Dühring's brazenness in imputing to Marx the assertion that the labour-time of one person is in itself more valuable than that of another [500], that labour-time, and therefore labour, has a value—to Marx, who first demonstrated that labour *can* have *no* value, and why it cannot!

For socialism, which wants to emancipate human labour-power from its status of a *commodity,* the realisation that labour has no value and can have none is of great importance. With this realisation all attempts—inherited by Herr Dühring from primitive workers' socialism—to regulate the future distribution of the necessaries of life as a kind of higher wages fall to the ground. And from it comes the further realisation that distribution, in so far as it is governed by purely economic considerations, will be regulated by the interests of production, and that production is most encouraged by a mode of distribution which allows *all* members of society to develop, maintain and exercise their capacities with maximum universality. It is true that, to the mode of thought of the educated classes which Herr Dühring has inherited, it must seem monstrous that in time to come there will no longer be any professional porters or architects, and that the man who for half an hour gives instructions as an architect will also act as a porter for a period, until his activity as an architect is once again required. A fine sort of socialism that would be—perpetuating professional porters!

If the equality of value of labour-time means that each labourer produces equal values in equal periods of time, without there

being any need to take an average, then this is obviously wrong. If we take two workers, even in the same branch of industry, the value they produce in one hour of labour-time will always vary with the intensity of their labour and their skill—and not even an economic commune, at any rate not on our planet, can remedy this evil—which, however, is only an evil for people like Dühring. What, then, remains of the complete equality of value of any and every labour? Nothing but the purely braggart phrase, which has no other economic foundation than Herr Dühring's incapacity to distinguish between the determination of value by labour and determination of value by wages—nothing but the ukase, the basic law of the new economic commune: Equal wages for equal labour-time! Indeed, the old French communist workers and Weitling had much better reasons for the equality of wages which they advocated.

How then are we to solve the whole important question of the higher wages paid for compound labour? In a society of private producers, private individuals or their families pay the costs of training the qualified worker; hence the higher price paid for qualified labour-power accrues first of all to private individuals: the skilful slave is sold for a higher price, and the skilful wage-earner is paid higher wages. In a socialistically organised society, these costs are borne by society, and to it therefore belong the fruits, the greater values produced by compound labour. The worker himself has no claim to extra pay. And from this, incidentally, follows the moral that at times there is a drawback to the popular demand of the workers for "the full proceeds of labour".[87]

## VII. CAPITAL AND SURPLUS-VALUE

"To begin with, Herr Marx does not hold the accepted economic view of capital, namely, that it is a means of production already produced; on the contrary, he tries to get up a more special, dialectical-historical idea that toys with metamorphoses of concepts and history. According to him, capital is born of money; it forms a historical phase opening with the sixteenth century, that is, with the first beginnings of a world market, which presumably appeared at that period. It is obvious that the keenness of national-economic analysis is lost in such a conceptual interpretation. In such barren conceptions, which are represented as half historical and half logical, but which in fact are only bastards of historical and logical fantasy, the faculty of discernment perishes, together with all honesty in the use of concepts" [D. K. G. 497-98]—

and so he blusters along for a whole page...

"Marx's definition of the concept of capital can only cause confusion in the strict theory of national economy ... frivolities which are palmed off as profound logical truths ... the fragility of foundations" [D. K. G. 498] and so forth.

So according to Marx, we are told, capital was born of money at the beginning of the sixteenth century. This is like saying that fully three thousand years ago metallic money was born of cattle, because once upon a time cattle, among other things, functioned as money. Only Herr Dühring is capable of such a crude and inept manner of expressing himself. In the analysis which Marx makes of the economic forms within which the process of the circulation of commodities takes place, money appears as the final form. "This final product of the circulation of commodities is the *first form in which* capital *appears.* As a matter of history, capital, as opposed to landed property, invariably takes the form at first of money; it appears as moneyed wealth, as the capital of the merchant and of the usurer... We can see it daily under our very eyes. All new capital, to commence with, comes on the stage, that is, on the market, whether of commodities, labour, or money, even in our days, in the shape of money that by a definite process has to be transformed into capital."[a] Here once again Marx is stating a fact. Unable to dispute it, Herr Dühring distorts it: Capital, he has Marx say, is born of money!

Marx then investigates the processes by which money is transformed into capital, and finds, first, that the form in which money circulates as capital is the inversion of the form in which it circulates as the general equivalent of commodities. The simple owner of commodities sells in order to buy; he sells what he does not need, and with the money thus procured he buys what he does need. The incipient capitalist starts by buying what he does *not* need himself; he buys in order to sell, and to sell at a higher price, in order to get back the value of the money originally thrown into the transaction, augmented by an increment in money; and Marx calls this increment *surplus-value.*

Whence comes this surplus-value? It cannot come either from the buyer buying the commodities under their value, or from the seller selling them above their value. For in both cases the gains and the losses of each individual cancel each other, as each individual is in turn buyer and seller. Nor can it come from cheating, for though cheating can enrich one person at the

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[a] K. Marx, *Das Kapital,* p. 128. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part II, Chapter IV. Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

expense of another, it cannot increase the total sum possessed by both, and therefore cannot augment the sum of the values in circulation. "The capitalist class, as a whole, in any country, cannot over-reach themselves." [a]

And yet we find that in each country the capitalist class as a whole is continuously enriching itself before our eyes, by selling dearer than it had bought, by appropriating to itself surplus-value. We are therefore just where we were at the start: whence comes this surplus-value? This problem must be solved, and it must be solved in a *purely economic* way, excluding all cheating and the intervention of any force—the problem being: how is it possible constantly to sell dearer than one has bought, even on the hypothesis that equal values are always exchanged for equal values?

The solution of this problem was the most epoch-making achievement of Marx's work. It spread the clear light of day through economic domains in which socialists no less than bourgeois economists previously groped in utter darkness. Scientific socialism dates from the discovery of this solution and has been built up around it.

This solution is as follows: The increase in the value of money that is to be converted into capital cannot take place in the *money* itself, nor can it originate in the *purchase*, as here this money does no more than realise the price of the commodity, and this price, inasmuch as we took as our premise an exchange of equivalents, is not different from its value. For the same reason, the increase in value cannot originate in the *sale* of the commodity. The change must, therefore, take place in the *commodity* bought; not however in its *value*, as it is bought and sold at its value, but in its *use-value* as such, that is, the change of value must originate in the consumption of the commodity. "In order to be able to extract value from the consumption of a commodity, our friend, Moneybags, must be so lucky as to find ... in the market, a commodity, whose use-value possesses the peculiar property of being a source of value, whose actual consumption, therefore, is itself an embodiment of labour, and, consequently, a *creation of value*. The possessor of money does find on the market such a special commodity in capacity for labour or *labour-power*." [b]

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[a] K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, p. 147. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part II, Chapter V.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 151-52. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part II, Chapter VI. Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

Though, as we saw, labour as such can have no value, this is by no means the case with labour-*power.* This acquires a value from the moment that it becomes a *commodity,* as it is in fact at the present time, and this value is determined, "as in the case of every other commodity, by the labour-time necessary for the production, and consequently also the reproduction, of this special article" [a]; that is to say, by the labour-time necessary for the production of the means of subsistence which the labourer requires for his maintenance in a fit state to work and for the perpetuation of his race. Let us assume that these means of subsistence represent six hours of labour-time daily. Our incipient capitalist, who buys labour-power for carrying on his business, i.e., hires a labourer, consequently pays this labourer the full value of his day's labour-power if he pays him a sum of money which also represents six hours of labour. And as soon as the labourer has worked six hours in the employment of the incipient capitalist, he has fully reimbursed the latter for his outlay, for the value of the day's labour-power which he had paid. But so far the money would not have been converted into capital; it would not have produced any surplus-value. And for this reason the buyer of labour-power has quite a different notion of the nature of the transaction he has carried out. The fact that only six hours' labour is necessary to keep the labourer alive for twenty-four hours, does not in any way prevent him from working twelve hours out of the twenty-four. The value of the labour-power, and the value which that labour-power creates in the labour-process, are two different magnitudes. The owner of the money has paid the value of a day's labour-power; his, therefore, is the use of it for a day—a whole day's labour. The circumstance that the value which the use of it during one day *creates* is double its own value for a day is a piece of especially good luck for the buyer, but according to the laws of exchange of commodities by no means an injustice to the seller. On our assumption, therefore, the labourer each day *costs* the owner of money the value of the product of six hours' labour, but he *hands over* to him each day the value of the product of twelve hours' labour. The difference in favour of the owner of the money is six hours of unpaid surplus-labour, a surplus-product for which he does not pay and in which six hours' labour is embodied. The trick has been performed. Surplus-value has been produced; money has been converted into capital.

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[a] K. Marx, *Das Kaputal,* p. 155. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part II, Chapter VI.—*Ed.*

In thus showing how surplus-value arises, and how alone surplus-value can arise under the domination of the laws regulating the exchange of commodities, Marx exposed the mechanism of the existing capitalist mode of production and of the mode of appropriation based on it; he revealed the core around which the whole existing social order has crystallised.

However, this creation of capital requires that one essential prerequisite be fulfilled: "For the conversion of his money into capital the owner of money must meet in the market with the *free labourer*, free in the double sense, that as a free man he can dispose of his labour-power as his own commodity, and that on the other hand he has no other commodity for sale, is short of everything necessary for the realisation of his labour-power."[a] But this relation between the owners of money or of commodities on the one hand, and those who possess nothing beyond their own labour-power on the other, is not a natural relation, nor is it one that is common to all historical periods: "It is clearly the result of a past historical development, the product ... of the extinction of a whole series of older forms of social production."[b] And in fact we first encounter this free labourer on a mass scale in history at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, as a result of the dissolution of the feudal mode of production. With this, however, and with the bringing into being of world trade and the world market dating from the same epoch, the basis was established on which the mass of the existing movable wealth was necessarily more and more converted into capital, and the capitalist mode of production, aimed at the creation of surplus-value, necessarily became more and more exclusively the prevailing mode.

Up to this point, we have been following the "barren conceptions" of Marx, these "bastards of historical and logical fantasy" in which "the faculty of discernment perishes, together with all honesty in the use of concepts". Let us contrast these "frivolities" with the "profound logical truths" and the "definitive and most strictly scientific treatment in the sense of the exact disciplines" [D. K. G. 498], such as Herr Dühring offers us.

So Marx "does not hold the accepted economic view of capital, namely, that it is a means of production already produced" [497];

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[a] K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, p. 154. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part II, Chapter VI.— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid.— *Ed.*

he says, on the contrary, that a sum of values is converted into capital only when it *increases its value,* when it forms surplus-value. And what does Herr Dühring say?

"Capital is a basis of means of economic power for the continuation of production *and for the formation of shares in the fruits of the general labour-power* [D. C. 40].

However oracularly and slovenly that too is expressed, this much at least is certain: the basis of means of economic power may continue production to eternity, but according to Herr Dühring's own words it will not become capital so long as it does not form "shares in the fruits of the general labour-power"—that is to say, form surplus-value or at least surplus-product. Herr Dühring therefore not only himself commits the sin with which he charges Marx—of not holding the accepted economic view of capital—but besides commits a clumsy plagiarism of Marx, "badly concealed" [D. K. G. 506] by high-sounding phrases.

On page 262 [D. C.] this is further developed:

"Capital in the social sense" (and Herr Dühring still has to discover a capital in a sense which is not social) "is in fact specifically different from the mere means of production; for while the latter have only a technical character and are necessary under all conditions, the former is distinguished by its social power of appropriation and the formation of shares. It is true that social capital is to a great extent nothing but the technical means of production *in their social function*; but it is precisely this function which ... must disappear".

When we reflect that it was precisely Marx who first drew attention to the "social function" by virtue of which alone a sum of values becomes capital, it will certainly "at once be clear to every attentive investigator of the subject that Marx's definition of the concept of capital can only cause confusion" [D. K. G. 498]—not, however, as Herr Dühring thinks, in the strict theory of national economy but as is evident simply and solely in the head of Herr Dühring himself, who in the *Kritische Geschichte* has already forgotten how much use he made of the said concept of capital in his *Cursus.*[a]

However, Herr Dühring is not content with borrowing from Marx the latter's definition of capital, though in a "purified" form. He is obliged to follow Marx also in the "toying with metamorphoses of concepts and history" [497], in spite of his own better knowledge that nothing could come of it but "barren conceptions", "frivolities", "fragility of the foundations" [498] and so forth. Whence comes this "social function"

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[a] E. Dühring, *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie.—Ed.*

[D. C. 262] of capital, which enables it to appropriate the fruits of others' labour and which alone distinguishes it from mere means of production?

Herr Dühring says that it does not depend "on the nature of the means of production and their technical indispensability" [262].

It therefore arose historically, and on page 262 Herr Dühring only tells us again what we have heard ten times before, when he explains its origin by means of the old familiar adventures of the two men, one of whom at the dawn of history converted his means of production into capital by the use of force against the other. But not content with ascribing a historical beginning to the social function through which alone a sum of values becomes capital, Herr Dühring prophesies that it will also have a historical end. It is "precisely this which must disappear" [262]. In ordinary parlance it is customary to call a phenomenon which arose historically and disappears again historically, "a historical phase". Capital, therefore, is a historical phase not only according to Marx but also according to Herr Dühring, and we are consequently forced to the conclusion that we are among Jesuits here. When two persons do the same thing, then it is not the same.[a] When Marx says that capital is a historical phase, that is a barren conception, a bastard of historical and logical fantasy, in which the faculty of discernment perishes, together with all honesty in the use of concepts. When Herr Dühring likewise presents capital as a historical phase, that is proof of the keenness of his economic analysis and of his definitive and most strictly scientific treatment in the sense of the exact disciplines.

What is it then that distinguishes the Dühringian conception of capital from the Marxian?

"Capital," says Marx, "has not invented surplus-labour. Wherever a part of society possesses the monopoly of the means of production, the labourer, free or not free, must add to the working-time necessary for his own maintenance an extra working-time in order to produce the means of subsistence for the owners of the means of production."[b] Surplus-labour, labour beyond the time required for the labourer's own maintenance, and appropriation by others of the product of this surplus-labour, the

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[a] A paraphrase of a dictum from the comedy *Adelphoe* by the Roman playwright Terentius (Act V, Scene 3).—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, p. 227. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part III, Chapter X, Section 2.—*Ed.*

exploitation of labour, is therefore common to all forms of society that have existed hitherto, in so far as these have moved in class antagonisms. But it is only when the product of this surplus-labour assumes the form of surplus-value, when the owner of the means of production finds the free labourer—free from social fetters and free from possessions of his own—as an object of exploitation, and exploits him for the purpose of the production of *commodities*—it is only then, according to Marx, that the means of production assume the specific character of capital. And this first took place on a large scale at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centurv.

Herr Dühring on the contrary declares that *every* sum of means of production which "forms shares in the fruits of the general labour-power" [D. C. 40], that is, yields surplus-labour in any form, is capital. In other words, Herr Dühring annexes the surplus-labour discovered by Marx, in order to use it to kill the surplus-value, likewise discovered by Marx, which for the moment does not suit his purpose. According to Herr Dühring, therefore, not only the movable and immovable wealth of the Corinthian and Athenian citizens, built on a slave economy, but also the wealth of the large Roman landowners of the time of the empire, and equally the wealth of the feudal barons of the Middle Ages, in so far as it in any way served production—all this without distinction is capital.

So that Herr Dühring himself does not hold "the accepted view of capital, namely, that it is a means of production already produced" [D. K. G. 497], but rather one that is the very opposite of it, a view which includes in capital even means of production which have not been produced, the earth and its natural resources. The idea, however, that capital is simply "produced means of production" is once again the accepted view only in vulgar political economy. Outside of this vulgar economics, which Herr Dühring holds so dear, the "produced means of production" or any sum of values whatever, becomes capital only by yielding profit or interest, i.e., by appropriating the surplus-product of unpaid labour in the form of surplus-value, and, moreover, by appropriating it in these two definite subforms of surplus-value. It is of absolutely no importance that the whole of bourgeois economy is still labouring under the idea that the property of yielding profit or interest is inherent in every sum of values which is utilised under normal conditions in production or exchange. In classical political economy, capital and profit, or capital and interest, are just as inseparable, stand in the same reciprocal

relations to each other, as cause and effect, father and son, yesterday and today. The word "capital" in its modern economic meaning is first met with, however, at the time when the thing itself makes its appearance, when movable wealth acquires, to a greater and greater extent, the function of capital, by exploiting the surplus-labour of free labourers for the production of commodities; and in fact it was introduced by the first nation of capitalists in history, the Italians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. And if Marx was the first to make a fundamental analysis of the mode of appropriation characteristic of modern capital; if he brought the concept of capital into harmony with the historical facts from which, in the last analysis, it had been abstracted, and to which it owed its existence; if by so doing Marx cleared this economic concept of those obscure and vacillating ideas which still clung to it even in classical bourgeois political economy and among the former socialists—then it was Marx who applied that "definitive and most strictly scientific treatment" [498] about which Herr Dühring is so constantly talking and which we so painfully miss in his works.

In actual fact, Herr Dühring's treatment is quite different from this. He is not content with first inveighing against the presentation of capital as a historical phase by calling it a "bastard of historical and logical fantasy" [498] and then himself presenting it as a historical phase. He also roundly declares that *all* means of economic power, *all* means of production which appropriate "shares in the fruits of the general labour-power" [D. C. 40]—and therefore also landed property in all class societies—are capital; which however does not in the least prevent him, in the further course of his exposition, from separating landed property and land rent, quite in the traditional manner, from capital and profit, and designating as capital only those means of production which yield profit or interest, as he does at considerable length on page 156 and the following pages of his *Cursus.*[a] With equal justice Herr Dühring might first include under the name "locomotive" also horses, oxen, asses and dogs, on the ground that these, too, can be used as means of transport, and reproach modern engineers with limiting the name locomotive to the modern steam-engine and thereby setting it up as a historical phase, using barren conceptions, bastards of historical and logical fantasy and so forth; and then finally declare that horses, asses, oxen and dogs

[a] E. Dühring. *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie.—Ed.*

are nevertheless excluded from the term locomotive, and that this term is applicable only to the steam-engine.—And so once more we are compelled to say that it is precisely the Dühringian conception of capital in which all keenness of economic analysis is lost and the faculty of discernment perishes, together with all honesty in the use of concepts; and that the barren conceptions, the confusion, the frivolities palmed off as profound logical truths and the fragility of the foundations are to be found in full bloom precisely in Herr Dühring's work.

But all that is of no consequence. For Herr Dühring's is the glory nevertheless of having discovered the axis on which all economics, all politics and jurisprudence, in a word, all history, has hitherto revolved. Here it is:

"Force and labour are the two principal factors which come into play in forming social connections" [D. C. 255].

In this one sentence we have the complete constitution of the economic world up to the present day. It is extremely short, and runs:

Article One: Labour produces.

Article Two: Force distributes.

And this, "speaking in plain human language" [D. K. G. 496], sums up the whole of Herr Dühring's economic wisdom.

## VIII. CAPITAL AND SURPLUS-VALUE

### (Conclusion)

"In Herr Marx's view, wages represent only the payment of that labour-time during which the labourer is actually working to make his own existence possible. But only a small number of hours is required for this purpose; all the rest of the working-day, often so prolonged, yields a surplus in which is contained what our author calls 'surplus-value', or, expressed in everyday language, the earnings of capital. If we leave out of account the labour-time which at each stage of production is already contained in the instruments of labour and in the pertinent raw material, this surplus part of the working-day is the share which falls to the capitalist entrepreneur. The prolongation of the working-day is consequently earnings of pure exploitation for the benefit of the capitalist" [D. K. G. 500-01].

According to Herr Dühring, therefore, Marx's surplus-value would be nothing more than what, expressed in everyday language, is known as the earnings of capital, or profit. Let us see what Marx says himself. On page 195 of *Capital,* surplus-value is explained in the following words placed in brackets after it:

"Interest, Profit, Rent".[a] On page 210, Marx gives an example in which a total surplus-value of £3.11.0. appears in the different forms in which it is distributed: tithes, rates and taxes, £1.10; rent £1.80; farmer's profit and interest, £1.20; together making a total surplus-value of £3.11.0.[b]—On page 542, Marx points out as one of Ricardo's main shortcomings that he "has not [...] investigated surplus-value as such, i.e., independently of its particular forms, such as profit, rent, etc", and that he therefore lumps together the laws of the rate of surplus-value and the laws of the rate of profit; against this Marx announces: "I shall show in Book III that, with a given rate of surplus-value, we may have any number of rates of profit, and that various rates of surplus-value may, under given conditions, express themselves in a single rate of profit.[c] On page 587 we find: "The capitalist who produces surplus-value—i.e., who extracts unpaid labour directly from the labourers, and fixes it in commodities, is, indeed, the first appropriator, but by no means the ultimate owner, of this surplus-value. He has to share it with capitalists, with landowners, etc., who fulfil other functions in the complex of social production. Surplus-value, therefore, splits up into various parts. Its fragments fall to various categories of persons, and take various forms, independent the one of the other, such as profit, interest, merchants' profit, rent, etc. It is only in Book III that we can take in hand these modified forms of surplus-value."[d] And there are many other similar passages.

It is impossible to express oneself more clearly. On each occasion Marx calls attention to the fact that his surplus-value must not be confounded with profit or the earnings of capital; that this latter is rather a subform and frequently even only a fragment of surplus-value. And if in spite of this Herr Dühring asserts that Marxian surplus-value, "expressed in everyday language, is the earnings of capital"; and if it is an actual fact that the whole of Marx's book turns on surplus-value—then there are only two possibilities: Either Herr Dühring does not know any better, and then it is an unparalleled act of impudence to decry a book of whose main content he is ignorant; or he knows what it is all

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 35, Part III, Chapter VIII.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., Chapter IX, Section I.—*Ed.*

[c] K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, pp. 542-43. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part V, Chapter XVII, I.—*Ed.*

[d] See present edition, Vol. 35, Part VII.—*Ed.*

about, and in that case he has committed a deliberate act of falsification.

To proceed:

"The venomous hatred with which Herr Marx presents this conception of the business of extortion is only too understandable. But even mightier wrath and even fuller recognition of the exploitative character of the economic form which is based on wage-labour is possible without accepting the theoretical position expressed in Marx's doctrine of surplus-value" [D. K. G. 501].

The well-meant but erroneous theoretical position taken up by Marx stirs in him a venomous hatred against the business of extortion; but in consequence of his false "theoretical position" the emotion, in itself ethical, receives an unethical expression, manifesting itself in ignoble hatred and low venomousness, while the definitive and most strictly scientific treatment [498] by Herr Dühring expresses itself in ethical emotion of a correspondingly noble nature, in wrath which even in form is ethically superior and in venomous hatred is also quantitatively superior, is a mightier wrath. While Herr Dühring is gleefully admiring himself in this way, let us see where this mightier wrath stems from.

We read on: "Now the question arises, how the competing entrepreneurs are able constantly to realise the full product of labour, including the surplus-product, at a price so far above the natural outlays of production as is indicated by the ratio, already mentioned, of the surplus labour-hours. No answer to this is to be found in Marx's theory, and for the simple reason that there could be no place in it for even raising that question. The luxury character of production based on hired labour is not seriously dealt with at all, and the social constitution with its exploitatory features is in no way recognised as the ultimate basis of white slavery. On the contrary, political and social matters are always to be explained by economics" [501].

Now we have seen from the above passages that Marx does not at all assert that the industrial capitalist, who first appropriates the surplus-product, sells it regardless of circumstances on the average at its full value, as is here assumed by Herr Dühring. Marx says expressly that merchants' profit also forms a part of surplus-value, and on the assumptions made this is only possible when the manufacturer sells his product to the merchant *below* its value, and thus relinquishes to him a part of the booty. The way the question is put here, there clearly could be no place in Marx for even raising it. Stated in a rational way, the question is: How is surplus-value transformed into its subforms: profit, interest, merchants' profit, land rent, and so forth? And Marx, to be sure, promises to settle this question in the third book. But if Herr

Dühring cannot wait until the second volume of *Capital*[88] appears, he should in the meantime take a closer look at the first volume. In addition to the passages already quoted, he would then see, for example on p. 323, that according to Marx the immanent laws of capitalist production assert themselves in the external movements of individual masses of capital as coercive laws of competition, and in this form are brought home to the mind and consciousness of the individual capitalist as the directing motives of his operations; that therefore a scientific analysis of competition is not possible before we have a conception of the inner nature of capital, just as the apparent motions of the heavenly bodies are not intelligible to any but him who is acquainted with their real motions, which are not directly perceptible by the senses[a]; and then Marx gives an example to show how in a definite case, a definite law, the law of value, manifests itself and exercises its motive power in competition. Herr Dühring might see from this alone that competition plays a leading part in the distribution of surplus-value, and with some reflection the indications given in the first volume are in fact enough to make clear, at least in its main features, the transformation of surplus-value into its subforms.

But competition is precisely what absolutely prevents Herr Dühring from understanding the process. He cannot comprehend how the competing entrepreneurs are able constantly to realise the full product of labour, including the surplus-product, at prices so far above the natural outlays of production. Here again we find his customary "strictness" [D. C. 95] of expression, which in fact is simply slovenliness. In *Marx*, the surplus-product as such has *absolutely no outlays of production*; it is the part of the product which *costs nothing* to the capitalist. If therefore the competing entrepreneurs desired to realise the surplus-product at its natural outlays of production, they would have simply *to give it away*. But do not let us waste time on such "micrological details" [D. K. G. 507]. Are not the competing entrepreneurs every day selling the product of labour above its natural outlays of production? According to Herr Dühring, the natural outlays of production consist

"in the expenditure of labour or energy, and this in turn, in the last analysis, can be measured by the expenditure of food" [D. C. 274];

that is, in present-day society, these costs consist in the outlays really expended on raw materials, means of labour, and wages,

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 35, Part IV, Chapter XII.—*Ed.*

as distinguished from the "tax" [D. C. 135], the profit, the surcharge levied sword in hand [23]. Now everyone knows that in the society in which we live the competing entrepreneurs do *not* realise their commodities at the natural outlays of production, but that they add on to these—and as a rule also receive—the so-called surcharge, the profit. The question which Herr Dühring thinks he has only to raise to blow down the whole Marxian structure—as Joshua once blew down the walls of Jericho[89]—this question also exists for Herr Dühring's economic theory. Let us see how he answers it.

"Capital ownership," he says, "has no practical meaning, and cannot be realised, unless indirect force against human material is simultaneously incorporated in it. The product of this force is earnings of capital, and the magnitude of the latter will therefore depend on the range and intensity in which this power is exercised [179] ... Earnings of capital are a political and social institution which exerts a more powerful influence than competition. In relation to this the capitalists act as a social estate, and each one of them maintains his position. A certain measure of earnings of capital is a necessity under the prevailing mode of economy" [180].

Unfortunately even now we do not know how the competing entrepreneurs are able constantly to realise the product of labour above the natural outlays of production. It cannot be that Herr Dühring thinks so little of his public as to fob it off with the phrase that earnings of capital are above competition, just as the King of Prussia[a] was above the law.[90] We know the manoeuvres by which the King of Prussia attained his position above the law; the manoeuvres by which the earnings of capital succeed in being more powerful than competition are precisely what Herr Dühring should explain to us, but what he obstinately refuses to explain. And it is of no avail, if, as he tells us, the capitalists act in this connection as an estate, and each one of them maintains his position. We surely cannot be expected to take his word for it that a number of people only need to act as an estate for each one of them to maintain his position. Everyone knows that the guildsmen of the Middle Ages and the French nobles in 1789 acted very definitely as estates and perished nevertheless. The Prussian army at Jena[91] also acted as an estate, but instead of maintaining their position they had on the contrary to take to their heels and afterwards even to capitulate in sections. Just as little can we be satisfied with the assurance that a certain measure of earnings of capital is a necessity under the prevailing mode of economy; for

[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

the point to be proved is precisely *why* this is so. We do not get a step nearer to the goal when Herr Dühring informs us:

> "The domination of capital arose in close connection with the domination of land. Part of the agricultural serfs were transformed in the towns into craftsmen, and ultimately into factory material. After the rent of land, earnings of capital developed as a second form of rent of possession" [176].

Even if we ignore the historical inexactitude of this assertion, it nevertheless remains a mere assertion, and is restricted to assuring us over and over again of precisely what should be explained and proved. We can therefore come to no other conclusion than that Herr Dühring is incapable of answering his own question: how the competing entrepreneurs are able constantly to realise the product of labour above the natural outlays of production; that is to say, he is incapable of explaining the genesis of profit. He can only bluntly decree: earnings of capital shall be the product of *force*—which, true enough, is completely in accordance with Article 2 of the Dühringian constitution of society: Force distributes. This is certainly expressed very nicely; but now "the question arises" [D. K. G. 501]: Force distributes—what? Surely there must be something to distribute, or even the most omnipotent force, with the best will in the world, can distribute nothing. The earnings pocketed by the competing capitalists are something very tangible and solid. Force can *seize* them, but cannot *produce* them. And if Herr Dühring obstinately refuses to explain to us *how* force seizes the earnings of capitalists, the question of *whence* force takes them he meets only with silence, the silence of the grave. Where there is nothing, the king, like any other force, loses his rights. Out of nothing comes nothing, and certainly not profit. If capital ownership has no practical meaning, and cannot be realised, unless indirect force against human material is simultaneously embodied in it, then once again the question arises, first, how capital-wealth got this force—a question which is not settled in the least by the couple of historical assertions cited above; secondly, how this force is transformed into an accession of capital value, into profit; and thirdly, where it obtains this profit.

From whatever side we approach Dühringian economics, we do not get one step further. For every obnoxious phenomenon—profit, land rent, starvation wages, the enslavement of the workers—he has only one word of explanation: force, and ever again force, and Herr Dühring's "mightier wrath" [501] finally resolves itself into wrath at force. We have seen, first, that this

invocation of force is a lame subterfuge, a relegation of the problem from the sphere of economics to that of politics, which is unable to explain a single economic fact; and secondly, that it leaves unexplained the origin of force itself—and very prudently so, for otherwise it would have to come to the conclusion that all social power and all political force have their source in economic preconditions, in the mode of production and exchange historically given for each society at each period.

But let us see whether we cannot wrest from the inexorable builder of "deeper foundations" [see D. C. 11] of political economy some further disclosures about profit. Perhaps we shall meet with success if we apply ourselves to his treatment of wages. On page 158[a] we find:

"Wages are the hire paid for the maintenance of labour-power, and are at first taken into consideration only as a basis for the rent of land and earnings of capital. In order to get absolute clarity as to the relationships obtaining in this field, one must conceive the rent of land, and subsequently also earnings of capital, first historically, without wages, that is to say, on the basis of slavery or serfdom... Whether it is a slave or a serf, or a wage-labourer who has to be maintained, only gives rise to a difference in the mode of charging the costs of production. *In every case the net proceeds obtained by the utilisation of labour-power constitute the income of the master*... It can therefore be seen that ... the chief antithesis, by virtue of which there exists on the one hand some form of *rent of possession* and on the other hand propertyless hired labour, is not to be found exclusively in one of its members, but always only in both at the same time."

Rent of possession, however, as we learn on page 188, is a phrase which covers both land rent and earnings of capital. Further, we find on page 174:

"The characteristic feature of earnings of capital is that they are an *appropriation of the most important part of the proceeds of labour-power*. They cannot be conceived except in correlation with some form of directly or indirectly subjected labour."

And on page 183:

Wages "are in all circumstances nothing more than the hire by means of which, generally speaking, the labourer's maintenance and possibility of procreation must be assured".

And finally, on page 195:

"The portion that falls to rent of possession must be lost to wages, and vice versa, the portion of the general productive capacity" (!) "that reaches labour must necessarily be taken from the revenues of possession."

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[a] Here and below Engels cites Dühring's work *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie*.—*Ed.*

Herr Dühring leads us from one surprise to another. In his theory of value and the following chapters up to and including the theory of competition, that is, from page 1 to page 155, the prices of commodities or values were divided, first, into natural outlays of production or the production value, i.e., the outlays on raw materials, instruments of labour and wages; and secondly, into the surcharge or distribution value [27], that tribute levied sword in hand [23] for the benefit of the monopolist class—a surcharge which, as we have seen, could not in reality make any change in the distribution of wealth, for what it took with one hand it would have to give back with the other, and which, besides, in so far as Herr Dühring enlightens us as to its origin and nature, arose out of nothing and therefore consists of nothing. In the two succeeding chapters, which deal with the kinds of revenue, that is, from page 156 to 217, there is no further mention of the surcharge. Instead of this, the value of every product of labour, that is, of every commodity, is now divided into the two following portions: first, the production costs, in which the wages paid are included; and secondly, the "*net proceeds* obtained by the utilisation of labour-power", which constitute the master's income. And these net proceeds have a very well-known physiognomy, which no tattooing and no house-painter's art can conceal. "In order to get absolute clarity as to the relationships obtaining in this field" [158], let the reader imagine the passages just cited from Herr Dühring printed opposite the passages previously cited from Marx, dealing with surplus-labour, surplus-product and surplus-value, and he will find that Herr Dühring is here, though in his own style, *directly copying* from *Capital.*

Surplus-labour, in any form, whether of slavery, serfdom or wage-labour, is recognised by Herr Dühring as the source of the revenues of all ruling classes up to now; this is taken from the much-quoted passage in *Capital*, p. 227: Capital has not invented surplus-labour, and so on.[a]—And the "net proceeds" which constitute "the income of the master"—what is that but the surplus of the labour product over and above the wages, which, even in Herr Dühring, in spite of his quite superfluous disguise of it in the term "hire", must assure, generally speaking, the labourer's maintenance and possibility of procreation? How can the "appropriation of the most important part of the proceeds of labour-power" [174] be carried out except by the capitalist, as

[a] See this volume, pp. 143 and 193.—*Ed.*

Marx shows, extorting from the labourer more labour than is necessary for the reproduction of the means of subsistence consumed by the latter; that is to say, by the capitalist making the labourer work a longer time than is necessary for the replacement of the value of the wages paid to the labourer? Thus the prolongation of the working-day beyond the time necessary for the reproduction of the labourer's means of subsistence—Marx's surplus-labour—this, and nothing but this, is what is concealed behind Herr Dühring's "utilisation of labour-power"; and his "net proceeds" [158] falling to the master—how can they manifest themselves otherwise than in the Marxian surplus-product and surplus-value? And what, apart from its inexact formulation, is there to distinguish the Dühringian rent of possession from the Marxian surplus-value? For the rest, Herr Dühring has taken the name "rent of possession" ["*Besitzrente*"] from Rodbertus, who included both the rent of land and the rent of capital, or earnings of capital, under the one term *rent,* so that Herr Dühring had only to add "possession" to it.* And so that no doubt may be left of his plagiarism, Herr Dühring sums up, in his own way, the laws of the changes of magnitude in the price of labour-power and in surplus-value which are developed by Marx in Chapter XV (page 539, *et seqq.*, of *Capital*),[b] and does it in such a manner that what falls to the rent of possession must be lost to wages, and vice versa, thereby reducing certain Marxian laws, so rich in content, to a tautology without content—for it is self-evident that of a given magnitude falling into two parts, one part cannot increase unless the other decreases. And so Herr Dühring has succeeded in appropriating the ideas of Marx in such a way that the "definitive and most strictly scientific treatment in the sense of the exact disciplines" [D. K. G. 498]—which is certainly present in Marx's exposition—is completely lost.

We therefore cannot avoid the conclusion that the strange commotion which Herr Dühring makes in the *Kritische Geschichte*[c] over *Capital,* and the dust he raises with the famous question that comes up in connection with surplus-value (a question which

* And not even this. Rodbertus says (*Sociale Briefe* Letter 2, p. 59): "Rent, according to this" (his) "theory, is all income obtained without personal labour, solely *on the ground of possession.*"[a]

[a] J. K. Rodbertus, *Sociale Briefe an von Kirchmann.* Letter 2: "Kirchmann's sociale Theorie und die meinige", p. 59.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 35, Part V, Chapter XVII.—*Ed.*

[c] E. Dühring, *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie.*—*Ed.*

he had better have left unasked, inasmuch as he cannot answer it himself)—that all this is only a military ruse, a sly manoeuvre to cover up the gross plagiarism of Marx committed in the *Cursus*.[a] Herr Dühring had in fact every reason for warning his readers not to occupy themselves with "the intricate maze which Herr Marx calls *Capital*" [D. K. G. 497], with the bastards of historical and logical fantasy, the confused and hazy Hegelian notions and jugglery [498], etc. The Venus against whom this faithful Eckart warns the German youth had been taken by him stealthily from the Marxian preserves and brought to a safe place for his own use. We must congratulate him on these net proceeds derived from the utilisation of Marx's labour-power, and on the peculiar light thrown by his annexation of Marxian surplus-value under the name of rent of possession on the motives for his obstinate (repeated in two editions) and false assertion that by the term surplus-value Marx meant only profit or earnings of capital.

And so we have to portray Herr Dühring's achievements in Herr Dühring's own words as follows:

> "In Herr" Dühring's "view wages represent only the payment of that labour-time during which the labourer is actually working to make his own existence possible. But only a small number of hours is required for this purpose; all the rest of the working-day, often so prolonged, yields a surplus in which is contained what our author calls" [500]—rent of possession.[a] "If we leave out of account the labour-time which at each stage of production is already contained in the instruments of labour and in the pertinent raw material, this surplus part of the working-day is the share which falls to the capitalist entrepreneur. The prolongation of the working-day is consequently earnings of pure extortion for the benefit of the capitalist. The venomous hatred with which Herr" Dühring "presents this conception of the business of exploitation is only too understandable" [501]...

But what is less understandable is how he will now arrive once more at his "mightier wrath" [501].

## IX. NATURAL LAWS OF THE ECONOMY. RENT OF LAND

Up to this point we have been unable, despite our sincerest efforts, to discover how Herr Dühring, in the domain of economics, can

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[a] E. Dühring, *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie.—Ed.*

[b] Here Engels uses Dühring's term "rent of possession" (*Besitzrente*) instead of Marx's term "surplus-value" (*Mehrwerth*) used by Dühring.—*Ed.*

"come forward with the claim to a new *system* which is not merely adequate for the epoch but *authoritative for the epoch*" [D. K. G. 1].

However, what we have not been able to discern in his theory of force and his doctrine of value and of capital, may perhaps become as clear as daylight to us when we consider the "natural laws of national economy" [D. C. 4] put forward by Herr Dühring. For, as he puts it with his usual originality and in his trenchant way,

"the triumph of the higher scientific method consists in passing beyond the mere description and classification of apparently static matter and attaining living intuitions which illumine the genesis of things. Knowledge of laws is therefore the most perfect knowledge, for it shows us how one process is conditioned by another" [59].

The very first natural law of any economy has been specially discovered by Herr Dühring.

Adam Smith, "curiously enough, not only did not bring out the leading part played by the most important factor in all economic development, but even completely failed to give it distinctive formulation, and thus unintentionally reduced to a subordinate role the power which placed its stamp on the development of modern Europe" [64]. This "fundamental law, to which the leading role must be assigned, is that of the technical equipment, one might even say armament, of the natural economic energy of man" [63].

This "fundamental law" [66] discovered by Herr Dühring reads as follows:

Law No. 1. "The productivity of the economic instruments, natural resources and human energy is increased *by inventions* and *discoveries*" [65].

We are overcome with astonishment. Herr Dühring treats us as Molière's newly baked nobleman is treated by the wag who announces to him the news that all through his life he has been speaking prose without knowing it.[a] That in a good many cases the productive power of labour is increased by inventions and discoveries (but also that in very many cases it is not increased, as is proved by the mass of waste-paper in the archives of every patent office in the world) we knew long ago; but we owe to Herr Dühring the enlightening information that this banality, which is as old as the hills, is the fundamental law of all economics. If "the triumph of the higher scientific method" in economics, as in philosophy, consists only in giving a high-sounding name to the first commonplace that comes to one's mind, and trumpeting it

[a] Molière, *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, Act II, Scene 6.—*Ed.*

forth as a natural law or even a fundamental law, then it becomes possible for anybody, even the editors of the Berlin *Volks-Zeitung*, to lay "deeper foundations" [11] and to revolutionise science. We should then "in all rigour" [9, 95] be forced to apply to Herr Duhring himself Herr Duhring's judgment on Plato:

"If however that is supposed to be political-economic wisdom, then the author of" the critical foundations[a] "shares it with every person who ever had occasion to conceive an idea" or even only to babble "about anything that was obvious on the face of it" [D. K. G. 20].

If, for example, we say animals eat, we are saying quite calmly, in our innocence, something of great import; for we only have to say that eating is the fundamental law of all animal life, and we have revolutionised the whole of zoology.

Law No. 2. Division of Labour: "The cleaving of trades and the dissection of activities raises the productivity of labour" [D. C. 73].

In so far as this is true, it also has been a commonplace since Adam Smith. *How* far it is true will be shown in Part III.

Law No. 3. "*Distance and transport* are the chief causes which hinder or facilitate the co-operation of the productive forces" [91].

Law No. 4. "The industrial state has an incomparably greater population capacity than the agricultural state" [107].

Law No. 5. "In the economy nothing takes place without a material interest" [126].

These are the "natural laws" [4, 5] on which Herr Dühring founds his new economics. He remains faithful to his method, already demonstrated in the section on Philosophy. In economics too a few self-evident statements of the utmost banality—moreover quite often very ineptly expressed—form the axioms which need no proof, the fundamental theorems, the natural laws. Under the pretext of developing the content of these laws, which have no content, he seizes the opportunity to pour out a wordy stream of economic twaddle on the various themes whose *names* occur in these pretended laws—inventions, division of labour, means of transport, population, interests, competition, and so forth—a verbal outpouring whose flat commonplaces are seasoned only with oracular grandiloquence, and here and there with inept formulations or pretentious hair-splitting over all kinds of casuistical subtleties. Then finally we reach rent of land, earnings

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[a] This is an allusion to Dühring's *Kritische Grundlegung der Volkswirthschaftslehre.*—*Ed.*

of capital, and wages, and as we have dealt with only the two latter forms of appropriation in the preceding exposition, we propose now in conclusion to make a brief examination of the Dühringian conception of rent.

In doing this we shall not consider those points which Herr Dühring has merely copied from his predecessor Carey; we are not concerned with Carey, nor with defending Ricardo's views on rent of land against Carey's distortions and stupidities. We are only concerned with Herr Dühring, and he defines rent as

"that income which the proprietor *as such* draws from the land" [D. C. 156].

The economic concept of rent of land, which is what Herr Dühring is to explain, is straightaway transferred by him into the juridical sphere, so that we are no wiser than we were before. Our constructor of deeper foundations must therefore, whether he likes it or not, condescend to give some further explanation. He compares the lease of a farm to a tenant with the loan of capital to an entrepreneur, but soon finds that there is a hitch in the comparison, like in many others.

For, he says, "if one wanted to press the analogy further, the earnings left to the tenant after payment of rent must correspond to the balance of earnings of capital left with the entrepreneur who puts the capital to use after he has paid interest. *But it is not customary* to regard tenants' earnings as the main income and rent as a balance... A proof of this difference of conception is the *fact* that in the theory of land rent the case of management of land by the owner is not separately treated, and no special emphasis is laid on the difference between the amount of rent in the case of a lease and where the owner produces the rent himself. *At any rate no one has found it necessary* to conceive the rent resulting from such self-management of land as divided in such a way that one portion represents as it were the interest on the landed property and the other portion the surplus earnings of enterprise. Apart from the tenant's own capital which he brings into the business, it would *seem* that his specific *earnings are mostly regarded* as a kind of wages. It is however *hazardous* to assert anything on this subject, as the question has never been raised in this definite form. Wherever we are dealing with fairly large farms it can easily be seen that it will not do to treat what are specifically the farmer's earnings as wages. For these earnings are themselves based on the antithesis existing in relation to the rural labour-power, through whose exploitation that form of income is alone made possible. It is clearly *a part of the rent* which remains in the hands of the tenant and by which the *full rent,* which the owner managing himself would obtain, is reduced" [157-58].

The theory of land rent is a part of political economy which is specifically English, and necessarily so, because it was only in England that there existed a mode of production under which rent had in fact been separated from profit and interest. In England, as is well known, large landed estates and large-scale

agriculture predominate. The landlords lease their land in large, often very large, farms, to tenant-farmers who possess sufficient capital to work them and, unlike our peasants, do not work themselves but employ the labour of hands and day-labourers on the lines of full-fledged capitalist entrepreneurs. Here, therefore, we have the three classes of bourgeois society and the form of income peculiar to each: the landlord, drawing rent of land; the capitalist, drawing profit; and the labourer, drawing wages. It has never occurred to any English economist to regard the farmer's earnings as a kind of wages, as *seems* to Herr Dühring to be the case; even less could it be *hazardous* for such an economist to assert that the farmer's profit is what it indisputably, obviously and tangibly is, namely, profit on capital. It is perfectly ridiculous to say that the question of what the farmer's earnings actually are has never been raised in this definite form. In England there has never been any necessity even to raise this question; both question and answer have long been available, derived from the facts themselves, and since Adam Smith there has never been any doubt about them.

The case of self-management, as Herr Dühring calls it—or rather, the management of farms by bailiffs for the landowner's account, as happens most frequently in Germany—does not alter the matter. If the landowner also provides the capital and has the farm run for his own account, he pockets the profit on capital in addition to the rent, as is self-understood and cannot be otherwise on the basis of the existing mode of production. And if Herr Dühring asserts that up to now no one has found it necessary to conceive the rent (he should say revenue) resulting from the owner's own management as divided into parts, this is simply untrue, and at best only proves his own ignorance once again. For example:

"The revenue derived from labour is called wages. That derived from stock, by the person who manages or employs it, is called profit... The revenue which proceeds altogether from land, is called rent, and belongs to the landlord... When those three different sorts of revenue belong to different persons, they are readily distinguished; but when they belong to the same they are sometimes confounded with one another, at least in common language. A gentleman *who farms* a part of his own estate, after paying the expense of cultivation, should *gain both the rent of the landlord and the profit of the farmer.* He is apt to denominate, however, his whole gain, profit, and thus confounds rent with profit, at least in common language. The greater part of our North American and West Indian planters are in this situation. They farm, the greater part of them, their own estates, and accordingly we seldom hear of the rent of a plantation, but frequently of its profit... A gardener who cultivates his own garden with his own hands, unites in his own person the three different characters, of landlord, farmer, and labourer. His

produce, therefore, should pay him the rent of the first, the profit of the second, and the wages of the third. The whole, however, is commonly considered as the earnings of his labour. Both rent and profit are, in this case, confounded with wages."

This passage is from the sixth chapter of Book I of *Adam Smith*.[a] The case of self-management was therefore investigated a hundred years ago, and the doubts and uncertainties which so worry Herr Dühring in this connection are merely due to his own ignorance.

He eventually escapes from his quandary by an audacious trick:

The farmer's earnings come from the exploitation of the "rural labour-power" and are therefore obviously a "part of the rent" by which the "full rent", which really should flow into the landowner's pocket, "is reduced".

From this we learn two things. Firstly, that the farmer "reduces" the rent of the landowner, so that, according to Herr Dühring, it is not, as was considered hitherto, the farmer who pays rent to the landowner, but the *landowner* who *pays rent to the farmer*—certainly a "from the ground up original view" [D. Ph. 525]. And secondly, we learn at last what Herr Dühring thinks rent of land is: namely, the whole surplus-product obtained in farming by the exploitation of rural labour. But as this surplus-product in all economics hitherto—save perhaps for the works of a few vulgar economists—has been divided into land rent and profit on capital, we are compelled to note that Herr Dühring's view of rent also is "not the accepted one" [D. K. G. 497].

According to Herr Dühring, therefore, the only difference between rent of land and earnings of capital is that the former is obtained in agriculture and the latter in industry or commerce. And it was of necessity that Herr Dühring arrived at such an uncritical and confused view of the matter. We saw that his starting-point was the "really historical conception", that domination over the land could be based only on domination over man. As soon, therefore, as land is cultivated by means of any form of subjugated labour, a surplus for the landlord arises, and this surplus is the rent, just as in industry the surplus-labour product beyond what the labourer earns is the profit on capital.

"Thus it is clear that land rent exists on a considerable scale wherever and whenever agriculture is carried on by means of any of the forms of subjugation of labour" [D. C. 162].

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[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. 1, pp. 63-64, 65. Italics by Engels.— *Ed.*

In this presentation of rent as the whole surplus-product obtained in agriculture, Herr Dühring comes up against both English farmer's profit and the division, based on English farming and recognised by all classical political economy, of that surplus-product into rent of land and farmer's profit, and hence against the *pure,* precise conception of rent. What does Herr Dühring do? He pretends not to have the slightest inkling of the division of the surplus-product of agriculture into farmer's profit and rent, and therefore of the whole rent theory of classical political economy; he pretends that the question of what farmer's profit really is has never yet been raised "in this definite form" [157], that at issue is a subject which has never yet been investigated and about which there is no knowledge but only illusion and uncertainty. And he flees from fatal England—where, without the intervention of any theoretical school, the surplus-product of agriculture is so remorselessly divided into its elements: rent of land and profit on capital—to the country so beloved by him, where the Prussian law exercises dominion, where self-management is in full patriarchal bloom, where "the landlord understands by rent the income from his plots of land" and the Junkers' views on rent still claim to be authoritative for science—where therefore Herr Dühring can still hope to slip through with his confused ideas of rent and profit and even to find credence for his latest discovery: that rent of land is paid not by the farmer to the landlord but by the landlord to the farmer.

## X. FROM *KRITISCHE GESCHICHTE*[92]

Finally, let us take a glance at the *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie,* at "that enterprise" of Herr Dühring's which, as he says, "is absolutely without precedent" [9]. It may be that here at last we shall find the definitive and most strictly scientific treatment which he has so often promised us.

Herr Dühring makes a great deal of noise over his discovery that

"economic science" is "an enormously modern phenomenon" (p. 12).

In fact, Marx says in *Capital:* "Political economy ... as an independent science, first sprang into being during the period of manufacture"[a]; and in *Zur Kritik der politischen Oeko-*

[a] K. Marx, *Das Kapital,* p. 378. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part IV, Chapter XIV, Section 5.—*Ed.*

*nomie,* page 29, that "classical political economy ... dates from William Petty in England and Boisguillebert in France, and closes with Ricardo in the former country and Sismondi in the latter".[a] Herr Dühring follows the path thus laid down for him, except that in his view *higher* economics begins only with the wretched abortions brought into existence by bourgeois science after the close of its classical period. On the other hand, he is fully justified in triumphantly proclaiming at the end of his introduction:

"But if this enterprise, in its externally appreciable peculiarities and in the more novel portion of its content, is absolutely without precedent, in its inner critical approaches and its general standpoint, it is even more peculiarly mine" (p. 9).

It is a fact that, on the basis of both its external and its internal features, he might very well have announced his "enterprise" (the industrial term is not badly chosen) as: *The Ego and His Own.*[b]

Since political economy, as it made its appearance in history, is in fact nothing but the scientific insight into the economy in the period of capitalist production, principles and theorems relating to it, for example, in the writers of ancient Greek society, can only be found in so far as certain phenomena—commodity production, trade, money, interest-bearing capital, etc.—are common to both societies. In so far as the Greeks make occasional excursions into this sphere, they show the same genius and originality as in all other spheres. Because of this, their views form, historically, the theoretical starting-points of the modern science. Let us now listen to what the world-historic Herr Dühring has to say.

"We have, strictly speaking, really" (!) "absolutely nothing positive to report of antiquity concerning scientific economic theory, and the completely unscientific Middle Ages give still less occasion for this" (for this—for reporting *nothing*!). "As however the fashion of vaingloriously displaying a semblance of erudition ... has defaced the true character of modern science, notice must be taken of at least a few examples" [17].

And Herr Dühring then produces examples of a criticism which is in truth free from even the "semblance of erudition".

Aristotle's thesis, that

"twofold is the use of every object... The one is peculiar to the object as such, the other is not, as a sandal which may be worn, and is also exchangeable. Both are

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 29.—*Ed.*

[b] An allusion to Max Stirner's book *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum.*—*Ed.*

Randnoten zu Dührings Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie.

I) Das griechische Altertum.

Herr Dühring macht sich ~~[illegible]~~ mit Recht, daß die „Wirthschaftslehre" (p. 11) ~~eine~~ eine „recht moderne Erscheinung" ist. (p. 11)

Daß Stoff heißt im „Kapital" (1867): „die politische Oekonomie ... als eigne Wissenschaft kommt auf in der Manufakturperiode auf" und in „Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie" (1859), p. 29) ~~[illegible]~~, daß die ~~[illegible]~~ klassische politische Oekonomie ... in England mit William Petty, in Frankreich mit Boisguillebert beginnt, in England mit Ricardo, in Frankreich mit Simondi abschließt." Herr Dühring folgt daher ohne sonderlichen Zwang, nur daß „die höhere Oekonomie" ~~[illegible]~~ erst mit den klassischen Autoren, welche die bürgerliche Wissenschaft nach Ablauf ihrer klassischen Periode zu Zwecke gefördert hat. Dühringen ~~[illegible]~~ Dühring mit solchem Recht zu ~~[illegible]~~ der Behauptung einer „historischen Geschichte" ist: „Wenn aber schon Dieses Naturnothwendige in seinen einzelnen wahrnehmbaren Eigenthümlichkeiten und in der äußern Hülle eines Inhalts ganz ohne Vorgänger ist, so gilt es mir noch viel mehr von seinen innern historischen Gesichtspunkten und seinem allgemeinen Standpunkt nach eigenthümlich an" (p. 4) Es hieße in der That nothwendigen, einzelnen und zufälligen Entwicklung, ein „Naturnothwendiges" (der ich-Stolle Ausdruck ist nicht übel gewählt) ~~[illegible]~~ annehmen können als „das Einzige und ein Eigenthum".

Da die sog. politische Oekonomie in der That nichts ist als der ~~[illegible]~~ wissenschaftliche Ausdruck der Gesetze der kapitalistischen Produktionsperiode, können ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ vorbürgerliche Lehre und Theorien z.B. bei den Scholastikern der alten griechischen Gesellschaft nur so weit vorkommen, als gewisse Phänomen wie Warenproduktion, Handel, Geld, Zinstragendes Kapital etc. beiden Gesellschaften gemein sind. So weit die Griechen ~~[illegible]~~ Theorien (Gesetzlichkeit) in dem Gebiet machten, zeigen sie dieselbe Genialität und Originalität wie in allen andern Sphären. Ihre Anschauungen beruhen daher

First page of K. Marx's manuscript *Randnoten zu Dührings Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie*

uses of the sandal, for even he who exchanges the sandal for the money or food he is in want of, makes use of the sandal as a sandal. But not in its natural way. For it has not been made for the sake of being exchanged"[a]—

this thesis, Herr Dühring maintains, is "not only expressed in a really platitudinous and scholastic way" [18]; but those who see in it a "differentiation between use-value and exchange-value" fall besides into the "ridiculous frame of mind" [19] of forgetting that "in the most recent period" and "in the framework of the most advanced system"—which of course is Herr Dühring's own system—nothing has been left of use-value and exchange-value.

"In Plato's work on the state, people ... claim to have found the *modern* doctrine of the national-economic division of labour" [20].

This was apparently meant to refer to the passage in *Capital*, Ch. XII, 5 (p. 369 of the third edition), where the views of classical antiquity on the division of labour are on the contrary shown to have been "in most striking contrast" with the modern view.[b] Herr Dühring has nothing but sneers for Plato's presentation—one which, for his time, was full of genius—of the division of labour[c] as the natural basis of the city (which for the Greeks was identical with the state); and this on the ground that he did not mention—though the Greek Xenophon did,[d] Herr Dühring—the "limit"

"set by the given dimensions of the market to the further differentiation of professions and the technical subdivision of special operations... Only the conception of this limit constitutes the knowledge with the aid of which this idea, otherwise hardly fit to be called scientific, becomes a major economic truth" [20].

It was in fact "Professor" Roscher [14], of whom Herr Dühring is so contemptuous, who set up this "limit" at which the idea of the division of labour is supposed first to become "scientific", and who therefore expressly pointed to Adam Smith as the discoverer of the law of the division of labour.[e] In a society in which commodity production is the dominant form of production, "the market"—to adopt Herr Dühring's style for once—was always a

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[a] Aristoteles, *De republica*, Liber I, Cap. 9. Marx also quotes this passage in his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* and *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 29 and Vol. 35, Part I, Chapter II).—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, 3rd enlarged ed. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part IV, Chapter XIV, Section 5.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx refers to Plato's *Res publica*, Liber II.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx refers to Xenophontis, *Cyropaedia*, Liber VIII, Cap. 2.—*Ed.*

[e] See W. Roscher, *System der Volkswirthschaft*, Bd. I, p. 86.—*Ed.*

"limit" very well known to "business people" [18]. But more than "the knowledge and instinct of routine" is needed to realise that it was not the market that created the capitalist division of labour, but that, on the contrary, it was the dissolution of former social connections, and the division of labour resulting from this, that created the market (see *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. XXIV, 5: "Creation of the Home-Market for Industrial Capital").[a]

"The role of money has at all times provided the first and main stimulus to economic" (!) "ideas. But what did an Aristotle know of this role? No more, clearly, than was contained in the idea that exchange through the medium of money had followed the primitive exchange by barter" [21].

But when "an" Aristotle presumes to discover the two different *forms of the circulation* of money—the one in which it operates as a mere medium of circulation, and the other in which it operates as money capital,[b]

he is thereby—according to Herr Dühring—"only expressing a moral antipathy" [21].

And when "an" Aristotle carries his audacity so far as to attempt an analysis of money in its "role" of a *measure of value*, and actually states this problem, which has such decisive importance for the theory of money, correctly[c]—then "a" Dühring prefers (and for very good private reasons) to say nothing about such impermissible temerity.

Final result: Greek antiquity, as mirrored in the "notice taken" [21] by Dühring, in fact possessed "only quite ordinary ideas" (p. 25), if such *"niaiserie"* (p. 19) has anything whatever in common with ideas, whether ordinary or extraordinary.

It would be better to read Herr Dühring's chapter on mercantilism[93] in the "original", that is, in F. List's *Nationales System*, Chapter 29: "The Industrial System, Incorrectly Called the Mercantile System by the School". How carefully Herr Dühring manages to avoid here too any "semblance of erudition" [17] is shown by the following passage, among others:

List, Chapter 28: "The Italian Political Economists", says:

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 35, Part VIII, Chapter XXX.—*Ed.*

[b] Aristoteles, *De republica*, Liber I, Cap. 8-10. Cf. present edition, Vol. 29 (*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*) and Vol. 35, Part II, Chapters IV, V.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx refers to Aristotle's *Ethica Nicomachea*, Liber V, Cap. 8. He quotes corresponding passages from this book in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* and in *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 29 and Vol. 35, Part I, Chapter I, Section 3, A, 3: "The Equivalent Form of Value").—*Ed.*

"Italy was in advance of all modern nations both in the practice and in the theory of political economy",

and then he cites, as

"the first work written in Italy, which deals especially with political economy, the book by Antonio Serra, of Naples, on the way to secure for the kingdoms an abundance of gold and silver (1613)".[a]

Herr Dühring confidently accepts this and is therefore able to regard Serra's *Breve trattato*[b]

"as a kind of inscription at the entrance of the more recent prehistory of economics" [34].

His treatment of the *Breve trattato* is in fact limited to this "piece of literary buffoonery" [506]. Unfortunately, the actual facts of the case were different: in 1609, that is four years before the *Breve trattato*, Thomas Mun's *A Discourse of Trade etc.*,[c] had appeared. The particular significance of this book was that, even in its first edition, it was directed against the original *monetary system* which was then still defended in England as being the policy of the state; hence it represented the conscious *self-separation* of the mercantile system from the system which gave it birth. Even in the form in which it first appeared the book had several editions and exercised a direct influence on legislation. In the edition of 1664 (*England's Treasure etc.*[d]), which had been completely rewritten by the author and was published after his death, it continued to be the mercantilist gospel for another hundred years. If mercantilism therefore has an epoch-making work "as a kind of inscription at the entrance", it is this book, and for this very reason it simply does not exist for Herr Dühring's "history which most carefully observes the distinctions of rank" [133].

Of *Petty*, the founder of modern political economy, Herr Dühring tells us that there was

"a fair measure of superficiality in his way of thinking" [54] and that "he had no sense of the intrinsic and nicer distinctions between concepts" [55] ... while he possessed "a versatility which knows a great deal but skips lightly from one thing to

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[a] F. List, *Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie*, Vol. I, pp. 451, 456.— *Ed.*

[b] A. Serra, *Breve trattato delle cause che possono far abbondare li regni d'oro et d'argento dove non sono miniere.*— *Ed.*

[c] T. M[un], *A Discourse of Trade, from England into the East-Indies: Answering to diverse Objections which are usually made against the same.* The title is given in English in the manuscript.— *Ed.*

[d] T. Mun, *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade. Or, the Ballance of our Forraign Trade is the Rule of our Treasure.* The title is given in English in the manuscript.— *Ed.*

another without taking root in any idea of a more profound character" [56]; ... his "national-economic ideas are still very crude", and "he achieves *naivetés*, whose contrasts ... a more serious thinker may well find amusing at times" [56].

What inestimable condescension, therefore, for the "more serious thinker" Herr Dühring to deign to take any notice at all of "a Petty" [60]! And what notice does he take of him?

Petty's propositions on

"labour and even labour-time as a measure of value, of which *imperfect traces* can be found in his writings" [62]

are not mentioned again apart from this sentence. Imperfect traces! In his *Treatise on Taxes and Contributions*[a] (first edition, 1662), Petty gives a perfectly clear and correct analysis of the magnitude of value of commodities. In illustrating this magnitude at the outset by the equal value of precious metals and corn on which the same quantity of labour has been expended, he says the first and the last "theoretical" word on the value of the precious metals. But he also lays it down in a definite and general form that the values of commodities must be measured by EQUAL LABOUR. He applies his discovery to the solution of various problems, some of which are very intricate, and on various occasions and in various works, even where he does not repeat the fundamental proposition, he draws important conclusions from it. But even in his very first work he says:

"This" (estimation by equal labour) "I say to be *the foundation of equalizing and balancing of values*; yet in the superstructures and practices hereupon, I confess there is much variety, and intricacy."[b]

Petty was thus conscious equally of the importance of his discovery and of the difficulty of applying it in detail. He therefore tried to find another way in certain concrete cases.

A NATURAL PAR should therefore be found between land and labour, so that value might be expressed at will "by either of them alone as well or better than by both"[c]

Even this error has genius.

Herr Dühring makes this penetrating observation on Petty's theory of value:

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[a] The title is given in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[b] W. Petty, *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions*, pp. 24-25. Italics by Marx.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., p. 24.—*Ed.*

"Had his own thought been more penetrating it would not be possible to find, in other passages, traces of a contrary view, to which we have previously referred" [63-64];

that is to say, to which no "previous" reference has been made except that the "traces" are "imperfect". This is very characteristic of Herr Dühring's method—to allude to something "previously" in a meaningless phrase, in order "subsequently" to make the reader believe that he has "previously" been made acquainted with the main point, which in fact the author in question has slid over both previously and subsequently.

In Adam Smith, however, we can find not only "traces" of "contrary views" on the concept of value, not only two but even three, and strictly speaking even four sharply contrary opinions on value, running quite comfortably side by side and intermingled. But what is quite natural in a writer who is laying the foundations of political economy and is necessarily feeling his way, experimenting and struggling with a chaos of ideas which are only just taking shape, may seem strange in a writer who is surveying and summarising more than a hundred and fifty years of investigation whose results have already passed in part from books into the consciousness of the generality. And, to pass from great things to small: as we have seen, Herr Dühring himself gives us five different kinds of value to select from at will, and with them, an equal number of contrary views. Of course, "had his own thought been more penetrating", he would not have had to expend so much effort in trying to throw his readers back from Petty's perfectly clear conception of value into the uttermost confusion.

A smoothly finished work of Petty's which may be said to be cast in a single block, is his *Quantulumcunque concerning Money*,[a] published in 1682, ten years after his *Anatomy of Ireland*[a] (this "first" appeared in 1672, not 1691 as stated by Herr Dühring, who takes it second-hand from the "most current textbook compilations").[94] In this book the last vestiges of mercantilist views, found in other writings by him, have completely disappeared. In content and form it is a little masterpiece, and for this very reason Herr Dühring does not even mention its title. It is quite in the order of things that in relation to the most brilliant and original of economic investigators, our vainglorious and pedantic mediocrity should only snarl his displeasure, and take offence at the fact that the flashes of theoretical thought do not proudly parade about in

[a] The title is given in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

rank and file as ready-made "axioms" [D. Ph. 224], but merely rise sporadically to the surface from the depths of "crude" [D. K. G. 57] practical material, for example, of taxes.

Petty's foundations of *Political Arithmetic* [58], *vulgo*[a] statistics, are treated by Herr Dühring in the same way as that author's specifically economic works. He malevolently shrugs his shoulders at the odd methods used by Petty! Considering the grotesque methods still employed in this field a century later even by Lavoisier,[95] and in view of the great distance that separates even contemporary statistics from the goal which Petty assigned to them in broad outline, such self-satisfied superiority two centuries *post festum*[b] stands out in all its undisguised stupidity.

Petty's most important ideas—which received such scant attention in Herr Dühring's "enterprise" [9]—are, in the latter's view, nothing but disconnected conceits, chance thoughts, incidental comments, to which only in our day a significance is given, by the use of excerpts torn from their context, which in themselves they have not got; which therefore also play no part in the *real* history of political economy, but only in modern books below the standard of Herr Dühring's deep-rooted criticism and "historical depiction in the grand style" [556]. In his "enterprise", he seems to have had in view a circle of readers who would have implicit faith and would never be bold enough to ask for proof of his assertions. We shall return to this point soon (when dealing with Locke and North), but must first take a fleeting glance at Boisguillebert and Law.

In connection with the former, we must draw attention to the sole find made by Herr Dühring: he has discovered a connection between Boisguillebert and Law which had hitherto been missed. Boisguillebert asserts that the precious metals could be replaced, in the normal monetary functions which they fulfil in commodity circulation, by credit money (*un morceau de papier*[c]).[d] Law on the other hand imagines that any "increase" whatever in the number of these "pieces of paper" increases the wealth of a nation. Herr Dühring draws from this the conclusion that Boisguillebert's

"turn of thought already harboured a new turn in mercantilism" [83]

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[a] Commonly speaking.—*Ed.*

[b] After the event.—*Ed.*

[c] A piece of paper.—*Ed.*

[d] P. Boisguillebert, *Dissertation sur la nature des richesses, de l'argent et des tributs*, Chapter II. In: *Économistes financiers du XVIII*[e] *siècle*, p. 397.—*Ed.*

in other words, already included Law. This is made as clear as daylight in the following:

"*All* that was necessary was to assign to the 'simple pieces of paper' the same role that the precious metals *should* have played, and a metamorphosis of mercantilism was thereby at once accomplished" [83].

In the same way it is possible to accomplish at once the metamorphosis of an uncle into an aunt. It is true that Herr Dühring adds appeasingly:

"Of course Boisguillebert had no such purpose in mind" [83].

But how, in the devil's name, could he intend to replace his own rationalist conception of the monetary function of the precious metals by the superstitious conception of the mercantilists for the sole reason that, according to him, the precious metals can be replaced in this role by paper money?

Nevertheless, Herr Dühring continues in his serio-comic style,

"nevertheless it may be conceded that here and there our author succeeded in making a really apt remark" (p. 83).

In reference to Law, Herr Dühring succeeded in making only this "really apt remark":

"Law too was naturally never able completely to *eradicate* the above-named basis" (namely, "the basis of the precious metals"), "but he pushed the issue of notes to its extreme limit, that is to say, to the collapse of the system" (p. 94).

In reality, however, these paper butterflies, mere money tokens, were intended to flutter about among the public, not in order to "eradicate" the basis of the precious metals, but to entice them from the pockets of the public into the depleted treasuries of the state.[96]

To return to Petty and the inconspicuous role in the history of economics assigned to him by Herr Dühring, let us first listen to what we are told about Petty's immediate successors, Locke and North. Locke's *Considerations on Lowering of Interest and Raising of Money,*[a] and North's *Discourses upon Trade,*[a] appeared in the same year, 1691.

"What he" (Locke) "wrote on interest and coin does not go beyond the range of the reflections, current under the dominion of mercantilism, in connection with the events of political life" (p. 64).

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[a] The title is given in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

To the reader of this "report" it should now be clear as crystal why Locke's *Lowering of Interest*[a] had such an important influence, in more than one direction, on political economy in France and Italy during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

"Many businessmen thought the same" (as Locke) "on free play for the rate of interest, and the developing situation also produced the tendency to regard restrictions on interest as ineffective. At a period when a Dudley North could write his *Discourses upon Trade*[a] in the direction of free trade, a great deal must already have been in the air, as they say, which made the theoretical opposition to restrictions on interest rates seem something not at all extraordinary" (p. 64).

So Locke had only to cogitate the ideas of this or that contemporary "businessman", or to breathe in a great deal of what was "in the air, as they say" to be able to theorise on free play for the rate of interest without saying anything "extraordinary"! In fact, however, as early as 1662, in his *Treatise on Taxes and Contributions,*[a] Petty had counterposed interest, as RENT OF MONEY WHICH WE CALL USURY TO RENT OF LAND AND HOUSES, and lectured the landlords, who wished to keep down by legislation not of course land rent, but the rent of money, on THE VANITY AND FRUITLESSNESS OF MAKING CIVIL POSITIVE LAW AGAINST THE LAW OF NATURE.[b] In his *Quantulumcunque* (1682) he therefore declared that legislative regulation of the rate of interest was as stupid as regulation of exports of precious metals or regulation of exchange rates. In the same work he made statements of unquestionable authority on the RAISING OF MONEY (for example, the attempt to give sixpence the name of one shilling by doubling the number of shillings coined from one ounce of silver).

As regards this last point, Locke and North did little more than copy him. In regard to interest, however, Locke followed Petty's parallel between rent of money and rent of land, while North goes further and opposes interest as RENT OF STOCK to land rent, and the STOCKLORDS to the LANDLORDS.[c] And while Locke accepts free play for the rate of interest, as demanded by Petty, only with reservations, North accepts it unconditionally.

Herr Dühring—himself still a bitter mercantilist in the "more subtle" [55] sense—surpasses himself when he dismisses Dudley North's *Discourses upon Trade*[a] with the comment that they were written "in the direction of free trade" [64]. It is rather like saying

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[a] The title is given in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*
[b] W. Petty, op. cit., pp. 28-29.—*Ed.*
[c] [D. North,] *Discourses upon Trade,* p. 4.—*Ed.*

of Harvey that he wrote "in the direction" of the circulation of the blood. North's work—apart from its other merits—is a classical exposition, driven home with relentless logic, of the doctrine of free trade, both foreign and internal—certainly "something extraordinary" [64] in the year 1691!

Herr Dühring, by the way, informs us that

> North was a "merchant" and a bad type at that, also that his work "met with no approval" [64].

Indeed! How could anyone expect a book of this sort to have met with "approval" among the mob setting the tone at the time of the final triumph of protectionism in England? But this did not prevent it from having an immediate effect on theory, as can be seen from a whole series of economic works published in England shortly after it, some of them even before the end of the seventeenth century.

Locke and North gave us proof of how the first bold strokes which Petty dealt in almost every sphere of political economy were taken up one by one by his English successors and further developed. The traces of this process during the period 1691 to 1752 are obvious even to the most superficial observer from the very fact that all the more important economic writings of that time start from Petty, either positively or negatively. That period, which abounded in original thinkers, is therefore the most important for the investigation of the gradual genesis of political economy. The "historical depiction in the grand style" [556], which chalks up against Marx the unpardonable sin of making so much commotion in *Capital* about Petty and the writers of that period, simply strikes them right out of history. From Locke, North, Boisguillebert and Law it jumps straight to the physiocrats, and then, at the entrance to the real temple of political economy, appears—David Hume. With Herr Dühring's permission, however, we restore the chronological order, putting Hume before the physiocrats.

Hume's economic *Essays* appeared in 1752.[a] In the related essays: *Of Money, Of the Balance of Trade, Of Commerce,* Hume follows step by step, and often even in his personal idiosyncrasies, Jacob Vanderlint's *Money Answers All Things,*[b] published in London

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[a] This is a reference to David Hume's *Political Discourses.* Marx quotes from the following edition: D. Hume, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects.* In two volumes, London, 1777, of which *Political Discourses* comprise the second half of Volume I. —*Ed.*

[b] The titles are given in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

in 1734. However unknown this Vanderlint may have been to Herr Dühring, references to him can be found in English economic works even at the end of the eighteenth century, that is to say, in the period after Adam Smith.

Like Vanderlint, Hume treated money as a mere token of value; he copied almost word for word (and this is important as he might have taken the theory of money as a token of value from many other sources) Vanderlint's argument on why the balance of trade cannot be permanently either favourable or unfavourable to a country; like Vanderlint, he teaches that the equilibrium of balances is brought about naturally, in accordance with the different economic situations in the different countries; like Vanderlint, he preaches free trade, but less boldly and consistently; like Vanderlint, though with less profundity, he emphasises wants as the motive forces of production; he follows Vanderlint in the influence on commodity prices which he erroneously attributes to bank money and government securities in general; like Vanderlint, he rejects credit money; like Vanderlint, he makes commodity prices dependent on the price of labour, that is, on wages; he even copies Vanderlint's absurd notion that by accumulating treasures commodity prices are kept down, etc., etc.

At a much earlier point Herr Dühring made an oracular allusion to how others had misunderstood Hume's monetary theory with a particularly minatory reference to Marx, who in *Capital* had, besides, pointed in a manner contrary to police regulations to the secret connections of Hume with Vanderlint and with J. Massie,[a] who will be mentioned later.

As for this misunderstanding, the facts are as follows. In regard to Hume's real theory of money (that money is a mere token of value, and therefore, other conditions being equal, commodity prices rise in proportion to the increase in the volume of money in circulation, and fall in proportion to its decrease), Herr Dühring, with the best intentions in the world—though in his own luminous way—can only repeat the errors made by his predecessors. Hume, however, after propounding the theory cited above, himself raises the objection (as Montesquieu,[b] starting from the same premises, had done previously) that

nevertheless "'tis certain" that since the discovery of the mines in America, "industry has encreased in all the nations of Europe, except in the possessors of

[a] See present edition, Vol. 35, Part I, Chapter III, Section 2, b, and Part V, Chapter XVI.—*Ed.*

[b] [Ch. Montesquieu,] *De l'esprit des loix.*—*Ed.*

those mines", and that this "may justly be ascribed, amongst other reasons, to the encrease of gold and silver".[a]

His explanation of this phenomenon is that

"though the high price of commodities be a necessary consequence of the encrease of gold and silver, yet it follows not immediately upon that encrease; but some time is required before the money circulate through the whole state and make its effects be felt on all ranks of people". In this interval it has a beneficial effect on industry and trade.[b]

At the end of this analysis Hume also tells us why this is so, although in a less comprehensive way than many of his predecessors and contemporaries:

"'Tis easy to trace the money in its progress through the whole commonwealth; where we shall find, that it must first quicken the diligence of every individual, before *it encreases the price of labour*."[c]

In other words, Hume is here describing the effect of a revolution in the value of the precious metals, namely, a depreciation, or, which is the same thing, a revolution in the *measure of value* of the precious metals. He correctly ascertains that, in the slow process of readjusting the prices of commodities, this depreciation "increases the price of labour"—*vulgo*, wages—only in the last instance; that is to say, it increases the profit made by merchants and industrialists at the cost of the labourer (which he, however, thinks is just as it should be), and thus "quickens diligence". But he does not set himself the task of answering the real scientific question, namely, whether and in what way an increase in the supply of the precious metals, their value remaining the same, affects the prices of commodities; and he lumps together *every* "increase of the precious metals" with their depreciation. Hume therefore does precisely what Marx says he does (*Zur Kritik etc.*, p. 141).[d] We shall come back once more to this point in passing, but we must first turn to Hume's essay on INTEREST.

Hume's arguments, expressly directed against Locke that the rate of interest is not regulated by the amount of available money but by the rate of profit, and his other explanations of the causes which determine rises or falls in the rate of interest, are all to be

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[a] D. Hume, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*, Vol. I, pp. 303-04.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid.

[c] Ibid.

[d] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. See present edition, Vol. 29.—*Ed.*

found, much more exactly though less cleverly stated, in *An Essay on the Governing Causes of the Natural Rate of Interest; wherein the sentiments of Sir W. Petty and Mr. Locke, on that head, are considered.*[a] This work appeared in 1750, two years before Hume's essay; its author was J. Massie, a writer active in various fields, who had a wide public, as can be seen from contemporary English literature. Adam Smith's discussion of the rate of interest is closer to Massie than to Hume. Neither Massie nor Hume know or say anything regarding the nature of "profit", which plays a role with both.

"In general," Herr Dühring sermonises us, "the attitude of most of Hume's commentators has been very prejudiced, and ideas have been attributed to him which he never entertained in the least" [131].

And Herr Dühring himself gives us more than one striking example of this "attitude".

For example, Hume's essay on interest begins with the following words:

"Nothing is esteemed a more certain sign of the flourishing condition of any nation than the lowness of interest: And with reason; though I believe the cause is somewhat different from what is commonly apprehended."[b]

In the very first sentence, therefore, Hume cites the view that the lowness of interest is the surest indication of the flourishing condition of a nation as a commonplace which had already become trivial in his day. And in fact this "idea" had already had fully a hundred years, since Child, to become generally current. But we are told:

"Among" (Hume's) "views on the rate of interest *we must particularly draw attention to the idea* that it is the true barometer of conditions" (conditions of what?) "and that its lowness is an almost infallible sign of the prosperity of a nation" (p. 130).

Who is the "prejudiced" and captivated "commentator" who says this? None other than Herr Dühring.

What arouses the naive astonishment of our critical historian is the fact that Hume, in connection with some felicitous idea or other, "does not even claim to have originated it" [131]. This would certainly not have happened to Herr Dühring.

We have seen how Hume confuses every increase of the precious metals with such an increase as is accompanied by a

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[a] The title is given in English in the manuscript.— *Ed.*

[b] D. Hume, op. cit., p. 313.— *Ed.*

depreciation, a revolution in their own value, hence, in the measure of value of commodities. This confusion was inevitable with Hume because he had not the slightest understanding of the function of the precious metals as the *measure of value.* And he could not have it, because he had absolutely no knowledge of value itself. The word itself is to be found perhaps only once in his essays, namely, in the passage where, in attempting to "correct" Locke's erroneous notion that the precious metals had "only an imaginary value", he makes it even worse by saying that they had "merely a fictitious value".[a]

In this he is much inferior not only to Petty but to many of his English contemporaries. He shows the same "backwardness" in still proclaiming the old-fashioned notion that the *"merchant"* is the mainspring of production—an idea which Petty had long passed beyond. As for Herr Dühring's assurance that in his essays Hume concerned himself with the "chief economic relationships" [121], if the reader only compares Cantillon's work quoted by Adam Smith (which appeared the same year as Hume's essays, 1752, but many years after its author's death),[97] he will be surprised at the narrow range of Hume's economic writings. Hume, as we have said, in spite of the letters-patent issued to him by Herr Dühring, is nevertheless quite a respectable figure also in the field of political economy, but in this field he is anything but an original investigator, and even less an epoch-making one. The influence of his economic essays on the educated circles of his day was due not merely to his excellent presentation, but principally to the fact that the essays were a progressive and optimistic glorification of industry and trade, which were then flourishing—in other words, of the capitalist society which at that time was rapidly rising in England, and whose "approval" they therefore had to gain. Let one instance suffice here. Everyone knows the passionate fight that the masses of the English people were waging, just in Hume's day, against the system of indirect taxes which was being regularly exploited by the notorious Sir Robert Walpole for the relief of the landlords and of the rich in general. In his essay *Of Taxes,*[b] in which, without mentioning his name, Hume polemises against his indispensable authority Vanderlint—the stoutest opponent of indirect taxation and the most determined advocate of a land tax—we read:

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[a] Ibid., p. 314.—*Ed.*

[b] The title is given in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

"They" (taxes on consumption) "must be very heavy taxes, indeed, and very injudiciously levied, which the artisan will not, of himself, be enabled to pay, by superior industry and frugality, *without raising the price of his labour.*"[a]

It is almost as if Robert Walpole himself were speaking, especially if we also take into consideration the passage in the essay on "public credit" in which, referring to the difficulty of taxing the state's creditors, the following is said:

"The diminution of their revenue would not be *disguised* under the appearance of a branch of excise or customs."[b]

As might have been expected of a Scotchman, Hume's admiration of bourgeois acquisitiveness was by no means purely platonic. Starting as a poor man, he worked himself up to a very substantial annual income of many thousands of pounds; which Herr Dühring (as he is here not dealing with Petty) tactfully expresses in this way:

"Possessed of very small means to start with he succeeded, by good *domestic economy,* in reaching the position of not having to write to please anyone" [134].

Herr Dühring further says:

"He had never made the slightest concession to the influence of parties, princes or universities" [134].

There is no evidence that Hume ever entered into a literary partnership with a "Wagener",[98] but it is well known that he was an indefatigable partisan of the Whig oligarchy, which thought highly of "*Church* and state", and that in reward for these services he was given first a secretaryship in the Embassy in Paris and subsequently the incomparably more important and better-paid post of an Under-Secretary of State.

"In politics Hume was and always remained conservative and strongly monarchist in his views. For this reason he was never so bitterly denounced for heresy as Gibbon by the supporters of the established church,"

says old Schlosser.[c]

"This selfish Hume, this lying historian" reproaches the English monks with being fat, having neither wife nor family and living by begging; "but he himself never had a family or a wife, and was a great, fat fellow, fed, in considerable part, out of public money, without having merited it by any real public services"—this is what the "rude" plebeian Cobbett says.[d]

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[a] D. Hume, op. cit., p. 367. Here and below italics by Marx.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 379.—*Ed.*

[c] F. C. Schlosser, *Weltgeschichte für das deutsche Volk,* Vol. XVII, p. 76.—*Ed.*

[d] W. Cobbett, *A History of the Protestant "Reformation", in England and Ireland,* §§ 149, 116, 130.—*Ed.*

Hume was "in essential respects greatly superior to a Kant in the *practical* management of life" [122],

is what Herr Dühring says.

But why is Hume given such an exaggerated position in *Kritische Geschichte*? Simply because this "serious and subtle thinker" [121] has the honour of enacting the Dühring of the eighteenth century. Hume serves as proof that

"the creation of this whole branch of science" (economics) "is the achievement of a more enlightened philosophy" [123];

and similarly Hume as predecessor is the best guarantee that this whole branch of science will find its close, for the immediately foreseeable future, in that phenomenal man who has transformed the merely "more enlightened" philosophy into the absolutely luminous philosophy of reality, and with whom, just as was the case with Hume,

"the cultivation of philosophy in the narrow sense of the word is combined—something unprecedented on German soil—with scientific endeavours on behalf of the national economy" [D. Ph. 531].

Accordingly we find Hume, in any case respectable as an economist, inflated into an economic star of the first magnitude, whose importance has hitherto been denied only by the same envious people who have hitherto also so obstinately hushed up Herr Dühring's achievements, "authoritative for the epoch" [D. K. G. 1].

* * *

The *physiocratic* school left us in *Quesnay's Tableau économique*,[a] as everyone knows, a nut on which all former critics and historians of political economy have up to now broken their jaws in vain. This *Tableau*, which was intended to bring out clearly the physiocrats' conception of the production and circulation of a country's total wealth, remained obscure enough for the succeeding generations of economists. On this subject, too, Herr Dühring comes to finally enlighten us.

What this "economic image of the relations of production and distribution *means in Quesnay himself*," he says, can only be stated if one has "*first carefully examined* the leading ideas which are peculiar to him". All the more because these have hitherto been set forth only with "wavering indefiniteness", and their "essential features cannot be recognised" [105] even in Adam Smith.

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[a] First published in 1758 in Versailles.—*Ed.*

Herr Dühring will now once and for all put an end to this traditional "superficial reporting". He then proceeds to pull the reader's leg through five whole pages, five pages in which all kinds of pretentious phrases, constant repetitions and calculated confusion are designed to conceal the awkward fact that Herr Dühring has hardly as much to tell us in regard to Quesnay's "leading ideas" [105], as the "most current textbook compilations" [109] against which he warns us so untiringly. It is "one of the most dubious sides" [111] of this introduction that here too the *Tableau*, which up to that point had only been mentioned by name, is just casually snuffled at, and then gets lost in all sorts of "reflections", such as, for example, "the difference between effort and result". Though the latter, "it is true, is not to be found completed in Quesnay's ideas", Herr Dühring will give us a fulminating example of it as soon as he comes from his lengthy introductory "effort" to his remarkably shortwinded "result" [109], that is to say, to his elucidation of the *Tableau* itself. We shall now give all, *literally all* that he feels it right to tell us of Quesnay's *Tableau.*

In his "effort" Herr Dühring says:

> "It seemed to him" (Quesnay) "self-evident that the proceeds" (Herr Dühring had just spoken of the net product) "must be thought of and treated as a *money value* [105-06] ... He connected his deliberations" (!) "immediately with the *money values* which he assumed as the results of the sales of all agricultural products when they first change hands. In this way" (!) "he operates in the columns of his *Tableau* with several milliards" [106] (that is, with money values).

We have therefore learnt three times over that, in his *Tableau*, Quesnay operates with the "money values" of "agricultural products", including the money values of the "net product" or "net proceeds". Further on in the text we find:

> Had Quesnay considered things from a really natural standpoint, and had he rid himself not only of regard for the precious metals and the amount of money, but also of regard for *money values*... But as it is he reckons solely with *sums of value,* and imagined" (!) "the net product in advance as *a money value*" [106].

So for the fourth and fifth time: there are only money values in the *Tableau*!

> "He" (Quesnay) "obtained it" (the net product) "by deducting the expenses and *thinking*" (!) "principally" (not traditional but for that matter all the more superficial reporting) "of that value which would accrue to the landlord as rent" [106].

We have still not advanced a step; but now it is coming:

> "On the other hand, *however, now also*"—this "however, now also" is a gem!—"the net product, as a natural object, enters into circulation, and in this way

becomes an element which ... should serve ... to maintain the class which is described as sterile. In this the confusion can *at once*" (!) "be seen—the confusion arising from the fact that in one case it is the money value, and in the other the thing itself, which determines the course of thought" [106].

In general, it seems, *all* circulation of commodities suffers from the "confusion" that commodities enter into circulation simultaneously as "natural objects" and as "money values". But we are still moving in a circle about "money value", for

"Quesnay is anxious to avoid a double booking of the national-economic proceeds" [106].

With Herr Dühring's permission: In Quesnay's *Analysis*[a] at the foot of the *Tableau,* the various kinds of products figure as "natural objects" and above, in the *Tableau* itself, their money values are given. Subsequently Quesnay even made his famulus, the Abbé Baudeau, include the natural objects in the *Tableau* itself, *beside* their money values.[b]

After all this "effort", we at last get the "result". Listen and marvel at these words:

"Nevertheless, the inconsequence" (referring to the role assigned by Quesnay to the landlords) "*at once* becomes clear when we enquire *what becomes of the net product, which has been appropriated as rent, in the course of the national-economic circulation.* In regard to this the physiocrats and the *economic Tableau* could offer nothing but confused and arbitrary conceptions, ascending to mysticism" [110].

All's well that ends well. So Herr Dühring does not know "what becomes of the net product, which has been appropriated as rent, in the course of the national-economic circulation" (represented in the *Tableau*). To him, the *Tableau* is the "squaring of the circle" [110]. By his own confession, he does not understand the ABC of physiocracy. After all the beating about the bush, the dropping of buckets into an empty well, the hying hither and thither, the harlequinades, episodes, diversions, repetitions and stupefying mix-ups whose sole purpose was to prepare us for the imposing conclusion, "what the *Tableau* means in Quesnay

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[a] F. Quesnay, *Analyse du Tableau économique.* It was first published in 1766 in the physiocrat *Journal de l'agriculture, du commerce et des finances.* Marx quotes from *Physiocrates. Avec une introduction sur la doctrine des physiocrates, des commentaires et des notices historiques,* par E. Daire. Part One, pp. 57-66.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., Part Two, pp. 864-67. Marx refers to the last paragraph of the Abbé Baudeau's *Explication du Tableau économique.* It was published for the first time in 1767 in the physiocrat journal *Éphémérides du citoyen.*—*Ed.*

himself" [105]—after all this Herr Dühring's shamefaced confession that *he himself does not know.*

Once he has shaken off this painful secret, this Horatian "black care"[a] which sat hunched on his back during his ride through the land of the physiocrats, our "serious and subtle thinker" blows another merry blast on his trumpet, as follows:

> "The lines which Quesnay draws here and there" (in all there are just five of them!) "in his otherwise fairly simple" (!) "*Tableau,* and which are meant to represent the circulation of the net product", make one wonder whether "these whimsical combinations of columns" may not be suffused with fantastic mathematics; they are reminiscent of Quesnay's attempts to square the circle [110]—and so forth.

As Herr Dühring, by his own admission, was unable to understand these lines in spite of their simplicity, he had to follow his favourite procedure of *casting suspicion* on them. And now he can confidently deliver the *coup de grâce* to the vexatious *Tableau*:

> "We have considered the net product in this its *most dubious aspect*" [111], etc.

So the confession he was constrained to make that he does not understand the first word about the *Tableau économique* and the "role" played by the net product which figures in it—that is what Herr Dühring calls "the most dubious aspect of the net product"! What grim humour!

But in order that our readers may not be left in the same cruel ignorance about Quesnay's *Tableau* as those necessarily are who receive their economic wisdom "first hand" from Herr Dühring, we will explain it briefly as follows[b]:

As is known, the physiocrats divide society into three classes: (1) The productive, i.e., the class which is actually engaged in agriculture—tenant-farmers and agricultural labourers; they are called productive, because their labour yields a surplus: rent. (2) The class which appropriates this surplus, including the landowners and their retainers, the prince and in general all officials paid by the state, and finally also the Church in its special character as appropriator of tithes. For the sake of brevity, in what follows we call the first class simply "farmers", and the second class "landlords". (3) The industrial or sterile class; sterile because, in the view of the physiocrats, it adds to the raw materials delivered

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[a] "Black care" (atra Cura)—an expression from Horace's ode. (See Horatius, *Carmina,* Liber III, carmen I.)—*Ed.*

[b] See the diagram (formula) of Quesnay's *Tableau économique* on page 239 of this volume.—*Ed.*

to it by the productive class only as much value as it consumes in means of subsistence supplied to it by that same class. Quesnay's *Tableau* was intended to portray how the total annual product of a country (concretely, France) circulates among these three classes and facilitates annual reproduction.

The first premise of the *Tableau* was that the farming system and with it large-scale agriculture, in the sense in which this term was understood in Quesnay's time, had been generally introduced, Normandy, Picardy, Île-de-France and a few other French provinces serving as prototypes. The farmer therefore appears as the real leader in agriculture, as he represents in the *Tableau* the whole productive (agricultural) class and pays the landlord a rent in money. An invested capital or inventory of ten milliard livres is assigned to the farmers as a whole; of this sum, one-fifth, or two milliards, is the working capital which has to be replaced every year—this figure too was estimated on the basis of the best-managed farms in the provinces mentioned above.

Further premises: (1) that for the sake of simplicity constant prices and simple reproduction prevail; (2) that all circulation which takes place solely within one class is excluded, and that only circulation between class and class is taken into account; (3) that all purchases and sales taking place between class and class in the course of the industrial year are combined in a single total sum. Lastly, it must be borne in mind that in Quesnay's time in France, as was more or less the case throughout Europe, the home industry of the peasant families satisfied by far the greater portion of their needs other than food, and is therefore taken for granted here as supplementary to agriculture.

The starting-point of the *Tableau* is the total harvest, the gross product of the annual yield of the soil, which is consequently placed as the first item—or the "total reproduction" of the country, in this case France. The magnitude of value of this gross product is estimated on the basis of the average prices of agricultural products among the trading nations. It comes to five milliard livres, a sum which roughly expresses the money value of the gross agricultural production of France based on such statistical estimates as were then possible. This and nothing else is the reason why in his *Tableau* Quesnay "operates with several milliards" [106], to be precise, with five milliards, and not with five *livres tournois.*[99]

The whole gross product, of a value of five milliards, is therefore in the hands of the productive class, that is, in the first place the farmers, who have produced it by advancing an annual

working capital of two milliards, which corresponds to an invested capital of ten milliards. The agricultural products—foodstuffs, raw materials, etc.—which are required for the replacement of the working capital, including therefore the maintenance of all persons directly engaged in agriculture, are taken *in natura*[a] from the total harvest and expended for the purpose of new agricultural production. Since, as we have seen, constant prices and simple reproduction on a given scale are assumed, the money value of the portion which is thus taken from the gross product is equal to two milliard livres. This portion, therefore, does not enter into general circulation. For, as we have noted, circulation which takes place only *within* a particular class, and not between one class and another, is excluded from the *Tableau.*

After the replacement of the working capital out of the gross product there remains a surplus of three milliards, of which two are in means of subsistence and one in raw materials. The rent which the farmers have to pay to the landlords is however only two-thirds of this sum, equal to two milliards. It will soon be seen why it is only these two milliards which figure under the heading of "net product" or "net income" [106].

But in addition to the "total reproduction" of agriculture amounting in value to five milliards, of which three milliards enter into general circulation, there is also in the hands of the farmers, *before* the movement described in the *Tableau* begins, the whole *"pécule"*[b] of the nation, two milliards of cash money. This comes about in the following way.

As the total harvest is the starting-point of the *Tableau,* this starting-point also forms the closing point of an economic year, for example, of the year 1758, from which point a new economic year begins. During the course of this new year, 1759, the portion of the gross product destined to enter into circulation is distributed among the two other classes through the medium of a number of individual payments, purchases and sales. These movements, separated, following each other in succession, and stretching over a whole year, are however—as was bound to happen in any case in the *Tableau*—combined into a few characteristic transactions each of which embraces a whole year's operations at once. This, then, is how at the close of the year 1758 there has flowed back to the farmer class the money paid by it to the landlords as rent for the year 1757 (the *Tableau* itself will show how this comes about),

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[a] In kind.—*Ed.*
[b] Hoard.—*Ed.*

amounting to two milliards; so that the farmer class can again throw this sum into circulation in 1759. Since, however, that sum, as Quesnay observes, is much larger than is required in reality for the total circulation of the country (France), inasmuch as there is a constant succession of separate payments, the two milliard livres in the hands of the farmers represent the total money in circulation in the nation.

The class of landlords drawing rent first appears, as is the case sometimes even today, in the role of receivers of payments. On Quesnay's assumption the landlords proper receive only four-sevenths of the two milliards of rent: two-sevenths go to the government, and one -seventh to the receivers of tithes. In Quesnay's day the Church was the biggest landlord in France and in addition received the tithes on all other landed property.

The working capital (*avances annuelles*[a]) advanced by the "sterile" class in the course of a whole year consists of raw materials to the value of one milliard—only raw materials, because tools, machinery, etc., are included among the products of that class itself. The many different roles, however, played by such products in the industrial enterprises of this class do not concern the *Tableau* any more than the circulation of commodities and money which takes place exclusively within that class. The wages for the labour by which the sterile class transforms the raw materials into manufactured goods are equal to the value of the means of subsistence which it receives in part directly from the productive class, and in part indirectly, through the landlords. Although it is itself divided into capitalists and wage-workers, it forms, according to Quesnay's basic conception, an integral class which is in the pay of the productive class and of the landlords. The total industrial production, and consequently also its total circulation, which is distributed over the year following the harvest, is likewise combined into a single whole. It is therefore assumed that at the beginning of the movement set out in the *Tableau* the annual commodity production of the sterile class is entirely in its hands, and consequently that its whole working capital, consisting of raw materials to the value of one milliard, has been converted into goods to the value of two milliards, one-half of which represents the price of the means of subsistence consumed during this transformation. An objection might be raised here: Surely the sterile class also uses up industrial products

[a] Annual advances.—*Ed.*

for its own domestic needs; where are these shown, if its own total product passes through circulation to the other classes? This is the answer we are given: The sterile class not only itself consumes a portion of its own commodities, but in addition it strives to retain as much of the rest as possible. It therefore sells the commodities thrown by it into circulation above their real value, and must do this, as we have evaluated these commodities at the total value of their production. This, however, does not affect the figures of the *Tableau*, for the two other classes receive manufactured goods only to the value of their total production.

So now we know the economic position of the three different classes at the beginning of the movement set out in the *Tableau*.

The productive class, after its working capital has been replaced in kind, still has three milliards of the gross product of agriculture and two milliards in money. The landlord class appears only with its rent claim of two milliards on the productive class. The sterile class has two milliards in manufactured goods. Circulation passing between only two of these three classes is called imperfect by the physiocrats; circulation which takes place between all three classes is called perfect.

Now for the economic *Tableau* itself.

*First* (imperfect) *Circulation:* The farmers pay the landlords the rent due to them with two milliards of money, without receiving anything in return. With one of these two milliards the landlords buy means of subsistence from the farmers, to whom one-half of the money expended by them in the payment of rent thus returns.

In his *Analyse du Tableau économique* Quesnay does not make further mention of the state, which receives two-sevenths, or of the Church, which receives one-seventh, of the land rent, as their social roles are generally known. In regard to the landlord class proper, however, he says that its expenditure (in which that of all its retainers is included) is, at least as regards the great bulk of it, unfruitful expenditure, with the exception of that small portion which is used "for the maintenance and improvement of their lands and the raising of their standard of cultivation". But by "natural law" their proper function consists precisely in "provision for the good management and expenditure for the maintenance of their patrimony in good repair",[a] or, as is explained further on, in making the *avances foncières*, that is, outlays for the preparation of the soil and provision of all equipment needed by the farms,

[a] F. Quesnay, *Analyse du Tableau économique*. In: *Physiocrates*, Part One, p. 68.—*Ed.*

which enable the farmer to devote his whole capital exclusively to the business of actual cultivation.

*Second* (perfect) *Circulation*: With the second milliard of money still remaining in their hands, the landlords purchase manufactured goods from the sterile class, and the latter, with the money thus obtained, purchases from the farmers means of subsistence for the same sum.

*Third* (imperfect) *Circulation*: The farmers buy from the sterile class, with one milliard of money, a corresponding amount of manufactured goods; a large part of these goods consists of agricultural implements and other means of production required in agriculture. The sterile class returns the same amount of money to the farmers, buying raw materials with it to the value of one milliard to replace its own working capital. Thus the two milliards expended by the farmers in payment of rent have flowed back to them, and the movement is closed. And therewith also the great riddle is solved:

"what becomes of the net product, which has been appropriated as rent, in the course of the economic circulation?" [110.]

We saw above that at the starting-point of the process there was a surplus of three milliards in the hands of the productive class. Of these, only two were paid as net product in the form of rent to the landlords. The third milliard of the surplus constitutes the interest on the total invested capital of the farmers, that is, ten per cent on ten milliards. They do not receive this interest—this should be carefully noted—from circulation; it exists *in natura* in their hands, and they realise it only in circulation, by thus converting it into manufactured goods of equal value.

If it were not for this interest, the farmer—the chief agent in agriculture—would not advance the capital for investment in it. Already from this standpoint, according to the physiocrats, the appropriation by the farmer of that portion of the agricultural *surplus proceeds* which represents interest is as necessary a condition of reproduction as the farmer class itself; and hence this element cannot be put in the category of the national "net product" or "net income"; for the latter is characterised precisely by the fact that it is consumable without any regard to the immediate needs of national reproduction. This fund of one milliard, however, serves, according to Quesnay, for the most part to cover the repairs which become necessary in the course of the year, and the partial renewals of invested capital; further, as a reserve fund against accidents, and lastly, where possible, for the

enlargement of the invested and working capital, as well as for the improvement of the soil and extension of cultivation.

The whole process is certainly "fairly simple" [110]. There enter into circulation: from the farmers, two milliards in money for the payment of rent, and three milliards in products, of which two-thirds are means of subsistence and one-third raw materials; from the sterile class, two milliards in manufactured goods. Of the means of subsistence amounting to two milliards, one half is consumed by the landlords and their retainers, the other half by the sterile class in payment for its labour. The raw materials to the value of one milliard replace the working capital of this latter class. Of the manufactured goods in circulation, amounting to two milliards, one half goes to the landlords and the other to the farmers, for whom it is only a converted form of the interest, which accrues at first hand from agricultural reproduction, on their invested capital. The money thrown into circulation by the farmer in payment of rent flows back to him, however, through the sale of his products, and thus the same process can take place again in the next economic year.

And now we must admire Herr Dühring's "really critical" [D. Ph. 404] exposition, which is so infinitely superior to the "traditional superficial reporting" [D. K. G. 105]. After mysteriously pointing out to us five times in succession how hazardous it was for Quesnay to operate in the *Tableau* with mere money values—which moreover turned out not to be true—he finally reaches the conclusion that, when he asks,

> "what becomes of the net product, which has been appropriated as rent, in the course of the national-economic circulation?"—the economic *Tableau* "could offer nothing but confused and arbitrary conceptions, ascending to mysticism" [110].

We have seen that the *Tableau*—this both simple and, for its time, brilliant depiction of the annual process of reproduction through the medium of circulation—gives a very exact answer to the question of what becomes of this net product in the course of national-economic circulation. Thus once again the "mysticism" and the "confused and arbitrary conceptions" are left simply and solely with Herr Dühring, as "the most dubious aspect" and the sole "net product" [111] of his study of physiocracy.

Herr Dühring is just as familiar with the historical influence of the physiocrats as with their theories.

> "With Turgot," he teaches us, "physiocracy in France came to an end both in practice and in theory" [120].

Total reproduction: 5 milliards

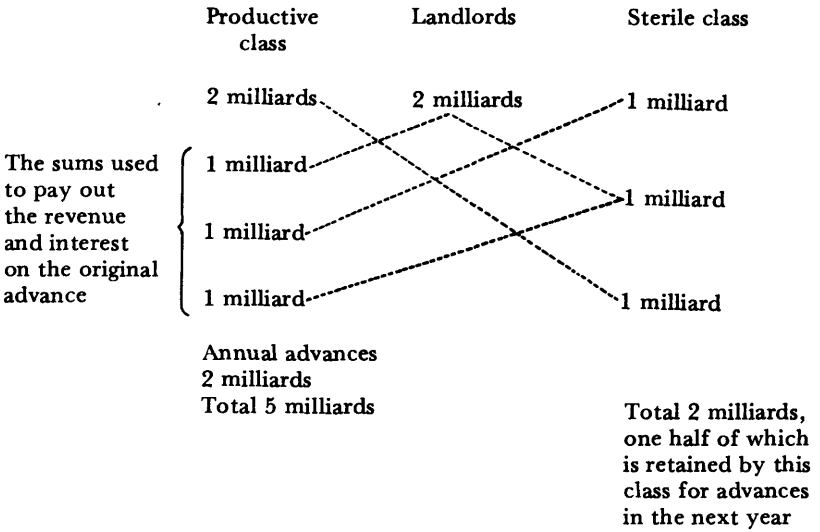


Diagram (formula) of Quesnay's *Tableau économique*

That Mirabeau, however, was essentially a physiocrat in his economic views; that he was the leading economic authority in the Constituent Assembly of 1789; that this Assembly in its economic reforms translated from theory into practice a substantial portion of the physiocrats' principles, and in particular laid a heavy tax also on land rent, the net product appropriated by the landowners "without consideration"—all this does not exist for "a" Dühring.—

Just as the long stroke drawn through the years 1691 to 1752 removed all of Hume's predecessors, so another stroke obliterated Sir James Steuart, who came between Hume and Adam Smith. There is not a syllable in Herr Dühring's "enterprise" [9] on Steuart's great work, which, apart from its historical importance, permanently enriched the domain of political economy.[a] But, instead, Herr Dühring applies to him the most abusive epithet in his vocabulary, and says that he was *"a professor"* [136] in Adam Smith's time. Unfortunately this insinuation is a pure invention. Steuart, as a matter of fact, was a large landowner in Scotland, who was banished from Great Britain for alleged complicity in the Stuart plot and through long residence and his journeys on the Continent made himself familiar with economic conditions in various countries.

In a word: according to the *Kritische Geschichte* the only value all earlier economists had was to serve either as "rudiments" [1] of Herr Dühring's "authoritative" [1] and deeper foundations, or, because of their unsound doctrines, as a foil to the latter. In political economy, however, there are also some heroes who represent not only "rudiments" of the "deeper foundation" [D. C. 11], but "principles" [5] from which this foundation, as was prescribed in Herr Dühring's natural philosophy, is not "developed" [353] but actually "composed": for example, the "incomparably great and eminent" [16] *List,* who, for the benefit of German manufacturers, puffed up the "more subtle" mercantilistic teachings of a Ferrier and others into "mightier" words; also *Carey* who reveals the true essence of his wisdom in the following sentence:

> "Ricardo's system is one of discords ... its whole tends to the production of hostility among classes ... his book is the true manual of the demagogue, who seeks power by means of agrarianism, war, and plunder"[b];

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[a] J. Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy.*—*Ed.*

[b] H. C. Carey, *The Past, the Present, and the Future,* pp. 74-75.—*Ed.*

and, at long last, the London City Confucius,[a] *Macleod*.

People who want to study the history of political economy in the present and immediately foreseeable future will certainly be on much safer ground if they make themselves acquainted with the "watery products", "commonplaces" and "beggars' soup" [14] of the "most current text-book compilations" [109], rather than rely on Herr Dühring's "historical depiction in the grand style" [556].

* * *

What, then, is the final result of our analysis of Dühring's "very own system" of political economy? Nothing, except the fact that with all the great words and the still more mighty promises we are just as much duped as we were in the *Philosophy*. His theory of value, this "touchstone of the worth of economic systems" [499], amounts to this: that by value Herr Dühring understands five totally different and directly contradictory things, and, therefore, to put it at its best, himself does not know what he wants. The "natural laws of all economics" [D. C. 4], ushered in with such pomp, prove to be merely universally familiar and often not even properly understood platitudes of the worst description. The sole explanation of economic facts which his "very own" system can give us is that they are the result of "force", a term with which the philistine of all nations has for thousands of years consoled himself for everything unpleasant that happens to him, and which leaves us just where we were. Instead however of investigating the origin and effects of this force, Herr Dühring expects us to content ourselves gratefully with the mere *word* "force" as the last final cause and ultimate explanation of all economic phenomena. Compelled further to elucidate capitalist exploitation of labour, he first represents it in a general way as based on taxes and price surcharges, thereby completely appropriating the Proudhonian "deduction" (*prélèvement*), and then proceeding to explain it in detail by means of Marx's theory of surplus-labour, surplus-product and surplus-value. In this way he manages to bring about a happy reconciliation of two totally contradictory modes of outlook, by copying down both without taking his breath. And just

[a] Instead of Confucius, which appears in the MS of the tenth chapter written by Marx, the German printed edition of *Anti-Dühring* has the homophonous Confusius (confuser).— *Ed.*

as in philosophy he could not find enough hard words for the very Hegel whom he was so constantly exploiting and at the same time emasculating, so in the *Kritische Geschichte* the most baseless calumniation of Marx only serves to conceal the fact that everything in the *Cursus* about capital and labour which makes any sense at all is likewise an emasculated plagiarism of Marx. His ignorance, which in the *Cursus* puts the "large landowner" at the beginning of the history of the civilised peoples, and knows not a word of the common ownership of land in the tribal and village communities, which is the real starting-point of all history—this ignorance, at the present day almost incomprehensible, is well-nigh surpassed by the ignorance which, in the *Kritische Geschichte,* thinks not little of itself because of "the universal breadth of its historical survey" [2], and of which we have given only a few deterrent examples. In a word: first the colossal "effort" of self-admiration, of charlatan blasts on his own trumpet, of promises each surpassing the other; and then the "result" [109]—exactly nil.

# Part III

# SOCIALISM

## I. HISTORICAL

We saw in the "Introduction" * how the French philosophers of the eighteenth century, the forerunners of the Revolution, appealed to reason as the sole judge of all that is. A rational government, rational society, were to be founded; everything that ran counter to eternal reason was to be remorselessly done away with. We saw also that this eternal reason was in reality nothing but the idealised understanding of the eighteenth century citizen, just then evolving into the bourgeois. The French Revolution had realised this rational society and government. But, the new order of things, rational enough as compared with earlier conditions, turned out to be by no means absolutely rational. The state based upon reason completely collapsed. Rousseau's Contrat Social had found its realisation in the Reign of Terror, from which the bourgeoisie, who had lost confidence in their own political capacity, had taken refuge first in the corruption of the Directorate, and, finally, under the wing of the Napoleonic despotism.[101] The promised eternal peace was turned into an endless war of conquest. The society based upon reason had fared no better. The antagonism between rich and poor, instead of dissolving into general prosperity, had become intensified by the removal of the guild and other privileges, which had to some extent bridged it over, and by the removal of the charitable institutions of the Church. The development of industry upon a capitalistic basis made poverty and misery of the working masses conditions of existence of society. The number of crimes increased

* Cf. *Philosophy* I.[100]

from year to year. Formerly, the feudal vices had openly stalked about in broad daylight; though not eradicated, they were now at any rate thrust into the background. In their stead, the bourgeois vices, hitherto practised in secret, began to blossom all the more luxuriantly. Trade became to a greater and greater extent cheating. The "fraternity" of the revolutionary motto[102] was realised in the chicanery and rivalries of the battle of competition. Oppression by force was replaced by corruption; the sword, as the first social lever, by gold. The right of the first night was transferred from the feudal lords to the bourgeois manufacturers. Prostitution increased to an extent never heard of. Marriage itself remained, as before, the legally recognised form, the official cloak of prostitution, and, moreover, was supplemented by rich crops of adultery. In a word, compared with the splendid promises of the philosophers, the social and political institutions born of the "triumph of reason" were bitterly disappointing caricatures. All that was wanting was the men to formulate this disappointment, and they came with the turn of the century. In 1802 Saint-Simon's Geneva letters appeared; in 1808 appeared Fourier's first work,[103] although the groundwork of his theory dated from 1799; on January 1, 1800, Robert Owen undertook the direction of New Lanark.[a]

At this time, however, the capitalist mode of production, and with it the antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, was still very incompletely developed. Modern industry, which had just arisen in England, was still unknown in France. But modern industry develops, on the one hand, the conflicts which make absolutely necessary a revolution in the mode of production, conflicts not only between the classes begotten of it, but also between the very productive forces and the forms of exchange created by it. And, on the other hand, it develops, in these very gigantic productive forces, the means of ending these conflicts. If, therefore, about the year 1800, the conflicts arising from the new social order were only just beginning to take shape, this holds still more fully as to the means of ending them. The propertyless masses of Paris, during the Reign of Terror, were able for a moment to gain the mastery. But, in doing so, they only proved how impossible it was for their domination to last under the conditions then obtaining. The proletariat, which then for the first time evolved itself from these propertyless masses as the

[a] See this volume, p. 249.—*Ed.*

nucleus of a new class, as yet quite incapable of independent political action, appeared as an oppressed, suffering estate, to whom, in its incapacity to help itself, help could, at best, be brought in from without or down from above.

This historical situation also dominated the founders of socialism. To the crude conditions of capitalist production and the crude class conditions corresponded crude theories. The solution of the social problems, which as yet lay hidden in undeveloped economic conditions, the utopians attempted to evolve out of the human brain. Society presented nothing but wrongs; to remove these was the task of reason. It was necessary, then, to discover a new and more perfect system of social order and to impose this upon society from without by propaganda, and, wherever it was possible, by the example of model experiments. These new social systems were foredoomed as utopian; the more completely they were worked out in detail, the more they could not avoid drifting off into pure fantasies.

These facts once established, we need not dwell a moment longer upon this side of the question, now wholly belonging to the past. We can leave it to the literary small fry *à la* Dühring to solemnly quibble over these fantasies, which today only make us smile, and to crow over the superiority of their own bald reasoning, as compared with such "insanity" [D. K. G. 276, 278, 283]. For ourselves, we delight in the stupendously grand thoughts and germs of thought that everywhere break out through their fantastic covering, and to which these philistines are blind.

Already in his Geneva letters, Saint-Simon lays down the proposition that

"all men ought to work".[a]

In the same work he recognises also that the Reign of Terror was the reign of the non-possessing masses.

"See," says he to them, "what happened in France at the time when your comrades held sway there; they brought about a famine."

But to recognise the French Revolution as a class war between nobility, bourgeoisie, and the non-possessors, was, in the year 1802, a most pregnant discovery. In 1816, he declares that politics is the science of production, and foretells the complete absorption

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[a] Here and below Engels quotes the second letter from H. Saint-Simon's *Lettres d'un habitant de Genève à ses contemporains* (see [N.] G. Hubbard, *Saint-Simon. Sa vie et ses travaux*, pp. 143 and 135).—*Ed.*

of politics by economics.[a] The knowledge that economic conditions are the basis of political institutions appears here only in embryo. Yet what is here already very plainly expressed is the idea of the future conversion of political rule over men into an administration of things and a direction of processes of production—that is to say, the "abolition of the state", about which recently there has been so much noise. Saint-Simon shows the same superiority over his contemporaries, when in 1814,[b] immediately after the entry of the allies into Paris,[104] and again in 1815,[c] during the Hundred Days' War,[105] he proclaims the alliance of France with England, and then of both these countries with Germany, as the only guarantee for the prosperous development and peace of Europe. To preach to the French in 1815 an alliance with the victors of Waterloo at any rate required somewhat more courage than to declare a war of tittle-tattle on German professors.[106]

If in Saint-Simon we find a comprehensive breadth of view, by virtue of which almost all the ideas of later Socialists, that are not strictly economic, are found in him in embryo, we find in Fourier a criticism of the existing conditions of society, genuinely French and witty, but not upon that account any the less thorough. Fourier takes the bourgeoisie, their inspired prophets before the Revolution, and their interested eulogists after it, at their own word. He lays bare remorselessly the material and moral misery of the bourgeois world. He confronts it with the philosophers' dazzling promises of a society in which reason alone should reign, of a civilisation in which happiness should be universal, of an illimitable human perfectibility, and with the rose-coloured phraseology of the bourgeois ideologists of his time. He points out how everywhere the most pitiful reality corresponds with the most high-sounding phrases, and he overwhelms this hopeless fiasco of phrases with his mordant sarcasm. Fourier is not only a critic; his imperturbably serene nature makes him a satirist, and assuredly one of the greatest satirists of all time. He depicts, with equal

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[a] Engels refers to a passage from: H. Saint-Simon, *Lettres à un américain. Huitième lettre. Recherche d'un principe générale en politique.* In: [N.] G. Hubbard, op. cit., pp. 155-57.— *Ed.*

[b] Engels refers to the work written by H. Saint-Simon jointly with his pupil A. Thierry: *De la réorganisation de la société européenne, ou De la nécessité et des moyens de rassembler les peuples de l'Europe en un seul corps politique, en conservant à chacun son indépendance nationale* (see [N.] G. Hubbard, op. cit., pp. 149-54 and 68-76).— *Ed.*

[c] Engels refers to the work written by H. Saint-Simon and A. Thierry: *Opinion sur les mesures à prendre contre la coalition de 1815* (see [N.] G. Hubbard, op. cit., pp. 68-76).— *Ed.*

power and charm, the swindling speculations that blossomed out upon the downfall of the Revolution, and the shopkeeping spirit prevalent in, and characteristic of, French commerce at that time. Still more masterly is his criticism of the bourgeois form of the relations between the sexes, and the position of woman in bourgeois society. He was the first to declare that in any given society the degree of woman's emancipation is the natural measure of the general emancipation.[107] But Fourier is at his greatest in his conception of the history of society. He divides its whole course, thus far, into four stages of evolution—savagery, the patriarchate, barbarism, civilisation. This last is identical with the so-called bourgeois society of today. He proves

"that the civilised stage raises every vice practised by barbarism in a simple fashion into a form of existence, complex, ambiguous, equivocal, hypocritical",[a]

that civilisation moves in a "vicious circle", in contradictions which it constantly reproduces without being able to solve them; hence it constantly arrives at the very opposite to that which it wants to attain, or pretends to want to attain,[b] so that, e.g.,

"under civilisation *poverty is born of superabundance itself*".[c]

Fourier, as we see, uses the dialectic method in the same masterly way as his contemporary, Hegel. Using these same dialectics, he argues against the talk about illimitable human perfectibility, that every historical phase has its period of ascent and also its period of descent,[d] and he applies this observation to the future of the whole human race. As Kant introduced into natural science the idea of the ultimate destruction of the earth,[e] Fourier introduced into historical science that of the ultimate destruction of the human race.—

Whilst in France the hurricane of the Revolution swept over the land, in England a quieter, but not on that account less tremendous, revolution was going on. Steam and the new tool-making machinery were transforming manufacture into modern industry, and thus revolutionising the whole foundation of

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[a] Ch. Fourier, *Théorie de l'unité universelle*, Vols. I and IV. In: *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. 2, pp. 78-79 and Vol. 5, pp. 213-14.—*Ed.*

[b] See Ch. Fourier, *Le Nouveau Monde industriel et sociétaire, ou Invention du procédé d'industrie attrayante et naturelle distribuée en séries passionnées*. In: *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. 6, pp. 27-46, 390; Vol. 1, p. 202.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., Vol. 6, p. 35.—*Ed.*

[d] Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 50 *et seqq.*—*Ed.*

[e] See this volume, p. 12.—*Ed.*

bourgeois society. The sluggish march of development of the manufacturing period changed into a veritable storm and stress period of production. With constantly increasing swiftness the splitting-up of society into large capitalists and non-possessing proletarians went on. Between these, instead of the former stable middle class, an unstable mass of artisans and small shopkeepers, the most fluctuating portion of the population, now led a precarious existence. The new mode of production was, as yet, only at the beginning of its period of ascent; as yet it was the normal method of production—the only one possible under existing conditions. Nevertheless, even then it was producing crying social abuses—the herding together of a homeless population in the worst quarters of the large towns; the loosening of all traditional moral bonds, of patriarchal subordination, of family relations; overwork, especially of women and children, to a frightful extent; complete demoralisation of the working class, suddenly flung into altogether new conditions. At this juncture there came forward as a reformer a manufacturer 29 years old—a man of almost sublime, child-like simplicity of character, and at the same time one of the few born leaders of men. Robert Owen had adopted the teaching of the materialistic philosophers: that man's character is the product, on the one hand, of heredity; on the other, of the environment of the individual during his lifetime, and especially during his period of development. In the industrial revolution most of his class saw only chaos and confusion, and the opportunity of fishing in these troubled waters and making large fortunes quickly. He saw in it the opportunity of putting into practice his favourite theory, and so of bringing order out of chaos. He had already tried it with success, as superintendent of more than five hundred men in a Manchester factory. From 1800 to 1829, he directed the great cotton-mill at New Lanark, in Scotland, as managing partner, along the same lines, but with greater freedom of action and with a success that made him a European reputation. A population, originally consisting of the most diverse and, for the most part, very demoralised elements, a population that gradually grew to 2,500, he turned into a model colony, in which drunkenness, police, magistrates, lawsuits, poor laws, charity, were unknown. And all this simply by placing the people in conditions worthy of human beings, and especially by carefully bringing up the rising generation. He was the founder of infant schools, and introduced them first at New Lanark. At the age of two the children came to school, where they enjoyed themselves so much that they could scarcely be got home again.

Whilst his competitors worked their people thirteen or fourteen hours a day, in New Lanark the working-day was only ten and a half hours. When a crisis in cotton stopped work for four months, his workers received their full wages all the time. And with all this the business more than doubled in value, and to the last yielded large profits to its proprietors.

In spite of all this, Owen was not content. The existence which he secured for his workers was, in his eyes, still far from being worthy of human beings.

"The people were slaves at my mercy."

The relatively favourable conditions in which he had placed them were still far from allowing a rational development of the character and of the intellect in all directions, much less of the free exercise of all their faculties.

"And yet the working part of this population of 2,500 persons was producing as much real wealth for society, as, less than half a century before, it would have required the working part of a population of 600,000 to create. I asked myself what became of the difference between the wealth consumed by 2,500 persons and that which would have been consumed by 600,000."

The answer was clear. It had been used to pay the proprietors of the establishment 5 per cent on the capital they had laid out, in addition to over £300,000 (6,000,000 marks) clear profit. And that which held for New Lanark held to a still greater extent for all the factories in England.

"If this new wealth had not been created, by machinery, the wars in opposition to Napoleon, and to support the aristocratic principles of society, could not have been maintained. And yet this new power was the creation of the working class." [108]

To them, therefore, the fruits of this new power belonged. The newly-created gigantic productive forces hitherto used only to enrich individuals and to enslave the masses, offered to Owen the foundations for a reconstruction of society; they were destined, as the common property of all, to be worked for the common good of all.

Owen's communism was based upon this purely business foundation, the outcome, so to say, of commercial calculation. Throughout, it maintained this practical character. Thus, in 1823, Owen proposed the relief of the distress in Ireland by communist colonies, and drew up complete estimates of costs of founding

them, yearly expenditure, and probable revenue.[a] And in his definite plan for the future, the technical working out of details is managed with such practical knowledge that the Owen method of social reform once accepted, there is from the practical point of view little to be said against the actual arrangement of details.

His advance in the direction of communism was the turning-point in Owen's life. As long as he was simply a philanthropist, he was rewarded with nothing but wealth, applause, honour, and glory. He was the most popular man in Europe. Not only men of his own class, but statesmen and princes listened to him approvingly. But when he came out with his communist theories, that was quite another thing. Three great obstacles seemed to him especially to block the path to social reform: private property, religion, the present form of marriage. He knew what confronted him if he attacked these—outlawry, excommunication from official society, the loss of his whole social position. But nothing of this prevented him from attacking them without fear of consequences, and what he had foreseen happened. Banished from official society, with a conspiracy of silence against him in the press, ruined by his unsuccessful communist experiments in America, in which he sacrificed all his fortune, he turned directly to the working class and continued working in their midst for thirty years. Every social movement, every real advance in England on behalf of the workers links itself on to the name of Robert Owen. He forced through in 1819, after five years' fighting, the first law limiting the hours of labour for women and children in factories.[109] He was president of the first congress at which all the Trade Unions of England united in a single great trade association.[110] He introduced as transition measures to the complete communistic organisation of society, on the one hand, co-operative societies for retail trade and production. These have since that time, at least, given practical proof that the merchant and the manufacturer are socially quite unnecessary. On the other hand, he introduced labour bazaars for the exchange of the products of labour through the medium of labour-notes, whose unit was a single hour of work[111]; institutions necessarily doomed to failure, but completely anticipating Proudhon's bank of exchange[112] of a much later period, and differing entirely from this in that they did not claim to be the panacea for all social ills,

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[a] R. Owen, *Report of the Proceedings at the Several Public.Meetings, held in Dublin ... On the 18th March, 12th April, 19th April and 3rd May*—*Ed.*

but only a first step towards a much more radical revolution of society.

These are the men on whom the sovereign Herr Dühring looks down, from the height of his "final and ultimate truth" [D. Ph. 2], with a contempt of which we have given a few examples in the Introduction. And in one respect this contempt is not devoid of adequate reason: for its basis is, in essence, a really frightful ignorance of the works of the three utopians. Thus Herr Dühring says of Saint-Simon that

> "his basic idea was, in essentials, correct, and apart from some one-sided aspects, even today provides the directing impulse towards real creation" [D. K. G. 246].

But although Herr Dühring does actually seem to have had some of Saint-Simon's works in his hands, our search through the twenty-seven relevant printed pages for Saint-Simon's "basic idea" is just as fruitless as our earlier search for what Quesnay's *Tableau* "meant in Quesnay himself" [105], and in the end we have to allow ourselves to be put off with the phrase

> "that imagination and philanthropic fervour ... along with the extravagant fantasy that goes with it, dominated the whole of Saint-Simon's thought complex" [252]!

As regards Fourier, all that Herr Dühring knows or takes into account is his fantasies of the future, painted in romantic detail. This of course "is far more important" for establishing Herr Dühring's infinite superiority over Fourier than an examination of how the latter "attempts *occasionally* to criticise actual conditions" [282]. Occasionally! In fact, almost every page of his works scintillates with sparkling satire and criticism aimed at the wretchedness of our vaunted civilisation. It is like saying that Herr Dühring only "occasionally" declares Herr Dühring to be the greatest thinker of all time. And as for the twelve pages devoted to Robert Owen, Herr Dühring has absolutely no other source for them than the miserable biography of the philistine Sargant,[a] who also did not know Owen's most important works—on marriage and the communist system.[b] Herr Dühring can therefore go the length of boldly asserting that we should not "assume any clear-cut communism" [301] in Owen. Had Herr Dühring ever even fingered Owen's *Book of the New Moral World*,[c] he

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[a] W. L. Sargant, *Robert Owen, and His Social Philosophy.*—*Ed.*

[b] *The Marriage System of the New Moral World* (1838), *The Book of the New Moral World* (1836-44) and *The Revolution in the Mind and Practice of the Human Race* (1849).—*Ed.*

[c] The title is given in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

would most assuredly have found clearly expressed in it not only the most clear-cut communism possible, with equal obligation to labour and equal rights in the product—equal according to age, as Owen always adds—but also the most comprehensive building project of the future communist community, with its groundplan, front and side and bird's-eye views. But if one limits one's "first-hand study of the writings of the representatives of socialist idea-complexes" [XIII] to a knowledge of the title and at most the *motto* [294] of a small number of these works, like Herr Dühring, the only thing left to do is make such a stupid and purely fantastic assertion. Owen did not only preach "clear-cut communism" [301]; for five years (at the end of the thirties and beginning of the forties) he put it into practice in the Harmony Hall Colony[113] in Hampshire, the clear-cut quality of whose communism left nothing to be desired. I myself was acquainted with several former members of this communist model experiment. But Sargant knew absolutely nothing of all this, or of any of Owen's activities between 1836 and 1850, and consequently Herr Dühring's "more profound historical work" [XIII] is also left in pitch-black ignorance. Herr Dühring calls Owen "in every respect a veritable monster of importunate philanthropy" [261]. But when this same Herr Dühring starts to give us information about the contents of books whose title and motto he hardly knows, we must not on any account say that he is "in every respect a veritable monster of importunate ignorance", for on *our* lips this would certainly be "abuse".

The utopians, we saw, were utopians because they could be nothing else at a time when capitalist production was as yet so little developed. They necessarily had to construct the elements of a new society out of their own heads, because within the old society the elements of the new were not as yet generally apparent; for the basic plan of the new edifice they could only appeal to reason, just because they could not as yet appeal to contemporary history. But when now, almost eighty years after their time, Herr Dühring steps on to the stage and puts forward his claim to an "authoritative" [1] system of a new social order—not evolved out of the historically developed material at his disposal, as its necessary result—oh, no!—but constructed in his sovereign head, in his mind, pregnant with ultimate truths—then he, who scents epigones everywhere, is himself nothing but the epigone of the utopians, the latest utopian. He calls the great utopians "social alchemists" [237]. That may be so. Alchemy was necessary in its epoch. But since that time modern industry has developed the

contradictions lying dormant in the capitalist mode of production into such crying antagonisms that the approaching collapse of this mode of production is, so to speak, palpable; that the new productive forces themselves can only be maintained and further developed by the introduction of a new mode of production corresponding to their present stage of development; that the struggle between the two classes engendered by the hitherto existing mode of production and constantly reproduced in ever sharper antagonism has affected all civilised countries and is daily becoming more violent; and that these historical interconnections, the conditions of the social transformation which they make necessary, and the basic features of this transformation likewise determined by them, have also already been apprehended. And if Herr Dühring now manufactures a new utopian social order out of his sovereign brain instead of from the economic material available, he is not practising mere "social alchemy". He is acting rather like a person who, after the discovery and establishment of the laws of modern chemistry, attempts to restore the old alchemy and to use atomic weights, molecular formulas, the quantivalence of atoms, crystallography and spectral analysis for the sole purpose of discovering—*the philosopher's stone.*

## II. THEORETICAL

The materialist conception of history starts from the proposition that the production and, next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structure; that in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or estates is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought, not in the *philosophy,* but in the *economics* of each particular epoch. The growing perception that existing social institutions are unreasonable and unjust, that reason has become unreason, and right wrong,[a] is only proof that in the modes of production and exchange changes have silently taken place with which the social order, adapted to earlier economic conditions, is

[a] Goethe, *Faust,* Act I, Scene 4 ("Faust's Study").—*Ed.*

no longer in keeping. From this it also follows that the means of getting rid of the incongruities that have been brought to light must also be present, in a more or less developed condition, within the changed modes of production themselves. These means are not to be *invented*, spun out of the head, but *discovered* with the aid of the head in the existing material facts of production.

What is, then, the position of modern socialism in this connection?

The present structure of society—this is now pretty generally conceded—is the creation of the ruling class of today, of the bourgeoisie. The mode of production peculiar to the bourgeoisie, known, since Marx, as the capitalist mode of production, was incompatible with the local privileges and the privileges of estate as well as with the reciprocal personal ties of the feudal system. The bourgeoisie broke up the feudal system and built upon its ruins the capitalist order of society, the kingdom of free competition, of personal liberty, of the equality, before the law, of all commodity owners, of all the rest of the capitalist blessings. Thenceforward the capitalist mode of production could develop in freedom. Since steam, machinery, and the making of machines by machinery transformed the older manufacture into modern industry, the productive forces evolved under the guidance of the bourgeoisie developed with a rapidity and in a degree unheard of before. But just as the older manufacture, in its time, and handicraft, becoming more developed under its influence, had come into collision with the feudal trammels of the guilds, so now modern industry, in its more complete development, comes into collision with the bounds within which the capitalistic mode of production holds it confined. The new productive forces have already outgrown the capitalistic mode of using them. And this conflict between productive forces and modes of production is not a conflict engendered in the mind of man, like that between original sin and divine justice. It exists, in fact, objectively, outside us, independently of the will and actions even of the men that have brought it on. Modern socialism is nothing but the reflex, in thought, of this conflict in fact; its ideal reflection in the minds, first, of the class directly suffering under it, the working class.

Now, in what does this conflict consist?

Before capitalistic production, i.e., in the Middle Ages, the system of petty industry obtained generally, based upon the private property of the labourers in their means of production; [in the country,] the agriculture of the small peasant, freeman or serf; in the towns, the handicrafts. The instruments of labour—land,

agricultural implements, the workshop, the tool—were the instruments of labour of single individuals, adapted for the use of one worker, and, therefore, of necessity, small, dwarfish, circumscribed. But, for this very reason they belonged, as a rule, to the producer himself. To concentrate these scattered, limited means of production, to enlarge them, to turn them into the powerful levers of production of the present day—this was precisely the historic role of capitalist production and of its upholder, the bourgeoisie. In Part IV of *Capital*[a] Marx has explained in detail, how since the fifteenth century this has been historically worked out through the three phases of simple co-operation, manufacture and modern industry. But the bourgeoisie, as is also shown there, could not transform these puny means of production into mighty productive forces without transforming them, at the same time, from means of production of the individual into *social* means of production only workable by a *collectivity of men.* The spinning-wheel, the hand-loom, the blacksmith's hammer, were replaced by the spinning-machine, the power-loom, the steam-hammer; the individual workshop by the factory implying the co-operation of hundreds and thousands of workmen. In like manner, production itself changed from a series of individual into a series of social acts, and the products from individual to social products. The yarn, the cloth, the metal articles that now came out of the factory were the joint product of many workers, through whose hands they had successively to pass before they were ready. No one person could say of them: "*I* made that; this is *my* product."

But where, in a given society, the fundamental form of production is that spontaneous division of labour, there the products take on the form of *commodities* whose mutual exchange, buying and selling, enable the individual producers to satisfy their manifold wants. And this was the case in the Middle Ages. The peasant, e.g., sold to the artisan agricultural products and bought from him the products of handicraft. Into this society of individual producers, of commodity producers, the new mode of production thrust itself. In the midst of the old division of labour, grown up spontaneously and upon *no definite plan,* which had governed the whole of society, now arose division of labour upon *a definite plan,* as organised in the factory; side by side with *individual* production appeared *social* production. The products of both were sold in the same market, and, therefore, at prices at

[a] See present edition, Vol. 35.—*Ed.*

least approximately equal. But organisation upon a definite plan was stronger than spontaneous division of labour. The factories working with the combined social forces of a collectivity of individuals produced their commodities far more cheaply than the individual small producers. Individual production succumbed in one department after another. Socialised production revolutionised all the old methods of production. But its revolutionary character was, at the same time, so little recognised that it was, on the contrary, introduced as a means of increasing and developing the production of commodities. When it arose, it found ready-made, and made liberal use of, certain machinery for the production and exchange of commodities: merchants' capital, handicraft, wage-labour. Socialised production thus introducing itself as a new form of the production of commodities, it was a matter of course that under it the old forms of appropriation remained in full swing, and were applied to its products as well.

In the mediaeval stage of evolution of the production of commodities, the question as to the owner of the product of labour could not arise. The individual producer, as a rule, had, from raw material belonging to himself, and generally his own handiwork, produced it with his own tools, by the labour of his own hands or of his family. There was no need for him to appropriate the new product. It belonged wholly to him, as a matter of course. His property in the product was, therefore, based *upon his own labour.* Even where external help was used, this was, as a rule, of little importance, and very generally was compensated by something other than wages. The apprentices and journeymen of the guilds worked less for board and wages than for education, in order that they might become master craftsmen themselves. Then came the concentration of the means of production in large workshops and manufactories, their transformation into actual socialised means of production. But the socialised means of production and their products were still treated, after this change, just as they had been before, i.e., as the means of production and the products of individuals. Hitherto, the owner of the instruments of labour had himself appropriated the product, because, as a rule, it was his own product and the assistance of others was the exception. Now the owner of the instruments of labour always appropriated to himself the product, although it was no longer *his* product but exclusively the product of the *labour of others.* Thus, the products now produced socially were not appropriated by those who had actually set in motion the means of production and actually produced the commodities, but

by the *capitalists.* The means of production, and production itself, had become in essence socialised. But they were subjected to a form of appropriation which presupposes the private production of individuals, under which, therefore, everyone owns his own product and brings it to market. The mode of production is subjected to this form of appropriation, although it abolishes the conditions upon which the latter rests.* This contradiction, which gives to the new mode of production its capitalistic character, *contains the germ of the whole of the social antagonisms of today.* The greater the mastery obtained by the new mode of production over all decisive fields of production and in all economically decisive countries, the more it reduced individual production to an insignificant residium, *the more clearly was brought out the incompatibility of socialised production with capitalistic appropriation.*

The first capitalists found, as we have said, wage-labour ready-made for them. But it was exceptional, complementary, accessory, transitory wage-labour. The agricultural labourer, though, upon occasion, he hired himself out by the day, had a few acres of his own land on which he could at all events live at a pinch. The guilds were so organised that the journeyman of today became the master of tomorrow. But all this changed, as soon as the means of production became socialised and concentrated in the hands of capitalists. The means of production, as well as the product, of the individual producer became more and more worthless; there was nothing left for him but to turn wage-worker under the capitalist. Wage-labour, aforetime the exception and accessory, now became the rule and basis of all production; aforetime complementary, it now became the sole remaining function of the worker. The wage-worker for a time became a wage-worker for life. The number of these permanent wage-workers was further enormously increased by the breaking-up of the feudal system that occurred at the same time, by the disbanding of the retainers of the feudal lords, the eviction of the peasants from their homesteads, etc. The separation was made

* It is hardly necessary in this connection to point out that, even if the *form* of appropriation remains the same, the *character* of the appropriation is just as much revolutionised as production is by the changes described above. It is, of course, a very different matter whether I appropriate to myself my own product or that of another. Note in passing that wage-labour, which contains the whole capitalistic mode of production in embryo, is very ancient; in a sporadic, scattered form it existed for centuries alongside slave-labour. But the embryo could duly develop into the capitalistic mode of production only when the necessary historical preconditions had been furnished.

complete between the means of production concentrated in the hands of the capitalists, on the one side, and the producers, possessing nothing but their labour-power, on the other. *The contradiction between socialised production and capitalistic appropriation manifested itself as the antagonism of proletariat and bourgeoisie.*

We have seen that the capitalistic mode of production thrust its way into a society of commodity producers, of individual producers, whose social bond was the exchange of their products. But every society based upon the production of commodities has this peculiarity: that the producers have lost control over their own social interrelations. Each man produces for himself with such means of production as he may happen to have, and for such exchange as he may require to satisfy his remaining wants. No one knows how much of his particular article is coming on the market, nor how much of it will be wanted. No one knows whether his individual product will meet an actual demand, whether he will be able to make good his costs of production or even to sell his commodity at all. Anarchy reigns in socialised production. But the production of commodities, like every other form of production, has its peculiar, inherent laws inseparable from it; and these laws work, despite anarchy, in and through anarchy. They reveal themselves in the only persistent form of social interrelations, i.e., in exchange, and here they affect the individual producers as compulsory laws of competition. They are, at first, unknown to these producers themselves, and have to be discovered by them gradually and as the result of experience. They work themselves out, therefore, independently of the producers, and in antagonism to them, as inexorable natural laws of their particular form of production. The product governs the producers.

In mediaeval society, especially in the earlier centuries, production was essentially directed towards satisfying the wants of the individual. It satisfied, in the main, only the wants of the producer and his family. Where relations of personal dependence existed, as in the country, it also helped to satisfy the wants of the feudal lord. In all this there was, therefore, no exchange; the products, consequently, did not assume the character of commodities. The family of the peasant produced almost everything they wanted: clothes and furniture, as well as means of subsistence. Only when it began to produce more than was sufficient to supply its own wants and the payments in kind to the feudal lord, only then did it also produce commodities. This surplus, thrown into socialised exchange and offered for sale, became commodities. The artisans of the towns, it is true, had from the first to produce for

exchange. But they, also, themselves supplied the greatest part of their own individual wants. They had gardens and plots of land. They turned their cattle out into the communal forest, which, also, yielded them timber and firing. The women spun flax, wool, and so forth. Production for the purpose of exchange, production of commodities, was only in its infancy. Hence, exchange was restricted, the market narrow, the methods of production stable; there was local exclusiveness without, local unity within; the mark[114] in the country; in the town, the guild.

But with the extension of the production of commodities, and especially with the introduction of the capitalist mode of production, the laws of commodity production, hitherto latent, came into action more openly and with greater force. The old bonds were loosened, the old exclusive limits broken through, the producers were more and more turned into independent, isolated producers of commodities. The anarchy of social production became apparent and grew to greater and greater height. But the chief means by aid of which the capitalist mode of production intensified this anarchy of socialised production was the exact opposite of anarchy. It was the increasing organisation of production, upon a social basis, in every individual productive establishment. By this, the old, peaceful, stable condition of things was ended. Wherever this organisation of production was introduced into a branch of industry, it brooked no other method of production by its side. Where it laid hold of a handicraft, that old handicraft was wiped out. The field of labour became a battle-ground. The great geographical discoveries, and the colonisation following upon them, multiplied markets and quickened the transformation of handicraft into manufacture. The war did not simply break out between the individual producers of particular localities. The local struggles begot in their turn national conflicts, the commercial wars of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.[115] Finally, modern industry and the opening of the world market made the struggle universal, and at the same time gave it an unheard-of virulence. Advantages in natural or artificial conditions of production now decide the existence or non-existence of individual capitalists, as well as of whole industries and countries. He that falls is remorselessly cast aside. It is the Darwinian struggle of the individual for existence transferred from nature to society with intensified violence. The conditions of existence natural to the animal appear as the final term of human development. The contradiction between socialised production and capitalistic appropriation now presents itself as *an*

*antagonism between the organisation of production in the individual workshop, and the anarchy of production in society generally.*

The capitalistic mode of production moves in these two forms of the antagonism immanent to it from its very origin. It is never able to get out of that "vicious circle" which Fourier had already discovered.[a] What Fourier could not, indeed, see in his time is that this circle is gradually narrowing; that the movement becomes more and more a spiral, and must come to an end, like the movement of the planets, by collision with the centre. It is the compelling force of anarchy in the production of society at large that more and more completely turns the great majority of men into proletarians; and it is the masses of the proletariat again who will finally put an end to anarchy in production. It is the compelling force of anarchy in social production that turns the limitless perfectibility of machinery under modern industry into a compulsory law by which every individual industrial capitalist must perfect his machinery more and more, under penalty of ruin. But the perfecting of machinery is making human labour superfluous. If the introduction and increase of machinery means the displacement of millions of manual by a few machine-workers, improvement in machinery means the displacement of more and more of the machine-workers themselves. It means, in the last instance, the production of a number of available wage-workers in excess of the average needs of capital, the formation of a complete industrial reserve army, as I called it in 1845,* available at the times when industry is working at high pressure, to be cast out upon the street when the inevitable crash comes, a constant dead-weight upon the limbs of the working class in its struggle for existence with capital, a regulator for the keeping of wages down to the low level that suits the interests of capital. Thus it comes about, to quote Marx, that machinery becomes the most powerful weapon in the war of capital against the working class; that the instruments of labour constantly tear the means of subsistence out of the hands of the labourer; that the very product of the worker is turned into an instrument for his subjugation.[c] Thus it comes about that the economising of the instruments of labour becomes

* *The Condition of the Working-Class in England,* p. 109.[b]

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[a] See this volume, p. 248.— *Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 4, p. 384.— *Ed.*

[c] See K. Marx, *Das Kapital,* pp. 457, 513. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part IV, Chapter XV, Sections 5 and 9.— *Ed.*

at the same time, from the outset, the most reckless waste of labour-power, and robbery based upon the normal conditions under which labour functions[a]; that machinery, the most powerful instrument for shortening labour-time, becomes the most unfailing means for placing every moment of the labourer's time and that of his family at the disposal of the capitalist for the purpose of expanding the value of his capital. Thus it comes about that the overwork of some becomes the preliminary condition for the idleness of others, and that modern industry, which hunts after new consumers over the whole world, forces the consumption of the masses at home down to a starvation minimum, and in doing this destroys its own home market. "The law that always equilibrates the relative surplus-population, or industrial reserve army, to the extent and energy of accumulation, this law rivets the labourer to capital more firmly than the wedges of Vulcan did Prometheus to the rock. It establishes an accumulation of misery, corresponding with accumulation of capital. Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole, i.e., on the side of the class that *produces its own product in the form of capital.*" (Marx's *Capital*, p. 671.)[b] And to expect any other division of the products from the capitalistic mode of production is the same as expecting the electrodes of a battery not to decompose acidulated water, not to liberate oxygen at the positive, hydrogen at the negative pole, so long as they are connected with the battery.

We have seen that the ever increasing perfectibility of modern machinery is, by the anarchy of social production, turned into a compulsory law that forces the individual industrial capitalist always to improve his machinery, always to increase its productive force. The bare possibility of extending the field of production is transformed for him into a similar compulsory law. The enormous expansive force of modern industry, compared with which that of gases is mere child's play, appears to us now as a *necessity* for expansion, both qualitative and quantitative, that laughs at all resistance. Such resistance is offered by consumption, by sales, by the markets for the products of modern industry. But the capacity

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[a] K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, p. 485. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part IV, Chapter XV, Section 8, b: "Reaction of the Factory System on Manufacture and Domestic Industries".— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 671-72. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part VII, Chapter XXV, Section 4. Italics by Engels.— *Ed.*

for extension, extensive and intensive, of the markets is primarily governed by quite different laws that work much less energetically. The extension of the markets cannot keep pace with the extension of production. The collision becomes inevitable, and as this cannot produce any real solution so long as it does not break in pieces the capitalist mode of production, the collisions become periodic. Capitalist production has begotten another "vicious circle".

As a matter of fact, since 1825, when the first general crisis broke out, the whole industrial and commercial world, production and exchange among all civilised peoples and their more or less barbaric hangers-on, are thrown out of joint about once every ten years. Commerce is at a standstill, the markets are glutted, products accumulate, as multitudinous as they are unsaleable, hard cash disappears, credit vanishes, factories are closed, the mass of the workers are in want of the means of subsistence, because they have produced too much of the means of subsistence; bankruptcy follows upon bankruptcy, execution upon execution. The stagnation lasts for years; productive forces and products are wasted and destroyed wholesale, until the accumulated mass of commodities finally filters off, more or less depreciated in value, until production and exchange gradually begin to move again. Little by little the pace quickens. It becomes a trot. The industrial trot breaks into a canter, the canter in turn grows into the headlong gallop of a perfect steeplechase of industry, commercial credit, and speculation, which finally, after break-neck leaps, ends where it began—in the ditch of a crisis. And so over and over again. We have now, since the year 1825, gone through this five times, and at the present moment (1877) we are going through it for the sixth time. And the character of these crises is so clearly defined that Fourier hit all of them off when he described the first as *crise pléthorique*, a crisis from plethora.[a]

In these crises, the contradiction between socialised production and capitalist appropriation ends in a violent explosion. The circulation of commodities is, for the time being, stopped. Money, the means of circulation, becomes a hindrance to circulation. All the laws of production and circulation of commodities are turned upside down. The economic collision has reached its apogee. *The mode of production is in rebellion against the mode of exchange, the productive forces are in rebellion against the mode of production which they have outgrown.*

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[a] See Ch. Fourier, *Le Nouveau Monde industriel et sociétaire.* In: *Oeuvres complètes,* Vol. 6, pp. 393-94.— *Ed.*

The fact that the socialised organisation of production within the factory has developed so far that it has become incompatible with the anarchy of production in society, which exists side by side with and dominates it, is brought home to the capitalists themselves by the violent concentration of capital that occurs during crises, through the ruin of many large, and a still greater number of small, capitalists. The whole mechanism of the capitalist mode of production breaks down under the pressure of the productive forces, its own creations. It is no longer able to turn all this mass of means of production into capital. They lie fallow, and for that very reason the industrial reserve army must also lie fallow. Means of production, means of subsistence, available labourers, all the elements of production and of general wealth, are present in abundance. But "abundance becomes the source of distress and want" (Fourier),[a] because it is the very thing that prevents the transformation of the means of production and subsistence into capital. For in capitalistic society the means of production can only function when they have undergone a preliminary transformation into capital, into the means of exploiting human labour-power. The necessity of this transformation into capital of the means of production and subsistence stands like a ghost between these and the workers. It alone prevents the coming together of the material and personal levers of production; it alone forbids the means of production to function, the workers to work and live. On the one hand, therefore, the capitalistic mode of production stands convicted of its own incapacity to further direct these productive forces. On the other, these productive forces themselves, with increasing energy, press forward to the removal of the existing contradiction, to the abolition of their quality as capital, *to the practical recognition of their character as social productive forces.*

This rebellion of the productive forces, as they grow more and more powerful, against their quality as capital, this stronger and stronger command that their social character shall be recognised, forces the capitalist class itself to treat them more and more as social productive forces, so far as this is possible under capitalist conditions. The period of industrial high pressure, with its unbounded inflation of credit, not less than the crash itself, by the collapse of great capitalist establishments, tends to bring about that form of the socialisation of great masses of means of production

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[a] See Ch. Fourier, *Le Nouveau Monde industriel et sociétaire.* In: *Oeuvres complètes,* Vol. 6, p. 35.— *Ed.*

which we meet with in the different kinds of joint-stock companies. Many of these means of production and of communication are, from the outset, so colossal that, like the railways, they exclude all other forms of capitalistic exploitation. At a further stage of evolution this form also becomes insufficient: the official representative of capitalist society—the state—will ultimately have to* undertake the direction of production. This necessity for conversion into state property is felt first in the great institutions for intercourse and communication—the post office, the telegraphs, the railways.

If the crises demonstrate the incapacity of the bourgeoisie for managing any longer modern productive forces, the transformation of the great establishments for production and distribution into joint-stock companies and state property shows how unnecessary the bourgeoisie are for that purpose. All the social functions of the capitalist are now performed by salaried employees. The capitalist has no further social function than that of pocketing dividends, tearing off coupons, and gambling on the Stock Exchange, where the different capitalists despoil one another of their capital. At first the capitalist mode of production forces out the workers. Now it forces out the capitalists, and reduces them, just as it reduced the workers, to the ranks of the surplus population, although not immediately into those of the industrial reserve army.

But the transformation, either into joint-stock companies, or

* I say "have to". For only when the means of production and distribution have *actually* outgrown the form of management by joint-stock companies, and when, therefore, the taking them over by the state has become *economically* inevitable, only then—even if it is the state of today that effects this—is there an economic advance, the attainment of another step preliminary to the taking over of all productive forces by society itself. But of late, since Bismarck went in for state-ownership of industrial establishments, a kind of spurious socialism has arisen, degenerating, now and again, into something of flunkeyism, that without more ado declares *all* state ownership, even of the Bismarckian sort, to be socialistic. Certainly, if the taking over by the state of the tobacco industry is socialistic, then Napoleon and Metternich must be numbered among the founders of socialism. If the Belgian state, for quite ordinary political and financial reasons, itself constructed its chief railway lines; if Bismarck, not under any economic compulsion, took over for the state the chief Prussian lines, simply to be the better able to have them in hand in case of war, to bring up the railway employees as voting cattle for the government, and especially to create for himself a new source of income independent of parliamentary votes—this was, in no sense, a socialistic measure, directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously. Otherwise, the Royal Maritime Company,[116] the Royal porcelain manufacture, and even the regimental tailor of the army would also be socialistic institutions.

into state ownership, does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces. In the joint-stock companies this is obvious. And the modern state, again, is only the organisation that bourgeois society takes on in order to support the general external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments as well of the workers as of individual capitalists. The modern state, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers—proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head. But, brought to a head, it topples over. State ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution.

This solution can only consist in the practical recognition of the social nature of the modern forces of production, and therefore in the harmonising of the modes of production, appropriation, and exchange with the socialised character of the means of production. And this can only come about by society openly and directly taking possession of the productive forces which have outgrown all control except that of society as a whole. The social character of the means of production and of the products today reacts against the producers, periodically disrupts all production and exchange, acts only like a law of nature working blindly, forcibly, destructively. But with the taking over by society of the productive forces, the social character of the means of production and of the products will be utilised by the producers with a perfect understanding of its nature, and instead of being a source of disturbance and periodical collapse, will become the most powerful lever of production itself.

Active social forces work exactly like natural forces: blindly, forcibly, destructively, so long as we do not understand, and reckon with, them. But when once we understand them, when once we grasp their action, their direction, their effects, it depends only upon ourselves to subject them more and more to our own will, and by means of them to reach our own ends. And this holds quite especially of the mighty productive forces of today. As long as we obstinately refuse to understand the nature and the character of these social means of action—and this understanding goes against the grain of the capitalist mode of production and its defenders—so long these forces are at work in spite of us, in

opposition to us, so long they master us, as we have shown above in detail. But when once their nature is understood, they can, in the hands of the producers working together, be transformed from master demons into willing servants. The difference is as that between the destructive force of electricity in the lightning of the storm, and electricity under command in the telegraph and the voltaic arc; the difference between a conflagration, and fire working in the service of man. With this recognition, at last, of the real nature of the productive forces of today, the social anarchy of production gives place to a social regulation of production upon a definite plan, according to the needs of the community and of each individual. Then the capitalist mode of appropriation, in which the product enslaves first the producer and then the appropriator, is replaced by the mode of appropriation of the products that is based upon the nature of the modern means of production: upon the one hand, direct social appropriation, as means to the maintenance and extension of production—on the other, direct individual appropriation, as means of subsistence and of enjoyment.

Whilst the capitalist mode of production more and more completely transforms the great majority of the population into proletarians, it creates the power which, under penalty of its own destruction, is forced to accomplish this revolution. Whilst it forces on more and more the transformation of the vast means of production, already socialised, into state property, it shows itself the way to accomplishing this revolution. *The proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production in the first instance into state property.* But, in doing this, it abolishes itself as proletariat, abolishes all class distinctions and class antagonisms, abolishes also the state as state. Society thus far, based upon class antagonisms, had need of the state, that is, of an organisation of the particular class, which was *pro tempore* the exploiting class, for the maintenance of its external conditions of production, and, therefore, especially, for the purpose of forcibly keeping the exploited classes in the condition of oppression corresponding with the given mode of production (slavery, serfdom, wage-labour). The state was the official representative of society as a whole; the gathering of it together into a visible embodiment. But it was this only in so far as it was the state of that class which itself represented, for the time being, society as a whole: in ancient times, the state of slave-owning citizens; in the Middle Ages, the feudal lords; in our own time, the bourgeoisie. When at last it becomes the real representative of the whole of society, it renders

itself unnecessary. As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection; as soon as class rule, and the individual struggle for existence based upon our present anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from these, are removed, nothing more remains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a state, is no longer necessary. The first act by virtue of which the state really constitutes itself the representative of the whole of society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—this is, at the same time, its last independent act as a state. State interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous, and then dies out of itself; the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production. The state is not "abolished". *It dies out.* This gives the measure of the value of the phrase "a free people's state", both as to its justifiable use at times by agitators, and as to its ultimate scientific insufficiency[117]; and also of the demands of the so-called anarchists for the abolition of the state out of hand.

Since the historical appearance of the capitalist mode of production, the appropriation by society of all the means of production has often been dreamed of, more or less vaguely, by individuals, as well as by sects, as the ideal of the future. But it could become possible, could become a historical necessity, only when the actual conditions for its realisation were there. Like every other social advance, it becomes practicable, not by men understanding that the existence of classes is in contradiction to justice, equality, etc., not by the mere willingness to abolish these classes, but by virtue of certain new economic conditions. The separation of society into an exploiting and an exploited class, a ruling and an oppressed class, was the necessary consequence of the deficient and restricted development of production in former times. So long as the total social labour only yields a produce which but slightly exceeds that barely necessary for the existence of all; so long, therefore, as labour engages all or almost all the time of the great majority of the members of society—so long, of necessity, this society is divided into classes. Side by side with the great majority, exclusively bond slaves to labour, arises a class freed from directly productive labour, which looks after the general affairs of society: the direction of labour, state business, law, science, art, etc. It is, therefore, the law of division of labour that lies at the basis of the division into classes. But this does not prevent this division into classes from being carried out by means of violence and robbery, trickery and fraud. It does not prevent

the ruling class, once having the upper hand, from consolidating its power at the expense of the working class, from turning its social leadership into an exploitation of the masses.

But if, upon this showing, division into classes has a certain historical justification, it has this only for a given period, only under given social conditions. It was based upon the insufficiency of production. It will be swept away by the complete development of modern productive forces. And, in fact, the abolition of classes in society presupposes a degree of historical evolution at which the existence, not simply of this or that particular ruling class, but of any ruling class at all, and, therefore, the existence of class distinction itself has become an obsolete anachronism. It presupposes, therefore, the development of production carried out to a degree at which appropriation of the means of production and of the products, and, with this, of political domination, of the monopoly of culture, and of intellectual leadership by a particular class of society, has become not only superfluous but economically, politically, intellectually a hindrance to development. This point is now reached. Their political and intellectual bankruptcy is scarcely any longer a secret to the bourgeoisie themselves. Their economic bankruptcy recurs regularly every ten years. In every crisis, society is suffocated beneath the weight of its own productive forces and products, which it cannot use, and stands helpless face to face with the absurd contradiction that the producers have nothing to consume, because consumers are wanting. The expansive force of the means of production bursts the bonds that the capitalist mode of production had imposed upon them. Their deliverance from these bonds is the one precondition for an unbroken, constantly accelerated development of the productive forces, and therewith for a practically unlimited increase of production itself. Nor is this all. The socialised appropriation of the means of production does away, not only with the present artificial restrictions upon production, but also with the positive waste and devastation of productive forces and products that are at the present time the inevitable concomitants of production, and that reach their height in the crises. Further, it sets free for the community at large a mass of means of production and of products, by doing away with the senseless extravagance of the ruling classes of today and their political representatives. The possibility of securing for every member of society, by means of socialised production, an existence not only fully sufficient materially, and becoming day by day more full, but an existence guaranteeing to all the free development and exercise of their

physical and mental faculties—this possibility is now for the first time here, but it *is here.**

With the seizing of the means of production by society, production of commodities is done away with, and, simultaneously, the mastery of the product over the producer. Anarchy in social production is replaced by systematic, definite organisation. The struggle for individual existence disappears. Then for the first time man, in a certain sense, is finally marked off from the rest of the animal kingdom, and emerges from mere animal conditions of existence into really human ones. The whole sphere of the conditions of life which environ man, and which have hitherto ruled man, now comes under the dominion and control of man, who for the first time becomes the real, conscious lord of nature, because he has now become master of his own social organisation. The laws of his own social action, hitherto standing face to face with man as laws of nature foreign to, and dominating him, will then be used with full understanding, and so mastered by him. Man's own social organisation, hitherto confronting him as a necessity imposed by nature and history, now becomes the result of his own free action. The extraneous objective forces that have hitherto governed history pass under the control of man himself. Only from that time will man himself, with full consciousness, make his own history—only from that time will the social causes set in movement by him have, in the main and in a constantly growing measure, the results intended by him. It is the humanity's leap from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom.

To accomplish this act of universal emancipation is the historical mission of the modern proletariat. To thoroughly comprehend the historical conditions and thus the very nature of this act, to impart to the now oppressed class a full knowledge of the conditions and of the meaning of the momentous act it is called upon to

* A few figures may serve to give an approximate idea of the enormous expansive force of the modern means of production, even under capitalist pressure. According to Mr. Giffen,[118] the total wealth of Great Britain and Ireland amounted, in round numbers, in

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1814 to | £ 2,200,000,000 | = | 44 | mld marks |
| 1865 to | £ 6,100,000,000 | = | 122 | » » |
| 1875 to | £ 8,500,000,000 | = | 170 | » » |

As an instance of the squandering of means of production and of products during a crisis, the total loss in the *German iron industry* alone, in the recent crisis [of 1873-78], was given at the second German Industrial Congress (Berlin, February 21, 1878) as 455,000,000 marks.

accomplish, this is the task of the theoretical expression of the proletarian movement, scientific socialism.

## III. PRODUCTION

After all that has been said above, the reader will not be surprised to learn that the exposition of the principal features of socialism given in the preceding part is not at all in accordance with Herr Dühring's view. On the contrary. He must hurl it into the abyss where lie all the other rejected "bastards of historical and logical fantasy", "barren conceptions", "confused and hazy notions" [D. K. G. 498], etc. To Herr Dühring, socialism in fact is not at all a necessary product of historical development and still less of the grossly material economic conditions of today, directed toward the filling of the stomach exclusively [231]. He's got it all worked out much better. His socialism is a final and ultimate truth;

it is "the natural system of society" [D. Ph. 282], whose roots are to be found in a "universal principle of justice" [D. C. 282],

and if he cannot avoid taking notice of the existing situation, created by the sinful history of the past, in order to remedy it, this must be regarded rather as a misfortune for the pure principle of justice. Herr Dühring creates his socialism, like everything else, through the medium of his famous two men.[a] Instead of these two puppets playing the part of master and servant, as they did in the past, they perform this once, for a change, the piece on the equality of rights—and the foundations of the Dühringian socialism have been laid.

It therefore goes without saying that to Herr Dühring the periodical crises in industry have not at all the historical significance which we were compelled to attribute to them.

In his view, crises are only occasional deviations from "normality" [218] and at most only serve to promote "the development of a more regulated order" [219]. The "common method" [227] of explaining crises by over-production is in no wise adequate for his "more exact conception of things" [343]. Of course such an explanation "may be permissible for specific crises in particular areas". As, for example, "a swamping of the book market with works suddenly released for republication and suitable for mass sale" [227].

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[a] See this volume, pp. 89-91.— *Ed.*

Herr Dühring can at any rate go to sleep with the gratifying feeling that his immortal works will never bring on any such world disaster.

He claims, however, that in great crises, it is not over-production, but rather "the lagging behind of popular consumption ... artificially produced under-consumption ... interference with the natural growth of the *needs of the people*" (!) "which ultimately make the gulf between supply and demand so critically wide" [D. C. 227, 228].

And he has even had the good fortune to find a disciple for this crisis theory of his.

But unfortunately the under-consumption of the masses, the restriction of the consumption of the masses to what is necessary for their maintenance and reproduction, is not a new phenomenon. It has existed as long as there have been exploiting and exploited classes. Even in those periods of history when the situation of the masses was particularly favourable, as for example in England in the fifteenth century, they under-consumed. They were very far from having their own annual total product at their disposal to be consumed by them. Therefore, while under-consumption has been a constant feature in history for thousands of years, the general shrinkage of the market which breaks out in crises as the result of a surplus of production is a phenomenon only of the last fifty years; and so Herr Dühring's whole superficial vulgar economics is necessary in order to explain the new collision not by the *new* phenomenon of over-production but by the thousand-year-old phenomenon of under-consumption. It is like a mathematician attempting to explain the variation in the ratio between two quantities, one constant and one variable, not by the variation of the variable but by the fact that the constant quantity remains unchanged. The under-consumption of the masses is a necessary condition of all forms of society based on exploitation, consequently also of the capitalist form; but it is the capitalist form of production which first gives rise to crises. The under-consumption of the masses is therefore also a prerequisite condition of crises, and plays in them a role which has long been recognised. But it tells us just as little why crises exist today as why they did not exist before.

Herr Dühring's notions of the world market are altogether curious. We have seen how, like a typical German man of letters, he seeks to explain real industrial specific crises by means of imaginary crises on the Leipzig book market—the storm on the ocean by the storm in a teacup. He also imagines that present-day capitalist production must

"depend for its market mainly *on the circles of the possessing classes* themselves" [221],

which does not prevent him, only sixteen pages later, from presenting, in the generally accepted way, the iron and cotton industries as the modern industries of decisive importance [236]—that is, precisely the two branches of production whose output is consumed only to an infinitesimally small degree within the circle of the possessing classes and is dependent more than any other on mass use. Wherever we turn in Herr Dühring's works there is nothing but empty and contradictory chatter. But let us take an example from the cotton industry. In the relatively small town of Oldham alone—it is one of a dozen towns round Manchester with fifty to a hundred thousand inhabitants engaged in the cotton industry—in this town alone, in the four years 1872 to 1875, the number of spindles spinning only Number 32 yarn increased from two and a half to five million; so that in one medium-sized English town there are as many spindles spinning one single count as the cotton industry of all Germany, including Alsace, possesses. And the expansion in the other branches and areas of the cotton industry in England and Scotland has taken place in approximately the same proportion. In view of these facts, it requires a strong dose of deep-rooted [555-56] effrontery to explain the present complete stagnation in the yarn and cloth markets by the under-consumption of the English masses and not by the over-production carried on by the English cotton-mill owners.*

But enough. One does not argue with people who are so ignorant of economics as to consider the Leipzig book market in the modern industrial sense. Let us therefore merely note that Herr Dühring has only one more piece of information for us on the subject of crises, that in crises we have nothing

"but the ordinary interplay of overstrain and relaxation" [228]; that over-speculation "is not only due to the planless multiplication of private enterprises", but that "the rashness of individual entrepreneurs and the lack of private circumspection must also be reckoned among the causes which give rise to oversupply" [229].

And what, again, is the "cause which gives rise" to the rashness and lack of private circumspection? Just precisely this very planlessness of capitalist production, which manifests itself in the

* The "under-consumption" explanation of crises originated with Sismondi, and in his exposition it still had a certain meaning. Rodbertus took it from Sismondi, and Herr Dühring has in turn copied it, in his usual vulgarising fashion, from Rodbertus.

planless multiplication of private enterprises. And to mistake the translation of an economic fact into moral reprobation as the discovery of a new cause is also a piece of extreme "rashness".

With this we can leave the question of crises. In the preceding section we showed that they were necessarily engendered by the capitalist mode of production, and explained their significance as crises of this mode of production itself, as means of compelling the social revolution, and it is not necessary to say another word in reply to Herr Dühring's superficialities on this subject. Let us pass on to his positive creations, the "natural system of society" [D. Ph. 282].

This system, built on a "universal principle of justice" [D. C. 320] and therefore free from all consideration of troublesome material facts, consists of a federation of economic communes among which there is

"freedom of movement and obligatory acceptance of new members on the basis of fixed laws and administrative regulations" [323].

The economic commune itself is above all

"a comprehensive schematism of great import in human history"[341] which is far superior to the "erroneous half-measures", for example, of a certain Marx [342]. It implies "a community of persons linked together by their public right to dispose of a definite area of land and a group of productive establishments for use in common, jointly participating in the proceeds" [322]. This public right is a "right to the object ... in the sense of a *purely publicistic relation to nature* and to the productive institutions" [342].

We leave it to the future jurists of the economic commune to cudgel their brains as to what this means; we give it up. The only thing we gather is that

it is not at all the same as the "corporative ownership of workers' associations" [342] which would not exclude mutual competition and even the exploitation of wage-labour.

In this connection he drops the remark that

the conception of a "collective ownership", such as is found also in Marx, is "to say the least unclear and open to question, as this conception of the future always gives the impression that it means nothing more than corporative ownership by groups of workers" [295].

This is one more instance of Herr Dühring's usual "vile habits" of passing off a thing for what it is not, "for whose vulgar nature"—to use his own words—"only the vulgar word snotty would be quite appropriate" [D. K. G. 506]; it is just as baseless a lie as Herr Dühring's other invention that by collective ownership

Marx means an "ownership which is at once both individual and social" [503, 505].

In any case this much seems clear: the publicistic right of an economic commune in its means of labour is an exclusive right of property at least as against every other economic commune and also as against society and the state.

> But this right is not to entitle the commune "to cut itself off ... from the outside world, for among the various economic communes there is freedom of movement and obligatory acceptance of new members on the basis of fixed laws and administrative regulations ... like ... belonging to a political organisation at the present time, or participation in the economic affairs of the commune" [D. C. 322-23].

There will therefore be rich and poor economic communes, and the levelling out takes place through the population crowding into the rich communes and leaving the poor ones. So that although Herr Dühring wants to eliminate competition in products between the individual communes by means of national organisation of trade, he calmly allows competition among the producers to continue. Things are removed from the sphere of competition, but men remain subject to it.

But we are still very far from clear on the question of "publicistic right" [322]. Two pages further on Herr Dühring explains to us:

> The trade commune "will at first cover the politico-social area whose inhabitants form a single legal entity and in this character have at their disposal the whole of the land, the dwellings and productive institutions" [325].

So after all it is not the individual commune at whose disposal these things are, but the whole nation. The "public right" [322], "right to the object", "publicistic relation to nature" [342] and so forth is therefore not merely "at least unclear and open to question" [295]: it is in direct contradiction with itself. It is in fact, at any rate in so far as each individual economic commune is likewise a legal entity, "an ownership which is at once both individual and social" [D. K. G. 503], and this latter "nebulous hybrid" [504] is once again, therefore, only to be met with in Herr Dühring's own works.

In any case the economic commune has at its disposal instruments of labour for the purpose of production. How is this production carried on? Judging by all Herr Dühring has told us, precisely as in the past, except that the commune takes the place of the capitalists. The most we are told is that everyone will then

be free to choose his occupation, and that there will be equal obligation to work.

The basic form of all production hitherto has been the division of labour, on the one hand, within society as a whole, and on the other, within each separate productive establishment. How does the Dühring "sociality" [see D. C. 263, 277, 291] stand on this question?

The first great division of labour in society is the separation of town and country.

This antagonism, according to Herr Dühring, is "in the nature of things inevitable" [232]. But "it is in general doubtful to regard the gulf between agriculture and industry ... as unbridgeable. In fact, there already exists, to a certain extent, constancy of interconnection with promises to increase considerably in the future" [250]. Already, we learn, two industries have penetrated agriculture and rural production: "in the first place, distilling, and in the second, beet-sugar manufacturing ... the production of spirits is already of such importance that it is more likely to be under-estimated than over-estimated" [250-51]. And "if it were possible, as a result of some inventions, for a larger number of industries to develop in such a way that they should be compelled to localise their production in the country and carry it on in direct association with the production of raw materials" [251]—then this would weaken the antithesis between town and country and "provide the widest possible basis for the development of civilisation". Moreover, "a somewhat similar result might also be attained in another way. Apart from technical requirements, social needs are coming more and more to the forefront, and if the latter become the dominant consideration in the grouping of human activities it will no longer be possible to overlook those advantages which ensue from a close and systematic connection between the occupations of the countryside and the technical operations of working up raw materials" [252].

Now in the economic commune it is precisely social needs which are coming to the forefront; and so will it really hasten to take advantage, to the fullest possible extent, of the above-mentioned union of agriculture and industry? Will Herr Dühring not fail to tell us, at his accustomed length, his "more exact conceptions" [343] on the attitude of the economic commune to this question? The reader who expected him not to would be cruelly disillusioned. The above-mentioned meagre, stale commonplaces, once again not passing beyond the schnaps-distilling and beet-sugar-making sphere of the jurisdiction of Prussian law, are all that Herr Dühring has to say on the antithesis between town and country in the present and in the future.

Let us pass on to the division of labour in detail. Here Herr Dühring is a little "more exact". He speaks of

"a person who has to devote himself *exclusively* to *one* form of occupation" [D. C. 257]. If the point at issue is the introduction of a new branch of production, the

problem simply hinges on whether a certain number of *entities,* who are to *devote themselves to the production of one single article,* can somehow be provided with the consumption (!) they require [278]. In the socialitarian system no branch of production would "*require* many *people*", and there, too, there would be "*economic species*" of men "distinguished by their way of life" [329].

Accordingly, within the sphere of production everything remains much the same as before. In society up to now, however, an "erroneous division of labour" [327] has obtained; but as to what this is, and by what it is to be replaced in the economic commune, we are only told:

"With regard to the division of labour itself, we have already said above that this question can be considered settled as soon as account is taken of the various natural conditions and personal capabilities" [259].

In addition to capabilities, personal likings are taken into account:

"The pleasure felt in rising to types of activity which involve additional capabilities and training would depend exclusively on the inclination felt for the occupation in question and on the joy produced in the *exercise of precisely this and no other thing*" [D. Ph. 283] (exercise of a thing!).

And this will stimulate competition within the socialitarian system, so that

"production itself will become interesting, and the dull pursuit of it, which sees in it nothing but a means of earning, will no longer put its heavy imprint on conditions" [D. C. 265].

In every society in which production has developed spontaneously—and our present society is of this type—the situation is not that the producers control the means of production, but that the means of production control the producers. In such a society each new lever of production is necessarily transformed into a new means for the subjection of the producers to the means of production. This is most of all true of that lever of production which, prior to the introduction of modern industry, was by far the most powerful—the division of labour. The first great division of labour, the separation of town and country, condemned the rural population to thousands of years of mental torpidity, and the people of the towns each to subjection to his own individual trade. It destroyed the basis of the intellectual development of the former and the physical development of the latter. When the peasant appropriates his land, and the townsman his trade, the land appropriates the peasant and the trade the townsman to the very same extent. In the division of labour, man is also divided. All other physical and mental faculties are sacrificed to the

development of one single activity. This stunting of man grows in the same measure as the division of labour, which attains its highest development in manufacture. Manufacture splits up each trade into its separate partial operations, allots each of these to an individual labourer as his life calling, and thus chains him for life to a particular detail function and a particular tool. "It converts the labourer into a crippled monstrosity, by forcing his detail dexterity at the expense of a world of productive capabilities and instincts... The individual himself is made the automatic motor of a fractional operation" (Marx)[a]—a motor which in many cases is perfected only by literally crippling the labourer physically and mentally. The machinery of modern industry degrades the labourer from a machine to the mere appendage of a machine. "The life-long speciality of handling one and the same tool, now becomes the life-long speciality of serving one and the same machine. Machinery is put to a wrong use, with the object of transforming the workman, from his very childhood, into a part of a detail-machine" (Marx).[b] And not only the labourers, but also the classes directly or indirectly exploiting the labourers are made subject, through the division of labour, to the tool of their function: the empty-minded bourgeois to his own capital and his own insane craving for profits; the lawyer to his fossilised legal conceptions, which dominate him as an independent power; the "educated classes" in general to their manifold species of local narrow-mindedness and one-sidedness, to their own physical and mental short-sightedness, to their stunted growth due to their narrow specialised education and their being chained for life to this specialised activity—even when this specialised activity is merely to do nothing.

The utopians were already perfectly clear in their minds as to the effects of the division of labour, the stunting on the one hand of the labourer, and on the other of the labour function, which is restricted to the lifelong uniform mechanical repetition of one and the same operation. The abolition of the antithesis between town and country was demanded by Fourier, as by Owen, as the first basic prerequisite for the abolition of the old division of labour altogether. Both of them thought that the population should be scattered through the country in groups of sixteen hundred to three thousand persons; each group was to occupy a gigantic

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[a] K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, pp. 373-74. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part IV, Chapter XIV, Section 5.— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 443. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part IV, Chapter XV, Section 4.— *Ed.*

palace, with a household run on communal lines, in the centre of their area of land. It is true that Fourier occasionally refers to towns, but these were to consist in turn of only four or five such palaces situated near each other. Both writers would have each member of society occupied in agriculture as well as in industry; with Fourier, industry covers chiefly handicrafts and manufacture, while Owen assigns the main role to modern industry and already demands the introduction of steam-power and machinery in domestic work. But within agriculture as well as industry both of them also demand the greatest possible variety of occupation for each individual, and in accordance with this, the training of the youth for the utmost possible all-round technical functions. They both consider that man should gain universal development through universal practical activity and that labour should recover the attractiveness of which the division of labour has despoiled it, in the first place through this variation of occupation, and through the correspondingly short duration of the "sitting"—to use Fourier's expression [a]—devoted to each particular kind of work. Both Fourier and Owen are far in advance of the mode of thought of the exploiting classes inherited by Herr Dühring, according to which the antithesis between town and country is inevitable in the nature of things; the narrow view that a number of "entities" [D. C. 257] must in any event be condemned to the production of *one single* article, the view that desires to perpetuate the "economic species" [329] of men distinguished by their way of life—people who take pleasure in the performance of precisely this and no other thing, who have therefore sunk so low that they *rejoice* in their own subjection and one-sidedness. In comparison with the basic conceptions even of the "idiot" [D. K. G. 286] Fourier's most recklessly bold fantasies; in comparison even with the paltriest ideas of the "crude, feeble, and paltry" [295, 296] Owen—Herr Dühring, himself still completely dominated by the division of labour, is no more than an impertinent dwarf.

In making itself the master of all the means of production to use them in accordance with a social plan, society puts an end to the former subjection of men to their own means of production. It goes without saying that society cannot free itself unless every individual is freed. The old mode of production must therefore be revolutionised from top to bottom, and in particular the former

[a] See Ch. Fourier, *Le Nouveau Monde industriel et sociétaire,* Chapters II, V and VI.— *Ed.*

division of labour must disappear. Its place must be taken by an organisation of production in which, on the one hand, no individual can throw on the shoulders of others his share in productive labour, this natural condition of human existence; and in which, on the other hand, productive labour, instead of being a means of subjugating men, will become a means of their emancipation, by offering each individual the opportunity to develop all his faculties, physical and mental, in all directions and exercise them to the full—in which, therefore, productive labour will become a pleasure instead of being a burden.

Today this is no longer a fantasy, no longer a pious wish. With the present development of the productive forces, the increase in production that will follow from the very fact of the socialisation of the productive forces, coupled with the abolition of the barriers and disturbances, and of the waste of products and means of production, resulting from the capitalist mode of production, will suffice, with everybody doing his share of work, to reduce the time required for labour to a point which, measured by our present conceptions, will be small indeed.

Nor is the abolition of the old division of labour a demand which could only be carried through to the detriment of the productivity of labour. On the contrary. Thanks to modern industry it has become a condition of production itself. "The employment of machinery does away with the necessity of crystallising the distribution of various groups of workmen among the different kinds of machines after the manner of Manufacture, by the constant annexation of a particular man to a particular function. Since the motion of the whole system does not proceed from the workman, but from the machinery, a change of persons can take place at any time without an interruption of the work... Lastly, the quickness with which machine work is learnt by young people, does away with the necessity of bringing up for exclusive employment by machinery, a special class of operatives."[a] But while the capitalist mode of employment of machinery necessarily perpetuates the old division of labour with its fossilised specialisation, although it has become superfluous from a technical standpoint, the machinery itself rebels against this anachronism. The technical basis of modern industry is revolutionary. "By means of machinery, chemical processes and other methods, it is continually causing changes not only in the technical basis of production, but also in the functions of

[a] K. Marx, *Das Kapital,* pp. 442-43. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part IV, Chapter XV, Section 4.— *Ed.*

the labourer, and in the social combinations of the labour-process. At the same time, it thereby also revolutionises the division of labour within the society, and incessantly launches masses of capital and of workpeople from one branch of production to another. Modern industry, by its very nature, therefore necessitates variation of labour, fluency of function, universal mobility of the labourer... We have seen how this absolute contradiction ... vents its rage in the incessant human sacrifices from among the working-class, in the most reckless squandering of labour-power, and in the devastation caused by social anarchy. This is the negative side. But if, on the one hand, variation of work at present imposes itself after the manner of an overpowering natural law, and with the blindly destructive action of a natural law that meets with resistance at all points, modern industry, on the other hand, through its catastrophes imposes the necessity of recognising, as a fundamental law of production, variation of work, consequently fitness of the labourer for varied work, consequently the greatest possible development of his varied aptitudes. It becomes a question of life and death for society to adapt the mode of production to the normal functioning of this law. Modern industry makes it a question of life and death to replace the monstrosity of a destitute working population kept in reserve at the disposal of capital for the changing needs of exploitation with the absolute availability of man for the changing requirements of labour; to replace what is virtually a mere fragment of the individual, the mere carrier of a social detail-function, with the fully developed individual, to whom the different social functions are so many alternating modes of activity" (Marx, *Capital*).[a]

Modern industry, which has taught us to convert the movement of molecules, something more or less universally feasible, into the movement of masses for technical purposes, has thereby to a considerable extent freed production from restrictions of locality. Water-power was local; steam-power is free. While water-power is necessarily rural, steam-power is by no means necessarily urban. It is capitalist utilisation which concentrates it mainly in the towns and changes factory villages into factory towns. But in so doing it at the same time undermines the conditions under which it operates. The first requirement of the steam-engine, and a main

[a] Ibid., pp. 513-14. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part IV, Chapter XV, Section 9.— *Ed.*

requirement of almost all branches of production in modern industry, is relatively pure water. But the factory town transforms all water into stinking manure. However much therefore urban concentration is a basic condition of capitalist production, each individual industrial capitalist is constantly striving to get away from the large towns necessarily created by this production, and to transfer his plant to the countryside. This process can be studied in detail in the textile industry districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire; modern capitalist industry is constantly bringing new large towns into being there by constant flight from the towns into the country. The situation is similar in the metal-working districts where, in part, other causes produce the same effects.

Once more, only the abolition of the capitalist character of modern industry can bring us out of this new vicious circle, can resolve this contradiction in modern industry, which is constantly reproducing itself. Only a society which makes it possible for its productive forces to dovetail harmoniously into each other on the basis of one single vast plan can allow industry to be distributed over the whole country in the way best adapted to its own development, and to the maintenance and development of the other elements of production.

Accordingly, abolition of the antithesis between town and country is not merely possible. It has become a direct necessity of industrial production itself, just as it has become a necessity of agricultural production and, besides, of public health. The present poisoning of the air, water and land can be put an end to only by the fusion of town and country; and only such fusion will change the situation of the masses now languishing in the towns, and enable their excrement to be used for the production of plants instead of for the production of disease.

Capitalist industry has already made itself relatively independent of the local limitations arising from the location of sources of the raw materials it needs. The textile industry works up, in the main, imported raw materials. Spanish iron ore is worked up in England and Germany and Spanish and South-American copper ores, in England. Every coalfield now supplies fuel to an industrial area far beyond its own borders, an area which is widening every year. Along the whole of the European coast steam-engines are driven by English and to some extent also by German and Belgian coal. Society liberated from the restrictions of capitalist production can go much further still. By generating a race of producers with an all-round development who understand the scientific basis of industrial production as a whole, and each of whom has had

practical experience in a whole series of branches of production from start to finish, this society will bring into being a new productive force which will abundantly compensate for the labour required to transport raw materials and fuel from great distances.

The abolition of the separation of town and country is therefore not utopian, also, in so far as it is conditioned on the most equal distribution possible of modern industry over the whole country. It is true that in the huge towns civilisation has bequeathed us a heritage which it will take much time and trouble to get rid of. But it must and will be got rid of, however, protracted a process it may be. Whatever destiny may be in store for the German Empire of the Prussian nation,[119] Bismarck can go to his grave proudly aware that the desire of his heart is sure to be fulfilled: the great towns will perish.[120]

And now see how puerile is Herr Dühring's idea that society can take possession of all means of production in the aggregate without revolutionising from top to bottom the old method of production and first of all putting an end to the old division of labour; that everything will be in order once

"natural opportunities and personal capabilities are taken into account" [D. C. 259]—

that therefore whole masses of entities will remain, as in the past, subjected to the production of *one single* article; whole "populations" [275] will be engaged in a single branch of production, and humanity continue to be divided, as in the past, into a number of different crippled "economic species" [329], for there still are "porters" and "architects" [D. K. G. 500]. Society is to become master of the means of production as a whole, in order that each individual may remain the slave of his means of production, and have only a choice as to *which* means of production are to enslave him. And see also how Herr Dühring considers the separation of town and country as "inevitable in the nature of things" [D. C. 232], and can find only a tiny palliative in schnaps-distilling and beet-sugar manufacturing—two, in their connection specifically Prussian, branches of industry; how he makes the distribution of industry over the country dependent on certain future inventions and on the *necessity* of associating industry directly with the procurement of raw materials—raw materials which are already used at an ever increasing distance from their place of origin! And Herr Dühring finally tries to cover up his rear by assuring us that in the long run social wants will carry through the union between agriculture and industry even *against* economic

considerations, as if this would be some economic sacrifice!

Certainly, to be able to see that the revolutionary elements, which will do away with the old division of labour, along with the separation of town and country, and will revolutionise the whole of production; see that these elements are already contained in embryo in the production conditions of modern large-scale industry and that their development is hindered by the existing capitalist mode of production—to be able to see these things, it is necessary to have a somewhat wider horizon than the sphere of jurisdiction of Prussian law, than the country where production of schnaps and beet-sugar are the key industries, and where commercial crises can be studied on the book market. To be able to see these things it is necessary to have some knowledge of real large-scale industry in its historical growth and in its present actual form, especially in the one country where it has its home and where alone it has attained its classical development. Then no one will think of attempting to vulgarise modern scientific socialism and to degrade it into Herr Dühring's *specifically Prussian socialism.*

## IV. DISTRIBUTION

We have already seen[a] that Dühringian economics comes down to the following proposition: the capitalist mode of *production* is quite good, and can remain in existence, but the capitalist mode of *distribution* is of evil, and must disappear. We now find that Herr Dühring's "socialitarian" system is nothing more than the carrying through of this principle in fantasy. In fact, it turned out that Herr Dühring has practically nothing to take exception to in the mode of production—as such—of capitalist society, that he wants to retain the old division of labour in all its essentials, and that he consequently has hardly a word to say in regard to production within his economic commune. Production is indeed a sphere in which robust facts are dealt with, and in which, consequently, "rational fantasy" [D. Ph. 46] should give but little scope to the soaring of its free soul, because the danger of making a disgraceful blunder is too great. It is quite otherwise with distribution—which in Herr Dühring's view has no connection whatever with production and is determined not by production but by a pure act of the will—distribution is the predestined field of his "social alchemising" [D. K. G. 237].

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[a] See this volume, p. 174.— *Ed.*

To the equal obligation to produce corresponds the equal right to consume, exercised in an organised manner in the economic commune and in the trading commune embracing a large number of economic communes. "Labour" is here "exchanged for other labour on the basis of equal valuation... Service and counterservice represent here real equality between quantities of labour" [D. C. 256]. And this "equalisation of human energies" applies "whether the individuals have in fact done more or less, or perhaps *even nothing at all*" [D. Ph. 281]; for all performances, in so far as they involve time and energy, can be regarded as labour done—therefore even playing bowls or going for a walk [see D. C. 266]. This exchange, however, does not take place between individuals as the community is the owner of all means of production and consequently also of all products; on the one hand it takes place between each economic commune and its individual members, and on the other between the various economic and trading communes themselves. "The individual economic communes in particular will replace retail trade within their own areas by completely planned sales" [326]. Wholesale trade will be organised on the same lines: "The system of the free economic society ... consequently remains a vast exchange institution, whose operations are carried out on the basis provided by the precious metals. It is insight into the inevitable necessity of this fundamental quality which distinguishes our scheme from all those foggy notions which cling even to the most rational forms of current socialist ideas" [324].

For the purposes of this exchange, the economic commune, as the first appropriator of the social products, has to determine, "for each type of articles, a uniform price" [277], based on the average production costs. "The significance which the so-called costs of production ... have for value and price today, will be provided" (in the socialitarian system) "...by the estimates of the quantity of labour to be employed. These estimates, by virtue of the principle of equal rights for each individual also in the economic sphere, can be traced back, in the last analysis, to consideration of the number of persons that participated in the labour; they will result in the relation of prices corresponding both to the natural conditions of production and to the social right of realisation. The output of the precious metals will continue, as now, to determine the value of money... It can be seen from this that in the changed constitution of society, one not only does not lose the determining factor and measure, in the first place of values, and, with value, of the exchange relations between products, but wins them good and proper for the first time" [326-327].

The famous "absolute value" [D. K. G. 499] is at last realised.

On the other hand, however, the commune must also put its individual members in a position to buy from it the articles produced, by paying to each, in compensation for his labour, a certain sum of money, daily, weekly or monthly, but necessarily the same for all. "From the socialitarian standpoint it is consequently a matter of indifference whether we say that wages disappear, or, that they must become the exclusive form of economic income" [D. C. 263]. Equal wages and equal prices, however, establish "quantitative, if not qualitative equality of consumption" [268], and thereby the "universal principle of justice" [282] is realised in the economic sphere.

As to how the level of this wage of the future is to be determined, Herr Dühring tells us only

that here too, as in all other cases, there will be an exchange of "equal labour for equal labour" [D. C. 257]. For six hours of labour, therefore, a sum of money will be paid which also embodies in itself six hours of labour.

Nevertheless, the "universal principle of justice" must not in any way be confounded with that crude levelling down which makes the bourgeois so indignantly oppose all communism, and especially the spontaneous communism of the workers. It is by no means so inexorable as it would like to appear.

The "equality in principle of economic rights does not exclude the *voluntary* addition to what justice requires of an expression of special recognition and honour... Society *honours itself* in conferring distinction on the higher types of professional ability *by a moderate additional allocation* for consumption" [267].

And Herr Dühring, too, honours himself, when combining the innocence of a dove with the subtleness of a serpent,[a] he displays such touching concern for the moderate additional consumption of the Dührings of the future.

This will finally do away with the capitalist mode of distribution. For

"supposing under such conditions someone actually had a surplus of private means at his disposal, he would not be able to find any use for it as capital. No individual and no group would acquire it from him for production, except by way of exchange or purchase, but neither would ever have occasion to pay him interest or profit" [264-65]. Hence "inheritance conforming to the principle of equality" [289] would be permissible. It cannot be dispensed with, for "a certain form of inheritance will always be a necessary accompaniment of the family principle". But even the right of inheritance "will not be able to lead to any amassing of considerable wealth, as the building up of property ... can never again aim at the creation of means of production and purely rentiers' existences" [291].

And this fortunately completes the economic commune. Let us now have a look at how it works.

We assume that all of Herr Dühring's preliminary conditions are completely realised; we therefore take it for granted that the economic commune pays to each of its members, for six hours of labour a day, a sum of money, say twelve marks, in which likewise six hours of labour are embodied. We assume further that prices exactly correspond to values, and therefore, on our assumptions, cover only the costs of raw materials, the wear and tear of machinery, the consumption of instruments of labour and the wages paid. An economic commune of a hundred working members would then produce in a day commodities to the value

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[a] Matthew 10:16.— *Ed.*

of twelve hundred marks; and in a year of 300 working-days, 360,000 marks. It pays the same sum to its members, each of whom does as he likes with his share, which is twelve marks a day or 3,600 marks a year. At the end of a year, and at the end of a hundred years, the commune is no richer than it was at the beginning. During this whole period it will never once be in a position to provide even the moderate additional allocation for Herr Dühring's consumption, unless it cares to take it from its stock of means of production. Accumulation is completely forgotten. Even worse: as accumulation is a social necessity and the retention of money provides a convenient form of accumulation, the organisation of the economic commune directly impels its members to accumulate privately, and thereby leads it to its own destruction.

How can this conflict in the nature of the economic commune be avoided? It might take refuge in his beloved "taxes" [24], the price surcharge, and sell its annual production for 480,000 instead of 360,000. But as all other economic communes are in the same position, and would therefore act in the same way, each of them, in its exchanges with the others, would have to pay just as much "taxes" as it pockets itself, and the "tribute" [374] would thus have to fall on its own members alone.

Or the economic commune might settle the matter without more ado by paying to each member, for six hours of labour, the product of less than six hours, say, of four hours, of labour; that is to say, instead of twelve marks only eight marks a day, leaving the prices of commodities, however, at their former level. In this case it does directly and openly what it strived to do in a hidden and indirect way in the former case: it forms Marxian surplus-value to the amount of 120,000 marks annually, by paying its members, on outright capitalist lines, less than the value of what they produce, while it sells them commodities, which they can only buy from it, at their full value. The economic commune can therefore secure a reserve fund only by revealing itself as an "ennobled" TRUCK SYSTEM * on the widest possible communist basis.

So have your choice: Either the economic commune exchanges "equal labour for equal labour" [257], and in this case it cannot accumulate a fund for the maintenance and extension of production, but only the individual members can do this; or it

* The TRUCK SYSTEM in England, also well known in Germany, is that system under which the manufacturers themselves run shops and compel their workers to buy their goods there.

does form such a fund, but in this case it does not exchange "equal labour for equal labour".

Such is the content of exchange in the economic commune. What of its form? The exchange is effected through the medium of metallic money, and Herr Dühring is not a little proud of the "world-historic import" [D. C. 341] of this reform. But in the trading between the commune and its members the money *is not* money at all, it does not function in any way as money. It serves as a mere labour certificate; to use Marx's phrase, it is "merely evidence of the part taken by the individual in the common labour, and of his right to a certain portion of the common produce destined for consumption", and in carrying out this function, it is "no more 'money' than a ticket for the theatre".[a] It can therefore be replaced by any other token, just as Weitling replaces it by a "ledger", in which the labour-hours worked are entered on one side and means of subsistence taken as compensation on the other.[121] In a word, in the trading of the economic commune with its members it functions merely as Owen's "labour money", that "phantom" which Herr Dühring looks down upon so disdainfully, but nevertheless is himself compelled to introduce into his economics of the future. Whether the token which certifies the measure of fulfilment of the "obligation to produce", and thus of the earned "right to consume" [320] is a scrap of paper, a counter or a gold coin is absolutely of no consequence for *this* purpose. For other purposes, however, it is by no means immaterial, as we shall see.

If therefore, in the trading of an economic commune with its members, metallic money does not function as money but as a disguised labour certificate, it performs its money function even less in exchange between the different economic communes. In this exchange, on the assumptions made by Herr Dühring, metallic money is totally superfluous. In fact, mere book-keeping would suffice, which would effect the exchange of products of equal labour for products of equal labour far more simply if it used the natural measure of labour-time, with the labour-hour as unit—than if it first converted the labour-hours into money. The exchange is in reality simple exchange in kind; all balances are easily and simply settled by drafts on other communes. But should a commune really have a deficit in its dealings with other communes, all "the gold existing in the universe" [D. Ph. 96],

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[a] K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, p. 73. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part I, Chapter III, Section 1.— *Ed.*

"money by nature" [D. C. 39] though it be, could not save this commune from the fate of having to make good this deficit by increasing the quantity of its own labour, if it does not want to fall into a position of dependence on other communes on account of its debt. But let the reader always bear in mind that we are not ourselves constructing any edifice of the future; we are merely accepting Herr Dühring's assumptions and drawing the inevitable conclusions from them.

Thus neither in exchange between the economic commune and its members nor in exchange between the different communes can gold, which is "money by nature", get to realise this its nature. Nevertheless, Herr Dühring assigns to it the function of money even in the "socialitarian" system. Hence, we must see if there is any other field in which its money function can be exercised. And this field exists. Herr Dühring gives everyone a right to "quantitatively equal consumption" [268], but he cannot compel anyone to exercise it. On the contrary, he is proud that in the world he has created everyone can do what he likes with his money. He therefore cannot prevent some from setting aside a small money hoard, while others are unable to make ends meet on the wage paid to them. He even makes this inevitable by explicitly recognising in the right of inheritance that family property should be owned in common; whence comes also the obligation of the parents to maintain their children. But this makes a wide breach in quantitatively equal consumption. The bachelor lives like a lord, happy and content with his eight or twelve marks a day, while the widower with eight minor children finds it very difficult to manage on this sum. On the other hand, by accepting money in payment without any question, the commune leaves open the door to the possibility that this money may have been obtained otherwise than by the individual's own labour. *Non olet.*[122] The commune does not know where it comes from. But in this way all conditions are created permitting metallic money, which hitherto played the role of a mere labour certificate, to exercise its real money function. Both the opportunity and the motive are present, on the one hand to form a hoard, and on the other to run into debt. The needy individual borrows from the individual who builds up a hoard. The borrowed money, accepted by the commune in payment for means of subsistence, once more becomes what it is in present-day society, the social incarnation of human labour, the real measure of labour, the general medium of circulation. All the "laws and administrative regulations" [323] in the world are just as powerless against it as they are

against the multiplication table or the chemical composition of water. And as the builder of the hoard is in a position to extort interest from people in need, usury is restored along with metallic money functioning as money.

Up to this point we have only considered the effects of a retention of metallic money within the field of operation of the Dühring economic commune. But outside this field the rest of the world, the profligate world, meanwhile carries on contentedly in the old accustomed way. On the world market gold and silver remain *world money,* a general means of purchase and payment, the absolute social embodiment of wealth. And this property of the precious metal gives the individual members of the economic communes a new motive to accumulate a hoard, get rich, exact usury; the motive to manoeuvre freely and independently with regard to the commune and beyond its borders, and to realise on the world market the private wealth which they have accumulated. The usurers are transformed into dealers in the medium of circulation, bankers, controllers of the medium of circulation and of world money, and thus into controllers of production, and thus into controllers of the means of production, even though these may still for many years be registered nominally as the property of the economic and trading communes. And so that hoarders and usurers, transformed into bankers, become the masters also of the economic and trading communes themselves. Herr Dühring's "socialitarian system" is indeed quite fundamentally different from the "hazy notions" [D. K. G. 498] of the other socialists. It has no other purpose but the recreation of high finance, under whose control and for whose pecuniary advantage it will labour valiantly—if it should ever happen to be established and to hold together. Its one hope of salvation would lie in the amassers of hoards preferring, by means of their world money, to run away from the commune with all possible speed.

Ignorance of earlier socialist thought is so widespread in Germany that an innocent youth might at this point raise the question whether, for example, Owen's labour-notes might not lead to a similar abuse. Although we are here not concerned with developing the significance of these labour-notes, space should be given to the following for the purpose of contrasting Dühring's "comprehensive schematism" [D. C. 341] with Owen's "crude, feeble and meagre ideas" [D. K. G. 295, 296]: In the first place, such a misuse of Owen's labour-notes would require their conversion into real money, while Herr Dühring presupposes real money, though attempting to prohibit it from functioning

otherwise than as mere labour certificate. While in Owen's scheme there would have to be a real abuse, in Dühring's scheme the immanent nature of money, which is independent of human volition, would assert itself; the specific, correct use of money would assert itself in spite of the misuse which Herr Dühring tries to impose on it owing to his own ignorance of the nature of money. Secondly, with Owen the labour-notes are only a transitional form to complete community and free utilisation of the resources of society; and incidentally at most also a means designed to make communism plausible to the British public. If therefore any form of misuse should compel Owen's society to do away with the labour-notes, the society would take a step forward towards its goal, entering upon a more perfect stage of its development. But if the Dühringian economic commune abolishes money, it at one blow destroys its "world-historic import", it puts an end to its peculiar beauty, ceases to be the Dühring economic commune and sinks to the level of the befogged notions to lift it from which Herr Dühring has devoted so much of the hard labour of his rational fantasy.*

What, then, is the source of all the strange errors and entanglements amid which the Dühring economic commune meanders? Simply the fog which, in Herr Dühring's mind, envelops the concepts of value and money, and finally drives him to attempt to discover the value of labour. But as Herr Dühring has not by any means the monopoly of such fogginess for Germany, but on the contrary meets with many competitors, we will "overcome our reluctance for a moment and solve the knot" [497] which he has contrived to make here.

The only value known in economics is the value of commodities. What are commodities? Products made in a society of more or less separate private producers, and therefore in the first place private products. These private products, however, become commodities only when they are made, not for consumption by their producers, but for consumption by others, that is, for social consumption; they enter into social consumption through exchange. The private

* It may be noted in passing that the part played by labour-notes in Owen's communist society is completely unknown to Herr Dühring. He knows these notes—from Sargant[a]—only in so far as they figure in the LABOUR EXCHANGE BAZAARS[123] which of course were failures, inasmuch as they were attempts by means of the direct exchange of labour to pass from existing society into communist society.

[a] W. L. Sargant, *Robert Owen, and His Social Philosophy.—Ed.*

producers are therefore socially interconnected, constitute a society. Their products, although the private products of each individual, are therefore simultaneously but unintentionally and as it were involuntarily, also social products. In what, then, consists the social character of these private products? Evidently in two peculiarities: first, that they all satisfy some human want, have a use-value not only for the producers but also for others; and secondly, that although they are products of the most varied individual labour, they are at the same time products of human labour as such, of general human labour. In so far as they have a use-value also for other persons, they can, generally speaking, enter into exchange; in so far as general human labour, the simple expenditure of human labour-power is incorporated in all of them, they can be compared with each other in exchange, be assumed to be equal or unequal, according to the quantity of this labour embodied in each. In two equal products made individually, social conditions being equal, an unequal quantity of individual labour may be contained, but always only an equal quantity of general human labour. An unskilled smith may make five horseshoes in the time a skilful smith makes ten. But society does not form value from the accidental lack of skill of an individual; it recognises as general human labour only labour of a normal average degree of skill at the particular time. In exchange, therefore, one of the five horseshoes made by the first smith has no more value than one of the ten made by the other in an equal time. Individual labour contains general human labour only in so far as it is socially necessary.

Therefore when I say that a commodity has a particular value, I say (1) that it is a socially useful product; (2) that it has been produced by a private individual for private account; (3) that, although a product of individual labour, it is nevertheless at the same time and as it were unconsciously and involuntarily, also a product of social labour and, be it noted, of a definite quantity of this labour, ascertained in a social way, through exchange; (4) I express this quantity not in labour itself, in so and so many labour-hours, but *in another commodity.* If therefore I say that this clock is worth as much as that piece of cloth and each of them is worth fifty marks, I say that an equal quantity of social labour is contained in the clock, the cloth and the money. I therefore assert that the social labour-time represented in them has been socially measured and found to be equal. But not directly, absolutely, as labour-time is usually measured, in labour-hours or days, etc., but in a roundabout way, through the medium of exchange, relatively.

That is why I cannot express this definite quantity of labour-time in labour-hours—how many of them remains unknown to me—but also only in a roundabout way, relatively, in another commodity, which represents an equal quantity of social labour-time. The clock is worth as much as the piece of cloth.

But the production and exchange of commodities, while compelling the society based on them to take this roundabout way, likewise compel it to make the detour as short as possible. They single out from the commonalty of commodities one sovereign commodity in which the value of all other commodities can be expressed once and for all; a commodity which serves as the direct incarnation of social labour, and is therefore directly and unconditionally exchangeable for all commodities—money. Money is already contained in embryo in the concept of value; it is value, only in developed form. But since the value of commodities, as opposed to the commodities themselves, assumes independent existence in money, a new factor appears in the society which produces and exchanges commodities, a factor with new social functions and effects. We need only state this point at the moment, without going more closely into it.

The political economy of commodity production is by no means the only science which has to deal with factors known only relatively. The same is true of physics, where we do not know how many separate gas molecules are contained in a given volume of gas, pressure and temperature being also given. But we know that, so far as Boyle's law is correct, such a given volume of any gas contains as many molecules as an equal volume of any other gas at the same pressure and temperature. We can therefore compare the molecular content of the most diverse volumes of the most diverse gases under the most diverse conditions of pressure and temperature; and if we take as the unit one litre of gas at 0° C and 760 mm pressure, we can measure the above molecular content by this unit.—In chemistry the absolute atomic weights of the various elements are also not known to us. But we know them relatively, inasmuch as we know their reciprocal relations. Hence, just as commodity production and its economics obtain a relative expression for the unknown quantities of labour contained in the various commodities, by comparing these commodities on the basis of their relative labour content, so chemistry obtains a relative expression for the magnitude of the atomic weights unknown to it by comparing the various elements on the basis of their atomic weights, expressing the atomic weight of one element in multiples or fractions of the other (sulphur, oxygen, hydrogen). And just as

commodity production elevates gold to the level of the absolute commodity, the general equivalent of all other commodities, the measure of all values, so chemistry promotes hydrogen to the rank of the chemical money commodity, by fixing its atomic weight at 1 and reducing the atomic weights of all other elements to hydrogen, expressing them in multiples of its atomic weight.

Commodity production, however, is by no means the only form of social production. In the ancient Indian communities and in the family communities of the southern Slavs, products are not transformed into commodities. The members of the community are directly associated for production; the work is distributed according to tradition and requirements, and likewise the products to the extent that they are destined for consumption. Direct social production and direct distribution preclude all exchange of commodities, therefore also the transformation of the products into commodities (at any rate within the community) and consequently also their transformation into *values.*

From the moment when society enters into possession of the means of production and uses them in direct association for production, the labour of each individual, however varied its specifically useful character may be, becomes at the start and directly social labour. The quantity of social labour contained in a product need not then be established in a roundabout way; daily experience shows in a direct way how much of it is required on the average. Society can simply calculate how many hours of labour are contained in a steam-engine, a bushel of wheat of the last harvest, or a hundred square yards of cloth of a certain quality. It could therefore never occur to it still to express the quantities of labour put into the products, quantities which it will then know directly and in their absolute amounts, in a third product, in a measure which, besides, is only relative, fluctuating, inadequate, though formerly unavoidable for lack of a better one, rather than express them in their natural, adequate and absolute measure, *time.* Just as little as it would occur to chemical science still to express atomic weight in a roundabout way, relatively, by means of the hydrogen atom, if it were able to express them absolutely, in their adequate measure, namely in actual weights, in billionths or quadrillionths of a gramme. Hence, on the assumptions we made above, society will not assign values to products. It will not express the simple fact that the hundred square yards of cloth have required for their production, say, a thousand hours of labour in the oblique and meaningless way, stating that they have the *value* of a thousand hours of labour. It is true that even then

it will still be necessary for society to know how much labour each article of consumption requires for its production. It will have to arrange its plan of production in accordance with its means of production, which include, in particular, its labour-powers. The useful effects of the various articles of consumption, compared with one another and with the quantities of labour required for their production, will in the end determine the plan. People will be able to manage everything very simply, without the intervention of much-vaunted "value".*

The concept of value is the most general and therefore the most comprehensive expression of the economic conditions of commodity production. Consequently, this concept contains the germ, not only of money, but also of all the more developed forms of the production and exchange of commodities. The fact that value is the expression of the social labour contained in the privately produced products itself creates the possibility of a difference arising between this social labour and the private labour contained in these same products. If therefore a private producer continues to produce in the old way, while the social mode of production develops this difference will become palpably evident to him. The same result follows when the aggregate of private producers of a particular class of goods produces a quantity of them which exceeds the requirements of society. The fact that the value of a commodity is expressed only in terms of another commodity, and can only be realised in exchange for it, admits of the possibility that the exchange may never take place altogether, or at least may not realise the correct value. Finally, when the specific commodity labour-power appears on the market, its value is determined, like that of any other commodity, by the labour-time socially necessary for its production. The value form of products therefore already contains in embryo the whole capitalist form of production, the antagonism between capitalists and wage-workers, the industrial reserve army, crises. To seek to abolish the capitalist form of production by establishing "true value" [D. K. G. 78] is therefore tantamount to attempting to abolish Catholicism by establishing the

* As long ago as 1844 I stated that the above-mentioned balancing of useful effects and expenditure of labour on making decisions concerning production was all that would be left, in a communist society, of the politico-economic concept of value. (*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher,* p. 95.[a]) The scientific justification for this statement, however, as can be seen, was made possible only by Marx's *Capital.*

[a] Engels refers to his article "Umrisse zu einer Kritik der Nationaloekonomie" (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 418-43).— *Ed.*

"true" Pope, or to set up a society in which at last the producers control their product, by consistently carrying into life an economic category which is the most comprehensive expression of the enslavement of the producers by their own product.

Once the commodity-producing society has further developed the value form, which is inherent in commodities as such, to the money form, various germs still hidden in value break through to the light of day. The first and most essential effect is the generalisation of the commodity form. Money forces the commodity form even on the objects which have hitherto been produced directly for self-consumption; it drags them into exchange. Thereby the commodity form and money penetrate the internal husbandry of the communities directly associated for production; they break one tie of communion after another, and dissolve the community into a mass of private producers. At first, as can be seen in India, money replaces joint tillage of the soil by individual tillage; at a later stage it puts an end to the common ownership of the tillage area, which still manifests itself in periodical redistribution, by a final division (for example in the village communities on the Mosel[a]; and it is now beginning also in the Russian village communes); finally, it forces the dividing-up of whatever woodland and pasturage is still owned in common. Whatever other causes arising in the development of production are also operating here, money always remains the most powerful means through which their influence is exerted on the communities. And, despite all "laws and administrative regulations" [D. C. 323], money would with the same natural necessity inevitably break up the Dühring economic commune, if it ever came into existence.

We have already seen above ("Political Economy", VI)[b] that it is a contradiction in itself to speak of the value of labour. As under certain social relations labour produces not only products but also value, and this value is measured by labour, the latter can as little have a separate value as weight, as such, can have a separate weight, or heat, a separate temperature. But it is the characteristic peculiarity of all social confusion that ruminates on "true value" [D. K. G. 78] to imagine that in existing society the worker does not receive the full "value" of his labour, and that socialism is destined to remedy this. Hence it is necessary in the first place to discover what the value of labour is, and this is done by attempting to measure labour, not by its adequate measure, time,

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[a] See this volume, p. 150.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 182-87.— *Ed.*

but by its product. The worker should receive the "full proceeds of labour" [D. C. 324].[124] Not only the labour product, but labour itself should be directly exchangeable for products; one hour's labour for the product of another hour's labour. This, however, gives rise at once to a very "serious" hitch. The *whole product* is distributed. The most important progressive function of society, accumulation, is taken from society and put into the hands, placed at the arbitrary discretion, of individuals. The individuals can do what they like with their "proceeds", but society at best remains as rich or poor as it was. The means of production accumulated in the past have therefore been centralised in the hands of society only in order that all means of production accumulated in the future may once again be dispersed in the hands of individuals. One knocks to pieces one's own premises; one has arrived at a pure absurdity.

Fluid labour, active labour-power, is to be exchanged for the product of labour. Then labour-power is a commodity, just like the product for which it is to be exchanged. Then the value of this labour-power is not in any sense determined by its product, but by the social labour embodied in it, according to the present law of wages.

But it is precisely this which must not be, we are told. Fluid labour, labour-power, should be exchangeable for its full product. That is to say, it should be exchangeable not for its *value*, but for its *use-value*; the law of value is to apply to all other commodities, but must be repealed so far as labour-power is concerned. Such is the self-destructive confusion that lies behind the "value of labour".

The "exchange of labour for labour on the principle of equal valuation" [256], in so far as it has any meaning, that is to say, the mutual exchangeability of products of equal social labour, hence the law of value, is the fundamental law of precisely commodity production, hence also of its highest form, capitalist production. It asserts itself in present-day society in the only way in which economic laws can assert themselves in a society of private producers: as a blindly operating law of nature inherent in things and relations, and independent of the will or actions of the producers. By elevating this law to the basic law of his economic commune and demanding that the commune should execute it in all consciousness, Herr Dühring converts the basic law of existing society into the basic law of his imaginary society. He wants existing society, but without its abuses. In this he occupies the same position as Proudhon. Like him, he wants to abolish the abuses which have arisen out of the development of commodity

production into capitalist production, by giving effect against them to the basic law of commodity production, precisely the law to whose operation these abuses are due. Like him, he wants to abolish the real consequences of the law of value by means of fantastic ones.

Our modern Don Quixote, seated on his noble Rosinante, the "universal principle of justice" [D. C. 282], and followed by his valiant Sancho Panza, Abraham Enss,[a] sets out proudly on his knight errantry to win Mambrin's helmet, the "value of labour"; but we fear, fear greatly, he will bring home nothing but the old familiar barber's basin.[b]

## V. STATE, FAMILY, EDUCATION

With the two last chapters we have about exhausted the economic content of Herr Dühring's "new socialitarian system" [D. Ph. 295]. The only point we might add is that his "universal range of historical survey" [D. K. G. 2] does not in the least prevent him from safeguarding his own special interests, even apart from the moderate surplus consumption referred to above. As the old division of labour continues to exist in the socialitarian system, the economic commune will have to reckon not only with architects and porters [500], but also with professional writers, and the question will then arise how authors' rights are to be dealt with. This question is one which occupies Herr Dühring's attention more than any other. Everywhere, for example, in connection with Louis Blanc and Proudhon [D. C. 302; D. K. G. 482-83], the reader stumbles across the question of authors' rights, until it is finally brought safely into the haven of "sociality", after a circumstantial discussion occupying nine full pages of the *Cursus,* in the form of a mysterious "remuneration of labour" [D. C. 307]—whether with or without moderate surplus consumption, is not stated. A chapter on the position of fleas in the natural system of society would have been just as appropriate and in any case far less tedious.

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[a] Engels refers to the lampoon: A. Enss, *Engels Attentat auf den gesunden Menschenverstand oder Der wissenschaftliche Bankerott im Marxistischen Sozialismus. Ein offener Brief an meine Freunde in Berlin.—Ed.*

[b] M. Cervantes de Saavedra, *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha,* Part I, Chapter XXI.—*Ed.*

The *Philosophie* gives detailed prescriptions for the organisation of the state of the future. Here Rousseau, although "the sole important forerunner" [D. Ph. 264] of Herr Dühring, nevertheless did not lay the foundations deep enough; his more profound successor puts this right by completely watering down Rousseau and mixing in remnants of the Hegelian philosophy of right, also reduced to a watery mess.[a] "The sovereignty of the individual" [268] forms the basis of the Dühringian state of the future; it is not to be suppressed by the rule of the majority, but to find its real culmination in it. How does this work? Very simply.

"If one presupposes agreements between each individual and every other individual in all directions, and if the object of these agreements is mutual aid against unjust offences—then the power required for the maintenance of right is only strengthened, and right is not deduced from the more superior strength of the many against the individual or of the majority against the minority" [268].

Such is the ease with which the living force of the hocus-pocus of the philosophy of reality surmounts the most impassable obstacles; and if the reader thinks that after that he is no wiser than he was before, Herr Dühring replies that he really must not think it is such a simple matter, for

"the *slightest error* in the conception of the role of the collective will would *destroy* the sovereignty of the individual, and this sovereignty is the only thing" (!) "conducive to the deduction of real rights" [268].

Herr Dühring treats his public as it deserves, when he makes game of it. He could have laid it on much thicker; the students of the philosophy of reality would not have noticed it anyhow.

Now the sovereignty of the individual consists essentially in that

"the individual is *subject to absolute compulsion* by the state"; this compulsion, however, can only be justified in so far as it "really serves natural justice" [271]. With this end in view there will be "legislative and judicial authority", which, however, "must remain in the hands of the community" [272]; and there will also be an alliance for defence, which will find expression in "joint action in the army or in an executive section for the maintenance of internal security" [273],

that is to say, there will also be army, police, gendarmerie. Herr Dühring has many times already shown that he is a good Prussian; here he proves himself a peer of that model Prussian, who, as the late Minister von Rochow put it, "carries his gendarme in his breast". This gendarmerie of the future, however, will not be so dangerous as the police thugs[125] of the present day. Whatever the

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[a] See this volume, p. 134.— *Ed.*

sovereign individual may suffer at their hands, he will always have *one consolation*:

"the right or wrong which, according to the circumstances, may then be dealt to him by free society can never be *any worse* than that which the *state of nature* would have brought with it" [D. Ph. 274]!

And then, after Herr Dühring has once more tripped us up on those authors' rights of his which are always getting in the way, he assures us that in his world of the future

there will be, "of course, an absolutely free Bar available to all" [279].

"The free society, as it is conceived today" [304], gets steadily more and more mixed. Architects, porters, professional writers, gendarmes, and now also barristers! This "world of sober and critical thought" [D. C. 556-57] and the various heavenly kingdoms of the different religions, in which the believer always finds in transfigured form the things which have sweetened his earthly existence, are as like as two peas. And Herr Dühring is a citizen of the state where "everyone can be happy in his own way".[126] What more do we want?

But it does not matter what we want. What matters is what Herr Dühring wants. And he differs from Frederick II in this, that in the Dühringian future state certainly not everyone will be able to be happy in his own way. The constitution of this future state provides:

"In the free society there can be no religious worship; *for* every member of it has got beyond the primitive childish superstition that there are beings, behind nature or above it, who can be influenced by sacrifices or prayers" [D. Ph. 285]. A "socialitarian system, rightly conceived, *has* therefore ... *to abolish* all the paraphernalia of religious magic, and therewith all the essential elements of religious worship" [D. C. 345].

Religion is being prohibited.

All religion, however, is nothing but the fantastic reflection in men's minds of those external forces which control their daily life, a reflection in which the terrestrial forces assume the form of supernatural forces. In the beginnings of history it was the forces of nature which were first so reflected, and which in the course of further evolution underwent the most manifold and varied personifications among the various peoples. This early process has been traced back by comparative mythology, at least in the case of the Indo-European peoples, to its origin in the Indian Vedas, and in its further evolution it has been demonstrated in detail among the Indians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Germans and, so far as

material is available, also among the Celts, Lithuanians and Slavs. But it is not long before, side by side with the forces of nature, social forces begin to be active—forces which confront man as equally alien and at first equally inexplicable, dominating him with the same apparent natural necessity as the forces of nature themselves. The fantastic figures, which at first only reflected the mysterious forces of nature, at this point acquire social attributes, become representatives of the forces of history.* At a still further stage of evolution, all the natural and social attributes of the numerous gods are transferred to *one* almighty god, who is but a reflection of the abstract man. Such was the origin of monotheism, which was historically the last product of the vulgarised philosophy of the later Greeks and found its incarnation in the exclusively national god of the Jews, Jehovah. In this convenient, handy and universally adaptable form, religion can continue to exist as the immediate, that is, the sentimental form of men's relation to the alien, natural and social, forces which dominate them, so long as men remain under the control of these forces. However, we have seen repeatedly that in existing bourgeois society men are dominated by the economic conditions created by themselves, by the means of production which they themselves have produced, as if by an alien force. The actual basis of the religious reflective activity therefore continues to exist, and with it the religious reflection itself. And although bourgeois political economy has given a certain insight into the causal connection of this alien domination, this makes no essential difference. Bourgeois economics can neither prevent crises in general, nor protect the individual capitalists from losses, bad debts and bankruptcy, nor secure the individual workers against unemployment and destitution. It is still true that man proposes and God (that is, the alien domination of the capitalist mode of production) disposes. Mere knowledge, even if it went much further and deeper than that of bourgeois economic science, is not enough to bring social forces under the domination of society. What is above all necessary for this, is a social *act.* And when this act has been accomplished, when society, by taking possession of all means of production and using

* This twofold character assumed later on by the divinities was one of the causes of the subsequently widespread confusion of mythologies—a cause which comparative mythology has overlooked, as it pays attention exclusively to their character as reflections of the forces of nature. Thus in some Germanic tribes the war-god is called Tyr (Old Nordic) or Zio (Old High German) and so corresponds to the Greek Zeus, Latin Jupiter for Diespiter; in other Germanic tribes, Er, Eor, corresponds therefore to the Greek Ares, Latin Mars.

them on a planned basis, has freed itself and all its members from the bondage in which they are now held by these means of production which they themselves have produced but which confront them as an irresistible alien force; when therefore man no longer merely proposes, but also disposes—only then will the last alien force which is still reflected in religion vanish; and with it will also vanish the religious reflection itself, for the simple reason that then there will be nothing left to reflect.

Herr Dühring, however, cannot wait until religion dies this, its natural, death. He proceeds in more deep-rooted fashion. He out-Bismarcks Bismarck; he decrees sharper May laws[127] not merely against Catholicism, but against all religion whatsoever; he incites his gendarmes of the future against religion, and thereby helps it to martyrdom and a prolonged lease of life. Wherever we turn, we find specifically Prussian socialism.

After Herr Dühring has thus happily destroyed religion,

> "man, made to rely solely on himself and nature, and matured in the knowledge of his collective powers, can intrepidly enter on all the roads which the course of events and his own being open to him" [D. Ph. 407].

Let us now consider for a change what "course of events" the man made to rely on himself can intrepidly enter on, led by Herr Dühring.

The first course of events whereby man is made to rely on himself is: being born. Then,

> for the period of natural minority, he remains committed to the "natural tutor of children", his mother. "This period may last, as in ancient Roman law, until puberty, that is to say, until about the fourteenth year." Only when badly brought up older boys do not pay proper respect to their mother's authority will recourse be had to paternal assistance, and particularly to the public educational regulations, to remedy this. At puberty the child becomes subject to "the natural guardianship of his father", if there is such a one "of real and uncontested paternity" [293, 294]; otherwise the community appoints a guardian.

Just as Herr Dühring at an earlier point imagined that the capitalist mode of production could be replaced by the social without transforming production itself, so now he fancies that the modern bourgeois family can be torn from its whole economic foundations without changing its entire form. To him, this form is so immutable that he even makes "ancient Roman law" [293], though in a somewhat "ennobled" form, govern the family for all time; and he can conceive a family only as a "bequeathing" [D. C. 291], which means a possessing, unit. Here the utopians are far in advance of Herr Dühring. They considered that the socialisation of youth education and, with this, real

freedom in the mutual relations between members of a family, would directly follow from the free association of men and the transformation of private domestic work into a public industry. Moreover, Marx has already shown (*Capital*, [Vol. I,] p. 515 *et seqq.*) that "modern industry, by assigning as it does an important part in the socially organised process of production, outside the domestic sphere, to women, to young persons, and to children of both sexes, creates a new economic foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relations between the sexes".[a]

"Every dreamer of social reforms," says Herr Dühring, "naturally has ready a pedagogy corresponding to his new social life" [D. K. G. 295].

If we are to judge by this thesis, Herr Dühring is "a veritable monster" [261] among the dreamers of social reforms. For the school of the future occupies his attention at the very least as much as the author's rights, and this is really saying a great deal. He has his curricula for school and university all ready and complete, not only for the whole "foreseeable future" [D. Ph. 1] but also for the transition period. But we will confine ourselves to what will be taught to the young people of both sexes in the final and ultimate socialitarian system.

The universal people's school will provide

"everything which by itself and in principle can have any attraction for man", and therefore in particular the "foundations and main conclusions of all sciences touching on the understanding of the world and of life" [284]. In the first place, therefore, it teaches mathematics, and indeed to such effect that the field of all fundamental concepts and methods, from simple numeration and addition to the integral calculus, is "completely compassed" [418].

But this does not mean that in this school anyone will really differentiate or integrate. On the contrary. What is to be taught there will be, rather, entirely new elements of general mathematics, which contain in embryo both ordinary elementary and higher mathematics. And although Herr Dühring asserts that

he already has in his mind "schematically, in their main outlines", "the contents of the textbooks" [415] which the school of the future will use,

he has unfortunately not as yet succeeded in discovering these

"elements of general mathematics";

and what he cannot achieve

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[a] K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, p. 516. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part IV, Chapter XV, Section 9.—*Ed.*

"can only really be expected from the free and enhanced forces of the new social order" [D. Ph. 418].

But if the grapes of the mathematics of the future are still very sour, future astronomy, mechanics and physics will present all the less difficulty and will

"provide the kernel of all schooling", while "the science of plants and animals, which, in spite of all theories, is mainly of a descriptive character" will serve "rather as topics for light conversation" [416-17].

There it is, in black and white, in the *Philosophie*, page 417. Even to the present day Herr Dühring knows no other botany and zoology than those which are mainly descriptive. The whole of organic morphology, which embraces the comparative anatomy, embryology, and palaeontology of the organic world, is entirely unknown to him even by name. While in the sphere of biology totally new sciences are springing up, almost by the dozen, behind his back, his puerile spirit still goes to Raff's *Naturgeschichte für Kinder* for "the eminently modern educative elements provided by the natural-scientific mode of thought" [D. K.G. 504], and this constitution of the organic world he decrees likewise for the whole "foreseeable future". Here, too, as is his wont, he entirely forgets chemistry.

As for the aesthetic side of education, Herr Dühring will have to fashion it all anew. The poetry of the past is worthless for this purpose. Where all religion is prohibited, it goes without saying that the "mythological or other religious trimmings" characteristic of poets up to now cannot be tolerated in this school. "Poetic mysticism", too, "such as, for example, Goethe practised so extensively", is to be condemned. Herr Dühring will therefore have to make up his mind to produce for us those poetic masterpieces which "are in accord with the higher claims of an imagination reconciled with reason", and represent the genuine ideal, which "denotes the consummation of the world" [D. Ph. 423]. Let him not tarry with it! The economic commune can achieve its conquest of the world only when it moves along at the Alexandrine double, reconciled with reason.

The adolescent citizen of the future will not be much troubled with philology.

"The dead languages will be entirely discarded ... the foreign living languages, however, ... will remain of secondary importance." Only where intercourse between nations extends to the movement of the masses of the peoples themselves would these languages be made accessible, according to needs and in an easy form. "Really educative study of language" will be provided by a kind of general

grammar, and particularly by study of the "substance and form of one's own language" [426-27].

The national narrow-mindedness of modern man is still much too cosmopolitan for Herr Dühring. He wants also to do away with the two levers which in the world as it is today give at least the opportunity of rising above the narrow national standpoint: knowledge of the ancient languages, which opens a wider common horizon at least to those people of various nationalities who have had a classical education; and knowledge of modern languages, through the medium of which alone the people of different nations can make themselves understood by one another and acquaint themselves with what is happening beyond their own borders. On the contrary, the grammar of the mother tongue is to be thoroughly drilled in. "Substance and form of one's own language", however, become intelligible only when its origin and gradual evolution are traced, and this cannot be done without taking into account, first, its own extinct forms, and secondly, cognate languages, both living and dead. But this brings us back again to territory which has been expressly forbidden. If Herr Dühring strikes out of his curriculum all modern historical grammar, there is nothing left for his language studies but the old-fashioned technical grammar, cut to the old classical philological pattern, with all its casuistry and arbitrariness, based on the lack of any historical basis. His hatred of the old philology makes him elevate the very worst product of the old philology to "the central point of the really educative study of language" [427]. It is clear that we have before us a linguist who has never heard a word of the tremendous and successful development of the historical science of language which took place during the last sixty years, and who therefore seeks "the eminently modern educative elements" [D. K. G. 504] of linguistics, not in Bopp, Grimm and Diez, but in Heyse and Becker of blessed memory.

But all this would still fall far short of making the young citizen of the future "rely on himself". To achieve this, it is necessary here again to lay a deeper foundation, by means of

"the assimilation of the latest philosophical principles". "Such a deepening of the foundation, however, will not be ... at all a gigantic task", now that Herr Dühring has cleared the path. In fact, "if one purges of the spurious, scholastic excrescences those few strictly scientific truths of which the general schematics of being can boast, and determines to admit as valid only the reality authenticated" by Herr Dühring, elementary philosophy becomes perfectly accessible also to the youth of the future. "Recall to your mind the *extremely simple* methods by which we helped

forward the concepts of infinity and their critique to a hitherto unknown import"—and then "you will not be able to see at all why the elements of the universal conception of space and time, which have been given such simple form by the deepening and sharpening now effected, should not eventually pass into the ranks of the elementary studies... The most deep-rooted ideas" of Herr Dühring "should play no secondary role in the universal educational scheme of the new society" [D. Ph. 427-28]. The self-equal state of matter and the counted uncountable are on the contrary destined "not merely to put man on his own feet but also to make him realise of himself that he *has the so-called absolute underfoot*".

The people's school of the future, as one can see, is nothing but a somewhat "ennobled" Prussian grammar school in which Greek and Latin are replaced by a little more pure and applied mathematics and in particular by the elements of the philosophy of reality, and the teaching of German is brought back to Becker, of blessed memory, that is, down to about a fourth-form level. And in fact, now that we have demonstrated Herr Dühring's mere schoolboy "knowledge" in all the spheres on which he has touched, the reader will "not be able to see at all" why it, or rather, such of it as is left after our preliminary thorough "purging", should not all and sundry "eventually pass into the ranks of the elementary studies"—inasmuch as in reality it has never left these ranks. True, Herr Dühring has heard something about the combination of work and instruction in socialist society, which is to ensure an all-round technical education as well as a practical foundation for scientific training; and this point, too, is therefore brought in, in his usual way, to help the socialitarian scheme [284, 414]. But because, as we have seen, the old division of labour, in its essentials, is to remain undisturbed in the Dühringian production of the future, this technical training at school is deprived of any practical application later on, or any significance for production itself; it has a purpose only within the school: it is to replace gymnastics, which our deep-rooted revolutioniser wants to ignore altogether. He can therefore offer us only a few phrases, as for example,

"young and old will work, in the serious sense of the word" [D. C. 328].

This spineless and meaningless ranting is really pitiful when one compares it with the passage in *Capital,* pages 508 to 515, in which Marx develops the thesis that "from the Factory system budded, as Robert Owen has shown us in detail, the germ of the education of the future, an education that will, in the case of every child over a given age, combine productive labour with instruction and gymnastics, not only as one of the methods of adding to the

efficiency of production, but as the only method of producing fully developed human beings".[a]

We must skip the university of the future, in which the philosophy of reality will be the kernel of all knowledge, and where, alongside the Faculty of Medicine, the Faculty of Law will continue in full bloom; we must also omit the "special training institutions", about which all we learn is that they will be only "for a few subjects". Let us assume that the young citizen of the future has passed all his educational courses and has at last been "made to rely upon himself" sufficiently to be able to look about for a wife. What is the course of events which Herr Dühring offers him in this sphere?

"In view of the importance of propagation for the conservation, elimination, blending, and even new creative development of qualities, the ultimate roots of the human and unhuman must to a great extent be sought in sexual union and selection, and furthermore in the care taken for or against the ensuring of certain birth results. We must leave it practically to a later epoch to judge the brutality and stupidity now rife in this sphere. Nevertheless we must at least make clear from the outset, even in spite of the weight of prejudice, that far more important than the number of births is surely whether nature or human circumspection succeeded or failed in regard to their quality. It is true that at all times and under all legal systems monstrosities have been destroyed; but there is a wide range of degrees between the normal human being and deformities which lack all resemblance to the human being... It is obviously an advantage to prevent the birth of a human being who would only be a defective creature" [D. Ph. 246].

Another passage runs:

Philosophic thought can find no difficulty ... in comprehending the right of the unborn world to the best possible composition... Conception and, if need be, also birth offer the opportunity for preventive, or in exceptional cases selective, care in this connection" [395-96].

Again:

"Grecian art—the idealisation of man in marble—will not be able to retain its historical importance when the less artistic, and therefore, from the standpoint of the fate of the millions, far more important task of perfecting the human form in flesh and blood is taken in hand. This form of art does not merely deal with stone, and its aesthetics is not concerned with the contemplation of dead forms" [256]—and so on.

Our budding citizen of the future is brought to earth again. Even without Herr Dühring's help he certainly knew that marriage is not an art which merely deals with stone, or even with the

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[a] K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, p. 509. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part IV, Chapter XV, Section 9.—*Ed.*

contemplation of dead forms; but after all, Herr Dühring had promised him that he would be able to strike out along all roads which the course of events and his own nature opened to him, in order to discover a sympathetic female heart together with the body belonging to it. Nothing of the kind—the "deeper and stricter morality" [D. Ph. 396] thunders at him. The first thing that he must do is to cast off the brutality and stupidity now rife in the sphere of sexual union and selection, and bear in mind the right of the new-born world to the best possible composition. At this solemn moment it is to him a matter of perfecting the human form in flesh and blood, of becoming a Phidias, so to speak, in flesh and blood. How is he to set about it? Herr Dühring's mysterious utterances quoted above give him not the slightest indication, although Herr Dühring himself says it is an "art". Has Herr Dühring perhaps "in his mind's eye, schematically", a textbook also on this subject—of the kind of which, in sealed wrappers, German bookshops are now so full? Indeed, we are no longer in socialitarian society, but rather in the *Magic Flute*[128]—the only difference being that Sarastro, the stout Masonic priest, would hardly rank as a "priest of the second order" [460] in comparison with our deeper and stricter moralist. The tests to which Sarastro put his couple of love's adepts are mere child's play compared with the terrifying examination through which Herr Dühring puts his two sovereign individuals before he permits them to enter the state of "free and ethical marriage" [296]. And so it may happen that our "made-to-be-self-reliant" Tamino of the future may indeed have the so-called absolute underfoot, but one of his feet may be a couple of rungs short of what it should be, so that evil tongues call him a club-foot. It is also within the realm of the possible that his best-beloved Pamina of the future does not hold herself quite straight on the above-said absolute, owing to a slight deviation in the direction of her right shoulder which jealous tongues might even call a little hump. What then? Will our deeper and stricter Sarastro forbid them to practise the art of perfecting humanity, in flesh and blood; will he exercise his "preventive care" at "conception", or his "selective care" at "birth" [396]? Ten to one, things will happen otherwise; the pair of lovers will leave Sarastro-Dühring where he stands and go off to the registry office.

Hold on there! Herr Dühring cries. This is not at all what was meant. Give me a chance to explain!

If the "higher, genuinely human motives of wholesome sexual unions ... the humanly ennobled form of sexual excitement, which in its intense manifestation is

*passionate love,* when reciprocated is the best guarantee of a union which will be acceptable also in its result... it is only an effect of the second order that from a relation which in itself is harmonious a symphoniously composed product should result. From this in turn it follows that any compulsion must have harmful effects" [247]—and so on.

And thus all ends the very best way in the best of all possible socialitarian worlds: club-foot and hunchback love each other passionately, and therefore in their reciprocal relation offer the best guarantee for a harmonious "effect of the second order"; it is all just like a novel—they love each other, they get each other, and all the deeper and stricter morality [396] turns out as usual to be harmonious twaddle.

Herr Dühring's noble ideas about the female sex in general can be gathered from the following indictment of existing society:

"In a society of oppression based on the sale of human being to human being, prostitution is accepted as the natural complement of compulsory marriage ties in the men's favour, and it is one of the most comprehensible but also *most significant* facts *that nothing of the kind is possible for the women*" [291-92].

I would not care, for anything in the world, to have the thanks which might accrue to Herr Dühring from the women for this compliment. But has Herr Dühring really never heard of the form of income known as a petticoat-pension [*Schürzenstipendien*], which is now no longer quite an exceptional thing? Herr Dühring himself was once a referendary[129] and he lives in Berlin, where even in my day, thirty-six years ago, to say nothing of lieutenants *Referendarius* was used often enough to rhyme with *Schürzenstipendarius*!

* * *

May the reader permit us to take leave of our subject, which has often been dry and gloomy enough, on a note of facetiousness and reconciliation. So long as we had to deal with the separate issues raised, our judgment was bound by the objective, incontrovertible facts, and on the basis of these facts it was often enough necessarily sharp and even hard. Now when philosophy, economics and socialitarian system all lie behind us; when we have before us the picture of the author as a whole, which we had previously to judge in detail—now human considerations can come into the foreground; at this point we shall be permitted to trace back to personal causes many otherwise incomprehensible scientific errors and conceits, and to sum up our verdict against Herr Dühring in the words: *mental incompetence due to megalomania.*

Frederick Engels

# DIALECTICS OF NATURE [130]

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# [PLAN OUTLINES]

## [OUTLINE OF THE GENERAL PLAN][131]

(1) Historical introduction: the metaphysical conception has become impossible in natural science owing to the very development of the latter.[a]

(2) Course of the theoretical development in Germany since Hegel (old preface).[b] The return to dialectics takes place unconsciously, hence contradictorily and slowly.

(3) Dialectics as the science of universal inter-connection. Main laws: transformation of quantity and quality—mutual penetration of polar opposites and transformation into each other when carried to extremes—development through contradiction or negation of the negation—spiral form of development.

(4) The inter-connection of the sciences. Mathematics, mechanics, physics, chemistry, biology. St. Simon (Comte), and Hegel.

(5) Aperçus[c] on the separate sciences and their dialectical content:

1. Mathematics: dialectical aids and expressions.—Mathematical infinite really occurring.
2. Celestial mechanics—now resolved into a *process*.—Mechanics: point of departure was inertia, which is only the negative expression of the indestructibility of motion.
3. Physics—transitions of molecular motions into one another. Clausius and Loschmidt.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 318-35.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 336-44.—*Ed.*
[c] Reflections, remarks.—*Ed.*

4. Chemistry: theories, energy.
5. Biology. Darwinism. Necessity and chance.

(6) The limits of knowledge. Du Bois-Reymond[a] and Nägeli.[b]—Helmholtz, Kant, Hume.

(7) The mechanical theory. Haeckel.[c]

(8) The plastidule soul—Haeckel and Nägeli.[132]

(9) Science and teaching—Virchow.[133]

(10) The cell state—Virchow.[134]

(11) Darwinian politics and theory of society—Haeckel and Schmidt.[135]—Differentiation of man through *labour* [Arbeit].[d]—Application of economics to natural science. Helmholtz's *"work"* [Arbeit] (*Populäre Vorträge*, II).[136]

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[a] E. Du Bois-Reymond, *Über die Grenzen des Naturerkennens....— Ed.*

[b] C. Nägeli, "Die Schranken der naturwissenschaftlichen Erkenntniss", In: *Tageblatt der 50. Versammlung deutscher Naturforscher und Aerzte in München 1877.* Beilage. Zweite allgemeine Sitzung am 20. September 1877.— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 530-34.— *Ed.*

[d] Ibid., pp. 452-64.— *Ed.*

Outline of the general plan of *Dialectics of Nature*

# [OUTLINE OF THE PART PLAN][137]

(1) Motion in general.
(2) Attraction and repulsion. Transference of motion.
(3) [Law of the] conservation of energy applied to this. Repulsion + attraction.—Addition of repulsion = energy.
(4) Gravitation—heavenly bodies—terrestrial mechanics.
(5) Physics. Heat. Electricity.
(6) Chemistry.
(7) Summary.
(*a*) Before 4: Mathematics. Infinite line. + and − are equal.
(*b*) In astronomy: performance of work by the tides.
Double calculation in Helmholtz, II, [p.] 120.[a]
"Forces" in Helmholtz, II, [p.] 190.[b]

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[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 373-77.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 372-74.—*Ed.*

# [ARTICLES AND CHAPTERS]

## INTRODUCTION [138]

Modern research into nature, which alone has achieved a scientific, systematic, all-round development, in contrast to the brilliant natural-philosophical intuitions of antiquity and the extremely important but sporadic discoveries of the Arabs, which for the most part vanished without results—this modern research into nature dates, like all more recent history, from that mighty epoch which we Germans term the Reformation, from the national misfortune that overtook us at that time, and which the French term the Renaissance and the Italians the *Cinquecento,*[a] although it is not fully expressed by any of these names. It is the epoch which had its rise in the latter half of the fifteenth century. Royalty, with the support of the burghers of the towns, broke the power of the feudal nobility and established the great monarchies, based essentially on nationality, within which the modern European nations and modern bourgeois society came to development. And while the burghers and nobles were still fighting one another, the German Peasant War pointed prophetically to future class struggles, by bringing on to the stage not only the peasants in revolt—that was no longer anything new—but behind them the beginnings of the modern proletariat, with the red flag in their hands and the demand for common ownership of goods on their lips. In the manuscripts saved from the fall of Byzantium, in the antique statues dug out of the ruins of Rome, a new world was revealed to the astonished West, that of ancient Greece; the ghosts of the Middle Ages vanished before its shining forms; Italy rose to

[a] Short for *milcinquecento,* 1500, used for the period A.D. 1500-1599.—*Ed.*

an undreamt-of flowering of art, which was like a reflection of classical antiquity and was never attained again. In Italy, France, and Germany a new literature arose, the first modern literature; shortly afterwards came the classical epochs of English and Spanish literature. The bounds of the old *orbis terrarum*[a] were pierced, only now for the first time was the world really discovered and the basis laid for subsequent world trade and the transition from handicraft to manufacture, which in its turn formed the starting-point for modern large-scale industry. The dictatorship of the Church over men's minds was shattered; it was directly cast off by the majority of the Germanic peoples, who adopted Protestantism, while among the Latins a cheerful spirit of free thought, taken over from the Arabs and nourished by the newly-discovered Greek philosophy, took root more and more and prepared the way for the materialism of the eighteenth century.

It was the greatest progressive revolution that mankind had so far experienced, a time which called for giants and produced giants—giants in power of thought, passion and character, in universality and learning. The men who founded the modern rule of the bourgeoisie had anything but bourgeois limitations. On the contrary, the adventurous character of the time inspired them to a greater or lesser degree. There was hardly any man of importance then living who had not travelled extensively, who did not speak four or five languages, who did not shine in a number of fields. Leonardo da Vinci was not only a great painter but also a great mathematician, mechanician, and engineer, to whom the most diverse branches of physics are indebted for important discoveries. Albrecht Dürer was painter, engraver, sculptor, and architect, and in addition invented a system of fortification embodying many of the ideas that much later were again taken up by Montalembert and the modern German science of fortification. Machiavelli was statesman, historian, poet, and at the same time the first notable military author of modern times. Luther not only cleaned the Augean stable of the Church but also that of the German language; he created modern German prose[139] and composed the text and melody of that triumphal hymn imbued with confidence in victory which became the Marseillaise of the sixteenth century.[140] The heroes of that time were not yet in thrall to the division of labour, the restricting effects of which, with its production of one-sidedness, we so often notice in their successors. But what is especially characteristic of them is that they almost all

[a] *Orbis terrarum*—the circle of lands, the whole world.—*Ed.*

live and pursue their activities in the midst of the contemporary movements, in the practical struggle; they take sides and join in the fight, one by speaking and writing, another with the sword, many with both. Hence the fullness and force of character that makes them complete men. Men of the study are the exception—either persons of second or third rank or cautious philistines who do not want to burn their fingers.

At that time natural science also developed in the midst of the general revolution and was itself thoroughly revolutionary; it had indeed to win in struggle its right of existence. Side by side with the great Italians from whom modern philosophy dates, it provided its martyrs for the stake and the dungeons of the Inquisition. And it is characteristic that Protestants outdid Catholics in persecuting the free investigation of nature. Calvin had Servetus burnt at the stake when the latter was on the point of discovering the circulation of the blood, and indeed he kept him roasting alive during two hours; for the Inquisition at least it sufficed to have Giordano Bruno simply burnt alive.

The revolutionary act by which natural science declared its independence and, as it were, repeated Luther's burning of the Papal Bull[141] was the publication of the immortal work by which Copernicus, though timidly and, so to speak, only from his death-bed, threw down the gauntlet to ecclesiastical authority in the affairs of nature.[142] The emancipation of natural science from theology dates from this, although the fighting out of particular mutual claims has dragged on down to our day and in many minds is still far from completion. Thenceforward, however, the development of the sciences proceeded with giant strides, and, it might be said, gained in force in proportion to the square of the distance (in time) from its point of departure. It was as if the world were to be shown that henceforth for the highest product of organic matter, the human mind, the law of motion holds good that is the reverse of that for inorganic matter.

The main work in the first period of natural science that now opened lay in mastering the material immediately at hand. In most fields a start had to be made from the very beginning. Antiquity had bequeathed Euclid and the Ptolemaic solar system; the Arabs had left behind the decimal notation, the beginnings of algebra, the modern numerals, and alchemy; the Christian Middle Ages nothing at all. Of necessity, in this situation the most fundamental natural science, the mechanics of terrestrial and heavenly bodies, occupied first place, and alongside of it, as handmaiden to it, the discovery and perfecting of mathematical methods. Great things

were achieved here. At the end of the period characterised by Newton and Linnaeus we find these branches of science brought to a certain perfection. The basic features of the most essential mathematical methods were established; analytical geometry by Descartes especially, logarithms by Napier,[143] and the differential and integral calculus by Leibniz and perhaps Newton. The same holds good of the mechanics of rigid bodies, the main laws of which were made clear once for all. Finally in the astronomy of the solar system Kepler discovered the laws of planetary movement and Newton formulated them from the point of view of the general laws of motion of matter. The other branches of natural science were far removed even from this preliminary perfection. Only towards the end of the period did the mechanics of fluid and gaseous bodies receive further treatment.* Physics had still not gone beyond its first beginnings, with the exception of optics, the exceptional progress of which was due to the practical needs of astronomy. By the phlogistic theory,[a] chemistry for the first time emancipated itself from alchemy. Geology had not yet gone beyond the embryonic stage of mineralogy; hence palaeontology could not yet exist at all. Finally, in the field of biology the essential pre-occupation was still with the collection and first sifting of the immense material, not only botanical and zoological but also anatomical and properly physiological. There could as yet be hardly any talk of the comparison of the various forms of life, of the investigation of their geographical distribution and their climatic, etc., conditions of existence. Here only botany and zoology arrived at an approximate completion owing to Linnaeus.

But what especially characterises this period is the elaboration of a peculiar general outlook, the central point of which is the view *of the absolute immutability of nature.* In whatever way nature itself might have come into being, once present it remained as it was as long as it continued to exist. The planets and their satellites, once set in motion by the mysterious "first impulse", circled on and on in their predestined ellipses for all eternity, or at any rate until the end of all things. The stars remained for ever fixed and immovable in their places, keeping one another therein by "universal gravitation". The earth had remained the same without alteration from all eternity or, alternatively, from the first day of its creation. The "five continents" of the present day had always

* Torricelli in connection with the control of alpine rivers. [Marginal note.]

[a] See this volume, p. 344.—*Ed.*

existed, and they had always had the same mountains, valleys, and rivers, the same climate, and the same flora and fauna, except in so far as change or transplantation had taken place at the hand of man. The species of plants and animals had been established once for all when they came into existence; like continually produced like, and it was already a good deal for Linnaeus to have conceded that possibly here and there new species could have arisen by crossing. In contrast to the history of mankind, which develops in time, there was ascribed to the history of nature only an unfolding in space. All change, all development in nature, was denied. Natural science, so revolutionary at the outset, suddenly found itself confronted by an out-and-out conservative nature, in which even today everything was as it had been from the beginning and in which—to the end of the world or for all eternity—everything would remain as it had been since the beginning.

High as the natural science of the first half of the eighteenth century stood above Greek antiquity in knowledge and even in the sifting of its material, it stood just as deeply below Greek antiquity in the theoretical mastery of this material, in the general outlook on nature. For the Greek philosophers the world was essentially something that had emerged from chaos, something that had developed, that had come into being. For the natural scientists of the period that we are dealing with it was something ossified, something immutable, and for most of them something that had been created at one stroke. Science was still deeply enmeshed in theology. Everywhere it sought and found the ultimate cause in an impulse from outside that was not to be explained from nature itself. Even if attraction, by Newton pompously baptised as "universal gravitation", was conceived as an essential property of matter, whence comes the unexplained tangential force which first gives rise to the orbits of the planets? How did the innumerable species of plants and animals arise? And how, above all, did man arise, since after all it was certain that he was not present from all eternity? To such questions natural science only too frequently answered by making the creator of all things responsible. Copernicus, at the beginning of the period, shows theology the door; Newton closes the period with the postulate of a divine first impulse. The highest general idea to which this natural science attained was that of the purposiveness of the arrangements of nature, the shallow teleology of Wolff,[a] according to which cats were created to eat mice, mice to be eaten by cats, and the whole

[a] Christian Wolff.— *Ed.*

of nature to testify to the wisdom of the creator. It is to the highest credit of the philosophy of the time that it did not let itself be led astray by the restricted state of contemporary natural knowledge, and that—from Spinoza down to the great French materialists—it insisted on explaining the world from the world itself and left the justification in detail to the natural sciences of the future.

I include the materialists of the eighteenth century in this period because no natural-scientific material was available to them other than that above described. Kant's epoch-making work remained a secret to them, and Laplace came long after them.[144] We should not forget that this obsolete outlook on nature, although riddled through and through by the progress of science, dominated the entire first half of the nineteenth century,* and in substance is even now still taught in all schools.**

The first breach in this petrified outlook on nature was made not by a natural scientist but by a philosopher. In 1755 appeared Kant's *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte und Theorie des Himmels.* The question of the first impulse was done away with; the earth and the whole solar system appeared as something that had *come into being* in the course of time. If the great majority of the natural scientists had had a little less of the repugnance to thinking that Newton expressed in the warning: Physics, beware of metaphysics![145] they would have been compelled from this single brilliant discovery of Kant's to draw conclusions that would have spared them endless deviations and immeasurable amounts of time

* The rigidity of the old outlook on nature provided the basis for the general comprehension of all natural science as a single whole. The French encyclopaedists, still purely mechanically—alongside of one another; and then simultaneously St. Simon and German philosophy of nature, perfected by Hegel. [Marginal note.]

** How tenaciously even in 1861 this view could be held by a man whose scientific achievements had provided highly important material for abolishing it is shown by the following classic words:

"All [the arrangements of our solar system, so far as we are capable of comprehending them, aim at preservation of what exists and at unchanging continuance. Just as since the most ancient times no animal and no plant on the earth has become more perfect or in any way different, just as we find in all organisms only stages *alongside of* one another and not *following* one another, just as our own race has always remained the same in corporeal respects—so even the greatest diversity in the coexisting heavenly bodies does not justify us in assuming that these forms are merely different stages of development; it is rather that everything created is *equally* perfect] in itself." (Mädler, *Populäre Astronomie,* Berlin, 1861, 5th edition, p. 316).[a]

[a] J. H. Mädler, *Der Wunderbau des Weltalls, oder Populäre Astronomie.—Ed.*

and labour wasted in false directions. For Kant's discovery contained the point of departure for all further progress. If the earth was something that had come into being, then its present geological, geographical, and climatic state, and its plants and animals likewise, must be something that had come into being; it must have had a history not only of coexistence in space but also of succession in time. If at once further investigations had been resolutely pursued in this direction, natural science would now be considerably further advanced than it is. But what good could come of philosophy? Kant's work remained without immediate results, until many years later Laplace[a] and Herschel expounded its contents and gave them a deeper foundation, thereby gradually bringing the "nebular hypothesis" into favour.[146] Further discoveries finally brought it victory; the most important of these were: the discovery of proper motion of the fixed stars, the demonstration of a resistant medium in universal space, the proof furnished by spectral analysis of the chemical identity of the matter of the universe and of the existence of such glowing nebular masses as Kant had postulated.*

It is, however, permissible to doubt whether the majority of natural scientists would so soon have become conscious of the contradiction of a changing earth that bore immutable organisms, had not the dawning conception that nature does not just *exist,* but *comes into being* and *passes away,* derived support from another quarter. Geology arose and pointed out not only the terrestrial strata formed one after another and deposited one upon another, but also the shells and skeletons of extinct animals and the trunks, leaves, and fruits of no longer existing plants contained in these strata. The decision had to be taken to acknowledge that not only the earth as a whole but also its present surface and the plants and animals living on it possessed a history in time. At first the acknowledgement occurred reluctantly enough. Cuvier's theory of the revolutions of the earth was revolutionary in phrase and reactionary in substance. In place of a *single* divine creation, he put a whole series of repeated acts of creation, making the miracle an essential natural agent. Lyell first brought sense into geology by substituting for the sudden revolutions due to the moods of the

* Retardation of rotation by the tides, also from Kant, only now understood. [Marginal note.]

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[a] P. S. Laplace, *Exposition du systême du monde,* Vol. II.—*Ed.*

creator the gradual effects of a slow transformation of the earth.*

Lyell's theory[a] was even more incompatible than any of its predecessors with the assumption of constant organic species. Gradual transformation of the earth's surface and of all conditions of life led directly to gradual transformation of the organisms and their adaptation to the changing environment, to the mutability of species. But tradition is a power not only in the Catholic Church but also in natural science. For years, Lyell himself did not see the contradiction, and his pupils still less. This can only be explained by the division of labour that had meanwhile become dominant in natural science, which more or less restricted each person to his special sphere, there being only a few whom it did not rob of a comprehensive view.

Meanwhile physics had made mighty advances, the results of which were summed up almost simultaneously by three different persons in the year 1842, an epoch-making year for this branch of natural science. Mayer in Heilbronn[b] and Joule in Manchester[c] demonstrated the transformation of heat into mechanical force and of mechanical force into heat. The determination of the mechanical equivalent of heat put this result beyond question. Simultaneously, by simply working up the separate results of physics already arrived at, Grove[147]—not a natural scientist by profession, but an English lawyer—proved that all so-called physical forces, mechanical force, heat, light, electricity, magnetism, indeed even so-called chemical force, become transformed into one another under definite conditions without any loss of force occurring, and so proved additionally along physical lines Descartes' principle that the quantity of motion present in the world is constant. With that the special physical forces, the as it were immutable "species" of physics, were resolved into variously differentiated forms of the motion of matter, passing into one

* The defect of Lyell's view—at least in its first form—lay in conceiving the forces at work on the earth as constant, both in quality and quantity. The cooling of the earth does not exist for him; the earth does not develop in a definite direction but merely changes in an inconsequent fortuitous manner.

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[a] Ch. Lyell, *Principles of Geology, Being an Attempt to Explain the Former Changes of the Earth's Surface, by Reference to Causes Now in Operation*, Vols. 1-3.—*Ed.*

[b] J. R. Mayer, "Bemerkungen über die Kräfte der unbelebten Natur". In: *Annalen der Chemie und Pharmacie*, Bd. 42, S. 233-40.—*Ed.*

[c] J. P. Joule, "On the Calorific Effects of Magneto-electricity and the Mechanical Value of Heat". In: *Report of the 13th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Sciences; Held at Cork in August 1843.*—*Ed.*

another according to definite laws. The fortuitousness of the existence of such and such a number of physical forces was abolished from science by the proof of their inter-connections and transitions. Physics, like astronomy before it, had arrived at a result that necessarily pointed to the eternal cycle of matter in motion as the ultimate conclusion.

The wonderfully rapid development of chemistry, since Lavoisier and especially since Dalton, attacked the old ideas about nature from another aspect. The preparation by inorganic means of compounds that hitherto had been produced only in the living organism proved that the laws of chemistry have the same validity for organic as for inorganic bodies, and to a large extent bridged the gulf between inorganic and organic nature, a gulf that even Kant regarded as for ever impassable.

Finally, in the sphere of biological research also the scientific journeys and expeditions that had been systematically organised since the middle of the previous [i.e., 18th] century, the more thorough exploration of the European colonies in all parts of the world by specialists living there, and further the progress of palaeontology, anatomy, and physiology in general, particularly since the systematic use of the microscope and the discovery of the cell, had accumulated so much material that the application of the comparative method became possible and at the same time indispensable.* On the one hand the conditions of life of the various floras and faunas were established by means of comparative physical geography; on the other hand the various organisms were compared with one another according to their homologous organs, and this not only in the adult condition but at all stages of their development. The more deeply and exactly this research was carried on, the more did the rigid system of an immutably fixed organic nature crumble away at its touch. Not only did the separate species of plants and animals become more and more inextricably intermingled, but animals turned up, such as *Amphioxus* and *Lepidosiren,*[148] that made a mockery of all previous classification,** and finally organisms were encountered of which it was not possible to say whether they belonged to the plant or animal kingdom. More and more the gaps in the palaeontological record were filled up, compelling even the most reluctant to acknowledge the striking parallelism between the history of the development of the organic world as a whole and that of the

* Embryology. [Marginal note.]

** *Ceratodus.* Ditto *Archaeopteryx,* etc.[149] [Marginal note.]

individual organism, the Ariadne's thread that was to lead the way out of the labyrinth in which botany and zoology appeared to have become more and more deeply lost. It was characteristic that, almost simultaneously with Kant's attack on the eternity of the solar system, C. F. Wolff in 1759 launched the first attack on the fixity of species and proclaimed the theory of descent.[150] But what in his case was still only a brilliant anticipation took firm shape in the hands of Oken, Lamarck, Baer, and was victoriously carried through by Darwin in 1859, exactly a hundred years later.[a] Almost simultaneously it was established that protoplasm and the cell, which had already been shown to be the ultimate morphological constituents of all organisms, occurred independently, existing as the lowest forms of organic life. This not only reduced the gulf between inorganic and organic nature to a minimum but removed one of the most essential difficulties that had previously stood in the way of the theory of descent of organisms. The new outlook on nature was complete in its main features: all rigidity was dissolved, all fixity dissipated, all particularity that had been regarded as eternal became transient, the whole of nature was shown as moving in eternal flux and cyclical course.

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Thus we have once again returned to the mode of outlook of the great founders of Greek philosophy, the view that the whole of nature, from the smallest element to the greatest, from grains of sand to suns, from Protista[151] to man, has its existence in eternal coming into being and passing away, in ceaseless flux, in unresting motion and change. Only with the essential difference that what in the case of the Greeks was a brilliant intuition, is in our case the result of strictly scientific research in accordance with experience, and hence also it emerges in a much more definite and clear form. It is true that the empirical proof of this cyclical course is not wholly free from gaps, but these are insignificant in comparison with what has already been firmly established, and with each year they become more and more filled up. And how could the proof in detail be other than one containing gaps when one bears in mind that the most important branches of science—transplanetary astronomy, chemistry, geology—have a scientific existence of barely a century, and the comparative method in physiology, one of barely fifty years, and that the basic form of

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[a] Ch. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life.*—*Ed.*

almost all organic development, the cell, is a discovery not yet forty years old?[a]

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The innumerable suns and solar systems of our island universe, bounded by the outermost stellar rings of the Milky Way, developed by contraction and cooling from swirling, glowing masses of vapour, the laws of motion of which will perhaps be disclosed after the observations of some centuries have given us an insight into the proper motion of the stars. Obviously, this development did not proceed everywhere at the same rate. Astronomy is more and more being forced to recognise the existence of dark bodies, not merely planetary in nature, hence extinct suns in our stellar system (Mädler); on the other hand (according to Secchi) a part of the vaporous nebular patches belong to our stellar system as suns not yet fully formed, which does not exclude the possibility that other nebulae are, as Mädler maintains, distant independent island universes, the relative stage of development of which must be determined by the spectroscope.[152]

How a solar system develops from an individual nebular mass has been shown in detail by Laplace in a manner still unsurpassed; subsequent science has more and more confirmed him.

On the separate bodies so formed—suns as well as planets and satellites—the form of motion of matter at first prevailing is that which we call heat. There can be no question of chemical compounds of the elements even at a temperature like that still possessed by the sun; the extent to which heat is transformed into electricity or magnetism under such conditions, continued solar observations will show; it is already as good as proved that the mechanical motion taking place in the sun arises solely from the conflict of heat with gravity.

The smaller the individual bodies, the quicker they cool down, the satellites, asteroids, and meteors first of all, just as our moon has long been extinct. The planets cool more slowly, the central body slowest of all.

With progressive cooling the interplay of the physical forms of motion which become transformed into one another comes more and more to the forefront until finally a point is reached from

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[a] In Engels's manuscript, this paragraph is separated from the paragraphs which precede and follow it by horizontal lines, and is crossed out slantwise, as Engels usually did with the passages which he used in other works.—*Ed.*

when on chemical affinity begins to make itself felt, the previously chemically indifferent elements become differentiated chemically one after another, acquire chemical properties, and enter into combination with one another. These compounds change continually with the decreasing temperature, which affects differently not only each element but also each separate compound of the elements, changing also with the consequent passage of part of the gaseous matter first to the liquid and then the solid state, and with the new conditions thus created.

The time when the planet acquires a firm shell and accumulations of water on its surface coincides with that from when on its intrinsic heat diminishes more and more compared with the heat emitted to it from the central body. Its atmosphere becomes the arena of meteorological phenomena in the sense in which we now understand the term; its surface becomes the arena of geological changes in which the deposits resulting from atmospheric precipitation become of ever greater importance compared with the slowly decreasing external effects of the hot fluid interior.

If, finally, the temperature becomes so far equalised that over a considerable portion of the surface at least it no longer exceeds the limits within which protein is capable of life, then, if other chemical pre-conditions are favourable, living protoplasm is formed. What these preconditions are, we do not yet know, which is not to be wondered at since so far not even the chemical formula of protein has been established—we do not even know how many chemically different protein bodies there are—and since it is only about ten years ago that the fact became known that completely structureless protein exercises all the essential functions of life: digestion, excretion, movement, contraction, reaction to stimuli, and reproduction.

Thousands of years may have passed before the conditions arose in which the next advance could take place and this shapeless protein produce the first cell by formation of nucleus and cell membrane. But this first cell also provided the foundation for the morphological development of the whole organic world; the first to develop, as it is permissible to assume from the whole analogy of the palaeontological record, were innumerable species of non-cellular and cellular Protista, of which *Eozoon canadense*[153] alone has come down to us, and of which some were gradually differentiated into the first plants and others into the first animals. And from the first animals were developed, essentially by further differentiation, the numerous classes, orders, families, genera, and species of animals; and finally vertebrates, the form in which the

nervous system attains its fullest development; and among these again finally that vertebrate in which nature attains consciousness of itself—man.

Man, too, arises by differentiation. Not only individually—by development from a single egg-cell to the most complicated organism that nature produces—but also historically. When after thousands of years of struggle the differentiation of hand from foot, and erect gait, were finally established, man became distinct from the ape and the basis was laid for the development of articulate speech and the mighty development of the brain that has since made the gulf between man and the ape an unbridgeable one. The specialisation of the hand—this implies the *tool*, and the tool implies specific human activity, the transforming reaction of man on nature, production. Animals in the narrower sense also have tools, but only as limbs of their bodies: the ant, the bee, the beaver; animals also produce, but their productive effect on surrounding nature, in relation to nature, amounts to nothing at all. Man alone has succeeded in impressing his stamp on nature, not only by shifting plant and animal species from one place to another, but also by so altering the aspect and climate of his dwelling-place, and even the plants and animals themselves, that the consequences of his activity can disappear only with the general extinction of the terrestrial globe. And he has accomplished this primarily and essentially by means of the *hand.* Even the steam-engine, so far his most powerful tool for the transformation of nature, depends, because it is a tool, in the last resort on the hand. But step by step with the development of the hand went that of the brain; first of all came consciousness of the conditions for separate practically useful actions, and later, among the more favoured peoples and arising from that consciousness, insight into the natural laws governing them. And with the rapidly growing knowledge of the laws of nature the means for reacting on nature also grew; the hand alone would never have achieved the steam-engine if, along with and parallel to the hand, and partly owing to it, the brain of man had not correspondingly developed.

With man we enter *history.* Animals also have a history, that of their descent and gradual evolution to their present position. This history, however, is made for them, and in so far as they themselves take part in it, this occurs without their knowledge and desire. On the other hand, the more the human beings become removed from animals in the narrower sense of the word, the more they make their history themselves, consciously, the less becomes the influence of unforeseen effects and uncontrolled

forces on this history, and the more accurately does the historical result correspond to the aim laid down in advance. If, however, we apply this measure to human history, to that of even the most developed peoples of the present day, we find that there still exists here a colossal disproportion between the proposed aims and the results arrived at, that unforeseen effects predominate, and that the uncontrolled forces are far more powerful than those set into motion according to plan. And this cannot be otherwise as long as the most essential historical activity of men, the one which has raised them from the animal to the human state and which forms the material foundation of all their other activities, namely the production of their requirements of life, i.e., in our day social production, is above all subject to the interplay of unintended effects from uncontrolled forces and achieves its desired end only by way of exception, but much more frequently the exact opposite. In the most advanced industrial countries we have subdued the forces of nature and pressed them into the service of mankind; we have thereby infinitely multiplied production, so that a child now produces more than a hundred adults previously did. And what is the result? Increasing overwork and increasing misery of the masses, and every ten years a great collapse. Darwin did not know what a bitter satire he wrote on mankind, and especially on his countrymen, when he showed that free competition, the struggle for existence, which the economists celebrate as the highest historical achievement, is the normal state of the *animal kingdom.* Only conscious organisation of social production, in which production and distribution are carried on in a planned way, can lift mankind above the rest of the animal world as regards the social aspect, in the same way that production in general has done this for mankind in the specifically biological aspect. Historical development makes such an organisation daily more indispensable, but also with every day more possible. From it will date a new epoch of history, in which mankind itself, and with mankind all branches of its activity, and particularly natural science, will experience an advance that will put everything preceding it in the deepest shade.

Nevertheless, "all that comes into being deserves to perish".[a] Millions of years may elapse, hundreds of thousands of generations be born and die, but inexorably the time will come when the declining warmth of the sun will no longer suffice to melt the ice

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[a] Mephistopheles' words in Goethe's *Faust,* Act I, Scene III ("Faust's Study").— *Ed.*

thrusting itself forward from the poles; when the human race, crowding more and more about the equator, will finally no longer find even there enough heat for life; when gradually even the last trace of organic life will vanish; and the earth, an extinct frozen globe like the moon, will circle in deepest darkness and in an ever narrower orbit about the equally extinct sun, and at last fall into it. Other planets will have preceded it, others will follow it; instead of the bright, warm solar system with its harmonious arrangement of members, only a cold, dead sphere will still pursue its lonely path through universal space. And what will happen to our solar system will happen sooner or later to all the other systems of our island universe; it will happen to all the other innumerable island universes, even to those the light of which will never reach the earth while there is a living human eye to receive it.

And when such a solar system has completed its life history and succumbs to the fate of all that is finite, death, what then? Will the sun's corpse roll on for all eternity through infinite space, and all the once infinitely diversely differentiated natural forces pass for ever into one single form of motion, attraction?

"Or"—as Secchi asks (p. 810)—"are there forces in nature which can reconvert the dead system into its original state of glowing nebula and re-awaken it to new life? We do not know."

Of course, we do not know it in the sense that we know that $2 \times 2 = 4$, or that the attraction of matter increases and decreases according to the square of the distance. In theoretical natural science, however, which as far as possible builds up its outlook on nature into a harmonious whole, and without which nowadays even the most unthinking empiricist cannot get anywhere, we have very often to calculate with incompletely known magnitudes, and consistency of thought must at all times help to get over defective knowledge. Modern natural science has had to take over from philosophy the principle of the indestructibility of motion; it cannot any longer exist without this principle. But the motion of matter is not merely crude mechanical motion, mere change of place, it is heat and light, electric and magnetic tension, chemical combination and dissociation, life and, finally, consciousness. To say that matter during the whole unlimited time of its existence has only once, and for what is an infinitesimally short period in comparison to its eternity, found itself able to differentiate its motion and thereby to unfold the whole wealth of this motion, and that before and after this it remains restricted for eternity to mere change of place—this is equivalent to maintaining that

matter is mortal and motion transient. The indestructibility of motion cannot be conceived merely quantitatively; it must also be conceived qualitatively; matter whose purely mechanical change of place includes indeed the possibility under favourable conditions of being transformed into heat, electricity, chemical action, life, but which is not capable of producing these conditions from out of itself, such matter has *forfeited motion;* motion which has lost the capacity of being transformed into the various forms appropriate to it may indeed still have *dynamis*[a] but no longer *energeia*,[b] and so has become partially destroyed. Both, however, are unthinkable.

This much is certain: there was a time when the matter of our island universe had transformed into heat such an amount of motion—of what kind we do not yet know—that there could be developed from it the solar systems appertaining to (according to Mädler) at least twenty million stars,[c] the gradual extinction of which is likewise certain. How did this transformation take place? We know just as little as Father Secchi knows whether the future *caput mortuum*[d] of our solar system will once again be converted into the raw material of new solar systems. But here either we must have recourse to a creator, or we are forced to the conclusion that the incandescent raw material for the solar systems of our universe was produced in a natural way by transformations of motion which are *by nature inherent* in moving matter, and the conditions for which, therefore, must also be reproduced by matter, even if only after millions and millions of years and more or less by chance, but with the necessity that is also inherent in chance.

The possibility of such a transformation is more and more being conceded. The view is being arrived at that the heavenly bodies are ultimately destined to fall into one another, and calculations are even made of the amount of heat which must be developed on such collisions. The sudden flaring up of new stars, and the equally sudden increase in brightness of familiar ones, of which we are informed by astronomy, are most easily explained by such collisions. Moreover, not only does our group of planets move about the sun, and our sun within our island universe, but our whole island universe also moves in space in temporary, relative

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[a] Power.—*Ed.*

[b] Activity.—*Ed.*

[c] J. H. Mädler, *Der Wunderbau des Weltalls...*, S. 451-52.—*Ed.*

[d] Literally: "dead head"; figuratively, waste remaining after a chemical reaction, etc.—*Ed.*

equilibrium with the other island universes, for even the relative equilibrium of freely floating bodies can only exist where the motion is reciprocally determined; and it is assumed by many that the temperature in space is not everywhere the same. Finally, we know that, with the exception of an infinitesimal portion, the heat of the innumerable suns of our island universe vanishes into space and fails to raise the temperature of space even by a millionth of a degree Centigrade. What becomes of all this enormous quantity of heat? Is it for ever dissipated in the attempt to heat universal space, has it ceased to exist practically, and does it only continue to exist theoretically, in the fact that universal space has become warmer by a decimal fraction of a degree beginning with ten or more noughts? Such an assumption denies the indestructibility of motion; it concedes the possibility that by the successive falling into one another of the heavenly bodies all existing mechanical motion will be converted into heat and the latter radiated into space, so that in spite of all "indestructibility of force" all motion in general would have ceased. (Incidentally, it is seen here how inaccurate is the term "indestructibility of force" instead of "indestructibility of motion"). Hence we arrive at the conclusion that in some way, which it will later be the task of scientific research to demonstrate, it must be possible for the heat radiated into space to be transformed into another form of motion, in which it can once more be stored up and become active. Thereby the chief difficulty in the way of the reconversion of extinct suns into incandescent vapour disappears.

For the rest, the eternally repeated succession of worlds in infinite time is only the logical complement to the coexistence of innumerable worlds in infinite space—a principle the necessity of which has forced itself even on the anti-theoretical Yankee brain of Draper.*

It is an eternal cycle in which matter moves, a cycle that certainly only completes its orbit in periods of time for which our terrestrial year is no adequate measure, a cycle in which the time of highest development, the time of organic life and still more that of the life of beings conscious of nature and of themselves, is just as narrowly restricted as the space in which life and self-

* "The multiplicity of worlds in infinite space leads to the conception of a succession of worlds in infinite time." (J. W. Draper, *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe,* Vol. II [p. 325].)[a]

[a] In the original Engels gives this quotation in English.—*Ed.*

consciousness come into operation; a cycle in which every finite mode of existence of matter, whether it be sun or nebular vapour, single animal or genus of animals, chemical combination or dissociation, is equally transient, and wherein nothing is eternal but eternally changing, eternally moving matter and the laws according to which it moves and changes. But however often, and however relentlessly, this cycle is completed in time and space; however many millions of suns and earths may arise and pass away; however long it may last before, in one solar system and only on *one* planet, the conditions for organic life develop; however innumerable the organic beings, too, that have to arise and to pass away before animals with a brain capable of thought are developed from their midst, and for a short span of time find conditions suitable for life, only to be exterminated later without mercy—we have the certainty that matter remains eternally the same in all its transformations, that none of its attributes can ever be lost, and therefore, also, that with the same iron necessity that it will exterminate on the earth its highest creation, the thinking mind, it must somewhere else and at another time again produce it.

## OLD PREFACE TO [*ANTI-*]*DÜHRING.* ON DIALECTICS[154]

The following work does not by any means owe its origin to an "inner urge". On the contrary, my friend Liebknecht can testify to the great effort it cost him to persuade me to turn the light of criticism on Herr Dühring's newest socialist theory. Once I made up my mind to do so I had no choice but to investigate this theory, which claims to be the latest practical fruit of a new philosophical system, in its connection with this system, and thus to examine the system itself. I was therefore compelled to follow Herr Dühring into that vast domain in which he speaks of all possible things and of some others as well. That was the origin of a series of articles which appeared in the Leipzig *Vorwärts* from the beginning of 1877 onwards and are here presented as a connected whole.

When, because of the nature of the subject, the critique of a system, so extremely insignificant despite all self-praise, is presented in such great detail, two circumstances may be cited in excuse. On the one hand this criticism afforded me the opportunity of setting forth in positive form in various fields my outlook on controversial issues that today are of quite general scientific or practical interest. And while it does not occur to me in the least to present another system as an alternative to Herr Dühring's, it is to be hoped that, notwithstanding the variety of material examined by me, the reader will not fail to observe the inter-connection inherent also in the views which I have advanced.

On the other hand the "system-creating" Herr Dühring is not an isolated phenomenon in contemporary Germany. For some time now in that country philosophical, especially natural-philosophical, systems have been springing up by the dozen

overnight, like mushrooms, not to mention the countless new systems of politics, economics, etc. Just as in the modern state it is presumed that every citizen is competent to pass judgment on all the issues on which he is called to vote; and just as in political economy it is assumed that every buyer is a connoisseur of all the commodities which he has occasion to purchase for his maintenance—so similar assumptions are now to be made in science. Everybody can write about everything and "freedom of science"[a] consists precisely in people deliberately writing about things they have not studied and putting this forward as the only strictly scientific method. Herr Dühring, however, is one of the most characteristic types of this bumptious pseudo-science which in Germany nowadays is forcing its way to the front everywhere and is drowning everything with its resounding sublime nonsense. Sublime nonsense in poetry, in philosophy, in political economy, in historiography; sublime nonsense in the lecture room and on the platform, sublime nonsense everywhere; sublime nonsense which lays claim to a superiority and depth of thought distinguishing it from the simple, commonplace nonsense of other nations; sublime nonsense, the most characteristic mass product of Germany's intellectual industry—cheap but bad—just like other German-made goods, only that unfortunately it was not exhibited along with them at Philadelphia.[155] Even German socialism has lately, particularly since Herr Dühring's good example, gone in for a considerable amount of sublime nonsense; the fact that the practical Social-Democratic movement so little allows itself to be led astray by this sublime nonsense is one more proof of the remarkably healthy condition of our working class in a country where otherwise, with the exception of natural science, at the present moment almost everything goes ill.

When Nägeli, in his speech at the Munich meeting of natural scientists, voiced the idea that human knowledge would never acquire the character of omniscience,[b] he must obviously have been ignorant of Herr Dühring's achievements. These achievements have compelled me to follow him into a number of spheres in which I can move at best only in the capacity of a dilettante. This applies particularly to the various branches of natural science, where hitherto it was frequently considered more than presumptu-

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[a] An allusion to the speech of R. Virchow, *Die Freiheit der Wissenschaft im modernen Staat.—Ed.*

[b] C. Nägeli, "Die Schranken der naturwissenschaftlichen Erkenntniss", *Tageblatt der 50. Versammlung deutscher Naturforscher...*, Beilage, S. 18.—*Ed.*

ous for a "layman" to want to have any say. I am encouraged somewhat, however, by a dictum uttered, likewise in Munich, by Herr Virchow and elsewhere discussed more in detail, that outside of his own speciality every natural scientist is only a semi-initiate,[a] *vulgo:* layman. Just as such a specialist may and must take the liberty of encroaching from time to time on neighbouring fields, and is granted indulgence there by the specialists concerned in respect of minor inexactitudes and clumsiness of expression, so I have taken the liberty of citing natural processes and laws of nature as examples in proof of my general theoretical views, and I hope that I can count on the same indulgence.[b] The results obtained by modern natural science force themselves upon everyone who is occupied with theoretical matters with the same irresistibility with which the natural scientist today is willy-nilly driven to general theoretical conclusions. And here a certain compensation occurs. If theoreticians are semi-initiates in the sphere of natural science, then natural scientists today are actually just as much so in the sphere of theory, in the sphere of what hitherto was called philosophy.

Empirical natural science has accumulated such a tremendous mass of positive material for knowledge that the necessity of classifying it in each separate field of investigation systematically and in accordance with its inner inter-connection has become absolutely imperative. It is becoming equally imperative to bring the individual spheres of knowledge into the correct connection with one another. In doing so, however, natural science enters the field of theory and here the methods of empiricism will not work, here only theoretical thinking can be of assistance.[c] But theoretical thinking is an innate quality only as regards natural capacity. This natural capacity must be developed, improved, and for its improvement there is as yet no other means than the study of previous philosophy.

In every epoch, and therefore also in ours, theoretical thought is a historical product, which at different times assumes very different forms and, therewith, very different contents. The science of thought is therefore, like every other, a historical

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[a] See this volume, p. 7.— *Ed.*

[b] Engels crossed out a part of his "Old Preface", from the beginning to this sentence, by a vertical stroke, since he used this part in his preface to the first edition of *Anti-Dühring* (see this volume, pp. 5-8).— *Ed.*

[c] In the manuscript this sentence and the one preceding it are underscored in pencil.— *Ed.*

science, the science of the historical development of human thought. And this is of importance also for the practical application of thought in empirical fields. Because in the first place the theory of the laws of thought is by no means an "eternal truth" established once and for all, as philistine reasoning imagines to be the case with the word "logic". Formal logic itself has been the arena of violent controversy from the time of Aristotle to the present day. And dialectics has so far been fairly closely investigated by only two thinkers, Aristotle and Hegel. But it is precisely dialectics that constitutes the most important form of thinking for present-day natural science, for it alone offers the analogue for, and thereby the method of explaining, the evolutionary processes occurring in nature, inter-connections in general, and transitions from one field of investigation to another.

Secondly, an acquaintance with the historical course of development of human thought, with the views on the general inter-connections in the external world expressed at various times, is required by theoretical natural science for the additional reason that it furnishes a criterion of the theories propounded by this science itself. Here, however, lack of acquaintance with the history of philosophy is fairly frequently and glaringly displayed. Propositions which were advanced in philosophy centuries ago, which are often enough completely dead philosophically, are frequently put forward by theorising natural scientists as brand-new wisdom and even become fashionable for a while. It is certainly a great achievement of the mechanical theory of heat that it strengthened the principle of the conservation of energy by means of fresh proofs and put it once more in the forefront; but could this principle have appeared on the scene as something so absolutely new if the worthy physicists had remembered that it had already been formulated by Descartes?[a] Since physics and chemistry once more operate almost exclusively with molecules and atoms, the atomic philosophy of ancient Greece has of necessity come to the fore again. But how superficially it is treated even by the best of natural scientists! Thus Kekulé tells us *(Ziele und Leistungen der Chemie)* that Democritus, instead of Leucippus, originated it, and he maintains that Dalton was the first to assume the existence of qualitatively different elementary atoms and was the first to ascribe to them different weights characteristic of the different elements.[b] Yet anyone can read in Diogenes Laertius

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[a] See this volume, p. 50.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Kekulé, *Die wissenschaftlichen Ziele und Leistungen der Chemie*, S. 13-15.—*Ed.*

(X, §§43-44 and 61)[a] that already Epicurus had ascribed to atoms differences not only of magnitude and form but also of *weight*,[b] that is, he was already acquainted in his own way with atomic weight and atomic volume.

The year 1848, which otherwise brought nothing to a conclusion in Germany, accomplished a complete revolution there only in the sphere of philosophy. By throwing itself into the field of the practical, here setting up the beginnings of large-scale industry and swindling, there initiating the mighty advance which natural science has since experienced in Germany and which was inaugurated by the caricature-like itinerant preachers Vogt, Büchner, etc., the nation resolutely turned its back on classical German philosophy that had lost itself in the sands of Berlin Old-Hegelianism. Berlin Old-Hegelianism had richly deserved that. But a nation that wants to climb the pinnacles of science cannot possibly manage without theoretical thought. Not only Hegelianism but dialectics too was thrown overboard—and that just at the moment when the dialectical character of natural processes irresistibly forced itself upon the mind, when therefore only dialectics could be of assistance to natural science in negotiating the mountain of theory—and so there was a helpless relapse into the old metaphysics. What prevailed among the public since then were, on the one hand, the vapid reflections of Schopenhauer, which were fashioned to fit the philistines, and later even those of Hartmann; and, on the other hand, the vulgar itinerant-preacher materialism of a Vogt and a Büchner. At the universities the most diverse varieties of eclecticism competed with one another and had only one thing in common, namely, that they were concocted from nothing but remnants of old philosophies and were all equally metaphysical. All that was saved from the remnants of classical philosophy was a certain neo-Kantianism, whose last word was the eternally unknowable thing-in-itself, that is, the bit of Kant that least merited preservation. The final result was the incoherence and confusion of theoretical thought now prevalent.

One can scarcely pick up a theoretical book on natural science without getting the impression that natural scientists themselves feel how much they are dominated by this incoherence and confusion, and that the so-called philosophy now current offers them absolutely no way out. And here there really is no other

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[a] Diogenes Laertius, *De vitis philosophorum libri X.—Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 470-71.—*Ed.*

way out, no possibility of achieving clarity, than by a return, in one form or another, from metaphysical to dialectical thinking.

This return can take place in various ways. It can come about spontaneously, by the sheer force of the natural-scientific discoveries themselves, which refuse any longer to allow themselves to be forced into the old Procrustean bed of metaphysics. But that is a protracted, laborious process during which a tremendous amount of unnecessary friction has to be overcome. To a large extent that process is already going on, particularly in biology. It could be greatly shortened if the theoreticians in the field of natural science were to acquaint themselves more closely with dialectical philosophy in its historically existing forms. Among these forms there are two which may prove especially fruitful for modern natural science.

The first of these is Greek philosophy. Here dialectical thought still appears in its pristine simplicity, still undisturbed by the charming obstacles[a] which the metaphysics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—Bacon and Locke in England, Wolff in Germany—put in its own way, and with which it blocked its own progress, from an understanding of the part to an understanding of the whole, to an insight into the general inter-connection of things. Among the Greeks—just because they were not yet advanced enough to dissect, analyse nature—nature is still viewed as a whole, in general. The universal connection of natural phenomena is not proved in regard to particular; to the Greeks it is the result of direct contemplation. Herein lies the inadequacy of Greek philosophy, on account of which it had to yield later to other modes of outlook on the world. But herein also lies its superiority over all its subsequent metaphysical opponents. If in regard to the Greeks metaphysics was right in particulars, in regard to metaphysics the Greeks were right in general. That is the first reason why we are compelled in philosophy as in so many other spheres to return again and again to the achievements of that small people whose universal talents and activity assured it a place in the history of human development that no other people can ever claim. The other reason, however, is that the manifold forms of Greek philosophy contain in embryo, in the nascent state,

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[a] An expression from the Prologue to Heine's cycle of poems, *Neuer Frühling*. —*Ed.*

almost all later modes of outlook on the world. Theoretical natural science is therefore likewise forced to go back to the Greeks if it desires to trace the history of the origin and development of the general principles it holds today. And this insight is forcing its way more and more to the fore. Instances are becoming increasingly rare of natural scientists who, while themselves operating with fragments of Greek philosophy, for example atomistics, as with eternal truths, look down upon the Greeks with Baconian superciliousness because the Greeks had no empirical natural science. It would be desirable only for this insight to advance to a real familiarity with Greek philosophy.

The second form of dialectics, which is the one that comes closest to the German naturalists, is classical German philosophy, from Kant to Hegel. Here a start has already been made in that it has again become fashionable to return to Kant, even apart from the neo-Kantianism mentioned above. Since the discovery that Kant was the author of two brilliant hypotheses, without which theoretical natural science today simply cannot make progress—the theory, formerly credited to Laplace, of the origin of the solar system and the theory of the retardation of the earth's rotation by the tides—Kant is again held in honour among natural scientists, as he deserves to be. But to study dialectics in the works of Kant would be a uselessly laborious and little-remunerative task, as there is now available, in *Hegel*'s works, a comprehensive compendium of dialectics, developed though it be from an utterly erroneous point of departure.

After, on the one hand, the reaction against "philosophy of nature" had run its course and had degenerated into mere abuse—a reaction that was largely justified by this erroneous point of departure and the helpless degeneration of Berlin Hegelianism; and after, on the other hand, natural science had been so conspicuously left in the lurch by current eclectic metaphysics in regard to its theoretical requirements, it will perhaps be possible to pronounce once more the name of Hegel in the presence of natural scientists without provoking that St. Vitus's dance which Herr Dühring so entertainingly performs.

First of all it must be established that here it is not at all a question of defending Hegel's point of departure: that spirit, mind, the idea, is primary and that the real world is only a copy of the idea. Already Feuerbach abandoned that. We all agree that in every field of science, in natural as in historical science, one must proceed from the given *facts,* in natural science therefore from the various material forms and the various forms of motion of

matter[a]; that therefore in theoretical natural science too the inter-connections are not to be built into the facts but to be discovered in them, and when discovered to be verified as far as possible by experiment.

Just as little can it be a question of maintaining the dogmatic content of the Hegelian system as it was preached by the Berlin Hegelians of the older and younger line. Hence, with the fall of the idealist point of departure, the system built upon it, in particular Hegelian philosophy of nature, also falls. It must however be recalled that the natural scientists' polemic against Hegel, in so far as they at all correctly understood him, was directed solely against these two points: viz., the idealist point of departure and the arbitrary, fact-defying construction of the system.

After allowance has been made for all this, there still remains Hegelian dialectics. It is the merit of Marx that, in contrast to the "peevish, arrogant, mediocre Επιγονοι who now talk large in Germany",[b] he was the first to have brought to the fore again the forgotten dialectical method, its connection with Hegelian dialectics and its distinction from the latter, and at the same time to have applied this method in *Capital* to the facts of an empirical science, political economy. And he did it so successfully that even in Germany the newer economic school rises above the vulgar free-trade system only by copying from Marx (often enough incorrectly), on pretence of criticising him.

In Hegel's dialectics there prevails the same inversion of all real inter-connection as in all other ramifications of his system. But, as Marx says: "The mystification which dialectics suffers in Hegel's hands by no means prevents him from being the first to present its general form of working in a comprehensive and conscious manner. With him it is standing on its head. It must be turned right side up again, if you would discover the rational kernel within the mystical shell."[c]

In natural science itself, however, we often enough encounter theories in which the real relation is stood on its head, the reflection is taken for the original form, and which consequently need to be turned right side up again. Such theories quite often

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[a] After this comes the following sentence, crossed out in the manuscript: "We socialist materialists go even considerably further in this respect than the natural scientists by also...".— *Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 35. Afterword to the Second German Edition of Vol. I of *Capital*.— *Ed.*

[c] Ibid.— *Ed.*

dominate for a considerable time. When for almost two centuries heat was considered a special mysterious substance instead of a form of motion of ordinary matter, that was precisely such a case and the mechanical theory of heat carried out the inverting. Nevertheless physics dominated by the caloric theory discovered a series of highly important laws of heat and cleared the way, particularly through Fourier and Sadi Carnot,[a] for the correct conception, which now for its part had to put right side up the laws discovered by its predecessor, to translate them into its own language.* Similarly, in chemistry the phlogistic theory first supplied the material, by a hundred years of experimental work, with the aid of which Lavoisier was able to discover in the oxygen obtained by Priestley the real antipode of the fantastic phlogiston and thus could throw overboard the entire phlogistic theory.[156] But this did not in the least do away with the experimental results of phlogistics. On the contrary. They persisted, only their formulation was inverted, was translated from the phlogistic into the now valid chemical language and thus they retained their validity.

The relation of Hegelian dialectics to rational dialectics is the same as that of the caloric theory to the mechanical theory of heat and that of the phlogistic theory to the theory of Lavoisier.

* *Carnot's function C* literally inverted: $\frac{1}{C}$ =absolute temperature. Without this inversion nothing can be done with it. [Marginal note.]

[a] Engels means the following books: J. B. J. Fourier, *Théorie analytique de la chaleur,* and S. Carnot, *Réflexions sur la puissance motrice du feu et sur les machines propres à développer cette puissance.* The function *C* which is mentioned by Engels in his note in the margin occurs in a note on pp. 78-79 of Carnot's book.—*Ed.*

# NATURAL SCIENCE IN THE SPIRIT WORLD[157]

The dialectics that has found its way into popular consciousness is expressed in the old saying that extremes meet. In accordance with this we should hardly err in looking for the most extreme degree of fantasy, credulity, and superstition, not in that trend of natural science which, like the German philosophy of nature, tries to force the objective world into the framework of its subjective thought, but rather in the opposite trend, which, exalting mere experience, treats thought with sovereign disdain and really has gone to the furthest extreme in emptiness of thought. This school prevails in England. Its father, the much lauded Francis Bacon, already advanced the demand that his new empirical, inductive method should be pursued to attain, above all, by its means: longer life, rejuvenation—to a certain extent, alteration of stature and features, transformation of one body into another, the production of new species, power over the air and the production of storms. He complains that such investigations have been abandoned, and in his natural history he gives definite recipes for making gold and performing various miracles.[158] Similarly Isaac Newton in his old age greatly busied himself with expounding the Revelation of St. John.[159] So it is not to be wondered at if in recent years English empiricism in the person of some of its representatives—and not the worst of them—should seem to have fallen a hopeless victim to the spirit-rapping and spirit-seeing imported from America.

The first natural scientist belonging here is the very eminent zoologist and botanist, Alfred Russel Wallace, the man who simultaneously with Darwin put forward the theory of the

alteration of species by natural selection. In his little work, *On Miracles and Modern Spiritualism,* London, Burns, 1875, he relates that his first experiences in this branch of natural knowledge date from 1844, when he attended the lectures of Mr. Spencer Hall on mesmerism [160] and as a result carried out similar experiments on his pupils.

"I was intensely interested in the subject and pursued it with ARDOUR." [P. 119.]

He not only produced magnetic sleep together with the phenomena of articular rigidity and local loss of sensation, he also confirmed the correctness of Gall's map of the skull,[161] because on touching any one of Gall's organs the corresponding activity was aroused in the magnetised patient and exhibited by appropriate and lively gestures. Further, he established that his patient, merely by being touched, partook of all the sensations of the operator; he made him drunk with a glass of water as soon as he told him that it was brandy. He could make one of the young men so stupid, even in the waking condition, that he no longer knew his own name, a feat, however, that some schoolmasters are capable of accomplishing without any mesmerism. And so on.

Now it happens that I also saw this Mr. Spencer Hall in the winter of 1843-44 in Manchester. He was a very mediocre charlatan, who travelled the country under the patronage of some parsons and undertook magnetico-phrenological performances with a young woman in order to prove thereby the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, and the incorrectness of materialism, which was being preached at that time by the Owenites in all big towns. The lady was sent into a magnetic sleep and then, as soon as the operator touched any part of the skull corresponding to one of Gall's organs, she gave a bountiful display of theatrical, demonstrative gestures and poses representing the activity of the organ concerned; for instance, for the organ of PHILOPROGENITIVENESS she fondled and kissed an imaginary baby, etc. Moreover, the good Mr. Hall had enriched Gall's geography of the skull with a new island of Barataria [162]: right at the top of the skull he had discovered an organ of veneration, on touching which his hypnotic miss sank on to her knees, folded her hands in prayer, and depicted to the astonished, philistine audience an angel wrapt in veneration. That was the climax and conclusion of the exhibition. The existence of God had been proved.

The effect on me and one of my acquaintances was similar to that on Mr. Wallace: the phenomena interested us and we tried to

find out how far we could reproduce them. A wide-awake young boy 12 years old offered himself as subject. Gently gazing into his eyes, or stroking, sent him without difficulty into the hypnotic condition. But since we were rather less credulous than Mr. Wallace and set to work with rather less fervour, we arrived at quite different results. Apart from muscular rigidity and loss of sensation, which were easy to produce, we found also a state of complete passivity of the will bound up with a peculiar hypersensitivity of sensation. The patient, when aroused from his lethargy by any external stimulus, exhibited very much greater liveliness than in the waking condition. There was no trace of any mysterious relation to the operator: anyone else could just as easily set the sleeper into activity. To put Gall's cranial organs into operation was a mere trifle for us; we went much further, we could not only exchange them for one another, or make their seat anywhere in the whole body, but we also fabricated any amount of other organs, organs of singing, whistling, piping, dancing, boxing, sewing, cobbling, tobacco-smoking, etc., and we could make their seat wherever we wanted. Wallace made his patients drunk on water, but we discovered in the great toe an organ of drunkenness which only had to be touched in order to cause the finest drunken comedy to be enacted. But it must be well understood, no organ showed a trace of action until the patient was given to understand what was expected of him; the boy soon perfected himself by practice to such an extent that the merest indication sufficed. The organs produced in this way then retained their validity for later occasions of putting to sleep, as long as they were not altered in the same way. The patient had indeed a double memory, one for the waking state and a second quite separate one for the hypnotic condition. As regards the passivity of the will and its absolute subjection to the will of a third person, this loses all its miraculous appearance when we bear in mind that the whole condition began with the subjection of the will of the patient to that of the operator, and cannot be produced without it. The most powerful magician of a magnetiser in the world will come to the end of his resources as soon as his patient laughs him in the face.

While we with our frivolous scepticism thus found that the basis of magnetico-phrenological charlatanry lay in a series of phenomena which for the most part differ only in degree from those of the waking state and require no mystical interpretation. Mr. Wallace's ARDOUR led him into a series of self-deceptions, in virtue of which he confirmed Gall's map of the skull in all its details and noted a

mysterious relation between operator and patient.* Everywhere in Mr. Wallace's account, the sincerity of which reaches the degree of *naïveté,* it becomes apparent that he was much less concerned in investigating the factual background of charlatanry than in reproducing all the phenomena at all costs. Only this frame of mind is needed for one who was originally a scientist to be quickly converted into an adept by means of simple and facile self-deception. Mr. Wallace ended up with faith in magnetico-phrenological miracles and so already stood with one foot in the world of spirits.

He drew the other foot after him in 1865. On returning from his twelve years of travel in the tropics, experiments in table-turning introduced him to the society of various "mediums". How rapid his progress was, and how complete his mastery of the subject, is testified to by the above-mentioned booklet. He expects us to take for good coin not only all the alleged miracles of the Homes, the brothers Davenport, and other "mediums" who all more or less exhibit themselves for money and who have for the most part been frequently exposed as impostors, but also a whole series of allegedly authentic spirit histories from early times. The phythonesses of the Greek oracle and the witches of the Middle Ages, were all "mediums", and Iamblichus in his *De divinatione* already described quite accurately

> "the most startling phenomena of modern spiritualism".

Just one example to show how lightly Mr. Wallace deals with the scientific establishment and authentication of these miracles. It is certainly a strong assumption that we should believe that the above-mentioned spirits would allow themselves to be photographed, and we have surely the right to demand that such spirit photographs should be authenticated in the most indubitable manner before we accept them as genuine. Now Mr. Wallace recounts on p. 187 that in March 1872, a leading medium, Mrs. Guppy, *née* Nichol, had herself photographed together with her husband and small boy at Mr. Hudson's in Notting Hill, and on two photographs a tall female figure, FINELY draped in white gauzy robes, with somewhat Eastern features, was to be seen behind her in a pose as if giving a benediction.

* As already said, the patients perfect themselves by practice. It is therefore quite possible that when the subjection of the will has become habitual the relation between the participants becomes more intimate, individual phenomena are intensified and are reflected weakly even in the waking state.

"Here, then, one of two things *are*[a] absolutely certain.* Either there was a living, intelligent, but invisible being present, or Mr. and Mrs. Guppy, the photographer, and some fourth person planned a WICKED imposture, and have maintained it ever since. Knowing Mr. and Mrs. Guppy so well as I do, I feel an *absolute conviction* that they are as incapable of an imposture of this kind as any earnest inquirer after truth in the department of natural science." [P. 188.]

Consequently, either imposture or spirit photography. Quite so. And, if imposture, either the spirit was already on the photographic plates, or four persons must have been concerned, or three if we leave out as weak-minded or duped old Mr. Guppy who died in January 1875, at the age of 84 (it only needed that he should be sent behind the Spanish screen of the background). That a photographer could obtain a "model" for the spirit without difficulty does not need to be argued. But the photographer Hudson, shortly afterwards, was publicly prosecuted for habitual falsification of spirit photographs, so Mr. Wallace remarks in mitigation:

"One thing is clear; that if there has been imposture, it was at once detected by spiritualists themselves." [P. 189.]

Hence there is not much reliance to be placed on the photographer. Remains Mrs. Guppy, and for her there is only the "absolute conviction" of our friend Wallace and nothing more.—Nothing more? Not at all. The absolute trustworthiness of Mrs. Guppy is evidenced by her assertion that one evening, early in June 1871, she was carried through the air in a state of unconsciousness from her house in Highbury Hill Park to 69, Lamb's Conduit Street—three English miles as the crow flies—and deposited in the said house of No. 69 on the table in the midst of a spiritualistic *séance.* The doors of the room were closed, and although Mrs. Guppy was one of the stoutest women in London, which is certainly saying a good deal, nevertheless her sudden incursion did not leave behind the slightest hole either in the doors or in the ceiling. (Reported in the London *Echo,* June 8, 1871.)[c] And if anyone still does not believe in the genuineness of spirit photography, there's no helping him.

* HERE, THEN, ONE OF TWO THINGS *ARE* ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN. The spirit world is superior to grammar. A joker once caused the spirit of the grammarian Lindley Murray to testify. To the question whether he was there, he answered: "I ARE" (American for "I am"). The medium was from America.[b]

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[a] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] Here Engels uses the book by J. N. Maskelyne, *Modern Spiritualism,* p. 71.—*Ed.*

[c] J. N. Maskelyne, op. cit., pp. 99-101.—*Ed.*

The second eminent adept among English natural scientists is Mr. William Crookes, the discoverer of the chemical element thallium and of the radiometer (in Germany also called "Lichtmühle").[163] Mr. Crookes began to investigate spiritualistic manifestations about 1871, and employed for this purpose a number of physical and mechanical appliances, spring balances, electric batteries, etc. Whether he brought to his task the main apparatus required, a sceptically critical mind, or whether he kept it to the end in a fit state for working, we shall see. At any rate, within a not very long period, Mr. Crookes was just as completely captivated as Mr. Wallace.

"For some years," he relates, "a young lady, Miss Florence Cook, has exhibited remarkable mediumship, which latterly culminated in the production of an entire female form purporting to be of spiritual origin, and which appeared barefooted and in white flowing robes while she lay entranced, in dark clothing and securely bound in a CABINET or adjoining room." [P. 181.]

This spirit, which called itself Katie, and which looked remarkably like Miss Cook, was one evening suddenly seized round the waist by Mr. Volckman—the present husband of Mrs. Guppy—and held fast in order to see whether it was not indeed Miss Cook in another edition. The spirit proved to be a quite sturdy damsel, it defended itself vigorously, the onlookers intervened, the gas was turned out, and when, after some scuffling, peace was re-established and the room re-lit, spirit had vanished and Miss Cook lay bound and unconscious in her corner. Nevertheless, Mr. Volckman is said to maintain up to the present day that he had seized hold of Miss Cook and nobody else.[a] In order to establish this scientifically, Mr. Varley, a well-known electrician, on the occasion of a new experiment, arranged for the current from a battery to flow through the medium, Miss Cook, in such a way that she could not play the part of the spirit without interrupting the current. Nevertheless, the spirit made its appearance. It was, therefore, indeed a being different from Miss Cook. To establish this further was the task of Mr. Crookes. His first step was to win the *confidence* of the spiritualistic lady.

This confidence, so he says himself in the *Spiritualist*, June 5, 1874, "increased gradually to such an extent that she refused to give a *séance* unless *I made the arrangements.*[b] She said that she always wanted *me* to be near her and in the neighbourhood of the cabinet; I found that—when this confidence had been established and she was sure that *I would not break any promise made to her*—the

[a] Ibid., pp. 141-42.—*Ed.*

[b] In this and the next quotation italics are by Engels.—*Ed.*

phenomena increased considerably in strength and there was freely forthcoming evidence that would have been unobtainable in any other way. She frequently *consulted me* in regard to the persons present at the *séances* and the places to be given them, for she had recently become very NERVOUS as a result of certain ill-advised suggestions that, besides other more scientific methods of investigation, *force* also should be applied."[a]

The spirit lady rewarded this confidence, which was as kind as it was scientific, in the highest measure. She even made her appearance—which can no longer surprise us—in Mr. Crookes' house, played with his children and told them "anecdotes from her adventures in India", treated Mr. Crookes to an account of "some of the bitter experiences of her past life", allowed him to take her by the arm so that he could convince himself of her evident materiality, allowed him to take her pulse and count the number of her respirations per minute, and finally allowed herself to be photographed next to Mr. Crookes.[b]

"This figure," says Mr. Wallace, "after being seen, felt, conversed with, and photographed, *absolutely disappeared* from a small room from which there was no other exit than an adjoining room filled with spectators" [p. 183]

—which was not such a great feat, provided that the spectators were polite enough to show as much faith in Mr. Crookes, in whose house this happened, as Mr. Crookes did in the spirit.

Unfortunately these "fully authenticated phenomena" are not immediately credible even for spiritualists. We saw above how the very spiritualistic Mr. Volckman permitted himself to make a very material grab. And now a clergyman, a member of the committee of the "British National Association of Spiritualists", has also been present at a *séance* with Miss Cook, and he established the fact without difficulty that the room through the door of which the spirit came and disappeared communicated with the outer world by a *second door.* The behaviour of Mr. Crookes, who was also present, gave "the final death-blow to my belief that there might be 'something in' the face manifestations". (*Mystic London,* BY THE Rev. C. Maurice Davies, London, Tinsley Brothers.)[c] And, over and above that, it came to light in America how "Katies" were "materialised". A married couple named Holmes held *séances* in Philadelphia in which likewise a "Katie" appeared and received bountiful presents from the believers. However, one sceptic

[a] J. N. Maskelyne, op. cit., pp. 144-45.—*Ed.*

[b] This and the following two quotations are from Crookes' article "The Last of 'Katie King'...", *The Spiritualist Newspaper,* Vol. IV, No. 23, June 5, 1874.—*Ed.*

[c] Ch. M. Davies, *Mystic London,* p. 319.—*Ed.*

refused to rest until he got on the track of the said Katie, who, anyway, had already gone on strike once because of lack of pay; he discovered her in a BOARDING-HOUSE as a young lady of unquestionable flesh and bone, and in possession of all the presents that had been given to the spirit.[a]

Meanwhile the Continent also had its scientific spirit-seers. A scientific association at St. Petersburg—I do not know exactly whether the University or even the Academy itself—charged the Councillor of State, Aksakov, and the chemist, Butlerov, to examine the basis of the spiritualistic phenomena, but it does not seem that very much came of this.[164] On the other hand—if the noisy announcements of the spiritualists are to be believed—Germany has now also put forward its man in the person of Professor Zöllner in Leipzig.

For years, as is well known, Herr Zöllner has been hard at work on the "fourth dimension" of space, and has discovered that many things that are impossible in a space of three dimensions are a simple matter of course in a space of four dimensions. Thus, in the latter kind of space, a closed metal sphere can be turned inside out like a glove, without making a hole in it; similarly a knot can be tied in an endless string or one which has both ends fastened, and two separate closed rings can be interlinked without opening either of them, and many more such feats. Now, according to recent triumphant reports from the spirit world, Professor Zöllner has addressed himself to one or more mediums in order with their aid to determine more details of the locality of the fourth dimension. The success is said to have been surprising. After the session the arm of the chair, on which he rested his arm while his hand never left the table, was found to have become interlocked with his arm, a string that had both ends sealed to the table was found tied into four knots, and so on. In short, all the miracles of the fourth dimension are said to have been performed by the spirits with the utmost ease. It must be borne in mind: *relato refero,*[b] I do not vouch for the correctness of the spirit bulletins, and if they should contain any inaccuracy, Herr Zöllner ought to be thankful that I am giving him the opportunity to make a correction. If, however, they reproduce the experiences of Herr Zöllner without falsification, then they obviously signify a new era both in the science of spiritualism and that of mathematics. The

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[a] J. N. Maskelyne, op. cit, pp. 118-19, 142-44, 146-53.—*Ed.*

[b] I am retelling what I have been told.—*Ed.*

spirits prove the existence of the fourth dimension, just as the fourth dimension vouches for the existence of spirits. And this once established, an entirely new, immeasurable field is opened to science. All previous mathematics and natural science will be only a preparatory school for the mathematics of the fourth and still higher dimensions, and for the mechanics, physics, chemistry, and physiology of the spirits dwelling in these higher dimensions. Has not Mr. Crookes scientifically determined how much weight is lost by tables and other articles of furniture on their passage into the fourth dimension—as we may now well be permitted to call it—and does not Mr. Wallace declare it proven that fire there does no harm to the human body? And now we have even the physiology of the spirit bodies! They breathe, they have a pulse, therefore lungs, heart, and a circulatory apparatus, and in consequence are at least as admirably equipped as our own in regard to the other bodily organs. For breathing requires carbo-hydrates which undergo combustion in the lungs, and these carbo-hydrates can only be supplied from without; hence, stomach, intestines, and their accessories—and if we have once established so much, the rest follows without difficulty. The existence of such organs, however, implies the possibility of their falling a prey to disease, hence it may still come to pass that Herr Virchow will have to compile a cellular pathology of the spirit world. And since most of these spirits are very handsome young ladies, who are not to be distinguished in any respect whatsoever from terrestrial damsels, other than by their supramundane beauty, it could not be very long before they come into contact with "men who feel the passion of love" [a]; and since, as established by Mr. Crookes from the beat of the pulse, "the female heart is not absent", natural selection also has opened before it the prospect of a fourth dimension, one in which it has no longer any need to fear of being confused with wicked Social-Democracy.[165]

Enough. Here it becomes palpably evident which is the most certain path from natural science to mysticism. It is not the extravagant theorising of the philosophy of nature, but the shallowest empiricism that spurns all theory and distrusts all thought. It is not *a priori* necessity that proves the existence of spirits, but the empirical observations of Messrs. Wallace, Crookes

[a] Here and below words of the duo of Pamina and Papageno from Mozart's opera, *The Magic Flute*, Act 1, Scene 14 (libretto by E. Schikaneder).—*Ed.*

& Co. If we trust the spectrum-analysis observations of Crookes, which led to the discovery of the metal thallium, or the rich zoological discoveries of Wallace in the Malay Archipelago, we are to place the same trust in the spiritualistic experiences and discoveries of these two scientists. And if we express the opinion that, after all, there is a little difference between the two, namely, that we can verify the one but not the other, then the spirit-seers retort that this is not the case, and that they are ready to give us the opportunity of verifying also the spirit phenomena.

Indeed, dialectics cannot be despised with impunity. However great one's contempt for all theoretical thought, nevertheless one cannot bring two natural facts into relation with each other, or understand the connection existing between them, without theoretical thought. The only question is whether one's thinking is correct or not, and contempt of theory is evidently the most certain way to think naturalistically, and therefore incorrectly. But, according to an old and well-known dialectical law, incorrect thinking, carried to its logical conclusion, inevitably arrives at the opposite of its point of departure. Hence, the empirical contempt for dialectics is punished by some of the most sober empiricists being led into the most barren of all superstitions, into modern spiritualism.

It is the same with mathematics. The ordinary, metaphysical mathematicians boast with enormous pride of the absolute irrefutability of the results of their science. But these results include also imaginary magnitudes, which thereby acquire a certain reality. When one has once become accustomed to ascribe some kind of reality outside of our minds to $\sqrt{-1}$, or to the fourth dimension, then it is not a matter of much importance if one goes a step further and also accepts the spirit world of the mediums. It is as Ketteler said about Döllinger:

> "The man has defended so much nonsense in his life, he really could have accepted infallibility into the bargain!" [166]

In fact, mere empiricism is incapable of refuting the spiritualists. In the first place, the "higher" phenomena always show themselves only when the "investigator" concerned is already so far in the toils that he now only sees what he is meant to see or wants to see—as Crookes himself describes with such inimitable *naïveté.* In the second place, the spiritualists care nothing that hundreds of alleged facts are exposed as imposture and dozens of alleged mediums as ordinary tricksters. As long as *every* single alleged miracle has not been explained away, they have still room enough

to carry on, as indeed Wallace says clearly enough in connection with the falsified spirit photographs. The existence of falsifications proves the genuineness of the genuine ones.

And so empiricism finds itself compelled to refute the importunate spirit-seers not by means of empirical experiments, but by theoretical considerations, and to say, with Huxley:

"The only good that I can see in the demonstration of the truth of 'spiritualism' is to furnish an additional argument against suicide. Better live a crossing-sweeper than die and be made to talk twaddle by a 'medium' hired at a guinea a *séance.*"[167]

# DIALECTICS[168]

(The general nature of dialectics to be developed as the science of interconnections, in contrast to metaphysics.)

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It is, therefore, from the history of nature and human society that the laws of dialectics are abstracted. For they are nothing but the most general laws of these two stages of historical development, as well as of thought itself. And indeed they can be reduced in the main to three:

The law of the transformation of quantity into quality and vice versa;

The law of the interpenetration of opposites;

The law of the negation of the negation.

All three are developed by Hegel in his idealist fashion as mere laws of *thought*: the first, in the first part of his *Logik*, in "Die Lehre vom Seyn"; the second fills the whole of the second and by far the most important part of his *Logik*, "Die Lehre vom Wesen"; finally the third figures as the fundamental law for the construction of the whole system. The mistake lies in the fact that these laws are foisted on nature and history as laws of thought, and not deduced from them. This is the source of the whole forced and often outrageous treatment; the universe, willy-nilly, has to conform to a system of thought which itself is only the product of a definite stage of development of human thought. If we turn the thing round, then everything becomes simple, and the dialectical laws that look so extremely mysterious in idealist philosophy at once become simple and clear as noonday.

Moreover, anyone who is even only slightly acquainted with

Hegel will be aware that in hundreds of passages Hegel is capable of giving the most striking individual illustrations of the dialectical laws from nature and history.

We are not concerned here with writing a handbook of dialectics, but only with showing that the dialectical laws are real laws of development of nature, and therefore are valid also for theoretical natural science. Hence we cannot go into the inner inter-connection of these laws with one another.

1. The law of the transformation of quantity into quality and vice versa. For our purpose, we can express this by saying that in nature, in a manner exactly fixed for each individual case, qualitative changes can only occur by the quantitative addition or quantitative subtraction of matter or motion (so-called energy).

All qualitative differences in nature rest on differences of chemical composition or on different quantities or forms of motion (energy) or, as is almost always the case, on both. Hence it is impossible to alter the quality of a body without addition or subtraction of matter or motion, i.e., without quantitative alteration of the body concerned. In this form, therefore, Hegel's mysterious principle appears not only quite rational but even rather obvious.

It is surely hardly necessary to point out that the various allotropic and aggregational states of bodies, because they depend on various groupings of the molecules, depend on greater or lesser amounts [Mengen] of motion communicated to the bodies.

But what about change of form of motion, or so-called energy? If we change heat into mechanical motion or vice versa, is not the quality altered while the quantity remains the same? Quite correct. But it is with change of form of motion as with Heine's vices; anyone can be virtuous by himself, for vices two are always necessary.[a] Change of form of motion is always a process that takes place between at least two bodies, of which one loses a definite amount of motion of one quality (e.g., heat), while the other gains a corresponding quantity of motion of another quality (mechanical motion, electricity, chemical decomposition). Here, therefore, quantity and quality mutually correspond to each other. So far it has not been found possible to convert motion from one form to another inside a single isolated body.

We are concerned here in the first place with non-living bodies; the same law holds for living bodies, but it operates under very

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[a] Heinrich Heine, *Ueber den Denunzianten.*— *Ed.*

complex conditions and at present quantitative measurement is still often impossible for us.

If we imagine any non-living body cut up into smaller and smaller portions, at first no qualitative change occurs. But this has a limit: if we succeed, as by evaporation, in obtaining the separate molecules in the free state, then it is true that we can usually divide these still further, yet only with a complete change of quality. The molecule is decomposed into its separate atoms, which have quite different properties from those of the molecule. In the case of molecules composed of different chemical elements, atoms or molecules of these elements themselves make their appearance in the place of the compound molecule; in the case of molecules of elements, the free atoms appear, which exert quite distinct qualitative effects: the free atoms of nascent oxygen are easily able to effect what the atoms of atmospheric oxygen, bound together in the molecule, can never achieve.

But the molecule is also qualitatively different from the mass of the body to which it belongs. It can carry out movements independently of this mass and while the latter remains apparently at rest, e.g., heat vibrations; by means of a change of position and of connection with neighbouring molecules it can change the body into an allotrope or a different state of aggregation.

Thus we see that the purely quantitative operation of division has a limit at which it becomes transformed into a qualitative difference: the mass consists solely of molecules, but it is something essentially different from the molecule, just as the latter is different from the atom. It is this difference that is the basis for the separation of mechanics, as the science of heavenly and terrestrial masses, from physics, as the mechanics of molecules, and from chemistry, as the physics of atoms.

In mechanics, no qualities occur; at most, states such as equilibrium, motion, potential energy, which all depend on measurable transference of motion and are themselves capable of quantitative expression. Hence, in so far as qualitative change takes place here, it is determined by a corresponding quantitative change.

In physics, bodies are treated as chemically unalterable or indifferent; we have to do with changes of their molecular states and with the change of form of motion, which in all cases, at least on one of the two sides, brings the molecule into action. Here every change is a transformation of quantity into quality, a consequence of the quantitative change of the amount of motion of one form or another that is inherent in the body or

communicated to it.

"Thus the temperature of water is, in the first place, a point of no consequence in respect to its liquidity; still with the increase or diminution of the temperature of liquid water, there comes a point where this state of cohesion alters and the water is converted into steam or ice." (Hegel, *Encyclopädie, Gesamtausgabe,* Vol. VI, p. 217.)

Similarly, a definite minimum current strength is required to cause the platinum wire of an electric incandescent lamp to glow; and every metal has its temperature of incandescence and fusion, every liquid its definite freezing and boiling point at a given pressure—in so far as our means allow us to produce the temperature required; finally also every gas has its critical point at which it can be liquefied by pressure and cooling. In short, the so-called physical constants are for the most part nothing but designations of the nodal points at which quantitative addition or subtraction of motion produces qualitative change in the state of the body concerned, at which, therefore, quantity is transformed into quality.

The sphere, however, in which the law of nature discovered by Hegel celebrates its most important triumphs is that of chemistry. Chemistry can be termed the science of the qualitative changes of bodies as a result of changed quantitative composition. That was already known to Hegel himself. (*Logik, Gesamtausgabe,* III, p. 433).[a] As in the case of oxygen: if three atoms unite into a molecule, instead of the usual two, we get ozone, a body which is very considerably different from ordinary oxygen in its odour and reactions. And indeed the various proportions in which oxygen combines with nitrogen or sulphur, each of which produces a substance qualitatively different from any of the others! How different is laughing gas (nitrogen monoxide, $N_2O$) from nitric anhydride (nitrogen pentoxide, $N_2O_5$)! The first is a gas, the second at ordinary temperatures a solid crystalline substance. And yet the whole difference in composition is that the second contains five times as much oxygen as the first, and between the two of them are three more oxides of nitrogen ($NO$, $N_2O_3$, $NO_2$), each of which is qualitatively different from the first two and from one another.

This is seen still more strikingly in the homologous series of carbon compounds, especially of the simpler hydrocarbons. Of the normal paraffins, the lowest is methane, $CH_4$; here the four linkages of the carbon atom are saturated by four atoms of

[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik,* Th. 1. Die objective Logik, Abth. 1. Die Lehre vom Seyn.—*Ed.*

hydrogen. The second, ethane, $C_2H_6$, has two atoms of carbon joined together and the six free linkages are saturated by six atoms of hydrogen. And so it goes on, with $C_3H_8$, $C_4H_{10}$, etc., according to the algebraic formula $C_nH_{2n+2}$, so that by each addition of $CH_2$, a body is formed that is qualitatively distinct from the preceding one. The three lowest members of the series are gases, the highest known, hexadecane, $C_{16}H_{34}$, is a solid body with a boiling point of 278° C. Exactly the same holds good for the series of primary alcohols with the formula $C_nH_{2n+2}O$, derived (theoretically) from the paraffins, and the series of monobasic fatty acids (formula $C_nH_{2n}O_2$). What qualitative difference can be caused by the quantitative addition of $C_3H_6$ is taught by experience if we consume ethyl alcohol, $C_2H_6O$, in any drinkable form without addition of other alcohols, and on another occasion take the same ethyl alcohol but with a slight addition of amyl alcohol, $C_5H_{12}O$, which forms the main constituent of the abominable fusel oil. One's head will certainly be aware of it the next morning, much to its detriment; so that one could even say that the intoxication, and subsequent "morning after" feeling, is also quantity transformed into quality, on the one hand of ethyl alcohol and on the other hand of this added $C_3H_6$.

In these series we encounter the Hegelian law in yet another form. The lower members permit only of a single mutual arrangement of the atoms. If, however, the number of atoms united into a molecule attains a size definitely fixed for each series, the grouping of the atoms in the molecule can take place in more than one way; so that two or more isomeric substances can be formed, having equal numbers of C, H, and O atoms in the molecule but nevertheless qualitatively distinct from one another. We can even calculate how many such isomers are possible for each member of the series. Thus, in the paraffin series, for $C_4H_{10}$ there are two, for $C_5H_{12}$ there are three; among the higher members the number of possible isomers mounts very rapidly. Hence once again it is the quantitative number of atoms in the molecule that determines the possibility and, in so far as it has been proved, also the actual existence of such qualitatively distinct isomers.

Still more. From the analogy of the substances with which we are acquainted in each of these series, we can draw conclusions as to the physical properties of the still unknown members of the series and, at least for the members immediately following the known ones, predict their properties, boiling point, etc., with fair certainty.

Finally, the Hegelian law is valid not only for compound substances but also for the chemical elements themselves. We now know that

"the chemical properties of the elements are a periodic function of their atomic weights" (Roscoe-Schorlemmer, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Chemie,* Vol. II, p. 823),

and that, therefore, their quality is determined by the quantity of their atomic weight. And the test of this has been brilliantly carried out. Mendeleyev proved that various gaps occur in the series of related elements arranged according to atomic weights indicating that here new elements remain to be discovered. He described in advance the general chemical properties of one of these unknown elements, which he termed eka-aluminium, because it follows after aluminium in the series beginning with the latter, and he predicted its approximate specific and atomic weight as well as its atomic volume. A few years later, Lecoq de Boisbaudran actually discovered this element, and Mendeleyev's predictions fitted with only very slight discrepancies. Eka-aluminium was realised in gallium (ibid., p. 828). By means of the—unconscious—application of Hegel's law of the transformation of quantity into quality, Mendeleyev achieved a scientific feat which it is not too bold to put on a par with that of Leverrier in calculating the orbit of the until then unknown planet Neptune.[169]

In biology, as in the history of human society, the same law holds good at every step, but we prefer to dwell here on examples from the exact sciences, since here the quantities are accurately measurable and traceable.

Probably the same gentlemen who up to now have decried the transformation of quantity into quality as mysticism and incomprehensible transcendentalism will now declare that it is indeed something quite self-evident, trivial, and commonplace, which they have long employed, and so they have been taught nothing new. But to have formulated for the first time in its universally valid form a general law of development of nature, society, and thought, will always remain an act of historic importance. And if these gentlemen have for years caused quantity and quality to be transformed into each other, without knowing what they did, then they will have to console themselves with Molière's Monsieur Jourdain who had spoken prose all his life without having the slightest inkling of it.[a]

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[a] J. B. Molière, *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme,* Act II, Scene 6.—*Ed.*

## BASIC FORMS OF MOTION[170]

Motion in the most general sense, conceived as the mode of existence, the inherent attribute, of matter, comprehends all changes and processes occurring in the universe, from mere change of place right up to thinking. The investigation of the nature of motion had as a matter of course to start from the lowest, simplest forms of this motion and to learn to grasp these before it could achieve anything in the way of explanation of the higher and more complicated forms. Hence, in the historical development of the natural sciences we see how first of all the theory of simplest change of place, the mechanics of heavenly bodies and terrestrial masses, was developed; it was followed by the theory of molecular motion, physics, and immediately afterwards, almost alongside of it and in some places in advance of it, the science of the motion of atoms, chemistry. Only after these different branches of the knowledge of the forms of motion governing non-living nature had attained a high degree of development could the explanation of the processes of motion representing the life process be successfully tackled. This advanced in proportion with the progress of mechanics, physics, and chemistry. Consequently, while mechanics has for a fairly long time already been able adequately to refer the effects in the animal body of the bony levers set into motion by muscular contraction to the laws that are valid also in non-living nature, the physico-chemical substantiation of the other phenomena of life is still pretty much at the beginning of its course. Hence, in investigating here the nature of motion, we are compelled to leave the organic forms of motion out of account. We are compelled to restrict ourselves—in accordance with the state of science—to the forms of motion of non-living nature.

All motion is bound up with some change of place, whether it be change of place of heavenly bodies, terrestrial masses, molecules, atoms, or ether particles. The higher the form of motion, the smaller this change of place. It in no way exhausts the nature of the motion concerned, but it is inseparable from the motion. It, therefore, has to be investigated before anything else.

The whole of nature accessible to us forms a system, an interconnected totality of bodies, and by bodies we understand here all material existences extending from stars to atoms, indeed right to ether particles, in so far as one grants the existence of the last named. In the fact that these bodies are interconnected is already included that they react on one another, and it is precisely this mutual reaction that constitutes motion. It already becomes evident here that matter is unthinkable without motion. And if, in addition, matter confronts us as something given, equally uncreatable as indestructible, it follows that motion also is as uncreatable as indestructible. It became impossible to reject this conclusion as soon as it was recognised that the universe is a system, an inter-connection of bodies. And since this recognition had been reached by philosophy long before it gained effective currency in natural science, one can understand why philosophy, fully two hundred years before natural science, drew the conclusion of the uncreatability and indestructibility of motion. Even the form in which it did so is still superior to the present-day formulation of natural science. Descartes' principle, that the amount [die Menge] of motion present in the universe is always the same, has only the formal defect of applying a finite expression to an infinite magnitude. On the other hand, two expressions of the same law are at present current in natural science: Helmholtz's law of the conservation of *force*, and the newer, more precise, one of the conservation of *energy*. Of these, the one, as we shall see, says the exact opposite of the other, and moreover each of them expresses only one side of the relation.

When two bodies act on each other so that a change of place of one or both of them results, this change of place can consist only in an approximation or a separation. They either attract each other or they repel each other. Or, as mechanics expresses it, the forces operating between them are central, acting along the line joining their centres. That this happens, that it is the case throughout the universe without exception, however complicated many movements may appear to be, is nowadays accepted as a matter of course. It would seem nonsensical to us to assume, when two bodies act on each other and their mutual interaction is not

opposed by any obstacle or the influence of a third body, that this action should be effected otherwise than along the shortest and most direct path, i.e., along the straight line joining their centres.* It is well known, moreover, that Helmholtz (*Erhaltung der Kraft*, Berlin, 1847, Sections I and II[b]) has provided the mathematical proof that central action and unalterability of the amount of motion [Bewegungsmenge][171] are reciprocally conditioned and that the assumption of other than central actions leads to results in which motion could be either created or destroyed. Hence the basic form of all motion is approximation and separation, contraction and expansion—in short, the old polar opposites of *attraction* and *repulsion*.

It is expressly to be noted that attraction and repulsion are not regarded here as so-called *"forces"* but as *simple forms of motion*, just as Kant had already conceived matter as the unity of attraction and repulsion. What is to be understood by "forces" will be shown in due course.

All motion consists in the interplay of attraction and repulsion. Motion, however, is only possible when each individual attraction is compensated by a corresponding repulsion somewhere else. Otherwise in time one side would get the preponderance over the other and then motion would finally cease. Hence all attractions and all repulsions in the universe must mutually balance one another. Thus the law of the indestructibility and uncreatability of motion is expressed in the form that each movement of attraction in the universe must have as its complement an equivalent movement of repulsion and vice versa; or, as earlier philosophy—long before the natural-scientific formulation of the law of conservation of force or energy—expressed it: the sum of all attractions in the universe is equal to the sum of all repulsions.

However, it appears that there are here still two possibilities for all motion to cease at some time or other, either by repulsion and attraction finally cancelling each other out in actual fact, or by the total repulsion finally taking possession of one part of matter and the total attraction of the other part. For the dialectical conception, these possibilities are excluded from the outset. Dialectics has proved from the results of our experience of nature so far that all

* Kant [says], p. 22, that the three dimensions of space depend on the fact that this attraction or repulsion takes place in inverse proportion to the square of the distance.[a] [Marginal note.]

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[a] I. Kant, *Sämmtliche Werke*, Bd. I, Leipzig, 1867.—*Ed.*
[b] H. Helmholtz, *Über die Erhaltung der Kraft...*, S. 10-20.—*Ed.*

polar opposites in general are determined by the mutual action of the two opposite poles on each other, that the separation and opposition of these poles exist only within their mutual connection and union, and, conversely, that their union exists only in their separation and their mutual connection only in their opposition. This once established, there can be no question of a final cancelling out of repulsion and attraction, or of a final partition between the one form of motion in one half of matter and the other form in the other half, consequently, there can be no question of mutual penetration[a] or of absolute separation of the two poles. It would be equivalent to demanding in the first case that the north and south poles of a magnet should mutually cancel themselves out or, in the second case, that dividing a magnet in the middle between the two poles should produce on one side a north half without a south pole, and on the other side a south half without a north pole. Although, however, the impermissibility of such assumptions follows at once from the dialectical nature of polar opposites, nevertheless, thanks to the prevailing metaphysical mode of thought of natural scientists, the second assumption at least plays a certain part in physical theory. This will be dealt with in its place.

How does motion present itself in the interaction of attraction and repulsion? We can best investigate this in the separate forms of motion itself. At the end, the general aspect of the matter will show itself.

Let us take the motion of a planet about its central body. Ordinary school astronomy follows Newton in explaining the ellipse described as the result of the joint action of two forces, the attraction of the central body and a tangential force driving the planet along the normal to the direction of this attraction. Thus it assumes, besides the form of motion directed centrally, also another direction of motion, or so-called "force", perpendicular to the line joining the centres. Thereby it contradicts the above-mentioned basic law according to which all motion in our universe can only take place along the line joining the centres of the bodies acting on one another, or, as one says, is caused only by centrally acting "forces". Thereby also it introduces into the theory an element of motion which, as we have likewise seen, necessarily leads to the creation and destruction of motion, and therefore presupposes a creator. What had to be done, therefore, was to reduce this mysterious tangential force to a form of motion acting

[a] In the sense of mutual equalisation and neutralisation.— *Ed.*

centrally, and this the Kant-Laplace theory of cosmogony accomplished. As is well known, according to this conception the whole solar system arose from a rotating, extremely tenuous, gaseous mass by gradual contraction. The rotational motion is obviously strongest at the equator of this gaseous sphere, and individual gaseous rings separate themselves from the mass and clump themselves together into planets, planetoids, etc., which revolve round the central body in the direction of the original rotation. This rotation itself is usually explained from the motion of the individual gaseous particles themselves. This motion takes place in all directions, but finally an excess in one particular direction makes itself evident and so causes the rotating motion, which is bound to become stronger and stronger with the progressive contraction of the gaseous sphere. But whatever hypothesis is assumed of the origin of the rotation, they all abolish the tangential force, dissolving it in a special form of the manifestation of centrally acting motion. If the one element of planetary motion, the directly central one, is represented by gravitation, the attraction between the planet and the central body, then the other, tangential, element appears as a relic, in a derivative or altered form, of the original repulsion of the individual particles of the gaseous sphere. Thus the life process of a solar system presents itself as an interplay of attraction and repulsion, in which attraction gradually more and more gets the upper hand owing to repulsion being radiated into space in the form of heat and thus more and more becoming lost to the system.

One sees at a glance that the form of motion here conceived as repulsion is the same as that which modern physics terms *"energy"*. By the contraction of the system and the resulting detachment of the individual bodies of which it consists today, the system has lost "energy", and indeed this loss, according to Helmholtz's well-known calculation, already amounts to $^{453}/_{454}$ of the total amount of motion [Bewegungsmenge] originally present in the form of repulsion.[172]

Let us take now a mass in the shape of a body on our earth itself. It is connected with the earth by gravitation, as the earth in turn is with the sun; but unlike the earth it is incapable of a free planetary motion. It can be set in motion only by an impulse from outside, and even then, as soon as the impulse ceases, its movement speedily comes to a standstill, whether by the effect of gravity alone or by the latter in combination with the resistance of the medium in which it moves. This resistance also is in the last resort an effect of gravity, in the absence of which the earth would

not have on its surface any resistant medium, any atmosphere. Hence in pure mechanical motion on the earth's surface we are concerned with a situation in which gravitation, attraction, decisively predominates, where therefore the production of the motion shows both phases: first counteracting gravity and then allowing gravity to act—in a word, rising and falling.

Thus we have again mutual action between attraction on the one hand and a form of motion taking place in the opposite direction to it, hence a repelling form of motion, on the other hand. But within the sphere of terrestrial *pure* mechanics (which deals with masses of *given* states of aggregation and cohesion taken by it as unalterable) this repelling form of motion does not occur in nature. The physical and chemical conditions under which a lump of rock becomes separated from a mountain top, or a fall of water becomes possible, lie outside its sphere of action. Therefore, in terrestrial pure mechanics, the repelling, raising motion must be produced artificially: by human force, animal force, water or steam power, etc. And this circumstance, this necessity to combat the natural attraction artificially, causes the mechanicians to adopt the view that attraction, gravitation, or, as they say, the *force* of gravity, is the most important, indeed the basic, form of motion in nature.

When, for instance, a weight is raised and communicates motion to other bodies by falling directly or indirectly, then according to the usual view of mechanics it is not the *raising* of the weight which communicates this motion but the *force of gravity.* Thus Helmholtz, for instance, makes

> "the force which is the simplest and the one with which we are best acquainted, viz., gravity, act as the driving force ... for instance in clocks that are actuated by a weight. The weight ... cannot comply with the pull of gravity without setting the whole clockwork in motion." But it cannot set the clockwork in motion without itself sinking and it goes on sinking until the string from which it hangs is completely unwound: "Then the clock comes to a stop, for the operative capacity of the weight is exhausted for the time being. Its weight is not lost or diminished, it remains attracted to the same extent by the earth, but the capacity of this weight to produce movements has been lost.... We can, however, wind up the clock by the power of the human arm, whereby the weight is once more raised up. As soon as this has happened, it regains its previous operative capacity and can again keep the clock in motion." (Helmholtz, *Populäre Vorträge*, II, p. 144[-45].)

According to Helmholtz, therefore, it is not the active communication of motion, the raising of the weight, that sets the clock into motion, but the passive heaviness of the weight, although this same heaviness is only withdrawn from its passivity by the raising, and once again returns to passivity after the string of the weight

has unwound. If then according to the modern conception, as we saw above, *energy* is only another expression for *repulsion*, here in the older Helmholtz conception *force* appears as another expression for the opposite of repulsion, for *attraction*. For the time being we shall simply put this on record.

When, however, the process of terrestrial mechanics has reached its end, when the heavy mass has first of all been raised and then again has fallen through the same vertical distance, what becomes of the motion that constituted this process? For pure mechanics, it has disappeared. But we know now that it has by no means been destroyed. To a lesser extent it has been converted into the air vibrations of sound waves, to a much greater extent into heat—which has been communicated in part to the resisting atmosphere, in part to the falling body itself, and finally in part to the floor on which the weight comes to rest. The clock weight has also gradually given up its motion in the form of frictional heat to the separate driving wheels of the clockwork. But, although usually expressed in this way, it is not the *falling* motion, i.e., the attraction, that has passed into heat, and therefore into a form of repulsion. On the contrary, as Helmholtz correctly remarks, the attraction, the heaviness, remains what it previously was and, accurately speaking, becomes even greater. Rather it is the repulsion communicated to the raised body by raising that is *mechanically* destroyed by falling and reappears as heat. The repulsion of masses is transformed into molecular repulsion.

Heat, as already stated, is a form of repulsion. It sets the molecules of solid bodies into oscillation, thereby loosening the connection of the separate molecules until finally the transition to the liquid state takes place. In the liquid state also, on continued addition of heat, it increases the motion of the molecules until a degree is reached at which these split off altogether from the mass and, at a definite velocity determined for each molecule by its chemical constitution, they move away individually in the free state. With a still further addition of heat, this velocity is further increased, and so the molecules are more and more repelled from one another.

But heat is a form of so-called "energy"; here once again the latter proves to be identical with repulsion.

In the phenomena of static electricity and magnetism, we have a polar distribution of attraction and repulsion. Whatever hypothesis may be adopted of the *modus operandi* of these two forms of motion, in view of the facts no one has any doubt that attraction and repulsion, in so far as they are produced by static electricity or

magnetism and are able to develop unhindered, completely compensate each other, as in fact necessarily follows from the very nature of the polar distribution. Two poles whose activities did not completely compensate each other would indeed not be poles, and also have so far not been met with in nature. For the time being we will leave galvanism out of account, because in its case the process is determined by chemical reactions, which makes it more complicated. Therefore, let us investigate rather the chemical processes of motion themselves.

When two parts by weight of hydrogen combine with 15.96 parts by weight of oxygen to form water vapour, an amount of heat of 68.924 heat-units is developed during the process. Conversely, if 17.96 parts by weight of water vapour are to be decomposed into two parts by weight of hydrogen and 15.96 parts by weight of oxygen, this is only possible on condition that the water vapour has communicated to it an amount of motion equivalent to 68.924 heat-units—whether in the form of heat itself or of electrical motion. The same thing holds for all other chemical processes. In the overwhelming majority of cases, motion is given off on combination and must be supplied on decomposition. Here, too, as a rule, repulsion is the active side of the process more endowed with motion or requiring the addition of motion, while attraction is the passive side producing a surplus of motion and giving off motion. On this account, the modern theory also declares that, on the whole, energy is set free on the combination of elements and is bound up on decomposition. Here, therefore, energy again stands for repulsion. And again Helmholtz declares:

"This force" (chemical affinity) "can be conceived as a force of *attraction*... This force of attraction between the atoms of carbon and oxygen performs work quite as much as that exerted on a raised weight by the earth in the form of gravitation... When carbon and oxygen atoms rush at one another and combine to form carbonic acid, the newly-formed particles of carbonic acid must be in very violent molecular motion, i. e., in heat motion... When later they have given up their heat to the environment, we still have in the carbonic acid all the carbon, all the oxygen, and in addition the affinity of both continuing to exist just as powerfully as before. But this affinity now expresses itself solely in the fact that the atoms of carbon and oxygen stick fast to one another, and do not allow of their being separated." (l. c., [p.] 169-[170].)

It is just as before: Helmholtz insists that in chemistry as in mechanics force consists only in *attraction*, and therefore is the exact opposite of what other physicists call energy and which is identical with *repulsion*.

Hence we have now no longer the two simple basic forms of attraction and repulsion, but a whole series of sub-forms in which

the winding up and running down process of universal motion goes on within the opposition of attraction and repulsion. It is, however, by no means merely in our mind that these manifold forms of appearance are comprehended under the *single* expression of motion. On the contrary, they themselves prove in action that they are forms of one and the same motion by passing into one another under given conditions. Mechanical motion of masses passes into heat, into electricity, into magnetism; heat and electricity pass into chemical decomposition; chemical combination in turn again develops heat and electricity and, by means of the latter, magnetism; and finally, heat and electricity produce once more mechanical movement of masses. Moreover, these changes take place in such a way that a given amount of motion [Bewegungsmenge] of one form always has corresponding to it an exactly fixed amount of another form. Further, it is a matter of indifference which form of motion provides the unit by which the amount of motion is measured, whether it serves for measuring mass motion, heat, so-called electromotive force, or the motion undergoing transformation in chemical processes.

We base ourselves here on the theory of the "conservation of energy" established by J. R. Mayer in 1842* and afterwards worked out internationally with such brilliant success, and we have now to investigate the fundamental concepts nowadays made use of by this theory. These are the concepts of "force" or "energy", and "work".

* Helmholtz, in his *Populäre Vorlesungen*, II, p. 113, appears to ascribe a certain share in the natural-scientific proof of Descartes' principle of the quantitative immutability of motion to himself as well as to Mayer, Joule, and Colding. "I myself, without knowing anything of Mayer and Colding, and only becoming acquainted with Joule's experiments at the end of my work, *proceeded along the same path*; I occupied myself especially with searching out all the relations between the various processes of nature that could be deduced from the given mode of consideration, and I *published my investigations* in 1847 in a little work entitled *Über die Erhaltung der Kraft*."[a]—But in this work there is to be found nothing new for the position in 1847 beyond the above-mentioned, mathematically very valuable, development that "conservation of force" and central action of the forces active between the various bodies of a system are only two different expressions for the same thing, and further a more accurate formulation of the law that the sum of the live and tensional forces in a given *mechanical* system is constant. In every other respect it was already superseded since Mayer's second paper of 1845. Already in 1842 Mayer maintained the "indestructibility of force", and from his new standpoint in 1845 he had much more brilliant things to say about the "relations between the various processes of nature" than Helmholtz had in 1847.[173]

[a] All italics in the quotation are by Engels.—*Ed.*

It has been shown above that according to the modern view, now fairly generally accepted, energy is the term used for repulsion, while Helmholtz mostly uses the word "force" to express attraction. One could regard this as an unimportant formal difference, inasmuch as attraction and repulsion compensate each other in the universe, and accordingly it would appear a matter of indifference which side of the relation is taken as positive and which as negative, just as it is of no importance in itself whether the positive abscissae are counted to the right or the left of a point in a given line. Nevertheless, this is not absolutely so.

For we are concerned here, first of all, not with the universe, but with phenomena occurring on the earth and conditioned by the exactly fixed position of the earth in the solar system, and of the solar system in the universe. At every moment, however, our solar system gives out enormous quantities of motion into space, and motion of a very definite quality, viz., the sun's heat, i. e., repulsion. But our earth itself allows of the existence of life on it only owing to the sun's heat, and the earth in turn finally radiates into space the sun's heat received, after it has converted a portion of this heat into other forms of motion. Consequently, in the solar system and above all on the earth, attraction already considerably preponderates over repulsion. Without the repulsive motion radiated to us from the sun, all motion on the earth would cease. If tomorrow the sun were to become cold, the attraction on the earth would still, other circumstances remaining the same, be what it is today. As before, a stone of 100 kilograms, wherever situated, would weigh 100 kilograms. But the motion, both of masses and of molecules and atoms, would come to what we would regard as an absolute standstill. Therefore it is clear that for processes occurring on the *earth* today it is by no means a matter of indifference whether attraction or repulsion is conceived as the active side of motion, hence as "force" or "energy". On the contrary, on the earth today attraction has already become *altogether passive* owing to its decisive preponderance over repulsion; we owe all active motion to the supply of repulsion from the sun. Therefore, the modern school—even if it remains unclear about the nature of the relation of motion [des Bewegungsverhältnisses]—nevertheless, in point of fact and for *terrestrial* processes, indeed for the whole solar system, is absolutely right in conceiving energy as repulsion.

The term "energy" by no means correctly expresses the entire relation of motion, for it comprehends only one aspect, the action

but not the reaction. It still makes it appear as if "energy" was something external to matter, something implanted in it. But in all circumstances it is to be preferred to the expression "force".

As is generally conceded (from Hegel to Helmholtz), the notion of force is derived from the activity of the human organism within its environment. We speak of muscular force, of the lifting force of the arms, of the leaping power of the legs, of the digestive force of the stomach and intestinal tract, of the sensory force of the nerves, of the secretory force of the glands, etc. In other words, in order to save having to give the real cause of a change brought about by a function of our organism, we substitute a fictitious cause, a so-called force corresponding to the change. Then we carry this convenient method over to the external world also, and so invent as many forces as there are diverse phenomena.

In *Hegel's* time natural science (with the exception perhaps of celestial and terrestrial mechanics) was still in this naive state, and Hegel quite correctly attacks the prevailing way of denoting forces (passage to be quoted).[174] Similarly in another passage:

> "It is better" (to say) "that a magnet has a *soul*" (as Thales expresses it) "than that it has an attracting force; force is a kind of property that, *separable from matter,* is put forward as a predicate—while soul, on the other hand, *is this movement itself, identical with the nature of matter.*" (*Geschichte der Philosophie,* I, p. 208.)[a]

Today we no longer make it so easy for ourselves in regard to forces. Let us listen to Helmholtz:

> "If we are fully acquainted with a natural law, we must also demand that it should operate without exception... Thus the law confronts us as an objective power, and accordingly we term it a *force.* For instance, we objectivise the law of the refraction of light as a refractive power of transparent substances, the law of chemical affinities as a force of affinity of the various substances for one another. Thus we speak of the electrical force of contact of metals, of the force of adhesion, capillary force, and so on. These names objectivise laws which in the first place embrace only a limited series of natural processes, *the conditions for which are still rather complicated*[b]... Force is only the objectivised law of action... The abstract idea of force introduced by us only makes the addition that we have not arbitrarily invented this law but that it is a compulsory law of phenomena. Hence our demand to *understand* the phenomena of nature, i. e., to find out their *laws,* takes on another form of expression, viz., that we have to seek out the *forces* which are the

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie, Werke,* Bd. XIII.—*Ed.*

[b] All italics in the quotation are by Engels.—*Ed.*

causes of the phenomena." (*Loc. cit.*, pp. [189-91]. Innsbruck lecture of 1869.)[a]

Firstly, it is certainly a peculiar manner of "objectivising" if the *purely subjective* notion of *force* is introduced into a natural law that has already been established as independent of our subjectivity and therefore completely *objective.* At most an Old-Hegelian of the strictest type might permit himself such a thing, but not a Neo-Kantian like Helmholtz. Neither the law, when once established, nor its objectivity or the objectivity of its action, acquires the slightest new objectivity by our interpolating a force into it; what is added is our *subjective assertion* that it acts in virtue of some so far entirely unknown force. The secret meaning, however, of this interpolating is seen as soon as Helmholtz gives us examples: refraction of light, chemical affinity, contact electricity, adhesion, capillarity, and raises the laws that govern these phenomena to the "objective" rank of nobility as *forces.* "These names objectivise laws which in the first place embrace only a limited series of natural processes, the conditions for which *are still rather complicated.*" And it is just here that the "objectivising", which is rather subjectivising, gets its meaning; not because we have become fully acquainted with the law, but just because this is *not* the case. Just because we are *not* yet clear about the "rather complicated conditions" of these phenomena, we often take refuge here in the word force. We express thereby not our knowledge, but our *lack* of knowledge of the nature of the law and its mode of action. In this sense, as a short expression for a causal connection that has not yet been explained, as a makeshift expression, it may pass in current usage. Whatsoever is more than that cometh of evil. With just as much right as Helmholtz explains physical phenomena from so-called refractive force, electrical force of contact, etc., the mediaeval scholastics explained temperature changes by means of a *vis calorifica*[b] and a *vis frigifaciens*[c] and thus saved themselves all further investigation of heat phenomena.

And even in this sense it is unfortunate, for it expresses everything in a one-sided manner. All natural processes are two-sided, they are based on the relation of at least two operative parts, action and reaction. The notion of force, however, owing to

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[a] H. Helmholtz, "Über das Ziel und die Fortschritte der Naturwissenschaft. Eröffnungsrede für die Naturforscherversammlung zu Innsbruck 1869". In: *Populäre wissenschaftliche Vorträge,* H. 2.—*Ed.*

[b] Heating force.—*Ed.*

[c] Cooling force.—*Ed.*

its origin from the action of the human organism on the external world, and further from terrestrial mechanics, implies that only one part is active, operative, the other part being passive, receptive; hence it lays down a not yet demonstrable extension of the difference between the sexes to non-living objects. The reaction of the second part, on which the force works, appears at most as a passive reaction, as a *resistance.* Now this mode of conception is permissible in a number of fields even outside pure mechanics, namely, where it is a matter of the simple transference of motion and its quantitative calculation. But already in the more complicated physical processes it is no longer adequate, as Helmholtz's own examples prove. The refractive force lies just as much in the light itself as in the transparent bodies. In the case of adhesion and capillarity, it is certain that the "force" is just as much situated in the surface of the solid as in the liquid. In contact electricity, at any rate, this much is certain, viz., that *both* metals contribute to it, and "chemical affinity" also is situated, if anywhere, in *both* the parts entering into combination. But a force which consists of two separated forces, an action which does not evoke its reaction, but which includes and bears this in itself, is no force in the sense of terrestrial mechanics, the only science in which one really knows what is meant by a force. For the basic conditions of terrestrial mechanics are, firstly, refusal to investigate the causes of the impulse, i. e., the nature of the particular force, and, secondly, the view of the one-sidedness of the force, it being everywhere opposed by an identical gravitational force, such that in comparison with any terrestrial distance of fall the earth's radius $= \infty$

But let us see further how Helmholtz "objectivises" his "forces" into natural laws.

In a lecture of 1854 (*loc. cit.,* p. 119)[a] he examines the "store of working force" originally contained in the spherical nebula from which our solar system was formed.

> "In point of fact it received an enormously large legacy in this respect, if only in the form of the general force of attraction of all its parts for one another."

This is indubitable. But it is equally indubitable that the whole of this legacy of gravity or gravitation is present undiminished in the solar system today, apart perhaps from the minute quantity

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[a] H. Helmholtz, "Über die Wechselwirkung der Naturkräfte und die darauf bezüglichen neuesten Ermittlungen der Physik", *Populäre wissenschaftliche Vorträge,* H. II.—*Ed.*

that was lost together with the matter which possibly was flung out irrevocably into space. Further:

"Chemical forces too must have been already present and ready to act; but as these forces could become effective only on intimate contact of the various kinds of masses, condensation had to take place before they came into play." [P. 120.]

If, as Helmholtz does above, we regard these chemical forces as forces of affinity, hence as *attraction*, then again we are bound to say that the sum-total of these chemical forces of attraction still exists undiminished within the solar system.

But on the same page Helmholtz gives us as the result of his calculations

"that perhaps only the 454th part of the original mechanical force exists as such"—that is to say, in the solar system.

How is one to make sense of that? The force of attraction, general as well as chemical, is still present unimpaired in the solar system. Helmholtz does not mention any other certain source of force. In any case, according to Helmholtz, these forces have performed tremendous work. But they have neither increased nor diminished on that account. As it is with the clock weight mentioned above, so it is with every molecule in the solar system and the whole solar system itself. "Its weight is neither lost nor diminished". What happens to carbon and oxygen as previously mentioned holds good for all chemical elements: the total given quantity of each one remains, and "the total force of affinity continues to exist just as powerfully as before". What have we lost then? And what "force" has performed the tremendous work which is 453 times as great as that which, according to his calculation, the solar system is still able to perform? Up to this point Helmholtz has given no answer. But further on he says:

"Whether" [in the original spherical nebula] "a further *reserve of force in the shape of heat*[a] was present, we do not know." [P. 120.]

But, if we may be allowed to mention it, heat is a repulsive "force", it acts therefore *against* the direction of both gravitation and chemical attraction, being minus if these are put as plus. Hence if, according to Helmholtz, the original reserve of force is composed of general and chemical *attraction,* an extra reserve of heat would have to be, not added to that reserve of force, but subtracted from it. Otherwise the sun's heat would have to

[a] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

*strengthen* the force of attraction of the earth when it causes water to evaporate in direct *opposition* to this attraction, and the water vapour to rise; or the heat of an incandescent iron tube through which steam is passed would *strengthen* the chemical attraction of oxygen and hydrogen, whereas it puts it out of action. Or, to make the same thing clear in another form: let us assume that the spherical nebula with radius $r$, and therefore with volume $\frac{4}{3}\pi r^3$, has a temperature $t$. Let us further assume a second spherical nebula of equal mass having at the higher temperature $T$ the larger radius $R$ and volume $\frac{4}{3}\pi R^3$. Now it is obvious that in the second nebula the attraction, mechanical as well as physical and chemical, can act with the same force as in the first only when it has shrunk from radius $R$ to radius $r$, i. e., when it has radiated into space heat corresponding to the temperature difference $T—t$. A hotter nebula will therefore condense later than a colder one; consequently the heat, considered from Helmholtz's standpoint as an obstacle to condensation, is no plus but a minus of the "reserve of force". Thus, Helmholtz, by presupposing the possibility of an amount of *repulsive* motion in the form of heat becoming added to the *attractive* forms of motion and increasing the total of these latter, commits a definite error of calculation.

Let us now bring the whole of this "reserve of force", possible as well as demonstrable, under the same mathematical sign so that an addition is possible. Since for the time being we cannot reverse the heat and replace its repulsion by the equivalent attraction, we shall have to perform this reversal with the two forms of attraction. Then, instead of the general force of attraction, instead of the chemical affinity, and instead of the heat, which moreover possibly already existed as such at the outset, we have simply to put the sum of the repulsive motion or so-called energy present in the gaseous sphere at the moment when it becomes independent. And by so doing Helmholtz's calculation will also hold, in which he wants to calculate "the heating that must arise from the assumed initial condensation of the heavenly bodies of our system from nebulously scattered matter". By thus reducing the whole "reserve of force" to heat, repulsion, he also makes it possible to add on the assumed "reserve of force of heat".[a] The calculation then means that $^{453}/_{454}$ of all the energy, i. e., repulsion, originally

[a] H. Helmholtz, "Über die Wechselwirkung der Naturkräfte", *Populäre wissenschaftliche Vorträge,* H. II, S. 134.—*Ed.*

present in the gaseous sphere, has been radiated into space in the form of heat, or, to put it accurately, that the sum of all attraction in the present solar system is to the sum of all repulsion, still present in the same, as 454 : 1. But then it directly contradicts the text of the lecture to which it is added as proof.

If then the notion of force, even in the case of a physicist like Helmholtz, gives rise to such confusion of ideas, this is the best proof that it is altogether insusceptible of scientific use in all branches of investigation which go beyond mathematical mechanics. In mechanics the causes of motion are taken as given and their origin is disregarded, only their effects being taken into account. Hence if a cause of motion is termed a force, this does no damage to mechanics as such; but it becomes the custom to transfer this term also to physics, chemistry, and biology, and then confusion is inevitable. We have already seen this and shall frequently see it again more than once.

For the concept of work, see the next chapter.

## THE MEASURE OF MOTION.—WORK [175]

"On the other hand, I have always found hitherto that the basic concepts in this field" (i. e., "the basic physical concepts of work and its unalterability") "seem very difficult to grasp for persons who have not gone through the school of mathematical mechanics, in spite of all zeal, all intelligence, and even a fairly high degree of natural-scientific knowledge. Moreover, it cannot be denied that they are abstractions of a quite peculiar kind. It was not without difficulty that even such an intellect as that of I. Kant succeeded in understanding them, as is proved by his polemic against Leibniz on this subject."

So says Helmholtz. (*Populäre wissenschaftliche Vorträge*, II, Preface.)

According to this, we are venturing now into a very dangerous field, the more so since we cannot very well take the liberty of guiding the reader "through the school of mathematical mechanics". Perhaps, however, it will turn out that, where it is a question of concepts, dialectical thinking will carry us at least as far as mathematical calculation.

Galileo discovered, on the one hand, the law of falling, according to which the distances traversed by falling bodies are proportional to the squares of the times taken in falling. On the other hand, as we shall see, he put forward the not quite compatible proposition that the quantity of motion of a body (its *impeto* or *momento*) is determined by the mass and the velocity in such a way that for constant mass it is proportional to the velocity. Descartes adopted this latter proposition and made the product of the mass and the velocity of a moving body quite generally into the measure of its motion.

Huyghens had already found that, on elastic impact, the sum of the products of the masses and the squares of their velocities remains the same before and after impact, and that an analogous law holds good in various other cases of motion of bodies united into a system.

Leibniz was the first to realise that the Cartesian measure of motion was in contradiction to the law of falling. On the other hand, it could not be denied that in many cases the Cartesian measure was correct. Accordingly, Leibniz divided motive forces into dead forces and living ones. The dead were the "pushes" or "pulls" of bodies at rest, and their measure the product of the mass and the velocity with which the body would move if it were to pass from a state of rest to one of motion. On the other hand, he put forward as the measure of *vis viva,* of the real motion of a body, the product of the mass and the square of the velocity. This new measure of motion he derived directly from the law of falling.

"The same force is required," so Leibniz concluded, "to raise a body of four pounds in weight one foot as to raise a body of one pound in weight four feet; but the distances are proportional to the square of the velocity, for when a body has fallen four feet, it attains twice the velocity reached on falling only one foot. However, bodies on falling acquire the force for rising to the same height as that from which they fell; hence the forces are proportional to the square of the velocity." (Suter, *Geschichte der mathematischen Wissenschaften,* II, p. 367.)

But he showed further that the measure of motion $mv$ is in contradiction to the Cartesian law of the constancy of the quantity of motion, for if it was really valid the force (i.e., the amount of motion) in nature would continually increase or diminish. He even suggested an apparatus (*Acta Eruditorum,* 1690) which, if the measure $mv$ were correct, would be bound to act as a *perpetuum mobile* with continual gain of force, which, however, would be absurd.[176] Recently, Helmholtz has again frequently employed this kind of argument.

The Cartesians protested with might and main and there developed a famous controversy lasting many years, in which Kant also participated in his very first work (*Gedanken von der wahren Schätzung der lebendigen Kräfte,* 1746),[177] without, however, seeing clearly into the matter. Mathematicians today look down with a certain amount of scorn on this "barren" controversy which

"dragged out for more than forty years and divided the mathematicians of Europe into two hostile camps, until at last d'Alembert by his *Traité de dynamique* (1743), as it were by a royal edict, put an end to the *useless verbal dispute,*[a] for it was nothing else". (Suter, *loc. cit.,* p. 366.)

It would, however, seem that a controversy could not rest entirely on a useless verbal dispute when it had been initiated by a Leibniz against a Descartes, and had occupied a man like Kant to such an extent that he devoted to it his first work, a fairly large

[a] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

volume. And in point of fact, how is it to be understood that motion has two contradictory measures, that on one occasion it is proportional to the velocity, and on another to the square of the velocity? Suter makes it very easy for himself; he says both sides were right and both were wrong;

"nevertheless, the expression '*vis viva*' has endured up to the present day; *only it no longer serves as the measure of force*,[a] but is merely a term that was once adopted for the product of the mass and half the square of the velocity, a product so full of significance in mechanics." [P. 368.]

Hence, $mv$ remains the measure of motion, and *vis viva* is only another expression for $\frac{mv^2}{2}$, concerning which formula we learn indeed that it is of great significance for mechanics, but now most certainly do not know what significance it has.

Let us, however, take up the salvation-bringing *Traité de dynamique* and look more closely at d'Alembert's "royal edict"; it is to be found in the *Preface.* In the text, it says, the whole question does not occur, on account of

"*l'inutilité parfaite dont elle est pour la mécanique*".[b] [P. XVII.]

This is quite correct for *purely mathematical* mechanics, in which, as in the case of Suter above, words used as designations are only other expressions or names for algebraic formulae, names in connection with which it is best not to think at all.

Nevertheless, since such important people have concerned themselves with the matter, he desires to examine it briefly in the Preface. Clearness of thought demands that by the force of moving bodies one should understand only their property of overcoming obstacles or resisting them. Hence, force is to be measured neither by $mv$ nor by $mv^2$, but solely by the obstacles and the resistance they offer.

Now, there are, he says, three kinds of obstacles: (1) insuperable obstacles which totally destroy the motion, and for that very reason cannot be taken into account here; (2) obstacles whose resistance suffices to arrest the motion and to do so instantaneously: the case of equilibrium; (3) obstacles which only gradually arrest the motion: the case of retarded motion. [Pp. XVII-XVIII.]

"Everyone will agree that two bodies are in equilibrium when the products of their masses and virtual velocities, that is to say the velocities with which they tend to move, are equal on each side. Hence, in equilibrium the product of the mass and the velocity, or, what is the same thing, the quantity of motion, can represent the

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[a] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] "Its utter uselessness for the mechanics."—*Ed.*

force. Everyone will agree also that in retarded motion the number of obstacles overcome is as the square of the velocity, so that, for instance, a body which has compressed a spring with a certain velocity, could, with twice the velocity, compress simultaneously or successively not two, but four springs similar to the first, or nine with triple the velocity, and so on. Whence the partisans of *vis viva*" (the Leibnizians) "conclude that the force of bodies actually in motion is in general proportional to the product of the mass and the square of the velocity. Basically, what inconvenience could there be in forces being measured differently in equilibrium and in retarded motion since, if one wants to use only clear views in reasoning, one should understand by the word *force* only the effect produced in surmounting the obstacle or resisting it?"[a] (Preface, pp. XIX-XX of the original edition.)

D'Alembert, however, is far too much of a philosopher not to realise that the contradiction of a twofold measure of one and the same force is not to be got over so easily. Therefore, after repeating what is basically only the same thing as Leibniz had already said—for his *équilibre* is precisely the same thing as the "dead pushes" of Leibniz—he suddenly goes over to the side of the Cartesians and finds the following way out:

The product *mv* can serve as a measure of force, even in the case of retarded motion,

"if in this last case the force is measured, not by the absolute magnitude of the obstacles, but by the sum of the resistances of these same obstacles. For it could not be doubted that this sum of the resistances would be proportional to the quantity of motion" (*mv*), "since, by general agreement, the quantity of motion lost by the body at each instant is proportional to the product of the resistance and the infinitely small duration of the instant, and the sum of these products evidently makes up the total resistance."

This latter mode of calculation seems to him the more natural one,

"for an obstacle is only such in as much as it offers resistance, and, properly speaking, it is the sum of the resistances that constitutes the obstacle overcome; moreover, in estimating the force in this way, one has the advantage of having a common measure for the equilibrium and for the retarded motion". [Pp. XX-XXI.]

Still, everyone can take that as he likes. And so, believing he has solved the question, by what, as Suter himself acknowledges, is a mathematical blunder, he concludes with unkind remarks on the confusion reigning among his predecessors, and asserts that after the above remarks there is possible only a very futile metaphysical discussion or a still more discreditable purely verbal dispute.

D'Alembert's proposal for reaching a reconciliation amounts to the following calculation:

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[a] This and the two following quotations from d'Alembert are given by Engels in French.— *Ed.*

A mass 1, with velocity 1, compresses 1 spring in unit time.

A mass 1, with velocity 2, compresses 4 springs, but requires two units of time; i. e., only 2 springs per unit time.

A mass 1, with velocity 3, compresses 9 springs in three units of time, i. e., only 3 springs per unit of time.

Hence if we divide the effect by the time required for it, we again come from $mv^2$ to $mv$.

This is the same argument that Catelan[178] in particular had already employed against Leibniz; it is true that a body with velocity 2 rises against gravity four times as high as one with velocity 1, but it requires double the time for it; consequently the amount of motion (die Bewegungsmenge) must be divided by the time, and $=2$, not 4. Curiously enough, this is also Suter's view, who indeed deprived the expression *"vis viva"* of all logical meaning and left it only a mathematical one. But this is natural. For Suter it is a question of saving the formula $mv$ in its significance as sole measure of the amount of motion (Bewegungsmenge); hence logically $mv^2$ is sacrificed in order to arise again transfigured in the heaven of mathematics.

However, this much is correct: Catelan's argument provides one of the bridges connecting $mv$ with $mv^2$, and so is of importance.

The mechanicians subsequent to d'Alembert by no means accepted his "royal edict", for his final verdict was indeed in favour of $mv$ as the measure of motion. They adhered to his expression of the distinction which Leibniz had already made between dead and living forces: $mv$ is valid for equilibrium, i. e., for statics; $mv^2$ is valid for motion against resistance, i. e., for dynamics. Although on the whole correct, the distinction in this form has, however, logically no more meaning than the famous decision of the N.C.O.: on duty always "to me", off duty always "me".[179] It is accepted tacitly, it just exists. We cannot alter it, and if a contradiction lurks in this double measure, what can we do about it?

Thus, for instance, Thomson and Tait say (*A Treatise on Natural Philosophy,* Oxford,[180] 1867, p. 162):

> "The *quantity of motion,* or the *momentum,* of a rigid body moving without rotation is proportional to its mass and velocity conjointly. Thus a double mass, or a double velocity, would correspond to double quantity of motion."[a]

And immediately below that they say:

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[a] The quotations from Thomson and Tait are given by Engels in English.—*Ed.*

"The *Vis Viva* or *Kinetic energy* of a moving body is proportional to the mass and the square of the velocity conjointly."

The two contradictory measures of motion are put side by side in this very glaring form. Not so much as the slightest attempt is made to explain the contradiction, or even to disguise it. In the book by these two Scotsmen, thinking is forbidden, only calculation is permitted. No wonder that at least one of them, Tait, is accounted one of the most pious Christians of pious Scotland.

In Kirchhoff's lectures on mathematical mechanics,[a] the formulae $mv$ and $mv^2$ do not occur at all *in this form.*

Perhaps Helmholtz will aid us. In his *Erhaltung der Kraft*[b] he proposes to express *vis viva* by $\frac{mv^2}{2}$—a point to which we shall return later. Then, on page 20 *et seq.*, he

enumerates briefly the cases in which so far the principle of the conservation of *vis viva* (hence of $\frac{mv^2}{2}$) has been used already and is recognised.

Included therein under No. 2 is

"the transference of motions by incompressible solid and fluid bodies, in so far as friction or impact of inelastic materials does not occur. For these cases our general principle is usually expressed in the rule that motion propagated and altered by mechanical powers always decreases in intensity of force in the same proportion as it increases in velocity. If, therefore, we imagine a weight $m$ being raised with velocity $c$ by a machine in which a force for performing work is produced uniformly by some process or other, then with a different mechanical arrangement the weight $nm$ could be raised, but only with velocity $\frac{c}{n}$ so that in both cases the quantity of tensile force produced by the machine in unit time is represented by $mgc$, where $g$ is the intensity of the gravitational force." [S. 21.]

Thus, here too we have the contradiction that an "intensity of force", which decreases and increases in simple proportion to the velocity, has to serve as proof for the conservation of an intensity of force which decreases and increases in proportion to the square of the velocity.

In any case, it becomes evident here that $mv$ and $\frac{mv^2}{2}$ serve to determine two quite distinct processes, but we certainly knew that long ago, for $mv^2$ cannot equal $mv$, unless $v=1$. What has to be done is to make it comprehensible why motion should have a twofold measure, a thing which is surely just as impermissible in science as in commerce. Let us, therefore, attempt this in another way.

By $mv$, then, one measures "a motion propagated and altered by

[a] G. Kirchhoff, *Vorlesungen über mathematische Physik. Mechanik.—Ed.*

[b] H. Helmholtz, *Über die Erhaltung der Kraft...*, S. 9.—*Ed.*

mechanical powers"; hence this measure holds good for the lever and all its derivative forms, for wheels, screws, etc., in short, for all machinery for the transference of motion. But from a very simple and by no means new consideration it becomes evident that in so far as $mv$ applies here, so also does $mv^2$. Let us take any mechanical contrivance in which the sums of the lever arms on the two sides are related to each other as 4 : 1, in which, therefore, a weight of 1 kg. holds a weight of 4 kg. in equilibrium. Hence, by a quite insignificant additional force on one arm of the lever we can raise 1 kg. by 20 metres; the same additional force, when applied to the other arm of the lever, raises 4 kg. a distance of 5 metres, and the preponderating weight sinks in the same time that the other weight requires for rising. Mass and velocity are inversely proportional to each other: $mv$, $1 \times 20 = m'v'$, $4 \times 5$. On the other hand, if we let each of the weights, after it has been raised, fall freely to the original level, then the one, 1 kg., after falling a distance of 20 metres (the acceleration due to gravity is put in round figures = 10 metres instead of 9.81 metres), attains a velocity of 20 metres; the other, 4 kg., after falling a distance of 5 metres, attains a velocity of 10 metres.

$$mv^2 = 1 \times 20 \times 20 = 400 = m' v'^2 = 4 \times 10 \times 10 = 400.$$

On the other hand the times of fall are different: the 4 kg. traverse their 5 m. in 1 second, the 1 kg. traverses its 20 m. in 2 seconds. Friction and air resistance are, of course, neglected here.

But after each of the two bodies has fallen from its height, its motion ceases. Therefore, $mv$ appears here as the measure of simply transferred, hence lasting, mechanical motion, and $mv^2$ as the measure of the vanished mechanical motion.

Further, the same thing applies to the impact of perfectly elastic bodies: the sum both of $mv$ and of $mv^2$ is unaltered before and after impact. Both measures have the same validity.

This is not the case on impact of inelastic bodies. Here, too, the current elementary text-books (higher mechanics is hardly concerned at all any more with such trifles) teach that before and after impact the sum of $mv$ remains the same. On the other hand a loss of *vis viva* occurs, for if the sum of $mv^2$ after impact is subtracted from the sum of $mv^2$ *before* impact, there is under all circumstances a positive remainder. By this amount (or the half of it, according to the point of view) the *vis viva* is diminished owing both to the mutual penetration and to the change of form of the colliding bodies.—The latter is now clear and obvious, but not so the first assertion that the sum of $mv$ remains the same before and after impact. In spite of Suter, *vis viva* is motion, and if a part of

it is lost, motion is lost. Consequently, either $mv$ here incorrectly expresses the amount of motion [die Bewegungsmenge], or the above assertion is untrue. In general the whole theorem has been handed down from a period when there was as yet no inkling of the transformation of motion; when, therefore, a disappearance of mechanical motion was only conceded where there was no other way out. Thus, the equality here of the sum of $mv$ before and after impact was taken as proved by the fact that no loss or gain of this sum had been introduced. If, however, the bodies lose *vis viva* in internal friction corresponding to their inelasticity, they also lose velocity, and the sum of $mv$ after impact must be smaller than before. For it surely does not do to neglect internal friction in calculating $mv$, when it makes itself felt so clearly in calculating $mv^2$.

But this does not matter. Even if we admit the theorem, and calculate the velocity after impact, on the assumption that the sum of $mv$ has remained the same, this decrease of the sum of $mv^2$ is still found. Here, therefore, $mv$ and $mv^2$ conflict, and they do so by the difference of the mechanical motion that has actually disappeared. Moreover, the calculation itself shows that the sum of $mv^2$ expresses the amount of motion correctly, while the sum of $mv$ expresses it incorrectly.

Such are pretty nearly all the cases in which $mv$ is employed in mechanics. Let us now look at some cases in which $mv^2$ is employed.

When a cannon-ball is fired, it uses in its flight an amount of motion that is proportional to $mv^2$, irrespective of whether it encounters a solid target or comes to a standstill owing to air resistance and gravitation. If a railway train runs into a stationary one, the violence of the collision, and the corresponding destruction, is proportional to its $mv^2$. Similarly, $mv^2$ serves wherever it is necessary to calculate the mechanical force required for overcoming a resistance.

But what is the meaning of this convenient phrase, so current in mechanics: overcoming a resistance?

If we overcome the resistance of gravity by raising a weight, there disappears an amount of motion [Bewegungsmenge], an amount of mechanical force, equal to that which can be produced anew by the direct or indirect fall of the raised weight from the height reached back to its original level. The amount is measured by half the product of the mass and square of the final velocity after falling, $\frac{mv^2}{2}$. What then occurred on raising the weight?

Mechanical motion, or force, has disappeared as such. But it has not been annihilated; it has been converted into mechanical force of tension, to use Helmholtz's expression,[a] into potential energy, as the moderns say; into ergal as Clausius calls it[b] and this can at any moment, by any mechanically appropriate means, be reconverted into the same amount of mechanical motion as was necessary to produce it. The potential energy is only the negative expression of the *vis viva,* and vice versa.

A 24-lb. cannon-ball moving with a velocity of 400 m. per second strikes the one-metre-thick armour-plating of a warship and under these conditions has apparently no effect on the armour. Consequently an amount of mechanical motion has vanished equal to $\frac{mv^2}{2}$, i.e. since 24 lbs.=12 kg.[c] = $=12 \times 400 \times 400 \times {}^1/_2 = 960{,}000$ kilogram-metres. What has become of it? A small portion has been expended in the concussion and molecular alteration of the armour-plate. A second portion goes in smashing the cannon-ball into innumerable fragments. But the greater part has been converted into heat and raises the temperature of the cannon-ball to red heat. When the Prussians, in making the crossing to Alsen in 1864, brought their heavy batteries into play against the armoured sides of the *Rolf Krake,*[181] after each hit they saw in the darkness the flare produced by the suddenly glowing shot. Even earlier, Whitworth had proved by experiment that explosive shells need no detonator when used against armoured warships; the glowing metal itself ignites the charge. Taking the mechanical motion as 424 kilogram-metres, the amount of heat corresponding to the above-mentioned amount of mechanical motion is 2,264 units. The specific heat of iron = 0.1140; that is to say, the amount of heat that raises the temperature of 1 kg. of water by 1° C. (which serves as the unit of heat) suffices to raise the temperature of $\frac{1}{0.1140}=8.772$ kg. of iron by 1° C. Therefore the 2,264 heat-units mentioned above raise the temperature of 1 kg. of iron by $8.772 \times 2{,}264 = 19{,}860°$ or 19,860 kg. of iron by 1° C. Since this amount of heat is distributed uniformly in the armour and the shot, the latter has its temperature raised by $\frac{19{,}860°}{2 \times 12}=828°$, amounting to quite a good

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[a] See H. Helmholtz, *Über die Erhaltung der Kraft...,* S. 13-14.—*Ed.*

[b] R. Clausius, *Die mechanische Wärmetheorie...,* Bd. I, S. 12.—*Ed.*

[c] The German pound equals 500 grams.—*Ed.*

glowing heat. But since the foremost, striking end of the shot receives at any rate by far the greater part of the heat, certainly double that of the rear half, the former would be raised to a temperature of 1,104° C. and the latter to 552° C., which would fully suffice to explain the glowing effect even if we make a big deduction for the actual mechanical work performed on impact.

Mechanical motion also disappears in friction, to reappear as heat; it is well known that, by the most accurate possible measurement of the two mutually corresponding processes, Joule in Manchester and Colding in Copenhagen were the first to make an approximate experimental measurement of the mechanical equivalent of heat.

The same thing applies to the production of an electric current in a magneto-electrical machine by means of mechanical force, e.g., from a steam-engine. The amount of so-called electromotive force produced in a given time is proportional to the amount of mechanical motion used up in the same period, being equal to it if expressed in the same units. We can imagine this mechanical motion being produced, not by a steam-engine, but by a weight sinking under the pressure of gravity. The mechanical force that this is capable of supplying is measured by the *vis viva* that it would obtain on falling freely through the same distance, or by the force required to raise it again to the original height; in both cases $\frac{mv^2}{2}$.

Hence we find that mechanical motion has indeed a twofold measure, but also that each of these measures holds good for a very definitely demarcated series of phenomena. If already existing mechanical motion is transferred in such a way that it remains as mechanical motion, the transference takes place in proportion to the product of the mass and the velocity. If, however, it is transferred in such a way that it disappears as mechanical motion in order to reappear in the form of potential energy, heat, electricity, etc., in short, if it is converted into another form of motion, then the amount of this new form of motion is proportional to the product of the originally moving mass and the square of the velocity. In short, $mv$ is mechanical motion measured by mechanical motion; $\frac{mv^2}{2}$ is mechanical motion measured by its capacity to become converted into a definite amount of another form of motion. And, as we have seen, these two measures, because different, do not contradict each other.

It becomes clear from this that Leibniz's dispute with the

Cartesians was by no means a mere verbal dispute, and that d'Alembert's "royal edict" in point of fact settled nothing at all. D'Alembert might have spared himself his tirades on the unclearness of his predecessors, for he was just as unclear as they were. In fact, as long as it was not known what becomes of the apparently annihilated mechanical motion, the absence of clarity was inevitable. And as long as mathematical mechanicians like Suter remain obstinately shut in by the four walls of their special science, they are bound to remain just as unclear as d'Alembert and to fob us off with empty and contradictory phrases.

But how does modern mechanics express this conversion of mechanical motion into another form of motion, proportional in quantity to the former?—It has *performed work,* and indeed a definite amount of work.

But this does not exhaust the concept of work in the physical sense of the word. If, as in a steam or heat engine, heat is converted into mechanical motion, i. e., molecular motion is converted into mass motion, if heat breaks up a chemical compound, if it becomes converted into electricity in a thermopile, if an electric current liberates the elements of water from dilute sulphuric acid, or, conversely, if the motion (alias energy) set free in the chemical process of a generating cell takes the form of electricity and this in the closed circuit once more becomes converted into heat—in all these processes the form of motion that initiates the process, and which is converted by it into another form, performs work, and indeed an amount of work corresponding to its own amount.

Work, therefore, is change of form of motion regarded in its quantitative aspect.

But how so? If a raised weight remains suspended and at rest, is its potential energy during the period of rest also a form of motion? Certainly. Even Tait arrives at the conviction that potential energy is subsequently resolved into a form of actual motion (*Nature*).[182] And, apart from that, Kirchhoff goes much further in saying (*Mathematische Mechanik,* p. 32):

> "Rest is a special case of motion",[a]

and thus proves that he can not only calculate but can also think dialectically.

Hence, by a consideration of the two measures of mechanical motion, we arrive, incidentally, easily, and almost as a matter of

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[a] G. Kirchhoff, *Vorlesungen über mathematische Physik. Mechanik.—Ed.*

course, at the concept of work, which was described to us as being so difficult to comprehend without mathematical mechanics. At any rate, we now know more about it than from Helmholtz's lecture *Über die Erhaltung der Kraft* (1862), which was intended precisely

"to make as clear as possible the basic physical concepts of work and its unalterability".[a]

All that we learn there about work is that it is something which is expressed in foot-pounds or in units of heat, and that the number of these foot-pounds or units of heat is invariable for a definite quantity of work; and, further, that besides mechanical forces and heat, chemical and electric forces can perform work, but that all these forces exhaust their capacity for work to the extent that they actually result in work. We learn also that it follows from this that the sum of all effective quantities of force in nature as a whole remains eternally and invariably the same throughout all the changes taking place in nature. The concept of work is neither developed, nor even defined.* And it is precisely the quantitative invariability of the magnitude of work which prevents him from realising that the qualitative alteration, the change of form, is the basic condition for all physical work. And so Helmholtz can go so far as to assert that

"friction and inelastic impact are processes in which *mechanical work is destroyed*[b] and heat is produced instead" (*Populäre Vorträge,* II, p. 166).

Just the contrary. Here mechanical work is not *destroyed,* here mechanical work is *performed.* It is mechanical *motion* that is *apparently* destroyed. But mechanical motion *can* never perform even a millionth part of a kilogram-metre of work, without apparently being destroyed as such, without becoming converted into another form of motion.

But, as we have seen, the capacity for work contained in a given amount of mechanical motion is what is known as its *vis viva,* and until recently was measured by $mv^2$. Here, however, a new contradiction arose. Let us listen to Helmholtz (*Erhaltung der Kraft,*

* We get no further by consulting Clerk Maxwell. He says (*THEORY OF HEAT,* 4TH ED., LONDON, 1875), p. 87: "WORK IS DONE WHEN RESISTANCE IS OVERCOME", and on p. 185, "THE ENERGY OF A BODY IS ITS CAPACITY FOR DOING WORK." That is all that we learn about it.

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[a] H. Helmholtz, *Populäre wissenschaftliche Vorträge,* H. 2, S. VI.—*Ed.*

[b] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

p. 9). We read there that the magnitude of work can be expressed by a weight $m$ being raised to a height $h$, when, if the force of gravity is put as $g$, the magnitude of work $= mgh$. For the body $m$ to rise freely to the vertical height $h$, it requires a velocity $v = 2\ gh$, and it attains the same velocity on falling. Consequently, $mgh = \frac{mv^2}{2}$, and Helmholtz proposes

"to take the magnitude $\frac{mv^2}{2}$ as the quantity of *vis viva,* whereby it becomes identical with the measure of the magnitude of work. From the viewpoint of how the concept of *vis viva* has been applied hitherto ... this change has no significance, but it will offer us essential advantages in the future."

It is scarcely to be believed. In 1847, Helmholtz was so little clear about the mutual relations of *vis viva* and work, that he even fails to notice at all how he transforms the former proportional measure of *vis viva* into its absolute measure, and remains quite unconscious of the important discovery he has made by his audacious handling, recommending his $\frac{mv^2}{2}$ only because of its convenience as compared with $mv^2$! And it is as a matter of convenience that mechanicians have given general currency to $\frac{mv^2}{2}$. Only gradually was $\frac{mv^2}{2}$ also proved mathematically. Naumann (*Allgemeine Chemie*, p. 7)[a] gives an algebraical proof, Clausius (*Mechanische Wärmetheorie*, 2nd ed., I, p. 18),[b] an analytical one, which is then to be met with in another form and with a different method of deduction in Kirchhoff (*loc cit.*, p. 27).[c] Clerk Maxwell (*loc cit.*, p. 88)[d] gives an elegant algebraical deduction of $\frac{mv^2}{2}$ from $mv$. This does not prevent our two Scotsmen, Thomson and Tait, from asserting (*loc cit.*, p. 163):

"The *vis viva,* or kinetic energy, of a moving body is proportional to the mass and the square of the velocity, conjointly. If we adopt the same units of mass [and velocity] as above" (namely, "UNIT OF MASS MOVING WITH UNIT VELOCITY"), "there is a *particular advantage* in defining kinetic energy as *half* the product of the mass and the square of the velocity."[e]

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[a] A. Naumann, *Handbuch der allgemeinen und physikalischen Chemie.—Ed.*
[b] R. Clausius, *Die mechanische Wärmetheorie,* Bd. I.—*Ed.*
[c] G. Kirchhoff, *Vorlesungen über mathematische Physik. Mechanik.—Ed.*
[d] J. C., Maxwell, *Theory of Heat.—Ed.*
[e] W. Thomson and P. G. Tait, *Treatise on Natural Philosophy,* Vol. 1.—*Ed.*

Here, therefore, we find that not only the ability to think, but also to calculate, has come to a standstill in the two foremost mechanicians of Scotland. The particular advantage, the convenience of the formula, accomplishes everything in the most beautiful fashion.

For us, who have seen that *vis viva* is nothing but the capacity of a given amount of mechanical motion to perform work, it is obvious on the face of it that the expression in mechanical terms of this capacity for work and the work actually performed by the latter must be equal to each other; and that, consequently, if $\frac{mv^2}{2}$ measures the work, the *vis viva* must likewise be measured by $\frac{mv^2}{2}$. But that is what happens in science. Theoretical mechanics arrives at the concept of *vis viva,* the practical mechanics of the engineer arrives at the concept of work and forces it on the theoreticians. And, immersed in their calculations, the theoreticians have become so unaccustomed to thinking that for years they fail to recognise the connection between the two concepts, measuring one of them by $mv^2$, the other by $\frac{mv^2}{2}$, and finally accepting $\frac{mv^2}{2}$ for both, not from comprehension, but for the sake of simplicity of calculation! *

* The word "work" and the corresponding idea is derived from English engineers. But in English, practical work is called "work", while work in the economic sense is called "labour". Hence, physical work also is termed "work", thereby excluding all confusion with work in the economic sense. This is not the case in German; therefore it has been possible in recent pseudoscientific literature to make various peculiar applications of work in the physical sense to economic conditions of labour and vice versa. But we have also the word "*Werk*" which, like the English word "work", is excellently adapted for signifying physical work. Political economy, however, being a sphere far too remote from our natural scientists, they will scarcely decide to introduce it to replace the word *Arbeit,* which has already obtained general currency—unless, perhaps, when it is too late. Only Clausius has made the attempt to retain the expression "*Werk*", at least alongside the expression "*Arbeit*".[a]

[a] R. Clausius, *Über den zweiten Hauptsatz der mechanischen Warmetheorie...*, S. 2-3.—*Ed.*

# TIDAL FRICTION. KANT AND THOMSON-TAIT

## ROTATION OF THE EARTH AND LUNAR ATTRACTION[183]

### Thomson and Tait, *Natural Philosophy,* I,[a] p. 191 (§ 276):

"There are also indirect resistances,[184] owing to friction impeding the tidal motions, on all bodies which, like the earth, have portions of their free surfaces covered by liquid, which, as long as these bodies move relatively to neighbouring bodies, must keep drawing off energy from their relative motions. Thus, if we consider, in the first place, the action of the moon alone on the earth with its oceans, lakes, and rivers, we perceive that it must tend to equalize the periods of the earth's rotation about its axis, and of the revolution of the two bodies about their centre of inertia; because as long as these periods differ, the tidal action of the earth's surface must keep subtracting energy from their motions. To view the subject more in detail, and, at the same time, to avoid unnecessary complications, let us suppose the moon to be a uniform spherical body. The mutual action and reaction of gravitation between her mass and the earth's will be equivalent to a single force in some line through her centre; *and must be such as to impede the earth's rotation as long as this is performed in a shorter period than the moon's motion round the earth.*[b] It must, therefore, lie in some such direction as the line *MQ* in the diagram, which represents, necessarily with enormous exaggeration, its deviation, *OQ,* from the earth's centre. Now the actual force on the moon in the line *MQ* may be regarded as consisting of a force in the line *MO* towards the earth's centre, sensibly equal in amount to the whole force, and a comparatively very small force in the line *MT* perpendicular to

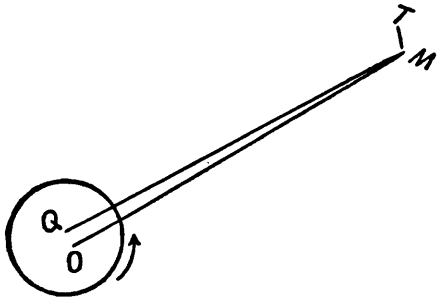


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[a] W. Thomson and P. G. Tait, *Treatise on Natural Philosophy*, Vol. I. Engels gives this quotation in English.—*Ed.*

[b] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

*MO.* This latter is very nearly tangential to the moon's path, and is in the direction *with* her motion. Such a force, if suddenly commencing to act, would, in the first place, increase the moon's velocity; but after a certain time she would have moved so much farther from the earth, in virtue of this acceleration, as to have lost, by moving against the earth's attraction, as much velocity as she had gained by the tangential accelerating force. The effect of a continued tangential force, acting with the motion, but so small in amount as to make only a small deviation at any moment from the circular form of the orbit, is to gradually increase the distance from the central body, and to cause as much again as its own amount of work to be done against the attraction of the central mass, by the kinetic energy of motion lost. The circumstances will be readily understood by considering this motion round the central body in a very gradual spiral path tending outwards. Provided the law of force is the inverse square of the distance, the tangential component of gravity against the motion will be twice as great as the disturbing tangential force in the direction with the motion; and therefore one-half of the amount of work done against the former is done by the latter, and the other half by kinetic energy taken from the motion. The integral effect on the moon's motion, of the particular disturbing cause now under consideration, is most easily found by using the principle of moments of momenta. Thus we see that as much moment of momentum is gained in any time by the motions of the centres of inertia of the moon and earth relatively to their common centre of inertia, as is lost by the earth's rotation about its axis. The sum of the moments of momentum of the centres of inertia of the moon and earth as moving at present, is about 4.45 times the present moment of momentum of the earth's rotation. The average plane of the former is the ecliptic; and therefore the axes of the two momenta are inclined to one another at the average angle of 23°27.5′, which, as we are neglecting the sun's influence on the plane of the moon's motion, may be taken as the actual inclination of the two axes at present. The resultant, or whole moment of momentum, is therefore 5.38 times that of the earth's present rotation, and its axis is inclined 19°13′ to the axis of the earth. Hence the ultimate tendency of the *tides*[a] is to reduce the earth and moon to a simple uniform rotation with this resultant moment round this resultant axis, as if they were two parts of one rigid body: in which condition the moon's distance would be increased (approximately) in the ratio of 1 : 1.46, being the ratio of the square of the present moment of momentum of the centres of inertia to the square of the whole moment of momentum; and the period of revolution in the ratio of 1 : 1.77, being that of the cubes of the same quantities. The distance would therefore be increased to 347,100 miles, and the period lengthened to 48.36 days. Were there no other bodies in the universe but the earth and the moon, these two bodies might go on moving thus for ever, in circular orbits round their common centre of inertia, and the earth rotating about its axis in the same period, so as always to turn the same face to the moon, and, therefore, to have all the liquids at its surface at rest relatively to the solid. But the existence of the sun would prevent any such state of things from being permanent. There would be solar tides—twice high water and twice low water—in the period of the earth's revolution relatively to the sun (that is to say, twice in the solar day, or, which would be the same thing, in the month). This could not go on without *loss of energy by fluid friction.* It is not easy to trace the whole course of the disturbance in the earth's and moon's motion which this cause would produce, but its ultimate effect must be to bring the earth, moon, and sun to rotate round their common centre of inertia, like parts of one rigid body."

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[a] Italics here and below by Engels.—*Ed.*

Kant, in 1754, was the first to put forward the view that the rotation of the earth is retarded by tidal friction and that this effect will only reach its conclusion

"when its" (the earth's) "surface will be at relative rest in relation to the moon, i.e., when it will rotate on its axis in the same period that the moon takes to revolve round the earth, and consequently will always turn the same side to the latter".[a]

He held the view that this retardation had its origin in tidal friction alone, arising, therefore, from the presence of fluid masses on the earth:

"If the earth were a quite solid mass without any fluid, neither the attraction of the sun nor of the moon would do anything to alter its free axial rotation; for it draws with equal force both the eastern and western parts of the terrestrial sphere and so does not cause any inclination either to the one or to the other side; consequently it allows the earth full freedom to continue this rotation unhindered as if there were no external influence on it."[a]

Kant could rest content with this result. All scientific prerequisites were lacking at that time for penetrating deeper into the effect of the moon on the rotation of the earth. Indeed, it required almost a hundred years before Kant's theory obtained general recognition, and still longer before it was discovered that the ebb and flow of the tides are only the *visible* aspect of the effect exercised by the attraction of the sun and moon on the rotation of the earth.

This more general conception of the matter is just that which has been developed by Thomson and Tait. The attraction of the moon and sun affects not only the fluids of the terrestrial body or its surface, but the whole mass of the earth in general in a manner that hinders the rotation of the earth. As long as the period of the earth's rotation does not coincide with the period of the moon's revolution round the earth, so long the attraction of the moon—to deal with this alone first of all—has the effect of bringing the two periods closer and closer together. If the rotational period of the (relative) central body were longer than the period of revolution of the satellite, the former would be gradually shortened; if it were shorter, as is the case for the earth, it would be lengthened. But neither in the one case will kinetic energy be created out of nothing, nor in the other will it be annihilated. In the first case, the satellite would approach closer to the central body and shorten

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[a] I. Kant, *"Untersuchung der Frage, ob die Erde in ihrer Umdrehung um die Achse...", Sämmtliche Werke,* Bd. I, S. 185.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., S. 182-83.—*Ed.*

its period of revolution, in the second it would increase its distance from it and acquire a longer period of revolution. In the first case, the satellite by approaching the central body loses exactly as much potential energy as the central body gains in kinetic energy from the accelerated rotation; in the second case the satellite, by increasing its distance, gains exactly the same amount of potential energy as the central body loses in kinetic energy of rotation. The total amount of dynamic energy, potential and kinetic, present in the earth-moon system remains the same; the system is fully conservative.

One sees that this theory is entirely independent of the physico-chemical constitution of the bodies concerned. It is derived from the general laws of motion of free heavenly bodies, the connection between them being produced by attraction in proportion to their masses and in inverse proportion to the square of the distances between them. The theory has obviously arisen as a generalisation of Kant's theory of tidal friction, and is even presented here by Thomson and Tait as its substantiation on mathematical lines. But in reality—and remarkably enough the authors have simply no inkling of this—in reality it excludes the special case of tidal friction.

Friction is hindrance to the motion of masses, and for centuries it was regarded as the destruction of such motion, and therefore of kinetic energy. We now know that friction and impact are the two forms in which kinetic energy is converted into molecular energy, into heat. In all friction, therefore, kinetic energy as such is lost in order to reappear, not as potential energy in the sense of dynamics, but as molecular motion in the definite form of heat. The kinetic energy lost by friction is, therefore, in the first place *really lost* for the dynamic aspects of the system concerned. It can only become dynamically effective again if it is *reconverted* from the form of heat into kinetic energy.

How then does the matter stand in the case of tidal friction? It is obvious that here also the whole of the kinetic energy communicated to the masses of water on the earth's surface by lunar attraction is converted into heat, whether by friction of the water particles among themselves in virtue of the viscosity of the water, or by friction at the rigid surface of the earth and the comminution of rocks which stand up against the tidal motion. Of this heat there is reconverted into kinetic energy only the infinitesimally small part that contributes to evaporation at the surface of the water. But even this infinitesimally small amount of kinetic energy, ceded by the total earth-moon system to a part of

the earth's surface, remains first of all at the earth's surface and is subject to the conditions prevailing there, and these conditions lead to all energy active there reaching one and the same final destiny: final conversion into heat and radiation into space.

Consequently, to the extent that tidal friction indisputably has an impeding effect on the rotation of the earth, the kinetic energy used for this purpose is absolutely lost to the dynamic earth-moon system. It can therefore not reappear within this system as dynamic potential energy. In other words, of the kinetic energy expended in impeding the earth's rotation by means of the attraction of the moon, only that part that acts on the *solid mass* of the earth's body can entirely reappear as dynamic potential energy, and hence be compensated for by a corresponding increase of the distance of the moon. On the other hand, the part that acts on the fluid masses of the earth can do so only in so far as it does not set these masses themselves into a motion opposite in direction to that of the earth's rotation, for such a motion is *wholly* converted into heat and is finally lost to the system by radiation.

What holds good for tidal friction at the surface of the earth is equally valid for the often hypothetically assumed tidal friction of a supposed fluid core of the earth.

The peculiar part of the matter is that Thomson and Tait do not notice that in order to establish the theory of tidal friction they are putting forward a theory that proceeds from the tacit assumption that the earth is an *entirely rigid* body, and so excludes any possibility of tides and hence also of tidal friction.

# HEAT [185]

As we have seen, there are two forms in which mechanical motion, *vis viva*, disappears. The first is its conversion into mechanical potential energy, for instance on lifting a weight. This form has the peculiarity that not only can it be retransformed into mechanical motion—this mechanical motion, moreover, having the same *vis viva* as the original one—but also that it is capable only of this change of form. Mechanical potential energy can never produce heat or electricity, unless it has been converted first into real mechanical motion. To use Clausius' term, it is a "reversible process".

The second form in which mechanical motion disappears is in friction and impact—which differ only in degree. Friction can be conceived as a series of small impacts occurring successively and side by side, impact as friction concentrated at one spot and in a single moment of time. Friction is chronic impact, impact is acute friction. The mechanical motion that disappears here, disappears *as such*. It cannot be restored immediately out of itself. The process is not directly reversible. The mechanical motion has been transformed into qualitatively different forms of motion, into heat, electricity—into forms of molecular motion.

Hence, friction and impact lead from the motion of masses, the subject-matter of mechanics, to molecular motion, the subject-matter of physics.

In calling physics the mechanics of molecular motion,[a] it has not been overlooked that this expression by no means covers the

[a] See this volume, pp. 358, 362, see also p. 61.—*Ed.*

entire field of contemporary physics. On the contrary. Ether vibrations, which are responsible for the phenomena of light and radiant heat, are certainly not molecular motions in the modern sense of the word. But their terrestrial actions concern molecules first and foremost: refraction of light, polarisation of light, etc., are determined by the molecular constitution of the bodies concerned. Similarly the most important scientists now almost unanimously regard electricity as a motion of ether particles, and Clausius even says of heat that

> in "the movement of ponderable atoms" (it would be better to say molecules) "... the ether within the body can also participate". (*Mechanische Wärmetheorie,* I, p. 22.)

But in the phenomena of electricity and heat, once again it is primarily molecular motions that have to be considered; it could not be otherwise, so long as our knowledge of the ether is so small. But when we have got so far as to be able to present the mechanics of the ether, this subject will include, of course, a great deal that is now of necessity allocated to physics.

The physical processes in which the structure of the molecules is altered, or even destroyed, will be dealt with later on. They form the transition from physics to chemistry.

Only with molecular motion does the change of form of motion acquire complete freedom. Whereas at the boundary of mechanics the motion of masses can assume only a few other forms—heat or electricity—here, a quite different, lively capacity for change of form is to be seen. Heat passes into electricity in the thermopile, it becomes identical with light at a certain stage of radiation, and in its turn reproduces mechanical motion. Electricity and magnetism, a twin pair like heat and light, not only become transformed into each other, but also into heat and light as well as mechanical motion. And this takes place in such definite measure relations that a given amount of any one of these forms can be expressed in any other—in kilogram-metres, in heat-units, in volts,[186] and similarly any unit of measurement can be translated into any other.

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The practical discovery of the conversion of mechanical motion into heat is so very ancient that it can be taken as marking the beginning of human history. Whatever discoveries, in the way of tools and domestication of animals, may have preceded it, the

making of fire by friction was the first instance of men pressing a non-living force of nature into their service. Popular superstitions today still show how greatly the almost immeasurable import of this gigantic advance impressed itself on the mind of mankind. Long after the introduction of the use of bronze and iron the invention of the stone knife, the first tool, continued to be celebrated, all religious sacrifices being performed with stone knives. According to the Jewish legend, Joshua decreed that men born in the wilderness should be circumcised with stone knives[a]; the Celts and Germans used only stone knives in their human sacrifices. But all this long ago passed into oblivion. It was different with the making of fire by friction. Long after other methods of producing fire had become known, every sacred fire among the majority of peoples had to be obtained by friction. But even today, in the majority of the European countries the popular superstition persists that fire with miraculous powers (e.g., our German bonfire against epidemics) may be lighted only by means of friction. Thus, down to our own day, the grateful memory of the first great victory of mankind over nature lives on—half unconsciously—in popular superstition, in the relics of heathen-mythological recollections among the most educated peoples in the world.

However, the process of making fire by friction is still one-sided. By it mechanical motion is converted into heat. To complete the process, it must be reversed; heat must be converted into mechanical motion. Only then is justice done to the dialectics of the process, the cycle of the process being completed—for the first stage, at least. But history has its own pace, and however dialectical its course may be in the last analysis, dialectics has often to wait for history a fairly long time. Many thousands of years must have elapsed between the discovery of fire by friction and the time when Heron of Alexandria (*ca.* 120 B. C.) invented a machine which was set in rotary motion by the steam issuing from it. And almost another two thousand years elapsed before the first steam-engine was built, the first apparatus for the conversion of heat into really usable mechanical motion.

The steam-engine was the first really international invention, and this fact, in turn, testifies to a mighty historical advance. The Frenchman, Papin, invented the steam-engine, and he invented it in Germany. It was the German, Leibniz, scattering around him, as always, brilliant ideas, without caring whether the

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[a] Joshua 5 : 2 - 3.—*Ed.*

merit for them would be awarded to him or someone else, who, as we know now from Papin's correspondence (published by Gerland),[a] gave him the main idea of the machine: the employment of a cylinder and piston. Soon after that, the Englishmen, Savery and Newcomen, invented similar machines; finally, their fellow-countryman, Watt, by introducing a separate condenser, brought the steam-engine in principle up to the level of today. The cycle of inventions in this sphere was completed; the conversion of heat into mechanical motion was achieved. What came afterwards were improvements in details.

Practice, therefore, solved after its own fashion the problem of the relations between mechanical motion and heat. It had, to begin with, converted the first into the second, and then it converted the second into the first. But how did matters stand in regard to theory?

The situation was pitiable enough. Although it was just in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that innumerable accounts of travel appeared, teeming with descriptions of savage peoples who knew no way of producing fire other than by friction, yet physicists were almost uninterested in it; they were equally indifferent to the steam-engine during the whole of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth. For the most part they were satisfied simply to record the facts.

Finally, in the twenties [of the nineteenth century], Sadi Carnot took the matter in hand, and indeed so very skilfully that his best calculations, afterwards presented by Clapeyron in geometrical form, have retained their validity to the present day in the works of Clausius and Clerk Maxwell. Sadi Carnot almost got to the bottom of the question. It was not the lack of factual data that prevented him from completely solving it, but solely a preconceived *false theory*. Moreover, this false theory was not one which had been forced upon physicists by some variety of malicious philosophy, but was one concocted by the physicists themselves, by means of their own naturalistic mode of thought, allegedly so very superior to the metaphysical-philosophical mode of thought.

In the seventeenth century heat was regarded, at any rate in England, as a property of bodies (as "*A MOTION*[b] OF A PARTICULAR KIND, THE NATURE OF WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN EXPLAINED IN A SATISFACTORY MANNER").[c]

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[a] *Leibnizens und Huyghens' Briefwechsel mit Papin.... —Ed.*

[b] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

[c] Th. Thomson, *An Outline of the Sciences...*, p. 281.—*Ed.*

That is what Th. Thomson called it, two years before the discovery of the mechanical theory of heat. (*Outline of the Sciences of Heat and Electricity*, 2nd edition, London, 1840.) But in the eighteenth century the view came more and more to the forefront that heat, as also light, electricity, and magnetism, is a special substance, and that all these peculiar substances differ from ordinary matter in having no weight, in being imponderable.

# ELECTRICITY *

Electricity, like heat, only in a different way, has also a certain omnipresent character. Hardly any change can occur on the earth without being accompanied by electrical phenomena. If water evaporates, if a flame burns, if two different metals, or two metals of different temperature, touch, or if iron comes into contact with a solution of copper sulphate, and so on, electrical processes take place simultaneously with the more apparent physical and chemical phenomena. The more exactly we investigate natural processes of the most diverse nature, the more do we find evidence of electricity. In spite of its omnipresence, in spite of the fact that for half a century electricity has become more and more pressed into the industrial service of mankind, it remains precisely that form of motion the nature of which is still enveloped in the greatest obscurity. The discovery of the galvanic current is approximately 25 years younger than that of oxygen and is at least as significant for the theory of electricity as the latter discovery was for chemistry. Yet what a difference obtains even today between the two fields! In chemistry, thanks especially to Dalton's discovery of atomic weights, there is order, relative certainty about what has been achieved, and systematic, almost planned, attack on

* For the factual material in this chapter we rely mainly on Wiedemann's *Lehre vom Galvanismus und Elektromagnetismus*, 2 B-de in 3 Abt., 2. Auflage, Braunschweig, [1872-]74.

In *Nature*, June 15, 1882, there is a reference to this "admirable treatise, which in its forthcoming shape, with electrostatics added, will be the greatest experimental treatise on electricity in existence."[a] [187]

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[a] Engels quotes in English.— *Ed.*

the territory still unconquered, comparable to the regular siege of a fortress. In the theory of electricity there is a barren lumber of ancient, doubtful experiments, neither definitely confirmed nor definitely refuted; and uncertain fumbling in the dark; uncoordinated research, and experiment on the part of numerous isolated individuals, who attack the unknown territory with their scattered forces like the attack of a swarm of nomadic horsemen. It must be admitted, indeed, that in the sphere of electricity a discovery like that of Dalton, giving the whole science a central point and a firm basis for research, is still to seek. It is essentially this confused state of the theory of electricity, which for the time being makes it impossible to establish a comprehensive theory, that is responsible for the fact that a one-sided empiricism prevails in this sphere, an empiricism which as far as possible forbids itself thought, and which precisely for that reason not only thinks incorrectly but also is incapable of faithfully pursuing the facts or even of reporting them faithfully, and which, therefore, becomes transformed into the opposite of true empiricism.

If in general Messrs natural scientists who cannot say anything bad enough of the crazy *a priori* speculations of the German philosophy of nature are to be recommended to read the theoretico-physical works of the empirical school, not only of the contemporary but even of a much later period, this holds good quite especially for the theory of electricity. Let us take a work of the year 1840: *An Outline of the Sciences of Heat and Electricity,* by Thomas Thomson. Old Thomson was indeed an authority in his day; moreover he had already at his disposal a very considerable part of the work of the greatest electrician so far—Faraday. Yet his book contains at least just as crazy things as the corresponding section of the much older Hegelian philosophy of nature.[a] The description of the electric spark, for instance, might have been translated directly from the corresponding passage in Hegel. Both enumerate all the wonders that people sought to discover in the electric spark, prior to knowledge of its real nature and manifold diversity, and which have been shown to be mainly special cases or errors. More than that, Thomson recounts quite seriously on p. 416 Dessaigne's cock-and-bull stories, such as that, with a rising barometer and falling thermometer, glass, resin, silk, etc., become negatively electrified on immersion in mercury, but positively if instead the barometer is falling and the temperature rising; that

[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Naturphilosophie..., Werke,* Bd. VII, Abt. I.—*Ed.*

in summer gold and several other metals become positive on warming and negative on cooling, but in winter the reverse; that with a high barometer and northerly wind they are strongly electric, positive if the temperature is rising and negative if it is falling, etc. So much for the treatment of the facts. As regards *a priori* speculation, Thomson favours us with the following theory of the electric spark, derived from no lesser person than Faraday himself:

"The spark is a discharge or lowering of the polarised inductive state of many dielectric particles, by a particular action of a few of the particles occupying a very small and limited space. Faraday conceives that the few particles where the discharge occurs are not merely pushed apart, but assume a peculiar state, a HIGHLY EXALTED condition for the time; that is to say, have thrown upon them all the surrounding forces in succession, and rising up to proportionate intensity of condition perhaps equal to that of chemically combining atoms; discharge the powers, possibly in the same manner as they do theirs, by some operation at present unknown to us; AND SO THE END OF THE WHOLE. The ultimate effect is exactly as if a metallic particle had been put into the place of the discharging particle, and it does not seem impossible that the principles of action, in both cases, may hereafter prove to be the same." "I have," adds Thomson, "given this explanation of Faraday's in his own words, because I do not clearly understand it." [188]

This will certainly have been the experience of other persons also, quite as much as when they read in Hegel that in the electric spark

"the special materiality of the changed body does not as yet enter into the process but is determined within it only in an elementary and spiritual way", and that electricity is "the anger, the effervescence, proper to the body," its "angry self" that "is exhibited by every body when excited". (*Naturphilosophie,* § 324, addendum.)[a]

Yet the basic thought of both Hegel and Faraday is the same. Both oppose the idea that electricity is not a state of matter but a special, distinct variety of matter.[b] And since in the spark electricity is apparently exhibited as independent, free, separated from any foreign material substratum, and yet perceptible to the senses, they arrive at the necessity, in the state of science at the time, of having to conceive of the spark as the transient phenomenal form of a "force" momentarily freed from all matter. For us, of course, the riddle is solved, since we know that on the

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über Naturphilosophie..., Werke,* Bd. VII, Abt. I, S. 346, 348 and 349.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., S. 347-48.—*Ed.*

spark discharge between metal electrodes real "metallic particles" leap across, and hence "the special materiality of the charged body" in actual fact "enters into the process".

As is well known, electricity and magnetism, like heat and light, were at first regarded as special IMPONDERABLE substances. As far as electricity is concerned, it is well known that the view soon developed that there are two opposing substances, two "fluids", one positive and one negative, which in the normal state neutralise each other, until they are forced apart by a so-called "electric force of separation". It is then possible to charge two bodies, one with positive, the other with negative electricity; on uniting them by a third conducting body equalisation occurs, either suddenly or by means of a continuous current, according to circumstances. The sudden equalisation appeared very simple and comprehensible, but the current offered difficulties. The simplest hypothesis, that the current in every case is a movement of either purely positive or purely negative electricity, was opposed by Fechner, and in more detail by Weber, with the view that in every closed circuit two equal currents of positive and negative electricity flow in opposite directions in channels lying side by side between the ponderable molecules of the bodies. Weber's detailed mathematical working out of this theory finally arrives at the result that a function, of no interest to us here, is multiplied by a magnitude $\frac{1}{r}$, where $\frac{1}{r}$ denotes "*the ratio ... of the unit of electricity to the milligram*".[a] (Wiedemann, *Lehre vom Galvanismus, etc.*, 2nd ed., III, p. 569.) The ratio to a measure of weight can naturally only be a weight ratio. Hence one-sided empiricism had already to such an extent forgotten the practice of thought in calculating that here it even makes the imponderable electricity ponderable and introduces its weight into the mathematical calculation.

The formulae derived by Weber sufficed only within certain limits, and Helmholtz, in particular, only a few years ago calculated from them results that come into conflict with the principle of the conservation of energy. In opposition to Weber's hypothesis of the double current flowing in opposite directions, C. Neumann in 1871 put forward the other hypothesis that in the current only one of the two electricities,[b] for instance the positive, moves, while the other, negative one, remains firmly bound up

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[a] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] Engels gives this data according to G. Wiedemann, *Die Lehre vom Galvanismus...*, Bd. 2, Abt. 2, S. 576.—*Ed.*

with the mass of the body. On this Wiedemann includes the remark:

"This hypothesis could be linked up with that of Weber if to Weber's supposed double current of electric masses $\pm\frac{1}{2}e$ flowing in opposite directions there was added a further *current of neutral electricity*,[a] externally inactive, which carried with it amounts of electricity $\pm\frac{1}{2}e$ in the direction of the positive current." (III, p. 577).[b]

This proposition is once again characteristic of one-sided empiricism. In order to bring about the flow of electricity at all, it is decomposed into positive and negative. All attempts, however, to explain the current with these two substances meet with difficulties: both the assumption that only one of them is present in every case in the current and that the two of them flow in opposite directions simultaneously, and, finally, the third assumption also that one flows and the other is at rest. If we adopt this last assumption how are we to explain the inexplicable idea that negative electricity, which is mobile enough in the electrical machine and the Leyden jar, in the current is firmly united with the mass of the body? Quite simply. Besides the positive current $+e$, flowing through the wire to the right, and the negative current, $-e$, flowing to the left, we make yet another current, this time of neutral electricity, $\pm\frac{1}{2}e$, flow to the right. First we assume that the two electricities, to be able to flow at all, must be separated from each other; and then, in order to explain the phenomena that occur on the flow of the separated electricities, we assume that they can also flow unseparated. First we make a supposition to explain a particular phenomenon, and at the first difficulty encountered we make a second supposition which directly negates the first one. What must be the sort of philosophy that these gentlemen have the right to complain of?

However, alongside this view of the material nature of electricity, there soon appeared a second view, according to which it is to be regarded as a mere state of the body, a "force", or, as we would say today, a special form of motion. We saw above that Hegel, and later Faraday, adhered to this view. After the discovery of the mechanical equivalent of heat had finally disposed of the idea of a special "heat stuff", and heat was shown to be a molecular motion, the next step was to treat electricity also

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[a] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] G. Wiedemann, op. cit., Bd. 2, Abt. 2, S. 576-77.—*Ed.*

according to the new method and to attempt to determine its mechanical equivalent. This attempt was fully successful. Particularly owing to the experiments of Joule, Favre, and Raoult, not only was the mechanical and thermal equivalent of the so-called "electromotive force" of the galvanic current established, but also its complete equivalence with the energy liberated by chemical processes in the generating cell or used up in the electrolytic cell. This made the assumption that electricity is a special material fluid more and more untenable.

The analogy, however, between heat and electricity was not perfect. The galvanic current still differed in very essential respects from the conduction of heat. It was still not possible to say *what* it was that moved in the electrically affected bodies. The assumption of a mere molecular vibration as in the case of heat seemed insufficient. In view of the enormous velocity of motion of electricity, even exceeding that of light, it remained difficult to overcome the view that here some material substance is in motion between the molecules of the body. Here the most recent theories put forward by Clerk Maxwell (1864), Hankel (1865), Reynard (1870), and Edlund (1872) are in complete agreement with the assumption, already advanced for the first time in 1846 as a suggestion by Faraday, that electricity is a motion of an elastic medium permeating the whole of space and hence all bodies as well, the discrete particles of which medium repel one another according to the law of the inverse square of the distance. In other words, it is a motion of ether particles, and the molecules of the body take part in this motion. As to the manner of this motion, the various theories are divergent; those of Maxwell, Hankel, and Reynard, taking as their basis modern investigations of vortex motion, explain it, too, in various ways from vortices, so that the vortex of old Descartes also once more comes into favour in an increasing number of new fields. We refrain from going more closely into the details of these theories. They differ strongly from one another and they will certainly still experience many transformations. But a decisive advance appears to lie in their common basic conception: that electricity is a motion of the particles of the luminiferous ether that penetrates all ponderable matter, this motion reacting on the molecules of the body. This conception reconciles the two earlier ones. According to it, in electrical phenomena it is indeed something substantial that moves, something different from ponderable matter. But this substance is not electricity itself, which in fact proves rather to be a form of motion, although not a form of the immediate, direct

motion of ponderable matter. While, on the one hand, the ether theory shows a way of getting over the primitive clumsy idea of two opposed electrical fluids, on the other hand it gives a prospect of explaining *what* the real, material substratum of electrical motion is, *what* sort of a thing it is whose motion produces electrical phenomena.

The ether theory has already had *one* decisive success. As is well known, there is at least one point where electricity directly alters the motion of light: it rotates the latter's plane of polarisation. On the basis of his theory mentioned above, Clerk Maxwell calculates that the electric specific inductive capacity of a body is equal to the square of its index of refraction. Boltzmann has investigated dielectric constants of various nonconductors and he found that in sulphur, rosin, and paraffin, the square roots of these constants were respectively equal to their indices of refraction. The highest deviation—in sulphur—amounted to only 4 per cent.[a] Consequently, the Maxwellian ether theory in this particular has hereby been experimentally confirmed.

It will, however, require a lengthy period and cost much labour before new series of experiments extract a firm kernel from these mutually contradictory hypotheses. Until then, or until the ether theory, too, is perhaps supplanted by an entirely new one, the theory of electricity finds itself in the uncomfortable position of having to employ a mode of expression which it itself admits to be false. Its whole terminology is still based on the idea of two electric fluids. It still speaks quite unashamedly of "electric masses flowing in the bodies", of "a division of electricities in every molecule", etc. This is a misfortune which for the most part, as already said, follows inevitably from the present transitional state of science, but which also, with the one-sided empiricism that prevails especially in this branch of investigation, contributes not a little to preserving the existing confusion of thought.

The opposition between so-called static or frictional electricity and dynamic electricity or galvanism can now be regarded as bridged over, since we have learned to produce continuous currents by means of the electrical machine and, conversely, by means of the galvanic current to produce so-called static electricity, to charge Leyden jars, etc. We shall not here touch on the sub-form of static electricity, or on magnetism, which is now recognised to be also a sub-form of electricity. In any case, the

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[a] Engels gives this data according to G. Wiedemann, op. cit., Bd. 2, Abt. 2, S. 612 and 649-50.— *Ed.*

theoretical explanation of the phenomena belonging here will have to be sought in the theory of the galvanic current, and consequently we shall keep mainly to this.

A continuous current can be produced in many different ways. Mechanical mass motion produces *directly*, by friction, in the first place only static electricity, and a continuous current only with great dissipation of energy; for the major part, at least, to become transformed into electric motion, the intervention of magnetism is required, as in the well-known magneto-electric machines of Gramme, Siemens, and others. Heat can be converted directly into an electric current, as occurs, for instance, at the soldered joint of two different metals. The energy set free by chemical action, which under ordinary circumstances appears in the form of heat, is converted under appropriate conditions into electric motion. Conversely, the latter form of motion, as soon as the requisite conditions are present, passes into any other form of motion: into mass motion (to a very small extent directly into electro-dynamic attractions and repulsions; to a large extent, however, by the intervention again of magnetism in the electro-magnetic motor); into heat—throughout a closed circuit, unless other changes are brought about; into chemical energy—in electrolytic cells and voltameters introduced into the circuit, where the current dissociates compounds that are attacked in vain by other means.[a]

All these transformations are governed by the basic law of the quantitative equivalence of motion through all its changes of form. Or, as Wiedemann expresses it:

"by the law of conservation of force the mechanical work exerted in any way for the production of the current must be equivalent to the work exerted in producing all the effects of the current." [II, p. 472.]

The conversion of mass motion or heat into electricity* offers us no difficulties here; it has been proved that the so-called "electromotive force" in the first case is equal to the work expended on that motion, and in the second case it is "at every soldered joint of the thermopile directly proportional to its

* (Note:) I use the term "electricity" in the sense of electric motion with the same justification that the general term "heat" is used to express the form of motion that our senses perceive as heat. This is the less open to objection in as much as any possible confusion with the state of *tension* of electricity is here expressly excluded in advance.

[a] Engels gives these data according to G. Wiedemann, op. cit., Bd. 2, Abt. 2, S. 230-65.— *Ed.*

absolute temperature" (Wiedemann, III, p. 482), i.e., to the quantity of heat present at every soldered joint measured in absolute units. The same law has in fact been proved valid also for electricity produced from chemical energy. But here the matter seems to be not so simple, at least for the theory now current. Let us, therefore, consider it more closely.

One of the most beautiful series of experiments on the transformations of form of motion as a result of the action of a galvanic pile is that of Favre (1857-58).[a] He put a Smee pile of five elements in a calorimeter; in a second calorimeter he put a small electro-magnetic motor, with the main axle and pulley wheel projecting so as to be available for any kind of coupling. Each production in the pile of one gram of hydrogen, or solution of 32.6 grams of zinc (the old chemical equivalent of zinc, equal to half the now accepted atomic weight 65.2, and expressed in grams), gave the following results:

A. The pile enclosed in the calorimeter, excluding the motor: heat production 18,682 or 18,674 units of heat.

B. Pile and motor linked in the closed circuit, but the motor prevented from moving: heat in the pile 16,448, in the motor 2,219, together 18,667 units of heat.

C. As B, but the motor in motion without, however, lifting a weight: heat in the pile 13,888, in the motor 4,769, together 18,657 units of heat.

D. As C, but the motor raises a weight and so performs mechanical work = 131.24 kilogram-metres; heat in the pile 15,427, in the motor 2,947, total 18,374 units of heat; loss in contrast to the above 18,682 equals 308 units of heat. But the mechanical work performed amounting to 131.24 kilogram-metres, multiplied by 1,000 (in order to bring the kilograms into line with the grams of the chemical results) and divided by the mechanical equivalent of heat = 423.5 kilogram-metres, gives 309 units of heat, hence exactly the loss mentioned above as the heat equivalent of the mechanical work performed.

The equivalence of motion in all its transformations is, therefore, strikingly proved for electric motion also, within the limits of unavoidable error. And it is likewise proved that the "electromotive force" of the galvanic battery is nothing but chemical energy converted into electricity, and the battery itself nothing but a device, an apparatus, that converts chemical energy

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[a] Engels describes Favre's experiments according to G. Wiedemann *Die Lehre vom Galvanismus...*, Bd. 2, Abt. 2, S. 521-22.—*Ed.*

on its liberation into electricity, just as a steam-engine transforms the heat supplied to it into mechanical motion, without in either case the converting apparatus supplying further energy on its own account.

A difficulty arises here, however, in relation to the traditional mode of conception. The latter ascribes an *"electric force of separation"* to the battery in virtue of the conditions of contact present in it between the fluids and metals, which force is proportional to the electromotive force and therefore for a given battery represents a definite quantity of energy. What then is the relation of this electric force of separation, of this source of energy which, according to the traditional mode of conception, is inherent in the battery as such even without chemical action, to the energy set free by chemical action? And if it is a source of energy independent of the latter, whence comes the energy furnished by it?

This question in a more or less unclear form constitutes the point of dispute between the contact theory founded by Volta and the chemical theory of the galvanic current that arose immediately afterwards.

The contact theory explained the current from the electric tensions arising in the battery on contact of the metals with one or more of the liquids, or even merely on contact of the liquids themselves, and from their neutralisation or that of the opposing electricities thus generated in the circuit. The pure contact theory regarded any chemical changes that might thereby occur as quite secondary. On the other hand, as early as 1805, Ritter maintained that a current could only be formed if the excitants reacted chemically even *before* closing the circuit. In general this older chemical theory is summarised by Wiedemann (I, p. 784) to the effect that according to it so-called contact electricity

"makes its appearance only if at the same time there comes into play a real chemical action of the bodies in contact, or at any rate a disturbance of the chemical equilibrium, even if not directly bound up with chemical processes, a 'tendency towards chemical action' between the bodies in contact".

It is seen that both sides put the question of the source of energy of the current only indirectly, as indeed could hardly be otherwise at the time. Volta and his successors found it quite in order that the mere contact of heterogeneous bodies should produce a continuous current, and consequently be able to perform definite work without equivalent return. Ritter and his supporters are just as little clear how the chemical action makes

the battery capable of producing the current and its performance of work. But if this point has long ago been cleared up for chemical theory by Joule, Favre, Raoult, and others, the opposite is the case for the contact theory. In so far as it has persisted, it remains essentially at the point where it started. Notions belonging to a period long outlived, a period when one had to be satisfied to ascribe a particular effect to the first available apparent cause that showed itself on the surface, regardless of whether motion was thereby made to arise out of nothing—notions that directly contradict the law of the conservation of energy—thus continue to exist in the theory of electricity of today. And if the most objectionable aspects of these ideas are shorn off, weakened, watered down, castrated, glossed over, this does not improve matters at all: the confusion is bound to become only so much the worse.

As we have seen, even the older chemical theory of the current declares the contact relations of the battery to be absolutely indispensable for the formation of the current: it maintains only that these contacts can never achieve a continuous current without simultaneous chemical action. And even today it is taken as a matter of course that the contact arrangements of the battery provide precisely the apparatus by means of which liberated chemical energy is transformed into electricity, and that it depends essentially on these contact arrangements whether and how much chemical energy actually passes into electric motion.

Wiedemann, as a one-sided empiricist, seeks to save what can be saved of the old contact theory. Let us follow what he has to say.

> "In contrast to what was formerly believed," says Wiedemann (I, p. 799), "the effect of contact of chemically indifferent bodies, e.g., of metals, is *neither indispensable for the theory of the pile,*[a] nor proved by the facts that *Ohm* derived his law from it, a law that can be derived without this assumption, and that *Fechner,* who confirmed this law experimentally, likewise defended the contact theory. Nevertheless, the excitation of electricity by *metallic* contact, at least according to the experiments now available, is not to be denied, even though the quantitative results, obtainable in this respect may always be tainted with an inevitable uncertainty owing to the impossibility of keeping absolutely clean the surfaces of the bodies in contact."

It is seen that the contact theory has become very modest. It concedes that it is not at all indispensable for explaining the current, and neither proved theoretically by Ohm nor experimentally by Fechner. It even concedes that the so-called fundamental experiments, on which alone it can still rest, can never furnish

[a] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

other than uncertain results in a quantitative respect, and finally it asks us merely to recognise that in general it is by contact—although only of *metals*!—that electric motion occurs.

If the contact theory remained content with this, there would not be a word to say against it. It will certainly be granted that on the contact of two metals electrical phenomena occur, by means of which a preparation of a frog's leg can be made to twitch, an electroscope charged, and other movements brought about. The only question that arises in the first place is: whence comes the energy required for this?

To answer this question, we shall, according to Wiedemann (I, p. 14):

"adduce *more or less the following*[a] considerations: if the heterogeneous metal plates A and B are brought within a close distance of each other, they attract each other in consequence of the forces of adhesion. On mutual contact they lose the *vis viva* of motion imparted to them by this attraction. (If we assume that the molecules of the metals are in a state of permanent vibration, it *could* also happen that, if on contact of the heterogeneous metals the molecules not vibrating simultaneously come into contact, an alteration of their vibration is thereby brought about with loss of *vis viva*.) The lost *vis viva* is *to a large extent* converted into heat. A *small portion* of it, however, is expended in bringing about a different distribution of the electricities previously unseparated. As we have already mentioned above, the bodies brought together become charged with equal quantities of positive and negative electricity, *possibly* as the result of an unequal attraction for the two electricities."

The modesty of the contact theory becomes greater and greater. At first it is admitted that the powerful electric force of separation, which has later such a gigantic work to perform, in itself possesses no energy of its own, and that it cannot function if energy is not supplied to it from outside. And then it has allotted to it a more than diminutive source of energy, the *vis viva* of adhesion, which only comes into play at scarcely measurable distances and which allows the bodies to travel a scarcely measurable length. But it does not matter: it undeniably exists and equally undeniably vanishes on contact. But even this minute source still furnishes too much energy for our purpose: a *large* part is converted into heat and only a *small* portion serves to evoke the electric force of separation. Now, although it is well known that cases enough occur in nature where extremely minute impulses bring about extremely powerful effects, Wiedemann himself seems to feel that his hardly trickling source of energy can with difficulty suffice here, and he seeks a possible second source in the assumption of an interference of the molecular vibrations of the two metals at

[a] Here and below italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

the surfaces of contact. Apart from other difficulties encountered here, Grove and Gassiot have shown that for exciting electricity actual contact is not at all indispensable, as Wiedemann himself tells us on the previous page.[a] In short, the more we examine it the more does the source of energy for the electric force of separation dwindle to nothing.

Yet up to now we hardly know of any other source for the excitation of electricity on metallic contact. According to Naumann (*Allgemeine und physikalische Chemie*,[b] Heidelberg, 1877, p. 675), "the contact-electromotive forces convert heat into electricity"; he finds "the assumption natural that the ability of these forces to produce electric motion depends on the quantity of heat present, or, in other words, that it is a function of the temperature", as has also been proved experimentally by Le Roux. Here, too, we find ourselves groping in the dark. The law of the voltaic series of metals forbids us to have recourse to the chemical processes that to a small extent are continually taking place at the contact surfaces, which are always covered by a thin layer of air and impure water, a layer as good as inseparable as far as we are concerned; hence it forbids us to explain the excitation of electricity by the presence of an invisible active electrolyte between the contact surfaces. An electrolyte should produce a continuous current in the closed circuit, but the electricity of mere metallic contact, on the contrary, disappears on closing the circuit. And here we come to the real point: whether, and in what manner, the production of a continuous current on the contact of chemically indifferent bodies is made possible by this "electric force of separation", which Wiedemann himself first of all restricted to metals, declaring it incapable of functioning without energy being supplied from outside, and then referred exclusively to a truly microscopic source of energy.

The voltaic series arranges the metals in such a sequence that each one behaves as electro-negative in relation to the preceding one and as electro-positive in relation to the one that follows it. Hence if we arrange a series of pieces of metal in this order, e. g., zinc, tin, iron, copper, platinum, we shall be able to obtain an electric tension at each end. If, however, we arrange the series of metals to form a closed circuit so that the zinc and platinum are in contact, the electric tension is at once neutralised and disappears.

"Therefore the production of a continuous current of electricity is not possible in a closed circuit of bodies belonging to the voltaic series." [I, p. 45.]

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[a] G. Wiedemann, op. cit., Bd. 1, S. 13.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Naumann, *Handbuch der allgemeinen und physikalischen Chemie.*—*Ed.*

Wiedemann further supports this statement by the following theoretical consideration:

"In fact, if a continuous electric current were to make its appearance in the circuit, it would produce heat in the metallic conductors themselves, and this heating could at the most be counterbalanced by cooling at the metallic junctions. In any case it would give rise to an uneven distribution of heat; moreover an electro-magnetic motor could be driven continuously by the current without [any sort of] supply from outside, and thus work would be performed, which is impossible, since on firmly joining the metals, for instance by soldering, no further changes to compensate for this work could take place even at the contact surfaces." [I, pp. 44-45.]

And not content with the theoretical and experimental proof that the contact electricity of metals by itself cannot produce any current, we shall see too that Wiedemann finds himself compelled to put forward a special hypothesis to abolish its activity even where it might perhaps make itself evident in the current.

Let us, therefore, try another way of passing from contact electricity to the current. Let us imagine, with Wiedemann,

"two metals, such as a zinc rod and a copper rod, soldered together at one end, but with their free ends connected by a third body which does *not* act electromotively in relation to the two metals, but only conduct the opposing electricities collected on their surfaces, so that they are neutralised in it. Then the electric force of separation would always restore the previous potential difference, thus a continuous electric current would make its appearance in the circuit, a current that would be able to perform work without any compensation, which again is impossible. Accordingly, there cannot be a body which only conducts electricity without electromotive activity in relation to the other bodies." [I, p. 45.]

We are no better off than before: the impossibility of creating motion again bars the way. By the contact of chemically indifferent bodies, hence by contact electricity as such, we shall never produce a current. Let us therefore go back again and try a third way pointed out by Wiedemann:

"Finally, if we immerse a zinc plate and a copper plate in a liquid that contains a so-called *binary* compound, which therefore can be decomposed into two chemically distinct constituents that completely saturate one another, e.g., dilute hydrochloric acid (H + Cl), etc., then according to paragraph 27 the zinc becomes negatively charged and the copper positively. On joining the metals, these electricities neutralise each other through the place of contact, through which, *therefore, a current of positive electricity* flows from the copper to the zinc. Moreover, since the electric force of separation making its appearance on the contact of these two metals *conveys* the positive electricity *in the same direction*, the effects of the electric forces of separation are *not* abolished as in a closed metallic circuit. *Hence there arises a continuous current of positive electricity*, flowing in the closed circuit from the copper through its place of contact with the zinc, in the direction of the latter, and through the liquid from the zinc to the copper. We shall return in a moment

(paragraph 34, et seq.) to the question how far the individual electric forces of separation present in the circuit *really* participate in the formation of the current.—A combination of conductors providing such a 'galvanic current' we term a galvanic element or also a galvanic battery." [I, p. 45.][a]

Thus the miracle has been accomplished. By the mere electric force of separation of the contact which, according to Wiedemann himself, cannot be effective without energy being supplied from outside, a continuous current has been produced. And if we were offered nothing more for its explanation than the above passage from Wiedemann, it would indeed remain an absolute miracle. What have we learned here about the process?

1. If zinc and copper are immersed in a liquid containing a so-called *binary* compound, then,according to § 27, the zinc becomes negatively charged and the copper positively charged.—But in the whole of § 27 there is no word of any binary compound. It describes only a simple voltaic element of a zinc plate and a copper plate, with a piece of cloth moistened by an *acid* liquid interposed between them, and then investigates, without mentioning any chemical processes, the resulting static-electric charges of the two metals. Hence, the so-called *binary* compound has been smuggled in here by the backdoor.[b]

2. What this binary compound is doing here remains a complete mystery. The circumstance that it "*can*[c] be decomposed into two chemical constituents that fully saturate each other" (fully saturate each other after they have been decomposed?!) could at most teach us something new if it were *actually to decompose.* But we are not told a word about that, hence for the time being we have to assume that it does *not* decompose, e. g., in the case of paraffin.

3. When the zinc in the liquid has been negatively charged, and the copper positively charged, we bring them into contact (outside the liquid). At once "these electricities neutralise each other through the place of contact, through which, *therefore,* a current of *positive* electricity flows from the copper to the zinc". Again, we do not learn why only a current of "positive" electricity flows in the one direction, and not also a current of "negative" electricity in the opposite direction. We do not learn at all what becomes of the negative electricity, which, hitherto, was just as necessary as the positive; the effect of the electric force of separation consisted precisely in setting them free to oppose each other. Now it has been suddenly suppressed, as it were eliminated, and it is made to

[a] All italics by Engels.—*Ed.*
[b] G. Wiedemann, op. cit., Bd. 1, S. 40-41.—*Ed.*
[c] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

appear as if there exists only positive electricity.

But then again, on p. 51, the precise opposite is said, for here "*the electricities unite*[a] in one current"; consequently both negative and positive flow in it! Who will rescue us from this confusion?

4. "Moreover, *since* the electric force of separation making its appearance on the contact of these two metals *conveys* the positive electricity *in the same direction*, the effects of the electric forces of separation are not abolished as in a closed metallic circuit. *Hence*, there arises a continuous current," etc.[b]

This is a bit thick. For, as we shall see, Wiedemann proves to us a few pages later (p. 52) that

on the "formation of a continuous current ... the electric force of separation at the place of contact of the metals ... *must be inactive*[c]",

that not only does a current occur even when this force, instead of conveying the positive electricity in the same direction, acts in opposition to the direction of the current, but that in this case too it is not compensated by a definite share of the force of separation of the battery and, hence, once again is inactive. Consequently, how can Wiedemann on p. 45 make an electric force of separation participate as a necessary factor in the formation of the current, when on p. 52 he puts it out of action for the duration of the current, and that, moreover, by a hypothesis erected specially for this purpose?

5. "Hence there arises a *continuous current*[c] of positive electricity, flowing in the closed circuit from the copper through its place of contact with the zinc, in the direction of the latter, and through the liquid from the zinc to the copper."

But in the case of such a continuous electric current, "heat would be produced by it in the conductors themselves", and also it would be possible for "an electromagnetic motor to be driven by it and thus work performed", which, however, is impossible without supply of energy. Since Wiedemann up to now has not breathed a syllable as to whether such a supply of energy occurs, or whence it comes, the continuous current so far remains just as much an impossibility as in both the previously investigated cases.

No one feels this more than Wiedemann himself. So he finds it desirable to hurry, as quickly as possible over the many ticklish points of this remarkable explanation of current formation, and instead to entertain the reader throughout several pages with all

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[a] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] G. Wiedemann, op. cit., Bd. 1, S. 45. All italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

[c] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

kinds of elementary anecdotes about the thermal, chemical, magnetic, and physiological effects of this still mysterious current, in the course of which by way of exception he even adopts a quite popular tone. Then he suddenly continues (p. 49):

"We have now to investigate in what way the electric forces of separation are active in a closed circuit of two metals and a liquid, e.g., zinc, copper, and hydrochloric acid.

"*We know* that when the current flows through the liquid the constituents of the binary compound (HCl) contained in it become separated in such a manner that one constituent (H) *is set free* on the copper, and an equivalent amount of the other (Cl) on the zinc, *whereby* the latter constituent combines with an equivalent amount of zinc to form ZnCl."[a]

*We know!* If we know this, we certainly do not know it from Wiedemann who, as we have seen, so far has not breathed a syllable about this process. Further, *if* we do know anything of this process, it is that it cannot proceed in the way described by Wiedemann.

On the formation of a molecule of HCl from gaseous hydrogen and gaseous chlorine, an amount of energy = 22,000 units of heat is liberated (Julius Thomsen).[189] Therefore, to break away the chlorine from its combination with hydrogen, the same quantity of energy must be supplied from outside for each molecule of HCl. Where does the battery derive this energy? Wiedemann's description does not tell us, so let us look for ourselves.

When chlorine combines with zinc to form zinc chloride a considerably greater quantity of energy is liberated than is necessary to separate chlorine from hydrogen; (Zn, $Cl_2$) develops 97,210 and 2 (H, Cl) 44,000 units of heat (Julius Thomsen). With that the process in the battery becomes comprehensible. Hence it is not, as Wiedemann relates, that hydrogen without more ado is liberated on the copper, and chlorine on the zinc, "whereby" then subsequently and accidentally the zinc and chlorine enter into combination. On the contrary, the combination of the zinc with the chlorine is the essential, basic condition for the whole process, and as long as this does not take place, one would wait in vain for hydrogen on the copper.

The excess of energy liberated on formation of a molecule of $ZnCl_2$ over that expended on liberating two atoms of H from two molecules of HCl, is converted in the battery into electric motion and provides the entire "electromotive force" that makes its appearance in the current circuit. Hence it is not a mysterious

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[a] All italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

"electric force of separation" that tears asunder hydrogen and chlorine without any demonstrable source of energy, it is the total chemical process taking place in the battery that endows all the "electric forces of separation" and "electromotive forces" of the closed circuit with the energy necessary for their existence.

For the time being, therefore, we put on record that Wiedemann's *second* explanation of the current gives us just as little assistance as his first one, and let us proceed further with the text:

"This process proves that the behaviour of the binary substance between the metals does not consist merely in a simple predominant attraction of its entire mass for one electricity or the other, as in the case of metals, but that in addition a special action of its constituents is exhibited. Since the constituent Cl is given off where the current of positive electricity enters the fluid, and the constituent H where the negative electricity enters, *we assume*[a] that each equivalent of chlorine in the compound HCl is charged with a definite amount of negative electricity determining its attraction by the entering positive electricity. It is the *electro-negative constituent* of the compound. Similarly the equivalent of H must be charged with positive electricity and so represent the electro-positive constituent of the compound. These charges *could* be produced on the combination of H and Cl in just the same way as on the contact of zinc and copper. Since the compound HCl as such is non-electric, *we must assume*[b] accordingly that in it the atoms of the positive and negative constituents contain equal quantities of positive and negative electricity.

"If now a zinc plate and a copper plate are dipped in dilute hydrochloric acid, *we can suppose* that the zinc has a stronger attraction towards the electro-negative constituent (Cl) than towards the electro-positive one (H). Consequently, the molecules of hydrochloric acid in contact with the zinc *would* dispose themselves so that their electro-negative constituents are turned towards the zinc, and their electro-positive constituents towards the copper. Owing to the constituents when so arranged exerting their electrical attraction on the constituents of the next molecules of HCl, the whole series of molecules between the zinc and copper plates becomes arranged as follows:

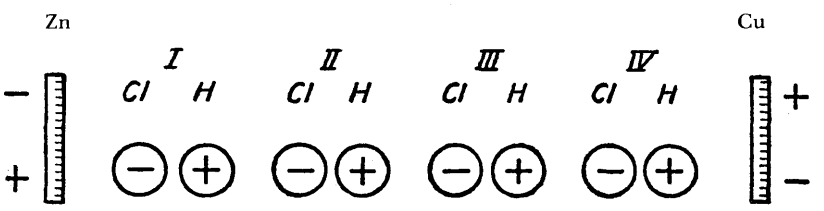


[a] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*
[b] Here and below in this quotation italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

If the second metal acted on the positive hydrogen as the zinc does on the negative chlorine, it would help to promote the arrangement. If it acted in the opposite manner, only more weakly, at least the direction would remain unaltered.

"By the influence exerted by the negative electricity of the electronegative constituent Cl adjacent to the zinc, the electricity *would* be so distributed in the zinc that places on it which are close to the Cl of the immediately adjacent atom [190] of acid would become charged positively, those farther away negatively. Similarly, negative electricity would accumulate in the copper next to the electro-positive constituent (H) of the adjacent atom of hydrochloric acid, and the positive electricity would be driven to the more remote parts.

"*Next,* the positive electricity in the zinc *would* combine with the negative electricity of the immediately adjacent atom of Cl, and the latter itself with the zinc [to form non-electric ZnCl]. The electropositive atom H, which was previously combined with this atom of Cl, *would* combine with the atom of Cl turned towards it belonging to the second atom of HCl, with simultaneous combination of the electricities contained in these atoms; similarly, the H of the second atom of HCl *would combine* with the Cl of the third atom, and so on, until finally on the copper an atom of H *would* be set free, the positive electricity of which would unite with the distributed negative electricity of the copper, so that it would escape in a non-electrified state." This process would "repeat itself until the repulsive action of the electricities accumulated in the metal plates on the electricities of the hydrochloric acid constituents turned towards them balances the chemical attraction of the latter by the metals. If, however, the metal plates are joined by a conductor, the free electricities of the metal plates unite with one another and the above-mentioned processes can recommence. *In this way* a constant flow of electricity would come into being. "It is evident that thereby a continual loss of *vis viva* occurs, owing to the constituents of the binary compound on their migration to the metals moving to the latter with a definite velocity and then coming to rest, either with formation of a compound (ZnCl) or by escaping in the free state (H)." (*Note* [by Wiedemann]: "Since the gain in *vis viva* on separation of the constituents Cl and H ... is compensated by the *vis viva* lost on the union of these constituents with the constituents of the adjacent atoms, the influence of this process can be neglected.") "This loss of *vis viva* is equivalent to the quantity of heat which is set free in the visibly occurring chemical process, essentially, therefore, that produced on the solution of an equivalent of zinc in the dilute acid. This value must be the same as that of the work expended on separating the electricities. If, therefore, the electricities unite to form a current, then, during the solution of an equivalent of zinc and the giving off of an equivalent of hydrogen from the liquid, there must make its appearance in the whole circuit, whether in the form of heat or in the form of external performance of work, an amount of work that is likewise equivalent to the development of heat corresponding to this chemical process." [I, pp. 49-51.]

"Let us assume—could—we must assume—we can suppose—would be distributed—would become charged", etc., etc. Sheer conjecture and subjunctives from which only three actual indicatives can be definitely extracted: firstly, that the combination of the zinc with the chlorine is *now* pronounced to be the condition for the liberation of hydrogen; secondly, as we now learn right at the end and as it were incidentally, that the energy herewith

liberated is the source, and indeed the exclusive source, of all energy required for the formation of the current; and thirdly, that this explanation of the current formation is as directly in contradiction to both those previously given as the latter are themselves mutually contradictory.

Further it is said:

"For the formation of a continuous current, therefore, there is active *purely and solely*[a] the electric force of separation which is derived from the unequal attraction and polarisation of the atoms of the binary compound in the exciting liquid of the battery by the metal electrodes; at the place of contact of the metals, at which no further mechanical changes can occur, the electric force of separation *must on the other hand be inactive.* That this force, if perchance it *counteracts* the electromotive excitation of the metals by the liquid (as on immersion of tin and lead in potassium cyanide solution), is not compensated by a definite share of the force of separation at the place of contact, is proved by the above-mentioned complete proportionality of the total electric force of separation (and electromotive force) in the closed circuit, with the above-mentioned heat equivalent of the chemical processes. Hence it must be neutralised in another way. This would most simply occur on the assumption that on contact of the exciting liquid with the metals the electromotive force is produced in a double manner; on the one hand by an unequally strong attraction of the *mass* of the liquid as a whole towards one or the other electricity, on the other hand by the unequal attraction of the metals towards the *constituents* of the liquid charged with opposite electricities.... Owing to the former unequal mass attraction towards the electricities, the liquids would fully conform to the law of the voltaic series of metals, and in a closed circuit ... complete neutralisation to zero of the electric forces of separation (and electromotive forces) take place; the second (*chemical*) action ... on the other hand would *by itself* supply the electric force of separation necessary for the formation of the current and the corresponding electromotive force." (I, pp. 52-53.)

Herewith the last relics of the contact theory are now happily eliminated from formation of the current, and simultaneously also the last relics of Wiedemann's first explanation of current formation given on p. 45.[b] It is finally conceded without reservation that the galvanic battery is a simple apparatus for converting chemical energy in process of liberation into electric motion, into so-called electric force of separation and electromotive force, just as the steam-engine is an apparatus for converting heat energy into mechanical motion. In the one case, as in the other, the apparatus provides only the conditions for liberation and further transformation of the energy, but supplies no energy on its own account. This once established, it remains for us now to make a closer examination of this third version of Wiedemann's explana-

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[a] All italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 415-16.—*Ed.*

tion of the current. How are the energy transformations in the closed circuit of the battery represented here?

It is evident, he says, that in the battery "a continual loss of *vis viva* occurs, owing to the constituents of the binary compound on their migration to the metals moving to the latter with a definite velocity and then coming to rest, either with formation of a compound (ZnCl) or by escaping in the free state (H). This loss is equivalent to the quantity of heat which is set free in the visibly occurring chemical process, essentially, therefore, that produced on the solution of an equivalent of zinc in the dilute acid."[a]

Firstly, if the process goes on in *pure* form, no heat at all is set free in the battery on solution of the zinc; the liberated energy is indeed converted directly into electricity and only from this converted further into heat by the resistance of the whole circuit.

Secondly, *vis viva* is half the product of the mass and the square of the velocity. Hence the above statement would read: the energy set free on solution of an equivalent of zinc in dilute hydrochloric acid, equalling so many calories, is likewise equivalent to half the product of the mass of the ions and the square of the velocity with which they migrate to the metals. Expressed in this way, the statement is obviously false; the *vis viva* appearing on the migration of the ions is far from being equivalent to the energy set free by the chemical process.* But if it were to be so, no current

* F. Kohlrausch has recently calculated *(Wiedemanns Annalen*, VI,[p.] 206)[b] that "immense forces" are required to drive the ions through the water solvent. To cause one milligram to move through a distance of one millimetre requires a force of attraction which for H = 32,500 kg., for Cl = 5,200 kg., hence for HCl = 37,700 kg.—Even if these figures are absolutely correct, they do not affect what has been said above. But the calculation contains the hypothetical factors hitherto inevitable in the sphere of electricity and therefore requires control by experiment. Such control appears possible. In the first place, these "immense forces" must reappear as a definite quantity of heat in the place where they are consumed, i.e., in the above case in the battery. Secondly, the energy consumed by them must be smaller than that supplied by the chemical processes of the battery, and there should be a definite difference. Thirdly, this difference must be used up in the rest of the closed circuit and likewise be quantitatively demonstrable there. Only after confirmation by this control can the above figures be regarded as final. The demonstration in the electrolytic cell appears still more susceptible of realisation.

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[a] G. Wiedemann, op. cit., Bd. 1, S. 51.—*Ed.*

[b] F. Kohlrausch, "Das elektrische Leitungsvermögen *der* wässerigen Lösungen von den Hydraten und Salzen der leichten Metalle...", *Annalen der Physik und Chemie*, Neue Folge, Bd. VI, No. 1, S. 206-07.—*Ed.*

would be possible, since there would be no energy remaining over for the current in the remainder of the closed circuit. Hence the further remark is introduced that the ions come to rest "either with formation of a compound or by escaping in the free state". But if the loss of *vis viva* is to include also the energy transformations taking place on these two processes, then we have indeed arrived at a dead-lock. For it is precisely to these two processes taken together that we owe the whole liberated energy, so that there can be absolutely no question here of a *loss* of *vis viva*, but at most of a *gain*.

It is therefore obvious that Wiedemann himself did not mean anything definite by this proposition; rather the "loss of *vis viva*" represents only the *deus ex machina*[a] which is to enable him to make the fatal leap from the old contact theory to the chemical explanation of the current. In point of fact, the loss of *vis viva* has now performed its function and is dismissed; henceforth the chemical process in the battery is recognised indisputably as the sole source of energy for current formation, and the only remaining anxiety of our author is as to how he can politely rid the current of the last relic of excitation of electricity on the contact of chemically indifferent bodies, namely, the force of separation active at the place of contact of the two metals.

Reading the above explanation of current formation given by Wiedemann, one could believe oneself in the presence of a specimen of the kind of *apologia* that wholly- and semi-orthodox theologians of almost forty years ago employed to meet the philologico-historical bible criticism[191] of Strauss, Wilke, Bruno Bauer, and others. The method is exactly the same, and it is bound to be so. For in both cases it is a question of saving the *inherited tradition* from scientific thought. Exclusive empiricism, which at most allows itself thinking in the form of mathematical calculation, imagines that it operates only with undeniable facts. In reality, however, it operates predominantly with traditional notions, with the largely obsolete products of thought of its predecessors, and such are positive and negative electricity, the electric force of separation, the contact theory. These serve it as the foundation of endless mathematical calculations in which, owing to the strictness of the mathematical formulation, the hypothetical nature of the premises gets comfortably forgotten. This kind of empiricism is as credulous towards the results of the thought of its predecessors as it is sceptical in its attitude to the

[a] Literally: "a deity from a machine"; hence, any person or thing artificially introduced, as in a story, to solve a difficulty.—*Ed.*

results of contemporary thought. For it even the experimentally established facts have gradually become inseparable from their traditional interpretations; the simplest electric phenomenon is presented falsely, e.g., by smuggling in the two electricities; this empiricism *cannot* any longer describe the facts correctly, because the traditional interpretation is woven into the description. In short, we have here in the field of the theory of electricity a tradition just as highly developed as that in the field of theology. And since in both fields the results of recent research, the establishment of hitherto unknown or disputed facts and of the necessarily following theoretical conclusions, run pitilessly counter to the old traditions, the defenders of these traditions find themselves in the direct dilemma. They have to resort to all kinds of subterfuges and untenable expedients, to the glossing over of irreconcilable contradictions, and thus finally land themselves into a medley of contradictions from which they have no escape. It is this faith in all the old theory of electricity that entangles Wiedemann here into most inextricably contradicting himself, simply owing to the hopeless attempt to reconcile rationally the old explanation of the current by "contact force" with the modern one by liberation of chemical energy.

It will perhaps be objected that the above criticism of Wiedemann's explanation of the current rests on juggling with words; that although at the beginning Wiedemann expresses himself somewhat carelessly and inaccurately, still he does finally give the correct account in accord with the principle of the conservation of energy and so sets everything right. As against this view, we give below another example, his description of the process in the battery: zinc—dilute sulphuric acid—copper:

> "If, however, the two plates are joined by a wire, a galvanic current arises.... *By the electrolytic process,*[a] one equivalent of hydrogen is given off on the copper from the *water* of the dilute sulphuric acid, this hydrogen escaping in bubbles. On the zinc there is formed one equivalent of oxygen which oxidises the zinc to form zinc oxide, the latter becoming dissolved in the surrounding acid to form sulphuric zinc oxide." (I, p. 593.)

To break up water into gaseous hydrogen and gaseous oxygen requires an amount of energy of 68,924 heat-units for each molecule of water. Whence then comes the energy in the above battery? "By the electrolytic process." And where does the electrolytic process get it from? No answer is given.

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[a] All italics in this quotation by Engels.—*Ed.*

But Wiedemann further tells us, not once, but at least twice (I, p. 472 and p. 614), that "according to recent experiments [in electrolysis] the water itself is not decomposed", but that in our case it is the sulphuric acid $H_2SO_4$ that splits up into $H_2$ on the one hand and into $SO_3 + O$ on the other hand, whereby under suitable conditions $H_2$ and O can escape in gaseous form. But this alters the whole nature of the process. The $H_2$ of the $H_2SO_4$ is directly replaced by the bivalent zinc, forming zinc sulphate, $ZnSO_4$. There remains over, on the one side $H_2$, on the other $SO_3 + O$. The two gases escape in the proportions in which they unite to form water, the $SO_3$ unites with the water $H_2O$ of the solution to reform $H_2SO_4$, i.e., sulphuric acid. The formation of $ZnSO_4$, however, develops sufficient energy not only to displace and liberate the hydrogen of the sulphuric acid, but also to leave over a considerable excess, which in our case is expended in forming the current. Hence the zinc does not wait until the electrolytic process puts free oxygen at its disposal, in order first to become oxidised and then to become dissolved in the acid. On the contrary, it enters directly into the process, which only comes into being at all *by this participation of the zinc.*

We see here how obsolete chemical notions come to the aid of the obsolete contact notions. According to modern views, a salt is an acid in which hydrogen has been replaced by a metal. The process under investigation confirms this view; the direct replacement of the hydrogen of the acid by the zinc fully explains the transformations of energy. The old view, adhered to by Wiedemann, regards a salt as a compound of a metallic oxide with an acid and therefore speaks of sulphuric zinc oxide instead of zinc sulphate. But to arrive at sulphuric zinc oxide in our battery of zinc and sulphuric acid, the zinc must first be oxidised. In order to oxidise the zinc fast enough, we must have free oxygen. In order to get free oxygen, we must assume—since hydrogen appears on the copper—that the water is decomposed. In order to decompose water, we need tremendous energy. How are we to get this? Simply "by the electrolytic process" which itself cannot come into operation as long as its chemical end product, the "sulphuric zinc oxide", has not begun to be formed. The child gives birth to the mother.

Consequently, here again Wiedemann puts the whole process absolutely the wrong way round and upside down. And the reason is that he lumps together active and passive electrolysis, two directly opposite processes, simply as electrolysis.

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So far we have only examined the events in the battery, i.e., that process in which an excess of energy is set free by chemical action and is converted into electricity by the arrangements of the battery. But it is well known that this process can also be reversed: the electricity of a continuous current produced in the battery from chemical energy can, in its turn, be reconverted into chemical energy in an electrolytic cell inserted in the closed circuit. The two processes are obviously the opposites of each other; if the first is regarded as chemico-electric, then the second is electro-chemical. Both can take place in the same circuit with the same substances. Thus, the voltaic pile from gas elements, the current of which is produced by the union of hydrogen and oxygen to form water, can, in an electrolytic cell inserted in the circuit, furnish gaseous hydrogen and gaseous oxygen in the proportion in which they form water. The usual view lumps these two opposite processes together under the *single* expression: electrolysis, and does not even distinguish between active and passive electrolysis, between an exciting liquid and a passive electrolyte. Thus Wiedemann treats of electrolysis in general for 143 pages[a] and then adds at the end some remarks on "electrolysis in the battery", in which, moreover, the processes in actual batteries only occupy the lesser part of the seventeen pages of this section.[b] Also in the "theory of electrolysis" that follows, this contrast of battery and electrolytic cell is not even mentioned,[c] and anyone who looked for some treatment of the transformations of energy in the closed circuit in the next chapter, "The Influence of Electrolysis on the Conduction Resistance and the Electromotive Force in the Circuit", would be bitterly disappointed.[d]

Let us now consider the irresistible "electrolytic process" which is able to separate $H_2$ from O without visible supply of energy, and which plays the same role in these sections of the book as did previously the mysterious "electric force of separation".

"Alongside the *primary, purely electrolytic*[e] process of separation of the ions, a number of *secondary, purely chemical* processes, quite independent of the first, take place by the action of the ions split off by the current. This action can take place on the material of the electrodes and on the bodies that are decomposed, and in the case of solutions also on the solvent." (I, p. 481.)

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[a] G. Wiedemann, op. cit., Bd. 1, S. 459-91.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., S. 592-609.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., S. 609-34.—*Ed.*
[d] Ibid., S. 635-737.—*Ed.*
[e] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

Let us return to the above-mentioned battery: zinc and copper in dilute sulphuric acid. Here, according to Wiedemann's own statement, the separated ions are the $H_2$ and O of the water. Consequently, for him the oxidation of the zinc and the formation of $ZnSO_4$ is a secondary, purely chemical process, independent of the electrolytic process, in spite of the fact that it is only through it that the primary process becomes possible. Let us now examine somewhat in detail the confusion that must necessarily arise from this inversion of the true course of events.

Let us consider in the first place the so-called secondary processes in the electrolytic cell, of which Wiedemann puts forward some examples* (pp. 481-82):

I. The electrolysis of sodium sulphate ($Na_2SO_4$) dissolved in water.

This "breaks up ... into 1 equivalent of $SO_3+O$ ... and 1 equivalent of Na.... The latter, however, reacts on the water solvent and splits off from it 1 equivalent of H, while 1 equivalent of caustic soda (NaOH) is formed and becomes dissolved in the surrounding water."

The equation is:

$$Na_2SO_4+2H_2O = O+SO_3+2NaOH+2H.$$

In fact, in this example the decomposition

$$Na_2SO_4 = Na_2+SO_3+O$$

could be regarded as the primary, electro-chemical process, and the further transformation

$$Na_2+2H_2O = 2NaOH+2H$$

as the secondary, purely chemical one. But this secondary process is effected immediately at the electrode where the hydrogen appears, the very considerable quantity of energy (111,810 heat-units for Na, O, H, aq. according to Julius Thomsen) thereby liberated is therefore, at least for the most part, converted into electricity, and only a portion in the cell is transformed directly into heat. But the latter can also happen to the chemical energy directly or primarily liberated in the *battery*. The quantity of

* It may be noted here once for all that Wiedemann employs throughout the old chemical equivalent values, writing HO, ZnCl, etc.[192] In my equations, the modern atomic weights are everywhere employed, putting, therefore, $H_2O$, $ZnCl_2$, etc.

energy which has thus become available and converted into electricity, however, is to be subtracted from that which the current has to supply for continued decomposition of the $Na_2SO_4$. If the conversion of sodium into hydrated oxide appeared in the *first* moment of the total process as a secondary process, from the second moment onwards it becomes an essential factor of the total process and so ceases to be secondary.

But yet a third process takes place in this electrolytic cell: $SO_3$ combines with $H_2O$ to form $H_2SO_4$, sulphuric acid, provided the $SO_3$ does not enter into combination with the metal of the positive electrode, in which case again energy would be liberated. But this change does not necessarily proceed immediately at the electrode, and consequently the quantity of energy (21,320 heat-units, J. Thomsen) thereby liberated becomes converted wholly or mainly into heat in the cell itself, and provides at most a very small portion of the electricity in the current. The only really secondary process occurring in this cell is therefore not mentioned at all by Wiedemann.

II. "If a solution of copper sulphate [$CuSO_4+5H_2O$] is electrolysed between a positive copper electrode and a negative one of platinum, 1 equivalent of copper separates out for 1 equivalent of water decomposed at the negative platinum electrode, with simultaneous decomposition of sulphuric acid in the same current circuit; at the positive electrode, 1 equivalent of $SO_4$ should make its appearance; but this combines with the copper of the electrode to form 1 equivalent of $CuSO_4$, which becomes dissolved in the water of the electrolysed solution." [I, p. 481.]

In the modern chemical mode of expression we have, therefore, to represent the process as follows: copper is deposited on the platinum; the liberated $SO_4$, which cannot exist as such, splits up into $SO_3+O$, the latter escaping in the free state; the $SO_3$ takes up $H_2O$ from the aqueous solvent and forms $H_2SO_4$, which again combines with the copper of the electrode to form $CuSO_4$, $H_2$ being set free. Strictly speaking, we have here three processes: (1) the separation of Cu and $SO_4$; (2) $SO_3+O+H_2O = H_2SO_4+O$; (3) $H_2SO_4+Cu = H_2+CuSO_4$. It is natural to regard the first as primary, the two others as secondary. But if we inquire into the energy transformations, we find that the first process is completely compensated by a part of the third: the separation of copper from $SO_4$ by the reuniting of both at the other electrode. If we leave out of account the energy required for shifting the copper from one electrode to the other, and likewise the inevitable, not accurately determinable, loss of energy in the battery by conversion into heat, we have here a case where the so-called primary

process withdraws no energy from the current. The current provides energy exclusively to make possible the separation of $H_2$ and O, which moreover is indirect, and this proves to be the real chemical result of the whole process—hence, for carrying out a *secondary,* or even tertiary, process.

Nevertheless, in both the above examples, as in other cases also, it is undeniable that the distinction of primary and secondary processes has a relative justification. Thus in both cases, among other things, water also is apparently decomposed and the elements of water given off at the opposite electrodes. Since, according to the most recent experiments, absolutely pure water comes as near as possible to being an ideal non-conductor, hence also a non-electrolyte, it is important to show that in these and similar cases it is not the water that is directly electro-chemically decomposed, but that the elements of water are separated from the acid, in the formation of which here it is true the water of the solution must participate.

III. "If one electrolyses simultaneously in two U-tubes ... hydrochloric acid [$HCl+8H_2O$] ... using in one tube a zinc positive electrode and in the other tube one of copper, then in the first tube a quantity of zinc 32.53 is dissolved, in the other a quantity of copper $2\times31.7$." [I, p. 482.]

For the time being let us leave the copper out of account and consider the zinc. The decomposition of HCl is regarded here as the primary process, the solution of Zn as secondary.

According to this conception, therefore, the current brings to the electrolytic cell from outside the energy necessary for the separation of H and Cl, and after this separation is completed, the Cl combines with the Zn, whereby a quantity of energy is set free that is subtracted from that required for separating H and Cl; the current needs only therefore to supply the difference. So far everything agrees beautifully; but if we consider the two amounts of energy more closely we find that the one liberated on the formation of $ZnCl_2$ is *larger* than that used up in separating 2HCl; consequently, that the current not only does not need to supply energy, but on the contrary *receives energy.* We are no longer confronted by a passive electrolyte, but by an exciting fluid, not an electrolytic cell but a *battery,* which strengthens the current-forming voltaic pile by a new element; the process which we are supposed to conceive as secondary becomes absolutely primary, becoming the source of energy of the whole process and making the latter independent of the current supplied by the voltaic pile.

We see clearly here the source of the whole confusion prevailing in Wiedemann's theoretical description. Wiedemann's point of departure is electrolysis; whether this is active or passive, battery or electrolytic cell, is all one to him: saw-bones is saw-bones, as the old Major said to the Doctor of Philosophy[193] doing his year's military service. And since it is easier to study electrolysis in the electrolytic cell than in the battery, he does, in fact, take the electrolytic cell as his point of departure, and he makes the processes taking place in it, and the partly justifiable division of them into primary and secondary, the measure of the altogether reverse processes in the battery, not even noticing when his electrolytic cell becomes surreptitiously transformed into a battery. Hence he is able to put forward the proposition:

> "The chemical affinity that the separated substances have for the electrodes has no influence on the electrolytic process as such" (I, p. 471),

a proposition which in this absolute form, as we have seen, is totally false. Hence, further, his threefold theory of current formation: firstly, the old traditional one, by means of pure contact; secondly, that derived by means of the abstractly conceived electric force of separation, which in an inexplicable manner obtains for itself or for the "electrolytic process" the requisite energy for splitting apart the H and Cl in the battery and for forming a current as well; and finally, the modern, chemico-electric theory which demonstrates the source of this energy in the algebraic sum of all the chemical reactions in the battery. Just as he does not notice that the second explanation overthrows the first, so also he has no idea that the third in its turn overthrows the second. On the contrary, the principle of the conservation of energy is merely added in a quite superficial way to the old theory handed down from routine, just as a new geometrical theorem is appended to the earlier ones. He has no inkling that this principle makes necessary a revision of the whole traditional point of view in this as in all other fields of natural science. Hence Wiedemann confines himself to noting the principle in his explanation of the current, and then calmly puts it on one side, taking it up again only right at the end of the book, in the chapter on the work performed by the current.[a] Even in the theory of the excitation of electricity by contact (I, p. 781 et seq.) the conservation of energy plays no role at all in relation to the chief subject dealt with, and is

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[a] G. Wiedemann, op. cit., Bd. 2, Abt. 2, S. 472.—*Ed.*

only incidentally brought in for throwing light on subsidiary matters: it is and remains a "secondary process".[a]

Let us return to the above example III. There the same current was used to electrolyse hydrochloric acid in two U-tubes, but in one there was a positive electrode of zinc, in the other the positive electrode used was of copper. According to Faraday's basic law of electrolysis, the same galvanic current decomposes in each cell equivalent quantities of electrolyte, and the quantities of the substances liberated at the two electrodes are also in proportion to the equivalents. (I, p. 470.) In the above case it was found that in the first tube a quantity of zinc 32.53 was dissolved, and in the other a quantity of copper $2 \times 31.7$.

"Nevertheless," continues Wiedemann, "this is no proof for the equivalence of these values. They are observed only in the case of very weak currents with the formation of zinc chloride ... on the one hand, and of copper chloride ... on the other. In the case of stronger currents, with the same amount of zinc dissolved, the quantity of dissolved copper would sink ... down to 31.7 with formation of increasing quantities of chloride."[b]

It is well known that zinc forms only a single compound with chlorine, zinc chloride, $ZnCl_2$; copper on the other hand forms two compounds, cupric chloride, $CuCl_2$, and cuprous chloride, $Cu_2Cl_2$. Hence the process is that the weak current splits off two copper atoms from the electrode for each two chlorine atoms, the two copper atoms remaining united by *one* of their two valencies, while their two free valencies unite with the two chlorine atoms:

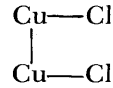


On the other hand, if the current becomes stronger, it splits the copper atoms apart altogether, and each one unites with two chlorine atoms:

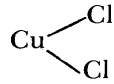


In the case of currents of medium strength, both compounds are formed side by side. Thus it is solely the strength of the current

[a] G. Wiedemann, op. cit., Bd. 1, S. 781-800.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., S. 482.—*Ed.*

that determines the formation of one or the other compound, and therefore the process is essentially *electro*-chemical, if this word has any meaning at all. Nevertheless Wiedemann declares explicitly that it is secondary, hence not electro-chemical, but purely chemical.

The above experiment is one performed by Renault (1867) and is one of a whole series of similar experiments in which the same current is led in one U-tube through salt solution (positive electrode—zinc), and in another cell through a varying electrolyte with various metals as the positive electrode. The amounts of the other metals dissolved here for each equivalent of zinc diverged very considerably, and Wiedemann gives the results of the whole series of experiments which, however, in point of fact, are mostly self-evident chemically and could not be otherwise. Thus, for 1 equivalent of zinc, only $^2/_3$ of an equivalent of gold is dissolved in hydrochloric acid.[a] This can only appear remarkable if, like Wiedemann, one adheres to the old equivalent weights and writes ZnCl for zinc chloride, according to which both the chlorine and the zinc appear in the chloride with only a *single* valency. In reality two chlorine atoms stick to one zinc atom ($ZnCl_2$), and as soon as we know this formula we see at once that in the above determination of equivalents, the chlorine atom is to be taken as the unit and not the zinc atom. The formula for gold chloride, however, is $AuCl_3$, from which it is at once seen that $3ZnCl_2$ contains exactly as much chlorine as $2AuCl_3$, and so all primary, secondary, and tertiary processes in the battery or cell are compelled to transform, for each part by weight of zinc converted into zinc chloride, neither more nor less than $^2/_3$ of a part by weight of gold into gold chloride. This holds absolutely unless the compound AuCl also could be prepared by galvanic means, in which case even 2 equivalents of gold would have to be dissolved for 1 equivalent of zinc, when also similar variations according to the current strength could occur as in the case of copper and chlorine mentioned above. The value of Renault's experiments consists in the fact that they show how Faraday's law is confirmed by facts that appear to contradict it. But what they are supposed to contribute in throwing light on secondary processes in electrolysis is not evident.

Wiedemann's third example led us again from the electrolytic cell to the battery. And in fact the battery offers by far the greatest interest when one investigates the electrolytic processes in

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[a] G. Wiedemann, op. cit., Bd. 1, S. 483.—*Ed.*

relation to the transformations of energy taking place here. Thus we not infrequently encounter batteries in which the chemico-electric processes seem to take place in direct contradiction to the law of the conservation of energy and in opposition to chemical affinity.

According to Poggendorff's[194] measurements, the battery: zinc—concentrated salt solution—platinum, provides a current of strength 134.6. Hence we have here quite a respectable quantity of electricity, $^1/_3$ more than in the Daniell cell.[195] What is the source of the energy appearing here as electricity? The "primary" process is the replacement of sodium in the chlorine compound by zinc. But in ordinary chemistry it is not zinc that replaces sodium, but vice versa, sodium replacing zinc from chlorine and other compounds. The "primary" process, far from being able to give the current the above quantity of energy, on the contrary requires itself a supply of energy from outside in order to come into being. Hence, with the mere "primary" process we are again at a standstill. Let us look, therefore, at the real process. Then we find that the change is not

$$Zn+2NaCl = ZnCl_2+2Na,$$

but

$$Zn+2NaCl+2H_2O = ZnCl_2+2NaOH+H_2.$$

In other words, the sodium is not split off in the free state at the negative electrode, but forms a hydroxide as in the above example I (pp. ...).[a]

To calculate the energy transformations taking place here, Julius Thomsen's determinations provide us at least with certain important data. According to them, the energy liberated on combination is as follows:

$$(Zn,\ Cl_2) = 97{,}210$$
$$(ZnCl_2,\ aqua) = 15{,}630$$

making a total for dissolved

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| zinc chloride | = 112,840 | heat-units. |
| 2 (Na, O, H, aqua) | = 223,620 | " " |
| | 336,460 | " " |

[a] See this volume, p. 427.—*Ed.*

Deducting consumption of energy on the separations:

$$\begin{aligned} 2\ (\mathrm{Na,\ Cl,\ aq.}) &= 193{,}020 \text{ heat-units.} \\ 2\ (\mathrm{H_2,O}) &= 136{,}720 \quad \text{"} \quad \text{"} \\ \hline & \phantom{=}\ 329{,}740 \quad \text{"} \quad \text{"} \end{aligned}$$

The excess of liberated energy equals 6,720 heat-units.

This amount is obviously small for the current strength obtained, but it suffices to explain, on the one hand, the separation of the sodium from chlorine, and on the other hand, the current formation in general.

We have here a striking example of the fact that the distinction of primary and secondary processes is purely relative and leads us *ad absurdum* as soon as we take it absolutely. The primary electrolytic process, taken alone, not only cannot produce any current, but cannot even take place itself. It is only the secondary, ostensibly purely chemical process that makes the primary one possible and, moreover, supplies the whole surplus energy for current formation. In reality, therefore, it proves to be the primary process and the other the secondary one. When the rigid differences and opposites, as imagined by the metaphysicians and metaphysical natural scientists, were dialectically turned into their opposites by Hegel, it was said that he had twisted the words in their mouths. But if nature itself proceeds exactly like old Hegel, it is surely time to examine the matter more closely.

With greater justification one can regard as secondary those processes which, while taking place *in consequence* of the chemico-electric process of the battery or the electro-chemical process of the electrolytic cell, do so independently and separately, occurring therefore at some distance from the electrodes. Hence the energy transformations taking place in such secondary processes likewise do not enter into the electric process; directly they neither withdraw energy from it nor supply energy to it. Such processes occur very frequently in the electrolytic cell; we saw an instance in the example I above on the formation of sulphuric acid during electrolysis of sodium sulphate. They are, however, of lesser interest here. Their occurrence in the battery, on the other hand, is of greater practical importance. For although they do not directly supply energy to, or withdraw it from, the chemico-electric process, nevertheless they alter the total available energy present in the battery and thus affect it indirectly.

There belong here, besides subsequent chemical changes of the ordinary kind, the phenomena that occur when the ions are liberated at the electrodes in a different condition from that in

which they usually occur in the free state, and when they pass over to the latter only after moving away from the electrodes. In such cases the ions can assume a different density or a different state of aggregation. They can also undergo considerable changes in regard to their molecular constitution, and this case is the most interesting. In all these cases, an analogous heat change corresponds to the secondary chemical or physical change of the ions taking place at a certain distance from the electrodes; usually heat is set free, in some cases it is consumed. This heat change is, of course, restricted primarily to the place where it occurs: the liquid in the battery or electrolytic cell becomes warmer or cooler while the rest of the circuit remains unaffected by this change. Hence this heat is called *local* heat. The liberated chemical energy available for conversion into electricity is, therefore, diminished or increased by the equivalent of this positive or negative local heat produced in the battery. According to Favre, in a battery with hydrogen peroxide and hydrochloric acid two-thirds of the total energy set free is consumed as local heat; the Grove cell, on the other hand, on closing the circuit became considerably cooler and therefore supplied energy from outside to the circuit by absorption of heat. Hence we see that these secondary processes also react on the primary one. We can make whatever approach we like, the distinction between primary and secondary processes remains merely a relative one and is regularly suspended in the interaction of the one with the other.[a] If this is forgotten and such relative opposites are treated as absolute, one finally gets hopelessly involved in contradictions, as we have seen above.

As is well known, on the electrolytic liberation of gases the metal electrodes become covered with a thin layer of gas; in consequence the current strength decreases until the electrodes are saturated with gas, whereupon the weakened current again becomes constant. Favre and Silbermann have shown that local heat arises also in such an electrolytic cell; this local heat, therefore, can only be due to the fact that the gases are not liberated at the electrodes in the state in which they usually occur, but that they are only brought into this usual state after their separation from the electrodes, by a further process bound up with the development of heat.[b] But what is the state in which the gases are given off at the electrodes? One cannot express oneself more cautiously on this

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[a] Engels gives this data according to G. Wiedemann, op. cit., Bd. 2. Abt. 2, S. 499.—*Ed.*

[b] G. Wiedemann, op. cit., Bd. 2. Abt. 2, S. 500-08.—*Ed.*

than Wiedemann does. He terms it a "certain", an "allotropic", an "active", and finally, in the case of oxygen, several times an "ozonised" state. In the case of hydrogen his statements are still more mysterious. Incidentally, the view comes out that ozone and hydrogen peroxide are the forms in which this "active" state is realised. Our author is so keen in his pursuit of ozone that he even explains the extreme electro-negative properties of certain peroxides from the fact that they "possibly contain a part of the oxygen *in the ozonised state*"![a] (I, p. 57). Certainly both ozone and hydrogen peroxide are formed on the so-called decomposition of water, but only in small quantities. There is no basis at all for assuming that in the case mentioned local heat is produced first of all by the origin and then by the decomposition of any large quantities of the above two compounds. We do not know the heat of formation of ozone ($O_3$) from *free* oxygen atoms. According to Berthelot[196] the heat of formation of hydrogen peroxide from $H_2O$ (liquid) + O = 21,480; the origin of this compound in any large amount would therefore give rise to a large excess of energy (about 30 per cent of the energy required for the separation of $H_2$ and O), which could not but be evident and demonstrable. Finally, ozone and hydrogen peroxide would take only oxygen into account (apart from current reversals, where both gases would come together at the same electrode), but not hydrogen. Yet the latter also escapes in an "active" state, in such a way that in the combination: potassium nitrate solution between platinum electrodes, it combines directly with the nitrogen split off from the acid to form ammonia.

In point of fact, all these difficulties and doubts have no existence. The electrolytic process has no monopoly of splitting off bodies "in an active state". Every chemical decomposition does the same thing. It splits off the liberated chemical element in the first place in the form of free atoms of O, H, N, etc., which only after their liberation can unite to form molecules $O_2$, $H_2$, $N_2$, etc., and on thus uniting give off a definite, though up-to-now still undetermined, quantity of energy which appears as heat. But during the infinitesimal moment of time when the atoms are free, they are the bearers of the total quantity of energy that they can take up at all; while possessed of their maximum energy they are free to enter into any combination offered them. Hence they are "in an active state" in contrast to the molecules $O_2$, $H_2$, $N_2$, which have already surrendered a part of this energy and cannot enter

[a] Italics by Engels.— *Ed.*

into combination with other elements without this quantity of energy surrendered being re-supplied from outside. We have no need, therefore, to resort only to ozone and hydrogen peroxide, which themselves are merely products of this active state. For instance, we can undertake the above-mentioned formation of ammonia on electrolysis of potassium nitrate even without a battery, simply by chemical means, by adding nitric acid or a nitrate solution to a liquid in which hydrogen is set free by a chemical process. In both cases the active state of the hydrogen is the same. But the interesting point about the electrolytic process is that here the transitory existence of the free atoms becomes as it were tangible. The process here is divided into two phases: the electrolysis provides free atoms at the electrodes, but their combination to form molecules occurs at some distance from the electrodes. However infinitesimally minute this distance may be compared to measurements relating to masses, it suffices to prevent the energy liberated on formation of the molecules being used for the electric process, at least for the most part, and so determines its conversion into heat—the local heat in the battery. But it is owing to this that the fact is established that the elements have been split off as free atoms and for a moment have existed in the battery as free atoms. This fact, which in pure chemistry can only be established by theoretical conclusions, is here proved experimentally, in so far as this is possible without sensuous perception of the atoms and molecules themselves. Herein lies the high scientific importance of the so-called local heat of the battery.

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The conversion of chemical energy into electricity by means of the battery is a process about whose course we know next to nothing, and we shall become more closely acquainted with it only when the *modus operandi* of electric motion itself becomes better known.

The battery has ascribed to it an "electric force of separation" which is given for each particular battery. As we saw at the outset, Wiedemann conceded that this electric force of separation is not a definite form of energy. On the contrary, it is primarily nothing more than the capacity, the property, of a battery to convert a definite quantity of liberated chemical energy into electricity in unit time. Throughout the whole process, this chemical energy itself never assumes the form of an "electric force of separation", but, on the contrary, at once and immediately takes on the form

of so-called "electromotive force", i.e., of electric motion. If in ordinary life we speak of the force of a steam-engine in the sense that it is capable in unit time of converting a definite quantity of heat into the motion of masses, this is not a reason for introducing the same confusion of ideas into scientific thought also. We might just as well speak of the varying force of a pistol, a carbine, a smooth-bored gun, and a rifle, because, with equal gunpowder charges and projectiles of equal weight, they shoot varying distances. But here the wrongness of the expression is quite obvious. Everyone knows that it is the ignition of the gunpowder charge that drives the bullet, and that the varying range of the weapon is only determined by the greater or lesser dissipation of energy according to the length of the barrel, the clearance of the projectile,[197] and the form of the latter. But it is the same for the force of steam and for the electric force of separation. Two steam-engines—other conditions being equal, i.e., assuming the quantity of energy liberated in equal periods of time to be equal in both—or two galvanic batteries, of which the same thing holds good, differ as regards performance of work only owing to their greater or lesser dissipation of energy. And if until now all armies have been able to develop the technique of fire-arms without the assumption of a special shooting force of weapons, the science of electricity has absolutely no excuse for assuming an "electric force of separation" analogous to this shooting force, a force which embodies absolutely no energy and which therefore of itself cannot perform a millionth of a milligram-millimetre of work.

The same thing holds good for the second form of this "force of separation", the "electric force of contact of metals" mentioned by Helmholtz. It is nothing but the property of metals to convert on their contact the existing energy of another form into electricity. Hence it is likewise a force that does not contain a particle of energy. If we assume with Wiedemann that the source of energy of contact electricity lies in the *vis viva* of the motion of adhesion, then this energy exists in the first in the form of this mass motion and on its vanishing becomes converted immediately into electric motion, without even for a moment assuming the form of an "electric force of contact".

And now we are assured in addition that the electromotive force, i.e., the chemical energy, reappearing as electric motion is proportional to this "electric force of separation", which not only contains no energy, but owing to the very conception of it *cannot* contain any! This proportionality between non-energy and energy obviously belongs to the same mathematics as that in which there

figures the "ratio of the unit of electricity to the milligram".[a] But the absurd form, which owes its existence only to the conception of a simple *property* as a mystical *force*, conceals a quite simple tautology: the capacity of a given battery to convert liberated chemical energy into electricity is measured—by what? By the quantity of the energy reappearing in the closed circuit as electricity in relation to the chemical energy consumed in the battery. That is all.

In order to arrive at an electric force of separation, one must take seriously the emergency device of the two electric fluids. To convert these from their neutrality to their polarity, hence to split them apart, requires a certain expenditure of energy—the electric force of separation. Once separated, the two electricities can, on being reunited, again give off the same quantity of energy—electromotive force. But since nowadays no one, not even Wiedemann, regards the two electricities as having a real existence, it means that one is writing for a defunct public if one deals at length with such a point of view.

The basic error of the contact theory consists in the fact that it cannot divorce itself from the idea that contact force or electric force of separation is a *source of energy*, which of course was difficult when the mere property of an apparatus to bring about transformation of energy had been converted into a *force*; for indeed, a *force* ought precisely to be a definite form of energy. Because Wiedemann cannot rid himself of this unclear notion of force, although side by side with it the modern ideas of indestructible and uncreatable energy have been forced upon him, he falls into his nonsensical explanation No. 1, of the current, and into all the later demonstrated contradictions.

If the expression "electric force of separation" is directly contrary to reason, the other "electromotive force" is at least superfluous. We had heat engines long before we had electromotors, and yet the theory of heat has been developed quite well without any special thermo-motor force. Just as the simple expression "heat" includes all phenomena of motion that belong to this form of energy, so also can the expression "electricity" in its own sphere. Moreover, very many forms of action of electricity are not at all directly "motor"; the magnetisation of iron, chemical decomposition, conversion into heat. And finally, in every natural science, even in mechanics, it is always an advance if the word *force* can somewhere be got rid of.

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[a] See this volume, p. 405.—*Ed.*

We saw that Wiedemann did not accept the chemical explanation of the processes in the battery without a certain reluctance. This reluctance continually attacks him; where he can blame anything on the so-called chemical theory, this is certain to occur. Thus,

"it is by no means established that electromotive force is proportional to the intensity of chemical action". (I, p. 791.)

Certainly not in every case; but where this proportionality does not occur, it is only a proof that the battery has been badly constructed, that dissipation of energy takes place in it. For that reason Wiedemann is quite right in paying absolutely no attention in his theoretical deductions to such subsidiary circumstances which falsify the purity of the process, but in simply assuring us that the electromotive force of a cell is equal to the mechanical equivalent of the chemical action taking place in it in unit time with unit intensity of current.

In another passage we read:

"That further, in the acid-alkali battery, the combination of acid and alkali is not the cause of current formation follows from the experiments, paragraph 61 (Becquerel and Fechner), paragraph 260 (Du-Bois-Reymond), and paragraph 261 (Worm-Müller), according to which in certain cases when these are present in equivalent quantities no current makes its appearance, and likewise from the experiment (Henrici) mentioned in paragraph 62, that on interposing a solution of potassium nitrate between the potassium hydroxide and nitric acid, the electromotive force makes its appearance in the same way as without this interposition."[a] (I, pp. 791-[792].)

The question whether the combination of acid and alkali is the cause of current formation is a matter of very serious concern for our author. Put in this form it is very easy to answer. The combination of acid and alkali is first of all the cause of a *salt* being formed with liberation of energy. Whether this energy wholly or partly takes the form of electricity depends on the circumstances under which it is liberated. For instance, in the battery: nitric acid and potassium hydroxide between platinum electrodes, this will be at least partially the case, and it is a matter of indifference for the *formation* of the current whether a potassium nitrate solution is interposed between the acid and alkali or not, since this can at most slow down the salt formation but not prevent it. If, however, a battery is formed like one of Worm-Müller's, to which Wiedemann constantly refers, where the

[a] Names included in brackets are added by Engels. They were taken from corresponding passages of Wiedemann's book.— *Ed.*

acid and the alkali solutions are in the middle, but a solution of their salt at both ends, and in the same concentration as the solution that is formed in the battery, then it is obvious that no current can arise, because on account of the end members—since everywhere identical bodies are formed—*no ions can be produced.* Hence the conversion of the liberated energy into electricity has been prevented in as direct a manner as if the circuit had not been closed at all; it is therefore not to be wondered at that no current is obtained. But that acid and alkali can in general produce a current is proved by the battery: carbon, sulphuric acid (one part in ten of water), potassium hydroxide (one part in ten of water), carbon, which according to Raoult has a current strength of 73.* And that, with suitable arrangement of the battery, acid and alkali can provide a current strength corresponding to the large quantity of energy set free on their combination, is seen from the fact that the most powerful batteries known depend almost exclusively on the formation of alkali salts, e.g., that of Wheatstone: platinum, platinic chloride, potassium amalgam—current strength 230; lead peroxide, dilute sulphuric acid, potassium amalgam—326; manganese peroxide instead of lead peroxide—280; in each case, if zinc amalgam was employed instead of potassium amalgam, the current strength fell almost exactly by 100. Similarly in the battery: manganese dioxide, potassium permanganate solution, potassium hydroxide, potassium, Beetz obtained the current strength 302, and further: platinum, dilute sulphuric acid, potassium—293,8; Joule: platinum, nitric acid, potassium hydroxide, potassium amalgam—302.[a] The "cause" of these exceptionally high current strengths is certainly the combination of acid and alkali, or alkali metal, and the large quantity of energy thereby liberated.

A few pages further on it is again stated:

"It must, however, be carefully borne in mind that the equivalent in work of the whole chemical action occurring at the place of contact of the heterogeneous bodies is not to be directly regarded as the measure of the electromotive force in the closed circuit. When, for instance, in the acid-alkali battery" (*iterum Crispinus!*[b]) "of Becquerel, these two substances combine; when carbon is consumed in the battery: platinum, molten potassium nitrate, carbon; when zinc is rapidly dissolved in an

* In all the following data relating to current strength, the Daniell cell is put = 100.

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[a] Engels gives all data according to G. Wiedemann, op. cit., Bd. 1. S. 375-76, 385, 390.—*Ed.*

[b] "Again Crispin!"—in a figurative sense "again the same person!" or "again the same theme!" (Juvenal, *Satirae,* I. 4).—*Ed.*

ordinary cell of copper, impure zinc, dilute sulphuric acid, with formation of local currents, then a large part of the work produced" (it should read: energy liberated) "in these chemical processes ... is converted into heat and is thus lost for the total current circuit." (I, p. 798.)

All these processes are to be referred to loss of energy in the battery; they do not affect the fact that the electric motion arises from transformed chemical energy, but only affect the quantity of energy transformed.

Electricians have devoted an endless amount of time and trouble to composing the most diverse batteries and measuring their "electromotive force". The experimental material thus accumulated contains very much of value, but certainly still more that is valueless. For instance, what is the scientific value of experiments in which "water" is employed as the electrolyte, when, as has now been proved by F. Kohlrausch, water is the worst conductor and therefore also the worst electrolyte,* and where, therefore, it is not the water but its unknown impurities that caused the process? And yet, for instance, almost half of all Fechner's experiments depend on such employment of water, even his "*experimentum crucis*",[198] by which he sought to establish the contact theory impregnably on the ruins of the chemical theory. As is already evident from this, in almost all experiments, a few only excepted, the chemical processes in the battery, which however form the source of the so-called electromotive force, remain practically disregarded. There are, however, a number of batteries whose chemical composition does not allow of any certain conclusion being drawn as to the chemical changes proceeding in them when the current circuit is closed. On the contrary, as Wiedemann (I, p. 797) says,it is

"not to be denied that we are by no means in all cases able to obtain an insight into the chemical attractions in the battery".

Hence, from the ever more important chemical aspect, all such experiments are valueless unless they are repeated with these processes under control.

In these experiments it is indeed only quite by way of exception that any account is taken of the energy transformations taking

* A column of the purest water prepared by Kohlrausch 1 mm. in length offered the same resistance as a copper conductor of the same diameter and a length approximately that of the moon's orbit. (Naumann, *Allgemeine Chemie,*[a] p. 729.)

[a] A. Naumann, *Handbuch der allgemeinen und physikalischen Chemie.—Ed.*

place in the battery. Many of them were made before the law of the equivalence of motion was recognised in natural science, but as a matter of custom they continue to be dragged from one textbook into another without having been checked or brought to a finish. It has been said that electricity has no inertia (which has about as much sense as saying velocity has no specific gravity), but this certainly cannot be said of the *theory* of electricity.

So far, we have regarded the galvanic cell as an apparatus in which, in consequence of the contact relations established, chemical energy is liberated in some way for the time being unknown, and converted into electricity. We have likewise described the electrolytic cell as an apparatus in which the reverse process is set up, electric motion being converted into chemical energy and used up as such. In so doing we had to put in the foreground the chemical aspect of the process, the aspect that has been so much neglected by electricians, because this was the only way of getting rid of the lumber of notions handed down from the old contact theory and the theory of the two electric fluids. This once accomplished, the question was whether the chemical process in the battery takes place under the same conditions as outside it, or whether special phenomena make their appearance that are dependent on the electric excitation.

In every science, incorrect notions are, in the last resort, apart from errors of observation, incorrect notions of correct facts. The latter remain even when the former are shown to be false. Although we have discarded the old contact theory, the established facts remain, of which this theory was supposed to be the explanation. Let us consider these and with them the electric aspect proper of the process in the battery.

It is not disputed that on the contact of heterogeneous bodies, with or without chemical changes, an excitation of electricity occurs which can be demonstrated by means of an electroscope or a galvanometer. As we have already seen at the outset, it is difficult to establish in a particular case the source of energy of these in themselves extremely minute phenomena of motion; it suffices that the existence of such an external source is generally conceded.

In 1850-53, Kohlrausch published a series of experiments in which he assembled the separate components of a battery in pairs

and tested the static electric tensions produced in each case; the electromotive force of the cell should then be composed of the algebraic sum of these tensions. Thus, taking the tension of Zn/Cu = 100, he calculates the relative strengths of the Daniell and Grove cells as follows:

Daniell:

$$Zn/Cu + amalg.\ Zn/H_2SO_4 + Cu/SO_4Cu = 100 + 149 - 21 = 228;$$

Grove:

$$Zn/Pt + amalg.\ Zn/H_2SO_4 + Pt/HNO_3 = 107 + 149 + 149 = 405,$$

which closely agrees with the direct measurement of the current strengths of these cells. These results, however, are by no means certain. In the first place, Wiedemann himself calls attention to the fact that Kohlrausch only gives the final result but

"unfortunately no figures for the results of the separate experiments". [I, p. 104.]

In the second place, Wiedemann himself repeatedly recognises that all attempts to determine quantitatively the electric excitations on contact of metals, and still more on contact of metal and liquid, are at least very uncertain on account of the numerous unavoidable sources of error. If, nevertheless, he repeatedly uses Kohlrausch's figures in his calculations, we shall do better not to follow him here, the more so as another means of determination is available which is not open to these objections.

If the two exciting plates of a battery are immersed in the liquid and afterwards joined into a closed circuit by the terminals of a galvanometer, then, according to Wiedemann,

"the initial deflection of its magnetic needle, before chemical changes have altered the strength of the electric excitation, is a measure of the sum of the electromotive forces in the closed circuit". [I, p. 62.]

Batteries of various strengths, therefore, give initial deflections of various strengths, and the magnitude of these initial deflections is proportional to the current strength of the corresponding batteries.

It looks as if we had here tangibly before our eyes the "electric force of separation", the "contact force", which causes motion independently of any chemical action. And this in fact is the opinion of the whole contact theory. In reality we are confronted here by a relation between electric excitation and chemical action that we have not yet investigated. In order to pass to this subject, we shall first of all examine rather more closely the so-called

electromotive law; in so doing, we shall find that here also the traditional contact notions not only provide no explanation, but once again directly bar the way to an explanation.

If in any cell consisting of two metals and a liquid, e. g., zinc, dilute hydrochloric acid, and copper, one inserts a third metal such as a platinum plate, without connecting it to the external circuit by a wire, then the initial deflection of the galvanometer will be exactly the same as *without* the platinum plate. Consequently it has no effect on the excitation of electricity. But it is not permissible to express this so simply in electromotive language. Hence one reads:

> "The sum of the electromotive forces of zinc and platinum and platinum and copper now takes the place of the electromotive force of zinc and copper in the liquid. Since the path of the electricities is not perceptibly altered by the insertion of the platinum plate, we can conclude from the identity of the galvanometer readings in the two cases, that the electromotive force of zinc and copper in the liquid is equal to that of zinc and platinum plus that of platinum and copper in the same liquid. This would correspond to Volta's theory of the excitation of electricity between the metals as such. The result, which holds good for all liquids and metals, is expressed by saying:
>
> On their electromotive excitation by liquids, metals follow the law of the voltaic series. This law is also given the name of the *electromotive law.*" (Wiedemann, I, p. 62.)

In saying that in this combination the platinum does not act at all as an exciter of electricity, one expresses what is simply a fact. If one says that it does act as an exciter of electricity, but in two opposite directions with equal strength so that the effect is neutralised, the fact is converted into a hypothesis merely for the sake of doing honour to the "electromotive force". In both cases the platinum plays the role of a supernumerary.

During the first deflection there is still no closed circuit. The acid, being undecomposed, does not conduct; it can only conduct by means of the ions. If the third metal has no influence on the first deflection, this is simply because it is still *isolated.*

How does the third metal behave *after* the establishment of the continuous current and during the latter?

In the voltaic series of metals in most liquids, zinc lies after the alkali metals fairly close to the positive end and platinum at the negative end, copper being between the two. Hence, if platinum is put as above between copper and zinc it is negative to them both. If the platinum had any effect at all, the current in the liquid would have to flow to the platinum both from the zinc and from the copper, that is away from both electrodes to the unconnected

platinum, which would be a *contradictio in adjecto.*[a] The basic condition for the efficacy of several different metals in the battery consists precisely in their being connected among themselves externally into a closed circuit. An unconnected, superfluous metal in the battery acts as a nonconductor; it can neither form ions nor allow them to pass through, and without ions we know of no conduction in electrolytes. Hence it is no mere supernumerary, it even stands in the way by forcing the ions to go round it.

The same thing holds good if we connect the zinc and platinum, leaving the copper unconnected in the middle; here the latter, if it had any effect at all, would produce a current from the zinc to the copper and another from the copper to the platinum; hence it would have to act as a sort of intermediary electrode and give off gaseous hydrogen on the side turned towards the zinc, which again is impossible.

If we discard the traditional electromotive mode of expression the case becomes extremely simple. As we have seen, the galvanic battery is an apparatus in which chemical energy is liberated and transformed into electricity. It consists as a rule of one or more liquids and two metals as electrodes, which must be connected together by a conductor outside the liquids. That constitutes the apparatus. Anything else that is dipped unconnected into the exciting liquid, whether metal, glass, resin, or anything else, cannot participate in the chemico-electric process taking place in the battery, in the formation of the current, so long as the liquid is not chemically altered by it; it can at most *hinder* the process. Whatever the capacity for exciting electricity of a third metal dipped into the liquid may be in relation to the liquid or to one or both electrodes of the battery, it cannot have any effect so long as this metal is not connected to the closed circuit outside the liquid.

Consequently, not only is Wiedemann's *derivation,* as given above, of the so-called electromotive law false, but the interpretation which he gives to this law is also false. One cannot speak of a compensating electromotive activity of the unconnected metal, since the sole condition for such activity is cut off from the outset; nor can the so-called electromotive law be deduced from a fact which lies outside the sphere of this law.

In 1845, old Poggendorff published a series of experiments in which he measured the electromotive force of the most various batteries, that is to say the quantity of electricity supplied by each of them in unit time. Of these experiments, the first twenty-seven

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[a] A contradiction in definition, illogical statement, nonsense.—*Ed.*

are of special value, in each of which three given metals were one after another connected in the same exciting liquid to three different batteries, and the latter investigated and compared as regards the quantity of electricity produced. As a good adherent of the contact theory, Poggendorff also put the third metal unconnected in the battery in each experiment and so had the satisfaction of convincing himself that in all eighty-one batteries this "third in the alliance"[a] remained a pure supernumerary. But the significance of these experiments by no means consists in this fact but rather in the confirmation and establishment of the correct meaning of the so-called electromotive law.

Let us consider the above series of batteries in which zinc, copper, and platinum were connected together in pairs in dilute hydrochloric acid. Here Poggendorff found the quantities of electricity produced to be as follows, taking that of a Daniell cell as 100:

| | |
|---|---|
| Zinc-copper | 78.8 |
| Copper-platinum | 74.3 |
| Total | 153.1 |
| Zinc-platinum | 153.7 |

Thus, zinc in direct connection with platinum produced almost exactly the same quantity of electricity as zinc-copper + copper-platinum. The same thing occurred in all other batteries, whatever liquids and metals were employed.[b] When, from a series of metals in the same exciting liquid, batteries are formed in such a way that, according to the voltaic series valid for this liquid, the second, third, fourth, etc., one after the other are made to serve as negative electrodes for the preceding one and as positive electrodes for the one which follows, then the sum of the quantities of electricity produced by all these batteries is equal to the quantity of electricity produced by a battery formed directly between the two end members of the whole metallic series. For instance, in dilute hydrochloric acid the sum-total of the quantities of electricity produced by the batteries zinc-tin, tin-iron, iron-copper, copper-silver, and silver-platinum, would be equal to that produced by the battery: zinc-platinum. A pile formed from all the cells of the above series would, other things being equal, be

[a] Schiller, *Die Bürgschaft.—Ed.*

[b] See G. Wiedemann, op. cit., Bd. 1, S. 370.—*Ed.*

exactly neutralised by the introduction of a zinc-platinum cell with a current of the opposite direction.

In this form, the so-called electromotive law has a real and considerable significance. It reveals a new aspect of the interconnection between chemical and electrical action. Hitherto, on investigating mainly the *source* of energy of the galvanic current, this source, the chemical change, appeared as the active side of the process; the electricity was produced from it and therefore appeared primarily as passive. Now this is reversed. The electric excitation determined by the constitution of the heterogeneous bodies put into contact in the battery can neither add energy to nor subtract energy from the chemical action (other than by conversion of liberated energy into electricity). It can, however, according as the battery is made up, accelerate or slow down this action. If the battery, zinc—dilute hydrochloric acid—copper, produced in unit time only half as much electricity for the current as the battery, zinc—dilute hydrochloric acid—platinum, this means in chemical terms that the first battery produces in unit time only half as much zinc chloride and hydrogen as the second. *Hence the chemical action has been doubled, although the purely chemical conditions have remained the same.* The electric excitation has become the regulator of the chemical action; it appears now as the active side, and the chemical action as the passive side.

Thus, it becomes comprehensible that a number of processes previously regarded as purely chemical now appear as electrochemical. Chemically pure zinc is not attacked at all by dilute acid, or only very weakly; ordinary commercial zinc, on the other hand, is rapidly dissolved with formation of a salt and production of hydrogen; it contains an admixture of other metals and carbon, which make their appearance in unequal amounts at various places of the surface. Local currents are formed in the acid between them and the zinc itself, the zinc areas forming the positive electrodes and the other metals the negative electrodes, the hydrogen bubbles being given off on the latter. Likewise the phenomenon that when iron is dipped into a solution of copper sulphate it becomes covered with a layer of copper is now seen to be an electro-chemical phenomenon, one determined by the currents which arise between the heterogeneous areas of the surface of the iron.

In accordance with this we find also that the voltaic series of metals in liquids corresponds on the whole to the series in which metals replace one another from their compounds with halogens and acid radicals. At the extreme negative end of the voltaic series

we regularly find the metals of the gold group: gold, platinum, palladium, rhodium, which oxidise with difficulty, are little or not at all attacked by acids, and which are easily precipitated from their salts by other metals. At the extreme positive end are the alkali metals, which exhibit exactly the opposite behaviour: they are scarcely to be split off from their oxides even with the greatest expenditure of energy; they occur in nature almost exclusively in the form of salts, and of all the metals they have by far the greatest affinity for halogens and acid radicals. Between these two come the other metals in somewhat varying sequence, but in such a way that on the whole electrical and chemical behaviour correspond to one another. The sequence of the separate members varies according to the liquids and has hardly been finally established for any single liquid. It is even permissible to doubt whether there exists such an *absolute* voltaic series of metals for any single liquid. Given suitable batteries and electrolytic cells, two pieces of the same metal can act as positive and negative electrodes respectively, hence the same metal can be both positive and negative towards itself. In thermo-cells which convert heat into electricity, with large temperature differences at the two junctions, the direction of the current is reversed; the previously positive metal becomes negative and vice versa. Similarly, there is no absolute series according to which the metals replace one another from their chemical compounds with a particular halogen or acid radical; in many cases by supplying energy in the form of heat we are able almost at will to alter and reverse the series valid for ordinary temperatures.

Hence we find here a peculiar interaction between chemism and electricity. The chemical action in the battery, which provides the electricity with the total energy for current formation, is in many cases first brought into operation, and in all cases quantitatively regulated, by the electric tensions developed in the battery. If previously the processes in the battery seemed to be chemico-electric in nature, we see here that they are just as much electrochemical. From the point of view of formation of the *continuous* current, chemical action appears to be primary; from the point of view of *excitation* of current it appears as secondary and accessory. The reciprocal action excludes any absolute primary or absolute secondary; but it is just as much a double-sided process which from its very nature can be regarded from two different standpoints; to be understood in its totality it must even be investigated from both standpoints one after the other, before the total result can be arrived at. If, however, we

adhere one-sidedly to a single standpoint as the absolute one in contrast to the other, or if we arbitrarily jump from one to the other according to the momentary needs of our argument, we shall remain entangled in the one-sidedness of metaphysical thinking; the inter-connection escapes us and we become involved in one contradiction after another.

We saw above that, according to Wiedemann, the initial deflection of the galvanometer, immediately after dipping the exciting plates into the liquid of the battery and before chemical changes have altered the strength of the electric excitation,

"is a measure of the sum of the electromotive forces in the closed circuit".[a]

So far we have become acquainted with the so-called electromotive force as a form of energy, which in our case was produced in an equivalent amount from chemical energy, and which in the further course of the process became converted again into equivalent quantities of heat, mass motion, etc. Here all at once we learn that the "sum of the electromotive forces in the closed circuit" is already in existence *before* this energy has been liberated by chemical changes; in other words, that the electromotive force is nothing but the capacity of a particular battery to liberate a particular quantity of chemical energy in unit time and to convert it into electric motion. As previously in the case of the electric force of separation, so here also the electromotive force appears as a force which does not contain a single spark of energy. Consequently, Wiedemann understands by "electromotive force" two totally different things: on the one hand, the capacity of a battery to liberate a definite quantity of given chemical energy and to convert it into electric motion, and, on the other hand, the quantity of electric motion itself that is developed. The fact that the two are proportional, that the one is a measure for the other, does not do away with the difference between them. The chemical action in the battery, the quantity of electricity developed, and the heat in the circuit derived from it, when otherwise no work is performed, are even more than proportional, they are even equivalent; but that does not do away with the difference between them. The capacity of a steam-engine with a given cylinder bore and piston stroke to produce a given quantity of mechanical motion from the heat supplied is very different from this mechanical motion itself, however proportional to the latter it may be. And while such a mode of speech was tolerable at a time

[a] See this volume, p. 444.— *Ed.*

when in natural science nothing had yet been said of the conservation of energy, nevertheless it is obvious that since the recognition of this basic law it is no longer permissible to confuse real active energy in any form with the capacity of any apparatus to impart this form to energy which is being liberated. This confusion is a corollary of the confusion of force and energy in the case of the electric force of separation; these two confusions provide a harmonious background for Wiedemann's three mutually contradictory explanations of the current, and in the last resort are the basis in general for all his errors and confusions in regard to so-called "electromotive force".

Besides the above-considered peculiar interaction between chemism and electricity there is also a second point that they have in common, which likewise indicates a closer kinship between these two forms of motion. Both can exist only while they *disappear.* The chemical process takes place suddenly for each group of atoms undergoing it. It can be prolonged only by the presence of new material that continually enters into it. The same thing holds for electric motion. Hardly has it been produced from some other form of motion than it is once more converted into a third form; only the continual readiness of available energy can produce the continuous current, in which at each moment new amounts of motion [Bewegungsmengen] assume the form of electricity and lose it again.

An insight into this close connection of chemical with electric action and vice versa will lead to important results in both spheres of investigation. Such an insight is already becoming more and more widespread. Among chemists, Lothar Meyer, and after him Kekulé, have plainly stated that a revival of the electro-chemical theory in a rejuvenated form is impending. Among electricians also, as indicated especially by the latest works of F. Kohlrausch, the conviction seems finally to have taken hold that only exact attention to the chemical processes in the battery and electrolytic cell can help their science to emerge from the blind alley of old traditions.

And in fact one cannot see how else a firm foundation is to be given to the theory of galvanism and so secondarily to that of magnetism and static electricity, other than by a chemically exact general revision of all traditional, uncontrolled experiments made from an obsolete scientific standpoint, with exact attention to establishing the energy transformations and preliminary rejection of all traditional theoretical notions about electricity.

# THE PART PLAYED BY LABOUR IN THE TRANSITION FROM APE TO MAN[199]

Labour is the source of all wealth, the political economists assert. And it really is the source—next to nature, which supplies it with the material that it converts into wealth. But it is even infinitely more than this. It is the prime basic condition for all human existence, and this to such an extent that, in a sense, we have to say that labour created man himself.

Many hundreds of thousands of years ago, during an epoch, not yet definitely determinable, of that period of the earth's history known to geologists as the Tertiary period, most likely towards the end of it, a particularly highly-developed race of anthropoid apes lived somewhere in the tropical zone—probably on a great continent that has now sunk to the bottom of the Indian Ocean.[200] Darwin has given us an approximate description of these ancestors of ours. They were completely covered with hair, they had beards and pointed ears, and they lived in bands in the trees.[a]

First, owing to their way of living which meant that the hands had different functions than the feet when climbing, these apes began to lose the habit of using their hands to walk and adopted a more and more erect posture. This was *the decisive step in the transition from ape to man.*

All extant anthropoid apes can stand erect and move about on their feet alone, but only in case of urgent need and in a very clumsy way. Their natural gait is in a half-erect posture and includes the use of the hands. The majority rest the knuckles of the fist on the ground and, with legs drawn up, swing the body

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[a] See Ch. Darwin, *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*, Vol. 1, Ch. VI.—*Ed.*

through their long arms, much as a cripple moves on crutches. In general, all the transition stages from walking on all fours to walking on two legs are still to be observed among the apes today. The latter gait, however, has never become more than a makeshift for any of them.

It stands to reason that if erect gait among our hairy ancestors became first the rule and then, in time, a necessity, other diverse functions must, in the meantime, have devolved upon the hands. Already among the apes there is some difference in the way the hands and the feet are employed. In climbing, as mentioned above, the hands and feet have different uses. The hands are used mainly for gathering and holding food in the same way as the fore paws of the lower mammals are used. Many apes use their hands to build themselves nests in the trees or even to construct roofs between the branches to protect themselves against the weather, as the chimpanzee, for example, does. With their hands they grasp sticks to defend themselves against enemies, or bombard their enemies with fruits and stones. In captivity they use their hands for a number of simple operations copied from human beings. It is in this that one sees the great gulf between the undeveloped hand of even the most man-like apes and the human hand that has been highly perfected by hundreds of thousands of years of labour. The number and general arrangement of the bones and muscles are the same in both hands, but the hand of the lowest savage can perform hundreds of operations that no simian hand can imitate—no simian hand has ever fashioned even the crudest stone knife.

The first operations for which our ancestors gradually learned to adapt their hands during the many thousands of years of transition from ape to man could have been only very simple ones. The lowest savages, even those in whom regression to a more animal-like condition with a simultaneous physical degeneration can be assumed, are nevertheless far superior to these transitional beings. Before the first flint could be fashioned into a knife by human hands, a period of time probably elapsed in comparison with which the historical period known to us appears insignificant. But the decisive step had been taken, *the hand had become free* and could henceforth attain ever greater dexterity; the greater flexibility thus acquired was inherited and increased from generation to generation.

Thus the hand is not only the organ of labour, *it is also the product of labour.* Only by labour, by adaptation to ever new operations, through the inheritance of muscles, ligaments, and,

over longer periods of time, bones that had undergone special development and the ever-renewed employment of this inherited finesse in new, more and more complicated operations, have given the human hand the high degree of perfection required to conjure into being the pictures of a Raphael, the statues of a Thorwaldsen, the music of a Paganini.

But the hand did not exist alone, it was only one member of an integral, highly complex organism. And what benefited the hand, benefited also the whole body it served; and this in two ways.

In the first place, the body benefited from the law of correlation of growth, as Darwin called it. This law states that the specialised forms of separate parts of an organic being are always bound up with certain forms of other parts that apparently have no connection with them.[a] Thus all animals that have red blood cells without cell nuclei, and in which the head is attached to the first vertebra by means of a double articulation (condyles), also without exception possess lacteal glands for suckling their young. Similarly, cloven hoofs in mammals are regularly associated with the possession of a multiple stomach for rumination. Changes in certain forms involve changes in the form of other parts of the body, although we cannot explain the connection. Perfectly white cats with blue eyes are always, or almost always, deaf. The gradually increasing perfection of the human hand, and the commensurate adaptation of the feet for erect gait, have undoubtedly, by virtue of such correlation, reacted on other parts of the organism. However, this action has not as yet been sufficiently investigated for us to be able to do more here than to state the fact in general terms.

Much more important is the direct, demonstrable influence of the development of the hand on the rest of the organism. It has already been noted that our simian ancestors were gregarious; it is obviously impossible to seek the derivation of man, the most social of all animals, from non-gregarious immediate ancestors. Mastery over nature began with the development of the hand, with labour, and widened man's horizon at every new advance. He was continually discovering new, hitherto unknown properties in natural objects. On the other hand, the development of labour necessarily helped to bring the members of society closer together by increasing cases of mutual support and joint activity, and by making clear the advantage of this joint activity to each individual.

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[a] Ch. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species...*, Ch. 1-5.—*Ed.*

In short, men in the making arrived at the point where *they had something to say* to each other. Necessity created the organ; the undeveloped larynx of the ape was slowly but surely transformed by modulation to produce constantly more developed modulation, and the organs of the mouth gradually learned to pronounce one articulate sound after another.

Comparison with animals proves that this explanation of the origin of language from and in the process of labour is the only correct one. The little that even the most highly-developed animals need to communicate to each other does not require articulate speech. In its natural state, no animal feels handicapped by its inability to speak or to understand human speech. It is quite different when it has been tamed by man. The dog and the horse, by association with man, have developed such a good ear for articulate speech that they easily learn to understand any language within their range of concept. Moreover they have acquired the capacity for feelings such as affection for man, gratitude, etc., which were previously foreign to them. Anyone who has had much to do with such animals will hardly be able to escape the conviction that in many cases they *now* feel their inability to speak as a defect, although, unfortunately, it is one that can no longer be remedied because their vocal organs are too specialised in a definite direction. However, where vocal organs exist, within certain limits even this inability disappears. The buccal organs of birds are as different from those of man as they can be, yet birds are the only animals that can learn to speak; and it is the bird with the most hideous voice, the parrot, that speaks best of all. Let no one object that the parrot does not understand what it says. It is true that for the sheer pleasure of talking and associating with human beings, the parrot will chatter for hours at a stretch, continually repeating its whole vocabulary. But within the limits of its range of concepts it can also learn to understand what it is saying. Teach a parrot swear words in such a way that it gets an idea of their meaning (one of the great amusements of sailors returning from the tropics); tease it and you will soon discover that it knows how to use its swear words just as correctly as a Berlin costermonger. The same is true of begging for titbits.

First labour, after it and then with it speech—these were the two most essential stimuli under the influence of which the brain of the ape gradually changed into that of man, which for all its similarity is far larger and more perfect. Hand in hand with the development of the brain went the development of its most immediate instruments—the senses. Just as the gradual develop-

ment of speech is inevitably accompanied by a corresponding refinement of the organ of hearing, so the development of the brain as a whole is accompanied by a refinement of all the senses. The eagle sees much farther than man, but the human eye discerns considerably more in things than does the eye of the eagle. The dog has a far keener sense of smell than man, but it does not distinguish a hundredth part of the odours that for man are definite signs denoting different things. And the sense of touch, which the ape hardly possesses in its crudest initial form, has been developed only side by side with the development of the human hand itself, through the medium of labour.

The reaction on labour and speech of the development of the brain and its attendant senses, of the increasing clarity of consciousness, power of abstraction and of conclusion, gave both labour and speech an ever-renewed impulse to further development. This development did not reach its conclusion when man finally became distinct from the ape, but on the whole made further powerful progress, its degree and direction varying among different peoples and at different times, and here and there even being interrupted by local or temporary regression. This further development has been strongly urged forward, on the one hand, and guided along more definite directions, on the other, by a new element which came into play with the appearance of fully-fledged man, namely, *society.*

Hundreds of thousands of years—of no greater significance in the history of the earth than one second in the life of man*—certainly elapsed before human society arose out of a troupe of tree-climbing monkeys. Yet it did finally appear. And what do we find once more as the characteristic difference between the troupe of monkeys and human society? *Labour.* The ape herd was satisfied to browse over the feeding area determined for it by geographical conditions or the resistance of neighbouring herds; it undertook migrations and struggles to win new feeding grounds, but it was incapable of extracting from them more than they offered in their natural state, except that it unconsciously fertilised the soil with its own excrement. As soon as all possible

* A leading authority in this respect, Sir William Thomson, has calculated that *little more than a hundred million years* could have elapsed since the time when the earth had cooled sufficiently for plants and animals to be able to live on it.[a]

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[a] W. Thomson, "Review of evidence regarding physical condition of the earth...". In: *Nature*, Vol. XIV, No. 359, September 14, 1876, pp. 427-31.—*Ed.*

feeding grounds were occupied, there could be no further increase in the ape population; the number of animals could at best remain stationary. But all animals waste a great deal of food, and, in addition, destroy in the germ the next generation of the food supply. Unlike the hunter, the wolf does not spare the doe which would provide it with the young the next year; the goats in Greece, that eat away the young bushes before they grow to maturity, have eaten bare all the mountains of the country. This "predatory economy" of animals plays an important part in the gradual transformation of species by forcing them to adapt themselves to other than the usual food, thanks to which their blood acquires a different chemical composition and the whole physical constitution gradually alters, while species that have remained unadapted die out. There is no doubt that this predatory economy contributed powerfully to the transition of our ancestors from ape to man. In a race of apes that far surpassed all others in intelligence and adaptability, this predatory economy must have led to a continual increase in the number of plants used for food and the consumption of more and more edible parts of food plants. In short, food became more and more varied, as did also the substances entering the body with it, substances that were the chemical premises for the transition to man. But all that was not yet labour in the proper sense of the word. Labour begins with the making of tools. And what are the most ancient tools that we find—the most ancient judging by the heirlooms of prehistoric man that have been discovered, and by the mode of life of the earliest historical peoples and of the rawest of contemporary savages? They are hunting and fishing implements, the former at the same time serving as weapons. But hunting and fishing presuppose the transition from an exclusively vegetable diet to the concomitant use of meat, and this is another important step in the process of transition from ape to man. A *meat diet* contained in an almost ready state the most essential ingredients required by the organism for its metabolism. By shortening the time required for digestion, it also shortened the other vegetative bodily processes that correspond to those of plant life, and thus gained further time, material and desire for the active manifestation of animal life proper. And the farther man in the making moved from the vegetable kingdom the higher he rose above the animal. Just as becoming accustomed to a vegetable diet side by side with meat converted wild cats and dogs into the servants of man, so also adaptation to a meat diet, side by side with a vegetable diet, greatly contributed towards giving bodily strength and indepen-

dence to man in the making. The meat diet, however, had its greatest effect on the brain, which now received a far richer flow of the materials necessary for its nourishment and development, and which, therefore, could develop more rapidly and perfectly from generation to generation. With all due respect to the vegetarians man did not come into existence without a meat diet, and if the latter, among all peoples known to us, has led to cannibalism at some time or other (the forefathers of the Berliners, the Weletabians or Wilzians, used to eat their parents as late as the tenth century),[201] that is of no consequence to us today.

The meat diet led to two new advances of decisive importance—the harnessing of fire and the domestication of animals. The first still further shortened the digestive process, as it provided the mouth with food already, as it were, half-digested; the second made meat more copious by opening up a new, more regular source of supply in addition to hunting, and moreover provided, in milk and its products, a new article of food at least as valuable as meat in its composition. Thus both these advances were, in themselves, new means for the emancipation of man. It would lead us too far afield to dwell here in detail on their indirect effects notwithstanding the great importance they have had for the development of man and society.

Just as man learned to consume everything edible, he also learned to live in any climate. He spread over the whole of the habitable world, being the only animal fully able to do so of its own accord. The other animals that have become accustomed to all climates—domestic animals and vermin—did not become so independently, but only in the wake of man. And the transition from the uniformly hot climate of the original home of man to colder regions, where the year was divided into summer and winter, created new requirements—shelter and clothing as protection against cold and damp, and hence new spheres of labour, new forms of activity, which further and further separated man from the animal.

By the combined functioning of hand, speech organs and brain, not only in each individual but also in society, men became capable of executing more and more complicated operations, and were able to set themselves, and achieve, higher and higher aims. The work of each generation itself became different, more perfect and more diversified. Agriculture was added to hunting and cattle raising; then came spinning, weaving, metalworking, pottery and navigation. Along with trade and industry, art and science finally appeared. Tribes developed into nations and states. Law and

politics arose, and with them that fantastic reflection of human things in the human mind—religion. In the face of all these images, which appeared in the first place to be products of the mind and seemed to dominate human societies, the more modest productions of the working hand retreated into the background, the more so since the mind that planned the labour was able, at a very early stage in the development of society (for example, already in the primitive family), to have the labour that had been planned carried out by other hands than its own. All merit for the swift advance of civilisation was ascribed to the mind, to the development and activity of the brain. Men became accustomed to explain their actions as arising out of thought instead of their needs (which in any case are reflected and perceived in the mind); and so in the course of time there emerged that idealistic world outlook which, especially since the fall of the world of antiquity, has dominated men's minds. It still rules them to such a degree that even the most materialistic natural scientists of the Darwinian school are still unable to form any clear idea of the origin of man, because under this ideological influence they do not recognise the part that has been played therein by labour.

Animals, as has already been pointed out, change the environment by their activities in the same way, even if not to the same extent, as man does, and these changes, as we have seen, in turn react upon and change those who made them. In nature nothing takes place in isolation. Everything affects and is affected by every other thing, and it is mostly because this manifold motion and interaction is forgotten that our natural scientists are prevented from gaining a clear insight into the simplest things. We have seen how goats have prevented the regeneration of forests in Greece; on the island of St. Helena, goats and pigs brought by the first arrivals have succeeded in exterminating its old vegetation almost completely, and so have prepared the ground for the spreading of plants brought by later sailors and colonists. But animals exert a lasting effect on their environment unintentionally and, as far as the animals themselves are concerned, accidentally. The further removed men are from animals, however, the more their effect on nature assumes the character of premeditated, planned action directed towards definite preconceived ends. The animal destroys the vegetation of a locality without realising what it is doing. Man destroys it in order to sow field crops on the soil thus released, or to plant trees or vines which he knows will yield many times the amount planted. He transfers useful plants and domestic animals from one country to another and thus changes the flora and fauna

of whole continents. More than this. Through artificial breeding both plants and animals are so changed by the hand of man that they become unrecognisable. The wild plants from which our grain varieties originated are still being sought in vain. There is still some dispute about the wild animals from which our very different breeds of dogs or our equally numerous breeds of horses are descended.[202]

It goes without saying that it would not occur to us to dispute the ability of animals to act in a planned, premeditated fashion. On the contrary, a planned mode of action exists in embryo wherever protoplasm, living albumen, exists and reacts, that is, carries out definite, even if extremely simple, movements as a result of definite external stimuli. Such reaction takes place even where there is yet no cell at all, far less a nerve cell. There is something of the planned action in the way insect-eating plants capture their prey, although they do it quite unconsciously. In animals the capacity for conscious, planned action is proportional to the development of the nervous system, and among mammals it attains a fairly high level. While fox-hunting in England one can daily observe how unerringly the fox makes use of its excellent knowledge of the locality in order to elude its pursuers, and how well it knows and turns to account all favourable features of the ground that cause the scent to be lost. Among our domestic animals, more highly developed thanks to association with man, one can constantly observe acts of cunning on exactly the same level as those of children. For, just as the development history of the human embryo in the mother's womb is only an abbreviated repetition of the history, extending over millions of years, of the bodily development of our animal ancestors, starting from the worm, so the mental development of the human child is only a still more abbreviated repetition of the intellectual development of these same ancestors, at least of the later ones. But all the planned action of all animals has never succeeded in impressing the stamp of their will upon the earth. That was left for man.

In short, the animal merely *uses* its environment, and brings about changes in it simply by its presence; man by his changes makes it serve his ends, *masters* it. This is the final, essential distinction between man and other animals, and once again it is labour that brings about this distinction.*

Let us not, however, flatter ourselves overmuch on account of our human victories over nature. For each such victory nature

* Ennoblement. [Marginal note.]

takes its revenge on us. Each victory, it is true, in the first place brings about the results we expected, but in the second and third places it has quite different, unforeseen effects which only too often cancel the first. The people who, in Mesopotamia, Greece, Asia Minor and elsewhere, destroyed the forests to obtain cultivable land, never dreamed that by removing along with the forests the collecting centres and reservoirs of moisture they were laying the basis for the present forlorn state of those countries. When the Italians of the Alps used up the pine forests on the southern slopes, so carefully cherished on the northern slopes, they had no inkling that by doing so they were cutting at the roots of the dairy industry in their region; they had still less inkling that they were thereby depriving their mountain springs of water for the greater part of the year, and making it possible for them to pour still more furious torrents on the plains during the rainy seasons. Those who spread the potato in Europe were not aware that with these farinaceous tubers they were at the same time spreading scrofula. Thus at every step we are reminded that we by no means rule over nature like a conqueror over a foreign people, like someone standing outside nature—but that we, with flesh, blood and brain, belong to nature, and exist in its midst, and that all our mastery of it consists in the fact that we have the advantage over all other creatures of being able to learn its laws and apply them correctly.[a]

And, in fact, with every day that passes we are acquiring a better understanding of these laws and getting to perceive both the more immediate and the more remote consequences of our interference with the traditional course of nature. In particular, after the mighty advances made by the natural sciences in the present century, we are more than ever in a position to realise, and hence to control, also the more remote natural consequences of at least our day-to-day production activities. But the more this progresses the more will men not only feel but also know their oneness with nature, and the more impossible will become the senseless and unnatural idea of a contrast between mind and matter, man and nature, soul and body, such as arose after the decline of classical antiquity in Europe and obtained its highest elaboration in Christianity.

It required the labour of thousands of years for us to learn a little of how to calculate the more remote *natural* effects of our

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[a] See also this volume, pp. 105-06.—*Ed.*

actions in the field of production, but it has been still more difficult in regard to the more remote *social* effects of these actions. We mentioned the potato and the resulting spread of scrofula. But what is scrofula compared to the effects which the reduction of the workers to a potato diet had on the living conditions of the popular masses in whole countries, or compared to the famine the potato blight brought to Ireland in 1847, which consigned to the grave a million Irishmen, nourished solely or almost exclusively on potatoes, and forced the emigration overseas of two million more? When the Arabs learned to distil spirits, it never entered their heads that by so doing they were creating one of the chief weapons for the annihilation of the aborigines of the then still undiscovered American continent. And when afterwards Columbus discovered this America, he did not know that by doing so he was giving a new lease of life to slavery, which in Europe had long ago been done away with, and laying the basis for the Negro slave trade. The men who in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries laboured to create the steam-engine had no idea that they were preparing the instrument which more than any other was to revolutionise social relations throughout the world. Especially in Europe, by concentrating wealth in the hands of a minority and dispossessing the huge majority, this instrument was destined at first to give social and political domination to the bourgeoisie, but later, to give rise to a class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat which can end only in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the abolition of all class antagonisms.—But in this sphere too, by long and often cruel experience and by collecting and analysing historical material, we are gradually learning to get a clear view of the indirect, more remote social effects of our production activity, and so are afforded an opportunity to control and regulate these effects as well.

This regulation, however, requires something more than mere knowledge. It requires a complete revolution in our hitherto existing mode of production, and simultaneously a revolution in our whole contemporary social order.

All hitherto existing modes of production have aimed merely at achieving the most immediately and directly useful effect of labour. The further consequences, which appear only later and become effective through gradual repetition and accumulation, were totally neglected. The original common ownership of land corresponded, on the one hand, to a level of development of human beings in which their horizon was restricted in general to what lay immediately available, and presupposed, on the other

hand, a certain superfluity of land that would allow some latitude for correcting the possible bad results of this primeval type of economy. When this surplus land was exhausted, common ownership also declined. All higher forms of production, however, led to the division of the population into different classes and thereby to the antagonism of ruling and oppressed classes. Thus the interests of the ruling class became the driving factor of production, since production was no longer restricted to providing the barest means of subsistence for the oppressed people. This has been put into effect most completely in the capitalist mode of production prevailing today in Western Europe. The individual capitalists, who dominate production and exchange, are able to concern themselves only with the most immediate useful effect of their actions. Indeed, even this useful effect—inasmuch as it is a question of the usefulness of the article that is produced or exchanged—retreats far into the background, and the sole incentive becomes the profit to be made on selling.

Classical political economy, the social science of the bourgeoisie, in the main examines only social effects of human actions in the fields of production and exchange that are actually intended. This fully corresponds to the social organisation of which it is the theoretical expression. As individual capitalists are engaged in production and exchange for the sake of the immediate profit, only the nearest, most immediate results must first be taken into account. As long as the individual manufacturer or merchant sells a manufactured or purchased commodity with the usual coveted profit, he is satisfied and does not concern himself with what afterwards becomes of the commodity and its purchasers. The same thing applies to the natural effects of the same actions. What cared the Spanish planters in Cuba, who burned down forests on the slopes of the mountains and obtained from the ashes sufficient fertiliser for *one* generation of very highly profitable coffee trees—what cared they that the heavy tropical rainfall afterwards washed away the unprotected upper stratum of the soil, leaving behind only bare rock! In relation to nature, as to society, the present mode of production is predominantly concerned only about the immediate, the most tangible result; and then surprise is expressed that the more remote effects of actions directed to this end turn out to be quite different, are mostly quite the opposite in

character; that the harmony of supply and demand is transformed into the very reverse opposite, as shown by the course of each ten years' industrial cycle—even Germany has had a little preliminary experience of it in the "crash"[203]; that private ownership based on one's own labour must of necessity develop into the expropriation of the workers, while all wealth becomes more and more concentrated in the hands of non-workers; that [...][a]

[a] Here the manuscript breaks off.—*Ed.*

# [NOTES AND FRAGMENTS]

## [FROM THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE][204]

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*The successive development* of the separate branches of natural science should be studied.—First of all, *astronomy,* which, if only on account of the seasons, was absolutely indispensable for pastoral and agricultural peoples. Astronomy can only develop with the aid of *mathematics.* Hence this also had to be tackled.—Further, at a certain stage of agriculture and in certain regions (raising of water for irrigation in Egypt), and especially with the origin of towns, big building structures and the development of handicrafts, *mechanics* also arose. This was soon needed also for *navigation* and *war.*—Moreover, it requires the aid of mathematics and so promotes the latter's development. Thus, from the very beginning the origin and development of the sciences has been determined by production.

Throughout antiquity, scientific investigation proper remained restricted to these three branches, and indeed in the form of exact, systematic research it occurs for the first time in the post-classical period (the Alexandrines,[205] Archimedes, etc.). In physics and chemistry, which were as yet hardly separated in men's minds (theory of the elements, absence of the concept of a chemical element), in botany, zoology, human and animal anatomy, it had only been possible until then to collect facts and arrange them as systematically as possible. Physiology was sheer guess-work, as soon as one went beyond the most tangible things—e.g., digestion and excretion—and it could not be otherwise when even the circulation of the blood was not known.—At the end of the period, chemistry makes its appearance in the primitive form of alchemy.

If, after the dark night of the Middle Ages was over, the sciences suddenly arose anew with undreamt-of force, developing at a miraculous rate, once again we owe this miracle to production.* In the first place, following the crusades, industry developed enormously and brought to light a quantity of new mechanical (weaving, clockmaking, milling), chemical (dyeing, metallurgy, alcohol), and physical (spectacles) facts, and this not only gave enormous material for observation, but also itself provided quite other means for experimenting than previously existed, and allowed the construction of *new* instruments; it can be said that really systematic experimental science now became possible for the first time. Secondly, the whole of West and Middle Europe, including Poland, now developed in a connected fashion, even though Italy was still at the head owing to its old-inherited civilisation. Thirdly, geographical discoveries—made purely for the sake of gain and, therefore, in the last resort, of production—opened up an infinite and hitherto inaccessible amount of material of a meteorological, zoological, botanical, and physiological (human) bearing. Fourthly, there was the *printing press.*

Now—apart from mathematics, astronomy, and mechanics, which were already in existence—physics becomes definitely separate from chemistry (Torricelli, Galileo—the former in connection with industrial waterworks studied first of all the movement of liquids, see Clerk Maxwell[a]). Boyle put chemistry on a stable basis as a science. Harvey did the same for physiology (human and animal) by the discovery of the blood circulation. Zoology and botany remain at first collecting sciences, until paleontology appeared on the scene—Cuvier—and shortly afterwards came the discovery of the cell and the development of organic chemistry. Therewith comparative morphology and physiology became possible and from then on both are true sciences. Geology was founded at the end of the last century, and recently anthropology, badly so-called, enabling the transition from the morphology and physiology of man and human races to history. This to be studied further in detail and to be developed.

* Hitherto, what has been boasted of is what production owes to science, but science owes infinitely more to production. [Marginal note.]

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[a] J. C. Maxwell, *Theory of Heat.—Ed.*

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## THE ANCIENTS' OUTLOOK ON NATURE[206]

(Hegel, *Geschichte der Philosophie,* Bd. I.—*Griechische Philosophie*)

Of the first philosophers, Aristotle says (*Metaphysica,* I, 3), that they assert:

"That of which all things consist, from which they first come and into which they are ultimately resolved... of which the essence (ουτία) persists although modified by its affections (πάθεσι)—this is the element (στοιχεῖον) and principle (αρχή) of all being... Hence they believe that nothing is either generated (ουτε γίγνεσθαι ουδέν) or destroyed, since this kind of primary entity always persists." (P. 198.)

Here, therefore, is already the whole original spontaneous materialism which at its beginning quite naturally regards the unity of the infinite diversity of natural phenomena as a matter of course, and seeks it in something definitely corporeal, a particular thing, as Thales does in water.

Cicero says:

"*Thales*[a] Milesius ... aquam dixit esse initium rerum, Deum autem eam mentem, quae ex aqua cuncta fingeret."[b] (*De Natura Deorum,* I, p. 10.)

Hegel quite rightly declares that this is an addition of Cicero's and says:

"However, we are not concerned here with this question whether, in addition, Thales believed in God; it is not a matter here of supposition, belief, popular religion ... and even if he spoke of God as having created all things from that water, we would not thereby know anything more of this being ... it is an empty word without its idea." P[p]. 209[–10] (ca. 600 [B. C.]).

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[a] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] "*Thales* of Miletos ... declared that water is the basis of things, and God that mind that forms everything out of water."

The oldest Greek philosophers were at the same time investigators of nature: *Thales,* a geometrician, fixed the year at 365 days, and is said to have predicted a solar eclipse.—*Anaximander* constructed a sun clock, a kind of map (περίμετρον) of land and sea, and various astronomical instruments.—Pythagoras was a mathematician.

*Anaximander* of Miletus, according to Plutarch (*Quaestiones convivales,* VIII, p. 8), makes "*man come from a fish, emerging from the water on to the land,*"[a] ([p.] 213). For him the αρχὴ καὶ στοιχεῖον τὸ απειρον,[b] without determining (διορίζων) it as air or water or anything else (Diogenes Laertius II, 1). This infinite correctly reproduced by Hegel (p. 215) as "undetermined matter" (ca. 580).

*Anaximenes* of Miletos takes *air* as principle and basic element, declaring it to be infinite (Cicero, *De Natura Deorum,* I, p. 10) and that

"everything arises from it, in it everything is again dissolved" (Plutarch, *De placitis philosophorum,* I, p. 3).

Here air αήρ=πνεῦμα.[c]

"Just as our soul, which is air, holds us together, so also a spirit (πνεῦμα) and air hold the whole world together. Spirit and air have the same meaning" (Plutarch).[207] [Pp. 215-16.]

Soul and air conceived as a general medium (ca. 555).

Aristotle already says that these ancient philosophers put the primordial essence in a form of matter: air and water (and perhaps Anaximander in something midway between both), later Heraclitus in fire, but none in earth on account of its multiple composition (διὰ τὴν μεγαλομέρειαν), *Metaphysica,* I, 8. (P. 217.)

Aristotle correctly remarks of all of them that they leave the origin of motion unexplained (p. 218 et seq.).

*Pythagoras* of Samos (ca. 540): *number* is the basic principle:

"That *number* is the essence of all things, and the organisation of the universe as a whole in its determinations is a *harmonious system of numbers and their relations.*"[d] (Aristotle, *Metaphysica,* I. [Ch.] 5 passim).

Hegel justly points out

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[a] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*
[b] Beginning and element is *the infinite.*—*Ed.*
[c] Breath, spirit.—*Ed.*
[d] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

"the audacity of such language, which at one blow strikes down all that is regarded by the imagination as being or as essential (true), and annihilates the sensuous essence", and puts the essence in a thought determination, even if it is a very restricted and one-sided one. [Pp. 237-38.]

Just as number is subject to definite laws, so also the universe; hereby its obedience to law was expressed for the first time. To Pythagoras is ascribed the reduction of musical harmonies to mathematical relations [pp. 261-64].

Likewise:

"The Pythagoreans put fire in the centre, but the earth as a star which revolves in a circle around this central body." (Aristotle, *De coelo,* II, 13). [P. 265.]

This fire, however, is not the sun; nevertheless this is the first inkling that *the earth moves* [p. 265].

Hegel on the planetary system:

"...the harmonious element, which determines the distances [between the planets]—all mathematics has still not been able to give any basis for it. The empirical numbers are accurately known; but it has all the appearance of chance, not of necessity. An approximate regularity in the distances is known, and thus with luck planets between Mars and Jupiter have been guessed at, where later Ceres, Vesta, Pallas, etc., were discovered; but astronomy still did not find a consistent series in which there was any sense, any reason. Rather it looks with contempt on the regular presentation of this series; for itself, however, it is an extremely important point which must not be surrendered." (Pp. 267-[68].)

For all the naive materialism of the total outlook, the kernel of the later split is already to be found among the ancient Greeks. For Thales, the soul is already something special, something different from the body (just as he ascribes a soul also to the magnet), for Anaximenes it is air (as in *Genesis*),[a] for the Pythagoreans it is already immortal and migratory, the body being purely accidental to it. For the Pythagoreans, also, the soul is "a chip of the ether (απόσπασμα αιθέρος)" (Diogenes Laertius, VIII, 26-28), where the cold ether is the air, the dense ether the sea and moisture. [Pp. 279-80.]

Aristotle correctly reproaches the Pythagoreans also:

With their numbers "they do not say how motion comes into being, and how, without motion and change, there is coming into being and passing away, or states and activities of heavenly things". (*Metaphysica,* I, 8). [P. 277.]

Pythagoras is supposed to have discovered the identity of the morning and evening star, that the moon gets its light from the sun, and finally the Pythagorean theorem.

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[a] Genesis 2:7.—*Ed.*

"Pythagoras is said to have slaughtered a hecatomb on discovering this theorem ... and however remarkable it may be that his joy went so far on that account as to order a great feast, to which the rich and the whole people were invited, it was worth the trouble. It is joyousness, joy of the spirit (knowledge)—at the expense of the oxen." [P. 279.]

*The Eleatics.*

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*Leucippus and Democritus.*[208]

"Leucippus, however, and his disciple Democritus hold that the elements are the *Full* and the Void—calling the one 'what is' and the other 'what is not'. Of these they identify the *full* or *solid* with 'what is' (i.e., τὰ ατομα[a]) and the void or *rare* with 'what is not'. Hence they hold that what is not is no less real than what is ... and they say that these are the material causes of things. And just as those who make the underlying substance of unity generate all other things by means of its modification ... so these thinkers hold that the '*differences*'" (namely, of the atoms) "are the causes of everything else. These differences, *they say, are three: shape, arrangement,* and position... Thus, e.g., *A* differs from *N* in *shape, AN* from *NA* in *arrangement,* and *Z* from *N* in position." (Aristotle, *Metaphysica,* Book I, Chapter IV.)

*Leucippus*

"was the first to set up atoms as general principles ... and these he calls elements. Out of them arise the worlds unlimited in number and into them they are dissolved. This is how the worlds are formed: *In a given section* many atoms of all manner of shapes are carried *from the unlimited* into the vast empty space. These collect together and *form a single vortex,* in which they jostle against each other and, circling round in every possible way, separate off, by like atoms joining like. And, the atoms being so numerous that they can no longer revolve *in equilibrium, the light ones pass into the empty space outside,* as if they were being winnowed; the remainder keep together and, becoming entangled, go on their circuit together, and form a primary spherical system." (Diogenes Laertius, Book IX, Chap. 6.)[b]

*The following about Epicurus.*

"The atoms are in continual *motion* through all eternity. Further, he says below that the atoms move *with equal speed,* since the *void* makès way *for the lightest and heaviest alike...* Atoms have no quality at all except *shape, size,* and *weight... They are not of any and*

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[a] The atoms.—*Ed.*

[b] Diogenes Laertius, *De vitis philosophorum libri X.* Cum indice rerum IX, 6, §§ 30-31.—*Ed.*

*every size; at any rate no atom has ever been seen by our sense.*" (Diogenes Laertius, Book X, Ch. 1, §§ 43-44.) "When they are travelling through the void and meet with no resistance, the atoms must move with equal speed. Neither will heavy atoms travel more quickly than small and light ones, so long as nothing meets them, nor will small atoms travel more quickly than large ones, *provided they always find a suitable passage*, and provided also that they meet with no obstruction." (Ibid., § 61.)

"Thus it is clear that in every kind [of things] the *one* is of a definite nature and that in none of them does this, the one, have its nature." (Aristotle, *Metaphysica*, Book IX, Chap. 2.)

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*Aristarchus of Samos,* 270 B.C., already held the *Copernican theory of the Earth and Sun.* (Mädler, p. 44,[a] Wolf, pp. 35-37.[b])

*Democritus* had already surmised that the *Milky Way* sheds on us the combined light of innumerable small stars. (Wolf, p[p]. 313 [-14].)

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DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SITUATION AT THE END OF THE ANCIENT WORLD, CA. 300—AND THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES—1453[209]

1. Instead of a thin strip of civilisation along the coast of the Mediterranean, stretching its arms sporadically into the interior and as far as the Atlantic coast of Spain, France, and England, which could thus easily be broken through and rolled back by the Germans and Slavs from the North, and by the Arabs from the South-East, there was now a closed area of civilisation—the whole of West Europe with Scandinavia, Poland, and Hungary as outposts.

2. Instead of the contrast between the Greeks, or Romans, and the barbarians, there were now six civilised peoples with civilised languages, not counting the Scandinavian etc., all of whom had developed to such an extent that they could participate in the mighty rise of literature in the fourteenth century, and guaranteed a far more diversified culture than that of the Greek and Latin languages, which were already in decay and dying out at the end of ancient times.

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[a] J. H. Mädler, *Der Wunderbau des Weltalls...*, § 31, S. 43-44.—*Ed.*

[b] R. Wolf, *Geschichte der Astronomie.—Ed.*

3. An infinitely higher development of industrial production and trade, created by the burghers of the Middle Ages; on the one hand, production more perfected, more varied and on a larger scale, and, on the other hand, commerce much stronger, navigation being infinitely more enterprising since the time of the Saxons, Frisians, and Normans, and on the other hand also an amount of inventions and importation of oriental inventions, which not only for the first time made possible the importation and diffusion of Greek literature, the maritime discoveries, and the bourgeois religious revolution, but also gave them a quite different and quicker range of action. In addition they produced a mass of scientific facts, although as yet unsystematised, such as antiquity never had: the magnetic needle, printing, type, flax paper (used by the Arabs and Spanish Jews since the twelfth century, cotton paper gradually making its appearance since the tenth century, and already more widespread in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, papyrus quite obsolete in Egypt since the Arabs), gunpowder, *spectacles, mechanical clocks,* great progress both of *chronology* and of *mechanics.*

(See No. 11 concerning inventions.)[a]

In addition material provided by *travels* (Marco Polo, ca. 1272, etc.).

General education, even though still bad, much more widespread owing to the universities.[210]

With the rise of Constantinople and the fall of Rome, antiquity comes to an end.[211] The end of the Middle Ages is indissolubly linked with the fall of Constantinople. The new age begins with the return to the Greeks.—Negation of the negation!

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HISTORICAL MATERIAL.—INVENTIONS[212]

B.C.:

Fire-hose, water-clock, ca. 200 B.C. Street paving (Rome).

Parchment, ca. 160.

A.D.:

Watermills *on the Mosel,* ca. 340, in Germany in the time of Charles the Great.

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[a] Engels is referring to the eleventh sheet of his notes. The chronological table of inventions given in that sheet is printed below: "Historical Material.—Inventions".—*Ed.*

First signs of glass windows, street lighting in Antioch, ca. 370.
Silk-worms from China, ca. 550 in Greece.
Quill pens in the sixth century.
Cotton paper from China to the Arabs in the seventh century, in the ninth in Italy.
Water-powered organs in France in the eighth century.
Silver mines in the Harz worked since the tenth century.
Windmills, about 1000.
Notes, Guido of Arezzo's musical scale, about 1000.
Sericulture introduced in Italy, about 1100.
Clocks with wheels—ditto.
Magnetic needle from the Arabs to the Europeans, ca. 1180.
Street paving in Paris, 1184.
Spectacles in Florence. Glass mirrors.
Herring-salting. Sluices.
Striking clocks. Cotton paper in France.
} Second half of thirteenth century.
Rag-paper—beginning of fourteenth century.
Bills of exchange—middle of ditto.
First paper mill in Germany (Nuremberg), 1390.
Street lighting in London—beginning of fifteenth century.
Post in Venice—ditto.
Wood-cuts and printing—ditto.
Copper-engraving—middle ditto.
Horse post in France, 1464.
Silver mines in the Saxon Erzgebirge, 1471.
Pedal clavichord invented, 1472.
Pocket watches. Air-guns. Flintlock—end of fifteenth century.
Spinning-wheel, 1530.
Diving bell, 1538.

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## HISTORICAL[213]

Modern natural science—the only one which can come into consideration *qua* science as against the brilliant intuitions of the Greeks and the sporadic unconnected investigations of the Arabs—begins with that mighty epoch when feudalism was smashed by the burghers. In the background of the struggle between the burghers of the towns and the feudal nobility this epoch showed the peasant in revolt; and behind the peasant the revolutionary beginnings of the modern proletariat, already red

flag in hand and with communism on its lips. It was the epoch which brought into being the great monarchies in Europe, broke the spiritual dictatorship of the Pope, evoked the revival of Greek antiquity and with it the highest artistic development of the new age, broke through the boundaries of the old *orbis,*[a] and for the first time really discovered the world.

It was the greatest revolution that the world had so far experienced. Natural science also flourished in this revolution, was revolutionary through and through, advanced hand in hand with the awakening modern philosophy of the great Italians, and provided its martyrs for the stake and the prisons. It is characteristic that Protestants and Catholics vied with one another in persecuting them. The former burned Servetus, the latter Giordano Bruno. It was a time that called for giants and produced giants, giants in learning, intellect, and character, a time that the French correctly called the Renaissance and Protestant Europe with one-sided prejudice called that of the Reformation.

At that time natural science also had its declaration of independence,[214] though it is true it did not come right at the beginning, any more than that Luther was the first Protestant. What Luther's burning of the papal bull was in the religious field,[215] in the field of natural science was the great work of Copernicus, in which he, although timidly after thirty-six years' hesitation and so to say on his death-bed, threw down a challenge to ecclesiastical superstition.[216] From then on natural science was in essence emancipated from religion, although the complete settlement of accounts in all details has gone on to the present day and in many minds is still far from being complete. But from then on the development of science went forward with giant strides, increasing, so to speak, proportionately to the square of the distance in time from its point of departure, as if it wanted to show the world that for the motion of the highest product of organic matter, the human mind, the law that holds good is the reverse of that for the motion of inorganic matter.

The first period of modern natural science ends—in the inorganic sphere—with Newton. It is the period in which the available subject-matter was mastered; it performed a great work in the fields of mathematics, mechanics and astronomy, statics and dynamics, especially owing to Kepler and Galileo, from whose work Newton drew the conclusions. In the organic sphere, however, there was no progress beyond the first beginnings. The

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[a] *Orbis terrarum*—the circle of lands, the whole world.—*Ed.*

investigation of the forms of life historically succeeding one another and replacing one another, as well as the changing conditions of life corresponding to them—palaeontology and geology—did not yet exist. Nature was not at all regarded as something that developed historically, that had a history in time; only extension in space was taken into account; the various forms were grouped not one after the other, but only one beside the other; natural history was valid for all periods, like the elliptical orbits of the planets. For any closer analysis of organic structure both the immediate bases were lacking, viz., chemistry and knowledge of the essential organic structure, the cell. Natural science, at the outset revolutionary, was confronted by an out-and-out conservative nature, in which everything remained today as it was at the beginning of the world, and in which right to the end of the world everything would remain as it had been in the beginning.

It is characteristic that this conservative outlook on nature both in the inorganic and in the organic sphere [...][a]

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Astronomy | Physics | Geology | Plant physiology | Therapeutics |
| Mechanics | Chemistry | Palaeontology | Animal physiology | Diagnostics |
| Mathematics | | Mineralogy | Anatomy | |

The first breach: Kant and Laplace. The second: geology and palaeontology (Lyell, slow development). The third: organic chemistry, which prepares organic bodies and shows the validity of chemical laws for living bodies. The fourth: 1842, mechanical [theory of] heat, Grove. The fifth: Lamarck, the cell, etc. Darwin (struggle, Cuvier and Agassiz). The sixth: the *comparative element* in anatomy, climatology (isotherms), animal and plant geography (scientific travel expeditions since the middle of the eighteenth century), physical geography in general (Humboldt), the assembling of the material in its inter-connection. Morphology (embryology, Baer).[b]

The old teleology has gone to the devil, but it is now firmly established that matter in its eternal cycle moves according to laws

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[a] The sentence was not finished.—*Ed.*

[b] Up to this point the text of the note has been crossed out in the manuscript by a vertical stroke as having been used by Engels in the first part of the "Introduction" (see this volume, pp. 318-28). The two further paragraphs, partially used in the second part of the "Introduction" (pp. 328-35), were not crossed out.—*Ed.*

which at a definite stage—now here, now there—necessarily give rise to the thinking mind in organic beings.

The normal existence of animals is given by the contemporary conditions in which they live and to which they adapt themselves—those of man, as soon as he differentiates himself from the animal in the narrower sense, have as yet never been present, and are only to be elaborated by the ensuing historical development. Man is the sole animal capable of working his way out of the merely animal state—his normal state is one appropriate to his consciousness, *one that has to be created by himself.*

* * *

## OMITTED FROM "FEUERBACH"[217]

[The vulgarising peddlers who dealt in materialism in the Germany of the fifties in no wise went beyond these limits of their teachers.[a] All the advances made by natural science since then served them merely] as fresh arguments against the belief in a creator of the universe; and in fact the further development of theory was quite outside their line of business. Idealism was hard hit owing to 1848 but materialism in this renovated form of it sank still lower. Feuerbach was absolutely right in repudiating responsibility for *this* materialism; only he had no right to confuse the doctrine of the itinerant preachers with materialism in general.[b]

At about the same time, however, empirical natural science made such an advance and arrived at such brilliant results that not only did it become possible to overcome completely the mechanical one-sidedness of the eighteenth century, but also natural science itself, owing to the proof of the inter-connections existing in nature itself between the various fields of investigation (mechanics, physics, chemistry, biology, etc.), was transformed from an empirical into a theoretical science and, by generalising the results achieved, into a system of the materialist knowledge of nature. The mechanics of gases; newly created organic chemistry, which stripped the last remnants of incomprehensibility from one so-called organic compound after another by preparing them from

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[a] I.e., the French materialists of the eighteenth century.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Grün, *Ludwig Feuerbach in seinem Briefwechsel und Nachlass sowie in seiner Philosophischen Charakterentwicklung,* Bd. 2, S. 307-08.—*Ed.*

inorganic substances; scientific embryology dating from 1818; geology and palaeontology; comparative anatomy of plants and animals—all these furnished new material in an unprecedented measure. Three great discoveries, however, were of decisive importance.

The first was the proof of the transformation of energy arising out of the discovery of the mechanical equivalent of heat (by Robert Mayer, Joule and Colding). All the innumerable acting causes in nature, which had hitherto led a mysterious, inexplicable existence as so-called forces—mechanical force, heat, radiation (light and radiant heat), electricity, magnetism, chemical force of association and dissociation—have now been proved to be special forms, modes of existence of one and the same energy, i.e., motion. We can not only demonstrate its conversion from one form into another, which continually takes place in nature, but we can carry out this conversion in the laboratory and in industry, and indeed in such a way that a given quantity of energy in one form always corresponds to a given quantity of energy in some other form. Thus we can express the unit of heat in kilogram-metres and the units of any quantity of electrical or chemical energy once more in heat-units and vice versa; we can likewise measure the energy consumption and energy intake of a living organism and express it in any desired unit, e.g., in heat-units. The unity of all motion in nature is no longer a philosophical assertion, but a natural-scientific fact.

The second discovery—earlier in point of time—was that of the organic cell by Schwann and Schleiden, as being the unit out of which, by its multiplication and differentiation, all organisms with the exception of the lowest are formed and develop. This discovery for the first time gave a firm basis to the investigation of the organic, living products of nature—both comparative anatomy and physiology, and embryology. The origin, growth and structure of organisms were deprived of their mysterious character; the hitherto incomprehensible miracle was merged in a process which takes place according to a law that is essentially identical for all multicellular organisms.

But an essential gap still remained. If all multicellular organisms—both plants and animals, including man—in each case grow out of a single cell according to the law of cell division, what then is the source of the infinite diversity of these organisms? This question was answered by the third great discovery, the theory of evolution, which for the first time was comprehensively worked out and substantiated by Darwin. However many transformations

this theory will still undergo as regards details, in the main it has already solved the problem in a more than adequate manner. The evolutionary series of organisms from a few simple forms to increasingly multifarious and complicated ones, as it confronts us today, and extending right up to man, has been established as far as its main features are concerned. Thanks to this, not only has it become possible to explain the existing stock of organic products of nature but the basis has also been provided for the pre-history of the human mind, for tracing the various stages of its development, from the simple protoplasm—structureless but sensitive to stimuli—of the lowest organisms right up to the thinking human brain. Without this pre-history, however, the existence of the thinking human brain remains a miracle.

By means of these three great discoveries, the main processes of nature were explained and referred to natural causes. One thing still remains to be done here: to explain the origin of life from inorganic nature. At the present stage of science that implies nothing less than the preparation of protein bodies from inorganic substances. Chemistry is approaching closer and closer to the solution of this task, but it is still a long way from it. If, however, we bear in mind that it was only in 1828 that Wöhler prepared the first organic body, urea, from inorganic materials, and what an innumerable number of so-called organic compounds are now artificially prepared without any organic materials, we shall not be inclined to bid chemistry halt when confronted by protein. So far chemistry has been able to prepare every organic substance, the composition of which is accurately known. As soon as the composition of the protein bodies becomes known, chemistry will be able to set about the preparation of living protein. But to demand that it should achieve overnight what nature itself succeeds in doing only under very favourable circumstances on a few cosmic bodies after millions of years, would be to demand a miracle.

Thus the materialist outlook on nature rests today on a much firmer foundation than it did in the previous century. At that time only the motion of the heavenly bodies and that of terrestrial solid bodies under the influence of gravity was at all exhaustively understood; almost the entire field of chemistry and the whole of organic nature remained mysterious and not understood. Today the whole of nature lies spread out before us as a system of inter-connections and processes that, at least in its main features, has been explained and understood. At all events, the materialist outlook on nature means nothing more than the simple concep-

tion of nature just as it is, without alien addition, and hence among the Greek philosophers it was originally understood in this way as a matter of course. But between those ancient Greeks and us lie more than two thousand years of an essentially idealist outlook on the world, and so the return to self-evident understanding is more difficult than it appears to be at first sight. For it is by no means a matter of simply throwing overboard the entire thought content of those two thousand years, but of a criticism of it, of extracting the results—that had been won within a form that was false but which was inevitably idealistic for its time and for the course of evolution itself—from this transitory form. And how difficult that is, is proved for us by those numerous natural scientists who are inexorable materialists within their science but outside it are not merely idealists, but even pious and indeed orthodox Christians.

All these epoch-making advances of natural science passed Feuerbach by without affecting him in any essential respect. This was not so much his fault as that of the miserable German conditions, owing to which the university chairs were occupied by empty-headed, eclectic hair-splitters, while Feuerbach, who towered high above them, was compelled almost to rusticate in lonely village isolation.[218] That is why, on the subject of nature, he wastes so much labour—except for a few brilliant generalisations—on empty belletristic writing. Thus he says:

> "Life is, of course, not the product of a chemical process, nor in general is it the product of an isolated natural force or phenomenon, to which the metaphysical materialist reduces it; it is a result of the whole of nature."[a]

That life is a result of the whole of nature in no way contradicts the fact that protein, which is the exclusive independent bearer of life, arises under definite conditions determined by the whole inter-connection of nature, but arises precisely as the product of a chemical process. <Had Feuerbach lived in conditions which permitted him to follow even superficially the development of natural science, it would never have happened that he would speak of a chemical process as the effect of an isolated force of nature.>[b] To the same solitariness must be ascribed the fact that Feuerbach loses himself in a circle of barren speculations on the

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[a] C. N. Starcke, *Ludwig Feuerbach*, S. 154-55. The quotation is taken from Feuerbach's "Die Unsterblichkeitsfrage vom Standpunkt der Anthropologie", *Sämmtliche Werke*, Bd. III, S. 331.—*Ed.*

[b] This sentence was crossed out in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

relations of thought to the thinking organ, the brain[a]—a sphere in which Starcke follows him willingly.[b]

Enough, Feuerbach revolts against the name materialism.[c] And not entirely without reason; for he never completely ceases to be an idealist. In the field of nature he is a materialist; but in the human field [...][d]

* * *

God is nowhere treated worse than by the natural scientists who believe in him. Materialists simply explain the *facts,* without making use of such phrases, they do this first when importunate pious believers try to force God upon them, and then they answer curtly, either like Laplace: *Sire, je n'avais pas, etc.,*[219] or more rudely in the manner of the Dutch merchants who, when German commercial travellers press their shoddy goods on them, are accustomed to turn them away with the words: *Ik kan die zaken niet gebruiken,*[e] and that is the end of the matter. But what God has had to suffer at the hands of his defenders! In the history of modern natural science, God is treated by his defenders as Frederick William III was treated by his generals and officials in the Jena campaign.[220] One division of the army after another lays down its arms, one fortress after another capitulates before the march of science, until at last the whole infinite realm of nature is conquered by science, and there is no place left in it for the Creator. Newton still allowed Him the "first impulse" but forbade Him any further interference in his solar system. Father Secchi bows Him out of the solar system altogether, with all canonical honours it is true, but none the less categorically for all that, and he only allows Him a creative act as regards the primordial nebula. And so in all spheres. In biology, his last great Don Quixote, Agassiz, even ascribes positive nonsense to Him: He is supposed to have created not only the actual animals but also abstract animals,

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[a] K. Grün, *Ludwig Feuerbach in seinem Briefwechsel...,* S. 307-08.—*Ed.*

[b] C. N. Starcke, op. cit., S. 165-66.—*Ed.*

[c] K. Grün, op. cit., S. 308.—*Ed.*

[d] Page 19 of the original manuscript of *Ludwig Feuerbach* ends here. The end of this sentence occurs on the following page, which has not come down to us. On the basis of the printed text of *Ludwig Feuerbach* it may be supposed that this sentence read approximately as follows: "In the human field he is an idealist."—*Ed.*

[e] I have no use for the things.—*Ed.*

the fish as such! *[a] And finally Tyndall totally forbids Him any entry into nature and relegates Him to the world of emotional processes, only admitting Him because, after all, there must be somebody who knows more about all these things (nature) than John Tyndall! [222] What a distance from the old God—the Creator of heaven and earth, the maintainer of all things—without whom not a hair can fall from the head!

Tyndall's emotional need proves nothing. The Chevalier des Grieux also had an emotional need to love and possess Manon Lescaut, who sold herself and him over and over again; for her sake he became a cardsharper and pimp, and if Tyndall wants to reproach him, he would reply with his "emotional need"!

* God=nescio [I do not know]; but *ignorantia non est argumentum* [ignorance is no argument] (Spinoza).[221] [Marginal note.]

[a] See this volume, p. 488.—*Ed.*

# [NATURAL SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY]

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## BÜCHNER[223]

Rise of the tendency. The passing of German philosophy into materialism—control over science abolished—outbreak of shallow materialist popularisation, in which the materialism had to make up for the lack of science. Its flourishing at the time of the deepest degradation of bourgeois Germany and official German science—1850-60. Vogt, Moleschott, Büchner. Mutual assurance.[224]—New impetus by the coming into fashion of Darwinism, which was immediately monopolised by these gentlemen.[225]

One could let them alone and leave them to their not unpraiseworthy if narrow occupation of teaching atheism, etc., to the German philistine but for: 1, abuse directed against philosophy (passages to be quoted),* which in spite of everything is the glory of Germany, and 2, the presumption of applying the theories about nature to society and of reforming socialism. Thus they compel us to take note of them.

* Büchner is acquainted with philosophers only as dogmatists, just as he himself is a dogmatist of the shallowest reflection of the German would-be Enlightenment, which missed the spirit and movement of the great French materialists (Hegel on this)[a]—just as Nicolai had that of Voltaire. Lessing's "dead dog Spinoza". ([Hegel] *Encyclopädie*, Preface, p. 19.[226])

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[a] See G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie*, Bd. 3, S. 506-34.—*Ed.*

Dialectics

Nature's dialectics!

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

First of all, what do they achieve in their own sphere? Quotations.

2. Turning point, pages 170-71. Whence this sudden Hegelianism?[227] Transition to dialectics.

Two philosophical tendencies, the metaphysical with fixed categories, the dialectical (Aristotle and especially Hegel) with fluid categories; the proofs that these fixed opposites of basis and consequence, cause and effect, identity and difference, appearance and essence are untenable, that analysis shows one pole already present in the other *in nuce*,[a] that at a definite point the one pole becomes transformed into the other, and that all logic develops only from these progressing contradictions.—This mystical in Hegel himself, because the categories appear as pre-existing and the dialectics of the real world as their mere reflection. In reality it is the reverse: the dialectics of the mind is only the reflection of the forms of motion of the real world, both of nature and of history. Until the end of the last century, indeed until 1830, natural scientists could manage pretty well with the old metaphysics, because real science did not go beyond mechanics—terrestrial and cosmic. Nevertheless confusion had already been introduced by higher mathematics, which regards the eternal truth of lower mathematics as a superseded point of view, often asserting the contrary, and putting forward propositions which appear sheer nonsense to the lower mathematician. The rigid categories disappeared here; mathematics arrived at a field where even such simple relations as those of mere abstract quantity, bad infinity, assumed a completely dialectical form and compelled the mathematicians to become dialectical, unconsciously and against their will. There is nothing more comical than the twistings, subterfuges, and expedients employed by the mathematicians to solve this contradiction, to reconcile higher and lower mathematics, to make clear to their understanding that what they had arrived at as an undeniable result is not sheer nonsense, and in general rationally to explain the starting-point, method, and result of the mathematics of the infinite.

Now, however, everything is quite different. Chemistry—atomistics. The abstract divisibility in physics—bad infinity. Physiology—the cell (the organic process of development, both of the individual and of species, by differentiation, the most striking test of rational dialectics), and finally the identity of the forces of nature and their mutual convertibility, which put an end to all

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[a] In embryo.—*Ed.*

fixity of categories. Nevertheless, the bulk of natural scientists are still held fast in the old metaphysical categories and helpless when these modern facts, which so to say prove the dialectics in nature, have to be rationally explained and brought into relation with one another. And here *thinking* is necessary: atoms and molecules, etc., cannot be observed under the microscope, but only by the process of thought. Compare the chemists (except for Schorlemmer, who is acquainted with Hegel) and Virchow's *Cellularpathologie,* where in the end the helplessness has to be concealed by general phrases. Dialectics divested of mysticism becomes an absolute necessity for natural science, which has forsaken the field where rigid categories sufficed, which represent as it were the lower mathematics of logic, its everyday weapons. Philosophy takes its revenge posthumously on natural science for the latter having deserted it; and yet the scientists could have seen even from the successes in natural science achieved by philosophy that the latter possessed something that was superior to them even in their own special sphere (Leibniz—the founder of the mathematics of the infinite, in contrast to whom the inductive ass Newton[a] appears as a plagiarist and corrupter[228]; Kant—the theory of the origin of the universe *before* Laplace[b]; Oken—the first in Germany to accept the theory of evolution[229]; Hegel—whose encyclopaedic comprehensive treatment and rational grouping of the natural sciences is a greater achievement than all the materialistic nonsense put together).

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On Büchner's claim to pronounce judgment on socialism and political economy on the basis of the struggle for existence: Hegel (*Encyclopädie,* I, p. 9), on cobbling.[230]

On politics and socialism: The understanding for which the world has waited (p. 11).[231]

Separation, coexistence, and succession. Hegel, *Encyclopädie,* p. 35! as determination of the sensuous, of the idea.

Hegel, *Encyclopädie,* p. 40. Natural phenomena—but in Büchner not *thought about,* merely copied out, hence it is superfluous.

Page 42. Solon's laws were "produced out of his head"—Büchner is able to do the same for modern society.

Page 45. Metaphysics—the science of *things*—not of movements.

Page 53. "In experience [everything depends upon the mind we

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[a] See this volume, pp. 323-24.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 323-24.—*Ed.*

bring to bear upon actuality. A great mind is great in its experience; and in the motley play of phenomena at once perceives the point of real significance]."

Page 56. The parallelism between the human individual and history[232]=the parallelism between embryology and palaeontology.

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Just as Fourier is A MATHEMATICAL POEM and yet still used,[233] so Hegel A DIALECTICAL POEM.

* * *

The incorrect *theory of porosity* (according to which the various false matters, caloric, etc., are situated in the pores of one another and yet do not penetrate one another) is presented by Hegel as a pure *figment of the mind* (*Encyclopädie,* I, p. 259. See also his *Logik*[a]).

* * *

Hegel, *Encyclopädie,* I, pp. 205-206, a prophetic passage on atomic weights in contrast to the physical views of the time, and on atoms and molecules as *thought* determinations, on which *thinking* has to decide.

* * *

If Hegel regards nature as a manifestation of the eternal "idea" in its alienation,[b] and if this is such a serious crime, what are we to say of the morphologist Richard Owen:

"The archetypal idea was manifested in the flesh under diverse modifications upon this planet, long prior to the existence of those animal species that actually exemplify it." (*Nature of Limbs,* 1849.)[c]

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik,* Th. 1, Die objective Logik, Abth. 2. Die Lehre vom Wesen, S. 135-39.— *Ed.*

[b] G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften...,* § 18, S. 26-27, and *Vorlesungen über die Naturphilosophie...,* § 247, S. 23-28.— *Ed.*

[c] Richard Owen, *On the Nature of Limbs,* p. 86. Engels quotes in English.— *Ed.*

If that is said by a mystical natural scientist, who means nothing by it, it is calmly allowed to pass, but if a philosopher says the same thing, and one who means something by it, and indeed *au fond*[a] something correct, although in inverted form, then it is mysticism and a terrible crime.

* * *

*Natural-scientific thought.* Agassiz's plan of creation, according to which God proceeded in creation from the general to the particular and individual, first creating the vertebrate as such, then the mammal as such, the animal of prey as such, the cat as such, and only finally the lion, etc.! That is to say, first of all abstract ideas in the shape of concrete things and then concrete things! (See Haeckel, p. 59).[234]

* * *

In *Oken* (Haeckel, p. 85 et seq.) the nonsense that has arisen from the dualism between natural science and philosophy is evident. By the path of thought, Oken discovers protoplasm and the cell, but it does not occur to anyone to follow up the matter along the lines of natural-scientific investigation—it is to be accomplished by *thinking*! And when protoplasm and the cell were discovered, Oken was in general disrepute!

* * *

Hofmann (*Ein Jahrhundert Chemie unter den Hohenzollern*) cites the philosophy of nature. A quotation from Rosenkranz, the belletrist, whom no real Hegelian recognises. To make the philosophy of nature responsible for Rosenkranz is as foolish as Hofmann making the Hohenzollerns responsible for Marggraf's discovery of beet sugar.[235]

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*Theory and empiricism.* The oblateness of the earth was theoretically established by Newton. The Cassinis[236] and other Frenchmen

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[a] Basically.— *Ed.*

maintained a long time afterwards, on the basis of their empirical measurements, that the earth is ellipsoidal and the polar axis the longest one.

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The contempt of the empiricists for the Greeks receives a peculiar illustration if one reads, for instance, Th. Thomson (*On Electricity*[a]), where people like Davy and even Faraday grope in the dark (the electric spark, etc.), and make experiments that quite remind one of the stories of Aristotle and Pliny about physico-chemical phenomena. It is precisely in this new science that the empiricists entirely reproduce the blind groping of the ancients. And when Faraday with his genius gets on the right track, the philistine Thomson has to protest against it. (P. 397.)

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Haeckel, *Anthropogenie,* p[p]. 707-[08].

"According to the materialist outlook on the world, *matter or substance* was present *earlier than motion*[b] or *vis viva*, matter created force." This is just as false as that force created matter, since force and matter are inseparable.

Where does he get his materialism from?

* * *

*Causae finales and efficientes* transformed by Haeckel (pp. 89, 90) into *purposively* acting and *mechanically* acting causes, because for him *causa finalis* = God! Likewise for him "mechanical", adopted out of hand from Kant, = monistic, not = mechanical in the sense of mechanics. With such confusion of language, nonsense is inevitable. What Haeckel says here of Kant's *Kritik der Urteilskraft* does not agree with Hegel. (*Geschichte der Philosophie*, p. 603.[237])

* * *

Another example of polarity[238] in Haeckel: mechanism = monism, and vitalism or teleology = dualism.[c] Already in Kant and Hegel

[a] Th. Thomson, *An Outline of the Sciences of Heat and Electricity.*—*Ed.*
[b] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*
[c] E. Haeckel, *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte,* S. 1, 19.—*Ed.*

*inner* purpose is a protest against dualism. Mechanism applied to life is a helpless category, at the most we could speak of chemism, if we do not want to renounce all understanding of names. Purpose: Hegel, V, p. 205:

"Thus mechanism manifests itself as a tendency of totality in that it seeks to seize nature for itself as a whole which requires no other for its notion—a totality which is *not found in end and the extra-mundane understanding which is associated therewith.*"[a]

The point is, however, that mechanism (and also the materialism of the eighteenth century) does not get away from abstract necessity, and hence not from chance either. That matter evolves out of itself the thinking human brain is for mechanism a pure accident, although necessarily determined, step by step, where it happens. But the truth is that it is the nature of matter to advance to the evolution of thinking beings, hence this always necessarily occurs wherever the conditions for it (not necessarily identical at all places and times) are present.

Further, Hegel, V. p. 206:

"Consequently, in its connection of external necessity, this principle" (of mechanism) "affords the consciousness of infinite freedom as against teleology, which sets up as something absolute whatever it contains that is trivial or even contemptible; and here a more universal thought can only feel infinitely cramped or even nauseated."

Here, again, the colossal waste of matter and motion in nature. In the solar system there are perhaps three planets at most on which life and thinking beings could exist—under present conditions. And the whole enormous apparatus for their sake!

The *inner purpose* in the organism, according to Hegel (V, p. 244), operates through *impulse. Pas trop fort.*[b] Impulse is supposed to bring the single living being more or less into harmony with the idea of it. From this it is seen how much the whole *inner purpose* is itself an ideological determination. And yet Lamarck is contained in this.

* * *

Natural scientists believe that they free themselves from philosophy by ignoring it or abusing it. They cannot, however,

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, Th. 2. Die subjective Logik, oder: Die Lehre vom Begriff. Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] Not too convincing.—*Ed.*

make any headway without thought, and for thought they need thought determinations. But they take these categories unreflectingly from the common consciousness of so-called educated persons, which is dominated by the relics of long obsolete philosophies, or from the little bit of philosophy compulsorily listened to at the University (which is not only fragmentary, but also a medley of views of people belonging to the most varied and usually the worst schools), or from uncritical and unsystematic reading of philosophical writings of all kinds. Hence they are no less in bondage to philosophy, but unfortunately in most cases to the worst philosophy, and those who abuse philosophy most are slaves to precisely the worst vulgarised relics of the worst philosophies.

Natural scientists may adopt whatever attitude they please, they are still under the domination of philosophy. It is only a question whether they want to be dominated by a bad, fashionable philosophy or by a form of theoretical thought which rests on acquaintance with the history of thought and its achievements.

"Physics, beware of metaphysics!"[239] is quite right, but in a different sense.

Natural scientists allow philosophy to prolong an illusory existence by making shift with the dregs of the old metaphysics. Only when natural and historical science has become imbued with dialectics will all the philosophical rubbish—other than the pure theory of thought—be superfluous, disappearing in positive science.[a]

[a] See this volume, p. 24.—*Ed.*

# [DIALECTICS]

## [a) GENERAL QUESTIONS OF DIALECTICS. THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF DIALECTICS]

* * *

Dialectics, so-called *objective* dialectics, prevails throughout nature, and so-called subjective dialectics, dialectical thought, is only the reflection of the motion through opposites which asserts itself everywhere in nature, and which by the continual conflict of the opposites and their final passage into one another, or into higher forms, determines the life of nature. Attraction and repulsion. Polarity begins with magnetism,[a] it is exhibited in one and the same body; in the case of electricity it distributes itself over two or more bodies which become oppositely charged. All chemical processes reduce themselves to processes of chemical attraction and repulsion. Finally, in organic life the formation of the cell nucleus is likewise to be regarded as a polarisation of the living protein material, and from the simple cell onwards the theory of evolution demonstrates how each advance up to the most complicated plant on the one side, and up to man on the other, is effected by the continual conflict between heredity and adaptation.[b] In this connection it becomes evident how little applicable to such forms of development are categories like "positive" and "negative". One can conceive of heredity as the positive, conservative side, adaptation as the negative side that continually destroys what has been inherited, but one can just as well take adaptation as the creative, active, positive activity, and heredity as the resisting, passive, negative activity. But just as in history progress makes its appearance as the negation of the existing state of things, so here also—on purely *practical* grounds—adaptation

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[a] See this volume, pp. 489-90, 494, 497.—*Ed.*

[b] See also ibid., p. 66.—*Ed.*

is better conceived as negative activity. In history, motion through opposites is most markedly exhibited in all critical epochs of the foremost peoples. At such moments a people has only the choice between the two horns of a dilemma: "either—or!" and indeed the question is always put in a way quite different from that in which the philistines, who dabble in politics in every age, would have liked it put. Even the liberal German philistine of 1848 found himself in 1849 suddenly, unexpectedly, and against his will confronted by the question: a return to the old reaction in an intensified form, or continuance of the revolution up to the republic, perhaps even the one and indivisible republic with a socialist background. He did not spend long in reflection and helped to create the Manteuffel reaction as the flower of German liberalism.[240] Similarly, in 1851, the French bourgeois when faced with the dilemma which he certainly did not expect: a caricature of the empire, pretorian rule, and the exploitation of France by a gang of scoundrels, or a social-democratic republic—and he bowed down before the gang of scoundrels so as to be able, under their protection, to go on exploiting the workers.[241]

* * *

HARD AND FAST LINES are incompatible with the theory of evolution. Even the border-line between vertebrates and invertebrates is now no longer rigid, just as little is that between fishes and amphibians, while that between birds and reptiles dwindles more and more every day. Between *Compsognathus* and *Archaeopteryx*[242] only a few intermediate links are wanting, and birds' beaks with teeth crop up in both hemispheres. "Either—or" becomes more and more inadequate. Among lower animals the concept of the individual cannot be established at all sharply. Not only as to whether a particular animal is an individual or a colony, but also where in development *one* individual ceases and the other begins (nurses).[243]—For a stage in the outlook on nature where all differences become merged in intermediate steps, and all opposites pass into one another through intermediate links, the old metaphysical method of thought no longer suffices. Dialectics, which likewise knows no HARD AND FAST LINES, no unconditional, universally valid "either—or" and which bridges the fixed metaphysical differences, and besides "either—or" recognises also in the right place "both this—and that" and reconciles the opposites, is the sole method of thought appropriate in the highest

degree to this stage. Of course, for everyday use, for the small change of science, the metaphysical categories retain their validity.

* * *

The transformation of quantity into quality = "mechanical" world outlook, quantitative change alters quality. The gentlemen never suspected that!

* * *

The character of mutual opposites belonging to the thought determinations of reason: *polarisation.* Just as electricity, magnetism, etc., become polarised and move in opposites, so do thoughts. Just as in the former it is not possible to maintain any one-sidedness, and no natural scientist would think of doing so, so also in the latter.[a]

* * *

The true nature of the determinations of "essence" is expressed by Hegel himself (*Encyclopädie,* I, § 111, addendum): "In essence everything is *relative*"[b] (e.g., positive and negative, which have meaning only in their relation, not each for itself).

* * *

Part and whole, for instance, are already categories which become inadequate in organic nature. The ejection of seeds—the embryo—and the new-born animal are not to be conceived as a "part" that is separated from the "whole"; that would give a distorted treatment. It becomes a part only in a *dead body.* (*Encyclopädie,* I, p. 268.[244])

* * *

*Simple and compound.* Categories which even in organic nature likewise lose their meaning and become inapplicable. An animal is

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[a] See this volume, pp. 489-90, 497-98.—*Ed.*
[b] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

expressed neither by its mechanical composition from bones, blood, gristle, muscles, tissues, etc., nor by its chemical composition from the elements. Hegel, *Encyclopädie*, I, [p.] 256. The organism is *neither* simple *nor* compound, however complex it may be.

* * *

Abstract identity ($a = a$; and negatively, $a$ cannot be simultaneously equal and unequal to $a$) is likewise inapplicable in organic nature. The plant, the animal, every cell is at every moment of its life identical with itself and yet becoming distinct from itself, by absorption and excretion of substances, by respiration, by cell formation and death of cells, by the process of circulation taking place, in short, by a sum of incessant molecular changes which make up life and the sum-total of whose results is evident to our eyes in the phases of life—embryonic life, youth, sexual maturity, process of reproduction, old age, death. The further physiology develops, the more important for it become these incessant, infinitely small changes, and hence the more important for it also the consideration of difference *within* identity, and the old abstract formal identity standpoint, that an organic being is to be treated as something simply identical with itself, as something constant, becomes out of date.* Nevertheless, the mode of thought based thereon, together with its categories, persists. But even in inorganic nature identity as such is in reality non-existent. Every body is continually exposed to mechanical, physical, and chemical influences, which are always changing it and modifying its identity. Abstract identity, with its opposition to difference, is in place only in mathematics—an abstract science which is concerned with creations of thought, even though they are reflections of reality—and even there it is continually being sublated. Hegel, *Encyclopädie*, I, p. 235. The fact that identity contains difference within itself is expressed in *every sentence*, where the predicate is necessarily different from the subject; the *lily* is a *plant*, the *rose* is *red*, where, either in the subject or in the predicate, there is something that is not covered by the predicate or the subject. Hegel, Vol. VI, p. 231.[245] That from the outset *identity with itself* requires *difference from everything else* as its complement, is self-evident.

* *Apart, moreover, from the evolution of species.* [Marginal note.]

*Identity.* Addition. Continual change, i. e., sublation of abstract identity with itself, is also found in so-called inorganic nature. Geology is its history. On the surface, mechanical changes (denudation, frost), chemical changes (weathering); internally, mechanical changes (pressure), heat (volcanic), chemical (water, acids, binding substances); on a large scale—upheavals, earthquakes, etc. The slate of today is fundamentally different from the ooze from which it is formed, the chalk from the loose microscopic shells that compose it, even more so limestone, which indeed according to some is of purely organic origin, and sandstone from the loose sea sand, which again is derived from disintegrated granite, etc., not to speak of coal.

* * *

*The law of identity* in the old metaphysical sense is the fundamental law of the old outlook: $a = a$. Each thing is equal to itself. Everything was permanent, the solar system, stars, organisms. This law has been refuted by natural science bit by bit in each separate case, but theoretically it still prevails and is still put forward by the supporters of the old in opposition to the new: a thing cannot simultaneously be itself and something else. And yet the fact that true, concrete identity includes difference, change, has recently been shown in detail by natural science (see above).—Abstract identity, like all metaphysical categories, suffices for *everyday* use, where small dimensions or brief periods of time are in question; the limits within which it is usable differ in almost every case and are determined by the nature of the object; for a planetary system, where in ordinary astronomical calculation the ellipse can be taken as the basic form for practical purposes without error, they are much wider than for an insect that completes its metamorphosis in a few weeks. (Give other examples, e.g., alteration of species, which is reckoned in periods of thousands of years.) For natural science in its comprehensive role, however, even in each single branch, abstract identity is totally inadequate, and although on the whole it has now been abolished in practice, theoretically it still dominates people's minds, and most natural scientists imagine that identity and difference are irreconcilable opposites, instead of one-sided poles which represent the truth only in their reciprocal action, in the inclusion of difference *within* identity.

* * *

Identity and difference—necessity and chance—cause and effect—the two main opposites which, treated separately, become transformed into one another. And then "first principles" must help.

* * *

*Positive and negative.* Can also be given the reverse names: in electricity, etc.; North and South ditto. If one reverses this and alters the rest of the terminology accordingly, everything remains correct. We can call West East and East West. The sun rises in the West, and planets revolve from East to West, etc., the names alone are changed. Indeed, in physics we call the real South pole of the magnet, which is attracted by the North pole of the earth's magnetism, the *North pole,* and it does not matter.

* * *

That positive and negative are equivalent, irrespective of which side is positive and which negative, [holds good] not only in analytical geometry, but still more in physics (see Clausius, p. 87 et seq.).[a]

* * *

*Polarity.* A magnet, on being cut through, polarises the neutral middle portion, but in such a way that the old poles remain. On the other hand a worm, on being cut into two, retains the receptive mouth at the positive pole and forms a new negative pole at the other end with excretory anus; but the old negative pole (the anus) now becomes positive, becoming a mouth, and a new anus or negative pole is formed at the cut end. *Voilà* transformation of positive into negative.

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*Polarisation.* For. J. Grimm it was still a firmly established law that a German dialect must be either High German or Low

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[a] R. Clausius, *Die mechanische Wärmetheorie,* Bd. 1.—*Ed.*

German. In this he totally lost sight of the Frankish dialect.[246] Because the written Frankish of the later Carlovingian period was High German (since the High German shifting of consonants had taken possession of the Frankish South-East), he imagined that Frankish passed in one place into old High German, in another place into French. It then remained absolutely impossible to explain the source of the Netherland dialect in the ancient Salic regions. Frankish was only rediscovered after Grimm's death: Salic in its rejuvenation as the Netherland dialect, Ripuaric in the Middle and Lower Rhine dialects, which in part have been shifted to various stages of High German, and in part have remained Low German, so that Frankish is a dialect that is *both* High German *and* Low German.

* * *

## CHANCE AND NECESSITY

Another opposition in which metaphysics is entangled is that of chance and necessity. What can be more sharply contradictory than these two thought determinations? How is it possible that both are identical, that the accidental is necessary, and the necessary is also accidental? Common sense, and with it the majority of natural scientists, treats necessity and chance as determinations that exclude each other once for all. A thing, a circumstance, a process is either accidental or necessary, but not both. Hence both exist side by side in nature; nature contains all sorts of objects and processes, of which some are accidental, the others necessary, and it is only a matter of not confusing the two sorts with each other. Thus, for instance, one assumes the decisive specific characters to be necessary, other differences between individuals of the same species being termed accidental, and this holds good of crystals as it does for plants and animals. Then again the lower group becomes accidental in relation to the higher, so that it is declared to be a matter of chance how many different SPECIES are included in the *genus felis*[a] or *equus*[b], or how many genera and orders there are in a class, and how many individuals of each of these species exist, or how many different species of animals occur in a given region, or what in general the

[a] Cat.— *Ed.*
[b] Horse.— *Ed.*

fauna and flora are like. And then it is declared that the necessary is the sole thing of scientific interest and that the accidental is a matter of indifference to science. That is to say: what can be brought under laws, hence what one *knows,* is interesting; what cannot be brought under laws, and therefore what one does not know, is a matter of indifference and can be ignored. Thereby all science comes to an end, for it has to investigate precisely that which we do *not* know. That is to say: what can be brought under general laws is regarded as necessary, and what cannot be so brought as accidental. Anyone can see that this is the same sort of science as that which proclaims natural what it can explain, and ascribes what it cannot explain to supernatural causes; whether I term the cause of the inexplicable chance, or whether I term it God, is a matter of complete indifference as far as the thing itself is concerned. Both are only equivalents for: I do not know, and therefore do not belong to science. The latter ceases where the requisite connection is wanting.

In opposition to this view there is determinism, which passed from French materialism into natural science, and which tries to dispose of chance by denying it altogether. According to this conception only simple, direct necessity prevails in nature. That a particular pea-pod contains five peas and not four or six, that a particular dog's tail is five inches long and not a whit longer or shorter, that this year a particular clover flower was fertilised by a bee and another not, and indeed by precisely one particular bee and at a particular time, that a particular windblown dandelion seed has sprouted and another not, that last night I was bitten by a flea at four o'clock in the morning, and not at three or five o'clock, and on the right shoulder and not on the left calf—these are all facts which have been produced by an irrevocable concatenation of cause and effect, by an unshatterable necessity of such a nature indeed that the gaseous sphere, from which the solar system was derived, was already so constituted that these events had to happen thus and not otherwise. With this kind of necessity we likewise do not get away from the theological conception of nature. Whether with Augustine and Calvin we call it the eternal decree of God, or Kismet[247] as the Turks do, or whether we call it necessity, is all pretty much the same for science. There is no question of tracing the chain of causation in any of these cases; so we are just as wise in one as in another, the so-called necessity remains an empty phrase, and with it—chance also remains what it was before. As long as we are not able to show on what the number of peas in the pod depends, it remains

just a matter of chance, and the assertion that the case was foreseen already in the primordial constitution of the solar system does not get us a step further. Still more. A science which was to set about the task of following back the *casus* of this individual pea-pod in its causal concatenation would be no longer science but pure trifling; for this same pea-pod alone has in addition innumerable other individual, accidentally appearing qualities; shade of colour, thickness and hardness of the pod, size of the peas, not to speak of the individual peculiarities revealed by the microscope. The *one* pea-pod, therefore, would already provide more causal connections for following up than all the botanists in the world could solve.

Hence chance is not here explained by necessity, but rather necessity is degraded to the production of what is merely accidental. If the fact that a particular pea-pod contains six peas, and not five or seven, is of the same order as the law of motion of the solar system, or the law of the transformation of energy, then as a matter of fact chance is not elevated into necessity, but rather necessity degraded into chance. Furthermore, however much the diversity of the organic and inorganic species and individuals existing side by side in a given area may be asserted to be based on irrefragable necessity, for the separate species and individuals it remains what it was before, a matter of chance. For the individual animal it is a matter of chance, where it happens to be born, what environment it finds for living, what enemies and how many of them threaten it. For the mother plant it is a matter of chance whither the wind scatters its seeds, and, for the daughter plant, where the seed finds soil for germination; and to assure us that here also everything rests on irrefragable necessity is a poor consolation. The jumbling together of natural objects in a given region, still more in the whole world, for all the primordial determination from eternity, remains what it was before—a matter of chance.

In contrast to both conceptions, Hegel came forward with the hitherto quite unheard-of propositions that the accidental has a cause because it is accidental, and just as much also has no cause because it is accidental; that the accidental is necessary, that necessity determines itself as chance, and, on the other hand, this chance is rather absolute necessity. (*Logik,* II, Book III, 2: "Die Wirklichkeit".)[a] Natural science has simply ignored these proposi-

[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik,* Th. 1. Die objective Logik, Abth. 2. Die Lehre vom Wesen, S. 199, 209.—*Ed.*

tions as paradoxical trifling, as self-contradictory nonsense, and, as regards theory, has persisted on the one hand in the barrenness of thought of Wolffian metaphysics, according to which a thing is *either* accidental *or* necessary, but not both at once; or, on the other hand, in the hardly less thoughtless mechanical determinism which in words denies chance in general only to recognise it in practice in each particular case.

While natural science continued to think in this way, what *did it do* in the person of Darwin?

Darwin, in his epoch-making work,[a] set out from the widest existing basis of chance. Precisely the infinite, accidental differences between individuals within a single species, differences which become accentuated until they break through the character of the species, and whose immediate causes even can be demonstrated only in extremely few cases (the material on chance occurrences accumulated in the meantime has suppressed and shattered the old idea of necessity), compelled him to question the previous basis of all regularity in biology, viz., the concept of species in its previous metaphysical rigidity and unchangeability. Without the concept of species, however, all science was nothing. All its branches needed the concept of species as basis: human anatomy and comparative anatomy—embryology, zoology, palaeontology, botany, etc., what were they without the concept of species? All their results were not only put in question but directly set aside. Chance overthrows necessity, as conceived hitherto. The previous idea of necessity breaks down. To retain it means dictatorially to impose on nature as a law a human arbitrary determination that is in contradiction to itself and to reality, it means to deny thereby all inner necessity in living nature, it means generally to proclaim the chaotic kingdom of chance to be the sole law of living nature.

"*Gilt nichts mehr der Tausves-Jontof,*"[248] cried out quite logically the biologists of all schools.

Darwin.[b]

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[a] Ch. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species...*—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. this volume, p. 582.—*Ed.*

* * *

HEGEL, *LOGIK*, BD. I.[a]

"Nothing that is opposed to something, the *nothing of any something,* is a *determinate nothing.*" (P. 74.)[b]

"In view of the mutually determinant connection of the" (world) "whole, metaphysics could make the assertion *(which is really a tautology)* that if the least grain of dust were destroyed the whole universe must collapse." (P. 78.)

*Negation,* main passage. "Introduction", p. 38:

"that the self-contradictory resolves itself not into nullity, into abstract Nothingness, but essentially only *into the negation of its particular content*", etc.

*Negation of the negation. Phänomenologie,* Preface, p. 4. Bud, flower, fruit, etc.[249]

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[b) DIALECTICAL LOGIC AND THE THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE. ON THE "LIMITS OF KNOWLEDGE"]

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*Unity of nature and mind.* To the Greeks it was self-evident that nature could not be unreasonable, but even today the stupidest empiricists prove by their reasoning (however wrong it may be) that they are convinced from the outset that nature cannot be unreasonable or reason contrary to nature.

* * *

The development of a concept, or of a conceptual relation (positive and negative, cause and effect, substance and accidency) in the history of thought, is related to its development in the mind of the individual dialectician, just as the development of an organism in palaeontology is related to its development in embryology (or rather in history and in the single embryo). That this is so was first discovered for concepts by Hegel. In historical development, chance plays its part, which in dialectical thinking, as in the development of the embryo, *is summed up in necessity.*

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik,* Th. 1. Die objective Logik, Abth. 1. Die Lehre vom Seyn. Italics in the quotations are by Engels.— *Ed.*

[b] Engels used this quotation in the note on zero and the preparatory works for *Anti-Dühring* (see this volume, pp. 540, 607).— *Ed.*

* * *

Abstract and concrete. The general law of the change of form of motion is much more concrete than any single "concrete" example of it.

* * *

*Understanding and reason.* This Hegelian distinction, according to which only dialectical thinking is reasonable, has a definite meaning.[a] We have in common with animals all activity of the understanding: *induction, deduction,* and hence also *abstraction* (Dido's[250] generic concepts: quadrupeds and bipeds), *analysis* of unknown objects (even the cracking of a nut is a beginning of analysis), *synthesis* (in animal tricks), and, as the union of both, *experiment* (in the case of new obstacles and unfamiliar situations). In their nature all these modes of procedure—hence all means of scientific investigation that ordinary logic recognises—are absolutely the same in men and the higher animals. They differ only in degree (of development of the method in each case). The basic features of the method are the same and lead to the same results in man and animals, so long as both operate or make shift merely with these elementary methods.—On the other hand, dialectical thought—precisely because it presupposes investigation of the nature of concepts themselves—is only possible for man, and for him only at a comparatively high stage of development (Buddhists and Greeks), and it attains its full development much later still through modern philosophy—and *yet* we have the colossal results already among the Greeks which by far anticipate investigation![b]

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[ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF JUDGMENTS]

Dialectical logic, in contrast to the old, merely formal logic, is not, like the latter, content with enumerating the forms of motion

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[a] See G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik,* Th. 1. Die objective Logik, Abth. 1. Die Lehre vom Seyn, S. 6-7, 26-27; Th. 2. Die subjective Logik, oder: Die Lehre vom Begriff, S. 245-53.—*Ed.*

[b] See G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie,* Bd. 1 and also this volume, pp. 467-70.—*Ed.*

of thought, i.e., the various forms of judgment and conclusion, and placing them side by side without any connection. On the contrary, it derives these forms out of one another, it makes one subordinate to another instead of putting them on an equal level, it develops the higher forms out of the lower. Faithful to his division of the whole of logic, Hegel groups judgments as[251]:

1. Judgment of inherence, the simplest form of judgment, in which a general property is affirmatively or negatively predicated of a single thing (positive judgment: the rose is red; negative judgment: the rose is not blue; infinite judgment: the rose is not a camel);

2. Judgment of subsumption, in which a relation determination is predicated of the subject (singular judgment: this man is mortal; particular judgment: some, many men are mortal; universal judgment: all men are mortal, or man is mortal);

3. Judgment of necessity, in which its substantial determination is predicated of the subject (categorical judgment: the rose is a plant; hypothetical judgment: when the sun rises it is day-time; disjunctive judgment: *Lepidosiren* is either a fish or an amphibian);

4. Judgment of the notion, in which is predicated of the subject how far it corresponds to its general nature or, as Hegel says, to the notion of it (assertoric judgment: this house is bad; problematic judgment: if a house is constituted in such and such a way, it is good; apodeictic judgment: the house that is constituted in such and such a way is good.

1. *Individual Judgment.* 2 and 3. *Special.* 4. *General.*

However dry this sounds here, and however arbitrary at first sight this classification of judgments may here and there appear, yet the inner truth and necessity of this grouping will become clear to anyone who studies the brilliant exposition in Hegel's *Larger Logic* (*Werke,* V, pp. 63-115).[a] To show how much this grouping is based not only on the laws of thought but also on the laws of nature, we should like to put forward here a very well-known example outside this connection.

That friction produces heat was already known practically to prehistoric man, who discovered the making of fire by friction perhaps more than 100,000 years ago, and who still earlier warmed cold parts of the body by rubbing. But from that to the discovery that friction is in general a source of heat, who knows how many thousands of years elapsed? Enough that the time came

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik,* Th. 2. Die subjective Logik, oder: Die Lehre vom Begriff.—*Ed.*

when the human brain was sufficiently developed to be able to formulate the judgment: *friction is a source of heat*, a judgment of inherence, and indeed a positive one.

Still further thousands of years passed until, in 1842, Mayer, Joule, and Colding investigated this special process in its relation to other processes of a similar kind that had been discovered in the meantime,[a] i.e., as regards its immediate general conditions, and formulated the judgment: all mechanical motion is capable of being converted into heat by means of friction. So much time and an enormous amount of empirical knowledge were required before we could make the advance in knowledge of the object from the above positive judgment of inherence to this universal judgment of subsumption.

But from now on things went quickly. Only three years later, Mayer was able, at least in substance, to raise the judgment of subsumption to the level at which it now stands: any form of motion, under conditions fixed for each case, is both able and compelled to undergo transformation, directly or indirectly, into any other form of motion—a judgment of the notion, and moreover an apodeictic one, the highest form of judgment altogether.[b]

What, therefore, in Hegel appears as a development of the thought form of judgment as such, confronts us here as the development of our *empirically* based theoretical knowledge of the nature of motion in general. This shows, however, that laws of thought and laws of nature are necessarily in agreement with one another, if only they are correctly known.

We can regard the first judgment as that of individuality; the isolated fact that friction produces heat is registered. The second judgment is that of particularity: a special form of motion, mechanical motion, exhibits the property, under special conditions (through friction), of passing into another special form of motion, viz., heat. The third judgment is that of universality: any form of motion proves able and compelled to undergo transformation into any other form of motion. In this form the law attains its final expression. By new discoveries we can give new illustrations of it, we can give it a new and richer content. But we cannot add anything to the law itself as here formulated. In its universality, equally universal in form and content, it is not susceptible of further extension: it is an absolute natural law.

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[a] J. R. Mayer, *Die Mechanik der Wärme*, S. 3-12.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., S. 13-126.—*Ed.*

Unfortunately we are in a difficulty about the form of motion of protein, ALIAS life, so long as we are not able to make protein.

* * *

Above, however, it has also been proved that to make judgments involves not merely Kant's "power of judgment", but a [...][a]

* * *

Individuality, particularity, universality—these are the three determinations in which the whole "Doctrine of the Notion"[b] moves. Under these heads, progression from the individual to the particular and from the particular to the universal takes place not in one but in many modalities, and this is often enough exemplified by Hegel as the progression: individual, species, genus. And now the Haeckels come forward with their induction and trumpet it as a great fact—against Hegel—that progression must be from the individual to the particular and then to the universal (!), from the individual to the species and then to the genus—and then permit *deductive* conclusions which are supposed to lead further. These people have got into such a dead-lock over the opposition between induction and deduction that they reduce all logical forms of conclusion to these two, and in so doing do not notice that they (1) unconsciously employ quite different forms of conclusion under those names, (2) deprive themselves of the whole wealth of forms of conclusion in so far as it cannot be forced under these two, and (3) thereby convert both forms, induction and deduction, into sheer nonsense.

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*Induction and deduction.* Haeckel, p. 75 et seq., where Goethe draws the inductive conclusion that man, who *does not normally*

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[a] This unfinished note closes the fourth page of the double sheet of which the second and third pages and the beginning of the fourth page constitute the preceding large fragment on the classification of judgments.—*Ed.*

[b] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik,* Th. 2. Die subjective Logik, oder: Die Lehre vom Begriff.—*Ed.*

*have* a premaxillary bone, *must* have one, hence by *incorrect* induction arrives at something correct![252]

* * *

Haeckel's nonsense: induction against deduction. As if it were not the case that deduction = conclusion, and therefore induction is also a deduction. This comes from polarisation. Haeckel, *Schöpfungsgeschichte;* pp. 76-77. The conclusion polarised into induction and deduction!

* * *

By induction it was discovered 100 years ago that crayfish and spiders were insects and all lower animals were worms. By induction it has now been found that this is nonsense and there exist *x* classes. Wherein then lies the advantage of the so-called inductive conclusion, which can be just as false as the so-called deductive conclusion, the basis of which is nevertheless classification?[253]

Induction can never prove that there will never be a mammal without lacteal glands. Formerly nipples were the mark of a mammal. But the platypus has none.

The whole swindle of induction [is derived] from the Englishmen; Whewell, INDUCTIVE SCIENCES, comprising the purely mathematical sciences,[254] and so the antithesis to deduction invented. Logic, old or new, knows nothing of this. All forms of conclusion that start from the individual are experimental and based on experience, indeed the inductive conclusion even starts from U—I—P[255] (universal).

It is also characteristic of the thinking capacity of our natural scientists that Haeckel fanatically champions induction at the very moment when the *results* of induction—the classifications—are everywhere put in question (*Limulus* a spider, *Ascidia* a vertebrate or *chordate*, the *Dipnoi*, however, being fishes, in opposition to all original definitions of amphibia[a]) and daily new facts are being discovered which overthrow the *entire* previous classification by induction. What a beautiful confirmation Hegel's thesis that the

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[a] H. A. Nicholson, *A Manual of Zoology,* 5 ed., 1878, pp. 283-85, 303-70, and 481-84.—*Ed.*

inductive conclusion is essentially a problematic one![a] Indeed, owing to the theory of evolution, even the whole classification of organisms has been taken away from induction and brought back to "deduction", to descent—one species being literally *deduced* from another by descent—and it is impossible to prove the theory of evolution by induction alone, since it is quite anti-inductive. The concepts with which induction operates: species, genus, class, have been rendered fluid by the theory of evolution and so have become *relative*: but one cannot use relative concepts for induction.

* * *

*To the Pan-Inductionists.* With all the induction in the world we would never have got to the point of becoming clear about the *process* of induction. Only the *analysis* of this process could accomplish this.—Induction and deduction belong together as necessarily as synthesis and analysis.* Instead of one-sidedly lauding one to the skies at the expense of the other, we should seek to apply each of them in its place, and that can only be done by bearing in mind that they belong together, that they supplement each other.—According to the inductionists, induction is an infallible method. It is so little so that its apparently surest results are every day overthrown by new discoveries. Light corpuscles and caloric were results of induction. Where are they now? Induction taught us that all vertebrates have a central nervous system differentiated into brain and spinal cord, and that the spinal cord is enclosed in cartilaginous or bony vertebrae—whence indeed the name is derived. Then *Amphioxus*[256] was revealed as a vertebrate with an undifferentiated central nervous strand and *without* vertebrae. Induction established that fishes are those vertebrates which throughout life breathe exclusively by means of gills. Then animals come to light whose fish character is almost universally recognised, but which, besides gills, have also well-developed lungs, and it turns out that every fish carries a potential lung in the swim bladder. Only by audacious application of the theory of evolution did Haeckel rescue the inductionists,

* Chemistry, in which *analysis* is the predominant form of investigation, is nothing without its opposite—*synthesis.* [Marginal note.]

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik,* Th. 2. Die subjective Logik, oder: Die Lehre vom Begriff, S. 149.—*Ed.*

who were feeling quite comfortable in these contradictions.—If induction were really so infallible, whence come the rapid successive revolution in classification of the organic world? They are the most characteristic product of induction, and yet they annihilate one another.

* * *

*Induction and analysis.* A striking example of how little induction can claim to be the sole or even the predominant form of scientific discovery occurs in thermodynamics: the steam-engine provided the most striking proof that one can impart heat and obtain mechanical motion. 100,000 steam-engines did not prove this more than *one*, but only more and more forced the physicists into the necessity of explaining it. Sadi Carnot was the first seriously to set about the task. But not by induction.[a] He studied the steam-engine, analysed it, and found that in it the process which mattered does not appear *in pure form* but is concealed by all sorts of subsidiary processes. He did away with these subsidiary circumstances that have no bearing on the essential process, and constructed an ideal steam-engine (or gas engine), which it is true is as little capable of being realised as, for instance, a geometrical line or surface, but in its way performs the same service as these mathematical abstractions: it presents the process in a pure, independent, and unadulterated form. And he came right up against the mechanical equivalent of heat (see the significance of his function *C*),[b] which he only failed to discover and see because he believed in *caloric*. Here also proof of the damage done by false theories.[c]

* * *

The empiricism of observation alone can never adequately prove necessity. *Post hoc* but not *propter hoc*.[d] (*Encyclopädie*, I, S. 84.)[257]

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[a] S. Carnot, *Réflexions sur la puissance motrice du feu et sur les machines propres à développer cette puissance.—Ed.*

[b] Cf. this volume, p. 344.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 400-01.—*Ed.*

[d] After this but not because of this. *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc* (after this, therefore because of this) denotes a fallacious reasoning that the preceding (event or phenomenon) is taken to be the cause of the subsequent.—*Ed.*

This is so very correct that it does not follow from the continual rising of the sun in the morning that it will rise again tomorrow, and in fact we know now that a time will come when one morning the sun will *not rise.* But the proof of necessity lies in human activity, in experiment, in work: if I am able to *make* the *post hoc,* it becomes identical with the *propter hoc.*

* * *

*Causality.* The first thing that strikes us in considering matter in motion is the inter-connection of the individual motions of separate bodies, their *being determined* by one another. But not only do we find that a particular motion is followed by another, we find also that we can evoke a particular motion by setting up the conditions in which it takes place in nature, that we can even produce motions which do not occur at all in nature (industry), at least not in this way, and that we can give these motions a predetermined direction and extent. *In this way,* by the *activity of human beings,* the idea of *causality* becomes established, the idea that one motion is the *cause* of another. True, the regular sequence of certain natural phenomena can by itself give rise to the idea of causality: the heat and light that come with the sun; but this affords no proof, and to that extent Hume's scepticism was correct in saying that a regular *post hoc* can never establish a *propter hoc.*[a] But the activity of human beings *forms the test* of causality. If we bring the sun's rays to a focus by means of a concave mirror and make them act like the rays of an ordinary fire, we thereby prove that heat comes from the sun. If we bring together in a rifle the priming, the explosive charge, and the bullet and then fire it, we count upon the effect known in advance from previous experience, because we can follow in all its details the whole process of ignition, combustion, explosion by the sudden conversion into gas and pressure of the gas on the bullet. And here the sceptic cannot even say that because of previous experience it does not follow that it will be the same next time. For, as a matter of fact, it does sometimes happen that it is *not* the same, that the priming or the gunpowder fails to work, that the barrel bursts, etc. But it is precisely this which *proves* causality instead of refuting it, because we can find out the cause of each such deviation from the rule by appropriate investigation:

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[a] D. Hume, *Philosophical Essays Concerning Human Understanding.—Ed.*

chemical decomposition of the priming, dampness, etc., of the gunpowder, defect in the barrel, etc., etc., so that here the test of causality is so to say a *double* one.

Natural science, like philosophy, has hitherto entirely neglected the influence of men's activity on their thought; both know only nature on the one hand and thought on the other. But it is precisely the *alteration of nature by men,* not solely nature as such, which is the most essential and immediate basis of human thought, and it is in the measure that man has learned to change nature that his intelligence has increased. The naturalistic conception of history, as found, for instance, to a greater or lesser extent in Draper[a] and other scientists, as if nature exclusively reacts on man, and natural conditions everywhere exclusively determined his historical development, is therefore one-sided and forgets that man also reacts on nature, changing it and creating new conditions of existence for himself. There is devilishly little left of "nature" as it was in Germany at the time when the Germanic peoples immigrated into it. The earth's surface, climate, vegetation, fauna, and the human beings themselves have infinitely changed, and all this owing to human activity, while the changes of nature in Germany which have occurred in this period of time without human interference are incalculably small.

* * *

*Reciprocal action* is the first thing that we encounter when we consider matter in motion as a whole from the standpoint of modern natural science.* We see a series of forms of motion, mechanical motion, heat, light, electricity, magnetism, chemical compound and decomposition, transitions of states of aggregation, organic life, all of which, if *at present* we *still* make an exception of organic life, pass into one another, mutually determine one another, are in one place cause and in another effect, the sum-total of the motion in all its changing forms remaining the same. Mechanical motion becomes transformed into heat, electricity, magnetism, light, etc., and vice versa. Thus natural science confirms

* (Spinoza: *substance is causa sui*[b] strikingly expresses the reciprocal action.)[c] [Marginal note.]

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[a] J. W. Draper, *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe.—Ed.*

[b] Cause of itself.—*Ed.*

[c] B. Spinoza, *Ethica...*, Pars I. De Deo. Definitiones 1, 3.—*Ed.*

what Hegel has said (where?), that reciprocal action is the true *causa finalis* of things. We cannot go back further than to knowledge of this reciprocal action, for the very reason that there is nothing behind to know. If we know the forms of motion of matter (for which it is true there is still very much lacking, in view of the short time that natural science has existed), then we know matter itself, and therewith our knowledge is complete. (Grove's whole misunderstanding about causality rests on the fact that he does not succeed in arriving at the category of reciprocal action; he has the thing, but not the abstract thought, and hence the confusion—pp. 10-14.[a]) Only from this universal reciprocal action do we arrive at the real causal relation. In order to understand the separate phenomena, we have to tear them out of the general inter-connection and consider them in isolation, and *then* the changing motions appear, one as cause and the other as effect.

* * *

For one who denies causality every natural law is a hypothesis, among others also the chemical analysis of heavenly bodies by means of the prismatic spectrum. What shallowness of thought to remain at such a viewpoint.

* * *

## ON NÄGELI'S INCAPACITY TO KNOW THE INFINITE[258]

### *Nägeli*, pp. 12, 13

Nägeli first of all says that we cannot know real qualitative differences, and immediately afterwards says that such "absolute differences" do not occur in nature! (P. 12.)

Firstly, every quality has infinitely many quantitative gradations, e. g., shades of colour, hardness and softness, length of life, etc., and these, although qualitatively distinct, are measurable and knowable.

Secondly, qualities do not exist but only things *with* qualities and indeed with infinitely many qualities. Two different things always have certain qualities (properties of corporeality at least) in common, others differing in degree, while still others may be

[a] W. R. Grove, *The Correlation of Physical Forces.—Ed.*

entirely absent in one of them. If we consider two such extremely different things—e. g., a meteorite and a man—in separation, we get very little out of it, at most that heaviness and other general properties of bodies are common to both. But an infinite series of other natural objects and natural processes can be put between the two things, permitting us to complete the series from meteorite to man and to allocate to each its place in the inter-connection of nature and thus to *know* them. Nägeli himself admits this.

Thirdly, our various senses might give us impressions differing absolutely as regards quality. In that case, properties which we experience by means of sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch would be absolutely different. But even here the differences disappear with the progress of investigation. Smell and taste have long ago been recognised as allied senses belonging together, which perceive conjoint if not identical properties. Sight and hearing both perceive wave oscillations. Touch and sight supplement each other to such an extent that from the appearance of an object we can often enough predict its tactile properties. And, finally, it is always the same "*I* that receives and elaborates all these different sense impressions, that therefore comprehends them into a unity, and likewise these various impressions are provided by the same thing, appearing as its *common* properties, and therefore helping us to know it. To explain these different properties accessible only to different senses, to bring out their internal interconnection, is precisely the task of science, which so far has not complained because we have not a general sense in place of the five special senses, or because we are not able to see or hear tastes and smells.

Wherever we look, nowhere in nature are there to be found such "qualitatively or absolutely distinct fields", [p. 12] which are alleged to be incomprehensible. The whole confusion springs from the confusion about quality and quantity. In accordance with the prevailing mechanical view, Nägeli regards all qualitative differences as explained only in so far as they can be reduced to quantitative differences (on which what is necessary is said elsewhere),[a] or because quality and quantity are for him absolutely distinct categories. Metaphysics.

"We can know *only the finite*",[b] etc. [P. 13.]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 529-32.—*Ed.*

[b] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

This is quite correct in so far as only finite objects enter the sphere of our knowledge. But the proposition needs to be supplemented by this: "fundamentally we can know *only the infinite.*" In fact all real, exhaustive knowledge consists solely in raising the individual thing in thought from individuality into particularity and from this into universality, in seeking and establishing the infinite in the finite, the eternal in the transitory. The form of universality, however, is the form of self-completeness, hence of infinity; it is the comprehension of the many finites in the infinite. We know that chlorine and hydrogen, within certain limits of temperature and pressure and under the influence of light, combine with an explosion to form hydrochloric acid gas, and as soon as we know this, we know also that this takes place *everywhere* and *at all times* where the above conditions are present, and it can be a matter of indifference, whether this occurs once or is repeated a million times, or on how many heavenly bodies. The form of universality in nature is *law,* and no one talks more of the *eternal character of the laws of nature* than the natural scientists. Hence when Nägeli says that the finite is made impossible to understand by not desiring to investigate merely this finite, but instead adding something eternal to it, then he denies either the possibility of knowing the laws of nature or their eternal character. All true knowledge of nature is knowledge of the eternal, the infinite, and hence essentially absolute.

But this absolute knowledge has an important drawback. Just as the infinity of knowable matter is composed of the purely finite things, so the infinity of the thought which knows the absolute is composed of an infinite number of finite human minds, working side by side and successively at this infinite knowledge, committing practical and theoretical blunders, setting out from erroneous, one-sided, and false premises, pursuing false, tortuous, and uncertain paths, and often not even finding what is right when they run their noses against it (Priestley[259]). The cognition of the infinite is therefore beset with double difficulty and from its very nature can only take place in an infinite asymptotic progress. And that fully suffices us in order to be able to say: the infinite is just as much knowable as unknowable, and that is all that we need.

Curiously enough, Nägeli says the same thing:

"We can know only the finite, but we can know *all the finite*[a] that comes into the sphere of our sensuous perception." [P. 13.]

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[a] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

The finite that comes into the sphere, etc., constitutes in sum precisely the infinite, for *it is just from this that Nägeli has derived his idea of the infinite!* Without this finite, etc., he would have indeed no idea of the infinite!

(Bad infinity, as such, to be dealt with elsewhere.)[a]

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Before this investigation of infinity comes the following:

(1) The "insignificant sphere" in regard to space and time.

(2) The "probably defective development of the sense organs".

(3) That we "only know the finite, changing, transitory, only what is different in degree and relative, because we can only transfer mathematical concepts to natural objects and judge the latter only by measures obtained from them themselves. We have no notions for all that is infinite or eternal, for all that is permanent, for all absolute differences. We know exactly the meaning of an hour, a metre, a kilogram, but we do not know what time, space, force and matter, motion and rest, cause and effect are." [P. 13.]

It is the old story. First of all one makes sensuous things into abstractions and then one wants to know them through the senses, to see time and smell space. The empiricist becomes so steeped in the habit of empirical experience, that he believes that he is still in the field of sensuous experience when he is operating with abstractions. We know what an hour is, or a metre, but not what time and space are! As if time was anything other than just hours, and space anything but just cubic metres! The two forms of existence of matter are naturally nothing without matter, empty concepts, abstractions which exist only in our minds. But, of course, we are supposed not to know what matter and motion are! Of course not, for matter as such and motion as such have not yet been seen or otherwise experienced by anyone, but only the various, actually existing material things and forms of motion. Matter is nothing but the totality of material things from which this concept is abstracted, and motion as such nothing but the totality of all sensuously perceptible forms of motion; words like matter and motion are nothing but *abbreviations* in which we comprehend many different sensuously perceptible things according to their common properties. Hence matter and motion *can* be known in no other way than by investigation of the separate material things and forms of motion, and by knowing these, we also *pro tanto* know matter and motion *as such.* Consequently, in saying that we do not know what time, space, matter, motion, cause and effect are, Nägeli merely says that first of all we make

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[a] See this volume, pp. 516-17.—*Ed.*

abstractions of the real world through our minds, and then cannot know these self-made abstractions because they are creations of thought and not sensuous objects, while all knowing is *sensuous measurement*! This is just like the difficulty mentioned by Hegel; we can eat cherries and plums, but not *fruit,* because no one has so far eaten fruit as such.[a]

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When Nägeli asserts that there are probably a whole number of forms of motion in nature which we cannot perceive by our senses, that is a poor apology, equivalent to the suspension—*at least for our knowledge*—of the law of the uncreatability of motion. For they could certainly be *transformed into motion perceptible to us*! That would be an easy explanation of, for instance, contact electricity.

* * *

*Ad vocem* Nägeli. Impossibility of conceiving the infinite. When we say that matter and motion are not created and are indestructible, we are saying that the world exists as infinite progress, i. e., in the form of bad infinity, and thereby we have understood all of this process that is to be understood. At the most the question still arises whether this process is an eternal repetition—in great cycles—or whether the cycles have descending and ascending branches.

* * *

*Bad infinity.* True infinity was already correctly put by Hegel in *filled* space and time, in the process of nature and in history.[b] The whole of nature also is now merged in history, and history is only differentiated from natural history as the evolutionary process of *self-conscious* organisms. This infinite complexity of nature and history has within it the infinity of space and time—bad infinity—only as a sublated factor, essential but not predominant.

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften...,* § 13, S. 21-22.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., § 126, Addendum; see also *Wissenschaft der Logik,* Th. 1. Die objective Logik, Abth. 1. Die Lehre vom Seyn, 2. Absch., 2. Kap.—*Ed.*

The extreme limit of our natural science until now has been *our* universe, and we do not need the infinitely numerous universes outside it to have knowledge of nature. Indeed, only a *single* sun among millions, with its solar system, forms the essential basis of our astronomical researches. For terrestrial mechanics, physics, and chemistry we are more or less restricted to our little earth, and for organic science entirely so. Yet this does not do any essential injury to the practically infinite diversity of phenomena and natural knowledge, any more than history is harmed by the similar, even greater limitation to a comparatively short period and small portion of the earth.

* * *

1. According to Hegel, infinite progress is a barren waste because it appears only as *eternal repetition of the same thing:* 1+1+1, etc.

2. In reality, however, it is no repetition, but a development, an advance or regression, and thereby it becomes a necessary form of motion. This apart from the fact that it is not infinite: the end of the earth's lifetime can already be foreseen. But then, the earth is not the whole universe. In Hegel's system, any development was excluded from the temporal history of nature, otherwise nature would not be the being-beyond-self of spirit. But in human history infinite progress is recognised by Hegel as the sole true form of existence of "spirit", except that fantastically this development is assumed to have an end—in the production of the Hegelian philosophy.

3. There is also infinite knowing: *questa infinita che le cose non hanno in progresso, la hanno in giro.*[a] [260] (Quantity, p. 259. Astronomy).[261] Thus the law of the change of form of motion is an infinite one, including itself in itself. Such infinities, however, are in their turn smitten with finiteness, and only occur piecemeal. So also $\frac{1}{r^2}$.[262]

* * *

*The eternal laws of nature* also become transformed more and more into historical ones. That water is fluid from 0°-100° C. is an

[a] This infinite, which things do not have in progress, they have in circling.—*Ed.*

eternal law of nature, but for it to be valid, there must be (1) water, (2) the given temperature, (3) normal pressure. On the moon there is no water, in the sun only its elements, and the law does not exist for these two heavenly bodies.—The laws of meteorology are also eternal, but only for the earth or for a body of the size, density, axial inclination, and temperature of the earth, and on condition that it has an atmosphere of the same mixture of oxygen and nitrogen and with the same amounts of water vapour being evaporated and precipitated. The moon has no atmosphere, the sun one of glowing metallic vapours; the former has no meteorology, that of the latter is quite different from ours.—Our whole official physics, chemistry, and biology are exclusively *geocentric,* calculated only for the earth. We are still quite ignorant of the conditions of electric and magnetic tensions on the sun, fixed stars, and nebulae, even on the planets of a different density from ours. On the sun, owing to high temperature, the laws of chemical combination of the elements are suspended or only momentarily operative at the limits of the solar atmosphere, the compounds becoming dissociated again on approaching the sun. The chemistry of the sun is just in process of arising, and is necessarily quite different from that of the earth not overthrowing the latter but standing outside it. In the nebulae perhaps there do not exist even those of the 65 elements which are possibly themselves of compound nature. Hence, if we wish to speak of general laws of nature that are uniformly applicable to *all* bodies—from the nebula to man—we are left only with gravity and perhaps the most general form of the theory of the transformation of energy, *vulgo* the mechanical theory of heat. But, on its general, consistent application to all phenomena of nature, this theory itself becomes converted into a historical presentation of the successive changes occurring in a system of the universe from its origin to its passing away, hence into a history in which at each stage different laws, i. e., different phenomenal forms of the same universal motion, predominate, and so nothing remains as absolutely universally valid except—*motion.*

* * *

The *geocentric* standpoint in astronomy is prejudiced and has rightly been abolished. But as we go deeper in our investigations, it comes more and more into its own. The sun, etc., *serve* the earth (Hegel, *Naturphilosophie,* p. 155).[263] (The whole huge sun exists

merely for the sake of the little planets.) Anything other than geocentric physics, chemistry, biology, meteorology, etc., is impossible for us, and these sciences lose nothing by saying that they only hold good for the earth and are therefore only relative. If one takes that seriously and demands a centreless science, one puts a stop to *all* science. It suffices us to know that under the same conditions everywhere the same must take place, at a distance to the right or the left of us that is a million million times as great as the distance from the earth to the sun.

* * *

*Cognition.* Ants have eyes different from ours, they can see chemical (?) light-rays (*Nature,* June 8, 1882, Lubbock), but as regards knowledge of these rays that are invisible to us, we are considerably more advanced than the ants, and the very fact that we are able to demonstrate *that* ants can see things invisible to us, and that this proof is based solely on perceptions made with *our* eyes, shows that the special construction of the human eye sets no absolute barrier to human cognition.[264]

In addition to the eye, we have not only the other senses but also our thought activity. With regard to the latter, matters stand exactly as with the eye. To know what can be discovered by our thinking, it is no use, a hundred years after Kant, to try and find out the range of thought from the critique of reason or the investigation of the instrument of knowing. It is as little use as when Helmholtz uses the imperfection of our sight (indeed a necessary imperfection, for an eye that could see *all* rays would for that very reason see *nothing at all*), and the construction of our eye—which restricts sight to definite limits and even so does not give quite correct reproduction—as proof that the eye acquaints us incorrectly or unreliably with the nature of what is seen.[a] What can be discovered by our thought is more evident from what it has already discovered and is every day still discovering. And that is already enough both as regards quantity and quality. On the other hand, the investigation of the *forms* of thought, the thought determinations, is very profitable and necessary, and since Aristotle this has been systematically undertaken only by Hegel.

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[a] H. Helmholtz, "Die neuen Fortschritte in der Theorie des Sehens", *Populäre wissenschaftliche Vorträge,* H. II, S. 1-98.—*Ed.*

In any case we shall never find out *how* chemical rays appear to ants. Anyone who is distressed by this is simply beyond help.

* * *

The form of development of natural science, in so far as it thinks, is the *hypothesis.*[265] A new fact is observed which makes impossible the previous method of explaining the facts belonging to the same group. From this moment onwards new methods of explanation are required—at first based on only a limited number of facts and observations. Further observational material weeds out these hypotheses, doing away with some and correcting others, until finally the law is established in a pure form. If one should wait until the material for a law was *in a pure form,* it would mean suspending the process of thought in investigation until then and, if only for this reason, the law would never come into being.

The number and succession of hypotheses supplanting one another—given the lack of logical and dialectical education among natural scientists—easily gives rise to the idea that we cannot know the *essence* of things (Haller and Goethe).[266] This is not peculiar to natural science since all human knowledge develops in a much twisted curve; and in the historical sciences also, including philosophy, theories displace one another, from which, however, nobody concludes that formal logic, for instance, is nonsense.—The last form of this outlook is the "thing-in-itself". In the first place, this assertion that we cannot know the thing-in-itself (Hegel, *Encyclopädie,* § 44)[a] passes out of the realm of science into that of fantasy. Secondly, it does not add a word to our scientific knowledge, for if we cannot occupy ourselves with things, they do not exist for us. And, thirdly, it is a mere phrase and is never applied. Taken in the abstract it sounds quite sensible. But suppose one applies it. What would one think of a zoologist who said: "A dog *seems* to have four legs, but we do not know whether in reality it has four million legs or none at all"? Or of a mathematician who first of all defines a triangle as having three sides, and then declares that he does not know whether it might not have 25? That $2 \times 2$ *seems* to be 4? But scientists take care not to apply the phrase about the thing-in-itself in natural science, they permit themselves this only in passing into philosophy. This is the best proof how little seriously they take it and what little value

[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften...,* S. 95.—*Ed.*

it has itself. If they did take it seriously, *à quoi bon*[a] of investigating anything?

Taken historically the thing would have a certain meaning: we can only know under the conditions of our epoch and *as far as these allow.*

* * *

*The thing-in-itself*: Hegel, *Logik*, II, p. 10, also later a whole section on it[b]:

"Scepticism did not dare to affirm *it is*; modern idealism" (i.e., Kant and Fichte) "did not dare to regard cognition as a knowledge of the thing-in-itself*.... But at the same time, scepticism admitted manifold determinations of its show, or rather its show had for content all the manifold riches of the world. In the same manner the *appearance*[c] of idealism" (i.e., WHAT idealism CALLS appearance) "comprehends the whole range of these manifold determinatenesses.... The content may then have no basis in any being nor in any thing nor thing-in-itself: *for itself it remains as it is; it has only been translated from being into show.*"[d]

Hegel, therefore, is here a much more resolute materialist than the modern natural scientists.

* * *

Valuable self-criticism of the Kantian *thing-in-itself*, which shows that Kant suffers shipwreck also on the thinking ego and likewise discovers in it an unknowable thing-in-itself. (Hegel, V, p. 256 et seq.)[e]

* Cf. *Encyclopädie*, I, p. 252. [See § 124.] [Marginal note.]

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[a] What would be the good.— *Ed.*

[b] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, Th. 1, Die objective Logik, Abth. 2. Die Lehre vom Wesen, I. Absch., 1. Kap. Der Schein, B. Der Schein and 2. Absch., 1. Kap. Die Existenz.— *Ed.*

[c] Italics by Engels.— *Ed.*

[d] G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften...*, S. 125-29, 131-32. Italics by Engels.— *Ed.*

[e] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, Th. 2. Die subjective Logik, oder: Die Lehre vom Begriff.— *Ed.*

## [FORMS OF MOTION OF MATTER. CLASSIFICATION OF THE SCIENCES]

*Causa finalis*—matter and its inherent motion. This matter is *no abstraction.* Even in the sun the different substances are dissociated and without distinction in their action. But in the *gaseous sphere of the nebula* all substances, although separately present, *become merged in pure matter as such,* acting only as matter, not according to their specific properties.

(Moreover already in Hegel the antithesis of *causa efficiens* and *causa finalis* is sublated in reciprocal action.)[a]

* * *

*Primordial matter.*

"The conception of matter as original and pre-existent, and as naturally formless, is a very ancient one; it meets us even among the Greeks, at first in the mythical shape of chaos, which is supposed to represent the unformed substratum of the existing world." (Hegel, *Encyclopädie,* I, [S.] 258.)[b]

We find this chaos again in Laplace, and approximately in the nebula which also has only the *beginning* of form. Differentiation comes afterwards.

* * *

*Gravity* as *the most general determination of materiality* is commonly accepted. That is to say, attraction is a necessary property of

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik,* Th. 1. Die objective Logik, Abth. 2. Die Lehre vom Wesen, S. 231-35.—*Ed.*

[b] G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften,* § 128, Zusatz.—*Ed.*

matter, but not repulsion. But attraction and repulsion are as inseparable as positive and negative, and hence from dialectics itself it can already be predicted that the true theory of matter must assign as important a place to repulsion as to attraction, and that a theory of matter based on mere attraction is false, inadequate, and one-sided. In fact sufficient phenomena occur that demonstrate this in advance. If only on account of light, the ether is not to be dispensed with. Is the ether of material nature? If it *exists* at all, it must be of material nature, it must come under the concept of matter. But it is not affected by gravity. The tail of a comet is granted to be of material nature. It shows a powerful repulsion. Heat in a gas produces repulsion, etc.[a]

* * *

Attraction and gravitation. The whole theory of gravitation rests on saying that attraction is the essence of matter. This is necessarily false. Where there is attraction, it must be complemented by repulsion. Hence already Hegel was quite right in saying that the essence of matter is attraction *and* repulsion.[b] And in fact we are more and more becoming forced to recognise that the dissipation of matter has a limit where attraction is transformed into repulsion, and conversely the condensation of the repelled matter has a limit where it becomes attraction.

* * *

The transformation of attraction into repulsion and vice versa is mystical in Hegel, but in substance he anticipated by it[c] the scientific discovery that came later. Even in a gas there is repulsion of the molecules, still more so in more finely-divided matter, for instance in the tail of a comet, where it even operates with enormous force. Hegel shows his genius even in the fact that he derives attraction as something secondary from repulsion as something preceding it: a solar system is only formed by the

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[a] See also this volume, pp. 363-77.— *Ed.*

[b] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Naturphilosophie...*, § 262, S. 67-68 and also *Wissenschaft der Logik,* Th. 1. Die objective Logik, Abth. 1. Die Lehre vom Seyn, S. 181-200.— *Ed.*

[c] G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften,* § 97, S. 192.— *Ed.*

gradual preponderance of attraction over the originally prevailing repulsion.—Expansion by heat = repulsion. The kinetic theory of gases.

* * *

*The divisibility of matter.* For science the question is in practice a matter of indifference. We know that in chemistry there is a definite limit to divisibility, beyond which bodies can no longer act chemically—the atom; and that several atoms are always in combination—the molecule. Ditto in physics we are driven to the acceptance of certain—for physical analysis—smallest particles, the arrangement of which determines the form and cohesion of bodies, their vibrations becoming evident as heat, etc. But whether the physical and chemical molecules are identical or different, we do not yet know.—Hegel very easily gets over this question of divisibility by saying that matter is both divisible and continuous, and at the same time neither of the two,[a] which is no answer but is now almost proved (see sheet 5, 3 below: Clausius[b]).

* * *

Divisibility.—The mammal is indivisible, the reptile can regrow a foot.—Ether waves, divisible and measurable to the infinitesimally small.—Every body divisible, in practice, within certain limits, e.g., in chemistry.

* * *

"Its essence" (of motion) "is to be the immediate unity of space and time ... to motion belong space and time; velocity, the quantum of motion, is space in relation to a definite time that has elapsed." (*Naturphilosophie*, [p.] 65.) "... Space and time are filled with matter.... Just as there is no motion without matter, so there is no matter without motion." ([P.] 67.)[c]

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, Th. 1. Die objective Logik, Abth. 1. Die Lehre vom Seyn, S. 208-20.—*Ed.*

[b] Engels is referring to the Note "Kinetic Theory of Gases", which is at the end of page 3 of the 5th double sheet of *Dialectics of Nature* (see this volume, pp. 564-65).—*Ed.*

[c] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Naturphilosophie...*, § 261, Zusatz.—*Ed.*

* * *

The indestructibility of motion in *Descartes'* principle that *the universe always contains the same quantity of motion.*[a] Natural scientists express this imperfectly as the "indestructibility of force". The merely quantitative expression of Descartes is likewise inadequate: motion as such, as essential activity, the form of existence of matter, is indestructible as the latter itself, this formulation includes the quantitative element. So here again the philosopher has been confirmed by the natural scientist after 200 years.

* * *

*The indestructibility of motion.* A pretty passage in Grove—p. 20 et seq.[b]

* * *

*Motion and equilibrium.* Equilibrium is inseparable from motion.* In the motion of the heavenly bodies there is *motion in equilibrium* and *equilibrium in motion* (relative). But all specifically relative motion, i.e., here all separate motion of individual bodies on one of the heavenly bodies in motion, is an effort to establish relative rest, equilibrium. The possibility of bodies being at relative rest, the possibility of temporary states of equilibrium, is the essential condition for the differentiation of matter and hence for life. On the sun there is no equilibrium of the various substances, only of the mass as a whole, or at any rate only a very restricted one, determined by considerable differences of density; on the surface there is eternal motion and unrest, dissociation. On the moon, equilibrium appears to prevail exclusively, without any relative motion—death (moon = negativity). On the earth motion has become differentiated into interchange of motion and equilibrium: the individual motion strives towards equilibrium, the motion as a whole once more destroys the individual equilibrium. The rock

* Equilibrium=predominance of attraction over repulsion. [Marginal note.]

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[a] R. Descartes, *Principia philosophiae,* Pars 2, XXXVI; see this volume, p. 50.—*Ed.*

[b] W. R. Grove, *The Correlation of Physical Forces*, pp. 20-29. See also this volume, pp. 325-26.—*Ed.*

comes to rest, but weathering, the ACTION of the ocean surf, of rivers and glacier ice continually destroy the equilibrium. Evaporation and rain, wind, heat, electric and magnetic phenomena offer the same spectacle. Finally, in the living organism we see continual motion of all the smallest particles as well as of the larger organs, resulting in the continual equilibrium of the total organism during the normal period of life, which yet always remains in motion, the living unity of motion and equilibrium.

All equilibrium is only *relative* and *temporary*.[a]

* * *

(1) Motion of the heavenly bodies.[267] Approximate equilibrium of attraction and repulsion in motion.

(2) Motion on one heavenly body. Mass. In so far as this motion comes from pure mechanical causes, here also there is equilibrium. The masses *are at rest* on their foundation. On the moon this is apparently complete. Mechanical attraction has overcome mechanical repulsion. From the standpoint of pure mechanics, we do not know what has become of the repulsion, and pure mechanics just as little explains whence come the "forces", by which nevertheless masses on the earth, for example, are set in motion *against* gravity. It takes the fact for granted. Here therefore there is simple communication of repelling, displacing motion from mass to mass, with equality of attraction and repulsion.

(3) The overwhelming majority of all terrestrial motions, however, are made up of the conversion of one form of motion into another—mechanical motion into heat, electricity, chemical motion—and of each form into any other; hence either[b] the transformation of attraction into repulsion—mechanical motion into heat, electricity, chemical decomposition (the transformation is the conversion of the original *lifting* mechanical motion into heat, not of the *falling* motion, which is only the semblance) [—or transformation of repulsion into attraction].

(4) All energy now active on the earth is transformed heat from the sun.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 55-58.—*Ed.*

[b] The sentence is not finished. This "either" is not followed by "or". Engels probably intended to mention the reverse transformation of repulsion into attraction. The presumable ending of the sentence is given in brackets.—*Ed.*

* * *

*Mechanical motion.* Among natural scientists motion is always as a matter of course taken to mean mechanical motion, change of place. This has been handed down from the pre-chemical eighteenth century and makes a clear conception of the processes much more difficult. Motion, as applied to matter, is *change in general.* From the same misunderstanding is derived also the craze to reduce everything to mechanical motion—even Grove is

"strongly inclined to believe that the other affections of matter ... are, and will ultimately be resolved into, modes of motion" (p. 16),[268]—

which obliterates the specific character of the other forms of motion. This is not to say that each of the higher forms of motion is not always necessarily connected with some real mechanical (external or molecular) motion, just as the higher forms of motion simultaneously also produce other forms, and just as chemical action is not possible without change of temperature and electric changes, organic life without mechanical, molecular, chemical, thermal, electric, etc., changes. But the presence of these subsidiary forms does not exhaust the essence of the main form in each case. One day we shall certainly "reduce" thought experimentally to molecular and chemical motion in the brain; but does that exhaust the essence of thought?

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* * *

Dialectics of natural science[269]: Subject-matter—matter in motion. The different forms and varieties of matter itself can likewise only be known through motion, only in this are the properties of bodies exhibited; of a body that does not move there is nothing to be said. Hence the nature of bodies in motion results from the forms of motion.

1. The first, simplest form of motion is the mechanical form, pure change of place:

(a) Motion of a single body does not exist—[it can be spoken of][a] only in a relative sense—falling.

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[a] The words in brackets have been taken from Engels' letter to Marx of May 30, 1873 (see present edition, Vol. 44).—*Ed.*

(b) The motion of separated bodies: trajectory, astronomy—apparent equilibrium—the end always *contact.*

(c) The motion of bodies in contact in relation of one another—pressure. Statics. Hydrostatics and gases. The lever and other forms of mechanics proper—which all in their simplest form of contact amount to friction or impact, which are different only in degree. But friction and impact, IN FACT contact, have also other consequences never pointed out here by natural scientists: they produce, according to circumstances, sound, heat, light, electricity, magnetism.

2. These different forces (with the exception of sound)—physics of heavenly bodies—

(a) pass into one another and mutually replace one another, and

(b) on a certain quantitative development of each force, different for each body, applied to the bodies, whether they are chemically compound or several chemically simple bodies, *chemical* changes take place, and we enter the realm of chemistry.*

3. Physics had to leave out of consideration the living organic body, or could do so; chemistry finds only in the investigation of organic compounds the real key to the true nature of the most important bodies, and, on the other hand, it synthesises bodies which only occur in organic nature. Here chemistry leads to organic life, and it has gone far enough to assure us that *it alone* will explain to us the dialectical transition to the organism.

4. The *real* transition, however, is in *history*—of the solar system, the earth; the *real* pre-condition for organic nature.

5. Organic nature.

* * *

*Classification of the sciences,* each of which analyses a single form of motion, or a series of forms of motion that belong together and pass into one another, is therefore the classification, the arrangement, of these forms of motion themselves according to their inherent sequence, and herein lies its importance.

* * *

At the end of the last century, after the French materialists, who were predominantly mechanical, the need became evident for an *encyclopaedic summing up* of the entire

* Chemistry of heavenly bodies. Crystallography—part of chemistry. [Marginal note.]

natural science of the *old* Newton-Linnaeus school, and two men of the greatest genius undertook this, *Saint-Simon* (uncompleted) and *Hegel.* Today, when the new outlook on nature is complete in its basic features, the same need makes itself felt, and attempts are being made in this direction. But since the general evolutionary connection in nature has now been demonstrated, an external side by side arrangement is as inadequate as Hegel's artificially constructed dialectical transitions. The transitions must make themselves, they must be natural. Just as one form of motion develops out of another, so their reflections, the various sciences, must arise necessarily out of one another.

* * *

How little Comte can have been the author of his encyclopaedic arrangement of the natural sciences,[a] which he copied from Saint-Simon, is already evident from the fact that it only serves him for the purpose of *arranging the means of instruction* and *course of instruction,* and so leads to the crazy *enseignement intégral,*[b] where one science is always exhausted before another is even broached, where a basically correct idea is pushed to a mathematical absurdity.

* * *

Hegel's division (the original one) into mechanics, chemics, and organics,[270] fully adequate for the time. Mechanics: the movement of masses. Chemics: molecular (for physics is also included in this and, indeed, both—physics as well as chemistry—belong to the same order) motion and atomic motion. Organics: the motion of bodies in which the two are inseparable.* For the organism is certainly *the higher unity which within itself unites mechanics, physics, and chemistry into a whole* where the trinity can no longer be separated. In the organism, mechanical motion is effected directly by physical and chemical change, in the form of nutrition,

* Each group in turn is twofold. Mechanics: (1) celestial, (2) terrestrial. Molecular motion: (1) physics, (2) chemistry. Organics: (1) plant, (2) animal. [Marginal note.]

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[a] A. Comte, *Cours de philosophie positive,* t. 1, pp. 47-88.—*Ed.*
[b] Integral instruction.—*Ed.*

respiration, secretion, etc., just as much as pure muscular movement.

* * *

Physiography. After the transition from chemistry to life has been made, then in the first place it is necessary to analyse the conditions in which life has been produced and continues to exist, i.e., first of all geology, meteorology, and the rest. Then the various forms of life themselves, which indeed without this are incomprehensible.

* * *

## ON THE "MECHANICAL" CONCEPTION OF NATURE[271]

### Re page 46[a]: The Various Forms of Motion and the Sciences Dealing with Them

Since the above article appeared (*Vorwärts*, February 9, 1877),[272] Kekulé (*Die wissenschaftlichen Ziele und Leistungen der Chemie*) has defined mechanics, physics, and chemistry in a quite similar way:

> "If this idea of the nature of matter is made the basis, one could define chemistry as the *science of atoms* and physics as the *science of molecules*, and then it would be natural to separate that part of modern physics which deals with *masses* as a special science, reserving for it the name of *mechanics*. Thus mechanics appears as the basic science of physics and chemistry, in so far as in certain aspects and especially in certain calculations both of these have to treat their molecules or atoms as masses." [P. 12.]

It will be seen that this formulation differs from that in the text and in the previous note[b] only being rather less definite. But when an English journal *(Nature)* put the above statement of Kekulé in the form that mechanics is the statics and dynamics of masses, physics the statics and dynamics of molecules, and chemistry the statics and dynamics of Atoms,[273] then it seems to me that this unconditional reduction of even chemical processes to merely mechanical ones unduly restricts the field, at least of chemistry. And yet it is so much the fashion that, for instance, Haeckel

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[a] Engels is referring to the Leipzig 1878 edition of his *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft;* see also this volume, p. 62.—*Ed.*

[b] I.e., in the text of *Anti-Dühring* and in the Note "On the Prototypes of the Mathematical Infinite in the Real World" (see this volume, pp. 62 and 544-50.—*Ed.*

continually uses "mechanical" and "monistic" as having the same meaning, and in his opinion

"modern physiology ... in its field allows only of the operation of physico-chemical—or *in the wider sense*, mechanical—forces". (*Perigenesis.*)[a]

If I term *first of all* physics the mechanics of molecules, chemistry the physics of atoms, and furthermore biology the chemistry of proteins, I wish thereby to express the passing of each of these sciences into another, hence both the connection, the continuity, and the distinction, the discrete separation, between the two of them. To go further and to define chemistry as likewise a kind of mechanics seems to me inadmissible. Mechanics—in the wider or narrower sense—knows only quantities, it calculates with velocities and masses, and at most with volumes. Where the quality of bodies comes across its path, as in hydrostatics and aerostatics, it cannot achieve anything without going into molecular states and molecular motions, it is itself only an auxiliary science, the prerequisite for physics. In physics, however, and still more in chemistry, not only does continual qualitative change take place in consequence of quantitative change, the transformation of quantity into quality, but there are also many qualitative changes to be taken into account whose dependence on quantitative change is by no means proven. That the present tendency of science goes in this direction can be readily granted, but does not prove that this direction is the exclusively correct one, that the pursuit of this tendency will *exhaust* the whole of physics and chemistry. All motion includes mechanical motion, change of place of the largest or smallest portions of matter, and the *first* task of science, but only the *first*, is to obtain knowledge of this motion. But this mechanical motion does not exhaust motion as a whole. Motion is not merely change of place, in fields higher than mechanics it is also change of quality. The discovery that heat is a molecular motion was epoch-making. But if I have nothing more to say of heat than that it is a certain displacement of molecules, I should best be silent. Chemistry seems to be well on the way to explaining a number of chemical and physical properties of elements from the ratio of the atomic volumes to the atomic weights. But no chemist would assert that all the properties of an element are exhaustively expressed by its position in the Lothar Meyer curve,[274] that it will ever be possible by this alone to explain, for instance, the peculiar

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[a] E. Haeckel, *Die Perigenesis der Plastidule...*, S. 13. Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

constitution of carbon that makes it the essential bearer of organic life, or the necessity for phosphorus in the brain. Yet the "mechanical" conception amounts to nothing else. It explains all change from change of place, all qualitative differences from quantitative ones, and overlooks that the relation of quality and quantity is reciprocal, that quality transforms into quantity just as much as quantity into quality, that, in fact, reciprocal action takes place.[a] If all differences and changes of quality are to be reduced to quantitative differences and changes, to mechanical displacement, then we inevitably arrive at the proposition that all matter consists of *identical* smallest particles, and that all qualitative differences of the chemical elements of matter are caused by quantitative differences in number and by the spatial grouping of those smallest particles to form atoms. But we have not got so far yet.

It is our modern natural scientists' lack of acquaintance with any other philosophy than the most mediocre vulgar philosophy, like that now rampant in the German universities, which allows them to use expressions like "mechanical" in this way, without taking into account, or even suspecting, the consequences with which they thereby necessarily burden themselves. The theory of the absolute qualitative identity of matter has its supporters—empirically it is equally impossible to refute it or to prove it. But if one asks these people who want to explain everything "mechanically" whether they are conscious of this consequence and accept the identity of matter, what a variety of answers will be heard!

The most comical part about it is that to make "materialist" equivalent to "mechanical" derives from *Hegel*, who wanted to throw contempt on materialism by the addition "mechanical".[b] Now the materialism criticised by Hegel—the French materialism of the eighteenth century—was in fact exclusively *mechanical*, and indeed for the very natural reason that at that time physics, chemistry, and biology were still in their infancy, and were very far from being able to offer the basis for a general outlook on nature. Similarly Haeckel takes from Hegel the translation: *causae efficientes* = "mechanically acting causes", and *causae finales* = "purposively acting causes"[c]; where Hegel, therefore, puts "mechanical" as equivalent to blindly acting, unconsciously acting, and not as equivalent to mechanical in Haeckel's sense of the

[a] See this volume, pp. 512-13.—*Ed.*

[b] G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften...*, § 99, Zusatz, S. 199-200.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 522.—*Ed.*

word. But this whole antithesis is for Hegel himself so much a superseded standpoint that he *does not even mention* it in either of his two expositions of causality in his *Logik*—but only in his *Geschichte der Philosophie*, in the place where it comes historically[a] (hence a sheer misunderstanding on Haeckel's part due to superficiality!) and quite incidentally in dealing with teleology (*Logik*, III, II, 3)[b] where he mentions it as the form in which the *old metaphysics* conceived the antithesis of mechanism and teleology, but otherwise treating it as a long superseded standpoint. Hence Haeckel copied incorrectly in his joy at finding a confirmation of his "mechanical" conception and so arrived at the beautiful result that if a particular change is produced in an animal or plant by natural selection it has been effected by a *causa efficiens*, but if the same change arises by *artificial* selection then it has been effected by a *causa finalis*! The breeder a *causa finalis!* Of course a dialectician of Hegel's calibre could not be caught in the vicious circle of the narrow antithesis of *causa efficiens* and *causa finalis*. And for the modern standpoint the whole hopeless rubbish about this antithesis is put an end to because we *know* from experience and from theory that both matter and its mode of existence, motion, are uncreatable and are, therefore, their own final cause; while to give the name *effective* causes to the individual causes which momentarily and locally become isolated in the mutual interaction of the motion of the universe, or which are isolated by our reflecting mind, adds absolutely no new determination but only a confusing element. A cause that is not effective is no cause.

N.B. Matter as such is a pure creation of thought and an abstraction. We leave out of account the qualitative differences of things in lumping them together as corporeally existing things under the concept matter. Hence matter as such, as distinct from definite existing kinds of matter, is not anything sensuously existing. When natural science directs its efforts to seeking out uniform matter as such, to reducing qualitative differences to merely quantitative differences in combining identical smallest particles, it is doing the same thing as demanding to see fruit as such instead of cherries, pears, apples,[c] or the mammal as such

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie*, Bd. 2, S. 190-91.—*Ed.*

[b] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, Th. 2. Die subjective Logik, oder: Die Lehre vom Begriff, S. 203.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 516.—*Ed.*

instead of cats, dogs, sheep, etc., gas as such, metal, stone, chemical compound as such, motion as such. The Darwinian theory demands such a primordial mammal, Haeckel's pro-mammal,[a] but, at the same time, it has to admit that if this pro-mammal contained within itself in *germ* all future and existing mammals, it was in reality lower in rank than all existing mammals and primitively crude, hence more transitory than any of them. As Hegel has already shown (*Encyclopädie*, I, S. 199), this view, this "one-sided mathematical view", according to which matter must be looked upon as having only quantitative determination, but, qualitatively, as identical originally, is "no other standpoint than that" of the French materialism of the eighteenth century. It is even a retreat to Pythagoras who regarded number, quantitative determination as the essence of things.[b]

* * *

In the first place, Kekulé.[275] Then: the systematising of natural science, which is now becoming more and more necessary, cannot be found in any other way than in the inter-connections of phenomena themselves. Thus the mechanical motion of small masses on any heavenly body ends in the contact of two bodies, which has two forms, differing only in degree, viz., friction and impact. So we investigate first of all the mechanical effect of friction and impact. But we find that the effect is not thereby exhausted: friction produces heat, light, and electricity, impact produces heat and light if not electricity also—hence conversion of motion of masses into molecular motion. We enter the realm of molecular motion, physics, and investigate further. But here too we find that molecular motion does not represent the conclusion of the investigation. Electricity passes into and arises from chemical transformation. Heat and light, ditto. Molecular motion becomes transformed into motion of atoms—chemistry. The investigation of chemical processes is confronted by the organic world as a field for research, that is to say, a world in which chemical processes take place, although under different conditions, according to the same laws as in the inorganic world, for the explanation of which chemistry suffices. In the organic world, on the other hand, all chemical investigations lead back in the last

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[a] E. Haeckel, *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte*, S. 588.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 468-69.—*Ed.*

resort to a body—protein—which, while being the result of ordinary chemical processes, is distinguished from all others by being a self-acting, permanent chemical process. If chemistry succeeds in preparing this protein, in the specific form in which it obviously arose, that of a so-called protoplasm, a specificity, or rather absence of specificity, such that it contains potentially within itself all other forms of protein (though it is not necessary to assume that there is only one kind of protoplasm), then the dialectical transition will have been proved in reality, hence completely proved. Until then, it remains a matter of thought, ALIAS of hypothesis. When chemistry produces protein, the chemical process will reach out beyond itself, as in the case of the mechanical process above, that is, it will come into a more comprehensive realm, that of the organism. Physiology is, of course, the physics and especially the chemistry of the living body, but with that it ceases to be specially chemistry: on the one hand its domain becomes restricted but, on the other hand, inside this domain it becomes raised to a higher power.

## [MATHEMATICS]

* * *

The so-called axioms of mathematics are the few thought determinations which mathematics needs for its point of departure. Mathematics is the science of magnitudes; its point of departure is the concept of magnitude.[a] It defines this lamely and then adds the other elementary determinations of magnitude, not contained in the definition, from outside as axioms, so that they appear as unproved, and naturally also as *mathematically* unprovable. The analysis of magnitude would yield all these axiom determinations as necessary determinations of magnitude. Spencer is right in as much as what thus appears to us to be the *self-evidence* of these axioms is *inherited.* They are provable dialectically, in so far as they are not pure tautologies.

* * *

*Mathematics.* Nothing appears more solidly based than the difference between the four species of arithmetical operations, the elements of all mathematics. Yet right at the outset multiplication is seen to be an abbreviated addition, and division an abbreviated subtraction, of a definite number of equal numerical magnitudes; and in one case—when the divisor is a fraction—division is even carried out by multiplying by the inverted fraction. In algebraic calculation the thing is carried much further. Every subtraction $(a-b)$ can be represented as an addition $(-b+a)$, every division

[a] See also this volume, pp. 36-38 and 545.—*Ed.*

$\frac{a}{b}$ as a multiplication $a \times \frac{1}{b}$. In calculations with powers of magnitudes one goes much further still. All rigid differences between the kinds of calculation disappear, everything can be presented in the opposite form. A power can be put as a root ($x^2 = \sqrt{x^4}$), a root as a power ($\sqrt{x} = x^{\frac{1}{2}}$). Unity divided by a power or root can be put as a power of the denominator ($\frac{1}{\sqrt{x}} = x^{-\frac{1}{2}}$; $\frac{1}{x^3} = x^{-3}$). Multiplication or division of the powers of a magnitude becomes converted into addition or subtraction of their exponents. Any number can be conceived and expressed as the power of any other number (logarithms, $y = a^x$). And this transformation of one form into the opposite one is no idle trifling, it is one of the most powerful levers of mathematical science, without which today hardly any of the more difficult calculations are carried out. If negative and fractional powers alone were abolished from mathematics, how far could one get?
(—.— = +, $\frac{-}{-}$ = +, $\sqrt{-1}$, etc, to be expounded earlier.)

The turning point in mathematics was Descartes' *variable magnitude.* With that came *motion* and *hence dialectics* in mathematics, and *at once, too, of necessity the differential and integral calculus,* which moreover immediately begins, and which on the whole was completed by Newton and Leibniz, not discovered by them.

* * *

Quantity and quality. Number is the purest quantitative determination that we know. But it is chock-full of qualitative differences. 1. Hegel, number and unity, multiplication, division, raising to a higher power, extraction of roots. Thereby, and this is not shown in Hegel,[a] qualitative differences already make their appearance: prime numbers and products, simple roots and powers. 16 is not merely the sum of 16 ones, it is also the square of 4, the fourth power of 2. Still more. Prime numbers communicate new, definitely determined qualities to numbers derived from them by multiplication with other numbers; only even numbers are divisible by 2, and there is a similar determination in the case of 4 and 8. For 3 there is the rule of the sum of the figures, and the same thing for 9 and also for 6, in the last case in combination with the even number.

[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik,* Th. 1. Die objective Logik, Abth. 1. Die Lehre vom Seyn, S. 228.—*Ed.*

For 7 there is a special rule. These form the basis for tricks with numbers which seem incomprehensible to the uninitiated. Hence what Hegel says ("Quantität", P. 237) on the absence of thought in arithmetic is incorrect. Compare, however, "Maß".[276]

When mathematics speaks of the infinitely large and infinitely small, it introduces a qualitative difference which even takes the form of an unbridgeable qualitative opposition: quantities so enormously different from one another that every rational relation, every comparison, between them ceases, that they become quantitatively incommensurable. Ordinary incommensurability, for instance of the circle and the straight line, is also a dialectical qualitative difference; but here[a] it is the difference in *quantity* of *similar* magnitudes that increases the difference of *quality* to the point of incommensurability.

* * *

*Number.* The individual number becomes endowed with quality already in the numerical system itself, and the quality depends on the system used. 9 is not only 1 added together 9 times, but also the basis for 90, 99, 900,000, etc. All numerical laws depend upon and are determined by the system adopted. In dyadic and triadic systems 2 multiplied by 2 does not equal 4, but=100 or = 11. In all systems with an odd basic number, the difference between odd and even numbers falls to the ground, e.g., in the system based on 5, 5 = 10, 10 = 20, 15 = 30. Likewise in the same system the sums of digits 3 *n* of products of 3 or 9 (6 = 11, 9 = 14). Hence the basic number determines not only its own quality but also that of all the other numbers.

With powers of numbers, the matter goes still further: any number can be conceived as the power of any other number—there are as many logarithmic systems as there are whole and fractional numbers.

* * *

*One.* Nothing looks simpler than quantitative unity, and nothing is more manifold than it, as soon as we investigate it in connection with the corresponding plurality and according to its various modes of origin from plurality. First of all, one is the basic

[a] I. e., in the mathematics of the infinite.—*Ed.*

number of the whole positive and negative system of numbers, all other numbers arising by the successive addition of one to itself.—One is the expression of all positive, negative, and fractional powers of one: $1^2$, $\sqrt{1}$, $1^{-2}$ are all equal to one.—It is the content of all fractions in which the numerator and denominator prove to be equal.—It is the expression of every number that is raised to the power of zero, and therewith the sole number the logarithm of which is the same in all systems, viz., $= 0$. Thus one is the boundary that divides all possible systems of logarithms into two parts: if the base is greater than one, then the logarithms of all numbers more than one are positive, and of all numbers less than one negative; if it is smaller than one, the reverse is the case.

Hence, if every number contains unity in itself in as much as it is compounded entirely of ones added together, unity likewise contains all other numbers in itself. This is not only a possibility, in as much as we can construct any number solely of ones, but also a reality, in as much as one is a definite power of every other number. But the very same mathematicians who, without turning a hair, interpolate into their calculations, wherever it suits them, $x^0 = 1$, or a fraction whose numerator and denominator are equal and which therefore likewise represents one, who therefore apply mathematically the plurality contained in unity, turn up their noses and grimace if they are told in general terms that unity and plurality are inseparable, mutually penetrating concepts and that plurality is not less contained in unity than unity is in plurality. How much this is the case we see as soon as we forsake the field of pure numbers. Already in the measurement of lines, surfaces, and the volumes of bodies it becomes apparent that we can take any desired magnitude of the appropriate order as unity, and the same thing holds for measurement of time, weight, motion, etc. For the measurement of cells even millimetres and milligrams are too large, for the measurement of stellar distances or the velocity of light even the kilometre is uncomfortably small, just as the kilogram for planetary or, even more so, solar masses. Here is seen very clearly what diversity and multiplicity is contained in the concept of unity, at first sight so simple.

* * *

*Zero,* because it is the negation of any definite quantity, is not therefore devoid of content. On the contrary, zero has a very definite content. As the border-line between all positive and

negative magnitudes, as the sole really neutral number, which can be neither positive nor negative, it is not only a very definite number, but also in itself more important than all other numbers bounded by it. In fact, zero is richer in content than any other number. Put on the right of any other number, it gives to the latter, in our system of numbers, the tenfold value. Instead of zero one could use here any other sign, but only on the condition that this sign taken by itself signifies zero, $= 0$. Hence it is part of the nature of zero itself that it finds this application and that it alone *can* be applied in this way. Zero annihilates every other number with which it is multiplied; united with any other number as divisor or dividend, in the former case it makes this infinitely large, in the latter infinitely small; it is the only number that stands in a relation of infinity to every other number $\frac{0}{0}$ can express every number between $-\infty$ and $+\infty$, and in each case represents a real magnitude.—The real content of an equation first clearly emerges when all its members have been brought to one side, and the equation is thus reduced to zero value, as already happens for quadratic equations, and is almost the general rule in higher algebra. The function $F(x, y) = 0$ can then also be put equal to $z$, and this $z$, although it is $= 0$, differentiated like an ordinary dependent variable and its partial derivative determined.

The nothing of every quantity, however, is itself quantitatively determined, and only on that account is it possible to calculate with zero. The very same mathematicians who are quite unembarrassed in reckoning with zero in the above manner, i.e., in operating with it as a definite quantitative concept, bringing it into quantitative relation to other quantitative concepts, clutch their heads in desperation when they read this in Hegel generalised as: the nothing of a something is a *determinate* nothing.[a]

But now for (analytical) geometry. Here zero is a definite point from which measurements are taken along a line, in one direction positively, in the other negatively. Here, therefore, the zero point has not only just as much significance as any point denoted by a positive or negative magnitude, but a much greater significance than all of them: it is the point on which they are all dependent, to which they are all related, and by which they are all determined. In many cases it can even be taken quite arbitrarily. But once adopted, it remains the central point of the whole operation, often determining even the direction of the line along which the other points—the end points of the abscissae—are to be

[a] See this volume, p. 502.—*Ed.*

inserted. If, for example, in order to arrive at the equation of the circle, we choose any point of the periphery as the zero point, then the line of the abscissae must go through the centre of the circle. All this finds just as much application in mechanics, where likewise in the calculation of the motions the point taken as zero in each case forms the main point and pivot for the entire operation. The zero point of the thermometer is the very definite lower limit of the temperature section that is divided into any desired number of degrees, thereby serving as a measure both for temperature stages within the section as also for higher or lower temperatures. Hence in this case also it is a very essential point. And even the absolute zero of the thermometer in no way represents pure abstract negation, but a very definite state of matter: the limit at which the last trace of independent molecular motion vanishes and matter acts only as mass. Wherever we come upon zero, it represents something very definite, and its practical application in geometry, mechanics, etc., proves that—as limit—it is more important than all the real magnitudes bounded by it.

* * *

*Zero powers.* Of importance in the logarithmic series: $\overset{0}{10^0}\ \overset{1}{10^1}\ \overset{2}{10^2}\ \overset{3}{10^3}\ \overset{\log}{}$. All variables pass somewhere through unity; hence also a constant raised to a variable power $(a^x) = 1$, if $x = 0$, $a^0 = 1$ means nothing more than conceiving unity in its connection with the other members of the series of powers of $a$, only there has it any meaning and can lead to results $(\Sigma x^0 = \frac{x}{\omega})$,[277] otherwise not at all. From this it follows that unity also, however much it may appear identical with itself, includes within it an infinite manifoldness, since it can be the zero power of any other possible number, and that this manifoldness is not merely imaginary is proved on each occasion where unity is conceived as a determined unity, as one of the variable results of a process (as a momentary magnitude or form of a variable) in connection with this process.

* * *

$\sqrt{-1}$.—The negative magnitudes of algebra are real only in so far as they are connected with positive magnitudes and only within the relation to the latter; outside this relation, taken by themselves,

they are purely imaginary. In trigonometry and analytical geometry, together with the branches of higher mathematics of which these are the basis, they express a definite direction of motion, opposite to the positive direction. But the sine and tangent of the circle can be reckoned from the upper right-hand quadrant just as well as from the lower right-hand quadrant, thus directly reversing plus and minus. Similarly, in analytical geometry, abscissae can be calculated from the periphery or from the centre of the circle, indeed in all curves they can be reckoned from the curve in the direction usually denoted as minus, [or] in any desired direction, and still give a correct rational equation of the curve. Here plus exists only as the complement of minus, and vice versa. But algebraic abstraction treats them [negative magnitudes] as real and independent, even outside the relation to a *larger*, positive magnitude.

* * *

*Mathematics.* To common sense it appears an absurdity to resolve a definite magnitude, e.g., a binomial expression, into an infinite series, that is, into something indefinite. But where would we be without infinite series and the binomial theorem?

* * *

*Asymptotes.* Geometry begins with the discovery that straight and curved are absolute opposites, that straight is absolutely inexpressible in curved, and curved in straight, that the two are incommensurable. Yet even the calculation of the circle is only possible by expressing its periphery in straight lines. For curves with asymptotes, however, straight becomes completely merged in curved, and curved in straight, just as much as the notion of parallelism: the lines are not parallel, they continually approach one another and yet never meet; the arm of the curve becomes more and more straight, without ever becoming entirely so, just as in analytical geometry the straight line is regarded as a curve of the first order with an infinitely small curvature. However large the $-x$ of the logarithmic curve may become, $y$ can never $= 0$.

* * *

*Straight and curved* in the differential calculus are in the last resort put as equal: in the differential triangle, the hypotenuse of

which forms the differential of the arc (in the tangent method), this hypotenuse can be regarded

"comme une petite ligne droite qui est tout à la fois l'élément de l'arc et celui de la tangente"—no matter whether the curve is regarded as composed of an infinite number of straight lines, or also, "lorsqu'on la considère comme rigoureuse; puisque le détour à chaque point M étant infiniment petit, la raison dernière de l'élément de la courbe à celui de la tangente *est évidemment une raison d'égalité*".[a]

Here, therefore, although the ratio continually *approaches* equality, but *asymptotically* in accordance with the nature of the curve, yet, since the contact is limited to a single *point* which has no length, it is finally assumed that equality of straight and curved has been reached (Bossut, *Calcul différentiel et intégral*, Paris, An VI, I, p. 149). In polar curves[278] the differential imaginary abscissae are even taken as parallel to the real abscissae and operations based on this, although both meet at the pole; indeed, from it is deduced the similarity of two triangles, one of which has an angle precisely at the point of intersection of the two lines, the parallelism of which is the whole basis of the similarity! (Fig. 17.)[279]

When the mathematics of straight and curved lines has thus pretty well reached exhaustion a new almost infinite field is opened up by the mathematics *that conceives curved as straight* (the differential triangle) and *straight as curved* (curve of the first order with infinitely small curvature). O metaphysics!

* * *

*Trigonometry.* After synthetic geometry has exhausted the properties of a triangle, regarded as such, and has nothing new to say, a more extensive horizon is opened up by a very simple, thoroughly dialectical procedure. The triangle is no longer considered in and for itself but in connection with another figure, the circle. Every right-angled triangle can be regarded as belonging to a circle: if the hypotenuse = $r$, then the sides enclosing the right angle are sin and cos; if one of these sides = $r$, then the other = tan, the hypotenuse = sec. In this way the sides and angles are given quite different, definite relationships which without this

[a] "as a small, quite straight line which is at the same time the element of the arc and that of the tangent"... "whether one considers it as a strict curve; since the curvature at each point $M$ is infinitely small, the last ratio of the element of the curve to that of the tangent *is evidently a ratio of equality*". Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

relation of the triangle to the circle would be impossible to discover and use, and quite a new theory of the triangle arises, far surpassing the old and universally applicable, because every triangle can be resolved into two right-angled triangles. This development of trigonometry from synthetic geometry is a good example of dialectics, of the way in which it comprehends things in their interconnection instead of in isolation.

* * *

*Identity and difference*—the dialectical relation is already seen in the differential calculus, where *dx* is infinitely small, but yet is effective and does everything.

* * *

*Molecule and differential.* Wiedemann (III, p. 636)[a] puts *finite* and *molecular* distances as directly opposed to one another.

* * *

## ON THE PROTOTYPES OF THE MATHEMATICAL INFINITE IN THE REAL WORLD[280]

### Re pp. 17-18.[b] Concordance of Thought and Being.—The Infinite in Mathematics

The fact that our subjective thought and the objective world are subject to the same laws, and hence, too, that in the final analysis they cannot contradict each other in their results, but must coincide, governs absolutely our whole theoretical thought. It is the unconscious and unconditional premise for our theoretical thought. Eighteenth-century materialism, owing to its essentially metaphysical character, investigated this premise only as regards content. It restricted itself to the proof that the content of all thought and knowledge must derive from sensuous experience,

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[a] G. Wiedemann, *Die Lehre vom Galvanismus und Elektromagnetismus,* Bd. II, Abt. 1.—*Ed.*

[b] Engels is referring to the Leipzig 1878 edition of his *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft;* see also this volume, pp. 33-35.—*Ed.*

and revived the principle: *nihil est in intellectu, quod non fuerit in sensu.*[281] It was modern idealistic, but at the same time dialectical, philosophy, and especially Hegel, which for the first time investigated it also as regards *form.* In spite of all the innumerable arbitrary constructions and fantasies that we encounter here, in spite of the idealist, topsy-turvy form of its result—the unity of thought and being—it is undeniable that this philosophy proved the analogy of the processes of thought to those of nature and history and vice versa, and the validity of similar laws for all these processes,[a] in numerous cases and in the most diverse fields. On the other hand, modern natural science has extended the principle of the origin of all thought content from experience in a way that breaks down its old metaphysical limitation and formulation. By recognising the inheritance of acquired characters, it extends the subject of experience from the individual to the genus; the single individual that must have experience is no longer necessary, its individual experience can be replaced to a certain extent by the results of the experiences of a number of its ancestors. If, for instance, among us the mathematical axioms seem self-evident to every eight-year-old child, and in no need of proof from experience, this is solely the result of "accumulated inheritance". It would be difficult to teach them by a proof to a bushman or Australian Negro.

In the present work[b] dialectics is conceived as the science of the most general laws of *all* motion. This implies that its laws must be valid just as much for motion in nature and human history as for the motion of thought. Such a law can be recognised in two of these three spheres, indeed even in all three, without the metaphysical philistine being clearly aware that it is one and the same law that he has come to know.

Let us take an example. Of all theoretical advances there is surely none that ranks so high as a triumph of the human mind as the discovery of the infinitesimal calculus in the last half of the seventeenth century. If anywhere, it is here that we have a pure and exclusive feat of human intelligence. The mystery which even today surrounds the magnitudes employed in the infinitesimal calculus, the differentials and infinites of various degrees, is the best proof that it is still imagined that what are dealt with here are pure "free creations and imaginations"[c] of the human mind, to

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[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 34-35.—*Ed.*

[b] F. Engels, *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft,* S. 20; see also this volume, p. 131.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 36.—*Ed.*

which there is nothing corresponding in the objective world. Yet the contrary is the case. Nature offers prototypes for all these imaginary magnitudes.

Our geometry takes as its starting-point space relations, and our arithmetic and algebra numerical magnitudes, which correspond to our terrestrial conditions, which therefore correspond to the magnitude of bodies that mechanics terms masses—masses such as occur on earth and are moved by men. In comparison with these masses, the mass of the earth seems infinitely large and indeed terrestrial mechanics treats it as infinitely large. The radius of the earth $= \infty$, this is the basic principle of all mechanics in the law of falling. But not merely the earth but the whole solar system and the distances occurring in the latter in their turn appear infinitely small as soon as we have to deal with the distances reckoned in light years in the stellar system visible to us through the telescope. We have here, therefore, already an infinity, not only of the first but of the second degree, and we can leave it to the imagination of our readers to construct further infinities of a higher degree in infinite space, if they feel inclined to do so.

According to the view prevailing in physics and chemistry today, however, the terrestrial masses, the bodies with which mechanics operates, consist of molecules, of smallest particles which cannot be further divided without abolishing the physical and chemical identity of the body concerned. According to W. Thomson's calculations, the diameter of the smallest of these molecules cannot be smaller than a fifty-millionth of a millimetre.[a] But even if we assume that the largest molecule itself attains a diameter of a twenty-five-millionth of a millimetre, it still remains an infinitesimally small magnitude compared with the smallest mass dealt with by mechanics, physics, or even chemistry. Nevertheless, it is endowed with all the properties peculiar to the mass in question, it can represent the mass physically and chemically, and does actually represent it in all chemical equations. In short, it has the same properties in relation to the corresponding mass as the mathematical differential has in relation to its variables. The only difference is that what seems mysterious and inexplicable to us in the case of the differential, in the mathematical abstraction, here seems a matter of course and as it were obvious.

Nature operates with these differentials, the molecules, in exactly the same way and according to the same laws as

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[a] See W. Thomson, "The Size of Atoms", *Nature,* Vol. I, No. 22, March 31, 1870, p. 553.—*Ed.*

mathematics does with its abstract differentials. Thus, for instance, the differential of $x^3=3x^2dx$, where $3xdx^2$ and $dx^3$ are neglected. If we put this in geometrical form, we have a cube with sides of length $x$, the length being increased by the infinitely small amount $dx$. Let us suppose that this cube consists of a sublimated element, say sulphur; and that three of the surfaces around one corner are protected, the other three being free. Let us now expose this sulphur cube to an atmosphere of sulphur vapour and lower the temperature sufficiently; sulphur will be deposited on the three free sides of the cube. We remain quite within the ordinary mode of procedure of physics and chemistry in supposing, in order to picture the process in its pure form, that in the first place a layer of the thickness of a single molecule is deposited on each of these three sides. The length $x$ of the sides of the cube has increased by the diameter of a molecule $dx$. The content of the cube $x^3$ has increased by the difference between $x^3$ and $x^3 + 3x^2dx + 3xdx^2 + dx^3$, where $dx^3$, a *single* molecule, and $3xdx^2$, three rows of length $x + dx$, consisting simply of lineally arranged molecules, can be neglected with the same justification as in mathematics. The result is the same, the increase in mass of the cube is $3x^2dx$.

Strictly speaking $dx^3$ and $3xdx^2$ do not occur in the case of the sulphur cube, because two or three molecules cannot occupy the same space, and the cube's increase of bulk is therefore exactly $3x^2dx + 3xdx + dx$. This is explained by the fact that in mathematics $dx$ is a linear magnitude, while it is well known that such lines, without thickness or breadth, do not occur independently in nature, hence also the mathematical abstractions have unrestricted validity only in pure mathematics. And since the latter neglects $3xdx^2 + dx^3$, it makes no difference.

Similarly in evaporation. When the uppermost molecular layer in a glass of water evaporates, the height of the water layer, $x$, is decreased by $dx$, and the continual flight of one molecular layer after another is actually a continued differentiation. And when the hot vapour is once more condensed to water in a vessel by pressure and cooling, and one molecular layer is deposited on another (it is permissible to leave out of account secondary circumstances that make the process an impure one) until the vessel is full, then literally an integration has been performed which differs from the mathematical one only in that the one is consciously carried out by the human brain, while the other is unconsciously carried out by nature.

But it is not only in the transition from the liquid to the gaseous state and vice versa that processes occur which are completely

analogous to those of the infinitesimal calculus. When mass motion, as such, is abolished—by impact—and becomes transformed into heat, molecular motion, what is it that happens but that the mass motion is differentiated? And when the movements of the molecules of steam in the cylinder of the steam-engine become added together so that they lift the piston by a definite amount, so that they become transformed into mass motion, have they not been integrated? Chemistry dissociates molecules into atoms, magnitudes of lesser mass and spatial extension, but magnitudes of the same order, so that the two stand in definite, finite relations to one another. Hence, all the chemical equations which express the molecular composition of bodies are in their form differential equations. But in reality they are already integrated owing to the atomic weights which figure in them. For chemistry calculates with differentials, the mutual relation of the magnitudes of which is known.

Atoms, however, are in no wise regarded as simple, or in general as the smallest known particles of matter. Apart from chemistry itself, which is more and more inclining to the view that atoms are compound, the majority of physicists assert that the universal ether, which transmits light and heat radiations, likewise consists of discrete particles, which, however, are so small that they have the same relation to chemical atoms and physical molecules as these have to mechanical masses, that is to say as $d^2x$ to $dx$. Here, therefore, in the now usual notion of the constitution of matter, we have likewise a differential of the second degree, and there is no reason at all why anyone, to whom it would give satisfaction, should not imagine that analogies of $d^3x$, $d^4x$, etc., also occur in nature.

Hence, whatever view one may hold of the constitution of matter, this much is certain, that it is divided up into a series of big, well-defined groups of a relatively different mass character in such a way that the members of each separate group stand to one another in definite finite mass ratios, in contrast to which those of the next group stand to them in the ratio of the infinitely large or infinitely small in the mathematical sense. The visible system of stars, the solar system, terrestrial masses, molecules and atoms, and finally ether particles, form each of them such a group. It does not alter the case that intermediate links can be found between the separate groups. Thus, between the masses of the solar system and terrestrial masses come the asteroids (some of which have a diameter no greater than, for example, that of the younger branch of the Reuss principality[282]), meteorites, etc. Thus,

in the organic world the cell stands between terrestrial masses and molecules. These intermediate links prove only that there are no leaps in nature, *precisely because* nature is composed entirely of leaps.

In so far as mathematics calculates with real magnitudes, it also employs this mode of outlook without hesitation. For terrestrial mechanics the mass of the earth is regarded as infinitely large, just as for astronomy terrestrial masses and the meteorites corresponding to them are regarded as infinitely small, and just as the distances and masses of the planets of the solar system dwindle to nothing as soon as astronomy investigates the constitution of our stellar system extending beyond the nearest fixed stars. As soon, however, as the mathematicians withdraw into their impregnable fortress of abstraction, so-called pure mathematics, all these analogies are forgotten, infinity becomes something totally mysterious, and the manner in which operations are carried out with it in analysis appears as something absolutely incomprehensible, contradicting all experience and all reason. The stupidities and absurdities by which mathematicians have rather excused than explained their mode of procedure, which remarkably enough always leads to correct results, exceed the worst apparent and real fantasies, e.g., of the Hegelian philosophy of nature, about which mathematicians and natural scientists can never adequately express their horror. What they charge Hegel with doing, viz., pushing abstractions to the extreme limit, they do themselves on a far greater scale. They forget that the whole of so-called pure mathematics is concerned with abstractions, that *all* its magnitudes, strictly speaking, are imaginary, and that all abstractions when pushed to extremes are transformed into nonsense or into their opposite. Mathematical infinity is taken from reality, although unconsciously, and therefore can only be explained from reality and not from itself, from mathematical abstraction. And, as we have seen, if we investigate reality in this regard we come also upon the real relations from which the mathematical relation of infinity is taken, and even the natural analogies of the mathematical way in which this relation operates. And thereby the matter is explained.

(Haeckel's bad reproduction of the identity of thinking and being.[283] But also *the contradiction between continuous and discrete matter*; see Hegel.[a])

[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik,* Th. 1. Die objective Logik, Abth. 1. Die Lehre vom Seyn, S. 208-20. See also the Note "The Divisibility of Matter", this volume, p. 524.—*Ed.*

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The differential calculus for the first time makes it possible for natural science to represent mathematically *processes* and not only *states*: motion.

* * *

Application of mathematics: in the mechanics of solid bodies it is absolute, in that of gases approximate, in that of fluids already more difficult; in physics more tentative and relative; in chemistry, simple equations of the first order and of the simplest nature; in biology = 0.

## [MECHANICS AND ASTRONOMY]

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An example of the necessity of dialectical thought and of the non-rigid categories and relations in nature; the law of falling, which already in the case of a period of fall of some minutes becomes incorrect, since then the radius of the earth can no longer without error be put $=\infty$, and the attraction of the earth increases instead of remaining constant as Galileo's law of falling assumes. Nevertheless, this law is still continually taught, but the reservation omitted!

* * *

Newtonian attraction and centrifugal force—an example of metaphysical thinking: the problem not solved but only *posed,* and this preached as the solution.—Ditto Clausius' dissipation of heat.[284]

* * *

*Newtonian gravitation.* The best that can be said of it is that it does not explain but *pictures* the present state of planetary motion. The motion is given. Ditto the force of attraction of the sun. With these data, how is the motion to be explained? By the parallelogram of forces, by a tangential force which now becomes a necessary postulate that we *must* accept. That is to say, assuming the *eternal character* of the existing state, we need a *first impulse,*

God. But neither is the existing planetary state eternal nor is the motion originally compound, but *simple rotation,* and the parallelogram of forces applied here is wrong, because it did not merely make evident the unknown magnitude, the *x,* that had still to be found, that is to say in so far as Newton claimed not merely to put the question but to solve it.

* * *

*Newton's parallelogram of forces* in the solar system is true at best *for the moment when the annular bodies separate,* because then the rotational motion comes into contradiction with itself, appearing on the one hand as attraction, and on the other hand as tangential force. As soon as the separation is complete, however, the motion is again a unity. That this separation must occur is a proof of the dialectical process.

* * *

Laplace's theory presupposes only matter in motion—rotation necessary for all bodies suspended in universal space.

* * *

### *MÄDLER, THE FIXED STARS*[285]

*Halley,* at the beginning of the eighteenth century, from the difference between the data of Hipparchus and Flamsteed on three stars, first arrived at the idea of proper motion (p. 410).—Flamsteed's British Catalogue,[a] the first fairly accurate and comprehensive one (p. 420), then ca. 1750, Bradley, Maskelyne, and Lalande.

Crazy *theory of the range of light rays in the case of enormous bodies* and Mädler's calculation based on this—as crazy as anything in Hegel's *Naturphilosophie*[b] (pp. 424-25).

The strongest (apparent) proper motion of a star = 701″ in a century =11′41″ = one-third of the sun's diameter; smallest

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[a] J. Flamsteed, *Historia coelestris Britannica complectens stellar....—Ed.*

[b] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Naturphilosophie...,* Th. 2, Abth. 1.—*Ed.*

average of 921 telescopic stars 8″, 65, some of them 4″ [pp. 425-26].

Milky Way is a series of rings, all with a common centre of gravity (p. 434).

*The Pleiades Group, and in it Alcyone,* η Tauri, the centre of motion of our island universe "as far as the most remote regions of the Milky Way" (p. 448). Periods of revolution within the Pleiades Group on the average ca. two million years (p. 449). About the Pleiades are annular groups alternately poor in stars and rich in stars.—Secchi contests the possibility of fixing a centre at the present time [p. 799].

According to Bessel, *Sirius* and *Procyon* describe an orbit about a *dark* body, as well as the general motion (p. 450).

*Eclipse of Algol* every 3 days, duration 8 hours, *confirmed by spectral analysis* (Secchi, p. 786).

In the region of the *Milky Way,* but deep *within* it, a dense ring of stars of magnitudes 7-11; a long way outside this ring are the concentric Milky Way rings, of which we see two. In the Milky Way, according to Herschel, ca. 18 million stars visible through his telescope, those lying *within* the ring being ca. 2 million or more, hence over 20 million in all. In addition there is still a non-resolvable glow in the Milky Way, even behind the resolved stars, hence perhaps still further rings concealed owing to perspective? (Pp. 451-52.)

*Alcyone* distant from the sun 573 light years. *Diameter of the Milky Way ring* of separate visible stars, at least 8,000 light years (pp. 462-63).

The *mass* of the bodies moving within the sun-Alcyone radius of 573 light years is calculated at 118 million sun masses (p. 462), not at all in agreement with the at most 2 million stars moving therein. Dark bodies? At any rate SOMETHING WRONG. A proof of how imperfect our observational bases still are.

For the outermost ring of the Milky Way, Mädler assumes a distance of thousands, perhaps of hundreds of thousands, of light years (p. 464).

A *beautiful argument* against the so-called absorption of light:

> "At any rate, there does exist a distance from which no further light can reach us, but the reason is quite a different one. The velocity of light is *finite*; from the beginning of creation to our day a *finite* time has elapsed, and therefore we can only become aware of the heavenly bodies up to the distance which light has travelled in this finite time!" ([P.] 466.)

That light, decreasing in intensity according to the square of the distance, must reach a point where it is no longer visible to our

eyes, however much the latter may be strengthened and equipped, is quite obvious, and suffices for refuting the view of Olbers that only light absorption is capable of explaining the darkness of the sky[286] that nevertheless is filled in all directions with shining stars to an infinite distance. That is not to say that there does not exist a distance at which the ether *allows no further light to penetrate.*

* * *

*Nebulae.* Of all forms, strictly circular, elliptical, or irregular and jagged. All degrees of resolvability, merging into total non-resolvability, where only a thickening towards the centre can be distinguished. In some of the resolvable nebulae, up to ten thousand stars are perceptible, the middle mostly denser, very rarely a central star of greater brilliance. Rosse's giant telescope has, however, resolved many of them. Herschel I enumerates 197 star aggregations and 2,300 nebulae, to which must be added those catalogued by Herschel II in the southern heavens.—The irregular ones *must be distant island universes* since masses of vapour can only exist in equilibrium in globular or ellipsoidal form. Most of them, moreover, are only just visible even through the most powerful telescopes. At any rate the circular ones *can* be vapour masses: there are 78 of them among the above 2,500. Herschel assumes 2 million, Mädler—on the assumption of a true diameter equal to 8,000 light years—30 million light years distant from us. Since the distance of each astronomical system of bodies from the next one amount to at least a hundredfold the diameter of the system, the distance of our island universe from the next one would be *at least* 50 times 8,000 light years = 400,000 light years, in which case with the several thousands of nebulae we get far beyond Herschel I's 2 million ([Mädler, loc cit., p. 484-] 492).

*Secchi:*

> The resolvable nebulae give a continuous and an ordinary stellar spectrum. The nebulae proper, however, "in part give a continuous spectrum like the nebula in Andromeda, but mostly they give a spectrum consisting of one or only very few bright lines, like the nebulae in Orion, in Sagittarius, in Lyra, and the majority of those that are known by the name of *planetary*" (circular) "nebulae" ([S.] 787).

(The nebula in Andromeda according to Mädler, p. 495, is unresolvable.—The nebula in Orion is irregular, flocculent and, as it were, puts out arms, p. 495.—Those of Lyra are ring-shaped, only slightly elliptical, p. 498.)

Huggins found in the spectrum of Herschel's nebula No. 4374 three bright lines, "from this it follows immediately that this nebula does not consist of an aggregate of separate stars, but is a *true nebula*, a glowing substance in the gaseous state" [S. 787-88].

The lines belong to nitrogen (1) and hydrogen (1), the third is unknown. Similarly for the nebula in Orion [pp. 787-88]. Even nebulae that contain gleaming points (Hydra, Sagittarius) have these bright lines, so that star masses in course of aggregation are still not solid or liquid (p. 789). The nebula in Lyra has only a nitrogen line (p. 789).—The densest place of the nebula in Orion is 1°, its whole extension 4° [pp. 790-91].

* * *

Secchi: *Sirius:*

"Eleven years later" (subsequent to Bessel's calculation, Mädler, p. 450) "... not only was the satellite of Sirius discovered in the form of a self-luminous star of the sixth magnitude, but it was also shown that its orbit coincides with that calculated by Bessel. Since then the orbit also for Procyon and its companion has been determined by Auwers, although the satellite itself has not yet been seen" ([S.] 793).

Secchi: Fixed stars.

"Since the fixed stars, with the exception of two or three, have no perceptible parallax, they are at least" some 30 light years distant from us ([p.] 799).

According to Secchi, the stars of the 16th magnitude (still distinguishable in Herschel's big telescope) are 7,560 light years distant, those distinguishable in Rosse's telescope are at least 20,900 light years distant (p. 802).

Secchi (p. 810) himself asks:

When the sun and the whole system are extinct, "are there forces in nature which can reconvert the dead system into its original state of glowing nebula and reawaken it to new life? We do not know."[a]

* * *

Secchi and the Pope.[287]

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[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 331-33.—*Ed.*

* * *

*Descartes* discovered that the ebb and flow of tides are caused by the attraction of the moon. He also discovered simultaneously with Snell the basic law of the refraction of light (contested by Wolf, p. 325)[288] and this in a form peculiar to himself and different from that of Snell.

* * *

*Mayer, Mechanische Theorie der Wärme,* p. 328. *Kant has already stated* that the ebb and flow of tides exert a retarding pressure on the rotating earth. (Adam's calculation that the duration of the sidereal day is now increasing by $^1/_{100}$ second in 1,000 years.)[a]

[a] J. R. Mayer, *Die Mechanik der Wärme,* S. 328, 330.—*Ed.*

## [PHYSICS]

* * *

Impact and friction. Mechanics regards the effect of impact as *taking place in a pure form.* But in reality things are different. On every impact part of the mechanical motion is transformed into heat, and friction is nothing more than a form of impact that continually converts mechanical motion into heat (fire by friction known from primeval times).

* * *

*The consumption of kinetic energy* as such in the field of dynamics is always of a twofold nature and has a twofold result: (1) the kinetic work done, production of a corresponding quantity of potential energy, which, however, is always less than the applied kinetic energy; (2) overcoming—besides gravity—frictional and other resistances that convert the remainder of the used-up kinetic energy into *heat.*—Likewise on reconversion: according to the way this takes place, a part of the loss through friction, etc., is dissipated as heat—and that is all very ancient!

* * *

The first, naïve outlook is as a rule more correct than the later, metaphysical one. Thus already *Bacon* (and after him Boyle, Newton, and almost all the Englishmen) said heat is motion[a]

[a] F. Bacon, *Novum Organum,* Book II.—*Ed.*

(Boyle even said molecular motion). It was only in the eighteenth century that the caloric theory arose in France and became more or less accepted on the Continent.

* * *

*Conservation of energy.* The *quantitative* constancy of motion was already enunciated by Descartes,[a] and indeed almost in the same words as now by? (Clausius, Robert Mayer, Maxwell?). On the other hand, the transformation of the *form* of motion was only discovered in 1842 and this, not the law of quantitative constancy, is what is new.[b]

* * *

*Force and conservation of force.* The passages of J. R. Mayer in his two first papers[c] to be cited against Helmholtz.

* * *

*Force.*[d]—Hegel (*Geschichte der Philosophie,* I, S. 208) says:

"It is better to say that a magnet has a *soul*" (as Thales expresses it) "than that it has an attracting *force*; force is a kind of property that, *separable from matter,* is put forward as a predicate—while soul, on the other hand, is *this movement itself, identical with the nature of matter.*"[e]

* * *

Hegel's conception of force and its manifestation, of cause and effect as identical, is proved in the change of form of matter, where the equivalence is proved mathematically. This had already been recognised in measurement: force is measured by its manifestation, cause by effect.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 50 and 525.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 370.—*Ed.*

[c] G. R. Mayer, "Bemerkungen über die Kräfte der unbelebten Natur", *Annalen der Chemie und Pharmacie,* Bd. 42, and *Die organische Bewegung in ihrem Zusammenhang mit dem Stoffwechsel.*—*Ed.*

[d] Engels used this note in the Chapter "Basic Forms of Motion" (see this volume, p. 372).—*Ed.*

[e] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie.* Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

* * *

*Force.* If any kind of motion is transferred from one body to another, then one can regard the motion, *in so far as it transfers itself,* i.e., is active, as the cause of motion, *in so far as the latter becomes transferred,* i.e., is passive, and then this cause, the active motion, appears as *force* and the passive as its *manifestation.* From the law of the indestructibility of motion, it follows automatically that the force is exactly as great as its manifestation since indeed it is *the same motion* in both cases.[a] Motion that transfers itself, however, is more or less quantitatively determinable, because it appears in two bodies, of which one can serve as a unit of measurement in order to measure the motion in the other. The measurability of motion gives the category *force* its value, otherwise it has none. Hence the more this is the case, the more are the categories of force, and its manifestation usable in research. Hence this is so especially in mechanics, where one resolves the forces still further, regarding them as compound, and thereby often arriving at new results, although one should not forget that this is merely a mental operation; by applying the analogy of forces that are really compound, as expressed in the parallelogram of forces, to forces that are really simple, the latter still do not thereby really become compound.—Similarly in statics. Then, again, in the transformation of other forms of motion into mechanical motion (heat, electricity, magnetism in the attraction of iron), where the original motion can be measured by the mechanical effect produced. But here, where various forms of motion are considered simultaneously, the limitation of the category or abbreviation, *force,* already stands revealed. No regular physicist any longer terms electricity, magnetism, or heat mere *forces,* any more than *substances* or *imponderabilia.* When we know into how much mechanical motion a definite quantity of heat motion is converted, we still do not know anything of the nature of heat, however much the examination of these transformations may be necessary for investigating this nature of heat. To conceive heat as a form of motion is the latest advance of physics, and by so doing the category of force is sublated in it: in certain connections—those of transition—they[b] can appear as forces and so be measured. Thus heat is measured by the expansion of a

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[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 55-56.—*Ed.*

[b] I.e., the various forms of motion: mechanical motion, heat, electricity, etc.—*Ed.*

body on warming. If heat did not pass here from one body to the other—the measuring rod—i.e., if the heat of the body acting as a measuring rod did not alter, there could be no talk of measurement, of a change of magnitude. One says simply: heat expands a body, whereas to say: heat has the force to expand a body, would be a mere tautology, and to say: heat is the force which expands bodies, would not be correct, since 1. expansion, e.g., in gases, is produced also by other means, and 2. heat is not exhaustively characterised in this way.

Some chemists speak also of chemical force, as the force that makes and maintains compounds. Here, however, there is no real transference, but a combination of the motion of various bodies into a single whole, and so "force" here reaches its limit. It is, however, still measurable by the heat production, but so far without much result. Here it becomes a phrase, as everywhere where, instead of investigating the uninvestigated forms of motion, one *invents* a so-called force for their explanation (as, for instance, explaining the floating of wood in water by a buoyancy force—the refraction of light by a refractive force, etc.), in which case as many forces are obtained as there are unexplained phenomena, the external phenomenon being indeed merely translated into an internal phrase.[289] (Attraction and repulsion are easier to excuse; here a number of phenomena inexplicable to the physicist are embraced under a common name, which gives an inkling of an inner connection.)

Finally in organic nature the category of force is completely inadequate and yet continually applied. True, it is possible to characterise the action of the muscles, in accordance with its mechanical effect, as muscular force, and also to measure it. One can even conceive of other measurable functions as forces, e.g., the digestive capacity of various stomachs, but one quickly arrives *ad absurdum* (e.g., nervous force), and in any case one can speak here of forces only in a very restricted and figurative sense (the ordinary phrase: to regain one's forces). This misuse, however, has led to speaking of a vital force. If by this is meant that the form of motion in the organic body is different from the mechanical, physical, or chemical form, and contains them all sublated in itself, then it is a very lax manner of expression, and especially so because the force—presupposing transference of motion—appears here as something pumped into the organism from outside, not as inherent in it and inseparable from it, and therefore this vital force has been the last refuge of all supernaturalists.

The defect: (1) Force usually treated as having independent existence. (Hegel, *Naturphilosophie*, S. 79.[a])

(2) *Latent, dormant* force—this to be explained from the relation of motion and rest (inertia, equilibrium), where also arousing of forces to be dealt with.

* * *

*Force* (see above). The transference of motion takes place, of course, only in the presence of *all* the various conditions, which are often multiple and complex, especially in machines (the steam-engine, the shotgun with lock, trigger, percussion cap, and gunpowder). If *one* of them is missing, then the transference does not take place until this condition is supplied. In that case one can imagine this as if the force must first be *aroused* by the introduction of this last condition, as if it lay *latent* in a body, the so-called carrier of force (gunpowder, charcoal), whereas in reality not only this body but all the other conditions must be present in order to evoke precisely this special transference.—

The notion of force comes to us quite automatically in that we possess in our own body means for transferring motion, which within certain limits can be brought into action by our will; especially the muscles of the arms through which we produce mechanical change of place and motion of other bodies, lifting, carrying, throwing, hitting, etc., resulting in definite useful effects. The motion is here apparently *produced,* not transferred, and this gives rise to the notion of force in general *producing motion.* That muscular force is also merely transference has only now been proved physiologically.

* * *

*Force.* The negative side also has to be analysed: the resistance which is opposed to the transference of motion.

* * *

*Radiation of heat into universal space.* All the hypotheses cited by Lavrov of the renewal of extinct heavenly bodies (p. 109)[290] *involve*

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Naturphilosophie...*, § 266.—*Ed.*

*loss of motion.* The heat once radiated, i.e., the infinitely greater part of the original motion, is and remains lost. Helmholtz says, up to now, $\frac{453}{454}$.[a] Hence one finally arrives after all at the exhaustion and cessation of motion. The question is only finally solved when it has been shown how the heat radiated into universal space becomes *utilisable* again. The theory of the transformation of motion puts this question categorically, and it cannot be got over by postponing the answer or by evasion. That, however, with the posing of the question the conditions for its solution are simultaneously given—*c'est autre chose.*[b] The transformation of motion and its indestructibility were first discovered hardly thirty years ago, and it is only quite recently that the consequences have been further elaborated and worked out. The question as to what becomes of the apparently lost heat has, as it were, only been *nettement posée*[c] since 1867 (Clausius).[d] No wonder that it has not yet been solved; it may still be a long time before we arrive at a solution with our small means. But it will be solved, just as surely as it is certain that there are no miracles in nature and that the original heat of the nebular ball is not communicated to it miraculously from outside the universe. The general assertion that the *total amount* (die *Masse*) *of motion is infinite*, and hence inexhaustible, is of equally little assistance in overcoming the difficulties of each individual case; it too does not suffice for the revival of extinct universes, except in the cases provided for in the above hypotheses, which are always bound up with loss of force and are therefore only temporary cases. The cycle has not been traced and will not be until the possibility of the re-utilisation of the radiated heat is discovered.

* * *

Clausius—IF CORRECT—proves that the universe has been created, *ergo* that matter is creatable, *ergo* that it is destructible, *ergo* that also force, or motion, is creatable and destructible, *ergo* that the whole theory of the "conservation of force" is nonsense, *ergo* that all his conclusions from it are also nonsense.

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[a] H. Helmholtz, *Populäre wissenschaftliche Vorträge*, H. II, S. 119-21; see also this volume, pp. 375-77.—*Ed.*

[b] That is quite another thing.—*Ed.*

[c] Clearly posed.—*Ed.*

[d] R. Clausius, *Über den zweiten Hauptsatz der mechanischen Wärmetheorie.*—*Ed.*

* * *

*Clausius' second law,* etc., however it may be formulated, shows energy as lost, qualitatively if not quantitatively. *Entropy cannot be destroyed by natural means but it can certainly be created.* The world clock has to be wound up, then it goes on running until it arrives at a state of equilibrium from which only a miracle can set it going again. The energy expended in winding has disappeared, at least qualitatively, and can only be restored by an *impulse from outside.* Hence, an impulse from outside was necessary at the beginning also, hence, the quantity of motion, or energy, existing in the universe was not always the same, hence, energy must have been created, i.e., it must be creatable, and therefore destructible. *Ad absurdum!*

* * *

Conclusion for Thomson, Clausius, Loschmidt: *The reversion consists in repulsion repelling itself and thereby returning out of the medium into extinct heavenly bodies.* But just therein lies also the proof that repulsion is the really *active* aspect of motion, and attraction the *passive* aspect.[a]

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* * *

In the motion of gases—in the process of evaporation—the motion of masses passes directly into molecular motion. Here, therefore, the transition has to be made.

* * *

States of aggregation—nodal points where quantitative change is transformed into qualitative.

* * *

Cohesion—already negative in gases—transformation of attraction into *repulsion,* the latter only real in gas and ether (?).

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[a] See also this volume, pp. 362-77 and 523.—*Ed.*

* * *

At absolute 0° no gas is possible, all motion of the molecules ceases; the slightest pressure, and hence their own attraction, forces them together. *Consequently, a permanent gas is an impossibility.*

* * *

$mv^2$ has been proved also for gas molecules by the kinetic theory of gases. Hence there is the same law for molecular motion as for the motion of masses; the difference between the two is here abolished.

* * *

*The kinetic theory* has to show how molecules that strive upwards can at the same time exert a downward pressure and—assuming the atmosphere as more or less permanent in relation to universal space—how in spite of gravity they can move to a distance from the centre of the earth, but nevertheless, at a certain distance, although the force of gravity has decreased according to the *square* of the distance, are yet compelled by this force to come to a stop or to return.

* * *

The kinetic theory of gases:

"In a perfect gas ... the molecules are already so far distant from one another that their mutual interaction can be neglected." (Clausius, p. 6.[a])

*What fills up the spaces between them?* Ditto ether.[291] Hence here *the postulate of a matter that is not articulated into molecular or atomic cells.*

* * *

The character of mutual opposites belonging to theoretical development; from the *horror vacui*[292] the transition was made at once to absolutely empty universal space, only afterwards the *ether.*

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[a] R. Clausius, *Über den zweiten Hauptsatz der mechanischen Wärmetheorie.—Ed.*

* * *

Ether. If the ether offers resistance at all, it must also offer resistance to *light*, and so at a certain distance be impenetrable to light. That however ether *propagates* light, being its *medium*, necessarily involves that it should also offer resistance to light, otherwise light could not set it in vibration.—This is the solution of the controversial questions raised by Mädler[a] and mentioned by Lavrov.[293]

* * *

*Light and darkness* are certainly the most conspicuous and definite opposites in nature; they have always served as a rhetorical phrase for religion and philosophy from the time of the fourth Gospel[b] to the *lumières*[c] of the eighteenth century.

Fick, p. 9: "the law long ago rigidly demonstrated in physics ... that the form of motion called radiant heat is identical in all essential respects with the form of motion that we call *light*."[d] Clerk Maxwell, p. 14: "These rays" (of radiant heat) "have all the physical properties of rays of light, and are capable of reflection, etc.... Some of the heat-rays are identical with the rays of light, while other kinds of heat-rays make no impression upon our eyes."[e]

Hence there exist *dark* light-rays, and the famous opposition between light and darkness disappears from natural science as an absolute opposition. Incidentally, the deepest darkness and the brightest, most glaring light have the same effect of *dazzling* our eyes, and in this way are *for us* identical.—The fact is, the sun's rays have different effects according to the length of the vibration; those with the greatest wave-length communicate heat, those with medium wave-length, light, and those with the shortest wave-length, chemical action (Secchi, p. 632 et seq.), the maxima of the three actions being closely approximated, the *inner* minima of the outer groups of rays, as regards their action, coming within the light-ray group.[294] What is light and what is non-light depends on the structure of the eye. Night animals may be able to see even a part, not of the heat-rays, but of the chemical rays, since their eyes

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[a] See this volume, pp. 553-54.—*Ed.*
[b] John 1.—*Ed.*
[c] Enlightenment.—*Ed.*
[d] A. Fick, *Die Naturkräfte in ihrer Wechselbeziehung.* Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*
[e] J. C. Maxwell, *Theory of Heat.* Engels quotes in English.—*Ed.*

are adapted for shorter wave-lengths than ours.[a] The difficulty disappears if one assumes, instead of three kinds, only a single kind of ray (and scientifically we know only *one* and everything else is a premature conclusion), which has different, but within narrow limits compatible, effects according to the wave-length.

* * *

Hegel constructs the theory of light and colour out of pure thought, and in so doing falls into the *grossest empiricism* of home-bred philistine experience (although with a certain justification, since this point had not been cleared up at that time), e.g., where he adduces against Newton the mixtures of colours used by painters (p. 314, below).[b]

* * *

*Electricity.* In regard to Thomson's cock-and-bull stories, cf. Hegel, pp. 346-47, where there is exactly the same thing.[c]—On the other hand, Hegel already conceives frictional electricity quite clearly as *tension,* in contrast to the fluid theory and the electrical matter theory (p. 347).

* * *

When Coulomb says that "*PARTICLES* OF ELECTRICITY WHICH REPEL EACH OTHER INVERSELY AS THE SQUARE OF THEIR DISTANCE", Thomson calmly takes this as proved (p. 358).[295] Ditto (p. 366) the hypothesis that electricity consists of "2 FLUIDS, POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE", whose "PARTICLES REPEL EACH OTHER". It is said (p. 360) that electricity in a charged body is retained merely by the pressure of the atmosphere.

Faraday put the seat of electricity in the opposed poles of the atoms (or molecules, there is still confusion about it), and thus for the first time expressed the idea that electricity is not a fluid but a form of motion, a "force" (p. 378). What old Thomson cannot get into his head at all is that it is precisely the spark that is of a *material* nature!

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[a] A reference to the ultra-violet rays. Cf. this volume, p. 519.—*Ed.*

[b] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Naturphilosophie...*, § 320, Zusatz.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., § 324, Zusatz; see also this volume, pp. 403-04.—*Ed.*

Already in 1822, Faraday had discovered that the momentary induced current—the first as well as the second, reversed current—"PARTICIPATES MORE OF THE CURRENT PRODUCED BY THE DISCHARGE OF THE LEYDEN JAR THAN THAT PRODUCED BY THE VOLTAIC BATTERY"—herein lay the whole secret (p. 385).

The *spark* has been the subject of all sorts of cock-and-bull stories, which are now known to be special cases or illusions: the spark from a positive body is said to be a "PENCIL OF RAYS, BRUSH, OR CONE", the point of which is the point of discharge; the negative spark, on the other hand, is said to be a "*STAR*" (p. 396). A short spark is said to be always white, a long one usually reddish or purplish. (Wonderful nonsense of Faraday on the spark, p. 400.[a]) The spark drawn from the PRIME CONDUCTOR [of an electric machine] by a metal sphere is said to be white, by the hand—PURPLE, by aqueous moisture—red (p. 405). The spark, i.e., light, is said to be "NOT INHERENT IN ELECTRICITY, BUT MERELY THE RESULT OF THE COMPRESSION OF THE AIR. THAT AIR IS VIOLENTLY AND SUDDENLY COMPRESSED WHEN AN ELECTRIC SPARK PASSES THROUGH IT" is proved by the experiment of Kinnersley in Philadelphia, according to which the spark produces "A *SUDDEN* RAREFACTION *OF THE AIR IN THE TUBE*",[b] and drives the water into the tube (p. 407). In Germany, 30 years ago, Winterl and others believed that the spark, or electric light, was "OF THE SAME NATURE WITH *FIRE*" and arises by the union of two electricities. Against which Thomson seriously proves that the place where the two electricities unite is precisely that where the light is least, and that it is two-thirds from the positive and one-third from the negative end! (Pp. 409-10.) That fire is here still something quite *mythical* is obvious.

With the same seriousness Thomson quotes the experiments of Dessaignes, according to which, with a rising barometer and falling temperature, glass, amber, silk, etc., become negatively electrified on being plunged into mercury, but positively electrified if the barometer is falling and the temperature rising, and in summer always become positive in impure, and always negative in pure, mercury; that in summer gold and various other metals become positive on warming and negative on cooling, the reverse being the case in winter; that they are "HIGHLY ELECTRIC" with a high barometer and northerly wind, positive if the temperature is rising, negative if falling, etc. (p. 416).[c]

How matters stood in regard to *heat*: "IN ORDER TO PRODUCE

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[a] See this volume, p. 404.—*Ed.*

[b] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

[c] Cf. this volume, pp. 403-04.—*Ed.*

THERMO-ELECTRIC EFFECTS, IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO APPLY HEAT. ANYTHING *WHICH ALTERS THE TEMPERATURE*[a] IN ONE PART OF THE CHAIN, ... OCCASIONS A VARIATE IN THE DECLINATION OF THE MAGNET." For instance, the cooling of a metal by ice or evaporation of ether! (P. 419.)

The electro-chemical theory (p. 438) is accepted as "AT LEAST VERY INGENIOUS AND PLAUSIBLE".

Fabroni and Wollaston had already long ago, and Faraday recently, asserted that voltaic electricity is the simple consequence of chemical processes, and Faraday had even given the correct explanation of the shifting of atoms taking place in the liquid, and established that the quantity of electricity is to be measured by the quantity of the electrolytic product.

With the help of Faraday, Thomson arrives at the law

"that every atom must be naturally surrounded by the same quantities of electricities, *so that in this respect heat and electricity resemble each other*"![a] [P. 454.]

* * *

*Static and dynamic electricity.* Static or frictional electricity is the putting into a state of tension of the electricity *already existing* in nature in the *form* of electricity but in an equilibrated, neutral state. Hence the removal of this tension—if and in so far as the electricity during propagation can be conducted—also occurs at one stroke, by a spark, which re-establishes the neutral state.

Dynamic or voltaic electricity, on the other hand, is electricity produced by the conversion of chemical motion into electricity. Under certain definite conditions, it is produced by the solution of zinc, copper, etc. Here the tension is not acute, but chronic. At every moment new + and − electricity is produced from some other form of motion, and not already existing ± electricity separated into + and −. The process is a continuous one, and therefore too its result, electricity, does not take the form of instantaneous tension and discharge, but of a continuous current which can be reconverted at the poles into the chemical motion from which it arose, a process that is termed electrolysis. In this process, as well as in the production of electricity by chemical combination (in which electricity is liberated instead of heat, and in fact as much electricity as under other circumstances heat is set free, Guthrie, p. 210),[296] the current can be traced in the liquid (exchange of atoms in adjacent molecules—this is the current).

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[a] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

This electricity, being of the nature of a current, for that very reason cannot be directly converted into static electricity. By means of induction, however, neutral electricity already existing as such can be de-neutralised. In the nature of things the induced electricity has to follow that which induces it, and therefore must likewise be of a flowing character. On the other hand, this obviously gives the possibility of condensing the current and of converting it into static electricity, or rather into a higher form that combines the property of a current with that of tension. This is solved by Ruhmkorff's machine. It provides an inductional electricity, which achieves this result.

* * *

A pretty example of the dialectics of nature is the way in which according to present-day theory the *repulsion of like* magnetic poles is explained by the *attraction of like* electric currents. (Guthrie, p. 264.)

* * *

*Electro-chemistry.* In describing the effect of the electric spark in chemical decomposition and synthesis, Wiedemann declares that this is more the concern of chemistry.[a] In the same case the chemists declare that it is rather a matter which concerns physics. Thus at the point of contact of molecular and atomic science, both declare themselves incompetent, while it is precisely *at this point that the greatest results are to be expected.*

* * *

Friction and impact produce an *internal* motion of the bodies concerned, molecular motion, differentiated as warmth, electricity, etc., according to circumstances. *This motion, however, is only temporary: cessante causa cessat effectus.*[b] At a definite stage they all become transformed into a *permanent molecular change, a chemical change.*

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[a] G. Wiedemann, *Die Lehre vom Galvanismus und Elektromagnetismus*, Bd. II, S. 418.—*Ed.*

[b] Cessation of cause ceases its effect.—*Ed.*

## [CHEMISTRY]

* * *

The notion of an actual *chemically uniform matter*—ancient as it is—fully corresponds to the childish view, widely held even up to Lavoisier, that the chemical affinity of two bodies depends on each one containing a common third body. (Kopp, *Entwickelung*, p. 105.)[a]

* * *

How old, convenient methods, adapted to previously customary practice, become transferred to other branches and there are a hindrance: in chemistry, the calculation of the composition of compounds in percentages, which was the most suitable method of all for making it impossible to discover the laws of constant proportion and multiple proportion in combination, and indeed did make them undiscoverable for long enough.

* * *

The new epoch begins in chemistry with atomistics (hence Dalton, not Lavoisier, is the father of modern chemistry[297]), and correspondingly in physics with the molecular theory (in a different form, but essentially representing only the other side of this process, with the discovery of the transformation of the forms of motion). The new atomistics is distinguished from all previous

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[a] H. Kopp, *Die Entwickelung der Chemie in der neueren Zeit*, Abth. I.—*Ed.*

to it by the fact that it does not maintain (idiots excepted) that matter is *merely* discrete, but that the discrete parts at various stages (ether atoms, chemical atoms, masses, heavenly bodies) are various *nodal points* which determine the various *qualitative* modes of existence of matter in general—right down to weightlessness and repulsion.

* * *

*Transformation of quantity into quality:* the simplest example *oxygen and ozone,* where 2 : 3 produces quite different properties, even in regard to smell. Chemistry likewise explains the other allotropic bodies merely by a difference in the number of atoms in the molecule.

* * *

The significance of *names.* In organic chemistry the significance of a body, hence also its name, is no longer determined merely by its composition, but rather by its position in the *series* to which it belongs. If we find, therefore, that a body belongs to such a series, its old name becomes an obstacle to understanding it and must be replaced by a *series name* (paraffins, etc.).

## [BIOLOGY]

* * *

*Reaction.* Mechanical, physical (ALIAS heat, etc.) reaction is exhausted with each occurrence of reaction. Chemical reaction alters the composition of the reacting body and is only renewed if a further quantity of the latter is added. Only the *organic* body reacts *independently*—of course within its sphere of power (sleep), and assuming the supply of nourishment—but this supply of nourishment is effective only after it has been assimilated, not immediately as at lower stages, so that here the organic body has an *independent* power of reaction, the new reaction must be *mediated* by it.

* * *

*Life and death.* Already no physiology is held to be scientific if it does not consider death as an essential element of life (note: Hegel, *Encyclopädie,* I, pp. 152-53),[298] the *negation* of life as being essentially contained in life itself, so that life is always thought of in relation to its necessary result, death, which is always contained in it in germ. The dialectical conception of life is nothing more than this. But for anyone who has once understood this, all talk of the immortality of the soul is done away with. Death is either the dissolution of the organic body, leaving nothing behind but the chemical constituents that formed its substance, or it leaves behind a vital principle, more or less the soul, that then survives *all* living organisms, and not only human beings. Here, therefore, by means of dialectics, simply becoming clear about the nature of life and death suffices to abolish an ancient superstition. Living means dying.

* * *

*Generatio aequivoca.*[a] All investigations hitherto amount to the following: in fluids containing organic matter in decomposition and accessible to the air, lower organisms arise, Protista, Fungi, Infusoria. Where do they come from? Have they arisen by *generatio aequivoca*, or from germs brought in from the atmosphere? Consequently the investigation is limited to a quite narrow field, to the question of plasmogony.[299]

The assumption that new living organisms can arise by the decomposition of others belongs essentially to the epoch of immutable species. At that time men found themselves compelled to assume the origin of all organisms, even the most complicated, by original generation from non-living materials, and if they did not want to resort to the aid of an act of creation, they easily arrived at the view that this process is more readily explicable given a formative material already derived from the organic world; no one any longer believed in the production of a mammal directly from inorganic matter by chemical means.

This assumption, however, directly conflicts with the present state of science. By the analysis of the process of decomposition in dead organic bodies chemistry proves that at each successive step this process necessarily produces products that are more and more dead, that are more and more close to the inorganic world, products that are less and less capable of being used by the organic world, and that this process can be given another direction, such utilisation being able to occur only when these products of decomposition are absorbed early enough in an appropriate, already existing, organism. It is precisely the most essential vehicle of cell-formation, protein, that decomposes first of all, and so far it has never been built up again.

Still more. The organisms whose original generation from organic fluids is the question at issue in these investigations, while being of a comparatively low order, are nevertheless definitely differentiated, bacteria, yeasts, etc., with a life-cycle composed of various phases and in part, as in the case of the Infusoria, equipped with fairly well developed organs. They are all at least unicellular. But ever since we have been acquainted with the structureless Monera,[300] it has become foolish to desire to explain the origin of even a single cell directly from dead matter instead

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[a] Spontaneous generation.—*Ed.*

of from structureless living protein, to believe it is possible by means of a little stinking water to force nature to accomplish in twenty-four hours what it has cost her thousands of years to bring about.

Pasteur's experiments[301] in this direction are useless; for those who believe in this possibility he will never be able to prove the impossibility by these experiments alone, but they are important because they furnish much enlightenment on these organisms, their life, their germs, etc.

* * *

*MORIZ WAGNER,*
*NATURWISSENSCHAFTLICHE STREITFRAGEN, I*

(Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung,* Beilage, October 6, 7, 8, 1874)[302]

Liebig's statement to Wagner towards the end of his life (1868):

"We may only assume that life is just as old and just as eternal as matter itself, and the whole controversial point about the origin of life seems to me to be disposed of by this simple assumption. In point of fact, why should not organic life be thought of as present from the very beginning just as much as carbon and *its compounds*[a]"(!), "or as the whole of uncreatable and indestructible matter in general, and the forces that are eternally bound up with the motion of matter in universal space?"

Liebig said further (Wagner believes November 1868)

that he, too, regards the hypothesis that organic life has been "imported" on to our planet from universal space as "acceptable".

Helmholtz (Preface to Thomson's *Handbuch der theoretischen Physik,* German edition, part II):

"It appears to me to be a fully correct procedure, *if all our efforts fail to cause the production of organisms from non-living matter,* to raise the question whether life has ever arisen, whether it is not just as old as matter, and whether its germs have not been transported from one heavenly body to another and have developed wherever they have found favourable soil." [P. XI.][b]

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[a] Here and below italics in quotations are by Engels.— *Ed.*
[b] Engels quotes Preface according to Wagner's article.— *Ed.*

## Wagner:

"The fact that matter is indestructible and imperishable, that it ... can by no force be reduced to nothing, *suffices for the chemist to regard it also as 'uncreatable'*.... But, according to the now prevailing view"(?), "life is regarded merely as a 'property' inherent in certain simple elements, of which the lowest organisms consist, and which, as a matter of course, must be as old, i.e., as originally existing, as these basic stuffs and *their compounds*" (!!) "themselves. In this sense one could also speak of vital force, as Liebig does (*Chemische Briefe*, 4th edition), namely as 'a formative principle in and together with the physical forces',[a] hence not acting outside of matter. This vital force as a 'property of matter', however, manifests itself ... only under appropriate conditions which have existed since eternity at innumerable points in infinite universal space, but which in the course of the different periods of time must often enough have changed their place in space." Hence no life is possible on the ancient fluid earth or the present-day sun, but the glowing bodies have enormously expanded atmospheres, consisting, according to recent views, of the same materials that fill all universal space in extremely rarefied form and are attracted by bodies. The rotating nebular mass from which the solar system developed, reaching beyond the orbit of Neptune, contained "also all water" (!) "dissolved in vaporous form in an atmosphere richly impregnated with carbonic *acid*" (!) "up to immeasurable heights, and with that also the basic materials for the existence" (?) "of the lowest organic germs"; in it there prevailed "most varied degrees of temperature in most varied regions, and hence the assumption is *fully justified* that at all times the conditions necessary for organic life were somewhere to be found. According to this the atmospheres of the heavenly bodies, like those of the rotating cosmic nebular masses, would have to be regarded as the permanent repositories of the living form, as the eternal breeding grounds of organic germs."—In the Andes, below the equator, the smallest living Protista with their invisible germs are still present in masses in the atmosphere up to 16,000 feet. Perty says that they are "almost omnipresent". They are only absent where the glowing heat kills them. For them (*Vibrionidae*, etc.) existence is conceivable "also in the vapour belt of *all* heavenly bodies, wherever the appropriate conditions are to be found".[b]

"According to Cohn,[c] bacteria are ... so extremely minute that 633 million can find room in a cubic millimetre, and 636,000 million weigh only a gram. The micrococci are even smaller," and perhaps they are not the smallest. But being very varied in shape, "the *Vibrionidae* ... sometimes globular, sometimes ovoid, sometimes rod-shaped or spiral" (already possess, therefore, a form that is of considerable importance). "Hitherto no valid objection has been raised against the well-founded hypothesis that all the multifarious, more highly organised living beings of both natural kingdoms *could* have developed and *must* have developed in the course of very long periods of time from such, *or similar*, extremely simple" (!!), "neutral, primordial beings, hovering between plants and animals ... on the basis of individual variability and the capacity for hereditary transmission of newly acquired characters to the offspring on alteration of the physical conditions of the heavenly bodies and on spatial separation of the individual varieties produced."

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[a] G. Liebig, *Chemische Briefe*, Bd. I, S. 349, 372-73.—*Ed.*

[b] M. Perty, *Ueber die Grenzen der sichtbaren Schöpfung, nach den jetzigen Leistungen der Mikroskope und Fernröhre.—Ed.*

[c] F. Cohn, *Ueber Bacterien, die kleinsten lebenden Wesen*, S. 6, 8, 10, 11.—*Ed.*

Worth noting is the proof how much of a dilettante Liebig was in biology, although the latter is a science bordering on chemistry.

He read Darwin[a] for the first time in 1861, and only much later the important biological and palaeontological-geological works subsequent to Darwin. Lamarck[b] he had "never read". "Similarly the important palaeontological special researches which appeared even before 1859, of L. v. Buch, d'Orbigny, Münster, Klipstein, Hauer, and Quenstedt on the fossil Cephalodos, that throw such remarkable light on the genetic connection of the various creations, remained completely unknown to him. All the above-mentioned scientists were ... driven by the force of facts, almost against their will, to the Lamarckian hypothesis of descent", and this indeed *before* Darwin's book. "The theory of descent, therefore, had already quietly struck roots in the views of those scientists who had concerned themselves more closely with the comparative study of fossil organisms." As early as 1832, in *Über die Ammoniten und ihre Sonderung in Fomilien,,* and in 1848 in a paper read before the Berlin Academy,[c] L. v. Buch "very definitely introduced in the science of petrifacts" (!) "the Lamarckian idea of the typical relationship of organic forms as a sign of their common descent." In 1848 he based himself on his investigation of the ammonites for the declaration: "that the disappearance of old forms and the appearance of new ones is not a consequence of the total destruction of organic creations, but *that formation of new species out of older forms has most probably only resulted from altered conditions of life*".[d]

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*Comments.* The above hypothesis of "eternal life" and of importation presupposes:

1. The eternal existence of protein.
2. The eternal existence of the original forms from which everything organic can develop. Both are inadmissible.

*Ad.* 1.—Liebig's assertion that carbon compounds are just as eternal as carbon itself, is doubtful, if not false.

*(a)* Is carbon simple? If not, it is as such not eternal.

*(b)* The compounds of carbon are eternal in the sense that under the same conditions of mixture, temperature, pressure, electric potential, etc., they are always reproduced. But that, for instance, only the simplest carbon compounds, $CO_2$ or $CH_4$, should be eternal in the sense that they exist at all times and more or less in all places, and not rather that they are continually produced anew and pass out of existence again—in fact, out of the elements and into the elements—has hitherto not been

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[a] Ch. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species....—Ed.*

[b] J.-B.-P.-A. de Monet de Lamarck, *Philosophie zoologique, ou exposition des considérations relatives à l'histoire naturelle des animaux.—Ed.*

[c] L. v. Buch, "Über Ceratiden", *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1848. Physikalische Abhandlungen,* 1850, S. 19.—*Ed.*

[d] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

asserted. If living protein is eternal in the same sense as other carbon compounds, then it must not only continually be dissolved into its elements, as is well known to happen, but it must also continually be produced anew from the elements and without the collaboration of previously existing protein—and that is the exact opposite of the result at which Liebig arrives.

*(c)* Protein is the most unstable carbon compound known to us. It decomposes as soon as it loses the capacity of carrying out the functions peculiar to it, which we call life, and it is inherent in its nature that this incapacity should sooner or later make its appearance. And it is just this compound which is supposed to be eternal and able to endure all the changes of temperature, pressure, lack of nourishment, and air, etc., in universal space, although even its upper temperature limit is so low—less than 100° C! The conditions for the existence of protein are infinitely more complicated than those of any other known carbon compound, because not only physical and chemical functions, but in addition nutritive and respiratory functions, enter, requiring a medium which is narrowly delimited, physically and chemically—and is it this medium that one must suppose has maintained itself from eternity under all possible changes? Liebig "prefers, *ceteris paribus*,[a] the simpler of two hypotheses",[b] but a thing may appear very simple and yet be very complicated.—The assumption of innumerable continuous series of living protein bodies, tracing their descent from one another through all eternity, and which under all circumstances always leave sufficient over for the stock to remain well assorted, is the most complicated assumption possible.—Moreover, the atmospheres of the heavenly bodies, and especially nebular atmospheres, were originally glowing hot and therefore no place for protein bodies; hence in the last resort space must serve as the great reservoir—a reservoir in which there is neither air nor nourishment, and with a temperature at which certainly no protein can function or maintain itself!

*Ad.* 2.—The vibrios, micrococci, etc., which are referred to here, are beings already considerably differentiated—protein granules that have excreted an outer membrane, but *no nucleus*. The series of protein bodies capable of development, however, forms *a nucleus first of all* and becomes a cell—the cell membrane is then a further advance (*Amoeba sphaerococcus*). Hence the organisms under consideration here belong to a series which, by all previous

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[a] Under other similar conditions.—*Ed.*

[b] M. Wagner, op. cit., *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 279, 1874, S. 4333.—*Ed.*

analogy, proceeds barrenly into a blind alley, and they cannot be numbered among the ancestors of the higher organisms.

What Helmholtz says of the sterility of attempts to produce life artificially is pure childishness. Life is the mode of existence of protein bodies, the essential element of which consists in *continual metabolic interchange with the natural environment outside them,* and which ceases with the cessation of this metabolism, bringing about the decomposition of the protein.* If success is ever attained in preparing protein bodies chemically, they will undoubtedly exhibit the phenomena of life and carry out metabolism, however weak and short-lived they may be.[a] But it is certain that such bodies could *at most* have the form of the very crudest Monera, and probably much lower forms, but by no means the form of organisms that have become differentiated by an evolution lasting thousands of years, and in which the cell membrane has become separated from the contents and a definite inherited form assumed. So long, however, as we know no more of the chemical composition of protein than we do at present, and therefore for probably another hundred years to come cannot think of its artificial preparation, it is ridiculous to complain that all our efforts, etc., "have failed"!

Against the above assertion that metabolism is the characteristic activity of protein bodies may be put the objection of the growth of Traube's "artificial cells".[303] But here there is merely unaltered absorption of a liquid by endosmosis, while metabolism consists in the absorption of substances, the chemical composition of which is altered, which are assimilated by the organism, and the residua of which are excreted together with the decomposition products of the organism itself resulting from the life process. (*N. B.*—Just as we have to speak of invertebrate vertebrates, so also here the unorganised, formless, undifferentiated granule of protein is termed an organism—*dialectically* this is permissible because just as the vertebral column is implicit in the notochord so in the protein granule on its first origin the whole infinite series of higher organisms lies included "*in itself*" as if in embryo.) The significance

* Such metabolism can also occur in the case of inorganic bodies and in the long run it occurs everywhere, since chemical reactions take place, even if extremely slowly, everywhere. The difference, however, is that inorganic bodies are destroyed by this metabolism, while in organic bodies it is the necessary condition for their existence.

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[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 74-77 and 601-02.—*Ed.*

of Traube's "cells" lies in the fact that they show endosmosis and growth as two things which can be produced also in inorganic nature and without any carbon.

The newly arisen protein granule must have had the capacity of nourishing itself from oxygen, carbon dioxide, ammonia, and some of the salts dissolved in the surrounding water. Organic nutritive substances were not present, for the granules surely could not devour one another. This proves how high above them are the present-day Monera, even without nuclei, living on diatoms, etc., and therefore presupposing a whole series of differentiated organisms.

* * *

*Dialectics of Nature*—REFERENCES.

*Nature,* No. 294 et seq. Allman on Infusoria.[a] Unicellular character, important. Croll ON ICE PERIODS AND GEOLOGICAL TIME.[b]

*Nature,* No. 326, Tyndall on *Generatio.* Specific decay and fermentation experiments.[c]

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*Protista.*[304] Non-cellular, begin with a simple granule of protein which extends and withdraws pseudopodia in one form or another, including the Monera. The Monera of the present day are certainly very different from the original forms, since for the most part they live on organic matter, swallowing diatoms and Infusoria (i.e., bodies higher than themselves and which only arose after them), and, as Haeckel's plate I[d] shows, have a developmental history and pass through the form of non-cellular ciliate swarm-spores.—The tendency towards form which characterises all protein bodies is already evident here. This tendency is more

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[a] G. J. Allman, "Recent progress in our knowledge of the ciliate infusoria", *Nature,* Vol. XII, No. 294, June 17, 1875, pp. 136-37; No. 295, June 24, pp. 155-57; No. 296, July 1, pp. 175-77.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Croll, *Climate and Time in Their Geological Relations...,* and "Croll's *Climate and Time*" (signed: J. F. B.), *Nature,* Vol. XII, No. 294, June 17, 1875, pp. 121-23; No. 295, June 24, pp. 141-44.—*Ed.*

[c] J. Tyndall, "On Germs. On the optical deportment of the atmosphere in reference to the phenomena of putrefaction and infection", *Nature,* Vol. XIII, No. 326, January 27, 1876, pp. 252-54; No. 327, February 3, pp. 268-70.—*Ed.*

[d] E. Haeckel, *Natürlich Schöpfungsgeschichte,* S. 168-69, 664-65.—*Ed.*

prominent in the non-cellular *Foraminifera*, which excrete highly artistic shells (anticipating colonies? corals, etc.) and anticipate the higher molluscs in form just as the tubular Algae (*Siphoneae*) anticipate the trunk, stem, root, and leaf form of higher plants, although they are merely structureless protein. Hence *Protamoeba* is to be separated from *Amoeba*.*

2. On the one hand there arises the distinction of skin (ectosarc) and medullary layer (endosarc) in the sun animalcule *Actinophrys sol* (Nicholson,[305] p. 49). The epidermal layer puts out pseudopodia (in *Protomyxa aurantiaca*, this stage is already a transitional one, see Haeckel, plate I). Along this line of evolution protein does not appear to have got very far.

3. On the other hand, the *nucleus* and *nucleolus* become differentiated in the protein—naked *Amoebae*. From now on the development of form proceeds apace. Similarly, the development of the young cell in the organism, cf. *Wundt* on this (at the beginning).[a] In *Amoeba sphaerococcus*, as in *Protomyxa*, the formation of the cell membrane is only a transitional phase, but even here there is already the beginning of the circulation in the contractile vacuole. [Haeckel, p. 380.] Sometimes we find either a shell of sand grains stuck together (*Difflugia*, Nicholson, p. 47) as in worms and insect larvae, sometimes a genuinely excreted shell. Finally,

4. *The cell with a permanent cell membrane.* According to Haeckel (p. 382), out of this has arisen depending on the hardness of the cell membrane, either plant, or in the case of a soft membrane, animal (? it certainly cannot be conceived so generally). With the cell membrane, definite and at the same time plastic form makes its appearance. Here again a distinction between simple cell membrane and excreted shell. But (in contrast to No. 3) the *putting out of pseudopodia* stops with this cell membrane and this shell. Repetition of earlier forms (ciliate swarm-spores) and diversity of form. The transition is provided by the *Labyrinthuleae* (Haeckel, p. 385), which deposit their pseudopodia outside and creep about in this network with alteration of the normal spindle shape kept within definite limits.—The *Gregarinae* anticipate the mode of life of higher parasites—some are already no longer single cells but *chains* of cells (Haeckel, p. 451), but only

* Individualisation small, they divide and also fuse. [Marginal note.]

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[a] Engels presumably refers to W. Wundt, *Lehrbuch der Physiologie des Menschen*, S. 14.—*Ed.*

containing 2-3 cells—a weak beginning. The highest development of unicellular organisms is in the Infusoria, in so far as these are *really* unicellular. Here a considerable differentiation (see Nicholson). Once again colonies and zoophytes[306] (*Epistylis*). Among unicellular plants likewise a high development of form (*Desmidiaceae*, Haeckel, p. 410).*

5. The next advance is the union of several cells into *one* body, no longer colony. First of all, the *Katallaktae* of Haeckel, *Magosphaera planula* (Haeckel, p. 384), where the union of the cells is only a phase in development. But here also there are already no pseudopodia (whether there are any as a transitional phase Haeckel does not state exactly). On the other hand, the *Radiolaria*, also undifferentiated masses of cells, have retained their pseudopodia and have developed to the highest extent the geometric regularity of the shell, which plays a part even among the genuinely non-cellular rhizopods. The protein surrounds itself, so to speak, with its crystalline form.

6. *Magosphaera planula* forms the transition to the true *Planula* and *Gastrula*, etc. Further details in Haeckel (p. 452 et seq.).[307]

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*Bathybius*.[308] The stones in its flesh are proof that the original form of protein, still lacking any differentiation of form, already bears within it the germ of and capacity for skeletal formation.

* * *

*The individual*. This concept also has been dissolved into something purely relative. Cormus, colony, tapeworm—on the other hand, cell and metamere as individuals in a certain sense (*Anthropogenie* and *Morphologie*).[309]

* * *

The whole of organic nature is one continuous proof of the identity or inseparability of form and content. Morphological and physiological phenomena, form and function, mutually determine

* Rudiment of higher differentiation. [Marginal note.]

one another. The differentiation of form (the cell) determines differentiation of substance into muscle, skin, bone, epithelium, etc., and the differentiation of substance in turn determines difference of form.

* * *

Repetition of morphological forms at all stages of evolution: cell forms (the two essential ones already in *Gastrula*)—metamere formation at a certain stage: annelids, arthropods, vertebrates.—In the tadpoles of amphibians the primitive form of ascidian larvae is repeated.—Various forms of marsupials, which recur among placentals (even counting only existing marsupials).

* * *

For the entire evolution of organism the law of acceleration according to the square of the distance in time from the point of departure is to be accepted. Cf. Haeckel, *Schöpfungsgeschichte* and *Anthropogenie*, the organic forms corresponding to the various geological periods. The higher, the more rapid the process.

* * *

The Darwinian theory to be demonstrated as the practical proof of Hegel's account of the inner connection between necessity and chance.[a]

* * *

*The struggle for existence.* Above all this must be strictly limited to the struggles resulting from plant and animal *over-population*, which do in fact occur at certain stages of plant and lower animal life. But one must keep sharply distinct from it the conditions in which species alter, old ones die out and newly evolved ones take their place, *without* this over-population: e.g., on the migration of animals and plants into new regions where new conditions of

[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 498-501.—*Ed.*

climate, soil, etc., bring about the alteration. If *there* the individuals which become adapted survive and develop into a new species by continually increasing adaptation, while the other more stable individuals die away and finally die out, and with them the imperfect intermediate stages, then this can and does proceed *without any Malthusianism*, and if the latter should occur here at all it makes no change to the process, at most it can accelerate it.—Similarly with the gradual alteration of the geographical, climatic, etc., conditions in a given region (drying up of Central Asia for instance). Whether the members of the animal or plant population there exert pressure on one another is a matter of indifference; the process of evolution of the organisms that is determined by this alteration proceeds all the same.—It is the same for sexual selection, in which case, too, Malthusianism is quite unconcerned.—

Hence also Haeckel's "adaptation and heredity" can bring about the whole process of evolution, without need for selection and Malthusianism.

Darwin's mistake lies precisely in lumping together in "NATURAL SELECTION *OR* THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST"[a] two absolutely separate things:

1. Selection by the pressure of over-population, where perhaps the strongest survive in the first place, but can also be the weakest in many respects.

2. Selection by greater capacity of adaptation to altered circumstances, where the survivors are better suited to these *circumstances*, but where this adaptation as a whole can mean regress just as well as progress (for instance adaptation to parasitic life is *always* regress).

The main thing: that each advance in organic evolution is at the same time a regression, fixing *one-sided* evolution and excluding the possibility of evolution in many other directions.

This, however, *a basic law.*

* * *

THE STRUGGLE FOR LIFE.[310] Until Darwin, what was stressed by his present adherents was precisely the harmonious co-operative working of organic nature, how the plant kingdom supplies animals with nourishment and oxygen, and animals supply plants

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[a] A reference to the title of Chapter IV of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species....—Ed.*

with manure, ammonia, and carbonic acid. Hardly was Darwin recognised before these same people saw everywhere nothing but *struggle.* Both views are justified within narrow limits, but both are equally one-sided and prejudiced. The interaction of bodies in non-living nature includes both harmony and collisions, that of living bodies conscious and unconscious co-operation as well as conscious and unconscious struggle. Hence, even in regard to nature, it is not permissible one-sidedly to inscribe only "struggle" on one's banners. But it is absolutely childish to desire to sum up the whole manifold wealth of historical development and complexity in the meagre and one-sided phrase "struggle for existence." That says less than nothing.

The whole Darwinian theory of the struggle for existence is simply the transference from society to organic nature of Hobbes' theory of *bellum omnium contra omnes*[a] and of the economic theory of competition, as well as the Malthusian theory of population. When once this feat has been accomplished (the unconditional justification for which, especially as regards the Malthusian theory, is still very questionable), it is very easy to transfer these theories back again from natural history to the history of society, and altogether too naïve to maintain that thereby these assertions have been proved as eternal natural laws of society.

Let us accept for a moment the phrase "struggle for existence", FOR ARGUMENT'S SAKE. The most that the animal can achieve is to *collect*; man *produces*, he prepares the means of subsistence, in the widest sense of the words, which without him nature would not have produced. This makes impossible any unqualified transference of the laws of life in animal societies to human society. Production soon brings it about that the so-called STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE no longer turns on pure means of existence, but on means of enjoyment and development. Here—where the means of development are socially produced—the categories taken from the animal kingdom are already totally inapplicable. Finally, under the capitalist mode of production, production reaches such a high level that society can no longer consume the means of subsistence, enjoyment and development that have been produced, because for the great mass of producers access to these means is artificially and forcibly barred; and therefore every ten years a crisis restores the equilibrium by destroying not only the means of subsistence, enjoyment and development that have been produced, but also a

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[a] A war of all against all. T. Hobbes, *Elementa philosophica de cive* [Praefatio ad lectores].—*Ed.*

great part of the productive forces themselves. Hence the so-called struggle for existence assumes *the* form: to *protect* the products and productive forces produced by bourgeois capitalist society against the destructive, ravaging effect of this capitalist social order, by taking control of social production and distribution out of the hands of the ruling capitalist class, which has become incapable of this function, and transferring it to the producing masses—and that is the socialist revolution.

The conception of history as a series of class struggles is already much richer in content and deeper than merely reducing it to weakly distinguished phases of the struggle for existence.

* * *

*Vertebrates.* Their essential character: *the grouping of the whole body about the nervous system.* Thereby the development of self-consciousness, etc., becomes possible. In all other animals the nervous system is a secondary affair, here it is the basis of the whole organisation; the nervous system, when developed to a certain extent—by posterior elongation of the head ganglion of the worms—takes possession of the whole body and organises it according to its needs.

* * *

When Hegel makes the transition from life to cognition by means of propagation (reproduction),[a] there is to be found in this the germ of the theory of evolution, that, organic life once given, it must evolve by the development of the generations to a genus of thinking beings.

* * *

What Hegel calls reciprocal action is the *organic body,* which, therefore, also forms the transition to consciousness, i.e., from necessity to freedom, to the idea (see *Logik,* II, conclusion).[b]

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik,* Th. 2. Die Subjective Logik, oder: Die Lehre vom Begriff, S. 254.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., S. 236-54.—*Ed.*

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Rudiments in nature. Insect states (the ordinary ones do not go beyond purely natural conditions), here even a social rudiment. Ditto productive animals with tools (bees, etc., beavers), but still only subsidiary things and without total effect.—Even earlier: colonies of corals and Hydrozoa, where the individual is at most an intermediate stage and the fleshy COMMUNITY mostly a stage of the full development. See Nicholson.[a]—Similarly, the Infusoria, the highest, and in part very much differentiated, form which a single cell can achieve.

* * *

*Work.*—The mechanical theory of heat has transferred this category from political economy into physics (for *physiologically* it is still a long way from having been scientifically determined), but in so doing it becomes defined in quite a different way, as seen even from the fact that only a very slight, subordinate part of economic work (lifting of loads, etc.) can be expressed in kilogram-metres. Nevertheless, there is an inclination to re-transfer the thermodynamical definition of work to the sciences from which the category was derived, with a different determination. For instance, without further ado to identify it *brutto*[b] with physiological work, as in Fick and Wislicenus' Faulhorn experiment,[311] in which the lifting of a human body, of *disons*[c] 60 kgs, to a height of *disons* 2,000 metres, i.e., 120,000 kilogram-metres, is supposed to express the *physiological* work done. In the physiological work done, however, it makes an enormous difference *how* this lifting is effected: whether by positive lifting of the load, by mounting vertical ladders, or whether along a road or stair with 45° slope (=militarily impracticable terrain), or along a road with a slope of $^1/_{18}$ hence a length of about 36 kms (but this is questionable, if the same time is allowed in all cases). At any rate, however, in all practicable cases a forward motion also is combined with the lifting, and indeed where the road is quite level this is fairly considerable and as physiological work it cannot be put equal to zero. In some places there even appears to be not a little desire to re-import the thermodynamical category of work back into

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[a] H. A. Nicholson, *A Manual of Zoology*..., pp. 32 and 102.—*Ed.*
[b] Crudely.—*Ed.*
[c] Say.—*Ed.*

political economy (as with the Darwinists and the struggle for existence), the result of which would be nothing but nonsense. Let someone try to convert any SKILLED LABOUR into kilogram-metres and then to determine wages on this basis! Physiologically considered, the human body contains organs which in their totality, *from one aspect*, can be regarded as a thermodynamical machine, where heat is supplied and converted into motion. But even if one presupposes constant conditions as regards the other bodily organs, it is questionable whether physiological work done, even lifting, can be at once fully expressed in kilogram-metres, since within the body *internal* work is performed at the same time which does not appear in the result. For the body is not a steam-engine, which only undergoes friction and wear and tear. Physiological work is only possible with continued chemical changes in the body itself, depending also on the process of respiration and the work of the heart. Along with every muscular contraction or relaxation, chemical changes occur in the nerves and muscles, and these changes cannot be treated as parallel to those of coal in a steam-engine. One can, of course, compare two instances of physiological work that have taken place under otherwise identical conditions, but one cannot measure the physical work of a man according to the work of a steam-engine, etc.; their external results, yes, but not the processes themselves without considerable reservations.

(All this has to be thoroughly revised.)

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*Dialectics and Natural Science*

## [SECOND FOLDER]

*The Investigation of Nature and Dialectics*

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   b) On the "Mechanical" Conception of Nature
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## [THIRD FOLDER]

*Dialectics of Nature*

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3) Electricity and Magnetism
4) Natural Science and the Spirit World
5) Old Introduction
6) Tidal Friction

## [FOURTH FOLDER]

*Mathematics and Natural Science. Miscellaneous*

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[a] This heading is crossed out in the manuscript, for Engels decided to transfer it to the third folder.— *Ed.*

# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

# FROM ENGELS' PREPARATORY WRITINGS FOR *ANTI-DÜHRING*[313]

## [INTRODUCTION. A ROUGH OUTLINE][314]

*Modern socialism*, although it arose essentially from the recognition of the class antagonisms existing in the society found at hand between proprietors and non-proprietors, workers and exploiters, appears, however, in its theoretical form at first as a more logical and further extension of the principles laid down by the great French philosophers of the eighteenth century, socialism's first representatives, Morelly and Mably, having also belonged among them. Like every new theory, modern socialism had, at first, to connect itself with the intellectual stock-in-trade, ready to its hand, however deeply its roots lay in material facts.

The great men, who in France prepared men's minds for the coming revolution, were themselves extreme revolutionists. None of the existing authorities had validity for them. Everything, including religion, natural science, political institutions, and society, was subjected to the most unsparing criticism. Everything must justify its existence before the supreme court of reason, or give up existence. Reason was put forward as the sole measure. It was the time when, as Hegel says, the world stood upon its *head*; first in the sense that man's head and the principles arrived at by means of thought wished to be recognised as the basis of all human views, action and association, and then later, in the sense that, as reality was found to contradict these principles completely, things were, in fact, turned upside down. Every form of society and government then existing, every old traditional view was denounced as being irrational and was thrown out; the world had hitherto allowed itself to be led by absurd prejudices; now, for the first time, the light of day dawned, reason reigned and the whole past deserved only pity and contempt.

We know today that this kingdom of reason was nothing more than the idealised kingdom of the bourgeoisie, that this eternal Right

then proclaimed found its corresponding realisation in bourgeois justice; that the government of reason, the Contrat Social of Rousseau, came into being, and only could come into being, as a democratic bourgeois republic. The great thinkers of the eighteenth century could, no more than those of former ages, go beyond the limits imposed upon them by their epoch.

But, side by side with the antagonism between the nobility, monarchy and the burghers, was the general antagonism of exploiters and exploited, of poor workers and rich idlers, and it was precisely this circumstance that made it possible for the representatives of the bourgeoisie to put themselves forward as representing suffering humanity; there also existed, though as yet undeveloped and not in the foreground, the contradiction between workers and capitalists. This prompted individual minds to go further in their criticism, to demand equality not only of political rights, but also of social standing, and to demand the abolition of class differences. Both directions were interwoven with Saint-Simon; the latter predominated with the French ascetic communists; while Owen systematically, in the country with the most developed capitalist production and the contradictions created by it, developed it in direct relation to French materialism.

Right from its beginnings, bourgeois development possessed this inherent contradiction. Thomas Münzer, the Levellers.[315] Thomas More's *Utopia*, and so on.

The new transformation of society was again supposed to be based on the eternal laws of reason and justice, but these are as different from those of the bourgeois French philosophers as heaven from hell. A world constructed by these philosophers and according to their principles is quite as irrational and unjust, so it was disposed of just as readily as all the earlier forms of society and government. And if pure reason and justice have not, hitherto, ruled the world, this has been the result of the as yet incorrect understanding of them. What was wanted was the individual man of genius, who has now arisen and understands the truth; the fact that he has arisen is not an inevitable event, a necessary link in the chain of human development, but a mere happy incident. He might just as well have been born 500 years earlier, and might then have spared humanity 500 years of suffering and error.

This mode of outlook is essentially that of all English, French and of the first German socialists, including Weitling. Socialism is the expression of absolute truth, reason and justice and has only to be discovered to conquer all the world; but when precisely it is discovered is a matter of pure chance. And in this process absolute

reason, truth, and justice are different with the founder of each individual school—compare Owen, Fourier, the Saint-Simonists, Louis Blanc, Proudhon, Pierre Leroux, and Weitling; and since the criterion of truth and justice for each of them is his own subjective understanding, the subjective measure of his knowledge and his intellectual training, the only possible outcome is that they mutually erode one another. To make science of socialism, it had to be placed upon a real basis and be provided with firm, unshakable foundation. And this was done by Marx.

Meanwhile, alongside and after French eighteenth-century philosophy, the new German philosophy which culminated in Hegel had arisen. Its greatest merit was the taking up again of dialectics as the highest form of reasoning. The old Greek philosophers were all born natural dialecticians, and Aristotle, the Hegel of the Ancient World, had already analysed the most essential forms of dialectic thought. The newer philosophy, on the other hand, although it also had brilliant exponents of the dialectic (Descartes and Spinoza, for example), was, especially through English influence, become rigidly fixed in the metaphysical mode of reasoning, which also dominated the French of the eighteenth century. Metaphysical reasoning considers things and their mental reflexes, ideas, as isolated, one after the other and apart from each other, as objects of investigation fixed, rigid, given once for all. A thing either is or is not; a thing cannot be, at one and the same time, both itself, and something else. This mode of thought, luminous at first sight, was the metaphysical one. Dialectics, on the other hand, is not satisfied with this; it interprets things and concepts in their interdependence, in their interrelations, in their interaction and their consequent changes, in their emergence, development and demise. Since things do not, however, exist on their own in the world, but affect and influence one another, change, appear and disappear, it is easy to understand that metaphysical thought, although correct in certain very broad, but, at the same time, restricted areas, the scale of which is determined by the nature of the given circumstances, sooner or later reaches, in every area, a limit beyond which it becomes one-sided, limited, *abstract*, and falls into irresolvable contradictions, out of which only dialectics can help it. For everyday purposes, we know, e.g., whether an animal is alive or not; closer inquiry cannot establish absolutely when it began to exist. The jurists know this; they have vainly tried to determine a limit beyond which the killing of a human embryo is murder (and it is just as impossible to determine absolutely the moment of physiological death, which is a protracted process with many stages, as can be read

in any physiology textbook). In the same way, every organic being is every moment the same and not the same; every moment some cells die and others are built anew, so the individual is always the same and, at the same time, something else. An exact representation of the universe, of its evolution, of the development of mankind, and of its reflection in the human mind, can therefore only be obtained through a dialectical approach, with constant regard to the innumerable actions and reactions of the life and death, of progressive or retrogressive changes. And this is how the new German philosophy has worked. Kant turned Newton's stable solar system and its eternal duration, once it had been given the initial impulse, into the result of a historic process of the formation of the sun and all the planets out of an original nebulous mass, a hypothesis that was mathematically substantiated in all its details fifty years later by Laplace and is now accepted by all natural scientists. Hegel completed this philosophy, by creating a system in which the whole world, natural, historical, intellectual, is represented as a *process*, i.e. as in constant motion, change, transformation, development. From this viewpoint the history of mankind no longer appeared as a chaotic jumble of senseless acts of violence, all equally standing condemned before the philosophers' now mature reason, and which are best forgotten as quickly as possible—in comparison with the light of eternal truth that had now dawned—but as the process of evolution of man himself. It was now the task of philosophy to reveal the gradual march of this process through all its devious ways, and to follow the inner law running through all its apparently accidental phenomena.

Whether or not Hegel solved this problem is immaterial here. His merit was that he propounded it. He could not possibly have solved it, however, since he was an idealist, i.e., for him thoughts were not pictures of things, but, conversely, things and their evolution were only the realised pictures of the "Idea", existing somewhere from eternity before the world was. And this, together with the subjective limitations of its creator, is what destroyed the Hegelian system.

The Hegelian system was the last and most consummate form of philosophy, in so far as the latter is represented as a special science superior to every other. All philosophy collapsed with this system. But there has remained the dialectic method of thinking and the conception that the natural, historical and intellectual world moves and transforms itself endlessly in a constant process of becoming and passing away. Not only philosophy but *all* sciences were now required to discover the laws of motion of this

constant process of transformation, each in its particular domain. And this was the legacy which Hegelian philosophy bequeathed to its successors.

Meanwhile, the development of capitalist production had advanced with giant strides, especially in its first homeland—England. The antagonism between the bourgeois and the proletarians was becoming more and more acute; in 1842 the Chartist movement reached its peak, and facts more and more strenuously gave the lie to the teachings of bourgeois economy. In France, the Lyons insurrection of 1834[316] had likewise proclaimed the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. The English and French socialist theories acquired historic importance and were bound to have their repercussions and criticism in Germany as well, although industry there was only just beginning to climb out of the stage of small-scale production. The theoretical socialism that now took shape, rather among Germans than in Germany, had therefore to import all its material in fact to [...][a]

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[a] Here the manuscript breaks off.—*Ed.*

## PART ONE

### To Part I[a]

### *Ch. III*

### [Ideas—Reflections of Reality]

All ideas are taken from experience, are reflections—true or distorted—of reality.

### *Ch. III, pp. 33-34*

### [Material World and Laws of Thought]

Two kinds of experience—external, material, and internal—laws of thought and forms of thought. Forms of thought also partly inherited by development (self-evidence, for instance, of mathematical axioms for Europeans, certainly not for Bushmen and Australian Negroes).

If our premises are correct and we apply the laws of thought correctly to them, the result must tally with reality, just as a calculation in analytical geometry must tally with the geometrical construction, although the two are entirely different methods. Unfortunately, however, this is almost never the case, and if so, only in very simple operations.

The external world, in its turn, is either nature or society.

### *Ch. III, pp. 33-34; Ch. IV, pp. 39-42; and Ch. X, pp. 88-89*

### [Relation of Thinking and Being]

The sole content of thinking is the world and the laws of thought.

[a] The part and chapter references, and also the page references for the corresponding excerpts from this volume, have been provided by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU.—*Ed.*

The general results of the investigation of the world are obtained at the end of this investigation, hence are not *principles,* points of departure, but *results,* conclusions. To construct the latter in one's head, take them as the basis from which to start, and then reconstruct the world from them in one's head is *ideology,* an ideology which tainted every species of materialism hitherto existing; because while in *nature* the relation of thinking to being was certainly to some extent clear to materialism, in history it was not, nor did materialism realise the dependence of all thought upon the historical material conditions obtaining at the particular time.—As Dühring proceeds from "principles" instead of facts he is an ideologist, and can screen his being one only by formulating his propositions in such general and vacuous terms that they appear *axiomatic, flat.* Moreover, nothing can be concluded from them; one can only read something *into* them. Thus, for instance, the principle of *sole being.* The unity of the world and the nonsense of a hereafter are a result of the whole investigation of the world but are here to be proved *a priori,* proceeding from an *axiom of thought.* Hence bosh.—But without this turning around *a philosophy apart is impossible.*

### *Ch. III, pp. 35-36*

### [The World as a Coherent Whole. Knowledge of the World]

*Systematics*[a] impossible after Hegel. The world clearly constitutes a single system, i.e., a coherent whole, but the knowledge of this system presupposes a knowledge of *all* nature and history, which man will *never* attain. Hence he who makes systems must fill in the countless gaps with *figments of his own imagination,* i.e., engage in *irrational* fancies, ideologise.

Rational fantasy—*alias* combination!

### *Ch. III, pp. 36-39*

### [Mathematical Operations and Purely Logical Operations]

Calculative reason—*calculating machine!*—Curious confusion of mathematical operations, which are capable of material demonstra-

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[a] Here in the sense of building up an absolutely completed system.—*Ed.*

tion, of proof because they are based on direct, even if abstract, material contemplation, with *purely* logical ones, which are capable only of proof by deduction, hence are incapable of the positive certainty possessed by mathematical operations—and how many of them wrong! Machine for *integration*; cf. Andrews' speech, *Nature,* Sept. 7, 76.[317]

Scheme=stereotype.

*Ch. III, pp. 36-38; Ch. IV, pp. 39-41*

[Reality and Abstraction]

It is just as impossible for Dühring to prove the exclusive *materiality* of all being with the aid of the proposition of the oneness of all-embracing being, which the Pope and the Sheikh-ul-Islam[318] can subscribe to without detracting from their infallibility and religion, as it is impossible for him to construct a triangle or a sphere or derive the Pythagorean theorem from any mathematical axiom. Both require real preconditions and it is only upon an investigation of these that the above results are arrived at. The certainty that no spiritual world exists separately, besides the material world, is the result of a long and wearisome investigation of the real world, *y compris*[a] of the products and processes of the human brain. The results of geometry are nothing but the natural properties of the various lines, planes and solids or their combinations, which for the most part occurred in nature long before man existed (Radiolaria, insects, crystals, etc.).

*Ch. VI, p. 55 et seqq.*

[Motion as the Mode of Existence of Matter]

*Motion is the mode of existence of matter,* hence more than a mere property of it. There is no matter without motion, nor could there ever have been. Motion in cosmic space, mechanical motion of smaller masses on a single celestial body, the vibration of molecules as heat, electric tension, magnetic polarisation, chemical decomposition and combination, organic life up to its highest product, thought—at each given moment each individual atom of matter is in one or other of these forms of motion. All equilibrium is either only relative rest or even motion in equilibrium, like that

[a] Inclusive.—*Ed.*

of the planets. Absolute rest is only conceivable in the absence of matter. Neither motion as such nor any of its forms, such as mechanical force, can therefore be separated from matter nor opposed to it as something apart or alien, without leading to an absurdity.

### *Ch. VII, pp. 65-67*

### [Natural Selection]

Dühring ought to rejoice over NATURAL SELECTION, as it furnishes the best illustration of his theory of conscious end and means.—Whereas Darwin inquires into the *form,* natural selection, in which a slow alteration takes place, Dühring demands that Darwin should also name the *cause* of the alteration, of which Herr Dühring likewise knows nothing. No matter what progress science has made, Herr Dühring will always declare that something is still lacking and so will have ample grounds for grumbling.

### *Ch. VII*

### [On Darwin]

How great is the stature of the thoroughly modest Darwin, who not only collects, arranges and elaborates thousands of facts from the whole of biology but takes delight in quoting any predecessor, however insignificant, even to the diminution of his own glory, in comparison with that braggadocio Dühring, who while contributing nothing of value himself is over-exacting of others, and who....

### *Ch. VII, pp. 66-67; Ch. VIII, p. 74*

*Dühringiana.* Darwinism, p. 115.[a]

*Adaptation* of plants is a combination of physical forces or chemical agents; hence, no adaptation. If, "in growing, a plant takes the path along which it will receive most light", it does so in various ways and by various means, which differ according to its species and peculiarities. The physical forces and chemical agents, however, act differently here in each plant and help the plant,

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[a] The pages given refer to Dühring's *Cursus der Philosophie als streng wissenschaftlicher Weltanschauung und Lebensgestaltung.—Ed.*

which after all is something other than these "chemical and physical, etc.", to get the light it needs in the way that has become peculiar to it by lengthy precedent evolution. Indeed, this light acts as a stimulus on the plant cells and sets in motion within them, as a response, precisely those forces and agents.* Since this process goes on in an organic cellular structure and assumes the form of stimulation and response, which occurs here just as it does in transmission by nerves in the human brain, the identical expression, adaptation, fits in both cases. And if adaptation is to be accomplished absolutely through the medium of consciousness, where do consciousness and adaptation begin and where do they end? With the moneron, with the insect-eating plant, with the sponge, with the coral, with the first nerve? Dühring would do a very great favour to natural scientists of the old stripe if he should draw this boundary line. Protoplasm stimulation and protoplasm response are to be found wherever there is living protoplasm. And since the influence of slowly changing stimuli calls forth change in the protoplasm too, otherwise it would perish, the same expression, adaptation, *must* be applied to all organic bodies.

*Ch. VII, p. 66 et seqq.*

[Adaptation and Heredity]

With regard to the evolution of the species, Haeckel perceives adaptation as negative, or altering; heredity as positive, or preserving factor. Dühring on the contrary states (p. 122) that heredity also has negative results, produces *alterations.* (Besides, nice trash about preformation.[319]) Now nothing is easier than to turn such opposites, like all other opposites of this kind, around and prove that adaptation, precisely by altering the *form*, preserves the essence, the *organ itself,* while heredity, by the fact alone of the mixture of two individuals different each time, constantly brings about changes the accumulation of which does not exclude a change in species. As a matter of fact, the results of adaptation are also inherited! But this does not get us one step further. We must take the *facts of the case* as they are and investigate them, and then we shall of course find that Haeckel is quite right in considering heredity essentially the conservative, positive side of the process and adaptation, its revolutionising, negative side. Domestication

* And among animals, too, spontaneous adaptation is most important. [Marginal note.]

and breeding as well as spontaneous adaptation speak louder here than all of Dühring's "subtle conceptions".

## *Ch. VIII, pp. 75-77*

Dühring, p. 141.

*Life.* That exchange of matter is the most important phenomenon of life has been asserted innumerable times during the last twenty years by physiological chemists and chemical physiologists and is here repeatedly extolled as the definition of life. But neither an exact nor an exhaustive one. Exchange of matter is encountered also in the *absence* of life, e.g., in simple chemical processes which, given an adequate supply of raw material, constantly reproduce their own conditions, a definite body being the carrier of the process (for example, see Roscoe, 102, manufacture of sulphuric acid[a]), in endosmose and exosmose (through dead organic and even inorganic membranes?), in Traube's artificial cells[320] and their medium. Exchange of matter, supposed to constitute life, itself requires more exact defining. Thus, despite all deeper foundations, subtle conceptions and closer investigations, we have not yet got to the bottom of this thing and still ask what life is.

To science definitions are worthless because always inadequate. The only real definition is the development of the thing itself, but this is no longer a definition. To know and show what life is we must examine all forms of life and present them in their interconnection. On the other hand, for *ordinary purposes,* a brief exposition of the commonest and at the same time most significant features of a so-called definition is often useful and even necessary, and can do no harm if no more is expected of it than it can convey. Let us therefore attempt to give such a definition of life, an attempt in which so many people have racked their brains in vain (see Nicholson[b]).

Life is the mode of existence of albuminous bodies and this mode of existence essentially consists in the constant renewal of their chemical constituents by nutrition and excretion...

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[a] H. E. Roscoe, *Kurzes Lehrbuch der Chemie nach den neuesten Ansichten der Wissenschaft*, p. 102.— *Ed.*

[b] See H. A. Nicholson, *A Manual of Zoology,* General Introduction, Section 4: Nature and Conditions of Life, where the author gives various definitions of life.— *Ed.*

Then, from the organic exchange of matter as the essential function of albumen and from its peculiar plasticity, are derived all the other most simple functions of life—irritability, which is already included in the mutual interaction between nutrition and albumen; contractibility in the consumption of food; possibility of growth, which at the lowest stage (moneron) includes propagation by fission; internal movement, without which neither swallowing nor assimilation of food is possible. But how the advance from simple plastic albumen to the cell and thus to the organism is accomplished must first be learnt from observation, yet such an inquiry is no part of a simple practical definition of life. (On p. 141 Dühring mentions besides a whole intermediate world, inasmuch as there is no real life without a system of circulation canals and a "germ scheme". A superb passage.)

*Ch. X, pp. 89-95*

Dühring—Political Economy.—The Two Men

As long as morality is the point at issue Dühring can set them down as equal, but as soon as political economy comes under discussion that ceases to be so. If, for example, the two men are a yankee BROKEN INTO ALL TRADES and a Berlin student who brings along nothing but his graduation certificate and the philosophy of reality, and in addition arms that on principle have never been strengthened by fencing, where does equality come in? The yankee produces everything, the student only helps here and there, but distribution takes place according to the contribution of each; soon the yankee will have the means capitalistically to exploit any eventual increase in the population of the colony (births or immigration). The whole modern order, capitalist production and all that, can therefore be brought into being by the two men without either of them needing a sabre.

*Ch. X, pp. 95-99*

*Dühringiana.*

*Equality—Justice.*—The idea that equality is the expression of justice, the principle of consummated political and social regulation, arose quite historically. It did not exist in primitive communities, or only very limitedly so, for full members of individual communities, and was saddled with slavery. Ditto in the democracy of antiquity. Equality of all people—Greeks, Romans

and barbarians, freemen and slaves, subjects and aliens, citizens and peregrines, etc.—was not only insane but criminal to the mind of the ancients, and in Christendom its first beginnings naturally were persecuted.—In Christianity there was first the *negative equality of all human beings before God as sinners,* and, more narrowly construed, the equality of all children of God redeemed by the grace and the blood of Christ. Both versions are grounded in the role of Christianity as the religion of the slaves, the banished, the dispossessed, the persecuted, the oppressed. With the victory of Christianity this circumstance was relegated to the rear and prime importance attached next to the antithesis between believers and pagans, orthodox and heretics.—With the rise of the cities and thereby of the more or less developed elements of the bourgeoisie, as well as of the proletariat, the demand for equality as a condition of bourgeois existence was bound gradually to resurge, interlinked with the proletariat's drawing of the conclusion to proceed from political to social equality. This naturally assumed a religious form, sharply expressed for the first time in the Peasant War.[321]—The bourgeois side was first formulated by Rousseau, in trenchant terms but still on behalf of all humanity. As was the case with all demands of the bourgeoisie, so here too the proletariat cast a fateful shadow beside it and drew its own conclusions (Babeuf). This connection between bourgeois equality and the proletariat's drawing of conclusions should be developed in greater detail.

So it took almost all of past history to elaborate the principle of equality=justice, and this success was achieved only when a bourgeoisie and a proletariat had come into existence. The principle of equality signifies, however, that there must be no *privileges,* hence is essentially *negative,* pronounces all past history wretched. Because of its lack of positive content and its offhand rejection of the entire past it is just as suitable for proclamation by a great revolution, 1789-1796, as for the later blockheads engaged in manufacturing systems. But to represent equality=justice as the highest principle and ultimate truth is absurd. Equality exists only in opposition to inequality, justice—in opposition to injustice; hence they are still saddled with the opposition to old, past history, and hence to old society itself.*

This suffices to bar them from constituting *eternal* justice and truth. A few generations of social development under a communist regime and increased resources must bring mankind to a stage

* The idea of equality [follows] from the equality of general human labour in commodity production. *Das Kapital*, p. 36. [Marginal note.][322]

where this boasting about equality and right appears as ridiculous as boasting of privileges of nobility and birth appears today, where the opposition to the old inequality and to the old positive law and even to the new, transitional law, disappears from practical life, where anyone who pedantically insists on being given his equal and just share of the products is laughed to scorn by being given twice as much. Even Dühring will find this to be "foreseeable", and where else will there be room then for equality and justice if not in the lumber-room of historical reminiscences? The fact that such phrases make excellent propaganda material today will not turn them into an eternal truth by a long shot.

(The *content* of equality must be elucidated.—Restriction to rights, etc.)

Moreover, an abstract equality theory is still an absurdity today and will remain such for a considerable length of time. It would never occur to a socialist proletarian or theoretician to recognise the abstract equality between himself and a Bushman or Tierra del Fuegan, or even a *peasant* or semi-feudal agricultural day-labourer; and as soon as this has been overcome, even if only in Europe, the standpoint of abstract equality will also be overcome. With the introduction of rational equality that equality loses all meaning. If equality is now demanded, this is so in anticipation of the intellectual and moral *equalisation* which thus *under present historical conditions* follows of itself. *Eternal* morality must have been possible at all times and must *everywhere* be possible. But even Dühring does not maintain this in regard to equality; on the contrary, he allows for a provisional period of repression, hence admits that equality is not an eternal truth but a historical product and attribute of definite historical conditions.

The equality of the bourgeoisie (abolition of class *privileges*) is very different from that of the proletariat (abolition of the classes themselves). If driven further than the latter, i.e., if conceived abstractly, equality becomes an absurdity. And so Herr Dühring is finally compelled to reintroduce, by a back-door, both armed as well as administrative, judicial and police force.

Thus the *idea of equality* is *itself a historical product* and its elaboration required the whole of preceding history; hence it did not exist from all eternity as a truth. The fact that now most people take it for granted—*en principe*[a]—is not due to its being axiomatic but to the *spread of the ideas of the eighteenth century*. And, therefore, if the two famous men today take their stand on the

[a] In principle.—*Ed.*

principle of equality, that is to be explained by their being presented as "eddicated" people of the nineteenth century and its being *"natural"* with them. How *real* people behave and did behave depends and always did depend on the historical conditions under which they lived.

*Ch. IX, pp. 86-87; Ch. X, pp. 95-99*

[Dependence of Ideas on Social Relations]

The notion that *the ideas and conceptions of people create their conditions of life* and not the other way round is contradicted by all past history, in which results constantly differed from what had been desired and in the further course of events were in most cases even the opposite. Only in the more or less distant future can this notion become a reality in so far as men will understand in advance the necessity of changing the social system [*Verfassung*] (*sit venia verbo*[a]), on account of changing conditions, and will desire the change before it forces itself upon them without their being conscious of it or desiring it.—The same is true of the conceptions of *law*, hence of politics (AS FAR AS THAT GOES, this point is to be dealt with under "Philosophy", while "force" is reserved for political economy).

*Ch. XI, pp. 105-06 (cf. also Part III, Ch. V, pp. 300-02)*

Even the correct reflection of *nature* is extremely difficult, the product of a long history of experience. To primitive man the forces of nature were something alien, mysterious, superior. At a certain stage, through which *all* civilised peoples passed, he assimilates them by means of personification. It was this urge to personify that created gods everywhere, and the *consensus gentium*,[b] as regards proof of the existence of God, proves after all only the universality of this urge to personify as a necessary transition stage, and consequently the universality of religion too. Only real knowledge of the forces of nature ejects the gods or God from one position after another (Secchi and his solar system).[c] This

[a] If one may be permitted to use this word.—*Ed.*
[b] Consensus of the peoples.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, p. 480.—*Ed.*

process has now advanced so far that theoretically it may be considered concluded.

In the sphere of *social* phenomena reflection is still more difficult. Society is determined by economic relations, production and exchange, and besides by historical preconditions.

### *Ch. XII, pp. 110-12 (see also Introduction, pp. 22-24)*

*Antithesis*—if a thing is saddled with its antithesis it is in *contradiction* with itself, and so is its expression in thought. For example, there is a *contradiction* in a thing remaining the same and yet constantly changing, being possessed of the antithesis of "inertness" and "change".

### *Ch. XIII*

### [Negation of the Negation]

All Indo-Germanic peoples began with *common* property. Among almost all of them it was abolished, *negated,* in the course of social development, extruded by other forms—private property, feudal property, etc. To negate this negation, to restore common property on a higher plane of development, is the task of the social revolution. Or: the philosophy of antiquity was originally spontaneous materialism. The latter gave rise to idealism, spiritualism, negation of materialism, first in the shape of the antithesis of soul and body, then in the doctrine of immortality and in monotheism. This spiritualism was universally disseminated through the medium of Christianity. The negation of this negation is the reproduction of the old on a higher plane, modern materialism, which, in contrast with the past, finds its theoretical conclusion in scientific socialism....

It goes without saying that these natural and historical processes have their reflection in the thinking brain and reproduce themselves in it, as is seen in the above examples: $-a \times -a$, etc.; and it is just the paramount dialectical problems that are solved by this method alone.

But there is also a bad, barren negation.—True, natural, historical and dialectical negation (taken formally) is precisely what constitutes the driving principle of all development—the splitting into antitheses, their struggle and resolution. At the same time, on

the basis of the experience gained, the original point of departure is again arrived at (in history partly, in thought wholly), but on a higher plane.—A barren negation is a purely subjective, individual one. Not being a stage of development of the thing itself, it is an *opinion* introduced from without. And as nothing can result from it, the negator must be at loggerheads with the world, sullenly finding fault with everything that exists or ever happened, with the whole historical development. True, the Greeks of antiquity accomplished a few things, but they knew nothing of spectral analysis, chemistry, differential calculus, steam-engines, *chaussées,* the electric telegraph or the railway. Why dwell at length on the products of people of such minor importance? Everything is bad—so far this sort of negator is a pessimist—save our own exalted selves, who are perfect, and thus our pessimism resolves itself into optimism. And thus we ourselves have perpetrated a negation of the negation!

Even Rousseau's way of looking at history—original equality, deterioration through inequality, restoration of equality on a higher plane—is a negation of the negation.

Dühring constantly preaches idealism—*ideal* conception, etc. If we draw conclusions about the future from existing relations, if we perceive and investigate the *positive* side of the *negative* elements operative in the course of history—and even the most narrow-minded progressist, the idealist Lasker, does that, in his own way—Dühring calls it "idealism" and deduces from it the right to design a plan for the future that provides even the curricula for schools, a plan that, however, is fantastic because based on ignorance. And he overlooks the fact that in doing so he, too, *is committing a negation of the negation.*

## *Ch. XIII, pp. 127-28*

### *Negation of the Negation and Contradiction.*

The "nothing" of a positive is a definite nothing, says Hegel.[a]

"Differentials can be considered and treated as *real zeros,*[b] which stand in a relation to one another that is determined by the state of the question under discussion." Bossut continues that mathematically this is *not nonsense.*[323]

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik.* In: *Werke,* Bd. 3, p. 74.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

$\frac{0}{0}$ may represent a very definite value if obtained by the simultaneous disappearance of the numerator and the denominator. Ditto $0:0=A:B$, where $\frac{0}{0}=\frac{A}{B}$, consequently changes with a change in the value of $A$ or $B$ (p. 95, examples). And is it not a "contradiction" that zeros form ratios, i.e., can have not only value in general but even various values which are expressible in figures? $1:2=1:2$; $1-1:2-2=1:2$; $0:0=1:2$.

Dühring himself says that those summations of infinitely small magnitudes are the highest, etc., of mathematics, in plain words, integral calculus. And how is this done? I have two, three or more variable quantities, i.e., such as maintain a definite relation among themselves when changing—say, two quantities, $x$ and $y$, and am to solve a definite problem which is not solvable by ordinary mathematics and in which $x$ and $y$ function. I differentiate $x$ and $y$, i.e., I take $x$ and $y$ as so infinitely small that in comparison with any real quantity, however small, they disappear—that nothing is left of $x$ and $y$ but *their reciprocal relation,* without any material basis; consequently $\frac{dx}{dy}=\frac{0}{0}$, but $\frac{0}{0}$ expressed in the ratio $\frac{x}{y}$. That this ratio between two quantities which have disappeared, the fixed moment of their disappearance, is a contradiction cannot disturb us. And now, what have I done but *negate* $x$ and $y$, though not in such a way that I need not bother about them any more, but in the way that corresponds with the facts of the case? In place of $x$ and $y$ I have their negation, $dx$ and $dy$, in the formulas or equations before me. I operate then with these formulas as usual, treating $dx$ and $dy$ as if they were real quantities, and at a certain point I negate the negation, i.e., I integrate the differential formula, and in place of $dx$ and $dy$ put the real quantities $x$ and $y$, and am then not where I was at the beginning, but by using this method I have solved the problem on which ordinary geometry and algebra break their jaws in vain.

## To part II

### *Ch. II*

Wherever *slavery*[324] is the main form of production it turns labour into servile activity, consequently makes it dishonourable for freemen. Thus the way out of such a mode of production is barred, while on the other hand slavery is an impediment to more developed production, which urgently requires its removal. This

contradiction spells the doom of all production based on slavery and of all communities based on it. A solution comes about in most cases through the forcible subjection of the deteriorating communities by other, stronger ones (Greece by Macedonia and later Rome). As long as these themselves have slavery as their foundation there is merely a shifting of the centre and a repetition of the process on a higher plane until (Rome) finally a people conquers that replaces slavery by another form of production. Or slavery is abolished by compulsion or voluntarily, whereupon *the former mode of production perishes* and large-scale cultivation is displaced by small-peasant squatters, as in America. For that matter Greece too perished on account of slavery, Aristotle having already said that intercourse with slaves was demoralising the citizens, not to mention the fact that slavery makes work impossible for the latter. (Domestic slavery, such as exists in the Orient, is another matter. Here it forms the basis of production not directly but indirectly, as a constituent part of the family, and passes imperceptibly into the family (female harem slaves).)

*Ch. III*

In Dühring's reprehensible history *force* holds sway. In the real, progressive historical movement, however, what dominates are the *material gains* which are *retained.*

*Ch. III*

How is force, the army, maintained? By *money*, hence again dependent on production. Cf. Athens' fleet and policy of 380-340. The force exercised against the allies came to nought for lack of the material means to wage long and energetic wars. The English subsidies, granted by the new industry, modern industry, defeated Napoleon.

*Ch. III*

[The Party and Military Training]

In considering the struggle for existence and Dühring's declamations against struggle and arms it should be emphasised that a revolutionary party must know also how to struggle. It will have to make the revolution, possibly some day in the near future, but not against the present military-bureaucratic state. Politically that would be as insane as Babeuf's attempt to jump from the

Directorate immediately into communism; even more insane, for the Directorate was after all a bourgeois and peasant government.[325] But in order to safeguard the laws issued by the bourgeoisie itself the Party may be compelled to take revolutionary measures against the bourgeois state which will supersede the present state. Hence the universal conscription is in our interest and should be taken advantage of by all to learn how to fight, but particularly by those whose education entitles them to acquire the training of an officer in one year's voluntary service.

*Ch. IV*

On "Force"

It is recognised that force also operates with revolutionary effect, namely, in all "critical" epochs of decisive importance, such as the transition to sociality, but even then only in self-defence against reactionary enemies abroad. However the upheaval in England in the sixteenth century depicted by Marx[326] also had its revolutionary side. It was a basic condition of the conversion of feudal landed property into bourgeois landed property and of the development of the bourgeoisie. The French Revolution of 1789 likewise applied force to a considerable extent; August 4 merely sanctioned the peasants' deeds of violence and was supplemented by the confiscation of the estates of the nobility and church.[327] The forcible conquest by the ancient Germans, the foundation, on conquered territory, of states in which the country, and not the town, dominated, as in antiquity, was accompanied—precisely for the latter reason—by the transformation of slavery into the milder serfdom, or feudal dependence (in antiquity the transformation of tilled land into pastures was a concomitant feature of the latifundia).

*Ch. IV*

[Force, Community Property, Economics and Politics]

When the Indo-Germans migrated to Europe they ejected the aboriginal inhabitants by *force* and tilled the land, which was owned by the community. Among the Celts, Germans and Slavs community ownership can still be traced historically and among the Slavs, Germans and also the Celts (RUNDALE) it still exists even in the form of direct (Russia) or indirect (Ireland) feudal bondage. Force ceased as soon as the Lapps and Basques had been driven

off. In internal affairs equality or voluntarily conceded privilege prevailed. Where private ownership of land by individual peasants arose out of common ownership, this division up to the sixteenth century took place purely spontaneously among the members of the community. It occurred in most cases quite gradually and remnants of common possession could be encountered very frequently. There was no idea of using *force*; it was applied only against these remnants (England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Germany mainly in the nineteenth century). Ireland is a special case. This common ownership quietly persisted in India and Russia under the most diverse forcible conquests and despotisms, and formed their basis. Russia is proof of how the production relations determine the political relations of force. Up to the end of the seventeenth century the Russian peasant suffered little oppression, enjoyed the right of movement and was hardly a bondsman. The first Romanov attached the peasants to the soil. With Peter began the foreign trade of Russia, which had only agricultural products to export. *This* brought on the oppression of the peasants. It grew in the same measure as *exports, for the sake of which it had been introduced,* until Catherine made the oppression complete and completed legislation on the subject. This legislation, however, permitted the landed proprietors to grind down the peasants more and more, so that their yoke became ever harder to bear.

*Ch. IV*

If force is the cause of social and political conditions, what is the cause of force? The appropriation of *products* of the labour of others and of labour-*power* of others. Force was able to change the consumption of products but not the mode of production itself; it could not transform bond labour into wage-labour unless the requisite conditions existed and bond labour had become a fetter on production.

*Ch. IV*

Hitherto force—from now on sociality. Purely a pious wish, a demand of "justice". Thomas More set up this demand already 350 years ago,[a] but it has not yet been met. Why should it be fulfilled now? Dühring is at a loss for an answer. In reality, modern industry

[a] See Th. More, *Utopia.—Ed.*

sets up this demand not as a demand of justice but as a necessity of production, and that changes everything.

## TO PART III

### *Ch. I*

*Fourier (Nouveau Monde industriel et sociétaire).*[328]

Element of *inequality*: "man, being by instinct an enemy of equality", [p.] 59.

"This swindling mechanism, which is called civilisation", [p.] 81.

"One should avoid relegating them" (women), "as we are wont to do, to thankless tasks, to the menial roles assigned to them by the philosophy which claims that women were made only to wash pots and patch old trousers", [p.] 141.

"God has endowed manufacturing labour with a doze of attractiveness which corresponds to only *one quarter* of the time which social man can give to work." The rest is to be devoted to agriculture, cattle raising, the kitchen, the industrial armies, [p.] 152.

"Tender morality, the kind and pure friend of trade", [p.] 161. "Critique of Morality", [p.] 162 *et seqq.*

In present-day society, "in the civilised mechanism", "duplicity of action, contradiction between individual and collective interests" dominate; it is "a universal war of the individuals against the masses. And our political sciences dare to speak of unity of action!" [p.] 172.

"The moderns failed everywhere in the study of nature because they did not know the theory of exceptions or transitions, the theory of *hybrids.*" (Examples of "hybrids": "the quince, nectarine, eel, bat, etc.") [p.] 191.

## PART TWO

[The second part of the MS of the preparatory writings for *Anti-Dühring* consists of excerpts from Dühring's *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie.* We give here only some of Engels' marginal notes and briefly explain to which of Dühring's statements they refer.]

[On Dühring's assertion "that the volitional activity by means of which the various forms of human association are created is itself subject to natural laws" [1], Engels remarked:]

And so, no mention of *historical* development. Mere eternal law of nature. Everything is psychology and the latter unfortunately is much more "backward" than politics.

[In connection with Dühring's disquisition on slavery, wage bondage and property based on force as "social-economic *constitutional forms of a purely political nature*" [5], Engels wrote:]

Always the belief that political economy has only eternal laws of nature and that all change and distortion are brought about by wicked politics.

Hence this much is correct in the whole theory of force that hitherto all forms of society needed *force* to maintain themselves and to some extent or other were even established by force. This force, in its organised form, is called *state.* So we have here the banal idea that as soon as man rose above the wildest conditions states existed everywhere and the world did not wait for Dühring to learn this.—But state and force are precisely what all hitherto existing forms of society have had *in common,* and if I should try to explain, for instance, the Oriental despotisms, the republics of antiquity, the Macedonian monarchies, the Roman Empire and the feudalism of the Middle Ages by stating that they were all based on *force,* I have explained nothing as yet. The various social and political forms must therefore be explained not as due to force, which after all is always the same, but as due to that *to which the force is applied,* as due to that *which* is being robbed—the products and productive forces of the epoch in question and their distribution, resulting from them themselves. It would then appear that Oriental despotism was founded on common property, the antique republics on the cities engaged in agriculture, the Roman Empire on the latifundia, feudalism on the domination of the country over the town, which had its material causes, etc.

[Engels quoted the following from Dühring: "The natural laws of economy can be revealed in all their strictness only by mentally obliterating the effects of the state and social institutions" (!) "particularly those of property based on force and connected with wage bondage, and by being careful not to regard the latter as necessary consequences of man's abiding nature (!)..." [5]. Engels made the following comment on this descourse of Dühring's:]

So then the natural laws of economy are discovered only when one *abstracts one's mind from all hitherto existing economy*; until now they have never manifested themselves undistortedly!—*Abiding* nature of man—from ape to Goethe!

Dühring is supposed to explain by this theory of "force" how it happens that everywhere from time immemorial the majority has consisted of those subjected to force and the minority of those applying force. This alone is proof that the relation of force is based on the economic conditions, which it is not so simple to upset by political means.

In Dühring rent, profit, interest and wages are not explained; it is merely stated that they have been instituted by *force.* Whence force? *Non est.*[a]

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[a] There is none, namely, no reply.—*Ed.*

Force gives rise to possession and possession to economic power. Hence force=power.

Marx has shown in *Capital* (Accumulation) how at a certain stage of development the laws of commodity production necessarily engender capitalist production with all its chicanery and that *no force whatever is needed* for that purpose.[a]

When Dühring considers political action to be the ultimate decisive power of history and would have you believe it was something new, he merely repeats what was said by all former historians who also held the view that social forms are determined solely by political forms and not by production.

*C'est trop bon!*[b] The whole Free Trade school, beginning with Adam Smith, indeed, all pre-Marxian political economy regards the economic laws, in so far as it understands them, as "natural laws" and maintains that their action is being distorted by the state, by the "action of the state and social institutions"!

Anyhow, this entire theory is merely an attempt to let Carey substantiate socialism: economics by itself is harmonious, the state by its interference spoils everything.

*Eternal justice* is a complement of force; it will appear on p. 282.

[Dühring's views, developed in his criticism of Smith, Ricardo and Carey, were characterised as follows by Engels: "In its most abstract form production may be studied quite well by taking Robinson as an example; distribution, by taking two people alone on an island and imagining all stages intermediate between complete equality and complete opposition between master and slave..." Engels quotes the following sentence from Dühring: "The point of view which in the last analysis is really decisive for the theory of distribution can be arrived at only by *serious social*"(!) "meditation" [10]. To which Engels remarked:]

So one first abstracts from real history the various legal relations and separates them from the historical basis on which they arose and on which alone they make sense and transfers them to two individuals, Robinson and Friday, where they naturally appear wholly arbitrary. After they have thus been reduced to pure force they are transferred back to real history, and thus one proves that here too everything is based on sheer force. That force must be applied to a material substratum and that the point is precisely to establish where this came from, leaves Dühring unaffected.

[Engels quoted the following passage from Dühring's *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie:* "The traditional view shared by all systems of political economy

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[a] See K. Marx, *Das Kapital,* pp. 607-08. See present edition, Vol. 35, Part VII, Chapter XXIV, Section 1. See this volume, pp. 150-51.—*Ed.*

[b] That is too good!—*Ed.*

considers distribution only what may be called a transient process which is concerned with a mass of products created by production and considered as finished joint output; ... a *deeper* foundation must rather scrutinise a distribution which is concerned with the economic or economically operating *laws* themselves and not only with the transient and accumulative consequences of these laws" [10-11]. Engels commented on this as follows:]

Thus it is not enough to investigate the distribution of current production.

Land rent presupposes landed property, profit—capital, wages—propertyless workers, possessors of labour-power only. Inquiry should therefore be made where this comes from. In so far as this was his concern, Marx did this in Volume I with regard to capital and propertyless labour-power; investigation of the origin of modern landed property belongs to land rent, and is therefore part of his Volume II.[329]—Dühring's investigation and historical foundation is confined to the single word: *force*! Here there is direct *mala fides*.[a] For Dühring's *explanation* of big landed property see *Wealth* and *Value*; these had better be dealt with here.

And so it is force that creates the economic, political, etc., conditions of life of an epoch, a people, etc. But who creates force? Organised force is primarily the *army*. And nothing depends more on economic conditions than precisely the composition, organisation, armament, strategy and tactics of an army. Armament is the foundation, and it in turn is directly dependent on the level of production. Arms of stone, bronze and iron, armour, cavalry, gunpowder, and then that tremendous revolution which modern industry had brought about in warfare by means of the rifled breech-loader and artillery—products which only modern industry with its rhythmically working machines that turn out almost absolutely identical products could manufacture. Composition and organisation, strategy and tactics, in their turn, depend on armament. Tactics also on the means of communication—the disposition of the troops and successes achieved in the battle of Jena[330] would be impossible with the present *chaussées*—and lastly the railways! Hence it is precisely force that is dominated more than anything else by the existing conditions of production, something even Captain Jähns has realised. (*Kölnische Zeitung*—Machiavelli, etc.)[b]

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[a] (Acting, done) in bad faith.—*Ed.*

[b] M. Jähns, *Macchiavelli und der Gedanke der allgemeinen Wehrpflicht.*—*Ed.*

Particular stress is to be laid on modern methods of warfare, from the rifle and bayonet to breech-loader, where the issue is decided not by the man with the sabre but by the weapon; the line, or the column when the troops are bad, but it must be covered by riflemen (Jena contra Wellington),[a] and finally the general dispersion into skirmishers and the change from the slow march to the double.

[According to Dühring, "a skilled hand and a clever head must be regarded as a means of production belonging to society, as a *machine* whose output belongs to *society*" [D. C. 260]. To which Engels remarked:]

But while a machine *does not add value, a skilled hand does*! The economic law of value, *quant à cela*,[b] is therefore being prohibited and yet it is to remain in force.

[On Dühring's conception of the "*politico-juridical foundation* of the whole of sociality" [D. C. 320-21] Engels had the following comment to make:]

Thus at once the idealist measuring stick is applied. Not production itself, but *law*.

[Concerning Dühring's "economic commune" [322] and the system of division of labour, distribution, exchange and money system obtaining in it, Engels remarked:]

Hence also *payment of wages* [324] to the individual worker by society.

Hence also hoarding, usury, credit and all consequences up to and including money crises and money scarcity. Money explodes the economic commune as inevitably as at the present moment it is about to explode the Russian commune, and the family commune as well, once exchange between the individual members is brought about by the agency of money.

[Engels quoted the following sentence from Dühring, giving his comment in parentheses: "Real work in any form therefore constitutes the social law of nature governing healthy organisations [15] (from which it follows that all prior ones were unhealthy)... This occasioned Engels to observe:]

Labour is here conceived either as economic, materially productive labour, in which case the sentence is nonsense and is at variance with all past history. Or labour is conceived in a more general form, so as to comprise every kind of activity necessary or

[a] See this volume, p. 627.—*Ed.*
[b] As far as that goes.—*Ed.*

useful in a period, such as governance, administration of justice and military exercises, in which case it is an enormously inflated platitude and has nothing to do with political economy. But to try to impress the socialists with this old trash by styling it "natural law" is A TRIFLE IMPUDENT.

[On Dühring's discussion of the connection between wealth and loot [see D. C. 17] Engels remarked:]

Here we have his whole method. Every economic relation is first conceived from the point of view of *production* apart from all historical determination. Hence only the most general of all generalities can be said, and if Dühring wants to go beyond that he must take into account the definite historical relations of the epoch in question, i.e., must tumble out of abstract production and create chaos. Then the same economic relation is conceived from the angle of *distribution,* i.e., the historical process that has gone on hitherto is reduced to the word *force,* after which indignation is voiced at the evil consequences of force. When we get to natural laws we shall see where this will bring us to.

[On Dühring's assertion that it takes slavery or feudal dependence to manage a large-scale enterprise [see D. C. 18] Engels commented as follows:]

Therefore, firstly, the history of the world begins with large landed property! The cultivation of large tracts of land is identical with cultivation by large landed proprietors! Italy's soil, which was turned into pasturage by the latifundists, had lain untilled before! The United States of America owes its vast expansion not to free farmers but to slaves, serfs, etc.!

Again a *mauvais calembour*[a]: "Cultivation in tracts of considerable size" *is to be* equivalent to clearing them, but is immediately interpreted as cultivation on a large scale, is made equal to large landed property! And in this sense what an enormous new discovery that if some one possesses more land than he and his family can till he cannot farm it all without the labour of others! Moreover, *cultivation by serfs* is not cultivation of considerable tracts, but of *small holdings* and the cultivation always antedates the serfdom (Russia, the Flemish, Dutch, and Frisian colonies in the Slavic mark, see Langethal[b]), the originally free peasants are *made* serfs, here and there voluntarily *on the face of it.*

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[a] Bad pun.—*Ed.*

[b] Ch. E. Langethal, *Geschichte der teutschen Landwirtschaft.*—*Ed.*

[Dühring's statement that the magnitude of value is determined by the magnitude of the resistance which the process of satisfying wants encounters and which "necessitates a greater or lesser expenditure of economic energy" (!) [19-20], evoked this comment by Engels:]

*Overcoming resistance*—a category borrowed from mathematical mechanics and rendered absurd in political economy. Instead of: "I successively spin, weave, bleach and print cotton", one must now say: "I overcome the resistance of the cotton to being spun, of the yarn to being woven, of the cloth to being bleached and printed." "I am making a steam-engine" means "I am overcoming the resistance of the iron to being transformed into a steam-engine." I am expressing the matter in high-sounding circumlocutions, which add nothing but distortion. But in this way I can bring in the *distribution value* where, too, there is supposed to be resistance that has to be overcome. That's why!

[Dühring claims that "distribution value exists in pure and exclusive form only where the power to dispose of unproduced things, or" (!), "to use a commoner expression, where these" (unproduced!) "things themselves are exchanged for services or things of real production value" [27], to which Engels remarked:]

What is an unproduced thing? Land *cultivated the modern way*? or are things meant which the owner did not produce himself? But then there is the antithesis of "real production value". The following sentence shows that we have here again a *mauvais calembour*. Objects found in nature, which were not produced, are thrown on one pile with "component parts of value which are appropriated without counter-service" [27].

[Dühring's claim that all human institutions are strictly determined but that, "unlike the play of external forces in nature", they are not at all "practically unalterable in their main features" [60] was criticised by Engels as follows:]

Consequently it is and remains natural law.

That hitherto the laws of economy in all unplanned and unorganised production confront men as objective laws, against which they are powerless, hence *in the form of natural laws*—of that not a word.

[Dühring formulated the "basic law [66] of all political economy" as follows: "The productivity of economic means—natural *resources and human energy—is enhanced by inventions and discoveries* and this takes place quite irrespective of distribution, which as such may nevertheless be subject to or cause considerable change, but does not determine the *imprint*" (!) "of the principal result" [65]. Engels' comment:]

The concluding part of the sentence: "and this takes place", etc., adds nothing new to the law, for if the law is true,

distribution can change nothing in it and it is superfluous to say that it is correct for every form of distribution, otherwise it would not be a natural law. It is added, however, simply because Dühring was too ashamed to dish up this inane and utterly meaningless law in all its platitude. Besides it is self-contradictory, because, if distribution *may*, nevertheless, cause considerable change, one cannot say "quite irrespective" of it. We therefore delete the concluding part and then obtain the law pure and simple—the *fundamental law of all political economy.*

But this is not shallow enough. We are further instructed:

[Engels quotes further extracts from Dühring's *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie.*]

[Dühring asserts that economic progress does not depend on the total of means of production *"but only on knowledge and the general technical methods of procedure"* and this, in Dühring's opinion, "appears at once, if capital is understood in its *natural* meaning, as an instrument of production" [70]. On this Engels remarked:]

The steam ploughs of the Khedive[331] lying in the Nile and the threshing machines, etc., of the Russian nobility standing idle in their sheds are proof of this. Steam, etc., too has its historical preconditions which, while comparatively easy to establish, must nevertheless be established. But Dühring is quite proud of having thereby deteriorated that thesis, the sense of which is wholly different, to such an extent that this "idea coincides with our law of overriding importance", p. 71. The economists still thought this law contained something substantial. Dühring has reduced it to the merest commonplace.

[Dühring's formulation of the natural law of the division of labour states: "The cleaving of trades and the dissection of activities raises the productivity of labour" [73]. On this Engels observed:]

This formulation is wrong, as it is right only for bourgeois production and the division into specialities here too is already becoming restrictive of production because it cripples and ossifies the individual and in the future will cease altogether. We can see already here that this division into specialities in the manner of *today* is to Dühring's mind something permanent, valid also for the *sociality.*

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# APPENDICES

# INFANTRY TACTICS, DERIVED FROM MATERIAL CAUSES[332] 1700-1870

In the fourteenth century gunpowder and fire-arms became known in Western and Central Europe and every schoolchild knows that these purely technical advances wholly revolutionised methods of warfare. But this revolution proceeded at a very slow pace. The first fire-arms were very crude, particularly the arquebus. And although a great number of separate improvements were invented at an early date—the rifled barrel, the breech-loader, the wheel-lock, etc.—still it took over three hundred years before, at the end of the seventeenth century, a musket was constructed suitable for equipping the entire body of infantry.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the foot-soldiery consisted partly of pikemen and partly of arquebusiers. Originally the pike carriers' task was to effect a decision by charging the enemy, while the arquebus fire served the purposes of defence. The pikemen therefore fought in compact masses many ranks deep, like in the ancient Greek phalanx; the arquebusiers stood in formations eight to ten ranks in depth, because that many could fire in succession before one could load. Anyone whose weapon was loaded jumped in front, fired and withdrew to the last rank in order to load again.

The gradual perfection of fire-arms changed this relation. The matchlock musket could finally be loaded so rapidly that only five men, i.e., troops only five men deep, were required to maintain continuous fire. Thus the same number of musketeers could now hold a front almost twice as long as before. Because of the much more devastating effect of gun-fire on mass formations many men

deep the pikemen too were now drawn up in only six to eight ranks, so that the battle order gradually approximated the line formation, in which musket fire decided the issue and the pikemen were no longer kept for the attack but only as cover for the sharpshooters against mounted troops. At the end of this period we find a battle array consisting of two combat detachments and a reserve, each detachment drawn up in line, mostly six men deep, guns and horsemen partly in the intervals between battalions, partly at the wings; each infantry battalion consisted at the most of one-third pikemen and at least of two-thirds musketeers.

At the end of the seventeenth century the flint-lock musket with a bayonet and ready-made cartridges was at last produced. With this the pike disappeared once and for all from infantry service. Loading took less and less time, the more rapid fire was itself a protection and the bayonet replaced the pike in case of necessity. Thus the depth of the line could be reduced from six to four, later to three and finally here and there to two ranks. Hence the line lengthened steadily with the same number of men, and ever more muskets were in use simultaneously. But these long, thin lines became thereby also more and more unwieldy and could move in formation only on level, unobstructed ground, and even then only very slowly, 70-75 paces a minute; and it was just in a plain that the line, in particular its flanks, offered the enemy cavalry prospects of successful attack. Partly to protect these flanks and partly to strengthen the fighting line, which decided the day, the cavalry was totally massed on the wings so that the battle line proper consisted solely of footmen and their light battalion guns. The extremely unwieldy heavy guns were mounted in front of the wings and changed position at the most only once during a battle. The foot-soldiers were drawn up in two detachments whose flanks were covered by infantry drawn up at an angle, the whole array forming a single very long hollow rectangle. This cumbrous mass, when it was not to move as a whole, could only be divided into three parts, the centre and the two wings. This shifting of parts was confined to moving up the wing numerically superior to the enemy's in order to outflank him, while the other wing was held back as a menace, to prevent him from re-arranging his front accordingly. A complete change in the dislocation of troops during a battle consumed so much time and exposed so many weak spots to the enemy that the attempt almost always ended in defeat. The original array therefore governed throughout the battle and as soon as the footmen joined battle one crushing blow decided the

day. This entire method of warfare, developed to the highest pitch by Frederick II, was the inevitable result of two jointly operating material factors: first, the human material of that time, the mercenary armies of princes, rigorously drilled but quite unreliable and only held together by the rod, many of them hostile prisoners of war who had been pressed into service; and second, the armament—the cumbersome heavy guns and the smoothbore rapid but badly firing flint-lock muskets with bayonets.

This method of combat prevailed as long as both adversaries remained on the same level with regard to manpower and armament and it suited both to adhere to the prescribed rules. But when the American War of Independence[333] broke out the well-drilled mercenary troops were unexpectedly met by hordes of rebels who, while not knowing how to exercise, were splendid shots who for the most part carried accurate rifles and fought in their own cause, hence did not desert. These rebels did not do the English troops the favour of dancing with them the well-known battle minuet, stepping slowly across open plain, observing all the traditional rules of military etiquette. They drew their opponent into dense forests, where his long columns in marching order were, without the possibility of defence, exposed to the fire of scattered invisible skirmishers. Operating in loose order they took advantage of every bit of cover the terrain afforded to harass the enemy, maintaining at the same time great mobility that could never be matched by the cumbersome mass of the enemy troops. The combat fire of scattered skirmishers, which had been of importance as early as the introduction of the portable fire-arm, proved therefore superior here, in certain cases, particularly in small encounters, to the linear formation.

The soldiers that composed the mercenary troops of Europe were not suitable for fighting in loose order; their armament was still less so. True, the musket was no longer pressed against the chest on firing, as had been necessary with the old matchlocks; the musket was brought up to the shoulder, as now. But there could still be no question of aiming, since with a perfectly straight stock continuing the line of the barrel the eye could not freely run down the latter. It was only in 1777 that in France the slanting of the butt characteristic of the hunting rifle was also adopted for the infantry rifle and effective *tirailleur* fire made possible. A second improvement to be mentioned was the lighter but still solid gun-carriage constructed in the middle of the eighteenth century by Gribeauval, which alone made possible the greater mobility later demanded of artillery.

It was reserved to the French Revolution[334] to utilise these two technical improvements on the field of battle. When allied Europe attacked it it placed at the disposal of the government all the members of the nation capable of bearing arms. But this nation had no time to practise the intricate manoeuvres of linear tactics sufficiently to be able to oppose the veteran Prussian and Austrian infantry in similar formation. On the other hand, France lacked not only the primeval forests of America but also its virtually boundless territory for retreat. What was needed was to defeat the enemy between the frontier and Paris, that is, to defend a definite area, and that in the long run could be done only in open mass battle. Consequently it became necessary to find, in addition to the skirmish chains, still another form in which the badly drilled French masses could face Europe's standing armies with some prospect of success. This form was found in the close column, which was already being used in certain cases, but mostly on parade grounds. The column was easier to keep in order than the line. Even when thrown somewhat into disarray its compact mass nevertheless continued to offer at least passive resistance. The column was easier to handle, was more under the direct control of the commander and could move faster. Its speed rose to 100 paces and more a minute. But the most important result consisted in the following: the use of the column as the exclusive mass battle formation made it possible to divide up the cumbrous uniform whole of the old linear order of battle into separate parts, each granted a certain degree of independence, each adapting its general instructions to the circumstances confronted, and each composed, if so desired, of all three arms of the service. The column was plastic enough to permit of every possible combination of troop employment; it allowed the use of villages and farm-houses, which Frederick II had still strictly forbidden; henceforth they became the main points of support in every battle. The column could be employed in any terrain; and finally it could counter linear tactics—where all was staked on one card—with combat tactics in which the line was fatigued and so worn down by skirmish chains and the gradual use of troops to protract the engagement that it could not withstand the thrust of the fresh fighters that had been kept in reserve to the very end. Whereas the linear formation was equally strong at all points, an adversary fighting in close column formation could keep part of the line engaged by feint attacks of small bodies of troops and concentrate his main force for the assault on the key position.—Loose bodies of skirmishers now did most of the firing while the columns

attacked with the bayonet. This restored the similar relation that had existed between the skirmish chains and the mass of pikemen at the beginning of the sixteenth century, with the exception, however, that the modern columns could at any time disperse to form skirmish chains and the latter again mass to form columns.

This new method of combat, the use of which Napoleon developed to the acme of perfection, was so superior to the old that the latter hopelessly collapsed when faced by it, the last time being at Jena,[335] where the cumbersome, slow moving Prussian lines, largely useless for skirmishing, virtually melted away when the French *tirailleurs* poured in their fire, to which they could reply only with platoon fire. But even if the linear battle order succumbed, this was by no means true of the line as combat formation. A few years after the Prussians had made out so badly with their lines at Jena, Wellington led his English troops in line formation against the French columns and as a rule beat them. But Wellington, to be sure, had adopted the whole of French tactics, with the exception that he had his close-formation infantry fight in line, and not in column formation. He thus secured the advantage of bringing into simultaneous action, when firing, all his rifles, and when attacking, all his bayonets. In this battle array the English fought up to a few years ago and got the best of the bargain both in attack (Albuera) and defence (Inkerman)[336] even when considerably outnumbered. Until his death, Bugeaud, who had faced those English lines, preferred them to the column.

Moreover, the infantry fire-arm was extremely bad, so bad that at a hundred paces it could hit a person standing alone only seldom and at three hundred paces a whole battalion just as seldom. Thus, when the French came to Algiers they suffered heavy losses from the Bedouins' long firelock muskets fired at distances at which their own muskets scored no hits. Here only the rifled musket could be of any use. But it was precisely in France that the rifle, even as an emergency weapon, had always been objected to, because it took so long to load and clogged so quickly. But now when the need for an easily loaded musket made itself felt it was met at once. The preparatory work of Delvigne was followed by Thouvenin's tige-rifle and Minié's expansive bullets, the latter having placed the rifled and the smoothbore musket on an absolute par with regard to loading time, so that now the entire infantry could be equipped with accurate long-range rifles. But before the rifled muzzle-loader could establish the tactics suitable to its use it was supplanted by the most up-to-date weapon, the

rifled breech-loader, while at the same time rifled ordnance developed ever increasing efficiency.

The arming of the entire nation, which the revolution had ushered in, soon experienced considerable restriction. Only part of the young people liable to military service were called up, by lot, into the standing army and a greater or smaller part of the rest of the citizens were, at most, formed into an untrained National Guard. Or, in those countries where universal conscription was really strictly enforced, as in Switzerland, at most a militia was formed which was drilled under the colours for no more than a few weeks. Financial considerations made necessary the choice between conscription and militia. Only one country in Europe, and at that one of the poorest, attempted to combine universal conscription and standing army. That was Prussia. And even though the universal obligation to serve in the standing army was enforced only approximately, also necessitated by financial considerations, the Prussian *Landwehr*[337] system nevertheless placed at the disposal of the government such a considerable number of trained people organised in ready cadres that Prussia was decidedly superior to any other country of equal population.

In the Franco-German War of 1870 the French conscription system succumbed to the Prussian *Landwehr* system. In this war, however, both sides were for the first time equipped with breech-loading rifles, while the regulations for moving and fighting remained essentially the same as at the time of the old flint-locks. At most the *tirailleur* chains were somewhat more compact. As for the rest, the French still fought in the old battalion column formation, at times also in line formation, while on the German side at least an attempt was made, in the introduction of the company column formation, to find a form of fighting which was better adapted to the new type of arms. Thus one managed in the first few battles. But when, in the storming of St. Privat (August 18), three brigades of the Prussian Guard tried to apply the company column formation seriously, the devastating power of the breech-loaders became apparent. Of the five chiefly engaged regiments (15,000 men) almost all officers (176) and 5,114 men, that is, upwards of one-third, fell. The Guard Infantry alone, whose strength had been 28,160 men when it joined the fray, lost 8,230 men including 307 officers that day.[338] From that time on the company column as a battle formation was condemned no less than the battalion mass formation or the line. All idea of further exposing troops in any kind of close formation to enemy rifle fire was abandoned; on the German side all

subsequent fighting was conducted only in those compact chains of *tirailleurs* into which the columns had so far regularly dispersed of themselves under a deadly hail of bullets, although this had been opposed by the higher commands on the ground that it was contrary to good battle formation. Once again the soldier had been shrewder than the officer; it was *he* who instinctively found the only way of fighting which has proved of service up to now under the fire of breech-loading rifles, and in spite of opposition from his officers he carried it through successfully. Likewise *the double* was the only step now used within the range of the frightful rifle fire.

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# ADDITIONS TO THE TEXT OF *ANTI-DÜHRING* MADE BY ENGELS

## IN THE PAMPHLET *SOCIALISM UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC*[339]

### Introduction. Ch. I[a]

### p. 16

[In *Socialism Utopian and Scientific* the sentence: "Like every new theory, modern socialism had, at first, to connect itself with the intellectual stock-in-trade ready to its hand, however deeply its roots lay in economic facts" reads as follows:]

Like every new theory, modern Socialism had, at first, to connect itself with the intellectual stock-in-trade ready to its hand, however deeply its roots lay in material economic facts.

### p. 16

[The following note is supplied to the sentence: "It was the time when, as Hegel says, the world stood upon its head".]

This is the passage on the French Revolution: "Thought, the concept of law, all at once made itself felt, and against this the old scaffolding of wrong could make no stand. In this conception of law, therefore, a constitution has now been established, and henceforth everything must be based upon this. Since the sun had been in the firmament, and the planets circled round him, the sight had never been seen of man standing upon his head—*i.e.*, on the Idea—and building reality after this image. Anaxagoras first said that the Nous, reason, rules the world; but now, for the first time, had man come to recognise that the Idea must rule the

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[a] The part and chapter references, the page references for the corresponding excerpts from this volume, and the explanations given in brackets, have been provided by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU.—*Ed.*

mental reality. And this was a magnificent sunrise. All thinking Beings have participated in celebrating this holy day. A sublime emotion swayed men at that time, an enthusiasm of reason pervaded the world, as if now had come the reconciliation of the Divine Principle with the world" (Hegel, *Philosophy of History*, 1840, p. 535). Is it not high time to set the anti-Socialist law [340] in action against such teachings, subversive and to the common danger, by the late Professor Hegel?

p. 19

[The sentence: "Now, for the first time, appeared the light of day, henceforth superstition, injustice, privilege, oppression, were to be superseded by eternal truth, eternal Right, equality based on nature and the inalienable rights of man"—reads as follows:]

Now, for the first time, appeared the light of day, the kingdom of reason; henceforth superstition, injustice, privilege, oppression, were to be superseded by eternal truth, eternal Right, equality based on Nature and the inalienable rights of man.

p. 19

[The sentence: "But, side by side with the antagonism of the feudal nobility and the burghers, was the general antagonism of exploiters and exploited, of rich idlers and poor workers"—reads as follows:]

But, side by side with the antagonism of the feudal nobility and the burghers, who claimed to represent all the rest of society, was the general antagonism of exploiters and exploited, of rich idlers and poor workers.

p. 19

[The sentence: "For example, at the time of the German Reformation and the Peasant War, Thomas Münzer; in the great English Revolution, the Levellers; in the great French Revolution, Babeuf"—reads as follows:]

For example, at the time of the German Reformation and the Peasants' War, the Anabaptists [341] and Thomas Münzer; in the great English Revolution, the Levellers; in the great French Revolution, Babeuf.

## pp. 19-20

[The sentence: "A communism, ascetic, Spartan, was the first form of the new teaching"—reads as follows:]

A Communism, ascetic, denouncing all the pleasures of life, Spartan, was the first form of the new teaching.

## p. 20

[The sentence: "Like the French philosophers, they do not claim to emancipate a particular class, but all humanity"—reads as follows:]

Like the French philosophers, they do not claim to emancipate a particular class to begin with, but all humanity at once.

## p. 20

[Instead of the sentence: "This mode of outlook is essentially that of all English and French and of the first German socialists, including Weitling"—the following is added:]

The Utopians' mode of thought has for a long time governed the socialist ideas of the nineteenth century, and still governs some of them. Until very recently all French and English Socialists did homage to it. The earlier German Communism, including that of Weitling, was of the same school.

## p. 21

[The sentence: "When we consider and reflect upon nature at large or the history of mankind or our own intellectual activity, at first we see the picture of an endless entanglement of relations and reactions in which nothing remains what, where and as it was, but everything moves, changes, comes into being and passes away"—reads as follows:]

When we consider and reflect upon Nature at large, or the history of mankind, or our own intellectual activity, at first we see the picture of an endless entanglement of relations and reactions, permutations and combinations, in which nothing remains what, where, and as it was, but everything moves, changes, comes into being and passes away. We see, therefore, at first the picture as a whole, with its individual parts still more or less kept in the background; we observe the movements, transitions, connections, rather than the things that move, combine, and are connected.

## p. 22

[After the sentence: "This is, primarily, the task of natural science and historical research: branches of science which the Greeks of classical times, on very good grounds, relegated to a subordinate position, because they had first of all to collect the material"—the following was made:]

A certain amount of natural and historical material must be collected before there can be any critical analysis, comparison, and arrangement in classes, orders, and species.

## pp. 23-24

[The sentence: "Nature is the proof of dialectics, and it must be said for modern science that it has furnished this proof with very rich materials increasing daily, and thus has shown that, in the last resort, nature works dialectically and not metaphysically"—reads as follows:]

Nature is the proof of dialectics, and it must be said for modern science that it has furnished this proof with very rich materials increasing daily, and thus has shown that, in the last resort, Nature works dialectically and not metaphysically; that she does not move in the eternal oneness of a perpetually recurring circle, but goes through a real historical evolution. In this connection Darwin must be named before all others. He dealt the metaphysical conception of Nature the heaviest blow by his proof that all organic beings, plants, animals, and man himself, are the products of a process of evolution going on through millions of years.

## pp. 24-25

[The words: "That Hegel did not solve the problem is here immaterial. His epoch-making merit was that he propounded the problem"—read as follows:]

That the Hegelian system did not solve the problem it propounded is here immaterial. Its epoch-making merit was that it propounded the problem.

## pp. 26-27

[The passage: "The new facts made imperative a new examination of all past history. Then it was seen that *all* past history was the history of class struggles; that these warring classes of society are always the products of the modes of production

and of exchange—in a word, of the *economic* conditions of their time; that the economic structure of society always furnishes the real basis, starting from which we can alone work out the ultimate explanation of the whole superstructure of juridical and political institutions as well as of the religious, philosophical, and other ideas of a given historical period. But now idealism was driven from its last refuge, the philosophy of history; now a materialistic treatment of history was propounded, and a method found of explaining man's 'knowing' by his 'being', instead of, as heretofore, his 'being' by his 'knowing'.

"But the socialism of earlier days was as incompatible with this materialistic conception as the conception of nature of the French materialists was with dialectics and modern natural science. The socialism of earlier days certainly criticised the existing capitalistic mode of production and its consequences. But it could not explain them, and, therefore, could not get the mastery of them. It could only simply reject them as bad"—reads as follows:]

The new facts made imperative a new examination of all past history. Then it was seen that *all* past history, with the exception of its primitive stages, was the history of class struggles; that these warring classes of society are always the products of the modes of production and of exchange—in a word, of the *economic* conditions of their time; that the economic structure of society always furnishes the real basis, starting from which we can alone work out the ultimate explanation of the whole superstructure of juridical and political institutions as well as of the religious, philosophical, and other ideas of a given historical period. Hegel had freed history from metaphysics—he had made it dialectic; but his conception of history was essentially idealistic. But now idealism was driven from its last refuge, the philosophy of history; now a materialistic treatment of history was propounded, and a method found of explaining man's "knowing" by his "being", instead of, as heretofore, his "being" by his "knowing".

From that time forward Socialism was no longer an accidental discovery of this or that ingenious brain, but the necessary outcome of the struggle between two historically developed classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Its task was no longer to manufacture a system of society as perfect as possible, but to examine the historico-economic succession of events from which these classes and their antagonism had of necessity sprung, and to discover in the economic conditions thus created the means of ending the conflict. But the Socialism of earlier days was as incompatible with this materialistic conception as the conception of Nature of the French materialists was with dialectics and modern natural science. The Socialism of earlier days certainly criticised the existing capitalistic mode of production and its consequences. But it could not explain them, and, therefore, could not get the mastery of them. It could only simply reject them as bad. The

more strongly this earlier Socialism denounced the exploitation of the working-class, inevitable under Capitalism, the less able was it clearly to show in what this exploitation consisted and how it arose.

## Part III. Ch. I

### p. 244

[The passage: "The antagonism between rich and poor, instead of dissolving into general prosperity, had become intensified by the removal of the guild and other privileges, which had to some extent bridged it over, and by the removal of the charitable institutions of the Church. The development of industry upon a capitalistic basis made poverty and misery of the working masses conditions of existence of society"—reads as follows:]

The antagonism between rich and poor, instead of dissolving into general prosperity, had become intensified by the removal of the guild and other privileges, which had to some extent bridged it over, and by the removal of the charitable institutions of the Church. The "freedom of property" from feudal fetters, now veritably accomplished, turned out to be, for the small capitalists and small proprietors, the freedom to sell their small property, crushed under the overmastering competition of the large capitalists and landlords, to these great lords, and thus, as far as the small capitalists and peasant proprietors were concerned, became "freedom *from* property". The development of industry upon a capitalistic basis made poverty and misery of the working masses conditions of existence of society. Cash payment became more and more, in Carlyle's phrase, the sole nexus between man and man.[a]

### p. 245

[The passage: "But modern industry develops, on the one hand, the conflicts which make absolutely necessary a revolution in the mode of production, conflicts not only between the classes begotten of it, but also between the very productive forces and the forms of exchange created by it. And, on the other hand, it develops, in these very gigantic productive forces, the means of ending these conflicts"—reads as follows:]

But Modern Industry develops, on the one hand, the conflicts which make absolutely necessary a revolution in the mode of

[a] See Th. Carlyle, *Past and Present*, p. 198.—*Ed.*

production, and the doing away with its capitalistic character—conflicts not only between the classes begotten of it, but also between the very productive forces and the forms of exchange created by it. And, on the other hand, it develops, in these very gigantic productive forces, the means of ending these conflicts.

p. 245

[The text: "The propertyless masses of Paris, during the Reign of Terror, were able for a moment to gain the mastery. But, in doing so, they only proved how impossible it was for their domination to last under the conditions then obtaining"—reads as follows:]

The "have-nothing" masses of Paris, during the Reign of Terror, were able for a moment to gain the mastery, and thus to lead the bourgeois revolution to victory in spite of the bourgeoisie themselves. But, in doing so, they only proved how impossible it was for their domination to last under the conditions then obtaining.

p. 246

[Before the sentence: "Already in his Geneva letters, Saint-Simon lays down the proposition that 'all men ought to work'"—two paragraphs were added:]

Saint Simon was a son of the great French Revolution, at the outbreak of which he was not yet thirty. The Revolution was the victory of the third estate, *i.e.*, of the great masses of the nation, *working* in production and in trade, over the privileged *idle* classes, the nobles and the priests. But the victory of the third estate soon revealed itself as exclusively the victory of a small part of this "estate", as the conquest of political power by the socially privileged section of it, *i.e.*, the propertied bourgeoisie. And the bourgeoisie had certainly developed rapidly during the Revolution, partly by speculation in the lands of the nobility and of the Church, confiscated and afterwards put up for sale, and partly by frauds upon the nation by means of army contracts. It was the domination of these swindlers that, under the Directorate, brought France to the verge of ruin, and thus gave Napoleon the pretext for his *coup d'état.*[342]

Hence, to Saint Simon the antagonism between the third estate and the privileged classes took the form of an antagonism between "workers" and "idlers". The idlers were not merely the old privileged classes, but also all who, without taking any part in

production or distribution, lived on their incomes. And the workers were not only the wage-workers, but also the manufacturers, the merchants, the bankers. That the idlers had lost the capacity for intellectual leadership and political supremacy had been proved, and was by the Revolution finally settled. That the non-possessing classes had not this capacity seemed to Saint Simon proved by the experiences of the Reign of Terror. Then, who was to lead and command? According to Saint Simon, science and industry, both united by a new religious bond, destined to restore that unity of religious ideas which had been lost since the time of the Reformation—a necessarily mystic and rigidly hierarchic "new Christianity". But science, that was the scholars; and industry, that was, in the first place, the working bourgeois, manufacturers, merchants, bankers. These bourgeois were, certainly, intended by Saint Simon to transform themselves into a kind of public officials, of social trustees; but they were still to hold, *vis-à-vis* of the workers, a commanding and economically privileged position. The bankers especially were to be called upon to direct the whole of social production by the regulation of credit. This conception was in exact keeping with a time in which Modern Industry in France and, with it, the chasm between bourgeoisie, and proletariat was only just coming into existence. But what Saint Simon especially lays stress upon is this: what interests him first, and above all other things, is the lot of the class that is the most numerous and the most poor ("*la classe la plus nombreuse et la plus pauvre*").[343]

p. 246

[The sentence: "But to recognise the French Revolution as a class war between nobility, bourgeoisie, and the non-possessors, was, in the year 1802, a most pregnant discovery"—reads as follows:]

But to recognise the French Revolution as a class war, and not simply one between nobility and bourgeoisie, but between nobility, bourgeoisie, and the non-possessors, was, in the year 1802, a most pregnant discovery.

p. 248

[The sentence: "He divides its whole course, thus far, into four stages of evolution—savagery, the patriarchate, barbarism, civilisation. This last is identical with the so-called bourgeois society of today"—reads as follows:]

He divides its whole course, thus far, into four stages of

evolution—savagery, barbarism, the patriarchate, civilisation.[a] This last is identical with the so-called civil, or bourgeois, society of to-day—i.e., with the social order that came in with the sixteenth century.

## p. 249

[The sentence: "Nevertheless, even then it was producing crying social abuses—the herding together of a homeless population in the worst quarters of the large towns; the loosening of all traditional moral bonds, of patriarchal subordination, of family relations; overwork, especially of women and children, to a frightful extent; complete demoralisation of the working class, suddenly flung into altogether new conditions"—reads as follows:]

Nevertheless, even then it was producing crying social abuses—the herding together of a homeless population in the worst quarters of the large towns; the loosening of all traditional moral bonds, of patriarchal subordination, of family relations; overwork, especially of women and children, to a frightful extent; complete demoralisation of the working-class, suddenly flung into altogether new conditions, from the country into the town, from agriculture into modern industry, from stable conditions of existence into insecure ones that changed from day to day.

## p. 250

[The following reference is given for the last quotation from Owen's book:]

From *The Revolution in Mind and Practice*, p. 21, a memorial addressed to all the "red Republicans, Communists and Socialists of Europe", and sent to the provisional government of France, 1848, and also "to Queen Victoria and her responsible advisers".

# Part III. Ch. II

## p. 256

[The sentence: "But where, in a given society, the fundamental form of production is that spontaneous division of labour, there the products take on the form of *commodities* whose mutual exchange, buying and selling, enable the individual producers to satisfy their manifold wants"—reads as follows:]

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[a] The German editions of *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft* have "...savagery, the patriarchate, barbarism, civilisation".—*Ed.*

But where, in a given society, the fundamental form of production is that spontaneous division of labour which creeps in gradually and not upon any preconceived plan, there the products take on the form of *commodities,* whose mutual exchange, buying and selling, enable the individual producers to satisfy their manifold wants.

## p. 260

[The following note is given for the word "mark" in the sentence that runs: "Hence, exchange was restricted, the market narrow, the methods of production stable; there was local exclusiveness without, local unity within; the mark in the country; in the town, the guild"—a note is given:]

See *Appendix.* [Here Engels refers to his work *The Mark.* See present edition, Vol. 24.]

## p. 265

[The sentence: "At a further stage of evolution this form also becomes insufficient: the official representative of capitalist society—the state—will ultimately have to undertake the direction of production"—is replaced by the following passage:]

At a further stage of evolution this form also becomes insufficient. The producers on a large scale in a particular branch of industry in a particular country unite in a "Trust", a union for the purpose of regulating production. They determine the total amount to be produced, parcel it out among themselves, and thus enforce the selling price fixed beforehand. But trusts of this kind, as soon as business becomes bad, are generally liable to break up, and, on this very account, compel a yet greater concentration of association. The whole of the particular industry is turned into one gigantic joint-stock company; internal competition gives place to the internal monopoly of this one company. This has happened in 1890 with the English *alkali* production, which is now, after the fusion of 48 large works, in the hands of one company, conducted upon a single plan, and with a capital of £6,000,000.

In the trusts, freedom of competition changes into its very opposite—into monopoly; and the production without any definite plan of capitalistic society capitulates to the production upon a definite plan of the invading socialistic society. Certainly this is so far still to the benefit and advantage of the capitalists. But in this case the exploitation is so palpable that it must break down. No

nation will put up with production conducted by trusts, with so barefaced an exploitation of the community by a small band of dividend-mongers.

In any case, with trusts or without, the official representative of capitalist society—the State—will ultimately have to undertake the direction of production.

## p. 265

[The sentence: "Otherwise, the Royal Maritime Company, the Royal porcelain manufacture, and even the regimental tailor of the army would also be socialistic institutions"—reads as follows:]

Otherwise, the Royal Maritime Company,[344] the Royal porcelain manufacture, and even the regimental tailor of the army would also be socialistic institutions, or even, as was seriously proposed by a sly dog in Frederick William III's reign, the taking over by the State of the brothels.

## pp. 265-66

[In three cases the words "and trusts" are added after "joint-stock companies".]

## pp. 268-69

[The sentence: "It does not prevent the ruling class, once having the upper hand, from consolidating its power at the expense of the working class, from turning its social leadership into an exploitation of the masses"—reads as follows:]

It does not prevent the ruling class, once having the upper hand, from consolidating its power at the expense of the working-class, from turning their social leadership into an intensified exploitation of the masses.

## p. 270

[Before the chapter's last paragraph the following résumé was added:]

Let us briefly sum up our sketch of historical evolution.

I. *Mediaeval Society.*—Individual production on a small scale. Means of production adapted for individual use; hence primitive,

ungainly, petty, dwarfed in action. Production for immediate consumption, either of the producer himself or of his feudal lord. Only where an excess of production over this consumption occurs is such excess offered for sale, enters into exchange. Production of commodities, therefore, only in its infancy. But already it contains within itself, in embryo, *anarchy in the production of society at large.*

II. *Capitalist Revolution.*—Transformation of industry, at first by means of simple co-operation and manufacture. Concentration of the means of production, hitherto scattered, into great workshops. As a consequence, their transformation from individual to social means of production—a transformation which does not, on the whole, affect the form of exchange. The old forms of appropriation remain in force. The capitalist appears. In his capacity as owner of the means of production, he also appropriates the products and turns them into commodities. Production has become a *social* act. Exchange and appropriation continue to be *individual* acts, the acts of individuals. *The social product is appropriated by the individual capitalist.* Fundamental contradiction, whence arise all the contradictions in which our present day society moves, and which modern industry brings to light.

A. Severance of the producer from the means of production. Condemnation of the worker to wage-labour for life. *Antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.*

B. Growing predominance and increasing effectiveness of the laws governing the production of commodities. Unbridled competition. *Contradiction between socialised organisation in the individual factory and social anarchy in production as a whole.*

C. On the one hand, perfecting of machinery, made by competition compulsory for each individual manufacturer, and complemented by a constantly growing displacement of labourers. *Industrial reserve-army.* On the other hand, unlimited extension of production, also compulsory under competition, for every manufacturer. On both sides, unheard of development of productive forces, excess of supply over demand, over-production, glutting of the markets, crises every ten years, the vicious circle: excess here, of means of production and products—excess there, of labourers, without employment and without means of existence. But these two levers of production and of social well-being are unable to work together, because the capitalist form of production prevents the productive forces from working and the products from circulating, unless they are first turned into capital—which their very superabundance prevents. The contradiction has grown into an absurdity. *The mode of production rises in rebellion against the form*

*of exchange.* The bourgeoisie are convicted of incapacity further to manage their own social productive forces.

D. Partial recognition of the social character of the productive forces forced upon the capitalists themselves. Taking over of the great institutions for production and communication, first by joint-stock companies, later on by trusts, then by the State. The bourgeoisie demonstrated to be a superfluous class. All its social functions are now performed by salaried employees.

III. *Proletarian Revolution.*—Solution of the contradictions. The proletariat seizes the public power, and by means of this transforms the socialised means of production, slipping from the hands of the bourgeoisie, into public property. By this act, the proletariat frees the means of production from the character of capital they have thus far borne, and gives their socialised character complete freedom to work itself out. Socialised production upon a predetermined plan becomes henceforth possible. The development of production makes the existence of different classes of society thenceforth an anachronism. In proportion as anarchy in social production vanishes, the political authority of the State dies out. Man, at last the master of his own form of social organisation, becomes at the same time the lord over Nature, his own master—free.

# NOTES
# AND
# INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] *Anti-Dühring* is the title under which Engels' classical work *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science* is widely known.

The attention of Marx and Engels was first drawn to Dühring when his review of Volume One of *Capital* was published in *Ergänzungsblätter,* Vol. III, issue No. 3, in December 1867. They expressed a critical attitude towards him in a number of letters of January to March 1868.

In the mid-1870s, Dühring exerted quite a significant influence on German Social-Democrats. The second edition of *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Sozialismus* (November 1875) and the publication of *Cursus der Philosophie als streng wissenschaftlicher Weltanschauung und Lebensgestaltung* (the last issue appeared in February 1875) made his views more popular. His most active followers were Johann Most, Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche and Eduard Bernstein. Even August Bebel came under the influence of Dühring's views for a short time. In March 1874, two of Bebel's articles about Dühring published anonymously under the title "Ein neuer 'Communist'" in the *Volksstaat,* the central organ of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers), aroused sharp protest on the part of Marx and Engels.

The spread of Dühring's views made Liebknecht, on February 1 and April 21, 1875, propose to Engels that they be criticised in the *Volksstaat.*

Engels criticised Dühring for the first time in February 1876, in an article "Prussian Vodka in the German Reichstag", published in *Volksstaat* (see present edition, Vol. 24). Later, in his letter to Marx of May 24, 1876, he writes of the need to initiate a campaign against the spread of Dühring's views in Germany. Replying on May 25, Marx supported Engels' idea and suggested that, first of all, Dühring himself be sharply criticised (see present edition, Vol. 45). Engels broke off his work on *Dialectics of Nature,* and by May 28 informed Marx of the general plan and character of the proposed work.

Engels worked on *Anti-Dühring* for two years—from late May 1876 to early July 1878. Part I of the book was written mainly between September 1876 and January 1877. It was published as a series of articles entitled *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Philosophie* in *Vorwärts* in January-May 1877 (Nos. 1-7, 10 and 11, January 3, 5, 7, 10, 12, 14, 17, 24 and 26; Nos. 17, 24 and 25, February 9, 25 and 28; Nos. 36 and 37, March 25 and 28; Nos. 44, 45, 49 and 50, April 15, 18, 27 and 29; Nos. 55 and 56, May 11 and 13). Later, beginning

in 1878, with the first separate edition, the first two chapters of this part were made into an independent general introduction to all three parts.

Part II of the book was written mainly between June and August 1877. The last, X chapter of this part was written by Marx (see this volume, pp. 9, 15). In addition, in his letters to Engels of March 7 and August 8, 1877, Marx explained a number of economic problems, especially those connected with Quesnay's *Tableau économique,* which was difficult to understand (see this volume, p. 239). Engels also read the whole manuscript of *Anti-Dühring* to Marx before sending it to the printers (see this volume, p. 9).

Part II was published under the title *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der politischen Oekonomie* in *Wissenschaftliche Beilage* and in the supplement to *Vorwärts* from July to December 1877 (No. 87, July 27; Nos. 93 and 96, August 10 and 17; Nos. 105 and 108, September 7 and 14; No. 127, October 28; Nos. 130 and 139, November 4 and 28; No. 152, December 30).

Part III of the book was written mainly between August 1877 and April 1878. It was published as *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung des Sozialismus* in the supplement to *Vorwärts* in May to July 1878 (Nos. 52 and 61, May 5 and 26; Nos. 64 and 75, June 2 and 28; No. 79, July 7).

The publication of *Anti-Dühring* in *Vorwärts* aroused strong resistance on the part of Dühring's followers. At the next congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, in Gotha from May 27 to 29, 1877, they attempted to ban the publication of this work in the Party's central organ. It was due to them that *Anti-Dühring* was being printed at lengthy intervals.

In July 1877, Part I of Engels' work was published in Leipzig as a separate pamphlet: *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft. I. Philosophie.* In July 1878, Parts II and III were also published as a separate pamphlet: *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft. II. Politische Oekonomie. Sozialismus.*

The entire work was first published in book form in Leipzig on about July 8, 1878, with a preface by Engels: F. Engels, *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft. Philosophie. Politische Oekonomie. Sozialismus.* Its title is an ironical paraphrase of the title of Dühring's work *Carey's Umwälzung der Volkswirtschaftslehre und Socialwissenschaft.* At the end of October 1878, after the Anti-Socialist Law had been put into force in Germany, *Anti-Dühring* was banned along with Engels' other works. Its second edition appeared in Zurich, in 1886. The third, revised and supplemented edition was published in Stuttgart, in 1894, i.e., after the Anti-Socialist Law was repealed (1890). This was the last edition during Engels' lifetime. The second and third editions bore the same title, but the subtitle *Philosophie. Politische Oekonomie. Sozialismus* was omitted.

In 1880, at Paul Lafargue's request, Engels used three chapters of *Anti-Dühring* (Chapter I of the Introduction and chapters I and II of Part III) to provide a separate popular pamphlet, first published under the title *Socialism Utopian and Scientific,* and later as *The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science* (see present edition, Vol. 24).

*Anti-Dühring* was published in English for the first time in 1907, in Chicago as F. Engels, *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism. Anti-Duering.* Translated and edited by Austin Lewis. This work has been repeatedly reprinted.

p. 1

2 At the congress held in Gotha from May 22 to 27, 1875, the two trends in the German working-class movement—the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers), headed by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, and the

Lassallean General Association of German Workers—united into the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. p. 5

[3] The reference is in particular to August Bebel's article "Ein neuer 'Communist'", printed anonymously in the *Volksstaat* on March 13 and 20, 1874 with a favourable review of Dühring's book *Cursus der National- und Sozialökonomie, einschließlich der Hauptpunkte der Finanzpolitik* and describing Dühring as a supporter of scientific socialism. p. 5

[4] The reference is to lectures given to the Berlin workers on the solution of social problems, in July 1876 by Most, who popularised Dühring's views. These lectures came out as a separate pamphlet in 1876 in Berlin: J. Most, *Die Lösung der socialen Frage.* Dühring's views were also actively disseminated by the Social-Democratic newspaper *Berliner Freie Presse.* p. 5

[5] This refers to the protest lodged by Most with the editors of the *Volksstaat,* who did not print his article praising Dühring and Fritzsche's speech at the regular congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany in August 1876, demanding that the Party's central organ *Volksstaat* disseminate Dühring's ideas. p. 5

[6] The Sixth World Industrial Fair opened in Philadelphia on May 10, 1876 in connection with the centenary of the founding of the USA (July 4, 1776). Reuleaux, director of the Berlin Industrial Academy appointed by the German Government as chairman of the German panel of judges, had to admit that German-made goods were far inferior to those of other countries and that German industry's guiding principle was "cheap and nasty". This statement evoked wide comment in the press. From July to September, the *Volksstaat,* for instance, published a series of articles on this scandalous fact. p. 7

[7] The phrase "really never learnt a word", which gained wide currency, is to be found in a letter by the French Admiral de Panat. It is sometimes ascribed to Talleyrand. It was made with reference to the royalists, who proved incapable of drawing any lessons from the French Revolution of the late 18th century. p. 7

[8] The *Anti-Socialist Law* was passed by the German Reichstag on October 21, 1878, to counter the socialist and working-class movement. Extended in 1881, 1884, 1886, 1888, it banned all party organisations, mass workers' organisations and the socialist and labour press; Social-Democrats were subjected to reprisals. The Social-Democratic Party, with the help of Marx and Engels, managed, however, to overcome the opportunist (Höchberg, Bernstein and others) and "ultra-Left" (Most and others) tendencies in its ranks and, while the law was in force, correctly combined legal and illegal work to strengthen and extend its influence considerably among the masses. The law was abrogated on October 1, 1890. Engels assesses it in the article "Bismarck and the German Working Men's Party" (present edition, Vol. 24). p. 8

[9] The *Holy Alliance*—an association of European monarchs, founded in 1815 by Tsarist Russia, Austria and Prussia, to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries. p. 8

[10] This manuscript, to which Marx himself gave the title *Randnoten zu Dührings Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie,* was written before March 5, 1877 and then sent to Engels. (The facsimile of the first page of the manuscript is to be found in this volume, p. 213). It was first published by the Institute of

Marxism-Leninism, CC CPSU in: *Marx/Engels Gesamtausgabe*, F. Engels, *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft/Dialektik der Natur*. Sonderausgabe, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935, pp. 341-71. p. 9

[11] Dühring attempted to refute some of Engels' criticisms in the book: Dühring, *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Sozialismus*, Dritte, theilweise umgearbeitete Auflage, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 566-67. p. 9

[12] In July 1877, Dühring was deprived of the right to lecture at Berlin University for his sharp criticism of university practices. His dismissal sparked off a vociferous protest campaign by his supporters and was condemned by broad democratic circles. p. 10

[13] Initially, the French translation was made by Lafargue, and published under the title *Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique* in the journal *Revue socialiste*, Nos. 3-5, March-May 1880. p. 10

[14] The Russian translation was first published, as *Научный социализм* (Scientific Socialism), in the illegal journal *Студенчество* (Students), No. 1, of December 1882; a separate pamphlet *Развитие научного социализма* (The Development of Scientific Socialism) was put out by the Emancipation of Labour group in Geneva, in 1884. p. 10

[15] Engels left his Manchester business on July 1, 1869 and moved to London on September 20, 1870. p. 11

[16] In the introduction to his fundamental work on agrochemistry, Justus Liebig speaks of the evolution of his scientific views and notes: "Chemistry is moving forward at an incredible speed, and the chemists wishing to keep up with it are in a state of constant moulting. One sheds one's old feathers, no longer suitable for flight, but new ones grow in their stead and one flies all the better." See J. Liebig, *Die Chemie in ihrer Anwendung auf Agricultur und Physiologie*, 7. Aufl., Braunschweig, 1862, Th. I, p. 26. p. 11

[17] This refers to the letter written by the German Social-Democrat Heinrich Wilhelm Fabian to Marx on November 6, 1880 (Engels described Fabian in his letters to Kautsky of April 11, 1884, to Bernstein of September 13, 1884, and to Sorge of June 3, 1885. See present edition, Vol. 47). p. 11

[18] Marx's 1,000-odd sheets of mathematical manuscripts were written mainly in the 1860s, 1870s and early 1880s. The most complete texts of these manuscripts and the abstracts and excerpts of Marx's own notes were first published by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in the language of the original and translated into Russian in *К. Маркс, Математические рукописи* (Mathematical Manuscripts), Moscow, 1968. p. 13

[19] A reference to the works of the Irish physicist Thomas Andrews (1869), the French physicist Louis Paul Cailletet and the Swiss physicist Raoul Pierre Pictet (1877). p. 13

[20] According to the theory expounded by Rudolf Virchow in *Die Cellularpathologie*, first published in 1858, the individual animal breaks up into tissue, the tissue into cell-states, and the cell-states into cells, so that, in the final analysis, the individual animal is a mechanical sum of separate cells.

Speaking of the "progressive" nature of this theory, Engels alludes to Virchow's membership of the German bourgeois Party of Progress, organised in June 1861. p. 14

[21] This refers to Rousseau's theory of equality (see this volume, p. 129) expounded in his *Discours sur l'origine et les fondemens de l'inégalité parmi les hommes,* Amsterdam, 1755, and *Du contrat social; ou, Principes du droit politique,* Amsterdam, 1762. p. 19

[22] The *Reformation* (16th century)—a broad socio-political and ideological movement of a complex social content and composition. It assumed a religious form of struggle against the Catholic doctrine and Church and was basically anti-feudal in character; it spread over most of Western and Central Europe.

The *Peasant War of 1524-26*—the biggest insurrection of German peasants (supported by townspeople) against the feudal yoke in South-western and Middle Germany.

The *Levellers*—the "true Levellers" or "Diggers"—representatives of the ultra-Left trend during the English bourgeois revolution of the mid-17th century, consisting of the poorest sections of the population, suffering from feudal and capitalist exploitation in town and countryside. p. 19

[23] Engels has in mind, first of all, the works of Thomas More (*Utopia,* published in 1516) and Tommaso Campanella (*City of the Sun,* published in 1623). p. 19

[24] Denis Diderot's discourse *Le neveu de Rameau* was written in about 1762 and subsequently revised twice by the author. It was first published, in Goethe's German translation, in Leipzig in 1805; in French in *Oeuvres inédites de Diderot,* Paris, 1821, put out, in fact, in 1823. p. 21

[25] The *Alexandrian period* (the Alexandrian culture, the Alexandrian age) derives its name from the Egyptian city of Alexandria, which was a major centre of Hellenic culture. Alexandria, to which city thousands of Greeks moved in the 3rd century B.C., witnessed a rapid advance of mathematics, mechanics (Euclid, Archimedes), geography, astronomy, physiology and other sciences. p. 22

[26] Laplace's hypothesis of the origin of the solar system was first expounded in the last chapter of his treatise *Exposition du systême du monde,* T. I-II, Paris, 4th year of the French Republic [1796]. In the last, sixth edition of this book, prepared during Laplace's lifetime and published posthumously, in 1835, the hypothesis is expounded in the last, seventh note.

The existence of incandescent masses of gas was proved in 1864 by the English astronomer William Huggins, who made widespread use of the method of spectral analysis (evolved in 1859 by Gustav Kirchhoff and Robert Bunsen) in astronomy. Here Engels used A. Secchi's *Die Sonne,* Braunschweig, 1872, pp. 787, 789-90. p. 24

[27] In the first German edition of *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft* (1882), Engels introduced fundamental specification, which was repeated in the authorised English edition (1892). He formulated the given proposition in the following words: "...*all* past history, with the exception of its primitive stages, was the history of class struggles...". p. 26

[28] Dühring's works, quoted by Engels, are referred to in brackets in abbreviated form in the following way:

D.Ph. stands for: Dühring, *Cursus der Philosophie,* Leipzig, 1875;
D.K.G. " " Dühring, *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Sozialismus,* 2. Aufl., Berlin, 1875;
D.C. " " Dühring, *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie,* 2. Aufl., Leipzig, 1876,

and the relevant pages. p. 28

[29] *Phalansteries*—the buildings in which, according to the French utopian socialist Charles Fourier, the members of phalanges, ideal harmonious communities, would live and work. p. 31

[30] G. W. F. Hegel's *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*, Heidelberg, 1817 consists of three parts: 1) logic, 2) philosophy of nature, 3) philosophy of the mind.

In his work on *Anti-Dühring* and *Dialectics of Nature*, Engels used Hegel's writings primarily published after Hegel's death by his pupils in: G. W. F. Hegel, *Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe durch einen Verein von Freunden des Verewigten: Ph. Marheineke, J. Schulze, Ed. Gans, Lp. v. Henning, H. Hotho, C. Michelet, F. Förster*, Bd. I-XVIII, Berlin, 1832-1845. p. 34

[31] Engels is presumably alluding to *Die Epiphanie der ewigen Persönlichkeit des Geistes* (published in separate installments in 1844, 1847 and 1852), the work of the Hegelian philosopher K. L. Michelet, who published the works of his teacher. p. 34

[32] Engels made a note here, which he subsequently included in *Dialectics of Nature* (see this volume, pp. 544-49). p. 34

[33] In the original, here and elsewhere, the term "Ideologie" is used, as a rule, as a synonym for "idealism". p. 35

[34] This is an allusion to the servile submissiveness of the Prussians, who accepted the Constitution granted by King Frederick William IV on December 5, 1848, when the Prussian Constituent Assembly was dissolved. The Constitution drawn up with the participation of the Minister of the Interior, Baron Manteuffel, was finally approved by Frederick William IV on January 31, 1850, after numerous amendments had been introduced. p. 38

[35] In Part I of *Anti-Dühring*, all page references made by Engels are to Dühring's *Cursus der Philosophie*. p. 39

[36] Engels enumerates a number of major battles in European wars of the nineteenth century.

The *battle of Austerlitz* (now Slavkov in Czechoslovakia), December 2, 1805, in which Napoleon I defeated a combined Russo-Austrian army.

The *battle of Jena*, October 14, 1806, in which Napoleon I crushed the Prussian army.

The *battle of Königgrätz* (now Hradec Králové), or of Sadowa, July 3, 1866, in Bohemia, in which Prussian forces defeated the army of Austria and Saxony, thereby securing Prussia's victory over Austria in the war of 1866.

The *battle of Sedan*, September 1-2, 1870, in which Prussian forces defeated the French army under MacMahon and compelled it to surrender. This was the decisive battle in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. p. 40

[37] A reference to the research carried out by the German mathematician Karl Friedrich Gauss into non-Euclidean geometry. p. 47

[38] In 1886, in his *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, Engels wrote the following on the Copernican system: "For three hundred years the Copernican solar system was a hypothesis with a hundred, a thousand or ten thousand chances to one in its favour, but still always a hypothesis. But when Leverrier, by means of the data provided by this system, not only deduced the necessity of the existence of an unknown planet, but also calculated the position in the heavens which this planet must necessarily occupy,

and when Galle really found this planet, the Copernican system was proved" (see present edition, Vol. 26). The planet mentioned in the quotation is Neptune, which was discovered in 1846 by Johann Galle of the Berlin Observatory. p. 53

39 Engels made a note here, which he subsequently included in *Dialectics of Nature* (see this volume, pp. 530-34). p. 62

40 *Protista* (from the Greek *protistos*—meaning first) are, according to Haeckel's classification, a vast group of simple, both unicellular and non-cellular, organisms.

*Monera* (from the Greek *moneres*—meaning single) are, according to Haeckel, structureless masses of albumen, devoid of a nucleus but performing all the essential vital functions: eating, locomotion, reaction to irritation, multiplication.

The terms *protista* and *monera* were introduced by Haeckel in 1866 in his book *Generelle Morphologie der Organismen.* p. 68

41 The reference is to the Sumerian epic of Gilgamesh and the Accadian version of the Deluge story discovered in 1872 by George Smith, the English Assyriologist and archaeologist. p. 68

42 *Ring of the Nibelung*—Richard Wagner's monumental tetralogy: *Rheingold, Valkyrie, Siegfried* and *Götterdämmerung.*

Here Engels jokingly calls Dühring the "composer of the future", referring to the term "composition" proposed by Dühring. Wagner's adversaries had ironically called his music the "music of the future", the occasion being Wagner's book *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft,* Leipzig, 1850. p. 70

43 *Zoophytes*—a name which, from the sixteenth century onwards, designated a group of invertebrates (mainly sponges and coelenterata). From the mid-nineteenth century, the term *zoophytes* was used as a synonym for coelenterata; it has now dropped out of use. p. 73

44 This classification was given in Huxley's *Lectures on the Elements of Comparative Anatomy,* London, 1864, Lecture V. It provided the basis for H. A. Nicholson's *Manual of Zoology* (first published in 1870), which Engels used in his work on *Anti-Dühring* and *Dialectics of Nature.* p. 73

45 *Traube's artificial cells*—inorganic formations representing a model of living cells; they were created by the German chemist and physiologist Moritz Traube by mixing colloidal solutions. He read a paper on his experiments to the 47th Congress of German Naturalists and Physicians in Breslau, on September 23, 1874. Marx and Engels thought highly of Traube's discovery (see Marx's letter to Pyotr Lavrov of June 18, 1875, and to Wilhelm Alexander Freund of January 21, 1877, present edition, Vol. 45). p. 76

46 Here Engels relates a report in the journal *Nature* of November 16, 1876 dealing with the paper read by Dmitry Mendeleyev on September 3, 1876 at the 5th Congress of Russian Naturalists and Physicians in Warsaw. Mendeleyev reported on the results of his experiments, conducted jointly with Józef Jerzy Boguski in 1875-76, to verify the Boyle-Mariotte law.

Engels evidently wrote this note when checking the proofs of this chapter of *Anti-Dühring,* which was printed in *Vorwärts* on February 28, 1877. Engels added the end of the note, given in parentheses, in 1885, when he was preparing the second edition of *Anti-Dühring.* p. 85

47 Rousseau's *Discours sur l'origine et les fondemens de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* was written in 1754 and published in 1755. p. 90

48 The *Thirty Years' War* (1618-48)—an all-European war caused by the struggle between Protestants and Catholics. Germany became the main arena of this war, and consequently the object of military pillage and the predatory claims of the belligerents. p. 92

49 This refers to Stirner's *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum*, Leipzig, 1845; for criticism of it see *The German Ideology* by Marx and Engels (present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 117-450). p. 92

50 Engels' main source of data on these events was, evidently, the American diplomat Eugene Schuyler's *Turkistan. Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, in two volumes, Vol. II, London, 1876, pp. 356-59. p. 94

51 The *American Constitution of 1787*, officially proclaiming the USA a federal republic, was the most progressive bourgeois constitution of its time. Yet it virtually legalised slavery. Marx wrote on this: "The Constitution ... recognises slaves as property and obliges the Union government to protect this property" (see present edition, Vol. 19, p. 36). p. 98

52 Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Bd. I, 2. Aufl., Hamburg, 1872, p. 36 (see present edition, Vol. 35, Part I, Chapter I, Section 3, A, 3: The Equivalent Form of Value).

In *Anti-Dühring*, Engels quotes from the 2nd German edition of Vol. I of *Capital*. He used the 3rd German edition of *Capital*, Vol. I only when he revised Part II, Chapter X for the 3rd edition of *Anti-Dühring*. p. 99

53 Lassalle was arrested in February 1848 on a charge of inciting to steal a cash-box with documents to be used in the divorce case of Countess Sophie Hatzfeldt, whose lawyer he was from 1846 to 1854. Lassalle's trial took place from August 5 to 11, 1848; he was acquitted by a jury. p. 100

54 *Code pénal*—the French Penal Code, adopted in 1810, which came into force in France and French-conquered regions of Western and South-western Germany in 1811; along with the Civil Code, it remained in force in the Rhine Province after it had been annexed by Prussia in 1815. p. 101

55 *Code Napoléon*—the French Civil Code was adopted in 1804. Engels called it "a classical legal code of bourgeois society" in his *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* (see present edition, Vol. 26).

Here Engels is speaking of it in the broad sense, having in mind the five codes adopted under Napoleon from 1804 to 1810: civil, civil-procedure, trade, criminal and criminal-procedure. p. 101

56 In *Ethica ordine geometrico demonstrata et in quinque partes distincta* (first published in Amsterdam in 1677), Part I, Addendum, Spinoza said that ignorance is no argument, in opposition to the clerical-teleological view that everything is determined by "divine Providence" as the final cause and that the only means of argumentation is the plea of ignorance of other causes. p. 102

57 *Corpus juris civilis*—code of civil laws regulating property relations in Roman slave-owning society; it was drawn up from 528 to 534 under the Byzantine Emperor Justinian. In *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, Engels described it as the "first world law of a commodity-producing society" (see present edition, Vol. 26). p. 102

[58] The law on the compulsory civil registration of births, marriages and deaths was passed in Prussia on October 1, 1874 and a similar one for the whole German Empire on February 6, 1875. The law deprived the Church of the right to such registration, thereby considerably curtailing its influence and income. It was directed primarily against the Catholic Church. p. 103

[59] The reference is to the provinces of Brandenburg, East Prussia, West Prussia, Posen, Pomerania and Silesia, which were part of the Kingdom of Prussia until the Vienna Congress of 1815. p. 104

[60] *Personal equation*—a correction made for variation in astronomical observation due to a person's individual peculiarities. p. 105

[61] Dühring drew these data on the structure of Marx's *Capital* from the Preface to the first German edition (see present edition, Vol. 35). From 1867 onwards, when Vol. I of *Capital* was published, Marx's plan was to have the entire work brought out in three volumes in four books, the 2nd and the 3rd of which were to comprise Vol. II. After Marx's death, Engels published the 2nd and 3rd books as vols. II and III. The last, fourth book, *Theories of Surplus-Value*, was published after Engels' death. p. 113

[62] Chapter XXIV of Vol. I of *Capital*—"The So-called Primitive Accumulation"—takes up pp. 742-93 of the 1872 German edition. The last, seventh paragraph of this chapter—"Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation"—begins on p. 791 of that edition. p. 123

[63] The reference is to Rousseau's *Discours sur l'origine et les fondemens de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*, written in 1754 (see Note 47). Below, Engels quotes the second part of this work (1755 edition, pp. 116, 118, 146, 175-76 and 176-77). p. 129

[64] The expression *determinatio est negatio* is to be found in Spinoza's letter to Jarigh Jelles of June 2, 1674 (see B. Spinoza, *Epistolae doctorum quorundam virorum ad B. de Spinoza et auctoris responsiones* ..., Letter 50), where it is used in the sense of "determination is a negation". The expression *omnis determinatio est negatio* and its interpretation as "every determination is a negation" are to be found in Hegel's works, from which they have become widely known (see G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften*, Erster Teil, § 91, Zusatz; *Die Wissenschaft der Logik*, Erstes Buch, Erster Abschnitt, Zweites Kapitel: "b. Qualität"; *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie*, Erster Teil, Erster Abschnitt, Erstes Kapitel, Paragraph über Parmenides). p. 131

[65] Engels has in mind, above all, Marx's works *The Poverty of Philosophy* (1847), *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859) and Vol. I of *Capital* (1867). Marx carried out a thorough study of precapitalist forms of production in his *Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58* (first version of *Capital*). (See present edition, vols. 6, 28, 30, 35). p. 139

[66] In Part II, except Chapter X, of *Anti-Dühring*, Engels quotes from the second (1876) edition of Dühring's *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie*. p. 140

[67] *Reptiles*—a nickname widespread in Germany in the 1870s for journalists subsidised by the government. This expression, but in a different sense, was used by Bismarck on January 30, 1869, in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, this time with reference to the government's adversaries. p. 142

[68] Engels is referring to the *July Revolution of 1830* in France, which brought big bankers and industrialists to power; from this time on, as a result of the final

victory of the bourgeoisie over the nobility, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie came to the fore. p. 145

69 The *Restoration*—the second rule of the Bourbon dynasty in France (1814-15, 1815-30), overthrown by the Revolution at the end of the 18th century. It was brought to an end by the *July Revolution of 1830* (see Note 68). p. 147

70 Engels took these facts from W. Wachsmuth's *Hellenische Alterthumskunde aus dem Gesichtspunkte des Staates*, Th. II, Abth. I, Halle, 1829, p. 44.

The source for the number of slaves in Corinth and Aegina during the Greco-Persian wars (5th cent. B.C.), is *Banquet of Sophists*, Book VI, by the ancient Greek writer Athenaeus. p. 149

71 This refers to absolute monarchy (absolutism)—a form of state in the last period of the existence of feudalism. p. 152

72 The reference is to the guns produced by Krupps, the biggest German steel firm, and rifles designed and produced by the German engineers and entrepreneurs, the Mauser brothers. p. 153

73 Engels means the protracted economic crisis of 1873-79 in German industry, in spite of the seizure of Alsace and East Lorraine and the 5,000 million francs of war indemnities that France paid to Germany under the terms of the Frankfurt peace treaty (1871), after her defeat in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. p. 154

74 The War of Independence in North America (1775-83) was the first bourgeois revolution on the American continent. p. 156

75 A reference to the bourgeois-democratic revolution in France at the end of the 18th century. p. 156

76 The *Prussian Landwehr system* provided for the formation of army units from among people of the older age groups who were liable to military service and had served in the regular army and been in the reserve for the established period. The *Landwehr* first appeared in Prussia in 1813-14 as a people's militia to combat Napoleon. p. 157

77 The reference is to the Austro-Prussian war of 1866. p. 157

78 In the *battle of Saint-Privat*, or of *Gravelotte*, August 18, 1870, the German troops defeated the French Rhenish army at the cost of enormous losses.

On the source from which the data on the losses sustained by the Prussian Guard were taken see Note 338. p. 157

79 The *Crimean war* (1853-56) between Russia and a coalition of Britain, France, Turkey and Sardinia, broke out as a result of a clash of their economic and political interests in the Middle East. p. 160

80 See Note 72. p. 161

81 The phrase in parentheses was added by Engels in the third edition of *Anti-Dühring*. p. 161

82 Dühring called his "dialectics" "natural dialectics" to distinguish it from Hegel's "unnatural" dialectics. See E. Dühring, *Natürliche Dialektik. Neue logische Grundlegungen der Wissenschaft und Philosophie*, Berlin, 1865, p. 13. p. 163

83 Dealing with a common subject, the works of Georg Ludwig Maurer (12 volumes) study the agrarian, urban and state system of mediaeval Germany. These works are: *Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark-, Hof-, Dorf- und Stadt-*

*Verfassung und der öffentlichen Gewalt*, München, 1854; *Geschichte der Markenverfassung in Deutschland*, Erlangen, 1856; *Geschichte der Fronhöfe, der Bauernhöfe und der Hofverfassung in Deutschland*, Bd. I-IV, Erlangen, 1862-63; *Geschichte der Dorfverfassung in Deutschland*, Bd. I-II, Erlangen, 1865-66; *Geschichte der Städteverfassung in Deutschland*, Bd. I-IV, Erlangen, 1869-71. The first, second and fourth of these works are devoted to a study of the German mark system. p. 163

84 Engels ironically changes the title of Heinrich LXXII—one of the two influential Reuss princes of the Younger branch (Reuss-Lobenstein-Ebersdorf). Greiz—capital of the Reuss principality (Elder branch, Reuss-Greiz). Schleiz—a domain of the Reuss princes (Younger branch, Reuss-Schleiz)—was not a possession of Heinrich LXXII. p. 164

85 This is an expression from Frederick William IV's New Year message (January 1, 1849) to the Prussian Army. For a critical assessment of this message see Marx's article "A New-Year Greeting" (present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 222-26). p. 170

86 The reference is to the laws on maximum prices adopted by the revolutionary government during the War of Independence in North America (see Note 74) and the National Convention during the French Revolution (see Note 75). p. 177

87 A detailed criticism of the Lassallean slogan of "full" or unlimited "proceeds of labour" is given in Section 1 of Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (see present edition, Vol. 24). p. 187

88 Marx intended to include the third book in Vol. II of *Capital* (see Note 61). p. 199

89 According to a Biblical story, when Jericho was besieged by the Israelites under Joshua, its impregnable walls came tumbling down at the sound of holy trumpets and the shouts of the besiegers (Joshua 6 : 1-4, 9, 19). p. 200

90 This is an allusion to King Frederick Wilhelm IV's speech from the throne at the opening of the United Diet in Prussia on April 11, 1847, in which he stated that he would never allow "the natural relations between the monarch and the people" to be turned into "conventional, constitutional ones" and "the used up sheet of paper" take the place of "primordial holy loyalty". p. 200

91 See Note 36. p. 200

92 This chapter, based on Marx's manuscript of 1877 (see this volume, p. 15 and notes 1 and 10) was evidently edited by Engels in the second half of May 1894, while he was preparing the third German edition of *Anti-Dühring*. That is why this chapter contains a reference to the third German edition of Marx's *Capital* (1883). Engels restored Marx's original text as fully as possible. The main object of Marx's criticism here was the second edition of Dühring's *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Sozialismus*, in which the author attempted to describe the history of political economy and in which Marx's teaching was the object of his libellous attacks. p. 211

93 *Mercantilism*—a school of bourgeois political economy, that emerged in the last third of the fifteenth century; it expressed the interests of the merchant bourgeoisie in the age of the primitive accumulation of capital, identified the wealth of the country with the accumulation of money and attached primary importance in this to the state. Marx called the early period of mercantilism the monetary system (see present edition, Vol. 36). p. 216

94 William Petty's *Quantulumcunque concerning Money* was written in 1682 in the form of an address to Lord Halifax and published in London in 1695. Marx used the 1760 edition.

Petty's *The Political anatomy of Ireland* was written in 1672 and published in London in 1691. p. 219

95 The reference here is to the French chemist A. L. Lavoisier's "De la richesse territoriale du royaume de France" and "Essai sur la population de la ville de Paris, sur la richesse et ses consommations", as well as the joint work "Essai d'arithmétique politique", written by Lavoisier and the French mathematician Lagrange published in *Mélanges d'économie politique. Précédés de notices historiques sur chaque auteur, et accompagnés de commentaires et de notes explicatives, par MM. E. Daire et G. de Molinari*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1847, pp. 575-620. p. 220

96 Engels is referring here to the attempt by John Law, a Scottish economist, to put paper money into circulation in France, where his idea received support in court quarters. In 1716 he founded a private bank, the Banque générale, which, in 1718, was reorganised into the state Banque royale. The unlimited issue of bank-notes by Law's bank was accompanied by the withdrawal of coins from circulation. As a result, Stock Exchange speculation reached an unprecedented scale and culminated, in 1720, in the bankruptcy of the bank and of the Law system itself. p. 221

97 An inaccuracy in the text: the first edition of Richard Cantillon's *Essai sur la nature du commerce en général* appeared not in 1752, but in 1755, as Marx himself pointed out in *Capital*, Vol. I (see present edition, Vol. 35, Part VI, Chapter XXI). Adam Smith mentions Cantillon's work in Volume I of his *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Chapter VIII, Of the Wages of Labour. p. 227

98 In 1866, acting through his adviser Hermann Wagener, Bismarck requested Dühring to draw up a memorandum for the Prussian government on the labour question. Dühring, who advocated harmony between capital and labour, complied with this request. His work was published, however, without his knowledge, first anonymously, and later under the signature of Wagener. This gave Dühring grounds for initiating proceedings against Wagener on a charge of breaking copyright laws. In 1868, Dühring won his case. At the height of this scandalous trial, Dühring published *Die Schicksale meiner socialen Denkschrift für das Preussische Staatsministerium* (see this volume, p. 144). p. 228

99 *Livre tournois*—a French coin named after the town of Tour; from 1740 onwards it was equal to one franc; in 1799, it was replaced by the franc. p. 233

100 Engels is referring to the beginning of Chapter I of the "Introduction" (see this volume, pp. 16, 19). He wrote this footnote when *Anti-Dühring* was published in the newspaper. It remained unchanged in all editions of the book published during Engels' lifetime (see Note 1). In all subsequent separate editions, the first two chapters were joined together under the heading "Introduction". The numbers of the other chapters were not changed, so "Philosophy" now begins with Chapter III (see this volume, p. 33). p. 244

101 The *Reign of Terror*—the period of Jacobin revolutionary-democratic dictatorship (June 1793-July 1794), which relied on the revolutionary bloc of the urban petty and middle bourgeoisie, the majority of the peasants and plebeians.

The *Directorate*—the organ of executive power in France (from November 1795), formed under the 1795 Constitution. Existing until the Napoleon's *coup d'état* of November 9 (18 Brumaire), 1799 it upheld the interests of big bourgeoisie and brutally suppressed the revolutionary actions of the popular masses.

In 1804, Bonaparte, who actually became the head of the state under the Consulate after 18 Brumaire, was proclaimed Emperor of the French.

p. 244

102 A reference to the slogan "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" current during the French Revolution. p. 245

103 Saint-Simon's first work, *Lettres d'un habitant de Genève à ses contemporains* was written in Geneva in 1802 and published anonymously in Paris in 1803, without the place and date of publication being indicated. When working on *Anti-Dühring*, Engels made use of: G. Hubbard, *Saint-Simon. Sa vie et ses travaux. Suivi de fragments des plus célèbres écrits de Saint-Simon*, Paris, 1857. This edition contains inaccuracies regarding the publication dates of various works by Saint-Simon.

The first most important work of Charles Fourier was *Théorie des quatre mouvements et des destinées générales*, written in the early nineteenth century and published anonymously in Lyons in 1808 (the title page gives Leipzig as the place of publication). p. 245

104 The allied armies of the sixth anti-French coalition (Russia, Austria, Britain, Prussia and other countries) entered Paris on March 31, 1814. Napoleon's empire fell and Napoleon himself, after abdicating, was banished to the Island of Elba. The Bourbon monarchy was restored in France for the first time (1814-15). p. 247

105 The *Hundred Days*—the period of brief restoration of the Napoleonic Empire—from the day of Napoleon's return from exile on Elba to Paris on March 20, 1815, until his second abdication on June 22 of the same year, after his army's defeat at Waterloo on June 18, 1815 by Anglo-Dutch forces under Wellington and by the Prussian army under Blücher. p. 247

106 After Dühring had been deprived of the right to lecture at Berlin University for criticising university practices and attacking such prominent scientists as Helmholtz, Virchow and others (see this volume, pp. 9-10), a just campaign, in the columns of the Social-Democratic press included, grew into an unrestrained apologia for Dühring, owing to the efforts of his supporters. This is what Engels is hinting at. Dühring's attacks on the German Social-Democrats in reactionary newspapers, in the autumn of the same year led, however, to a fall in his authority and influence not only among socialists, but also among people of progressive views in general. p. 247

107 This idea had been enunciated in Charles Fourier's first book—*Théorie des quatre mouvements*—which contains the following general thesis: "Social progress and changes of a period are accompanied by the progress of women towards freedom, while the decay of the social system brings with it a reduction of the freedoms enjoyed by women." Fourier concludes: "Extension of the rights of women is the basic principle of all social progress" (Fourier, *Oeuvres complètes*, t. I, Paris, 1841, pp. 195-96). p. 248

108 In a note to the relevant passage in *Socialism Utopian and Scientific* (see this volume, p. 10), Engels gives the source of the last three quotations: R. Owen, *The Revolution in the Mind and Practice of the Human Race; or, the Coming Change*

*from Irrationality to Rationality*, London, 1849, pp. 21, 22. The facts from Owen's biography mentioned above are from the same source. p. 250

109 The Bill moved on Owen's initiative in June 1815, was passed by Parliament only in July 1819, having been greatly curtailed. The Act regulating labour in cotton mills banned the employment of children under the age of nine, limited the working day to 12 hours for young people under 18 and established for all workers two breaks, one for breakfast and the other for lunch, with a total duration of one and a half hours. p. 251

110 A Congress of Co-operative Societies and Trades Unions, presided over by Owen, was held in London in October 1833. This Congress formally founded the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, the Charter of which was adopted in February 1834. It was Owen's intention that this Union would take over the management of production and remake society peacefully. This utopian plan collapsed very soon. In the face of strong opposition from employers and the state, the Union ceased to exist in 1834. p. 251

111 *Equitable Labour Exchange Bazaars* were founded by workers' co-operatives in various towns of England; the first of these bazaars was founded by Owen in London in September 1832 and existed until mid-1834. p. 251

112 The reference is to Proudhon's idea of organising an exchange bank, first put forward in his pamphlet *Organisation du Crédit et de la Circulation et Solution du problème sociale*, which was published in early April 1848. This idea was developed in detail in his other works. Proudhon's main idea was to replace gold and silver as a means of circulation, with bank-notes, which were, in fact, impersonal bills. These bank-notes of the exchange bank were secured by products of labour and, in this, according to Proudhon, lay their principal difference from other paper money issued by banks and secured by precious metals, landed property, etc.

To put this idea into practice, the Banque du peuple was founded in Paris on January 31, 1849. It went bankrupt, however, and closed in early April 1849. p. 251

113 *Harmony Hall*—the name of the communist community founded by English utopian socialists, led by Owen, at the close of 1839 in Queenwood, Hampshire, England. It existed until 1845. p. 253

114 In *Socialism Utopian and Scientific*, Engels gives a note referring to his work *The Mark* (see present edition, Vol. 24). p. 260

115 This refers to the wars between the major European powers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for control of trade with India and America and for seizure of colonial markets. The principal rivals were initially England and Holland, later England and France. England won these wars and, towards the close of the eighteenth century, almost all world trade was concentrated in her hands. p. 260

116 The reference is to the Prussian Royal Maritime Company, which was founded as a commercial and banking company in 1772 and granted a number of important privileges by the state. It advanced big loans to the government and, in fact, became its banker and broker. p. 265

117 The slogan "*a free people's state*"—is criticised in section IV of Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Engels' letter to August Bebel of March 18-28, 1875 (see present edition, vols. 24 and 45), and Lenin's *The State and Revolution*,

Chapter I, Paragraph 4, and Chapter IV, Paragraph 3 (*Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 395-401 and 439-42). p. 268

118 These figures are from Robert Giffen's paper "Recent Accumulations of Capital in the United Kingdom", read at the Statistical Society on January 15, 1878 and printed in the London *Journal of the Statistical Society* in March 1878. p. 270

119 Speaking about the "German Empire of the Prussian nation", Engels underlines, on the one hand, that the country's unification under Prussian supremacy was completed by Bismarck on a militaristic basis and, on the other, alludes to the name "the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation" which, from the end of the fifteenth century until its formal liquidation in 1806, was part of the archaic state formation, the mediaeval feudal empire, founded in 962 by the German king Otto I and embracing the territory of Germany and several other Central European states. The empire was a precarious unity of feudal principalities and free towns recognising the supreme power of an emperor. p. 283

120 Engels had in mind a speech delivered by Bismarck in the Lower Chamber of the Prussian Landtag on March 20, 1852, stating that, if there were another upsurge of the revolutionary movement, large towns, as centres of the revolutionary movement, ought to be wiped out from the face of the earth. p. 283

121 The ledger (*Kommerzbuch*) is described by Wilhelm Weitling in *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit*, Section II, Ch. 10, Vivis, 1842. According to Weitling's utopian plan, in the future society, every able-bodied person would have to work a certain number of hours a day and, in return, would receive the necessary means of subsistence. Every person would have the right to work several "commercial hours" over and above this time and, in return, to receive luxury items, different entertainments, theatre and concert tickets, etc. These additional working hours and the products received for them would be recorded in a ledger. p. 288

122 *Non olet* (it [money] does not stink): these words were spoken by the Roman Emperor Vespasian (69-79 A.D.) in reply to his son, who reproached him for introducing a tax on lavatories. p. 289

123 See Note 111. p. 291

124 See Note 87. p. 297

125 In the original *"Zarucker"*—from the German *zurück* (*zaruck*—in Berlin dialect), meaning "retrograde person", "reactionary" ("Rückschrittler", "Reaktionär"). See A. Glaßbrenner, *Herr Buffey in der Zaruck-Gesellschaft* in: *Berlin wie es ist und—trinkt*, Leipzig, 1848, pp. 14-15. p. 299

126 An expression from the resolution written by Prussian King Frederick II on July 22, 1740 in reply to an inquiry from Minister von Brand and President of the Consistory Reichenbach as to whether Catholic schools might be permitted in a Protestant Prussian state. p. 300

127 *May laws*—four laws on creed adopted on Bismarck's initiative in May 1873. These laws established rigid state control over the Catholic Church and were the culmination of Bismarck's so-called drive for culture from 1872 to 1875, which was directed against the Catholic clergy as the mainstay of the "Centre" party, representing the interests of the separatists in South and South-western

Germany. Police persecution met with desperate resistance by Catholics and brought them the halo of martyrdom. From the late 1870s, in order to unite all the reactionary forces against the working-class movement, Bismarck's government was compelled first to relax and then to repeal almost all the anti-Catholic laws. p. 302

128 The *Magic Flute*—a Mozart opera with a libretto by Emanuel Schikaneder. Composed and performed in 1791, it mirrored Masonic ideas; both the author of the libretto and Mozart himself having been Masons. p. 308

129 *Referendary*—in Germany a junior official, chiefly a lawyer trained at court or in a state office. p. 309

130 *Dialectics of Nature* is one of Frederick Engels' major works. It gives a dialectical materialist generalisation of the principal natural scientific achievements of the mid-nineteenth century, develops materialist dialectics, and criticises metaphysical and idealist conceptions in the natural sciences.

*Dialectics of Nature* was the culmination of profound scientific studies carried out by Engels over many years. Originally, in about January 1873 (see this volume, pp. 482-87), he planned to summarise the results of his research in the form of a polemical work criticising Ludwig Büchner, a vulgar materialist. Later, he decided to set himself a more comprehensive task; by May 30, 1873, he had completed the plan for this work and set it out in a letter to Marx (see present edition, Vol. 44). Marx showed the letter to Carl Schorlemmer, a prominent chemist. The original of that letter bears comments by Schorlemmer, who approved of the main points of Engels' plan.

Engels wrote the items included in *Dialectics of Nature* between 1873 and 1882, during which time he studied a vast amount of source material on major problems of the natural sciences and more or less completed 10 articles and chapters and many notes and fragments; all in all, almost 200 sketches.

Engels' work on *Dialectics of Nature* may be divided into two major periods: early 1873 to January 1878 and summer 1878 to summer 1882. During the former, Engels was engaged mostly in collecting data, and wrote most of the fragments and the "Introduction". During the latter period, he drew up a specific plan for the future work (see this volume, pp. 313-14, 317) and wrote the other fragments and almost all the chapters and articles. When Marx died, the job of completing the publication of *Capital* and of leading the international working-class movement became a full-time occupation for Engels, so he virtually had to discontinue his work on *Dialectics of Nature*, which remained unfinished.

*Dialectics of Nature* has come down to us in the form of four folders in which Engels grouped all the articles and notes relating to this work. He gave the folders the following headings: (1) "Dialectics and Natural Science", (2) "The Investigation of Nature and Dialectics", (3) "Dialectics of Nature", and (4) "Mathematics and Natural Science. Miscellaneous". Only two of the folders—the second and the third—have tables of contents compiled by the author, indicating the arrangement of the material in the folders (see this volume, p. 591). As for the first and fourth folders, we cannot be certain that the sheets are arranged exactly as Engels would have wished.

The first folder ("Dialectics and Natural Science") consists of two parts: (1) Notes written on 11 double sheets, numbered by the author, each sheet entitled "Dialectics of Nature". These notes, which are separated from one another by dividing lines (in the present volume by asterisks), were written in the

chronological order in which they were arranged on the numbered sheets of the manuscript. (2) Twenty unnumbered sheets, each containing one longer note or several shorter ones are separated by dividing lines. Many of these notes contain information enabling us to put date to them.

The second folder ("The Investigation of Nature and Dialectics") consists of three large notes: "On the Prototypes of the Mathematical Infinite in the Real World", "On the 'Mechanical' Conception of Nature", "On Nägeli's Incapacity to Know the Infinite"; "Old Preface to [*Anti-*]*Dühring*. On Dialectics", the article "The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man" and a large fragment entitled "Omitted from *Feuerbach*". The table of contents, drawn up by Engels for this folder, indicates that it originally included two more articles: "Basic Forms of Motion" and "Natural Science in the Spirit World". Subsequently, Engels crossed out these headings from the table of contents of the second folder and transferred them to the third, in which he incorporated the more complete components of his unfinished work.

The third folder ("Dialectics of Nature") contains the six most complete articles: "Basic Forms of Motion", "The Measure of Motion.—Work", "Electricity", "Natural Science in the Spirit World", "Introduction" and "Tidal Friction" (see notes 170, 175, 187, 157, 138 and 183).

The fourth folder ("Mathematics and Natural Science. Miscellaneous") consists of two unfinished chapters: "Dialectics" and "Heat"; 18 unnumbered sheets, each containing one longer note or several shorter ones, separated by dividing lines, and several sheets with mathematical calculations. The notes in the fourth folder include two plan outlines for *Dialectics of Nature* (see notes 131 and 137).

The detailed index of contents of the folders and the chronological list of chapters and fragments of *Dialectics of Nature* compiled by the editors may be found at the end of this volume (pp. 686-95).

There are some manuscripts among the material for *Dialectics of Nature* that were not originally intended for it: the "Old Preface to [*Anti-*]*Dühring*. On Dialectics", two "Notes to *Anti-Dühring*" ("On the Prototypes of the Mathematical Infinite in the Real World" and "On the 'Mechanical' Conception of Nature"), "Omitted from *Feuerbach*", "The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man" and "Natural Science in the Spirit World" (see notes 154, 280, 271, 217, 199, 157).

The present edition of *Dialectics of Nature* includes everything contained in Engels' four folders, except for a few pages with fragmentary mathematical calculations not accompanied by any explanatory text, and the following notes, which are obviously unconnected with *Dialectics of Nature*: 1) the original outline of the "Introduction" to *Anti-Dühring* (see this volume, pp. 591-95); 2) a fragment on slavery (see this volume, pp. 608-09); 3) extracts from Charles Fourier's *Le Nouveau Monde industriel et sociétaire* (see this volume, p. 612) (these three notes are part of the preparatory material for *Anti-Dühring*) and 4) a small note with a comment by Engels on the negative view held by Philip Pauli, the German chemist, of the labour theory of value.

The material is here arranged by subject matter, in keeping with the basic lines of the two plan outlines (see this volume, pp. 313-15, 317). Despite some differences, the basic contents of the manuscript are quite in keeping with the main lines of the plan of *Dialectics of Nature*. The distinction drawn between more or less complete articles and chapters, on the one hand, and preparatory notes, on the other, as indicated by Engels himself in grouping the materials by folders, is retained. Thus, the work is divided into two parts: 1) articles and

chapters, and 2) notes and fragments, in each of which the material is arranged according to the main lines of Engels' plan.

These basic lines indicate the following sequence of parts: a) historical introduction, b) general questions of materialist dialectics, c) classification of the sciences, d) considerations concerning the dialectical content of individual sciences, e) examination of some important methodological problems of natural science, f) transition to social sciences, the penultimate part being almost unelaborated.

The basic lines of the plan account for the following sequence of articles and chapters of *Dialectics of Nature,* constituting the first part of the book:

(1) Introduction;
(2) Old Preface to [*Anti-*]*Dühring.* On Dialectics;
(3) Natural Science in the Spirit World;
(4) Dialectics;
(5) Basic Forms of Motion;
(6) The Measure of Motion.—Work;
(7) Tidal Friction;
(8) Heat;
(9) Electricity;
(10) The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man.

As for all these articles and chapters, the order according to subject matter coincides in the main with the chronological order, except for the article "The Part Played by Labour ...", which in its subject belongs to the last part of the plan, but was written before most of the articles and chapters (see Note 199). The article "Natural Science in the Spirit World" appears in third place among the articles and chapters because, like the two preceding it, it is of general methodological significance and is fairly closely connected with the "Old Preface to [*Anti-*]*Dühring*" as far as its basic ideas are concerned (the need for theoretical thought in empirical natural science).

As for the rough drafts, notes and fragments forming the second part of the work, they are arranged in keeping with Engels' plan outlines as follows:

(1) From the History of Science;
(2) Natural Science and Philosophy;
(3) Dialectics;
(4) Forms of Motion of Matter. Classification of the Sciences;
(5) Mathematics;
(6) Mechanics and Astronomy;
(7) Physics;
(8) Chemistry;
(9) Biology.

The arrangement of the fragments, almost entirely corresponds to that of the articles and chapters of *Dialectics of Nature.* The first section of the fragments corresponds to the first article of *Dialectics of Nature;* the second section to the second and third articles; the third section to the fourth article; the fourth section to the fifth article; the sixth section to the sixth and seventh articles; and the seventh section to the eighth and ninth articles. The tenth article has no counterpart among the fragments.

Within the sections, the fragments are again arranged by subject matter. First come fragments dealing with more general questions, then ones devoted to more specific issues. The fragments in the section "From the History of Science", are arranged in historical sequence: from the rise of the sciences

among the ancient peoples to Engels' contemporaries. In the section "Dialectics", first come notes on the general issues and basic laws of dialectics, then those on so called subjective dialectics. As far as possible, each section ends with fragments that serve as a transition to the next section.

The material for *Dialectics of Nature* was never published in Engels' lifetime. Only two of the articles came out after his death: "The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man", published in *Die Neue Zeit* in 1896, and "Natural Science in the Spirit World", published in the yearbook *Illustrirter Neue Welt-Kalender* in 1898 (see notes 199, 157). The full text of *Dialectics of Nature* was first published in the Soviet Union in 1925, the German text appearing alongside a Russian translation (*Marx-Engels Archiv*, Book II). It was subsequently reprinted more than once, corrections being introduced on each occasion into the reading of the manuscript and improvements being made in the arrangement of the material. The most important of the subsequent editions were the original-language version (*Marx/Engels Gesamtausgabe*, F. Engels, *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft/Dialektik der Natur*. Sonderausgabe, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935) and the Russian-language edition of 1941, on which numerous editions in other countries were patterned.

In this volume, the material of *Dialectics of Nature* is arranged on the pattern of Volume 20 of Marx and Engels, Second Russian Edition, Moscow, 1961, which also served as the basis for Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 20, Berlin, 1962. Besides, compared with previous editions, more precise dates are given here for the writing of the whole work and of its individual parts, owing to the work done in preparing *Dialectics of Nature* for publication in Vol. 26 of the first section of *MEGA* (Berlin, 1985). p. 311

131 The general plan for *Dialectics of Nature* drawn up by Engels in late August or early September 1878 outlines the structure of this work. Indications of the date are provided by: reference in "Old Preface to [*Anti-*]*Dühring*" (see Note 154), Haeckel's pamphlet *Freie Wissenschaft und freie Lehre*, published in July 1878, and Engels' letter to Lavrov of August 10, 1878 (see present edition, Vol. 45). p. 313

132 *Plastidules* was the name Haeckel gave to the smallest particles of live plasma, each of which, according to his theory, is a protein molecule of highly complex structure and possesses a kind of elementary "soul" (see E. Haeckel, *Die Perigenesis der Plastidule*, Berlin, 1876).

The problem of the "soul of the plastidule", the existence of embryonic consciousness in elementary live organisms, and the relationship between consciousness and its material substratum were discussed by Haeckel, Nägeli and Virchow at the 50th Congress of German Natural Scientists and Physicians, held in Munich in September 1877. Haeckel devoted a special chapter in his *Freie Wissenschaft und freie Lehre* (Stuttgart, 1878) to defending his views against Virchow's attacks. As Engels' letter to Lavrov of August 10, 1878, shows, he had already obtained the pamphlet by that time (see present edition, Vol. 45). p. 314

133 Engels has in mind a discussion held by Ernst Haeckel and Rudolf Virchow at the 50th Congress of German Natural Scientists and Physicians in 1877 on the teaching of Darwinism in schools. The discussion developed into an argument about the freedom of science teaching in general. Virchow, who saw a direct link between the spread of Darwinism and the socialist movement, took a negative stand in this discussion (see R. Virchow, *Die Freiheit der Wissenschaft im modernen Staat*, Berlin, 1877, p. 12). p. 314

134 On Virchow's concept of an individual animal as a federation of cell-states see Note 20. p. 314

135 Engels was prompted to criticise inconsistent Darwinists (particularly, Haeckel and Schmidt) by the discussion at the 50th Congress of German Natural Scientists and Physicians in September 1877 (see Note 133), by Oskar Schmidt's intention to read a paper "Darwinismus und Socialdemocratie" at the forthcoming 51st Congress in September 1878 (Engels learned about this from the journal *Nature* of July 18, 1878, Vol. XVIII, No. 455, p. 316) and by the publication of Haeckel's pamphlet *Freie Wissenschaft und freie Lehre*, which Engels obtained in early August 1878. See, on this, Engels' letters to Oskar Schmidt of July 19 and to Pyotr Lavrov of August 10, 1878 (present edition, Vol. 45). p. 314

136 H. Helmholtz, *Populäre wissenschaftliche Vorträge*, Zweites Heft, Braunschweig, 1871. Helmholtz is speaking of the physical concept of "work" chiefly in his lecture "Ueber die Erhaltung der Kraft" of 1862 on pp. 137-79 of the book mentioned. Engels examines the category of "work" in the chapter "The Measure of Motion.—Work" (see this volume, pp. 378-91). p. 314

137 This outline was written in the latter half of February 1880 once Engels had thought out in detail point 5 of the outline of the general plan (see this volume, pp. 313-14, 317) and was used to a considerable extent in the writing of the chapter "Basic Forms of Motion" (see this volume, pp. 362-77). On the other hand, there is a whole group of chapters—interconnected by subject matter and period—that correspond to it, namely, "The Measure of Motion.—Work", "Tidal Friction", "Heat" and "Electricity" (see this volume, pp. 378-91, 392-96, 397-401, 402-51). p. 317

138 In Engels' table of contents to the third folder of material for *Dialectics of Nature*, this "Introduction" is called the "Old Introduction" (see this volume, p. 588). Its text contains two passages making it possible to determine the approximate date when it was written. Thus Engels says that the cell "is a discovery not yet forty years old" (see this volume, p. 328) and, in a letter to Marx dated July 14, 1858 he mentions 1836 as the approximate date of this discovery (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 326). Elsewhere, Engels writes that "it is only about ten years ago that the fact became known that completely structureless protein exercises all the essential functions of life" (see p. 329), probably with reference to Ernst Haeckel's monera, first described in his *Generelle Morphologie der Organismen*, in 1866. Engels wrote the original outline of this "Introduction" at the end of 1874 (see this volume, pp. 473-76). We may thus conclude that this "Introduction" was written between November 1875 and May 1876.

In the margins Engels made some notes, the main ones supplementing the text are given in footnotes. p. 318

139 Luther's most important contribution to the development of German language and literature was his translation of the Bible, thanks to which the standards of the German national language were fixed. Its first complete edition, in Luther's translation, came off the presses in Wittenberg in 1534. p. 319

140 Engels is referring to Luther's choral "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott" ("God is our firm stronghold"), which Heine, in his *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland*, called the "Marseillaise of Reformation" ("Der Salon", Bd. 2, Hamburg, 1835, p. 80). Engels repeats Heine's words in his letter to Schlüter of May 15, 1885 (see present edition, Vol. 47). p. 319

141 In December 1520, in the courtyard of Wittenberg University, Luther publicly burned the Papal Bull on his excommunication. p. 320

142 It was on the day of his death, May 24 (Old Style), 1543, that Copernicus received a copy of his book, *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*, setting out the heliocentric system of the world, which had just come off the presses in Nuremberg. p. 320

143 The first logarithmic tables were published in 1614 in Edinburgh in *Mirifici logarithmorum Canonis discriptio...* by John Napier, a Scottish mathematician. p. 321

144 See Note 26. p. 323

145 Engels has in mind the idea Newton expressed in the conclusion to the second edition of his main work *Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica*, Vol. II, Book III, "General Scholium". "Hitherto," wrote Newton, "we have explained the phaenomena of the heavens and of our sea by the power of gravity, but have not yet assigned the cause of this power...." After listing some properties of gravity, Newton continued: "But hitherto I have not been able to discover the cause of those properties of gravity from phaenomena, and I frame no hypotheses; for whatever is not deduced from the phaenomena is to be called an *hypothesis*; and hypotheses, whether metaphysical or physical, whether of occult qualities or mechanical, have no place in experimental philosophy. In this philosophy particular propositions are inferred from the phaenomena, and afterwards rendered general by induction."

With reference to Newton's statement, Hegel said, in his *Encyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften*, § 98, Zusatz 1: "Newton ... gave physics an express warning to beware of metaphysics...". p. 323

146 *Nebular hypothesis*—a cosmogonic theory that considers the solar system and other celestial bodies to have been formed out of a rarefied nebula. p. 324

147 Grove's book *The Correlation of Physical Forces*, first published in London in 1846, was based on a lecture Grove read at the London Institution in January 1842, which was published shortly afterwards. Engels used the 3rd edition of the book, published in London in 1855. p. 325

148 *Amphioxus* (the lancet fish)—a small fish-like animal (about 8 centimetres in length), which is a transitional form between invertebrates and vertebrates.

*Lepidosiren* (an Amazon mudfish) belongs to the order of lung fishes, or Dipnoi, which have both lungs and gills. p. 326

149 *Ceratodus* (the barramunda)—a fish with both lungs and gills, found in Australia.

*Archaeopteryx*—an extinct bird possessing certain reptilian features.

Working on *Dialectics of Nature* Engels used one of the early (not later than 1874) editions of A. Nicholson's popular *Manual of zoology* (1870; numerous reprints). p. 326

150 Engels is referring to Wolff's thesis "Theoria generationis" (published in 1759) which refuted the theory of preformation and proved the theory of epigenesis scientifically.

*Preformation* theory implies that the organism is preformed in the germ cell. According to this theory, development of the organism involves the purely

quantitative growth of existing organs, while no development in the proper sense of the term, that is, new formation, or epigenesis, takes place at all. p. 327

151 See Note 40. p. 327

152 Here Engels used his extracts from J. H. Mädler, *Der Wunderbau des Weltalls, oder Populäre Astronomie* and A. Secchi, *Die Sonne*, that he presumably made in January and February 1876 (see this volume, pp. 552-55). p. 328

153 *Eozoon canadense*—a fossil, found in Canada, which was regarded as the remains of ancient primitive organisms. In 1878 the German zoologist Möbius refuted the view of the organic origin of this fossil. p. 329

154 This is the heading given to this article in the table of contents of the second folder, where Engels placed it when grouping the material for *Dialectics of Nature* (see this volume, p. 588). The manuscript proper has only a "Preface" as a heading, and a note "Dühring, Revolution in Science" at the top of the first page. The article was written in May or early June 1878 as a preface to the first edition of *Anti-Dühring*, but Engels decided to replace this long preface with a shorter one (see this volume, pp. 5-8) in which he used the first five paragraphs of the "Old Preface". p. 336

155 See Note 6. p. 337

156 According to the *phlogistic theory*, developed about 1700 by G. Er. Stahl, combustion is attributed to the presence of a particular substance phlogiston (Gr. "Phlox"—fire) in combustible bodies. In the eighteenth century this theory became the basis for the development of chemistry. It was proved untenable by Lavoisier only in the late eighteenth century, when he gave an explanation of the process of combustion as the combination of a burning substance with oxygen. Engels deals with the phlogistic theory also in the preface to Volume II of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 36). p. 344

157 This heading is on the first page of the manuscript. In the table of contents of the third folder where Engels placed it, it reads: "Natural Science and the Spirit World" (see this volume, p. 588). The article was written not before January 1878, as may be concluded from the fact that Engels speaks in it about "recent triumphant reports" on the experiments (see this volume, p. 352) carried out by Zöllner in Leipzig on December 17, 1877.

Engels' article was first published in the Social-Democratic yearbook *Illustrirter Neue Welt-Kalender für das Jahr 1898*, Hamburg, 1898, pp. 56-59. p. 345

158 This refers to Francis Bacon's *Historia naturalis et experimentalis ad condendam philosophiam* (London, 1622), containing material that was to go into the third part of *Instauratio magna*, an encyclopaedic work Bacon planned, but never wrote. p. 345

159 The reference is to Isaac Newton's *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John*, published in London in 1733, 6 years after his death. p. 345

160 *Mesmerism*—an unscientific system of "animal magnetism", widespread in the late eighteenth century and named after Franz Mesmer (1734-1815), the Austrian physician. p. 346

161 *Phrenology*—a theory, advanced by Franz Joseph Gall, an Austrian physician and anatomist, widespread in the first half of the nineteenth century; it maintains that each of Man's mental faculties is the responsibility of a specific section of the cerebrum, which can supposedly be located by feeling the shape of the skull. p. 346

162 *Barataria* (Spanish *barato*—"cheap"), the name of a non-existent island in Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, to which Sancho Panza was appointed governor. p. 346

163 *Thallium* was discovered by William Crookes in 1861.
The *radiometer*, invented by Crookes in 1873-74, is an instrument for detecting and measuring the intensity of radiation. p. 350

164 This refers to the Commission for the Investigation of Spiritualist Phenomena, set up by the Physical Society at St. Petersburg University on May 6, 1875; it completed its work on March 21, 1876. The Commission included Dmitry Mendeleyev and other prominent scientists. It proposed to the persons disseminating spiritualism in Russia—A. N. Aksakov, A. M. Butlerov and N. P. Wagner—that they provide information on "genuine" spiritualist phenomena. It came to the conclusion that "spiritualist phenomena arise from unconscious movements or deliberate deception", and that "the spiritualist doctrine is superstition"; its conclusions were published in the newspaper *Голосъ* (Voice) on March 25, 1876. Mendeleyev published the material of the Commission in book form: *Матеріалы для сужденія о спиритизмѣ* (Materials for a Judgment about Spiritualism) (St. Petersburg, 1876). p. 352

165 Engels is hinting at the proposal made by the German scientist Rudolf Virchow, previously a Darwinist, at a congress of natural scientists in Munich in 1877 that the teaching of Darwinism be banned. He asserted that Darwinism was closely connected with the socialist movement and, therefore, constituted a danger to the existing social order (see R. Virchow, *Die Freiheit der Wissenschaft im modernen Staat*, Berlin, 1877, p. 12). Attacks against Darwinism intensified in Germany particularly after the Paris Commune of 1871 (see also notes 133 and 135). p. 353

166 On July 18, 1870, the Dogma of Papal Infallibility was proclaimed in the Vatican. The German Catholic theologian Ignaz von Döllinger refused to accept it. p. 354

167 These words are from the letter written on January 29, 1869 by the biologist Thomas Huxley to the London Dialectical Society, which had invited him to take part in the work of the committee to study spiritualist phenomena. Huxley declined the invitation, making a number of ironical remarks about spiritualism. Huxley's letter is quoted on page 389 of Davies' *Mystic London* (1875). p. 355

168 This is the title of the article on the first page of the manuscript. The fifth and ninth pages (the top of the second and third sheets) of the manuscript bear the words "Dialectical Laws" on the top margins. The article written in 1879, not before September, remained unfinished. The article can be dated from the fact that it quotes the second part of the second volume of Schorlemmer's *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Chemie*, published in early September 1879 (see this volume, p. 361), but there is no mention of the discovery of scandium (1879), which Engels could not have failed to mention in connection with the discovery of gallium, if he had written the article after 1879. p. 356

169 The periodic law was discovered by Dmitry Mendeleyev in 1869. In 1870-71, Mendeleyev gave a detailed description of the several missing elements of the periodic system. Gallium, the first element Mendeleyev predicted, was discovered in 1875, followed by scandium (1879) and germanium (1886). p. 361

170 The heading "Basic Forms of Motion" appears in the table of contents of the third folder of *Dialectics of Nature* (see this volume, p. 588). This chapter was probably written in 1880 or 1881. p. 362

171 This refers to the general amount of motion, of motion in its quantitative determination in general. "Quantity of motion" in the special sense of *mv* is indicated in German by the word *Bewegungsgrösse.* Here and in the text that follows, however, Engels uses the expression *Bewegungsmenge,* which we give in brackets to avoid confusion with the magnitude *mv.* Instead of the expression "Bewegungsmenge", Engels sometimes uses "die Masse der Bewegung", also in the sense of the general amount of every kind of motion. p. 364

172 Engels took these data from Helmholtz's lecture *Über die Wechselwirking der Naturkräfte und die darauf bezüglichen neuesten Ermittelungen der Physik,* which he delivered on February 7, 1854 in Königsberg. The lecture was included in the book: H. Helmholtz, *Populäre wissenschaftliche Vorträge* (H. 2, Braunschweig, 1871, pp. 134-36). The copy of this book from Engels' library, with his numerous notes, is extant. p. 366

173 Engels has in mind Mayer's works *Bemerkungen über die Kräfte der unbelebten Natur* (1842) and *Die organische Bewegung in ihrem Zusammenhang mit dem Stoffwechsel* (1845), which were included in the book, J. R. Mayer, *Die Mechanik der Wärme in gasammelten Schriften,* 2. Aufl., Stuttgart, 1874. Engels used this edition when working on *Dialectics of Nature.* p. 370

174 Engels probably intended to quote Hegel's note to the paragraph "Der formelle Grund" in Chapter 3, Section 1, Volume 2 of the *Wissenschaft der Logik.* In this note Hegel ridicules the formal method of explanation by tautological grounds. "This method of explanation," he writes, "recommends itself by its great clarity and comprehensibility; for nothing is clearer and more readily comprehensible than, for instance, the statement that a plant has its ground in a vegetative, i.e. plant-producing, power." "If in answer to the question why somebody goes to town, the ground is presented that there is an attractive power in town which draws him there", this sort of answer is no more senseless than explanations of the "vegetative power" kind. Moreover, Hegel remarks, "the sciences, and especially physical science, are full of tautologies of this kind, which constitute, as it were, a prerogative of science". p. 372

175 The heading "The Measure of Motion.—Work" is on the title page of this chapter and the first page of the manuscript. In the table of contents of the third folder, this chapter is entitled "Two Measures of Motion" (see this volume, p. 588). It was apparently written in 1880 or 1881. p. 378

176 [G. W. v. Leibniz] Godofredi Guilielmi Leibnitii, *De causa gravitatis, et defensio sententiae suae de veris naturae legibus contra Cartesianos* in: *Acta Eruditorum,* Lipsiae, 1690, pp. 228-39. Probably, Engels gives these data according to Kant's *Gedanken von der wahren Schätzung der lebendigen Kräfte...,* § 92 (I. Kant, *Sämmtliche Werke,* Bd. I, Leipzig, 1867, pp. 98-99). p. 379

177 The title page of the first edition of this work by Kant, published in Königsberg, gives 1746 as the year of publication. It is obvious, however,—in

particular from the dedication, which is dated April 22, 1747—that the book did not come out until the next year. p. 379

178 The reference is to the polemics on Descartes' measure of motion ($mv$) between Leibniz and the French physicist, abbé Catelan in 1686 and 1687 in the scientific journal *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* (published in Amsterdam from 1684 to 1687). Catelan had two articles published in the journal: *Courte remarque de M. l'Abbé D. C. où l'on montre à Mr. G. G. Leibnits le paralogisme contenu dans l'objection précédente* and *Remarque de M. l'Abbé D. C. sur la réplique de M. L. touchant le principe mécanique de M. Descartes, contenu dans l'article III de ces Nouvelles, mois de Février 1687* (September 1686, pp. 999-1005 and June 1687, pp. 577-90). p. 382

179 A reference to an anecdote about an uneducated Prussian non-commissioned officer, who could never understand when to use the dative case *"mir"* and when the accusative case *"mich"* (Berliners often confuse these two forms). In order not to have to worry about this question, he decided always to use *"mir"* when on duty and always *"mich"* when off duty. p. 382

180 In nineteenth-century British scientific literature, the term "natural philosophy" was used to mean "theoretical natural science", "theoretical physics". p. 382

181 This refers to a battle during the Danish war of 1864, in which Denmark was opposed by Prussia and Austria.

*Rolf Krake*—the Danish battleship that, on the night of June 28, 1864, lay off the coast of Alsen Island, its assignment being to prevent Prussian troops from crossing to the island. p. 386

182 Engels is referring to the lecture "Force", delivered by Peter Guthrie Tait at the 46th Congress of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Glasgow on September 8, 1876. The lecture was published in *Nature*, Vol. 14, No. 360, on September 21, 1876, pp. 459-63. p. 388

183 The heading "Tidal Friction. Kant and Thomson-Tait" figures on the title page preceding this chapter; the rest of the heading is on the first page of the chapter itself. In the table of contents of the third folder this chapter is entitled "Tidal Friction" (see this volume, p. 588). The chapter was written apparently in 1880 or 1881. p. 392

184 Previously Thomson and Tait had spoken of the direct resistances to the motion of bodies, such as that which air offers to the flight of a rifle bullet. p. 392

185 The chapter written not earlier than the end of April 1881 and not later than mid-November 1882, is unfinished. The first date is suggested by the fact that Engels quotes from *Leibnizens und Huygen's Briefwechsel mit Papin*, published in Berlin in April 1881 (see this volume, p. 400). The second date is deduced from a comparison of the end of the first part of the chapter (see this volume, p. 398) with Engels' letter to Marx, dated November 23, 1882 (see note 186). p. 397

186 In a letter to Marx dated November 23, 1882 (see present edition, Vol. 46), Engels introduced an important correction into the question of the measure of such a form of motion as electricity. He proceeded from the solution of the problem of the two-fold measure of mechanical motion, as he gave it in the chapter "The Measure of Motion.—Work", and from Wilhelm Siemens' speech

made at the 52nd Congress of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Southampton on August 23, and published in *Nature*, Vol. 26, No. 669, August 24, 1882. Siemens proposed introducing the watt, a new unit of electricity expressing the true power of an electric current. This is why, in the above-mentioned letter, Engels defined the distinction between the volt and the watt, two units of electricity, as that between the measure of the quantity of electric motion in cases when it does not turn into other forms of motion and the same measure in cases when it does. p. 398

187 Engels is quoting from a review of the book by Mascart and Joubert, *Leçons sur l'électricité et la magnetisme*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1882. The review, entitled "Mascart and Joubert's *Electricity and Magnetism*" and signed G. C., appeared in *Nature*, Vol. 26, No. 659, June 15, 1882.

The reference to this issue of *Nature* shows that Engels wrote this chapter mainly after June 15, 1882. In Engels' table of contents to the third folder, this chapter is headed "Electricity and Magnetism" (see this volume, p. 588). p. 402

188 Thomson gives this quotation from Faraday on page 400 of *An Outline of the Sciences of Heat and Electricity*, 2nd ed., London, 1840. It is taken from Faraday's work *Experimental Researches in Electricity*, 12th Series, published in the journal *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London for the year 1838*, p. 105. Thomson does not quote the passage accurately: He gives "as if a metallic particle had been put into the place of the discharging particle" instead of "as if a metallic wire had been put into the place of the discharging particle". p. 404

189 Here and below, Engels cites the results of thermochemical measurements by Julius Thomsen from Alexander Naumann, *Handbuch der allgemeinen und physikalischen Chemie*, Heidelberg, 1877, pp. 639-46. p. 418

190 In a number of places Wiedemann speaks of "atoms of hydrochloric acid", meaning molecules of this acid. p. 420

191 On tendencies and representatives of Bible criticism in Germany, see F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, Ch. I (see present edition, Vol. 26) and "On the History of Early Christianity" (see present edition, Vol. 27). Among the most important works on this question Engels mentions: D. F. Strauß, *Das Leben Jesu*, Bd. 1-2, Tübingen, 1835-36; B. Bauer, *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte des Johannes*, Bremen, 1840; *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker*, Bd. 1-2, Leipzig, 1841; *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker und des Johannes*, Braunschweig, 1842. p. 423

192 From the mid-1860s, chemists no longer used old chemical equivalent values. p. 427

193 A reference to an anecdote about an old Major in the army who, having heard from one of the "one-year" conscripts that he was a Doctor of Philosophy, and not wanting to trouble himself with distinguishing between a doctor of philosophy and a doctor of medicine, declared: "It is all the same to me, saw-bones is saw-bones". p. 430

194 Here and below, Engels cites the results of Poggendorff's experiments from Wiedemann's *Die Lehre vom Galvanismus und Elektromagnetismus...*, Vol. I pp. 369-73. p. 433

195 A reference to a galvanic cell invented by John Frederick Daniell in 1836. p. 433

196 This result of Berthelot's thermochemical measurements is cited by Engels from Alexander Naumann's *Handbuch der allgemeinen und physikalischen Chemie*, Heidelberg, 1877, p. 652. p. 436

197 This refers to the difference between the internal diameter of the barrel and the diameter of the bullet. p. 438

198 *Experimentum crucis*—literally "experiment of the cross"; a decisive experiment; the expression derives from Fr. Bacon, *Novum Organum*, Book II, Aphorism XXXVI, coming from the habit of putting crosses to show the way at crossroads. p. 442

199 The article was originally planned by Engels as the introduction to a more extensive work entitled *Die drei Grundformen der Knechtschaft*. Later Engels altered this title to *Die Knechtung des Arbeits. Einleitung*. The work remained unfinished, and finally Engels gave its introductory portion the heading "The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man", which conforms to the content of the main part of the manuscript.

This was the heading Engels gave to the article in the table of contents of the second folder of materials for *Dialectics of Nature* (see this volume, p. 588). In the "Outline of the General Plan", Engels placed this material in point 11 (see this volume, pp. 313-14, 317). The article was apparently written in May and June 1876, as is evidenced by the letter of Wilhelm Liebknecht to Engels, dated June 10, 1876 (see present edition, Vol. 45), in which Liebknecht writes that he is impatiently awaiting Engels' work *Über die drei Grundformen der Knechtschaft*, which he had promised for the newspaper *Volksstaat*. The article was first published in 1896 in the magazine *Die Neue Zeit* (Jahrgang XIV, Bd. 2, 1895-1896, Nr. 44, pp. 545-54). p. 452

200 The hypothesis concerning the existence in the Indian Ocean of a continent "Lemuria" spreading from Madagascar to India and Sumatra, which later sank, was advanced in the 1870s by Philip Lutley Sclater, a British zoogeographer. p. 452

201 Engels is referring to the testimony of Labeo Notker, a German monk (c. 952-1022), quoted in Jakob Grimm's *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, Göttingen, 1828, p. 488. Engels quotes Notker in his unfinished work *The History of Ireland* (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 175). p. 458

202 With regard to the effect of Man's activity on plant life and the climate, Engels used C. Fraas, *Klima und Pflanzenwelt in der Zeit*, Landshut, 1847 und M. J. Schleiden, *Die Pflanze und ihr Leben*, Leipzig, 1848. In a letter dated March 25, 1868 (see present edition, Vol. 42), Marx called Engels' attention to Fraas' book. Engels mentions Schleiden in his letter to Jenny and Laura Marx of May 11, 1858 (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 314). p. 460

203 Engels is referring to the world economic crisis of 1873, which overtook Germany in May of that year, when the period of rapid expansion following the Franco-Prussian war ended in a disastrous crash (see also Note 73). p. 464

204 Engels wrote this fragment in November 1875. It is preparatory material for the "Introduction" (see this volume, pp. 318-35). He used the following

sources: E. Haeckel, *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte...*; W. Whewell, *History of the Inductive sciences, from the earliest to the present times...*; J. W. Draper, *History of the intellectual development of Europe....* p. 465

205 See Note 25. p. 465

206 This fragment was probably written by Engels in September-October 1874. It consists of extracts from G. W. F. Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie* and Engels' own notes on it. Extracts from the works of authors of antiquity are given according to Hegel's above-mentioned work. p. 467

207 *De placitis philosophorum* belongs not to Plutarch, as Hegel writes, but to the so-called Pseudo-Plutarch. It derives from Aetius, who lived in about the year 100 A. D. p. 468

208 Excerpts from Leucippus and Democritus are in Marx's hand and consist of quotations (from Tauchnitz editions) in Greek from Aristotle's *Metaphysica* and from the compilatory work of Diogenes Laertius, *De vitis philosophorum.* The note probably dates from September-October 1874, though a later date is also quite possible. All italics in the quotations are Marx's. p. 470

209 It is not possible to give the exact date when this fragment was written, but it was obviously written no later than the end of May 1876 and constitutes preparatory material or an addition to the "Introduction" (see this volume, pp. 318-35).

In May 1453, the Turks captured Constantinople, capital of the Byzantine Empire. p. 471

210 The first universities in mediaeval Europe appeared in the eleventh century in Italy (as higher secular schools), at the end of the twelfth and in the thirteenth centuries in France, England, Spain, and Portugal, in the fourteenth century in Central Europe—Bohemia, Poland, Germany. p. 472

211 In 395 A. D., Constantinople became the capital of the Eastern Roman (later Byzantine) Empire, which survived until 1453.

In 476 A. D., Odoacr dethroned Romulus Augustulus, the last emperor of the Western Roman Empire, which is considered to have come to an end at this date. p. 472

212 As in the case of the previous fragment (see Note 209), no exact date can be given for when this draft was written. It, too, was probably preparatory material for the "Introduction" and written no later than the end of May 1876. p. 472

213 This fragment constitutes the original draft of the "Introduction" (see this volume, pp. 318-35), presumably written before November 1875. p. 473

214 The *Declaration of Independence*, adopted on July 4, 1776, at the Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia by delegates from thirteen English colonies in North America, proclaimed the secession of these colonies from England and the establishment of an independent republic, the United States of America. p. 474

215 See Note 141. p. 474

216 See Note 142. p. 474

217 This is the heading of the fragment given in the table of contents of the second folder of materials for *Dialectics of Nature* (see this volume, p. 588). The fragment takes up four pages of the original manuscript of *Ludwig Feuerbach*

*and the End of Classical German Philosophy,* numbered 16, 17, 18 and 19. At the top of page 16 there is a note in Engels' hand: "Aus *Ludwig Feuerbach*". This fragment was part of Chapter II of *Ludwig Feuerbach* and was intended to follow immediately after the description of the three principal "limitations" of the eighteenth-century French materialists (see present edition, Vol. 26). When he finally revised the manuscript of *Ludwig Feuerbach,* Engels removed these four pages and replaced them with another text, but the basic contents of the fragment (on the three great discoveries made in natural science in the nineteenth century) were reproduced in an abbreviated form in Chapter IV of *Ludwig Feuerbach.* Since Engels' *Ludwig Feuerbach* was originally printed in the April and May issues of the magazine *Die Neue Zeit* for 1886, it may be assumed that this fragment dates from late 1885-early 1886. The text of the fragment begins in mid-sentence. The beginning of the sentence, restored according to the text printed in *Die Neue Zeit,* is given in square brackets. p. 476

218 After vain attempts to find work as a professor in Berlin, Jena, Marburg and Freiburg, in 1836 Feuerbach settled in the village of Bruckberg, near the town of Ansbach. p. 479

219 *"Sire, je n'avais pas besoin de cette hypothèse"*—Laplace's reply to Napoleon's question as to why he had not mentioned God in his work *Mécanique céleste.* Engels is presumably quoting from G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie,* Bd. 3, Berlin, 1836, p. 552. p. 480

220 The reference is to the battle of Jena and Auerstädt on October 14, 1806, between the Prusso-Saxon and Napoleon I's armies. The Prussians were crushed and Prussia capitulated. p. 480

221 See Note 56. p. 481

222 Engels is referring to J. Tyndall's *Inaugural Address* at the 44th annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held in Belfast, on August 19, 1874 (published in *Nature,* Vol. X, No. 251, August 20, 1874). In a letter to Marx dated September 21, 1874 (see present edition, Vol. 45), Engels gives a more detailed account of this speech. p. 481

223 The fragment headed "Büchner" was written before the other parts of *Dialectics of Nature.* It is the opening note of the manuscript's first folder. The fragment is apparently a synopsis of a work Engels planned to write against Büchner, as an exponent of vulgar materialism and social Darwinism (see Note 130). Judging by the contents of the fragment and by Engels' marginal notes in his copy of Büchner's book *Der Mensch und seine Stellung in der Natur...,* a second edition of which appeared in 1872, this was the work by Büchner that Engels intended to criticise primarily. The laconical comment in Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to Engels, dated February 8, 1873—"As for Büchner, go ahead!"—seems to suggest that this fragment was written in February and no later than May 30, 1873, because it is immediately followed, on the same sheet of the manuscript, by the fragment "Dialectics of Natural Science" (see this volume, p. 527). p. 482

224 Between 1850 and 1860 3 works characteristic of this tendency and of its representatives appeared: J. Moleschott, *Der Kreislauf des Lebens,* Mainz, 1852; L. Büchner, *Kraft und Stoff,* Frankfurt am Main, 1855; K. Vogt, *Köhlerglaube und Wissenschaft,* Giessen, 1855. Speaking of "mutual assurance", Engels hints at these authors' attempts to prove their point of view by referring to the works

of their colleagues. This is felt most strongly in L. Büchner's *Kraft und Stoff,* in which the author constantly refers to the natural scientific and philosophical views of Vogt and Moleschott, using quotations from Moleschott's work as epigraphs to the chapters of his own book. p. 482

225 Engels probably has in mind particularly L. Büchner's *Der Mensch und seine Stellung in der Natur...,* in which he attempts to transfer Darwin's theory of evolution to the sphere of social relations and to reduce the latter to the struggle for existence, and *Kraft und Stoff* (8. Aufl., Leipzig, 1864), also dealing with the importance of Darwin's theory, and Büchner's lectures delivered in a number of German cities in 1866 and 1868, and published in 1868 in Leipzig under the title: *Sechs Vorlesungen über die Darwin'sche Theorie von der Verwandlung der Arten und die erste Entstehung der Organismenwelt...* These lectures are mentioned in Marx's letters to Engels of November 14 and 18, 1868 and to Kugelmann of December 5, 1868 (see present edition, Vol. 43). p. 482

226 Engels is referring to the following passage from the Preface to the second edition of Hegel's *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse,* Th. 1. Die Logik: "Lessing said, in his time, that people treated Spinoza like a dead dog". Hegel's source was F. H. Jacobi, "Über die Lehre des Spinoza, in Briefen an Herrn Moses Mendelssohn", *Werke,* Bd. IV, Abt. I, Leipzig, 1819, p. 68. p. 482

227 The reference is to L. Büchner, *Der Mensch und seine Stellung in der Natur in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft,* 2. Aufl., Leipzig, 1872. On pp. 170-71 of his book, Büchner says that, as mankind gradually develops, a moment arrives when Nature becomes aware of itself in Man and when Man stops submitting passively to the blind laws of nature and becomes master of them, that is, when quantity becomes quality, to use Hegel's phrase. In his copy of Büchner's book, Engels marked this passage with a stroke and commented: "Umschlag!" ("A turning point!"). p. 485

228 Newton discovered the differential and integral calculus independently of and earlier than Leibniz, but the latter, who also made this discovery independently, gave it a better form. When giving his opinion of Leibniz and Newton, Engels is presumably taking into account here Hegel's description of them (see G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie,* Bd. 3, Berlin, 1836, pp. 447, 451). Two years after writing this fragment, Engels arrived at somewhat different conclusions concerning the elaboration of the differential and integral calculus by Newton and Leibniz (see this volume, p. 537). p. 486

229 Lorenz Oken substantiated his ideas concerning the development of the organic world primarily in *Abriß der Naturphilosophie,* Göttingen, 1805; *Lehrbuch der Naturphilosophie,* Jena, 1809; *Lehrbuch der Naturgeschichte,* Leipzig, 1813-23; *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte für alle Stände,* Stuttgart, 1841. p. 486

230 Engels has in mind the following passage from Hegel's *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften,* § 5, Anmerkung: "Everybody allows that, to know any other science, one must first have studied it and that one can only claim the right to express a judgment upon it in virtue of such knowledge. Everybody allows that, to make a shoe, one must have learnt and practised the craft of the shoemaker... For philosophy alone, are such study, application and effort not supposed to be requisite." p. 486

231 Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften,* § 6, Anmerkung: "To divorce reality from the idea is, especially, the favourite procedure of the mind that looks upon its dream-like abstractions as something true and real, and prides itself on the imperative 'ought', which it takes especial pleasure in prescribing in the political sphere. As if the world had waited for it, in order to learn how it ought to be, and was not. If the world were as it ought to be, where would be the old Man's wisdom of that mind's imperative ought?" p. 486

232 The reference is to Hegel's argument on the transition from a naively unsophisticated state to a state of reflection, both in the history of society and in the development of the individual: "In fact, however, ... the awakening of consciousness occurs in Man himself: and this is history repeating itself in every human being" (*Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften,* § 24, Zusatz). p. 487

233 A "mathematical poem" is a term applied in the book by W. Thomson and P. G. Tait *A Treatise on Natural Philosophy,* Vol. I, Oxford, 1867, p. 713 to the book by the French mathematician Jean Baptiste Joseph Fourier *Théorie analytique de la chaleur,* Paris, 1822. In Engels' synopsis of this book by Thomson and Tait this passage is copied out and underlined. p. 487

234 E. Haeckel, *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte,* 4. Aufl., Berlin, 1873, pp. 58-59, where Haeckel refers to L. Agassiz, *An Essay on Classification. Contributions to the Natural History of the United States,* Vol. 1, London, 1859.

Engels obviously received this edition of Haeckel's book no later than early 1874. p. 488

235 This note is written by Engels about A. W. Hofmann, *Ein Jahrhundert chemischer Forschung unter dem Schirme der Hohenzollern,* Berlin, 1881.

On page 26 of his book, Hofmann gives the following quotation from K. Rosenkranz's *System der Wissenschaft,* Königsberg, 1850, § 475, p. 301: "...Platinum is ... basically only a paradox of silver, wishing to occupy the highest stage of metallicity, which properly belongs to gold alone...".

On pages 5-6 of his book, Hofmann speaks of the "services" of the Prussian King Frederick William III in organising the sugar-beet industry. p. 488

236 The *Cassinis*—French astronomers: the Italian-born Giovanni Domenico Cassini (1625-1712), his son Jacques Cassini (1677-1756), his grandson César François Cassini de Thury (1714-1784) and his great-grandson Jacques Dominique comte de Cassini (1748-1845). All four consecutively held the office of director of the Paris Observatory from 1669 to 1793. The first three maintained incorrect, anti-Newtonian notions of the shape of the earth; only the last was compelled, by more accurate measurements of its volume and shape, to admit that Newton had been correct concerning the oblateness of the globe along the axis of its rotation. p. 488

237 Haeckel (*Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte,* 4. Aufl., Berlin, 1873, pp. 89-94) stresses the contradiction in Kant's *Kritik der teleologischen Urteilskraft* (the second part of Kant's *Kritik der Urteilskraft*) between the "mechanical methods of explanation" and teleology, depicting the latter, in opposition to Kant, as the doctrine of external aims, of external expediency. Examining the same §§ 64, 66 and 76 of Kant's *Kritik der Urteilskraft* (3. Aufl., Berlin, 1799) in his *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie,* Bd. III (*Werke,* Bd. XV, Berlin, 1836, p. 603), Hegel brought Kant's conception of "inner expediency" to the fore; according to this, in organic beings "everything is purpose and, reciprocally, also means" (quotation from Kant given by Hegel). p. 489

238 Engels wrote this fragment immediately after the article "Polarity" (see this volume, p. 497); which is why it begins with the words "another example of polarity". p. 489

239 See Note 145. p. 491

240 In November 1848, the counter-revolutionary government of Count Brandenburg came to power in Prussia. Manteuffel was appointed to the post of Minister of the Interior. The activities of this government (the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, the bringing of troops to Berlin, etc.) constituted a signal for the counter-revolutionary offensive all over Germany. The only response of the liberal-bourgeois majority of the Constituent Assembly was an appeal to passive resistance. p. 493

241 The reference is to the *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851, which led to the fall of the Second Republic in France and to the dictatorship of President Louis Bonaparte, who, under the name of Napoleon III, was proclaimed Emperor of the French on December 2, 1852. p. 493

242 *Compsognathus longipes*—an extinct animal of the dinosaur order, belonging to the class of reptiles, but closely related to birds in the structure of its pelvis and hind extremities (see H. A. Nicholson, *A Manual of zoology*, 5th ed., Edinburgh and London, 1878, p. 545).

On *Archaeopteryx lithographica* see Note 149. p. 493

243 Engels is referring to multiplication by budding or division among coelenterata. p. 493

244 G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften*, § 135, Zusatz: "The limbs and organs of a live body should not be regarded as mere parts of it: only in their unity are they what they are, and they are certainly not indifferent towards that unity. These limbs and organs become mere parts only in the hands of the anatomist, and his occupation is thus no longer with live bodies, but with corpses." p. 494

245 G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften*, §§ 115, 230-31. Here Hegel says that the very form of judgment speaks of the distinction between the subject and the predicate. p. 495

246 See J. Grimm, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, 2. Aufl., Bd. 1, Leipzig, 1853, p. 580. In all probability, Engels used this, the second edition of the work. He speaks of the Frankish dialect in greater detail in his work *The Frankish Dialect*, written in 1881-82 (see present edition, Vol. 24). This note must have been written in October 1877. p. 498

247 *Kismet*—destiny, fate; the word came into Turkish from Arabic, after the adoption of Islam. p. 499

248 A quotation from Heine's *Romanzero*, 3. Buch: *Hebräische Melodien. Disputation*, which depicts a dispute between a Franciscan monk and a learned Rabbi, allegedly held at the Court of King Pedro the Cruel of Castile (1350-69). In the course of the dispute, the Rabbi referred to *Tausves-Jontof* (more correct *Tossafot-Jomtowb*), but the monk refused to accept this as valid.

*Tossafot* (literally: addition)—critical comments on the Talmud. Heine had in mind *Tossafot* by Abraham Jomtowb Ischbili, who lived in Seville in the first half of the fourteenth century. p. 501

249 A reference to the following passage from Hegel's *Phänomenologie des Geistes:*

"The bud disappears when the blossom bursts open, and it might be said that the former is refuted by the latter; in the same way, the blossom is declared by the fruit to be a false existence of the plant, and the fruit supersedes the blossom as the truth of the plant". Engels is quoting from G. W. F. Hegel, *Werke,* Bd. II, 2. Aufl., Berlin, 1841. p. 502

250 *Dido*—Engels' dog, which he mentioned in his letters to Marx of April 16, 1865, and August 10, 1866 (see present edition, Vol. 42). p. 503

251 Hegel explains the correspondence between the division of logic into three parts (the logic of being, of essence, and of notion) and the four-part classification of judgments as follows: "the different kinds of judgment are determined by the universal forms of the logical idea itself. Accordingly, initially we have three main kinds of judgment, corresponding to the stages of Being, Essence and Notion. The second of these main kinds is, in accordance with the character of Essence, as the stage of differentiation, duplicated further within itself" (Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften,* § 171, Zusatz). p. 504

252 On pages 75-77 of the fourth edition of his *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1873), Haeckel relates how Goethe discovered the existence of the intermaxillary bone in Man. "The empirical knowledge then available," he writes, "suggested the induction that all mammals possessed the intermaxillary bone. *Goethe* deduced from this that Man, who, in all other features of his organisation, did not differ fundamentally from mammals, must also possess that bone; and, on closer investigation it was, in fact, discovered. The deduction was confirmed and verified by subsequent experience." (Goethe discovered the intermaxillary bone in the human embryo and, in occasional atavistic cases, in adults). Engels says that the induction of which Haeckel speaks is incorrect because it was contradicted by the proposition, considered correct, that the mammal "Man" has no intermaxillary bone. p. 507

253 Here Engels is referring to Linnaeus' classification of animals and plants and the changes Haeckel later introduced into it. See E. Haeckel, *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte,* pp. 435-39. p. 507

254 Engels is obviously referring to Whewell's two main works: *History of the inductive sciences,* London, 1837 and *The Philosophy of the inductive sciences,* London, 1840.

Engels describes inductive sciences as "comprising" the purely mathematical sciences, presumably in the sense that Whewell places them around "deductive sciences" which, according to him, include primarily geometry and algebra, as well as logic and metaphysics. According to Whewell, deductive sciences investigate the conditions for the construction of any theory and, in this sense, hold the central position in the system of sciences. In the *History of the Inductive Sciences* (Vol. I, Introduction) Whewell contrasts "deductive sciences" with "inductive" ones, among which he includes mechanics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, mineralogy, botanics, zoology, physiology and geology. p. 507

255 In the formula U-I-P, U denotes the Universal, I—the Individual, and P—the Particular. Hegel uses this formula in analysing the logical essence of inductive conclusions. See Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik,* Th. 2. Die subjective Logik, oder: Die Lehre vom Begriff, pp. 148-50. Hegel's proposition—mentioned by Engels further on—that inductive conclusion is, in effect, problematic appears in the same place. p. 507

256 See Note 148. p. 508

257 G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften,* § 39: "Mere experience does afford perceptions of changes succeeding *one another* ... but it presents no *necessary* connection". p. 509

258 This heading is given in the table of contents drawn up by Engels for the second folder of materials for *Dialectics of Nature* (see this volume, p. 588). The note, written in October-November 1877, was a critical analysis of the basic theses put forward by the botanist Nägeli in his lecture "Die Schranken der naturwissenschaftlichen Erkenntnis". Engels quotes it according to the *Tageblatt der 50. Versammlung deutscher Naturforscher und Aerzte in München 1877,* Supplement, September 1877. He probably received this edition from Carl Schorlemmer, who attended the congress. p. 512

259 Engels is referring to the discovery of oxygen in 1774 by Joseph Priestley, who had no idea that his discovery would cause a revolution in chemistry. Engels speaks in more detail about this discovery in his preface to Volume II of Marx's *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 36). p. 514

260 This is a quotation, slightly modified by Engels, from the treatise *Della moneta* (t. II) by the Italian economist Galiani. This same quotation was used by Marx in Volume I of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 35, Part 2, Ch. IV). Marx and Engels used the Custodi edition *Scrittori classici italiani di economia politica.* Parte moderna, Tomo III, Milano, 1803, p. 156. p. 517

261 Engels is referring to the section on quantity in Hegel's *Wissenschaft der Logik,* Th. 1. Die objective Logik, Abth. 1. Die Lehre vom Seyn, which says that astronomy is worth admiration not because of the bad infinity of immeasurable distances, time and the immeasurable multitude of stars, with which this science deals, but "rather because of those *relations of measure* and those *laws* which reason recognises in these objects, and which are the rational infinite in contrast to that irrational infinity". p. 517

262 The words "So also $\frac{1}{r^2}$" were added by Engels later. Apparently, this refers to the law according to which the force of interaction between bodies and electrically charged particles is in inverse proportion to the square of the distance between them. p. 517

263 G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Naturphilosophie,* § 280, Zusatz: "The sun serves the planet, just as, in general, sun, moon, comets, and stars are merely conditions of the Earth". p. 518

264 Engels is referring to G. J. Romanes' review "Ants, Bees and Wasps" of J. Lubbock's *Ants, Bees, and Wasps; a Record of Observations on the Social Hymenoptera,* London, 1882. The review was published in the journal *Nature,* No. 658, June 8, 1882, pp. 121-23. p. 519

265 This item was probably written by Engels in connection with the 44th meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science held in Belfast in August 1844. Engels might have become acquainted with the material of this meeting from the journal *Nature,* Nos. 251 and 253, August 20 and September 3, 1874. Engels expressed his opinion of the speeches made at this meeting by J. Tyndall and Th. Huxley in his letter to Marx of September 21, 1874 (see present edition, Vol. 45). p. 520

266 Engels is referring to a peculiar philosophical argument in verse between

Goethe and Haller. In 1730, Haller asserted in his poem "Falschheit der menschlichen Tugenden": "No mortal man can Nature's inner secrets tell, too happy if he knows but Nature's outer shell". Goethe, in his verses "Allerdings" (1820) and "Ultimatum" (1821), asserted that Nature was a single unity that cannot be divided, as Haller did, into an unknowable inner core and an outer shell accessible to man. Hegel twice mentions this argument between Goethe and Haller, in his *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften*, § 140 and *Vorlesungen über die Naturphilosophie*, § 246, Zusatz. p. 520

267 This note was written on the same sheet as "Outline of the Part Plan" (see this volume, p. 317) and is a conspectus of the ideas Engels developed in the chapter "Basic Forms of Motion" (see ibid., pp. 317 and 362-77). p. 526

268 See Note 147.

By "affections of matter" Grove means "heat, light, electricity, magnetism, chemical affinity, and motion" (op. cit., p. 15) and by "motion" he means mechanical motion or transplantation. p. 527

269 This note was written on the back of the first sheet of the first folder of the material for *Dialectics of Nature*. In its contents, it coincides with Engels' letter to Marx dated May 30, 1873 (see present edition, Vol. 44), which begins with the words: "This morning the following dialectical ideas about natural science occurred to me in bed". These ideas were expressed more definitely in the letter than in the present note. So it may be inferred that the note was written before the letter, on the same day, May 30, 1873. p. 527

270 Originally, in *Wissenschaft der Logik* (Th. 2. Die subjective Logik, oder: Die Lehre vom Begriff, pp. 167-228), Hegel divided sciences into "Mechanismus", "Chemismus" and "Teleologie". In his *Vorlesungen über die Naturphilosophie*, he denoted three main divisions of natural science by the terms "mechanics", "physics" and "organics". p. 529

271 This note is one of the three longer ones (*Noten*) that Engels included in the second folder of material for *Dialectics of Nature* (see this volume, p. 588 and Note 130). This note, as well as the fragment "On the Prototypes of the Mathematical Infinite in the Real World" (see this volume, pp. 544-49) are Notes or Addenda to *Anti-Dühring*, in which Engels elaborates some very important ideas that were only outlined or briefly stated in various parts of *Anti-Dühring*. The third note, "Nägeli's Inability to Cognise the Infinite" (see ibid., pp. 512-16) has nothing to do with *Anti-Dühring*. The first two were, in all probability, written in December 1877 or January 1878. They were originally intended for the first edition of *Anti-Dühring*, which appeared in Leipzig in July 1878. Engels gives page references to his *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft*. 1: Philosophie (see this volume, pp. 33-134), which was published as a pamphlet in Leipzig, in July 1877. The pagination in the pamphlet and in the first edition of the book coincide.

Engels gave the heading "On the 'Mechanical' Conception of Nature" in his table of contents to the second folder of material for *Dialectics of Nature*. The sub-heading "Note 2 to p. 46": "The various forms of motion and the sciences dealing with them" occurs at the beginning of this notice. p. 530

272 Engels has in mind Chapter VII of *Anti-Dühring* (see this volume, pp. 61-70), first published as an article in *Vorwärts*, No. 17, February 9, 1877 (see also Note 1). p. 530

273 This refers to an item "On entering upon ..." in *Nature*, No. 420, November 15, 1877, p. 55, summarising August Kekulé's speech on October 18, 1877, when he assumed the post of rector of Bonn University. In 1878, the speech was published in pamphlet form, under the title *Die wissenschaftlichen Ziele und Leistungen der Chemie.* p. 530

274 The *Lothar Meyer curve* shows the relationship between the atomic weights and atomic volumes of the elements. It was drawn up by the German chemist Meyer, who included it in his article "Die Natur der chemischen Elemente als Funktion ihrer Atomgewichte", published in *Annalen der Chemie und Pharmacie*, Leipzig, Bd. 7, 1870, pp. 354-64.

The discovery of the correlation between the atomic weights of the elements and their physical and chemical properties was made by the Russian scientist Dmitry Mendeleyev, who was the first to formulate the periodic law of the chemical elements, in his article "The Correlation of the Properties of the Elements and Their Atomic Weights", published in March 1869 in the *Журнал Русского химического общества* (Journal of the Russian Chemical Society). Meyer, too, was close to establishing the periodic law when he learned about Mendeleyev's discovery. His curve graphically illustrated the law discovered by Mendeleyev, except that it gave it an external and, unlike Mendeleyev's, one-sided expression.

Mendeleyev's conclusions went much further than Meyer's. On the basis of the periodic law he had discovered, Mendeleyev predicted the existence and specific properties of chemical elements that were as yet unknown. p. 531

275 This fragment was written on a separate sheet, marked *Noten*, and is an original outline of the Second Note to *Anti-Dühring* headed "On the 'Mechanical' Conception of Nature" (see this volume, pp. 530-34). It was presumably written in the latter half of November 1877 (see Note 271). p. 534

276 In the former case, Engels has in mind Hegel's remark that, in arithmetic, thinking is engaged in "an activity that is, at one and the same time the extreme externalisation of itself, in the forced activity of *moving* in *thoughtlessness* and linking that which is not capable of any necessity". (*Wissenschaft der Logik*. Th. 1. Die objective Logik. Abth. 1. Die Lehre vom Seyn). In the latter case, Hegel's statement that "already the natural numerical system exemplifies a *nodal line* of qualitative moments, which manifest themselves in the merely external progression", etc. (ibid., pp. 432-33). p. 538

277 This expression occurs in Ch. Bossut's *Traités de Calcul différentiel et de Calcul intégral*, T. I, Paris, an VI [1797-98], p. 38, to which Engels refers in the fragment "Straight and Curved" (see this volume, pp. 543-44). In the chapter on "Integral Calculation with Finite Differences", Bossut first examines the following problem: "To integrate or sum the whole number steps of a variable magnitude $x$". Bossut assumes the difference $\Delta x$ to be constant, denoting it by the Greek letter $\omega$. Since the sum of $\Delta x$ or of $\omega$ is equal to $x$, the sum of $\omega \times 1$ or of $\omega x^{\circ}$ is also equal to $x$. Bossut writes this equation in the form $\Sigma \omega x^{\circ} = x$. He then takes out the constant $\omega$, putting it before the summation sign, to obtain the expression $\omega \Sigma x^{\circ} = x$, and hence the equation $\Sigma x^{\circ} = \frac{x}{\omega}$. This last equation is then used to find the magnitudes $\Sigma x$, $\Sigma x^2$, $\Sigma x^3$, etc., for solving other problems. p. 541

278 This is what Bossut calls the curves considered in the system of polar co-ordinates. p. 543

279 Engels has in mind Fig. 17 and the explanation given of it on pp. 148-51 of Bossut's *Traités*. This figure has the following form: *BMK* is the curve. *MT* is its tangent. *P* is the pole or origin of the co-ordinates. *PZ* is the polar axis. *PM* is the ordinate of the point *M* (Engels calls it "real abscissa"; nowadays it is called the radius-vector). *Pm* is the ordinate of point *m* lying infinitely close to *M* (Engels calls this radius-vector the "differential imaginary abscissa"). *MH*, perpendicular to the tangent *MT*. *TPH*, perpendicular to the ordinate *PM*. *Mr*, the curve described by the radius *PM*. As *MPm* is an infinitesimal angle, *PM* and *Pm* are considered parallel. The triangles *Mrm* and *TPM*, as also the triangles *Mrm* and *MPH*, are regarded as similar. p. 543

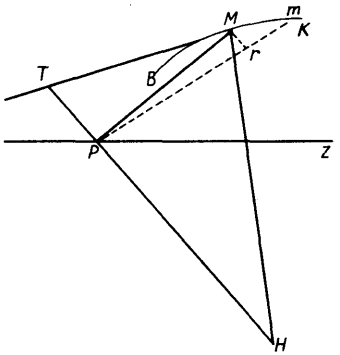


280 On the writing of this note, see Note 271, Engels gave the heading "On the Prototypes of the Mathematical Infinite in the Real World" in the table of contents of the second folder of material for the *Dialectics of Nature*. The sub-heading "Re pp. 17-18, Concordance of Thought and Being.—The Infinite in Mathematics" stands at the beginning of the note. p. 544

281 *Nihil est in intellectu, quod non fuerit in sensu* (nothing is in the mind that has not been in the senses) is the basic tenet of sensualism, which goes back to Aristotle (see his *Posterior Analytics*, Book I, Ch. 18 and *De anima*, Book III, Ch. 8). p. 545

282 Reuss of the Younger branch (or Reuss-Gera-Schleiz)—one of the dwarf German states in Thüringia (territory 826 square kilometres), forming part of the German Empire since 1871. p. 548

283 Here Engels probably had in mind Haeckel's psychophysical monism and his views on the structure of matter. In *Die Perigenesis der Plastidule* (Berlin, 1876), Haeckel affirms, for example, that the elementary "soul" is inherent not only in "plastidules" (see Note 132), but also in atoms, and that all atoms are "animate" and possess "sensation" and "volition". In the same book, Haeckel describes atoms as being absolutely discrete, absolutely indivisible and absolutely unalterable, while alongside the discrete atoms, he recognises the existence of ether as something absolutely continuous (op. cit., pp. 38-40). p. 549

284 Engels is referring to Clausius' lecture "Über den zweiten Hauptsatz der mechanischen Wärmetheorie", delivered in Frankfurt am Main, on September 23, 1867, at the 41st Congress of German Natural Scientists and Physicians, and published in pamphlet form in Brunswick the same year. p. 551

285 This and the two following notes consist of extracts from the following books: J. H. Mädler, *Der Wunderbau des Weltalls, oder Populäre Astronomie*, Abschn. 9. *Die Fixsterne* and Abschn. 10. *Die Nebelflecke und die ihnen ähnlichen Bildungen* and A. Secchi, *Die Sonne*, Th. 3. *Die Sonne oder die Fixsterne*. These extracts were presumably made in late 1875 or early 1876. Engels used them in the second part of the "Introduction" to *Dialectics of Nature* (see this volume, pp. 327-35). p. 552

286 The question of existence in interstellar space of a material habitat absorbing light had been discussed by astrophysicists since the beginning of the nineteenth century. German astronomer H. W. Olbers explained the paradox of the dark night sky, which he described in 1823, in terms of the existence of interstellar substance. Engels returns to this problem in his note "Ether" (see this volume, p. 565). p. 554

287 P. A. Secchi, who had close contacts with Pius IX, belonged to the order of Jesuits from 1833 onwards and was also director of the observatory and professor of astronomy at the Collegium Romanum from 1850. p. 555

288 In the passage from his *Geschichte der Astronomie* mentioned here, Wolf asserts that the law of the refraction of light was discovered not by Descartes but by Snell in 1618, who formulated it in his unpublished works, from which Descartes subsequently borrowed it (after Snell's death) (R. Descartes, *Discours de la méthode bien conduire sa raison et chercher la vérité dans les sciences* ..., Leyde, 1637). p. 556

289 Cf. the following proposition by Hegel concerning force: "In terms of content, it expresses nothing other than what the phenomenon, namely the relation of these bodies to one another, contains in its motion, only this is expressed in the form of determination reflected in itself, of force", the result being an "empty tautology". (Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*. T. 1, Die objective Logik, Abth. 2. Die Lehre vom Wesen, p. 90.) p. 560

290 Engels is referring to Lavrov's book *Опыт истории мысли* (Attempt at a History of Thought), Vol. 1, published anonymously in St. Petersburg in 1875, which he received from the author in the summer of that year. On page 109 of this book, in the chapter entitled "The Cosmic Basis of the History of Thought", Lavrov writes: "Extinct suns with their dead systems of planets and satellites continue their motion in space as long as they do not fall into a new nebula in the process of being formed. Then the remains of the extinct world become material for accelerating the process of the formation of the new world." In a footnote, Lavrov quotes Zöllner's opinion that the state of torpor of extinct heavenly bodies "can be ended only by external influences, e.g., by heat generated on collision with some other body". p. 561

291 This note is evidently a remark on R. Clausius' pamphlet (see Note 284). On p. 16, Clausius mentions the ether as existing outside the heavenly bodies; and on p. 6 he assumes that the ether also fills the interstices between the particles of the bodies. p. 564

292 *Horror vacui*, abhorrence of a vacuum. The view, dating from Aristotle (*Physika*, IV, 6-9), that "nature abhors vacuum", that is, does not allow one to form, prevailed in natural science till the mid-seventeenth century. In 1644, Torricelli discovered atmospheric pressure and thereby refuted the Aristotelian notion of the impossibility of a vacuum. p. 564

293 Engels, who wrote Lavrov's name in Russian characters, meant his book *Опыт истории мысли* (see Note 290). On pp. 103-04, in the chapter "The Cosmic Basis of the History of Thought", Lavrov mentions the views of various scientists (Heinrich Wilhelm Olbers, Wilhelm von Struve) on the extinction of light in interstellar space. p. 565

294 Engels is referring to the diagram on page 632 of Secchi's book, *Die Sonne*, showing the relationship between the length of the wave and the intensity of

the thermal, luminar and chemical actions of solar rays, the main portion of which is reproduced below:

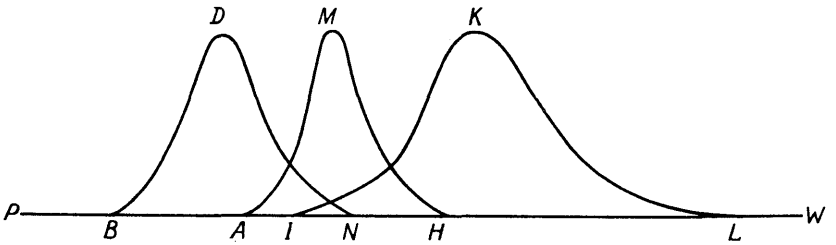


The curve *BDN* represents the intensity of heat radiation from the longest wave heat-rays (at point *B*) to the shortest wave rays (at point *N*). The curve *AMH* represents the intensity of light radiation, from the longest wave rays (at point *A*) to the shortest wave rays (at point *H*). The curve *IKL* represents the intensity of chemical rays, from the longest wave rays (at point *I*) to the shortest wave rays (at point *L*). In all three cases, the intensity of the rays is shown by the distance of the point on the curve from the line *PW*. p. 565

295 Here and below Engels is quoting from Th. Thomson's book, *An Outline of the Sciences of Heat and Electricity*, 2nd edition, London, 1840. He used these quotations in the chapter "Electricity" (see this volume, pp. 402-51). p. 566

296 Here and in the following note Engels is referring to Frederick Guthrie's *Magnetism and Electricity*, London and Glasgow, 1876. On page 210 Guthrie writes: "The strength of the current is proportional to the amount of zinc dissolved in the battery that is oxidized, and is proportional to the heat which the oxidation of that zinc would liberate." p. 568

297 When speaking of John Dalton as "the father of modern chemistry", Engels had in mind his work *A New System of Chemical Philosophy*, vols. 1-2, Manchester, 1808-1827. p. 570

298 G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften*, § 81, Zusatz 1: "The true conception, however, is this: that life as such bears, in itself, the germ of death and that, in general, the finite contradicts itself in itself and thereby transcends itself". p. 572

299 *Plasmogony* was the term Haeckel used to denote the hypothetical origin of an organism when it arises within some organic liquid, in contrast to *autogeny*, i.e., the direct origin of living protoplasm from inorganic matter (E. Haeckel, *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte*, p. 302). p. 573

300 See Note 40. p. 573

301 Engels is referring to the experiments carried out by Louis Pasteur in 1860, by which he proved that microorganisms (bacteria, yeasts, infusoria) in any nutritive (organic) medium develop only from germs already present in the medium or that reach it from outside. Pasteur concluded that the spontaneous generation of now live microorganisms, and spontaneous generation in general, were not possible. Marx also took an interest in Pasteur's experiments, as can be seen from his letter to Engels of June 9, 1866 (see present edition, Vol. 42). p. 574

302 The excerpts from Moritz Wagner's article are taken from Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, pp. 4333-4335, 4351-4352, 4370-4372, Nos. 279-281, 1874. The article was an episode in the polemics between Theodor Ludwig Wilhelm von Bischoff and Moritz Wagner concerning Liebig's advocacy of Darwin's views; it was written in answer to Bischoff's work *Über den Einfluß des Freiherrn Justus v. Liebig auf die Entwickelung der Physiologie* (München, 1874), in which the author supposed that Liebig had retained his negative attitude to Darwin's theory until his death. In his polemics with Bischoff, Wagner used his correspondence and talks with Liebig in an attempt to prove the opposite. p. 574

303 See Note 45. p. 578

304 See Note 40. p. 579

305 Engels is referring to H. A. Nicholson's *Manual of zoology* (see Note 149). p. 580

306 See Note 43. p. 581

307 In the fourth edition of his book *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte*, Haeckel enumerates the following first five stages in the development of the embryo in multi-cellular animals: *Monerula*, *Ovulum*, *Morula*, *Planula* and *Gastrula*, which, he claimed, corresponded to the five initial stages in the development of animal life in general. In the later editions of the book, Haeckel altered this scheme substantially, but his basic idea, to which Engels gave a positive appraisal, that of the parallelism between the individual development of an organism (ontogenesis) and the historical development of a particular organic form (phylogenesis) has become firmly established in science. p. 581

308 The word *bathybius* means "living in the depths". In 1868, Huxley described a sticky slime, dredged from the bottom of the ocean, which he regarded as primitive, structureless living matter—protoplasm. In honour of Haeckel, he named this—as he thought—simplest living organism *Bathybius Haeckelii*. Haeckel considered the bathybius a species of modern, still living Monera (see Note 40). Haeckel speaks of bathybius and the small calcareous modules enclosed in it on pp. 165-66, 306, 379 of the fourth edition of his *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1873. p. 581

309 In the first volume of his *Generelle Morphologie der Organismen*, Berlin, 1866, Haeckel devotes four lengthy chapters (VIII-XI) to the concept of the organic individual and the morphological and physiological individuality of organisms. He also considers the notion of the individual in a number of passages of *Anthropogenie oder Entwickelungsgeschichte des Menschen*, Leipzig, 1874. He divides organic individuals into six classes or orders: plastids, organs, antimeres, metameres, individuals, and cormuses. Those of the first order are pre-cellular organic forms of the Monera (cytode) type and cells; they are "elementary organisms". The individuals of each order, from the second onwards, consist of individuals of the preceding order. The individuals of the fifth order are, in the case of superior animals, "individuals" in the narrow sense of the term.

*Cormus*—a morphological individual of the sixth order, constituting a colony of individuals of the fifth order. The series of marine lucifers may serve as an example.

*Metamere*—a morphological individual of the fourth order, a recurrent limb of an individual of the fifth order. The segments of the tapeworm provide an example. p. 581

310 This note coincides almost word for word with Engels' letter to Lavrov of November 12-17, 1875 (see present edition, Vol. 45). p. 583

311 The experiment carried out by the German physiologist Adolf Fick and German chemist Johannes Wislicenus in August 1865, refuted Liebig's view that protein was the sole source of energy for muscular activity and proved the efficacy of the law of preservation of energy during muscular contractions.

*Faulhorn*—peak of the Bernese Oberland, in the canton of Bern, Switzerland. p. 586

312 The titles Engels gave to the four folders and the tables of contents of the second and third folders of material for *Dialectics of Nature* were not written before 1886, for the list of contents of the second folder includes the fragment "Omitted from *Feuerbach*", which was written in early 1886. p. 588

313 Engels' preparatory writings for *Anti-Dühring* consist of two parts. The first is made up of separate sheets of various format (altogether—35 manuscript pages), containing extracts from Dühring's books and Engels' notes, those that were used in *Anti-Dühring* being crossed out. The second part consists of large sheets (altogether 17 manuscript pages) divided into two columns: the left-hand column contains mainly extracts from the 2nd edition of Dühring's *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie*, while the right-hand column contains critical notes by Engels; some of the entries, the ones used in *Anti-Dühring*, are crossed out vertically.

In addition, the preparatory writings for *Anti-Dühring* include: a note on slavery, extracts from Fourier's *Le nouveau monde industriel et sociétaire* (see this volume, pp. 608-09, 612) and the rough draft of the "Introduction" to *Anti-Dühring* (see Note 314). These three notes are in the first folder of material for *Dialectics of Nature* (see Note 130).

The present edition contains preparatory writings that essentially supplement the basic text of *Anti-Dühring*. The notes of the first part of the preparatory writings are arranged in accordance with the text of *Anti-Dühring* to which they refer. Fragments of the second part are given in the sequence they occur in Engels' manuscript. The extracts from Dühring's book, to which the critical notes refer, are given in abridged form and enclosed in square brackets.

The notes comprising the first part of the preparatory writings for *Anti-Dühring* were evidently written in 1876, and those of the second part in 1877. These preparatory writings were first published, partially, by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU in 1927 (in *Marx-Engels Archiv*, Bd. II, Frankfurt am Main, 1927), and most fully in 1935 (in *Marx/Engels Gesamtausgabe*, F. Engels, *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft/ Dialektik der Natur*. Sonderausgabe, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935). p. 591

314 The given text, which is published in English for the first time, is the original version of "Introduction", or more precisely, of Chapter I of Part I of *Anti-Dühring* (see Note 1). The text of the rough outline of "Introduction" is preserved in the first folder of material for *Dialectics of Nature* under the title "Modern Socialism" (see Note 130 and p. 688 of this volume). p. 591

315 See Note 22. p. 592

316 Here Engels is referring to the second uprising of the Lyons workers, in April 1834; in the final version of "Introduction", he wrote that "in 1831, the first working-class rising took place in Lyons" (see this volume, p. 26). p. 595

317 Engels is referring to the introductory speech of Th. Andrews at the 46th Congress of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, convened in Glasgow on September 6, 1876. The speech was published in the journal *Nature*, No. 358, September 7, 1876, p. 393. p. 598

318 *Sheikh-ul-Islam*—title of the head of the Moslem priesthood in the Ottoman Empire. p. 598

319 *Preformation*—see Note 150. p. 600

320 See Note 45. p. 601

321 See Note 22. p. 603

322 Engels is quoting from the second German edition: K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, Bd. I, Hamburg, 1872, pp. 35-36; see present edition, Vol. 35, Part I, Chapter I, Part 3. A. 3. The Equivalent Form of Value. p. 603

323 On pp. 95-96 of Bossut's *Traités de calcul différentiel et de calcul intégral*, the thesis on the relation between zeros is explained as follows. Let us add, says Bossut, that there is nothing absurd or unacceptable in the surmise that a relationship exists between two zeros. Let there be the following proportion $A : B = C : D$; from which it follows that $(A - C) : (B - D) = A : B$; if $C = A$ and, consequently, $D = B$, then $0 : 0 = A : B$; this relationship changes depending on the value of A and B. Engels illustrates this argument of Bossut's, giving in his own example the values: $A = C = 1$ and $B = D = 2$. p. 607

324 The fragment on slavery is preserved in the first folder of material for *Dialectics of Nature* (see Note 130 and p. 688 of this volume). p. 608

325 See Note 101. p. 610

326 The reference is to Marx's *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VIII: The So-called Primitive Accumulation, Chapter XXVII: Expropriation of the Agricultural Population from the Land (see present edition, Vol. 35). p. 610

327 On August 4, 1789, under pressure from the growing peasant movement, the French Constituent Assembly proclaimed the abrogation of a number of feudal duties that had, in effect, been abolished by the insurgent peasants. However, the laws promulgated immediately afterwards repealed only personal duties without redemption. Only under the Jacobin dictatorship, by a law of July 17, 1793, were all feudal duties repealed without redemption.

The decree on the confiscation of Church property was passed by the Constituent Assembly on November 2, 1789, and that on the confiscation of the property of nobles in exile was passed by the Legislative Assembly on February 9, 1792. p. 610

328 The extracts from Fourier's *Nouveau monde industriel et sociétaire*, which Engels made according to the edition: Ch. Fourier, *Oeuvres complètes*, t. VI, Paris, 1845, are preserved in the first folder of material for *Dialectics of Nature* (see Note 130 and p. 688 of this volume). p. 612

329 On the structure of *Capital* see Note 61. p. 615

330 See Note 36. p. 615

331 The *Khedive*—the title of the hereditary rulers of Egypt during the period of Turkish domination (from 1867 till 1914). p. 619

332 This article was initially a fragment of the manuscript of Part II of *Anti-Dühring* (MS: end of p. 20, and pp. 21-24 and a large part of p. 25). It was included in Chapter III of Part II. Subsequently, Engels replaced this with a shorter text (see this volume, pp. 153-58) and gave the former text the title *Infantry Tactics, Derived from Material Causes, 1700-1870.* The fragment in question was written in the first half of 1877, during work on Part II of *Anti-Dühring* (see Note 1). This article was first published in 1935 in *Marx/Engels Gesamtausgabe*, F. Engels, *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft/Dialektik der Natur.* Sonderausgabe, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935. p. 623

333 See Note 74. p. 625

334 See Note 75. p. 626

335 On the *battle of Jena* see Note 36. p. 627

336 In the *battle of Albuera* (Spain), May 16, 1811, the British army under Viscount Beresford, besieging the fortress of Badajos, defeated the French troops under Marshal Soult moving to help the French garrison occupying the fortress. Engels describes the battle in the article "Albuera" (see present edition, Vol. 18, pp. 10-11).

The *battle of Inkerman*, November 5, 1854, was fought by the Russian Army and Anglo-French forces during the Crimean war (1853-1856). The Russian forces were defeated, but their active operations and the heavy losses suffered by the Allies, particularly the British, forced the Allies to abandon their plan for an assault on Sebastopol and to go over to a protracted siege of the fortress. Engels describes this battle in detail in the article "The Battle of Inkerman" (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 528-35). p. 627

337 See Note 76. p. 628

338 Engels evidently obtained all the information on the strength and losses of the Prussian Army in the *battle of Saint-Privat* (see Note 78) from studying material on the official history of Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871, as compiled by the military-historical department of the Prussian general staff (see *Der Deutsch-französische Krieg 1870-71*, Th. I, Bd. 2, Berlin, 1875, p. 669 ff., 197*-99*, 233*). p. 628

339 While adapting the three chapters of *Anti-Dühring* into the pamphlet *Socialism Utopian and Scientific* (see Note 1), Engels made some additions and changes. Some of these additions Engels included in the text of the second edition of *Anti-Dühring* (see this volume, p. 10). Below are the additions made by Engels while preparing the first (1882) and the supplemented fourth (1891) German editions of *Socialism Utopian and Scientific* (see present edition, Vol. 24), but not included in the text of *Anti-Dühring* published in his lifetime. p. 630

340 See Note 8. p. 631

341 *Anabaptists*—members of a Christian sect that reject infant baptism and practises baptism of adults. In the sixteenth century—participants in the religious and political movement that constituted one of the most democratic trends of the *Reformation* (see Note 22) and soon became a form of the revolutionary movement of the peasant and plebeian masses. p. 631

[342] On the *Directorate* and *coup d'état* of Napoleon I see Note 101. p. 636

[343] Saint-Simon's idea that society's aim must be improvement of the life of the most numerous and the poorest class is expressed most clearly in his last work (*Nouveau Christianisme*), which first appeared anonymously in Paris in 1825. p. 637

[344] See Note 116. p. 640

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* Notes and fragments from one and the same sheet of the manuscript are bracketed together. The numbers on the left indicate the pagination of Engels' manuscript. Asterisks refer to the notes made in preparation for the writing of *Anti-Dühring*. The relevant pages in this volume are given in brackets on the right.

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*Bacon, Francis, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans* (1561-1626)—English philosopher, naturalist and historian.—22, 341, 342, 345, 557

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*Boyle, Robert* (1627-1691)—English chemist and physicist, one of the founders of chemistry as a science; he was the first to define a chemical element, and tried to introduce the idea of mechanical atomistics into chemistry; he developed the method of qualitative chemical analysis and discovered the law of the reverse dependence of the volume of air on its pressure.—84, 85, 293, 466, 557-58

*Bradley, James* (1693-1762)—British astronomer, third director of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich (1742-1762); especially famous for his discovery of the aberration of light, and his demonstration of the nutation of the earth's axis.—552

*Bruno, Giordano* (1548-1600)—Italian thinker, materialist and atheist, developed Copernicus' teaching on the structure of the universe.—320, 474

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*Büchner, Ludwig* (1824-1899)—German physiologist and vulgar materialist philosopher.—340, 482, 486

*Bugeaud de la Piconnerie, Thomas Robert* (1784-1849)—Marshal of France (from 1843); author of several works on military subjects; during the

Peninsular war (1808-14) commanded a unit of the French army.—627

*Butlerov, Alexander Mikhailovich* (1828-1886)—Russian chemist, founder of the theory of the structure of organic compounds.—352

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*Calvin, John* (real name—*Jean Chauvin*) (1509-1564)—Swiss theologian, Protestant reformer.—320, 499

*Camphausen, Ludolf* (1803-1890)—German banker; a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Prime Minister (March-June 1848).—100

*Cantillon, Richard* (1680-1734)—British economist, forerunner of the physiocrats.—227

*Carey, Henry Charles* (1793-1879)—American vulgar economist, protectionist; advocated harmony of class interests in capitalist society.—179, 208, 241, 614

*Carlyle, Thomas* (1795-1881)—British writer, historian, philosopher, Tory; preached views bordering on feudal socialism up to 1848.—635

*Carnot, Nicolas Léonhard Sadi* (1796-1832)—French physicist and engineer, a founder of thermodynamics and the author of *Réflexions sur la puissance motrice du feu et les machines propres à développer cette puissance* (1824).—344, 400, 509

*Carolingians*—royal and imperial dynasty of the Franks; replaced the Merovingians in 751 and ruled France (till 987), Germany (till 911) and Italy (till 887).—498

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*Cassini, Jacques* (1677-1756)—French astronomer and geodesist, the second director of the Paris Observatory; son of Giovanni Domenico Cassini.—488

*Cassini de Thury, César François* (1714-1784)—French astronomer and geodesist, the third director of the Paris Observatory; son of Jacques Cassini.—488

*Cassini, Jacques Dominique, comte de* (1748-1845)—French astronomer and geodesist, the fourth director of the Paris Observatory; son of César François Cassini de Thury.—488

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*Charles the Great (Charlemagne)* (c. 742-814)—King of the Franks (768-800) and Holy Roman Emperor (800-814).—472

*Child, Sir Josiah* (1630-1699)—English economist, mercantilist; banker and merchant.—226

*Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero)* (106-43 B. C.)—Roman statesman, orator and philosopher.—467, 468

*Clapeyron, Benoît Paul Emile* (1799-1864)—French physicist and engineer, author of several works on thermodynamics.—400

*Clausius, Rudolf* (1822-1888)—German physicist, known for his works on the fundamentals of thermodynamics and on the kinetic theory of gases; the first to formulate the second law of thermodynamics (1850); introduced the concept of entropy (1865).—313, 386, 390, 391, 397, 398, 400, 497, 524, 551, 558, 562-64

*Cobbett, William* (1763-1835)—English radical politician and writer.—228

*Cohn, Ferdinand Julius* (1828-1898)—German botanist and microbiologist.—575

*Colding, Ludwig August* (1815-1888)—Danish physicist and engineer, determined the mechanical equivalent of heat independently of Mayer and Joule.—370, 387, 477, 505

*Columbus, Christopher* (1451-1506)—Genoese-born navigator, discoverer of America.—462

*Comte, Auguste* (1798-1857)—French philosopher, founder of positivism.—313, 529

*Confucius (K'ung Fu-tse)* (c. 551-479 B. C.)—Chinese philosopher.—242

*Copernicus, Nicolaus (Mikolaj Kopernik)* (1473-1543)—Polish astronomer, founder of the heliocentric theory.—53, 320, 322, 474

*Coulomb, Charles Augustin* (1736-1806)—French physicist and engineer; discovered the law of electrostatic and magnetic interaction.—566

*Croll, James* (1821-1890)—Scottish geologist.—579

*Crookes, William* (1832-1919)—British chemist and physicist, adherent of spiritualism.—350, 351, 353, 354

*Cuvier, Georges Léopold Chrétien Frédéric Dagobert, baron de* (1769-1832)—French naturalist, author of works on comparative anatomy, palaeontology and the classification of animals.—324, 466, 475

D

*D'Alembert, Jean Baptiste le Rond* (1717-1783)—French philosopher and mathematician, Encyclopaedist and leading figure of the French Enlightenment.—379-81, 388

*Dalton, John* (1766-1844)—English chemist and physicist, set forth the atomic theory of chemical composition.—326, 339, 402, 403, 570

*Daniell, John Frederic* (1790-1845)—English physicist, chemist and meteorologist.—433, 441, 444, 447

*Darwin, Charles Robert* (1809-1882)—English naturalist, founder of the theory of natural selection of species.—30, 63-69, 75, 117, 133, 260, 327, 331, 345, 452, 454, 459, 475, 477, 501, 534, 576, 583, 584, 599, 633

*Davies, Charles Maurice* (1828-1910)—British clergyman, author of books on religion.—351

*Davy, Sir Humphry* (1778-1829)—English chemist and physicist.—489

*Defoe, Daniel* (c. 1660-1731)—English writer and publicist, author of *Robinson Crusoe*.—143-44, 147-48, 153-54, 614

*Delvigne, Henri Gustave* (1799-1876)—French army officer and military inventor.—627

*Democritus* (c. 460-c. 370 B. C.)—Greek philosopher, one of the founders of the atomistic theory.—339, 470, 471

*Descartes, René* (in Latin: *Renatus Cartesius*) (1596-1650)—French philosopher, mathematician and scientist.—21, 50, 56, 113, 321, 325, 339, 363, 370, 378, 379, 407, 525, 537, 556, 558, 593

*Dessaignes, Victor* (1800-1885)—French chemist.—403, 404, 567

*Diderot, Denis* (1713-1784)—French philosopher of the Enlightenment, atheist, leader of the Encyclopaedists.—21

*Diez, Christian Friedrich* (1794-1876)—German philologist, author of the *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, founder of the comparative study of the Romance languages.—305

*Diogenes Laertius* (3rd cent.)—Greek historian of philosophy; compiled a large work on the ancient philosophers.—339, 340, 468-71

*Döllinger, Ignaz von* (1799-1890)—German theologian and church historian.—354

*Draper, John William* (1811-1882)—American chemist, physiologist and historian.—334, 511

*Du Bois-Reymond, Emil Heinrich* (1818-1896)—German physiologist, known for his works on animal electricity; adherent of mechanistic materialism and agnosticism.—314, 440

*Dühring, Eugen Karl* (1833-1921)—German eclectic philosopher and vulgar economist, petty-bourgeois socialist; his philosophical views were a mixture of idealism, vulgar materialism, positivism and metaphysics; also concerned himself with the problems of natural science and literature; from 1863 to 1877 was a lecturer at Berlin University.—5-309, 336, 337, 342, 545, 599-616

*Dürer, Albrecht* (1471-1528)—German painter and engraver; expert in fortification.—319

E

*Edlund, Eric* (1819-1888)—Swedish physicist, professor at the Royal Academy of Sciences in Stockholm, worked mainly on the theory of electricity.—407

*Enfantin, Barthélemy Prosper* (1796-1864)—French utopian socialist, disciple of Saint-Simon.—31

*Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895)—5-15, 85, 165-66, 261, 295, 298, 530, 544, 545

*Enss, Abraham* (19th cent.)—Prussian farmer; an adherent of the Eisenachers for three years; Dühringian.—298

*Epicurus* (c. 341-c. 270 B. C.)—Greek atomistic philosopher.—340, 470

*Euclid* (end of the 4th-beginning of the 3rd cent. B. C.)—Greek mathematician.—173, 318

F

*Fabian, Heinrich Wilhelm*—German Social-Democrat.—11

*Fabroni, Giovanni Valentino Mattia* (1752-1822)—Italian scientist and politician.—568

*Faraday, Michael* (1791-1867)—English physicist and chemist, founder of the teachings on the electromagnetic field.—403, 404, 406-07, 431, 432, 489, 566-68

*Favre, Pierre Antoine* (1813-1880)—French chemist, pioneer in thermal chemistry.—407, 410, 412, 435

*Fechner, Gustav Theodor* (1801-1887)—German physicist, philosopher and psychologist, a founder of experimental psychology and psychophysics.—405, 412, 440, 442

*Ferrier, François Louis Auguste* (1777-1861)—French economist, government official, advocate of mercantilism.—241

*Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas* (1804-1872)—German philosopher.—342, 476, 479

*Fichte, Johann Gottlieb* (1762-1814)—German philosopher.—30, 134, 519

*Fick, Adolph Eugen* (1829-1901)—German physiologist; his main research was into the thermodynamics of the muscles; demonstrated that the law of the conservation of energy is also valid for muscle contractions.—565, 586

*Flamsteed, John* (1646-1719)—English astronomer, the first director of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, compiler of a large stellar catalogue.—552

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—20, 31, 137, 186, 245, 247-48, 252, 261, 263, 264, 279, 593, 612, 637-38

*Fourier, Jean Baptiste Joseph, baron de* (1768-1830)—French mathematician;

studied algebra and mathematical physics, author of *Théorie analytique de la chaleur*.—344, 487

*Frederick II (the Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—156, 300, 625, 626

*Frederick William III* (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—480, 640

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—170, 200

G

*Galen, Claudius* (129-c. 201)—Roman physician, naturalist and philosopher; classic of ancient medicine; studied anatomy and physiology; the first to study the circulation of the blood; in philosophy a follower of Aristotle.—82

*Galilei, Galileo* (1564-1642)—Italian physicist and astronomer; elaborated the principles of mechanics.—378, 466, 474, 551

*Gall, Franz Joseph* (1758-1828)—Austrian physician and anatomist, founder of phrenology.—346-48

*Gassiot, John Peter* (1797-1877)—English physicist, known for his research into electricity.—414

*Gauss, Karl Friedrich* (1777-1855)—German mathematician, author of outstanding theoretical works in astronomy, geodesy and physics, a founder of non-Euclidean geometry.—47

*Gerhardt, Charles Frédéric* (1816-1856)—French chemist.—117

*Gerland, Anthon Werner Ernst* (1838-1910)—German physicist, author of several works on the history of physics.—400

*Gibbon, Edward* (1737-1794)—English historian, author of *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.—228

*Giffen, Robert* (1837-1910)—English economist and statistician, specialist on finances, publisher of the *Journal of the Statistical Society* (1876-91); head of the statistical department at the Board of Trade (1876-97).—270

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—86, 88, 134, 254, 298, 304, 331, 506, 520, 613

*Gramme, Zénobe Théophile* (1826-1901)—Belgian electrotechnician; worked in France; in 1869 invented a magnetic-electric machine with a ring armature.—409

*Gribeauval, Jean Baptiste Vaquette de* (1715-1789)—French general, inspector of the French artillery from 1764 to 1789 (with an interval).—157, 625

*Grimm, Jacob* (1785-1863)—German philologist, author of a historical grammar of the German language and of folklore adaptations; professor in Göttingen and then in Berlin.—305, 498

*Grove, William Robert, Sir* (1811-1896)—English physicist and jurist.—325, 414, 435, 444, 475, 512, 525, 527

*Guido d'Arezzo (Guido of Arezzo)* (c. 990-c. 1050)—Italian musician, Benedictine monk.—473

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman.—147

*Guthrie, Frederick* (1833-1886)—English physicist and chemist.—568-69

H

*Haeckel, Ernst Heinrich* (1834-1919)—German biologist, follower of Darwin; adherent of materialism in natural science, atheist; he formulated the biogenetic law of the relationship between phylogenesis and ontogenesis, an ideologist of "social Darwinism".—12, 66, 67, 129, 314,

488-89, 506-08, 530-31, 532-33, 534, 549, 579-83, 600

*Hall, Spencer Timothy* (1812-1885)—English spiritualist and phrenologist.—346

*Haller, Albrecht von* (1708-1777)—Swiss physiologist, anatomist, botanist and poet.—520

*Halley, Edmund* (1656-1742)—English astronomer and geophysicist, second director of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, known for his studies of comets.—552

*Hankel, Wilhelm Gottlieb* (1814-1899)—German physicist, specialist on electricity.—407

*Hanssen, Georg* (1809-1894)—German economist.—150

*Hartmann, Karl Robert Eduard von* (1842-1906)—German idealist philosopher and writer.—340

*Harvey, William* (1578-1657)—English physician, one of the founders of scientific physiology; discovered the circulation of the blood.—223, 466

*Hauer, Franz, Ritter von* (1822-1899)—Austrian geologist and palaeontologist.—576

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—11-12, 16, 21, 24-25, 30, 34, 35, 36, 38, 40, 42-43, 44, 49, 55, 61-62, 69, 74, 94, 105, 110, 113-17, 119-22, 124, 129, 130, 132, 133-34, 174, 205, 243, 248, 299, 313, 323, 339, 342-44, 356, 357, 359-61, 372, 403, 405, 406, 434, 467-69, 482-90, 494-95, 500-08, 511, 516, 517, 518-24, 529, 532-34, 537, 538, 540, 545, 549, 552, 558, 561, 566, 572, 582, 585, 591, 593, 594-95, 597, 607, 630-31, 633, 634

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—163, 341, 357, 502

*Heinrich LXXII* (1797-1853)—ruler of the tiny German principality of Reuss-Lobenstein-Ebersdorf (1822-48).—164

*Helmholtz, Hermann Ludwig Ferdinand von* (1821-1894)—German physicist and physiologist.—12, 314, 317, 363, 364, 366-79, 386, 389-90, 405, 438, 519, 558, 562, 574, 578

*Henrici, Friedrich Christoph* (1795-1885)—German physicist.—440

*Heraclitus* (c. 540-c. 480 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—21, 468

*Hero (Heron) of Alexandria* (c. 1st cent.)—Greek mathematician, mechanic, and inventor.—399

*Herschel, Sir John Frederick William* (1792-1871)—English astronomer, son of William Herschel.—554

*Herschel, Sir William* (1738-1822)—English astronomer.—324, 553-55

*Heyse, Johann Christian August* (1764-1829)—German linguist and teacher, author of a dictionary of foreign words and of grammatical textbooks of the German language for schools.—305

*Hipparchus of Nicaea* (c. 190-125 B.C.)—Greek astronomer; discovered precession and compiled a large stellar catalogue.—552

*Hobbes, Thomas* (1588-1679)—English philosopher.—584

*Hofmann, August Wilhelm von* (1818-1892)—German chemist; in 1845 obtained aniline from coal tar.—488

*Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—488

*Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus)* (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—232

*Huggins, Sir William* (1824-1910)—English astronomer, one of the first to apply spectrum analysis and photography in astronomy; in 1864, he furnished conclusive proof of the existence of gaseous nebulae.—555

*Humboldt, Alexander, Baron von* (1769-1859)—German naturalist, traveller and statesman.—475

*Hume, David* (1711-1776)—Scottish philosopher, historian and economist.—15, 115, 223-29, 241, 313, 560

*Huxley, Thomas Henry* (1825-1895)—English naturalist and biologist, a friend and follower of Charles Darwin, an active populariser of his theory.—73, 355

*Huygens* (or *Huyghens*), *Christian* (1629-1695)—Dutch physicist, astronomer and mathematician; author of the wave theory of light.—378

I

*Iamblichus (Jamblichus)* (c. 250-c. 330)—Greek philosopher, the chief representative of Syrian Neoplatonism.—348

J

*Jähns, Max* (1837-1900)—Prussian army officer, military writer; served on the General Staff and taught the history of military art at a military academy.—159, 615

*Joule, James Prescott* (1818-1889)—English physicist, experimentally substantiated the law of conservation of energy.—325, 370, 387, 407, 412, 441, 479, 505

*Juvenalis, Decimus Junius* (b. in the 60s-d. after 127)—Roman satirical poet.—138, 441

K

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—12, 24, 30, 46-47, 53-54, 58, 61, 229, 248, 314, 323, 324, 326, 327, 340, 342, 364, 366, 378-79, 392, 394-95, 475, 486, 489, 506, 519, 521, 556, 594

*Kaufmann, Konstantin Petrovich* (1818-1882)—Russian general and statesman; from 1867, commander of the Turkestan military district and governor-general of Turkestan Province.—94

*Kekulé von Stradonitz, Friedrich August* (1829-1896)—German chemist; developed organic and theoretical chemistry.—339, 451, 530, 534

*Kepler, Johannes* (1571-1630)—German astronomer.—12, 321, 474

*Ketteler, Wilhelm Emmanuel, Baron von* (1811-1877)—German ecclesiastic, Roman Catholic bishop of Mainz (from 1850).—354

*Kinnersley, Ebenezer* (1711-1778)—American experimental physicist.—567

*Kirchhoff, Gustav Robert* (1824-1887)—German materialist scientist, physicist; studied electrodynamics and mechanics; in 1859, in collaboration with Robert Bunsen (1811-1899), laid the foundations for spectral analysis.—12, 383, 388, 390

*Klipstein, Philipp Engel* (1747-1808)—German geologist and palaeontologist.—576

*Kohlrausch, Friedrich Wilhelm Georg* (1840-1910)—German physicist known for his works on electrical and magnetic measurements, electrolysis and thermoelectricity; son of Rudolf Hermann Arndt Kohlrausch.—422, 423, 442, 451

*Kohlrausch, Rudolf Hermann Arndt* (1809-1858)—German physicist; studied galvanic current.—443

*Kopp, Hermann* (1817-1892)—German chemist and historian of chemistry.—570

L

*Lafargue, Paul* (1842-1911)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement, zealous propagandist of Marxism, member of the General Council of the First International, a founder of the Workers' Party of France

(1879); follower and associate of Marx and Engels.—10

*Lalande, Joseph Jérôme Lefrançais de* (1732-1807)—French astronomer.—552

*Lamarck, Jean Baptiste Pierre Antoine de Monet, chevalier de* (1744-1829)—French naturalist, founder of the first complete evolutionary theory in biology, forerunner of Darwin.—30, 63, 69, 70, 327, 475, 490, 576

*Langethal, Christian Eduard* (1806-1878)—German botanist and historian of agriculture.—617

*Laplace, Pierre Simon, marquis de* (1749-1827)—French astronomer, mathematician and physicist; independently of Kant, he advanced and mathematically substantiated the hypothesis that the solar system had been formed from a gaseous nebula.—24, 323, 324, 328, 342, 366, 475, 480, 486, 522, 552, 594

*Lasker, Eduard* (1829-1884)—German bourgeois politician, deputy to the Reichstag, member of the Party of Progress up to 1866, then a founder and leader of the National-Liberal Party.—607

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German writer and lawyer; participated in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863), an initiator of the opportunist trend within the German Social-Democratic movement.—31, 100-01, 117

*Laurent, Auguste* (1807-1853)—French chemist.—117

*Lavoisier, Antoine Laurent* (1743-1794)—French chemist.—220, 326, 344, 570

*Lavrov, Pyotr Lavrovich* (1823-1900)—Russian philosopher, sociologist, journalist, an ideologist of Narodism.—561, 565

*Law, John* (1671-1729)—Scottish economist and financier, Director-General of Finance in France (1719-20).—220, 221, 223

*Lecoq de Boisbaudran, Paul Emile* (1838-1912)—French chemist; in 1875 discovered gallium, an element predicted by Mendeleyev.—361

*Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm* (1646-1716)—German philosopher and mathematician.—30, 125, 321, 378-82, 387, 399-400, 486, 537

*Leonardo da Vinci* (1452-1519)—Italian painter, sculptor, scientist, architect and engineer.—319

*Le Roux, François* (1832-1907)—French physicist.—414

*Leroux, Pierre* (1797-1871)—French writer, utopian socialist.—593

*Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim* (1729-1781)—German writer, critic, philosopher of the Enlightenment.—482

*Leucippus* (5th century B.C.)—Greek philosopher, father of the atomistic theory.—339, 470

*Leverrier, Urbain Jean Joseph* (1811-1877)—French astronomer and mathematician; in 1846, independently of John Couch Adams, computed the orbit of the then unknown planet Neptune and determined its position.—361

*Liebig, Justus* (1803-1873)—German scientist, agrochemist.—11, 574-77

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, took part in the 1848-49 revolution, member of the Communist League and the First International, one of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—336

*Linné, Carl von* (1707-1778)—Swedish botanist, devised a system for the classification of plants and animals.—25, 321, 322, 528

*List, Friedrich* (1789-1846)—German economist, advocated protectionism.—216, 241

*Locke, John* (1632-1704)—English philosopher.—15, 22, 220-23, 226, 227, 341

*Loschmidt, Joseph* (1821-1895)—Austrian physicist and chemist.—313, 563

*Lubbock, Sir John* (1834-1913)—English ethnologist, archaeologist and biologist, politician and financier.—519

*Luther, Martin* (1483-1546)—German theologian and writer, leader of the Reformation; founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany.—319, 320, 474

*Lyell, Sir Charles* (1797-1875)—British chemist and geologist.—325, 475

M

*Mably, Gabriel Bonnot de* (1709-1785)—French writer and historian, advocate of utopian egalitarian communism.—19, 591

*Machiavelli, Niccolò* (1469-1527)—Italian politician, historian and writer.—319

*Macleod, Henry Dunning* (1821-1902)—Scottish economist.—242

*Mädler, Johann Heinrich von* (1794-1874)—German astronomer.—323, 328, 333, 471, 552-55

*Malpighi, Marcello* (1628-1694)—Italian biologist and physician; in 1661 discovered capillary blood circulation.—82

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, author of a theory of population.—63, 64, 583, 584

*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor* (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman; Minister of the Interior (1848-50), Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1850-58).—38, 493

*Marggraf, Andreas Sigismund* (1709-1782)—German chemist.—488

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883)—8-13, 15, 27, 31, 43, 97, 99, 100, 113-24, 130, 139, 143, 150, 151, 165-66, 171, 176, 178, 181-86, 187-95, 196-200, 203-04, 211-15, 223-25, 242-43, 255-56, 261-62, 274, 275, 278, 280-81, 287, 288, 295, 303, 306-07, 343, 593, 603, 610, 614, 615

*Maskelyne, Nevil* (1732-1811)—English astronomer, fifth director of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich (from 1765).—552

*Massie, Joseph* (d. 1784)—British economist.—224, 226

*Maurer, Georg Ludwig* (1790-1872)—German historian, studied the social system of ancient and medieval Germany.—163

*Maxwell, James Clerk* (1831-1879)—British physicist, author of the classical theory of electrodynamics and a founder of statistical mechanics.—389, 390, 400, 407, 408, 466, 565

*Mayer, Julius Robert von* (1814-1878)—German naturalist, one of the discoverers of the law of the conservation of energy.—57, 325, 370, 477, 505, 556, 558

*Mendeleyev, Dmitry Ivanovich* (1834-1907)—Russian chemist; in 1869, discovered the periodic law.—85, 361

*Metternich, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince von* (1773-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1809-21) and Chancellor (1821-48), one of the organisers of the Holy Alliance.—265

*Meyer, Julius Lothar* (1830-1895)—German chemist; studied problems of non-organic, organic and physical chemistry.—451, 531

*Michelet, Karl Ludwig (Charles Louis)* (1801-1893)—German Hegelian philosopher, professor at Berlin University.—34

*Mignet, François Auguste Marie* (1796-1884)—French historian.—147

*Minié, Claude Étienne* (1804-1879)—French army officer; inventor of a new type of rifle used in the French army from 1852.—627

*Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel Victor Riqueti, comte de* (1749-1791)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, was in favour of a constitutional monarchy.—241

*Moleschott, Jakob* (1822-1893)—Dutch physiologist and philosopher; taught in Germany, Switzerland and Italy.—482

*Molière (Jean Baptiste Poquelin)* (1622-1673)—French playwright.—132, 206, 361

*Montalembert, Marc René, marquis de* (1714-1800)—French general, military engineer, fortification specialist.—319

*Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Secondat, baron de la Brède* (1689-1755)—French philosopher, sociologist, Enlightener.—224

*More, Sir Thomas* (1478-1535)—English statesman, Lord Chancellor (1529-32), humanist writer, one of the earliest utopian communists, author of *Utopia*.—592, 611

*Morelly* (c. 1715-d. after 1755)—French advocate of utopian egalitarian communism.—19, 591

*Morgan, Lewis Henry* (1818-1881)—American ethnographer, archaeologist and historian of primitive society.—10

*Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus* (1756-1791)—Austrian composer.—308, 353

*Mun, Thomas* (1571-1641)—English merchant and economist, mercantilist; a Director of the East India Company from 1615.—217

*Münster, Georg* (1776-1844)—German palaeontologist.—576

*Münzer, Thomas* (c. 1490-1525)—leader of the urban plebeians and poor peasants during the Reformation and the Peasant War in Germany; advocated utopian egalitarian communism.—19, 145, 592, 631

*Murray, Lindley* (1745-1826)—Anglo-American grammarian.—349

N

*Nägeli, Karl Wilhelm von* (1817-1891)—Swiss botanist; from 1857 worked in Munich, developed citology, physiology and the systematisation of plants.—314, 337, 512-16

*Napier, John* (1550-1617)—Scottish mathematician, inventor of logarithms.—321

*Napoleon I (Bonaparte)* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—83, 101, 119, 157, 244, 250, 265, 609, 627, 636

*Naumann, Alexander* (1837-1922)—German chemist.—390, 414, 442

*Neumann, Carl Gottfried* (1832-1925)—German mathematician and physicist.—405

*Newton, Sir Isaac* (1642-1727)—English physicist, astronomer and mathematician.—12, 24, 25, 31, 321-23, 345, 365, 474, 480, 486, 488, 491, 529, 537, 551, 552, 557, 566, 594

*Nicholson, Henry Alleyne* (1844-1899)—English biologist, known for his studies in zoology and palaeontology.—580, 581, 586, 601

*Nicolai, Christoph Friedrich* (1733-1811)—German writer, publisher and bookseller, advocate of "enlightened absolutism".—482

*North, Dudley* (1641-1691)—English economist, one of the first representatives of classical bourgeois political economy.—15, 220-23

O

*Ohm, Georg Simon* (1787-1854)—German physicist; in 1826, discovered the basic law of the electric circuit, which defines the relationship between the resistance, electromotive and current force.—412

*Oken, Lorenz* (1779-1851)—German naturalist and natural philosopher.—12, 327, 486, 488

*Olbers, Heinrich Wilhelm Matthias* (1758-1840)—German astronomer.—554

*Orbigny, Alcide Dessalines d'* (1802-1857)—French palaeontologist and traveller.—576

*Owen, Sir Richard* (1804-1892)—English zoologist, anatomist and palaeontologist; advanced the idealist concept of an "archetype" as the structural plan of vertebrates; in 1863, described the archaeopteryx of the Jurassic period.—487

*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—English utopian socialist.—20, 31, 137, 186, 245, 249-53, 278, 279, 288, 290-91, 306, 592, 593, 638

P

*Paganini, Niccolo* (1782-1840)—Italian violinist and composer.—454

*Papin, Denis* (1647-1712, according to some sources, 1714)—French physicist, an inventor of the steam-engine.—400

*Pasteur, Louis* (1822-1895)—French microbiologist and chemist, founder of modern microbiology and immunology.—574

*Perty, Joseph Anton Maximilian* (1804-1884)—German naturalist.—575

*Peter I (the Great)* (1672-1725)—Russian Tsar (1682-1721), Emperor of Russia (1721-25).—611

*Petty, Sir William* (1623-1687)—English economist and statistician, founder of classical bourgeois political economy in England.—15, 214, 217-23, 226, 227, 228

*Phidias* (c. 500-c. 430 B.C.)—Greek sculptor.—308

*Plato* (c. 427-347 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—207, 215

*Pliny (Gaius Plinius Secundus)* (A.D. 23-79)—Roman naturalist, author of the 37-volume *Historia naturalis*.—164, 489

*Plutarch* (c. 46-c. 125)—Greek moralist writer and philosopher.—468

*Poggendorff, Johann Christian* (1796-1877)—German physicist, known for his studies of electricity and magnetism; founded and published the journal *Annalen der Physik und Chemie*.—433, 446, 447

*Polo, Marco* (1254-1324)—Venetian traveller; made a trip to China and lived there from 1275 to 1292.—472

*Prévost, d'Exiles, Antoine François* (1697-1763)—French novelist.—481

*Priestley, Joseph* (1733-1804)—English chemist and materialist philosopher, public figure.—344, 514

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French journalist, economist and sociologist, ideologist of the petty bourgeoisie, one of the founders of anarchism.—173, 242, 251, 297, 298, 593

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*Pythagoras* (c. 571-497 B.C.)—Greek mathematician and philosopher.—468-70, 534, 598

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*Quenstedt, Friedrich August* (1809-1889)—German mineralogist, geologist and palaeontologist, professor at Tübingen University.—576

*Quesnay, François* (1694-1774)—French economist, founder of the school of physiocrats, a physician by profession.—15, 229-38, 252

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*Raff, Georg Christian* (1748-1788)—German teacher, author of books on the natural sciences for young people.—304

*Raoult, François Marie* (1830-1901)—French chemist, author of several works on physical chemistry.—407, 412, 441

*Raphael Sanzio* (1483-1520)—Italian painter.—454

*Regnault, Henri Victor* (1810-1878)—French physicist and chemist; studied the properties of gases and vapours.—84-85

*Renault, Bernard* (1836-1904)—French palaeontologist; also researched into electrochemistry.—432

*Reuleaux, Franz* (1829-1905)—German scientist; in 1876, was the representative of the German Government at the Sixth Industrial Fair in Philadelphia.—7

*Reynard, François* (1805-after 1870)—French engineer, author of a number of works on physics; advanced a theory close to Maxwell's theory of electromagnetic field.—407

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—English economist.—64, 90, 178, 179, 182, 197, 208, 212, 241

*Ritter, Johann Wilhelm* (1776-1810)—German physicist, studied electrical phenomena.—411

*Rochow, Friedrich Eberhard von* (1734-1805)—German teacher, author of moralising books for young people.—172

*Rochow, Gustav Adolf* (1792-1847)—Prussian Minister of the Interior (1834-42).—299

*Rodbertus-Jagetzow, Johann Karl* (1805-1875)—German economist; in 1848 leader of the Left Centre in the Prussian National Assembly; subsequently theoretician of "state socialism".—204, 273

*Romanov, Mikhail Fyodorovich* (1596-1645)—Russian Tsar (1613-45).—611

*Roscher, Wilhelm Georg Friedrich* (1817-1894)—German vulgar economist, professor at Leipzig University, founder of the so-called historical school in political economy.—215

*Roscoe, Sir Henry Enfield* (1833-1915)—English chemist, author of a number of chemistry manuals.—361, 601

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*Rosse, William Parsons, Earl of* (1800-1867)—Irish astronomer, in 1845 made a huge telescope with which he established the spiral structure of many extragalactical nebulae.—554, 555

*Rousseau, Jean Jacques* (1712-1778)—French philosopher and writer of the Enlightenment.—19, 21, 90, 91, 95, 129, 130, 133, 141, 244, 299, 592, 603, 607

*Ruhmkorff, Heinrich Daniel* (1803-1877)—mechanic, native of Germany, worked in France; in 1851 devised an induction coil.—569

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*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—20, 25, 31, 137, 186, 245-47, 252, 315, 323, 529, 592, 593, 636-37

*Sargant, William Lucas* (1809-1889)—English teacher and economist, biographer of Owen.—252, 253, 291

*Savery, Thomas* (1650-1715)—English engineer, an inventor of the steam-engine.—400

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*Schiller, Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, historian and philosopher.—5, 143, 447

*Schleiden, Matthias Jakob* (1804-1881)—German botanist, a theorist of the cell structure of organisms.—477

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*Schorlemmer, Carl* (1834-1892)—German organic chemist, professor in Manchester, member of the Royal Society; member of the German Social-Democratic Party, friend of Marx and Engels.—361, 486

*Schwann, Theodor* (1810-1882)—German biologist, author of the cellular theory.—477

*Schweninger, Ernst* (1850-1924)—German physician, from 1881 Bismarck's personal doctor, in 1884 was appointed professor of dermatology at Berlin University.—10

*Secchi, Pietro Angelo* (1818-1878)—Italian astronomer, director of the Rome Observatory; studied the spectra of the sun, stars and planets, a Jesuit.—328, 332, 333, 480, 553-55, 565, 605

*Serra, Antonio* (16th-17th cent.)—Italian economist, one of the first representatives of mercantilism.—217

*Servetus, Michael* (1509 or 1511-1553)—Spanish scientist of the Renaissance, physician; put forward the supposition that the pulmonary circle of blood circulation exists.—320, 474

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English dramatist and poet.—147

*Siemens, Ernst Werner von* (1816-1892)—German electrician and businessman; devised a magneto-electric machine with a cylindrical rotor (1856) and dynamo-electric machine (1866).—409

*Silbermann, Johann Theobald* (1806-1865)—French physicist; researched into thermal chemistry, collaborated with Favre.—435

*Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de* (1773-1842)—Swiss economist, representative of economic romanticism.—212, 273

*Smee, Alfred* (1818-1877)—English surgeon and physicist, designed a galvanic cell consisting of zinc, silver and sulphuric acid.—410

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—90, 139, 179, 206, 207, 209, 210, 215, 219, 226, 227, 229, 241, 614

*Smith, George* (1840-1876)—British archaeologist, known for his excavations on the territory of ancient Assyria.—68

*Snell (Snellius) van Royen, Willebrord* (1580 or 1591-1626)—Dutch mathematician and astronomer; discovered the law of light refraction.—556

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*Spencer, Herbert* (1820-1903)—English positivist philosopher and sociologist.—536

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*Starcke, Carl Nikolaus* (1858-1926)—Danish philosopher and sociologist.—479-80

*Steuart, James* (1712-1780)—British economist, one of the last representatives of mercantilism.—241

*Stirner, Max* (pseudonym of *Johann Caspar Schmidt*) (1806-1856)—

German philosopher, Young Hegelian, one of the ideologists of individualism and anarchism.—92, 212

*Strauss, David Friedrich* (1808-1874)—German Young Hegelian philosopher and writer.—423

*Struve, Gustav* (1805-1870)—German journalist, democrat; a leader of the Baden republican uprisings of 1848 and the German petty-bourgeois emigrants in England; fought in the US Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—110

*Stuarts*—royal dynasty in Scotland (1371-1714) and England (1603-49 and 1660-1714).—241

*Suter, Heinrich* (1848-1922)—Swiss mathematician, author of several works on the history of mathematics.—379-82, 384, 388

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*Tait, Peter Guthrie* (1831-1901)—Scottish physicist and mathematician.—383, 388, 390, 392-96

*Terence (Publius Terentius Afer)* (c. 190-159 B. C.)—Roman dramatist.—193

*Thales of Miletus* (c. 624-c. 546 B. C.)—Greek philosopher and mathematician, founder of the school of Miletus.—372, 467, 468, 558

*Thierry, Jacques Nicolas Augustin* (1795-1856)—French historian.—147, 247

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836 and 1840); head of the Orleanists after 1848; organised the suppression of the Paris Commune (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73).—147

*Thomsen (Hans Peter Jörgen), Julius* (1826-1909)—Danish chemist, mainly developed thermochemistry.—418, 428, 433

*Thomson, Thomas* (1773-1852)—English chemist, adherent of Dalton's atomistic theory.—400-01, 403, 404, 489, 566-68

*Thomson, Sir William, Baron Kelvin of Largs* (1824-1907)—English physicist, one of the founders of thermodynamics and the kinetic theory of gases; researched into electrical engineering and mathematical physics; in 1852, advanced the hypothesis of the death of the universe through lack of heat.—382, 390, 392-96, 456, 546, 563, 574

*Thorv(w)aldsen, Bertel* (1768-1844)—Danish sculptor.—454

*Thouvenin, Louis Étienne* (1791-1882)—French army officer and military inventor.—627

*Torricelli, Evangelista* (1608-1647)—Italian physicist and mathematician.—321, 466

*Traube, Moritz* (1826-1894)—German chemist and physiologist.—76, 578, 579, 601

*Treviranus, Gottfried Reinhold* (1776-1837)—German naturalist and philosopher, one of the earlier adherents of the idea of the evolution of living nature, author of the six-volume *Biologie oder die Philosophie der lebenden Natur*.—12

*Turgot, Anne Robert Jacques, baron de l'Aulne* (1727-1781)—French economist and statesman; physiocrat; Controller-General of Finance (1774-76).—238

*Tyndall, John* (1820-1893)—British physicist.—481, 579

V

*Vanderlint, Jacob* (d. in 1740)—English economist, forerunner of the physiocrats, one of the early exponents of the quantity theory of money.—223-24, 227

*Varley, Cromwell Fleetwood* (1828-1883)—British electrical engineer.—350

*Victoria* (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901).—638

*Virchow, Rudolf* (1821-1902)—German naturalist and politician; founder of the theory of cellular pathology, opponent of Darwinism; one of the founders and leaders of the Party of Progress.—7, 14, 314, 337, 338, 353, 486

*Vogt, Karl* (1817-1895)—German natural scientist, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five imperial regents (June 1849); emigrated in 1849; later received subsidies from Napoleon III; slandered proletarian revolutionaries.—12, 340, 482

*Volta, Alessandro* (1745-1827)—Italian physicist and physiologist, known for his works on electricity.—411, 445

*Voltaire (François Marie Arouet)* (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—483

W

*Wagener, Hermann* (1815-1889)—German journalist and politician, ideologist of the bourgeoisified Prussian Junkerdom; editor of the *Neue Preußische Zeitung* (1848-54), a founder of the Prussian Conservative Party, Privy Councillor in Bismarck's Government (1866-73); adherent of reactionary Prussian "state socialism".—228

*Wagner, Moriz Friedrich* (1813-1887)—German naturalist, geographer and traveller, Darwinist.—574-75

*Wagner, Richard* (1813-1883)—German composer.—28, 70, 107, 134, 141

*Wallace, Alfred Russel* (1823-1913)—British biologist, one of the founders of zoogeography; developed his own theory of natural selection; adherent of spiritualism.—345-51, 353-55

*Walpole, Robert* (1676-1745)—British Prime Minister (1721-42), Whig, the first to form cabinets independent of the King and relying on the majority in Parliament, widely resorted to bribery.—227-28

*Watt, James* (1736-1819)—Scottish engineer, inventor of the steam-engine.—400

*Weber, Wilhelm Eduard* (1804-1891)—German physicist; studied electricity and magnetism.—405

*Weitling, Wilhelm Christian* (1808-1871)—a leader of the German working-class movement in its early period, one of the theoreticians of utopian egalitarian communism, a tailor by trade.—20, 187, 288, 592, 632

*Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of* (1769-1852)—British general and statesman, Tory; commanded the British army in the wars against Napoleon I (1808-14, 1815); commander-in-chief (1827-28, 1842-52), Prime Minister (1828-30), Foreign Secretary (1834-35).—616, 627

*Wheatstone, Sir Charles* (1802-1875)—English physicist and inventor, known for his works on electricity; an inventor of the electrical telegraph.—441

*Whewell, William* (1794-1866)—English philosopher and historian of science.—507

*Whitworth, Sir Joseph* (1803-1887)—British manufacturer and military inventor.—386

*Wiedemann, Gustav Heinrich* (1826-1899)—German physicist, author of a fundamental reference book on electricity.—402-51, 544, 569

*Wilke, Christian Gottlieb* (1786-1854)—German theologian; studied the language and history of the Bible.—423

*Winterl, Jakob Joseph* (1739-1809)—Austrian physician, botanist and chemist.—567

*Wislicenus, Johannes* (1835-1902)—German organic chemist.—586

*Wöhler, Friedrich* (1800-1882)—German chemist; the first to synthesise an organic compound from inorganic substances.—478

*Wolf, Julius Rudolf* (1816-1893)—Swiss astronomer; specialised in studying sun-spots and the history of astronomy.—471, 556

*Wolff, Caspar Friedrich* (1733-1794)—German physiologist and anatomist, one of the founders of the theory of the organism's individual development; substantiated the theory of epigenesis; worked in Germany and Russia.—327

*Wolff, Christian, Baron von* (1679-1754)—German idealist philosopher, mathematician and naturalist.—322, 341, 501

*Wollaston, William Hyde* (1766-1828)—English chemist and physicist.—568

*Worm-Müller, Jakob* (1834-1889)—German physician, physiologist and physicist.—440

*Wundt, Wilhelm Max* (1832-1920)—German psychologist, physiologist and philosopher.—580

X

*Xenophon* (c. 430-c. 354 B. C.)—Greek historian and philosopher.—215

Z

*Zöllner, Johann Karl Friedrich* (1834-1882)—German astrophysicist, professor at Leipzig University, adherent of spiritualism.—352

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*Manon Lescaut*—title character in Prévost's novel.—481

*Mars* (Rom. myth.)—god of war.—301

*Mephistopheles*—character in Goethe's *Faust*.—88, 331

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*Papageno*—character in Mozart's opera *Die Zauberflöte*.—353

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*Robinson Crusoe*—title character of Daniel Defoe's novel.—143, 144, 147-48, 153-54, 614

*Rosinante*—Don Quixote's horse in Cervantes' novel ("rocin" is the Spanish for "jade").—58, 298

*Sancho Panza*—character in Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.—298

*Sarastro*—character in Mozart's opera *Die Zauberflöte*.—308

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*Tyr*—god of war in some Germanic tribes.—301

*Venus* (Rom. myth.)—goddess of love and beauty.—205

*Vulcan*—the Roman god of fire, the deity of smiths.—262

*Wagner*—character in Goethe's *Faust*, a pedantic and feeble scholar.—134

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— Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft. Zweite Auflage. Zürich, 1886.—8-10, 15

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— Vol. XXVI, No. 659, June 15, 1882: C., G. Mascart and Joubert's *Electricity and magnetism.*—402

[a] In the original the titles of articles are given in square brackets.—*Ed.*

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*Acta Eruditorum*—the first German scientific journal, was founded by Professor O. Mencke; came out in Latin from 1682 to 1782 in Leipzig, since 1732 under the title *Nova acta Eruditorum*; Leibniz was an active contributor to it.—379

*Allgemeine Zeitung*—a German conservative daily founded in 1798; from 1810 to 1882 was published in Augsburg.—574

*Annalen der Physik und Chemie*—German scientific journal; under this title was published in Leipzig from 1824 to 1899, its editors being Johann Christian Poggendorff (prior to 1877) and Gustav Wiedemann (after 1877); came out three times a year.—422

*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*—a German-language yearly published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge; only the first issue, a double one, appeared in February 1844. It carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—295

*The Echo*—a liberal daily, came out in London from 1868 to 1905.—349

*Ergänzungsblätter zur Kenntniß der Gegenwart*—German monthly popular scientific journal, came out in Hildburghausen from 1865 to 1871.—114, 122

*Kölnische Zeitung*—a daily published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; in the 1850s it voiced the interests of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie.—159, 615

*Nature. A Weekly Illustrated Journal of Science*—British natural-scientific journal, published in London since 1869.—388, 402, 519, 530, 579, 598

*The Spiritualist Newspaper*—English spiritualist weekly, came out in London from 1869 to 1882; was published under this title since 1874.—350

*Der Volksstaat*—the central organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (the Eisenachers); it was published in Leipzig from October 1869 to September 1876, originally twice, and from July 1873 three times a week. Wilhelm Liebknecht was the editor. August Bebel contributed to the paper and helped to edit it. It published articles by Marx and Engels.—5, 6

*Volks-Zeitung*—German democratic daily, came out in Berlin since 1853.—207

*Vorwärts*—the central organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party after the Gotha Unity Congress of 1876, was published in Leipzig from October 1876 to October 1878.—6, 8, 336, 530

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# MARX & ENGELS
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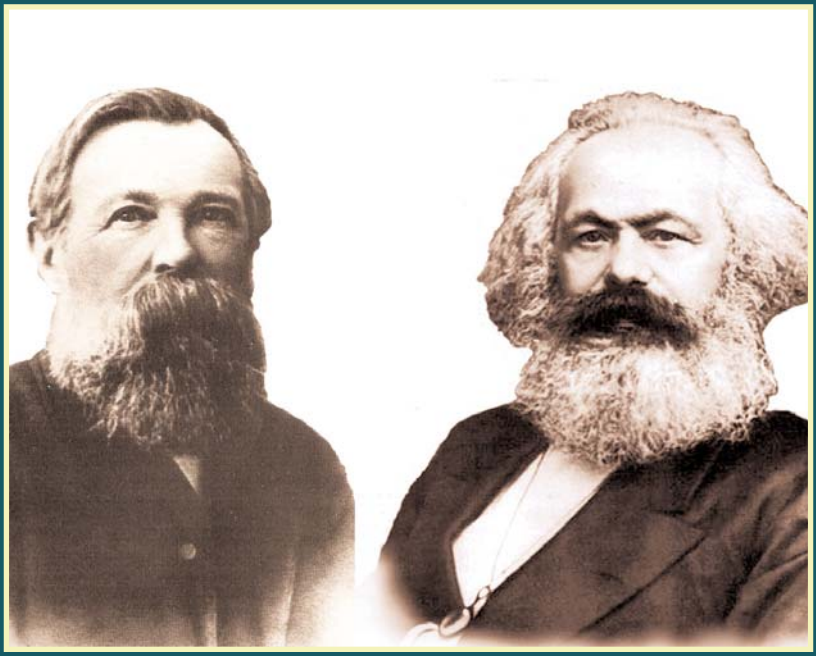

## VOLUME 26

Engels 1882-89

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 26

Engels 1882-89

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TRANSLATORS:

K. M. COOK: Works 14; Appendix 2
NICHOLAS JACOBS: Works 23
R. S. LIVINGSTONE: Works 13, 31
BARBARA RUHEMANN: Works 1
SALO RYAZANSKAYA: Works 2
BARRIE SELMAN: Works 2 (Note), 16, 17, 19, 22, 25, 29, 30, 33; From the Preparatory Materials 1-5, 8, 9; Appendices 3, 4, 5, 8
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# Preface

Volume 26 of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels contains works by Frederick Engels, most of which were written between August 1882 and December 1889.

After Marx's death Engels took upon himself the complex tasks of the development of the theory and the ideological leadership of the international socialist movement, which for many decades had been performed by himself and Marx in close collaboration. "For after all, we wish to maintain intact, in so far as it is in my power, the many threads from all over the world which spontaneously converged upon Marx's study," he wrote to August Bebel on April 30, 1883 (see present edition, Vol. 47).

Throughout the 1880s Engels' links with members of the socialist working-class movement of various countries grew stronger and broader. The working-class struggle for emancipation acquired greater dimensions, and was joined by new strata of the proletariat. The process of forming independent working-class political parties begun in the preceding years continued, and by the end of the decade they had been set up or were in the stage of being set up in almost all the countries of Europe. Most of them based their programmes on the principles of scientific socialism. These principles were also reflected in the decisions of the Paris International Socialist Congress of 1889, which marked the beginning of the Second International. The creation of parties was an important new step in the process of combining socialism with the working-class movement.

Engels constantly helped the young socialist parties and working-class organisations to draw up their programmes, tactics and

political line. He contributed actively to the socialist press and did his utmost to promote the dissemination of Marxism. He carried on an extensive correspondence with members of the working-class and socialist movement of different countries. Alongside the preparation for the press of volumes II and III of *Capital,* a major part of Engels' activity consisted of publishing new editions of Marx's and his own works and organising translations of them into other languages. The prefaces to these editions published in this volume constitute an important part of his literary heritage.

During this period Engels wrote two major theoretical works which occupy a central place in the volume: *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* and *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy.*

*The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* was an important contribution to the development of the materialist conception of history. The scientifically argued theses advanced in this work about the role of production in the development of society, the origin and evolution of the family, the origin of private property and classes, and the emergence and class essence of the state, fully retain their significance today. This work remains, to quote Lenin, "one of the fundamental works" of scientific communism (*Collected Works,* Vol. 29, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 473). It contains a profound theoretical generalisation of scientific achievements in the sphere of the history of primitive society and ethnography, first and foremost, of the studies of the progressive American scientist Lewis H. Morgan, whose results were set out in his book *Ancient Society.* This book was based to a large extent on many years of studying the life and customs of North American Indians. Morgan, Engels wrote in his preface to the first edition of *The Origin of the Family,* "rediscovered ..., in his own way, the materialist conception of history that had been discovered by Marx forty years ago" (this volume, p. 131). The extensive material contained in Morgan's book provided Engels with "a factual basis we have hitherto lacked" (Engels to Karl Kautsky, April 26, 1884, present edition, Vol. 47), which enabled him to analyse the early stages of human development from the viewpoint of the materialist conception of history.

Engels regarded his work as, "in a sense, the fulfilment of a behest" of Marx (p. 131), who himself had planned to write a book on the early period of human history drawing on the results of Morgan's studies. Engels made full use of Marx's notes in the latter's conspectus of Morgan's book, drawn up shortly before his

death, and made the structure of this conspectus, which differed from that of Morgan, the basis for his work. He also drew on a great deal of additional material, including his own studies on the early history of Ireland and of the Germans, carried out in preceding years (all this is referred to in the Notes to this volume). In preparing a fourth edition of the book (1891) Engels made certain changes and important additions based on a study of the most recent scientific literature of his day.

Engels based his work on the idea of two types of production, remarking in the preface: "According to the materialist conception, the determining factor in history is, in the last resort, the production and reproduction of immediate life. But this itself is again of a twofold character. On the one hand, the production of the means of subsistence, of food, clothing and shelter and the implements required for this; on the other, the production of human beings themselves, the propagation of the species. The social institutions under which men of a definite historical epoch and of a definite country live are determined by both kinds of production: by the stage of development of labour, on the one hand, and of the family, on the other" (pp. 131-32).

Tracing the evolution of the family, Engels examined how its forms had changed under the influence of the development of productive forces and changes in the mode of production. He showed that at the early stages of human history, when private property and the division of society into classes had not yet arisen, family relations, ties of kinship played a very important part. With the growth of productive forces, however, this role was gradually reduced, and with the emergence of private property and classes the family became totally subjected to property relations.

Substantiating in detail the thesis already advanced by him in *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, to the effect that human society at the early stages of its development was a classless society based on a gentile structure and common ownership of the means of production, Engels summed up, as it were, his and Marx's many years of research in this sphere. He supplemented Marx's view of socio-economic formations expounded in the preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* Part One (present edition, Vol. 29).

In a note to the 1888 English edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* he made a major correction, quoting *The Origin of the Family,* to the *Manifesto*'s thesis, that "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles" (present edition, Vol. 6, p. 482). The emergence of classes, he pointed out,

was preceded by a lengthy period when communal, tribal ownership of the means of production reigned supreme.

The periodisation of the early periods in the history of humanity, which Engels adopted from Morgan, i.e. the division into epochs of savagery and barbarism each sub-divided into three stages, is now regarded as obsolete in the light of new scientific data and recent research and is no longer used by scholars. However, in present-day research account is taken of Engels' outline of the main stages of development of the primitive-communal system. Ideas of the individual stages in the development of the family and the origin of the gens have also changed considerably. This applies, for example, to such stages in the evolution of the family, advanced by Morgan and accepted by Engels (although with certain reservations in the fourth edition of the book), as the consanguine family and the punaluan family, and also to certain other concrete theses which have not been confirmed by subsequent archaeological and ethnographic investigations.

At the same time the methodological principles on which Engels based his work remain fully valid. Here for the first time he applied the dialectical-materialist method to the study of the history of the family, which enabled him to draw the highly important conclusion as to the dependence of forms of the family on the development of productive forces and changes in the mode of production. This was a major step forward in the development of the materialist conception of history.

Equally important and relevant today is Engels' explanation of the causes of the inequality of women in a class society. Engels showed that this inequality is determined not by biological factors, but in the final analysis by economic causes, and that its very emergence is connected with the appearance of private ownership of the means of production. Thus the way was pointed to the establishment of the full equality of the sexes.

Drawing on factual material from Morgan's book and other sources, Engels examined the process of the formation of antagonistic classes and showed that it was based on the development of productive forces, the growth of labour productivity.

It was in *The Origin of the Family* that Engels, for the first time in Marxist literature, gave such a detailed picture of the emergence of the state. He showed that the state had not always existed, but arose at a certain stage of economic development. Its appearance was the result of the division of society into

antagonistic classes. It is proof that "society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it has split into irreconcilable opposites which it is powerless to dispel" (p. 269) and therefore needs some force that could restrain them. The state is such a force.

Developing the theory of the state set out by Marx most fully in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and *The Civil War in France,* and also in his own works *The Housing Question* and *Anti-Dühring* (see present edition, vols 11, 22, 23 and 25), Engels analysed the essence of the state, revealed the scientific invalidity of the view of the state as a kind of "supra-class" force, and characterised it as an organ "of the most powerful, economically dominant class, which, through the medium of the state, becomes also the politically dominant class" (p. 271). The state retains this character in a bourgeois democratic republic as well.

Engels did not limit himself to analysing the causes of the emergence of the state, and characterising its essence and explaining its structure, which already in itself meant developing further the theory of the state. He showed, in addition, that with the growth of productive forces the existence of antagonistic classes becomes an obstacle to the development of social production and that this, in the final analysis, leads to their destruction on the basis of the nationalisation of the means of production and, consequently, the withering away of the state.

The society of the future "which will reorganise production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers, will put the whole machinery of state where it will then belong: into the museum of antiquities, by the side of the spinning-wheel and the bronze axe" (p. 272).

This volume also contains one of the most famous Marxist philosophical works, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy.* Although the direct aim of this work was a critique of the book on Feuerbach by the Danish philosopher and sociologist Carl Starcke, its polemical aspect took second place. Here Engels expounded in positive form some vital philosophical problems: the subject of philosophy, the laws of its development and the struggle of materialism and idealism, the attitude of Marxism to its philosophical predecessors, above all, to Hegel and Feuerbach. Finally, he revealed the essence of Marxist philosophy, namely, dialectical and historical materialism, and showed how it differed fundamentally from preceding philosophical systems.

Engels' work was particularly important for the socialist movement, because some Social-Democratic intellectuals were influenced by idealist philosophical trends popular at that time, above all, by Neo-Kantianism.

In his book Engels broached some of the main questions of philosophy, namely, the relationship of thinking to being, of mind to matter, a question which divides philosophers into two major camps: the idealists, who believe that the mind is primary, and the materialists, who believe in the primacy of matter. The answer to this question predetermines to a large extent the solution of other philosophical problems. The struggle between idealism and materialism is the main characteristic feature of the history of philosophy. Engels stresses that the question of the relationship of thinking to being has yet another aspect: is the reflection of being by the human consciousness identical to the real world? And is this world cognisable? Arguing that being is cognisable and criticising philosophers who deny the possibility of cognising it, Engels points out that the main criterion for the cognisability of the world is practical human activity. "The most telling refutation of this as of all other philosophical quirks is practice, namely, experimentation and industry" (p. 367).

Here for the first time Engels advanced the thesis on the three great discoveries in natural science: the discovery of the cell, the theory of the transformation of energy and Darwin's theory of evolution, "which have advanced our knowledge of the interconnection of natural processes by leaps and bounds" (p. 385) and thanks to which the dialectical nature of this connection was established.

Engels regards Hegelian dialectics and Feuerbach's materialist views as the most important philosophical sources of Marxism. He characterises Hegelian philosophy as "the termination of the whole movement since Kant" (p. 359), and sees Hegel's dialectical method as "the way ... to real positive cognition of the world" (p. 362). In doing this Engels reveals the contradiction between this method and Hegelian idealism.

Characterising the philosophical views of Feuerbach, Engels stresses his importance in reviving materialism in philosophy. At the same time he shows the limitations of Feuerbach's materialism, which did not extend to the materialist interpretation of social life. In criticising Hegel's idealism Feuerbach also rejected the main positive feature of Hegel's philosophy, his dialectical method. Feuerbach, wrote Engels, "as a philosopher, ... stopped halfway, was a materialist below and an idealist above" (p. 382).

The final chapter of Engels' work examines the essence of dialectical and historical materialism. The combining of the dialectical method with a consistently materialist world outlook meant in fact a revolutionary change in philosophy. "Thus dialectics reduced itself to the science of the general laws of motion, both of the external world and of human thinking" (p. 383). And the extension of the dialectical-materialist method to the study of the history of human society, the materialist conception of history, made it possible for the first time to reveal the objective laws of social development. It was established that the historical process is based on the development of productive forces and economic relations, changes in which bring about alterations in the political system and, eventually, in the forms and types of social consciousness—in other words, in the whole ideological superstructure. Here Engels notes the relative independence of the political superstructure and different forms of social consciousness and their ability to exert a reciprocal influence on the economic basis.

The volume also includes a number of works defending Marx's economic teaching against the attacks of his ideological adversaries.

During the period to which the works published in this volume belong Engels prepared for the press Volume II of *Capital,* which came out in 1885, and the third (1884) and fourth (1890) German editions of Volume I, and also edited its English translation which appeared in 1887. All these editions were provided with prefaces written by him. In the preface to Volume II (see present edition, Vol. 36) and in the article "Marx and Rodbertus" published in this volume and written as a preface to the first German edition of Marx's work *The Poverty of Philosophy,* Engels criticised the views of the German economist Karl Rodbertus, whose works had served as the theoretical basis for the "state-socialist" measures of Bismarck and become the banner of the so-called armchair socialists who advocated bourgeois reforms in solving the social question, disguised in pseudo-socialist phraseology. Rodbertus also had apologists within the ranks of the Social-Democrats. Engels convincingly disproved the fabrications of certain bourgeois economists who accused Marx of plagiarising Rodbertus' ideas on the origin of value, by showing the fundamental difference between Marx's theory of value and Rodbertus' views. He exposed the reactionary-utopian nature of his views on the formation of

value, his theory of "labour money" (pp. 288-89), and his statements on the ability of the modern state by means of legislative reforms to radically improve the position of the workers and to solve the social question, without touching the basis of the capitalist mode of production.

With the aim of making Marx's great work accessible to the socialists of all countries, Engels did his utmost to promote translations of *Capital* into other languages, in particular, Russian, Polish and English. He showed constant concern as to their accuracy. The present volume contains his article "How Not to Translate Marx", written in connection with the publication in the London journal *To-Day* of an English translation of a few paragraphs from chapter one of Volume I of *Capital.* The translator was the leader of the English Social-Democratic Federation H. M. Hyndman, who used the pseudonym Broadhouse. Engels demanded that the translator should possess not only a perfect knowledge of both languages, but also a profound understanding of the content of the work to be translated.

Engels was a careful observer of the development of the capitalist economy, particularly the new phenomena which emerged in it. Evidence of this can be found, among others, in the article "Protection and Free Trade" written as a preface to the American edition of Marx's "Speech on the Question of Free Trade" published on the initiative of American socialists. For the United States, where the struggle between the supporters and opponents of protectionism was continuing at this time, this publication was of great topical importance. Basing himself on an analysis of historical facts, Engels showed that whereas the protectionist system had for a certain time stimulated the development of capitalist production, with the growth of productive forces and technological progress it was becoming an obstacle to this development. "Free trade has become a necessity for the industrial capitalists," he noted (p. 536). One of the signs that protectionism had become obsolete in the United States, Engels considered, was the formation of large monopolies which, on the one hand, led to increased competition on the world market, but on the other, threatened the interests of the home consumer by setting up monopolistic prices. Engels stresses that the rapid development of capitalism, whether under protectionism or free trade, is inevitably accompanied by the growth of a revolutionary working class, "that is to say, the class which is fated one day to destroy the system itself" (p. 536).

Many of the articles published in the present volume reflect the

great attention paid by Engels to the proletarian struggle for emancipation in various countries, and to the development of the international working-class and socialist movement. As well as corresponding regularly with the leaders and active members of the movement in almost all European countries and the United States, he maintained personal contact with them. Engels readily contributed to the German, French and English socialist press. He not only had his articles printed in the German Social-Democratic newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat,* but gave daily assistance to its editors. His articles were published in the French newspaper *Le Socialiste,* the English organs *The Commonweal, The Labour Elector* and *The Labour Leader,* the German theoretical journal *Die Neue Zeit,* and others. The contents of the present volume provide a full picture of this collaboration.

Engels devoted a great deal of energy to disseminating the major theoretical works by Marx and himself. With his participation and, as a rule, under his editorship the following works were published: a German translation of *The Poverty of Philosophy* and a French translation of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* by Marx, the Italian and Danish editions of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* and many others. The present volume contains the prefaces to a new German edition (1883) prepared with Engels' participation and the English edition (1888) edited by him of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party.* In the latter he noted with satisfaction that "at present" the *Manifesto* "is undoubtedly the most widespread, the most international production of all Socialist Literature, the common platform acknowledged by millions of working men from Siberia to California" (p. 516).

Engels paid special attention to German Social-Democracy, at that time the strongest, best organised and most militant detachment of the international socialist movement, which rightly held pride of place in the latter. Engels gave it the utmost assistance to overcome reformist influences, to struggle against opportunist elements, to work out correct revolutionary tactics and to propagate scientific socialism. This assistance was all the more important because in the 1880s the party was operating in the intensely difficult conditions of the Anti-Socialist Law when its legal methods of activity were reduced to a minimum. In spite of the outstanding successes of the socialist working-class movement in Germany, it had not freed itself entirely from ideological influences alien to the interests of the working class. In the preface to the second edition of his work *The Housing Question,* published in this volume, Engels noted that "bourgeois and

petty-bourgeois socialism is strongly represented in Germany down to this very hour". And in the Social-Democratic Party itself there was "a certain petty-bourgeois socialism" (p. 427), which was explained by the special features of the country's historical development.

Considering it most important in these conditions that progressive German workers be educated in the spirit of revolutionary and internationalist traditions, Engels undertook in the 1880s the reprinting of a number of Marx's works relating to the period of the revolution of 1848-49, and also some of his own works, providing them with prefaces which are of specific scientific interest. Appearing, as a rule, in periodicals before the publication of the books for which they were intended, these prefaces, which substantiated revolutionary tactics, were extremely relevant in the conditions of the Anti-Socialist Law and were aimed directly against the opportunist elements within Social-Democracy.

In his article "Marx and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*" about the history of this newspaper, Engels reveals the special features of the Communist League's tactics in the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848-49. On the experience of the revolution he urged German Social-Democrats to struggle for the leading role of the working class in the solution of general democratic tasks, provided that it retained its independence, and spoke of the need not only to struggle against direct enemies, but also to denounce the false friends of the revolution.

The work *On the History of the Communist League* was written as an introduction to a new edition of Marx's pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.* It drew attention to one of the most vivid pages in the history of the German workers' struggle, stressing the historical continuity between the first international and German proletarian organisation, the ideological banner of which was the programme of scientific socialism, and German Social-Democracy. In so doing Engels demonstrated the invalidity of the statement that the foundations of the working-class movement in Germany were laid by Lassalle's General Association of German Workers in 1863. He noted in particular the significance of the Communist League as an organisation which had educated many active members of the international working-class movement who subsequently played a major role in the First International and the socialist parties. He emphasised the vital importance of the international solidarity of the struggling proletariat, noting with satisfaction the enormous progress made

by the working-class movement and pointing out that the theoretical principles of the League "constitute today the strongest international bond of the entire proletarian movement in both Europe and America" (p. 312).

In his preface to the pamphlet *Karl Marx Before the Cologne Jury,* containing Marx's speech at the trial of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats in February 1849, Engels described this speech as a model defence of revolutionary principles before a bourgeois court. In denouncing the hypocrisy of the ruling circles in the German Empire, who persecuted the socialist working-class movement under the guise of "legality" while actually trampling upon it, Engels defended the right of the working class to struggle against reactionary orders with revolutionary means. Engels ridiculed attempts by reactionary circles, which to some extent found support in the moods of reformist elements within the party itself, to force German Social-Democracy to renounce its ultimate aims and thereby turn it into a party of the German philistines.

These three articles of Engels, particularly *On the History of the Communist League,* are fine examples of Marxist historical research, combining a profound analysis of events of the comparatively recent past with the current problems of the struggle for emancipation of the working class.

Also included in the present volume, the article "The Ruhr Miners' Strike of 1889" shows how much importance Engels attached to the entry of new detachments of the German working class into the organised labour movement.

Engels paid increasing attention to socialist tactics in relation to the peasantry. On his initiative Wilhelm Wolff's series of articles, *The Silesian Milliard,* about the tragic state of the peasants in Silesia, printed in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1849, was published as a separate pamphlet. The article "On the History of the Prussian Peasants", also contained in this volume, was written as part of the introduction to this pamphlet.

After describing the history of the enserfment of the peasantry in Prussia, Engels showed that the abolition of feudal obligations after the revolution of 1848 was accompanied by large-scale robbery of the mass of the peasants. Consequently, the objective conditions made the peasants the natural ally of the proletariat in the struggle against the bourgeois-Junker order. The same idea also pervades the above-mentioned preface to the second edition of *The Housing Question.* Here Engels showed that the broad development of domestic industry in Germany led to the ruin of

many peasant farms. And the inevitable destruction of these industries as a result of the development of large-scale machine production would lead to the complete expropriation of a considerable section of the peasantry and put it on the path of revolutionary struggle.

An important place in the ideological education of progressive German workers and socialist intellectuals was allotted by Engels to the materialist explanation of German history in opposition to the reactionary, nationalist historiography that prevailed in the discipline at that time. An explanation of the historical roots of the reactionary practices which had grown up in Germany was also essential for a correct assessment of the policy of the ruling circles at that time. And this was extremely important for elaborating the strategy and tactics of Social-Democracy and determining its long-term activity.

In the 1880s Engels continued his studies of German history. The present volume contains two large manuscripts dealing with the history of the emergence and development of a class society among the Germans. They are based on a large amount of factual material: various historical sources, archaeological data, accounts by ancient writers, etc.

Chronologically these manuscripts belong to 1881-82, but the reason for including them in the present volume is that Engels made extensive use of them in his work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.*

The first of them, *On the Early History of the Germans,* covers the history of the Germans from the point when they appeared on the territory of present-day Europe up to the beginning of the migration of peoples. The clash of the Germanic tribes with the slave-owning Roman Empire which was declining is seen here as a major factor of social revolution, which led to the decay of the primitive-communal system of the conquerors themselves and to the emergence of a class of big land-owning feudal lords, to the development of feudalism and the formation of the Frankish state.

In the manuscript *The Frankish Period* attention is focused on the agrarian relations in the age of early feudalism in Western Europe during the reigns of the Merovingians and Carolingians. Taking the history of the Franks as an example, Engels sought to trace the formation of the foundations of feudalism, the emergence of the main classes of feudal society. Pointing out the significant role of political factors in this process, he stressed however that they "only advance and accelerate an inevitable economic process" (p. 60).

In the mid-1880s Engels began preparing a new edition of his work *The Peasant War in Germany,* in which he presented the Reformation and the Peasant War as the first, albeit unsuccessful, bourgeois revolution, as an event which largely determined the whole subsequent history of Germany. He intended to revise his book thoroughly, in particular to provide it with a detailed introduction, the draft for which is published in this volume under the editors' title *On the Decline of Feudalism and the Emergence of National States* in the section "From the Preparatory Materials". Engels showed here the process of the emergence of capitalist relations and the formation of nations and national states in Western Europe during the decline of feudalism. He also revealed the progressive centralising role of the monarchy, a counterforce to feudal anarchy.

Judging from these drafts, Engels intended to analyse the reasons why feudal fragmentation had lasted much longer in Germany than in most other European countries, which had a negative influence on her further development.

Other commitments prevented Engels from completing the work which he had begun.

The present volume also contains the unfinished work *The Role of Force in History* which deals with the history of the unification of Germany under Prussia. It was to form the fourth chapter of a pamphlet of the same name as a supplement to the chapters of *Anti-Dühring* which contain a critique of the theory of force. Engels revealed the economic and political causes which led to the unification of Germany not in a revolutionary democratic way, but "from above", by means of wars and territorial aggrandizement, "blood and iron". He gave a profound and vivid description of the German Empire, its constitution, class structure, political parties, the domestic contradictions inherent in it and also the reforms carried out by Bismarck in the 1870s. A considerable section of the work was devoted to criticising Bismarck's aggressive foreign policy, and his policy of militarising the country, which threatened to cause an all-European war.

The surviving preparatory materials for this work, its general plan and a plan of the final part, which are included in the present volume in the section "From the Preparatory Materials", indicate that Engels intended to continue his account up to the second half of the 1880s, to show the inevitability of the failure of Bismarck's domestic policies and the growing influence of revolutionary Social-Democracy.

In a number of articles in this volume, "England in 1845 and in

1885", "Appendix to the American Edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*", "The Abdication of the Bourgeoisie", and others, Engels examines the condition and prospects of the English working-class movement. Analysing the changes in the position of the English working class over the last forty years, Engels notes a certain improvement in the conditions of its life and labour, particularly of factory-workers, and also a growth in the influence of the large trade unions uniting qualified workers. With regard to the majority of the working people, however, the state of misery and insecurity of their existence was "as low as ever, if not lower" (p. 299). An analysis of the tendencies in the development of the English economy in the 1870s and 1880s led Engels to conclude that signs had appeared which heralded England's loss of her industrial monopoly in the relatively near future. He assumed that this fact would lead to the loss by the English working class of its relatively privileged position compared with that of the proletariat of other countries and would stimulate the socialist movement in England. Engels placed great hopes on the process which began in the late 1880s of drawing the broad mass of unqualified workers into an organised struggle for their rights. "It is a glorious movement," he wrote in connection with a strike by the London dockers (p. 545).

Engels' great interest in the revolutionary traditions of the struggle for emancipation of the English proletariat can be seen from his manuscript "Chartist Agitation" published here in English for the first time. In this manuscript, which is essentially a brief conspectus of the history of Chartism, the activity of its revolutionary wing headed by Ernest Jones was brought out clearly for the first time.

The material published in this volume testifies to Engels' keen interest in various aspects of the social life of the United States, in this country's remarkably rapid economic development and the special features of its history. In the summer of 1888, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Aveling and Carl Schorlemmer, he made a journey to the United States. He intended to record his impressions in travel notes, but this intention was not realised. The outlines for these notes are published in the section "From the Preparatory Materials".

Engels paid constant attention to the struggle of the working class in the United States, which assumed a particularly turbulent nature in the 1880s.

Engels maintained regular contacts with members of the American working-class movement and was well informed about its state.

Engels attached great importance to the dissemination of the ideas of scientific socialism among the American workers, and he willingly agreed to the suggestion to publish his work *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* in the United States, editing the translation of it himself. The present volume includes the article "The Labor Movement in America" written as a preface to this edition. It was translated into many languages at that time and was published in the socialist press of a number of European countries. Noting the exceptionally rapid development and wide scope of the struggle of the American proletariat and the growth of its class consciousness, and describing the working-class organisations which existed at that time in the United States, Engels stressed that most of the participants in the struggle of the working class for its rights did not have a clear, scientifically based programme and were therefore easily influenced by all manner of utopian theories which did not express their true interests. A specific feature of the working-class movement in the United States was its lack of unity, the result primarily of the diverse national composition of the proletariat. At the same time the existence of free land in the West gave the American worker illusory hopes of becoming a small proprietor. Engels made a critical analysis of the programme of the American economist Henry George, who was the leader of the United Labor Party in New York in the mid-1880s, and showed that his theory, according to which the main cause of the poverty of the broad mass of the people was private ownership of land, did not explain the essence of capitalist exploitation and could therefore not serve as a theoretical basis for the programme of a party of the working class.

Engels regarded the unification of the separate workers' organisations into "one national Labor Army, with no matter how inadequate a provisional platform, provided it be a truly working class platform" (p. 441), as the main condition for the development of the working-class movement in the United States. He therefore showed a special interest in the activity of the Knights of Labor, and believed that this organisation, then highly influential among the working masses, could become the basis of such a unification.

Engels regarded this unification as the first step towards the creation of a mass working-class party, the programme of which "must and will be essentially the same as that now adopted by the whole militant working class of Europe" (p. 440), i.e. be based on the principles of scientific socialism.

Engels criticised the Socialist Labor Party of North America which, although it proclaimed Marxist programme principles, remained—being in terms of composition to a large extent the party of German émigrés—far removed from the main mass of workers, the indigenous inhabitants of the country. He urged the party to overcome sectarian tendencies and carry on work in all the mass working-class organisations.

The volume includes several articles, "The Situation", "To the Editorial Committee of *Le Socialiste*", "On the Anniversary of the Paris Commune" and others, which characterise Engels' relations with the working-class movement in France. His regular correspondence with Paul and Laura Lafargue, and other members of the French Workers' Party, enabled him to keep constantly in touch with the events taking place in the country. Some of his letters were printed as articles in the French socialist press. Through his advice and reports in the press he helped the leaders of the party to solve theoretical problems and tactical tasks, to overcome errors of a sectarian nature and to struggle against opportunists.

He welcomed the actions of workers' deputies in parliament and the formation of a socialist faction, noting that this "was sufficient to throw the ranks of all the bourgeois parties into disarray" (p. 407).

Some of the material published here characterises Engels' attitude to the prospects for the revolutionary movement in Russia. He was deeply convinced that a democratic revolution would take place in this country in the not too distant future and would have a great influence on the whole international situation. "...Revolution ... in Russia," he said on September 19, 1888 in an interview for the socialist newspaper *New Yorker Volkszeitung,* "would revolutionise the whole European political situation" (p. 627). And in a talk with the Russian revolutionary Narodnik Hermann Lopatin five years earlier he is said by the latter to have remarked as follows: "Russia is the France of the present century. The revolutionary initiative of a *new* social reorganisation legally and rightly belongs to it" (p. 592).

A number of articles analyse the international situation and the tasks of socialist parties in the struggle against the threat of war and the arms race. In his article "The Political Situation in Europe" Engels examined the reasons for the aggravation of relations between the major European powers, stressing that their rulers saw war as a means of preventing the coming revolution. "*They see the spectre of social revolution looming up ahead of them, and*

*they know but one means of salvation: war*" (p. 416). He urged the socialists of these countries to fight for peace.

In his "Introduction to Sigismund Borkheim's pamphlet *In Memory of the German Blood-and-Thunder Patriots. 1806-1807*", Engels made a prophetic prediction of the nature, scale and consequences of the future war on the basis of an analysis of inter-state contradictions and the alignment of forces in Europe. It would be "a world war, moreover, of an extent and violence hitherto unimagined," he wrote. "Eight to ten million soldiers will be at each other's throats and in the process they will strip Europe barer than a swarm of locusts. The depredations of the Thirty Years' War compressed into three to four years and extended over the entire continent; famine, disease, the universal lapse into barbarism, both of the armies and the people, in the wake of acute misery; irretrievable dislocation of our artificial system of trade, industry and credit, ending in universal bankruptcy; collapse of the old states and their conventional political wisdom to the point where crowns will roll into the gutters by the dozen, and no one will be around to pick them up; the absolute impossibility of foreseeing how it will all end and who will emerge as victor from the battle" (p. 451).

In drawing this terrible picture of the consequences of the future war, Engels never for a moment lost his historical optimism. He foresaw that the universal exhaustion caused by the war would aggravate the contradictions inherent in capitalism and could create the conditions for the victory of the working class. Thirty years later this prediction of his found confirmation in the Great October Revolution in Russia.

Engels devoted much energy to strengthening the international relations of socialists of different countries. He took a most active part in the preparation of the International Socialist Labour Congress held in Paris in 1889. Largely thanks to his efforts the attempts of opportunist elements—the French Possibilists and the leaders of the English Social-Democratic Federation—to take over leadership of the international working-class movement were thwarted. Materials published in this volume (the article "Possibilist Credentials" and a letter to the editors of *The Labour Elector*) reflect this activity of his.

* * *

The present volume contains 41 works by Engels, six of which are published in English for the first time, including the articles

"The Situation", "The Political Situation in Europe", "Real Imperial Russian Privy Dynamiters" and others. All eight documents in the section entitled "From the Preparatory Materials" are published in English for the first time, as are six of the eight documents in the Appendices.

The material in the volume is arranged in chronological order.

In cases where an edition other than the first is taken as the basis for publication, points of divergence with the first edition are given in the footnotes.

In cases where there are different language versions of this or that work by Engels the English text is taken as the basis for publication and points of divergence are set out in the footnotes.

The explanatory words in square brackets belong to the editors.

Misprints in proper names, geographical names, statistical data, dates, etc., have, as a rule, been corrected without comment on the basis of checking the sources used by Engels. The relevant literary and documentary sources are mentioned in the footnotes and in the index of quoted and mentioned literature.

The compilation of the volume, preparation of the text and writing of the notes was by Tatiana Andrushchenko. The preface was written by Boris Tartakovsky and Tatiana Andrushchenko. Engels' manuscripts *On the Early History of the Germans, The Frankish Period* and the notes for them were prepared by Valentina Ostrikova and edited by Valentina Smirnova.

The name index, the index of periodicals and the glossary of geographical names were compiled by Georgy Volovik.

The index of quoted and mentioned literature was compiled by Tatiana Andrushchenko.

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# FREDERICK ENGELS

## WORKS

August 1882-December 1889

# MANUSCRIPTS ON EARLY GERMAN HISTORY[1]

[Draft plan]

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# [ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE GERMANS]

## CAESAR AND TACITUS

The Germans are by no means the first inhabitants of the country they now occupy.* At least three races preceded them.

The oldest traces of man in Europe are found in certain strata of southern England, which it has not yet been possible to date with accuracy, but which probably fall between the two glacial periods of the so-called Ice Age.

After the second glacial period, as the climate gradually grew warmer, man appears all over Europe, North Africa and Anterior Asia up to India, together with the extinct great pachyderms (mammoth, straight-tusked elephant, woolly rhinoceros) and carnivores (cave lion, cave bear), and with still surviving animals (reindeer, horse, hyena, lion, bison, aurochs). The tools belonging to this period indicate a very primitive level of culture—crude stone knives, lozenge-shaped stone hatchets or axes, used without handles, scrapers for the preparation of animal skins, and borers, all made of flint—approximately corresponding to the stage of development of the present aborigines of Australia. The skeletal remains found so far do not enable us to form an idea of the physique of these men, from whose wide distribution and overall uniform culture it may be inferred that this period was of very long duration.

We do not know what became of these early palaeolithic people. In none of the countries where they appeared, including India, have races survived that could be considered their representatives in present-day mankind.

* I here follow in the main Boyd Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain,* London, 1880.

In the caves of England, France, Switzerland, Belgium and Southern Germany the tools of these extinct people are found for the most part in the lowest layers of stratified deposits. Above this lowest cultural stratum, and frequently separated from it by a more or less substantial layer of stalagmite, a second tool-bearing layer is found. These tools belong to a later period and are already much more skilfully made, and also of more varied material. Although the stone implements are not yet polished, they are designed and fashioned in a manner more suited to their purpose; with them are found arrow- and spear-points of stone, reindeer antler and bone; daggers and sewing needles of bone or antler, necklaces of pierced animal teeth, etc. Individual pieces are in part ornamented with very vivid drawings of animals, reindeer, mammoth, aurochs, seal, whale, and also hunting scenes with naked people; we find even beginnings of sculpture in horn.

If early palaeolithic people appeared in the company of animals of predominantly southern origin, animals of northern origin appear with the later palaeolithic people: two still surviving kinds of northern bear, the polar fox, the wolverine, the snowy owl. These people probably came in with these animals from the north-east, and the Eskimos would appear to be their last remaining descendants in the modern world. The tools of both correspond completely, not only in detail but in the ensemble. So do the drawings; the food of both is supplied by almost exactly the same animals. Their way of life, as far as we can reconstruct it for the extinct race, corresponds exactly.

These Eskimos, who so far have only been traced north of the Pyrenees and the Alps, have also disappeared from European soil. As the American Redskins even in the last century, by an inexorable war of extermination, pressed the Eskimos back to the extreme north, so in Europe the now appearing new race seems gradually to have driven them back and eventually exterminated them without mixing with them.

This new race came from the south, at least in Western Europe; it probably penetrated from Africa into Europe at a time when the two continents were still linked by land, both at Gibraltar and at Sicily. It stood on a considerably higher stage of culture than its predecessors. It knew agriculture; it had domestic animals (dogs, horses, sheep, goats, pigs and cattle). It knew hand pottery, spinning and weaving. Although its tools were still made of stone, they were already worked with great care and for the most part polished smooth (they are distinguished as neolithic from those of the earlier periods). The axes have handles and are thus for the

first time usable for felling trees; it thus became possible to hollow out tree trunks for boats in which one could cross over to the British Isles, now separated from the continent by the gradual sinking of the ground.

In contrast to their predecessors they buried their dead with care; we therefore have sufficient skeletons and skulls to judge of their physique. The long skulls, small stature (average for women 1.46 metres, for men 1.65 metres), the low forehead, the aquiline nose, strong brows and weak cheekbones and moderately developed jaw bones indicate a race whose last modern representatives would seem to be the *Basques.* The neolithic inhabitants not only of Spain but of France, Britain and the whole region at least as far as the Rhine were in all probability of Iberian race. Before the arrival of the Aryans[2] Italy also was inhabited by a similar small, dark-haired race, the closeness of whose relationship to the Basques is today difficult to judge.

Virchow traces these long Basque skulls deep into northern Germany and Denmark,[a] and the oldest neolithic pile dwellings of the northern slopes of the Alps also belong to them. Schaaffhausen, on the other hand, declares a series of skulls found near the Rhine to be decidedly Finnish, in particular Lappish,[b] and the oldest history knows only Finns as the northern neighbours of the Germans in Scandinavia, of the Lithuanians and Slavs in Russia. These two small, dark-haired races, one from beyond the Mediterranean, the other directly from Asia north of the Caspian Sea, appear to have run into one another in Germany. It remains totally obscure in what circumstances this took place.

These various immigrations were eventually followed, also still in prehistoric times, by that of the last great stock, the *Aryans,* the peoples whose languages are grouped around the most ancient of them, Sanscrit. The earliest immigrants were the Greeks and Latins, who took possession of the two south-eastern peninsulas of Europe; in addition probably also the now lost Scythians, inhabitants of the steppes north of the Black Sea, very likely most closely related to the tribes of the Medes and Persians. Then the Celts followed. We know of their migrations only that they took

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[a] *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte.* Jahrg. 1878.— *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.* Vol. X, Berlin, 1878, pp. 418-24. Quoted in W. B. Dawkins, op. cit., p. 314.— *Ed.*

[b] H. Schaaffhausen [Paper presented to the Sixth General Congress of the German Society of Anthropology, Ethnology and Early History on August 11, 1875], *Correspondenz-Blatt der deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte,* Brunswick, Munich, 1875 [Supplement], pp. 67, 81.— *Ed.*

place north of the Black Sea and by way of Germany. Their vanguard pressed through to France, conquered the country to the Garonne and subjugated even a part of western and central Spain. They were brought to a halt, here by the sea, there by the resistance of the Iberians, while behind them other Celtic tribes from both sides of the Danube pressed after them. They are known to Herodotus here at the ocean coast and at the sources of the Danube.[3] But they must have arrived much earlier. The graves and other finds from France and Belgium prove that the Celts did not know any metal tools when they took possession of the country; in Britain, however, they appear from the beginning with bronze tools. Between the conquest of Gaul and the move to Britain a certain time must have gone by, during which the Celts acquired the knowledge of bronze, through their trading connections with Italy and Marseilles, and introduced it at home.

In the meantime the Celtic peoples behind them, themselves pressed by the Germans, were pressing more and more strongly; before them the ways were barred, and thus a move in a south-easterly direction took place, as we find later also with the Germanic and Slav migrations. Celtic tribes crossed the Alps, moved through Italy, the Thracian Peninsula and Greece, and either met with destruction or found permanent settlement in the Po plain and in Asia Minor. The mass of the tribe is found about that time (−400 to −300*) in Gaul, as far as the Garonne, in Britain and Ireland, and north of the Alps on both sides of the Danube, as far as the Main and the Riesengebirge, if not beyond. For, even if Celtic mountain and river names are less frequent and more disputed in North Germany than in the south, it is not to be assumed that the Celts only chose the more difficult way through mountainous South Germany without at the same time using the more convenient way through the open North German plain.

The Celtic immigration only partially displaced the existing inhabitants; especially in the south and west of Gaul these still formed the majority of the population, even if as an oppressed race, and the present population has inherited their physique. It is clear from the custom of bleaching the hair with soap existing among both Celts and Germans in their new places of settlement that both dominated over a pre-existing dark-haired population. Fair hair was a feature of the ruling race, and where this was lost through mixing of the races, soap had to come to the aid.

* I distinguish the years *before* our era mathematically, by a minus sign (−), for brevity's sake.

The Celts were followed by the Germans, and here we can determine the time of their immigration with some probability, at least approximately. It will hardly have begun long before −400 and was not yet quite completed in Caesar's time.

About the year −325 Pytheas' account of his voyage gives us the first authentic information on the Germans.[4] He went from Marseilles to the Amber coast and there mentions Guttons and Teutons, without doubt German peoples. But where was the Amber coast? It is true that we usually think only of the East Prussian one, and when Guttons are named as neighbours of that coast that certainly fits. However, the distances given by Pytheas do not fit this region but fit rather well the great bay of the North Sea between the North German coast and the Cimbric Peninsula.[a] The Teutons, also named as neighbours, fit in there, too. There—on the western side of Schleswig and Jutland—is another Amber coast; Ringkjöbing to this day has a considerable trade in the amber found there. It also seems most improbable that Pytheas should so early have already penetrated so far into quite unknown waters, and still more so that the complicated voyage from the Kattegat to East Prussia should not only remain entirely without mention in his very careful statements, but not fit into them at all. One should therefore decidedly declare for the view, first pronounced by Lelewel, that Pytheas' Amber coast must be sought on the North Sea,[b] were it not for the name of Guttons, who can only belong to the Baltic. A step towards removing this last obstacle has been taken by Müllenhoff, who reads Guttons as a distortion of Teutons.[c]

About 180 before our era the Bastarnae, undoubtedly Germans, appear on the lower Danube and a few years later are noted as soldiers in the army of the Macedonian King Perseus against the Romans—the first mercenaries. They are savage warriors:

> "Men who do not know how to plough or sail the seas, who did not follow the life of herdsmen, but who were ever practising one business and one art, that of fighting and conquering their antagonists."

It is Plutarch who gives us this first information of the way of life of a German people.[d] Centuries later we find these same Bastarnae north of the Danube, although in a more westerly

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[a] Jutland.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Lelewel, *Pythéas de Marseille et la géographie de son temps,* Brussels, 1836, pp. 59-60.—*Ed.*

[c] K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde,* Vol. 1, Berlin, 1870, p. 479.—*Ed.*

[d] Plutarchus, *Vitae parallelae: Aemilius Paullus,* 12, 2.—*Ed.*

region. Fifty years later Cimbri and Teutons broke into the Celtic Danube region, were repelled by the Celtic Boii, living in Bohemia, moved in several bands to Gaul and into Spain, and defeated one Roman army after another until at last Marius put an end to their almost twenty years of migration by destroying their no doubt already greatly weakened troops, the Teutons at Aix-en-Provence (−102) and the Cimbri at Vercelli in Northern Italy (−101).

Half a century later Caesar met two new German armies in Gaul: first, on the Upper Rhine, that of Ariovistus in which seven different peoples were represented, including the Marcomanni and Suebi; soon afterwards, on the lower Rhine, that of the Usipetes and Tencteri, who, pressed by the Suebi, had left their former seats and reached the Rhine after wandering for three years. Both armies succumbed to orderly Roman warfare, the Usipetes and the Tencteri also to Roman breach of treaty. In the first years of Augustus, Dio Cassius reports an invasion of Thrace by the Bastarnae; Marcus Crassus defeated them on the Hebrus (the present-day Maritza). The same historian also mentions a move of the Hermunduri, who at the beginning of our era left their homeland for unknown reasons and were settled by the Roman general Domitius Ahenobarbus "in a part of the country of the Marcomanni".[a] These are the last migrations of that epoch. The consolidation of Roman rule on the Rhine and the Danube put a stop to them for quite a long time; but there are many signs which indicate that the peoples of the north-east, beyond the Elbe and the Riesengebirge, did not achieve permanent settlement for a long time.

These expeditions of Germans formed the first act of that migration of peoples[5] which, halted for three centuries by Roman resistance, towards the end of the third century swept irresistibly across the two border rivers, flooded Southern Europe and Northern Africa and only came to an end with the conquest of Italy by the Langobardi in 568—an end in so far as the Germans took part in them, but not for the Slavs, who long remained in movement in their rear. These were literally migrations of peoples. Entire peoples, or at least large parts of them, went on the move with wife and child, with goods and chattels. Wagons covered in skins served as dwellings and for the transport of women and children as well as of the paltry household effects; the

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[a] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana,* LI, 24; LV, 10a. Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit...,* pp. 265-66, 307.— *Ed.*

cattle were driven along with them. The men were armed and ready to overcome any resistance, to repel any attack; a military host by day, a military camp fortified by the wagons at night. The human losses during these moves, through constant fighting, through misery, hunger and sickness, must have been colossal. It was a life-and-death adventure. If the move succeeded, the survivors settled on foreign soil; if it failed, the migrating tribe disappeared from the earth. Those who were not killed in the slaughter of battle perished in slavery. The Helvetii and their allies, whose migration was halted by Caesar, started out with 368,000 head, including 92,000 fit to bear arms. After their defeat by the Romans only 110,000 were left, whom Caesar, exceptionally, sent back home, for political reasons. The Usipetes and Tencteri crossed the Rhine with 180,000 head; almost all of them perished in battle or fleeing from pursuit. No wonder that during this long period of migration entire tribes often disappeared without trace.

This migratory way of life of the Germans is fully matched by the conditions Caesar found on the Rhine. The Rhine was by no means a sharply defined border between Gauls and Germans. Belgic-Gallic Menapii had villages and fields on the right bank of the Rhine in the area of Wesel; on the other hand, the part of the Maas delta, on the left bank of the Rhine, was occupied by the German Batavi, and round Worms as far as Strassburg there lived German Vangiones, Tribocci and Nemetes, whether since Ariovistus or even earlier is uncertain. The Belgae made constant wars upon the Germans, everywhere territory was still disputed. As yet no Germans were living south of the Main and the Erzgebirge; only shortly before, the Helvetii had been driven by the Suebi from the region between Main, Rhine, Danube and the Bohemian Forest, as had the Boii from Bohemia (Boihemum), which bears their name to this day. The Suebi did not occupy the land, however; they transformed it into that wooded wilderness, 600 Roman[a] (150 German) miles long, which was to protect them from the south. Further east Caesar indicated more Celts (Volcae Tectosages) north of the Danube, where Tacitus later places the German Quadi.[b] Not until Augustus' time did Maroboduus lead his Suebian Marcomanni to Bohemia, while the Romans cut off the angle between Rhine and Danube with entrenchments and

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[a] The Roman mile equals approximately 1.5 km.— *Ed.*

[b] Caesar, *Commentarii de bello Gallico,* VI, 24, 2; Tacitus, *Germania,* 42. Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* pp. 215, 669-70.— *Ed.*

peopled it with Gauls. The area beyond this fortified frontier seems to have been settled by Hermunduri. This shows conclusively that the Germans moved to Germany via the plains north of the Carpathians and the Bohemian border mountains; only after they had occupied the northern plains did they drive the Celts, who lived in the mountains more to the south, across the Danube.

The way of life of the Germans as described by Caesar also proves that they were by no means yet settled in their country. They lived in the main by raising cattle, on cheese, milk and meat, less on corn; the chief occupation of the men was hunting and military training. They tilled the soil a little, but only as a sideline and in the most primitive forest fashion. Caesar reports that they worked the fields for just one year, the next year always taking new land under the plough.[a] It seems to have been slash-and-burn cultivation, as is still practised today in northern Scandinavia and Finland; the forest—and outside the forest there were only swamps and peet-bogs, in those days useless for agriculture—was burnt down, the roots superficially removed and also burnt, together with the turf; the corn was sown into the soil fertilised by the ash. But even in that case Caesar's statement on the annual renewal of arable land is not to be taken literally and as a rule is to be understood as applying to a habitual passing on to new land after at least two or three harvests. The entire passage, the un-German distribution of land by princes and officials, and particularly the motivation attributed to the Germans for this rapid change, smacks of Roman concepts. This change of land was inexplicable to the Romans. To the Rhenish Germans, already in the process of transition to permanent settlement, it may already have appeared as an inherited custom, more and more losing purpose and meaning. To the Germans of the interior, the Suebi who were just arriving on the Rhine, and for whom it was mainly valid, it was still, however, an essential condition of a way of life by which the whole people moved slowly forward in whatever direction and at whatever pace the resistance they met permitted. Their constitution, too, was tailored to this way of life: the Suebi were divided into a hundred districts, every one of which supplied a thousand men annually to the army, while the rest of the men stayed at home, looking after cattle and fields and taking their turn in the army the second year. The mass of the people, with the women and children, only followed the army when it had

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[a] Caesar, op. cit., IV, 1, VI, 22. Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, pp. 163, 214.— *Ed.*

conquered new territory. This is already an advance towards settlement compared with the migrating hosts of the time of the Cimbri.

Caesar speaks repeatedly of the custom of the Germans to make themselves secure on the side facing an enemy, that is any alien people, by deep forest wildernesses.[a] This is the same custom which lasted into the late Middle Ages. The Saxons north of the Elbe were protected by the border forest between Eider and Schlei (Old Danish *Jarnwidhr*) against the Danes, by the Saxon forest between the Bay of Kiel and the Elbe against the Slavs, and the Slav name of Brandenburg, *Branibor*, is again only a designation of such a protective forest (Czech *braniti*—to defend, *bor*—pine and pinewood).

After all that there can be no doubt about the stage of civilisation of the Germans encountered by Caesar. They were far from being nomads in the sense of the contemporary Asiatic horse-riding peoples. Nomads need the steppe, and the Germans were living in the virgin forest. But they were equally far removed from the stage of settled peasant peoples. Strabo, sixty years later, still says of them:

> "It is a common characteristic of all these" (Germanic) "peoples that they *migrate* with ease, because of their simple way of life, for they do not till the soil or accumulate wealth; they live in huts which they can build in one day; and they live for the most part off their livestock, as the nomads do, and like the nomads they load their belongings on their wagons and with their herds move whithersoever they think best."[b]

Comparative language studies prove that they had already brought with them from Asia a knowledge of agriculture; Caesar shows that they had not forgotten it. But it was the kind of agriculture that serves semi-nomadic warrior tribes, slowly proceeding through the wooded plains of central Europe, as a makeshift and subordinate source of livelihood.

It follows from the above that in Caesar's time the immigration of the Germans into their new homeland between Danube, Rhine and North Sea was not yet completed or was at most in process of completion. That is by no means to say that at the time of Pytheas, Teutons, and perhaps also Cimbri, could not have reached the Jutland Peninsula, or the furthest advanced Germans the Rhine, as may be concluded from the absence of any signs of their arrival. A way of life compatible only with constant movement,

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[a] Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, p. 164.— *Ed.*

[b] Strabo, *Geographica*, VII, 1. Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, pp. 373-74.—*Ed.*

repeated moves to the west and south and lastly the fact that Caesar encountered the largest mass known to him, the Suebi, still in full movement, admit only one conclusion: obviously, we have here glimpses of the last moments of the great Germanic immigration into their main European settlement area. It was the Roman resistance on the Rhine and later on the Danube which put an end to this movement, confined the Germans to the region they were then occupying, and thus forced them to adopt permanent habitation.

For the rest, our ancestors, as Caesar saw them, were proper barbarians. They only allowed merchants into the country to secure purchasers for their booty rather than to buy anything from them; for what need had they for foreign things, anyway? They even preferred their ill-favoured ponies to the fine, strong horses of the Gauls. The Suebi suffered no importation of wine whatever, believing the men were thereby rendered effeminate.[a] In this respect their Bastarnae cousins were more civilised; on the occasion of their invasion of Thrace[b] they sent envoys to Crassus, who made them drunk and elicited from them all he needed to know concerning the positions and intentions of the Bastarnae, whom he then lured into an ambush and destroyed. Even before the battle on the Idistavisus (16 of our era) Germanicus described the Germans to his soldiers as without armour or helmets, protected only by shields made of wicker or light boards, only the first rank having real lances, posterior ranks nothing but sharpened poles hardened by fire.[c] Metal working was then therefore still scarcely known to the inhabitants of the Weser region, and the Romans will have taken good care not to let merchants carry arms into Germany.

Fully a century and a half after Caesar, Tacitus gives us his famous description of the Germans.[d] Here much already looks quite different. As far as the Elbe and beyond, the migrating tribes had come to a halt and settled down permanently. To be sure, for a long time there was still no question of towns; settlement was made in villages consisting of individual farmsteads, either widely spaced or close together, but even in the latter case every house was free standing in its own space. Houses were built without quarry-stones or roof-tiles, roughly put together of

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[a] See *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, p. 164.— *Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 11.—*Ed.*
[c] Tacitus, *Annales,* II, 14. Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, pp. 457-58.—*Ed.*
[d] Tacitus, *Germania,* 16. See *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, pp. 655-56.— *Ed.*

untrimmed timber (*materia informi* must here mean this in contrast to *caementa* and *tegulae*); blockhouses, as still in northern Scandinavia, but no longer huts which can be built in one day, as with Strabo.[a] We shall deal later with the agrarian constitution. The Germans also already had subterranean storage chambers, a kind of cellar where they dwelt in the winter for warmth and where the women practised weaving, according to Pliny.[b] Agriculture is therefore already more important, but cattle is still the chief wealth; it is numerous, but of poor breed, the horses ugly and no runners, sheep and cattle small, the latter without horns. Under "nourishment" meat, milk and crab apples are listed, but no bread. Hunting was no longer much practised, hence the stock of game was already much reduced since Caesar. Clothing was also still very primitive, a rough blanket for the mass, otherwise naked (almost as among the Zulu Kaffirs), but the wealthiest already had closely fitting clothes; animal skins were also used; the women dressed much like the men, but already more often wore linen garments without sleeves. The children all ran about naked. Reading and writing were unknown, but one passage indicates that priests were already using runes, characters derived from the Latin, which they cut into wooden staves.[c] Gold and silver were not treasured by the Germans of the interior, silver vessels presented by Romans to princes and envoys served the same common uses as earthenware. The insignificant trade was by simple barter.

The men still had the custom common to all primitive peoples of leaving the work in the home and field to the women, old people and children, as something unmanly. They had, however, adopted two civilised customs: drinking and gambling, and they practised both with all the abandon of untouched barbarians, gambling to the extreme of throwing dice for their own persons. In the interior their drink was barley or wheat beer; if schnapps had already been invented, world history might well have taken a different course.

At the borders of Roman territory further progress had been made: imported wine was drunk; to some extent people had become used to money, preference naturally being given to silver, as more handy for limited exchange, and, according to barbarian

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[a] Strabo, *Geographica,* VII, 1. Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* pp. 373-74.—*Ed.*

[b] Plinius, *Naturalis historia,* XIX, 1. Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* p. 716.—*Ed.*

[c] Tacitus, *Germania,* 10. See *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* p. 651.—*Ed.*

custom, to coin with a stamp well-known of old. We shall see that they had good cause for such precaution. Trade with the Germans was only conducted on the banks of the Rhine itself; only the Hermunduri, straddling the Limes Germanicus, went at this time in and out of Gaul and Rhaetia for trading purposes.

Hence the first great phase of German history, the final transition from a migratory life to permanent habitations, occurred in the period between Caesar and Tacitus, at least for the greater part of the people, from the Rhine to far beyond the Elbe. The names of the individual tribes begin more or less to coalesce with certain tracts of land. Information from ancient writers being contradictory, and names fluctuating and changing, it is, however, often impossible to assign a definite settlement area to every tribe. It would also lead us too far from our subject. A general statement found in Pliny must suffice here:

"There are five principal Germanic stocks: the *Vindili,* who include the Burgundiones, Varini, Carini and Guttons; the second stock consists of the *Ingaevones,* including the Cimbri, Teutons and the tribes of the Chauci. The *Iscaevones,* including the Sugambri, live close to the Rhine. The *Hermiones,* comprising the Suebi, Hermunduri, Chatti and Cherusci, occupy the middle of the country. The fifth stock comprises the Peucini, and the Bastarnae, whose neighbours are the Dacians." [a]

A sixth branch may be added to these: the Hilleviones, living in Scandinavia.[b]

Of all the information we gather from the ancient writers this fits best with the later facts and with the preserved linguistic remains.

The Vindili comprise peoples of the *Gothic* tongue who occupied the Baltic coast between Elbe and Vistula and deep inland; the Guttons (Goths) were settled beyond the Vistula around the Frische Haff. The scarce linguistic remains which have been preserved leave not the slightest doubt that the Vandals (who must have formed part of Pliny's Vindili, since he transfers their name to the whole main stock) and the Burgundians spoke Gothic dialects. Only the Warni (or Varini), who are usually, on the basis of information from the 5 and 6 centuries, reckoned among the Thuringians, can cause doubts; we know nothing of their language.

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[a] Plinius, *Naturalis historia,* IV, 14. Quoted in J. Grimm's *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache,* Vol. 2, Leipzig, 1848, p. 830.— *Ed.*

[b] Engels marks the passage from "Peucini..." to "Scandinavia" with a vertical line in the margin of his manuscript.— *Ed.*

The second stock, the Ingaevones, first of all includes peoples speaking the *Frisian* tongues, inhabitants of the North Sea coast and the Cimbric Peninsula, and most probably also speakers of the Saxon tongue between Elbe and Weser, in which case the Cherusci must also be reckoned among them.

The Iscaevones are at once singled out by the Sugambri, who joined them, as the later Franks, the inhabitants of the right bank of the Rhine from the Taunus down to the sources of the Lahn, Sieg, Ruhr, Lippe and Ems, bordered on the north by Frisians and Chauci.

The Hermiones, or Herminones, as Tacitus calls them more correctly,[a] are the later High Germans: the Hermunduri (Thuringians), Suebi (Swabians and Marcomanni-Bavarians), Chatti (Hessians), etc. The Cherusci are without doubt placed here in error. It is the only indubitable error in the whole of Pliny's list.

The fifth stock, Peucini and Bastarnae, is lost. No doubt Jacob Grimm is right in reckoning it to the Gothic.[b]

Finally, the sixth stock, the Hilleviones, comprises the inhabitants of the Danish islands and the great Scandinavian peninsula.

Hence the division of Pliny corresponds with surprising accuracy to the grouping of the German dialects which later actually appear. We know no dialects which do not belong to either Gothic, Frisian-Low Saxon, Franconian, High German or Scandinavian, and even today we can still acknowledge Pliny's division as exemplary. I shall examine anything that might possibly be said against it in my note on the German peoples.[c]

We must therefore conceive of the original immigration of the Germans into their new homeland approximately as follows: In the first instance the Iscaevones advanced into the middle of the North German plain, between the southern mountains and the Baltic and North seas; close after them, but nearer to the coast, the Ingaevones. These appear to have been followed by the Hilleviones, who turned off to the islands, however. They are followed by the Goths (Pliny's Vindili), who left the Peucini and Bastarnae behind in the south-east; the Gothic name in Sweden testifies that individual sections joined the migrating Hilleviones. Finally, south of the Goths, the Herminones, who, at least for the greater part, moved only in Caesar's and even Augustus' time

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[a] See *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, p. 647.— *Ed.*

[b] J. Grimm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 462.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 44-57.—*Ed.*

into their settlements, which they retained until the migration of peoples.[a]

## THE FIRST BATTLES AGAINST ROME

Since Caesar, Romans and Germans faced each other across the Rhine, and since the subjection of Rhaetia, Noricum and Pannonia by Augustus across the Danube. In the meantime Roman rule had been consolidated in Gaul; Agrippa had covered the whole country with a network of military roads, fortresses had been built, a new generation, born under the Roman yoke, had grown up. Brought into the most direct communication with Italy by the Alpine roads over the Little and Great St. Bernard, built by Augustus, Gaul could serve as the base for the conquest of Germania from the Rhine. Augustus entrusted his stepson (or real son?) Drusus with the accomplishment of this conquest with the eight legions stationed on the Rhine.

Pretexts were provided by constant friction among the border-dwellers, by German intrusions into Gaul and by an alleged or actual conspiracy of the disaffected Belgae with the Sugambri, according to which the latter were to cross the Rhine and effect a general rising. Drusus made sure of the Belgic leaders (−12), crossed the river close by the island of Batavia above the Rhine delta, devastated the country of the Usipetes and partly that of the Sugambri, sailed down the Rhine, forced the Frisians to supply him with auxiliary foot soldiers and sailed with the fleet along the coast and into the mouth of the Ems to make war on the Chauci. But here his Roman seamen, unaccustomed to the tides, grounded the fleet during the ebb; he got it free only with the help of the allied Frisian troops, who were better acquainted with the matter, and returned home.

This first campaign was only an extensive reconnaissance. In the following year (−11) he began the actual conquest. He crossed the Rhine again below the mouth of the Lippe, subjugated the Usipetes living there, threw a bridge across the Lippe and invaded the country of the Sugambri, who had just taken the field against the Chatti because these did not want to join the alliance against the Romans under the leadership of the Sugambri. On the confluence of the Lippe and the Eliso he then made a fortified camp (Aliso) and retreated again across the Rhine when winter

[a] In the manuscript Engels inserted in pencil: "Here follows the chapter on the agrarian and military constitutions."[6] — *Ed.*

approached. During this retreat he was ambushed in a narrow defile by the Germans, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that his army escaped annihilation. This year he also made another fortified camp "in the land of the Chatti, close to the Rhine".[a]

This second campaign of Drusus already contains the complete plan of conquest as it was afterwards consistently followed. The region immediately to be conquered was fairly sharply delimited: the Iscaevonian interior to the border with the Cherusci and Chatti and the coastal strip belonging to it as far as the Ems, if possible to the Weser. The main job of subjecting the coastlands was allotted to the fleet. In the south, the base of operations was Mainz, founded by Agrippa and extended by Drusus, in the neighbourhood of which we must look for the fort built "in the land of the Chatti" (nowadays it is being sought in the Saalburg at Homburg). From here the course of the lower Main leads into the open country of the Wetterau and the upper Lahn, the occupation of which would separate Iscaevones and Chatti. In the centre of the front of attack the flat country through which the Lippe flows and particularly the broad ridge of hills between the Lippe and the Ruhr offered the most convenient line of operations to the main Roman force; by its occupation it could divide the region to be conquered into two approximately equal areas and at the same time separate the Bructeri from the Sugambri. From this position it could coordinate its action with the fleet, on the left; together with the column debouching from the Wetterau isolate the Iscaevonian slate mountains on the right, and in front keep the Cherusci in check. The fort of Aliso formed the most advanced stronghold of this line of operations; it was situated near the sources of the Lippe, either at Elsen near Paderborn at the confluence of the Alme and the Lippe, or at Lippstadt, where a big Roman fort has recently been discovered.[b]

In the following year (−10) the Chatti, realising the common danger, at last allied themselves to the Sugambri. But Drusus attacked and forced them into subjection, at least in part. This cannot have outlasted the winter, however, for in the next spring (−9) he attacked once more, advanced as far as the Suebi (i.e., probably Thuringians, according to Florus and Orosius also

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[a] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana,* LIV, 33. See *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* p. 276.—*Ed.*

[b] See H. von Abendroth, *Terrainstudien zu dem Rückzuge des Varus und den Feldzügen des Germanicus,* Leipzig, 1862, p. 8.— *Ed.*

Marcomanni,[a] who at that time still lived north of the Erzgebirge), then attacked the Cherusci, crossed the Weser and only turned back at the Elbe. He devastated the whole land he moved through, but met everywhere with heavy resistance. On the way back he died, thirty years old, even before he reached the Rhine.

To the above account, taken from Dio Cassius, we add from Suetonius that Drusus had the canal dug from the Rhine to the Ijssel by which he led his fleet to the North Sea through Frisia and the Flevo (Vliestrom—the present fairway between Vlieland and Terschelling, out of the Zuider Zee)[b]; from Florus, that he erected over 50 forts along the Rhine and a bridge at Bonn and also fortified the line of the Maas, thus securing the position of the Rhenish legions both against risings of the Gauls and against incursions of the Germans. Florus' fables of forts and earthworks on the Weser and Elbe are empty boasting[c]; he [Drusus] may have thrown up entrenchments there during his marches, but he was too good a general to leave even a single man as garrison there. But there is surely no doubt that he had the line of operations along the Lippe provided with fortified bases. He also fortified the passes over the Taunus.

Tiberius, Drusus' successor on the Rhine, crossed the river in the following year (−8); the Germans, except the Sugambri, sent peace negotiators; Augustus, who was in Gaul, refused all negotiations as long as the Sugambri were not represented. When at last they also sent envoys, "numerous and respected men", says Dio, Augustus had them taken prisoner and interned them in various towns in the interior of the empire; "distressed at this, they took their own lives".[d] In the following year (−7), Tiberius went again with an army to Germania, where already nothing had any longer to be combated, except a few insignificant instances of unrest. Velleius says of this time:

> "Tiberius so subdued the country (Germania) that it differed but little from a tributary province."[e]

This success will probably have to be attributed not only to Roman arms and to the much vaunted diplomatic "wisdom" of

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[a] Florus, *Epitomae de Tito Livio,* IV, 12, 21-40 and Orosius, *Historiae adversus paganos,* VI, 21. See *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* pp. 279-80.— *Ed.*

[b] Dio Cassius, op. cit., LV, 1, 2; Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum: Claudius,* 1. See *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* pp. 276-77, 280-81.— *Ed.*

[c] See *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* pp. 279-80.— *Ed.*

[d] Dio Cassius, op. cit., LV, 6. Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* pp. 304-05.—*Ed.*

[e] Velleius Paterculus, *Historia Romana,* II, 97. Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* p. 305.—*Ed.*

Tiberius, but in particular to the transplanting of Germans to the Roman bank of the Rhine. Already Agrippa had shifted the Ubii, who were always much attached to the Romans, to the left bank of the Rhine at Cologne, with their consent. Tiberius forced 40,000 Sugambri to go over and settle, and with that he broke this powerful people's strength to resist for a considerable time.

Tiberius now retired for some time from all affairs of state and we learn nothing of what went on in Germany during several years. A fragment from Dio tells of a move of Domitius Ahenobarbus from the Danube to beyond the Elbe.[a] Soon after that, however, about the first year of our era, the Germans rose. According to Velleius' statements, Marcus Vinicius, the Roman supreme commander, fought on the whole with success and in recognition received rewards.[b] Nevertheless, in the year 4, soon after his adoption by Augustus, Tiberius had to cross the Rhine once more to restore the shaken Roman power. He subjected first the Canninefates and Chattuari, living next to the river, then the Bructeri, and "won over" the Cherusci. Further details are not given by Velleius, who participated in this and the following campaigns. The mild winter allowed the legions to remain in movement until December; then they went into winter quarters in Germany itself, probably at the sources of the Lippe.

The campaign of the following year (5) was to complete the subjugation of western Germany. While Tiberius advanced from Aliso and defeated the Langobardi on the lower Elbe, the fleet sailed along the coast and "won over" the Chauci. On the lower Elbe the army met the fleet sailing up the river. With the success of this campaign the work of the Romans in the north appeared to be done, according to Velleius[c]; in the following year Tiberius turned to the Danube, where the Marcomanni, who had recently moved to Bohemia under Maroboduus, were threatening the frontier. Educated in Rome and familiar with Roman tactics, Maroboduus had an army of 70,000 foot and 4,000 cavalry, organised on the Roman pattern. Tiberius attacked this army on the Danube in the front, while Sentius Saturninus was to lead the legions from the Rhine through the country of the Chatti into the rear and the flank of the enemy. Then the Pannonians rose in Tiberius' own rear, and the army had to turn and reconquer its

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[a] See *Die Geschichtschreiber..,* p. 307.— *Ed.*

[b] Velleius Paterculus, op. cit., II, 104. See *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* pp. 309-10.— *Ed.*

[c] Ibid., II, 109. See *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* pp. 313-14.—*Ed.*

base of operations. The fighting lasted three years; but the Pannonians had only just been defeated when in northern Germany things also took such a turn that there could no longer be any question of conquests in the land of the Marcomanni.

Drusus' plan of conquest had been fully retained; but to carry it out in security, campaigns by land and by sea had become necessary as far as the Elbe. In the plan of campaign against Maroboduus the idea transpired of shifting the border to the Little Carpathians, the Riesengebirge and the Elbe as far as its mouth; but for the time being that was still in the remote future and soon became quite impracticable. We do not know how far up the Wetterau Roman forts may have reached; to all appearances this line of operations was at the time neglected in favour of the more important line along the Lippe. There, however, the Romans appeared to have made themselves fairly well at home. The Rhine plain on the right bank from Bonn downwards belonged to them; the Westphalian lowland from the Ruhr northwards to beyond the Ems, to the borders of the Frisians and the Chauci, remained in military occupation. In the rear, Batavi and Frisians were at that time still reliable friends; further west the Chauci, Cherusci and Chatti could be held to be mastered sufficiently, after their repeated defeats and after the blow which had also struck the Langobardi. And in any case, in those three peoples a fairly powerful party existed at the time which saw salvation only in joining Rome. In the south, the power of the Sugambri was broken for the time being; part of their territory, between Lippe and Ruhr, and also in the Rhine plain, was occupied, the rest was surrounded on three sides by the Roman positions on the Rhine, the Ruhr and in the Wetterau, and certainly often enough traversed by Roman columns. In the direction of the Lippe sources, from Neuwied to the Sieg, from Deutz and Neuss to the Wupper, Roman roads leading over dominating mountain ridges have recently been traced at least as far as the border of Berg and Mark.[a] Still further off the Hermunduri, in agreement with Domitius Ahenobarbus, occupied part of the area abandoned by the Marcomanni and were in peaceful intercourse with the Romans. And, finally, the well-known disunity of the German peoples justified the expectation that the Romans would only have to conduct such minor wars as

[a] See J. Schneider, *Die römischen Militärstraßen an der Lippe und das Castell Aliso. Nach eigenen Lokalforschungen dargestellt,* Düsseldorf, 1878.— *Ed.*

they themselves must have thought desirable for the purpose of gradually transforming their allies into subjects.

The core of the Roman position was the country on both sides of the Lippe as far as the Osning. Here Roman rule and Roman customs were made acceptable by the constant presence of the legions in fortified camps and "virtually transformed" the barbarians, according to Dio.[a] Here, near the permanent army quarters, there arose those towns and markets of which the same historian writes and whose peaceful intercourse contributed most to the consolidation of the alien rule. Everything seemed to go splendidly. But it was to be otherwise.

Quintilius Varus was appointed supreme commander of the troops in Germany. A Roman of the beginning decline, phlegmatic and indolent, inclined to rest on the laurels of his predecessors, and still more to take advantage of these laurels for himself.

> "That he was no despiser of money is demonstrated by his governorship of Syria: he entered the rich province a poor man, but left it a rich man and the province poor" (Velleius).[b]

Otherwise he was "a man of mild character"; but this mild character must have been greatly upset by the transfer to a country where extortion was made so difficult for him because there was almost nothing to extort. Varus nevertheless tried, and that by the method which had long become customary with Roman proconsuls and propraetors.[7] First of all it was necessary as quickly as possible to arrange the occupied part of Germany on the footing of a Roman province, to replace the indigenous public authority, which had hitherto continued to function under the military rule, by Roman authority and thus to turn the country into a source of revenue—both for the fisc and for the proconsul. Varus accordingly tried to "transform" the Germans "more rapidly and effectively". He "issued orders to them as if they were slaves and exacted money as he would from subject nations" (Dio).[c] And the main instrument of subjugation and extortion he used there was the well-tried one of the power of supreme judge exercised by Roman provincial governors, which he here arrogated to himself and on the strength of which he sought to force Roman law on the Germans.

Unfortunately Varus and his civilising mission were nearly one and a half thousand years in advance of history; for that was

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[a] Dio Cassius, op. cit., LVI, 18. Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, p. 326.— *Ed.*

[b] Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, p. 321.— *Ed.*

[c] Dio Cassius, op. cit., LVI, 18. Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, p. 326.—*Ed.*

roughly how long it was before Germany was ready to "receive Roman law".[8] In fact, Roman law with its classical dissection of private property relations must have appeared as pure nonsense to the Germans, whose title to the little private property that had developed amongst them derived solely from their common property in land. Similarly the solemn forms and procedural challenges, the constant adjournments that are a feature of Roman legal proceedings, must have seemed to them, who were used to finding judgment and sentence themselves in open public court within a few hours according to inherited custom, as just so much denial of justice; just as the swarm of officials and legal sharks surrounding the proconsul must have seemed to them what they in fact were—nothing but cut-throats. And now the Germans were supposed to surrender their free Thing, where fellow tribesmen judged fellow tribesman, and submit to the peremptory sentence of a single man who conducted the proceedings in a foreign language, and who at best based himself on a law unknown and quite inapplicable to them—and who himself was an interested party. The free German, whom according to Tacitus only a priest could physically chastise in seldom cases,[a] who could forfeit life and limb only through treason against his people, but could otherwise atone for every offence, even murder, by a fine (*wergeld*), and who was moreover used to exercising blood revenge for himself and his relations on his own—this free German was now supposed to submit to the scourge and the axe of the Roman lictor.[9] And all for no other reason than to throw the doors wide open to the exchequer bleeding the land white through taxation, and to the extortion and corruption of the proconsul and his accomplices.

But Varus had miscalculated. The Germans were no Syrians. He impressed them with his enforced Roman civilisation only in one respect. He merely showed the neighbouring peoples pressed into alliance what an intolerable yoke awaited them also, and thus forced on them a unity which they had never before been able to achieve.

Varus stood in Germany with three legions, Asprenas with another two on Lower Rhine, only five or six marches from Aliso, the centre of the position. In the face of such a force only a long and carefully prepared, but then suddenly struck, decisive blow offered a prospect of success. Conspiracy was therefore imperative. Arminius undertook to organise it.

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[a] Tacitus, *Germania*, 12. Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, p. 653.—*Ed.*

Arminius, of the Cheruscan nobility, son of Segimerus, who seems to have been a military leader of his people, had spent his early youth in Roman military service, mastered the Roman language and custom, and was a frequent and well received guest at the Roman headquarters, whose loyalty seemed beyond all doubt. Even on the eve of the surprise attack Varus relied on him as a rock. Velleius called him

"a young man of noble birth, brave in action and alert in mind, more so than barbarians usually are; a young man whose countenance and eyes shone with the fire of the mind. He had been our constant companion on previous campaigns," (that is, against Germans) "and in addition to Roman citizenship, enjoyed the Roman dignity of equestrian rank".[a]

But Arminius was more than all that, he was a great statesman and a considerable general. Once resolved to put an end to Roman rule on the right bank of the Rhine, he took the necessary steps without hesitation. The Cheruscan military nobility, already much dominated by Roman influence, had to be won over at least in great part, and the Chatti and Chauci, and even more so the Bructeri and Sugambri, who were directly under Roman yoke, had to be drawn into the conspiracy. All that took time, even though Varus' extortions had prepared the ground; and during this time it was necessary to lull Varus into security. This was done by taking him in with his hobby of dispensing justice and making a complete fool of him with it. Velleius tells us that the Germans,

"who with their extreme savagery combine great cunning, to an extent scarcely credible to one who has had no experience with them, and are a race of born liars, by trumping up a series of fictitious lawsuits, now suing one another without cause, and now thanking him for settling their disputes with Roman justice, so that their own barbarous nature was being softened down by this new and hitherto unknown discipline and order, and that quarrels which had usually been settled by arms were now being settled by law—the Germans brought him to such a complete degree of negligence, that he came to look upon himself as a city praetor, administering justice in the forum, and not a general in command of an army in the heart of Germany"[b]

So passed the summer of the year 9. To make still more certain of success, Varus was induced to split up his troops by detaching them in various ways, which cannot have been difficult given the character of the man and the circumstances.

"Varus," Dio says, "did not keep his troops properly together, as was necessary in a hostile country, but lent teams of soldiers to people who needed help and

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[a] Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, p. 322.— *Ed.*

[b] Here and above Engels quotes from Velleius Paterculus, *Historia Romana*, II, 118. See *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, pp. 321-22.— *Ed.*

asked for it, either to guard a fortified place, to catch robbers, or to escort grain transports."[a]

In the meantime the chief conspirators, in particular Arminius and Segimerus, were constantly round him and frequently at his table. According to Dio, Varus was now already warned, but his confidence knew no bounds. At length, in the autumn, when all was ready for striking the blow, and Varus with the bulk of his troops had been lured deep into the land of the Cherusci, as far as the Weser, a feigned rising at some distance gave the signal. Even as Varus received the news and gave orders for departure, he was warned by another leader of the Cherusci, Segestes, who seems to have maintained a sort of clan feud with the family of Arminius. Varus would not believe him. Segestes thereupon proposed that he himself, Arminius and the other leaders of the Cherusci should be put in chains before Varus marched off; success would show who was right. But Varus' confidence was unshakeable, even when on his departure the conspirators stayed behind, under the pretext that they were gathering allies to join him with them.

This happened, indeed, though not as Varus expected. The troops of the Cherusci were already assembled. The first thing they did was to massacre the Roman detachments stationed with them at their own earlier request, and then to attack Varus on the flank while he was on the march. The latter was moving along bad forest paths, for here, in the land of the Cherusci, there were not yet any paved Roman military roads. Taken by surprise, he at last realised his situation, braced himself and from now on showed that he was a Roman general—but too late. He let his troops close up, had his large train of women, children, waggons, pack animals, etc., lined up in order and protected as well as was possible considering the narrow paths and dense woods, and turned towards his base of operations—which we must take to have been Aliso. Pouring rain softened the ground, hindered the march, constantly breaking up again the order of the ponderous train. With heavy losses Varus succeeded in reaching a densely wooded mountain, which, however, offered open space for a temporary camp. This was occupied and fortified still in fairly good order and according to regulations; the army of Germanicus, visiting the place six years later, still recognised there distinctly "the work of three legions".[b] With a resolve appropriate to the

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[a] Dio Cassius, op. cit., LVI, 19. Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, pp. 326-27.—*Ed.*

[b] Tacitus, *Annales*, I, 61. Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, p. 443.—*Ed.*

situation Varus here had all the not absolutely necessary waggons and baggage burnt. The next day he moved through open country, but again suffered so heavily that the troops were separated still more widely, and in the evening the camp could no longer be fortified according to regulations; Germanicus found only one half-ruined mound and a shallow ditch. On the third day the march led again through wooded mountains, and here Varus and most of the leaders lost heart. Varus killed himself, the legions were destroyed almost to the last man. Only the cavalry escaped under Vala Numonius; individual refugees from the infantry also appear to have managed to get to Aliso. Aliso itself held out at least for some time, since the Germans did not know the regular siege attack; later the garrison somehow fought its way through, wholly or in part. Asprenas, intimidated, appears to have confined himself to a short advance to receive them. Bructeri, Sugambri and all the lesser peoples rose, and Roman power was again thrown back across the Rhine.

The localities of this expedition have been much disputed. Most likely, before the battle Varus was stationed in the hollow of the Rinteln valley, somewhere between Hausberge and Hameln; the retreat decided upon after the first attack was in the direction of the Dören gap near Detmold, which forms a plain and broad pass through the Osning. This is the general view which has become traditional and fits in with the sources as well as the military exigencies of the war situation. Whether Varus reached the Dören gap remains uncertain; the breakthrough of the cavalry and perhaps the first ranks of the infantry would appear to show that he did.[a]

The news of the annihilation of the three legions and the rising of the whole of western Germany struck Rome like a thunder clap. Some already saw Arminius marching across the Rhine and spreading insurrection in Gaul, Maroboduus on the other side crossing the Danube and carrying with him the barely subdued Pannonians on a march across the Alps. And Italy was already so exhausted that it could hardly supply men any longer. Dio reports that there were only few young men capable of bearing arms left among the citizenry, that the older men refused to join the army so that Augustus punished them with confiscation of their wealth, and some even with death; that the emperor eventually managed to raise a few troops for the protection of Rome from among

[a] H. von Abendroth, op. cit., p. 14.— *Ed.*

freedmen and veterans, disarmed his German bodyguard and banned all Germans from the city.[a]

Arminius did not cross the Rhine, however; Maroboduus was not thinking of any attack, and so Rome could indulge undisturbed in outbursts of fury at the "perfidious Germans". We have already seen Velleius' description of them as people who "with their extreme savagery combine great cunning ... and are a race of born liars". Similarly Strabo. He knows nothing of "German loyalty" and "Celtic perfidy"; quite to the contrary. While he calls the Celts "simple and straightforward", so simple-minded that they "gather for battle in full view of everybody and without any circumspection, thus making it easy for the enemy to carry the day",[b] he says of the Germans:

> "In dealing with them it was always advisable not to trust them, those who have been trusted have done great harm as, for instance, the Cherusci, in whose country three legions, with their general Varus, were destroyed by an ambush in violation of the treaties."[c]

Not to speak of the indignant and vindictive verses of Ovid.[d] One could imagine to be reading French authors of the most chauvinistic period, boiling with rage at Yorck's breach of faith or the treachery of the Saxons at Leipzig.[10] The Germans had become well acquainted with Roman loyalty to agreements and probity when Caesar attacked the Usipetes and Tencteri during the negotiations and the truce; they had become acquainted with it when Augustus had the envoys of the Sugambri taken prisoner, while before their arrival he had rejected any negotiations with the German peoples. All conquering nations have this in common that they will try to outwit their opponents by any means; and they find this quite in order; no sooner do their adversaries do the same thing, however, than they call this breach of faith and treachery. But the instruments of subjection must also be allowed to serve to throw off the yoke. So long as there are exploiting and ruling nations and classes on the one hand, and exploited and ruled ones on the other, so long the use of cunning side by side with force will for both sides be a necessity against which all moral preaching will be powerless.

However childish the fantastic statue of Arminius erected at Detmold may be—it had only one good side, that it induced Louis

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[a] Dio Cassius, op. cit., LVI, 23. Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, pp. 330-31.—*Ed.*

[b] Strabo, *Geographica*, IV, 4. Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, pp. 370-71.— *Ed.*

[c] Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, pp. 374-75.— *Ed.*

[d] Ovidius, *Ex Ponto* and *Tristia*. See *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, p. 365.—*Ed.*

Napoleon to erect a similarly ridiculous, fantastic colossus of Vercingetorix on a mountain at Aliso [-Sainte-Reine]—it remains true that the Varus battle was one of the most decisive turning points in history. It decided Germany's independence of Rome once and for all. One can argue at length to no purpose about whether or not this independence was such a great gain for the Germans themselves; it is certain that without it the whole of history would have taken a different course. And even if in fact all the subsequent history of the Germans has been almost nothing but a long series of national disasters, mostly through their own fault, so much so that even the most brilliant successes almost always turned out to the detriment of the people, one must nevertheless say that here, at the beginning of their history, the Germans were decidedly fortunate.

Caesar used the last vital forces of the dying Republic to subjugate Gaul. The legions, since Marius consisting of recruited mercenaries but still exclusively Italic men, since Caesar literally died out in the measure in which the Italic people themselves died out under the rapidly spreading latifundia and their slave economy. The 150,000 men who made up the compact infantry of the 25 legions could only be kept together by extreme measures. The 20-year service was not observed; veterans who had completed their service were forced to remain with the colours for an indefinite period. That was the chief reason for the mutiny of the Rhenish legions on the death of Augustus which Tacitus describes so imaginatively,[a] and which with its extraordinary mixture of refractoriness and discipline recalls so vividly the mutinies of the Spanish soldiers of Philip II in the Netherlands,[11] in both cases testifying to the solidity of the army at a time when the Prince had broken the word he had given it. We saw how vain Augustus' attempt remained after the Varus battle to reinstate the old levy laws which had long gone out of use; how he had to fall back on veterans and even freedmen—he had used these once before, during the Pannonian insurrection.[12] The reserve of free Italic peasants' sons had disappeared with the free Italic peasants themselves. Every new reserve contingent introduced into the legions worsened the army's quality. And since these legions, this core of the entire might of the army, which was difficult to maintain, had nevertheless to be spared as much as possible, the auxiliary troops came more and more to the fore and fought battles in which the legions only formed the reserve, so that

[a] Tacitus, *Annales,* I, 31-52. See *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* pp. 421-37.— *Ed.*

already in Claudius' time the Batavi could say: the provinces were being conquered with the blood of the provinces.

With such an army, more and more alienating itself from the ancient Roman discipline and solidity and therewith from the ancient Roman manner of fighting, increasingly composed of provincials and eventually of barbarians alien to the empire, almost no great aggressive wars could any longer be conducted—soon no great offensive battles could be fought. The deterioration of the army placed the state on the defensive, which was first fought aggressively, then more and more passively, until at length the weight of the attack, now shifted completely to the side of the Germans, broke through irresistibly across the Rhine and Danube along the whole line from the North Sea to the Black Sea.

In the meantime it was necessary, even to safeguard the line of the Rhine, to let the Germans feel once more, on their own territory, the superior strength of Roman arms. For this purpose Tiberius hastened to the Rhine, restored weakened discipline by his own example and strict punishment, limited the train of the mobile army to the absolutely necessary and marched through western Germany in two expeditions (years 10 and 11). The Germans did not present themselves for decisive battles, the Romans did not dare to occupy their winter camps on the right bank of the Rhine. There is no evidence that Aliso and the fort set up at the mouth of the Ems in the country of the Chauci retained their permanent garrison also in the winter, but it is probable.

In the year 14, in August, Augustus died. The Rhenish legions, who after completing their service were neither dismissed nor given their pay, refused to recognise Tiberius and proclaimed Germanicus, son of Drusus, emperor. He calmed the rising himself, returned the troops to obedience, and led them into Germany in three expeditions which have been described by Tacitus.[a] Here Arminius confronted him and proved a general fully worthy of his opponent. He sought to avoid any decisive battles in open country, to hinder the Romans' march as much as possible, and to attack them only in swamps and defiles where they could not deploy their forces. But the Germans did not always follow him. Pugnacity often carried them away into fighting in unfavourable circumstances; greed for booty more than once saved Romans who were already sitting firmly in a trap. So Germanicus gained the two fruitless victories on the Idistavisus and on the Angrivarian limes,[13] barely escaped on the retreats

[a] Tacitus, *Annales,* I, 31-52. See *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* pp. 421-37.—*Ed.*

through narrow swamp passes, lost ships and crews through storms and floods on the Frisian coast, and was eventually recalled by Tiberius after the expedition of the year 16. With that the Roman expeditions into the interior of Germany came to an end.

But the Romans knew only too well that a river line is only held if one also holds the crossings to the other bank. Far from retreating passively beyond the Rhine, the Romans transferred their defence to the right bank. The Roman fortifications which cover the regions of the lower Lippe, Ruhr and Wupper in big groups, at least in some cases corresponding to later districts, [and] the military roads built from the Rhine to the border of the Duchy of Mark, lead us to surmise here a system of defence works along a line from the Ijssel to the Sieg, corresponding to the present frontier line between Franks and Saxons, with occasional deviations of the border of the Rhine province in the direction of Westphalia. This system, which was probably still to some extent defensible in the 7th century, must then also have kept the Saxons, who were advancing at that time, from reaching the Rhine, and thereby fixed their present ethnic border against the Franks. The most interesting discoveries have been made here in recent years (by J. Schneider)[a]; we may well expect further discoveries.

Farther up the Rhine the great Roman Limes was gradually built up, especially under Domitian and Hadrian; it runs from below Neuwied over the heights of Montabaur to Ems, there crosses the Lahn, turns west at Adolfseck, following the northern slopes of the Taunus, envelopes Grüningen in the Wetterau as its northernmost point, and thence, running in a south-south-easterly direction, reaches the Main south of Hanau. From here the Limes runs on the left bank of the Main to Miltenberg; thence in an only once broken straight line to the Württemberg Rems, near the castle of Hohenstaufen. Here the line, built further at a later time, probably under Hadrian, turns eastward via Dinkelsbühl, Gunzenhausen, Ellingen and Kipfenberg, and reaches the Danube at Irnsing above Kehlheim. Smaller entrenchments lay behind the Limes, and larger forts as support points at a greater distance. Thus enclosed, the country to the right of the Rhine, which at least south of the Main had lain deserted since the Helvetii were driven out by the Suebi, was peopled by Gallic vagrants, stragglers of the troops, according to Tacitus.[b]

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[a] See J. Schneider, *Die römischen Militärstraßen an der Lippe und das Castell Aliso. Nach eigenen Lokalforschungen dargestellt,* Düsseldorf, 1878.— *Ed.*

[b] Tacitus, *Germania,* 28. See *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* pp. 662-63.—*Ed.*

Thus conditions gradually became calmer and safer on the Rhine, the Limes and the Danube. Fighting and expeditions continued, but the mutual borders remained unchanged for some centuries.

## PROGRESS UNTIL THE MIGRATION PERIOD

Written sources on the situation and the events in the interior of Germany fail after Tacitus and Ptolemy. Instead a series of other, much more vivid sources is opening up for us: finds of antiquities in so far as they can be attributed to the period under discussion.

We have seen that at the time of Pliny and Tacitus Roman trade with the interior of Germany was virtually non-existent. But we find in Pliny an indication of an old trade route, which in his time was still used occasionally, from Carnuntum (opposite the confluence of the March with the Danube), along the March and the Oder to the Amber coast.[a] This route, and also another, through Bohemia along the Elbe, was probably used at a very early period by the Etruscans, whose presence in the northern valleys of the Alps is documented by numerous finds, particularly the Hallstatt find.[14] The invasion of the Gauls into northern Italy will have put an end to this trade (ca.—400) (Boyd Dawkins).[b] If this view is confirmed, this Etruscan trade, especially the importation of bronze goods, must have been conducted with the peoples who occupied the land on the Vistula and the Elbe before the Germans, probably with Celts, and the immigration of the Germans would have had as much to do with its interruption as the backflow of the Celts into Italy. The more easterly trade route, from the Greek cities on the Black Sea along Dniester and Dnieper to the area of the Vistula mouth, would then appear to have come into use only after this interruption. The ancient Greek coins found near Bromberg, in the island of Oesel and elsewhere suggest this interpretation; among them are pieces of the fourth, possibly the fifth century before our era, coined in Greece, Italy, Sicily, Cyrene, etc.

The interrupted trade routes along the Oder and Elbe were bound to be restored again as soon as the migrating people came to a halt. At the time of Ptolemy not only these, but other roads of

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[a] Plinius, *Naturalis historia,* XXXVII, 45.—*Ed.*

[b] W. Boyd Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain and His Place in the Tertiary Period,* London, 1880, p. 472.—*Ed.*

traffic through Germany seem to have come into use again, and where Ptolemy's evidence fails, finds continue to bear witness.

C. F. Wiberg * has clarified much here by careful compilation of the finds, and has provided the evidence that in the second century of our era the trade routes both through Silesia down the Oder and through Bohemia down the Elbe were used again. In Bohemia Tacitus already mentions

> "traders in booty and merchants" (*lixae ac negotiatores*) "out of our provinces whom avarice and oblivion of their homes have led into enemy territory and to Maroboduus' army camp".[a]

So also the Hermunduri, who, long since friends of the Romans, had, according to Tacitus,[b] unhindered access to the *Agri Decumates*[15] and Rhaetia as far as Augsburg, will surely have traded Roman goods and coins from the upper Main further to the Saale and Werra. Traces of a trade route into the interior have also been revealed further down the Roman Limes, on the Lahn.

The route through Moravia and Silesia appears to have remained the most important one. The only watershed that has to be crossed, that between the March, or Bečva, and Oder, passes through open hill country and lies less than 325 metres above sea level; even now the railway passes along here. Beginning with Lower Silesia the north German lowlands open up, so that roads can branch out in all directions to the Vistula and the Elbe. Roman merchants must have resided in Silesia and Brandenburg in the second and third centuries. There we find not only urns of glass, tear bottles and burial urns with Latin inscriptions (Massel near Trebnitz in Silesia and elsewhere), but even complete Roman sepulchral vaults with recesses for urns (*columbaria*), (Nacheln near Glogau). Undoubted Roman graves have also been found at Warin in Mecklenburg. Similarly, finds of coins, Roman metal ware, clay lamps, etc., are evidence of trade along this route. Generally speaking, the whole of eastern Germany, although never entered by Roman armies, is studded with Roman coins and manufactures, the latter frequently documented by the same trade marks as occur on finds in the provinces of the Roman Empire. Clay lamps found in Silesia bear the same trade mark as others found in Dalmatia, Vienna, etc. The mark: *Ti. Robilius Sitalces,* for instance,

* *Bidrag till kännedomen om Grekers och Romares förbindelse med Norden.* German by Mestorf: *Der Einfluß der klassischen Völker* etc., Hamburg, 1867.

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[a] Tacitus, *Annales,* II, 62.— *Ed.*

[b] Op. cit.— *Ed.*

is stamped on bronze vases of which one was found in Mecklenburg, another in Bohemia; this indicates a trade route along the Elbe.

Moreover, in the first centuries after Augustus Roman merchant vessels sailed on the North Sea. This is proved by the find in Neuhaus on the Oste (Elbe mouth) of 344 Roman silver coins from Nero to Marcus Aurelius with remains of a ship which probably foundered there. Shipping also went along the southern coast of the Baltic, reaching the Danish islands, Sweden and Gotland, and we shall have to study this more closely. The distances given by Ptolemy and Marcianus (about the year 400) between the various points on the coast can only have been derived from the reports of merchants who sailed along that coast. They are given from the coast of Mecklenburg to Danzig and thence to Scandia. Finally, this trade is proved by innumerable other finds of Roman origin in Holstein, Schleswig, Mecklenburg, Western Pomerania, the Danish islands and southern Sweden, on sites lying closest to each other near the coast.

How far this Roman traffic included the import of weapons into Germany is difficult to determine. The numerous Roman weapons found in Germany could equally well be booty, and the Roman border authorities naturally did everything to cut off supplies of arms to the Germans. Some could have come by sea, however, particularly to the more distant peoples such as those of the Cimbric peninsula.

The rest of the Roman products which came to Germany by these various routes consisted of household goods, jewellery, toilet articles, etc. Household goods include bowls, measures, tumblers, vessels, cooking pots, sieves, spoons, scissors, ladles, etc., of bronze; a few vessels of gold or silver; clay lamps, which are very widespread; jewellery made of bronze, silver or gold: necklaces, diadems, bracelets and rings, clips rather like our brooches; among the toilet articles we find combs, pincers, ear spoons, etc.—not to mention articles the use of which is disputable. Most of these manufactures, according to Worsaae, were made under the influence of the tastes dominant in Rome in the first century.[a]

The difference between the Germans of Caesar, and even of Tacitus, and the people who used these wares is great, even if we admit that they were used only by the nobler and wealthier families. The "simple dishes without much preparation" (*sine*

[a] J. J. A. Worsaae, *Die Vorgeschichte des Nordens nach gleichzeitigen Denkmälern*, Hamburg, 1878, p. 109.— *Ed.*

*apparatu*) "or condiments" with which the Germans, according to Tacitus, "banished their hunger"[a] had given way to a cuisine which already used a fairly sophisticated apparatus and in addition probably also obtained the corresponding condiments from the Romans. Contempt for gold- and silver-ware had given way to the desire to adorn oneself with them; indifference to Roman money to its spread all over German territory. And especially the toilet articles—what a transformation of customs is revealed by their mere presence among a people which, as far as we know, invented soap, indeed, but used it only to bleach the hair!

Concerning the goods which the Germans provided to the Roman traders in exchange for all this cash and these wares we are in the first instance dependent on the information of the ancient writers, who, as we have said, leave us almost completely in the dark. Pliny mentions vegetables, goose quills, woollen stuffs and soap as articles which the empire imported from Germany.[b] But this insipient trade at the border cannot be a standard for the later period. The chief article of trade of which we know was amber; it does not suffice, however, to explain a traffic which was spreading all over the country. Cattle, the chief wealth of the Germans, will also have been the most important export; the legions stationed at the border alone guaranteed a big demand for meat. Hides and furs, which in the time of Jornandes were sent from Scandinavia to the Vistula mouth, and thence into Roman territory, no doubt found their way there from the East German forests even in earlier periods. Wild beasts for the circus were brought in from the north by Roman seafarers, Wiberg thinks. But nothing could be got there save bears, wolves and possibly aurochs, and lions, leopards and even bears were easier to procure nearer home in Africa and Asia.—Slaves? asks Wiberg eventually, almost bashfully, and there he has probably got the right idea.[c] Indeed, apart from cattle, slaves were the only article Germany could export in sufficient quantities to balance its trade with Rome. The cities and latifundia of Italy alone used up an enormous slave population, which propagated itself only to a very small extent. The entire Roman large landed property economy had as its precondition that colossal importation of traded prisoners of war which flooded into Italy in the ceaseless wars of conquest of the decaying Republic, and even of Augustus. That

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[a] Tacitus, *Germania*, 23. Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, p. 659.—*Ed.*
[b] Plinius, *Naturalis historia*, XVIII, 17.—*Ed.*
[c] C. F. Wiberg, *Der Einfluß der klassischen Völker...*, p. 44.—*Ed.*

had now come to an end. The empire was on the defensive within fixed borders. Defeated enemies, from whom the bulk of the slaves were recruited, were being supplied in decreasing numbers by the Roman army. One had to buy them from the barbarians. And should not the Germans also have appeared on the market as sellers? The Germans who were already selling slaves according to Tacitus (*Germania,* 24),[a] who were constantly at war with each other, who, like the Frisians, when money was scarce paid their tax to the Romans by giving their wives and children into slavery and who already in the third century, if not before, sailed on the Baltic Sea and whose maritime expeditions in the North Sea, from the Saxon voyages of the third century to the Norman voyages of the tenth, had as their main object, alongside other forms of piracy, the hunt for slaves—almost exclusively for the trade?—the same Germans who, a few centuries later, both during the migration of the peoples and in their wars against the Slavs acted as the prime slave hunters and slave traders of their time? Either we must assume that the Germans of the second and third centuries were quite different people from all the other neighbours of the Romans, and quite different from their own descendants of the third, fourth and fifth centuries and later, or we must admit that they also largely participated in the slave trade to Italy, which at the time was held to be quite decent and even honourable. And then the mysterious veil falls, which otherwise conceals the German export trade of that time.

Here we must return to the Baltic traffic of those times. While the coast of the Kattegat has almost no Roman finds to show, the southern coast of the Baltic as far as Livland, Schleswig-Holstein, the southern fringes and the interior of the Danish islands, the southern and south-eastern coasts of Sweden, Oeland and Gotland are very rich in them. By far the greater part of these finds belongs to the so-called denarius period, of which we shall have more to say later, and which lasted until the first years of the reign of Septimius Severus, i.e. to about 200. Tacitus already calls the Suiones strong by virtue of their rowing fleets and says that they honour wealth[b]; hence they surely already practised maritime trade. Shipping, which first developed in the Belts and in the Oeresund and Oelandsund and in coastal navigation, had to dare on to the high seas to draw Bornholm and Gotland into its circle; it had to have acquired considerable assurance in the handling of

[a] See *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* p. 660.— *Ed.*
[b] Tacitus, *Germania,* 44. See *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* p. 671.—*Ed.*

vessels to develop the lively traffic the centre of which was the island of Gotland, farthest away from the continent. Here, indeed, more than 3,200 Roman silver denarii have been found up to 1873,* against about 100 on Oeland, barely 50 on the Swedish mainland, 200 on Bornholm and 600 in Denmark and Schleswig (of these 428 in a single find, Slagelse on Zealand).[16] An analysis of these finds shows that down to the year 161, when Marcus Aurelius became emperor, only a few, but from then on to the end of the century, masses of Roman denarii came to Gotland. In the last half of the second century shipping in the Baltic must already have achieved a considerable development; that it existed already earlier is shown by Ptolemy's statement[a] that the distance from the Vistula mouth to Scandia was 1,200 to 1,600 stadia (30 to 40 geographical miles[b]). Both distances are about right for the eastern point of Blekinge as for the southern tip of Oeland or Gotland, depending on whether one measures from Rixhöft or Neufahrwasser and Pillau respectively. They can only rest on seamen's reports, just like the other distance measurements along the German coast to the mouths of the Vistula.

That this sea traffic on the Baltic was not practised by the Romans is indicated, firstly, by their altogether nebulous concepts about Scandinavia and, secondly, by the absence of any finds of Roman coins on the Kattegat and in Norway. The Cimbric Cape (Skagen), which the Romans reached under Augustus, and from which they saw the endless sea spreading out, seems to have remained the limit of their direct sea traffic. Hence the Germans themselves sailed on the Baltic and maintained the intercourse which brought Roman money and Roman manufactures to Scandinavia. Nor could it have been otherwise. Beginning with the second half of the third century the Saxon maritime expeditions appear quite suddenly on the coasts of Gaul and Britain, and that with a daring and assurance which they could not have acquired overnight, which rather presupposes long familiarity with navigation on the open sea. And the Saxons, by whom we must here also understand all the peoples of the Cimbric peninsula, hence also Frisians, Angles and Jutes, could only have acquired this familiarity on the Baltic. This big inland sea, without tides, where

* Hans Hildebrand, *Das heidnische Zeitalter in Schweden.* Translated into German by J. Mestorf. Hamburg, 1873.

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[a] Ptolemaeus, *Geographia,* II, 11, 2.— *Ed.*

[b] A German geographical mile equals 4.66 English geographical miles.— *Ed.*

the Atlantic sou'westers only arrive having exhausted their fury in great part on the North Sea, this extensive, long basin with its many islands, its shallow, closed-in bays and straits, where on crossing from shore to shore one cannot see land only for short distances, was as if made to serve a newly developing navigation as training waters. Here the Swedish rock drawings, attributed to the bronze age, with their many representations of rowing boats, indicate a maritime traffic of great antiquity. Here the Nydam bog-find in Schleswig presents us with a boat made of oak timbers, 70 feet long and eight to nine feet wide, dated to the beginning of the third century, and quite suitable for voyaging on the high seas.[a] Here that boat-building technique and sea-faring experience quietly grew which made possible the later conquering expeditions of Saxons and Normans on the high seas and laid the foundations which enabled the Germanic people to stand at the head of all sea-faring peoples of the world to this day.

Roman coins which reached Germany before the end of the second century were predominantly silver denarii (1 denarius = 1.06 mark). And moreover, as Tacitus informs us, the Germans preferred the old, well-known coins with serrated rim, the design including a team of two horses.[b] Indeed, among the older coins many of these *serrati bigatique* have been found. These old coins only had some 5 to 10 per cent copper added to the silver; Trajan already ordered that 20 per cent copper be added to the silver and the Germans do not seem to have noticed this. But when Septimius Severus from 198 onwards raised the addition to 50-60 per cent, the Germans thought it too bad; these devalued later denarii occur in the finds only quite exceptionally, the importation of Roman money ceased. It only began again after Constantine, in the year 312, established the gold solidus as the monetary unit (72 solidi to the Roman pound of 327 g of fine gold, hence 1 solidus = 4.55 g fine = 12.70 marks) and then it was predominantly gold coins, solidi, which came to Germany, but even more so to Oeland and particularly Gotland. This second period of Roman money importation, the solidus period, lasted to the end of the Western Empire for West Roman coins, and for Byzantine coins up to Anastasius (died 518). Most of the finds have been made in Sweden, on the Danish islands, and a few on the German Baltic coast; in the German interior they are sporadic.

The counterfeiting of coins by Septimius Severus and his

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[a] See C. F. Wiberg, op. cit., p. 119.— *Ed.*

[b] Tacitus, *Germania,* 5. See *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* pp. 648-49.—*Ed.*

successors does not, however, suffice to explain the sudden cessation of trade relations between Germans and Romans. Other causes must have come into play. One is evidently to be sought in the political situation. In the beginning of the third century the aggressive war of the Germans against Rome started, and by 250 it had flared up all along the line from the Danube mouths to the Rhine delta. Of course, no regular trade could be conducted by the warring parties in these circumstances. But these sudden, general, persistent aggressive wars themselves require an explanation. Internal Roman conditions do not explain them; on the contrary, as yet the empire resisted everywhere successfully and between individual periods of wild anarchy strong emperors were still produced, particularly around this time. The attacks must therefore have been conditioned by changes among the Germans themselves. And here again the finds provide the explanation.

At the beginning of the sixties of our century finds of outstanding importance were made in two Schleswig peatbogs, which, carefully studied by Engelhardt in Copenhagen, have now, after various wanderings, been deposited in the Museum in Kiel. They are distinguished from other, similar finds by the coins belonging to them, which establish their age with fair certainty. One of these finds, from the Taschberg (Danish Thorsbjerg) moor near Süderbrarup, contains 37 coins from Nero to Septimius Severus; the other, from the Nydam moor, a peat-covered, silted-up sea bay, 34 coins from Tiberius to Macrinus (218).[a] Hence the finds are without doubt from the period between 220 and 250. They contain not only objects of Roman origin but also numerous others, made in the country itself and which, being almost perfectly preserved thanks to the ferrous peat water, reveal with amazing clarity the state of the north German metal industry, weaving and shipbuilding, and through the runic letters even the writing in use in the first half of the third century.

Here we are even more struck by the level of the industry itself. The fine fabrics, the delicate sandals, and the neatly worked leather straps bear witness to a much higher stage of culture than that of the Germans of Tacitus; but what arouses particular amazement is the local metal work.

Linguistic comparisons show that the Germans brought the knowledge of metals and their uses with them from their Asiatic homeland. The art of smelting and working metal was perhaps

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[a] C. Engelhardt, *Thorsbjerg Mosefund,* Copenhagen, 1863. Quoted in C. F. Wiberg, *Der Einfluß der klassischen Völker...,* pp. 104, 118-19.— *Ed.*

also known to them, but they had barely retained it at the time when they came into collision with the Romans. At least the writers of the first century give no indication that iron or bronze were produced and worked between Rhine and Elbe; they rather suggest the opposite. Tacitus, it is true, says of the Gothines (in Upper Silesia?) that they were digging for iron,[a] and Ptolemy attributes ironworks to the neighbouring Quadi[b]; both may again have acquired a knowledge of smelting from the Danube area. Nor do the finds of the first century documented by coins contain any local metal products anywhere, but only Roman ones; and how could the masses of Roman metal ware have got to Germany if a home metalworking industry had existed there? Ancient casting moulds, incomplete castings and waste of bronze are indeed found there, but never with coins to document their age; in all probability these are traces of pre-Germanic times, the residue of the work of itinerant Etruscan bronze casters. In any case, the question whether the German immigrants had lost the art of metalworking *completely* is pointless; all the evidence goes to show that no, or hardly any, metalworking was practised in the first century.

Here now the Taschberg moor finds suddenly turn up and reveal to us an unexpectedly high level of the indigenous metal industry. Buckles, metal plates for mountings, decorated with animal and human heads; a silver helmet which completely frames the face, leaving only eyes, nose and mouth free; chain armour of wire netting, which presupposes very laborious operations, since the wire had first to be hammered (wire drawing was not invented until 1306), and a head ring of gold, not to mention other objects the indigenous origin of which might be disputed. These finds agree with others—those from the Nydam moor and bog finds from Fyn, and lastly a find from Bohemia (Hořovice), likewise discovered at the beginning of the sixties, which contains magnificent bronze disks with human heads, buckle clips, etc., quite in the manner of the Taschberg finds, hence probably also of the same period.

Beginning with the third century the metal industry will have spread over the whole German area, being increasingly perfected; by the time of the migration of the peoples, say by the end of the fifth century, it reached a relatively very high level. Not only iron

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[a] Tacitus, *Germania,* 43. See *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* p. 670.— *Ed.*

[b] Ptolemaeus, *Geographia,* II, 11.—*Ed.*

and bronze, gold and silver also were worked regularly, Roman coins imitated in gold bracteates,[a] the base metals gilded; inlaid work, enamel and filigree work occur; highly artistic ornaments in good taste, only in part imitating Roman work, are found on otherwise often crudely made pieces, especially on clips and buckles or fibulae, which have certain characteristic forms in common. Buckles from Kerch on the Sea of Azov are lying in the British Museum next to quite similar ones found in England; they could be from the same manufactory. The style of these pieces is basically the same, from Sweden to the Lower Danube and from the Black Sea to France and England, though often with quite clearly distinguishable local peculiarities. This first period of the German metal industry came to an end on the continent with the end of the migration of the peoples and the general acceptance of Christianity; in England and Scandinavia it lasted a little longer.

That this industry was widespread among the Germans in the 6th and 7th centuries and that it had already become a separate branch of industry is proved by local laws [Volksrechte].[17] Smiths, swordmakers, gold- and silversmiths are frequently mentioned, in the Alamannic law[18] even smiths who have passed a public examination (*publice probati*). Bavarian law punishes theft from a church, a ducal court, a smithy or a mill with harsher penalties "because these four are public buildings and are always open".[19] In Frisian law[20] the goldsmith has a higher *wergeld* by one fourth than other people of his estate; Salic law[21] estimates the simple bondsman at 12 solidi, but one who is a smith (*faber*) at 35.

We have already mentioned *shipbuilding*. The Nydam boats are rowing boats, the bigger one, made of oak, for fourteen pairs of rowers; the smaller one is of pine. Oars, rudder and scoops were still lying inside. It was not until the Germans began to navigate the North Sea, too, that they seem to have adopted sails from the Romans and Celts.

They knew *pottery* already at the time of Tacitus, but probably only hand pottery. The Romans had large potteries on the borders, particularly inside the Limes in Swabia and Bavaria, which also employed Germans, as is proved by the workers' names burnt into the pots. With these workers the knowledge of glazing

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[a] A very thin coin usually of silver having a design stamped on one side only.— *Ed.*

and the potter's wheel and also higher technical skill will have come to Germany. Glassmaking, too, was known to the Germans who broke in across the Danube; glass vessels, coloured glass beads and glass insets in metal ware, all of German origin, have often been found in Bavaria and Swabia.

Finally, we now find runic writing widely spread and generally used. The Taschberg find has a sword sheath and a shieldboss which are ornamented with runes. The same runes are found on a gold ring found in Walachia, on buckles from Bavaria and Burgundy, and lastly, on the oldest runic stones in Scandinavia. It is the more complete runic alphabet, the one from which the Anglo-Saxon runes were later derived; it contains seven more characters than the Norse runic writing which predominated later in Scandinavia and indicates also an older linguistic form than the one in which the oldest Norse has been preserved. It was, incidentally, an extremely clumsy system of writing, consisting of Roman and Greek letters so changed that they were easily scratched [*eingeritzt* = writan] on stone, metal and especially on wooden staves. The rounded forms had to give way to angular shapes; only vertical or inclined strokes were possible, not horizontal ones on account of the wood grain; this way, however, it became a very clumsy writing for parchment or paper. And indeed, as far as we can see, it has only served for religious and magic purposes and for inscriptions, perhaps also for other brief communications; as soon as the need for real literary writing was felt, as among the Goths and later the Anglo-Saxons, it was discarded and a new adaptation of the Greek or Roman alphabet made which preserved only individual runic characters.

Finally, the Germans will also have made considerable progress in tillage and cattle raising in the period here discussed. The restriction to permanent settlement forced them to it; the enormous population growth, which overflowed in the migration of the peoples, would have been impossible without it. Many a stretch of virgin forest must have been cleared, and most of the "Hochäcker"—stretches of wood which show traces of ancient cultivation—among them, in as far as they are situated on territory that was then German. Special proofs are here, of course, lacking. But if Probus already, towards the end of the third century, preferred German horses for his cavalry, and if the large white cattle, which replaced the small, black Celtic cattle in the Saxon areas of Britain, got here through the Anglo-Saxons, as is now assumed, this indicates a complete revolution also in the cattle raising, and consequently in the agriculture, of the Germans.

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The result of our study is that the Germans made considerable progress in civilisation in the period from Caesar to Tacitus, but that they progressed even more rapidly from Tacitus to the migration of the peoples—about 400. Trade came to them, brought to them Roman industrial products and with these at least some Roman needs; it awakened an industry of their own, which leaned on Roman patterns, to be sure, but at the same time developed quite independently. The bog finds in Schleswig represent the first phase of this industry which can be dated; the finds of the time of the migration of the peoples represent the second phase, showing a higher development. Here it is remarkable that the more westerly peoples were decidedly more backward than those of the interior, and especially of the Baltic coasts. The Franks and Alamanni, and later still the Saxons, produced metal work of a quality inferior to that of the Anglo-Saxons, Scandinavians, and the peoples who had moved out from the interior—the Goths on the Black Sea and the Lower Danube, the Burgundians in France. The influence of the old trade routes from the Middle Danube along the Elbe and Oder is here not to be gainsaid. At the same time the inhabitants of the coast turned themselves into skilled shipbuilders and bold seafarers; everywhere population was rapidly growing; the territory restricted by the Romans no longer sufficed. New movements of landseeking peoples arose, at first far in the east, until finally the billowing masses irresistibly overflowed at every point, over land and sea, to new territories.

## NOTE: THE GERMAN PEOPLES

Roman armies only reached the interior of Germany proper by a few routes of march and during a short period of time, and then only as far as the Elbe; nor did merchants and other travellers get there often, or far into it up to Tacitus' time. Hence it is not surprising that intelligence on this country and its inhabitants is so meagre and contradictory; it is rather surprising that we learn as much for certain as we do.

Even the two Greek geographers among our sources can only be used without reservations where they find independent confirmation. Both had only book learning. They were collectors and in their own way and according to their resources also critical sifters of material now largely lost to us. They lacked personal knowledge

of the country. Strabo makes the Lippe, so well known to the Romans, flow into the North Sea parallel with the Ems and Weser, instead of into the Rhine, and is honest enough to admit that the country beyond the Elbe is completely unknown.[a] While he disposes of the contradictions in his sources and his own doubts by means of a naive rationalism which often recalls the beginning of our century, the scientific geographer Ptolemy attempts to allot to the individual German peoples mentioned in his sources mathematically determined locations in the inexorable grid of his map. Ptolemy's geography of Germany is as misleading as his work as a whole is grandiose for his time.[b] In the first place the material available to him is for the greater part vague and contradictory, often directly wrong. Secondly, however, his map is wrongly drawn, many rivers and mountain ranges are quite wrongly entered. It is as if an untravelled Berlin geographer, say about 1820, felt obliged to fill the empty spaces on the map of Africa by bringing into harmony the information of all sources since Leo Africanus and allotting to every river and every mountain range a definite location, to every people a precise seat. Such attempts to do the impossible can only worsen the errors of the sources used. Thus, Ptolemy entered many peoples twice, Laccobardi on the lower Elbe, Langobardi from the middle Rhine to the middle Elbe; he has two Bohemias, one inhabited by Marcomanni, the other by Bainochaimi, etc.[c] While Tacitus says specifically that there are no cities in Germany,[d] Ptolemy, barely 50 years later, already is able to name 96 places.[e] Many of those names may well be true place names; Ptolemy seems to have gathered much intelligence from merchants, who at this time already visited the east of Germany in greater numbers and began to learn the names of the places they visited, which were gradually becoming fixed. The origin of certain others is shown by the example of the alleged town of Siatutanda, which our geographer thinks he reads in Tacitus, probably from a bad manuscript, who wrote: *ad sua tutanda.*[f] Side by side we find information of surprising accuracy and of the greatest historical value. Thus Ptolemy is the only ancient writer who places the Langobardi, under the distorted name Laccobardi, it is true, exactly where to this day we find

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[a] Strabo, *Geographica,* VII, 1. Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* p. 374.— *Ed.*
[b] Ptolemy describes Germany in his *Geographia,* II and III.— *Ed.*
[c] Ptolemaeus, *Geographia,* II, 11, 12.—*Ed.*
[d] Tacitus, *Germania,* 16. Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* p. 655.—*Ed.*
[e] Ptolemaeus, op. cit., II, 12-15.—*Ed.*
[f] "For his protection." See ibid., II, 11, 12. Tacitus, *Annales,* IV, 73.—*Ed.*

Bardengau and Bardenwik bear witness to them; similarly, Ingrioni in Engersgau where today we still find Engers on the Rhine at Neuwied.[a] He, also alone, gives the names of the Lithuanian Galindi and Suditi which to this day continue in the East Prussian districts Galinden and Sudauen. But such cases only show his great scholarship, not the correctness of his other statements. Moreover, the text is terribly distorted, especially where the main thing, the names, are concerned.

The Romans remain the most direct sources, particularly those who visited the country themselves. Velleius was in Germany as a soldier and writes as a soldier, approximately in the manner of an officer of the *grande armée*[22] writing of the expeditions of 1812 and 1813. His account does not enable us to establish the localities even for military events; not surprising in a country without towns. Pliny also served in Germany as a cavalry officer and visited the Chaucian coast among other places. He described all the wars conducted against the Germans in twenty books[23]; this was Tacitus' source. Moreover Pliny was the first Roman to take a more than military and political interest in the affairs of the barbarian land; his interest was theoretical.[b] His information on the German peoples must therefore be of special importance as resting on the Roman scientific encyclopaedist's own enquiries. It is traditionally maintained that Tacitus had been in Germany, but I cannot find the evidence. At all events, at that time he could have gathered direct information only from near the Rhine and Danube.

Two classical works have tried in vain to square the charts of peoples in the *Germania* [of Tacitus] and of Ptolemy with one another and with the chaos of other ancient information: Kaspar Zeuss' *Deutsche* and Jacob Grimm's *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache.* Where these two brilliant scholars did not succeed, nor anybody since, we will have to regard the task as insoluble with our present resources. The inadequacy of the resources is clear from the fact alone that both had to resort to the construction of false auxiliary theories; Zeuss thought that Ptolemy should have the last word in all disputed questions, although nobody has criticised Ptolemy's fundamental errors more sharply than he did; Grimm believed that the might which overthrew the Roman world empire must have grown on more extensive ground than the area between

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[a] Ptolemaeus, op. cit., II, 11, 9.— *Ed.*

[b] Here the sentence "Moreover, he was a naturalist" is crossed out in the manuscript.— *Ed.*

Rhine, Danube and Vistula, and that therefore, with the Goths and Dacians, the greater part of the country in the north and north-east of the lower Danube should be taken as German, too. The assumptions of both Zeuss and Grimm are today obsolete.

Let us try to bring at least some clarity into the matter by limiting the subject. If we succeed in establishing a more general grouping of the peoples into a few principal branches, later investigations into detail will have gained firm ground. And here we are offered a point of departure by Pliny[a] in a passage which has proved more and more reliable in the course of the enquiry and certainly leads to fewer difficulties and involves us in fewer contradictions than any other.

When we begin with Pliny we must indeed drop the unconditional validity of Tacitus' triad and the old legend of Mannus and his three sons Ing, Isk and Ermin.[b] But firstly, Tacitus himself is unable to do anything with his Ingaevones, Iscaevones, and Herminones. He makes not the least attempt to group the peoples he lists individually under these three principal branches, and secondly, no one else has succeeded in doing this. Zeuss makes a terrific effort to force the Gothic peoples, whom he conceives as "Istaevones", into the triad, and thereby only aggravates the confusion. As for the Scandinavians, he does not even attempt to bring them into it and construes them as a fourth principal branch. But with that the triad is destroyed quite as much as with the five principal branches of Pliny.

Now let us look at these five branches individually.

I. *Vindili, quorum pars Burgundiones, Varini, Carini, Guttones.*[c]

Here we have three peoples, the Vandals, Burgundians and the Goths themselves, of whom it is established, firstly, that they spoke Gothic dialects, and secondly that at that time they lived deep in the east of Germany: Goths at and beyond the Vistula mouth; Burgundians, placed by Ptolemy in the area of the Warta and as far as the Vistula,[d] and Vandals, placed in Silesia by Dio Cassius, who calls the Riesengebirge after them.[e] We should surely also reckon to this *Gothic* main branch, to name it by the language, all those peoples whose dialects Grimm derives from the Gothic, that is, in the first place the areas to which Procopius directly ascribes

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[a] Plinius, *Naturalis historia,* IV, 14. See *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* p. 681.— *Ed.*

[b] Tacitus, *Germania,* 2. See *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* pp. 646-47.— *Ed.*

[c] The Vindili, to whom the Burgundians, Varini, Carini and Guttons belong.— *Ed.*

[d] Ptolemaeus, *Geographia,* II, 11, 8.—*Ed.*

[e] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana,* XV, 1, 3.—*Ed.*

the Gothic language, including the Vandals.[a] We know nothing of their earlier domicile, nor of that of the Heruli, whom Grimm places among the Goths, side by side with Skiri and Rugii.[b] Pliny names the Skiri on the Vistula,[c] Tacitus the Rugii immediately next to the Goths on the coast.[d] Hence the Gothic dialect occupied a fairly compact region between the Vandal mountains (Riesengebirge), the Oder and the Baltic up to and beyond the Vistula.

We do not know who the Carini were. Some difficulty is caused by the Varini. Tacitus lists them next to the Angles among the seven peoples who sacrifice to Nerthus,[e] of whom Zeuss already remarked, rightly, that they look uncommonly like Ingaevones[f] But the Angles are counted by Ptolemy among the Suebi,[g] which is obviously wrong. Zeuss sees in one or two names distorted by the same geographer the Varini and accordingly he places them in the Havelland and counts them as Suebi.[h] The heading of the ancient common law identifies Varini and Thuringians[i] without qualification; but the law itself is common to Varini and Angles. After all this we must leave it in doubt whether the Varini are to be reckoned to the Gothic or the Ingaevonian branch; since they have completely disappeared the question is not of great importance.

II. *Altera pars Ingaevones, quorum pars Cimbri, Teutoni ac Chaucorum gentes.*[j]

Pliny here allocates the Cimbric Peninsula and the coastal districts between Elbe and Ems to the Ingaevones as their domicile. Of the three peoples here named, the Chauci were surely very close relatives of the Frisians. To this day the Frisian language predominates along the North Sea, in Dutch West Friesland, in Oldenburg Saterland and in Schleswig North Friesland. During the Carolingian period[24] Frisian was spoken almost exclusively along the whole coast, from the Sinkfal (the bay which today still

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[a] Procopius, *De bello Vandalico,* 1, 2. See J. Grimm, *Geschichte...,* Vol. 1, pp. 476-77.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Grimm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 471.—*Ed.*

[c] Plinius, *Naturalis historia,* IV, 13, 27. See J. Grimm, op. cit., p. 465.—*Ed.*

[d] Tacitus, *Germania,* 44. See *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* p. 669.—*Ed.*

[e] Ibid., p. 668.—*Ed.*

[f] K. Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme,* p. 79.—*Ed.*

[g] Ptolemaeus, *Geographia,* II, 11, 8.—*Ed.*

[h] K. Zeuss, op. cit., pp. 132-33.—*Ed.*

[i] *Lex Angliorum et Werinorum, hoc est Thuringorum.* Quoted in K. Zeuss, op. cit., p. 363.—*Ed.*

[j] Another group—the Ingaevones, which include the Cimbri, Teutons and Chauci.—*Ed.*

forms the boundary between Belgian Flanders and Dutch Zeeland) to Sylt and Schleswig Widau, and probably still a good deal further north; the Saxon language only on both sides of the Elbe mouth, to the sea.

Pliny evidently understands by the Cimbri and Teutons the then inhabitants of the Cimbric Chersonesus,[a] who therefore belonged to the Chauci-Frisian language branch. With Zeuss and Grimm we must therefore see in the North Frisians direct descendants of these oldest peninsular Germans.

It is true that Dahlmann (*Geschichte von Dänemark*)[b] maintains that the north Frisians immigrated into the peninsula only in the fifth century, from the south-west. But he does not cite the smallest evidence for this statement which has rightly been left quite out of consideration in all later studies.

Ingaevonian would accordingly here be in the first place synonymous with Frisian, in the sense that we name the entire linguistic branch after the dialect of which alone older memorials and surviving dialects remain. But is the extent of the Ingaevonian branch thereby exhausted? Or is Grimm right when he comprises in it the totality of what he, not quite accurately, terms Low German, that is alongside the Frisians also the Saxons?[c]

To begin with, we may admit that Pliny allots to the Saxons quite the wrong place when he reckons the Cherusci among the Herminones. We shall find later that indeed no option is left but to reckon the Saxons also among the Ingaevones and thus to understand this main branch as the Frisian-Saxon one.

Here it is in place to mention the Angles, whom Tacitus possibly, Ptolemy definitely reckons among the Suebi. The latter places them on the right bank of the Elbe,[d] opposite the Langobardi, by whom he can only mean the *true* Langobardi on the lower Elbe if the statement is at all to be taken to imply anything reliable; hence the Angles must have come from Lauenburg approximately as far as the Prignitz. Later we find them in the peninsula itself, where their name has been preserved and whence they went to Britain together with the Saxons. Their language now appears as an element of Anglo-Saxon, in particular the decidedly *Frisian* element of this newly formed dialect.

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[a] Plinius, *Naturalis historia,* IV, 99.— *Ed.*

[b] F. C. Dahlmann, *Geschichte von Dännemark,* Vol. I, Hamburg, 1840, p. 16.— *Ed.*

[c] J. Grimm, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 608.—*Ed.*

[d] Tacitus, *Germania,* 40. Quoted in *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* p. 668; Ptolemaeus, *Geographia,* II, 11, 8.—*Ed.*

Whatever may have become of those Angles who either remained behind in the interior of Germany or strayed there, this fact alone compels us to reckon the Angles among the Ingaevones, in particular to their Frisian branch. To them is due the far more Frisian than Saxon vocalisation of Anglo-Saxon and the fact that the further development of this language in many cases proceeds strikingly in parallel with that of the Frisian dialects. Of all the continental dialects the Frisian are today closest to the English. Similarly, the change of guttural sounds into sibilants in English is not of French but of Frisian origin. English *ch*=*č* instead of *k*, English *dž* for *g* before soft vowels could certainly originate from Frisian *tz, tj* for *k, dz* for *g*, but never from French *ch* and *g*.

With the Angles we must also count the Jutes to the Frisian-Ingaevonian branch, whether they were already occupying the peninsula in the time of Pliny or Tacitus or did not immigrate there until later. Grimm finds their name in that of the *Eudoses*, one of Tacitus' peoples who worshipped Nerthus[a]; if the Angles are Ingaevonian, it becomes difficult to allot the remaining peoples of this group to another branch. In that case the Ingaevones would extend to the area of the Oder mouth, and the gap between them and the Gothic peoples is filled.

III. *Proximi autem Rheno Iscaevones (alias Istaevones), quorum pars Sicambri.*[b]

Already Grimm, and others after him, Waitz for example,[c] more or less identify the Iscaevones and Franks. But their language confuses Grimm. From the middle of the 9th century all German documents of the realm of the Franks were composed in a dialect which cannot be distinguished from Old High German; hence Grimm assumes that Old Franconian perished in the alien country and at home was replaced by High German, and so he eventually reckoned the Franks to the High Germans.

Grimm himself asserts as a result of his investigation of preserved linguistic remains that Old Franconian has the value of an independent dialect holding an intermediary position between Saxon and High German.[d] This suffices here for the time being; a closer investigation of the Frankish linguistic situation, where much is still unclear, must be reserved for a special note.[e]

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[a] J. Grimm, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 738.—*Ed.*

[b] Closer to the Rhine, however, the Iscaevones (or Istaevones), including the Sugambri.—*Ed.*

[c] G. Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte,* Vol. 1, Kiel, 1844, p. XVII.—*Ed.*

[d] J. Grimm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 547.—*Ed.*

[e] See this volume, pp. 81-107.— *Ed.*

**MAP OF GERMAN SETTLEMENT ACCORDING TO ENGELS' "ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE GERMANS"**

## GERMAN PEOPLES

GOTHS (Gothic peoples) (Pliny's "Vindili"):

Goths
Burgundians
Vandals
Skiri
Rugii
Bastarnae

INGAEVONES (Frisian-Saxon peoples):

Frisians
Peninsular Frisians (Cimbri and Teutons)
Chauci
Saxons
Angles
Jutes (Eudoses)
Cherusci
Varini (?)

ISCAEVONES (Frankish peoples):

Ubii
Chamavi
Bructeri
Sugambri
Tencteri
Usipetes
Tribocci
Vangiones
Nemetes
} Lesser (Iscaevonian?) peoples

HERMINONES:

Suebi (Langobardi, Swabians-Alamanni, Bavarians-Marcomanni),
Hermunduri (Thuringians)
Chatti (Hessians)
Chatti peoples: Batavi and Chattuari

SCANDINAVIANS (Hilleviones)

100 0 100 200 km

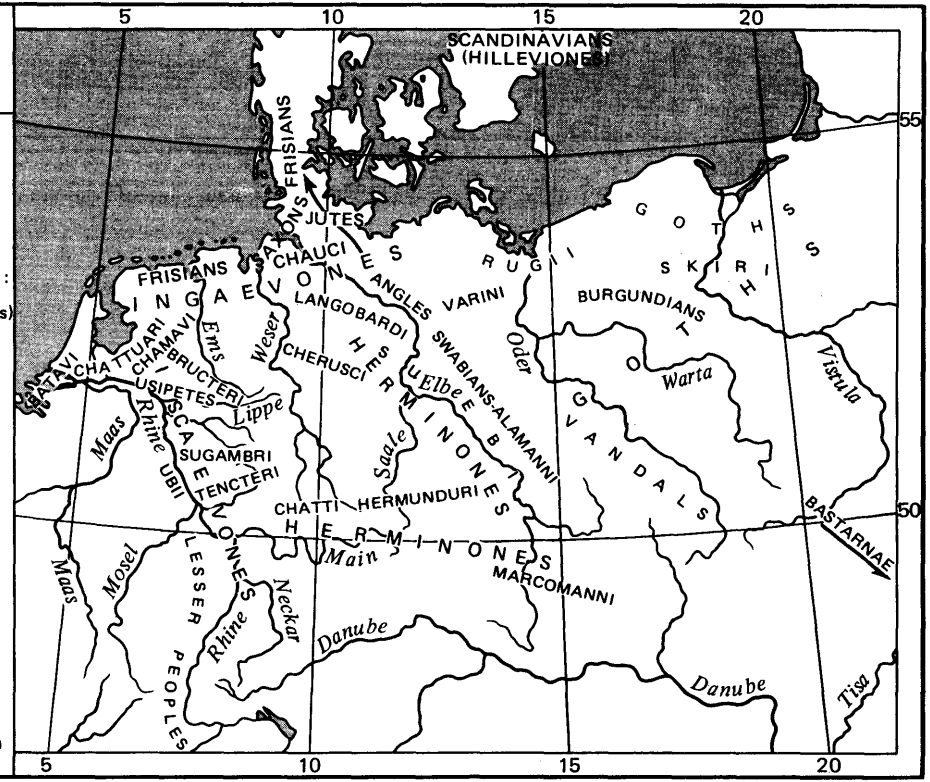

True enough, the area allotted to the Iscaevonian branch is comparatively small for an entire main German branch, and moreover one which has played such a mighty role in history. From the Rheingau onwards it accompanies the Rhine, extending inland to the sources of the Dill, Sieg, Ruhr, Lippe and Ems, northwards cut off from the sea by the Frisians and Chauci, and at the mouth of the Rhine penetrated by splinters of other peoples, mostly of Chattish origin: Batavi, Chattuari, etc. The Germans settled on the left bank of the lower Rhine will then also belong to the Franks; but also the Tribocci, Vangiones and Nemetes? The small extent of this area is explained, however, by the resistance offered to the expansion of the Iscaevones on the Rhine by the Celts and since Caesar the Romans; while in their rear the Cherusci had already settled, and on their flank Suebi, particularly the Chatti, hemmed them in more and more, as Caesar attests.[a] Here a dense population, for German conditions, was compressed into a small space, as is proved by the constant pressing across the Rhine: at first by conquering hordes, later by voluntary transfer to Roman territory, as with the Ubii. For the same reason the Romans easily succeeded here, and only here, in transferring considerable sections of Iscaevonian peoples to Roman territory already at an early period.

The investigation to be made in the note on the Franconian dialect will prove that the Franks form a separate group of Germans, composed of various branches, speaking a particular dialect divided into many subdialects, in short possessing all the marks of a main German branch, as is required if they are to be declared identical with the Iscaevones. On the individual peoples of this main branch J. Grimm has already said what is necessary.[b] In addition to the Sugambri he reckons among them Ubii, Chamavi, Bructeri, Tencteri and Usipetes, that is the peoples who inhabited the area on the right bank of the Rhine which we have earlier designated as Iscaevonic.

IV. *Mediterranei Hermiones, quorum Suevi, Hermunduri, Chatti, Cherusci.*[c]

J. Grimm already identified the Herminones, to use the more correct spelling of Tacitus, with the High Germans.[d] The name

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[a] Caesar, *Commentarii de bello Gallico,* IV, 4. Cf. *Die Geschichtschreiber...,* p. 165.— *Ed.*

[b] J. Grimm, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 831.— *Ed.*

[c] In the middle of the country, the Hermiones, comprising the Suebi, Hermunduri, Chatti and Cherusci.— *Ed.*

[d] J. Grimm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 547.— *Ed.*

Suebi, which according to Caesar covered all High Germans as far as he knew them,[a] is beginning to become differentiated. Thuringians (Hermunduri) and Hessians (Chatti) appear as separate peoples. The rest of the Suebi still remain undifferentiated. Leaving aside as inscrutable the many mysterious names which get lost already in the next centuries, we must, however, distinguish among these Suebi three great branches of High German tongue which later played their part in history: the Alamanni-Swabians, the Bavarians and the Langobardi. We know for certain that the Langobardi lived on the left bank of the lower Elbe, about the Bardengau, separated from their other branch comrades, advanced into the midst of Ingaevonian peoples. Tacitus describes this isolated position, which had to be maintained by prolonged fighting, excellently, without knowing its cause.[b] We also know since Zeuss and Grimm[c] that the Bavarians lived in Bohemia under the name of Marcomanni, the Hessians and Thuringians in their present abodes and in the neighbouring areas to the south. Since Roman territory began south of the Franks, Hessians and Thuringians, no other space remained for the Swabians-Alamanni than that between Elbe and Oder, in the modern Mark Brandenburg and the Kingdom of Saxony; and here we find a Suebian people, the Semnones. Thus they were probably identical with these, bordering on Ingaevones in the north-west and on Gothic branches in the north-east and east.

So far everything seems to go fairly smoothly. But now Pliny reckons also the Cherusci among the Herminones,[d] and here he decidedly makes a slip. Caesar already distinguishes them definitely from the Suebi, among whom he still reckons the Chatti.[e] Nor does Tacitus know anything of Cherusci belonging to any High German branch. Neither does Ptolemy, who extends the name Suebi to the Angles.[f] The mere fact that the Cherusci filled the space between Chatti and Hermunduri in the south and Langobardi in the north-east is not enough by a long way to conclude from that on any close branch kinship; although it may have been precisely that which misled Pliny here.[g]

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[a] Caesar, op. cit., VI, 10. Cf. *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, p. 207.— *Ed.*

[b] Tacitus, *Germania*, 40. Cf. *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, pp. 668-69.— *Ed.*

[c] K. Zeuss, op. cit., pp. 364-80; J. Grimm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 502.— *Ed.*

[d] Plinius, *Naturalis historia*, IV, 14.— *Ed.*

[e] Caesar, *Commentarii de bello Gallico*, VI, 10. Cf. *Die Geschichtschreiber...*, p. 207.— *Ed.*

[f] Ptolemaeus, *Geographia*, II, 11, 8.— *Ed.*

[g] Plinius, *Naturalis historia*, IV, 14.— *Ed.*

As far as I know, no scholar whose opinion matters counts the Cherusci among the High Germans. This only leaves the question whether they are to be reckoned among the Ingaevones or the Iscaevones. The few names which have come down to us show a Frankish stamp; *ch* instead of the later *h* in *Cherusci, Chariomerus*; *e* instead of *i* in *Segestes, Segimerus, Segimundus.* But almost all German names which came to the Romans from the banks of the Rhine seem to have been handed down to them by Franks in Frankish form. Moreover, we do not know whether the guttural aspirate of the first shift of the consonants, in the seventh century still *ch* with the Franks, did not sound *ch* with all West Germans in the first century and was only later weakened to the *h* common to them all. Nor do we otherwise find any branch kinship of the Cherusci with the Iscaevones, such as showed itself when the Sugambri took in the remaining Usipetes and Tencteri after they had escaped from Caesar. Moreover, the country on the right bank of the Rhine occupied at the time of Varus by the Romans and treated by them as a province coincides with Iscaevonian-Frankish territory. Here Aliso and the other Roman forts were situated; of the Cheruscan country at most only the strip between the Osning and the Weser seems to have been actually occupied. Beyond it, the Chatti, Cherusci, Chauci and Frisians were more or less uncertain allies, held in check by fear, but autonomous in their internal affairs and free of permanent Roman garrisons. In this area the Romans, when met with resistance of any strength, always made the branch boundary the limit of conquest for the time being. Thus Caesar had done in Gaul; at the border of the Belgae he halted and only crossed it when he thought that he had made sure of Gaul proper, so-called Celtic Gaul.[a]

Nothing remains but to reckon the Cherusci and their nearest relatives among the smaller neighbouring peoples to the Saxon branch, and hence among the Ingaevones, after J. Grimm[b] and the usual view. The fact that the old Saxon *a* is purest preserved just in the old Cheruscan area, against the *o* in the genitive plural and weak masculine which predominates in Westphalia, suggests the same thing. In this way all the difficulties disappear; the Ingaevonian branch, like the others, is given a fairly rounded territory into which only the Herminonian Langobardi penetrate a little. Of the two great divisions of the branch, the Frisian-Anglian-Jutish occupies the coast and at least the northern and western

[a] Caesar, op. cit., II, 3, 7, 1.— *Ed.*
[b] J. Grimm, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 612.— *Ed.*

parts of the peninsula, the Saxon division the inner country and perhaps also now already a part of North Albingia, where soon afterwards Ptolemy first mentions the *Saxones* by name.[a]

V. *Quinta pars Peucini, Basternae contermini Dacis.*[b]

The little we know of these two peoples stamps them as branch relatives of the Goths, as does even the form of the name, *Bastarnae.* If Pliny lists them as a separate branch, this is probably due to the fact that he heard of them from the lower Danube, through Greek intermediaries,[25] while his knowledge of the Gothic peoples on the Oder and Vistula had been gained on the Rhine and the North Sea, so that the connection between Goths and Bastarnae escaped him. Both Bastarnae and Peucini are German peoples who stayed behind at the Carpathians and the Danube mouths and continued migrating for some time, preparing the later great realm of the Goths, in which they became immersed.

VI. I mention the Hilleviones, the collective name under which Pliny lists the German Scandinavians,[c] only for the sake of completeness and in order once more to establish that all the ancient authors allot to this main branch only the islands (which include Sweden and Norway), excluding them from the Cimbric peninsula.

Thus we have five main German branches with five principal dialects.

The Gothic, in the east and north-east, has *-ê* in the genitive plural of the masculine and neuter, *-ô* and *-ê* in the feminine; the weak masculine has *-a.* The inflected forms of the present tense (the indicative) are still close to those of the originally related languages, in particular Greek and Latin, if the shifting of the consonants is borne in mind.

The Ingaevonic, in the north-west, has *-a* in the genitive plural, and also for the weak masculine; in the present indicative all three persons in the plural end in *-d* or *-dh,* all nasal sounds being expunged. It is divided into the two main branches of the Saxon and Frisian, which merge again into one in the Anglo-Saxon. Close to the Frisian branch is

the Scandinavian; genitive plural ending in *-a,* weak masculine in *-i,* weakened from *-a,* as shown by the whole declension. In the present indicative the original *-s* of the second person singular

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[a] Ptolemaeus, *Geographia,* II, 11, 7.— *Ed.*

[b] The fifth group: Peucini and Bastarnae, whose neighbours are the Dacians.— *Ed.*

[c] Plinius, *Naturalis historia,* IV, 13.— *Ed.*

passes into *-r,* the first person plural retains *-m,* the second *-dh,* the remaining persons are more or less mutilated.

These three face the two southern branches: the Iscaevonic and Herminonic, in the later mode of expression the Franconian and the High German. The two have in common the weak masculine ending *-o*; most probably also the genitive plural ending *-ô,* although it is not substantiated in the Franconian, and in the oldest western (Salic) documents the accusative plural ends in *-as.* In the present tense the two dialects, as far as we can document this for the Franconian, are close and, in this respect like Gothic, closely correspond with the originally related languages. But the whole course of linguistic history, from the very significant, archaic peculiarities of the oldest Franconian to the great differences between the modern dialects of both, precludes us from throwing the two dialects together into one; just as the whole course of the history of the peoples themselves makes it impossible for us to put them both into one main branch.

If throughout this investigation I have considered only the forms of inflection and not the phonetic relations, this is to be explained from the considerable changes which have occurred in the latter—at least in many dialects—between the first century and the time when our oldest linguistic sources were drawn up. In Germany I need only recall the second shift of the consonants; in Scandinavia the alliterations of the oldest songs show how much the language altered between the time when they were composed and when they were written down. Whatever it may still be possible to do in this respect will most likely be done by competent German linguists; here it would only have made the investigation unnecessarily complicated.

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# THE FRANKISH PERIOD[26]

## THE RADICAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE RELATIONS OF LANDOWNERSHIP UNDER THE MEROVINGIANS[27] AND CAROLINGIANS

The mark system[28] remained the basis of almost the entire life of the German nation till the end of the Middle Ages. Eventually, after an existence of one and a half millennia, it gradually disintegrated for purely economic reasons. It succumbed to economic advances with which it was unable to keep pace. We shall later examine its decline and ultimate destruction and we shall see that remnants of the mark system continue to exist even today.

It was only at the expense of its political importance that it was able to survive for so long. For centuries it had been the form embodying the freedom of the Germanic tribes. Then it became the basis of the people's bondage for a thousand years. How was this possible?

The earliest community, as we have seen, comprised the whole people. Originally the people owned all the appropriated land. Later the whole body of inhabitants of a district [*Gau*], who were closely interrelated, became the owners of the territory settled by them, and the people as such retained only the right to dispose of the tracts which had not yet been claimed. The populace of the district in their turn handed over their field and forest marks to individual village communities, which likewise consisted of closely kindred people, and in this case too the land that was left over was retained by the district. The same procedure was followed when the original villages set up new village colonies—they were provided with land from the old mark by the parent village.

With the growth of the population and the further development of the people the blood-ties, on which here as everywhere the entire national structure was based, increasingly fell into oblivion.

This was first the case with regard to the people as a whole. The common descent was less and less seen as real consanguinity, the memory of it became fainter and fainter and what remained was merely the common history and the dialect. On the other hand, the inhabitants of a district naturally retained an awareness of their consanguinity for a longer time. The people thus came to mean merely a more or less stable confederation of districts. This seems to have been the state of affairs among the Germans at the time of the great migrations. Ammianus Marcellinus reports this definitely about the Alamanni,[a] and in the local law[29] it is still everywhere apparent. The Saxons were still at this stage of development during Charlemagne's time and the Frisians until they lost their independence.

But the migration on to Roman soil broke the blood-ties, as it was bound to. Although the intention was to settle by tribes and kindreds, it was impossible to carry this through. The long marches had mixed together not only tribes and kindreds but also entire peoples. Only with difficulty could the blood-ties of the individual village communities still be held together, and these became thus the real political units of which the people consisted. The new districts on Roman territory were from the start, or soon became, judicial divisions set up more or less arbitrarily—or occasioned by conditions found already in existence.

The people thus disintegrated into an association of small village communities, between which there existed no or virtually no economic connection, for every mark was self-sufficient, producing enough to satisfy its own needs, and moreover the products of the various neighbouring marks being almost exactly the same. Hardly any exchange could therefore take place between them. And since the people consisted entirely of small communities, which had identical economic interests, but for that very reason no common ones, the continued existence of the nation depended on a state power which did not derive from these communities but confronted them as something alien and exploited them to an ever increasing extent.

The form of this state power depends in its turn on the form of the communities at the time in question. Where, as among the Aryan peoples of Asia and the Russians, it arises at a time when the fields are still cultivated by the community for the common account, or when at any rate the fields are only temporarily

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[a] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum,* XVIII, 2, 1; XX, 4, 1; XXX, 3, 1.—*Ed.*

allotted by it to individual families, i.e. when there is as yet no private property in land, the state power appears as despotism. On the other hand, in the Roman lands conquered by the Germans, the individual shares in arable land and meadows already take, as we have seen, the form of the allodium, the owners' free property subject only to the ordinary mark obligations. We must now examine how on the basis of this allodium a social and political structure arose, which—with the usual irony of history—in the end dissolved the state and completely abolished the allodium in its classical form.

The allodium made the transformation of the original equality of landed property into its opposite not only possible but inevitable. From the moment it was established on formerly Roman soil, the German allodium became what the Roman landed property adjacent to it had long been—a commodity. It is an inexorable law of all societies based on commodity production and commodity exchange that the distribution of property within them becomes increasingly unequal, the opposition of wealth and poverty constantly grows and property is more and more concentrated in a few hands. It is true that this law reaches its full development in modern capitalist production, but it is by no means only in it that this law operates. From the moment therefore that allodium, freely disposable landed property, landed property as commodity, arose, from that moment the emergence of large-scale landed property was merely a matter of time.

But in the period we are concerned with, farming and stock-breeding were the principal branches of production. Landed property and its products constituted the by far largest part of wealth at that time. Other types of movable wealth that existed then followed landed property as a matter of course, and gradually accumulated in the same hands as landed property. Industry and trade had already deteriorated during the decline of the Roman empire; the German invasion ruined them almost completely. The little that was left was for the most part carried on by unfree men and aliens and remained a despised occupation. The ruling class which, with the emerging inequality in property, gradually arose could only be a class of big landowners, its form of political rule that of an aristocracy. Though, as we shall see, political levers, violence and deceit contribute frequently, and as it seems even predominantly, to the formation and development of this class, we must not forget that these political levers only advance and accelerate an inevitable economic process. We shall indeed see just as often that these political levers impede economic

development; this happens quite frequently, and invariably when the different parties concerned apply them in opposite or intersecting directions.

How did this class of big landowners come into being?

First of all we know that even after the Frankish conquest a large number of big Roman landowners remained in Gaul, whose estates were for the most part cultivated by free or bound copyholders against payment of rent (*canon*).

Furthermore we have seen that as a result of the wars of conquest the monarchy had become a permanent institution and real power among all Germans who had moved out, and that it had turned the land which had formerly belonged to the people into royal domains and had likewise appropriated the Roman state lands. These crown lands were constantly augmented by the wholesale seizure of the estates of so-called rebels during the many civil wars resulting from the partitions of the empire. But rapidly as these lands increased, they were just as rapidly squandered in donations to the Church and to private individuals, Franks and Romans, retainers (antrustions[30]) and other favourites of the king. Once the rudiments of a ruling class comprising the big and the powerful, landlords, officials and generals had formed, during and because of the civil wars, local rulers tried to purchase their support by grants of land. Roth has conclusively proved that in most cases these were real grants, transfers of land which became free, inheritable and alienable property, until this was changed by Charles Martel.*

When Charles took over the helm of state, the power of the kings was completely broken but, as yet, by no means replaced by that of the major-domos.[31] The class of grandees, created under the Merovingians at the expense of the Crown, furthered the ruin of royal power in every way, but certainly not in order to submit to the major-domos, their compeers. On the contrary, the whole of Gaul was, as Einhard says, in the hands of these

> "tyrants, who were arrogating power to themselves everywhere" (*tyrannos per totam Galliam dominatum sibi vindicantes*).[a]

This was done not only by secular grandees but also by bishops, who appropriated adjacent counties and duchies in many areas,

* P. Roth, *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens,* Erlangen, 1850. One of the best books of the pre-Maurer period. I have borrowed a good deal from it in this chapter.

[a] Einhardus, *Vita Caroli Magni,* 2. Quoted in P. Roth, *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens...,* Erlangen, 1850, p. 352.—*Ed.*

and were protected by their immunity and the strong organisation of the Church. The internal disintegration of the empire was followed by incursions of external enemies. The Saxons invaded Rhenish Franconia, the Avars Bavaria, and the Arabs moved across the Pyrenees into Aquitania.[32] In such a situation, mere subjection of the internal enemies and expulsion of the external ones could provide no long-term solution. A method had to be found of binding the humbled grandees, or their successors appointed by Charles, more firmly to the Crown. And since their power was up to then based on large-scale landed property, the first prerequisite for this was a total transformation of the relations of landownership. This transformation was the principal achievement of the Carolingian dynasty.[33] The distinctive feature of this transformation is that the means chosen to unite the empire, to tie the grandees permanently to the Crown and thus to make the latter more powerful, in the end led to the complete impotence of the Crown, the independence of the grandees and the dissolution of the empire.

To understand how Charles came to choose this means, we must first examine the property relations of the Church at the time, which anyway cannot be passed over here, being an essential element of contemporary agrarian relations.

Even during the Roman era, the Church in Gaul owned considerable landed property, the revenue from which was further increased by its great privileges with regard to taxes and other obligations. But it was only after the conversion of the Franks to Christianity[34] that the golden age began for the Gallic Church. The kings vied with one another in making donations of land, money, jewels, church utensils, etc., to the Church. Already Chilperic used to say (according to Gregory of Tours):

> "See how poor our treasury has become, see, all our wealth has been transferred to the Church."[a]

Under Guntram, the darling and lackey of the priests, the donations exceeded all bounds. Thus the confiscated lands of free Franks accused of rebellion mostly became the property of the Church.

The people followed the lead of the kings. Small man and big could not give enough to the Church.

> "A miraculous cure of a real or imagined ailment, the fulfilment of an ardent wish, e.g. the birth of a son or deliverance from danger, brought the Church whose

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[a] Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Francorum,* VI, 46. Quoted in P. Roth, op. cit., pp. 248-49, Note 6.— *Ed.*

saint had proved helpful a gift. It was deemed the more necessary to be always open-handed as both among high and low the view was widespread that gifts to the Church led to the remission of sins" (Roth, p. 250).

Added to this was the immunity protecting the property of the Church from violation at a time of incessant civil wars, looting and confiscation. Many a small man thought it wise to cede his property to the Church provided he retained its usufruct at a moderate rent.

Yet all this was not sufficient for the pious priests. With threats of eternal punishment in hell they virtually extorted more and more donations, so that as late as 811 Charlemagne reproaches them with this in the Aachen Capitulary,[35] adding that they induce people

"to commit perjury and bear false witness, so as to increase your" (the bishops' and abbots') "wealth".[a]

Unlawful donations were obtained by hook or by crook in the hope that, apart from its privileged judicial status, the Church had sufficient means to cock a snook at the judiciary. There was hardly any Gallic Church Council in the sixth and seventh centuries that did not threaten to excommunicate anyone trying to contest donations to the Church. In this way even formally invalid donations were to be made valid, and the private debts of individual clerics protected against collection.

"We see that truly contemptible means were employed to arouse, again and again, the desire for making donations. When descriptions of heavenly bliss and infernal torment were no longer effective, relics were brought from distant parts, translations were arranged and new churches built; this was a veritable business in the ninth century" (Roth, p. 254). "When the emissaries of the St. Medard monastery in Soissons by much assiduous begging obtained the body of Saint Sebastian in Rome and in addition stole that of Gregory, and both bodies were deposited in the monastery, so many people flocked to see the new saints that the whole area seemed to be swarming with locusts, and those seeking relief were cured not individually but in whole herds. The result was that the monks measured the money by the bushel, counting as many as 85, and their stock of gold amounted to 900 pounds" (p. 255).

Deceit, legerdemain, the appearance of the dead, especially of saints, and finally also, and even predominantly, the forging of documents, were used to obtain riches for the Church. The forging of documents was—to let Roth speak again—

"practised by many clerics on a vast scale ... this business began very early.... The extent of this practice can be seen from the large number of forged documents contained in our collections. Of Bréquigny's 360 Merovingian certifi-

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[a] Quoted in P. Roth, *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens...*, p. 253.—*Ed.*

cates[a] nearly 130 are definitely forgeries.... The forged testament of Remigius was used by Hincmar of Reims[b] to procure his church a number of properties, which were not mentioned in the genuine testament, although the latter had never been lost and Hincmar knew very well that the former was spurious."[c]

Even Pope John VIII tried to obtain the possessions of the St. Denis monastery near Paris by means of a document which he knew to be a forgery. (Roth, pp. 256 ff.)

No wonder then that the landed property the Church amassed through donations, extortion, guile, fraud, forgery and other criminal activities assumed enormous proportions within a few centuries. The monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, now within the perimeter of Paris, at the beginning of the ninth century owned landed property of 8,000 mansi or hides,[d] an area which Guérard estimates at 429,987 hectares with an annual yield of one million francs=800,000 marks.[36] If we use the same average, i.e. an area of 54 hectares with a yield of 125 francs=100 marks per hide of land, then the monasteries St. Denis, Luxeuil, St. Martin de Tours, each owning 15,000 mansi at that time, held landed property of 810,000 hectares with an income of $1^1/_2$ million marks. And this was the position *after* the confiscation of Church property by Pepin the Short![e] Roth estimates (p. 249) that the entire property of the Church in Gaul at the end of the seventh century was probably above, rather than below, one-third of the total area.

These enormous estates were cultivated partly by unfree and in part also by free copyholders of the Church. Of the unfree, the slaves (*servi*) were originally subject to unmeasured service to their lords, since they were not persons in law. But it seems that for the resident slaves too a customary amount of duties and services was soon established. On the other hand, the services of the other two unfree classes, the colons and lites[37] (we have no information about the difference in their legal position at that time) were fixed and consisted in certain personal services and corvée as well as a definite part of the produce of their plot. These were long established relations of dependence. But for the Germans it was something quite new that free men were cultivating not their own or common land. It is true that the

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[a] L. G. O. F. de Bréquigny, F. J. G. La Porte du Theil, *Diplomata, chartae, epistolae, et alia documenta...* In P. Roth, *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens...*, p. XVII.— *Ed.*

[b] Hincmar Remensis, *Vita Remigii.* Quoted in P. Roth, op. cit., pp. XIX, 258.— *Ed.*

[c] Quoted in P. Roth, op. cit., pp. 256-58.— *Ed.*

[d] Hide—a variable unit of area of land, enough for a household.— *Ed.*

[e] See this volume, p. 66.— *Ed.*

Germans met quite frequently free Roman tenants in Gaul and in general in territories where Roman law prevailed; however during the settlement of the country care was taken to ensure that they themselves did not have to become tenants but could settle on their own land. Hence before free Franks could become somebody's copyholders they must have in some way or other lost the allodium they received when the country was being occupied, a distinct class of landless free Franks must have come into existence.

This class arose as a result of the beginning concentration of landed property, owing to the same causes as led to this concentration, i.e., on the one hand civil wars and confiscations and on the other the transfer of land to the Church mainly due to the pressure of circumstances and the desire for security. The Church soon discovered a specific means to encourage such transfers, it allowed the donor not only to enjoy the usufruct of his land for a rent, but also to rent a piece of Church land as well. For such donations were made in two forms. Either the donor retained the usufruct of his farm during his lifetime, so that it became the property of the Church only after his death (*donatio post obitum*). In this case it was usual, and was later expressly laid down in the kings' Capitularies, that the donor should be able to rent twice as much land from the Church as he had donated. Or the donation took effect immediately (*cessio a die praesente*) and in this case the donor could rent three times as much Church land as well as his own farm, by means of a document known as precaria, issued by the Church—which transferred the land to him, usually for the duration of his life, but sometimes for a longer or shorter period. Once a class of landless free men had come into being, some of them likewise entered into such a relationship. The precaria they were granted seem at first to have been mostly issued for five years, but in their case too they were soon made out for life.

There is scarcely any doubt that even under the Merovingians relations very similar to those obtaining on Church estates developed also on the estates of the secular magnates, and that here too free and unfree rent-paying tenants were living side by side. They must have been very numerous as early as Charles Martel's rule for otherwise at least *one* aspect of the transformation of landownership relations initiated by him and completed by his son and grandson[a] would be inexplicable.

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[a] Pepin III (the Short) and Charlemagne.—*Ed.*

This transformation depended basically on two new institutions. First, in order to keep the barons of the empire tied to the Crown, the Crown lands they received were now as a rule no longer a gift, but only a "beneficium", granted for life, and moreover on certain conditions nonfulfilment of which entailed the forfeiture of the land. Thus they became themselves tenants of the Crown. And secondly, in order to ensure that the free tenants of the barons turned up for military service, the latter were granted some of the district count's official powers over the free men living on their estates and appointed their "seniores". For the present we need only consider the first of these two changes.

When subduing the rebellious small "tyrants" Charles probably—we have no information regarding this—confiscated their landed property according to old custom, but in so far as he reinstated them in their offices and dignities he will have granted it to them entirely or in part as a benefice. He did not yet dare to treat the Church land of recalcitrant bishops in the same way. He deposed them and gave their positions to people devoted to him, though the only clerical trait of many of them was their tonsure (*sola tonsura clericus*). These new bishops and abbots then began at his bidding to transfer large tracts of Church land to laymen as precaria. Such instances had occurred earlier too, but it was now done on a mass scale. His son Pepin went considerably further. The Church was in decay, the clergy despised, the Pope,[a] hard pressed by the Langobardi, depended exclusively on Pepin's support. He helped the Pope, favoured the extension of his ecclesiastical rule and held the Pope's stirrup.[38] But as a remuneration he incorporated the by far largest part of the Church land into the Crown estates and left the bishops and monasteries an amount just sufficient for their maintenance. The Church acquiesced passively in this first large-scale secularisation, the synod of Lestines[39] confirmed it, albeit with a restrictive clause, which was, however, never observed. This huge mass of land placed the exhausted Crown estate once more on a secure footing and was to a large extent used for further grants, which in fact soon assumed the form of ordinary benefices.

Let us add here that the Church was soon able to recover from this blow. Directly after the conflict with Pepin the worthy men of God resumed their old practices. Donations came once more thick and fast from all directions, the small free peasants were still in the same sorry plight between hammer and anvil as they had been

[a] Stephen II.—*Ed.*

for the past 200 years. Under Charlemagne and his successors they fared far worse still and many entrusted themselves and all their possessions to the protection of the crosier. The kings returned some of their booty to favoured monasteries, and donated vast stretches of Crown land to others, especially in Germany. The blessed times of Guntram seemed to have returned for the Church during the reign of Louis the Pious. The monastery archives contain especially numerous records of donations made in the ninth century.

The benefice, this new institution, which we must now examine closer, was not yet the future fief, but certainly its embryo. It was from the outset granted for the common span of life of both the conferrer and the recipient. If one or the other died, it reverted to the owner or his heirs. To renew the former relationship, a new transfer of property to the recipient or his heirs had to be made. Hence the benefice was subject to both "throne-fall" and "home-fall", to use a later terminology. Throne-fall soon fell into desuetude; the great beneficiaries became more powerful than the king. Home-fall, even at an early stage, not infrequently entailed the re-transfer of the estate to the heir of the former beneficiary. Patriciacum (Percy), an estate near Autun, which Charles Martel granted as a benefice to Hildebrannus, remained in the family passing from father to son for four generations, until in 839 the king presented it to the brother of the fourth beneficiary as full property. Similar cases occur quite frequently since the mid-eighth century.

The benefice could be withdrawn by the conferrer in all cases in which confiscation of property was applicable. And there was no shortage of such cases under the Carolingians. The risings in Alamannia under Pepin the Short, the conspiracy of the Thuringians and the repeated risings of the Saxons[40] invariably led to new confiscations, either of free peasant land or of magnates' estates and benefices. This occurred also, despite all treaty stipulations to the contrary, during the internal wars under Louis the Pious and his sons.[41] Certain non-political crimes were also punished by confiscation.

The Crown could moreover withdraw benefices if the beneficiary neglected his general obligations as a subject, e.g., did not hand over a robber who had sought asylum, did not turn up armed for a campaign, did not pay heed to royal letters, etc.

Furthermore benefices were conferred on special terms, the infringement of which entailed their withdrawal, which of course did not extend to the rest of the property of the beneficiary. This

was the case, for example, when former Church estates were granted and the beneficiary failed to pay the Church the dues that went with them (*nonae et decimae*[a]). Or if he let the estate deteriorate, in which case a year's notice was usually first given as a warning so that the beneficiary could improve matters to avert confiscation which would otherwise follow, etc. The transfer of an estate could also be tied to definite services and this was indeed done more and more frequently as the benefice gradually developed into the fief proper. But initially this was by no means necessary, especially with regard to military service, for many benefices were conferred on lower clerics, monks, and women both spiritual and lay.

Finally it is by no means impossible that in the beginning the Crown also conferred land subject to recall or for a definite period, i.e. as precaria. Some of the information and the procedure of the Church make this probable. But at any rate this ceased soon for the granting of land as a benefice became prevalent in the ninth century.

For the Church—and we must assume that this applied to the big landowners and beneficiaries as well—the Church, which previously granted estates to its free tenants mostly only as precaria for a definite period of time, had to follow the stimulus given by the Crown. The Church not only began to grant benefices as well, but this kind of grant became so predominant that already existing precaria were turned into lifelong ones and imperceptibly became benefices, until the former merged almost completely into the latter in the ninth century. Beneficiaries of the Church and also of secular magnates must have played an important part in the state as early as the second half of the ninth century, some of them must have been men of substantial property, the founders of the future lower nobility. Otherwise Charles the Bald would not have so vigorously helped those who had been without reason deprived of their benefices by Hincmar of Laon.

The benefice, as we see, has many aspects which recur in the developed fief. Throne-fall and home-fall are common to both. The benefice, like the fief, can only be revoked under certain conditions. The social hierarchy created by the benefices, which descends from the Crown through the big beneficiaries—the predecessors of the imperial princes—to the medium be-

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[a] Ninth and tenth part of the harvest or other revenues. See P. Roth, op. cit., pp. 363-64.—*Ed.*

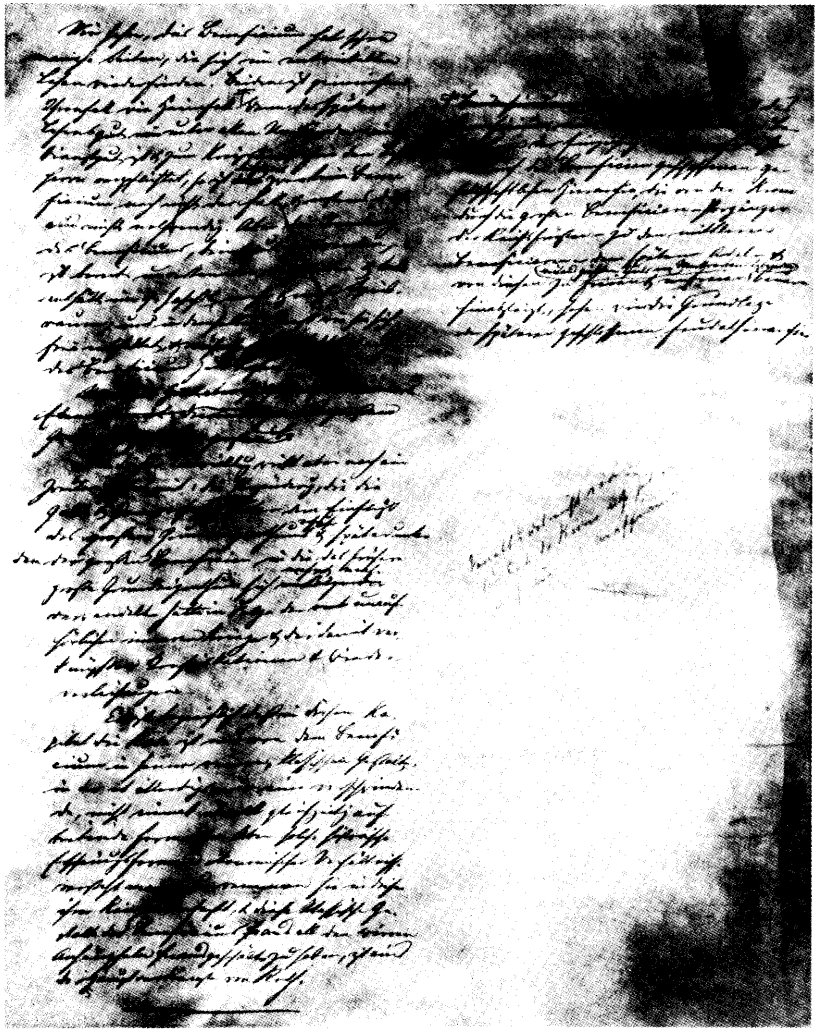

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neficiaries—the future nobility—and from them to the free and unfree peasants, the bulk of whom lived in mark communities, formed the foundation for the future compact feudal hierarchy. Whereas the subsequent fief is, in all circumstances, held in return for services and entails military service for the feudal lord, the benefice does not yet require military service and other services are by no means inevitable. But the tendency of the benefice to become an estate held in return for services is already obvious, and spreads steadily during the ninth century; and in the same measure as it unfolds, the benefice develops into the fief.

Another factor contributed to this development, i.e., the changes which took place in the district and army structure first under the influence of big landed property and later under that of the big benefices, into which big landed property was increasingly transformed as a result of the incessant internal wars and the confiscations and retransfers associated with them.

It is evident that only the pure, classical form of the benefice has been examined in this chapter, which was certainly only a transitory form and did not even appear everywhere simultaneously. But such historical manifestations of economic relations can only be understood if they are considered in their pure state, and it is one of the chief merits of Roth that he has laid bare this classical form of the benefice, stripping it of all its confusing appendages.

## THE DISTRICT AND ARMY STRUCTURE

The transformation in the position of landed property just described was bound to influence the old structure. It caused just as significant changes in the latter, and these in their turn had repercussions on the relations of landed property. For the present we shall leave aside the remodelling of the political structure as a whole and confine ourselves to an examination of the influence the new economic position exerted on the still existing remnants of the old popular structure in the districts and the army.

As early as the Merovingian period we frequently encounter counts and dukes as administrators of Crown estates. But it was not until the ninth century that certain Crown estates were definitely linked to the countship in such a way that the count of the day received their revenue. The formerly honorary office had been transformed into a paid one. In addition to this we find the counts holding royal benefices granted to them personally, which

is something self-evident under the conditions of that time. The count thus became a powerful landowner within his county.

First of all it is obvious that the authority of the count was bound to suffer when big landed proprietors arose under him and side by side with him. People who had often enough scorned the commands of the kings under the Merovingians and early Carolingians could be expected to show even less respect for the orders of the count. Their free tenants, confident of the protection of powerful landlords, just as frequently disregarded the count's summons to appear in court or turn up for his levy to the army. This was one of the reasons that led to grants being made in the form of benefices instead of allodial grants and later to the gradual transformation of most of the formerly free big estates into benefices.

This alone was not enough to ensure that the free men living on the estates of the magnates did in fact perform their services to the State. A further change had to be introduced. The king saw himself compelled to make the big landlords responsible for the appearance of their free tenants at court and for their performance of military and other traditional services to the State in the same way as hitherto the count was held accountable for all free inhabitants of his county. And this could only be accomplished if the king gave the magnates some of the count's official powers over their tenants. It was the landlord or beneficiary who had to make sure that his people appeared before the court, they therefore had to be summoned through him. He had to bring them to the army, therefore the levy had to be effected by him, and so that he might always be held accountable for them he had to lead them and have the right to impose military discipline on them. But it was and continued to be the king's service that the tenants performed, and the recalcitrant was punished not by the landlord but by the royal count, and the fine went to the royal fisc.

This innovation too goes back to Charles Martel. At any rate only since his time do we find the custom of high ecclesiastical dignitaries taking the field themselves, a custom which, according to Roth, was due to the fact that Charles made his bishops join the army at the head of their tenants in order to ensure that the latter turned up.[a] Undoubtedly this also applied to the secular magnates and their tenants. Under Charlemagne the new arrangement is already firmly established and universally enforced.

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[a] See P. Roth, op. cit., p. 356.—*Ed.*

But this caused a substantial change also in the political position of the free tenants. They who had formerly been on an equal footing with their landlord before the law, however much they depended on him economically, now became his subordinates also in the legal sphere. Their economic subjection was politically sanctioned. The landlord becomes Senior, Seigneur, the tenants become his *homines,* the "lord" becomes the master of his "man". The legal equality of the free men has disappeared; the man on the lowest rung of the ladder, his full freedom already greatly impaired by the loss of his ancestral land, moves down another step nearer the unfree. The new "lord" rises that much higher above the level of the old communal freedom. The basis of the new aristocracy, already established economically, is recognised by the State and becomes one of the fully operative driving wheels of the State machinery.

But alongside these *homines* made up of free tenants there existed yet another kind. These were impoverished free men who had voluntarily entered into the service or become retainers of a magnate. The retinue of the Merovingians were the antrustions, the magnates of that time will likewise have had their retainers. The retainers of the king were, under the Carolingians, called *vassi, vasalli* or *gasindi,* terms which had been used for unfree men in the oldest codes of common law, but had now come to mean usually free retainers. The same expressions were applied to the grandee's retainers, who now occur quite commonly and become an increasingly numerous and important element of society and State.

Old treaty formulas show how the grandees came to have such retainers. One of them (Formulae Sirmondicae 44) for instance says:

> "Since it is known to one and all that I have not the wherewithal to feed and clothe myself, I ask of your" (the lord's) "piety that I may betake and commend myself into your protection" (*mundoburdum*—guardianship, as it were) "so that ... you will be obliged to aid me with food and clothing, according as I shall serve you and merit the same; in return, may I be obliged to render you service and obedience in the manner of a freeman (*ingenuili ordine*); nor shall it be in my power to withdraw from your authority and patronage during my lifetime but I shall spend my days under your authority and protection."[42]

This formula provides full information about the origin and nature of the ordinary relations of allegiance stripped of all alien admixtures, and it is especially revealing because it presents the extreme case of a poor devil who has been reduced to absolute penury. The entry into the seignior's retinue was effected by the

two parties reaching a free agreement—free in the sense of Roman and modern law—often rather similar to the entry of a present-day worker into the service of a manufacturer. The "man" commended himself to the lord, and the latter accepted his commendation. It was confirmed by a handshake and an oath of allegiance. The agreement was lifelong and was only dissolved by the death of one of the two contractors. The liege man was obliged to carry out all services consistent with the position of a free man which his lord might impose on him. In return the lord provided for his keep and rewarded him as he thought fit. A grant of land was by no means necessarily involved and in fact it certainly did not take place in all cases.

Under the Carolingians, especially since Charlemagne, this relationship was not only tolerated but directly encouraged and eventually, it seems, made compulsory for all ordinary free men—by a Capitulary of 847—and regulated by the State. For example, the liege man could unilaterally annul the relationship with his lord only if the latter attempted to kill him, hit him with a stick, dishonour his wife or daughter or deprive him of his hereditary property (Capitulary of 813). The liege man moreover was bound to his lord as soon as he had received a value equivalent to one solidus from him. This again clearly shows how little at that time the vassal relationship was linked with the granting of land. The same stipulations are repeated in a Capitulary of 816, with the addition that the liege man was released from his obligations if his lord wrongfully attempted to reduce him to the status of an unfree man or failed to afford him the promised protection although he was able to do so.[43]

With regard to his retainers the liege lord now had the same rights and duties towards the State as the landlord or beneficiary had with regard to his tenants. As before they were liable to serve the king, but here too the liege lord was interposed between the king and his counts. The liege lord brought the vassals to court, he called them up, led them in war and maintained discipline among them, he was responsible for them and their regulation equipment. This gave him a certain degree of penal authority over his subordinates, and was the starting point of the feudal lord's jurisdiction over his vassals, which developed later.

In these two additional institutions, the formation of the retainer system and the transfer of the official powers of the counts, that is the State, to the landlord, the holder of a Crown benefice, and the liege lord over his subordinates—both tenants and landless retainers, who were soon all to be called *vassi, vasalli*

or *homines*—in this political confirmation and strengthening of the actual power of the lord over his vassals we see an important further development of the germ of the fief system contained in the benefices. The hierarchy of social estates, from the king downwards through the big beneficiaries to their free tenants and finally to the unfree men, has in its official capacity become a recognised element of the political organisation. The State recognises that it cannot exist without its help. We shall see later how in actual fact this help was given.

The differentiation between retainers and tenants is only important in the beginning, in order to show that the dependence of free men came about in two ways. The two types of vassals very soon merged inseparably, in name as well as in fact. It became more and more customary for the big beneficiaries to commend themselves to the king, so that they were not only his beneficiaries but also his vassals. It was in the interest of the kings to make the magnates, bishops, abbots, counts and vassals swear the oath of allegiance to them personally (*Annales Bertiniani* 837[44] and other documents of the ninth century); consequently the distinction between the general oath of the subject and the specific oath of the vassal was bound to disappear soon. Thus all the great men gradually became vassals of the king. The slow transformation of the big landowners into a special estate, an aristocracy, was herewith recognised by the State, incorporated into the State structure and became one of its officially functioning elements.

Similarly the retainers of the individual big landowners gradually became tenants. Apart from providing board at the manor-house, which after all could only be done for a small number of people, there was but one way of assuring oneself of retainers, that is by settling them on the ground, by granting them land as a benefice. A numerous militant retinue, the main prerequisite for the existence of the magnates in those times of perpetual fighting, could therefore only be obtained by granting land to the vassals. Consequently landless retainers gradually disappear from the manor while the mass of those settled on the lord's land grows.

But the more this new element penetrated the old structure, the more it was bound to weaken the latter. The old direct exercise of State power by the king and the counts was more and more replaced by an indirect method; the seignior, to whom the common free men were increasingly tied by personal allegiance, now stood between them and the State. The count, the mainspring of the mechanism of State, was bound to recede into the background more and more, and so he did. In this situation

Charlemagne acted as he generally used to do. First he encouraged the spread of the vassal relationship, as we have seen, until the independent small free men had almost disappeared, and when the weakening of his power to which this led became obvious, he tried to help it on its feet again by State intervention. Under such an energetic and formidable ruler this could be successful in some cases, but the force of circumstances created with his help asserted itself inexorably under his weak successors.

Charlemagne's favourite method was to send out royal emissaries (*missi dominici*) with plenipotentiary powers. Where the ordinary royal official, the count, was unable to stem the spread of disorder, a special envoy was expected to do so. (This has to be historically substantiated and amplified.)

There was, however, another method, and this was to put the count in such a position that he had at his disposal material means to enforce his authority which were at least equal to those of the magnates in his county. This was only possible if the count too became a big landowner, which again could be brought about in two ways. Certain estates could be attached to the office of the count in the various districts as a sort of endowment, so that the count of the day administered them ex officio and received the revenue they yielded. Many examples of this kind can be found, especially in documents, from as early as the end of the eighth century, and this arrangement is quite usual from the ninth century onwards. It is self-evident that such endowments come for the most part from the king's fiscal estates, and as early as the time of the Merovingians we often find counts and dukes administering the king's fiscal estates situated in their territory.

Strangely enough there are also a good many examples (and even a formula for this purpose) of bishops using Church property to endow the office of the count, of course in the form of some sort of benefice since Church property was inalienable. The munificence of the Church is too well known to allow of any other reason for this but dire need. Under the growing pressure of neighbouring secular magnates no other resort was left to the Church but to ally itself with the remnants of the state authority.

These appurtenances associated with the count's post (*res comitatus, pertinentiae comitatus*) were originally quite distinct from the benefices which were granted personally to the count of the day. These too were usually distributed generously, so that, endowment and benefices taken together, countships, originally honorary positions, had by then become very lucrative posts, and since Louis the Pious they were, like other royal favours, bestowed

on people whom the king wanted to win over to his side or of whom he wanted to be sure. Thus it is said of Louis the Stammerer that he "*quos potuit conciliavit* [*sibi*], *dans eis comitatus et abbatias ac villas*" (*Annales Bertiniani* 877).[a] The term honor, formely used to designate the office with reference to the honorary rights connected with it, acquired the same meaning as benefice in the course of the ninth century. And this necessarily caused a substantial change in the character of the count's office, as Roth rightly emphasises (p. 408). Originally the seigniory, in so far as it was of a public character, was modelled upon the office of the count and invested with some of the count's powers. Then, in the second half of the ninth century, the seigniory had become so widespread that it threatened to outweigh the count's office and the latter could only maintain its authority by more and more assuming the characteristics of seigniory. The counts increasingly sought, and not without success, to usurp the position of a seignior vis-à-vis the inhabitants of their districts (*pagenses*) with regard to both their private and their public relations. Just as the other "lords" sought to subordinate the small people in their neighbourhood, so the counts tried, in an amicable way or by force, to induce the less well-off free inhabitants of their district to become their vassals. They succeeded the more easily as the mere fact that the counts could thus abuse their official power was the best proof that the remaining common free men could expect very little protection from the royal authority and its organs. Exposed to oppression from all quarters, the smaller free men had to be glad to find a patron, even at the cost of relinquishing their allodium and receiving it back as a mere benefice. Already in the Capitulary of 811 Charlemagne complained that bishops, abbots, counts, judges and *centenarii*[b] by continuous legal chicanery and repeated summonses to the army reduced the small people to such a state that they agreed to transfer or sell their allodium to them, and that the poor bitterly lamented that they were being robbed of their property, etc. The greater part of free property in Gaul had in this way already passed into the hands of the Church, the counts and other magnates by the end of the ninth century (Hincmar, *Annales Remenses* 869). And somewhat later no free landed property belonging to small free men existed any longer in

[a] "Tried to win the support of all he could by giving them countships, abbacies and estates." See P. Roth, *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens...*, p. 420, Note 10.—*Ed.*

[b] Subordinate judges, responsible to the court.—*Ed.*

some provinces (Maurer, *Einleitung,* p. 212).[a] When the increasing power of the beneficiaries and the declining power of the Crown had gradually caused benefices to become hereditary, the count's office as a rule became hereditary too. If we saw the beginnings of the subsequent nobility in the large number of royal beneficiaries, here we see the seed of the territorial sovereignty of the future princes that evolved from the district counts.

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While thus the social and political system changed completely, the old constitution of the army, based on the military service of all free men—a service which was both their right and their duty—remained outwardly unchanged, except that where the new relations of dependence existed, the seignior interposed himself between his vassals and the count. However, year by year the common free men were less able to carry the burden of military service. This consisted not only of personal service; the conscript had also to equip himself and to live at his own expense during the first six months. This continued until Charlemagne's incessant wars knocked the bottom out of the barrel. The burden became so unbearable that in order to rid themselves of it the small free men began en masse to transfer not only their remaining property but also their own person and their descendants to the magnates, and especially to the Church. Charlemagne had reduced the free warlike Franks to such a state that they preferred to become bondsmen or serfs to avoid going to war. That was the consequence of Charlemagne's insistence on maintaining, and even carrying to the extreme, a military system based on universal and equal landownership by all free men, at a time when the bulk of the free men had lost all or most of their landed property.

The facts, however, were stronger than Charlemagne's obstinacy and ambition. The old army system was no longer tenable. To equip and provision the army at the expense of the State was even less feasible in that age of a subsistence economy run practically without money or commerce. Charlemagne was therefore obliged to restrict the liability to service in such a way that equipment and food could still remain the responsibility of the men themselves. This was done in the Aachen Capitulary of 807, at a time when

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[a] Hincmar Remensis, *Annales Remenses: Annales ad annum 869* in G. L. Maurer, *Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark-, Hof-, Dorf- und Stadt-Verfassung und der öffentlichen Gewalt,* Munich, 1854, pp. 210-12 and notes 61 and 71.— *Ed.*

the wars were reduced to mere border fights, and the continued existence of the empire seemed, on the whole, ensured. Firstly all the king's beneficiaries without exception had to turn up, then those owning twelve hides (*mansi*) of land were to appear clad in armour, and therefore presumably also on horseback (the word *caballarius*—knight is used in the same Capitulary). Owners of three to five hides of land were also obliged to serve. Two owners having two hides of land each, three owners having one hide of land each, or six owners each possessing half a hide of land, had to send one man equipped by the others. As to free men who had no land at all but personal property worth five solidi, every sixth of them was to take the field and receive one solidus as pecuniary aid from each of the other five men. Moreover the obligation of the various parts of the country to take part in the fighting, an obligation which applied fully when the war was waged in the neighbourhood, was in the case of more distant wars reduced to between one-half and one-sixth of the total manpower, depending on the distance from the theatre of war.[a]

Charlemagne evidently attempted to adapt the old system to the changed economic position of the men liable to military service, to rescue what he could still rescue. But even these concessions were of no avail, and he was soon compelled to grant further exemptions in the *Capitulare de exercitu promovendo*.[b] The whole contents of this Capitulary, which is usually regarded as antecedent to that of Aachen, shows that it was undoubtedly drawn up several years later. According to it, one man has to do military service from every four hides of land, instead of three as previously. The owners of half a hide of land and those without land appear to be exempt from military service, and as regards beneficiaries their obligation is also restricted to the provision of one man for every four hides of land. Under Charlemagne's successors the minimum number of hides of land obliged to provide one man seems even to have been raised to *five*.[c]

It is strange that the mobilisation of the armoured owners of twelve hides of land seems to have encountered the greatest difficulties. At any rate, the order that they must turn up clad in armour is repeated innumerable times in the Capitularies.

Thus the common free men disappeared to an increasing extent. Just as the gradual separation from the land had driven

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[a] P. Roth, *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens...*, pp. 398-401.—*Ed.*

[b] Capitulary on the levy for military service.—*Ed.*

[c] See P. Roth, op. cit., pp. 399-400.—*Ed.*

part of them to become vassals of the new big landlords, so the fear of being completely ruined by military service actually drove the other part into serfdom. How rapidly this submission to servitude proceeded can be seen from the polyptychon (land register) of the Saint-Germain-des-Prés monastery, which then still lay outside Paris. It was compiled by abbot Irminon early in the ninth century, and among the tenants of the monastery it lists 2,080 families of colons, 35 of lites, 220 of slaves (*servi*), but only *eight* free families.[a] In the Gaul of those days, however, the word colonus definitely denoted a serf. The marriage of a free woman to a colonus *or* slave subjected her to the lord as defiled (*deturpatam*) (Capitulary of 817). Louis the Pious commanded that "*colonus vel servus*" (of a monastery at Poitiers) "*ad naturale servitium velit nolit redeat*".[b] They received blows (Capitularies of 853, 861, 864 and 873) and were sometimes set free (see Guérard, *Irmino*).[c] And these enthralled peasants were by no means of Romance stock, but according to the testimony of Jacob Grimm (*Geschichte der deutschen Sprache,* I, p. [537]), who examined their names, "almost exclusively Frankish, far outweighing the small number of Romance ones".

This huge rise in the unfree population in its turn changed the class relations of the Frankish society. Alongside the big landlords, who at that time rapidly emerged as a social estate in its own right, and alongside their free vassals there appeared now a class of unfree men which gradually absorbed the remnants of the common free men. But these unfree men had either themselves been free or were children of free men; those who had lived for three or more generations in hereditary bondage formed a small minority. Moreover, for the most part they were not Saxon, Wendish, or other prisoners of war brought in from outside, but natives of Frankish or Romance origin. Such people, especially when they began to constitute the bulk of the population, were not as easy to deal with as inherited or foreign serfs. They were not yet used to servitude, the blows which even the colonus received (Capitularies of 853, 861, 873) were still seen as a humiliation and not as something natural. Hence the many plots and risings of unfree men and even peasant vassals. Charlemagne himself

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[a] B. E. Ch. Guérard, *Polyptyque de l'abbé Irminon* in P. Roth, op. cit., p. 378.—*Ed.*

[b] "A colon or slave has to return to his natural servitude whether he is willing or not."—*Ed.*

[c] Quoted according to P. Roth, op. cit., pp. 376-77.—*Ed.*

brutally crushed an uprising of the tenants of the bishopric of Reims. In a Capitulary of 821 Louis the Pious mentions slaves (*servorum*) plotting in Flanders and Menapiscus (on the upper Lys). Risings of the liege men (*homines*) of the Mainz bishopric had to be put down in 848 and 866.[a] Orders to stamp out such plots are reiterated in capitularies from 779 onwards. The rising of the Stellinga in Saxony[45] must likewise be included here. The fact that from the end of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth gradually a definite limit was fixed for the obligations of the unfree men, and even of the settled slaves, and that this limit, which was not to be exceeded, was laid down by Charlemagne in his Capitularies, was obviously a consequence of the threatening attitude of the enthralled masses.

The price therefore which Charlemagne had to pay for his new Roman Empire[46] was the annihilation of the social estate of common free men, who had constituted the entire Frankish people at the time of the conquest of Gaul, and the division of the people into big landlords, vassals and serfs. But with the common free men the old military system collapsed, and with these two the monarchy went down. Charlemagne had destroyed the foundation of his own power. It could still sustain him, but under his successors it became evident what the work of his hands had been in reality.

## NOTE: THE FRANCONIAN DIALECT[47]

This dialect has received curious treatment from philologists. Whereas Grimm let it disappear into French and High German,[b] more recent ones grant it a spread extending from Dunkirk and Amsterdam to the Unstrut, Saale and Rezat, and in some cases even as far as the Danube and, through colonisation, to the Riesengebirge. While even a philologist like Moritz Heyne constructs an Old Low Franconian language[c] from a manuscript of the Heliand prepared in Werden,[48] a language that is almost pure Old Saxon with a very faint tinge of Franconian, Braune lumps together all the truly Low Franconian dialects without further comment as Saxon here and Dutch there.[d] And finally

[a] See P. Roth, op. cit., p. 378, Note 47.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Grimm, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache,* Vol. 1, Leipzig, 1848, p. 535.—*Ed.*

[c] M. Heyne, *Kleine altsächsische und altniederfränkische Grammatik,* Paderborn, 1873, p. 2.—*Ed.*

[d] W. Braune, *Zur Kenntnis des Fränkischen und zur hochdeutschen Lautverschiebung.* In: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur,* Vol. I, Halle, 1874, pp. 1-56.—*Ed.*

Arnold limits the territory conquered by the Ripuarians to the area north of the watershed of the Ahr and the Mosel, letting everything situated to the south and south-west be occupied, first by Alamanni, later exclusively by the Chatti (whom he also lumps together with the Franks), thus letting them speak Alamannic-Chattish.[a]

First let us reduce the Franconian language area to its real limits. Thuringia, Hesse and Main Franconia have no other claim whatever to be included in it except that in the Carolingian period they were part of what was called Francia. The language spoken east of the Spessart and Vogelsberg and the Kahler Asten is anything but Franconian. Hesse and Thuringia have their own independent dialects, being inhabited by independent peoples; in Main Franconia a mixed Slav, Thuringian and Hessian population was permeated with Bavarian and Frankish elements and evolved its own peculiar dialect. Only if one employs as the main criterion the extent to which the High German sound shift penetrated into these dialects can these three linguistic branches be assigned to Franconian. Yet as we shall see, it is precisely this procedure which creates all the confusion when the Franconian language is assessed by non-Franks.

Let us commence with the oldest records and first view Moritz Heyne's* so-called Old Low Franconian in the correct light. The so-called Cotton Manuscript of the Heliand, prepared in Werden and now preserved in Oxford, is supposed to be Old Low Franconian because it was produced in the monastery of Werden, still on Frankish soil though close to the Saxon frontier. Here the old tribal boundary is, to this day, the boundary between Berg and Mark; of the abbeys situated in between, Werden belongs to Franconia, Essen to Saxony. Werden is bounded in the immediate vicinity, to the east and north, by indisputably Saxon communities; in the plain between the Ruhr and the Lippe the Saxon language pushes forward in places almost to the Rhine. The fact that a Saxon work is copied in Werden, obviously by a Frank, and that here and there this Frank has let slip from his pen Franconian word forms, is far from being sufficient reason to declare the language of the copy to be Franconian. Apart from the Cotton Heliand Heyne considers as Low Franconian a number of

* *Kleine altsächsische und altniederfränkische Grammatik* by Moritz Heyne, Paderborn, 1873.

[a] W. Arnold, *Deutsche Urzeit,* Gotha, 1879, pp. 150-53.—*Ed.*

fragments from Werden that show the same character, and the remains of a psalm translation,[a] which according to him originated in the area of Aachen, whereas Kern (*Glossen in der Lex Salica*)[b] states quite simply that it is Dutch. In fact it does contain purely Dutch forms on the one hand, but also genuine Rhenish Franconian forms and even traces of the High German sound shift. It obviously originated on the frontier between Dutch and Rhenish Franconian, say between Aachen and Maastricht. Its language is much later than that of the two Heliand manuscripts.

The Cotton Heliand alone is enough, however, for us to establish beyond doubt from the few Franconian forms that occur in it some of the main differences between Franconian and Saxon.

I. In all Ingaevonian dialects the three persons of the present indicative plural all have the same ending, namely a dental preceded by a vowel: Old Saxon *-d,* Anglo-Saxon *-dh,* Old Frisian *-th* (which probably also stands for *-dh*). Thus Old Saxon *hebbiad* means "we have, you have, they have"; similarly, all three persons of *fallan, gewinnan* are the same: *fallad, winnad.* It is the third person that has taken over all three, but, mark well, with the specifically Ingaevonian loss of *n* before *-d* or *-dh,* the loss affecting all the three dialects mentioned. Of all living dialects, only Westphalian has preserved this peculiarity; to this very day Westphalian has *wi, ji, se hebbed,* etc. The other Saxon dialects no longer retain this feature, nor does West Frisian; they differentiate the three persons.[c]

The West Rhenish psalms[d] have, like Middle High German, *-n* in the first person plural, *-t* in the second, *-nt* in the third. However, at times the Cotton Heliand has, besides the Saxon forms, quite different forms: *tholônd*—they suffer, *gornônd*—you complain, and as the imperative, *mârient*—announce, *seggient*—say, where Saxon requires *tholôd, gornôd, mâriad, seggiad.* These forms are not merely Franconian, they are in fact genuine local Werden, Berg dialect to this day. In Bergish we also find that all three persons of the present plural are the same, but end not as in

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[a] *Altniederdeutsche Interlinearversion der Psalmen.* In: *Kleinere altniederdeutsche Denkmäler* published by Moritz Heyne, 2nd ed., Paderborn, 1867, pp. 1-40. For a description of the psalms see M. Heyne, *Kleine altsächsische und altniederfränkische Grammatik,* p. 2.—*Ed.*

[b] H. Kern, *Die Glossen in der Lex Salica und die Sprache der salischen Franken. Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprachen,* The Hague, 1869, p. 2, Note 1.—*Ed.*

[c] Engels added in pencil here "and the 3rd person from the 2nd".—*Ed.*

[d] See *Altniederdeutsche Interlinearversion der Psalmen.*—*Ed.*

Saxon in *-d,* but as in Franconian in *-nt.* As opposed to Märkish *wi hebbed,* there right on the border they say *wi hant,* and as in the above imperative *seggient* they say *seient ens*—[German] *sagt einmal* (tell me). On the basis of this simple observation, that here in Bergish the three persons have been levelled, Braune and others[a] have quite simply declared the entire Bergish highlands to be Saxon. The rule certainly advanced into the area from Saxony; unfortunately, however, it is put into effect in the Franconian manner, thus proving the reverse of what it is intended to prove.

The loss of *n* before dentals in the Ingaevonian dialects is not restricted to this case; it is less common in Old Frisian, but fairly widespread in Old Saxon and Anglo-Saxon: *mudh—Mund* [mouth], *kudh—kund* [known], *us—uns* [us], *odhar—ein anderer* [other]. The Frankish copyist of the Heliand in Werden twice has the Franconian form *andar* for *odhar.*[b] The Werden tax registers[49] alternate between the Franconian form of the names *Reinswind, Meginswind* and the Saxon *Reinswid* and *Meginswid.* The psalms of the left bank of the Rhine,[c] on the other hand, regularly have *munt, kunt, uns*; only once have the so-called Lipsius Glosses[50] (excerpted from the lost manuscript of these psalms) *farkutha abominabiles* instead of *farkuntha.* Similarly, the Old Salic records have consistently preserved the *n* in the names *Gund, Segenand, Chlodosindis, Ansbertus,* etc., which is irrelevant. The modern Franconian dialects regularly have the *n* (sole exception in Bergish is the form *os—uns* [us]).

II. The linguistic records from which the so-called Old Saxon grammar is usually constructed all belong to south-western Westphalia, Münster, Freckenhorst, Essen. The language of these records shows a few essential deviations not only from the general Ingaevonian forms, but also from such forms as have been preserved for us in proper names from Engern and Eastphalia as genuine Old Saxon; however, they are in curious agreement with Franconian and Old High German. The latest grammarian of the dialect, Cosijn, therefore even terms it Old West Saxon.[d]

Since in this investigation we must almost totally rely on proper names in Latin documents, the demonstrable differences in form between West and East Saxon can only be few in number; they are restricted to two cases, but these are very important.

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[a] See W. Braune, *Zur Kenntnis des Fränkischen...,* pp. 12, 16 and M. Heyne, *Kleine altsächsische und altniederfränkische Grammatik,* p. 50.—*Ed.*

[b] M. Heyne, *Kleine altsächsische und altniederfränkische Grammatik,* p. 2.—*Ed.*

[c] *Altniederdeutsche Interlinearversion der Psalmen.*—*Ed.*

[d] P. J. Cosijn, *Kurzgefaßte altwestsächsische Grammatik,* Leiden, 1881.—*Ed.*

1. Anglo-Saxon and Old Frisian have *-a* in the genitive plural of all declensions. Old West Saxon, Old Franconian and Old High German, on the other hand, have *-ô*. So what is the correct Old Saxon form? Should this dialect in fact deviate from the Ingaevonian rule on this point?

The documents from Engern and Eastphalia provide the answer. In *Stedieraburg, Horsadal, Winethahûsen, Edingahûsun, Magathaburg* and many other names, the first part of the compound is in the genitive plural and has *-a*. Even in Westphalia the *-a* has still not entirely disappeared: the Freckenhorst Roll once has *Aningera lô* and *Wernera-Holthûson,*[a] and the *-a* in Osnabrück is likewise an old genitive plural.

2. Similarly, the weak masculine in Franconian, as in Old High German, ends in *-o,* as opposed to Gothic-Ingaevonian *-a.* In Old West Saxon *-o* is likewise established as the rule; thus another deviation from Ingaevonian usage. But this by no means applies to Old Saxon as a whole. Not even in Westphalia did *-o* apply without exception; alongside *-o* the Freckenhorst Roll already has a whole succession of names in *-a* (*Sîboda, Uffa, Asica, Hassa, Wenda,* etc.,); the Paderborn records in Wigand[51] nearly always show *-a,* only exceptionally *-o*; in documents from Eastphalia *-a* dominates almost exclusively; so that Jakob Grimm (*Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*)[b] already comes to the conclusion that there can be no mistaking the fact that *-a* and *-an* (in oblique cases) was the original Saxon form common to all parts of the nation. The advance of *-o* instead of *-a* was not restricted to Westphalia either. At the beginning of the 15th century the East Frisian men's names of the chronicles, etc., almost regularly have *-o*; *Fokko, Occo, Enno, Smelo,* etc., as opposed to the earlier *-a* still preserved in odd cases in West Frisian.

It may therefore be taken for established that both deviations of West Saxon from the Ingaevonian rule are not originally Saxon but caused by foreign influence. This influence is easily explained by the fact that West Saxony *was formerly Frankish territory.* Only after the departure of the main mass of the Franks did the Saxons move across the Osning and Egge gradually up to the line that even today divides Mark and Sauerland from Berg and Siegerland. The influence of the Franks who remained behind and have now merged with the Saxons shows in those two cases of *-o*

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[a] Freckenhorster Heberolle. In: *Kleinere altniederdeutsche Denkmäler,* pp. 70, 72.— *Ed.*

[b] J. Grimm, op. cit., Vol. 2. Leipzig, 1848, p. 649.— *Ed.*

instead of *-a*; it is still unmistakable in the present-day dialects.

III. A peculiarity of the Rhenish Franconian language which extends from the Ruhr to the Mosel is the ending of the 1st [person] present indicative in *-n*, which is best preserved in cases[a] where it is followed by a vowel: *dat don ek—das tue ich* [I do that], *ek han—ich habe* [I have] (Bergish). This verb form applies to the whole lower Rhine and the Mosel, at least as far as the Lotharingian border: *don, han.* The same peculiarity is already found in the left-bank Rhenish psalms: *biddon—ich bitte* [I ask], *wirthon—ich werde* [I become], though not consistently.[b] This-*n* is lacking in the Salic dialect; there even the oldest record[53] has *ec forsacho, gelôbo.* It is also missing in Dutch. Old West Saxon is here distinct from Franconian in so far as it knows this *-n* in one conjugation only (the so-called second weak): *skawôn—ich schaue* [I look], *thionôn—ich diene* [I serve], etc. It is quite alien to Anglo-Saxon and Old Frisian. We may therefore assume that this *-n* is also a Franconian remnant in Old West Saxon.

Apart from the numerous proper names preserved in documents, etc., and the glosses of the Lex Salica, which are often distorted past recognition, we have almost no remains of the Salic dialect at all. Nevertheless, Kern (*Die Glossen in der Lex Salica*) has removed a considerable number of these distortions and established the text, in many cases with certainty, in others with great likelihood, demonstrating that it is written in a language that is the immediate precursor of Middle and Modern Dutch. But the material reconstructed in this way is naturally not directly applicable for the grammar. Apart from this, all we possess is the brief abjuration charm[c] added to the Capitulary of Carloman of 743 and probably drawn up at the synod of Lestines, thus in Belgium. And here we come across two characteristic Franconian words right at the outset: *ec forsacho—ich entsage* [I renounce]. *Ec* for *ich* [I] is widespread among the Franks even today. In Trier and Luxemburg *eich,* in Cologne and Aachen *êch,* in Bergish *ek.* Though written Dutch has *ik, ek* is often heard in the vernacular, particularly in Flanders. The Old Salic names *Segenandus, Segemundus, Segefredus* are unanimous in showing *e* for *i.*

In *forsacho, ch* stands for *g* between vowels: this occurs elsewhere in the records (*rachineburgius*) and is even today a sign

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[a] Engels' note in pencil in the margin: "Otfried".[52]—*Ed.*

[b] See M. Heyne, *Kleine altsächsische und altniederfränkische Grammatik,* p. 50.—*Ed.*

[c] *Taufgelöbnis.* In: *Kleinere altniederdeutsche Denkmäler,* p. 85.—*Ed.*

of all the Franconian dialects from the Palatinate to the North Sea. We shall return to these two chief characteristics of Franconian—*e* often for *i,* and *ch* between vowels for *g*—in the individual dialects.

As the result of the above investigation, which may be compared with Grimm's statements about Old Franconian in the *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* at the end of the first volume [p. 547], we may posit this thesis, which anyway is hardly disputed now: that in the 6th and 7th centuries Franconian was already a dialect of its own, forming the transition between High German, in particular Alamannic, and Ingaevonian, in particular Saxon and Frisian, and at that time still completely at the Gothic-Low German stage of shifting. But once this has been conceded it has also been acknowledged that the Franks were not a mish-mash of different peoples allied by external circumstances, but a main German people in their own right, the Iscaevonians, who probably absorbed foreign constituents at different times but also had the strength to assimilate them. Similarly we may regard it as proven that each of the main branches of the Franconian people already spoke a peculiar dialect at an early stage, that the language divided into Salic and Ripuarian and that many distinguishing peculiarities of the old dialects still live on in the present-day vernacular.

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Let us now move on to these still living dialects.

1. There is no longer any doubt that Salic lives on in the two Netherlands dialects, Flemish and Dutch, and at its purest in the areas that have been Frankish ever since the 6th century. For after the great tidal waves of the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries had wiped out almost all Zeeland and formed the Zuider Zee, the Dollart and the Jade, thus breaking the geographical, and also the political, cohesion of the Frisians, the remains of old Frisian liberty succumbed to the pressure of the surrounding landed gentry,[54] and with it, almost everywhere, the Frisian language, too. To the west it was hemmed in or wholly suppressed by Dutch, to the east and north by Saxon and Danish, in all cases leaving behind strong traces in the invading language. In the 16th and 17th centuries the old Frisian area of Zeeland and Holland became the centre and mainstay of the struggle for independence in the Netherlands,[55] just as they were already the seat of the main trading towns of the country. Thus it was chiefly here that the modern

written language of the Netherlands came into being, absorbing Frisian elements, words and word forms, which can be clearly distinguished from the Franconian foundation. On the other hand, the Saxon language advanced from the east on to formerly Frisian and Frankish territory. It must be left to detailed research to draw up the exact boundaries; purely Salic are only the Flemish-speaking parts of Belgium, North Brabant, Utrecht, along with Gelderland and Overijssel with the exception of the easterly, Saxon areas.

Between the French linguistic boundary on the Maas and the Saxon boundary north of the Rhine, the Salians and the Ripuarians clashed. We shall discuss later the matter of the demarcation line, which here too has yet to be ascertained by detailed study. But first let us consider the grammatical peculiarities of Dutch.

As for the vowels, we see at once that *i* is replaced by *e* in the true Franconian manner: *brengen—bringen* [bring], *kreb—Krippe* [crib], *hemel—Himmel* [sky], *geweten—Gewissen* [conscience], *ben—bin* [am], *stem—Stimme* [voice]. This is even more frequently the case in Middle Dutch: *gewes—gewiss* [certain], *es—ist* [is], *selver—Silber* [silver], *blent—blind* [blind], where Modern Dutch has *gewis, is, zilver, blind.* Similarly in the vicinity of Ghent I find two places, *Destelbergen* and *Desteldonck,* according to which *Distel* [thistle] is to this day *Destel.* Middle Dutch, raised on pure Franconian soil, is here in exact agreement with Ripuarian, while the Modern Dutch written language, having been exposed to Frisian influence, is less so.

Further, again in agreement with Ripuarian, *o* replaces *u* before *m* or *n* plus following consonant, though not so consistently as in Middle Dutch and Ripuarian. Beside *konst, gonst, kond,* Modern Dutch has *kunst, gunst, kund* [art, favour, known]; yet both agree in having *mond—Mund* [mouth], *hond—Hund* [dog], *jong—jung* [young], *ons—uns* [us].

In contrast to Ripuarian, the long *i* (*ij*) has become *ei* as far as pronunciation is concerned, which does not yet seem to have been the case in Middle Dutch. However, this *ei* is not pronounced as High German *ei* = *ai,* but really as *e* + *i,* though not quite as thin as, e.g., the *ej* of the Danes and Slavs. Scarcely divergent from this sound is the diphthong written not *ij* but *ei.* Corresponding to High German *au* we find *ou, ouw.*

The umlaut has disappeared from the inflexion. In the declension singular and plural have the same stem vowel, as do indicative and subjunctive in the conjugation. On the other hand,

umlaut does occur in word formation in two forms: 1. in the [mutation] of *a* to *e* by *i* common to all post-Gothic dialects; 2. in a form peculiar to Dutch that did not develop until later. Middle Dutch and Ripuarian still both have *hus—Haus* [house], *brun—braun* [brown], *rum—geräumig* [roomy], *tun—Zaun* [fence], plural *huse, brune.* Modern Dutch has only the forms *huis, bruin, ruim, tuin* (*ui*=High German *eu*), which are alien to Middle Dutch and Ripuarian. On the other hand, *eu* is already displacing short *o* (High German *u*) in Middle Dutch: *jeughet,* beside *joghet,* Modern Dutch *jeugd—Jugend* [youth]; *doghet—Tugend* [virtue], *dor—Tür* [door], *kor—Wahl* [choice], alongside the forms with *eu*; Modern Dutch permits the forms *deugd, keur, deur* only. This is in perfect agreement with the *eu* that developed from the 12th century in Northern French for Latin stressed *o.* Kern draws attention to a third case[a]: the mutated form *ei* from *ê* (*ee*) in Modern Dutch. All these three forms of umlaut are unknown in Ripuarian, as in the other dialects, and are a special characteristic of Dutch.

*Ald, alt, old, olt, uld, ult* turn into *oud, out.* This transition is already present in Middle Dutch, in which, however, *guldin, hulde, sculde* still occur alongside *goudin, houde, scoude* (*sollte*) [should], so that it is possible to establish roughly the time when it was introduced. It is also peculiar to Dutch, at least as opposed to all the other continental Germanic dialects; it does, however, exist in the Lancashire dialect of English: *gowd, howd, owd* for *gold, hold, old.*

As far as the consonants are concerned, Dutch has no pure *g* (the guttural Italian, French or English *g*). This consonant is pronounced as a strongly aspirated *gh,* which in certain sound combinations does not differ from the deeply guttural (Swiss, Modern Greek or Russian) *ch.* We have seen that this transition of *g* into *ch* was already known in Old Salic. It is also found in a part of Ripuarian and the Saxon dialects that developed on formerly Frankish soil, e.g. in Münsterland, where, as in Bergish, even initial *j,* especially in foreign words, on occasion sounds like *ch,* and it is possible to hear *Choseph* and even *Chahr* (*Jahr*) [year]. If M. Heyne had taken this into account,[b] he might have spared himself his difficulty with the frequent confusion and mutual alliteration of *j, g* and *ch* in the Heliand.

In some cases Dutch retains the initial *wr*: *wringen—ringen* [ring], *wreed*—cruel, harsh, *wreken—rächen* [avenge]. There is also a remnant of this in Ripuarian.

[a] H. Kern, *Die Glossen in der Lex Salica...,* p. 111, Note 1.—*Ed.*

[b] M. Heyne, *Kleine altsächsische und altniederfränkische Grammatik,* p. 21.—*Ed.*

The softening of the diminutive *-ken* to *-tje, -je* is derived from Frisian: *mannetje—Männchen* [little man], *bietje—Bienchen* [little bee], *halsje—Hälschen* [little throat], etc. But *k* is also retained: *vrouken—Frauchen* [little woman], *hoedeken—Hütchen* [little hat]. Flemish better preserves the *k,* at least in the vernacular; the famous little man in Brussels is called *Manneken-Pis.*[56] The French have thus borrowed their *mannequin,* and the English their *manikin,* from Flemish. The plural of both endings is *-s*: *vroukens, mannetjes.* We shall come across this *-s* again in Ripuarian.

In common with Saxon and even Scandinavian dialects, Dutch shows the loss of *d* between vowels, especially betwen two *e*'s: *leder* and *leer, weder* and *weer, neder* and *neer, vader* and *vaer, moeder* and *moer—Mutter* [mother].

The Dutch declension shows a complete mixture of strong and weak forms, so that, as the plural umlaut is also lacking, the Dutch plural forms only in the rarest cases agree with even the Ripuarian or Saxon ones, and this, too, is a very tangible characteristic of the language.

Common to Salic and Ripuarian and all the Ingaevonian dialects is the loss of the nominative indicator in *er, der, wer* [he, the, who]: Dutch *hij, de* (article) and *die* (demonstrative pronoun), *wie.*

To go into the conjugation would take us too far. What has been said here will suffice to distinguish the present-day Salic language everywhere from the neighbouring dialects. Closer examination of the Dutch dialects is bound to bring to light much of importance.

II. *Rhenish Franconian.* With this term I denote all the remaining Franconian dialects. I do not place Salic in opposition to Ripuarian in the old manner, and there is a very good reason for this.

Even Arnold[a] has drawn attention to the fact that the Ripuarians in the proper sense occupied a relatively limited area, the southern boundary of which is more or less marked by the two places Reifferscheid near Adenau and near Schleiden. This is correct in so far as in this way the *purely Ripuarian* territory is demarcated linguistically too from the territories occupied by genuine Ripuarians after, or at the same time as, other German tribes. Since the name Low Franconian has already acquired another meaning which also includes Salic, I am left only with the

[a] W. Arnold, *Deutsche Urzeit,* Gotha, 1879, p. 150.—*Ed.*

term Ripuarian—in the narrower sense—to denote the group of closely related dialects which extend from the Salic linguistic boundary up to this line.

1. *Ripuarian.* The dividing line between this group of dialects and the Salic by no means coincides with the Dutch-German border. On the contrary, the major part of the district Rees, where in the area of Wesel Salic, Ripuarian and Saxon meet, still belongs to Salic on the right bank of the Rhine. On the left bank the areas of Kleve and Geldern are Salic, roughly as far as a line drawn from the Rhine between Xanten and Wesel, south of the village of Vluyn (west of Mörs) and from there south-west towards Venlo. A more exact definition of the boundary is only possible on the spot since many Ripuarian names have been preserved on the maps in Salic-Dutch form as the result of many years of Dutch administration not only in Geldern but also in the county of Mörs.

From the area of Venlo upwards the greater part of the right bank of the Maas seems to be Ripuarian, so that here the political border nowhere crosses Salic territory but only Ripuarian and this extends almost as far as Maastricht. Names in *-heim* (not *-hem*) and the specifically Ripuarian ending *-ich* occur here in great numbers on Dutch territory, further south already names in *-broich* (Dutch *-broek*), e.g. *Dallenbroich* near Roermond; likewise in *-rade* (*Bingelrade* near Sittard, plus *Amstenrade, Hobbelrade* and 6 or 7 others); the little piece of German territory that has fallen to Belgium to the right of the Maas, is entirely Ripuarian (cf. *Krützenberg,* 9 kilometres from the Maas, with *Kruisberg,* north of Venlo). Indeed, left of the Maas, in the Belgian so-called Limburg I find *Kessenich* near Maaseyk, *Stockheim* and *Reekheim* on the Maas, *Gellik* near Maastricht as proof that no purely Salic population lives here.

The Ripuarian border with Saxony starts from the area of Wesel, running south-east at an increasing distance from the Rhine, between Mülheim on the Ruhr and Werden on the Franconian side and Essen on the Saxon side, to the border between Berg and Mark, here even now the border between the Rhine Province and Westphalia. It does not leave this border until south of Olpe, where it proceeds eastwards, dividing the Siegerland as Franconian from the Saxon Sauerland. Further east, the Hessian dialect soon takes over.

The above-mentioned southern border with the dialect which I term Middle Franconian is in rough agreement with the southern borders of the old districts of Avalgau, Bonngau and Eiflia, and from there runs westwards to Wallonia, keeping rather to the

south. This area thus circumscribed includes the big old district of Ripuaria as well as parts of the districts adjoining it to the north and west.

As already stated, Ripuarian agrees in many respects with Dutch, but in such a way that Middle Dutch is closer to it than Modern Dutch. Ripuarian agrees with Modern Dutch in its pronunciation of *ei* = *e* + *i* and *ou* for *au*, the transition of *i* to *e*, which goes much further in Ripuarian and Middle Dutch than in Modern Dutch: the Middle Dutch *gewes, es, blend, selver* (silver) are still good Ripuarian to this day. Similarly, and consistently so, *u* changes into *o* before *m* or *n* with a following consonant: *jong, lomp, domm, konst.* If this following consonant is a *d* or a *t*, this changes to *g* or *k* in some dialects; e.g. *honk*—*Hund* [dog], plural *höng*, where the softening to *g* is an aftereffect of the loss of the final vowel, *e*.

However, the situation as regards umlaut in Ripuarian is very different from that of Dutch; it is in general agreement with High German, and in odd exceptions with Saxon (e.g. *hanen* for *Hähne* [cocks]).

Initial *wr* has become hardened to *fr*, retained in *fringen*—to wring water out of a cloth, etc., and *frêd* (Dutch *wreed*) with the meaning hardy, weather-beaten.

For *er, der, wer* it has *hê, dê, wê.*

The declension is midway between High German and Saxon. Plural forms in *-s* are common, but are hardly ever in agreement with the Dutch; this *-s* becomes *-r* in local High German in correct memory of the linguistic development.

The diminutive *-ken, -chen* is changed to *-schen* after *n*: *männschen*; the plural has *-s* as in Dutch (*männsches*). Both forms extend all the way into Lorraine.

*r* is lost before *s, st, d, t, z*, the preceding vowel remaining short in some dialects, being lengthened in others. Thus *hart* [hard] becomes *hatt* (Bergish), *haad* (Cologne). In the process *st* becomes *scht* through Upper German influence: *Durst* [thirst]—*doascht* (Bergish), *dôscht* (Cologne).

Similarly, initial *sl, sw, st, sp* have become *schl*, etc., through High German influence.

As in Dutch, pure *g* is unknown in Ripuarian. Some of the dialects on the Salic border, as well as Bergish, have aspirated *gh* for initial and medial *g*, though softer than in Dutch. The rest have *j*. Final *g* is everywhere pronounced as *ch*, though not like the hard Dutch sound, but like the soft Rhenish Franconian *ch*, which sounds like a hardened *j*. The essentially Low German

character of Ripuarian is attested by terms such as *boven* for *oben* [above].

The majority of the voiceless consonants are everywhere at the first stage of the sound shift. Only *t* and medial and final *k*, occasionally *p*, show the High German sound shift in the southern dialects: they have *lôsze* for *lôten—lassen* [let], *holz* for *holt* [wood], *rîch* for *rîk—reich* [rich], *êch* for *ek—ich* [I], *pief* for *pîpe—Pfeife* [pipe]. But *et, dat, wat* and a few others are retained.

It is this not even consistently carried out intrusion of the High German sound shift in three cases on which the usual demarcation of Middle and Low Franconian is based. But in this way a group of dialects that belong together on account of definite features in the sound system, as demonstrated, which are still recognised in the popular mind as belonging together, are torn apart arbitrarily and on the basis of a characteristic that is here quite fortuitous.

Quite fortuitous, I say. Each of the other Central German dialects, Hessian, Thuringian, Upper Saxon, etc., is generally speaking at a specific stage of the High German sound shift. They may show rather less shifting on the Low Saxon border and rather more on the Upper German border, but that is at most only enough to justify local differences. Franconian, on the other hand, shows no shifting at all on the North Sea, Maas and Lower Rhine, on the Alamannic border almost entirely Alamannic shifting; in between there are at least three intermediate stages. The shift thus penetrated into Rhenish Franconian when it had already developed independently, splitting it up into several pieces. The last trace of this shift need not by any means vanish on the border of a particular group of dialects that was already in existence; it may die out in the midst of such a group, as it in fact does. On the other hand, the truly dialect-forming influence of the shift, as we shall see, does indeed cease on the border of two dialect groups that were already different beforehand. And did not the *schl, schw,* etc., and the final *scht* come to us from High German in a similar way and at an even later date? These however—at least the first—even go deep into Westphalia.

The Ripuarian dialects formed a fixed group long before some of them learnt to shift *t* and medial and final *k* and *p*. How far this change was able to advance within the group was and remains for the group a matter of chance. The dialect of Neuss is identical with that of Krefeld and München-Gladbach—apart from minor differences that a stranger cannot hear at all. Nevertheless, one is supposed to be Middle Franconian, the other Low Franconian. The dialect of the Berg industrial country merges into that of the

south-west Rhine plain in imperceptible stages. And yet they are supposed to belong to two totally different groups. For anyone who is at home in the region it is obvious that book-learning is here forcing the living dialects, with which it is scarcely acquainted if at all, into the Procrustean bed of characteristics constructed *a priori.*

As a result of this purely superficial distinction the southern Ripuarian dialects are lumped together into a so-called Middle Franconian with other dialects from which they diverge, as we shall see, far more than they do from the so-called Low Franconian. Owing to the same superficial distinction, a narrow strip is held back because you are at a loss what to do with it and are finally obliged to declare one part Saxon and another Dutch, which is in glaring contradiction to the state of affairs in these dialects.

Let us take, for instance, the Bergish dialect, which Braune without much ado calls Saxon.[a] It forms, as we have seen, all three persons plural of the present indicative in the same way, but as in Franconian, with the ancient form *-nt.* It regularly has *o* instead of *u* before *m* and *n* followed by a consonant, which according to the same Braune is definitely un-Saxon and specifically Low Franconian. It agrees with the other Ripuarian dialects in all the characteristics set out above. While it imperceptibly merges into the dialect of the Rhine plain from village to village, from farm to farm, it is most sharply separated from the Saxon dialect on the Westphalian border. Perhaps nowhere else in all Germany is there such an abruptly drawn linguistic border as here. And what a distance between the languages! The whole vowel system seems to be turned upside down; the sharp Low Franconian *ei* contrasts abruptly with the broadest *ai,* just as *ou* contrasts with *au*; not one of the many diphthongs and vocalic glides is in agreement; here *sch* as in the rest of Germany, there *s-ch* as in Holland; here *wi hant,* there *wi hebbed*; here the dual forms *get* and *enk* used as the plural (German *ihr* and *euch*), there only *i, ji,* and *ü, jü*; here the sparrow is called common Ripuarian *Mösche,* there common Westphalian *Lüning.* Not to mention other peculiarities specific to the Bergish dialect which also suddenly vanish here on the border.

The individuality of a dialect is most apparent to the stranger if the person in question is not speaking dialect but High German, which is more intelligible to the stranger, and which in the case of most Germans is, of course, strongly coloured by their respective

[a] W. Braune, *Zur Kenntnis des Fränkischen...,* p. 11.—*Ed.*

dialect. But then the allegedly Saxon inhabitant of the Berg industrial district is for the non-native quite indistinguishable from the inhabitant of the Rhine plain, who is supposed to be Middle Franconian, except for the somewhat more harshly aspirated *gh,* where the other says *j.* A man from Heckinghaus in Berg (from Oberbarmen, left of the Wupper), however, and a man from Langerfeld in Mark, who lives scarcely a kilometre further east, are further apart in the local High German of everyday life than the man from Heckinghaus and one from Coblenz, let alone anyone from Aachen or Bonn.

The advance of the shift of *t* and final *k* makes such a small impression on the Rhenish Frank himself as a linguistic boundary that even in an area well known to him he will first have to reflect where the border runs between *t* and *z, k* and *ch,* and that, when crossing this border, he finds that one comes almost as naturally to him as the other. This is made even easier by the many High German words with shifted *sz, z, ch* and *f* that have entered the dialects. A striking example is afforded by the old Bergish penal code from the 14th century (Lacomblet, *Archiv,* I, p. 79 ff.[a]). There we find *zo, uiss* (*aus*), *zween, bezahlen*; alongside them in the same sentence: *setten, dat nutteste* (*nützeste*); likewise *Dache, redelich* beside *reicket* (*reicht*); *Upladen, upheven, hulper* (*Helfer*) beside *verkouffen.* In another paragraph p. 85 it has alternately *zo* and *tho*—*zu.* In short, the dialects of the mountain and the plain are continually getting mixed up without this disturbing the scribe in the slightest. As usual, this final wave with which the High German sound shift washed over Frankish territory was also the weakest and shallowest. It is surely of interest to mark out the line showing how far this wave extends. But this line cannot be a dialect boundary; it is not able to tear apart an independent group of anciently and closely related dialects and provide the pretext for allocating the fragments thus violently divided to more distant groups in contradiction with all linguistic facts.

2. *Middle Franconian.* From the above it is quite obvious that I place the northern border of Middle Franconian much further to the south than is customary.

From the fact that the Middle Franconian region on the left bank of the Rhine *seems* to have been in the possession of the Alamanni at the time of Clovis, Arnold[b] finds reason to investigate

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[a] *Archiv für die Geschichte des Niederrheins.* Hrsg. von T. J. Lacomblet, Abt. 1: Sprach- und Rechtsalterthümer, Bd. 1, Heft 1, Düsseldorf, 1831, pp. 79-110.—*Ed.*

[b] W. Arnold, *Deutsche Urzeit,* pp. 140-41.—*Ed.*

the place-names there for traces of Alamannic settlement, and comes to the result that it is possible to prove the existence of a pre-Frankish, Alamannic population as far as the line Cologne-Aachen; the traces, most numerous in the south, naturally becoming rarer and rarer to the north. The place-names, so he says, point to

> "a temporary advance by the Alamanni as far as and beyond the area around Coblenz and Aachen, and also a longer occupation of the Wetterau and the southern areas of Nassau. For the names with the genuine Alamannic endings *-ach, -brunn, -felden, -hofen, -ingen, -schwand, -stetten, -wangen,* and *-weiler,* which nowhere occur in purely Frankish territory, are found scattered from Alsace onwards over the entire Palatinate, Rhenish Hesse and Rhenish Prussia, only they become rarer to the north, giving way more and more to the Franconian names par excellence in *-bach, -berg, -dorf, -born, -feld, -hausen, -heim,* and *-scheid*" (*Deutsche Urzeit,* p. [140]).

Let us first examine the allegedly Alamannic names of the Middle Franconian country. I have not found the endings *-brunn, -stetten, -felden, -wangen* anywhere on the Reymann map[57] (which I am using here, let it be said once and for all). The ending *-schwand* occurs once: *Metzelschwander Hof* near Winnweiler, and then again *Schwanden* north of Landstuhl. Thus both in the Upper Franconian Palatinate, with which we are not concerned here. In *-ach* we have along the Rhine *Kreuznach, Bacharach, Hirzenach* near St. Goar, *Rübenach* near Coblenz (*Ribiniacus* of the Spruner-Menke District Map[58]), *Andernach* (*Antunnacum* of the Romans), as well as *Wassenach.* Now, as the Romanised Celtic ending *-acum* occurs generally the whole length of the left bank of the Rhine in Roman times—*Tolbiacum* (*Zülpich*), *Juliacum* (*Jülich*), *Tiberiacum* (*Ziewerich*) near Bergheim, *Mederiacum*—in the majority of these cases the choice of the form *-ach* for *-ich,* at most, might betray Alamannic influence. Only one, *Hirzenach* (=Hirschenbach), is definitely German, and this was formerly called *Hirzenowe,* Hirschenau, not Hirschenbach, according to the district map. But how then do we explain *Wallach,* between Büderich and Rheinberg, close by the Salic border? At any rate it is certainly not Alamannic.

In the Mosel region there are also a few *-ach*: *Irmenach* east of Bernkastel, *Waltrach, Crettenach* near Trier, *Mettlach* on the Saar. In Luxemburg *Echternach, Medernach, Kanach*; in Lorraine on the right of the Mosel only: *Montenach, Rodelach, Brettnach.* Even if we wished to concede that these names indicate an Alamannic settlement, then it is only a thinly scattered one, which, moreover, does not extend beyond the southernmost part of the Middle Franconian territory.

There remain *-weiler, -hofen,* and *-ingen* which require closer examination.

Firstly, the ending *-weiler* is not properly speaking Alamannic but the provincial Latin *villarium, villare,* and is found only very exceptionally outside the old frontiers of the Roman Empire. The Germanisation of *villare* to *weiler* was not the privilege of the Alamanni, but they had a predilection for using this ending also for new settlements in large numbers. In so far as Roman *villaria* occurred, the Franks too were obliged to take over the ending, Germanising it as *wilare,* later *weiler,* or drop it altogether. Probably they did now one, now the other, just as they certainly gave new settlements names in *-weiler* here and there, but far more rarely than the Alamanni. Arnold[a] cannot find any important places in *-weiler* north of *Eschweiler* near Aachen and *Ahrweiler.* But the present importance of the place has nothing to do with it; the fact of the matter is that on the left bank of the Rhine the names in *-weiler* extend almost as far as the Salic border to the north (*Garzweiler* and *Holzweiler* are less than five miles from the nearest Dutch-speaking place of the Geldern area) and north of the line *Eschweiler-Ahrweiler* there are at least twenty of them. They are, understandably, commonest in the vicinity of the old Roman road from Maastricht via Jülich to Cologne, two of them, *Walwiller* and *Nyswiller,* even being on Dutch territory; are these Alamannic settlements too?

Further south they hardly occur in the Eifel at all; the Malmedy section (Reymann, No. 159) has not one single case. In Luxemburg, too, they are rare, as on the lower Mosel and as far as the crest of the Hunsrück. Yet they frequently occur on the upper Mosel on both sides of the river, becoming increasingly common towards the east, becoming more and more the dominating ending to the east of Saarlouis. But this is where the Upper Franconian language begins, and here it is not disputed by anyone that the Alamanni had occupied the country before the Franks.

Thus for the Middle Franconian and Ripuarian area the *-weiler* do not indicate Alamannic settlement any more than do the many *-villers* in France.

Let us move on to *-hofen.* This ending is still less exclusively Alamannic. It occurs throughout the Franconian area, including present-day Westphalia, which was later occupied by the Saxons. On the right bank of the Rhine just a few examples: *Wehofen* near Ruhrort, *Mellinghofen* and *Eppinghofen* near Duisburg, *Benningho-*

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[a] W. Arnold, op. cit., p. 141.—*Ed.*

*fen* near Mettmann, another *Eppinghofen* near Dinslaken, in Westphalia *Kellinghofen* near Dorsten, *Westhofen* near Castrop, *Wellinghofen, Wichlinghofen, Niederhofen,* two *Benninghofens, Berghofen, Westhofen, Wandhofen,* all on the Hellweg, etc. *Ereshofen* on the Agger, *Martis villa,* reaches back into pagan times, and the very designation of the god of war as *Eru* proves that no Alamanni are conceivable here: they called themselves *Tiuwâri,* thus calling the god not *Eru* but *Tiu,* later shifted to *Ziu.*[a]

On the left bank of the Rhine it is even more difficult to demonstrate the Alamannic derivation of *-hofen.* There is another *Eppinghofen* south-east of Xanten, hence possibly Salic already, and from there on to the south the whole Ripuarian area is teeming with *-hofen,* alongside *-hof* for single farms. But if we proceed to Salic country, it gets even worse. The Maas is accompanied by *-hofen* on either side, from the French linguistic boundary onwards. For the sake of brevity let us pass to the west bank straight away. In Holland and Belgium we find at least seven *Ophovens,* in Holland *Kinckhoven,* etc; for Belgium let us first turn to the section for Löwen (Reymann, No. 139). Here we find *Ruykhoven, Schalkhoven, Bommershoven, Wintershoven, Mettecoven, Helshoven, Engelmannshoven* near Tongern; *Zonhoven, Reekhoven, Konings-Hoven* near Hasselt, further west *Bogenhoven, Schuerhoven, Nieuwenhoven, Gippershoven, Baulershoven* near St. Truyen; most westerly *Gussenhoven* and *Droenhoven* east and north-east Tirlemont (Thienen). The section for Turnhout (No. 120) has at least 33 *-hoven,* most of them on Belgian territory. Further to the south-west the *-hove* (the dative *-n* is regularly dropped here) skirt the entire French linguistic border: from *Heerlinkhove* and *Nieuwenhove* near *Ninove,* which is itself a Romanised *-hove,*—omitting the intermediate ones, about ten in number—to *Ghyverinckhove* and *Pollinchove* near Dixmuyden and *Volckerinckhove* near St. Omer in French Flanders. *Nieuwenhove* occurs three times, which proves that the ending is still living among the people. In addition a great number of single farms in *-hof.* On this basis the supposedly exclusively Alamannic character of *-hofen* may be judged.

Finally to *-ingen.* The designation of common descent with *-ing, -ung,* is common to all the Germanic peoples. Since settlement took place by kin, the ending plays an important part in place-names everywhere. Sometimes it is linked, in the genitive plural, with a local ending: *Wolvarad-inga-husun* near Minden, *Snotingaham*

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[a] J. Grimm, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 508.—*Ed.*

(Nottingham) in England. Sometimes the plural alone stands for the designation of place: *Flissingha* (Vlissingen), *Phladirtinga* (Vlaardingen), *Crastlingi* in Dutch Frisia; *Grupilinga, Britlinga, Otlinga* in Old Saxony. These names have mostly been reduced to the dative nowadays, ending in *-ingen,* rarely in *-ing.* Most peoples know and employ both forms; the Alamanni, so it seems, chiefly the latter, at any rate now.* Since, however, this also occurs among the Franks, Saxons and Frisians, it is very audacious to immediately deduce Alamannic settlement from the occurrence of place-names in *-ingen.*

The above mentioned names prove that names in *-ingas* (nominative plural) and *-ingum, -ingon* (dative plural) were nothing unusual either among the Frisians or among the Saxons, from the Schelde to the Elbe. Even today the *-ingen* are no rarity throughout Lower Saxony. In Westphalia on either side of the Ruhr, south of the line Unna-Soest, there are at least twelve *-ingen,* alongside *-ingsen* and *-inghausen.* And as far as Franconian territory extends, we find names in *-ingen.*

On the right bank of the Rhine we first find in Holland *Wageningen* on the Rhine and *Genderingen* on the Ijssel (and we exclude all possibly Frisian names), in the Berg country *Huckingen, Ratingen, Ehingen* (close behind them on Saxon territory *Hattingen, Sodingen, Ummingen*), *Heisingen* near Werden (which Grimm derives from the *Silva Caesia* of Tacitus[c] and which would thus be very ancient), *Solingen, Husingen, Leichlingen* (on the district map[d] *Leigelingon,* thus almost a thousand years old), *Quettingen* and on the Sieg *Bödingen* and *Röcklingen,* not counting two names in *-ing. Hönningen* near Rheinbrohl and *Ellingen* in the Wied area provide the link with the area between Rhine, Lahn and Dill, which at a low estimate counts 12 *-ingen.* It is pointless to go any further south, since here begins the country that indisputably passed through a period of Alamannic settlement.

* *Rümmingen* near Lörrach was formerly (764) called *Romaninchova,* so that sometimes the Swabian *-ingen* are also only of recent origin (Mone, *Urzeit des badischen Landes,* I, p. 213).[a] The Swiss *-kon* and *-kofen* have nearly all been contracted from *-inghofen*: *Zollinchovun—Zollikhofen, Smarinchova—Schmerikon,* etc. Cf. F. Beust, *Historischer Atlas des Kantons Zürich,*[b] where there are dozens of them on map 3, representing the Alamannic period.

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[a] F. J. Mone, *Urgeschichte des badischen Landes bis zu Ende des siebenten Jahrhunderts,* Vol. 1, "Die Römer im oberrheinischen Gränzland", Karlsruhe, 1845, p. 213.—*Ed.*

[b] F. Beust, *Kleiner historischer Atlas des Kantons Zürich,* Zurich, 1873.—*Ed.*

[c] J. Grimm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 483.—*Ed.*

[d] Spruner-Menke, *Hand-Atlas...*—*Ed.*

Left of the Rhine we have *Millingen* in Holland above Nimwegen, *Lüttingen* below Xanten, another *Millingen* below Rheinberg, then *Kippingen, Rödingen, Höningen, Worringen, Fühlingen,* all further north than Cologne, *Wesselingen* and *Köttingen* near Brühl. From here the names in *-ingen* follow two directions. In the High Eifel they are rare; we find near Malmedy on the French linguistic border: *Büllingen, Hünningen, Mürringen, Iveldingen, Eibertingen* as a transition to the very numerous *-ingen* in Luxemburg and on the Prussian and Lotharingian upper Mosel. Another connecting line follows the Rhine and the side valleys (in the Ahr area 7 or 8) and finally the Mosel valley, likewise after the area above Trier, where the *-ingen* predominate, but cut off from the great mass of Alamannic-Swabian *-ingen* first by the *-weiler* and then by the *-heim.* So if we, according to Arnold's demand, "consider all the facts in their context",[a] we shall come to the conclusion that the *-ingen* of the upper German Mosel area are Franconian and not Alamannic.

How little we need Alamannic help here becomes even clearer as soon as we trace the *-ingen* from the French-Ripuarian linguistic border near Aachen on to Salic territory. Near Maaseyk west of the Maas lies *Geystingen,* further west near Brée *Gerdingen.* Then we find, turning back to section No. 139, Löwen: *Mopertingen, Vlytingen, Rixingen, Aerdelingen, Grimmersingen, Gravelingen, Ordange* (for *Ordingen*), *Bevingen, Hatingen, Buvingen, Hundelingen, Bovelingen, Curange, Raepertingen, Boswinningen, Wimmertingen,* and others, in the area of Tongern, St. Truyen and Hasselt. The most westerly, not far from Löwen, are *Willebringen, Redingen, Grinningen.* Here the connection seems to break off. But if we move on to territory that is now French-speaking but from the 6th to the 9th century was in dispute between the two languages, we find from the Maas onwards an entire belt of French *-ange,* a form which corresponds to *-ingen* in Lorraine and Luxemburg too, stretching from east to west: *Ballenge, Roclenge, Ortrange, Lantremange, Roclange, Libertange, Noderange, Herdange, Oderinge, Odange, Gobertang, Wahenges*; slightly further west *Louvrenge* near Wavre and *Revelinge* near Waterloo form the link with *Huysinghen* and *Buisinghen,* the outpost of a group of over 20 *-inghen,* stretching south-west of Brussels from Hal to Grammont along the linguistic boundary. And finally in French Flanders: *Gravelingen, Wulverdinghe* (thus exactly the Old Saxon *Wolvaradinges-hûsun*), *Leubringhen, Leulinghen, Bonninghen, Peuplingue, Hardinghen, Her-*

[a] W. Arnold, op. cit., p. 141.—*Ed.*

*melinghen,* near St. Omer and as far as behind Boulogne *Herbinghen, Hocquinghen, Velinghen, Lottinghen, Ardinghen,* all sharply distinguished from the even more numerous names in *-inghem* (= *-ingheim*) in the same area.

Thus the three endings which Arnold regards as typically Alamannic turn out to be every bit as much Franconian, and the attempt to prove an Alamannic settlement on Middle Franconian territory *before* the Franconian one on the basis of these names must be considered to have failed. While the possibility of a not very strong Alamannic element in the south-eastern part of this territory can still be conceded.

From the Alamanni, Arnold leads us to the Chatti. With the exception of the Ripuarians proper, they are supposed to have occupied the area south of the Ripuaria district, the same one, in other words, as we call Middle and Upper Franconia, after and alongside the Alamanni. This too is substantiated by references to the Hessian place-names found in the area beside the Alamannic ones.

"The agreement in the place-names on this and the other side of the Rhine as far as the Alamannic border is so peculiar and so striking that it would be a miracle indeed if it were coincidental; on the other hand, it seems quite natural as soon as we assume that the immigrants gave their native place-names to their new domiciles, as still occurs in America all the time."[a]

There is little to object to in this sentence. But all the more to object to in the conclusion that the Ripuarians proper had nothing to do with the settlement of the whole Middle and Upper Franconian country, that we only find Alamanni and Chatti here. Most of the Chatti who left their home for the west seem to have joined the Iscaevones from time immemorial (as did the Batavi, Canninefates and Chattuari); and where else should they turn? In the first two centuries A. D. the Chatti were only linked with the other Herminones in the rear through the Thuringians; on the one side they had the Ingaevonian Cherusci, on the other the Iscaevones, and before them the Romans. The Herminonian tribes, which later appear united as Alamanni, came from the heart of Germania, having been separated from the Chatti for centuries by Thuringians and other peoples and having become more alien to them than the Iscaevonian Franks, with whom they were allied by a centuries-old brotherhood in arms. The Chatti's participation in the occupation of the area in question is thus not doubted. But the exclusion of the Ripuarians is. This can only be

[a] W. Arnold, op. cit., p. 156.—*Ed.*

proved if no specifically Ripuarian names occur there. The situation is quite the reverse.

Of the endings stated by Arnold[a] to be specifically Franconian, *-hausen* is common to Franks, Saxons, Hessians and Thuringians; *-heim* is Salic *-ham*; *-bach* Salic and Lower Ripuarian *-beek*; of the others, only *-scheid* is really characteristic. It is specifically Ripuarian, just like *-ich*, *-rath* or *-rade* and *-siepen*. Further, common to both Franconian dialects are *-loo* (*-loh*), *-donk* and *-bruch* or *-broich* (Salic *broek*).

*-scheid* occurs only in the mountains and, as a rule, in places on the watershed. The Franks left this ending behind throughout Westphalian Sauerland as far as the Hessian border, where it occurs, only as mountain names, as far as eastern Korbach. On the Ruhr Old Franconian *-scheid* encounters the ending in its Saxon form, *-schede*: *Melschede, Selschede, Meschede*; in the near vicinity, *Langscheid, Ramscheid, Bremscheid.* Frequent in the Berg area, it is found as far as the Westerwald and into it, but not further south, on the right side of the Rhine. Left of the Rhine, however, the *-scheid* understandably do not commence until the Eifel*; in Luxemburg there are at least 21 of them, in the Hochwald and Hunsrück they are common. But as south of the Lahn, here too, on the eastern and southern sides of the Hunsrück and Soonwald, they are joined by the form *-schied,* which seems to be a Hessian adaption. Both forms together move southwards across the Nahe as far as the Vosges, where we find: *Bisterscheid* west of Donnersberg, *Langenscheid* near Kaiserslautern, a plateau called *Breitscheid* south of Hochspeyer, *Haspelscheid* near Bitsch, the *Scheidwald* north of Lützelstein, and finally as the southernmost outpost *Walscheid* on the north slope of the Donon, even further south than the village of Hessen near Saarburg, the most advanced Chattic outpost in Arnold.[b]

Also specifically Ripuarian is *-ich,* from the same root, Gothic *-ahva* (water), as *-ach*; both are also German forms of the Belgian-Roman *-acum,* as proved by *Tiberiacum,* on the district map[c] *Civiraha,* today *Ziewerich.* It is not very frequent on the right side of the Rhine; *Meiderich* and *Lirich* near Ruhrort are the most

* In the plain I can only find *Waterscheid,* east of Hasselt in Belgian Limburg, where we have already observed a strong Ripuarian mixture above [see this volume, p. 90].

[a] Ibid., p. 141.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 144.— *Ed.*
[c] Spruner-Menke, *Hand-Atlas...*— *Ed.*

northerly, from where they skirt the Rhine as far as *Biebrich.* The plain on the left of the Rhine, from *Büderich* opposite Wesel onwards, is full of them; they cross the Eifel as far as the Hochwald and Hunsrück, but vanish in the Soonwald and the region of the Nahe, even before *-scheid* and *-roth* stop. In the western part of our territory, however, they continue to the French linguistic border and beyond. The Trier area, which has a lot of them, we shall pass over; in Dutch Luxemburg I count twelve, on the other side, in the Belgian part, *Törnich* and *Merzig* (Messancy—the spelling *-ig* makes no difference, etymology and pronunciation are the same), in Lorraine, *Soetrich, Sentzich, Marspich, Daspich* west of the Mosel; east of it *Kuntzich, Penserich, Cemplich, Destrich,* twice *Kerprich, Hibrich, Hilsprich.*

The ending *-rade, -rad,* on the left bank of the Rhine *-rath,* also considerably exceeds the bounds of its old Ripuarian homeland. It fills the whole Eifel and the middle and lower Mosel valley, as well as its side valleys. In the same area where *-scheid* mixes with *-schied, -rod, -roth* occurs alongside *-rad* and *-rath* on both banks of the Rhine, also of Hessian origin, except that on the right bank, in the Westerwald, the *-rod* extend further north. In the Hochwald the northern slope has *-rath,* the southern slope *-roth,* as a rule.

The least advanced is *-siepen,* shifted *-seifen.* The word means a small stream-valley with a steep fall and is still in general use with this meaning. Left of the Rhine it does not extend far beyond the old Ripuarian border; on the right it is found in the Westerwald on the Nister and even near Langenschwalbach (*Langenseifen*).

To examine the other endings would take us too far. But at any rate we may assert that the countless *-heim,* which accompany the Rhine upstream from Bingen deep into Alamannic territory and are found everywhere where the Franks settled, are not Chattic but Ripuarian. Their home is not in Hesse, where they rarely occur and seem to have entered later, but in the Salic country and the Rhine plain around Cologne, where they occur alongside the other specifically Ripuarian names in almost equal numbers.

Thus the result of this investigation is that the Ripuarians, far from being held back by the stream of Hessian immigration at the Westerwald and Eifel, on the contrary overran the entire Middle Franconian area themselves. And more strongly in a south-westerly direction, towards the upper Mosel area, than to the south-east towards the Taunus and the area of the Nahe. This is also corroborated by the language. The south-western dialects, right into Luxemburg and western Lorraine, are much closer to Ripuarian than the eastern ones, particularly those on the right

bank of the Rhine. The former might be regarded as a more High German shifted extension of Ripuarian.

The characteristic thing about the Middle Franconian dialects is firstly the penetration of the High German sound shift. Not the mere shift of a few tenues to aspirates, applying to relatively few words and not affecting the character of the dialect, but the beginning shift of the *voiced-stopped consonants,* which brings about the peculiarly Middle and Upper German confusion of *b* and *p, g* and *k, d* and *t.* Only where the impossibility of making a sharp distinction between initial *b* and *p, d* and *t, g* and *k* appears, in other words what the French particularly mean by *accent allemand*—only then does the Low German feel the great cleft which the second sound shift has torn through the German language. And this cleft runs in between the Sieg and the Lahn, the Ahr and the Mosel. Accordingly, Middle Franconian has an initial *g* which is lacking in more northern dialects, whereas medially and finally it still pronounces a soft *ch* for *g.* Furthermore, the *ei* and *ou* of the northern dialects turn into *ai* and *au.*

A few genuinely Franconian peculiarities: in all the Salic and Ripuarian dialects *Bach,* unshifted *Beek,* is feminine. This is also true at least of the largest, western part of Middle Franconian. Like the numerous other *-bachs* with the same name in the Netherlands and on the lower Rhine, the Luxemburg *Glabach* (*Gladbach,* Dutch *Glabeek*) is also feminine. On the other hand, girls' names are treated as neuter: it is not only *das* Mädchen, *das* Mariechen, *das* Lisbethchen, but also *das* Marie, *das* Lisbeth, from Barmen to Trier and beyond. Near Forbach in Lorraine the map, originally made by the French, shows a "*Karninschesberg*" (Kaninchenberg). Thus the same diminutive *-schen,* plural *-sches,* which we found above to be Ripuarian.

With the watershed between Mosel and Nahe and on the right bank of the Rhine with the hill-country south of the Lahn, a new group of dialects begins:

3. *Upper Franconian.* Here we are in a region which was indisputably first Alamannic territory by conquest (disregarding the earlier occupation by Vangiones, etc., of whose tribal affinities and language we know nothing) and where a fairly strong Chattic admixture can be readily conceded. But here too the place-names, as we need not repeat, indicate the presence of not insignificant Ripuarian elements, especially in the Rhine plain. And the language even more so. Let us take the southernmost definable dialect which at the same time has a literature, that of the Palatinate. Here we again encounter the general Franconian

inability to pronounce medial and final *g* in any other way but as a soft *ch.** They say there: *Vöchel, Flechel, geleche* (gelegen) [lain], *gsacht*—gesagt, *licht*—liegt, etc. Similarly the general Franconian *w* instead of *b* in the medial position: *Bûwe*—Buben, *glâwe*—glauben (but *i glâb*), *bleiwe, selwer*—selbst, *halwe*—halbe. The shift is far from being as complete as it looks; there is even reverse shifting, particularly in foreign words, i.e. the initial voiceless consonant is shifted not one stage forwards, but backwards: *t* becomes *d, p* becomes *b,* as will be seen; initial *d* and *p* remain at the Low German stage: *dûn*—tun, *dag, danze, dür, dodt*; but before *r*: *trinke, trage*; *paff*—Pfaff, *peife, palz*—Pfalz, *parre*—Pfarrer. Now as *d* and *p* stand for High German *t* and *pf,* initial *t* is shifted back to *d,* and initial *p* to *b,* even in foreign words: *derke*—Türke, *dafel*—Tafel, *babeer*—Papier, *borzlan*—Porzellan, *bulwer*—Pulver. Then the Palatinate dialect, agreeing only with Danish on this score, cannot tolerate any tenues between vowels: *ebbes*—etwas, *labbe*—Lappen, *schlubbe*—schlüpfen, *schobbe*—Schoppen, *Peder*—Peter, *dridde*—dritte, *rodhe*—raten. The only exception is *k*: *brocke, backe.* But in foreign words *g*: *musigande*—Musikanten. This is also a relic of the Low German stage of the sound system which has spread out further by means of reverse shifting[a]; only because *dridde, hadde* remained unshifted could Peter become *Peder* and the corresponding High German *t* receive the same impartial treatment. Similarly, the *d* in *halde*—halten, *alde*—alte, etc., remains at the Low German stage.

Despite the decidedly High German impression it makes on Low Germans, the dialect of the Palatinate is far from having adopted the High German sound shift even to the extent that our written language has preserved it. On the contrary, by means of its reverse shift the Palatinate dialect is protesting against the High German stage, which, having entered from without, proves to be a foreign element in the dialect to this day.

This is the place to look at a feature that is usually misunderstood: the confusion between *d* and *t, b* and *p* and even *g* and *k* among those Germans in whose dialects the voiced-stopped consonants have undergone the High German sound shift. This confusion does not arise as long as everyone speaks *his own*

* All quotations are from *Fröhlich Palz, Gott erhalts! Gedichte in Pfälzer Mundart,* by K. G. Nadler, Frankfurt am Main, 1851.

[a] Engels' note in pencil in the margin: "Agrees with Otfrid." (See Otfrid, *Liber Evangeliorum domini gratia theotisce conscriptus.* In: W. Braune, *Zur Kenntnis des Fränkischen...*, pp. 3, 52).— *Ed.*

*dialect.* On the contrary. We have just seen that the native of the Palatinate, for example, makes a very nice distinction here, so much so that he even shifts back foreign words in order to adapt them to the requirements of his dialect. The foreign initial *t* only becomes *d* for him because written German *t* corresponds to his *d,* foreign *p* only becomes *b* because his *p* corresponds to written German *pf.* Nor do the voiceless consonants get mixed up in the other Upper German dialects as long as people speak dialect. Each of these dialects has its own, precisely applied sound-shift law. But the position is different as soon as the written language or a foreign language is spoken. The attempt to apply to it the shifting law of the dialect concerned—and this attempt is made involuntarily—collides with the attempt to speak the new language correctly. In the process the written *b* and *p, d* and *t* lose all fixed meaning, and thus it is that Börne, for instance, in his letters from Paris complains that the French were unable to distinguish between *b* and *p,* because they obstinately insisted that his name, which he pronounced *Perne,* commenced with a *p.*[a]

But back to the Palatinate dialect. The evidence that the High German sound shift was foisted on it from without, so to speak, and has remained a foreign element to this day, not even reaching the sound-system stage of the written language either (far exceeding which the Alamanni and the Bavarians on the whole preserve one Old High German stage or another)—this proof alone suffices to establish the predominantly Franconian character of the Palatinate dialect. For even in Hesse, which is much further north, the shift has, on the whole, been carried further, thus reducing the allegedly chiefly Hessian character of the Palatinate dialect to modest proportions. In order to offer such resistance to the High German sound shift hard by the Alamannic border among the Alamanni that remained behind, there must have been at least as many Ripuarians alongside the Hessians, who were themselves essentially High Germans. And their presence is further proved—apart from the place-names—by two generally Franconian peculiarities: the preservation of the Franconian *w* instead of *b* medially, and the pronunciation of *g* as *ch* in medial and final positions. To this may be added a lot of individual cases of agreement. With the Palatinate *Gundach*—"guten Tag"—you will get by as far as to Dunkirk and Amsterdam. Just as "a certain man" is ein *sichrer Mann* in the Palatinate, in the entire

[a] L. Börne, *Schilderungen aus Paris (1822 und 1823).* In: L. Börne, *Gesammelte Schriften,* Vol. 3, Hamburg, Frankfurt am Main, 1862, pp. 19-21.—*Ed.*

Netherlands it is een *zekeren man. Handsching* for *Handschuh* [glove] corresponds to the Ripuarian *Händschen.* Even *g* for *j* in *Ghannisnacht* (*Johannisnacht* [midsummer night]) is Ripuarian and extends, as we have seen, into the Münster area. And *baten* (to improve, be of use, from *bat*—better), common to all the Franks, and the Netherlanders too, is in current use in the Palatinate: '*s badd alles nix*—it's all no use—where the *t* is not even shifted to High German *tz* but is softened to *d* between vowels in the Palatinate manner.

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# [GEORG WEERTH]

## "SONG OF THE APPRENTICES" by Georg Weerth (1846)[59]

At the time when the cherries blossomed,
In Frankfurt we did stay.
At the time when the cherries blossomed,
In that city we did stay.

Up spake mine host, the landlord:
"Your coats are frayed and worn."
"Look here, you lousy landlord,
That's none of your concern.

"Now give us of your wine,
And give us of your beer,
And with the beer and wine,
Bring us a roast in here."

The cock crows in the bunghole,
Out comes a goodly flow,
And in our mouths it tastes
Like urinatio.

And then he brought a hare
In parsley leaves bedight,
And at this poor dead hare
We all of us took fright.

And when we were in bed,
Our nightly prayers reciting,
Early and late in bed
The bed-bugs kept on biting.

It happened once in Frankfurt,
That town so fine and fair,
That knows who did once dwell
And who did suffer there.[a]

[a] Translated into English by Alex Miller.—*Ed.*

I came across this poem by our friend Weerth once again when looking through Marx's estate. Weerth, the German proletariat's first and most important poet, was born in Detmold of Rhenish parents, where his father was a superintendent of churches. When I was staying in Manchester in 1843, Weerth came to Bradford as a clerk for his German firm, and we spent many an enjoyable Sunday together. In 1845, when Marx and I were living in Brussels, Weerth took over the continental agency of his trading house, and organised things in such a way that he could set up his headquarters in Brussels as well.[60] After[a] the March Revolution of 1848 we all met up in Cologne for the founding of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* Weerth took charge of the feuilleton, and I doubt whether any other newspaper ever had such a witty and spirited feuilleton. One of his main contributions was *Leben und Thaten des berühmten Ritters Schnapphahnski,* describing the adventures of Prince Lichnowski, who was given that name by Heine in *Atta Troll.*[b] The facts are all true; how we found out about them we shall perhaps leave to another time. Those Schnapphahnski feuilletons were published together as a book by Hoffmann and Campe in 1849, and are still today most entertaining. However, since Schnapphahnski-Lichnowski, together with the Prussian General von Auerswald (also a member of parliament), went riding out on September 18, 1848 to spy on the columns of peasants who were joining up with the Frankfurt fighters at the barricades, on which occasion he and Auerswald received their just deserts and were beaten to death by the peasants for spying, the German Imperial Vice-Regent brought charges against Weerth for libelling the deceased Lichnowski, and Weerth, who had now been in England for some time, was given a three months' prison sentence long after the forces of reaction had put paid to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* He then duly served his three months' sentence, because his business interests obliged him to visit Germany from time to time.

In 1850-51 he travelled to Spain on behalf of another Bradford firm, and then to the West Indies and across almost all of South America. After a short visit to Europe he returned to his beloved West Indies. He did not wish to forego the pleasure there of seeing, just once, the real original of Louis Napoleon III, the

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[a] The text to the end of the article is checked with the available manuscript.— *Ed.*

[b] H. Heine, *Atta Troll,* I.— *Ed.*

black King Soulouque of Haiti. But, as W. Wolff wrote to Marx on August 28, 1856, he had

"problems with the quarantine authorities, had to give up his project, and on the trip contracted (yellow) fever, with which he arrived in Havana. He took to his bed, his condition was complicated by inflammation of the brain, and—on July 30—our Weerth died in Havana".

I called him the first and *most important* poet of the German proletariat. His socialist and political poems are indeed far superior to Freiligrath's in terms of their originality and wit, and particularly in their fervent passion. He often employed forms of Heine's, but only in order to fill them with an entirely original and independent content. At the same time, he differed from most other poets inasmuch as he was totally unconcerned about his poems once he had written them down. Once he had sent a copy to Marx or me, he would forget about the poems and it was often difficult to persuade him to have them printed. Only during the time of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was it otherwise. The reason why is shown by the following extract from a letter Weerth wrote to Marx from Hamburg, April 28, 1851:

"By the way, I hope to see you again in London at the beginning of July, for I cannot bear these GRASSHOPPERS in Hamburg any longer. I stand under threat here of a splendid existence, but it frightens me. Anyone else would seize it with both hands. But I am too old to become a philistine, and across the sea there is the far West...

"Recently I have written all kinds of things, but have completed nothing for I see no point at all, no aim in writing. When *you* write something on economics there is a point and meaning to it. But *me*? Cracking feeble jokes, making up cheap jibes in order to squeeze a stupid smile from the faces of the rascals at home—in all seriousness, I know nothing more pitiable! My days as a writer ended well and truly with the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

"I must admit: much as it grieves me to have wasted the last three years on absolutely nothing, it thrills me when I think of the time we spent at Cologne. We did *not* compromise ourselves. That is the main thing! Since Frederick the Great nobody has treated the German people so completely *en canaille*[a] as the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

"I don't mean to say that the entire credit was due to me; but I was there...

"O Portugal! O Spain!" (Weerth had just come from there.) "If only we had your beautiful skies, your wine, your oranges and myrtles! But not even that! Nothing but rain and long noses and smoked meat!

"Yours in the rain and with a long nose,

*G. Weerth.*"

Where Weerth was a master, where he outstripped Heine (because he was more wholesome and unadulterated) and where

[a] Ungraciously.—*Ed.*

he is only surpassed by Goethe in the German language, is in his expression of natural, robust sensuality and carnal lust. Many a reader of the *Sozialdemokrat* would be horrified were I to have reprinted here some of the articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. I have no intention of doing that, however. Nevertheless I cannot help remarking that the moment must come for the German socialists too when they openly reject this last German philistine prejudice, that deceitful, petty-bourgeois moral prudery, which in any case is no more than a cover for furtively cracking dirty jokes. If one reads Freiligrath's poetry, for example, one might well believe that human beings were completely devoid of sex organs. And yet nobody took more pleasure in slipping in a piece of filth than the very same Freiligrath who was so extremely chaste in his poetry. It is high time that the German workers at least got used to speaking just as freely about things they themselves do every day or every night, about natural, essential and extremely pleasurable things, as the Romance peoples do, like Homer and Plato did, like Horace and Juvenal, like the Old Testament and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

Moreover Weerth also wrote less offensive things, and I shall allow myself the liberty, from time to time, to send some of them to the feuilleton of the *Sozialdemokrat*.

Written in late May 1883

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Printed according to the newspaper

# THE BOOK OF REVELATION[61]

A science almost unknown in this country, except to a few liberalising theologians, who contrive to keep it as secret as they can, is the historical and linguistic criticism of the Bible, the inquiry into the age, origin, and historical value of the various writings comprising the Old and New Testament.

This science is almost exclusively German. And, moreover, what little of it has penetrated beyond the limits of Germany is not exactly the best part of it: it is that latitudinarian criticism which prides itself upon being unprejudiced and thoroughgoing, and, at the same time, Christian. The books are not exactly revealed by the holy ghost, but they are revelations of divinity through the sacred spirit of humanity, etc. Thus, the Tübingen school (Baur, Gfrörer, etc.)[62] are the great favorites in Holland and Switzerland, as well as in England, and, if people will go a little further, they follow Strauss. The same mild, but utterly unhistorical, spirit dominates the renowned Ernest Renan, who is but a poor plagiarist of the German critics. Of all his works nothing belongs to him but the aesthetic sentimentalism of the pervading thought, and the milk-and-water language which wraps it up.

One good thing, however, Ernest Renan has said:

> "When you want to get a distinct idea of what the first Christian communities were, do not compare them to the parish congregations of our day; they were rather like local sections of the International Working Men's Association."

And this is correct. Christianity got hold of the masses, exactly as modern socialism does, under the shape of a variety of sects, and still more of conflicting individual views—some clearer, some

more confused, these latter the great majority—but all opposed to the ruling system, to "the powers that be".

Take, for instance, our Book of Revelation, of which we shall see that, instead of being the darkest and most mysterious, it is the simplest and clearest book of the whole New Testament. For the present we must ask the reader to believe what we are going to prove by-and-bye. That it was written in the year of our era 68 or January, 69, and that it is therefore not only the only book of the New Testament, the date of which is really fixed, but also the oldest book. How Christianity looked in 68 we can here see as in a mirror.

First of all, sects over and over again. In the messages to the seven churches of Asia[a] there are at least three sects mentioned, of which, otherwise, we know nothing at all: the Nicolaitanes, the Balaamites, and the followers of a woman typified here by the name of Jezebel. Of all the three it is said that they permitted their adherents to eat of things sacrificed to idols, and that they were fond of fornication. It is a curious fact that with every great revolutionary movement the question of "free love" comes in to the foreground. With one set of people as a revolutionary progress, as a shaking off of old traditional fetters, no longer necessary; with others as a welcome doctrine, comfortably covering all sorts of free and easy practices between man and woman. The latter, the philistine sort, appear here soon to have got the upper hand; for the "fornication" is always associated with the eating of "things sacrificed to idols", which Jews and Christians were strictly forbidden to do, but which it might be dangerous, or at least unpleasant, at times to refuse. This shows evidently that the free lovers mentioned here were generally inclined to be everybody's friend, and anything but stuff for martyrs.

Christianity, like every great revolutionary movement, was made by the masses. It arose in Palestine, in a manner utterly unknown to us, at a time when new sects, new religions, new prophets arose by the hundred. It is, in fact, a mere average, formed spontaneously out of the mutual friction, of the more progressive of such sects, and afterwards formed into a doctrine by the addition of theorems of the Alexandrian Jew, Philo, and later on of strong stoic infiltrations.[63] In fact, if we may call Philo the doctrinal father of Christianity, Seneca was her uncle. Whole passages in the New Testament seem almost literally copied from his works[b]; and you

[a] Revelation 2:6, 14, 20.—*Ed.*

[b] See the chapter "Seneca im Neuen Testament" in B. Bauer's *Christus und die Caesaren*, pp. 47-61.—*Ed.*

will find, on the other hand, passages in Persius' satires which seem copied from the then unwritten New Testament.[a] Of all these doctrinal elements there is not a trace to be found in our Book of Revelation. Here we have Christianity in the crudest form in which it has been preserved to us. There is only one dominant dogmatic point: that the faithful have been saved by the sacrifice of Christ. But how, and why is completely indefinable. There is nothing but the old Jewish and heathen notion, that God, or the gods, must be propitiated by sacrifices, transformed into the specific Christian notion (which, indeed, made Christianity the universal religion) that the death of Christ is the great sacrifice which suffices once for all.

Of original sin, not a trace. Nothing of the trinity. Jesus is "the lamb", but subordinate to God. In fact, in one passage (15:3) he is placed upon an equal footing with Moses. Instead of one holy ghost there are "the seven spirits of god" (3:1 and 4:5). The murdered saints (the martyrs) cry to God for revenge:

> "How long, O Lord, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?" (6:10)—

a sentiment which has, later on, been carefully struck out from the theoretical code of morals of Christianity, but carried out practically with a vengeance as soon as the Christians got the upper hand over the heathens.

As a matter of course, Christianity presents itself as a mere sect of Judaism. Thus, in the messages to the seven churches:

> "I know the blasphemy of them which say that they are Jews" (not Christians), "and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan" (2:9);

and again, 3:9:

> "Them of the synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews, but are not."

Thus, our author, in the 69th year of our era, had not the remotest idea that he represented a new phase of religious development, destined to become one of the greatest elements of revolution. Thus also, when the saints appear before the throne of God, there are at first 144,000 Jews, 12,000 of each of the twelve tribes, and only after them are admitted the heathens who have joined this new phase of Judaism.

Such was Christianity in the year 68, as depicted in the oldest, and the only, book of the New Testament, the authenticity of which cannot be disputed. Who the author was we do not know.

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[a] [A. Persius Flacus,] *A. Persii Flacci satirarum liber.— Ed.*

He calls himself John. He does not even pretend to be the "apostle" John, for in the foundations of the "new Jerusalem" are "the names of the twelve apostles of the lamb" (21:14). They therefore must have been dead when he wrote. That he was a Jew is clear from the Hebraisms abounding in his Greek, which exceeds in bad grammar, by far, even the other books of the New Testament. That the so-called Gospel of John, the epistles of John, and this book have at least three different authors, their language clearly proves, if the doctrines they contain, completely clashing one with another, did not prove it.

The apocalyptic visions which make up almost the whole of the Revelation, are taken in most cases literally, from the classic prophets of the Old Testament and their later imitators, beginning with the Book of Daniel (about 160 before our era, and prophesying things which had occurred centuries before) and ending with the "Book of Henoch", an apocryphal concoction in Greek written not long before the beginning of our era. The original invention, even the grouping of the purloined visions, is extremely poor. Professor Ferdinand Benary, to whose course of lectures in Berlin University, in 1841, I am indebted for what follows,[64] has proved, chapter and verse, whence our author borrowed every one of his pretended visions. It is therefore no use to follow our "John" through all his vagaries. We had better come at once to the point which discovers the mystery of this at all events curious book.

In complete opposition with all his orthodox commentators, who all expect his prophecies are still to come off, after more than 1,800 years, "John" never ceases to say,

> "The time is at hand", all this will happen shortly.[a]

And this is especially the case with the crisis which he predicts, and which he evidently expects to see.

This crisis is the great final fight between God and the "Antichrist", as others have named him. The decisive chapters are 13 and 17. To leave out all unnecessary ornamentations, "John" sees a beast arising from the sea which has seven heads and ten horns (the horns do not concern us at all)

> "and I saw one of his heads, as it were, wounded as to death; and his deadly wound was healed".

This beast was to have power over the earth, against God and the lamb for forty-two months (one half of the sacred seven years),

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[a] Revelation 1:3.— *Ed.*

and all men were compelled during that time to have the mark of the beast or the number of his name in their right hand, or in their forehead.

"Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding *count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man, and his number is six hundred threescore and six.*"

Irenaeus, in the second century, knew still that by the head which was wounded and healed, the Emperor Nero was meant. He had been the first great persecutor of the Christians. At his death a rumour spread, especially through Achaia and Asia, that he was not dead, but only wounded, and that he would one day reappear and spread terror throughout the world (Tacitus, Ann. VI, 22).[a] At the same time Irenaeus knew another very old reading, which made the number of the name 616, instead of 666.[b]

In Chapter 17, the beast with the seven heads appears again, this time mounted by the well-known scarlet lady, the elegant description of whom the reader may look out in the book itself. Here an angel explains to John:

"The beast that thou sawest was, and is not.... The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth; and there are seven kings: *five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come*; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space. And the beast that was, and is not, *even he is the eighth, and is of the seven....* And the woman which thou sawest is the great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth."

Here, then, we have two clear statements: (1) The scarlet lady is Rome, the great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth; (2) at the time the book is written the sixth Roman emperor reigns; after him another will come to reign for a short time; and then comes the return of one who "is of the seven," who was wounded but healed, and whose name is contained in that mysterious number, and whom Irenaeus still knew to be Nero.

Counting from Augustus, we have Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero the fifth. The sixth, who is, is Galba, whose ascension to the throne was the signal for an insurrection of the legions, especially in Gaul, led by Otho, Galba's successor.[65] Thus our book must have been written under Galba, who reigned from June 9th, 68, to January 15th, 69. And it predicts the return of Nero as imminent.

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[a] The reference is inaccurate. See Tacitus, *Historiarum,* II, 8.—*Ed.*

[b] Irenaeus, *Refutation and Overthrow of Gnosis falsely so called* (*Against the Heresies*), V, 28-30.—*Ed.*

But now for the final proof—the number. This also has been discovered by Ferdinand Benary, and since then it has never been disputed in the scientific world.

About 300 years before our era the Jews began to use their letters as symbols for numbers. The speculative Rabbis saw in this a new method for mystic interpretation or Kabbala. Secret words were expressed by the figure, produced by the addition of the numerical values of the letters contained in them. This new science they called *gematriah,* geometry. Now this science is applied here by our "John". We have to prove (1) that the number contains the name of a man, and that man is Nero; and (2) that the solution given holds good for the reading 666 as well as for the equally old reading 616. We take Hebrew letters and their values—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| נ (nun) | n = 50 | ק (kof) | k = 100 |
| ר (resh) | r = 200 | ס (samech) | s = 60 |
| ו (vav) for | o = 6 | ר (resh) | r = 200 |
| נ (nun) | n = 50 | | |

Neron Kesar, the Emperor Neron, Greek Nêron Kaisar. Now, if instead of the Greek spelling, we transfer the Latin Nero Caesar into Hebrew characters, the *nun* at the end of *Neron* disappears, and with it the value of fifty. That brings us to the other old reading of 616, and thus the proof is as perfect as can be desired.*

The mysterious book, then, is now perfectly clear. "John" predicts the return of Nero for about the year 70, and a reign of terror under him which is to last forty-two months, or 1,260 days. After that term God arises, vanquishes Nero, the Antichrist, destroys the great city by fire, and binds the devil for a thousand years. The millennium begins, and so forth. All this now has lost all interest, except for ignorant persons who may still try to calculate the day of the last judgment. But as an authentic picture of almost primitive Christianity, drawn by one of themselves, the book is worth more than all the rest of the New Testament put together.

*Frederick Engels*

Written in June-July 1883

Reproduced from the magazine

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* The above spelling of the name, both with and without the second *nun,* is the one which occurs in the Talmud, and is therefore authentic.

# [PREFACE TO THE 1883 GERMAN EDITION OF THE *MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY*][66]

The preface to the present edition I must, alas, sign alone. Marx, the man to whom the whole working class of Europe and America owes more than to anyone else, rests at Highgate Cemetery and over his grave the first grass is already growing. Since his death, there can even be less thought of revising or supplementing the *Manifesto*. All the more do I consider it necessary again to state here the following expressly:

The basic thought running through the *Manifesto*—that economic production and the structure of society of every historical epoch necessarily arising therefrom constitute the foundation for the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently (ever since the dissolution of the primeval communal ownership of land) all history has been a history of class struggles, struggles between exploited and exploiting, between dominated and dominating classes at various stages of social development; that this struggle, however, has now reached a stage where the exploited and oppressed class (the proletariat) can no longer emancipate itself from the class which exploits and oppresses it (the bourgeoisie), without at the same time forever freeing the whole of society from exploitation, oppression and class struggles—the basic thought belongs solely and exclusively to Marx.*

* "This proposition," I wrote in the preface to the English translation,[a] "which, in my opinion, is destined to do for history what Darwin's theory has done for biology, we, both of us, had been gradually approaching for some years before 1845. How far I had independently progressed towards it, is best shown by my

[a] See this volume, p. 517.— *Ed.*

I have already stated this many times; but precisely now it is necessary that it also stand in front of the *Manifesto* itself.

London, June 28, 1883

*F. Engels*

First published in *Das Kommunistische Manifest,* Hottingen-Zurich, 1883

Printed according to the 1890 German edition, checked with the 1883 edition

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*Condition of the Working Class in England.* But when I again met Marx at Brussels, in spring, 1845, he had it ready worked out, and put it before me, in terms almost as clear as those in which I have stated it here." [*Note by Engels to the 1890 German edition.*]

# MARX AND THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG* (1848-49)[67]

On the outbreak of the February Revolution, the German "Communist Party", as we called it, consisted only of a small core, the Communist League, which was organised as a secret propaganda society. The League was secret only because at that time no freedom of association or assembly existed in Germany. Besides the workers' associations abroad, from which it obtained recruits, it had about thirty communities, or sections, in the country itself and, in addition, individual members in many places. This inconsiderable fighting force, however, possessed a leader, *Marx,* to whom all willingly subordinated themselves, a leader of the first rank, and, thanks to him, a programme of principles and tactics that still has full validity today: the *Communist Manifesto.*

It is the tactical part of the programme that concerns us here in the first instance. This part stated in general:

"The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties.

"They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

"They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

"The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the *common interests* of the entire proletariat, *independently of all nationality.* 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent *the interests of the movement as a whole.*

"The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, *practically,* the most resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, *theoretically,* they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement." [a]

And for the German party it stated in particular:

"In Germany the Communist Party fights with the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary way, against the absolute monarchy, the feudal landowners and philistinism.

"But they never cease, for a single instant, to instil into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat, in order that the German workers may straightway use, as so many weapons against the bourgeoisie, the social and political conditions that the bourgeoisie must necessarily introduce along with its supremacy, and in order that, after the fall of the reactionary classes in Germany, the fight against the bourgeoisie itself may immediately begin.

"The Communists turn their attention chiefly to Germany, because that country is on the eve of a bourgeois revolution," etc. (*Manifesto,* Section IV.) [b]

Never has a tactical programme proved its worth as well as this one. Devised on the eve of a revolution, it stood the test of this revolution; whenever, since this period, a workers' party has deviated from it, the deviation has met its punishment; and today, after almost forty years, it serves as the guiding line of all resolute and self-confident workers' parties in Europe, from Madrid to St. Petersburg.

The February events in Paris precipitated the imminent German revolution and thereby modified its character. The German bourgeoisie, instead of conquering by virtue of its own power, conquered in the tow of a French workers' revolution. Before it had yet conclusively overthrown its old adversaries—the absolute monarchy, feudal landownership, the bureaucracy and the cowardly petty bourgeosie—it had to confront a new enemy, the proletariat. However, the effects of the economic conditions, which lagged far behind those of France and England, and thus of the

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, p. 497. Engels' italics.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 519.—*Ed.*

backward class situation in Germany resulting therefrom, immediately showed themselves here.

The German bourgeoisie, which had only just begun to establish its large-scale industry, had neither the strength nor the courage to win for itself unconditional domination in the state, nor was there any compelling necessity for it to do so. The proletariat, undeveloped to an equal degree, having grown up in complete intellectual enslavement, being unorganised and still not even capable of independent organisation, possessed only a vague feeling of the profound conflict of interests between it and the bourgeoisie. Hence, although in point of fact the mortal enemy of the latter, it remained, on the other hand, its political appendage. Terrified not by what the German proletariat was, but by what it threatened to become and what the French proletariat already was, the bourgeoisie saw its sole salvation in some compromise, even the most cowardly, with the monarchy and nobility; as the proletariat was still unaware of its own historical role, the bulk of it had, at the start, to take on the role of the forward-pressing, extreme left wing of the bourgeoisie. The German workers had above all to win those rights which were indispensable to their independent organisation as a class party: freedom of the press, association and assembly—rights which the bourgeoisie, in the interest of its own rule, ought to have fought for, but which it itself in its fear now began to dispute when it came to the workers. The few hundred separate League members vanished in the enormous mass that had been suddenly hurled into the movement. Thus, the German proletariat at first appeared on the political stage as the extreme democratic party.

In this way, when we founded a major newspaper in Germany, our banner was determined as a matter of course. It could only be that of democracy, but that of a democracy which everywhere emphasised in every point the specific proletarian character which it could not yet inscribe once for all on its banner. If we did not want to do that, if we did not want to take up the movement, adhere to its already existing, most advanced, actually proletarian side and to advance it further, then there was nothing left for us to do but to preach communism in a little provincial sheet and to found a tiny sect instead of a great party of action. But we had already been spoilt for the role of preachers in the wilderness; we had studied the utopians too well for that, nor was it for that we had drafted our programme.

When we came to Cologne, preparations by the democrats, and partly by the Communists, had been made there for a major

newspaper; they wanted to make this a purely local Cologne paper and to banish us to Berlin. But in twenty-four hours, especially thanks to Marx, we had conquered the field, and the newspaper became ours, in return for the concession of taking *Heinrich Bürgers** into the editorial board. The latter wrote *one* article (in No. 2) and never another.

Cologne was where we had to go, and not Berlin. First, Cologne was the centre of the Rhine Province, which had gone through the French Revolution, which had provided itself with *modern* legal conceptions in the *Code Napoléon,*[68] which had developed by far the most important large-scale industry and which was in every respect the most advanced part of Germany at that time. The Berlin of that time we knew only too well from our own observation, with its hardly hatched bourgeoisie, its cringing petty bourgeoisie, audacious in words but craven in deeds, its still wholly undeveloped workers, its mass of bureaucrats, aristocratic and court riff-raff, its entire character of a mere "*Residenz*".[a] Decisive, however, was the following: in Berlin the wretched Prussian *Landrecht*[69] prevailed and political cases were tried by professional magistrates; on the Rhine the *Code Napoléon* was in force, which knows no press trials, because it presupposes censorship, and if one did not commit political misdemeanours but only *crimes,* one came before a jury; in Berlin *after* the revolution young Schlöffel was sentenced to a year's imprisonment for a trifle,[70] while on the Rhine we had unconditional freedom of the press—and we used it to the last drop.

Thus we began, on June 1, 1848, with very limited share capital, of which only a little had been paid up and the shareholders themselves were more than unreliable. Half of them deserted us immediately after the first number came out and by the end of the month we no longer had any at all.

The editorial constitution was simply the dictatorship of Marx. A major daily paper, which has to be ready at a definite hour, cannot observe a consistent policy with any other constitution. Moreover, Marx's dictatorship was a matter of course here, undisputed and willingly recognised by all of us. It was above all his clear vision and firm attitude that made this publication the most famous German newspaper of the years of revolution.

The political programme of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* consisted of two main points:

* Later became a liberal. [Note by the *Sozialdemokrat* editors.]

[a] *Residenz*: Seat of the reigning prince.—*Ed.*

A single, indivisible, democratic German republic, and war with Russia, including the restoration of Poland.

The petty-bourgeois democracy were divided at that time into two factions: the North German, which would not mind putting up with a democratic Prussian emperor, and the South German, then almost all specifically Baden, which wanted to transform Germany into a federative republic after the Swiss model. We had to fight both of them. The interests of the proletariat forbade the Prussianisation of Germany just as much as the perpetuation of its division into petty states. These interests called for the unification of Germany at long last into a *nation,* which alone could provide the battlefield, cleared of all traditional petty obstacles, on which proletariat and bourgeoisie were to measure their strength. But they equally forbade the establishment of Prussia as the head. The Prussian state with its set-up, its tradition and its dynasty[a] was precisely the sole serious internal adversary which the revolution in Germany had to overthrow; and, moreover, Prussia could unify Germany only by tearing Germany apart, by excluding German Austria. Dissolution of the Prussian and disintegration of the Austrian state, real unification of Germany as a republic—we could not have any other immediate revolutionary programme. And this could be accomplished through war with Russia and only through such a war. I will come back to this last point later.

Incidentally, the tone of the newspaper was by no means solemn, serious or enthusiastic. We had altogether contemptible opponents and treated them, without exception, with the utmost scorn. The conspiring monarchy, the *camarilla,* the nobility, the *Kreuz-Zeitung,* the entire "reaction", about which the philistines were morally indignant—we treated them only with mockery and derision. No less so the new idols that had appeared on the scene through the revolution: the March ministers,[71] the Frankfurt and Berlin Assemblies, both the Rights and the Lefts in them. The very first number began with an article which mocked at the inanity of the Frankfurt parliament, the pointlessness of its long-winded speeches, the superfluity of its cowardly resolutions.[b] It cost us half the shareholders. The Frankfurt parliament was not even a debating club; hardly any debates took place there, but for the most part only academic dissertations prepared beforehand

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[a] The Hohenzollerns.— *Ed.*

[b] F. Engels, "The Assembly at Frankfurt".— *Ed.*

were ground out and resolutions adopted which were intended to inspire the German philistines but of which no one else took any notice.

The Berlin Assembly was of more importance: it confronted a real power, it did not debate and pass resolutions in the air, in a Frankfurt cloud-cuckoo land. Consequently, it was dealt with in more detail. But there too, the idols of the Lefts, Schulze-Delitzsch, Berends, Elsner, Stein, etc., were just as sharply attacked as those in Frankfurt; their indecisiveness, hesitancy and pettiness were mercilessly exposed, and it was proved how step by step they compromised themselves into betraying the revolution. This, of course, evoked a shudder in the democratic petty bourgeois, who had only just manufactured these idols for his own use. To us, this shudder was a sign that we had hit the bull's eye.

We came out likewise against the illusion, zealously spread by the petty bourgeoisie, that the revolution had come to an end with the March days and that now one had only to pocket the fruits. To us, February and March could have the significance of a real revolution only if they were not the conclusion but, on the contrary, the starting-points of a long revolutionary movement in which, as in the Great French Revolution, the people developed further through its own struggles and the parties became more and more sharply differentiated until they coincided entirely with the great classes, bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and proletariat, and in which the separate positions were won one after another by the proletariat in a series of battles. Hence, we everywhere opposed the democratic petty bourgeoisie as well when it tried to gloss over its class antagonism to the proletariat with the favourite phrase: after all, we all want the same thing; all the differences rest on mere misunderstandings. But the less we allowed the petty bourgeoisie to misunderstand our proletarian democracy, the tamer and more amenable it became towards us. The more sharply and resolutely one opposes it, the more readily it ducks and the more concessions it makes to the workers' party. We have seen this for ourselves.

Finally, we exposed the parliamentary cretinism (as Marx called it) of the various so-called National Assemblies.[72] These gentlemen had allowed all means of power to slip out of their hands, in part had voluntarily surrendered them again to the governments. In Berlin, as in Frankfurt, alongside newly strengthened, reactionary governments there stood powerless assemblies, which nevertheless imagined that their impotent resolutions would shake the world in its foundations. This cretinous self-deception prevailed right to the

extreme Lefts. We told them plainly that their parliamentary victory would coincide with their real defeat.

And it so happened both in Berlin and in Frankfurt. When the "Lefts" obtained the majority, the government dispersed the entire Assembly; it could do so because the Assembly had forfeited all credit with the people.

When later I read *Bougeart's* book on *Marat,*[a] I found that in more than one respect we had only unconsciously imitated the great model of the genuine "*Ami du Peuple*" (not the one forged by the royalists) and that the whole outburst of rage and the whole falsification of history, by virtue of which for almost a century only an entirely distorted Marat had been known, were solely due to the fact that Marat mercilessly removed the veil from the idols of the moment, Lafayette, Bailly and others, and exposed them as ready-made traitors to the revolution; and that he, like us, did not want the revolution declared complete, but lasting.

We openly proclaimed that the trend we represented could enter the struggle for the attainment of our real party aims only when the most extreme of the official parties existing in Germany came to the helm: then we would form the opposition to it.

Events, however, saw to it that besides mockery at our German opponents there also appeared fiery passion. The insurrection of the Paris workers in June 1848 found us at our post. From the first shot we were unconditionally on the side of the insurgents. After their defeat, Marx paid tribute to the vanquished in one of his most powerful articles.[b]

Then the last remaining shareholders deserted us. But we had the satisfaction of being the only paper in Germany, and almost in Europe, that had held aloft the banner of the crushed proletariat at the moment when the bourgeois and petty bourgeois of all countries were trampling the vanquished in the ground with a torrent of slander.

Our foreign policy was simple: to support every revolutionary people, and to call for a general war of revolutionary Europe against the mighty bulwark of European reaction—Russia. From February 24[73] onwards it was clear to us that the revolution had only *one* really formidable enemy, Russia, and that the more the movement took on European dimensions the more this enemy was compelled to enter the struggle. The Vienna, Milan and Berlin events were bound to delay the Russian attack, but its final coming

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[a] A. Bougeart, *Marat, L'ami du peuple,* vols I-II.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, "The June Revolution".—*Ed.*

became all the more certain the closer the revolution came to Russia. But if Germany could be successfully brought to make war against Russia, it would be the end for the Habsburgs and Hohenzollerns and the revolution would triumph along the whole line.

This policy pervaded every issue of the newspaper until the moment of the actual invasion of Hungary by the Russians, which fully confirmed our forecast and decided the defeat of the revolution.

When, in the spring of 1849, the decisive battle drew near, the language of the paper became more vehement and passionate with every issue. *Wilhelm Wolff* reminded the Silesian peasants in the "Silesian Milliard" (eight articles),[74] how on being emancipated from feudal services they had been cheated out of money and land by the landlords with the help of the government, and he demanded a thousand million talers in compensation.

It was at the same time, in April, that *Marx*'s essay on wage labour and capital appeared in the form of a series of editorial articles[a] as a clear indication of the social goal of our policy. Every issue, every special number, pointed to the great battle that was in the making, to the sharpening of antagonisms in France, Italy, Germany and Hungary. In particular, the special numbers in April and May were as much proclamations to the people to hold themselves in readiness for direct action.

"Out there, in the Reich", wonder was expressed that we carried on our activities so unconcernedly within a Prussian fortress of the first rank, in the face of a garrison of 8,000 troops and confronting the guardhouse; but, on account of the eight rifles with bayonets and 250 live cartridges in the editorial room, and the red Jacobin caps of the compositors, our house was reckoned by the officers likewise as a fortress which was not to be taken by a mere *coup de main.*

At last, on May 18, 1849, the blow came.

The insurrection in Dresden and Elberfeld was suppressed, that in Iserlohn was encircled; the Rhine Province and Westphalia bristled with bayonets which, after completing the rape of the Prussian Rhineland, were intended to march against the Palatinate and Baden. Then at last the government ventured to come to close quarters with us. Half of the editorial staff were prosecuted, the other half were liable to deportation as non-Prussians. Nothing could be done about it, as long as a whole army corps stood

[a] K. Marx, "Wage Labour and Capital".—*Ed.*

behind the government. We had to surrender our fortress, but we withdrew with our arms and baggage, with band playing and flag flying, the flag of the last, red issue, in which we warned the Cologne workers against hopeless putsches, and called to them:

"In bidding you farewell, the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* thank you for the sympathy you have shown them. Their last word everywhere and always will be: *emancipation of the working class!*" [a]

Thus the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* came to an end, shortly before it had completed its first year. Begun almost without financial resources—the little that had been promised it very soon, as we said, was lost—it had achieved a circulation of almost 5,000 by September. The state of siege in Cologne suspended it; in the middle of October it had to begin again from the start. But in May 1849, when it was suppressed, it again had 6,000 subscribers, while the *Kölnische,* at that time, according to its own admission, had not more than 9,000. No German newspaper, before or since, has ever had the same power and influence or been able to electrify the proletarian masses as effectively as the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.*

And that it owed above all to *Marx.*

When the blow fell, the editorial staff dispersed. *Marx* went to Paris where the *dénouement,* then in preparation there, took place on June 13, 1849[75]; *Wilhelm Wolff* took his seat in the Frankfurt parliament—now that the Assembly had to choose between being dispersed from above or joining the revolution; and I went to the Palatinate and became an adjutant in Willich's volunteer corps.[76]

*Fr. Engels*

Written in mid-February and early March, 1884

First published in *Der Sozialdemokrat,* No. 11, March 13, 1884

Printed according to the newspaper

[a] K. Marx, F. Engels, "To the Workers of Cologne" (see present edition, Vol. 9, p. 467).— *Ed.*

# THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE

## IN THE LIGHT OF THE RESEARCHES BY LEWIS H. MORGAN[77]

Written in early April-May 26, 1884

First published as a book in Zurich in 1884

Signed: *Frederick Engels*

Printed according to the 1891 edition collated with the 1884 edition

## PREFACE [TO THE FIRST EDITION]

The following chapters constitute, in a sense, the fulfilment of a behest. It was no less a person than Karl Marx who had planned to present the results of Morgan's researches in connection with the conclusions arrived at by his own—within certain limits I might say our own—materialist investigation of history and only thus to make clear their whole significance. For Morgan rediscovered in America, in his own way, the materialist conception of history that had been discovered by Marx forty years ago, and in his comparison of barbarism and civilisation was led by this conception to the same conclusions, in the main points, as Marx. And just as *Capital* was for years both zealously plagiarised and persistently hushed up by the official economists in Germany, so was Morgan's *Ancient Society** treated by the spokesmen of "prehistoric" science in England. My work can offer but a meagre substitute for that which my departed friend was not destined to accomplish. However, I have before me, in his extensive extracts from Morgan,[78] critical notes which I reproduce here as far as they refer to the subject in any way.

According to the materialist conception, the determining factor in history is, in the last resort, the production and reproduction of immediate life. But this itself is again of a twofold character. On

* *Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization.* By Lewis H. Morgan, London, MacMillan & Co., 1877. This book was printed in America, and is remarkably difficult to obtain in London. The author died a few years ago.

the one hand, the production of the means of subsistence, of food, clothing and shelter and the implements required for this; on the other, the production of human beings themselves, the propagation of the species. The social institutions under which men of a definite historical epoch and of a definite country live are determined by both kinds of production: by the stage of development of labour, on the one hand, and of the family, on the other. The less labour is developed and the more limited the volume of its products and, therefore, the wealth of society, the more predominantly the social order appears to be dominated by ties of kinship. However, within this structure of society based on ties of kinship, the productivity of labour develops more and more; with it, private property and exchange, differences in wealth, the possibility of utilising the labour power of others, and thereby the basis of class antagonisms: new social elements, which strive in the course of generations to adapt the old structure of society to the new conditions, until, finally, incompatibility of the two leads to a complete transformation. The old society, based on ties of kinship, bursts asunder with the collision of the newly developed social classes; in its place a new society appears, constituted in a state, the lower units of which are no longer groups based on ties of kinship but territorial groups, a society in which the family system is entirely dominated by the property system, and in which the class antagonisms and class struggle, which make up the content of all hitherto *written* history now freely unfold.

Morgan's great merit lies in having discovered and reconstructed this prehistoric foundation of our written history in its main features, and in having found in the ties of kinship of the North American Indians the key to the most important, hitherto insoluble, riddles of the earliest Greek, Roman and German history. His book, however, was not the work of one day. He grappled with his material for nearly forty years until he completely mastered it. But for this reason his book is one of the few epoch-making works of our time.

In the following exposition the reader will, on the whole, easily be able to distinguish between what has been taken from Morgan and what I have added myself. In the historical sections dealing with Greece and Rome I have not limited myself to Morgan's evidence, but have added what I had at my disposal. The sections dealing with the Celts and the Germans are substantially my own; here Morgan had at his disposal almost exclusively second-hand sources, and, as far as German conditions were concerned—with the exception of Tacitus—only the wretched liberal falsification of

Mr. Freeman.[a] The economic arguments, sufficient for Morgan's purpose but wholly inadequate for my own, have all been elaborated afresh by myself. And, finally, I, of course, am responsible for all conclusions wherever Morgan is not expressly quoted.

Written in late May 1884

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Printed according to the book

[a] E. A. Freeman, *Comparative Politics.*—*Ed.*

# I

# PREHISTORIC STAGES OF CULTURE

Morgan was the first specialist to attempt to introduce a definite order into the prehistory of man; unless important additional material necessitates alterations, his classification may be expected to remain in force.

Of the three main epochs, savagery, barbarism and civilisation, he is naturally concerned only with the first two, and with the transition to the third. He subdivides each of these two epochs into a lower, middle and upper stage, according to the progress made in the production of the means of subsistence; for, as he says:

> "Upon their skill in this direction, the whole question of human supremacy on the earth depended. Mankind are the only beings who may be said to have gained an absolute control over the production of food. [...] The great epochs of human progress have been identified, more or less directly, with the enlargement of the sources of subsistence."[a]

The evolution of the family proceeds concurrently, but does not offer such conclusive criteria for the delimitation of the periods.

## 1. SAVAGERY

1. *Lower Stage.* Infancy of the human race. Man still lived in his original habitat, tropical or subtropical forests, dwelling, at least partially, in trees; this alone explains his survival in face of the large beasts of prey. Fruits, nuts and roots served him as food; the

[a] L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society,* p. 19. This proposition is also set forth in "Marx's Excerpts from Lewis Henry Morgan, *Ancient Society*" in *The Ethnological Notebooks of Karl Marx,* p. 99.— *Ed.*

formation of articulate speech was the main achievement of this period. None of the peoples that became known during the historical period were any longer in this primeval state. Although this period may have lasted for many thousands of years, we have no direct evidence to prove its existence; but once we admit the descent of man from the animal kingdom, the acceptance of this transitional stage is inevitable.

2. *Middle Stage.* Begins with the utilisation of fish (under which heading, we also include crabs, shellfish and other aquatic animals) for food and with the employment of fire. These two are complementary, since fish food becomes fully available only by the use of fire. This new food, however, made men independent of climate and locality. By following the rivers and coasts they were able, even in their savage state, to spread over the greater part of the earth's surface. The crudely fashioned, unpolished stone implements of the earlier Stone Age—the so-called palaeolithic—which belong wholly, or predominantly, to this period, being scattered over all the continents, are evidence of these migrations. The newly occupied territories as well as the unceasingly active urge for discovery, linked with the command of the art of producing fire by friction, made available new foodstuffs, such as farinaceous roots and tubers, baked in hot ashes or in baking pits (ground ovens), and game, which was occasionally added to the diet after the invention of the first weapons—the club and the spear. Exclusively hunting peoples, such as figure in books, that is, peoples subsisting *solely* by hunting, have never existed, since the fruits of the chase are much too precarious for that. As a consequence of the continued uncertainty with regard to sources of food, cannibalism appears to have arisen at this stage, and continued for a long time. The Australians and many Polynesians are to this day in this middle stage of savagery.

3. *Upper Stage.* Begins with the invention of the bow and arrow, making game a regular item of food and hunting one of the normal occupations. To be sure, bow, string and arrow constitute a very composite instrument, the invention of which presupposes long accumulated experience and sharpened mental powers, and, consequently, a simultaneous acquaintance with a host of other inventions. If we compare the peoples which, although familiar with the bow and arrow, are not yet acquainted with the art of pottery (from which point Morgan dates the transition to barbarism), we actually already find a few beginnings of settlement in villages, a certain mastery of the production of means of subsistence: wooden vessels and utensils, finger weaving (without

looms) with filaments of bast, baskets woven from bast or rushes, and polished (neolithic) stone implements. Also for the most part, fire and the stone axe have already provided the dug-out canoe and, in places, timber and planks for house-building. All these advances are to be found, for example, among the Indians of the American North-West, who, although familiar with the bow and arrow, know nothing of pottery. The bow and arrow was for savagery what the iron sword was for barbarism and the firearm for civilisation, namely, the decisive weapon.

## 2. BARBARISM

1. *Lower Stage.* Dates from the introduction of pottery. The latter had its origin, demonstrably in many cases and probably everywhere, in the coating of woven or wooden vessels with clay in order to render them fire-proof; though it was soon discovered that moulded clay also served the purpose without the inner vessel.

Up to this point we have been able to regard the course of evolution as being generally valid for a definite period among all peoples, irrespective of locality. With the advent of barbarism, however, we reach a stage where the difference in natural endowment of the two great continents begins to assert itself. The characteristic feature of the period of barbarism is the domestication and breeding of animals and the cultivation of plants. Now the Eastern Continent, the so-called Old World, possessed almost all the animals suitable for domestication and all the cultivable cereals with one exception; while the Western one, America, possessed only one domesticable mammal, the llama, and even this only in a part of the South; and of all cultivable cereals only one, but the best: maize. The effect of these different natural conditions was that from now on the population of each hemisphere went its own separate way, and the landmarks on the borderlines between the various stages are different in each of the two cases.

2. *Middle Stage.* Begins, in the East, with the domestication of animals; in the West, with the cultivation of edible plants by means of irrigation, and with the use of adobes (bricks dried in the sun) and stone for buildings.

We shall commence with the West, because there this stage was nowhere surpassed until the European Conquest.

At the time of their discovery, the Indians in the lower stage of

barbarism (to which all those found east of the Mississippi belonged) already engaged to a certain extent in the garden cultivation of maize and perhaps also of pumpkins, melons and other garden plants, which supplied a very substantial part of their food. They lived in wooden houses, in villages surrounded by stockades. The tribes of the North-West, particularly those living in the region of the Columbia River, still remained in the upper stage of savagery and were familiar neither with pottery nor with any kind of plant cultivation. On the other hand, the so-called Pueblo Indians of New Mexico,[79] the Mexicans, Central Americans and Peruvians were in the middle stage of barbarism at the time of the Conquest. They lived in fort-like houses built of adobe or stone; they cultivated, in artificially irrigated gardens, maize and other edible plants, varying according to location and climate, which constituted their chief source of food, and they had even domesticated a few animals—the Mexicans the turkey and other birds, and the Peruvians the llama. They were furthermore acquainted with the working of metals—except iron, which was the reason why they could not yet dispense with stone weapons and stone implements. The Spanish Conquest cut short all further independent development.

In the East, the middle stage of barbarism commenced with the domestication of milk and meat-yielding cattle, while plant cultivation appears to have remained unknown until well into this period. The domestication and breeding of cattle and the formation of large herds seem to have been the cause of the differentiation of the Aryans and the Semites from the remaining mass of barbarians. Names of cattle are still common to the European and the Asiatic Aryans, the names of cultivable plants hardly at all.

The formation of herds led in suitable places to pastoral life; among the Semites, on the grassy plains of the Euphrates and the Tigris; among the Aryans, on those of India, of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, of the Don and the Dnieper. The domestication of animals must have been first accomplished on the borders of such pasture lands. It thus appears to later generations that the pastoral peoples originated in areas which, far from being the cradle of mankind, were, on the contrary, almost uninhabitable for their savage forebears and even for people in the lower stage of barbarism. Conversely, once these barbarians of the middle stage had taken to pastoral life, it would never have occurred to them to leave the grassy watered plains of their own accord and return to the forest regions which had been the home of their ancestors.

Even when the Semites and Aryans were driven farther north and west, they found it impossible to settle in the forest regions of Western Asia and Europe until they were enabled, by the cultivation of cereals, to feed their cattle on this less favourable soil, and particularly to pass the winter there. It is more than probable that the cultivation of cereals was introduced here primarily because of the need to provide fodder for cattle and only later became important for human nourishment.

The abundant diet of meat and milk among the Aryans and the Semites, and particularly the beneficial effects of these foods on the development of children, may, perhaps, explain the superior development of these two races. In fact, the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, who are reduced to an almost exclusively vegetarian diet, have a smaller brain than the Indians at the lower stage of barbarism who ate more meat and fish. At any rate, cannibalism gradually disappears at this stage, and survives only as a religious rite or, what is almost identical in this instance, sorcery.

3. *Upper Stage.* Begins with the smelting of iron ore and passes into civilisation through the invention of alphabetic script and its utilisation for literary records. At this stage, which, as we have already noted, was traversed independently only in the eastern hemisphere, more progress was made in production than in all the previous stages put together. To it belong the Greeks of the Heroic Age, the Italic tribes shortly before the foundation of Rome, the Germans of Tacitus and the Normans of the days of the Vikings.[a]

Above all, we encounter here for the first time the iron ploughshare drawn by cattle, making possible land cultivation on a wide scale—*tillage*—and, in the conditions of that time, a practically unlimited increase in the means of subsistence; in connection with this we find also the clearing of forests and their transformation into arable and pasture land—which, again, would have been impossible on a wide scale without the iron axe and spade. But with this there also came a rapid increase in the population and dense population of small areas. Prior to tillage only very exceptional circumstances could have brought together half a million people under a single central leadership; in all probability this had never happened.

In the poems of Homer, particularly the *Iliad,* we find the

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[a] The 1884 edition had "and the Germans of Caesar (or, as we would rather say, of Tacitus)" instead of "the Germans of Tacitus and the Normans of the days of the Vikings".—*Ed.*

upper stage of barbarism at its zenith. Improved iron tools, the bellows, the handmill, the potter's wheel, the making of oil and wine, the advanced working of metals developing into a craft, waggons and war chariots, shipbuilding with beams and planks, the beginnings of architecture as an art, walled towns with towers and battlements, the Homeric epic and the whole of mythology—these are the chief heritages carried over by the Greeks from barbarism to civilisation. If we compare with this Caesar's and even Tacitus' descriptions of the Germans,[a] who were at the beginning of that stage of culture from which the Homeric Greeks were preparing to advance to a higher one, we will see what wealth was embodied in the development of production at the upper stage of barbarism.

The picture of the evolution of mankind through savagery and barbarism to the beginnings of civilisation that I have here sketched after Morgan is already rich enough in new and, what is more, incontestable features, incontestable because they are taken straight from production; nevertheless it will appear faint and meagre compared with the picture which will unfold at the end of our journey. Only then will it be possible to give a full view of the transition from barbarism to civilisation and the striking contrast between the two. For the time being we can generalise Morgan's periodisation as follows: Savagery—the period in which the appropriation of natural products, ready for use, predominated; the things produced by man are, in the main, instruments that facilitate this appropriation. Barbarism—the period in which knowledge of cattle breeding and land cultivation is acquired, in which methods of increasing the yield of nature's products through human activity are learnt. Civilisation—the period in which knowledge of the further processing of nature's products, of industry proper, and of art are acquired.

## II

## THE FAMILY

Morgan, who spent the greater part of his life among the Iroquois—who still inhabit the State of New York—and was adopted by one of their tribes (the Senecas), found a system of consanguinity prevailing among them that stood in contradiction to their actual family relations. Marriage between single pairs, with

[a] See Caesar, *Commentarii de bello Gallico* and Tacitus, *Germania*.—*Ed.*

easy dissolution by either side, which Morgan termed the "pairing family", was the rule among them. The offspring of such a married couple was known and recognised by all, and no doubt could arise as to the person to whom the designation father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister should be applied. But the actual use of these terms contradicted this. The Iroquois calls not only his own children sons and daughters, but those of his brothers also; and they call him father. On the other hand, he calls his sisters' children his nephews and nieces; and they call him uncle. Conversely, the Iroquois woman calls her sisters' children her sons and daughters along with her own; and they call her mother. On the other hand, she calls her brothers' children her nephews and nieces; and she is called their aunt. In the same way, the children of brothers call one another brothers and sisters, and so do the children of sisters. The children of a woman and those of her brother, in contrast, call each other cousins. And these are no mere empty terms, but expressions of ideas actually in force concerning proximity and remoteness, equality and inequality of blood relationship; and these ideas serve as the foundation of a fully elaborated system of consanguinity, capable of expressing several hundred different relationships of a single individual. Furthermore, this system not only exists in full force among all American Indians (no exceptions have as yet been discovered), but also prevails almost unchanged among the aborigines of India, among the Dravidian tribes in the Deccan and the Gaura tribes in Hindustan. The terms of kinship current among the Tamils of South India and the Seneca Iroquois in the State of New York are identical even at the present day for more than two hundred different relationships. And among these tribes in India, too, as among all the American Indians, the relationships arising out of the prevailing form of the family stand in contradiction to the system of consanguinity.

How is this to be explained? In view of the decisive role which kinship plays in the social order of all peoples in the stage of savagery and barbarism, the significance of so widespread a system cannot be explained away by mere phrases. A system which is generally prevalent throughout America, which likewise exists in Asia among peoples of an entirely different race, and more or less modified forms of which abound everywhere throughout Africa and Australia, needs to be historically explained, not talked away, as McLennan, for example, attempted to do.[a] The terms father,

[a] See J. F. McLennan, *Primitive Marriage* and *Studies in Ancient History*.—*Ed.*

child, brother and sister are no mere honorary titles, but carry with them absolutely definite and very serious mutual obligations, the totality of which forms an essential part of the social constitution of these peoples. And the explanation was found. In the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) there existed as late as the first half of the present century a form of the family which yielded just such fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, sons and daughters, uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces, as are demanded by the American and ancient Indian system of consanguinity. But strangely enough, the system of consanguinity prevalent in Hawaii again did not coincide with the actual form of the family existing there. There, all first cousins, without exception, are regarded as brothers and sisters, and as the common children, not only of their mother and her sisters, or of their father and his brothers, but of all the brothers and sisters of their parents without distinction. Thus, if the American system of consanguinity presupposes a more primitive form of the family, no longer existing in America itself, but actually still found in Hawaii, the Hawaiian system of consanguinity, on the other hand, points to an even more primitive form of the family, which, though we cannot prove it still exists anywhere, *must* nevertheless have existed, for otherwise the system of consanguinity corresponding to it could not have arisen.

"The family," says Morgan, "represents an active principle. It is never stationary, but advances from a lower to a higher form as society advances from a lower to a higher condition. [...] Systems of consanguinity, on the contrary, are passive; recording the progress made by the family at long intervals apart, and only changing radically when the family has radically changed." [a]

"And," adds Marx, "the same applies to political, juridical, religious and philosophical systems generally." [b] While the family continues to live, the system of consanguinity becomes ossified, and while this latter continues to exist in the customary form, the family outgrows it. However, just as Cuvier could with certainty conclude, from the pouch bones of an animal skeleton found near Paris, that this belonged to a marsupial and that now extinct marsupials had once lived there, so we, with the same certainty, can conclude, from a historically transmitted system of consanguinity, that an extinct form of the family corresponding to it did once exist.

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[a] L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 435.—*Ed.*

[b] "Marx's Excerpts...", op. cit., p. 112.—*Ed.*

The systems of consanguinity and forms of the family just referred to differ from those which prevail today in that each child has several fathers and mothers. According to the American system of consanguinity, to which the Hawaiian family corresponds, brother and sister cannot be the father and the mother of one and the same child; but the Hawaiian system of consanguinity presupposes a family in which this, on the contrary, was the rule. We are confronted with a series of forms of the family which directly contradict the forms hitherto generally accepted as being the only ones prevailing. The traditional conception knows monogamy only, along with polygamy on the part of individual men, and even, perhaps, polyandry on the part of individual women, and hushes up the fact—as is the way with moralising philistines—that in practice these bounds imposed by official society are silently but unblushingly transgressed. The study of primeval history, on the contrary, reveals to us conditions in which men live in polygamy and their wives simultaneously in polyandry, and the common children are, therefore, regarded as being common to them all; in their turn, these conditions undergo a whole series of modifications until they are ultimately dissolved in monogamy. These modifications are of such a character that the circle of people embraced by the common tie of marriage—very wide originally—becomes narrower and narrower, until, finally, only the single couple is left, which predominates today.

By thus constructing the history of the family in reverse, Morgan, in agreement with the majority of his professional colleagues, arrived at a primitive stage at which promiscuous intercourse prevailed within a tribe, so that every woman belonged equally to every man and every man to every woman.[a] There had been talk about such a primitive condition ever since the last century, but only in general clichés; Bachofen was the first—and this was one of his great services—to take this condition seriously and to search for traces of it in historical and religious traditions.[b] We know today that the traces he discovered do not at all lead back to a social stage of sexual promiscuity, but to a much later form, group marriage. That primitive social stage, if it really existed, belongs to so remote an epoch that we can scarcely expect

[a] The 1884 edition had after this: "The discovery of this primitive stage is Bachofen's first great merit.* It is probable that at a very early stage there developed from this primitive condition:". In the 1891 edition this sentence was replaced by the text that follows below, up to the paragraph "1. The *Consanguine Family*" (see p. 147).—*Ed.*

[b] J. J. Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht.*—*Ed.*

to find *direct* evidence of its one-time existence in social fossils, among backward savages. What Bachofen deserves credit for is that he placed this question in the forefront of investigation.*

It has become the fashion of late to deny the existence of this initial stage in the sexual life of mankind. The aim is to spare humanity this "shame". Apart from pointing to the absence of any direct evidence, reference is particularly made to the example of the rest of the animal world; wherefrom Letourneau (*L'évolution du mariage et de la famille,* 1888) collected numerous facts purporting to show that here, too, complete sexual promiscuity belongs to a lower stage. The only conclusion I can draw from all these facts, however, is that they prove absolutely nothing as far as man and his primeval conditions of life are concerned. The fact that vertebrates mate for lengthy periods of time can be sufficiently explained on physiological grounds; for example, among birds, the female's need for assistance during brooding time; the examples of faithful monogamy among birds prove nothing whatsoever for human beings, since these are not actually descended from birds. And if strict monogamy is to be regarded as the acme of all virtue, then the palm must be given to the tapeworm, which possesses complete male and female genitals in every one of its 50 to 200 proglottides or body segments, and passes the whole of its life cohabiting with itself in every one of these segments. If, however, we limit ourselves to mammals, we find all forms of sexual life among them: promiscuity, suggestions of group marriage, polygamy and monogamy. Only polyandry is absent. This was only achieved by humans. Even our nearest relatives, the tetrapods, exhibit all possible variations in the grouping of male and female; and, if we draw the line closer and consider only the four anthropoid apes, Letourneau can tell us only that they are sometimes monogamous and sometimes polygamous, while Saussure, quoted by Giraud-Teulon, asserts

* How little Bachofen understood what he had discovered, or rather guessed, is proved by his description of this primitive condition as *hetaerism.* This word was used by the Greeks, when they introduced it, to describe intercourse between unmarried men, or those living in monogamy, and unmarried women; it always presupposes the existence of a definite form of marriage outside of which this intercourse takes place, and includes prostitution, at least as a possibility. The word has never been used in any other sense and I use it in this sense like Morgan. Bachofen's highly important discoveries are everywhere incredibly mystified by his fantastic belief that the historically arisen relations between man and woman sprang from human beings' religious ideas in each given period and not from their actual conditions of life.

that they are monogamous.[a] The recent assertions by Westermarck (*The History of Human Marriage,* London, 1891) regarding monogamy among anthropoid apes are no proof by any means. In short, the reports are of such a character that the honest Letourneau admits:

"For the rest, there exists among the mammals absolutely no strict relations between the degree of intellectual development and the form of sexual union."[b]

And Espinas (*Des sociétés animales,* 1877) says point-blank:

"The horde is the highest social group observable among animals. It *seems* to be composed of families, but right from the outset *the family and the horde stand in antagonism to each other,* they develop in inverse ratio."[c]

As is evident from the above, we know next to nothing conclusive about the family and other gregarious groupings of the anthropoid apes. The reports directly contradict one another. Nor is this surprising. How contradictory, how much in need of critical examination and sifting are the reports in our possession concerning even savage human tribes! But ape communities are still more difficult to observe than human ones. We must, therefore, for the present reject every conclusion drawn from such absolutely unreliable reports.

The passage from Espinas, quoted above, however, provides us with a better clue. Among the higher animals the horde and the family are not complementary, but antagonistic to each other. Espinas describes very neatly how jealousy amongst the males in the rutting season loosens, or temporarily dissolves, every gregarious horde.

"Where the family is closely bound together hordes are rare exceptions. On the other hand, the horde arises almost naturally where free sexual intercourse or polygamy is the rule.... For a horde to arise the family ties must have been loosened and the individual freed again. That is why we so rarely find organised flocks among birds.... Among mammals, on the other hand, more or less organised communities are to be found, precisely because the individual in this case is not merged in the family.... Thus, at its inception, the collective feeling of the horde can have no greater enemy than the collective feeling of the family. Let us not hesitate to say: if a higher social form than the family has evolved, it can have been due solely to the fact that it incorporated within itself families which had undergone a fundamental transformation; which does not exclude the possibility that, precisely for this reason, these families were later able to reconstitute themselves under infinitely more favourable circumstances" (Espinas, op. cit. [Ch. I]; quoted by Giraud-Teulon in his *Origines du mariage et de la famille,* 1884, pp. 518-20).

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[a] A. Giraud-Teulon, *Les origines du mariage et de la famille,* p. XV.— *Ed.*
[b] Ch. Letourneau, *L'évolution du mariage et de la famille,* p. 41.— *Ed.*
[c] Quoted from Giraud-Teulon's book, p. 518, Note "a".— *Ed.*

From this it becomes apparent that animal communities have, to be sure, a certain value in drawing conclusions regarding human ones—but only in a negative sense. As far as we have ascertained, the higher vertebrates know only two forms of the family: polygamy or the single pair. In both cases only *one* adult male, only *one* husband is permissible. The jealousy of the male, representing both the ties and limits of the family, brings the animal family into conflict with the horde. The horde, the higher form of gregariousness, is rendered impossible here, loosened there, or dissolved altogether during the rutting season; at best, its continued development is hindered by the jealousy of the male. This alone suffices to prove that the animal family and primitive human society are incompatible things; that primitive man, working his way up out of the animal stage, either knew no family whatsoever, or at the most knew a family that is non-existent among animals. Such an unarmed animal as man in the making could survive in small numbers even in isolation, which knows monogamy as its highest form of gregariousness, as ascribed by Westermarck to the gorilla and chimpanzee on the basis of hunters' reports. For evolution out of the animal stage, for the accomplishment of the greatest advance known to nature, an additional element was needed: the replacement of the individual's inadequate power of defence by the united strength and joint effort of the horde. The transition to the human stage out of conditions such as those under which the anthropoid apes live today would be absolutely inexplicable. These apes rather give the impression of being stray sidelines gradually approaching extinction, and, at any rate, in process of decline. This alone is sufficient reason for rejecting all conclusions based on parallels drawn between their family forms and those of primitive man. Mutual toleration among the adult males, freedom from jealousy, was, however, the first condition for the formation of those large and enduring groups in the sole midst of which the transition from animal to man could take place. And indeed, what do we find as the oldest, most primitive form of the family, of which undeniable evidence can be found in history, and which even today can be studied here and there? Group marriage, the form in which whole groups of men and whole groups of women belong to one another, and which leaves but little scope for jealousy. And further, we find at a later stage of development the exceptional form of polyandry, which still more militates against all feeling of jealousy, and is, therefore, unknown to animals. Since, however, the forms of group marriage known to us are accompanied by

such peculiarly complicated conditions that they necessarily point to earlier, simpler forms of sexual behaviour and thus, in the last analysis, to a period of promiscuous intercourse coinciding with the period of transition from animality to humanity, references to the forms of marriage among animals bring us back again to the very point from which they were supposed to have led us away once and for all.

What, then, does promiscuous sexual intercourse mean? That the prohibitive restrictions in force at present or in earlier times did not exist. We have already witnessed the collapse of the barrier of jealousy. If anything is certain, it is that jealousy is an emotion of comparatively late development. The same applies to the conception of incest. Not only did brother and sister live as man and wife originally, but sexual intercourse between parents and children is permitted among many peoples to this day. Bancroft (*The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, 1875, Vol. I) testifies to the existence of this among the Kadiaks of the Bering Strait, the Kadiaks near Alaska and the Tinnehs in the interior of British North America. Letourneau has collected reports of the same fact among the Chippewa Indians, the Cucus in Chile, the Caribbeans and the Karens of Indo-China, not to mention the accounts of the ancient Greeks and Romans concerning the Parthians, Persians, Scythians, Huns, etc. Prior to the discovery of incest (and it *is* a discovery, and one of the utmost value), sexual intercourse between parents and children could be no more disgusting than between other persons belonging to different generations—such as indeed occurs today even in the most Philistine countries without exciting great horror; in fact, even old "maids" of over sixty, if they are rich enough, sometimes marry young men of about thirty. However, if we eliminate from the most primitive forms of the family known to us the conceptions of incest that are associated with them—conceptions totally different from our own and often in direct contradiction to them—we arrive at a form of sexual intercourse which can only be described as promiscuous—promiscuous insofar as the restrictions later established by custom did not yet exist. But it by no means necessarily follows from this that a higgledy-piggledy promiscuity was daily practice. Temporary monogamous pairings are by no means excluded; in fact, even in group marriage they now constitute the majority of cases. And if Westermarck, the latest to deny this original state, defines as marriage every case where the two sexes remain mated until the birth of offspring, then it may be said that this kind of marriage

could very well occur under the conditions of promiscuous intercourse, without in any way contradicting promiscuity, that is, the absence of barriers to sexual intercourse set up by custom. Westermarck, to be sure, starts out from the viewpoint that

"promiscuity involves a suppression of individual inclinations," so that "prostitution is its most genuine form".[a]

To me it rather seems that all understanding of primitive conditions remains impossible so long as we regard them through brothel spectacles. We shall return to this point again when dealing with group marriage.

According to Morgan, there developed out of this original condition of promiscuous intercourse, probably at a very early stage:

1. The *Consanguine Family*, the first stage of the family. Here the marriage groups are ranged according to generations: all the grandfathers and grandmothers within the limits of the family are all mutual husbands and wives, the same being the case with their children, the fathers and mothers, whose children will again form a third circle of common marriage partners, their children—the great-grandchildren of the first—in turn, forming a fourth circle. Thus, in this form of the family, only ancestors and descendants, parents and children, are excluded from the rights and obligations (as we would say) of marriage with one another. Brothers and sisters, male and female cousins of the first, second and more remote degrees are all mutually brothers and sisters, and *precisely because of this* are all mutually husbands and wives. At this stage the relation of brother and sister includes the exercise of sexual intercourse with one another as a matter of course.* In its typical

* Marx, in a letter written in the spring of 1882,[80] expresses himself in the strongest possible terms about the utter falsification of primeval times appearing in Wagner's *Nibelung* text.[81] "Whoever heard of a brother embracing his sister as his bride?"[b] To these "lewd gods" of Wagner's, who in quite modern style spiced their love affairs with a little incest, Marx gave the answer: "In primeval times the sister *was* the wife, *and that was moral.*" [*Note by Engels to the 1884 edition.*]

A French friend and admirer of Wagner does not agree with this note, and points out that already in the *Ögisdrekka*, the *Elder Edda*,[82] which Wagner took as his model, Loki reproaches Freya thus: "Thine own brother has thou embraced before the gods."[c] Marriage between brother and sister, he claimed, was

[a] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, pp. 70, 71.—*Ed.*

[b] R. Wagner, *Die Walküre. Erster Tag aus der Trilogie: der Ring des Nibelungen.* Zweiter Aufzug, S. 29.—*Ed.*

[c] Here and below see *Die Edda die ältere und jüngere... Die ältere Edda*, pp. 68-69.—*Ed.*

form, such a family would consist of the descendants of a couple, among whom, again, the descendants of each degree are all brothers and sisters, and, precisely for that reason, all mutual husbands and wives.

The consanguine family has become extinct. Even the crudest peoples known to history furnish no verifiable example of this form of the family. The conclusion that it *must* have existed, however, is forced upon us by the Hawaiian system of consanguinity, still prevalent throughout Polynesia, which expresses degrees of consanguinity such as can arise only under such a form of the family; and we are forced to the same conclusion by the entire further development of the family, which postulates this form as a necessary preliminary stage.

2. The *Punaluan Family.* If the first advance in organisation was the exclusion of parents and children from mutual sexual intercourse, the second was the exclusion of brothers and sisters. In view of the greater similarity in the ages of the participants, this step forward was infinitely more important, but also more difficult, than the first. It was accomplished gradually, commencing most probably[c] with the exclusion of natural brothers and sisters (that is, on the maternal side) from sexual intercourse, at first in isolated cases, then gradually becoming the rule (in Hawaii exceptions to this rule still existed in the present century), and ending with the prohibition of marriage even between collateral brothers and sisters, or, as we would call them, between first, second and third cousins. According to Morgan it

proscribed already at that time. The *Ögisdrekka* is the expression of a time when belief in the ancient myths was completely shattered; it is a truly Lucianian satire on the gods. If Loki, as Mephistopheles, thus reproaches Freya, it argues rather against Wagner. A few verses later, Loki also says to Njordr: "You begat [such] a son by your sister" (*vidh systur thinni gaztu slikan mög*). Now, Njordr is not an Asa but a Vana, and says, in the Ynglinga saga,[83] that marriages between brothers and sisters are customary in Vanaland, which is not the case amongst the Asas.[a] This would seem to indicate that the Vanas were older gods than the Asas. At any rate, Njordr lived among the Asas as their equal, and the *Ögisdrekka* is thus rather proof that intermarriage between brothers and sisters, at least among the gods, did not yet arouse any revulsion at the time the Norwegian Sagas of the gods originated. If one wants to excuse Wagner, one would do better to cite Goethe instead of the *Edda*, for Goethe, in his ballad of God and the Bayadere,[b] makes a similar mistake regarding the religious surrender of women, which he likens far too closely to modern prostitution. [*Addition by Engels in the 1891 edition.*]

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[a] Snorri Sturluson, *Ynglinga Saga,* 4.— *Ed.*

[b] J. W. Goethe, "Der Gott und die Bajadere".— *Ed.*

[c] The words "most probably" were added in the 1891 edition.— *Ed.*

"affords a good illustration of the operation of the principle of natural selection".[a]

It is beyond question that tribes among whom inbreeding was restricted by this advance were bound to develop more rapidly and fully than those among whom intermarriage between brothers and sisters remained both rule and duty. And how powerfully the effect of this advance was felt is proved by the institution of the *gens,* which arose directly from it and shot far beyond the mark. The gens was the foundation of the social order of most, if not all, the barbarian peoples of the world, and in Greece and Rome we pass directly from it into civilisation.

Every primeval family had to split up after a couple of generations, at the latest. The original communistic common household, which prevailed without exception until the late middle stage of barbarism, determined a certain maximum size of the family community, varying according to circumstances but fairly definite in each locality. As soon as the conception of the impropriety of sexual intercourse between the children of a common mother arose, it was bound to have an effect upon such divisions of old and the foundation of new household communities (which, however, did not necessarily coincide with the family group). One or more groups of sisters became the nucleus of one household, their natural brothers the nucleus of the other. In this or some similar way the form of the family which Morgan calls the punaluan family developed out of the consanguine family. According to the Hawaiian custom, a number of sisters, either natural or collateral (that is, first, second or more distant cousins), were the common wives of their common husbands, from which relation, however, their brothers were excluded. These husbands no longer addressed one another as brothers—which indeed they no longer had to be—but as punalua, that is, intimate companion, *associé,* as it were. In the same way, a group of natural or collateral brothers held in common marriage a number of women, who were *not* their sisters, and these women addressed one another as punalua. This is the classical form of family structure which later admitted of a series of variations, and the essential characteristic feature of which was: mutual community of husbands and wives within a definite family circle, from which, however, the brothers of the wives—first the natural brothers, and later the collateral brothers also—were excluded, the same applying conversely to the sisters of the husbands.

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[a] L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society,* p. 425.—*Ed.*

This form of the family now furnishes us with the most complete accuracy the degrees of kinship as expressed in the American system. The children of my mother's sisters still remain her children, the children of my father's brothers being likewise his children, and all of them are my brothers and sisters; but the children of my mother's brothers are now her nephews and nieces, the children of my father's sisters are his nephews and nieces, and they all are my cousins. For while my mother's sisters' husbands still remain her husbands, and my father's brothers' wives likewise still remain his wives—by right, if not always in actual fact—the social proscription of sexual intercourse between brothers and sisters now divided the first cousins, hitherto indiscriminately regarded as brothers and sisters, into two classes: some remain (collateral) brothers and sisters as before; the others, the children of brothers on the one hand and of sisters on the other, *can* no longer be brothers and sisters, can no longer have common parents, whether father, mother, or both, and therefore the class of nephews and nieces, male and female cousins—which would have been senseless in the previous family system—becomes necessary for the first time. The American system of consanguinity, which appears to be utterly absurd in every family form based on some kind of individual marriage, is rationally explained, and naturally justified, down to its minutest details, by the punaluan family. To the extent that this system of consanguinity was prevalent, to exactly the same extent, at least, must the punaluan family, or a form similar to it,[a] have existed.

This form of the family, proved actually to have existed in Hawaii, would probably have been demonstrable throughout Polynesia, had the pious missionaries—like the quondam Spanish monks in America—been able to perceive in these unchristian relations something more than mere "abomination".* When Caesar tells us of the Britons, who at that time were in the middle stage of barbarism, that "by tens and by twelves they possessed their wives in common; and it was mostly brothers with brothers

* There can no longer be any doubt that the traces of indiscriminate sexual intercourse, his so-called "*Sumpfzeugung*" which Bachofen believes he has discovered, lead back to group marriage. "If Bachofen regards these punaluan marriages as 'lawless', a man of that period would likewise regard most present-day marriages between near and distant cousins on the father's or the mother's side as incestuous, that is, as marriages between consanguineous brothers and sisters" (Marx).[b]

[a] The words "or a form similar to it" were added in the 1891 edition.—*Ed.*

[b] "Marx's Excerpts...", op. cit. p. 237. Engels quotes with slight changes.—*Ed.*

and parents with their children",[a] this is best explained as group marriage.[b] Barbarian mothers have not ten or twelve sons old enough to be able to keep wives in common, but the American system of consanguinity, which corresponds to the punaluan family, provides many brothers, since all a man's near and distant cousins are his brothers. The expression "parents with their children" may be a misunderstanding on Caesar's part; this system, however, does not absolutely exclude the presence of father and son, or mother and daughter, in the same marriage group, though it does exclude the presence of father and daughter, or mother and son. In the same way, this or a similar form of group marriage[c] provides the simplest explanation of the reports by Herodotus[d] and other ancient writers concerning community of wives among savage and barbarian peoples. This also applies to the description of the Tikurs of Oudh (north of the Ganges) given by Watson and Kaye in *The People of India* [Vol. II, p. 85]:

"They live together" (that is, sexually) "almost indiscriminately in large communities, and when two people are regarded as married, the tie is but nominal."

In by far the majority of cases the institution of the *gens* seems to have originated directly from the punaluan family. To be sure, the Australian class system[84] also offers a starting-point for it: the Australians have gentes; but they have not yet the punaluan family; they have a cruder form of group marriage.[e]

In all forms of the group family it is uncertain who the father of a child is, but it is certain who the mother is. Although she calls *all* the children of the aggregate family her children and is charged with the duties of a mother towards them, she, nevertheless, knows her natural children from the others. It is thus clear that, wherever group marriage exists, descent is traceable only on the *maternal* side, and thus the *female line* alone is recognised. This, in fact, is the case among all savage peoples and among those belonging to the lower stage of barbarism; and it is Bachofen's second great service to have been the first to discover this. He terms this exclusive recognition of lineage through the mother,

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[a] Caesar, *Commentarii de bello Gallico,* V, 14.—*Ed.*

[b] The 1884 edition has "punaluan family" instead of "group marriage".—*Ed.*

[c] The 1884 edition has "form of the family" instead of "or a similar form of group marriage".—*Ed.*

[d] Herodotus, *Historiae,* I, 216; IV, 104.—*Ed.*

[e] The 1884 edition has "their organisation, however, is too isolated for us to consider it" instead of "they have a cruder form of group marriage".—*Ed.*

and the inheritance relations that arose out of it in the course of time, mother right. I retain this term for the sake of brevity. It is, however, an unhappy choice, for at this stage of society, there is as yet no such thing as right in the legal sense.

Now if we take from the punaluan family one of the two typical groups—namely, that consisting of a number of natural and collateral sisters (i.e., those descendant from natural sisters of the first, second or more remote degree), together with their children and their natural or collateral brothers on the mother's side (who according to our premiss are *not* their husbands), we obtain exactly that circle of persons who later appear as members of a gens in the original form of this institution. They all have a common ancestress, whose female descendants, generation by generation, are sisters by virtue of descent from her. These sisters' husbands, however, can no longer be their brothers, i.e., cannot be descended from this ancestress, and, therefore, do not belong to the consanguineous group, later the gens; but their children do belong to this group, since descent on the mother's side alone is decisive, because it alone is certain. Once the proscription of sexual intercourse between all brothers and sisters, including even the most remote collateral relations on the mother's side, becomes established, the above group is transformed into a gens—i.e., constitutes itself as a defined circle of blood relatives in the female line, who are not allowed to marry one another; from now on it increasingly consolidates itself through other common institutions of a social and religious character, and differentiates itself from the other gentes of the same tribe. We shall deal with this in detail later. If, however, we find that the gens not only necessarily, but even obviously, evolved out of the punaluan family, then there is ground for assuming almost for certain that this form of the family used to exist among all peoples for whom gentile institutions can be established—i.e., virtually all barbarian and civilised peoples.[a]

At the time Morgan wrote his book our knowledge of group marriage was still very limited. A little was known about the group marriages current among the Australians, who were organised in classes, and, in addition, Morgan, as early as 1871, had published the information that reached him concerning the Hawaiian punaluan family.[b] On the one hand, the punaluan family provided

[a] The text below, up to the paragraph: "3. The *Pairing Family*" (see p. 156), was added by Engels in the 1891 edition.—*Ed.*

[b] See L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family.*—*Ed.*

a complete explanation of the system of consanguinity prevalent among the American Indians—the system which was the starting-point of all Morgan's investigations; on the other hand, it constituted a ready-made point of departure for the derivation of the mother-right gens; and, finally, it represented a far higher stage of development than the Australian classes. It was, therefore, comprehensible that Morgan should conceive the punaluan family as a stage of development necessarily preceding the pairing family, and assume that it was generally prevalent in earlier times. Since then we have learned of a number of other forms of group marriage and now know that Morgan went too far in this respect. Nevertheless, in his punaluan family, he had the good fortune to come across the highest, the classical form of group marriage, the form from which the transition to a higher stage is most easily explained.

We are indebted to the English missionary Lorimer Fison for the most substantial enrichment of our knowledge of group marriage, for he studied this form of the family for years in its classical home, Australia.[a] He found the lowest stage of development among the Australian Negroes of Mount Gambier in South Australia. The whole tribe is here divided into two large classes—Kroki and Kumite. Sexual intercourse within each of these classes is strictly proscribed; on the other hand, every man of one class is the born husband of every woman of the other class, and she is his born wife. Not individuals, but entire groups are married to one another, class to class. And let it be noted, no reservations at all are made here concerning difference of age, or special blood relationship, other than those determined by the division into two exogamous classes. A Kroki has every Kumite woman as his legitimate wife; since, however, his own daughter, being the daughter of a Kumite woman, is, according to mother right, also a Kumite, she is thereby the born wife of every Kroki, and thus also her father. At all events, the class organisation, as we know it, imposes no restriction here. Hence, this organisation either arose at a time when, despite all dim impulses to limit inbreeding, sexual intercourse between parents and children was not yet regarded with any particular horror, in which case the class system would have arisen directly out of a condition of promiscuous sexual behaviour. Or intercourse between parents and children *had already been* proscribed by custom when the classes arose, in which case the present position points back to the

[a] L. Fison and A. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai.—Ed.*

consanguine family, and is the first advance beyond it. The latter is the more probable. Cases of marital contacts between parents and children have not, as far as I am aware, been reported from Australia; and the later form of exogamy, the mother-right gens, also, as a rule, tacitly presupposes the prohibition of such contacts as something already existing upon its establishment.

Apart from Mount Gambier, in South Australia, the *two*-class system is likewise to be found along the Darling River, farther east, and in Queensland, in the North-East, thus being very widespread. This system excludes only marriage between brothers and sisters, between the children of brothers and between the children of sisters on the mother's side, because these belong to the same class; on the other hand, the children of brother and sister are permitted to marry. A further step towards the prevention of inbreeding is to be found among the Kamilaroi, along the Darling River, in New South Wales, where the two original classes are split into four, and each of these four classes is likewise married lock, stock and barrel to a certain other class. The first two classes are the born spouses of each other; the children become members of the third or the fourth class, depending on whether the mother belongs to the first or the second class; and the children of the third and fourth classes, which are likewise married to each other, belong again to the first and second classes. So that one generation always belongs to the first and second classes, the next belongs to the third and fourth, and the next again to the first and second. According to this system, the children of brothers and sisters (on the mother's side) may not become man and wife—their grandchildren, however, may. This strangely complicated system is made even more intricate by the—at any rate, subsequent—superimposition of mother-right gentes; but we cannot go into this here. We see, then, how the impulse towards the prevention of inbreeding asserts itself time and again, but in a groping, spontaneous way, without a clear consciousness of the purpose.

Group marriage, which in the case of Australia is still class marriage, the state of marriage of a whole class of men, often scattered over the whole breadth of the continent, with an equally widely distributed class of women—this group marriage, when observed more closely, does not appear quite so horrible as is fancied by the Philistine in his brothel-tainted imagination. On the contrary, long years passed before its existence was even suspected, and indeed, it has again been disputed only quite recently. To the superficial observer it appears to be a kind of loose

monogamy and, in places, polygamy, accompanied by occasional infidelity. One must spend years, as Fison and Howitt did, in order to discover the law that regulates these states of marriage—which in practice rather remind the average European of his own marital customs—the law according to which an Australian Negro, even when a stranger thousands of miles away from his home, among people whose language he does not understand, nevertheless, quite often, in roaming from camp to camp, from tribe to tribe, finds women who guilelessly, without resistance, give themselves to him; and according to which he who has several wives cedes one of them to his guest for the night. Where the European can see only immorality and lawlessness, strict law actually reigns. The women belong to the stranger's marriage class, and are therefore his born wives; the same moral law which assigns one to the other, prohibits, on pain of banishment, all intercourse outside the marriage classes that belong to each other. Even where women are abducted, which is frequently the case, and in some areas the rule, the class law is scrupulously observed.

Incidentally, the abduction of women reveals even here a trace of the transition to monogamy—at least in the form of the pairing marriage: After the young man has abducted, or eloped with, the girl with the assistance of his friends, all of them have sexual intercourse with her one after the other, whereupon, however, she is regarded the wife of the young man who initiated the abduction. And, conversely, should the abducted woman run away from the man and be captured by another, she becomes the latter's wife, and the first man loses his privilege. Thus, exclusive relations, pairing for longer or shorter periods, and also polygamy, establish themselves alongside and within the system of group marriage, which, in general, continues to exist; so that here too group marriage is gradually dying out, the only question being which will disappear first from the scene as a result of European influence—group marriage or the Australian Negroes who indulge in it.

In any case, marriage based on whole classes, such as prevails in Australia, is a very low and primitive form of group marriage; whereas the punaluan family is, as far as we know, its highest stage of development. The former would seem to be the form corresponding to the social status of roving savages, while the latter already presupposes relatively stable settlements of communistic communities and leads directly to the next higher stage of development. Some intermediate stages will assuredly be found

between these two; here an only just opened and barely trodden field of investigation lies before us.

3. The *Pairing Family.* A certain pairing for longer or shorter periods took place already under group marriage, or even earlier. Among his numerous wives, the man had a principal wife (one can scarcely yet call her his favourite wife) and he was the principal one of all her husbands. This situation contributed in no small degree to the confusion among missionaries, who saw in group marriage,[a] now promiscuous community of wives, now wanton adultery. Such habitual pairing, however, necessarily became more and more established as the gens developed and as the numbers of classes of "brothers" and "sisters" between which marriage was now impossible increased. The impetus given by the gens to the prevention of marriage between blood relatives drove things still further. Thus we find that among the Iroquois and most other Indian tribes in the lower stage of barbarism marriage is prohibited between *all* relatives recognised by their system, and these are of several hundred kinds. This growing complexity of marriage prohibitions rendered group marriages more and more impossible; they were supplanted by the *pairing family.* At this stage one man lives with one woman, yet in such a manner that polygamy and occasional infidelity remain men's prerogative, even though the former is seldom practised for economic reasons; at the same time, the strictest fidelity is usually demanded of the woman during the period of cohabitation, adultery on her part being cruelly punished. The marriage bond can, however, be easily dissolved by either side, and the children still belong solely to the mother.

Even in this ever widening exclusion of blood relatives from marriage bonds, natural selection continues to have its effect. In Morgan's words,

> "marriage between non-consanguineous gentes tended to create a more vigorous stock physically and mentally. ... When two advancing tribes ... are blended into one people the new skull and brain would ... widen and lengthen to the sum of the capabilities of both".[b]

Tribes constituted according to gentes were bound, therefore, to gain the upper hand over the more backward ones, or carry them along by force of their example.

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[a] The 1884 edition has "the punaluan family" instead of "group marriage".—*Ed.*

[b] This is a rendering of the passage from L. H. Morgan's *Ancient Society,* p. 459. See also "Marx's Excerpts...", op. cit., p. 118.—*Ed.*

Thus, the evolution of the family in prehistoric times consisted in the continual narrowing of the circle—originally embracing the whole tribe—within which marital community between the two sexes prevailed. By the successive exclusion, first of closer, then of ever more remote relatives, and finally even of those merely related by marriage, every kind of group marriage was ultimately rendered practically impossible; and in the end there remained only the couple, for the moment still loosely united, the molecule, with the dissolution of which marriage itself ceases completely. This fact alone shows how little individual sex love, in the modern sense of the word, had to do with the origin of monogamy. The practice of all peoples in this stage affords still further proof of this. Whereas under previous forms of the family men were never in want of women but, on the contrary, had a surfeit of them, women now became scarce and were sought after. Consequently, with pairing marriage there begins the abduction and purchase of women—widespread *symptoms,* but nothing more, of a much more deeply rooted change that had set in. These symptoms, mere methods of obtaining women, McLennan, the pedantic Scot, nevertheless metamorphosed into special classes of families which he called "marriage by abduction" and "marriage by purchase".[a] Moreover, among the American Indians, and elsewhere (at the same stage), the arrangement of a marriage is not the affair of the two parties to the same, who are often not even consulted at all, but of their respective mothers. Two complete strangers are thus often betrothed and only learn of the conclusion of the deal when the marriage day approaches. Prior to the marriage, presents are given by the bridegroom to the gentile relatives of the bride (that is, to her relatives on her mother's side, not to the father and his relatives), these presents serving as purchase gifts for the ceded girl. The marriage may, as before, be dissolved at the discretion of either of the two spouses. Nevertheless, among many tribes, for example, the Iroquois, public sentiment gradually developed against such separations. When conflicts arise, the gentile relatives of both parties intervene and attempt a reconciliation, and separation takes place only if this proves fruitless, the children remaining with the mother and each party being free to marry again.

The pairing family, itself too weak and unstable to make an independent household necessary, or even desirable, did not by any means dissolve the communistic household inherited from

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[a] J. F. McLennan, *Primitive Marriage,* particularly Ch. I and II.— *Ed.*

earlier times. But the communistic household implies the supremacy of women in the house, just as the exclusive recognition of a natural mother, because of the impossibility of determining the natural father with certainty, signifies high esteem for the women, i.e. for the mothers. That woman was the slave of man at the commencement of society is one of the most absurd notions that have come down to us from the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. Woman occupied not only a free but also a highly respected position among all savages and all barbarians of the lower and middle stages and partly even of the upper stage. Let Arthur[a] Wright,[85] missionary for many years among the Seneca Iroquois, testify what her place still was in the pairing marriage:

"As to their family system, when occupying the old long houses"
(communistic households embracing several families)
"it is probable that some one clan" (gens) "predominated, the women taking in husbands ... from other clans" (gentes). "...Usually, the female portion ruled the house...; the stores were in common; but woe to the luckless husband or lover who was too shiftless to do his share of the providing. No matter how many children, or whatever goods he might have in the house, he might at any time be ordered to pick up his blanket and budge; and after such orders it would not be healthful for him to attempt to disobey. The house would be too hot for him; and ... he had to retreat to his own clan" (gens); "or, as was often done, go and start a new matrimonial alliance in some other. The women were the great power among the clans" (gentes), "as everywhere else. They did not hesitate, when occasion required, ... to knock off the horns, as it was technically called, from the head of the chief and send him back to the ranks of the warriors."[b]

The communistic household, in which most or even all of the women belong to one and the same gens, while the men come from various other gentes, is the material foundation of that predominancy of women which universally obtained in primitive times; and Bachofen's discovery of this constitutes his third great service.—I may add, furthermore, that the reports of travellers and missionaries about women among savages and barbarians being burdened with excessive toil in no way conflict with what has been said above. The division of labour between the two sexes is determined by causes entirely different from those that determine the status of women in society. Peoples whose women have to work much harder than we would consider proper often have far more real respect for women than our Europeans have for theirs. The social status of the lady of civilisation, surrounded by sham homage and estranged from all real work, is infinitely lower than

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[a] Should be: Asher.—*Ed.*

[b] Quoted from L. H. Morgan's *Ancient Society,* p. 455. See also "Marx's Excerpts...", op. cit., p. 116.—*Ed.*

that of the hard-working woman of barbarism, who was regarded among her people as a real lady (LADY, *frowa, Frau*=mistress) and was such by the nature of her position.

Whether or not the pairing marriage has totally supplanted group marriage[a] in America today must be determined by closer investigation among the North-Western, and particularly among the South American, peoples, who are still in the higher stage of savagery. So very many instances of sexual freedom are reported with regard to the latter that the complete suppression of the old group marriage can scarcely be assumed.[b] At any rate, not all traces of it have as yet disappeared. Among at least forty North American tribes, the man who marries an eldest sister is entitled to all her sisters as wives as soon as they reach the requisite age—a survival of the community of husbands for the whole group of sisters. And Bancroft relates that the inhabitants of the Californian peninsula (in the upper stage of savagery) have certain festivities during which several "tribes" congregate for the purpose of indiscriminate sexual intercourse.[c] These are manifestly gentes for whom these festivities represent dim memories of the times when the women of one gens had all the men of another as their common husbands, and vice versa.[d] The same custom still prevails in Australia. Among a few peoples it happens that the older men, the chiefs and sorcerer-priests, exploit the community of wives for their own ends and monopolise most of the women for themselves; but they, in their turn, have to allow the old common possession to be restored during certain feasts and great public gatherings and permit their wives to enjoy themselves with the young men. Westermarck (pp. 28 and 29) adduces a whole series of examples of such periodical Saturnalian feasts[86] during which the old free sexual intercourse comes into force again for a short period, as, for example, among the Hos, the Santals, the Panjas

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[a] The 1884 edition has "punaluan family" instead of "group marriage".—*Ed.*

[b] This sentence was added by Engels in the 1891 edition.—*Ed.*

[c] H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, pp. 352-53.—*Ed.*

[d] The text below, up to the words "The pairing family arose on the borderline between savagery and barbarism" (see p. 162), was added by Engels in the 1891 edition. In the 1884 edition this paragraph ended with the following text, partly used in the 1891 edition and partly omitted: "Similar remnants from the world of antiquity are familiar enough, such as the surrender of Phoenician girls in the temple at the festivals of the Astarte: even the medieval right of the first night, which was very well established despite neoromantic German whitewashing, was presumably a piece of the punaluan family passed on by the Celtic gens (clan)."—*Ed.*

and Kotars of India, among some African peoples, etc. Curiously enough, Westermarck concludes from this that they are relics, not of group marriage, which he rejects, but—of the rutting season common alike to primitive man and the other animals.

We now come to Bachofen's fourth great discovery, that of the widespread transitionary form between group marriage and pairing. What Bachofen construes as a penance for infringing the ancient commandments of the gods, the penance with which the woman buys her right to chastity, is in fact nothing more than a mystical expression for the penance by means of which the woman purchases her redemption from the ancient community of husbands and acquires the right to give herself to one man only. This penance takes the form of limited surrender: the Babylonian women had to surrender themselves once a year in the Temple of Mylitta. Other Middle Eastern peoples sent their girls for years to the Temple of Anaitis, where they had to practise free love with favourites of their own choice before they were allowed to marry. Similar customs bearing a religious guise are common to nearly all Asiatic peoples between the Mediterranean and the Ganges. The expiatory sacrifice for the purpose of redemption becomes ever lighter in the course of time, as Bachofen notes:

"The annually repeated offering yields place to the single performance; the hetaerism of the matrons is succeeded by that of the maidens, its practice during marriage by practice before marriage, the indiscriminate surrender to all by surrender to certain persons" (*Mutterrecht,* p. XIX).

Among other peoples, the religious guise is absent; among some—the Thracians, Celts, etc., of antiquity, and many aboriginal inhabitants of India, the Malay peoples, South Sea Islanders and many American Indians even to this day—the girls enjoy the greatest sexual freedom until their marriage. Particularly is this the case throughout almost the whole of South America, as anybody who has penetrated a little into the interior can testify. Thus, Agassiz (*A Journey in Brazil,* Boston and New York, 1868, p. 266) relates the following about a rich family of Indian descent. When he was introduced to the daughter and enquired after her father, who, he supposed, as the mother's husband, an officer on active service in the war against Paraguay, the mother answered smilingly: "*naõ tem pai, é filha da fortuna*"—she has no father, she is the daughter of chance.

"It is the way the Indian or half-breed women here always speak of their illegitimate children, unconscious of any wrong or shame. So far is this from being an unusual case that the opposite seems the exception. Children [often] know [only] about their mother, for all the care and responsibility falls upon her; but

they have no knowledge of their father, nor does it seem to occur to the woman that she or her children have any claim upon him."[a]

What appears so strange to the civilised man here is simply the rule according to mother right and in group marriage.

Among still other peoples, the bridegroom's friends and relatives, or the wedding guests, exercise their old traditional right to the bride at the wedding itself, and the bridegroom has his turn last of all; for instance, on the Balearic Islands and among the African Augilas of antiquity, and among the Bareas of Abyssinia even now. In the case of still other peoples, again, an official person—the chief of the tribe or of the gens, the cacique, shaman, priest, prince or whatever his title—represents the community and exercises the right of the first night with the bride. Despite all neoromantic whitewashing, this *jus primae noctis*[b] persists to this day as a relic of group marriage among most of the natives of the Alaska territory (Bancroft, *Native Races,* I, p. 81), among the Tahus in North Mexico (ibid., p. 584) and among other peoples; and it existed throughout the Middle Ages at least in the originally Celtic countries, where it was directly transmitted from group marriage; for instance, in Aragon. While the peasant in Castile was never a serf, in Aragon the most ignominious serfdom prevailed until abolished by the decree issued by Ferdinand the Catholic in 1486.[87] This public act states:

"We pass judgment and declare that the aforementioned lords" (*señores,* barons) "... also shall not sleep the first night with the woman taken in wedlock by a peasant, nor on the wedding night, after she has gone to bed, stride over it and over the woman as a sign of their authority; not shall the aforementioned lords avail themselves of the services of the sons or daughters of the peasant, with or without payment, against their will." (Quoted in the Catalonian original by Sugenheim, *Leibeigenschaft,* Petersburg, 1861, p. 35.[c])

Bachofen is again absolutely right when he contends throughout that the transition from what he terms "hetaerism" or "*Sumpfzeugung*" to monogamy was brought about essentially by the women. The more the old traditional sexual relations lost their naïve, primeval character, as a result of the development of the economic conditions of life, that is, with the undermining of the old communism and the growing density of the population, the more degrading and oppressive they must have appeared to the

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[a] Op. cit., pp. 266-67.—*Ed.*

[b] Right of the first night.—*Ed.*

[c] S. Sugenheim, *Geschichte der Aufhebung der Leibeigenschaft und Hörigkeit in Europa bis um die Mitte des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.*—*Ed.*

women; the more fervently they must have longed for the right to chastity, to temporary or permanent marriage with one man only, as a deliverance. This advance could not have originated from the men, if only for the reason that they have never—not even to the present day—dreamed of renouncing the pleasures of actual group marriage. Only after the transition to pairing marriage had been effected by the women could the men introduce strict monogamy—for the women only, of course.

The pairing family arose on the borderline between savagery and barbarism, mostly at the upper stage of savagery already, and here and there only at the lower stage of barbarism. It is the form of the family characteristic of barbarism, in the same way as group marriage is characteristic of savagery and monogamy of civilisation. For its further development to stable monogamy, causes different from those we have hitherto found operating were required. In the pairing family, the group was already reduced to its last unit, its diatomic molecule—to one man and one woman. Natural selection had completed its work by constantly extending the circle excluded from the community of marriage; there was nothing more left for it to do in this direction. If no new, *social* driving forces had come into operation, there would have been no reason why a new form of the family should arise out of the pairing family. But these driving forces did begin to operate.

We now leave America, the classical soil of the pairing family. There is no evidence enabling us to conclude that a higher form of the family developed there, or that strict monogamy existed in any part of it at any time before its discovery and conquest. It was otherwise in the Old World.

Here the domestication of animals and the breeding of herds had developed a hitherto unsuspected source of wealth and created entirely new social relations. Until the lower stage of barbarism, fixed wealth consisted almost entirely of the house, clothing, crude ornaments and the implements for procuring and preparing food: boats, weapons and household utensils of the simplest kind. Food had to be won anew day by day. Now, with herds of horses, camels, donkeys, oxen, sheep, goats and pigs, the advancing pastoral peoples—the Aryans in the Indian land of the five rivers and the Ganges area, as well as in the then much more richly watered steppes of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, and the Semites on the Euphrates and the Tigris—acquired possessions demanding merely supervision and most elementary care in order to propagate in ever-increasing numbers and to yield the richest nutriment in milk and meat. All previous means of procuring food

now sank into the background. Hunting, once a necessity, now became a luxury.

But to whom did this new wealth belong? Originally, doubtless, to the gens. But private ownership of herds must have developed at a very early stage. It is hard to say whether Father Abraham appeared to the author of what is known as the First Book of Moses as the owner of his herds and flocks in his own right as head of a family community or by virtue of his status as actual hereditary chief of a gens.[a] One thing, however, is certain, and that is that we must not regard him as a property owner in the modern sense of the term. Equally certain is that on the threshold of authenticated history we find everywhere the herds as already the separate property[b] of the family chiefs, in exactly the same way as were the artistic products of barbarism, metal utensils, articles of luxury and, finally, human cattle—the slaves.

For now slavery too had been invented. The slave was of no value to the barbarian of the lower stage. It was for this reason that the American Indians treated their vanquished foes quite differently from the way they were treated in the upper stage. The men were either killed or adopted as brothers by the tribe of the victors. The women were either taken in marriage or likewise just adopted along with their surviving children. Human labour power at this stage yielded no noticeable surplus as yet over the cost of its maintenance. With the introduction of cattle breeding, of metalworking, of weaving and, finally, of field cultivation, this changed. Just as the once so easily obtainable wives had now acquired an exchange value[c] and were bought, so it happened with labour power, especially after the herds had finally been converted into family[d] possessions. The family did not multiply as rapidly as the cattle. More people were required to mind them; the captives taken in war were useful for just this purpose, and, furthermore, they could be bred like the cattle themselves.

Such riches, once they had passed into the private possession of families[e] and there rapidly multiplied, struck a powerful blow at a society founded on pairing marriage and mother-right gens. Pairing marriage had introduced a new element into the family. By the side of the natural mother it had placed the attested

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[a] Genesis 12:16, 13:2.—*Ed.*

[b] The 1884 edition has "private property" instead of "separate property".—*Ed.*

[c] The 1884 edition has "numerous wives had now acquired value" instead of "easily obtainable wives had now acquired an exchange value".—*Ed.*

[d] The 1884 edition has "private" instead of "family" here.—*Ed.*

[e] The words "of families" are added in the 1891 edition.—*Ed.*

natural father—who was probably better attested than many a "father" of the present day. According to the division of labour then prevailing in the family, the procurement of food and the means of labour necessary thereto, and therefore, also, the ownership of the latter, fell to the man; he took them with him in case of separation, just as the woman retained the household goods. Thus, according to the custom of society at that time, the man was also the owner of the new sources of food—the cattle—and later, of the new means of labour—the slaves. According to the custom of the same society, however, his children could not inherit from him, for the position in this respect was as follows.

According to mother right, that is, as long as descent was counted solely through the female line, and according to the original custom of inheritance in the gens, it was the gentile relatives that at first inherited from a deceased member of the gens. The property had to remain within the gens. In view of the insignificance of the objects in question, it may, from time immemorial, have passed in practice to the nearest gentile relatives—that is, to the blood relatives on the mother's side. The children of the deceased man, however, belonged not to his gens, but to that of their mother. In the beginning, they inherited from their mother, along with the rest of their mother's blood relatives, and later, perhaps, had first claim upon her property; but they could not inherit from their father, because they did not belong to his gens, and his property had to remain in the latter. On the death of the herd owner, therefore, his herds passed, first of all, to his brothers and sisters and to his sisters' children or to the descendants of his mother's sisters. His own children, however, were disinherited.

Thus, as wealth increased, it, on the one hand, gave the man a more important status in the family than the woman, and, on the other hand, created a stimulus to utilise this strengthened position in order to overthrow the traditional order of inheritance in favour of the children. But this was impossible as long as descent according to mother right prevailed. This had, therefore, to be overthrown, and it was overthrown. It was not so difficult to do this as appears to us now. For this revolution—one of the most far-reaching ever experienced by mankind—did not have to affect one single living member of a gens. All the members could remain what they had been previously. The simple decision sufficed that in future the descendants of the male members should remain in the gens, but that those of the females were to be excluded from

the gens by being transferred to that of their father. The reckoning of descent through the female line and the right of inheritance through the mother were thus overthrown and male lineage and right of inheritance from the father instituted. We know nothing as to how and when this revolution was effected among the civilised peoples. It falls entirely within prehistoric times. That it was actually *effected* is more than sufficiently proved by the abundant traces of mother right which have been collected, especially by Bachofen. How easily it is accomplished can be seen from a whole number of Indian tribes, among whom it has only recently taken place and is still proceeding, partly under the influence of increasing wealth and changed mode of life (relocation from the forests to the prairies), and partly under the moral influence of civilisation and the missionaries. Of eight Missouri tribes, six have male, and two still retain the female, lineage and inheritance line. Among the Shawnees, Miamis and Delawares it has become the custom to transfer the children to the father's gens by giving them one of the gentile names obtaining therein, in order that they may inherit from him. "Innate casuistry of man to change things by changing names! And to find loopholes for breaking through tradition within tradition itself, wherever actual interest provided a powerful motive!" (Marx.)[a] As a consequence, hopeless confusion arose; and matters could only be straightened out, and partly were straightened out, by the transition to father right. "This appears altogether to be the most natural transition." (Marx.)—As for what the experts on comparative method have to tell us regarding the ways and means by which this transition was effected among the civilised peoples of the Old World—almost only hypotheses, of course—see M. Kovalevsky, *Tableau des origines et de l'évolution de la famille et de la propriété,* Stockholm, 1890.[b]

The overthrow of mother right was the *world-historic defeat of the female sex.* The man seized the reins in the house too, the woman was degraded, enthralled, became the slave of the man's lust, a mere instrument for breeding children. This humiliated position of women, especially manifest among the Greeks of the Heroic and still more of the Classical Age, has become gradually embellished and dissembled and, in part, clothed in a milder form, but by no means abolished.

The first effect of the sole rule of the men that was now

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[a] "Marx's Excerpts...", op. cit., p. 181.—*Ed.*

[b] This sentence was added by Engels in the 1891 edition.—*Ed.*

established is shown in the intermediate form of the family which now emerges, the patriarchal family. Its chief attribute is not polygamy—of which more anon—but

"the organisation of a number of persons, bond and free, into a family, under paternal power of the head of the family. In the Semitic form, this family chief lives in polygamy, the bondsman has a wife and children, and the purpose of the whole organisation is the care of flocks and herds over a limited area".[a]

The essential features are the incorporation of bondsmen and paternal power; the Roman family, accordingly, constitutes the perfected type of this form of the family. The word *familia* did not originally signify the ideal of our modern philistine, which is a compound of sentimentality and domestic discord. Among the Romans, in the beginning, it did not even refer to the married couple and their children, but to the slaves alone. *Famulus* means a household slave and *familia* signifies the totality of slaves belonging to one individual. Even in the time of Gaius the *familia, id est patrimonium* (i.e., the inheritance) was bequeathed by will. The expression was invented by the Romans to describe a new social organism, the head of which had under him wife and children and a number of slaves, under Roman paternal power, with power of life and death over them all.

"The term, therefore, is no older than the ironclad family system of the Latin tribes, which came in after field agriculture and after legalised servitude, as well as after the separation of the Greeks and (Aryan) Latins."[b]

To which Marx adds: "The modern family contains in embryo not only slavery (*servitus*) but serfdom also, since from the very beginning it is connected with agricultural services. It contains within itself in *miniature* all the antagonisms which later develop on a wide scale within society and its state."[c]

Such a form of the family shows the transition of the pairing marriage to monogamy. In order to guarantee the fidelity of the wife, that is, the paternity of the children, the woman is placed in the man's absolute power; if he kills her, he is but exercising his right.[d]

With the patriarchal family we enter the field of written history and, therewith, a field in which the science of comparative law can

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[a] In the 1884 edition the quotation marks are missing. This passage is a summary of the text on pp. 465-66 of L. H. Morgan's *Ancient Society*. See also "Marx's Excerpts...", op. cit., pp. 118-19.—*Ed.*

[b] L. H. Morgan, op. cit., p. 470. Quoted with slight changes.—*Ed.*

[c] "Marx's Excerpts...", op. cit., p. 120.—*Ed.*

[d] The text below, up to the words "A few words more about polygamy" (see p. 169), was added by Engels in the 1891 edition.—*Ed.*

render us major assistance. And in fact it has brought us considerable progress here. We are indebted to Maxim Kovalevsky (*Tableau etc. de la famille et de la propriété*, Stockholm, 1890, pp. 60-100) for the proof that the patriarchal household community, such as we still find today among the Serbs and the Bulgars under the designations of *Zádruga* (meaning something like fraternity) or *Bratstvo* (brotherhood), and among the Oriental peoples in a modified form, constituted the transition stage between the mother-right family which evolved out of group marriage and the individual family of the modern world. This appears to be proved at least as far as the civilised peoples of the Old World, the Aryans and Semites, are concerned.

The South Slavic *Zádruga* provides the best still surviving example of such a family community. It embraces several generations of the descendants of one father and their wives, who all live together on one farm, till their fields in common, feed and clothe themselves from the common stocks and communally own all surplus yield. The community is under the supreme management of the master of the house (*domačin*), who represents it in external affairs, may dispose of smaller objects, and manages the finances, being responsible for the latter as well as for the regular conduct of business. He is elected and does not by any means need to be the eldest. The women and their work are under the direction of the mistress of the house (*domačica*), who is usually the *domačin*'s wife. In the choice of husbands for the girls she has an important, often the decisive voice. Supreme power, however, is vested in the Family Council, the assembly of all adult members, women as well as men. The master of the house reports back to this assembly; it makes all the important decisions, administers justice among the members, decides on purchases and sales of any importance, especially of landed property, etc.

It was only about ten years ago that the existence of such large family communities also in Russia was proved[a]; they are now generally recognised as being just as firmly rooted in the popular customs of the Russians as the *obščina*, or village community. They figure in the most ancient Russian law code—the *Pravda* of Yaroslav[88]—under the same name (*verv*) as in the Dalmatian Laws,[89] and references to them may be found also in Polish and Czech historical sources.

According to Heusler (*Institutionen des deutschen Rechts*[b]), the

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[a] See M. Ковалевскій, *Первобытное право*, Вып. I Родъ, стр. 32-38.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Heusler, *Institutionen des Deutschen Privatrechts*, Vol. II, p. 271.—*Ed.*

economic unit among the Germans as well was not originally the individual family in the modern sense, but the "household community", consisting of several generations, or individual families, and often enough including bondsmen besides. The Roman family, too, has been traced back to this type, and in consequence the absolute power of the head of the house, as also the lack of rights of the remaining members of the family in relation to him, has recently been strongly questioned. Similar family communities are likewise supposed to have existed among the Celts in Ireland; in France they continued to exist in Nivernais under the name of *parçonneries* right up to the French Revolution, while in Franche-Comté they are not quite extinct even today. In the district of Louhans (Saône et Loire) there may be seen large peasant houses with a lofty communal central hall reaching up to the roof, surrounded by sleeping rooms to which access is had by staircases of six to eight steps, and in which dwell several generations of the same family.[90]

In India, the household community with common tillage of the soil was already mentioned by Nearchus,[a] at the time of Alexander the Great, and exists to this day in the same area, in the Punjab and the entire North-Western part of the country. Kovalevsky himself was able to testify to its existence in the Caucasus. It still exists in Algeria among the Kabyles. It is said to have occurred even in America; attempts are being made to find it in the *calpullis* in ancient Mexico,[91] described by Zurita[b]; Cunow, on the other hand, has proved fairly clearly (in *Ausland*, Nos 42-44, 1890),[c] that a kind of Mark constitution existed in Peru (where, peculiarly enough, the Mark was called *marca*) at the time of the Conquest, with periodical allotment of the cultivated land, that is, individual tillage.

At any rate, the patriarchal household community with common land ownership and common tillage now assumes quite another significance than hitherto. We can no longer doubt the important transitional role which it played among the civilised and many other peoples of the Old World between the mother-right family and the monogamian family. We shall return later on to the further conclusion drawn by Kovalevsky, namely, that it was likewise the transition stage out of which developed the village,

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[a] [Strabo] *Strabonis rerum geographicarum libri XVII*, XV, 1.—*Ed.*

[b] A. de Zurita, *Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne...* in *Voyages, relations et mémoires*, pp. 50-64.—*Ed.*

[c] H. Cunow, "Die altperuanischen Dorf- und Markgenossenschaften", *Das Ausland*, Nos 42-44, October 20, 27 and November 3, 1890.—*Ed.*

or Mark, community with individual cultivation and at first periodical, then definitive, allotment of arable and pasture lands.

As regards family life within these household communities, it should be noted that in Russia, at least, the head of the house is reputed to be strongly abusing his position as far as the younger women of the community, particularly his daughters-in-law, are concerned, and to be very often making a harem of them for himself; this is rather eloquently reflected in the Russian folk songs.[a]

A few words more about polygamy and polyandry before we deal with monogamy, which developed rapidly following the overthrow of mother right. Both these marriage forms can only be exceptions, historical luxury products, so to speak, unless they appeared side by side in one country, which, it will be recalled, is not the case. As, therefore, the men, excluded from polygamy, could not console themselves with the women left over from polyandry, the numerical strength of men and women without regard to social institutions having been fairly equal hitherto, it is evident that neither the one nor the other form of marriage could rise to general prevalence. Actually, polygamy on the part of a man was clearly a product of slavery and limited to a few exceptional positions. In the Semitic patriarchal family, only the patriarch himself and, at most, a couple of his sons lived in polygamy; the others had to be content with one wife each. It remains the same today throughout the entire Orient. Polygamy is a privilege of the rich and of the nobility, the wives being recruited chiefly by the purchase of female slaves; the mass of the people live in monogamy. Just such an exception is provided by polyandry in India and Tibet, the certainly not uninteresting origin of which from group marriage[b] requires closer investigation. In its practice, at any rate, it appears to be much more generous than the jealous harem system of the Mohammedans. At least, among the Nairs in India, the men, in groups of three, four or more, have, to be sure, one wife in common; but each of them can simultaneously have a second wife in common with three or more other men, and, in the same way, a third wife, a fourth and so on. It is a wonder that McLennan did not discover a new class—that of *club marriage*—in these marriage clubs, of which one could belong to several at a time, and which he himself described. This marriage club system, however, is by no means real polyandry; on

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[a] M. Kovalevsky, op. cit., pp. 56-59.—*Ed.*

[b] The 1884 edition has "punaluan family" instead of "group marriage".—*Ed.*

the contrary, as has been noted by Giraud-Teulon, it is a specialised form of group marriage, the men living in polygamy, the women in polyandry.[a]

4. The *Monogamian Family.* As already indicated, this arises out of the pairing family in the transition period from the middle to the upper stage of barbarism, its final victory being one of the signs of fledgling civilisation. It is based on the supremacy of the man; its express aim is the procreation of children of undisputed paternity, this paternity being required in order that these children may in due time inherit their father's wealth as his natural heirs. The monogamian family differs from pairing marriage in the far greater rigidity of the marriage bond, which can now no longer be dissolved at the pleasure of either party. Now, as a rule, only the man can dissolve it and disown his wife. The right of conjugal infidelity remains his even now, sanctioned, at least, by custom (the *Code Napoléon* expressly concedes this right to the husband as long as he does not bring his concubine into the conjugal home[b]), and is exercised more and more with the growing development of society. Should the wife recall the ancient sexual practice and desire to revive it, she is punished more severely than ever before.

We are confronted with this new form of the family in all its severity among the Greeks. While, as Marx observes,[c] the position of the goddesses in mythology represents an earlier period, when women still occupied a freer and more respected place, in the Heroic Age we already find women degraded owing to the predominance of the man and the competition of female slaves.[d] One may read in the *Odyssey* how Telemachus cuts his mother short and enjoins silence upon her.[e] In Homer the young female captives become enslaved to the sensual lust of the victors; the military chiefs, one after the other, according to rank, choose the most beautiful ones for themselves. The whole of the *Iliad,* as we know, revolves around the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon over such a female slave. In connection with each Homeric

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[a] The last sentence was added by Engels in the 1891 edition.—*Ed.*

[b] *Code Napoléon,* Art. 230.—*Ed.*

[c] "Marx's Excerpts...", op. cit., p. 121.—*Ed.*

[d] In the 1884 edition the end of this sentence reads: "find women in an isolation bordering on imprisonment to ensure their children proper paternity". The text below, up to the words "the Greek women found opportunities often enough for deceiving their husbands" (see p. 173), was almost entirely added by Engels in the 1891 edition, only a few sentences being used from the 1884 edition.—*Ed.*

[e] Homer, *Odyssey,* Canto I.—*Ed.*

hero of importance mention is made of a captive maiden with whom he shares tent and bed. These maidens are taken back home and into the conjugal house, as was Cassandra by Agamemnon in Aeschylus.[a] Sons born of these slaves receive a small share of their father's estate and are regarded as freemen. Teucer was such an illegitimate son of Telamon and was permitted to adopt his father's name. The wedded wife is expected to tolerate all this, but to maintain strict chastity and conjugal fidelity herself. True, in the Heroic Age the Greek wife is more respected than in the period of civilisation; for the husband, however, she is, in reality, merely the mother of his legitimate heirs, his chief housekeeper, and the superintendent of the female slaves, whom he may make, and does make, his concubines at will. It is the existence of slavery side by side with monogamy, the existence of beautiful young female slaves who belong to the *man* with all they have, that from the very beginning stamped on monogamy its specific character as monogamy *only for the woman,* but not for the man. And it retains this character to this day.

As regards the Greeks of later times, we must differentiate between the Dorians and the Ionians. The former, of whom Sparta was the classical example, have in many respects more ancient marriage relationships than even Homer indicates. In Sparta we find a form of pairing marriage—modified by the state in accordance with the conceptions there prevailing—which still displays many vestiges of group marriage. Childless marriages are dissolved: King Anaxandridas (about 560 B.C.) took another wife in addition to his first, childless one, and maintained two households; King Aristones of the same period added a third wife to two who were barren, one of whom he, however, let go. On the other hand, several brothers could have a wife in common. A person having a preference for his friend's wife could share her with him; and it was regarded as proper to place one's wife at the disposal of a strapping "stallion", as Bismarck would say, even when this person was not a citizen. A passage in Plutarch, where a Spartan woman refers a lover who is pursuing her with his attentions to her husband, would indicate, according to Schoemann, still greater freedom of manners.[b] Real adultery, the infidelity of the wife behind the back of her husband, was thus unheard of. On the other hand, domestic slavery was unknown in

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[a] Aeschylus, *Oresteia: Agamemnon.— Ed.*

[b] G. F. Schoemann, *Griechische Alterthümer,* Vol. 1, p. 268. See also Plutarch, *Short Sayings of Spartan Women,* V.— *Ed.*

Sparta, at least in its heyday; the serf Helots lived separately on the estates and thus there was less temptation for the Spartiates[92] to pursue their women. That in all these circumstances the women of Sparta enjoyed a very much more respected position than all other Greek women was quite natural. The Spartan women and the *élite* of the Athenian *hetaerae* are the only Greek women of whom the ancients speak with respect, and whose remarks they consider as being worthy of record.

Among the Ionians—of whom Athens is characteristic—things were quite different. Girls learned only spinning, weaving and sewing, at best a little reading and writing. They were practically kept in seclusion and consorted only with other women. The women's quarter was a separate part of the house, on the upper floor, or in the rear of the building, not easily accessible to men, particularly strangers; to this the women retired when male visitors came. The women did not go out unless accompanied by a female slave; at home they were positively kept under guard; Aristophanes speaks of Molossian hounds kept to frighten off adulterers, while in Asiatic towns, at least, eunuchs were maintained to keep guard over the women; they were manufactured for the trade in Chios as early as Herodotus' day, and according to Wachsmuth, not merely for the barbarians. In Euripides, the wife is described as *oikurema*,[a] a thing for housekeeping (the word is a neuter), and apart from the business of bearing children, she was nothing more to the Athenian than the chief housemaid. The husband had his gymnastic exercises, his public affairs, from which the wife was excluded; in addition, he often had female slaves at his disposal and, in the heyday of Athens, extensive prostitution, which was viewed with favour by the state, to say the least. It was precisely on the basis of this prostitution that the sole outstanding characters of Greek women developed, who by their *esprit* and artistic taste towered as much above the general level of ancient womanhood as the Spartan women did by virtue of their character. That one had first to become a *hetaera* in order to become a woman is the strongest indictment of the Athenian family.

In the course of time, this Athenian family became the model upon which not only the rest of the Ionians, but also all the Greeks of the mainland and of the colonies increasingly moulded

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[a] W. Wachsmuth, *Hellenische Alterthumskunde aus dem Gesichtspunkte des Staates,* Part II, Section II, p. 77. See also Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*; Herodotus, *Historiae,* VIII, 105; Euripides, *Orestes.*—*Ed.*

their domestic relations. But despite all the seclusion and surveillance the Greek women found opportunities often enough for deceiving their husbands. The latter, who would have been ashamed to evince any love for their own wives, amused themselves with *hetaerae* in all kinds of amours. But the degradation of the women recoiled on the men and degraded them too, until they sank into the perversion of boy-love, degrading both themselves and their gods by the myth of Ganymede.

This was the origin of monogamy, as far as we can trace it among the most civilised and highly developed people of antiquity. It was not in any way the fruit of individual sex love, with which it had absolutely nothing to do, for the marriages remained marriages of convenience, as before. It was the first form of the family based not on natural but on economic conditions,[a] namely, on the victory of private property over original, naturally developed, common ownership. The rule of the man in the family, the procreation of children who could only be his, destined to be the heirs of his wealth—these alone were frankly avowed by the Greeks as the exclusive aims of monogamy. For the rest, it was a burden, a duty to the gods, to the state and to their own ancestors, which just had to be fulfilled. In Athens the law made not only marriage compulsory, but also the fulfilment by the man of a minimum of so-called conjugal duties.[b]

Thus, monogamy does not by any means make its appearance in history as the reconciliation of man and woman, still less as the highest form of such a reconciliation. On the contrary, it appears as the subjection of one sex by the other, as the proclamation of a conflict between the sexes hitherto unknown throughout preceding history. In an old unpublished manuscript, the work of Marx and myself in 1846, I find the following: "The first division of labour is that between man and woman for child breeding."[c] And today I can add: The first class antithesis which appears in history coincides with the development of the antagonism between man and woman in monogamian marriage, and the first class oppression with that of the female sex by the male. Monogamy was a great historical advance, but at the same time it inaugurated, along with slavery and private wealth, that epoch, surviving to this day,

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[a] The 1884 edition has "social conditions" and the sentence ends here.—*Ed.*

[b] This sentence was added by Engels in the 1891 edition.—*Ed.*

[c] Cf. K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology* (see present edition, Vol. 5, p. 44).—*Ed.*

in which every advance is likewise a relative regression, in which the well-being and development of some are attained through the misery and repression of others. It is the cellular form of civilised society, in which we can already study the nature of the antitheses and contradictions which develop fully in the latter.

The old relative freedom of sexual intercourse by no means disappeared with the victory of the pairing marriage, or even of monogamy.

"The old conjugal system, now reduced to narrower limits by the gradual disappearance of the punaluan groups, still environed the advancing family, which it was to follow to the verge of civilisation.... It finally disappeared in the new form of hetaerism, which still follows mankind in civilisation as a dark shadow upon the family." [a]

By hetaerism Morgan means that extramarital sexual intercourse between men and unmarried women which exists *alongside monogamy*, and, as is well known, has flourished in the most diverse forms during the whole period of civilisation and is steadily developing into open prostitution.[b] This hetaerism is directly traceable to group marriage, to the sacrificial surrender of the women, whereby they purchased their right to chastity. The surrender for money was at first a religious act, taking place in the temple of the Goddess of Love, and the money originally flowed into the coffers of the temple. The hierodules[93] of Anaitis in Armenia, of Aphrodite in Corinth, as well as the religious dancing girls attached to the temples in India—the so-called bayaderes (the word is a corruption of the Portuguese *bailadeira*, a female dancer)—were the first prostitutes. This sacrificial surrender, originally obligatory for all women, was later practised by these priestesses alone on behalf of all other women. Hetaerism among other peoples grows out of the sexual freedom permitted to girls before marriage—hence likewise a survival of group marriage, only transmitted to us by another route. With the rise of property differentiation—that is, as far back as the upper stage of barbarism—wage labour appears sporadically alongside slave labour; and simultaneously, as its necessary correlate, the professional prostitution of free women appears side by side with the forced surrender of the female slave. Thus, the heritage bequeathed to civilisation by group marriage is double-sided, just as everything engendered by civilisation is double-sided, two-faced, self-contradictory and antagonistic: on the one hand,

[a] L. H. Morgan, op. cit., p. 504.—*Ed.*

[b] The text below, up to the words "Hetaerism is as much a social institution..." (see p. 175), was added in the 1891 edition.—*Ed.*

monogamy, on the other, hetaerism, including its most extreme form, prostitution. Hetaerism is as much a social institution as any other; it is a continuation of the old sexual freedom—in favour of the men. Although, in reality, it is not only tolerated but even practised with gusto, particularly by the ruling classes, it is condemned in words. In reality, however, this condemnation by no means falls on the men who indulge in it, it falls only on the women: they are scorned and cast out in order to proclaim once again the absolute domination of the men over the female sex as the fundamental law of society.

A second contradiction, however, is hereby developed within monogamy itself. By the side of the husband, whose life is embellished by hetaerism, stands the neglected wife.[a] And it is just as impossible to have one side of a contradiction without the other as it is to retain the whole of an apple in one's hand after eating half of it. Nevertheless, the men appear to have thought differently, until their wives taught them to know better. Two permanent social figures, previously unknown, appear on the scene along with monogamy—the wife's steady lover and the cuckold. The men had gained the victory over the women, but the act of crowning the victor was magnanimously undertaken by the vanquished. Adultery—proscribed, severely penalised, but irrepressible—became an unavoidable social institution alongside monogamy and hetaerism. The assured paternity of children was now, as before, based, at best, on moral conviction; and in order to solve the insoluble contradiction, Article 312 of the *Code Napoléon* decreed:

"*L'enfant conçu pendant le mariage a pour père le mari,*" "a child conceived during marriage has for its father the husband."

This is the final outcome of three thousand years of monogamy.

Thus, in the monogamian family, in those cases that faithfully reflect its historical origin and that clearly bring out the sharp conflict between man and woman resulting from the exclusive domination of the male, we have a picture in miniature of the very antagonisms and contradictions in which society, split up into classes since the commencement of civilisation, moves, without being able to resolve and overcome them. Naturally, I refer here only to those cases of monogamy where matrimonial life really takes its course according to the rules governing the original character of the whole institution, but where the wife rebels against the domination of the husband. That this is not the case

[a] These two sentences were added by Engels in the 1891 edition.—*Ed.*

with all marriages no one knows better than the German philistine, who is no more capable of ruling in the home than in the state, and whose wife, therefore, with full justification, wears the breeches of which he is unworthy. But in consolation he imagines himself to be far superior to his French companion in misfortune, who, more often than he, fares far worse.

The monogamian family, however, did not by any means appear everywhere and always in the classically harsh form which it assumed among the Greeks. Among the Romans, who as future world conquerors took a broader, if less refined, view than the Greeks, woman was more free and respected. The Roman believed the conjugal fidelity of his wife to be adequately safeguarded by his power of life and death over her. Besides, here the wife, just as well as the husband, could dissolve the marriage voluntarily. But the greatest advance in the development of monogamy definitely occurred with the entry of the Germans into history, because, probably owing to their poverty, monogamy does not yet appear to have completely evolved among them out of the pairing marriage. We conclude this from three circumstances mentioned by Tacitus: Firstly, despite their firm belief in the sanctity of marriage—"each man is contented with a single wife, and the women lived fenced around with chastity"[a]—polygamy existed for high society and the tribal chiefs, a situation similar to that of the Americans among whom pairing marriage prevailed. Secondly, the transition from mother right to father right could only have been accomplished a short time previously, for the mother's brother—the closest male gentile relative according to mother right—was still regarded as being an almost closer relative than one's own father, which likewise corresponds to the standpoint of the American Indians, among whom Marx found the key to the understanding of our own prehistoric past, as he often used to say. And thirdly, women among the Germans were highly respected and were influential in public affairs too—which directly conflicts with the domination of the male characteristic of monogamy. Nearly all these are points on which the Germans are in accord with the Spartans, among whom, likewise, as we have already seen, pairing marriage had not completely disappeared.[b] Thus, in this connection also, an entirely new element acquired world supremacy with the emergence of the Germans. The new monogamy, which now developed out of the mingling of races on

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[a] Tacitus, *Germania*, 18-19.—*Ed.*

[b] This sentence was added in the 1891 edition.—*Ed.*

the ruins of the Roman world, clothed the domination of the men in milder forms and permitted women to occupy, at least externally, a far more respected and freer position than classical antiquity had ever known. This, for the first time, created the possibility for the greatest moral advance which we derive from and owe to monogamy—a development taking place within it, parallel with it, or in opposition to it, as the case may be, namely, modern individual sex love, previously unknown to the whole world.

This advance, however, definitely arose out of the circumstance that the Germans still lived in the pairing family, and as far as possible, superimposed the position of woman corresponding thereto onto monogamy. It by no means arose as a result of the legendary, wonderful moral purity of natural disposition of the Germans, which was limited to the fact that, in practice, the pairing marriage did not reveal the same glaring moral antagonisms as monogamy. On the contrary, the Germans, in their migrations, particularly south-eastwards, to the nomads of the steppes on the Black Sea, suffered considerable moral degeneration and, apart from their horsemanship, acquired serious unnatural vices from them, as is attested to explicitly by Ammianus about the Taifali, and by Procopius about the Heruli.[a]

Although monogamy was the only known form of the family under which modern sex love could develop, it does not follow that this love developed exclusively, or even predominantly, within it as the mutual love of the spouses. The whole nature of strict monogamian marriage under male domination ruled this out. Among all historically active classes, i.e., among all ruling classes, matrimony remained what it had been since pairing marriage—a matter of convenience arranged by the parents. And the first form of sex love that historically emerges as a passion, and as a passion in which any person (at least of the ruling classes) has a right to indulge, as the highest form of the sex drive—which is precisely its specific feature—this, its first form, the chivalrous love of the Middle Ages, was by no means conjugal love. On the contrary, in its classical form, among the Provençals, it steers under full sail towards adultery, and their poets praise this. The *Albas,* in German *Tagelieder,* are the flower of Provençal love poetry.[94] They describe in glowing colours how the knight lies in bed with his love—the wife of another—while the watchman stands guard

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[a] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt,* XXXI, 9 and Procopius of Caesarea, *The Histories. The Gothic War,* II, 14.—*Ed.*

outside, calling him at the first faint streaks of dawn (*alba*) so that he may yet escape unnoticed. The parting scene then constitutes the climax. The Northern French, as well as the worthy Germans, likewise adopted this style of poetry, along with the manners of chivalrous love which corresponded to it; and on this same suggestive theme our own old Wolfram von Eschenbach has left us three exquisite *Tagelieder,* which I prefer to his three long heroic poems.[95]

Bourgeois marriage of our own times is of two kinds. In Catholic countries the parents, as heretofore, still provide a suitable wife for their young bourgeois son, and the consequence is naturally the fullest unfolding of the contradiction inherent in monogamy—flourishing hetaerism on the part of the husband, and flourishing adultery on the part of the wife. The Catholic Church doubtless abolished divorce only because it was convinced that for adultery, as for death, there is no cure whatsoever. In Protestant countries, on the other hand, it is the rule that the bourgeois son is allowed to seek a wife for himself from his own class, more or less freely. Consequently, marriage can be based on a certain degree of love which, for decency's sake, is always assumed, in accordance with Protestant hypocrisy. In this case, hetaerism on the part of the man is less actively pursued, and adultery on the woman's part is not so much the rule. Since, in every kind of marriage, however, people remain what they were before they married, and since the bourgeoisie of Protestant countries are mostly philistines, this Protestant monogamy leads merely, if we take the average of the best cases, to a wedded life of leaden boredom, which is described as domestic bliss. The best mirror of these two ways of marriage is the novel; the French novel for the Catholic style, and the German[a] novel for the Protestant. In both cases "he gets it": in the German novel the young man gets the girl; in the French, the husband gets the cuckold's horns. Which of the two is in the worse plight is not always made out. For the dullness of the German novel excites the same horror in the French bourgeois as the "immorality" of the French novel excites in the German philistine, although lately, now that "Berlin is becoming a metropolis", the German novel has begun to deal a little less timidly with hetaerism and adultery, long known to exist there.

In both cases, however, marriage is determined by the class position of the participants, and to that extent always remains

[a] The 1884 edition has "and Swedish".—*Ed.*

marriage of convenience.[a] In both cases, this marriage of convenience often enough turns into the crassest prostitution—sometimes on both sides, but much more usually on the part of the wife, who differs from the ordinary courtesan only in that she does not hire out her body, like a wage worker, on piecework, but sells it into slavery once and for all. And Fourier's maxim holds good for all marriages of convenience:

"Just as in grammar two negatives make a positive, so in the morals of marriage, two prostitutions make one virtue."[b]

Sex love in the relationship of husband and wife is and can become the genuine rule only among the oppressed classes, that is, at the present day, among the proletariat, no matter whether this relationship is officially sanctioned or not. But here all the foundations of classical monogamy are removed. Here, there is a complete absence of all property, for the safeguarding and bequeathing of which monogamy and male domination were established. Therefore, there is no stimulus whatever here to assert male domination. What is more, the means, too, are absent; bourgeois law, which protects this domination, exists only for the propertied classes and their dealings with the proletarians. It costs money, and therefore, owing to the worker's poverty, has no validity in his position vis-à-vis his wife. Personal and social factors of quite a different sort are decisive here. Moreover, since large-scale industry has moved the woman from the house to the labour market and the factory, and made her, often enough, the bread-winner of the family, the last remnants of male domination in the proletarian home have lost all foundation—except, perhaps, for a bit of that brutality towards women which became firmly rooted with the establishment of monogamy. Thus, the proletarian family is no longer monogamian in the strict sense, even with most passionate love and strictest faithfulness of the two parties, and despite all spiritual and worldly benedictions which may have been received. The two eternal adjuncts of monogamy—hetaerism and adultery—therefore, play an almost negligible role here; the woman has regained, in fact, the right of dissolution of marriage, and when the man and woman cannot get along they prefer to part. In short, proletarian marriage is

[a] The text below, up to the words "Sex love in the relationship of husband and wife...", was added in the 1891 edition.—*Ed.*

[b] Ch. Fourier, *Théorie de l'unité universelle,* Vol. 3, p. 120.—*Ed.*

monogamous in the etymological sense of the word, but by no means in the historical sense.[a]

Our lawyers, to be sure, hold that the progress of legislation to an increasing degree removes all cause for complaint on the part of the woman. Modern civilised systems of law are recognising more and more, first, that, in order to be effective, marriage must be an agreement voluntarily entered into by both parties; and secondly, that during marriage, too, both parties must have equal rights and responsibilities vis-à-vis each other. If, however, these two demands were consistently carried into effect, women would have all they could ask for.

This typical lawyer's reasoning is exactly the same as that with which the radical republican bourgeois dismisses and enjoins silence on the proletarian. The labour contract is supposed to be voluntarily entered into by both parties. But it is taken to be voluntarily entered into as soon as the law has put both parties on an equal footing *on paper*. The power given to one party by its specific class position, the pressure it exercises on the other—the real economic position of the two—all this is no concern of the law. And both parties, again, are supposed to have equal rights for the duration of the labour contract, unless one or the other of the parties has explicitly waived them. That the concrete economic situation compels the worker to forego even the slightest semblance of equal rights—this again is something the law cannot help.

As far as marriage is concerned, even the most progressive law is fully satisfied as soon as the parties formally register their voluntary desire to get married. What happens behind the scenes of the law where real life is enacted, how this voluntary agreement is arrived at—is no concern of the law and the lawyer. And yet the simplest comparison of laws should serve to show the lawyer what this voluntary agreement really amounts to. In countries where the children are legally guaranteed an obligatory share of their parents' property and thus cannot be disinherited—in Germany, in the countries under French law, etc.—the children are bound by their parents' consent in the question of marriage. In countries under English law, where parental consent to marriage is not legally requisite, the parents have full testatory freedom over their property and can disinherit their children at

[a] The rest of the section, except the last paragraph beginning with the words "In the meantime, let us return to Morgan" (see p. 189), was added in the 1891 edition.—*Ed.*

their discretion. It is clear, therefore, that despite this, or rather just because of this, among those classes where there is something to inherit, freedom to marry is not one whit greater in England and America than in France or Germany.

The position is no better with regard to the legal equality of man and woman in marriage. The inequality of the two before the law, which is a legacy of previous social conditions, is not the cause but the effect of the economic oppression of women. In the old communistic household, which embraced numerous couples and their children, the administration of the household, entrusted to the women, was just as much a public, a socially necessary industry as the procurement of food by the men. This situation changed with the patriarchal family, and even more with the monogamian individual family. The administration of the household lost its public character. It was no longer the concern of society. It became a *private service.* The wife became the first domestic servant, pushed out of participation in social production. Only the large-scale industry of our time has again thrown open to her—and only to the proletarian woman at that—the avenue to social production; but in such a way that, if she fulfils her duties in the private service of her family, she remains excluded from public production and cannot earn anything; and if she wishes to take part in public industry and earn her living independently, she is not in a position to fulfil her family duties. What applies to the woman in the factory applies to her in all branches of business, right up to medicine and law. The modern individual family is based on the overt or covert domestic slavery of the woman; and modern society is a mass composed solely of individual families as its molecules. Today, in the great majority of cases, the man has to be the earner, the bread-winner of the family, at least among the propertied classes, and this gives him a dominating position which requires no special legal privileges. In the family, he is the bourgeois; the wife represents the proletariat. In the industrial world, however, the specific character of the economic oppression weighing down on the proletariat emerges in its full vividness only after all the special legal privileges of the capitalist class have been eliminated and the complete juridical equality of both classes established. The democratic republic does not abolish the antagonism between the two classes; on the contrary, it provides the field on which it is fought out. And, similarly, the peculiar character of man's domination over woman in the modern family, and the necessity, as well as the manner, of establishing real social equality between the two, will be brought out in full relief only when both

are completely equal before the law. It will then become evident that the first precondition for the emancipation of women is the reintroduction of the entire female sex into public industry; and that this again demands that the quality possessed by the individual family of being the economic unit of society be eliminated.

* * *

We have, then, three chief forms of marriage, which, by and large, conform to the three main stages of human development. For savagery—group marriage; for barbarism—pairing marriage; for civilisation—monogamy, supplemented by adultery and prostitution. In the upper stage of barbarism, between pairing marriage and monogamy, are wedged in the dominion exercised by men over female slaves, and polygamy.

As our whole exposition has shown, the advance which manifests itself in this sequence is linked with the peculiar fact that, while women are more and more deprived of the sexual freedom of group marriage, the men are not. Actually, for men, group marriage exists to this day. What for a woman is a crime entailing dire legal and social consequences, is regarded in the case of a man as being honourable or, at most, as a slight moral stigma that one bears with pleasure. But the more the old traditional hetaerism is changed in our day by capitalist commodity production and adapted to it, and the more it is transformed into unconcealed prostitution, the more demoralising are its effects. And it demoralises the men far more than it does the women. Among women, prostitution degrades only those unfortunates who fall into its clutches; and even these are not degraded to the degree that is generally believed. On the other hand, it degrades the character of the entire male world. Thus, in nine cases out of ten, a long engagement is positively a preparatory school for conjugal infidelity.

We are now approaching a social revolution in which the hitherto existing economic foundations of monogamy will disappear just as certainly as those of its complement—prostitution. Monogamy arose out of the concentration of considerable wealth in the hands of one person—in those of a man—and out of the desire to bequeath this wealth to this man's children and to no one else's. For this purpose monogamy was essential on the woman's part, but not on the man's; so that this monogamy of the woman in no way hindered the overt or covert polygamy of the man. The

impending social revolution, however, by transforming at least by far the greater part of durable inheritable wealth—the means of production—into social property, will reduce all this anxiety about inheritance to a minimum. Since, however, monogamy arose from economic causes, will it disappear when these causes disappear?

One would not be wrong to reply: far from disappearing, it will only begin to be completely realised. For with the conversion of the means of production into social property, wage labour, the proletariat, also disappears, and therewith, also the necessity for a certain—statistically calculable—number of women to surrender themselves for money. Prostitution disappears; monogamy, instead of meeting its demise, finally becomes a reality—for the men as well.

At all events, the position of the men is thus greatly altered. But that of the women, of *all* women, also undergoes considerable change. With the passage of the means of production into common property, the individual family ceases to be the economic unit of society. Private housekeeping is transformed into a social industry. The care and upbringing of the children becomes a public affair. Society takes care of all children equally, irrespective of whether they are born in wedlock or not. Thus, the anxiety about the "consequences", which is today the most important social factor—both moral and economic—that hinders a girl from giving herself freely to the man she loves, disappears. Will this not be cause enough for a gradual rise of more unrestrained sexual intercourse, and along with it, a laxer public opinion regarding virginal honour and female shame? And finally, have we not seen that monogamy and prostitution in the modern world, although opposites, are nevertheless inseparable opposites, poles of the same social conditions? Can prostitution disappear without dragging monogamy with it into the abyss?

Here a new factor comes into operation, a factor that, at most, existed in embryonic form at the time when monogamy emerged, namely, individual sex love.

No such thing as individual sex love existed before the Middle Ages. That personal beauty, intimate association, similarity in inclinations, etc., aroused desire for sexual intercourse among people of opposite sexes, that men as well as women were not totally indifferent to the question of with whom they entered into this most intimate relation is obvious. But this is still a far cry from the sex love of our day. Throughout antiquity marriages were arranged by the parents; the parties quietly acquiesced. The little conjugal love that was known to antiquity was not in any way a

subjective inclination, but an objective duty; not a reason for, but a correlate of, marriage. In antiquity, love affairs in the modern sense occur only outside official society. The shepherds, whose joys and sorrows in love are sung by Theocritus and Moschus, or by Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe,*[96] are mere slaves, who have no share in the state, the sphere of life of the free citizen. Except among slaves, however, we find love affairs only as disintegration products of the declining ancient world; and with women who are also beyond the pale of official society, with *hetaerae,* that is, with alien or freed women: in Athens beginning with the eve of its decline, in Rome at the time of the emperors. If love affairs really occurred between free male and female citizens, it was only in the form of adultery. And sex love in our sense of the term was so immaterial to that classical love poet of antiquity, old Anacreon, that even the sex of the beloved one was a matter of complete indifference to him.

Our sex love differs essentially from the simple sexual desire, the *eros,* of the ancients. First, it presupposes reciprocal love on the part of the loved one; in this respect, the woman stands on a par with the man; whereas in the ancient *eros,* the woman was by no means always consulted. Secondly, sex love attains a degree of intensity and permanency where the two parties regard non-possession or separation as a great, if not the greatest, misfortune; in order to possess each other they confront great hazards, even risking life itself—which in antiquity happened, at best, only in cases of adultery. And finally, a new moral standard arises for judging sexual contact. The question asked is not only whether such contact was in or out of wedlock, but also whether it arose from mutual love or not. It goes without saying that in feudal or bourgeois practice this new standard fares no better than all the other moral standards—it is simply ignored. But it fares no worse either. It is recognised in theory, on paper, like all the rest. And more than this cannot be expected for the present.

Where antiquity broke off with its start towards sex love, the Middle Ages began, namely, with adultery. We have already described chivalrous love, which gave rise to the *Tagelieder.* It is still a long way from this kind of love, which aimed at breaking up matrimony, to the love which was meant to establish it, a way never completely covered by the age of chivalry. Even when we pass from the frivolous Romance peoples to the virtuous Germans, we find, in the *Nibelungenlied,* that Kriemhild—although secretly in love with Siegfried every bit as much as he is with her—nevertheless, in reply to Gunther's intimation that he

has plighted her to a knight whom he does not name, answers simply:

"You have no need to ask; as you command, so will I be for ever. He whom you, my lord, choose for my husband, to him will I gladly plight my troth."[a]

It never even occurs to her that her love could possibly be considered in this matter. Gunther seeks the hand of Brunhild without ever having seen her, and Etzel does the same with Kriemhild. The same occurs in the *Gutrun*,[97] where Siegebant of Ireland seeks the hand of Ute the Norwegian, Hettel of Hegelingen that of Hilde of Ireland; and lastly, Siegfried of Morland, Hartmut of Ormany and Herwig of Seeland seek the hand of Gutrun; and here for the first time it happens that Gutrun, of her own free will, decides in favour of the last named. As a rule, the bride of a young prince is selected by his parents if they are still alive; otherwise he chooses her himself with the counsel of his highest vassal chiefs, whose word carries great weight in all cases. Nor can it be otherwise. For the knight, or baron, just as for the prince himself, marriage is a political act, an opportunity for the enhancement of power through new alliances; the interest of the *House* and not individual discretion is the decisive factor. How can love here hope to have the last word regarding marriage?

It was the same for the guildsman of the medieval towns. The very privileges which protected him—the guild charters with their special stipulations, the artificial lines of demarcation which legally separated him from other guilds, from his own fellow guildsmen and from his journeymen and apprentices—considerably restricted the circle in which he could hope to secure a suitable spouse. And the question as to who was the most suitable was definitely decided under this complicated system, not by his discretion, but by family interest.

Up to the end of the Middle Ages, therefore, marriage, in the overwhelming majority of cases, remained what it had been right from the beginning, an affair that was not decided by the parties concerned. In the beginning one came into the world married, married to a whole group of the opposite sex. A similar relation probably existed in the later forms of group marriage, only with an ever increasing narrowing of the group. In pairing marriage it is the rule that the mothers arrange their children's marriages; and here also, considerations of new ties of relationship that are to strengthen the young couple's position in the gens and

[a] See *Nibelungenlied*, Song X.—*Ed.*

tribe are the decisive factor. And when, with the predominance of private property over common property, and with the interest in bequeathing, father right and monogamy came to dominate, marriage became more than ever dependent on economic considerations. The *form* of marriage by purchase disappears, the transaction itself is to an ever increasing degree carried out in such a way that not only the woman but the man also is appraised, not by his personal qualities but by his possessions. The idea that the mutual affection of the parties concerned should be the overriding reason for matrimony had been unheard of in the practice of the ruling classes from the very beginning. Such things took place, at best, in romance, or—among the oppressed classes, which did not count.

This was the situation encountered by capitalist production when, following the era of geographical discoveries, it set out to conquer the world through international trade and manufacture. One would think that this mode of matrimony should have suited it down to the ground, and such was indeed the case. And yet—the irony of world history is unfathomable—it was capitalist production that was to make the decisive breach in it. By transforming all things into commodities, it abolished all ancient traditional relations, and for inherited customs and historical rights it substituted purchase and sale, "free" contract. And H. S. Maine, the English legal scholar, believed he had made a colossal discovery when he said that our entire progress in comparison with previous epochs consisted in our having evolved FROM STATUS TO CONTRACT, from an inherited state of affairs to one voluntary contracted[a]—a statement which, insofar as it is correct, was contained long ago in the *Communist Manifesto*.[b]

But the conclusion of contracts presupposes people who can freely dispose of their persons, actions and possessions, and who meet each other on equal terms. To create such "free" and "equal" people was precisely one of the main achievements of capitalist production. Although in the beginning this took place only in a semi-conscious manner, and in religious guise to boot, nevertheless, from the time of the Lutheran and Calvinistic Reformation it became a firm principle that a person was completely responsible for his actions only if he possessed full freedom of the will when performing them, and that it was a moral duty to resist all

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[a] H. S. Maine, *Ancient Law: its connection with the early history of society, and its relation to modern ideas*, p. 170.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 485-89.—*Ed.*

compulsion to commit immoral acts. But how did this fit in with the previous practice of matrimony? According to bourgeois conceptions, matrimony was a contract, a legal transaction, indeed the most important of all, since it disposed of the body and mind of two persons for life. True enough, formally the bargain was struck voluntarily; it could not be concluded without the consent of the parties; but how this consent was obtained, and who really arranged the marriage was known only too well. But if real freedom to decide was demanded for all other contracts, why not for this one? Had not the two young people about to be paired the right freely to dispose of themselves, their bodies and organs? Had not sex love become the fashion as a consequence of chivalry, and was not the love of the spouses its correct bourgeois form, as against the adulterous love of the knights? But if it was the duty of married people to love each other, was it not just as much the duty of lovers to marry each other and nobody else? And did not the right of these lovers stand higher than that of parents, relatives and other traditional marriage brokers and matchmakers? If the right of free personal examination unceremoniously forced its way into church and religion, how could it halt at the intolerable claim of the older generation to dispose of body and soul, the property, the happiness and unhappiness of the younger generation?

These questions were bound to arise in a period which loosened all the old social ties and which shook the foundations of all inherited conceptions. At one stroke the size of the world had increased nearly tenfold. Instead of only a quadrant of a hemisphere the whole globe was now open to the gaze of the West Europeans, who hastened to take possession of the other seven quadrants. And the thousand-year-old barriers set up by the medieval prescribed mode of thought vanished in the same way as did the old, narrow barriers of the homeland. An infinitely wider horizon opened up both to man's outer and inner eye. Of what avail were the good intentions of respectability, the honoured guild privileges handed down through the generations, to the young man who was allured by India's riches, by the gold and silver mines of Mexico and Potosi? It was the knight-errant period of the bourgeoisie; it had its romance also, and its love dreams, but on a bourgeois basis and, in the last analysis, with bourgeois ends in mind.

Thus it happened that the rising bourgeoisie, particularly in the Protestant countries, where the existing order was shaken up most of all, increasingly recognised freedom of contract for marriage as

well and carried it through in the manner described above. Marriage remained class marriage, but, within the confines of the class, the parties were accorded a certain degree of freedom to choose. And on paper, in moral theory as in poetic description, nothing was more unshakably established than that every marriage not based on mutual sex love and on the really free agreement of the spouses was immoral. In short, love marriage was proclaimed a human right; not only as *droit de l'homme*[a] but also, by way of exception, as *droit de la femme*.[b]

But in one respect this human right differed from all other so-called human rights. While, in practice, the latter remained limited to the ruling class, the bourgeoisie—the oppressed class, the proletariat, being directly or indirectly deprived of them—the irony of history asserts itself here once again. The ruling class continues to be dominated by well-known economic influences and, therefore, only in exceptional cases does it bear witness to really voluntary marriages; whereas, as we have seen, these are the rule among the dominated class.

Thus, full freedom of marriage can become generally operative only when the abolition of capitalist production, and of the property relations created by it, has removed all those secondary economic considerations which still exert so powerful an influence on the choice of a partner. Then, no other motive remains than mutual affection.

Since sex love is by its very nature exclusive—although this exclusiveness is fully realised today only in the woman—then marriage based on sex love is by its very nature monogamy. We have seen how right Bachofen was when he regarded the advance from group marriage to individual marriage chiefly as the work of women; only the advance from pairing marriage to monogamy can be placed to the men's account, and, historically, this consisted essentially in a worsening of the position of women and in the facilitation of infidelity on the part of the men. With the disappearance of the economic considerations which compelled women to tolerate the customary infidelity of the men—the anxiety about their own livelihood and even more about the future of their children—the equality of woman thus achieved will, judging from all previous experience, be infinitely more effective in making the men really monogamous than in making the women polyandrous.

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[a] Man's right.—*Ed.*

[b] Woman's right.—*Ed.*

What will most definitely disappear from monogamy, however, are all the characteristics stamped on it in consequence of its having arisen out of property relationships. These are, first, the predominance of the man, and secondly, the indissolubility of marriage. The predominance of the man in marriage is simply a consequence of his economic predominance and will vanish automatically with it. The indissolubility of marriage is partly the result of the economic conditions under which monogamy arose, and partly a tradition from the time when the connection between these economic conditions and monogamy was not yet correctly understood and was exaggerated by religion. Already today it has been breached a thousandfold. If only marriages that are based on love are moral, then, also, only those are moral in which love continues. The duration of the urge of individual sex love differs very much according to the individual, particularly among men; and a definite cessation of affection, or its displacement by a new passionate love, makes separation a blessing for both parties as well as for society. People will only be spared the experience of wading through the useless mire of divorce proceedings.

Thus, what we can conjecture at present about the regulation of sex relationships after the impending effacement of capitalist production is, in the main, of a negative character, limited mostly to what will vanish. But what will be added? That will be settled after a new generation has grown up: a generation of men who never in their lives have had occasion to purchase a woman's surrender either with money or with any other social means of power, and of women who have never had occasion to surrender to any man out of any consideration other than that of real love, or to refrain from giving themselves to their beloved for fear of the economic consequences. Once such people appear, they will not care a damn about what we today think they should do. They will establish their own practice and their own public opinion, conforming therewith, on the practice of each individual—and that's the end of it.

In the meantime, let us return to Morgan, from whom we have strayed quite considerably. The historical investigation of the social institutions which developed during the period of civilisation lies outside the scope of his book. Consequently, he concerns himself only briefly with the fate of monogamy during this period. He, too, regards the development of the monogamian family as an advance, as an approximation to the complete equality of the sexes, without, however, considering that this goal has been reached. But, he says,

"when the fact is accepted that the family has passed through four successive forms, and is now in a fifth, the question at once arises whether this form can be permanent in the future. The only answer that can be given is that it must advance as society advances, and change as society changes, even as it has done in the past. It is the creature of the social system, and will reflect its culture. As the monogamian family has improved greatly since the commencement of civilisation, and very sensibly in modern times, it is at least supposable that it is capable of still farther improvement until the equality of the sexes is attained. Should the monogamian family in the distant future fail to answer the requirements of society [...] it is impossible to predict the nature of its successor".[a]

## III

## THE IROQUOIS GENS

We now come to a further discovery of Morgan's, which is at least as important as the reconstruction of the primitive form of the family out of the systems of consanguinity. The demonstration of the fact that the bodies of *consanguinei* within the American Indian tribe, designated by the names of animals, are in essence identical with the *genea* of the Greeks and the *gentes* of the Romans; that the American form was the original and the Greek and Roman the later, derivative; that the entire social organisation of the Greeks and Romans of primitive times in gens, phratry and tribe finds its faithful parallel in that of the American Indians; that (as far as our present sources of information go) the gens is an institution common to all barbarians up to their entry into civilisation, and even afterwards—this demonstration cleared up at one stroke the most difficult parts of the earliest Greek and Roman history. At the same time it has thrown unexpected light on the fundamental features of the social constitution of primitive times—before the introduction of the *state.* Simple as this may seem when one knows it—nevertheless, Morgan discovered it only very recently. In his previous work, published in 1871,[b] he had not yet hit upon the secret, the discovery of which since reduced for a time[c] the otherwise so confident English prehistorians to a mouse-like silence.

The Latin word *gens,* which Morgan employs as a general designation for this body of *consanguinei,* is, like its Greek equivalent, *genos,* derived from the common Aryan root *gan* (in

[a] L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society,* pp. 491-92. See also "Marx's Excerpts...", op. cit., p. 124.—*Ed.*

[b] L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family.*—*Ed.*

[c] The words "for a time" were added in the 1891 edition.—*Ed.*

German, where the Aryan *g* is, according to rule, replaced by *k*, it is *kan*), which means to beget. *Gens, genos,* the Sanscrit *ganas,* the Gothic *kuni* (in accordance with the above-mentioned rule), the Old Norse and Anglo-Saxon *kyn,* the English *kin,* the Middle High German *künne,* all equally signify kinship, descent. However, *gens* in the Latin and *genos* in the Greek are specially used for a body of *consanguinei* which boasts a common descent (in this case from a common male ancestor) and which, owing to certain social and religious institutions, forms a separate community, whose origin and nature have hitherto, nevertheless, remained obscure to all our historians.

We have already seen above, in connection with the punaluan family, how a gens in its original form is constituted. It consists of all persons who, by virtue of punaluan marriage and in accordance with the conceptions necessarily predominating therein, constitute the recognised descendants of a definite individual ancestress, the founder of the gens. Since paternity is uncertain in this form of the family, female lineage alone is valid. Since the brothers may not marry their sisters, but only women of different descent, the children born of such alien women fall, according to mother right, outside the gens. Thus, only the offspring of the *daughters* of each generation remain in the body of *consanguinei,* while the offspring of the sons go over into the gentes of their mothers. What, then, becomes of this consanguine group once it constitutes itself as a separate group as against similar groups within the tribe?

Morgan takes the gens of the Iroquois, in particular that of the Seneca tribe, as the classical form of the original gens. They have eight gentes, named after the following animals: 1) Wolf; 2) Bear; 3) Turtle; 4) Beaver; 5) Deer; 6) Snipe; 7) Heron; 8) Hawk. The following usages prevail in each gens:

1. It elects its sachem (headman in times of peace) and its chief (leader in war). The sachem had to be elected from within the gens itself and his office was hereditary in the gens, in the sense that it had to be immediately filled whenever a vacancy occurred. The war chief could also be elected outside the gens and could at times be completely non-existent. The son of the previous sachem was never elected as his successor, since mother right prevailed among the Iroquois, and the son, therefore, belonged to a different gens. The brother or the sister's son, however, was often elected. All voted at the election—men and women alike. The choice, however, had to be endorsed by the remaining seven gentes and only then was the elected person ceremonially installed,

this being carried out by the general council of the entire Iroquois Confederacy. The significance of this will be seen later. The sachem's authority within the gens was of a paternal and purely moral character. He had no means of coercion at his command. He was by virtue of his office a member also of the tribal council of the Senecas, as well as of the Council of the Confederacy of all the Iroquois. The war chief could give orders only in military expeditions.

2. The gens can depose the sachem and war chief at will. This again is carried out jointly by the men and women. Thereafter, the deposed rank as simple warriors and private persons like the rest. The council of the tribe can also depose the sachems, even against the wishes of the gens.

3. No member is permitted to marry within the gens. This is the fundamental rule of the gens, the bond which keeps it together; it is the negative expression of the very positive blood relationship by virtue of which the individuals included in it become a gens at all. By the discovery of this simple fact Morgan, for the first time, revealed the nature of the gens. How little the gens had been understood until then is proved by the earlier reports concerning savages and barbarians, in which the various bodies constituting the gentile organisation are ignorantly and indiscriminately referred to as tribe, clan, thum, etc.; and regarding these it is sometimes asserted that marriage within any such body is prohibited. This gave rise to the hopeless confusion in which Mr. McLennan was able to intervene as a Napoleon, creating order by his fiat: All tribes are divided into those within which marriage is forbidden (exogamous) and those within which it is permitted (endogamous). And having thus thoroughly muddled matters, he was able to indulge in most profound investigations as to which of his two fatuous classes was the older, exogamy or endogamy. This nonsense ceased automatically with the discovery of the gens based on blood relationship and the consequent impossibility of marriage between its members.—Obviously, at the stage at which we find the Iroquois, the prohibition of marriage within the gens is strictly observed.

4. The property of deceased persons was distributed among the remaining members of the gens—it had to remain in the gens. In view of the insignificance of the effects which an Iroquois could leave, the heritage was divided among the nearest relatives in the gens; when a man died, among his natural brothers and sisters and his maternal uncle; when a woman died, then among her children and natural sisters, but not her brothers. That is precisely

the reason why it was impossible for man and wife to inherit from each other, and why children could not inherit from their father.

5. The members of the gens were bound to give one another assistance, protection and particularly support in avenging injuries inflicted by outsiders. The individual depended, and could depend, for his security on the protection of the gens. Whoever injured him injured the whole gens. From this—the blood ties of the gens—arose the obligation of blood revenge, which was recognised unconditionally by the Iroquois. If a non-member of a gens slew a member of the gens the whole gens to which the slain person belonged was bound to take blood revenge. First mediation was tried. A council of the slayer's gens was held and propositions were made to the council of the victim's gens for a settlement of the matter—mostly in the form of expressions of regret and presents of considerable value. If these were accepted, the affair was closed. If not, the injured gens appointed one or more avengers, whose duty it was to pursue and slay the murderer. If this happened the gens of the latter had no right to complain; the matter was regarded as even.

6. The gens has definite names or series of names which it alone, in the whole tribe, is entitled to use, so that an individual's name also indicates the gens to which he belongs. A gentile name carries gentile rights with it as a matter of course.

7. The gens can adopt strangers and thereby admit them into the tribe as a whole. Prisoners of war that were not slain became members of the Seneca tribe by adoption into a gens and thereby obtained full tribal and gentile rights. The adoption took place at the request of individual members of the gens—men placed the stranger in the relation of a brother or sister, women in that of a child. For confirmation of this, ceremonial acceptance into the gens was necessary. Individual, exceptionally depleted gentes were often replenished by mass adoption from another gens, with the latter's consent. Among the Iroquois, the ceremony of adoption into the gens was performed at a public meeting of the council of the tribe, which turned it practically into a religious rite.

8. It would be difficult to prove special religious rites among the Indian gentes—and yet the religious ceremonies of the Indians are more or less connected with the gentes. Among the Iroquois, at their six annual religious festivals, the sachems and war chiefs of the individual gentes were included among the "Keepers of the Faith" *ex officio* and exercised priestly functions.

9. The gens has a common burial place. That of the Iroquois of New York State, who have been hemmed in by the whites, has

now disappeared, but it did use to exist. It still survives amongst other Indian tribes, as, for instance, amongst the Tuscaroras, a tribe closely related to the Iroquois, who, although Christian, still retain in their cemetery a special row for each gens, so that the mother is buried in the same row as her children, but not the father. And also among the Iroquois, all the members of the gens are mourners at the funeral, prepare the grave, deliver funeral orations, etc.

10. The gens has a council, the democratic assembly of all adult male and female members of the gens, all with equal voice. This council elected and deposed the sachems and war chiefs and, likewise, the remaining "Keepers of the Faith". It decided about penance gifts (*wergeld*) or blood revenge, for murdered gentiles. It adopted strangers into the gens. In short, it was the sovereign power in the gens.

These are the powers of a typical Indian gens.

"All its members were personally free, and they were bound to defend each other's freedom; they were equal [...] in personal rights, the sachems and chiefs claiming no superiority; and they were a brotherhood bound together by the ties of kin. Liberty, equality, and fraternity, though never formulated, were cardinal principles of the gens. [...] The gens was the unit for a social system, the foundation upon which Indian society was organised. [...] [This] serves to explain that sense of independence and personal dignity universally an attribute of Indian character."[a]

At the time of their discovery the Indians throughout North America were organised in gentes in accordance with mother right. Only in a few tribes, as amongst the Dakotas, had the gentes fallen into decay, while in some others, such as the Ojibwas and Omahas, they were organised in accordance with father right.

Among numerous Indian tribes having more than five or six gentes, we find three, four and more gentes united in a special group which Morgan—faithfully translating the Indian term by its Greek counterpart—calls the phratry (brotherhood). Thus, the Senecas have two phratries, the first embracing gentes 1 to 4, and the second gentes 5 to 8. Closer investigation shows that these phratries, in the main, represent those original gentes into which the tribe split at the outset; for with the prohibition of marriage within the gens, each tribe had necessarily to consist of at least two gentes in order to be capable of surviving on its own. As the tribe multiplied, each gens again subdivided into two or more gentes, each of which now appears as a separate gens, while the original

[a] L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 85-86. The quotation is somewhat abridged and slightly changed according to "Marx's Excerpts...", op. cit., p. 150.—*Ed.*

gens, which embraces all the daughter gentes, lives on as the phratry. Among the Senecas and most other Indians, the gentes in one phratry are brother gentes, while those in another are their cousin gentes—designations which, as we have seen, have a very real and expressive significance in the American system of consanguinity. Originally, indeed, no Seneca could marry within his phratry; but this prohibition has long since lapsed and is limited only to the gens. The Senecas had a tradition that the Bear and the Deer were the two original gentes, of which the others were offshoots. Once this new institution had become firmly rooted, it was modified according to need. In order to maintain equilibrium, whole gentes out of other phratries were occasionally transferred to those in which gentes had died out. This explains why we find in different tribes gentes of the same name variously grouped among the phratries.

Among the Iroquois the functions of the phratry are partly social and partly religious. 1) The ball game is played by phratries, one against the other; each phratry puts forward its best players, the remaining members of the phratry being spectators arranged according to phratry, who bet against each other on the success of their respective sides. 2) At the council of the tribe the sachems and war chiefs of each phratry sit together, the two groups facing each other, and each speaker addresses the representatives of each phratry as a separate body. 3) If a murder had been committed in the tribe and the slayer and the victim did not belong to the same phratry, the aggrieved gens often appealed to its brother gentes; these held a phratry council and addressed themselves to the other phratry as a whole, asking it also to summon a council for the adjustment of the matter. Here again the phratry appears as the original gens and with greater prospects of success than the weaker individual gens, its offspring. 4) On the death of persons of consequence, the opposite phratry undertook the arrangement of the funeral and the burial rites, while the phratry of the deceased went along as mourners. When a sachem died, the opposite phratry notified the federal council of the Iroquois of the vacant office. 5) The council of the phratry again appeared on the scene at the election of a sachem. Confirmation by the brother gentes was regarded as rather a matter of course, but the gentes of the other phratry might oppose. In such a case the council of this phratry met and, if it upheld the opposition, the election was null and void. 6) Previously, the Iroquois has special religious mysteries, which white men called "MEDICINE LODGES". Among the Senecas they were celebrated by two religious fraternities, one for

each phratry, with a regular initiation ritual for new members. 7) If, as is almost certain, the four LINEAGES (kinship groups) that occupied the four quarters of Tlascala at the time of the Conquest[98] were four phratries, this proves that the phratries, as among the Greeks, and similar bodies of *consanguinei* among the Germans, also served as military units. These four LINEAGES went into battle, each one as a separate division, with its own uniform and standard, and a leader of its own.

Just as several gentes constitute a phratry, so, in the classical form, several phratries constitute a tribe. In many cases the middle link, the phratry, is missing among greatly depleted tribes. What are the distinctive features of the Indian tribe in America?

1. Its own territory and its own name. In addition to the area of actual settlement, each tribe possessed considerable territory for hunting and fishing. Beyond this there was a wide stretch of neutral land reaching to the territory of the next tribe; the extent of this neutral territory was less where the two tribes were related linguistically, and greater where not. Such neutral ground was the border forest of the Germans, the wasteland which Caesar's Suebi created around their territory, the *îsarnholt* (Danish *jarnved, limes Danicus*) between the Danes and the Germans, the Saxon forest and the *branibor* (protective forest in Slavic)—from which Brandenburg derives its name—between Germans and Slavs. The territory thus marked out by imperfectly defined boundaries was the common land of the tribe, recognised as such by neighbouring tribes, and defended by the tribe against any encroachment. In most cases, the uncertainty of the boundaries became a practical inconvenience only when the population had greatly increased.—The tribal names appear to have been the result more of accident than of deliberate choice. As time passed it frequently happened that neighbouring tribes designated a tribe by a name different from that which it itself used, like the case of the Germans, whose first all-embracing historical name—Teutons—was bestowed on them by the Celts.

2. A separate *dialect* peculiar to this tribe only. In fact, tribe and dialect are substantially co-extensive. The establishment of new tribes and dialects through subdivision was in progress in America until quite recently, and can hardly have ceased altogether even now. Where two depleted tribes have amalgamated into one, it happens, by way of exception, that two closely related dialects are spoken in the same tribe. The average strength of American tribes is under 2,000. The Cherokees, however, are nearly 26,000

strong—being the largest number of Indians in the United States that speak the same dialect.

3. The right of investing the sachems and war chiefs elected by the gentes, and

4. The right to depose them again, even against the wishes of their gens. As these sachems and war chiefs are members of the tribal council, these rights of the tribe in relation to them are self-explanatory. Wherever a confederacy of tribes was established and all the tribes were represented in a federal council, the above rights were transferred to this latter body.

5. The possession of common religious ideas (mythology) and rites of worship.

"After the fashion of barbarians the [...] Indians were a religious people."[a]

Their mythology has not yet been critically investigated at all. They already personified their religious ideas—spirits of all kinds—but in the lower stage of barbarism in which they lived there was as yet no graphic depictions, no so-called idols. It was a nature and element worship evolving towards polytheism. The various tribes had their regular festivals with definite forms of worship, particularly, dancing and games. Dances especially were an essential part of all religious ceremonies, each tribe performing its own separately.

6. A tribal council for common affairs. It consisted of all the sachems and war chiefs of the separate gentes—the real representatives of the latter, because they could always be deposed. The council sat in public, surrounded by the other members of the tribe, who had the right to join in the discussion and to secure a hearing for their opinions, and the council took the decisions. As a rule it was open to everyone present who desired to address it; even the women could express their views through a spokesman of their own choice. Among the Iroquois the final decisions had to be adopted unanimously, as was also the case with many of the decisions of the German Mark communities.* In particular, the

* In Germany the "Mark" constitution is the name given to the old system of land ownership, handed down by custom and usufruct, in which vestiges of the old Germanic common ownership of land have been preserved to this day. The area of land belonging to a community, called the "Mark", was divided into three parts: (1) the actual village, where every member of the community received a plot of equal size for house, farmyard and garden; (2) the divided "Mark", that is the area designated for arable land and meadowland; (3) the communal or undivided

[a] L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society,* p. 115. See also "Marx's Excerpts...", op. cit., p. 162.—*Ed.*

regulation of relations with other tribes devolved upon the tribal council. It received and sent embassies, it declared war and made peace. When war broke out it was carried on mainly by volunteers. In principle each tribe was in a state of war with every other tribe

"Mark", that is all the remaining land—woods, grassland, heath, bog, waters, paths, etc.

The divided Mark was first divided into a number of plots according to location and fertility, called "gewanne". Each "gewanne" was, in turn, divided into as many plots of equal size as there were members of the community, i.e. heads of families. These plots were then distributed by lot in such a way that each member of the community received his share of each "gewanne", in other words, as much land—and as good—as everyone else. House and yard became each member's personal property at an early stage; the communal lands, on the other hand, were redistributed, annually to begin with, and later on every four, six or twelve years. But they, too, soon became the owner's hereditary and disposable property. Only around the Rhine did the constant cycle of redistribution persist—into this century, in the Palatinate and the now Prussian districts south of the Mosel—and may still exist in a few villages under the name of "gehöferschaften". But even where arable land and grassland had become private property it had to be tilled according to a communal plan laid down by the community (arable land was generally divided into winter fields, summer fields and fallow fields), and after harvest and when lying fallow it was open to all the members of the community as communal grazing.

The undivided or common "Mark" was the communal property of all members and was used equally by all for grazing, pannage, timber felling, hay-making, hunting, fishing, etc.

How it should be used, the rights of each individual, the cultivation and common use of the divided "Mark" and all other land matters, were discussed at the members' public assembly and decided by voting, as were all disputes and breaches of the land law. Here all members were equal, no matter if one man was a serf and the other his liege lord, as was often the case in the later Middle Ages; at the Mark assembly no man was more worth than the next: it was democracy in its most perfect form.

The original Mark communities embraced large districts (entire *Gaus*, or hundreds), with each village owning its own common land, while alongside it there still existed a large amount of common land that belonged to them all. In the Rheingau this existed right up into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This was also the case in Scandinavia. The old Swedish law knew village commons, district commons, provincial commons and finally the King's (that is, properly speaking, the people's) commons; in other words, apart from village common land, common land belonging to the hundred, the province and ultimately land belonging to the King as the whole nation's representative. In Germany as late as the fourteenth century there were six to twelve villages to a "Mark"; later as a rule each village had only its own "Mark", that is to say, the large common "Mark" of earlier times had been stolen by the feudal lords.

Out of the "Mark" system developed the village system, and, where the villages were reorganised as towns, the town system. In such towns the former "Mark" members naturally had sole right, initially, to participate in the management of the town's business, that is, matters relating to their own land, while outsiders who had migrated to the towns and had no entitlement to the "Mark" were, and remained, without legal rights. In this way the original democracy practised in the Mark

with which it had not expressly concluded a treaty of peace. Military expeditions against such enemies were for the most part organised by a few outstanding warriors. They gave a war dance; whoever joined in the dance thereby declared his intention to participate in the expedition. A detachment was immediately formed and set out forthwith. When the tribal territory was attacked, its defence was likewise conducted mainly by volunteers. The departure and return of such detachments always provided an occasion for public festivities. The sanction of the tribal council for such expeditions was not necessary. It was neither sought nor given. They were exactly like the private war expeditions of the German retainers, as Tacitus has described them,[a] except that among the Germans the body of retainers had assumed a more permanent character, and constituted a strong nucleus, already organised in times of peace, around which the remaining volunteers grouped in the event of war. Such military detachments were seldom numerically strong. The most important expeditions of the Indians, even those covering great distances, were carried out by insignificant fighting forces. When several such retinues gathered for an important engagement, each group obeyed its own leader only. The cohesion of the plan of campaign was ensured, more or less, by a council of these leaders. It was the method of war adopted by the Alamanni of the Upper Rhine in the fourth century, as described by Ammianus Marcellinus.

7. In some tribes we find a head chief, whose powers, however, are very slight. He is one of the sachems, who in cases demanding

community became a closed aristocracy of the town's "families", the patricians. Newly arrived outsiders, artisans, etc. comprised the town's plebs, whose struggle for equal rights with the privileged families fills the history of whole towns all through the Middle Ages.

Where the "Mark" came under the control of a feudal lord, it was, initially, only transformed into a manorial system in so far as the lord became the permanent head of the Mark assembly and received a larger share of the cultivation of the common "Mark"; legislative, executive and judicial powers remained with the members as a whole. But early on the feudal lords encroached on the members' rights, undermining them until in the end there was little or nothing left of them.

The Mark system was the original system of all the Germanic tribes; it was at its strongest in Germany, Scandinavia, England and northern France; in all these countries remains of it are still to be found. But only in Germany has its history been studied in detail, namely by G. L. Maurer. [*Engels' note to the 1888 Danish edition.*]

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[a] Tacitus, *Germania,* Vol. II.—*Ed.*

speedy action has to take provisional measures until such time as the council can assemble and take the final decision. This is a feeble but, subsequently, generally fruitless attempt to create an official with executive authority; actually, as will be seen, it was the supreme military commander who, in most cases, if not in all, developed into such an official.

The great majority of American Indians never got beyond the stage of tribal integration. Constituting numerically small tribes, separated from one another by wide border-lands, and enfeebled by perpetual warfare, they occupied an enormous territory with but few people. Alliances arising out of temporary emergencies were concluded here and there between kindred tribes and dissolved when they passed. But in certain areas originally kindred but subsequently disunited tribes reunited in lasting confederacies, and so took the first step towards the formation of nations. In the United States we find the most advanced form of such a confederacy among the Iroquois. Emigrating from their original home west of the Mississippi, where they probably constituted a branch of the great Dakota family, they settled down after protracted wanderings in what is today the State of New York. They were divided into five tribes: Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas and Mohawks. Subsisting on fish, game and the produce of crude horticulture, they lived in villages protected mostly by palisades. Never more than 20,000 strong, they had a number of gentes common to all five tribes; they spoke closely related dialects of the same language and occupied a continuous tract of territory that was divided among the five tribes. Since this area had been newly conquered, habitual cooperation among these tribes against those they displaced was only natural. No later than the beginning of the fifteenth century, this developed into a regular "permanent league", a confederacy, which, conscious of its new-found strength, immediately assumed an offensive character and at the height of its power—about 1675—had conquered large stretches of the surrounding country, expelling some of the inhabitants and forcing others to pay tributes. The Iroquois Confederacy was the most advanced social organisation attained by the Indians who had not gone beyond the lower stage of barbarism (that is, excepting the Mexicans, New Mexicans[99] and Peruvians). The main rules of the Confederacy were as follows:

1. Perpetual alliance of the five consanguine tribes on the basis of complete equality and independence in all internal tribal affairs. This blood relationship constituted the true basis of the Confederacy. Of the five tribes, three were called the father tribes and were

brothers one to another; the other two were called son tribes and were likewise brother tribes to each other. Three gentes—the oldest—still had living representatives in all the five tribes, while another three had in three tribes. The members of each of these gentes were all brothers throughout the five tribes. The common language, with mere dialectal differences, was the expression and the proof of common descent.

2. The organ of the Confederacy was a Federal Council comprised of fifty sachems, all of equal rank and dignity; this council passed final decisions on all matters pertaining to the Confederacy.

3. At the time the Confederacy was constituted these fifty sachems were distributed among the tribes and gentes as the bearers of new offices especially created to suit the aims of the Confederacy. They were elected anew by the gentes concerned whenever a vacancy arose, and could always be removed by them. The right to invest them with office belonged, however, to the Federal Council.

4. These federal sachems were also sachems in their own respective tribes, and each had a seat and a vote in the tribal council.

5. All decisions of the Federal Council had to be unanimous.

6. Voting was by tribes, so that each tribe and all the council members in each tribe had to agree before a binding decision could be made.

7. Each of the five tribal councils could convene the Federal Council, but the latter had no power to convene itself.

8. Its meetings took place before the assembled people. Every Iroquois had the right to speak; the council alone decided.

9. The Confederacy had no official head, no chief executive.

10. It did, however, have two supreme war chiefs, enjoying equal authority and equal power (the two "kings" of the Spartans, the two consuls in Rome).

This was the entire social constitution under which the Iroquois lived for over four hundred years, and still do live. I have described it in some detail after Morgan because it gives us the opportunity of studying the organisation of a society which as yet knows no *state*. The state presupposes a special public authority separated from the totality of those respectively concerned; and Maurer's instinct is correct in recognising the German Mark constitution as a purely social institution, differing essentially from the state, although it largely served as its foundation later on. In all his writings, therefore, Maurer

investigates the gradual rise of public authority out of and side by side with the original constitutions of the Marks, villages, manors and towns.[100] The North American Indians show how an originally united tribe gradually spread over an immense continent; how tribes, by breaking up, became peoples, whole groups of tribes; how the languages changed not only until they became mutually unintelligible, but until nearly every trace of original unity disappeared; and how at the same time individual gentes within the tribes broke up to become several; how the old mother gentes persisted as phratries, and yet the names of these oldest gentes still remain the same among very remote and long-separated tribes—the Wolf and the Bear are still gentile names among a majority of Indian tribes. Generally speaking, the constitution described above can be applied to them all—except that many of them did not get as far as a confederation of kindred tribes.

But we also see that once the gens existed as a social unit, the entire system of gentes, phratries and tribe developed with almost compelling necessity—because naturally—out of this unit. All three are groups of various degrees of consanguinity, each complete in itself and managing its own affairs, but each also complementing the rest. And the sphere of affairs devolving on them comprised the totality of the public affairs of the barbarians in the lower stage. Wherever, therefore, we find among a people the gens as the social unit, we may look for an organisation of the tribe similar to that described here; and where sufficient sources are available, as, for example, amongst the Greeks and the Romans, we shall not only find it, but also convince ourselves that, where the sources fail us, a comparison with the American social constitution will help us out of the most difficult doubts and enigmas.

And this gentile constitution is wonderful in all its childlike simplicity! Everything runs smoothly without soldiers, gendarmes or police; without nobles, kings, governors, prefects or judges; without prisons; without trials. All quarrels and disputes are settled by the whole body of those concerned—the gens or the tribe or the individual gentes among themselves. Blood revenge is threatened only as an extreme, rarely applied measure, of which our capital punishment is only the civilised form, possessed of all the advantages and drawbacks of civilisation. Although there are many more affairs in common than at present—the household is run in common and communistically by a number of families, the land is tribal property, only the small gardens being temporarily assigned to the households—still, not a bit of our extensive and

complicated machinery of administration is required. Those concerned decide, and in most cases centuries-old custom has already settled everything. There can be no poor and needy—the communistic household and gens know their obligations towards the aged, the sick and those disabled in war. All are free and equal—including the women. There is as yet no room for slaves, nor, as a rule, for the subjugation of alien tribes. When the Iroquois conquered the Eries and the "Neutral Nations"[101] about the year 1651, they invited them to join the Confederacy as equal members; only when the vanquished refused were they driven out of their territory. And the kind of the men and women that are produced by such a society is indicated by the admiration felt by all white men who came into contact with uncorrupted Indians, admiration of the personal dignity, rectitude, strength of character and bravery of these barbarians.

We have witnessed quite recently examples of this bravery in Africa. The Zulu Kaffirs a few years ago, like the Nubians a couple of months ago—both tribes in which gentile institutions have not yet died out—did what no European army can do.[102] Armed only with pikes and spears and without firearms, they advanced, under a hail of bullets from the breech loaders, right up to the bayonets of the English infantry—acknowledged as the best in the world for fighting at close formation—throwing them into disorder more than once and even beating them back; and this, despite the colossal disparity in arms and despite the fact that they have no such thing as military service, and do not know what military exercises are. Their capacity and endurance are proved by the complaint of the English that a Kaffir can move faster and cover a longer distance in twenty-four hours than a horse. As an English painter says, their smallest muscle stands out, hard and steely, like whipcord.

This is what mankind and human society were like before class divisions arose. And if we compare their condition with that of the overwhelming majority of civilised people today, we will find an enormous gulf between the present-day proletarian and small peasant and the ancient free member of a gens.

This is one side of the matter. Let us not forget, however, that this organisation was doomed to extinction. It never developed beyond the tribe; the confederacy of tribes already signified the commencement of its downfall, as we shall see later, and as the attempts of the Iroquois to subjugate others have shown. What was outside the tribe was outside the law. Where no express treaty of peace existed, war raged between tribe and tribe; and war was

waged with the cruelty that distinguishes man from all other animals and which was abated only later in self-interest. The gentile constitution in full bloom, as we have seen it in America, presupposed extremely undeveloped production, thus an extremely sparse population spread over a wide territory, and therefore the almost complete domination of man confronted by an alien and incomprehensible external nature, a domination reflected in his childish religious ideas. The tribe remained the boundary for man, in relation to outsider as well as himself: the tribe, the gens and their institutions were sacred and inviolable, a superior power, instituted by nature, to which the individual remained absolutely subject in feeling, thought and deed. Impressive as the people of this epoch may appear to us, they differ in no way one from another, they are still bound, as Marx says, to the umbilical cord of naturally evolved community. The power of these naturally evolved communities had to be broken, and it was broken. But it was broken by influences which from the outset appear to us as a degradation, a fall from the simple moral grandeur of the old gentile society. The lowest interests—base greed, brutal sensuality, sordid avarice, selfish plunder of common possessions—usher in the new, civilised society, class society; the most outrageous means—theft, rape, deceit and treachery—undermine and topple the old, classless, gentile society. And the new society, during all the 2,500 years of its existence, has never been anything but the development of the small minority at the expense of the exploited and oppressed great majority; and it is so today more than ever before.

## IV

## THE GRECIAN GENS

Greeks, as well as Pelasgians and other peoples of the same tribal origin, were constituted since prehistoric times in the same organic series as the Americans: gens, phratry, tribe, confederacy of tribes. The phratry might be missing, as among the Dorians; the confederacy of tribes might not yet be developed everywhere, but in every case the gens was the unit. At the time the Greeks entered history, they were on the threshold of civilisation. Almost two entire great periods of development lie between the Greeks and the above-mentioned American tribes, the Greeks of the Heroic Age being by this much ahead of the Iroquois. For this reason the Grecian gens no longer bore the archaic character of

the Iroquois gens; the stamp of group marriage[a] was becoming considerably blurred. Mother right had given way to father right; thereby rising private wealth made its first breach in the gentile constitution. A second breach naturally followed the first: after the introduction of father right, the fortune of a wealthy heiress would, by virtue of her marriage, fall to her husband, that is to say, to another gens; and so the foundation of all gentile law was broken, and in such cases the girl was not only permitted, but *obliged* to marry within the gens, in order that the latter might retain the fortune.

According to Grote's history of Greece,[b] the Athenian gens in particular was held together by:

1. Common religious ceremonies, and exclusive right of the priesthood in honour of a definite god, supposed to be the forefather of the gens, and characterised in this capacity by a special surname.
2. A common burial place (cf. Demosthenes' *Eubulides*[103]).
3. Mutual rights of inheritance.
4. Reciprocal obligation to afford help, defence and support against the use of force.
5. Mutual right and obligation to intermarry within the gens in certain cases, especially for orphaned daughters or heiresses.
6. Possession, in some cases at least, of common property, and of an archon (magistrate) and treasurer of its own.

The phratry, binding together several gentes, was less intimate, but here too we find mutual rights and duties of similar character, especially a communion of particular religious rites and the right of prosecution in the event of a phrator being slain. Again, all the phratries of a tribe performed periodically certain common sacred ceremonies under the presidency of a *phylobasileus* (tribal magistrate), selected from among the nobles (*eupatrides*).

Thus Grote. And Marx adds: "In the Grecian gens the savage (for example, the Iroquois) is unmistakably discerned."[c] He becomes still more unmistakable when we investigate somewhat further.

For the Grecian gens has also the following attributes:

7. Descent according to father right.
8. Prohibition of intermarriage within the gens except in the case of heiresses. This exception, and its formulation as an

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[a] The 1884 edition has "punaluan family" instead of "group marriage".— *Ed.*
[b] G. Grote, *A History of Greece,* Vol. III, pp. 54-55.— *Ed.*
[c] "Marx's Excerpts...", op. cit., p. 198.— *Ed.*

injunction, proves the validity of the old rule. This follows also from the universally accepted rule that when a woman married she renounced the religious rites of her gens and acquired those of her husband, in whose phratry she was enrolled. This, and a famous passage in Dicaearchus,[a] go to prove that marriage outside the gens was the rule. Becker in *Charikles* directly assumes that nobody was permitted to marry in his or her own gens.[b]

9. The right of adoption into the gens; it was practised by adoption into the family, but with public formalities, and only in exceptional cases.

10. The right to elect and depose the chiefs. We know that every gens had its archon; but nowhere is it stated that this office was hereditary in certain families. Until the end of barbarism, the probability is always against strict[c] heredity, which would be totally incompatible with conditions where rich and poor had absolutely equal rights in the gens.

Not only Grote, but also Niebuhr, Mommsen and all other previous historians of classical antiquity, failed with the gens. Although they correctly noted many of its distinguishing features, they always regarded it as a *group of families* and thus made it impossible for themselves to understand the nature and origin of the gens. Under the gentile constitution, the family was never a unit of organisation, nor could it be, for man and wife necessarily belonged to two different gentes. The gens as a whole belonged to the phratry, the phratry to the tribe; but in the case of the family, half of it belonged to the gens of the husband and half to that of the wife. The state, too, does not recognise the family in public law; to this day it exists only in civil law. Nevertheless, all our historiography so far takes as its point of departure the absurd assumption, which became inviolable particularly in the eighteenth century, that the monogamian individual family, which is scarcely older than civilisation, is the nucleus around which society and the state gradually crystallised.

"Mr. Grote will also please note," adds Marx,[104] "that although the Greeks traced their gentes to mythology, the gentes are older than mythology with its gods and demigods, which *they themselves* had created."[d]

Grote is quoted with preference by Morgan as a respected

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[a] Cited in W. Wachsmuth's *Hellenische Alterthumskunde aus dem Gesichtspunkte des Staates,* Part 1, Section 1, p. 312.— *Ed.*

[b] W. A. Becker, *Charikles, Bilder altgriechischer Sitte,* Part 2, p. 447.— *Ed.*

[c] The word "strict" was added by Engels in the 1891 edition.— *Ed.*

[d] "Marx's Excerpts...", op. cit., p. 200.— *Ed.*

witness beyond suspicion. He further relates that every Athenian gens had a name derived from its supposed forefather; that before Solon's time as a general rule, and afterwards if a man died intestate, his gentiles (*gennêtes*) inherited his property; and that if a man was murdered, first his relatives, next his gentiles, and finally the phrators of the slain had the right and duty to prosecute the criminal in the courts:

"All that we hear of the most ancient Athenian laws is based upon the gentile and phratric divisions."[a]

The descent of the gentes from common ancestors has been a brain-racking puzzle to the "school-taught Philistines" (Marx).[b] Naturally, since they claim that these ancestors are purely mythical, they are at a loss to explain how the gentes developed out of separate and distinct, originally totally unrelated families; yet they must accomplish this somehow, if only to explain the existence of the gentes. So they circle round in a whirlpool of words and do not get beyond the phrase: the genealogy is indeed mythical, but the gens is real. And finally, Grote says—the bracketed remarks being by Marx—:

"We hear of this genealogy but rarely, because it is only brought before the public in certain cases pre-eminent and venerable. But the humbler gentes had their common rites" (rather peculiar, Mr. Grote!) "and common superhuman ancestor and genealogy, as well as the more celebrated" (how very strange this on the part of *humbler* gentes!); "the scheme and ideal (my dear Sir! Not *ideal,* but carnal—*germanice*[c] *fleischlich*!) basis was the same in all."[d]

Marx sums up Morgan's reply to this as follows: "The system of consanguinity which pertained to the gens in its archaic form—and which the Greeks once possessed like other mortals—preserved a knowledge of the relationships of all the members of a gens to each other. They learned this for them decisively important fact by practice from early childhood. This fell into desuetude with the rise of the monogamian family. The gentile name created a pedigree beside which that of the individual family was insignificant. This name was now to preserve the fact of the common descent of those who bore it; but the lineage of the gens went so far back that its members could no longer prove the actual relationship existing between them, except in a limited number of

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[a] G. Grote, *A History of Greece,* Vol. III, p. 66. See also "Marx's Excerpts...", op. cit., p. 230.—*Ed.*

[b] "Marx's Excerpts...", op. cit., p. 201.—*Ed.*

[c] In plain German.—*Ed.*

[d] Here and below see "Marx's Excerpts...", op. cit., p. 202, and also G. Grote, *A History of Greece,* Vol. III, p. 60.—*Ed.*

cases through recent common ancestors. The name itself was the evidence of a common descent, and conclusive proof, except in cases of adoption. The actual denial of all kinship between gentiles à la Grote[a] and Niebuhr, which transforms the gens into a purely fictitious, fanciful creation of the brain, is, on the other hand, worthy of 'ideal' scientists, that is, of cloistered bookworms. Because the concatenation of the generations, especially with the incipience of monogamy, is removed into the distance, and the reality of the past seems reflected in mythological fantasy, the good old Philistines concluded, and still conclude, that the fancied genealogy created real gentes!" [105]

As among the Americans, the *phratry* was a mother gens, split up into several daughter gentes, and uniting them, often tracing them all to a common ancestor. Thus, according to Grote,

"all the contemporary members of the phratry of Hekataeus had a common god for their ancestor at the sixteenth degree".[b]

Hence, all the gentes of this phratry were literally brother gentes. The phratry still occurs in Homer as a military unit in that famous passage where Nestor advises Agamemnon: Draw up people by tribes and by phratries so that phratry may support phratry, and tribe tribe.[c] Moreover, the phratry has the right and the duty to prosecute the murderer of a phrator, indicating that at an earlier stage it had the duty of blood revenge. Furthermore, it has common shrines and festivals; for the development of all Greek mythology from the traditional old Aryan cult of nature was essentially due to the gentes and phratries and took place within them. The phratry also had a chief (*phratriarchos*) and, according to de Coulanges, assemblies and binding decisions, a tribunal and an administration.[d] Even the state of a later period, while ignoring the gens, left certain public functions to the phratry.

A number of kindred phratries constituted a tribe. In Attica there were four tribes of three phratries each, each phratry consisting of thirty gentes. Such a meticulous demarcation of the groups presupposes a conscious and planned interference with the naturally evolved order of things. On how, when and why this happened Grecian history keeps silent, for the Greeks themselves

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[a] Like Morgan, Marx has "Pollux", a 2nd-century Greek scholar, to whom Grote has frequent references.— *Ed.*

[b] G. Grote, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 58-59. See also "Marx's Excerpts...", op. cit., p. 202.— *Ed.*

[c] Homer, *Iliad,* Canto II.— *Ed.*

[d] Fustel de Coulanges, *La cité antique,* p. 146.— *Ed.*

preserved memories reaching back no further than the Heroic Age.

Closely packed in a comparatively small territory as the Greeks were, their dialectal differences were less developed than those in the extensive American forests. Nevertheless, even here we find only tribes of the same main dialect united in a larger whole; and even little Attica had its own dialect, which was later to become dominant as the universal language of prose.

In the epics of Homer we mostly find the Grecian tribes already combined into small peoples, within which, however, the gentes, phratries and tribes still retained their full independence. They already lived in walled cities. The population increased with the growth of the herds, with field agriculture and the beginnings of the handicrafts. With this came increased differences in wealth, which gave rise to an aristocratic element within the old naturally evolved democracy. The separate small peoples engaged in constant warfare for the possession of the best land and also for the sake of loot. The enslavement of prisoners of war was already a recognised institution.

The constitution of these tribes and small peoples was as follows:

1. The permanent authority was the *council* (*boulê*), originally composed, most likely, of the chiefs of the gentes, but later on, when their number became too large, of a selection, which created the opportunity to develop and strengthen the aristocratic element. Dionysius definitely speaks of the council of the Heroic Age as being composed of notables (*kratistoi*).[a] The council had the final decision in important matters. In Aeschylus, the council of Thebes passes a decision definitive in the given case that the body of Eteocles be buried with full honours, and the body of Polynices be thrown out to be devoured by the dogs.[b] Later, with the rise of the state, this council was transformed into a senate.

2. The *popular assembly* (*agora*). Among the Iroquois we saw that the people, men and women, stood in a circle around the council meetings, taking an orderly part in the discussions and thus influencing its decisions. Among the Homeric Greeks, this *Umstand*,[c] to use an old German legal expression, had already developed into a plenary assembly of the people, as was also the case with the ancient Germans. The assembly was convened by the

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[a] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, II, 12.—*Ed.*

[b] Aeschylus, *The Seven Against Thebes*, III, 2.—*Ed.*

[c] *Umstand*: Those standing around.—*Ed.*

council to decide important matters; every man had the right to speak. Decisions were taken by a show of hands (Aeschylus in *The Suppliants*), or by acclamation. They were sovereign and final, for, as Schoemann says in his *Griechische Alterthümer* [Vol. I, p. 27],

"whenever a matter is discussed that requires the co-operation of the people for its execution, Homer gives us no indication of any means by which the people could be forced into it against their will".

At this time, when every adult male member of the tribe was a warrior, there was as yet no public authority separated from the people that could have been set against it. Naturally evolved democracy was still in full bloom, and this must remain the point of departure in judging the power and status of the council and of the *basileus.*

3. The *military commander* (*basileus*). On this point, Marx makes the following comment: "The European savants, most of them born servants of princes, represent the *basileus* as a monarch in the modern sense. The Yankee republican Morgan objects to this. Very ironically, but, truthfully, he says of the oily Gladstone and his *Juventus Mundi*:

"'Mr. Gladstone, who presents to his readers the Grecian chiefs of the Heroic Age as kings and princes, with the superadded qualities of gentlemen, is forced to admit that on the whole we seem to have the custom or law of primogeniture sufficiently, but not oversharply defined.'"[a]

As a matter of fact, Mr. Gladstone himself must realise that such a contingent system of primogeniture, sufficiently but not oversharply defined, is as good as none at all.

What the position as regards heredity was in the case of the offices of chiefs among the Iroquois and other Indians we have already seen. All officials were elected, mostly within the gens, and were, to that extent, hereditary in the gens. Gradually, vacancies came to be filled preferably by the next gentile relative—the brother or the sister's son—unless good reasons existed for passing him over. The fact that in Greece, under father right, the office of *basileus* was generally transmitted to the son, or one of the sons, only indicates that the probability of succession by public election was in favour of the sons; but it by no means implies legally binding succession without public election. What we have here, among the Iroquois and Greeks, are the first rudiments of special aristocratic families within the gentes and, among the Greeks, also the first rudiments of a future hereditary chieftain-

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[a] L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society,* p. 248; "Marx's Excerpts...", op. cit., p. 206.— *Ed.*

ship or monarchy. Hence it is to be supposed that among the Greeks the *basileus* was either elected by the people or, at least, had to be confirmed by its recognised organs—the council or the *agora*—as was the case with the Roman "king" (*rex*).

In the *Iliad* the ruler of men, Agamemnon, appears, not as the supreme king of the Greeks, but as supreme commander of a federal army before a besieged city. And when dissension broke out among the Greeks, it is to this quality of his that Odysseus points in the famous passage: the rule of many is not a good thing; let us have one commander, etc. (to which the popular verse about the sceptre was added later).[a] "Odysseus is not here lecturing on the form of government, but is demanding obedience to the supreme commander of the army in the field. For the Greeks, who appear before Troy only as an army, the proceedings in the *agora* are sufficiently democratic. When speaking of gifts, that is, the division of the spoils, Achilles never makes Agamemnon or some other *basileus* the divider, but always the 'sons of the Achaeans', i.e. the people. The attributes 'begotten of Zeus', 'nourished by Zeus', do not prove anything because *every* gens is descended from some god, and the gens of the tribal chief from a 'prominent' god, in this case Zeus. Even personally unfree, such as the swineherd Eumaeus and others, are 'divine' (*dioi* or *theioi*), and this in the *Odyssey,* and hence in a much later period than the *Iliad.* Likewise in the *Odyssey,* we find the name of *heros* given to the herald Mulios as well as to the blind bard Demodocus.[b] In short, the word *basileia,* which the Greek writers apply to Homer's so-called kingship (because military leadership is its chief distinguishing mark), with the council and popular assembly alongside of it, means merely—military democracy." (Marx.)[c]

Besides military functions, the *basileus* also had priestly and judicial functions; the latter were not clearly specified, but the former he exercised in his capacity of supreme representative of the tribe, or of the confederacy of tribes. There is no reference anywhere to civil, administrative functions; but it seems that he was *ex officio* a member of the council. Etymologically, it is quite correct to translate *basileus* as *König* (king), because *König* (*kuning*)

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[a] Homer, *Iliad,* Canto II.—*Ed.*

[b] In "Marx's Excerpts..." here follows the sentence omitted by Engels: "the term *kairanos* used by Odysseus along with *basileus,* in regard to Agamemnon, also means merely 'commander in the field' ".—*Ed.*

[c] "Marx's Excerpts...", op. cit., p. 207. Marx quotes Morgan (*Ancient Society,* pp. 248-49) with some additions. Engels also makes some abridgements and changes here.—*Ed.*

is derived from *kuni, künne,* and signifies chief of a gens. But the ancient Greek *basileus* in no way corresponds to the modern meaning of the word *König.* Thucydides expressly refers to the old *basileia* as *patrikê,* that is, derived from gentes, and states that it had specified, hence restricted, functions.[a] And Aristotle says that the *basileia* of the Heroic Age was a leadership over freemen, and that the *basileus* was a military chief, judge and high priest.[b] Hence, the *basileus* had no governmental power in the later sense.*

Thus, in the Grecian constitution of the Heroic Age, we still find the old gentile system full of vigour; but we also see the beginning of its decay: father right and the inheritance of property by the children, which favoured the accumulation of wealth in the family and gave the latter power as against the gens; differentiation in wealth affecting in turn the social constitution by creating the first rudiments of a hereditary nobility and monarchy; slavery, first limited to prisoners of war, but already opening up the prospect of the enslavement of fellow members of the tribe and even of the gens; the degeneration of the old intertribal warfare into systematic robbery on land and sea for the purpose of capturing cattle, slaves and treasure, into a regular source of income. In short, wealth is praised and respected as the highest treasure, and the old gentile systems are abused in order to justify forcible robbery of wealth. Only one thing was missing: an institution that would not only safeguard the newly acquired wealth of individuals against the communistic traditions of the gentile system, would not only sanctify private property, formerly held in such low esteem, and pronounce this sanctification the supreme purpose of every human society, but would also stamp the successively developing new forms of acquiring property, and consequently, of constantly accelerating the increase in wealth,

* Like the Grecian *basileus,* the Aztec military chief has been wrongly presented as a prince in the modern sense. Morgan was the first to subject to historical criticism the reports of the Spaniards, who at first misunderstood and exaggerated, and later deliberately misrepresented things; he showed that the Mexicans were in the middle stage of barbarism, but on a higher plane than the New Mexican Pueblo Indians,[106] and that their constitution, so far as the garbled accounts enable us to judge, corresponded to the following: a confederacy of three tribes, which had made a number of others tributary, and which was governed by a Federal Council and a federal military chief, whom the Spaniards had made into an "emperor". [See L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society,* pp. 186-214.— *Ed.*]

[a] Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War,* Book I, Ch. 13.— *Ed.*
[b] Aristotle, *Politics,* Book III, Ch. 10.— *Ed.*

with the seal of general public recognition; an institution that would perpetuate, not only the arising class division of society, but also the right of the possessing class to exploit the non-possessing classes and the rule of the former over the latter.

And this institution arrived. The *state* was invented.

## V

## THE EMERGENCE OF THE ATHENIAN STATE

How the state developed, with some of the organs of the gentile constitution being transformed, some displaced, by the intrusion of new organs, and, finally, all superseded by real state authorities—while the place of the actual "people in arms" defending themselves through their gentes, phratries and tribes was taken by an armed "public power" at the service of these state authorities and, therefore, also usable against the people—all this can nowhere be better traced, at least in its initial stage, than in ancient Athens. The changes in form are, in the main, described by Morgan; the economic content which gave rise to them I had largely to add myself.

In the Heroic Age, the four tribes of the Athenians were still installed in separate parts of Attica. Even the twelve phratries comprising them seem still to have had separate seats in the twelve towns of Cecrops. The constitution was that of the Heroic Age: a popular assembly, a popular council, a *basileus*. As far back as written history goes we find the land already divided up and transformed into private property, which corresponds with the relatively developed commodity production and the commodity trade that went with it towards the end of the higher stage of barbarism. In addition to cereals, wine and oil were produced. Maritime commerce on the Aegean Sea passed more and more from Phoenician into Attic hands. As a result of the purchase and sale of landed property and the advancing division of labour between agriculture and handicrafts, trade and navigation, the members of gentes, phratries and tribes very soon intermingled. The districts of the phratry and the tribe received inhabitants who, although they were fellow countrymen, did not belong to these bodies and, therefore, were outsiders in their own place of abode. For in times of calm every phratry and every tribe administered its own affairs without consulting the popular council or the *basileus* in Athens. But inhabitants of the area of the phratry or tribe not

belonging to either naturally could not take part in this administration.

This disturbed the normal functioning of the organs of the gentile constitution so much that a remedy was needed as far back as the Heroic Age. A constitution, attributed to Theseus, was introduced. The main feature of this change was the institution of a central administration in Athens, i.e., some of the affairs that hitherto had been administered independently by the tribes were declared to be common affairs and transferred to a general council sitting in Athens. Thereby, the Athenians went a step further than any indigenous people in America had ever gone: the simple confederacy of neighbouring tribes was now supplanted by their coalescence into one single people. This gave rise to a general Athenian popular law, which stood above the legal customs of the tribes and gentes. It bestowed on the citizens of Athens, as such, certain rights and additional legal protection even in territory where they were aliens. This, however, was the first step towards undermining the gentile constitution; for it was the first step towards the subsequent admission of citizens who were alien to all the Attic tribes and were and remained entirely outside the pale of the Athenian gentile constitution. A second institution attributed to Theseus was the division of the entire people, irrespective of gentes, phratries and tribes, into three classes: *eupatrides,* or nobles; *geomoroi,* or tillers of the land; and *demiurgi,* or artisans, and the granting to the nobles of the exclusive right to public office. True, apart from reserving for the nobles the right to hold public office, this division had no effect, as it created no other legal distinctions between the classes.[a] It is important, however, because it reveals to us the new social elements that had quietly developed. It shows that the customary holding of office in the gens by certain families had already developed into an entitlement of these families that was little contested; that these families, already powerful owing to their wealth, began to unite outside of their gentes into a privileged class of their own; and that the nascent state sanctified this presumptuousness. It shows, furthermore, that the division of labour between husbandmen and artisans had already become strong enough to call into question, in the social sense, the supremacy of the old division into gentes and tribes. And finally, it proclaimed the irreconcilable antagonism between gentile society and the state. The first attempt to form a state consisted in breaking up the gentes by dividing the members

[a] In the 1884 edition the end of the sentence reads: "as the two other classes got no special rights".— *Ed.*

of each into a privileged and an inferior class, and the latter again into two vocational classes, thus setting one against the other.

The ensuing political history of Athens up to the time of Solon is only incompletely known. The office of *basileus* fell into disuse; *archons,* elected from among the nobility, became the heads of the state. The rule of the nobility steadily increased until, round about 600 B.C., it became unbearable. The principal means for stifling common liberty were—money and usury. The nobility lived mainly in and around Athens, where maritime commerce, with occasional piracy still as a sideline, enriched it and concentrated monetary wealth in its hands. From this point the developing money system penetrated like corroding nitric acid into the traditional life of the rural communities founded on the natural economy. The gentile constitution is absolutely incompatible with the money system. The ruin of the Attic small-holding peasants coincided with the loosening of the old gentile bonds that protected them. Creditor's bills and mortgage bonds—for by then the Athenians had also invented the mortgage—respected neither the gens nor the phratry. But the old gentile constitution knew nothing of money, credit and monetary debt. Hence the constantly expanding money rule of the nobility gave rise to a new body of common law to protect the creditor against the debtor and sanction the exploitation of the small peasant by the money owner. All the fields of Attica bristled with mortgage posts bearing the legend that the lot on which they stood was mortgaged to so and so for so and so much. The fields that were not so designated had for the most part been sold on account of overdue mortgages or non-payment of interest and had become the property of the noble-born usurers; the peasant was glad if he was permitted to remain as a tenant and live on *one-sixth* of the product of his labour while paying *five-sixths* to his new master as rent. More than that: if the sum obtained from the sale of the lot did not cover the debt, or if such a debt was not secured by a pledge, the debtor had to sell his children into slavery abroad in order to satisfy the creditor's claim. The sale of his children by the father—such was the first fruit of father right and monogamy! And if the blood-sucker was still unsatisfied, he could sell the debtor himself into slavery. Such was the pleasant dawn of civilisation among the Athenian people.

Previously, when the conditions of life of the people were still in keeping with the gentile constitution, such a revolution would have been impossible; but here it had come about nobody knew how. Let us return for a moment to our Iroquois. Among them a state

of affairs like that which had now imposed itself on the Athenians without their own doing, so to say, and certainly against their will, was inconceivable. There the mode of production of the means of subsistence, which, year in and year out, remained unchanged, could never give rise to such conflicts, imposed from without, as it were; to antagonism between rich and poor, between exploiters and exploited. The Iroquois were still far from controlling the forces of nature but within the limits set for them by nature they were masters of their production. Apart from poor harvests in their little gardens, the exhaustion of the fish stocks in their lakes and rivers, or of game in their forests, they knew what the outcome would be of their mode of gaining a livelihood. The outcome would be: means of sustenance, meagre or abundant; but it could never be unpremeditated social upheavals, the severing of gentile bonds, or the splitting of the members of gentes and tribes into antagonistic classes fighting each other. Production was carried on within the most restricted limits, but—the producers exercised control over their own product. This was the immense advantage of barbarian production that was lost with the advent of civilisation; and to win it back on the basis of the enormous control man now exercises over the forces of nature, and of the free association that is now possible, will be the task of the next generations.

Not so among the Greeks. The appearance of private property in herds and articles of luxury led to exchange between individuals, to the transformation of products into *commodities*. Here lies the root of the entire revolution that followed. As soon as producers no longer directly consumed their product, but surrendered it in the course of exchange, they lost control over it. They no longer knew what became of it, and the possibility arose that the product might some day be turned against the producer, used as a means of exploiting and oppressing him. Hence, no society can for long remain master of its own production and continue to control the social effects of its production process, unless it abolishes exchange between individuals.

The Athenians were to learn, however, how quickly after individual exchange is established and products are converted into commodities, the product brings to bear its rule over the producer. With the production of commodities came the tilling of the soil by individual cultivators for their own account, soon followed by individual ownership of the land. There also came money, that universal commodity for which all others could be exchanged. But when men invented money they little suspected

that they were creating a new social power, the one universal power to which the whole of society must bow. It was this new power, suddenly sprung into existence without the knowledge or will of its own creators, which, in all the brutality of its youth, exposed the Athenians to its rule.

What was to be done? The old gentile organisation had not only proved impotent against the triumphant march of money; it was also absolutely incapable of even providing a place within its framework for such things as money, creditors, debtors and the forcible collection of debts. But the new social power was there, and neither pious wishes nor a longing for the return of the good old times could drive money and usury out of existence. Moreover, a number of other, minor breaches had been made in the gentile constitution. The indiscriminate mingling of the gentiles and phrators throughout the whole of Attica, and especially in the city of Athens itself, had increased from generation to generation, in spite of the fact that an Athenian, while allowed to sell plots of land out of his gens, was still prohibited from thus selling his dwelling. The division of labour between the different branches of production—agriculture, handicrafts, numerous skills within the various crafts, trade, navigation, etc.—had developed more and more fully with the progress of industry and commerce. The population was now divided according to occupation into rather well-established groups, each of which had a number of new, common interests that found no place in the gens or phratry and, therefore, necessitated the creation of new offices to attend to them. The number of slaves had increased considerably and must have far exceeded that of the free Athenians even then. The gentile constitution originally knew no slavery and, therefore, no means of holding this mass of bondsmen in check. And finally, commerce had attracted a great many outsiders to Athens who settled there because it was easier to make money there, and according to the old constitution these outsiders enjoyed neither rights nor the protection of the law. In spite of traditional toleration, they remained a disturbingly alien element among the people.

In short, the gentile constitution was coming to an end. Society was outgrowing it by the day; it was powerless to allay or check even the worst evils that were arising under its very eyes. In the meantime, however, the state had developed. The new groups formed by division of labour, first between town and country, then between the various branches of urban industry, had created new organs to protect their interests. Public offices of every description

had been instituted. And then the young state needed, above all, its own fighting forces, which among the seafaring Athenians could at first be only naval forces, to be used for occasional minor wars and to protect merchant vessels. At some uncertain time before Solon, the naucraries were instituted, small territorial districts, twelve in each tribe. Every naucrary had to supply, equip and man a war vessel and, in addition, provided two horsemen. This arrangement was a twofold attack on the gentile constitution. First, it created a public power which was no longer simply identical with the armed people in their totality; secondly, for the first time it divided the people for public purposes, not according to kinship groups, but according to *common domicile.* We shall see what this signified.

As the gentile constitution could not come to the assistance of the exploited people, they could look only to the emerging state. And the state brought help in the form of the constitution of Solon, while at the same time strengthening itself anew at the expense of the old constitution. Solon—the manner in which his reform of 594 B.C. was carried out does not concern us here—started the series of so-called political revolutions by an encroachment on property. All revolutions to date have been revolutions for the protection of one kind of property against another kind of property. They cannot protect one kind without violating another. In the Great French Revolution feudal property was sacrificed in order to save bourgeois property; in Solon's revolution, creditors' property had to suffer for the benefit of debtors' property. The debts were simply annulled. We are not acquainted with the exact details, but Solon boasts in his poems that he removed the mortgage posts from the encumbered lands and enabled all who had been sold or had fled abroad because of debt to return home. This could have been done only by openly violating property rights. And indeed, the object of all so-called political revolutions, from first to last, was to protect *one* kind of property by confiscating—also called stealing—*another* kind of property. This is so true that for 2,500 years it has been possible to maintain private property only by violating property rights.

But now a way had to be found to prevent such re-enslavement of the free Athenians. This was first achieved by general measures; for example, the prohibition of contracts which involved the mortgaging of the debtor's person. Furthermore, a maximum was fixed for the amount of landed property any one individual could own, in order to put some curb, at least, on the voracious craving of the nobility for the peasants' land. Then followed

constitutional amendments, of which the most important for us are the following:

The council was increased to four hundred members, one hundred from each tribe. Here, then, the tribe was still the basis. But this was the only side of the old constitution that was incorporated in the new body politic. For the rest, Solon divided the citizens into four classes, according to the amount of land owned and its yield. Five hundred, three hundred and one hundred and fifty medimni of grain (1 medimnus=appr. 41 litres) were the minimum yields for the first three classes; whoever had less land or none at all belonged to the fourth class. Only members of the first three classes could hold office; the highest offices were filled exclusively by the first class. The fourth class had only the right to speak and vote in the popular assembly. But it was here that all officials were elected, here that they had to give account of their actions, here that all the laws were made, and here that the fourth class was in the majority. The aristocratic privileges were partly renewed in the form of privileges of wealth, but the people retained the decisive power. The four classes also formed the basis for the reorganisation of the fighting forces. The first two classes furnished the cavalry; the third had to serve as heavy infantry; the fourth served as light infantry, without armour, or in the navy, in which case they probably were paid.

Thus, an entirely new element was introduced into the constitution: private ownership. The rights and duties of the citizens of the state were graded according to the amount of land they owned; and as the propertied classes gained influence the old consanguine groups were displaced. The gentile constitution suffered another defeat.

The gradation of political rights according to property, however, was not an indispensable institution for the state. Important as it may have been in the constitutional history of states, nevertheless, a good many states, and the most developed at that, did without it. Even in Athens it played only a transient role. From the time of Aristides, all offices were open to all the citizens.[107]

During the next eighty years Athenian society gradually found its way to the path along which it continued to develop in subsequent centuries. Usurious land operations, rampant in the pre-Solon period, were checked, as was the excessive concentration of landed property. Commerce and the arts and crafts conducted on an ever-increasing scale with slave labour became the predominant branches of industry. People became more enlightened. Instead of exploiting their own fellow-citizens in the old brutal

manner, the Athenians now exploited mainly the slaves and non-Athenian clients. Movable property, wealth in money, slaves and ships, increased more and more; but instead of being simply a means for acquiring landed property, as in the initial, bigoted period, they became an end in themselves. This, on the one hand, gave rise to the successful competition of the new, wealthy industrial and commercial class against the old power of the nobility, but, on the other hand, it deprived the remnants of the old gentile constitution of their last foothold. The gentes, phratries and tribes, whose members were now scattered all over Attica and lived completely intermingled, thus became quite unsuitable for political bodies. A large number of Athenian citizens did not belong to any gens; they were immigrants who had been adopted into citizenship sure enough but not into any of the old bodies of *consanguinei.* Besides, there was a steadily increasing number of foreign immigrants who only enjoyed protection.[108]

Meanwhile, the struggles of the parties proceeded. The nobility tried to regain its former privileges and for a short time got the upper hand again, until the revolution of Cleisthenes (509 B.C.) brought about its ultimate downfall; and with it fell the last remnants of the gentile constitution.[109]

In his new constitution, Cleisthenes ignored the four old tribes based on the gentes and phratries. Their place was taken by an entirely new organisation based exclusively on the division of the citizens according to place of abode, already attempted in the naucraries. Not membership of a body of *consanguinei,* but place of abode was now the deciding factor. Not people, but territory was now divided; politically, the inhabitants became mere adjuncts of the territory.

The whole of Attica was divided into one hundred self-governing districts, or demes. The citizens of a deme (demots) elected their head (demarch), a treasurer and thirty judges with jurisdiction in minor cases. They also received their own temple and a tutelary god, or *heros,* whose priests they elected. The supreme power in the deme was the assembly of the demots. This, as Morgan correctly remarks, is the prototype of the self-governing American township.[a] The modern state in its highest form ends with the very unit with which the rising state in Athens began.

Ten of these units (demes) formed a tribe, which, however, as distinct from the old kinship tribe, was now called a territorial

[a] L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society,* p. 271.—*Ed.*

tribe. The territorial tribe was not only a self-governing political body, but also a military body. It elected a phylarch or tribal head, who commanded the cavalry, a taxiarch, who commanded the infantry, and a *strategos,* who was in command of the entire contingent levied in the tribal territory. Furthermore, it furnished five war vessels with crews and commander; and it received an Attic *heros,* by whose name it was called, as its patron saint. Finally, it elected fifty councillors to the council of Athens.

The consummation was the Athenian state, governed by a council of five hundred—elected by the ten tribes—and, in the last instance, by the popular assembly, which every Athenian citizen could attend and vote in. Moreover, archons and other officials attended to the different departments of administration and the courts. In Athens there was no official possessing supreme executive authority.

By this new constitution, and by the admission of a very large number of wards, partly immigrants and partly freed slaves, the organs of the gentile constitution were ousted from public affairs. They sank to the position of private societies and religious associations. But their moral influence, the traditional conceptions and views of the old gentile period, were passed on for a long time and expired only gradually. This manifested itself in another state institution.

We have seen that an essential feature of the state is a public power distinct from the mass of the people. At that time Athens possessed only a militia and a navy manned directly by the people. These afforded protection against external enemies and held in check the slaves who at that time already constituted the great majority of the population. For the citizens, this public power at first existed only in the shape of the police force, which is as old as the state, and that is why the naïve Frenchmen of the eighteenth century spoke, not of civilised, but of policed nations (*nations policées*). Thus, simultaneously with their state, the Athenians established a police force, a veritable gendarmerie of bowmen on foot and horseback—*Landjäger,* as they say in South Germany and Switzerland. But this gendarmerie consisted—of *slaves.* The free Athenian regarded this dirty work as being so degrading that he preferred being arrested by an armed slave rather than perform such ignominious acts himself. This was still an expression of the old gentile mentality. The state could not exist without a police force, but it was still young and did not yet command sufficient moral respect to give prestige to an occupation that was bound to appear infamous to the old gentiles.

How well this state, now complete in its main features, suited the new social condition of the Athenians was apparent from the rapid flourishing of wealth, commerce and industry. The class antagonism on which the social and political institutions rested was no longer that between the nobles and the common people, but that between slaves and freemen, wards and citizens. When Athens was in its heyday the total number of free Athenian citizens, women and children included, amounted to about 90,000; the slaves of both sexes numbered 365,000, and the wards—immigrants and freed men—45,000. Thus, for every adult male citizen there were at least eighteen slaves and more than two wards. The large number of slaves is explained by the fact that many of them worked together in manufactories, large rooms, under overseers. But with the development of commerce and industry came the accumulation and concentration of wealth in few hands; the mass of the free citizens were impoverished and had to choose between competing with slave labour by going into handicrafts themselves, which was considered ignoble and base and, moreover, promised little success—and complete pauperisation. Under the prevailing circumstances what inevitably happened was the latter, and, being in the majority, they dragged the whole Athenian state down with them. It was not democracy that caused the downfall of Athens, as the European schoolmasters who fawn upon royalty would have us believe, but slavery, which brought the labour of the free citizen into contempt.

The emergence of the state among the Athenians represents a very typical model of state building in general; because, on the one hand, it took place in an entirely pure form, without the interference of violence, external or internal (the short period of usurpation by Pisistratus left no trace behind it[110]); because, on the other hand, it gave rise to a highly developed form of state, the democratic republic, directly from gentile society; and lastly, because we are sufficiently acquainted with all the essential details.

## VI

## THE GENS AND THE STATE IN ROME

According to the legend about the foundation of Rome, the first settlement was undertaken by a number of Latin gentes (one hundred, the legend says) united into one tribe. A Sabellian tribe, also said to consist of one hundred gentes, soon followed, and finally a third tribe of various elements, again allegedly of one

hundred gentes, joined them. The whole story reveals at the very first glance that there was hardly anything naturally evolved except the gens, and that the gens itself, in some cases, was only an offshoot of a mother gens still existing in the old habitat. The tribes bear the mark of having been artificially constituted; nevertheless, they consisted mostly of kindred elements and were formed on the model of the old, naturally grown, not artificially constituted, tribe; and it is not impossible that an actual old tribe formed the nucleus of each of these three tribes. The middle link, the phratry, contained ten gentes and was called the *curia*. Hence, there were thirty of them.

That the Roman gens was an institution identical with the Grecian gens is a recognised fact; if the Grecian gens was a more advanced form of the social unit the primitive form of which is presented by the American Redskins, then the same, naturally, holds good for the Roman gens. Hence, we can be briefer in its treatment.

At least during the earliest times of the city, the Roman gens had the following constitution:

1. Mutual right of inheritance of the gentiles; the property remained in the gens. Since father right was already in force in the Roman gens, as it was in the Grecian gens, the offspring of female lineage were excluded. According to the law of the Twelve Tables, the oldest written Roman law known to us,[111] the natural children had the first title to the estate; in case no natural children existed, the agnates (kin of *male* lineage) took their place; and in their absence came the gentiles. In all cases the property remained in the gens. Here we observe the gradual infiltration into gentile practice of new legal provisions born of increased wealth and monogamy: the originally equal right of inheritance of the gentiles was first limited in practice to the agnates—probably at an early stage, as mentioned above—and eventually to the children and their offspring in the male line. Of course, in the Twelve Tables this appears in reverse order.

2. Possession of a common burial place. The patrician gens Claudia, on immigrating to Rome from Regili, was allocated a plot, and also a common burial place in the city. Even under Augustus, the head of Varus, who had fallen in the Teutoburg Forest,[112] was brought to Rome and interred in the *gentilitius tumulus*[a]; hence, the gens (Quinctilia) still had a separate burial mound.[b]

[a] Burial mound of the gens.— *Ed.*

[b] The end of the sentence from the words "hence, the gens" was added in the 1891 edition.— *Ed.*

3. Common religious celebrations. These, the *sacra gentilitia,* are well known.

4. Obligation not to marry within the gens. In Rome this does not appear to have ever become a written law, but the custom remained. Of the innumerable names of Roman married couples that have come down to our day there is not a single case where husband and wife have the same gentile name. The law of inheritance also proves this rule. A woman by her marriage forfeited her agnatic rights, left her gens, and neither she nor her children could inherit from her father, or his brothers, for otherwise the father's gens would lose part of the inheritance. This rule has a meaning only on the assumption that the woman was not permitted to marry a member of her own gens.

5. Possession of land in common. In primeval times this always existed since the tribal territory was first divided. Among the Latin tribes we find the land partly in the possession of the tribe, partly of the gens, and partly of households that at that time hardly[a] represented single families. Romulus is credited with having been the first to assign land to individuals, about a hectare (two *jugera*) to each. Nevertheless, even later we still find land in the hands of the gentes, not to mention state lands, around which turned the whole internal history of the republic.

6. Obligation of gentiles to protect and assist one another. Written history records only paltry remnants of this; from the outset the Roman state manifested such superior power that the right to redress injury was transferred to it. When Appius Claudius was arrested, his whole gens, even his personal enemies, went into mourning. At the time of the second Punic War[113] the gentes united to ransom their fellow gentiles who were in captivity; the senate *forbade* them to do this.

7. Right to bear the gentile name. This was in force until the time of the emperors. Freed men were permitted to assume the gentile names of their former masters, but without gentile rights.

8. Right of adopting outsiders into the gens. This was done by adoption into a family (as among the American Indians), which brought with it adoption into the gens.

9. The right to elect and depose chiefs is nowhere mentioned. Inasmuch, however, as during the initial period of Rome's existence all offices, from the elective king downward, were filled by election or appointment, and as the *curiae* elected also their own priests, we may assume that the same existed in regard to the

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[a] The 1884 edition has "not necessarily" instead of "at that time hardly".—*Ed.*

gentile chiefs (*principes*)—no matter how well-established the rule of election from one and the same family in the gens may have already been.

Such were the powers of a Roman gens. With the exception of the already completed transition to father right, they are the faithful image of the rights and duties of an Iroquois gens. Here, too, "the Iroquois is unmistakably discerned".[a]

Of the confusion[b] that still reigns even among our most authoritative historians on the question of the Roman gentile order here only one example: In his treatise on Roman proper names of the Republican and Augustinian eras (*Römische Forschungen,* Berlin, 1864, Vol. I), Mommsen writes:

"The gentile name is not only borne by all male gentiles, including adopted persons and wards, except, of course, the slaves, but also by the women.... The tribe [*Stamm*]" (as Mommsen here translates *gens*) "is ... a community derived from a common—actual, assumed or even invented—ancestor and united by common rites, burial places and inheritance. All personally free individuals, hence women also, may and must be allocated to it. But determining the gentile name of a married woman presents some difficulty. This indeed did not exist as long as women were prohibited from marrying anyone but members of their own gens; and evidently for a long time the women found it much more difficult to marry outside the gens than within it. This right, the *gentis enuptio,*[c] was still bestowed as a personal privilege and reward during the sixth century.... But wherever such outside marriages occurred the woman in primeval times must have been transferred to the tribe of her husband. Nothing is more certain than that by the old religious marriage the woman fully joined the legal and sacral community of her husband and left her own. Who does not know that the married woman forfeits her active and passive right of inheritance in respect to her gentiles, but enters the inheritance group of her husband, her children and his gentiles? And if her husband adopts her as his child and brings her into his family, how can she remain separated from his gens?" (pp. 8-11).

Thus, Mommsen asserts that Roman women belonging to a certain gens were originally free to marry only *within* their gens; the Roman gens, therefore, was endogamous, not exogamous. This opinion, which contradicts all experience among other peoples, is principally, if not exclusively, based on a single, much disputed passage in Livy (Book XXXIX, Ch. 19) according to which the senate decreed in the year of the City 568, that is, 186 B.C.,

*uti Feceniae Hispalae datio, deminutio, gentis enuptio, tutoris optio item esset quasi ei vir testamento dedisset; utique ei ingenuo nubere liceret, neu quid ei qui eam duxisset, ob id fraudi ignominiaeve esset*—that Fecenia Hispala shall have the right to dispose of her

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[a] "Marx's Excerpts...", op. cit., p. 198. The quotation is abridged.—*Ed.*

[b] The text from here to the words "Almost three hundred years after the foundation of Rome" (see p. 228) was added in the 1891 edition.—*Ed.*

[c] Of marrying outside the gens.—*Ed.*

property, to diminish it, to marry outside of the gens, to choose a guardian, just as if her (deceased) husband had conferred this right on her by testament; that she shall be permitted to marry a freeman and that for the man who marries her this shall not constitute a misdemeanour or disgrace.[a]

Undoubtedly, Fecenia, a freed woman, here obtained permission to marry outside of the gens. And it is equally doubtless, according to this, that the husband had the right to confer on his wife by testament the right to marry outside the gens after his death. But outside *which* gens?

If a woman had to marry within her gens, as Mommsen assumes, then she remained in this gens after her marriage. In the first place, however, this assertion that the gens was endogamous is the very thing to be proved. In the second place, if the woman had to marry in the gens, then naturally the man had to do the same, otherwise he could never get a wife. Then we arrive at a state where a man could by testament confer on his wife a right which he did not possess himself for his own enjoyment; we arrive at a legal absurdity. Mommsen realises this, and therefore conjectures:

"Marriage outside of the gens most probably required in law not only the consent of the person authorised, but of all members of the gens" (p. 10, note).

First, this is a very bold assumption; and second, it contradicts the clear wording of the passage. The senate gives her this right as her *husband's proxy*; it expressly gives her no more and no less than her husband could have given her; but what it does give is an *absolute* right, not dependent on any other restriction, so that, if she should make use of it, her new husband shall not suffer in consequence. The senate even instructs the present and future consuls and praetors to see that she suffers no hardship from the use of this right. Mommsen's supposition, therefore, appears to be absolutely inadmissible.

Then again: suppose a woman married a man from another gens, but remained in the gens into which she was born. According to the passage quoted above, her husband would then have the right to permit his wife to marry out of her own gens. That is, he would have the right to make provisions in regard to the affairs of a gens to which he did not belong at all. The thing is so utterly absurd that we need say no more about it.

Nothing remains but to assume that in her first marriage the woman wedded a man from another gens and thereby became without more ado a member of her husband's gens, which

[a] [Titus Livius] *Titi Livi ab urbe condita libri*, pp. 36-37.—*Ed.*

Mommsen actually admits for such cases. Then the whole matter at once explains itself. The woman, torn from her old gens by her marriage, and adopted into the new gentile group of her husband occupies a quite special position there. She is now a gentile, but not akin by blood; the manner in which she was adopted excludes from the outset all prohibition of her marrying within the gens into which she has entered by marriage. She has, moreover, been adopted into the marriage group of the gens and on her husband's death inherits some of his property, that is to say, the property of a fellow member of the gens. What is more natural than that this property should remain in the gens and that she should be obliged to marry a member of her first husband's gens and no other? If, however, an exception is to be made, who is more competent to authorise this than the man who bequeathed this property to her, her first husband? At the time he bequeathed a part of his property to her and simultaneously gave her permission to transfer this part of property to another gens by marriage, or as a result of marriage, this property still belonged to him; hence he was literally only disposing of his own property. As for the woman and her relation to her husband's gens, it was the husband who, by an act of his own free will—the marriage—introduced her into his gens. Thus, it appears quite natural, too, that he should be the proper person to authorise her to leave this gens by another marriage. In short, the matter appears simple and obvious as soon as we discard the strange conception of an endogamous Roman gens and, with Morgan, regard it as having originally been exogamous.

Finally, there is still another assumption, which has also found its advocates, and probably the most numerous, namely, that the passage only means

> "that freed slave girls (*libertae*) cannot, without special permission, *e gente enubere*" (marry outside the gens) "or take any step which, being connected with *capitis deminutio minima*,[a] would result in the *liberta* leaving the gentile group." (Lange, *Römische Alterthümer*, Berlin, 1856, I, p. 195, where the passage we have taken from Livy is commented on in a reference to Huschke.[b])

If this assumption is correct, the passage proves still less as regards the status of free-born Roman women, and there is so much less ground for speaking of their obligation to marry within the gens.

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[a] Restriction of civil rights.— *Ed.*

[b] Lange refers to Ph. Huschke's *De Privilegiis Feceniae Hispalae senatusconsulto concessis* (XXXIX, 19).— *Ed.*

The expression *enuptio gentis* occurs only in this single passage and is not found anywhere else in the whole of Roman literature. The word *enubere,* to marry outside, is found only three times, also in Livy, and not in reference to the gens. The fantastic idea that Roman women were permitted to marry only within their gens owes its existence solely to this single passage. But it cannot be sustained in the least; for either the passage refers to special restrictions for freed women, in which case it proves nothing for free-born women (*ingenuae*); or it applies also to free-born women, in which case it rather proves that the women as a rule married outside their gens and were by their marriage transferred to their husbands' gentes. Hence it speaks against Mommsen and for Morgan.

Almost three hundred years after the foundation of Rome the gentile bonds were still so strong that a patrician gens, the Fabians, with permission from the senate, was able to undertake off its own back an expedition against the neighbouring town of Veji. Three hundred and six Fabians are said to have set out and to have been killed in an ambush. A single boy, left behind, propagated the gens.

As we have said, ten gentes formed a phratry, which here was called a *curia,* and was endowed with more important social functions than the Grecian phratry. Every *curia* had its own religious practices, sacred relics and priests. The latter in a body formed one of the Roman colleges of priests. Ten *curiae* formed a tribe, which probably had originally its own elected chief—military chief and high priest—like the rest of the Latin tribes. The three tribes together formed the Roman people, the *populus Romanus.*

Thus, only those could belong to the Roman people who were members of a gens, and hence of a *curia* and tribe. The first constitution of this people was as follows. Public affairs were conducted at first by the senate composed, as Niebuhr was the first to state correctly, of the chiefs of the three hundred gentes[a]; precisely for this reason, as the elders of the gentes, they were called fathers, *patres,* and, as a body, senate (council of elders, from *senex,* old). Here too the customary choice of men always from the same family in each gens brought into being the first hereditary nobility. These families called themselves patricians and claimed the exclusive right to the seats in the senate and to all other offices. The fact that in the course of time the people acquiesced this claim so that it became an actual right is expressed

[a] B. G. Niebuhr, *Römische Geschichte,* Part 1, p. 352.—*Ed.*

in the legend that Romulus bestowed the rank of patrician and its privileges on the first senators and their descendants. The senate, like the Athenian *boulê,* had power to decide in many affairs and to undertake the preliminary discussion of more important matters, especially of new laws. These were decided by the popular assembly, called *comitia curiata* (assembly of *curiae*). The assembled people were grouped by *curiae,* in each *curia* probably by gentes, and in decision-making each of the thirty *curiae* had one vote. The assembly of *curiae* adopted or rejected all laws, elected all higher officials including the *rex* (so-called king), declared war (but the senate concluded peace), and decided as a supreme court, on appeal of the parties, all cases involving capital punishment for Roman citizens.—Finally, by the side of the senate and the popular assembly stood the *rex,* corresponding exactly to the Grecian *basileus,* and by no means such an almost absolute monarch as Mommsen[a] depicts him.* The *rex* also was military commander, high priest and presiding officer of certain courts. He had no civil functions, or any power over life, liberty and property of the citizens whatever, except such as resulted from his disciplinary power as military commander or from his power to execute sentence as presiding officer of the court. The office of *rex* was not hereditary; on the contrary, he was first elected, probably on the nomination of his predecessor, by the assembly of *curiae* and then solemnly invested by a second assembly. That he could also be deposed is proved by the fate of Tarquinius Superbus.

Like the Greeks in the Heroic Age, the Romans at the time of the so-called kings lived in a military democracy based on gentes, phratries and tribes, from which it developed. Even though the *curiae* and tribes may have been partly artificial formations, they were moulded after the genuine and naturally evolved models of the society from which they emerged and which still surrounded them on all sides. And though the naturally evolved patrician

* The Latin *rex* is equivalent to the Celtic-Irish *righ* (tribal chief) and the Gothic *reiks.* That this, like our *Fürst* (English *first* and Danish *förste*), originally signified gentile or tribal chief is evident from the fact that the Goths in the fourth century already had a special term for the king of later times, the military chief of a whole people, namely, *thiudans.* In Ulfila's translation of the Bible Artaxerxes and Herod are never called *reiks* but *thiudans,* and the realm of the Emperor Tiberius not *reiki,* but *thiudinassus.* In the name of the Gothic *thiudans,* or, as we inaccurately translate it, king Thiudareiks, Theodorich, that is, Dietrich, the two names merge together.

[a] Th. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte,* Vol. I, Book 1, Ch. 6.—*Ed.*

nobility had already gained ground, though the *reges* attempted gradually to extend their powers—this does not change the original fundamental character of the constitution, and this alone matters.

Meanwhile, the population of the city of Rome and of the Roman territory, enlarged by conquest, increased, partly by immigration, partly through the inhabitants of the subjugated, mostly Latin, districts. All these new subjects of the state (we leave out the question of the clients) were outside of the old gentes, *curiae* and tribes, and so were not part of the *populus Romanus,* the Roman people proper. They were personally free, could own landed property, had to pay taxes and were liable to military service. But they were not eligible for office and could neither participate in the assembly of *curiae* nor in the distribution of conquered state lands. They constituted the plebs, excluded from all public rights. Owing to their continually increasing numbers, their military training and armament, they became a menace to the old *populus* who had now firmly closed their ranks against any growth from the outside. The landed property, moreover, seems to have been fairly evenly divided between *populus* and plebs, while the mercantile and industrial wealth, though as yet not very developed, may have been mainly in the hands of the plebs.

In view of the large measure of obscurity that enshrouds the whole legendary primeval history of Rome—an obscurity considerably further intensified by the rationalistic-pragmatic attempts at interpretation and reports of later legally trained authors whose works serve us as source material—it is impossible to make any definite statements about the time, the course and the cause of the revolution that put an end to the old gentile constitution. The only thing we are certain of is that its cause lay in the conflicts between the plebs and the *populus.*

The new constitution, attributed to *rex* Servius Tullius and based on the Grecian model, more especially that of Solon, created a new popular assembly including or excluding all, *populus* and plebeians without distinction, according to whether they rendered military service or not. The whole male population liable to military service was divided into six classes, according to wealth. The minimum property qualifications for each of the first five classes were, respectively: I, 100,000 asses; II, 75,000 asses; III, 50,000 asses; IV, 25,000 asses; V, 11,000 asses; which, according to Dureau de la Malle, is equal to about 14,000, 10,500, 7,000, 3,600 and 1,570 marks, respectively.[114] The sixth class, the proletarians, consisted of those who possessed less and were

exempt from military service and taxation. In the new popular assembly of *centuriae* (*comitia centuriata*) the citizens formed ranks after the manner of soldiers, in companies of one hundred (*centuria*), and each *centuria* had one vote. The first class placed 80 *centuriae* in the field; the second 22, the third 20, the fourth 22, the fifth 30 and the sixth, for propriety's sake, one. To these one must add 18 *centuriae* of horsemen composed of the wealthiest of all; altogether 193. For a majority 97 votes were required. But the horsemen and the first class alone had together 98 votes, thus being in the majority; when they were agreed, valid decisions were made without even asking the other classes.

Upon this new assembly of *centuriae* there now devolved all the political rights of the former assembly of *curiae* (a few nominal ones excepted); the *curiae* and the gentes composing them were thereby, as was the case in Athens, degraded to the position of mere private societies and religious associations, and as such they continued to vegetate for a long time, while the assembly of *curiae* soon ceased to exist. In order to displace also the three old gentile tribes from the state, four territorial tribes were introduced, each tribe inhabiting one quarter of the city and receiving certain political rights.

Thus, in Rome too, the old social order based on personal blood ties was destroyed even before the abolition of the so-called kingdom, and a new constitution, based on territorial division and differences in wealth, a real state constitution, took its place. Public power here was vested in the citizenry liable to military service, and was directed not only against the slaves, but also against the so-called proletarians, who were excluded from military service and the right to carry arms.

The new constitution was merely further developed upon the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus, the last *rex*, who had usurped real royal power, and the replacement of the *rex* with two military commanders (consuls) having equal authority (as among the Iroquois). Within this constitution moved the whole history of the Roman republic with all its struggles between patricians and plebeians for access to office and a share in the state lands and the final dissolution of the patrician nobility in the new class of big land and money owners, who gradually absorbed all the land of the peasants ruined by military service, cultivated with the aid of slaves the enormous tracts thus created, depopulated Italy, and thus opened the gates not only to imperial rule, but also to its successors, the German barbarians.

## VII

## THE GENS AMONG THE CELTS AND GERMANS[115]

Space prevents us from going into the gentile institutions still found, in purer or more adulterated form, among the most diverse savage and barbarian peoples of the present day; or into the traces of such institutions found in the ancient history of civilised nations in Asia.[a] One or the other is encountered everywhere. A few illustrations may suffice: Even before the gens had been recognised its existence was proved and it was described more or less correctly by the man who took the greatest pains to misinterpret it, McLennan, who wrote of this institution among the Kalmucks, the Circassians, the Samoyeds[b] and three peoples in India: the Waralis, the Magars and the Munniporees.[c] Recently it was described by Maxim Kovalevsky, who discovered it among the Pshavs, Khevsurs, Svanetians and other Caucasian tribes.[d] Here we shall confine ourselves to a few brief notes on the occurrence of the gens among Celts and Teutons.

The oldest Celtic laws that have come down to our day show the gens still in full vitality. In Ireland it is alive, at least instinctively in the national consciousness, to this day, now that the English have forcibly torn it apart. It was still in full bloom in Scotland in the middle of the last century, and here, too, it succumbed only to the arms, laws and courts of the English.

The old Welsh laws, written several centuries before the English conquest,[116] not later than the eleventh century, still show communal field agriculture for whole villages, be it only as an exceptional remnant of a former universal custom. Every family had five acres for its own cultivation; another plot was at the same time cultivated in common and its yield divided. Judging by the Irish and Scottish analogies there cannot be any doubt that these village communities represent gentes or subdivisions of gentes, even if a reinvestigation of the Welsh laws, which I cannot undertake for lack of time (my notes are from 1869[117]), may not directly corroborate this. What, however, the Welsh sources, and the Irish with them, do prove directly is that among the Celts

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[a] The text below, up to the words "Here we shall confine ourselves...", is added in the 1891 edition.—*Ed.*

[b] Nentsi.—*Ed.*

[c] See J. F. McLennan, *Primitive Marriage.*—*Ed.*

[d] M. Kovalevsky, *Tableau des origines et de l'évolution de la famille et de la propriété.*—*Ed.*

pairing marriage had not yet given way by any means to monogamy in the eleventh century. In Wales, marriage did not become indissoluble, or rather did not cease to be subject to notice of dissolution, until after seven years. Even if only three nights were lacking to make up the seven years, a married couple could still separate. Then their property was divided between them; the woman divided, the man made his choice. The furniture was divided according to certain very funny rules. If the marriage was dissolved by the man, he had to return the woman's dowry and a few other articles; if the woman initiated the dissolution, she received less. Of the children the man was given two, the woman one, namely, the middle child. If the woman married again after her divorce, and her first husband fetched her back, she was obliged to follow him, even if she already had *one* foot in the new conjugal bed. But if two people had lived together for seven years, they were considered man and wife, even if they had not previously been formally married. Chastity among girls before marriage was by no means strictly observed, nor was it demanded; the regulations governing this subject are of an extremely frivolous nature and in no way conform to bourgeois morals. If a woman committed adultery, her husband had a right to beat her—this was one of three cases when he could do so without incurring a penalty—but after that he could not demand any other redress, for

"the same offence shall either be atoned for or avenged, but not both".[a]

The reasons that entitled a woman to a divorce without detriment to her rights at the settlement were of a very diverse nature: the man's foul breath was sufficient. The redemption money to be paid to the tribal chief or king for the right of the first night (*gobr merch,* hence the medieval name *marcheta,* French *marquette*) plays a conspicuous part in the legal code. The women had the right to vote at the popular assemblies. Add to this that similar conditions are shown to have existed in Ireland; that temporary marriages were also quite the custom there, and that the women were assured of well-defined generous privileges in case of separation, even to the point of remuneration for domestic services; that a "first wife" existed by the side of others, and in dividing an inheritance no distinction was made between children born in or out of wedlock—and we have a picture of the pairing marriage compared with which the form of marriage valid in

[a] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales,* Vol. 1, p. 93.—*Ed.*

North America seems strict; but this is not surprising in the eleventh century for a people which in Caesar's time were still living in group marriage.

The Irish gens (*sept*; the tribe was called *clainne,* clan) is confirmed and described not only by the ancient law-books, but also by the English jurists of the seventeenth century who were sent across for the purpose of transforming the clan lands into domains of the King of England. Up to this time, the land had been the common property of the clan or gens, except where the chiefs had already converted it into their private domains. When a gentile died, and a household thus ceased to exist, the gentile chief (called *caput cognationis* by the English jurists) redistributed the whole land among the remaining households. This distribution must in general have taken place according to rules such as were observed in Germany. We still find a few villages—very numerous forty or fifty years ago—with fields held in so-called rundale. Each of the peasants, individual tenants on the soil that once was the common property of the gens but had been seized by the English conquerors, pays rent for his plot, but all the arable and meadow land is combined and shared out, according to situation and quality, in strips, or "*Gewanne*", as they are called on the Mosel, and each one receives a share of each *Gewann.* Moorland and pastures are used in common. As recently as fifty years ago, redivision was still practised occasionally, sometimes annually. The map of such a rundale village looks exactly like that of a German community of farming households on the Mosel or in the Hochwald. The gens also survives in the "FACTIONS". The Irish peasants often divide into parties that seem to be founded on absolutely absurd and senseless distinctions and are quite incomprehensible to Englishmen and appear to have no other purpose than to rally for the popular sport of solemnly beating the life out of one another. They are artificial reincarnations, later substitutes for the broken-up gentes that in their own peculiar way demonstrate the continuation of the inherited gentile instinct. Incidentally, in some areas members of the same gens still live together on what is practically their old territory. During the thirties, for instance, the great majority of the inhabitants of the county of Monaghan had only four surnames, that is, were descended from four gentes, or clans.*

* During a few days that I spent in Ireland,[118] I again realised to what extent the rural population there is still living in the conceptions of the gentile period. The landlord, whose tenant the peasant is, is still considered by the latter as a sort of clan chief who has to supervise the cultivation of the soil in the interest of

The downfall of the gentile order in Scotland dates from the suppression of the rebellion of 1745.[119] Precisely what link in this order the Scottish clan represents remains to be investigated; no doubt it is a link. Walter Scott's novels bring the clan in the Highlands of Scotland vividly before our eyes. It is, as Morgan says,

"an excellent type of the gens in organisation and in spirit, and an extraordinary illustration of the power of the gentile life over its members.... We find in their feuds and blood revenge, in their localisation by gentes, in their use of lands in common, in the fidelity of the clansman to his chief and of the members of the clan to each other, the usual and persistent features of gentile society.... Descent was in the male line, the children of the males remaining members of the clan, while the children of its female members belonged to the clans of their respective fathers".[a]

That mother right used to be in force in Scotland is proved by the fact that in the royal family of the Picts, according to Beda,[b] inheritance in the female line prevailed. We even see evidence of the punaluan family preserved among the Scots as well as the Welsh until the Middle Ages in the right of the first night, which the chief of the clan or the king, as the last representative of the former common husbands, could claim with every bride, unless redeemed.[c]

all, is entitled to tribute from the peasant in the form of rent, but also has to assist the peasant in emergencies. Likewise, everyone in more comfortable circumstances is considered under obligation to help his poorer neighbours whenever they are in distress. Such assistance is not charity; it is what the poor clansman is entitled to by right from his rich fellow clansman or clan chief. This explains why political economists and jurists complain of the impossibility of inculcating the idea of modern bourgeois property into the minds of the Irish peasants. Property that has only rights, but no duties, is absolutely beyond the ken of the Irishman. No wonder that Irishmen with such naïve gentile conceptions, who are suddenly cast into the great cities of England and America, among a population with entirely different moral and legal standards, easily become utterly confused in their views of morals and justice, lose all hold and often are bound to succumb *en masse* to demoralisation. [*Note to the 1891 edition.*]

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[a] L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 357 and 358.—*Ed.*

[b] [Beda Venerabilis] *De Venerabilis Baedae Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, I, 1.—*Ed.*

[c] The 1884 edition has here the following passage omitted by Engels in the 1891 edition: "The same right—in North America it occurs frequently in the extreme North-West—also applied among the Russians, where Grand Princess Olga abolished it in the tenth century.

The communistic households which existed up to the time of the revolution among serf families in France, particularly in Nivernais and Franche-Comté, similar to Slavic family communities in Serbo-Croat areas, are likewise remnants of earlier gentile organisations. They have not yet died out completely; in the vicinity of

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That the Germans were organised in gentes up to the time of the migration of peoples[120] is indisputable. Evidently they settled in the area between the Danube, Rhine, Vistula and the northern seas only a few centuries before our era; the Cimbri and Teutons were still in full migration, and the Suebi did not settle down until Caesar's time. Caesar expressly states that they settled down in gentes and kinships (*gentibus cognationibusque*),[a] and in the mouth of a Roman of the Julia gens the word *gentibus* has a definite meaning that cannot possibly be misconstrued. This holds good for all Germans; even the settling of the conquered Roman provinces[b] appears still to have proceeded in gentes. The Alamannian Law confirms that the people settled on the conquered land south of the Danube in gentes (*genealogiae*); *genealogia* is used in exactly the same sense as *Mark* or village community* was used later. Recently Kovalevsky has expressed

* *Mark* in German means land originally belonging in common to the inhabitants of a village or district. The fields and meadows were divided among heads of families, but in early times they were subject to further periodic division (this still exists in several villages on the Mosel); each person's portion soon became his own property, but it was still subject to the rules of cultivation for the community. The pastures, woodland and the other uncultivated land remained, and in many cases are still today, common property. The collectivity of the interested parties determines the method of field cultivation and the use of common land. The constitution of the *Mark* is the oldest constitution among the German people and it is the foundation on which all their medieval institutions were built. [*Engels' note to the 1885 Italian edition.*]

Louhans (Saône-et-Loire), for example, one can still find a great deal of strangely built peasant houses with a communal central hall and sleeping rooms all around, which are inhabited by several generations of the same family."—*Ed.*

[a] Caesar, *Commentarii de bello Gallico,* VI, 22.—*Ed.*

[b] The text below, up to the words "Among the Germans..." (p. 237), was included by Engels in the 1891 edition instead of the following passage in the 1884 edition: "still proceeded in gentes. In the Alamannian law[121] of the eighth century, *genealogia* is used in exactly the same sense as Mark community; so that here we see a German people, once again the Suebi, settled in gentes and each allocated a particular district. Among the Burgundians and the Langobards the gens was called *fara,* and the term for members of a gens (*faramanni*) is used in Burgundian law[122] in exactly the same sense as Burgundian, in contrast to the Roman inhabitants, who are not of course included in the Burgundian gentes. The division of land in Burgundy was thus effected according to gentes. It settled the issue of the *faramanni* about which Germanic jurists had in vain been racking their brains for a hundred years. This name, *fara,* for gens, can hardly have been generally valid among the Germans, although we find it here applied both to a people of Gothic descent and to another of Herminonic (High German) descent. The linguistic roots used in German to denote relationships are extremely numerous and are likewise used for expressions which we may assume refer to the gens."—*Ed.*

the view that these *genealogiae* were large household communities among which the land was divided, and from which the village communities developed only later. The same may be true of the *fara,* the term which the Burgundians and Langobards—a Gothic and a Herminonian, or High German, tribe—applied to nearly, if not exactly, the same thing that in the Alamannian book of laws is called *genealogia.* Whether this really represents the gens or the household community is a matter that must be further investigated.

Linguistic records leave us in doubt as to whether all the Germans had a common term for gens, and if so, what term. Etymologically, the Greek *genos,* the Latin *gens,* corresponds to the Gothic *kuni,* Middle High German *künne,* and is used in the same sense. We are led back to the time of mother right by the fact that the terms for "woman" are derived from the same root: Greek *gynê,* Slav *žena,* Gothic *qvino,* Old Norse *kona, kuna.*—Among Langobards and Burgundians we find, as stated, the term *fara,* which Grimm derives from the hypothetical root *fisan,* to beget. I should prefer to trace it to the more obvious root *faran* [*fahren*], to wander, return, a term which designates a certain well-defined section of the nomadic train, composed, it almost goes without saying, of relatives; a term, which, in the course of centuries of wandering, first to the East and then to the West, was gradually applied to the gentile community itself.—Further, there is the Gothic *sibja,* Anglo-Saxon *sib,* Old High German *sippia, sippa,* [*Sippe*], kinsfolk. Old Norse has only the plural *sifjar,* relatives; the singular occurs only as the name of a goddess, Sif.—Finally, another expression occurs in the *Hildebrand Song*[123] where Hildebrand asks Hadubrand,

> "who is your father among the men of the people ... or what is your kin?" (*eddo huêlîhhes* cnuosles *du sîs*).

If there was a common German term for gens, it might well have been the Gothic *kuni*; this is not only indicated by its identity with the corresponding term in kindred languages, but also by the fact that the word *kuning, König,* which originally signified chief of gens or tribe, is derived from it. *Sibja,* kinsfolk, does not appear worthy of consideration; in Old Norse, at least, *sifjar* signified not only relatives by blood, but also by marriage; hence it comprises the members of at least *two gentes*; thus *sif* cannot have been the term for gens.

Among the Germans, as among the Mexicans and Greeks, the horsemen as well as the wedge-like columns of infantry were

grouped in battle array by gentes. If Tacitus says: by families and kinships,[a] the indefinite expression he uses is explained by the fact that in his time the gens had long ceased to be a living association in Rome.

Of decisive significance is a passage in Tacitus where he says: The mother's brother regards his nephew as his son; some even hold that the blood tie between the maternal uncle and the nephew is more sacred and close than that between father and son, so that when hostages are demanded the sister's son is considered a better pledge than the natural son of the man whom they desire to place under bond. Here we have a living survival of the mother-right, and hence original, gens, and it is described as something which particularly distinguishes the Germans.* If a member of such a gens gave his own son as a pledge for a solemn obligation he had undertaken, and if this son became the victim of his father's breach of contract, that was for the father to settle with himself. If the son of a sister was sacrificed, however, then the most sacred gentile law was violated. The next of kin, who was bound above all others to protect the boy or young man, was responsible for his death; he should either have refrained from giving the boy as a pledge, or have kept the contract. If we had no other trace of gentile organisation among the Germans, this one passage would be sufficient proof.[c]

Still more decisive, as it comes about eight hundred years later, is a passage in the Old Norse song about the twilight of the gods and the end of the world, the *Völuspâ*.[124] In this "Vision of the Seeress", in which, as Bang and Bugge have now shown, also

* The Greeks know only in the mythology of the Heroic Age the special intimacy of the bond between the maternal uncle and his nephew, originating from the time of mother right and found among many peoples. According to Diodorus (IV, 34), Meleager kills the sons of Thestius, the brothers of his mother Althaea. The latter regards this deed as such a heinous crime that she curses the murderer, her own son, and prays for his death. It is related that "the gods fulfilled her wish and ended Meleager's life". According to the same Diodorus (IV, 44), the Argonauts under Heracles landed in Thracia and there found that Phineus, at the instigation of his second wife, shamefully maltreats his two sons by his first, deserted wife, Cleopatra, the Boreade. But among the Argonauts there are also some Boreadi, the brothers of Cleopatra, the maternal uncles, therefore, of the maltreated boys. They at once come to their nephews' aid, set them free and kill their guards.[b]

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[a] Tacitus, *Germania*, 7.— *Ed.*

[b] Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliothecae historicae quae supersunt.*— *Ed.*

[c] The text below, up to the words "For the rest, in Tacitus' time..." (p. 239), was added by Engels in the 1891 edition.— *Ed.*

elements of Christianity are interwoven, the description of the period of universal depravity and corruption preceding the cataclysm contains this passage:

> Broedhr munu berjask ok at bönum verdask, munu *systrungar* sifjum spilla.
> "Brothers will wage war against one another and become each other's slayers, and *sisters' children* will break the bonds of kinship."

*Systrungar* means son of the mother's sister, and in the poet's eyes, the repudiation by such of blood relationship caps the climax of the crime of fratricide. The climax lies in *systrungar,* which emphasises the kinship on the maternal side. If the term *syskina-börn,* brother's and sister's children, or *syskina-synir,* brother's and sister's sons, had been used, the second line would not have been a crescendo as against the first but a weakening diminuendo. Thus, even in the time of the Vikings, when the *Völuspâ* was composed, the memory of mother right was not yet obliterated in Scandinavia.

For the rest, in Tacitus' time, at least among the Germans with whom he was more familiar,[a] mother right had already given way to father right: the children were the heirs of the father; in the absence of children, the brothers and the paternal and maternal uncles were the heirs. The admission of the mother's brother to inheritance is connected with the preservation of the above-mentioned custom, and also proves how recent father right was among the Germans at that time. We find traces of mother right even well into the Middle Ages. In this period fatherhood seems to have been open to some suspicion, especially among serfs, and when a feudal lord demanded the return of a fugitive serf from a city, it was required, for instance, in Augsburg, Basle and Kaiserslautern, that the fact of his serfdom should be established by the oaths of six of his immediate blood relatives, exclusively on his mother's side (Maurer, *Städteverfassung,* I, p. 381).

Another relic of mother right, then only in its initial stage of decay, was the respect the Germans had for the female sex, from the Roman standpoint almost inexplicable. Virgins of noble family were regarded as the best hostages guaranteeing the keeping of contracts with Germans. In battle, nothing spurred their courage so much as the horrible thought that their wives and daughters might be captured and carried into slavery. They regarded the woman as being holy and a prophetess, and they heeded her advice even in the most important matters. Veleda, the Bructerian

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[a] The words "at least" and "with whom he was more familiar" were added by Engels in the 1891 edition.—*Ed.*

priestess on the Lippe River, was the moving spirit of the whole Batavian insurrection, in which Civilis, at the head of Germans and Belgians, shook the foundations of Roman rule in Gaul.[125] The women appear to have held undisputed sway in the house. They, with the old men and children, had, of course, to do all the work, for the men went hunting, drank or loafed around. So Tacitus reports; but he does not say who cultivated the fields, and explicitly states that the slaves only paid dues and performed no statute labour, so it would appear that what little agricultural work was required had to be performed by the bulk of the adult men.

As was stated above, the form of marriage was pairing marriage gradually approximating to monogamy. It was not yet strict monogamy, for polygamy was permitted among high society. On the whole (unlike the Celts) they insisted on strict chastity among girls. Tacitus likewise speaks with particular warmth of the inviolability of the matrimonial bond among the Germans. He gives adultery on the part of the woman as the sole reason for divorce. But his report contains many gaps here, and in any case, it excessively holds up the mirror of virtue to the loose Romans. So much is certain: if the Germans in their forests were such exceptional models of virtue, only slight contact with the outer world was required to bring them down to the level of the other, average, Europeans. In the whirl of Roman life the last trace of strict morality disappeared even faster than the German language. It is enough to read Gregory of Tours.[a] It goes without saying that the refined opulence of sensuality could not exist in the primeval forests of Germany as it did in Rome, and so in this respect also the Germans were superior enough to the Roman world, without ascribing to them a continence in carnal matters that has never prevailed among any people as a whole.

From the gentile system arose the obligation to inherit the feuds as well as the friendships of one's father and relatives; and also *wergeld,* the fine paid in atonement for murder or injury, in place of blood revenge. A generation ago this *wergeld* was regarded as a specifically German institution, but it has since been proved that hundreds of peoples practised this milder form of blood revenge which had its origin in the gentile system. Like the obligation to render hospitality, it is found, for instance, among the American Indians. Tacitus' description of the manner in which hospitality was exercised (*Germania,* 21) is almost identical, down to details, with Morgan's relating to his Indians.

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[a] Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Francorum.— Ed.*

The heated and ceaseless controversy as to whether or not the Germans in Tacitus' time had definitively divided up the cultivated land and how the pertinent passages should be interpreted is now a thing of the past. Now it has been established that the cultivated land of nearly all peoples was tilled in common by the gens and later on by communistic family communities, which Caesar still found among the Suebi[a]; that later the land was allotted and periodically re-allotted to the individual families; and that this periodical re-allotment of the cultivated land has been preserved in parts of Germany down to this day, no more need be said on the subject. If the Germans in one hundred and fifty years passed from common cultivation, such as Caesar expressly attributes to the Suebi—they have no divided or private tillage whatsoever, he says—to individual cultivation with the annual redistribution of the land in Tacitus' time, it is surely progress enough; a transition from that stage to the complete private ownership of land in such a short period and without any outside intervention was an utter impossibility. Hence I read in Tacitus only what he states in so many words: They change (or redivide) the cultivated land every year, and enough common land is left over in the process.[b] It is the stage of agriculture and appropriation of the soil which exactly tallies with the gentile constitution of the Germans of that time.[c]

I leave the preceding paragraph unchanged, just as it stood in former editions. Meantime the question has assumed another aspect. Since Kovalevsky has demonstrated (see above, p. 44[d]) that the patriarchal household community was widespread, if not universal, as the intermediate stage between the mother-right communistic family and the modern isolated family, the question is no longer whether the land was common or private property, as was still discussed between Maurer and Waitz, but what *form* common property assumed. There is no doubt whatever that in Caesar's time the Suebi not only owned their land in common, but also tilled it in common for common account. The questions whether their economic unit was the gens or the household community or an intermediate communistic kinship group, or whether all three of these groups existed depending on land conditions will remain subjects of controversy for a long time yet. But Kovalevsky maintains that the conditions described by Tacitus

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[a] Caesar, *Commentarii de bello Gallico,* IV, 1.—*Ed.*

[b] Tacitus, *Germania,* 26.—*Ed.*

[c] The text below, up to the words "While in Caesar..." (p. 242), was added by Engels in the 1891 edition.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, p. 167.—*Ed.*

presuppose not the Mark or village community, but the household community; only this latter developed, much later into the village community, owing to the growth of the population.

Hence, it is claimed, the German settlements on the territory they occupied in the time of the Romans, and on the territory they later took from the Romans, must have been not villages, but large family communities comprising several generations, which cultivated a corresponding tract of land and used the surrounding waste land as a common Mark with their neighbours. The passage in Tacitus concerning the change of the cultivated land would then actually have an agronomic sense, namely, that the community cultivated a different tract of land every year, and the land cultivated during the previous year was left fallow or allowed to grow quite wild again. The sparsity of the population would have left enough spare waste land to make all disputes about land unnecessary. Only after the lapse of centuries, when the members of the household had increased in number to such an extent that common housekeeping became no longer possible under prevailing conditions of production, did the household communities dissolve. The former common fields and meadows were then divided in the familiar manner among the individual households now forming, at first for a time, and later once and for all, while forests, pastures and bodies of water remained common property.

As far as Russia is concerned, this course of development appears to have been fully proved historically. As for Germany, and, to a lesser extent, for other Germanic countries, it cannot be denied that, in many respects, this view affords a better interpretation of the sources and an easier solution of difficulties than the former idea of tracing the village community back to the time of Tacitus. The oldest documents, for instance, the *Codex Laureshamensis,*[126] are on the whole more easily explained with the help of the household community than of the village Mark community. On the other hand, it presents new difficulties and new problems that need solution. Here, only further investigation can decide. I cannot deny, however, that it is highly probable the household community was also the intermediate stage in Germany, Scandinavia and England.

While in Caesar the Germans had partly just taken up settled abodes, and partly were still seeking such, they had been settled for a full century in Tacitus' time; correspondingly, the progress in the production of means of subsistence was unmistakable. They lived in log houses; their clothing was still of the primitive forest type, consisting of rough woollen cloaks and animal skins, and

linen underclothing for the women and high society. They lived on milk, meat, wild fruit and, as Pliny adds, oatmeal porridge[a] (the Celtic national dish in Ireland and Scotland to this day). Their wealth consisted of livestock, of an inferior breed, however, the animals being small, unsightly and hornless; the horses were small ponies and no racers. Money, Roman only, was little and rarely used. They made no gold- or silverware, nor did they attach any value to them. Iron was scarce and, at least among the tribes on the Rhine and the Danube, was apparently almost wholly imported, not mined by themselves. The runic script (imitations of Greek and Latin letters) was only known as a secret code and used exclusively for religious sorcery. Human sacrifices were still in vogue. In short, they were a people just risen from the middle stage of barbarism to the upper stage. While, however, the tribes immediately bordering on the Romans were prevented by the easy import of Roman industrial products from developing a metal and textile industry of their own, there is not the least doubt that the tribes of the North-East, on the Baltic, did develop these industries. The pieces of armour found in the bogs of Schleswig—a long iron sword, a coat of mail, a silver helmet, etc., together with Roman coins from the close of the second century—and the German metalware spread by the migration of peoples represent a peculiar type of fine workmanship, even where they are modelled on Roman originals. With the exception of England, emigration to the civilised Roman Empire everywhere put an end to this native industry. How uniformly this industry arose and developed is shown, for instance, by the bronze spangles. The specimens found in Burgundy, in Romania and along the Sea of Azov might have been produced in the very same workshop as the English and the Swedish ones, and are likewise of undoubtedly Germanic origin.

Their constitution was also in keeping with the upper stage of barbarism. According to Tacitus,[b] there was commonly a council of chiefs (*principes*) which decided matters of minor importance and prepared more important matters for the decision of the popular assembly. The latter, in the lower stage of barbarism, at least in places where we know it, among the Americans, existed only for the gens, not yet for the tribe or the confederacy of tribes. The chiefs (*principes*) were still sharply distinguished from the war chiefs (*duces*), just as among the Iroquois. The former were already living, in part, on honorary gifts, such as livestock, grain,

[a] *Plini Secundi Naturalis historiae libri 37*, XVIII, 17.—*Ed.*

[b] Tacitus, *Germania*, 11.—*Ed.*

etc., from their fellow tribesmen. As in America, they were mostly elected from the same family. The transition to father right favoured, as in Greece and Rome, the gradual transformation of elective office into hereditary office, thus giving rise to a noble family in each gens. Most of this ancient, so-called tribal nobility perished during the migration of peoples,[127] or shortly after. The military leaders were elected solely on their efficiency, irrespective of descent. They had little power and had to rely on force of example. As Tacitus explicitly states, actual disciplinary power in the army was held by the priests.[a] The popular assembly was the real power. The king or tribal chief presided; the people decided: a murmur signified "nay", acclamation and clanging of weapons meant "aye". The popular assembly was also the court of justice. Complaints were brought up here and decided; and death sentences were pronounced, the latter only in cases of cowardice, treason or unnatural lasciviousness. The gentes and other subdivisions also judged in a body, presided over by the chief, who, as in all original German courts, could be only director of the proceedings and questioner. Among the Germans, always and everywhere, sentence was pronounced by the entire community.

Confederacies of tribes came into existence from Caesar's time. Some of them already had kings. The supreme military commander already aspired to tyrannic power, as among the Greeks and Romans, and sometimes succeeded in achieving it. Such successful usurpers were by no means absolute rulers; nevertheless, they began to break the fetters of the gentile constitution. While freed slaves generally occupied an inferior position, because they could not belong to any gens, they often gained rank, wealth and honours as favourites of the new kings. The same occurred after the conquest of the Roman Empire in the case of the military leaders who had now become kings of large lands. Among the Franks, the king's slaves and freedmen played a major role first at court and then in the state; a large part of the new nobility was descended from them.

There was one institution that especially favoured the rise of royalty: the retinue. We have already seen how among the American Redskins private associations were formed alongside the gentile system for the purpose of waging war off their own back. Among the Germans, these private associations had already developed into standing bodies. The military commander, who had earned himself a reputation, gathered around his person a

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[a] Tacitus, op. cit., 7.— *Ed.*

host of young people, who were eager for booty and pledged personal loyalty to him, as he did to them. He fed them, gave them gifts and organised them on hierarchical principles: a bodyguard and a troop poised for immediate action in short expeditions, a corps of officers ready for larger campaigns. Weak as these retinues must have been, as indeed they proved to be later, for example, under Odoacer in Italy,[128] they, nevertheless, served as the germ of decay of the old popular liberties, and stood the test as such during and after the migration of peoples. Because, first, they created favourable ground for the rise of royal power. Secondly, as Tacitus already observed,[a] they could be held together only by continuous warfare and plundering expeditions. Looting became the main object. If the chieftain found nothing to do in his neighbourhood, he marched his troops to other peoples among whom there was war and the prospect of booty. The German auxiliaries, who under the Roman standard even fought Germans in large numbers, partly consisted of such retinues. They were the first germs of the Landsknecht[b] system, the shame and curse of the Germans. After the conquest of the Roman Empire, these kings' retainers, together with the bonded and the Roman court attendants, formed the second main constituent part of the subsequent nobility.

In general, then, the German tribes, combined into peoples, had the same constitution that had developed among the Greeks of the Heroic Age and among the Romans at the time of the so-called kings: a popular assembly, council of gentile chiefs and military commander who was already aspiring to real royal power. It was the most highly developed constitution the gentile order could actually produce; it was the model constitution of the higher stage of barbarism. As soon as society passed beyond the limits for which this constitution sufficed, the gentile order was finished. It burst asunder and the state took its place.

## VIII

## THE FORMATION OF THE STATE AMONG THE GERMANS

According to Tacitus the Germans were a very numerous people. An approximate idea of the strength of individual German

[a] Ibid., 14.— *Ed.*
[b] Mercenary.— *Ed.*

peoples we get from Caesar[a]; he puts the number of Usipetes and Tencteri who appeared on the left bank of the Rhine at 180,000, including women and children. Thus, about 100,000 to a single people,* considerably more than, say, the entire number of Iroquois in their heyday, when they, not quite 20,000 strong, became the terror of the whole country, from the Great Lakes to the Ohio and Potomac. If we were to attempt to group on a map the individual peoples settled near the Rhine who are better known to us from reports, we would find that such a people would occupy on the average approximately the area of a Prussian administrative district, about 10,000 square kilometres, or 182 geographical square miles.[b] The *Germania Magna* of the Romans, reaching to the Vistula, comprised, however, roundly 500,000 square kilometres. Counting an average of 100,000 for any single people, the total population of *Germania Magna* would have amounted to five million—a respectable figure for a barbarian group of peoples; by our standards—10 inhabitants to the square kilometre, or 550 to the geographical square mile—very little. But this does not by any means include all the Germans living at that time. We know that German peoples of Gothic origin, Bastarnae, Peucini and others, lived along the Carpathian Mountains all the way down to the mouth of the Danube. They were so numerous that Pliny designated them as the fifth main tribe of the Germans[c]; in 180 B.C. they were already serving as mercenaries of the Macedonian King Perseus, and even in the first years of the reign of Augustus they were pushing their way as far as the vicinity of Adrianople. If we assume that they numbered only one million, then, at the beginning of the Christian era, the Germans numbered probably six million at the least.

After settling in Germany, the population must have grown with increasing rapidity. The industrial progress mentioned above would suffice to prove this. The finds in the bogs of Schleswig, to judge by the Roman coins uncovered with them, date from the third century. Hence at that time the metal and textile industry

* The number taken here is confirmed by a passage in Diodorus on the Celts of Gaul: "In Gaul live numerous peoples of unequal strength. The biggest of them number about 200,000, the smallest 50,000." (Diodorus Siculus, V, 25.) That gives an average of 125,000. The individual Gallic peoples, being more highly developed, must certainly have been more numerous than the German ones.

[a] Caesar, *Commentarii de bello Gallico,* IV, 15.—*Ed.*

[b] The German geographical mile is equal to 7.42 km.—*Ed.*

[c] *Plini Secundi Naturalis historiae libri 37,* IV, 14.—*Ed.*

was already well developed on the Baltic, lively trade was carried on with the Roman Empire, and the wealthier class enjoyed a certain luxury—all evidence of a greater population density. At this time, however, the Germans started their general assault along the whole line of the Rhine, the Roman frontier rampart and the Danube, a line stretching from the North Sea to the Black Sea—direct proof of the ever-growing population striving outwards. During the three centuries of battle, the whole main body of the Gothic peoples (with the exception of the Scandinavian Goths and the Burgundians) moved towards the South-East and formed the left wing of the long line of attack; the High Germans (Herminones) pushed forward in the centre of this line, on the Upper Danube, and the Iscaevones, now called Franks, on the right wing, along the Rhine. The conquest of Britain fell to the lot of the Ingaevones. At the end of the fifth century the Roman Empire, exhausted, bloodless and helpless, lay open to the invading Germans.

In preceding chapters we stood at the cradle of ancient Greek and Roman civilisation. Now we are standing at its grave. The levelling plane of Roman world domination had been passing over all countries of the Mediterranean basin, and this for centuries. Where the Greek language offered no resistance all national languages had had to give way to a corrupt Latin. There were no longer any distinctions of nationality, no more Gauls, Iberians, Ligurians, Noricans; all had become Romans. Roman administration and Roman law had everywhere dissolved the old bodies of *consanguinei* and thus crushed the last remnants of local and national self-expression. The new-fangled Romanism offered no compensation; it expressed no nationality, but only lack of nationality. The elements of new nations existed everywhere. The Latin dialects of the different provinces diverged more and more; the natural boundaries that had once made Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa[129] independent territories still existed and still made themselves felt. Yet nowhere was there a force capable of combining these elements into new nations; nowhere was there the least trace of any capacity for development or any power of resistance, much less of creative capacity. The immense human mass of that enormous territory was held together by one bond alone—the Roman state; and this, in the course of time, had become its worst enemy and oppressor. The provinces had ruined Rome; Rome itself had become a provincial town like all the others, privileged, but no longer ruling, no longer the centre of the world empire, no longer even the seat of the emperors and

vice-emperors, who lived in Constantinople, Trier and Milan. The Roman state had become an immense complicated machine, designed exclusively for draining dry its subjects. Taxes, services for the state and levies of all kinds drove the mass of the people deeper and deeper into poverty. The extortionate practices of the governors, tax collectors and soldiers caused the pressure to become intolerable. This is what the Roman state with its world domination had brought things to: it had based its right to existence on the preservation of order within and protection against the barbarians without. But its order was worse than the worst disorder, and the barbarians, against whom the state pretended to protect its citizens, were longed for by them as saviours.

Social conditions were no less desperate. Right from the last period of the republic, Roman rule had been intent on the ruthless exploitation of the conquered provinces. The emperors had not abolished this exploitation; on the contrary, they had regularised it. The more the empire fell into decay, the higher rose the taxes and compulsory services, and the more shamelessly the officials robbed and blackmailed the people. Commerce and industry were never the business of the Romans, who dominated other peoples. Only in usury did they excel all others, before and after them. The commerce that existed and managed to maintain itself for a time was reduced to ruin by official extortion; what survived was carried on in the eastern, Grecian, part of the empire, but this is beyond the scope of our study. Universal impoverishment; decline of commerce, handicrafts, the arts, and of the population; decay of the towns; retrogression of agriculture to a lower stage—this was the ultimate outcome of Roman world domination.

Agriculture, the decisive branch of production in the whole ancient world, now became so more than ever. In Italy, the immense aggregations of estates (*latifundia*) which had covered nearly the whole territory since the end of the republic, had been utilised in two ways: either as pastures, on which the population had been replaced by sheep and oxen, the care of which required only a few slaves; or as villas, on which large-scale horticulture had been pursued with masses of slaves, partly to serve the luxurious needs of the owners and partly for sale at the urban markets. The great pastures had been preserved and even enlarged. But the villa estates and their horticulture had fallen into ruin with the impoverishment of their owners and the decay of the towns. Latifundian economy based on slave labour was no longer profitable; but at that time it was the only possible form of

large-scale agriculture. Small-scale farming again became the only profitable form. Villa after villa was parcelled out and leased in small lots to hereditary tenants, who paid a fixed sum, or to *partiarii,*[a] farm managers rather than tenants, who received one-sixth or even only one-ninth of the year's product for their work. Mainly, however, these small plots were distributed to colons, who paid a fixed amount annually, were tied to the land and could be sold together with the plots. Admittedly, they were not slaves, but neither were they free; they could not marry free citizens, and marriages among themselves were not regarded as fully valid marriages, but as mere concubinage (*contubernium*), as in the case of the slaves. They were the forerunners of the medieval serfs.

The slavery of antiquity had outlived itself. Neither in large-scale agriculture in the country, nor in the manufactories of the towns did it any longer bring in a worthwhile return—the market for its products had disappeared. Small-scale agriculture, however, and small handicrafts, to which the gigantic production of the flourishing times of the empire was now reduced, had no room for numerous slaves. Society found room only for the domestic and luxury slaves of the rich. But moribund slavery was still sufficiently virile to make all productive work appear as slave labour, unworthy of a free Roman—and everybody was now a free Roman. On this account, on the one hand, there was an increase in the number of superfluous slaves who, having become a drag, were emancipated; on the other hand, there was an increase in the number of colons and of ruined freemen (similar to the POOR WHITES in the ex-slave states of America). Christianity is perfectly innocent of this gradual dying out of ancient slavery. It had partaken in slavery in the Roman Empire for centuries, and later did nothing to prevent the slave trade of Christians, either of the Germans in the North, or of the Venetians on the Mediterranean, or the Negro slave trade of later years.* Slavery no longer paid, and so it died out; but dying slavery left behind its poisonous sting by outlawing the productive work of the free. This was the blind alley in which the Roman world was caught: slavery

* According to Bishop Liutprand of Cremona, the principal industry of Verdun in the tenth century, that is, in the Holy German Empire, was the manufacture of eunuchs, who were exported with great profit to Spain for the harems of the Moors.[b]

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[a] Sharecroppers.—*Ed.*

[b] Liutprand, *Antapodosis,* VI, 6.—*Ed.*

was economically impossible, while the labour of the free was morally proscribed. The one could no longer, the other could not yet, be the basic form of social production. Only a complete revolution could be of help here.

Things were no better in the provinces. Most of the reports we have concern Gaul. By the side of the colons, free small peasants still existed there. In order to protect themselves against the brutal extortions of the officials, judges and usurers, they frequently placed themselves under the protection, the patronage, of a man possessed of power; and they did this not only singly, but in whole communities, so much so that the emperors of the fourth century often issued decrees prohibiting this practice. But what use was it to those who sought this protection? The patron imposed the condition that they transfer the title of their lands to him, and in return he ensured them usufruct of their land for life—a trick which the Holy Church remembered and freely imitated during the ninth and tenth centuries, for the greater glory of God and the enlargement of its own landed possessions. At that time, to be sure, about the year 475, Bishop Salvianus of Marseilles still vehemently denounced such robbery and related that the oppression of the Roman officials and great landlords had become so intolerable that many "Romans" fled to the districts already occupied by the barbarians, and the Roman citizens who had settled there feared nothing so much as coming under Roman rule again.[a] That poor parents frequently sold their children into slavery in those days is proved by a law issued against it.

In return for liberating the Romans from their own state, the German barbarians appropriated two-thirds of the entire land and divided it among themselves. The division was made in accordance with the gentile system; as the conquerors were relatively small in number, large tracts remained undivided, in the possession partly of the whole people and partly of individual tribes or gentes. In each gens fields and pastures were distributed among the individual households in equal shares by lot. We do not know whether repeated redivisions took place at that time; at all events, this practice was soon discarded in the Roman provinces, and the individual allotment became alienable private property, allodium. Forests and pastures remained undivided for common use; this use and the mode of cultivating the divided land were regulated by ancient custom and the decision of the entire community. The longer the gens existed in its village, and the more Germans and

[a] Salvianus, *De Gubernatione Dei*, V, 8.—*Ed.*

Romans merged in the course of time, the more the consanguineous character of the ties retreated before territorial ties. The gens disappeared in the Mark community, in which, however, traces of the original kinship of the members were visible still often enough. Thus, the gentile constitution, at least in those countries where Mark communities were preserved—in the North of France, in England, Germany and Scandinavia—was imperceptibly transformed into a territorial constitution, and thus became capable of being fitted into the state. Nevertheless, it retained the naturally evolved democratic character which distinguishes the whole gentile order, and thus preserved a piece of the gentile constitution even in its degeneration, forced upon it in later times, thereby leaving a weapon in the hands of the oppressed, ready to be wielded even in modern times.

The rapid disappearance of the blood tie in the gens was due to the fact that its organs in the tribe and the whole people had also degenerated as a result of the conquest. We know that rule over subjugated people is incompatible with the gentile constitution. Here we see it on a large scale. The German peoples, masters of the Roman provinces, had to organise their conquest; but the mass of the Romans could neither be absorbed into the gentile bodies nor ruled by means of the latter. A substitute for the Roman state had to be placed at the head of the Roman local administrative bodies, which at first largely continued to function, and this substitute could only be another state. Thus, the organs of the gentile constitution had to be transformed into organs of state, and owing to the pressure of circumstances, this had to be done very quickly. The first representative of the conquering people was, however, the military commander. The securing of the conquered territory internally and externally demanded that his power be increased. The moment had arrived for transforming military leadership into kingship. This was done.

Let us take the kingdom of the Franks. Here, not only the wide dominions of the Roman state, but also all the very large tracts of land that had not been assigned to the large and small *Gau* and Mark communities, especially all the large forests, fell into the hands of the victorious Salian people as their unrestricted possession. The first thing the king of the Franks, transformed from an ordinary supreme military commander into a real monarch, did was to convert this property of the people into a royal estate, to steal it from the people and to donate or grant it to his retainers. This retinue, originally composed of his personal military retainers and the rest of the subcommanders of the army,

was soon augmented not only by Romans, that is, Romanised Gauls, who quickly became indispensable to him owing to their knowledge of writing, their education and familiarity with the Romance vernacular and literary Latin as well as with the laws of the land, but also by slaves, serfs and freedmen, who constituted his Court and from among whom he chose his favourites. All these were granted tracts of public land, first mostly as gifts and later in the form of benefices—originally in most cases for the period of the life of the king[130]—and so the basis was laid for a new nobility at the expense of the people.

But this was not all. The far-flung empire could not be governed by means of the old gentile constitution. The council of chiefs, even if it had not long died out, could not have assembled and was soon replaced by the king's permanent retinue. The old popular assembly was still ostensibly preserved, but more and more as an assembly of the subcommanders of the army and the newly-rising magnates. The free landowning peasants, the mass of the Frankish people, were exhausted and reduced to penury by continuous civil war and wars of conquest, the latter particularly under Charlemagne, just as the Roman peasants had been during the last period of the republic. These peasants, who originally had formed the whole army, and after the conquest of the Frankish lands had been its core, were so impoverished at the beginning of the ninth century that scarcely one out of five could provide the accoutrements of war. The army of free peasants, called up directly by the king, was replaced by an army composed of the servitors of the newly arisen magnates. Among these servitors were also villeins, the descendants of the peasants who previously had known no master but the king, and still earlier had known no master at all, not even a king. Under Charlemagne's successors the ruin of the Frankish peasantry was completed by internal wars, the weakness of royal authority and corresponding encroachments of the magnates, whose ranks were augmented by the *Gau* counts,[131] established by Charlemagne and eager to make their office hereditary, and finally by the incursions of the Normans. Fifty years after the death of Charlemagne, the Frankish Empire lay as helpless at the feet of the Normans as four hundred years previously the Roman Empire had lain at the feet of the Franks.

Not only the external impotence, but the internal order, or rather disorder, of society, was almost the same. The free Frankish peasants found themselves in a position similar to that of their predecessors, the Roman colons.[132] Ruined by war and plunder, they had to seek the protection of the newly arisen magnates or

the Church, for royal authority was too weak to protect them; but they had to pay dear for this protection. Like the Gallic peasants before them, they had to transfer the ownership of their land to their patrons, and received it back from them as tenants in different and varying forms, but always on condition of performing services and paying dues. Once driven into this form of dependence, they gradually lost their personal freedom; after a few generations most of them became serfs. How rapidly the free peasants were degraded is shown by Irminon's land records of the Abbey Saint-Germain-des-Prés, then near, now in, Paris.[a] Even during the life of Charlemagne, on the vast estates of this abbey, stretching into the surrounding country, there were 2,788 households, almost exclusively Franks with German names; 2,080 of them were colons, 35 lites,[133] 220 slaves and only 8 freeholders! The custom by which the patron had the land of the peasants transferred to himself, giving to them only the usufruct of it for life, the custom denounced as ungodly by Salvianus, was now universally practised by the Church in its dealings with the peasants. Feudal servitude, now coming more and more into vogue, was modelled as much on the lines of the Roman *angariae*,[134] compulsory services for the state, as on the services rendered by the members of the German Mark in bridge and road building and other work for common purposes. Thus, it looked as if, after four hundred years, the mass of the population had come back to the point it had started from.

This proved only two things, however: First, that the social stratification and the distribution of property in the declining Roman Empire had corresponded entirely to the then prevailing level of production in agriculture and industry, and hence had been inevitable; second, that this level of production had not sunk or risen to any material extent in the course of the ensuing four hundred years, and, therefore, had just as necessarily produced the same distribution of property and the same class division of the population. During the last centuries of the Roman Empire, the town had lost its earlier supremacy over the country, and did not regain it during the first centuries of German rule. This presupposes a low level of development in agriculture, and in industry as well. Such an overall situation necessarily gives rise to big ruling landowners and dependent small peasants. How scarcely

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[a] Data from Irminon's land records are presumably quoted from P. Roth's *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens von den ältesten Zeiten bis ins zehnte Jahrhundert*, p. 378.—*Ed.*

possible it was to superimpose either the Roman latifundian economy run with slave labour or the newer large-scale farming run with serf labour onto such a society, is proved by Charlemagne's massive experiments with his famous imperial villas,[135] which passed away leaving hardly a trace. These experiments were continued only by the monasteries and were fruitful only for them; but the monasteries were abnormal social bodies founded on celibacy. They could do the exceptional, and for that very reason were bound to remain exceptions.

Nevertheless, progress was made during these four hundred years. Even if in the end we find almost the same main classes as in the beginning, still, the people who constituted these classes had changed. Ancient slavery had disappeared; gone were also the ruined poor freemen, who had despised work as slavish. Between the Roman colonus and the new villein there had been the free Frankish peasant. The "useless reminiscences and vain strife" of decaying Romanism were dead and buried. The social classes of the ninth century had taken shape not in the bog of a declining civilisation, but in the travail of a new one. The new race, masters as well as servants, was a race of men compared with its Roman predecessors. The relation of powerful landlords and serving peasants, which for the latter had been the hopeless form of the decline of the world of antiquity, was now for the former the starting-point of a new development. Moreover, unproductive as these four hundred years appear to have been, they, nevertheless, left *one* great product behind them: the modern nationalities, the refashioning and regrouping of West European humanity for impending history. The Germans, in fact, had infused new life into Europe; and that is why the dissolution of the states in the German period ended, not in Norman-Saracen subjugation, but in the development from the benefices and patronage (commendation[136]) to feudalism, and in such a tremendous increase in the population that the profuse bloodshed caused by the Crusades barely two centuries later could be borne without injury.[a]

But what was the mysterious magic potion with which the Germans infused new vitality into dying Europe? Was it in the innate miraculous power of the German race, as our chauvinistic historians would have it? By no means. The Germans were a highly gifted Aryan tribe, especially at that time, in the process of all-out vigorous development. It was not their specific national

[a] The end of the sentence, from the words "and in such a tremendous increase..." was added by Engels in the 1891 edition.—*Ed.*

qualities that rejuvenated Europe, however, but simply—their barbarism, their gentile constitution.

Their personal competence and bravery, their love of liberty, and their democratic instinct, which regarded all public affairs as its own affairs, in short, all those qualities which the Romans had lost and which were alone capable of forming new states and of raising new nationalities out of the muck of the Roman world—what were they but the characteristic features of barbarians in the upper stage, fruits of their gentile constitution?

If they transformed the ancient form of monogamy, moderated male rule in the family and gave a higher status to women than the classical world had ever known, what enabled them to do so if not their barbarism, their gentile customs, their still vital heritage from the time of mother right?

If they were able in at least three of the most important countries—Germany, Northern France and England—to preserve and carry over to the feudal state a piece of the genuine gentile constitution in the form of the Mark communities, and thus give to the oppressed class, the peasants, even under the hardest conditions of medieval serfdom, local cohesion and the means of resistance which neither the slaves of antiquity nor the modern proletarians found ready at hand—to what did they owe this if not to their barbarism, their exclusively barbarian mode of settling in gentes?

And lastly, if they were able to develop and raise to universality the milder form of servitude which they had been practising at home, into which also slavery in the Roman Empire was more and more converted—a form which, as Fourier first emphasised, gave to those subjected to servitude the means of gradual emancipation *as a class* (*fournit aux cultivateurs des moyens d'affranchissement* collectif et progressif[a]) and is therefore far superior to slavery, which permits only of the immediate manumission of the individual without any transitory stage (antiquity did not know any abolition of slavery by a victorious rebellion), whereas in fact the serfs of the Middle Ages, step by step, achieved their emancipation as a class—to what was this due if not their barbarism, thanks to which they had not yet arrived at complete slavery, either in the form of the ancient labour slavery or in that of the Oriental domestic slavery?

All that was vital and life-bringing in what the Germans infused into the Roman world was barbarism. In fact, only barbarians are

[a] Furnishes for the cultivators means of *collective and gradual* emancipation (see Ch. Fourier, *Théorie des quatre mouvements et des destinées générales*, p. 220).—*Ed.*

capable of rejuvenating a world labouring in the throes of a dying civilisation. And the highest stage of barbarism, to which and in which the Germans worked their way up previous to the migration of peoples, was precisely the most favourable one for this process. This explains everything.

## IX

## BARBARISM AND CIVILISATION

We have now traced the dissolution of the gentile order in the three great individual examples: Greek, Roman, and German. We shall investigate, in conclusion, the general economic conditions that had already undermined the gentile organisation of society in the upper stage of barbarism and completely abolished it with the advent of civilisation. For this, Marx's *Capital* will be as necessary as Morgan's book.

Having germinated in the middle stage and developed further in the upper stage of savagery, the gens reached its prime, as far as our sources enable us to judge, in the lower stage of barbarism. With this stage of development, then, we shall begin our investigation.

We find here, where the American Redskins must serve as our example, the gentile system fully developed. A tribe was divided up into several, in most cases two,[a] gentes; with the increase in the population, each of these original gentes again divided into several daughter gentes, in relation to which the mother gens appeared as the phratry; the tribe itself split up into several tribes, in each of which, in most cases, we again find the old gentes. In some cases, at least, a confederacy embraced the kindred tribes. This simple organisation was fully adequate for the social conditions from which it sprang. It was nothing more than a peculiar naturally evolved grouping, capable of smoothing out all internal conflicts that might arise in a society organised on these lines. Externally, conflicts were settled by war, which could end in the annihilation of a tribe, but never in its subjugation. The magnificence, and at the same time the limitation, of the gentile order was that it left no room for domination and servitude. Internally, there was as yet no distinction between rights and duties; the question of whether participation in public affairs, blood revenge or atonement for

[a] The words "in most cases two" were added by Engels in the 1891 edition.— *Ed.*

# Der Ursprung

der

# Familie, des Privateigenthums

und

# des Staats.

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Im Anschluß an Lewis H. Morgan's Forschungen

von

**Friedrich Engels.**

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Vierte Auflage.

Sechstes und siebentes Tausend.

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injuries was a right or a duty never confronted the Indian; it would have appeared as absurd to him as the question of whether eating, sleeping or hunting was a right or a duty. Nor could any tribe or gens split up into different classes. This leads us to the investigation of the economic basis of those conditions.

The population was very sparse. It was dense only in the habitat of the tribe, surrounded by its extensive hunting grounds and beyond these the neutral protective forest which separated it from other tribes. Division of labour was purely and simply that which had naturally evolved; it existed only between the two sexes. The men went to war, hunted, fished, provided the raw material for food and the implements necessary for these pursuits. The women cared for the house, and prepared food and clothing; they cooked, wove, and sewed. Each of them was master in his or her own field of activity: the men in the forest, the women in the house. Each owned the implements he or she made and used: the men, the weapons and the hunting and fishing tackle, the women, the household utensils. The household was communistic, comprising several, and often many, families.* Whatever was produced and used in common was common property; the house, the garden, the longboat. Here, and only here, then, does the "earned property" exist which jurists and economists have attributed to civilised society—the last mendacious legal pretext on which modern capitalist property still rests.

But man did not remain in this stage everywhere. In Asia he found animals that could be domesticated and bred in captivity. The wild buffalo cow had to be hunted down; the domesticated one gave birth to a calf once a year, and provided milk into the bargain. A number of the most advanced tribes—Aryans, Semites, perhaps also the Turanians—made first the domestication, and later the breeding and tending, of cattle, their principal occupation. Pastoral tribes separated themselves from the remaining mass of the barbarians: *the first great social division of labour.* The pastoral tribes not only produced more means of subsistence, but also a greater variety than the rest of the barbarians. They not only had milk, milk products and meat in greater abundance than the others, but also skins, wool, goat's hair, and more spun and woven fabrics with the increasing quantities of raw material. This, for the first time, made regular exchange possible. In the preceding

* Especially on the north-west coast of America; see Bancroft. Among the Haidas of the Queen Charlotte Islands some households gathered as many as seven hundred members under one roof. Among the Nootkas, whole tribes lived under one roof.

stages, exchange could only take place occasionally; exceptional ability in the making of weapons and implements may have led to a temporary division of labour. Thus, unquestionable remains of workshops for stone implements of the Neolithic period have been found in many places. The artificers who developed their skills in those workshops most probably worked for the community, as the permanent handicraftsmen of the gentile communities in India still do. No other exchange than that within the tribe could arise in that stage, and even that was an exception. After the separation of the pastoral tribes, however, we find here all the conditions ready for exchange between members of different tribes, and for its further development and consolidation as a regular institution. Originally, tribe exchanged with tribe through their respective gentile chiefs. When, however, the herds began to be converted into separate property,[a] exchange between individuals predominated more and more, until eventually it became the sole form. The principal article which the pastoral tribes offered their neighbours for exchange was livestock; livestock became the commodity by which all other commodities were appraised, and was everywhere readily taken in exchange for other commodities—in short, livestock assumed the function of money and served as money already at this stage. Such was the necessity and rapidity with which the demand for a money commodity developed right at the very beginning of commodity exchange.

Horticulture, probably unknown to the Asiatic barbarians of the lower stage, arose, among them, no later than at the middle stage, as the forerunner of field agriculture. The climate of the Turanian plateau does not admit of a pastoral life without a supply of fodder for the long and severe winter. Hence, the sowing of meadows and cultivation of grain was indispensable here. The same is true of the steppes north of the Black Sea. Once grown for livestock, grain soon became human food. The cultivated land still remained tribal property and was assigned first to the gens, which, later, in its turn distributed it for use to the household communities, and finally[b] to individuals; these may have had certain rights of possession, but no more.

Of the industrial achievements of this stage two are particularly important. The first is the weaving loom, the second, the smelting of metal ores and metalworking. Copper, tin, and their alloy,

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[a] The 1884 edition has "private property" instead of "separate property".—*Ed.*

[b] The words "to the household communities, and finally" were added by Engels in the 1891 edition.—*Ed.*

bronze, were by far the most important; bronze provided useful implements and weapons, but could not oust stone implements. Only iron could do that, but its production was as yet unknown. Gold and silver began to be used for ornaments and decorations, and must already have been of far higher value than copper and bronze.

The increase of production in all branches—livestock breeding, agriculture, domestic handicrafts—enabled human labour power to produce more than was necessary for its maintenance. It simultaneously increased the amount of work that daily fell to every member of the gens or household community or single family. The attraction of more labour power became desirable. This was provided by war; captives were made slaves. Under the given overall historical conditions, the first great social division of labour, by increasing the productivity of labour, that is, wealth, and enlarging the field of production, necessarily carried slavery in its wake. Out of the first great social division of labour arose the first great division of society into two classes: masters and slaves, exploiters and exploited.

How and when the herds were converted from the common property of the tribe or gens into the property of the individual heads of families we do not know to this day; but it must have occurred, in the main, at this stage. The herds and the other new objects of wealth brought about a revolution in the family. Gaining a livelihood had always been the business of the man; he produced and owned the means to that end. The herds were the new means of gaining a livelihood, and their initial domestication and subsequent tending were his work. Hence, he owned the livestock, and the commodities and slaves obtained in exchange for them. All the surplus now resulting from the task of gaining a livelihood fell to the man; the woman shared in consuming it, but she had no share in owning it. The "savage" warrior and hunter had been content to occupy second place in the house, after the woman. The "gentler" shepherd, insisting on his wealth, pushed forward to first place and forced the woman into second place. And she could not complain. Division of labour in the family had regulated the distribution of property between man and wife. This division of labour remained unchanged, and yet it now turned the former domestic relationship upside down simply because the division of labour outside the family had changed. The very cause that had formerly ensured the woman supremacy in the house, namely, her being confined to domestic work, now ensured supremacy in the house for the man: the

woman's housework lost its significance compared with the man's work in obtaining a livelihood; the latter was everything, the former an insignificant addition. Here we see already that the emancipation of women and their equality with men are impossible and must remain so as long as women are excluded from socially productive work and remain restricted to private domestic duties. The emancipation of women becomes possible only when women are enabled to take part in production on a large, social scale, and when domestic duties require their attention only to a minor degree. And this has become possible only as a result of modern large-scale industry, which not only permits of the participation of women in production in large numbers, but actually calls for it and, moreover, strives more and more to reduce private domestic duties to a public industry.

His achievement of actual supremacy in the house threw down the last barrier to the man's autocracy. This autocracy was confirmed and perpetuated by the overthrow of mother right, the introduction of father right and the gradual transition from pairing marriage to monogamy. But this made a breach in the old gentile order: the individual family became a power and rose threateningly against the gens.

The next step brings us to the upper stage of barbarism, the period in which all civilised peoples passed through their Heroic Age: it is the period of the iron sword, but also of the iron ploughshare and axe. Iron came to be utilised by man, the last and most important of all raw materials to play a revolutionary role in history, the last—if we exclude the potato. Iron made possible field agriculture on a larger area and the clearing of extensive forest tracts for cultivation; it gave the craftsman implements of hardness and sharpness that no stone, no other known metal, could withstand. All this came about gradually; the first iron produced was often softer than bronze. Thus, stone weapons disappeared but slowly; stone axes were still used in battle not only in the *Hildebrand Song,* but also in the Battle of Hastings, in 1066.[137] But progress was now irresistible, less interrupted and more rapid. The town, enclosing houses of stone or brick within its turreted and crenellated stone walls, became the headquarters of the tribe or confederacy of tribes. It marked an enormous advance in the art of building; but it was also a sign of increased danger and need for protection. Wealth increased rapidly, but it was the wealth of single individuals. Weaving, metalworking and the other crafts that were becoming more and more specialised displayed growing diversity and skill in

their products; agriculture now provided not only cereals, pulse and fruit, but also oil and wine, which people had now learned to make. Such diverse activities could no longer be conducted by any single individual; *the second great division of labour* took place: handicrafts separated from agriculture. The continuing increase in production, and with it the increased productivity of labour, raised the value of human labour power. Slavery, which had been nascent and sporadic in the preceding stage, now became an essential part of the social system. The slaves ceased to be simple assistants; they were now driven in scores to work in the fields and workshops. The division of production into two large main branches, agriculture and handicrafts, gave rise to production directly for exchange, the production of commodities; and with it came trade, not only in the interior and on the tribal boundaries, but also overseas. But all this was still very undeveloped; the precious metals started to become the predominant and universal money commodity, but they were not yet minted and were exchanged merely by bare weight.

The distinction between rich and poor was added to that between freemen and slaves—with the new division of labour came a new division of society into classes. The differences in the property of the individual heads of families caused the old communistic household communities to break up wherever they had survived until then; and this put an end to the common cultivation of the soil for the account of this community. The arable land was assigned for use to the separate families, first for a limited time and later in perpetuity; the transition to complete private ownership took place gradually and parallel to the transition from pairing marriage to monogamy. The individual family started to become the economic unit of society.

The increased population density necessitated firmer cohesion internally and externally. Everywhere the confederacy of kindred tribes became a necessity, and soon after, their amalgamation, and thus the amalgamation of the separate tribal territories into a single territory of the people. The military commander of the people—*rex, basileus, thiudans*—became an indispensable and permanent official. The popular assembly was instituted wherever it did not yet exist. The military commander, the council and the popular assembly formed the organs of the gentile society which had developed into a military democracy. Military—because war and organisation for war were now regular functions of the life of the people. The wealth of their neighbours excited the greed of the peoples to whom the acquisition of wealth appeared one of the

main purposes in life. They were barbarians: plunder appeared to them easier and even more honourable than productive work. War, previously waged simply to avenge aggression or as a means of enlarging territory that had become inadequate, was now waged for the sake of plunder alone, and became a regular source of living. It was not for nothing that formidable walls were reared around the new fortified towns: their yawning moats were the graves of the gentile constitution, and their turrets already reached up into civilisation. Internal affairs underwent a similar change. The predatory wars increased the power of the supreme military commander as well as the subcommanders. The customary election of successors from the same families, especially after the introduction of father right, was gradually transformed into hereditary succession, first tolerated, then claimed and finally usurped; the foundation of hereditary royalty and hereditary nobility was laid. In this manner the organs of the gentile constitution were gradually torn away from their roots in the people, in gens, phratry and tribe, and the whole gentile order was transformed into its opposite: from being an organisation of tribes for the free administration of their own affairs, it became an organisation for plundering and oppressing their neighbours; and correspondingly its organs were transformed from instruments of the will of the people into independent organs for ruling and oppressing their own people. But this could not have happened had not the greed for wealth divided the members of the gentes into rich and poor; had not "property differences in the same gens changed the community of interests into antagonism between its members" (Marx)[a]; and had not the growth of slavery already begun to brand working for a living as an activity worthy only of slaves and more ignominious than engaging in plunder.

* * *

This brings us to the threshold of civilisation. This stage is inaugurated by another advance in the division of labour. In the lowest stage men produced only for their own immediate needs; any possible exchange was confined to sporadic cases when a surplus was obtained by chance. In the middle stage of barbarism we find that the pastoral peoples had in their livestock a form of property which, if herds and flocks were of a certain size, regularly

[a] "Marx's Excerpts...", op. cit., p. 213.—*Ed.*

provided a surplus over and above their needs; and we also find a division of labour between the pastoral peoples and backward tribes without herds, so that there were two different stages of production side by side, and therefore the conditions for regular exchange. The upper stage of barbarism introduced a further division of labour between agriculture and handicrafts, resulting in the production of a continually increasing portion of products of labour directly for exchange, so that exchange between individual producers reached the point where it became a vital necessity for society. Civilisation consolidated and magnified all these established divisions of labour, particularly by intensifying the contrast between town and country (either the town exercising economic supremacy over the country, as in antiquity, or the country over the town, as in the Middle Ages) and added a third division of labour, peculiar to itself and of decisive importance: it created a class that was no longer engaged in production, but exclusively in exchanging products—the *merchants.* All previous inchoative class formations were exclusively connected with production; they divided those engaged in production into managers and executors, or else into producers on a large scale and producers on a small scale. Here a class appears for the first time which, without taking any part in production, captures the management of production as a whole and economically subordinates the producers to itself; a class that makes itself the indispensable intermediary between any two producers and exploits them both. On the pretext of saving the producers the trouble and risk of exchange, of extending the sale of their products to distant markets, and of thus becoming the most useful class among the population, a class of parasites arises, of genuine social bloodsuckers, which, as a reward for very insignificant real services, skims the cream off production both at home and abroad, rapidly acquires enormous wealth and corresponding social influence, and for this very reason is destined to reap ever new honours and gain increasing control over production during the period of civilisation, until it at last creates a product of its own—periodic commercial crises.

At the stage of development we are discussing, the young merchant class, however, had no inkling as yet of the big things that were in store for it. But it took shape and made itself indispensable, and that was sufficient. With it, however, *metal money,* minted coins, emerged, and with this a new means by which the non-producer could rule the producer and his production. The commodity of commodities, which conceals within itself all

other commodities, was discovered; the magic potion that can transform itself at will into anything desirable and desired. Whoever possessed it ruled the world of production; and who had it above all others? The merchant. In his hands the cult of money was safe. He took care to make it plain that all commodities, and hence all commodity producers, must grovel in the dust before money. He proved in practice that all other forms of wealth were mere semblances compared with this incarnation of wealth as such. Never again has the power of money revealed itself with such primitive crudity and violence as it did in this period, its youth. After the purchase of commodities for money came the lending of money, entailing interest and usury. And no legislation of any later period throws the debtor so pitilessly and helplessly at the feet of the usurious creditor as that of ancient Athens and Rome—both sets of law arose spontaneously, as common law, without other than economic compulsion.

Besides wealth in commodities and slaves, besides money wealth, there now came into being wealth in landed property. The entitlement of individuals to own parcels of land originally assigned to them by the gens or tribe had now become so well established that these parcels became their hereditary property. What they had most aspired to just before that time was liberation from the claim of the gentile community to their parcels of land, a claim which had become a fetter for them. They were freed from this fetter—but soon after also from their new landed property. The full, free ownership of land implied not only the possibility of unrestricted and uncurtailed possession, but also the possibility of alienating it. As long as the land belonged to the gens there was no such possibility. But when the new landowner definitively shook off the chains of the paramount title of the gens and tribe, he also tore the bond that had until then tied him inseverably to the soil. What that meant was made plain to him by the money invented simultaneously with the advent of private property. Land could now become a commodity to be sold and mortgaged. Hardly had the private ownership of land been introduced when mortgage was discovered (see Athens). Just as hetaerism and prostitution clung to the heels of monogamy, so from now on mortgage clung to the ownership of land. You wanted full, free, alienable ownership of land. Well, here you have it—*tu l'as voulu,*[a] George Dandin!

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[a] "You wanted it." This expression is taken from Molière's comedy *George Dandin, ou le mari confondu,* I, 9.—*Ed.*

Commercial expansion, money and usury, landed property and mortgage were thus accompanied by the rapid concentration and centralisation of wealth in the hands of a small class, on the one hand, and by the increasing impoverishment of the masses and a growing mass of paupers, on the other. The new aristocracy of wealth, unless it coincided from the outset with the old tribal nobility, forced the latter definitively into the background (in Athens, in Rome, among the Germans). And this division of freemen into classes according to their wealth was accompanied, especially in Greece, by an enormous increase in the number of slaves,* whose forced labour formed the basis on which the superstructure of the entire society was reared.

Let us now see what became of the gentile constitution as a result of this social revolution. It stood powerless in the face of the new elements that had grown up without its aid. Its precondition was that the members of a gens, or else of a tribe, should live together in the same territory, be its sole inhabitants. This had long ceased to be the case. Gentes and tribes were everywhere intermingled; everywhere slaves, wards and outsiders lived among the citizens. The sedentary state, which had been acquired only towards the end of the middle stage of barbarism, was time and again interrupted by the mobility and changes of abode brought about by commerce, changes of occupation and the transfer of land. The members of the gentile bodies could no longer meet for the purpose of attending to their own common affairs; only matters of minor importance, such as religious ceremonies, were still observed in a rough-and-ready way. Beside the requirements and interests which the gentile bodies were appointed and empowered to take care of, new requirements and interests had arisen from the revolution in the conditions of earning a livelihood and the resulting change in social structure. These new requirements and interests were not only alien to the old gentile order, but thwarted it in every way. The interests of the groups of craftsmen which arose through division of labour, and the special needs of the town as opposed to the country, required new organs; but each of these groups was composed of people from different gentes, phratries and tribes; they even included outsiders. Hence, the new organs necessarily had to take shape outside the gentile constitution, alongside it, and that meant

* For the number of slaves in Athens, see above, p. 117 [this volume, p. 222]. In Corinth, at the city's zenith, it was 460,000, and in Aegina 470,000; in both, ten times the number of free citizens.

against it.—And again, in every gentile body the conflict of interests made itself felt and reached its apex by combining rich and poor, usurers and debtors, in the same gens and tribe.—Then there was the mass of new inhabitants, strangers to the gentile associations, which, as in Rome, became a power in the land, and was too numerous to be gradually absorbed by the consanguine gentes and tribes. The gentile associations confronted these masses as exclusive, privileged bodies; what had originally been a naturally evolved democracy was transformed into a hateful aristocracy. Lastly, the gentile constitution had grown out of a society that knew no internal antagonisms, and was suited only to such a society. It had no means of coercion except public opinion. But now a society had come into being that by virtue of all its economic conditions of existence had to split up into freemen and slaves, into exploiting rich and exploited poor; a society that was not only incapable of reconciling these antagonisms, but had to carry them to extremes. Such a society could only exist either in a state of continuous, open struggle of these classes against one another or under the rule of a third power which, while ostensibly standing above the conflicting classes, suppressed their open conflict and permitted a class struggle at most in the economic field, in a so-called legal form. The gentile constitution had outlived itself. It was burst asunder by the division of labour and by its result, the division of society into classes. Its place was taken by the *state.*

* * *

Above we discussed in detail each of the three main forms in which the state raised itself up on the ruins of the gentile constitution. Athens represented the purest, most classical form. Here the state derived directly and mainly from the class antagonisms that developed within gentile society. In Rome gentile society became an exclusive aristocracy amidst numerous plebs, standing outside of it, having no rights but only duties. The victory of the plebs burst the old gentile constitution asunder and erected on its ruins the state, into which both the gentile aristocracy and the plebs were soon wholly absorbed. Finally, among the German vanquishers of the Roman Empire, the state derived directly from the conquest of large foreign territories, which the gentile constitution had no means of ruling. As this conquest did not entail either a serious struggle with the old population or a more advanced division of labour, and as

conquered and conquerors were almost at the same stage of economic development and thus the economic basis of society remained the same as before, the gentile constitution was able to continue for many centuries in a changed, territorial shape as a Mark constitution, and even rejuvenate itself for a time in enfeebled form in the noble and patrician families of later years, and even in peasant families, as in Dithmarschen.*

The state is, therefore, by no means a power forced on society from without; just as little is it "the reality of the ethical idea", "the image and reality of reason", as Hegel maintains.[a] Rather, it is a product of society at a certain stage of development; it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it has split into irreconcilable opposites which it is powerless to dispel. But in order that these opposites, classes with conflicting economic interests, might not consume themselves and society in fruitless struggle, it became necessary to have a power seemingly standing above society which would alleviate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of "order"; and this power, having arisen out of society but placing itself above it, and alienating itself more and more from it, is the state.

As distinct from the old gentile order, the state, first, divides its subjects *according to territory*. As we have seen, the old gentile associations, built upon and held together by ties of blood, became inadequate, largely because they were conditional on the members being bound to a given territory, a bond which had long ceased to exist. The territory remained, but the people had become mobile. Hence, division according to territory was taken as the point of departure, and citizens were allowed to exercise their public rights and duties wherever they settled, irrespective of gens and tribe. This organisation of citizens according to locality is a feature common to all states. That is why it seems natural to us; but we have seen what long and arduous struggles were needed before it replaced, in Athens and Rome, the old organisation according to gentes.

The second distinguishing feature is the establishment of a *public authority* which no longer directly coincides with the population organising itself as an armed force. This special public

* The first historian to have at least an approximate idea of the nature of the gens was Niebuhr, thanks to his knowledge of the Dithmarschen families—to which, however, he also owes the errors he mechanically copied from there.[138]

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, §§ 257, 360.—*Ed.*

authority is necessary because a self-acting armed organisation of the population has become impossible since the split into classes. The slaves also belong to the population; the 90,000 citizens of Athens formed only a privileged class as against the 365,000 slaves. The people's army of the Athenian democracy was an aristocratic public authority vis-à-vis the slaves, whom it kept in check; however, a gendarmerie also became necessary to keep the citizens in check, as we related above. This public authority exists in every state; it consists not merely of armed men but also of material adjuncts, prisons and institutions of coercion of all kinds, of which gentile society knew nothing. It may be very insignificant, almost infinitesimal, in societies where class antagonisms are still undeveloped and in remote territories as was the case at certain times and in certain regions in the United States of America. It [the public authority] grows stronger, however, to the extent that class antagonisms within the state become exacerbated and adjacent states become larger and more populous. We have only to look at our present-day Europe, where class struggle and competition for conquests have raised the public power to such a level that it threatens to swallow the whole of society and even the state.

In order to maintain this public power, contributions from the citizens are necessary—*taxes.* These were absolutely unknown in gentile society; but we know enough about them today. As civilisation advances, these taxes become inadequate too; the state makes drafts on the future, contracts loans, *public debts.* Old Europe can tell a tale about these, too.

Having public authority and the right to levy taxes, the officials now stand, as organs of society, *above* society. The free, voluntary respect that was accorded to the organs of the gentile constitution does not satisfy them, even if they could gain it; being the vehicles of a power that is becoming alien to society, respect for them must be enforced by means of exceptional laws by virtue of which they enjoy special sanctity and inviolability. The shabbiest police servant in the civilised state has more "authority" than all the organs of gentile society put together; but the most powerful prince and the greatest statesman, or commander, of civilisation may well envy the humblest gentile chief for the unforced and undisputed respect that is paid to him. The one stands in the midst of society, the other is forced to attempt to represent something outside and above it.

Because the state arose from the need to hold class antagonisms in check, but because it arose, at the same time, in the midst of the

conflict of these classes, it is, as a rule, the state of the most powerful, economically dominant class, which, through the medium of the state, becomes also the politically dominant class, and thus acquires new means of keeping down and exploiting the oppressed class. Thus, the state of antiquity was above all the state of the slave owners for keeping down the slaves, as the feudal state was the organ of the nobility for keeping down the peasant serfs and villeins, and the modern representative state is an instrument for the exploitation of wage labour by capital. By way of exception, however, periods occur in which the warring classes balance each other so closely that the state authority, as ostensible mediator, acquires, for the moment, a certain degree of independence of both. Such was the absolute monarchy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which held the balance between the nobility and burghers; such was the Bonapartism of the First, and especially of the Second French Empire, which played off the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. The latest performance of this kind, in which ruler and ruled appear equally ridiculous, is the new German Empire of the Bismarck nation: here capitalists and workers are balanced against each other and equally cheated for the benefit of the impoverished Prussian backwoods Junkers.

In most historical states, the rights granted to citizens are, besides, apportioned according to their wealth, thus directly expressing the fact that the state is an organisation of the possessing class for its protection against the non-possessing class. It was so already in the Athenian and Roman classification according to property. It was so in the medieval feudal state, in which political power was in conformity with the amount of land owned. It is seen in the electoral qualifications of the modern representative states. Yet this political recognition of property distinctions is by no means inherent. On the contrary, it marks a low stage of state development. The highest form of the state, the democratic republic, which under our modern conditions of society is more and more becoming an inevitable necessity, and is the only form of state in which the last decisive struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie can be fought out—the democratic republic officially knows no more of property distinctions. In it wealth exercises its power indirectly, but all the more surely. On the one hand, in the form of the direct corruption of officials, of which America provides the classical example; on the other hand, in the form of an alliance between government and stock exchange, which becomes the easier to achieve the more the

national debt increases and the more joint-stock companies concentrate in their hands not only transport but also production itself, using the stock exchange as their centre. Besides America, the latest French republic is a striking example of this; and even good old Switzerland has contributed its share in this field. But that a democratic republic is not essential for this fraternal alliance between government and stock exchange is proved by England and also by the new German Empire, where one cannot tell who was elevated more by universal suffrage, Bismarck or Bleichröder. And lastly, the possessing class rules directly through the medium of universal suffrage. As long as the oppressed class, in our case, therefore, the proletariat, is not yet ripe to emancipate itself, it will in its majority regard the existing order of society as the only one possible and, politically, will form the tail of the capitalist class, its extreme Left wing. To the extent, however, that this class matures for its self-emancipation, it constitutes itself as a party of its own and elects its own representatives, not those of the capitalists. Thus, universal suffrage is the gauge of the maturity of the working class. It cannot and never will be anything more in the present-day state; but that is sufficient. On the day the thermometer of universal suffrage registers boiling point among the workers, both they and the capitalists will know where they stand.

The state, then, has not existed from eternity. There have been societies that managed without it, that had no idea of the state and state authority. At a certain stage of economic development, which was necessarily bound up with the split of society into classes, the state became a necessity owing to this split. We are now rapidly approaching a stage in the development of production at which the existence of these classes not only will have ceased to be a necessity, but will become a positive hindrance to production. They will fall as inevitably as they arose at an earlier stage. Along with them the state will inevitably fall. Society, which will reorganise production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers, will put the whole machinery of state where it will then belong: into the museum of antiquities, by the side of the spinning-wheel and the bronze axe.

* * *

Thus, from the foregoing, civilisation is that stage of development of society at which division of labour, the resulting exchange between individuals, and commodity production, which combines the two, reach their full development and revolutionise the whole of hitherto existing society.

Production at all previous stages of society was essentially common production and, likewise, consumption took place by the direct distribution of the products within larger or smaller communistic communities. This production in common was carried on within the narrowest limits, but concomitantly the producers were masters of their process of production and of their product. They knew what became of the product: they consumed it, it did not leave their hands; and as long as production was carried on on this basis, it could not grow beyond the control of the producers, and it could not conjure up any alien, phantom powers against them, as is the case regularly and inevitably under civilisation.

But, slowly, division of labour crept into this process of production. It undermined the communality of production and appropriation, it made appropriation by individuals the predominant rule, and thus gave rise to exchange between individuals—how, we examined above. Gradually, the production of commodities became the dominant form.

With the production of commodities, production no longer for one's own consumption but for exchange, the products necessarily change hands. The producer parts with his product in the course of exchange; he no longer knows what becomes of it. As soon as money, and with it the merchant, steps in as a mediator between the producers, the process of exchange becomes still more complicated, the ultimate fate of the products still more uncertain. The merchants are numerous and none of them knows what the other is doing. Commodities now pass not only from hand to hand, but also from market to market. The producers have lost control of the total production of their life cycle, and the merchants have not acquired it. Products and production fall victim to chance.

But chance is only one pole of an interrelation, the other pole of which is called necessity. In nature, where chance, too, seems to reign, we have long since demonstrated in each particular field the inherent necessity and regularity that asserts itself in this chance. What is true of nature holds good also for society. The more a social activity, a series of social processes, becomes too powerful for conscious human control, grows beyond human reach, the more it seems to have been left to pure chance, the more do its peculiar and innate laws assert themselves in this chance, as if by natural necessity. Such laws also control the fortuities of the production and exchange of commodities; these laws confront the individual producer and exchanger as strange and, in the

beginning, even as unknown powers, the nature of which must first be laboriously investigated and ascertained. These economic laws of commodity production are modified at the different stages of development of this form of production; on the whole, however, the entire period of civilisation has been dominated by these laws. To this day, the product is master of the producer; to this day, the total production of society is regulated, not by a plan thought out in common, but by blind laws, which operate with elemental force, in the last resort in the storms of periodic commercial crises.

We saw above how human labour power became able, at a rather early stage of development of production, to deliver considerably more products than were needed for the producer's maintenance, and how this stage, in the main, coincided with that where the division of labour and exchange appeared between individuals. Now, it was not long before the great "truth" was discovered that man, too, may be a commodity; that human power[a] may be exchanged and utilised by converting man into a slave. Men had barely started to engage in exchange when they themselves were exchanged. The active became a passive, whether man wanted it or not.

With slavery, which reached its fullest development under civilisation, came the first great split of society into an exploiting and an exploited class. This split has continued during the whole period of civilisation. Slavery was the first form of exploitation, peculiar to the world of antiquity; it was followed by serfdom in the Middle Ages, and by wage labour in modern times. These are the three great forms of servitude, characteristic of the three great epochs of civilisation; overt, and, latterly, covert slavery, are its constant companions.

The stage of commodity production, with which civilisation began, is marked economically by the introduction of 1) metal money and, thus, of money capital, interest and usury; 2) the merchants acting as mediating class between producers; 3) private ownership of land and mortgage; 4) slave labour as the prevailing form of production. The form of the family corresponding to civilisation and under it becoming the definitively prevailing form is monogamy, the supremacy of the man over the woman, and the individual family as the economic unit of society. The cohesive force of civilised society is the state, which in all typical periods is exclusively the state of the ruling class, and in all cases remains

[a] The 1884 edition has "human labour power".—*Ed.*

essentially a machine for keeping down the oppressed, exploited class. Other marks of civilisation are: on the one hand, fixation of the antithesis between town and country as the basis of the entire social division of labour; on the other hand, the introduction of testaments, by which the property holder is able to dispose of his property even after his death. This institution, which was a direct blow in the face of the old gentile constitution, was unknown in Athens until the time of Solon; in Rome it was introduced very early, but we do not know when.* Among the Germans it was introduced by the priests in order that the good honest German might without hindrance bequeath his property to the Church.

With this constitution as its foundation civilisation has accomplished things of which the old gentile society was not remotely capable. But it accomplished them by setting in motion the most sordid instincts and passions of man, and by developing them at the expense of all his other faculties. Naked greed has been the moving spirit of civilisation from its first day to the present time; wealth, wealth and wealth again; wealth, not of society, but of this shabby individual was its sole determining aim. If, in the pursuit of this aim, the increasing development of science and repeated periods of the fullest blooming of art fell into its lap, it was only because without them the ample present-day achievements in the accumulation of wealth would have been impossible.

Since the exploitation of one class by another is the basis of civilisation, its whole development moves in a continuous contradiction. Every advance in production is at the same time a retrogression in the condition of the oppressed class, that is, of the great majority. What is a boon for the one is necessarily a bane for the other; each new emancipation of one class means a new oppression of another class. The most striking proof of this is furnished by the introduction of machinery, the effects of which are today known throughout the world. And while among barbarians, as we have seen, hardly any distinction could be made

* Lassalle's *Das System der erworbenen Rechte* turns, in its second part, mainly on the proposition that the Roman testament is as old as Rome itself, that in Roman history there was never "a time when testaments did not exist"; that the testament arose rather in pre-Roman times out of the cult of the dead. As a confirmed Hegelian of the old school, Lassalle derived the provisions of the Roman law not from the social relations of the Romans, but from the "speculative conception" of the will, and thus arrived at this totally unhistoric assertion. This is not to be wondered at in a book which from the same speculative conception draws the conclusion that the transfer of property was purely a secondary matter in Roman inheritance. Lassalle not only believes in the illusions of Roman jurists, especially of the earlier period, but he even excels them.

between rights and duties, civilisation makes the difference and antithesis between these two plain even to the dullest mind by assigning to one class pretty nearly all the rights, and to the other class pretty nearly all the duties.

But this is not as it ought to be. What is good for the ruling class should be good for the whole of the society with which the ruling class identifies itself. Therefore, the more civilisation advances, the more it is compelled to cover the ills it necessarily creates with the cloak of love, to embellish them, or to deny their existence; in short, to introduce conventional hypocrisy—unknown either in previous forms of society or even in the earliest stages of civilisation—that eventually culminates in the declaration: The exploiting class exploits the oppressed class solely and exclusively in the interest of the exploited class itself; and if the latter fails to appreciate this, and even becomes rebellious, it thereby shows the basest ingratitude to its benefactors, the exploiters.*

And now, in conclusion, Morgan's verdict on civilisation:

"Since the advent of civilisation, the outgrowth of property has been so immense, its forms so diversified, its uses so expanding and its management so intelligent in the interests of its owners that it *has become,* on the part of the people, *an unmanageable power. The human mind stands bewildered in the presence of its own creation.* The time will come, nevertheless, when human intelligence will rise to the mastery over property, and define the relations of the state to the property it protects, as well as [...] the limits of the rights of its owners. The interests of society are paramount to individual interests, and the two must be brought into just and harmonious relation. A mere property career is not the final destiny of mankind, if progress is to be the law of the future as it has been of the past. The time which has passed away since civilisation began is but a fragment of the past duration of man's existence; and but a fragment of the ages yet to come. The dissolution of society bids fair to become the termination of a career of which property is the end and aim, because such a career contains the elements of self-destruction. Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights [...], and universal education, foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience, intelligence and knowledge are steadily tending. *It will be a revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the ancient gentes.*" (Morgan, *Ancient Society,* p. 552.)[a]

* I had intended at the outset to place the brilliant critique of civilisation, scattered through the works of Charles Fourier, by the side of Morgan's and my own. Unfortunately, I cannot spare the time. I only wish to remark that Fourier already considered monogamy and property in land as the main distinguishing features of civilisation, and that he described it as a war of the rich against the poor. We also find already in his works the deep appreciation of the fact that in all imperfect societies, those torn by antagonisms, the individual families (*les familles incohérentes*) are the economic units.

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[a] Italics by Engels. See also "Marx's Excerpts...", op. cit., p. 139.—*Ed.*

# [INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE SEPARATE 1884 EDITION OF MARX'S *WAGE LABOUR AND CAPITAL*][139]

The following work appeared as a series of leading articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* from April 4, 1849 onwards. It is based on the lectures delivered by *Marx* in 1847 at the German Workers' Society in Brussels.[140] The work as printed remained a fragment; the words at the end of No. 269: "To be continued," remained unfulfilled in consequence of the events which just then came crowding one after another: the invasion of Hungary by the Russians, the insurrections in Dresden, Iserlohn, Elberfeld, the Palatinate and Baden, which led to the suppression of the newspaper itself (May 19, 1849).

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# MARX AND RODBERTUS

## PREFACE TO THE FIRST GERMAN EDITION OF *THE POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY* BY KARL MARX[141]

The present work was produced in the winter of 1846-47, at a time when Marx had cleared up for himself the basic features of his new historical and economic outlook. Proudhon's *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère,* which had just appeared, gave him the opportunity to develop these basic features, setting them against the views of a man who, from then on, was to occupy the most important place among living French socialists. Since the time in Paris when the two of them had often spent whole nights discussing economic questions, their paths had increasingly diverged: Proudhon's book proved that there was already an unbridgeable gulf between them. To ignore it was at that time impossible, and so Marx put on record the irreparable rupture in this reply of his.

Marx's general opinion of Proudhon is to be found in the article, which is appended to this preface and appeared in the Berlin *Social-Demokrat* Nos 16, 17 and 18 for 1865.[a] It was the only article Marx wrote for that paper; Herr von Schweitzer's attempts to guide it along feudal and government lines, which became evident soon afterwards, compelled us to publicly terminate our collaboration after only a few weeks.[142]

For Germany, the present work has at this precise moment a significance which Marx himself never imagined. How could he have known that, in trouncing Proudhon, he was hitting Rodbertus, the idol of the careerists of today, who was unknown to him even by name at that time?

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[a] K. Marx, "On Proudhon (Letter to J. B. Schweitzer)."—*Ed.*

This is not the place to deal with relations between Marx and Rodbertus; an opportunity for that is sure to present itself to me very soon.[143] Suffice it to note here that when Rodbertus accuses Marx of having "plundered" him and of having "freely used in his *Capital* without quoting him"[a] his work *Zur Erkenntniß,* he allows himself to indulge in an act of slander which is only explicable by the irksomeness of unrecognised genius and by his remarkable ignorance of things taking place outside Prussia, and especially of socialist and economic literature. Neither these charges, nor the above-mentioned work by Rodbertus ever came to Marx's sight; all he knew of Rodbertus was the three *Sociale Briefe* and even these certainly not before 1858 or 1859.

With greater reason Rodbertus asserts in these letters that he had already discovered "Proudhon's constituted value" *before* Proudhon[b]; but here again it is true he erroneously flatters himself with being the *first* discoverer. In any case, he is thus one of the targets of criticism in the present work, and this compels me to deal briefly with his "fundamental" piece: *Zur Erkenntniß unsrer staatswirthschaftlichen Zustände,* 1842, insofar as this brings forth anticipations of Proudhon as well as the communism of Weitling likewise (again unconsciously) contained in it.

Insofar as modern socialism, no matter of what tendency, starts out from bourgeois political economy, it almost without exception takes up the Ricardian theory of value. The two propositions which Ricardo proclaimed in 1817 right at the beginning of his *Principles,* 1) that the value of any commodity is purely and solely determined by the quantity of labour required for its production, and 2) that the product of the entire social labour is divided among the three classes: landowners (rent), capitalists (profit) and workers (wages)—these two propositions had ever since 1821 been utilised in England for socialist conclusions,[144] and in part with such pointedness and resolution that this literature, which had then almost been forgotten and was to a large extent only rediscovered by Marx, remained unsurpassed until the appearance of *Capital.* About this another time. If, therefore, in 1842, Rodbertus for his part drew socialist conclusions from the above propositions, that was certainly a very considerable step forward

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[a] See Rodbertus' letters to R. Meyers dated November 29, 1871 (*Briefe und Socialpolitische Aufsätze von Dr. Rodbertus Jagetzow,* Vol. 1, Berlin, p. 134) and to J. Zeller dated March 14, 1875 (*Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatswissenschaft,* Vol. 35, Tübingen, 1879, p. 219).—*Ed.*

[b] [J. K.] Rodbertus, *Sociale Briefe an von Kirchmann,* Zweiter Brief, p. 54 (Note).—*Ed.*

for a German at that time, but it could rank as a new discovery only for Germany at best. That such an application of the Ricardian theory was far from new was proved by Marx against Proudhon, who suffered from a similar conceit.

"Anyone who is in any way familiar with the trend of political economy in England cannot fail to know that almost all the socialists in that country have, at different periods, proposed the *equalitarian* (i.e. socialist)[a] application of Ricardian theory. We could quote for M. Proudhon: Hodgskin, *Political Economy,* 1827; William Thompson, *An Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth Most Conducive to Human Happiness,* 1824; T. R. Edmonds, *Practical Moral and Political Economy,* 1828, etc., etc., and four pages more of *etc.* We shall content ourselves with listening to an English Communist, Mr. Bray ... in his remarkable work, *Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy,* Leeds, 1839."[b] And the quotations given here from Bray on their own put an end to a good part of the priority claimed by Rodbertus.

At that time Marx had never yet entered the reading room of the British Museum. Apart from the libraries of Paris and Brussels, apart from my books and extracts, he had only examined such books as were obtainable in Manchester during a six-week journey to England we made together in the summer of 1845. The literature in question was, therefore, by no means so inaccesible in the forties as it may be now. If, all the same, it always remained unknown to Rodbertus, that is to be ascribed solely to his Prussian local bigotry. He is the actual founder of specifically Prussian socialism and is now at last recognised as such.

However, even in his beloved Prussia, Rodbertus was not to remain undisturbed. In 1859, Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* Part I, was published in Berlin. Therein, among the economists' objections to Ricardo, the following was put forward as the second objection (p. 40):

"If the exchange value of a product equals the labour time contained in the product, then the exchange value of a working day is equal to the product it yields, in other words, wages must be equal to the product of labour. But in fact the opposite is true." On this there was the following note: "This objection, which was advanced against Ricardo by economists,[c] was later taken up by socialists. Assuming that the formula was theoretically sound, they

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[a] Italics and words in parentheses by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 6, p. 138.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx has "bourgeois economists".—*Ed.*

alleged that practice stood in conflict with the theory and demanded that bourgeois society should draw the practical conclusions supposedly arising from its theoretical principles. In this way at least English socialists turned Ricardo's formula of exchange value against political economy."[a] In the same note there was a reference to Marx's *Misère de la philosophie,* which was then obtainable in all the bookshops.

Rodbertus, therefore, had sufficient opportunity of convincing himself whether his discoveries of 1842 were really new. Instead, he proclaims them again and again and regards them as so incomparable that it never occurs to him that Marx might have drawn his conclusions from Ricardo independently, just as well as Rodbertus himself. Absolutely impossible! Marx had "plundered" him—the man whom the same Marx had offered every opportunity to convince himself how long before both of them these conclusions, at least in the crude form which they still have in the case of Rodbertus, had previously been enunciated in England!

The simplest socialist application of the Ricardian theory is indeed that given above. It has led in many cases to insights into the origin and nature of surplus value which go far beyond Ricardo, as in the case of Rodbertus among others. Quite apart from the fact that on this matter he nowhere presents anything which has not already been said at least as well, before him, his presentation suffers like those of his predecessors from the fact that he adopts, uncritically and without examining their content, economic categories—labour, capital, value, etc.—in the crude form, clinging to their external appearance, in which they were handed down to him by the economists. He thereby not only cuts himself off from all further development—in contrast to Marx, who was the first to make something of these propositions so often repeated for the last sixty-four years—but, as will be shown, he opens for himself the road leading straight to utopia.

The above application of the Ricardian theory that the entire social product belongs to the workers as *their* product, because they are the sole real producers, leads directly to communism. But, as Marx indeed indicates in the above-quoted passage, it is incorrect in formal economic terms, for it is simply an application of morality to economics. According to the laws of bourgeois economics, the greatest part of the product does *not* belong to the workers who have produced it. If we now say: that is unjust, that ought not to be so, then that has nothing

[a] See present edition, Vol. 29, p. 301.—*Ed.*

immediately to do with economics. We are merely saying that this economic fact is in contradiction to our sense of morality. Marx, therefore, never based his communist demands upon this, but upon the inevitable collapse of the capitalist mode of production which is daily taking place before our eyes to an ever growing degree; he says only that surplus value consists of unpaid labour, which is a simple fact. But what in economic terms may be formally incorrect, may all the same be correct from the point of view of world history. If mass moral consciousness declares an economic fact to be unjust, as it did at one time in the case of slavery and statute labour, that is proof that the fact itself has outlived its day, that other economic facts have made their appearance due to which the former has become unbearable and untenable. Therefore, a very true economic content may be concealed behind the formal economic incorrectness. This is not the place to deal more closely with the significance and history of the theory of surplus value.

At the same time other conclusions can be drawn, and have been drawn, from the Ricardian theory of value. The value of commodities is determined by the labour required for their production. But now it turns out that in this imperfect world commodities are sold sometimes above, sometimes below their value, and indeed not only as a result of ups and downs in competition. The rate of profit tends just as much to balance out at the same level for all capitalists as the price of commodities does to become reduced to the labour value by agency of supply and demand. But the rate of profit is calculated on the total capital invested in an industrial business. Since now the annual products in two different branches of industry may incorporate equal quantities of labour, and, consequently, may represent equal values and also wages may be at an equal level in both, while the capital advanced in one branch may be, and often is, twice or three times as great as in the other, consequently the Ricardian law of value, as Ricardo himself discovered, comes into contradiction here with the law of the equal rate of profit. If the products of both branches of industry are sold at their values, the rates of profit cannot be equal; if, however, the rates of profit are equal, then the products of the two branches of industry cannot always be sold at their values. Thus, we have here a contradiction, the antinomy of two economic laws, the practical resolution of which takes place according to Ricardo (Chapter I, Section 4 and 5 [145]) as a rule in favour of the rate of profit at the cost of value.

But the Ricardian definition of value, in spite of its ominous

characteristics, has a feature which makes it dear to the heart of the honest bourgeois. It appeals with irresistible force to his sense of justice. Justice and equality of rights are the cornerstones on which the bourgeois of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would like to erect his social edifice over the ruins of feudal injustice, inequality and privilege. And the determination of value of commodities by labour and the free exchange of the products of labour, taking place according to this measure of value between commodity owners with equal rights, these are, as Marx has already proved, the real foundations on which the whole political, juridical and philosophical ideology of the modern bourgeoisie has been built. Once it is recognised that labour is the measure of value of a commodity, the better feelings of the honest bourgeois cannot but be deeply wounded by the wickedness of a world which, while recognising the basic law of justice in name, still in fact appears at every moment to set it aside without compunction. And the petty bourgeois especially, whose honest labour—even if it is only that of his workmen and apprentices—is daily more and more depreciated in value by the competition of large-scale production and machinery, this small-scale producer especially must long for a society in which the exchange of products according to their labour value is at last a complete and invariable truth. In other words, he must long for a society in which a single law of commodity production prevails exclusively and in full, but in which the conditions are abolished in which it can prevail at all, viz., the other laws of commodity production and, later, of capitalist production.

How deeply this utopia has struck roots in the way of thinking of the modern petty bourgeois—real or ideal—is proved by the fact that it was systematically developed by John Gray back in 1831,[a] that it was tried in practice and theoretically propagated in England in the thirties, that it was proclaimed as the latest truth by Rodbertus in Germany in 1842 and by Proudhon in France in 1846, that it was again proclaimed by Rodbertus as late as 1871 as the solution to the social question and, as, so to say, his social testament,[b] and that in 1884 it again finds adherents among the horde of careerists who in the name of Rodbertus set out to exploit Prussian state socialism.[146]

The critique of this utopia has been so exhaustively furnished by Marx both against Proudhon and against Gray[c] (see the appendix

[a] J. Gray, *The Social System: A Treatise on the Principle of Exchange.—Ed.*
[b] See J. K. Rodbertus, *Der Normal-Arbeitstag.—Ed.*
[c] See present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 320-23.—*Ed.*

to this work[a]) that I can confine myself here to a few remarks on the form of substantiating and depicting it peculiar to Rodbertus.

As already noted, Rodbertus adopts the traditional definitions of economic concepts entirely in the form in which they have come down to him from the economists. He does not make the slightest attempt to investigate them. Value is for him

> "the valuation of one thing against others according to quantity, this valuation being conceived as measure".[b]

This, to put it mildly, extremely slovenly definition gives us at the best an idea of what value approximately looks like, but says absolutely nothing of what it is. Since this, however, is all that Rodbertus is able to tell us about value, it is understandable that he looks for a measure of value located outside value. After thirty pages in which he mixes up use value and exchange value in higgledypiggledy fashion with that power of abstract thought so infinitely admired by Herr Adolf Wagner,[147] he arrives at the conclusion that there is no real measure of value and that one has to make do with a substitute measure. Labour could serve as such, but only if products of an equal quantity of labour were always exchanged against products of an equal quantity of labour; whether this "is already the case of itself, or whether precautionary measures are adopted" to ensure that it is.[c] Consequently, value and labour remain without any sort of material connection, in spite of the fact that the whole first chapter is taken up to expound to us that commodities "cost labour" and nothing but labour, and why this is so.

Labour, again, is taken uncritically in the form in which it occurs among the economists. And not even that. For, although there is a reference in a couple of words to differences in intensity of labour, labour is still put forward quite generally as something which "costs", hence as something which measures value, quite irrespective of whether it is expended under normal average social conditions or not. Whether the producers take ten days, or only one, to make products which could be made in one day; whether they employ the best or the worst tools; whether they expend their labour time in the production of socially necessary articles and in

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[a] See this volume, p. 291.—*Ed.*

[b] [J. K.] Rodbertus, *Zur Erkenntniß unsrer staatswirthschaftlichen Zustände*, p. 61.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., p. 62.—*Ed.*

the socially required quantity, or whether they make quite undesired articles or desired articles in quantities above or below demand—about all this there is not a word: labour is labour, the product of equal labour must be exchanged against the product of equal labour. Rodbertus, who is otherwise always ready, whether rightly or not, to adopt the national standpoint and to survey the relations of individual producers from the high watchtower of general social considerations, is anxious to avoid doing so here. And this, indeed, solely because from the very first line of his book he makes directly for the utopia of labour money, and because any investigation of labour seen from its property of creating value would be bound to put insuperable obstacles in his way. His instinct was here considerably stronger than his power of abstract thought which, by the by, is revealed in Rodbertus only by the most concrete absence of ideas.

The transition to utopia is now made in the turn of a hand. The "measures", which ensure exchange of commodities according to labour value as the invariable rule, cause no difficulty. The other utopians of this tendency, from Gray to Proudhon, rack their brains to invent social institutions which would achieve this aim. They attempt at least to solve the economic question in an economic way through the action of the owners themselves who exchange the commodities. For Rodbertus it is much easier. As a good Prussian he appeals to the state: a decree of the state authority orders the reform.

In this way then, value is happily "constituted", but by no means the priority in this constitution as claimed by Rodbertus. On the contrary, Gray as well as Bray—among many others—before Rodbertus, at length and frequently *ad nauseam,* repeated this idea, viz., the pious desire for measures by means of which products would always and under all circumstances be exchanged only at their labour value.

After the state has thus constituted value—at least for a part of the products, for Rodbertus is also modest—it issues its labour paper money, and gives advances therefrom to the industrial capitalists, with which the latter pay the workers, whereupon the workers buy the products with the labour paper money they have received, and so cause the paper money to flow back to its starting point. How very beautifully this is effected, one must hear from Rodbertus himself:

"In regard to the second condition, the necessary measure that the value certified in the note should be actually present in circulation is realised in that only the person who actually delivers a product receives a note, on which is accurately

recorded the quantity of labour by which the product was produced. Whoever delivers a product of two days' labour receives a note marked 'two days'. By the strict observance of this rule in the issue of notes, the second condition too would necessarily be fulfilled. For according to our supposition the real value of the goods always coincides with the quantity of labour which their production has cost and this quantity of labour is measured by the usual units of time, and therefore someone who hands in a product on which two days' labour has been expended and receives a certificate for two days, has received, certified or assigned to him neither more nor less value than that which he has in fact supplied. Further, since *only* the person who has actually put a product into circulation receives such a certificate, it is also certain that the value marked on the note is available for the satisfaction of society. However extensive we imagine the circle of division of labour to be, if this rule is strictly followed *the sum total of available value* must *be exactly equal to the sum total of certified value.*[a] Since, however, the sum total of certified value is exactly equal to the sum total of value assigned, the latter must *necessarily coincide with the available value, all claims will be satisfied and the liquidation correctly brought about*" (pp. 166-67).

If Rodbertus has hitherto always had the misfortune to arrive too late with his new discoveries, this time at least he has the merit of *one* sort of originality: none of his rivals has dared to express the stupidity of the labour money utopia in this childishly naïve, transparent, I might say truly Pomeranian, form. Since for every paper certificate a corresponding object of value has been delivered, and no object of value is supplied except in return for a corresponding paper certificate, the sum total of paper certificates must always be covered by the sum total of objects of value. The calculation works out without the smallest remainder, it is correct down to a second of labour time, and no governmental chief revenue office accountant, however many years of faithful service he may have behind him, could prove the slightest error in calculation. What more could one want?

In present-day capitalist society each industrial capitalist produces off his own bat what, how and as much as he likes. The social demand, however, remains an unknown magnitude to him, both in regard to quality, the kind of objects required, and in regard to quantity. That which today cannot be supplied quickly enough, may tomorrow be offered far in excess of the demand. Nevertheless, demand is finally satisfied in one way or another, good or bad, and, taken as a whole, production is ultimately geared towards the objects required. How is this evening-out of the contradiction effected? By competition. And how does competition bring about this solution? Simply by depreciating below their labour value those commodities which by their kind or

[a] Here and below italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

amount are useless for immediate social requirements, and by making the producers feel, through this roundabout means, that they have produced either absolutely useless articles or ostensibly useful articles in unusable, superfluous quantity. Two things follow from this:

First, continual deviations of the prices of commodities from their values are the necessary condition in and through which the value of the commodities as such can come into existence. Only through the fluctuations of competition, and consequently of commodity prices, does the law of value of commodity production assert itself and the determination of the value of the commodity by the socially necessary labour time become a reality. That thereby the form of manifestation of value, the price, as a rule looks somewhat different from the value which it manifests, is a fate which value shares with most social relations. A king usually looks quite different from the monarchy which he represents. To desire, in a society of producers who exchange their commodities, to establish the determination of value by labour time, by forbidding competition to establish this determination of value through pressure on prices in the only way it can be established, is therefore merely to prove that, at least in this sphere, one has adopted the usual utopian disdain of economic laws.

Secondly, competition, by bringing into operation the law of value of commodity production in a society of producers who exchange their commodities, precisely thereby brings about the only organisation and arrangement of social production which is possible in the circumstances. Only through the undervaluation or overvaluation of products is it forcibly brought home to the individual commodity producers what society requires or does not require and in what amounts. But it is precisely this sole regulator that the utopia advocated by Rodbertus among others wishes to abolish. And if we then ask what guarantee we have that necessary quantity and not more of each product will be produced, that we shall not go hungry in regard to corn and meat while we are choked in beet sugar and drowned in potato spirit, that we shall not lack trousers to cover our nakedness while trouser buttons flood us by the million—Rodbertus triumphantly shows us his splendid calculation, according to which the correct certificate has been handed out for every superfluous pound of sugar, for every unsold barrel of spirit, for every unusable trouser button, a calculation which "works out" exactly, and according to which "all claims will be satisfied and the liquidation correctly brought about". And anyone who does not believe this can apply to

governmental chief revenue office accountant X in Pomerania, who has checked the calculation and found it correct, and who, as one who has never yet been caught lacking with the accounts, is thoroughly trustworthy.

And now consider the naïveté with which Rodbertus would abolish industrial and commercial crises by means of his utopia. As soon as the production of commodities has assumed world market dimensions, the evening-out between the individual producers who produce for private account and the market for which they produce, which in respect of quantity and quality of demand is more or less unknown to them, is established by means of a storm on the world market, by a commercial crisis.* If now competition is to be forbidden to make the individual producers aware, by a rise or fall in prices, how the world market stands, then they are completely blindfolded. To institute the production of commodities in such a fashion that the producers can no longer learn anything about the state of the market for which they are producing—that indeed is a cure for the crisis disease which could make Dr. Eisenbart envious of Rodbertus.

It is now comprehensible why Rodbertus determines the value of commodities simply by "labour" and at most allows for different degrees of intensity of labour. If he had investigated by what means and how labour creates value and therefore also determines and measures it, he would have arrived at socially necessary labour, necessary for the individual product, both in relation to other products of the same kind and also in relation to society's total demand. He would thereby have been confronted with the question as to how the adjustment of the production of separate commodity producers to the total social demand takes place, and his whole utopia would thereby have been made impossible. This time he preferred in fact to "make an abstraction", namely of precisely that which mattered.

Now at last we come to the point where Rodbertus really offers us something new; something which distinguishes him from all his numerous fellow supporters of the labour money exchange economy. They all demand this exchange organisation for the

* At least this was the case until recently. Since England's monopoly of the world market is being increasingly shattered by the participation of France, Germany and, above all, of America in world trade, a new form of evening-out appears to come into operation. The period of general prosperity preceding the crisis still fails to appear. If it should remain absent altogether, then chronic stagnation must necessarily become the normal condition of modern industry, with only insignificant fluctuations.

purpose of abolishing the exploitation of wage labour by capital. Every producer is to receive the full labour value of his product. On this they all agree, from Gray to Proudhon. Not at all, says Rodbertus. Wage labour and its exploitation remain.

In the first place, in no conceivable condition of society can the worker receive the full value of his product for consumption. A series of economically unproductive but necessary functions have to be met from the fund produced, and consequently also the persons connected with them maintained. This is only correct so long as the present-day division of labour applies. In a society in which general productive labour is obligatory, which is also "conceivable" after all, this ceases to apply. But the need for a social reserve and accumulation fund would remain and consequently even in that case, the workers, i.e., *all,* would remain in possession and enjoyment of their total product, but each separate worker would not enjoy the "full returns of his labour". Nor has the maintenance of economically unproductive functions at the expense of the labour product been overlooked by the other labour money utopians. But they leave the workers to tax themselves for this purpose in the usual democratic way, while Rodbertus, whose whole social reform of 1842 is geared to the Prussian state of that time, refers the whole matter to the decision of the bureaucracy, which determines from above the share of the worker in his own product and graciously permits him to have it.

In the second place, however, rent and profit are also to continue undiminished. For the landowners and industrial capitalists also exercise certain socially useful or even necessary functions, even if economically unproductive ones, and they receive in the shape of rent and profit a sort of pay on that account—a conception which was, it will be recalled, not new even in 1842. Actually they get at present far too much for the little that they do, and badly at that, but Rodbertus has need, at least for the next five hundred years, of a privileged class, and so the present rate of surplus value, to express myself correctly, is to remain in existence but is not to be allowed to be increased. This present rate of surplus value Rodbertus takes to be 200 per cent, that is to say, for twelve hours of labour daily the worker is to receive a certificate not for twelve hours but only for four, and the value produced in the remaining eight hours is to be divided between landowner and capitalist. Rodbertus' labour certificates, therefore, are a direct lie. Again, one must be a Pomeranian manor owner in order to imagine that a working class would put up with working twelve

hours in order to receive a certificate for four hours of labour. If the hocus-pocus of capitalist production is translated into this naïve language, in which it appears as naked robbery, it is made impossible. Every certificate given to a worker would be a direct instigation to rebellion and would come under § 110 of the German Imperial Criminal Code.[148] One need never have seen any other proletariat than the day-labourer proletariat, still actually in semi-serfdom, of a Pomeranian manor where the rod and the whip reign supreme, and where all the beautiful women in the village belong to his lordship's harem, in order to imagine one can treat the workers in such a shamefaced manner. But, after all, our conservatives are our greatest revolutionaries.

If, however, our workers are sufficiently docile to be taken in that they have in reality only worked four hours during a whole twelve hours of hard work, they are, as a reward, to be guaranteed that for all eternity their share in their own product will never fall below a third. That is indeed pie in the sky of the most infantile kind and not worth wasting a word over. Insofar, therefore, as there is anything novel in the labour money exchange utopia of Rodbertus, this novelty is simply childish and far below the achievements of his numerous comrades both before and after him.

For the time when Rodbertus' *Zur Erkenntniß, etc.,* appeared, it was certainly an important book. His development of Ricardo's theory of value in that one direction was a very promising beginning. Even if it was new only for him and for Germany, still as a whole, it stands on a par with the achievements of the better ones among his English predecessors. But it was only a beginning, from which a real gain for theory could be achieved only by further thorough and critical work. But he cut himself off from further development by also tackling the development of Ricardo's theory from the very beginning in the second direction, in the direction of utopia. Thereby he surrendered the first condition of all criticism—freedom from bias. He worked on towards a goal fixed in advance, he became a *Tendenzökonom.* Once imprisoned by his utopia, he cut himself off from all possibility of scientific advance. From 1842 up to his death, he went round in circles, always repeating the same ideas which he had already expressed or suggested in his first work, feeling himself unappreciated, finding himself plundered, where there was nothing to plunder, and finally refusing, not without intention, to recognise that in essence he had only rediscovered what had already been discovered long before.

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In a few places the translation departs from the printed French original. This is due to handwritten alterations by Marx, which will also be inserted in the new French edition that is now being prepared.[149]

It is hardly necessary to point out that the terminology used in this work does not entirely coincide with that in *Capital.* Thus this work still speaks of *labour* as a commodity, of the purchase and sale of labour, instead of labour *power.*

Also added as a supplement to this edition are:

1) a passage from Marx's work *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* Berlin, 1859, dealing with the *first* labour money exchange utopia of John Gray, and 2) a translation of Marx's speech on free trade in Brussels (1848),[a] which belongs to the same period of the author's development as the *Misère.*

London, October 23, 1884 *Frederick Engels*

First published in *Die Neue Zeit,* No. 1, 1885 and K. Marx, *Das Elend der Philosophie,* Stuttgart, 1885

Printed according to the 1892 German edition

[a] K. Marx, "Speech on the Question of Free Trade".— *Ed.*

# REAL IMPERIAL RUSSIAN PRIVY DYNAMITERS[150]

Everybody knows that the Russian government is using every means at its disposal to arrive at treaties with the West European states for the extradition of Russian revolutionaries who have fled the country.

Everybody also knows that its overriding concern is to obtain such a treaty from England.

And the final thing that everybody knows is that Russian officialdom will shrink at nothing if only it leads to the desired end.

Very well then. On January 13, 1885 Bismarck concludes an agreement with Russia, which provides for the extradition of every Russian political refugee the moment Russia sees fit to accuse him of being a prospective regicide, or prospective dynamiter.[151]

On January 15 Mrs Olga Novikov issued an appeal to England in the *Pall Mall Gazette,* the selfsame Mrs Novikov who in 1877 and 1878, before and during the war against the Turks, so magnificently duped the noble Mr Gladstone in the interests of Russia.[152] In it England is exhorted no longer to tolerate people such as Hartmann, Kropotkin and Stepniak conspiring on English soil "*to murder us in Russia*", especially now that dynamite has become such a burning issue for the English themselves. And, she remarks, is Russia asking any more of England with respect to Russian revolutionaries than England itself is now obliged to ask of America with respect to Irish dynamiters?

On the morning of January 24 the Prusso-Russian treaty is published in London.[a]

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[a] See "Extradition by Russia and Prussia", *The Times,* No. 31352, January 24, 1885.—*Ed.*

And on January 24 at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, three dynamite explosions go off in London within the space of a quarter hour, and they cause more damage than all the earlier ones taken together, wounding at least seven people, and according to other sources eighteen.

The timing of these explosions is too opportune not to raise the question—Whose interests do they serve? Who has most to gain from these otherwise pointless shots of terror aimed at nobody in particular, to which not only lower-ranking policemen and bourgeois fall victim but also workers and their wives and children? Who? The few Irishmen who were driven to desperation partially because of the brutality of the English government during their imprisonment, and who are assumed to have planted the dynamite? Or, on the other hand, the Russian government which cannot achieve its end—the extradition treaty—without putting the government and people of England under the most extreme pressure, pressure so great that it whips up public opinion in England into a blind rabid rage against the dynamiters?

When the Polish refugees with very few exceptions, would not lower themselves, at the behest of the Russian diplomatic service and the police, to forge Russian banknotes, the Russian government sent agents abroad, including privy councillor Kamensky, to goad them into doing it, and when this too failed Messrs Kamensky and associates were obliged to forge Russian banknotes themselves. For a further detailed account see the pamphlet *The Counterfeiters or the Agents of the Russian Government,* Geneva, H. Georg, 1875.[a]—The police forces of Switzerland and London, and probably of Paris as well, can tell a tale or two about how, in tracking down the Russian forgers, their inquiries finally led them to people whom the Russian embassies would steadfastly refuse to have prosecuted.

The history of the Balkan peninsula during the past one hundred years sheds enough light on the abilities of Russian officialdom in removing troublesome individuals by means of poison, the dagger, etc. I need refer only to the well-known *Histoire des principautés danubiennes* by Élias Regnault, Paris, 1855. The Russian diplomatic service constantly has at its disposal agents of all kinds, including the kind that are used to commit infamous deeds and then disowned.

I do not hesitate, for the time being to lay the blame for the explosions in London on January 24, 1885 at the door of the

[a] Published in Russian.—*Ed.*

Russians. Irish hands may have laid the dynamite, but it is more than probable that a Russian brain and Russian money were behind it.

The means of struggle employed by the Russian revolutionaries are dictated to them by necessity, by the actions of their opponents themselves. They must answer to their people and to history for the means they employ. But the gentlemen who are needlessly parodying this struggle in Western Europe in schoolboy fashion, who are attempting to bring the revolution down to the level of Schinderhannes, who do not even direct their weapons against real enemies but against the public in general, these gentlemen are in no way successors or allies of the Russian revolutionaries, but rather their worst enemies. Since it has become clear that nobody apart from Russian officialdom has any interest in the success of these heroic deeds, the only question that remains to be asked is which of them were coerced and which of them volunteered to become the paid agents of Russian tsarism.

London, January 25, 1885

*Frederick Engels*

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# ENGLAND IN 1845 AND IN 1885[153]

Forty years ago England stood face to face with a crisis, solvable to all appearances by force only. The immense and rapid development of manufactures had outstripped the extension of foreign markets and the increase of demand. Every ten years the march of industry was violently interrupted by a general commercial crash, followed, after a long period of chronic depression, by a few short years of prosperity, and always ending in feverish over-production and consequent renewed collapse. The capitalist class clamored for Free Trade in corn,[154] and threatened to enforce it by sending the starving population of the towns back to the country districts, whence they came: to invade them, as John Bright said, not as paupers begging for bread, but as an army quartered upon the enemy.[155] The working masses of the towns demanded their share of political power—the People's Charter[156]; they were supported by the majority of the small trading class, and the only difference between the two was whether the Charter should be carried by physical or by moral force.[a] Then came the commercial crash of 1847 and the Irish famine, and with both the prospect of revolution.

The French Revolution of 1848 saved the English middle class. The Socialistic pronunciamentoes of the victorious French workmen frightened the small middle class of England and disorganised the narrower, but more matter-of-fact, movement of the English working class. At the very moment Chartism was bound to assert itself in its full strength, it collapsed internally, before even it

[a] Instead of "by physical or by moral force" the German translation has "forcibly or lawfully".—*Ed.*

collapsed externally on the 10th of April, 1848.[157] The action[a] of the working class was thrust into the background. The capitalist class triumphed along the whole line.

The Reform Bill of 1831[158] had been the victory of the whole capitalist class over the landed aristocracy. The repeal of the Corn Laws[159] was the victory of the manufacturing capitalists not only over the landed aristocracy, but over those sections of capitalists too whose interests were more or less[b] bound up with the landed interest: bankers, stock-jobbers, fundholders, etc. Free Trade meant the re-adjustment of the whole home and foreign commercial and financial policy of England in accordance with the interests of the manufacturing capitalists—the class which now represented the nation. And they set about this task with a will. Every obstacle to industrial production was mercilessly removed. The tariff and the whole system of taxation were revolutionised. Everything was made subordinate to one end, but that end of the utmost importance to the manufacturing capitalist: the cheapening of all raw produce, and especially of the means of living of the working class; the reduction of the cost of raw material, and the keeping down—if not as yet the *bringing down*—of wages. England was to become the "workshop of the world"[160]; all other countries were to become for England what Ireland already was—markets for her manufactured goods, supplying her in return with raw materials and food. England the great manufacturing centre of an agricultural world, with an ever-increasing number of corn and cotton-growing Irelands,[c] revolving around her, the industrial sun. What a glorious prospect!

The manufacturing capitalists set about the realisation of this their great object with that strong common sense and that contempt for traditional principles which has ever distinguished them from their more narrow-minded[d] compeers on the Continent. Chartism was dying out. The revival of commercial prosperity, natural[e] after the revulsion of 1847 had spent itself, was put down altogether to the credit of Free Trade. Both these circumstances had turned the English working class, politically, into the tail of the great Liberal party,[f] the party led by the

[a] The German translation has "The political action".—*Ed.*

[b] The German translation has "identical or" instead of "more or less".—*Ed.*

[c] The German translation has "satellites" instead of "Irelands".—*Ed.*

[d] The German translation has "more philistine" instead of "more narrow-minded".—*Ed.*

[e] The German translation further has "and almost self-evident".—*Ed.*

[f] In the German translation the expression "great Liberal party" is given in inverted commas.—*Ed.*

manufacturers. This advantage, once gained, had to be perpetuated. And the manufacturing capitalists, from the Chartist opposition[a] not to Free Trade, but to the transformation of Free Trade into the one vital national question, had learnt and were learning more and more that the middle class can never obtain full social and political power over the nation except by the help of the working class. Thus a gradual change came over the relations between both classes. The Factory Acts,[161] once the bugbear of all manufacturers, were not only willingly submitted to, but their expansion into acts regulating almost all trades, was tolerated. Trades' Unions, lately considered inventions of the devil himself, were now petted and patronised as perfectly legitimate institutions and as useful means of spreading sound economical doctrines amongst the workers. Even strikes, than which nothing had been more nefarious up to 1848, were now gradually found out to be occassionally very useful, especially when provoked by the masters themselves, at their own time. Of the legal enactments, placing the workman at a lower level or at a disadvantage with regard to the master, at least the most revolting were repealed. And, practically, that horrid "People's Charter" actually became the political programme of the very manufacturers who had opposed it to the last. "The Abolition of the Property Qualification"[b] and "Vote by Ballot" are now the law of the land. The Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884[162] make a near approach to "universal suffrage," at least such as it now exists in Germany; the Redistribution Bill now before Parliament creates "equal electoral districts"—on the whole not more unequal than those of France or Germany; "payment of members" and shorter, if not actually "annual parliaments" are visibly looming in the distance—and yet there are people who say that Chartism is dead.

The Revolution of 1848, not less than many of its predecessors, has had strange bed-fellows and successors.[c] The very people who put it down, have become, as Karl Marx used to say, its testamentary executors. Louis Napoleon had to create an independent and united Italy, Bismarck had to revolutionise Germany and to restore[d] Hungarian independence and the English manufacturers had[e] to enact the People's Charter.

[a] The German translation has here "strong Chartist opposition".—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below the words in quotes relate the contents of the *People's Charter.—Ed.*

[c] The German translation has "a strange fate" instead of "strange bed fellows and successors".—*Ed.*

[d] In the German translation here follow the words "a certain".—*Ed.*

[e] The German translation has "had nothing better to do than".—*Ed.*

For England, the effects of this domination of the manufacturing capitalists were at first startling. Trade revived and extended to a degree unheard of even in this cradle of modern industry; the previous astounding creations of steam and machinery dwindled into nothing compared with the immense mass of productions of the twenty years from 1850 to 1870, with the overwhelming figures of exports and imports, of wealth accumulated in the hands of capitalists and of human working power concentrated in the large towns. The progress was indeed interrupted, as before, by a crisis every ten years, in 1857 as well as in 1866; but these revulsions were now considered as natural, inevitable events, which must be fatalistically submitted to, and which always set themselves right in the end.

And the condition of the working class during this period? There was temporary improvement even for the great mass. But this improvement always was reduced to the old level by the influx of the great body of the unemployed reserve, by the constant superseding of hands by new machinery, by the immigration of the agricultural population,[a] now, too, more and more superseded by machines.

A permanent improvement can be recognised for two "protected" sections only of the working class. Firstly, the factory hands. The fixing by Act of Parliament of their working day within relatively rational limits,[b] has restored[c] their physical constitution and endowed them with a moral superiority, enhanced by their local concentration. They are undoubtedly better off than before 1848. The best proof is that out of ten strikes they make, nine are provoked by the manufacturers in their own interests, as the only means of securing a reduced production. You can never get the masters to agree to work "short time," let manufactured goods be ever so unsaleable; but get the workpeople to strike, and the masters shut their factories to a man.

Secondly, the great Trades' Unions. They are the organisations of those trades in which the labor of *grown-up men* predominates, or is alone applicable. Here the competition neither of women and children nor of machinery has so far weakened their organised strength. The engineers, the carpenters and joiners, the bricklayers, are each of them a power, to that extent that, as in the case of the bricklayers and bricklayers' labourers, they can even

[a] The German translation has "workers" instead of "population".— *Ed.*

[b] The German translation has "a normal working day in their favour" instead of "their working day within relatively rational limits".— *Ed.*

[c] The German translation has "restored to a certain extent".— *Ed.*

successfully resist the introduction of machinery. That their condition has remarkably improved since 1848 there can be no doubt and the best proof of this is in the fact that for more than fifteen years not only have their employers been with them, but they with their employers, upon exceedingly good terms. They form an aristocracy among the working class; they have succeeded in enforcing for themselves a relatively comfortable position, and they accept it as final. They are the model working men of Messrs. Leone Levi and Giffen,[a] and they are very nice people indeed nowadays to deal with, for any sensible capitalist in particular and for the whole capitalist class in general.

But as to the great mass of the working people, the state of misery and insecurity in which they live now is as low as ever, if not lower. The East-end of London is an ever-spreading pool of stagnant misery and desolation, of starvation when out of work, and degradation, physical and moral, when in work. And so in all other large towns—abstraction made of the privileged minority of the workers; and so in the smaller towns and in the agricultural districts. The law which reduces the *value* of labor-power to the value of the necessary means of subsistence, and the other law which reduces its *average price* as a rule to the minimum of those means of subsistence: these laws act upon them with the irresistible force of an automatic engine, which crushes them between its wheels.

This, then, was the position created by the Free Trade policy of 1847, and by twenty years of the rule of the manufacturing capitalists. But then a change came. The crash of 1866 was, indeed, followed by a slight and short revival about 1873; but that did not last. We did not, indeed, pass through the full crisis at the time it was due, in 1877 or 1878; but we have had, ever since 1876, a chronic state of stagnation in all dominant branches of industry. Neither will the full crash come; nor will the period of longed-for prosperity to which we used to be entitled before and after it. A dull depression, a chronic glut of all markets for all trades, that is what we have been living in for nearly ten years. How is this?

The Free Trade theory was based upon one assumption: that England was to be the one great manufacturing centre of an agricultural world. And the actual fact is that this assumption has turned out to be a pure delusion. The conditions of modern

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[a] The German translation adds here: "(as well as venerable Lujo Brentano)".—*Ed.*

industry, steam-power and machinery, can be established wherever there is fuel, especially coals. And other countries beside England: France, Belgium, Germany, America, even Russia, have coals. And the people over there did not see the advantage of being turned into Irish pauper farmers merely for the greater wealth and glory of English capitalists. They set resolutely about manufacturing, not only for themselves but for the rest of the world; and the consequence is, that the manufacturing monopoly enjoyed by England for nearly a century is irretrievably broken up.

But the manufacturing monopoly of England is the pivot of the present social system of England. Even while that monopoly lasted the markets could not keep pace with the increasing productivity of English manufacturers; the decennial crises were the consequence. And new markets are getting scarcer every day, so much so that even the negroes of the Congo are now to be forced into the civilisation attendant upon Manchester calicoes, Staffordshire pottery, and Birmingham hardware. How will it be when Continental, and especially American goods, flow in in ever increasing quantities—when the predominating share, still held by British manufactures, will become reduced from year to year? Answer, Free Trade, thou universal panacea?

I am not the first to point this out. Already, in 1883, at the Southport meeting of the British Association,[163] Mr. Inglis Palgrave, the President of the Economical section, stated plainly that

> "the days of great trade profits in England were over, and there was a pause in the progress of several great branches of industrial labour. *The country might almost be said to be entering the non-progressive state.*"[a]

But what is to be the consequence? Capitalist production *cannot* stop. It must go on increasing and expanding, or it must die. Even now, the mere reduction of England's lion's share in the supply of the world's markets means stagnation, distress, excess of capital here, excess of unemployed work-people there. What will it be when the increase of yearly production is brought to a complete stop?

Here is the vulnerable place, the heel of Achilles, for capitalist production. Its very basis is the necessity of constant expansion, and this constant expansion now becomes impossible. It ends in a

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[a] "Address by R. H. Inglis Palgrave, F.R.S., F.S.S., President of the Section" in *Report of the Fifty-Third Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science; held at Southport in September 1883,* pp. 608-09.—*Ed.*

deadlock. Every year England is brought nearer face to face with the question: either the country must go to pieces, or capitalist production must. Which is it to be?

And the working class? If even under the unparalleled commercial and industrial expansion, from 1848 to 1868, they have had to undergo such misery; if even then the great bulk of them experienced at best a temporary improvement of their condition, while only a small, privileged, "protected" minority was permanently benefited, what will it be when this dazzling period is brought finally to a close; when the present dreary stagnation shall not only become intensified, but this its intensified condition shall become the permanent and normal state of English trade?

The truth is this: during the period of England's industrial monopoly the English working class have to a certain extent shared in the benefits of the monopoly. These benefits were very unequally parcelled out amongst them; the privileged minority pocketed most, but even the great mass had at least a temporary share now and then. And that is the reason why since the dying-out of Owenism there has been no Socialism in England. With the breakdown of that monopoly the English working class will lose that privileged position; it will find itself generally—the privileged and leading minority not excepted—on a level with its fellow-workers abroad. And that is the reason why there will be Socialism again in England.

*Frederick Engels*

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# PREFACE TO THE THIRD GERMAN EDITION OF *THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS BONAPARTE* BY MARX

The fact that a new edition of the *Eighteenth Brumaire*[a] has become necessary, thirty-three years after its first appearance, proves that even today this little book has lost none of its value.

It was indeed a work of genius. Immediately after the event that struck the whole political world like a thunderbolt from the blue, that was condemned by some with loud cries of moral indignation and accepted by others as a salvation from the revolution and a punishment for its errors, but was only wondered at by all and understood by none—immediately after this event Marx appeared with a concise, epigrammatic exposition that laid bare the whole course of French history since those February days in its inner connection, reduced the miracle of December 2[164] to a natural, necessary result of this connection and, in so doing, did not even need to treat the hero of the *coup d'état* otherwise than with the contempt he so well deserved. And the picture was drawn with such a masterly hand that every fresh disclosure since made has only provided fresh proof of how faithfully it reflects reality. This eminent understanding of the living history of the day, this clear-sighted appreciation of events at the moment they occur, is indeed without parallel.

But this also called for Marx's thorough knowledge of French history. France is the land where, more than anywhere else, historical class struggles were each time fought out to a decision and where, consequently, the changing political forms within which they move and in which their results are condensed have

[a] See present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 99-197.—*Ed.*

been stamped in the sharpest outlines. The focus of feudalism in the Middle Ages, the model country of unified estate monarchy since the Renaissance, France demolished feudalism in the Great Revolution and established the unalloyed rule of the bourgeoisie in a classical purity unequalled by any other European land. And the struggle of the rising proletariat against the ruling bourgeoisie manifested itself here in an acute form unknown elsewhere. This was the reason why Marx not only studied the past history of France with particular predilection, but also followed her current history in every detail, collected material for future use and was consequently never surprised by events.

But there was yet another circumstance. It was the very same Marx who had first discovered the great law of motion of history, the law according to which all historical struggles, whether they proceed in the political, religious, philosophical or some other ideological domain, are in fact only the more or less clear expression of struggles between social classes, and that the existence and thereby the collisions, too, of these classes are in turn conditioned by the degree of development of their economic position, by the nature and mode of their production and of their exchange as determined by it. This law, which has the same significance for history as the law of the transformation of energy has for natural science—this law gave him here, too, the key to understanding the history of the Second French Republic. He put his law to the test on these historical events, and even after thirty-three years we must still say that it has stood the test brilliantly.

*F. E.*

Written in the first half of 1885

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Printed according to the text of the book

# PREFACE [TO THE PAMPHLET *KARL MARX BEFORE THE COLOGNE JURY*][165]

For a better understanding of the proceedings presented here it will suffice to summarise the chief events leading up to them.

The cowardice of the German bourgeoisie had given the feudal, bureaucratic, absolutist reaction a breathing space in which to recover from the shattering blows of March 1848 to such an extent that a second decisive struggle became imminent as early as the end of October. The fall of Vienna,[a] after a long, heroic resistance, emboldened the Prussian camarilla to attempt a coup d'état. The tame Berlin "National Assembly" was still too wild for it. It would have to be dissolved and an end put to the revolution.

On November 8, 1848 the Brandenburg-Manteuffel Ministry was formed. On the 9th it transferred the seat of the Assembly from Berlin to Brandenburg so that it might "freely" deliberate under the protection of bayonets, undisturbed by the revolutionary influences of Berlin. The Assembly refused to leave: the civic militia refused to take action against the Assembly. The Ministry dissolved the civic militia, disarmed it without encountering any resistance and declared Berlin in a state of siege. The Assembly replied on November 13, indicting the Ministry for high treason. The Ministry chased the Assembly from one meeting place in Berlin to the next. On the 15th the Assembly resolved that the Brandenburg Ministry had no right to dispose of government money and to levy taxes as long as it, the Assembly, could not freely continue meeting in Berlin.

This resolution to block taxation could only become effective if the people resisted the collecting of taxes by force of arms. And at that time there was no shortage of arms in the hands of the civic

[a] On October 31, 1848.—*Ed.*

militia. Nevertheless, hardly anyone ventured beyond passive resistance. Only in few places were any preparations made to meet force with force. The boldest call to do just that came from the Committee of the democratic associations of the Rhine Province which had its seat in Cologne and consisted of *Marx, Schapper* and *Schneider.*

The Committee did not delude itself by imagining that the victorious coup d'état in Berlin could be successfully reversed by any campaign on the Rhine. The Rhine Province had five fortresses; about a third of the entire Prussian army including a large number of regiments from the Eastern provinces was stationed in it, in Westphalia, Mainz, Frankfurt and Luxemburg alone. In Cologne and other cities the civic militia had already been disbanded and disarmed. But the intention was not to achieve an immediate victory in Cologne where a state of siege had only been lifted a few weeks before. The point was to set the other provinces an example and thus to rescue the revolutionary honour of the Rhine Province. And that had been done.

The Prussian bourgeoisie had surrendered one stronghold after another to the government for fear of what were at that time the still half-dreaming convulsions of the proletariat. It already long regretted its earlier hankerings for power and ever since March it had been so crazed with fear that it did not know which way to turn, confronted as it was by the double threat of the forces of the old society grouped around the absolute power, on the one side, and the fledgling proletariat with its dawning consciousness of its class position, on the other. The Prussian bourgeoisie did what it always did in moments of decision—it backed down. And the workers were not so stupid as to fight for the bourgeoisie without the aid of the bourgeoisie. Moreover, in their eyes—particularly on the Rhine—Prussian issues were purely local issues; if they were ever to go into the firing line on behalf of the bourgeoisie, then it would have to be in and for Germany as a whole. It was a significant portent that even at that time, the idea of "Prussian leadership"[166] had absolutely no attraction for the workers.

In short, the government was victorious. One month later, on December 5, it was in a position to dissolve once and for all the Berlin Assembly, which had managed to prolong a rather shabby existence until then and to impose a new constitution, which however only became effective once it had been reduced to a mere constitutional farce.

On November 20, the day after the Committee launched its appeal, the three signatories were summoned to appear before the

examining magistrate and proceedings for rebellion were instituted against them. At the time there was no mention of arrests, even in Cologne. On February 7, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had to submit to its first press trial; Marx, myself and Korff, the responsible publisher, appeared before a jury and were acquitted.[167] On the following day the case against the Committee was heard. The people had already reached its own verdict, having two weeks previously elected one of the defendants, Schneider, deputy for Cologne.

Marx's speech for the defence was obviously the highpoint of the proceedings. It is especially interesting in two respects:

Firstly, because it needed a communist to make clear to the bourgeois jury that the actions he had taken and for the sake of which he was now standing accused before them, were of a kind which in reality it was the duty and obligation of *their* class, of the bourgeoisie, not simply to perform, but to carry through to their uttermost implications. This fact alone suffices to throw light on the attitude of the German, and above all the Prussian, bourgeoisie during the revolutionary period. At stake was the question: who was to rule—the forces of society and the state that rallied around the absolute monarchy: the big feudal landowners, the army, the bureaucracy, the clergy, or the bourgeoisie? The only interest of the still emerging proletariat in these struggles lay in the extent to which the victory of the bourgeoisie would provide it with enough light and air to further its own development, with elbow-room on the battlefield where one day it will triumph over all other classes. But the bourgeoisie, and the petty bourgeoisie along with it, refused to make a move when the hostile government attacked the seat of their power, dispersed their parliament, disarmed their civic militia and even placed them under a state of siege. It was then that the communists stepped into the breach and called on them to do their damned duty. Both of them, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, constituted the new society and stood together in one camp against the old feudal society. Of course, the appeal went unheeded and by an irony of history this self-same bourgeoisie was now to sit in judgment over the revolutionary proletarian Communists, on the one hand, and over the counter-revolutionary government, on the other.

Secondly, however—and this gives the speech its specific significance, even for our time—in the face of the government's hypocritical legality it preserves a revolutionary standpoint from which many could take an example even today.—Did we call on the people to take up arms against the government? Indeed we

did, and it was our duty to do so. Did we break the law and depart from the foundations of law? Very well, but the laws we broke had already been torn up by the government and trampled upon before the eyes of the people. As for legal foundations, they no longer exist. As vanquished enemies we can be eliminated, but no one has the right to condemn us.

The official parties, from the *Kreuz-Zeitung*[168] to the *Frankfurter,* reproach the Social Democratic Workers' Party with being a revolutionary party, with refusing to recognise the legal foundations established in 1866 and 1871,[169] and thereby—at least this is the refrain of everyone right down to the National Liberals[170]—with putting itself beyond the limits of common law. I shall ignore the monstrous insinuation here that anyone can place himself beyond the bounds of common law simply by expressing an opinion. That is the police state pure and simple, which one should better practise on the quiet, while preaching the constitutional state out loud. But what are then the legal foundations of 1866, if not revolutionary? The Federal Constitution is violated and war declared on the confederates.[171] Not at all, says Bismarck, it was the others who violated the treaty. The answer to which is that a revolutionary party would have to be simple-minded in the extreme if it proved unable to find at least as convincing grounds for any uprising as those put forward by Bismarck for his in 1866.—So a civil war is provoked for that was what the war of 1866 amounted to. But every civil war is a revolutionary war. The war is conducted by revolutionary means. Alliances are concluded with foreign powers against Germans. Italian troops and ships are brought into the battle, Bonaparte is enticed with prospects of acquiring German territory on the Rhine. A Hungarian legion is formed to fight against its hereditary sovereign for revolutionary goals. Reliance is placed on Klapka in Hungary, and Garibaldi in Italy. Victory is won and—three crowns existing by divine right are swallowed up: Hanover, the Electorate of Hesse and Nassau—each of which was just as legitimate, just as "hereditary" and existed just as much "by divine right" as did the crown of Prussia.[172] Finally, a constitution is imposed on the remaining confederates, which in Saxony, for example, was accepted just as freely as Prussia had accepted the Peace of Tilsit at one time.[173]

Do I complain about all this? Not at all. There is no point in complaining about historical events. On the contrary, the problem is to comprehend their causes and hence also their effects, *which are by no means exhausted.* But we do have the right to demand that people who have done all these things should refrain from

accusing others of being revolutionaries. The German Empire was created by revolution—admittedly, a revolution of a particular kind, but no less a revolution for all that. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. A revolution is a revolution, regardless of whether it was made by the Prussian crown or a tinker. If the government of the day makes use of the existing laws to rid itself of its opponents, then it acts like every government. But if it imagines that it can strike them an even more violent blow by thundering the expletive "Revolutionary!" at them—then at best only the philistines will take fright. "Revolutionary yourself!" will be the cry that echoes back from every corner of Europe.

But the preposterous demand that anyone should cast aside his revolutionary nature, a thing which arises inevitably from historical circumstances, becomes utterly comic when it is applied to a party which is first placed outside the confines of common law, i.e. beyond the law itself, and which is then confronted with the demand that it should recognise the foundations of that very law which has been specifically *abolished for it.*[174]

The fact that people have to waste time even discussing such a matter provides yet further evidence of the politically backward state of Germany. In the rest of the world everyone knows that all existing political systems are the product of nothing but revolutions. France, Spain, Switzerland and Italy—there are as many governments existing by right of revolution as there are countries. In England even the Whig Macaulay acknowledges that the present legal order is based on one revolution after another (REVOLUTIONS HEAPED UPON REVOLUTIONS). For the last hundred years America has celebrated its revolution on every 4th of July.[175] In the majority of these countries there are parties which will only continue to abide by the existing legal order as long as the latter can force them to do so. But if anyone in France, for example, were to accuse the Royalists or Bonapartists of being revolutionary, he would simply be laughed to scorn.

Only in Germany, where politically nothing is ever dealt with thoroughly (for otherwise it would not be torn into two parts, Austria and Germany so-called) and where for that very reason the memories of past, but only half digested ages continue to vegetate eternally in people's minds (which is why the Germans call themselves a nation of thinkers)—only in Germany can anyone possibly require a party to be bound by the existing so-called legal order not only in fact but also morally. A party must promise in advance that, come what may, it will not

overthrow the legal order it is fighting against, even if it is able to do so. In other words, it must commit itself to upholding the existing political order for all eternity. This and this alone is what is meant when people demand that German Social Democracy should cease to be "revolutionary".

But the German philistine—and his opinion is still German public opinion—is a special sort of person. He has never *made* a revolution. The revolution of 1848 was made for him by the workers—to his horror. But all the more has he had to *suffer* revolutions. For the people who have made revolutions in the last three hundred years in Germany—and they showed it—were the *princes.* Their very rank, and ultimately their sovereignty, was the fruit of rebellions against the Emperor. Prussia set an example to them all. Prussia was only able to become a kingdom after the "Great Elector"[a] had conducted a successful uprising against his feudal overlord, the crown of Poland, thus securing the independence of the Duchy of Prussia from Poland.[176] Ever since Frederick II, Prussia's rebellion against the German Empire had been made into a system; Frederick "spat" upon the Imperial constitution in quite a different manner than our worthy *Bracke* upon the Anti-Socialist Law. Then came the French Revolution[b] and both the princes and the philistines suffered it with tears and sighs. In 1803, by decision of the Imperial Deputation, the German Empire was distributed among the German princes by the French and the Russians in a highly revolutionary manner, because the princes could not agree on how to divide it up themselves.[177] Then came Napoleon and permitted his very special protégés, the rulers of Baden, Bavaria and Württemberg,[c] to take possession of all counties, baronies and cities which had been subject only to the Emperor, and which lay in or between their territories. Immediately after this the same three traitors carried out the last successful rebellion against their Emperor,[d] and, with Napoleon's assistance, they established their own sovereignty and thereby finally tore apart the old German Empire.[178] After that, Napoleon, the de facto German Emperor, redistributed Germany about every three years among his loyal retainers, the German princes and others. Finally, there came the glorious liberation from foreign domination and as a reward Germany was treated as

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[a] Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg.—*Ed.*

[b] Of 1789.—*Ed.*

[c] Charles Frederick, Maximilian Joseph, Frederick.—*Ed.*

[d] Franz I.—*Ed.*

a universal source of compensation for princes down on their luck and was divided up and sold off by the Congress of Vienna, i.e. by Russia, France and England. And the German philistines, scattered like so many sheep in around 2,000 separate scraps of territory, were shared out among the various 36 sovereigns, for the majority of whom they would even today "most humbly lay down their lives", as if for their hereditary sovereigns. And none of this is supposed to have been revolutionary—how right Schnapphahnski-Lichnowski was when he exclaimed in the Frankfurt Parliament, "With regard to historical right there does not exist no date!" [179] The fact is that it never had one!

Thus what the German philistine shamefacedly demands from the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party can only have one meaning: that this party should become as philistine as he. It should on no account take part in revolutions, but should *suffer* them instead. And if the government which has come to power by counter-revolution and revolution puts the same preposterous demand, this only means that revolution is good as long as it is made by Bismarck for Bismarck & Co., but reprehensible when it is made against Bismarck & Co.

London, July 1, 1885

*Frederick Engels*

First published in *Karl Marx vor den Kölner Geschwornen,* Hottingen-Zurich, 1885

Printed according to the pamphlet

# [TO THE EDITORS OF THE *SEVERNY VESTNIK*][180]

Jersey, August 25, 1885

Sir,

Among the papers of my late friend Karl Marx I have found a reply to an article by Mr. Mikhailovsky: "Karl Marx Before the Tribunal of Mr. Zhukovsky". Since this reply, which was not published at the time for reasons unknown to me, may still be of interest to the Russian public, I am putting it at your disposal.

Yours, etc.

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Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

# ON THE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE[181]

With the sentence of the Cologne Communists in 1852, the curtain falls on the first period of the independent German workers' movement. Today this period is almost forgotten. Yet it lasted from 1836 to 1852 and, with the spread of German workers abroad, the movement developed in almost all civilised countries. Nor is that all. The present-day international workers' movement is in substance a direct continuation of the German movement of that time, which was the *first international workers' movement* ever, and which brought forth many of those who took on the leading role in the International Working Men's Association. And the theoretical principles that the Communist League had inscribed on its banner in the *Communist Manifesto* of 1847 constitute today the strongest international bond of the entire proletarian movement in both Europe and America.

Up to now there has been only one main source for a coherent history of that movement. This is the so-called Black Book, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts,* by Wermuth and Stieber, Berlin, two parts, 1853 and 1854.[182] This sorry effort fabricated by two of the most contemptible police scoundrels of our century, which bristles with deliberate falsifications, still today serves as the final source for all non-communist writings about that period.[183]

What I am able to give here is only a sketch, and even this only in so far as the League itself is concerned; only what is absolutely necessary to understand the *Revelations.* I hope that some day I shall have the opportunity to work on the rich material collected by Marx and myself on the history of that glorious period of the youth of the international workers' movement.

* * *

In 1836 the most extreme, chiefly proletarian elements of the secret democratic-republican Outlaws' League, which had been founded by German refugees in Paris in 1834, split off and formed the new secret *League of the Just.* The parent League, in which only the most sleepy-headed elements *à la* Jakob Venedey remained soon fell asleep altogether: when in 1840 the police scented out a few sections in Germany, it was hardly a shadow of its former self. The new League, on the contrary, developed comparatively rapidly. Originally it was a German offshoot of the French worker-communism reminiscent of Babouvism[184] that was taking shape in Paris at about the same time; community of goods was demanded as the necessary consequence of "equality". The aims were those of the Parisian secret societies of the time: half propaganda association, half conspiracy, Paris, however, always being regarded as the focus of revolutionary action, although preparation for occasional *putsches* in Germany was by no means excluded. But as Paris remained the decisive battleground, the League was at that time actually not much more than the German branch of the French secret societies, notably the *Société des saisons* led by Blanqui and Barbès, with which close links were maintained. The French went into action on May 12, 1839; the sections of the League marched with them and were thus embroiled in the common defeat.[185]

Of the Germans, *Karl Schapper* and *Heinrich Bauer* were arrested; Louis Philippe's government contented itself with deporting them after a fairly long term of imprisonment.[186] Both went to London. Schapper came from Weilburg in Nassau and while a student of forestry at Giessen in 1832 had joined in the conspiracy organised by Georg Büchner; he had taken part in the storming of the Frankfurt constable station on April 3, 1833,[187] had escaped abroad and in February 1834 joined Mazzini's march on Savoy.[188] Of gigantic stature, resolute and energetic, always ready to risk civil existence and life, he was a model of the professional revolutionary with the role he played in the thirties. In spite of a certain sluggishness of thought, he was by no means incapable of superior theoretical understanding, as is proved by his development from "demagogue"[189] to Communist, and he then held all the more rigidly to what he had once come to recognise. Precisely on that account his revolutionary passion sometimes got the better of his understanding, but he always realised his mistake in hindsight and openly acknowledged it. He was a true man and

what he did for the founding of the German workers' movement will not be forgotten.

Heinrich Bauer, from Franconia, was a shoemaker; a lively, alert, witty little fellow, in whose little body, however, also lay hidden much shrewdness and determination.

Having arrived in London, where Schapper, who had been a compositor in Paris, now tried to earn his living as a language teacher, the two of them again joined together the broken threads of alliance and made London the centre of the League. They were joined here, if not already earlier in Paris, by *Joseph Moll,* a watchmaker from Cologne, a medium-sized Hercules—how often did Schapper and he victoriously defend the entrance to a hall against hundreds of onrushing opponents—a man who was at least the equal of his two comrades in energy and determination, and intellectually superior to both of them. Not only was he a born diplomat, as the success of his numerous trips on various missions proved; he was also more capable of theoretical insight. I came to know all three of them in London in 1843. They were the first revolutionary proletarians whom I had seen, and however far apart our views were at that time in details—for I still bore, as against their narrow-minded egalitarian communism,* a goodly dose of just as narrow-minded philosophical arrogance—I shall never forget the deep impression that these three real men made upon me, who was still to become a man at that time.

In London, as to a lesser degree in Switzerland, they had the benefit of freedom of association and assembly. The legally functioning German Workers' Educational Society, which still exists, was founded as early as February 7, 1840.[190] The Society served the League as a recruiting ground for new members, and since, as always, the Communists were the most active and intelligent members of the Society, it was a matter of course that its leadership lay entirely in the hands of the League. The League soon had several communities, or, as they were then still called, "lodges", in London. The same obvious tactics were followed in Switzerland and elsewhere. Where workers' associations could be founded, they were utilised in like manner. Where this was forbidden by law, one joined choral societies, gymnastics societies and the like. Contacts were to a large extent maintained by members who were continually travelling back and forth; they also, when required, served as emissaries. In both respects the

* By egalitarian communism I understand, as stated, only that communism which bases itself exclusively or predominantly on the demand for equality.

League obtained lively support through the wisdom of the governments which, by resorting to deportation, converted any objectionable worker—and in nine cases out of ten he was a member of the League—into an emissary.

The spread of the restored League was considerable. Notably in Switzerland, *Weitling, August Becker* (a highly gifted man who, however, like so many Germans, came to grief through his innate instability of character) and others created a strong organisation more or less pledged to Weitling's communist system. This is not the place to criticise the communism of Weitling. But as regards its significance as the first independent theoretical stirring of the German proletariat, I still today subscribe to Marx's words in the Paris *Vorwärts*! of 1844: "Where among the" (German) "bourgeoisie—including its philosophers and learned writers—is to be found a book *about the emancipation of the bourgeoisie*—political emancipation—similar to Weitling's work: *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit*? It is enough to compare the petty, faint-hearted mediocrity of German political literature with this vehement and brilliant literary début of the German workers, it is enough to compare these *gigantic infant shoes of the proletariat* with the dwarfish, worn-out political shoes of the bourgeoisie, and one is bound to prophesy that the *German Cinderella* will one day have the figure of an athlete."[a] This athlete's figure confronts us today, although still far from being fully grown.

Numerous sections existed in Germany too; by the nature of things they were of a transient character, but those coming into existence more than made up for those folding up. Only after seven years, in late 1846, did the police discover traces of the League in Berlin (Mentel) and Magdeburg (Beck), without being in a position to follow them further.

In Paris, Weitling, still there in 1840, likewise gathered the scattered elements together again before he left for Switzerland.[191]

The tailors formed the central force of the League. German tailors were everywhere: in Switzerland, in London, in Paris. In the last-named city, German was so much the prevailing tongue in this trade that I was acquainted there in 1846 with a Norwegian tailor who had travelled directly by sea from Drontheim to France and in the space of eighteen months had learned hardly a word of French but had acquired an excellent knowledge of German. Two

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[a] K. Marx, "Critical Marginal Notes on the Article 'The King of Prussia and Social Reform. By a Prussian'" (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 189-206).— *Ed.*

of the Paris communities in 1847 consisted predominantly of tailors, one of cabinet makers.

After the centre of gravity had shifted from Paris to London, a new feature came to the fore: from being German, the League gradually became *international.* In the Workers' Society there were, besides Germans and Swiss, also members of all those nationalities for whom German served as the chief means of communication with foreigners, notably, therefore, Scandinavians, Dutch, Hungarians, Czechs, Southern Slavs, also Russians and Alsatians. In 1847 the regular attendants even included an English grenadier of the Guards in uniform. The Society soon called itself the *Communist* Workers' Educational Society, and the membership cards bore the inscription "All Men are Brothers", in at least twenty languages, though not without mistakes here and there. Like the open Society, so also the secret League soon took on a more international character; at first in a restricted sense, practically through the varied nationalities of its members, theoretically through the realisation that any revolution, to be victorious, must be a European one. It did not go any further as yet; but the foundations were there.

Close contact was maintained with the French revolutionaries through the London refugees, comrades-in-arms of May 12, 1839. Similarly with the more radical Poles. The official Polish *émigrés,* as also Mazzini, were, of course, opponents rather than allies. The English Chartists, on account of the specific English character of their movement, were disregarded as not revolutionary. The London leaders of the League came into contact with them only later, through me.

In other ways, too, the character of the League had altered with events. Although the League still looked upon Paris—and at that time quite rightly—as the mother city of the revolution, it had nevertheless cast off the dependence of the Paris conspirators. The spread of the League raised its self-confidence. There was a feeling that more and more roots were being struck in the German working class and that these German workers were historically destined to be the standard-bearers of the workers of the North and East of Europe. In Weitling there was to be found a communist theoretician who could be boldly placed at the side of his contemporary French rivals. Finally, the experience of May 12 had taught them that for the time being there was nothing more to be gained by attempted *putsches.* And if every event was still explained as a sign of the approaching storm, if the old, semi-conspiratorial rules were still preserved intact, that was

mainly the fault of the old revolutionary defiance, which was already beginning to collide with the sounder views that were gaining headway.

However, the social doctrine of the League, no matter how poorly defined it was, contained a very great defect, but one that had its roots in the conditions themselves. The members, insofar as they were workers at all, were almost exclusively real artisans. Even in the big metropolises, the man who exploited them was usually only a small master. The exploitation of tailoring on a large scale, of what is now called the manufacture of off-the-peg clothing, by the conversion of handicraft tailoring into a domestic industry working for a big capitalist, was at that time only just making its appearance even in London. On the one hand, the exploiter of these artisans was a small master; on the other hand, they all hoped ultimately to become small masters themselves. And besides, a host of inherited guild notions still clung to the German artisan at that time. The greatest honour is due to them, in that they, who were themselves not yet full proletarians but only an appendage of the petty bourgeoisie, an appendage which was in the transition to becoming the modern proletariat and which did not yet stand in direct conflict with the bourgeoisie, that is, with big capital—in that these artisans were capable of instinctively anticipating their future development and of constituting themselves, even if not yet with full consciousness, as the party of the proletariat. But it was also inevitable that their old handicraft prejudices were a stumbling block to them at every moment, whenever it was a question of criticising existing society in detail, that is, of investigating economic facts. And I do not believe there was a single man in the whole League at that time who had ever read a book on political economy. But that mattered little; for the time being "equality", "brotherhood" and "justice" helped them to surmount every theoretical obstacle.

Meanwhile a second, essentially different communism had developed alongside that of the League and of Weitling. In Manchester it had been tangibly brought home to me that the economic facts which have so far played no role or only a contemptible one in historiography are, at least in the modern world, a decisive historical force; that they form the basis for the emergence of the present-day class antagonisms; that these class antagonisms, in the countries where they have become fully developed by dint of large-scale industry, hence especially in England, are in their turn the basis for the formation of political parties, party struggles, and thus of all political history. Marx

had not only arrived at the same view, but had already, in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* (1844), generalised it to the effect that it is not the state which conditions and regulates civil society at all, but civil society which conditions and regulates the state, and, consequently, that policy and its history are to be explained from the economic relations and their development, and not the other way round. When I visited Marx in Paris in the summer of 1844,[a] our complete agreement in all theoretical fields became evident and our joint work dates from that time. When, in the spring of 1845, we met again in Brussels, Marx had already fully developed his materialist theory of history in its main features from the above-mentioned foundations, and we now applied ourselves to the detailed elaboration of the newly won outlook in the most varied directions.

This discovery, which revolutionised the science of history and, as we have seen, is essentially the work of Marx—a discovery in which I can claim for myself only a very small share—was, however, of immediate importance for the workers' movement of the time. Communism among the French and Germans, Chartism among the English, now no longer appeared as something accidental which could just as well not have occurred. These movements now presented themselves as a movement of the modern oppressed class, the proletariat, as more or less developed forms of its historically necessary struggle against the ruling class, the bourgeoisie; as forms of class struggle, but distinguished from all earlier class struggles by this one thing: that the present-day oppressed class, the proletariat, cannot achieve its emancipation without at the same time emancipating society as a whole from division into classes and, therefore, from class struggles. And communism now no longer meant the concoction, by means of the imagination, of a social ideal as perfect as possible, but insight into the nature, the conditions and the consequent general aims of the struggle waged by the proletariat.

Now, we were by no means of the opinion that the new scientific results should be confided in large tomes exclusively to the "learned" world. Quite the contrary. We were both of us already deeply involved in the political movement and possessed a certain following in the educated world, especially of Western Germany, and abundant contact with the organised proletariat. It was our duty to provide a scientific substantiation for our view, but it was equally important for us to win over the European, and in the first

[a] Late August-early September.—*Ed.*

place the German, proletariat to our conviction. As soon as we had become clear in our own minds, we set to work. We founded a German Workers' Society in Brussels[192] and took over the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung,* which served us as an organ up to the February Revolution. We kept in touch with the revolutionary section of the English Chartists through Julian Harney, the editor of the movement's central organ, *The Northern Star,* to which I was a contributor. We entered likewise into a sort of cartel with the Brussels democrats (Marx was vice-president of the Democratic Association[193]) and with the French Social-Democrats of the *Réforme,* which I supplied with news of the English and German movements. In short, our connections with the radical and proletarian organisations and press organs were quite what one could wish.

Our relations with the League of the Just were as follows: The existence of the League was, of course, known to us; in 1843 Schapper had suggested that I join it, which I at that time naturally refused to do. However, we not only kept up our continuous correspondence with the Londoners, but remained on still closer terms with Dr. Ewerbeck, the then leader of the Paris communities. Without occupying ourselves with the League's internal affairs, we nevertheless learnt of every important happening. On the other hand, we influenced the theoretical views of the most important members of the League by word of mouth, by letter and through the press. For this purpose we also made use of various lithographed circulars, which we dispatched to our friends and correspondents throughout the world on particular occasions when we were concerned with the internal affairs of the Communist Party that was in the process of formation. In these, the League itself was sometimes involved. Thus, a young Westphalian student, Hermann Kriege, who went to America, posed there as an emissary of the League and associated himself with the crazy Harro Harring for the purpose of using the League to turn South America upside down. He founded a paper[a] in which, in the name of the League, he preached an effusive communism of starry-eyed love, based on "love" and overflowing with love. Against this we let fly with a circular[b] that did not fail to have its effect. Kriege vanished from the League scene.

Later, Weitling came to Brussels. But he was no longer the naïve young journeyman-tailor who, astonished at his own talents, was

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[a] *Der Volks-Tribun.—Ed.*

[b] See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Circular Against Kriege".— *Ed.*

trying to clarify in his own mind just what a communist society would look like. He was now the great man, persecuted by the envious on account of his superiority, who scented rivals, secret enemies and traps everywhere—the prophet, driven from country to country, who carried a prescription for the realisation of heaven on earth ready-made in his pocket, and who imagined that everybody was out to steal it from him. He had already fallen out with the members of the League in London; and even in Brussels, where particularly Marx and his wife treated him with almost superhuman forbearance, he could get along with nobody. So he soon afterwards went to America to try out his role of prophet there.

All these circumstances contributed to the quiet revolution that was taking place in the League, and especially among the leaders in London. The inadequacy of the conception of communism held hitherto, both the simplistic French egalitarian communism and that of Weitling, became more and more clear to them. The tracing of communism back to early Christianity introduced by Weitling—no matter how brilliant certain details to be found in his *Evangelium eines armen Sünders*—had resulted in the movement in Switzerland being delivered to a large extent into the hands, first of fools like Albrecht, and then of exploiting fake prophets like Kuhlmann. The "true socialism" dealt in by a few writers of fiction—a translation of French socialist phraseology into corrupt Hegelian German, and sentimental starry-eyed love (see the section on German or "true", socialism in the *Communist Manifesto*[a])—that Kriege and the study of the said literature introduced in the League was bound to disgust the old revolutionaries of the League, if only because of its slobbering feebleness. In contrast to the untenability of the previous theoretical views, and in contrast to the practical aberrations resulting therefrom, it was realised more and more in London that Marx and I were right in our new theory. This understanding was undoubtedly promoted by the fact that among the London leaders there were now two men who were considerably superior in their capacity for theoretical perception to those previously mentioned: the miniature painter Karl Pfänder from Heilbronn and the tailor Georg Eccarius from Thuringia.*

* Pfänder died about eight years ago in London. He was a man of peculiarly fine intelligence, witty, ironical and dialectical. Eccarius, as we know, was later for many years General Secretary of the International Working Men's Association, in

[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 510-13.—*Ed.*

Suffice it to say that in the spring of 1847 Moll visited Marx in Brussels and immediately afterwards myself in Paris, and invited us repeatedly, in the name of his comrades, to join the League. He reported that they were as much convinced of the general correctness of our views as of the need to free the League from the old conspiratorial traditions and forms. Should we join, we would be given an opportunity of expounding our critical communism before a congress of the League in a manifesto, which would then be published as the manifesto of the League; we would likewise be able to contribute our quota towards the replacement of the obsolete League organisation by one in keeping with the new times and aims.

We entertained no doubt that an organisation within the German working class was necessary, if only for propaganda purposes, and that this organisation, in so far as it were not merely local in character, could only be a secret one, even outside Germany. Now, there already existed exactly such an organisation in the shape of the League. What we previously objected to in this League was now relinquished as erroneous by the representatives of the League themselves; we were even invited to cooperate in the work of reorganisation. Could we say no? Certainly not. Therefore, we joined the League; Marx founded a League community in Brussels from among our close friends, while I attended the three Paris communities.

In the summer of 1847, the first League congress took place in London, at which W. Wolff represented the Brussels and I the Paris communities. First of all the congress carried out the reorganisation of the League. Whatever remained of the old mystical names dating back to the conspiratorial period was now also abolished; the League now consisted of communities, circles, leading circles, a Central Authority and a Congress, and henceforth called itself the "Communist League". "The aim of the League is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the rule of the proletariat, the abolition of the old bourgeois society which rests on the antagonism of classes, and the foundation of a new society without classes and without private property"—thus ran the first article.[a] The organisation itself was thoroughly democratic, with

the General Council of which the following old League members were to be found, among others: Eccarius, Pfänder, Lessner, Lochner, Marx and myself. Eccarius subsequently devoted himself exclusively to the English trade-union movement.

[a] Rules of the Communist League. Art. 1 (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 633).—*Ed.*

elective and removable authorities. This alone barred all hankering after conspiracy, which requires dictatorship, and the League was converted—for ordinary peacetime at least—into a pure propaganda society. These new Rules were submitted to the communities for discussion—so democratic was the procedure now followed—then once again debated at the Second Congress and finally adopted by the latter on December 8, 1847. They are to be found printed in Wermuth and Stieber, Part I, p. 239, Appendix X.

The Second Congress took place in late November and early December of the same year. Marx too attended this time and expounded the new theory in a lengthy debate—the congress lasted at least ten days. All contradiction and doubt were finally over and done with, the new basic principles were adopted unanimously, and Marx and I were commissioned to draw up the Manifesto. This was done immediately afterwards. A few weeks before the February Revolution it was sent to London to be printed. Since then it has travelled round the world, has been translated into almost all languages and still today serves in numerous countries as a guide for the proletarian movement. In place of the old League motto, "All Men Are Brothers", appeared the new battle cry, "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!"[194] which openly proclaimed the international character of the struggle. Seventeen years later this battle cry resounded throughout the world as the motto of the International Working Men's Association, and today the valiant proletariat of all countries has inscribed it on its banner.

The February Revolution broke out. The London Central Authority functioning hitherto immediately transferred its powers to the Brussels leading circle. But this decision came at a time when an actual state of siege already existed in Brussels, and the Germans in particular could no longer assemble anywhere. We were all of us just on the point of going to Paris, and so the new Central Authority decided likewise to dissolve, to hand over all its powers to Marx and to empower him immediately to constitute a new Central Authority in Paris. Hardly had the five persons who adopted this decision (March 3, 1848) separated, when the police forced their way into Marx's home, arrested him and compelled him to leave for France the following day, which was just where he wanted to go.

In Paris we all soon came together again. It was there that the following document was drawn up and signed by the members of the new Central Authority. It was distributed throughout

Germany and quite a few can still learn something from it even today:

DEMANDS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN GERMANY[195]

1. The whole of Germany shall be declared a single and indivisible republic.

3. Representatives of the people shall receive payment so that workers, too, shall be able to become members of the German parliament.

4. Universal arming of the people.

7. Princely and other feudal estates, together with mines, pits, and so forth, shall become the property of the state. The estates shall be cultivated on a large scale and with the most up-to-date scientific devices in the interests of the whole of society.

8. Mortgages on peasant lands shall be declared the property of the state. Interest on such mortgages shall be paid by the peasants to the state.

9. In localities where the tenant system is developed, the land rent or the quit-rent shall be paid to the state as a tax.

11. All the means of transport, railways, canals, steamships, roads, the posts etc. shall be taken over by the state. They shall become the property of the state and shall be placed free at the disposal of the impecunious classes.

14. The right of inheritance to be curtailed.

15. The introduction of steeply graduated taxes, and the abolition of taxes on articles of consumption.

16. Inauguration of national workshops. The state guarantees a livelihood to all workers and provides for those who are incapacitated for work.

17. Universal and free education of the people.

It is to the interest of the German proletariat, the petty bourgeoisie and the small peasants to support these demands with all possible energy. Only by the realisation of these demands will the millions in Germany, who have hitherto been exploited by a handful of persons and whom the exploiters would like to keep in further subjection, win the rights and attain to that power to which they are entitled as the producers of all wealth.

*The Committee:*
*Karl Marx, Karl Schapper, H. Bauer,*
*F. Engels, J. Moll, W. Wolff*

At that time the craze for revolutionary legions prevailed in Paris. Spaniards, Italians, Belgians, Dutchmen, Poles and Germans flocked together in crowds to liberate their respective fatherlands. The German legion was led by Herwegh, Bornstedt, Börnstein. Since immediately after the revolution all foreign workers not only lost their jobs but in addition were harassed by the public, the influx into these legions was very great. The new government saw in them a means of getting rid of foreign workers and granted them *l'étape du soldat,* that is, quarters along their line of march and a marching allowance of fifty centimes per day up to the frontier, wherupon the eloquent Lamartine, the Foreign Minister who was so readily moved to tears, found an opportunity of betraying them to their respective governments.

We opposed this playing with revolution most decisively. To carry an invasion, which was to import the revolution forcibly from outside, into the midst of the ferment then going on in Germany, meant to undermine the revolution in Germany itself, to strengthen the governments and to deliver the legionaries—Lamartine stood as guarantor for that—defenceless into the hands of the German troops. When subsequently the revolution was victorious in Vienna and Berlin, the legion became all the more pointless; but once begun, the game was continued.

We founded a German communist club[196] in which we advised the workers to keep away from the legion and to return instead to their homelands singly and work there for the movement. Our old friend Flocon, who had a seat in the Provisional Government, obtained for the workers sent by us the same travel concessions as had been granted to the legionaries. In this way we returned three or four hundred workers to Germany, including the great majority of the League members.

As could easily be foreseen, the League proved to be much too weak a lever by comparison with the popular mass movement that had now broken out. Three quarters of the League members who had previously lived abroad had changed their domicile by returning to their homeland; their previous communities were thus to a great extent dissolved and they lost all contact with the League. Some of the more ambitious among them did not even try to resume this contact, but each one began a small separate movement on his own account in his own locality. Finally, the conditions in each separate small state, each province and each town were so different that the League would have been incapable of giving more than the most general directives; such directives were, however, much better disseminated through the press. In

short, from the moment when the causes which had made the secret League necessary ceased to exist, the secret League lost all significance as such. But this could least of all surprise the persons who had just stripped this same secret League of the last vestige of its conspiratorial character.

That, however, the League had been an excellent school for revolutionary activity was now demonstrated. On the Rhine, where the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* provided a firm centre, in Nassau, in Rheinish Hesse, etc., everywhere members of the League stood at the head of the extreme democratic movement. The same was the case in Hamburg. In Southern Germany the predominance of petty-bourgeois democracy stood in the way. In Breslau, Wilhelm Wolff was active with great success until the summer of 1848; in addition he received a Silesian mandate as an alternate deputy to the Frankfurt parliament. Finally, the compositor Stephan Born, who had worked in Brussels and Paris as an active member of the League, founded a Workers' Fraternity in Berlin which became fairly widespread and existed until 1850. Born, a very talented young man, who, however, was a bit too much in a hurry to become a political figure, "fraternised" with the most motley Cherethites and Pelethites[a] just to get a crowd together, and was not at all the man who could bring unity into the conflicting tendencies, light into the chaos. Consequently, in the official publications of the association the views represented in the *Communist Manifesto* were mingled hodge-podge with guild recollections and guild aspirations, fragments of Louis Blanc and Proudhon, protectionism, etc.; in short, they wanted to please everybody. In particular, strikes, trade unions and producers' co-operatives were set going and it was forgotten that above all it was a question of first conquering, by means of political victories, the field in which alone such things could be realised on a lasting basis. When, afterwards, the victories of the reactionaries made the leaders of the Fraternity realise the necessity of taking a direct part in the revolutionary struggle, they were naturally left in the lurch by the confused mass which they had grouped around themselves. Born took part in the Dresden uprising of May 1849[197] and had a lucky escape. But, in contrast to the great political movement of the proletariat, the Workers' Fraternity proved to be a pure *Sonderbund,*[198] which to a large extent existed only on paper and played such a subordinate role that the reactionaries did not find it necessary to suppress it until 1850,

[a] 2 Samuel 8:18, 15:18, 20:7, 23.—*Ed.*

and its surviving offshoots until several years later.[199] Born, whose real name was Buttermilch, has become not a big political figure but an insignificant Swiss professor, who no longer translates Marx into guild language but the meek Renan into his own fulsome German.

With June 13, 1849, in Paris,[200] the defeat of the May insurrections in Germany and the suppression of the Hungarian revolution by the Russians, a great period of the 1848 Revolution came to a close. But the victory of the reactionaries was as yet by no means final. A reorganisation of the scattered revolutionary forces was required, and hence also of the League. The situation again forbade, as in 1848, any open organisation of the proletariat; hence one had to organise again in secret.

In the autumn of 1849 most of the members of the former central authorities and congresses gathered again in London. The only ones still missing were Schapper, who was imprisoned in Wiesbaden but came after his acquittal in the spring of 1850,[a] and Moll, who, after he had accomplished a series of most dangerous missions and agitational journeys—eventually he recruited mounted gunners for the Palatinate artillery right under the noses of the Prussian army in the Rhine Province—joined the Besançon workers' company of Willich's corps and was killed by a shot in the head during the battle at the Murg in front of the Rothenfels Bridge.[201] On the other hand Willich now entered upon the scene. Willich was one of those sentimental Communists so common in Western Germany since 1845, who on that account alone was instinctively, furtively antagonistic to our critical tendency. More than that, he was entirely the prophet, convinced of his personal mission as the predestined liberator of the German proletariat and as such a direct claimant as much to political as to military dictatorship. Thus, to the early Christian communism previously preached by Weitling was added a kind of communist Islam. However, propaganda for this new religion was for the time being restricted to the refugee barracks under Willich's command.

Hence, the League was organised afresh; the Address of March 1850, published in an appendix (IX, No. 1), was put into effect and Heinrich Bauer sent as an emissary to Germany. The Address, edited by Marx and myself, is still of interest today, because petty-bourgeois democracy is even now the party which must certainly be the first to take the helm in Germany as the saviour of society from the communist workers on the occasion of

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[a] February 15, 1850.—*Ed.*

the next European upheaval now soon due (the European revolutions, 1815, 1830, 1848-52, 1870, have occurred at intervals of fifteen to eighteen years in our century). Much of what is said there is, therefore, still applicable today. Heinrich Bauer's mission was crowned with complete success. The jolly little shoemaker was a born diplomat. He brought the former members of the League, some who had become laggards and some who were acting on their own account, back into the active organisation, particularly the then leaders of the Workers' Fraternity. The League began to play the dominant role in the workers', peasants' and gymnastic associations to a far greater extent than before 1848, so that the next quarterly address to the communities, in June 1850, could already report that the student Schurz from Bonn (later on American ex-minister), who was touring Germany in the interest of petty-bourgeois democracy, had "found that the League already controlled all useful forces" (see Appendix IX, No. 2).[a] The League was undoubtedly the only revolutionary organisation that had any significance in Germany.

But what purpose this organisation should serve depended very substantially on whether the prospects of a renewed upsurge of the revolution materialised. And in the course of the year 1850 this became more and more improbable, indeed impossible. The industrial crisis of 1847, which had paved the way for the Revolution of 1848, had been overcome; a new, unprecedented period of industrial prosperity had set in; whoever had eyes to see and used them must have clearly perceived that the revolutionary storm of 1848 was gradually declining.

"With this general prosperity, in which the productive forces of bourgeois society develop as luxuriantly as is at all possible within bourgeois relationships, *there can be no talk of a real revolution.* Such a revolution is only possible in the periods when both these factors, the modern productive forces and the bourgeois forms of production, come in collision with each other. The various quarrels in which the representatives of the individual factions of the Continental Party of Order[202] now indulge and mutually compromise themselves, far from providing the occasion for new revolutions, are, on the contrary, possible only because the basis of the relationships is momentarily so secure and, what the reaction does not know, so *bourgeois.* All reactionary attempts to hold up bourgeois development *will rebound off it just as certainly as all moral indignation and all enthusiastic proclamations of the democrats.*" Thus

[a] See present edition, Vol. 10, p. 372.—*Ed.*

Marx and I wrote in the "Review. May to October 1850" in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue,* No. V-VI, Hamburg, 1850, p. 153.[a]

This cool estimation of the situation, however, was regarded as heresy by many persons, at a time when Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, Mazzini, Kossuth and, among the lesser German lights, Ruge, Kinkel, Goegg and the rest of them were flocking together in London to form provisional governments of the future not only for their respective fatherlands but for the whole of Europe, and when it only remained a matter of obtaining the requisite money from America as a revolutionary loan to consummate at a moment's notice the European revolution and the various republics which went with it as a matter of course. Can anyone be surprised that a man like Willich was taken in by this, that Schapper, acting on his old revolutionary impulse, also allowed himself to be fooled, and that the majority of the London workers, to a large extent refugees themselves, followed them into the camp of the bourgeois-democratic artificers of revolution? Suffice it to say that the reserve maintained by us was not to the liking of these people; one was to enter into the game of making revolutions. We most decisively refused to do so. A split ensued; more about this is to be read in the *Revelations.*[b] Then came the arrest of Nothjung,[203] followed by that of Haupt, in Hamburg. The latter turned traitor by divulging the names of the Cologne Central Authority and being envisaged as the chief witness in the trial; but his relatives had no desire to be thus disgraced and bundled him off to Rio de Janeiro, where he later established himself as a merchant and in recognition of his services was appointed first Prussian and then German Consul General. He is now back in Europe.*

For a better understanding of what follows, I give the list of the Cologne accused: 1) P. G. Röser, cigarmaker; 2) Heinrich Bürgers, who later died, a Party of Progress deputy to the provincial Diet; 3) Peter Nothjung, tailor, who died a few years ago as a

* Schapper died in London at the end of the sixties.[c] Willich took part in the American Civil War with distinction; he became Brigadier-General and was shot in the chest during the battle of Murfreesboro (Tennessee)[204] but recovered and died about ten years ago in America.—Of the other persons mentioned above, I shall only remark that all trace was lost of Heinrich Bauer in Australia, and that Weitling and Ewerbeck died in America.

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[a] Ibid., p. 510. Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.*—*Ed.*

[c] April 29, 1870.—*Ed.*

photographer in Breslau; 4) W. J. Reiff; 5) Dr. Hermann Becker, now chief burgomaster of Cologne and member of the Upper Chamber; 6) Dr. Roland Daniels, medical practitioner, who died a few years after the trial of tuberculosis contracted in prison; 7) Karl Otto, chemist; 8) Dr. Abraham Jacobi, now medical practitioner in New York; 9) Dr. J. J. Klein, now medical practitioner and town councillor in Cologne; 10) Ferdinand Freiligrath, who, however, was at that time already in London; 11) J. L. Erhard, clerk; 12) Friedrich Lessner, tailor, now in London. Of these, after a public trial before a jury lasting from October 4 to November 12, 1852, the following were sentenced for attempted high treason: Röser, Bürgers and Nothjung to six, Reiff, Otto and Becker to five and Lessner to three years' confinement in a fortress; Daniels, Klein, Jacobi and Erhard were acquitted.

With the Cologne trial this first period of the German communist workers' movement comes to an end. Immediately after the sentence we dissolved our League; a few months later the Willich-Schapper Sonderbund[205] was also laid to eternal rest.

* * *

A whole generation lies between then and now. At that time Germany was a country of handicraft and of domestic industry based on manual labour; now it is a big industrial country still undergoing continual industrial transformation. At that time one had to seek out one by one the workers who had an understanding of their position as workers and of their historico-economic antagonism to capital, because this antagonism was itself in the process of taking shape. Today the entire German proletariat has to be placed under exceptional laws,[206] merely in order to slow down a little the process of its development to full consciousness of its position as an oppressed class. At that time the few persons who reached an understanding of the historical role of the proletariat had to gather in secret, to assemble clandestinely in small communities of 3 to 20 persons. Today the German proletariat no longer needs any official organisation, either public or secret. The simple self-evident interconnection of like-minded class comrades suffices, without any rules, authorities, resolutions or other tangible forms, to shake the whole German Empire. Bismarck is the arbiter of Europe beyond the frontiers of Germany, but within them there grows daily more threateningly

the athletic figure of the German proletariat that Marx foresaw back in 1844, the giant for whom the cramped imperial edifice designed to fit the philistine is already becoming too small and whose mighty stature and broad shoulders grow until the moment comes when by merely rising from his seat he will blast the whole structure of the imperial constitution to rubble. And still more. The international movement of the European and American proletariat has so grown in strength that not only its first narrow form—the secret League—but even its second, infinitely broader form—the open International Working Men's Association—has become a fetter for it, and that the simple feeling of solidarity based on the understanding of the identity of class position suffices to create and to hold together one and the same great party of the proletariat among the workers of all countries and tongues. The doctrine which the League represented from 1847 to 1852, and which at that time was treated by the wise philistines with a shrug of the shoulders as the hallucinations of utter madcaps, as the secret doctrine of a few scattered sectarians, has now innumerable adherents in all civilised countries of the world, among those condemned to the Siberan mines as much as among the gold diggers of California; and the founder of this doctrine, the most hated, most slandered man of his time, Karl Marx, was when he died, the ever-sought-after and ever-willing counsellor of the proletariat of the old and the new world.

London, October 8, 1885

*Frederick Engels*

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# THE SITUATION[207]

London, 12 October 1885

...I cannot see that the 4 October was a defeat, unless you have been prey to all sorts of illusions. It was a matter of crushing the opportunists[208]; they have been crushed. But in order to crush them pressure from two opposing sides was needed, from the right and from the left. That the pressure from the right was stronger than one might have thought is obvious. But that makes the situation much more revolutionary.

Rather than Orleanists and Bonapartists in disguise, the bourgeois, both big and small, opted for Orleanists and Bonapartists who were open about it; rather than men who seek to get rich at the expense of the nation they opted for those who have already become rich by robbing it; rather than the conservatives of tomorrow, the conservatives of yesterday. That is all.

Monarchy is impossible in France, if only because of the multitude of pretenders. If it were possible, it would be a sign that the Bismarckians are right to speak of the degeneration of France. But this degeneration affects only the bourgeoisie, in Germany and in England as well as in France.

The Republic still remains the government which divides the three monarchist sects[209] the least, permitting them to unite as a conservative party. The moment the possibility of a monarchist restoration becomes a matter for discussion, the conservative party splits up into three sects; whereas the republicans will be forced to group around the only government possible; and, at the moment, it is probably the Clemenceau administration.

Clemenceau is still an advance on Ferry and Wilson. It is most important that he comes to power, not as the bulwark of property against the communists, but as the saviour of the Republic against

the monarchy. In this case he will be more or less *forced* to keep his promises; otherwise he would be behaving like the others who thought, like Louis Philippe, that they were "the best of the republics"[210]: we are in power, the Republic can sleep peacefully; our takeover of the ministries is enough, so do not speak to us any more of the promised reforms.

I believe that the men who voted for the monarchists on the 4th are already frightened by their own success and that the 18th will yield results that are more or less in favour of Clemenceau's supporters,[211] with some success, not of esteem but of scorn, for the opportunists. The philistine will say to himself: "After all, with so many Royalists and Bonapartists, I need a few opportunists." Anyway, the 18th will decide the situation; France is the country of the unexpected, and I am wary of expressing a definitive opinion.

But, come what may, there will be radicals[212] and monarchists present. The Republic will run the necessary danger in order to force the petty bourgeois to lean a little more to the extreme left, which he would never have done otherwise. *It is precisely the situation we communists need.* Up till now, I see no reason to believe that there has been any deviation in the exceptionally logical course of political development in France: it is still the logic of 1792-94; only the danger which was caused by the coalition then, is today caused by the coalition of monarchist parties at home. If one examines it closely, it is less dangerous than the other one was...

*F. Engels*

First published in *Le Socialiste,* No. 8, October 17, 1885

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Translated from the French

# TO THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE OF *LE SOCIALISTE*

Citizens,

In your issue of the 17th you publish an extract from a private letter[a] which I had addressed to one of you.[b] This letter was written in haste, so much so that in order to catch the post I did not even have time to read through it. Allow me, therefore, to qualify a passage which does not express my thoughts very clearly.

While speaking of M. Clemenceau as the flag-bearer of French radicalism I said: "It is most important that he comes to power, not as the bulwark of property against the communists, but as the saviour of the Republic against the monarchy. In this case he will be more or less *forced* to keep his promises; otherwise he would be behaving (here it is necessary to insert 'perhaps') like the others who thought, like Louis Philippe, that they were 'the best of the republics'[213]: we are in power, the Republic can sleep peacefully; our takeover of the ministries is enough, so do not speak to us any more of the promised reforms."

First of all, I have no right to assert that M. Clemenceau, if he came to power in the routine way of parliamentary governments, would inevitably act "like the others". Secondly, I am not the one who explains the actions of governments as a matter of pure will, whether good or bad; this will itself is determined by independent causes, by the general situation. Thus it is not M. Clemenceau's will, good or bad, which concerns us here. What does concern us, in the interests of the workers' party, is that the radicals come to power in such a situation that the implementation of their

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[a] See this volume, pp. 331-32.— *Ed.*

[b] Paul Lafargue.— *Ed.*

programme is imposed on them as the sole means of holding on. Let us hope that the two hundred monarchists of the Chamber will be sufficient to create this situation.

London, 21 October 1885

*F. Engels*

First published in *Le Socialiste,* No. 10, October 31, 1885

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

# HOW NOT TO TRANSLATE MARX[214]

The first volume of "Das Kapital" is public property, as far as translation into foreign languages are concerned. Therefore, although it is pretty well known in English Socialist circles that a translation is being prepared and will be published under the responsibility of Marx's literary executors, nobody would have a right to grumble if that translation were anticipated by another, so long as the text was faithfully and equally well rendered.

The first few pages of such a translation by John Broadhouse, are published in the October number of *To-Day*. I say distinctly that it is very far from being a faithful rendering of the text, and that because Mr. Broadhouse is deficient in every quality required in a translator of Marx.

To translate such a book, a fair knowledge of literary German is not enough. Marx uses freely expressions of everyday life and idioms of provincial dialects; he coins new words, he takes his illustrations from every branch of science, his allusions from the literatures of a dozen languages; to understand him, a man must be a master of German indeed, spoken as well as written, and must know something of German life too.

To use an illustration. When some Oxford Undergraduates rowed in a four-oar boat across the straits of Dover, it was stated in the Press reports that one of them "caught a crab." The London correspondent of the *Cologne Gazette*[a] took this literally, and faithfully reported to his paper, that "a crab had got entangled in the oar of one of the rowers." If a man who has been living for years in the midst of London is capable of such a

[a] *Kölnische Zeitung.—Ed.*

ludicrous blunder as soon as he comes across the technical terms of an art unknown to him, what must we expect from a man who with a passable knowledge of mere book-German, undertakes to translate the most untranslatable of German prose writers? And indeed we shall see that Mr. Broadhouse is an excellent hand at "catching crabs."

But there is something more required. Marx is one of the most vigorous and concise writers of the age. To render him adequately, a man must be a master, not only of German, but of English too. Mr. Broadhouse, however, though evidently a man of respectable journalistic accomplishments, commands but that limited range of English used by and for conventional literary respectability. Here he moves with ease; but this sort of English is not a language into which "Das Kapital" can ever be translated. Powerful German requires powerful English to render it; the best resources of the language have to be drawn upon; new-coined German terms require the coining of corresponding new terms in English. But as soon as Mr. Broadhouse is faced by such a difficulty, not only his resources fail him, but also his courage. The slightest extension of his limited stock-in-trade, the slightest innovation upon the conventional English of everyday literature frightens him, and rather than risk such a heresy, he renders the difficult German word by a more or less indefinite term which does not grate upon his ear but obscures the meaning of the author; or, worse still, he translates it, as it recurs, by a whole series of different terms, forgetting that a technical term has to be rendered always by one and the same equivalent. Thus, in the very heading of the first section, he translates *Werthgrösse* by "extent of value," ignoring that *grösse* is a definite mathematical term, equivalent to magnitude, or determined quantity, while extent may mean many things besides. Thus even the simple innovation of "labour-time" for *Arbeitszeit,* is too much for him; he renders it by (1) "time-labour," which means, if anything, labour paid by time or labour done by a man "serving" *time* at hard *labour*; (2) "time of labour," (3) "labour-time," and (4) "period of labour", by which term (*Arbeitsperiode*) Marx, in the second volume, means something quite different.[215] Now as is well known, the "category" of labour-time is one of the most fundamental of the whole book, and to translate it by four different terms in less than ten pages is more than unpardonable.

Marx begins with the analysis of what a commodity is. The first aspect under which a commodity presents itself, is that of an object of utility; as such it may be considered with regard either to

its quality or its quantity. "Any such thing is a whole in itself, the sum of many qualities or properties, and may therefore be useful in different ways. To discover these different ways and therefore the various uses to which a thing may be put, is the *act of history.* So, too, is the finding and fixing of *socially recognised standards of measure* for the quantity of useful things. The diversity of the modes of measuring commodities arises partly from the diversity of the nature of the objects to be measured, partly from convention." [a]

This is rendered by Mr. Broadhouse as follows:

"To discover these various ways, and consequently the multifarious modes in which an object may be of use, is *a work of time.* So, *consequently,* is the finding of *the social measure* for the quantity of useful things. The diversity in the *bulk* of commodities arises partly from the different nature," etc.

With Marx, the finding out of the various utilities of things constitutes an essential part of historic progress; with Mr. Broadhouse, it is merely a work of time. With Marx the same qualification applies to the establishment of recognised common standards of measure. With Mr. B., another "work of time" consists in the "finding of the social measure for the quantity of useful things," about which sort of measure Marx certainly never troubled himself. And then he winds up by mistaking *Masse* (*measures*) for *Masse* (*bulk*), and thereby saddling Marx with one of the finest crabs that was ever caught.

Further on, Marx says: "Use values form the material out of which wealth is made up, *whatever may be the social form of that wealth*" (the specific form of appropriation by which it is held and distributed). Mr. Broadhouse has:

"Use values constitute the actual basis of wealth *which is always their social form*"—

which is either a pretentious platitude or sheer nonsense.

The second aspect under which a commodity presents itself, is its exchange-value. That all commodities are exchangeable, in certain varying proportions, one against the other, that they have exchange-values, this fact implies that they contain something which is common to all of them. I pass over the slovenly way in which Mr. Broadhouse here reproduces one of the most delicate analyses in Marx's book, and at once proceed to the passage where Marx says: "This something common to all commodities cannot be a geometrical, physical, chemical or other natural property. In fact their material properties come into consideration only in so far as

[a] Here and below italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

they make them useful, that is, in so far as they turn them into use-values." And he continues: "But it is the very act *of making abstraction from their use-values* which *evidently* is the characteristic point of the exchange-*relation* of commodities. *Within this relation,* one use-value is equivalent to any other, so long as it is provided in *sufficient* proportion."

Now Mr. Broadhouse:

"But on the other hand, it is precisely *these Use-values in the abstract* which *apparently* characterise the exchange-*ratio* of the commodities. *In itself,* one Use-value is worth just as much as another if it exists in the *same* proportion."

Thus, leaving minor mistakes aside, Mr. Broadhouse makes Marx say the very reverse of what he does say. With Marx, the characteristic of the exchange-relation of commodities is the fact, that total abstraction is made of their use-values, that they are considered as having no use-values at all. His interpreter makes him say, that the characteristic of the exchange *ratio* (of which there is no question here) is precisely their use-value, only taken "in the abstract"! And then, a few lines further on, he gives the sentence of Marx: "As Use-values, commodities can only be of different quality, as exchange-values they can only be of different quantity, *containing not an atom of Use-value,*" neither abstract nor concrete. We may well ask: "Understandest thou what thou readest?"[a]

To this question it becomes impossible to answer in the affirmative, when we find Mr. Broadhouse repeating the same misconception over and over again. After the sentence just quoted, Marx continues: "Now, if we *leave out of consideration*" (that is, make abstraction from) "the use-values of the commodities, there remains *to them* but one property: that of being the products of labour. But even this product of labour has already undergone a change in our hands. If we make abstraction *from its use-value,* we also make abstraction *from the bodily components* and forms which *make it into* a use-value."

This is Englished by Mr. Broadhouse as follows:

"If we *separate* Use-values *from* the actual material of the commodities, there remains" (where? with the use-values or with the actual material?) "one property only, that of the product of labour. But the product of labour is already transmuted in our hands. If we abstract *from it its use-value,* we *abstract also the stamina and form* which *constitute its* use-value."

Again, Marx: "In the exchange-*relation* of commodities, their exchange-value presented itself to us as something perfectly

[a] *The Acts of the Apostles.* VIII. 30.—*Ed.*

independent of their use-values. Now, if we actually make abstraction *from the use-value* of the products of labour, we arrive at their value, as *previously* determined by us." This is made by Mr. Broadhouse to sound as follows:

> "In the exchange-*ratio* of commodities their exchange-value appears to us as something altogether independent of their use-value. If we now in effect abstract *the use-value from the labour-products,* we have their value as it is *then* determined."

There is no doubt of it. Mr. Broadhouse has never heard of any other acts and modes of abstraction but bodily ones, such as the abstraction of money from a till or a safe. To identify abstraction and subtraction, will, however, never do for a translator of Marx.

Another specimen of the turning of German sense into English nonsense. One of the finest researches of Marx is that revealing the duplex character of labour. Labour, considered as a producer of use-value, is of a different character, has different qualifications from the same labour, when considered as a producer of value. The one is labour of a specified kind, spinning, weaving, ploughing, etc.; the other is the general character of human productive activity, common to spinning, weaving, ploughing, etc., which comprises them all under the one common term, labour. The one is labour in the concrete, the other is labour in the abstract. The one is technical labour, the other is economical labour. In short—for the English language *has* terms for both—the one is *work,* as distinct from labour; the other is *labour,* as distinct from work. After this analysis, Marx continues: "Originally a commodity presented itself to us as something duplex: Use-value and Exchange-value. Further on we saw that labour, too, as far as it is expressed in value, *does no longer possess the same characteristics* which belong to it in its capacity as a creator of use-value." Mr. Broadhouse insists on proving that he has not understood a word of Marx's analysis, and translates the above passage as follows:

> "We saw the commodity as first as a *compound* of Use-value and Exchange-value. Then we saw that labour, so far as it is expressed in value, *only possesses that character so far as* it is a generator of use-value."

When Marx says: White, Mr. Broadhouse sees no reason why he should not translate: Black.

But enough of this. Let us turn to something more amusing. Marx says: "In civil society, the *fictio juris* prevails that everybody, in his capacity as a buyer of commodities, possesses an encyclopaedical knowledge of all such commodities." [216] Now, although the expression, Civil Society, is thoroughly English, and Ferguson's

"History of Civil Society" is more than a hundred years old, this term is too much for Mr. Broadhouse. He renders it "amongst ordinary people," and thus turns the sentence into nonsense. For it is exactly "ordinary people" who are constantly grumbling at being cheated by retailers, etc., in consequence of their ignorance of the nature and values of the commodities they have to buy.

The *production* (*Herstellung*) of a Use-value is rendered by "the *establishing* of a Use-value." When Marx says "If we succeed in transforming, with little labour, *coal* into diamonds, their value may fall below that of bricks," Mr. Broadhouse, apparently not aware that diamond is an allotropic form of carbon, turns *coal* into *coke.* Similarly he transmutes the "total yield of the Brazilian diamond mines" into "the *entire profits* of the whole yield." "The primitive communities of India" in his hands become "*venerable* communities." Marx says: "In the use-value of a commodity is contained" (*steckt,* which had better be translated: For the production of the use-value of a commodity there has been spent) "a *certain productive activity,* adapted to the peculiar purpose, or a certain useful labour." Mr. Broadhouse must say:

> "In the use-value of a commodity is contained a certain *quantity of productive power* or useful labour,"

thus turning not only quality into quantity, but productive activity which has been spent, into productive power which is to be spent.

But enough. I could give tenfold this number of instances, to show that Mr. Broadhouse is in every respect *not* a fit and proper man to translate Marx, and especially so because he seems perfectly ignorant of what is really conscientious scientific work.*

*Frederick Engels*

Written in October 1885

Reproduced from the magazine

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* From the above it will be evident that "Das Kapital" is not a book the translation of which can be done by contract. The work of translating it is in excellent hands, but the translators[a] cannot devote all their time to it. This is the reason of the delay. But while the precise time of publication cannot as yet be stated we may safely say that the English edition will be in the hands of the public in the course of next year.

[a] E. Aveling and S. Moore.—*Ed.*

# ON THE HISTORY OF THE PRUSSIAN PEASANTS

## [INTRODUCTION TO WILHELM WOLFF'S PAMPHLET *THE SILESIAN MILLIARD*][217]

To aid comprehension of the following work by Wolff, I must preface it with a few words.

Germany east of the Elbe and north of the Erzgebirge and Riesengebirge is a country wrested in the latter half of the Middle Ages from the invading Slavs, and Germanised once again by German colonists. The conquering German knights and barons to whom the land was allotted set themselves up as the "founders" ["Gründer"] of villages, laying out their district in village lands, each of which was divided into a number of smallholdings or hides of equal size. To every hide there belonged a house plot with yard and garden in the village itself. These hides were distributed by lot to the newly arrived Franconian (Rhenish Franconian and Dutch), Saxon and Frisian colonists; in return the colonists had to render very moderate, firmly fixed dues and services to the founder, i.e. the knight or baron. The peasants were hereditary masters of their hides as long as they performed these services. In addition they enjoyed the same rights of usufruct to timber, grazing, pannage, etc., in the forest of the founder (the subsequent landlord) as the West German peasants possessed on their common land. The cultivated village land was subject to compulsory crop rotation, being chiefly cultivated in winter fields, summer fields and fallow fields in accordance with the three-field system; fallow and harvested fields were grazed jointly by the cattle of the peasantry and the founder. All village affairs were settled in the assembly of the manorial inhabitants, i.e. the hide-owners, by majority decision. The rights of the noble founders were restricted to collecting the dues and participating in the fallow grazing and stubble pasture, to the surplus from the

yield of the forests, and to taking the chair at the assembly of manorial inhabitants, who were all personally free men. This was the average condition of the German peasants from the Elbe to East Prussia and Silesia. And this condition was on the whole considerably much better than that of west and south German peasants at the time, who were already then engaged in a violent, continually recurring struggle with the feudal lords for their old hereditary rights, and had to a large extent already succumbed to a form of dependence that was far more oppressive, threatening to or even destructive of their personal freedom.

The feudal lords' increasing need for money in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries naturally led to attempts to oppress and exploit the peasants in contravention to agreements in the north-east as well. But certainly not on the same scale and with the same success as in South Germany. The population east of the Elbe was still sparse, the wasteland was still extensive; the reclamation of this wasteland, the spread of cultivation and the foundation of new tributary villages here remained the surest means of enrichment for the feudal landlords too. Furthermore, here, on the imperial border with Poland, larger states had already been formed—Pomerania, Brandenburg, the Electorate of Saxony (Silesia was Austrian)—and for this reason the peace of the land was better observed, the feuds and depredations of the nobility were more forcefully suppressed than in the fragmented areas on the Rhine, in Franconia and Swabia. But those who suffered most from the permanent state of war were precisely the peasants.

Only in the neighbourhood of subjugated Polish or Lithuanian-Prussian villages did the nobility more frequently attempt to force the colonists settled there in accordance with German manorial law into the same serfdom as the Polish and Prussian subjects. This occurred in Pomerania and in the Prussian area of the Order,[218] more rarely in Silesia.

As a result of this more favourable position, the peasants east of the Elbe remained almost untouched by the powerful movement of the south and west German peasants in the final quarter of the fifteenth and first quarter of the sixteenth centuries, and when the revolution of 1525 broke out it found in East Prussia only a faint echo, which was suppressed without great difficulty. The peasants east of the Elbe left their rebelling brothers in the lurch, and they received their just deserts. In the regions where the great Peasant War had raged, the peasants were now made serfs without further ado, subjected to unlimited labour services and dues dependent solely on the arbitrary power of the landlord. Their free land was

simply turned into seigneurial property, on which they only retained the usufruct accorded to them by the landlord in his bounty. This, the very ideal state of feudal landlordship, to which the German nobility had in vain been aspiring all through the Middle Ages and which it had finally attained now that the feudal system was decaying, was then gradually extended to the lands east of the Elbe as well. Not only were the peasants' contractual rights of usufruct in the seigneurial forest (in so far as they had not previously been curtailed) transformed into revocable concessions bestowed at the grace of the landlord; not only were labour services and tributes unlawfully increased; but new burdens were also introduced, such as the "laudemien" (dues to the landlord on the death of the peasant smallholder) which were considered characteristic of serfdom; or traditional, innocuous services were given the character of services rendered only by serfs, but not by free men. In less than a hundred years the free peasants east of the Elbe were thus turned into serfs, at first in fact, and then also in law.

In the meantime the feudal nobility became more and more bourgeois. To an ever increasing extent it became indebted to the urban money capitalists, and money thus came to be its pressing need. Yet there was no money to be had from the peasant, its serf, but to begin with only labour or arable produce, and the farms, tilled under the most difficult conditions, would only yield a minimum of such produce over and above the most meagre livelihood for the working owners. Alongside, however, lay the lucrative estates of the monasteries, worked by the labour services of dependents or serfs under expert supervision at the expense of the lord. Hitherto the petty nobility had almost never been able to practise this kind of management on their domains, and the larger among them and the princes only in exceptional cases. But now, on the one hand, the restoration of the peace of the land made large-scale cultivation possible everywhere, while, on the other, it was increasingly forced on the nobility by its growing need for money. The running of large estates with the labour services of serf peasants at the expense of the landlord gradually became the source of income which had to compensate the nobility for the loss of the now outmoded robber-knight system. But where could they obtain the necessary land area? True, the noble was landlord of an area large or small, but with few exceptions this was entirely allotted to hereditary copyholders,[219] who had just as much right to their farms and hides, including the land rights, as the noble lord himself, as long as they performed the stipulated services. This

had to be remedied, and what was necessary above all was the transformation of the peasants into serfs. For even if the expulsion of serf peasants from house and farm was no less a breach of the law and an act of violence than the expulsion of free copyholders, it was still far easier to extenuate it with the aid of the now habitual Roman law. In short, once the peasants had been successfully turned into serfs, the necessary number of peasants were chased away or resettled on seigneurial land as cottagers, day labourers with a cottage and small garden. While the earlier strongholds of the nobility gave way to their new ones, more or less open manor houses, for this very reason the farms of formerly free peasants gave way to the wretched hovels of bond servants, on a much wider scale.

Once the seigneurial estate—the dominium, as it was called in Silesia—had been established, it was then simply a matter of setting in motion the labour power of the peasants to work it. And this is where the second advantage of serfdom showed itself. The former labour services of the peasants as laid down by contract were by no means appropriate for this end. The vast majority of them were restricted to services in the public interest—road and bridge building, etc.—building work on the seigneurial castle, the labour of the women and girls at the castle in different branches of industry, and personal servants' duties. But as soon as the peasant had been turned into a serf and the latter had been equated with the Roman slave by Roman lawyers, the noble lord changed his tune entirely. With the assent of the lawyers at the bench he now demanded from the peasants unlimited services, as much, whenever and wherever he pleased. The peasant had to do labour service, drive, plough, sow and harvest as soon as he was summoned to do so, even if his own field was neglected and his own harvest ruined by rain. And his corn tribute and money tribute were likewise raised to the extreme limits of what was possible.

But that was not enough. The no less noble reigning prince, who was present everywhere east of the Elbe, also needed money, a lot of money. In return for his permitting the noble to subjugate his peasants, the noble allowed him to impose state taxes on the same peasants—the nobleman himself was of course exempt from taxation! And to cap it all, the same reigning prince sanctioned the spreading transformation of the landlord's former right to preside at the—long since abolished—free manorial court of the peasants into the right of patrimonial jurisdiction and manorial police, according to which the lord of the manor was not only chief of

police but also the sole judge over his peasants—even when personally involved in a case—so that the peasant could only indict the lord of the manor through the lord of the manor himself. He was thus legislator, judge and executor in one person, and absolute and supreme lord of his manor.

These notorious conditions, which are not matched even in Russia—for there the peasant still had his self-governing commune—reached their peak in the period between the Thirty Years' War and the redeeming defeat at Jena.[220] The terrible hardships of the Thirty Years' War allowed the nobility to complete the subjugation of the peasants; the devastation of countless peasant farms allowed them to be added without hindrance to the dominium of the manorial estate; the resettlement of the population forcibly driven into vagabondage by war devastation provided the nobility with an excuse to fetter them to the soil as serfs. But that, too, was only short lived. For scarcely had the dreadful wounds of war begun to heal in the following fifty years, the fields again being tilled, the population growing, than the hunger of the noble landlords for peasant land and peasant labour once again made itself felt. The seigneurial dominium was not large enough to absorb all the labour that could still be knocked out of the serfs—"knock" being used here in a highly literal sense. The system of degrading peasants into cottagers, bond day-labourers, had worked magnificently. From the beginning of the eighteenth century it assumes ever greater momentum; it is now called "*peasant expropriation* [*Bauernlegen*]". One "expropriates" as many peasants as possible, according to the circumstances; first one leaves as many as are necessary to perform the draught labour, turning the rest into cottagers (*Dreschgärtner, Häusler, Instleute*[221] or whatever they are called) who have to sweat away on the estate year in, year out in return for a cottage with a tiny potato patch, a wretched day-wage in corn and only very little in cash. Where his lordship is rich enough to provide his own draught-animals, he "expropriates" the other peasants too, adding their hides to the seigneurial estate. In this manner the entire large landed property of the German nobility, but particularly east of the Elbe, is composed of *stolen peasant land,* and even if it is taken away from the robbers again without compensation, they will still not have got their just deserts. Really they should pay compensation as well.

Gradually the reigning sovereigns noticed that this system was by no means to their advantage, however convenient it might be for the nobility. The peasants had paid state taxes before they

were "expropriated"; but when their hides were added to the tax-free dominiums the state did not receive a farthing from them and scarcely a penny from the newly-settled cottagers. A proportion of the "expropriated" peasants were quite simply chased away as superfluous for the running of the estate, and thus became free, i.e. outlawed. The population of the plains declined, and since the reigning prince had started complementing his expensive recruited army through the cheaper way of conscripting the peasants, this was by no means a matter of indifference to him. Thus we find throughout the eighteenth century, particularly in Prussia, one decree after another which was supposed to put a stop to "peasant expropriation"; but their fate was the same as ninety-nine percent of the immeasurable amount of waste-paper that has been issued by German governments since the capitularies of Charlemagne.[222] They were only valid on paper; the nobility was not greatly burdened, and the practice of "peasant expropriation" continued.

Even the fearful example which the Great Revolution in France made of the stubborn feudal nobility only frightened them for a moment. Everything remained as before, and what Frederick II had not been able to do,[223] his weak, short-sighted nephew Frederick William III was least of all able to carry out. Then came the vengeance. On October 14, 1806 the entire Prussian state was smashed to smithereens in a single day near Jena and Auerstedt, and the Prussian peasant has every reason to celebrate this day and March 18, 1848 more than all the Prussian victories from Mollwitz to Sedan.[224] Now, finally, it began to dawn dimly on the Prussian government, which had been chased back right to the Russian border, that the free landowning French peasants' sons could not be defeated by the sons of serf peasants who were daily liable to be evicted from house and home; it finally noticed that the peasant was also a human being, so to speak. Now something was to be done.

But no sooner was peace concluded and Court and government back in Berlin than the noble intentions again melted like ice in the March sun. The famous edict of October 9, 1807 had admittedly abolished the *name* of serfdom or hereditary subjection on paper (and even this only from Martinmas 1810), but in reality almost everything had been left as before. That is how things remained; the King, who was as faint-hearted as he was bigoted, allowed himself to be led, as before, by the peasant-plundering nobility—so much so that from 1808 to 1810 four decrees appeared once again permitting the landowners to "expropriate"

peasants in a number of cases—in contravention of the edict of 1807.[225] Not until Napoleon's war against Russia was already in sight was it again remembered that the peasants would be needed, and the edict of September 14, 1811 was issued whereby peasants and landlords were *recommended* to come to an amicable arrangement within two years on the redemption of labour service and dues as well as the seigneurial property rights. A royal commission was then to implement this settlement compulsorily in accordance with fixed rules. The main rule was that after relinquishing a third of his landholding (or its value in money), the peasant should become a free proprietor of the part remaining to him. But even this redemption, so immensely advantageous to the nobility, remained illusory. For the nobility held back in order to obtain even more, and after the two years had elapsed Napoleon was back in the country.

No sooner had he been finally expelled from the land—to the frightened King's constant promises of a constitution and popular representation—than all the fine assurances were again forgotten. As early as May 29, 1816—not even a year after the victory at Waterloo[226]—a declaration of the 1811 edict was issued which read quite differently. In it, the redeemability of feudal dues was no longer the rule, but the exception; it was only to apply to those arable estates valued in the land tax rolls (i.e. the larger ones) which had been settled by peasant occupiers back in 1749 in Silesia, 1752 in East Prussia, 1763 in Brandenburg and Pomerania,* and 1774 in West Prussia! In addition, a number of labour services at sowing and harvest time could be retained. And when the redemption commissions finally got down to serious business in 1817, the agrarian legislation regressed much faster than the agrarian commissions progressed. On June 7, 1821 there came a new redemption order, expressly laying down the limitation of redeemability to larger farms, so-called *Ackernahrungen,*[228] and urging the perpetuation of labour services and other feudal dues for the owners of smaller holdings—cottagers, *Häusler, Dreschgärtner*—in short all settled day-labourers. From now on this remained the rule. Not until 1845, the redemption of

* Prussian perfidy is fathomless. Here it shows itself again in the very date. Why was 1763 chosen? Quite simply because in the following year, on July 12, 1764, Frederick II issued a sharp edict ordering the recalcitrant nobles, under pain of punishment, to return the large numbers of farms and smallholdings confiscated since 1740, and particularly since the outbreak of the Seven Years' war,[227] to their rightful occupants within one year. In so far as this edict had any effect, it was thus annulled in 1816 to the advantage of the nobility.

these kinds of dues made possible by way of exception for Saxony[a] and Silesia other than through the joint assent of landlord and peasant[b]—for which, obviously, no law was necessary. Furthermore, the capital sum with which the services, translated into money or corn revenue, could be paid off once and for all, was fixed at twenty-five times the rent, and the instalments could only be made in sums of not less than 100 thalers[229] at once; while as early as 1809 the peasants on the state domains had been permitted to buy redemption at twenty times the amount of the revenue. In short, the much-lauded, enlightened agrarian legislation of the "state of intelligence"[230] had only one ambition: to salvage every bit of feudalism that could still be salvaged.

The practical result was in keeping with these lamentable measures. The agrarian commissions understood the benevolent intentions of the government perfectly and, as Wolff drastically depicts in detail, they made sure that the peasant was soundly cheated in favour of the nobility in the matter of these redemptions. From 1816 to 1848 70,582 peasant holdings were redeemed with a total landed property of 5,158,827 Morgen, making up $^{6}/_{7}$ of all the larger bond peasants. However, only 289,651 of the smaller occupiers were redeemed (over 228,000 of these being in Silesia, Brandenburg and Saxony). The total number of annual service days redeemed amounted to: draught service, 5,978,295; manual service, 16,869,824. In return the high nobility received compensation as follows: capital payment, 18,544,766 thalers; cash annuities, 1,599,992 thalers; rye revenue, 260,069 Scheffel[c][231] annually; and finally, peasant land relinquished, 1,533,050 Morgen.* Apart from the other forms of compensation, the former landlords thus received a full third of what had been the peasants' land!

1848 finally opened the eyes of the Prussian backwoods Junkers, who were as narrow-minded as they were self-important. The peasants—particularly in Silesia, where the latifundia system and the concomitant downgrading of the population to day-labouring cottagers was furthest developed—stormed the manor houses,

* For these statistics, see Meitzen, *Der Boden des Preussischen Staates,* I, p. 432 ff.

[a] A reference to a Prussian province.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick William IV, "Gesetz, betreffend die Ablösung der Dienste in denjenigen Theilen der Provinz Sachsen, in welchen die Ablösungsordnung vom 7. Juni 1821 gilt. Vom 18. Juli 1845" and "Gesetz, betreffend die Ablösung der Dienste in der Provinz Schlesien. Vom 31. Oktober 1845".—*Ed.*

[c] Bushel.—*Ed.*

burnt the redemption documents that had already been concluded, and forced their lordships to renounce in writing all claim to any further services. The excesses—wicked even in the eyes of the bourgeoisie then in power—were, admittedly, suppressed with military force and severely punished; but now even the most brainless Junker's skull had realised that labour service had become impossible. Rather none at all than that from these rebellious peasants! It was now simply a matter of saving what could still be saved; and the landowning nobility really did have the insolence to demand compensation for these services, which had become impossible. And no sooner was reaction more or less firmly back in the saddle than it fulfilled this wish.

First, however, there came the law of October 9, 1848, which adjourned all pending redemption negotiations and the lawsuits arising out of them, as well as a whole number of other lawsuits between landlords and peasants. As a result the entire, much-praised agrarian legislation from 1807 on was condemned. But then as soon as the so-called National Assembly in Berlin had been successfully dissolved and the coup d'état was accomplished,[a] the feudal-bureaucratic ministry of Brandenburg-Manteuffel considered itself strong enough to oblige the nobility with a generous step. It promulgated the provisional decree of December 20, 1848, whereby the services, etc., to be performed by the peasants until further settlement were restored on the old terms, with few exceptions. It was this decree that prompted our Wolff to deal with the conditions of the Silesian peasants in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.*

Meanwhile it was over a year before the new, final Redemption Law of March 2, 1850 was enacted. The agrarian legislation of 1807-47, which even today is still praised to the skies by Prussian patriots, cannot be more sharply condemned than it was, albeit reluctantly, in the motives for this law—and it is the Brandenburg-Manteuffel ministry that speaks here.

Enough: a few insignificant dues were simply abolished, the redemption of the rest was decreed by transforming them into cash annuities, and their capitalisation set at eighteen times this sum. To mediate the capital instalments annuity offices were established, which by means of well-known amortisation operations were to pay the landlord twenty times the amount of the rent, while the peasant was relieved of all obligation by fifty-six years of paying off the amortisation instalments.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 304-06.—*Ed.*

If the ministry condemned in the motives the entire preceding agrarian legislation, the commission of the Chamber condemned the new law. It was not to apply to the left bank of the Rhine, which had long since been freed of all that rubbish by the French Revolution. The commission concurred in this because at most a single one of the 109 sections of the bill was applicable there anyway:

"While all the other stipulations do not apply there at all, rather they might easily create confusion and needless unrest ... because of legislation on the left bank of the Rhine *having gone much further* with regard to the redemption of real-property dues *than it was at present intended to go*",[a]

and they could not expect the Rhinelanders to allow themselves to be brought down again to the new Prussian ideal state.

Now at last a serious attempt was made to deal with the abolition of feudal forms of labour and exploitation. In a few years the redemption of the peasants was effected. From 1850 to the end of 1865 the following were redeemed: 1. the rest of the larger peasant proprietors; there were by now only 12,706 left with an area of 352,305 Morgen; 2. the smaller proprietors, including the cottagers; but whilst not quite 290,000 had been redeemed up to 1848, in the last fifteen years all of 1,014,341 had bought themselves free. Accordingly the number of redeemed days of draught labour due the larger farms was only 356,274, the number of days of manual service, however, 6,670,507. Similarly the compensation paid in plots of land, and also due only on the larger farms, amounted to only 113,071 Morgen, and the annual annuity to be paid in rye to 55,522 Scheffel. On the other hand the landed nobility received 3,890,136 thalers in new annual cash annuities, and in addition another 19,697,483 thalers in final capital compensation.*

The sum which the entire Prussian landed proprietors, including the state domains, have lifted from the pockets of the peasants for the free return of part of the land previously stolen from the peasants—up to this century—amounts to 213,861,035 thalers according to Meitzen, I, p. 437. But this is far too little. For a Morgen of cultivated land is here "*only*" assessed at 20 thalers, a Morgen of forest land at 10 thalers and a Scheffel of rye at 1 thaler, which is much too low. Furthermore, only "the compensa-

* These figures have been arrived at by calculating the difference between the sum totals in the two tables in Meitzen, I, pp. 432 and 434.[232]

[a] Report of the Agrarian Commission of the Prussian Second Chamber on the draft Redemption Law of March 2, 1850. Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

tion established with certainty" is taken into account, thus making no allowance for at least all the settlements reached privately between the parties involved. As Meitzen himself says, the redeemed services entered here, hence also the compensation paid for them, are only a "minimum".

We may thus assume that the sum paid by the peasants to the nobility and the treasury to be released from unlawfully imposed dues amounted to at least 300,000,000 thalers, perhaps a thousand million marks.

A thousand million marks, to get back free of dues only the smallest part of the land stolen over a period of 400 years! The smallest part, since the nobility and the treasury retained by far the largest part in the form of entailed and other manorial estates and domains!

London, November 24, 1885

*Frederick Engels*

First published in Wilhelm Wolff, *Die schlesische Milliarde,* Hottingen-Zurich, 1886

Printed according to the book

# LUDWIG FEUERBACH AND THE END OF CLASSICAL GERMAN PHILOSOPHY[233]

Written in early 1886

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Printed according to the pamphlet

# LUDWIG FEUERBACH

UND DER AUSGANG DER

KLASSISCHEN DEUTSCHEN PHILOSOPHIE

VON

FRIEDRICH ENGELS

REVIDIRTER SONDER-ABDRUCK AUS DER „NEUEN ZEIT"

MIT ANHANG:

KARL MARX ÜBER FEUERBACH
VOM JAHRE 1845.

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STUTTGART
VERLAG VON J. H. W. DIETZ
1888.

Title page of *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*

## I

The work* before us takes us back to a period which, although in time no more than a good generation behind us, has become as foreign to the present generation in Germany as if it were already a full century old. Yet it was the period of Germany's preparation for the Revolution of 1848; and all that has happened since then in our country has been merely a continuation of 1848, merely the execution of the testament of the revolution.

Just as in France in the eighteenth century, so in Germany in the nineteenth, a philosophical revolution ushered in the political collapse. But how different the two looked! The French were in open combat against all official science, against the Church and often also against the State; their writings were printed across the frontier, in Holland or England, while they themselves were often in jeopardy of imprisonment in the Bastille. On the other hand, the Germans were professors, State-appointed instructors of youth; their writings were recognised textbooks, and the system that rounded off the whole development—the Hegelian system—was even raised, as it were, to the rank of a royal Prussian philosophy of State! Was it possible that a revolution could hide behind these professors, behind their obscure, pedantic phrases, their ponderous, wearisome periods? Were not precisely those people who were then regarded as the representatives of the revolution, the liberals, the bitterest opponents of this befuddling philosophy? But what neither governments nor liberals saw was seen at least by one man as early as 1833, and this man was none other than Heinrich Heine.[234]

* *Ludwig Feuerbach,* by C. N. Starcke, Ph. D., Stuttgart, Ferd. Encke, 1885.

Let us take an example. No philosophical proposition has earned more gratitude from narrow-minded governments and wrath from equally narrow-minded liberals than Hegel's famous statement:

"All that is real is rational; and all that is rational is real."[235]

That was blatantly a sanctification of the existing order of things, the philosophical benediction upon despotism, the police state, arbitrary justice, and censorship. And so it was understood by Frederick William III, and by his subjects. But according to Hegel certainly not everything that exists is also real, without further qualification. For Hegel the attribute of reality belongs only to that which is at the same time necessary:

"In the course of its development reality proves to be necessity."

Any particular governmental measure—Hegel himself cites the example of "a certain tax regulation"[a]—is therefore for him by no means real without qualification. That which is necessary, however, proves in the last resort to be also rational; and, applied to the Prussian state of that time, the Hegelian proposition, therefore, merely means: this state is rational, corresponds to reason, in so far as it [the state] is necessary; and if it nevertheless appears evil to us, but still, in spite of its evilness, continues to exist, then the evilness of the government is justified and explained by the corresponding evilness of the subjects. The Prussians of that day had the government that they deserved.

Now, according to Hegel, reality is, however, in no way an attribute predicable of any given state of affairs, social or political, in all circumstances and at all times. On the contrary. The Roman Republic was real, but so was the Roman Empire which superseded it. In 1789[b] the French monarchy had become so unreal, that is to say, so robbed of all necessity, so irrational, that it had to be destroyed by the Great Revolution, of which Hegel always speaks with the greatest enthusiasm. In this case, therefore, the monarchy was the unreal and the revolution the real. And so, in the course of development, all that was previously real becomes unreal, loses its necessity, its right of existence, its rationality. And in the place of moribund reality comes a new, viable reality—

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse.* Erster Teil. "Die Logik", §§ 147, 142, Zusatz.—*Ed.*

[b] The words "which superseded it. In 1789" were added by Engels in the 1888 edition.—*Ed.*

peacefully if the old has enough common sense to go to its death without a struggle; forcibly if it resists this necessity. Thus the Hegelian proposition turns into its opposite through Hegelian dialectics itself: All that is real in the sphere of human history becomes irrational in the course of time, is therefore irrational by its very destination, is encumbered with irrationality from the outset; and everything which is rational in the minds of men is destined to become real, however much it may contradict existing apparent reality. In accordance with all the rules of the Hegelian method of thought, the proposition of the rationality of everything which is real is dissolved to become the other proposition: All that exists deserves to perish.[a]

But precisely therein lay the true significance and the revolutionary character of Hegelian philosophy (to which, as the termination of the whole movement since Kant, we must here confine ourselves), that it once and for all dealt the death blow to the finality of all products of human thought and action. Truth, the cognition of which was the business of philosophy, was in the hands of Hegel no longer a collection of ready-made dogmatic statements, which, once discovered, had merely to be learned by heart. Truth now lay in the process of cognition itself, in the long historical development of science, which ascends from lower to ever higher levels of knowledge without ever reaching, by discovering so-called absolute truth, a point at which it can proceed no further, where it has nothing more to do than to sit back and gaze in wonder at the absolute truth to which it had attained. And what holds good for the realm of philosophical cognition holds good also for that of every other kind of cognition and also for practical action. Just as cognition is unable to reach a definitive conclusion in a perfect, ideal condition of humanity, so is history; a perfect society, a perfect "State", are things which can only exist in the imagination. On the contrary, all successive historical states are only transitory stages in the endless course of development of human society from the lower to the higher. Each stage is necessary, and therefore justified for the time and conditions to which it owes its origin. But in the face of new, higher conditions which gradually develop in its own womb, it loses its validity and justification. It must give way to a higher stage, which will also in its turn decay and perish. Just as the bourgeoisie by large-scale industry, competition and the world

[a] A paraphrase of Mephistopheles' words from Goethe's *Faust,* Act I, Scene 3 ("Faust's Study").— *Ed.*

market dissolves in practice all stable time-honoured institutions, so this dialectical philosophy dissolves all conceptions of final, absolute truth and of absolute states of humanity corresponding to it. Against it [dialectical philosophy] nothing is final, absolute, sacred. It reveals the transitory character of everything and in everything; nothing can endure against it except the uninterrupted process of becoming and passing away, of ascending without end from the lower to the higher. And dialectical philosophy itself is nothing more than the mere reflection of this process in the thinking brain. It has, however, also a conservative side: it recognises that definite stages of cognition and society are justified for their time and circumstances; but only so far. The conservatism of this outlook is relative; its revolutionary character is absolute—the only absolute dialectical philosophy admits.

It is not necessary, here, to go into the question of whether this outlook is thoroughly in accord with the present state of natural science, which predicts a possible end for the earth itself and for its habitability a fairly certain one; which therefore recognises that for the history of mankind, too, there is not only an ascending but also a descending branch. At any rate we are still a considerable distance from the turning-point at which the historical course of society becomes one of descent, and we cannot expect Hegelian philosophy to be concerned with a subject which, in its time, natural science had not yet placed on the agenda at all.

But what really must be said here is this: that in Hegel the views developed above are not so sharply defined. They are a necessary conclusion from his method, but one which he himself never drew with such explicitness. And this, indeed, for the simple reason that he was compelled to make a system and, in accordance with traditional requirements, a system of philosophy must conclude with some sort of absolute truth. Therefore, however much Hegel, especially in his *Logik,* emphasises that this eternal truth is nothing but the logical, or, the historical, process itself, he nevertheless finds himself compelled to supply this process with an end, just because he has to bring his system to a termination at some point or other. In his *Logik* he can make this end a beginning again, since here the point of conclusion, the absolute idea—which is only absolute in so far as he has absolutely nothing to say about it—"alienates", that is, transforms itself into nature and comes to itself again later in the mind, that is, in thought and in history. But at the end of the whole philosophy a similar return to the beginning is possible only in one way. Namely, by conceiving the end of history as follows: mankind arrives at the cognition of this

selfsame absolute idea, and declares that this cognition of the absolute idea is attained in Hegelian philosophy.[a] In this way, however, the whole dogmatic content of the Hegelian system is declared to be absolute truth, in contradiction to his dialectical method, which dissolves all that is dogmatic. Thus the revolutionary side is smothered beneath the overgrowth of the conservative side. And what applies to philosophical cognition applies also to historical practice. Having, in the person of Hegel, reached the point of working out the absolute idea, mankind must also in practice have advanced so far that it can carry out this absolute idea in reality. Hence the practical political demands of the absolute idea on contemporaries should not be pitched too high. And so we find at the conclusion of the *Rechtsphilosophie*[b] that the absolute idea is to be implemented in that monarchy based on social estates which Frederick William III so persistently promised his subjects to no avail, that is, in a limited and moderate, indirect rule of the possessing classes suited to the petty-bourgeois German conditions of that time; and, moreover, the necessity of the nobility is demonstrated to us in a speculative fashion.

The inner necessities of the system are, therefore, of themselves sufficient to explain why a thoroughly revolutionary method of thinking produced an extremely tame political conclusion. As a matter of fact, the specific form of this conclusion derives from the fact that Hegel was a German, and like his contemporary Goethe, had a bit of the philistine's tail dangling behind. Each of them was an Olympian Zeus in his own sphere, yet neither of them ever quite freed himself from German philistinism.

But all this did not prevent the Hegelian system from covering an incomparably greater domain than any earlier system, nor from developing in this domain a wealth of thought which is astounding even today. The phenomenology of the mind (which one may call a parallel to the embryology and palaeontology of the mind, a development of individual consciousness through its different stages, set in the form of an abbreviated reproduction of the stages through which the consciousness of man has passed in the course of history), logic, philosophy of nature, philosophy of the mind, and the latter in turn elaborated in its separate, historical subdivisions: philosophy of history, of law, of religion, history of

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[a] The end of the sentence, from the words "and declares...", was added by Engels in the 1888 edition.— *Ed.*

[b] See G. W. F. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts,* Dritter Abschnitt. "Der Staat", §§ 301-320, S. 308-29.— *Ed.*

philosophy, aesthetics, etc.—in all these different historical fields Hegel worked to discover and demonstrate the pervading thread of development. And as he was not only a creative genius but also a man of encyclopaedic erudition, he played an epoch-making role in every sphere. It is self-evident that owing to the needs of the "system" he very often had to resort to those forced constructions about which his pygmean opponents make such a terrible fuss even today. But these constructions are only the frame and scaffolding of his work. If one does not loiter here needlessly, but presses on farther into the huge edifice, one finds innumerable treasures which still today retain their full value. With all philosophers it is precisely the "system" which is perishable; and for the simple reason that it springs from an imperishable need of the human mind—the need to overcome all contradictions. But if all contradictions are once for all disposed of, we shall have arrived at so-called absolute truth—world history will be at an end. And yet it has to continue, although there is nothing left for it to do—hence, a new, insoluble contradiction. Once we have realised—and in the long run no one has helped us to realise it more than Hegel himself—that the task of philosophy thus stated means nothing but the task that a single philosopher should accomplish that which can only be accomplished by the entire human race in its ongoing development—as soon as we realise that, it is the end of all philosophy in the hitherto accepted sense of the word. One leaves alone "absolute truth", which is unattainable along this path or by any single individual; instead, one pursues attainable relative truths along the path of the positive sciences, and the summation of their results by means of dialectical thinking. With Hegel philosophy comes to an end altogether: on the one hand, because in his system he sums up its whole development in the most splendid fashion; and on the other hand, because, even if unconsciously,[a] he shows us the way out of the labyrinth of systems to real positive cognition of the world.

One can imagine what a tremendous effect this Hegelian system must have produced in the philosophy-tinged atmosphere of Germany. It was a triumphal procession which lasted for decades and which by no means came to a standstill on the death of Hegel. On the contrary, it was precisely from 1830 to 1840 that "Hegelianism" reigned most exclusively, and to a greater or lesser extent infected even its opponents. It was precisely in this period

[a] The words "even if unconsciously" were added by Engels in the 1888 edition.—*Ed.*

that Hegelian views, consciously or unconsciously, most extensively penetrated the most diversified sciences and leavened even popular literature and the daily press, from which the average "educated consciousness" derives its mental pabulum. But this victory along the whole front was only the prelude to an internal struggle.

As we have seen, Hegel's doctrine, taken as a whole, left plenty of room to accommodate the most diverse practical party views. And in the theoretical Germany of that time, two things were practical above all; religion and politics. Whoever placed the emphasis on the Hegelian *system* could be fairly conservative in both spheres; whoever regarded the dialectical *method* as the main thing could belong to the most extreme opposition, both in religion and politics. Hegel himself, despite the fairly frequent outbursts of revolutionary wrath in his works, seemed on the whole to be more inclined to the conservative side. Indeed, his system had cost him much more "hard mental plugging" than his method. Towards the end of the thirties, the cleavage in the school became more and more apparent. The Left wing, the so-called Young Hegelians, in their fight with the pietist orthodox and the feudal reactionaries, abandoned bit by bit that philosophical-genteel reserve in regard to the burning questions of the day which up to that time had secured state toleration and even protection for their teachings. And when, in 1840, orthodox sanctimony and absolutist feudal reaction ascended the throne with Frederick William IV, open partisanship became unavoidable. The fight was still carried on with philosophical weapons, but no longer for abstract philosophical aids. It turned directly on the destruction of traditional religion and the existing state. And while in the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* the practical ends were still predominantly put forward in philosophical disguise, in the *Rheinische Zeitung* of 1842 the Young Hegelian school revealed itself directly as the philosophy of the aspiring radical bourgeoisie and used the meagre cloak of philosophy only to deceive the censors.

At that time, however, politics was a very thorny field, and hence the main fight came to be directed against religion; this fight, particularly since 1840, was indirectly also political. Strauss' *Leben Jesu,* published in 1835, had provided the initial impetus. The theory therein developed of the formation of the gospel myths was combated later by Bruno Bauer with proof that a whole series of evangelical stories had been invented by the authors themselves. The controversy between these two was carried on in the philosophical disguise of a battle between "self-consciousness"

and "substance". The question whether the miracle stories of the gospels came into being through unconscious traditional myth-creation within the bosom of the community or whether they were invented by the evangelists themselves was blown up into the question whether, in world history, "substance" or "self-consciousness" was the decisive operative force. Finally came Stirner, the prophet of contemporary anarchism—Bakunin has taken a great deal from him—and surpassed the sovereign "self-consciousness" by his sovereign "ego".[a]

We shall not go further into this aspect of the decomposition process of the Hegelian school. More important for us is the following: the bulk of the most determined Young Hegelians were, by the practical necessities of their fight against positive religion,[236] driven back to Anglo-French materialism. This brought them into conflict with their school system. While materialism conceives nature as the sole reality, nature in the Hegelian system represents merely the "alienation" of the absolute idea, so to say, a degradation of the idea. At all events, thinking and its thought-product, the idea, is here the primary, nature the derivative, which only exists at all by the condescension of the idea. And in this contradiction they floundered as well or as ill as they could.

Then came Feuerbach's *Wesen des Christenthums.* With *one* blow it pulverised the contradiction, by plainly placing materialism on the throne again. Nature exists independently of all philosophy. It is the foundation upon which we human beings, ourselves products of nature, have grown up. Nothing exists outside nature and man, and the higher beings our religious fantasies have created are only the fantastic reflection of our own essence. The spell was broken; the "system" was exploded and cast aside, and the contradiction, shown to exist only in our imagination, was dissolved.—One must have experienced the liberating effect of this book for oneself to get an idea of it. Enthusiasm was universal: we were all Feuerbachians for a moment. How enthusiastically Marx greeted the new conception and how much—in spite of all critical reservations—he was influenced by it,[b] one may read in *The Holy Family.*

Even the shortcomings of the book contributed to its immediate effect. Its literary, sometimes even bombastic, style secured for it a large public and was at any rate refreshing after long years of

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[a] M. Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum.—Ed.*

[b] The words "and how much he was influenced by it" were added by Engels in the 1888 edition.— *Ed.*

abstract and abstruse Hegelianising. The same is true of its extravagant deification of love, which, coming after the now intolerable sovereign rule of "pure reason", had its excuse, if not justification. But what we must not forget is that it was precisely these two weaknesses of Feuerbach that "true socialism",[237] which had been spreading like a plague in "educated" Germany since 1844, took as its starting-point, putting literary phrases in the place of scientific knowledge, the liberation of mankind by means of "love" in place of the emancipation of the proletariat through the economic transformation of production—in short, losing itself in the nauseous fine writing and ecstasies of love typified by Herr Karl Grün.

Another thing we must not forget is this: the Hegelian school had disintegrated, but Hegelian philosophy had not been overcome through criticism; Strauss and Bauer each took one of its sides and set it polemically against the other. Feuerbach broke through the system and simply discarded it. But a philosophy is not disposed of by the mere assertion that it is false. And so mighty a work as Hegelian philosophy, which had exercised so enormous an influence on the intellectual development of the nation, could not be disposed of by simply being ignored. It had to be "transcended" in its own sense, that is, in the sense that while its form had to be annihilated through criticism, the new content which had been won through it had to be saved. How this was brought about we shall see below.

But in the meantime the Revolution of 1848 thrust the whole of philosophy aside as unceremoniously as Feuerbach had thrust aside Hegel. And in the process Feuerbach himself was also pushed into the background.

## II

The great basic question of all, especially of latter-day, philosophy, is that concerning the relation of thinking and being. From very early times when men, still completely ignorant of the structure of their own bodies, and prompted by dream apparitions* came to believe that their thinking and sensation were not activities of their

* Among savages and lower barbarians the idea is still universal that the human forms which appear in dreams are souls which have temporarily left their bodies; the real man is, therefore, held responsible for acts committed by his dream apparition against the dreamer. Thus Im Thurn found this belief current, for example, among the Indians of Guiana in 1884.

bodies, but of a distinct soul which inhabits the body and leaves it upon death—from this time men have been driven to reflect about the relation between this soul and the outside world. If upon death it left the body and lived on, there was no occasion to ascribe another distinct death to it. Thus arose the idea of its immortality, which at that stage of development appeared not at all as a consolation but as a fate which it was pointless to fight, and often enough, as among the Greeks, a positive misfortune. Not religious desire for consolation, but the quandary arising from the universal ignorance of what to do with this soul, once its existence had been accepted, after the death of the body, led everywhere to the tedious fancy of personal immortality. In quite a similar manner the first gods arose through the personification of natural forces. And as religions continued to take shape, these gods assumed more and more an extramundane form, until finally by a process of abstraction, I might almost say of distillation, occurring naturally in the course of man's intellectual development, out of the many more or less limited and mutually limiting gods there arose in the minds of men the idea of the one exclusive God of the monotheistic religions.

Thus the question of the relation of thinking to being, of the mind to nature—the paramount question of the whole of philosophy—has, no less than all religion, its roots in the narrow-minded and ignorant notions of savagery. But it was possible to put forward this question for the first time in full clarity to give it its full significance, only after humanity in Europe had awakened from the long hibernation of the Christian Middle Ages. The question of the position of thinking in relation to being, a question which, by the way, had played a great part also in the scholasticism of the Middle Ages, the question: which is primary, mind or nature—that question, in relation to the Church, was sharpened into this: Did God create the world or has the world existed for all time?

Answers to this question split the philosophers into two great camps. Those who asserted the primacy of the mind over nature and, therefore, in the last instance, assumed world creation in some form or other—and among the philosophers, e.g., Hegel, this creation often becomes still more intricate and impossible than in Christianity—comprised the camp of idealism. The others, who regarded nature as primary, belong to the various schools of materialism.

These two expressions, idealism and materialism, originally signify nothing else but this; and here they are not used in any

other sense either. What confusion arises when some other meaning is put into them will be seen below.

But the question of the relation of thinking and being has yet another side: in what relation do our thoughts about the world surrounding us stand to this world itself? Is our thinking capable of cognition of the real world? Are we able in our ideas and notions of the real world to produce a correct reflection of reality? In the language of philosophy this question is called the question of the identity of thinking and being, and the overwhelming majority of philosophers answer it in the affirmative. In Hegel, for example, its affirmation is self-evident: for what we cognise in the real world is precisely its thought content—that which makes the world a gradual realisation of the absolute idea, which absolute idea has existed somewhere from eternity, independent of the world and before the world. But it is manifest without further proof that thinking can cognise a content which is from the outset a thought content. It is equally manifest that what is to be proved here is already tacitly contained in the premiss. But that in no way prevents Hegel from drawing the further conclusion from his proof of the identity of thinking and being that his philosophy, because it is correct for his thinking, is therefore the only correct one, and that the identity of thinking and being must prove its validity by mankind immediately translating his philosophy from theory into practice and transforming the whole world according to Hegelian principles. This is an illusion which he shares with well-nigh all philosophers.

In addition there is yet another set of philosophers—those who dispute the possibility of any cognition, or at least of an exhaustive cognition, of the world. Among them, of the more recent ones, we find Hume and Kant, and they have played a very important role in philosophical development. What is decisive in the refutation of this view has already been said by Hegel, as far as this was possible from an idealist standpoint. The materialist additions made by Feuerbach are more quick-witted than profound. The most telling refutation of this as of all other philosophical quirks is practice, namely, experimentation and industry. If we are able to prove the correctness of our conception of a natural phenomenon by bringing it about ourselves, producing it out of its conditions and making it serve our own purposes into the bargain, then the ungraspable Kantian "thing-in-itself" is finished. The chemical substances produced in the bodies of plants and animals remained just such "things-in-themselves" until organic chemistry began to produce them one after another, whereupon the "thing-in-itself"

became a thing for us, as, for instance, alizarin, the colouring matter of the madder, which we no longer trouble to grow in the madder roots in the field, but produce much more cheaply and simply from coal tar. For three hundred years the Copernican solar system was a hypothesis with a hundred, a thousand or ten thousand chances to one in its favour, but still always a hypothesis. But when Leverrier, by means of the data provided by this system, not only deduced that an unknown planet must exist, but also calculated the position in the heavens which this planet must necessarily occupy, and when Galle really found this planet,[238] the Copernican system was proved. If, nevertheless, the Neo-Kantians are attempting to resurrect the Kantian conception in Germany and the agnostics that of Hume in England (where it never became extinct), this is, in view of their theoretical and practical refutation accomplished long ago, scientifically a regression and practically merely a shamefaced way of surreptitiously accepting materialism, while denying it before the world.

But during this long period from Descartes to Hegel and from Hobbes to Feuerbach, the philosophers were by no means impelled, as they thought they were, solely by the force of pure reason. On the contrary, what really pushed them forward most was the powerful and ever more rapidly onrushing progress of natural science and industry.[a] Among the materialists this was plain on the surface, but the idealist systems also filled themselves more and more with a materialist content and attempted pantheistically to reconcile the antithesis between mind and matter. Thus, ultimately, the Hegelian system represents merely a materialism idealistically turned upside down in method and content.

It is, therefore, comprehensible that Starcke in his characterisation of Feuerbach first of all investigates the latter's position in regard to this fundamental question of the relation of thinking and being. After a short introduction, in which the views of the preceding philosophers, particularly since Kant, are described in unnecessarily ponderous philosophical language, and in which Hegel, by an all too formalistic adherence to certain passages of his works, gets far less than his due, there follows a detailed description of the course of development of Feuerbach's "metaphysics" itself, in the manner it arises from the sequence of this philosopher's relevant works. This description is industriously and lucidly elaborated; only, like the whole book, it is loaded with

[a] The words "and industry" were added by Engels in the 1888 edition.— *Ed.*

a ballast of philosophical phraseology by no means everywhere unavoidable, which is the more disturbing in its effect the less the author keeps to the manner of expression of one and the same school, or even of Feuerbach himself, and the more he interjects expressions of the most various tendencies, especially of those now rampant and calling themselves philosophical.

Feuerbach's evolution is that of a Hegelian—a never quite orthodox Hegelian, it is true—into a materialist; an evolution which at a certain stage gives rise to a complete break with the idealist system of his predecessor. With irresistible force Feuerbach is finally driven to the realisation that the Hegelian premundane existence of the "absolute idea", the "pre-existence of the logical categories" before the world existed, is nothing more than a fantastic remnant of the belief in the existence of an extramundane creator; that the material sensuously perceptible world to which we ourselves belong is the only reality; and that our consciousness and thinking, however suprasensuous they may seem, are the product of a material, bodily organ, the brain. Matter is not a product of the mind, but the mind itself is merely the highest product of matter. This is, of course, pure materialism. But, having got so far, Feuerbach stops short. He cannot overcome the habitual philosophical prejudice, prejudice not against the thing but against the name materialism. He says:

> "To me materialism is the foundation of the edifice of human essence and knowledge; but to me it is not what it is to the physiologist, to the natural scientist in the narrower sense, for example, to Moleschott, and necessarily is from their standpoint and profession, namely, the edifice itself. Backwards I fully agree with the materialists; but not forwards." [239]

Here Feuerbach lumps together the materialism that is a general world outlook resting upon a definite conception of the relation between matter and mind, and the special form in which this world outlook was expressed at a definite historical stage, namely, in the eighteenth century.[a] More than that, he lumps it together with the shallow, vulgarised form in which the materialism of the eighteenth century continues to exist today in the heads of naturalists and doctors, the form in which it was preached on their tours in the fifties by Büchner, Vogt and Moleschott. But just as idealism underwent a series of stages of development, so also did materialism. With each epoch-making discovery even in the sphere of natural science it has to change its form; and history too having

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[a] The words "namely, in the eighteenth century" were added by Engels in the 1888 edition.—*Ed.*

been subjected to materialistic treatment, a new avenue of development has opened here as well.

The materialism of the last century was predominantly mechanical, because at that time, of all the natural sciences, only mechanics, and indeed only the mechanics of solid bodies—celestial and terrestrial—in short, the mechanics of gravity, had come to any certain conclusion. Chemistry at that time existed only in its infantile, phlogistic form.[240] Biology still lay in swaddling clothes; plant and animal organisms had been only crudely examined and were explained as the result of purely mechanical causes. What the animal was to Descartes, man was to the materialists of the eighteenth century—a machine. This application exclusively of the standards of mechanics to processes of a chemical and organic nature—in which processes the laws of mechanics are, indeed, also valid, but are pushed into the background by other, higher laws—constitutes one specific, but at that time inevitable, limitation of classical French materialism.

The other specific limitation of this materialism lay in its inability to comprehend the world as a process, as matter undergoing uninterrupted historical development. This accorded with the state of the natural science of that time, and with the metaphysical, that is, anti-dialectical manner of philosophising connected with it. Nature, so much was known, was in eternal motion. But according to the ideas of that time, this motion turned just as eternally in a circle and therefore never moved from the spot; it produced the same results over and over again. This conception was at that time inevitable. The Kantian theory of the origin of the solar system had only been put forward and was still regarded merely as an oddity. The history of the evolution of the earth, geology, was still totally unknown, and the idea that the animate natural beings of today are the result of a long sequence of evolution from the simple to the complex could not at that time scientifically be put forward at all. The unhistorical view of nature was therefore inevitable.[a] We have the less reason to reproach the philosophers of the eighteenth century on this account since the same thing is found in Hegel. According to him, nature, as a mere "alienation" of the idea, is incapable of evolution in time—capable only of extending its manifoldness in space, so that it displays simultaneously and side by side all the stages of evolution comprised in it, and is condemned to an eternal repetition of the

[a] The text below, up to the end of the paragraph, was added by Engels in the 1888 edition.—*Ed.*

same processes. This absurdity of evolution in space, but outside of time—the fundamental condition of all evolution—Hegel imposes upon nature just at the very time when geology, embryology, the physiology of plants and animals, and organic chemistry were taking shape, and when everywhere on the basis of these new sciences brilliant presentiments of the subsequent theory of evolution were appearing (for instance, Goethe and Lamarck). But the system demanded it; hence the method, for the sake of the system, had to become untrue to itself.

This same unhistorical conception prevailed also in the domain of history. Here the struggle against the remnants of the Middle Ages captured the limelight. The Middle Ages were regarded as a mere interruption of history by a thousand years of universal barbarism. The great progress made in the Middle Ages—the extension of the domain of European civilisation, the viable great nations taking form there next to each other, and finally the enormous technical advances of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—all this was not seen. Thus a rational insight into the great historical coherence was made impossible, and history served at best as a collection of examples and illustrations for the use of philosophers.

The vulgarising pedlars, who dabbled in materialism in the Germany of the fifties in no way overcame this limitation of their teachers. All the advances of natural science which had been made in the meantime served them only as fresh evidence against the existence of a world creator, and, indeed, they did not in the least make it their business to develop the theory any further. Though idealism was stumped and[a] was dealt a death-blow by the Revolution of 1848, it had the satisfaction of seeing that materialism had for the moment sunk to even greater depths. Feuerbach was unquestionably right when he refused to take responsibility for this materialism; only he should not have confounded the doctrines of these itinerant preachers with materialism in general.

Here, however, there are two things to be pointed out. First, even during Feuerbach's lifetime, natural science was still in that process of intense fermentation which has reached a clarifying, relative conclusion only during the last fifteen years. New data for cognition were acquired to a hitherto unheard-of extent, but the establishment of coherence, and thereby of order, in this chaos of

[a] The words "was stumped and" were added by Engels in the 1888 edition.— *Ed.*

discoveries following closely upon each other's heels, has only quite recently become possible. It is true that Feuerbach lived to see all three of the decisive discoveries—that of the cell, the transformation of energy and the theory of evolution named after Darwin. But how was the lonely philosopher in the country to sufficiently follow scientific developments in order to appreciate at their full value discoveries which natural scientists themselves at that time either still contested or did not know how to adequately exploit? The blame for this falls solely upon the wretched conditions in Germany, in consequence of which brooding eclectic flea-crackers had taken possession of the chairs of philosophy, while Feuerbach, who towered above them all, had to rusticate and go to seed in a little village. It is therefore not Feuerbach's fault that the historical conception of nature, which has now become possible and has removed all the one-sidedness of French materialism, remained inaccessible to him.

Secondly, Feuerbach is quite correct in asserting that exclusively natural-scientific materialism is indeed

"the foundation of the edifice of human knowledge, but not the edifice itself".

For we live not only in nature but also in human society, and this also has its evolution and its science no less than nature. It was therefore a question of bringing the science of society, that is, the sum total of the so-called historical and philosophical sciences, into harmony with the materialist foundation, and of reconstructing it thereupon. But it did not fall to Feuerbach's lot to do this. In spite of the "foundation", he remained bound here by the traditional idealist fetters, a fact which he recognises in these words:

"Backwards I agree with the materialists, but not forwards."

But it was Feuerbach himself who did not go "forwards" here, in the social domain, who did not get beyond his standpoint of 1840 or 1844. And this was again chiefly due to his reclusion, which compelled him—of all philosophers the most inclined to social intercourse—to produce thoughts out of his solitary head instead of in amicable and hostile encounters with other men of his calibre. Below we shall see in detail how much he remained an idealist in this sphere.

It need only be added here that Starcke looks for Feuerbach's idealism in the wrong place.

"Feuerbach is an idealist; he believes in the progress of mankind" (p. 19). "The foundation, the substructure of the whole, remains nevertheless idealism. Realism for us is nothing more than a protection against aberrations, while we follow our

ideal trends. Are not compassion, love and enthusiasm for truth and justice ideal forces?" (p. VIII).

In the first place, idealism here means nothing but the pursuit of ideal goals. But these necessarily have to do with Kantian idealism at best, and its "categorical imperative"; however, Kant himself called his philosophy "transcendental idealism"; by no means because it dealt also with ethical ideals, but for quite other reasons, as Starcke will remember. The superstition that philosophical idealism revolves around a belief in ethical, that is, social, ideals, arose outside philosophy, among the German philistines, who learned by heart from Schiller's poems the few morsels of philosophical culture they needed. No one has criticised more severely the impotent Kantian "categorical imperative"—impotent because it demands the impossible, and therefore never attains to any reality—no one has more cruelly derided the philistine passion for unrealisable ideals purveyed by Schiller than Hegel of all people, the perfect idealist (see, for example, his *Phänomenologie*).

In the second place, we simply cannot evade the fact that everything which motivates men must pass through their brains—even eating and drinking, which begins as a consequence of the sensation of hunger or thirst transmitted through the brain, and ends as a result of the sensation of satisfaction likewise transmitted through the brain. The influences of the external world upon man express themselves in his brain, are reflected therein as feelings, thoughts, impulses, volitions—in short, as "ideal tendencies", and in this form become "ideal powers". If, then, a man is to be deemed an idealist because he follows "ideal tendencies" and admits that "ideal powers" have an influence over him, then every person who is at all normally developed is a born idealist and how, in that case, can there be any materialists at all?

In the third place, the conviction that humanity, at least at the present moment, is moving on the whole in a progressive direction has absolutely nothing to do with the antagonism between materialism and idealism. The French materialists no less than the deists[241] Voltaire and Rousseau held this conviction to an almost fanatical degree, and often enough made the greatest personal sacrifices to it. If ever anybody dedicated his whole life to "enthusiasm for truth and justice"—using this phrase in the positive sense—it was Diderot, for instance. If, therefore, Starcke declares all this to be idealism, this merely proves that the word materialism, and the whole antagonism between the two trends, has lost all meaning for him here.

The fact is that Starcke, although perhaps unconsciously, makes an unpardonable concession here to the traditional philistine prejudice against the word materialism resulting from its long-continued defamation by the priests. By the word materialism the philistine understands gluttony, drunkenness, lust of the eye, lust of the flesh, arrogance, cupidity, avarice, covetousness, profiteering and stock-exchange swindling—in short, all the filthy vices in which he himself indulges in private. By the word idealism he understands the belief in virtue, universal philanthropy and altogether a "better world", of which he boasts to others but in which he himself believes at best only so long as he is having the blues or going through the bankruptcy consequent upon his customary "materialist" excesses. It is then that he sings his favourite song, What is man?—Half beast half angel.

For the rest, Starcke takes great pains to defend Feuerbach against the attacks and doctrines of the vociferous assistant professors who today go by the name of philosophers in Germany. For people who are interested in this afterbirth of classical German philosophy this is, of course, a matter of importance, for Starcke himself it may have appeared necessary. We will spare the reader this.

## III

The real idealism of Feuerbach becomes evident as soon as we come to his philosophy of religion and ethics. He by no means wishes to abolish religion; he wants to perfect it. Philosophy itself must be absorbed in religion.

> "The periods of humanity are distinguished only by religious changes. A historical movement is fundamental only when it is rooted in the hearts of men. The heart is not a form of religion, so that the latter should exist also in the heart; the heart is the essence of religion." (Quoted by Starcke, p. 168).[a]

According to Feuerbach, religion is the relation between human beings based on affection, on the heart, which relation until now has sought its truth in a fantastic mirror image of reality—in the mediation of one or many gods, the fantastic mirror images of human qualities—but now finds it directly and without any mediation in the love between "I" and "Thou". Thus, in Feuerbach sex love ultimately becomes one of the highest forms, if not the highest form, of the practice of his new religion.

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[a] L. Feuerbach, "Grundsätze der Philosophie. Notwendigkeit einer Veränderung".— *Ed.*

Now relations between human beings, based on affection, and especially between the two sexes, have existed as long as mankind. Sex love in particular has undergone a development and won a place during the last eight hundred years which has made it a compulsory pivot of all poetry during this period. The existing positive religions[242] have limited themselves to the higher consecration of state-regulated sex love, that is, of the marriage laws, and they could all disappear tomorrow without changing in the slightest the practice of love and friendship. Thus the Christian religion in France, as a matter of fact, so completely disappeared in the years 1793-98 that even Napoleon could not re-introduce it without opposition and difficulty; and this without any need for a substitute, in Feuerbach's sense, making itself felt in the interval.

Feuerbach's idealism consists here in this: he does not simply accept people's relations based on reciprocal inclination, such as sex love, friendship, compassion, self-sacrifice, etc., as what they are in themselves—without relating them back to a particular religion which to him, too, belongs to the past; but instead he asserts that they will attain their full value only when consecrated by the name of religion. The chief thing for him is not that these purely human relations exist, but that they shall be conceived of as the new, true religion. They are to have full value only after they have been marked with a religious stamp. Religion is derived from *religare* and meant originally a bond. Therefore, every bond between two people is a religion. Such etymological tricks are the last resort of idealist philosophy. Not what the word means according to the historical development of its actual use, but what it ought to mean according to its derivation, is what counts. And so sex love and sex bonds are apotheosised to a "religion", merely in order that the word religion, which is so dear to idealist memories, may not disappear from the language. The Parisian reformers of the Louis Blanc trend used to speak in precisely the same way in the forties. They likewise were able to conceive of a man without religion only as a monster, and used to say to us: "*Donc, l'athéisme c'est votre religion!*"[a] If Feuerbach wishes to establish a true religion upon the basis of an essentially materialist conception of nature, that is the same as regarding modern chemistry as true alchemy. If religion can exist without its god, then alchemy can exist without its philosopher's stone. By the way, there exists a very close connection between alchemy and religion. The philosopher's stone has many godlike properties and the

[a] "Well, then atheism is your religion!"—*Ed.*

Egyptian-Greek alchemists of the first two centuries of our era had a hand in the development of Christian doctrines, as the facts given in Kopp and Berthelot have proved.[a]

Decidedly false is Feuerbach's assertion that

"the periods of humanity are distinguished only by religious changes".

Great historical turning-points have been *accompanied* by religious changes only so far as the three world religions which have existed up to the present, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam, are concerned.[b] The old tribal and national religions, which arose spontaneously, did not proselytise and[c] lost all their power of resistance as soon as the independence of the tribe or people was lost. For the Germans it was sufficient simply to have contact with the decaying Roman world empire and with its just adopted Christian world religion that accorded with its economic, political and ideological conditions. Only with these world religions, which arose more or less artificially, particularly Christianity and Islam, do we find that more general historical movements acquire a religious imprint. Even in regard to Christianity[d] the religious stamp in revolutions of really universal significance is restricted to the first stages of the bourgeoisie's struggle for emancipation—from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century—and is to be accounted for not, as Feuerbach thinks, by the hearts of men and their religious needs, but by the entire previous history of the Middle Ages, which knew no other form of ideology than actual religion and theology. But when the bourgeoisie of the eighteenth century had strengthened enough to possess an ideology of its own, suited to its own class standpoint, it made its great and conclusive revolution, the French one, appealing exclusively to juristic and[e] political ideas, and troubled itself with religion only in so far as it stood in its way. But it never occurred to it to put a new religion in place of the old one. Everyone knows how Robespierre failed in that.[f] [243]

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[a] See H. Kopp, *Die Alchemie in älterer und neuerer Zeit* and M. Berthelot, *Les origines de l'alchimie.*—*Ed.*

[b] In the 1886 edition this sentence reads: "This holds good, even relatively, only so far as the three world religions which have existed up to the present, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam, are concerned—and only between them."—*Ed.*

[c] The words "did not proselytise and" were added by Engels in the 1888 edition.—*Ed.*

[d] The words "in regard to Christianity" were added by Engels in the 1888 edition.—*Ed.*

[e] The words "juristic and" were added by Engels in the 1888 edition.—*Ed.*

[f] This sentence was added by Engels in the 1888 edition.—Ed.

The possibility of purely human sentiments in our intercourse with other human beings has nowadays been sufficiently curtailed by the society in which we must live, which is based upon class antagonism and class rule. We have no reason to curtail it still more by exalting these sentiments to a religion. And similarly the understanding of the great historical class struggles has already been sufficiently obscured by current historiography, particularly in Germany, so that there is also no need for us to make such an understanding totally impossible by transforming the history of these struggles into a mere appendix of ecclesiastical history. Already here it becomes evident how far today we have moved beyond Feuerbach. His "finest passages" in glorification of this new religion of love are totally unreadable today.

The only religion which Feuerbach examines seriously is Christianity, the world religion of the Occident, based upon monotheism. He proves that the Christian God is only a fantastic reflection, a mirror image, of man. Now, this God is, however, himself the product of a protracted process of abstraction, the concentrated quintessence of the numerous earlier tribal and national gods. And accordingly man, whose image this God is, is also not a real man, but likewise the quintessence of the numerous real men, man in the abstract, therefore himself again a mental image. The same Feuerbach, who on every page preaches sensuousness, immersion in the concrete, in actuality, becomes thoroughly abstract as soon as he begins to talk of any other than mere sexual intercourse between human beings.

This intercourse presents him with only one aspect: morality. And here we are again struck by Feuerbach's astonishing poverty when compared with Hegel. The latter's ethics or doctrine of social ethics, is the philosophy of law and embraces: 1) abstract law; 2) morality; 3) social ethics under which again are comprised: the family, civil society and the state. Here the content is as realistic as the form is idealistic. Besides morality the whole sphere of law, economy, politics is included here. With Feuerbach it is just the reverse. In form he is realistic since he takes man as his point of departure; but there is absolutely no mention of the world in which this man lives; hence, this man remains always the same abstract man who occupied the field in the philosophy of religion. For this man is not born of woman; he emerged, as if from a chrysalis, from the god of the monotheistic religions. He therefore does not live in a real world historically come into being and historically determined. True, he has contact with other men; however, each one of them is just as much an abstraction as he

himself. In the philosophy of religion we still had men and women at least, but in ethics even this last distinction disappears. Feuerbach, however, at long intervals makes such statements as:

"Man thinks differently in a palace and in a hut."[a] "If because of hunger, of misery, you have no stuff in your body, you likewise have no stuff for morality in your head, in your mind or heart."[b] "Politics must become our religion,"[c] etc.

But Feuerbach knows absolutely nothing what to do with these maxims. They remain mere phrases, and even Starcke has to admit that for Feuerbach politics constituted an impassable frontier and the

"science of society, sociology, was *terra incognita* to him."[d]

He appears just as shallow, in comparison with Hegel, in his treatment of the antithesis of good and evil.

"One believes one is saying something great," Hegel remarks, "if one says that 'man is naturally good'. But one forgets that one says something far greater when one says 'man is naturally evil'."[e]

In Hegel evil is the form in which the motive force of historical development presents itself. Herein lies the twofold meaning that, on the one hand, each new advance necessarily appears as a heinous deed against what is sacred, as a rebellion against conditions, though old and moribund, yet sanctified by custom; and that, on the other hand, it is precisely the wicked passions of man—greed and lust for power—which, since the emergence of class antagonisms, have become levers of historical development—of which the history of feudalism and of the bourgeoisie, for example, constitutes singular continual proof.[f] But it does not occur to Feuerbach to investigate the historical role of moral evil. To him history is altogether an uncomfortable, uncanny domain. Even his dictum:

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[a] L. Feuerbach, "Wider den Dualismus von Leib und Seele, Fleisch und Geist" in *Ludwig Feuerbach's sämmtliche Werke,* Vol. II, p. 363.—*Ed.*

[b] L. Feuerbach, "Noth meistert alle Gesetze und hebt sie auf" in *Ludwig Feuerbach in seinem Briefwechsel und Nachlass,* Vol. II, pp. 285-86. Quoted in C. N. Starcke, *Ludwig Feuerbach,* p. 254.—*Ed.*

[c] L. Feuerbach, "Grundsätze der Philosophie" in *Ludwig Feuerbach in seinem Briefwechsel und Nachlass,* Vol. I, p. 409. Quoted in C. N. Starcke, *Ludwig Feuerbach,* p. 280.—*Ed.*

[d] C. N. Starcke, *Ludwig Feuerbach,* p. 280.—*Ed.*

[e] A summary of Hegel's ideas expressed mainly in his *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts.* §§ 18 and 139 and *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion,* Part 3, II, 3.—*Ed.*

[f] The 1886 edition has "of which the history of feudalism and of the bourgeoisie provide the classical example".—*Ed.*

"Man as he sprang originally from nature was only a mere creature of nature, not man. Man is a product of man, of culture, of history"[a]—

with him even this dictum remains absolutely sterile.

What Feuerbach has to tell us about morality can, therefore, only be extremely meagre. The urge for bliss is innate in man, and must therefore form the basis of all morality. But the urge for bliss is subject to a double correction. First, by the natural consequences of our actions: after the intoxication comes the "hangover", and habitual excess is followed by illness. Second, by their social consequences: if we do not respect the same urge of other people for bliss they will defend themselves, and so interfere with our own urge for bliss. Consequently, in order to satisfy our urge, we must be in a position to correctly appreciate the results of our conduct and must likewise allow others an equal right to seek bliss. Rational self-restraint with regard to ourselves, and love—again and again love!—in our contact with others—these are the basic rules of Feuerbach's morality; from them all others are derived. And neither the wisest utterances of Feuerbach nor the strongest eulogies of Starcke can hide the tenuity and banality of these few propositions.

Only very exceptionally, and by no means to his and other people's profit, can an individual satisfy his urge for bliss by preoccupation with himself. Rather it requires preoccupation with the outside world, means to satisfy his needs, that is to say, food, an individual of the opposite sex, books, conversation, argument, activity, objects to use and work. Feuerbach's morality either presupposes that these means and objects of satisfaction are given to every individual as a matter of course, or else it offers him only impracticable good advice and is, therefore, not worth a brass farthing to people who lack these means. And Feuerbach himself states this in plain terms:

"Man thinks differently in a palace and in a hut." "If because of hunger, of misery, you have no stuff in your body, you likewise have no stuff for morality in your head, in your mind or heart."

Do matters fare any better in regard to the equal right of others to satisfy their urge for bliss? Feuerbach poses this claim as absolute, as holding good for all times and circumstances. But since when has it been valid? Was there ever in antiquity between slaves and masters, or in the Middle Ages between serfs and barons, any talk about an equal right in the urge for bliss? Was not the urge for bliss of the oppressed class sacrificed ruthlessly

[a] L. Feuerbach, "Fragmente zur Characteristik meines philosophischen Curriculum vitae" in *Ludwig Feuerbach's sämmtliche Werke,* Vol. II, p. 411.—*Ed.*

and "by right of law" to that of the ruling class?—Yes, that was indeed immoral; nowadays, however, equality of rights is recognised.—Recognised in words ever since and inasmuch as the bourgeoisie, in its fight against feudalism and in the development of capitalist production, was compelled to abolish all privileges of estate, that is, personal privileges, and to introduce the equality of all individuals before the law, first in the sphere of private law, then gradually also in the sphere of public law. But the urge for bliss lives only to a trivial extent on idealistic rights. To the greatest extent of all it lives on material means; and capitalist production takes care to ensure that the great majority of those with equal rights shall get only what is essential for bare existence. It scarcely has, therefore, more respect, if indeed at all, for the equal right to the urge for bliss of the majority than had slavery or serfdom. And are we better off in regard to the mental means of bliss, the educational means? Is not even "the school-master of Sadowa"[244] a mythical person?

More. According to Feuerbach's theory of morals the Stock Exchange is the highest temple of social ethics, provided only that one always speculates right. If my urge for bliss leads me to the Stock Exchange, and if there I correctly gauge the consequences of my actions so that only agreeable results and no disadvantages ensue, that is, if I always win, then I am fulfilling Feuerbach's precept. Moreover, I do not thereby interfere with the equal right of another person to pursue his bliss; for that other man went to the Exchange just as voluntarily as I did and in concluding the speculative transaction with me he has followed his urge for bliss as I have followed mine. If he loses his money, his action is *ipso facto* proved to have been unethical, because it was poorly calculated, and since I have given him the punishment he deserves, I can even slap my chest proudly, like a modern Rhadamanthus. Love, too, rules on the Stock Exchange, in so far as it is not simply a sentimental figure of speech, for each finds in others the satisfaction of his own urge for bliss, which is just what love ought to achieve and how it acts in practice. And if I gamble with correct prevision of the consequences of my operations, and therefore with success, I fulfil all the strictest injunctions of Feuerbachian morality—and become a rich man into the bargain. In other words, Feuerbach's morality is geared to contemporary capitalist society, little though Feuerbach himself might desire or imagine it.[a]

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[a] This sentence was added by Engels in the 1888 edition.—*Ed.*

But love!—yes, in Feuerbach love is everywhere and at all times the miracle-working god called on to help surmount all difficulties of practical life—and that in a society which is split into classes with diametrically opposite interests. At this point the last relic of its revolutionary character disappears from his philosophy, leaving only the old cant: Love one another—fall into each other's arms without distinction as to sex or estate—a universal orgy of reconciliation!

In short, the Feuerbachian theory of morals fares like all its predecessors. It is designed to suit all times, all peoples and all conditions, and precisely for that reason it is never and nowhere applicable. Vis-à-vis the real world it remains as powerless as Kant's categorical imperative. In reality every class, even every profession, has its own morality, and even this it violates whenever it can do so with impunity. And love, which is to unite all, manifests itself in wars, altercations, lawsuits, domestic broils, divorces and every possible exploitation of one by another.

Now how was it possible that the powerful impetus given by Feuerbach turned out to be so unfruitful for himself? For the simple reason that Feuerbach himself cannot find the way out of the realm of abstraction—for which he has a deadly hatred—into that of living reality. He clings fiercely to nature and man; but nature and man remain mere words to him. He is incapable of telling us anything definite either about real nature or real men. But from the abstract man of Feuerbach one arrives at real living men only when one considers them as participants in history. And that is what Feuerbach resisted, and therefore the year 1848, which he did not understand, meant to him merely the final break with the real world, withdrawal into solitude. The blame for this again falls chiefly on the conditions then obtaining in Germany, which condemned him to rot away miserably.

But the step which Feuerbach did not take had nevertheless to be taken. The cult of abstract man, which formed the kernel of Feuerbach's new religion, had to be replaced by the science of real men and of their historical development. This further development of Feuerbach's standpoint beyond Feuerbach was inaugurated by Marx in 1845 in *The Holy Family.*

## IV

Strauss, Bauer, Stirner, Feuerbach—these were the offshoots of Hegelian philosophy, in so far as they did not abandon the field of

philosophy. Strauss, after his *Leben Jesu* and *Dogmatik*,[a] produced only literary studies in philosophy and ecclesiastical history *à la* Renan. Bauer worked only in the field of the history of the origin of Christianity, though what he did here was important. Stirner remained an oddity, even after Bakunin blended him with Proudhon and labelled the blend "anarchism". Feuerbach alone was of significance as a philosopher. But not only did philosophy—claimed to soar above all individual sciences and to be the science of sciences, connecting them—remain to him an impassable barrier, an inviolable sacrament, but as a philosopher, too, he stopped halfway, was a materialist below and an idealist above. He could not cope with Hegel through criticism; he simply cast him aside as useless, while he himself, compared with the encyclopaedic wealth of the Hegelian system, achieved nothing positive beyond a bombastic religion of love and a meagre, impotent morality.

Out of the dissolution of the Hegelian school, however, there emerged still another tendency, the only one which has borne real fruit. And this tendency is essentially connected with the name of Marx.*

The departure from Hegelian philosophy was here too the result of a return to the materialist standpoint. That means it was resolved to comprehend the real world—nature and history—just as it presents itself to everyone who approaches it free from preconceived idealist quirks. It was decided mercilessly to sacrifice every idealist quirk which could not be brought into harmony with the facts conceived in their own, and not in a fantastic,

* Here I may be permitted to make a personal explanation. Lately repeated reference has been made to my share in this theory, and so I can hardly avoid saying a few words here to settle this point. I cannot deny that both before and during my forty years' collaboration with Marx I had a certain independent share in laying the foundations of the theory, and more particularly in its elaboration. But the greater part of its leading basic principles, especially in the realm of economics and history, and, above all, their final trenchant formulation, belongs to Marx. What I contributed—at any rate with the exception of my work in a few special fields—Marx could very well have done without me. What Marx accomplished I would not have achieved. Marx stood higher, saw further, and took a wider and quicker view than all the rest of us. Marx was a genius; we others were at best talented.[b] Without him the theory would not be by far what it is today. It therefore rightly bears his name.

[a] A reference to the second part of D. Strauss' *Die christliche Glaubenslehre...* entitled *Der materiale Inbegriff der christlichen Glaubenslehre* (*Dogmatik*).—*Ed.*

[b] This sentence was added by Engels in the 1888 edition.—*Ed.*

interconnection. And materialism means nothing more than this. But here the materialistic world outlook was taken really seriously for the first time and was carried through consistently—at least in its basic features—in all relevant domains of knowledge.

Hegel was not simply put aside. On the contrary, his revolutionary side, described above, the dialectical method was taken up. But in its Hegelian form this method was no use. According to Hegel, dialectics is the self-development of the concept. The absolute concept does not only exist—unknown where—from eternity, it is also the actual living soul of the whole existing world. It develops into itself through all the preliminary stages which are treated at length in *Logik* and which are all included in it. Then it "alienates" itself by changing itself into nature, where, without consciousness of itself, disguised as the necessity of nature, it goes through a new development and finally comes again to self-consciousness in man. This self-consciousness then elaborates itself again in history from the crude form until finally the absolute concept again comes to itself completely in Hegelian philosophy. According to Hegel, therefore, the dialectical development apparent in nature and history, that is, the causal interconnection of the progressive movement from the lower to the higher, which asserts itself through all zigzag movements and temporary retrogressions, is only a copy of the self-movement of the concept going on from eternity, no one knows where, but at all events independently of any thinking human brain. This ideological perversion had to be done away with. We comprehended the concepts in our heads once more materialistically—as images of real things instead of regarding the real things as images of some or other stage of the absolute concept. Thus dialectics reduced itself to the science of the general laws of motion, both of the external world and of human thinking—two sets of laws which are identical in substance, but differ in their expression in so far as the human mind can apply them consciously, while in nature and also up to now for the most part in human history, these laws assert themselves unconsciously, in the form of external necessity, in the midst of an endless series of apparent accidents. Thereby the dialectic of concepts itself became merely the conscious reflection of the dialectical motion of the real world and thus the Hegelian dialectic was placed upon its head; or rather, turned off its head, on which it was standing, and placed upon its feet. And this materialist dialectic, which for years was our best means of labour and our sharpest weapon, was, remarkably enough, rediscovered not only

by us but also, independently of us and even of Hegel, by a German worker, Joseph Dietzgen.*

In this way, however, the revolutionary side of Hegelian philosophy was again taken up and at the same time freed from the idealist trimmings which with Hegel had prevented its consistent execution. The great basic thought that the world is not to be comprehended as a complex of ready-made *things,* but as a complex of *processes,* in which the apparently stable things, no less than their mental images in our heads, the concepts, go through uninterrupted change of coming into being and passing away, in which, for all apparent accidentality and despite all temporary retrogression, a progressive development asserts itself in the end—this great fundamental thought has, especially since the time of Hegel, so thoroughly permeated ordinary consciousness that in this generality it is now scarcely ever contradicted. But to acknowledge this fundamental thought in words and to apply it in reality in detail to each domain of investigation are two different things. If, however, investigation always proceeds from this standpoint, the demand for final solutions and eternal truth ceases once and for all; one is always conscious of the necessary limitation of all acquired knowledge, of the fact that it is conditioned by the circumstances in which it was acquired. On the other hand, one no longer permits oneself to be impressed by the antitheses, unsuperable for the still common old metaphysics, between true and false, good and bad, identical and different, necessary and accidental. One knows that these antitheses have only a relative validity; that that which is now recognised as true has also its hidden false side which will later manifest itself, just as that which is now recognised as false has also its true side by virtue of which it was previously regarded as true. One knows that what is maintained to be necessary is composed of sheer accidents and that the allegedly accidental is the form behind which necessity hides itself—and so on.

The old method of investigation and thinking which Hegel calls "metaphysical", which preferred to investigate *things* as given, as fixed and stable, a method the relics of which still strongly haunt people's minds, had a great deal of historical justification in its day. It was necessary first to examine things before it was possible to examine processes. One had first to know what any particular thing was before one could observe the changes it was undergoing. And such was the case with natural science. The old metaphysics,

* See *Das Wesen der Kopfarbeit, von einem Handarbeiter,* Hamburg, Meißner.

which accepted things as *faits accomplis,* arose from a natural science which investigated dead and living things as *faits accomplis.* But when this investigation had progressed so far that it became possible to take the decisive step forward, that is, to pass on to the systematic investigation of the changes which these things undergo in nature itself, then the death knell of the old metaphysics struck in the realm of philosophy too. And in fact, while natural science up to the end of the last century was predominantly a *collecting* science, a science of *faits accomplis,* in our century it is essentially a *systematising* science, a science of the processes, of the origin and development of these things and of the interconnection which binds all these natural processes into one great whole. Physiology, which investigates the processes occurring in plant and animal organisms; embryology, which deals with the development of individual organisms from germ to maturity; geology, which traces the gradual formation of the earth's surface—all these are the offspring of our century.

But, above all, there are three great discoveries which have advanced our knowledge of the interconnection of natural processes by leaps and bounds:

First, the discovery of the cell as the unit from whose multiplication and differentiation the whole plant and animal body develops, so that not only is the development and growth of all higher organisms recognised to proceed according to a single general law,[a] but also, in the capacity of the cell to change, the way is pointed out by which organisms can change their species and thus go through a more than individual development.

Second, the transformation of energy, which has demonstrated to us that all the so-called forces operative in the first instance in inorganic nature—mechanical force and its complement, so-called potential energy, heat, radiation (light, or radiant heat), electricity, magnetism and chemical energy—are different forms of manifestation of universal motion, which pass into one another in definite proportions so that in place of a certain quantity of one which disappears, a certain quantity of another makes its appearance and thus the whole motion of nature[b] is reduced to this incessant process of transformation from one form into another. Finally, the proof which Darwin first developed in coherent form that the stock of organic products of nature surrounding us today,

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[a] The words "and differentiation", "not only", "general", and the rest of the sentence were added by Engels in the 1888 edition.—*Ed.*

[b] The 1886 edition has "inanimate nature".—*Ed.*

including man, is the product of a long process of evolution from a few originally unicellular germs, and that these in turn arose from protoplasm or albumen, which came into existence by chemical means.

Thanks to these three great discoveries and the other immense advances in natural science, we have now arrived at the point where we can demonstrate the interconnection between the processes in nature not only in particular spheres but also the interconnection of these particular spheres as a whole, and so can present in an approximately systematic form a clear picture of the coherence in nature by means of the facts provided by empirical natural science itself. To furnish this overall picture was formerly the task of so-called philosophy of nature. It could do this only by putting in place of the real but as yet unknown interconnections ideational, fancied ones, filling in the missing facts by mental images and bridging the actual gaps merely in imagination. In the course of this procedure it conceived many brilliant ideas and foreshadowed many later discoveries, but it also produced a considerable amount of nonsense, which indeed could not have been otherwise. Today, when one needs to comprehend the results of natural science only dialectically, that is, in the sense of their own interconnection, in order to arrive at a "system of nature" sufficient for our time; when the dialectical character of this interconnection is forcing itself against their will even into the metaphysically trained minds of the natural scientists, today the philosophy of nature is definitively discarded. Every attempt at resurrecting it would be not only superfluous but a *step backwards.*

But what is true of nature, which is hereby recognised also as a historical process of development, is likewise true of the history of society in all its branches and of the totality of all sciences which occupy themselves with things human (and divine). Here, too, the philosophy of history, of law, of religion, etc., has consisted in the substitution of an interconnection fabricated in the mind of the philosopher for the real interconnection demonstrable in events; has consisted in the comprehension of history as a whole, as well as in its separate parts, as the gradual implementation of ideas—and naturally always only the pet ideas of the philosopher himself. According to this, history worked unconsciously but of necessity towards a certain ideal goal set in advance—as, for example, in Hegel, towards the implementation of his absolute idea—and the unshakeable trend towards this absolute idea formed the inner interconnection of the events in history. A new mysterious providence—unconscious or gradually coming into

consciousness—was thus put in the place of the real, still unknown interconnection. Here, therefore, just as in the realm of nature, it was necessary to do away with these fabricated, artificial interconnections by the discovery of the real ones—a task which ultimately amounts to the discovery of the general laws of motion which assert themselves as the ruling ones in the history of human society.

In one point, however, the history of the development of society turns out to be essentially different from that of nature. In nature—in so far as we ignore man's reverse action upon nature—there are only blind, unconscious agencies acting upon one another, out of whose interplay the general law comes into operation. Of all that happens—whether in the innumerable apparent accidents observable upon the surface, or in the ultimate results which confirm the regularity inherent in these accidents—nothing happens as a consciously desired aim. In the history of society, on the contrary, the actors are all endowed with consciousness, are men acting with deliberation or passion, working towards definite goals; nothing happens without a deliberate intention, without a desired aim. But this distinction, important as it is for historical investigation, particularly of individual epochs and events, cannot alter the fact that the course of history is governed by innate general laws. For here, too, on the whole, in spite of the consciously desired aims of all individuals, accident apparently reigns on the surface. What is desired happens but rarely; in the majority of instances the numerous desired ends cross and conflict with one another, or these ends themselves are from the outset impracticable or the means of attaining them are insufficient. Thus the conflicts of innumerable individual wills and individual actions in the domain of history lead to a state of affairs quite similar to that prevailing in the realm of unconscious nature. The ends of the actions are desired, but the results which actually follow from these actions are not desired; or when they do seem to correspond to the desired end, they ultimately have consequences quite other than those desired. Historical events thus appear on the whole to be likewise governed by chance. But wherever on the surface chance holds sway, it is always governed by inner, hidden laws and these laws only have to be discovered.

Men make their own history, whatever its outcome may be, in that each person follows his own consciously desired end, and it is precisely the result of these many wills operating in different directions and of their manifold effects upon the world outside

that constitutes history. Thus it is also a question of what the many individuals desire. The will is determined by passion or deliberation. But the levers which immediately determine passion or deliberation are of very different kinds. In part they may be external objects, in part ideal motives, ambition, "enthusiasm for truth and justice", personal hatred or even purely individual whims of all kinds. But, on the one hand, we have seen that the many individual wills active in history for the most part produce results quite other than those desired—often quite the opposite; that their motives, therefore, in relation to the total result are likewise of only secondary importance. On the other hand, the question also arises: What driving forces in turn stand behind these motives? What are the historical causes which transform themselves into these motives in the minds of the actors?

The old materialism never asked itself this question. Its conception of history, as far as it has one at all, is therefore essentially pragmatic; it judges everything according to the motives of the action; it divides men who act in history into noble and ignoble and then finds that as a rule the noble are defrauded and the ignoble are victorious. Hence, it follows for the old materialism that nothing very edifying is to be got from the study of history, and for us that in the realm of history the old materialism becomes untrue to itself because it takes the ideal driving forces which operate there as ultimate causes, instead of investigating what is behind them, what are the driving forces of these driving forces. The inconsistency does not lie in the fact that *ideal* driving forces are recognised, but in the investigation not being carried further back from these into their motive causes. On the other hand, the philosophy of history, particularly as represented by Hegel, recognises that the ostensible and also the actually operating motives of men who act in history are by no means the ultimate causes of historical events; that behind these motives are other motive powers, which have to be explored. But it does not seek these powers in history itself, it imports them rather from outside, from philosophical ideology, into history. Hegel, for example, instead of explaining the history of Ancient Greece out of its own inner coherence, simply maintains that it is nothing more than the bringing out of "forms of beautiful individuality", the realisation of a "work of art" as such.[a] He says much in this connection about the Ancient Greeks that is fine and profound,

[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte,* Zweiter Teil, Zweiter Abschnitt.—*Ed.*

but that does not prevent us today from refusing to be palmed off with such an explanation, which is mere empty talk.

When, therefore, it is a question of investigating the driving powers which—consciously or unconsciously, and indeed very often unconsciously—lie behind the motives of men who act in history and which constitute the real ultimate driving forces of history, then it is not a question so much of the motives of single individuals, however eminent, as of those motives which set in motion great masses, whole peoples, and again whole classes of the people in each people; and even this, not momentarily, giving rise to the transient flaring up of a straw-fire which quickly dies down, but to lasting action resulting in a great historical transformation. Ascertaining the driving causes which in this context, in the minds of the acting masses and their leaders—the so-called great men—are reflected as conscious motives, clearly or unclearly, directly or in ideological, even sanctified form—that is the only way which can put us on the track of the laws holding sway in history as a whole, as well as in particular periods and in particular countries. Everything which sets men in motion must pass through their minds; but what form it takes in the mind depends very much upon the circumstances. The workers have by no means become reconciled to capitalist machine industry now that they no longer simply break the machines to pieces, as they did as recently as 1848 on the Rhine.

But while in all earlier periods the investigation of these driving causes of history was almost impossible—on account of the complicated and concealed interconnections with their effects—our present period has so far simplified these interconnections that it has been possible to solve the riddle. Since the establishment of large-scale industry, that is, at least since the European peace of 1815, it has been no longer a secret to any man in England that the whole political struggle there turned on the claims to supremacy of two classes: the LANDED ARISTOCRACY[a] and the bourgeoisie (MIDDLE CLASS). In France, with the return of the Bourbons, the same fact was perceived, the historians of the Restoration period, from Thierry to Guizot, Mignet and Thiers, speak of it everywhere as the key to the understanding of French history since the Middle Ages. And since 1830 the working class, the proletariat, has been recognised in both countries as a third competitor for power. Conditions had become so simplified that

[a] In the original this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

one would have had to close one's eyes deliberately not to see in the fight of these three great classes and in the conflict of their interests the driving force of modern history—at least in the two most advanced countries.

But how had these classes come into existence? If it was possible at first glance still to ascribe the origin of the large, formerly feudal landed property—at least in the first instance—to political causes, to seizure by force, this could not be done in regard to the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Here the origin and development of two great classes was seen to lie clearly and palpably in purely economic causes. And it was just as clear that in the struggle between landed proprietors and the bourgeoisie, no less than in the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the matter at issue was, first and foremost, economic interests, which were to be secured using political power merely as a means. Bourgeoisie and proletariat both arose in consequence of a change in the economic conditions, more precisely, in the mode of production. The transition, first from guild handicrafts to manufacture, and then from manufacture to large-scale industry with steam and mechanical power, had caused the development of these two classes. At a certain stage the new forces of production set in motion by the bourgeoisie—in the first place the division of labour and the combination of many workers performing individual operations in one manufactory handling all stages of production—and the conditions and requirements of exchange, developed through these forces of production, became incompatible with the existing order[a] of production handed down through history and sanctified by law, that is to say, incompatible with the privileges of the guild and the numerous other personal and local privileges (which were just as numerous fetters for the unprivileged estates) of the feudal order of society. The forces of production represented by the bourgeoisie rebelled against the order[a] of production represented by the feudal landlords and the guild-masters. The result is well known: the feudal fetters were smashed, gradually in England, at one blow in France. In Germany the process is not yet finished. But just as, at a definite stage of its development, manufacture came into conflict with the feudal order[a] of production, so large-scale industry has even now come into conflict with the bourgeois order of production established in its place. Tied down by this order, by the narrow limits of the capitalist mode of production, this industry produces,

[a] The 1886 edition has "relations".— *Ed.*

on the one hand, an ever-increasing proletarianisation of the great mass of the people, and on the other hand, an ever greater volume of unsaleable products. Overproduction and mass destitution, each the cause of the other—that is the absurd contradiction which is its outcome, and which of necessity calls for the productive forces to be unfettered by means of a change in the mode of production.

In modern history at least it is, therefore, proved that all political struggles are class struggles, and all struggles by classes for emancipation, despite their necessarily political form—for every class struggle is a political struggle[a]—turn ultimately on the question of *economic* emancipation. Therefore, here at least, the state—the political order—is the subordinate factor and civil society—the realm of economic relations—the decisive element. The traditional conception, to which Hegel, too, pays homage, saw in the state the determining element, and in civil society the element determined by it. Appearances correspond to this. As all the driving forces of the actions of any individual person must pass through his brain, and transform themselves into motives of his will in order to set him into action, so also all the needs of civil society—no matter which class happens to be the ruling one—must pass through the will of the state in order to attain general validity in the form of laws. That is the formal aspect of the matter which is self-evident. The question arises, however, as to the content of this merely formal will—of the individual as well as of the state—and whence this content is derived. Why is just this willed and not something else? If we enquire into this, we discover that in modern history the will of the state is, on the whole, determined by the changing needs of civil society, by the supremacy of this or that class, in the last resort, by the development of the productive forces and relations of exchange.

But if even in our modern era, with its gigantic means of production and communication, the state is not an independent domain with independent development, but one whose existence as well as development is to be explained in the last resort by the economic conditions of life of society, then this must be still more true of all earlier times when the production of the material life of man was not yet carried on with these abundant auxiliary aids, and when, therefore, the necessity of such production must have exercised a still greater rule over men. If the state even today, in the era of large-scale industry and railways, is on the whole only

[a] The words in dashes were added by Engels in the 1888 edition.—*Ed.*

the reflection, in concentrated form, of the economic needs of the class controlling production, then this must have been much more the case in an epoch when each generation of men had to spend a far greater part of its aggregate lifetime satisfying its material needs, and was therefore much more dependent on them than we are today. An examination of the history of earlier periods, as soon as it deals seriously with this aspect, most abundantly confirms this. But, of course, this cannot be gone into here.

If the state and public law are determined by economic relations, so, too, of course is private law, which indeed in essence only sanctions the existing economic relations between individuals which are normal in the given circumstances.[a] The form in which this occurs can, however, vary considerably. It is possible, as happened in England, in harmony with the whole of national development, to retain to a large extent the forms of the old feudal laws and give them a bourgeois content; in fact, directly reading a bourgeois meaning into the feudal name. But, also, as happened in continental Western Europe, Roman Law, the first world law of a commodity-producing society, with its unsurpassably fine elaboration of all the essential legal relations of simple commodity owners (of buyers and sellers, creditors and debtors, contracts, obligations, etc.), can be taken as the foundation. In which case, for the benefit of a still petty-bourgeois and semi-feudal society it can either be reduced to the level of such a society simply through judicial practice (common law) or else, with the help of allegedly enlightened, moralising jurists, it can be worked into a special code of law to correspond with such a social level—a code which in these circumstances will be a bad one even from the legal standpoint (for instance, Prussian common law). In which case, however, after a great bourgeois revolution, it is also possible to work out upon the basis of this same Roman Law such a classic legal code of bourgeois society as the French *Code civile.* If, therefore, bourgeois legal rules merely express the economic conditions of life in society in legal form, then they can do so well or badly according to circumstances.

The state presents itself to us as the first ideological power over man. Society creates for itself an organ for the safeguarding of its common interests against internal and external attacks. This organ is the state power. Hardly come into being, this organ makes itself independent vis-à-vis society; and, indeed, all the more so, the

[a] The words "which are normal in the given circumstances" were added by Engels in the 1888 edition.—*Ed.*

more it becomes the organ of a particular class, the more it directly enforces the rule of that class. The fight of the oppressed class against the ruling class necessarily becomes a political fight, a fight first of all against the political rule of this class. Consciousness of the connection between this political struggle and its economic foundation becomes dulled and can be lost altogether. While this is not wholly the case with the participants, it almost always happens with the historians. Of the ancient sources on the struggles within the Roman Republic only Appian tells us clearly and distinctly what was ultimately at issue—namely, landed property.[a]

But once the state has become an independent power vis-à-vis society, it immediately produces a further[b] ideology. It is among professional politicians, theorists of public law and jurists of private law that the connection with economic facts gets well and truly lost. Since in each particular case the economic facts must assume the form of juristic motives in order to receive legal sanction; and since, in so doing, consideration has, of course, to be given to the whole legal system already in operation, the juristic form is, in consequence, made everything and the economic content nothing. Public law and private law are treated as separate spheres, each having its own independent historical development, each being capable of, and needing, a systematic presentation by the consistent elimination of all innate contradictions.

Still higher ideologies, that is, such as are still further removed from the material, economic basis, take the form of philosophy and religion. Here the connection between conceptions and their material conditions of existence becomes more and more complicated, more and more obscured by intermediate links. But the connection exists. Just as the whole Renaissance period, from the middle of the fifteenth century, was an essential product of the towns and, therefore, of the burghers, so also was the subsequently newly awakened philosophy. Its content was in essence only the philosophical expression of the thoughts corresponding to the development of the small and middle burghers into a big bourgeoisie. Among the last century's Englishmen and Frenchmen who in many cases were just as much political economists as philosophers, this is clearly evident; and we have proved it above in regard to the Hegelian school.

Let us now in addition deal only briefly with religion, since this

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[a] See Appian of Alexandria, *The Roman History*, Books 13-17.—*Ed.*

[b] The 1886 edition has "another".—*Ed.*

stands furthest away from material life and seems to be most alien to it. Religion arose in very primitive times from erroneous, primitive conceptions by men about their own nature and external nature surrounding them. Every ideology, however, once it has arisen, develops in connection with the given concept-material, and develops this material further; otherwise it would not be an ideology, that is, occupation with thoughts as with independent entities, developing independently and subject only to their own laws. That the material conditions of life of the persons inside whose heads this thought process goes on in the last resort determine the course of this process remains of necessity unknown to these persons, for otherwise all ideology would be finished. These original religious notions, therefore, which in the main are common to each group of kindred peoples, develop, after the group separates, in a manner peculiar to each people, according to the conditions of life falling to their lot. For a number of groups of peoples, and particularly for the Aryans (so-called Indo-Europeans), this process has been demonstrated in detail by comparative mythology. The gods thus fashioned among each people were national gods, whose domain extended no farther than the national territory which they were to protect; on the other side of its frontiers other gods held undisputed sway. They could continue to exist, in the imagination, only as long as the nation existed; they fell with its fall. The Roman world empire, the economic conditions of whose origin we do not need to examine here, brought about this downfall of the old nationalities. The old national gods declined, even those of the Romans, which also were geared to suit only the narrow confines of the city of Rome. The need to complement the world empire by means of a world religion was clearly revealed in the attempts made to provide in Rome recognition and altars for all the foreign gods that were to the slightest degree respectable, alongside the indigenous ones. But a new world religion is not to be made in this fashion, by imperial decrees. The new world religion, Christianity, had already quietly come into being, out of a mixture of generalised Oriental, particularly Jewish, theology, and vulgarised Greek, particularly Stoic, philosophy. What it originally looked like has yet to be laboriously discovered, since its official form, as it has been handed down to us, is merely that in which it became the state religion, to which purpose it was adapted by the Council of Nicaea.[245] The fact that it became the state religion in as little as 250 years suffices to show that it was the religion corresponding to the conditions of the time. In the Middle Ages,

in the same measure as feudalism developed, Christianity grew into its religious counterpart, with a corresponding feudal hierarchy. And when the burghers began to thrive, there developed, in opposition to feudal Catholicism, the Protestant heresy, which first appeared in Southern France, among the Albigenses,[246] at the time the cities there were in their heyday. The Middle Ages had attached to theology all the other forms of ideology—philosophy, politics, jurisprudence—and made them subdivisions of theology. It thereby constrained every social and political movement to take on a theological form. The sentiments of the masses, fed exclusively on religion, had to have their own interests presented to them in a religious guise in order to create a great turbulence. And just as the burghers from the beginning produced an appendage of propertyless urban plebeians, day labourers and servants of all kinds, belonging to no recognised social estate, precursors of the later proletariat, so likewise[a] heresy soon became divided into a moderate burgher heresy and a revolutionary plebeian one, the latter an abomination even to the burgher heretics.

The ineradicableness of the Protestant heresy corresponded to the invincibility of the rising burghers. When these burghers had become sufficiently strengthened, their struggle against the feudal nobility, which till then had been predominantly local, began to assume national dimensions. The first great campaign occurred in Germany—the so-called Reformation. The burghers were neither powerful enough nor sufficiently developed to be able to unite under their banner the remaining rebellious estates—the plebeians of the towns, the lower nobility and the peasants in the countryside. The nobles were the first to be defeated; the peasants rose in a revolt which formed the climax of the whole revolutionary movement; the cities left them in the lurch, and thus the revolution succumbed to the armies of the sovereigns, who swept the board. Thenceforward Germany disappears for three centuries from among the countries playing an independent active part in history. But beside the German Luther there had appeared the Frenchman Calvin. With true French acuity he put the bourgeois character of the Reformation in the forefront, republicanised and democratised the Church. While the Lutheran Reformation in Germany degenerated and reduced the country to rack and ruin, the Calvinist Reformation served as a banner for the republicans in Geneva, in Holland and in Scotland, freed

[a] This part of the sentence was added by Engels in the 1888 edition.—*Ed.*

Holland from Spain and from the German Empire and provided the ideological costume for the second act of the bourgeois revolution, which was taking place in England. Here Calvinism stood the test as the true religious disguise of the interests of the contemporary bourgeoisie and on this account did not attain full recognition when the revolution ended in 1689 in a compromise between part of the nobility and the bourgeoisie.[247] The English Established Church was reconstituted; but not in its earlier form, as a Catholicism with the king for its pope, being, instead, strongly Calvinised. The old Established Church had celebrated the merry Catholic Sunday and had fought against the dull Calvinist one. The new, bourgeois Church introduced the latter, which adorns England to this day.

In France, the Calvinist minority was suppressed in 1685 and either Catholicised or driven out of the country.[248] But what was the good? Already at that time the freethinker Pierre Bayle was hard at work, and in 1694 Voltaire was born. The forcible measures of Louis XIV only made it easier for the French bourgeoisie to carry through its revolution in the irreligious, exclusively politicál form which alone was suited to a developed bourgeoisie. Instead of Protestants, freethinkers took their seats in the national assemblies. Christianity had thus entered into its final stage. It had become incapable of continuing to serve any progressive class as the ideological garb of its aspirations. It became more and more the exclusive possession of the ruling classes and they use it as a mere means of government, to keep the lower classes within certain bounds. Moreover, each of the different classes uses its own appropriate religion: the landed Junkers—Catholic Jesuitism or Protestant orthodoxy; the liberal and radical bourgeoisie—rationalism; and it makes no difference whether these gentlemen themselves believe in their respective religions or not.

We see, therefore: religion, once formed, always contains traditional material, just as in all ideological domains tradition constitutes a great conservative force. But the changes which this material undergoes spring from class relations, that is to say, from the economic relations of the people who carry out these changes. And here that is sufficient.

In the above it could only be a question of giving a general outline of the Marxian conception of history, at most with a few illustrations as well. The proof must be derived from history itself; and in this regard I may be permitted to say that it has been sufficiently provided in other writings. This conception, however,

puts an end to philosophy in the realm of history, just as the dialectical conception of nature makes all philosophy of nature as unnecessary as it is impossible. It is no longer a question anywhere of inventing interconnections from out of our brains, but of discovering them in the facts. For philosophy, having been expelled from nature and history, there remains only the realm of pure thought, so far as anything is left of it: the theory of the laws of the thought process itself, logic and dialectics.

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With the revolution of 1848, "educated" Germany said farewell to theory and went over to the field of practice. Small-scale production and manufacture, based upon manual labour, were superseded by real large-scale industry. Germany again appeared on the world market. The new little German Empire[249] abolished at least the most flagrant of the abuses with which this development had been obstructed by the system of petty states, the relics of feudalism, and bureaucratic management. But to the same degree that speculation abandoned the philosopher's study in order to erect its temple in the Stock Exchange, educated Germany lost the great aptitude for theory which had been the glory of Germany in the days of its deepest political humiliation—the aptitude for purely scientific investigation, irrespective of whether the result obtained was applicable in practice or not, adverse to the police or not. Official German natural science, it is true, kept abreast of the times, particularly in the field of specialised research. But even the American journal *Science* rightly remarks that the decisive advances in the sphere of the comprehensive correlation of particular facts and their generalisation into laws are now being made much more in England, instead of in Germany, as used to be the case. And in the sphere of the historical sciences, philosophy included, the old reckless zeal for theory has now well and truly disappeared, along with classical philosophy. Inane eclecticism and an obsessive concern for career and income, down to the most vulgar tuft-hunting, have taken its place. The official representatives of these sciences have become the undisguised ideologists of the bourgeoisie and the existing state—but at a time when both stand in open antagonism to the working class.

Only among the working class does the German aptitude for theory remain unimpaired. Here it cannot be exterminated. Here

there is no concern for careers, for profiteering, or for gracious patronage from above. On the contrary, the more ruthlessly and disinterestedly science proceeds the more it finds itself in harmony with the interests and aspirations of the workers. The new tendency, which recognised that the key to the understanding of the whole history of society lies in the history of the development of labour, from the outset addressed itself preferentially to the working class and here found the response which it neither sought nor expected from official science. The German working-class movement is the heir to German classical philosophy.

# APPENDIX [TO THE AMERICAN EDITION OF *THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND*][250]

The book which is herewith submitted to the English-speaking public in its own language, was written rather more than forty years ago. The author, at the time, was young, twenty-four years of age, and his production bears the stamp of his youth with its good and its faulty features, of neither of which he feels ashamed. That it is now translated into English, is not in any way due to his initiative. Still he may be allowed to say a few words, "to show cause" why this translation should not be prevented from seeing the light of day.

The state of things described in this book belongs to-day in many respects to the past, as far as England is concerned. Though not expressly stated in our recognized treatises, it is still a law of modern Political Economy that the larger the scale on which Capitalistic Production is carried on, the less can it support the petty devices of swindling and pilfering which characterize its early stages. The pettifogging business-tricks of the Polish Jew, the representative in Europe of commerce in its lowest stage, those tricks that serve him so well in his own country, and are generally practiced there, he finds to be out of date and out of place when he comes to Hamburg or Berlin; and again the Commission Agent, who hails from Berlin or Hamburg, Jew or Christian, after frequenting the Manchester Exchange for a few months, finds out that in order to buy cotton-yarn or cloth cheap, he, too, had better drop those slightly more refined but still miserable wiles and subterfuges which are considered the acme of cleverness in his native country. The fact is, those tricks do not pay any longer in a

large market, where time is money, and where a certain standard of commercial morality is unavoidably developed, purely as a means of saving time and trouble. And it is the same with the relation between the manufacturer and his "hands." The repeal of the Corn-laws,[251] the discovery of the Californian and Australian gold-fields,[252] the almost complete crushing-out of domestic handweaving in India, the increasing access to the Chinese market, the rapid multiplication of railways and steam-ships all over the world, and other minor causes have given to English manufacturing industry such a colossal development, that the status of 1844 now appears to us as comparatively primitive and insignificant. And in proportion as this increase took place, in the same proportion did manufacturing industry become apparently moralized. The competition of manufacturer against manufacturer by means of petty thefts upon the workpeople did no longer pay. Trade had outgrown such low means of making money; they were not worth while practicing for the manufacturing millionaire, and served merely to keep alive the competition of smaller traders, thankful to pick up a penny wherever they could. Thus the truck-system was suppressed; the Ten Hours' Bill[253] was enacted, and a number of other secondary reforms introduced—much against the spirit of Free Trade and unbridled competition, but quite as much in favor of the giant-capitalist in his competition with his less favored brother. Moreover, the larger the concern, and with it the number of hands, the greater the loss and inconvenience caused by every conflict between master and men; and thus a new spirit came over the masters, especially the large ones, which taught them to avoid unnecessary squabbles, to acquiesce in the existence and power of Trades Unions, and finally even to discover in strikes—at opportune times—a powerful means to serve their own ends. The largest manufacturers, formerly the leaders of the war against the working-class, were now the foremost to preach peace and harmony. And for a very good reason. The fact is, that all these concessions to justice and philanthropy were nothing else but means to accelerate the concentration of capital in the hands of the few, for whom the niggardly extra extortions of former years had lost all importance and had become actual nuisances; and to crush all the quicker and all the safer their smaller competitors who could not make both ends meet without such perquisites. Thus the development of production on the basis of the capitalistic system has of itself sufficed—at least in the leading industries, for in the more unimportant branches this is far from being the case—to do away

with all those minor grievances which aggravated the workman's fate during its earlier stages. And thus it renders more and more evident the great central fact, that the cause of the miserable condition of the working class is to be sought, not in these minor grievances, but in the Capitalistic System itself. The wage-worker sells to the capitalist his labor-force for a certain daily sum. After a few hours' work he has reproduced the value of that sum; but the substance of his contract is, that he has to work another series of hours to complete his working day; and the value he produces during these additional hours of surplus labor is surplus value which costs the capitalist nothing but yet goes into his pocket. That is the basis of the system which tends more and more to split up civilized society into a few Vanderbilts, the owners of all the means of production and subsistence, on the one hand, and an immense number of wage-workers, the owners of nothing but their labor-force, on the other. And that this result is caused, not by this or that secondary grievance, but by the system itself—this fact has been brought out in bold relief by the development of Capitalism in England since 1847.

Again, the repeated visitations of cholera, typhus, small-pox and other epidemics have shown the British bourgeois the urgent necessity of sanitation in his towns and cities, if he wishes to save himself and family from falling victims to such diseases. Accordingly, the most crying abuses described in this book have either disappeared or have been made less conspicuous. Drainage has been introduced or improved, wide avenues have been opened out athwart many of the worst "slums" I had to describe. "Little Ireland" has disappeared and the "Seven Dials"[254] are next on the list for sweeping away. But what of that? Whole districts which in 1844 I could describe as almost idyllic have now, with the growth of the towns, fallen into the same state of dilapidation, discomfort and misery. Only the pigs and the heaps of refuse are no longer tolerated. The bourgeoisie have made further progress in the art of hiding the distress of the working class. But that, in regard to their dwellings, no substantial improvement has taken place, is amply proved by the Report of the Royal Commission "on the Housing of the Poor," 1885.[a] And this is the case, too, in other respects. Police regulations have been plentiful as blackberries; but they can only hedge in the distress of the workers, they cannot remove it.

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[a] See *Report of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes. England and Wales. 1885.—Ed.*

But while England has thus outgrown the juvenile state of capitalist exploitation described by me, other countries have only just attained it. France, Germany, and especially America, are the formidable competitors who at this moment—as foreseen by me in 1844[a]—are more and more breaking up England's industrial monopoly. Their manufactures are young as compared with those of England, but increasing at a far more rapid rate than the latter; but curious enough, they have at this moment arrived at about the same phase of development as English manufacture in 1844. With regard to America, the parallel is indeed most striking. True, the external surroundings in which the working class is placed in America are very different, but the same economical laws are at work, and the results, if not identical in every respect, must still be of the same order. Hence we find in America the same struggles for a shorter working-day, for a legal limitation of the working time, especially of women and children in factories; we find the truck system in full blossom, and the cottage-system, in rural districts,[255] made use of by the "bosses" as a means of domination over the workers. At this very moment I am receiving the American papers with accounts of the great strike of 12,000 Pennsylvanian coal-miners in the Connellsville district, and I seem but to read my own description of the North of England colliers' strike of 1844.[256] The same cheating of the work-people by false measure; the same truck system; the same attempt to break the miners' resistance by the Capitalists' last, but crushing, resource, the eviction of the men out of their dwellings, the cottages owned by the companies.

There were two circumstances which for a long time prevented the unavoidable consequences of the Capitalist system from showing themselves in the full glare of day in America. These were the easy access to the ownership of cheap land, and the influx of immigration. They allowed, for many years, the great mass of the native American population to "retire" in early manhood from wage-labor and to become farmers, dealers, or employers of labor, while the hard work for wages, the position of a proletarian for life, mostly fell to the lot of immigrants. But America has outgrown this early stage. The boundless backwoods have disappeared, and the still more boundless prairies are fast and faster passing from the hands of the Nation and the States into those of private owners. The great safety-valve against the

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 579-80.—*Ed.*

formation of a permanent proletarian class has practically ceased to act. A class of life-long and even hereditary proletarians exists at this hour in America. A nation of sixty millions striving hard to become—and with every chance of success, too—the leading manufacturing nation of the world—such a nation cannot permanently import its own wage-working class; not even if immigrants pour in at the rate of half a million a year. The tendency of the Capitalist system towards the ultimate splitting-up of society into two classes, a few millionaires on the one hand, and a great mass of mere wage-workers on the other, this tendency, though constantly crossed and counteracted by other social agencies, works nowhere with greater force than in America; and the result has been the production of a class of native American wage-workers, who form, indeed, the aristocracy of the wage-working class as compared with the immigrants, but who become conscious more and more every day of their solidarity with the latter and who feel all the more acutely their present condemnation to life-long wage-toil, because they still remember the bygone days, when it was comparatively easy to rise to a higher social level. Accordingly the working class movement, in America, has started with truly American vigor, and as on that side of the Atlantic things march with at least double the European speed, we may yet live to see America take the lead in this respect too.

I have not attempted, in this translation, to bring the book up to date, to point out in detail all the changes that have taken place since 1844. And for two reasons: Firstly, to do this properly, the size of the book must be about doubled, and the translation came upon me too suddenly to admit of my undertaking such a work. And secondly, the first volume of "Das Kapital", by Karl Marx, an English translation of which is about to appear, contains a very ample description of the state of the British working class, as it was about 1865, that is to say, at the time when British industrial prosperity reached its culminating point. I should, then, have been obliged again to go over the ground already covered by Marx's celebrated work.

It will be hardly necessary to point out that the general theoretical standpoint of this book—philosophical, economical, political—does not exactly coincide with my standpoint of to-day. Modern international Socialism, since fully developed as a science, chiefly and almost exclusively through the efforts of Marx, did not as yet exist in 1844. My book represents one of the phases of its embryonic development; and as the human embryo, in its early

stages, still reproduces the gill-arches of our fish ancestors, so this book exhibits everywhere the traces of the descent of Modern Socialism from one of its ancestors, German philosophy. Thus great stress is laid on the dictum that Communism is not a mere party doctrine of the working class, but a theory compassing the emancipation of society at large, including the Capitalist class, from its present narrow conditions. This is true enough in the abstract, but absolutely useless, and worse, in practice. So long as the wealthy classes not only do not feel the want of any emancipation, but strenuously oppose the self-emancipation of the working class, so long the social revolution will have to be prepared and fought out by the working class alone. The French bourgeois of 1789, too, declared the emancipation of the bourgeoisie to be the emancipation of the whole human race; but the nobility and clergy would not see it; the proposition—though for the time being, with respect to feudalism, an abstract historical truth—soon became a mere sentimentalism, and disappeared from view altogether in the fire of the revolutionary struggle. And to-day, the very people who, from the impartiality of their "superior stand-point" preach to the workers a Socialism soaring high above their class interests and class struggles, and tending to reconcile in a higher humanity the interests of both the contending classes—these people are either neophytes, who have still to learn a great deal, or they are the worst enemies of the workers—wolves in sheeps' clothing.

The recurring period of the great industrial crises is stated in the text as five years. This was the period apparently indicated by the course of events from 1825 to 1842. But the industrial history from 1842 to 1868 has shown that the real period is one of ten years; that the intermediate revolutions were secondary and tended more and more to disappear. Since 1868 the state of things has changed again, of which more anon.

I have taken care not to strike out of the text the many prophecies, amongst others that of an imminent social revolution in England, which my youthful ardor induced me to venture upon. The wonder is, not that a good many of them proved wrong, but that so many of them have proved right, and that the critical state of English trade, to be brought on by German and especially American competition, which I then foresaw—though in too short a period—has now actually come to pass. In this respect I can, and am bound to, bring the book up to date, by placing here an article which I published in the London "Commonweal" of March 1, 1885, under the heading: "England in 1845 and in

1885."[a] It gives at the same time a short outline of the history of the English working class during these forty years.

London, February 25, 1886

*Frederick Engels*

First published in F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, New York, 1887

Reproduced from the book

[a] See this volume, pp. 295-301.—*Ed.*

# [ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARIS COMMUNE][257]

This evening, at the same time as you, and with you, the workers of the Two Worlds celebrate the anniversary of the most glorious and most tragic stage of proletarian evolution. In 1871, for the first time in its history, the working class seized political power in a major capital. It was, alas! but a dream. Caught between the mercenaries of the former French Empire on one side and the Prussians on the other, the Commune was soon strangled in an unparalleled massacre which will never be forgotten. Victorious, reaction knew no bounds; socialism seemed to have been drowned in blood, and the proletariat doomed to slavery forever.

Fifteen years have elapsed since that defeat. In all this time, in every country, the powers-that-be, in the service of the owners of land and capital, have not shunned any means to eradicate the last remaining intentions of working class revolt. And what have they achieved?

Look around you. Revolutionary working-class socialism, more alive than ever, is today a force before which governments everywhere tremble, the French radicals as well as Bismarck, the stock-exchange kings of America just as the Tsar of all the Russias.

That is not all.

We have arrived at the point where all our adversaries, whatever they do, are working for us in spite of themselves.

They believed they had killed the International. Yet at the present moment the international union of the proletariat, the revolutionary brotherhood between the workers of different countries, is a thousand times stronger, more widespread than it

was before the Commune. The International no longer needs an organisation in the proper sense; it lives and grows through the spontaneous and heartfelt cooperation of the workers of Europe and America.

In Germany Bismarck has exhausted every means, even the foulest, in order to crush the working-class movement. Result: before the Commune he was faced with four socialist deputies; his persecutions have led to the election of twenty-five today.[258] And the German proletariat is laughing at the Grand Chancellor who could not have made better revolutionary propaganda if he were paid for it.

In France they have imposed on you voting by list,[259] this bourgeois election method *par excellence,* deliberately invented to ensure the election of lawyers, journalists and other political adventurers, the spokesmen of capital. And what has it done for the bourgeoisie, this poll of the rich? It has created in the heart of the French parliament a revolutionary socialist workers' party whose mere appearance on the scene was sufficient to throw the ranks of all the bourgeois parties into disarray.[260]

This is where we are now. Every event turns out in our favour. The most calculated measures to arrest the progress of the proletariat serve only to speed its victorious march. The enemy itself is fighting for us, is condemned to fight for us. And it has done so much and done it so well that on this day, the 18 March 1886, the same cry emerges from thousands of workers' throats, from the proletarian miners of California and Aveyron to the convict miners of Siberia:

"Long live the Commune! Long live the international union of workers!"

Written on March 15, 1886

First published in *Le Socialiste,* No. 31, March 27, 1886

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

# A STATEMENT TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE *NEW YORKER VOLKSZEITUNG*[261]

As a report of an interview with me by one of its correspondents has appeared in the *Missouri Republican,* I have the following remarks to make:

It is true that a Mr. McEnnis visited me as representative of this newspaper and put various questions to me, but promising on his *honour* not to send a line of it for print without first submitting it to me. Instead of doing that he never turned up again. I therefore declare herewith that I must refuse each and every responsibility for his publication, all the more so as I had the opportunity to satisfy myself that, because he lacked the necessary background knowledge, Mr. McEnnis, even with the best of wills, is hardly in a position to understand my statements correctly.

London

*Frederick Engels*

Written on April 29, 1886

First published in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung,* No. 162, July 8, 1886

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# [ON THE STRIKE AT A GLASS-WORKS IN LYONS]

The French Republican Government[262] seem resolved to show in every possible way that they are quite as much the Government of the capitalists as any of their predecessors. Not content with siding with the Mining Company in Decazeville,[263] they now come out even stronger in Lyons. There is a strike at a glass-works there; a few knobsticks continue working, and are lodged inside the works for safety's sake. When the furniture of one of them—a German anarchist of the name of Litner—was removed to the works, the strikers followed it, hooting. No sooner was the cart with the furniture inside and the gates closed, than shots were fired from the windows upon the people outside—revolver-bullets, and buckshot flying about in every direction, and wounding about thirty people. The crowd of course dispersed. Now the police and the judicial authorities interfered. But not to arrest the capitalist and his retainers who had fired—oh no! they arrested a number of the strikers for interfering with the freedom of labour! This affair coming on at this very moment, has caused immense excitement in Paris. Decazeville has swelled the Socialist votes in Paris from 30,000 to above 100,000,[264] and the effect of this murderous affair on the La Malotier[a] Gray at Lyons will be greater still.

*F. E.*

Written between May 8 and 14, 1886

Reproduced from the magazine

First published in *The Commonweal*, No. 18, May 15, 1886

[a] Should read "La Mulatier".—*Ed.*

# THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN EUROPE[265]

In March 1879[a] Disraeli sent four armour-plated ships into the Bosporus; their presence alone was sufficient to halt the Russians' triumphal march on Constantinople and to break the Treaty of San Stefano. The Peace of Berlin regulated the situation in the Orient for some time.[266] Bismarck managed to bring about an accord between the Russian Government and Austrian Government. Austria was to dominate behind the scenes in Serbia, whereas Bulgaria and Rumelia were to be abandoned to the overwhelming influence of Russia. This allowed one to predict that if, later on, Bismarck permitted the Russians to take Constantinople, he was reserving Salonica and Macedonia for Austria.

But what is more, Austria was given Bosnia too, just as in 1794 Russia had abandoned the greater part of Poland proper to the Prussians and Austrians, only to take it back in 1814.[267] Bosnia was a permanent drain on Austria, a bone of contention between Hungary and Western Austria, and above all it was *proof to Turkey* that the Austrians, just like the Russians, were preparing for it the same fate that Poland had suffered. Henceforth Turkey could have no confidence in Austria: an important victory for Russian government policy.

Serbia had Slavophile, and hence Russophile, tendencies; but since its emancipation it has drawn all its means of bourgeois development from Austria. Young people go to study in the

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[a] Engels' letter has "winter of 1879". The erroneous date was preserved in the article. The English squadron entered the Sea of Marmara (not the Bosporus) in February 1878.— *Ed.*

Austrian universities; the bureaucratic system, the code, the court procedure, the schools—everything has been copied from the Austrian models. It was natural. But Russia had to prevent this imitation in Bulgaria; it did not wish to pull Austria's chestnuts out of the fire. So Bulgaria was organised as a Russian satrapy. The administration, the officers and the non-commissioned officers, the staff, in fact the entire system were Russian: the Battenberg who was bestowed on it was the cousin of Alexander III.

The domination of the Russian Government, at first direct and then indirect, was sufficient to stifle in less than four years all Bulgarian sympathy for Russia, though it had been great and enthusiastic. The population grew increasingly fractious in the face of the insolence of their "liberators"; and even Battenberg, a man without any political ideas, with a pliant character, who sought merely to serve the Tsar but clamoured for esteem, became more and more intractable.

Meanwhile, things were developing in Russia: by taking severe action the government was able to disperse the Nihilists and break up their organisation for a time.[268] But that was not enough, it needed some support in public opinion, it needed to turn minds away from the contemplation of the growing social and political ills at home; finally, what it needed was a little patriotic phantasmagoria. Under Napoleon III the left bank of the Rhine had served to deflect revolutionary passions towards the exterior; similarly, the Russian Government showed a troubled and restless people the conquest of Constantinople, the "deliverance" of Slavs oppressed by the Turks and their unification into one great federation under Russian tutelage. But it was not sufficient to evoke this phantasmagoria—it was necessary to do something to translate it into the sphere of reality.

Circumstances were favourable. The annexation of Alsace and Lorraine had sown seeds of discord between France and Germany which seemed bound to neutralise these two powers. Austria on her own could not stand up to Russia, because its most effective weapon, the appeal to the Poles, would always be held in the scabbard by Prussia. And the occupation, the theft, of Bosnia was an Alsace between Austria and Turkey. Italy was offered most, that is with regard to Russia, who offered it Trentino and Istria, along with Dalmatia and Tripoli. And England? The peace-loving Russophile Gladstone had listened to the tempting words of Russia; *he had occupied Egypt,* in a time of peace,[269] which guaranteed England a perpetual quarrel with France and, in addition, ensured the *impossibility of an alliance between the Turks*

*and the English, who had just robbed them* by appropriating a Turkish fief, Egypt. Moreover, the Russian preparations in Asia were sufficiently far advanced to give the English plenty of trouble in the Indies in the event of war. Never before had the Russians been presented with so many chances: their diplomacy was triumphing all along the line.

The rebellion of the Bulgarians against Russian despotism provided the opportunity to enter into the fray. In the summer of 1885 they dangled before the eyes of the Bulgarians and the Rumelians the possibility of this union promised by the peace of San Stefano and destroyed by the Treaty of Berlin. They were told that if they threw themselves once again into the arms of Russia the liberator the Russian Government would fulfil its mission by bringing about this union; but to achieve this the Bulgarians had to start by chasing out Battenberg. The latter was warned in time; unusually for him he acted promptly and vigorously; he brought about, for his own ends, this union which Russia hoped to make against him.[270] From this moment there was relentless warfare between him and the Tsar.

To begin with, this war was waged slyly and indirectly. Louis Bonaparte's splendid doctrine, whereby when a hitherto scattered people such as Italy or Germany was united and attained nationhood, the other states such as France were entitled to territorial compensation, was revived for the small states of the Balkans. Serbia swallowed the bait and declared war on the Bulgarians; Russia triumphed by making this war, instigated in its own interests, appear in the eyes of the world to be under the auspices of Austria, who dared not prevent it for fear of seeing the Russian side coming to power in Serbia. For its part, Russia threw the Bulgarian army into confusion by recalling all the Russian officers, that is to say the entire general staff and all the senior officers, including the battalion commanders.

But contrary to all expectations the Bulgarians, without their Russian officers, and fighting two against three, beat the Serbs hands down and won the respect and admiration of an astonished Europe. These victories were due to two things. Firstly, Alexander of Battenberg, although a weak politician, is a good soldier; he waged the war as he had learnt from the Prussian school, while the Serbs followed the strategy and tactics of their Austrian models. So it was a second edition of the 1866 campaign in Bohemia.[271] Moreover, the Serbs had lived for sixty years under a bureaucratic Austrian regime which, without giving them a powerful bourgeoisie and an independent peasantry (the peasants

are already all mortgaged), had ruined and disorganised the remains of collectivism of the *gens* which had been their strength in their battles with the Turks. Amongst the Bulgarians, on the other hand, these primitive institutions had been left intact by the Turks—which explains their superior gallantry.

So, a further setback for the Russians; they had to begin from scratch. Slavophile chauvinism, stoked up as a counter-weight to the revolutionary element, was growing day by day and already becoming a threat to the government. The Tsar goes off to Crimea; and the Russian newspapers announce that he is about to do something great; he tries to attract the Sultan by showing him his old allies (Austria and England) betraying and despoiling him, with France following suit and at the mercy of Russia. But the Sultan turns a deaf ear and the enormous armaments of Western and Southern Russia remain idle for the time being.

The Tsar returns from Crimea (last June). But meanwhile the chauvinist tide rises, and the government, unable to repress this aggressive movement, is increasingly dragged along behind it; so much so that it is necessary to allow the mayor of Moscow[a] to speak publicly about the conquest of Constantinople *in his address to the Tsar.*[b] [272] The press, under the influence and the *protection* of the generals, says openly that it expects from the Tsar an energetic operation against Austria and Germany, who are hindering him, and the government lacks the courage to silence it. Slavophile chauvinism is more powerful than the Tsar, he will have to give way[c] for fear of revolution, the Slavophiles would ally with the constitutionalists, with the nihilists,[273] and finally with all malcontents.

The dire financial plight complicates the situation. Nobody is willing to lend to this government which, from 1870 to 1875, borrowed 1 billion 750,000 francs from London and which threatens the peace of Europe. Two or three years ago Bismarck facilitated a loan of 375 million francs in Germany; but this has long since been swallowed up; and without Bismarck's signature the Germans will not hand over a farthing. But this signature cannot be obtained without humiliating conditions. The manufacture of warrants at home has produced too much, the silver rouble

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[a] N. A. Alexeyev.—*Ed.*

[b] See "Morning Post. Wednesday, May 14", *Novoye Vremya,* No. 3666, May 15 (27), 1886.—*Ed.*

[c] The rest of the paragraph is missing in Engels' letter; instead it says: "or else—the Slavophiles would rebel".—*Ed.*

is worth 4 frs, the paper rouble 2 frs 20. Armaments cost no end of money.

In the end it is necessary to act.—Success in the direction of Constantinople, or revolution.—Giers goes to see Bismarck and explains the situation to him; he understands it very well. Out of consideration for Austria he would have liked to hold back the government of the Tsar, whose insatiability worries him. *But revolution in Russia means the fall of the Bismarck regime.* Without Russia, the great reserve army of reaction, the domination by the Prussian squirearchy, would not last a single day. Revolution in Russia would change the situation in Germany immediately; it would destroy at a stroke this blind faith in Bismarck's omnipotence which secures him the cooperation of the ruling classes; it would bring revolution in Germany to a head.

Bismarck, who knows that the existence of Tsarism is the basis of his whole system, would hurry to Vienna to inform his friends that in the face of such danger it is no longer the time to dwell on questions of *amour-propre*; that it is necessary to allow the Tsar some semblance of triumph, and that it is in the interests of Austria and Germany, as they well realise, that they should bow before Russia. Moreover, if the Austrians insist on meddling in Bulgaria's affairs he would wash his hands of them; they would see what would happen. Kalnoky gives way, Alexander Battenberg is sacrificed, and Bismarck runs off to carry the news to Giers in person.

Unfortunately the Bulgarians display unexpected political skill and energy, intolerable in a Slav nation "delivered by holy Russia". Battenberg is arrested by night, but the Bulgarians arrest the conspirators, appoint a government that is capable, energetic and incorruptible, qualities completely intolerable in a nation that is scarcely liberated; they recall Battenberg; the latter displays all his spinelessness and takes flight. But the Bulgarians are incorrigible. With or without Battenberg they resist the sovereign orders of the Tsar and compel the heroic Kaulbars to make a fool of himself in front of the whole of Europe.[274]

Imagine the fury of the Tsar. Having forced Bismarck to submit, broken the Austrian resistance, he sees himself pulled up short by this tiny people of yesteryear which owes its "independence" to him or his father,[a] and refuses to realise that this independence means nothing more than blind obedience to the orders of the "liberator". The Greeks and the Serbs were

[a] Alexander II.—*Ed.*

ungrateful; but the Bulgarians are really overdoing it. Fancy taking their independence seriously! What a crime!

To save himself from revolution the poor Tsar is obliged to take another step forward. But every step becomes more dangerous, because it is only taken at the risk of a European war, which Russian diplomacy has always sought to avoid. It is certain that if there is direct intervention by the Russian government in Bulgaria and if it leads to further complications, the moment will come when the hostility between Russian and Austrian interests will break out into the open. It will then be impossible to localise the war—it will become general. Given the honesty of the rogues who govern Europe, it is impossible to predict how the two camps will form up. Bismarck is quite capable of siding with the Russians against the Austrians if he can see no other way of delaying the revolution in Russia. But it is more likely that if war breaks out between Russia and Austria, Germany will come to the aid of the latter in order to prevent its complete annihilation.

While waiting for spring, for the Russians will not be able to mount a major winter campaign on the Danube before April, the Tsar is working to lure the Turks into his net, and the treason of Austria and England towards Turkey are making the task easier for him. His goal is to occupy the Dardanelles and thus to transform the Black Sea into a Russian lake; to turn it into an inaccessible shelter for the organisation of powerful fleets which would emerge to dominate what Napoleon called a "French lake", the Mediterranean. But he has not managed it yet, although his supporters in Sofia have betrayed his secret thought.

This is the situation. In order to escape a revolution in Russia the Tsar needs Constantinople; Bismarck hesitates, he would like to find the means to avoid one eventuality as well as the other.

* * *

And France?

The patriotic French, who have been dreaming of revenge for sixteen years, believe there is nothing more natural than to grasp any opportunity which may present itself. But for our party the matter is not so simple; nor is it any simpler for Messieurs the chauvinists. A war of revenge, conducted with the alliance and under the aegis of Russia, could lead to a revolution or a counter-revolution in France. In the eventuality of a revolution which brought the socialists to power, the Russian alliance would

collapse. First, *the Russians would immediately make peace with Bismarck to fling themselves with the Germans on revolutionary France.* Then France would not bring the socialists to power in order to prevent by a war a revolution in Russia. But this eventuality is hardly likely; the *monarchist counter-revolution* is more so. The Tsar wants the restoration of the Orléans, his intimate friends, the only government which offers him the conditions of a good and solid alliance. Once the war was under way, good use would be made of the monarchist officers to prepare it. At the slightest partial defeat, and there would be some, the cry would go up that it is the fault of the Republic, that in order to win victories and to obtain the full cooperation of Russia, a stable, monarchist government is needed, in other words Philippe VII[a]; the monarchist generals would act feebly so as to be able to blame their lack of success on the Republican government; and there you are—the monarchy is back. With Philippe VII restored, the kings and emperors will reach immediate agreement and instead of devouring one another they will divide Europe up, swallowing the small states. With the French Republic dead, a new congress of Vienna would be held where, perhaps, the sins of the French republicans and socialists would be used as a pretext to deny France Alsace-Lorraine, either in part or entirely; and the princes would mock the republicans for having been so naive as to believe in the possibility of a true alliance between Tsarism and the Republic.

Moreover, is it true that General Boulanger is saying to anyone who will listen to him, "*A war is necessary to prevent the social revolution*"? If it is true, may it serve as a warning to the socialist party. This fine Boulanger has boastful airs, for which as a soldier he may be forgiven, but they give a poor idea of his political sense. He is not the one who will save the Republic. Between the socialists and the Orleanists[275] it is possible that he will reach an arrangement with the latter if they assure him of the Russian alliance. In any case, *the bourgeois republicans in France are in the same position as the Tsar; they see the spectre of social revolution looming up ahead of them, and they know but one means of salvation: war.*

In France, Russia and Germany events are turning out so well for us that, for the time being, we can only desire the continuation of the *status quo.* If revolution broke out in Russia it would create a set of most favourable conditions. A general war would, on the other hand, propel us into the realm of the unforeseen. Revolution in Russia and Germany would be delayed; our party in

[a] Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, count of Paris.—*Ed.*

Germany would meet the fate of the Commune of 1871. Without a doubt events will finish by turning in our favour; but what a waste of time, what sacrifices, what new obstacles to surmount.

The forces in Europe which are pushing towards a war are powerful. The Prussian military system, adopted everywhere, requires twelve to sixteen years for its complete development; after this interval the reserve lists are filled with men who are experienced in handling arms. These twelve to sixteen years have elapsed everywhere; everywhere there are twelve to sixteen year groups which have passed through the army. So everywhere people are ready, and the Germans have no special advantage on their side. That is to say: this war which is threatening us would throw ten million soldiers into the field of battle. And old William is probably going to die. Bismarck will see his position shaken, more or less, and *perhaps he will push for war as a means of hanging on.* Indeed, the Stock Exchange everywhere believes in war as soon as the old man has breathed his last.

If there is a war, it will be with the sole aim of preventing revolution: in Russia to forestall the common action of all the malcontents, Slavophiles, constitutionalists, nihilists, peasants; in Germany to keep Bismarck in office; in France to drive back the victorious movement of the socialists and restore the monarchy.

Between French socialists and German socialists there is no Alsace question. The German socialists know only too well that the annexations of 1871, against which they have always protested, have been the main focus of Bismarck's reactionary politics, both at home and abroad. The socialists of the two countries have an equal interest in preserving the peace; it is they who will pay all the costs of the war.

*F. Engels*

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# JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER[276]

Death has torn another hole in the ranks of the champions of the proletarian revolution. *Johann Philipp Becker* died in Geneva on December 7.

Born at Frankenthal in the Bavarian Palatinate in 1809, he took part in the political movement of his native region back in the 1820s, when little more than a child. When this movement became republican in character in the early 1830s, after the July Revolution, Becker was one of its most active and stalwart supporters. Several times arrested, brought before a jury and acquitted, when reaction triumphed he eventually had to flee. He went to Switzerland, settled in Biel and took Swiss citizenship. He did not remain idle there, either. He was involved not only in the affairs of the German workingmen's associations and the revolutionary endeavours of the German, Italian and European refugees in general, but also in the struggle of the Swiss democrats for control of the individual cantons. It will be recalled that this struggle was waged by means of a series of armed raids on the aristocratic and clerical cantons, particularly in the early 1840s. Becker was implicated to a greater or lesser extent in most of these "coups" and was finally sentenced to ten years' banishment from his home canton of Berne on this account. These minor campaigns eventually culminated in the Sonderbund War of 1847. Becker, who was an officer in the Swiss Army, took up his post and, during the march on Lucerne, led the advance guard of the division to which he was assigned.

The February Revolution of 1848 broke out; there ensued attempts to republicanise Baden by means of campaigns by volunteer corps. When Hecker launched his campaign,[277] Becker

formed a refugees legion but was not able to get to the border until Hecker had already been pushed back. This legion, most members of which were subsequently interned in France, provided the nucleus for some of the best units in the armies of the Palatinate and Baden in 1849.

When the republic was proclaimed in Rome in the spring of 1849,[278] Becker sought to form an auxiliary corps from this legion to fight on the side of Rome. He went to Marseilles, set up the officer cadre and took steps to gather together the troops. But, as we well know, the French Government was preparing to suppress the Roman republic and bring back the Pope.[a] It went without saying that the French Government prevented the auxiliaries from coming to the aid of its Roman adversaries. Becker, who had already hired a ship, was informed in no uncertain terms that she would be sent to the bottom as soon as she made any move to leave harbour.

Revolution then broke out in Germany.[279] Becker immediately hurried to Karlsruhe; the legion followed, and later took part in the struggle under Böning's leadership, while another section of the old legion of 1848, trained by Willich in Besançon, formed the nucleus of Willich's voluntary corps. Becker was appointed head of the entire Baden people's militia, that is to say, all troops except troops of the line, and at once set about organising it. He immediately came up against the government, which was dominated by the reactionary bourgeoisie, and its leader, Brentano. His orders were countermanded, his requests for arms and equipment left unheeded or turned down flat. The attempt on June 6 to intimidate the government by a show of revolutionary armed strength, an attempt in which Becker was a major participant, proved indecisive[280]; but Becker and his troops were then sent post-haste from Karlsruhe to the Neckar to face the enemy.

There the battle had already started in a small way, and the decisive moment was rapidly approaching. With his volunteers and militiamen, Becker occupied the Odenwald forest. Without artillery and cavalry he was obliged to waste his few troops holding this extensive and awkward area, and not enough was left at his disposal to mount an attack. Nonetheless, on June 15 he relieved, in a brilliantly fought action, his Hanau Gymnasts,[281] who had been surrounded in Hirschhorn Castle by Peucker's imperial troops.

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[a] Pius IX.— *Ed.*

When Mieroslawski became commander-in-chief of the revolutionary army, Becker was given command of the 5th Division—nothing but militiamen and infantry—with orders to resist Peucker's corps, which outnumbered Becker's division by at least 6 to 1. But shortly afterwards came the crossing of the Rhine by the first Prussian corps at Germersheim, Mieroslawski's countermove and the defeat at Waghäusel on June 21. Becker occupied Heidelberg; the second Prussian corps under Gröben advanced from the north, from the northeast came Peucker's corps, each more than 20,000 strong, while to the southwest were Hirschfeld's Prussians, likewise more than 20,000 strong. And then the refugees from Waghäusel—the entire Baden army, both troops of the line and militiamen—poured into Heidelberg to make an enormous detour through the mountains and rejoin the road to Karlsruhe and Rastatt, which was blocked to them in the plain.

Becker was supposed to cover this retreat—with his newly recruited, untrained troops and as usual without cavalry or artillery. At 8 p.m. on the 22nd, after allowing the refugees an adequate start, he marched from Heidelberg to Neckargemünd, where he rested for a few hours. Arriving on the 23rd at Sinsheim, where he again gave his troops a few hours' rest in battle formation in the face of the enemy, he reached Eppingen the same evening, and on the 24th he marched via Bretten to Durlach, arriving at 8 p.m. only to become tangled up again in the disorderly retreat of the now united Palatinate-Baden army. Here Becker was also given command of the remnants of the Palatinate troops, and was now expected not only to cover Mieroslawski's retreat but also to hold Durlach long enough for Karlsruhe to be evacuated. As always, he was again left without any artillery, since the artillery assigned to him had already marched off.

Becker hastily fortified Durlach as well as he could, and was attacked the very next morning (June 25) on three sides by two Prussian divisions and Peucker's imperial troops. He not only repulsed all the attacks but also launched several counter-attacks, although he had only small arms to pit against the enemy's artillery fire, and after four hours' fighting withdrew in perfect order, unchecked by the columns despatched to outflank him, after receiving word that Karlsruhe had been evacuated and his mission accomplished.

This must be the most brilliant episode in the entire Baden-Palatinate campaign. With men most of whom had only been in the army for 2-3 weeks and who as completely raw recruits had

been given a perfunctory training by improvised officers and NCOs and hardly had a trace of discipline, Becker carried out, as the rearguard of the beaten and half-dispersed armies, a march of more than 80 kilometres (or 11 German miles[a]) in 48 hours, starting straight away with a night march, bringing them right through the enemy to Durlach in a fit state to offer the Prussians, the next morning, one of the few engagements of the campaign in which the battle objective of the revolutionary army was achieved in full. It was an achievement that would do credit to experienced troops and in the case of such young soldiers is extremely rare and praiseworthy.

Having reached the Murg, Becker came to a halt with his division east of Rastatt and played an honourable part in the battles of June 29 and 30. The outcome is well known: the enemy, six times superior in strength, marched round the position through the territory of Württemberg and then rolled it back from the right flank. The campaign was now formally settled and ended of necessity with the withdrawal of the revolutionary army to Swiss territory.

Until then Becker had acted basically as an ordinary democratic republican; but from now on he went considerably further. Closer acquaintance with the German "pure republicans", particularly the south German ones, and his experience in the 1849 revolution demonstrated to him that the matter would have to be tackled differently in future. The strong proletarian sympathies that Becker had entertained since his youth now assumed a more tangible form; he had realised that while the bourgeoisie always formed the core of the reactionary parties, only the proletariat could form the core of a genuinely revolutionary force. The communist by sentiment became a conscious communist.

Once again he attempted to set up a voluntary corps; it was in 1860, after Garibaldi's victorious march on Sicily. He travelled from Geneva to Genoa to make the preparations in collaboration with Garibaldi. But Garibaldi's rapid progress and the intervention of the Italian Army, which was to secure the fruits of victory for the monarchy, brought the campaign to an end. Meanwhile, there were widespread expectations of another war with Austria next year. It is common knowledge that Russia sought to use Louis Napoleon and Italy to consummate the Russian revenge on Austria, which had remained incomplete in 1859. The Italian Government sent a high-ranking officer from the general staff to

[a] The German geographical mile≈7.42 km.— *Ed.*

see Becker in Genoa, offering him the rank of colonel in the Italian Army, a splendid salary and an allowance, and command over a legion to be formed by him in the war that was expected, provided he agreed to make propaganda in Germany for Italy and against Austria. But the proletarian Becker turned the offer down; the service of princes was not for him.

That was his last attempt as a volunteer. Soon after, the International Workingmen's Association was established, and Becker was among its founders; he was present at the famous meeting in St. Martin's Hall that saw the birth of the International.[282] He organised the German and native workers of Romance Switzerland, founded the *Vorbote* as the group's journal, attended all the congresses of the International and was in the vanguard of the struggle against the Bakuninist anarchists of the Alliance de la Démocratie socialiste[283] and the Swiss Jura.

After the disintegration of the International there was less opportunity for Becker to play a public role. But he always remained, nevertheless, in the midst of the working-class movement and continued to exert his influence on its development through his extensive correspondence and by virtue of the many visits he received in Geneva. In 1882 he played host to Marx for a day, and as recently as this September the 77-year-old undertook a journey through the Palatinate and Belgium to London and Paris, during which I had the pleasure of having him to stay for a fortnight and talking over old times and new with him. And scarcely two months later the telegraph brings news of his death!

Becker was a rare kind of man. He can be epitomised in a nutshell: *hale and hearty.* In body and mind he was hale and hearty to the end. A giant of a man, of tremendous physical strength and handsome with it, he had developed his untutored, but far from uncultivated mind, thanks to a fortunate disposition and healthy activity, as harmoniously as his body. He was one of the few men who, to do the right thing, only need to follow their own instinct. That was why it was so easy for him to keep pace with every development in the revolutionary movement and to stand in the front rank in his seventy-eighth year as fresh as when he was eighteen. The boy who had played with cossacks passing through in 1814 and seen Sand (who stabbed Kotzebue to death) executed in 1820, advanced further and further from the vague oppositional figure of the 1820s and was still fully abreast of the movement in 1886. Yet he was no gloomy timeserver like most of the "serrrious" republicans of 1848, but a true son of the gay Palatinate, full of life and as fond of wine, women and song as the

next man. Having grown up in the land of the *Nibelungenlied*[284] around Worms, he still looked like one of the figures from our old epic, even in old age: light-hearted yet sardonic, calling to his opponent between sword blows, composing popular ballads if there was no one to beat—this, and no other ways, is how Volker the Fiddler must have looked!

But his greatest talent was undoubtedly military. In Baden he accomplished much more than anyone else. While the other officers, raised in the school of standing armies, found outlandish, almost unmanageable soldier material here, Becker had learned all his organisational skill, tactics and strategy in the outrageous school of the Swiss militia. A people's army was nothing strange to him, its inevitable shortcomings nothing new. Where others despaired or raged, Becker remained calm and found one solution after another; he knew how to handle his men, cheering them up with a jest, and finally had them in his hand. Many a Prussian general of 1870 might envy him the march from Heidelberg to Durlach with a division of almost nothing but untrained recruits, who still remained capable of going straight into battle and giving a good account of themselves. And in the same engagement he threw into battle the hitherto intractable Palatinate troops that had been assigned to him, and even got them to attack in open country. In Becker we have lost the only German revolutionary general we had.

He was a man who took part, with distinction, in the freedom struggles of three generations.

But the workers will honour his memory as one of their best!

London, December 9, 1886

*Frederick Engels*

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# PREFACE [TO THE SECOND EDITION OF *THE HOUSING QUESTION*[a]]

The following work is a reprint of three articles which I wrote in 1872 for the Leipzig *Volksstaat.* Just at that time the French milliards came pouring down on Germany[285]; public debts were paid off, fortresses and barracks built, stocks of weapons and war matériel renewed; the available capital no less than the volume of money in circulation was suddenly enormously increased, and all this just at a time when Germany was entering the world arena not only as a "united empire", but also as a great industrial country. These milliards lent young large-scale industry a powerful upswing, and it was they above all that brought about the short period of prosperity, rich in illusions, which followed the war, and immediately afterwards, in 1873-74 the great crash by which Germany proved itself to be an industrial country capable of holding its own on the world market.

The period in which an old civilised country makes such a transition from manufacture and small-scale production to large-scale industry, a transition, moreover, accelerated by such favourable circumstances, is at the same time predominantly a period of "housing shortage". On the one hand, masses of rural workers are suddenly drawn into the big towns, which develop into industrial centres; on the other hand, the concept applied in building these older towns no longer accords with the conditions needed for the new large-scale industry and the corresponding traffic; streets are widened and new ones cut through, and railways are run right across them. At the very time when workers are streaming into the towns in masses, workers' dwellings are pulled down wholesale.

[a] See present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 317-91.—*Ed.*

Hence the sudden housing shortage for the workers and for the small traders and small manufacturing businesses, which depend on the workers for their custom. In towns which grew up from the outset as industrial centres, this housing shortage is as good as unknown; for instance, Manchester, Leeds, Bradford, Barmen-Elberfeld. On the other hand, in London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna it took on an acute form at the time, and has, for the most part, continued to exist in a chronic form.

It was therefore precisely this acute housing shortage, this symptom of the industrial revolution taking place in Germany, which filled the press of the day with treatises on the "housing question" and gave rise to all sorts of social quackery. A series of such articles also found their way into the *Volksstaat.* The anonymous author, who revealed himself later on as A. Mülberger, M. D. of Württemberg, considered the opportunity a favourable one for enlightening the German workers, by means of this question, on the miraculous effects of Proudhon's social panacea.[a] When I expressed my astonishment to the editors at the acceptance of these peculiar articles, I was challenged to answer them, and this I did (see Part I: How Proudhon Solves the Housing Question). This series of articles was soon followed by a second series, in which I examined the philanthropic bourgeois view of the question, on the basis of a work by Dr. Emil Sax[b] (Part II: How the Bourgeoisie Solves the Housing Question). After a rather long pause Dr. Mülberger did me the honour of replying to my articles,[c] and this compelled me to make a rejoinder (Part III: Supplement on Proudhon and the Housing Question), whereby both the polemic and also my special occupation with this question came to an end. That is the genesis of these three series of articles, which have also appeared as a separate reprint in pamphlet form. The fact that a new reprint has now become necessary I owe undoubtedly to the benevolent solicitude of the German imperial government which, by prohibiting the work, tremendously increased its sale, as usual, and I hereby take this opportunity of expressing my respectful thanks to it.[286]

I have revised the text for this new edition, inserted a few additions and notes, and have corrected a small economic error in

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[a] [A. Mülberger,] "Die Wohnungsfrage", *Der Volksstaat,* Nos 10-13, 15, 19, February 3, 7, 10, 14, 21 and March 6, 1872.—*Ed.*

[b] E. Sax, *Die Wohnungszustände der arbeitenden Classen und ihre Reform,* Vienna, 1869.—*Ed.*

[c] A. Mülberger, "Zur Wohnungsfrage (Antwort an Friedrich Engels von A. Mülberger)", *Der Volksstaat,* No. 86, October 26, 1872.—*Ed.*

the first part,[a] as my opponent, Dr. Mülberger, unfortunately failed to discover it.

During this revision it came home to me what gigantic progress the international working-class movement has made during the past fourteen years. At that time it was still a fact that "for twenty years the workers speaking Romance languages have had no other mental pabulum than the works of Proudhon",[b] and at a pinch, the still more one-sided version of Proudhonism presented by the father of "anarchism", Bakunin, who regarded Proudhon as "the schoolmaster of us all", *notre maître à nous tous.* Although the Proudhonists in France were only a small sect among the workers, they were still the only ones who had a definitely formulated programme and who under the Commune were able to take over the leadership in the economic field. In Belgium, Proudhonism reigned unchallenged among the Walloon workers, and in Spain and Italy, with a few isolated exceptions, everything in the working-class movement which was not anarchist was decidedly Proudhonist. And today? In France, Proudhon has been completely discarded among the workers and retains supporters only among the radical bourgeois and petty bourgeois, who as Proudhonists also call themselves "socialists", but against whom the most energetic fight is carried on by the socialist workers. In Belgium, the Flemings have ousted the Walloons from the leadership of the movement, deposed Proudhonism and greatly raised the level of the movement. In Spain, as in Italy, the anarchist high tide of the seventies has receded and washed away with it the remnants of Proudhonism. While in Italy the new party is still in process of clarification and formation, in Spain the small nucleus, which as the Nueva Federación Madrileña[287] remained loyal to the General Council of the International, has developed into a strong party, which—as can be seen from the republican press itself—is destroying the influence of the bourgeois republicans on the workers far more effectively than its noisy anarchist predecessors were ever able to do. Among Latin workers the forgotten works of Proudhon have been replaced by *Capital,* the *Communist Manifesto* and a number of other works of the Marxian school, and Marx's main demand—the seizure of all the means of production in the name of society by a proletariat risen to absolute political power—is now the demand of the whole revolutionary working class in the Latin countries as well.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 23, p. 334.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 369.—*Ed.*

If therefore Proudhonism has been finally supplanted among the workers of the Latin countries as well, if it—in accordance with its real destination—only serves French, Spanish, Italian and Belgian bourgeois radicals as an expression of their bourgeois and petty-bourgeois cravings, why then return to it today? Why combat anew a dead opponent by reprinting these articles?

First of all, because these articles do not confine themselves to a mere polemic against Proudhon and his German deputies. As a consequence of the division of labour that existed between Marx and myself, it fell to me to present our views in the periodical press, and, therefore, particularly in the fight against opposing views, in order that Marx should have time for the elaboration of his great main work. This made it necessary for me to present our views for the most part in a polemical form, in opposition to other views. Here too. Parts One and Three contain not only a critique of the Proudhonist conception of the question, but also a presentation of our own conception.

Secondly, Proudhon played much too significant a role in the history of the European working-class movement for him to fall into oblivion without more ado. Refuted theoretically and discarded practically, he remains of historical interest. Anyone who occupies himself in any detail with modern socialism must also acquaint himself with the "surmounted standpoints" of the movement. Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy* appeared several years before Proudhon put forward his practical proposals for social reform.[288] Here Marx could only discover in embryo and criticise Proudhon's exchange bank. From this angle, therefore, his work is supplemented by the present one, imperfectly enough, sad to say. Marx would have done it all much better and far more convincingly.

And finally, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois socialism is strongly represented in Germany down to this very hour. On the one hand, by armchair socialists[289] and philanthropists of all sorts, among whom the wish to turn the workers into owners of their dwellings still plays a great role and with regard to whom, therefore, my work is still appropriate. On the other hand, a certain petty-bourgeois socialism finds representation in the Social-Democratic Party itself, and even in the ranks of the Reichstag group. This is done in the following way: while the fundamental views of modern socialism and the demand for the transformation of all the means of production into social property are recognised as justified, their accomplishment is declared possible only in the distant, and for all practical purposes,

unforeseeable future. Thus, for the present one has to rely on mere social patchwork, and sympathy can be shown, according to circumstances, even with the most reactionary efforts for what is known as the "uplifting of the labouring class". The existence of such a tendency is quite inevitable in Germany, the land of philistinism *par excellence,* particularly at a time when industrial development is uprooting this deeply rooted philistinism forcibly and on a mass scale. The tendency is quite harmless to the movement, in view of the wonderful common sense of our workers, which has stood the test so magnificently precisely during the past eight years of struggle against the Anti-Socialist Law,[290] the police and the judges. But it is necessary clearly to realise that such a tendency exists. And if this tendency subsequently takes on a firmer shape and more defined contours, as is necessary and even desirable, it will have to go back to its predecessors for the formulation of its programme, and in doing so it will hardly be able to overlook Proudhon.

The essence of both the big-bourgeois and petty-bourgeois solutions of the "housing question" is that the worker should own his dwelling. However, this is a point which has been shown in a very peculiar light by the industrial development of Germany during the past twenty years. In no other country do there exist so many wage labourers who own not only their dwellings but also a garden or field as well. Besides these there are numerous others who hold house and garden or field as tenants, having in fact fairly secure possession. Rural domestic industry combined with gardening or small-scale agriculture forms the broad basis of Germany's new large-scale industry. In the West the workers are for the most part owners, in the East chiefly tenants, of their homesteads. We find this combination of domestic industry with gardening and agriculture, and therefore with a secure dwelling, not only wherever hand weaving still fights against the mechanical loom: in the Lower Rhineland and in Westphalia, in the Saxon Erzgebirge and in Silesia, but also wherever domestic industry of any sort has established itself as a rural occupation, as, for instance, in the Thuringian Forest and in the Rhön area. At the time of the discussion of the tobacco monopoly, it was revealed to what great extent cigar making too was being carried on as a rural domestic industry. Wherever distress spreads among the small peasants, as for instance a few years ago in the Eifel area,[291] the bourgeois press immediately raises a call for the introduction of a suitable domestic industry as the only remedy. And in fact both the growing plight of the German allotment peasants and the general situation of German

industry urge a continual extension of rural domestic industry. This is a phenomenon peculiar to Germany. Only very exceptionally do we find anything similar in France; for instance, in the regions of silk cultivation. In England, where there are no small peasants, rural domestic industry rests on the work of the wives and children of the agricultural day-labourers. Only in Ireland can we observe the rural domestic industry of garment making being carried on, as in Germany, by real peasant families. We are not, of course, concerned here with Russia and other countries not represented on the industrial world market.

Thus, as regards industry there exists today a state of affairs in large parts of Germany which appears at first glance to resemble that which prevailed generally before the introduction of machinery. However, this is so only at first glance. The rural domestic industry of earlier times, combined with gardening and agriculture, was, at least in the countries in which industry was developing, the basis of a tolerable and, here and there, even comfortable material situation for the working class, but at the same time the basis of its intellectual and political insignificance. The hand-made product and its cost determined the market price, and owing to the infinitesimal labour productivity compared with the present day, the sales markets as a rule grew faster than the supply. This held good at about the middle of the last century for England, and partly for France, particularly in the textile industry. In Germany which was at that time only just recovering from the devastation of the Thirty Years' War[292] and working its way up under most unfavourable circumstances, the situation was, however, quite different. The only domestic industry producing for the world market there, linen weaving, was so oppressed by taxes and feudal dues that it did not raise the peasant weavers above the very low level of the rest of the peasantry. Nevertheless, at that time the rural industrial worker enjoyed a certain guaranteed existence.

With the introduction of machinery all this changed. Prices were now determined by the machine-made product, and the wage of the domestic industrial worker fell with this price. However, the worker had to accept it or look for other work, and he could not do that without becoming a proletarian, that is, without giving up his little house, garden and field, whether owned or rented. Only in the rarest cases was he ready to do this. And thus the gardening and agriculture of the old rural hand weavers became the cause by virtue of which the struggle of the hand loom against the mechanical loom was everywhere so protracted and has not yet

been fought to conclusion in Germany. In this struggle it was demonstrated for the first time, especially in England, that the same circumstance which had previously served as a basis of comparative prosperity for the worker—the fact that he owned his means of production—had now become a hindrance and a misfortune for him. In industry the mechanical loom defeated his hand loom, and in agriculture large-scale cultivation got the better of his small-scale cultivation. However, while the collective labour of many and the application of machinery and science became the social rule in both fields of production, he was chained to the antiquated method of individual production and hand labour by his little house, garden, field and hand loom. The possession of house and garden was now worth much less than complete freedom of movement. No factory worker would have changed places with the slowly but surely starving rural hand weaver.

Germany appeared late on the world market. Our large-scale industry dates from the forties; it owed its first upswing to the revolution of 1848, and was able to develop fully only after the revolutions of 1866 and 1870[293] had cleared at least the worst political obstacles out of its way. But it found the world market occupied to a large extent. The articles of mass consumption were supplied by England and the elegant luxury articles by France. Germany could not beat the former in price or the latter in quality. For the moment, therefore, nothing else remained but, following the beaten path of German production up to that time, to wedge its way into the world market with articles which were too petty for the English and too shoddy for the French. However, the favourite German custom of cheating, by first sending good samples and afterwards inferior articles, soon met with sufficiently severe punishment on the world market and was pretty well abandoned. On the other hand, the competition of overproduction gradually forced even the respectable English onto the downward path of quality deterioration and so gave an advantage to the Germans, who are matchless in this sphere. And thus we finally came to possess a large-scale industry and to play a role on the world market. But our *large-scale* industry works almost exclusively for the home market (with the exception of the iron industry, which produces far beyond the limits of home demand), and our mass export consists of a tremendous number of small articles, for which large-scale industry provides at most the necessary semi-manufactures, while the small articles themselves are supplied chiefly by rural domestic industry.

And here is seen in all its glory the "blessing" of house and landownership for the modern worker. Nowhere, hardly excepting even the Irish domestic industries, are such infamously low wages paid as in the German domestic industries. Competition permits the capitalist to deduct from the price of labour power that which the family earns from its own little garden or field. The workers are compelled to accept any piece rates offered them, because otherwise they would get nothing at all and they could not live from the products of their agriculture alone, and because, on the other hand, it is precisely this agriculture and landownership which chains them to the spot and prevents them from looking around for other employment. This is the reason which maintains Germany's capacity to compete on the world market in a whole number of small articles. *The whole profit is derived from a deduction from normal wages and the whole surplus value can be presented to the purchaser.* That is the secret of the extraordinary cheapness of most German export articles.

It is this circumstance more than any other which keeps the wages and the living conditions of the German workers also in other industrial fields below the level of the West European countries. The dead weight of such prices for labour, kept traditionally far below the value of labour power, depresses also the wages of the urban workers, and even of the workers in the cities, below the value of labour power; and this all the more so as poorly paid domestic industry has taken the place of the old handicrafts in the towns as well, and here too depresses the general level of wages.

Here we see clearly that what at an earlier historical stage was the basis of relative well-being for the workers, namely, the combination of agriculture and industry, the ownership of house, garden and field, and guarantee of a dwelling place, is becoming today, under the rule of large-scale industry, not only the most terrible shackle to the worker, but the greatest misfortune for the whole working class, the basis for an unprecedented depression of wages below their normal level, and that not only for separate branches of enterprise and districts, but for the whole country. No wonder the big and petty bourgeoisie, who live and grow rich on these abnormal deductions from wages, are enthusiastic over rural industry and home-owning workers, and they regard the introduction of new domestic industries as the sole remedy for all rural distress!

That is one side of the matter, but it also has its reverse side. Domestic industry has become the broad basis of the German

export trade and therefore of the whole of large-scale industry. Due to this it is spread over wide areas of Germany and is extending still further by the day. The ruin of the small peasant, inevitable ever since his industrial domestic labour for his own use was destroyed by cheap ready-made clothing and machined products, as was his animal husbandry, and hence his manure production, by the dissolution of the mark system, the common mark and compulsory crop rotation—this ruin forcibly drives the small peasant, having fallen victim to the usurer, into the arms of modern domestic industry. Like the ground rent of the landowner in Ireland, the interest of the mortgage usurer in Germany cannot be paid from the yield of the soil but only from the wages of the industrial peasant. However, with the expansion of domestic industry one peasant area after another is being dragged into the present-day industrial movement. It is this revolutionising of the rural districts by domestic industry which is spreading the industrial revolution in Germany over a far wider territory than was the case in England and France. It is the comparatively low level of our industry which makes its extension in area all the more necessary. This explains why in Germany, in contrast to England and France, the revolutionary working-class movement has spread so tremendously over the greater part of the country instead of being confined exclusively to urban centres. And this in turn explains the tranquil, certain and irresistible progress of the movement. In Germany it is perfectly clear that a victorious rising in the capital and in the other big cities will be possible only when the majority of the smaller towns and a great part of the rural districts as well have become ripe for revolutionary change. Given anything like normal development, we shall never be in a position to win working-class victories like those of the Parisians in 1848 and 1871, but for just that reason we shall also not suffer defeats of the revolutionary capital by the reactionary province, such as Paris suffered in both cases. In France the movement always originated in the capital; in Germany it originated in the areas of large-scale industry, of manufacture and of domestic industry; the capital was conquered only later. Therefore, perhaps in future too, the initiative will continue to rest with the French, but the decisive struggle can be fought out only in Germany.

Now, this rural domestic industry and manufacture, which due to its expanse has become the decisive branch of German production and is thus revolutionising the German peasantry more and more, is itself, however, only the preliminary stage of a further revolutionary change. As Marx has already proved

(*Capital,* Vol. I, 3rd edition, pp. 484-95[a]), at a certain stage of development the hour of downfall owing to machinery and factory production will sound for it also. And this hour would appear to be at hand. But the destruction of rural domestic industry and manufacture by machinery and factory production means in Germany the destruction of the livelihood of millions of rural producers, the expropriation of almost half the German small peasantry; the transformation, not only of domestic industry into factory production, but also of peasant farming into large-scale capitalist agriculture, and of small landed property into big estates—an industrial and agricultural revolution in favour of capital and big landownership at the cost of the peasants. Should it be Germany's fate to undergo also this transformation while still under the old social conditions, it will unquestionably be the turning point. If the working class of no other country has taken the initiative by that time, Germany will certainly strike first, and the peasant sons of the "glorious army" will bravely lend assistance.

And with this the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois utopia, which would give each worker the ownership of his little house and thus chain him in semi-feudal fashion to his particular capitalist, takes on a very different complexion. As its materialisation there appears the transformation of all the small rural house-owners into industrial domestic workers; the destruction of the old isolation and, with it, of the political insignificance of the small peasants, who are dragged into the "social turmoil"; the expansion of the industrial revolution over the rural areas and thus the transformation of the most stable and conservative class of the population into a nursery for revolutionaries; and, as the culmination of it all, the expropriation of the peasants engaged in home industry by machinery, which drives them forcibly into insurrection.

We can readily allow the bourgeois-socialist philanthropists the private enjoyment of their ideal so long as they continue in their public function as capitalists to implement it in this inverted fashion, for the greater good of the social revolution.

London, January 10, 1887

*Frederick Engels*

Printed according to the book

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 35, Ch. XIII, 8 (e).—*Ed.*

# THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

## PREFACE TO THE AMERICAN EDITION OF *THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND*[294]

Ten months have elapsed since, at the translator's[a] wish, I wrote the Appendix[b] to this book; and during these ten months, a revolution has been accomplished in American society such as, in any other country, would have taken at least ten years. In February 1886,[c] American public opinion was almost unanimous on this one point; that there was no working class, in the European sense of the word, in America;* that consequently no class struggle between workmen and capitalists, such as tore European society to pieces, was possible in the American Republic; and that, therefore, Socialism was a thing of foreign importation which could never take root on American soil. And yet, at that moment, the coming class struggle was casting its gigantic shadow before it in the strikes of the Pennsylvania coal miners,[296] and of many other trades, and especially in the preparations, all over the country, for the great Eight Hours' movement which was to come

* An English translation of the book I had written in 1844 was justified precisely by the fact that industrial conditions in present-day America coincide almost entirely with those in the England of the forties, that is those described by myself. How much this is the case is evinced by the articles on "The Labor Movement in America" by Edward and Eleanor Marx-Aveling in the London monthly *Time* of March, April, May and June. I take all the greater pleasure in referring to these excellent articles in that it gives me an opportunity to simultaneously rebuff the miserable slander about Aveling which the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of America has so foolishly transmitted around the world.[295] [*Note by Engels for the 1887 offprint.*]

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[a] Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 399-405.—*Ed.*

[c] In the original mistakenly "1885".—*Ed.*

off, and did come off, in the May following.[297] That I then duly appreciated these symptoms, that I anticipated a working class movement on a national scale, my "Appendix" shows; but no one could then foresee that in such a short time the movement would burst out with such irresistible force, would spread with the rapidity of a prairie-fire, would shake[a] American society to its very foundations.

The fact is there, stubborn and indisputable. To what an extent it had struck with terror the American ruling classes, was revealed to me, in an amusing way, by American journalists who did me the honor of calling on me last summer; the "new departure" had put them into a state of helpless fright and perplexity.[298] But at that time the movement was only just on the start; there was but a series of confused and apparently disconnected upheavals of that class which, by the suppression of negro slavery and the rapid development of manufactures, had become the lowest stratum of American society. Before the year closed, these bewildering social convulsions began to take a definite direction. The spontaneous, instinctive movements of these vast masses of working people, over a vast extent of country, the simultaneous outburst of their common discontent with a miserable social condition, the same everywhere and due to the same causes, made them conscious of the fact, that they formed a new and distinct class of American society; a class of—practically speaking—more or less hereditary wage-workers, proletarians. And with true American instinct this consciousness led them at once to take the next step towards their deliverance: the formation of a political workingmen's party, with a platform of its own, and with the conquest of the Capitol and the White House for its goal. In May the struggle for the Eight Hours' working-day, the troubles in Chicago, Milwaukee, etc., the attempts of the ruling class to crush the nascent uprising of Labor by brute force and brutal class-justice; in November the new Labor Party organized in all great centres, and the New York, Chicago and Milwaukee elections.[299] May and November have hitherto reminded the American bourgeoisie only of the payment of coupons of U.S. bonds; henceforth May and November will remind them, too, of the dates on which the American working class presented *their* coupons for payment.

In European countries, it took the working class years and years before they fully realized the fact that they formed a distinct and,

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[a] The German has: "...would even now shake American society to its foundations".—*Ed.*

under the existing social conditions, a permanent class of modern society; and it took years again until this class-consciousness led them to form themselves into a distinct political party, independent of, and opposed to,[a] all the old political parties formed by the various sections of the ruling classes. On the more favored soil of America, where no mediaeval ruins bar the way, where history begins with the elements of modern bourgeois society as evolved in the seventeenth century, the working class passed through these two stages of its development within ten months.

Still, all this is but a beginning. That the laboring masses should feel their community of grievances and of interests, their solidarity as a class in opposition to all other classes; that in order to give expression and effect to this feeling, they should set in motion the political machinery provided for that purpose in every free country—that is the first step only. The next step is to find the common remedy for these common grievances, and to embody it in the platform of the new Labor Party. And this—the most important and the most difficult step in the movement—has yet to be taken in America.

A new party must have a distinct positive platform; a platform which may vary in details as circumstances vary and as the party itself develops, but still one upon which the party, for the time being, is agreed. So long as such a platform has not been worked out, or exists but in a rudimentary form, so long the new party, too, will have but a rudimentary existence; it may exist locally but not yet nationally; it will be a party potentially but not actually.

That platform, whatever may be its first initial shape, must develop in a direction which may be determined beforehand. The causes that brought into existence the abyss between the working class and the Capitalist class are the same in America as in Europe; the means of filling up that abyss, are equally the same everywhere. Consequently, the platform of the American proletariat will in the long run[b] coincide as to the ultimate end to be attained, with the one which, after sixty years of dissensions and discussions, has become the adopted platform of the great mass of the European militant proletariat. It will proclaim, as the ultimate end, the conquest of political supremacy by the working class, in order to effect the direct appropriation of all means of production—land, railways, mines, machinery, etc.—by society at large, to be worked in common by all for the account and benefit of all.

[a] Instead of "opposed to", we find in the German edition "hostile to".—*Ed.*

[b] Instead of "in the long run", the German edition has "as the movement continues to develop".—*Ed.*

But if the new American party, like all political parties everywhere, by the very fact of its formation aspires to the conquest of political power, it is as yet far from agreed upon what to do with that power when once attained.[a] In New York and the other great cities of the East, the organization of the working class has proceeded upon the lines of Trades' Societies, forming in each city a powerful Central Labor Union. In New York the Central Labor Union, last November, chose for its standard bearer Henry George, and consequently its temporary electoral platform has been largely imbued with his principles. In the great cities of the North West the electoral battle was fought upon a rather indefinite labor platform, and the influence of Henry George's theories was scarcely, if at all, visible. And while in these great centres of population and of industry the new class movement came to a political head, we find all over the country two wide spread labor organizations: the "Knights of Labor"[300] and the "Socialist Labor Party," of which only the latter has a platform in harmony with the modern European standpoint as summarized above.

Of the three more or less definite forms under which the American labor movement thus presents itself, the first, the Henry George movement in New York, is for the moment of a chiefly local significance. No doubt New York is by far the most important city of the States; but New York is not Paris and the United States are not France. And it seems to me that the Henry George platform, in its present shape, is too narrow to form the basis for anything but a local movement, or at best for a short-lived phase of the general movement. To Henry George, the expropriation of the mass of the people from the land is the great and universal cause of the splitting up of the people into Rich and Poor. Now this is not quite correct historically. In Asiatic and classical antiquity, the predominant form of class-oppression was slavery, that is to say, not so much the expropriation of the masses from the land as the appropriation of their persons. When, in the decline of the Roman Republic, the free Italian peasants were expropriated from their farms, they formed a class of "poor whites" similar to that of the Southern Slave States before 1861; and between slaves and poor whites,[b] two classes equally unfit for self-emancipation, the old world went to pieces. In the middle

[a] In the German edition the words "when once attained" are omitted.— *Ed.*

[b] Instead of "poor whites", the German edition has "free men gone to the dogs".— *Ed.*

ages, it was not the expropriation of the people *from,* but on the contrary, their appropriation *to* the land which became the source of feudal oppression. The peasant retained his land, but was attached to it as a serf or villein, and made liable to tribute to the lord in labor and in produce. It was only at the dawn of modern times, towards the end of the fifteenth century, that the expropriation of the peasantry on a large scale laid the foundation for the modern class of wage-workers[a] who possess nothing but their labor-power and can live only by the selling of that labour power to others. But if the expropriation from the land brought this class into existence, it was the development of capitalist production, of modern industry and agriculture on a large scale which perpetuated it, increased it, and shaped it into a distinct class with distinct interests and a distinct historical mission. All this has been fully expounded by Marx ("Capital," Part VIII: "The so-called primitive Accumulation.") According to Marx, the cause of the present antagonism of the classes and of the social degradation[b] of the working class is their expropriation from *all* means of production, in which the land is of course included.

If Henry George declares land-monopolization to be the sole cause of poverty and misery, he naturally finds the remedy in the resumption of the land by society at large. Now, the Socialists of the school of Marx, too, demand the resumption, by society, of the land, and not only of the land but of all other means of production likewise. But even if we leave these out of the question, there is another difference. What is to be done with the land? Modern Socialists, as represented by Marx, demand that it should be held and worked in common and for common account, and the same with all other means of social production, mines, railways, factories, etc.; Henry George would confine himself to letting it out to individuals as at present, merely regulating its distribution and applying the rents for public, instead of, as at present, for private purposes. What the Socialists demand, implies a total revolution of the whole system of social production; what Henry George demands, leaves the present mode of social production untouched, and has, in fact,[c] been anticipated by the extreme

[a] Instead of "the expropriation of the peasantry on a large scale laid the foundation for the modern class of wage-workers", the German edition has: "the expropriation of the peasants was carried out on a grand scale, and this time under historical conditions which gradually turned the peasants who had become propertyless into the modern class of wage-workers, into people...".—*Ed.*

[b] The German has "current humiliation" instead of "social degradation".—*Ed.*

[c] In the German edition, the words "in fact" are followed by "years ago".—*Ed.*

section of Ricardian bourgeois economists who, too, demanded the confiscation of the rent of land by the State.

It would of course be unfair to suppose that Henry George has said his last word once for all. But I am bound to take his theory as I find it.

The second great section of the American movement is formed by the Knights of Labor. And that seems to be the section most typical of the present state of the movement, as it is undoubtedly by far the strongest. An immense association spread over an immense extent of country in innumerable "assemblies," representing all shades of individual and local opinion within the working class; the whole of them sheltered under a platform of corresponding indistinctness and held together much less by their impracticable constitution than by the instinctive feeling that the very fact of their clubbing together for their common aspiration makes them a great power in the country; a truly American paradox clothing the most modern tendencies in the most mediaeval mummeries, and hiding the most democratic and even rebellious spirit behind an apparent, but really powerless despotism—such is the picture the Knights of Labor offer to a European observer. But if we are not arrested by mere outside whimsicalities, we cannot help seeing in this vast agglomeration an immense amount of potential energy evolving slowly but surely into actual force. The Knights of Labor are the first national organization created by the American Working Class as a whole; whatever be their origin and history, whatever their shortcomings and little absurdities, whatever their platform and their constitution, here they are, the work of practically the whole class of American wage-workers, the only national bond that holds them together, that makes their strength felt to themselves not less than to their enemies, and that fills them with the proud hope of future victories. For it would not be exact to say that the Knights of Labor are liable to development. They are constantly in full process of development and revolution; a heaving, fermenting mass of plastic material seeking the shape and form appropriate to its inherent nature. That form will be attained as surely as historical evolution has, like natural evolution, its own immanent laws. Whether the Knights of Labor will then retain their present name or not, makes no difference, but to an outsider it appears evident that here is the raw material out of which the future of the American working class movement, and along with it, the future of American society at large, has to be shaped.

The third section consists of the Socialist Labor Party. This

section is a party but in name, for nowhere in America has it, up to now, been able actually to take its stand as a political party. It is, moreover, to a certain extent foreign to America, having until lately been made up almost exclusively by German immigrants, using their own language and for the most part little conversant with the common language of the country. But if it came from a foreign stock, it came, at the same time, armed with the experience earned during long years of class-struggle in Europe, and with an insight into the general conditions of working class emancipation,[a] far superior to that hitherto gained by American workingmen. This is a fortunate circumstance for the American proletarians who thus are enabled to appropriate, and to take advantage of, the intellectual and moral fruits of the forty years' struggle of their European classmates, and thus to hasten on the time of their own victory. For, as I said before, there cannot be any doubt that the ultimate platform of the American working class must and will be essentially the same as that now adopted by the whole militant working class of Europe, the same as that of the German-American Socialist Labor Party. In so far this party is called upon to play a very important part in the movement. But in order to do so they will have to doff every remnant of their foreign garb. They will have to become out and out American. They cannot expect the Americans to come to them; they, the minority and the immigrants, must go to the Americans, who are the vast majority and the natives. And to do that, they must above all things learn English.

The process of fusing together these various elements of the vast moving mass—elements not really discordant, but indeed mutually isolated by their various starting-points—will take some time and will not come off without a deal of friction, such as is visible at different points even now. The Knights of Labor, for instance, are here and there, in the Eastern cities, locally at war with the organized Trades Unions. But then this same friction exists within the Knights of Labor themselves, where there is anything but peace and harmony. These are not symptoms of decay, for capitalists to crow over. They are merely signs that the innumerable hosts of workers, for the first time[b] set in motion in a common direction, have as yet found out neither the adequate expression for their common interests, nor the form of organiza-

[a] In the German edition the end of the sentence reads: "as found only exceptionally hitherto in American workers".—*Ed.*

[b] Instead of "for the first time", the German edition has "now at last".—*Ed.*

tion best adapted to the struggle, nor the discipline required to insure victory.[a] They are as yet the first levies *en masse* of the great revolutionary war, raised and equipped locally and independently, all converging to form one common army, but as yet without regular organization and common plan of campaign. The converging columns cross each other here and there; confusion, angry disputes, even threats of conflict arise. But the community of ultimate purpose in the end overcomes all minor troubles; ere long the straggling and squabbling battalions will be formed in a long line of battle array, presenting to the enemy a well-ordered front, ominously silent under their glittering arms, supported by bold skirmishers in front and by unshakeable reserves in the rear.

To bring about this result, the unification of the various independent bodies into one national Labor Army, with no matter how inadequate a provisional[b] platform, provided it be a truly working class platform—that is the next great step to be accomplished in America. To effect this, and to make that platform worthy of the cause, the Socialist Labor Party can contribute a great deal, if they will only act in the same way as the European Socialists have acted at the time when they were but a small minority of the working class. That line of action was first laid down in the "Communist Manifesto" of 1847 in the following words:

"The Communists"—that was the name we took at the time and which even now we are far from repudiating—"the Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working class parties.

"They have no interests separate and apart from the interests of the whole working class.

"They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and model the proletarian movement.

"The Communists are distinguished from the other working class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries they point out, and bring to the front, the common interests of the whole proletariat, interests independent of all nationality; 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the capitalist class has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

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[a] In the German edition the end of the sentence from the words "nor the discipline..." is omitted.—*Ed.*

[b] The German has "general" instead of "provisional".—*Ed.*

"The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of all countries, that section which ever pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have, over the great mass of the proletarians, the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

"Thus they fight for the attainment of the immediate ends, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they represent and take care of the future of the movement."[a]

That is the line of action which the great founder of Modern Socialism, Karl Marx, and with him, I and the Socialists of all nations who worked along with us, have followed for more than forty years, with the result that it has led to victory everywhere, and that at this moment the mass of European Socialists, in Germany and in France, in Belgium, Holland and Switzerland, in Denmark and Sweden as well as in Spain and Portugal, are fighting as one common[b] army under one and the same flag.

London, January 26, 1887

*Frederick Engels*

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Reproduced from the book collated with the German translation

[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 497, 518.—*Ed.*

[b] The German edition follows "common" with "great".—*Ed.*

# [LETTER TO THE ORGANISING COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL IN PARIS][301]

Citizens,

We find ourselves face to face with a terrible danger. We are threatened by a war in which those who loathe it and have only common interests—the French proletariat and the German proletariat—will be forced to butcher each other.

What is the real cause of this state of things?

It is militarism, it is the introduction of the Prussian military system in all the major countries of the Continent.

This system claims to arm the whole nation for the defence of its territory and its rights. That is a lie.

The Prussian system ousted the system of limited conscription and substitution bought by the wealthy, because it placed at the disposal of rulers all the resources of their countries, both manpower and materials. But it has not been able to create a popular army.

The Prussian system divides the citizens who are called up into two categories. The first are drafted into the army of the line, while the second are straightway assigned to the reserve or to the territorial army. The men in this second category receive no military instruction at all, or almost none; but the first serve with the colours for two or three years, sufficient time to turn them into an obedient army, accustomed to discipline, in other words an army ever ready to embark on foreign conquests and to suppress by violence any popular movements at home. For let us not forget that all the governments which have adopted this system are much more frightened of the working people within their frontiers than of rival governments beyond them.

Thanks to its flexibility this system is capable of enormous expansion. For as long as there remains a single young man who has not been drafted into the army, the available resources have not been exhausted. Hence the frantic competition between the states as to which of them possesses the largest and strongest army. Every addition to the military force of one state prompts the other states to do the same, if not more. And all this costs an enormous amount of money. The peoples are crushed by the burden of military expenditure. Peace becomes almost more expensive than war, so that eventually war no longer seems like a terrible scourge, but like a salutary crisis which will put an end to an impossible situation.

This is what has allowed intriguers of all countries keen to fish in troubled waters to press for war.

And the remedy?

Abolish the Prussian system, replace it with a truly popular army, an ordinary school into which any citizen capable of bearing arms will be drafted for the time strictly necessary in order to learn the soldier's job; group the men graduating from this school into a reserve list, firmly organised by districts, so that every town, every canton has its own battalion, made up of men who know one another, united, armed, equipped, ready to march at twenty-four hours' notice if necessary. This means that every man will keep his rifle and equipment at home, as they do in Switzerland.

The first nation to adopt this system will double its real military strength while halving its war budget. It will prove its love of peace by the very fact of arming all its citizens. For this army, which is the nation itself, is as ill suited to conquest abroad as it is invincible in the defence of its own territory. *And what government would dare lay a finger on civil liberties, if every citizen has at home his rifle and fifty rounds of ammunition?*

London, February 13, 1887

*Frederick Engels*

First published in *Le Socialiste*, No. 79, February 26, 1887

Printed according to the newspaper collated with the manuscript

Translated from the French

# TO THE FEDERATION OF THE CENTRE OF THE FRENCH WORKERS' PARTY[302]

IN PARIS

London, 18 March, 1887

Citizens,

I am with you in my heart to celebrate the 18 March.

*F. Engels*

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Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

# INTRODUCTION
# [TO SIGISMUND BORKHEIM'S PAMPHLET, *IN MEMORY OF THE GERMAN BLOOD-AND-THUNDER PATRIOTS. 1806-1807*][303]

Sigismund Borkheim, the author of the following pamphlet, was born in Glogau on March 29, 1825. After completing his grammar-school education in Berlin in 1844, he studied in turn in Breslau, Greifswald and Berlin. Since he was too poor to bear the costs of the one-year military service, he satisfied his obligations to the army by joining in 1847 the artillery in Glogau as a three-year volunteer. After the 1848 revolution he took part in democratic meetings and this led to his being investigated by a court martial, from which he escaped by fleeing to Berlin. Here, safe from pursuit for the moment, he remained active in the movement and played an outstanding role in the storm on the Arsenal.[304] A further flight to Switzerland became necessary to evade the new threat of arrest arising from this. In September 1848, when Struve organised the march of his volunteer corps to the Black Forest in Baden,[305] Borkheim joined his force, was captured and remained in gaol until the Baden Revolution of May 1849[306] liberated the prisoners.

Borkheim went to Karlsruhe to offer his services as a soldier to the revolution. When Johann Philipp Becker was appointed colonel in command of the entire people's militia, he gave Borkheim the task of forming a battery for which the government initially supplied only the unharnessed guns. The horse teams had still not arrived when the movement of June 6 broke out.[307] This was an attempt by the more resolute elements to induce the inert provisional government, which consisted in part of outright traitors, to bestir itself to greater efforts. Along with Becker, Borkheim had taken part in the demonstration whose only immediate effect, however, was that Becker, together with all his

volunteers and militiamen, was sent away from Karlsruhe to join the front on the Neckar. Borkheim could not follow him with his battery until he had been provided with horses for his cannons. By the time he was finally issued with these—Herr Brentano, the head of the government, found it was very much in his interest to get rid of the revolutionary battery—the Prussians had already conquered the Palatinate and the first act of Borkheim's battery was to take position on the Knieling Bridge and cover the withdrawal of the Palatinate army to Baden territory.

Together with the troops from the Palatinate and those from Baden still stationed around Karlsruhe, Borkheim's battery now advanced in a northerly direction. On June 21 it saw action at Blankenloch and played an honourable part in the encounter at Ubstadt (June 25). As part of the reorganisation of the army for its new positions on the River Murg, Borkheim and his artillery were assigned to the Oborski Division and distinguished himself in the fighting around Kuppenheim.

After the withdrawal of the revolutionary army to Swiss territory, Borkheim went to Geneva. Here he found his old commander and friend, J. Ph. Becker, and some younger comrades-in-arms, and they all banded together to form as cheerful a society as possible amidst the privations of refugee life. I myself spent several enjoyable days with them when I passed through there in autumn 1849. This was the same society that under the name of the "Brimstone Gang" acquired a highly undeserved posthumous notoriety thanks to the colossal lies of Herr Karl Vogt.[308]

However, the fun was not to last long. In the summer of 1850 the arm of the stern Federal Council reached also the harmless "Brimstone Gang", and the majority of its happy-go-lucky members were forced to leave Switzerland, since they were among the categories of refugees to be expelled. Borkheim went to Paris and subsequently to Strasbourg. But here too his stay was cut short. In February 1851 he was arrested and taken under police escort to Calais for deportation to England. For a whole three months he was dragged from place to place, for the most part in chains, through 25 different prisons. But wherever he came, the republicans had been notified in advance, and they went out to meet the prisoner, made sure he was well-provided for, did deals with and bribed the police and officials, and provided transport whenever possible. In this way he finally arrived in England.

Of course, he found the condition of the refugees in London far more wretched than in Geneva or even in France, but even

here his resilience did not desert him. He looked around for work and found it at first in a Liverpool emigration firm which needed German clerks to act as interpreters for the numerous German emigrants bidding farewell to their old fatherland in which peace and quiet had at last been restored. At the same time, he looked around for other business contacts and was so successful that after the outbreak of the Crimean War, he managed to despatch a steamship laden with all sorts of goods to Balaclava and, once there, to sell the cargo at fantastic prices, partly to the army authorities and partly to the English officers. On his return he had made a net profit of £15,000 (300,000 marks). But this success only spurred him on to further speculation. He made an agreement with the English Government to arrange for a further shipment. However, since by this time peace negotiations were already underway, the government stipulated in the contract that it could refuse to take delivery of the goods if the peace preliminaries had been settled by the time they arrived. Borkheim agreed to this. When he arrived in the Bosporus with his steamship, peace was already a fact. Since the ship had only been hired for the outward voyage and since any amount of lucrative cargoes could be obtained for the return journey, the captain insisted on unloading without delay. The harbour was full to bursting point and as Borkheim was unable to find anywhere to store the cargo which was now left on his hands, the captain simply unloaded everything on the nearest beach. So Borkheim was stuck there in the middle of his useless crates and bales and barrels and had to helplessly watch his wares being plundered by the rabble that had come to the Bosporus from all corners of Turkey and the whole of Europe. When he returned to England he found himself a pauper again—the £15,000 were all gone. His irrepressible resilience, however, was still there. He had lost all his money through speculation, but had gained a knowledge of business and made contacts in the world of commerce. He now discovered that he had an extremely fine palate for wine and became a successful representative for various Bordeaux exporters.

At the same time, however, he remained as active as he could in the political movement. He had known Liebknecht from Karlsruhe and Geneva. He came into contact with Marx through the Vogt scandal and in this way I renewed my acquaintance with him. Without committing himself to any specific programme, Borkheim always sided with the most extreme revolutionary party. His principal political activity was combating the great bulwark of

European reaction, Russian absolutism. So as to be better able to follow the Russian intrigues designed to subjugate the Balkans and indirectly increase its influence in Western Europe, he learnt Russian and spent many years studying the Russian daily press and émigré writings. Among other things, he translated Serno-Solovyevich's pamphlet *Our Russian Affairs* which denounced the hypocrisies fabricated by Herzen (and continued subsequently by Bakunin) as a result of which the Russian refugees in Western Europe propagated not the truth they knew about Russia, but a conventional legend which fitted in with their nationalist and Pan-Slavist twaddle. He also wrote many essays on Russia for the Berlin *Zukunft,* the *Volksstaat* and so on.

In the summer of 1876, while on a visit to Germany, he suffered a stroke in Badenweiler which left him paralysed to his last day on the left side of his body. He was forced to give up his business. His wife died some years later. Since he had a weak chest, he had to move to Hastings so as to enjoy the mild sea air of the South English coast. Neither paralysis, nor illness, nor his straitened and far from assured means of subsistence were able to break his irrepressible mental powers. His letters were always cheerful to the point of exuberance, and when you visited him you had to help him laugh. His favourite reading matter was the Zurich *Sozialdemokrat.* He died after an attack of pneumonia on December 16, 1885.

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The *Blood-and-Thunder Patriots* appeared straight after the war against France in the *Volksstaat* and soon after in an off-print. It proved to be a highly effective antidote to the mood of super-patriotic intoxication which overcame and which still affects both the German authorities and the German bourgeois. And, indeed, there could have been no better aid to sobering down than to recall the time when the same Prussia which was now praised to the skies had collapsed ignominiously before the onslaught of the same Frenchmen who were now being derided as the vanquished foe. And the medicine had to be all the more effective since the facts it recounted were drawn from a book in which a Prussian general, who was moreover the director of the general Academy of War, had used official Prussian documents to portray the moment of humiliation—and it should be admitted, in an impartial and dispassionate manner.[a] Like any other large social

[a] E. Höpfner, *Der Krieg von 1806 und 1807.—Ed.*

organisation, a great army is never better than when it turns in upon itself after a major defeat and does penance for its past sins. This was the fate of the Prussians after Jena, and again after 1850. In the latter case, even though they had not suffered a major defeat, their total military decline became palpably clear both to themselves and to the whole world in a series of minor campaigns—in Denmark and South Germany—and in the first large-scale mobilisation of 1850, when they only averted a real defeat by the political humiliations of Warsaw and Olmütz.[309] They were forced to subject their own past to ruthless criticism in order to learn how to repair the damage. Their military literature, which in Clausewitz had brought forth a star of the first magnitude, but which had since sunk to unbelievable depths, arose once more under the necessity for this self-examination. And one of the fruits of this self-examination was Höpfner's book from which Borkheim culled the material for his pamphlet.

Even today it will be essential to recall again and again that age of arrogance and defeat, of the incapacity of the monarch, of the naive cunning of the Prussian diplomats ensnared in their own double-dealing, of the aristocratic officer-class whose loud-mouthed swaggering outlived their cowardly betrayals, and of the total collapse of a state-authority estranged from the people and based on lies and deception. The German philistine (and that includes the nobility and the princes) is, if possible, even more conceited and chauvinistic than he was then; diplomatic practice has become significantly more insolent, but it is as two-faced as ever; the aristocratic officer-class has grown sufficiently, both by natural and by artificial means, to enable it more or less to regain its old control over the army; the state is becoming more and more estranged from the masses of the people and is now well on the way to transforming itself into a consortium of landowners, stockbrokers and big industrialists for the exploitation of the people. True enough, if another war breaks out the Prussian-German army will have significant advantages over its opponents as well as its allies, if only because it was the model they all imitated. But these advantages will never again be as great as in the last two wars.[310] The unity of the supreme command, for example, such as existed then, thanks to particularly fortunate circumstances, and the corresponding unconditional obedience of the lower echelons, is unlikely to recur in the same way. The business clique which now occupies a dominant position between the agrarian and military nobility—right up to the Emperor's entourage—and the stockjobbers, can easily prove fatal for the

provision of the army in the field. Germany will have allies, but it will leave them in the lurch, and they Germany, at the first opportunity. And, finally, the only war left for Prussia-Germany to wage will be a world war, a world war, moreover, of an extent and violence hitherto unimagined. Eight to ten million soldiers will be at each other's throats and in the process they will strip Europe barer than a swarm of locusts. The depredations of the Thirty Years' War[311] compressed into three to four years and extended over the entire continent; famine, disease, the universal lapse into barbarism, both of the armies and the people, in the wake of acute misery; irretrievable dislocation of our artificial system of trade, industry and credit, ending in universal bankruptcy; collapse of the old states and their conventional political wisdom to the point where crowns will roll into the gutters by the dozen, and no one will be around to pick them up; the absolute impossibility of foreseeing how it will all end and who will emerge as victor from the battle. Only one consequence is absolutely certain: universal exhaustion and the creation of the conditions for the ultimate victory of the working class.

That is the prospect for the moment when the systematic development of mutual oneupmanship in armaments reaches its climax and finally brings forth its inevitable fruits. This is the pass, my worthy princes and statesmen, to which you in your wisdom have brought our ancient Europe. And when no alternative is left to you but to strike up the last dance of war—that will be no skin off our noses. The war may push us into the background for a while, it may wrest many a conquered base from our hands. But once you have unleashed the forces you will be unable to restrain, things can take their course: by the end of the tragedy you will be ruined and the victory of the proletariat will either have already been achieved or else inevitable.

London, December 15, 1887

*Frederick Engels*

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# THE ROLE OF FORCE IN HISTORY[312]

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Let us now apply our theory to contemporary German history and its use of force, its policy of blood and iron. We shall clearly see from this why the policy of blood and iron was bound to be successful for a time and why it was bound to collapse in the end.

In 1815, the Vienna Congress had partitioned and sold off Europe in a manner which revealed to the whole world the complete ineptitude of the potentates and statesmen. The universal war of the peoples against Napoleon was the reaction of the national feeling of all the peoples which Napoleon had trampled on. In gratitude for this, the princes and diplomats at the Vienna Congress trampled still more contemptuously on that national feeling. The smallest dynasty was more esteemed than the largest nation. Germany and Italy were once again split up into small states, Poland partitioned for the fourth time and Hungary remained enslaved. It cannot even be said that an injustice was committed against the peoples; why did they tolerate it, and why did they greet the Russian Tsar[a] as their liberator?

But this could not go on for long. Since the end of the Middle Ages, history has been working towards a Europe composed of large national states. Only such states are the normal political constitution of the ruling European bourgeoisie and, at the same time, an indispensable precondition for the establishment of harmonious international co-operation between peoples, without which the rule of the proletariat is impossible. To ensure international peace, all avoidable national friction must first be done away with, each people must be independent and master in their own house. With the

[a] Alexander I.—*Ed.*

advance of commerce, agriculture, industry and thereby of the social position of power enjoyed by the bourgeoisie, national feeling rose everywhere and partitioned and oppressed nations demanded unity and independence.

Hence the 1848 revolution was aimed everywhere except in France at satisfying national demands just as much as the demand for freedom. But behind the bourgeoisie, which had been victorious at the first attempt, there already arose everywhere the menacing figure of the proletariat, which had actually won the victory, and which drove the bourgeoisie into the arms of the just defeated enemy—monarchistic, bureaucratic, semi-feudal and military reaction to which the revolution succumbed in 1849. In Hungary, where this was not the case, the Russians invaded and crushed the revolution. Not content with this, the Russian Tsar[a] went to Warsaw, where he sat in judgment as the arbiter of Europe. He appointed his obedient creature Christian of Glücksburg heir to the Danish throne. He humiliated Prussia as it had never been humiliated before, prohibiting it even the slightest craving to exploit the German aspirations for unity and forcing it to re-establish the Federal Diet and submit to Austria.[313] At first sight it seemed that the whole result of the revolution was the establishment in Austria and Prussia of a system of government, constitutional in form, but in the old spirit, and that the Russian Tsar was master of Europe more than ever before.

In reality, however, the revolution had vigorously jostled the bourgeoisie even in the dismembered countries, notably in Germany, out of its old traditional rut. The bourgeoisie had received a share, however modest, of political power, and every political success of the bourgeoisie is used for industrial advance. The "crazy year",[314] which had fortunately passed, tangibly demonstrated to the bourgeoisie that it now had to put an end to the old lethargy and doziness once and for all. As a result of the Californian and Australian gold rush[315] and other circumstances, an expansion of world trade contacts and a business boom set in as never before—it was a matter of seizing the opportunity and making sure of one's share. The large-scale industry which had appeared since 1830, and particularly since 1840, on the Rhine, in Saxony, in Silesia, in Berlin and some towns in the south, was now rapidly developed and expanded, cottage industry in rural districts became increasingly widespread, railway construction was accelerated, while the rapidly increasing flow of emigrants which

[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

accompanied all this gave rise to a German transatlantic steamship service which required no subsidies. German merchants settled in all overseas trade centres on a wider scale than ever before, handled an ever growing share of world trade and gradually began to offer their services for the sale not only of English, but also of German industrial products.

But the German system of small states with their numerous and varied trade and industrial laws inevitably soon became an unbearable fetter on vigorously growing industry and the trade associated with it. Every few miles a different law governed bills of exchange, there were different trade conditions; everywhere, literally everywhere, there were different sorts of chicanery, bureaucratic and fiscal traps, and often also guild barriers against which even licences were powerless. In addition there were many different local settlement laws[316] and residence restrictions which made it impossible for the capitalists to move the labour force at their disposal in sufficient numbers to places where the availability of ore, coal, water power and other favourable natural conditions called for the siting of industrial enterprises. The ability to exploit the massive labour force of the Fatherland without hindrance was the first condition for industrial development, but wherever the patriotic manufacturer gathered workers from all parts, the police and the poor administration opposed the settlement of the new arrivals. All-German civic rights and full freedom of movement for all citizens of the Empire, a uniform body of commercial and industrial law were no longer patriotic fantasies of eccentric students, they had now become vital conditions for industry.

Besides, there were different currencies, different weights and measures in every state, no matter how small, and often there were two or three in a single state. And not a single one of these innumerable kinds of coins, weights and measures was recognised on the world market. [It is] hardly surprising, therefore, that merchants and manufacturers who traded on the world market or had to compete against imported articles, had, in addition to the many coins, weights and measures, to use also foreign ones; that cotton yarn was reeled in English pounds, silk cloth was produced in metres, foreign bills were issued in pounds sterling, dollars and francs. And how could large credit institutions be set up in these limited currency zones with banknotes here in gulden, there in Prussian talers, next to them in gold talers, "new two-third" talers, bank marks, current marks, the twenty-gulden system, the twenty-four-gulden system, with endless exchange computations and rate fluctuations?[317]

And even if all this was finally overcome, how much effort had been spent on all this friction, how much money and time had been wasted! Finally, in Germany too, people became aware that nowadays time is money.

The fledgling German industry had to stand the test on the world market, it could grow only through export. For this it had to enjoy abroad the protection of international law. The English, French, American merchant could still take somewhat greater liberties abroad than at home. His legation intervened on his behalf, and, if need be, even a few men-of-war. But the German! In the Levant the Austrian at least could rely to some extent on his legation, elsewhere it did not help him much either. But whenever a Prussian merchant in a foreign land complained to his ambassador about an injustice he had suffered, he was almost always told: "Serves you right, what do you want here, why don't you stay well at home?" The subject of a small state was well and truly deprived of all rights everywhere. Wherever one went, German merchants were under foreign—French, English or American—protection, or else had quickly got themselves naturalised in their new country.[a] Even if their ambassadors had wished to intervene on their behalf, what would have been the use? German ambassadors themselves were treated no better than boot-blacks overseas.

This shows that the call for a united "Fatherland" had a very material background. It was no longer the obscure urge of a member of a *Burschenschaft* at the Wartburg festival,[318] "where courage and power burned bright in German souls", and where, as in the song set to a French tune, "the young man was carried away by a tempestuous striving to go and die fighting for the Fatherland"[b] in order to restore the romantic imperial grandeur of the Middle Ages,—while in his older days the tempestuous youth became a common sanctimonious and absolutist vassal of his prince. Neither was it any longer the considerably more down-to-earth call for unity of the lawyers and other bourgeois ideologists of the Hambach festival,[319] who thought they loved freedom and unity for their own sake and did not at all notice that the turning of Germany into a cantonal republic after the Swiss pattern, which the ideal of the least muddled among them amounted to, was just as impossible as the Hohenstaufen Empire[320] of the students mentioned above. No, it was the desire of the practical merchant

[a] Here Engels wrote "Weerth" in pencil in the margin.—*Ed.*
[b] K. Hinkel, "Jugend-Muth und -Kraft".—*Ed.*

and industrialist arising out of immediate business needs to sweep away all the historically inherited small state junk which was obstructing the free development of commerce and industry, to abolish all the unnecessary friction the German businessman first had to overcome at home if he wished to enter the world market, and to which all his competitors were superior. German unity had become an economic necessity. And the people who now demanded it knew what they wanted. They had been educated in commerce and for commerce, knew how to drive a bargain and were willing to bargain. They knew that it was necessary to demand a high price but also that it was necessary to reduce it liberally. They sang of the "German Fatherland" including in it Styria, the Tyrol and "Austria rich in honours and victories",[a] and

> From the Maas to the Memel,
> From the River Adige to the Belt
> Deutschland, Deutschland über alles,
> Over everything in the world—[b]

but for a payment in cash they were prepared to grant a considerable discount—from 25 to 30 per cent—on that Fatherland that was to become ever greater.[321] Their plan for unification was ready and immediately practicable.

German unity, however, was not a purely German question. Since the Thirty Years' War,[322] not a single all-German issue had been decided without very perceptible foreign interference.[c] Frederick II had conquered Silesia in 1740 with the help of the French.[324] The reorganisation of the Holy Roman Empire by decision of the Imperial Deputation in 1803 had literally been dictated by France and Russia.[325] After that, Napoleon had organised Germany to suit his convenience. And finally, at the Vienna Congress,[d] it was again mainly owing to Russia and in the second place to England and France that it was shattered into thirty-six states with over two hundred separate large and small patches of land, and, just as at the 1802-03 Imperial Diet in Regensburg,[326] the German dynasties had veritably assisted in this and made the fragmentation still worse. In addition, some parts of Germany had been handed over to foreign sovereigns. Thus, Germany was not only powerless and helpless, torn by internal

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[a] E. M. Arndt, "Des Teutschen Vaterland".—*Ed.*

[b] [A. H. Hoffmann von Fallersleben,] "Das Lied der Deutschen".—*Ed.*

[c] Here Engels wrote in the margin in pencil: "Westphalian and Teschen Peace."[323]—*Ed.*

[d] Here Engels wrote between the lines: "Germany—Poland."—*Ed.*

strife, condemned to political, military and even industrial insignificance. What was much worse, France and Russia had by repeated usage acquired a right to the fragmentation of Germany, just as France and Austria arrogated the right to see that Italy remained dismembered. This alleged right was invoked in 1850 by Tsar Nicholas when, refusing in the coarsest manner to allow any change in the constitution without authorisation, he endorsed the restoration of that expression of Germany's impotence, the Federal Diet.[327]

Germany's unity therefore had to be won in struggle not only against the princes and other internal enemies, but also against foreign countries. Or else—with help from abroad. What was the situation abroad at that time?

In France, Louis Bonaparte had utilised the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working class to raise himself with the help of the peasants into the office of President and with the help of the army to the imperial throne. But a new Emperor Napoleon, one placed on the throne by the army within the borders of the France of 1815, was a still-born chimera. The resurrected Napoleonic empire meant the extension of France to the Rhine, the realisation of the hereditary dream of French chauvinism. At first, however, the Rhine was beyond Louis Bonaparte's reach; every attempt in that direction would have led to a European coalition against France. On the other hand, there was an opportunity to enhance France's position of power and to win fresh laurels for the army by waging in agreement with almost the whole of Europe a war against Russia, which had made use of the revolutionary period in Western Europe to occupy on the quiet the Danubian principalities and to prepare for a new war of conquest against Turkey. England entered into alliance with France, Austria showed good will towards both, only heroic Prussia kissed the Russian rod which had chastised it only but yesterday, and continued to maintain a pro-Russian neutrality. But neither England nor France wished a serious defeat of the enemy, and the war thus ended in very mild humiliation for Russia and a Russo-French alliance against Austria.*

* The Crimean War was an unparalleled, colossal comedy of errors, where one wondered at every new scene: who will be cheated this time? But that comedy took a toll of uncountable wealth and over a million human lives. No sooner had the war begun than Austria invaded the Danubian principalities; the Russians retreated before them. This made a war against Turkey on Russia's land frontier impossible so long as Austria remained neutral. However, Austria was willing to become an ally in a war on this frontier on condition that the war was waged in all seriousness

The Crimean War made France Europe's leading power and the adventurer Louis Napoleon the greatest man of the day, which, to be sure, does not mean much. However, the Crimean War had not brought France any territorial expansion and was therefore pregnant with a new war, in which Louis Napoleon was to fulfil his true mission, that of "aggrandiser of the empire".[328] This new war had already been planned during the first one, since Sardinia was allowed to join the alliance of the Western powers as a satellite of imperial France and especially as its outpost against Austria; further preparations were made during the conclusion of peace by Louis Napoleon's agreement with Russia,[329] who wanted nothing more than to chastise Austria.

Louis Napoleon was now the idol of the European bourgeoisie. Not only because he had "saved society" on December 2, 1851,[330] when he destroyed the political rule of the bourgeoisie, it is true, but only to save its social rule. Not only because he showed that, under favourable circumstances, universal suffrage could be turned into an instrument for the oppression of the masses. Not only because, under his rule, industry and trade and notably speculation and stock exchange machinations advanced to a degree previously unknown. But, first and foremost, because the bourgeoisie saw in him the first "great statesman", who was flesh of their flesh, and bone of their bone. He was an upstart like every true bourgeois. "A dyed in the wool" Carbonari

to restore Poland and permanently push back Russia's western border. This would also have brought in Prussia, through which Russia was still getting all imports; Russia would have been blockaded by land and by sea and would soon have been defeated. This, however, did not enter the plans of the allies. On the contrary, they were glad to have escaped the danger of a serious war. Palmerston proposed that the theatre of war be transferred to the Crimea—which was what Russia desired—and Louis Napoleon gladly agreed. Here the war could only be a sham one, and so all the protagonists were satisfied. However, Tsar Nicholas took it into his head to wage a serious war and forgot at the same time that this was most favourable country for a sham war but most unfavourable for a serious war. What is Russia's strength in defence—the immense extent of its territory, sparsely populated, roadless and poor in auxiliary resources—in the event of any Russian offensive war turns against Russia itself, and nowhere more than in the Crimean direction. The South Russian steppes, which were to become the graves of the invaders, became the graves of the Russian armies, whom Nicholas, with brutal and stupid ruthlessness, drove one after another—finally in mid-winter—into Sebastopol. When the last hurriedly recruited, haphazardly equipped and miserably provisioned army lost about two-thirds of its number (whole battalions perished in snowstorms) and the rest was unable to drive the enemy from Russian soil, arrogant, empty-headed Nicholas miserably broke down and poisoned himself. From then on, the war once again became a sham war and peace was soon concluded.

conspirator in Italy, an artillery officer in Switzerland, a debt-burdened tramp of distinction and special constable in England,[331] yet constantly and everywhere a pretender to the throne, he had prepared himself by his adventurous past and moral failings in all countries for the role of Emperor of the French and ruler of the destinies of Europe, as the exemplary bourgeois, the American, prepares himself by a series of bankruptcies, genuine and fraudulent, for the role of millionaire. As Emperor he not only made politics serve the interests of capitalist profits and stock exchange machinations, but also pursued politics entirely according to the rules of the stock exchange and speculated on the "nationalities principle".[332] In France's previous policy the fragmentation of Germany and Italy had been an inalienable fundamental right of France; Louis Napoleon immediately began to sell off that fundamental right bit by bit for so-called compensations. He was ready to help Italy and Germany do away with their fragmentation, provided Germany and Italy paid him for every step towards national union by ceding territory. This not only satisfied French chauvinism and gradually expanded the empire to its 1801 borders[333] but, in addition, restored to France the exclusive role of enlightened power and the liberator of the peoples, and depicted Louis Napoleon as the protector of oppressed nationalities. And the whole enlightened bourgeoisie, enthusiastic for national ideas—because it was deeply interested in the removal of all obstacles to business on the world market—unanimously exulted in this world-liberating enlightenment.

The beginning was made in Italy.[a] Austria had exercised absolute rule there since 1849, and Austria was then the scapegoat for the whole of Europe. The meagre results of the Crimean War were not ascribed to the indecision of the Western powers, which had only wanted a sham war, but to Austria's irresolute attitude, for which no one had been more to blame than the Western powers themselves. But the advance of the Austrians to the Pruth—in gratitude for Russia's assistance in Hungary in 1849[335]—aggrieved Russia so much (although it was precisely that advance which had saved Russia), that it looked with joy upon every attack on Austria. Prussia no longer counted and had already been treated *en canaille*[b] at the Paris Peace Congress. Thus, the war for the liberation of Italy "up to the Adriatic" was

[a] Here Engels wrote "Orsini"[334] in pencil in the margin.—*Ed.*
[b] Ungraciously.—*Ed.*

contrived with Russia's participation, launched in the spring of 1859 and completed in the summer on the Mincio. Austria was not driven out of Italy, Italy was not "free up to the Adriatic" and not united, Sardinia had extended its territory, but France had acquired Savoy and Nice and thus re-established its 1801 frontier with Italy.[336]

However, the Italians were not satisfied with this state of affairs. At that time, manufacture proper was still predominant in Italy, large-scale industry being as yet in its infancy. The working class was far from fully expropriated and proletarianised; in the towns, it still had its own means of production, in rural areas, industrial labour was a side-line occupation of small peasant owners or tenants. The energy of the bourgeoisie had therefore not yet been broken by opposition to a modern class-conscious proletariat. And since the fragmentation of Italy was preserved only as a result of foreign rule by the Austrians, under whose protection the princes carried their misgovernment to the extreme, the big landed nobility and the mass of the townspeople sided with the bourgeoisie as the champion of national independence. However, foreign rule was thrown off, except in Venetia, in 1859; Austria's further intervention in Italy was made impossible by France and Russia and nobody was afraid of it any longer. In Garibaldi, Italy had a hero of ancient dignity, who was able to work wonders and did work wonders. With a thousand volunteers, he overthrew the entire Kingdom of Naples, in fact united Italy, and tore to pieces the ingenious web of Bonapartist politics. Italy was free and essentially united—though not by Louis Napoleon's intrigues, but by the revolution.

Since the Italian war, the foreign policy of the Second French Empire was no longer a secret to anybody. The conquerors of the great Napoleon were to be punished—but *l'un après l'autre,* one after another. Russia and Austria had received their share, Prussia was next in turn. And Prussia was despised more than ever before; its policy during the Italian war had been cowardly and wretched, just as at the time of the Basle Peace in 1795.[337] With its "free-hand policy"[338] it had reached a point when it stood absolutely isolated in Europe, and its neighbours, big and small, anticipated with pleasure the spectacle of its being given a thrashing; its hands were free for one thing only—to cede the left bank of the Rhine to France.

Indeed, in the years immediately following 1859, the conviction grew everywhere, and nowhere more than on the Rhine, that the left bank would irretrievably be lost to France. Not that this was

particularly desired, but it was regarded as an inescapable fate, and, to tell the truth, it was not particularly feared. Old memories of French times, which had really brought liberty, were aroused in the peasant and petty bourgeois; among the bourgeoisie, the finance aristocracy, especially in Cologne, was already deeply involved in the machinations of the Parisian Crédit Mobilier[339] and other fraudulent Bonapartist companies and loudly demanded annexation.*

However, the loss of the left bank of the Rhine would weaken not only Prussia, but Germany too. And Germany was more divided than ever before. There was greater estrangement than ever between Austria and Prussia owing to Prussia's neutrality in the Italian war; the brood of small princes cast half scared, half longing looks at Louis Napoleon as protector of a renewed Confederation of the Rhine[340]—such was the position of official Germany. And that at a time when only the united forces of the entire nation were capable of averting the danger of dismemberment.

But how could the forces of the entire nation be united? After the attempts of 1848—almost all of them hazy—had failed and some of the haze was dispelled precisely because of this, three roads lay open.

The first road was that of genuine unification through the abolition of all individual states, that is, the openly revolutionary road. This road had just led Italy to its goal; the Savoy dynasty had joined the revolution and thereby walked off with the Italian crown. However, our German Savoyans, the Hohenzollerns, and even their most daring Cavours *à la* Bismarck, were altogether unable to take such a courageous step. The people would have had to do everything themselves—and in a war over the left bank of the Rhine they would have probably been able to do the necessary. The inevitable retreat of the Prussians beyond the Rhine, a protracted war at the fortifications on the Rhine, and the betrayal by the South German princes that would undoubtedly ensue, would have been sufficient to fan up a national movement which would have swept away the entire dynastic system. In that case, Louis Napoleon would have been the first to sheathe the sword. The Second Empire could afford to have opponents only among reactionary states against which it appeared as the

* Marx and I repeatedly saw on the spot that this was the general mood on the Rhine at that time. Industrialists on the left bank asked me, inter alia, how their industry would fare under the French customs tariff.

continuer of the French revolution, the liberator of the peoples. It was powerless against a people themselves embroiled in revolution, in fact, a victorious German revolution could have provided the impetus for the overthrow of the entire French Empire. That was at best; at worst, if the dynastic princes got the better of the movement, the left bank of the Rhine would be temporarily lost to France, the active and passive betrayal of the dynastic princes would be revealed to the whole world and would create a predicament in which there would be no way out for Germany but that of revolution, the eviction of all the princes, the establishment of a united German republic.

As things stood, this road to the union of Germany could be taken only if Louis Napoleon began a war over the border on the Rhine. But, for reasons we shall soon explain, this war did not take place. As a result, however, the issue of national union also ceased to be a vital question, one that had to be settled immediately under pain of destruction. For the time being, the nation could wait.

The second road was that of a union under Austrian supremacy. In 1815, Austria had willingly retained the position of a state with a compact, rounded-off territory, which had been imposed on it by the Napoleonic wars. It laid no claim to the former possessions in South Germany which it had ceded. It was content with annexing old and new territories which could be matched geographically and strategically with the remaining nucleus of the monarchy. The separation of German Austria from the rest of Germany, begun by the protective tariffs of Joseph II, aggravated by the police regime of Francis I in Italy, and carried to the extreme by the disintegration of the German Empire[341] and by the Confederation of the Rhine, continued for all practical purposes ever after 1815. Metternich built a veritable Chinese Wall between his state and Germany. Tariffs kept out the material, censorship the intellectual products of Germany, the most incredible chicanery with regard to passports limited personal contacts to the barest minimum. The country was protected domestically against any, even the mildest, political stirring by an absolutist tyranny unique even in Germany. Thus, Austria had remained absolutely aloof from Germany's entire bourgeois-liberal movement. By 1848, at least the intellectual barrier was torn down to a large extent, but the events of that year and their consequences were hardly fitted to bring Austria closer to the rest of Germany. On the contrary, Austria more and more insisted on its independent position as a great power. And thus it happened

that, although the Austrian soldiers in the fortresses of the Confederation[342] were liked, while the Prussians were hated and derided, and although Austria was still popular and respected throughout the predominantly Catholic South and West, no one thought seriously of German unification under Austrian supremacy, except perhaps a few princes from the small and medium German states.

Nor could it be otherwise. Austria itself had not wanted it any other way, even though it continued on the quiet to cherish romantic dreams of an empire. The Austrian customs barrier had in time become the only remaining material partition within Germany, and was therefore felt all the more acutely. There was no sense in the independent great power policy if it did not mean a sacrifice of German interests to specifically Austrian, that is, Italian, Hungarian, etc., interests. After, as before the revolution, Austria continued to be the most reactionary state in Germany, the most reluctant to follow modern trends, and, besides, the only remaining specifically Catholic great power. The more the post-March government[343] strove to re-establish the old management of priests and Jesuits, the more impossible became its hegemony over a country which was one to two-thirds Protestant. And, finally, a unification of Germany under Austria was only possible through the breaking-up of Prussia. Although this in itself would have been no calamity for Germany, the breaking-up of Prussia by Austria would have been just as harmful as the breaking-up of Austria by Prussia before the imminent triumph of the revolution in Russia (after which it would become superfluous, because the now redundant Austria would disintegrate of itself).

In short, German unity under Austria's wing was a romantic dream and proved such when the German princes of the small and medium states assembled in Frankfurt in 1863 to proclaim Francis Joseph of Austria emperor of Germany. The King of Prussia[a] simply did not show up and the emperor comedy was a flop.[344]

There remained the third road: unification under Prussia's supremacy. And because this road was actually taken, it leads us from the field of speculation onto the more solid, even if rather filthy, ground of practical "Realpolitik".[345]

Since Frederick II, Prussia had regarded Germany, as also Poland, merely as territory to be conquered, from which one took what one could get, on the understanding, however, that one had

[a] William I.— *Ed.*

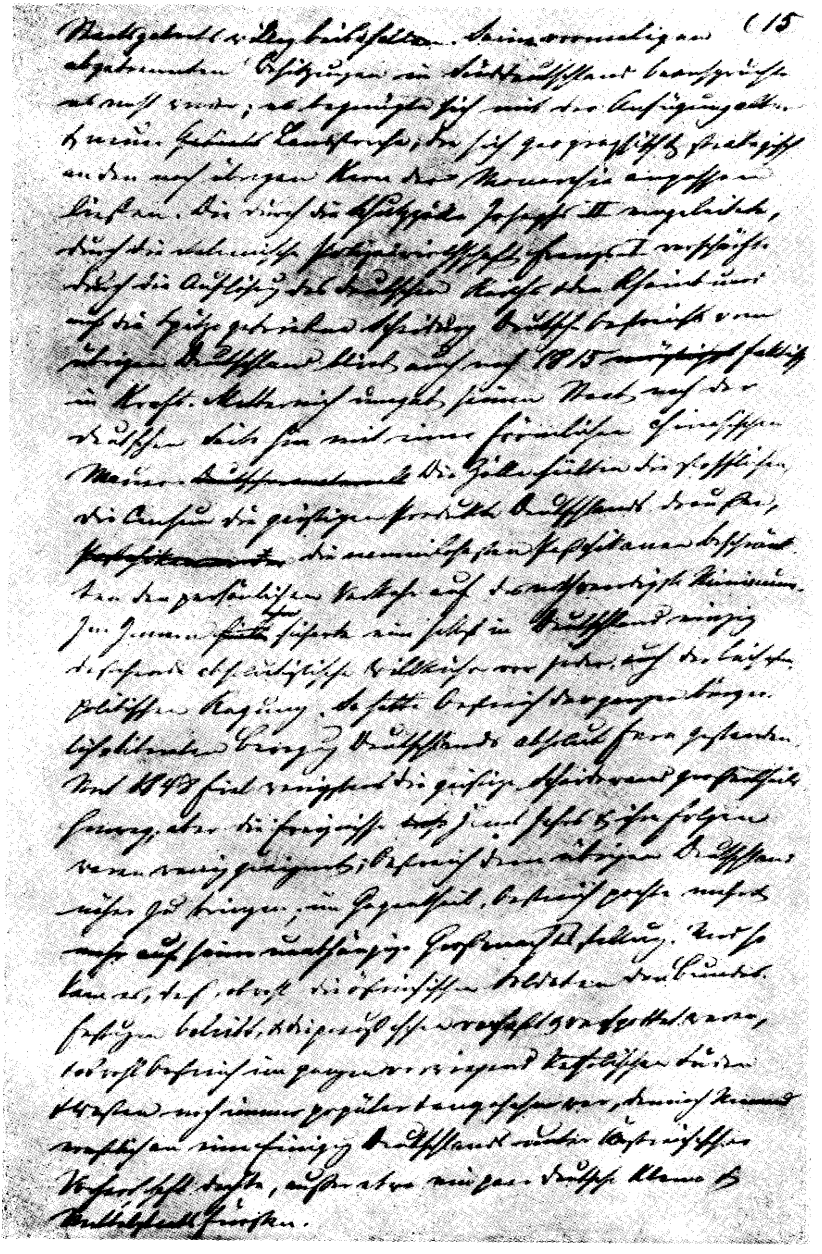

A page of the manuscript
of *The Role of Force in History*

to share with others. The division of Germany with foreign countries, notably with France, had been Prussia's "German mission" since 1740. "*Je vais, je crois, jouer votre jeu; si les as me viennent, nous partagerons*" (I think I am going to play your game; if I am dealt the aces, we shall share them)—such were Frederick's parting words to the French ambassador,[a] when he went off to his first war.[346] True to this "German mission", Prussia betrayed Germany in 1795 when the peace was signed in Basle, agreed in advance (in the Treaty of August 5, 1796) to cede the left bank of the Rhine to France in return for a promise of territorial expansion, and actually collected the reward for its treason against the Empire under a decision of the imperial deputation dictated by Russia and France.[347] Again in 1805, it betrayed Russia and Austria, its allies, when Napoleon held up Hanover to it—a bait it was always willing to swallow, but became so entangled in its own stupid cunning that it was drawn into war with Napoleon after all and received a well-deserved thrashing at Jena.[348] Still under the impression of these blows, Frederick William III was willing, even after the victories of 1813 and 1814, to forego all West German outposts, to confine himself to the possession of North-East Germany, to withdraw, like Austria, as much as possible from Germany—which would have transformed the whole of West Germany into a new Confederation of the Rhine under Russian or French protection. The plan failed: Westphalia and the Rhine Province were forced upon the King against his will, and with them a new "German mission".

For the time being, it was over with annexations—except for the purchase of some tiny patches of land. At home, the old bureaucratic Junker system gradually began to flourish again; the constitutional promises made to the people in times of great distress were persistently broken. Yet in spite of all that, the bourgeoisie was increasingly in the ascendant in Prussia too, because without industry and trade even the haughty Prussian state was now nothing. Slowly, unwillingly, in homeopathic doses, economic concessions had to be made to the bourgeoisie. In a way, these concessions offered a prospect of support for Prussia's "German mission": since Prussia, to remove the foreign customs barriers between its two parts, invited the neighbouring German states to form a customs union. Thus came into existence the Customs Union which, up to 1830, had been no more than a pious wish (only Hesse-Darmstadt had joined), but later, as a result of

[a] L. Ch. Beauvau.—*Ed.*

the somewhat quicker rate of political and economic development, joined the greater part of inner Germany economically to Prussia.[349] The non-Prussian coastal regions remained outside the Union even after 1848.

The Customs Union was a major success for Prussia. The fact that it meant a victory over Austrian influence was hardly the crux of the matter. The main thing was that it won over the entire bourgeoisie of the medium and small states to Prussia's side. With the exception of Saxony, there was no German state whose industry had developed to a degree even approaching Prussia's, and this was due not only to natural and historical preconditions, but also to its bigger customs area and internal market. The more the Customs Union expanded, and the more it drew small states into this internal market, the more the rising bourgeoisie of these states became used to regarding Prussia as its economic and later also political leader, and the professors danced to the tune of the bourgeoisie. What the Hegelians construed philosophically in Berlin—namely that Prussia was called upon to assume leadership in Germany, Schlosser's pupils, notably Häusser and Gervinus, demonstrated historically in Heidelberg. This naturally presupposed that Prussia would change its entire political system, that it would fulfil the demands of the ideologists of the bourgeoisie.*

All this, however, happened not because there was any special bias in favour of the Prussian state, as was the case, for example, when the Italian bourgeoisie accepted Piedmont as the leading state after it had openly placed itself at the head of the national and constitutional movement. No, it was done reluctantly, the bourgeoisie chose Prussia as the lesser evil, because Austria barred them from its market and because, compared with Austria, Prussia still had a certain bourgeois nature, if only because of its meanness in financial matters. Prussia had two good institutions ahead of other large states: universal conscription and universal compulsory education. It had introduced them in times of desperate need, and in better days had been content with emptying them of their content—dangerous under certain circumstances—by negligently enforcing them and deliberately distorting them. But they continued to exist on paper, and this gave Prussia the possibility some day to unfold the latent potential energy of the masses to a

* The *Rheinische Zeitung* of 1842 discussed the question of Prussia's hegemony from this viewpoint. Gervinus told me as early as the summer of 1843 in Ostend: Prussia must assume leadership in Germany, but this presupposes three conditions: Prussia must provide a constitution, grant freedom of the press and pursue a more definite foreign policy.

degree unattainable in any other place with the same population. The bourgeoisie reconciled itself to these two institutions: around 1840 it was easy and comparatively cheap for the one-year conscripts, that is, for the sons of the bourgeois, to evade service by bribery, especially as the army itself attached little value to *Landwehr*[350] officers recruited from merchant and industrial circles. The undoubtedly larger number of people with a certain amount of elementary knowledge still available in Prussia as a result of compulsory education was highly useful for the bourgeoisie; with the advance of large-scale industry it ultimately even became insufficient.* The complaints over the high cost of the two institutions,[a] expressed in heavy taxation, were made predominantly by the petty bourgeoisie; the ascendant bourgeoisie calculated that the annoying, to be sure, but unavoidable expenditure connected with the country's future position as a great power would be amply compensated by higher profits.

In short, the German bourgeois had no illusions about Prussian kindness. If the idea of Prussian hegemony had become popular with them since 1840, it was only because and insofar as the Prussian bourgeoisie, owing to its quicker economic development, assumed the economic and political leadership of the German bourgeoisie, only because and insofar as the Rottecks and Welckers of the old constitutional South were eclipsed by the Camphausens, Hansemanns and Mildes of the Prussian North, and the lawyers and professors were eclipsed by the merchants and manufacturers. Indeed, in the years just preceding 1848, there had developed among Prussian liberals, especially on the Rhine, a quite different revolutionary atmosphere from that of the cantonalist liberals of the South.[352] At that time there appeared the two best political folk songs since the 16th century, the song about Burgomaster Tschech and the one about the Baroness von Droste-Fischering,[353] whose wantonness appals the now aged people who in 1846 gaily sang:

> Has ever man had such hard luck
> As our poor Burgomaster Tschech,
> He shot at Fatty two paces away
> And yet his bullet went astray!

* Even during the *Kulturkampf*[351] days, Rhenish industrialists complained to me that they could not promote otherwise excellent workers to the job of supervisor because of the insufficiency of their knowledge acquired at school. This was particularly true in Catholic regions.

[a] Engels wrote in the margin: "Secondary schools for the bourgeoisie."—*Ed.*

But all this was soon to change. The February revolution was followed by the March days in Vienna and the Berlin revolution of March 18. The bourgeoisie triumphed without having to put up a serious fight, it did not even want the serious fight when it came. The bourgeoisie, which shortly before had flirted with the socialism and communism of the time (notably on the Rhine), suddenly noticed that it had reared not only individual workers, but a working *class,* a still half-dreaming, it is true, but gradually awakening and, by its innate nature, revolutionary proletariat. This proletariat, which had everywhere won the victory for the bourgeoisie, was already advancing demands, particularly in France, which were incompatible with the entire bourgeois system; in Paris the first terrible struggle between the two classes took place on June 23, 1848, and after a four-day battle the proletariat was defeated. From then on, the mass of the bourgeoisie in the whole of Europe went over to the side of reaction and allied itself with the absolutist bureaucrats, feudals and priests, whom it had just overthrown with the help of the workers, against the enemies of society, those very same workers.

The form this took in Prussia was that the bourgeoisie left in the lurch the representatives it had itself elected and, with concealed or overt glee, sat by and watched them being dispersed by the government in November 1848. True, the Junker-bureaucratic ministry, which now asserted itself in Prussia for nigh on a decade, had to rule according to constitutional forms, but it avenged itself by resorting to a system of petty vexations and obstructions, unprecedented even in Prussia, under which no one suffered more than the bourgeoisie.[354] But the latter had retired penitently into its shell and meekly submitted to the blows and kicks raining down on it as a punishment for its former revolutionary cravings, and gradually learned to think what it later was to express aloud: Yes, to be sure, we are dogs!

Then came the regency. To prove his loyalty to the throne Manteuffel surrounded the heir apparent,[a] the present emperor, with spies, just at Puttkamer now does the editorial office of the *Sozialdemokrat.* When the heir apparent became regent, Manteuffel, of course, was immediately kicked out and the New Era set in.[355] It was only a change of scenery. The prince regent deigned to allow the bourgeoisie to be liberal again. The bourgeoisie gladly availed themselves of this permission, but they deluded themselves that they were now in full control of the situation and that the

[a] Prince William, later Emperor William I.—*Ed.*

Prussian state would have to dance to their tune. That was by no means what was intended by the "authoritative circles", as they are servilely called. The reorganisation of the army was to be the price the liberal bourgeoisie had to pay for the New Era. The government demanded only the implementation of universal conscription to the extent to which it had been practised around 1816. From the viewpoint of the liberal opposition, absolutely nothing could be said against it that would not at the same time have flown in the face of its own talk about Prussia's authority and its German mission. But the liberal opposition demanded as a condition for its consent that the term of service be limited by law to two years. In itself this was quite rational, the question was whether it could be enforced, whether the liberal bourgeoisie of the country were prepared to insist on this condition to the end, to risk their property and their lives. The government firmly insisted on a three years' term of service, the Chamber on two, and a conflict broke out.[356] And with the conflict over the military question, foreign policy once again became decisive for domestic policy too.

We have seen how Prussia, by its stance in the Crimean and Italian wars, forfeited the last remnants of respect it had still enjoyed. That miserable policy could be partially justified by the poor state of its army. Since even before 1848, new taxes could not be imposed or new loans taken out without the consent of the estates, and since no one was willing to assemble the estates for this purpose, there never was enough money for the army, which went to ruin as a result of this boundless niggardliness. The spirit of parade and military drill that had prevailed under Frederick William III did the rest. How helpless this parade army showed itself in 1848 on the battlefields in Denmark can be read in the writings of Count Waldersee.[a] The mobilisation of 1850 was a complete fiasco; there was a shortage of everything, and what was available was mostly useless.[357] True, the voting of funds by the Chambers helped in this respect, the army was shaken out of the old rut, field service replaced parades, at least in most cases. But the numerical strength of the army was still the same as it had been around 1820, while all other great powers, notably France, which now presented the main danger, had substantially increased their armed forces. And yet there was universal conscription in Prussia, on paper every Prussian was a soldier, and while the

[a] See F. G. Waldersee, *Die Methode zur kriegsgemäßen Ausbildung der Infanterie für das zerstreute Gefecht.—Ed.*

population had grown from $10\frac{1}{2}$ million (1817) to $17\frac{3}{4}$ million (1858), the scale of the army was insufficient to accommodate and train more than a third of all the men fit for service. The government now demanded an increase in the army's strength corresponding almost exactly to the population growth since 1817. But the same liberal deputies who had been continually insisting on the government assuming the leadership of Germany, safeguarding its external power, and restoring its prestige among the nations—these same people higgled and haggled and refused to grant anything except on the basis of a two-year term of service. Did they possess the power to accomplish their will, on which they so stubbornly insisted? Did the people, or at least the bourgeoisie, back them, ready for action?

Quite the reverse. The bourgeoisie exulted in their verbal battles with Bismarck but actually organised a movement which, even if unconsciously, was in fact directed against the policy of the majority in the Prussian Chamber. Denmark's encroachments upon the Holstein constitution and the attempts at a forcible Danification of Schleswig made the German bourgeois indignant.[358] He was used to being bullied by the great powers; but to be kicked by little Denmark, that roused his ire. The National Association[359] was formed; it was precisely the bourgeoisie of the small states that constituted its strength. And the National Association, liberal to the bone as it was, demanded first and foremost national unification under Prussia's leadership, a liberal Prussia if possible, a Prussia the same as ever if it came to the worst. Getting a move on at long last, doing away with the wretched position of second-rank people the Germans held on the world market, chastising Denmark, showing their teeth to the great powers in Schleswig-Holstein, those were the main demands of the National Association. The demand for Prussian leadership was now free of the vagueness and haziness which had still characterised it up to 1850. It was now known for sure that it meant Austria's expulsion from Germany, the actual abolition of the sovereignty of small states, and that neither could be achieved without civil war and the division of Germany. But there was no longer any fear of civil war and the division was no more than the conclusion drawn from the Austrian customs restrictions. Germany's industry and trade had advanced to such a height, the network of German trading firms that spanned the world market had become so extensive and dense, that the proliferation of small states at home and the lack of rights and protection abroad had become intolerable. And while the strongest political organisation the

German bourgeoisie had ever had practically gave a vote of no confidence in the Berlin deputies, the latter continued to haggle over the term of service.

Such was the state of affairs when Bismarck decided to intervene actively in foreign politics.

Bismarck is Louis Napoleon translated from the adventurous French pretender to the throne into the Prussian backwoods Junker and member of the German students' association. Just like Louis Napoleon, Bismarck is a man of great practical judgment and great cunning, a born and sharp businessman, who in different circumstances would have competed on the New York stock exchange with the Vanderbilts and Jay Goulds; indeed, he has not badly succeeded in feathering his nest. But this advanced sense of the practical often goes hand in hand with a corresponding narrowness of outlook, and in this respect Bismarck excels his French predecessor. The latter had himself worked out his "Napoleonic ideas"[a] during his vagabond years—of which they bore the stamp—while Bismarck, as we shall see, never managed to produce even a hint of any political ideas of his own but always combined the ready-made ideas of others to suit his own purposes. However, precisely this narrow-mindedness was his good fortune. Without it he would never have been able to regard the entire history of the world from a specific Prussian point of view; and if in this typically Prussian world outlook of his there had been a rent through which daylight could penetrate, he would have bungled his entire mission and it would have been the end of his glory. True, he was stumped when he had fulfilled, in his own way, his special mission dictated to him from outside, and we shall see what leaps he was forced to make because of his absolute lack of rational ideas and his inability to understand the historical situation he himself had created.

If Louis Napoleon's past had taught him to show little consideration in the choice of methods, Bismarck learned from the history of Prussian politics, notably from those of the so-called Great Elector[b] and of Frederick II, to have even less regard for scruples, though here he could retain the exalting awareness of having remained true to the traditions of the Fatherland. His business sense taught him to repress his Junker appetites when this was necessary; when no longer necessary, they once again came sharply to the fore; this was, of course, a sign of his decline.

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[a] An allusion to N. L. Bonaparte's *Des idées napoléoniennes.*—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick William.—*Ed.*

His political method was that of the students' association, the comically literal interpretation of the students' beer drinking code designed to get them out of a scrape in their pub, and he used it unceremoniously in the Chamber in respect of the Prussian constitution; all innovations he introduced in diplomacy were borrowed from the students' association. But if Louis Napoleon often hesitated in decisive moments, as, for example, during the *coup d'état* in 1851, when Morny positively had to force him to complete what he had begun, or on the eve of the 1870 war, when his uncertainty spoiled his whole position, it must be admitted that this never happened with Bismarck. His willpower never abandoned him, it was much more likely to turn into open brutality. And this, more than anything else, was the secret of his success. All the ruling classes in Germany, the Junkers and the bourgeoisie, had so much lost the last remnants of energy, it had become so much the custom in "educated" Germany to have no will, that the only man among them who really still possessed one became, precisely because of this, the greatest man among them and a tyrant over them all, at whose bidding they were ready to "jump over the stick", as they themselves call it, against their better judgment and their conscience. True, in the "uneducated" Germany things have not yet reached such a pass; the working people have shown that they possess a will against which even Bismarck's strong will is unable to prevail.

A brilliant career lay before our Brandenburg Junker, if only he had the courage and sense to help himself to it. Had not Louis Napoleon become the idol of the bourgeoisie precisely because he dispersed their parliament while raising their profits? And did not Bismarck possess the same business talents which the bourgeois admired so much in the false Napoleon? Was he not attracted to his Bleichröder as much as Louis Napoleon to his Fould? Was there not in 1864 a contradiction in Germany between the bourgeois representatives in the Chamber, who, out of stinginess, wanted to reduce the service term, and the bourgeois outside, in the National Association, who demanded national action at any cost, action for which an army was essential? Was it not a contradiction quite similar to the one that existed in France in 1851 between the bourgeois in the Chamber who wanted to keep the power of the President in check and the bourgeois outside who wanted peace and quiet and a strong government, peace and quiet at any cost—a contradiction which Louis Napoleon solved by dispersing the brawlers in parliament and giving peace and quiet to the mass of the bourgeois? Were not things in Germany much

more assuredly in favour of a bold move? Had not the plan for the reorganisation been supplied ready-made by the bourgeoisie, and were not the latter themselves calling loudly for an energetic Prussian statesman who would carry out their plan, expel Austria from Germany and unite the small states under Prussia's supremacy? And if this demanded that the Prussian constitution be treated a bit roughly, that the ideologists in and outside the Chamber be pushed aside according to their deserts, was it not possible to rely on universal suffrage, just as Louis Bonaparte had done? What could be more democratic than to introduce universal suffrage? Had not Louis Napoleon proved that it was absolutely safe—if properly handled? And did not precisely this universal suffrage offer the means to appeal to the broad mass of the people, to flirt a bit with the emerging social movement, should the bourgeoisie prove refractory?

Bismarck took action. What had to be done was to repeat Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état,* to make the real balance of power tangibly clear to the German bourgeoisie, forcibly to dispel their liberal self-delusion, but to carry out their national demands which coincided with Prussia's aspirations. It was Schleswig-Holstein that first provided a lever for action. As regards foreign policy, the field had been prepared. The Russian Tsar[a] had been won over to Bismarck's side by the latter's dirty work against the Polish insurgents in 1863[360]; Louis Napoleon had also been worked on and could justify his indifference, if not his silent abetment, of Bismarck's plans, with his favourite "nationalities principle"[361]; Palmerston was Prime Minister in England, but he had placed the little Lord John Russell in the Foreign Office only for the purpose of having him make a laughing-stock of himself. But Austria was Prussia's rival for supremacy in Germany and precisely in this matter it could not afford to let Prussia outdo it, especially since it had in 1850 and 1851 acted in Schleswig-Holstein as Emperor Nicholas' henchman more vilely even than Prussia.[362] The situation was therefore extremely favourable. No matter how much Bismarck hated Austria, and how gladly Austria would once again have taken it out of Prussia, there was nothing they could do after the death of Frederick VII of Denmark but take joint action against Denmark—with the tacit consent of Russia and France. Success was assured in advance, so long as Europe remained neutral; it did, the duchies were conquered and ceded under the peace treaty.[363]

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[a] Alexander II.—*Ed.*

In this war, Prussia had pursued an additional purpose—that of testing before the enemy the army it had been training according to new principles since 1850 and had reorganised and strengthened in 1860. It had stood the test beyond all expectations and that in all manner of military situations. The battle at Lyngby in Jutland proved that the needle-gun was far superior to the muzzle-loader and that the Prussians knew how to use it properly, since the rapid firing of 80 Prussians from behind hedgerows turned three times as many Danes to flight. At the same time it had been noticed that the only lesson the Austrians had drawn from the Italian war[a] and French fighting tactics was that shooting was no good, that a true soldier had to repulse the enemy immediately with his bayonet, and this was borne in mind, for no more welcome enemy tactics could even be desired against the muzzles of the breech-loaders. To give the Austrians the chance of convincing themselves of this in practice at the earliest possible moment, the peace treaty gave over the duchies to the joint sovereignty of Austria and Prussia, thereby creating a purely temporary situation, which was bound to breed conflict after conflict, and which thus left it entirely to Bismarck to decide when he should choose to use such a conflict for his big blow at Austria. Since it was a Prussian political tradition to exploit a favourable situation "ruthlessly to extreme", in Herr von Sybel's words, it was self-evident that under the pretext of freeing the Germans from Danish oppression about 200,000 Danes of North Schleswig were annexed to Germany. The one who got nothing was the Duke of Augustenburg, the candidate of the small states and of the German bourgeoisie for the Schleswig-Holstein throne.

Thus Bismarck had carried out the will of the German bourgeoisie in the duchies against their will. He had expelled the Danes and defied the foreign countries, and the latter had not made a move. But no sooner were they liberated than the duchies were treated as conquered territory, not consulted about their wishes and simply temporarily shared out between Austria and Prussia. Prussia had once again become a great power, was no longer the fifth wheel on the European coach, there was good progress in the fulfilment of the bourgeoisie's national aspirations, but the way chosen was not the liberal way of the bourgeoisie. Thus the Prussian military conflict continued; it even became ever

[a] Austro-Italo-French war of 1859.— *Ed.*

more insoluble. The second scene of Bismarck's principal state action[364] had to be ushered in.

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The Danish war had fulfilled part of the national aspirations. Schleswig-Holstein was "liberated", the Warsaw and London Protocols, in which the great powers had put their seal to Germany's humiliation by Denmark,[365] had been torn to pieces and thrown at their feet, and they had not uttered a sound. Austria and Prussia were together again, their armies had been victorious shoulder to shoulder, and no potentate any longer thought of encroaching upon German territory. Louis Napoleon's cravings for the Rhine, which hitherto had been pushed into the background by other business—the Italian revolution, the Polish insurrection, the Danish complications, and finally the Mexican campaign,[366] had no longer any chance of being satisfied. For a conservative Prussian statesman, the world situation left nothing to be desired from the foreign policy point of view. But up to 1871 Bismarck had never been conservative, and was less so now than ever, and the German bourgeoisie was not at all satisfied.

The German bourgeoisie continued to labour under the familiar contradiction. On the one hand, it demanded exclusive political power for itself, i.e., for a ministry elected from among the liberal majority in the Chamber; and such a ministry would have had to wage a ten-year struggle against the old system represented by the crown before its new position of power was finally recognised; hence ten years of internal weakness. On the other hand, it demanded a revolutionary transformation of Germany, which could be effected only by force, that is, only by an actual dictatorship. At the same time, however, the bourgeoisie since 1848 had demonstrated again and again, at every decisive moment, that it did not possess even a trace of the energy needed to accomplish either of these demands, let alone both. In politics there are only two decisive powers: organised state power, the army, and the unorganised, elemental power of the popular masses. Since 1848, the bourgeoisie had forgotten how to appeal to the masses; it feared them even more than it did absolutism. The bourgeoisie by no means had the army at its disposal. But Bismarck had.

In the continuing conflict over the constitution, Bismarck fought the parliamentary demands of the bourgeoisie to the uttermost.

But he burned with the desire to carry out its national demands, since they coincided with the innermost strivings of Prussian policy. If he now once more carried out the will of the bourgeoisie against its will, if he made the unification of Germany, in the way it had been formulated by the bourgeoisie, a reality, the conflict would be resolved of itself, and Bismarck would inevitably become the idol of the bourgeoisie as Louis Napoleon, his model, before him.

The bourgeoisie supplied him with the aim, Louis Napoleon with the method of achieving the aim; only the implementation was left to Bismarck.

To place Prussia at the head of Germany, it was necessary not only to expel Austria forcibly from the German Confederation[367] but also to subjugate the small states. In Prussian politics, such a refreshing jolly war[368] of Germans against Germans had been the principal means of territorial expansion since the year dot, no worthy Prussian feared such a thing. Just as little misgiving could be caused by the other principal means: alliance with foreign countries against Germans. The out-and-out support of sentimental Alexander of Russia was certain. Louis Napoleon had never denied Prussia's Piedmont mission in Germany and was quite willing to make a deal with Bismarck. If he could get what he wanted peacefully, in the form of compensation, so much the better. Besides, he did not need to get the entire left bank of the Rhine at one go, if he received it piecemeal, a strip for every new advance by Prussia, it would be less conspicuous, and yet lead to his goal. In the eyes of the French chauvinists, a square mile on the Rhine was worth the whole of Savoy and Nice. Negotiations were therefore held with Louis Napoleon, and his permission was obtained for Prussia's expansion and the establishment of a North German Confederation.[369] That he was offered in return a strip of German territory on the Rhine is beyond doubt[a]; in the negotiations with Govone, Bismarck mentioned Rhenish Bavaria and Rhenish Hesse.[370] This he subsequently denied, to be sure. But a diplomat, particularly a Prussian diplomat, has his own views of the limits within which one is justified, and even obliged, to do a little violence to the truth. After all, truth is a woman and therefore, according to Junker ideas, actually likes it. Louis Napoleon was not so stupid as to allow Prussian expansion without a Prussian promise of compensation; Bleichröder would sooner

[a] Engels' note in pencil in the margin: "Division—the Main line" (see p. 484 of this volume).— *Ed.*

have lent money without interest. But he did not know his Prussians well enough and was anyway cheated in the end. In short, after he had been assured, an alliance was formed with Italy for the "stab in the heart".

The philistines in various countries were highly indignant over this expression. But quite wrongly. *À la guerre comme à la guerre.*[a] The expression only proves that Bismarck recognised the German civil war of 1866 for what it was, namely, a *revolution,* and that he was willing to carry out that revolution with revolutionary methods. And he did. His treatment of the Federal Diet was revolutionary. Instead of submitting to the constitutional decision of the federal authorities, he accused them of violating the federal treaty—a pure pretext—broke up the Confederation, proclaimed a new constitution with a Reichstag elected by revolutionary universal suffrage and finally expelled the Federal Diet from Frankfurt.[371] In Upper Silesia he formed a Hungarian legion under revolutionary General Klapka and other revolutionary officers whose soldiers, Hungarian deserters and prisoners of war, were to fight against their own legitimate commander-in-chief.[b] After the conquest of Bohemia, Bismarck issued a proclamation "To the Population of the Glorious Kingdom of Bohemia", whose content was likewise a hard slap in the face for legitimist traditions.[c] After peace had already been established, he seized for Prussia all the possessions of three legitimate German federal monarchs and a free city[372] without the slightest qualms of his Christian and legitimist conscience over the fact that these princes who had been expelled were no less rulers "by the grace of God" than the King of Prussia. In short, it was a complete revolution, carried out with revolutionary means. We are naturally the last to reproach him for this. On the contrary, what we reproach him with is that he was not revolutionary enough, that he was no more than a Prussian revolutionary from above, that he began a whole revolution in a position where he was able to carry through only half a revolution, that, once having set out on the course of annexations, he was content with four miserable small states.

And then Napoleon the Little[373] came limping up behind and demanded his reward. During the war he could have taken whatever he wanted on the Rhine, for not only the land, but also

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[a] That's how it is in wartime.— *Ed.*

[b] Engels' note in pencil in the margin: "Oath!"— *Ed.*

[c] O. Bismarck, "Ansprache an die Einwohner des glorreichen Königreichs Böhmen".— *Ed.*

the fortresses, were exposed. He hesitated; he expected a protracted war that would wear out both sides; instead, there was a series of quick blows, and Austria was crushed in eight days. At first he demanded what Bismarck had named to General Govone as a possible compensation—Rhenish Bavaria and Rhenish Hesse, including Mainz. But Bismarck could not give that up now, even if he had wanted to. The enormous successes of the war had imposed new obligations on him. At a time when Prussia set itself up as the protector of Germany, it could not sell off Mainz, the key to the Middle Rhine, to a foreign country. Bismarck refused. Louis Napoleon was willing to bargain; he now demanded only Luxemburg, Landau, Saarlouis and the Saarbrücken coal basin. But this too Bismarck no longer could relinquish, the more so as Prussian territory too was claimed. Why had Louis Napoleon not seized it himself at the right moment, when the Prussians were stuck in Bohemia? In short, nothing came of the compensation to France. Bismarck knew this meant a future war with France, but that was exactly what he wanted.

In the peace treaties, Prussia did not exploit the favourable situation as ruthlessly this time as it had usually done in moments of success. There were sound reasons for it. Saxony and Hesse-Darmstadt were included in the new North German Confederation and, if only for this reason, were spared. Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden had to be treated with indulgence, because Bismarck had to sign secret offensive and defensive agreements with them. And Austria—had not Bismarck rendered it a service by smashing the traditional entanglement that tied it to Germany and Italy? Had he not just now secured for it the long-sought position of an independent great power? Had he not actually known better than Austria itself what was good for it when he had defeated it in Bohemia? Did not Austria, if properly handled, have to realise that the geographical position, the mutual entanglement of the two countries made the Germany united by Prussia its essential and natural ally?

Thus it came about that, for the first time in its existence, Prussia was able to surround itself with a halo of generosity, and this because it threw a sprat to catch a salmon.

Not only Austria had been beaten on the Bohemian battlefields—the German bourgeoisie had been beaten as well. Bismarck had shown it that he knew better what was good for it than it knew itself. A continuation of the conflict by the Chamber was out of the question. The liberal pretensions of the bourgeoisie had been buried for a long time to come, but its national demands

were receiving fuller satisfaction with every passing day. Bismarck fulfilled its national programme with a speed and accuracy that surprised the bourgeoisie itself, and having proved to it palpably, *in corpore vili*—on its own vile body—its limpness and listlessness, and thus its complete inability to implement its own programme, he also played the magnanimous towards it and applied to the now actually disarmed Chamber to exempt the government from indemnity for its anti-constitutional rule during the conflict. Touched to tears, it agreed to this now harmless step forward.[374]

Nevertheless, the bourgeoisie was reminded that it too had been defeated at Königgrätz.[375] The constitution of the North German Confederation was modelled on the pattern of the Prussian constitution as authentically interpreted during the conflict. Refusal of taxes was prohibited. The federal Chancellor and his ministers were appointed by the King of Prussia, independently of any parliamentary majority. The army's independence of parliament, secured by the conflict, was stressed also in respect of the Reichstag. But the members of this Reichstag had the exalting awareness that they had been elected by universal suffrage. They were also reminded of this, and most unpleasantly, by the sight of the two socialists[a] sitting among them. For the first time socialist deputies, representatives of the proletariat, appeared in a parliamentary body. This was an ominous sign.

At first all this was unimportant. The thing now was to advance and exploit the new unity of the Empire, at least that of the North, in the interests of the bourgeoisie and thereby to lure the South German bourgeois too into the new Confederation. The constitution of the Confederation took the economically most important legislative relations away from the competency of the individual states and transferred them to the Confederation: common civil law and freedom of movement within the entire Confederation, right of residence, legislation on the crafts, trade, customs tariffs, navigation, coins, weights and measures, railways, waterways, post and telegraphs, patents, banks, all foreign policy, consulates, commercial protection abroad, sanitary police, the penal code, judicial proceedings, etc. Most of these questions were now regulated quickly, and in general liberally, by law. And then,—at long last!—the ugliest abuses of the small state system were abolished, those that, on the one hand, most obstructed capitalist development, and, on the other, the Prussian craving for power. But that was no world-historic achievement, as the

[a] August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht.—*Ed.*

bourgeoisie, now turning chauvinistic, trumpeted forth, but a very, very long overdue and imperfect imitation of what the French Revolution had already done seventy years before, and what all other civilised states had introduced long ago. Instead of boasting, it would have been more appropriate to feel ashamed that "highly educated" Germany was the last to do it.

Throughout all this period of the North German Confederation, Bismarck willingly obliged the German bourgeoisie in the economic field and, even in questions affecting the competency of parliament, showed the iron fist only in a velvet glove. This was his best period; at times one could entertain doubts about his peculiarly Prussian narrow-mindedness, his inability to realise that there are in world history other and more powerful forces than armies and diplomatic intrigues relying on them.

Bismarck not only knew that the peace with Austria was pregnant with war with France, he also desired it. This war was to provide the means of perfecting the Prusso-German Empire demanded of him by the German bourgeoisie.* The attempts gradually to transform the Customs Parliament[376] into a Reichstag and thus to draw the southern states little by little into the North German Confederation were wrecked by the loud call of the South German deputies: No extension of competence! The mood of the governments, which had only recently been defeated on the field of battle, was no more favourable. Only fresh, palpable proof that the Prussians were not only much more powerful than these governments, but also powerful enough to protect them, that is, a new all-German war, could rapidly bring the moment of surrender. Besides, after the victories, it seemed as though the dividing line on the Main,[377] upon which Bismarck and Louis Napoleon had secretly agreed beforehand, had after all been imposed on the Prussians by the latter; in that case, a union with South Germany was a violation of the formally recognised right of the French this time to the fragmentation of Germany, was a *casus belli.*

In the meantime, Louis Napoleon had to search for a patch of

* Even before the Austrian war, when Bismarck was interpellated by a minister from a central German state on his demagogic German policy, he replied that, despite all the rhetoric, he would expel Austria from Germany and break up the Confederation.—"And the central states, do you think they will quietly look on?"—"You, the central states, you will do nothing."—"And what is to become of the Germans then?"—"I shall then lead them to Paris and unite them there." (Told in Paris before the Austr[ian] war by the said minister from the central state and published during that war in the *Manchester Guardian* by Mrs. Crawford, its Paris correspondent.)

land somewhere near the German border which he could pocket as compensation for Sadowa. When the new North German Confederation was formed, it did not include Luxemburg, now a state in personal union with Holland, but otherwise completely independent. Besides, it was approximately as much Frenchified as Alsace and was far more attracted to France than to Prussia, which it positively hated.

Luxemburg is a striking example of what Germany's political wretchedness since the Middle Ages had made of the German-French borderlands, the more striking because Luxemburg had until 1866 nominally belonged to Germany. Up to 1830, it had been composed of a French and a German part, but the German part had already at this early stage submitted to superior French culture. The German Emperors of Luxemburg were French in both language and education. Since its incorporation in the Burgundy lands (1440), Luxemburg, like all the other Low Countries, had remained in a purely nominal union with Germany; even admission to the German Confederation in 1815 changed nothing. After 1830, the French part and a substantial portion of the German part were annexed to Belgium. However, in what remained of German Luxemburg, everything continued on a French footing: the courts, the authorities, the Chamber, everything was conducted in French, all public and private documents, all business accounts were kept in French, in secondary schools the teaching was in French, French was and remained the language of the educated—naturally a French that groaned and panted with the High German sound shift. In short, two languages were spoken in Luxemburg: a Rhenish Franconian popular dialect, and French, while High German remained a foreign tongue. The Prussian garrison in the capital made things worse rather than better. This may be shameful for Germany but it is true. And this voluntary Frenchification of Luxemburg showed the similar processes in Alsace and German Lorraine in their true light.

The King of Holland,[a] the sovereign Duke of Luxemburg, who could well use hard cash, was willing to sell the duchy to Louis Napoleon. The people of Luxemburg would have undoubtedly approved their incorporation into France—the proof was their attitude in the war of 1870. From the standpoint of international law, Prussia could not object, since it had itself brought about

[a] William III.—*Ed.*

Luxemburg's exclusion from Germany. Its troops were stationed in the capital as the federal garrison of a federal German fortress; as soon as Luxemburg ceased to be a federal fortress, they no longer had any right to be there. Why did they not go home, why could Bismarck not agree to Luxemburg's annexation?

Simply, because the contradictions in which he had become entangled were now becoming evident. As far as Prussia was concerned, *before* 1866 Germany was simply territory for annexation, which had to be shared with foreign countries. *After* 1866, Germany became a Prussian *protectorate,* which had to be defended against foreign claws. True, in the interests of Prussia, whole parts of Germany had been excluded from the newly founded so-called Germany. But the right of the German nation to its own territory now imposed on the Prussian Crown the duty of preventing the incorporation of these parts of the former federal territory into foreign states, of leaving the door open for their future union with the new Prussian-German state. It was for this reason that Italy had stopped at the Tyrolean border,[378] and that Luxemburg could not be allowed to go over to Louis Napoleon. A truly revolutionary government could declare this openly. Not so the royal Prussian revolutionary, who had finally succeeded in transforming Germany into a "geographic concept" in Metternich's sense.[379] From the point of view of international law, he had placed himself in the wrong, and the only way he could get out of the difficulty was to use his favourite students' beerhouse interpretation of international law.

If in so doing he was not simply laughed to scorn, it was only because, in the spring of 1867, Louis Napoleon was not at all ready for a big war. Agreement was reached at the London Conference. The Prussians evacuated Luxemburg, the fortress was demolished, the duchy was declared neutral.[380] The war was again postponed.

Louis Napoleon could not rest content with this. He was willing to tolerate the aggrandisement of Prussia only if he received corresponding compensation on the Rhine. He was willing to content himself with little, he had even reduced that, but he had received nothing, had been cheated of everything. However, a Bonapartist Empire in France could exist only if it shifted the border gradually towards the Rhine and if France—in fact or at least in imagination—remained the arbiter of Europe. The border shift had failed, France's position as arbiter was already threatened, the Bonapartist press loudly called for revenge for Sadowa—if Louis Napoleon wanted to keep his throne, he had to

remain true to his role and to obtain by force what he had not obtained amicably, in spite of services rendered.

So eager war preparations, both diplomatic and military, were begun by both sides. And then the following diplomatic event occurred:

Spain was looking for a candidate for the throne. In March[a] Benedetti, the French ambassador in Berlin, picked up rumours about claims for the throne advanced by Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern; he was charged by Paris to investigate the matter. Under-Secretary of State von Thile gave him his word of honour that the Prussian Government knew nothing about it. During a visit to Paris, Benedetti learned the Emperor's opinion: "This candidature is essentially anti-national, the country will not tolerate it, it must be prevented."

Incidentally, Louis Napoleon showed thereby that he was already down at heel. Indeed, what could have been a better "revenge for Sadowa" than a Prussian Prince on the Spanish throne, the unavoidable annoyances resulting therefrom, Prussian involvement in the internal relations between the Spanish parties, perhaps even a war, a defeat of the dwarfish Prussian navy, in any case a Prussia looking quite grotesque in the eyes of Europe? But Louis Bonaparte could no longer afford this spectacle. His credit was already so much shaken that he was committed to the traditional point of view according to which a German sovereign on the Spanish throne would place France between two fires and was therefore intolerable—a childish point of view after 1830.

So Benedetti visited Bismarck to receive further information and to make France's point of view clear to him (May 11, 1869). He did not learn anything particularly conclusive from Bismarck. Bismarck, however, did learn from Benedetti what he wanted to find out: that Leopold's nomination as candidate would mean an immediate war with France. This gave Bismarck the opportunity to have the war break out when it suited him.

In actual fact, Leopold's candidature emerged once again in July 1870 and immediately led to war, no matter how much Louis Napoleon resisted it. He not only saw that he had walked into a trap, he also knew that his emperorship was at stake, and he had little confidence in the faithfulness of his Bonapartist Brimstone gang,[381] who assured him that everything was ready, up to the last button on the men's spats, and even less confidence in their military and administrative skill. But the logical consequences of

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[a] 1869.—*Ed.*

his own past drove him towards destruction; his hesitation itself hastened his doom.

Bismarck, on the other hand, was not only quite ready for action militarily, but this time he actually had the people behind him, who saw only one fact behind the diplomatic lies spread by both sides: namely, that this was a war not only for the Rhine, but for national existence. For the first time since 1813, reserves and the *Landwehr*[382] once again flocked to the colours, eager and keen to fight. It did not matter how all this had come about, did not matter what piece of the two-thousand-year-old national heritage Bismarck had, off his own back, promised or not promised to Louis Napoleon: the thing was to teach foreign countries once and for all that they were not to interfere in German internal affairs and that it was not Germany's mission to support Louis Napoleon's shaky throne by ceding German territory. All class differences vanished in the face of this national upsurge, all cravings of the South German courts for a Confederation of the Rhine, all attempts at a restoration of the expelled monarchs melted away.

Both sides had sought allies. Louis Napoleon had Austria and Denmark for sure, and was pretty certain of Italy. Bismarck had Russia. But Austria, as always, was not ready and could not participate effectively before September 2—and on September 2 Louis Napoleon was a prisoner of war of the Germans, and Russia had informed Austria that it would attack Austria the moment Austria attacked Prussia. In Italy, however, Louis Napoleon's double-dealing policy wrought vengeance upon him: he had sought to set national unity in motion, but at the same time to protect the Pope from that same national unity; he had kept Rome occupied with troops he now needed at home but which he could not withdraw without obliging Italy to respect the sovereignty of Rome and the Pope; this in turn prevented Italy from supporting him. Denmark finally got the order from Russia to behave itself.

The rapid blows of the German armies from Spicheren and Wörth to Sedan[383] were more decisive in localising the war than all diplomatic negotiations. Louis Napoleon's army was defeated in every battle and finally three-quarters of it went to Germany as prisoners of war. This was not the fault of the soldiers, who had fought bravely enough, but of the leaders and the administration. But if, like Louis Napoleon, one had created an empire with the help of a gang of rascals, if this empire had been maintained for eighteen years merely by abandoning France to the exploitation of that gang, if all decisive posts in the state had been filled with people belonging to that very gang and all subordinate posts with

their accomplices, then one should not engage in a life-and-death battle if one does not wish to be left in the lurch. The entire edifice of the empire that had been the admiration of European philistines for years crashed in less than five weeks; the revolution of September 4[384] simply cleared away the rubble, and Bismarck, who had gone to war to found a small German empire, turned out one fine morning to be the founder of a French republic.

According to Bismarck's own proclamation,[385] the war was waged not against the French people, but against Louis Napoleon. With his fall, all the reasons to wage war thus disappeared. The government of September 4, which was not so naïve in other matters, also deluded itself to this effect, and was greatly surprised when Bismarck suddenly showed himself a Prussian Junker.

No one in the world hates the French as much as the Prussian Junkers do. For not only had the hitherto tax-exempled Junker suffered heavily during the chastisement by the French (from 1806 to 1813), which he had brought about by his own arrogance; but, what was much worse, the godless French had so confused the people by their outrageous revolution that the old grandeur of the Junkers had for the most part been laid to rest even in old Prussia, so that year in and year out the poor Junkers had to struggle hard to keep what was left of it, and many of them were already debased to a shabby sponging nobility. For this, revenge had to be taken on France, and the Junker officers in the army under Bismarck's leadership took care of that. Lists of war contributions exacted by France from Prussia were drawn up and the size of the war contributions imposed on the various towns and departments was calculated accordingly, but naturally taking into account France's much greater wealth. Foodstuffs, forage, clothes, footwear, etc., were requisitioned with demonstrative ruthlessness. A mayor in the Ardennes who said that he would be unable to make the deliveries was given twenty-five strokes of the cane without further ado, as the Paris government officially proved. The francs-tireurs, who acted in such strict accordance with the Prussian Landsturm Statute of 1813[386] as if they had made a special study of it, were shot without mercy on the spot. The stories about clocks being sent home are also true, even the *Kölnische Zeitung* reported it. Only, according to Prussian views, those clocks were not stolen but were ownerless, having been found in abandoned villas near Paris and confiscated for the dear ones at home. Thus, the Junkers under Bismarck's leadership saw to it that, despite the irreproachable behaviour of the men and many of the officers, the specifically Prussian character of the war

was preserved, and that this was driven home to the French, who held the entire army responsible for the mean spitefulness of the Junkers.

And yet it fell to the lot of these same Junkers to render to the French people an honour unequalled in history. When all attempts to make the enemy relieve the siege of Paris had failed, all the French armies had been beaten back. Bourbaki's last great counter-attack on the German lines of communication had proved abortive, when all Europe's diplomats had abandoned France to its fate without stirring a finger, emaciated Paris finally had to surrender.[387] The hearts of the Junkers beat faster when they were finally able to enter the godless nest in triumph and take complete vengeance upon the Paris arch-rebels—the complete vengeance which had been denied to them by Alexander of Russia in 1814 and Wellington in 1815; now they could chastise the seat and homeland of the revolution to their hearts' content.

Paris surrendered, it paid a contribution of 200 millions; the forts were handed over to the Prussians; the garrison laid down its arms before the victors and delivered up its field guns; the cannons on the wall around Paris were taken off their gun-carriages; all means of resistance belonging to the state were handed over piece by piece. But the actual defenders of Paris, the National Guard, the armed Parisians, remained untouched, for nobody expected them to give up their arms, either their rifles or their cannons*; and so that it would be known to the whole world that the victorious German army had respectfully stopped before the armed people of Paris, the victors did not enter Paris, but were content to be allowed to occupy for three days the Champs Élysées, a public park, protected, guarded and enclosed on all sides by the sentries of the Parisians! No German soldier set foot in Paris City Hall or stepped on the boulevards, and the few that were admitted to the Louvre to admire the art treasures there had to ask for permission, otherwise it would have been a violation of the surrender. France was defeated, Paris starved, but the Parisian people had by their glorious past ensured respect for themselves, so that no victor dared to demand their disarmament, no one had the courage to enter their homes or to desecrate by a triumphal march those streets which had been the battle-ground of so many

* It was these cannons, which belonged to the National Guard and not to the state, and had therefore not been handed over to the Prussians, that Thiers ordered on March 18, 1871, to be *stolen* from the Parisians, thereby bringing about the rebellion that gave rise to the Commune.

revolutions. It was as if the upstart German Emperor[a] was taking off his hat before the living revolutionaries of Paris, as once his brother[b] had before the dead March fighters of Berlin,[388] and as if the entire German army stood behind him presenting arms.

But that was the only sacrifice Bismarck had to make. Under the pretext that there was no government in France which could sign a peace treaty with him—which was just as true as it was false both on September 4 and on January 28—he had exploited his successes in the truly Prussian manner, to the very last drop, and declared himself ready for peace only after France had been completely crushed. In the peace treaty itself, once again according to the good old Prussian custom, he "ruthlessly exploited the favourable situation". Not only was the unheard-of sum of 5,000 millions in war reparations extorted, but also two provinces, Alsace and German Lorraine, with Metz and Strasbourg were torn away from France and incorporated into Germany.[389] With this annexation, Bismarck appeared for the first time as an independent politician, who was no longer implementing in his own way a programme dictated from outside, but translating into action the products of his own brain, thereby committing his first enormous blunder.[c]

Alsace had been conquered in the main by France during the Thirty Years' War.[390] Richelieu had thereby abandoned Henry IV's sound principle:

> "Let the Spanish language belong to the Spaniard, the German to the German, but where French is spoken, that belongs to me."

In so doing, Richelieu relied on the principle of the natural border on the Rhine, the historical border of old Gaul. This was folly; but the German Empire, which incorporated the French-speaking parts of Lorraine and Belgium and even of the Franche-Comté, had no right to reproach France with annexing German-speaking lands. And even if, in 1681, in peacetime, Louis XIV had seized Strassburg with the help of a pro-French party in the city,[391] it is not for Prussia to be indignant over it, having raped the Free Imperial town of Nuremberg in exactly the

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[a] William I.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[c] The text below, up to the words "Bismarck had reached his objective" (see this volume, p. 497), is printed according to the *Neue Zeit,* Vol. I, No. 25, 1895-96, pp. 772-76, because the relative manuscript pages are missing.—*Ed.*

same way in 1796, although, to be sure, without having been called by a Prussian party, and without success.*

Lorraine was sold off to France in 1735 by Austria under the Peace of Vienna,[394] and in 1766 it definitively became a French possession. For centuries it had belonged to the German Empire only nominally, its dukes were French in every respect and had almost always been allied with France.

Before the French Revolution, there were a great many small domains in the Vosges which behaved in respect to Germany like estates of the empire subject immediately to the emperor, but recognised the sovereignty of France. They derived benefits from this hermaphroditic position, and if the German Empire tolerated it instead of calling these sovereigns to account, it could not complain when France, by virtue of its sovereignty, extended protection to the people of these territories against the expelled princes.

On the whole, before the Revolution, this German territory was practically not Frenchified at all. German remained the school and official language internally, at least in Alsace. The French Government patronised the German provinces, which now, after many years of war devastation, had seen no more enemies on their lands since the early 18th century. The German Empire, perpetually torn by internal wars, was really not in a state to attract the Alsatians back to the maternal bosom; at least they now

* Louis XIV is reproached with having set loose his "reunion chambers"[392] in times of peace on German areas which did not belong to him. This is something that could not be said of the Prussians even by those who had the most malicious envy of them. On the contrary. After they had signed a separate peace with France in 1795[393] in direct violation of the imperial constitution and had rallied their equally renegade small neighbours behind the demarcation line around themselves in the first North German Confederation, they utilised, for attempts to annex territory in Franconia, the tight spot the South German estates of the empire found themselves in as a result of continuing the war alone in alliance with Austria. They set up reunion chambers according to Louis' pattern in Ansbach and Bayreuth (which were then Prussian), raised claims to a series of neighbouring areas, in comparison with which Louis' legal pretexts were absolutely convincing; and when the Germans then retreated after a beating and the French moved into Franconia, the Prussian saviours occupied the Nuremberg area, including the suburbs up to the city wall, and tricked the Nuremberg philistines, who were trembling with fear, into signing a treaty (September 2, 1796) which subjected the city to Prussian rule on the condition that Jews would never be allowed within the city walls. Immediately after that, Archduke Charles took the offensive again, beat the French at Würzburg on September 3 and 4, 1796, and the attempt to knock the idea of Prussia's German mission into the heads of the Nurembergers thus went up in smoke.

had peace and quiet, knew how things stood, and the philistines who set the tone accepted the inscrutable ways of the Lord; after all, their fate was not unprecedented: the people of Holstein were also under foreign, Danish, rule.

Then came the French Revolution. What Alsace and Lorraine never dared hope to receive from Germany was given to them by France as a gift. The feudal fetters were smashed. The serf, the peasant liable to statute labour, became a free man, in many cases the free owner of his farmstead and field. In the towns, patrician rule and guild privileges disappeared. The nobility was driven out. In the lands of the small princes and lords, the peasants followed the example of their neighbours and expelled the sovereigns, government chambers and nobility, and declared themselves free French citizens. In no other part of France did the people join the revolution with greater enthusiasm than in the German-speaking part. And when the German Empire now declared war on the revolution, when the Germans, who not only continued to carry their own chains submissively, but also allowed themselves to be used once again to force the old servitude upon the French and to re-impose on the Alsatian peasants the feudal lords they had only just expelled, now it was all over with the Germanism of the people of Alsace and Lorraine, it was then that they learned to hate and despise the Germans; it was then that the *Marseillaise* was written in Strasbourg, set to music and first sung by the Alsatians, and that the German French, despite their language and their past, fused on hundreds of battlefields in the struggle for the revolution into a single nation with the native French.

Did not the great revolution work the same miracle with the Flemings of Dunkirk, the Celts of Brittany, the Italians of Corsica? And if we complain that this happened also with Germans, does it not show that we have forgotten our entire history, which made this possible? Have we forgotten that the whole left bank of the Rhine, which took only a passive part in the revolution, was pro-French when the Germans again moved in in 1814, and continued to be pro-French up to 1848, when the revolution rehabilitated the Germans in the eyes of the people on the Rhine? Have we forgotten that Heine's enthusiasm for the French and even his Bonapartism were but the echo of general public feeling on the left bank of the Rhine?

When the allies invaded in 1814 it was precisely in Alsace and German Lorraine that they encountered the most resolute hostility, the most vehement resistance on the part of the people themselves; because here the danger was felt of having to become

German again. And yet, at that time, practically only German was spoken there. But when the danger of being torn from France had passed, when an end had been put to the annexationist appetites of the romantic Germanophile chauvinists, the awareness appeared that a closer fusion with France was needed also in respect of the language, and then the Frenchification of schools was introduced, similar to that voluntarily established by the Luxemburgers in their land. Yet the transformation proceeded very slowly; only the present generation of the bourgeoisie is really Frenchified, while the peasants and workers speak German. The position is approximately the same as in Luxemburg: literary German has been ousted by French (except partially in the pulpit), but the German folk dialect has lost ground only at the language border and is used as the popular language to a much greater extent than in most parts of Germany.

Such was the land that Bismarck and the Prussian Junkers, backed by the revival of chauvinistic romanticism which seems inseparable from all German problems, undertook to make German again. The wish to make Strasbourg, the homeland of the *Marseillaise,* German, was just as absurd as to make Nice, the homeland of Garibaldi, French. But in Nice, Louis Napoleon at least observed decency and put the question of annexation to the vote—and the manoeuvre succeeded. Quite apart from the fact that for very good reasons the Prussians detest such revolutionary measures—never and nowhere has there been an instance when the mass of the people wanted to be annexed to Prussia—it was known only too well that precisely here the entire population was more closely attached to France than were the native French themselves. And thus this arbitrary act was performed by brute force. It was an act of revenge against the French Revolution; one of the parts which had been fused with France precisely as a result of the revolution was torn away.

It is true that militarily there was a purpose behind this annexation. Metz and Strasbourg gave Germany an enormously strong line of defence. So long as Belgium and Switzerland remain neutral a massive French offensive can be begun only on the narrow strip of land between Metz and the Vosges; and besides, Koblenz, Metz, Strasbourg and Mainz form the strongest and biggest quadrangle of fortresses in the world. However, half of this quadrangle of fortresses, as is the case also with the Austrian fortresses in Lombardy,[395] lies in enemy territory and forms citadels there to keep the population down. Moreover, to complete the quadrangle, it was necessary to seize areas beyond the

German-language border and to annex a quarter of a million of native Frenchmen as well.

The great strategic advantage is thus the only reason that can justify the annexation. However, can this gain in any way be compared with the harm it wrought?

The Prussian Junker refused to reckon with the great moral disadvantage at which the young German Empire had placed itself by openly and frankly declaring brutal force its guiding principle. Quite the reverse, refractory subjects forcibly kept in check are a necessity for him; they are proof of increased Prussian might; and essentially he has never any others. But he was obliged to reckon with the political consequences of the annexation. And these were clearly apparent. Even before the annexation came into force, Marx loudly drew the world's attention to it in a circular of the International: *The annexation of Alsace and Lorraine makes Russia the arbiter of Europe.*[a] And this has been repeated often enough by the Social-Democrats from the rostrum of the Reichstag until the truth of this statement was finally acknowledged by Bismarck himself in his Reichstag speech of February 6, 1888, by his whimpering before the almighty Tsar,[b] the lord of war and peace.[396]

Actually, the situation was clear as daylight. To tear from France two of its fanatically patriotic provinces, meant to push it into the arms of anybody who held out hope for their return and to make it an eternal enemy. However, Bismarck, in this respect a worthy and conscientious representative of the German philistines, demanded that the French renounce Alsace and Lorraine not only constitutionally but also morally, and in addition wanted them to be downright glad that these two parts of revolutionary France "had been returned to the old Fatherland", of which they simply would not hear. Unfortunately, however, the French did not do so, any more than the Germans morally renounced the left bank of the Rhine during the Napoleonic wars, even though this area had not the slightest longing to return to them at that time. As long as the people of Alsace and Lorraine wish to return to France, it must and will strive to regain them and look for means and, hence, also for allies, to achieve this. And the natural ally against Germany is Russia.

If the two biggest and strongest nations of the Western

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[a] See K. Marx, *Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War* (present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 266-68).—*Ed.*

[b] Alexander III.—*Ed.*

continent neutralise each other by their hostility, if there is just one bone of contention between them which incites them to fight each other, the advantage lies only with Russia, whose hands are so much the freer; Russia who is all the less hampered by Germany in its cravings for conquest, the more it can count on unconditional support from France. And was it not Bismarck who placed France in a position where it has to beg for Russia's alliance, where it must willingly abandon Constantinople to Russia, if only the latter promises the return of France's lost provinces? And if in spite of all that the peace has been kept for seventeen years, is there any other reason than that the *Landwehr* system introduced in France and Russia requires at least sixteen, and after the most recent German improvements even twenty-five years, to provide the full number of trained age groups? And now that the annexation has for seventeen years been the dominant factor in all European politics, is it not at this moment the main cause of the crisis threatening the continent with war? Remove this single fact and peace is assured!

The Alsatian bourgeois who speaks French with an Upper German accent, that hybrid fop who puts on greater French airs than a Frenchman through and through, who looks down on Goethe and goes into raptures over Racine, who still cannot rid himself of his bad conscience over his secret Germanness and exactly for that reason has to run down everything German, so that he does not even suit the role of a mediator between Germany and France, this Alsatian bourgeois is indeed a despicable fellow, be he a Mulhouse industrialist or a Paris journalist. But what has made him what he is if not the history of Germany over the past three hundred years? And were not until quite recently almost all Germans abroad, especially the merchants, genuine Alsatians, who denied their German origin, who masochistically imposed on themselves the alien nationality of their new homeland and thus voluntarily made themselves certainly no less ridiculous than the Alsatians, who at least are more or less compelled by circumstances to do so? In England, for example, the German merchants who immigrated between 1815 and 1840 had almost without exception become Anglicised, spoke almost exclusively English among themselves, and even today, for example, at the Manchester Stock Exchange, there are old German philistines running around who would give half their wealth if they could pass for true Englishmen. Only in 1848 did a change set in, and since 1870, when even lieutenants of the reserve have been coming to England and Berlin has been sending

its contingents here, the former servility is being ousted by a Prussian arrogance which makes us no less ridiculous abroad.

Perhaps the union with Germany has been made more palatable to the Alsatians since 1871? On the contrary. They have been placed under a dictatorship, whereas next door, in France, there was a republic. A pedantical and obtrusive Prussian Landrat system has been introduced, in comparison with which the interference of the notorious French system of prefects, regulated by strict laws, is solid gold. An end has been rapidly put to the last remnants of freedom of the press, right of assembly and association, refractory town councils have been dissolved and German bureaucrats appointed mayors. On the other hand, however, there has been flattery of the "notables", that is, the thoroughly Frenchified nobles and bourgeois, and their exploiter interests have been protected against the peasants and workers, who, although not well disposed towards Germany, at least spoke German, and formed the only element with which an attempt at reconciliation was possible. And what has been the result? That in February 1887, when the whole of Germany allowed itself to be intimidated and put a majority of the Bismarck cartel[397] in the Reichstag, Alsace and Lorraine elected nothing but staunch Frenchmen and rejected everyone who was suspected of even the mildest pro-German sympathies.

Now, if the Alsatians are as they are, have we the right to be angry over that? Not at all. Their opposition to the annexation is an historical fact, which should not be deleted but explained. And this is the time for us to ask ourselves: how numerous and how colossal were the historical sins Germany committed before such a feeling could assert itself in Alsace? And how must our new German Empire look from the outside if, after seventeen years of re-Germanisation attempts, the Alsatians unanimously tell us: Spare us that? Have we the right to imagine that two successful campaigns and seventeen years of Bismarckian dictatorship suffice to do away with all the effects of three hundred years of ignominious history?

Bismarck had reached his objective. His new Prussian-German Empire had been publicly proclaimed at Versailles, in Louis XIV's splendid state hall.[398] France lay defenceless at his feet; defiant Paris, which he himself had not dared touch, had been incited to the Commune uprising by Thiers and then crushed by the soldiers of the former imperial army returning from captivity. All European philistines admired Bismarck as they had admired Louis Napoleon, Bismarck's model, in the fifties. With Russian help

Germany had become the first power in Europe, and all power in Germany was concentrated in the hands of dictator Bismarck. Everything depended now on what he could do with that power. If he had so far carried out the unification plans of the bourgeoisie, even if not by bourgeois, but by Bonapartist methods, this matter was pretty well settled, and he now had to make his own plans, to show what ideas his own head could produce, and these had to find expression in the internal consolidation of the new empire.

German society is composed of big landowners, peasants, bourgeois, petty bourgeois and workers; these can in turn be grouped into three major classes.

*Big landed property* is in the hands of a few magnates (notably in Silesia) and a large number of middle landowners, most highly concentrated in the old Prussian provinces east of the Elbe. It is these Prussian Junkers who more or less dominate the entire class. They are farmers themselves, inasmuch as they entrust the cultivation of their estates for the most part to managers, and in addition they often own distilleries and beet-sugar refineries. Wherever possible, their landed property is entailed upon the family by right of primogeniture. The younger sons join the army or the civil service, so that an even less wealthy petty nobility made up of officers and civil servants clings to this petty landowning gentry and is supplemented over and above this through the intensive promotion of nobles from among the higher officers and civil servants of bourgeois origin. On the lower fringes of all this bunch of nobles, there naturally emerges a numerically parasitic nobility, a noble Lumpenproletariat, which lives on debts, dubious gambling, pushiness, begging and political espionage. This society in its totality forms the Prussian Junkers and is one of the main pillars of the old Prussian state. However, the landowning core of the Junkers themselves has feet of clay. The duty to live up to its status becomes more and more expensive every day; the support for the younger sons through the lieutenant and assessor stage, the marrying off of daughters, all costs money; and since all these are duties which push all other considerations into the background, it is no wonder that incomes are insufficient, that IOUs have to be signed or even mortgages have to be taken out. In short, Junkers stand always on the brink of the abyss; every misfortune, be it a war, a bad harvest or a commercial crisis, threatens to push them over the brink; and it is therefore no wonder that for well over a hundred years now they have been saved from ruin only by all sorts of state assistance and, in fact,

continue to exist only thanks to state assistance. This artificially preserved class is doomed to extinction and no state assistance can keep it alive in the long run. But with it disappears also the old Prussian state.

The *peasant* is an element that is little active politically. In so far as he himself is a proprietor, he is going ever more to ruin because of the unfavourable production conditions of the allotment peasants, who cannot engage in stock-breeding, having been deprived of the old common Mark or community pasture. As a tenant, his position is even worse. Petty peasant production presupposes a predominantly subsistence economy, the money economy seals its doom. Hence the growing indebtedness, the massive expropriation by mortgage creditors, the recourse to domestic industry, so as just not to be evicted from his native soil. Politically, the peasantry is mainly indifferent or reactionary: on the Rhine it is ultramontane because of its old hatred for the Prussians, in other areas it is particularist or protestant-conservative. Religious feeling still serves this class as an expression of social or political interests.

We have already spoken about the *bourgeoisie.* From 1848 it experienced an unprecedented economic advance. Germany had increasingly participated in the vast expansion of industry following the 1847 commercial crisis, an expansion brought about by the establishment during that period of ocean steam navigation, the enormous extension of the railways and the discovery of gold in California and Australia.[399] It was precisely the bourgeoisie's striving for the abolition of the obstructions to trade caused by the system of small states and for a position on the world market equal to that of its foreign competitors that gave the impetus to Bismarck's revolution. Now that French milliards were flooding Germany, a new period of feverish enterprise opened up before the bourgeoisie, during which it—by a crash on a national German scale[400]—proved for the first time that it had become a big industrial nation. The bourgeoisie was even then the economically most powerful class among the population; the state had to obey its economic interests; the revolution of 1848 had given the state an external constitutional form within which the bourgeoisie could rule also politically and develop its domination. Yet it was still far from actual political domination. In the conflict it had not triumphed over Bismarck; the resolution of the conflict through the revolutionising of Germany from above had also taught it that, for the time being, the executive power was dependent on it, at best, in a very indirect form, that it could neither appoint nor

dismiss ministers, nor dispose of the army. Besides, it was cowardly and limp in the face of an energetic executive power, but so were the Junkers, though this was more excusable in the case of the bourgeoisie because of the direct economic antagonism between it and the revolutionary industrial working class. There was no doubt, however, that it gradually had to destroy the Junkers economically, that it was the only propertied class which retained any prospect of a future.

The petty bourgeoisie consisted first of all of remnants of the medieval craftsmen, who had been represented on a larger scale in backward Germany than in the rest of Western Europe; secondly, of the down-and-out bourgeois; and thirdly, of elements of the propertyless population who had risen to be small merchants. With the expansion of large-scale industry, the existence of the entire petty bourgeoisie lost the last remnants of stability; changes of occupation and periodic bankruptcies became the rule. This once so stable class which had been the nucleus of the German philistines fell from its previous contentment, docility, servility, piety and respectability into wild decadence and dissatisfaction with the fate allotted to it by God. The remnants of the craftsmen loudly demanded the restoration of guild privileges, some of the others became mildly democratic men of Progress,[401] some even grew closer to the Social-Democrats and in some instances directly joined the working-class movement.

Finally the workers. The agricultural workers, at least those in the east, still lived in semi-serfdom and could not be taken into account. On the other hand, Social-Democracy had made enormous progress among the urban workers and grew to the extent that large-scale industry proletarianised the mass of the people and thereby exacerbated the class antagonism between the capitalists and the workers. Even if the Social-Democratic workers were for the time being still divided into two parties fighting each other,[402] since the publication of Marx's *Capital,* the fundamental differences between them had nevertheless as good as disappeared. Orthodox Lassalleanism, with its exclusive demand for "producer associations assisted by the state", was gradually dying away and proved less and less capable of forming the nucleus of a Bonapartist state socialist workers' party. The harm wrought in this respect by individual leaders was rectified by the common sense of the masses. The union of the two Social-Democratic tendencies, which was delayed almost exclusively because of questions of personalities, was certain to take place in the near future. But even during the split and despite it, the movement was

strong enough to strike fear into the industrial bourgeoisie and to paralyse it in its struggle against the government, which was still independent of it; and after 1848 the German bourgeoisie never rid itself of the Red spectre again.

The class structure underlay the party structure in parliament and in the provincial diets. The large landed estate owners and part of the peasantry formed the mass of the conservatives[403]; the industrial bourgeoisie provided the Right wing of the bourgeois liberals—the National Liberals,[404] while the Left wing comprised the weakened democratic party or so-called Party of Progress, which consisted of petty bourgeois supported by a section of the bourgeoisie and the workers. Finally, the workers had their independent party, the Social-Democrats, which included also some petty bourgeois.

A person in Bismarck's position and with Bismarck's past, having a certain understanding of the state of affairs, could not but realise that the Junkers, such as they were, were not a viable class, and that of all the propertied classes only the bourgeoisie could lay claim to a future, and that therefore (disregarding the working class, an understanding of whose historical mission we cannot expect of him) his new empire promised to be all the stabler, the more he succeeded in laying the groundwork for its gradual transition to a modern bourgeois state. Let us not expect of him what was impossible under the circumstances. An immediate transition to a parliamentary government with the decisive power vested in the Reichstag (as in the British House of Commons) was neither possible nor even advisable at that moment; Bismarck's dictatorship in parliamentary forms must have seemed to him still necessary for the time being; and we do not in the least blame him for allowing it to survive for the moment, we only ask what good it was. And there can be hardly any doubt that paving the way for a system corresponding to the British constitution was the only way which offered the prospect of ensuring a sound basis and quiet internal development for the new empire. By leaving the larger part of the Junkers, who were beyond salvation anyway, to their inevitable doom, it still seemed possible to forge what remained of them with new elements into a class of independent big landowners, which would become only the ornamental élite of the bourgeoisie; a class to which the bourgeoisie, even at the height of its power, would have to grant state representation and with it the most lucrative positions and enormous influence. By granting the bourgeoisie political concessions, which anyway could not be withheld for any length of time

(such at least should have been the argument from the standpoint of the propertied classes), by granting it these concessions gradually, and even in small and rare doses, the new empire would at least be steered onto a course which would enable it to catch up with the other, politically far more advanced West-European states, to shake off the last remnants of feudalism and philistine traditions which still held a firm grip on the bureaucracy, and, above all, to stand on its own feet by the time its by no means youthful founders departed this life.

This was not even difficult. Neither the Junkers nor the bourgeoisie possessed even average energy. The Junkers had proved this in the past sixty years, during which the state had constantly done what was best for them despite the opposition of these Don Quixotes. The bourgeoisie, also made malleable by its long prehistory, was still licking the wounds left by the conflict; Bismarck's successes since then had further broken its power of resistance, and fear of the dangerously growing working-class movement did the rest. Under these circumstances, it would not have been difficult for the man who had put the national aspirations of the bourgeoisie into practice to keep any pace he desired in implementing its political demands, which were in any case very modest on the whole. It was only necessary for him to be clear about the objective.

From the point of view of the propertied classes, this was the only rational way. From the standpoint of the working class, it was obvious that it was already too late to set up bourgeois rule on a lasting basis. Large-scale industry, and with it the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, took shape in Germany at a time when the proletariat could enter the political scene as an independent force almost simultaneously with the bourgeoisie, that is, at a time when the struggle of the two classes has already begun, before the bourgeoisie has conquered exclusive or predominant political power. But even if the time for quiet and firmly founded rule by the bourgeoisie had already passed in Germany, it was still the best policy in 1870, in the interests of the propertied classes in general, to steer towards this bourgeois rule. For only in this way was it possible to abolish the abundant remnants of the times of decaying feudalism which continued to flourish in legislation and administration; only thus was it possible gradually to transplant all the achievements of the Great French Revolution to Germany, in short, to cut off Germany's overlong old pigtail, and to place it deliberately and irrevocably on the road of modern development, to adapt its political system to its industrial development. When

ultimately the unavoidable struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat set in, it would at least proceed under normal circumstances, in which everyone would realise what was at stake, and not in the state of disorder, obscurity, conflicting interests and perplexity we saw in Germany in 1848. The only difference being that this time the perplexity would be exclusively on the side of the propertied classes; the working class knows what it wants.

As things stood in Germany in 1871, a man like Bismarck was indeed compelled to pursue a policy of manoeuvring between the various classes. And to that extent he is not open to reproach. It is only a question of what aim that policy pursued. If, irrespective of the pace, it was aimed consciously and resolutely at the ultimate rule of the bourgeoisie, it was in harmony with historical development as far as this could be possible at all from the standpoint of the propertied classes. If it aimed at preserving the old Prussian state, at gradually Prussianising Germany, it was reactionary and doomed to ultimate failure. But if it only pursued the aim of preserving Bismarck's rule, it was Bonapartist and bound to meet the same end as all Bonapartism.

* * *

The immediate task was the imperial constitution. The material available was the constitution of the North German Confederation, on the one hand, and the treaties with the South German states,[405] on the other. The factors which were to help Bismarck draw up the imperial constitution were, on the one hand, the dynasties represented in the Federal Council[406] and, on the other, the people represented in the Reichstag. The North German constitution and treaties limited the claims of the dynasties. The people, on the other hand, were entitled to a considerable increase in their share of political power. They had won independence from foreign interference and unification—as far as there could be any talk of unification—on the battlefield; they were also above all called upon to decide what use this independence was to be put to, how this unification would be implemented in detail and how it would be used. And even if the people recognised the legal grounds underlying the North German constitution and treaties, that in no way prevented them from being granted a greater share of power in the new constitution than they had in the old one. The Reichstag was the only body which in reality represented the

new "unity". The greater the voice of the Reichstag and the freer the imperial constitution as compared with the constitutions of the individual provinces, the more the new Empire would have to fuse into one, the more the Bavarian, Saxon and Prussian would have to dissolve into the German.

To anyone who could see further than his nose this should have been obvious. But Bismarck held quite a different opinion. On the contrary, he used the patriotic frenzy unleashed after the war precisely to persuade the majority in the Reichstag to renounce not only an extension but even a clear definition of the rights of the people and to confine itself to a simple reproduction in the imperial constitution of the legal basis underlying the North German constitution and the treaties. All attempts of the small parties to give expression in it to the freedoms of the people were dismissed, including even the proposal of the Catholic Centre to incorporate in it the articles of the Prussian constitution guaranteeing the freedom of the press, of assembly and association and the independence of the Church. The Prussian constitution, twice and thrice pruned as it was, was still more liberal than the imperial constitution. Taxes were voted not yearly, but once and for all, "by law", so that any refusal of taxes by the Reichstag was out of the question. Thus there was applied to Germany the Prussian doctrine, inconceivable to the non-German constitutional world, according to which the elected assembly had only the right on paper to refuse expenditure, while the government pocketed the revenue in hard cash. While the Reichstag was thus robbed of the most effective means of power and reduced to the humble position of the Prussian chamber smashed up by the revisions of 1849 and 1850, by Manteuffelism, by conflict and by Sadowa,[407] the Federal Council, in effect, enjoyed full power, which the old Federal Diet possessed nominally, and enjoyed it in reality, for it had been freed of the fetters that paralysed the Federal Diet. The Federal Council had a decisive voice not only in legislation, alongside the Reichstag; it was also the supreme administrative body, inasmuch as it issued instructions on the implementation of imperial laws, and in addition decides "on shortcomings, which emerge during the implementation of imperial laws...", i.e., on shortcomings, which in other civilised countries can be remedied only by a new law (Article 7, Para. 3, which greatly resembles a legal trap).[a]

Thus, Bismarck sought his main support not in the Reichstag,

[a] *Verfassung des Deutschen Reichs* in *Reichs-Gesetzblatt*, 1871, p. 68.—*Ed.*

which represented national union, but in the Federal Council, which represented particularistic disunion. He lacked the courage—he, who set himself up as champion of the national idea—to place himself genuinely at the head of the nation or of its representatives; democracy was to serve him and not he democracy; rather than rely on the people, he relied on underhand dealings behind the scenes, on his ability to scrape together a majority, even if a refractory one, in the Federal Council by means of diplomacy, the stick and the carrot. The pettiness of his conception, the baseness of his view point that is revealed to us here is quite in keeping with the man's character as we have got to know him so far. Yet, it is suprising that his great successes were unable to make him rise above himself even for a moment.

However, in the prevailing situation, the point was to provide a single firm pivot for the entire imperial constitution, namely, the imperial chancellor. The Federal Council had to be put in a position in which there could be no other responsible executive authority than that of the imperial chancellor and which would exclude the admissibility of responsible imperial ministers. Indeed, every attempt to normalise the imperial administration by setting up a responsible ministry was regarded as an encroachment upon the rights of the Federal Council and encountered insurmountable resistance. As was soon discovered, the constitution was "made to measure" for Bismarck. It was a further step on the road to his absolute personal dictatorship by balancing the parties in the Reichstag and the particularist states in the Federal Council—a further step on the road to Bonapartism.

By the way, it cannot be said that the new imperial constitution—except for certain concessions to Bavaria and Württemberg—was a direct step back. But that is the best that can be said of it. The economic requirements of the bourgeoisie were in the main satisfied, its political claims—inasmuch as it still made any—encountered the same obstructions as during the conflict.

Inasmuch as it still made political claims! For it cannot be denied that with the National Liberals these claims had shrunk to a very modest size and continued to shrink with every passing day. These gentlemen, far from demanding that Bismarck should facilitate their collaboration with himself, were much more concerned with doing his will wherever possible, and quite often also where it was impossible, or should have been impossible. Bismarck despised them and no one can blame him for that—but were his Junkers one iota better or braver?

The next field in which unity of the Empire had to be introduced, the monetary system, was normalised by the currency and banking laws passed between 1873 and 1875. The introduction of gold currency was a considerable step forward; but it was introduced only hesitantly and waveringly and is not firmly established even today. The monetary system adopted—the third of a taler under the name of "mark", a unit with a decimal division—had been suggested by von Soetbeer at the close of the thirties; the actual unit was the gold twenty-mark piece. By a barely noticeable change in value it could have been made absolutely equivalent either to the British sovereign, or the gold twenty-five franc coin, or the gold U.S. five-dollar piece, and linked to one of the three great currency systems on the world market. Preference was given to a separate currency system, thereby needlessly complicating trade and exchange calculations. The laws on imperial treasury notes and banks[408] limited the fraudulent transactions in securities of small states and their banks and, taking into consideration the crash which had in the meantime occurred, they were marked by a definite timidity, which well became Germany, still inexperienced in this field. But here, too, the economic interests of the bourgeoisie were on the whole adequately looked after.

Finally there came an agreement on uniform laws. The resistance of the central German states to the extension of imperial competency to the material civil law was overcome, but the civil code is still in the making, while the penal code, criminal and civil procedural law, trade laws, the regulations concerning insolvency and the judicial system have been unified everywhere. The abolition of the motley formal and material legal standards in force in the small states was in itself an urgent requirement for ongoing bourgeois development, and this abolition is the chief merit of the new laws—a far greater one than their content.

The English jurist relies on a legal heritage that has preserved a good part of the old German freedoms through the Middle Ages, that does not know the police state, which was nipped in the bud by the two revolutions of the 17th century and has attained its apex in two centuries of uninterrupted development of civic freedom. The French jurist relies on the Great Revolution, which, after the total destruction of feudalism and absolutist police tyranny, translated the economic conditions of life in the newly created modern society into the language of legal standards in the classical code of law proclaimed by Napoleon. But on what legal basis do our German jurists rely? Nothing but the several-century-

long process of disintegration of medieval survivals, a passive process mostly spurred on by blows from the outside, and not complete to this day; an economically backward society, which the feudal Junker and the guild master haunt as ghosts looking for a new body; a legal order in which police tyranny—even though the arbitrary justice of the princes disappeared in 1848—is daily tearing new holes. The fathers of the new imperial legal codes have come from this worst of all bad schools, and their work is quite in keeping with it. Apart from the purely legal aspect, political freedom has fared pretty badly in these codes of law. If the Schöffen courts[409] provide the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie with a means of collaborating in repressing the working class, the state insures itself as much as possible against the danger of renewed bourgeois opposition by curtailing the rights of the jury. The political paragraphs of the penal code are frequently enough as vague and elastic as if they were made to measure for the present imperial court, and the latter for them. That the new legal codes are a step forward in comparison with Prussian common law[410]—today even Stoecker would be unable to concoct something as horrible as that code, even if he were to allow himself to be cut back. But the provinces which had until now lived under French law feel very acutely the difference between the blurred copy and the classic original. It was the defection of the National Liberals from their programme that made possible this strengthening of state power at the expense of civic freedoms, this first actual retrogression.

Mention should also be made of the imperial press law.[411] The penal code had essentially already regulated the material law pertaining to it; the elaboration of identical formal stipulations for the whole Empire and the abolition of the security and stamp duties existing here and there were therefore the main content of the law and at the same time the only progress it achieved.

To enable Prussia once again to prove itself a model state, so-called self-government was introduced there. The aim was to abolish the most objectionable survivals of feudalism and yet, actually, to leave, as far as possible, everything as before. The District Ordinance[412] served this purpose. The manorial police power of the Junkers had become an anachronism. In name—as a feudal privilege—it was abolished, but actually it was reinstituted by the establishment of independent rural districts [*Gutsbezirke*], within which the landowner either himself acts as rural superintendent [*Gutsvorsteher*] with the powers of the head of the rural community [*Gemeindevorsteher*] or appoints this rural superinten-

dent, and was also reinstituted by transferring the entire police power and police jurisdiction of the administrative district [*Amtsbezirk*] to a district head [*Amtsvorsteher*], a position held in rural areas almost exclusively by big landowners, of course, who in this way got the rural community under their thumb. The feudal privileges of individuals were abolished, but the absolute power connected with these privileges was handed over to the entire class. By similar conjuring the English big landowners turned into justices of the peace and the masters of the rural administration, the police and the lower courts of justice and thereby secured for themselves under a new, modernised title further enjoyment of all essential positions of authority, which they could not continue to hold under the old feudal form. That, however, is the only similarity between the English and the German "self-government". I should like to see the British Minister who would dare to propose in Parliament that elected local officials should be approved and that in case an undesired person is elected he be forcibly replaced by an appointee of the state, to propose that there be civil servants vested with the authority of the Prussian Landrats, heads of administrative districts and *Oberpräsidents,* to propose that the administrative bodies of the state be given the right provided for in the District Ordinance to intervene in the internal affairs of communities, small administrative units and districts and to exclude recourse to law, a thing unheard of in English-speaking countries and in English law, but which we see on almost every page of the District Ordinance. And while the district diets [*Kreistag*] as well as the provincial diets are still composed in the old feudal manner of representatives of the three estates: the big landowners, towns and rural communities, in England even a highly conservative ministry moves a bill transferring the whole county administration to authorities elected by almost universal suffrage.[413]

The draft of the District Ordinance for the six Eastern provinces (1871) was the first indication that Bismarck did not even think of allowing Prussia to dissolve into Germany, but that, on the contrary, he sought to further strengthen these six provinces—the stronghold of the old Prussianism. Under changed names, the Junkers retained all essential positions of power, while the helots of Germany, the rural workers of these areas—such as farmhands and day labourers—remained in their former *de facto* serfdom and were admitted to only two public functions: to become soldiers and to serve the Junkers as voting stock during the elections to the Reichstag. The service Bismarck rendered

thereby to the revolutionary socialist party is indescribable and deserves the warmest gratitude.

What can be said about the mindlessness of the Junker gentlemen, who, like spoiled children, kicked against the District Ordinance which had been drawn up exclusively in their interest, in the interest of perpetuating their feudal privileges, under a somewhat modernised name? The Prussian House of Lords, or, to be more exact, of Junkers, at first rejected the draft, which had already been delayed for a whole year, and adopted it only after 24 new "Lords" had been nominated peers. Once again the Prussian Junkers proved that they were petty, obdurate, incorrigible reactionaries, unable to form the nucleus of a large independent party which could play an historical role in the life of the nation, as the English big landowners actually do. Thereby they proved their complete lack of sense; Bismarck had only to reveal to the world their equally complete lack of character, and a little pressure, pertinently applied, would transform them into a Bismarck Party *sans phrase.*

The Kulturkampf[414] was to serve this purpose.

The implementation of the Prussian-German imperial plan should have evoked a counterblow—the amalgamation into a single party of all anti-Prussian elements, which had previously relied on separate development. These motley elements found a common banner in Ultramontanism.[415] The rebellion of sound common sense even among the numerous orthodox Catholics against the new dogma of Papal infallibility, on the one hand, the destruction of the Papal States, and the so-called imprisonment of the Pope in Rome,[416] on the other, forced all the pugnacious forces of Catholicism to rally closer together. Thus even during the war, in the autumn of 1870, the specifically Catholic Party of the Centre was formed in the Prussian Provincial Diet; in the first German Reichstag of 1871 it had only 57 seats, but it grew stronger with every new election until it had over 100 representatives. It was composed of very heterogeneous elements. In Prussia its main strength consisted of the Rhenish small peasants, who still regarded themselves as "Prussians under duress", then of the Catholic big landowners and peasants of the Westphalian bishoprics of Münster and Paderborn, and of the Catholic Silesians. The second great contingent was provided by the South German Catholics, notably the Bavarians. It was not so much the Catholic religion that formed the Centre Party's strength, but the fact that it represented the antipathies of the popular masses against everything specifically Prussian, now laying claim to domination

over Germany. These antipathies were particularly strong in the Catholic areas; and then there were sympathies with Austria, now expelled from Germany. In harmony with these two popular trends, the Centre was decidedly particularist and federalist.

This essentially anti-Prussian character of the Centre was immediately recognised by the other small Reichstag factions, which were anti-Prussian for local reasons, not, as the Social-Democrats, for national and general reasons. Not only the Catholic Poles and Alsatians, but even the Protestant Guelphs[417] allied themselves closely with the Centre. And even though the bourgeois liberal factions could never fully understand the actual character of the so-called Ultramontanes, they did have an inkling of the true state of affairs when they styled the Centre "unpatriotic" and "hostile to the Empire"....[a]

[a] The manuscript breaks off here.—*Ed.*

# [ROUGH DRAFT OF THE PREFACE TO *THE ROLE OF FORCE IN HISTORY*][418]

The following piece of writing is an off-print of part of my work *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science,* and contains three chapters that bear the title "The Force Theory".[419] They have already appeared separately in Russian translation, namely as the appendix to the Russian edition of my *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific.*[a] Only the most necessary changes and addenda have been made in the present edition. But an off-print requires a special addendum.

If I publish in German a pamphlet on "the role of force in history", the German reader has every right to expect me not to conceal my views on the very important part played by force precisely in his own history over the past thirty years. For this reason I have added a fourth section, which naturally covers only the main points. Perhaps I shall be granted the opportunity one day to deal with the subject in more detail.

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[a] Ф. Энгельс, *Развитіе научнаго соціализма,* Женева, 1884.— *Ed.*

# PREFACE TO THE 1888 ENGLISH EDITION OF THE *MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY*

The "Manifesto" was published as the platform of the "Communist League", a working-men's association, first exclusively German, later on international, and, under the political conditions of the Continent before 1848, unavoidably a secret society. At a Congress of the League, held in London in November, 1847, Marx and Engels were commissioned to prepare for publication a complete theoretical and practical party programme. Drawn up in German, in January, 1848, the manuscript was sent to the printer in London a few weeks before the French revolution of February 24th. A French translation was brought out in Paris, shortly before the insurrection of June, 1848. The first English translation, by Miss Helen Macfarlane, appeared in George Julian Harney's "Red Republican," London, 1850. A Danish and a Polish edition had also been published.

The defeat of the Parisian insurrection of June, 1848,—the first great battle between Proletariat and Bourgeoisie—drove again into the background, for a time, the social and political aspirations of the European working-class. Thenceforth, the struggle for supremacy was again, as it had been before the revolution of February, solely between different sections of the propertied class; the working class was reduced to a fight for political elbow-room, and to the position of extreme wing of the Middle-class Radicals. Wherever independent proletarian movements continued to show signs of life, they were ruthlessly hunted down. Thus the Prussian police hunted out the Central Board of the Communist League, then located in Cologne. The members were arrested, and, after eighteen months' imprisonment, they were tried in October, 1852. This celebrated "Cologne Communist trial" lasted from October 4th till November 12th; seven of the prisoners were sentenced to terms of imprisonment in a fortress, varying from three to six

*PRICE TWOPENCE.*

# *MANIFESTO*

OF THE

# COMMUNIST PARTY,

By KARL MARX, and FREDERICK ENGELS.

**Authorized English Translation.**

*EDITED AND ANNOTATED BY FREDERICK ENGELS,*
1888.

London:
WILLIAM REEVES, 185, FLEET STREET, E.C.

Title page of the English edition
of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*

years. Immediately after the sentence, the League was formally dissolved by the remaining members.[a] As to the "Manifesto," it seemed thenceforth to be doomed to oblivion.

When the European working-class had recovered sufficient strength for another attack on the ruling classes, the International Working Men's Association sprang up. But this association, formed with the express aim of welding into one body the whole militant proletariat of Europe and America, could not at once proclaim the principles laid down in the "Manifesto." The International was bound to have a programme broad enough to be acceptable to the English Trades' Unions, to the followers of Proudhon in France, Belgium, Italy, and Spain, and to the Lassalleans* in Germany. Marx, who drew up this programme to the satisfaction of all parties, entirely trusted to the intellectual development of the working-class, which was sure to result from combined action and mutual discussion. The very events and vicissitudes of the struggle against Capital, the defeats even more than the victories, could not help bringing home to men's minds the insufficiency of their various favourite nostrums, and preparing the way for a more complete insight into the true conditions of working-class emancipation. And Marx was right. The International, on its breaking up in 1874, left the workers quite different men from what it had found them in 1864. Proudhonism in France, Lassalleanism in Germany were dying out, and even the Conservative English Trades' Unions, though most of them had long since severed their connexion with the International, were gradually advancing towards that point at which, last year at Swansea, their President[b] could say in their name "Continental Socialism has lost its terrors for us."[c] In fact: the principles of the "Manifesto" had made considerable headway among the working men of all countries.

The Manifesto itself thus came to the front again. The German text had been, since 1850, reprinted several times in Switzerland,

* Lassalle personally, to us, always acknowledged himself to be a disciple of Marx, and, as such, stood on the ground of the "Manifesto". But in his public agitation, 1862-64, he did not go beyond demanding co-operative workshops supported by State credit.

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[a] See this volume, p. 329.— *Ed.*

[b] W. Bevan.— *Ed.*

[c] [W. Bevan's speech at the Twentieth Annual Trades' Union Congress at Swansea on September 6, 1887.] In: W. Binning, "The Trades' Union Congress", *The Commonweal*, No. 88, September 17, 1887.— *Ed.*

England and America. In 1872, it was translated into English in New York, where the translation was published in *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*.[420] From this English version, a French one was made in "Le Socialiste" of New York. Since then at least two more English translations, more or less mutilated, have been brought out in America, and one of them has been reprinted in England. The first Russian translation, made by Bakounine, was published at Herzen's "Kolokol" office in Geneva, about 1863[421]; a second one, by the heroic Vera Zasulitch, also in Geneva, 1882.[422] A new Danish edition is to be found in "Socialdemokratisk Bibliothek," Copenhagen, 1885; a fresh French translation in "Le Socialiste," Paris, 1886. From this latter a Spanish version was prepared and published in Madrid, 1886.[423] The German reprints are not to be counted, there have been twelve altogether at the least. An Armenian translation, which was to be published in Constantinople some months ago, did not see the light, I am told, because the publisher was afraid of bringing out a book with the name of Marx on it, while the translator declined to call it his own production. Of further translations into other languages I have heard, but have not seen them. Thus the history of the Manifesto reflects, to a great extent, the history of the modern working-class movement; at present it is undoubtedly the most wide-spread, the most international production of all Socialist Literature, the common platform acknowledged by millions of working men from Siberia to California.

Yet, when it was written, we could not have called it a *Socialist* Manifesto. By Socialists, in 1847, were understood, on the one hand, the adherents of the various Utopian systems: Owenites in England, Fourierists in France,[424] both of them already reduced to the position of mere sects, and gradually dying out; on the other hand, the most multifarious social quacks, who, by all manners of tinkering, professed to redress, without any danger to capital and profit, all sorts of social grievances in both cases men outside the working class movement, and looking rather to the "educated" classes for support. Whatever portion of the working class had become convinced of the insufficiency of mere political revolutions, and had proclaimed the necessity of a total social change, that portion, then, called itself Communist. It was a crude, rough-hewn, purely instinctive sort of Communism; still, it touched the cardinal point and was powerful enough amongst the working class to produce the Utopian Communism, in France, of Cabet, and in Germany, of Weitling. Thus, Socialism was, in 1847, a middle-class movement, Communism a working class movement.

Socialism was, on the Continent at least, "respectable"; Communism was the very opposite. And as our notion, from the very beginning, was that "the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself,"[a] there could be no doubt as to which of the two names we must take. Moreover, we have, ever since, been far from repudiating it.

The "Manifesto" being our joint production, I consider myself bound to state that the fundamental proposition which forms its nucleus, belongs to Marx. That proposition is: that in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; that the history of these class struggles form a series of evolution in which, nowadays, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class—the bourgeoisie—without, at the same time, and once and for all emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class-distinctions and class-struggles.

This proposition which, in my opinion, is destined to do for history what Darwin's theory has done for biology, we, both of us, had been gradually approaching for some years before 1845. How far I had independently progressed towards it, is best shown by my "Condition of the Working Class in England."* But when I again met Marx at Brussels, in spring, 1845, he had it ready worked out, and put it before me, in terms almost as clear as those in which I have stated it here.

From our joint preface to the German edition of 1872, I quote the following:—

"However much the state of things may have altered during the last 25 years, the general principles laid down in this Manifesto are, on the whole, as correct to-day as ever. Here and there some

* *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844.* By Frederick Engels. Translated by Florence K. Wischnewetzky, New York, Lovell—London. W. Reeves. 1888.

[a] K. Marx, "Provisional Rules of the Association" (present edition, Vol. 20, p. 14; see also Vol. 23, p. 3.).—*Ed.*

detail might be improved. The practical application of the principles will depend, as the manifesto itself states, everywhere and at all times, on the historical conditions for the time being existing, and, for that reason, no special stress is laid on the revolutionary measures proposed at the end of Section II. That passage would, in many respects, be very differently worded to-day. In view of the gigantic strides of Modern Industry since 1848,[a] and of the accompanying improved and extended[b] organisation of the working-class, in view of the practical experience gained, first in the February revolution, and then, still more, in the Paris Commune, where the proletariat for the first time held political power for two whole months, this programme has in some details become antiquated. One thing especially was proved by the Commune, viz., that 'the working-class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.' (See "The Civil War in France; Address of the General Council of the International Working-men's Association," London, Truelove, 1871, p. 15, where this point is further developed.)[c] Further, it is self-evident, that the criticism of socialist literature is deficient in relation to the present time, because it comes down only to 1847; also, that the remarks on the relation of the Communists to the various opposition-parties (Section IV.), although in principle still correct, yet in practice are antiquated, because the political situation has been entirely changed, and the progress of history has swept from off the earth the greater portion of the political parties there enumerated.

"But then, the Manifesto has become a historical document which we have no longer any right to alter."[d]

The present translation is by Mr. Samuel Moore, the translator of the greater portion of Marx's *Capital*. We have revised it in common, and I have added a few notes explanatory of historical allusions.

London, 30th January, 1888 *Frederick Engels*

First published in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, London, 1888

Reproduced from the book

[a] Instead of "since 1848", the 1872 edition has "in the past twenty-five years".— *Ed.*

[b] Instead of "of the accompanying improved and extended", the 1872 edition has "with its advancing party".— *Ed.*

[c] See present edition, Vol. 22, p. 328.— *Ed.*

[d] K. Marx and F. Engels, "Preface to the 1872 German Edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*" (present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 174-75).— *Ed.*

# [PREFACE TO THE PAMPHLET *LUDWIG FEUERBACH AND THE END OF CLASSICAL GERMAN PHILOSOPHY*[a]]

In the preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* Berlin, 1859, Karl Marx relates how the two of us in Brussels in the year 1845 decided "to set forth together our conception"—the materialist conception of history which was elaborated mainly by Marx—"as opposed to the ideological one of German philosophy, in fact to settle accounts with our former philosophical conscience. The intention was carried out in the form of a critique of post-Hegelian philosophy. The manuscript,[b] two large octavo volumes, had long ago reached the publishers in Westphalia when we were informed that owing to changed circumstances it could not be printed. We abandoned the manuscript to the gnawing criticism of the mice all the more willingly since we had achieved our main purpose—self-clarification."[c]

Since then more than forty years have elapsed and Marx died without either of us having had an opportunity of returning to the subject. We have expressed ourselves in various places regarding our relation to Hegel, but nowhere in a comprehensive, coherent account. To Feuerbach, who after all in some respects forms an intermediate link between Hegelian philosophy and our conception, we never returned.

In the meantime the Marxian world outlook has found adherents far beyond the boundaries of Germany and Europe and

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[a] See this volume, pp. 353-98.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology.*—*Ed.*

[c] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 264).—*Ed.*

in all the literary languages of the world. On the other hand, classical German philosophy is experiencing a kind of rebirth abroad, especially in England and Scandinavia, and even in Germany itself people appear to be getting tired of the pauper's broth of eclecticism which is ladled out in the universities there under the name of philosophy.

In these circumstances a short, coherent account of our relation to Hegelian philosophy, of how we proceeded, as well as of how we departed, from it, appeared to me to be increasingly necessary. Equally, a full acknowledgement of the influence which Feuerbach, more than any other post-Hegelian philosopher, had upon us during our *Sturm und Drang* period,[425] appeared to me to be an undischarged debt of honour. I therefore willingly seized the opportunity when the editors of the *Neue Zeit* asked me for a critical review of Starcke's book on Feuerbach. My contribution was published in that journal in the fourth and fifth numbers of 1886 and appears here in revised form as a separate publication.

Before sending these lines to press I have once again ferreted out and looked over the old manuscript of 1845-46. The section dealing with Feuerbach is not completed. The finished portion consists of an exposition of the materialist conception of history which proves only how incomplete our knowledge of economic history still was at that time. It contains no criticism of Feuerbach's doctrine itself; for the present purpose, therefore, it was useless. On the other hand, in an old notebook of Marx's I have found the eleven theses on Feuerbach printed here as an appendix.[a] These are notes hurriedly scribbled down for later elaboration, absolutely not intended for publication, but invaluable as the first document in which is deposited the brilliant germ of the new world outlook.

London, February 21, 1888

*Frederick Engels*

First published in F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausgang der klassischen deutschen Philosophie,* Stuttgart, 1888

Printed according to the book

[a] K. Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach".—*Ed.*

# PROTECTION AND FREE TRADE*

## PREFACE TO THE PAMPHLET: KARL MARX, *SPEECH ON THE QUESTION OF FREE TRADE*[426]

Towards the end of 1847, a Free Trade Congress was held at Brussels.[427] It was a strategic move in the Free Trade campaign then carried on by the English manufacturers. Victorious at home, by the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846,[428] they now invaded the continent in order to demand, in return for the free admission of continental corn into England, the free admission of English manufactured goods to the continental markets. At this Congress, Marx inscribed himself on the list of speakers; but, as might have been expected, things were so managed that before his turn came on, the Congress was closed. Thus, what Marx had to say on the Free Trade question, he was compelled to say before the Democratic Association of Brussels, an international body of which he was one of the vice-presidents.[429]

The question of Free Trade or Protection being at present on the order of the day in America, it has been thought useful to publish an English translation of Marx' speech, to which I have been asked to write an introductory preface.

"The system of protection," says Marx, "was an artificial means of manufacturing manufacturers, of expropriating independent laborers, of capitalizing the national means of production and subsistence, and of forcibly abbreviating the transition from the

* Preface (translated by the author) to the English edition of Marx's speech on the question of free trade, being published in New York (German by E. Bernstein and K. Kautsky, Appendix II to Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy,* Stuttgart, Dietz, p. 188 ff.). Since this preface is intended primarily for an American audience, the German policy on protective tariffs could be mentioned only in passing. However, the author will doubtless soon find an occasion to deal with the question specifically with respect to Germany. [*Engels' note to the German translation.*]

medieval to the modern mode of production."* Such was protection at its origin in the seventeenth century, such it remained well into the nineteenth century. It was then held to be the normal policy of every civilized state in Western Europe. The only exceptions were the smaller states of Germany and Switzerland—not from dislike of the system, but from the impossibility of applying it to such small territories.

It was under the fostering wing of protection that the system of modern industry—production by steam-moved machinery—was hatched and developed in England during the last third of the eighteenth century. And, as if tariff-protection was not sufficient, the wars against the French Revolution helped to secure to England the monopoly of the new industrial methods. For more than twenty years English men-of-war cut off the industrial rivals of England from their respective colonial markets, while they forcibly opened these markets to English commerce. The secession of the South American colonies from the rule of their European mother-countries, the conquest by England of all French and Dutch colonies worth having, the progressive subjugation of India, turned the people of all these immense territories[a] into customers for English goods. England thus supplemented the protection she practised at home, by the Free Trade she forced upon her possible customers abroad; and, thanks to this happy mixture of both systems, at the end of the wars,[b] in 1815, she found herself, with regard to all important branches of industry, in possession of the virtual monopoly of the trade of the world.

This monopoly was further extended and strengthened during the ensuing years of peace. The start which England had obtained during the war, was increased from year to year; she seemed to distance more and more all her possible rivals. The exports of manufactured goods in ever growing quantities became indeed a question of life and death to that country. And there seemed but two obstacles in the way: the prohibitive or protective legislation of other countries, and the taxes upon the import of raw materials and articles of food in England.

Then the Free Trade doctrines of classical political economy—of the French physiocrats[430] and their English successors, Adam Smith and Ricardo—became popular in the land of John Bull.

* Karl Marx, *Capital.* London: Swan Sonnenschein Co., 1886 [1887], p. 782.

[a] In the German translation: "turned all these countries".—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the Napoleonic Wars of 1796-1814.—*Ed.*

Protection at home was needless to manufacturers who beat all their foreign rivals, and whose very existence was staked on the expansion of their exports. Protection at home was of advantage to none but the producers of articles of food and other raw materials, to the agricultural interest, which, under then existing circumstances in England, meant the receivers of rent, the landed aristocracy. And this kind of protection was hurtful to the manufacturers. By taxing raw materials it raised the price of the articles manufactured from them; by taxing food, it raised the price of labor; in both ways, it placed the British manufacturer at a disadvantage as compared with his foreign competitor. And, as all other countries sent to England chiefly agricultural products, and drew from England chiefly manufactured goods, repeal of the English protective duties on corn and raw materials generally, was at the same time an appeal to foreign countries, to do away with, or at least, to reduce, in return, the import duties levied by them on English manufactures.

After a long and violent struggle, the English industrial capitalists, already in reality the leading class of the nation, that class whose interests were then the chief national interests, were victorious. The landed aristocracy had to give in. The duties on corn and other raw materials were repealed. Free Trade became the watchword of the day. To convert all other countries to the gospel of Free Trade, and thus to create a world in which England was the great manufacturing centre, with all other countries for its dependent agricultural districts, that was the next task before the English manufacturers and their mouthpieces, the political economists.

That was the time of the Brussels Congress, the time when Marx prepared the speech in question. While recognizing that protection may still, under certain circumstances, for instance in the Germany of 1847, be of advantage to the manufacturing capitalists; while proving that Free Trade was not the panacea for all the evils under which the working class suffered, and might even aggravate them; he pronounces, ultimately and on principle, in favor of Free Trade. To him, Free Trade is the normal condition of modern capitalistic production. Only under Free Trade can the immense productive powers of steam, of electricity, of machinery, be fully developed; and the quicker the pace of this development, the sooner and the more fully will be realized its inevitable results: society splits up into two classes, capitalists here, wage-laborers there; hereditary wealth on one side, hereditary poverty on the other; supply outstripping demand, the markets

being unable to absorb the ever growing mass of the productions of industry; an ever recurring cycle of prosperity, glut, crisis, panic, chronic depression and gradual revival of trade, the harbinger not of permanent improvement but of renewed overproduction and crisis; in short, productive forces expanding to such a degree that they rebel, as against unbearable fetters, against the social institutions under which they are put in motion; the only possible solution: a social revolution,[a] freeing the social productive forces from the fetters of an antiquated social order, and the actual producers, the great mass of the people, from wage-slavery. And because Free Trade is the natural, the normal atmosphere for this historical evolution, the economic medium in which the conditions for the inevitable social revolution[b] will be the soonest created,—for this reason, and for this alone, did Marx declare in favor of Free Trade.

Anyhow, the years immediately following the victory of Free Trade in England seemed to verify the most extravagant expectations of prosperity founded upon that event. British commerce rose to a fabulous amount; the industrial monopoly of England on the market of the world seemed more firmly established than ever; new iron works, new textile factories arose by wholesale; new branches of industry grew up on every side. There was, indeed, a severe crisis in 1857, but that was overcome, and the onward movement in trade and manufactures soon was in full swing again, until in 1866 a fresh panic occurred, a panic, this time, which seems to mark a new departure in the economic history of the world.

The unparalleled expansion of British manufactures and commerce between 1848 and 1866 was no doubt due, to a great extent, to the removal of the protective duties on food and raw materials. But not entirely. Other important changes took place simultaneously and helped it on. The above years comprise the discovery and working of the Californian and Australian gold fields[431] which increased so immensely the circulating medium of the world; they mark the final victory of steam over all other means of transport[c]; on the ocean, steamers now superseded sailing vessels; on land, in all civilized countries, the railroad took

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[a] The German translation has "social transformation" instead of "social revolution".— *Ed.*

[b] The German translation has here "this inevitable solution".— *Ed.*

[c] Instead of the last phrase the German translation has: "they represent a general transformation of the means of transport".— *Ed.*

the first place, the macadamized road the second; transport now became four times quicker and four times cheaper. No wonder that under such favorable circumstances British manufactures worked by steam should extend their sway at the expense of foreign domestic industries based upon manual labor. But were the other countries to sit still and to submit in humility to this change, which degraded them to be mere agricultural appendages of England, the "workshop of the world"?

The foreign countries did nothing of the kind. France, for nearly two hundred years, had screened her manufactures behind a perfect Chinese wall of protection and prohibition, and had attained in all articles of luxury and of taste a supremacy which England did not even pretend to dispute. Switzerland, under perfect Free Trade, possessed relatively important manufactures which English competition could not touch. Germany, with a tariff far more liberal than that of any other large continental country, was developing its manufactures at a rate relatively more rapid than even England. And America was, by the civil war of 1861,[432] all at once thrown upon her own resources, had to find means how to meet a sudden demand for manufactured goods of all sorts, and could only do so by creating manufactures of her own at home. The war demand ceased with the war; but the new manufactures were there, and had to meet British competition. And the war had ripened, in America, the insight that a nation of thirty-five millions, doubling its numbers in forty years at most, with such immense resources, and surrounded by neighbors that must be for years to come chiefly agriculturalists, that such a nation had the "manifest destiny"[433] to be independent of foreign manufactures for its chief articles of consumption, and to be so in time of peace as well as in time of war. And then America turned protectionist.

It may now be fifteen years ago, I travelled in a railway carriage with an intelligent Glasgow merchant, interested, probably, in the iron trade. Talking about America, he treated me to the old Free Trade lucubrations: "Was it not inconceivable that a nation of sharp business men like the Americans should pay tribute to indigenous iron masters and manufacturers, when they could buy the same, if not a better article, ever so much cheaper in this country?" And then he gave me examples as to how much the Americans taxed themselves in order to enrich a few greedy iron masters. "Well," I replied, "I think there is another side to the question. You know that in coal, water-power, iron and other ores, cheap food, home-grown cotton and other raw materials, America

has resources and advantages unequalled by any European country; and that these resources cannot be fully developed except by America becoming a manufacturing country. You will admit, too, that nowadays a great nation like the Americans cannot exist on agriculture alone; that that would be tantamount to a condemnation to permanent barbarism and inferiority; no great nation can live, in our age, without manufactures of her own. Well, then, if America must become a manufacturing country, and if she has every chance of not only succeeding, but even outstripping her rivals, there are two ways open to her: either to carry on, for let us say fifty years, under Free Trade an extremely expensive competitive war against English manufactures that have got nearly a hundred years' start; or else to shut out, by protective duties, English manufactures, for say twenty-five years, with the almost absolute certainty that at the end of the twenty-five years she will be able to hold her own in the open market of the world. Which of the two will be the cheapest and the shortest? That is the question. If you want to go from Glasgow to London, you can take the parliamentary train[434] at a penny a mile and travel at the rate of twelve miles an hour. But you do not; your time is too valuable, you take the express, pay twopence a mile and do forty miles an hour. Very well, the Americans prefer to pay express fare and to go express speed." My Scotch Free Trader had not a word in reply.

Protection, being a means of artificially manufacturing manufacturers, may, therefore, appear useful not only to an incompletely developed capitalist class still struggling with feudalism; it may also give a lift to the rising capitalist class of a country which, like America, has never known feudalism, but which has arrived at that stage of development where the passage from agriculture to manufactures becomes a necessity. America, placed in that situation, decided in favor of protection. Since that decision was carried out, the five and twenty years of which I spoke to my fellow-traveller have about passed, and, if I was not wrong, protection ought to have done its task for America, and ought to be now becoming a nuisance.

That has been my opinion for some time. Nearly two years ago, I said to a protectionist American: "I am convinced that if America goes in for Free Trade she will in ten years have beaten England in the market of the world."

Protection is at best an endless screw, and you never know when you have done with it. By protecting one industry, you directly or indirectly hurt all others, and have therefore to protect them too.

By so doing you again damage the industry that you first protected, and have to compensate it; but this compensation reacts, as before, on all other trades, and entitles them to redress, and so on *in infinitum.* America, in this respect, offers us a striking example of the best way to kill an important industry by protection. In 1856, the total imports and exports by sea of the United States amounted to $641,604,850, of this amount, 75.2 per cent. were carried in American, and only 24.8 per cent. in foreign vessels. British ocean-steamers were already then encroaching upon American sailing vessels; yet, in 1860, of a total sea-going trade of $762,288,550, American vessels still carried 66.5 per cent. The civil war came on, and protection to American ship-building; and the latter plan was so successful that it has nearly completely driven the American flag from the high seas. In 1887 the total sea-going trade of the United States amounted to $1,408,502,979, but of this total only 13.8 per cent. were carried in American, and 86.2 per cent. in foreign bottoms. The goods carried by American ships amounted, in 1856, to $482,268,274; in 1860 to $507,247,757. In 1887 they had sunk to $194,356,746.* Forty years ago, the American flag was the most dangerous rival of the British flag, and bade fair to outstrip it on the ocean; now it is nowhere. Protection to ship-building has killed both shipping and ship-building.

Another point. Improvements in the methods of production nowadays follow each other so rapidly, and change the character of entire branches of industry so suddenly and so completely, that what may have been yesterday a fairly balanced protective tariff is no longer so to-day. Let us take another example from the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1887:

"Improvement in recent years in the machinery employed in combing wool has so changed the character of what are commercially known as worsted cloths that the latter have largely superseded woollen cloths for use as men's wearing apparel. This change ... has operated to the serious injury of our domestic manufacturers of these (worsted) goods, because the duty on the wool which they must use is the same as that upon wool used in making woollen cloths, while the rates of duty imposed upon the latter when valued at not exceeding 80 cents per pound are 35 cents per pound and 35 per cent. ad valorem,[a] whereas the duty on worsted cloths valued at not exceeding 80 cents ranges from 10 to 24 cents per pound and 35 per cent. ad valorem. In some cases the duty on the wool used in making worsted cloths *exceeds the duty imposed on the finished article.*"

* *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury etc., for the Year 1887,* Washington, 1887, pp. XXVIII, XXIX.

[a] In proportion to estimated value of goods.—*Ed.*

Thus what was protection to home industry yesterday, turns out to-day to be a premium to the foreign importer; and well may the Secretary of the Treasury[a] say:

"There is much reason to believe that the manufacture of worsted cloths must soon cease in this country unless the tariff law in this regard is amended" (p. XIX).

But to amend it, you will have to fight the manufacturers of woollen cloths who profit by this state of things; you will have to open a regular campaign to bring the majority of both Houses of Congress, and eventually the public opinion of the country, round to your views, and the question is, Will that pay?

But the worst of protection is, that when you once have got it you cannot easily get rid of it. Difficult as is the process of adjustment of an equitable tariff, the return to Free Trade is immensely more difficult. The circumstances which permitted England to accomplish the change in a few years, will not occur again. And even there the struggle dated from 1823 (Huskisson), commenced to be successful in 1842 (Peel's tariff),[435] and was continued for several years after the repeal of the Corn Laws. Thus protection to the silk manufacture (the only one which had still to fear foreign competition) was prolonged for a series of years and then granted in another, positively infamous form; while the other textile industries were subjected to the Factory Act, which limited the hours of labor of women, young persons and children,[436] the silk trade was favored with considerable exceptions to the general rule, enabling them to work younger children, and to work the children and young persons longer hours, than the other textile trades. The monopoly that the hypocritical Free Traders repealed with regard to the foreign competitors, that monopoly they created anew at the expense of the health and lives of English children.

But no country will again be able to pass from Protection to Free Trade at a time when all, or nearly all branches of its manufactures can defy foreign competition in the open market. The necessity of the change will come long before such a happy state may be even hoped for. That necessity will make itself evident in different trades at different times; and from the conflicting interests of these trades, the most edifying squabbles, lobby intrigues, and parliamentary conspiracies will arise. The machinist, engineer, and ship-builder may find that the protection granted to the iron master raises the price of his goods so much that his export trade is thereby, and thereby alone, prevented; the

[a] Charles Fairchild.— *Ed.*

cotton-cloth manufacturer might see his way to driving English cloth out of the Chinese and Indian markets, but for the high price he has to pay for the yarn, on account of protection to spinners; and so forth. The moment a branch of national industry has completely conquered the home market, that moment exportation becomes a necessity to it. Under capitalistic conditions, an industry either expands or wanes. A trade cannot remain stationary; stoppage of expansion is incipient ruin; the progress of mechanical and chemical invention, by constantly superseding human labor, and ever more rapidly increasing and concentrating capital, creates in every stagnant industry a glut both of workers and of capital, a glut which finds no vent everywhere, because the same process is taking place in all other industries. Thus the passage from a home to an export trade becomes a question of life and death for the industries concerned; but they are met by the established rights, the vested interests of others who as yet find protection either safer or more profitable than Free Trade. Then ensues a long and obstinate fight between Free Traders and Protectionists; a fight where, on both sides, the leadership soon passes out of the hands of the people directly interested into those of professional politicians, the wire-pullers of the traditional political parties, whose interest is, not a settlement of the question, but its being kept open forever; and the result of an immense loss of time, energy, and money is a series of compromises, favoring now one, now the other side, and drifting slowly though not majestically in the direction of Free Trade—unless Protection manages, in the meantime, to make itself utterly insupportable to the nation, which is just now likely to be the case in America.

There is, however, another kind of protection, the worst of all, and that is exhibited in Germany. Germany, too, began to feel, soon after 1815, the necessity of a quicker development of her manufactures. But the first condition of that was the creation of a home market by the removal of the innumerable customs lines and varieties of fiscal legislation formed by the small German states, in other words, the formation of a German Customs Union or Zollverein.[437] That could only be done on the basis of a liberal tariff, calculated rather to raise a common revenue than to protect home production. On no other condition could the small states have been induced to join. Thus the new German tariff, though slightly protective to some trades, was, at the time of its introduction, a model of Free Trade legislation; and it remained so, although, ever since 1830, the majority of German manufacturers kept clamoring for protection. Yet, under this extremely

liberal tariff, and in spite of German domestic industries based on hand-labor being mercilessly crushed out by the competition of English factories worked by steam, the transition from manual labor to machinery was gradually accomplished in Germany too, and is now nearly complete; the transformation of Germany from an agricultural to a manufacturing country went on at the same pace, and was, since 1866, assisted by favorable political events: the establishment of a strong central government, and federal legislature, ensuring uniformity in the laws regulating trade, as well as in currency, weights and measures, and, finally, the flood of the French milliards. Thus, about 1874, German trade on the market of the world ranked next to that of Great Britain,* and Germany employed more steam power in manufactures and locomotion than any European Continental country. The proof has thus been furnished that even nowadays, in spite of the enormous start that English industry has got, a large country can work its way up to successful competition, in the open market, with England.

Then, all at once, a change of front was made: Germany turned protectionist, at a moment when more than ever Free Trade seemed a necessity for her. The change was no doubt absurd; but it may be explained. While Germany had been a corn-exporting country, the whole agricultural interest, not less than the whole shipping trade, had been ardent Free Traders. But in 1874, instead of exporting, Germany required large supplies of corn from abroad. About that time, America began to flood Europe with enormous supplies of cheap corn; wherever they went, they brought down the money revenue yielded by the land, and consequently its rent; and from that moment, the agricultural interest, all over Europe, began to clamor for protection. At the same time, manufacturers in Germany were suffering from the effect of the reckless overtrading[b] brought on by the influx of the French milliards, while England, whose trade, ever since the crisis of 1866, had been in a state of chronic depression, inundated all accessible markets with goods unsalable at home and offered abroad at ruinously low prices. Thus it happened that German

* General Trade of Exports and Imports added in 1874, in millions of dollars: Great Britain—3300; Germany—2325; France—1665; United States—1245 millions of dollars. (Kolb, *Statistik,* 7th edit., Leipsic, 1875, p. 790.)[a]

[a] In the pamphlet the figures are given in millions of thaler, and in the German translation, in millions of marks.— *Ed.*

[b] The German translation adds here "and excessive speculation".— *Ed.*

manufacturers, though depending, above all, upon export, began to see in protection a means of securing to themselves the exclusive supply of the home market. And the government, entirely in the hands of the landed aristocracy and squirearchy, was only too glad to profit by this circumstance, in order to benefit the receivers of the rent of land, by offering protective duties to both landlords and manufacturers. In 1878, a highly protective tariff was enacted both for agricultural products and for manufactured goods.[438]

The consequence was that henceforth the exportation of German manufactures was carried on at the direct cost of the home consumers. Wherever possible, "rings" or "trusts"[a] were formed to regulate the export trade and even production itself. The German iron trade is in the hands of a few large firms, mostly joint stock companies, who, betwixt them, can produce about four times as much iron as the average consumption of the country can absorb. To avoid unnecessary competition with one another, these firms have formed a trust which divides amongst them all foreign contracts, and determines in each case the firm that is to make the real tender. This "trust," some years ago, had even come to an agreement with the English iron masters, but this no longer subsists. Similarly, the Westphalian coal mines (producing about thirty million tons annually) had formed a trust to regulate production, tenders for contracts, and prices. And, altogether, any German manufacturer will tell you that the only thing the protective duties do for him is to enable him to recoup himself in the home market for the ruinous prices he has to take abroad. And this is not all. This absurd system of protection to manufacturers is nothing but the sop thrown to industrial capitalists to induce them to support a still more outrageous monopoly given to the landed interest. Not only is all agricultural produce subjected to heavy import duties which are increased from year to year, but certain rural industries, carried on on large estates for account of the proprietor, are positively endowed out of the public purse. The beet-root sugar manufacture is not only protected, but receives enormous sums in the shape of export premiums. One who ought to know is of opinion that if the exported sugar was all thrown into the sea, the manufacturer would still clear a profit out of the government premium. Similarly, the potato-spirit distilleries receive, in consequence of

[a] Here and below the German translation has "cartels" instead of "rings" and "trusts".—*Ed.*

recent legislation, a present, out of the pockets of the public, of about nine million dollars[a] a year. And as almost every large land-owner in Northeastern Germany is either a beet-root sugar manufacturer or a potato-spirit distiller, or both, no wonder the world is literally deluged with their productions.

This policy, ruinous under any circumstances, is doubly so in a country whose manufactures keep up their standing in neutral markets chiefly through the cheapness of labor. Wages in Germany, kept near starvation point at the best of times, through redundancy of population (which increases rapidly, in spite of emigration), must rise in consequence of the rise in all necessaries caused by protection; the German manufacturer will, then, no longer be able, as he too often is now, to make up for a ruinous price of his articles by a deduction from the normal wages of his hands, and will be driven out of the market.[b] Protection, in Germany, is killing the goose that lays the golden eggs.

France, too, suffers from the consequences of protection. The system, in that country, has become, by its two centuries of undisputed sway, almost part and parcel of the life of the nation. Nevertheless, it is more and more becoming an obstacle. Constant changes in the methods of manufacture are the order of the day[c]; but protection bars the road. Silk velvets have their backs nowadays made of fine cotton thread; the French manufacturer has either to pay protection price for that, or to submit to such interminable official chicanery as fully makes up for the difference between that price and the government drawback on exportation; and so the velvet trade goes from Lyons to Crefeld, where the protection price for fine cotton thread is considerably lower. French exports, as said before, consist chiefly of articles of luxury, where French taste cannot, as yet, be beaten; but the chief consumers, all over the world, of such articles are our modern upstart capitalists who have no education and no taste, and who are suited quite as well by cheap and clumsy German or English imitations, and often have these foisted upon them for the real French article at more than fancy prices. The market for those specialties which cannot be made out of France is constantly getting narrower, French exports of manufactures are barely kept up, and must soon decline; by what new articles can France

[a] The German translation has "thirty-six million marks".—*Ed.*

[b] The German translation has "will lose its competitiveness" instead of "will be driven out of the market".—*Ed.*

[c] In the German translation the sentence begins as follows: "Large-scale industry calls for constant changes in the methods of production".—*Ed.*

replace those whose export is dying out? If anything can help here, it is a bold measure of Free Trade, taking the French manufacturer out of his accustomed hothouse atmosphere and placing him once more in the open air of competition with foreign rivals.[a] Indeed, French general trade would have long since begun shrinking, were it not for the slight and vacillating step in the direction of Free Trade made by the Cobden treaty of 1860,[439] but that has well-nigh exhausted itself and a stronger dose of the same tonic is wanted.

It is hardly worth while to speak of Russia. There, the protective tariff—the duties having to be paid in gold, instead of in the depreciated paper currency of the country—serves above all things to supply the pauper government with the hard cash indispensable for transactions with foreign creditors; on the very day on which that tariff fulfils its protective mission by totally excluding foreign goods, on that day the Russian government is bankrupt. And yet that same government amuses its subjects[b] by dangling before their eyes the prospect of making Russia, by means of this tariff, an entirely self-supplying country, requiring from the foreigner neither food, nor raw material, nor manufactured articles, nor works of art. The people who believe in this vision of a Russian Empire, secluded and isolated from the rest of the world, are on a level with the patriotic Prussian lieutenant who went into a shop and asked for a globe, not a terrestrial or a celestial one, but a globe of Prussia.

To return to America. There are plenty of symptoms that Protection has done all it could for the United States, and[c] that the sooner it receives notice to quit, the better for all parties. One of these symptoms is the formation of "rings" and "trusts" within the protected industries for the more thorough exploitation of the monopoly granted to them. Now, "rings" and "trusts" are truly American institutions, and, where they exploit natural advantages, they are generally, though grumblingly, submitted to. The transformation of the Pennsylvanian oil supply into a monopoly by the Standard Oil Company[440] is a proceeding entirely in keeping with the rules of capitalist production. But if the sugar-refiners attempt to transform the protection granted them, by the nation, against foreign competition, into a monopoly against the home consumer, that is to say against the same nation that granted the

[a] The last three words are omitted in the German translation.—*Ed.*

[b] The German translation has "faithful subjects".—*Ed.*

[c] In the German translation the end of the sentence reads: "it is time to finish with it".—*Ed.*

protection, that is quite a different thing. Yet the large sugar-refiners have formed a "trust" which aims at nothing else.[441] And the sugar trust is not the only one of its kind. Now, the formation of such trusts in protected industries is the surest sign that protection has done its work, and is changing its character; that it protects the manufacturer no longer against the foreign importer, but against the home consumer; that it has manufactured, at least in the special branch concerned, quite enough, if not too many manufacturers; that the money it puts into the purse of these manufacturers[a] is money thrown away, exactly as in Germany.

In America, as elsewhere, Protection is bolstered up by the argument that Free Trade will only benefit England. The best proof to the contrary is that in England not only the agriculturists and landlords but even the manufacturers are turning protectionists. In the home of the "Manchester school" of Free Traders,[442] on Nov. 1, 1886, the Manchester chamber of commerce discussed a resolution

> "that, having waited in vain forty years for other nations to follow the Free Trade example of England, the chamber thinks the time has arrived to reconsider that position."

The resolution was indeed rejected, but by 22 votes against 21! And that happened in the centre of the cotton manufacture, i.e., the only branch of English manufacture whose superiority in the open market seems still undisputed! But, then, even in that special branch inventive genius has passed from England to America. The latest improvements in machinery for spinning and weaving cotton have come, almost all, from America, and Manchester has to adopt them. In industrial inventions of all kinds, America has distinctly taken the lead, while Germany runs England very close for second place. The consciousness is gaining ground in England that that country's industrial monopoly is irretrievably lost, that she is still relatively losing ground, while her rivals are making progress, and that she is drifting into a position where she will have to be content with being one manufacturing nation among many, instead of, as she once dreamt, "the workshop of the world." It is to stave off this impending fate that Protection, scarcely disguised under the veil of "fair trade" and retaliatory tariffs, is now invoked with such fervor by the sons of the very men who, forty years ago, knew no salvation but in Free Trade. And when English manufacturers begin to find that Free Trade is ruining them, and ask the government to protect them against their foreign

[a] The German translation has here "through the protective tariffs".—*Ed.*

competitors, then, surely, the moment has come for these competitors to retaliate by throwing overboard a protective system henceforth useless, to fight the fading industrial monopoly of England with its own weapon, Free Trade.

But, as I said before, you may easily introduce Protection, but you cannot get rid of it again so easily. The legislature, by adopting the protective plan, has created vast interests, for which it is responsible. And not every one of these interests—the various branches of industry—is equally ready, at a given moment, to face open competition. Some will be lagging behind, while others have no longer need of protective nursing. This difference of position will give rise to the usual lobby-plotting, and is in itself a sure guarantee that the protected industries, if Free Trade is resolved upon, will be let down very easy indeed, as was the silk manufacture in England after 1846. That is unavoidable under present circumstances, and will have to be submitted to by the Free Trade party so long as the change is resolved upon in principle.

The question of Free Trade or Protection moves entirely within the bounds of the present system of capitalist production, and has, therefore, no direct interest for us Socialists who want to do away with that system. Indirectly, however, it interests us, inasmuch as we must desire the present system of production to develop and expand as freely and as quickly as possible; because along with it will develop also those economic phenomena which are its necessary consequences, and which must destroy the whole system[a]: misery of the great mass of the people, in consequence of overproduction; this overproduction engendering either periodical gluts and revulsions, accompanied by panic, or else a chronic stagnation of trade; division of society into a small class of large capitalists, and a large one of practically hereditary wage-slaves, proletarians, who, while their numbers increase constantly, are at the same time constantly being superseded by new labor-saving machinery; in short, society brought to a deadlock, out of which there is no escaping but by a complete remodelling of the economic structure which forms its basis. From this point of view, forty years ago, Marx pronounced, in principle, in favor of Free Trade as the more progressive plan, and, therefore, the plan which would soonest bring capitalist society to that deadlock. But if Marx declared in favor of Free Trade on that ground, is that

[a] In the German translation the words "and which must destroy the whole system" are absent.—*Ed.*

not a reason for every supporter of the present order of society to declare against Free Trade? If Free Trade is stated to be revolutionary, must not all good citizens vote for Protection as a conservative plan?

If a country nowadays accept Free Trade, it will certainly not do so to please the Socialists. It will do so because Free Trade has become a necessity for the industrial capitalists. But if it should reject Free Trade, and stick to Protection, in order to cheat the Socialists out of the expected social catastrophe, that will not hurt the prospects of Socialism in the least.[a] Protection is a plan for artificially manufacturing manufacturers, and therefore also a plan for artificially manufacturing wage-laborers. You cannot breed the one without breeding the other. The wage-laborer everywhere follows in the footsteps of the manufacturer; he is like the "gloomy care" of Horace, that sits behind the rider, and that he cannot shake off wherever he go.[b] You cannot escape fate; in other words you cannot escape the necessary consequences of your own actions. A system of production based upon the exploitation of wage-labor, in which wealth increases in proportion to the number of laborers employed and exploited, such a system is bound to increase the class of wage-laborers,[c] that is to say, the class which is fated one day to destroy the system itself. In the meantime, there is no help for it: you must go on developing the capitalist system, you must accelerate the production, accumulation, and centralization of capitalist wealth, and, along with it, the production of a revolutionary class of laborers.[d] Whether you try the Protectionist or the Free Trade plan will make no difference in the end, and hardly any in the length of the respite left to you until the day when that end will come. For long before that day will protection have become an unbearable shackle to any country aspiring, with a chance of success, to hold its own in the world market.

Written in April and early May 1888

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Reproduced from the pamphlet collated with *Die Neue Zeit*

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[a] The German translation has "then nobody will be cheated more than itself" instead of "that will not hurt the prospects of Socialism in the least".— *Ed.*

[b] Horace, *Carminum*. III. 1.— *Ed.*

[c] In the German translation the end of the sentence reads: "and thus to exacerbate a class antagonism which will one day destroy the entire system".— *Ed.*

[d] In the German translation the word "revolutionary" is absent, and the sentence ends as follows: "located outside official society".— *Ed.*

# [LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF *THE LABOUR ELECTOR*][443]

Seeing the constant interest you take in the questions raised with regard to the coming International Working Men's Congress, I hope you will allow a Frenchman and a Member of the so-called Marxist Organisation of France (Agglomération Parisienne), to say a few words in reply to a circular published in the Bulletin of the Paris Labour Exchange and reproduced in English, in *Justice* of April 27th.

Now the Paris Labour Exchange is an out and out Possibilist institution. They have got hold of it with the help of the Opportunist and Radical Members[444] of the Paris Town Council, and every trades union which dares openly oppose Possibilist principles and tactics, is at once excluded. This above mentioned circular, though issued in the name of 78 Paris Trades Unions, is therefore quite as much a Possibilist production as if issued by the Possibilist Committee themselves.

This circular calls upon "all the working class organisations of France, without distinction of the shades of Republican or Socialist opinion," to join in the Possibilist Congress. Now this seems fair enough. And as our section of the French Socialists has driven the Possibilists entirely out of the provinces, so much so that they dared not attend their own Congress at Troyes, as soon they heard that we were to be admitted, and as our organisations in the provinces are by far more numerous than all the Possibilist organisations in France put together, no doubt we should have the majority of French delegates even in this Possibilist Congress, if a fair basis of representation was secured. But there's the rub. The Possibilist Committee have made heaps of regulations for their Congress, but this most important point is never mentioned.

Nobody knows whether each group is to send one, two, or more delegates, or whether the number of delegates is to be regulated by the number of members in each group. Now, as the Possibilists are acknowledged to be strongest in Paris, they might send two or three delegates for each group, where we, in our simplicity, send only one. They may manufacture as many delegates as they like. They have them ready at hand in Paris, and need merely nominate them. And thus, with all this apparent fairness, the French section of the Congress may be turned into a packed set of Possibilists, who might treat us as they liked, unless we had an appeal to the Congress.

For this reason alone we could not give up the sovereignty of the Congress with regard to all its internal concerns, if, indeed, that first and fundamental principle could be given up. It is not quite forgotten in London yet, I believe, that the Parliamentary Committee,[445] last November, made it pretty clearly understood that they had hired the room, and that the Congress[446] was there at their sufferance—and we do not want to have that repeated in Paris.

Written in late April 1889

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The Labour Elector*, vol. I, No. 18, May 4, 1889

# [THE RUHR MINERS' STRIKE OF 1889][447]

The German miners' strike is an immense event for us. Like the miners in England in the Chartist times, the colliers of Germany are the last to join the movement, and this is their first start. The movement began in the Westfalian coalfield in the North—a district producing 45 million tons annually, and not yet half-developed, coal having been bored at a depth of 500 yards. These miners—hitherto good subjects, patriotic, obedient, and religious, and furnishing some of the finest infantry for the VII. army corps (I know them well, my native place is only 6 or 7 miles south of the coalfields), have now been thoroughly aroused by the oppression of their capitalists. While the mines—almost all joint stock concerns—paid enormous dividends, the *real* wages of the men were constantly being reduced, the nominal weekly wages were kept up, in some cases even raised in appearance, by forcing the men to work enormous overtime—in place of single shifts of 8 hours they worked from 12 to 16 hours, thus making from 9 to 12 shifts weekly. Truck shops,[448] disguised under the name of "Co-operative" shops, prevailed. Cheating, on the quantity of coal got by rejecting whole truckfuls of coal as being bad or not properly filled, was the rule. Well, since last winter, the men have given notice several times that they would strike unless this was remedied, but to no purpose, and at last they did strike, after having given due notice of their intention, and the owners lie when they maintain the contrary. In a week 70,000 men were out, and the *masters had to feed the strike,* for they paid wages once a month only, and always kept one month's wages in hand *which they now had to fork out to the strikers.* The masters were thus caught in their own net. Well, the men sent that celebrated deputation to the

Emperor[a]—a snobby, conceited coxcomb of a boy—who received them with a threatening speech; if they turned towards the social democrat and reviled the authorities, he would have them shot down without mercy.[449] (That had in fact been tried already at Bochum, where a sublieutenant, *a lad of 19,* ordered his men to fire on the strikers, most of them fired in the air.) But all the same, the whole empire trembled before these men on strike. The military commander of the district[b] went to the spot, so did the Home Secretary,[c] and everything was tried to bring the masters round to make concession. The Emperor even told them to open their pockets, and said in a council of ministers "My soldiers are there to keep order, but not to provide big profits to the mine-owners."

Well, by the intervention of the Liberal Opposition (who have lost one seat in Parliament after another by the workmen passing over to us) a compromise was effected, and the men returned to work. But no sooner were they in than the masters broke their word, discharged some of the ringleaders (though they had agreed not to do so), refused arranging for overtime by agreement with the men, as agreed upon, etc. The strike threatened to break out again, but the matter is still in suspense, and, I am sure, the Government, who are in a devil of a funk, will make them give in at least for a time. Then the strike spread to Coalfield No. II. and III. This district has been kept, so far, free from Socialist contagion, as every man who went there to agitate, when caught in the meshes of the law, got as many years' imprisonment as he would have got months' anywhere else in Germany. The Government alone made concessions to the men, but whether these will suffice remains to be seen. Then the men in the Saxon Coalfield, and in the two Siberian[d] Coalfields, still further east, took up the tune, so that in the last three weeks there have been at least 120,000 colliers on strike in Germany, and from them the Belgian and Bohemian miners caught the infection, while in Germany a number of other trades who had prepared strikes for this spring season, have also left work.[450] Thus there is no doubt the German colliers have joined their brethren in the struggle against capital, and as they are a splendid body of men, and almost all have passed through the army, they form an important addition to our ranks. Their belief in emperor and priest has been

[a] William II.—*Ed.*
[b] E. Albedyll.—*Ed.*
[c] E. Herrfurth.—*Ed.*
[d] Should read: "Silesian".—*Ed.*

shattered, and whatever the Government may do, no Government can give satisfaction to the men without upsetting the capitalist system—and that the German Government neither can nor will attempt. It is the first time that the Government had to pretend to observe an impartial position in a strike in Germany: so its virginity in that respect has gone for ever, and both William and Bismarck had to bow before the array of 100,000 working men on strike. That alone is a glorious result.

Written in late May 1889

Reproduced from the magazine

First published in *The Labour Leader,* vol. I, No. 5, June 1889

# POSSIBILIST CREDENTIALS[451]

The partisans of the Possibilist Paris Congress—the unmistakeable Mr. Smith Hedingley in the *Star,* Mr. H. Burrows and Mrs. Besant in the weekly Press—are repeating over and over again that their Congress was a really representative one, while the Marxist Congress contained people who represented only themselves, and for that reason dared not accept the challenge of the Possibilists to show them their credentials. The English delegates to the Marxist Congress will no doubt seek, and find, an opportunity to prove the untruth of the charges brought against them; so we may for the present dismiss that part of the subject, and merely observe that the Possibilists could hardly offer a greater insult to the Marxist Congress than to ask it to ignore the process of the verification of its own credentials, completed as far back as the second (or third?) day, and to submit their credentials to a fresh examination; while the Possibilists, in their resolution on the subject, carefully avoided engaging themselves to an examination of their credentials by the Marxists.

That the above is the correct view of the matter, and that the Possibilists, much more than the Marxists, had reason to show their credentials to none but friends, was proved by the observations of Dr. Adler, in the Marxist Congress, of what he had learnt about the "Austrian" Possibilist delegates. As the thing is characteristic of the way in which the Possibilists manufactured truly representative delegates, it deserves reproduction.

In the Possibilist list of delegates we find under "Austria" the following bodies represented:—"Bakers Union of Vienna," "Federation of Upper Austria and Salzburg," "Federation of Workingmen of Bohemia-Moravia, and Silesia." Now Dr. Adler, who has

during the last three years, with wonderful energy, tact, and perseverance, reorganised the Socialist movement in Austria, and who knows every workmen's society in every town in Austria, told the Congress that these various societies, whatever may be their other merits, have one fatal defect: *they do not exist.*

When it became known in Paris that the Marxist Congress had met on the Sunday, and that there were delegates from Austria, there came to it on the Monday two Austrians and saw Dr. Adler. They told him they were bakers, for some time past working in Paris; that a Hungarian baker, of the name of Dobosy, had engaged them as "delegates" for a workingmen's congress; was this the same congress? Adler questioned them and found out that they were engaged for the Possibilist Congress, for which they had cards of membership; that they had told the people who had engaged them that they represented absolutely nobody but themselves, that they were told that did not matter, Austria being a despotic country, regular credentials were not required; that they now found the true Austrian delegates were at the other Congress; what were they to do? The Austrian delegates told them they had no business to play at delegates at any Congress. Well, they arranged for another interview. They came again a day or two after, assisted at the meeting of the Marxist Congress, and then declared they saw themselves they must get out of this false position, but how? They were told to return their credentials. They had none. Then return your cards of membership. This they promised to do, and returned to say they had done so.

This is a sample of what the Possibilists and their English partisans call "strictly representative." And the imposing list of Hungarian societies with names so well hidden under misprints that only with a few of them is the pretended locality recognizable, are, according to the true Hungarian delegates at the Marxist Congress, equally non-existent outside the wonderland of Possibilist fancy. Indeed, the concoction here is too flagrant. "Circles of Social Study and Federation of Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Trieste, and Fiume"—this pompous title bears the stamp of its Parisian origin too conspicuously. And to think that behind all this there are not even the—three tailors of Tooley Street![452]

We are further told that it is absolutely false that the Possibilist Congress was a mere Trades Unions Congress. Mr. Herbert Burrows is quite indignant at such a calumny; with the exception of a few English Trades Unionists "the whole of the delegates" were revolutionary Socialists, and as such represented their respective societies. Well, to give but one example, what does *El*

*Socialista*, of Madrid (26th July) say of the Spanish Possibilist delegates? That "they say they represent 20,000 Socialists, when they are but delegates of societies in which there is room for the Carlist[453] as well as for the revolutionary Socialist"—entirely non-political clubs, in fact, what is called, in England, Trades Unions.

Written in early August 1889

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The Labour Elector*, vol. II, No. 32, August 10, 1889

# [APROPOS OF THE LONDON DOCKERS' STRIKE][454]

I envy you your work in the Dock Strike. It is the movement of the greatest promise we have had for years, and I am proud and glad to have lived to see it. If Marx had lived to witness this! If these poor down-trodden men, the dregs of the proletariat, these odds and ends of all trades, fighting every morning at the dock gates for an engagement, if *they* can combine, and terrify by their resolution the mighty Dock Companies, truly then we need not despair of any section of the working class. This is the beginning of real life in the East End, and if successful will transform the whole character of the East End. There—for want of self-confidence, and of organisation among the poor devils grovelling in stagnant misery—*lasciate ogni speranza*.[a] ... If the dockers get organised, all other sections will follow... It is a glorious movement and again I envy those that can share in the work.

Written between August 20 and 26, 1889

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The Labour Elector*, vol. II, No. 35, August 31, 1889

[a] "All hope abandon..." (Dante, *Divine Comedy, Inferno*, c. III, v. 5).—*Ed.*

# THE ABDICATION OF THE BOURGEOISIE[455]

Of all the national bourgeoisies, it is undoubtedly the English one that has up to now preserved the keenest sense of class, i.e., sense of politics. Our German bourgeoisie is stupid and cowardly; it has not even been able to seize and hold onto the political power the working class won for it in 1848; in Germany the working class must first sweep away the remnants of feudalism and of patriarchal absolutism, which our bourgeoisie was duty-bound to eradicate long ago. The French bourgeoisie, the most mercenary and pleasure-seeking of all, is blinded to its future interests by its own greed for money; it lives only by the day; in its frenzied thirst for profit it plunges itself into the most ignominious corruption, declares that income tax is socialist high treason, can find no way of countering any strike other than with infantry salvoes, and thus manages to bring about a situation where in a republic with universal suffrage the workers are left with hardly any other means of victory than violent revolution. The English bourgeoisie is neither as greedily stupid as the French, nor as pusillanimously stupid as the German. During the period of its greatest triumphs it has constantly made concessions to the workers; even its most dyed-in-the-wool contingent, the conservative landowning and finance aristocracy, was not afraid to give the urban workers suffrage on such a scale that it is purely the fault of the workers themselves that they have not had 40 to 50 representatives of their own in Parliament since 1868. And since then the entire bourgeoisie—the Conservatives and the Liberals combined—has extended this wider suffrage to the rural areas as well, has roughly equalled out the size of the constituencies and thereby placed at least another thirty constituencies at the disposal of the working

class. Whereas the German bourgeoisie has never had the ability to lead and represent the nation as its ruling class, whereas the French proves daily—and just again at the elections[456]—that it has completely lost this ability—and yet there was a time when it possessed that ability to a higher degree than any other middle class—the English bourgeoisie (into which the so-called aristocracy has been absorbed and assimilated) exhibited until recently a certain talent for doing justice to its position as leading class at least to some degree.

This now seems to be changing more and more.

Everything connected with the old government of the City of London—the constitution and the administration of the City proper—is still downright medieval. And this includes also the Port of London, the leading port in the world. The WHARFINGERS, the LIGHTERMEN and the WATERMEN[a] form regular guilds with exclusive privileges and in part still don medieval costumes. These antiquated guild privileges have in the past seventy years been crowned with the monopoly of the dock companies, and thereby the whole huge Port of London has been handed over for ruthless exploitation to a small number of privileged corporations. And this whole privileged monstrosity is being perpetuated and, as it were, made inviolable through an endless series of intricate and contradictory Acts of Parliament through which it was born and raised, and in such a manner that this legal labyrinth has become its best rampart. But while these corporations presume on their medieval privileges in dealing with ordinary traders and make London the most expensive port in the world, their members have become regular bourgeois, who besides fleecing their customers, exploit their workers in the most despicable manner and thus profit simultaneously from the advantages of medieval guild and modern capitalist society.

Since, however, this exploitation took place within the framework of modern capitalist society, it was, despite its medieval cloak, subject to the laws of that society. The big swallowed the small or at least chained them to their triumphal chariot. The big dock companies became the masters of the guilds of the wharfingers, the lightermen and the watermen, and thereby of the whole Port of London, thus opening up the prospect of unlimited profits for themselves. This prospect blinded them. They squandered millions on stupid installations; and since there were several

[a] In the original these English words are given in parentheses after their German equivalents.—*Ed.*

such companies, they engaged in a competitive war, which cost further millions, produced more senseless structures and pushed the companies to the brink of bankruptcy, until finally they came to terms two years ago.

In the meantime the London trade had passed its peak. Le Havre, Antwerp, Hamburg and, since the new sea canal had been built, also Amsterdam, drew a growing share of the traffic that had formerly centred on London. Liverpool, Hull and Glasgow also took their share. The newly built docks remained empty, dividends dwindled and partly disappeared altogether, shares dropped, and the dock managers, arrogant, purse-proud snobs, stubborn and spoilt by the good old times, were at their wits' end. They did not want to admit the true reasons for the relative and absolute decline in the traffic of the Port of London. And these reasons, insofar as they are of a local character, are purely and simply their own arrogant perversity and its cause, the privileged position, the medieval, long outdated constitution of the City and Port of London, which by right should be in the British Museum, next to the Egyptian mummies and the Assyrian stone monsters.

Nowhere else in the world would such folly be tolerated. In Liverpool, where similar conditions were taking shape, they were nipped in the bud and the entire port constitution was modernised. But in London traders suffer because of it, grumble and—submit to it. The bourgeoisie, the bulk of whom have to pay the costs of these fatuities, yield to this monopoly, even if unwillingly, but yield just the same. They no longer have the energy to shake off this demon that in time threatens to stifle the living conditions of all of London.

Then the dock workers' strike breaks out.[457] It is not the bourgeoisie robbed by the dock companies that rebel, it is the workers exploited by them, the poorest of the poor, the lowest layer of the East End proletarians, who fling down the gauntlet to the dock magnates. And then, at last, the bourgeoisie realise that they too have an enemy in the dock magnates, that the striking workers have taken up the struggle not only in their own interests, but indirectly also in the interests of the bourgeois class. That is the secret of the public sympathy for the strike and of the unprecedentedly generous money contributions from bourgeois circles. But thus far and no further. The workers went into action to the accompaniment of acclamation and applause from the bourgeoisie; the workers fought the battle to the end and proved not only that the proud dock magnates could be defeated but by their struggle and victory also stirred up public opinion to such an

extent that the dock monopoly and the feudal port constitution are no longer tenable and will soon really have to move to the British Museum.

The job should have been done by the bourgeoisie long ago. They were unable or unwilling to do it. Now the workers have taken it in hand and now it will be done. In other words, in this case the bourgeoisie have renounced their own part in favour of the workers.

Now a different picture. From the medieval Port of London we move on to the modern cotton spinneries of Lancashire. We presently find ourselves at a juncture where the cotton harvest of 1888 is exhausted and that of 1889 has not yet come onto the market, that is, speculation in raw materials has the best prospects at present. A rich Dutchman called Steenstrand has, with other cronies, formed a "ring" to buy up all the available cotton and to boost prices accordingly. The cotton spinners can retaliate only by cutting consumption, that is, by shutting down their mills for several days a week or altogether, until the new cotton is in sight. They have been trying to do this for six weeks. But now as on previous occasions it refuses to work. This is because many of the spinners are so heavily indebted that a partial or complete standstill would push them to the brink of ruin. Others even want the majority to stop and thereby to boost the price of cotton yarn; while they themselves intend to continue operating and to profit from the higher yarn prices. A good ten years' experience has shown that there is only one way to enforce a shut-down of all cotton mills—no matter for what ultimate purpose—namely, by introducing a wage cut of, say, 5 per cent. Then there is a strike, or a lockout by the mill-owners themselves, and then, in the struggle against the workers, absolute unity prevails among the mill-owners, and the machines are brought to a standstill even by those who do not know whether they will ever be able to set them going again.

As things stand, a wage cut is not advisable today. But how otherwise can a general closure of the mills be brought about, without which the spinners will for about six weeks be delivered, bound hand and foot, to the speculators? By a step which is unique in the history of modern industry.

The mill-owners, through their central committee, "semi-officially" approach the Central Committee of the Workers' Trade Unions with a request that the organised workers in the common interest, *force* the obstinate mill-owners to shut down by organising strikes. Messrs mill-owners, admitting their own inability to take

concerted action, ask the once so hated workers' trade unions kindly to use coercion against them, the mill-owners, so that the mill-owners, induced by bitter necessity, should finally act in concert, as a class, in the interests of their own class. They have to be forced to do so by the workers, for they themselves are unable to bring this about!

The workers consented. And the workers' threat alone sufficed. In 24 hours the "ring" of cotton speculators was smashed. This shows what can be done by the mill-owners, and what by the workers.

Thus, here, in the most modern of all modern large-scale industries, the bourgeoisie proves to be just as incapable of asserting its own class interests as in medieval London. And what is more, it openly admits it, and by turning to the organised workers with the request that they force through a major class interest of the mill-owners against the will of mill-owners themselves, it not only abdicates, but recognises in the organised working class its successor, which is called upon to rule and is capable of doing so. It proclaims itself that even if every single mill-owner is able to manage his own mill, it is the organised workers alone who are now able to take the management of the entire cotton industry into their own hands. And this means, in plain language, that the only occupation left to the mill-owners is to become paid business managers in the service of the organised workers.

*F. Engels*

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# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

# [ON THE ASSOCIATION OF THE FUTURE][458]

In essence, associations—whether naturally evolved or created—have hitherto existed for economic ends, but these ends have been concealed and buried beneath ideological matters of secondary importance. The ancient polis,[459] the medieval town or guild, the feudal confederacy of landowning nobility—all had secondary ideological aims which they hallowed and which in the case of the patrician body of consanguinity and the guild arose from the memories, traditions and models of gentile society no less than in that of the ancient polis. The capitalist commercial companies are the first to be wholly rational and objective—but vulgar. The association of the future will combine the rationality of the latter with the old ones' concern for the social welfare of all, and thus fulfil its purpose.

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# ON THE PEASANT WAR[460]

Reformation—Lutheran and Calvinist—bourgeoisie's revolution No. 1, in which Peasant War is the critical episode. Dissolution of feudalism, along with the development of towns, both decentralising, absolute monarchy therefore a virtual necessity for holding together the nationalities. *Had* to be absolute, precisely because of the centrifugal nature of all the elements. Absolute not to be understood in the vulgar sense, however: constantly at odds partly with the Estates, partly with rebellious feudal lords and towns; the Estates nowhere abolished; thus better described as an *Estate* monarchy (still feudal, decaying feudal and embryonic bourgeois).

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Victory of revolution No. 1, which was much more European than the English one, and became European much more quickly than the French one, in Switzerland, Holland, Scotland, England—to a certain extent in Sweden, too, already [under] G[ustavus] Vasa, and Denmark, here not until 1660 in orthodox, absolutist form.

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I.[a] Causes in Germany. History from beginning. Germany broken after the heroic age of the migration of peoples. Only restored from France, by Charlemagne. Hence Roman empire

[a] In the manuscript the text marked "I" by Engels is placed after that marked "II".—*Ed.*

idea. Renewed by Otto. More non-Germans than Germans. Ruin of Germany by this policy—of pillaging the Italian cities—under the Hohenstaufens. Thus fragmentation confirmed—*excepto casu revolutionis.*[a] Development from interregnum[461] to 15th century. Rise of the towns. Decay of feudalism never perfected in Germany under pressure from the princes (the emperor as sovereign *against,* as emperor *for* the imperial knights). Gradual emancipation of the peasants, until setback in 15th century. Germany materially on a par with the other countries of the day.—Crucial that in Germany because of provincial fragmentation *and long-term freedom from invasion* the need for national unity not so strong as in France (the Hundred Years' War), Spain, which had just been reconquered from the Moors, Russia, which had just driven out the Tatars, England (Wars of the Roses),[462] and that even the emperors of the day so shabby.

II. With the Renaissance in its European guise based on general decay of feudalism and rise of the towns. Then absolutist national monarchies—everywhere except in Germany and Italy.

III. Character of the Reformation as sole possible, *popular* expression of universal aspirations, etc.

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[a] Save in the case of revolution.—*Ed.*

# [ON THE DECLINE OF FEUDALISM AND THE EMERGENCE OF NATIONAL STATES][463]

While the wild battles of the ruling feudal nobility filled the Middle Ages with their clamour, the quiet work of the oppressed classes had undermined the feudal system throughout Western Europe, had created conditions in which less and less room remained for the feudal lord. To be sure, the noble lords still carried on their mischievous ways in the country, tormenting the serfs, living high on their sweat, demolishing their crops under horses' hooves, raping their wives and daughters. But towns had sprung up all around; in Italy, Southern France, on the Rhine, old Roman municipia[464] had risen from their ashes; elsewhere, particularly in the heart of Germany, new creations; always ringed by protective walls and ditches, fortresses far stronger than the nobility's castles, because pregnable only by a large army. Behind these walls and ditches evolved the medieval handicrafts (burgher guild and pretty small), the first capitals accumulated, the need arose for traffic between the towns themselves and with the rest of the world, and, with this need, gradually the means to protect this traffic.

In the fifteenth century the burghers of the towns had already become more indispensable to society than the feudal nobility. True, agriculture was still the occupation of the vast majority of the population, and thus the main branch of production. But the few isolated free peasants who here and there withstood the arrogant behaviour of the nobility were sufficient proof that the main ingredient in farming was not the nobles' indolence and extortion, but the peasant's labour. And then the needs of the nobles, too, had increased and changed to such an extent that the towns had become indispensable even to them; after all, they

procured their only instrument of production, their armour and weapons, from the towns! Native cloth, furniture and jewellery, Italian silks, Brabant lace, Nordic furs, Arabian perfumes, fruit from the Levant, Indian spices—everything apart from soap—they bought from the town dwellers. International trade of a kind had developed; the Italians travelled the Mediterranean and, beyond that, the Atlantic coasts as far as Flanders; the Hanseatic merchants still controlled the North Sea and the Baltic in the face of mounting competition from the Dutch and the English. Communication was maintained by land between the northern and southern centres of the maritime traffic; the routes along which this communication took place passed through Germany. While the nobility became increasingly superfluous and an ever greater obstacle to development, the burghers of the towns became the class that embodied the further development of production and trade, of culture and of the social and political institutions.

All these advances in production and exchange were, in point of fact, by today's standards, of a very limited nature. Production remained enthralled in the form of pure guild crafts, thus itself still retaining a feudal character; trade remained within the limits of European waters, and did not extend any further than the coastal towns of the Levant, where the products of the Far East were acquired by exchange. But small-scale and limited though the trades—and hence the trading burghers—remained, they were sufficient to overthrow feudal society, and at least they continued to move forward, whereas the nobility stagnated.

But then the burghers of the towns had a mighty weapon with which to oppose feudalism: *money.* Money had scarcely found any place in the archetype feudal economy of the early Middle Ages. The feudal lord obtained from his serfs everything that he needed; either in the form of labour or in finished products; the women spun and wove the flax and wool and made the clothes; the men sowed the fields; the children minded the lord's livestock, collected for him wild fruits, birds' nests and straw; besides that, the whole family had to supply corn, fruit, eggs, butter, cheese, poultry, young livestock and much else. Every feudal form was self-sufficient; even military services were exacted in products; trade and exchange did not exist, money was superfluous. Europe had been reduced to such a low level, had begun all over again to such an extent that at that time money had much less of a social function than a purely political one: it was a means of *paying taxes,* and was chiefly acquired through *robbery.*

All this had now changed. Money had again become a universal

means of exchange, and consequently its volume had increased considerably; the noble could no longer do without it either, and having little or nothing to sell, since robbery was also not quite so easy now, he eventually had to make up his mind to borrow from the usurer among the burghers. Long before the castles of the knights were breached by the new artillery they had been undermined by money; in fact, gunpowder was merely a bailiff, as it were, in the service of money. Money was the burghers' greatest political leveller. Wherever a personal relationship was superseded by a money relationship, a payment in kind by payment in money, a bourgeois relationship took the place of a feudal one. Admittedly, in the countryside the old brutal natural economy continued to exist in the great majority of cases; but there were already whole districts where, as in Holland, in Belgium, on the Lower Rhine, the peasants paid the lord money instead of labour service and tributes in kind, where lords and bondsmen had already taken the first decisive step towards becoming landowners and tenants, where even in the countryside the political institutions of feudalism were thus losing their social basis.

The extent to which the feudal system had, by the end of the fifteenth century, already been undermined and eaten away on the inside by money is strikingly illustrated by the thirst for gold that seized Western Europe at this time. It was *gold* the Portuguese sought on the African coast, in India, throughout the Far East; *gold* was the magic word which drove the Spaniards across the Atlantic Ocean to America; *gold* was the first thing the white man enquired about the moment he set foot on a newly discovered shore. But this urge to set off on adventures to far-off places in search of gold, no matter how much it manifested itself in feudal and semi-feudal forms at the beginning, was nevertheless in its very roots incompatible with feudalism, whose foundation was agriculture and whose campaigns of conquest were essentially aimed at the *acquisition of land.* Moreover, shipping was a decidedly *bourgeois* trade which has stamped its anti-feudal character on all modern navies too.

In the fifteenth century the feudal system was thus in utter decline throughout Western Europe; everywhere towns with anti-feudal interests, with their own laws and with an armed citizenry had wedged their way into feudal areas, bringing the feudal lords under their sway, in part already socially, through money, and here and there also politically; even in country areas where agriculture had flourished because of particularly favoura-

ble conditions the old feudal ties began to dissolve under the influence of money; only in newly conquered lands such as Germany east of the Elbe, or in otherwise backward tracts far from the trade routes, did the old rule of the nobility continue to prosper. But everywhere—in the towns and in the country alike—there had been an increase in the elements among the population whose chief demand was to put an end to the constant, senseless warring, to the feuds between the feudal lords which made internal war permanent even when there was a foreign enemy on their native soil, to that state of incessant, utterly pointless devastation that had persisted throughout the Middle Ages. Still too weak themselves to impose their will, these elements found strong support at the apex of the whole feudal system—in the monarchy. And this is the point where the consideration of social relations leads us to those of the state, where we make the transition from economics to politics.

Out of the confusion of peoples that characterised the earliest Middle Ages, there gradually developed the new nationalities, a process whereby, it will be recalled, in most of the former Roman provinces the vanquished assimilated the victor, the peasant and townsman assimilated the Germanic lord. Modern nationalities are thus also the product of the oppressed classes. Menke's district map of central Lorraine* gives a clear picture of the ways in which fusion took place here, boundary demarcation there. One need only follow the boundary line between Romance and German placenames on this map to be convinced that this linguistic boundary between Belgium and Lower Lorraine coincides in the main with that which existed between French and German as recently as a hundred years ago. Here and there one finds a narrow, disputed area where the two languages are struggling for predominance; but on the whole it is clear what is to remain German and what is to remain Romance. The Old Low Franconian and Old High German form of most placenames on the map shows, however, that they belong to the ninth century, to the tenth at the latest, and hence that the boundary had already been essentially drawn towards the end of the Carolingian age. On the Romance side, particularly close to the linguistic boundary, there are now mixed names, made up of a German personal name and a Romance placename, e.g. west of the Maas near Verdun:

* Spruner-Menke, *Hand-Atlas für die Geschichte des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*, 3rd ed., Gotha, 1874, Map No. 32.

Eppone curtis, Rotfridi curtis, Ingolini curtis, Teudegisilo-villa, today Ippécourt, Récourt la Creux, Amblaincourt-sur-Aire, Thierville. These were Franconian manor houses, small German colonies on Romance soil, which sooner or later succumbed to Romanisation. In the towns and in scattered rural areas there were stronger German colonies that retained their language for some time to come; it was from one of these, for example, that *The Lay of Ludwig*[465] originated at the end of the ninth century; but the fact that prior to this a large proportion of the Franconian lords had been Romanised is proved by the oath formulas of the kings and magnates of 842, in which Romance already appears as the official language of France.[466]

Once their boundaries had been fixed (disregarding subsequent wars of conquest and annihilation, such as those against the Slavs of the Elbe[467]) it was natural for the linguistic groups to serve as the existent basis for the formation of states; for the nationalities to start developing into nations. The rapid collapse of the mixed state of Lotharingia[468] shows how powerful this element was as early as the ninth century. True, linguistic boundaries and national frontiers were far from coincident throughout the Middle Ages; but every nationality except perhaps Italy was represented by a separate big state in Europe, and the tendency to form national states, which becomes increasingly clear and deliberate, constitutes one of the Middle Ages' most considerable levers of progress.

In each of these medieval states the king now constituted the head of the entire feudal hierarchy, a head with whom the vassals were unable to dispense and against whom they were at the same time in a state of permanent rebellion. The basic relation of the whole feudal system—the granting of land in return for the delivery of certain personal services and dues—provided, even in its original and simplest form, plenty of material for strife, especially when so many people had an interest in picking quarrels. So what was to be expected in the later Middle Ages, when the conditions of vassalage in every country formed an inextricable tangle of rights and duties that had been granted, withdrawn, renewed once more, forfeited, amended or subjected to new conditions? For part of his lands, Charles the Bold, for instance, was the Emperor's vassal, for others the King of France's vassal; on the other hand, the King of France, his liege lord, was simultaneously in certain areas the vassal of Charles the Bold, his own vassal; how were conflicts to be avoided? Hence these centuries of alternation between the vassals' attraction towards the

royal centre, which alone could protect them from outsiders and from one another, and the repulsion away from the centre into which that attraction was continually and inevitably transformed; hence the incessant struggle between kings and vassals, whose desolate din drowned out all else during this long period when robbery was held to be the only source of income worthy of a free man; hence that endless, constantly regenerated cycle of betrayal, assassination, poisoning, treachery and every conceivable vileness that, concealed behind the poetical name of chivalry, never ceased to speak of honour and loyalty.

That in this general turmoil the monarchy was the progressive element is perfectly obvious. It stood for order amid disorder, the nation in the process of formation as opposed to disintegration into rebellious vassal states. Any revolutionary elements that formed beneath the surface of feudalism were as dependent on the monarchy as the monarchy on them. The alliance between the monarchy and the burghers dates from the tenth century; often interrupted by conflicts, just as nothing else followed a steady course during the Middle Ages, it was renewed, becoming firmer and more powerful each time, until it helped the monarchy to ultimate victory, and to show its gratitude the monarchy subjugated and plundered its ally.

Kings and burghers alike found a powerful support in the rising estate of *lawyers.* With the rediscovery of Roman law came the division of labour between the priests, the legal advisers of the feudal age, and the non-clerical law scholars. These new lawyers were from the very outset essentially a bourgeois estate; but the law they studied, purveyed and practised was by its nature essentially anti-feudal and in certain respects bourgeois. Roman law is the classic legal expression of the day-to-day relations and conflicts of a society in which pure private property dominates, so much so that no subsequent legislation has ever been able to improve on it in any major respect. But the bourgeois property of the Middle Ages still had a heavy admixture of feudal restrictions, and consisted, for example, very largely of privileges; to that extent, then, Roman law was a long way ahead of the bourgeois conditions of the time. Subsequent historical development of bourgeois property could proceed, however, only in one way: it was bound to turn into pure private property, and this is what happened. But this development was bound to find a powerful lever in Roman law, which already contained in a finished form all that the bourgeoisie of the later Middle Ages aspired to, albeit unconsciously as yet.

Though Roman law in many individual cases provided a pretext for even greater oppression of the peasants by the nobility, for instance when the peasants were unable to adduce any written proof of their exemption from otherwise customary burdens, it does not alter the matter. Even without Roman law, the nobility would have found such pretexts, and indeed found them daily. At any rate, it was a tremendous advance when a legal system came into force that knew absolutely nothing of feudal relations and fully anticipated modern private property.

We have seen how the feudal nobility started to become superfluous in economic terms, indeed a hindrance, in the society of the later Middle Ages—how it already stood in the way, politically, of the development of the towns and the national state which was then only possible in a monarchist form. In spite of all this, it had been sustained by the fact that it had hitherto possessed a monopoly over the bearing of arms: without it no wars could be waged, no battles fought. This, too, was to change; the last step would be taken to make it clear to the feudal nobles that the period in which they had ruled society and the state was now over, that they were no longer of any use in their capacity as knights—not even on the battlefield.

Opposing the feudal economy with an army that was itself feudal, in which the soldiers were bound by closer ties to their immediate liege lord than to the command of the royal army—this obviously meant going round in a vicious circle, without achieving any advance. From the beginning of the fourteenth century the kings strove to free themselves of this feudal army and create an army of their own. From this time on we find in the armies of the kings a constantly growing proportion of recruited or hired troops. At first they were chiefly infantry, comprising the scum of the towns and runaway serfs, Lombards, Genoese, Germans, Belgians, etc., who were employed for occupying towns and for siege duties, but in the beginning could scarcely be used on the battlefield. But towards the end of the Middle Ages we also find knights entering the service of foreign princes as mercenaries with their retinues gathered together the devil knows how, thus demonstrating the irrevocable collapse of feudal warfare.

The fundamental condition for an efficient infantry arose simultaneously in the towns and in the free peasants, wherever the latter were still to be found or had re-formed. Until then the knights with their retinue, likewise mounted, had been not so much the core of the army as the army itself; the baggage-train of

attendant, serf infantrymen did not count, appearing in the open field merely in order to run away or to loot. As long as the golden age of feudalism lasted, until the end of the thirteenth century, the cavalry fought and decided every battle. From that time on things changed, and moreover in various points simultaneously. The gradual disappearance of serfdom in England created a sizeable class of free farmers, either landowners (yeomen) or tenants, and thus the raw material for a new type of infantry, skilled in the use of the bow, the English national weapon at the time. The introduction of these archers, who always fought on foot whether they travelled on horseback or not, gave rise to a major change in the tactics of English armies. From the fourteenth century onwards the English knights preferred to fight on foot where the terrain or other circumstances rendered this appropriate. Behind the archers, who started the battle and softened up the enemy, the massed array of dismounted knights awaited the enemy attack or the right moment to advance, while only part of them remained on horseback in order to facilitate the decisive encounter by attacks on the flanks. The then unbroken series of English victories in France[469] were largely due to the restoration of a defensive element in the army, and were for the most part just as much defensive battles with offensive retaliation as Wellington's in Spain and Belgium.[470] With the adoption of new tactics by the French—possible since Italian mercenary crossbowmen had assumed the functions of the English archers in their case—the triumphant progress of the English was at an end. Also at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the infantrymen of the Flemish towns had dared—often successfully—to confront the French knights in open battle, and Emperor Albrecht, by his attempt to betray the autonomous Swiss peasants to the Archduke of Austria, who was he himself, had provided the impetus for the formation of the first modern infantry with a European reputation.[471] In the victories of the Swiss over the Austrians, and particularly over the Burgundians, heavily armed cavalry—mounted and dismounted—succumbed once and for all to the infantry, the feudal army to the beginnings of the modern army, the knight to the burgher and free peasant. And the Swiss, to establish from the outset the bourgeois character of their republic, the first independent republic in Europe, immediately *turned* their fame as warriors *to cash.* All political considerations faded away: the cantons turned into recruiting offices to drum up mercenaries for the highest bidder. The recruitment drive also made its way around other places, in Germany in particular; but the cynicism of

a government which only seemed to exist in order to sell off its native people remained unequalled until surpassed by German princes in the years of greatest national humiliation.

Then, also in the fourteenth century, gunpowder and artillery were brought over to Europe via Spain by the Arabs. Until the end of the Middle Ages hand guns remained unimportant, which is understandable, since the bows of the English archers at Crécy had as great a range as the smoothbore rifles of the infantry at Waterloo and were perhaps more accurate—though lacking the same effect.[472] Field guns were also still in their infancy; on the other hand, heavy guns had already breached the free-standing walls of the knights' castles on many occasions, demonstrating to the feudal nobility that gunpowder marked the end of their rule.

The spread of book printing, the revival of the study of classical literature, the entire cultural movement which had been gathering strength and becoming more widespread ever since 1450[473]—all these factors aided the bourgeoisie and the monarchy in their fight against feudalism.

The combined action of all these causes, strengthened year after year by their increasing interaction on one another, which tended more and more in the same direction, was crucial to the victory over feudalism in the second half of the fifteenth century, not yet for the bourgeoisie, but certainly for the monarchy. All at once the monarchy gained the upper hand throughout Europe, as far as the distant lands adjoining it that had not passed through the feudal state. On the Iberian peninsula two of the Romance language peoples there united to form the Kingdom of Spain, and the Provençal-speaking Aragonese empire submitted to standard Castilian[a]; the third people joined its linguistic area (with the exception of Galicia) with the Kingdom of Portugal, the Iberian Holland, turning their back on the interior and demonstrating their right to a separate existence through its activity at sea.

In France Louis XI finally managed, after the demise of the Burgundian middle kingdom,[474] to establish national unity represented by the monarchy on the then much curtailed French territory to such an extent that his successor[b] was already able to interfere in Italian quarrels[475] and this unity was only once called into question for a short time, by the Reformation.[476]

England had at last given up its quixotic wars of conquest in France, which in the long run would have bled it dry; the feudal

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[a] Aragon and Castile united in 1479.—*Ed.*

[b] Charles VIII.—*Ed.*

nobility sought recompense in the Wars of the Roses,[477] and got more than they had bargained for: they wiped each other out, and brought the House of Tudor to the throne, whose royal power exceeded that of all its predecessors and successors. The Scandinavian countries had long since achieved unity; after its unification with Lithuania,[478] Poland was approaching its heyday, with the power of its monarchy as yet undiminished; even in Russia the subjugation of the princelings and the shedding of the Tatar yoke, had gone hand in hand and were finally sealed by Ivan III.[a] In the whole of Europe there were only two countries in which the monarchy, and the national unity that was then impossible without it, either did not exist at all or existed only on paper: Italy and Germany.

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[a] In 1480.—*Ed.*

# [CHARTIST AGITATION][479]

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Melbourne—September '41, Whig[a]

| | |
|---|---|
| 1838. August 6. | Meeting in Birmingham (speakers: Attwood, Scholefield, F. O'Connor) to petition the House of Commons to make the *People's Charter* law.[b] |
| September 17. | Chartist meeting in New Palace Yard, Westminster.[c] |
| December 13. | Royal proclamation that torchlight meetings and armed assemblies illegal. |
| " 20. | Meeting of the ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE in Manchester. |
| 1839. January 15. | ANTI-CORN LAW meeting in Birmingham: Chartist resolution CARRIED, that universal suffrage takes priority.—In Leeds UNSUCCESSFUL. |
| " 21, 22. | ANTI-CORN LAW meetings [in] Manchester and Edinburgh. |
| February 5. | In the Queen's Speech Chartists threatened with the law. |
| March 16. | Chartist CONVENTION AT CROWN AND ANCHOR. PHYSICAL FORCE PROCLAIMED BY O'Connor AND Harney. |
| April 1. | Meeting in Edinburgh TO SUPPORT ministers. The Chartists won and threw the |

[a] The date when the Melbourne Whig Cabinet fell.—*Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript this sentence is crossed out by a vertical line.—*Ed.*

[c] In the next three dates in the manuscript some of the words are crossed out.—*Ed.*

LORD PROVOST out of the CHAIR AND CARRIED THEIR RESOLUTION.

April 29. Chartist RIOTS in Llanidloes.—The Chartists in control of the town for a while. (In Newport shortly before, John Frost removed from the MAGISTRACY.)

May 8. H. Vincent arrested FOR INCITING TO RIOT at Newport. (Ministerial crisis—*replâtrage.*[a])

" 13. The rest of the Chartist CONVENTION (thus the petty bourgeois out) removed to Birmingham. 50,000 men received and led through the city. Manifesto passed immediately at the first session: TO WITHDRAW ALL THEIR MONEY FROM BANKS, TO DEAL EXCLUSIVELY WITH CHARTISTS AND TO HAVE A SACRED MONTH[480] AND TO ARM.—F. O'Connor demands that the petition to the Queen[b] to appoint a Chartist ministry should be presented peacefully by 500,000 men armed with rifles.

May 25. Meeting in Kersal Moor. F. O'Connor says he came *because* the meeting had been declared illegal by the magistracy.

June 14. Attwood presents the Chartist Petition, 1,280,000 signatures. URGENCY REFUSED BY 235:46.

" 18. Grote's MOTION ON BALLOT rejected 333:216.

July 4. Chartist RIOTS in Birmingham, Bull Ring meeting broken up by police and army. Secretary of the CONVENTION[c] arrested. The CONVENTION protests.

" 15. Bull Ring riots again, procession through the town, looting, several shops burnt down. Army called out, NO LOSS OF LIFE.

" 18. Llanidloes RIOTERS SENTENCED TO IMPRISONMENT.

" 20. RIOTS [in] Newcastle.

August 2. Vincent & Co. sentenced to imprisonment AT Monmouth.

" 3. Birmingham RIOTERS TRIED, 3 sentenced to death, but REPRIEVED.

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[a] Here: patching up.—*Ed.*
[b] Victoria.—*Ed.*
[c] William Lovett.—*Ed.*

August 6. Chartist CONVENTION, now in Arundel Coffee House, London, decides to postpone the SACRED MONTH set for August 12 owing to lack of preparation, but on the 12th the TRADES which can are to take 2-3 days off and to hold processions and meetings ON THE PRESENT AWFUL STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

" 11. St. Paul's Church [in London] and the Manchester OLD CHURCH occupied by Chartists during the sermon, which did not lead to anything.

" 12. Manchester, Macclesfield, Bolton, etc. Attempt to go through with the three-day SACRED MONTH. Feeble and unsuccessful.

" 15. Chester ASSIZES. J. R. *Stephens'* TRIAL for UNLAWFUL MEETING AND EXCITING TO RIOT AT *Cotton Tree,* Hyde. That was the meeting where the volleys were fired.—18 MONTHS Knutsford.

" 27. PARLIAMENT PROROGUED.

" 30. *Nouveau replâtrage ministeriel.*[a]

September 14. DISSOLUTION OF CHARTIST NATIONAL CONVENTION.

" 20. F. O'Connor ARRESTED, Manchester, SEDITION.

" 23. Ebenezer Elliott accuses the Chartists of being Tory agents (Sheffield).

November 4. *Newport RIOTS.* The HILL MEN under Frost and Williams march on the town, meet up at Tredegar Park with Jones' column (from Pontypool) and attack the soldiers, who had already been summoned (to protect the assembled magistrates). Skirmish. 9 dead are left lying there, others ... and the wounded carried off. Frost arrested the next morning. The soldiers commanded by a lieutenant! Williams apprehended soon after.—TRIAL December 31-January 8. According to one witness the *Welsh Mail* to Birmingham was to be stopped, and its non-arrival was to be the signal to strike in the Midlands

[a] New ministerial patch-up.—*Ed.*

and the North. Frost, Williams and Jones sentenced to death, TRANSPORTED FOR LIFE.

1840. January 13. Resumption of ANTI-CORN LAW agitation with BANQUET and meeting in Manchester.

" 16. Parliament opened.

March . The ministry twice defeated in the HOUSE OF COMMONS. Start of the BLASPHEMY PROSECUTIONS by HOME SECRETARY'S COMMITTEE.

" 17. F. O'Connor TRIED at York ASSIZE. Now DEFERRED.

" 25. Meeting of the ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE. Palace Yard. Resolution PASSED.

" 31. To date total of ANTI-CORN LAW petition signatures only 980,352.

April 8. Bronterre O'Brien, Liverpool ASSIZES, 18 MONTHS IMPRISONMENT FOR SEDITION.

" 11. F. O'Connor 18 MONTHS IN York Castle FOR LIBEL, treated like a common criminal (F. O'Connor's letter April 20).

August 4. Lord Ashley CARRIES ADDRESS TO CROWN[a] on child labour (thus only because of LIBERALS' weakness!)

" 11. Parliament closed.

November 6. Hetherington condemned for BLASPHEMY, SENTENCE DEFERRED.

1841. January 21. RADICAL MEETING AT Leeds for unity with the Chartists. But only agreed on UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, not on the other points of the Charter.

" 26. Parliament opened.

February 16. MINISTRY DEFEATED BY 31 OUT OF 223.

April 29. ANTI-CORN LAW MEETINGS in Deptford, in vain, in Leeds actually broken up by Chartists. Russell wishes to tinker with CORN LAWS.

May 7. MINISTRY DEFEATED 36 OUT OF 598.

" 25. Duncombe presents Chartists' petition (amnesty), 1,300,000 signatures, the ANTI-CORN LAW only 474,448.

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[a] Queen Victoria.— *Ed.*

June 2. ANTI-CORN LAW meeting [in] Manchester attacked in vain by Chartists.

" 4. Peel's NO CONFIDENCE IN MINISTRY: 312 for, 311 against dissolution.

" 23. Hetherington versus Moxon. BLASPHEMY against Shelley. GUILTY.

August 19. Parliament opened after the elections. Tory majority.

" 28. Melbourne ministry brought down, MAJORITY—91 out of 629. *Peel.*

*Peel Ministry—until July 1846.*

October 7. Parliament closed.

*GREAT DISTRESS* IN MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS Leeds, Paisley, Glasgow, Bradford, Nottingham, etc.

November 10. Trade Convention in Derby, for FREE TRADE.

December 29. Bankruptcies in Glasgow.

1842. January 7. CHARTIST CONVENTION in Glasgow, F. O'Connor there.

February 1. ANTI-CORN LAW Meeting broken up by Chartists in Southampton with Tory help?

" 2. ANTI-CORN LAW Bazar in Manchester.

" 3. Parliament opened.

" 9. Peel proposes the SLIDING SCALE 20/- at 51/- corn price, 1/- at 73/- corn price.[a]

March 11. Peel's budget—tariffs of £1,200,000 abolished, particularly on raw materials and semi-manufactures. *INCOME TAX.* The SLIDING SCALE becomes law (ROYAL ASCENT) April 29.

May 2. Chartist Petition with 3,317,702 signatures carried to Parliament in procession from Lincoln's Inn Fields. Had to be taken to pieces because the door too small. Duncombs demands that the Petition should be heard by COUNCIL AT THE BAR. 49:287.

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[a] From the maximum duty of 20s. at the price of 51s. and lower per quarter to the minimum duty of 1s. at the price of 73s. and higher per quarter.—*Ed.*

May 25. Meeting in Stockport ON DISTRESS. POOR RATES risen from £2,628 in 1836/37 to £7,120; over $^1/_2$ the spinners ruined; over 3,000 houses empty (Stockport TO LET); in Heaton Norris $^1/_4$ of the houses empty and 1,000 OCCUPANTS RELIEVED BY PARISH.

June 1. STRIKE OF COLLIERS in Dudley DISTRICT.

" 3. Large meeting of UNEMPLOYED in Glasgow, ending in a BEGGING PROCESSION through the town.

In Ireland PROVISION RIOTS, in Ennis a ship carrying flour looted, in Cork futile assault on the POTATO MARKET.

" 7. Ashley introduces a FACTORY BILL, RESTRICTING WOMEN'S AND CHILDREN'S LABOUR IN MINES AND FACTORIES.

June 25. *Leeds Mercury* says 4,025 FAMILIES, $= ^1/_5$ of the town's population receiving POOR RELIEF. Great "DISTRESS" everywhere.

" 28. Peel's tariff through the Commons. July 4 through the Lords 2ND READING.

July 1. DEBATE ON DISTRESS. No result, as usual. In Ireland AGRARIAN OUTRAGES all the time.

" 2. FOOD RIOTS [in] Dumfries, several meal-mongers' shops looted.

" 5. ANTI-CORN LAW CONFERENCE in London. Bright's threatening speech. Reports that in Sheffield 10,000 PEOPLE IN EXTREME DISTRESS, in Wolverhampton 62 blast furnaces idle, in Stockport the POOR RATE of 2/- in the £ produces only £3,600, whereas in 1839 1/8d. had produced £5,000. More POOR RATE 3/4d. in the £ and almost daily meetings of workers and SHOPKEEPERS TO SEE WHAT TO DO. Burslem great agitation, MILITARY CALLED OUT.

" 5. FREETRADE CONFERENCE [in] Sheffield. REVEREND W. Bailey: IT WAS NOT WORDS WHICH WOULD MOVE PARLIAMENT, BUT FORCE, a GENTLEMAN is reported to have spoken of Peel's assassination, etc.

" 11. Villiers' MOTION FOR COMMITTEE OF WHOLE HOUSE TO CONSIDER CORN LAWS rejected, 117:231.

| | |
|---|---|
| | At the same time several attempts on the Queen's life and Peel's protective law against causing a nuisance to the Queen: transportation and the [colonies]. |
| July 18. | Meetings in Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds ON DISTRESS, deputation to Peel to do something before the closing of Parliament. |
| August 1. | STRIKE of the COAL and IRON MINERS, Airdrie and Coatbridge, immediately followed by the Glaswegians, *FOR ADVANCING WAGES.* |
| " 4. | Ashton AND Oldham STRIKE—Manchester RIOTS. |
| " 12. | Parliament closed. |
| " 15. | Delegate Trades Meeting [in] Manchester—peaceful. |
| " 17. | Proclamation by the Chartist NATIONAL EXECUTIVE (in contrast)—warlike. |
| " 18. | "THE PACIFICATION OF THE NORTH IS COMPLETED." |
| " 24. | White (George) in Birmingham despite the police, despite warrant goes with guard to meetings and speaks. |
| September 5. | York AND Lancaster SPECIAL ASSIZES, some 156 RIOTERS TRIED. |
| " 30. | Stafford SPECIAL ASSIZES FOR RIOTERS. F. O'Connor arrested FOR EXCITING TO SEDITION in Manchester, etc., at meetings in August. |
| October 6. | Cobden announces at Manchester meeting that the League intends to raise £50,000. |
| December 9. | The quaint city COMMON COUNCIL votes for FREE TRADE IN CORN. |
| " 31. | REVENUE FOR QUARTER SHOWS DECREASE £940,062. |
| 1843. January 9. | O'Connell announces REPEAL[481] for this year—hence renewed agitation. |
| " 26. | ANTI-CORN LAW WEEKLY MEETING, Wilson announces renewed agitation, 400,000 TRACTS SENT OUT LAST WEEK, 3 TONS MORE TOMORROW. |
| February 11. | Parliament opened. |

February 13. Ld. Howick's motion for COMMITTEE OF WHOLE HOUSE ON DISTRESS. Debate till 17, then defeated, 301:191. Cobden threatening towards Peel.

" 23. Walter's motion for easing the POOR LAW, during which it emerged that the Government has been implementing the new POOR LAW with increasing severity.

March 1. TRIAL OF F. O'Connor and Co. in Lancaster. O'Connor guilty and many others, now RESERVED ON POINT OF LAW.

" 15. From today weekly MEETINGS of the ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE in Drury Lane Theatre resumed.

March 24. FACTORY BILL READ 2ND TIME.[482]

" 31. Revenue a/c rising, but still below last year (EXCEPT *NEW* INCOME TAX).

April 27. Irish Arms Bill,[483] as many arms bought up there.

May 9. Villiers' CORN LAW Motion, after 5 evening debates, defeated 381:125.
Peel declares that he intends to oppose REPEAL absolutely.

" 24. Richard Arkwright's WILL PROVED—£8,000,000.

June 8. MONSTER REPEAL MEETING [in] Kilkenny—300,000 men.

" 10. Rebecca RIOTS in Wales[484] BEGAN: ABOLITION OF TURNPIKES, OF TITHES AND COMMUTED RENT CHARGES, CHURCH RATE AND NEW POOR LAW.

" 15. REPEAL MEETING [in] Ennis—500,000 MEN. EDUCATIONAL CLAUSES[485]—IN FACT BILL ABANDONED on account of opposition of the DISSENTERS[486] (petition over 2,000,000 signatures).
(All REPEAL MAGISTRATES in Ireland dismissed up to now.)

July 19. Still over a week's debate Smith O'Brien's MOTION FOR INQUIRY INTO DISTRESS in Ireland defeated 243:164.

" 25. Bright M.P. FOR Durham City.

August 15. MONSTER REPEAL MEETING [at] Tara Hill.

" 24. Parliament closed.

| | |
|---|---|
| | Rebecca in Wales continuing.—OUTRAGES in Ireland.—Threat to withhold rent payment, CUTTING CROPS, etc. |
| September 28. | ANTI-CORN-LAW agitation in London resumed with meeting in Covent Garden Theatre. 9,000,000 TRACTS distributed in previous year. |
| October 1. | REPEAL MONSTER MEETING in Mullaghmust. |
| " 7. | " " " [in] Clontarf banned BY PROCLAMATION. |
| " 10. | ROYAL COMMISSION TO INQUIRE INTO Rebecca CAUSES. |
| " 14. | O'Connell accused—still no point formulated, but QUIT UNDER BAIL TO APPEAR NEXT TERM TO ANSWER ANY CHARGE BY ATTORNEY GENERAL. |
| " 21. | ANTI-CORN-LAW VICTORY AT CITY LONDON ELECTION: Pattison OVER Baring. |
| " 23. | COUNCIL AT HALL in Dublin opened.—O'Connell now "PEACEFUL"! |
| " 26. | TRIALS OF Rebecca—heavy sentences (Cardiff). |
| November 8. | O'Connell finally charged. |
| 1844. January 1. | Marquis [of] Westminster goes over to the ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE. Many ANTI-CORN LAW and PRO-CORN LAW MEETINGS held throughout the country. |
| January 15. | O'Connell's TRIAL. Sentenced, confirmed on May 24 by QUEEN'S BENCH.[487] 12 MONTHS. |
| February 1. | Parliament opened. |
| " 6. | New FACTORY BILL (not passed previous year). |
| " 12. | REVEREND Oastler freed after 3 years in debtors gaol. |
| 1845. June 6. | FACTORY ACT, LAW. Railway speculation and autumn potato blight. |

July '46-February '62. *Russell*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1847. July 28. | Elections. F. O'Connor and Walter elected in Nottingham. |

December 7. F. O'Connor's motion to investigate how the Union with Ireland had been made and what it had achieved, 23:255.

1848. March 13. Chartist Demonstration [on] Kennington Common. Jones spoke forcefully. In Ireland Young Ireland[488] revolutionary, demanding arms. At Trafalgar Square meeting, March 6, ostensibly about INCOME TAX, police knocked down, strengthened to 500 men, new ROW in the evening.—On the 6th RIOT in Glasgow by UNEMPLOYED, some looting, military called out, but the mass dispersed without shooting.
Similar in Edinburgh and Liverpool.

April 1. RIFLE CLUBS formed in Ireland.

" 4. NATIONAL CHARTIST CONVENTION in London, demonstration for the 10th. E. Jones for FIGHTING. B. O'Brien for waiting until the people stronger than the law.

" 6. F. O'Connor's motion to pardon Frost, Williams and Jones defeated 91:23.

" 7. A GAGGING ACT[489] against inflammatory speeches introduced by Grey.

" 10. Kennington Common. The Chartists in processions to Kennington Common to assemble there and thence on to the HOUSE OF COMMONS with the MONSTER petition. 250,000 SPECIAL CONSTABLES.—4,300 soldiers to Kennington.—On Saturday evening SPLIT over arming: B. O'Brien for, F. O'Connor against. B. O'Brien withdraws with his LOT. The demonstration fell FLAT, the march to Westminster abandoned, and F. O'Connor handed over the petition that evening in the usual way.

" 13. Debate on the petition, instead of 5,706,000 signatures, said to be only 1,975,496, including much nonsense.

May 16. CHARTIST NATIONAL CONVENTION BREAKS UP.

" 27. John Mitchel 14 YEARS TRANSPORTATION.—RIOTS in Clarkenwell Green and Bethnal

Green, nothing significant, because of this CONVICTION of Chartists and Repealers.[490]

June *GOLD EXCITEMENT IN CALIFORNIA.*

" 6. Jones and 3 others COMMITTED FOR SEDITION.

" " O'Connell's REPEAL ASSOCIATION BROKEN UP.

" 11. Great precautions in London against Chartist insurrection: bank, mint, government offices, Thames steamers full of soldiers. Parliament moreover provisioned.

" 12. Chartist demonstration a failure it seems, very pitiful.

*June. Insurrection.*[a]

July 7. Jones and 5 others 2 years and BOUND OVER AFTERWARDS.

" 22. Russell demands suspension OF habeas corpus[491] in Ireland, BILL introduced.

" 25. Smith O'Brien's attempt at insurrection.—[On the] 29th Smith O'Brien apprehended.

August 8. Berkeley's BALLOT MOTION CARRIED AGAINST GOVERNMENT 86:81.

" 14. Chartists' rising [in] Ashton under Lyne. MIDNIGHT ATTACK AGAINST TOWN HALL with pistols and lances—one POLICEMAN shot—broken up.

" 15. 14 Chartist leaders arrested in Manchester for INCITING TO RISE IN ARMS.

" 16. 18 Chartist leaders arrested in London, Orange Street, *armed*; others in Moor Street. Allegedly they were due to strike during the night. Lot of ammunition seized.

" 25. TRIAL of the London Chartists, 26th, TRIAL of Manchester Chartists. Condemned to 2 YEARS HARD LABOUR.

" 26. TRIAL of those arrested on August 16 in London—TRANSPORTATION FOR LIFE.

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[a] Of the Paris workers on June 22-25, 1848.—*Ed.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *1852.* June 8. | F. O'Connor gets up to silly tricks in HOUSE OF COMMONS, arrested by SERGEANT AT ARMS, taken to madhouse. |
| 1855. August 30. | †F. O'Connor in Notting Hill. |
| 1856. May 3. | Amnesty for Frost, Williams and Jones and the other transported Irish prisoners. |
| 1869. January 26. | †Ernest Jones, 50. |

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# [PLAN OF CHAPTER FOUR OF THE PAMPHLET *THE ROLE OF FORCE IN HISTORY*]

1. 1848. Postulate of national states. Italy, Germany, Poland, Hungary.
2. Bonaparte's enlightened policy of conquest: nationhood in exchange for compensation. Italy.
3. Against this, [Prussian] army reorganisation. Conflict. Bismarck. Policy not original.
4. Position in Germany. Unity: 1. through revolution, 2. through Austria, 3. through Prussia (Customs' Union).
5. War [of] 1864 and 1866. Revolutionary means.
6. Bismarck's best years—until 1870.
7. French War.[a] Empire. Annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. Russia the arbitrator.
8. Bismarck at the end—turns reactionary, feeble-minded. Kulturkampf[492] (civil marriage). Protective tariffs and agrarian alliance with bourgeois.—Colonial swindles. Slandering of Bismarck.—Anti-Socialist Law.[493]—Suppression of coalition.—Social reform.—Militarism because of annexation of Alsace.—The Junker [in Bismarck] comes to the fore for the lack of other ideas.

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[a] This point also includes the notes written on the same sheet and crossed out by Engels presumably after he had used them in his work, "1. Methods of warfare. Contribution, franc-tireurs, [Thefts of] clock, thrashing. Severity of Junkers' revenge from above. 2. Overthrow of the Empire. 3. Hats off to Paris! 4. Milliards and Alsace-Lorraine."—*Ed.*

# PLAN OF THE FINAL SECTION OF CHAPTER FOUR OF THE PAMPHLET *THE ROLE OF FORCE IN HISTORY*

I. 3 classes: two lousy, one of them decaying, the other on the ascent, and workers who only want bourgeois FAIR PLAY. Manoeuvring between the latter two therefore the only proper way—perish the thought! Policy: To strengthen state power in general and to make it financially independent *in particular* (nationalisation of the railways, monopolies), police state and regional principles of justice.

"Liberal" and "National", the dual nature of 1848, still in evidence in Germany of 1870-88.

Bismarck had to rely on the Reichstag and the people, and this called for complete freedom of the press, speech, association and assembly, just for orientation.

II. 1. Structure [of the Empire]
   a) Economic—ill-conceived currency law main achievement already.
   b) Political—restoration of the police state, and anti-bourgeois judicial laws (1876), poor copy of the French version.—Legal uncertainty.—Culminated in the Imperial Court. 1879.

   2. Lack of ideas proved by playing around and slandering Bismarck. Bismarck's party *sans phrase.*
   a) Kulturkampf. The Catholic priest is no gendarme or policeman. Jubilation by the bourgeoisie—hopelessness—going to Canossa.[494] Only rational result—civil marriage!

3. Swindles and crash. His involvement. Wretchedness of conservative Junkers, who are just as dishonourable as the bourgeoisie.
4. [Bismarck's] complete transformation into a Junker.
   a) Protective tariffs, etc., coalition of bourgeois and Junkers, with the latter taking the lion's share.
   b) Attempts at a tobacco monopoly defeated in 1882.
   c) Colonial swindles.
5. Social policy *à la* Bonaparte.
   a) Anti-Socialist Law and crushing of workers' associations and funds.
   b) Social reform crap.

III. 6. Foreign policy. Threat of war, effect of annexation. Increase in strength of army. Septennate.[495] In due course, a return to the pre-1870 year group to maintain superiority for a few more years.

IV. Result: a) A domestic situation which collapses with the death of those two[a]: no empire without emperor! Proletariat driven to revolution; an unprecedented growth in social-democracy on the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law—chaos.
   b) Overall outcome—a peace worse than war at best; or else a world war.

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[a] Bismarck and William I.—*Ed.*

# [NOTES ON MY JOURNEY THROUGH AMERICA AND CANADA][496]

Primitiveness. "CIVILISED COUNTRY."[a]

Furniture.—Manners—Boston cabs. Hotel organisation, STAGE COACHES, 17th-century travel. Alongside hypermodern features—even in rooms. Window fastenings—roller blinds—keys—double locks.

Country of unexpected contrasts: more railways than roads and the latter appalling—GOOD PLANK ROAD—ELEVATED RAILWAYS above and dreadful pavement below—log cabins but carpets and pianos inside—indeed, even the bourgeois Yankees and the feudal Canadians alongside them—the idyllic Hoboken and insects close to New York.

Publicness of life, in contrast to England. Only bedrooms private, and even these scarcely so (fanlights, ventilation).—HALL, OFFICE, WRITING ROOM, LADIES' PARLORS; heaters make it unnecessary to keep rooms closed even in winter, and so it does not exist. LOAFING ABOUT in the hotels.

Greeks in Rome in the last days of the republic.

Religion—*their* theory, to be grasped historically. GO-AHEAD NATION—pushing past, not being able to see anyone walking or standing in front of them. Even in Boston, and worst there on account of the narrow streets—women too.

Spitting—privies—hypocrisy about drink not only in PROHIBITION STATES—nobody drinks in public—prudery—ROOSTER and ROACHES.

Opposite to Canada.—French Canadians really detached from France by the Revolution and have preserved the feudalism guaranteed by the conquest—they are going to ruin—Falls opposite Niagara[497]—empty houses, bridges, etc.—Emigration to

[a] The words in English are written in the margin.—*Ed.*

New England, where they replace the Chinese.—English Canadians also slow, even in Toronto much dilapidation.

The Americans *unable to enjoy.*

The Americans unable to walk—either rush or loaf.

*Provincials.*[a]

Foundation the old solid petty bourgeois, small townsman and small peasant of the 17th-18th centuries. He is everywhere unmistakable with his wooden fashion, but also forms the solid foundation amidst wild speculation, just like the Swiss, to whom a certain resemblance.

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Obtrusiveness of American manners: Doctor, *City of Berlin.*[b]

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Get up early.

New York—harbour—beauty.—Natural setting for the centre of capitalist production—and how this destiny is fulfilled. First evening impression, dazzling, pavements, dirt, noise, horrible. By day even more ugliness—telegraph poles, overhead railways, signs crossways, company signs, architecture hidden, throngs of people, carriages, TRAMS and ELEVATED far above London, ugly, disfigured, everywhere *advertisements,* obtrusiveness. Croupier type. Haggard appearance of the people, even the women. Shops dazzling compared with London, and in greater numbers. This the *gateway* to the promised land. Ghastly noises at sea and on land. Noise from the carts, one makes more than ten in Europe. All aesthetics trampled underfoot as soon as momentary profit comes in view.

Horses like the people: elements of a good stock, not yet ready. Mostly lighter than in England—in Canada, on the other hand, thoroughly English type.

Résumé: capitalist production is overexploitation. Adirondacks forest devastation—nowhere else timber forest either (Isle of Gnats perhaps excepted).

Railways poor, slow, stopping train, delay and wait in Buffalo, incomprehensibly long halt at the stations; *few* trains per day; long bends, hence the long carriages (cf. street corner tracks in New York—ELEVATED), rolling, due to elasticity of the beams and the trembling, sea-sickness.

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[a] This word is written in the margin.—*Ed.*

[b] The name of the steamer in which Engels travelled to America.—*Ed.*

Americans no nation. 5-6 different types, held together by the need for cohesion forged in the Civil War,[498] and the feeling that they have in them the making *of the greatest nation of the 20th century.*

Genuinely capitalist[a]:

Business is concluded in a strictly businesslike manner. No tips. Anyone who gives them in situations where we would consider them unavoidable is then thoroughly exploited as a GREENHORN.

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The parvenu—national character.

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Educated persons commonly display great self-possession, others at least show confidence and ASSURANCE to the point of importunity.

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[a] These words are written in the margin.—*Ed.*

# [IMPRESSIONS OF A JOURNEY ROUND AMERICA][499]

We generally imagine America to be a new world—new not merely with regard to the time of its discovery, but also in all its institutions, far ahead of us olde-worlde sleepy Europeans in its scorn for everything hereditary and traditional, a world, newly built from scratch on virgin soil, by modern men on purely modern, practical, rational principles. And the Americans do their part in strengthening this view of ours. They look down with contempt on us as dubious, impractical people, enmeshed in all sorts of received prejudices, who go in fear of everything new, whereas they, THE MOST GO-AHEAD NATION,[a] examine every new proposal for improvement simply for its practical utility and, having once recognised it as possible, introduce it immediately, indeed almost overnight. But in America everything ought to be new, rational, practical—that is, everything ought to be different from what it is with us.

I first met a large number of Americans on the steamer *City of Berlin.* They were mostly very nice people, ladies and gentlemen, more accessible than the English, at times somewhat blunt in their speech, but otherwise rather like the better dressed people anywhere else. What, however, set them apart was a strangely petty-bourgeois bearing—not that of the timid, uncertain German petty bourgeois, nor that of the English; a bearing which, by virtue of the great assurance with which it presented itself as if it were quite natural, showed itself to be an inherited quality. The younger ladies, in particular, left the impression of a certain

[a] In the manuscript this English phrase is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

naivety such as is found in Europe only in smaller towns; when striding resolutely, almost fiercely across the deck, arm in arm, or on the arm of a man, they had the very same springy gait and held down their skirts when threatened by the wind with the same demure grip as innocent young things from the country back home. They reminded me mostly of Swedish girls—they were big and robust like them, too—and I expected them to curtsey at any moment, as Swedish women do. My American fellow travellers had also received their share of the physical and intellectual clumsiness which is the universal hereditary trait of the Germanic race and had not shaken it off at all. In short, my initial impression of the Americans was by no means one of national superiority over the Europeans, by no means that of a totally new, modern national type, but on the contrary that they were people who still clung on to inherited petty-bourgeois habits which are considered outdated in Europe, that we Europeans contrast with them in this connection as the Parisians with the provincials.

When I entered my first bedroom in New York, what did I find? Furniture of the quaintest old style imaginable, chests of drawers with brass rings or hoops as handles on the drawers, such as was the fashion in the early years of the century, and in Europe are still found only in the country; alongside them, more recent styles after the English or French pattern, but even these were also dated enough and mostly in the wrong place; nothing new since the huge rocking chair, which described an arc of 240 degrees, went out of fashion again. And thus everywhere, the chairs, tables and cupboards mostly look like the heirlooms of past generations. The carriages on the New York streets have such an outdated appearance that at first glance one believes no European farm would still have in its possession a hand-cart of such a model. True, on closer observation one finds that these carriages are much improved and most expediently equipped, furnished with excellent suspension and extremely lightly built out of very strong wood; but for all these improvements the old-fashioned model remained intact. In London, right up to the early 40s, there were cabs which people boarded from the rear and where they sat on the right and the left opposite one another, as in an omnibus; since 1850 they have disappeared; yet in Boston, as far as I know the only American city where cabs are in common use, these boneshakers still flourish to this day. The American inns of today, with their luxurious furnishings and their hundreds of rooms, show in their entire AMERICAN PLAN that they have grown out of the remote farmhouses in sparsely populated areas, which even today

occasionally offer travellers board and lodging for payment—I shall return to this point—and hence display peculiarities which appear to us to be not simply strange, but downright quaint. And so on.

But anyone who wishes to savour the pleasure of a journey such as one had to endure in Europe at the time of the Thirty Years' War[500] should head for an American mountain district and travel to the end of the last railway line and take the stagecoach further out into the wilderness. The four of us made such a trip to the Adirondacks and have seldom laughed as much as we did on the roof of that coach. An old boneshaker of an indescribable model, compared with which the famous Prussian carriages from the year dot seem the height of splendour, with seats—quite in keeping—for six to nine people up on the roof and the box, that was the conveyance. As for the road, I beg your pardon, it wasn't a road, one could hardly even call it a path; two deeply rutted tracks in the sandy soil, uphill, downhill.[a]

Written in late September 1888

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] The manuscript breaks off here.—*Ed.*

# APPENDICES

# [TO THE EDITORS OF *TO-DAY*][501]

[Draft][a]

To the British Publishing Co.

Sir (or Gentn)

In reply to your letter of the — I beg to say that since my last I have compared your article with the original *Le Capital.*

I find that it is a very imperfect translation of Ch. XXIII (23) *Réproduction simple,* and that the translator has made very important mistakes in consequence of want of sufficient acquaintance, partly with the leading ideas of *Le Capital,* partly with French grammar.

It must appear to me very unfair that a single chapter should be taken out of the middle of a closely-reasoned scientific work and without a word of introduction be presented to the public.

When it comes to the publishing of translations of entire chapters of my father's works, the question of copyright crops up. Please do not forget that I am responsible for their share of that copyright to other people and to my father's memory for the way his works are done into English. Upon this point I reserve all my rights.

However I will permit you to publish another chapter in your next issue, on condition that you head it with a few lines stating

1) That the last was Ch. 23 and the present is Ch. so and so, out of *Le Capital,* published in Paris 1872.[502]

2) That the translation is yours; and

3) That you inform me which further chapters you intend to translate after which I shall consider whether I can give you my

[a] The draft was written in Engels' hand on behalf of Eleanor Marx-Aveling.—*Ed.*

permission to do so, which will very materially depend upon the character of the translation itself.

Your allusion to a poem of V. Hugo is entirely irrelevant, considering that it is well known that V. Hugo could not write a line of English and that my father has been an English author for more than thirty years.

Written in the latter half of April 1883

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Reproduced from the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# FROM HERMANN LOPATIN'S LETTER TO MARIA OSHANINA[503]

London, September 20, 1883

...I must let you know the result of my first meeting with Engels, because I think some of his opinions will be pleasing for you.

We talked a great deal about Russian matters, about how the cause of our political and social revival is likely to proceed. As was to be expected, our views were in total agreement; each of us kept finishing off the ideas and phrases of the other. He too believes (like both Marx and myself) that the task of a *revolutionary* party or a party of *action* in Russia at the present time lies not in propagating the new socialist ideal and not even in striving to realise this by no means fully elaborated ideal with the help of a provisional government composed of our comrades, but in directing all forces towards 1) either forcing the Tsar to convene a Zemsky Sobor,[504] 2) or by means of intimidating the Tsar, etc., causing profound disorder that would result in the convening of the Sobor or something similar. He believes, as I do, that such a Sobor would *inevitably* lead to a radical, not only political but also social reorganisation. He believes in the tremendous significance of the electoral period, in the sense of incomparably more successful propaganda than all books and whispered communications. He regards a purely liberal constitution without profound economic restructuring as impossible, and therefore does not fear this danger. He believes that enough material for the restructuring of society on new principles has accumulated in the *real* conditions of the people's life. Of course, he does not believe in the instantaneous realisation of communism or anything like that, but only of that which has already matured in the life and heart of the people. He believes that the people will find themselves eloquent spokesmen to express their needs and aspirations, etc. He believes

that no forces will be capable of halting this reorganisation, or revolution, once it has begun. Thus one thing only is important: to smash the fatal force of stagnation, to knock the people and society for a moment out of the state of inertness and immobility, to cause disorder which will force the government and the people to set about internal restructuring, which will stir up the calm popular sea and arouse the attention and *enthusiasm* of the whole people for the cause of a full social reorganisation. And the results will show themselves, precisely those results which are possible, desirable and practicable for the time in question.

All this is devilishly brief, but I cannot write in any more detail at the moment. Moreover all this may not be entirely to your liking, so I will hasten to convey to you with literal accuracy other opinions of his which are most flattering to the Russian revolutionary party. They are as follows:

"Everything now depends on what is done in the immediate future in St. Petersburg, to which the eyes of all thinking, far-seeing and perspicacious people in the whole of Europe are now turned."

"Russia is the France of the present century. The revolutionary initiative of a *new* social reorganisation legally and rightly belongs to it."

"...The collapse of Tsarism, which will destroy the last bastion of monarchism in Europe and put an end to Russia's 'aggressiveness', Poland's hatred of it and a great deal more, will lead to a completely different combination of powers, smash Austria to smithereens and arouse in all countries a powerful impetus for internal reorganisation."

"...It is unlikely that Germany will decide to take advantage of the Russian disorders and move its forces into Russia to support the Tsar. But if it did do so, all the better. It would mean the end of its present government and the beginning of a new era. Annexation by it of the Baltic provinces is pointless and impracticable. Such seizures of opposite (?) or adjoining narrow littorals and bits of land, and the resultant ludicrous configurations of states, were possible only in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but not now. Moreover it is no secret to anyone that the Germans constitute an insignificant reactionary minority there." (I am adding this point for Y.P.[a] in view of her ultra-patriotic opinions on this point.)

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[a] Yulia Petrovna—the pseudonym of Galina Chernyavskaya-Bokhanovskaya.—*Ed.*

"Both Marx and I find that the Committee's letter to Alexander III[505] is positively excellent in its political essence and calm tone. It shows that there are people with a statesmanlike cast of mind in the ranks of the revolutionaries."

May I hope that all this is sufficiently flattering and pleasing for you and that you will thank me for these lines? Do you remember that I said Marx himself had never been a Marxist? Engels told me that during the struggle of Brousse, Malon and Co. with the others, Marx used to joke: "All I know is that *I am not a Marxist!*"...[506]

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# THE INSURRECTION OF MAY 1849[507]

The insurrection of May 1849, which roused the Rhenish provinces and South Germany to revolt, was provoked by the refusal of most of the governments of the small states to accept the constitution approved by the National Assembly at Frankfurt. This Assembly never had any real power and, to make matters worse, had neglected to take the necessary steps to acquire some; once it had finished its constitution on paper it lost the last remains of its moral power. Although rather romantic, the constitution was the sole banner to rally around to try to launch a new movement, even if it meant not implementing it after the victory.

The rising started in Dresden on 3 May; a few days later it spread to the Bavarian Palatinate and the Grand Duchy of Baden. The Grand Duke[a] hastened to flee as soon as he had seen the troops fraternising with the people.

The Prussian Government, which had crushed the revolutionary movement in November 1848, disarmed Berlin and placed Prussia under a state of siege, became the protector of all the governments of the other states. It immediately sent troops to Dresden who, after four days of fighting and heroic resistance, defeated the insurgents.

But to subdue the Palatinate and the Duchy of Baden an army was needed: in order to form it, Prussia had to call the *Landwehr*[508] to arms. At Iserlohn (Westphalia) and Elberfeld (Rhenish Prussia) men refused to march. Troops were sent. The towns

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[a] Leopold.— *Ed.*

barricaded themselves and repulsed them. Iserlohn was taken after two days of fighting. Elberfeld offering no opportunities for resistance, the insurgents, about a thousand in number, resolved to force a way through the troops surrounding them and to reach the south in full revolt. They were cut to pieces, and their commander, Mirbach, was taken prisoner; nevertheless, a large number of insurgents, aided by the populace of the countryside, did manage to get through to the south. Engels was Mirbach's aide-de-camp; but the latter, before putting his plan into action, sent him on a mission to Cologne, which was in the hands of the Prussian army. The truth is that Mirbach did not want to have this known communist in his corps, lest he should scare the bourgeois of the country which he intended to pass through.

In the meantime the rising spread throughout the south of Germany; but as in Paris in 1871 the revolutionaries committed the fatal blunder of not attacking. The troops of the surrounding small states were demoralised and looking for an excuse to join the insurrection: at that time they were determined not to fight against the people. The insurgents could have got the population to rise up and join them by announcing that they were going to the rescue of the Frankfurt Assembly, surrounded by Prussian and Austrian troops. Engels and Marx, after the suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* went to Mannheim to propose to the leaders of the movement that they should march on Frankfurt. They refused to listen to them. They pleaded as an excuse that the troops were disorganised by the flight of their former officers, that they were short of ammunition, etc.

Whereas the insurgents remained with shouldered arms, the Prussians, united with the Bavarians and reinforced by the troops of the small states, which the insurgents could have won over with greater daring, advanced in forced marches on the rebellious areas. The reactionary army, 36,000 men strong, cleared the Palatinate in a week of the 8-9,000 insurgents who were occupying it: it must be said that the two fortresses of the country had remained in the hands of reaction. The revolutionary army fell back on the Baden troops comprising roughly 10,000 men of the line and 12,000 irregulars. There were four general engagements: the reactionary forces were only victorious thanks to their numerical superiority and to the violation of Württemberg territory, which allowed them to turn the revolutionary army's flank at the decisive moment. After six weeks of fighting in the open country the remains of the rebel army had to take refuge in Switzerland.

During this last campaign Engels was aide-de-camp to Colonel Willich, commander of a corps of communist irregulars. He took part in three engagements and in the final decisive battle of the Murg. Colonel Willich, having fled to the United States, died with the rank of general, which he won during the war of secession.[509]

This stubborn resistance in open country, mounted by a few thousand insurgents with no organisation and almost without artillery against a skilfully disciplined Prussian army, shows what our friends, the socialists beyond the Rhine, will be able to achieve the day the revolutionary clarion call rings out in Europe.

Written in mid-November 1885

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# LAWYERS' SOCIALISM[510]

The medieval world view was essentially theological. The unity of the European world, though actually non-existent on the inside, was established against outside forces, the common Saracen enemy, by Christianity. The unity of the West European world, which comprised a group of nations developing in constant interaction, was epitomised by Catholicism. This theological epitome was not merely an idea. It really existed, not only in the Pope, its monarchical focus, but above all in the Church. The Church was organised on feudal and hierarchical lines and, owning about a third of the land in each country, occupied a position of tremendous power within the feudal system. With its feudal landholdings, the Church was the actual link between the different countries, and the Church's feudal organisation gave a religious blessing to the secular feudal system of government. Besides, the clergy was the only educated class. It was therefore natural that Church dogma formed the starting-point and basis of all thought. Everything—jurisprudence, science, philosophy—was pursued in accordance with it, from the angle of whether or not the contents were in keeping with Church doctrine.

But in the bosom of the feudal system there developed the power of the bourgeoisie. A new class emerged to oppose the big landowners. Above all, the burghers were exclusively producers of, and traders in, commodities, while the feudal mode of production essentially rested on the direct consumption of products produced within a limited circle—consumption partly by the producers themselves, partly by the recipients of feudal tributes. The Catholic world view, tailored as it was to feudalism, was no longer adequate for this new class and its conditions of production and

exchange. Nevertheless, it, too, continued for some time to be ensnared in the toils of the prevailing omnipotent theology. From the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, all the reformations and the ensuing struggles waged in the name of religion were, theoretically speaking, no more than repeated attempts by the bourgeoisie, the urban plebeians and the peasantry that rose in rebellion together with them, to adapt the old, theological world view to the changed economic conditions and position of the new class. But this did not work. The religious banner was raised for the last time in England in the seventeenth century, and scarcely fifty years later the new world view that was to become the classical one of the bourgeoisie emerged undisguised in France: *the legal world view.*

It was a secularisation of the theological world view. Dogma, divine law, was supplanted by human law, the Church by the State. The economic and social relations, which people previously believed to have been created by the Church and its dogma—because sanctioned by the Church—were now seen as being founded on the law and created by the State. Because the exchange of commodities on the level of society and in its fully developed form, i.e. based on the granting of advances and credit, results in complex contractual relations and thus requires universally valid regulations, which can only be provided by the community—legal norms laid down by the State—people imagined that these legal norms did not arise from the economic facts of life but from their formal stipulation by the State. And because competition, the basic form of intercourse between free commodity producers, is the greatest equaliser, equality before the law became the bourgeoisie's main battlecry. The fact that the struggle of this new rising class against the feudal lords and the absolute monarchy, which then protected them, had to be, like any class struggle, a political struggle, a struggle for control over the State, and had to be waged for the sake of *legal demands,* helped to consolidate the legal world view.

But the bourgeoisie produced its negative complement, the proletariat, and with it a new class struggle, which broke out even before the bourgeoisie had completely won political power. Just as the bourgeoisie, in its day, in the struggle against the nobility, continued for a time to labour under the burden of the theological world view, which had been handed down to it, so the proletariat initially adopted the legal outlook from its adversary and sought weapons therein to use against the bourgeoisie. Like their theoretical champions, the first proletarian parties remained firmly

on the juridical "legal foundation"—only they constructed a legal foundation different from that of the bourgeoisie. On the one hand, the demand for equality was extended to include social as well as legal equality; on the other hand, from Adam Smith's propositions that labour is the source of all wealth, but that the product of labour must be shared by the worker with the landowner and the capitalist, the conclusion was drawn that this division was unjust and should either be abolished altogether or at least modified in favour of the workers. But the feeling that leaving the matter on the purely juridical "legal foundation" would not at all make it possible to eliminate the evils created by the bourgeois capitalist mode of production, notably that based on modern, large-scale industry, led the greatest thinkers among even the early socialists—Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen—to abandon the juridical and political domain altogether and declare all political struggle fruitless.

The two views were equally incapable of precisely and fully expressing the striving of the working class for emancipation, a striving stemming from the obtaining economic situation. The demand for equality, just like that for the full fruits of one's labour, became entangled in insoluble contradictions as soon as they were to be legally formulated in detail, leaving the heart of the matter, the transformation of the mode of production, more or less untouched. The rejection of political struggle by the great utopians was simultaneously a rejection of class struggle, i.e. of the only course of action open to the class whose interests they championed. Both views overlooked the historical background to which they owed their existence; both appealed to the emotions—one to the sense of justice, and the other to the sense of humanity. Both clothed their demands in pious wishes that left unanswered the question as to why they had to be implemented at this precise moment, and not a thousand years earlier or later.

Stripped of all property in the means of production as a result of the transformation of the feudal into the capitalist mode of production and constantly reproduced by the mechanism of the capitalist mode of production in this hereditary state of propertylessness, the working class cannot adequately express its condition in terms of the legal illusion of the bourgeoisie. It can only fully perceive this condition itself if it views things as they really are, without legally tinted spectacles. And it was enabled to do this by Marx with his materialist conception of history, with the proof that all of people's legal, political, philosophical, religious, etc., ideas ultimately derive from their economic conditions, from the way in

which they produce and exchange products. This set out the world view corresponding to the conditions of proletarian life and struggle; the workers' lack of property could only be matched by a corresponding lack of illusions. And this proletarian world view is now spreading throughout the world.

Understandably, the struggle between the two world views continues; not only between proletariat and bourgeoisie, but also between free-thinking workers and those still dominated by the old tradition. On the whole, ordinary politicians here use the customary arguments to defend the old view. But there are also so-called scholarly lawyers, who have made legal sophistry a profession of their own.*

Until now these gentlemen have considered themselves too refined to deal with the theoretical aspect of the labour movement. We should therefore be extremely grateful that a real professor of law, Dr. Anton Menger, at last deigns to give a "closer dogmatic elucidation" of the history of socialism from the viewpoint of the "philosophy of law".**

In fact the socialists have hitherto been barking up the wrong tree. They have neglected the very thing that mattered most.

> "Not until socialist ideas are detached from the interminable *economic* and philanthropic discussions ... and transformed into down-to-earth legal terms" (p. III), not until all the "politico-economic frippery" (p. 37) is done away with, can the "legal treatment of socialism ... the most important task of the contemporary philosophy of law" [p. III] be taken in hand.

Now, "socialist ideas" are concerned precisely with economic relations, above all the relation between wage labour and capital, and, this being so, these economic discussions would appear, after all, to amount to more than mere detachable "frippery". Moreover, political economy is a science, so called, and a somewhat more scientific one than the philosophy of law at that,

* See the article by *Fr. Engels* on "*Ludwig Feuerbach*" in the *Neue Zeit* IV, p. 206 [see this volume, p. 393]: "It is among professional politicians, theorists of public law and jurists of private law that the connection with economic facts gets well and truly lost. Since in each particular case the economic facts must assume the form of juristic motives in order to receive legal sanction; and since, in so doing, consideration has, of course, to be given to the whole legal system already in operation, the juristic form is, in consequence, made everything and the economic content nothing. Public law and private law are treated as separate spheres, each having its own independent historical development, each being capable of, and needing, a systematic presentation by the consistent elimination of all innate contradictions."

** Dr. Anton Menger, *Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag in geschichtlicher Darstellung*, Stuttgart, Cotta, 1886, X, p. 171.

being concerned with facts and not with mere ideas, like the latter. But this is a matter of total indifference to the professional lawyer. For him, economic research stands on a par with philanthropic rhetoric. *Fiat justitia, pereat mundus.*[a]

Furthermore, the "politico-economic frippery" in Marx—and this is what our lawyer finds hardest to swallow—is not simply economic research. It is essentially historical. It demonstrates the course of social development, from the feudal mode of production of the Middle Ages to the advanced capitalism of today, the demise of earlier classes and class antagonisms and the formation of new classes with new conflicts of interest manifesting themselves, inter alia, in new legal demands. Even our lawyer seems to have a faint glimmering of this, discovering on p. 37 that today's

> "philosophy of law ... is essentially nothing more than a replica of the state of the law as handed down by history", which could be "termed the *bourgeois philosophy of law*" and "alongside which a *philosophy of law of unpropertied classes of the people* has emerged in the shape of socialism".

But if this is so, what is the cause? Where do the "bourgeois" and the "unpropertied classes of the people" come from, each possessing a specific philosophy of law corresponding to its class position? From the law, or from economic development? What else does Marx tell us but that the views of law held by each of the large social classes conform with their respective class positions? How did Menger get in among the Marxists?

Yet this is but an oversight, an inadvertent acknowledgement of the strength of the new theory which the stern lawyer let slip, and which we shall therefore simply record. On the contrary, when our man of law is on his home, legal ground, he scorns economic history. The declining Roman Empire is his favourite example.

> "The means of production were never so centralised," he tells us, "as when half the African province was in the possession of six people ... never were the sufferings of the working classes greater than when almost every productive worker was a slave. Neither was there at that time any lack of fierce criticism of the existing social order—particularly from the Church Fathers—which could rival the best socialist writings of the present; nevertheless, the fall of the Western Roman Empire was not followed by socialism, for instance, but—by the medieval legal system" (p. 108).

And why did this happen? Because

> "the nation did not have a clear picture of the future order, one free of all effusiveness".

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[a] Let justice be done, though the world perish (a dictum attributed to Emperor Ferdinand I of Austria (1556-64). See J. Manlius, *Loci Communes*, II, p. 290).—*Ed.*

Mr. Menger is of the opinion that during the decline of the Roman Empire the *economic* preconditions for modern socialism were in existence; it was simply its legal formulation that was lacking. Because of this, it was feudalism, and not socialism, that took over, making a nonsense of the materialist conception of history!

What the lawyers of the declining Roman Empire had formed so neatly into a system was not *feudal* law but Roman law, the law of a society of commodity producers. Since Mr. Menger operates on the assumption that the legal idea is the driving force of history, he now makes the quite preposterous demand on the Roman lawyers that, instead of the legal system of existing Roman society, they should have delivered the very opposite—"a clear picture, free of all effusiveness", of an imaginary social system. So that is Menger's philosophy of law, applied to *Roman* law! But Menger's claim that the economic conditions had never been so favourable to socialism as under the Roman Emperors is downright horrendous. The socialists that Menger seeks to disprove see the guarantee of socialism's success in the development of production itself. On the one hand, the development of large-scale machine-based enterprises in industry and agriculture makes production increasingly social, and the productivity of labour enormous; this necessitates the abolition of class distinctions and the transfer of commodity production in private enterprises into direct production for and by society. On the other hand, the modern mode of production gives rise to the class which increasingly gains the power for, and interest in, actually carrying through this development: a free, working proletariat.

Now compare the conditions in imperial Rome, where there was no question of large-scale machine-based production, either in industry or in agriculture. True, we find a concentration of land*ownership,* but one would have to be a lawyer to equate this with the development of labour performed socially in large enterprises. For the sake of argument, let us present Mr. Menger with three examples of landownership. Firstly, an Irish landlord who owns 50,000 acres tilled by 5,000 tenants in smallholdings averaging 10 acres; secondly, a Scottish landlord who has turned 50,000 acres into hunting grounds; and thirdly, an immense American farm of 10,000 acres, growing wheat on a large industrial scale. No doubt he will declare that in the first two cases the concentration of the means of production has advanced five times as far as in the last.

The development of Roman agriculture during the imperial age

led, on the one hand, to the extension of pastoral farming over vast areas and the depopulation of the land; on the other, to the fragmentation of the estates into smallholdings which were handed over to *colons* and became miniature enterprises run by dependent small farmers, the forerunners of the serfs, thus establishing a mode of production that already contained the germ of the medieval one. And it was for this reason among others, esteemed Mr. Menger, that the Roman world was superseded by the "medieval legal system". No doubt there were, at various times, large-scale agricultural enterprises in individual provinces, but there was no machine production with free workers—it was a *plantation* economy that used *slaves,* barbarians of widely differing nationalities, who often could not understand one another. Then there were the free proletarians: not *working* proletarians but the *Lumpen*proletarians. Nowadays society increasingly depends on the labour of the proletarians and they are becoming increasingly essential to its continued survival; the Roman Lumpenproletarians were parasites who were not merely useless but even harmful to society, and hence lacked any effective power.

But to Mr. Menger's way of thinking, the mode of production and the people were apparently never so ripe for socialism as they were in the imperial age! The advantage of steering well clear of economic "fripperies" is obvious.

We shall allow him the Church Fathers, since he says nothing as to wherein their "criticism of the existing social order ... could rival the best socialist writings of the present". We are indebted to the Church Fathers for not a little interesting information about Roman society in decline, but as a rule they never engaged in *criticism,* being content simply to *condemn* it, and they often did it in such strong terms that the fiercest language of the modern socialists, and even the clamour of the anarchists, seem tame in comparison. Is this the "superiority" to which Mr. Menger refers?

With the same contempt for historical fact that we have just observed, Menger states on p. 2 that the privileged classes receive their income *without personal services to society* in return. So the fact that ruling classes in the ascendant phase of their development have very definite social functions to perform, and for this very reason become ruling classes, is quite unknown to him. While socialists recognise the temporary historical justification for these classes, Menger here declares their appropriation of surplus product to be theft. Therefore, it must come as a surprise to him to find on pp. 122 and 123 that these classes are daily losing more and more of the *power* to protect their right to this income. That

this power consists in the performance of social functions and vanishes at a later stage of development with the demise of these functions is a complete enigma to this great thinker.

Enough. The worthy professor then proceeds to deal with socialism from the point of view of the philosophy of law, in other words, to reduce it to a few brief legal formulas, to socialist "basic rights", a new edition of human rights for the nineteenth century. Such basic rights have, of course,

> "little practical effect", but they are "not without their uses in the scientific sphere" as "*slogans*" (pp. 5, 6).

So we have already sunk to the point where we are only dealing with *slogans*. First the historical context and content of this mighty movement are eliminated to make way for mere "philosophy of law", and then this philosophy of law is reduced to slogans which, it is admitted, are not worth a rap in practice! It was certainly worth the trouble.

The worthy professor now discovers that the *whole of socialism* can be reduced, legally speaking, to *three* such slogans, three basic rights. These are:

1. the right to the full proceeds of one's labour,
2. the right to a livelihood,
3. the right to work.

The right to work is only a provisional demand, "the first clumsy formula wherein the revolutionary demands of the proletariat are summarised" (Marx),[a] and thus does not belong here. Yet he overlooks the demand for *equality*, which dominated all of French revolutionary socialism, from Babeuf to Cabet and Proudhon, but which Mr. Menger will hardly be able to formulate legally, although (or perhaps because) it is the most legalistic of all the demands mentioned. We are thus left with a quintessence consisting of the meagre propositions 1 and 2, which, to cap it all, are mutually contradictory. Menger finally realises this on p. 27, but it in no way prevents every socialist system from having to live with them (p. 6). But it is quite evident that cramming widely differing socialist doctrines from widely differing countries and stages of development into these two "slogans" is bound to adulterate the entire exposé. The peculiarity of each individual doctrine—what actually constitutes its historical importance—is not merely cast aside as a matter of secondary importance; it is

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[a] K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*, present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 77-78.—*Ed.*

actually rejected as quite wrong because it diverges from the slogan and contradicts it.

The work we discuss deals only with No. 1, the right to the full proceeds of one's labour.

The worker's right to the full proceeds of his labour, that is, each individual worker's right to *his* specific proceeds, is only found in this strict sense in the doctrine of Proudhon. To demand that the means of production and the products should belong to the workers as a whole is quite a different matter. This demand is communist and, as Menger discovers on p. 48, goes *beyond* demand No. 1, which causes him a good deal of embarrassment. Consequently, one moment he has to place the communists under No. 2, and the next he has to twist and turn basic right No. 1 until he can fit them in there. This occurs on p. 7. Here it is assumed that even after commodity production has been abolished it nevertheless continues to exist. It seems quite natural to Mr. Menger that even in a socialist society *exchange values,* i.e. commodities for sale, are produced and the *prices of labour* continue to exist—in other words, that labour power continues to be sold as a commodity. The only point which concerns him is whether the historically inherited prices of labour will be maintained in a socialist society with a surcharge, or whether there ought to be

> "a completely new method of determining the prices of labour".

The latter would, in his opinion, shake society even more severely than the introduction of the socialist social system itself. This confusion of concepts is understandable as on p. 94 our scholar talks about a *socialist theory of value,* imagining, as others have done before him, that Marx's theory of value is supposed to provide a yardstick for distribution in the society of the future. Indeed, on p. 56 it is stated that the full proceeds of labour are nothing definite, as they can be calculated according to at least *three* different standards, and eventually, on pp. 161, 162, we are told that the full proceeds of labour constitute the "natural principle of distribution" and are only possible in a society with common property but individual use—that is, a society not today proposed as an ultimate goal by a single socialist anywhere! What an excellent basic right! And what an excellent philosopher of the law for the working class!

In this way Menger has made it easy for himself to give a "critical" presentation of the history of socialism. Three words I'll tell you of import great, and even though they are not on

everyone's lips,[a] they are quite sufficient for the matriculation examination that is being carried out with the socialists here. So step this way, Saint-Simon, over here, Proudhon, come on, Marx and whatever you are called: Do you swear by No. 1, or No. 2, or No. 3? Now quick into my Procrustean bed, and if anything overhangs, I'll chop it off, as economic and philanthropic fripperies!

The point at issue is simply in whom the three basic rights foisted onto socialism by Menger are first to be found: whoever is the first to come up with one of these formulas is the great man. Understandably enough, it is impossible to do such a thing without dropping a few ridiculous clangers, the would-be learned apparatus notwithstanding. He believes, for example, that to the Saint-Simonists the *oisifs* denote the owning classes and the *travailleurs,* the working classes (p. 67), in the title of Saint-Simon's work *Les oisifs et les travailleurs.— Fermages, loyers, intérêts, salaires* (The Idle and the Workers.—Farm Rents, Rents, Interest, Wages),[b] where the absence of *profit* alone should have taught him better. On the same page Menger himself quotes a key passage from the *Globe,* the organ of Saint-Simonism, which, alongside the scholars and the artists, lavishes praise on the *industriels,* i.e. the *manufacturers,* (as opposed to the *oisifs*) as mankind's benefactors and which simply demands the abolition of the tribute to the *oisifs,* that is, the *rentiers,* those who are in receipt of farm rent, rent and interest. In this list, *profit* is again excluded. In the Saint-Simonist system the manufacturer occupies a prominent position as a powerful and well-paid agent of society, and Mr. Menger would do well to study this position more closely before continuing his treatment of it from the point of view of the philosophy of law.

On page 73 we are told that in the *Contradictions économiques* Proudhon had, "*albeit rather obscurely*", promised "a new solution of the social problem", while retaining commodity production and competition. What the worthy professor still finds *rather obscure* in 1886, Marx saw through as early as in 1847, demonstrating that it was actually an old idea, and predicting the bankruptcy that Proudhon in fact suffered in 1849.[511]

But enough of this. Everything we have discussed up to now is only of secondary concern to Mr. Menger, and also to his audience. If he had only written a history of right No. 1, his book

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[a] Paraphrase of two lines from Schiller's poem "Die Worte des Glaubens".— *Ed.*

[b] Headline of an article by B. P. Enfantin published in *Le Globe,* No. 66, March 7, 1831.— *Ed.*

would have disappeared without a trace. The history is only a pretext for writing the book; the purpose of that book is to *drag Marx down.* And it is only read because it deals with Marx. For a long time now it has not been so easy to criticise him—ever since an understanding of his system has gained wider currency and the critic has no longer been able to count on the ignorance of his audience. There is only one option: in order to drag Marx down, his achievements are attributed to other socialists in whom no one is interested, who have vanished from the scene and who have no political or scientific importance any longer. In this way they hope to dispose of the founder of the proletarian world view, and indeed the world view itself. Mr. Menger undertook the task. People are not professors for nothing. They want to make their mark, too.

The matter becomes quite simple.

The present social order gives landowners and capitalists a "right" to part—the bulk—of the product produced by the worker. Basic right No. 1 says that this right is a wrong and the worker should have the whole proceeds of his labour. This takes care of the entire content of socialism, unless basic right No. 2 comes into the picture. So whoever first said that the present right of those who own the soil and the other means of production to part of the proceeds of labour is a *wrong* is the great man, the *founder of "scientific" socialism*! And these men were *Godwin, Hall* and *Thompson.* Leaving out all the interminable economic fripperies and getting to the legal residue, Menger finds nothing but the same assertion in Marx. Consequently Marx simply copied these old Englishmen, particularly Thompson, and took care to keep quiet about his source. The proof has been adduced.

We give up any attempt to make this hidebound lawyer understand *that nowhere does Marx demand the "right to the full proceeds of labour"*, that he makes no legal demands of any kind at all in his theoretical works. Even our lawyer seems to have a faint inkling of this when he reproaches Marx for nowhere giving

> "a thorough presentation of the right to the full proceeds of labour" (p. 98).

In Marx's theoretical studies legal right, which always merely reflects the economic conditions prevalent in a specific society, is only considered as a matter of purely secondary importance; his main concern is the historical justification for certain conditions, modes of appropriation and social classes in specific ages, the investigation of which is of prime importance to anyone who sees in history a coherent, though often disrupted, course of develop-

ment rather than, as the eighteenth century did, a mere muddle of folly and brutality. Marx views the historical inevitability of, and hence the justification for, the slave-owners of classical times, the feudal lords of the Middle Ages, etc., as the lever of human development for a limited historical period. He thereby also recognises the temporary historical justification for exploitation, for the appropriation of the product of labour by others. Yet at the same time he demonstrates that not only has this historical justification disappeared, but that the continued existence of exploitation in any form, far from furthering social development, is daily impeding it more and more and involving it in increasingly violent collisions. Menger's attempt to force these epoch-making historical investigations into his narrow, legalistic Procrustean bed only goes to show his total inability to understand things that go beyond the narrowest legal horizon. Basic right No. 1, as formulated by him, does not exist for Marx at all.

But here it comes!

Mr. Menger has discovered the term "SURPLUS VALUE" in Thompson. No doubt about it—Thompson is the discoverer of surplus value, and Marx a wretched plagiarist:

> "In Thompson's views one immediately recognises the mode of thinking, indeed even the forms of expression, that are later found in so many socialists, particularly *Marx* and *Rodbertus*" (p. 53).

Thompson is therefore undeniably the "foremost founder of scientific socialism" (p. 49). And what does this scientific socialism consist in?

> The view "that rent and profits on capital are deductions which the owners of land and capital make from the full proceeds of labour, is by no means *peculiar to socialism,* as many representatives of bourgeois political economy, e.g. Adam Smith, *proceed from the same opinion.* Thompson and his followers are *original only in so far* as they regard rent and profit on capital as *wrongful* deductions that conflict with the worker's right to the full proceeds of his labour" (pp. 53-54).

Thus scientific socialism does not consist in discovering an economic fact—according to Menger, this had already been done by earlier economists—but simply in declaring this fact *wrongful.* That is Mr. Menger's view of the matter. If the socialists had really made it so easy for themselves, they could have packed up long ago, and Mr. Menger would have been spared his legal-philosophical clanger. But that's what happens when you reduce a movement in world history to legal slogans that fit in your waistcoat pocket.

But what about the surplus value stolen from Thompson? The facts of the matter are as follows:

In his *Inquiry into the Principles of Distribution of Wealth etc.* (Chapter 1, section 15), Thompson considers

"what proportion of the products of their labour ought the labourers to pay" ("OUGHT", literally "are obliged", hence "ought to pay under the law") "for the use of the articles, called capital, to the possessors of them, called capitalists". The capitalists say that "without this capital, in the shape of machinery, materials, etc., mere labour would be unproductive; and therefore it is but just that the labourer should pay for the use of that". And Thompson continues: "Doubtless, the labourer must pay for the use of these, when so unfortunate as not himself to possess them; the question is, how much of the products of his labour OUGHT[a] to be subtracted for their use" (p. 128 of the Pare edition of 1850).

This certainly does not sound at all like the "right to the full proceeds of labour". On the contrary, Thompson finds it quite acceptable that the worker should forfeit part of the proceeds of his labour for the use of the borrowed capital. The question for him is simply how much. Here there are "two measures, the worker's and the capitalist's". And what is the worker's measure? It is

"the contribution of such sums as would replace the waste and value of the capital, by the time it would be consumed, with such *added compensation* to the owner and SUPERINTENDENT of it, as would support him *in equal comfort* with the MORE ACTIVELY EMPLOYED[b] productive labourers".

Thus, then, is the *worker*'s demand, according to Thompson, and anyone who does not "immediately recognise the mode of thinking, indeed even the forms of expression" from "Marx" would be mercilessly failed in Mr. Menger's philosophy-of-law examination.

But surplus value—what about surplus value? Patience, dear reader, we are almost there.

"The measure of the capitalist would be the *additional value produced* by the same quantity of labour, *in consequence of the use of the machinery* or other capital; *the whole of such surplus value* to be enjoyed by the capitalist for his superior intelligence and skill in accumulating and advancing to the labourers his capital, or the use of it" (Thompson, p. 128).

This passage, taken literally, is utterly incomprehensible. No production is possible without the means of production. But the means of production are here assumed to be in the form of capital, i.e. in the possession of capitalists. So if the worker

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[a] The English word "ought" is given after the quotation, which is in German.— *Ed.*

[b] The English words "superintendent" and "more actively employed" are given after their German equivalents in the text.— *Ed.*

produces without the "use of machinery or other capital", he is attempting the impossible; he does not in fact produce anything at all. But if he does produce *with* the use of capital, then his *entire* product would be what is called surplus value here. So let's read on. On p. 130 Thompson has the same capitalist say:

> "Before the invention of machinery, before the accommodation of workshops, or factories, what was the amount of produce which the unaided powers of the labourer produced? Whatever that was, let him still enjoy... To the maker of the buildings or the machinery, or to him who by voluntary exchange acquired them, let all the *surplus value* of the manufactured article go, as a reward", etc.

Here Thompson's capitalist is simply expressing the manufacturers' everyday illusion that the working hour of the worker producing with the aid of machinery, etc., produces a greater *value* than the working hour of the simple artisan before the invention of machinery. This notion is fostered by the *extraordinary* "surplus value" pocketed by the capitalist who breaks into a field hitherto held by manual labour, with a newly invented machine on which he and perhaps a few other capitalists have a monopoly. In this case, the price of the hand-made product determines the market price of the entire output of this sector of industry; the machine-made product might cost a mere quarter of the labour, thus leaving the manufacturer with a "surplus value" of 300 per cent of his cost price.

Naturally, the general spread of the new machine soon puts paid to this sort of "surplus value"; but then the capitalist notices that as the machine-made product comes to determine the market price and this price progressively falls to the real value of the machine-made product, the price of the hand-made product also falls and is thus forced down below its previous value, so that machine labour still produces a certain "surplus value" compared with manual labour. Thompson places this fairly common self-deception in the mouth of his manufacturer. How little he shares it himself, however, he expressly states immediately before this, on p. 127:

> "The materials, the buildings, the wages, can add nothing to their own value. The *additional value* proceeds from labour alone."

We must beg our reader's indulgence when we point out especially for Mr. Menger's edification that this "additional value" of Thompson's is by no means the same as Marx's surplus value but the *entire* value added to the raw material by labour, that is, the sum total of the value of the labour power and surplus value in the Marxian sense.

Only now, after this indispensable "economic frippery", can we fully appreciate the audacity with which Mr. Menger says on p. 53:

"In Thompson's view ... the capitalists consider ... *the* difference between *the worker's necessities of life* and the real proceeds of their labour, rendered more productive by machinery and other capital expenditure, to be SURPLUS (or ADDITIONAL) VALUE,[a] which must fall to the owners of land and capital."

This purports to be the "free" German rendering of the passage that we quoted above from Thompson, p. 128. But all that Thompson's capitalist is referring to is the difference between the product of THE SAME QUANTITY OF LABOUR,[a] according to whether the work is performed with or without the use of capital: the difference between the product of the same quantity of labour performed manually or with the help of machines. Mr. Menger can only smuggle in "the worker's necessities of life" by totally falsifying Thompson.

To sum up: The "surplus value" of Thompson's capitalist is not Thompson's "surplus" or "additional value"; much less is either of them Mr. Menger's "surplus value"; and least of all is any of the three Marx's "surplus value".

But that does not bother Mr. Menger in the slightest. On p. 53 he continues:

"Rent and profit on capital are therefore nothing but deductions which the owners of land and capital are able to make from the full proceeds of labour, to the detriment of the worker, by virtue of their legal position of power"—the whole substance of this sentence is already found in Adam Smith—and then he triumphantly exclaims: "In *Thompson*'s views one immediately recognises the mode of thinking, indeed even the forms of expression, that are later found in so many socialists, particularly Marx and Rodbertus."

In other words, Mr. Menger came across the term SURPLUS (or ADDITIONAL) VALUE in Thompson, only managing to conceal by means of an outright misrepresentation that in Thompson the term is used in two totally different senses, which again are both totally different from the sense in which Marx uses the term surplus value [*Mehrwert*].

This is the entire substance of his momentous discovery! What a pitiful result when set against the grandiose proclamation in the preface:

"In this work I shall *present proof* that *Marx* and *Rodbertus* borrowed their principal socialist theories from older English and French theorists, without giving the sources of their views."

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[a] The English words are given after their German equivalents in the text.—*Ed.*

How miserable the comparison that precedes this sentence now seems:

"If anyone had 'discovered' the theory of the division of labour thirty years after the publication of Adam Smith's work on the wealth of nations, or if a writer today sought to present Darwin's theory of evolution as his own intellectual property, he would be considered either an *ignoramus* or a *charlatan*. Only in the social sciences, which almost entirely lack an historical tradition, are successful attempts of this kind conceivable."

We shall disregard the fact that Menger still believes Adam Smith "discovered" the division of labour, while Petty had fully developed this point as long as eighty years before Adam Smith. What Menger says about Darwin, however, now rather rebounds on him. Back in the sixth century B. C., the Ionian philosopher Anaximander put forward the view that man had evolved out of a fish, and this, it will be recalled, is also the view of modern evolutionary science. Now if someone were to stand up and maintain that the mode of thinking and indeed the forms of expression of Darwin could be recognised in Anaximander and that Darwin had done nothing more than plagiarise Anaximander carefully concealing his source, he would be adopting exactly the same approach to Darwin and Anaximander as Mr. Menger adopts to Marx and Thompson. The worthy professor is right: "only in the social sciences" can one count on the ignorance that makes "successful attempts of this kind conceivable".

But as he places so much emphasis on the term "surplus value", regardless of the concept associated with it, let us divulge a secret to this great expert on the literature of socialism and political economy: not only does the term "SURPLUS PRODUCE" occur in Ricardo (in the chapter on wages),[a] but the expression "*plus-value*", alongside the "*mieux-value*" employed by Sismondi, is commonly used in business circles in France, and has been used as far back as anyone can remember, to designate any increase in value that does not cost the owner of the commodities anything. This would seem to make it doubtful whether Menger's discovery of Thompson's discovery (or rather Thompson's capitalist's discovery) of surplus value will be recognised even by the philosophy of law.

However, Mr. Menger is not finished with Marx yet, by any means. Just listen:

"It is characteristic that Marx and Engels have been *misquoting* this *fundamental work* of English socialism" (viz. Thompson) "for forty years" (p. 50).

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[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, pp. 90-115.—*Ed.*

So Marx—not content with hushing up his secret Egeria for forty years—also has to go and misquote her! And not just once, but for forty years. And not only Marx, but Engels too! What an accumulation of premeditated villainy! Poor Lujo Brentano, who has been hunting in vain for twenty years for just one single misquotation by Marx, and during this witch-hunt has not only burnt his own fingers but has brought ruin upon his gullible friend Sedley-Taylor of Cambridge[512]—kick yourself, Lujo, for not finding it! And in what does it consist, this horrendous falsification that has been stubbornly pursued for forty years, is "characteristic" into the bargain, and, to cap it all, is given the character of a treacherous plot by Engels' malicious forty-year-long complicity?

"*...misquoting for forty years by giving its year of publication as 1827!*"

When the book had appeared as early as 1824!

"Characteristic", indeed—of Mr. Menger. But that is far from being the only—listen here, Lujo!—the only misquotation by Marx and Engels, who seem to practise misquotation professionally—perhaps even on the move? In the *Misère de la philosophie* (1847) Marx got *Hodgskin* mixed up with *Hopkins,* and forty years later (nothing less than forty years will satisfy these wicked men) Engels commits the same offence in his preface to the German translation of the *Misère.*[513] With his eagle eye for printer's errors and slips of the pen it really is a loss to mankind that the good professor did not become a printer's proofreader. But no—we must take back this compliment. Mr. Menger is no good at reading proofs, either; for he, too, commits slips of the pen, that is to say, he misquotes. This happens not only with English titles but also with German ones. He refers, for instance, to "Engels' translation of this work", i.e. the *Misère.* According to the title page of the work the translation was not by Engels. In the preface in question Engels quotes the passage from Marx mentioning Hopkins *verbatim*: he was thus obliged to reproduce the error in his quotation in order not to misquote Marx. But these people simply cannot do anything right for Mr. Menger.

But enough of these trivia in which our philosopher of law takes such delight. It is "characteristic" of the man and the likes of him that he feels obliged to show he has read two or three more books than Marx had "forty years ago", in 1847, even though he became familiar with the entire literature on the subject through Marx in the first place—nowhere does he quote a single English author not already quoted by Marx, apart from perhaps Hall and

world-famous people like Godwin, Shelley's father-in-law. A man who has the titles of all the books quoted by Marx in his pocket and all the present facilities and amenities of the British Museum at his disposal and is unable to make any discovery in this field apart from the fact that Thompson's *Distribution* appeared in 1824, and not 1827, really should not brag about his bibliographical erudition.

The same applies to Mr. Menger as to many other social reformers of our day: grand words and negligible deeds, if any. He promises to demonstrate that Marx is a plagiarist—and shows that one *word,* "Mehrwert" [surplus value], had been used before Marx, though in a different sense!

The same holds for Mr. Menger's legal socialism. In his preface, Mr. Menger declares that in the

> "legal treatment of socialism" he sees the "most important task of the philosophy of law *of our time....* Its correct handling will substantially contribute to ensuring that the indispensable amendments of our legal system are effected by way of a peaceful reform. Only when the ideas of socialism are transformed into sober legal concepts will the practical politicians be able to acknowledge how far the existing legal system needs reforming in the interests of the suffering masses."[a]

He intends to set about this transformation by presenting socialism as a legal system.

And what does this legal treatment of socialism amount to? In the "Concluding Remarks" he says:

> "There can surely be no doubt that the formation of a legal system that is fully dominated by these fundamental legal concepts" (basic rights 1 and 2) "can only be *a matter of the distant future*" (p. 163).

What appears to be the most important task of "our time" in the preface is assigned to the "distant future" at the end.

> "The necessary changes" (in the existing legal system) "will take place by way of prolonged historical development, just as our present social system eroded and destroyed the feudal system over the centuries, *until all that was needed was one blow to completely eliminate it*" (p. 164).

Fine words, but what place is there for the philosophy of law if society's "historical development" brings about the necessary changes? In the preface it is the lawyers who determine the course taken by social development; now that the lawyer is about to be taken at his word, his pluck deserts him and he mutters something about historical development, which does everything on its own.

> "But does our social development advance towards realising the right to the full proceeds of one's labour or the right to work?"

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[a] A. Menger, *Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag...,* p. III.—*Ed.*

Mr. Menger declares that he does not know. How ignominiously he now abandons his socialist "basic rights". But if these basic rights cannot coax a dog away from the hearth, if they do not determine and realise social development but are determined and realised by it, why go to all the trouble of reducing socialism to the basic rights? Why all the bother of stripping socialism of its economic and historical "fripperies", if we are to find out in hindsight that these "fripperies" are its real substance? Why only tell us at the end that the whole study is utterly pointless, since the objective of the socialist movement cannot be perceived by turning the ideas of socialism into sober legal concepts but only by studying social development and its motive forces?

Mr. Menger's wisdom ultimately amounts to declaring that he cannot say which direction social development will take, but he is sure of one thing: "the weaknesses of our present social system should not be *artificially* exacerbated" (p. 166) and, to make it possible to preserve these "weaknesses", he recommends—*free trade* and the avoidance of further *indebtedness* on the part of the State and the local communities!

This advice is the sole tangible result of Mr. Menger's philosophy of law, which presents itself with such fuss and self-praise. What a pity that the worthy professor does not let us into the secret of how modern states and local communities are supposed to manage without "contracting national and local debts". If he should happen to know the secret, let him not keep it to himself forever. It would certainly pave his way "to the top" and a ministerial portfolio a good deal faster than his achievements in the "philosophy of law" ever will.

Whatever reception these achievements may find in "high places", we believe we can safely say that the socialists of the present and the future will make Mr. Menger a gift of all his basic rights, or at any rate will refrain from disputing his right to the "full proceeds of his labour".

This does not mean to say, of course, that the socialists will refrain from making *specific legal demands*. An active socialist party is impossible without such demands, like any political party. The demands that derive from the common interests of a class can only be put into effect by this class taking over political power and securing universal validity for its demands by making them law. Every class in struggle must therefore set forth its demands in the form of *legal demands* in a programme. But the demands of every class change in the course of social and political transformations, they differ from country to country according to the country's

distinctive features and level of social development. For this reason, too, the legal demands of the individual parties, for all their agreement on ultimate goals, are not entirely the same at all times and for every nation. They are an element subject to change and are revised from time to time, as may be observed among the socialist parties of different countries. When such revisions are made, it is the *actual conditions* that have to be taken into account, it has not, however, occurred to any of the existing socialist parties to construct a new philosophy of law out of its programme, nor is this likely ever to happen in the future. At any rate, Mr. Menger's achievements in this field can only have a deterrent effect.

That is the only useful thing about his little book.

Written November-beginning of December 1886

First published in *Die Neue Zeit,* No. 2, 1887

Printed according to the journal

Published in English in full for the first time

# TO THE EDITORS OF THE *NEW YORKER VOLKSZEITUNG*[514]

In your article concerning me[a] in the *Volkszeitung* of March 2[b] you maintain

"that Aveling is said to have submitted a bill which contained items that a labour agitator, who must know that the donations[c] raised to finance agitation come almost entirely out of the pockets of hard-working labourers, really should not present".

Passing over all the minor points and restricting my reply to the one main point, I wish to state:

The weekly bills submitted by me to the Executive contained all my expenses, that is to say both those chargeable to the Party and others to be met by me personally. I had made it clear to the Executive in advance and in the most unambiguous way—first in a verbal agreement with the treasurer, R. Meyer, and then in several letters—that all the purely personal expenses were to be defrayed by me in return for the $366.00 ($3 per day) guaranteed to me by the Executive, and that I left it entirely up to the Executive to decide which items of expenditure should be passed on to the party, and which items should be charged to me personally.

I never expected—even less demanded—that any of these personal items of expenditure should be paid for "out of the pockets of hard-working labourers", and indeed none of them have been. For further information about this I refer you to my

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[a] Edward Aveling, on behalf of whom this letter was written.—*Ed.*

[b] "Affaire Aveling noch einmal", *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 52, March 2, 1887.—*Ed.*

[c] The *New Yorker Volkszeitung* has "money".—*Ed.*

enclosed circular of February 26 to the sections,[515] to the publication of which I can no longer object after what has occurred.

In addition I would point out that a printing error has crept into your article. My reply to your article of January 12[a] was dated not "Feb. 1887" but January 26, 1887, and was sent off to you on the same day that article came to my notice.

With social-democratic greetings.[b]

*Edward Aveling*

London, March 16, 1887

First published in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 76, March 30, 1887

Printed according to the manuscrpit collated with the newspaper text

Published in English for the first time

[a] "Aveling und die Sozialisten", *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 10, January 12, 1887.—*Ed.*

[b] This phrase is omitted in the text published in the newspaper.—*Ed.*

# ENGELS' AMENDMENTS TO THE PROGRAMME OF THE NORTH OF ENGLAND SOCIALIST FEDERATION[516]

*Wage-workers of all Countries — Unite!*

## THE NORTH OF ENGLAND SOCIALIST FEDERATION

(FOUNDED IN NORTHUMBERLAND, MAY, 1887)

## PRINCIPLES[a]

The North of England Socialist Federation has been formed to educate and organize the people to achieve the economic emancipation of labour.

While fully sympathising with and helping every effort of the wage-earners to win better conditions of life under the present system, the Socialist Federation aims at abolishing the Capitalist and Landlord class, *as well as the wage-working class,* and forming //the workers of society// *all members of society* into a Co-operative Commonwealth.

An employing class monopolising all the means of getting and making wealth, and a wage-earning class compelled to work //primarily// for the profit of these employers, is a system of tyranny and slavery.

The antagonism of these two classes //brings about// *manifests itself in* fierce competition—for employment amongst the workers and for markets amongst the capitalists. This //gives rise to class hatred and class strife// *divides the nation against itself, forms it into two hostile camps,* and destroys real independence, liberty, and happiness.

The present system gives ease and luxury to the idlers, toil and poverty to the workers, and degradation to all; it is essentially unjust and should be abolished. *And it can be abolished, now that the productiveness of labour has become so vast that no extension of markets can absorb its overflowing produce, the very superabundance of the means*

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[a] The words crossed out by Engels are given in double oblique lines, and the text added by him is printed in italics.— *Ed.*

*of life and of enjoyment thus becoming the cause of stagnation of trade, want of employment and consequent misery of the toiling millions.*

Our aim is to bring about a Socialist System which will give healthy and useful labour to all, ample wealth and leisure to all, and the truest and fullest freedom to all.

All are invited to help the Socialist Federation in this great cause. Adherents shall acknowledge truth, justice, and morality as the basis of their conduct towards each other and towards all men. They shall acknowledge *no rights without duties: no duties without rights.*

Written between June 14 and 23, 1887

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XVI, Part 1, Moscow, 1937

Reproduced from the *Principles* with amendments in Engels' hand

Published in English for the first time

*Wage-workers of all Countries—Unite!*

THE NORTH OF ENGLAND

# SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

(FOUNDED IN NORTHUMBERLAND, MAY, 1887.)

## PRINCIPLES.

The North of England Socialist Federation has been formed to educate and organize the people to achieve the economic emancipation of labour.

While fully sympathising with and helping every effort of the wage-earners to win better conditions of life under the present system, the Socialist Federation aims at abolishing the Capitalist and Landlord class and forming the workers of society into a Co-operative Commonwealth.

An employing class monopolising all the means of getting and making wealth, and a wage-earning class compelled to work primarily for the profit of these employers, is a system of tyranny and slavery.

The antagonism of these two classes brings about fierce competition—for employment amongst the workers and for markets amongst the capitalists. This gives rise to class hatred and class strife, and destroys real independence, liberty, and happiness.

The present system gives ease and luxury to the idlers, toil and poverty to the workers, and degradation to all; it is essentially unjust and should be abolished.

Our aim is to bring about a Socialist System which will give healthy and useful labour to all, ample wealth and leisure to all, and the truest and fullest freedom to all.

All are invited to help the Socialist Federation in this great cause. Adherents shall acknowledge truth, justice, and morality as the basis of their conduct towards each other and towards all men. They shall acknowledge NO RIGHTS WITHOUT DUTIES: NO DUTIES WITHOUT RIGHTS.

## PROGRAMME.

The Socialist Federation seeks to gain its ends by working on the following lines:—

(1) Forming and helping other Socialist bodies to form a National and International Socialist Labour Party.
(2) Striving to conquer political power by promoting the election of Socialists to Parliament, Local governments, School Boards, and other administrative bodies.
(3) Helping Trade Unionism, Co-operation, and every genuine movement for the good of the workers.
(4) Promoting a scheme for the National and International Federation of Labour.

All who agree with these objects are invited to become members. For Rules see other side.

as well as the wage-working class

all members of society

manifests itself in

divides the action against itself forms it into two hostile camps

And it can be abolished, now that the productiveness of labour has become so vast that no extension of markets can absorb its overflowing produce, the very superabundance of the means of life and of enjoyment, that becoming the cause of the agitation of hate, want of employment & unemployment, misery of the toiling millions

Programme of the North of England Socialist Federation with Engels' amendments

# TO THE EDITOR OF *JUSTICE*[517]

Dear Comrade.—The Press has already announced that four German Socialists—Bernstein, Motteler, Schlueter and Tauscher, editors and publishers of the Zurich *Sozial Demokrat,*—have been expelled from Switzerland by the Federal Council of that country for "having abused the hospitality extended to them." This severe measure must appear all the more surprising, as the paper in question, during the eight years of its existence, has always carefully refrained from attacks upon Switzerland and Swiss institutions, and as its language generally has never been more moderate than during the last few months.

The official text of the order of expulsion giving the reasons upon which the Federal Council bases it, is now before us, and these reasons are surprising indeed. The Federal Council would make us believe that its attention was first called to the *Sozial Demokrat,* not by anything published by that paper itself, but by a comic paper, printed in the same office in January, 1887, of which only one number was bought! And yet the *Sozial Demokrat* from the first day of its publication had been watched with the greatest and most constant attention by the German authorities, and, at their request by the Swiss authorities.

The Federal Council having thus become aware of the necessity of watching the *Sozial Demokrat,* now found out, as it tells us, that this paper "was written in a generally violent language offensive to the authorities of the German Empire." That is to say, the paper did not proclaim actual and forcible resistance against the State power in Germany, much less in Switzerland. It merely stigmatised as such and called by their proper names, the infamies committed in Germany by the authors of the Anti-Socialist Law and their

executive tools. That, however, is "abuse of hospitality" in a republic, which itself celebrates year by year in hundreds of commemorative festivals the homicidal act of William Tell, and brags of the asylum it offers to refugees of all nations.

In consequence of this violent language, we are further informed, an official warning was administered to the *Sozial Demokrat,* which, however, had not the desired effect. "Certainly the editors henceforth took care to avoid coarsely offensive expressions." But they declined "to change anything in the fundamental programme of the paper," and moreover they "reproduced articles which appeal to force, though accompanied by commentaries intended to make people believe in the moderation of the paper itself." To prove this latter grave offence, the Federal Council states that on April 7th, 1888, the *Sozial Demokrat* reprinted certain resolutions passed in 1866—twenty-two years ago!—by 500 Germans in Zurich, resolutions calling upon the German people of that day to rise in arms against their government. In 1866 not one of the 500 Germans present at that meeting in Zurich was molested by the Federal Council on account of these resolutions. But if in 1888 the *Sozial Demokrat* merely states these facts, that is sufficient to expel from Switzerland four men connected with that paper.

Altogether the reasons given are ridiculous. But the fact is the Federal Council dared not state the real reasons for its actions: that Bismarck and Puttkamer, his home secretary, are furious at the German Social-Democrats in Switzerland having succeeded in unmasking a set of spies and agents provocateurs sent out by the German police in order to manufacture evidence to enable the government to demand the prolongation, and with increased stringency, of this Socialist Coercion Bill. The expulsion is Puttkamer's revenge for the defeat inflicted upon him by the Socialist members in the Reichstag and by the *Sozial Demokrat,* and the Federal Council acts as Puttkamer's humble servant. The expulsion of our comrades means the extension of the German Socialist Coercion Act to Switzerland; it means that the dynamitards of the Russian police will henceforth enjoy in Zurich the same official protection that is extended to them in Berlin.

The only country in Europe where a right of asylum may still be said to exist is England. No doubt Bismarck will try, as he has done before now, to draw England within the nets of his international political police and to place German Socialists, in England too, under his "petty state of siege." Will there be English statesmen prepared to meet him half way? If so, let us

hope that English working men will know how to stop their government from playing the same abject and cowardly part now played by the Swiss Federal Council.

I am, dear comrade, yours fraternally,

*Karl Kautsky*

Written on April 25 or 26, 1888

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in the newspaper *Justice*, No. 224, April 28, 1888

# INTERVIEW GIVEN BY FREDERICK ENGELS TO THE *NEW YORKER VOLKSZEITUNG*[518]

*Question*: Is socialism in England moving forward—that is, do the English working men's organisations accept the socialist critique of economic development more readily than they used to, and do they aspire—to any extent worth mentioning—to the "ultimate aims" of socialism?

*Engels*: I am quite satisfied with the progress of socialism and the workers' movement in England; but this progress mainly consists in the development of the proletarian consciousness of the *masses*. The official workers' organisations, the trade unions, which were threatening in places to become reactionary, are obliged to limp along behind, like the Austrian *Landsturm*.[519]

*Question*: What is the position in this respect in Ireland? Is there anything there—apart from the national question—that could arouse hope among socialists?

*Engels*: *A pure socialist movement cannot be expected from Ireland for quite a long time yet.* First people want to become small landowning farmers, and when they are, along comes the mortgage and ruins them all over again. Meanwhile that is no reason why we shouldn't help them to free themselves from their landlords—that is, to make the transition from a semi-feudal to a capitalist condition.

*Question*: What is the attitude of the English workers to the Irish movement?

*Engels*: The masses are *for* the Irish. The organisations, like the workers' aristocracy in general, follow Gladstone and the liberal bourgeois, and go no further than they.

*Question*: What do you think about Russia? That is, how far have you modified your view—which you and Marx expressed some six years ago when I[a] was in

[a] Theodor Cuno, the representative of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*.—*Ed.*

London—that because of the nihilist, terrorist successes of the day the impulse for a European revolutionary movement would probably come from Russia?[a]

*Engels*: On the whole I am still of the opinion that a revolution or even just the convocation of some kind of national assembly in Russia would revolutionise the whole European political situation. But today this is no longer the most obvious possibility. To make up for it, we have a new William.[b]

To the question of how he would characterise the present European situation, Engels answered: "I have not seen a European paper for seven weeks now, so I am in no position to characterise anything that is going on over there."

This concluded the discussion.

First published in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 226, September 20, 1888

Printed according to the newspaper

[a] Marx and Engels expressed this idea in the "Preface to the Second Russian Edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*" (see present edition, Vol. 24).— *Ed.*

[b] William II.— *Ed.*

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] Engels' works on the early history of the Germans relate to his study of the early stages in the development of society. They laid the basis for the historical materialist explanation of the origin of classes and the state and made a major contribution to the research into the history of the formation of European peoples.

These manuscripts were not published during the author's lifetime. Engels used part of the material he had collected in the essay "The Mark" (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 439-56).

During his work on the manuscript Engels may have changed his initial plan. The material relating to point 2 ("The District and Army Structure") of the draft plan, published here, is missing in the manuscript *On the Early History of the Germans* and is evidently used in the second chapter of *The Frankish Period* directly linked with the first manuscript. That Engels departed from his initial plan is also proved by the fact that *The Franconian Dialect* (see this volume, pp. 81-107), originally planned as a note, was transferred to *The Frankish Period* and elaborated as its component part.

The headings of the first three chapters of Engels' manuscript *On the Early History of the Germans* ("Caesar and Tacitus", "The First Battles Against Rome" and "Progress Until the Migration Period") were supplied by the editors according to Engels' draft plan; the heading of the fourth chapter ("Note: The German Peoples") is given in the manuscript by Engels himself.

*On the Early History of the Germans* was first published in Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XVI, Part I, Moscow, 1937 and in the language of the original in Friedrich Engels, *Zur Geschichte und Sprache der deutschen Frühzeit. Ein Sammelband.* Besorgt vom Marx-Engels-Lenin Institut beim ZK des SED, Berlin, 1952, S. 37-94.

Passages from this work were published in English for the first time in: Marx, Engels, *On Literature and Art,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, pp. 187-88 and 212-14 and in full in Marx, Engels, *Pre-Capitalist Socio-Economic Formations.* A Collection, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, pp. 298-360.

The dating of the draft plan, as of the works themselves, is given according to *MEGA*2, Abt. I, Bd. 25, S. 988-89.

In this volume, these works have been arranged according to the dates on which Engels completed them. p. 3

[2] In the nineteenth century the term *Aryans* referred to the peoples using Indo-European languages. Nowadays the term is applied to the tribes and peoples speaking Indo-Iranian languages. p. 8

[3] Herodotus Halicarnassensis, *Historiae,* Book II, Chapter 33 and Book IV, Chapter 49. Most of the Greek and Latin sources are quoted by Engels from *Die Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit,* published by v. G. H. Pertz, J. Grimm, etc., Vol. 1: *Die Urzeit.* Berlin, 1849. p. 9

[4] *Periodos oder Über den Ozean,* a work by Pytheas of Massilia, has not been preserved and is only known from references by other ancient authors.p. 10

[5] The *great migration of peoples* (Völkerwanderung)—a conventional name for mass intrusions of the Germanic, Slavic, Sarmatian and other peoples into the territory of the Roman Empire in the 4th-7th centuries, which led to the collapse of the Western Roman Empire and the transition from slavery to feudalism throughout the Roman Empire. p. 11

[6] See Note 1. p. 19

[7] *Proconsul*—an office introduced in Ancient Rome in 327 B.C. Originally the proconsul discharged military duties outside Rome, but after the provinces were formed he acted as governor and military commander there (propraetor in minor provinces). p. 24

[8] Germany received Roman law in the 15th and 16th centuries. Here, as in the rest of Europe, Roman law originated from Digests (or Pandects), the main part of the Byzantine codification of Roman law promulgated under Emperor Justinian in 533 (*Corpus iuris civilis*). Digests mainly cover private law regulating property, family, hereditary and liability relations, as well as criminal and procedural law. p. 25

[9] *Lictor*—a minor official in Ancient Rome. p. 25

[10] General Yorck, who in 1812 commanded a Prussian auxiliary corps of the Napoleonic army in Russia, concluded the Tauroggen Convention with the Russian Command on December 30, 1812, pledging to take no part in the fighting against the Russian army for two months.

In the Battle of Leipzig between the allied Russian, Austrian, Prussian and Swedish forces and the army of Napoleon I (October 16-19, 1813), the Saxon Corps, which fought in the ranks of Napoleon's army, at a crucial moment suddenly went over to the other side and turned its guns against the French. p. 29

[11] This refers to the mutiny in the mercenary army of the Spanish King Philip II, which occupied the Netherlands, in the summer and autumn of 1576. The soldiers revolted because they had not been paid for a number of years. p. 30

[12] The reference is to the insurrection of the Illyrian tribes (A.D. 6-9) sparked off by oppression on the part of the Roman administration, and unbearable taxes. It swept over Dalmatia and Pannonia, that is the whole of Illyricum. The insurgents killed Roman soldiers and merchants, attacked Macedonia and threatened Italy. Fifteen Roman legions were brought together to suppress the insurrection which was not quelled until the August of A.D. 9, following three military expeditions under the command of Tiberius and Germanicus. p. 30

[13] The reference is to the Roman fortification which owes its name to the Germanic tribe of Angrivarians who lived on both banks of the Weser, north of the Cherusci and south of the Saxons. p. 31

[14] This refers to the ancient burial place which was discovered near the town of Hallstatt in Southwest Austria in 1846 and gave the name to the archaeological culture of the tribes inhabiting the southern part of Central Europe in the period of the early Iron Age (c. 900-400 B.C.). p. 33

[15] The reference is to the *Agri Decumates* (tithe lands). These lands, lying between the right bank of the Upper Rhine and the Danube, were annexed to the Roman Empire in A.D. 83 under Domitian and distributed among the Roman veterans and Gauls. p. 34

[16] The events described by Engels are mentioned in: Carl Fredrik Wiberg, *Der Einfluß der klassischen Völker auf den Norden durch den Handelsverkehr,* Hamburg, 1867, p. 115 and Hans Hildebrand, *Das heidnische Zeitalter in Schweden,* Hamburg, 1873, p. 182. p. 38

[17] This refers to *Leges barbarorum* (laws of the barbarians)—codes of law which originated between the 5th and 9th centuries and were, in the main, a written record of the customary or prescriptive law of the various Germanic tribes. p. 42

[18] Alamannic law (*Lex Alamannorum*)—a code of common law of the Alamanni, one of the ancient Germanic tribes. It dates back to the period between the end of the 6th and 8th centuries and reflects the transition from the gentile and tribal system to early feudalism. Smiths are mentioned in Chapter LXXIV, 5. p. 42

[19] Bavarian law (*Lex Baiuvariorum*)—a code of common law of the Bavarians, a Germanic tribe. It dates back to the mid-8th century and, distinct from Alamannic law, reflects a later stage in the development of the Germanic tribes, when the Mark community was disintegrating and feudalism just emerging. Punishment for theft is mentioned in Chapter IX, 2. p. 42

[20] Frisian law (*Lex Frisionum*)—a code of common law of the ancient Germanic tribe of Frisians (8th cent.). It contains passages borrowed from Alamannic law and certain revised enactments of the Frankish kings. p. 42

[21] Salic law (*Lex Salica*)—a code of common law of the Salian Franks, used by the greater part of the population of the Frankish state. Compiled in the early 6th century on the orders of King Clovis (481-511), it was supplemented and revised under his successors. Salic law reproduces various stages of ancient judicial procedure and is an important historical document showing the evolution of Frankish society from the primitive communal system to the emergence of feudal relations. p. 42

[22] The *grand army* (*grande armée*)—the name given in 1805 to the group of the armed forces of the French Empire operating in the main theatres of the Napoleonic wars. Besides French troops, it included contingents from various countries conquered by Napoleon (Italy, Holland, the German states and Poland). p. 46

[23] Pliny's work *Bellorum Germaniae libri* is not extant. p. 46

[24] The *Carolingians*—the dynasty of kings and emperors (from 800) in the Frankish state (751-10th cent.), which got its name from Charlemagne. The

policy pursued by the Carolingians was conducive to the growth of feudalism in Western Europe, accelerated the enserfment of the peasantry, strengthened the economic and political position of big landowners and led to the consolidation of central authority. p. 48

25 In the first book of his *Natural History* Pliny lists the works by Roman and Greek authors whom he quotes, Strabo and Plutarch among them. p. 56

26 Engels' manuscript *The Frankish Period* was not published during his lifetime.

The manuscript has two parts; the first part includes two chapters: "The Radical Transformation of the Relations of Landownership under the Merovingians and Carolingians" and "The District and Army Structure". The second part of the manuscript bears the title "Note: The Franconian Dialect". Each part is a complete whole. All headings are given in conformity with Engels' manuscript.

*The Frankish Period* was first published in full ("The Franconian Dialect" was published earlier, see Note 47) in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XVI, Part I, Moscow, 1937, and in the language of the original in: Friedrich Engels, *Zur Geschichte und Sprache der deutschen Frühzeit.* Ein Sammelband. Berlin, 1952, S. 97-152.

*The Frankish Period* (without "Note: The Franconian Dialect") was published in English for the first time in: Marx, Engels, *Pre-Capitalist Socio-Economic Formations.* A Collection, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979. p. 58

27 The *Merovingians*—the first royal dynasty in the Frankish state (457-751), which got its name from its legendary founder Merovaeus. The policy pursued by the Merovingians promoted the rise of feudal relations among the Franks.

For the *Carolingians,* see Note 24. p. 58

28 The terms the "Mark system" and "Mark" are explained in G. L. von Maurer, *Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark-, Hof-, Dorf- und Stadt-Verfassung der öffentlichen Gewalt,* Munich, 1854, pp. 5 and 40.

For more details about the "Mark", see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 439-56. p. 58

29 See Note 17. p. 59

30 *Antrustions*—warriors under the early Merovingians (see Note 27); evidently descendants of the gentile nobility. p. 61

31 *Major-domo* (Lat. *major domus*)—the highest official in the Frankish state under the Merovingians (see Note 27). Originally the major-domo was appointed by the king and was in charge of the palace. As feudalism advanced and royal power was weakened the functions of major-domos were extended; they became the biggest landowners and concentrated state power in their hands. Most powerful of all were the major-domos from the Pepinide clan—Pepin of Heristal (687-712), Charles Martel (715-741) and Pepin the Short (741-751) who became the first king (751-768) of the Carolingian dynasty (see Note 24). p. 61

32 The Saxons defeated the Frankish army at Mount Süntel on the right bank of the Weser (782).

For more than two centuries, from around 560, the Avars made innumerable raids on the territory of the Frankish state. In 796 the joint forces of the Franks and the southern Slavs destroyed the Avars' central fortification in Pusta-Ebene.

The Arabs, who conquered Spain at the beginning of the 8th century, invaded Southern Gaul in 720. In the Battle of Poitiers (732) Charles Martel defeated the Arabs and put an end to their incursions into Europe. p. 62

33 See Note 24. p. 62

34 The Franks were converted to Christianity in 496 during the reign of Clovis I (481-511). The adoption of Christianity and alliance with the Catholic episcopate secured Clovis the support of the clergy and goodwill towards the Franks on the part of the Catholic Gauls and Romans. p. 62

35 *Capitularies*—royal legislative acts and ordinances of the early Middle Ages (the Carolingian dynasty—8th-10th cent.). The Aachen Capitulary (*Capitulare duplex Aquisgranense a. 811*), which noted the wholesale seizure of peasant lands by ecclesiastical and secular feudal lords, is a major source on the history of the Frankish state. The full Latin text of the Aachen Capitulary is quoted by Paul Roth in *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens von den ältesten Zeiten bis ins zehnte Jahrhundert,* Erlangen, 1850, p. 253, Note 31. p. 63

36 The information quoted by Engels is taken from the 9th-century polyptych (record of landed property, population and incomes) of Saint-Germain-des-Prés Monastery. For the first time this record was published with commentaries by the French historian Guérard, under the title *Polyptique de l'abbé Irminon,* vols I-II, Paris, 1844. Engels is quoting from Paul Roth's book *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens...,* Erlangen, 1850, p. 251.

Details on the landed property of the monasteries of St. Denis, Luxeuil and St. Martin de Tours are also taken from Roth's book. p. 64

37 *Colons* were bondsmen of the Carolingian feudal lord on whose land they lived; colons had no right to abandon their plots which were in their hereditary use.

*Lites*—a semi-free stratum among the Franks and Saxons. They occupied an intermediate position between free-holders and slaves. p. 64

38 In response to an appeal by Pope Stephen II, Pepin the Short undertook two campaigns to Italy (in 754 and 756) against the Langobardian King Aistulf. Part of the lands he conquered Pepin ceded to the Pope and this laid the foundation of the Papal States (756). p. 66

39 This refers to the second synod in Lestines (743) which endorsed the secularisation of Church lands in favour of the state as effected under Charles Martel. p. 66

40 The risings of the Alamanni were suppressed by Pepin the Short (in 744) and Carloman (in 746), and after this their duchy was destroyed. The Thuringians won independence in 640.

Charlemagne's wars against Saxony, which was conquered and annexed to the Frankish state, lasted for more than 30 years (from 772 to 804). During this period the Saxons twice (in 782 and 792) rose in revolt against their conquerors. p. 67

41 The growing discord in the family forced Louis the Pious, Charlemagne's son and successor, to divide the empire among his heirs on three occasions (in 817, 829 and 837); this led to the internal wars that continued till his death and ended in the political disintegration of the empire. In 843, following Louis' death, his sons concluded in Werden a treaty on a new division of the empire. The Werden treaty virtually laid the foundation of France, Germany and Italy—three modern states of Western and Central Europe. p. 67

[42] *Formulas* were models for drawing up legal deeds and transactions relating to property and other matters in the Frankish state between the end of the 6th and the end of the 9th centuries. Several collections of such formulas have survived to this day. That quoted by Engels is included in the collection *Formulae Turonenses vulgo Sirmondicae dictae.* Engels may have taken it from Roth's book *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens...*, p. 379, Note 51. p. 73

[43] In his description of Charlemagne's Capitularies (*Capitulare a. 847, Capitulare a. 813, Capitulare a. 816*) Engels makes use of the material in Paul Roth's *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens...*, pp. 380-81, notes 58 and 61. p. 74

[44] The reference is to the *Annales Bertiniani,* an important source on the history of the Carolingian empire. The *Annales,* which owe their name to St. Bertin Monastery in France, are a chronicle covering the period from 741 to 882 and consisting of three parts written by different authors. The *Annales* advocate the interests of the French Carolingians and support their claim to the territory of the East Frankish kingdom. The *Annales Bertiniani* were published in the well-known series *Monumenta Germaniae historica.*

Engels' description of the *Annales Bertiniani* is based on Roth's *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens...*, p. 385, Note 81. p. 75

[45] This refers to the rising of free and semi-free Saxon peasants-freelings and lites or the *Stellinga* (from *Stellinger*—Sons of the Old Law), which took place in 841-843 and was directed against the feudal order in Saxony. p. 81

[46] Charlemagne was crowned Roman Emperor in 800. p. 81

[47] Engels' manuscript *The Franconian Dialect* remained unfinished and was not printed during the author's lifetime. It was first published by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Friedrich Engels, *Der fränkische Dialekt,* Moskau, 1935 (Фридрих Энгельс, *Франкский диалект,* Москва, 1935), the German and Russian given parallel.

Here it is published in English for the first time. p. 81

[48] *Hêliand,* a literary monument of the ancient Saxon language dating back to the 9th century, is an abridged version of the Gospel. Its author was presumably a monk from the Werden Monastery on the Ruhr.

Two manuscripts of the *Hêliand* are extant: one originating in Munich (dating back to the 9th century); the other named after Cotton, an English collector of antiquities, dates back to the 10th and 11th centuries. The title of the manuscript, which literally means Saviour, was provided by the German linguist Johann Schmeller in 1830. The *Hêliand* was first published by Moritz Heyne in 1866 in *Bibliothek der ältesten deutschen Litteratur-Denkmäler.* Vol. II. *Altniederdeutsche Denkmäler,* Part I. p. 81

[49] The *Werden tax registers* (*Die Freckenhorster Heberolle*) got their name from the monastery in Freckenhorst, a town to the southeast of Münster. They were published by Moritz Heyne in *Kleinere altniederdeutsche Denkmäler,* Paderborn, 1867, pp. 65-82. p. 84

[50] The reference is to the glosses, i.e. explanation of obscure and unusual words, which the Dutch philologist Justus Lipsius copied in 1599 from the 9th-century manuscript of the psalms. The Lipsius Glosses (*Glossae Lipsianae*) were published by Moritz Heyne in *Kleinere altniederdeutsche Denkmäler,* Paderborn, 1867, pp. 41-58. p. 84

51 The *Paderborn records,* relics of local law relating to the 10th and 11th centuries, were published in 1831-32 by the German historian Paul Wigand in *Archiv für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde Westphalens,* Vol. 5, Lemgo, 1831, and in *Die Provinzialrechte der Fürstenthümer Paderborn und Corvey in Westphalen,* vols 2 and 3, Leipzig, 1832. p. 85

52 This refers to the rendering of the *Gospel* made by Otfrid, a monk from Weissenburg, between 863 and 871. Otfrid's *Gospel* (*Liber Evangeliorum domini gratia theotisce conscriptus*) is one of the first relics of ancient German literature. Its language is regarded as a southern variety of the Rhenish Franconian dialect.

Engels quotes Otfrid's *Gospel* according to Jacob Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik,* Part 1, 2nd ed., Göttingen, 1822, pp. 874-76 and 894. p. 86

53 The reference is to the manuscript dating back to the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century and expressing a formula of the baptismal vow (*Taufgelöbnis*). Engels quotes this manuscript according to *Kleinere altniederdeutsche Denkmäler,* published by Moritz Heyne. Paderborn, 1867, p. 85. p. 86

54 In 1234, in the battle of Altenesch, the combined forces of the Count of Oldenburg, other princes and of Archbishop of Bremen defeated the Eastern Frisians, who lived between the Weser and the Jade, and annexed their lands to Oldenburg. p. 87

55 The reference is to the bourgeois revolution of 1566-1609 in the Netherlands. It combined the national liberation war against absolutist Spain with the anti-feudal struggle and ended in victory in the north of the country (now the territory of the Netherlands) where the first bourgeois republic in Europe was formed. p. 87

56 *Manneken-Pis*—a statue of the boy crowning the ancient fountain in Brussels, the work of Jérôme Duquesnoy, a Flemish sculptor of the 17th century. p. 90

57 A reference to the *Topographische Special-Karte von Deutschland,* published by Gottlob Daniel Reymann, continued by C. W. von Oesfeld and F. Handtke, Glogau, n.d. Engels made use of separate sheets designated by the name of the principal town and the number of the corresponding square or section of the map. p. 96

58 *Hand-Atlas für die Geschichte des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit,* 3. Aufl. von Dr. K. v. Spruner's Hand-Atlas, neu bearbeitet von Dr. Th. Menke. Gotha, 1880.

The geographical data which Engels refers to at various points in his work are taken mainly from Map 32 (Deutschland's Gaue. II. Mittleres Lothringen). p. 96

59 On September 27, 1856, soon after Georg Weerth's death, Engels wrote to Marx about his firm intention to write an obituary and have it published in one of the Berlin newspapers (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 72). However, this proved impossible in the reactionary situation of the 1850s.

Engels fulfilled his intention 27 years later. The essay about the revolutionary poet that appeared in the newspaper *Sozialdemokrat* on June 7, 1883 was entitled "*Song of the Apprentices*" *by Georg Weerth* (*1846*). In the Second Russian Edition of the *Works* and in the editions in other languages that followed the title of the article was changed in conformity with its subject-matter.

The essay was published in English for the first time in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Literature and Art,* International Publishers, New York, 1947. p. 108

60 Between December 1843 and April 1846 Weerth was a clerk at the Bradford branch of the textile firm Passavant and Co.

From April 1846 Weerth was employed by the Hamburg trade firm Emanuel und Sohn with offices in England (Bradford), France, the Netherlands and Belgium. p. 109

61 In this article devoted to an historical and linguistic analysis of the last book of the New Testament, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine* or *The Apocalypse,* Engels examines questions relating to the history of early Christianity. He had dealt with some of the same problems previously in the article "Bruno Bauer and Early Christianity" (see present edition, Vol. 24); later, in 1894, Engels analysed them more thoroughly in the article "On the History of Early Christianity" (present edition, Vol. 27). p. 112

62 The *Tübingen school,* comprising a group of liberal German Protestant theologians, was founded in 1830 by Ferdinand Christian Baur, a professor at Tübingen University. (As distinct from the group of Tübingen theologians that existed in the last quarter of the 18th century, it is sometimes called the neo-Tübingen school.) Its adherents engaged in a critical study of ancient Christian literature, notably the New Testament. Without essentially abandoning the confines of Christian theology, they were the first to inquire into the sources of the New Testament. At the beginning of his philosophical career David Strauss also belonged to the Tübingen school, but subsequently his criticism became much more radical. The school disintegrated by the 1860s.

Engels gave a detailed description of this school in his article "On the History of Early Christianity" (present edition, Vol. 27). p. 112

63 The *Stoics*—disciples of philosopher Zeno of Citium, who taught at the Stoa (Painted Porch) in Athens. Hence the name of this one of the principal schools of Hellenistic and Roman philosophy founded in the late 4th and early 3rd centuries B.C. Among its followers were such ancient philosophers as Seneca (1st cent. A.D.), Philo of Alexandria (1st cent. A.D.) and Marcus Aurelius (2nd cent. A.D.).

The Stoics sought to corroborate the inner independence of human personality, yet at the same time they displayed an extreme sense of resignation towards the surrounding world and made no attempts to change it. Stoicism introduced a strict division of philosophy into logic, physics and ethics. It exerted a considerable influence on the formation of the Christian religion. p. 113

64 Ferdinand Benary gave a course of lectures in Berlin University and simultaneously published them in the *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* that appeared in Berlin (Nos. 17-20 and 30-32 for 1841). p. 115

65 See also Engels' article "On the History of Early Christianity" (present edition, Vol. 27). p. 116

66 This Preface to the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 477-519) was written for the third German authorised edition, the first to appear after Marx's death.

It was published in English for the first time in Marx K. and Engels F., *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* Modern Books, London, 1929. p. 118

67 Engels wrote this article for the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* on the first anniversary of Marx's death.

This article was published in English for the first time in Marx K. and

Engels F., *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1936. p. 120

68 Referring here and below to the *Code Napoléon*, Engels meant the entire system of bourgeois law as represented by five codes (civil, civil procedure, commercial, criminal and criminal procedure) promulgated in 1804-10 during Napoleon's reign. These codes were introduced into the regions of Western and South-Western Germany conquered by France and remained in force in the Rhine Province even after its incorporation into Prussia in 1815. p. 123

69 The *Prussian Law* (*Das Allgemeine Landrecht für die Preussischen Staaten*) was promulgated in 1794. It included civil, commercial, credit, maritime and insurance law as well as criminal, ecclesiastical, state and administrative law, and endorsed the obsolete legal standards of semi-feudal Prussia. To a large extent the Prussian Law remained in force until the introduction of the civil code in 1900. p. 123

70 After the March 1848 Revolution Gustav Adolph Schlöffel, a German democratic student, began to publish the *Volksfreund* newspaper in Berlin. On April 19, in its issue No. 5, the newspaper carried two of his articles in which he attacked private property and defended the rights of the working people. For this Schlöffel was brought before a court of law and sentenced to six months' imprisonment in a fortress on a charge of incitement to revolt. p. 123

71 The reference is to the Camphausen-Hansemann liberal ministry formed in Prussia on March 29, 1848. p. 124

72 Engels is referring to the articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* devoted to a critique of the French and Berlin National Assemblies. Some of these articles were written by Marx (see present edition, vols 7, 8); Engels summarised this critique in his work *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 79). p. 125

73 On *February 24*, 1848 Louis Philippe was overthrown in France.

On *February 24* (March 7), 1848, having received news of the victory of the February Revolution in France, Nicholas I ordered a partial mobilisation in Russia in preparation for the struggle against the revolution in Europe. p. 126

74 A series of articles "Die schlesische Milliarde" written by Wilhelm Wolff, a friend and associate of Marx and Engels, appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Nos. 252, 255, 256, 258, 264, 270-72 and 281 between March 22 and April 25, 1849. In 1886 these articles with some changes were published as a separate pamphlet with Engels' Introduction (see this volume, pp. 341-51). A detailed analysis of these articles is given by Engels in his work "Wilhelm Wolff" (see present edition, Vol. 24). p. 127

75 On June 13, 1849, the Party of the Mountain organised in Paris a peaceful protest demonstration against the despatch of French troops to Italy to restore the power of the Pope in Rome and consolidate French influence in that country. The proposed troop despatch was a violation of the French constitution which prohibited the use of the army against the freedom and independence of other nations.

The vacillations and indecision of its leaders led to the demonstration's failure, and it was dispersed by government troops. Many leaders of the Mountain were arrested and deported or were forced to emigrate from France.

The Legislative Assembly adopted a number of laws suppressing democratic rights. p. 128

76 Concerning Engels' part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, see *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 147-239). p. 128

77 *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* is one of Engels' most important works. It is based on a detailed synopsis made by Marx in 1880-81 of Lewis H. Morgan's book, *Ancient Society or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery, Through Barbarism to Civilization,* London, 1877. Marx's synopsis contained his critical notes, his own propositions and also some factual material taken from other sources. Engels assumed that Marx had planned to write a special work on the history of mankind in the early period of its development using Morgan's book as a basis. Having acquainted himself with Marx's synopsis and Morgan's book, Engels deemed it necessary to write such a work, regarding it as the fulfilment of Marx's behest. On March 24, 1884 Engels wrote to Karl Kautsky: "Actually I am indebted to Marx for it and can incorporate his notes" (see present edition, Vol. 47). In his work on the book, Engels made use of almost all Marx's notes, pointing this out in every case, and also of the structure of Marx's synopsis, which differed from that of Morgan's book. Engels relied, particularly in the first three chapters, on the factual material from Morgan's observations of the life of the North American Indians and in several cases on his arguments and conclusions; he also employed information provided by other scholars about peoples at the same stage of development. In chapters IV-VI, in addition to the information from Morgan's book, Engels used a number of specialised works on ancient history. Chapters VII and VIII are based exclusively on Engels' own studies of the early history of the Germans (see this volume, pp. 6-107). Chapter IX, the last one, contains conclusions drawn by Engels himself.

The first edition of *The Origin of the Family* appeared early in October 1884 in Zurich, since it was impossible to publish the book in Germany given the Anti-Socialist Law. The two editions that followed (in 1886 and 1889) were published in Stuttgart without any changes. Polish, Romanian, Italian, Danish and Serbian translations were issued in the latter half of the 1880s.

The fourth edition of the book, with considerable addenda and certain changes made by Engels on the basis of the latest findings in the field of archaeology, ethnography and anthropology, appeared in 1891. In this volume all the essential differences in reading occurring in the 1884 and 1891 editions are given in footnotes.

The first English edition of the book appeared in 1902. p. 129

78 Marx's synopsis of Morgan's book was first published in Russian translation in: *Marx-Engels Archives,* Vol. IX, Moscow, 1941, and later in Marx and Engels, *Works,* Second Russian Edition, Vol. 45, Moscow, 1975. The first publication in the languages of the original appeared in *The Ethnological Notebooks of Karl Marx.* Translated and edited, with an introduction by Lawrence Krader, Assen, 1972.

All references in the text of the present volume are given according to this edition. p. 131

79 *Pueblo* (Sp.—people, population) is the name of the four linguistic groups of Indian tribes who lived on the territory of New Mexico (now the South-Western part of the USA). Originally the Spanish conquerors applied this name to five-

or six-storey fortress-like houses inhabited by Indian communities; later this name was also applied to the inhabitants of these unusual villages. The Pueblo culture had its heyday in the 12th and 13th centuries. p. 137

80 This letter of Marx's is not extant. Engels mentions it in his letter to Karl Kautsky of April 11, 1884 (see present edition, Vol. 47). p. 147

81 The reference is to the libretto of the operatic tetralogy *Ring of the Nibelungs* (*Der Ring des Nibelungen*) composed by Richard Wagner, the subject of which was taken from the Scandinavian epic *Edda* and the German epic *Nibelungenlied.*

The *Nibelungenlied* is the ancient German heroic epic based on myths and lays. Written versions of the song appeared only in the 13th-16th centuries. The *Nibelungenlied* penetrated into Scandinavia (6th-8th cent.) where it found reflection in the songs of *Edda.*

The events that accompanied the great migration of peoples (see Note 5), notably the invasion of Europe by the Huns (5th cent.), served as the historical basis of the *Nibelungenlied,* though its final character owed more to the conditions of life in Germany in the 12th century. p. 147

82 The *Ögisdrekka* (Lokasenna) is a song from the first part of *The Elder Edda,* known as *Songs about Gods.* The *Ögisdrekka* describes the quarrel between Loki, the god of fire, and other gods at a feast given by the sea giant Ogir.

*The Elder Edda* is a collection of epic poems and songs about the lives and deeds of the Scandinavian gods and heroes. It has come down to us in a manuscript dating back to the 13th century, discovered in 1643 by the Icelandic Bishop B. Sveinsson. p. 147

83 *Asa* and *Vana*—gods in Scandinavian mythology.

The *Ynglinga Saga* is the first of the 16 sagas in the book about Norwegian kings (from ancient times to the 12th century) entitled *Heimskringla.* It was written by Snorri Sturluson, an Icelandic poet and chronicler, in the first half of the 13th century. p. 148

84 According to this system each tribe was divided into two or four marriage classes (sections). Marriage was allowed only between certain specified pairs of these classes. Children born of this marriage belonged to the third marriage class which was part of the tribe including either a maternal or a paternal marriage class. Such a division restricted marriages between close relatives. p. 151

85 Wright's letters found in Morgan's archives were published in the magazine *American Anthropologist.* New Series, Vol. 35, No. 1, 1933. p. 158

86 *Saturnalian feasts* were held annually in Ancient Rome in honour of Saturn, the god of agriculture. They began on December 17, after the harvest, and were accompanied by carnivals and festivals, with the entire population taking part, including slaves who were allowed to sit at the table alongside free citizens. The cult of fertility presupposed the freedom of sexual intercourse during Saturnalian feasts. p. 159

87 This refers to the decision which King Ferdinand V of Spain, acting as mediator between peasants and seigniors, took under the pressure of the insurgent peasants of Northern Catalonia in 1484.

The decision is known as the Guadalupe decree after the name of the monastery in Estremadura, where, on April 21, 1486, the King met authorised representatives of the peasants and the landlords. The decree granted the

peasants personal freedom, but for the right to keep land holdings they had to pay their landlords high redemption fees. The decree abolished the jurisdiction of the landlords and several humiliating feudal practices. A number of burdensome duties had to be redeemed. p. 161

88 The *Pravda of Yaroslav,* or the *Ancient Pravda,* is the first part of the *Russian Pravda,* the code of laws of ancient Rus. It appeared in the first half of the 11th century and is associated with the name of Prince Yaroslav the Wise of Kiev. The *Pravda* is based on the common law of the Eastern Slavs in the period of early feudalism and reflects the social and economic relations of the 11th and 12th centuries. p. 167

89 The *Dalmatian Laws,* or the *Poljica Statute,* were in force in Poljica, a historical part of Dalmatia, up to the beginning of the 19th century. The first articles of the Statute were drawn up in the first half of the 15th century. The document reflects the norms of the criminal, civil and procedural law as well as the social and economic relations existing in the communities of Poljica in the 15th-18th centuries. p. 167

90 Engels may have taken the information on family communities in France from M. M. Kovalevsky's book *Tableau des origines et de l'évolution de la famille et de la propriété,* Stockholm, 1890. p. 168

91 *Calpullis*—a territorial community of the Aztecs (ancient Mexico) based on the common ownership of land. Part of the land was assigned to individual families each of which embraced several generations inhabiting a common dwelling and constituted a household community. p. 168

92 The *Helots,* part of the agricultural population of Ancient Sparta subjugated by the Dorians, belonged to the state and were attached to the land owned by the *Spartiates*—a class of citizens of Ancient Sparta enjoying full civil rights. Helots could be neither sold nor killed; they owned the means of production and worked on their plots of land. p. 172

93 The *hierodules*—temple slaves and attendants in Ancient Greece and the Greek colonies. In many places, including Asia Minor and Corinth, the female temple slaves were engaged in prostitution. p. 174

94 This refers to the troubadour poetry of Provence (Southern France) between the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 13th centuries. p. 177

95 Engels is referring to the nine poems that have survived from the lyrical cycle attributed to Wolfram von Eschenbach and written in the *Tagelieder* genre, as well as his epic poem *Parzival* and two unfinished poems *Titurel* and *Willehalm.* p. 178

96 *Daphnis* and *Chloe*—heroes of the ancient Greek novel (2nd-3rd century); no information concerning its author, Longus, is extant. p. 184

97 *Gutrun* (*Kudrun*)—a German epic poem of the 13th century. It has survived in a manuscript dating back to the 16th century and was not discovered until the beginning of the 19th century. p. 185

98 The reference is to the conquest of Mexico by Spanish conquistadors in 1519-21. p. 196

99 New Mexicans—see Note 79. p. 200

100 The main works written by Georg Ludwig Maurer are: *Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark-, Hof-, Dorf- und Stadt-Verfassung und der öffentlichen Gewalt,* Munich,

1854; *Geschichte der Markenverfassung in Deutschland,* Erlangen, 1856; *Geschichte der Fronhöfe, der Bauernhöfe und der Hofverfassung in Deutschland,* vols I-IV, Erlangen, 1862-63; *Geschichte der Dorfverfassung in Deutschland,* vols I-II, Erlangen, 1865-66; *Geschichte der Städteverfassung in Deutschland,* vols I-IV, Erlangen, 1869-71. p. 202

101 The "*Neutral Nations*" was the name of a 17th-century tribe related to the Iroquois which lived on the northern shore of Lake Erie. It was given this name by the French colonists because it remained neutral in the war between the Iroquois proper and the Hurons. The war ended in victory for the Iroquois in 1651. p. 203

102 In January 1879, the British troops invaded Zululand (South Africa) with the aim of conquering this country. On January 22, the Zulu army under Cetschwayo (Cetywayo) defeated the colonialist troops near Isandhlwana, inflicting heavy losses. It was only after the arrival of fresh reinforcements that the British troops succeeded in finally defeating the Zulus in the summer of 1879.

In 1881, the Nubians, Arabs and other nationalities of the Sudan rose up against the British colonialists, Turkish and Egyptian authorities and native feudal lords. The uprising was led by Mohammed Ahmed, who proclaimed himself "Mahdi" (saviour). On November 5, 1883, the ten-thousand-strong expeditionary corps under General Hicks was defeated and routed by the insurgents near the town of El Obeid. The uprising lasted till 1898-99. p. 203

103 The reference is to Demosthenes' speech in court, *Against Eubulides* (LVII), in which he mentions the ancient custom of laying to rest only persons of the given gens in gentile burial places. p. 205

104 This passage written in Marx's synopsis in German is a concise summary of Morgan's following argument:

"Although these [Grote's] observations seem to imply that they [the Grecian gentes] are no older than the then existing mythology ... in the light of the facts presented, the gentes are seen to have existed long before this mythology was developed—before Jupiter or Neptune, Mars or Venus were conceived in the human mind" (Lewis H. Morgan, *Ancient Society,* London, 1877, p. 228). p. 206

105 In the passage which Engels quotes from Marx's synopsis, part of the quotation (from the words "The system of consanguinity" to "the relationships of all the members of a gens to each other" and from the words "This fell into desuetude" to "a purely fictitious, fanciful creation of the brain") is a slightly abridged version of Morgan's text (Lewis H. Morgan, *Ancient Society,* pp. 233-34). p. 208

106 See Note 79. p. 212

107 *Thetes,* the fourth, and lowest, class of Athenian citizens, were admitted to civil offices by the law on lower electoral qualifications adopted in 477 B.C. p. 219

108 The reference is to the *metoikos,* or aliens who settled in a Greek city state (polis). Being personally free, they were denied political rights, could not marry Athenian citizens and, as a rule, could not own real estate and land on the territory of the city state where they settled. The *metoikos* were obliged to have "patrons" from among the Athenian citizens, to pay a special tax to the state and serve in the army.

In the 5th-4th centuries B.C. the *metoikos* formed a considerable part of the urban population in Attica and played an important role in its economic life, particularly in trade. p. 220

109 The reference is to the reforms carried out by Cleisthenes in 510-509 B.C. They deprived the gentile nobility of its supremacy in governing Athens and abolished the last remnants of the gentile constitution, since the population was now divided according to the territorial principle, and not according to the gentile principle as before. The reforms increased the importance of the urban population; many *metoikos* (see Note 108) and freedmen who engaged in trade and handicrafts received civic rights. p. 220

110 Pisistratus, who belonged to an impoverished aristocratic family, usurped power in Athens in 560 B.C. and established a dictatorial regime, becoming a tyrant. This regime existed with intervals (Pisistratus was twice driven out of Athens and returned again) until his death in 527 B.C., and then up to 510 B.C. when his son Hippius was banished and the slave-owning democracy headed by Cleisthenes won the day in Athens. Pisistratus' efforts to defend the interests of small and medium landowners and penalise the gentile aristocracy did not give rise to any serious changes in the political structure of the Athenian state. p. 222

111 The *Laws of the Twelve Tables* (*Leges duodecim tabularum*) were enacted in 451-450 B.C. by the Committee of Decemvirs. Originally the laws were carved on ten tables, later two more tables were added. The laws preserved remnants of the gentile system and reflected the social relations of Ancient Rome, referring mainly to civil and criminal law and legal procedure. They were used as the basis for the further development of Roman civil law. p. 223

112 The reference is to the battle in Teutoburg Forest (A.D. 9) fought between the Germanic tribes led by the Cherusci chief Arminius in revolt against Rome and the Roman legions commanded by Quintilius Varus. The Roman troops were routed and their general killed. p. 223

113 This refers to the end of the rule of Appius Claudius, head of the Committee of Decemvirs which enacted the Laws of the Twelve Tables in 451-450 B.C. (see Note 111). However, abuses of power on the part of Appius Claudius led to an insurrection by the plebeians; he was arrested and died in prison.

The *Second Punic War* (218-201 B.C.) was one of the three wars between Rome and Carthage, the two largest slave-owning states of antiquity. Rome sought to abolish Carthage's domination of trade in the Western Mediterranean and indeed defeated it. p. 224

114 The reference is to the comparative tables of ancient and modern measures and also of monetary units, given at the end of A. Dureau de la Malle's *Économie politique des Romains,* Vol. I. p. 230

115 At several points in this and the next chapters Engels makes use of his unfinished works "On the Early History of the Germans" and "The Frankish Period" (see this volume, pp. 6-107) and the article "The Mark" (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 439-56). p. 232

116 The conquest of Wales by the English was completed in 1283. However, Wales retained its autonomy and was united with England in the mid-16th century. p. 232

117 In 1869-70 Engels devoted himself to a major work on the history of Ireland,

but failed to complete it (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 145-85 and 283-314 and also Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, pp. 306-56, and *Marx-Engels Archives,* Russian edition, Vol. X, Moscow, 1948, pp. 157-248). Simultaneously with the study of Celtic history Engels analysed the old Welsh laws. p. 232

118 In September 1891 Engels toured Scotland and Ireland. p. 234

119 A reference to the rebellion of the Scottish highlanders in 1745 caused by oppression and eviction from the land carried out in the interests of the Anglo-Scottish landed aristocracy and bourgeoisie. Part of the nobility in the Scottish Highlands, who supported the claims of the overthrown House of Stuart to the English Crown (the official aim of the insurgents was to enthrone Charles Edward, the grandson of James II), took advantage of the discontent among the highlanders. The suppression of the rebellion put an end to the clan system in the Scottish Highlands and resulted in further evictions. p. 235

120 See Note 5. p. 236

121 See Note 18. p. 236

122 *Burgundian law* (*Lex Burgundionum*)—a code of legislative acts promulgated by the Burgundian kings in the second half of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century. It regulated the major aspects of the life of Burgundian society and its relations with the Gallic and Roman population. p. 236

123 The *Hildebrand Song* (*Hildebrandslied*)—an 8th-century German epic poem, of which only a few passages have survived. p. 237

124 The *Völuspá* (*Vision of the Seeress*)—the best-known song from *The Elder Edda* (see Note 82), depicting the history of the world from its creation to the final desctruction—the "Twilight of the Gods"—and its second birth—the triumph of peace and justice. p. 238

125 In 69-70, Claudius Julius Civilis, chief of the Batavians, who lived at the Rhine estuary and were allied with the Romans, led an insurrection against Rome. It was joined by other Germanic peoples and some of the Gauls. The insurrection was sparked off by the growing taxes, increased levies to the army and the abuse of power by Roman officials. Initially the insurgents achieved considerable success. The Gaulish aristocracy, however, continued to support Rome, and this spelled defeat for the insurgents. The insurrection was quelled, but the Batavians were freed from taxes. p. 240

126 *Codex Laureshamensis* (*Lorch Capitulary*)—a collection of the copies of letters patent and privileges belonging to the Lorch Monastery which was founded in the latter half of the 8th century in the Frankish state. A large feudal estate in South-Western Germany, it was located close to the town of Worms. The collection was compiled in the 12th century and is an important historical document on the system of peasant and feudal landownership in the 8th-9th centuries. p. 242

127 See Note 5. p. 244

128 The reference may have been to the defeats which the retinues of Odoacer, the founder of the first barbarian kingdom on the territory of Italy, suffered from the Ostgoth leader Theodoric in the battles of Aquileja and Verona in 489. As a result of these defeats Odoacer lost power in Italy and was killed. p. 245

129 The reference is to the provinces which were part of the Roman state. p. 247

130 *Benefices*—plots of land bestowed as rewards—were a transitional form of holding, on the road to feudal ownership. This form of remuneration became common practice in the Frankish state following Charles Martel's reform on benefices in the 730s. Gradually the beneficiaries succeeded in turning these life-long grants into fiefs, or hereditary feudal estates. A detailed description of the role which the system of benefices played in the development of feudalism is given by Engels in his unfinished work *The Frankish Period* (see this volume, pp. 58-81). p. 252

131 *Gau counts* (Gaugrafen)—royal officers appointed to administer districts or counties in the Frankish state. They were invested with judicial power, collected taxes and led the troops during military campaigns. For their service they received one-third of the royal income collected in the given county and were rewarded with landed estates. Gradually the counts became feudal seigneurs endowed with sovereign powers, particularly after 877, when the office was formally proclaimed hereditary. p. 252

132 See Note 37. p. 252

133 See Note 37. p. 253

134 *Angariae*—compulsory services performed by residents of the Roman Empire, who were obliged to supply carriers and horses for state transports. p. 253

135 The reference is to the economic organisation of vast estates owned by Charlemagne. It was established by the so-called *Capitulary on Royal Estates* (*capitulare de villis*) promulgated in about 800. Special attention was given to more effective control over the fulfilment of numerous obligations imposed on the peasants working on such estates, as well as to the preservation of the estates themselves and of profits received from them. All this testified to the growth of feudalism in Frankish society. p. 254

136 *Commendation*—an act by which a peasant commended himself to the "patronage" of a small landowner or a small landowner to the "patronage" of a powerful feudal lord in accordance with the established practice (military and other services for the benefit of the "patron", the transfer to him of a plot of land in return for a conventional holding). This meant the loss of personal freedom for the peasants and made small landowners vassals of the powerful feudal lords. This practice, widespread in Europe from the 8th and 9th centuries onwards, led, on the one hand, to the transformation of the peasants into serfs and, on the other, to the consolidation of the feudal hierarchy. p. 254

137 The *Hildebrand Song*—see Note 123.

The *Battle of Hastings* took place on October 14, 1066 between the troops of William, Duke of Normandy, which invaded England, and the Anglo-Saxon army of King Harold. The poorly armed Anglo-Saxons were defeated and King Harold killed. In December 1066 William took London, was crowned King of England and came to be known as William the Conqueror. p. 262

138 *Dithmarschen*—a district in the south-west of present-day Schleswig-Holstein. It was remarkable for its peculiar historical development; in particular, up to the second half of the 19th century there were still survivals of patriarchal customs

and the communal system was preserved among the peasants even after the conquest by Danish and Holstein feudal lords in the 16th century. p. 269

139 Engels wrote this introductory note for the 1884 edition of Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 9, pp. 197-228); in 1891 Engels incorporated it into his Introduction to the new edition of this work by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 27).

This note was published in English for the first time in K. Marx, *Wage Labour and Capital,* Modern Press, London, 1885. p. 277

140 The *German Workers' Society* was founded by Marx and Engels in Brussels at the end of August 1847, its aim being the political education of the German workers who lived in Belgium and dissemination of the ideas of scientific communism among them. With Marx, Engels and their followers at its head, the Society became the legal centre of the revolutionary proletarian forces in Belgium. Its most active members belonged to the Communist League. The Society played an important part in founding the Brussels Democratic Association (see Note 193). After the February 1848 revolution in France, the Belgian authorities arrested and banished many of its members. p. 277

141 Engels' letters written between August and October 1884 show that he did a great deal of work in preparing Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy* for publication in German. (The book was written and published in French in 1847 and was not republished in full during Marx's lifetime.) Engels edited the translation made by Eduard Bernstein and Karl Kautsky and supplied a number of notes to it.

The first German edition of Marx's book appeared in the second half of January 1885 and, a little earlier, at the beginning of January, Engels published his Preface in the magazine *Die Neue Zeit* under the title "Marx und Rodbertus". It was also included in the second German edition of the book which appeared in 1892 with a special preface written by Engels (see present edition, Vol. 27). p. 278

142 Marx wrote the statement about the break with *Der Social-Demokrat* on February 18, 1865 and sent it to Engels, who fully endorsed it and returned it to Marx with his signature; on February 23, 1865 Marx sent the statement to the editors of the newspaper. This was occasioned by Schweitzer's series of articles *Das Ministerium Bismarck* in which he expressed overt support for Bismarck's policy of unifying Germany under Prussian supremacy. Marx took measures to make Schweitzer publish the statement. It was published in many papers, among them the *Barmer Zeitung* and *Elberfelder Zeitung* on February 26. Schweitzer was forced to publish this statement in *Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 29, March 3, 1865 (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 80). p. 278

143 The reference is to Engels' Preface to the first German edition of Vol. II of Marx's *Capital,* which Engels completed on May 5, 1885 (see present edition, Vol. 36). p. 279

144 See the anonymous pamphlet: *The Source and Remedy of the National Difficulties, deduced from principles of political economy, in a letter to Lord John Russell,* London, 1821.

For more details about the pamphlet see Engels' Preface to Vol. II of Marx's *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 36). p. 279

145 Engels is referring to the second edition of Ricardo's book *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* London, 1819, pp. 32-46, where the author divided the text into sections. p. 282

146 The reference is to the people who took part in publishing the literary legacy of Rodbertus-Jagetzow, in particular his work *Das Kapital. Vierter socialer Brief an von Kirchmann,* Berlin, 1884; the publisher of this work and the author of the introduction to it was Theophil Kozak; the preface was written by the German vulgar economist Adolf Wagner. p. 283

147 Engels is referring to the preface to K. Rodbertus-Jagetzow's work, *Das Kapital. Vierter socialer Brief an von Kirchmann,* Berlin, 1884, pp. VII-VIII, in which Adolf Wagner wrote: "Rodbertus evinces here such a power of abstract thinking as is possessed only by the greatest masters." p. 284

148 § 110 of the German Imperial Criminal Code promulgated in 1871 stipulated a fine of up to 600 marks or imprisonment for a term of up to 2 years for a public appeal in writing to disobey the laws and decrees operating in the German Empire. p. 290

149 The second French edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy,* which was being prepared by Marx's daughter Laura Lafargue, appeared in Paris only after Engels' death, in 1896. p. 291

150 Engels wrote this article on January 25, 1885 for *Der Sozialdemokrat.* About the same time he sent a letter to Paul Lafargue describing the same facts and expressing the same ideas more concisely and in somewhat different terms (see present edition, Vol. 47). Lafargue passed this letter on to Jules Guesde who drew on it in writing his article published as a leader in *Cri du Peuple,* No. 461 on January 31, 1885. Guesde quoted a long passage from Engels' letter without naming him, just saying that he had received this letter from London from "one of the veterans of our great social battles". The article was reprinted in the Polish socialist press and in the USA. p. 292

151 On January 13 (1), 1885, Russia and Prussia exchanged notes on extradition of persons accused of criminal offences against the monarchs of the contracting parties or members of their families, as well as of persons found guilty of manufacturing or storing explosives. p. 292

152 Olga Novikova, a Russian journalist who lived in London in 1876 and 1877, took an active part in the campaign against the attempts by Disraeli's Conservative government to involve Britain in the war against Russia on the side of Turkey. She had contacts with the ruling circles of Russia and support among the members of the British Liberal Party, Gladstone in particular. The campaign, which swept both Britain and Russia, helped to prevent Britain entering the war. Engels is referring to Olga Novikova's article "The Russianization of England". p. 292

153 Engels wrote this article for the magazine *The Commonweal*; later he translated it into German and had it published in *Die Neue Zeit* (June 1885). Subsequently he incorporated it into the Appendix to the 1887 American edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (see this volume, pp. 399-405) and in 1892 into the prefaces to the English and the second German editions of this work (see present edition, Vol. 27). p. 295

154 The reference is to the movement for the repeal of the Corn Laws introduced in the interests of the English landed aristocracy as far back as the 15th century. The maintenance of high import tariffs on corn in order to maintain high prices on the home market prevented the growth of capitalist profit.

In 1838 the Manchester factory owners Cobden and Bright founded the Anti-Corn Law League, which demanded lower corn tariffs and unlimited

freedom of trade for the purpose of weakening the economic and political power of the landed aristocracy and reducing agricultural workers' wages. The battle over the Corn Laws ended with their repeal in 1846. p. 295

155 Evidently, it was not John Bright who said this but his followers. See: "Anti-Corn-Law Agitation" in *The Quarterly Review,* Vol. 71, No. 141, London, 1843, p. 273. p. 295

156 The *People's Charter* containing the demands of the Chartists was published on May 8, 1838 in the form of a Bill to be submitted to Parliament. It consisted of six points: universal suffrage (for men of 21 years of age and over), annual elections to Parliament, secret ballots, equal constituencies, abolition of property qualifications for parliamentary candidates, and salaries for M.P.s. In 1839 and 1842, petitions for the Charter were rejected by Parliament. p. 295

157 The reference is to the Chartists' peaceful march to Parliament planned for April 10, 1848, in order to hand in the third petition concerning the People's Charter. The government, however, prohibited the demonstration and took steps to prevent it by concentrating military units in the capital and mobilising a whole army of "special constables" from among the bourgeoisie. Many of the Chartist leaders wavered, abandoned their intention of staging the march and persuaded those who had assembled to disperse. p. 296

158 The reference is to the *Reform Bill* which was finally passed by the British Parliament in June 1832. The Reform Act of 1832 consisted of three acts adopted for England and Wales on June 7, for Scotland on July 17, and for Ireland on August 17, 1832. It was directed against the political monopoly of the landed and finance aristocracy and enabled the industrial bourgeoisie to be duly represented in Parliament. The proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, the main forces in the struggle for the reform, remained disfranchised. p. 296

159 See Note 154. p. 296

160 The expression the "workshop of the world", first used with regard to England by Benjamin Disraeli in his speech to the House of Commons on March 15, 1838, was current in the 19th century. p. 296

161 The reference is to the factory legislation that appeared in England in the first third of the 19th century in connection with the factory system of the capitalist mode of production and the struggle of the proletariat for legislative regulation of working conditions. The first Factory Acts (1802, 1819, 1833, 1844) limited the employment of child labour in the textile industry. The Act of 1833 introduced a special office of factory inspectors who had the right to supervise the operation of factory legislation and the right to penalise manufacturers violating the Factory Acts. Of great importance was the Act of 1847 which limited the working day of women and children employed in the textile industry to ten hours. p. 297

162 The *Reform of 1867* granted the franchise in towns to all house-owners, lease-holders and tenants residing in the same place not less than a year and paying a rent of not less than £10. The property qualification for voters in the counties was lowered to £12 rent per year. Voting rights were also granted to a section of the industrial workers.

The *Reform of 1884* extended the provisions of the 1867 Reform to rural areas, and voting rights were granted to a section of rural population. As a

result of the two reforms, the number of electors, however, comprised just 13 per cent of the country's total population. The rural and urban poor and women were still deprived of voting rights. p. 297

163 The *British Association for the Advancement of Science* was founded in 1831 and continues to exist to this day. It publishes accounts of its annual meetings in the quarterly magazine *The Advancement of Science.* p. 300

164 On December 2, 1851 Louis Bonaparte carried out a coup d'état by dissolving the Legislative Assembly.

On January 14, 1852 a new constitution was introduced which conferred all state power upon the President, elected for ten years; the composition and legislative functions of the Council of State, the Legislative Corps and the Senate were placed under his direct control. This constitution in fact restored the regime of the empire in France. On December 2, 1852 the Second Republic was abolished and the Prince-President was formally proclaimed Emperor of the French under the name of Napoleon III. Thus the coup d'état of December 2, 1851 had led to the establishment of the Bonapartist Second Empire in France. p. 302

165 The pamphlet, *Karl Marx vor den Kölner Geschwornen. Prozeß gegen den Ausschuß der rheinischen Demokraten wegen Aufrufs zum bewaffneten Widerstand,* appeared early in October 1885 as the second instalment of the "Social-Democratic Library" published in German, first in Zurich, and later in London (1885-90). The pamphlet reprinted the newspaper reports on the trial from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* Nos. 226 and 231-33 of February 19, 25, 27 and 28, 1849. p. 304

166 This expression was used in the royal proclamation of March 21, 1848, in which Frederick William IV declared his readiness to stand "at the head [an die Spitze] of the whole fatherland in order to save Germany". During the campaign for the unification of Germany this expression was used to describe Prussia's intention to unite the country under its supremacy. p. 305

167 The trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* began on February 7, 1849. Karl Marx, editor-in-chief, Frederick Engels, co-editor, and Hermann Korff, responsible publisher, were tried by a Cologne jury court. They were accused of slandering Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel and calumniating the police officers who had arrested Gottschalk and Anneke, in the article "Arrests" published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* No. 35, July 5, 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 177-79). Marx's and Engels' defence counsel at the trial of February 7 was Karl Schneider II. The jury acquitted the defendants. For Marx's and Engels' speeches at this trial see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 304-22. p. 306

168 The *Kreuz-Zeitung*'s party—a name given from 1851 to the end of the 19th century to the extreme Right wing of the Prussian Conservative Party grouped round the *Neue Preussische (Kreuz-) Zeitung.* p. 307

169 The reference is to the formation of the North German Confederation under Prussian supremacy. As a result of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, Austria and the South-German states remained outside the Confederation (see Note 171). The victory of Prussia in the Franco-Prussian War led to the national unification of Germany and the foundation of a German Empire in which the Prussian monarchy played the leading role. p. 307

170 The *National Liberal Party,* formed in the autumn of 1866 after a split in the

Party of Progress (see Note 401), was the mainstay of an alliance between the Junkers and the bourgeoisie and advocated struggle for civil equality and bourgeois-democratic freedoms.

The policy of the National Liberals showed that the German liberal bourgeoisie had capitulated to Bismarck's government. Following the introduction of Bismarck's half-hearted reforms, the National Liberal Party actively supported the policy of colonial expansion, the military build-up and suppression of the working-class movement. It continued its existence until the November 1918 Revolution in Germany. p. 307

171 Engels is referring to the steps taken by Prussia on the eve of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866: on June 8, Prussian troops invaded the Duchy of Holstein which, according to the treaty between Prussia and Austria, was under Austrian jurisdiction and belonged to the German Confederation. Following a decision by the member-states of the German Confederation, initiated by Austria, to mobilise the federal army, Prussia declared its withdrawal from the Confederation and on June 16 began hostilities against Saxony, Hanover, the Electorate of Hesse, and Nassau, all members of the Confederation. On June 17, Austria declared war on Prussia.

The *German Confederation* (Deutscher Bund) was an ephemeral union of German states formed by decision of the Congress of Vienna in June 1815 and originally comprised 35 absolutist feudal states and 4 free cities. The central body of the German Confederation was the Federal Diet which consisted of representatives of the German states. Though it had no real power, it was nevertheless a vehicle of feudal and monarchical reaction. For all practical purposes the Confederation sealed Germany's political and economic fragmentation and retarded its development.

The German Confederation ceased to exist during the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. p. 307

172 The reference is to the military and diplomatic steps which Bismarck's government took in connection with the Austro-Prussian War of 1866.

In October 1865, Bismarck conducted unofficial negotiations with Napoleon III in Biarritz, seeking to secure France's neutrality in the war he was planning. Questions under discussion concerned a possible return to Italy of Venetia, then belonging to Austria, as well as territorial concessions to France at the expense of the Rhine provinces and other territories. These talks resulted in the conclusion on April 8, 1866 of a treaty on an offensive and defensive alliance between Prussia and Italy. The treaty provided for Italy to attack Austria only after Prussia had started the war. If Prussia's attack did not follow within three months, the treaty was to be invalid.

In July 1866, on Bismarck's initiative, a Hungarian legion was formed in Silesia under the command of General Klapka. The aim of the legion, which consisted of Hungarian émigrés and prisoners-of-war, was to invade Hungary during the war. However, Klapka's legion, soon after crossing the frontier early in August 1866, was recalled and disbanded in connection with the end of the war.

After the conclusion of the Prague Peace Treaty on August 23, 1866, Prussia annexed (on September 20) the Kingdom of Hanover, the Electorate of Hesse-Kassel, the Duchy of Nassau and the city of Frankfurt am Main, which had fought on Austria's side. p. 307

173 The Constitution of the North German Confederation (the Confederation included 19 states and 3 free cities) was approved on April 17, 1867 by the

Constituent Reichstag of the Confederation (it held sessions between February 24 and April 17, 1867) and reaffirmed Prussia's de facto domination. The Prussian King was proclaimed President of the Confederation and Commander-in-Chief of the federal armed forces; he was also put in charge of foreign policy. The legislative powers of the Confederation's Reichstag, which was elected by universal suffrage, were extremely limited: the laws it adopted became valid only after approval by the Federal Council and endorsement by the President. This constitution later became the basis for the Constitution of the German Empire. Saxony, which fought on Austria's side in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, was forced after the war to become a member of the North German Confederation and then submit to this constitution.

The *treaties of Tilsit* were signed on July 7 and 9, 1807 by Napoleonic France and Russia and Prussia, members of the fourth anti-French coalition. The treaty imposed harsh terms on Prussia, which lost nearly half its territory to the German states dependent on France, was made to pay indemnities, and had its army reduced. p. 307

174 A reference to the *Anti-Socialist Law,* or *Exceptional Law against the Socialists* (*Gesetz gegen die gemeingefährlischen Bestrebungen der Sozialdemokrate*), introduced by Bismarck's government with the support of a majority in the Reichstag on October 21, 1878 for the purpose of combatting the socialist and working-class movement. The law deprived the Social-Democratic Party of Germany of its legal status; it prohibited all its organisations, workers' mass organisations and the socialist and workers' press, decreed confiscation of socialist literature, and subjected Social-Democrats to repression. The Social-Democratic Party, however, with the active assistance of Marx and Engels, managed to gain the upper hand over both the opportunist and "ultra-left" elements within its ranks. By correctly combining illegal work with utilising all legal possibilities the Party considerably increased and extended its influence among the masses while the Anti-Socialist Law was in force. The law was abrogated on October 1, 1890. For Engels' appraisal of it see his article "Bismarck and the German Working Men's Party" (present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 407-09). p. 308

175 The reference is to the American War of Independence (1775-83). On July 4, 1776 the Declaration of Independence was passed by the delegates of 13 North American colonies at a Congress in Philadelphia. The Declaration proclaimed secession from England and the formation of an independent republic—the United States of America. It formulated such bourgeois-democratic principles as freedom of the individual, equality before the law, sovereignty of the people, and exerted a major influence on the European revolutionary movement and the French Revolution in particular. However, the democratic rights proclaimed were from the very start violated by the American bourgeoisie and plantation owners, who excluded the common people from political life and preserved slavery. p. 308

176 In 1611, the Polish Diet adopted a decision on the unification of the Duchy of Prussia with Brandenburg under Hohenzollern rule. This was done despite the opposition of a group of deputies who supported Poland's rights to East Prussia. However, the Duchy of Prussia remained a territory held in fee by Poland. This decision was implemented in 1618 when the Elector of Brandenburg, Johann Sigismund, received the Duchy of Prussia in fee from the Polish King in return for his promise to take part in the war against Sweden. Under the Wielawa-Bydgoszcz Treaty of 1657 Poland finally renounced its supreme rights to the Duchy of Prussia in favour of Brandenburg. p. 309

177 On October 8-10, 1801, France and Russia signed a secret convention on the regulation of territorial issues in Rhenish Germany in favour of Napoleonic France, using as a pretext the need to compensate those German states whose possessions on the left bank of the Rhine had been seized by France during its wars against the first and second coalitions. This convention found reflection in the Russo-French declaration of June 3, 1802, under which 112 German states (nearly all ecclesiastical possessions and imperial towns) with a total population of three million were handed over to Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden, which were dependent on Napoleonic France, and also to Prussia. Formally this was done under the terms of a resolution adopted by what was known as the Imperial Deputation, a commission made up of representatives of the states incorporated in the German Empire and elected by the Imperial Diet in October 1801. The resolution was adopted on February 25, 1803 after long discussions and under pressure from France and Russia. p. 309

178 Under the terms of the Peace Treaty signed by France and Austria at Pressburg (Bratislava) on December 26, 1805, Bavaria and Württemberg, which took part in the war waged by Napoleonic France against the third coalition, were granted the status of independent kingdoms. Baden, which also fought on France's side, became an independent grand duchy in 1806 after the Holy Roman Empire ceased to exist. p. 309

179 Engels is quoting the Prussian officer, Prince Felix Lichnowski, who spoke on the Polish question in the Frankfurt National Assembly on July 26, 1848 (see also present edition, Vol. 7, p. 369). p. 310

180 Engels wrote this letter on the advice of Nikolai Danielson who had informed him of the opportunity to have Marx's unpublished letter to the editors of the *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* printed in the magazine *Severny Vestnik* (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 196-201). However, Marx's letter did not appear in that magazine either and was first published in Russian in 1886 in Geneva in *Vestnik Narodnoi Voli,* No. 5 and in the Russian legal journal *Yuridichesky Vestnik* in October 1888. p. 311

181 Engels wrote this work as an introduction to the third German edition of Marx's pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 395-457) and had it published first in the newspaper *Sozialdemokrat,* Nos. 46, 47 and 48 of November 12, 19 and 26, 1885, and also in the book K. Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln. Neuer Abdruck mit Einleitung von Friedrich Engels und Dokumenten,* that appeared late in November 1885. Besides Marx's pamphlet, the book also contained *The Communist Trial in Cologne,* the fourth appendix to Marx's *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 305-11), Marx's Epilogue to the second German edition of the pamphlet (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 51-54) and Addresses of the Central Authority to the League, March and June 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 277-87 and 371-77). p. 312

182 Wermuth, Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des 19. Jahrhunderts,* Berlin, Part I, 1853, Part II, 1854. The appendices to Part I of the book which expounded the "history" of the workers' movement in the form of instructions for the police carried several documents of the Communist League which had fallen into the hands of the police. Part II (the "Black List") contained detailed information about people connected with the working-class and democratic movement. p. 312

183 Engels may have had in mind the book by G. Adler, *Die Geschichte der ersten*

*sozialpolitischen Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland,* Breslau, 1885. In his letter to August Bebel, dated October 28, 1885, Engels writes the following: "Kautsky has given me Adler's very superficial book which is largely based on Stieber; I shall help him write a review" (see present edition, Vol. 47). The critical analysis of this book, which Karl Kautsky wrote on the basis of Engels' comments, was published in the magazine *Die Neue Zeit* in February 1886. Engels' remarks on Adler's book are to be found in *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch,* 2., Berlin, 1979.
p. 312

184 *Babouvism*—one of the trends of utopian egalitarian communism based on the ideas of natural right. Founded at the close of the 18th century by François Noël Babeuf (Gracchus). Babouvism played a very important role in shaping the socialist views of secret revolutionary societies in the 1830s and 1840s.
p. 313

185 *Société des saisons* (*Society of the Seasons*)—a secret revolutionary organisation that existed in Paris between 1837 and 1839. It was founded by Auguste Blanqui, Armand Barbès and Martin Bernard with the aim of overthrowing the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe, proclaiming a republic and implementing revolutionary egalitarian ideas. An uprising on *May 12, 1839* in Paris, in which revolutionary workers played the leading part, had been planned by the Society of the Seasons; it was suppressed by troops and the National Guard.
p. 313

186 Karl Schapper was arrested immediately after the uprising of May 12, 1839 and deported from France after serving seven months in prison; Heinrich Bauer continued his revolutionary activity in Paris, was arrested in December 1841 and also deported. p. 313

187 The reference is to the *Frankfurter Attentat* (the Frankfurt Attempt). On April 3, 1833, in response to the police measures undertaken by the Federal Diet, a group of conspirators, mainly students, attempted to seize Frankfurt am Main, overthrow the Diet and proclaim a republic. But the conspirators only managed to take possession of the guard house for a short time, following which they were dispersed by troops. p. 313

188 The reference is to the march by revolutionary émigrés and members of the "Young Italy" society, organised by Mazzini in February 1834 with a view to inciting a republican uprising in Piedmont. A detachment of insurgent émigrés of various nationalities under the command of Ramorino invaded Savoy from Switzerland but was defeated by Piedmontese troops. p. 313

189 *Demagogues* in Germany were the participants in the students' opposition movement after the liberation of the country from Napoleonic rule. The name became current after the Karlsbad Conference of Ministers of the German States in August 1819, which adopted a special resolution on the persecution of the demagogues. p. 313

190 The *German Workers' Educational Society* in London was founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other leaders of the League of the Just (in the 1850s the Society had its premises in Windmill Street, Soho). After the reorganisation of the League of the Just in the summer of 1847 and the founding of the Communist League, the latter's local communities played a leading role in the Society. In 1847 and 1849-50 Marx and Engels took an active part in the Society's work, but on September 17, 1850 they and a

number of their followers withdrew because the Willich-Schapper sectarian and adventurist faction had temporarily increased its influence in the Society and caused a split in the Communist League. Later Schapper realised the errors of his ways and took steps towards a reconciliation with Marx. The resultant weakening of sectarian influence made it possible for Marx and Engels to resume their work in the Educational Society in late 1850. In 1918, the Society was closed down by the British Government. p. 314

191 The reference is to the latter half of 1840 when Weitling returned to Paris after a propaganda trip to Germany begun in the spring of 1839. He made a short visit to Geneva in the summer of 1840 and again came back to Paris. In May 1841 Weitling settled in Switzerland for good. p. 315

192 See Note 140. p. 319

193 The *Democratic Association,* founded on September 27, 1847 in Brussels, united proletarian revolutionaries, mainly German refugees and advanced bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats. Marx and Engels took an active part in its establishment. On November 15, 1847 Marx was elected its Vice-President (the President was Lucien Jottrand, a Belgian democrat) and under his influence it became a centre of the international democratic movement. During the February 1848 revolution in France, the proletarian wing of the Brussels Democratic Association sought to arm the Belgian workers and to intensify the struggle for a democratic republic. However, when Marx was expelled from Brussels in March 1848 and the most revolutionary elements were repressed by the Belgian authorities, its activity assumed a narrow, purely local character and in 1849 the Association ceased to exist. p. 319

194 The motto was changed at the First Congress of the Communist League in June 1847. p. 322

195 Engels reproduces the main points of the "Demands of the Communist Party in Germany" (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 3-7) which were written by Marx and himself in Paris between March 21 and 24, 1848. This document was discussed by members of the Central Authority, who approved and signed it as the political programme of the Communist League in the revolution that broke out in Germany. In March it was printed as a leaflet, for distribution among revolutionary German émigré workers who were about to return home. The leaflet soon reached members of the Communist League in other countries, notably German émigré workers in London.

Early in April, the "Demands" were published in several democratic German papers. p. 323

196 The reference is to the *German Workers' Club,* founded in Paris on March 8-9, 1848, on the initiative of the Communist League leaders. The leading role in it belonged to Marx. The Club's aim was to unite the German émigré workers in Paris, explain to them the tactics of the proletariat in a bourgeois-democratic revolution and also to counter the attempts of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats to stir up the German workers by nationalist propaganda and make them join the adventurist march of volunteer legions into Germany. The Club was successful in arranging the return of German workers one by one to their own country to take part in the revolutionary struggle there. p. 324

197. From May 3 to 9, 1849 Dresden, the capital of Saxony, was the scene of an armed uprising caused by the refusal of the King of Saxony to approve the

Imperial Constitution drafted by the Frankfurt National Assembly. The insurgents, among whom the workers played a prominent part in fighting on the barricades, gained control of a considerable section of the city and formed a provisional government headed by the radical democrat Samuel Tzschirner. An active part in the uprising was played by Mikhail Bakunin, the Russian revolutionary, Stephan Born and Richard Wagner, the composer. The uprising was suppressed by Saxon and Prussian troops. p. 325

198 The *Sonderbund*—a separatist union of the seven economically backward Catholic cantons of Switzerland formed in 1843 to resist progressive bourgeois reforms and to defend the privileges of the Church and the Jesuits. p. 325

199 The *Workers' Fraternity* was suppressed in all the states belonging to the German Confederation in mid-1850. But some of its groups in North and South Germany existed until 1852.

Following the defeat of the Dresden uprising Born fled to Switzerland. p. 326

200 See Note 75. p. 326

201 Joseph Moll was mortally wounded in the stomach (not in the head) during the encounter at the Rothenfels Bridge on the River Murg on June 29, 1849. p. 326

202 The French Party of Order formed in 1848 was a coalition of monarchist groups: the Legitimists (supporters of the Bourbon dynasty), the Orleanists (supporters of the Orleans dynasty) and the Bonapartists. It was the party of the conservative big bourgeoisie. From 1849 until the coup d'état of December 2, 1851 it held sway in the Legislative Assembly of the Second Republic. p. 327

203 Early in May 1851 Peter Nothjung was sent on a tour of Germany as an emissary of the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League. On May 10 he was arrested in Leipzig. The documents seized from him enabled the authorities of Prussia and other German states to arrest more League members. p. 328

204 The *Battle of Murfreesboro,* on the Stone River (Tennessee), took place between December 31, 1862 and January 2, 1863, and ended in the defeat of the Confederate army. This was one of the first victories won by the North over the slave-owning states. p. 328

205 The reference is to the Willich-Schapper sectarian group that seceded from the Communist League after the split of September 15, 1850 and formed an independent organisation with its own Central Committee. By its activities it helped the Prussian police uncover the illegal communities of the Communist League in Germany and gave it a pretext for fabricating evidence in a trial against the prominent leaders of the Communist League in Cologne in 1852.

On the *Sonderbund* see Note 198. p. 329

206 See Note 174. p. 329

207 This is an extract from Engels' letter to Paul Lafargue. The complete text of the letter has not been traced.

Engels wrote this letter in connection with the first ballot to the French Chamber of Deputies, held on October 4, 1885 amidst general discontent with the home and foreign policy pursued by the party of moderate bourgeois

republicans (the so-called opportunists, see Note 208) who had been in power since 1879.

During this period the country's economic situation had deteriorated (state budget deficit, growing taxes and increased borrowing, etc.); the promises given during the election campaign, such as the abolition of the Senate, separation of the Church from the state, introduction of progressive income tax, and others, were not kept; colonial adventures caused discontent among the popular masses; many of the party's leaders were exposed as corrupt. All this brought victory to the monarchists in the first ballot. The French Socialists regarded this as their own defeat and Lafargue wrote about it to Engels on October 7 and 11. Engels deemed it necessary to explain the situation to them and did so in his letter of which an extract was published in the newspaper of the French Workers' Party.

Similar ideas expressed by Engels in his letter to Eduard Bernstein of October 8, 1885 (see present edition, Vol. 47) were utilised in the leading article of the *Sozialdemokrat*, No. 42, October 15, 1885.

The letter was published in English for the first time in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959, pp. 310-11. p. 331

208 The *opportunists*—this name was applied to the party of moderate bourgeois republicans in France after its Left wing split away from it in 1881 to form the Radical Party headed by Georges Clemenceau.

The name, proposed by the journalist Henri Rochefort, derived from the words of Party leader Léon Gambetta that reforms should be carried out "at an opportune time". p. 331

209 The reference is to the Orleanists, the Bonapartists and the Legitimists. See also Note 202. p. 331

210 The expression "the best of the republics" ("Voici la meilleure de république") is attributed to La Fayette, who used it on July 31, 1830 when the members of the Paris Municipal Commission fulfilling the functions of the Provisional Government after the overthrow of Charles X had a meeting with Louis Philippe, the Duke of Orleans, who had been proclaimed King of France. p. 332

211 Since at the elections of October 4, 1885, most of the candidates did not receive the required number of votes, a second ballot was fixed for October 18. It brought victory to the deputies from the party of moderate republicans (opportunists) (see Note 208) and the Radical Party (see Note 212). The Chamber of Deputies numbered 382 republicans, among them 180 radicals and 202 monarchists. p. 332

212 The *radicals*—a parliamentary group that emerged from the party of moderate republicans (opportunists, see Note 208) in the 1880s-90s. The radicals relied mainly on the petty bourgeoisie and partly on the middle bourgeoisie and championed such bourgeois-democratic demands as a single-chamber parliamentary system, separation of the Church from the state, introduction of progressive income tax, limitation of the working day and solution of some other social problems. In 1901 the group acquired official status as the Republican Party of Radicals and Radical Socialists (*Parti républicain radical et radicalsocialiste*). p. 332

213 See Note 210. p. 333

214 In this article Engels is making a critical analysis of the English translation of the first and part of the second sections of Chapter I, Vol. I of Marx's *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 35), printed in the magazine *To-day*, Vol. 4, No. 22, October 1885, pp. 429-36. The translation was the work of Henry Hyndman, leader of the Social-Democratic Federation, who wrote under the pseudonym John Broadhouse. After the appearance of Engels' article, Hyndman continued to publish his translation; altogether seven chapters and the greater part of the eighth chapter of Vol. I were printed in *To-day* up to May 1889. The full English translation of Vol. I of *Capital*, done by Samuel Moore and edited by Engels, appeared in 1887. p. 335

215 Engels is referring to *Capital*, Vol. II, Chapter XII (see present edition, Vol. 36). p. 336

216 See present edition, Vol. 35 (Chapter I). Here Engels translates the expression "in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft" as "in civil society"; in the French authorised edition of 1872-75 and in the 1887 English edition edited by Engels this expression is translated differently: "in the bourgeois society". p. 339

217 Engels wrote this article as part two of his Introduction to the separate edition of Wilhelm Wolff's series of articles on the condition of the Silesian peasants (see Note 74) published on his (Engels') initiative. Part one of the Introduction comprised a considerably abridged version of Engels' article "Wilhelm Wolff" printed in 1876 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 129-71). p. 341

218 The reference is to the *Teutonic Order*—a German Catholic Order of Knights founded in 1190 during the Crusades. The Order had vast possessions in Germany, and in the 13th-14th centuries it conquered extensive territories between the Lower Vistula and the Niemen (East Prussia). During the 15th century the Order gradually declined and lost a considerable part of its possessions; in 1525 the Order ceased to exist as a state. Only small areas scattered throughout Germany remained in its possession until the beginning of the 19th century. p. 342

219 *Hereditary copyholders*—dependent peasants living in Germany, Bohemia and the Kingdom of Poland in the 13th-15th centuries. They enjoyed personal freedom, and had to pay quit-rent (in money or in kind) to the landlord for using their plots of land. p. 343

220 The *Thirty Years' War* (1618-48)—a European war, in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the Catholic German princes rallied under the banner of Catholicism and fought the Protestant countries Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands and a number of Protestant German states. The rulers of Catholic France—rivals of the Habsburgs—supported the Protestant camp. Germany was the main battle arena and the object of plunder and territorial claims. The Peace of Westphalia (1648) sealed the political dismemberment of Germany.

At the *Battle of Jena* (October 14, 1806) the French army, commanded by Napoleon, routed the Prussian army, thus forcing Prussia to surrender. p. 345

221 *Dreschgärtner, Häusler, Instleute*—categories of landless peasants in Germany, who, in their status, were close to day-labourers. These peasants were obliged to render the landlord all kinds of services in return for a roof over their heads, a tiny plot of land and, sometimes, meagre remuneration in kind and money. p. 345

222 See Note 35 and also this volume, p. 74. p. 346

223 To supply the Prussian state with material resources and ensure the recruitment of soldiers Frederick II of Prussia promulgated a number of laws, among them the Statute on the Peasants of 1764, which proscribed the eviction of the peasants from their plots of land. However, these laws were implemented only to a very small extent. p. 346

224 At *Mollwitz* (Małujowice, Silesia) Frederick II's army defeated the Austrians on April 10, 1741, during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48).

On September 1-2, 1870, the Châlon Army of the French was routed by the Germans near Sedan. The Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 brought about the collapse of the Second Empire in France. p. 346

225 The reference is to the decrees of February 14, 1808, of March 27 and April 8, 1809 and of January 9, 1810. The decree of April 8, 1809 stated that abolition of personal hereditary dependence should not be interpreted as releasing the peasants from their feudal obligations. p. 347

226 In the *Battle of Waterloo* fought on June 18, 1815, the Anglo-Dutch and Prussian forces commanded by the Duke of Wellington and Blücher defeated Napoleon's army. p. 347

227 The *Seven Years' War* (1756-63)—a war between the Anglo-Prussian and the Franco-Russo-Austrian coalition. The war was caused by the conflict of interests among the feudal absolutist powers (Prussia, Austria, Russia and France) and the colonial rivalry between France and Britain. It resulted in the expansion of the British colonial empire at the expense of the French possessions and in the growth of Russia's might; Austria and Prussia more or less retained their pre-war frontiers. p. 347

228 *Ackernahrung*—a plot of land sufficient to maintain a peasant family. p. 347

229 *Thaler*—a silver coin equal to about three marks; it appeared in the 16th century in Bohemia and circulated in the 19th century in all North German states as well as in Prussia and Saxony. p. 348

230 The expression *state of intelligence,* often used in an ironical sense, originates from a phrase in Hegel's opening lecture in Heidelberg University in October 1816. p. 348

231 *Scheffel*—dry measure used in different German states. Its size varied up to 1872. p. 348

232 Engels is referring to the two tables from August Meitzen's book *Der Boden und die landwirthschaftlichen Verhältnisse des Preußischen Staates nach dem Gebietsumfange vor 1866,* Vol. I, Berlin, 1868. The first table sums up the results of the redemption operations from 1816 to 1848; the second table those from 1816 to the end of 1865. p. 350

233 This is one of the fundamental works of Marxism. It reveals the relationship between Marxism and its philosophical predecessors as represented by Hegel and Feuerbach, the prominent exponents of German classical philosophy, and provides a systematic exposition of the fundamentals of dialectical and historical materialism. The work was originally published in *Die Neue Zeit,* the theoretical journal of the German Social-Democratic Party; in 1888 it appeared as a pamphlet for which Engels wrote a special preface (see this volume, pp. 519-20). The supplement to this edition contained Marx's *Theses on*

*Feuerbach,* published for the first time. In 1889, the St. Petersburg journal *Severny Vestnik,* Nos 3 and 4, carried a Russian translation of Engels' work entitled *The Crisis of the Philosophy of Classical Idealism in Germany.* The author's name was not mentioned, and the text contained many additions and digressions. It was signed G. L. (the initials of the translator—G. Lvovich). In 1890 Engels' work was translated into Polish. In 1892 the Emancipation of Labour group in Geneva published the full Russian translation of this work by Georgy Plekhanov; the same year it was translated into Bulgarian. In 1894 the Paris journal *Ère nouvelle,* Nos 4 and 5 published the French translation by Laura Lafargue edited by the author. The second (stereotype) German edition appeared in 1895. There were no other editions of this work during Engels' lifetime.

The work was published in English for the first time in 1903 by Kerr Publishers, USA, under the title *The Roots of Socialist Philosophy.* p. 353

234 The reference is to Heinrich Heine's *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland,* originally published in French translation in the Paris *Revue des deux mondes* in March-December 1834.

In his work Heine draws a parallel between the development of German philosophy and the events of the French Revolution of 1789. In conclusion he says: "Our philosophical revolution is concluded. Hegel has closed its great circle.... Such methodical people as we are had to begin with the Reformation; only after that could we occupy ourselves with philosophy, and only after its consummation could we pass on to political revolution." p. 357

235 Engels is quoting here, in a slightly changed form, a passage from Hegel's preface to *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts* (p. XIX), which reads: "What is rational is real and what is real is rational." p. 358

236 The term *positive religion* was used by Hegel in his *Philosophy of Religion* where he says: "that it is revealed, is *positive* religion in the sense that it has come to man from without, has been given to him" ("daß sie geoffenbart ist, *positive* Religion sei, in dem Sinne, daß sie dem Menschen von Außen gekommen, gegeben worden" (See Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion,* Vol. II, Part 3, 2nd ed., Stuttgart, 1928, p. 198.) p. 364

237 The reference is to German, or "true", socialism which was widespread in Germany in the 1840s, mostly among petty-bourgeois intellectuals. The "true socialists"—Karl Grün, Moses Hess, Hermann Kriege—substituted the sentimental preaching of love and brotherhood for the ideas of socialism and denied the need for a bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany. Marx and Engels criticised this trend in *The German Ideology* (see present edition, Vol. 5), *Circular Against Kriege, German Socialism in Verse and Prose* and *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (ibid., Vol. 6). p. 365

238 The planet referred to is Neptune, discovered on September 23, 1846 by the German astronomer Johann Galle. p. 368

239 This passage is quoted in C. N. Starcke, *Ludwig Feuerbach,* Stuttgart, 1885, p. 166. The quotation was taken from K. Grün, *Ludwig Feuerbach in seinem Briefwechsel und Nachlaß sowie in seiner Philosophischen Charakterentwicklung,* Vol. II, Leipzig and Heidelberg, 1874, p. 308. p. 369

240 The *phlogiston theory* was formulated in 1703 by Georg Stahl, a German

physician and chemist, who asserted that all combustible materials and base metals contained a substance called phlogiston which was emitted during combustion. Towards the end of the 18th century this hypothesis was disproved by Antoine Lavoisier, but it played a considerable role in the development of chemistry as a science. p. 370

241 The *deists* recognise the idea of God as the rational creator of the universe, but deny God's interference in nature and social life. p. 373

242 See Note 236. p. 375

243 The state religion—*Culte de l'Etre suprême*—was decreed by the Convention on May 7, 1794 during the Jacobine dictatorship. Its creed was a powerful supreme being and the immortality of the soul. The new religion was needed, on the one hand, to stop the de-Christianisation of the population connected with the dissemination of the cult of reason rejected by believers, and, on the other, to strengthen the ideological influence of the authorities upon the masses. The cult disappeared together with the Jacobine dictatorship. p. 376

244 "The school-master of Sadowa"—an expression first used by Oskar Peschel, editor of the Augsburg journal *Ausland*, in his article "Die Lehren der jüngsten Kriegsgeschichte", published in No. 29 of that journal on July 17, 1866, and then widely employed by German journalists, especially after the Prussian victory at Königgrätz in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 (the Battle of Sadowa), the implication being that the Prussian victory was to be attributed to the superiority of the Prussian system of public education. p. 380

245 The *Council of Nicaea*—the first ecumenical council of the Christian Bishops of the Roman Empire, convened by Emperor Constantine I in the town of Nicaea (Asia Minor) in 325. The Council formulated the Nicene Creed and made it obligatory for all Christians. Non-recognition of it was punishable as a state offence. p. 394

246 The *Albigenses*—a religious sect that existed in the 12th and 13th centuries in Southern France (notably in Provence and Toulouse) and in Northern Italy. This movement took the form of a "heresy", being directed against the power and doctrine of the Catholic Church, and against the secular power of the feudal state. Its adherents were called Albigenses because the city of Albi was one of the sect's main centres. p. 395

247 The reference is to the revolution of 1688 (the overthrow of the House of Stuart and the enthronement of William III of Orange), following which (1689) the constitutional monarchy was consolidated in England on the basis of a compromise between the landed aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. p. 396

248 From the 1620s political and religious repressions of Huguenots (Calvinist Protestants) intensified, and in 1685 Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes which had been enacted by Henry IV in 1598 and granted Huguenots religious freedom and considerable political independence. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes several hundred thousand Huguenots left France. p. 396.

249 The reference is to the German Empire which was founded in January 1871 under the supremacy of Prussia and did not include Austria. p. 397

250 This article was occasioned by the first English edition of Engels' work *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 295-596), then in preparation in the USA. Originally Engels intended to

use it as a Preface or Afterword to this edition, but the publication of the book was considerably delayed because Engels could not find a publisher at the time. He therefore deemed it necessary to write a new preface (see this volume, pp. 434-42) and use this article as an Appendix. In 1892 Engels included almost the whole of this article in the Prefaces to the English and second German editions of his work (see present edition, Vol. 27). p. 399

251 See Note 154. p. 400

252 The discovery of rich gold deposits in California in 1848 and in Australia in 1851 greatly influenced the economic development of Europe and America. p. 400

253 The *truck-system*—the payment of workers in goods. Engels described this system in his work *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 470-71). The *Truck-Act* prohibiting the truck-system was adopted in 1831, but many factory owners violated it.

The *Ten Hours' Bill,* which applied to women and children only, was passed by the British Parliament on June 8, 1847. p. 400

254 "*Little Ireland*"—a district in the southern suburbs of Manchester, inhabited mainly by Irish workers; a detailed description of it is given by Engels in *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 360-62).

The "*Seven Dials*"—seven radial streets in the heart of London at that time inhabited mainly by workers. p. 401

255 Under the *cottage-system* the factory owners leased dwellings to the workers on harsh conditions: rent was deducted from wages (for details see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 471-72). p. 402

256 The reference is to a strike of over 10,000 coal-miners in Pennsylvania (USA) between January 22 and February 26, 1886. Blast and coke furnace workers demanding higher wages and better working conditions managed to secure some of their demands.

On the colliers' strike of 1844 in Northern England see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 541-47. p. 402

257 Engels wrote this letter in response to a request by the French Socialists that he express publicly his solidarity with them on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the Paris Commune. The letter was read out at a meeting in commemoration of the Commune on March 18, 1886 and published in *Le Socialiste* on March 27, 1886 under the title "Lèttre d'Engels".

This letter was published in English for the first time in Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959, pp. 406-07. p. 406

258 The reference is to the 1884 elections to the Reichstag, when, under the conditions of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 174), the German Social-Democratic Party polled about 550,000 votes, and doubled its representation to 24 members. p. 407

259 Until 1885 France was divided into "small constituencies", each sending one representative to the Chamber of Deputies. In June 1885, on the initiative of moderate bourgeois republicans, a system of voting by department lists was introduced. Under this system, which operated until 1889, small constituencies were combined to form larger ones each corresponding to a department. Now a voter received a ballot paper with the names of candidates from different

parties, but he was obliged to vote for a total number of candidates to be elected, one deputy from 70,000 people. A deputy was considered elected in the first ballot provided he had received an absolute majority of votes; a relative majority was sufficient in the second ballot. p. 407

260 On February 11, 1886, the workers' deputies in the French Parliament made an interpellation concerning the government's actions against the miners' strike in Decazeville (see Note 263). Engels regarded this as the formation of the socialist group in the Chamber of Deputies. p. 407

261 Engels wrote this Statement because he feared McEnnis would not be able to interpret his words correctly. He asked Sorge to have it published in one of the American socialist papers if the interview should appear in the press (see Engels' letter to Friedrich Sorge dated April 29, 1886, present edition, Vol. 47). p. 408

262 The reference is to the Freycinet Government (January 7-December 3, 1886) consisting mostly of radicals and moderate republicans, as distinct from the majority of the previous cabinets, to which, as a rule, radicals were in opposition. p. 409

263 In late January 1886 more than 3,000 workers of Decazeville (south of France) went on strike. The reason was their cruel exploitation by the capitalists of the Aveyron Company of coal-mines and foundries; the government despatched troops to Decazeville. The strike continued till mid-June and evoked a broad response throughout the country; under its impact a small workers' group was formed in the Chamber of Deputies which came out in defence of the workers' economic demands. p. 409

264 The reference is to the by-election to the Chamber of Deputies in Paris on May 2, 1886, when the socialist candidate Ernest Roche received 100,795 votes. p. 409

265 This article is a letter written by Engels to Paul Lafargue on October 25, 1886 (see present edition, Vol. 47), with slight abridgements and editorial changes. Engels wrote this letter in reply to Lafargue's request for his opinion on the situation in the Balkans and the course the foreign policy of the European powers would take in connection with the growing rivalry between Tsarist Russia and the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. This article is the only one Engels wrote for the press in the 1880s on questions of foreign policy. The German translation of the article was published in the New York paper *Sozialist* on November 20 and 27 and December 4, 1886. It was also translated into Romanian and printed in the magazine *Revista Sociala,* No. 2, December 1886; an abridged version of the article was published in German translation in the newspaper *Sozialdemokrat* on December 12, 1886. p. 410

266 The *Preliminary Peace Treaty* between Russia and Turkey, which put an end to the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, was concluded on March 3 (February 19), 1878 in San Stefano (near Constantinople). The Treaty envisaged the creation of an autonomous Bulgarian principality nominally dependent on Turkey, state independence for Serbia, Montenegro and Romania as well as their territorial expansion, etc. The Treaty considerably strengthened the position of Russia in the Balkans which caused a sharp reaction on the part of Great Britain and Austria-Hungary, including a show of military force (e.g. the despatch of English warships to the Sea of Marmara and other measures). This forced Russia to agree to the convocation of an international congress for the purpose

of revising the treaty, since it affected "general European" problems. The representatives of Russia, Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, Germany, France and Italy took part in the congress which was held in Berlin between June 13 (1) and July 13 (1), 1878. The Berlin Treaty signed at this Congress radically changed the provisions of the San Stefano Treaty to the detriment of Russia and the Slavs of the Balkan Peninsula. The territory of self-governing Bulgaria, stipulated by the San Stefano Treaty, was cut more than twice; an autonomous province known as "Eastern Rumelia", which remained under the power of the sultan, was formed at the expense of Bulgarian regions lying south of the Balkan Ridge; the territory of Montenegro was substantially curtailed. The Berlin Treaty endorsed the return to Russia of the part of Bessarabia severed from it in 1856, and at the same time sanctioned the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary. The decisions of the Berlin Congress turned the Balkans into the hotbed of conflict which led to the outbreak of the First World War. p. 410

267 The suppression of the Polish national insurrection was followed, in 1795, by the third partition of Poland between Austria, Prussia and Russia, and the final abolition of the Polish state. By decision of the Vienna Congress (1814-15) the Kingdom of Poland was formed within the Russian Empire. It incorporated the greater part of lands seized by Prussia and Austria during the third partition of Poland. p. 410

268 Engels is referring to the reprisals instituted by the Tsarist government against the members of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) organisation in the early 1880s, which practically destroyed it.

*Nihilism*—a system of views held in the 1860s by the progressive-minded Russian intellectuals of different social estates. The Nihilists refused to recognise the dominant ideology and morality, rejected religion and demanded freedom of the personality. In West European writing, the term was applied to participants in the Russian revolutionary movement of the 1870s and 1880s, notably the Narodnaya Volya members. p. 411

269 The reference is to the occupation of Egypt by Great Britain as a result of the Anglo-Egyptian War of 1882.

In the 1870s, capitalising on the financial difficulties facing the Egyptian government, above all, its considerable foreign debt, England and France, its principal creditors, established financial control over the country. This led to the growth of the national liberation movement and attempts to shake off foreign dependence in the early 1880s. In the summer of 1882, Great Britain provoked a conflict with Egypt and launched military operations which terminated in September 1882. To all intents and purposes, Egypt was turned into a British colony, although on paper it was still part of the Ottoman Empire. As a result of Britain's actions, its relations with France deteriorated. p. 411

270 In September 1885, an uprising of Bulgarian patriots took place in Eastern Rumelia. The Turkish governor was overthrown. Rumelia was reunited with Bulgaria. p. 412

271 The reference is to the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, which ended in victory for Prussia (see also notes 171 and 172). The principal theatre of operations was Bohemia (Čechy).

Engels compares this campaign with the military operations conducted by Bulgaria in the war against Serbia, which began on November 14 (2), 1885.

The war was triggered off by the attempt of Serbia, instigated by Austria-Hungary, to reverse the results of the unification of Eastern Rumelia and the Bulgarian Principality that had taken place in September 1885. In the first month of the war, Bulgarian troops defeated the Serbian army and soon entered Serbia. Under pressure from Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria called a halt to the advance of its troops. The frontiers of the united Bulgaria were confirmed by the Bucharest Peace Treaty of 1886. p. 412

272 Greeting Alexander III on May 13 (25), 1886, on his return to Moscow from the Crimea, the city mayor Alexeyev said, "Our faith is strengthening that the cross of Christ will shine on St. Sophia" (he meant St. Sophia's Cathedral in Constantinople). p. 413

273 *Slavophilism*—a trend in Russian social thought in the 1840s-60s, which advocated a special path of historical development for Russia, one differing fundamentally from that of Western Europe.

Engels is referring here to those representatives of Russian society who in the 1880s championed active use of the slogan of Slavic unity in the foreign policy pursued by the Tsarist autocracy.

On the *Nihilists*, see Note 268. p. 413

274 The reference is to the political crisis of 1886-87 in Bulgaria. After the deposition of the Prince of Battenberg and the establishment of the Regency in August 1886, the Russian government sent General Kaulbars to Burgaria on a special mission to prepare the ground for the election of a Russian candidate to the Bulgarian throne. The mission failed, however, partly because of the stand taken on the Bulgarian issue by West European powers headed by Britain. Kaulbars was recalled, and diplomatic relations between Russia and Bulgaria were broken off in November 1886. p. 414

275 The *Orleanists* were supporters of the Orleans dynasty which held power in France during the July monarchy (1830-48). They upheld the interests of the financial aristocracy and the big industrial bourgeoisie and were members of the so-called Party of Order (see Note 202). p. 416

276 Part of this article was published in English for the first time in K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Literature and Art*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, pp. 406-07. p. 418

277 The reference is to the republican insurrection in Baden, led by the petty-bourgeois democrats Friedrich Hecker and Gustav Struve, which was crushed in April 1848. p. 418

278 On February 9, 1849, the Constituent Assembly in Rome abolished the secular power of the Pope and proclaimed a republic. The Roman Republic had to repulse attacks by the counter-revolutionary Neapolitan and Austrian troops and the French expeditionary corps sent to Italy in April 1849 by decision of President Louis Bonaparte to restore Papal power. The republic only survived until July 3, 1849. p. 419

279 The reference is to the campaign for the Imperial Constitution adopted by the Frankfurt National Assembly on March 27, 1849 but rejected by the majority of German governments. In May 1849, popular uprisings in support of the Constitution broke out in Saxony, Rhenish Prussia, Baden and the Palatinate. The insurgents received no support from the Frankfurt National Assembly and the movement was suppressed in July 1849. Engels devoted his work *The*

*Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* to these events (see present edition, Vol. 10). p. 419

280 This refers to the events of June 5-6, 1849 in Karlsruhe, the capital of Baden. The radical wing of the democrats, who were discontented with the capitulatory policy of the Baden Provisional Government headed by Brentano, founded the *Club of Resolute Progress* in Karlsruhe on June 5, 1849. The Club suggested that Brentano extend the revolution beyond Baden and the Palatinate and introduce radicals into his government. When Brentano refused, the Club tried, on June 6, to force the government to comply by threatening an armed demonstration. But the government, supported by the civil militia and other armed units, proved the stronger party in the conflict. The Club of Resolute Progress was disbanded. p. 419

281 The reference is to the volunteer unit of the Gymnastics Society of Hanau (in the vicinity of Frankfurt am Main) which took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849. p. 419

282 On September 28, 1864, an international meeting was held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London. It was organised by the London trade union leaders and a group of Paris Proudhonist workers jointly with representatives of German, Italian and other foreign workers then living in London, and a number of prominent European democratic émigrés. The meeting resolved to found an International Working Men's Association (later known as the First International) and elected a Provisional Committee, which shortly afterwards constituted itself as the leading body of the Association. p. 422

283 *L'Alliance internationale de la démocratie socialiste* (The International Alliance of Socialist Democracy) was founded by Mikhail Bakunin in Geneva in September 1868. Alongside Bakunin, its Provisional Committee comprised Brosset, Duval, Guétat, Perron, Zagorsky and Johann Philipp Becker. In 1868, the Alliance published in Geneva leaflets in French and German containing its Programme and Rules. Shortly afterwards, Becker broke with Bakunin.

The Alliance incorporated a secret conspiratorial union that Bakunin had set up previously.

In December 1868, the Alliance applied to the General Council requesting admission to the First International. The Central Bureau of the Alliance joined the International as its Geneva section under the name *Alliance de la démocratie socialiste.*

In the International, the Bakuninists formed a bloc with anti-Marxian elements and openly campaigned against Marx and Engels, seeking to establish their supremacy over the international working-class movement. The Alliance fell apart soon after Bakunin's expulsion from the International in 1872. p. 422

284 See Note 81. p. 423

285 The reference is to the five-milliard-franc contribution imposed on France under the Frankfurt Peace Treaty of 1871 signed after the Franco-Prussian War. p. 424

286 The reference is to the ban on the printing and distribution of socialist literature in Germany (Engels' work *The Housing Question* included). It was introduced under the Anti-Socialist Law passed in October 1878 (see Note 174). p. 425

287 The *Nueva Federación Madrileña* (*New Madrid Federation*) was formed on

July 8, 1872 by the members of *La Emancipacion* editorial board expelled from the Madrid Federation by the anarchist majority for the paper's exposure of the activities of the secret Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Note 283) in Spain. A major part in its foundation was played by Paul Lafargue. On August 15, 1872, the General Council admitted the New Madrid Federation to the First International.

The New Madrid Federation fought against the spread of anarchist influence in Spain, popularised ideas of scientific socialism, and helped establish the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party in 1879. p. 426

288 During the revolution of 1848, Proudhon advanced several concrete projects of social and economic reforms. In very general terms, they were expounded in the book: P. J. Proudhon, *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX-e siècle*, Paris, 1851. p. 427

289 *Armchair socialism* (Kathedersozialismus), a trend in the German bourgeois political economy that emerged in the last third of the 19th century as a reaction to the growth of the workers' movement and the spread of scientific socialism in it. Its representatives advocated bourgeois reformism from university rostrums under the pretence of commitment to socialism. They asserted, among other things, that the state, specifically the German Empire, had a supra-class character and could be used to improve the position of the working class through social reforms. p. 427

290 See Note 174. p. 428

291 *Eifel* (the Rhine Province of Prussia), a mountainous area with vast swamps and wastelands, had a harsh climate and barren soil. Engels refers to the events of 1882, when, following a series of crop failures and the earlier drop in prices for agricultural produce, the area was struck by famine. p. 428

292 See Note 220. p. 429

293 The reference is to the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. See also Note 169. p. 430

294 This article was printed as a Preface to the American edition of Engels' work *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* which appeared in New York in May 1887 (see Note 250). In the same year, it was published in the author's German translation in *Der Sozialdemokrat* (June 10 and 17) under the title "Die Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika", as separate offprints in German and English in New York in July and in French translation in the *Socialiste* (July 9, 16 and 23). Even before the book appeared, the article had been translated into German without the author's knowledge or permission and printed in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* in April 1887. Engels launched an official protest against this because he was not satisfied with the quality of the translation (see Engels to Friedrich Sorge, April 23, 1887, present edition, Vol. 48). p. 434

295 The reference is to the conflict between Edward Aveling and the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of North America, which accused Aveling of overspending when touring the USA together with Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Wilhelm Liebknecht for the purpose of propaganda. The conflict, which lasted for several months, was resolved with Engels' active participation. For more details, see this volume, pp. 617-18.

The *Socialist Labor Party of North America* was formed in 1876 at the Unity Congress in Philadelphia by the members of the American sections of the First International and other socialist organisations in the USA. Most of its members

were immigrants (chiefly Germans), who had little contact with American-born workers. There was a struggle inside the Party between the reformist leaders, who were mostly Lassalleans, and the Marxist wing headed by Marx's and Engels' comrade-in-arms Friedrich Adolph Sorge. The Party proclaimed as its programme the fight for socialism but did not become a truly revolutionary Marxist mass organisation owing to the sectarian policy of its leaders, who disregarded the need for work in the mass organisations of the American proletariat. p. 434

296 See Note 256. p. 434

297 The reference is to the general strike in the USA for an eight-hour working day which began on May 1, 1886 and continued for several days. The strike spread to the chief industrial centres, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Louisville, Saint Louis, Milwaukee and Baltimore, and ended with nearly 200,000 workers winning shorter hours. The employers, however, soon launched a counter-attack. On May 4, a bomb exploded at a police station in Chicago, and the police seized this opportunity to use arms against workers and make several hundred arrests. Court proceedings were instituted and harsh sentences meted out to the leaders of the Chicago working-class movement. Four of them were hanged in November 1887. p. 435

298 The reference is probably to John McEnnis, a reporter on the *Missouri Republican,* who visited Engels in April 1886. p. 435

299 During the preparations for the municipal elections in New York in the autumn of 1886, a *United Labor Party* was founded to rally the workers for political action. The initiative was taken by the *New York Central Workers' Union,* an association of New York trade unions formed in 1882. Similar parties were set up in many other cities. Led by the new parties, the working class achieved substantial success in the elections in New York, Chicago, and Milwaukee: Henry George, the United Labor Party candidate for Mayor of New York, received 31 per cent of the vote; in Chicago, the adherents of the Labor Party succeeded in getting ten Party members elected to the Legislative Assembly of the State: one senator and nine members of the Lower Chamber. The Labor Party candidate to the US Congress lost by just 64 votes. In Milwaukee, the Labor Party's candidate was elected Mayor of the city, one candidate was elected to the Senate, six to the Lower Chamber of the Legislative Assembly of this State, and one to the US Congress. p. 435

300 The *Knights of Labor* (the *Noble Order of the Knights of Labor*), an American workers' organisation founded in Philadelphia in 1869. It was a secret society up to 1878. Its members were mostly unskilled workers. Its aim was the establishment of cooperatives and organisation of mutual aid; it took part in a number of working-class campaigns. But its leaders in fact opposed the workers' participation in the political struggle and stood for class collaboration. They opposed the 1886 general strike, forbidding the organisation's members to take part in it; however, the rank and file joined in the strike. After those events, it began to lose its influence among the workers and disintegrated by the end of the 1890s. p. 437

301 Engels wrote this letter on the occasion of the international festival of brotherhood held in Paris on February 19, 1887 on the initiative of a number of organisations of foreign socialists in France. Taking part in it were German, Scandinavian, Polish and Russian socialist émigrés. The purpose of the festival was to voice protest against the military build-up and war preparations in

Europe. Engels' letter was read out at the festival and printed in the *Socialiste* on February 26. A German translation was carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat* on March 11, by the Austrian paper *Gleichheit* on March 5, and by the New York *Sozialist* on March 19. p. 443

302 Engels addressed this message of greetings to the meeting organised by the Federation of the Centre of the French Workers' Party on the occasion of the 16th anniversary of the Paris Commune. It was read out at the meeting. p. 445

303 The pamphlet was published on Engels' initiative as issue XXIV of *The Social-Democratic Library*. Even before the pamphlet appeared the second half of the introduction was published in *Der Sozialdemokrat* on January 15, 1888 under the heading "Was Europa bevorsteht". p. 446

304 On June 14, 1848, Berlin workers and craftsmen, outraged by the National Assembly's disavowal of the March revolution, took the arsenal by storm in an attempt to uphold the revolutionary gains. This action was, however, spontaneous and unorganised, and army reinforcements and units of the bourgeois civil militia were soon able to push back and disarm the people. p. 446

305 The reference is to the invasion of Baden from Swiss territory by detachments of German republican refugees led by Gustav Struve on September 21, 1848. Supported by the local republicans, Struve proclaimed a German Republic and formed a provisional government. The insurgent detachments, however, were shortly afterwards scattered by the troops. Struve and other leaders of the uprising were imprisoned by decision of a court martial. They were released during another republican uprising in Baden in May 1849. p. 446

306 See Note 279. p. 446

307 See Note 280. p. 446

308 The *Brimstone Gang* (Schwefelbande), the name of a students' association at Jena University in the 1770s whose members were notorious for their brawls; subsequently, the expression gained wide currency.

In 1859, Karl Vogt published a pamphlet *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung* (Geneva, 1859) spearheaded against Marx and his associates in the Communist League. Distorting the facts, Vogt referred to Marx and his associates as the Brimstone Gang, which he depicted as a society engaged in unseemly political machinations. In actual fact, a group of German refugees in Geneva in 1849-50, including Borkheim among its members, was jokingly known under the name of Brimstone Gang. Marx and his associates had no connection with the group, which, incidentally, was far removed from political activity being a harmless circle of revellers.

In February 1860, Marx requested Borkheim to give him some information about the Geneva Brimstone Gang and used the latter's reply of February 12 (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 29-32) to expose Vogt and his allegations concerning the Brimstone Gang in his pamphlet *Herr Vogt* (see ibid., pp. 21-329). p. 447

309 Engels is referring to the final stage of the Danish-Prussian War of 1848-50 for the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. Prussia entered the war on the side of the duchies, seeking to use the national liberation movement there to promote its own ends. However, the war ended in the restoration of Danish rule in Schleswig-Holstein.

In the autumn of 1850, the struggle between Austria and Prussia for supremacy in Germany was aggravated as a result of the conflict over Hesse-Cassel. Revolutionary actions there were used by Austria and Prussia as a pretext for interfering in the electorate's internal affairs, with each party claiming the right to suppress them. The Prussian government reacted to the entry of Austrian troops into Hesse-Cassel by mobilising and sending its own troops there in November 1850. In October 1850, Warsaw hosted a peace conference, as a result of which Austria and Prussia signed an agreement in Olmütz on November 29. Prussia yielded on the issues of Schleswig-Holstein and Hesse-Cassel. p. 450

310 See Note 293. p. 450

311 See Note 220. p. 451

312 *The Role of Force in History* was intended for a pamphlet of the same title that Engels planned to write but did not complete. It was to become Chapter 4, a sequel to the three chapters of *Anti-Dühring* devoted to a critique of the theory of force. Engels planned to elaborate the main ideas of the three chapters mentioned above using German history between 1848 and 1888 as an example and to make a critical analysis of Bismarck's policies. The work was begun late in 1887 and continued into the first months of 1888 (see Engels' correspondence with Hermann Schlüter, head of a social-democratic publishing house, present edition, vols 47-48). Engels interrupted work in March 1888 and, most probably, never resumed it.

After Engels' death, an envelope inscribed "The Theory of Force" was found in his archive. It contained the three chapters from *Anti-Dühring*, an unfinished manuscript of the fourth chapter of the planned pamphlet, a draft preface to it, a plan of the fourth chapter as a whole and one of its last part, which remained unwritten, as well as chronological notes on the history of Germany of the 1870s and 1880s, specifically excerpts from the book by C. Bulle, *Geschichte der neuesten Zeit, 1815-1885,* 2 ed., vols I-IV, Berlin, 1888.

The manuscript of the unfinished chapter, the rough draft of the preface and part of the preparatory materials were published by Eduard Bernstein in the *Neue Zeit* magazine, Vol. 1, Nos. 22-26, 1895-96 under the heading "Gewalt und Oekonomie bei der Herstellung des neuen Deutschen Reichs". Preparing the manuscript for publication, Bernstein divided it into sections in his own hand, supplying each with a subtitle invented by himself, marking the notes and actually making his own insertions in Engels' text. Until recently, several pages (from the words "Alsace had been conquered", this volume, p. 491 and up to the phrase "Bismark had reached his objective", this volume, p. 497) were printed according to the *Neue Zeit* publication. Not long ago, when preparing Vol. 1/31 of MEGA, researchers in the GDR discovered the missing pages in the archive of the International Institute of Social History (Amsterdam). In the present edition, this text is for the first time published according to the manuscript, which has made possible a number of corrections (this volume, pp. 493 and 494). In 1896, the work was translated into French and appeared in the *Devenir Social,* Nos. 6-9, together with the three pertinent chapters from *Anti-Dühring.* In 1898, this work was published in Russian, in an incomplete form, in St. Petersburg by the *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* (*Scientific Review*), No. 5. In 1899, it appeared in Rome in Italian as a separate edition, which completely followed the *Neue Zeit.*

The work was published in English for the first time in: F. Engels, *The Role of Force in History.* A study of Bismarck's policy of blood and iron. Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1967.

Alongside of the manuscript of the fourth chapter of the pamphlet *The Role of Force in History.* this volume also features the rough draft of its preface and, in the section "From the Preparatory Materials" the plan of Chapter 4 as a whole and the plan of its final section which throws light on the content of the part of the work that remained unfinished. p. 453

313 The reference is to the meeting of the emperors of Russia and Austria and the King of Prussia in Warsaw in October 1850. It was called on the initiative of Emperor Nicholas I of Russia to regulate the relations between Austria and Prussia (see also Note 309).

On the Federal Diet, see Note 171. p. 456

314 The expression the "crazy year" ("das tolle Jahr") was first used by Johann Heinrich von Falkenstein in a chronicle published in 1739 to describe the popular unrest in Erfurt in 1509. Later, it was widely applied to the revolutionary year 1848. p. 456.

315 See Note 252. p. 456

316 The *local settlement laws* (*Heimatgesetzgebung*) established the right of citizens to permanently reside in a certain locality, as well as the right of impoverished families to receive material aid from the communities to which they belonged. p. 457

317 The *Prussian taler* was equal to $^1/_{14}$ Mark of sterling silver; had currency in Prussia between 1750 and 1857. It was also recognised by North German and some other states.

The *gold taler,* a monetary unit of the free city of Bremen which retained the gold standard up to 1872, as distinct from other German monetary systems. See also Note 229.

The "*new two-third*" *taler,* a silver coin that had currency in North German states.

*Bank Mark* (*Mark Banko*), a coin introduced by the Hamburg Bank and used in settling international accounts.

*Current Mark* (*Mark Kurant*), a silver coin; from the 17th century, this was the name of silver money with a value of up to half a mark, as distinct from gold coins, small change and paper money. The *20 gulden piece* and the *24 gulden piece* (Zwanzig-Guldenfuss; Vierundzwanzig-Guldenfuss), a system under which one Mark of sterling silver was used to mint either 20 or 24 gulden. It was introduced in 1748 in Austria and later in the Electorate of Saxony and the states of Western and Southern Germany. p. 457

318 The *Wartburg festival* was held on the initiative of Jena University students on October 18, 1817 to commemorate the tercentenary of the Reformation and the fourth anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig. The festival was a demonstration of the students' opposition to the Metternich regime.

The *Burschenschaften* were German student organisations formed during the liberation struggle against Napoleon. They advocated the unification of Germany and combined progressive ideas with extreme nationalism. p. 458

319 The *Hambach festival* was a political demonstration held by members of South German liberal and radical bourgeoisie at the Hambach Castle (in the Rhineland Palatinate) on May 27, 1832 to urge the unification of Germany,

constitutional reforms and the transformation of Germany into a federal republic. p. 458

320 Under the Hohenstaufen dynasty (1138-1254), the Holy Roman Empire (founded in 962) was an unstable union of feudal principalities and free cities, it incorporated Germany and several other Central European states, part of Italy and East European regions captured by German feudal lords from the Slavs. p. 458

321 Engels ironically paraphrases the refrain of Ernst Moritz Arndt's well-known poem "Des Teutschen Vaterland" written in 1813. Arndt's refrain is "Sein Vaterland muß größer sehn" (His fatherland must be greater). p. 459

322 See Note 220. p. 459

323 On the *Peace of Westphalia,* see Note 220.

The *Peace of Teschen* (Silesia) between Austria, on one side, and Prussia and Saxony, on the other, was signed on May 13, 1779 and concluded the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778-79). Prussia and Austria received parts of Bavarian territory, and Saxony was granted financial compensation. Russia acted as mediator in the conclusion of the treaty, and together with France, as its guarantor. p. 459

324 Silesia, part of the Austrian Empire since 1526, was seized by Prussia during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48) caused by the claims of several European rulers, above all, King Frederick II of Prussia, to the Habsburg domains, which, in default of a male heir on the death of Emperor Charles VI, went to his daughter, Marie Theresa.

Initially adopting a stance of benevolent neutrality towards Prussia, France openly sided with the anti-Austrian coalition after Prussia's first victories over Austria. In that war, Frederick II twice betrayed his allies by concluding separate peace treaties with Austria in 1742 and 1745; in 1742, Prussia received the major part and, after the war, the whole of Silesia. p. 459

325 See Note 177. p. 459

326 The reference is to the debate on and approval by the *Regensburg Imperial Diet* of the decision proposed by France and Russia to settle territorial issues in Rhenish Germany (see Note 177). The Diet was the supreme body of the Holy Roman Empire and consisted of representatives of the German states. It was in session almost uninterruptedly between 1663 and 1806. p. 459

327 See Note 171. p. 460

328 Here Engels uses the expression "*Mehrer des Reiches*" which was part of the official title of the Holy Roman Emperors. p. 461

329 The reference is to the secret Paris treaty of February 19 (March 3), 1859 concluded by France and Russia. Russia undertook to adopt a "political and military stand which most easily proves its benevolent neutrality towards France", and not to object to the enlargement of the Kingdom of Sardinia in the event of a war between France and Sardinia, on the one hand, and Austria, on the other. France pledged to encourage a revision of the articles of the Paris peace treaty of 1856 which ended the Crimean War, since they restricted Russian sovereignty on the Black Sea. p. 461

330 On December 2, 1851, Louis Bonaparte carried out a coup d'état by dissolving the Legislative Assembly and declared himself President of France in violation of the 1848 constitution. p. 461

331 The *Carbonari* were members of secret political societies in Italy and France in the first half of the 19th century. In Italy, they fought for national independence, unification of the country and liberal constitutional reforms. Louis Napoleon was a member of the Carbonari organisation in 1831.

As special constable, Louis Napoleon approved the preventive measures taken against the Chartist demonstration on April 10, 1848. p. 462

332 The so-called "nationalities principle" was advanced by the ruling circles of the Second Empire and extensively used by them as an ideological screen for their aggressive plans and adventurist foreign policy. Posing as a "defender of nations", Napoleon III exploited the national interests of the oppressed peoples to strengthen France's hegemony and extend its frontiers. The "nationalities principle" was designed to stir up national hatred and to turn the national movements, especially those of small nations, into a tool for the counter-revolutionary policy of the rival powers. p. 462

333 The reference is to the French frontiers established by the Luneville peace treaty concluded by France and Austria on February 9, 1801 after the defeat of the second anti-French coalition. The treaty extended France's frontiers by annexing the left bank of the Rhine, Belgium and Luxemburg, and sanctioned its actual rule over the republics created in 1795-98: Batavia (Holland), Helvetia (Switzerland), Liguria (Genoa) and Cisalpine (Lombardy). p. 462

334 Engels is referring to an attempt on the life of Napoleon III by the Italian revolutionary Felice Orsini on January 14, 1858. In this way Orsini hoped to encourage revolutionary action in Europe and advance the campaign for Italy's unification. The attempt failed, and Orsini was executed on March 13 of that year. p. 462

335 The two monarchs, the Austrian Emperor and the Russian Tsar, took joint action against revolutionary Hungary. In mid-June 1849, the Tsarist army entered Hungary to assist the Austrian counter-revolutionary forces. The intervention was tacitly endorsed by the ruling quarters of France and England. The combined forces of the Habsburgs and the Tsar suppressed the Hungarian revolution. p. 462

336 The war of the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont) and France against Austria, which lasted from April 29 to July 8, 1859, was launched by Napoleon III, who, under the banner of "liberating Italy" (in his manifesto on the war, he promised to make it "free up to the Adriatic"), sought territorial gains and needed a successful military campaign to shore up his regime in France. Piedmont's ruling circles were hoping that French support would enable them to unite Italy under the aegis of the Savoy dynasty. The war caused an upsurge of the national liberation movement in Italy. The Austrian army suffered a series of defeats. However, Napoleon III, frightened by the scale of the liberation movement in Italy, abruptly ceased hostilities. On July 11, the French and Austrian emperors concluded a separate preliminary peace treaty in Villafranca. France received Savoy and Nice. Lombardy was annexed to Sardinia; Venetia remained under Austria. p. 463

337 The *Basle Peace* was concluded on April 5, 1795 separately between France and Prussia, the latter being a member of the first anti-French coalition. Prussia's refusal to unconditionally assist Austria against France in 1859 generally made a bad impression in Germany. p. 463

338 The *free-hand policy* (die Politik der freien Hand)—a phrase coined by the Prussian Foreign Minister Alexander von Schleinitz during the Austro-Franco-Italian War of 1859, which defined Prussian policy at that time, neither to align with any of the warring powers nor to declare neutrality. p. 463

339 The *Crédit Mobilier,* short for the *Société générale du Crédit Mobilier*—a French joint-stock bank founded in 1852 by the Péreire brothers. The bank was closely connected with the Government of Napoleon III and, protected by it, engaged in speculation. It went bankrupt in 1867 and was wound up in 1871.

The bank's activities were described in a number of Marx's articles published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see present edition, Vol. 15, pp. 8-24, 270-77 and 357-60). p. 464

340 The *Confederation of the Rhine* (Rheinbund)—an association of sixteen states in Southern and Western Germany established in July 1806 under the protectorate of Napoleon I, after the latter had defeated Austria in 1805. Later, twenty other states in Western, Central and Northern Germany joined the Confederation. It fell apart in 1813 after the defeat of Napoleon's army in Germany. p. 464

341 After the defeat of Austria by Napoleonic France in July 1805 and the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine (see Note 340), which announced its separation from the German Empire, Francis II, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, who had earlier accepted the title of Emperor of Austria under the name of Francis I, on August 6, 1806 rejected the German imperial crown. The German Empire ceased to exist. p. 465

342 The reference is to the fortresses of the German Confederation located mostly along the French border. Their garrisons were formed from armed units of major member-states, mostly Austria and Prussia. p. 466

343 The reference is to the reactionary government of Prince Schwarzenberg formed in November 1848 after the defeat of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, which had been launched by the popular insurrection of March 13, 1848 in Vienna. p. 466

344 In August 1863, a conference of German princes was convened in Frankfurt-am-Main on the initiative of Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria to discuss a plan for the reform of the German Confederation providing for Austrian supremacy. King William I of Prussia refused to attend; several minor states also failed to extend full support to Austria, and the conference proved fruitless. p. 466

345 The term *Realpolitik* was used to describe Bismarck's policy, which, his contemporaries believed, was based entirely on cool calculation. p. 466

346 The reference is to Frederick II's conversation with Beauvau, the French envoy to Berlin, not long before the War of the Austrian Succession (see Note 324). p. 469

347 When territorial issues were settled by the so-called Imperial Deputation in 1803 (see Note 177), Prussia received as compensation the secularised Münster bishopric and some other possessions in Western Germany. p. 469

348 The reference is to the events of the wars waged by the third and the fourth coalitions of European powers against Napoleonic France. The third coalition was formed in 1805 and embraced Britain, Austria, Russia, Sweden and the Kingdom of Naples. Prussia refused to join it, declaring its neutrality, and in

November 1805 concluded a treaty with Russia pledging to act as a mediator between the coalition and France, and, should its efforts fail, to join the campaign against Napoleon. However, after Austria's defeat at Austerlitz on December 12, 1805, Prussia signed a treaty with France, under which it received the Electorate of Hanover, for certain territorial concessions on the Rhine. The establishment of Napoleon's rule in Western and Southern Germany and his action to the detriment of Prussia again prompted the latter to side with Russia and Britain, who were still in a state of war with France. The fourth coalition was formed and encompassed Britain, Russia, Prussia and Sweden. In October 1806, in the battles of Jena (see Note 220) and Auerstedt, the Prussian army was routed by French troops which then occupied Prussia. p. 469

349 The *Customs Union* (Zollverein) of German states (initially embracing 18 states), which established a common customs frontier, was founded in 1834 and headed by Prussia. By the 1840s, the Union embraced all German states with the exception of Austria, the Hanseatic towns (Bremen, Lübeck, Hamburg) and some of the smaller states. Formed due to the need for a single German market, the Customs Union subsequently promoted Germany's political unification. It ceased to exist in 1871. p. 470

350 *Landwehr*—the army reserve formed in Prussia in 1813 during the struggle against Napoleon. In the 1840s, it consisted of men under forty who had done three years of active service and not less than two years in the reserve. In contrast to the regular army, the Landwehr was called up only in case of extreme emergency (war, or threat of war). p. 471

351 *Kulturkampf*—the term used to designate the campaign of the Bismarck government in 1871-75 against the Catholic Church and the Party of the Centre closely associated with it, which expressed separatist and anti-Prussian tendencies widespread in Western and South-Western Germany. A number of laws were passed for the purpose of weakening the influence of the Centre and the Catholic clergy which supported it. However, the Church refused to comply. In the second half of the 1870s and early 1880s, against the background of the growing workers' movement, Bismarck, seeking to unite all reactionary forces, effected a reconciliation with the Catholic Church; the majority of the laws were repealed. p. 471

352 Here Engels has in mind the liberals who advocated the transformation of Germany into a federative state after the model of Switzerland, which was divided into self-governing cantons. p. 471

353 The song about Burgomaster Tschech (*Tschech's Attentat*)—a folk satire mocking Frederick William IV of Prussia in the context of the abortive attempt on his life staged on July 26, 1844 by Heinrich Tschech, former burgomaster of Storkow (Prussia).

The song about the Baroness von Droste-Fischering—a folk satire of the Catholic clergy mocking the tricks played by the so-called "healers" who operated in Trier in the 1840s. p. 471

354 The reference is to the coup d'état in Prussia in November-December 1848. On November 2 of that year, the counter-revolutionary Brandenburg-Manteuffel government came to office; on November 8, by a royal edict, sessions of the Prussian National Assembly were transferred from Berlin to Brandenburg; the majority of the Assembly, which continued meeting in Berlin, were dispersed on November 15 by General Wrangel's troops; the coup d'état ended

when on December 5, the Assembly was disbanded and a Constitution granted. It introduced a two-chamber system and empowered the King not only to revoke the chambers' decisions but also to revise some of the articles of the Constitution itself. In April 1849, Frederick William disbanded the chamber elected on the basis of the imposed Constitution, and on May 30 passed new electoral legislation which introduced a three-class voting system based on high property qualifications and unequal representation of the various groups of the population. The King managed to get the new Constitution adopted with the support of the majority in the new chamber of representatives, and it came into force on January 31, 1850. Prussia retained the upper chamber, which consisted mostly of representatives of the feudal nobility (chamber of the gentry). The Constitution gave the government the right to set up special courts to deal with cases of high treason. In December 1850, the Brandenburg-Manteuffel ministry was replaced by the Manteuffel ministry, which remained in office until November 1858. p. 472

355 Since Frederick William IV of Prussia suffered from a mental illness, his brother, Prince William, was appointed his deputy in 1857, and regent in October 1858. In January 1861, following the death of the former, the Prince was proclaimed king under the name of William I. In November 1858, the Prince Regent dismissed the Manteuffel ministry and brought to power moderate liberals headed by Karl August Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. The term of this ministry's office (up to March 1862) came to be known as "the New Era". However, the liberal ministry did not introduce any radical reforms and was replaced by a conservative cabinet headed by Prince Adolf von Hohenloe. In September 1862, Otto von Bismarck became Prussian Prime Minister. p. 472

356 In February 1860, the lower chamber (chamber of representatives) of the Prussian Provincial Diet refused to approve the plan for the army's reorganisation proposed by the War Minister von Roon. The government however managed to secure from the chamber of representatives the means to maintain the army already in existence, and this allowed it to begin the reorganisation. When in March 1862 the liberal majority in the chamber refused to approve the military budget and demanded the establishment of a ministry accountable to the Provincial Diet, the government disbanded the latter and announced new elections. In late September 1862, Bismarck's ministry was formed, which in October of that year dissolved the Diet and launched the military reform without waiting for it to approve the expenditure. This constitutional conflict, as it was called, between the Prussian government and the bourgeois-liberal majority of the Diet was settled only in 1866, when, after Prussia's victory over Austria, the Prussian bourgeoisie capitulated before Bismarck. p. 473

357 On Prussia's war against Denmark in 1848-50 and the mobilisation of 1850, see Note 309. p. 473

358 Under the London Protocol on the integrity of the Danish monarchy, signed on May 8, 1852 by Russia, Austria, Britain, France, Prussia, Sweden and representatives of Denmark, Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark could be bound only by personal union. Holstein remained a member of the German Confederation. In 1855, a constitution was published which was valid for all parts of the Danish Kingdom and covered both these duchies; only in 1858, under pressure from the German Federal Diet, did the Danish government

agree to exclude Holstein from the provisions of the Constitution, but on condition that it make a contribution to national expenditure. On November 13, 1863, the Danish parliament approved a new constitution which declared the annexation of Schleswig to Denmark. p. 474

359 The *National Association* (Deutscher National-Verein) was a party of the German liberal bourgeoisie which advocated the unification of Germany (without Austria) in a strong centralised state under the aegis of the Prussian monarchy. Its inaugural congress was held in Frankfurt in September 1859.

After the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and the formation of the North German Confederation, the National Association announced its dissolution in November 1867. p. 474

360 The reference is to the Russo-Prussian convention initiated by Bismarck and signed on February 8 (January 27), 1863 by Russian Foreign Minister Alexander Gorchakov and the Prussian representative Gustav von Alvensleben. Under the convention, Prussia undertook to render Tsarist Russia comprehensive assistance in suppressing the Polish uprising of 1863. p. 477

361 See Note 332. p. 477

362 The reference is to Austria's role in the Danish-Prussian War of 1848-50 (see Note 309), especially in its final stage, when Prussia sided with the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which were waging an armed liberation struggle against Danish rule. Together with Tsarist Russia and other European states, Austria supported Denmark and brought pressure to bear on Prussia to make peace. On July 2, 1850 a treaty was signed which preserved Danish supremacy over the duchies. Advocates of their secession continued hostilities, but Prussia did not support them, and the Schleswig-Holstein army was routed. In the winter of 1850-51, on Austria's initiative, a commission of the German Confederation (see Note 171) escorted by Austrian and Prussian troops was sent to the duchies. The Schleswig-Holstein army was disbanded, and Danish rule over the duchies restored. p. 477

363 The war of Austria and Prussia against Denmark, caused by the latter's refusal to give up its plans to annex Schleswig, began in February 1864 and ended in July with a total defeat of the Danish army. Under the peace treaty signed in Vienna on October 30, 1864, Denmark lost its rights to the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, as well as to the small principality of Lauenburg, which were declared the joint possession (condominium) of Austria and Prussia. p. 477

364 In the original, Engels used the term *Haupt- und Staatsaktion* ("principal and spectacular action", "main and state action"), which has a double meaning. First, in the 17th and the first half of the 18th century, it denoted plays performed by German touring companies. But this term can also denote major political events. p. 479

365 The Warsaw Protocol of June 5 (May 24), 1851, signed by Russia and Denmark, as well as the London Protocol of May 8, 1852 (see Note 358), established the principle of the integrity of the Danish Crown's territorial possessions, including the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. p. 479

366 The reference is to the armed intervention in Mexico by Britain, France and Spain in late 1861-early 1862. Its aim was to suppress the Mexican revolution and turn the country into a colony of the European powers. Hostilities were

conducted by the French troops, as Britain and Spain soon recalled theirs. By mid-1863, the capital, Mexico City, and a number of other major centres were captured. Mexico was proclaimed an empire with the Austrian Archduke Maximilian at its head. However, the insurgents managed to win several important victories. The French troops sustained heavy losses and were forced to leave the country in early 1867. p. 479

367 See Note 171. p. 480

368 The phrase "a refreshing jolly war" ("ein frischer fröhlicher Krieg") was coined by the historian and writer Heinrich Leo in June 1853 in the *Volksblatt für Stadt und Land,* No. 61 and used later also in a militarist and chauvinist context. p. 480

369 The *North German Confederation* (Norddeutscher Bund)—a federative state formed in 1867 after Prussia's victory in the Austro-Prussian war to replace the disintegrated German Confederation (see Note 171). The North German Confederation included nineteen states and three free cities, which were formally recognised as autonomous. The Confederation ceased to exist in January 1871, when the German Empire was formed. p. 480

370 The reference is to Bismarck's diplomatic preparations for the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 (see Note 172). In early March 1866, Robert Goltz, the Prussian Ambassador in Paris, obtained Napoleon III's consent to observe benevolent neutrality towards Prussia in the event of it becoming involved in a war with Austria. Simultaneously, Bismarck conducted negotiations in Berlin to explore the possibility of forming a Prusso-Italian coalition spearheaded against Austria. The other party in the negotiations was the Italian general Giuseppe Govone, who was given to understand that, France being agreeable, Bismarck would not oppose Italy annexing the German territories lying between the Rhine and the Mosel. The treaty on a defensive and offensive alliance between Prussia and Italy signed on April 8, 1866 provided for Italy to receive Venetia in the event of victory over Austria. p. 480

371 Fighting in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 on the side of Austria were Saxony, Hanover, Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg, the Electorate of Hesse, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau and other member-states of the German Confederation; on the side of Prussia—Mecklenburg, Oldenburg and other North German states, as well as the three free cities.

In early June 1866, Austria lodged a complaint with the Federal Diet against Prussia's violation of the treaty on the joint administration of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. Bismarck refused to comply with the decision of the Diet which, on Austria's proposal, declared war on Prussia. During the war, the headway made by the Prussian troops forced the Diet to move from Frankfurt to Augsburg, where on August 24, 1866, it announced its dissolution. p. 481

372 The Austro-Prussian war ended in the signing of the peace treaty in Prague on August 23, 1866.

On Prussia's annexation of three member-states of the German Confederation and one free city, see Note 172. p. 481

373 Louis Bonaparte was nicknamed "the Little" by Victor Hugo in a speech in the Legislative Assembly in November 1851; the nickname became popular after the publication of Hugo's pamphlet *Napoléon le Petit* (1852). p. 481

374 In September 1866, the Prussian Chamber of Deputies voted 230 against 75 for the so-called indemnity bill proposed by Bismarck on exempting the government from responsibility for the expenditure that had not been legally approved at the time of the constitutional conflict (see Note 356). p. 483

375 The Prussians defeated the Austrians on July 3, 1866 near the village of Sadowa, in the vicinity of the town of Königgrätz in Bohemia. p. 483

376 The *Customs Parliament* (Zollparlament) was formed following the signing of a treaty between Prussia and the South German states on July 8, 1867. It consisted of members of the North German Confederation's Reichstag and specially elected deputies from South German states: Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg and Hesse. It was to deal exclusively with trade issues and the customs policy. Bismarck's wish to gradually broaden its prerogatives extending them to political questions, met with stubborn resistance from the South German representatives. p. 484

377 The river Main formed the boundary between the North German Confederation and the South German states. p. 484

378 Under the peace treaty with Austria concluded in Vienna on October 3, 1866 Italy, which fought on the side of Prussia in the Austro-Prussian War, annexed Venetia. However, as a result of Prussia's opposition, its claims to the South Tyrol and Trieste, the property of Austria, were not satisfied. p. 486

379 In his despatch of August 6, 1847 to Count Apponyi in Paris, the Austrian Chancellor Metternich wrote "L'Italie est une expression géographique". Later he applied the expression to Germany as well. p. 486

380 The London Conference of diplomatic representatives of Austria, Russia, Prussia, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Great Britain and Luxemburg on the issue of Luxemburg was held between May 7 and 11, 1867. Under the treaty signed on May 11, the Duchy of Luxemburg was declared neutral. Prussia undertook to promptly withdraw its troops from the Luxemburg Fortress, and Napoleon III was to renounce his claims for annexing Luxemburg. p. 486

381 See Note 308. p. 487

382 See Note 350. p. 488

383 On August 6, 1870, in the battles of Spicheren (Lorraine) and Wörth (Alsace), Prussian troops defeated several French corps. These victories, won at the initial stage of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, allowed the Prussian command to launch an offensive, in the course of which the French army was broken up into two groups and then surrounded and smashed to pieces.

On the *Battle of Sedan,* see Note 224. p. 488

384 The news of the defeat of the French army at Sedan gave rise to mass revolutionary action in Paris, on September 4, 1870 which led to the fall of the Second Empire and the proclamation of a republic. Power, however, was captured by bourgeois republicans. The provisional government headed by General Louis Trochu declared itself "the Government of National Defence" but, scared by the revolutionary outburst, in fact chose a policy of national betrayal and collusion with the enemy. p. 489

385 The reference is probably to the proclamation addressed to the French nation on August 11, 1870 and signed by King William I of Prussia. p. 489

386 The *Landsturm Statute,* passed in Prussia on April 21, 1813, provided for the organisation of volunteer units ("francs-tireurs"), without a uniform, who were to carry on guerrilla warfare in the rear and on the flanks of Napoleon's army. All able-bodied men not in active service were urged to join the *Landsturm.*

The brutalities perpetrated against the French francs-tireurs by the Prussian army that occupied France at the time of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 are described by Engels in a series of articles "Notes on the War" (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 163, 167 and 198-202). p. 489

387 Engels is referring to the Battle of Héricourt (near Belfort) on January 15-17, 1871 between German troops and the French Eastern Army under Charles Bourbaki, which advanced to the southern Vosges planning to deal a flank strike at the main communication line of the German army besieging Paris. The attacks of the Eastern Army were rebuffed by the Germans, it was forced to retreat to the Swiss border and was interned on that country's territory. In the meantime, on January 28, 1871, Bismarck and Jules Favre, a representative of the National Defence Government, signed a convention on the armistice and the capitulation of Paris. p. 490

388 Several hundred civilians were killed and many wounded in street fighting on March 18, 1848 in Berlin. The insurgents took over the guarding of the Palace, and on the morning of March 19 forced the King to go out onto the balcony and bare his head before the corpses of the fallen fighters. p. 491

389 After the signing of a convention on the armistice and the capitulation of Paris on January 28, 1871, the hostilities between France and Prussia were not resumed. On February 26, 1871, the French government headed by Thiers concluded a preliminary peace on the terms dictated by Bismarck. The final peace treaty was signed on May 10, 1871 in Frankfurt-am-Main. It confirmed Germany's annexation of Alsace and eastern Lorraine. Under the Frankfurt Treaty, the terms on which France was to pay the 5-milliard francs contribution were made harsher, and the German occupation of the French territory was prolonged. That was the cost of Bismarck's assistance to the Versailles government in the suppression of the Commune. p. 491

390 See Note 220. p. 491

391 Under the Peace of Westphalia, which concluded the European Thirty Years' War (1618-48), Strassburg remained incorporated in the German Empire, although Alsace became part of France. By order of Louis XIV issued on September 30, 1681, French troops occupied the city as belonging to Alsace. The Catholic Party of Strassburg headed by Bishop Fürstenberg hailed the annexation and did its best to prevent resistance to the French troops. p. 491

392 *Reunion chambers* (Chambres de réunion) set up by Louis XIV in 1679-80 were to give juridical and historical grounds for France's claims to territories of neighbouring states, which were then occupied by French troops. p. 492

393 See Note 337. p. 492

394 The reference is to the preliminary peace treaty signed on October 5, 1735 in Vienna by Austria and France. It ended the War of the Polish Succession (1733-35) between Russia, Austria and Saxony, on the one hand, and France, on the other. Russia and Austria supported the claims to the Polish throne of

Elector Friedrich August of Saxony (the future King August III of Poland), while France promoted Stanislaus Leszczynski, Louis XV's father-in-law. Under the treaty, Louis XV recognised August III as King of Poland provided the Duchy of Lorraine was given over to Stanislaus Leszczynski. On his death, it was to pass over to the French crown. The terms of the preliminary treaty were confirmed by the Vienna Treaty of 1738. On Stanislaus Leszczynski's demise in 1766, Lorraine was incorporated into France. p. 492

395 The reference is to the strong fortified position formed by North Italian fortresses of Verona, Legnago, Mantua and Peschiera. Engels wrote about the role of these fortresses as a stronghold of Austrian rule in Northern Italy in his works "The Austrian Hold on Italy" and "Po and Rhine" (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 183-89 and 227-29). p. 494

396 In his speech in the Reichstag on February 6, 1888 during the discussion of the bill on the reorganisation of Germany's armed forces, Bismarck, who insisted on the need to boost the country's military might and who actually recognised the possibility of an anti-German coalition between France and Tsarist Russia, extolled Alexander III's policies towards Germany, counterposing them to the anti-German campaign launched by the Russian press. p. 495

397 In the winter of 1886-87, Bismarck capitalised on a slight deterioration in relations with France and demanded that the Reichstag pass a law providing for a substantial increase of the army and approve a military budget for the next seven years. The majority of the deputies refused to approve the budget proposed by Bismarck and suggested a three-year budget, after which the Reichstag was dissolved. At the elections of February 21, 1887, a majority vote was received by the pro-Bismarck parties—conservatives, "free conservatives" (see Note 403) and National Liberals (see Note 170), who formed a so-called cartel. The new Reichstag approved the budget proposed by Bismarck. p. 497

398 Engels is referring to the conferral of the title German Emperor on King William I of Prussia in Versailles on January 18, 1871. p. 497

399 See Note 252. p. 499

400 The reference is to the economic crisis which struck Germany in May 1873. It was preceded by rapid economic advance accompanied by the feverish establishment of new enterprises and extensive speculations. p. 499

401 The reference is to the bourgeois-liberal *Party of Progress* (*Fortschrittpartei*), formed in 1861 in Prussia. It voiced the interests of petty bourgeoisie and the sections of middle bourgeoisie engaged in foreign trade. The party supported the idea of the country's unification under the aegis of Prussia, but demanded that a parliamentary system be established. In 1866, its Right wing split off and formed the National Liberal Party (see Note 170). In 1884, the men of Progress entered into a union with the Left wing of the National Liberal Party and formed the German Party of Free Thinkers (Deutsche Freisinnige Partei). p. 500

402 The reference is to the General Association of German Workers (Lassalleans) set up by Ferdinand Lassalle in 1863, and the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (the Eisenachers), whose inaugural congress took place in Eisenach in 1869. The former was a nationwide political organisation of the working class which employed mostly legal forms of class struggle. The latter

was set up with Marx's and Engels' assistance and was headed by Bebel and Liebknecht; it was affiliated to the First International. Despite a number of erroneous propositions in its programme, it pursued a revolutionary and proletarian line on the issue of Germany's unification and on other questions. At the Gotha Congress in 1875, the two trends merged into a single party, which up to 1890 was called the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. p. 500

403 The *Conservative Party* (the so-called *Kreuz-Zeitung's* Party, see Note 168) was set up in 1848 and promoted the interests of the Junkers, the aristocracy, the generals, the Lutheran clergy and top officials. In the first years after the unification of Germany, it was in opposition to Bismarck's government, believing that Prussian supremacy in Germany was not secure enough. In 1866, a Free Conservative Party split off from it which expressed the interests of big landowners and a section of industrial tycoons, and unconditionally supported Bismarck. In 1876, the Party was reorganised into an all-German Conservative Party. p. 501

404 See Note 170. p. 501

405 The treaties with the South German states (Baden, Hesse, Bavaria and Württemberg) on their joining the North German Confederation were signed in November 1870. They accorded a greater measure of independence to the Confederation's member-states, the relevant provisions being incorporated into the Constitution of the German Empire of April 16, 1871. Bavaria and Württemberg retained the special tax on beer and spirits and special rights in the management of the postal and telegraphic service; Bavaria, moreover, retained a degree of independence in administering its army and railways. p. 503

406 Under the Constitution of the North German Confederation, which came into force on July 1, 1867, the Reichstag, which had a right to approve the budget, was elected by universal suffrage. The Federal Council, whose functions were confined to approval of laws, consisted of representatives nominated by governments of all member-states of the Confederation. p. 503

407 On the revisions of the Constitution of 1849-50, see Note 354.

Engels uses the term *Manteuffelism* alluding to the constant violations of the Prussian Constitution that occurred under the Ministry of Otto von Manteuffel (1850-58).

On the *constitutional conflict,* see Note 356.

On the *Battle of Sadowa,* see Note 375. p. 504

408 Under the *Law on Imperial Treasury Notes* of April 30, 1874, banknotes to the total sum of 120 million marks were issued. All member-states of the German Empire were obliged to exchange and withdraw their paper money from circulation.

The *Law on the Imperial Bank* passed on March 14, 1875 regulated the emission operations of all banks on the territory of the German Empire. p. 506

409 The reference is to courts (Schöffengerichte) that sprang up in the Middle Ages in the part of Germany where Frankish law was in force (Westphalia, Saxony, cities on the Lower Rhine and Mosel). They disappeared by the 18th century but were resurrected after Germany's unification in 1871 as "an innately German institution". They consisted of a judge and two Schöffen (assessors)

who, unlike juries, took full part in passing sentences, in other words, defined the extent of the punishment together with the judge as their chairman. To fulfil a Schöffen's functions, a person had to meet certain age, property and residential qualifications. p. 507

410 See Note 69. p. 507

411 The reference is to the Imperial Press Law of May 7, 1874. p. 507

412 The reference is to the administrative reform of 1872 in Prussia which abolished landowners' hereditary rule in rural districts and introduced elements of local self-government: elective elders in the communities, district councils under the Landrats, elected in conformity with the estates system, etc. The purpose of the reform was to strengthen the state apparatus and to promote centralisation in the interests of the class of Junkers as a whole. p. 507

413 The reference is to the local government reform in England. The Local Government Bill was introduced by the Salisbury government (1886-92) in March 1888 and approved by Parliament that August. Under the reform, the sheriff's functions were given over to the elective county councils in charge of taxation, local budgets, etc. All persons who enjoyed the right to take part in parliamentary elections, among them women over 30, could take part in council elections. p. 508

414 See Note 351. p. 509

415 *Ultramontanism,* an extremely reactionary religious and political trend in Catholicism, which emerged in the 15th century. Its adherents opposed the independence of the national churches and advocated the idea of the Pope's supremacy and his right to interfere in the affairs of any state. Its mounting influence in the second half of the 19th century led to the formation of Catholic parties in some of the European states and the declaration of Papal infallibility at the first Council of the Vatican in 1870. p. 509

416 On September 20, 1870, troops of the Italian Kingdom entered Rome, which until then had been under the Pope's rule. On the basis of the plebiscite held on October 2 in the Papal States in which the majority voted for annexation to Italy, the government announced that it was henceforth incorporated into the Italian Kingdom. This completed the country's political unification. The Pope's secular rule was abolished. The Guarantee Law passed in 1871 secured the Pope's state sovereignty only within the boundaries of the Vatican and Lateran palaces and his country residence. The Pope reciprocated by excommunicating the instigators of the occupation of Rome, refused to recognise the Guarantee Law and declared himself "the Vatican prisoner". p. 509

417 The reference is to the small groups of deputies representing the Poles and Alsatians in the Reichstag, as well as the so-called German-Hanover separatist party formed after 1866 and embracing champions of the independent Hanover monarchy headed by the Guelph dynasty, which had ruled there prior to Hanover's annexation to Prussia in 1866. p. 510

418 See Note 312. p. 511

419 See present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 146-71. p. 511

420 *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* published the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* on December 30, 1871 in an abridged form.

*Le Socialiste* also printed an abridged version of the *Manifesto* in January-February 1872. p. 516

421 The first Russian translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* appeared in 1869 in Geneva in the Volnaya Russkaya Tipographia (the Free Russian Press) publishing house, the ownership of which Herzen handed over to Chernetsky, a staff member, in 1867. p. 516

422 The 1882 Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* appeared as a third instalment of the Social-Revolutionary Library published by Pyotr Lavrov. Engels made a mistake, naming Vera Zasulich as the author of the translation: it was the work of Georgy Plekhanov. In 1894, in an afterword to the article "On Social Relations in Russia" (see present edition, Vol. 27), Engels himself wrote that the translation was that of Plekhanov.

Marx and Engels wrote a special preface to the 1882 edition (see present edition, Vol. 24). p. 516

423 The Danish translation in question (K. Marx og. F. Engels, *Det Kommunistiske Manifest,* København, 1885) had some omissions and inaccuracies, which was noted by Engels in the preface to the fourth German edition of the *Manifesto* (see present edition, Vol. 27). The French translation appeared in *Le Socialiste* between August 29 and November 7, 1885, and was reprinted as an appendix in the book: Mermeix, *La France socialiste,* Paris, 1886. The Spanish translation was published in the *Socialista* in July-August 1886, and also as a separate edition: *Manifesto de Partido Communista* par Carlos Marx y F. Engels, Madrid, 1886. p. 516

424 *Owenites*—followers of Robert Owen, the English utopian socialist whose ideas gained particularly wide currency in the 1820s-30s. According to his system for transforming the life of all mankind, "the communities" established on voluntary principles were to become a model for the development of the new productive forces (including the science of chemistry), the education of a new harmoniously developed man, and the establishment of new social relations. His most prominent followers were John Grey, Thomas Hodgskin, William Thompson and John Bray. Engels wrote in *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*: "English socialism arose with Owen" (see present edition, Vol. 4, p. 525).

*Fourierists*—followers of Charles Fourier, the French utopian socialist whose doctrine became especially widespread in the 1830s-40s. Advocating the establishment of a harmonious social system on the basis of the 18th-century materialists' ideas, Fourier admitted the presence in it of private property, classes and unearned incomes. He believed that the principal condition for the success of the new society was the growth of labour productivity that would secure universal wealth.

Fourier's doctrine made a major impact on the social and philosophical thought in a number of countries in Europe and North America. p. 516

425 *Sturm und Drang*—a literary movement which evolved in Germany in the early 1770s and got its name from Friedrich Klinger's play of the same title. It conveyed the mounting general discontent with the feudal practices. p. 520

426 This article was written by Engels in English as a preface to the American

edition of Marx's speech on the question of free trade delivered in Brussels on January 9, 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 450-65). Engels also looked through the translation of the speech made by Florence Kelly-Wischnewetzky and translated his preface into German. It was first published in that language in *Die Neue Zeit,* No. 7, July 1888. In the second half of August, it was published in the English original in *The Labor Standard* in New York. The publication of Marx's speech in pamphlet form was delayed, as many publishers refused to accept it, and it was not printed until September 1888 by Lee and Shephard Publishers, Boston. The concluding part of the article was also published in German in *Der Sozialist* (New York) on October 27, 1888. p. 521

427 On the Brussels Congress on free trade, see Engels' essays "The Economic Congress" and "The Free Trade Congress at Brussels", present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 274-78 and 282-90. p. 521

428 See Note 154. p. 521

429 See Note 193. p. 521

430 *The physiocratic school, Physiocrats*—a trend in bourgeois classical political economy that emerged in France in the 1750s. The Physiocrats held Nature to be the only source of wealth, and agriculture the only sphere of the economy where value was created. Although they underestimated the role of industry and commerce, the Physiocrats rendered an important service by shifting the search for the origins of surplus value from the sphere of circulation to that of production, thereby laying the basis for the analysis of capitalist production. Advocates of large-scale capitalist farming, they showed the moribund nature of the feudal economy and thus contributed to the ideological preparation of the bourgeois revolution in France. p. 522

431 See Note 252. p. 524

432 The reference is to the *American Civil War of 1861-65.* The Southern slave-holders rose against the Union and formed a Confederacy of the Southern states. The war was caused mainly by the conflict between the two social systems: the capitalist system of wage labour established in the North and the slave system dominant in the South. The Civil War, which had the nature of a bourgeois-democratic revolution, passed two stages in its development: the period of a constitutional war for maintaining the Union and the period of a revolutionary war for the abolition of slavery. The decisive role in the defeat of the Southerners was played by workers and farmers. p. 525

433 "*Manifest destiny*", an expression widely used in the 19th century by the ideologists of the expansionist policy pursued by the US ruling quarters to vindicate this policy. It was first used by John O'Sullivan, editor of the *U.S. Magazine and Democratic Review,* in the July-August issue of 1845, Vol. XVII, p. 5. p. 525

434 *Parliamentary train*—a name for third-class trains in England which, under the law of 1844, each railway company was obliged to run once a day at a speed of 12 miles per hour, fares not exceeding one penny per mile. p. 526

435 In 1823, William Huskisson became President of the Board of Trade. On his initiative, a series of measures were introduced in the 1820s to reorganise the obsolete customs system. The prohibitive duties on corn were replaced by a

sliding tariff scale, under which import duties rose or fell depending on the fall or rise in grain prices inside the country.

The tariff reform of 1842 lowered customs duties on corn and other imported goods, but introduced income tax as a compensation for the treasury. p. 528

436 The reference is to the Ten Hours' Bill of 1847, which came into force on May 1, 1848. In August 1850, Parliament introduced an additional factory act which prolonged the working day for women and adolescents to ten-and-a-half hours on the first five days of the week and reduced it to seven-and-a-half hours on Saturday. See also Note 161. p. 528

437 See Note 349. p. 529

438 The need for a reform of the customs tariff so as to raise the duties on imported industrial and agricultural goods was stated by a group of Reichstag deputies in October 1878. In December, Bismarck submitted his initial rough draft of a reform to a specially established commission. The final version was debated in the Reichstag beginning in May 1879 and was approved on July 12 of that year. The new customs tariff provided for a substantial increase of import duties on iron, machinery, textile, grain, cattle, fats, flax, timber, etc. p. 531

439 The reference is to the trade agreement between Britain and France signed on January 23, 1860. The principal figure on the British side was free trader Richard Cobden. Under the agreement, France renounced its prohibitive customs policy and introduced duties that could not exceed 30, and later 25 per cent of the cost of the goods. The agreement granted France the right to export the bulk of its goods to England tax-free. One consequence of the agreement was mounting competition on the home market caused by the influx of English goods, which provoked displeasure among the French manufacturers and industrialists. p. 533

440 The *Standard Oil Company* was founded by John D. Rockefeller in the state of Ohio in 1870 with an initial capital of $1 million. In the 1870s, the company dominated the refining and transportation of oil and came to control almost the entire US oil industry. In 1882, the company was transformed into a trust of the same name, operating on a capital of $75 million. Later, the Standard Oil grew into one of the world's largest corporations. p. 533

441 The *American Sugar Company* (trust) was set up in 1887 and became the *American Sugar Refining Company* in 1891. In the first years of its existence, the trust came to dominate nearly all of the US sugar industry. Later, despite the formation of major competing companies, the trust managed to retain its position as the largest corporation in the branch by establishing control over some of its competitors and cooperating with others on a profit-sharing basis. p. 534

442 The *Manchester School*—a trend in economic thinking which reflected the interests of industrial bourgeoisie. Its adherents, known as Free Traders, advocated freedom of trade and non-interference by the government in economic life. The centre of the Free Traders' activities was Manchester, where the movement was headed by two textile manufacturers, Richard Cobden and John Bright, who founded the Anti-Corn Law League in 1838. In the 1840s and 1850s, the Free Traders formed a separate political group which later constituted the Left wing of the Liberal Party. p. 534

443 This letter written by Engels (see Engels to Laura Lafargue, May 7, 1889, present edition, Vol. 48) in connection with the preparations for the international socialist congress was published in *The Labour Elector* on behalf of the French socialist Charles Bonnier, who was actively involved in the work. The decisive role in the convocation of the congress belonged to Marxist organisations, the German Social-Democratic and French Workers' parties, which acted under Engels' guidance. Opportunists, mostly French Possibilists (see Note 444) supported by the British Social-Democratic Federation, sought to prevent the consolidation of revolutionary Marxist forces and tried to take the organisation of the congress into their hands, but in vain. The International Socialist Workers' Congress, which took place in Paris in July 1889, highlighted the Marxists' victory. It paved the way for a new international proletarian association, the Second International. The alternative congress convened by the Possibilists and their allies failed to win the support of the majority of socialist organisations and proved a flop. p. 537

444 *Possibilism*—an opportunist trend in the French socialist movement that existed from the 1880s to the early 20th century. It was headed by Paul Brousse and Benoît Malon, who in 1882 effected a split in the French Workers' Party. The dissenters adopted the name of the Workers' Social-Revolutionary Party. Its ideological foundation was the reformist theory of municipal socialism. The Possibilists declared the "policy of possibilities" ("la politique des possibilitées") their principle. In the early 20th century, they joined the French Socialist Party.

On the *opportunists*, see Note 208. p. 537

445 The *Parliamentary Committee*—the executive of the British Trade Union Congress (up to 1921). p. 538

446 The International Workers' Congress was convened in London in November 1888 by the British trade union leadership. Represented at it were trade unions from several European countries. p. 538

447 This is Engels' letter to James Keir Hardie, editor of the *Labour Leader* magazine, where it was published without a heading in the "Mining Notes" section and supplied with the following introductory note: "The great miners' strike in Germany is over, and the men have succeeded in establishing their demand for an 8-hour day from bank to bank. Mr. Frederick Engels, the eminent historian of the labour movement, and the life-long friend of the great Karl Marx, sends me the following interesting note on the strike."

The Ruhr miners' strike was one of the major events in the German working-class movement in late 19th century. It began on May 4, 1889 in the Gelsenkirchen mining district and spread to the entire Dortmund area. Up to 90,000 people were taking part at its peak. Some of the strikers were under the influence of Social-Democrats. The main demands of the strikers were: higher wages, reduction of the working day to 8 hours, and recognition of workers' committees. The industrialists promised to meet some of the workers' demands, as a result of which work was partially resumed in mid-May. However, as the employers went back on their word, a miners' delegates' meeting held on May 24 passed a decision to continue the strike. Repressive measures, on the one hand, and fresh promises by mine-owners, on the other, prompted the workers to call off the strike in early June. p. 539

448 See Note 253. p. 539

449 A three-man delegation of the striking miners was formed through the effort of some of the Reichstag liberal deputies who sought to curtail the influence of Social-Democratic ideas on the miners and used their relatively low level of political awareness. The delegation was received by William II on May 14.
p. 540

450 In mid-May 1889, the strike movement launched by the Ruhr miners spread to Upper and Lower Silesia, where it involved a large part of the mines (20,000 people) and lasted from May 14 to 24, and to Saxony, where 10,000 people took part in it. In the Saar area, workers at some of the mines went on strike on May 14-16, and by May 23, the number of strikers reached 12,000. Somewhat earlier, strikes began in the Wurm mining district, involving about 8,000 men. Work was not resumed until May 31. A major miners' strike also took place in Bohemia, in the district of Kladno, on May 24.

At the end of May, strikes for higher wages and, in some cases, shorter working hours, were held in various towns and districts of Germany. On May 25, about 20,000 masons went on strike in Berlin; in Freienwalde, a strike was launched by railway workers, and in Stettin and Königsberg, by house painters and carpenters. p. 540

451 This article was occasioned by the campaign launched by the Possibilists (see Note 444) in France and their adherents in the Social-Democratic Federation in Britain in order to discredit the International Socialist Workers' Congress held in Paris between July 14 and 21, 1889, at which the Marxist parties of European countries clearly dominated. Initially, the Possibilists tried to take preparations for the congress into their hands and thus secure themselves a leading role but, having failed to do so, they convened an alternative congress in Paris, attended by only a few foreign delegates, their representation in most cases being purely fictitious. The attempt to unite the two congresses failed, since the Possibilist Congress made unification conditional on reverification of the credentials of the delegates to the Marxist congress. p. 542

452 *Three tailors of Tooley Street,* a well-known phrase originating from John Canning, a British statesman, who said that three tailors of Tooley Street had addressed the House of Commons in a petition opened with the words: "We, the people of England". p. 543

453 The *Carlists*—a reactionary clerical absolutist group in Spain uniting adherents of the pretender to the Spanish throne Don Carlos, the brother of Ferdinand VII. They relied on the army and the Catholic clergy, as well as on the more backward peasants in some regions of Spain. p. 544

454 This is an excerpt from Engels' letter apparently addressed to Eleanor Marx. The excerpt was printed by *The Labour Elector* and published in German translation in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* on September 25, 1889 and the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne* on October 26, 1889.

The London dockers' strike from August 12 to September 14, 1889 was a major event in the British working-class movement of the late 19th century. Taking part in it were 30,000 dockers and over 30,000 workers of other trades; the majority were unskilled labourers who did not belong to any trade union. The strikers obtained higher wages and better working conditions. The dockers' strike introduced more organisation into the movement: a dockers' and some other unions were set up which embraced a large number of unskilled workers and came to be known as the New Trade Unions.
p. 545

455 This article carried by the *Sozialdemokrat* aroused profound interest in the socialist quarters in many countries: on October 11, 1889, it was reprinted by the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*; on October 12, in a slightly abridged English translation, by *The Labour Elector*; on October 26 (with insignificant editorial changes and under the heading, "Was die Bourgeoisie nicht kann und was die Arbeiter können"), by the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*, as well as by other newspapers in Germany and the USA. In 1890, the article was translated into Russian and published in the *Социалъ-демократъ*, No. 1, 1890.

This article was published in English in full for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *Articles on Britain*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. p. 546

456 The reference is to the first ballot to the French Chamber of Deputies on September 22, 1889, when the republicans received only 215, and the various monarchist groups (Legitimists, Bonapartists and Boulangists), 140 seats. p. 547

457 See Note 454. p. 548

458 Engels probably wrote this passage when working on *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. In content, it relates to the passage in Chapter IX of the book which deals with the survival of the gentile system in medieval aristocratic, patrician and peasant associations (see this volume, pp. 268-69). However, due to the absence of any other information, the dating of this fragment, written in longhand on a separate sheet, is only provisional. The title has been supplied by the editors. p. 553

459 *Polis* (a city state)—a typical socio-economic and political organisation in Ancient Greece and Ancient Italy. The Greek polis emerged in the 8th-6th cent. B.C. It included the city proper and the adjacent agricultural settlements. Only its indigenous inhabitants who owned land and slaves possessed full civic rights. There were also free citizens who did not enjoy full rights, such as metoikos (see Note 108), they engaged in trades and commerce. p. 553

460 Engels wrote these notes when preparing the new edition of his book *The Peasant War in Germany*. As is clear from his letters, specifically, to Friedrich Adolph Sorge of December 31, 1884, he intended to revise it completely presenting the peasant war of 1525 as "the pivot for the whole history of Germany" (see present edition, Vol. 47). This demanded that substantial historical data be added. The notes written on a separate sheet are probably a fragment and a draft plan for the introduction to the book. Engels' intention to publish a revised edition of *The Peasant War in Germany* was not realised. p. 554

461 *Interregnum*—the period between 1254 and 1273 in Germany after the Hohenstaufen dynasty had ceased to exist. It witnessed the struggle between various pretenders to the Imperial crown, incessant strife between princes, knights and cities, and the mounting arbitrary rule of the princes in their estates. In 1273, Rudolf Habsburg was elected Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. p. 555

462 The *Hundred Years' War*—a series of wars between England and France lasting from 1337 to 1453. It was caused by the dispute between the two countries over the possession of the commercial and industrial towns of Flanders, the main consumer of English wool, and the English kings' claims to the French throne. During the war, the English managed to seize a considerable part of

France. However, as a result of a popular war against the foreign invaders, the English were driven out of French territory with the exception of Calais.

The reference is to the so-called *reconquista,* in the course of which the peoples inhabiting the Peninsula recaptured the territories conquered in the 8th-15th centuries by the Arabs and the Berbers collectively known as the Moors. By the mid-13th century, the Moors retained only the Emirate of Granada, which fell in 1492.

The reference is to the final period of Tartar-Mongol rule in Russia, which lasted throughout the 13th and 15th centuries. The popular struggle against the invaders resulted in the formation of the Russian centralised state. This enabled Prince Ivan III of Muscovy to refuse to pay tribute to the Golden Horde in 1476. After the unsuccessful campaign against Russia undertaken by Khan Ahmed in 1480, the country set itself completely free from the Tartar-Mongol yoke.

The *Wars of the Roses* (1455-85)—wars between the feudal houses of York and Lancaster competing for the throne, the white rose being the badge of the House of York, and the red one of the House of Lancaster. The wars almost completely wiped out the ancient feudal nobility and brought Henry VII to power to form a new dynasty, that of the Tudors, who set up an absolute monarchy in England. p. 555

463 Engels may have written this unfinished work when he was preparing the new edition of *The Peasant War in Germany* (see Note 460). Its content shows that it was to serve as part of the introduction to the new edition. Engels also used his earlier notes on the history of Germany, namely the manuscript *Varia on Germany* (present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 599-610). The title has been supplied by the editors. p. 556

464 *Municipium*—at the time of the Roman Republic, a city tied to Rome by a treaty. Municipia were of two categories, depending on the nature of the treaty with Rome, equal or unequal. The former usually enjoyed self-government and their citizens enjoyed full civil and political rights in Rome. The citizens of the latter did not have political rights in Rome but performed the duties of Roman citizens. A municipium had no permanent status. p. 556

465 *The Lay of Ludwig* (*Das Ludwigslied*) was written in the Franconian dialect by an anonymous poet in the late 9th century. It is a panegyric of the West Frankish King Ludwig III celebrating his victory over the Normans at Sancourt in 881 (*Hausschatz der Volkspoesie,* Leipzig, 1846). p. 560

466 The reference is to the extant texts in the Old High German and the Romance (Old French) languages—oaths of allegiance exchanged by the East Frankish King Louis the German and the West Frankish King Charles the Bald, as well as by their vassals in Strassburg in 842. p. 560

467 The *Slavs of the Elbe (Laba)*—a large group of West Slavic peoples which at the end of the first and beginning of the second millennium A.D. inhabited the territory between the Laba and its tributary, the Sala (Saale), in the West, and the Odra (Oder) in the East. Beginning in the 10th century, German feudal lords launched a systematic campaign to capture the Slavic lands and set up military districts, the marks, on conquered territories. Despite the resistance of the indigenous population, in the second half of the 12th century the Germans managed to capture the last free territories of the Slavs of the Elbe. Some of the Slavs were annihilated, some were forcibly Germanised, and others managed to retain their ethnic and cultural features. p. 560

468 *Lotharingia* (Lorraine)—a state on the left bank of the Rhine established in 855 during the division of Emperor Lothair I's possessions and named after his son Lothair II, to whom it was handed over as an independent kingdom. Its position between the West and the East Frankish kingdom made it unstable and was one of the causes of the struggle for its territory. After the death of Lothair II in 870, Lotharingia was divided (roughly along the language frontier) between his brothers, the East Frankish King Louis the German and the West Frankish King Charles the Bald. p. 560

469 The reference is to the English victories over the French in the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) (see Note 462). p. 563

470 The reference is to Wellington's campaign against France in the Peninsular War of 1808-13 and his victory at Waterloo (Belgium) on June 18, 1815. The best-known victories won by Wellington in Spain in the way described by Engels were the battles of Talavere in 1809 and of Salamanca in 1812. p. 563

471 Engels is referring to the refusal of the German Emperor Albrecht I of the Austrian Habsburgs to recognise the freedoms of the Swiss cantons confirmed by his predecessor, Adolf of Hassau. In the 14th-15th centuries, in their continued struggle for independence, the cantons managed to defeat the troops of the Austrian feudal lords and to secure for Switzerland the position of a state free from Austrian rule and subordinate only formally to the German Empire. p. 563

472 At the *battle of Crécy* on August 26, 1346, the English, using a combination of knights and archers, defeated the French army, whose main force was cavalry. This battle was fought during the Hundred Years' War between England and France (see Note 462).

On the *Battle of Waterloo*, see Note 226. p. 564

473 The reference is to the printing with movable type invented by Johann Gutenberg in the mid-15th century. This invention was one of the main factors which promoted science and literature in the 15th and 16th centuries, and eventually led to the growth of the productive forces throughout the world. p. 564

474 The Duchy of Burgundy, which was formed in the 9th century in the basins of the Saône, Seine and Loire and later annexed considerable territories (Franche-Comté, part of Northern France, the Netherlands), became an independent feudal state in the 14th-15th centuries. It reached the peak of its might in the second half of the 15th century under Duke Charles the Bold (1467-77). He sought to expand his possessions and this hindered the formation of a centralised French monarchy. King Louis XI of France managed to form a coalition of the Swiss and the Lotharingians against Burgundy. As a result of the Burgundian wars of 1474-77, the troops of Charles the Bold were defeated, and he himself was killed in the Battle of Nancy (1477). His lands were divided between Louis XI and Maximilian of Habsburg, the son of the German Emperor. p. 564

475 Capitalising on Italy's political fragmentation and the discord between the Italian states, King Charles VIII of France invaded Italy in 1494 and occupied the Kingdom of Naples. Charles VIII's campaign was the start of the Italian Wars (1494-1559) during which Italy was repeatedly invaded by French,

Spanish and German troops and became the scene of a prolonged struggle for supremacy in the middle Mediterranean peninsula. p. 564

476 Here Engels has in mind the Huguenots' movement which unfolded in the 16th century under the religious banner of Calvinism and led to the Huguenot, or religious wars between the Catholics and the Protestants (Huguenots), which continued, with interruptions, throughout the second half of the 16th century. They produced economic dislocation and political anarchy, which worsened the conditions of the masses and provoked peasant revolts. Frightened by them, the feudal lords and the bourgeoisie rallied round Henry of Navarre, a former Huguenot leader, representative of the new Bourbon dynasty, who adopted Catholicism and became king under the name of Henry IV. p. 564

477 See Note 462. p. 565

478 The first attempt at unification of Poland and Lithuania was made in 1385, when the two states concluded a dynastic Krewo Union (after Krewo Castle, where it was signed), which was aimed mainly at joint defence against the mounting aggression on the part of the Teutonic Order (see Note 218). At the same time, it promoted the interests of both states, which sought to expand their territories at the expence of Ukrainian and Byelorussian lands. In 1569, the Lublin Union was concluded, under which Poland and Lithuania formed a single state under the name of Rzecz Pospolita. Lithuania retained its autonomy. The Union existed up to 1795. p. 565

479 This original research is based on materials carried by Chartist papers, Engels' own notes and personal reminiscences. In fact, it is a detailed synopsis of a work on the history of Chartism. It highlights the role of its Left wing, the influence on each other of Chartist agitation in England and the Irish people's liberation movement. Engels compiled the table at the request of the German socialist Hermann Schlüter to help him write a history of the Chartist movement. The chronology drawn up by Engels by late August 1886 probably provided the basis for Schlüter's book *Die Chartistenbewegung in England* which appeared in Zurich a year later. p. 566

480 "*A sacred month*"—the slogan advanced by Chartists in 1839, a call for a general strike. p. 567

481 The *Union* with England was imposed on Ireland by the English government after the suppression of the Irish rebellion in 1798. The Union, which came into force on January 1, 1801, abolished the autonomous Irish Parliament and made Ireland still more dependent on England. The demand for the repeal of the Union became widespread in Ireland from the 1820s. p. 572

482 The reference is to the Bill moved by James Graham for discussion in the House of Commons on March 8, 1843. It provided for the regulation of child and adolescent employment in factories, specifically, reduction of children's working day to six and a half hours. The Bill met with strong opposition on the part of MPs and the various public groups, e.g., the Dissenters (see Note 486). Graham withdrew his motion. On the factory legislation, see also Note 161. p. 573

483 *An Act to amend and continue for Two Years, and to the End of the next Session of Parliament, the Laws in Ireland relative to the registering of Arms, and the Importation, Manufacture, and Sale of Arms, Gunpowder, and Ammunition* was passed by the House of Commons in August 1843 following an upsurge

in Ireland in the movement for the repeal of the Union (see Note 481). p. 573

484 *Rebecca Riots*—popular unrest in 1839 and 1842-43 in South Wales. They were triggered off by the imposition of charges at the toll-gates on the public roads. The name was borrowed from the Bible: "And they blessed Rebekah, and said unto her, Thou *art* our sister, be thou *the mother* of thousands of millions, and let thy seed possess the gate of those which hate them" (Genesis 24: 60). Many participants in the movement were associated with Chartism. p. 573

485 *Educational Clauses*—a component part of the Factory Bill proposed by James Graham (see Note 482). Under these clauses, the children living in the industrial regions of Great Britain were to attend school not more than three times a week. However, this was opposed by the Dissenters (see Note 486), who constituted a significant part of the population there and were against the teaching at schools of the Scriptures based on the dogmas of the Anglican Church. p. 573

486 *Dissenters* were members of Protestant religious sects and trends in England who rejected the dogmas and the rites of the official Anglican Church. p. 573

487 The *Court of Queen's Bench* is one of the high courts in England; in the 19th century (up to 1873), it was an independent supreme court for criminal and civil cases, competent to reconsider the decisions of lower judicial bodies. p. 574

488 The *Young Ireland* group was formed in 1842 by the Irish bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals. p. 575

489 The reference is to *An Act for the Better Security of the Crown and Government of the United Kingdom* introduced in the House of Commons by the Home Secretary George Grey and passed on April 19, 1848. p. 575

490 *Repealers*—supporters of the repeal of the Anglo-Irish Union of 1801, which had abrogated the autonomy of the Irish Parliament. In January 1847, the radical elements of this movement formed an Irish Confederation. Representatives of its revolutionary Left wing, who stood at the head of the national liberation movement, were subjected to severe repression in 1848. See also Note 481. p. 576

491 The reference is to the *Habeas Corpus Act of 1679*. It introduced a writ of Habeas Corpus, the name given in the English judicial procedure to a document enjoining the pertinent authorities to present an arrested person before a court on the demand of the persons desiring to check the legitimacy of the arrest. The procedure does not apply to persons accused of high treason and can be suspended by decision of Parliament. The British authorities frequently made use of this exception in Ireland. p. 576

492 See Note 351. p. 578

493 The reference is to court proceedings instituted by Bismarck in 1876-77 against a number of conservative journalists and politicians, who exposed his involvement in the stock-exchange machinations, on the charge of insulting him in the press. The incident revealed the mounting tension between Bismarck's government and the conservatives, who criticised his policies from a Right-wing standpoint.

On the *Anti-Socialist Law,* see Note 174. p. 578

494 The expression "to go to Canossa" dates back to the humiliating pilgrimage to the Canossa Castle in Northern Italy undertaken by the German Emperor Henry IV in 1077 for the purpose of persuading Pope Gregory VII to revoke his excommunication. It became a current phrase after Bismarck said in the Reichstag in May 1872: "We shall not go to Canossa."

In the late 1870s, needing the support of the Catholic Party of the Centre, because his old stronghold, the National Liberal Party (see Note 170) was losing its influence, Bismarck repealed nearly all anti-Catholic laws passed during the *Kulturkampf* (see Note 351) and forced the principal adherents of the anti-Catholic policy to retire. By using the expression "going to Canossa", Engels ironically alludes to Bismarck's concessions to the clerical circles in 1878-87, which in fact amounted to giving up the *Kulturkampf.* p. 579

495 *Septennate* (a seven-year period)—the German law on army credits, fixed for seven years ahead. It also approved an increase in the numerical strength of the standing army in peacetime (401,000) for the same term. p. 580

496 Engels may have written these notes in the second half of September 1888, when sailing on the *City of New York* from America, where he had spent over a month (August 17 to September 19, 1888) together with Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling and his friend Carl Schorlemmer. They travelled from New York to Boston, nearby towns, and the Niagara Falls, and took a voyage across Lake Ontario stopping over in Canada. Judging by the concise form of the notes, Engels probably intended to write an article about the trip. However, this plan was never carried out. The fragment "Impressions of a Journey Round America" (see this volume, pp. 584-86) is only the beginning of this work. p. 581

497 The reference is to the establishment of a National Park near the Niagara Falls recounted by Engels in his letter to Laura Lafargue of September 5, 1888: "The State of New York bought up all the grounds (on the American side) about the falls, turned out all the touts, hucksters and exhortionists, and transformed the whole into a public park. ...And the simple fact of the Americans having done this compelled the Canadian government to do the same on their side..." (present edition, Vol. 48). p. 581

498 The reference is to the American Civil War of 1861-65. See also Note 432. p. 583

499 The fragment is probably the beginning of Engels' proposed article on his trip to the United States (see Note 496). p. 584

500 See Note 220. p. 586

501 This is a draft reply, written by Engels on behalf of Eleanor Marx-Aveling to the *To-Day* editors over the publication (No. 1, April 14, 1883) of an English translation from the French of Chapter XXIII of *Capital* (corresponds to Chapter XXI of the German original). Its heading, "I.—The Serfdom of Work" was the editor's invention. In the letter, permission to publish the translation of one more chapter was made conditional on certain terms. They were fulfilled, as may be seen from the editorial note to the publication of Chapter "II.—The Lordship of Wealth" in the *To-Day,* No. 2, June 1883. "This chapter is translated from the second and third sections of Chapter X of the original. The selection published in our last issue was translated from

Chapter XXIII of the original. The translations are, of course, our own, and not those of the late Karl Marx." The sub-heading noted that the translation was from the French edition of 1872. p. 589

502 The reference is to the first authorised French edition of Volume One of *Capital.* Under the agreement between Marx and publisher M. Lachâtre in February 1872, the work was to be published in instalments. It appeared between September 1872 and November 1875. When preparing this edition, Marx made changes and additions to nearly all parts of his work. p. 589

503 This excerpt from the letter by Hermann Lopatin, a Russian revolutionary, to Maria Oshanina, a member of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) Executive, recounts his talk with Engels, naturally in his own interpretation, which bears the stamp of his Narodnik views based on utopian peasant socialism and revolutionary democratism directed against autocracy. However, writing under a fresh impression from the talk, Lopatin obviously gives an accurate account of some of Engels' ideas. Lopatin and Engels met on September 19, 1883, several months after the former had escaped abroad from exile in Vologda. The excerpt was first published on Pyotr Lavrov's initiative and with Engels' permission in the book: *The Foundations of Theoretical Socialism as Applied to Russia* (in Russian), Geneva, 1893. p. 591

504 *Zemsky Sobor*—a central representative institution of social estates in Russia in the mid-16th-late 17th centuries. Its composition, convocation and sessions were not strictly fixed and changed in the course of time.

The interest in the convocation of the Zemsky Sobor at the end of the 19th century was evoked by hopes of limiting autocratic power and of changing the political system with the help of such representative institutions. p. 591

505 The reference is to the letter addressed by the People's Will Executive to Tsar Alexander III on March 10, 1881 (after the events of March 1 of that year, when Tsar Alexander II had been assassinated by members of the organisation). The Executive agreed to renounce violence as a means of struggle on two conditions: 1) a general political amnesty, and 2) convocation of representatives of all the Russian people "to reconsider the existing forms of state and public life". The elections to the proposed Constituent Assembly were to be held on the basis of universal suffrage and guaranteed freedom of the press, speech, assembly and election manifestoes. The Executive further stated that it would comply with the decision of the future People's Assembly. p. 593

506 The reference is to the Marx's ironic comment in the early 1880s on some sectarian and dogmatic mistakes made by the French Marxists in the struggle against the opportunist trend—Possibilism. Recollecting it, Engels wrote to Paul Lafargue on August 27, 1890 (present edition, Vol. 49) that Marx had said about these mistakes: "All I know is that I'm not a Marxist." p. 593

507 This article was based on Engels' letter to Paul Lafargue of November 14, 1885 (see present edition, Vol. 47). On November 13 Engels was requested to write it by Lafargue, who was preparing Engels' biography for a series on outstanding international socialists carried by *Le Socialiste.* The article was anonymously printed by the newspaper on November 21, 1885 as the second part of Engels' biography. The paper also carried Engels' portrait by Clarus sent to Engels by Lafargue together with the letter of November 13.

Part of this article was published in English for the first time in Marx K., Engels F., *Writings on the Paris Commune*, New York-London, 1971, p. 234. p. 594

508 See Note 350. p. 594

509 See Note 432. p. 596

510 Engels thought of writing this article in October 1886, when the book by the Austrian bourgeois sociologist and lawyer Anton Menger, *Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag in geschichtlicher Darstellung*, was issued. Menger attempted to prove that Marx's economic theory was not original and that he had allegedly borrowed his conclusions from English utopian socialists of the Ricardian school (Thompson et al.). Unable to ignore Menger's allegations and his falsification of the very essence of Marx's doctrine, Engels decided to reply in the press. However, fearing that a personal rebuttal may serve to give this third-rate scholar undeserved publicity, Engels considered it expedient to rebuke Menger through a *Neue Zeit* editorial or through a book review signed by the magazine's editor Karl Kautsky, and enlisted Kautsky's help in writing a piece against Menger. At first he intended to write the main part of the text himself, but fell ill and had to interrupt his work, so the piece was completed by Kautsky under Engels' instructions. It appeared anonymously in the *Neue Zeit*, No. 2, 1887; later, in the index to the magazine published in 1905, Engels and Kautsky were named as its authors. In 1904, the work was translated into French and printed by the *Mouvement socialiste*, No. 132, with Engels named as the author. The manuscript is not extant. Since it is impossible to ascertain which part of the work was written by Engels, and which by Kautsky, in the present edition it is published in full in the Appendices. p. 597

511 See K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to "The Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon* (present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 105-212).

In January 1849, Proudhon made an attempt to establish a "People's Bank" founded on the utopian principles of "free" credit that he was expounding. The bank, through which Proudhon intended to effect peaceful social reform by abolishing loan interest and introducing money-free exchange based on the producer's receiving a full equivalent of his earned income, collapsed two months after its establishment. p. 606

512 The reference is to the hostile campaign against Marx conducted in the 1870s by the German bourgeois economist Lujo Brentano, a leading representative of armchair socialism (see Note 289). He accused Marx of deliberately falsifying the phrase from Gladstone's speech delivered on April 16, 1863, which appeared on April 17 in almost all London newspaper reports of this parliamentary session (*The Times, The Morning Star, The Daily Telegraph*), but was omitted in Hansard's semi-official publication of parliamentary debates, in which the text was corrected by the speakers themselves. This gave Brentano a pretext for accusing Marx of unscrupulous misquotation. Marx retaliated in his letters to the *Volksstaat* editors on May 23 and July 28, 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 164-67 and 190-97). After Marx's death, the same accusation was made in November 1883 by the English bourgeois economist Taylor. It was disproved by Eleanor Marx in February and March 1884 in two letters to the *To-Day* magazine, and by Engels in June 1890 in his preface to the fourth German edition of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 35) and in 1891 in the pamphlet *Brentano Contra Marx* (present edition, Vol. 27). p. 613

513 This inaccuracy in Marx's book was set right by Engels in the second German edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy* published in 1892. It also gave a more precise wording of the quotation used by Engels in the preface to the first German edition (see this volume, p. 280), and the correct date of the publication of Thompson's book. p. 613

514 The letter to the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* printed on March 30, 1887 and signed by Edward Aveling was written by Engels, as is seen from the rough copy. It was prompted by the conflict between Aveling and the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of North America (see Note 295). p. 617

515 The reference is to Aveling's letter of February 26, 1887 printed at the press and sent out to the sections of the Socialist Labor Party of North America and other socialist organisations. It was a detailed reply to the charges advanced against Aveling. p. 618

516 Engels made the amendments to the programme of the North of England Socialist Federation at the request of John Lincoln Mahon, an English worker and socialist. In a letter to him of June 22, 1887, Engels voiced his appreciation of the programme, saying: "I consider it very good as a spontaneous working-class declaration of principles" (present edition, Vol. 48). Engels' amendments relate mainly to the introductory part of the programme; he made them on the leaflet containing the text of the programme.

The *North of England Socialist Federation*—a workers' organisation set up in Northumberland (Northern England) on April 30, 1887 during a major miners' strike that lasted from late February to June 24, 1887. The organisation was sponsored by John Mahon, Thomas Binning, Alexander Donald, et al. Throughout 1887, the Federation conducted active work among the workers but failed to consolidate its initial success and soon ceased to exist. p. 619

517 This letter, the original of which has recently been discovered by GDR researchers in the archive of the International Institute of Social History (Amsterdam), was written by Engels on the occasion of the expulsion from Switzerland, under pressure of the German authorities, of four leading editors and publishers of *Der Sozialdemokrat,* newspaper of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany, which was published in Zurich after the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 174). The letter was to be sent out to the editorial boards of various newspapers for the purpose of informing English readers about the real causes and circumstances of this action by the Swiss Federal Council. When writing the letter, Engels most probably had the full text of the resolution on the expulsion, which he repeatedly quotes and which did not appear in *Der Sozialdemokrat* until April 28.

Engels apparently believed that the letter should originate with German Social-Democrats, and so it was despatched bearing Kautsky's signature. Apart from *Justice,* on April 28, 1888 *The Commonweal,* press organ of the Socialist League, featured a note about "an interesting letter from a comrade on this subject" and gave a summary of it. Publications in other English papers have not been found. p. 623

518 Engels gave this interview to a representative of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* on September 19, 1888 at the end of his tour of the USA. Unwilling to meet certain members of German socialist organisations in America, towards which he had a negative attitude, Engels travelled incognito and did his best to avoid any kind of contacts with the press. However, Jonas, editor of the *New Yorker*

*Volkszeitung,* who had learned about Engels' stay in New York, arranged an appointment for him with Theodor Cuno, former activist of the First International, as his representative. The interview was published by the newspaper without obtaining Engels' approval of the text. It was reprinted by the *Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung* on September 25 and *Wochenblatt der New Yorker Volkszeitung* on September 29. Later, on October 13, it was also reprinted by the *Sozialdemokrat.* p. 626

519 The *Landsturm*—an armed force, a second-rate militia, organised in Tyrol in 1809. In the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the Landsturm existed in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Holland, Switzerland and Sweden. It was called up in the event of national emergency (see also Note 386). p. 626

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*Aristones* (6th cent. B.C.)—King of Sparta (574-520 B.C.), shared the throne with Anaxandridas.—171

*Aristophanes* (c. 446-c. 385 B.C.)—Greek comic dramatist and poet.—172

*Aristotle* (384-322 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—212

*Arkwright, Sir Richard* (1732-1792)—English industrialist, invented the cotton spinning machine named after him.—573

*Arminius* (*Hermann,* or *Armin*), *the Cheruscan* (18 or 16 B.C.-A.D. 19 or 21)—leader of the resistance of Germanic tribes against Roman rule, annihilated a Roman army in the Teutoburg Forest in A.D. 9.—25-29, 31

*Arndt, Ernst Moritz* (1769-1860)—German writer, historian and philologist; took part in the national struggle against Napoleonic rule; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848-49.—459

*Arnold, Wilhelm Christoph Friedrich* (1826-1883)—German lawyer and historian.—82, 95-97, 100-02

*Artaxerxes*—name of the three Persian kings from the Achaemenian dynasty: Artaxerxes I (reigned c. 465-c. 425 B.C.), Artaxerxes II (reigned c. 405-c. 359 B.C.) and Artaxerxes III (reigned c. 359-338 B.C.).—229

*Ashley* (*Cooper, Anthony Ashley*) (1801-1885)—English politician, Tory philanthropist.—569, 571

*Asprenas* (*Lucius Nonius Asprenas*) (c. 28 B.C.-A.D. c. 30)—Roman statesman and general, fought in the wars against the Germans.—25, 28

*Attwood, Thomas* (1783-1856)—English banker, economist and radical politician, adhered to the Right wing of the Chartist movement until 1839—566, 567

*Auerswald, Hans Adolf Erdman von* (1792-1848)—Prussian general, Right-wing deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly; killed during Frankfurt uprising in September 1848.—109

*Augustenburg, Friedrich* (*Frederick*) (1829-1880)—Prince of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, pretender to the throne of Schleswig-Holstein from 1852; Duke of Schleswig-Holstein under the name of Friedrich VIII from 1863.—478

*Augustus, Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus* (63 B.C.-A.D. 14)—Roman Emperor (27 B.C.-A.D. 14).—11, 12, 18, 21, 22, 28-31, 35, 36, 38, 116, 223, 225, 246

*Aveling, Edward* (1851-1898)—English socialist, writer and journalist; one of the translators into English of Marx's *Capital,* Volume One; member of the Social-Democratic Federation from 1884; subsequently one of the founders of the Socialist League; an organiser of a mass movement of unskilled workers and unemployed in the late 1880s and early 1890s; husband of Marx's daughter Eleanor.—434, 617, 618

B

*Babeuf, François Noël* (*Gracchus*) (1760-1797)—French revolutionary, advocate of utopian egalitarian communism, organiser of the "Conspiracy of Equals", executed.—604

*Bachofen, Johann Jakob* (1815-1887)—Swiss historian and lawyer.—142, 150, 151, 158-61, 165, 188

*Bailly, Jean Sylvain* (1736-1793)—French astronomer, prominent in the French Revolution, a leader of the liberal constitutional bourgeoisie; as

Mayor of Paris (1789-91) ordered troops to open fire on a republican demonstration on the Field of Mars (1791), for which he was executed by sentence of the revolutionary tribunal in 1793.—126

*Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich* (1814-1876)—Russian revolutionary and journalist, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; later an ideologist of Narodism and anarchism; opposed Marxism in the First International.—382, 422, 426, 449, 516

*Bancroft, Hubert Howe* (1832-1918)—American historian, author of several works on the history and ethnography of North and Central America.—146, 159, 161, 259

*Bang, Anton Christian* (1840-1913)—Norwegian theologian, author of works on Scandinavian mythology and history of Christianity in Norway.—238

*Barbès, Armand* (1809-1870)—French revolutionary, a leader of secret societies during the July monarchy; played a prominent part in the 1848 revolution.—313

*Baring, Thomas* (1799-1873)—head of the bankers' house in London, Conservative M.P.—574

*Battenberg, Alexander, Prince of* (1857-1893)—son of the Prince of Hesse, in 1879-86 sat on the Bulgarian throne as Prince Alexander I, pursued a pro-Austrian policy.—411, 412, 414

*Bauer, Andreas Heinrich*—German shoemaker, a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; emigrated to Australia in 1851.—313, 314, 323, 327, 328

*Bauer, Bruno* (1809-1882)—German philosopher and journalist, Young Hegelian.—363, 365, 381

*Baur, Ferdinand Christian* (1792-1860)—German theologian and historian of Christianity, professor in Tübingen, leader of the Tübingen School.—112

*Bayle, Pierre* (1647-1706)—French sceptic philosopher, critic of religious dogmatism.—396

*Beauvau, Louis Charles Antoine* (1710-1744)—French marshal, sent on a diplomatic mission to the court of Frederick II of Prussia in 1740.—469

*Beck, Alexander*—German tailor, member of the League of the Just, at the end of 1846 was arrested for involvement in the League's case; a witness at the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—315

*Becker, August* (1814-1871)—German journalist, member of the League of the Just in Switzerland, adherent of Weitling; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; in 1853 emigrated to the USA where he contributed to democratic papers.—315

*Becker, Hermann Heinrich* (*"Red Becker"*) (1820-1885)—German lawyer and journalist, member of the Communist League from 1850; sentenced to five years' imprisonment at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); in his later years a National Liberal.—329

*Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886)—German revolutionary, participant in the democratic movement of the 1830s-50s and the international working-class movement; fought as an officer of the Swiss army in the war against the Sonderbund; prominent figure in the 1848-49 revolution; commanded the Baden people's militia during the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; active member of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—418-23, 446, 447

*Becker, Wilhelm Adolf* (1796-1846)—German historian, professor at Leipzig University, author of works on ancient history.—206

*Beda (Bede, Venerable)* (c. 673-735)—English historian and theologian.—235

*Benary, Franz Simon Ferdinand* (1805-1880)—German orientalist and an expert on the Bible, professor at Berlin University.—115, 117

*Benedetti, Vincent, comte* (1817-1900)—French diplomat, ambassador in Berlin in 1864-70.—487

*Berends, Julius* (b. 1817)—owner of a printing-house in Berlin, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—125

*Berkeley, Francis Henry Fitzhardinge* (1794-1870)—British liberal politician, M.P. from 1837, advocated electoral reform.—576

*Bernstein, Eduard* (1850-1932)—German Social-Democrat, journalist, editor of the *Sozialdemokrat* (1881-90); subsequently revisionist.—521

*Berthelot, Pierre Eugène Marcelin* (1827-1907)—French chemist and politician.—376

*Besant, Annie* (1847-1933)—English politician, theosophist; adhered to the socialist movement in the 1880s-90s.—542

*Beust, Friedrich von* (1817-1899)—teacher and school reformer in Zurich.—99

*Bevan, W.*—Chairman of the Trades Council in Swansea, presided at the Congress of trade unions held in that town in 1887.—515

*Bismarck-Schönhausen, Otto Eduard Leopold, Prince von* (1815-1898)—statesman in Prussia and Germany, diplomat; ambassador to St. Petersburg (1859-62) and Paris (1862); Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-72 and 1873-90); Chancellor of the North German Confederation (1867-71) and of the German Empire (1871-90); carried out the unification of Germany; introduced Anti-Socialist Law in 1878.—171, 271, 272, 292, 297, 307, 316, 330, 406-08, 410, 413-15, 417, 464, 474-84, 480-89, 491, 494-505, 508-09, 541, 578-80

*Blanc, Jean Joseph Charles Louis* (1811-1882)—French socialist, historian; member of the Provisional Government and Chairman of the Luxembourg Commission in 1848; pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie; a leader of the petty-bourgeois emigration in London from August 1848.—325, 328, 375

*Blanqui, Louis Auguste* (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, utopian communist.—313

*Bleichröder, Gerson* (1822-1893)—German financier, head of a big Berlin bank, Bismarck's private banker, unofficial adviser on financial matters and mediator in black market dealings.—272, 476, 480

*Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Böning, Georg* (c. 1788-1849)—German army officer, participant in the war of liberation against Napoleonic rule; commanded a volunteer legion of insurgents during the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; following its suppression sentenced to death by a Prussian court martial and executed by firing squad.—419

*Borkheim, Sigismund Ludwig* (1825-1885)—German journalist, democrat; participant in the 1848-49 revolution, emigrated after its defeat; London merchant from 1851, was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels.—446-50

*Born, Stephan* (real name *Buttermilch, Simon*) (1824-1898)—German typesetter, member of the Communist League; leaned towards reformism during the 1848-49 revolution; turned his back on the workers' movement after the revolution.—325, 326

*Börne, Ludwig* (1786-1837)—German critic and writer, author of *Schilderungen aus Paris (1822 und 1823),*

adherent of Christian socialism towards the end of his life.—106

*Bornstedt, Adalbert von* (1808-1851)—German journalist, supported the adventurist plan for the invasion of Germany by a revolutionary legion; member of the Communist League until his expulsion in March 1848; a secret agent of the Prussian police in the 1840s.—324

*Börnstein, Arnold Bernhard Karl* (1808-1849)—German democrat, a leader of the volunteer legion of German refugees in Paris (1848).—324

*Bougeart, Alfred* (1815-1882)—French journalist of the Left, author of works on the history of the French Revolution of the late 18th century.—126

*Boulanger, Georges Ernest Jean Marie* (1837-1891)—French general, War Minister (1886-87); strove to establish his military dictatorship in France.—416

*Bourbaki, Charles Denis Sauter* (1816-1897)—French general, commanded the Guard and later the 18th Corps and the Army of the East during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71.—490

*Bourbons*—royal dynasty in France (1589-1792, 1814-15 and 1815-30).—389

*Bracke, Wilhelm* (1842-1880)—German Social-Democrat, one of the founders (1869) and leaders of Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers), associate of Marx and Engels.—309

*Brandenburg, Friedrich Wilhelm, Count von* (1792-1850)—Prussian general and statesman, head of the counter-revolutionary ministry (November 1848-November 1850).—304, 349

*Bray, John Francis* (1809-1895)—English economist, utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen.—280, 285

*Brentano, Lorenz Peter* (1813-1891)—Baden democrat, lawyer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; headed the Baden Provisional Government in 1849; following the defeat of the Baden-Palatinate uprising emigrated to Switzerland, and then to the USA.—419, 447

*Brentano, Lujo* (1844-1931)—German economist, a leading representative of armchair socialism.—613

*Bréquigny, Louis Georges Oudard Feudrix de* (1714-1794)—French historian.—63

*Bright, John* (1811-1889)—English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and one of the founders of the Anti-Corn Law League, M.P. from 1843.—295, 571, 573

*Broadhouse, John*—see *Hyndman, Henry Mayers*

*Brousse, Paul Louis Marie* (1844-1912)—French socialist, physician; participant in the Paris Commune, lived in emigration after its suppression; close to the anarchists; joined the French Workers' Party in 1879, a leader and ideologist of possibilism, an opportunist trend in the French socialist movement.—593

*Büchner, Georg* (1813-1837)—German dramatist and writer, revolutionary democrat, an organiser of a secret revolutionary Society of the Rights of Man in Giessen.—313

*Büchner, Ludwig* (1824-1899)—German physiologist and philosopher, a vulgar materialist.—369

*Bückler, Johann* (c. 1780-1803)—German robber nicknamed Hans the Flayer (Schinderhannes); in a number of literary works depicted as a "noble robber" and defender of the poor.—294

*Bugge, Elseus Sophus* (1833-1907)—Norwegian philologist, professor in Christiania (now Oslo), researched into ancient Scandinavian literature and mythology.—238

*Bürgers, Heinrich* (1820-1878)—German journalist, contributor to the *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842-43); member of the Cologne community of the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League from 1850; one of the accused at the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—123, 328

*Burrows, Herbert* (1845-1922)—English official, radical, a founder of the Social-Democratic Federation.—542, 543

C

*Cabet, Étienne* (1788-1856)—French lawyer and writer, utopian communist, author of *Voyage en Icarie.*—516, 604

*Caesar* (*Gaius Julius Caesar*) (c. 100-44 B. C.)—Roman general, statesman and writer.—6, 10-17, 18, 29-30, 35, 44, 53-55, 138, 139, 151, 196, 234, 236, 241-44, 246

*Caligula* (A. D. 12-41)—Roman Emperor (A. D. 37-41).—116

*Calvin, John* (real name *Jean Chauvin*) (1509-1564)—prominent figure of the Reformation, founder of Calvinism, a trend in Protestantism, characterised by particular intolerance towards Catholicism as well as other trends in Protestantism.—395

*Camphausen, Ludolf* (1803-1890)—German banker, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Prime Minister (March-June 1848).—471

*Carloman* (715-754)—elder son of the Frankish major-domo Charles Martel; ruler of Austrasia, Alamannia and Thuringia (741-47).—86

*Carolingians*—Frankish royal dynasty which ruled in France (751-987), Germany (till 911) and Italy (till 887).—48, 58, 62, 67, 72, 73, 74, 82

*Cavour, Camillo Benso, conte di* (1810-1861)—Italian statesman, head of the Sardinian government (1852-59 and 1860-61); relying on the support of Napoleon III pursued a policy of Italian unification under the supremacy of the Savoy dynasty; headed the first government of the newly united Italy in 1861.—464

*Charlemagne* (*Charles the Great*) (c. 742-814)—Frankish King (768-800) and Roman Emperor (800-814).—59, 63, 65-67, 72, 74, 76-81, 252, 254, 346, 554

*Charles VIII* (1470-1498)—King of France (1483-98).—564

*Charles, Archduke*—see *Charles Louis Johann*

*Charles Louis Johann* (1771-1847)—Archduke of Austria, field marshal, commander-in-chief in the wars with France (1796, 1799, 1805 and 1809), War Minister (1805-09).—492

*Charles Martel* (c. 688-741)—Frankish major-domo, became actual ruler of the Frankish state in 715.—61, 65, 67, 72

*Charles the Bald* (823-877)—King of West Frankish Kingdom (840-77), Emperor of the Franks and King of Italy (875-77).—68

*Charles* ("*the Bold*") (1433-1477)—Duke of Burgundy (1467-77).—560

*Chernyavskaya-Bokhanovskaya, Galina Fyodorovna* (1854-d. after 1926)—Russian revolutionary, member of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) organisation.—592

*Chilperic I* (539-584)—King of the Franks (561-84).—62

*Christian, Prince of Glücksburg* (1818-1906)—heir to the Danish throne from 1852, King of Denmark as Christian IX in 1863-1906.—456

*Civilis, Julius* (A. D. 1st cent.)—chief of the Germanic tribe of Batavi; headed the uprising of Germanic and

Gaulish tribes against Rome (69-70 or 71).—240

*Claudia*—Roman patrician family.—223

*Claudius* (10 B. C.-A. D. 54)—Roman Emperor (41-54).—31, 116

*Clausewitz, Karl von* (1780-1831)—Prussian general and military theoretician.—450

*Cleisthenes*—Athenian politician, in 510-507 B. C. carried out reforms aimed at abolishing the remnants of the gentile system and establishing a democracy based on slaveownership.—220

*Clemenceau, Georges (Eugène Benjamin)* (1841-1929)—French politician and journalist, leader of the Radicals from the 1880s; Prime Minister (1906-09 and 1917-20).—331-33

*Clovis I* (465 or 466-511)—King of the Salian Franks from the Merovingian dynasty (481-511).—95

*Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865)—English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League, M.P.—533, 572, 573

*Constantine I, the Great* (c. 285-337)—Roman Emperor (306-37).—39

*Copernicus, Nicolaus* (1473-1543)—Polish astronomer, originator of the heliocentric theory of the universe.—368

*Cosijn, Pieter Jakob* (1840-1899)—Dutch philologist, expert on the Germanic languages.—84

*Cotton, Sir Robert Bruce, Bart* (1571-1631)—English collector of ancient manuscripts, books, coins, etc., founder of the Cottonian library transferred to the British Museum on its foundation (1753).—82-83

*Coulanges, de*—see *Fustel de Coulanges*

*Crassus (Marcus Licinius Crassus)* (c. 115-53 B. C.)—Roman politician and general, crushed the revolt of slaves under Spartacus in 71 B.C.; twice consul.—11, 15

*Crawford, Emily* (1831-1915)—Irish journalist, Paris correspondent of several English papers.—484

*Cuno, Friedrich Theodor* (1846-1934)—socialist, active member of the German and international working-class movement and of the First International; after the Hague Congress (1872) emigrated to the USA, contributed to the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*.—626

*Cunow, Heinrich Wilhelm Karl* (1862-1936)—German Social-Democrat, historian, sociologist and ethnographer.—168

*Cuvier, Georges Léopold Chrétien Frédéric Dagobert, baron de* (1769-1832)—French naturalist, author of works on comparative anatomy, palaeontology and the classification of animals.—141

D

*Dahlmann, Friedrich Christoph* (1785-1860)—German historian and liberal politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848-49; author of works on the history of Denmark and Germany.—49

*Daniels, Roland* (1819-1855)—German physician, member of the Communist League, defendant at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); acquitted by the jury; friend of Marx and Engels.—329

*Dante Alighieri* (1265-1321)—Italian poet.—545

*Darwin, Charles Robert* (1809-1882)—English naturalist, founder of the theory of evolution by natural selection.—118, 372, 385, 517, 612

*Dawkins, Sir William Boyd* (1837-1929)—English geologist, anthropologist, palaeontologist and archaeologist; researched into the lives

of the cave dwellers of Europe.—6, 33

*Demosthenes* (384-322 B. C.)—Athenian orator and statesman.—205

*Descartes, René* (1596-1650)—French philosopher, mathematician and naturalist.—368

*Dicaearchus* (4th cent. B.C.)—Greek scholar, disciple of Aristotle, author of historical, political, philosophical, geographical and other works.—206

*Diderot, Denis* (1713-1784)—French philosopher of the Enlightenment, atheist, leader of the Encyclopaedists.—373

*Dietzgen, Joseph* (1828-1888)—German Social-Democrat; philosopher who arrived at main premisses of dialectical materialism independently; leather-maker.—384

*Dio Cassius Cocceianus* (c. 155-c. 235)—Roman historian and statesman, representative of the Senate aristocracy, wrote *Historia Romana* running to 80 books in Greek.—11, 20-22, 24, 27, 29, 47

*Diodorus Siculus* (c. 80-29 B. C.)—Greek historian, author of *Bibliothecae historicae*.—238, 246

*Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (1st cent. B. C.-A. D. 1st cent.)—Greek historian and rhetorician, author of *Roman Antiquities*.—209

*Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and author, a Tory leader; Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80).—410

*Domitian* (*Titus Flavius Domitianus*) (A.D. 51-96)—Roman Emperor (81-96).—32

*Domitius Ahenobarbus, Lucius* (d. A.D. 25)—Roman general and statesman; in the early 1st century undertook expeditions to Germany.—11, 22, 23

*Drusus, Nero Claudius* (38-9 B. C.)—Roman general; headed expeditions against the Germans in 12-9 B. C.—19-21, 23, 31

*Dühring, Eugen Karl* (1833-1921)—German eclectic philosopher and vulgar economist, his philosophical views were a mixture of idealism, vulgar materialism, positivism and metaphysics; a lecturer at Berlin University from 1863 to 1877.—511

*Duncombe, Thomas Slingsby* (1796-1861)—British radical politician; participated in the Chartist movement in the 1840s; M. P. (1826-61).—569, 570

*Dureau de la Malle, Adolph Jules Cesar Auguste* (1777-1857)—French poet and historian.—230

E

*Eccarius, Johann Georg* (1818-1889)—German tailor, prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, journalist; member of the League of the Just and later of the Communist League; a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, member of the General Council of the First International; subsequently took part in the British trade union movement.—320

*Edmonds, Thomas Rowe* (1803-1889)—English economist, utopian socialist, drew socialist conclusions from Ricardo's theory.—280

*Einhard* (c. 770-840)—historian of the Franks, biographer of Charlemagne.—61

*Eisenbart, Johann Andreas* (1661-1727)—German physician, served as the prototype of Doctor Eisenbart in German folklore.—288

*Elliott, Ebenezer* (1781-1849)—English poet, supporter of the Anti-Corn Law League; in his works described the hard life of the English workers.—568

*Elsner, Karl Friedrich Moritz* (1809—1894)—Silesian journalist and radical politician, deputy to the Prussian

National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—125

*Engelhardt, Helvig Conrad Christian* (1825-1881)—Danish archaeologist, manager of the Museum of North Antiquities in Flensborg.—40

*Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895)—109-11, 115, 117-19, 122-28, 131, 133, 173, 178, 201, 213, 233, 234, 276, 279, 280, 284, 291, 301, 303, 306-08, 310-23, 326-28, 330-35, 337, 340, 341, 351, 399, 401-05, 408, 409, 422-27, 433-35, 442, 444, 445, 448, 451, 464, 470, 471, 511, 512, 516-21, 525-27, 535-38, 545, 550, 584-86, 591-93, 595, 596, 600, 613, 614, 623, 624

*Erhard(t), Johann Ludwig Albert* (born c. 1820)—German shop assistant, member of the Communist League, one of the accused at the Cologne Communist trial (1852), acquitted by the jury.—329

*Espinas, Alfred Victor* (1844-1922)—French philosopher and sociologist, advocate of the theory of evolution.—144

*Euripides* (c. 480-c. 406 B.C.)—Greek dramatist.—172

*Ewerbeck, August Hermann* (1816-1860)—German physician and man of letters, leader of the Paris communities of the League of the Just, member of the Communist League (till 1850).—319, 328

F

*Fabian*—Roman patrician family.—228

*Fairchild, Charles Stebbins* (1842-1924)—American lawyer and financier, Secretary of the Treasury (1887-89).—528

*Fecenia Hispala*—Roman freed woman.—225

*Ferdinand V (the Catholic)* (1452-1516)—King (1479-1504) and ruler (1504-16) of Castilia, King of Aragon under the name of Ferdinand II (1479-1516).—161

*Ferguson, Adam* (1723-1816)—Scottish historian, philosopher and sociologist.—339

*Ferry, Jules François Camille* (1832-1893)—French lawyer, journalist and politician, a leader of the moderate republicans; member of the Government of National Defence, Mayor of Paris (1870-71), Prime Minister (1880-81 and 1883-85).—331

*Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas* (1804-1872)—German philosopher.—364-65, 367-68, 371-73, 374-82, 519, 520

*Fison, Lorimer* (1832-1907)—English ethnographer specialising in Australia, missionary in the Fiji Islands (1863-71, 1875-84) and in Australia (1871-75 and 1884-88); author of a number of works on Australian and Fijian tribes.—153, 155

*Flocon, Ferdinand* (1800-1866)—French politician, journalist, democrat, an editor of *La Réforme*; member of the Provisional Government in 1848.—324

*Florus, Lucius Annaeus* (2nd cent.)—Roman historian.—20, 21

*Fould, Achille* (1800-1867)—French banker and politician, Orleanist, subsequently Bonapartist; Minister of Finance several times (between 1849 and 1867), Minister of State and Minister of the Imperial Court (1852-60).—476

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—179, 255, 276, 599

*Francis I* (1768-1835)—Emperor of Austria (1804-35).—465

*Francis Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-1916).—466

*Frederick II (the Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—309, 346, 347, 459, 469, 475

*Frederick VII* (1808-1863)—King of Denmark (1848-63).—477

*Frederick William* (1620-1688)—Elector of Brandenburg (1640-88).—309, 475

*Frederick William III* (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—346, 347, 358, 361, 469, 473

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—363, 491

*Freeman, Edward Augustus* (1823-1892)—English historian, liberal, professor at Oxford University.—133

*Freiligrath, Ferdinand* (1810-1876)—German revolutionary poet, member of the Communist League; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49).—110, 111, 329

*Frost, John* (1784-1877)—English radical, joined the Chartist movement in 1838; deported for life to Australia for organising a miners' uprising in Wales in 1839, pardoned in 1856 and returned to England.—567-69, 575

*Fustel de Coulanges* (*Numa Denis*) (1830-1889)—French historian, author of works on the history of antiquity and medieval France.—208

G

*Gaius* (*Caius*) (2nd cent.)—Roman lawyer, systematised Roman law.—166

*Galba, Servius Sulpicius* (5 B.C.-A.D. 69)—Roman statesman, proclaimed Emperor in June 68, slain by the Praetorian conspirators, led by Othon in January 69 during the rebellion of troops and people against his rule.—116

*Galle, Johann Gottfried* (1812-1910)—German astronomer, discovered the planet Neptune in 1846, drawing on Leverrier's calculations.—368

*Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary democrat; led the struggle of the Italian people for national liberation and the unification of the country in the 1850s and 1860s; headed the revolutionary march to Southern Italy; participated in wars against Austria (1848-49, 1859, 1866).—307, 421, 463

*George, Henry* (1839-1897)—American journalist, economist and politician.—437-39

*Germanicus* (*Julius Caesar Germanicus*) (15 B.C.-A.D. 19)—Roman general, made several campaigns against the Germans, suppressed an uprising of Rhenish legions in 14 B.C.—15, 28, 31

*Gervinus, Georg Gottfried* (1805-1871)—German historian and politician, liberal; professor in Heidelberg.—470

*Gfrörer, August Friedrich* (1803-1861)—German theologian and historian, author of works on the history of Christianity and the Church, for some time a follower of the Tübingen School; professor at Freiburg University from 1846.—112

*Giers, Nikolai Karlovich de* (1820-1895)—Russian diplomat, Minister for Foreign Affairs (1882-95).—414

*Giffen, Robert* (1837-1910)—English economist and statistician, head of the statistical department at the Board of Trade (1876-97).—299

*Giraud-Teulon, Alexis* (b. 1839)—professor of history in Geneva.—143, 144, 170

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory and later Peelite, a leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the 19th century; Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—210, 292, 411, 626

*Godwin, William* (1756-1836)—English writer and journalist, rationalist, one of the fathers of anarchism.—607, 614

*Goegg, Amand* (1820-1897)—German democratic journalist, member of the Baden Provisional Government

(1849); emigrated after the revolution; later member of the First International.—328

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet, dramatist and philosopher.—111, 148, 359, 361, 371, 496

*Gould, Jay* (1836-1892)—American millionaire, financier who gained control of several large railway systems.—475

*Govone, Giuseppe* (1825-1872)—Italian general and statesman, participated in the wars against Austria (1848-49, 1859 and 1866), negotiated with Bismarck in April 1866, War Minister (1869-70).—480, 482

*Gray, John* (1798-1850)—English economist, utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen; an author of the "labour money" theory.—283-85, 289, 291

*Gregory I (the Great)* (c. 540-604)—Pope (590-604); canonised after his death.—63

*Gregory of Tours (Georgius Florentius)* (c. 540-594)—Christian priest, theologian and historian; Bishop of Tours (from 573), canonised after his death.—62, 240

*Grey, Sir George* (1799-1882)—British statesman, Whig; Home Secretary (1846-52, 1855-58, 1861-66) and Colonial Secretary (1854-55).—575

*Grey, Sir Henry George, Viscount Howick, Earl of* (1802-1894)—British statesman, Whig, Secretary of War (1835-39), Colonial Secretary (1846-52).—573

*Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl* (1785-1863)—German philologist, author of a historical grammar of the German language and of folklore adaptations; professor in Göttingen and then in Berlin.—18, 46-55, 80, 85, 87, 99, 237

*Gröben, Karl Joseph, Count* (1788-1876)—Prussian general, commanded a corps which took part in the suppression of the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; member of the Prussian Upper Chamber from 1854.—420

*Grosvenor, Richard, Marquis of Westminster* (1795-1869)—English aristocrat, Whig.—574

*Grote, George* (1794-1871)—English historian, M.P. (1832-40), championed electoral reform.—205-08, 567

*Grün, Karl Theodor Ferdinand* (pen name *Ernst von der Haide*) (1817-1887)—German journalist, "true socialist" in the mid-1840s, petty-bourgeois democrat during the revolution of 1848-49, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing).—365

*Guérard, Benjamin Edme Charles* (1797-1854)—French historian.—64, 80

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman.—389

*Guntram*, or *Gontran* (c. 525-592)—King of Burgundy (561-92).—62, 67

*Gustav I (Vasa)* (c. 1496-1560)—King of Sweden (1523-60).—554

H

*Habsburgs* (or *Hapsburgs*)—dynasty of the Holy Roman emperors from 1273 to 1806 (with interruptions), Austrian (1804-67) and Austro-Hungarian emperors (1867-1918).—127

*Hadrian (Publius Aelius Hadrianus)* (76-138)—Roman Emperor (117-138).—32

*Hall, Charles* (c. 1745-c. 1825)—English economist, utopian socialist.—607, 613

*Hansemann, David Justus* (1790-1864)—German capitalist, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Finance Minister of Prussia (from March to September 1848).—471

*Harney, George Julian* (1817-1897)—a leader of the Left-wing Chartists,

editor of *The Northern Star, Red Republican* and other Chartist periodicals; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels.—319, 512, 566

*Harring, Harro Paul* (1798-1870)—German writer, radical, emigrated in 1828.—319

*Hartmann, Lev Nikolayevich* (1850-1913)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik, in 1879 participated in one of the terrorist acts of the People's Will against Alexander II, after that he emigrated to France, then to Britain, and in 1881 to the USA.—292

*Haupt, Hermann Wilhelm* (born c. 1831)—German business clerk, member of the Communist League; was arrested with other Cologne communists, gave evidence against them and was released before the trial; fled to Brazil.—328

*Häusser, Ludwig* (1818-1867)—German historian and politician, liberal, professor in Heidelberg.—470

*Hecker, Friedrich Karl Franz* (1811-1881)—German democrat, a leader of the Baden republican uprising in April 1848; after its suppression emigrated to Switzerland and later to the USA where he fought in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—418

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—269, 357-69, 371, 373, 377-78, 382-84, 386, 388, 391, 519-20

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—109, 110, 357, 493

*Henry IV* (1553-1610)—King of France (1589-1610).—491

*Herod* (73-4 B.C.)—King of Judaea (40-4 B.C.).—229

*Herodotus* (c. 484-c. 424 B.C.)—Greek historian.—9, 151, 172

*Herrfurth, Ernst Ludwig* (1830-1900)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1888-92).—540

*Herwegh, Georg Friedrich* (1817-1875)—German democratic poet, an organiser of the German legion in Paris in 1848.—324

*Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich* (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher and writer; emigrated in 1847.—449, 516

*Hetherington, Henry* (1792-1849)—English printer and publisher of workers' papers; took part in the organisation of trade unions, and later in the Chartist movement; was fined for his publishing activities and imprisoned on a charge of blasphemy.—569, 570

*Heusler, Andreas* (1834-1921)—Swiss lawyer, professor in Basle, author of works on Swiss and German law.—167

*Heyne, Moritz* (1837-1906)—German philologist, author of several works on the history of the German language; published items belonging to the Old German and Gothic literary heritage.—81-82, 89

*Hildebrand, Hans Olof* (1842-1913)—Swedish archaeologist, historian and numismatist.—38

*Hildebrannus* (8th cent.)—Charles Martel's beneficiary.—67

*Hincmar* (c. 806-882)—archbishop of Reims (France) from 845; author of the third part of *Annales Bertiniani* (861-82).—64, 78

*Hincmar* (830-882)—archbishop of Lyons (France) (858-79).—68

*Hinkel, Karl* (1794-1817)—German student, participant in the opposition student movement for the unification of Germany.—458

*Hirschfeld, Karl Ulrich Friedrich Wilhelm Moritz von* (1791-1859)—Prussian general, commanded a corps which took part in the suppression of the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849).—420

*Hobbes, Thomas* (1588-1679)—English philosopher.—368

*Hodgskin, Thomas* (1787-1869)—English economist and journalist, utopian socialist, drew socialist conclusions from the Ricardian theory.—280, 613

*Hoffmann von Fallersleben, August Heinrich* (1798-1874)—German poet and philologist.—459

*Hohenstaufens*—dynasty of the Holy Roman emperors (1138-1254).—458, 555

*Hohenzollern, Leopold, Prince* (1835-1905)—pretender to the Spanish throne in 1870.—487

*Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of electors of Brandenburg (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—124, 127, 464

*Homer*—semi-legendary Greek epic poet to whom are attributed the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.—111, 138-39, 170, 171, 208, 209

*Höpfner, Friedrich Eduard Alexander von* (1797-1858)—Prussian general, military writer.—449-50

*Horace* (*Quintus Horatius Flaccus*) (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—111, 536

*Howick*—see *Grey, Sir Henry George*

*Howitt, Alfred William* (1830-1908)—English ethnographer specialising in Australia, colonial official in Australia (1862-1901); author of several works on Australian tribes.—155

*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885)—French writer.—590

*Hume, David* (1711-1776)—Scottish philosopher, historian and economist.—367

*Huschke, Georg Philipp Eduard* (1801-1886)—German lawyer, author of works on Roman law.—227

*Huskisson, William* (1770-1830)—British statesman, Tory, President of the Board of Trade (1823-27), reduced import duties on some goods.—528

*Hyndman, Henry Mayers* (pseudonym *John Broadhouse*)—English socialist, reformist; founder (1881) and leader of the Democratic Federation, which became Social-Democratic Federation in 1884.—335-40

I

*Im Thurn, Everard Ferdinand* (1852-1932)—English colonial official, traveller and anthropologist.—365

*Irenaeus, St.* (c. 130-c. 202)—Christian theologian, Greek from Asia Minor by birth, Bishop of Lyons from 177.—116

*Irmino(n), Guérard* (died c. 826)—abbot of the Saint-Germain de Prés Monastery (812-17).—253

*Ivan III* (1440-1505)—Grand Duke of Muscovy.—565

J

*Jacobi, Abraham* (1830-1919)—German physician, member of the Communist League, defendant at the Cologne Communist trial (1852), acquitted by the jury; later emigrated to the USA.—329

*John VIII*—Pope (872-82).—64

*Jones, Ernest Charles* (1819-1869)—English proletarian poet and journalist, Left-wing Chartist leader; friend of Marx and Engels.—575-77

*Jones, William* (c. 1808-1873)—English watch-maker, Chartist, an organiser of a miners' uprising in Wales in 1839; deported for life to Australia.—568, 569, 575, 577

*Jordanes* (*Jornandes, Jordanis*) (born c. 500)—Gothic historian.—36

*Julia gens*—patrician clan in Ancient Rome.—236

*Juvenal* (*Decimus Junius Juvenalis*) (born c. 60-died after 127)—Roman satirical poet.—111

K

*Kalnoky, Gustav Sigismund, Count* (1832-1898)—Austro-Hungarian statesman, ambassador to St. Petersburg (1880-81), Chairman of the Imperial Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1881-95).—414

*Kamensky, Gavriil Pavlovich* (1824-1898)—Russian economist, agent of the Tsarist government abroad, sentenced in his absence to imprisonment by a Swiss court for counterfeiting (1872).—293

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—359, 367, 368, 370, 373, 381

*Kaulbars, Nikolai Vasilyevich* (1842-1905)—Russian general, military commissioner of the Tsarist government in Bulgaria in 1886.—414

*Kautsky, Karl Johann* (1854-1938)—German Social-Democrat; journalist, economist and historian, editor of *Die Neue Zeit* (1883-1917), author of several Marxist theoretical works; ideologist of Centrism among the German Social-Democrats and in the Second International.—521

*Kaye, Sir John William* (1814-1876)—British military historian and colonial official.—151

*Kelley-Wischnewetzky, Florence* (1859-1932)—American socialist, translated Engels' book *The Condition of the Working Class in England* into English; wife of the Russian émigré and socialist Lazar Wischnewetzky.—434, 517

*Kern, Jan Hendrik* (1833-1917)—Dutch philologist, Orientalist and Sanskritist.—83, 86, 89

*Kinkel, Gottfried* (1815-1882)—German poet and democratic journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; sentenced to life imprisonment by Prussian court; in 1850 escaped and emigrated to London, a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees; opposed Marx and Engels.—328

*Klapka, György (Georg)* (1820-1892)—general of the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49), emigrated in 1849; during the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 commanded a Hungarian legion organised by the Prussian Government in Silesia and intended for participation in the war; after the amnesty returned to Hungary in 1867.—307, 481

*Klein, Johann Jacob* (born c. 1818-died between 1895 and 1897)—Cologne physician, member of the Communist League, a defendant at the Cologne Communist trial (1852), acquitted.—329

*Kolb, Georg Friedrich* (1808-1884)—German politician, journalist and statistician.—530

*Kopp, Hermann* (1817-1892)—German chemist and historian of chemistry.—376

*Korff, Hermann*—former Prussian army officer, democrat; manager of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); later emigrated to the USA.—306

*Kossuth, Lajos* (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement, headed the bourgeois-democratic elements in the 1848-49 revolution and later the Hungarian revolutionary government; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated first to Turkey and then to Britain and the USA.—328

*Kotzebue, August Friedrich Ferdinand von* (1761-1819)—German writer and journalist, extreme monarchist.—422

*Kovalevsky, Maxim Maximovich* (1851-1916)—Russian sociologist, historian, ethnographer and lawyer; politician, liberal; author of a number of works on the history of primitive communal system.—165, 167, 168, 232, 236, 241

*Kravchinsky, Sergei Mikhailovich* (pseudonym *Stepnyak*) (1851-1895)—Russian writer and journalist, prominent in the revolutionary Narodnik movement of the 1870s; emigrated in 1878; lived in England from 1884.—292

*Kriege, Hermann* (1820-1850)—German journalist; "true" socialist; founder and editor of the New York refugees' newspaper *Der Volks-Tribun*.—319, 320

*Kropotkin, Pyotr Alexeyevich, Prince* (1842-1921)—Russian revolutionary, journalist, geographer and traveller, a prominent figure and ideologist of anarchism; lived in emigration from 1876 to 1917.—292

*Kuhlmann, Georg* (b. 1812)—*agent provocateur* of the Austrian government; preached "true socialism" in the 1840s among the German Weitlingian artisans in Switzerland, using religious terminology and passing himself off as a "prophet".—320

L

*Lacomblet, Theodor Joseph* (1789-1866)—German historian, French by birth, archivist in Düsseldorf.—95

*Lafayette (La Fayette), Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert Motier, marquis de* (1757-1834)—French general, prominent figure in the French revolution, a leader of the moderate constitutionalists (Feuillants); took part in the July 1830 revolution.—126

*Lamarck, Jean Baptiste Pierre Antoine de Monet, chevalier de* (1744-1829)—French naturalist, developed the first complete theory of evolution in biology, forerunner of Darwin.—371

*Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louis de* (1790-1869)—French poet, historian and politician; Foreign Minister and *de facto* head of the Provisional Government in 1848.—324

*Lange, Christian Konrad Ludwig* (1825-1885)—German philologist and historian.—227

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German journalist and lawyer, socialist; took part in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863); an initiator of the opportunist trend in the German Social-Democratic movement.—275, 515

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician, a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats; editor of *La Réforme*; Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government (February-May 1848); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (leader of the Montagnards); emigrated to England after the demonstration of June 13, 1849.—328

*Leo Africanus (al-Hassan ibn-Mohammed)* (1483 or 1485-1552 or 1554)—Arab scholar and traveller, writer on Africa.—45

*Leopold Karl Friedrich* (1790-1852)—Grand Duke of Baden (1830-52).—594

*Lessner, Friedrich* (1825-1910)—German tailor; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; defendant at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); refugee in London from 1856; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—321, 329

*Letourneau, Charles Jean Marie* (1831-1902)—French sociologist and ethnographer.—143-44, 146

*Leverrier, Urban Jean Joseph* (1811-1877)—French astronomer and mathematician; in 1846 computed the orbit of the then unknown planet Neptune and determined its position.—368

*Levi, Leone* (1821-1888)—English economist, statistician and lawyer.—299

*Lichnowski, Felix Maria, Prince von* (1814-1848)—Prussian army officer, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing); killed during the Frankfurt uprising in September 1848; he was the prototype for the satirical characters in Heine's poem *Atta Troll* and Georg Weerth's *Leben und Thaten des berühmten Ritters Schnapphahnski.*—109, 310

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League; one of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—448, 483

*Lipsius, Justus* (1547-1606)—Dutch philologist, Latin scholar, professor in Jena, Cologne, Louvain and Leyden.—84

*Liutprand* (c. 922-c. 972)—historian, bishop of Cremona from 961.—249

*Livy* (*Titus Livius*) (59 B.C.-A.D. 17)—Roman historian.—225-26, 227

*Lochner, Georg* (born c. 1824)—German Social-Democrat, carpenter; member of the Communist League and German Workers' Educational Society in London; later a member of the General Council of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—321

*Longus* (late 2nd cent.-early 3rd cent.)—Greek author.—184

*Lopatin, Hermann Alexandrovich* (1845-1918)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik, member of the General Council of the First International; was arrested several times and kept in solitary confinement from 1897 to 1905; one of the translators into Russian of Marx's *Capital,* Volume I; friend of Marx and Engels.—591-93

*Lothair I* (795-855)—Roman Emperor (840-55), after the division of the Empire in 843 ruled Italy, Provence, and what is now Alsace and Lorraine and retained the title of Emperor, eldest son of Louis I the Pious.—67

*Louis,* nicknamed the *German* (804-876)—King of the East Franks (817-43), King of Germany (843-76), third son of Louis I the Pious.—67

*Louis I,* nicknamed the *Pious* (778-840)—Frankish Emperor (814-40).—67, 76, 81

*Louis II* (the *Stammerer*) (846-879)—King of Aquitania from 867, Frankish King (877-79).—77

*Louis XI* (1423-1483)—King of France (1461-83).—564

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—396, 491-92, 497

*Louis Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Napoleon*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of France (1830-48).—313, 332, 333

*Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, comte de Paris* (1838-1894)—grandson of Louis Philippe I, pretender to the French throne under the name of Philippe VII.—416

*Lovett, William* (1800-1877)—English craftsman, democrat; a leader of the Chartist movement (moderate wing) in the 1830s.—567

*Luther, Martin* (1483-1546)—German theologian and writer, leader of the Reformation; founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany.—395

*Luxembourgs*—dynasty of Holy Roman emperors (1308-1437, with interruptions), also ruled in Bohemia (1310-1437) and Hungary (1387-1437).—485

M

*Macaulay, Thomas Babington, Baron* (1800-1859)—English historian and politician, Whig, M.P.—308

*Macfarlane, Helen* (pseudonym *Howard Morten*)—contributor to Chartist newspapers *Democratic Review* (1849-50) and *Red Republican* (1850), translator of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* into English.—512

*M(a)cLennan, John Ferguson* (1827-1881)—Scottish lawyer and historian.—140, 157, 169, 192, 232

*Maine, Sir Henry James Sumner* (1822-1888)—English jurist and historian of law.—186

*Malon, Benoît* (1841-1893)—French socialist, member of the First International, member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; after the Commune was defeated emigrated to Italy and later to Switzerland where he adhered to the anarchists; a leader and ideologist of Possibilism, an opportunist trend in the French socialist movement.—593

*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von* (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman; Minister of the Interior (1848-50), Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1850-58).—304, 349, 472, 504

*Marat, Jean Paul* (1743-1793)—a Jacobin leader during the French Revolution.—126

*Marcianus* (c. 5th cent.)—Greek geographer.—35

*Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* (121-180)—Roman Emperor (161-180), Stoic philosopher.—35, 38

*Marius, Gaius* (c. 156-86 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman, consul (107, 104-100, 86 B.C.)—11, 30

*Maroboduus* (second half of the 1st cent. B.C.-A.D. 37 (41))—leader of the Germanic tribe of Marcomanni (8 B.C-A.D. 19), brought together the Germanic tribes of the Rhine area; fought against Rome, from A.D. 6 maintained neutrality towards Rome.—12, 22, 23, 28, 34

*Marx, Jenny* (née *von Westphalen*) (1814-1881)—Karl Marx's wife.—320

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883)—109-10, 118-20, 123-28, 131, 141, 147, 150, 165, 166, 170, 173, 176, 204-07, 211, 256, 264, 277-83, 291, 297, 302-06, 311, 312, 315, 317-23, 326, 328, 330, 335-40, 364, 381-82, 403, 422, 426-27, 433, 438, 442, 448, 464, 495, 512-13, 515-24, 535, 545, 591, 593, 595, 599, 601, 604, 606-14, 626-27

*Marx-Aveling, Eleanor* (1855-1898)—took part in English and international working-class movement in the 1880s-90s; journalist; Marx's daughter, Edward Aveling's wife from 1884; member of the Social-Democratic Federation and later of the Socialist League; active in organising the mass movement of unskilled workers; an organiser of the dockers' strike in London in 1889.—434, 589

*Maurer, Georg Ludwig* (1790-1872)—German historian, studied the social system of ancient and medieval Germany.—78, 201, 239, 241

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—leader of the national liberation movement in Italy; an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850).—313, 316, 328

*Meitzen, August* (1822-1910)—German statistician, historian and economist; worked in statistical departments in Prussia and in Germany (1867-82).—348, 350-51

*Melbourne, William Lamb, Viscount* (1779-1848)—English statesman, Whig, Home Secretary (1830-34), Prime Minister (1834 and 1835-41).—566, 570

*Menger, Anton* (1841-1906)—Austrian lawyer, professor at Vienna University.—600-09, 610-16

*Menke, Heinrich Theodor von* (1819-1892)—German geographer, revised Spruner's *Hand-Atlas für die Geschichte des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit.*—96, 559

*Mentel, Christian Friedrich* (b. 1812)—German tailor, member of the League of the Just; in 1846-47 was imprisoned in Prussia for his involvement in the League's case.—315

*Merovingians*—the first royal dynasty in the Frankish state, (mid-5th cent.-751).—58, 61, 63, 65, 71, 73, 76

*Mestorf, Johanna* (1829-1909)—German historian and archaeologist.—34, 37

*Metternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince von* (1733-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1809-21) and Chancellor (1821-48), an organiser of the Holy Alliance.—465, 486

*Mierosławski, Ludwik* (1814-1878)—prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement, took part in the Polish uprising of 1830-31 and in the 1848-49 revolution; commander of the revolutionary army during the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849.—420

*Mignet, François Auguste Marie* (1796-1884)—French historian.—389

*Mikhailovsky, Nikolai Konstantinovich* (1842-1904)—Russian sociologist, journalist and literary critic, ideologist of the liberal Narodniks; an editor of the magazines *Otechestvennye Zapiski* and *Russkoye Bogatstvo.*—311

*Milde, Karl August* (1805-1861)—Silesian manufacturer, moderate liberal; Minister of Trade in the Auerswald-Hansemann Ministry (from June to September 1848), President of the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing).—471

*Mirbach, Otto von* (born c. 1800)—retired Prussian artillery officer, democrat; commandant of Elberfeld during the May 1849 uprising; emigrated from Germany.—595

*Mitchel, John* (1815-1875)—Irish journalist and historian, prominent figure in the Irish national liberation movement, leader of the revolutionary-democratic wing in the Young Ireland group; favoured union with the Chartists; for preparing a revolt in Ireland was deported to colonies in 1848; escaped in 1853 and emigrated to the USA.—575

*Moleschott, Jakob* (1822-1893)—Dutch physiologist and philosopher; lectured in Germany, Switzerland and Italy.—369

*Molière* (real name *Jean Baptist Poquelin*) (1622-1673)—French playwright.—266

*Moll, Joseph* (1813-1849)—German watch-maker, a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; President of the Cologne Workers' Association (from July to September 1848), member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats; killed in battle during the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849.—314, 321, 323, 326

*Mommsen, Theodor* (1817-1903)—German historian of Ancient Rome.—206, 225-29

*Mone, Franz Joseph* (1796-1871)—German historian and philologist.—99

*Moore, Samuel* (1838-1911)—English lawyer, member of the First International; translated into English Volume I of Marx's *Capital* (together with Edward Aveling) and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party;* associate of Marx and Engels.—518

*Morgan, Lewis Henry* (1818-1881)—American ethnographer, archaeologist and historian of primitive society.—131-35, 139-43, 147, 152, 156, 189-92, 194, 206, 207, 210, 211, 213

*Morny, Charles August Louis Joseph, duc de* (1811-1865)—French politician,

Bonapartist; an organiser of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; Minister of the Interior (December 1851-January 1852).—476

*Moschus* (mid-2nd cent. B.C.)—Greek poet.—184

*Motteler, Julius* (1838-1907)—German Social-Democrat; deputy to the Reichstag in 1874-79; an émigré in Zurich and later in London at the time of the Anti-Socialist Law; was responsible for transportation of the *Sozialdemokrat* and illegal Social-Democratic literature to Germany.—623

*Moxon, Edward* (1801-1858)—English publisher; for publishing Shelley's poems, was brought to trial in 1840 on a charge of blasphemy levelled by Hetherington; found guilty in June 1841 but was not punished.—570

*Mülberger, Arthur* (1847-1907)—German journalist, physician.—425

*Müllenhoff, Karl Victor* (1818-1884)—German philologist and historian, expert in Germanic antiquities, mythology and medieval literature.—10

N

*Nadler, Karl Christian Gottfried* (1809-1849)—German poet, wrote in the Palatinate dialect.—105

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—123, 175, 192, 309, 347, 375, 415, 455, 459, 463, 465, 469, 495, 506

*Napoleon III* (*Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte*) (1808-1873)—Napoleon I's nephew; President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—29, 109, 297, 302, 411, 412, 421, 460, 461, 463, 464, 475-77, 479-82, 484-89, 494, 498, 578, 580

*Napoleon the Little*—see *Napoleon III*

*Nearchus* (c. 360-c. 312 B. C.)—Macedonian navigator, a fellow campaigner of Alexander the Great, described an expedition of the Macedonian fleet from India to Mesopotamia (326-324 B.C.).—168

*Nero* (*Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus*) (37-68)—Roman Emperor (54-68).— 35, 40, 116-17

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Russian Emperor (1825-55).—456, 460, 461, 477

*Niebuhr, Barthold Georg* (1776-1831)—German historian.—206, 208, 228, 269

*Nothjung, Peter* (1821-1866)—German tailor; member of the Cologne Workers' Association and of the Communist League; one of the accused at the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—328-29

*Novikova, Olga Alexeyevna* (1840-1925)—Russian journalist, lived in Britain for a long time; was in fact a diplomatic agent of the Russian government under Gladstone's administration in the 1870s.—292

*Numonius Vala* (died A. D. 9)—legate; commander of Quintilius Varus' cavalry; killed when fleeing after the Roman defeat in the Teutoburg Forest.—28

O

*Oastler, Richard* (1789-1861)—English clergyman and politician; sided with the Tories in opposing the Free Traders; favoured a reduction of the working day by law.—574

*O'Brien, James* (pseudonym *Bronterre*) (1805-1864)—Irish journalist, ideologist and prominent figure in the Chartist movement, an editor of *The Poor Man's Guardian* in the 1830s, an organiser of the National Reform League (1849).—569, 575, 576

*O'Brien, William Smith* (1803-1864)—Right-wing leader of the Young Ireland group; sentenced to death in

1848 after an unsuccessful attempt to organise an uprising, commuted to life deportation; amnestied in 1856.—573, 576

*O'Connell, Daniel* (1775-1847)—Irish lawyer and politician, leader of the liberal wing of the national liberation movement.—572, 574-76

*O'Connor, Feargus Edward* (1794-1855)—a Left-wing Chartist leader, editor-in-chief of *The Northern Star*; reformist after 1848.—566-70, 572-75

*Odoacer* (c. 434-493)—German military leader in the service of West Roman emperors; dethroned Emperor Romulus Augustulus in 476 and became king of the first "barbarian" kingdom in Italy.—245

*Olga* (d. 969)—Grand Princess of Kiev, Regent of the Russian state from 945, after the death of her husband Igor, her son Svyatoslav being still a minor.—235

*Orleans*—branch in the royal house of Bourbons (1830-48).—416

*Orosius, Paulus* (c. 380-c. 420)—Roman historian, Spaniard by birth; author of *Historiarum adversum paganos*.—20

*Orsini, Felice* (1819-1858)—Italian democrat, republican; prominent figure in the struggle for Italy's national liberation and unification; executed for his attempt on the life of Napoleon III.—462

*Oshanina, Maria Nikolayevna* (née *Olovenikova*) (1853-1898)—Russian revolutionary, member of the Executive of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) organisation; emigrated to Paris in 1882; representative of the Narodnaya Volya's Executive abroad.—591-93

*Otfri(e)d* (9th cent.)—monk from Wissembourg in Alsace; wrote a poem entitled *Liber Evangeliorum domini gratia theotisce conscriptus* (c. 868), which included all four Gospels.—86, 105

*Otho, Marcus Salvius* (32-69)—Roman statesman, legate in the province Lusitania; in January 69 organised praetorians' plot against Emperor Galba, had him murdered and proclaimed himself emperor; took his own life in April 69.—116

*Otto, Karl Wunibald* (born c. 1810)—German chemist; member of the Cologne Workers' Association and of the Communist League (1848-49); one of the accused at the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—329

*Ovid* (*Publius Ovidius Naso*) (43 B.C.-A.D. 18)—Roman poet.—29

*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—British utopian socialist.—599

P

*Palgrave, Sir Robert Harry Inglis* (1827-1919)—English banker and economist, editor of *The Economist* (1877-83).—300

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman, Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58 and 1859-65).—461, 477

*Pare, William* (1805-1873)—British economist, active in the co-operative movement, follower of Owen.—609

*Pattison, James* (1786-1849)—English politician, liberal M.P. (1835-41 and 1843-47).—574

*Peel, Sir Robert* (1788-1850)—British statesman, moderate Tory; Home Secretary (1822-27, 1828-30), Prime Minister (1834-35, 1841-46); repealed the Corn Laws in 1846.—528, 570-73

*Pepin* (or *Pippin*) *III* (*the Short*) (714-768)—Frankish mayor of the palace (741-751), first king of the Carolingian dynasty (751-768); son of Charles Martel.—64, 65-67

*Perseus of Macedonia* (c. 213-166 B.C.)—last king of Macedonia (179-168 B.C.).—10, 246

*Persius* (*Aulus Persius Flaccus*) (34-62)—Roman satirist.—114

*Petty, Sir William* (1623-1687)—English economist and statistician, founder of the classical school of political economy in Britain.—612

*Peucker, Eduard von* (1791-1876)—Prussian general, War Minister in the so-called Imperial Government in Frankfurt am Main (1848-49); commanded counter-revolutionary troops suppressing the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising.—420

*Pfänder, Karl* (c. 1818-1876)—German artist; refugee in London from 1845; member of the Communist League and later of the General Council of the First International, friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—320

*Philip II* (1527-1598)—King of Spain (1556-98).—30

*Philo of Alexandria* (c. 20 B.C.-A.D. c. 54)—main representative of the Judaistic Alexandrian philosophy who exerted great influence on the shaping of Christian theology.—113

*Pisistratus* (c. 600-527 B.C.)—tyrant of Athens (560-527 B.C. with interruptions).—222

*Pius IX* (*Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti*) (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—419

*Plato* (c. 427-c. 347 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—111

*Pliny the Elder* (*Gaius Plinius Secundus*) (A.D. 23 or 24-79)—Roman scholar, author of *Natural History* in 37 volumes.—16, 18, 33, 36, 46-49, 54, 56, 243, 246

*Plutarch* (c. 46-c. 125)—Greek writer, historian and philosopher.—10, 171

*Pollux, Julius* (2nd cent.)—Greek scholar, compiled *Onomasticon*, an encyclopaedic dictionary.—208

*Probus, Marcus Aurelius* (232-282)—Roman Emperor (276-282).—43

*Procopius of Caesaria* (end of 5th cent.-after 562)—Byzantine writer, author of an eight-volume history of Justinian's wars against the Persians, Vandals and Goths.—47, 177

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist; a founder of anarchism.—278-80, 283, 285, 289, 325, 382, 425, 428, 515, 604-06

*Ptolemy* (*Claudius Ptolemaeus*) (2nd cent.)—Greek mathematician, astronomer and geographer.—33-35, 38, 41, 45-49, 54, 56

*Puttkamer, Robert Victor von* (1828-1900)—German Minister of the Interior (1881-88); helped to instigate the persecution of Social-Democrats under the Anti-Socialist Law.—472, 624

*Pytheas of Marseilles* (*Massilia*) (4th cent. B.C.)—Greek traveller and astronomer; sailed to the shores of north-western Europe c. 325 B.C—10, 14

## Q

*Quinctilia*—Roman patrician gens.—223

## R

*Racine, Jean Baptiste* (1639-1699)—French dramatist.—496

*Regnault, Élias Georges Soulange Oliva* (1801-1868)—French historian and journalist.—293

*Reiff, Wilhelm Joseph* (b. 1824)—member of the Cologne Workers' Association and of the Communist League, expelled from the League in 1850; one of the accused at the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—329

*Remigius, St.* (c. 437-c. 533)—archbishop in Reims from 459.—64

*Renan, (Joseph) Ernest* (1823-1892)—French philologist and historian of Christianity.—112, 326, 382

*Reymann, Daniel Gottlob* (1759-1837)—German cartographer.—96-98

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—English economist.—279-83, 290, 522, 612

*Richelieu, Armand Jean du Plessi, duc de* (1585-1642)—French statesman, Cardinal in the period of absolutism.—491

*Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de* (1758-1794)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, leader of the Jacobins, head of the revolutionary Government.—376

*Rodbertus-Jagetzow, Johann Karl* (1805-1875)—German economist and politician; subsequently theoretician of "state socialism".—279-81, 283-90, 608, 611

*Röser, Peter Gerhardt* (1814-1865)—German cigar-maker; Vice-President of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848-49); member of the Communist League and from 1850 of its Cologne Central Authority; one of the accused at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); later a Lassallean.—328

*Roth, Paul Rudolf von* (1820-1892)—German lawyer and law historian; author of works on the origins of feudalism in Western Europe.—61-64, 68, 71, 72, 77, 79-81

*Rotteck, Karl Wenzeslaus Rodecker von* (1775-1840)—German historian and politician, liberal.—471

*Rousseau, Jean Jacques* (1712-1778)—French philosopher and writer of the Enlightenment.—373

*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian; deputy to the Frankfurt Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; German petty-bourgeois refugee leader in England in the 1850s.—328

*Russell, John, Earl of* (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader; Prime Minister (1846-52, 1865-66), Foreign Secretary (1852-53, 1859-65), President of the Council (1854-55).—477, 569, 574, 576

S

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—599, 606

*Salvianus* (c. 390-c. 484)—Christian preacher and writer, Marseilles clergyman.—250, 253

*Sand, Karl Ludwig* (1795-1820)—German student, participated in the liberal movement of German intelligentsia; executed for the assassination of the reactionary writer Kotzebue.—422

*Saturninus, Sentius* (1st cent.)—Roman soldier, participated in campaigns against the Germans.—22

*Saussure, Henri de* (1829-1905)—Swiss zoologist.—143

*Savoy, House of*—Italian dynasty which ruled the Kingdom of Sardinia (1720-1861) and the united Italian Kingdom (1861-1946).—464

*Sax, Emil* (1845-1927)—Austrian economist.—425

*Schaaffhausen. Hermann* (1816-1893)—German anthropologist and physiologist.—8

*Schapper, Karl* (1812-1870)—German socialist; a leader of the League of the Just; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; a leader of the sectarian group during the split in the Communist League in 1850; again became a close associate of Marx in 1856; member of the General Council of the First

International.—305, 313-14, 319, 323, 326, 328, 329

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—373, 606

*Schinderhannes*—see *Bückler, Johann*

*Schlöffel, Gustav Adolph* (1828-1849)—German student and journalist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany and Hungary; killed in action.—123

*Schlosser, Friedrich Christoph* (1776-1861)—German historian, democrat.—470

*Schlueter, Friedrich Hermann* (1851-1919)—German Social-Democrat, historian; in the 1880s headed a Social-Democratic publishing house in Zurich and then in London; emigrated to the USA in 1889; wrote several works on the history of the working-class movement in Great Britain and the United States.—623

*Schnapphahnski-Lichnowski*—see *Lichnowski, Felix Maria, Prince von*

*Schneider II, Karl*—German lawyer, democrat; President of the Cologne Democratic Society and member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats; defended Marx and Engels at the trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on February 7, 1849; counsel for the defence at the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—305, 306

*Schneider, Jacob* (1818-1898)—German archaeologist and historian.—32

*Schoemann, Georg Friedrich* (1793-1879)—German philologist and historian.—171, 210

*Scholefield, Joshua* (1774-1844)—English financier and manufacturer; radical M.P. (1832-44); favoured parliamentary reform and free trade.—566

*Schulze-Delitzsch, Franz Hermann* (1808-1883)—German economist and politician; a deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; a leader of the bourgeois-liberal Party of Progress in the 1860s; advocated co-operative societies of mutual assistance as a means of improving the condition of the working class.—125

*Schurz, Karl* (1829-1906)—German democrat, journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to the USA, participated in the Civil War on the side of the North; a Republican leader, Home Secretary (1877-81).—327

*Schweitzer, Johann Baptist* (1833-1875)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement, Lassallean; an editor of the *Social-Democrat* (1864-67); President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71).—278

*Scott, Sir Walter* (1771-1832)—Scottish poet and novelist.—235

*Sebastian* (died c. 288)—a captain in the praetorian guard under the emperor Diocletian; executed for being a Christian; was canonised after death.—63

*Segestes* (early 1st cent.)—a chief of the Germanic tribe of Cherusci.—27

*Segimerus* (*Sigimerus*) (late 1st cent. B.C.-A.D. early 1st cent.)—a chief of the Germanic tribe of Cherusci, Arminius' father.—26, 27

*Seneca, Lucius Annaeus* (c. 4 B.C.-A.D. 65)—Roman philosopher.—113

*Serno-Solovyevich, Alexander Alexandrovich* (1838-1869)—Russian revolutionary democrat, follower of Chernyshevsky; participated in the Russian revolutionary movement in the early 1860s; emigrated to Geneva; member of the First International.—449

*Servius Tullius* (578-534 B.C.)—sixth King of Rome.—230

*Severus, Lucius Septimius* (146-211)—Roman Emperor (193-211).—37, 39, 40

*Shelley, Percy Byshe* (1792-1822)—English romantic poet.—570, 614

*Sirmond, Jacques* (1559-1651)—French historian, Jesuit; published early medieval documents.—73

*Sismondi, Jean Charles Leonard Simonde de* (1773-1842)—Swiss economist, representative of economic romanticism.—612

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—522, 599, 608, 611-12

*Smith, Adolph (Smith Headingley)*—English socialist, journalist; member of the Social-Democratic Federation; was close to the French Possibilists.—542

*Soetbeer, Adolf Georg* (1814-1892)—German economist and statistician.—506

*Solon* (c. 638-c. 558 B.C.)—Athenian legislator; carried out several reforms directed against the aristocracy.—207, 215, 218-19, 230, 275

*Soulouque, Faustin Elie* (c. 1782-1867)—president of the Republic of Haiti (1849-59); proclaimed himself Emperor Faustin I in 1849.—110

*Spruner von Merz, Karl* (1803-1892)—German historian and cartographer.—96, 559

*Starcke, Carl Nikolaus* (1858-1926)—Danish philosopher and sociologist.—357, 368, 372-74, 378, 379, 520

*Steenstrand*—Dutch merchant in England.—549

*Stein, Julius* (1813-1889)—Silesian teacher and journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—125

*Stephen III (II)* (d. 757)—Pope (752-757).—66

*Stephens, Joseph Rayner* (1805-1879)—English clergyman; active in the Chartist movement in Lancashire (1837-39).—568

*Stepnyak*—see *Kravchinsky, Sergei Mikhailovich*

*Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882)—Prussian police officer, one of the organisers of the Cologne Communist trial (1852); chief of the Prussian political police (1850-60).—312, 322

*Stirner, Max* (real name *Schmidt, Johann Caspar*) (1806-1856)—German Young Hegelian philosopher, an ideologist of individualism and anarchism.—364, 381-82

*Stoecker, Adolf* (1835-1909)—German clergyman and reactionary politician; founder (1878) and leader of the Christian-Social Party, preached anti-Semitism.—507

*Strabo* (c. 63 B.C.-A.D. c. 20)—Greek geographer and historian.—14, 16, 29, 45

*Strauss, David Friedrich* (1808-1874)—German philosopher and publicist, Young Hegelian.—112, 363, 365, 381-82

*Struve, Gustav von* (1805-1870)—German democratic journalist; a leader of the Baden uprisings in April and September 1848 and of the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; one of the leaders of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in England; fought in the US Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—446

*Suetonius Tranquillus, Gaius* (c. 70-after 122)—Roman historian.—21

*Sugenheim, Samuel* (1811-1877)—German historian.—161

*Sybel, Heinrich von* (1817-1895)—German historian and politician; National Liberal from 1867; an advocate of the unification of Germany under Prussian supremacy; director of Prussian state archives.—478

T

*Tacitus, Publius Cornelius* (c. 55-c. 120)—Roman historian, orator and politician.—6, 12, 15-18, 25, 27, 30-37, 39-42, 44-48, 53-54, 99, 116, 132, 138-39, 176, 199, 238, 245

*Tarquinius, Lucius* (nicknamed *Superbus*) (534-c. 509 B.C.)—last (seventh) semi-legendary King of Rome; according to the legend, was exiled from Rome after a popular uprising which proclaimed a republic.—229, 231

*Tauscher, Leonard* (1840-1914)—German Social-Democrat, compositor; at the time of the Anti-Socialist Law helped to publish the *Sozialdemokrat* in Zurich and then in London (1888-90), later an editor of the Social-Democratic publications in Stuttgart.—623

*Taylor, Sedly* (second half of the 19th-beginning of the 20th cent.)—participant in the co-operative movement in Britain, favoured a share of capitalist profits for workers.—613

*Theocritus* (3rd cent. B.C.)—Greek poet.—184

*Theodorich*—name of three kings of the Goths; two kings of the Visigoths, Theodorich I (reigned c. 418-51) and Theodorich II (reigned c. 453-66) and king of the Ostrogoths, Theodorich the Great (reigned 474-526).—229

*Thierry, Jacques Nicolas Augustin* (1795-1856)—French historian.—389

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836 and 1840); head of the Orleanists after 1848; organised the suppression of the Paris Commune (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73).—389, 490, 497

*Thile, Karl Hermann von* (1812-1889)—German diplomat, Deputy-Minister of Foreign Affairs of Prussia (1862-71), and of the German Empire (1871-73).—487

*Thompson, William* (c. 1785-1833)—Irish economist, follower of Owen.—280, 607-12, 614

*Thucydides* (c. 460-c. 395 B.C.)—Greek historian.—212

*Tiberius* (*Tiberius Claudius Nero Caesar*) (42 B.C.-A.D. 37)—Roman Emperor (14-37).—21, 22, 31, 32, 40, 116, 229

*Trajan* (*Marcus Ulpius Traianus*) (53-117)—Roman Emperor (98-117).—39

*Tschech, Heinrich Ludwig* (1789-1844)—Prussian official, burgomaster of Storkow (Prussia) (1832-41); democrat; executed for an attempt on the life of Frederick William IV.—471

*Tudors*—royal family in England (1485-1603).—565

U

*Ulfila* (*Wulfila*) (c. 311-383)—Visigothic bishop, founder of the Gothic alphabet, translator of the Bible into Gothic.—229

V

*Vanderbilts*—family of big financial and industrial magnates in the USA.—401, 475

*Varus, Publius Quintilius* (c. 53 B.C.-A.D. 9)—Roman politician and general; proconsul of Syria (7 B.C.), general in Germany (6-9); killed in battle in the Teutoburg Forest during the uprising of the Germanic tribes.—24-30, 55, 223

*Veleda* (A.D. 1st cent.)—priestess and prophetess of the Germanic tribe of Bructeri, took an active part in the uprising (led by Civilis) of Germanic and Gaulish tribes against Rome (69-70).—239

*Velleius Paterculus, Marcus* (c. 19 B.C.-A.D. c. 31)—Roman historian; took part in military expeditions to Germany, Pannonia and Dalmatia.—21, 22, 24, 26, 29, 46

*Venedey, Jakob* (1805-1871)—German radical journalist; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing); liberal after the 1848-49 revolution.—313

*Vercingetorix* (c. 72-46 B.C.)—chief of the Gauls who headed their uprising against Rome (52-51 B.C.); was executed.—30

*Victoria* (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901).—567, 569, 572

*Villiers, Charles Pelham* (1802-1898)—English politician, lawyer, Free Trader, M.P.—571, 573

*Vincent, Henry* (1813-1878)—Chartist, leader of London Workers' Association.—567

*Vinicius, Marcus* (died c. 20)—Roman general, consul, took part in wars in Pannonia and Germany.—22

*Virchow, Rudolf* (1821-1902)—German naturalist, founder of cellular pathology; politician, a leader of the Party of Progress.—8

*Vogt, Karl* (1817-1895)—German naturalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five imperial regents (June 1849); emigrated in 1849; later received subsidies from Napoleon III; slandered proletarian revolutionaries.—369, 447, 448

*Voltaire, François Marie Arouet* (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—373, 396

W

*Wachsmuth, Ernst Wilhelm Gottlieb* (1784-1866)—German historian, professor in Leipzig.—172

*Wagner, Adolf Heinrich Gotthilf* (1835-1917)—German economist, representative of the so-called socio-legal trend in political economy; armchair socialist.—284

*Wagner, Richard* (1813-1883)—German composer.—147

*Waitz, Georg* (1813-1886)—German historian, professor in Göttingen.—50, 241

*Waldersee, Friedrich Gustav, Count* (1795-1864)—Prussian general and military writer, War Minister (1854-58).—473

*Walter, John* (1776-1847)—owner and publisher of *The Times*, M.P. (1832-37, 1841-42), moderate liberal.—573

*Walter, John* (1818-1894)—owner and publisher of *The Times*, M.P. (1847-65, 1868-85), liberal; son of the above.—574

*Watson, John Forbes* (1827-1892)—English physician, colonial official, Director of the London Museum of India (1858-79), wrote a number of works on India.—151

*Weerth, Ferdinand* (1774-1836)—German pastor; district inspector of church administration in the principality of Lippe; father of Georg Ludwig Weerth.—109

*Weerth, Georg Ludwig* (1822-1856)—German proletarian poet and journalist, member of the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49; friend of Marx and Engels.—108-11, 458

*Weitling, Wilhelm Christian* (1808-1871)—German tailor; one of the early leaders of the working-class movement in Germany; theorist of utopian egalitarian communism; emigrated to the USA in 1849.—279, 315-17, 319-20, 326, 328, 516

*Welcker, Carl Theodor* (1790-1869)—German lawyer, liberal writer, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848-49.—471

*Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of* (1769-1852)—British general and statesman, Tory; Prime Minister (1828-30) and Foreign Secretary (December 1834-April 1835).—490, 563

*Wermuth*—police superintendant in Hanover; witness at the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—312, 322

*Westermarck, Edward Alexander* (1862-1939)—Finnish ethnographer and sociologist.—144-47, 159-60

*Westminster*—see *Grosvenor, Richard*

*White, George* (d. 1868)—Chartist, contributed to *The Northern Star,* associate of Feargus O'Connor, later of Harney, agitated in Birmingham (1842), Leeds (1850) and in other cities; was arrested several times.—572

*Wiberg, Carl Fredrik* (1813-1881)—Swedish historian.—34, 36

*Wigand, Paul* (1786-1886)—German jurist and law historian.—85

*William I* (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, Prince Regent (1858-61), King of Prussia (1861-88); German Emperor (1871-88).—417, 466, 472, 491, 580

*William II* (1859-1941)—King of Prussia and German Emperor (1888-1918).—540, 541, 627

*William III* (1817-1890)—King of the Netherlands (1849-90).—485

*Williams, Zephaniah* (c. 1794-1874)—Chartist, an organiser of the miners' uprising in Wales in 1839; deported for life to Australia.—568, 569, 575, 577

*Willich, August* (1810-1878)—retired Prussian army officer, member of the Communist League, participated in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; a leader of a sectarian group which split away from the League in 1850; emigrated to the USA in 1853, fought in the Civil War on the side of the North.—128, 326, 328-29, 419, 596

*Wilson, Daniel* (b. 1840)—French politician, deputy to the National Assembly from 1871, moderate bourgeois republican.—331

*Wilson, James* (1805-1860)—Scottish economist and politician, Free Trader, founder and editor of *The Economist,* M.P. (1847-59).—572

*Wolff, Wilhelm* (*Lupus*) (1809-1864)—German teacher, proletarian revolutionary, leading figure in the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848 and 1849; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—110, 127, 128, 321, 323, 325, 341, 348-49

*Wolfram von Eschenbach* (c. 1170-c. 1220)—German poet.—178

*Worsaae, Jens Jacob Asmussen* (1821-1885)—Danish archaeologist and historian; Minister of Education (1874-75).—35

*Wright, Asher* (1803-1875)—a US missionary, lived among the Seneca Indians (1831-75); compiled a dictionary of their language.—158

Y

*Yaroslav the Wise* (978-1054)—Grand Prince of Kiev (1019-1054).—167

*Yor(c)k von Wartenburg, Hans David Ludwig, Count* (1759-1830)—Prussian general, field-marshal general (from 1821); participated in wars against Napoleonic France.—29

Z

*Zeuß, Johann Kaspar* (1806-1856)—German linguist, made a detailed comparative description of Celtic languages.—43-49, 54

*Zhukovsky, Yuli Galaktionovich* (1822-1907)—Russian economist and journalist, manager of the State Bank, wrote "Karl Marx and His Book on Capital", an article containing attacks on Marxism.—311

*Zurita, Alonso*—Spanish colonial officer in Central America in the mid-16th century.—168

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*Abraham* (Bib.)—patriarch of the Hebrews.—163

*Achilles* (Gr. myth.)—the bravest Greek warrior in the Trojan War, a hero of Homer's *Iliad.*—170, 211

*Agamemnon* (Gr. myth.)—legendary King of Argos, leader of the Greeks in the Trojan War, a hero of Homer's *Iliad.*—170, 208, 211

*Althaea* (Gr. myth.)—daughter of King Thestius, mother of Meleager.—238

*Anaitis*—Greek name of *Anahita*—Persian goddess of waters and fertility. Her cult spread from Persia to Asia Minor. She was worshipped mostly in Armenia.—160, 174

*Aphrodite* (Gr. myth.)—goddess of love and beauty.—174

*Argonauts* (Gr. myth.)—sailors who, in a ship called *Argos,* made a voyage to Colchis in quest of the Golden Fleece guarded by the dragon.—238

*Astarte*—Greek name of *Ashtoreth*—Phoenician goddess of fertility and love.—159

*Atta Troll*—bear, the title character in Heine's satirical poem.—109

*Boreadi* (Gr. myth.)—children of Boreas (god of the North Wind) and Oreithyia (Queen of Athens).—238

*Brunhild*—a character in the Old German epic and in the German medieval poem, *Nibelungenlied,* Queen of Iceland, wife of Gunther, King of the Burgundians.—185

*Cassandra* (Gr. myth.)—daughter of Priam, King of Troy, prophetess; at the conquest of Troy was carried off by Agamemnon as his slave and mistress; a character in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon.*—171

*Chloe*—an enamoured shepherdess in the novel *Daphnis and Chloe* by the Greek author Longus (2nd-3rd cent.).—184

*Christ (Jesus Christ)* (Bib.)—114

*Cinderella*—heroine of a popular fairytale, a despised and neglected but diligent and gentle girl.—315

*Cleopatra* (Gr. myth.)—daughter of Boreas, god of the North Wind.—238

*Daniel* (Bib.)—a 'great prophet', author of the *Book of Daniel* in the Old Testament.—115

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Friedrich Wilhelm III. *Edikt den erleichterten Besitz und den freien Gebrauch des Grund-Eigenthums, so wie die persönlichen Verhältnisse der Land-Bewohner betreffend. Vom 9ten Oktober 1807; Verordnung wegen Zusammenziehung bäuerlicher Grundstücke oder Verwandlung derselben in Vorwerksland, mit Bezug auf die §§ 6. und 7. des Edikts vom 9ten Oktober 1807., den erleichterten Besitz und den freien Gebrauch des Grund-Eigenthums betreffend. Für die Provinzen Ostpreußen, Litthauen und Westpreußen. Vom 14ten Februar 1808; Verordnung wegen Zusammenziehung bäuerlicher Grundstücke oder Verwandlung derselben in Vorwerksland, mit Bezug auf die §§ 6. und 7. des Edikts vom 9ten Oktober 1807., den erleichterten Besitz und den freien Gebrauch des Grundeigenthums betreffend. Für das Herzogthum Schlesien und die Grafschaft Glatz. Vom 27sten März 1809; Publikandum, betreffend die, durch das sub dato Memel den 9ten Oktober 1807., ergangene Edikt, erfolgte Auflösung der persönlichen Erbunterthänigkeit in der Provinz Schlesien und in der Grafschaft Glatz. Vom 8ten April 1809; Verordnung wegen Zusammenziehung bäuerlicher Grundstücke oder Verwandlung derselben in Vorwerksland, mit Bezug auf die §§ 6. und 7. des Edikts vom 9ten Oktober 1807., den erleichterten Besitz und den freien Gebrauch des Grundeigenthums betreffend. Für die Provinzen Kur- und Neumark und Pommern. Vom 9ten Januar 1810.* In: *Sammlung der für die Königlichen Preußischen Staaten erschienenen Gesetze und Verordnungen von 1806. bis zum 27sten Oktober 1810.* Berlin, 1822.—347

—*Edikt die Regulierung der gutsherrlichen und bäuerlichen Verhältnisse betreffend. Vom 14ten September 1811.* In: *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlich-Preußische Staaten.* Berlin, 1811.—347

—*Deklaration des Edikts vom 14ten September 1811, wegen Regulirung der gutsherrlichen und bäuerlichen Verhältnisse. Vom 29sten Mai 1816.* In: *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preußischen Staaten.* Berlin, 1816,—346

—*Ordnung wegen Ablösung der Dienste, Natural- und Selbstleistungen von Grundstücken, welche eigenthümlich, zu Erbzins- oder Erbpachtsrecht, besessen werden. Vom 7ten*

*Juni, 1821.* In: *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preußischen Staaten.* Berlin, 1821.—347

Friedrich Wilhelm IV. *Gesetz, betreffend die Ablösung der Dienste in denjenigen Theilen der Provinz Sachsen, in welchen die Ablösungsordnung vom 7. Juni 1821 gilt. Vom 18. Juli 1845; Gesetz, betreffend die Ablösung der Dienste in der Provinz Schlesien. Vom 31. Oktober 1845.* In: *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preußischen Staaten.* Berlin, 1845.—348

— *Gesetz, betreffend die Sistirung der Verhandlungen über die Regulirung der gutsherrlichen und bäuerlichen Verhältnisse und über die Ablösung der Dienste, Natural- und Geldabgaben, sowie der über diese Gegenstände anhängigen Prozesse. Vom 9. Oktober 1848; Verordnung, betreffend die interimistische Regulirung der gutsherrlich-bäuerlichen Verhältnisse in der Provinz Schlesien. Vom 20. Dezember 1848.* In: *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preußischen Staaten.* Berlin, 1848.—346

— *Gesetz, betreffend die Ablösung der Reallasten und die Regulirung der gutsherrlichen und bäuerlichen Verhältnisse. Vom 2. März 1850.* In: *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preußischen Staaten.* Berlin, 1850.—349

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*Protocole de Varsovie, signé le 5 juin 1851,* entre la Russie et le Danemark, relatif à la succession danoise.—479

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*Traité conclu à Berlin, le 5 août 1796 entre la République Française et la Prusse, pour l'établissement de la ligne de démarcation destinée à assurer la neutralité du nord de l'Allemagne.*—469

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*The Times,* No. 31352, January 24, 1885: *Extradition by Russia and Prussia.*—292

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*L'Ami du Peuple. Journal politique et impartial*—a newspaper published by a Jacobin leader Jean Paul Marat from September 12, 1789 to July 14, 1793; appeared under this title from September 16, 1789 to September 21, 1792, and then as *Publiciste de la République française.*—126

*Das Ausland*—a magazine on geography, ethnography and natural science published from 1828 to 1893, first daily and from 1853 on weekly (initially in Munich and from 1873 in Stuttgart).—168

*Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*—a newspaper founded by the German political refugees in Brussels and published from January 1847 to February 1848. From September 1847 Marx and Engels regularly contributed to it and under their influence it became an organ of revolutionary communist propaganda.—319

*Deutsche-Jahrbücher*—a Young Hegelian literary and philosophical journal *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst* published in Leipzig from July 1841 under the editorship of Arnold Ruge. In January 1843 it was closed down and prohibited throughout Germany.—363

*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*—a German-language yearly published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge; only the first issue, a double one, appeared in February 1844. It carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—318

*Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*—a daily published in Frankfurt am Main from 1856 (under this title from 1866) to 1943; newspaper of the petty-bourgeois democratic party of Southwestern Germany—the German People's Party—in the 1880s.—307

*Le Globe, Journal Politique, Philosophique et Littéraire*—a daily published in Paris from 1824 to 1832; organ of the Saint-Simon school from January 18, 1831.—606

*Justice*—a weekly of the Social-Democratic Federation published in London from January 1884 to December 1933; appeared under this title in 1884-1925 and then as *Social-Democrat Incorporating Justice.*—537

*Kölnische Zeitung*—a German daily published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; it took an anti-revolutionary stand and attacked the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49; it expressed the interests of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie in the 1850s.—128, 335, 489

*Колоколъ* (*The Bell*)—a revolutionary-democratic newspaper; it was published by Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Ogaryev from 1857 to 1867 in Russian and in 1868-69 in French (*La Cloche*) with Russian supplements; it was published in London until 1865, then in Geneva.—516

*Kreuz-Zeitung*—see *Neue Preußische Zeitung*

*The Labour Elector*—a weekly of the socialist trend published in London from June 1888 to July 1894.—537

*The Leeds Mercury*—an English weekly (until 1861) founded in Leeds in 1717; in the 1840s became the organ of the Radicals.—571

*The Manchester Guardian*—a daily founded in 1821; a newspaper of the Free Traders and, from the mid-19th century, of the Liberal Party.—484

*Missouri Republican*—a daily of the US Democratic Party; published in St. Louis under this title from 1822 to 1888, and as *St. Louis Republic* until 1919.—408

*Neue Preußische Zeitung*—a conservative daily published from June 1848 to 1939; newspaper of the Prussian Junkers and Court circles, also known as the *Kreuz-Zeitung* because the heading contained a cross bearing the device: "Forward with God for King and Fatherland!"—124, 307

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a daily newspaper of the revolutionary proletarian wing of the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; it was published in Cologne under Marx's editorship from June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849, with an interval between September 27 and October 12, 1848. Engels was among its editors.—109-11, 120, 123, 128, 277, 306, 325, 349, 595

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*—a theoretical journal of the Communist League published by Marx and Engels from December 1849 to November 1850.—328

*Die Neue Zeit*—a theoretical journal of the German Social-Democrats; published monthly in Stuttgart from 1883 to October 1890, and then weekly till the autumn of 1923. Engels contributed to it from 1885 to 1895.—520

*New Yorker Volkszeitung*—a German-language socialist newspaper, published from 1878 to 1932.—408, 617, 626

*The Northern Star*—a weekly, central organ of the Chartists; published from 1837 to 1852; first in Leeds, then in London. Its founder and editor was Feargus O'Connor, George Harney being one of its co-editors. Engels contributed to the paper from 1843 to 1850.—319

*The Pall Mall Gazette*—a conservative daily which appeared in London from 1865 to 1921.—292

*The Red Republican*—a Chartist weekly published by George Julian Harney in London from June to November 1850; it carried the first English translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Marx and Engels.—512

*La Réforme*—a daily newspaper of democratic republicans and petty-bourgeois socialists published in Paris from 1843 to 1850.—319

*Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*—a daily newspaper founded on January 1, 1842, as the organ of the Rhenish bourgeois opposition. It was published in Cologne till March 31, 1843. From October 15, 1842 to March 17, 1843, it was edited by Marx and assumed a strongly pronounced revolutionary-democratic complexion, which led to its suppression. Engels was one of its contributors.—363

*Science*—an official press organ of the American Association for Advancement of Science published in New York from 1883.—397

*Severny Vestnik (Northern Herald)*—a literary, scientific and political monthly of a liberal Narodnik trend published in St. Petersburg from 1885 to 1898.—311

*Der Social-Demokrat*—an organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers. It was published under this title in Berlin from December 15, 1864 to 1871; in 1864-65 it was edited by Johann Baptist von Schweitzer.—278

*El Socialista*—a weekly, central organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain published in Madrid from 1885.—543

*Le Socialiste*—a French-language weekly published in New York from October 1871 to May 1873; a newspaper of the French sections of the First International in the USA from December 1871 to October 1872.
The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was published abridged in it in January-February 1872.—516

*Le Socialiste*—a French weekly founded by Jules Guesde in Paris in 1885; up to 1902—press organ of the Workers' Party; from 1902 to 1905—of the Socialist Party of France; from 1905 to 1915—of the French Socialist Party, Engels contributed to it in the 1880s-90s.—333

*Der Sozialdemokrat*—a weekly central organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany published during the Anti-Socialist Law in Zurich from September 1879 to September 1888 and in London from October 1888 to September 27, 1890.—111, 449, 472, 623-24

*The Star*—a daily of the Liberal Party published in London between 1888 and 1909.—542

*Time*—a socialist monthly published in London from 1879 to 1891.—434

*To-day*—a socialist monthly published in London from April 1883 to June 1889; was edited by Henry Mayers Hyndman from July 1884 to 1886.—335, 589

*Der Volksstaat*—central organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party published in Leipzig from October 2, 1869 to September 29, 1876, first twice and from 1873, three times a week.—424-25, 449

*Der Volks-Tribun. Organ des Jungen Amerika*—a weekly founded by German "true socialists" in New York; published from January 5 to December 31, 1846.—319

*Der Vorbote*—a monthly of the German sections of the International in Switzerland, published in Geneva from 1866 to 1871 under the editorship of Johann Philipp Becker; on the whole, upheld the line pursued by Marx and the General Council, regularly published documents of the International and information about its activity in various countries.—422

*Vorwärts! Pariser Deutsche Zeitschrift*—a German-language newspaper published in Paris from January to December 1844 twice a week. Marx and Engels contributed to it.—315

*Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*—was published in New York in 1870-76 by the bourgeois feminists Victoria Woodhull and Tenessee Claflin; published *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* (abridged) on December 30, 1871.—516

*Die Zukunft*—a democratic newspaper of the People's Party, published in 1867 in Königsberg, and from 1868 to 1871 in Berlin, printed Marx's preface to Volume I of *Capital* and Engels' review of this volume.—449

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*mune of 1871*; *Possibilist Paris Congress* (1889); *Socialist Labor Party of North America* (from 1876); *Société des saisons* (Paris, 1837); *United Labor Party* (USA); *Workers' Party of France*
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# GLOSSARY OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES[a]

| | |
|---|---|
| Abyssinia | Ethiopia |
| Adrianople | Edirne |
| Aix | Aix-en-Provence |
| Aliso | Alise-Sainte-Reine |
| Bardengau | Lüneburger Heide |
| Bardenwik | Bardowick |
| Barmen | Wuppertal |
| Bečva | Bečzwa |
| Bohemian Forest | Šumava, Český Les |
| Branibor | Brandenburg |
| Breslau | Wrocław |
| Britlinga | Brietlingen |
| Bromberg | Bydgoszcz |
| Castrop | Castrop-Rauxel |
| Constantinople | Istanbul |
| Crastlingi | Krassum |
| Crettenach | Crettnach |
| Cyrene | Cyrenaica |
| Danzig | Gdańsk |
| Drontheim | Trondheim |
| Edingahûsun | Edemissen |
| Ems | Bad Ems |
| Etsch | Adige |
| Fiume | Rijeka (Rieka) |
| Frisches Haft | Zalew Wiślany |
| Glogau | Glogów (Głogów) |
| Gravelingen | Gravelines |
| Greifswalde | Greifswald |
| Guyana | Guiana |
| Havana | Habana |
| Hal | Halle |
| Haspelscheid | Haspelscheidt |
| Homburg | Bad Homburg vor der Höhe |
| Horsadal | Roßtal |
| Jaxartes | Syr Darya |
| Karninschesberg | Kaninchenberg |
| Kerprich | Kerprich-Hemmersdorf |
| Königgrätz | Hradec Králové |
| Lestines | Estinnes du Mont |

[a] This glossary includes geographical names occurring in Engels' articles in the form customary in the press of the time but differing from the national names or from those given in modern maps. The left column gives geographical names as used in the original; the right column gives corresponding names as used on modern maps and in modern literature.—*Ed.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Lower Silesia | Dolny Śląsk |
| Lützelstein | La Petite-Pierre |
| March | Morava |
| Massel | Masłow |
| Mederiacum | Brück |
| Memel | Neman |
| Merzig | Messancy |
| Montabaurer Höhe | Montabaurer Wald |
| Mülhausen | Mulhouse |
| Neufahrwasser | Nowy Port |
| Nimwegen | Nijmegen |
| Oberbarmen | Wuppertal |
| Oesel | Saaremaa |
| Ölandsund | Kalmar Sound (Kalmarsund) |
| Olmütz | Olomouc |
| Otlinga | Ötlingen |
| Oxus | Amu Darya |
| Pillau | Baltiisk |
| Pomerania | Pomorze |
| Reekheim | Reckheim |
| Riesengebirge | Karkonosze |
| Saarburg | Sarrebourg |
| St. Petersburg | Leningrad |
| Silesia | Śląsk, Slezsko |
| Sinkfal | De Honte or Westerschelde |
| Soonwald | Soon Wald |
| Stedieraburg | Steterburg |
| Taschberg Moor | Thorsbjerger Moor |
| Tilsit | Sovetsk |
| Thebes | Thivai (Thevai) |
| Trebnitz | Trzebnica |
| Troy | Ilium |
| Upper Silesia | Górny Śląsk |
| Widau | Wied Au |

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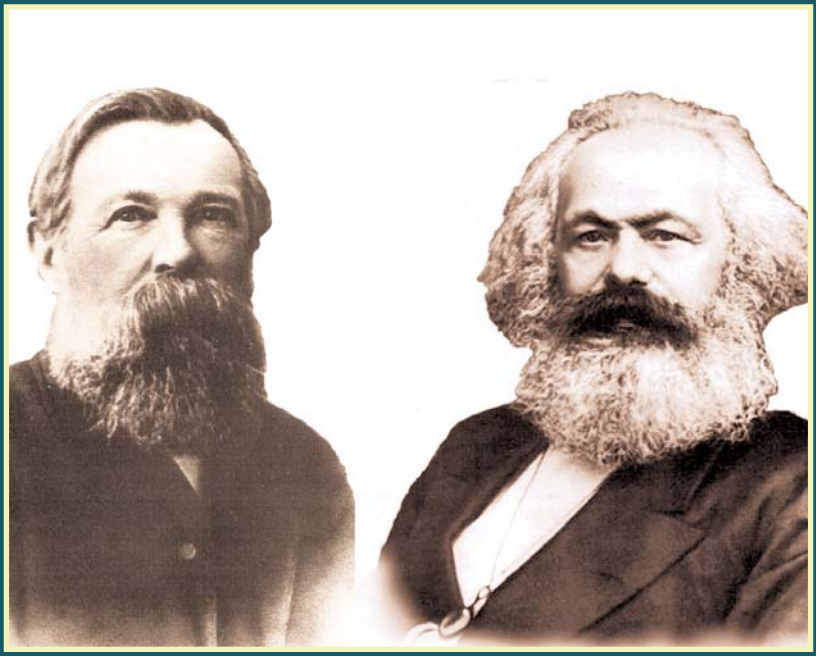

## VOLUME 27

Engels 1890-95

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 27

Engels 1890-95

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JOHN PEET: Works 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 12, 14, 17, 25, 29, 32, 40, 41, 46, 47, 48, 52, 53, 54, 57, 58, 59, 64, 71, 78, 79, 86, 89, 90, 92

BARRIE SELMAN: Works 9, 11, 13, 15, 18, 21, 27, 28, 33, 37, 49, 51, 56, 60, 61, 65, 67, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 84, 88, Appendices: 3, 6

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STEPAN APRESYAN: Works 63, 66

# Preface

Volume 27 of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels contains the writings of Frederick Engels from the beginning of 1890 up to his death in 1895, thus completing the part of this edition which includes the works of Marx and Engels other than those on economics, which comprise volumes 28 to 37.

The works in this volume reflect Engels' wide range of activities in the final years of his life. These include editing the manuscripts of Volume Three of *Capital* for publication, helping socialist parties in working out theses and tactics, day-to-day contacts with representatives of various national working-class movements and attempting to consolidate the revolutionary forces of the international proletariat. Engels also paid particular attention to foreign policy questions against the background of a growing threat of war in Europe.

In this volume the reader will find a number of items which, although brief, are of major theoretical importance. They vary greatly in form, including articles for journals and newspapers, prefaces and introductions to new editions of works by Marx and by Engels himself, messages of greetings to socialist parties and workers' organisations, various notes, and so on.

The contents of this volume are closely connected with the volumes containing Engels' correspondence for 1890-1895 (vols 48, 49 and 50). Many of the problems merely mentioned in passing here are examined in greater detail in his letters. In his writings and correspondence of this period Engels sums up, as it were, his reflections on the historical experience of the struggle for emancipation of the proletariat over the preceding decades, and at the same time considers new trends in economics and

politics, trying to assess the effect of these changes on the prospect of the international revolutionary process.

Throughout the whole volume runs the idea that the capitalist mode of production has proved to be stabler than it appeared before, and capable of developing further and of extending its spheres of influence. In this connection Engels emphasises the need for socialist parties to make use of bourgeois-democratic institutions to win over the mass of the working class and other strata of the working people whilst at the same time continuing to struggle for the ultimate goal, the establishment of a new social order.

Engels examines all the major problems characteristic of this historical period both from the viewpoint of the most pressing tasks and of the more remote prospects of the working-class struggle. He devotes his attention to changes in the political life of many European states, the impressive achievements of the working-class movement (the formation and consolidation of the socialist parties and the creation of a new international proletarian alliance, the Second International), and the growth of this movement into a significant political force. Alongside the recognition of Marxism as the theoretical basis for socialist parties, he also perceives a certain revival of opportunism and anarchism, and a tendency to vulgarise and distort Marx's teaching. Engels notes the increasingly uneven development of capitalism and the aggravation of contradictions between the leading capitalist countries, fraught with the danger of war in Europe.

Engels' research work was always concrete. His theoretical writings were inseparable from his practical participation in the working-class struggle. This is equally true of the final period of his life. Almost all the works published in this volume were written either in response to specific events in the working-class and socialist movement or in connection with the need to develop and explain highly important questions of Marxist theory.

A major place in this activity was occupied by questions concerning Marx's economic teaching. Engels considered it his prime duty to complete the work on and disseminate Marx's *Capital*. The end of 1894 saw the publication of Volume Three. Engels had worked on the manuscripts for about ten years. He gave a brief outline of the contents and a description of its connection with the earlier volumes in "The Third Volume of

Karl Marx's *Capital*" and "On the Contents of the Third Volume of *Capital*", published here. In the Preface to Volume Three (see present edition, Vol. 37) Engels described the difficulties he had encountered in his work, noting that the delay in publication was due to pressing obligations to the international workers' movement. The fourth German edition of Volume One of *Capital* came out in 1890 and the second edition of Volume Two in 1893, both under his editorship. In the preface to the fourth German edition of Volume One (see present edition, Vol. 35) Engels showed yet again the invalidity of attempts by certain bourgeois economists to accuse Marx of misquoting and thereby discredit him as a scholar. (See also *In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx* which is also devoted to this question.)

The new edition, prepared by Engels, of Marx's popular work *Wage Labour and Capital* (1891) also served to propagate Marx's economic teaching. Engels made some alterations and additions to the text of this work (written in 1849) in keeping with Marx's subsequent development of his economic teaching. The Introduction to this edition contains a popular exposition of the principles of Marxist political economy, above all, of the mechanism of capitalist exploitation.

Up to his very last days Engels sought to keep abreast of the processes taking place in capitalist economy. He concentrated on the changes in the forms of organisation of capitalist production which had been detected in embryo by Marx and himself back in the 1870s, and which acquired a more distinct character in the last decade of the 19th century. In his work "A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891" and in several other articles he noted the rapidly growing significance of such forms of production and capital concentration as joint-stock companies, cartels and trusts, "which dominate and monopolise whole branches of industry" (p. 224) and are an "organised monopoly" (p. 330). Engels saw this phenomenon, and also the increasing role played by stock-exchange operations and the export of capital, as well as the growing unevenness in the development of different countries, as the main tendencies determining the future development of the capitalist mode of production, which later, at the turn of the century, led to the entry of capitalism into a qualitatively new stage, imperialism. These ideas were worked out in greater detail by Engels in his Supplementary Notes to Volume Three of *Capital,* "The Stock Exchange" (present edition, Vol. 37), in some footnotes to the text of that volume and additions to the fourth German edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* published in

1891 (present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 318 and 323), and also in the additions to the text of *Anti-Dühring* made in *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 639-40 and 642).

The tendency for free competitive capitalism to grow into monopoly capitalism and the increasing role of the bourgeois state in the management of the economy were regarded by Engels, on the one hand, as evidence of the relative stability of capitalism—its ability to create new forms of the organisation of production more in keeping with the growing productive forces and—on the other, as a factor contributing to the aggravation of contradictions between the major capitalist states.

An important part of Engels' theoretical work was the formulation of tactics for socialist parties with due regard for changes that had occurred in the previous twenty years in the economic and political life of European states, particularly in the working-class movement itself. A considerable portion of this volume is taken up by works which analyse the situation and prospects of the working-class struggle and determine the ways and means of attaining immediate and ultimate aims in the context of the specific national characteristics of each country. Engels wrote many of them in the form of prefaces and introductions to new editions of Marx's and his own works. For these new editions he chose such works as elucidated key problems of the struggle of the previous few decades and were therefore particularly relevant to socialist parties formed during the preceding ten to fifteen years; these works were to help them master the Marxist method of analysing current events and find the most effective means for practical struggle. The new publications of such works as *The Civil War in France* and *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* by Marx, their joint work *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* and others enabled him in the introductions and prefaces not only to express his own ideas on the forms and prospects of the struggle for emancipation, but also to introduce readers to the Marxist method of studying contemporary political and tactical problems.

Another group of works consists of articles written in connection with specific events in the working-class movement or in the political life of individual countries. These writings proved to be of great interest for the international socialist movement as a whole.

Changes in the political climate were felt most of all in Germany. This was directly linked with the successes of the German Social Democrats, the strongest contingent of the international socialist working-class movement at that time. The present volume opens with two articles dealing with the major victory of the German socialists in the elections to the Reichstag on February 20, 1890—"The Elections of 1890 in Germany" and "What Now?"—in which Engels highly assesses this event which meant the failure of attempts by the reactionary bourgeois-Junker governmental bloc to put down the revolutionary vanguard of the German working class. The fate of the Anti-Socialist Law was thus predetermined. In the autumn of the same year it was repealed. Its initiator and the main organiser of the persecution of the socialists, Bismarck, had retired even before that, shortly after the elections. The collapse of the Bismarck regime was important not only for the German working class. It showed that the policy of outright suppression of the socialist working-class movement had outlived itself. It became clear that the bourgeoisie would now increasingly determine its policy with a view to combining its political hegemony with the legalisation of the working-class movement. This tendency manifested itself in other West European countries as well. Socialist parties were faced with the need to interpret the qualitative changes in political life and work out tactics suited to the new situation. Engels called on them to do this, stressing that in the present circumstances legal means of struggle could be far more effective than attempts to force events without any chance of success. "The attempt must be made," wrote Engels in his "Farewell Letter to the Readers of the *Sozialdemokrat*", "to get along with legal methods of struggle for the time being. Not only we are doing this, it is being done by all workers' parties in all countries where the workers have a certain measure of legal freedom of action, and this for the simple reason that it is the most productive method for them" (this volume, p. 78).

In the article "Socialism in Germany", which analyses the results of the parliamentary elections in that country over the preceding twenty years, he again stresses that legality "is working so well for us that we would be mad to spurn it as long as the situation lasts" (p. 241). Engels sets out these conclusions in most detail in his final work "Introduction to Karl Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (1895)". He again reminds readers that the socialists now have to wage their struggle in a totally new situation, a time of relatively peaceful development, when they can

successfully make use of legal means of working in the masses and in the interests of the masses in most capitalist states. Engels regarded it as the most important international achievement of the German Social Democrats that they had managed, even under the Anti-Socialist Law, to become a truly mass party and thus to prove the correctness of their chosen tactics by combining legal and illegal means without resorting to violence. "Everywhere the German example of utilising the suffrage, of winning all posts accessible to us, has been imitated" (p. 520).

Historical experience, particularly that of the Paris Commune, has shown that the victory of the socialist revolution, in whatever form, is impossible without the conscious participation of the broad masses. Consequently Engels insisted on the need to use all possible means to win over the masses: "Where it is a question of a complete transformation of the social organisation, the masses themselves must also be in on it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what they are fighting for,body and soul" (ibid.). Here Engels was referring not only to the workers, but to other strata of working people, above all, the peasantry. "...Even in France," he wrote further on, "the Socialists are realising more and more that no lasting victory is possible for them unless they first win over the great mass of the people, i.e. the peasants in this instance" (pp. 520-21).

However, in this work and others published in this volume, Engels at the same time warns against relying exclusively on legal means of struggle and stresses constantly that socialist parties should be ready to use other tactics, including violent ones, if the ruling classes again resort to aggressive methods of suppressing the workers' movement and if the course of historical development leads to a revolutionary crisis.

At the same time Engels saw the complexities and difficulties facing socialist parties in the new historical conditions. This applied to the German Social Democrats in particular. The transition to new forms of struggle had produced phenomena in their ranks which aroused Engels' misgivings. In the articles "Reply to the Editors of the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*" and "Reply to Mr. Paul Ernst", both published in this volume, and others, Engels condemned actions by the oppositional group of the "Young" at the beginning of the 1890s, which made demagogic use of the opportunist mistakes of individual party leaders and accused all its leadership of renouncing revolutionary aims. The oppositional group also sought to force upon the party "tactics that are utterly insane" (p. 85) and adventuristic and make it

reduce parliamentary activity, etc., to a minimum. Such tactics, Engels shows, would inevitably lead to a break with the masses and might provoke the authorities to renew persecutions; in short, they "would be sufficient to bury the strongest party of millions" (p. 70). Engels' speeches and also his numerous letters to comrades-in-arms (see present edition, Vol. 48) rendered important assistance to the party leaders in their struggle against the group of the "Young", which ceased to exist shortly afterwards.

Engels saw another, even greater, danger in the opportunist moods of a number of active party members, which were increasingly reflecting reformist trends. His exposure of such views was of special importance in connection with the drafting in 1891 of a new programme for the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. Precisely because of this Engels considered it expedient to publish Marx's manuscript *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (present edition, Vol. 24) hitherto known only to a few party leaders. In his Preface to the publication Engels wrote: "I think I would be guilty of suppression if I any longer withheld from publicity this important—perhaps the most important—document relevant to this discussion" (this volume, p. 92). It focussed the attention of the German Social Democrats on the importance of revolutionary theory for the day-to-day practice of the working-class movement to counterbalance the pragmatism characteristic of the opportunists, in particular, the followers of Lassalle. It dealt a heavy blow to the cult of Ferdinand Lassalle, still widespread at that time among German Social Democrats. This publication displeased some party leaders at first, but it was widely appreciated in party circles. The appearance of this work by Marx largely made it possible to overcome Lassallean influence in the new party programme.

"A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891", written in the form of comments on the draft and not then intended for publication is a most important document reflecting Engels' role in the victory of Marxist programmatic and tactical principles in German Social Democracy. Stressing that the draft "differs very favourably from the former programme" and "is, on the whole, based on present-day science" (p. 219), Engels made a number of comments whose theoretical significance goes far beyond concrete criticism of the draft's individual theses. He noted, in particular, the erroneous nature of the categorical assertion that the poverty of the workers was growing: "This is

incorrect when put in such a categorical way. The organisation of the workers and their constantly growing resistance will possibly check the *increase of misery* to a certain extent. However, what *certainly* does increase is the *insecurity of existence*" (p. 223).

In this work Engels gave a precise and apt definition of the nature of opportunism, directed straight at the representatives of the right wing of the German Social Democrats: "This forgetting of the great, the principal considerations for the momentary interests of the day, this struggling and striving for the success of the moment regardless of later consequences, this sacrifice of the future of the movement for its present ... is and remains opportunism" (p. 227).

Most of Engels' criticisms of the draft programme referred to the section on political demands. He stressed the profound inner connection of the struggle for the socialist transformation of society with the struggle for democratic rights. In the specific conditions of Germany, he noted, the prime task of the proletariat was to do away with the "semi-absolutist, and moreover indescribably confused political order" (p. 226) and to set up a democratic republic, that vital prerequisite for the proletariat to gain political power. Engels did not exclude the possibility that, in countries with established democratic traditions where "the representatives of the people concentrate all power in their hands" (ibid.), this process might take place peacefully.

Although not all Engels' suggestions were fully accepted, he was satisfied with the text of the programme adopted at the Erfurt Congress of the party in October 1891. On the whole this programme was of a Marxist nature and served for many years as a model for the socialists of other countries.

Engels examined the problems of the state and also speculated about the society of the future in his "Introduction to Karl Marx's *The Civil War in France*". Bearing in mind the experience of the two decades following the Paris Commune, he gave a profound analysis of the Commune's historical significance and lessons. He noted in particular its efforts to "safeguard itself against its own deputies and officials" and to create guarantees against the "transformation of the state and the organs of the state from servants of society into masters of society" (pp. 189, 190) by ensuring that all officials were elected and could be dismissed at any time on a decision of the voters and that all material privileges

for them were abolished. "In this way," he believed, "an effective barrier to place-hunting and careerism" would be set up (p. 190).

Concerning the long-term prospects for the state after the establishment of socialist social relations, Engels expressed the conviction that it would continue to exist "until such time as a generation reared in new, free social conditions is able to throw the entire lumber of the state on the scrap heap" (ibid.). He repeated this idea in the "Preface to the Pamphlet *Internationales aus dem 'Volksstaat' (1871-75)*", adding that the party's ultimate aim was "to surpass the entire State, and thus democracy too" (p. 417).

Engels' description of the class essence of the state was aimed directly at Social-Democratic philistines who feel "a superstitious reverence for the state" (p. 190). One of Engels' last works, "The Peasant Question in France and Germany", was also directed against opportunist elements in international Social Democracy.

In this work Engels developed further the principles of the proletarian party's agrarian programme and its tactics in relation to the peasantry. The work was prompted by two events. First, by the adoption, by the congress of the French Workers' Party in September 1894, of an agrarian programme in which one of the party's tasks was to retain small peasant holdings under capitalism and defend the interests of all peasants, including those who exploited hired labour, which was in direct contradiction to the ultimate aims of the socialists. Second, by an address at the congress of the German Social Democrats by the leader of their Bavarian organisation Georg Vollmar, who set forth similar aims and denied the need for a differentiated approach to the various categories of peasants. These facts testified to a lack of clarity on this question among socialists, which is what led Engels to write this article.

It is Engels who explained that under capitalism the peasantry should not be regarded as a single whole, because it is in the process of differentiation and the interests of its different categories are not the same. Therefore the tactics of socialist parties in respect of the big, middle and small peasantry should be different. Engels explained the importance of an alliance of the proletariat with the small peasantry both for the historical fate of the peasants themselves and for the success of the socialist transformation of society. Socialist parties, he wrote, should explain to the small peasantry the dangers which the development of capitalism posed for them, the coincidence of their vital interests with the interests of the working class, and what they

stood to gain from the abolition of capitalism. Engels believed that after the victory of the socialist revolution the main path of agricultural development would lie in the cooperation of peasant farms, in turning small-scale property "into co-operative property operated co-operatively" (p. 497). He particularly emphasised that the cooperative organisation of peasant farms should proceed on a strictly voluntary basis and warned against being over-hasty here.

Concerning future society, Engels frequently stressed that one could speak only about certain main features, basic laws, which could be determined proceeding from known facts and trends of development, but not about details, for the discussion of which life had not yet provided material. "We are *evolutionaries,* we have no intention of dictating definitive laws to mankind. Prejudices instead of detailed organisation of the society of the future?" Engels asked the correspondent of the French newspaper *Le Figaro,* who interviewed him in May 1893. "You will find no trace of that amongst us. We shall be satisfied when we have placed the means of production in the hands of the community" (p. 547).

The entire contents of this volume bear eloquent testimony to the outstanding role which Engels continued to play even in the final years of his life in the international working-class socialist movement. As Engels himself wrote in his Preface to Volume Three of *Capital* "the work as go-betweens for the national movements of Socialists and workers in the various countries" (present edition, Vol. 37) shifted entirely to his shoulders after the death of Marx. Engels invariably combined this activity with his theoretical studies, even if this affected their progress. "But if a man has been active in the movement for more than fifty years, as I have been," he continued, "he regards the work connected with it as a bounden duty that brooks no delay" (ibid.). The more the movement itself grew, socialist parties were formed, and new socialist newspapers and journals appeared, the wider and stronger Engels' international contacts became and the greater was his authority as a teacher and adviser of socialists the world over. He contributed directly to the socialist press of Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Britain and other countries, and to the Russian émigré press. The numerous documents published in this volume, such as greetings to various national contingents of the working-class movement, letters to the press, speeches, etc., show the extent of his influence in the international working-class movement,

his tireless struggle to consolidate Marxism as the ideological basis of the proletariat's struggle.

To the very end of his days Engels maintained regular contact with the socialists of almost all the European countries and the United States, giving them valuable assistance in solving theoretical and tactical problems. The role he played in the international socialist movement may further be seen from the fact that correspondents of the bourgeois press frequently turned to him, as can be seen from his interviews in the Appendices to this volume.

Some of the works in the volume reflect Engels' actual participation in the British working-class movement of the time, and the assistance he gave to those who were trying to set up a mass proletarian party in Britain. Engels hoped that such a party would "put an early end to the seesaw game of the two old parties which have been succeeding each other in power and thereby perpetuating bourgeois rule" (this volume, p. 323). His hopes that the Independent Labour Party set up in 1893 would play such a role did not materialise.

Engels continued to render the utmost assistance to his followers in the French socialist movement. He welcomed the successes of the socialist movement in Austria-Hungary and noted with satisfaction the first perceptible advances of the socialist cause in the Slav countries ("To the Editorial Board of the Bulgarian Magazine *Sotsial-Demokrat*", "For the Czech Comrades on Their May Day Celebration" and others). In his "Preface to the Polish Edition (1892) of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*" Engels noted the growing role of the young Polish proletariat in the struggle for the independence and national revival of Poland.

In the first half of the 1890s Engels devoted considerable attention to the Second International formed in 1889. He helped with the preparatory work for its initial congresses, striving to ensure that the influence of Marx's adherents predominated and struggling to preserve the unity of the international working-class movement and bring the mass workers' organisations, particularly the British trade unions, into this new international alliance (see, for example, pp. 74-75). "We must permit discussion in order not to become a sect," Engels wrote, "but the common standpoint must be retained" (p. 405). Addressing the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Zurich in 1893, Engels noted with satisfaction that the new International, created on the basis of uniting the independent socialist parties, was much stronger than the former (pp. 404-05).

Engels attached great importance to the May Day celebrations, first held in 1890 following a decision of the Paris Congress of the Second International under the slogan of the struggle for an eight-hour working day. He called this event "the first international *action* of the militant working class" (p. 61). Engels himself took part in May Day meetings in London and sent May Day greetings to the workers of various countries. He sought to turn this celebration into a traditional display of the solidarity of the international proletariat, regarding it as an important means of the international education of the working masses and of winning them over to socialism.

Unity among the revolutionary forces of international socialism was of great importance in promoting the vital interests of the working class, and also in fighting militarism and the threat of war in Europe. Several works in the volume, such as *The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom,* "Socialism in Germany" and *Can Europe Disarm?*, deal with problems of international relations, providing an analysis of the causes behind the aggravation of contradictions between the leading capitalist countries and setting out the tasks of socialists in the struggle against the threat of war.

Referring to the military-political blocs which were formed at that time, the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy, on the one hand, and the Franco-Russian Alliance, which was finally set up at the beginning of the 1890s, on the other, Engels wrote: "Both camps are preparing for a decisive battle, for a war, such as the world has not yet seen, in which 10 to 15 million armed combatants will stand face to face" (p. 46). He attached special importance to the role played by the ruling circles of the Russian Empire and to its diplomatic activities, and believed that tsarist autocracy, notwithstanding considerable changes in the international alignment of forces beginning from the 1870s, remained the main bulwark of European reaction.

The question of the ways and future destiny of the revolutionary movement in Russia was, thus, closely connected with the future of the international working-class movement. With his article *The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom,* written specially for the first Russian Marxist journal *Sotsial-demokrat* published in Geneva, Engels wanted to attract the attention of Russian socialists and the socialist parties of other countries to the international significance of the imminent popular revolution in Russia.

Engels closely followed the socio-economic development of Russia and the mounting signs of the imminent revolutionary

crisis there on account of the role tsarist Russia played in world politics as the "last stronghold" of European reaction. He finally concluded that "the transformation of the country into a capitalist industrial nation, the proletarianisation of a large proportion of the peasantry and the decay of the old communistic commune" was proceeding swiftly (p. 433). The collapse of tsarist autocracy, Engels argued, would have a decisive impact on the political climate in Europe, undermine the positions of reactionary regimes and, perhaps, also lead to their downfall. "It [a Russian revolution]," wrote Engels in his "Afterword (1894) to 'On Social Relations in Russia'", "will also give the labour movement of the West fresh impetus and create new, better conditions in which to carry on the struggle, thus hastening the victory of the modern industrial proletariat" (ibid).

In the face of the growing threat of a war of unprecedented proportions, which would inflict great losses primarily on the working masses of the belligerent countries, Engels invariably stressed that the international working class had a vital interest in preserving peace. He did his utmost to support all the actions of socialists aimed against militarism and the threat of war. In connection with the forthcoming discussion in the German Reichstag of a new draft military law Engels published a series of articles entitled *Can Europe Disarm?*, which were intended to assist the actions of Social-Democratic deputies on this question. Engels put forward a well-argued programme for the gradual reduction of arms and the turning of standing armies "into a militia based on the universal arming of the people" (p. 371). While Engels was under no illusions as to the plan being accepted by the European powers, he believed that his proposals would provide Social Democrats with a new weapon for exposing the anti-popular militaristic policy of the ruling circles and serve to extend their influence.

A number of theoretical works in this volume develop the materialist interpretation of history and its application to concrete historical research. In the Introduction to the English edition (1892) of his work *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific,* an introduction of theoretical importance in its own right, Engels used the term "historical materialism" for the first time and gave a concise, apt description of this vital part of Marxism. He defined it as a view "of the course of history which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all important historic events in the

economic development of society, in the changes in the modes of production and exchange, in the consequent division of society into distinct classes, and in the struggles of these classes against one another" (p. 289). Demonstrating the invalidity of attempts by agnostics to prove that the world is unknowable, Engels develops and substantiates the thesis that human practice is the criterion of truth. The Introduction contains a vivid account of the main stages in the ideological and political struggle of the bourgeoisie against feudalism and shows that, with the development of the working-class movement, the bourgeoisie rejected free-thinking and turned again to religion, seeing it as a means of struggle against the revolutionary workers' movement.

The articles "On the History of Early Christianity" and "To the Early History of the Family" are examples of the application of the materialist interpretation of history to concrete historical issues. Engels revised this edition in the light of the latest scientific data.

Engels' reply to Paul Ernst, one of the leaders of the opposition group of the "Young" in German Social Democracy, attacks the vulgarisation of historical materialism. Engels comes out firmly against the oversimplified, schematic use of Marx's teaching to explain historical phenomena. "... The materialist method," he wrote, "turns into its opposite if, in an historical study, it is used not as a guide but rather as a ready-made pattern in accordance with which one tailors the historical facts" (p. 81). This letter is one of the first in a series written in the first half of the 1890s and known as the "Letters on Historical Materialism". They elaborate on the numerous questions relating to the materialist interpretation of history. Engels explains that the view of the economy as the only active factor in the historical process is nothing but a primitive interpretation of historical materialism.

* * *

The volume contains 93 works by Engels, of which 45, among them *In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx, Can Europe Disarm?* and "The Italian Panama", are published in English for the first time, and eleven have appeared in English earlier only in part.

Works written by Engels in several languages, including English, are reproduced here from the English version. Any significant discrepancies are indicated in the footnotes.

In texts written in languages other than English, any English words and expressions are printed in small caps. Where there are

whole passages originally written in English, these are marked with asterisks.

Headings provided by the editors are given in square brackets.

Obvious misprints discovered in dates, numbers, etc., have been corrected by checking the sources used by Engels, usually without any further note.

The texts and notes for the first part of the volume were compiled and prepared by Yevgenia Dakhina and for the latter part (beginning with the "Introduction to the English Edition (1892) of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*") by Tatiana Chikileva. The preface was written by Boris Tartakovsky with the assistance of Yevgenia Dakhina and Tatiana Chikileva. The name index, the index of quoted and mentioned literature and the index of periodicals were compiled by Svetlana Kiseleva. The volume was edited by Boris Tartakovsky and Valentina Smirnova (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The English translations were done by David Forgacs, John Peet, Barrie Selman, Veronica Thompson (Lawrence & Wishart), Stepan Apresyan and Victor Schnittke (Progress Publishers), and edited by Nicholas Jacobs (Lawrence & Wishart), Cynthia Carlile, Stephen Smith, Maria Shcheglova and Anna Vladimirova (Progress Publishers) and Norire Ter-Akopyan, scientific editor (USSR Academy of Sciences).

The volume was prepared for the press by Margarita Lopukhina, Mzia Pitskhelauri, Maria Shcheglova and Anna Vladimirova and assistant editor Natalia Kim (Progress Publishers).

# FREDERICK ENGELS

## WORKS

February 1890-April 1895

The Newcastle Daily Chronicle.
No. 9,945. NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE MONDAY, MARCH 3, 1890. PRICE ONE PENNY.

# [THE ELECTIONS OF 1890 IN GERMANY][1]

That the Social-Democratic party of Germany was sure to obtain a startling success at the general election of 1890 could not be doubted by any one who had followed the political development of that country for the last decade. In 1878 the German Socialists were placed under rigorous coercion laws,[2] in virtue of which all their newspapers had been suppressed, their meetings stopped or dissolved, their organisation annihilated, their every attempt to re-form it punished as a "secret society", sentences summing up to more than a thousand years' imprisonment having thus been pronounced against members of the party. Nevertheless, they succeeded in smuggling into the country, and regularly distributing every week some 10,000 copies of their organ printed abroad, the *Sozialdemokrat,* and thousands upon thousands of pamphlets; they succeeded in penetrating into the German Parliament (nine members)[3] and into innumerable town councils, amongst others that of Berlin. The growing strength of the party was evident even to its most embittered enemies.

Yet such a success as they have scored on the 20th February must surprise even the most sanguine among themselves. Twenty-one seats conquered: that is to say, in twenty electoral districts they proved stronger than all other parties put together. Fifty-eight second ballots, that is to say, in 58 districts they are either the strongest, or the strongest but one, of all parties which have put forward candidates, and the fresh election will finally decide between the two candidates who had the greatest number, while neither had the absolute majority of votes. As to the total number of Socialist votes given, we can only make an approximate estimate. In 1871 they summed up not more than 102,000; in

1877, 493,000; in 1884, 550,000; in 1887, 763,000; in 1890, they cannot be less than 1,250,000, and may be considerably more. The strength of the party has increased in three years by at least 60-70 per cent.

In 1887 there were but three parties with more than a million voters, the National Liberals, 1,678,000; the Centre or Catholic party, 1,516,000; and the Conservatives, 1,147,000.[4] This time the Centre will hold its own, the Conservatives have lost a good deal, and the National Liberals have lost enormously. Thus the Socialists will still be outnumbered by the Centre, but they will either fully come up to, or outnumber, the National Liberals as well as the Conservatives.

This election establishes a complete revolution in the state of parties in Germany. It will indeed inaugurate a new epoch in the history of that country. It marks the beginning of the end of the Bismarck period. The situation, at the present moment, is as follows.

With his rescripts on labour legislation and international labour conferences, young William broke loose from his mentor Bismarck.[5] The latter thought it prudent to give his young master plenty of rope, and to wait quietly until William II, had got himself into a mess with his hobby of playing the working man's friend: then would be the time for Bismarck to step in as the *deus ex machina.*[a] This time Bismarck did not care much how the elections went; an unmanageable Reichstag, to be dissolved as soon as the young Emperor had found out his mistake, would be rather an advantage to Bismarck, and considerable Socialist success might help to prepare a good cry to go to the country with when the time for dissolution arrived. And the wily Chancellor, this time, has indeed got a Reichstag that nobody will be able to manage. William II, will very soon find out the impossibility, for a man in his position, and with the present state of mind of both the landed aristocracy and the middle class, of carrying out even a shadow of the objects alluded to in his rescripts, while the elections have already convinced him that the working class of Germany will take anything he may offer them as an instalment, but will not give up one jot of their principles and demands, nor relax in their opposition against a Government which cannot live but by gagging the working majority of the people.

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[a] Literally: a god from a machine (by which in ancient theatre gods appeared in the air); a person or thing that comes in the nick of time to solve difficulty.— *Ed.*

Thus, before long there will be a conflict between Emperor and Parliament; the Socialists will be accused, by all rival parties, with being the cause of it all; the new election cry will be there, ready made; and then Bismarck, having given the necessary lesson to his lord and master, will step in and dissolve.

But then he will find that things have changed. The Socialist workmen will be stronger and more determined than ever. The aristocracy Bismarck never could rely on; they always considered him as a traitor to true Conservatism, and will be ready to throw him overboard as soon as the Emperor chooses to drop him. The middle class were his mainstay, but they have lost confidence in him. The little family quarrel between Bismarck and the Emperor has come to be publicly known. It has proved that Bismarck is no longer all-powerful, and that the Emperor is not proof against dangerous crotchets. In which of the two, then, is the German middle class Philistine to trust? The wise man is becoming powerless, and the powerful man proves to be unwise. In fact, the confidence in the stability of the order of things established in 1871, a confidence which, as regards the German middle class, was unshakeable while old William reigned, Bismarck governed, and Moltke was at the head of the army—that confidence is gone, and gone for ever. The growing load of taxation, the high price of living caused by ridiculous import duties on everything, food as well as manufactured goods, the unbearable burden of military service, the constant and ever-renewed fear of war, and that a war of European dimensions, when 4-5 millions of Germans would have to take up arms—all this has done its work in alienating from the Government the peasant, the small tradesman, the workman, in fact the whole nation, with the exception of the few who profit by the State-created monopolies. All this would be borne, as inevitable, so long as old William, Moltke, and Bismarck formed a ruling triumvirate which seemed invincible. But now old William is dead, Moltke is pensioned off, and Bismarck has to face a young Emperor whom he himself filled with an unbounded vanity, who is consequently considering himself a second Frederick the Great, and is, after all, but a conceited coxcomb, eager to shake off the yoke of his Chancellor, and, withal, a plaything in the hands of court intriguers. With such a state of things, the immense pressure upon the people no longer is patiently borne; the old faith in the stability of things is gone; resistance, which formerly appeared hopeless, now becomes a necessity; and thus, unmanageable as this Reichstag seems, maybe it will be far less so than the next.

Thus Bismarck very likely is miscalculating his game. If he dissolve, even the *spectre rouge,* the anti-Socialist cry, may fail him. But then he has one undoubted quality: reckless energy. If it suits him, he may provoke riots and try what effect a little "bleeding" may have. But then he ought not to forget that at least one-half of the German Socialists have passed through the army. There they have learned the discipline which has enabled them so far to withstand all provocation to riot. But there they have also learnt something more.

Written between February 21 and March 1, 1890

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Reproduced from the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*

# WHAT NOW?[6]

February 20, 1890 is the beginning of the end of the Bismarck era. The alliance between Junkers and money-bags for the exploitation of the mass of the German people—for the Cartel[7] was this and nothing else—is bearing its fruit. The tax on spirits, the sugar premium, the corn and meat duties, which conjured millions from the people's pockets into the pockets of the Junkers; the industrial protective tariffs, introduced just at the moment when German industry, by its own efforts and in free trade, had won for itself a position in the world market, introduced specifically and exclusively so that the manufacturer could sell at home at monopoly prices, and abroad at giveaway prices; the whole system of indirect taxation, which oppresses the poorer masses of the people and scarcely touches the rich; the tax burden, growing to the intolerable, to cover the cost of endlessly growing armaments; the increasingly imminent danger of world war, growing along with the armaments and threatening to "finish off" four to five million Germans, because the seizure of Alsace-Lorraine has driven France into the arms of Russia, and thus made Russia the arbiter of Europe; the unparalleled corruption of the press, through which the government systematically swamped the people with alarmist lies each time the Reichstag was renewed; the police corruption aimed at bribing or forcing the wife to betray her husband, and the child its father; the system of *agents provocateurs,* as good as unknown in Germany until that time; police despotism far exceeding the period before 1848; the shameless flouting of all justice by the German courts, with the noble Reich Court leading the way; the outlawing of the entire working class by the Anti-Socialist Law—all this has had its

day, and a long day at that, thanks to the cowardice of the German philistine—but now it is coming to an end. The Cartel majority has been smashed, smashed irrevocably, so that only one thing can patch it up even for a single moment—a coup de force.

What now? Botch together a new majority for the old system? Oh, there would be enthusiasm for this, and not only in the Government. Amongst the Freisinnige[8] there are enough jitterers who would themselves play at the Cartel rather than let the wicked Social Democrats in—the dreams of suitability for government, buried together with Frederick III, are rapping once again on the coffin-lid. But the Government has no use for liberalism, and it is not *yet* ripe for an alliance with the Junkers from east of the Elbe, and they, after all, are the most important class in the Empire!

And the Centre? In the Centre, too, there are Junkers *en masse,* Westphalian, Bavarian and so on, who burn with desire to sink into the arms of their brothers east of the Elbe, who voted with relish for the taxes favouring the Junkers; and in the Centre too there are enough bourgeois reactionaries who want to go even further back than the Government can—who, if they could, would impose upon us once more the entire Middle Ages complete with guilds. A specifically Catholic party, after all, like any specifically Christian party, can be nothing else but reactionary. So why not a new Cartel with the Centre?

Simply because it is not Catholicism which actually holds the Centre together, but *hatred of the Prussians.* It is composed exclusively of elements hostile to the Prussians, which are strongest, of course, in the Catholic areas; Rhineland peasants, petty bourgeois and workers, South Germans, Hanoverian and Westphalian Catholics. Around the Centre are grouped the other bourgeois and peasant anti-Prussian elements: the Guelphs and other particularists, the Poles, the Alsatians.[9] The very day the Centre becomes the party of government, it will fall apart into a portion composed of Junkers, guildsmen and reactionaries and a portion consisting of peasants and democrats; and the gentlemen in the first portion know that they will not be able to show themselves to their electors again. Despite this, the attempt will be made, despite this the majority of the Centre will be ready for an accommodation. And we can have no objection to this. This specifically anti-Prussian Catholic party was itself a product of the Bismarck era, the rule of what is specifically Prussian. If the latter should fall, it is only just that the former too should fall.

We may therefore expect a momentary alliance of the Centre

and the Government. But the Centre does not consist of National Liberals—on the contrary, it is the first party to emerge triumphant from the struggle against Bismarck, to send him to Canossa.[10] It will thus certainly not be a Cartel, and Bismarck can only use a new Cartel.

So what will happen? Dissolution. New elections. Appeal to the fear of a Social Democratic tidal wave? It is too late for this as well. If Bismarck wanted this, then he would not fall out with his new Emperor even for a moment, still less make a great fuss about this quarrel.

As long as the old William was still alive, the invincibility of the Bismarck, Moltke, William triumvirate was unshakeably firm in the eyes of the German philistine. But now William is gone, Moltke has been made to go, and Bismarck vacillates as to whether he should be forced to go, or go by himself. And the young William who has replaced the old one has proved in the course of his quite short government, and particularly through his renowned decrees,[11] that respectable bourgeois philistines cannot possibly rely upon him, and also that he will not allow himself to be ordered about. The man in whom the philistines believed no longer has the power, and the philistines cannot believe in the man who has the power. The old confidence in the eternity of the inner order of the Empire founded in 1871 is gone, and no power on earth can restore it. The philistine, the last pillar of the old policy, has become shaky. How can dissolution help here?

A coup d'état? But this releases not only the people, but also the princes of the Empire from their loyalty to the Imperial Constitution thus broken; this means the disintegration of the Empire.

A war? Child's play to launch one. But what would become of it once launched defies the imagination. Should Croesus cross the Halys[12] or William cross the Rhine, he will destroy a great empire—but which? His own, or that of the enemy? It is well known that peace persists only thanks to the unending revolution in weapons technology, which precludes anyone getting ready for war, and thanks to everybody's fear of the absolutely incalculable prospects of the only war now still possible, a world war.

Only one thing can help: an uprising, provoked by governmental brutality and suppressed with double and triple brutality, a general state of siege, and re-election in conditions of terror. Even that would only produce a few years' stay of execution. But it is the only way—and we know that Bismarck is one of those who will stop at nothing. And did not William too say: At the slightest

resistance I shall have them all shot down? And therefore this way certainly will be applied.

The German Social-Democratic workers have just won a triumph, a triumph well earned through their tough steadfastness, their iron discipline, their cheerful humour in battle, their tirelessness; but it certainly came unexpectedly, even to themselves, and has astonished the world. The increase in the Social Democratic vote in every new election has proceeded with the irresistible force of a natural process; brutality, police despotism, judicial despicability—all these bounced off without effect; the steadily growing attack force moved forwards, forwards with increasing rapidity and now stands there, the second strongest party in the Empire. And should the German workers now spoil their own game by allowing themselves to be misled into a hopeless putsch for the sole reason of helping Bismarck out of his mortal anguish? At the moment when their own courage, their courage above all praise, is supported by the interaction of all outside circumstances, when the whole social and political situation, when even all their enemies have to work for the Social Democrats, as though they were paid by them—at this moment should discipline and self-control fail, and should we throw ourselves upon the outstretched sword? Never! The Anti-Socialist Law has trained our workers too well for this, for this we have far too many old soldiers in our ranks, amongst them too many who have learned to stand at order arms in a hail of bullets till the moment is ripe for the attack.

Written between February 21 and March 1, 1890

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Published in English for the first time

# THE FOREIGN POLICY OF RUSSIAN TSARDOM [13]

Written in December 1889-February 1890 (translated into English in March 1890)

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TIME.

*NEW SERIES.*

APRIL, 1890.

I

Not only Socialists, but every progressive party in every country of Western Europe,[a] has a double interest in the victory of the Russian Revolutionary Party.

First, because the Empire of the Tsar[b] is the mainstay of European reaction, its last fortified position and its great reserve army at once; because its mere passive existence is a standing threat and danger to us.

Secondly—and this point is not now being sufficiently insisted upon—because by its ceaseless meddling in the affairs of the West, it cripples and disturbs our normal development, and this with the object of conquering geographical positions, which will assure to Russia the mastery over Europe, and thus[c] crush every chance of progress under the iron heel of the Tsar.

It is impossible, in England, to write about Russian foreign policy without at once recalling the name of David Urquhart. For fifty years he worked indefatigably to spread among his countrymen a knowledge of the aims and methods of Russian diplomacy, a subject he thoroughly understood; and yet, all he got for his pains was ridicule and the reputation of an unmitigated bore. Now, the ordinary Philistine does indeed class under that head

[a] In *Die Neue Zeit* the opening sentence begins as follows: "We, the West European workers' party...". (Hereinafter in this work the discrepancies between the English original and the text in *Die Neue Zeit* are given in quotation marks without further reference to the source.)—*Ed.*

[b] The German has: "the Russian Empire of the Tsar".—*Ed.*

[c] In the German the end of the sentence reads: "would make the victory of the European proletariat impossible".—*Ed.*

every one who insists upon unpalatable subjects, be they ever so important. But then, Urquhart, who hated the Philistine without understanding either his nature or his historical unavoidability for the time being, was bound to fail. A Tory of the old school, with the fact before his eyes that in England the Tories alone had hitherto offered effective resistance to Russia, and that the action of English and foreign Liberals, including the whole revolutionary movement on the Continent, had generally led to advantages gained by that power, he held that, to really resist Russian inroads, one must needs be a Tory (or else a Turk), and that every Liberal and Revolutionist was, knowingly or not, a Russian tool. His constant occupation with Russian diplomacy led him to look upon it as something all-powerful, as indeed the only active agent in modern history, in whose hands all other governments were but passive tools; so that, but for his equally exaggerated estimate of the strength of Turkey, one cannot make out why this omnipotent Russian diplomacy has not got hold of Constantinople long ago. In order thus to reduce all modern history since the French Revolution to a diplomatic game of chess between Russia and Turkey, with the other European States for Russia's chessmen, Urquhart had to set himself up as a sort of Eastern prophet who taught, instead of simple historic facts, a secret esoteric doctrine in a mysterious hyper-diplomatic language, full of allusions to facts not generally known, but hardly ever plainly stated; and who, as infallible nostrums against the supremacy of Russian over English diplomacy, propounded the renewed impeachment of Ministers and the substitution, for the Cabinet, of the Privy Council. Urquhart was a man of great merit, and a fine Englishman of the old school to boot; but Russian diplomatists might well say: *Si M. Urquhart n'existait pas, il faudrait l'inventer.*[a]

Among the Russian Revolutionists, too, there still exists a comparatively great ignorance of this side of Russian history. On the one hand, because in Russia itself only the official legend is tolerated; on the other, with a great many, because they hold the Government of the Tsar in too great contempt, believing it incapable of anything rational, incapable, partly from stupidity, partly from corruption. And for Russian internal policy this is

[a] "If Mr. Urquhart did not exist, it would be necessary to invent him." Instead of this paragraph the German has: "It is to the credit of Karl Marx that he was the first to stress, and repeatedly did so from 1848, that the West European workers' party is obliged for this last reason to wage a life-and-death war against Russian Tsardom. In calling for the same, I am merely continuing the efforts of my late friend, catching up on what he did not live to do."—*Ed.*

right enough; here the impotence of Tsardom is clear as day. But we ought to know not only the weakness but the strength too of the enemy. And its foreign policy is unquestionably the side on which Tsardom is strong—very strong. Russian diplomacy forms, to a certain extent, a modern Order of Jesuits, powerful enough, if need be, to overcome even the whims of a Tsar, and to crush corruption within its own body, only to spread it the more plenteously abroad; an Order of Jesuits originally and by preference recruited from foreigners, Corsicans like Pozzo di Borgo, Germans like Nesselrode, Russo-Germans[a] like Lieven, just as its founder, Catherine II, was a foreigner.

The old Russian aristocracy had still too many worldly, private and family interests; they had not the absolute reliability which the service of this new order demanded. And as the personal poverty and celibacy of the Catholic Jesuit priest could not be forced upon them, they had, for the time, to be relegated to secondary or representative positions, embassies, &c., and thus gradually a school of native diplomats built up. Up to the present time only one thoroughbred Russian, Gortschakoff, has filled the highest post in this order, and his successor Von Giers again bears a foreign name.

It is this secret order, originally recruited from foreign adventurers, which has raised the Russian Empire to its present power. With iron perseverance, gaze fixed resolutely on the goal, shrinking from no breach of faith, no treachery, no assassination, no servility, lavishing bribes in all directions, made arrogant by no victory, discouraged by no defeat, stepping over the corpses of millions of soldiers and of, at least, one Tsar,[14] this band, unscrupulous as talented, has done more than all the Russian armies to extend the frontiers of Russia from the Dnieper and Dwina to beyond the Vistula, to the Pruth, the Danube and the Black Sea; from the Don and Volga beyond the Caucasus and to the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes; to make Russia great, powerful, and dreaded, and to open for her the road to the sovereignty of the world. But by doing this it has also strengthened the power of Tsardom at home. To the Jingo public the fame of victory, the conquests following on conquests, the might and glamour of Tsardom, far outweigh all sins, all despotism, all injustice, and all wanton oppression; the tall talk of Chauvinism fully compensates for all humiliations at home. And this the more, the less the actual causes and details of these

[a] The German has: "Baltic Germans".— *Ed.*

successes are known in Russia, and are replaced by an official legend, such as benevolent governments everywhere (in Prussia and France, *e.g.*) invent for the good of their subjects, and for the greater encouragement of patriotism. Thus the Russian who is a Chauvinist, will sooner or later fall on his knees before the Tsar, as we have seen in the case of Tichomiroff.

But how could such a band of adventurers manage to acquire this enormous influence in European history? Very simply. They have not created something new out of nothing, they have but made the right use of an existing situation. Russian diplomacy has had a very obvious, material foundation for all its achievements.

Look at Russia in the middle of last century—a colossal territory even at that time, peopled by a peculiarly homogeneous race. A sparse, but rapidly-growing population; therefore an assured growth of power with mere lapse of time. This population, intellectually stagnant, devoid of all initiative, but, within the limits of their traditional mode of existence, fit to be used for, and to be moulded into, anything; tenacious, brave, obedient, contemptuous of hardship and fatigue, unsurpassable stuff for soldiers in the wars of that time where the fighting of compact masses was decisive. The country itself with only one—its Western—side turned towards Europe, and so only attackable on that side; without any centre, the conquest of which might compel a peace; almost absolutely safeguarded against conquest by absence of roads, immenseness of surface, and poverty of resources. Here was a position of impregnable strength, ready for any one who knew how to use it, whence that might be done with impunity, which would have brought war after war upon any other Government in Europe.

Strong to impregnability on the defensive side, Russia was correspondingly weak on the offensive. The mustering, organisation, equipment and movements of her armies in the interior, met with the greatest obstacles, and to all material difficulties was added the boundless corruption of the officials and officers. All attempts to make Russia capable of attack on a large scale have, so far, failed, and probably the latest, present attempts to introduce universal compulsory conscription,[15] will fail as completely. One might say that the difficulties grow as the square of the masses to be organised, quite apart from the impossibility, with such a small town population, of finding the enormous number of officers now required. This weakness has been no secret to Russian diplomacy; hence it has, whenever possible, avoided war, has only accepted it as a last resort, and then only under the most favourable

conditions. Those wars alone suit it in which the allies of Russia have to bear the brunt of the burden, to lay bare their territory to devastation as the seat of war, to supply the great mass of combatants, and in which, to the Russian troops, falls the *rôle* of reserve forces. In that *rôle* they are generally spared in battle, but in decisive engagements, with relatively small sacrifices, they reap the glory of turning the balance of victory; such was their part in the war of 1813-1815.[16] But a war carried on under such favourable conditions is not always to be had; hence Russian diplomacy prefers to use the antagonistic interests and desires of the other powers for its own ends, to set these powers by the ears, and to exploit their enmities for the benefit of the Russian policy of conquest. Only against those who are clearly the weaker—Sweden, Turkey, Persia—does Tsardom fight on its own account, and in these cases it has not to share the spoils with anyone.

But to return to the Russia of 1760. This homogeneous, unattackable country had for neighbours only countries which were actually or apparently effete, approaching disintegration, and thus pure *matière à conquêtes*.[a] In the north, Sweden, whose power and prestige had been lost just because Charles XII. had attempted to invade Russia, and in doing so had ruined Sweden and made evident the unattackability of Russia. In the south, the Turks, and their tributaries the Crimean Tartars, wrecks of former greatness; the offensive power of the Turks broken for the last 100 years; their power of defence still considerable, but also on the decline; and as best proof of this growing weakness, rebel movements among the subject Christians, the Slavs, Roumanians, and Greeks, who formed the majority of the population in the Balkan Peninsula. These Christians, belonging almost exclusively to the Greek Church, were thus akin to the Russians by faith, and the Slavs among them, the Servians and Bulgarians, were moreover connected with them by race. Russia had therefore only to proclaim her duty to protect the oppressed Greek Church and the downtrodden Slavs, and the field for conquest—under the name of "freeing the oppressed"[b]—was ready to hand. In the same way there were south of the Caucasus small Christian States and Christian Armenians under the suzerainty of Turkey, as whose "saviour"[c] Tsardom could pose. And then, here in the south, a victor's prize like none other Europe could offer, enticed the lustful conqueror: the old capital of the Eastern Roman

[a] Object for conquest.—*Ed.*
[b] The words "the oppressed" are deleted in the German.—*Ed.*
[c] The German has: "liberator".—*Ed.*

Empire, the metropolis of the whole Greco-Catholic world, the town whose Russian name already expresses supremacy over the east and the prestige which invests its possessor in the eyes of Eastern Christendom—Constantinople-Tsaregrad.

Tsaregrad as the third Russian capital alongside of Moscow and Petersburg: this meant not only moral supremacy over Eastern Christendom, it meant also the decisive step towards supremacy over Europe. It meant sole command of the Black Sea, Asia Minor, the Balkan Peninsula. It meant, whenever the Tsar pleased, the closing of the Black Sea to all merchant vessels and men-of-war except Russian, its transformation into a Russian Naval Port, and a place of manoeuvre exclusively for the Russian fleet, which from this safe refuge could pass through the fortified Bosphorus, and return thither as often as it chose. Then Russia would only need to obtain the same command, directly or indirectly, of the Sound and the Belts, to become unattackable at sea also.

Command of the Balkan Peninsula would bring Russia as far as the Adriatic. And this frontier on the south-west would be untenable, unless the Russian frontier were correspondingly advanced all along the west, and the sphere of her power considerably extended. But here the conditions were, if possible, still more favourable.

First of all, Poland, completely disorganised, a republic of nobles, founded upon the spoliation and oppression of the peasants, with a constitution that made all national action impossible,[17] and thus made the country an easy prey for its neighbours. Since the beginning of the century it had existed only, as the Poles themselves said, through disorder (*Polska nierzadem stoi*); the whole country was constantly occupied and traversed by foreign troops, who used it as an eating and drinking-house (*karczma zajezdna*, said the Poles), in which they usually forgot to pay the bill. Already Peter the Great had systematically ruined Poland—here his successors had but to reach out their hand for it. And to do this they had another pretext—the "Principle of Nationalities".[18] Poland was not a homogeneous country. At the time when Great Russia came under the Mongolian yoke, White Russia, and Little Russia found protection against the Asiatic invasion, by uniting themselves into the so-called Lithuanian Principality. This Principality later on voluntarily united itself with Poland.[19] Afterwards, in consequence of the higher civilization of the Poles, the White and Little Russian nobility had become largely Polish; and at the time of the Jesuit supremacy in Poland,[20] in the

16th century, the Greco-Catholic Poles[a] had been forced into union with the Roman Church. This gave the Tsars of Great Russia the welcome pretext to claim the former Lithuanian territory, as a land Russian by nationality but now oppressed by Poland, although the Little Russians at least, according to the greatest living authority on Slavonic languages, Miklosic, do not speak a mere Russian dialect, but a separate language; and the further pretext for interference as protectors of the Greek faith, for the benefit of the Uniate Greco-Catholics,[21] although these had long since become reconciled to their position with regard to the Roman Church.

Beyond Poland lay another country that seemed to have fallen into hopeless ruin—Germany. Since the Thirty Years' War, the Holy Roman Empire[b] was only nominally a State. The position of the princes within the Empire was more and more approaching complete sovereignty; their power of defying the Emperor, which in Germany replaced the Polish *liberum veto,*[22] had been, by the Peace of Westphalia,[23] expressly placed under the guarantee of France and of Sweden; a strengthening of the central power was therefore made dependent on the assent of the foreigner, whose direct interest it was to prevent anything like it. In addition to this, Sweden, thanks to her German conquests, was a member of the German Empire, with seat and vote at the Imperial Diets. In every war the Emperor encountered German Princes of the Empire among the allies of his foreign foes; every war was therefore a civil war. Almost all the larger and secondary Princes of the Empire had been bought by Louis XIV., and the country was so ruined economically that, without the annual influx of French bribe-money, it would have been impossible to keep money at all in the country for use as a circulating medium.* The Emperor had, therefore, long since sought his strength not within his Empire, which only cost him money and brought him nothing but worry and vexation, but in his Austrian, German, and extra-German dominions. And side by side with the power of Austria as distinct from Germany, the Prussian power was already rising as rival.

Such was the position of things in Germany in the time of Peter the Great. This really great man—great in a quite different way from Frederick "the Great", the obedient servant of Peter's

* "See Gülich. *Geschichtliche Darstellung des Handels u. Jena 1830,* 2. Band, S. 201-206." [*Engels' note to the German edition.*]

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[a] The German has: "Greco-Catholic Russians".—*Ed.*

[b] The German has: "Holy Roman-German Empire".—*Ed.*

successor, Catherine II.—was the first who thoroughly grasped the wonderfully favourable condition of Europe for Russian ends. Not only in respect to Sweden, Turkey, Persia, Poland, did he see clearly—far more clearly than appears from his so-called Testament, which seems the work of an epigone[24]—the main points of Russian policy; he firmly fixed it, and began to carry it out. He did the same in respect to Germany. He concerned himself far more with Germany than any country except Sweden. Sweden he must break; Poland he could have whenever he chose to stretch out his hand; Turkey was still too far away from him; but to set a firm foot in Germany, to obtain the position which France used so fully, and which Sweden was too weak to use, that was his chief task. He did everything to become a German Prince of the Empire, by the acquisition of German territory, but in vain; he could only initiate the system of intermarriage with German Princes, and the diplomatic exploitation of the internal dissensions of Germany.

Since Peter's time the position of things had become still more favourable to Russia through the rise of Prussia. This gave the German Emperor, within the Empire itself, an antagonist almost his equal, who perpetuated the divisions of Germany and brought them to a head. And at the same time this antagonist was still weak enough to be dependent upon the help of France or of Russia, especially of Russia, so that the more he emancipated himself from his vassalage with regard to the German Empire, the more surely did he sink into the vassalage of Russia.

Thus there remained in Europe only three Powers to be considered: Austria, France, England. And to set these by the ears, or to bribe them with the bait of new territory, was no difficult matter. England and France were still, as ever, rivals on the sea; France was to be got by the prospect of the acquisition of territory in Belgium and Germany; Austria could be bribed by dangling before her eyes advantages to be gained at the expense of France, Prussia, and, since the time of Joseph II., of Bavaria. Here then, by the adroit use of conflicting interests, were strong, overwhelmingly strong allies to be had for any diplomatic move of Russia. And now, face to face with these frontier lands in full disruption, face to face with three great Powers, whose traditions, economic conditions, political or dynastic interests, and lust after conquest, involved them in endless disputes and kept them occupied in outwitting one the other, here was the one homogeneous, youthful, rapidly-growing Russia, hardly attackable, and absolutely unconquerable, and at the same time an unworked, almost

unresisting, plastic raw material. What an opportunity for people of talent and ambition, for people striving after power, no matter how or where, so long only as the power was real, so long as it provided a real arena for their talent and ambition! And the "enlightened" 18th Century produced such people in numbers: people who in the service of "Humanity" traversed all Europe, visited the Courts of all enlightened Princes—and what Prince then but wished to be "enlightened",—who settled down wherever they found a favourable spot, a semi-aristocratic, semi-middleclass,[a] denationalized International of "Enlightenment". This International fell on its knees before the Semiramis of the North, one equally denationalized, Sophia Augusta of Anhalt, called Jekaterina II. of Russia, and it was from the ranks of this International that this same Catherine drew the elements for her Jesuit order of Russian diplomacy.[b]

Let us now see how this order of Jesuits works, how it uses the ever-changing aims of the rival Powers as a means for obtaining its one aim—never changing, never lost sight of—the World-Supremacy of Russia.

## II

Never were things[c] more favourable to the plans for the aggrandisement of Tsardom than in 1762, when, after murdering her husband, the "great whore", Catherine ascended the throne. All Europe was split up into two camps by the Seven Years' War.[25] England had broken the power of France, on the high seas, in America, in India, and now left her continental ally, Frederick II. of Prussia, to shift for himself. The latter, in 1762, was on the brink of destruction, when suddenly Peter III. of Russia[d] withdrew from the war against Prussia. Deserted by his last[e] ally,

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[a] The German has: "an aristocratic-middle-class".—*Ed.*

[b] *Die Neue Zeit* has an extra paragraph here: "In his work on Thomas More, Karl Kautsky showed how the original form of the bourgeois Enlightenment, the 'humanism' of the 15th and 16th centuries, was superseded by Catholic Jesuitism. It is precisely in the same way that we see here its second, fully mature, form being superseded by modern Jesuitry, by Russian diplomacy in the 18th century. This transformation into the opposite, this ultimate arrival at a point which represents the diametrical opposite of the point of departure, is the naturally ordained fate of all historical movements that are unaware of the reasons for and conditions of their existence and thus merely geared to illusory aims. They are mercilessly brought into line by the 'irony of history'."—*Ed.*

[c] The German has: "Never was international situation".—*Ed.*

[d] Added in the German: "ascended the throne and".—*Ed.*

[e] Added in the German: "and only".—*Ed.*

England, with Austria and France permanently hostile, exhausted by a seven years' struggle for existence, Frederick had no choice but to throw himself at the feet of the newly-crowned Tsarina. This assured him not only a powerful protection, but the promise of that part of Poland that divided Eastern Prussia from the main body of his kingdom, and the conquest of which now became the one aim of his life.

On the 31st March (11th April), 1764, Catherine and Frederick signed a treaty of alliance at Petersburg,[26] the secret article of which bound both to maintain, if need be[a] by force of arms, the existing Polish Constitution—that best means of ruining Poland—against every attempt at reform. With this the future partition of Poland was sealed. A piece of Poland was the bone which the Tsarina threw to the Prussian dog,[b] so that he might quietly submit to be chained up by Russia for a century.

I shall not go into the details of the first partition of Poland.[27] But it is characteristic that it was carried out, against the wish of the old-fashioned Maria Theresa, by the three great pillars of European "enlightenment", Catherine, Frederick, and Joseph. The two latter, proud of the superior statesmanship with which they trampled upon the superstition of a traditional law of nations, were yet stupid enough not to see how, by sharing in the Polish booty, they had signed themselves over, body and soul, to Russian Tsardom.

Nothing could have been more useful to Catherine than these "enlightened" princely neighbours of hers. "Progress" and[c] "enlightenment" were the parrot-cry of Russian Tsardom in Europe during the eighteenth century, just as the deliverance of enslaved[d] nations is in the nineteenth.

No spoliation, no violence, no oppression on the part of Tsardom, but has been perpetrated under pretext of "progress",[e] "enlightenment", "Liberalism", "the deliverance of the oppressed". And the childish Liberals of Western Europe—down to Mr. Gladstone—believe it to this day,[e] while the equally stupid Conservatives believe as firmly in the bunkum about the defence of legitimacy,[28] the upholding of order, religion, the balance of power,[f] and the sanctity of treaties—all of which are at one and

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[a] The words "if need be" are deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[b] The German has "Prussia".—*Ed.*

[c] The beginning of the sentence is deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[d] The word is deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[e] The German has "believed it".—*Ed.*

[f] The German has "balance of power in Europe".—*Ed.*

the same time in the mouth of official Russia. Russian diplomacy has succeeded in soft-soaping the two great Bourgeois parties of Europe. To be Legitimist and Revolutionist, Conservative and Liberal, orthodox and "advanced",[a] all in one breath, is permitted to Russia, and to Russia alone. Imagine the contempt with which such a Russian diplomatist looks down upon the "cultured" Occident.

After Poland it was the turn of Germany. Austria and Prussia came to loggerheads in the Bavarian Succession War, 1778,[29] and again to the advantage of no one but Catherine. Russia had grown too big to speculate any longer, as Peter had done,[b] upon entering the German Empire by acquiring some small German principality. She now aimed at obtaining the position she already held in Poland, and which France possessed in the German Empire—that of guarantee of German anarchy against every attempt at reform. And this position she attained. At the Peace of Teschen, 1779, Russia, together with France, undertook the guarantee of this Treaty, and of all former Treaties of Peace therein confirmed, more especially the Peace of Westphalia of 1648. With this the impotence of Germany was signed and sealed, and she was marked out for future partition between France and Russia.

Turkey was not forgotten. Russian wars with Turkey always occur in those times when there is peace on Russia's western frontier, and, if possible, when Europe is occupied elsewhere. Catherine waged two such wars. The first resulted in conquests by the Sea of Azov, and in the independence of the Crimea; four years later, that country was transformed into a Russian Province. The second extended the Russian frontier from the Bug to the Dniester. During both these wars Russian agents had egged on the Greeks to rebel against Turkey. Of course, the rebels were eventually left in the lurch by the Russian Government.[30]

During the American War of Independence, Catherine for the first time formulated, for herself and her allies, what was called the Northern[c] "armed neutrality" (1780), the demand for the limitation of the rights claimed by England in time of war for her navy on the high seas. These demands have remained ever since the constant aim of Russian policy; they were, in the main, conceded by Europe, and consented to by England herself, in the

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[a] The German has "enlightened" instead of "advanced".—*Ed.*

[b] The end of the sentence reads: "upon being granted the rights of a constituent member of the German Empire".—*Ed.*

[c] The words "what was called the Northern" are deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

Peace of Paris of 1856.[31] The United States of America alone will none of it.

The outbreak of the French Revolution was another windfall for Catherine. Far from fearing the revolutionary ideas might spread to Russia, she saw in the Revolution only a new opportunity of setting the other European States by the ears, so that Russia might have a free hand. After the death of her two "enlightened" friends and neighbours,[a] Frederick William II. in Prussia and Leopold in Austria tried[b] an independent policy. The Revolution gave Catherine the best possible opportunity—on a pretext of combating Republican France—of again chaining both of them to Russia, and at the same time, while they were busy on the French frontier, of making fresh inroads upon Poland. Both Austria and Prussia walked into the trap. And although Prussia—which from 1787-1791 had played the part of ally of Poland against Catherine—just in the nick of time thought better of it, and on this occasion claimed a larger share in the Polish spoil, and although Austria, too, had to be squared with a slice of Poland, yet Catherine was again able to lay hands on the greatest part of the plunder[32]; almost the whole of White Russia and of Little Russia were united to Great Russia.

But this time there was a reverse side to the medal. While the plundering of Poland took up, in 1792-94,[33] part of the strength of the Coalition, it weakened their power to attack France, until France was strong enough, single-handed, to achieve victory. Poland fell, but her resistance had saved the French Revolution,[34] and the French Revolution started a movement against which even Tsardom is powerless. And for this, we, in the West, shall never forget Poland. Nor is this—as we shall see—the only occasion on which the Poles have saved the European Revolution.

In the policy of Catherine we find all the chief points of the Russian policy of to-day sharply defined: the annexation of Poland, even though for a time part of the plunder must be handed over to her neighbours; the marking out of Germany for the next spoil; Constantinople, the great, never-to-be-forgotten, slowly-to-be-attained, final goal; the conquest of Finland as a protection to Petersburg; Sweden to be indemnified by Norway, which Catherine offered to Gustavus III.[35] at Fredrikshamn; the weakening of British supremacy on the seas, by international treaty-limitations; the stirring up revolt among the Christian and

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[a] Frederick II and Joseph II.—*Ed.*

[b] In the original mistakenly "she tried".—*Ed.*

Rayah in Turkey; finally, the ample provision of both Liberal and Legitimist phraseology to be used as occasion required as dust for the eyes of those believers in phrases, the occidental "cultured" Philistine and his so-called public opinion.

At the death of Catherine, Russia already possessed more than the wildest national Chauvinism could have asked for. All who bore the Russian name, barring only the few Austrian Little Russians, were under the sceptre of her successor,[a] who had now a perfect right to call himself Autocrat of all the Russians.

Not only had the approach to the sea been gained; on the Baltic as on the Black Sea Russia possessed a broad litteral and numerous harbours. Not only Finns, Tartars, and Mongolians, but Lithuanians, Swedes, Poles, and Germans were under Russian dominion. What more do you desire?

To any other nation this would have sufficed. For Russian diplomacy—the nation was not consulted—this was only the stepping-stone to other conquests.

The French Revolution had worn itself out, and had brought forth its own dictator—a Napoleon. Thereby it had to all appearance justified the superior wisdom of Russian diplomacy, which had not allowed itself to be intimidated by the huge revolt.[b] The rise of Napoleon now gave it the opportunity for new successes.

Germany was nearing the fate of Poland. But Catherine's successor, Paul, was obstinate, capricious, unreliable; he was constantly thwarting the action of Russian diplomacy; he became unbearable, he had to be got rid of. It was easy enough to find the necessary officers of the Guards to do this: the heir to the Crown, Alexander, was in the plot, and served as cloak to it. Paul was strangled, and immediately a fresh campaign was begun to the greater honour and glory of the new Tsar, who through the manner of his accession had become the life-long slave of the diplomatic band of Jesuits.

They left it to Napoleon to completely break up the German Empire, and to push to a crisis the confusion existing there. But when it came to the settling of accounts Russia again stepped in.

The peace of Luneville (1801)[36] had given France the whole left[c] bank of the Rhine, on condition that the German Princes thus dispossessed should be indemnified on the right bank out of the possessions of the spiritual members of the Empire, Bishopries,

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[a] Paul I.—*Ed.*

[b] The German has "popular uprising" instead of "revolt".—*Ed.*

[c] The German has "German" instead of "left".—*Ed.*

Abbeys, etc. Now Russia insisted upon her position of guarantee, won at Teschen in 1779[37]: in the parcelling out of this indemnity she and France, the two guarantees of German Imperial disunion and decay,[a] clearly had a weighty word to say. And the dissension, greed, and general infamy[b] of the German Princes took care that this word of Russia and of France should be decisive. Thus it came about that Russia and France drew up a plan for the division of the spiritual princes' lands among the dispossessed potentates, and that this plan, drawn up by the foreigner, in the interest of the foreigner, was, in all essentials made part and parcel of the German Imperial constitution by the Reichs-Deputations-Hauptschluss, 1803.[38]

The German Empire[c] was practically dissolved; Austria and Prussia acted as independent European states, and, like Russia and France, looked upon the small German States simply as a field for conquest. What was to become of these small States? Prussia was still too small and too young to lay claim to supremacy over them, and Austria had just lost the last trace of such supremacy. But both Russia and France put in a claim for the inheritance of the German Empire. France had destroyed the old Empire by force of arms; she pressed upon the small States by her immediate neighbourhood all along the Rhine; the fame of the victories of Napoleon and the French armies did the rest towards throwing the small German Princes at her feet. And Russia? Now that the end for which she had been striving just a hundred years was almost within reach, now that Germany lay completely disintegrated, exhausted unto death, helpless, impotent, should Russia just at this moment let her prey be snatched from under her very nose by the Corsican upstart?

Russian diplomacy at once entered upon a campaign for the conquest of supremacy over the small German States. That this was impossible without a victory over Napoleon was self-evident. It was therefore necessary to win over the German Princes, and the so-called public opinion of Germany—so far as it could then be said to exist. The Princes were worked upon by diplomatic, the Philistine by literary means. While cajolery, threats, lies and bribery were soon broadcast at the Courts, the public was deluged with mysterious pamphlets, in which Russia was belauded as the

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[a] The German has "ruin" instead of "disunion and decay".—*Ed.*

[b] The German has "habitual betrayal of the Empire" instead of "general infamy".—*Ed.*

[c] In the German the beginning of the sentence reads: "The German imperial union...".—*Ed.*

only Power that could save Germany and give her effective protection, and whose right and duty it moreover was to do this by virtue of the Treaty of Teschen of 1779. And when the war of 1805 broke out, it must have been clear to anyone whose eyes were at all open, that the only question was whether the small States should form a French or a Russian Confederacy of the Rhine.

The fates favoured Germany. The Russians and Austrians were beaten at Austerlitz, and the new Confederacy of the Rhine was formed, but anyhow, it was not an outpost of Tsardom.[39] The French yoke, at least, was a modern one; at all events it forced the disgraceful German Princes to do away with the most crying infamies of their former political system.[a]

After Austerlitz came the Prusso-Russian alliance, Jena, Eylau, Friedland, and the Peace of Tilsit in 1807.[40] Here again was shown what an immense advantage Russia has in her strategically safe position. Defeated in two campaigns, she gained new territory at the expense of her former ally, and the alliance with Napoleon for the sharing of the world: for Napoleon the West, for Alexander the East!

The first fruit of this alliance was the conquest of Finland. Without any declaration of war, but with the assent of Napoleon, the Russians advanced; the incapacity, discord, and corruption of the Swedish generals secured an easy victory; the daring march of Russian troops across the frozen Baltic compelled a violent change of dynasty at Stockholm, and the surrender of Finland to Russia.[41] But when three years later the breach between Alexander and Napoleon was impending, the Tsar summoned Marshal Bernadotte, the newly-elected Crown Prince of Sweden, to Abo, and promised him Norway if he would join the league of England and Russia against Napoleon.[42] Thus it was that in 1814 the plan of Catherine was carried out.[b]

But Finland was only the prelude. The real object of Alexander was, as ever, Constantinople. At Tilsit and at Erfurt,[43] Moldavia and Wallachia had been unconditionally promised him by Napoleon, and the prospect held out of a partition of Turkey, from which, however, Constantinople was to be excluded. Since 1806 Russia had been at war with Turkey, and this time not only the Greeks, but the Servians too had rebelled.[44] But what has been said erroneously with regard to Poland, is true of Turkey.

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[a] The German has: "...former mode of existence".— *Ed.*

[b] The following words are added in the German: "Finland for me, Norway for you."— *Ed.*

Disorganisation saved it. The sturdy common soldier, the son of the sturdy Turkish peasant, found in this very disorganisation a means of making good the evil done by the corrupt Pashas. The Turks could be beaten but not subdued, and the Russian army advanced but slowly on its way towards the Bosphorus.[a]

The price, however, for this "free hand" in the East was the acceptance of Napoleon's Continental System, the suspension of all trade with England.[45] And this meant, to the Russia of that time, commercial ruin. This was the time when Eugene Onegin (in Pushkin's epic) learnt from Adam Smith how a nation grows wealthy, and how it has no need of money so long as it possesses plenty of the produce of labour. While, on the other hand, his father could not see it, and had to mortgage one estate after another.[b]

Russia could only get money by maritime commerce, and by the export of her national products[c] to England, then the chief market; and Russia was now far too much occidentalised to do without money. The commercial blockade became unbearable. Political Economy proved more powerful than Diplomacy and the Tsar put together; intercourse with England was quietly resumed, the terms of the Tilsit Treaty were broken, and the war broke out in 1812.

Napoleon, with the combined armies of the whole of the West, crossed the Russian frontier. The Poles, who were in a position to know, advised him to halt by the Dwina and the Dnieper, to organise Poland, and there to await the Russian attack. A general of the calibre of Napoleon must have known that this was the right plan. But Napoleon, standing on that giddy height with its insecure foundation, *could* no longer venture on a protracted campaign. Immediate successes, dazzling victories, treaties of peace taken by assault, were indispensable to him. He cast the Polish advice to the winds, went to Moscow, and so brought the Russians to Paris.

The destruction of the great armies of Napoleon, on the retreat from Moscow, gave the signal for a universal uprising against the French supremacy in the West. In Prussia the whole nation rose, and forced coward Frederick William III. into war with Napoleon. As soon as Austria had completed her armaments she joined Russia and Prussia. After the battle of Leipzig[46] the Rhenish Confederacy[47] deserted Napoleon, and, barely eighteen months

[a] The German has: "Tsaregrad".—*Ed.*
[b] Alexander Pushkin, *Eugene Onegin*, I, 7; Engels' translation in prose.—*Ed.*
[c] The German has "raw materials" instead of "national products".—*Ed.*

after Napoleon's entry into Moscow, Alexander entered Paris, the lord and master of Europe.

Turkey, betrayed by France, had signed a peace at Bucharest in 1812, and sacrificed Bessarabia to Russia. The Congress of Vienna gave Russia the kingdom of Poland,[48] so that now almost nine-tenths of what had been Polish territory were annexed to Russia. But more important than all this was the position which the Tsar now occupied in Europe. He had now no rival on the Continent. He had Austria and Prussia in tow. The French Bourbon dynasty had been re-installed by him, and was therefore equally obedient. Sweden had received Norway from him as reward for her friendly policy[49]; even the Spanish dynasty owed its restoration far more to the victories of the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, than to those of Wellington, which, after all, never could have overthrown the French Empire. Never before had Russia held so commanding a position. But she had taken another step beyond her natural frontiers. If Russian Chauvinism has some—I will not say justification—but some sort of excuse for the conquests of Catherine, there can be nothing of the kind with regard to those of Alexander. Finland is Finnish and Swedish, Bessarabia Roumanian, the kingdom of Poland[a] Polish. Here there is no longer any question of the union of scattered and kindred races, all bearing the name of Russians; here we see nothing but barefaced conquest of alien territory by brute force, nothing but simple theft.

## III

The downfall of Napoleon meant the victory of the European monarchies over the French Revolution, whose last phase had been the Napoleonic Empire. This victory was celebrated by the restoration of "Legitimacy". Talleyrand fancied he was taking in the Tsar Alexander with this phrase, coined expressly for the purpose; but in reality it was Russian Diplomacy that by means of it led all Europe by the nose. Under the pretext of defending Legitimacy, Russian Diplomacy founded the "Holy Alliance", that expansion of the Russo-Austro-Prussian League into a conspiracy of all European sovereigns against their peoples, under the presidency of Russia.[50] The other princes believed in it; what the Tsar and his diplomatists thought of it we shall see directly.

Their next move was to take advantage of their newly-acquired

[a] The German has "the Poland of the Congress" instead of "the Kingdom of Poland".—*Ed.*

supremacy, by advancing a step nearer Constantinople. To this end they could employ three levers; the Roumanians, the Servians, the Greeks. The Greeks were the most promising element. They were a commercial people, and the merchants suffered most from the oppression of Turkish Pashas. The Christian peasant under Turkish rule was materially better off than anywhere else. He had retained his pre-Turkish institutions, and complete self-government; so long as he paid his taxes, the Turk, as a rule, took no notice of him; he was but seldom exposed to acts of violence, such as the peasant of Western Europe had had to bear in the Middle Ages at the hands of the nobles. It was a degraded kind of existence, a life on sufferance, but materially anything but wretched, and, on the whole, not unsuited to the state of civilisation of these peoples; it took therefore a long time before these Slav Rajahs discovered that this existence was intolerable. On the other hand, the commerce of the Greeks, since Turkish rule had freed them from the crushing competition of Venetians and Genoese, had rapidly thriven, and had become so considerable that it could now bear Turkish rule no longer. In point of fact, Turkish, like all Oriental rule, is incompatible with Capitalist Society; the appropriated surplus-value is not safe from the hands of rapacious Satraps and Pashas; the first fundamental condition of profitable trading[a] is wanting—security for the person and property of the merchant. No wonder, then, that the Greeks, who had twice revolted since 1774, should now rise again.[51]

The Greek rebellion then furnished the handle; but in order to enable Russian Diplomacy to apply the necessary pressure, the West must be prevented from interfering, and must therefore be provided with other work at home. And here the phrase of "Legitimacy" had brilliantly prepared the way. The "Legitimate" rulers had made themselves heartily hated everywhere. Their attempts to reinstate pre-revolutionary conditions had stirred up the Bourgeoisie throughout the whole of the West; in France and Germany, things were in a ferment; in Spain and Italy, open rebellion broke out.[52] Russian Diplomacy had a finger in the pie in all these conspiracies and rebellions. Not that it had made them, or even materially aided in their momentary successes. But what it could do, through its officious agents,[b] to sow discontent and disaffection among the subjects of its Legitimist allies, that it did.

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[a] The German has "condition of bourgeois enterprise" instead of "profitable trading".—*Ed.*

[b] The German further has: "to sow discord at home among its Legitimist allies, that it did".—*Ed.*

And it openly protected the rebel elements in the West, whenever and wherever they appeared under the mask of sympathy with Greece; the Philhellenes who collected funds, sent volunteers and fully armed corps to Greece, what were they but the Carbonari and other Liberals of the West?

All of which did not prevent the enlightened Tsar Alexander at the Congresses of Aix-la-Chapelle, Troppau, Laibach, Verona, from urging his Legitimist allies to act energetically against their rebellious subjects, and from sending the Austrians in 1821 to Italy, and the French in 1823 to Spain, to suppress the revolution there[53]; and from even apparently condemning the Greek rebellion, while at the same time he kept stirring it up, and encouraging the Philhellenes of the West to redoubled efforts. Once again stupid Europe was befooled in an incredible fashion. To the Princes and the Reactionaries, Tsardom preached Legitimacy and the maintaining of the *status quo*[a]; to the Liberal Philistine, the deliverance of oppressed nations[b]—and both believed it.

The French Minister at Verona, the romanticist Chateaubriand, was completely captivated by the Tsar, who seduced the French by the prospect of recovering the left bank of the Rhine, if only they would be obedient and stick to Russia. With this hope, subsequently strengthened by binding pledges under Charles X., Russian Diplomacy kept France in leading strings, and with few interruptions directed her Eastern Policy till 1830.

In spite of all this, the world looked with distrust, or at best with indifference upon the humanitarian policy of the Tsar,[c] who under the pretext of freeing the Greek Christians from the Mohammedan yoke, strove to put himself in the place of the Mohammedan. For, as the Russian Ambassador in London, Prince Lieven, says, (Dispatch of 18-30th October, 1825):

"All Europe looks with terror upon the Russian Colossus, whose giant strength waits but for a sign to be directed against her. Her interest is, therefore, to support Turkey, the natural enemy of our Empire."[d]

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[a] The words "and the maintaining of the *status quo*" are deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[b] The German has: "the deliverance of oppressed nations and enlightenment".—*Ed.*

[c] In the German the sentence reads: "In spite of all this, the humanitarian policy pursued by the Tsar, who ... Mohameddan, did not make the desired headway...".—*Ed.*

[d] The quotation is probably taken from *Recueil de documents relatifs à la Russie pour la plupart secrets et inédits, utiles à consulter dans la crise actuelle*, Paris, 1854, pp. 52-53.—*Ed.*

Hence, the failure of all Russian attempts to invade the Danubian Provinces with the tacit consent of Europe, and thus to force Turkey to capitulate.[a] Just then, in 1825, help came to Turkey from Egypt; the Greeks were everywhere beaten and the revolt almost suppressed. Russian policy was face to face with either a defeat, or else a bold resolve.

The Chancellor, Nesselrode, took council with his Ambassadors. Pozzo di Borgo in Paris (Dispatch of 4-16th October, 1825), and Lieven in London (Dispatch of 18-30th October, 1825), declared unreservedly for a bold move; the Danubian Provinces must at once, and without any regard to Europe, be occupied, even at the risk of a European war. This was evidently the universal opinion of Russian Diplomacy. But Alexander was limp, capricious, *blasé,* mystico-romantic; he had of the Grec du Bas Empire[b] (as Napoleon called him) not only the cunning and deceit, but also the irresolution and want of energy. He began to take Legitimacy seriously, and seemed to have had enough of Greek rebellion. During this critical period,[c] he travelled about in the South, near Taganrog, inactive and at that time, before railways, almost inaccessible. Suddenly the news came that he was dead. There were whispers of poison. Had Diplomacy got rid of the son as it had of the father? At any rate, he could not have died more opportunely.

With Nicolas a Tsar came to the throne, than whom no better could have been desired by Diplomacy—a conceited mediocrity, whose horizon never exceeded that of a company officer, a man who mistook brutality for energy, and obstinacy in caprice for strength of will,[d] who prized beyond everything the mere *show* of power, and who, therefore, by the mere show of it, could be got to do anything. Now more energetic measures were resorted to, and the war against Turkey brought about. Europe did not interfere. England, by means of Liberal talk, France, by means of the promises already mentioned, had been induced to combine their Mediterranean fleets with the Russian, and, on the 20th October, 1827, in the midst of peace, to attack and destroy the Turco-Egyptian fleet, at Navarino.[54] And if England soon drew back,

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[a] The German has: "The war in Greece continued with alternating success, whilst all Russian attempts to invade the Danubian Provinces with authoritative European approval, and thus force Turkey to capitulate, failed".—*Ed.*

[b] The Greek of the period of Eastern Roman Empire.—*Ed.*

[c] The beginning of the sentence is deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[d] The words "conceited" and "a man who ... of will" are deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

Bourbon France remained faithful. While the Tsar declared war upon Turkey, and his troops crossed the Pruth on the 6th of May, 1828, 15,000 French troops were getting ready to embark for Greece, where they landed in August and September. This was sufficient warning for Austria, not to fall upon the flank of the Russian advance on Constantinople: a war with France would have been the result, and the Russo-French bond—Constantinople for the one, the left bank of the Rhine for the other—would then have come into effect.

At the head of the Russian army,[a] Diebitsch advanced as far as Adrianople, but there found himself in such a position that he would have had to re-cross the Balkan if the Turks could have held out another fortnight. He had only 20,000 men, of whom a fourth were down with the plague. Then the Prussian Embassy at Constantinople managed to negotiate a peace by lying reports as to a threatening, but really quite impossible, Russian advance. The Russian General was, in Moltke's words,

> "saved from a position which perhaps needed only to be prolonged a few days to hurl him from the height of victory to the abyss of destruction". (Moltke, *Der Russisch-Türkische Feldzug*, p. 390.)

Anyhow, the Peace gave Russia the mouths of the Danube, a slice of territory in Armenia, and ever new pretexts for meddling in the affairs of the Danubian Provinces.[55] These now became, till the Crimean War, the *karczma zajezdna* (eating-house) for Russian troops, from whom, during this period, they were scarcely ever free.

Before these advantages could be further turned to account, the Revolution of July broke out.[56] Now the Liberal phrase-mongering of the Russian agents was, for a while, pocketed; it was only a question now of safeguarding "Legitimacy". A campaign of the Holy Alliance against France was being prepared when the Polish Insurrection broke out, and for a year held Russia in check. Thus, for the second time, did Poland, by her own self-immolation, save the European Revolution.[57]

I pass over the Russo-Turkish relations during the years of 1830-1848. They were important, inasmuch as they enabled Russia, for once, to appear in the part of defender of Turkey against her rebel vassal, Mehemet Ali of Egypt, to send 30,000 men to the Bosphorus for the defence of Constantinople, and by means of the Treaty of Hunkiar Iskelessi to place Turkey for

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[a] The beginning of the sentence is deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

some years practically under Russian supremacy[58]; inasmuch as Russia succeeded in 1840, through the treachery of Palmerston, in transforming, in one night, a European coalition threatening Russia, into a coalition against France[59]; and as, finally, she could prepare the Danubian Principalities for annexation by continued occupation, by quartering her soldiers upon the peasants,[a] and by bribing the Boyards with the "Règlement organique" *.[60]

In the main, however, this period was devoted to the conquest and Russification of the Caucasus, a task accomplished only after a struggle of twenty years.

A severe mishap, however, befell the diplomacy of Tsardom. When the Grand Duke Constantine, on the 29th November, 1830, had to fly from Warsaw before the Polish insurgents, the whole of his diplomatic archives fell into their hands; the despatches of the Foreign Minister,[c] and official copies of all the important despatches of the Ambassadors. The whole machinery of Russian diplomacy, and all the intrigues woven by it[d] from 1825 to 1830, were laid bare. The Polish Government sent Count Zamoyski with these despatches to England and France in 1835. On the instigation of William IV. they were published by David Urquhart in the "Portfolio".[e] This "Portfolio" is still one of the chief sources, and certainly the most incontestible one, for the history of the intrigues by which Tsarish diplomacy seeks to arouse quarrels among the nations of the West, and by means of these dissensions to make tools of them all.

Russian diplomacy had by this time weathered so many Western-European revolutions, not only without loss, but with actual gain, that she was in a position to hail the outbreak of the Revolution of February, 1848, as a fresh piece of good luck. That

* A rural code which placed at the disposal of the Boyards—the landed aristocracy of the country—the greater portion of the peasants' working-time, and that without any remuneration whatever. For further particulars see Karl Marx, "Capital", Ch. X., pp. 218-222 of the English edition. [*Engels' note to the English edition.*][b]

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[a] The German has "exploitation of the peasants" instead of "by quartering her soldiers upon the peasants".—*Ed.*

[b] In place of Engels' note, the German text gives the following: "(see Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. VIII)" which corresponds to Chapter X of the English edition (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

[c] K. V. Nesselrode.—*Ed.*

[d] The words "and all the intrigues woven by it" are deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[e] The reference is to the despatches by C. Lieven and K. Pozzo di Borgo published in *The Portfolio*, Nos 4, 5, 7 and 8, 1835; Engels erroneously has 1834.—*Ed.*

the revolution spread to Vienna, and thus not only removed Russia's chief opponent, Metternich, but also roused up from their slumber the Austrian Slavs, presumptive allies of Tsardom; that it seized Berlin, and so cured the impotent weakling,[a] Frederick William IV., of his hankering after independence from Russia—what could be more welcome? Russia was safe from all infection, and Poland was so strongly garrisoned that she could not move. And when now the revolution actually spread as far as the Danubian Principalities,[61] Russian diplomacy had what it wanted—a pretext for a new invasion of Moldavia and Wallachia, there to re-establish order and consolidate Russian rule.

But this was not enough. Austria—the most stubborn, the most dogged opponent of Russia on the side of the Balkan Peninsula—Austria had been brought to the verge of ruin by the Hungarian and Viennese insurrections. The victory of Hungary was, however, synonymous with a renewed outbreak of the European Revolution, and the numerous Poles in the Hungarian army were so many pledges that this revolution should not again halt at the Russian frontier. Then Nicolas played the magnanimous. He sent his armies to overrun Hungary; he crushed the Hungarian forces by superior numbers, and thus sealed the defeat of the European Revolution. And as Prussia was still making efforts to use the revolution for setting aside the German Confederation, and for bringing at least the smaller North German States under her supremacy, Nicolas summoned Prussia and Austria before his judgment-seat at Warsaw, and decided in favour of Austria.[62] Prussia, as a reward for her long years of subserviency to Russia, was ignominiously humiliated, because, for a moment, she had shown feeble velleities of resistance. The Schleswig-Holstein question Nicolas also decided against Germany, and after assuring himself of his adaptability to the ends of Tsardom, appointed the Glücksburger Christian as heir to the throne of Denmark.[63] Not only Hungary, the whole of Europe, lay at the feet of the Tsar, and that it lay there was a direct consequence of the Revolution. Was not Russian diplomacy right, then, if it secretly rejoiced over revolutions in the West?

But the Revolution of February was, after all, the first death-knell of Tsardom. The meagre soul of the narrow-minded Nicolas could not sustain such undeserved good fortune; he could not carry corn; he was in too great a hurry to set out for

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[a] The German has "ambitious but incapable" instead of "impotent weakling".—*Ed.*

Constantinople. The Crimean war broke out: England and France came to the rescue of Turkey; Austria was burning to "*étonner le monde par la grandeur de son ingratitude*".[a] For Austria knew that in return for the help in the Hungarian war, and for the Warsaw judgment, she was expected to remain neutral, or even to facilitate Russian conquests on the Danube, conquests which meant the hemming in of Austria by Russia, on the north, the east, and the south, from Cracow to Orsova and Semlin. And this time, for once in a way, Austria had the courage of her opinion.

The Crimean War was one colossal Comedy of Errors, in which one constantly asks oneself: *Qui trompe-t-on ici,*[b] which is the dupe? But this comedy cost countless treasures and over a million human lives. Hardly had the first allied detachments reached Bulgaria when the Austrians moved forward into the Danubian Provinces, and the Russians retired beyond the Pruth. By this means Austria had, on the Danube, slipped in between the two belligerents; a continuance of the war on this side was only possible with her consent. But Austria was to be had for the purpose of a war on the western frontier of Russia. Austria knew Russia would never forgive her brutal ingratitude; Austria was therefore ready to join the Allies, but only for a real war, which should restore Poland, and considerably push back the western frontier of Russia. Such a war must also make impossible the neutrality of Prussia,[c] through whose territory Russia received her supplies; a European Coalition would have blockaded Russia by land as well as by sea, and would have attacked her with such superior forces that victory was certain.

But this was by no means the intention of England and France. Both, on the contrary, were glad to be freed from the danger of a serious and real war by Austria's action. What Russia wished, that the Allies should go to the Crimea and get themselves stuck fast there, Palmerston proposed and Louis Napoleon eagerly jumped at. To push forward into the interior of Russia from the Crimea, would have been strategical madness. So the war was happily turned into a sham war, to the intense satisfaction of the parties most interested. But the Tsar Nicolas could not, in the long run,

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[a] "Astound the world by the grandeur of her ingratitude"—a phrase ascribed to Felix Schwarzenberg, the head of the Austrian government, in connection with a sharp turn of Austrian foreign policy against Russia.—*Ed.*

[b] P. Beaumarchais, *Le Barbier de Seville,* III, 11. The sentence is deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[c] In the German the sentence reads: "Such a war was bound to draw Prussia ... supplies, into the Alliance...".—*Ed.*

put up with foreign troops settling down even on the frontier of his Empire, on Russian territory; for him the mock war soon became a war in earnest. Now, what was his most favourable ground for a mock war, was, for a real war, the most dangerous. The strength of Russia in defence, the immense extent of her territory, thinly populated, impassable, poor in resources, recoiled upon Russia as soon as Nicolas concentrated all forces on Sebastopol, upon one single point of the periphery. The South Russian Steppes that should have been the grave of the invaders, became the grave of the Russian armies, which Nicolas, with his own brutally stupid imperiousness, drove one after the other, the last in the midst of winter, to the Crimea. And when the last, hastily collected, poorly equipped, wretchedly provided army had lost some two-thirds of its men on the march—whole battalions perished in snow-storms—and the survivors were too weak even for a serious attack on the enemy, then the inflated, empty-headed Nicolas collapsed miserably, and escaped the consequences of his Caesarian madness by taking poison.[64]

The terms of peace which his successor[a] now hastened to sign, were anything but harsh. Far more incisive, however, were the consequences of the war *within* Russia. To rule absolutely at home, the Tsar must be more than unconquerable abroad; he must be uninterruptedly victorious, must be in a position to reward unconditional obedience by the intoxication of Chauvinist triumph, by conquests following upon conquests. And now Tsardom had miserably broken down, and that too in its outwardly most imposing representative[b]; it had laid bare the weakness of Russia to the world, and thus its own weakness to Russia. An immense sobering down followed. The Russian people had been too deeply stirred by the colossal sacrifices of the war, their devotion had been appealed to far too unsparingly by the Tsar, for them to return there and then to the old passive state of unthinking obedience. For gradually Russia, too, had developed economically and intellectually; alongside of the nobility there were now springing up the elements of a second educated class, the Bourgeoisie. In short, the new Tsar had to play the Liberal, but this time at home. This meant the beginning of an internal history of Russia, of an intellectual movement within the nation itself, and of the reflex of this movement: a public opinion, feeble at first, but perceptible more and more, and to be despised less

[a] Alexander II.—*Ed.*

[b] In the German the end of the sentence reads: "...it had exposed Russia to the world and thus itself to Russia".—*Ed.*

and less. And herewith arose the foe before whom Russian diplomacy must ultimately succumb. For this sort of diplomacy is possible only in a country where, and so long as, the people remain absolutely passive, have no will other than that of the Government, no mission but to furnish soldiers and taxes for carrying out the objects of the diplomats. As soon as Russia has an internal development, and with that, internal party struggles, the attainment of a constitutional form under which these party struggles may be fought out without violent convulsions, is only a question of time. But then the traditional Russian policy of conquest is a thing of the past; the unchanging identity of the aims of Russian diplomacy is lost in the struggle of parties for power; the absolute command over the forces of the nation is gone—Russia will remain difficult to attack, and relatively as weak in attack, but will become, in all other respects, a European country like the rest, and the peculiar strength of its diplomacy will be broken for ever.

"*La Russie ne boude pas, elle se recueille,*"[a] said Chancellor Gortchakoff after the war.[65] He himself did not know how truly he spoke. He was speaking only of diplomatic Russia. But non-official Russia was also recovering herself. And this *recueillement* was encouraged by the government itself. The war had proved that Russia needed railways, steam engines,[b] modern[c] industry, even on purely military grounds. And thus the government set about breeding a Russian capitalist class. But such a class cannot exist without a proletariat, a class of wage-workers,[d] and in order to procure the elements for this, the so-called emancipation of the peasants had to be taken in hand; his personal freedom the peasant paid for by the transference of the better part of his landed property to the nobility. What of it was left to him was too much for dying, too little for living. While the Russian peasant Obshtchina* was attacked thus at the very root, the new development of the bourgeoisie was artificially forced[e] as in a hot-house, by means of railway concessions, protective duties, and other privileges; and thus a complete social revolution was initiated in town and country, which would not allow the spirits

* The self-governing Commune of the Russian peasants. [*Engels' note to the English edition.*]

[a] "Russia is not sulking, she is collecting herself."—*Ed.*

[b] The words "steam engines" are deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[c] The German has here "large-scale".—*Ed.*

[d] The words "a class of wage-workers" are deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[e] The German has: "the new development of the big bourgeoisie was forced...".—*Ed.*

once set in motion to return to rest again. The new[a] bourgeoisie was reflected in a Liberal-constitutional movement, the just-arising proletariat in the movement which is usually called Nihilism. These were the real results of Russia's *recueillement.*

Meanwhile diplomacy did not yet seem to see what an opponent had arisen at home. On the contrary, abroad it seemed to be gaining victory on victory. At the Paris Congress, in 1856, Orlow was the centre figure, and played the leading part[b]; instead of making sacrifices, Russia won new successes; the maritime rights claimed by England, and disputed by Russia ever since the time of Catherine, were definitely abrogated, and the foundations laid of a Russo-French alliance against Austria.[66] This alliance came into effect in 1859, when Louis Napoleon lent himself to the avenging of Russia upon Austria. The consequences of the Russo-French conventions, which Mazzini exposed at the time, and according to which, in the event of Austria's prolonged resistance, a Russian Grand Duke was to be brought forward as candidate to the throne of an independent Hungary,—these consequences Austria escaped by quickly signing a peace. But since 1848 the people have been spoiling the handicraft of diplomacy. Italy became independent and united, against the will of the Tsar and of Louis Napoleon.[67]

The war of 1859 had alarmed Prussia also. She had nearly doubled her army, and had placed a man at the helm, who in one respect, at least, was a match for Russian diplomatists—in his utter indifference as to what means he employed. This man was Bismarck. During the Polish insurrection of 1863, he, with theatrical ostentation, sided with Russia against Austria, France, and England, and did everything to help her to victory.[68] This secured him, in 1864, the defection of the Tsar from his traditional policy in the Schleswig-Holstein Question; these Duchies were, with the permission of the Tsar, torn from Denmark.[69] Then came the Prusso-Austrian war of 1866; and here again the Tsar rejoiced over the renewed chastisement of Austria, and the growing power of Prussia—the only faithful vassal, faithful even after the kickings of 1849-50. The war of 1866 brought in its wake the Franco-German war of 1870, and again the Tsar sided with his Prussian "Dyadya Molodetz",* kept Austria

* "Uncle's a brick," habitual exclamation of Alexander II. on receiving William's telegraphic announcements of victories. [*Engels' note to the English edition.*]

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[a] The German has "young" instead of "new".—*Ed.*

[b] The German has: "At the Paris Congress, in 1856, Orlow played the much-sought-after leading role...".—*Ed.*

directly in check, and thus deprived France of the only ally that could have saved her from complete defeat. But like Louis Napoleon in 1866, Alexander was taken in by the rapid successes of the German armies in 1870. Instead of a protracted war, exhausting both combatants to death, there came the swift repetition of blow upon blow, which in five weeks overthrew the Bonapartist Empire, and led its armies captive into Germany.

At this time there was but one place in Europe where the position was rightly understood, and that was in the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. On the 9th of September, 1870, it issued a manifesto which said:—

"As in 1865 promises were exchanged between Louis Bonaparte and Bismarck, so in 1870 promises have been exchanged between Gortschakoff and Bismarck.[70] As Louis Bonaparte flattered himself that the war of 1866, resulting in the common exhaustion of Austria and Prussia, would make him the supreme arbiter of Germany, so Alexander flattered himself that the war of 1870, resulting in the common exhaustion of Germany and France, would make him the supreme arbiter of the Western Continent. As the Second Empire thought the North German Confederation incompatible with its existence, so autocratic Russia must consider herself endangered by a German Empire under Prussian leadership. Such is the law of the old political system. Within its pale the gain of one State is the loss of the other. The Tsar's paramount influence over Europe roots in his traditional hold on Germany. At a moment when in Russia herself volcanic social agencies threaten to shake the very base of autocracy, could the Tsar afford to bear with such a loss of foreign prestige? Already the Muscovite journals repeat the language of the Bonapartist journals after the war of 1866. Do the Teuton patriots really believe that liberty and peace will be guaranteed to Germany by forcing France into the arms of Russia? If the fortune of arms, the arrogance of success, and dynastic intrigue lead Germany to a spoliation of French territory, there will then only remain two courses open to her. Either she must at all risks become the *avowed tool* of Russian aggrandisement, or, after some short respite, make again ready for another 'defensive' war, not one of those new-fangled 'localised' wars, but a *war of races,* a war with the combined Slavonian and Roman races."[a]

[a] K. Marx, *Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War* (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 267). In the German a free rendering of the quotation is given, which reads: "The war of 1866, it said, had been fought with the consent of Louis

The new German Empire did Russia the service to wrest Alsace-Lorraine from France,[71] and thereby to throw France into Russia's arms. The diplomacy of the Tsar was now in the enviable position of having both France and Germany, now deadly foes by virtue of this dismemberment, dependent upon Russia. This advantageous position seemed to favour a step further towards Constantinople; the Turkish War of 1877 was declared. After long struggles the Russian troops, in 1878, got as far as the gates of the Turkish capital, when four English men-o'-war appeared in the Bosphorus, and forced Russia, in sight of the towers of the Church of St. Sophia, to halt, and to submit her proposed Treaty of Peace of San Stefano to a European Congress for revision.[72]

And yet an immense success had—apparently—been obtained. Roumania, Servia, Montenegro, enlarged and made independent by Russia, and therefore in her debt; the quadrilateral between the Danube and the Balkan, the strongest bulwark of Turkey,[73] dismantled; the last rampart of Constantinople, the Balkan, torn from Turkey and disarmed; Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, nominally Turkish, actually Russian, vassal states; the territory lost in 1856 in Bessarabia, recovered; new and important positions conquered in Armenia; Austria, by the occupation of Bosnia, made an accomplice in the partition of Turkey, and, moreover, an eternal opponent of all Servian efforts for unity and independence; finally, Turkey, by loss of territory, exhaustion, and an exorbitant war indemnity, reduced to absolute dependence upon Russia, to a position in which, as Russian diplomacy knows only too well,[a] she only holds, for the time being the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus in trust for Russia. And thus it seemed as if Russia had but herself to choose the moment when to take possession of

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Napoleon; but the victories and growth of Prussian power had been sufficient to drive France into a hostile position vis-à-vis Prussia. The renewed successes of 1870 and the concomitant further growth in Prussian-German power were likewise to compel the Russian Tsar to adopt a hostile position towards Germany, although he supported Germany diplomatically during the war. Russia's predominance in Europe was conditional on its traditional power over Germany which had now been broken. At a time when the revolutionary movement was becoming a menace in Russia itself, the Tsar could not take this loss of prestige abroad. And if Germany was now to drive France into Russia's arms by annexing Alsace-Lorraine, it must either submit to becoming the overt tool of Russian designs for conquest, or else, after a short pause, prepare for a war against Russia and France at the same time, a war, which might easily degenerate into a race-war against its Slav and Roman allies."—*Ed.*

[a] The German has "as the Russians believed quite correctly" instead of "as Russian diplomacy knows only too well".—*Ed.*

her great ultimate object, Constantinople, "*la clef de notre maison*".[a]

In reality, however, things were quite otherwise. If Alsace-Lorraine had thrown France into the arms of Russia, the advance on Constantinople and the Berlin Peace threw Austria into the arms of Bismarck. And with that the whole situation again changed. The great military powers of the Continent divided themselves into two huge camps, threatening each other: Russia and France here; Germany and Austria there. Around these two the smaller states have to group themselves. But this means that Russia[b] cannot take the last great step, cannot really take possession of Constantinople without a universal war, with fairly evenly balanced chances, whose final issue will probably depend, not upon the original belligerent parties, but upon England. For a war of Austria and Germany against Russia and France cuts off the whole of the West from the Russian supply of corn. All the western countries exist only by means of corn imported from abroad. This then could only be supplied by sea, and the naval superiority of England would allow her to cut off this supply either from France or from Germany, and thus starve out either one or the other, according to the side which she might take.* But to fight for Constantinople in a general war, in which England would turn the scales—that is exactly what Russian diplomacy has worked 150 years to avoid. It would in itself mean a defeat.

The importance of checkmating England's probable resistance to Russia's final installation on the Bosphorus has not been overlooked by the diplomatists of St. Petersburg. After the Crimean war, and especially after the Indian mutiny of 1857,[74] the conquest of Turkestan, attempted already in 1840,[75] became urgent. In

* The maritime rights, so long claimed by England, and at last abandoned by the Declaration of Paris, 1856, would not be missed by her in an ordinary war with one or two Continental Powers. The latter would, in this age of railroads, even if blockaded by sea, always be supplied, by land, with any quantity of imports by conterminous neutrals; this was, indeed, the chief service rendered to Russia, during the Crimean War, by Prussia. But in a European war, such as now threatens us, the whole Continent would be cut up into hostile groups; neutrality would become, in the long run, impossible; international commerce by land would be almost, if not altogether, suspended. Under such circumstances England might regret giving up her maritime rights. But then, such a war would also display the full force and effect of England's naval superiority, and it may be questioned whether anything more would be at all required. [*Engels' note to the English edition.*]

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[a] "The key to our house"—the words Alexander I said to the French Ambassador Caulaincourt in 1808.—*Ed.*

[b] The German has: "Russian Tsardom".—*Ed.*

1865, a foothold was gained on the Jaxartes by the occupation of Tashkent; in 1868 Samarkand, in 1875 Khokand was annexed, and the Khanates of Bokhara and Khiva brought under Russian vassalage. Then began the weary advance upon Merv from the south-east corner of the Caspian; in 1881, Geok Tepé, the first important advanced post in the desert was taken, in 1884 Merv surrendered, and now the Transcaspian Railway bridges over the gap in the Russian line of communications between Mikhailowsk on the Caspian and Tchardjui on the Oxus. The present Russian position in Turkestan is as yet far from offering a safe and sufficient basis for an attack upon India. But it constitutes, at all events, a very significant menace of future invasion and a cause of constant agitation amongst the natives. While the English raj in India had no possible rival, even the mutiny of 1857 and its deterrent suppression might be looked upon as events fortifying, in the long run, the dominion of England. But with a European first-rate military power settling down in Turkestan, forcing or coaxing Persia and Afghanistan into vassalage, and slowly but irresistibly advancing towards the Hindukush and Suleiman ranges, things are very different. The English raj ceases to be an unalterable doom imposed upon India; a second alternative opens up before the natives; what force has made force may undo; and whenever England now attempts to cross Russia's path on the Black Sea, Russia will try to find unpleasant work for England in India. But in spite of all this, England's maritime power is such that she still can hurt Russia far more than Russia can hurt her, in a general war such as now seems impending.[a]

Moreover, the alliance with a republican France, whose rulers are subject to constant change, is by no means safe for Tsardom, and still less in accordance with its heart's desire. Only a restored French monarchy could offer satisfactory guarantees as ally in a war so terrible as that which is now alone possible. Hence, too, for the last five years Tsardom has taken the Orleans under its special protection; they have had to intermarry with it, by marrying into the Danish Royal Family—that Russian advanced post on the Sound.[76] And to prepare the restoration, in France, of the Orleans, now equally promoted into a Russian advanced post, General Boulanger was made use of. His own followers in France boast that the secret source whence money was so lavishly provided them, was no other than the Russian government, which had found them 15 million francs for their campaign.[77] Thus is

[a] This paragraph is deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

Russia again meddling in the internal affairs of the Western countries, this time undisguisedly as the mainstay of reaction, and is playing off the impatient Chauvinism of the French bourgeois against the revolutionary spirit of the French workmen.

Altogether it is since 1878 that we begin to really see how much the position of Russian diplomacy has changed for the worse since the people are more and more permitting themselves to put in a word, and that with success. Even in the Balkan Peninsula, the territory where Russia appears *ex professo*[a] as the champion of nationalities, nothing seems to succeed now. The Roumanians, as a reward for having made victory possible to the Russians at Plevna,[78] have been compelled to give up their portion of Bessarabia, and will hardly allow themselves to be taken in by drafts on the future with respect to Transsylvania and the Banat. The Bulgarians are heartily sick of the Tsar's method of liberation, thanks to the Tsar's agents sent into their country. Only the Servians, and possibly the Greeks—both outside the direct line of fire on Constantinople—are not yet recalcitrant. The Austrian Slavs, whom the Tsar felt called upon to deliver from German bondage, have since, in the Cisleithan Provinces of the Empire[79] at least, played the part of the ruling race. The phrase of the emancipation of oppressed Christian[b] nations by the almighty Tsar is played out, and can, at most, be applied to Crete and Armenia only, and that will no longer draw in Europe, not even with sanctimonious English Liberals; for the sake of Crete and Armenia, not even Tsar-worshipping Mr. Gladstone will risk a European war, after the exposure, by Mr. Kennan of the infamous brutality with which the Tsar suppresses every attempt at opposition in his own dominions,[c] after the notoriety given to the flogging to death of Madame Sihida and other Russian "atrocities".[80]

And here we come to the very kernel of the matter. The internal development of Russia since 1856, furthered by the Government itself, has done its work. The social revolution has made giant strides; Russia is daily becoming more and more Occidentalised; modern manufactures, steam,[d] railways, the transformation of all payments in kind into money payments, and with this the crumbling of the old foundations of society are developing with ever accelerated speed. But in the same degree is also

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[a] Openly.—*Ed.*

[b] The words "oppressed Christian" are deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[c] The rest of the sentence is deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[d] The word is deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

evolving the incompatibility of despotic Tsardom with the new society in course of formation. Opposition parties are forming—constitutional and revolutionary—which the Government can only master by means of increased brutality. And Russian diplomacy sees with horror the day approaching, on which the Russian people will demand to be heard, and when the settlement of their own internal affairs will leave them neither time nor wish to concern themselves with such puerilities as the conquest of Constantinople, of India, and of the supremacy of the world. The Revolution that in 1848 halted on the Polish frontier, is now knocking at the door of Russia and it now has, within, plenty of allies who only wait the right moment to throw open that door to it.

It is true, that whoever reads Russian newspapers, might suppose that all Russia enthusiastically applauds the Tsar's policy of conquest; in them there is nothing but Jingoism, Panslavism, the deliverance of Christians from the Turkish, of Slavs from the German and Magyar, yoke. But, firstly, every one knows in what chains the Russian press lies bound; secondly, the Government itself has for years fostered this Jingoism and Panslavism in all schools; and thirdly, these newspapers express—so far as they express any sort of independent opinion, only the opinion of the town population, *i.e.* of the newly-created Bourgeoisie, naturally interested in new conquests as extensions of the Russian home market. But this town population is a vanishing minority throughout the country. As soon as a National Assembly gives the immense majority of the Russian people—the rural population—an opportunity of making itself heard, we shall see quite another state of things. The experiences of the Government with regard to the Zemstvos (County Councils)[a] and which forced it to take away again all power from the Zemstvos[81] prove that a Russian National Assembly, in order to settle only the most pressing internal difficulties, would at once have to put a decided stop to all hankering after new conquests.

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The European situation to-day is governed by three facts: (1) the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany; (2) the impending advance of Russian Tsardom upon Constantinople; (3) the struggle in all countries, ever growing fiercer, between the Proletariat and the Bourgeoisie, the working-class and the

[a] The words in brackets are deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

middle-class, a struggle whose thermometer is the everywhere advancing Socialist movement.

The two first necessitate the grouping of Europe, to-day, into two large camps. The German annexation makes France the ally of Russia against Germany; the threatening of Constantinople by Tsardom makes Austria and even Italy the allies of Germany. Both camps are preparing for a decisive battle, for a war, such as the world has not yet seen, in which 10 to 15 million armed combatants will stand face to face. Only two circumstances have thus far prevented the outbreak of this fearful war: first, the incredibly rapid improvements in firearms, in consequence of which every newly-invented arm is already superseded by a new invention, before it can be introduced into even *one* army; and, secondly, the absolute impossibility of calculating the chances, the complete uncertainty as to who will finally come out victor from this gigantic struggle.

All this danger of a general war will disappear on the day when a change of things in Russia will allow the Russian people to blot out, at a stroke, the traditional policy of conquest of its Tsars, and to turn its attention to its own internal vital interests, now seriously menaced, instead of dreaming about universal supremacy.

On that day the German Empire[a] will lose all its allies against France, whom the danger from Russia has driven into its arms. Neither Austria nor Italy will then have even the smallest interest in pulling the German Emperor's[b] chestnuts out of the fire of a colossal European war. The German Empire will fall back to that isolated position, in which, as Moltke says, everyone fears and no one loves it,[c] the unavoidable result of its policy. Then, too, the mutual sympathy between Russia striving after freedom and Republican France, will be as suitable to the state of both countries, as it will be free of danger to Europe generally; and then Bismarck, or whoever succeeds him, will think thrice before he forces on a war with France, in which neither Russia against Austria, nor Austria against Russia covers his flank, in which both these countries would rejoice at any defeat he might suffer, and in which it is very doubtful whether he could, single-handed, overcome the French. Then all sympathies would be on the side of

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[a] The German has "Bismarck" instead of "the German Empire".—*Ed.*

[b] William II. The German has "Bismarck's" instead of "the German Emperor's".—*Ed.*

[c] In his speech in the German Reichstag on February 16, 1874 Moltke said: "Since our successful wars we have gained respect everywhere, but love nowhere."—*Ed.*

France, and she would, at worst, be safe from further spoliation. Instead, therefore, of steering towards a war, the German Empire would probably soon find its isolated condition so intolerable that it would seek a sincere reconciliation with France, and thus all the terrible danger of war would be removed. Europe could disarm, and Germany would have gained most of all.

On the same day Austria will lose her only historical *raison d'être,* the only justification for her existence, that of barrier against a Russian advance on Constantinople. When the Bosphorus is no longer threatened by Russia, Europe will lose all interest in the maintenance of this motley hodge-podge of many peoples. Equally indifferent then will be the whole of the so-called Eastern question, the continuation of Turkish supremacy in Slav, Greek, and Albanian regions, and the dispute about the possession of the entrance to the Black Sea, which no one will then be able to monopolise against the rest of Europe. Magyars, Roumanians, Servians, Bulgarians, Arnauts,[a] Greeks, Armenians,[b] and Turks, will then, at last, be in a position to settle their mutual differences without the interference of foreign Powers, to establish among themselves the boundaries of each national territory, to order their internal affairs according to their own necessities and wishes. It will at once be seen that the great hindrance to the autonomy and free grouping of the nations and fragments of nations between the Carpathians and the Ægean Sea was no other than that same Tsardom which used the pretended emancipation of these nations as a cloak for its plans of world-supremacy.

France will be freed from the unnatural, compulsory position into which her alliance with the Tsar has forced her. If the alliance with the Republic is repugnant to the Tsar, far more repugnant to the revolutionary French people is this league with the despot, the executioner of both Poland and Russia. In a war by the side of the Tsar, France would be forbidden, in the event of a defeat, to make use of her great, her only effective means of preservation, her salvation in 1793: the Revolution, the calling out of all the strength of the people by terror, and the revolutionist propaganda in the country of the enemy; in such an event the Tsar would at once join hands with the enemies of France, for times have changed since 1848, and the Tsar, in the meantime, has learnt to know from personal experience what the Terror is. The alliance with the Tsar, then, is no strengthening of France; on

[a] The Turkish name for Albanians.—*Ed.*
[b] The word is deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

the contrary, at the moment of greatest danger Tsardom will keep sheathed the sword of France. But if in Russia, in the place of the almighty Tsar, there is a National Assembly, then the friendship of newly-freed Russia for the French Republic will be self-understood and natural; then it will further instead of impeding the revolutionary movement in France, then it will be a gain to the European Proletariat fighting for its emancipation. So France, too, must gain by the overthrow of the omnipotence of the Tsar.

Then will also disappear the excuse for the mad armaments which are turning Europe into one large camp, and which make war itself seem almost a relief. Even the German Reichstag would then find itself obliged to refuse the ever-increasing demands for war supplies.

And with this, Western Europe would be in a position to occupy itself, undisturbed by foreign diversions and interference, with its own immediate historical task, with the conflict between Proletariat and Bourgeoisie, and[a] the solution of the economic problems connected with it.

The overthrow of the Tsar's despotic rule in Russia would also directly help on this process. On the day when Tsardom falls—this last stronghold of the whole European Reaction—on that day a quite different wind will blow across Europe. For the gentlemen in Berlin and Vienna[b] know perfectly well, in spite of all differences with the Tsar about Constantinople, etc., that the time may come when they will throw into his maw Constantinople, the Bosphorus, the Dardanelles, anything he wants, if only he will protect them against Revolution. On the day, therefore, when this chief stronghold itself, when Russia[c] passes into the hands of the Revolution, the last remnant of confidence and security of the reactionary governments of Europe is gone; they will be thrown upon their own resources, and will soon learn how little they are worth then. The German Emperor[d] might perhaps be tempted into sending an army to restore the authority of the Tsar—than which there could be no better way to destroy his own authority.[e]

For there can be no doubt that Germany—quite independent of

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[a] In the German the end of the sentence reads: "with effecting the transition from capitalist to socialist society".—*Ed.*

[b] The German has: "For the reactionary governments of Europe...".—*Ed.*

[c] The words "when Russia" are deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[d] William II.—*Ed.*

[e] In the German another sentence is printed instead of this one: "Perhaps they might opt to send in their armies to establish the authority of the Tsar—what an irony of world history!"—*Ed.*

any possible action of Russia or France—is rapidly approaching a revolution. The last general election shows that the German Socialists are doubling their strength every three years; that to-day, of all single parties in the empire, they are the strongest, counting 1,437,000 votes out of a total of seven millions; and that all penal and coercive legislation was utterly powerless to stop their advance.[82] But the German Socialists, while willing to accept, on account, any economic concessions the young Emperor may make to the working class, are determined, and after ten years' coercion more determined than ever, to recover the political liberty conquered in 1848 on the Berlin barricades, but lost again to a great extent under Manteuffel and Bismarck. They know that this political liberty will alone give them the means of attaining the economic emancipation of the working class. In spite of any appearances to the contrary, a struggle is imminent between the German Socialists and the Emperor, the representative of personal and paternal government. In this struggle, the Emperor must ultimately be beaten. The electoral returns prove that the Socialists are making headway rapidly even in the country districts, while the large towns already as good as belong to them; and, in a country where every able-bodied adult male is a soldier, this means the gradual conversion of the army to Socialism. Now let a sudden change of system take place in Russia, and the effect upon Germany must be tremendous; it must hasten the crisis and double the chances of the Socialists.[a]

These are the points why Western Europe in general, and especially its working class,[b] is interested, very deeply interested, in the triumph of the Russian Revolutionary Party, and in the overthrow of the Tsar's absolutism. Europe is gliding down an inclined plane with increasing swiftness towards the abyss of a general war, a war of hitherto unheard-of extent and ferocity. Only one thing can stop it—a change of system in Russia. That this must come about in a few years there can be no doubt. May it come to pass in good time before the otherwise inevitable occurs.

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[a] The paragraph is deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[b] The German has "the West European workers' party" instead of "its working class".—*Ed.*

# ON ANTI-SEMITISM

## (FROM A PRIVATE LETTER TO VIENNA)[83]

...But whether you might not be doing more harm than good with your anti-Semitism is something I would ask you to consider. For anti-Semitism betokens a retarded culture, which is why it is found only in Prussia and Austria, and in Russia too. Anyone dabbling in anti-Semitism, either in England or in America, would simply be ridiculed, while in Paris the only impression created by M. Drumont's writings—wittier by far than those of the German anti-Semites—was that of a somewhat ineffectual flash in the pan. Moreover, now that he is standing for the Municipal Council he has actually had to declare himself an opponent of Christian no less than of Jewish capital. And M. Drumont would be read even were he to take the opposite view.

In Prussia it is the lesser nobility, the Junkers with an income of 10,000 marks and outgoings of 20,000, and hence subject to usury, who indulge in anti-Semitism, while both in Prussia and Austria a vociferous chorus is provided by those whom competition from big capital has ruined—the petty bourgeoisie, skilled craftsmen and small shop-keepers. But in as much as capital, whether Semitic or Aryan, circumcised or baptised, is destroying *these* classes of society which are reactionary through and through, it is only doing what pertains to its office, and doing it well; it is helping to impel the retarded Prussians and Austrians forward until they eventually attain the present-day level at which all the old social distinctions resolve themselves in the one great antithesis—capitalists and wage-labourers. Only in places where this has not yet happened, where there is no strong capitalist class and hence no strong class of wage-labourers, where capital is not yet strong enough to gain control of national production as a

whole, so that its activities are mainly confined to the Stock Exchange—in other words, where production is still in the hands of the farmers, landowners, craftsmen and suchlike classes surviving from the Middle Ages—there, and there alone, is capital mainly Jewish, and there alone is anti-Semitism rife.

In North America *not a single Jew* is to be found among the millionaires whose wealth can, in some cases, scarcely be expressed in terms of our paltry marks, gulden or francs and, by comparison with these Americans, the Rothschilds are veritable paupers. And even in England, Rothschild is a man of modest means when set, for example, against the Duke of Westminster.[a] Even in our own Rhineland from which, with the help of the French, we drove the aristocracy 95 years ago and where we have established modern industry, one may look in vain for Jews.

Hence anti-Semitism is merely the reaction of declining medieval social strata against a modern society consisting essentially of capitalists and wage-labourers, so that all it serves are reactionary ends under a purportedly socialist cloak; it is a degenerate form of feudal socialism and we can have nothing to do with that. The very fact of its existence in a region is proof that there is not yet enough capital there. Capital and wage-labour are today indivisible. The stronger capital and hence the wage-earning class becomes, the closer will be the demise of capitalist domination. So what I would wish for us Germans, amongst whom I also count the Viennese, is that the capitalist economy should develop at a truly spanking pace rather than slowly decline into stagnation.

In addition, the anti-Semite presents the facts in an entirely false light. He doesn't even know the Jews he decries, otherwise he would be aware that, thanks to anti-Semitism in eastern Europe, and to the Spanish Inquisition in Turkey, there are here in England and in America thousands upon thousands of *Jewish proletarians*; and it is precisely these Jewish workers who are the worst exploited and the most poverty-stricken. In England during the past twelve months we have had *three* strikes by Jewish workers.[84] Are we then expected to engage in anti-Semitism in our struggle against capital?

Furthermore, we are far too deeply indebted to the Jews. Leaving aside Heine and Börne, Marx was a full-blooded Jew; Lassalle was a Jew. Many of our best people are Jews. My friend Victor Adler, who is now atoning in a Viennese prison for his devotion to the cause of the proletariat, Eduard Bernstein, editor

[a] H. L. Grosvenor.—*Ed.*

of the London *Sozialdemokrat*, Paul Singer, one of our best men in the Reichstag—people whom I am proud to call my friends, and all of them Jewish! After all, I myself was dubbed a Jew by the *Gartenlaube* and, indeed, if given the choice, I'd as lief be a Jew as a 'Herr *von*'[a]!

London, April 19, 1890

*Frederick Engels*

First published in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 19, May 9, 1890

Printed according to the newspaper

[a] A German honorific indicating membership of the nobility.—*Ed.*

# [PREFACE TO THE FOURTH GERMAN EDITION (1890) OF THE *MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY*][85]

Since the above was written,[a] a new German edition of the *Manifesto* has again become necessary, and much has also happened to the *Manifesto* which should be recorded here.

A second Russian translation—by Vera Zasulich—appeared in Geneva in 1882; the preface to that edition was written by Marx and myself.[b] Unfortunately, the original German manuscript has gone astray; I must therefore retranslate from the Russian, which will in no way improve the text.[86] It reads:

"The first Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* in Bakunin's translation, was published in the early sixties[c] by the printing office of the *Kolokol.*[87] At that time the significance to the West of the Russian translation of this work was at most that of a literary curiosity. Such a view would no longer be possible today. What a limited field the proletarian movement still occupied at that time (January 1848[d]) is best shown by the last chapter of the *Manifesto*: "Position of the Communists in Relation to the Various Opposition Parties."[e] The most notable omissions here are Russia and the United States. It was the time when Russia constituted the last great reserve of European reaction and when

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[a] The reference is to Engels' Preface (1883) to the German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 118-19).—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx and F. Engels, "Preface to the Second Russian Edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*" (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 425-26).—*Ed.*

[c] К. Марксъ, Ф. Энгельсъ, *Манифестъ Коммунистической партіи.* Женева, 1869.—*Ed.*

[d] The manuscript of the Preface to the Russian edition of 1882 has "December 1847" instead of "January 1848".—*Ed.*

[e] The manuscript of the Preface to the 1882 Russian edition has further the following words: "in the various countries".—*Ed.*

emigration to the United States absorbed the surplus forces of the European proletariat. Both countries supplied Europe with raw materials and at the same time provided markets for the sale of its manufactured goods. Thus both served, each in its own way, as pillars of the European social order.

"How all that has changed today! It is that self-same European emigration which has made possible the immense development of North American agriculture which, through its competition, is shaking the very foundations of European landed property—large and small. It has also enabled the United States to make a start on exploiting its tremendous industrial resources, and with such energy and on such a scale that this is bound in a short while to put an end to the industrial monopoly of Western Europe.[a] And these two circumstances react in revolutionary manner also on America itself. The small and medium landed property of the self-employed[b] farmers, the foundation of America's entire political system, is increasingly succumbing to competition from giant farms, whilst simultaneously in the industrial regions a numerically strong proletariat is taking shape for the first time alongside a fabulous concentration of capitals.

"Let us move on to Russia. During the revolution of 1848-49 not only the European monarchs, but also the European bourgeois, saw in Russian intervention their sole salvation from a European proletariat just awakening to its own power. They proclaimed the Tsar[c] head of European reaction. Today he[d] languishes in Gatchina, a prisoner of war of the revolution,[88] and Russia forms the vanguard of the revolutionary movement in Europe.

"It was the task of the *Communist Manifesto* to proclaim the inevitably impending demise of contemporary bourgeois property. But in Russia we find that, alongside the capitalist system, developing with a feverish haste, and bourgeois landed property, only just beginning to develop, more than half the land is the common property of the peasants.

"Now the question is: can the Russian peasant community,[e] a

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[a] In the manuscript of the Preface to the 1882 Russian edition there follows: "and especially of England".—*Ed.*

[b] The word "self-employed" was added by Engels to the German edition of 1890.—*Ed.*

[c] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

[d] Alexander III.—*Ed.*

[e] The manuscript of the Preface to the 1882 Russian edition has the Russian word *Obshchina*—village community—transliterated as *Obschtschina* instead of "peasant community".—*Ed.*

Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek.

XXXIII.

# Das Kommunistische Manifest.

Vierte autorisirte deutsche Ausgabe.

Mit einem neuen Vorwort von Friedrich Engels.

Meine Laura Lafargue
F. Engels
London 9/8/90.

London.
German Cooperative Publishing Co.
114 Kentish Town Road NW.
1890.

Title page of the German edition (1890)
of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*

form of the primeval common ownership of land, albeit greatly eroded, pass directly to the higher, communist form of common ownership, or must it first pass through the same process of dissolution as demonstrated in the historical development of the West?

"The only answer possible to this question today is the following. If the Russian revolution becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that the two complement each other, then present-day Russian common ownership may serve as a starting point for communist development.

"*London,* January 21, 1882."

At about the same date, a new Polish version appeared in Geneva: *Manifest Komunistyczny.*[a]

Furthermore, a new Danish translation has appeared in the *Socialdemokratisk Bibliotek,* København, 1885.[b] Unfortunately it is not quite complete; certain essential passages, which seem to have presented difficulties to the translator, have been omitted, and in addition there are signs of carelessness here and there, which are all the more unpleasantly conspicuous since the translation indicates that had the translator taken a little more pains he would have done an excellent piece of work.

A new French version appeared in 1886 in *Le Socialiste* of Paris; it is the best published to date.[c]

After this a Spanish version was published the same year, first in *El Socialista*[d] of Madrid, and then reissued in pamphlet form: *Manifesto del Partido Comunista* por Carlos Marx y F. Engels, Madrid, Administración de *El Socialista,* Hernán Cortés 8.

As a matter of curiosity I may also mention that in 1887 the manuscript of an Armenian translation was offered to a publisher in Constantinople. But the good man did not have the courage to publish something bearing the name of Marx and suggested that the translator set down his own name as author, which the latter, however, declined.

After one and then another of the more or less inaccurate

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[a] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Manifest Komunistyczny 1847.*—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Det Kommunistiske Manifest.*—*Ed.*

[c] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Manifeste du parti communiste, Le Socialiste,* Nos. 1-11, August 29-November 7, 1885. The date "1886" is given by Engels by mistake. The translation was done by Laura Lafargue and edited by Engels.—*Ed.*

[d] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Manifesto del Partido Comunista, El Socialista,* Nos. 14-17, 19-22, June 11-August 6, 1886.—*Ed.*

American translations had been repeatedly reprinted in England,[a] an authentic version at last appeared in 1888. This was by my friend Samuel Moore, and we went through it together once more before it was sent to press. It is entitled: *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Authorised English Translation, edited and annotated by Frederick Engels, 1888, London, William Reeves, 185 Fleet St., E.C.[b] I have added some of the notes of that edition to the present one.

The *Manifesto* has had a history of its own. Greeted with enthusiasm, at the time of its appearance, by the then still not at all numerous vanguard of scientific Socialism (as is proved by the translations mentioned in the first preface[c]), it was soon forced into the background by the reactionary developments that originated with the defeat of the Paris workers in June 1848, and was finally excommunicated "according to law" by the conviction of the Cologne Communists in November 1852.[89] With the disappearance from the public scene of the workers' movement that had begun with the February revolution,[d] the *Manifesto* passed into the background.

When the working class of Europe had again gathered sufficient strength for a new onslaught upon the power of the ruling classes, the International Working Men's Association came into being. Its aim was to weld together into *one* huge army the whole militant working class of Europe and America. Therefore it could not *set out* from the principles laid down in the *Manifesto.* It was bound to have a programme which would not shut the door on the English Trade Unions, the French, Belgian, Italian and Spanish Proudhonists and the German Lassalleans.* This programme—the preamble to the Rules of the International[e]—was drawn up by Marx with a

* Lassalle personally, to us, always acknowledged himself to be a "disciple" of Marx, and, as such, stood, of course, on the ground of the *Manifesto.* Matters were quite different with regard to those of his followers who did not go beyond his demand for producers' co-operatives supported by state credits and who divided the whole working class into supporters of state assistance and supporters of self-assistance.

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[a] K. Marx, F. Engels, *The Manifesto of the Communists,* London, 1886; K. Marx, F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communists, Justice,* Nos. 208-13, January 7-February 11, 1888.—*Ed.*

[b] The Preface by Engels to the 1888 English edition. See present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 512-18.—*Ed.*

[c] The Preface by Marx and Engels to the 1872 German edition. See present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 174-75.—*Ed.*

[d] The 1848 revolution in France.—*Ed.*

[e] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 14-16.—*Ed.*

master hand acknowledged even by Bakunin and the anarchists. For the ultimate triumph of the ideas set forth in the *Manifesto* Marx relied solely and exlusively upon the intellectual development of the working class, as it necessarily had to ensue from united action and discussion. The events and vicissitudes in the struggle against capital, the defeats even more than the successes, could not but demonstrate to the fighters the inadequacy hitherto of their universal panaceas and make their minds more receptive to a thorough understanding of the true conditions for the emancipation of the workers. And Marx was right. The working class of 1874, at the dissolution of the International, was altogether different from that of 1864, at its foundation. Proudhonism in the Latin countries and the specific Lassalleanism in Germany were dying out, and even the then arch-conservative English TRADE UNIONS were gradually approaching the point where in 1887 the chairman of their Swansea Congress[a] could say in their name: "Continental Socialism [...] has lost its terrors for us."[b] Yet by 1887 Continental Socialism was almost exclusively the theory heralded in the *Manifesto.* Thus, to a certain extent, the history of the *Manifesto* reflects the history of the modern working-class movement since 1848. At present it is doubtless the most widely circulated, the most international product of all socialist literature, the common programme of many millions of workers of all countries, from Siberia to California.

Nevertheless, when it appeared we could not have called it a *socialist* manifesto. In 1847 two kinds of people were considered socialists. On the one hand were the adherents of the various Utopian systems, notably the Owenites in England and the Fourierists in France, both of whom at that date had already dwindled to mere sects gradually dying out. On the other, the manifold types of social quacks who wanted to eliminate social abuses through their various universal panaceas and all kinds of patchwork, without hurting capital and profit in the least. In both cases, people who stood outside the labour movement and who looked for support rather to the "educated" classes. The section of the working class, however, which demanded a radical reconstruction of society, convinced that mere political revolutions were not enough, then called itself *communist.* It was still a rough-hewn, only instinctive, and frequently somewhat crude Communism. Yet it was powerful enough to bring into being two

[a] W. Bevan.—*Ed.*

[b] W. Binning, *The Trades' Union Congress, The Commonweal,* No. 88, September 17, 1887.—*Ed.*

systems of Utopian Communism—in France the "Icarian" Communism of Cabet, and in Germany that of Weitling. Socialism in 1847 signified a bourgeois movement, Communism, a working-class movement. Socialism was, on the Continent at least, quite respectable, whereas Communism was the very opposite. And since we were very decidedly of the opinion as early as then that "the emancipation of the workers must be the act of the working class itself",[90] we could have no hesitation as to which of the two names we should choose. Nor has it ever occurred to us since to repudiate it.

"Working men of all countries, unite!" But few voices responded when we proclaimed these words to the world forty-two years ago, on the eve of the first Paris revolution in which the proletariat came out with demands of its own. On September 28, 1864, however, the proletarians of most of the Western European countries joined hands in the International Working Men's Association of glorious memory. True, the International itself lived only nine years. But that the eternal union of the proletarians of all countries created by it is still alive and lives stronger than ever, there is no better witness than this day. Because today, as I write these lines, the European and American proletariat is reviewing its fighting forces, mobilised for the first time, mobilised as *one* army, under *one* flag, for *one* immediate aim: the standard eight-hour working day to be established by legal enactment, as proclaimed by the Geneva Congress of the International in 1866, and again by the Paris Workers' Congress in 1889.[91] And today's spectacle will open the eyes of the capitalists and landlords of all countries to the fact that today the working men of all countries are united indeed.

If only Marx were still by my side to see this with his own eyes!

*London,* May 1, 1890

*F. Engels*

First published in *Das Kommunistische Manifest,* London, 1890

Printed according to the book

# MAY 4 IN LONDON[92]

The May Day celebration of the proletariat was epoch-making not only by its universal character which made it the first international *action* of the militant working class. It also marked most gratifying advances in the various countries taken individually. Friend and foe agree *that on the whole Continent it was Austria, and in Austria Vienna, that celebrated the holiday of the proletariat in the most brilliant and dignified manner,* and that the Austrian, above all the Viennese, workers thereby won themselves an entirely different standing in the movement. Only a few years ago the Austrian movement had declined almost to zero, and the workers of the German and Slav crown lands were split into hostile contingents that wore themselves out in internecine strife. Anyone who had claimed ever just three years ago that on May 1, 1890 Vienna and the whole of Austria would set an example to all others of how a proletarian class holiday should be celebrated, would have been laughed out of court. We shall do well not to forget this fact when judging those squabbles stemming from internal discord in which the workers of other countries continue to wear themselves out to this day, as, for instance, in France. Who would claim that Paris cannot do what Vienna has done?

But on May 4 Vienna was cast in the shade by London. And I consider it to be the most important and magnificent aspect of the entire May Day celebration that on May 4, 1890, the *English proletariat,* rousing itself from forty years of hibernation, *rejoined the movement of its class.* This cannot be appreciated without looking at the past history of May 4.

Towards the beginning of last year the world's largest and most poverty-stricken working-class district, the East End of London, was stirred gradually into action. On April 1, 1889, the Gas

WORKERS' AND GENERAL LABOURERS' UNION was founded; today it has some 100,000 members. It was largely through the participation of this interested union (many are gas workers in winter and dock workers in summer) that the big dockers' strike started on its way and shook even the bottom-most section of the East London workers out of their self-neglect.[93] Trades union upon trades union was formed among these, mostly unskilled workers, while those already in existence there, having hitherto barely kept themselves going, now blossomed forth at speed. But these new TRADES UNIONS are very different from the old ones. The latter, encompassing "skilled" workers, are exclusive; they bar all workers who have not received a guild training, and thereby themselves give rise to competition from those not in the guild; they are rich, but the richer they become, the more they degenerate into mere health-insurance and death benefit funds; they are conservative and they steer clear above all of ... socialism, as far and as long as they can. The new "unskilled" unions, on the other hand, admit *every* worker in the given trade; they are essentially, and the gas workers even exclusively, unions geared to organising and funding strikes. And while they are not socialists to a man, they nevertheless absolutely insist on being led by socialists and no others. But socialist propaganda had already been actively pursued for years in the East End, where it was above all Mrs. E. Marx-Aveling and her husband, Edward Aveling, who had four years earlier discovered the most fertile ground for propaganda in the "Radical clubs"[94] consisting almost exclusively of workers, had worked on them steadily and, as is now evident, to the best effect. During the dock workers' strike Mrs. Aveling was one of the three women who organised the distribution of relief, and as a token of gratitude Mr. Hyndman, the runaway of Trafalgar Square,[95] slanderously alleged that in return they had been paid three pounds sterling every week from the strike fund. Mrs. Aveling led last winter's strike in Silvertown almost unaided,[96] as also in the East End, and in the gas workers' union she represents a women's branch founded by herself.

Last autumn the gas workers won an eight-hour working day here in London, but in an unsuccessful strike lost it again in the southern part of the city,[97] acquiring sufficient proof that this gain is by no means safe for all times in the northern part either. Is it surprising, then, that they readily accepted Mrs. Aveling's proposal to hold a May Day celebration, as decided by the Paris Congress, in support of a legal eight-hour day in London? In concert with several socialist groups, the Radical clubs and the

other TRADES UNIONS in the East End, they set up a Central Committee to organise a large demonstration for the purpose in Hyde Park. As it transpired that all attempts to hold the demonstration on Thursday, May 1, were bound to fail this year, a decision was taken to postpone it till Sunday, May 4.

To ensure that, as far as possible, *all* London workers took part, the Central Committee, in its naïve impartiality, invited the London TRADES COUNCIL as well. This is a body made up of delegates from the London TRADES UNIONS, mostly of the older "skilled" unions, and one in which, as might be expected, the anti-socialist elements still command a majority. The TRADES COUNCIL realised that the movement for an eight-hour day was threatening to grow beyond its control. The old TRADES UNIONS also favour an eight-hour working day, but not one to be established by law. What they mean by an eight-hour day is that normal daily wages should be paid for eight hours—so-and-so much per hour—but that any amount of overtime should be permitted daily, provided every hour of overtime is paid at a higher rate—say, at the rate of one and a half or two ordinary hours. The point therefore was to tie in the demonstration with this version of the working day, one to be won by "free" agreement but certainly not to be made statutory by an Act of Parliament. To this end the TRADES COUNCIL allied itself with the SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION under the above-mentioned Mr. Hyndman, an association which poses as the One True Church of English Socialism, which, quite in keeping with its nature, concluded a life-and-death alliance with the French Possibilists[98] and sent a delegation to their congress, and which therefore from the outset regarded the May Day celebration the Marxist Congress had decided to hold as a sin against the Holy Ghost. The movement was growing beyond the control of the Federation as well; but to fall in line with the Central Committee would mean placing itself under "Marxist" leadership; on the other hand, if the TRADES COUNCIL were to take the matter into its own hands and if the celebration were held on May 4 instead of the 1st, it would no longer be anything like the wicked "Marxist" May Day celebration and so it [the Federation] could join in. Notwithstanding the inclusion in its programme of a legal eight-hour day, the Social Democratic Federation eagerly clasped the hand proffered by the TRADES COUNCIL.

Now the new allies, strange bed-fellows though they were, played on the Central Committee a trick which would, it is true, be considered not only permissible but quite clever by the political ways of the English bourgeoisie, but one which European and

American workers will probably find perfectly ordinary. The fact is that in the case of mass meetings in Hyde Park the organisers must first announce their intention to the Board of Works and reach agreement with it on details, namely secure permission to move onto the grass the carts that are to serve as platforms. Besides, regulations say that after a meeting has been announced, no other meeting may be held in the Park on the same day. The Central Committee had not yet made the announcement; but scarcely had the bodies allied against it heard the news than they registered a meeting in the Park for May 4 and obtained permission for seven platforms, doing so behind the backs of the Central Committee.

The Trades Council and the Federation considered that they had thus rented the Park for May 4 and had victory in the bag. The former called a meeting of delegates from the Trades Unions, to which it also invited two delegates from the Central Committee; the Central Committee sent three, including Mrs. Aveling. The Trades Council treated them as if it were running the whole show. It informed them that *only* trades unions, that is to say no socialist associations or political clubs, were to take part in the demonstration and carry banners. Just how the Social Democratic Federation was to participate in the demonstration remained a mystery. The Council had already edited the resolution to be submitted to the meeting, and had *deleted* from it the demand for a *legal* eight-hour day; a proposal that this be reinserted was neither accepted for debate, nor was it voted on. And lastly, the Council refused to admit Mrs. Aveling as a delegate, claiming that she was not a manual worker (which is not true), and this despite the fact that its own President, Mr. Shipton, had not lifted a finger in his own trade for fully fifteen years.

The workers on the Central Committee were outraged by the trick played on them. It looked as if the demonstration had been finally put into the hands of two bodies representing only small minorities among the London workers. There seemed to be no remedy but to storm the platforms of the Trades Council, as the gas workers had threatened.—Then Edward Aveling went to the Ministry and, contrary to regulations, secured permission for the Central Committee likewise to bring seven platforms to the Park. The attempt to fix the demonstration in accordance with the interests of the minority had failed; the Trades Council pulled in its horns and was glad to be able to negotiate with the Central Committee on an equal footing over arrangements for the demonstration.

One has to know this past history to appreciate the nature and

significance of the demonstration. Prompted by the East End workers who had recently joined the movement, the demonstration elicited such a universal response that two elements—which were no less hostile to each other than both of them together were to the fundamental idea of the demonstration—had to pull together in order to seize the leadership and use the meeting to their own advantage. On the one hand, the conservative TRADES COUNCIL preaching equal rights for capital and labour; on the other, a Social Democratic Federation posing as radical and talking of social revolution whenever it was safe to do so—and the two joined together to play a mean trick with an eye to capitalising on a demonstration mortally hated by both. These events meant that the May 4 meeting was split into two parts. On the one side we find the conservative workers, whose horizons do not extend beyond the wage-labour system, and next to them a feeble but power-hungry socialist sect; on the other side, the great bulk of workers who had recently joined the movement and who want no more to do with the Manchesterism of the old TRADES UNIONS,[99] preferring to win their complete emancipation themselves, with allies of their own choice, and not with those imposed by a tiny socialist clique. On one side we find stagnation represented by TRADES UNIONS that have not yet completely freed themselves from the craft spirit, and by a narrow-minded sect backed by the most wretched of allies; on the other, the living free movement of the re-awakening English proletariat. And it was apparent even to the blindest where there was fresh life in that double gathering and where stagnation. Surrounding the seven platforms of the Central Committee were dense crowds as far as the eye could see, marching up with music and banners, over a hundred thousand in the procession, reinforced by almost as many who had come individually; everywhere harmony and enthusiasm, and yet order and organisation. Around the platforms of the combined reactionaries, on the other hand, everything seemed dull; their procession was greatly inferior to the other, poorly organised, ragged and mostly late, so that in some parts things did not get under way there until the Central Committee was already through. While the Liberal leaders of some Radical clubs, and the officials of several TRADES UNIONS joined the TRADES COUNCIL, the members of the selfsame associations—in fact, four entire branches of the Social Democratic Federation—marched together with the Central Committee. For all that, the TRADES COUNCIL succeeded in winning some attention, but the decisive success was achieved by the Central Committee.

What the numerous onlooking bourgeois politicians took home with them as the overall impression was the certainty that the English proletariat, which for fully forty years had trailed behind the great Liberal Party and served it as election fodder, had awakened at last to a new life and action of its own. There can be no doubt that on May 4, 1890 the English working class joined the great international army. And that is a fact of epoch-making proportions. The English proletariat rests on the most advanced industrial development and, moreover, possesses the greatest freedom of political action. Its long hibernation—the result, on the one hand, of the failure of the Chartist movement of 1836-50 and, on the other hand, of the colossal rise of industry between 1848 and 1880—has finally come to an end. The grandchildren of the old Chartists are stepping into the front line. For eight years the broad masses have been moving into action, now here, now there. Socialist groups have emerged, but none has been able to transcend the bounds of a sect; agitators and would-be party leaders, mere speculators and careerists among them, they have remained officers without an army. It has almost invariably been like the famous Robert Blum column of the Baden campaign of 1849[100]: one colonel, eleven officers, one bugler and one private. And the bickering among those various Robert Blum columns over the leadership of the future proletarian army has been anything but edifying. This will cease before long, just as it has ceased in Germany and in Austria. The tremendous movement of the masses will put an end to all these sects and little groupings by absorbing the men and showing the officers their proper places. Those who don't like it may sneak away. It won't come off without friction, but come off it will, and the English proletarian army will, much sooner than some expect, be as united, as well organised and as determined as any, and will be jubilantly hailed by all its comrades on the Continent and in America.

Written between May 5 and 21, 1890

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Printed according to the newspaper

# [DRAFT OF A REPLY TO THE EDITORS OF THE *SÄCHSISCHE ARBEITER-ZEITUNG*][101]

In their farewell message in No. 105 (August 31, 1890) the retiring editors of the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* state that petty-bourgeois parliamentary socialism now had a majority in Germany. But majorities often very quickly became minorities,

> "and so the retiring editors of the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung join Friedrich Engels* in hoping that, as the naive state socialism of Lassalle was overcome in the past, the success-hungry parliamentary tendency among the present-day Social Democrats will also soon be overcome by the common sense of the German working class".[a]

Had I been able to entertain the slightest doubt about the nature of the latest student revolt in our German party, then my eyes would have been opened by this height of impertinence displayed by the ex-editors of one of its main organs. The ex-editors "join" me in hoping—therefore I join them in hoping—that the tendency represented by people such as Auer, Bebel, Liebknecht, Singer should soon have the minority, and that the "principled attitude" represented by the ex-editors the majority of the German workers behind it. This means that the hopes of the ex-editors have been directly and *falsely attributed* to me and I shall see that they are made to answer for this personally.

I have felt no urge to involve myself in the brawl initiated by these student gents and men of letters. However, I have expressed my opinion frankly to all who wished to hear it. And if the brawling gents want to hear it publicly, so be it.

When these gents began to kick up a row against the party executive and the parliamentary group, I asked myself in surprise:

[a] "An unsere Leser!", *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 105, August 31, 1890.—*Ed.*

what are they after? What is all this aimed at? As far as I could see, there was no reason at all for the whole enormous palaver. On the disputed question of May Day the party executive had perhaps hesitated too long with its declaration. However, it consisted of five persons, living in four widely separated places, and needing time to reach an understanding. But when it spoke, it said the right thing, the only fitting thing in the situation. Events in Hamburg have proved it more than right.[102]

In the debate some members of the parliamentary group and the party executive have certainly been clumsy. Things like this occur always and everywhere, and reflect upon the individual, not the whole group. In its draft rules the parliamentary group has been responsible for some few offences against the democratic code of conduct.[103] But this is only a draft, and it is up to the Party Congress to adopt it, reject it, or amend it. The London Conference of the International in 1871 also committed such sins of form, and the Bakuninists immediately took them up, making them the formal lever for their attacks on the General Council.[104] For all that, everybody knows today that the real democracy rested in the General Council, and not in the Bakuninist Council,[105] which had engineered a whole secret conspiratorial apparatus in order to put the International at its service.

When, at the time of the Steamer Subsidy, the then parliamentary group did not for a moment know what it wanted, and sought to make the editors of the *Sozialdemokrat* the scapegoat for their own perplexity, I took a thoroughly decisive stand on the side of the editors and against the parliamentary group.[106] I would do the same again today were the parliamentary group or the party executive really to do things which seriously endangered the party. But there is no question of anything of this sort today; the[a]

Written on about September 6, 1890

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Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] The manuscript breaks off here.—*Ed.*

# [REPLY TO THE EDITORS OF THE *SÄCHSISCHE ARBEITER-ZEITUNG*][107]

## TO THE EDITORS OF THE *SOZIALDEMOKRAT*

The signatory requests the publication of the following letter, which was dispatched yesterday to the present editors of the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* in Dresden.

* * *

In their farewell message (No. 105 of August 31, 1890) the retiring editors of the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* state that petty-bourgeois parliamentary socialism had a majority in Germany. But majorities often very quickly became minorities,

> "...and so the retiring editors of the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung join Friedrich Engels* in hoping that, as the naive state socialism of Lassalle was overcome in the past, the success-hungry parliamentary tendency among the present-day Social Democrats will also soon be overcome by the common sense of the German working class".[a]

The retiring editors greatly surprise me in the above. And perhaps themselves too.... To date I know nothing of a majority for petty-bourgeois parliamentary socialism in the German party. So they may "hope" whatever they like and as long as they will, but I do not "join" them in hoping.

Had I been able to entertain any doubt about the nature of the latest revolt by men of letters and students in our German party, then it would vanish faced with the height of impertinence of this attempt to announce my solidarity with the somersaults of these gentlemen.

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[a] "An unsere Leser!", *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 105, August 31, 1890.—*Ed.*

My only connection with the retiring editors was that for the past few weeks they had been sending me, unsolicited, their paper; I did not find it necessary, however, to tell them what I thought of it. Now I really have to tell them, and in public at that.

Theoretically I found in it—and this is true by and large for the rest of the "opposition" press—a frenziedly distorted "Marxism", marked on the one hand by a considerable misunderstanding of the viewpoint which it claimed to represent, and on the other by a gross ignorance of the decisive historical facts on every occasion, and thirdly by that knowledge of their own immeasurable superiority which so advantageously distinguishes German scribblers. Marx foresaw such disciples when he had this to say at the end of the seventies about the "Marxism" raging among certain Frenchmen: "*tout ce que je sais, c'est que moi, je ne suis pas marxiste*"—"I know only this, that *I* am not a 'Marxist'." [108]

Practically, I found in the paper a ruthless disregard of all the actual conditions of party struggle, a death-defying "surmounting of obstacles" in the imagination, which may do all honour to the untamed youthful courage of the writers, but which, if transferred from the imagination to reality, would be sufficient to bury the strongest party of millions under the well-earned laughter of the whole hostile world. That even a small sect cannot allow itself, unpunished, such a schoolboy policy—in this respect the gentlemen have had curious experiences since then.

All the complaints against the parliamentary group or the party executive, which they have been storing up for months, boil down at most to simple trifles. But if the gentlemen like to strain at a gnat, this can be no reason for the German worker to swallow camels in appreciation. [a]

So they have harvested what they had sown. Quite apart from all the questions of context, the whole campaign was started with such childishness, such naive self-deception about their own importance, about the state of affairs and views within the party, that the outcome was a foregone conclusion. May the gentlemen take the lesson to heart. Some of them have written things which justified all manner of hope. Most of them could accomplish something, were they less convinced of the perfection of the stage of development they have reached at this moment. May they come to realise that their "academic education"—in any case requiring a thorough, critical self-assessment—does not provide them with an

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[a] An allusion to the biblical expression: "Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel" (Matthew, 23:24).—*Ed.*

officer's commission and a claim to a corresponding post in the party; that in our party everybody must work his way up; that positions of trust in the party are not won simply through literary talent and theoretical knowledge, even if both are undoubtedly present, but that this also demands familiarity with the conditions of party struggle and adjustment to its forms, proven personal reliability and constancy of character and, finally, a willingness to join the ranks of the fighters—in short, that they, the "academically educated" all in all have much more to learn from the workers than the workers from them.

*London,* September 7, 1890

*Frederick Engels*

First published in *Der Sozialdemokrat,* No. 37, September 13, 1890, in the supplement to the *Berliner Volksblatt,* No. 214, September 14, 1890, and in the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung,* No. 112, September 17, 1890

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Published in English for the first time

# THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' CONGRESS OF 1891[109]

At the congress of the English TRADES UNIONS in Liverpool (September 1890)[110] the National Council of the Belgian workers' party invited the TRADES UNIONS to the international congress which is to be held next year in Belgium.

The Belgians were given a mandate by the Possibilist Congress to convene an international congress in Belgium. The Marxist Congress (I employ this designation for brevity's sake) only gave them the mandate to convene a congress *in cooperation with the Swiss*; the place of the congress remained unspecified.

Short of a deliberate misunderstanding, the Belgians have therefore invited the Englishmen to the Possibilist Congress, the only one which they had a mandate to convene on their own. And the English accepted enthusiastically.

It will be impossible to make the young TRADES UNIONS of simple manual workers see that their good faith has been abused; that there will be two congresses in 1891, a good one and a bad one, and that it is the bad one which they have promised to attend. This is not simply my personal opinion; it is also the opinion of people who worked harder than anyone to get the TRADES UNIONS to enter the international movement. The campaign which the *Sozialdemokrat* waged against the English friends of the Possibilists[111] in 1889 could not be repeated this time with the same success. If there are two congresses, why did the others not invite us also, so that we could have made our choice? Now it's too late. That is what these practical men will say. They have accepted the Belgians' invitation and they will go to the congress which is to be held in Belgium. That is absolutely certain; unless the Belgians

and the Possibilists repel them by committing some unequalled stupidities; but they will not commit these stupidities.

This situation is the inevitable consequence of the mistakes committed by the Marxist Congress. The most important question was left unresolved—that of the future congress. Even worse, any solution was rendered almost impossible in that the convening was entrusted to *two* national committees, Belgian and Swiss, without whose prior agreement even the smallest step could not be taken—the surest way of ensuring that nothing would be done. And again, just as after the conference at The Hague,[112] the Belgians, instead of staying within the limits of the mandate given to them, acted purely in their own interests. They wished to make sure that the congress was held in Belgium, and they are convening it, without worrying about their Swiss co-mandatees. I have no wish to cast doubt on the sincerity and good intentions of the Belgian National Council; but, in practice, by the course of action which it has chosen, it is managing the affairs of the Possibilists at our expense. Instead of blaming the others, let us recognise that we are but suffering the consequences of our own failings. (Do not let us blame them too much; the mandate which we gave them virtually invited them not to take it literally.)

We have placed ourselves in a sort of impasse, in a situation in which we cannot move, whereas our rivals are acting. How can we escape from it?

First of all, it is certain that new attempts will be made from more than one quarter to prevent the "scandal" of two rival working men's congresses. We would not be able to reject these attempts; on the contrary, if there is a repetition of the "scandal" it is in our greatest interest to ensure that the responsibility falls on the Possibilists and their allies. Anyone who has the slightest experience of the international movement knows that in the event of a split he who provokes it, or appears to provoke it, is always in the wrong in the eyes of the workers. Therefore, in the event that there are two congresses in 1891, let us act in such a way that it is not we who can be accused of being the cause.

If it is certain that these attempts to effect a union will be made—should we await them passively? Then we would be running the risk that at the last minute the Possibilists and their allies might present us with an ultimatum full of traps (such as we are familiar with)—traps hidden beneath soothing verbiage, so that the general public should not see any harm in it, whilst we would not be able to accept; this, then, is the fine situation facing us: either accept and walk into the trap with eyes wide open, or refuse and

carry the blame, in the eyes of the workers, for having brought about the collapse of the socialist union by sheer, inexplicable obstinacy!

In a word, the situation is quite intolerable. We must escape from it. How? By acting. Let us no longer sit back and rely on the mandate given to the Belgians and the Swiss—let us take the matter into our own hands.[a]

Would the union of the two congresses be a regrettable thing as far as we are concerned? Let us examine the question.

We may count, for certain, on 1) the French Collectivists[113] and Blanquists (the latter reduced by the large numbers that deserted to the Boulangist camp[114]), 2) the Germans, 3) the Austrians, 4) the Spanish socialists, 5) the "revolutionary" Danes,[115] $^1/_5$ of the Danish socialists, 6) the Swedes and perhaps some Norwegians, 7) the Swiss, 8) the banished Russians and Poles.

The rival congress would comprise 1) the French Possibilists, 2) the English Trades Unions, which would be represented en masse, and the English Social Democratic Federation, which has profited from the general upswing of the movement in England, 3) the Belgians, 4) the Dutch, 5) the Spanish trade unions from Barcelona, etc., 6) probably the Portuguese trade unions, 7) the Italians, 8) the "reformist" Danes, $^4/_5$ of the socialist mass in Denmark, who might attract a few Norwegians, too.

According to circumstances the Belgians and the Dutch would come along to be represented at our congress also; on the other hand, the Swiss would be capable of sending some delegates to the Possibilist congress.

It follows that this time the Possibilists would have a much more respectable army than in 1889. If we have the Germans, they will balance them with the English, lost to us by our inaction and clumsiness; as for the others, they have as many nationalities as we, if not more. And with their skill in inventing mandates and fictitious representatives they would leave us a long way behind. Let us add that if we carry on with the system of inaction implemented hitherto, the blame for the split would certainly fall on us, which would cause a further reduction in the strength of our congress.

Let us now suppose that the merger has taken place. Then our strength will be swollen by all those who up to the present have been neutral because of the "scandal" of the split: the Belgians,

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[a] The following six paragraphs up to the words "What are for us the indispensable conditions" are crossed by a vertical line in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

the Dutch, the Italians; they will inevitably attract the new English TRADES UNIONS, formed out of excellent elements, still pliable but well intentioned and intelligent. We have already taken root there; the contact of the French Collectivists and the Germans would be enough to bring them still closer to us, all the more so as the S.D.F., whom with its overbearing airs they find repugnant, is the pledged ally of the Possibilists. The Belgians only want congresses where they can take the lead and which the Possibilists have procured for them, particularly a big congress at Brussels. If we help them to bring about a merger *in their country,* the Flemish, who are the better element in their ranks, will side with us and will balance the Possibilist tendencies of the Bruxellois. The Dutch are fanatically keen on a merger, but they are far from being Possibilists.

What are for us the indispensable conditions?

1) That the joint congress should be convened by the two countries mandated by the two congresses of 1889. The Belgians will convene in the name of the Possibilist mandate, and the Belgians and the Swiss jointly in the name of our mandate, form to be determined.

2) That the congress should be its own master. The rules and regulations, agendas and resolutions of the preceding congresses do not exist for it. It makes its own rules, the method of checking the mandates, and its agenda without being bound by any precedent. No committee, whether appointed by one of the preceding congresses, or during the course of the merger negotiations, has the right to bind the congress in all matters.

3) The terms on which the various working men's associations are to be represented, and their proportions, will be laid down beforehand (definite proposals are desirable, it is not up to me to lay them down).

4) A committee whose composition remains to be decided will be instructed to draft plans for the rules, the checking of mandates, and an agenda, on which points the congress will make the final decision.

Written between September 9 and 15, 1890

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Der Sozialdemokrat

Organ der Sozialdemokratie deutscher Zunge.

## [FAREWELL LETTER TO THE READERS OF THE *SOZIALDEMOKRAT*][116]

Might I too be permitted to bid farewell to the reader.

The *Sozialdemokrat* must vanish from the scene. Not only because this has been so often announced to the other parties. Far more because the *Sozialdemokrat* would itself under the changed circumstances necessarily become something else, with a different mission, different contributors, a different readership. And a paper which played such a specific historical role, a paper which was peculiar for the fact that in its columns, and in its columns only, the twelve most decisive years in the life of the German workers' party are reflected—such a paper cannot and must not change. It must remain what it was, or it must cease to exist. On this we all agree.

We also all agree that the paper cannot disappear without leaving a gap. No organ appearing in Germany, official or not, can replace it. For the party this is only a relative drawback: it is entering into different conditions of struggle and therefore needs different weapons and a different strategy and tactics. But it is an absolute loss for the contributors, and particularly for me.

Twice in my life I have had the honour and the pleasure of working for a periodical where I enjoyed to full measure the two most favourable conditions in which one can be effective in the press: firstly, unconditional press freedom, and secondly, the certainty that one was reaching exactly that public one wished to reach.

The first occasion was in 1848-1849 at the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.[117] Those were revolutionary times, and in such times it is anyway a pleasure to work for the daily press. You see the effect of every word before your eyes, you see how the articles literally hit the target, as though they were shells, and how they explode.

The second occasion was at the *Sozialdemokrat.* This too was a revolutionary interval, after the party found its feet again at the Wyden Congress, and from then on resumed the fight "with all methods", legal or not.[118] The *Sozialdemokrat* was the embodiment of this illegality. For it there was no binding imperial constitution, no imperial criminal code, no Prussian common law. Illegally, defying and disdaining all imperial and provincial legislation, it penetrated every week the frontiers of the Holy German Empire; detectives, spies, agents provocateurs, customs officials, doubled and trebled frontier forces were powerless: almost with the certainty of a bill of exchange it was presented to the subscriber on the date of maturity; no Stephan could prevent the German Reichspost from having to dispatch and deliver it. And this with over ten thousand subscribers in Germany; the banned writings of the period before 1848 were very rarely paid for by their bourgeois purchasers, but for twelve years the workers paid with the greatest punctuality for their *Sozialdemokrat.* How often did my heart, the heart of an old revolutionary, rejoice to observe this excellently lubricated noiseless interplay between editors, distributors and subscribers, this BUSINESSLIKE organised revolutionary work proceeding week after week, year in, year out with the same certainty!

And the paper was worth the troubles and dangers which its distribution cost. It was certainly the best paper the party ever possessed. And this was not simply because it, alone amongst them, enjoyed full freedom of the press. The principles of the party were expounded and recorded with unusual clarity and firmness, and the tactical line of the editors was almost always the correct one. And then there was something else. While our bourgeois press cultivated the most deathly boredom, the *Sozialdemokrat* generously reflected the cheerful humour with which our workers are wont to fight police harassment.

And the *Sozialdemokrat* was anything but a mere mouthpiece for the parliamentary group. When in 1885 the majority of the group favoured the Steamer Subsidy, the paper firmly supported the opposite opinion and held on to its right to do so, even when the majority forbade it this right in an order of the day which they themselves must today find incomprehensible. The fight lasted for just four weeks, during which the editors were warmly supported by the party comrades inside and outside Germany. On April 2 the ban was issued; on the 23rd the *Sozialdemokrat* published a declaration agreed between the parliamentary group and the editors, indicating that the group had rescinded its ban.[119]

At a later date it fell to the *Sozialdemokrat* to put to the test the renowned Swiss right of asylum.[120] There it became clear, as in all similar cases since 1830, that this right of asylum always collapses precisely when it really ought to come into force. But this is nothing new. Since the little republic's democratisation from 1830 on,[121] the neighbouring great powers have allowed it the democratic experiment domestically only on the condition that the right of asylum for refugees is exercised under the supervision of the interested great power. Switzerland is too weak not to submit. It cannot be blamed for this. Marx used to say, specifically with reference to Holland, Switzerland and Denmark, that today the worst situated was a small country which had had a great history. But in "free Switzerland" they should stop bragging about their immaculate right of asylum.

The *Sozialdemokrat* was the banner of the German party; after twelve years of struggle the party is victorious. The Anti-Socialist Law has fallen, Bismarck has been overthrown. The powerful German Empire set in motion against us all its instruments of power; the party scoffed at them, until finally the German Empire had to lower its flag before ours. The Imperial Government will try out common law against us for the while, and so we shall, for the while, try out those legal means which we have regained for ourselves by the vigorous use of illegal means. Whether the "legal" means are once again written into our programme or not is pretty immaterial. The attempt must be made to get along with legal methods of struggle for the time being. Not only we are doing this, it is being done by all workers' parties in all countries where the workers have a certain measure of legal freedom of action, and this for the simple reason that it is the most productive method for them. However, the prerequisite for this is that the other side also acts legally. If the attempt is made once again actually to place our party outside the common law, be it by means of new emergency legislation, unlawful convictions and practices by the Imperial Supreme Court, by police tyranny, or by other illegal encroachments by the executive, then the German Social Democrats will once again be driven to the illegal path as the only one open to them. Even for the English, the most law-abiding nation, the first condition of legality on the part of the people is that all other agents of power remain within the bounds of the law; should this not be the case, then in the English view of law, rebellion is the first civic duty.

If this should happen, what then? Will the party build barricades, appeal to the power of the gun? It will certainly not do

its opponents this favour. It will be saved from this by the knowledge of its own position of strength, given it by every general election to the Reichstag. Twenty per cent of the votes cast[122] is a very respectable figure, but this also means that the opponents together still have eighty per cent of the vote. And with our party seeing in this connection that its vote has doubled in the past three years, and that it can expect an even greater increase by the time of the next elections, then it would be mad to attempt a putsch[123] today with twenty against eighty and the army on top of that; the certain result would be—the loss of all the positions of power won in the past twenty-five years.

The party has a much better and well-tested means at its disposal. On the day our rights under common law are disputed, the *Sozialdemokrat* will reappear. The old machinery, held in reserve for this case, will start up again, improved, enlarged, newly oiled. And one thing is certain: on a second run the German Empire will not hold out for twelve years.

*Frederick Engels*

Written between September 12 and 18, 1890

First published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 39, September 27, 1890

Printed according to the newspaper

# REPLY TO MR. PAUL ERNST

A friend sends me the Magdeburg *Volksstimme* of September 16. In an article therein, signed Paul Ernst, I find the following passage:

"And if Engels now describes our opposition as 'student revolt', I would ask him to demonstrate where we have championed other views but his own and Marx's; and if I have depicted our parliamentary Social Democrats as partly very petty-bourgeois in character, Engels need only look at what he himself wrote in 1887 in the Preface to his *Housing Question*."[a]

My dealing with German writers over the years have enriched me with many curious experiences. But it seems that there are even greater treats in store. I am supposed to tell Mr. Paul Ernst where "we" have championed other views, etc. Well, as far as the "we" is concerned, that is, the "opposition" which entered on to the scene with such high and mighty airs and made such a faint-hearted exit, and which I described as revolts by men of letters and students,[124] we can keep it short: in just about every article which they publish.

But as far as Mr. Ernst himself is concerned, I need not tell him that again. For I have already told him so—four months ago, in fact—and I suppose I must now plague the public, for better or for worse, with my "Ernst"[b] correspondence.

On May 31 this year Mr. Ernst wrote to me from Görbersdorf that Mr. Hermann Bahr was reproaching him in the *Freie Bühne* for wrongly applying the Marxist method of viewing history with

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[a] See F. Engels, "Preface to the Second Edition of *The Housing Question*" (present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 424-33).—*Ed.*

[b] "Ernst" in German means "earnest".—*Ed.*

regard to the Scandinavian women's movement,[a] and would I please

"say in a few lines whether my view corresponds with Marx's or not, and furthermore permit me to use the letter against Bahr".

I replied to him on June 5 that I could not become involved in his dispute with Mr. Bahr, and that I was quite unfamiliar with the "Scandinavian women's movement".[b] I then went on:

"As regards your attempt to handle the matter in a materialist way, I should say first of all that the materialist method turns into its opposite if, in an historical study, it is used not as a guide but rather as a ready-made pattern in accordance with which one tailors the historical facts. And if Mr. Bahr believes he has caught you out in this respect, it seems to me that he may not be altogether unjustified.

"You subsume the whole of Norway and everything that happens there under one category, philistinism, and then unhesitatingly and erroneously apply to that Norwegian philistinism your opinion of *German* philistinism. But here there are two facts which present an insuperable obstacle.

"Firstly: When, throughout Europe, the victory over Napoleon turned out into the victory of reaction over the Revolution, the fear inspired by the latter sufficing only in its cradle, France, to wrest a bourgeois-liberal constitution[125] from the returning legitimists, Norway took occasion to give itself a constitution that was far more democratic[126] than any of its coevals in Europe.

"And, secondly, Norway has, during the past twenty years, experienced a literary revival unparalleled in any other country during that period save Russia. Philistine or not, this people has been far more creative than all the rest and is, indeed, putting its stamp on other literatures, not least the German.

"These facts, in my view, render it necessary to examine Norwegian 'philistinism' in the light of its particular characteristics.

"And in so doing you will probably find that a very important distinction emerges. In Germany philistinism was born of a failed revolution, a development that was interrupted and repressed. Its idiosyncratic, abnormally pronounced character made up of cowardice, bigotry, ineptitude, and a total lack of initiative,

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[a] The reference is to H. Bahr, "Die Epigonen des Marxismus", *Freie Bühne für modernes Leben*, No. 17, May 28, 1890, which is spearheaded against P. Ernst, "Frauenfrage und soziale Frage", *Freie Bühne für modernes Leben*, No. 15, May 14, 1890.—*Ed.*

[b] See F. Engels' letter to P. Ernst of June 5, 1890 (present edition, Vol. 50).—*Ed.*

resulted from the Thirty Years' War and the period that ensued—the very time in which practically all the great nations were experiencing a rapid rise. That character persisted, even after Germany had again been gripped by the historical movement, and was strong enough to imprint itself, more or less a generalised German type, on all the other social classes in Germany until such time as our working class broke out of these narrow confines. If the German workers are flagrantly 'unpatriotic',[127] it is precisely because they have completely shaken off German philistine bigotry.

"Hence German philistinism is not a normal historical phase but a caricature taken to extremes, a form of degeneration, just as your Polish Jew is a caricature of the Jews. The English, French, etc., lower middle class is not at all on the same level as your German lower middle class.

"In Norway, on the other hand, the class of small peasants and the lower middle class with a slight admixture of middle class elements—as it existed, say, in England and France in the seventeenth century—have, for several centuries, constituted the normal state of society. Here there is no question of an archaic state of affairs having been forcibly imposed upon them by the failure of a great movement or by a Thirty Years' War. The country has been retarded by its isolation and by its natural circumstances, but its state was commensurate with the conditions of its production, and hence normal. It is only quite recently that large-scale industry has, sporadically and on a very small scale, begun to come into the country, where, however, there is no place for the most powerful lever for the concentration of capital—the stock exchange; and even the tremendous expansion of maritime trade has proved to be a conservative factor. For whereas everywhere else steam is superseding sail, Norway is enormously increasing the number of its sailing vessels and possesses, if not the largest, then certainly the second largest, fleet of windjammers in the world, most of them owned by small and medium-sized shipping firms, as in England in, say, 1720. But nevertheless this has brought some animation into the old, sluggish existence—animation which finds expression in, among other things, the literary revival.

"The Norwegian peasant was never a serf, so that the whole process takes place against an entirely different background, as in Castile. The lower middle class Norwegian is the son of a free peasant and, such being the case, is a *man* compared with the degenerate German philistine. And whatever the failings of, for

example, Ibsen's plays, these reflect a world which is, it is true, lower middle and middle class, but utterly different from the German world—a world in which people still have character and initiative and act independently if, by the standards of other countries, often eccentrically. Personally, I would prefer to get to know all I could about things of this sort before passing judgment."

So here I told Mr. Ernst, albeit politely, but nonetheless clearly and firmly, "where"—namely, in the article from the *Freie Bühne* which he sent to me himself. When I demonstrate to him that he uses the Marxist approach as nothing but a pattern to which he tailors the historical facts that is precisely an example of the "considerable misunderstanding" of the same approach with which I reproached the gentlemen.[a] And when I prove to him, using his own example of Norway, that his pattern of philistinism on German lines flies in the face of the historical facts when applied to Norway, I thereby catch him in advance and in person displaying the 'gross ignorance of the decisive historical facts on every occasion', with which I also reproached those gentlemen.[b]

And now look at the affected primness which Mr. Ernst feigns, like a country maiden treated like "one of those" by some blueblooded scoundrel in the streets of Berlin! He appears before me four months after the above letter, the picture of outraged virtue, demanding that I should tell him "where?". Mr. Ernst appears to have but two literary frames of mind. First he lets fly with impudence and self-assurance, as if there really was more to it than hot air; and when people proceed to defend themselves, [he protests that] he has said nothing at all and bemoans the base disregard shown to his pure feelings. Outraged virtue in his letter to me in which he complains that Mr. Bahr has treated him "with quite unbelievable insolence"! Injured innocence in his reply to me, in which he quite naively asks "where?", while he must have known the answer for a good four months. An unrecognised noble soul in the Magdeburg *Volksstimme,* in which he also asks old Bremer, who had quite rightly rapped his knuckles, "Where?"

> And the sigh asks always: where?
> Always, where?

Does Mr. Ernst still want to know "where"? Well, let him turn, for example, to the article in the *Volks-Tribüne* on the "Dangers of

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[a] See this volume, pp. 69-71.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid.—*Ed.*

Marxism",[a] in which he appropriates without hesitation the odd assertion of the metaphysicist Dühring—as if, according to Marx, history makes itself quite automatically, without the cooperation of human beings (who after all are making it!), and as if these human beings were simply played like mere chessmen by the economic conditions (which are the work of men themselves!). A man who is capable of confusing the distortion of Marxist theory by an opponent such as Dühring with this theory itself must turn elsewhere for help—I give up.

Perhaps I may now be excused from answering any more "wheres"? Mr. Ernst is so prolific, he turns out articles with such alacrity that one comes across them everywhere. And when you imagine that you have finally seen the last of them, he turns up again as the author of sundry anonymous pieces. Then a mere mortal like myself is unable to keep up and is tempted to wish that instead of prescribing his remedies so freely, Mr. Ernst should have something prescribed for himself.

He says further:

> "If I have depicted our parliamentary Social Democrats as partly very petty-bourgeois in character, Engels need only", etc.

*Partly* very petty-bourgeois? In the article in the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* which forced me to reply,[b] it says that petty-bourgeois parliamentary socialism has now a *majority* in Germany. And I said that I knew nothing about this. Now Mr. Ernst merely wishes to defend the assertion that the parliamentary group is "partly" very petty-bourgeois. Again the unrecognised noble soul, to whom the wicked world imputes all kinds of outrages. Who has ever denied that the petty-bourgeois tendency is represented not only in the parliamentary group but also in the party as a whole? Every party has a right wing and a left wing, and that the right wing of the Social Democratic Party is petty-bourgeois is only in the nature of the things. If there is no more to it than that, why all the fuss? We have been well aware of this old story for years, but it is a far cry from that to a petty-bourgeois majority in the parliamentary group or in the party itself. If this danger were to pose a threat, we should not wait for the warnings of these strange loyal Eckarts. For the time being the vigorous and joyful proletarian struggle [128] against the Anti-Socialist Law and the rapid economic development have increasingly deprived this petty-

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[a] P. E[rnst], "Gefahren des Marxismus", *Berliner Volks-Tribune*, No. 32, August 9, 1890 (supplement).—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 69-71.—*Ed.*

bourgeois element of ground, air and light, whereas the proletarian element has grown more and more powerful.

There is, however, one thing which I can divulge to Mr. Paul Ernst by way of conclusion: there is something that is far more dangerous to the party than a petty-bourgeois group which can be consigned to the lumber-room at the next elections. I am referring to a clique of loud-mouthed men of letters and students, particularly when they are incapable of seeing the simplest things with their own eyes and of impartially weighing up the relative importance of the available facts or the strength of the forces involved when assessing an economic or political situation, and hence seek to force on the party tactics that are utterly insane, as gentlemen such as Bruno Wille and Teistler in particular, and to a lesser extent Mr. Ernst, have amply demonstrated. And this clique becomes even more dangerous if it unites to form a mutual assurance society, setting in motion all the means of organised advertising in order to smuggle its members into the editorial chairs of the party newspapers and control the party by means of the party press. Twelve years ago the Anti-Socialist Law saved us from this danger, which was already overtaking us, even then. Now that this law is going, the danger is back again. And I trust this will make it quite clear to Mr. Paul Ernst exactly why I am willing to fight tooth and nail to prevent myself from being identified with the elements of such a clique.

London, October 1, 1890

*Frederick Engels*

First published in the *Berliner Volksblatt*, No. 232, October 5, 1890

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Published in English for the first time

# TO THE EDITORS OF THE *BERLINER VOLKSBLATT*

On my seventieth birthday I received so many messages of sincere support, so many unexpected testimonials, that it will unfortunately be impossible for me to answer each message personally. There was a veritable torrent of telegrams, letters, gifts, articles devoted specially to me in the party press of many different countries, but particularly in all parts of Germany. Therefore allow me to express thus my most sincere thanks to the friends old and new who remembered me so appreciatively on November 28.

Nobody knows better than I that the greater part of these testimonials were not due to me and my own services. It is my fate that I must harvest the glory and the honour the seed for which was sown by Karl Marx, a greater man than me. So I can only pledge myself to devote the remainder of my life to the active service of the proletariat, so that I may, if possible, make myself belatedly worthy of these honours.

London, December 2, 1890

*Frederick Engels*

First published in the *Berliner Volksblatt*, No. 284, December 5, 1890

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

1re année — N° 14 PARAISSANT LE MERCREDI 25 Décembre 1890

LE SOCIALISTE

ORGANE CENTRAL DU PARTI OUVRIER

ABONNEMENTS
3 mois 1 fr. 50, 6 mois 3 fr., un an 6 fr.
10 CENT le NUMÉRO

TOUT CE QUI CONCERNE LA RÉDACTION DOIT ÊTRE ADRESSÉ
AU SECRÉTAIRE du CONSEIL NATIONAL
PARIS — 14, AVENUE DE MONTSOURIS, 14 — PARIS

ADMINISTRATION
28, RUE MONTORGUEIL, 28
PARIS

# TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE FRENCH WORKERS' PARTY[129]

Citizens,

I thank you with all my heart for the congratulations which you were kind enough to send me on the occasion of my seventieth birthday.

Rest assured that what remains of my life and my strength will be spent in fighting for the proletarian cause. The moment I am no longer of any use to the struggle, may it be granted to me to die.

But the battles won by you, by our brothers in Germany, England, Austria-Hungary, Russia, in fact everywhere, form a series of sparkling victories enough to rejuvenate a man older and more exhausted than I am. And what gladdens me more than anything is the sincere brotherhood, which has been, I hope, established forever, between the French and German proletarians, despite the chauvinistic cries of our corrupt bourgeoisies.

It was your great countryman Saint-Simon who was the first to predict that the alliance of the three great Western nations—France, England and Germany—is the prime international requisite for the political and social emancipation of the whole of Europe.[a] I hope to see this alliance—the kernel of the European alliance which will put

[a] See H. Saint-Simon and A. Thierry, *De la réorganisation de la société européenne, ou de la nécessité et des moyens de rassembler les peuples de l'Europe en un seul corps politique, en conservant à chacun son indépendance nationale*; Idem., *Opinion sur les mesures à prendre contre la coalition de 1815.—Ed.*

an end for all time to the wars between governments and races—achieved by the proletarians of the three nations.

Long live the international social Revolution.

London, December 2, 1890

*Frederick Engels*

First published in *Le Socialiste,* No. 14, December 25, 1890

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

XVIII. évfolyam. Budapest, 1890. december 14. 50. szám.

NÉPSZAVA.

TÁRSADALMI ÉS KÖZGAZDASÁGI NEPLAP.

A MAGYARORSZAGI ÁLTALANOS MUNKÁSPÁRT KOZPONTI KOZLONYE

Szerkesztőség és kiadóhivatal: VIII. ker. Mária-utca 38. Előfizetési-díjak és kéziratok ide küldendők.

Megjelen minden vasárnap.

# [TO THE EDITORS OF THE *ARBEITER-WOCHEN-CHRONIK* AND *NÉPSZAVA* IN BUDAPEST][130]

*London,* December 3, 1890

I would like to thank you most sincerely for the best wishes on my seventieth birthday conveyed in your letter of November 26.

I realise only too well that by far the greater part of the honours shown me on this day by yourselves and so many others, only falls to me as the surviving representative of *Marx,* and beg your permission to be allowed to lay it on his grave as a wreath of honour. However, what I can do to show myself belatedly worthy of him I shall do; you may count on this.

Many thanks for your kind invitation to the Hungarian Party Congress.[131] I shall sadly not be able to accept the invitation in person, but in spirit I shall be amongst you on the 7th and 8th inst.

The existence of a Hungarian Social-Democratic Workers' Party is a fresh proof that modern large-scale industry cannot install itself in any country without revolutionising the old pre-capitalist society, without creating not only a capitalist class but also a proletariat and thus producing the class struggle between the two and a workers' party striving for the overthrow of the bourgeois-capitalist world order. This workers' party, which is now developing ever more strongly in Hungary too, as I learn from the *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik* you were kind enough to send me, has from the start the advantage of being international, of embracing Magyars, Germans, Romanians, Serbs and Slovaks. Please be kind

enough to convey my warmest greetings to this young party upon its Congress.

Long live international Social Democracy!

Long live the Hungarian Party Congress!

*Frederick Engels*

First published in the *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik,* No. 50, December 14, 1890 and in *Népszava,* No. 50, December 14, 1890

Printed according to the *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik*

# TO THE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMUNIST [GERMAN] WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY[132]

122 Regents Park Road, N.W.
December 11, 1890

I am writing, albeit belatedly, to thank you for the congratulations enclosed with your kind letter of 28th of last month. Like you, I deeply regret that my friend Marx was not privileged to witness the present irresistible development of the proletarian-socialist movement, a development for which he more than anyone else laid the foundations.

May your wishes be fulfilled and victory be near!

Yours sincerely,
*F. Engels*

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Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

Nr. 18. IX. Jahrgang, I. Band. 1890-91.

# [PREFACE TO KARL MARX'S *CRITIQUE OF THE GOTHA PROGRAMME*][133]

The manuscript published here—the covering letter to Bracke[a] as well as the critique of the draft programme—was sent in 1875, shortly before the Gotha Unity Congress,[134] to Bracke for communication to Geib, Auer, Bebel, and Liebknecht and subsequent return to Marx. Since the Halle Party Congress[135] has put the discussion of the Gotha Programme on the agenda of the party, I think I would be guilty of suppression if I any longer withheld from publicity this important—perhaps the most important—document relevant to this discussion.

But the manuscript has yet another and more far-reaching significance. Here for the first time Marx's attitude to the line adopted by Lassalle in his agitation from the very beginning is clearly and firmly set forth, both as regards Lassalle's economic principles and his tactics.

The ruthless severity with which the draft programme is dissected here, the mercilessness with which the results obtained are enunciated and the shortcomings of the draft laid bare—all this today, after fifteen years, can no longer give offense. Specific Lassalleans now exist only abroad as isolated ruins, and in Halle

[a] See K. Marx's letter to W. Bracke of May 5, 1875 (present edition, Vol. 45).—*Ed.*

the Gotha Programme was given up even by its creators as altogether inadequate.

Nevertheless, I have omitted a few sharp personal expressions and judgements where these were immaterial, and replaced them by dots. Marx himself would have done so if he had published the manuscript today. The violence of the language in some passages was provoked by two circumstances. In the first place, Marx and I had been more intimately connected with the German movement than with any other; we were, therefore, bound to be particularly perturbed by the decidedly retrograde step manifested by this draft programme. And secondly, we were at that time, hardly two years after the Hague Congress of the International,[136] engaged in the most violent struggle against Bakunin and his anarchists, who made us responsible for everything that happened in the labour movement in Germany; hence we had to expect that we would also be saddled with the secret paternity of this programme. These considerations have now ceased to exist and with them the necessity for the passages in question.

For reasons of censorship, a few sentences have been indicated only by dots. Where I have had to choose a milder expression this has been enclosed in square brackets. Otherwise the text has been reproduced word for word.

*London,* January 6, 1891

*Fr. Engels*

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# IN THE CASE OF BRENTANO VERSUS MARX

## REGARDING ALLEGED FALSIFICATION OF QUOTATION. THE STORY AND DOCUMENTS[137]

Written in December 1890-February 1891

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Published in English in full for the first time

In my Preface to the fourth edition of the first volume of Marx's *Capital*[a] I found myself obliged to return to a polemic against Marx, initiated by Anonymous in the Berlin *Concordia* in 1872, and taken up again by Mr. Sedley Taylor of Cambridge in *The Times* in 1883.[b] Anonymous, revealed by Mr. Taylor as Mr. Lujo Brentano, had accused Marx of falsifying a quotation. The short report on the affair which I gave in my Preface (it is printed amongst the attached Documents, No. 12[c]), certainly was not intended to be pleasant to Mr. Brentano; nothing was more natural than that he should answer me. And this took place in a pamphlet: *Meine Polemik mit Karl Marx. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Frage des Fortschritts der Arbeiterklasse und seiner Ursachen.* Von Lujo Brentano, Berlin, Walther & Apolant, 1890.[d]

This pamphlet gives us too much and too little. Too much, because it "also" gives us at length Mr. Brentano's views on "the advance of the working class and its causes". These views have absolutely nothing to do with the point at issue. I remark only this: Mr. Brentano's constantly repeated declaration that labour protection legislation and trade association organisations are fitted to improve the condition of the working class is by no means his own discovery. From the *Condition of the Working Class in England*

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 35; see also this volume, pp. 164-69.— *Ed.*

[b] See [L. Brentano,] "Wie Karl Marx citirt", *Concordia,* No. 10, March 7, 1872; S. Taylor, "To the Editor of *The Times*", *The Times,* No. 30990, November 29, 1883.— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 164-69.— *Ed.*

[d] "My Polemic with Karl Marx. Also a Contribution to the Advance of the Working Class and Its Causes".— *Ed.*

and *The Poverty of Philosophy* to *Capital* and down to my most recent writings,[a] Marx and I have said this a hundred times, though with very sharp reservations. Firstly, the favourable effects of the resisting trade associations are confined to periods of average and brisk business; in periods of stagnation and crisis they regularly fail; Mr. Brentano's claim that they "are capable of paralysing the fateful effects of the reserve army" is ridiculous boasting. And secondly—ignoring other less important reservations—neither the protection legislation nor the resistance of the trade associations removes the main thing which needs abolishing: capitalist relations, which constantly reproduce the contradiction between the capitalist class and the class of wage labourers. The mass of wage labourers remain condemned to life-long wage labour; the gap between them and the capitalists becomes ever deeper and wider the more modern large-scale industry takes over all branches of production. But since Mr. Brentano would gladly convert wage-slaves into *contented* wage-slaves, he must hugely exaggerate the advantageous effects of labour protection, the resistance of trade associations, social piecemeal legislation, etc.; and as we are able to confront these exaggerations with the simple facts—hence his fury.

The pamphlet in question gives too little, since it gives, of the documents in the polemic, only the items exchanged between Mr. Brentano and Marx, and not those which have appeared since with regard to this question. So in order to place the reader in a position to form an overall judgement, I give, in the appendix: 1. the incriminated passages from the Inaugural Address of the General Council of the International[b] and from *Capital*; 2. the polemic between Mr. Brentano and Marx; 3. that between Mr. Sedley Taylor and Eleanor Marx; 4. my Preface to the 4th edition of *Capital* and Mr. Brentano's reply to it; and 5. passages relevant to Gladstone's letters to Mr. Brentano. It goes without saying that I thereby omit all those passages of Brentano's argument which do not touch upon the question of falsification of quotation, but only constitute his "contribution to the advance", etc.

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[a] The reference probably is to Engels' "England in 1845 and 1885" and "Appendix to the American Edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*".—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 5-13.—*Ed.*

# I

In No. 10 of the Berlin *Concordia,* March 7, 1872, there was a fierce anonymous attack upon Marx as the author of the Inaugural Address of the General Council of the International in 1864.[a] In this Address, it was stated, Marx had falsified a quotation from the budget speech made by Gladstone, at that time English Chancellor of the Exchequer, on April 16, 1863.

The passage from the Inaugural Address is printed in the appendix, Documents, No. 1.[b] The article from the *Concordia* also there, document No. 3.[c] In the latter, the charge is formulated as follows:

> "What is the relationship between this speech and the quotation by Marx? Gladstone first makes the point that there has undoubtedly been a colossal increase in the income of the country. This is proved for him by the income tax. But income tax takes notice only of incomes of 150 pounds sterling and over. Persons with lower incomes pay no income tax in England. The fact that Gladstone mentions this so that his yardstick can be properly appreciated is utilised by Marx to have Gladstone say: '*This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to classes of property.*' Yet this sentence is nowhere to be found in Gladstone's speech. It says quite the opposite. **Marx has added the sentence lyingly, both in form and in content!**"

This is the charge and, let it be noted, the only charge, that Anonymous, who has now admitted he is called Lujo Brentano, makes against Marx.

No. 10 of the *Concordia* was sent to Marx from Germany in May 1872. The copy still in my possession today bears the inscription

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 5-13.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 132-33.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., pp. 135-36.—*Ed.*

"Organ of the German Manufacturers' Association". Marx, who had never heard of this sheet, assumed the author to be a scribbling manufacturer, and dealt with him accordingly.

Marx demonstrated in his reply in the *Volksstaat* (Documents, No. 4[a]) that the sentence had not only been quoted in the same way by Professor Beesly in 1870 in *The Fortnightly Review*,[b] but also before the publication of the Inaugural Address in [H. Roy,] *The Theory of the Exchanges*, London, 1864; and finally that the report in *The Times* on April 17, 1863 also contained the sentence, in form and in content, as he had quoted it:

> "The augmentation I have described" (namely as "this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power") "is an augmentation entirely confined to classes of property."[c]

If this passage, a passage which is certainly compromising in the mouth of an English Chancellor of the Exchequer, is not to be found in Hansard,[d] this is simply because Mr. Gladstone was clever enough to get rid of it, in accordance with traditional English parliamentary practice.

In any case, proof was given here that the sentence allegedly lyingly added *is to be found verbatim* in *The Times* of April 17, 1863 in its report of the speech delivered by Mr. Gladstone the evening before. And *The Times* was a Gladstonian organ at that time.

And what is the reply now from Mr. "Modesty" Brentano? (*Concordia*, July 4, 1872, Documents, No. 5.[e])

With an impertinence he would never have dared under his own name, he repeats the charge that Marx lyingly added the sentence: this charge, he adds, is

> "serious, and combined with the convincing evidence provided, absolutely devastating".

The evidence was nothing but the passage in Hansard in which the sentence is missing. It could thus at the most be "devastating" for this selfsame ill-fated sentence, which appeared in *The Times* and not in Hansard.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 136-40 and also Vol. 23, pp. 164-67.—*Ed.*

[b] E. S. Beesly, "The International Working Men's Association", *The Fortnightly Review*, No. XLVII, November 1, 1870.—*Ed.*

[c] Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on April 16, 1863 (*The Times*, No. 24535, April 17, 1863).—*Ed.*

[d] See *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, Vol. CLXX, London, 1863, p. 244.—*Ed.*

[e] See this volume, pp. 140-44.—*Ed.*

But this victorious crowing was only intended to help negotiate this same unpleasant fact that the "lyingly added" sentence had been confirmed as authentic by the *Times* report. And with the feeling that this evidence for the prosecution was pretty "convincing", and that it would become "absolutely devastating" in time, our anonymous would-be professor now zealously attacks the quotation in Beesly and in *The Theory of the Exchanges,* causes a big stir, claims that Beesly quoted from the Inaugural Address and Marx from *The Theory of the Exchanges,* etc. All these are minor points. Even if they are true, they prove nothing on the question as to whether Gladstone spoke the sentence or Marx invented it. But by their very nature they could not be settled with absolute finality, either by Mr. Brentano at that time, or by me today. On the other hand, they serve to divert attention from the main point, namely from the fatal *Times* report.

Before venturing to deal with this, Anonymous flexes his muscles by using various items of strong language, such as "frivolity bordering upon the criminal", "this lying quotation", etc.; and then he lays in with gusto as follows:

> "But here we come, to be sure, to Marx's third line of defence, and this far exceeds, *in its impudent mendacity,* anything which came before. Marx actually does not shrink from citing *The Times* of April 17, 1863 as proof of the correctness of his quotation. *The Times* of April 17, 1863, p. 7, page" (should be column) "5, line 17 et seq., reports, *however,* the speech as follows:

And here follows the *Times* report, which runs:

> "The augmentation I have described" (namely as "this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power") "and the figures of which are founded, I think, upon accurate returns, *is entirely confined to classes of property.*"

And now we can only stare wide-eyed at the "impudent mendacity" of Marx, who still dares to claim that the *Times* report contained the sentence: This intoxicating augmentation, etc., is entirely confined to classes of property!

The Inaugural Address states: "THIS INTOXICATING AUGMENTATION OF WEALTH AND POWER IS *ENTIRELY CONFINED TO CLASSES OF PROPERTY.*"

*The Times* states: "THE AUGMENTATION THERE DESCRIBED" (which not even Mr. Brentano, anonymous or not, has so far argued is not the "AUGMENTATION" in the phrase "THIS INTOXICATING AUGMENTATION OF WEALTH AND POWER") "AND WHICH IS FOUNDED, I THINK, UPON ACCURATE RETURNS, *IS AN AUGMENTATION ENTIRELY CONFINED TO CLASSES OF PROPERTY.*"

And now that Mr. Brentano has pointed out in *The Times,* with his own index finger, the sentence which Marx allegedly lyingly added because it was missing in Hansard, and has thus taken upon

himself Marx's alleged impudent mendacity, he declares triumphantly that

"both reports" (*Times* and Hansard) "fully coincide materially. The report in *The Times* just gives, formally more contracted, what the shorthand report by Hansard gives verbatim. Yet despite the fact that the *Times* report contains the direct opposite of *that notorious passage* in the Inaugural Address, and the fact that according to the *Times* report, too, Mr. Gladstone said he believed this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power *not* to be confined to classes in easy circumstances Marx has the impudence to write in the *Volksstaat* of June 1: 'So, on April 16, 1863, Mr. Gladstone declared both in form and in content in the House of Commons, as reported in his own organ, *The Times,* on April 17, 1863, that this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to the classes possessed of property'"[a]

*Si duo faciunt idem, non est idem.* When two do the same, it is not the same.

When Marx has Gladstone say: This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to classes of property, this is "lyingly added", a "notorious passage", "completely forged". When the *Times* report has Gladstone say:

"This augmentation I have described as an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to classes of property,"

then this is only "formally more contracted" than the Hansard report, in which this sentence is missing, and the "direct opposite of that" (exactly the same) "notorious passage in the Inaugural Address". And when Marx then quotes the *Times* report in confirmation of this passage, Mr. Brentano states:

"...and finally he has the *impudence* to base himself on newspaper reports which *directly contradict* him".

This really does demand great "impudence". However, Marx has his on his face, and nowhere else.[b]

With the aid of "impudence" which may easily be distinguished from that of Marx, Anonymous, alias Lujo Brentano, then manages to have Gladstone say that

he "*believes* this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power *not* to be confined to classes in easy circumstances".

Actually, according to *The Times* and Hansard, Gladstone says he would look with pain and apprehension upon this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power if he believed it was confined to the classes in easy circumstances, and he adds, according to *The Times,* that it is, however, "confined to classes of property".

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[a] See this volume, p. 143.—*Ed.*

[b] Play on words: "Stirn" means forehead and impudence.—*Ed.*

"Indeed," the righteously indignant Anonymous finally exclaims, "to describe these practices we know only one word, a word with which Marx is very familiar (see *Capital,* p. 257[a]): they are simply 'nefarious'."

Whose practices, Mr. Lujo Brentano?

## II

Marx's reply (*Der Volksstaat,* August 7, 1872, Documents, No. 6[b]) is good-natured enough to deal with all the stir created by Mr. Brentano about Professor Beesly, *The Theory of the Exchanges,* etc.; we leave this aside as being of secondary importance. In conclusion, however, it produces another two facts which are absolutely decisive for the main issue. The "lyingly added" passage is to be found, besides in the *Times* report, in the reports of two other London morning papers of April 17, 1863. According to *The Morning Star,* Gladstone stated:

"This augmentation"—which had just been described as an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power—"is an augmentation entirely confined to the classes possessed of property."

According to *The Morning Advertiser*:

"The augmentation stated"—an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power—"is an augmentation entirely confined to the classes possessed of property."

For any other opponent, these proofs would be "absolutely devastating". Not, however, for the anonymous Brentano. His reply (*Concordia,* August 22, 1872, Documents, No. 7[c]), which betrays undiminished impudence, was never seen by Marx, since numbers of *Concordia* later than that dated July 11 were not sent to him. I myself first read this reply in Brentano's reprint (*Meine Polemik, etc.,* 1890[d]), and must therefore take note of it here, for better or for worse.

"The *dogged mendacity* with which he" (Marx) "clings to the distorted quotation ... is astonishing even for someone for whom no means are too base for his subversive plans."

The quotation remains "forged", and the *Times* report "shows the exact opposite, since *The Times* and Hansard fully coincide". The confidence of this declaration is, however, simply child's play

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[a] K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, Book I, Part III, Chapter X, Section 6 (see present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 144-51.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., pp. 152-54.—*Ed.*

[d] L. Brentano, *Meine Polemik mit Karl Marx,* Berlin, 1890, pp. 21-23.—*Ed.*

compared to the "impudence" with which Mr. Brentano suddenly gives us the following information:

"Marx's second method of obscuring the *Times* report was simply to suppress, in his German translation, the relative clause which showed that Gladstone had only said that the augmentation of wealth, which was shown by the income tax returns, *was confined to the classes of property,* since the working classes were not subject to income tax, and that thus nothing about the increase in the prosperity of the working classes could be learned from the income tax returns; not, however, that the working classes in reality had been excluded from the extraordinary augmentation of national wealth."

Thus when *The Times* says that the oft-mentioned augmentation is confined to the classes of property, then it says the opposite of the "lyingly added" sentence, which says the same. As regards the "simply suppressed relative clause", we shall not allow Mr. Brentano to get away with that, if he will bear with us for a moment. And now he has happily survived the first great leap, it is easier for him to assert that black is white, and white black. Now that he has managed to deal with *The Times, The Morning Star* and *The Morning Advertiser* will give him little trouble.

"For these papers, even as he" (Marx) "quotes them, speak for us. After Gladstone has said, according to both papers, that he does *not* believe" (which, as we know, Mr. Brentano claims) "*this* intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is confined to the classes which find themselves in pleasant circumstances, he continued: '*This* great increase of wealth *takes no cognizance at all* of the condition of the labouring population. *The augmentation which I have described is an augmentation entirely confined to the classes possessed of property.*' The context and the use of the expression 'take cognizance' show clearly that this increase and the augmentation of the increase cited, and the citing," (*sic*!) "are intended to indicate those discernible in the income tax returns."

The Jesuit who originated the saying *Si duo faciunt idem, non est idem* was a bungler compared to the anonymous Brentano. When *The Times, The Morning Star* and *The Morning Advertiser* declare unanimously that the sentence which Brentano claims Marx had "lyingly added" was actually uttered by Gladstone, then these papers speak unanimously "for" Mr. Brentano. And when Marx quotes this sentence verbatim, this is a "lying quotation", "impudent mendacity", "complete forgery", "a lie", etc. And if Marx cannot appreciate this, that passes the understanding of our Anonymous, alias Lujo Brentano, and he finds it "simply nefarious".

But let us deal with the alleged "lying addition" once and for all by quoting the reports on our passage in all London morning papers on April 17, 1863.

We have already had *The Times, The Morning Star* and *The Morning Advertiser.*

*Daily Telegraph*:

"I may say for one, that I should look almost with apprehension and alarm on *this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power* if it were my belief that it was confined to the masses who are in easy circumstances. This question to wealth takes no cognizance at all of the condition of the labouring population. *The augmentation stated is an augmentation entirely confined to the classes possessed of property.*"

*Morning Herald*:

"I may say that I for one would look with fear and apprehension at *this intoxicating increase of wealth* if I were of opinion that it is confined to the classes in easy circumstances. *This great increase of wealth* which I have described, and which is founded on accurate returns *is confined entirely to the augmentation of capital,* and takes no account of the poorer classes."

*Morning Post*:

"I may say, I for one, would look with fear and apprehension when I consider this great increase of wealth if I believed that its benefits were confined to the classes in easy circumstances. *This augmentation of wealth* which I have described, and which is founded on accurate returns *is confined entirely to the augmentation of capital,* and takes no account of the augmentation of wealth of the poorer classes."

*Daily News*:

"I may say that I for one would look with fear and apprehension when I consider *this great increase of wealth* if I believed that its benefits were confined to the classes in easy circumstances. *This augmentation of wealth* which I have described, and which is founded upon accurate returns, *is confined entirely to the augmentation of capital,* and takes no account of the augmentation of wealth of the poorer classes."

*Standard*:

"I may say that I for one would look with fear and apprehension at *this intoxicating increase of wealth* if I were of the opinion that it was confined to the classes in easy circumstances. *This great increase of wealth* which I have described, and which is founded on the accurate returns *is confined entirely to the augmentation of capital,* and takes no account of the poorer classes."

The eight newspapers cited here were, as far as I know, the only morning papers published in London at that time. Their testimony is "convincing". Four of them—*The Times, The Morning Star, The Morning Advertiser, Daily Telegraph*—give the sentence in exactly the form which Marx had "lyingly added". The augmentation described earlier as an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power "*is entirely confined to classes of property*". The four others—*Morning Herald, Morning Post, Daily News* and *Standard*—give it in an "only formally more contracted" version, by which it is further reinforced; this augmentation "*is confined entirely to the augmentation of capital*".

The eight newspapers cited all have their separate complete staff of parliamentary reporters. They are thus the same number

of witnesses, fully independent of one another. In addition they are in their totality impartial, since they adhere to the most diverse party tendencies. And both of the two versions of the irrepressible sentence are vouched for by Tories and Whigs and radicals. According to four of them, Gladstone said: entirely confined to classes of property. According to four others he said: entirely confined to the augmentation of capital. Eight irreproachable witnesses thus testify that Gladstone really uttered the sentence. The only question is whether this was in the milder version used by Marx, or in the stronger version given in four of the reports.

Against them all, in isolated grandeur stands—Hansard. But Hansard is not irreproachable like the morning papers. Hansard's reports are subject to censorship, the censorship of the speakers themselves. And precisely for this reason "it is the custom" to quote according to Hansard.

Eight non-suspect witnesses against one suspect witness! But what does that worry our victory-confident Anonymous? Precisely *because* the reports of the eight morning papers put "that notorious passage" in Gladstone's mouth, precisely *because of this,* they "speak for" our Anonymous, precisely *by this* they prove even more that Marx "lyingly added" it.

Indeed, nothing actually exceeds the "impudence" of the anonymous Brentano.

## III

In reality, however, the ostentatious impudence we had to admire in Mr. Brentano, is nothing but a tactical manoeuvre. He has discovered that the attack on the "lyingly added" sentence has failed, and that he must seek a defensive position. He has found it; all that has to be done now is to retreat to this new position.

Already in his first reply to Marx (Documents, No. 5[a]) Mr. Brentano hints at his intention, though bashfully as yet. The fatal *Times* report compels him to do so. This report, it is true, contains the "notorious", the "lyingly added" passage, but that is actually beside the point. For since it "fully coincides materially" with Hansard, it says "the direct opposite of that notorious passage", although it contains it word for word. Thus it is no longer a question of the wording of the "notorious passage", but of its meaning. It is no longer a question of denying the passage's

[a] See this volume, pp. 140-44.— *Ed.*

existence, but of claiming that it means the opposite of what it says.

And Marx having declared in his second reply that lack of time forces him to end, once and for all, his pleasurable exchange of opinions with his anonymous opponent,[a] the latter can venture to deal with even greater confidence with this subject, which is not exactly proper at that. This he does in his rejoinder, reproduced here as No. 7 of the documents.[b]

Here he claims that Marx attempts to *obscure* the *Times* report, which materially fully coincides with Hansard, and this is in three ways. *Firstly* by an incorrect translation of CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES.[c] I leave aside this point as absolutely irrelevant. It is generally known that Marx had a command of the English language quite different from that of Mr. Brentano. But exactly what Mr. Gladstone thought when he used this expression—and whether he thought anything—it is quite impossible to say today, 27 years later, even for himself.

The *second* point is that Marx "simply suppressed" a certain "relative clause" in the *Times* report. The passage in question is previously cited at length in section II, p. 7.[d] By suppressing this relative clause, Marx is supposed to have suppressed for his readers the fact that the augmentation of wealth, as shown by the income tax returns, is confined to classes which possess property, since the labouring classes do not fall under the income tax, and thus nothing may be learned from the returns about the increase in prosperity amongst the workers; this does not mean, however, that in reality the labouring classes remain excluded from the extraordinary augmentation of national wealth.

The sentence in the *Times* report runs, in Mr. Brentano's own translation:

> "The augmentation I have described, and the figures of which are based, I think, upon accurate returns, is entirely confined to classes of property."

The relative clause which Marx so maliciously "suppressed" consists of the words: "and the figures of which are based, I think, upon accurate returns". By the persistent, since twice repeated, suppression of these highly important words, so the story goes, Marx wished to conceal from his readers that the said augmenta-

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[a] See this volume, p. 151.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 152-54.—*Ed.*

[c] On the translation of this expression, see Marx's footnote on p. 138 as well as his glosses on p. 148 of this volume.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, p. 104.—*Ed.*

tion was an augmentation *solely of the income subject to income tax,* in other words the income of the "classes which possess property".

Does his moral indignation at the fact that he had run aground with "mendacity" make Mr. Brentano blind? Or does he think that he can make all sorts of allegations, since Marx will no longer reply in any case? The fact is that the incriminated sentence begins, according to Marx, both in the Inaugural Address and in *Capital,* with the words: "From 1842 to 1852 THE TAXABLE INCOME of the country increased by 6 per cent... In the eight years from 1853 to 1861, it has ..."[a] etc.

Does Mr. Brentano know another "taxable income" in England apart from that subject to income tax? And has the highly important "relative clause" anything at all to add to this clear declaration that only income subject to income tax is under discussion? Or does he believe, as it almost appears, that people "forge" Gladstone's budget speeches, make "lying additions" or "suppress" something in them if they quote them without, *à la* Brentano, also providing the reader with an essay on English income tax in which they "falsify" income tax into the bargain, as Marx proved (Documents, No. 6),[b] and as Mr. Brentano was forced to admit (Documents, No. 7).[c] And when the "lyingly added" sentence simply says that the augmentation just mentioned by Mr. Gladstone was confined to classes of property, does it not say essentially the same, since only classes of property pay income tax? But of course, whilst Mr. Brentano creates a deafening hullabaloo at the front door about this sentence as a Marxian falsification and insolent mendacity, he himself allows it to slip in quietly through the back door.

Mr. Brentano knew very well that Marx quoted Mr. Gladstone as speaking about "taxable income" and no other. For in his first attack (Documents, No. 3), he quotes the passage from the Inaugural Address, and even translated TAXABLE as "liable to tax".[d] If he now "suppresses" this in his rejoinder, and if from now on until his pamphlet of 1890 he protests again and again that Marx concealed, intentionally and maliciously, the fact that Gladstone was speaking here solely of those incomes liable to income tax—should we now sling his own expressions back at him: "lying", "forgery", "impudent mendacity", "simply nefarious"?

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[a] See this volume, p. 133.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 147.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., p. 154.—*Ed.*
[d] Ibid., p. 135.—*Ed.*

To continue with the text:

"*Thirdly* and finally, Marx attempted to conceal the agreement between the *Times* report and the Hansard report by failing to quote those sentences in which, according to *The Times* too, Gladstone directly and explicitly testified to the elevation of the British working class."

In his second reply to the anonymous Brentano,[a] Marx had to prove that he had not "*lyingly added*" the "notorious" sentence, and in addition had to reject the insolent claim made by Anonymous: in relation to *this* point, the only point in question, the *Times* report and the Hansard report "fully coincided materially", although the former included the sentence in question verbatim, and the latter excluded it verbatim. For this, the only point at issue, it was absolutely irrelevant what Mr. Gladstone had to say about the elevation of the British working class.

On the other hand the Inaugural Address—and this is the document which Brentano accuses of falsifying a quotation—states explicitly on p. 4,[b] only a few lines before the "notorious" sentence, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Gladstone), during the millennium of free trade, told the House of Commons:

"The average condition of the British labourer has improved in a degree we know to be extraordinary and unexampled in the history of any country or any age."

And these are precisely the words which, according to Brentano, Marx maliciously suppressed.

In the whole polemic, from his first retort to Marx in 1872 (Documents, No. 5[c]) down to his introduction and appendix to *Meine Polemik, etc.*, 1890, Mr. Brentano suppresses, with a sleight of hand which we must on no account describe as "insolent mendacity", the fact that Marx directly quoted in the Inaugural Address these Gladstonian declarations about the unparalleled improvement in the situation of the workers. And in this rejoinder, which, as already mentioned, remained unknown to Marx up to his death, and to me until the publication of the pamphlet *Meine Polemik, etc.*, in 1890, in which the accusation about the lyingly added sentence was only apparently maintained, though in reality dropped, and the lyingly added sentence not only shamefacedly admitted as genuine Gladstonian property, but also as "speaking for us", i.e. for Brentano—in this rejoinder a retreat is beaten to the new line of defence: Marx has distorted and

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[a] See this volume, pp. 136-40.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 132.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., pp. 140-44.—*Ed.*

twisted Gladstone's speech; Marx has Gladstone say that, it goes, the riches of the rich have grown enormously, but that the poor, the working population, have at the most become less poor. But in fact Gladstone said, in plain words, that the condition of the workers had improved to an unexampled degree.

This second line of defence was pierced by the irresistible fact that precisely in the incriminated document, in the Inaugural Address, these same Gladstonian words were quoted explicitly. And Mr. Brentano *knew* this. "But what does it matter? The readers" of the *Concordia* "cannot check up on him!"

Incidentally, regarding what Gladstone really said, on this we shall have a few short words to say in a little while.

In conclusion, Mr. Brentano, in the security, first of his anonymity, and second of Marx's declaration that he has no wish to bother with him further, indulges in the following private jollity:

> "When Mr. Marx finally ends his article by breaking into abuse, we can assure him that his opponent could desire nothing more than the confession of his weakness which lies herein. Abuse is the weapon of those whose other means of defence have run out."

The reader can check for himself the extent to which Marx "breaks into abuse" in his rejoinder. As far as Mr. Brentano is concerned, we have already presented some choice bouquets from his attestations of politeness. The "lies", "impudent mendacity", "lying quotation", "simply nefarious", etc., heaped upon Marx's head by all means constitute an edifying "confession of weakness", and an unmistakeable sign that Mr. Brentano's "other means of defence have run out".

## IV

Here ends the first act of our song and dance. Mr. Brentano, mysterious though not yet a privy councillor,[a] had achieved what he could scarcely have hoped to achieve. Admittedly, things had gone badly enough for him regarding the sentence allegedly "lyingly added"; and in fact he had dropped this original charge. But he had sought out a new line of defence, and on this line—*he had had the last word,* and with that you can, in the world of German professordom, claim you have stood your ground. And with this he could brag, at least amongst his own, that he had

[a] Play on words: "geheimnisvoll"—mysterious, "Geheimrat"—privy councillor.— *Trans.*

victoriously repelled Marx's onslaught, and slain Marx himself in the literary world. The luckless Marx, however, never heard a dying word about his slaughter in the *Concordia*; on the contrary, he had the "impudence" to live on for another eleven years, eleven years of mounting success for him, eleven years of uninterrupted growth in the numerical strength of his supporters in all countries, eleven years of constantly growing recognition of his merits.

Mr. Brentano and consorts wisely refrained from freeing the blinded Marx of his self-deception, or making it clear to him that he had actually been dead for a long time. But after he really did die in 1883, they could no longer contain themselves, their fingers itched too much. And now Mr. Sedley Taylor appeared on the scene, with a letter to *The Times* (Documents, No. 8).[a]

He provoked things himself, if he or his friend Brentano, as it almost appears, had not actually concocted it with M. Émile de Laveleye.[b] In that stilted style which betrays a certain recognition of his dubious cause, he states that it appears to him

> "extremely singular that it was reserved for Professor Brentano to expose, eight years later, the *mala fides*[c]" of Marx.

And then begin the vainglorious phrases about the masterly conduct of the attack by the godlike Brentano, and the speedily ensuring deadly shifts of the notorious Marx, etc. What things were like in reality our readers have already seen. All that fell into deadly shifts was only Brentano's claim about the lying addition of the sentence in question.

And finally in conclusion:

> "On Brentano's showing, by a detailed comparison of texts, that the reports of *The Times* and of "Hansard" agreed in utterly excluding the meaning which craftily isolated quotation had put upon Mr. Gladstone's words, Marx withdrew from further controversy under the plea of want of time!"

The "detailed comparison of texts" is simply farcical. Anonymous Brentano quotes *only* Hansard. Marx supplies him with the *Times* report, which includes verbatim the controversial sentence missing in Hansard. Mr. Brentano now also quoted the *Times* report, and this three lines further than Marx quoted it. These three lines are supposed to show that *The Times* and Hansard fully agree, and thus that the sentence allegedly "lyingly added"

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[a] See this volume, p. 155.—*Ed.*

[b] See É. de Laveleye, "To the Editor of *The Times*, Liège, November 16". *The Times*, No. 30987, November 26, 1883.—*Ed.*

[c] Bad faith.—*Ed.*

by Marx is *not* in the *Times* report, although it stands there word for word; or at the very least, if it should stand there, that it then means the opposite of what it says in plain words. Mr. Taylor calls this daredevil operation a "detailed comparison of texts".

Further. It is simply not true that Marx then withdrew under the plea of want of time. And Mr. Sedley Taylor knew this, or it was his business to know it. We have seen that before this Marx delivered proof to the anonymous godlike Brentano that the reports in *The Morning Star* and *The Morning Advertiser* also contained the "lyingly added" sentence. Only after this did he declare that he could waste no more time on Anonymous.

The further polemic between Mr. Sedley Taylor and Eleanor Marx (Documents, Nos 9, 10 and 11[a]) showed in the first place that he did not try for a moment to maintain the original charge about the lying addition of a sentence. He went so far as to claim that this was "of very subordinate importance". Once again the direct disavowal of a fact which he knew, or which it was his business to know.

In any case we take note of his admission that this charge does not hold water, and congratulate his friend Brentano on this.

So what is the charge now? Simply that of Mr. Brentano's second line of defence that Marx had wished to distort the sense of Gladstone's speech—a new charge of which, as we have noted, Marx never knew anything. In any case, this brings us to a completely different field. What was concerned to begin with was a definite fact: did Marx lyingly add this sentence or not? It is now no longer denied that Marx victoriously rebuffed this charge. The new charge of distorted quotation, however, leads us into the field of subjective opinions, which necessarily vary. *De gustibus non est disputandum.*[b] One person may regard as unimportant—intrinsically or for the purpose of quotation—something which another person declares to be important and decisive. The conservative will [never] quote acceptably for the liberal, the liberal never for the conservative, the socialist never for one of them or both of them. The party man whose own comrade is quoted against him by an opponent regularly discovers that the essential passage, the passage determining the real sense, has been omitted in quotation. This is such an everyday occurrence, something permitting so many individual viewpoints, that nobody attaches the slightest significance to such charges. Had Mr. Brentano utilised

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[a] See this volume, pp. 156-63.—*Ed.*

[b] There can be no argument about taste.—*Ed.*

his anonimity to level this charge, and this charge alone, against Marx, then Marx would scarcely have regarded it as worth the trouble of a single word in reply.

In order to accomplish this new twist with that elegance peculiar to him alone, Mr. Sedley Taylor finds it necessary to repudiate thrice his friend and comrade Brentano. He repudiates him first when he drops his originally sole charge of "lying addition", and even denies its existence as original and sole. He repudiates him further when he summarily discards the infallible Hansard, to quote exclusively from which is the "custom" of the ethical Brentano,[a] and uses instead the *Times* report, which the selfsame Brentano calls "necessarily bungling". Thirdly, he repudiates him, and his own first letter to *The Times* into the bargain, by seeking the "quotation in dispute" no longer in the Inaugural Address but in *Capital.* And this for the simple reason that he had never laid his hand upon the Inaugural Address, to which he "had the hardihood" to refer in his letter to *The Times*!

Shortly after his controversy with Eleanor Marx he vainly sought this Address in the British Museum, and was introduced there to his opponent, whom he asked whether *she* could not obtain a copy for him. Whereupon, I sought out a copy amongst my papers, and Eleanor sent it to him. The "detailed comparison of texts" which this enabled him to make apparently convinced him that silence was the best reply.

And in fact it would be superfluous to add a single word to Eleanor Marx's retort (Documents, No. 11[b]).

## V

Third act. My Preface to the fourth edition of the first volume of Marx's *Capital,* reprinted as far as necessary in Documents, No. 12,[c] explains why I was forced to return to the bygone polemics of Messrs Brentano and Sedley Taylor. This Preface forced Mr. Brentano to make a reply: this was the pamphlet *Meine Polemik mit Karl Marx usw.* by Lujo Brentano, Berlin, 1890. Here he has reprinted his anonymous and now finally legitimated *Concordia* articles, and Marx's answers in the *Volksstaat,* accompanied by an introduction and two appendices, with which, for better or worse, we are obliged to deal.

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[a] Play on words: "Sitte"—custom, "sittlich"—ethical.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume pp. 159-63.— *Ed.*

[c] Ibid., pp. 164-69.— *Ed.*

Above all we note that here too there is no longer any mention of the "lyingly added" sentence. The sentence from the Inaugural Address is quoted right on the first page, and it is then claimed that Gladstone had "stated in direct opposition to Karl Marx's claim" that these figures referred only to those paying income tax (which Marx had Gladstone say too, since he explicitly limits these figures to *taxable* income) but that the condition of the working class had at the same time improved in unexampled fashion (which Marx also has Gladstone say, only nine lines before the challenged quotation). I would request the reader to compare for himself the Inaugural Address (Documents, No. 1[a]) with Mr. Brentano's claim (Documents, No. 13[b]) in order to see how Mr. Brentano either "lyingly adds", or fabricates in another manner, a contradiction where there is none at all. But since the charge about the lyingly added sentence has broken down ignominiously, Mr. Brentano, contrary to his better knowledge, must attempt to take in his readers by telling them Marx tried to suppress the fact that Gladstone had spoken here only of "taxable income", or the income of classes which possess property. And here Mr. Brentano does not even notice that his first accusation is thus turned into the opposite, in that the second is a slap in the face of the first.

Having happily accomplished this "forgery", *he* is moved to draw the attention of the *Concordia* to the "forgery" allegedly committed by Marx, and the *Concordia* then asks him to send it an article against Marx. What now follows is too delicious not to be given verbatim:

> "The article was not signed by me; this was done, on the one hand, at the request of the editors *in the interests of the reputation of their paper,* and, on the other hand, I had all the less objection, since following earlier literary controversies pursued by Marx it was to be expected that this time too he would heap personal insults on his adversary, and for this reason it could *only be amusing* to leave him in the dark as to the identity of his adversary."

So the editors of the *Concordia* wished "in the interests of the reputation of their paper" that Mr. Brentano should keep his name quiet! What a reputation this implies for Mr. Brentano amongst his colleagues in his own party. We can well believe that this actually happened to him, but that he himself shouts it from the rooftops is a really pyramidal achievement on his part. However, this is something which he has to settle with himself and with the editors of the *Concordia.*

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[a] See this volume, pp. 132-33.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 169-72.—*Ed.*

Since "it was to be expected that Marx would heap personal insults on his adversary", it could naturally "only be amusing to leave him in the dark as to the identity of his adversary". It was hitherto a mystery as to how you can heap *personal* insults upon a person you do *not* know. You can only get personal if you know something of the person in question. But Mr. Brentano, made anonymous in the interests of the paper's reputation, relieved his adversary of this trouble. He himself waded in with "insults", first with the "lyingly added" printed in bold type, and then with "impudent mendacity", "simply nefarious", etc. Mr. Brentano, the non-anonymous, obviously made a slip of the pen here. Mr. Brentano "on the other hand, had all the less objection" to the anonymity imposed upon himself, not so that the well-known Marx could "heap personal insults" upon the unknown Brentano, but so that the concealed Brentano could do this to the well-known Marx.

And this is supposed to "be amusing"! That's what actually transpired, but not because Mr. Brentano wanted it. Marx, as later his daughter, and now myself, have all tried to see the amusing aspect of this polemic. Such success as we have had, be it great or small, has been at the expense of Mr. Brentano. His articles have been anything but "amusing". The only contributions to amusement are the rapier-thrusts aimed by Marx at the shady side of his "left-in-the-dark person", which the man at the receiving end now wishes to laugh off belatedly as the "loutishness of his scurrilous polemics". The Junkers, the priests, the lawyers and other right and proper opponents of the incisive polemics of Voltaire, Beaumarchais and Paul Louis Courier objected to the "loutishness of their scurrilous polemics", which has not prevented these examples of "loutishness" from being regarded as models and masterpieces today. And we have had so much pleasure from these and similar "scurrilous polemics" that a hundred Brentanos should not succeed in dragging us down to the level of German university polemics, where there is nothing but the impotent rage of green envy, and the most desolate boredom.

However, Mr. Brentano once again regards his readers as so duped that he can lay it on thick again with a brazen face:

> "When it was shown that *The Times* too ... carried this" (Gladstone's) "speech in a sense according with the shorthand report, he" (Marx) "acted, as the editors of the *Concordia* wrote, like the cuttlefish, which *dims* the water with a dark fluid, in order to make pursuit by its enemy more difficult, i.e. he tried as hard as he could to hide the subject of controversy by clinging to completely inconsequential secondary matters."

If the *Times* report, which contains the "lyingly added"

sentence word for word, accords in sense with the "shorthand" report—should be with Hansard—which suppresses it word for word, and if Mr. Brentano once again boasts that he had demonstrated this, this can mean nothing other than the charge concerning the "lyingly added" sentence has been completely dropped—though shamefacedly and quietly—and Mr. Brentano, forced from the offensive onto the defensive, is retreating to his second line of defence. We simply note this; we believe that in sections III and IV we have thoroughly broken through the centre of this second line, and turned both flanks.

But then the genuine university polemicist appears. When Brentano, emboldened by the scent of victory, has thus driven his enemy into the corner, the foe acts like the cuttlefish, darkening the water and hiding the subject of controversy by focussing attention on completely inconsequential secondary matters.

The Jesuits say: *Si fecisti, nega.* If you have perpetrated something, deny it. The German university polemicist goes further and says: If you have perpetrated a shady lawyer's trick, then lay it at your opponent's door. Scarcely has Marx quoted *The Theory of the Exchanges* and Professor Beesly, and this simply because they had quoted the disputed passage like he had, than Brentano the cuttlefish "clings" to them with all the suckers of his ten feet, and spreads such a torrent of his "dark fluid" all around that you must look hard and grasp firmly if you do not wish to lose from eye and hand the real "subject of controversy", namely the allegedly "lyingly added" sentence. In his rejoinder, exactly the same method. First he starts another squabble with Marx about the meaning of the expression CLASSES IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES, a squabble which under the best of circumstances could produce nothing but that very "obscuration" which Mr. Brentano desires. And then dark fluid is again squirted in the matter of that renowned relative clause which Marx had maliciously suppressed, and which, as we have shown, could perfectly well be omitted, since the fact to which it indirectly alluded had already been stated quite clearly in an earlier sentence of the speech which had been quoted by Marx. And thirdly, our cuttlefish has enough dark sauce left over to obscure once again the subject of controversy, by claiming that Marx has again suppressed some sentences from *The Times*—sentences which had absolutely nothing to do with the single point at issue between them *at that time,* the allegedly lyingly added sentence.

And the same waste of sepia in the present self-apologia. First, naturally, *The Theory of the Exchanges* must be the whipping boy.

Then, all of a sudden, we are confronted with the Lassallean "iron law of wages" with which, as everyone knows, Marx was as little connected as Mr. Brentano with the invention of gunpowder; Mr. Brentano must know that in the first volume of *Capital* Marx specifically denied all and every responsibility for any conclusions drawn by Lassalle,[a] and that in the same book Marx describes the law of wages as a function of differing variables and very elastic, thus anything but iron. But when the ink-squirting has started there is no stopping it: the Halle congress,[138] Liebknecht and Bebel, Gladstone's budget speech of 1843, the English trade unions, all manner of far-fetched things are resorted to so as, faced with an opponent who has gone over to the offensive, to cover by self-apologia the defensive line of Mr. Brentano and his lofty philanthropic principles, treated so scornfully by the wicked socialists. One gets the impression that a round dozen cuttlefish were helping him do the "hushing up" here.

And all of this because Mr. Brentano himself knows that he has hopelessly run aground with his claim about the "lyingly added" sentence, and has not got the courage to withdraw this claim openly and honourably. To use his own words:

> "Had he" Brentano "simply admitted that he had been misled by this book", Hansard, "...one might have been surprised that he had relied upon such a source" as absolutely reliable "but the mistake would at least have been rectified. But for him there was no question of this."

Instead the ink was squirted in gallons for obscuring purposes, and if I have to be so discursive here, this is only because I must first dispose of all these far-fetched marginal questions, and disperse the obscuring ink in order to keep eye and hand on the real subject of the controversy.

Meanwhile Mr. Brentano has another piece of information for us *in petto*,[b] which in fact "could only be amusing". He has, in fact, been so lamentably treated that he can find no peace and quiet until he has moaned to us about all his misfortune. First the *Concordia* suppresses his name in the interests of the reputation of the paper. Mr. Brentano is magnanimous enough to consent to this sacrifice in the interests of the good cause. Then Marx unleashes upon him the loutishness of his scurrilous polemics. This too he swallows. Only he wished to reply to this "with the verbatim publication of the entire polemic". But sadly

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[a] See F. Lassalle, *Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch, der ökonomische Julian, oder: Capital und Arbeit*, Berlin, 1864, Ch. III, see also *Capital*, Vol. I, "Preface to the First German Edition" (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

[b] In store.—*Ed.*

"editors often have their own judgement; the specialist journal which I regarded as suitable above all others refused to publish, on the grounds that the dispute lacked general interest".

Thus do the noble suffer in this sinful world; their best intentions founder on the baseness or indifference of man. And to compensate this unappreciated honest fellow for his undeserved misfortune, and since some time will probably pass before he rounds up an editor who has not "often his own judgement", we herewith present him the "the verbatim publication of the entire polemic".

## VI

In addition to the introductory self-apologia, Mr. Brentano's little pamphlet contains two appendices. The first contains extracts from *The Theory of the Exchanges,* intended to prove that this book was one of the main sources from which Marx concocted his *Capital.* I shall not go into detail about this repeated waste of sepia. I only have to deal with the old charge from the *Concordia.* His whole life long Marx could not and would not please Mr. Brentano. Mr. Brentano thus certainly has a whole bottomless sack of complaints against Marx, and I would be an idiot to let myself in for this. There would be no end to pleasing him.

But it is naive that here, at the end of the quotations, "the reproduction of the real budget speech" is demanded from Marx. So that is what Mr. Brentano understands by correct quotation. However, if the whole actual speech is always to be reproduced, then no speech has ever been quoted without "forgery".

In the second appendix Mr. Brentano has a go at me. In the fourth edition of *Capital,* volume one, I drew attention to *The Morning Star* in connection with the allegedly false quotation. Mr. Brentano utilises this to once again obscure completely, with spurts of sepia, the original point at issue, the passage in the Inaugural Address, and instead of this to hit out at the passage in *Capital* already quoted by Mr. S. Taylor. In order to prove that my source of reference was false, and that Marx could only have taken the "forged quotation" from *The Theory of the Exchanges,* Mr. Brentano prints in parallel columns the reports of *The Times* and *The Morning Star* and the quotation according to *Capital.* This second appendix is printed here as document No. 14b.[a]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 173-74.— *Ed.*

Mr. Brentano has *The Morning Star* begin its report with the words "I MUST SAY FOR ONE" etc. He thus claims that the preceding sentences on the growth of taxable income from 1842 to 1852, and from 1853 to 1861 are missing in *The Morning Star*; from which it naturally follows that Marx did not use *The Morning Star* but *The Theory of the Exchanges.*

"The readers" of his pamphlet "with whom he is concerned, cannot check up on him!" But other people can, and they discover that this passage is certainly to be found in *The Morning Star.* We reprint it here, next to the passage from *Capital* in English and German for the edification of Mr. Brentano and his readers.

| *"The Morning Star", April 17, 1863* | *"Capital", Vol. I, 1st ed., p. 639; 2nd ed., p. 678; 3rd ed., p. 671; 4th ed., p. 617, Note 103*[a] |
|---|---|
| * "In ten years, from 1842 to 1852 the taxable income of the country increased by 6 per cent, as nearly as I can make out—a very considerable increase in ten years. But in eight years from 1853 to 1861 the income of the country again increased from the basis taken in 1853 by 20 per cent. The fact is so astonishing as to be almost incredible." * | * "From 1842 to 1852 the taxable income of the country increased by 6 per cent... |
| | ...In the 8 years from 1858 to 1861 ... it had increased from the basis taken in 1853, 20 per cent! The fact is so astonishing as to be almost incredible." * |

In German translation:[b]

The absence of this sentence in his quotation from *The Morning Star* is Mr. Brentano's main trump card in his claim that Marx quoted from *The Theory of the Exchanges* and not from *The Morning Star.* He confronts the claim that the quotation was taken from *The Morning Star* with the incriminating gap in the parallel column. And now the sentence is nevertheless to be found in *The Morning Star,* in fact exactly as in Marx, and the incriminating gap is Mr. Brentano's own invention. If that is not "suppression" and "forgery", into the bargain, then these words lack any sense.

But if Mr. Brentano "forges" at the *beginning* of the quotation, and if he now very carefully refrains from saying that Marx "lyingly added" a sentence in the *middle* of the same quotation, this in no way prevents him from insisting repeatedly that Marx suppressed the *end* of the quotation.

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[a] K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, Part VII, Chapter XXV, Section 5(a), present edition, Vol. 35.—*Ed.*

[b] Then follows the German translation of both quotations.—*Ed.*

In *Capital* the quotation breaks off with the passage:

"Whether the extremes of poverty are less, I do not presume to say."

Now in the reports in *The Times* and *The Morning Star* the sentence does not end here; separated only by a comma, there follow the words:

"but the average condition of the British labourer, we have the happiness to know to be extraordinary" (in *The Times*: has improved during the last 20 years in a degree which we know to be extraordinary) "and which we may almost pronounce to be unexampled in the history of any country and of any age".

Thus Marx breaks off here in mid-sentence, "has Gladstone stop in mid-sentence", "making this sentence quite meaningless". And already in his rejoinder (Documents, No. 7[a]) Mr. Brentano calls this an "absolutely senseless version".

Gladstone's sentence: "Whether the extremes of poverty are less, I do not presume to say" is a quite definite statement, complete in itself. If it makes sense, it makes sense when taken in isolation. If it makes no sense, no addition however long, tacked on behind a "yet", can give it sense. If the sentence in Marx's quotation is "completely senseless", then this is not due to Marx who quoted it, but to Mr. Gladstone who uttered it.

To probe more deeply this important case, let us now turn to the only source which, according to Mr. Brentano, it is the "custom" to quote, let us turn to Hansard, pure of all original sin. According to Mr. Brentano's own translation, it says:

"I will not presume to determine whether the wide interval which separates the extremes of wealth and poverty is less or more wide than it has been in former times"—*full stop.*

And only *after* this full stop does the new sentence begin:

"But if we look to the average condition of the British labourer", etc.

Thus if Marx likewise sets a full stop here, he does just as the virtuous Hansard does; and if Mr. Brentano makes this full stop a new crime on the part of Marx, and claims that Marx has Gladstone stop in the mid-sentence, then he has relied upon the "necessarily bungling newspaper reports", and he can only blame himself for the consequences. Thus the argument collapses that Marx has made the sentence completely senseless through his full stop; this comes not from him but from Mr. Gladstone, and let Mr. Brentano now correspond with him about the sense or nonsense of the sentence; we have nothing more to do with the matter.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 152-54.—*Ed.*

For Mr. Brentano is anyway in correspondence with Mr. Gladstone. What he has written to the latter we do not learn, of course, and we only learn very little of what Mr. Gladstone has written to him. In any case, Mr. Brentano has published from Gladstone's letters two meagre little sentences (Documents, No. 16[a]) and in my reply (Documents, No. 17[b]) I showed that "this arbitrary mosaic of sentences torn from their context" proves nothing at all *in* Mr. Brentano's favour whilst the fact that he indulges in this sort of ragged publication, instead of publishing the whole correspondence, speaks volumes *against* him.

But let us assume for a moment that these two little sentences only permitted the interpretation most favourable to Mr. Brentano. What then?

"You are completely correct, and Marx completely incorrect." "I undertook no changes of any sort." These are the alleged words—for Mr. Gladstone does not usually write in German, as far as I know—of the former minister.

Does this mean: I did not utter the "notorious" sentence, and that Marx "lyingly added" it? Certainly not. The eight London morning papers of April 17, 1863 would unanimously give the lie to such a claim. They prove beyond all doubt that this sentence was spoken. If Mr. Gladstone made no changes in the Hansard report—although I am twelve years younger than him, I would not like to rely so implicitly on my memory in such trivialities which occurred 27 years ago—then the omission of the sentence in Hansard says nothing in Mr. Brentano's favour, and a great deal against Hansard.

Aside from this one point about the "lyingly added" sentence, Mr. Gladstone's opinion is completely inconsequential here. For as soon as we disregard this point, we find ourselves exclusively in the field of inconsequential opinions, in which after years of strife each sticks to his guns. If Mr. Gladstone, should he happen to be quoted, prefers the quotation methods of Mr. Brentano, an admiring supporter, to those of Marx, a sharply critical opponent, then this is quite obvious, and his indisputable right. For us, however, and for the question as to whether Marx quoted in good or in bad faith, his opinion is not even worth as much as that of any old uninvolved third person. For here Mr. Gladstone is no longer a witness but an interested party.

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[a] Ibid., p. 175.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 175-76.—*Ed.*

## VII

In conclusion, let us go briefly into the question of what Mr. Gladstone said in that—thanks to Mr. Brentano, now "notorious"—passage of his budget speech of 1863, and what Marx quoted of what he said, or else what he "lyingly added" or "suppressed". In order to oblige Mr. Brentano as far as possible, let us take as our basis the immaculate Hansard, and in his own translation.[a]

"In ten years from 1842 to 1852 inclusive, the taxable income of the country, as nearly as we can make out, increased by 6 per cent; but in eight years, from 1853 to 1861, the income of the country again increased upon the basis taken by 20 per cent. That is a fact so singular and striking as to seem almost incredible."

Mr. Brentano himself has nothing against Marx's quotation of this sentence, apart from the fact that it is allegedly taken from *The Theory of the Exchanges.* But of Brentano's quotation it must be said here that it too is far removed from giving "the real budget speech". He excises Mr. Gladstone's following excursus on the causes of this astonishing augmentation without even indicating the omission with dots.—Further:

"Such, Sir, is the state of the case as regards the general progress of accumulation; but, for one, I must say that I should look with some degree of pain, and with much apprehension, upon this extraordinary and almost intoxicating growth, if it were my belief that it is confined to the class of persons who may be described as in easy circumstances. The figures which I have quoted take little or no cognizance of the condition of those who do not pay income tax; or, in other words, sufficiently accurate for general truth, they do not take cognizance of the property of the labouring population, or of the increase of its income."

There now follows the sentence which according to Mr. Brentano was "lyingly added" by Marx, but which on the testimony of all eight morning papers of April 17 was certainly uttered by Mr. Gladstone:

"The augmentation I have described, and which is founded, I think, upon accurate returns, is an augmentation entirely confined to classes of property." (*The Times, The Morning Star, The Morning Advertiser, Daily Telegraph.*) "...is entirely confined to the augmentation of capital". (*Morning Herald, Standard, The Daily News, Morning Post.*)

After the word "income", Hansard immediately continues with the words:

"Indirectly, indeed, the *mere augmentation of capital* is of the utmost advantage to the labouring class, because that augmentation cheapens the commodity which in the whole business of production comes into direct competition with labour."

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[a] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates,* Vol. CLXX, pp. 244-45.—*Ed.*

Although Hansard omits the "notorious" sentence, it says in substance just what the other papers say: it would be very embarrassing for the speaker if this intoxicating augmentation were confined to CLASSES IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES, but although it pains him, this augmentation he has described is confined to people who do not belong to the working class and who are rich enough to pay income tax; yes, it is indeed a "mere augmentation of capital"!

And here, finally, the secret of Mr. Brentano's fury stands revealed. He reads the sentence in the Inaugural Address, finds in it an embarrassing admission, obtains the Hansard version, fails to find the embarrassing sentence in it, and hurries to publish to the world: Marx lyingly added the sentence in form and in content!—Marx shows him the sentence in *The Times, The Morning Star, The Morning Advertiser.* Now finally, for appearance's sake at least, Mr. Brentano must make a "detailed comparison of texts" and discovers—what? That *The Times, The Morning Star, The Morning Advertiser* "fully coincide materially" with Hansard! Unfortunately he overlooks the fact that the "lyingly added" sentence must then fully coincide materially with Hansard, and that then in the end it must turn out that Hansard coincides materially with the Inaugural Address.

The whole hullabaloo therefore because Mr. Brentano had neglected to undertake the detailed textual comparison ascribed to him by Mr. Sedley Taylor, and because, in fact, he had himself not understood what Mr. Gladstone had said according to Hansard. Of course, this was not that easy, for although Mr. Brentano claims that this speech

> "aroused the interest and admiration of the entire educated world ... notably through ... its clarity",

readers have been able to see for themselves that in the Hansard version it is presented in a particularly stilted, complicated and involved language, tying itself up in its own repetitions. In particular the sentence stating that the increase in capital is of extraordinary advantage to the worker, because it cheapens the commodity which in the business of production *comes into direct competition with labour,* is sheer nonsense. If a commodity comes into competition with labour, and this commodity (for example, machinery) is cheapened, then the first and immediate result is a fall in wages, and according to Mr. Gladstone this should be "of great benefit to the workers"! How philanthropic it was of some London morning papers, i. e. *The Morning Star,* in their "necessarily bungling" reports, to replace the above incomprehensible

sentence by what Mr. Gladstone probably *wanted* to say, namely that an increase in capital is of benefit to the workers because it cheapens the main articles of consumption!

When Mr. Gladstone said that he should look with some degree of pain and much apprehension at this intoxicating growth if he believed that it was confined to classes in easy circumstances—whether Mr. Gladstone *thought* thereby of another growth of wealth than that of which he *spoke,* namely, in his opinion, of the greatly improved situation of the entire nation; whether he *forgot* at that moment that he was speaking of the increase in income of the classes that pay income tax and of no others: this we cannot know. Marx has been charged with forgery, and what is at issue is the text and the grammatical meaning of what Mr. Gladstone *said,* and not what he possibly *wanted* to say. Mr. Brentano does not know the latter either, and on this point Mr. Gladstone, 27 years later, is no longer a competent authority. And in no way does this concern us.

The abundantly clear meaning of the words is: taxable income has undergone an intoxicating augmentation. I should be very sorry if this augmentation just described were confined to classes of property, but it is confined to them, since the workers have no income liable to tax, and it is thus purely an increase in capital! But the latter, too, is of advantage to the workers, because they, etc.

And now Marx:

> "This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power ... is entirely confined to classes of property."[a]

Thus runs the sentence in the Inaugural Address, where it provided the occasion for this whole jolly controversy. But since Mr. Brentano has no longer dared to claim that Marx lyingly added it, since then the Inaugural Address has no longer been mentioned at all, and all attacks have been directed against the quotation of this passage in *Capital.* There Marx adds the following sentence:

> "but... but it must be of indirect benefit to the labouring population, because it cheapens the commodities of general consumption."

The "arbitrarily thrown-together mosaic of sentences torn from their context" in Marx thus states "materially", "only formally more contracted", exactly what the immaculate Hansard has Gladstone say. The only reproach which can be levelled at Marx is that

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[a] See this volume, p. 173.—*Ed.*

he utilised *The Morning Star* and not Hansard, and thus, in the final sentence, placed words of sense in Mr. Gladstone's mouth, although he had spoken nonsense. Further, according to Hansard[a]:

"But, besides this, a more direct and a larger benefit has, it may safely be asserted, been conferred upon the mass of the people [of the country]. It is a matter of profound and inestimable consolation to reflect, that while the rich have been growing richer, the poor have become less poor. I will not presume to determine whether the wide interval which separates the extremes of wealth and poverty is less or more wide than it has been in former times."

In Marx:

"...while the rich have been growing richer, the poor have been growing less poor. At any rate, whether the extremes of poverty are less, I do not presume to say."

Marx gives only the two rare positive statements which, in Hansard, swim in a whole tureen of phrases as trivial as they are unctuous. It can be stated with certainty that they lose nothing thereby, but rather gain.

Finally the conclusion, according to Hansard:

"But if we look to the average condition of the British labourer, whether peasant, or miner, or operative, or artisan, we know from varied and indubitable evidence that during the last twenty years such an addition has been made to his means of subsistence as we may almost pronounce to be without example in the history of any country and of any age."

This sentence is quoted in the Inaugural Address a few lines above the "notorious" one just given. There we find:

"Such are the official statements published by order of Parliament in 1864, during the millennium of free trade, at a time when the Chancellor of the Exchequer told the House of Commons that:

'The average condition of the British labourer has improved in a degree we know to be extraordinary and unexampled in the history of any country or any age.'"[b]

Thus everything essential is cited. But that this may be read in the Inaugural Address, original edition, p. 4, this fact is stubbornly concealed from his readers by Mr. Brentano; however, his readers cannot check upon him, for we cannot possibly present each of them with a copy of the Address, as we did Mr. Sedley Taylor.

*Notabene*: In his second reply (Documents, No. 6[c]) Marx only

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[a] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. CLXX, p. 245.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 132.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., pp. 144-51.—*Ed.*

had to defend the Inaugural Address, since up to then Mr. Brentano had not got the passage in *Capital* into his nagging range. And in his following rejoinder (Documents, No. 7[a]) Mr. Brentano's attack is still directed against the Inaugural Address and Marx's defence of this.

It is only after Marx's death that a new turn comes, and this not through Mr. Brentano but through his Cambridge shield-bearer. Only now is it discovered that in *Capital* Marx suppressed the resonant declarations made by Mr. Gladstone about the unexampled improvement in the condition of the British worker, and that this converted Mr. Gladstone's meaning into the contrary.

And here we have to say that Marx missed the opportunity for a brilliant burst of rhetoric. The whole section in the introduction to which this speech by Gladstone is quoted has the purpose of furnishing evidence that the condition of the great majority of the British working class was straitened and unworthy, just at the time of this intoxicating augmentation of wealth. What a magnificent contrast Gladstone's selfsame pompous words about the happy condition of the British working class, [a condition] unexampled in the history of any country and any age, would have provided to this evidence of mass poverty, drawn from the official publications of Parliament itself!

But if Marx wished to refrain from such a rhetorical effect, he had no reason to quote these words of Gladstone's. Firstly, they are nothing but the standard phrases which every British Chancellor of the Exchequer believes it to be his moral duty to repeat in good or even in tolerable business periods; they are thus meaningless. And secondly, Gladstone himself retracted them within a year; in his next budget speech of April 7, 1864, at a time of even greater industrial prosperity, he spoke of masses "on the border of pauperism", and of branches of business "in which wages have not increased", and proclaimed—according to Hansard:

"Again, and yet more at large, what is human life, but, in the great majority of cases, a struggle for existence?" *

* And here some more from this speech, according to Hansard: the number of paupers had fallen to 840,000. "That amount, however, does not include persons who are dependent upon charitable establishments; or who are relieved by private almsgiving.... But, besides all those whom it comprises, think of those who are on the borders of that region, think how many of the labouring classes are struggling manfully but with difficulty to maintain themselves in a position above the place of

[a] See this volume, pp. 152-54.—*Ed.*

But Marx quotes this other budget speech of Gladstone's immediately after that of 1863, and if Mr. Gladstone himself, on April 7, 1864, declared that the unexampled blessings were non-existent, those blessings for the existence of which he had possessed "varied and indubitable evidence", then for Marx there was no longer the slightest shadow of a reason to quote these vivacious protestations, which were unfortunately ephemeral, even for Mr. Gladstone. He could content himself with the speaker's admissions that while the incomes of 150 pounds sterling and over had augmented intoxicatingly, the poor had in any case become less poor, and that the interval between extreme wealth and extreme poverty had scarcely been reduced.

We shall not comment on the fact that it is the habit of the official German economists to quote Marx in sentences torn from context. If he had created a hullabaloo in every such case, as Mr. Brentano has done here, he would never have been finished.

But now let us examine more closely the unexampled augmentation of the means of subsistence enjoyed at that time by the British labourer, peasant or miner, artisan or operative.

The *peasant* is in England and the greater part of Scotland only an agricultural day labourer. In 1861 there were a total of 1,098,261 such peasants, of whom 204,962 lived as farmhands on tenant farms.* From 1849 to 1859 his money wage had increased by 1 shilling, in a few cases by 2 shillings a week, but in the final analysis this was mostly only a nominal increase. His position in 1863, the really abject housing conditions under which he lived, are described by Dr. Hunter (Public Health, VII Report, 1864):

"The costs occasioned by the agricultural labourer are fixed at the lowest figure at which he can live."

paupers." In the congregation of a clergyman in the East End of London, 12,000 out of 13,000 souls were always on the verge of actual want; a well-known philanthropist had declared that there were whole districts in the East End of London in which you cannot find an omnibus or a cab, in which there is no street music, nor even a street beggar... The means to wage the struggle for existence were, however, *somewhat better than previously* (!) ... In many places wages had increased, but in many others they had not, etc. And this jeremiad came just one year after the pompous announcement of the "unexampled" improvement!

* The figures are taken partly from the census of 1861, partly from the report of the CHILDREN'S EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION, 1863-1867.[a]

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[a] *Census of England and Wales for the year 1861,* London, 1863; *Children's Employment Commission (1862), Report (I-VI) of the Commissioners,* London, 1863.— *Ed.*

According to the same report, the food intake of a part of the day labourers' families (particularly in eight named counties) was below the absolute minimum necessary to avert starvation diseases. And Professor Thorold Rogers, a political supporter of Gladstone, declared in 1866 (*A History of Agriculture and Prices*) that the agricultural day labourer had once again become a serf, and, as he demonstrated at length, a poorly fed and poorly housed serf, much worse off than his ancestor at the time of Arthur Young (1770 to 1780), and incomparably worse than the day labourer in the 14th and 15th centuries. So Gladstone had no luck at all with the "peasants".

But how about the "miner"? On this we have the parliamentary report of 1866.[a] In 1861, 565,875 miners were working in the United Kingdom, 246,613 of them in coal mines. In the latter the wages of the men had risen slightly, and they mostly did an eight-hour shift, while the youngsters had to work 14 to 15 hours. Mine inspection was just a farce: there were 12 inspectors for 3,217 mines! The result was that the lives of the miners were sacrificed wholesale in largely avoidable explosions; the mine-owners compensated themselves in general for the small wage increases by wage deductions based on false weights and measures. In the ore mines, according to the report of the ROYAL COMMISSION of 1864, conditions were still worse.

But the "artisan"? Let us take the metalworkers, altogether 396,998. Of these, some 70,000 to 80,000 were machine fitters, and their situation was in fact good, thanks to the toughness of their old, strong and rich trade association. For the other metalworkers too, provided full physical strength and skill were called for, a certain improvement had taken place, as was natural with business having again become better since 1859 and 1860. In contrast, the situation of the women and children also employed (10,000 women and 30,000 under 18 in Birmingham and district alone) was miserable enough, and that of the nail makers (26,130) and chain makers miserable in the extreme.

In the textile industry, the 456,646 cotton spinners and weavers, and with them 12,556 calico printers, are decisive. And they must have been very surprised to hear of this unexampled happiness—in April 1863, at the height of the cotton famine and the American Civil War, at the time (October 1862) when 60 per cent of the spindles and 58 per cent of the looms stood idle, and the

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[a] *Report from the Select Committee on Mines*.... Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 23 July, 1866.—*Ed.*

remainder were only working 2-3 days a week; when over 50,000 cotton operatives, individually or with families, were supported by the Poor Law or the relief committee and (in March 1863) 135,625 were employed by the same committee at starvation wages on public works or in sewing schools! (Watts, *The Facts of the Cotton Famine,* 1866, p. 211.)—The other textile operatives, particularly in the wool and linen branches, were relatively prosperous; the lack of cotton increased their employment.

The reports of the CHILDREN'S EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION give us the best information on how things looked in a number of smaller branches of business: hosiery—120,000 workers, of whom only 4,000 were protected by the Factory Act, amongst the others many quite young children, colossally overworked; lace-making and dressing, mostly cottage industry—of 150,000 workers only 10,000 protected by the Factory Act, colossal overworking of children and girls; straw-plaiting and straw-hat-making—40,000, almost all children, disgustingly slave-driven; finally the manufacture of clothing and shoes, employing 370,218 female workers for outerwear and millinery, 380,716 ditto for underwear and—in England and Wales alone—573,380 male workers, including 273,223 shoemakers and 146,042 tailors, of whom between $^1/_5$ and $^1/_4$ were under 20. Of these $1\,^1/_4$ million, a maximum of 30 per cent of the men were passably off, working for private customers. The rest were exposed, as in all the branches of business mentioned in this paragraph, to exploitation through middle men, factors, agents, SWEATERS as they are called in England, and this alone describes their lot: terrible overwork for a wretched wage.

Things were no better with the "unexampled" fortune of the workers in paper-making (100,000 workers, half women), pottery (29,000), hat-making (15,000 in England alone), the glass industry (15,000), book printing (35,000), artificial flower-making (11,000), etc., etc.

In short, the CHILDREN'S EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION demanded that no fewer than 1,400,000 women, young people and children should be placed under the protection of the Factory Act, in order to guard them from mostly ruinous overwork.

And finally the number of PAUPERS dependent upon poor relief from public funds in 1863: 1,079,382.

On this basis we may make an unofficial list of those workers unquestionably very badly off in 1863: agricultural day labourers in round figures 1,100,000; cotton operatives 469,000; seamstresses and milliners 751,000; tailors and shoemakers, after the

deduction of 30%, 401,000; lace-makers 150,000; paper-makers 100,000; hosiery workers 120,000; smaller branches investigated by the CHILDREN'S EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION 189,000; and finally PAUPERS 1,079,000. Together 4,549,000 workers, added to which, in some cases, their family members.

And 1863 was a *good* business year. The crisis of 1857 had been fully overcome, demand was rising rapidly, with the exception of the cotton industry nearly all branches of business were very busy. So where is the "unexampled" improvement to be found?

The factory legislation of the forties had decisively improved the lot of those workers subject to it. But in 1863 this benefitted only the workers employed in wool, linen and silk, altogether about 270,000, while the cotton operatives were starving. For bleaching workers and dye workers, legal protection existed only on paper. Further: in branches of work in which full male strength and sometimes dexterity are indispensable, the resistance of the workers, organised in trade associations, had forced through for themselves a share of the proceeds of the favourable business period, and it may be said that on the average for *these* branches of work, involving heavy male labour, the living standard of the workers had risen decisively, though it is still ridiculous to describe this improvement as "unexampled". But while the great mass of productive work has been transferred to machines operated by weaker men, by women and young workers, the politicians like to treat the strong men employed in heavy work as the only workers, and to judge the whole working class according to their standard.

Against the $4\,^1/_2$ million worse-off workers and PAUPERS detailed above, we have, as well-off, 270,000 textile workers in wool, linen and silk. Further we may assume that of the 376,000 metal workers one third were well-off, one third middling, and only the last third, including the workers under 18, the nail-makers, chain-smiths, and women, were badly off. We may classify the situation of the 566,000 miners as medium-good. The situation of the building craftsmen may be considered as good, apart from those in the cotton districts. Amongst the joiners, at most $^1/_3$ were well-off, the great mass worked for blood-sucking SWEATERS. Amongst the railway employees there was already at that period colossal overworking, which has only brought about organised resistance in the last 20 years. In short, we may add together in total scarcely one million of whom we may say that their situation had improved in relation to the improvement in the business and the profits of the capitalists; what remains over is in a middling situation, has a few, on the whole insignificant, benefits from the better business

period, or consists of such a mixture of working people according to sex and age that the improvements for the men are offset by the overworking of the women and young workers.

And if this should not suffice, then one should consult the "Reports on PUBLIC HEALTH" which became necessary precisely because the "unexampled" improvement for the working class in the 20 years up to 1863 showed itself as typhus, cholera and other jolly epidemics, which finally spread from the working-class quarters to the genteel areas of the cities. Here the unexampled "augmentation of the means of subsistence" of the British worker is investigated with respect to housing and food, and it is found that in many cases his dwelling was simply a centre of infection, and his nourishment was on the borderline, or even beneath the border at which starvation diseases necessarily occur.

This was the real condition of the British working class at the beginning of 1863. This was the face of the "unexampled" improvement for the working class of which Mr. Gladstone boasted. And if Marx is to be blamed for anything, it is that he did Mr. Gladstone an unearned service by omitting his bragging statement.

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Conclusion: Firstly, Marx "lyingly added" nothing.

Secondly, he "suppressed" nothing about which Mr. Gladstone might have a right to complain.

And thirdly, the octopus-like tenacity with which Mr. Brentano and his companions cling to this single quotation amongst the many thousands of quotations in Marx's writing proves that they know only too well "how Karl Marx quotes"—namely correctly.

# DOCUMENTS

## I

## THE INCRIMINATED QUOTATIONS

### No. 1. THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS[a]

The original edition is entitled: * "Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association, established September 28, 1864, at a Public Meeting held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London." Price one penny. Printed at the "Bee-Hive" Newspaper Office, 10, Bolt Court, Fleet Street, 1864.* The address begins: "It is a great fact that the misery of the working masses has not diminished from 1848 to 1864, and yet this period is unrivalled for the development of its industry and the growth of its commerce." By way of proof, facts are quoted from the *Public Health Reports* about the poor nutrition of various groups of urban workers and agricultural day labourers in the country. It then continues:

* "Such are the official statements published by order of Parliament in 1864, during the millennium of free trade, at a time when the Chancellor of the Exchequer told the House of Commons that

> "'the average condition of the British labourer has improved in a degree we know to be extraordinary and unexampled in the history of any country or any age.'

"Upon these official congratulations jars the dry remark of the official *Public Health Report*:

> "'The public health of a country means the health of its masses, and the masses will scarcely be healthy unless, to their very base, they be at least moderately prosperous.'

"Dazzled by the 'Progress of the Nation' statistics dancing before his eyes, the Chancellor of the Exchequer exclaims in wild ecstasy:

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 5-13.— *Ed.*

"'From 1842 to 1852 the taxable income of the country increased by 6 per cent; in the eight years from 1853 to 1861, it has increased from the basis taken in 1853, 20 per cent! The fact is so astonishing as to be almost incredible!... This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power,' adds Mr. Gladstone, 'is entirely confined to classes of property.'" *

In German translation[a]:

No. 2. *CAPITAL*

MARX: *CAPITAL*, VOLUME I, 3RD EDITION, PP. 670-672[b]

After these few examples one understands the cry of triumph of the Registrar-General[139] of the British people:

"Rapidly as the population has increased, it has not kept pace with the progress of industry and wealth." [101)]

Let us turn now to the direct agents of this industry, or the producers of this wealth, to the working class.

"It is one of the most melancholy features in the social state of this country," says Gladstone, "that while there was a decrease in the consuming power of the people, and while there was an increase in the privations and distress of the labouring class and operatives, there was at the same time a constant accumulation of wealth in the upper classes, and a constant increase of capital." [102)]

Thus spoke this unctuous minister in the House of Commons of February 13th, 1843. On April 16th, 1863, 20 years later, in the speech in which he introduced his Budget:

"From 1842 to 1852 the taxable income of the country increased by 6 per cent.... In the 8 years from 1853 to 1861, it had increased from the basis taken in 1853, by 20 per cent! The fact is so astonishing as to be almost incredible ... this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power ... entirely confined to classes of property ... must be of indirect benefit to the labouring population because it cheapens the commodities of general consumption. While the rich have been growing richer, the poor have been growing less poor. At any rate, whether the extremes of poverty are less, I do not presume to say." [103)]

101) "Census, etc.," l. c. p. 11.[c]

102) Gladstone in the House of Commons, February 13, 1843. [Further follows the English text of the speech.—*Ed.*]

103) [The English text of the speech is quoted.—*Ed.*] Gladstone in the HOUSE OF COMMONS, April 16, 1863.

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[a] In the original there follows the German translation of the preceding six paragraphs.—*Ed.*

[b] See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VII, Chapter XXV, Section 5(a) (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

[c] Here, in the extract from *Capital*, Marx's notes are numbered according to the third German edition.—*Ed.*

How lame an anti-climax! If the working class has remained "poor", only "less poor" in proportion as it produces for the wealthy class "an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power", then it has remained relatively just as poor. If the extremes of poverty have not lessened, they have increased, because the extremes of wealth have. As to the cheapening of the means of subsistence, the official statistics, e. g. the accounts of the LONDON ORPHAN ASYLUM, show an increase in price of 20% for the average of the three years 1860-1862, compared with 1851-1853. In the following three years, 1863-1865, there was a progressive rise in the price of meat, butter, milk, sugar, salt, coals, and a number of other necessary means of subsistence.[104] Gladstone's next budget speech of April 7th, 1864, is a Pindaric dithyrambus on the advance of surplus-value-making and the happiness of the people "tempered by poverty". He speaks of masses "on the border of pauperism", of branches of trade in which "wages have not increased", and finally sums up the happiness of the working-class in the words: "human life is but, in nine cases out of ten, a struggle for existence".[105] Professor Fawcett, not bound like Gladstone by official considerations, declares roundly:

"I do not, of course, deny that money wages have been augmented by this increase of capital" (in the last ten years), "but this apparent advantage is to a great extent lost, because many of the necessaries of life are becoming dearer" (he believes because of the fall in value of the precious metals) "...THE RICH GROW RAPIDLY RICHER, whilst there is no perceptible advance in the comfort enjoyed by the industrial classes.... They (the labourers) become almost the slaves of the tradesman, to whom they owe money." [106]

[104] See the official accounts in the Blue book: "MISCELLANEOUS STATISTICS OF THE UN. KINGDOM", PART VI, LONDON, 1866, PP. 260-273, passim. An addition to the second edition. Instead of the statistics of orphan asylums &c., the declamations of the ministerial journals in recommending dowries for the Royal children might also serve. The greater dearness of the means of subsistence is never forgotten there.

[105] "THINK OF THOSE, WHO ARE ON THE BORDER OF THAT REGION (PAUPERISM)", "WAGES ... IN OTHERS NOT INCREASED ... HUMAN LIFE IS BUT, IN NINE CASES OUT OF TEN, A STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE." (Gladstone, HOUSE OF COMMONS, 7th April, 1864). The continual crying contradictions in Gladstone's budget speeches of 1863 and 1864 were characterised by an English writer by the following quotation from Molière:[140]

"Voilà l'homme en effet. Il va du blanc au noir.
Il condamne au matin ses sentiments du soir.
Importun à tout autre, à soi même incommode,
Il change à tous moments d'esprit comme de mode."

(*The Theory of the Exchanges etc.*, London, 1864, p. 135).

[106] H. Fawcett, l. c., [*The Economic Position of the British Labourer*] pp. 67-68. As to the increasing dependence of labourers on the retail shopkeepers, this is the consequence of the frequent oscillations and interruptions of their employment.

II

# BRENTANO AND MARX

## No. 3. THE CHARGE

*CONCORDIA*, No. 10, MARCH 7, 1872

## *How Karl Marx Quotes*

The following passage may be found in the Inaugural Address* of the International Working Men's Association written by Karl Marx.

"Dazzled by the 'Progress of the Nation' statistics dancing before his eyes, the Chancellor of the Exchequer exclaims in wild ecstasy: 'From 1842 to 1852 the taxable income of the country increased by 6 per cent; in the eight years from 1853 to 1861, it has increased from the basis taken in 1853,20 per cent! The fact is so astonishing as to be almost incredible!... *This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power,'* ***adds Mr. Gladstone,*** *'is entirely confined to classes of property.'*"

This quotation by Marx has become famous. We have discovered it in a considerable number of writings. However, the authors rarely quoted the Inaugural Address of the International as the source upon which they had drawn. They inferred that they had themselves read Gladstone's budget speech. To what extent this was the case may be seen from the following comparison with Gladstone's speech (see Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates,* 3rd Series, Vol. 170, p. 243 ff.):

"The Income Tax, at 7*d.* in the pound, in the year 1842 3, attaching to Great Britain only, and in Great Britain only to incomes of £150 and upwards, was assessed upon an aggregate amount of income in the schedules I have named reaching £156,000,000. Upon the very same area, with the same limitations, in 1860-1 the amount of assessed income was £221,000,000. Further, I am not aware that there has been any change in the machinery of the tax, or any improvement in the powers of levying the tax, as compared with the powers of escaping it, that will in any way account for the difference. On the contrary, certain concessions and relaxations have from time to time been enacted by the Legislature, which, as far as they go, would rather tell in the opposite direction. The difference, however, amounts to no less than £65,000,000 of annual income, or two-sevenths of the whole annual taxable income of the country within the area described. That is a most remarkable result; but there is a certain feature of that result which, when carefully examined, is yet more remarkable; and that is the accelerated rate of increase in the latter portion of that period. I again invite the attention of the Committee for a few minutes. I compare two periods—one of them before 1853, and the other since 1853, the year when the basis was altered. In ten years from

* Reprinted in the *Volksstaat,* No. 5 of January 17, 1872. [*Note by Brentano.*]

1842 to 1852 inclusive, the liable to tax income of the country, as nearly as we can make out, increased by 6 per cent; but in eight years, from 1853 to 1861, the income of the country again increased upon the basis taken by 20 per cent. That is a fact so singular and striking as to seem almost incredible. [...]

"Such, Sir, is the state of the case as regards the general progress of accumulation; but, for one, *I must say that I should look with some degree of pain, and with much apprehension, upon this extraordinary and almost intoxicating growth, if it were my belief that it is confined to the class of persons who may be described as in easy circumstances.* The figures which I have quoted take little or no cognizance of the condition of those who do not pay income tax; or, in other words, sufficiently accurate for general truth, they do not take cognizance of the property of the labouring population, or of the increase of its income. Indirectly, indeed, the mere augmentation of capital is of the utmost advantage to the labouring class, because that augmentation cheapens the commodity which in the whole business of production comes into direct competition with labour. *But, besides this, a more direct and a larger benefit has, it may safely be asserted, been conferred upon the mass of the people of the country. It is matter of profound and inestimable consolation to reflect, that while the rich have been growing richer, the poor have become less poor.* I will not presume to determine whether the wide interval which separates the extremes of wealth and poverty is less or more wide than it has been in former times. *But if we look to the average condition of the British labourer,* whether peasant, or miner, or operative, or artisan, **we know from varied and indubitable evidence that during the last twenty years such an addition has been made to his means of subsistence as we may almost pronounce to be without example in the history of any country and of any age.**"

What is the relationship between this speech and the quotation by Marx? Gladstone first makes the point that there has undoubtedly been a colossal increase in the income of the country. This is proved for him by the income tax. But income tax takes notice only of incomes of 150 pounds sterling and over. Persons with lower incomes pay no income tax in England. The fact that Gladstone mentions this so that his yardstick can be properly appreciated is utilised by Marx to have Gladstone say: "*This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to classes of property.*" Yet this sentence is nowhere to be found in Gladstone's speech. It says quite the opposite. **Marx has added the sentence lyingly, both in form and in content!**

## No. 4. KARL MARX'S REPLY[a]

*DER VOLKSSTAAT*, No. 44, SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1872

A friend[b] has sent me, from Germany, *Concordia. Zeitschrift für die Arbeiterfrage,* No. 10, dated March 7, in which this "organ of the German Manufacturers' Association" publishes an editorial entitled "*How Karl Marx Quotes*".

In the Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association I quote, amongst other material, a portion of

[a] See present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 164-67.—*Ed.*
[b] W. Liebknecht.—*Ed.*

Gladstone's budget speech of April 16, 1863, which is not contained in Hansard's semi-official report of parliamentary debates. On this basis, with comfortable manufacturers' logic the *Concordia* concludes: "This sentence is nowhere to be found in Gladstone's speech", and jubilates in the fullness of its heart with this mocking sentence in manufacturers' German, printed in mocking bold face:

"**Marx has added the sentence lyingly, both in form and in content!**"

It would, in fact, be extremely strange if the Inaugural Address, originally printed in English in London under Gladstone's very eyes, had placed in his mouth a sentence interpolated by me, a sentence that, for seven and a half years, circulated unchallenged in the London press, to be finally detected by the "learned men" of the German Manufacturers' Association in Berlin.

The sentence in question of the Inaugural Address reads as follows:

* "This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to classes of property" (p. 6, Inaugural Address etc.).* (In the German translation literally: [a])

In an article in *The Fortnightly Review* (November 1870), which attracted great attention and was discussed by all the London press, Mr. Beesly, Professor of History at the university here, quoted as follows, p. 518:

* "*An intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power, as Mr. Gladstone observed, entirely confined to classes of property.*" * (In the German translation: [a])

Yet Professor Beesly's article appeared six years later than the Inaugural Address! Good! Let us now take a specialised publication, intended solely for the City and published not only *before* the appearance *of the Inaugural Address,* but even *before the International Working Men's Association was founded.* It is entitled: *The Theory of Exchanges. The Bank Charter Act of 1844.* London 1864, published by T. Cautley Newby, 30, Welbeck Street. It examines Gladstone's budget speech at length and p. 134 gives the following quotation from this speech:

* "This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to classes of property." * (In the German translation: [a])

That is, word for word, exactly what I quoted.

This proves irrefutably that the German Manufacturers' Associa-

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[a] Further there follows the German translation of the sentence.—*Ed.*

tion "*lied both in form and in content*" in decrying this "sentence" as a fabrication "by me"!

Incidentally: honest old *Concordia* printed in bold face another passage, in which Gladstone prattled about an elevation of the English working class, over the last 20 years, that was supposedly "extraordinary and unparalleled in all countries and in all periods". The bold-face type is supposed to indicate that I had suppressed this passage. On the contrary! In the Inaugural Address I emphasised most strongly the screaming contrast between this shameless phrase and the "APPALLING STATISTICS", as Professor Beesly rightly calls them, contained in the official English reports on the same period.*

The author of *The Theory of the Exchanges*[b] quoted, like myself, not from Hansard, but from a London newspaper which, on April 17, published the April 16 budget speech. In my collectanea of cuttings for 1863, I have searched in vain for the relevant extract and thus, also, for the name of the newspaper that published it. This is, however, not important. Although the parliamentary reports of the London newspapers always differ from one another, I was certain that none of them could completely suppress such a striking quotation from Gladstone. So I consulted *The Times* of April 17, 1863—it was then, as now, Gladstone's organ—and there I found, on p. 7, column 5, in the report on the budget speech:

* "That is the state of the case as regards the *wealth of this country*. I must say for one, I should look almost with apprehension and with pain upon *this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power,* if it were my belief that it was confined to *classes who are in easy circumstances.*** This takes no cognizance at all of the condition of the labouring population. *The augmentation I have described,* and which is founded, I think, upon accurate returns, *is an augmentation entirely confined to classes of property.*" *

In the German translation:[d]

So, on April 16, 1863, Mr. Gladstone declared "*both in form and in content*" in the House of Commons, as reported in his own

* Other whimsical apologetics from the same speech are dealt with in my work *Capital* (P. 638, 639).[a]

** The words "EASY CLASSES", "CLASSES IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES" were apparently first introduced *by Wakefield* for the really rich portion of the propertied class.[c]

[a] See K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, Part VII, Chapter XXV, Section 5(a) (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

[b] Henry Roy.—*Ed.*

[c] [E. G. Wakefield,] *England and America. A Comparison of the Social and Political State of Both Nations,* Vol. I-II, London, 1833.—*Ed.*

[d] Further there follows Marx's translation into German: "So steht's mit dem *Reichtum dieses Landes.* Ich für meinen Teil würde beinahe mit Besorgnis und mit Pein

organ, *The Times,* on April 17, 1863 that "*this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to the classes possessed of property*", and his apprehension gives him a sort of shiver, but only because of his scruples that this was confined to one part of this class, the part in really easy circumstances.

*Italiam, Italiam!*[a] Finally we arrive at *Hansard.* In its edition, here botchily corrected, Mr. Gladstone was bright enough clumsily to excise the passage that would be, after all, compromising on the lips of an English Chancellor of the Exchequer. This is, incidentally, traditional English parliamentary practice, and by no means the invention of little Lasker versus Bebel.[141] A careful comparison of Gladstone's speech itself, as it appeared in *The Times,* and its subsequent form, as distorted by the same Gladstone, would provide an amusing description of this unctuous, phrase-mongering, quibbling and strictly-religious bourgeois hero, who timidly displays his piousness and his liberal "ATTITUDES OF MIND".

One of the most infuriating things in my work *Capital* consists in the masses of official proof describing how manufacturers work, something in which no scholar could previously find a thing wrong. In the form of a rumour this even reached the ears of the gentlemen of the German Manufacturers' Association, but they thought:

> "Was kein Verstand der Verständigen sieht,
> Das übet in Einfalt ein kindlich' Gemüt."[b]

No sooner said than done. They find a suspicious-looking quotation in the Inaugural Address and turn for information to a business friend in London, the first best Mundella, and he, being a manufacturer himself, rushes to despatch overseas, in black and white, the extract from Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. Now they have my fabrication secret. I manufacture not only the text, but the quotations too. Drunk with victory, they trumpet out to the world "*How Karl Marx Quotes!*" So my wares were discredited,

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auf *diese berauschende Vermehrung von Reichtum und Macht blicken,* wenn ich sie auf die *wohlhabenden Klassen* beschränkt glaubte. Es ist hier gar keine Notiz genommen von der arbeitenden Bevölkerung. *Die Vermehrung, die ich beschrieben habe*" (which he has just described as "diese berauschende Vermehrung von Reichtum und Macht" ["*this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power*"]) "*ist ganz und gar beschränkt auf Eigentumsklassen.*"—*Ed.*

[a] Virgil, *Aeneid,* III.—*Ed.*

[b] "What the knowledge of the knowing cannot find,
May be seen by an innocent childish mind."
Fr. Schiller, *Die Worte des Glaubens.*—*Ed.*

once and for all, and, as is fitting for manufacturers, in the way of normal business, without the expense of learned men.

The irksome subsequent events will perhaps teach the Manufacturing Associates that, however well they may know how to forge goods, they are as well fitted to judge literary goods as a donkey is to play the lute.

London, May 23, 1872

*Karl Marx*

No. 5. RETORT BY ANONYMOUS

*CONCORDIA*, No. 27, JULY 4, 1872

## *HOW KARL MARX DEFENDS HIMSELF*

### I

Our readers will perhaps recall the article "How Karl Marx Quotes" in No. 10 of this paper on March 7 this year. In it we dealt with a passage from the Inaugural Address of the International, written by Karl Marx, a passage which has won a certain fame and is frequently quoted by the Social Democrats as convincing proof of the irrevocable ruin of the working class should the state and social conditions of today persist. Here Marx quotes Gladstone's budget speech of April 16, 1863. In this speech Gladstone first notes that there has been "an extraordinary and almost intoxicating growth" of the income of the country, and he uses the increase in income tax [revenue] to prove this. But the figures he quotes for this purpose "take little or no cognizance of the condition of those who do not pay income tax"; they "do not take cognizance of the property of the labouring population, or of the increase of its income". Persons with an income under 150 pounds sterling, in fact, pay no income tax in England. And the fact that Gladstone had mentioned this to allow a proper appreciation of his yardstick was utilised by Marx in order to have Gladstone say: "This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to classes of property." However, this sentence is nowhere to be found in Gladstone's speech. On the contrary, Gladstone said that he did *not* believe this augmentation "had been confined to the class of persons who may be described as in easy circumstances". And indignant at the impudence with which Marx quoted distortingly, we exclaimed: "Marx has added the sentence lyingly, both in form and in content!"

This was a serious charge; combined with the convincing evidence provided, it was absolutely devastating for the widespread trust amongst our Social Democrats in the unparalleled and thorough learnedness, truthfulness and infallibility of the London oracle. It could therefore not be allowed to pass without a refutation, or at least something which looked like a refutation. In number 44 of the *Volksstaat* dated June 1,* Marx attempted to give such a refutation.[a] But our opponent has

* That is almost a full three months after the article appeared in the *Concordia*. Despite this, the *Volksstaat* was impudent enough scarcely 14 days after carrying

[a] See this volume, pp. 136-40.—*Ed.*

by no means been able to wash himself clean of the charge of *mala fides* in his quotations. In fact, the ways and means of his defence are more suitable than anything to prove his *mala fides*. The brazenness, namely, with which he once again abuses the fact that the readers of the *Volksstaat* have no possibility of checking his claims, this brazenness even exceeds his frivolity in quotation.

Marx naturally does not go so far as to challenge the correctness of our quotation from the shorthand report of Parliament. His immediate aim is to prove his *bona fides* in quotation, and to this end he refers to the fact that others have quoted like he did. He writes:

"In an article in *The Fortnightly Review* (November 1870),[a] which attracted great attention and was discussed by all the London press, Mr. Beesly, Professor of History at the university here, quoted as follows, p. 518: 'An intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power, as Mr. Gladstone observed, entirely confined to classes of property.'—Yet Professor Beesly's article appeared six years later than the Inaugural Address!"

Quite right! Only the addition of another "yet" has been forgotten. This article by Professor Beesly deals, in fact, with the history of the International, and as the author himself informs every enquirer, was written on the basis of material provided him by Marx. And there is still more. At this point it is not Beesly who is quoting Gladstone at all; he is merely saying that the Inaugural Address of the International contains this quotation. "From this alarming statistics," Beesly writes, "the *Address* turns to the income-tax returns, which show that the taxable incomes of the country have increased by 20% in eight years, 'an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power', as Mr. Gladstone observed, entirely confined" etc.—A fine way of proof indeed! You trick some person who does not know your dishonesty into accepting a lying statement; this person repeats it in good faith; and then you cite this and the honesty of the person who repeated the statement in order to prove the correctness of the statement and your own honesty.—Marx continues his defence:

"Let us now take a specialised publication, intended solely for the City and published not only before the appearance of the Inaugural Address, but even before International Working Men's Association was founded. It is entitled: *The Theory of Exchanges. The Bank Charter Act of 1844,* London 1864, published by T. Cautley Newby, 30, Welbeck Street. It examines Gladstone's budget speech at length and p. 134 gives the following quotation from this speech: 'This intoxicating augmentation' etc., that is, word for word, exactly what I quoted.—This proves irrefutably that the German Manufacturers' Association 'lied in form' in decrying this 'sentence' as a fabrication 'by me'!... The author of *The Theory of the Exchanges,*"[b] Marx then continued, "quoted, like myself, not from Hansard, but

Marx's rebuttal to accuse us of "heroically silencing" this rebuttal. We believe that the *Volksstaat* had no reason to press so hard for the second, and sharper, treatment of its lord and master. Incidentally, the reason for the delay in our reply is partly due to the fact that one of the sources cited by Marx was not available here and had to be obtained from England, partly to the fact that the elucidation of this quotation demanded lengthy extracts from the relevant sources and consequently the above article became unusually long, so that, for reasons of space, we were obliged to postpone publication several times. *The editors of the "Concordia".*

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[a] E. S. Beesly, "The International Working Men's Association", *The Fortnightly Review,* No. XLVII, November 1, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Henry Roy.—*Ed.*

from a London newspaper which, on April 17, published the April 16 budget speech."

And in fact the author of this book, which incidentally is a vulgar diatribe, quoted from Hansard just as little as did Marx. But Marx, as we shall soon show, also did not even quote from a London newspaper. First, however, it must be noted here that when we stated that Marx had lyingly added the sentence in question to Gladstone's speech, we did not claim, either "in form or in content", that he himself had also fabricated it. This would only be the case if Marx himself had been the fabricator of that still very obscure book, though one might be tempted to believe this on account of the ghastly style in which it is written. The source from which Marx quotes this sentence is actually this book itself, and this is also the reason why, as he claims in his "collectanea of cuttings for 1863", he has "searched in vain for the relevant extract and thus, also, for the name of the newspaper that published it"! This origin of Marx's quotation is shown clearly by a comparison of the passage in *Capital,* his book in which Marx reviews Gladstone's budget speech, and *The Theory of the Exchanges.* There, on p. 639, particularly in Note 103,[a] this speech is quoted in the absolutely senseless version given verbatim by that book on p. 134. And the glosses too, which Marx bases on the contradiction contained in this version, are already contained in that book, in particular also the quotation from Molière given in Note 105 on p. 640 of *Capital*[b]; and in the same way the statement of the LONDON ORPHAN ASYLUM about the rising prices of foodstuffs quoted by Marx appears on p. 135 of that book, though Marx bases his claim for its correctness not on that book, but on that book's sources (see *Capital,* p. 640, Note 104).[c]

Now we ask; does anyone tell a lie only when he himself invents an untruth, or does he not tell a lie quite as much when he repeats it contrary to what he knows, or is bound to know better? We believe that the answer is beyond doubt. And secondly, when Marx repeated the untruth contained in *The Theory of the Exchanges,* did he not do this contrary to his better knowledge, or should he at least not have known better? The answer here is also simple. The first rule for any interpretation, a rule undoubtedly known to Mr. Marx, is to interpret passages which at first glance contain contradictions—and thus make no sense—in such a way that the contradiction disappears; and if the available text appears to make this impossible, one should make a textual criticism rather than believe in the presence of a contradiction. And this was all the more imperative in the case of a speech which aroused the interest and admiration of the entire educated world, notably through its mastery of the material and its clarity. And finally it was an act of frivolity bordering upon the criminal to act in any other way than scrupulously when intending to tear out of context a passage which provides one half of the contradiction in this version and to cast it as a denunciation of the propertied amongst the propertyless all over the world. Karl Marx should have taken umbrage at this version if only on the basis of general learning, science and conscientiousness; and the criminal frivolity with which he accepts this lying quotation is completely inexcusable in his case, since the full text of Gladstone's speech was available to him. On the one hand, the English newspapers reproduced this speech the day after it was delivered, and, if not true to the word, then true to the sense. And then, immediately after the delivery of the speech, Gladstone published it verbatim in his book *Financial Statements,* London, 1863, which attracted great

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[a] See this volume, p. 133.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 134.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid.—*Ed.*

attention; and on p. 403 of that book the speech is printed just as we quoted it. Finally, Marx could refer to the shorthand report of this speech in *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates,* and it is the custom to always quote a speech to Parliament from the shorthand report, even if it contains no contradictions to the necessarily bungling newspaper reports.

But here we come, to be sure, to Marx's third line of defence, and this far exceeds, in its impudent mendacity, anything which came before. Marx actually does not shrink from citing *The Times* of April 17, 1863 as proof of the correctness of his quotation. *The Times* of April 17, 1863, p. 7, col. 5, line 17ff, reports, however, the speech as follows:

"That is the state of the case as regards the wealth of this country. **I must say for one, I should look almost with apprehension and with pain upon this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power, if it were my belief that it was confined to classes finding themselves in pleasant circumstances.** This takes no cognizance at all of the condition of the labouring population. The augmentation I have described, *and the figures of which are based, I think, upon accurate returns,** is entirely confined to classes of property." (Marx quotes *The Times* to this point; we quote further.) "Now, the augmentation of capital is of indirect benefit to the labourer, because it cheapens the commodity which in the business of production comes into direct competition with labour. (*Hear, hear!*) But we have this profound, and, I must say, inestimable consolation, that, while the rich have been growing richer, the poor have been growing less poor.—Whether the extremes of poverty are less extreme than they were I do not presume to say, *but the average condition of the British labourer, we have the happiness to know, has improved during the last 20 years in a degree which we know to be extraordinary, and which we may almost pronounce to be unexampled in the history of any country and of any age.* (*Cheers.*)"

A comparison of this *Times* report with the report after Hansard in the *Concordia* of March 7 will show that both reports fully coincide materially. The report in *The Times* just gives, formally more contracted, what the shorthand report by Hansard gives verbatim. Yet despite the fact that the *Times* report contains the direct opposite of that notorious passage in the Inaugural Address, and the fact that according to the *Times* report, too, Mr. Gladstone said he believed this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power *not* to be confined to classes in easy circumstances, Marx has the impudence to write in the *Volksstaat* of June 1:

"So, on April 16, 1863, Mr. Gladstone declared 'both in form and in content' that 'this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to the classes possessed of property'."

But even more. Since we had already presented to the public the complete text of the speech from Hansard, and this text completely excluded the possibility of any distortion, an attempt is made to delete this very embarrassing circumstance with the phrase in the Hansard "edition, here botchily corrected, Mr. Gladstone

* In his German quotation in the *Volksstaat* Marx omits this relative clause and instead inserts: "which he" (Gladstone) "had just described as 'this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power'." This omission and this insertion too are designed to mislead the reader about the sense of Gladstone's words. The omitted relative clause and in addition the general context show that the sense of the speech is as follows: The augmentation of wealth shown by the income tax returns is certainly confined to the classes of property (since this tax is only imposed upon persons with an income of 150 pounds sterling and over), but with regard to the labouring class, we know, etc. [*Note by Brentano.*]

was bright enough clumsily to excise the passage that would be, after all, compromising on the lips of an English Chancellor of the Exchequer"! All that is lacking is the claim that Gladstone probably did this in deference to the diatribe *The Theory of the Exchanges,* which did not appear until 1864!

What can one say about such methods? First we are presented, on the basis of an obscure diatribe, with a quotation which was completely forged, and the contradictory substance of which proved that it was forged, even without confronting it with the original. Called to account in this matter, Marx states that others quoted in the same way as he did, and refers to people whom he himself fooled with this lie. Even more: from the fact that his fuzzy sources accord with him, he tries to fashion an argument to excuse himself and show the correctness of his quotation, as though both of them had drawn upon a joint, correct, third source, though in fact one had only copied from the other. And finally he has the impudence to base himself on newspaper reports which directly contradict him. Indeed, to describe these practices we know only one word, a word with which Marx himself is very familiar (see *Capital,* p. 257): they are simply "nefarious".

Marx closes his defence with these words: "The irksome subsequent events will perhaps teach the Manufacturing Associates that, however well they may know how to forge goods, they are as well fitted to judge literary goods as a donkey is to play the lute."

We confidently leave it to the reader to decide on which side the forgery and the irksomeness ultimately lie. In a further article we shall explain to Mr. Marx the importance which we attach to the content of Gladstone's words.

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The second article, *Concordia,* No. 28, July 11, 1872, contains absolutely nothing of relevance, and is therefore omitted.

## No. 6. MARX'S SECOND REPLY[a]

*DER VOLKSSTAAT,* No. 63, AUGUST 7, 1872

In the *Concordia* of July 4, the German Manufacturers' Association attempted to prove to me that its "learned men" were as well fitted to judge literary goods as the Association was to forge commercial ones.

With reference to the passage from Gladstone's budget speech of April 16, 1863, as quoted in the Inaugural Address of the International, the manufacturers' organ (No. 10) stated:

**"Marx has added the sentence lyingly, both in form and in content."**

It thus declares that I fabricated the sentence in both form and content, with hair and bones. Even more: it knows exactly how I did so. The paper writes: "The fact that Gladstone mentioned

[a] See present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 190-97.—*Ed.*

this, etc., *was utilised by Marx in order to have Gladstone say,* etc." By quoting the sentence from a work published *before* the Inaugural Address, *The Theory of the Exchanges,* I exposed the crude lie of the manufacturers' organ.[a] As the paper itself relates, it then ordered from London this work which it did not know, and convinced itself of the facts of the matter. How could it lie itself out of the situation? See here:

"When we stated that Marx had lyingly added the sentence in question to Gladstone's speech, we did not claim, either in form or in content, *that he himself had also fabricated it.*"

Here we obviously have a case of equivocation peculiar to the mind of manufacturers. For example, when a manufacturing swindler, in agreement with business colleagues, sends out into the world rolls of ribbon that contain, instead of the alleged three dozen ells only two dozen, then he has in fact *lyingly added* one dozen ells, precisely because he "*has not fabricated*" them. Why, moreover, should lyingly added sentences not behave just like lyingly added ells? "The understandings of the greater part of men," says Adam Smith, "are necessarily formed by their ordinary employments",[b] the understandings of the manufacturer included.

Through the *Volksstaat,* I extended the erudite materials of the manufacturers' organ, not only with the quotation from *The Theory of the Exchanges,* but also with the pages from my work *Capital* concerning Gladstone's budget speeches. Now, from the material with which I provided it, the paper attempts to prove that I did not quote the disputed passage from a "London newspaper", but from *The Theory of the Exchanges.* The chain of arguments is another sample of manufacturers' logic.

I told the manufacturers' sheet that *The Theory of the Exchanges* quotes on page 134 exactly as I quoted, and it discovers—that I quoted exactly as *The Theory of the Exchanges* quotes on page 134.

And further!

"And the glosses too, which Marx bases on the contradiction contained in this version, are already contained in that book."

This is simply a lie. On page 639 of *Capital,* I give my glosses to the words in Gladstone's speech:

"While the rich have been growing richer, the poor have been growing less poor. Whether the extremes of poverty are less, I do not presume to say."

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[a] See this volume, pp. 136-40.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Vol. 2, London, 1776, p. 366.—*Ed.*

My remark on this is: "How lame an anti-climax! If the working class has remained 'poor', only 'less poor' in proportion as it produces for the wealthy class 'an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power', then it has remained relatively just as poor. If the extremes of poverty have not lessened, they have increased, because the extremes of wealth have."[a] And these "glosses" are nowhere to be found in *The Theory of the Exchanges.*

"And the glosses too ... are already contained in that book, *in particular also* the quotation from Molière given in Note 105 on p. 640 of *Capital.*" [142]

So, "in particular also" I quote Molière, and leave it up to the "learned men" of the *Concordia* to detect and communicate to the public the fact that the quotation comes from *The Theory of the Exchanges.* In fact, however, I state expressly in Note 105, p. 640 of *Capital* that the author of *The Theory of the Exchanges*[b] "*characterises with the following quotation from Molière*" the "continual crying contradictions in Gladstone's budget speeches".

Finally:

"... in the same way the statement of the LONDON ORPHAN ASYLUM about the rising prices of foodstuffs quoted by Marx appears on p. 135 of that book, though Marx bases his claim for its correctness not on that book, but on that book's sources (see *Capital,* p. 640, Note 104)".

The *Concordia* advisedly forgets to inform its readers that "that book" gives *no sources.* What was it trying to prove? That I took from that "book" a passage from Gladstone's speech without knowing its source. And how does the *Concordia* prove it? By the fact that I really did take a quotation from that book, and checked it with the original sources, independent of the book!

Referring to my quotation from Professor Beesly's article in *The Fortnightly Review* (November 1870), the *Concordia* remarks.

"This article by Professor Beesly deals, in fact, with the history of the International, and as the author himself informs every enquirer, was written on the basis of material provided him by *Marx* himself."

Professor Beesly states:

"To no one is the success of the association so much due as to Dr. Karl Marx, who, in his acquaintance with the history and statistics of the industrial movement in all parts of Europe, is, I should imagine, without a rival. I am LARGELY indebted to him for the information contained in this article."[c]

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[a] See K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, Part VII, Chapter XXV, Section 5(a) (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

[b] Henry Roy.—*Ed.*

[c] E. S. Beesly, "The International Working Men's Association", *The Fortnightly Review,* No. XLVII, November 1, 1870, pp. 529-30.—*Ed.*

All the material with which I supplied Professor Beesly referred exclusively to the history of the International, and not a word concerned the Inaugural Address, which he had known since its publication. The context in which his above remark stood left so little doubt on this point that *The Saturday Review,* in a review of his article,[a] more than hinted that *he himself* was the author of the Inaugural Address.*

The *Concordia* asserts that Professor Beesly did not quote the passage in question from Gladstone's speech, but only stated "*that the Inaugural Address contained this quotation*". Let us look into this.

Professor Beesly states:

"The address [...] is probably the most striking and powerful statement of the workman's case as against the middle class that has ever been compressed into a dozen small pages. I wish I had space for copious extracts from it."

After mentioning the "frightful statistics of the Blue Books",[143] to which the Address refers, he goes on:

"From these appalling statistics the address passes on to the income-tax returns, from which it appeared that the taxable income of the country had increased in eight years twenty per cent, 'an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power', *as Mr. Gladstone observed,* 'entirely confined to classes of property'."

Professor Beesly sets the words: "*as Mr. Gladstone observed*" outside quotation marks, saying these words on his own behalf, and thus proves to the *Concordia* with the greatest clarity that he knows Gladstone's budget speech—solely from the quotation in the Inaugural Address! As the London business friend of the German Manufacturers' Association, he is the only man who knows Gladstone's budget speeches, just as he, and he alone, knows: "Persons with an income under 150 pounds sterling, in fact, pay no income tax in England." (See the *Concordia,* Nos. 10 and 27.) Yet English tax officials suffer from the *idée fixe* that this tax only stops at incomes under **100** pounds sterling.

Referring to the disputed passage in the Inaugural Address, the manufacturers' paper stated:

"*Yet this sentence is nowhere to be found in Gladstone's speech.*" I proved the contrary with a quotation from the "*Times*" *report* of April 17, 1863. I gave the quotation in the *Volksstaat* in both English and German, since a commentary was necessary on account of Gladstone's assertion that he would "look almost with

* Professor Beesly drew my attention, in writing, to this *quid pro quo.*

[a] "Mr. Beesly and the International Working Men's Association", *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art,* No. 785, November 12, 1870, pp. 610-11.—*Ed.*

apprehension and with pain upon *this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power,* if it were" his "belief that it was confined to the CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES". Basing myself on Wakefield, I declared that the "CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES"—an expression for which there is no German equivalent—means the "really rich", "the really prosperous portion" of the propertied classes. Wakefield actually calls the real middle class "THE UNEASY CLASS", which is in German roughly "die ungemächliche Klasse".*

The manufacturers' worthy organ not only suppresses my exposition, it ends the passage I quoted with the words: "Marx quotes *The Times* to this point", thus leaving the reader to suppose that it had quoted from my translation; in fact, however, the paper, leaving my version aside, does not translate "CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES" as "wohlhabenden Klassen"[a] but as "Klassen, die sich in *angenehmen Verhältnissen befinden*".[b] The paper believes its readers capable of understanding that not all sections of the propertied class are "prosperous", though it will always be a "pleasant circumstance" for them to possess property. Even in the translation of my quotation, as given by the *Concordia,* however, Gladstone describes the progress of capitalist wealth as "*this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power*", and remarks that here he has "*taken no cognizance at all* of the condition of the labouring population", closing with words to the effect that this "*augmentation is entirely confined to the classes possessed of property*". Once the "learned man" of the German Manufacturers' Association has, in the report of *The Times* of April 17, 1863, thus had Gladstone say "both in form and in content", the same as I had him say in the Inaugural Address, he strikes his swollen breast, brimming with conviction, and blusters:

> "*Yet despite this ... Marx has the impudence* to write in the *Volksstaat* of June 1: 'So, on April 16, 1863, Mr. Gladstone declared '*both in form and in content*' in the House of Commons, as reported in his own organ, *The Times,* on April 17, 1863 that '*this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to the classes possessed of property*'."

The "learned man" of the German Manufacturers' Association obviously knows exactly what to offer his readership!

In the *Volksstaat* of June 1, I remarked that the *Concordia* was

* "THE MIDDLE OR UNEASY CLASS" [E. G. Wakefield] ("ENGLAND AND AMERICA", London, 1833, V. I, P. 185).

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[a] Prosperous classes.—*Ed.*

[b] Classes *finding themselves* in *pleasant circumstances.*—*Ed.*

trying to make its readers believe I had suppressed in the Inaugural Address Gladstone's phrases about the improvement in the condition of the British working class, though in fact the exact opposite was the case, and I stressed there with great emphasis the glaring contradiction between this declamation and the officially established facts. In its reply of July 4, the manufacturers' paper repeated the same manoeuvre. "Marx quotes *The Times* to this point," the paper says, "we quote further." In confrontation with the paper, I needed only to quote the disputed passage, but let us look for a moment at the "further".

After pouring forth his panegyric on the increase of capitalist wealth, Gladstone turns to the working class. He takes good care not to say that it had shared in the "*intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power*". On the contrary, he goes on, according to *The Times*: "Now, *the augmentation of capital is* of indirect benefit to the labourer, etc." *He consoles* himself further on with the fact "that while the rich have been growing *richer,* the poor have been growing *less poor*". Finally, he asserts that he and his enriched parliamentary friends "have the *happiness* to know" the opposite of what parliamentary enquiries and statistical data prove to be the fact, viz.,

> "that the average condition of the British labourer has improved during the last 20 years in a degree which we know to be extraordinary, and which we may almost pronounce to be unparalleled in the history of any country and of any age".

Before Mr. Gladstone, all his predecessors "*had the happiness*" to supplement the picture of the augmentation of capitalist wealth in their budget speeches with self-satisfied phrases about the improvement in the condition of the working class. Yet he gives the lie to them all; for the millennium dates only from the passing of the Free Trade legislation. The correctness or incorrectness of Gladstone's reasons for consolidation and congratulation is, however, a matter of indifference here. We are concerned solely with this: that, from his standpoint, the pretended "extraordinary" improvement in the condition of the working class in no way contradicts the "intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power that is entirely confined to the classes possessed of property". On the contrary. It is the orthodox doctrine of the mouthpieces of capital—Mr. Gladstone being one of the best paid—that the most infallible means for working men *to benefit themselves* is—*to enrich* their exploiters.

The shameless stupidity or stupid shamelessness of the manufacturers' organ culminates in its assurance: "The report in *The*

*Times* just gives, formally more contracted, what the shorthand report by Hansard gives *verbatim.*" * Now let us see both reports:

I

*From Gladstone's speech of April 16, 1863, printed in "The Times" of April 17, 1863*

"That is the state of the case as regards the wealth of this country. I must say for one, I should look almost with apprehension and with pain upon *this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power* if it were my belief that it was confined to the CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES. This takes no cognizance at all of the condition of the labouring population. *The augmentation I have described ... is an augmentation entirely confined to the classes possessed of property.* Now the augmentation of capital is of indirect benefit to the labourer etc."

II

*From Gladstone's speech of April 16, 1863, printed by Hansard, Vol. 170, parliamentary debates of March 27 to May 28, 1863*

"Such [...] is the state of the case as regards the general progress of accumulation; but, for one, I must say that I should *look with some degree of pain,* and with much apprehension, upon *this extraordinary* and **almost** *intoxicating growth,* if it were my belief that it is confined to THE CLASS OF PERSONS WHO MAY BE DESCRIBED AS IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES. The figures which I have quoted take little or no cognizance of the condition of those who do not pay income tax; *or,* in other words, sufficiently accurate for *general truth* (!), they do not take cognizance of the *property* (!) of the labouring population, *or* (!) of the increase of its *income.* Indirectly, indeed, the mere augmentation of capital is of the utmost advantage to the labouring class, etc."

I leave it to the reader himself to compare the stilted, involved, complicated CIRCUMLOCUTION OFFICE[a] style of the Hansard publication with the report in *The Times.*

Here it is enough to establish that the words of the *Times* report: "This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power ... the augmentation I *have described ... is an augmentation entirely confined to the classes possessed of property*", are in part garbled by Hansard and in part completely suppressed. Their emphatic "exact wording" escaped no earwitness. For example:

"*The Morning Star*", *April 17, 1863 (Gladstone's budget speech of April 16, 1863).*

* The manufacturers' paper appears actually to believe that the big London newspapers employ no shorthand writers for their parliamentary reports.

[a] The name is taken from Ch. Dickens' *Little Dorrit.*—*Ed.*

"I must say, for one, I should look with apprehension and with pain upon *this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power,* if it were my belief that it was confined to the CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES. *THIS GREAT INCREASE OF WEALTH* takes no cognizance at all of the condition of the labouring population. *THE AUGMENTATION IS AN AUGMENTATION ENTIRELY CONFINED TO THE CLASSES POSSESSED OF PROPERTY.* BUT *THAT AUGMENTATION* must be of indirect benefit to the labouring population, etc."

"*The Morning Advertiser*", *April 17, 1863 (Gladstone's budget speech of April 16, 1863).*

"I must say, for one, I should look almost with apprehension and ALARM upon *this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power,* if it were my belief that it was confined to the CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES. *This great increase of wealth* takes no cognizance at all of the condition of the labouring population. *THE AUGMENTATION STATED is an augmentation entirely confined to the CLASSES POSSESSED OF PROPERTY. THIS AUGMENTATION* must be of indirect benefit to the labouring population, etc."

Thus, Gladstone subsequently filched away from the semi-official Hansard report of his speech the words that he had uttered in the House of Commons on April 16, 1863: "*This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power ... is an augmentation entirely confined to the classes possessed of property.*" The *Concordia* did not, therefore, find this in the excerpt provided by their business friend in London, and trumpeted:

"Yet this sentence is nowhere to be found in Gladstone's speech. **Marx has added the sentence lyingly, both in form and in content.**"

It is no surprise that they now weepingly tell me that it is the critical "*custom*" to quote parliamentary speeches as officially falsified, and not as they were actually delivered. Such a "custom" in fact accords with the "general" Berlin "education", and the limited thinking of the German Manufacturers' Association which is typical of Prussian subjects.[144] Lack of time forces me to end, once and for all, my pleasurable exchange of opinions with the Association, but as a farewell, another nut for its "learned men" to crack. In what article did a man—and what was his name—utter to an opponent of a rank at least equal with that of the *Concordia*, the weighty words: "*Asinus manebis in secula seculorum*"*?

London, July 28, 1872

*Karl Marx*

* "Thou wilt remain an ass for evermore."

## No. 7. THE REJOINDER OF ANONYMOUS

*CONCORDIA*, No. 34, AUGUST 22, 1872

### *More on the Character of Karl Marx*

On August 7, in the *Volksstaat,* Karl Marx replied to the article "How Karl Marx Defends Himself" in No. 27 of the *Concordia.* Astonishing is the dogged mendacity with which he clings to the distorted quotation from Gladstone's budget speech of April 16, 1863, astonishing even for someone for whom no means are too base for his subversive plans. In fact this can only be explained by the fear, which must be called forth in the author, of the very embarrassing effect of confessing that this quotation, the bombshell of the Inaugural Address, is false, given the great circulation of the latter.

It will be recalled that in his first defence Marx admitted the shorthand report of Gladstone's speech in Hansard did not contain this quotation. But the reason was: Mr. Gladstone had clumsily excised this compromising passage! Initial proof: Professor Beesly, in an article in *The Fortnightly Review* had quoted this speech in the same way as the Inaugural Address.

This could lead the reader to believe that Professor Beesly had quoted Gladstone's speech in an essay on some other historical theme than the International. We therefore remarked, firstly, that this article dealt with the history of the International, and was written on the basis of material that Marx himself had provided the author with. And Marx does not now deny this. However, he assures us that the material he provided did not contain a single word referring to the contents of the Inaugural Address, which had been known to Professor Beesly since its publication. However, we never said or insinuated such a thing. And we absolutely believe Mr. Marx's assurance. Had he shown Mr. Beesly *The Theory of the Exchanges* as the source of his quotation, Beesly would certainly have refrained from reprinting it. Secondly, we replied—and this is the main rejoinder: it was not Beesly who quoted the passage in question from Gladstone's speech; he only cited it in an analysis of the Inaugural Address. We quoted word for word the relevant sentence from Beesly's article, as can be seen in No. 27 of the *Concordia.* The fact that Beesly, in his analysis, gave the words "as Mr. Gladstone observed" without quotation marks* is now used by Marx to explain to his readers that Beesly, suddenly interrupting his analysis, said these words on his own behalf!!

Marx sought to find further proof that Gladstone had clumsily excised the words in question from his speech in the fact that *The Theory of the Exchanges,* a publication which appeared before the Inaugural Address, quoted Gladstone's budget speech word for word as in the Address. We checked with the book, saw that this was correct, but that everything suggests Marx himself took his quotation from this book. The main sign of this was that *Capital* by Marx, on p. 639, especially in Note 103, quotes this speech in the *absolutely senseless* version given verbatim by *The Theory of the Exchanges* on p. 134. This suggestion that *The Theory of the Exchanges* was the source of Marx's quotation is further supported by the fact that in the passage in his book *Capital* where he quotes the Gladstone speech just as *The Theory of the Exchanges* did on p. 134, he gives other quotations to be found at the same place in that book, and adds glosses like this. How does Mr. Marx reply to this? For a start, that he also added glosses which are not to be found in *The Theory of the Exchanges.* But neither is this precluded by our remark. Then he states

* Additional note on republication: Professor Beesly copied the passage which he quoted from the Inaugural Address exactly as given there. There, however, the inserted clause is naturally without quotation marks. [*Note by Brentano.*]

that he specifically named the author of *The Theory of the Exchanges* as the author of the quotation from Molière. But we did not claim the contrary. Finally, regarding the statement of the LONDON ORPHAN ASYLUM, which Marx quotes on p. 640 of his book just as *The Theory of the Exchanges* does on p. 135, Marx himself admits that he quoted verbatim from this book, but that he checked the correctness with the original sources. Marx thus testifies himself that part of the glosses which he appends to the quotation from Gladstone's speech come from *The Theory of the Exchanges.* He thus bears witness to the correctness of the points with which we supported our main argument that he had also taken from *The Theory of the Exchanges* the quotation from Gladstone's speech. But he has nothing to say in answer to this main argument, in answer to the remark that he, like *The Theory of the Exchanges,* quotes Gladstone's speech in the *same absolutely senseless version.*

Thirdly and finally, Marx attempts to prove his claim that Gladstone subsequently falsified his own budget speech in the shorthand report in Hansard by referring to the report of this speech in *The Times* of April 17, 1863. But this report shows the exact opposite, since *The Times* and Hansard fully coincide materially. To obscure recognition of this fact by his readers, Marx utilises various methods. *The first method,* designed simultaneously to awaken amongst the readers of the *Volksstaat* new admiration for the erudition of their oracle, was a philological lecture. Gladstone explicitly stated, also according to the *Times* report, insofar as Marx quoted this, that he believed that the intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power of which he had spoken was *not* confined "TO THE CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES", i.e. the classes finding themselves in pleasant circumstances. Basing himself upon Wakefield, who had written a book entitled *The Middle or Uneasy Class,*[a] Marx now claimed that Gladstone had said he believed this augmentation was not confined to the "really rich", the "really prosperous portion" of the propertied classes; and since we took no notice of this entire argumentation, he now accuses us of suppression. But if we remained silent about this further attempt at falsification, the only reason was that it was, in fact, too manifest. For whatever Wakefield may have meant when he called the middle class THE UNEASY CLASS the whole context of Gladstone's speech, in the *Times* report too, shows that by the "CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES" Gladstone at this point *meant those classes which are not part of the working population, since he drew a contrast between them and it.*

Marx's *second method* of obscuring the *Times* report was simply to suppress, in his German translation of this report, the relative clause which showed that Gladstone had only said that the augmentation of wealth, which was shown by the income tax returns, was confined to the classes of property, since the working classes were not subject to income tax, and that thus nothing about the increase in the prosperity of the working classes could be learned from the income tax returns; not, however, that the working classes in reality had been excluded from the extraordinary augmentation of national wealth. Marx, who, as we just have seen, quite unwarrantably accused the *Concordia* of suppression, once again quietly suppressed this relative clause, although we had remonstrated with him about his distortion. And even more. We had stated, in accordance with the truth, that the report in *The Times* just gives, formally more contracted, what the shorthand report by Hansard gives verbatim; but he denies this and dares to print side by side the *Times* report and that from Hansard, *though he* naturally *once again omits this relative clause.* But what does it matter? The readers of the *Volksstaat,* with whom he

[a] The reference is to the book: [E. G. Wakefield,] *England and America. A Comparison of the Social and Political State of Both Nations,* Vol. I-II, London, 1833.— *Ed.*

is concerned, cannot check up on him!

*Thirdly* and finally, Marx attempted to conceal the agreement between the *Times* report and the Hansard report by failing to quote those sentences in which, according to *The Times* too, Gladstone directly and explicitly testified to the elevation of the British working class. We made a remark about this, and quoted in full the relevant passage of the *Times* report. Despite this, Marx lies to his readers that we had wanted to give the impression that we were quoting *The Times* according to his translation! But against this, he naturally suppresses our proof (in No. 28) that the glaring contradiction, according to Marx, between Gladstone's claim about the improvement in the condition of the British working class and the officially established facts, does not exist in reality; instead he repeats once again this accusation.

Apart from this, Marx, in his reply in the *Volksstaat* of August 7, produces two further witnesses to the correctness of his reading of Gladstone's budget speech: *The Morning Star* and *The Morning Advertiser* of April 17, 1863. But we do not need to check whether Marx has quoted the two papers without fresh falsification.* For these papers, even as he quotes them, speak for us. After Gladstone had said, according to both papers, that he did *not* believe *this* intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is confined to the classes which find themselves in pleasant circumstances, he continued: "*This* great increase of wealth *takes no cognizance at all* of the condition of the labouring population. The augmentation *which I have described* is an augmentation entirely confined to the classes possessed of property." The context and the use of the expression "*take cognizance*" show clearly that *this* increase and the augmentation of the increase cited, and the citing, are intended to indicate those discernible in the income tax returns.

But the introduction of these new alleged witnesses is only an expression of the faked thoroughness, intended to perpetuate the faith of *Volksstaat* readers in their oracle. Marx's article in the *Volksstaat* of August 7 is a model of this, and worthy of perusal by our readers in person. We need only quote one more example of this, in order to deprive Mr. Marx of the argument that we wished to conceal from our readers that he had corrected us on a point of minor import. We had stated that in England persons with an income under 150 pounds sterling paid no income tax. Mr. Marx taunts us that we do not know this tax only ceases on incomes under 100 pounds sterling. In fact the law of 1842 left all incomes under 150 pounds sterling quite free of tax, but in 1853 the tax was extended downwards to 100 pounds sterling, although the newly included incomes were treated more lightly, since they were subjected to a lower rate of tax than those of 150 pounds sterling and above. In 1863 the favoured sector was extended to 200 pounds sterling exclusive upwards, and the tax reduction granted in the manner that for every income from that figure down to 100 pounds sterling inclusive, 60 pounds sterling could be subtracted as tax-free.

Mr. Marx closes his article by telling us that lack of time forces him to end, once and for all, his pleasurable exchange of opinions with us. We understand that Mr. Marx welcomes the opportunity of avoiding somebody who uncovers his forgeries. When Mr. Marx finally ends his article by breaking into abuse, we can assure him that his opponents could desire nothing more than the confession of guilt which lies herein. Abuse is the weapon of those whose other means of defence have run out.

* Additional note on republication: Here too Marx omits the same sentences which he suppressed in his reproduction of the *Times* report. See the two reports at the beginning. [*Note by Brentano.*]

# III

# SEDLEY TAYLOR AND ELEANOR MARX

## No. 8. ATTACK BY S. TAYLOR

*THE TIMES*, NOVEMBER 29, 1883

### * *To the Editor of "The Times"*

Sir,—I ask leave to point out in *The Times* that the origin of the misleading quotation from Mr. Gladstone's Budget speech of April 16, 1863, which so eminent a publicist as Professor Émile de Laveleye[a] has been led to reproduce through reliance on German sources, and with respect to which he inserts a correction in *The Times* of this day, is to be found as far back as 1864 in an address issued by the council of the famous International Working Men's Association.[b]

What appears extremely singular is that it was reserved for Professor Brentano (then of the University of Breslau, now of that of Strassburg) to expose, eight years later in a German newspaper, the bad faith which had manifestly dictated the citation made from Mr. Gladstone's speech in the address.

Herr Karl Marx, who as the acknowledged author of the address attempted to defend the citation, had the hardihood, in the deadly shifts to which Brentano's masterly conduct of the attack speedily reduced him, to assert Mr. Gladstone had "manipulated" (*zurechtgestümpert*) the report of his speech in *The Times* of April 17, 1863, before it appeared in "Hansard", in order "to obliterate" (*wegzupfuschen*) a passage which "was certainly compromising for an English Chancellor of the Exchequer". On Brentano's showing, by a detailed comparison of texts, that the reports of *The Times* and of "Hansard" agreed in utterly excluding the meaning which craftily-isolated quotation had put upon Mr. Gladstone's words, Marx withdrew from further controversy under the plea of "want of time"!

The whole of the Brentano-Marx correspondence is eminently worthy of being unearthed from the files of newspapers under which it lies buried, and republished in an English form, as it throws upon the latter disputant's standard of literary honesty a light which can be ill spared at a time when his principal work is presented to us as nothing less than a fresh gospel of social renovation.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

*Sedley Taylor*

Trinity College, Cambridge, November 26th* (1883)

This letter appeared in *The Times* on November 29, 1883. On November 30, Eleanor, Marx's junior daughter, sent her reply to *The Times*. Her letter did not appear. She again wrote in vain to the editor. Then she addressed herself to the *Daily News*, but once more without success. Then she published both Mr. Sedley

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[a] É. de Laveleye, "To the Editor of *The Times*. Liège, November 16", *The Times*, No. 30987, November 26, 1883.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 5-13.—*Ed.*

Taylor's accusation and her reply in the February 1884 issue of the socialist monthly *To-Day*. We publish her reply below.[145]

No. 9. ELEANOR MARX'S REPLY

*TO-DAY*, FEBRUARY 1884

* *To the Editor of "The Times"*

Sir,—In *The Times* of November 29th Mr. Sedley Taylor refers to a certain quotation of a speech by Mr. Gladstone,

"to be found as far back as 1864, in an address issued by the council of the famous International Working Men's Association".

He continues: (I here quote Mr. Taylor's letter from "What appears" to "want of time").

The facts are briefly these. The quotation referred to consists of a few sentences from Mr. Gladstone's Budget speech of April 16th, 1863. After describing the immense increase of wealth that took place in this country between 1853 and 1861 Mr. Gladstone is made to say:

"This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to classes of property."

An anonymous writer, who turns out to be Professor Brentano, published in a German paper, *Concordia*, of the 7th March, 1872 a reply in which it was stated:

"This sentence does not exist in Mr. Gladstone's speech, Marx has added it lyingly, both as to form and contents" (*formel und materiel hinzugelogen*).

This was the only point at issue between my father and his anonymous opponent.

In his replies in the Leipzig *Volksstaat*, June 1st and August 7th, 1872,[a] Dr. Marx quotes the reports of Mr. Gladstone's speech as follows:

"*The Times*, April 17th:

"The augmentation I have described, and which is founded, I think, on accurate returns, is an augmentation entirely confined to classes of property."

*Morning Star* 17th April:

"This augmentation is an augmentation confined entirely to the classes possessed of property,

*Morning Advertiser*, April 17th:

"The augmentation stated is altogether limited to classes possessed of property."

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[a] See this volume, pp. 136-40, 144-51.— *Ed.*

The anonymous Brentano, in the "deadly shifts to which his own masterly conduct of the attack had reduced him", now took refuge under the assertion usual in such circumstances, that if the quotation was not a forgery it was, at all events, "misleading", in "bad faith", "craftily isolated", and so forth. I am afraid you would not allow me space to reply to this accusation of Herr Brentano, repeated now, after eleven years, by Mr. Taylor. Perhaps it will not be required, as Mr. Taylor says:

"The whole of this Brentano-Marx correspondence is eminently worthy of being unearthed from the file of newspapers in which it lies buried and republished in an English form."

I quite agree with this. The memory of my father could only gain by it. As to the discrepancies between the newspaper reports of the speech in question and the report in "Hansard" I must leave this to be settled by those most interested in it.

Out of thousands and thousands of quotations to be found in my father's writings this is the only one the correctness of which has ever been disputed. The fact that this single and not very lucky instance is brought up again and again by the professorial economists is very characteristic. In the words of Mr. Taylor,

"it throws upon the latter disputant's" (Dr. Marx) "standard of literary honesty a light which can ill be spared at a time when his principal work is presented to us as nothing less than a fresh gospel of social renovation".

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

*Eleanor Marx*

London, November 30, 1883 *

No. 10. SEDLEY TAYLOR'S RETORT

*TO-DAY*, MARCH 1884

** To the Editors of "To-Day"*

Gentlemen,

No one can regret more than I do that Miss Marx should have been refused the public hearing to which she was so manifestly entitled. I am, however, far from thinking with her that the question whether a particular sentence did, or did not, occur in Mr. Gladstone's speech "was the only point at issue between" Dr. Marx and Professor Brentano. I regard that question as having been of very subordinate importance compared to the issue whether the quotation in dispute was made with the intention of conveying, or of perverting, Mr. Gladstone's meaning.

It would obviously be impossible to discuss in this letter the contents of the voluminous Brentano-Marx controversy without making an inadmissible demand on your space. As, however, Miss Marx has in your columns characterised as a

"calumny" and "libel" an opinion publicly expressed by me,* I feel bound to ask your insertion, side by side, of the two following extracts, which will enable your readers to judge for themselves whether Dr. Marx has quoted fairly or unfairly from the Budget Speech of 1863 in his great work, "Das Kapital". My reason for using the *Times* report in preference to that of Hansard will be obvious to readers of Dr. Marx' letters in his correspondence with Brentano.

*Times,* April 17, 1863

"In ten years, from 1842 to 1852 inclusive, the taxable income of the country, as nearly as we can make out, increased by 6 per cent.; but in eight years, from 1853 to 1861, the income of the country again increased from the basis taken by 20 per cent. That is a fact so strange as to be almost incredible....

"*I must say for one, I should look almost with apprehension and with pain upon this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power if it were my belief that it was confined to the classes who are in easy circumstances. This takes no cognisance at all of the condition of the labouring population.* The augmentation I have described, and which is founded, I think, upon accurate returns, is an augmentation entirely confined to classes possessed of property. Now, the augmentation of capital is of indirect benefit to the labourer, because it cheapens the commodity which in the business of production comes into direct competition with labour. But we have this profound, and I must say, inestimable consolation, that, while the rich have been growing richer, the poor have been growing less poor. Whether the extremes of poverty are less extreme than they were I do not presume to say, *but the average condition of the British labourer, we have the happiness to know, has improved during the last 20 years in a degree which we know to be extraordinary, and which we may almost pronounce to be unexampled in the history of any country and of any age.*" *

*Capital,* 2nd edition, 1872 page 678, note 103[a]

"From 1842 to 1852 the taxable income of the country increased by 6 per cent...

"In the eight years from 1853 to 1861, it

had increased from the basis taken in 1853, 20 per cent! The fact is so astonishing as to be almost incredible .....

"...This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power...

"...entirely confined to classes of property... must be of indirect benefit to the labouring population because it cheapens the commodities of general consumption...

"...while the rich have been growing richer the poor have been growing less poor! At any rate, whether the extremes of poverty are less I do not presume to say."

Mr. Gladstone, *in House of Commons,* 16*th April,* 1863

* In the covering letter to the Editors of *To-Day,* not published here. [*Note by Engels.*]

[a] See Karl Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, Part VII, Chapter XXV, Section 5(a) (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

I invite especial attention to the hearing on Mr. Gladstone's meaning of the passages in the *Times* report which I have thrown into italics. The sentence, "*I must say ... easy circumstances,*" conveys the speaker's belief that the intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power previously described was *not* confined to those in easy circumstances. There is, it is true, a verbal contrariety with the later sentence, "The augmentation ... property," but the intervening words, "*This takes no cognisance ... population,*" unmistakably show what Mr. Gladstone meant, viz., that the figures which he had given, being based on the income-tax returns, included only incomes above the exemption limit,* and therefore afforded no indication to what extent the total earnings of the labouring population had increased during the period under consideration. The closing passage, from "*but the average*" to the end, announces in the most emphatic language that, on evidence independent of that obtained from the income-tax returns, Mr. Gladstone recognised as indubitable an extraordinary and almost unexampled improvement in the average condition of the British labourer.

Now, with what object were these essential passages almost wholly struck out in the process by which the newspaper report was reduced to the remarkable form in which it appears in Dr. Marx' work? Clearly, I think, in order that the arbitrarily-constructed mosaic, pieced together out of such of Mr. Gladstone's words as were allowed to remain, might be understood as asserting that the earnings of the labouring population had made but insignificant progress, while the incomes of the possessing classes had increased enormously—a view which the omitted passages explicitly repudiate in favour of a very different opinion.

I must not pass over unnoticed the fact that the German translation of this docked citation in the text of "Das Kapital" is immediately followed there by the expression of Dr. Marx' contemptuous astonishment at the "lame anti-climax" presented by the sentence made to figure as the conclusion of Mr. Gladstone's paragraph, when compared with his previous description of the growth of wealth among the possessing classes.

I am, Gentlemen, yours truly,

*Sedley Taylor*

Trinity College, Cambridge
*February 8th,* 1884 *

No. 11. ELEANOR MARX'S SECOND REPLY[146]

*TO-DAY,* MARCH 1884

*To the Editors of "To-Day"*

*Gentlemen,

Mr. Sedley Taylor disputes my statement that, when the anonymous slanderer fell foul of Dr. Marx, the only point at issue was whether Mr. Gladstone had used certain words or not. According to him, the real question was,

"whether the quotation in dispute was made with the intention of conveying or of perverting Mr. Gladstone's meaning".

* This stood at £150 from 1842 to 1853, and was then lowered to £100. [*Note by Taylor.*]

I have before me the *Concordia* article (No. 10, 7th March, 1872), "How Karl Marx Quotes". Here the anonymous author first quotes the "Inaugural Address" of the International; then the passage of Mr. Gladstone's speech, in full, from Hansard; then he condenses the passage in his own way, and to his own satisfaction; and lastly, he concludes,

"Marx takes advantage of this to make Gladstone say, 'This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to classes possessed of property.' *This sentence, however, is nowhere to be found in Gladstone's speech. The very contrary is said in it. Marx has lyingly added this sentence, both as to form and contents.*"

That is the charge, and the only charge, made against Dr. Marx. He is indeed accused of perverting Mr. Gladstone's meaning by "lyingly adding" a whole sentence. Not a word about "misleading", or "craftily isolated" quotations. The question simply is, "whether a particular sentence did, or did not, occur in Mr. Gladstone's speech".

Of two things, one. Either Mr. Taylor has read Brentano's attacks and my father's replies, and then his assertion is in direct contradiction of what he cannot help knowing to be the truth. Or else he has not. And then? Here is a man who dates his letters from Trinity College, Cambridge, who goes out of his way to assail my dead father's literary honesty in a way which must needs turn out to be a "calumny" unless he proves his case; who makes this charge upon the strength of a literary controversy dating as far back as 1872, between an anonymous writer (whom Mr. Taylor now asserts to be Professor Brentano) and my father; who describes in glowing terms the "masterly conduct" in which Saint George Brentano led his attack, and the "deadly shifts" to which he speedily reduced the dragon Marx; who can give us all particulars of the crushing results obtained by the said St. George "by a detailed comparison of texts"; and who after all, puts me into this delicate position that I am in charity bound to assume that he has never read a line of what he is speaking about.

Had Mr. Taylor seen the "masterly" articles of his anonymous friend, he would have found therein the following:

"Now we ask; does anyone tell a lie only then when he himself invents an untruth, or does he not tell a lie quite as much when he repeats it contrary to what he knows, *or is bound to know better?*"

Thus saith the "masterly" Brentano, as virtuous as he is anonymous, in his rejoinder to my father's first reply (*Concordia,* No. 27, 4th July, 1872, p. 210).[a] And on the same page he still maintains against all comers:

[a] See this volume, pp. 140-44.— *Ed.*

"According to the *Times* report, too, Mr. Gladstone said he believed this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power *not* to be confined to classes of property."

If Brentano thus appears utterly ignorant of what was the real point at issue, is Mr. Sedley Taylor better off? In his letter to *The Times* it was a quotation made in the "Inaugural Address" of the International. In his letter to *To-Day* it is a quotation in "Das Kapital". The ground is shifted again, but I need not object. Mr. Taylor now gives us the Gladstonian passage as quoted on pages 678 and 679 of "Das Kapital", side by side with the same passage as reported—not by Hansard, but by *The Times.*

"My reason for using the *Times* report instead of that of Hansard, will be obvious to readers of Dr. Marx's letters and his correspondence with Brentano."

Mr. Taylor, as we have seen, is not of these "readers". His reason for his proceeding may therefore be obvious to others, but upon his own showing at least, it can hardly be so to himself.

Anyhow, from Hansard the Infallible we are brought down to that very report, for using which the anonymous Brentano (*Concordia,* same page, 210), assails my father as quoting "necessarily bungling (*stümperhafte*) newspaper reports". At any rate, Mr. Taylor's "reason" must be very "obvious" to his friend Brentano.

To me that reason is obvious indeed. The words which my father was accused of having lyingly added ("an augmentation", etc.), these words are contained in *The Times* as well as in the other dailies' reports, while in Hansard they are not only "manipulated", but entirely "obliterated". Marx established this fact. Mr. Taylor, in his letter to *The Times,* still awfully shocked at such unpardonable "hardihood", is now himself compelled to drop the impeachable Hansard, and to take refuge under what Brentano calls the "necessarily bungling" report of *The Times.*

Now for the quotation itself. Mr. Taylor invites especial attention to two passages thrown by him into italics. In the first he owns:

"*there is, it is true, a verbal contrariety* with the latter sentence; the augmentation ... property; but the intervening words: this takes ... population, unmistakeably show what Mr. Gladstone meant," etc., etc.

Here we are plainly on theological ground. It is the well-known style of orthodox interpretation of the Bible. The passage, it is true, is in itself contradictory, but if interpreted according to the true faith of a believer, you will find that it will bear out a meaning not in contradiction with that true faith. If Mr. Taylor

interprets Mr. Gladstone as Mr. Gladstone interprets the Bible, he must not expect any but the orthodox to follow him.

Now Mr. Gladstone on that particular occasion, either did speak English or he did not. If he did not, no manner of quotation or interpretation will avail. If he did, he said that he should be very sorry if that intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power was confined to classes in easy circumstances, but that it was confined entirely to classes of property. And that is what Marx quoted.

The second passage is one of those stock phrases which are repeated, with slight variations, in every British budget speech, seasons of bad trade alone excepted. What Marx thought of it, and of the whole speech is shown in the following extract from his second reply to his anonymous slanderer;

"Gladstone, having poured forth his panegyric on the increase of capitalist wealth, turns towards the working class. He takes good care not to say that they had shared in the intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power. On the contrary, he continues (according to *The Times*): 'Now, the augmentation of capital is of indirect benefit to the labourers,' etc. He *consoles* himself with the fact that while the rich have been growing richer, the poor have been growing less poor. He asserts, finally, he and his enriched parliamentary friends 'have the happiness to know' the contrary of what official enquiries and statistical dates prove to be the fact, viz.,

> "'that the average condition of the British labourer has improved during the last 20 years in a degree which we know to be extraordinary, and which we may almost pronounce to be unexampled in the history of any country and of any age.'"

"*Before* Mr. Gladstone, all his predecessors 'had the happiness' to complete in their budget speeches the picture of the augmentation of capitalist wealth by self-complacent phrases about the improvement in the condition of the working class. Yet he gives the lie to them all; for the millennium dates only from the passing of the Free Trade legislation. But the correctness or incorrectness of Gladstone's reasons for consolation and congratulation is a matter of indifference here. What alone concerns us is this, that from his stand-point the pretended 'extraordinary' improvement in the condition of the working-class is not at all in contradiction with the augmentation of wealth and power which is entirely confined to classes possessed of property. It is the orthodox doctrine of the mouth-pieces of capital—one of the best paid of whom is Gladstone—that the most infallible means for working

men to benefit themselves is—to enrich their exploiters." (*Volksstaat,* No. 63, August 7, 1872).[a]

Moreover, to please Mr. Taylor, the said passage of Mr. Gladstone's speech *is quoted in full* in the Inaugural Address, page 5, immediately before the quotation in dispute. And what else but this address did Mr. Taylor originally impute? Is it as impossible to get a reference to original sources out of him, as it was to get reasons out of Dogberry?

"The continuous crying contradictions in Gladstone's budget speeches" form the subject of Note 105 on the same page (679) of "Das Kapital" to which Mr. Taylor refers us. Very likely indeed, that Marx should have taken the trouble to suppress "in bad faith" one of the contradictions! Quite the contrary. He has not suppressed anything worth quoting, neither has he "lyingly" added anything. But he has restored, rescued from oblivion, a particular sentence of one of Mr. Gladstone's speeches, a sentence which had indubitably been pronounced, but which somehow or other had found its way—out of Hansard.

*Eleanor Marx**

[a] Cf. this volume, p. 149; present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 194-95.—*Ed.*

## IV

## ENGELS AND BRENTANO

### No. 12. FROM ENGELS' PREFACE TO THE FOURTH GERMAN EDITION OF MARX'S *CAPITAL*, VOLUME ONE[a]

Meanwhile a complete revision of the numerous quotations had been made necessary by the publication of the English edition.[b] For this edition Marx's youngest daughter, Eleanor, undertook to compare all the quotations with their originals, so that those taken from English sources, which constitute the vast majority, are given there not as retranslations from German but in the original English form. In preparing the fourth edition it was therefore incumbent upon me to consult this text. The comparison revealed various small inaccuracies. Page numbers wrongly indicated, due partly to mistakes in copying from notebooks, and partly to the accumulated misprints of three editions; misplaced quotation or omission marks, which cannot be avoided when a mass of quotations is copied from notebook extracts; here and there some rather unhappy translation of a word; particular passages quoted from the old Paris notebooks of 1843-45, when Marx did not know English and was reading English economists in French translations,[c] so that the double translation yielded a slightly different shade of meaning, e.g., in the case of Steuart, Ure, etc.,

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 35.— *Ed.*

[b] The English edition of *Capital* appeared in 1886, i.e. between the third (1883) and fourth (1890) German editions.— *Ed.*

[c] The reference is to Marx's extracts from the following books: A. Smith, *Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations*, Vols. 1-5, Paris, 1802; D. Ricardo, *Des principes de l'économie politique et de l'impôt*, Vols. 1-2, Paris, 1835; J. Mill, *Éléments d'économie politique*, Paris, 1832; J. R. MacCulloch, *Discours sur l'origine, les progrès, les objets particuliers, et l'importance de l'économie politique*, Paris, 1825 (*MEGA*, Abt. IV, Bd. 2, Berlin, 1981, pp. 332-86, 392-427, 428-70, 473-79).— *Ed.*

where the English text had now to be used—and other similar instances of trifling inaccuracy or negligence. But anyone who compares the fourth edition with the previous ones can convince himself that all this laborious process of emendation has not produced the smallest change in the book worth speaking of. There was only one quotation which could not be traced—the one from Richard Jones (4th edition, p. 562, Note 47). Marx probably slipped up when writing down the title of the book.[a] All the other quotations retain their cogency in full, or have enhanced it due to their present exact form.

Here, however, I am obliged to revert to an old story.

I know of only one case in which the accuracy of a quotation given by Marx has been called in question. But as the issue dragged beyond his lifetime I cannot well ignore it here.

On March 7, 1872, there appeared in the Berlin *Concordia,* organ of the German Manufacturers' Association, an anonymous article entitled: "How Karl Marx Quotes".[b] It was here asserted, with an effervescence of moral indignation and unparliamentary language, that the quotation from Gladstone's budget speech of April 16, 1863 (in the Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association, 1864, and repeated in *Capital,* Vol. I, p. 617, 4th edition; p. 671, 3rd edition),[c] had been falsified; that not a single word of the sentence: "this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power ... is entirely confined to classes of property" was to be found in the (semi-official) shorthand report in Hansard. "Yet this sentence is nowhere to be found in Gladstone's speech. It says quite the opposite." (In bold type): "***Marx has added the sentence lyingly, both in form and in content!***"

Marx, to whom the number of *Concordia* was sent the following May, answered Anonymous in the *Volksstaat* of June 1st.[d] As he could not recall which newspaper report he had used for the quotation, he limited himself to citing, first the equivalent quotation from two English publications, and then the report in *The Times,* according to which Gladstone says:

* "That is the state of the case as regards the wealth of this country. I must say for one, I should look almost with apprehension and with pain upon this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power, if it were my belief that it was

[a] The reference is to R. Jones, *Text-book of Lectures on the Political Economy of Nations,* Hertford, 1852. See K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, Chapter XXII (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 135-36.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., pp. 132-34.—*Ed.*

[d] Ibid., pp. 136-40.—*Ed.*

confined to classes who are in easy circumstances. This takes no cognizance at all of the condition of the labouring population. The augmentation I have described and which is founded, I think, upon accurate returns, is an augmentation entirely confined to classes of property." *

Thus Gladstone says here that he would be sorry if it were so, but it *is* so: this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power *is* entirely confined to classes of property. And as to the semi-official Hansard, Marx goes on to say: "In its edition, here botchily corrected, Mr. Gladstone was bright enough clumsily to excise the passage that would be, after all, compromising on the lips of an English Chancellor of the Exchequer. This is, incidentally, traditional English parliamentary practice, and by no means the invention of little Lasker versus Bebel." [147]

Anonymous gets angrier and angrier. In his answer in the *Concordia,* July 4,[a] he sweeps aside second-hand sources and demurely suggests that it is the "custom" to quote parliamentary speeches from the shorthand report; adding, however, that the *Times* report (which includes the "lyingly added" sentence) and the Hansard report (which omits it) "fully coincide materially", while the *Times* report likewise contains "the direct opposite of that notorious passage in the Inaugural Address". This fellow carefully conceals the fact that the *Times* report explicitly includes that self-same "notorious passage", alongside of its alleged "opposite". Despite all this, however, Anonymous feels that he is stuck fast and that only some new dodge can save him. Thus, whilst his article bristles, as we have just shown, with "impudent mendacity" and is interlarded with such edifying terms of abuse as "bad faith", "dishonesty", "lying statement", "that lying quotation", "impudent mendacity", "a quotation completely forged", "this forgery", "simply nefarious", etc., he finds it necessary to divert the issue to another domain and therefore promises "to explain in a second article the importance which we" (the non-"mendacious" Anonymous) "attach to the content of Gladstone's words". As if his particular opinion, of no decisive value as it is, had anything whatever to do with the matter. This second article was printed in the *Concordia* on July 11.

Marx replied again in the *Volksstaat* of August 7[b] now giving also the reports of the passage in question from *The Morning Star* and *The Morning Advertiser* of April 17, 1863. According to both reports Gladstone said that he would look with apprehension, etc., upon this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power if he

[a] See this volume, pp. 140-44.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 144-51.— *Ed.*

believed it to be *confined* to CLASSES IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES. But this augmentation *was* in fact ENTIRELY CONFINED TO CLASSES POSSESSED OF PROPERTY. So these reports too reproduced word for word the sentence alleged to have been "lyingly added". Marx further established once more, by a comparison of the *Times* and the Hansard texts, that this sentence, which three newspaper reports of identical content, appearing independently of one another the next morning, proved to have been really uttered, was missing from the Hansard report, revised according to the familiar "custom", and that Gladstone, to use Marx's words, "had subsequently filched it away". In conclusion Marx stated that he had no time for further intercourse with Anonymous. The latter also seems to have had enough, at any rate Marx received no further issues of *Concordia.*

With this the matter appeared to be dead and buried. True, once or twice later on there reached us, from persons in touch with the University of Cambridge, mysterious rumours of an unspeakable literary crime which Marx was supposed to have committed in *Capital*; but despite all investigation nothing more definite could be learned. Then, on November 29, 1883, eight months after Marx's death, there appeared in *The Times* a letter dated from Trinity College, Cambridge, and signed Sedley Taylor,[a] in which this little man, who dabbles in the mildest sort of co-operative affairs, seizing upon some chance pretext or other, at last enlightened us, not only concerning those vague Cambridge rumours, but also Anonymous in the *Concordia.*

"What appears extremely singular," says the little man from Trinity College, "is that it was reserved for *Professor Brentano* (then of the University of Breslau, now of that of Strassburg) to expose ... the bad faith which had manifestly dictated the citation made from Mr. Gladstone's speech in the '(Inaugural)' Address. Herr Karl Marx, who ... attempted to defend the citation, had the hardihood, in the DEADLY SHIFTS to which Brentano's masterly conduct of the attack speedily reduced him, to assert that Mr. Gladstone had 'manipulated' the report of his speech in *The Times* of April 17, 1863, before it appeared in Hansard, in order to 'obliterate' a passage which 'was certainly compromising for an English Chancellor of the Exchequer'. On Brentano's showing, by a detailed comparison of texts, that the reports of *The Times* and of Hansard agreed in utterly excluding the meaning which craftily-isolated quotation had put upon Mr. Gladstone's words, Marx withdrew from further controversy under the plea of 'want of time!'"

So that was at the bottom of the whole business![b] And thus was the anonymous campaign of Mr. Brentano in the *Concordia*

[a] See this volume, p. 155.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx has: "des Pudels Kern", an allusion to the saying. "Das also war des Pudels Kern", in Goethe's *Faust,* Act I, Scene III ("Faust's Study").—*Ed.*

gloriously reflected in the productively co-operating imagination of Cambridge. Thus he stood, sword in hand, and thus he battled, in his "masterly conduct of the attack", this St. George of the German Manufacturers' Association, whilst the infernal dragon Marx, "in deadly shifts", "speedily" breathed his last at his feet.

All this Ariostian battle-scene, however, only serves to conceal the dodges of our St. George. Here there is no longer talk of "lying addition" or "forgery", but of "CRAFTILY ISOLATED QUOTATION". The whole issue was shifted, and St. George and his Cambridge squire very well knew why.

Eleanor Marx replied in the monthly journal *To-Day* (February 1884)[a], as *The Times* refused to publish her letter. She once more focussed the debate on the sole question at issue: had Marx "lyingly added" that sentence or not? To this Mr. Sedley Taylor answered that

> "the question whether a particular sentence did or did not occur in Mr. Gladstone's speech" had been, in his opinion, "of very subordinate importance" in the Brentano-Marx controversy, "compared to the issue whether the quotation in dispute was made with the intention of conveying, or of perverting, Mr. Gladstone's meaning".

He then admits that the *Times* report contains "a verbal contrariety"; but, if the context is rightly interpreted, i.e., in the Gladstonian Liberal sense, it shows what Mr. Gladstone *meant* to say. (*To-Day*, March 1884.)[b] The most comic point here is that our little Cambridge man now insists upon quoting the speech *not* from Hansard, as, according to the anonymous Brentano, it is "customary" to do, but from the *Times* report, which the same Brentano had characterised as "necessarily bungling". Naturally so, for in Hansard the vexatious sentence *is missing*.

Eleanor Marx had no difficulty (in the same issue of *To-Day*)[c] in dissolving all this argumentation into thin air. Either Mr. Taylor had read the controversy of 1872 in which case he was now making not only "lying additions" but also "lying suppressions"; or he had not read it and ought to remain silent. In either case it was certain that he did not dare to maintain for a moment the accusation of his friend Brentano that Marx had made a "lying" addition. On the contrary, Marx, it now seems, had not lyingly added but suppressed an important sentence. But this same sentence is quoted on page 5 of the Inaugural Address, a few lines before the alleged "lying addition". And as to the "contrariety" in

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[a] See this volume, pp. 156-57.
[b] Ibid., pp. 156-59.— *Ed.*
[c] Ibid., pp. 159-63.— *Ed.*

Gladstone's speech, is it not Marx himself, who in *Capital,* p. 618 (3rd edition, p. 672), Note 105[a] refers to "the continuous crying contradictions in Gladstone's budget speeches of 1863 and 1864"? Only he does not presume à la Mr. Sedley Taylor to resolve them into complacent Liberal sentiments. Eleanor Marx, in concluding her reply, finally sums up as follows:

"Marx has not suppressed anything worth quoting, neither has he 'lyingly' added anything. But he has restored, rescued from oblivion, a particular sentence of one of Mr. Gladstone's speeches, a sentence which had indubitably been pronounced, but which somehow or other had found its way—out of Hansard."

With that Mr. Sedley Taylor too had had enough, and the result of this whole professorial cobweb, spun out over two decades and two great countries, is that nobody has since dared to cast any other aspersion upon Marx's literary honesty; whilst Mr. Sedley Taylor, no doubt, will hereafter put as little confidence in the literary war bulletins of Mr. Brentano as Mr. Brentano will in the papal infallibility of Hansard.

London, June 25, 1890

*Frederick Engels*

No. 13. BRENTANO'S REPLY

## *"My Polemic with Karl Marx", Berlin, 1890, pp. 3-5*

On September 28, 1864, a public meeting was held in St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London, at which Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, Poles and Italians were represented. Karl Marx submitted to this meeting the Provisional Rules of an international workers' organisation which was to be founded, together with the Inaugural Address he had drafted for the same. Both were adopted unanimously, and the Inaugural Address went round the world. It contained a quotation from Gladstone's budget speech of April 16, 1863, which attracted more attention than all the other statements contained therein:

"Dazzled by the 'Progress of the Nation' statistics dancing before his eyes, the Chancellor of the Exchequer exclaims in wild ecstasy: 'From 1842 to 1852 the taxable income of the country increased by 6 per cent; in the eight years from 1853 to 1861, it has increased from the basis taken in 1853, 20 per cent! The fact is so astonishing as to be almost incredible!... This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power,' adds Mr. Gladstone, 'is entirely confined to classes of property.'"

In the winter of 1871-72, while working on the second volume of my *Die Arbeitergilden der Gegenwart,* I was obliged to investigate (cf. II, 241) to what extent the oft-heard objection—that a wage increase diminishes the future demand for labour—accords with the facts. In the previous decades this objection had

[a] Ibid., p. 134.—*Ed.*

repeatedly been used against the English trade associations every time they called for wage increases. Here I recalled this quotation from Gladstone's budget speech. However, it appeared to me to be unwise to quote as a source the Address of the International, as many others had, and the relevant passage in Marx's *Capital,* Vol I, 1867, p. 639; I consulted the shorthand report of Gladstone's budget speech and found that this in fact showed that the wage increases in the period 1842-1861 had not limited the increase in the income of the possessing classes in any way which negatively affected their demand for labour; but that, on the contrary Gladstone had stated in direct opposition to Karl Marx's claim: "The figures which I have quoted take little or no cognizance of the condition of those who do not pay income tax ... of the property of the labouring population, or of the increase of its income... But if we look to the average condition of the British labourer, whether peasant, or miner, or operative, or artisan, we know from varied and indubitable evidence that during the last twenty years such an addition has been made to his means of subsistence as we may almost pronounce to be without example in the history of any country and of any age."

In view of the great importance of the Gladstone's quotation for the Social Democratic claim that in the framework of the existing state and social order the rich would necessarily become ever richer and the poor ever poorer, I drew the attention of the editors of the *Concordia, Zeitschrift für die Arbeiterfrage,* at that time appearing in Berlin, to the forgery which had been committed here. They asked me to write an article on the subject, which was published in the *Concordia* of March 7, 1872.[a] The article was not signed by me; this was done, on the one hand, at the request of the editors in the interests of the reputation of their paper, and, on the other hand, I had all the less objection, since following earlier literary controversies pursued by Marx it was to be expected that this time too he would heap personal insults upon his adversary, and that for this reason it could only be amusing to leave him in the dark as to the identity of his adversary.

Three months later Marx replied in the *Volksstaat.* In the polemic which then developed it became clear that Marx had not undertaken the forgery himself, but had taken the forged quotation from a diatribe which had been published anonymously in 1864. This work, entitled *The Theory of the Exchanges. The Bank Charter Act of 1844. The abuse of the metallic principle to depreciation. Parliament mirrored in Debate, supplemental to 'The Stock Exchange and the Repeal of Sir J. Barnard's Act',* London: T. Cautley Newby, 30, Welbeck Street, 1864, is the work of a perverse Thersites[b] and consists largely of garbled quotations from writings and speeches on national economy, bestrewn with Latin, English and French verses and other comments, aimed at derision. Being of such a nature, this book has understandably remained in thorough obscurity.

Had Marx simply admitted that he had been misled by this book, and from then on reproduced the quotation correctly, one might have been surprised that he had relied upon such a source, but the mistake would at least have been rectified. But for him there was no question of this. And given the wide circulation which had been attained by the Inaugural Address, the loss of this show-piece as the result of this correction, would have been very embarrassing for the agitation. One of the main agitational methods of Social Democracy is that its representatives proclaim themselves the sole proprietors of real science; and as the Party Congress in Halle[148] showed, they prefer to accuse themselves of having utilised the iron law of wages in deliberate untruthfulness simply as a means of agitation, rather than

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[a] See this volume, pp. 135-36.— *Ed.*

[b] The author is Henry Roy.— *Ed.*

confess that they have been shown to be in error. Instead of withdrawing, Marx therefore attempted to prove that Gladstone had subsequently tinkered with the shorthand report of his budget speech; the loutishnesses of his scurrilous polemics was now directed against the supposed manufacturer, who had attempted to tell him what to do with the help of an English business partner; when it was shown that *The Times* too, in its issue which appeared on the morning following the night in which Gladstone had made his speech, carried this speech in a sense according with the shorthand report, he acted, as the editors of the *Concordia* wrote[a]: "like the cuttlefish, which dims the water with a dark fluid, in order to make pursuit by its enemy more difficult, i.e. he tries as hard as he can to hide the subject of controversy by clinging to completely inconsequential secondary matters; and finally he saves himself with the explanation that for 'lack of time' he cannot go into the matter any further." And for all time he failed to reply to my analysis of his rejoinder published in the *Concordia* on August 22, 1872.

The fact that I was the author of the articles in the *Concordia* of March 7, July 4 and 11, and August 22, 1872[b] was known to a number of people, and in the second edition of Mehring's *Geschichte der Sozialdemokratie*,[c] which was published while Marx was still alive, I was publicly named as such. Having his attention thus drawn to it, Mr. Sedley Taylor of Trinity College, Cambridge studied the polemic, and wrote a letter about it to *The Times*.[d] This brought upon the scene Miss Eleanor Marx, daughter of Karl Marx, who had died in the meantime, and in the socialist monthly *To-Day* of March 1884 she not only defended her father's loyalty, but closed with the remark that her father had restored and rescued from oblivion a particular sentence from one of Gladstone's speeches, a sentence which had indubitably been pronounced, but which somehow or other had found its way out of the shorthand report in Hansard.[e]

Even at that time I considered replying to this obstinate clinging to the false quotation with the verbatim publication of the entire polemic. But editors often have their own judgement; the specialist journal which I regarded as suitable above all others refused to publish, on the grounds that the dispute lacked general interest. Engels was obviously of a different opinion. In the Preface to the fourth edition of the first volume of *Capital*, which he undertook, he returned to the polemic, but reported upon it in such a manner that the dishonesty with which it had been conducted by Marx was, understandably, not made clear; in addition he left unchanged the passage in *Capital*, I, 4th edition, p. 617, in which Marx had Gladstone say the opposite of what he really said; and even more, while Marx in his first edition simply referred to "Gladstone in H.o.C., April 16, 1863", the 4th edition added "*The Morning Star*, April 17, 1863", as though the report in this newspaper really contained the quotation as given by Marx! But the report in *The Morning Star* too contains all those sentences omitted by *The Theory of the Exchanges*, and subsequently by Marx, sentences which show that where Gladstone refers in his budget speech to income tax revenue, he is only contrasting the incomes of those who pay this tax with the incomes of those who, because of lower incomes, are free of this tax; that he perceives from the income tax lists an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power, and remarks at the same time that the increase in income

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[a] *Concordia*, No. 33, August 15, 1872.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 140-44, 152-54.— *Ed.*

[c] See F. Mehring, *Die Deutsche Sozialdemokratie. Ihre Geschichte und ihre Lehre*, Bremen, 1878, p. 221.— *Ed.*

[d] See this volume, p. 155.— *Ed.*

[e] See this volume, pp. 159-63.— *Ed.*

shown by these lists is confined to those in easy circumstances—quite naturally, since the incomes of the rest are not shown in these lists; but that he does *not* believe this augmentation is confined to these classes, since it is known from other sources that at the same time the condition of the British labourer has improved to a degree unexampled in any country and any age...

(The remainder has nothing to do with the charge and is simply a "Contribution to the Question" etc.—*F. Engels.*)

## No. 14. FROM THE APPENDICES TO BRENTANO'S REPLY

a) From [H. Roy,] *The Theory of the Exchanges,* London, 1864, p. 134.

*"From 1842 to 1852, the taxable income of the country increased by 6 per cent ... in the eight years from 1853 to 1861, it had increased from the basis taken in 1853, 20 per cent! My honourable friend says, it is owing to Australian gold. I am sorry to see that he is lost in the depths of heresy upon the subject of gold. This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to classes of property, but must be of indirect benefit to the labouring population, because it cheapens the commodities of general consumption—while the rich have been growing richer, the poor have been growing less poor! at any rate, whether the extremes of poverty are less, I do not presume to say."*

> "*Voilà l'homme en effet. Il va du blanc au noir.*
> *Il condamne au matin ses sentiments du soir.*
> *Importun à tout autre, à lui même incommode,*
> *Il change à tous moments d'esprit comme de mode.*" [149]

*"The average condition of the British labourer has improved during the last twenty years in a degree we know to be extraordinary and unexampled in the history of any country or any age, a matter of the greatest thankfulness, because, etc. ... hardly have earnings given a sufficiency of prime necessaries,..."*

Noteworthy for the connection between *The Theory of the Exchanges,* and Marx's remarks in *Capital,* I, 1st edition, p. 639 is also the following. Having advanced here the details, quoted from *The Theory of the Exchanges,* given by the LONDON ORPHAN ASYLUM, against Gladstone's sentence "WHETHER THE EXTREMES OF POVERTY ARE LESS EXTREME THAN THEY WERE, I DO NOT PRESUME TO SAY", Marx turns against Gladstone's budget speech of April 7, 1864; *The Theory of the Exchanges* has an APPENDIX, in which, as a supplement to the pages just printed here, there is also a gloss on the budget of 1864. The style in which this is done is the same as that which is familiar enough from the foregoing. This excursus contains the following passage (p. 234):

*"But the Chancellor is eloquent upon 'poverty'... 'Think of those who are on the border of that region...', upon 'wages ... in others it is true not increased... human life is, but, in nine cases out of ten, a struggle for existence'."*

Now compare with this Marx, I, 1st ed., p. 640, 4th ed., p. 618. Here too again, instead of the reproduction of the actual budget speech verbatim, [we find] the same mosaic of sentences torn from their context as in *The Theory of the Exchanges.* And here too it is not this source which is referred to, but simply to Gladstone, H.o.C., April 7, 1864. And then the text continues: "The continual crying contradictions in Gladstone's budget speeches of 1863 and 1864 were characterised by an English writer by the following quotation from Molière" (followed by the verse from Molière printed above).

It becomes clear that Marx took not only this quotation, but also the "continual crying contradictions in Gladstone's budget speeches of 1863 and 1864", invented by the author of *The Theory of the Exchanges,* from this book.

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b) As was already remarked in the introduction to this reprint, Engels, in the fourth edition of the first volume of Marx's *Capital,* p. 617, added "*The Morning Star,* April 17, 1863" to the now-as-ever falsely reproduced quotation from Gladstone's budget speech. The relevant portions of this speech are given above on pp. 8 and 9 according to Hansard's shorthand report. Although on p. 13 the *Times* report—completely coincident in sense, with its wording condensed only as is a newspaper's wont, this report, together with that in *The Morning Star* quoted by Engels, and the wording of the quotation in Marx are presented parallel here:

| * *The Times* April 17, 1863 | * *The Morning Star* April 17, 1863 | *Capital* I, 1st ed., p. 639, Note 103 |
|---|---|---|
| "In ten years, from 1842 to 1852 inclusive, the taxable income of the country, as nearly as we can make out, increased by 6 per cent; but in eight years, from 1853 to 1861, the income of the country again increased from the basis taken by 20 per cent. That is a fact so strange as to be almost incredible... | | * "From 1842 to 1852 the taxable income of the country increased by 6 per cent. In the eight years from 1853 to 1861 it had increased from the basis taken in 1853, 20 per cent! The fact is so astonishing as to be almost incredible ..... ..... ..... ..... |
| *I must say for one, I should look almost with apprehension and with pain upon this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power, if it were my belief that it was confined to the classes who are in easy circumstances.* | *"I must say, for one, I should look with apprehension and with pain upon this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power, if it were my belief that it was confined to the classes who are in easy circumstances.* | "This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power |
| This takes no cognizance at all of the condition of the labouring population. The augmentation I have described, and which is founded, I think, upon accurate returns, is an augmentation entirely confined to classes of property. | This great increase of wealth takes no cognizance at all of the condition of the labouring population. The augmentation is an augmentation entirely confined to classes of property. | "is entirely confined to classes of property, |
| Now, the augmentation of capital is of indirect benefit to the labourer, because it cheapens the commodity | But that augmentation must be of indirect benefit to the labouring population, because it cheapens the commodities which go to the general consumption. So that we have this pro- | but must be of indirect benefit to the labouring population, because it cheapens the commodities of general consumption— |

which in the business of production comes into direct competition with labour. (Hear, hear.) But we have this profound, and, I must say inestimable consolation, that while the rich have been growing richer the poor have been growing less poor. Whether the extremes of poverty are less extreme than they were I do not presume to say, *but the average condition of the British labourer, we have the happiness to know, has improved during the last twenty years in a degree which we know to be extraordinary, and which we may almost pronounce to be unexampled in the history of any country and of any age.* (Cheers.)" *

found, and I almost say, inestimable consolation—while the rich have been growing richer, the poor have been growing less poor. (Hear, hear.) At any rate, whether the extremes are less extreme than they were I do not presume to say, *but the average condition of the British labourer, we have the happiness to know to be extraordinary, and that we may almost pronounce it to be unexampled in the history of any country or any age.* (Cheers)" *

"while the rich have been growing richer, the poor have been growing less poor! At any rate, whether the extremes of poverty are less, I do not presume to say." *

Here, in the middle of a sentence, as the reprint above shows, *The Theory of the Exchanges* breaks off to insert a quotation from Molière; Marx who, as the comparison above shows, did not take the quotation from *The Morning Star* but—omitting a passage marked *by him* with dots—verbatim from *The Theory of the Exchanges,* has Gladstone end in the middle of a sentence...

The comparison above shows us that the arbitrarily thrown-together mosaic of sentences torn from their context, which Marx presents as Gladstone's budget speech, can be found as little in *The Morning Star* as in *The Times* or Hansard; on the other hand, it can be found solely in *The Theory of the Exchanges.* The heavily leaded sentences[a] are those omitted by Henry Roy, and still more by Karl Marx—compare the last sentence—in order to have Gladstone say the opposite of what he really said.

### No. 15. FROM THE PARLIAMENTARY REPORTS OF THE LONDON PRESS OF APRIL 17, 1863

* *Morning Herald.* I may say that I for one would look with fear and apprehension at this intoxicating increase of wealth if I were of opinion that it is confined to the classes in easy circumstances. This great increase of wealth which I have described, and which is founded on accurate returns is confined entirely to the augmentation of capital, and takes no account of the poorer classes.

*Morning Post.* I may say, I for one, would look with fear and apprehension when I consider this great increase of wealth if I believed that its benefits were confined to the classes in easy circumstances. This augmentation of wealth which I have described, and which is founded on accurate returns is confined entirely to the augmentation of capital, and takes no account of the augmentation of wealth of the poorer classes.

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[a] In italics in this edition.—*Ed.*

*Daily Telegraph.* I may say for one, that I should look almost with apprehension and alarm on this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power if it were my belief that it was confined to the masses who are in easy circumstances. This question to wealth takes no cognizance at all of the condition of the labouring population. The augmentation stated is an augmentation entirely confined to the classes possessed of property.

*Daily News.* I may say that I for one would look with fear and apprehension when I consider this great increase of wealth if I believed that its benefits were confined to the classes in easy circumstances. This augmentation of wealth which I have described, and which is founded upon accurate returns, is confined entirely to the augmentation of capital, and takes no account of the augmentation of wealth of the poorer classes.

*Standard.* I may say that I for one would look with fear and apprehension at this intoxicating increase of wealth if I were of the opinion that it was confined to the classes in easy circumstances. This great increase of wealth which I have described, and which is founded on the accurate returns is confined entirely to the augmentation of capital, and takes no account of the poorer classes.*

## No. 16. GLADSTONE TO BRENTANO

*DEUTSCHES WOCHENBLATT,* No. 49, DECEMBER 4, 1890

### *Message*

In number 45 of the *Deutsches Wochenblatt* Professor Lujo Brentano published an essay "My Polemic with Karl Marx", which served at the same time as an introduction to a republication of this polemic as a pamphlet. This polemic dealt mainly with a parliamentary speech delivered by Gladstone in 1863, and which Marx reproduced in a distorted form in his Inaugural Address on the formation of the International Working Men's Association.

Obviously nobody is more qualified to settle this dispute about the wording of Gladstone's speech than Gladstone himself. It is therefore of special interest that Gladstone, as a result of the republication of Brentano's polemic with Marx, has addressed two letters to Brentano. On November 22 Gladstone wrote to Brentano: "You are completely correct, and Marx completely incorrect", and on November 28: "I undertook no changes of any sort". Thus the affair, which throws a revealing light on the Social Democratic line of argumentation, may finally be decided to the detriment of the Social Democratic standpoint.

By uncovering this deceit Brentano has done a service, and it was very timely that he chose this precise moment to rekindle the memories of this dispute.

*O.A.*

## No. 17. ENGELS' REPLY TO No. 16

*DIE NEUE ZEIT,* No. 13, 1891, P. 425

### *In the Case of Brentano v. Marx*[150]

In my preface to the fourth edition of Marx's *Capital,* Vol. I,[a] I was obliged to report upon the course of Mr. Lujo Brentano's

[a] See present edition, Vol. 35; see also this volume, pp. 164-69.

favourite anonymous campaign against Marx, a campaign based upon the charge that Marx had forged a quotation from a speech by Gladstone.

Mr. Brentano responded to this with a pamphlet *My Polemic with Karl Marx* by Lujo Brentano, Berlin, Walter und Apolant, 1890. I shall reply to this in his own coin.

In the meantime, No. 49 of the *Deutsches Wochenblatt,* December 4, 1890, carries a further note on this matter, which states:

"Obviously nobody is more qualified to settle this dispute about the wording of Gladstone's speech than Gladstone himself. It is therefore of special interest that Gladstone, as a result of the republication of Brentano's polemic with Marx, has addressed two letters to Brentano. On November 22 Gladstone wrote to Brentano: 'You are completely correct, and Marx completely incorrect', and on November 28: 'I undertook no changes of any sort'."[a]

What is this supposed to mean? *In what* "are you completely correct" and Marx "completely incorrect"? *In what* "have I undertaken no changes of any sort"? Why is Mr. Brentano's message confined to these two short sentences?

Either Mr. Gladstone has not given his permission to publish the whole of the letters. This is then proof enough that they prove nothing.

Or else Mr. Gladstone wrote the letters in the first place for the public, and permitted Mr. Brentano to make what use he would of them. Then the publication *only* of these meaningless extracts proves even more strongly that Mr. Gladstone's testimony in its entirety is unusable for Mr. Brentano, and therefore "bodged together" as above.

In order to know what the two sentences above are worth, we must have before us not only the two letters from Mr. Gladstone, but also the relevant letters from Mr. Brentano. And as long as the whole correspondence in this matter has not been published in the original language, the fragments above are completely insignificant to the question under dispute, and not worth the paper they are printed on.

*F. Engels*

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[a] See this volume, pp. 175.— *Ed.*

# [GREETINGS TO THE FRENCH WORKERS ON THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARIS COMMUNE]

London, March 17

Citizens and citizenesses,

It is twenty years ago today that working-class Paris rose as one man against the criminal attack of the bourgeois and the rurals, led by Thiers. These enemies of the proletariat trembled when they saw the workers of Paris armed and organised to defend their rights. Thiers thought to deprive them of the arms which they had used with glory against the foreign invasion and which they would use even more gloriously against the attacks of the Versailles mercenaries. To crush Paris in revolt the rurals and the bourgeois begged for and obtained the Prussians' assistance. After an heroic struggle, Paris was crushed by weight of numbers and disarmed.

For twenty years now the workers of Paris have been without arms, and it is the same everywhere: in all the large civilised countries the proletariat is deprived of the material means of defence. Everywhere it is the adversaries and exploiters of the working class who have armed forces under their exclusive control.

What has all this led to?

It means that today, when every able-bodied man serves in the army, this army increasingly reflects popular feelings and ideas, and this army, the great means of repression, is becoming less secure day by day: already the heads of all the big states foresee with terror the day when soldiers under arms will refuse to butcher their fathers and brothers. We saw it in Paris when the Tonkinois[a] had the audacity to claim the presidency of the French republic;

[a] Jules Ferry.—*Ed.*

we see it today in Berlin, where Bismarck's successor[a] is asking the Reichstag for the means to strengthen obedience in the army with non-commissioned officers bought for money—because there are thought to be too many socialists amongst the N.C.O.s![151]

When such things start to happen, when day starts to dawn in the army, the end of the old world is visibly approaching.

May destiny be fulfilled! May the bourgeoisie in its decadence abdicate or die, and long live the Proletariat! Long live the international social Revolution!

*F. Engels*

First published in *Le Socialiste,* No. 27, March 25, 1891

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] Leo von Caprivi.—*Ed.*

# INTRODUCTION [TO KARL MARX'S *THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE*][152]

I did not anticipate that I would be asked to prepare a new edition of the Address of the General Council of the International on *The Civil War in France,* and to write an introduction to it. Therefore I can only touch briefly here on the most important points.

I am prefacing the longer work mentioned above by the two shorter Addresses of the General Council on the Franco-Prussian War.[a] In the first place, because the second of these, which itself cannot be fully understood without the first, is referred to in *The Civil War.* But also because these two Addresses, likewise drafted by Marx, are, no less than *The Civil War,* outstanding examples of the author's remarkable gift, first proved in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,*[b] for grasping clearly the character, the import and the necessary consequences of great historical events, at a time when these events are still in progress before our eyes or have only just taken place. And, finally, because today we in Germany are still having to endure the consequences which Marx predicted would follow from these events.

Has that which was declared in the first Address not come to pass: that if Germany's defensive war against Louis Bonaparte degenerated into a war of conquest against the French people, all the miseries that befell Germany after the so-called wars of independence[153] would revive again with renewed intensity?[c] Have we not had a further twenty years of Bismarck's rule, the

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 3-8 and 263-70.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., Vol. 11, pp. 99-197.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., Vol. 22, p. 6.—*Ed.*

Exceptional Law and socialist-baiting taking the place of the prosecution of demagogues,[154] with the same arbitrary action of the police and with literally the same staggering interpretations of the law?[155]

And has not the prediction been proved to the letter, that the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine would "force France into the arms of Russia",[a] and that after this annexation Germany must either become the avowed servant of Russia, or must, after some short respite, arm for a new war, and, moreover, "a war of races—a war with the combined Slavonian and Roman races"?[b] Has not the annexation of the French provinces driven France into the arms of Russia? Has not Bismarck for fully twenty years vainly wooed the favour of the tsar, wooed it with services even more lowly than those which little Prussia, before it became the "first Power in Europe", was wont to lay at Holy Russia's feet? And is there not every day still hanging over our heads the Damocles' sword of war, on the first day of which all the chartered covenants of princes will be scattered like chaff; a war of which nothing is certain but the absolute uncertainty of its outcome; a race war which will subject the whole of Europe to devastation by fifteen or twenty million armed men, and which is not raging already only because even the strongest of the great military states shrinks before the absolute incalculability of its final result?

All the more is it our duty to make again accessible to the German workers these brilliant proofs, now half-forgotten, of the farsightedness of international working-class policy in 1870.

What is true of these two Addresses is also true of *The Civil War in France*. On May 28, the last fighters of the Commune succumbed to superior forces on the slopes of Belleville; and only two days later, on May 30, Marx read to the General Council the work in which the historical significance of the Paris Commune is delineated in short, powerful strokes, but with such trenchancy, and above all such truth as has never again been attained in all the mass of literature on this subject.

Thanks to the economic and political development of France since 1789, Paris has been placed for the last fifty years in such a position that no revolution could break out there without assuming a proletarian character, that is to say, without the proletariat, which had bought victory with its blood, advancing its own demands after victory. These demands were more or less

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 22, p. 267.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid.— *Ed.*

unclear and even confused, corresponding to the state of development reached by the workers of Paris at the particular period, but in the last resort they all amounted to the abolition of the class antagonism between capitalists and workers. It is true that no one knew how this was to be brought about. But the demand itself, however indefinitely it still was couched, contained a threat to the existing order of society; the workers who put it forward were still armed; therefore, the disarming of the workers was the first commandment for the bourgeois, who were at the helm of the state. Hence, after every revolution won by the workers, a new struggle, ending with the defeat of the workers.

This happened for the first time in 1848. The liberal bourgeois of the parliamentary opposition held banquets for securing a reform of the franchise,[156] which was to ensure supremacy for their party. Forced more and more, in their struggle with the government, to appeal to the people, they had gradually to yield precedence to the radical and republican strata of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. But behind these stood the revolutionary workers, and since 1830 these had acquired far more political independence than the bourgeois, and even the republicans, suspected. At the moment of the crisis between the government and the opposition, the workers began street-fighting; Louis Philippe vanished, and with him the franchise reform; and in its place arose the republic, and indeed one which the victorious workers themselves designated as a "social" republic. No one, however, was clear as to what this social republic was to imply; not even the workers themselves. But they now had arms and were a power in the state. Therefore, as soon as the bourgeois republicans in control felt something like firm ground under their feet, their first aim was to disarm the workers. This took place by driving them into the insurrection of June 1848 by direct breach of faith, by open defiance and the attempt to banish the unemployed to a distant province. The government had taken care to have an overwhelming superiority of force. After five days' heroic struggle, the workers were defeated. And then followed a blood-bath among the defenceless prisoners, the like of which has not been seen since the days of the civil wars which ushered in the downfall of the Roman republic. It was the first time that the bourgeoisie showed to what insane cruelties of revenge it will be goaded the moment the proletariat dares to take its stand against the bourgeoisie as a separate class, with its own interests and demands. And yet 1848 was only child's play compared with the frenzy of the bourgeoisie in 1871.

Punishment followed hard at heel. If the proletariat was not yet able to rule France, the bourgeoisie could no longer do so. At least not at that period, when the greater part of it was still monarchically inclined, and it was divided into three dynastic parties[157] and a fourth, republican party. Its internal dissensions allowed the adventurer, Louis Bonaparte, to take possession of all the commanding points—army, police, administrative machinery—and on December 2, 1851, to explode the last stronghold of the bourgeoisie, the National Assembly.[158] The Second Empire began—the exploitation of France by a gang of political and financial adventurers, but at the same time also an industrial development such as had never been possible under the narrow-minded and timorous system of Louis Philippe, with the exclusive domination of only a small section of the big bourgeoisie. Louis Bonaparte took the political power from the capitalists under the pretext of protecting them, the bourgeois, from the workers, and on the other hand the workers from them; but in return his rule encouraged speculation and industrial activity—in a word, the insurgence and enrichment of the whole bourgeoisie to an extent hitherto unknown. To an even greater extent, it is true, corruption and mass thievery developed, clustering around the imperial court, and drawing their heavy percentages from this enrichment.

But the Second Empire was the appeal to French chauvinism, was the demand for the restoration of the frontiers of the First Empire, which had been lost in 1814, or at least those of the First Republic. A French empire within the frontiers of the old monarchy and, in fact, within the even more amputated frontiers of 1815—such a thing was impossible for any length of time. Hence the necessity for occasional wars and extensions of frontiers. But no extension of frontiers was so dazzling to the imagination of the French chauvinists as the extension to the German left bank of the Rhine. One square mile on the Rhine was more to them than ten in the Alps or anywhere else. Given the Second Empire, the demand for the restoration of the left bank of the Rhine, either all at once or piecemeal, was merely a question of time. The time came with the Austro-Prussian War of 1866[159]; cheated of the anticipated "territorial compensation" by Bismarck and by his own over-cunning, hesitant policy, there was now nothing left for Napoleon but war, which broke out in 1870 and drove him first to Sedan, and thence to Wilhelmshöhe.[160]

The necessary consequence was the Paris Revolution of September 4, 1870. The empire collapsed like a house of cards, and

the republic was again proclaimed. But the enemy was standing at the gates; the armies of the empire were either hopelessly encircled at Metz or held captive in Germany. In this emergency the people allowed the Paris deputies to the former legislative body to constitute themselves into a "Government of National Defence". This was the more readily conceded, since, for the purposes of defence, all Parisians capable of bearing arms had enrolled in the National Guard and were armed, so that now the workers constituted a great majority. But very soon the antagonism between the almost completely bourgeois government and the armed proletariat broke into open conflict. On October 31, workers' battalions stormed the town hall and captured part of the membership of the government. Treachery, the government's direct breach of its undertakings, and the intervention of some petty-bourgeois battalions set them free again, and in order not to occasion the outbreak of civil war inside a city besieged by a foreign military power, the former government was left in office.

At last, on January 28, 1871, starved Paris capitulated. But with honours unprecedented in the history of war. The forts were surrendered, the city wall stripped of guns, the weapons of the regiments of the line and of the Mobile Guard were handed over, and they themselves considered prisoners of war. But the National Guard kept its weapons and guns, and only entered into an armistice with the victors. And these did not dare enter Paris in triumph. They only dared to occupy a tiny corner of Paris, which, into the bargain, consisted partly of public parks, and even this they only occupied for a few days! And during this time they, who had maintained their encirclement of Paris for 131 days, were themselves encircled by the armed workers of Paris, who kept a sharp watch that no "Prussian" should overstep the narrow bounds of the corner ceded to the foreign conqueror. Such was the respect which the Paris workers inspired in the army before which all the armies of the empire had laid down their arms; and the Prussian Junkers, who had come to take revenge at the home of the revolution, were compelled to stand by respectfully, and salute precisely this armed revolution!

During the war the Paris workers had confined themselves to demanding the vigorous prosecution of the fight. But now, when peace had come after the capitulation of Paris,[161] now Thiers, the new supreme head of the government, was compelled to realise that the rule of the propertied classes—big landowners and capitalists—was in constant danger so long as the workers of Paris had arms in their hands. His first action was an attempt to disarm

them. On March 18, he sent troops of the line with orders to rob the National Guard of the artillery belonging to it, which had been constructed during the siege of Paris and had been paid for by public subscription. The attempt failed; Paris mobilised as one man for resistance, and war between Paris and the French Government sitting at Versailles was declared. On March 26 the Paris Commune was elected and on March 28 it was proclaimed. The Central Committee of the National Guard, which up to then had carried on the government, handed in its resignation to the Commune after it had first decreed the abolition of the scandalous Paris "Morality Police". On March 30 the Commune abolished conscription and the standing army, and declared the sole armed force to be the National Guard, in which all citizens capable of bearing arms were to be enrolled. It remitted all payments of rent for dwelling houses from October 1870 until April, the amounts already paid to be booked as future rent payments, and stopped all sales of articles pledged in the municipal loan office. On the same day the foreigners elected to the Commune were confirmed in office, because "the flag of the Commune is the flag of the World Republic".[a] On April 1 it was decided that the highest salary to be received by any employee of the Commune, and therefore also by its members themselves, was not to exceed 6,000 francs (4,800 marks). On the following day the Commune decreed the separation of the church from the state, and the abolition of all state payments for religious purposes as well as the transformation of all church property into national property; as a result of which, on April 8, the exclusion from the schools of all religious symbols, pictures, dogmas, prayers—in a word, "of all that belongs to the sphere of the individual conscience"[b]—was ordered and gradually put into effect.—On the 5th, in reply to the shooting, day after day, of captured Commune fighters by the Versailles troops, a decree was issued for the imprisonment of hostages, but it was never carried out.—On the 6th, the guillotine was brought out by the 137th battalion of the National Guard, and publicly burnt, amid great popular rejoicing.—On the 12th, the Commune decided that the Victory Column on the *Place Vendôme,* which had been cast from captured guns by Napoleon after the war of 1809, should be demolished as a symbol of chauvinism and

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[a] "Rapport de la Commission des Élections", *Journal officiel de la République française,* No. 90, March 31, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] Apparently, this is a quotation from the order of the delegate for education E. Vaillant of May 11, 1871, published in *Journal officiel de la République française,* No. 132, May 12, 1871.—*Ed.*

incitement to national hatred. This was carried out on May 16.—On April 16 it ordered a statistical tabulation of factories which had been closed down by the manufacturers, and the working out of plans for the operation of these factories by the workers formerly employed in them, who were to be organised in co-operative societies, and also plans for the organisation of these co-operatives in one great union.—On the 20th it abolished night work for bakers, and also the employment offices, which since the Second Empire had been run as a monopoly by creatures appointed by the police—labour exploiters of the first rank; these offices were transferred to the mayoralties of the twenty *arrondissements* of Paris.—On April 30 it ordered the closing of the pawnshops, on the ground that they were a private exploitation of the workers, and were in contradiction with the right of the workers to their instruments of labour and to credit.—On May 5 it ordered the razing of the Chapel of Atonement, which had been built in expiation of the execution of Louis XVI.

Thus from March 18 onwards the class character of the Paris movement, which had previously been pushed into the background by the fight against the foreign invaders, emerged sharply and clearly. As almost only workers, or recognised representatives of the workers, sat in the Commune, its decisions bore a decidedly proletarian character. Either these decisions decreed reforms which the republican bourgeoisie had failed to pass solely out of cowardice, but which provided a necessary basis for the free activity of the working class—such as the implementation of the principle that *in relation to the state,* religion is a purely private matter—or the Commune promulgated decrees which were in the direct interest of the working class and in part cut deeply into the old order of society. In a beleaguered city, however, it was possible to make at most a start in the realisation of all this. And from the beginning of May onwards all their energies were taken up by the fight against the armies assembled by the Versailles government in ever-growing numbers.

On April 7 the Versailles troops had captured the Seine crossing at Neuilly, on the western front of Paris; on the other hand, in an attack, on the southern front on the 11th they were repulsed with heavy losses by General Eudes. Paris was continually bombarded and, moreover, by the very people who had stigmatised as a sacrilege the bombardment of the same city by the Prussians. These same people now begged the Prussian government for the hasty return of the French soldiers taken prisoner at Sedan and Metz, in order that they might recapture Paris for them. From the

beginning of May the gradual arrival of these troops gave the Versailles forces a decided superiority. This already became evident when, on April 23, Thiers broke off the negotiations for the exchange, proposed by the Commune, of the Archbishop of Paris[a] and a whole number of other priests held as hostages in Paris, for only one man, Blanqui, who had twice been elected to the Commune but was a prisoner in Clairvaux. And even more from the changed language of Thiers; previously procrastinating and equivocal, he now suddenly became insolent, threatening, brutal. The Versailles forces took the redoubt of Moulin Saquet on the southern front, on May 3; on the 9th, Fort Issy, which had been completely reduced to ruins by gunfire; on the 14th, Fort Vanves. On the western front they advanced gradually, capturing the numerous villages and buildings which extended up to the city wall, until they reached the main defences; on the 21st, thanks to treachery and the carelessness of the National Guards stationed there, they succeeded in forcing their way into the city. The Prussians, who held the northern and eastern forts, allowed the Versailles troops to advance across the land north of the city, which was forbidden ground to them under the armistice, and thus to march forward, attacking on a wide front, which the Parisians naturally thought covered by the armistice, and therefore held only weakly. As a result of this, only a weak resistance was put up in the western half of Paris, in the luxury city proper; it grew stronger and more tenacious the nearer the incoming troops approached the eastern half, the working-class city proper. It was only after eight days' fighting that the last defenders of the Commune succumbed on the heights of Belleville and Menilmontant; and then the massacre of defenceless men, women and children, which had been raging all through the week on an increasing scale, reached its zenith. The breechloaders could no longer kill fast enough; the vanquished were shot down in hundreds by *mitrailleuse* fire. The "Wall of the Federals" at the Père Lachaise cemetery, where the final mass murder was consummated,[162] is still standing today, a mute but eloquent testimony to the frenzy of which the ruling class is capable as soon as the working class dares to stand up for its rights. Then, when the slaughter of them all proved to be impossible, came the mass arrests, the shooting of victims arbitrarily selected from the prisoners' ranks, and the removal of the rest to great camps where they awaited trial by courts-martial. The Prussian troops surround-

[a] Georges Darboy.— *Ed.*

ing the northeastern half of Paris had orders not to allow any fugitives to pass; but the officers often shut their eyes when the soldiers paid more obedience to the dictates of humanity than to those of the Supreme Command; particular honour is due to the Saxon army corps, which behaved very humanely and let through many who were obviously fighters for the Commune.

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If today, after twenty years, we look back at the activity and historical significance of the Paris Commune of 1871, we shall find it necessary to make a few additions to the account given in *The Civil War in France.*

The members of the Commune were divided into a majority, the Blanquists, who had also been predominant in the Central Committee of the National Guard; and a minority, members of the International Working Men's Association, chiefly consisting of adherents of the Proudhon school of socialism. The great majority of the Blanquists were at that time socialists only by revolutionary, proletarian instinct; only a few had attained greater clarity on principles, through Vaillant, who was familiar with German scientific socialism. It is therefore comprehensible that in the economic sphere much was left undone which, according to our view today, the Commune ought to have done. The hardest thing to understand is certainly the holy awe with which they remained standing respectfully outside the gates of the Bank of France. This was also a serious political mistake. The bank in the hands of the Commune—this would have been worth more than ten thousand hostages. It would have meant the pressure of the whole of the French bourgeoisie on the Versailles government in favour of peace with the Commune. But what is still more wonderful is the correctness of much that nevertheless was done by the Commune, composed as it was of Blanquists and Proudhonists. Naturally, the Proudhonists were chiefly responsible for the economic decrees of the Commune, both for their praiseworthy and their unpraiseworthy aspects; as the Blanquists were for its political commissions and omissions. And in both cases the irony of history willed—as is usual when doctrinaires come to the helm—that both did the opposite of what the doctrines of their school prescribed.

Proudhon, the socialist of the small peasant and master-craftsman, regarded association with positive hatred. He said of it that there was more bad than good in it; that it was by nature

sterile, even harmful, because it was a fetter on the freedom of the worker; that it was a pure dogma, unproductive and burdensome, in conflict as much with the freedom of the worker as with economy of labour; that its disadvantages multiplied more swiftly than its advantages; that, as compared with it, competition, division of labour and private property were economic forces. Only in the exceptional cases—as Proudhon called them—of large-scale industry and large establishments, such as railways, was the association of workers in place. (See *General Idea of the Revolution,* 3rd sketch.[163])

By 1871, large-scale industry had already so much ceased to be an exceptional case even in Paris, the centre of artistic handicrafts, that by far the most important decree of the Commune instituted an organisation of large-scale industry and even of manufacture which was not only to be based on the association of the workers in each factory, but also to combine all these associations in one great union; in short, an organisation which, as Marx quite rightly says in *The Civil War,* must necessarily have led in the end to communism,[a] that is to say, the direct opposite of the Proudhon doctrine. And, therefore, the Commune was the grave of the Proudhon school of socialism. Today this school has vanished from French working-class circles; here, among the Possibilists[164] no less than among the "Marxists", Marx's theory now rules unchallenged. Only among the "radical" bourgeoisie are there still Proudhonists.

The Blanquists fared no better. Brought up in the school of conspiracy, and held together by the strict discipline which went with it, they started out from the viewpoint that a relatively small number of resolute, well-organised men would be able, at a given favourable moment, not only to seize the helm of state, but also by a display of great, ruthless energy, to maintain power until they succeeded in sweeping the mass of the people into the revolution and ranging them round the small band of leaders. This involved, above all, the strictest, dictatorial centralisation of all power in the hands of the new revolutionary government. And what did the Commune, with its majority of these same Blanquists, actually do? In all its proclamations to the French in the provinces, it appealed to them to form a free federation of all French Communes with Paris, a national organisation which for the first time was really to be created by the nation itself. It was precisely the oppressing power of the former centralised government, army, political

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 22, p. 335.—*Ed.*

police, bureaucracy, which Napoleon had created in 1798 and which since then had been taken over by every new government as a welcome instrument and used against its opponents—it was precisely this power which was to fall everywhere, just as it had already fallen in Paris.

From the very outset the Commune was compelled to recognise that the working class, once come to power, could not go on managing with the old state machine; that in order not to lose again its only just conquered supremacy, this working class must, on the one hand, do away with all the old repressive machinery previously used against it itself, and, on the other, safeguard itself against its own deputies and officials, by declaring them all, without exception, subject to recall at any moment. What had been the characteristic attribute of the former state? Society had created its own organs to look after its common interests, originally through simple division of labour. But these organs, at whose head was the state power, had in the course of time, in pursuance of their own special interests, transformed themselves from the servants of society into the masters of society. This can be seen, for example, not only in the hereditary monarchy, but equally so in the democratic republic. Nowhere do "politicians" form a more separate and powerful section of the nation than precisely in North America. There, each of the two major parties which alternately succeed each other in power is itself in turn controlled by people who make a business of politics, who speculate on seats in the legislative assemblies of the Union as well as of the separate states, or who make a living by carrying on agitation for their party and on its victory are rewarded with positions. It is well known how the Americans have been trying for thirty years to shake off this yoke, which has become intolerable, and how in spite of it all they continue to sink ever deeper in this swamp of corruption. It is precisely in America that we see best how there takes place this process of the state power making itself independent in relation to society, whose mere instrument it was originally intended to be. Here there exists no dynasty, no nobility, no standing army, beyond the few men keeping watch on the Indians, no bureaucracy with permanent posts or the right to pensions. And nevertheless we find here two great gangs of political speculators, who alternately take possession of the state power, and exploit it by the most corrupt means and for the most corrupt ends—and the nation is powerless against these two great cartels of politicians, who are ostensibly its servants, but in reality dominate and plunder it.

Against this transformation of the state and the organs of the state from servants of society into masters of society—an inevitable transformation in all previous states—the Commune made use of two infallible means. In the first place, it filled all posts—administrative, judicial and educational—by election on the basis of universal suffrage of all concerned, subject to the right of recall at any time by the same electors. And, in the second place, all officials, high or low, were paid only the wages received by other workers. The highest salary paid by the Commune to anyone was 6,000 francs. In this way an effective barrier to place-hunting and careerism was set up, even apart from the binding mandates to delegates to representative bodies which were added besides.

This shattering [*Sprengung*] of the former state power and its replacement by a new and truly democratic one is described in detail in the third section of *The Civil War*. But it was necessary to dwell briefly here once more on some of its features, because in Germany particularly the superstitious belief in the state has been carried over from philosophy into the general consciousness of the bourgeoisie and even of many workers. According to the philosophical conception, the state is the "realisation of the idea",[a] or the Kingdom of God on earth, translated into philosophical terms, the sphere in which eternal truth and justice is or should be realised. And from this follows a superstitious reverence for the state and everything connected with it, which takes root the more readily since people are accustomed from childhood to imagine that the affairs and interests common to the whole of society could not be looked after otherwise than as they have been looked after in the past, that is, through the state and its lucratively positioned officials. And people think they have taken quite an extraordinarily bold step forward when they have rid themselves of belief in hereditary monarchy and swear by the democratic republic. In reality, however, the state is nothing but a machine for the oppression of one class by another, and indeed in the democratic republic no less than in the monarchy; and at best an evil inherited by the proletariat after its victorious struggle for class supremacy, whose worst sides the victorious proletariat, just like the Commune, cannot avoid having to lop off at once as much as possible until such time as a generation reared in new, free social conditions is able to throw the entire lumber of the state on the scrap heap.

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[a] This refers to Hegel's *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts, oder Naturrecht und Staatswissenschaft.—Ed.*

Of late, the German philistine[165] has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words: Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

*London,* on the twentieth anniversary of the Paris Commune,
March 18, 1891 *F. Engels*

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Printed according to the book

# [RE: THE SPANISH EDITION OF KARL MARX'S *THE POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY*

(LETTER TO JOSE MESA)][166]

London, March 24, 1891

My Dear Friend Mesa,

We were very pleased to hear from your letter of the 2nd of this month about the forthcoming publication of your translation of *The Poverty of Philosophy* by Marx. It goes without saying that we fully associate ourselves with this publication, which undoubtedly must have the most favourable effect on the development of socialism in Spain.

The Proudhonist theory, destroyed in its foundations by Marx's book, has probably disappeared from the face of the earth since the fall of the Paris "Commune". But it continues to furnish the arsenal from which the radical bourgeoisie and pseudo-socialists of Western Europe produce the phrases with which they lull the workers. And as the workers of these same countries have inherited from their predecessors similar Proudhonist phrases, it happens that this radical phraseology still finds an echo in many of them. This is what happens in France, where the only remaining Proudhonists are the radical bourgeoisie or Republicans who call themselves socialists. And, if I am not mistaken, you also have in your Cortes and in your newspapers some of these Republicans who call themselves socialists because they see in Proudhonist ideas a plausible way, and one within everyone's reach, of opposing true socialism, the rational and concise expression of the aspirations of the proletariat, a bourgeois socialism of bad faith.

Fraternal greetings.

*F. Engels*

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Translated from the Spanish

Published in English for the first time

# [TO THE COMMITTEE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL MEETING FOR THE CLAIMS OF LABOUR][167]

Dear citizens,

I deeply regret that I am unable to accept your kind invitation, which does me great honour, to attend your meeting of the 12th inst. I regret it all the more since I feel a particular attachment to your country after holding the position of secretary for Italy twenty years ago on the General Council of the International Working Men's Association.[168] Since then the International has disappeared in its official form; but in the spirit of solidarity with the working class of all countries it has always lived on; today it is more alive and more powerful than ever, so powerful that its old official form from 1864 to 1875 would no longer be able to contain the millions of European and American workers who are gathered around the red banner of the militant proletariat. I hope, as you do, that your meeting of April 12 will bring new columns of fighters into the great army of the worldwide proletariat; that it will contribute greatly to strengthening the bonds of solidarity which unite the Italian workers with their brothers beyond the Alps—French, German, Slav; and that it will finally mark a new stage in the emancipatory advance of the Italian proletariat.

We have made tremendous progress in the last twenty years; but there still remains much to be done before we can aspire to an immediate and certain victory. *Dunque, avanti, sempre avanti!*[a]

London, April 9, 1891

*F. E.*

First published in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XVI, Part II, 1936

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Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] "Thus forward, always forward!"—*Ed.*

# INTRODUCTION [TO KARL MARX'S *WAGE LABOUR AND CAPITAL* (1891 EDITION)][169]

The following work appeared as a series of leading articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* from April 4, 1849 onwards. It is based on the lectures delivered by *Marx* in 1847 at the German Workers' Society in Brussels.[170] The work as printed remained a fragment; the words at the end of No. 269: "To be continued," remained unfulfilled in consequence of the events which just then came crowding one after another: the invasion of Hungary by the Russians, the insurrections in Dresden, Iserlohn, Elberfeld, the Palatinate and Baden,[171] which led to the suppression of the newspaper itself (May 19, 1849). The manuscript of the continuation was not found among Marx's papers after his death.[172]

*Wage Labour and Capital* has appeared in a number of editions as a separate publication in pamphlet form, the last being in 1884, by the Swiss Co-operative Press, Hottingen-Zurich. The editions hitherto published retained the exact wording of the original. The present new edition, however, is to be circulated in not less than 10,000 copies as a propaganda pamphlet, and so the question could not but force itself upon me whether under these circumstances Marx himself would have approved of an unaltered reproduction of the original.

In the forties, Marx had not yet finished his critique of political economy. This took place only towards the end of the fifties. Consequently, his works which appeared before the first part of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859)[a] differ in some points from those written after 1859, and contain expressions and whole sentences which, from the point of view of the later works, appear unfortunate and even incorrect. Now, it is self-evident that in ordinary editions intended for the general public this earlier point of view also has its place, as a part of the intellectual development of the author, and that both author and public have an indisputable right to the unaltered reproduction of

[a] See present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 257-417.—*Ed.*

these older works. And I should not have dreamed of altering a word of them.

It is another thing when the new edition is intended practically exclusively for propaganda among workers. In such a case Marx would certainly have brought the old presentation dating from 1849 into harmony with his new point of view. And I feel certain of acting as he would have done in undertaking *for this edition* the few alterations and additions which are required in order to attain this object in all essential points. I therefore tell the reader beforehand: this is not the pamphlet as Marx wrote it in 1849 but approximately as he would have written it in 1891. The actual text, moreover, is circulated in so many copies that this will suffice until I am able to reprint it again, unaltered, in a later complete edition.

My alterations all turn on one point. According to the original, the worker sells his *labour* to the capitalist for wages; according to the present text he sells his labour *power*. And for this alteration I owe an explanation. I owe it to the workers in order that they may see it is not a case here of mere juggling with words, but rather of one of the most important points in the whole of political economy. I owe it to the bourgeois, so that they can convince themselves how vastly superior the uneducated workers, for whom one can easily make comprehensible the most difficult economic analyses, are to our supercilious "educated people" to whom such intricate questions remain insoluble their whole life long.

Classical political economy took over from industrial practice the current conception of the manufacturer, that he buys and pays for the *labour* of his workers. This conception had been quite adequate for the business needs, the book-keeping and price calculations of the manufacturer. But, naively transferred to political economy, it produced there really wondrous errors and confusions.

Political economy observes the fact that the prices of all commodities, among them also the price of the commodity that it calls "labour", are continually changing; that they rise and fall as the result of the most varied circumstances, which often bear no relation whatever to the production of the commodities themselves, so that prices seem, as a rule, to be determined by pure chance. As soon, then, as political economy made its appearance as a science, one of its first tasks was to seek the law which was concealed behind this chance apparently governing the prices of commodities, and which, in reality, governed this very chance. Within the prices of commodities, continually fluctuating and

oscillating, now upwards and now downwards, political economy sought for the firm central point around which these fluctuations and oscillations turned. In a word, it started from the *prices* of commodities in order to look for the *value* of the commodities as the law controlling prices, the value by which all fluctuations in price are to be explained and to which finally they are all to be ascribed.

Classical political economy then found that the value of a commodity is determined by the labour contained in it, requisite for its production. With this explanation it contented itself. And we also can pause here for the time being. I will only remind the reader, in order to avoid misunderstandings, that this explanation has nowadays become totally inadequate. Marx was the first thoroughly to investigate the value-creating quality of labour and he discovered in so doing that not all labour apparently, or even really, necessary for the production of a commodity adds to it under all circumstances a magnitude of value which corresponds to the quantity of labour expended. If therefore today we say offhandedly with economists like Ricardo that the value of a commodity is determined by the labour necessary for its production, we always in so doing imply the reservations made by Marx. This suffices here; more is to be found in Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* 1859, and the first volume of *Capital.*[a]

But as soon as the economists applied this determination of value by labour to the commodity "labour", they fell into one contradiction after another. How is the value of "labour" determined? By the necessary labour contained in it. But how much labour is contained in the labour of a worker for a day, a week, a month, a year? The labour of a day, a week, a month, a year. If labour is the measure of all values, then indeed we can express the "value of labour" only in labour. But we know absolutely nothing about the value of an hour of labour, if we only know that it is equal to an hour of labour. This brings us not a hair's breadth nearer the goal; we keep on moving in a circle.

Classical political economy, therefore, tried another tack. It said: The value of a commodity is equal to its cost of production. But what is the cost of production of labour? In order to answer this question, the economists have to tamper a little with logic. Instead of investigating the cost of production of labour itself, which

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 269-92 and K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, Part I, Ch. I, Sections 1-3 (Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

unfortunately cannot be ascertained, they proceed to investigate the cost of production of the *worker*. And this can be ascertained. It varies with time and circumstance, but for a given state of society, a given locality and a given branch of production, it too is given, at least within fairly narrow limits. We live today under the domination of capitalist production, in which a large, ever-increasing class of the population can live only if it works for the owners of the means of production—the tools, machines, raw materials and means of subsistence—in return for wages. On the basis of this mode of production, the cost of production of the worker consists of that quantity of the means of subsistence—or their price in money—which, on the average, is necessary to make him capable of working, keep him capable of working, and to replace him, after his departure by reason of old age, sickness or death, with a new worker—that is to say, to propagate the working class in the necessary numbers. Let us assume that the money price of these means of subsistence averages three marks a day.

Our worker, therefore, receives a wage of three marks a day from the capitalist who employs him. For this, the capitalist makes him work, say, twelve hours a day, calculating roughly as follows:

Let us assume that our worker—a machinist—has to make a part of a machine which he can complete in one day. The raw material—iron and brass in the necessary previously prepared form—costs twenty marks. The consumption of coal by the steam engine, and the wear and tear of this same engine, of the lathe and the other tools which our worker uses represent for one day, and reckoned by his share of their use, a value of one mark. The wage for one day, according to our assumption, is three marks. This makes twenty-four marks in all for our machine part. But the capitalist calculates that he will obtain, on an average, twenty-seven marks from his customers in return, or three marks more than his outlay.

Whence came the three marks pocketed by the capitalist? According to the assertion of classical political economy, commodities are, on the average, sold at their values, that is, at prices corresponding to the amount of necessary labour contained in them. The average price of our machine part—twenty-seven marks—would thus be equal to its value, that is, equal to the labour embodied in it. But of these twenty-seven marks, twenty-one marks were values already present before our machinist began work. Twenty marks were contained in the raw materials, one mark in the coal consumed during the work, or in the machines

and tools which were used in the process and which were diminished in their efficiency to the value of this sum. There remain six marks which have been added to the value of the raw material. But according to the assumption of our economists themselves, these six marks can only arise from the labour added to the raw material by our worker. His twelve hours' labour has thus created a new value of six marks. The value of his twelve hours' labour would, therefore, be equal to six marks. And thus we would at last have discovered what the "value of labour" is.

"Hold on there!" cries our machinist. "Six marks? But I have received only three marks! My capitalist swears by all that is holy that the value of my twelve hours' labour is only three marks, and if I demand six he laughs at me. How do you make that out?"

If previously we got into a vicious circle with our value of labour, we are now properly caught in an insoluble contradiction. We looked for the value of labour and we have found more than we can use. For the worker, the value of the twelve hours' labour is three marks, for the capitalist it is six marks, of which he pays three to the worker as wages and pockets three for himself. Thus labour would have not one but two values and very different values into the bargain!

The contradiction becomes still more absurd as soon as we reduce to labour time the values expressed in money. During the twelve hours' labour a new value of six marks is created. Hence, in six hours three marks—the sum which the worker receives for twelve hours' labour. For twelve hours' labour the worker receives as an equivalent value the product of six hours' labour. Either, therefore, labour has two values, of which one is double the size of the other, or twelve equals six! In both cases we get pure nonsense.

Turn and twist as we will, we cannot get out of this contradiction, as long as we speak of the purchase and sale of labour and of the value of labour. And this also happened to the economists. The last offshoot of classical political economy, the Ricardian school, was wrecked mainly by the insolubility of this contradiction. Classical political economy had got into a blind alley. The man who found the way out of this blind alley was Karl Marx.

What the economists had regarded as the cost of production of "labour" was the cost of production not of labour but of the living worker himself. And what this worker sold to the capitalist was not his labour. "As soon as his labour actually begins," says Marx, "it has already ceased to belong to him; it can therefore no longer be

sold by him."[a] At the most, he might sell his *future* labour, that is, undertake to perform a certain amount of work in a definite time. In so doing, however, he does not sell labour (which would first have to be performed) but puts his labour power at the disposal of the capitalist for a definite time (in the case of time-work) or for the purpose of a definite output (in the case of piece-work) in return for a definite payment: he hires out, or sells, his *labour power.* But this labour power is intergrown with his person and is inseparable from it. Its cost of production, therefore, coincides with his cost of production; what the economists called the cost of production of labour is really the cost of production of the worker and therewith of his labour power. And so we can go back from the cost of production of labour power to the *value* of labour power and determine the amount of socially necessary labour requisite for the production of labour power of a particular quality, as Marx has done in the chapter on the buying and selling of labour power (*Capital,* Vol. I, Chapter IV, Section 3).[b]

Now what happens after the worker has sold his labour power to the capitalist, that is, placed it at the disposal of the latter in return for a wage—day wage or piece wage—agreed upon beforehand? The capitalist takes the worker into his workshop or factory, where all the things necessary for work—raw materials, auxiliary materials (coal, dyes, etc.), tools, machines—are already to be found. Here the worker begins to drudge. His daily wage may be, as above, three marks—and in this connection it does not make any difference whether he earns it as day wage or piece wage. Here also we again assume that in the twelve hours the worker by his labour adds a new value of six marks to the raw materials used up, which new value the capitalist realises on the sale of the finished piece of work. Out of this he pays the worker his three marks; the other three marks he keeps for himself. If, now, the worker creates a value of six marks in twelve hours, then in six hours he creates a value of three marks. He has, therefore, already repaid the capitalist the counter-value of the three marks contained in his wages when he has worked six hours for him. After six hours' labour they are both quits, neither owes the other a pfennig.

"Hold on there!" the capitalist now cries. "I have hired the worker for a whole day, for twelve hours. Six hours, however, are only half a day. So go right on working until the other six hours

[a] Engels quotes from K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, Part VI, Ch. XIX (see present edition, Vol. 35).— *Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, Part II, Ch. VI (*ibid.*).— *Ed.*

are up—only then shall we be quits!" And, in fact, the worker has to comply with his contract "voluntarily" entered into, according to which he has pledged himself to work twelve whole hours for a labour product which costs six hours of labour.

It is just the same with piece wages. Let us assume that our worker makes twelve items of a commodity in twelve hours. Each of these costs two marks in raw materials and depreciation and is sold at two and a half marks. Then the capitalist, on the same assumptions as before, will give the worker twenty-five pfennigs per item; that makes three marks for twelve items, to earn which the worker needs twelve hours. The capitalist receives thirty marks for the twelve items; deduct twenty-four marks for raw materials and depreciation and there remain six marks, of which he pays three marks to the worker in wages and pockets three marks. It is just as above. Here, too, the worker works six hours for himself, that is, for replacement of his wages (half an hour in each of the twelve hours) and six hours for the capitalist.

The difficulty over which the best economists came to grief, so long as they started out from the value of "labour", vanishes as soon as we start out from the value of "labour *power*" instead. In our present-day capitalist society, labour power is a commodity, a commodity like any other, and yet quite a peculiar commodity. It has, namely, the peculiar property of being a value-creating power, a source of value and, indeed, with suitable treatment, a source of more value than it itself possesses. With the present state of production, human labour power not only produces in one day a greater value than it itself possesses and costs; with every new scientific discovery, with every new technical invention, this surplus of its daily product over its daily cost increases, and therefore that portion of the labour day in which the worker works to produce the replacement of his day's wage decreases; consequently, on the other hand, that portion of the labour day in which he has to *make a present* of his labour to the capitalist without being paid for it increases.

And this is the economic constitution of the whole of our present-day society: it is the working class alone which produces all values. For value is only another expression for labour, that expression whereby in our present-day capitalist society is designated the amount of socially necessary labour contained in a particular commodity. These values produced by the workers do not, however, belong to the workers. They belong to the owners of the raw materials, machines, tools and the reserve funds which allow these owners to buy the labour power of the working class.

From the whole mass of products produced by it, the working class, therefore, receives back only a part for itself. And as we have just seen, the other part, which the capitalist class keeps for itself and at most has to divide with the class of landowners, becomes larger with every new discovery and invention, while the part falling to the share of the working class (reckoned per head) either increases only very slowly and inconsiderably or not at all, and under certain circumstances may even fall.

But these discoveries and inventions which supersede each other at an ever-increasing rate, this productivity of human labour which rises day by day to an extent previously unheard of, finally give rise to a conflict in which the present-day capitalist economy must perish. On the one hand are immeasurable riches and a superfluity of products which the purchasers cannot cope with; on the other hand, the great mass of society proletarianised, turned into wage-workers, and precisely for that reason made incapable of appropriating for themselves this superfluity of products. The division of society into a small, excessively rich class and a large, propertyless class of wage-workers results in a society suffocating from its own superfluity, while the great majority of its members is scarcely, or even not at all, protected from extreme want. This state of affairs becomes daily more absurd and—more unnecessary. It *must* be abolished, it *can* be abolished. A new social order is possible in which the present class differences will have disappeared and in which—perhaps after a short transitional period involving some privation, but at any rate of great value morally—through the planned utilisation and extension of the already existing enormous productive forces of all members of society, and with uniform obligation to work, the means for existence, for enjoying life, for the development and employment of all bodily and mental faculties will be available in an equal measure and in ever-increasing fulness. And that the workers are becoming more and more determined to win this new social order will be demonstrated on both sides of the ocean by May the First, tomorrow, and by Sunday, May 3.[173]

*London,* April 30, 1891

*Frederick Engels*

First published as supplement to the *Vorwärts,* No. 109, May 13, 1891 and in the pamphlet: Karl Marx, *Lohnarbeit und Kapital,* Berlin, 1891

Printed according to the pamphlet

# PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION [OF *SOCIALISM: UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC*][174]

My assumption that the contents of this publication will present little difficulty to our German workers has proven correct. At any rate, since March 1883, when it first appeared, three editions totaling 10,000 copies have been disposed of, and this under the operation of the now defunct Anti-Socialist Law[175]—which again illustrates how impotent police bans against a movement like that of the modern proletariat are.

Since the first edition various translations into foreign languages have also appeared: an Italian rendition by Pasquale Martignetti: *Il Socialismo Utopico e il Socialismo Scientifico,* Benvenuto, 1883; a Russian one: *Razvitie naucznago socializma,*[a] Geneva, 1884; a Danish one: *Socialismens Udvikling fra Utopi til Videnskab,* in *Socialistisk Bibliotek,* Vol. I, Copenhagen, 1885; a Spanish one: *Socialismo utópico y Socialismo cientifico,* Madrid, 1886, and a Dutch one: *De Ontwikkeling van het Socialisme van Utopie tot Wetenschap,* The Hague, 1886.

The present edition has undergone various slight alterations; more important additions have been made in only two places: in the first chapter on Saint-Simon, who was dealt with too briefly in comparison with Fourier and Owen, and towards the end of the third chapter on the new form of production, the "trusts", which meanwhile has become important.[176]

*London,* May 12, 1891

*Frederick Engels*

First published in: Friedrich Engels, *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft,* Berlin, 1891

Printed according to the book

[a] Engels' transliteration.—*Ed.*

# TO THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE FAMILY (BACHOFEN, McLENNAN, MORGAN)

## [PREFACE TO THE FOURTH GERMAN EDITION (1891) OF THE *ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE*][177]

The previous large editions of this work have been out of print now for almost six months and the publisher[a] has for some time past desired me to prepare a new edition. More urgent tasks have hitherto prevented me from doing so. Seven years have elapsed since the first edition appeared, and during this period our knowledge of the primitive forms of the family has made important progress. It was, therefore, necessary diligently to apply the hand to the work of amplification and improvement, particularly in view of the fact[b] that the proposed placing of the present text on stereotypes will make further changes on my part impossible for some time to come.

I have, therefore, submitted the whole text to a careful revision, and have made a number of additions, in which, I hope, due regard has been paid to the present state of science. Further, in the course of this preface, I give a brief review of the development of the history of the family from Bachofen to Morgan, principally because the English prehistoric school, which is tinged with chauvinism, continues to do its utmost to kill by silence the revolution Morgan's discoveries have made in conceptions of the history of primitive society, although it does not hesitate in the

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[a] J. H. W. Dietz.— *Ed.*

[b] In *Die Neue Zeit* the end of the sentence reads: "that the latest edition most commonly to be found in German socialist literature has very seldom been the subject of attention in other areas of the German book-trade, up to today."— *Ed.*

least to appropriate his results. Elsewhere, too, this English example is followed only too often.

My work has been translated into various languages. First into Italian: *L'origine della famiglia, della proprietà privata e dello stato.* Versione riveduta dall'autore, di Pasquale Martignetti. Benevento, 1885. Then Rumanian: *Originea familiei, proprietății, private şi a statului.* Traducere de Joan Nădejde, in the Yassy periodical *Contemporanul,* September 1885 to May 1886. Further into Danish: *Familjens, Privatejendommens og Statens Oprindelse.* Dansk af Forfatteren gennemgaaet Udgave, besørget af Gerson Trier, Copenhagen, 1888. A French translation by Henri Ravé based on the present German edition is in the press.[a]

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Until the beginning of the sixties there was no such thing as a history of the family. In this sphere historical science was still completely under the influence of the Five Books of Moses. The patriarchal form of the family, described there in greater detail than anywhere else, was not only implicitly accepted as the oldest form of the family, but also—after excluding polygamy—identified with the present-day bourgeois family, as if the family had really undergone no historical development at all. At most it was admitted that a period of promiscuous sexual relationships might have existed in primeval times.—To be sure, in addition to monogamy, Oriental polygamy and Indo-Tibetan polyandry were also known, but these three forms could not be arranged in any historical sequence and appeared disconnectedly alongside of each other. That among certain peoples of ancient times, and among some still existing savages, the line of descent was reckoned not from the father but from the mother and, therefore, the female lineage alone was regarded as valid; that among many peoples of today marriage within definite larger groups—not subjected to closer investigation at that time—is prohibited, and that this custom is to be met with in all parts of the world—these facts were indeed known and new examples were constantly being brought to light. But nobody knew what to do with them, and even in E. B. Tylor's *Researches into the Early History of Mankind, etc. etc.* (1865), they figure merely as "strange customs" along with the taboo in force among some savages

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[a] The reference is to *L'Origine de la famille, de la propriété privée et de l'État.*—*Ed.*

against the touching of burning wood with iron tools, and similar religious bosh and nonsense.

The study of the history of the family dates from 1861, from the publication of Bachofen's *Das Mutterrecht.* In this work the author advances the following propositions: 1) that in the beginning humanity lived in a state of sexual promiscuity, which the author unhappily designates as hetaerism; 2) that such promiscuity excludes all certainty as regards paternity, that lineage, therefore, could be reckoned only through the female line—according to mother right—and that originally this was the case among all the peoples of antiquity; 3) that consequently women, who, as mothers, were the only definitely ascertainable parents of the younger generation, were treated with a high degree of consideration and respect, which, according to Bachofen's conception, was enhanced to the complete rule of women (gynaecocracy); 4) that the transition to monogamy, where the woman belongs exclusively to *one* man, implied the violation of a primeval religious injunction (that is, in actual fact, the violation of the ancient traditional right of the other men to the same woman), a violation which had to be atoned for, or the toleration of which had to be purchased, by surrendering the woman for a limited period of time.

Bachofen finds evidence in support of these propositions in countless passages of ancient classical literature, which he had assembled with extraordinary diligence. According to him, the evolution from "hetaerism" to monogamy, and from mother right to father right, takes place, particularly among the Greeks, as a consequence of the evolution of religious ideas, the intrusion of new deities, representatives of the new outlook, into the old traditional pantheon representing the old outlook, so that the latter is more and more driven into the background by the former. Thus, according to Bachofen, it is not the development of the actual conditions under which men live, but the religious reflection of these conditions of life in the minds of men that brought about the historical changes in the mutual social position of man and woman. Bachofen accordingly points to the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus as a dramatic depiction of the struggle between declining mother right and rising and victorious father right in the Heroic Age. Clytemnestra has slain her husband Agamemnon, just return from the Trojan War, for the sake of her lover Aegisthus; but Orestes, her son by Agamemnon, avenges his father's murder by slaying his mother. For this he is pursued by the Erinyes, the demonic defenders of mother right, according to which matricide is the most heinous and inexpiable of crimes. But Apollo, who through his oracle has incited Orestes to commit this deed, and

Athena, who is called in as arbiter—the two deities which here represent the new order, based on father right—protect him. Athena hears both sides. The whole controversy is briefly summarised in the debate which now ensues between Orestes and the Erinyes. Orestes declares that Clytemnestra is guilty of a double outrage; for in killing *her* husband she also killed *his* father. Why then have the Erinyes persecuted him and not Clytemnestra, who is much the greater culprit? The reply is striking:

> "*Unrelated by blood* was she to the man that she slew."[a]

The murder of a man not related by blood, even though he be the husband of the murderess, is expiable and does not concern the Erinyes. Their function is to avenge only murders among blood-relatives, and the most heinous of all these, according to mother right, is matricide. Apollo now intervenes in defense of Orestes. Athena calls upon the Areopagites—the Athenian jurors—to vote on the question. The votes for acquittal and for the conviction are equal. Then Athena, as President of the Court, casts her vote in favour of Orestes and acquits him. Father right has gained the day over mother right. The "gods of junior lineage", as they are described by the Erinyes themselves, are victorious over the Erinyes, and the latter allow themselves finally to be persuaded to assume a new office in the service of the new order.

This new but absolutely correct interpretation of the *Oresteia* is one of the best and most beautiful passages in the whole book, but it shows at the same time that Bachofen himself believes in the Erinyes, Apollo and Athena at least as much as Aeschylus did in his day; he, in fact, believes that in the Heroic Age of Greece they performed the miracle of overthrowing mother right and replacing it by father right. Clearly, such a conception—which regards religion as the decisive lever in world history—must finally end in sheer mysticism. It is, therefore, an arduous and by no means always profitable task to wade through Bachofen's bulky quarto volume. But all this does not detract from his merit as a pioneer, for he was the first to substitute for mere phrases about an unknown primitive condition of promiscuous sexual intercourse proof that ancient classical literature teems with traces of a condition that had in fact existed before monogamy among the Greeks and the Asiatics, in which not only a man had sexual intercourse with more than one woman, but a woman had sexual intercourse with more than one man, without

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[a] Aeschylus, *Oresteia. Eumenides.—Ed.*

violating the established custom; that this custom did not disappear without leaving traces in the form of the limited surrender by which women were compelled to purchase their right to monogamian marriage; that descent, therefore, could originally be reckoned only in the female line, from mother to mother, that this exclusive validity of the female line persisted far into the time of monogamy with assured, or at least recognised, paternity; and that this original position of the mother as the sole certain parent of her children assured her, and thus women in general, a higher social status than they have ever enjoyed since. Bachofen did not express these propositions as clearly as this—his mystical outlook prevented him from doing so; but he proved that they were correct, and this, in 1861, meant a complete revolution.

Bachofen's bulky tome was written in German, that is, in the language of the nation which, at that time, interested itself less than any other in the prehistory of the present-day family. He, therefore, remained unknown. His immediate successor in this field appeared in 1865, without ever having heard of Bachofen.

This successor was J. F. McLennan, the direct opposite of his predecessor. Instead of the talented mystic, we have here the dry-as-dust lawyer; instead of exuberant poetic fancy, we have the plausible arguments of the advocate pleading his case. McLennan finds among many savage, barbarian and even civilised peoples of ancient and modern times a form of marriage in which the bridegroom, alone or accompanied by friends, has to feign to carry off the bride from her relatives by force. This custom must be the survival of a previous custom, whereby the men of one tribe acquired their wives from outside, from other tribes, by actually abducting them by force. How then did this "marriage by abduction" originate? As long as men could find sufficient women in their own tribe there was no occasion for it whatsoever. But quite as often we find that among undeveloped peoples certain groups exist (which round about 1865 were still often identified with the tribes themselves) within which marriage is forbidden, so that the men are obliged to secure their wives, and the women their husbands, from outside the group; while among others the custom prevails that the men of a certain group are compelled to find their wives only within their own group. McLennan calls the first type of group exogamous, and the second endogamous, and without further ado establishes a rigid antithesis between exogamous and endogamous "tribes". And although his own researches into exogamy bring under his very nose the fact that in many, if not most, or even all cases this antithesis exists only in his own imagination, he nevertheless makes it the

foundation of his entire theory. Accordingly, exogamous tribes may procure their wives only from other tribes; and in the state of permanent intertribal warfare that is characteristic of savagery, this, he believes, could be done only by abduction.

McLennan argues further: Whence this custom of exogamy? The conceptions of consanguinity and incest have nothing to do with it, for these are things which developed only much later. But the custom, widespread among savages, of killing female children immediately after birth, might. This custom created a superfluity of men in each individual tribe, the necessary and immediate sequel of which was the common possession of a woman by a number of men—polyandry. The consequence of this again was that the mother of a child was known, but the father was not, hence kinship was reckoned only in the female line to the exclusion of the male—mother right. And another consequence of the dearth of women within a tribe—a dearth mitigated but not overcome by polyandry—was precisely the systematic, forcible abduction of women of other tribes.

* "...As exogamy and polyandry are referable to one and the same cause—a want of balance between the sexes—we are forced *to regard all the exogamous races as having originally been polyandrous*....[a] Therefore, we must hold it to be beyond dispute that among exogamous races the first system of kinship was that which recognized blood-ties through mothers only." * (McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History,* 1886, "Primitive Marriage", p. 124.)

McLennan's merit lies in having drawn attention to the general prevalence and great importance of what he terms exogamy. But he by no means *discovered* the existence of exogamous groups, and still less did he understand it. Apart from the earlier, isolated notes of many observers which served as McLennan's sources, Latham (*Descriptive Ethnology,* 1859) exactly and correctly described this institution among the Indian Magars[178] and declared that it was generally prevalent and existed in all parts of the world—a passage which McLennan himself quotes. And our Morgan, too, as far back as 1847, in his letters on the Iroquois (in the *American Review*), and in 1851 in *The League of the Iroquois* proved that it existed in this tribe, and described it correctly, whereas, as we shall see, McLennan's lawyer mentality caused far greater confusion on this subject than Bachofen's mystical fantasy did in the sphere of mother right. It is also to McLennan's credit that he recognised the system of tracing descent through mothers as the original one, although, as he himself admitted later, Bachofen anticipated him

[a] Engels' italics.—*Ed.*

in this. But here again he is far from clear; he speaks continually of "KINSHIP THROUGH FEMALES ONLY" and constantly applies this expression—correct for an earlier stage—also to later stages of development, where, although descent and inheritance are still exclusively reckoned in the female line, kinship is also recognised and expressed in the male line. This is the restricted outlook of the jurist, who creates a rigid legal term for himself and continues to apply it without modification to conditions which in the meantime have rendered it inapplicable.

In spite of its plausibility, McLennan's theory evidently did not seem to be too well founded even to the author himself. At least, he himself is struck by the fact that

* "it is observable that the form of" (mock) "capture is now most distinctly marked and impressive just among those races which have *male*[a] kinship"* (meaning descent through the male line) (p. 140).

And, again:

* "It is a curious fact that nowhere now, that we are aware of, is infanticide *a system*[b] where exogamy and the earliest form of kinship co-exist"* (p. 146).

Both these facts directly refute his interpretation, and he can oppose to them only new, still more intricate, hypotheses.

Nevertheless, in England his theory met with great approbation and evoked great response. McLennan was generally accepted there as the founder of the history of the family, and the most eminent authority in this field. His antithesis between exogamous and endogamous "tribes", notwithstanding the few exceptions and modifications admitted, remained nevertheless the recognised foundation of the prevailing view, and was the blinker which made any free survey of the field under investigation and, consequently, any definite progress, impossible. The overrating of McLennan, which became the vogue in England and, following the English fashion, elsewhere as well, makes it a duty to point out in contrast that the harm he caused with his completely erroneous antithesis between exogamous and endogamous "tribes" outweighs the good done by his researches.

Meanwhile, more and more facts soon came to light, which did not fit into his neat scheme. McLennan knew only three forms of marriage—polygamy, polyandry and monogamy. But once attention had been directed to this point, more and more proofs were discovered of the fact that among undeveloped peoples forms of marriage existed in which a group of men possessed a group of

[a] Engels' italics.—*Ed.*

[b] McLennan's italics.—*Ed.*

women in common; and *Lubbock* (*The Origin of Civilisation,* 1870) acknowledged this COMMUNAL MARRIAGE to be a historical fact.

Immediately after, in 1871, *Morgan* appeared with new and, in many respects, conclusive material. He had become convinced that the peculiar system of kinship prevailing among the Iroquois was common to all the aborigines of the United States and was thus spread over a whole continent, although it conflicted directly with the degrees of kinship actually arising from the connubial system in force there. He thereupon prevailed on the American Federal Government to collect information about the kinship systems of the other peoples, on the basis of questionnaires and tables drawn up by himself; and he discovered from the answers: 1) that the American Indian system of kinship prevailed also among numerous tribes in Asia, and, in a somewhat modified form, in Africa and Australia; 2) that it was completely explained by a form of group marriage, now approaching extinction, in Hawaii and in other Australian islands; and 3) that, however, alongside this marriage form, a system of kinship prevailed in these same islands which could only be explained by a still earlier but now extinct form of group marriage. He published the collected data and his conclusions from them in his *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity,* 1871, and thereby carried the discussion on to an infinitely wider field. Taking the systems of kinship as his starting-point, he reconstructed the forms of the family corresponding to them, and thereby opened up a new avenue of investigation and a more far-reaching retrospect into the prehistory of mankind. Were this method to be recognised as valid, McLennan's neat construction would be resolved into thin air.

McLennan defended his theory in a new edition of "Primitive Marriage" (*Studies in Ancient History,* 1876). While he himself very artificially constructs a history of the family out of sheer hypotheses, he demands of Lubbock and Morgan not only proofs for every one of their statements, but proofs of incontestable validity such as alone would be admitted in a Scottish court of law. And this is done by the man who, from the close relationship between one's mother's brother and one's sister's son among the Germans (Tacitus, *Germania,* c. 20), from Caesar's report that the Britons in groups of ten or twelve possessed their wives in common,[a] and from all the other reports of ancient writers concerning community of women among the barbarians, unhesitatingly concludes that polyandry was the rule among all these

[a] Caesar, *Gallic War,* V, XIV.—*Ed.*

peoples! It is like listening to counsel for the prosecution, who permits himself every license in preparing his own case, but demands the most formal and legally most valid proof for every word of counsel for the defence.

Group marriage is a pure figment of the imagination, he asserts, and thus falls back far behind Bachofen. Morgan's systems of kinship, he says, are nothing more than mere precepts on social politeness, proved by the fact that the Indians also address strangers, white men, as brother, or father. It is as if one were to argue that the terms father, mother, brother, sister are merely empty forms of address because Catholic priests and abbesses are likewise addressed as father and mother, and because monks and nuns, and even freemasons and members of English craft unions, in solemn session assembled, are addressed as brother and sister. In short, McLennan's defence was miserably weak.

One point, however, remained on which he had not been challenged. The antithesis between exogamous and endogamous "tribes" on which his whole system was founded not only remained unshaken, but was even generally accepted as the cornerstone of the entire history of the family. It was admitted that McLennan's attempt to explain this antithesis was inadequate and contradicted the very facts he himself had enumerated. But the antithesis itself, the existence of two mutually exclusive types of separate and independent tribes, one of which took its wives from within the tribe, while this was absolutely forbidden to the other—this passed as incontrovertible gospel truth. Compare, for example, Giraud-Teulon's *Origines de la famille* (1874) and even Lubbock's *Origin of Civilisation* (Fourth edition, 1882).

This is the point at which Morgan's chief work enters: *Ancient Society* (1877), the book upon which the present work is based. What Morgan only dimly surmised in 1871 is here developed with full comprehension. Endogamy and exogamy constitute no antithesis; up to the present no exogamous "tribes" have been brought to light anywhere. But at the time when group marriage still prevailed—and in all probability it existed everywhere at one time or other—the tribe consisted of a number of groups related by blood on the mother's side, gentes, within which marriage was strictly prohibited, so that although the men of a gens could, and as a rule did, take their wives from within their tribe, they had, however, to take them from outside their gens. Thus, while the gens itself was strictly exogamous, the tribe, embracing all the gentes, was as strictly endogamous. With this, the last remnants of McLennan's artificial structure definitely collapsed.

Morgan, however, did not rest content with this. The gens of the American Indians served him further as a means of making the second decisive advance in the field of investigation he had entered upon. He discovered that the gens, organised according to mother right, was the original form out of which developed the later gens, organised according to father right, the gens as we find it among the civilised peoples of antiquity. The Greek and Roman gens, an enigma to all previous historians, was now explained by the Indian gens, and thus a new basis was found for the whole history of primitive society.

The rediscovery of the original mother-right gens as the stage preliminary to the father-right gens of the civilised peoples has the same significance for the history of primitive society as Darwin's theory of evolution has for biology, and Marx's theory of surplus value for political economy. It enabled Morgan to outline for the first time a history of the family, wherein at least the classical stages of development are, on the whole, provisionally established, as far as the material at present available permits. Clearly, this opens a new era in the treatment of the history of primitive society. The mother-right gens has become the pivot around which this entire science turns; since its discovery we know in which direction to conduct our researches, what to investigate and how to classify the results of our investigations. As a consequence, progress in this field is now much more rapid than before Morgan's book appeared.

Morgan's discoveries are now generally recognised, or rather appropriated, by prehistorians in England, too. But scarcely one of them will openly acknowledge that it is to Morgan that we owe this revolution in outlook. In England his book is hushed up as far as possible, and Morgan himself is dismissed with condescending praise for his *previous* work; the details of his exposition are eagerly picked on for criticism, while an obstinate silence reigns with regard to his really great discoveries. The original edition of *Ancient Society* is now out of print; in America there is no profitable market for books of this sort; in England, it would seem, the book was systematically suppressed, and the only edition of this epoch-making work still available in the book trade is—the German translation.

Whence this reserve, which it is difficult not to regard as a conspiracy of silence, particularly in view of the host of quotations given merely for politeness' sake and of other evidences of camaraderie, in which the writings of our recognised prehistorians abound? Is it perhaps because Morgan is an American, and it is

very hard for English prehistorians, despite their highly commendable diligence in the collection of material, to have to depend for the general viewpoint which determines the arrangement and grouping of this material, in short, for their ideas, upon two talented foreigners—Bachofen and Morgan? A German might be tolerated, but an American? Every Englishman waxes patriotic when faced with an American, amusing examples of which I have come across while I was in the United States.[179] To this must be added that McLennan was, so to speak, the officially proclaimed founder and leader of the English prehistoric school; that it was, in a sense, good form among prehistorians to refer only with the greatest reverence to his artificially constructed historical theory leading from infanticide, through polyandry and marriage by abduction, to the mother-right family; that the slightest doubt cast upon the existence of mutually wholly exclusive exogamous and endogamous "tribes" was regarded as rank heresy; so that Morgan, in thus resolving all these hallowed dogmas into thin air, was guilty of a kind of sacrilege. Moreover, he resolved them in such a way that he had only to state his case for it to become obvious at once; and the McLennan worshippers, hitherto confusedly staggering about between exogamy and endogamy, were almost driven to beating their foreheads and exclaiming: How could we have been so stupid as not to have discovered all this for ourselves long ago!

And, as though this were not crime enough to prohibit the official school from treating him with anything else but cold indifference, Morgan filled the cup to overflowing not only by criticising civilisation, the society of commodity production, the basic form of our present-day society, after a fashion reminiscent of Fourier, but also by speaking of a future transformation of society in words which Karl Marx might have used. He received his deserts, therefore, when McLennan indignantly charged him with having "a profound antipathy to the historical method",[a] and when Professor Giraud-Teulon endorsed this view in Geneva as late as 1884. Was it not this same M. Giraud-Teulon, who, in 1874 (*Origines de la famille*), was still wandering helplessly in the maze of McLennan's exogamy, from which it took Morgan to liberate him?

It is not necessary for me to deal here with the other advances which the history of primitive society owes to Morgan; a reference to what is needed will be found in the course of this book. During

[a] J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, London, 1876, p. 333.—*Ed.*

the fourteen years that have elapsed since the publication of his chief work our material relating to the history of primitive human societies has been greatly augmented. In addition to anthropologists, travellers and professional prehistorians, students of comparative law have taken the field and have contributed new material and new points of view. As a consequence, some of Morgan's hypotheses pertaining to particular points have been shaken, or even become untenable. But nowhere have the newly-collected data led to the supplanting of his principal conceptions by others. In its main features, the order he introduced into the study of the history of primitive society holds good to this day. We can even say that it is finding increasingly general acceptance in the same measure as his authorship of this great advance is being concealed.*

London, June 16, 1891

*Frederick Engels*

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Printed according to the book, checked with the journal

* On my return voyage from New York in September 1888 I met an ex-Congressman for Rochester constituency who had known Lewis Morgan. Unfortunately, he could tell me little about him. Morgan, he said, had lived in Rochester as a private citizen occupying himself only with his studies. His brother was a colonel in the army, and held a post in the War Department at Washington. Through the good offices of his brother, he had succeeded in interesting the government in his researches and in publishing a number of his works at public cost. This ex-Congressman said that he himself had also assisted in this while in Congress.

# [MESSAGE OF GREETINGS TO THE SECOND AUSTRIAN PARTY CONGRESS][180]

*London,* June 26, 1891

Dear Comrades,

Please accept my warmest thanks for your kind invitation to the Second Party Congress of the Austrian Social Democrats, and at the same time my regret that I shall not be able to attend in person; my best wishes for the successful course of your deliberations.

Since Hainfeld,[181] when the Austrian workers' party found its feet again, you have made enormous progress. This is the best guarantee that your present Congress will be the starting point for new and even more important victories.

The invincible inner strength possessed by our party is proved not only by its successes following swiftly one upon another, not only by the fact that it, as last year in Germany, has this year overcome the state of emergency in Austria.[182] It shows its strength far more by conquering obstacles in all countries, and accomplishing things where the other parties, recruited from the propertied classes, come helplessly to a halt. While the propertied classes of France and Germany feud with irreconcilable hatred, French and German proletarians work hand in hand. And while, around you in Austria, the propertied classes of the various crown lands lose the last remnants of the ability to rule in their blind national discord, your Second Party Congress will display the picture of an Austria which no longer knows national discord—the Austria of the workers.

*Frederick Engels*

First published in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* No. 27, July 3, 1891 and in the pamphlet, *Verhandlungen des zweiten österreichischen sozialdemokratischen Parteitages, abgehalten zu Wien am 28., 29. und 30. Juni 1891,* Vienna, 1891

Printed according to the newspaper, checked with the pamphlet

Published in English for the first time

# A CRITIQUE OF THE DRAFT SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PROGRAMME OF 1891 [183]

Written between June 18 and 29, 1891

First published (without Appendix) in *Die Neue Zeit,* Vol. 1, No. 1, 1901-1902 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XVI, Part II, Moscow, 1936

Printed according to the manuscript

The present draft[184] differs very favourably from the former programme.[185] The strong survivals of outmoded traditions—both the specific Lassallean and vulgar socialistic—have in the main been removed, and as regards its theoretical aspect the draft is, on the whole, based on present-day science and can be discussed on this basis.

It is divided into three sections: I. The Preamble, II. Political Demands, III. Demands for Measures of Protection for the Workers.

## I. PREAMBLE IN TEN PARAGRAPHS

In general it suffers from the attempt to combine two things that are uncombinable: a programme and a *commentary* on the programme as well. The fear that a short, pointed exposition would not be intelligible enough, has caused explanations to be added, which make it verbose and drawn out. To my view the programme should be as short and precise as possible. No harm is done even if it contains the occasional foreign word, or a sentence whose full significance cannot be understood at first sight. Verbal exposition at meetings and written commentaries in the press take care of all that, and the short, precise phrase, once understood, takes root in the memory, and becomes a slogan, a thing that never happens with verbose explanations. Too much should not be sacrificed for the sake of popularity, and the mental ability and educational level of our workers should not be underestimated. They have understood much more difficult things than the

shortest, most concise programme can offer them; and if the period of the Anti-Socialist Law[186] has made more difficult, and here and there even prevented the spreading of comprehensive knowledge among the masses joining the movement, now that our propagandist literature can again be kept and read without risking trouble, lost time will soon be made up for under the old leadership.

I shall try to make this entire section somewhat shorter and if I succeed shall enclose it or send it on later. Now, I shall deal with the individual paragraphs numbered from 1 to 10.

*Paragraph 1.* "*The separation,*" etc., "mines, pits, quarries"—three words for the same thing; two should be deleted. I would leave *mines* (*Bergwerke*), which is a word used even in the most level parts of the country, and I would designate them all by this widely used term. I would, however, add "*railways and other* means of communication".

*Paragraph 2.* Here I would insert: "In the hands of *their appropriators* (or *their owners*) the *social* means of labour are" and likewise below "dependence ... on the *owners* (or appropriators) of the means of labour", etc.

It has already been said in para. 1 that these gentlemen have appropriated these things as "*exclusive* possession" and will simply need to be repeated here if one absolutely insists on introducing the word "monopolists". Neither this nor the other word adds anything to the sense. And anything redundant in a programme weakens it.

"The means of labour *necessary* for the *existence* of society"

— these are precisely those that are at hand. Before the steam engine it was possible to do without it, now we couldn't. Since all the means of labour are nowadays directly or indirectly—either by their design or because of the social division of labour—*social means of labour,* these words express what is available at every given moment sufficiently clearly, correctly and without any misleading associations.

If this conclusion is intended to correspond with the preamble of the Rules of the International, I should prefer it to correspond *completely*: "to social misery" (this is No. 1), "mental degradation and political dependence".[a] Physical degradation is part of social misery and political *dependence* is a fact, while the *denial of political*

[a] K. Marx, "General Rules of the International Working Men's Association", present edition, Vol. 23, p. 3.—*Ed.*

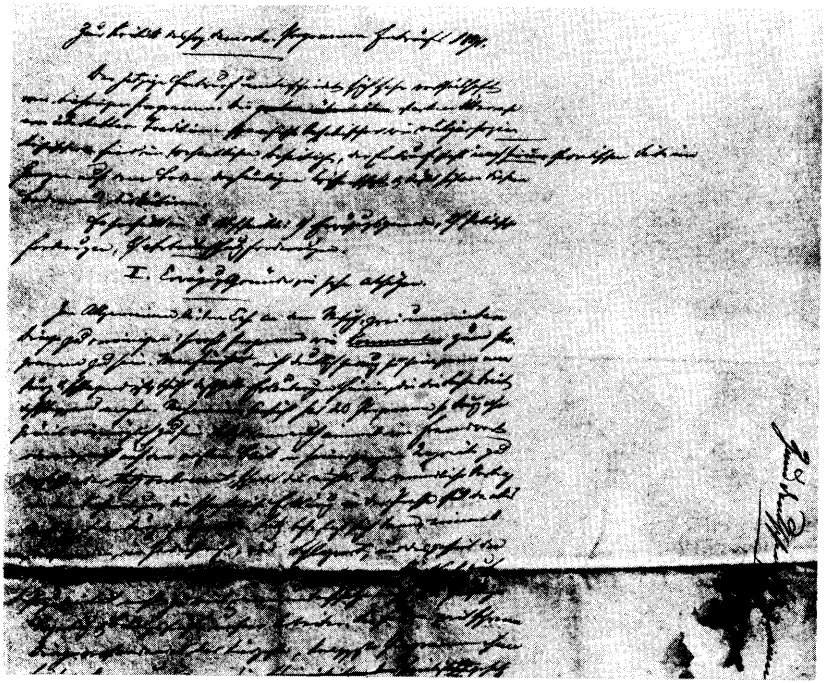

First page of F. Engels' manuscript
*A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891*

*rights* is a declamatory phrase which is only *relatively* true and for this reason does not belong in the programme.

*Paragraph 3.* In my opinion the first sentence should be changed.

"Under the *domination* of the *individual owners.*"

First of all that which follows is an economic fact, which should be explained in economic terms. The expression "*domination* of the individual owners" creates the false impression that this has been caused by the *political* domination of that gang of robbers. Secondly, these individual owners include not only "capitalists and big landowners" (what does the "bourgeoisie" following here signify? Are they a third class of individual owners? Are the big landowners also "bourgeois"? And, once we have turned to the subject of big landowners, should we ignore the colossal survivals of feudalism, which give the whole filthy business of German politics its specific reactionary character?). *Peasants* and *petty bourgeois* too are "individual owners", at least they still are today; but they do not appear anywhere in the programme and therefore the wording should make it clear that they are not included in the category of individual owners under discussion.

"The accumulation of the means of labour **and** of the wealth that has been created by the exploited."

The "wealth" consists of 1. means of labour, 2. means of subsistence. It is therefore grammatically incorrect and illogical to mention one *part* of the wealth without the other and then refer to the total wealth, linking the two by **and**.

"...increases ... in the hands of the *capitalists* with growing speed".

What has happened to the "big landowners" and the "bourgeoisie" mentioned above? If it is enough to speak only of capitalists here, it should be so above as well. If one wishes to specify, however, it is generally not enough to mention them alone.

"The number and the *misery* of the proletariat increase continuously."

This is incorrect when put in such a categorical way. The organisation of the workers and their constantly growing resistance will possibly check the *increase of misery* to a certain extent. However, what *certainly* does increase is the *insecurity of existence.* I should insert this.

*Paragraph 4.*

"The planlessness rooted in the nature of capitalist private production"

needs considerable improvement. I am familiar with capitalist production as a social form, or an economic phase; capitalist *private* production being a *phenomenon* which in one form or another is encountered in that phase. What is capitalist *private* production? Production by *separate* entrepreneurs, which is increasingly becoming an exception. Capitalist production by *joint-stock companies* is no longer *private* production but production on behalf of many associated people. And when we pass on from joint-stock companies to trusts, which dominate and monopolise whole branches of industry, this puts an end not only to *private production* but also to *planlessness*. If the word "*private*" were deleted the sentence could pass.

"The ruin of broad layers of the population."

Instead of this declamatory phrase, which looks as though we still regret the ruin of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois, I should state the simple fact: "which by the ruin of the urban and rural middle classes, the petty bourgeois and small peasants, widen (or deepen) the chasm between the haves and have-nots".

The last two phrases repeat the same thing. In the Appendix to Section I, I give a draft amendment.[a]

*Paragraph 5.* Instead of "the causes" this should read "*its* causes", which is probably due to a slip of the pen.

*Paragraph 6.* "Mines, pits, quarries," see above, para. 1. "*Private* production," see above. I would say: "The transformation of present capitalist production on behalf of individuals or joint-stock companies into socialist production on behalf of society as a whole and according to a preconceived plan, a transformation, etc. ... which creates ... and by which alone can be achieved the emancipation of the working class and with it the emancipation of all members of society without exception."

*Paragraph 7.* I would say as in the Appendix to Section I.[b]

*Paragraph 8.* Instead of "class-conscious", which in our circles is an easily understood abbreviation, I would say the following to facilitate universal understanding and translation into foreign languages: "with workers conscious of their class position", or something like it.

*Paragraph 9.* Closing sentence: "... places ... and thereby concentrates in the same hands the power of economic exploitation and political oppression".

*Paragraph 10.* After "class rule" the words "and the classes

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[a] See this volume, p. 231.— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 232.— *Ed.*

themselves" should be inserted. The abolition of classes is our basic demand, without which the abolition of class rule is economically inconceivable. Instead of "for equal rights for all", I suggest: "for equal rights and *equal duties* of all", etc. *Equal duties* are for us a particularly important addition to the bourgeois-democratic *equal rights* and do away with their specifically bourgeois meaning.

The closing sentence: "In their struggle ... are capable," would be better deleted. The imprecise wording "which are capable ... of improving the position of *the people* in general" (who is that?), can be taken to embrace everything, protective tariffs and free trade, guilds and freedom of enterprise, loans on landed security, exchange banks, compulsory vaccination and prohibition of vaccination, alcoholism and prohibition, etc., etc. What *should* be said here, has already been said earlier, and it is unnecessary to mention specifically that the demand for the whole includes every separate part, for this, to my mind, weakens the impact. If, however, this sentence is intended as a link to pass on to the individual demands, something resembling the following could be said: "Social Democracy fights for all demands *which help it approach this goal*" ("measures and arrangements" to be deleted as repetitious). Or else, which would be even better: to say directly what it is all about, i.e., that it is necessary to catch up with what the bourgeoisie has missed; I have included a closing sentence to this effect in Appendix I.[a] I consider this important in connection with my notes to the next section and to motivate the proposals put forward by me therein.

## II. POLITICAL DEMANDS

The political demands of the draft have one great fault. It *lacks* precisely what should have been said. If all the 10 demands were granted we should indeed have more diverse means of achieving our main political aim, but the aim itself would in no wise have been achieved. As regards the rights being granted to the people and their representatives, the imperial constitution is, strictly speaking, a copy of the Prussian constitution of 1850, a constitution whose articles are extremely reactionary and give the government all the real power, while the chambers are not even allowed to reject taxes; a constitution, which proved during the period of the conflict that the government could do anything it

[a] See this volume, p. 232.— *Ed.*

liked with it.[187] The rights of the Reichstag are the same as those of the Prussian chamber and this is why Liebknecht called this Reichstag the fig-leaf of absolutism. It is an obvious absurdity to wish "to transform all the instruments of labour into common property" on the basis of this constitution and the system of small states sanctioned by it, on the basis of the "union" between Prussia and Reuss-Greiz-Schleiz-Lobenstein,[188] in which one has as many square miles as the other has square inches.

To touch on that is dangerous, however. Nevertheless, somehow or other, the thing has to be attacked. How necessary this is is shown precisely at the present time by opportunism, which is gaining ground in a large section of the Social-Democratic press. Fearing a renewal of the Anti-Socialist Law, or recalling all manner of over-hasty pronouncements made during the reign of that law, they now want the party to find the present legal order in Germany adequate for putting through all party demands by peaceful means. These are attempts to convince oneself and the party that "present-day society is developing towards socialism" without asking oneself whether it does not thereby just as necessarily outgrow the old social order and whether it will not have to burst this old shell by force, as a crab breaks its shell, and also whether in Germany, in addition, it will not have to smash the fetters of the still semi-absolutist, and moreover indescribably confused political order. One can conceive that the old society may develop peacefully into the new one in countries where the representatives of the people concentrate all power in their hands, where, if one has the support of the majority of the people, one can do as one sees fit in a constitutional way: in democratic republics such as France and the U.S.A., in monarchies such as Britain, where the imminent abdication of the dynasty in return for financial compensation is discussed in the press daily and where this dynasty is powerless against the people. But in Germany where the government is almost omnipotent and the Reichstag and all other representative bodies have no real power, to advocate such a thing in Germany, when, moreover, there is no need to do so, means removing the fig-leaf from absolutism and becoming oneself a screen for its nakedness.

In the long run such a policy can only lead one's own party astray. They push general, abstract political questions into the foreground, thereby concealing the immediate concrete questions, which at the moment of the first great events, the first political crisis automatically pose themselves. What can result from this except that at the decisive moment the party suddenly proves

helpless and that uncertainty and discord on the most decisive issues reign in it because these issues have never been discussed? Must there be a repetition of what happened with protective tariffs, which were declared to be a matter of concern only to the bourgeoisie, not affecting the interests of the workers in the least, that is, a matter on which everyone could vote as he wished? Are not many people now going to the opposite extreme and are they not, in contrast to the bourgeoisie, who have become addicted to protective tariffs, rehashing the economic distortions of Cobden and Bright and preaching them as the purest socialism—the purest Manchesterism[189]? This forgetting of the great, the principal considerations for the momentary interests of the day, this struggling and striving for the success of the moment regardless of later consequences, this sacrifice of the future of the movement for its present, may be "honestly" meant, but it is and remains opportunism, and "honest" opportunism is perhaps the most dangerous of all!

Which are these ticklish, but very significant points?

*First.* If one thing is certain it is that our party and the working class can only come to power under the form of a democratic republic. This is even the specific form for the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the Great French Revolution has already shown. It would be inconceivable for our best people to become ministers under an emperor, as Miquel. It would seem that from a legal point of view it is inadvisable to include the demand for a republic directly in the programme, although this was possible even under Louis Phillippe in France, and is now in Italy. But the fact that in Germany it is not permitted to advance even a republican party programme openly, proves how totally mistaken is the belief that a republic, and not only a republic, but also communist society, can be established in a cosy, peaceful way.

However, the question of the republic could possibly be passed by. What, however, in my opinion should and could be included is the demand for *the concentration of all political power in the hands of the people's representatives.* That would suffice for the time being if it is impossible to go any further.

*Second.* The reconstitution of Germany. On the one hand, the system of small states must be abolished—just try to revolutionise society while there are the Bavarian-Württemberg reservation rights[190]—and the map of present-day Thuringia, for example, is such a sorry sight.[191] On the other hand, Prussia must cease to exist and must be broken up into self-governing provinces for the specific Prussianism to stop weighing on Germany. The system of

small states and Prussianism are the two sides of the antithesis now gripping Germany in a vice, in which one side must always serve as the excuse and justification for the existence of the other.

What should take its place? In my view, the proletariat can only use the form of the one and indivisible republic. In the gigantic territory of the United States, the federal republic is still, on the whole, a necessity, although in the Eastern states it is already becoming a hindrance. It would be a step forward in Britain where the two islands are peopled by four nations and in spite of a single Parliament three different systems of legislation already exist side by side. In little Switzerland, it has long been a hindrance, tolerable only because Switzerland is content to be a purely passive member of the European state system. For Germany, federalisation on the Swiss model would be an enormous step backward. Two points distinguish a union state from a completely unified state: first, that each member state, each canton, has its own civil and criminal legislative and judicial system, and, second, that alongside a popular chamber there is also a federal chamber in which each canton, whether large or small, votes as such. The first we have luckily overcome and we shall not be so childish as to reintroduce it, the second we have in the Bundesrat and we could do very well without it, since our "federal state" generally constitutes a transition to a unified state. The revolution of 1866 and 1870 must not be reversed from above but supplemented and improved by a movement from below.

So, then, a unified republic. But not in the sense of the present French Republic, which is nothing but the Empire established in 1799[a] without the Emperor.[192] From 1792 to 1799 each French department, each commune, enjoyed complete self-government on the American model, and this is what we too must have. How self-government is to be organised and how we can manage without a bureaucracy has been shown to us by America and the First French Republic, and is being shown even today by Australia, Canada and the other English colonies. And a provincial and communal self-government of this type is far freer than, for instance, Swiss federalism, under which, it is true, the canton is very independent in relation to the federation, but is also independent in relation to the district and the commune. The cantonal governments appoint the district governors and prefects, which is unknown in English speaking countries and which we

[a] Here and in the next sentence Engels mistakenly has 1798.—*Ed.*

want to abolish here as resolutely in the future as the Prussian Landräte and Regierungsräte.

Probably few of these points should be included in the programme. I mention them also mainly to describe the system in Germany where such matters cannot be discussed openly, and to emphasise the self-deception of those who wish to transform such a system in a legal way into communist society. Further, to remind the party executive that there are other important political questions besides direct legislation by the people and the gratuitous administration of justice without which we can also ultimately get by. In the generally unstable conditions these questions may become urgent at any time and what will happen then if they have not been discussed by us beforehand and no agreement has been reached on them?

However, what can be included in the programme and can, at least indirectly, serve as a hint of what may not be said directly is the following demand:

"Complete self-government in the provinces, districts and communes through officials elected by universal suffrage. The abolition of all local and provincial authorities appointed by the state."

Whether or not it is possible to formulate other programme demands in connection with the points discussed above, I am less able to judge here than you can over there. But it would be desirable to debate these questions within the party before it is too late.

1. I fail to see the difference between "election rights and voting rights", between "elections and voting" respectively. If such a distinction should be made, it should in any case be expressed more clearly or explained in a commentary appended to the draft.

2. "The right of the people to propose and reject" *what*? All laws or the decisions of the people's representatives—this should be added.

5. Complete separation of the Church from the State. All religious communities without exception are to be treated by the state as private associations. They are to be deprived of any support from public funds and of all influence on public education. (They cannot be prohibited from forming their *own* schools out of their *own* funds and from teaching their own nonsense in them.)

6. In that case the point on the "secular character of the school" no longer arises, since it relates to the preceding paragraph.

8 and 9. Here I want to draw attention to the following: These points demand that the following should be taken over by the state: (1) *the bar,* (2) *medical services,* (3) *pharmaceutics, dentistry, midwifery, nursing,* etc., etc., and later the demand is advanced that workers' insurance become a state concern. Can all this be entrusted to Mr. von Caprivi? And is it compatible with the rejection of all state socialism, as stated above?

10. Here I should say: "Progressive ... tax to cover all expenditure of the state, district and community, insofar as taxes are required for it. Abolition of all indirect state and local taxes, duties, etc." The rest is a redundant commentary or motivation that tends to weaken the effect.

## III. ECONOMIC DEMANDS

To item 2. Nowhere more so than in Germany does the right of association require guarantees also from the *state.*

The closing phrase: "for the regulation", etc., should be added *as item 4* and be given a corresponding form. In this connection it should be noted that we would be taken in good and proper by labour chambers made up half of workers and half of entrepreneurs. For years to come the entrepreneurs would always have a majority, for only a single black sheep among the workers would be needed to achieve this. If it is not agreed upon that in cases of conflict *both halves* express *separate* opinions, it would be much better to have a chamber of entrepreneurs and *in addition an independent chamber of workers.*

In conclusion I should like to request that the draft be compared once more with the French programme,[193] where some things seem better precisely for Section III. Being pressed for time, I unfortunately cannot search for the Spanish programme,[194] which is also very good in many respects.

## APPENDIX TO SECTION I

1. "Pits, quarries" delete—"Railways and other means of communication."

2. In the hands of their appropriators (or their owners) the social means of labour have become means of exploitation. The economic subjugation of the worker by the appropriator of the means of labour, that is to say, of the means of livelihood, conditioned thereby, is the basis of slavery in all its forms: social misery, mental degradation and political dependence.

3. Under this exploitation the wealth created by the exploited is concentrated in the hands of the exploiters—the capitalists and big landowners—with growing speed; the distribution of the product of labour between the exploiters and exploited becomes ever more uneven, and the numbers and insecurity of the proletariat grow ever greater, etc.

4. "*Private*" (production) delete ... deteriorate, by the ruin of the urban and rural middle classes, the petty bourgeois and small peasants, widen (or deepen) the chasm between the haves and have-nots, make general insecurity the normal state of society and prove that the class of the appropriators of the social means of labour has lost the vocation and ability for economic and political leadership.

5. "its" causes.

6. ...and the transformation of capitalist production on behalf of individuals or joint-stock companies into socialist production on behalf of society as a whole and according to a preconceived plan, a transformation, for which capitalist society itself creates the material and spiritual conditions, and by which alone can be

achieved the emancipation of the working class and with it the emancipation of all members of society without exception.

7. The emancipation of the working class can be the work only of the working class itself. It is self-evident that the working class cannot leave its emancipation either to the capitalists and big landowners, its opponents and exploiters, or to the petty bourgeois and small peasants, who, being stifled by competition on the part of the big exploiters, have no choice but[a] to join either their ranks or those of the workers.

8. ...with workers conscious of their class position, etc.

9. ...places ... and thereby concentrates in the same hands the power of economic exploitation and political oppression of the workers.

10. ...class rule and the classes themselves[b] and for equal rights and equal duties of all without, etc. ... origin (delete end). In its struggle for ... mankind it is obstructed by Germany's backward political state. First and foremost, it has to conquer room for movement, to abolish the massive survivals of feudalism and absolutism, in short, to do the work which the German bourgeois parties were and still are too cowardly to carry out. Hence it has, at least at present, to include also such demands in its programme, which in other cultural countries have already been implemented by the bourgeoisie.

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[a] The end of the sentence is written in pencil; crossed out is the following: "to cling to them or to sink into the ranks of the proletariat, and therefore either to oppose or to follow the working class".—*Ed.*

[b] The words "and the classes themselves" are written in pencil.—*Ed.*

# [THE BRUSSELS CONGRESS. THE SITUATION IN EUROPE

(FROM A LETTER TO PAUL LAFARGUE)][195]

London, September 2, 1891

## THE BRUSSELS CONGRESS

We have every reason to be satisfied with the Brussels Congress. It was right to vote for the exclusion of the anarchists: that is where the old International broke off, that is where the new one resumes. It is quite simply the confirmation, nineteen years later, of the resolutions of the Hague Congress.[196]

No less important was the way the door was thrown wide open to the English Trades Unions. The step which shows how well the situation has been understood. And the votes which tied the Trades Unions to "the class struggle and the abolition of wage-labour" mean that it was not a concession on our part.

The Domela Nieuwenhuis incident has shown that the European workers have finally left behind the period of the domination of the resounding phrase, and that they are aware of the responsibilities incumbent on them: they are a class constituted as a party of "struggle", a party which reckons with "facts". And the facts are taking an increasingly revolutionary turn.

## THE SITUATION IN EUROPE

In Russia there is already famine; in Germany there will be famine in a few months; the other countries will suffer less. This is why: the harvest deficit for 1891 is estimated at eleven and a half million hectolitres of wheat and between 87 and 100 million hectolitres of rye. The latter deficit will, therefore, mainly affect the two rye-consuming countries, Russia and Germany.

This guarantees us peace until the spring of 1892. Russia will not make a move before then; so, excepting some inconceivable foolishness on the part of Paris or Berlin, there will be no war.

On the other hand, will tsarism survive this crisis? I doubt it. There are too many rebel elements in the big cities, and particularly in St. Petersburg, for them not to attempt to seize this opportunity to depose that alcoholic Alexander III, or at the very least to place him under the control of a national assembly. Perhaps he himself will be forced to take the initiative in convening one. Russia—that is to say, the government and the

young bourgeoisie—has worked enormously hard to create a big national industry (see Plekhanov's article in the *Neue Zeit*[a]). This industry will be stopped dead in its tracks because the famine will close down its only market—the domestic market. The Tsar will see the results of making Russia a self-sufficient country independent of abroad: to the crisis in agriculture will be added an industrial crisis.

In Germany the government will decide too late, as usual, to abolish or suspend the duty on corn. That will break the protectionist majority in the Reichstag. The big landowners, the "rurals",[197] will no longer want to uphold the duties on industrial products, they will want to buy as cheaply as possible. So we shall probably see a repetition of what happened at the time of the vote on the Anti-Socialist Law[198]; a protectionist majority, by itself divided by conflicting interests arising out of the new situation, which finds it impossible to reach agreement on the details of a protectionist system. All the possible proposals being only minority ones; there will be either a reversion to the free trade system, which is just as impossible, or dissolution, with the old parties and the old majority unseated and replaced by a new free-trade majority opposed to the present government. That will mean the real, definitive end of the Bismarck period and of political stagnation in home affairs—I am not speaking here of our party but of parties which might "possibly" govern. There will be strife between the landed nobility and the bourgeoisie, and between the industrial bourgeoisie, which is protectionist, and the men of commerce and a fraction of the industrial bourgeoisie who are free traders. The stability of the administration and of domestic politics will be shattered, in short there will be movement, struggle, life, and our party will reap all the rewards. And if events take this turn, our party will be able to come to power round about 1898.

There we have it! I do not speak of the other countries because the agricultural crisis does not affect them so severely. But if this crisis in agriculture were to unleash in England the industrial crisis which we have been awaiting for twenty-five years... Then we'll see!

*F. Engels*

First published in *Le Socialiste*, No. 51, September 12, 1891

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

Published in English in full for the first time

[a] G. Plechanow, "Die sozialpolitische Zustände Rußlands im Jahre 1890", *Die Neue Zeit*, Nos. 47-52, Vol. 2, 1890-91.—*Ed.*

# SOCIALISM IN GERMANY[199]

Written: main text—in October 1891, introduction and conclusion to the German translation—in January 1892

First published in *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier pour 1892,* Lille, 1891 (without introduction and conclusion), and in full in *Die Neue Zeit,* Vol. 1, No. 19, 1891-1892

Signed: *Fr. Engels*

Printed: main text according to *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier pour 1892,* checked with *Die Neue Zeit*; introduction and conclusion according to *Die Neue Zeit*

Translated from the French and German

The following is the translation of an article which I wrote in French at the request of our Parisian friends for the *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier pour 1892*. I owe it to the French—as well as the German—socialists to publish it in German. To the French, because it must be known in Germany how openly it is possible to discuss with them the circumstances in which German socialists would undoubtedly take part in a war, even against France, and how free *these* Frenchmen are from the chauvinism and vengefulness which all the bourgeois parties, from the monarchists to the radicals, display in all their glory. To the Germans, because they are entitled to hear from me at first hand what I have been telling the French about them.

It goes without saying—but let me make it quite clear once again—that in this article I speak purely in my own name and not in the name of the German party. The only ones entitled to do this are the elected bodies, representatives and delegates of this party. And, in addition, the international position which I have attained after fifty years' work prevents me from acting as the representative of any particular national socialist party as opposed to another, although it does not prevent me from recalling that I am a German and being proud of the position which our German workers were the first to win for themselves through struggle.

## I

German socialism made its appearance well before 1848. At that time there were two independent tendencies. Firstly, a workers' movement, a branch of French working-class communism, a

movement which, as one of its phases, produced the utopian communism of Weitling. Secondly, a theoretical movement, emerging from the collapse of the Hegelian philosophy; this movement, from its origins, was dominated by the name of Marx. The *Communist Manifesto* of January 1848 marks the fusion of these two tendencies, a fusion made complete and irrevocable in the furnace of revolution, in which everyone, workers and philosophers alike, shared equally the personal cost.[a]

After the defeat of the European revolution in 1849, socialism was reduced in Germany to a secret existence. It was not until 1862 that Lassalle, a fellow student of Marx, again raised the socialist banner. But it was no longer the bold socialism of the *Manifesto*; what Lassalle demanded in the interest of the working class was cooperative production assisted by state credit; a reproduction of the programme of the Parisian workers affiliated before 1848 to the *National* of Marrast,[b] of the programme proposed by the *pure republicans,* as the alternative to Louis Blanc's Organisation of Labour.[200] Lassallean socialism was, as we can see, very moderate. Nevertheless, its appearance on the scene marks the starting point of the second phase of socialism in Germany; for Lassalle's talent, spirit and indomitable energy succeeded in creating a workers' movement to which everything that had roused the German proletariat[c] over the last ten years was attached by links positive or negative, amicable or hostile.[201]

Could, then, pure Lassalleanism on its own fulfil the socialist aspirations of the nation that had produced the *Manifesto*? It proved impossible. Therefore, thanks mainly to the efforts of Liebknecht and Bebel, a workers' party was soon formed which loudly proclaimed the principles of 1848.[202] Then, in 1867, three years after the death of Lassalle, Marx's *Capital* appeared. The decline of Lassalleanism as such dates from this day. Increasingly the theories of *Capital* became the common property of all the German socialists, Lassalleans and others. More than once entire groups of Lassalleans went over en masse, drums beating and banners flying, to Bebel's and Liebknecht's[d] new party, called the Eisenach party. As this party continued to grow in strength, there was soon all-out hostility between the Lassalleans and their rivals;

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[a] The German translation reads "showed honorably what they are worth" instead of "shared equally the personal cost".— *Ed.*

[b] In the German text there follows "organ of pure Republicans".— *Ed.*

[c] The German has "the German proletariat had made independently" instead of "had roused the German proletariat".— *Ed.*

[d] In the German text the words "Bebel's and Liebknecht's" are omitted.— *Ed.*

they fought with cudgels precisely at the moment when there was no longer any real difference between the combatants, when the principles, arguments, and even the methods of the struggle of one side were in all essentials identical with those of the other.

At this point the presence in the Reichstag of deputies from the two socialist factions imposed on them the necessity of joint action. When confronted with bourgeois deputies,[a] the ridiculous nature of this traditional hostility was obvious. The situation became intolerable. Then in 1875 the two factions merged.[203] Since then the brother-enemies have continued to form a family united in harmony. If there was the slightest chance of a split, Bismarck himself undertook to eliminate it when, in 1878, he placed German socialism beyond the pale of the law with his notorious exceptional law.[204] The hammer blows of shared persecution completed the work of forging Lassalleans and Eisenachers into a homogeneous mass. Today, whilst the socialist party publishes an official edition of Lassalle's works,[205] it is removing from its programme, with the aid of the former Lassalleans, the last remaining traces of Lassalleanism as such.[206]

Need I recount in detail the vicissitudes, the struggles, the setbacks and the triumphs which have accompanied the career of the German party? Represented by two deputies[b] and one hundred thousand votes from 1866, when universal suffrage opened up to it the doors of the Reichstag, today it has 35 deputies and a million-and-a-half voters, a figure which none of the other parties reached in the elections of 1890.[207] Eleven years passed as an outlaw and in a state of siege have resulted in a quadrupling of its strength, to make it the strongest party in Germany. In 1867 the bourgeois deputies[c] were able to regard their socialist colleagues as strange creatures that had arrived from another planet; today, whether they like it or not, they have to regard them as the avant-garde of the power to come. The socialist party which overthrew Bismarck, the party which after eleven years of struggle has broken the Anti-Socialist Law; the socialist party, which like a rising tide overflows all the dikes, invading towns and countryside, even in the most reactionary Vendées[d]—this party today has reached the point where it is

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[a] Instead of "bourgeois deputies" the German text reads "the parties of order".— *Ed.*

[b] August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht.— *Ed.*

[c] The German text reads "deputies of the parties of order" instead of "bourgeois deputies".— *Ed.*

[d] The German text reads "agricultural districts" instead of "Vendées".— *Ed.*

possible to determine the date when it will come to power almost by mathematical calculation.

The number of socialist votes was:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| In 1871 | 101,927 | In 1884 | 549,990 |
| In 1874 | 351,670 | In 1887 | 763,128 |
| In 1877 | 493,447 | In 1890 | 1,427,298 |

Since the last elections the government has done its best to push the mass of people towards socialism; it has prosecuted associations and strikes; it has upheld, even in the present scarcity, import tariffs which make the bread and meat of the poor more expensive in order to benefit the big landowners. So at the elections in 1895 we can count on two and a half million votes at least, which will increase by 1900 to three and a half to four million out of ten million registered voters,[a] a figure which will appear curiously "*fin de siècle*" to our bourgeois.

Facing this compact and steadily growing mass of socialists there are only the divided bourgeois parties. In 1890 the conservatives (two factions combined) received 1,377,417 votes; the national liberals 1,177,807; the progressists (radicals)[b] 1,159,915; the Catholics[c] 1,342,113.[208] There we have a situation in which one solid party able to muster two and a half million votes will be strong enough to force any government to capitulate.

But the votes of the electors are far from constituting the main strength of German socialism. In our country you do not become a voter until the age of twenty-five, but at twenty you are a soldier. Moreover, since it is precisely the younger generation which provides the party with most of its recruits, it follows that the German army is becoming more and more infected with socialism. Today we have one soldier in five, in a few years' time we shall have one in three, by 1900 the army, hitherto the most outstandingly Prussian element in Germany, will have a socialist majority. That is coming about as if by fate. The Berlin government can see it happening just as clearly as we can, but it is powerless. The army is slipping away from it.

How many times have the bourgeois called on us to renounce the use of revolutionary means for ever, to remain within the law, now that the exceptional law has been dropped and one law has

[a] The words "out of ten million registered voters" are omitted in the German text.— *Ed.*

[b] The German text has "the German liberal-minded" instead of "progressists (radicals)".— *Ed.*

[c] The German text reads "Centre" instead of "Catholics".— *Ed.*

been re-established for all, including the socialists? Unfortunately we are not in a position to oblige *messieurs les bourgeois*. Be that as it may, for the time being it is not we who are being destroyed by legality.[209] It is working so well for us that we would be mad to spurn it as long as the situation lasts. It remains to be seen whether it will be the bourgeois and their government who will be the first to turn their back on the law in order to crush us by violence. That is what we shall be waiting for. You shoot first, *messieurs les bourgeois*![210]

No doubt they will be the first ones to fire. One fine day the German bourgeois and their government, tired of standing with their arms folded, witnessing the ever increasing advances of socialism, will resort to illegality and violence. To what avail? With force it is possible to crush a small sect, at least in a restricted space but there is no force in the world which can wipe out a party of two million men[a] spread out over the entire surface-area of a large empire. Counter-revolutionary violence[b] will be able to slow down the victory of socialism by a few years; but only in order to make it all the more complete when it comes.

## II

All the above was said with the reservation that Germany will be able to pursue its economic and political development in peace. A war would change all that. And war is liable to break out at any moment.

Everyone knows what war means today. It would be Russia and France on one side; Germany, Austria and perhaps Italy on the other. Socialists in all these countries, conscripted whether they like it or not, will be forced to do battle against one another: what will the German *socialist* party do in such a case?[c]

The German empire is a monarchy with semi-feudal institutions, but dominated ultimately by the economic interests of the bourgeoisie. Thanks to Bismarck this empire has committed some grave blunders. Its domestic policy, a policy of harassment and meanness based on the police, unworthy of the government of a great nation, has earned it the scorn of all the bourgeois liberal

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[a] The German text reads "over two or three million men" instead of "two million men".—*Ed.*

[b] The German text has "the temporary superiority of counter-revolutionary forces" instead of "counter-revolutionary violence".—*Ed.*

[c] In the German text there follows: "What will become of it?"—*Ed.*

countries; its foreign policy has excited the distrust, if not the hatred, of all its neighbours. With the violent annexation of Alsace-Lorraine the German government rendered any reconciliation with France impossible for a long time to come; without gaining any real advantage itself it has made Russia the arbiter of Europe. This is so evident that the day after Sedan[211] the General Council of the International was able to predict the situation in Europe as it is today. In its address of September 9, 1870 it said: "Do the Teuton patriots really believe that liberty and peace will be guaranteed to Germany by forcing France into the arms of Russia? If the fortune of her arms, the arrogance of success, and dynastic intrigue lead Germany to a dismemberment of France, there will then only remain two courses open to her. She must at all risks become the avowed tool of Russian aggrandisement, or, after some short respite, make again ready for another 'defensive' war, not one of those new-fangled 'localised' wars but a war of races, a war with the combined Slavonian and Roman races."[a]

There is no doubt: in relation to this German empire, the French republic as it is now represents revolution, the bourgeois revolution, to be sure, but still revolution. But the instant this republic places itself under the orders of the Russian tsar it is a different matter entirely. Russian tsarism is the enemy of all the Western nations, even of the bourgeois of these nations. By invading Germany, the tsarist hordes would be bringing slavery instead of liberty, destruction instead of development, degradation instead of progress. Arm in arm with Russia, France cannot bring a single liberating idea to Germany; the French general who spoke to the Germans about the republic would make Europe and America laugh. It would mean the abdication of France's revolutionary role[b]; it would mean permitting Bismarck's empire to pose as the representative of Western progress against the barbarism of the East.

But behind official Germany there is the German socialist party, the party to which belongs the future, the imminent future of the country. The moment this party comes to power it will neither be able to exercise it nor to retain it without making good the injustices committed by its predecessors towards the other nationalities. It will have to prepare for the restoration of Poland,

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[a] K. Marx, *Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War,* present edition, Vol. 22, p. 267.— *Ed.*

[b] The German text has "its entire revolutionary role in history" instead of "France's revolutionary role".— *Ed.*

so shamefully betrayed today by the French bourgeoisie; it will have to appeal to northern Schleswig and to Alsace-Lorraine[212] freely to decide their own political future. All these questions will thus be resolved effortlessly, and in the near future, if Germany is left to itself. Between a socialist France and a socialist Germany there can be no Alsace-Lorraine question; the case will be settled in the twinkling of an eye. It is a matter, then, of waiting another ten years or so. The French, English and German proletariat is still awaiting deliverance; could not the patriots of Alsace-Lorraine wait? Is there any reason to devastate a continent and to subjugate it, ultimately, to the tsarist knout? Is the game worth the candle?

In the event of war first Germany, then France would be the main battleground; these two countries in particular will pay the cost in devastation. And there is more. This war will be distinguished from the outset by a series of betrayals between allies unequalled in the annals of diplomatic betrayal to date; France or Germany, or both, will be the main victims. It is therefore almost certain that neither of these countries will provoke an open conflict in view of the risks they would be running. But Russia, protected by its geographical position and by its economic situation against the more disastrous consequences of a series of defeats—official Russia alone could find it in its interests to unleash such a terrible war; it is Russia who will be pressing for war. In any case, given the present political situation, the odds are ten to one that at the first sound of cannon on the Vistula the French armies will march on the Rhine.

Then Germany will be fighting for its very existence. If victorious it will find nothing to annex.

To the East as well as to the West it will only find provinces speaking foreign tongues; it has enough of those already. Beaten, crushed between the French hammer and the Russian anvil it will have to cede Old Prussia and the Polish provinces to Russia, Schleswig to Denmark, and the entire left bank of the Rhine to France. Even if France refused to accept, its ally would impose this conquest on it; *what Russia needs more than anything else is a cause of permanent enmity between France and Germany.*[a] Reconcile these two great countries and that is the end of Russian supremacy in Europe. Dismembered in this way, Germany would be unable to play its part in Europe's civilising mission[b]; reduced to the role

[a] In the German text there follows: "eternal apple of discord".—*Ed.*

[b] In the German text the end of this phrase after the words "would be unable" is given as follows: "to play the part befitting it in the historical development of Europe".—*Ed.*

imposed on it by Napoleon after Tilsit it could not live except by preparing for a new war of national rehabilitation. But in the meanwhile it would be the humble tool of the Tsar,[a] who would not fail to make use of it—against France.

What will become of the German socialist party in such circumstances? It goes without saying that neither the Tsar nor the French bourgeois republicans nor the German government itself would let pass such a good opportunity to crush the sole party which, for them, constitutes the enemy. We have seen how Thiers and Bismarck extended their hands to each other over the ruins of the Paris Commune[213]; we would then see the Tsar, Constans, Caprivi (or their successors) embracing one another over the corpse of German socialism.

But the German socialist party, thanks to the efforts and the unceasing sacrifices of more than thirty years, has attained a position that none of the other socialist parties in Europe occupies: a position which guarantees it political power in a short while. Socialist Germany occupies in the international working-class movement the most advanced, the most honourable and the most responsible outpost; it is its duty to defend this outpost against all.[b]

Now, if the victory of the Russians over Germany means the crushing of socialism in this country, what will be the duty of the German socialists with regard to this eventuality? Should they passively endure the events that are threatening them with extinction, abandon the post they have conquered and for which they are answerable to the world proletariat without putting up a fight?

Obviously not. In the interest of the European revolution they are obliged to defend all the positions that have been won, not to capitulate to the enemy from without any more than to the enemy within; and they cannot accomplish that except by fighting Russia and its allies, whoever they may be, to the bitter end. If the French republic placed itself at the service of His Majesty the Tsar, Autocrat of all the Russias, the German socialists would fight it with regret, but they would fight it all the same. The French republic may represent vis-à-vis the German empire the bourgeois revolution. But vis-à-vis the republic of the Constanses, the Rouviers and even the Clemenceaus, especially vis-à-vis the republic that is

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[a] Alexander III.— *Ed.*

[b] The German text reads "against every attack to the last man" instead of "against all".— *Ed.*

working for the Russian Tsar, German socialism represents the proletarian revolution.

A war in which Russians and Frenchmen invaded Germany would be, for Germany, a war to the death, in which, in order to ensure its national existence, it would have to resort to the most revolutionary means. The present government, certainly, would not unleash revolution, unless it were forced to. But there is a strong party which would force it to, or if necessary replace it: the socialist party.

We have not forgotten the marvellous example which France gave us in 1793.[214] The centenary of '93 is approaching. If the Tsar's thirst for conquest and the chauvinist impatience of the French bourgeoisie stop the victorious but peaceful march of the German socialists, the latter are ready, you may be sure, to prove that the German proletarians of today are not unworthy of the French sans-culottes of a hundred years ago, and that 1893 will equal 1793. And then the soldiers of Constans, on setting foot on German soil, will be greeted with the song[a]:

> What, would foreign hordes
> Lay down the law in our homes?

Let us sum up. Peace ensures the victory of the German socialist party in some ten years' time; war offers it either victory in two or three years, or complete ruin, at least for the next fifteen to twenty years. In this position the German socialists would have to be mad to prefer the all-or-nothing of war to the certain victory which peace offers them. There is more. No socialist, of whatever country, can desire victory by war, either by the present German government or by the French bourgeois republic; even less by the Tsar, which would be tantamount to the subjugation of Europe. That is why socialists everywhere demand that peace be maintained. But if war is to break out nonetheless, one thing is certain. This war, in which fifteen to twenty million armed men would slaughter one another and devastate Europe as it has never been devastated before—this war would either lead to the immediate triumph of socialism, or it would lead to such an upheaval in the old order of things, it would leave behind it everywhere such a heap of ruins, that the old capitalist society would become more impossible than ever, and the social revolution, set back by ten or fifteen years, would only be all the more radical and more rapidly implemented.

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[a] Rouget de Lisle, *Marseillaise.—Ed.*

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That, then, was the article from the French workers' calendar. It was written in the late summer, when the heads of the French bourgeoisie were still flushed with the champagne-induced inebriation of Kronstadt,[215] and the great manoeuvres on the battle area of 1814 between the Seine and the Marne had brought patriotic enthusiasm to a head. At that time France—the France that expresses itself in the big press and the parliamentary majority—was indeed ripe for more or less unlimited stupidity in the service of Russia, and the eventuality of war moved into the foreground as a possibility. And in order, should it become a reality, to prevent any last minute misunderstanding between the French and German socialists, I considered it necessary to make it clear to the former what in my opinion the necessary attitude of the latter should be with regard to such a war.

But then a powerful check was imposed on the Russian war-monger. First came the news of harvest failure at home, with every reason to expect a famine. Then came the failure of the Paris loan,[216] signifying the final collapse of Russian state credit. The four hundred million marks were, it was said, oversubscribed many times; but when the Paris bankers sought to palm off the bonds onto the public, all their attempts failed; the esteemed subscribers had to dispose of their good securities in order to cover these bad ones—and to such an extent that the other large European stock exchanges were also forced down by these mass sales; the new "Russians" sank several per cent below their issue price—in short, there was such a crisis that the Russian government had to take back a hundred and sixty millions worth of bonds and only received cover for two hundred and forty instead of four hundred million. At this the proclamation of a further Russian attempt to get credit—this time for all of eight hundred million marks—which had been gaily crowed out to the world, fell through miserably. And at the same time it also became plain that French capital has no "patriotism" at all, but it does have—however much it may beat the drum in the press—a salutory fear of war.

Since then the failure of the harvest has indeed developed into a famine, and such a famine as we in Western Europe have not seen on this scale for a long time, such as rarely occurs even in India, the typical country for such calamities, indeed such as barely ever reached this height in the holy Russia of earlier times, when there were still no railways. How does this come about? How can it be explained?

Very simply. The Russian famine is not the result of a mere failure of the harvest, it is a part of the tremendous social revolution which Russia has been undergoing since the Crimean War; it is simply the transformation of the chronic sufferings linked with this revolution into acute sufferings brought about by this bad harvest.

Old Russia went irrevocably to its grave the day when Tsar Nicholas, despairing of himself and of old Russia, took poison.[217] On its ruins the Russia of the bourgeoisie is being built.

The beginnings of a bourgeoisie were already present at that time. Partly bankers and import merchants—mostly Germans and German Russians or their descendants—partly Russians who had risen through domestic trading, but particularly schnapps pedlars and army suppliers who had grown rich at the expense of the state and people, and also a few manufacturers. From now on this bourgeoisie, particularly the industrial bourgeoisie, was literally cultivated by means of massive goverment aid, by subsidies, premiums, and protective tariffs that were gradually raised to the utmost.[218] The immeasurable Russian Empire was supposed to become a production area sufficient unto itself, which could dispense with imports from abroad entirely or almost entirely. And it is to ensure not only that the domestic market should continually grow, but also that the products of warmer climes should be produced inside the country itself, that there is this steady striving for conquests in the Balkan peninsula and in Asia, with Constantinople and British India respectively as the ultimate goals. This is the secret, the economic basis of the drive for expansion that is so rife among the Russian bourgeoisie, the branch that leads south-west being called Pan-Slavism.[219]

However, the serfdom of the peasants was absolutely inconsistent with such industrial plans. It fell in 1861. But how! The Prussian abolition of servitude and statute labour carried out slowly between 1810 and 1851[220] was taken as a model; but everything was to be settled in a few years. Consequently, in order to break the resistance of the big landowners and "serf"-owners, concessions had to be made to them which were quite different from those granted by the Prussian state and its corrupt officials to the gracious landlords of their day. And as for corruptibility, the Prussian bureaucrat was nothing but a babe-in-arms compared with the Russian *tschinownik*.[a] Thus it was that in the partition of the land the nobility received the

[a] Engels' transliteration of the Russian word meaning "a civil servant".—*Ed.*

lion's share, and as a rule the land made fertile by the labour of many generations of peasants, while the peasants received only the minimum necessary for subsistence, and even this was generally allotted to them in poor wasteland. Common forest and common grazing went to the landlord; if the peasant wished to use them—and without them he could not exist—he had to pay the landlord for it.

To ensure, however, that both landed nobility and peasants were ruined as quickly as possible, the nobility was given the capitalised redemption sum in state bonds from the government in a lump sum, while the peasants had to pay the redemption price in long-term instalments. As was only to be expected, the nobility for the most part squandered the money received immediately, while the peasant, facing what was, for someone in his position, enormous payments, was suddenly hurled out of a subsistence economy into a money economy.

The Russian peasant, who previously had hardly had to make any money payments excepting relatively low taxes, is now supposed not only to live off the smaller and poorer plot allotted to him and, after the abolition of the free wood and free grazing on common land, feed his livestock through the winter and improve his plot—but also to pay increased taxes as well as the annual redemption instalment, and in cash too. He was thus placed in a position in which he could neither live nor die. On top of this there was the competition of the newly developed large-scale industry, which deprived him of the market for his domestic industry—domestic industry was the main source of money for countless Russian peasants—or, where this was not yet quite the case, delivered up this domestic industry to the mercy of the merchant, i. e. the middleman, the Saxon entrepreneur or the English SWEATERS, thus turning the peasants engaged in domestic industry into nothing less than the slaves of capital. In short, anyone curious to know how the Russian peasants have been abused over the last thirty years need only look up the chapter on the "Creation of the Home Market" (Chapter 24, Section 5) in the first volume of Marx's *Capital*.[a]

The ravages wrought among the peasants by the transition from a subsistence economy to a money economy—this chief means of producing the home market for industrial capital—are depicted in a classic manner by Boisguillebert and Vauban from the example

[a] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VIII, Chapter XXX (see present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

of France under Louis XIV.[a] But what occurred then is child's play compared with what is happening in Russia. Firstly the scale is three or four times larger, and secondly the revolutionisation of the conditions of production, in whose service this transition is being forced on the peasants, is infinitely more thorough-going. The French peasant was slowly dragged into the sphere of manufacture, the Russian peasant is being swept overnight into the tornado of large-scale industry. If manufacture felled peasants with the flint-lock, large-scale industry is carrying out the job with a repeating-rifle.

This was the position when the failure of the harvest in 1891 exposed at a stroke the entire upheaval and its consequences, which had been quietly taking place for years but had remained invisible to the European philistine. This position was such that the first bad harvest was bound to turn into a national crisis. And now there is a crisis that will not be mastered for years to come. In the face of a famine like this every government is powerless, but particularly the Russian, which expressly trains its officials in thieving. Since 1861 the old communist customs and institutions of the Russian peasants have partly been undermined by economic developments, partly destroyed systematically by the government. The old communist community has disintegrated, or is in the process of so doing, but at the very moment when the individual peasant is being placed on his own feet, the ground is removed from under them. Is it any wonder that last autumn winter corn was sown in extremely few districts? And where it was sown the weather ruined most of it. Is it any wonder that the main instrument of the peasant, the beast of burden, first had nothing to eat itself and then, for this irrefutable reason, was eaten by the peasant himself? Is it any wonder that the peasant is leaving house and home and fleeing to the cities, vainly looking for work but unfailingly bringing typhoid with him?

In a word: here we have before us not an isolated famine but an immense crisis prepared by a prolonged, quiet economic revolution and merely rendered acute by the failure of the harvest. This acute crisis, however, is assuming in its turn a chronic form and threatens to stay for years. Economically it is accelerating the dissolution of the old communist peasant community, the enrichment of the village usurers (the *kulaki*) and their transformation into big landowners, and the transfer of the landed

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[a] See P. Boisguillebert, *Le Détail de la France* and S. Vauban, *Projet d'une dîme royale.* In: *Économistes financiers du XVIII^e siècle.—Ed.*

property of the nobility and the peasants into the hands of the new bourgeoisie.

For Europe it means peace for the time being. Russian warmongering is paralysed for a good many years to come. Instead of millions of soldiers falling on the battlefields, millions of Russian peasants are dying of starvation. But its effects as far as Russian despotism is concerned remain to be seen.

# [TO THE EDITORS OF THE *VOLKSFREUND*][221]

London, November 13, 1891

My dear comrades,

Accept my heartiest thanks for your friendly invitation to the tenth anniversary celebrations for the *Volksfreund*. Unfortunately I shall be unable to come myself, since my work on the third volume of Marx's *Capital*, which must finally be published, keeps me here. These lines must represent me.

I can however congratulate you heartily on this momentous occasion. I know what it costs to keep alive a militant Social Democratic paper like the *Volksfreund* for ten years under the Austrian press and police laws, and I know too, at least in general, the sacrifices which have had to be made to do this. *That* you have succeeded despite everything is all the more praiseworthy as the Austrian press laws, drafted in realisation that by and large the organs of the *propertied* classes are not dangerous, appear to aim at ruining or taming the workers' papers by pressure upon their *financial resources*. And therefore, if the workers of Brünn have managed, despite this financial pressure, to maintain their paper for ten years without in any way denying their banner, this is once again proof of the tenacity and readiness for sacrifice which is to be found today only amongst the workers.

I cannot end this letter without expressing once again my pleasure that, while young Czech[222] and old German bourgeois are everywhere at loggerheads, the Czech and German workers are fighting united, shoulder to shoulder, for the liberation of the entire proletariat.

Once again, heartiest thanks and best wishes from your old

*Fr. Engels*

First published in the *Volksfreund*, No. 22, November 25, 1891

Printed according to the newspaper, checked with the rough manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# [THE COVERING LETTER TO THE STATEMENT TO THE] EDITOR, *DAILY CHRONICLE* OFFICE

Dear Sir

For the sake of historical truth I request you to insert the enclosed reply[a] to one of the most infamous slanders ever concocted.[b]

I regret that the *Daily Chronicle* which has done such good service to the working class in England should allow its correspondents abroad to spread calumnious reports about Continental working class movements and their leaders.[c]

Yours faithfully

Written on November 17, 1891

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

Reproduced from the rough manuscript

Published in English for the first time

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[a] See this volume, p. 253.—*Ed.*

[b] "The Case of M. Lafargue", *The Daily Chronicle,* No. 9261, November 17, 1891.—*Ed.*

[c] The following sentence is crossed out: "Your Paris correspondent seems to be jealous of your Berlin one, about whose true character I believe you have been some time ago told the truth."—*Ed.*

# THE LATE MADAM KARL MARX

THE EDITOR OF *THE DAILY CHRONICLE*

Sir,—In your issue of this morning your Paris correspondent, amongst other inaccuracies concerning the family of my late friend Karl Marx, states that after the Commune the French Minister of Justice ordered the arrest of M. Paul Lafargue, recently elected deputy at Lille.[a] He then continues—

"Madam Karl Marx is said at this time to have revealed the whereabouts of a depôt of arms to the authorities, on condition that her son-in-law should not be molested. M. Lafargue then passed the Spanish frontier."

Mrs. Aveling, the daughter of Mrs. Marx, being for the moment absent from London, the duty of repelling the above-mentioned accusation against her mother devolves upon me. The facts are these:—M. Lafargue, while staying with his wife[b] and his two sisters-in-law[c] at Bagnères-de-Luchon, was informed of his impending arrest by a friendly Republican police-officer. He escaped the same day into Spain, passing the Pyrenées on horseback.[223] Mrs. Marx, who was then in London, therefore could not, even if she had been so minded, interfere on his behalf by betraying to the French Government anything whatever. The whole story of the pretended depôt of arms is a mere fable, invented to blacken the memory of a woman whose noble and self-sacrificing nature was utterly incapable of a mean action.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant.

*Frederick Engels*

122, Regent's-park-road, N.W., Nov. 17.

First published in *The Daily Chronicle*, No. 9269, November 26, 1891

Reproduced from the newspaper, checked with the rough manuscript

[a] "The Case of M. Lafargue", *The Daily Chronicle*, No. 9261, November 17, 1891.—*Ed.*

[b] Laura Lafargue.—*Ed.*

[c] Jenny and Eleanor Marx.—*Ed.*

## TO THE CHOIR CLUB OF THE COMMUNIST [GERMAN] WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY[224]

TOTTENHAM STREET

122, Regent's Park Road, N.W.
November 28, 1891

Dear Comrades,

Mrs. Kautsky has just informed me that my friend Lessner has told her you intend to bring me musical greetings this evening on my seventy-first birthday. However I had already arranged to spend the evening with a friend,[a] and since others will be coming too, it is absolutely impossible to reverse my plans now; very regretfully, I shall not be able to be at home this evening.

I am therefore obliged, dear comrades, to convey to you by letter my most sincere thanks for your so kind and honourable offer, and at the same time my regrets that I was not informed earlier of your plans. Both Marx and I were always opposed to all public tributes to individuals, except in a case where a greater purpose could be served; and most particularly against such tributes as would centre around ourselves in our lifetime. Had I had the slightest indication that such an honour was planned for me, I would have hurried to request, humbly but most urgently, that the singers should refrain from carrying out their intention. To my regret I only learned of this today, and being so reluctantly faced with the necessity of frustrating your plans, as well meaning and honourable as they are, I can only best make amends by assuring you that the few years I may expect to survive at the outside, and the whole strength of which I still dispose, I shall continue to devote unstintingly to our great cause, as I have done

[a] Eleanor Marx-Aveling.—*Ed.*

for nearly fifty years now—the cause of the international proletariat.

Sincerely yours,

*Frederick Engels*

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English in full for the first time

# TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST [GERMAN] WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY[225]

[London] 122, Regent's Park Road
December 1, 1891

Many thanks for your greetings on my 71st birthday.

Yours sincerely,
*F. Engels*

First published in *Internationale wissenschaftliche Korrespondenz zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, No. 10, Berlin, 1970

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# PREFACE [TO THE 1892 ENGLISH EDITION OF *THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING-CLASS IN ENGLAND IN 1844*][226]

The book, an English translation of which is here republished, was first issued in Germany in 1845. The author, at that time, was young, twenty-four years of age, and his production bears the stamp of his youth with its good and its faulty features, of neither of which he feels ashamed. It was translated into English, in 1886, by an American lady, Mrs. F. Kelley Wischnewetzky, and published in the following year in New York. The American edition being as good as exhausted, and having never been extensively circulated on this side of the Atlantic, the present English copyright edition is brought out with the full consent of all parties interested.

For the American edition, a new Preface[a] and an Appendix[b] were written in English by the author. The first had little to do with the book itself; it discussed the American Working-Class Movement of the day, and is, therefore, here omitted as irrelevant; the second—the original preface—is largely made use of in the present introductory remarks.

The state of things described in this book belongs to-day in many respects to the past, as far as England is concerned. Though not expressly stated in our recognised treatises, it is still a law of modern Political Economy that the larger the scale on which capitalistic production is carried on, the less can it support the petty devices of swindling and pilfering which characterise its early stages. The pettifogging business tricks of the Polish Jew, the representative in Europe of commerce in its lowest stage, those

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 434-42.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 399-405.—*Ed.*

tricks that serve him so well in his own country, and are generally practised there, he finds to be out of date and out of place when he comes to Hamburg or Berlin; and again the commission agent who hails from Berlin or Hamburg, Jew or Christian, after frequenting the Manchester Exchange for a few months, finds out that in order to buy cotton-yarn or cloth cheap, he, too, had better drop those slightly more refined but still miserable wiles and subterfuges which are considered the acme of cleverness in his native country. The fact is, those tricks do not pay any longer in a large market, where time is money, and where a certain standard of commercial morality is unavoidably developed, purely as a means of saving time and trouble. And it is the same with the relation between the manufacturer and his "hands".

The revival of trade, after the crisis of 1847, was the dawn of a new industrial epoch. The repeal of the Corn Laws[227] and the financial reforms subsequent thereon gave to English industry and commerce all the elbow-room they had asked for. The discovery of the Californian and Australian gold-fields followed in rapid succession. The colonial markets developed at an increasing rate their capacity for absorbing English manufactured goods. In India millions of hand-weavers were finally crushed out by the Lancashire power-loom. China was more and more being opened up. Above all, the United States—then, commercially speaking, a mere colonial market, but by far the biggest of them all—underwent an economic development astounding even for that rapidly progressive country. And, finally, the new means of communication introduced at the close of the preceding period—railways and ocean steamers—were now worked out on an international scale; they realised actually what had hitherto existed only potentially, a world-market. This world-market, at first, was composed of a number of chiefly or entirely agricultural countries grouped around one manufacturing centre—England—which consumed the greater part of their surplus raw produce, and supplied them in return with the greater part of their requirements in manufactured articles. No wonder England's industrial progress was colossal and unparalleled, and such that the status of 1844 now appears to us as comparatively primitive and insignificant. And in proportion as this increase took place, in the same proportion did manufacturing industry become apparently moralised. The competition of manufacturer against manufacturer by means of petty thefts upon the workpeople did no longer pay. Trade had outgrown such low means of making money; they were not worth while practising for the manufacturing millionaire, and

served merely to keep alive the competition of smaller traders, thankful to pick up a penny wherever they could. Thus the truck system was suppressed, the Ten Hours' Bill[228] was enacted, and a number of other secondary reforms introduced—much against the spirit of Free Trade and unbridled competition, but quite as much in favour of the giant-capitalist in his competition with his less favoured brother. Moreover, the larger the concern, and with it the number of hands, the greater the loss and inconvenience caused by every conflict between master and men; and thus a new spirit came over the masters, especially the large ones, which taught them to avoid unnecessary squabbles, to acquiesce in the existence and power of Trades Unions, and finally even to discover in strikes—at opportune times—a powerful means to serve their own ends. The largest manufacturers, formerly the leaders of the war against the working-class, were now the foremost to preach peace and harmony. And for a very good reason. The fact is that all these concessions to justice and philanthropy were nothing else but means to accelerate the concentration of capital in the hands of the few, for whom the niggardly extra extortions of former years had lost all importance and had become actual nuisances; and to crush all the quicker and all the safer their smaller competitors who could not make both ends meet without such perquisites. Thus the development of production on the basis of the capitalistic system has of itself sufficed—at least in the leading industries, for in the more unimportant branches this is far from being the case—to do away with all those minor grievances which aggravated the workman's fate during its earlier stages. And thus it renders more and more evident the great central fact that the cause of the miserable condition of the working-class is to be sought, not in these minor grievances, but *in the capitalistic system itself.* The wage-worker sells to the capitalist his labour-force for a certain daily sum. After a few hours' work he has reproduced the value of that sum; but the substance of his contract is, that he has to work another series of hours to complete his working-day; and the value he produces during these additional hours of surplus labour is surplus value which costs the capitalist nothing but yet goes into his pocket. That is the basis of the system which tends more and more to split up civilised society into a few Rothschilds and Vanderbilts, the owners of all the means of production and subsistence, on the one hand, and an immense number of wage-workers, the owners of nothing but their labour-force, on the other. And that this result is caused, not by this or that secondary grievance, but by the system

itself—this fact has been brought out in bold relief by the development of Capitalism in England since 1847.

Again, the repeated visitations of cholera, typhus, smallpox, and other epidemics have shown the British bourgeois the urgent necessity of sanitation in his towns and cities, if he wishes to save himself and family from falling victims to such diseases. Accordingly, the most crying abuses described in this book have either disappeared or have been made less conspicuous. Drainage has been introduced or improved, wide avenues have been opened out athwart many of the worst "slums" I had to describe. "Little Ireland" had disappeared, and the "Seven Dials" are next on the list for sweeping away.[229] But what of that? Whole districts which in 1844 I could describe as almost idyllic have now, with the growth of the towns, fallen into the same state of dilapidation, discomfort, and misery. Only the pigs and the heaps of refuse are no longer tolerated. The bourgeoisie have made further progress in the art of hiding the distress of the working-class. But that, in regard to their dwellings, no substantial improvement has taken place is amply proved by the Report of the Royal Commission "on the Housing of the Poor", 1885.[a] And this is the case, too, in other respects. Police regulations have been plentiful as blackberries; but they can only hedge in the distress of the workers, they cannot remove it.

But while England has thus outgrown the juvenile state of capitalist exploitation described by me, other countries have only just attained it. France, Germany, and especially America, are the formidable competitors who at this moment—as foreseen by me in 1844[b]—are more and more breaking up England's industrial monopoly. Their manufactures are young as compared with those of England, but increasing at a far more rapid rate than the latter; and, curious enough, they have at this moment arrived at about the same phase of development as English manufacture in 1844. With regard to America, the parallel is indeed most striking. True, the external surroundings in which the working-class is placed in America are very different, but the same economical laws are at work, and the results, if not identical in every respect, must still be of the same order. Hence we find in America the same struggles for a shorter working-day, for a legal limitation of the working-time, especially of women and children in factories; we find the

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[a] See *Report of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes. England and Wales. 1885.—Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 579-80.—*Ed.*

truck system in full blossom, and the cottage system,[230] in rural districts, made use of by the "bosses" as a means of domination over the workers. When I received, in 1886, the American papers with accounts of the great strike of 12,000 Pennsylvanian coal-miners in the Connellsville district,[231] I seemed but to read my own description of the North of England colliers' strike of 1844.[a] The same cheating of the workpeople by false measure; the same truck system; the same attempt to break the miners' resistance by the capitalists' last, but crushing, resource, the eviction of the men out of their dwellings, the cottages owned by the companies.

I have not attempted, in this translation, to bring the book up to date, or to point out in detail all the changes that have taken place since 1844. And for two reasons: Firstly, to do this properly, the size of the book must be about doubled; and, secondly, the first volume of *Das Kapital,* by Karl Marx, an English translation of which is before the public,[232] contains a very ample description of the state of the British working class, as it was about 1865, that is to say, at the time when British industrial prosperity reached its culminating point. I should, then, have been obliged again to go over the ground already covered by Marx's celebrated work.

It will be hardly necessary to point out that the general theoretical standpoint of this book—philosophical, economical, political—does not exactly coincide with my standpoint of to-day. Modern international Socialism, since fully developed as a science, chiefly and almost exclusively through the efforts of Marx, did not as yet exist in 1844. My book represents one of the phases of its embryonic development; and as the human embryo, in its early stages, still reproduces the gill-arches of our fish-ancestors, so this book exhibits everywhere the traces of the descent of Modern Socialism from one of its ancestors, German philosophy. Thus great stress is laid on the dictum that Communism is not a mere party doctrine of the working class, but a theory compassing the emancipation of society at large, including the capitalist class, from its present narrow conditions. This is true enough in the abstract, but absolutely useless, and sometimes worse, in practice. So long as the wealthy classes not only do not feel the want of any emancipation, but strenuously oppose the self-emancipation of the working class, so long the social revolution will have to be prepared and fought out by the working class alone. The French bourgeois of 1789,[b] too, declared the emancipation of the

[a] Ibid., pp. 540-47.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the French Revolution.—*Ed.*

bourgeoisie to be the emancipation of the whole human race; but the nobility and clergy would not see it; the proposition—though for the time being, with respect to feudalism, an abstract historical truth—soon became a mere sentimentalism, and disappeared from view altogether in the fire of the revolutionary struggle. And to-day, the very people who, from the "impartiality" of their superior standpoint, preach to the workers a Socialism soaring high above their class interests and class struggles, and tending to reconcile in a higher humanity the interests of both the contending classes—these people are either neophytes, who have still to learn a great deal, or they are the worst enemies of the workers—wolves in sheep's clothing.

The recurring period of the great industrial crisis is stated in the text as five years. This was the period apparently indicated by the course of events from 1825 to 1842. But the industrial history from 1842 to 1868 has shown that the real period is one of ten years; that the intermediate revulsions were secondary and tended more and more to disappear. Since 1868 the state of things has changed again, of which more anon.

I have taken care not to strike out of the text the many prophecies, amongst others that of an imminent social revolution in England, which my youthful ardour induced me to venture upon. The wonder is, not that a good many of them proved wrong, but that so many of them have proved right, and that the critical state of English trade, to be brought on by Continental and especially American competition, which I then foresaw—though in too short a period—has now actually come to pass. In this respect I can, and am bound to, bring the book up to date, by placing here an article which I published in the London *Commonweal* of March 1, 1885, under the heading: "England in 1845 and in 1885."[233] It gives at the same time a short outline of the history of the English working class during these forty years, and is as follows:

"Forty years ago England stood face to face with a crisis, solvable to all appearances by force only. The immense and rapid development of manufactures had outstripped the extension of foreign markets and the increase of demand. Every ten years the march of industry was violently interrupted by a general commercial crash, followed, after a long period of chronic depression, by a few short years of prosperity, and always ending in feverish over-production and consequent renewed collapse. The capitalist class clamoured for Free Trade in corn,[234] and threatened to enforce it by sending the starving population of the

towns back to the country districts whence they came, to invade them, as John Bright said, not as paupers begging for bread, but as an army quartered upon the enemy.[a] The working masses of the towns demanded their share of political power—the People's Charter[235]; they were supported by the majority of the small trading class, and the only difference between the two was whether the Charter should be carried by physical or by moral force. Then came the commercial crash of 1847 and the Irish famine, and with both the prospect of revolution.

"The French Revolution of 1848 saved the English middle class. The Socialistic pronunciamentos of the victorious French workmen frightened the small middle class of England and disorganised the narrower, but more matter-of-fact movement of the English working class. At the very moment when Chartism was bound to assert itself in its full strength, it collapsed internally before even it collapsed externally, on the 10th of April, 1848.[236] The action of the working class was thrust into the background. The capitalist class triumphed along the whole line.

"The Reform Bill of 1831[237] had been the victory of the whole capitalist class over the landed aristocracy. The repeal of the Corn Laws was the victory of the manufacturing capitalist not only over the landed aristocracy, but over those sections of capitalists, too, whose interests were more or less bound up with the landed interest—bankers, stock-jobbers, fund-holders, etc. Free Trade meant the readjustment of the whole home and foreign, commercial and financial policy of England in accordance with the interests of the manufacturing capitalists—the class which now represented the nation. And they set about this task with a will. Every obstacle to industrial production was mercilessly removed. The tariff and the whole system of taxation were revolutionised. Everything was made subordinate to one end, but that end of the utmost importance to the manufacturing capitalist: the cheapening of all raw produce, and especially of the means of living of the working class; the reduction of the cost of raw material, and the keeping down—if not as yet the *bringing down*—of wages. England was to become the 'workshop of the world'[238]; all other countries were to become for England what Ireland already was—markets for her manufactured goods, supplying her in return with raw materials and food. England, the great manufacturing centre of an agricultural world, with an

[a] The statement was made apparently not by Bright but by his followers. See *The Quarterly Review*, Vol. 71, No. 141, 1843, p. 273.—*Ed.*

ever-increasing number of corn and cotton-growing Irelands revolving around her, the industrial sun. What a glorious prospect!

"The manufacturing capitalists set about the realisation of this their great object with that strong common sense and that contempt for traditional principles which has ever distinguished them from their more narrow-minded compeers on the Continent. Chartism was dying out. The revival of commercial prosperity, natural after the revulsion of 1847 had spent itself, was put down altogether to the credit of Free Trade. Both these circumstances had turned the English working class, politically, into the tail of the 'great Liberal Party', the party led by the manufacturers. This advantage, once gained, had to be perpetuated. And the manufacturing capitalists, from the Chartist opposition, not to Free Trade, but to the transformation of Free Trade into the one vital national question, had learnt, and were learning more and more, that the middle class can never obtain full social and political power over the nation except by the help of the working class. Thus a gradual change came over the relations between both classes. The Factory Acts,[239] once the bugbear of all manufacturers, were not only willingly submitted to, but their expansion into acts regulating almost all trades was tolerated. Trades Unions, hitherto considered inventions of the devil himself, were now petted and patronised as perfectly legitimate institutions, and as useful means of spreading sound economical doctrines amongst the workers. Even strikes, than which nothing had been more nefarious up to 1848, were now gradually found out to be occasionally very useful, especially when provoked by the masters themselves, at their own time. Of the legal enactments, placing the workman at a lower level or at a disadvantage with regard to the master, at least the most revolting were repealed. And, practically, that horrid 'People's Charter' actually became the political programme of the very manufacturers who had opposed it to the last. 'The Abolition of the Property Qualification' and 'Vote by Ballot' are now the law of the land. The Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884[240] make a near approach to 'universal suffrage', at least such as it now exists in Germany; the Redistribution Bill now before Parliament creates 'equal electoral districts'—on the whole not more unequal than those of Germany; 'payment of members', and shorter, if not actually 'annual Parliaments', are visibly looming in the distance—and yet there are people who say that Chartism is dead.

"The Revolution of 1848, not less than many of its predecessors,

has had strange bedfellows and successors. The very people who put it down have become, as Karl Marx used to say, its testamentary executors.[241] Louis Napoleon had to create an independent and united Italy, Bismarck had to revolutionise Germany and to restore Hungarian independence, and the English manufacturers had to enact the People's Charter.

"For England, the effects of this domination of the manufacturing capitalists were at first startling. Trade revived and extended to a degree unheard of even in this cradle of modern industry; the previous astounding creations of steam and machinery dwindled into nothing compared with the immense mass of productions of the twenty years from 1850 to 1870, with the overwhelming figures of exports and imports, of wealth accumulated in the hands of capitalists and of human working power concentrated in the large towns.The progress was indeed interrupted, as before, by a crisis every ten years, in 1857 as well as in 1866; but these revulsions were now considered as natural, inevitable events, which must be fatalistically submitted to, and which always set themselves right in the end.

"And the condition of the working class during this period? There was temporary improvement even for the great mass. But this improvement always was reduced to the old level by the influx of the great body of the unemployed reserve, by the constant superseding of hands by new machinery, by the immigration of the agricultural population, now, too, more and more superseded by machines.

"A permanent improvement can be recognised for two 'protected' sections only of the working class. Firstly, the factory hands. The fixing by Act of Parliament of their working-day within relatively rational limits has restored their physical constitution and endowed them with a moral superiority, enhanced by their local concentration. They are undoubtedly better off than before 1848. The best proof is that, out of ten strikes they make, nine are provoked by the manufacturers in their own interests, as the only means of securing a reduced production. You can never get the masters to agree to work 'short time', let manufactured goods be ever so unsaleable; but get the work-people to strike, and the masters shut their factories to a man.

"Secondly, the great Trades Unions. They are the organisations of those trades in which the labour of *grown-up men* predominates, or is alone applicable. Here the competition neither of women and children nor of machinery has so far weakened their organised strength. The engineers, the carpenters and joiners, the brick-

layers, are each of them a power, to that extent that, as in the case of the bricklayers and bricklayers' labourers, they can even successfully resist the introduction of machinery. That their condition has remarkably improved since 1848 there can be no doubt, and the best proof of this is in the fact that for more than fifteen years not only have their employers been with them, but they with their employers, upon exceedingly good terms. They form an aristocracy among the working class; they have succeeded in enforcing for themselves a relatively comfortable position, and they accept it as final. They are the model working-men of Messrs. Leone Levi & Giffen, and they are very nice people indeed nowadays to deal with, for any sensible capitalist in particular and for the whole capitalist class in general.

"But as to the great mass of working-people, the state of misery and insecurity in which they live now is as low as ever, if not lower. The East End of London is an ever-spreading pool of stagnant misery and desolation, of starvation when out of work, and degradation, physical and moral, when in work. And so in all other large towns—abstraction made of the privileged minority of the workers; and so in the smaller towns and in the agricultural districts. The law which reduces the *value* of labour-power to the value of the necessary means of subsistence, and the other law which reduces its *average price,* as a rule, to the minimum of those means of subsistence, these laws act upon them with the irresistible force of an automatic engine which crushes them between its wheels.

"This, then, was the position created by the Free Trade policy of 1847, and by twenty years of the rule of the manufacturing capitalists. But then a change came. The crash of 1866 was, indeed, followed by a slight and short revival about 1873; but that did not last. We did not, indeed, pass through the full crisis at the time it was due, in 1877 or 1878; but we have had, ever since 1876, a chronic state of stagnation in all dominant branches of industry. Neither will the full crash come; nor will the period of longed-for prosperity to which we used to be entitled before and after it. A dull depression, a chronic glut of all markets for all trades, that is what we have been living in for nearly ten years. How is this?

"The Free Trade theory was based upon one assumption: that England was to be the one great manufacturing centre of an agricultural world. And the actual fact is that this assumption has turned out to be a pure delusion. The conditions of modern industry, steam-power and machinery, can be established wherever

there is fuel, especially coals. And other countries besides England—France, Belgium, Germany, America, even Russia—have coals. And the people over there did not see the advantage of being turned into Irish pauper farmers merely for the greater wealth and glory of English capitalists. They set resolutely about manufacturing, not only for themselves, but for the rest of the world; and the consequence is that the manufacturing monopoly enjoyed by England for nearly a century is irretrievably broken up.

"But the manufacturing monopoly of England is the pivot of the present social system of England. Even while that monopoly lasted, the markets could not keep pace with the increasing productivity of English manufacturers; the decennial crises were the consequence. And new markets are getting scarcer every day, so much so that even the Negroes of the Congo are now to be forced into the civilisation attendant upon Manchester calicos, Staffordshire pottery, and Birmingham hardware. How will it be when Continental, and especially American, goods flow in in ever-increasing quantities—when the predominating share, still held by British manufacturers, will become reduced from year to year? Answer, Free Trade, thou universal panacea.

"I am not the first to point this out. Already in 1883, at the Southport meeting of the British Association,[242] Mr. Inglis Palgrave, the President of the Economic section, stated plainly that

> 'the days of great trade profits in England were over, and there was a pause in the progress of several great branches of industrial labour. *The country might almost be said to be entering the non-progressive state.*'[a]

"But what is to be the consequence? Capitalist production *cannot* stop. It must go on increasing and expanding, or it must die. Even now the mere reduction of England's lion's share in the supply of the world's markets means stagnation, distress, excess of capital here, excess of unemployed workpeople there. What will it be when the increase of yearly production is brought to a complete stop?

"Here is the vulnerable place, the heel of Achilles, for capitalistic production. Its very basis is the necessity of constant expansion, and this constant expansion now becomes impossible. It ends in a deadlock. Every year England is brought nearer face to face with the question: either the country must go to pieces, or capitalist production must. Which is it to be?

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[a] *Report of the Fifty-Third Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science; held at Southport in September 1883,* pp. 608-09.—*Ed.*

"And the working class? If even under the unparalleled commercial and industrial expansion, from 1848 to 1868, they have had to undergo such misery; if even then the great bulk of them experienced at best but a temporary improvement of their condition, while only a small, privileged, 'protected' minority was permanently benefited, what will it be when this dazzling period is brought finally to a close; when the present dreary stagnation shall not only become intensified, but this, its intensified condition, shall become the permanent and normal state of English trade?

"The truth is this: during the period of England's industrial monopoly the English working class have, to a certain extent, shared in the benefits of the monopoly. These benefits were very unequally parcelled out amongst them; the privileged minority pocketed most, but even the great mass had, at least, a temporary share now and then. And that is the reason why, since the dying-out of Owenism, there has been no Socialism in England. With the breakdown of that monopoly, the English working class will lose that privileged position; it will find itself generally—the privileged and leading minority not excepted—on a level with its fellow-workers abroad. And that is the reason why there will be Socialism again in England."

To this statement of the case, as that case appeared to me in 1885, I have but little to add. Needless to say that to-day there is indeed "Socialism again in England", and plenty of it—Socialism of all shades: Socialism conscious and unconscious, Socialism prosaic and poetic, Socialism of the working class and of the middle class, for, verily, that abomination of abominations, Socialism, has not only become respectable, but has actually donned evening dress and lounges lazily on drawing-room *causeuses*. That shows the incurable fickleness of that terrible despot of "society", middle-class public opinion, and once more justifies the contempt in which we Socialists of a past generation always held that public opinion. At the same time we have no reason to grumble at the symptom itself.

What I consider far more important than this momentary fashion among bourgeois circles of affecting a mild dilution of Socialism, and even more than the actual progress Socialism has made in England generally, that is the revival of the East End of London. That immense haunt of misery is no longer the stagnant pool it was six years ago. It has shaken off its torpid despair, has returned to life, and has become the home of what is called the "New Unionism", that is to say, of the organisation of the great mass of "unskilled" workers. This organisation may to a great

extent adopt the form of the old Unions of "skilled" workers but it is essentially different in character. The old Unions preserve the traditions of the time when they were founded, and look upon the wages system as a once-for-all established, final fact, which they at best can modify in the interest of their members. The new Unions were founded at a time when the faith in the eternity of the wages system was severely shaken; their founders and promoters were Socialists either consciously or by feeling; the masses, whose adhesion gave them strength, were rough, neglected, looked down upon by the working-class aristocracy; but they had this immense advantage, that *their minds were virgin soil,* entirely free from the inherited "respectable" bourgeois prejudices which hampered the brains of the better situated "old" Unionists. And thus we see now these new Unions taking the lead of the working-class movement generally, and more and more taking in tow the rich and proud "old" Unions.

Undoubtedly, the East Enders have committed colossal blunders; so have their predecessors, and so do the doctrinaire Socialists who pooh-pooh them. A large class, like a great nation, never learns better or quicker than by undergoing the consequences of its own mistakes. And for all the faults committed in past, present and future, the revival of the East End of London remains one of the greatest and most fruitful facts of this *fin de siècle,* and glad and proud I am to have lived to see it.

January 11th, 1892

*F. Engels*

First published in the book: *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844,* London, 1892

Reproduced from the book

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# REPLY TO THE HONOURABLE GIOVANNI BOVIO[243]

In an article in *La Tribuna* of February 2 this year, the honourable Giovanni Bovio reproaches the Italian Republican parliamentary deputies, who have latterly gone over to the royalist camp, for treating too scornfully the question of the form of government. This does not affect me directly. What does affect me is that he deals with my article on German socialism (*Critica Sociale,* January 16, 1892)[a] making the same reproach against the German socialists in general and against me in particular. This is what he says on the matter[b]:

"Thus we can see the error of those socialists who, with Frederick Engels, speak of the imminent coming to power of socialism and do not specify what kind of power. Engels even established with mathematical arguments (and numbers have for some time seemed to me a good argument in history) the not too distant year in which the socialist party will become the majority in the German parliament. So far so good. And then?

"—It will take power.

"—Even better. But what power? Will it be monarchic, or republican, or will it go back to Weitling's utopia, superseded by the *Communist Manifesto* of January 1848?

"—The forms make no difference to us.

"—Really?... But you cannot speak of power except where the form is made concrete. You can say that the new substance, the new idea, will of itself create the form, produce it from deep within itself, but you cannot, you must not, dispense with the problem."

To this I reply that I do not accept in the slightest the honourable Mr. Bovio's interpretation.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 237-41.—*Ed.*

[b] The following quotations are given in Italian in the original.—*Ed.*

For a start, I have never said the socialist party will become the majority and then proceed to take power. On the contrary, I have expressly said that the odds are ten to one that our rulers, well before that point arrives, will use violence against us, and this would shift us from the terrain of majority to the terrain of revolution. But let us pass over this.

"It will take power. But what power? Will it be monarchic, or republican, or will it go back to Weitling's utopia, superseded by the *Communist Manifesto* of January 1848?"

Here I must permit myself the use of one of the honourable Mr. Bovio's own expressions. He must really be a "man of the cloister" if he has the slightest doubt about the nature of this power.

All of governmental, aristocratic and bourgeois Germany reproaches our friends in the Reichstag for being republicans and revolutionaries.

Marx and I, for forty years, repeated ad nauseam that for us the democratic republic is the only political form in which the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class can first be universalised and then culminate in the decisive victory of the proletariat.

The honourable Mr. Bovio is surely not so naive as to believe that an emperor of Germany would draw his ministers from the socialist party and that, if he so desired, he would accept the conditions—implying abdication—without which those ministers could not count on the support of their party? But it is true that his fear of seeing us "go back to Weitling's utopia" gives me a fairly exalted estimate of my interlocutor's naivety.

Or does the honourable Mr. Bovio, in referring to Weitling, mean to imply that the German socialists attribute no more importance to the social form than to the political form? Again he would be mistaken. He should be well enough acquainted with German socialism to know that it demands the socialisation of all the means of production. How can this economic revolution be accomplished? That will depend on the circumstances in which our party seizes power, on the moment at which and the manner in which that occurs. As Bovio says:

"the new substance, the new idea, will of itself create the form, produce it from deep within itself".

Meanwhile, if tomorrow, by some accident, our party were called to power, I know perfectly well what I would propose as a programme of action.

"The forms make no difference to us."?

I should like to point out that it was neither I nor any other German socialist who said that, or anything of the kind, but the honourable Mr. Bovio and he alone. I should certainly like to know by what right he attributes such "*sciocchezza*"[a] to us.

For the rest, if the honourable Mr. Bovio had waited for and read the second half of my article (*Critica Sociale,* February 1),[b] perhaps he would not have taken the trouble of confusing the German revolutionary socialists with the Italian royalist Republicans.

February 6, 1892

*Frederick Engels*

First published in *Critica Sociale,* No. 4, February 16, 1892

Printed according to the manuscript, checked with the journal

Translated from the French and Italian

[a] Rubbish.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 241-45.—*Ed.*

# PREFACE [TO THE POLISH EDITION (1892) OF THE *MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY*][244]

The fact that a new Polish edition of the *Communist Manifesto* has become necessary gives rise to various thoughts.

First of all, it is noteworthy that of late the *Manifesto* has become an index, as it were, of the development of large-scale industry on the European continent. In proportion as large-scale industry expands in a given country, the demand grows among the workers of that country for enlightenment regarding their position as the working class in relation to the possessing classes, the socialist movement spreads among them and the demand for the *Manifesto* increases. Thus, not only the state of the labour movement but also the degree of development of large-scale industry can be measured with fair accuracy in every country by the number of copies of the *Manifesto* circulated in the language of that country.

Accordingly, the new Polish edition indicates a decided progress of Polish industry. And there can be no doubt whatever that this progress since the previous edition[a] published ten years ago has actually taken place. The Kingdom of Poland, Congress Poland,[245] has become the big industrial region of the Russian Empire. Whereas Russian large-scale industry is scattered sporadically—a part round the Gulf of Finland, another in the centre (Moscow and Vladimir), a third along the coasts of the Black and Azov seas, and still others elsewhere—Polish industry has been packed into a relatively small area and enjoys both the advantages and the disadvantages arising from such concentration. The competing Russian manufacturers acknowledge the advantages when they demanded protective tariffs against Poland,[246] in spite of their

[a] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Manifest Komunistyczny 1847 r.—Ed.*

ardent desire to transform the Poles into Russians. The disadvantages—for the Polish manufacturers and the Russian government—are manifest in the rapid spread of socialist ideas among the Polish workers and in the growing demand for the *Manifesto*.

But the rapid development of Polish industry, outstripping that of Russia, is in its turn a new proof of the inexhaustible vitality of the Polish people and a new guarantee of its impending national restoration. And the restoration of an independent strong Poland is a matter which concerns not only the Poles but all of us. A sincere international collaboration of the European nations is possible only if each of these nations is fully autonomous in its own house. The Revolution of 1848, which under the banner of the proletariat, after all, merely let the proletarian fighters do the work of the bourgeoisie, secured the independence of Italy, Germany and Hungary, among other things, through Louis Bonaparte and Bismarck, its testamentary executors; but Poland, which since 1792 had done more for the revolution than all these three together, was left to its own resources when it succumbed in 1863 to a tenfold greater Russian force. The nobility could neither maintain nor regain Polish independence; today, to the bourgeoisie, this independence is, to say the least, immaterial. Nevertheless, it is a necessity for the harmonious collaboration of the European nations.[a] It can be gained only by the young Polish proletariat, and in its hands it is secure. For the workers of all the rest of Europe need the independence of Poland just as much as the Polish workers themselves.

*F. Engels*

London, February 10, 1892

First published in *Przedświt*, No. 35, February 27, 1892 and in: K. Marx i F. Engels, *Manifest Komunistyczny*, London, 1892

Printed according to the manuscript, checked with the Polish edition of 1892

[a] This sentence is omitted in the Polish edition.—*Ed.*

# [GREETINGS TO THE FRENCH WORKERS ON THE OCCASION OF THE 21ST ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARIS COMMUNE]

London, March 17, 1892

Citizens and citizenesses,

Twenty-one years ago today the people of Paris raised the red flag, in defiance of both the French tricolour flying at Versailles and the German tricolour flying over the forts occupied by the Prussians.

The red flag was the Paris proletariat rising to a height from which conquerors and conquered alike disappeared.

What constitutes the historic grandeur of the Commune is its eminently international character. It is the bold challenge which it made to every sentiment of bourgeois chauvinism. The proletariat of all countries was not mistaken. Let the bourgeois celebrate their July 14 or their September 22.[247] The holiday of the proletariat, everywhere and always, will be March 18.

Hence the vile slanders which the vile bourgeoisie has heaped on the tomb of the Commune. But hence, also, the International Association of Working Men, which alone dared to identify itself from the very first day with the Paris insurgents and, until the last day and thereafter, with the defeated proletarians. It is true that where the Commune succumbed, the International was not able to survive: to the cry of "At the Communards!" it was smashed from one end of Europe to the other.

Well! Twenty-one years have passed since the recapture of the cannons on the hill of Monmartre.[a] The children born in 1871 have now reached their majority, and thanks to the stupidity of the ruling classes they are *soldiers,* learning to handle arms, the art

[a] See this volume, p. 184.—*Ed.*

of organising themselves and defending themselves, gun in hand. The Commune which they claimed to have killed, the International which they imagined they had wiped out forever, are here in our midst, alive and twenty times more powerful than in 1871. Those responding to our call have grown from hundreds into thousands, and from thousands into millions. The union of the world proletariat, which the First International was able to predict and prepare, is today a reality. And, what is more, the sons of the Prussian soldiers who occupied the forts surrounding the Paris of the Commune in 1871 are today fighting in their millions in the front line, side by side with the sons of the Communards; for the complete and lasting liberation of the working class.

Long live the Commune!

Long live the International Social Revolution!

*Fred. Engels*

First published in *Le Socialiste,* No. 79, March 26, 1892

Printed according to the newspaper, checked with the rough manuscript

Translated from the French

# [PREFACE TO THE SECOND GERMAN EDITION OF KARL MARX'S *THE POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY*][248]

For the second edition I have only to remark that the name wrongly written Hopkins in the French text (on page 45[a]) has been replaced by the correct name Hodgskin and that in the same place the date of the work of William Thompson has been corrected to 1824.[b] It is to be hoped that this will appease the bibliographical conscience of Professor Anton Menger.

*Frederick Engels*

*London,* March 29, 1892

First published in: Karl Marx, *Das Elend der Philosophie,* Stuttgart, 1892

Printed according to the book

[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, p. 138.—*Ed.*

[b] W. Thompson, *An Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth Most Conducive to Human Happiness.*—*Ed.*

# INTRODUCTION TO THE ENGLISH EDITION (1892) OF *SOCIALISM: UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC*[249]

The present little book is, originally, a part of a large whole. About 1875, Dr. E. Dühring, *privatdocent* at Berlin University, suddenly and rather clamorously announced his conversion to socialism, and presented the German public not only with an elaborate socialist theory, but also with a complete practical plan for the reorganisation of society. As a matter of course, he fell foul of his predecessors; above all, he honoured Marx by pouring out upon him the full vials of his wrath.

This took place about the time when the two sections of the Socialist Party in Germany—Eisenachers and Lassalleans[250]—had just effected their fusion, and thus obtained not only an immense increase of strength, but, what was more, the faculty of employing the whole of this strength against the common enemy. The Socialist Party in Germany was fast becoming a power. But to make it a power, the first condition was that the newly-conquered unity should not be imperilled. And Dr. Dühring openly proceeded to form around himself a sect, the nucleus of a future separate party. It thus became necessary to take up the gauntlet thrown down to us, and to fight out the struggle whether we liked it or not.

This, however, though it might not be an overdifficult, was evidently a long-winded, business. As is well known, we Germans are of a terribly ponderous *Gründlichkeit,* radical profundity or profound radicality, whatever you may like to call it. Whenever any one of us expounds what he considers a new doctrine, he has first to elaborate it into an all-comprising system. He has to prove that both the first principles of logic and the fundamental laws of the universe had existed from all eternity for no other purpose than to ultimately lead to this newly-discovered, crowning theory.

# SOCIALISM

## *UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC*

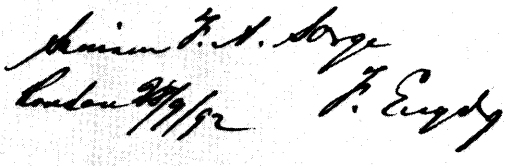

Half-title of the English edition
of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*
presented by Engels to F. A. Sorge

# SOCIALISM

## UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC

BY

FREDERICK ENGELS

*TRANSLATED BY EDWARD AVELING*

*D.Sc., Fellow of University College, London*

WITH A SPECIAL INTRODUCTION BY THE AUTHOR

LONDON:
SWAN SONNENSCHEIN & CO.
NEW YORK: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
1892

Title page of the English edition
of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*

And Dr. Dühring, in this respect, was quite up to the national mark. Nothing less than a complete *System of Philosophy,* mental, moral, natural, and historical; a complete *System of Political Economy and Socialism*; and, finally, a *Critical History of Political Economy*[a]—three big volumes in octavo, heavy extrinsically and intrinsically, three army corps of arguments mobilised against all previous philosophers and economists in general, and against Marx in particular—in fact, an attempt at a complete "revolution in science"—these were what I should have to tackle. I had to treat of all and every possible subject, from the concepts of time and space to Bimetallism[251]; from the eternity of matter and motion to the perishable nature of moral ideas; from Darwin's natural selection to the education of youth in a future society. Anyhow, the systematic comprehensiveness of my opponent gave me the opportunity of developing, in opposition to him, and in a more connected form than had previously been done, the views held by Marx and myself on this great variety of subjects. And that was the principal reason which made me undertake this otherwise ungrateful task.

My reply was first published in a series of articles in the Leipzig *Vorwärts,* the chief organ of the socialist party, and later on as a book: *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft* (*Mr. E. Dühring's Revolution in Science*), a second edition of which appeared in Zurich, 1886.

At the request of my friend, Paul Lafargue, now representative of Lille in the French Chamber of Deputies, I arranged three chapters of this book as a pamphlet, which he translated and published in 1880, under the title: *Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique.*[252] From this French text Polish and Spanish editions were prepared. In 1883, our German friends brought out the pamphlet in the original language. Italian, Russian, Danish, Dutch, and Roumanian translations, based upon the German text, have since been published. Thus, with the present English edition, this little book circulates in ten languages. I am not aware that any other socialist work, not even our *Communist Manifesto* of 1848 or Marx's *Capital,* has been so often translated. In Germany it has had four editions of about 20,000 copies in all.

The Appendix, "The Mark", was written with the intention of spreading among the German Socialist Party some elementary

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[a] This refers to E. Dühring's books: *Cursus der Philosophie als streng wissenschaftlicher Weltanschauung und Lebensgestaltung*; *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie einschliesslich der Hauptpunkte der Finanzpolitik*; *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und der Socialismus.*—*Ed.*

knowledge of the history and development of landed property in Germany. This seemed all the more necessary at a time when the assimilation by that party of the working people of the towns was in a fair way of completion, and when the agricultural labourers and peasants had to be taken in hand. This appendix has been included in the translation, as the original forms of tenure of land common to all Teutonic tribes, and the history of their decay, are even less known in England than in Germany. I have left the text as it stands in the original, without alluding to the hypothesis recently started by Maxim Kovalevsky, according to which the partition of the arable and meadow lands among the members of the Mark was preceded by their being cultivated for joint-account by a large patriarchal family community embracing several generations (as exemplified by the still existing South Slavonian Zadruga), and that the partition, later on, took place when the community had increased, so as to become too unwieldy for joint-account management.[a] Kovalevsky is probably quite right, but the matter is still *sub judice.*[b]

The economic terms used in this work, as far as they are new, agree with those used in the English edition of Marx's *Capital.*[253] We call "production of commodities" that economic phase where articles are produced not only for the use of the producers, but also for purposes of exchange; that is, *as commodities,* not as use values. This phase extends from the first beginnings of production for exchange down to our present time; it attains its full development under capitalist production only, that is, under conditions where the capitalist, the owner of the means of production, employs, for wages, labourers, people deprived of all means of production except their own labour-power, and pockets the excess of the selling price of the products over his outlay. We divide the history of industrial production since the Middle Ages into three periods: (l) handicraft, small master craftsmen with a few journeymen and apprentices, where each labourer produces the complete article; (2) manufacture, where greater numbers of workmen, grouped in one large establishment, produce the complete article on the principle of division of labour, each workman performing only one partial operation, so that the product is complete only after having passed successively through the hands of all; (3) modern industry, where the product is produced by machinery driven by power, and where the work of

[a] Engels refers to M. M. Kovalevsky's works: *Tableau des origines et de l'évolution de la famille et de la propriété* and *Первобытное право,* I, «Родъ».— *Ed.*

[b] Under consideration.— *Ed.*

the labourer is limited to superintending and correcting the performances of the mechanical agent.[a]

I am perfectly aware that the contents of this work will meet with objection from a considerable portion of the British public. But if we Continentals had taken the slightest notice of the prejudices of British "respectability",[b] we should be even worse off than we are. This book defends what we call "historical materialism", and the word materialism grates upon the ears of the immense majority of British readers. "Agnosticism" might be tolerated, but materialism is utterly inadmissible.

And yet the original home of all modern materialism, from the seventeenth century onwards, is England.[c]

"Materialism is the natural-born son of Great Britain. Already the British schoolman, Duns Scotus, asked, 'whether it was impossible for matter to think?'

"In order to effect this miracle, he took refuge in God's omnipotence, *i.e.,* he made theology preach materialism. Moreover, he was a nominalist.[254] Nominalism, the first form of materialism, is chiefly found among the English schoolmen.

"The real progenitor of English materialism is Bacon. To him natural philosophy is the only true philosophy, and physics based upon the experience of the senses is the chiefest part of natural philosophy. Anaxagoras and his homoiomeriae,[255] Democritus and his atoms, he often quotes as his authorities. According to him the senses are infallible and the source of all knowledge. All science is based on experience, and consists in subjecting the data furnished by the senses to a rational method of investigation. Induction, analysis, comparison, observation, experiment, are the principal forms of such a rational method. Among the qualities inherent in matter, motion is the first and foremost, not only in the form of mechanical and mathematical motion, but chiefly in the form of an impulse, a vital spirit, a tension—or a 'qual', to use a term of Jakob Böhme's*—of matter.[d]

"In Bacon, its first creator, materialism still occludes within itself

* "Qual" is a philosophical play upon words. Qual literally means torture, a pain which drives to action of some kind; at the same time the mystic Böhme puts

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[a] The beginning of the Introduction up to the words "the mechanical agent" is omitted in *Die Neue Zeit.—Ed.*

[b] In *Die Neue Zeit* there follows: "i.e. British philistines".—*Ed.*

[c] Further on Engels quotes a lengthy passage from *The Holy Family* (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 127-29). Substantial differences between the text in *Die Neue Zeit* and Engels' translation into English are given in footnotes.—*Ed.*

[d] In *Die Neue Zeit* there follows the sentence omitted in the English edition: "The

the germs of a many-sided development. On the one hand, matter, surrounded by a sensuous, poetic glamour, seems to attract man's whole entity by winning smiles. On the other, the aphoristically formulated doctrine pullulates with inconsistencies imported from theology.

"In its further evolution, materialism becomes one-sided. Hobbes is the man who systematises Baconian materialism. Knowledge based upon the senses loses its poetic blossom, it passes into the abstract experience of the mathematician[b]; geometry is proclaimed as the queen of sciences. Materialism takes to misanthropy. If it is to overcome its opponent, misanthropic, fleshless spiritualism, and that on the latter's own ground, materialism has to chastise its own flesh and turn ascetic. Thus, from a sensual, it passes into an intellectual entity; but thus, too, it evolves all the consistency, regardless of consequences, characteristic of the intellect.

"Hobbes, as Bacon's continuator, argues thus: if all human knowledge is furnished by the senses, then our concepts and ideas are but the phantoms, divested of their sensual forms, of the real world. Philosophy can but give names to these phantoms. One name may be applied to more than one of them. There may even be names of names. It would imply a contradiction if, on the one hand, we maintained that all ideas had their origin in the world of sensation, and, on the other, that a word was more than a word; that besides the beings known to us by our senses, beings which are one and all individuals, there existed also beings of a general, not individual, nature. An unbodily substance is the same absurdity as an unbodily body. Body, being, substance, are but different terms for the same reality. *It is impossible to separate thought from matter that thinks.* This matter is the substratum of all changes going on in the world. The word infinite is meaningless, unless it states that our mind is capable of performing an endless

into the German word something of the meaning of the Latin *qualitas*; his "qual" was the activating principle arising from, and promoting in its turn, the spontaneous development of the thing, relation, or person subject to it, in contradistinction to a pain inflicted from without.[a]

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primary forms of matter are the living, individualising forces of being inherent in it and producing the distinctions between the species."—*Ed.*

[a] In *Die Neue Zeit* this note was omitted by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] *Die Neue Zeit* continues with the following: "Physical motion is sacrificed to mechanical or mathematical motion."—*Ed.*

process of addition. Only material things being perceptible to us, we cannot know anything about the existence of God. My own existence alone is certain. Every human passion is a mechanical movement which has a beginning and an end. The objects of impulse are what we call good. Man is subject to the same laws as nature. Power and freedom are identical.

"Hobbes had systematised Bacon without, however, furnishing a proof for Bacon's fundamental principle, the origin of all human knowledge from the world of sensation. It was Locke who, in his Essay on the Human Understanding, supplied this proof.[a]

"Hobbes had shattered the theistic prejudices of Baconian materialism; Collins, Dodwell, Coward, Hartley, Priestley similarly shattered the last theological bars that still hemmed in Locke's sensationalism. At all events, for practical materialists, Theism[256] is but an easy-going way of getting rid of religion." *

Thus Karl Marx wrote about the British origin of modern materialism. If Englishmen nowadays do not exactly relish the compliment he paid their ancestors, more's the pity. It is none the less undeniable that Bacon, Hobbes, and Locke are the fathers of that brilliant school of French materialists which made the eighteenth century, in spite of all battles on land and sea won over Frenchmen by Germans and Englishmen, a pre-eminently French century, even before that crowning French Revolution, the results of which we outsiders, in England as well as in Germany, are still trying to acclimatise.

There is no denying it. About the middle of this century, what struck every cultivated foreigner who set up his residence in England, was, what he was then bound to consider the religious bigotry and stupidity of the English respectable middle class. We, at that time, were all materialists, or, at least, very advanced freethinkers, and to us it appeared inconceivable that almost all educated people in England should believe in all sorts of impossible miracles, and that even geologists like Buckland and Mantell should contort the facts of their science so as not to clash too much with the myths of the book of Genesis; while, in order to find people who dared to use their own intellectual faculties with regard to religious matters, you had to go amongst the uneducated, the "great unwashed", as they were then called, the working people, especially the Owenite Socialists.

* Marx and Engels, *Die heilige Familie,* Frankfurt a. M., 1845, pp. 201-04.

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[a] J. Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding.—Ed.*

But England has been "civilised" since then. The exhibition of 1851[257] sounded the knell of English insular exclusiveness. England became gradually internationalised—in diet, in manners, in ideas; so much so that I begin to wish that some English manners and customs had made as much headway on the Continent as other continental habits have made here. Anyhow, the introduction and spread of salad-oil (before 1851 known only to the aristocracy) has been accompanied by a fatal spread of continental scepticism in matters religious, and it has come to this, that agnosticism, though not yet considered "the thing" quite as much as the Church of England, is yet very nearly on a par, as far as respectability goes, with Baptism, and decidedly ranks above the Salvation Army. And I cannot help believing that under these circumstances it will be consoling to many who sincerely regret and condemn this progress of infidelity to learn that these "new-fangled notions" are not of foreign origin, are not "made in Germany", like so many other articles of daily use, but are undoubtedly Old English, and that their British originators two hundred years ago went a good deal further than their descendants now dare to venture.

What, indeed, is agnosticism, but, to use an expressive Lancashire term,[a] "shamefaced" materialism? The agnostic's conception of Nature is materialistic throughout. The entire natural world is governed by law, and absolutely excludes the intervention of action from without. But, he adds, we have no means either of ascertaining or of disproving the existence of some Supreme Being beyond the known universe. Now, this might hold good at the time when Laplace, to Napoleon's question, why in the great astronomer's *Mécanique céleste*[b] the Creator was not even mentioned, proudly replied: "*Je n'avais pas besoin de cette hypothèse.*"[c] But nowadays, in our evolutionary conception of the universe, there is absolutely no room for either a Creator or a Ruler; and to talk of a Supreme Being shut out from the whole existing world, implies a contradiction in terms, and, as it seems to me, a gratuitous insult to the feelings of religious people.

Again, our agnostic admits that all our knowledge is based upon the information imparted to us by our senses. But, he adds, how do we know that our senses give us correct representations of the

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[a] In *Die Neue Zeit* the phrase "to use an expressive Lancashire term" is omitted.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to P. S. Laplace, *Traité de mécanique céleste.*—*Ed.*

[c] "I had no need of this hypothesis."—*Ed.*

objects we perceive through them? And he proceeds to inform us that, whenever he speaks of objects or their qualities, he does in reality not mean these objects and qualities, of which he cannot know anything for certain, but merely the impressions which they have produced on his senses. Now, this line of reasoning seems undoubtedly hard to beat by mere argumentation. But before there was argumentation, there was action. *Im Anfang war die That.*[a] And human action had solved the difficulty long before human ingenuity invented it. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. From the moment we turn to our own use these objects, according to the qualities we perceive in them, we put to an infallible test the correctness or otherwise of our sense-perceptions. If these perceptions have been wrong, then our estimate of the use to which an object can be turned must also be wrong, and our attempt must fail. But if we succeed in accomplishing our aim, if we find that the object does agree with our idea of it, and does answer the purpose we intended it for, then that is positive proof that our perceptions of it and of its qualities, *so far,* agree with reality outside ourselves. And whenever we find ourselves face to face with a failure, then we generally are not long in making out the cause that made us fail; we find that the perception upon which we acted was either incomplete and superficial, or combined with the results of other perceptions in a way not warranted by them—what we call defective reasoning.[b] So long as we take care to train and to use our senses properly, and to keep our action within the limits prescribed by perceptions properly made and properly used, so long we shall find that the result of our action proves the conformity of our perceptions with the objective nature of the things perceived. Not in one single instance, so far, have we been led to the conclusion that our sense-perceptions, scientifically controlled, induce in our minds ideas respecting the outer world that are, by their very nature, at variance with reality, or that there is an inherent incompatibility between the outer world and our sense-perceptions of it.

But then come the Neo-Kantian agnostics and say: We may correctly perceive the qualities of a thing, but we cannot by any sensible or mental process grasp the thing-in-itself. This "thing-in-itself" is beyond our ken. To this Hegel, long since, has replied: If

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[a] "In the beginning was the deed" (see Goethe, *Faust,* Part I, Scene 3, "Faust's Study").—*Ed.*

[b] In *Die Neue Zeit* the words "what we call defective reasoning" are omitted.—*Ed.*

you know all the qualities of a thing, you know the thing itself; nothing remains but the fact that the said thing exists without us; and when your senses have taught you that fact, you have grasped the last remnant of the thing-in-itself, Kant's celebrated unknowable *Ding an sich.* To which it may be added that in Kant's time our knowledge of natural objects was indeed so fragmentary that he might well suspect, behind the little we knew about each of them, a mysterious "thing-in-itself". But one after another these ungraspable things have been grasped, analysed and, what is more, *reproduced* by the giant progress of science; and what we can produce, we certainly cannot consider as unknowable. To the chemistry of the first half of this century organic substances were such mysterious objects; now we learn to build them up one after another from their chemical elements without the aid of organic processes. Modern chemists declare that as soon as the chemical constitution of no matter what body is known, it can be built up from its elements. We are still far from knowing the constitution of the highest organic substances, the albuminous bodies; but there is no reason why we should not, if only after centuries, arrive at that knowledge and, armed with it, produce artificial albumen. But if we arrive at that, we shall at the same time have produced organic life, for life, from its lowest to its highest forms, is but the normal mode of existence of albuminous bodies.

As soon, however, as our agnostic has made these formal mental reservations, he talks and acts as the rank materialist he at bottom is. He may say that, as far as *we* know, matter and motion, or as it is now called, energy, can neither be created nor destroyed, but that we have no proof of their not having been created at some time or other. But if you try to use this admission against him in any particular case, he will quickly put you out of court. If he admits the possibility of spiritualism *in abstracto,* he will have none of it *in concreto.* As far as we know and can know, he will tell you there is no Creator and no Ruler of the universe; as far as we are concerned, matter and energy can neither be created nor annihilated; for us, mind is a mode of energy, a function of the brain; all we know is that the material world is governed by immutable laws, and so forth. Thus, as far as he is a scientific man, as far as he *knows* anything, he is a materialist; outside his science, in spheres about which he knows nothing, he translates his ignorance into Greek and calls it agnosticism.

At all events, one thing seems clear: even if I was an agnostic, it is evident that I could not describe the conception of history sketched out in this little book as "historical agnosticism".

Religious people would laugh at me, agnostics would indignantly ask, was I going to make fun of them? And thus I hope even British respectability[a] will not be overshocked if I use, in English as well as in so many other languages, the term "historical materialism", to designate that view of the course of history which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all important historic events in the economic development of society, in the changes in the modes of production and exchange, in the consequent division of society into distinct classes, and in the struggles of these classes against one another.

This indulgence will perhaps be accorded to me all the sooner if I show that historical materialism may be of advantage even to British respectability.[b] I have mentioned the fact that about forty or fifty years ago, any cultivated foreigner settling in England was struck by what he was then bound to consider the religious bigotry and stupidity of the English respectable middle class. I am now going to prove that the respectable English middle class of that time was not quite as stupid as it looked to the intelligent foreigner. Its religious leanings can be explained.

When Europe emerged from the Middle Ages, the rising middle class[c] of the towns constituted its revolutionary element. It had conquered a recognised position within medieval feudal organisation, but this position, also, had become too narrow for its expansive power. The development[d] of the middle class, the *bourgeoisie,* became incompatible with the maintenance of the feudal system; the feudal system, therefore, had to fall.

But the great international centre of feudalism was the Roman Catholic Church. It united the whole of feudalised Western Europe, in spite of all internal wars, into one grand political system, opposed as much to the schismatic Greeks as to the Mohammedan countries. It surrounded feudal institutions with the halo of divine consecration. It had organised its own hierarchy on the feudal model, and, lastly, it was itself by far the most powerful feudal lord, holding, as it did, full one-third of the soil of the Catholic world. Before profane feudalism could be

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[a] In *Die Neue Zeit* there follow the words: "which in German is called philistinism".—*Ed.*

[b] In *Die Neue Zeit* the words "the respectability of the British philistine" are substituted for "British respectability".—*Ed.*

[c] From here on and up to the paragraph beginning with the words "The new starting-point" (p. 292 of this volume), Engels' terms "middle class" and "bourgeoisie" are translated as "Bürgerthum" in *Die Neue Zeit.*—*Ed.*

[d] In *Die Neue Zeit*: "The free development".—*Ed.*

successfully attacked in each country and in detail, this, its sacred central organisation, had to be destroyed.

Moreover, parallel with the rise of the middle class went on the great revival of science; astronomy, mechanics, physics, anatomy, physiology, were again cultivated. And the bourgeoisie, for the development of its industrial production, required a science which ascertained the physical properties of natural objects and the modes of action of the forces of Nature. Now up to then science had but been the humble handmaid of the Church, had not been allowed to overstep the limits set by faith, and for that reason had been no science at all. Science rebelled against the Church; the bourgeoisie could not do without science, and, therefore, had to join in the rebellion.

The above, though touching but two of the points where the rising middle class was bound to come into collision with the established religion, will be sufficient to show, first, that the class most directly interested in the struggle against the pretensions of the Roman Church was the bourgeoisie; and second, that every struggle against feudalism, at that time, had to take on a religious disguise, had to be directed against the Church in the first instance. But if the universities and the traders of the cities started the cry, it was sure to find, and did find, a strong echo in the masses of the country people, the peasants, who everywhere had to struggle for their very existence with their feudal lords, spiritual and temporal.

The long[a] fight of the bourgeoisie against feudalism culminated in three great, decisive battles.

The first was what is called the Protestant Reformation in Germany. The war-cry raised against the Church by Luther was responded to by two insurrections of a political nature: first, that of the lower nobility under Franz von Sickingen (1523), then the great Peasants' War, 1525.[258] Both were defeated, chiefly in consequence of the indecision of the parties most interested, the burghers of the towns—an indecision into the causes of which we cannot here enter. From that moment the struggle degenerated into a fight between the local princes and the central power,[b] and ended by blotting out Germany, for two hundred years, from the politically active nations of Europe. The Lutheran Reformation produced a new creed indeed, a religion adapted to absolute

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[a] Instead of "long" *Die Neue Zeit* has "great".—*Ed.*

[b] Instead of "central power" *Die Neue Zeit* has "imperial central power".—*Ed.*

monarchy. No sooner were the peasants of North-East Germany converted to Lutheranism than they were from freemen reduced to serfs.

But where Luther failed, Calvin won the day. Calvin's creed was one fit for the boldest of the bourgeoisie of his time. His predestination doctrine was the religious expression of the fact that in the commercial world of competition success or failure does not depend upon a man's activity or cleverness, but upon circumstances uncontrollable by him. It is not of him that willeth or of him that runneth, but of the mercy of unknown superior economic powers; and this was especially true at a period of economic revolution, when all old commercial routes and centres were replaced by new ones, when India and America were opened to the world, and when even the most sacred economic articles of faith—the value of gold and silver—began to totter and to break down. Calvin's church constitution was thoroughly democratic and republican; and where the kingdom of God was republicanised, could the kingdoms of this world remain subject to monarchs, bishops and lords? While German Lutheranism became a willing tool in the hands of princes,[a] Calvinism founded a republic in Holland, and active republican parties in England, and, above all, Scotland.

In Calvinism, the second great bourgeois upheaval found its doctrine ready cut and dried. This upheaval took place in England. The middle class of the towns brought it on, and the yeomanry[b] of the country districts fought it out. Curiously enough, in all the three great bourgeois risings,[c] the peasantry furnishes the army that has to do the fighting; and the peasantry is just the class that, the victory once gained, is most surely ruined by the economic consequences of that victory. A hundred years after Cromwell, the yeomanry of England had almost disappeared. Anyhow, had it not been for that yeomanry and for the *plebeian* element in the towns,[d] the bourgeoisie alone would never have fought the matter out to the bitter end, and would never have brought Charles I to the scaffold. In order to secure even those

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[a] *Die Neue Zeit* has "petty princes" instead of "princes".—*Ed.*

[b] *Die Neue Zeit* has "the middle peasantry (yeomanry)" instead of "yeomanry".—*Ed.*

[c] *Die Neue Zeit* has "bourgeois revolutions" instead of "bourgeois rising".—*Ed.*

[d] In *Die Neue Zeit* the rest of the sentence reads as follows: "the matter would have never been fought out to the bitter end and Charles I brought to the scaffold."—*Ed.*

conquests of the bourgeoisie that were ripe for gathering at the time, the revolution had to be carried considerably further—exactly as in 1793 in France and in 1848 in Germany. This seems, in fact, to be one of the laws of evolution of bourgeois society.

Well, upon this excess of revolutionary activity there necessarily followed the inevitable reaction which in its turn went beyond the point where it might have maintained itself.[a] After a series of oscillations, the new centre of gravity was at last attained and became a new starting-point. The grand period of English history, known to respectability[b] under the name of "the Great Rebellion", and the struggles succeeding it, were brought to a close by the comparatively puny event[c] entitled by Liberal historians, "the Glorious Revolution".[259]

The new starting-point was a compromise between the rising middle class[d] and ex-feudal landowners. The latter, though called, as now, the aristocracy, had been long since on the way which led them to become what Louis Philippe in France became at a much later period, "the first bourgeois of the kingdom". Fortunately for England, the old feudal barons had killed one another during the Wars of the Roses.[260] Their successors, though mostly scions of the old families, had been so much out of the direct line of descent that they constituted quite a new body, with habits and tendencies far more bourgeois than feudal. They fully understood the value of money, and at once began to increase their rents by turning hundreds of small farmers out and replacing them by sheep. Henry VIII, while squandering the Church lands, created fresh bourgeois landlords by wholesale; the innumerable confiscations of estates, regranted to absolute or relative upstarts, and continued during the whole of the seventeenth century, had the same result. Consequently, ever since Henry VII, the English "aristocracy", far from counteracting the development of industrial production, had, on the contrary, sought to indirectly profit thereby; and there had always been a section of the great landowners willing, from economical or political reasons, to co-operate with the leading men of the financial and industrial bourgeoisie. The compromise of 1689 was, therefore, easily accomplished. The political spoils of

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[a] *Die Neue Zeit* has "beyond its goal" instead of "beyond the point where it might have maintained itself".—*Ed.*

[b] *Die Neue Zeit* has "philistinism" instead of "respectability".—*Ed.*

[c] In *Die Neue Zeit* there follows "of 1689".—*Ed.*

[d] Here and below the term "middle class" is translated in *Die Neue Zeit* as "bourgeoisie" and as "middle class", "middle estate".—*Ed.*

"pelf and place"[a] were left to the great landowning families, provided the economic interests of the financial, manufacturing, and commercial middle class were sufficiently attended to. And these economic interests were at that time powerful enough to determine the general policy of the nation. There might be squabbles about matters of detail, but, on the whole, the aristocratic oligarchy knew too well that its own economic prosperity was irretrievably bound up with that of the industrial and commercial middle class.

From that time, the bourgeoisie was a humble, but still a recognised component of the ruling classes of England. With the rest of them, it had a common interest in keeping in subjection the great working mass of the nation. The merchant or manufacturer himself stood in the position of master, or, as it was until lately called, of "natural superior" to his clerks, his workpeople, his domestic servants. His interest was to get as much and as good work out of them as he could; for this end they had to be trained to proper submission. He was himself religious; his religion had supplied the standard under which he had fought the king and the lords; he was not long in discovering the opportunities this same religion offered him for working upon the minds of his natural inferiors, and making them submissive to the behests of the masters it had pleased God to place over them. In short, the English bourgeoisie now had to take a part in keeping down the "lower orders", the great producing mass of the nation, and one of the means employed for that purpose was the influence of religion.

There was another fact that contributed to strengthen the religious leanings of the bourgeoisie. That was the rise of materialism in England. This new[b] doctrine not only shocked the pious feelings of the middle class; it announced itself as a philosophy only fit for scholars and cultivated men of the world, in contrast to religion which was good enough for the uneducated masses, including the bourgeoisie. With Hobbes it stepped on the stage as a defender of royal prerogative and omnipotence; it called upon absolute monarchy to keep down that *puer robustus sed malitiosus,*[261] to wit, the people. Similarly, with the successors of Hobbes, with Bolingbroke, Shaftesbury, etc., the new deistic form of materialism remained an aristocratic, esoteric doctrine, and,

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[a] *Die Neue Zeit* has "posts, sinecure and high salary" instead of "pelf and place".—*Ed.*

[b] In *Die Neue Zeit* there follows the word "irreligious".—*Ed.*

therefore, hateful to the middle class both for its religious heresy and for its anti-bourgeois political connections. Accordingly, in opposition to the materialism and deism of the aristocracy, those Protestant sects which had furnished the flag and the fighting contingent against the Stuarts, continued to furnish the main strength of the progressive middle class, and form even today the backbone of "the Great Liberal Party".

In the meantime materialism passed from England to France, where it met and coalesced with another materialistic school of philosophers, a branch of Cartesianism.[262] In France, too, it remained at first an exclusively aristocratic doctrine. But soon its revolutionary character asserted itself. The French materialists did not limit their criticism to matters of religious belief; they extended it to whatever scientific tradition or political institution they met with; and to prove the claim of their doctrine to universal application, they took the shortest cut, and boldly applied it to all subjects of knowledge in the giant work after which they were named—the *Encyclopédie*. Thus, in one or the other of its two forms—avowed materialism or deism—it became the creed of the whole cultured youth of France; so much so that, when the great Revolution broke out, the doctrine hatched by English Royalists gave a theoretical flag to French Republicans and Terrorists, and furnished the text for the Declaration of the Rights of Man.[263]

The great French Revolution was the third uprising of the bourgeoisie, but the first that had entirely cast off the religious cloak, and was fought out on undisguised political lines; it was the first, too, that was really fought out up to the destruction of one of the combatants, the aristocracy, and the complete triumph of the other, the bourgeoisie. In England the continuity of pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary institutions, and the compromise between landlords and capitalists, found its expression in the continuity of judicial precedents and in the religious preservation of the feudal forms of the law. In France the Revolution constituted a complete breach with the traditions of the past; it cleared out the very last vestiges of feudalism, and created in the *Code Civil*[264] a masterly adaptation of the old Roman law—that almost perfect expression of the juridical relations corresponding to the economic stage called by Marx the production of commodities—to modern capitalistic conditions; so masterly that this French revolutionary code still serves as a model for reforms of the law of property in all other countries, not excepting England. Let us, however, not forget that if English law continues

to express the economic relations of capitalistic society in that barbarous feudal language which corresponds to the thing expressed, just as English spelling corresponds to English pronunciation—*vous écrivez Londres et vous prononcez Constantinople,*[a] said a Frenchman—that same English law is the only one which has preserved through ages, and transmitted to America and the Colonies, the best part of that old Germanic personal freedom, local self-government and independence from all interference but that of the law courts, which on the Continent has been lost during the period of absolute monarchy, and has nowhere been as yet fully recovered.

To return to our British bourgeois. The French Revolution gave him a splendid opportunity, with the help of the continental monarchies, to destroy French maritime commerce, to annex French colonies, and to crush the last French pretensions to maritime rivalry. That was one reason why he fought it. Another was that the ways of this revolution went very much against his grain. Not only its "execrable" terrorism, but the very attempt to carry bourgeois rule to extremes. What should the British bourgeois do without his aristocracy, that taught him manners, such as they were, and invented fashions for him—that furnished officers for the army, which kept order at home, and the navy, which conquered colonial possessions and new markets abroad? There was indeed a progressive minority of the bourgeoisie, that minority whose interests were not so well attended to under the compromise; this section, composed chiefly of the less wealthy middle class, did sympathise with the Revolution,[265] but it was powerless in Parliament.

Thus, if materialism became the creed of the French Revolution, the God-fearing English bourgeois held all the faster to his religion. Had not the reign of terror in Paris proved what was the upshot, if the religious instincts of the masses were lost? The more materialism spread from France to neighbouring countries, and was reinforced by similar doctrinal currents, notably by German philosophy, the more, in fact, materialism and free thought generally became, on the Continent, the necessary qualifications of a cultivated man, the more stubbornly the English middle class stuck to its manifold religious creeds. These creeds might differ from one another, but they were, all of them, distinctly religious, Christian creeds.

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[a] "You write London, but pronounce Constantinople."—*Ed.*

While the Revolution ensured the political triumph of the bourgeoisie in France, in England Watt, Arkwright, Cartwright, and others initiated an industrial revolution, which completely shifted the centre of gravity of economic power. The wealth of the bourgeoisie increased considerably faster than that of the landed aristocracy. Within the bourgeoisie itself, the financial aristocracy, the bankers, etc., were more and more pushed into the background by the manufacturers. The compromise of 1689, even after the gradual changes it had undergone in favour of the bourgeoisie, no longer corresponded to the relative position of the parties to it. The character of these parties, too, had changed; the bourgeoisie of 1830 was very different from that of the preceding century. The political power still left to the aristocracy, and used by them to resist the pretensions of the new industrial bourgeoisie, became incompatible with the new economic interests. A fresh struggle with the aristocracy was necessary; it could end only in a victory of the new economic power. First, the Reform Act[266] was pushed through, in spite of all resistance, under the impulse of the French Revolution of 1830. It gave to the bourgeoisie a recognised and powerful place in Parliament. Then the Repeal of the Corn Laws, which settled, once for all, the supremacy of the bourgeoisie, and especially of its most active portion, the manufacturers, over the landed aristocracy. This was the greatest victory of the bourgeoisie; it was, however, also the last it gained in its own exclusive interest. Whatever triumphs it obtained later on, it had to share with a new social power, first its ally, but soon its rival.

The industrial revolution had created a class of large manufacturing capitalists, but also a class—and a far more numerous one—of manufacturing workpeople. This class gradually increased in numbers, in proportion as the industrial revolution seized upon one branch of manufacture after another, and in the same proportion it increased in power. This power it proved as early as 1824, by forcing a reluctant Parliament to repeal the acts forbidding combinations of workmen.[267] During the Reform agitation, the working men constituted the Radical wing of the Reform party; the Act of 1832 having excluded them from the suffrage, they formulated their demands in the People's Charter,[268] and constituted themselves, in opposition to the great bourgeois Anti-Corn Law party,[269] into an independent party, the Chartists, the first working men's party of modern times.

Then came the continental revolutions of February and March, 1848, in which the working people played such a prominent part,

and, at least in Paris, put forward demands which were certainly inadmissible from the point of view of capitalist society. And then came the general reaction. First the defeat of the Chartists on the 10th April, 1848, then the crushing of the Paris working men's insurrection in June of the same year, then the disasters of 1849 in Italy, Hungary, South Germany, and at last the victory of Louis Bonaparte over Paris, 2nd December, 1851. For a time, at least, the bugbear of working-class pretensions was put down, but at what cost! If the British bourgeois had been convinced before of the necessity of maintaining the common people in a religious mood, how much more must he feel that necessity after all these experiences? Regardless of the sneers of his continental compeers, he continued to spend thousands and tens of thousands, year after year, upon the evangelisation of the lower orders; not content with his own native religious machinery, he appealed to Brother Jonathan, the greatest organiser in existence of religion as a trade, and imported from America revivalism, Moody and Sankey, and the like[270]; and, finally, he accepted the dangerous aid of the Salvation Army, which revives the propaganda of early Christianity, appeals to the poor as the elect, fights capitalism in a religious way, and thus fosters an element of early Christian class antagonism, which one day may become troublesome to the well-to-do people who now find the ready money for it.

It seems a law of historical development that the bourgeoisie can in no European country get hold of political power—at least for any length of time—in the same exclusive way in which the feudal aristocracy kept hold of it during the Middle Ages. Even in France, where feudalism was completely extinguished, the bourgeoisie, as a whole, has held full possession of the Government for very short periods only. During Louis Philippe's reign, 1830-48, a very small portion of the bourgeoisie ruled the kingdom; by far the larger part were excluded from the suffrage by the high qualification. Under the Second Republic, 1848-51, the whole bourgeoisie ruled, but for three years only; their incapacity brought on the Second Empire. It is only now, in the Third Republic, that the bourgeoisie as a whole have kept possession of the helm for more than twenty years; and they are already showing lively signs of decadence. A durable reign of the bourgeoisie has been possible only in countries like America, where feudalism was unknown, and society at the very beginning started from a bourgeois basis. And even in France and America, the successors of the bourgeoisie, the working people, are already knocking at the door.

In England, the bourgeoisie never held undivided sway. Even the victory of 1832 left the landed aristocracy in almost exclusive possession of all the leading Government offices. The meekness with which the wealthy middle class submitted to this, remained inconceivable to me until the great Liberal manufacturer, Mr. W. A. Forster, in a public speech implored the young men of Bradford to learn French, as a means to get on in the world, and quoted from his own experience how sheepish he looked when, as a Cabinet Minister, he had to move in society where French was, at least, as necessary as English! The fact was, the English middle class of that time were, as a rule, quite uneducated upstarts, and could not help leaving to the aristocracy those superior Government places where other qualifications were required than mere insular narrowness and insular conceit, seasoned by business sharpness.* Even now the endless newspaper debates about middle-class education show that the English middle class does not yet consider itself good enough for the best education, and looks to something more modest. Thus, even after the Repeal of the Corn Laws, it appeared a matter of course that the men who had carried the day, the Cobdens, Brights, Forsters, etc., should remain excluded from a share in the official government of the country, until twenty years afterwards, a new Reform Act[271] opened to them the door of the Cabinet. The English bourgeoisie are, up to the present day, so deeply penetrated by a sense of their social inferiority that they keep up, at their own expense and that of the nation, an ornamental caste of drones to represent the nation worthily at all state functions; and they consider themselves

* And even in business matters, the conceit of national chauvinism is but a sorry adviser. Up to quite recently, the average English manufacturer considered it derogatorv from an Englishman to speak any language but his own, and felt rather proud than otherwise of the fact that "poor devils" of foreigners settled in England and took off his hands the trouble of disposing of his products abroad. He never noticed that these foreigners, mostly Germans, thus got command of a very large part of British foreign trade, imports and exports, and that the direct foreign trade of Englishmen became limited, almost entirely, to the colonies, China, the United States, and South America. Nor did he notice that these Germans traded with other Germans abroad, who gradually organised a complete network of commercial colonies all over the world. But when Germany, about forty years ago, seriously began manufacturing for export, this network served her admirably in her transformation in so short a time, from a corn-exporting into a first-rate manufacturing country. Then, about ten years ago, the British manufacturer got frightened, and asked his ambassadors and consuls how it was that he could no longer keep his customers together. The unanimous answer was: (1) You don't learn your customer's language but expect him to speak your own; (2) You don't even try to suit your customer's wants, habits, and tastes, but expect him to conform to your English ones.

highly honoured whenever one of themselves is found worthy of admission into this select and privileged body, manufactured, after all, by themselves.

The industrial and commercial middle class had, therefore, not yet succeeded in driving the landed aristocracy completely from political power when another competitor, the working class, appeared on the stage. The reaction after the Chartist movement and the continental revolutions, as well as the unparalleled extension of English trade from 1848 to 1866 (ascribed vulgarly to Free Trade alone, but due far more to the colossal development of railways, ocean steamers and means of intercourse generally), had again driven the working class into the dependency of the Liberal party, of which they formed, as in pre-Chartist times, the Radical wing. Their claims to the franchise, however, gradually became irresistible; while the Whig leaders of the Liberals "funked", Disraeli showed his superiority by making the Tories seize the favorable moment and introduce household suffrage[a] in the boroughs, along with a redistribution of seats. Then followed the ballot; then in 1884 the extension of household suffrage to the counties and a fresh redistribution of seats, by which electoral districts were to some extent equalised.[272] All these measures considerably increased the electoral power of the working class, so much so that in at least 150 to 200 constituencies that class now furnishes the majority of voters. But parliamentary government is a capital school for teaching respect for tradition; if the middle class look with awe and veneration upon what Lord John Manners playfully called "our old nobility", the mass of the working people then looked up with respect and deference to what used to be designated as "their betters", the middle class. Indeed, the British workman, some fifteen years ago, was the model workman, whose respectful regard for the position of his master, and whose self-restraining modesty in claiming rights for himself, consoled our German economists of the Katheder-Socialist school[273] for the incurable communistic and revolutionary tendencies of their own working men at home.

But the English middle class—good men of business as they are—saw farther than the German professors. They had shared their power but reluctantly with the working class. They had learnt, during the Chartist years, what that *puer robustus sed malitiosus,* the people, is capable of. And since that time, they had

[a] In *Die Neue Zeit* there follows: "which was extended to every lease-holder".—*Ed.*

been compelled to incorporate the better part of the People's Charter in the Statutes of the United Kingdom. Now, if ever, the people must be kept in order by moral means, and the first and foremost of all moral means of action upon the masses is and remains—religion. Hence the parsons' majorities on the school boards, hence the increasing self-taxation of the bourgeoisie for the support of all sorts of revivalism,[a] from ritualism[274] to the Salvation Army.

And now came the triumph of British respectability[b] over the free thought and religious laxity of the continental bourgeois. The workmen of France and Germany had become rebellious. They were thoroughly infected with socialism, and, for very good reasons, were not at all particular as to the legality of the means by which to secure their own ascendency. The *puer robustus,* here, turned from day to day more *malitiosus.* Nothing remained to the French and German bourgeoisie as a last resource but to silently drop their free thought, as a youngster, when sea-sickness creeps upon him, quietly drops the burning cigar he brought swaggeringly on board; one by one, the scoffers turned pious in outward behaviour, spoke with respect of the Church, its dogmas and rites, and even conformed with the latter as far as could not be helped. French bourgeois dined *maigre*[c] on Fridays, and German ones sat out long Protestant sermons in their pews on Sundays. They had come to grief with materialism. "*Die Religion muss dem Volk erhalten werden,*"—religion must be kept alive for the people—that was the only and the last means to save society from utter ruin. Unfortunately for themselves, they did not find this out until they had done their level best to break up religion for ever. And now it was the turn of the British bourgeois to sneer and to say: "Why, you fools, I could have told you that two hundred years ago!"

However, I am afraid neither the religious stolidity of the British, nor the *post festum* conversion of the continental bourgeois will stem the rising proletarian tide. Tradition is a great retarding force, is the *vis inertiae* of history, but, being merely passive, is sure to be broken down; and thus religion will be no lasting safeguard to capitalist society. If our juridical, philosophical, and religious ideas are the more or less remote offshoots of the economical relations prevailing in a given society, such ideas

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[a] *Die Neue Zeit* has "for the use of all possible means of pious demagogy" instead of "for the support of all sorts of revivalism".—*Ed.*

[b] *Die Neue Zeit* has "British respectable philistinism" instead of "British respectability".—*Ed.*

[c] Without meat or milk.—*Ed.*

cannot, in the long run, withstand the effects of a complete change in these relations. And, unless we believe in supernatural revelation, we must admit that no religious tenets will ever suffice to prop up a tottering society.

In fact, in England too, the working people have begun to move again. They are, no doubt, shackled by traditions of various kinds. Bourgeois traditions, such as the widespread belief that there can be but two parties, Conservatives and Liberals, and that the working class must work out its salvation by and through the great Liberal Party. Working men's traditions, inherited from their first tentative efforts at independent action, such as the exclusion, from ever so many old Trade Unions, of all applicants who have not gone through a regular apprenticeship; which means the breeding by every such union, of its own blacklegs. But for all that the English working class is moving, as even Professor Brentano has sorrowfully had to report to his brother Katheder-Socialists.[a] It moves, like all things in England, with a slow and measured step, with hesitation here, with more or less unfruitful, tentative attempts there; it moves now and then with an over-cautious mistrust of the name of Socialism, while it gradually absorbs the substance; and the movement spreads and seizes one layer of the workers after another. It has now shaken out of their torpor the unskilled labourers of the East End of London, and we all know what a splendid impulse these fresh forces have given it in return. And if the pace of the movement is not up to the impatience of some people, let them not forget that it is the working class which keeps alive the finest qualities of the English character, and that, if a step in advance is once gained in England, it is, as a rule, never lost afterwards. If the sons of the old Chartists, for reasons explained above, were not quite up to the mark, the grandsons bid fair to be worthy of their forefathers.

But the triumph of the European working class does not depend upon England alone. It can only be secured by the co-operation of, at least, England, France, and Germany. In both the latter countries the working-class movement is well ahead of England. In Germany it is even within measurable distance of success. The progress it has there made during the last twenty-five years is unparalleled. It advances with ever-increasing velocity. If the German middle class have shown themselves lamentably deficient in political capacity, discipline, courage, energy, and

[a] This refers to L. Brentano's writings dealing with British trade unions: *Die Arbeitergilden der Gegenwart.* Vol. 2: *Zur Kritik der englischen Gewerkvereine.* See also this volume, pp. 95-176.— *Ed.*

perseverance, the German working class have given ample proof of all these qualities. Four hundred years ago, Germany was the starting-point of the first upheaval of the European middle class; as things are now, is it outside the limits of possibility that Germany will be the scene, too, of the first great victory of the European proletariat?

*F. Engels*

*April 20th,* 1892

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# TO THE THIRD AUSTRIAN PARTY CONGRESS IN VIENNA

*London,* May 31, 1892

Dear Comrades,

I thank you for your friendly invitation to your twice-banned party congress, which, it is to be hoped, will now take place.[275] Although I shall not be able to attend your sessions as guest, I am happy to take the opportunity of sending the assembled Austrian comrades my greetings and a confirmation of my lively interest. We here, who enjoy a freedom of movement unknown on the entire Continent, certainly can appreciate that, despite the many limitations of their field of manoeuvre, the Austrian workers have captured the glorious position they now occupy. And I can assure you that here, in the motherland of large-scale industry, the workers' cause progresses; and this is the most significant and gratifying feature of today that, look where we will, everywhere the workers are on their irresistible march forward.

Your old

*Frederick Engels*

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## CARL SCHORLEMMER[276]

Not only science in all countries, but also German Social Democracy, mourn at the grave earthed in today at the Southern Municipal Cemetery in Manchester. The great chemist who lies there was a Communist before Lassalle appeared in Germany; far from making any secret of his convictions he was, until his death, an active and regular dues-paying member of the Socialist Party of Germany.

Carl Schorlemmer was born on September 30, 1834 in Darmstadt, attended gymnasium in his home town, and then studied chemistry in Giessen and Heidelberg. After completing his studies he moved in 1858 to England, where at that time more than one career opened up for talented chemists from the Liebig school. Most of his young colleagues plunged into industry, but he remained true to science, first becoming the assistant of Angus Smith, the private chemist, and then of Roscoe, who shortly before had been appointed professor of chemistry of the newly founded Owens College.[277] In 1861, having previously been Roscoe's assistant, he was engaged as an official laboratory assistant at Owens College.

The sixties were the time of his remarkable chemical discoveries. Organic chemistry had finally reached the point at which it could develop, from a large number of isolated, more or less incomplete statements about the composition of organic substances, into a real science. Schorlemmer selected the simplest of these substances as his object of investigation, convinced that the foundation of the new science was to be laid here: substances originally consisting only of carbon and hydrogen which become the most manifold and most varied other substances when part of

their hydrogen is replaced by other simple or complex substances; these are the paraffins, the best known of which are to be found in petroleum, and from which are derived alcohols, fatty acids, ether, etc. We owe our knowledge about these paraffins today mainly to Schorlemmer. He investigated the existing substances belonging to the paraffin series, separated each one from the others, and produced many of them for the first time in pure form; others, which should have existed theoretically but were not yet known in practice, he discovered and also produced. Thus he became one of the founders of the scientific organic chemistry of today.

Apart from this speciality of his, however, he also devoted a great deal of attention to what is called theoretical chemistry, i.e. to the basic laws of this science, and the way it fits in with related sciences, that is to say physics and physiology. He was particularly capable in this field. He was probably the only important scientist of his time who did not disdain learning from Hegel, at that period despised by many, but esteemed by himself. And rightly so. Anybody who wants to achieve anything in the field of theoretical integrated science must regard natural phenomena not as invariable magnitudes, as most do, but as variable and in a state of flux. And this may be most easily learned, even today, from Hegel.

When I got to know Schorlemmer at the beginning of the sixties—within a short time Marx and I became intimately acquainted with him—he often visited me with a bruised and battered face. The paraffins are no playthings, these often still unknown bodies exploded in his hands all the time, and he thus acquired a number of honourable injuries. It was only due to his glasses that he did not lose his sight.

At that time he was already a complete Communist, and all he had to learn from us were the economic grounds for a conviction he had gained long ago. Once he became familiar through us with the progress made by the workers' movement in the various countries, he always followed these events with great interest; but in particular the movement in Germany, after it advanced beyond the first stage of pure Lassalleanism. After I moved to London at the end of 1870, the greater part of our lively correspondence was concerned with the sciences and party affairs.

To that date Schorlemmer, despite his world-wide reputation, had remained in Manchester, a man of very modest status. This now changed. In 1871 he was proposed as a member of the Royal Society, the English Academy of Sciences, and immediately elected, which does not often happen; in 1874 Owens College finally

established a new professorship in organic chemistry, specially for him, and soon after the University of Glasgow made him an honorary doctor. But these public honours made absolutely no difference to him. He was the soul of modesty, since his modesty was based upon a correct assessment of his own worth. For this reason he regarded these honours as self-evident, and therefore immaterial.

He regularly spent his holidays in London with Marx and myself, except for the time he spent in Germany. Four years ago he accompanied me on a "whirlwind trip" to America.[278] But his health was undermined even then; in 1890 we were still able to travel to Norway and the North Cape, but in 1891 his health collapsed at the beginning of a joint journey we attempted,[279] and after this he never came to London again. From February this year he was almost entirely confined to the house, and from May to his bed; on June 27 he succumbed to cancer of the lung.

It was the lot even of this man of science to experience in person the effects of the Anti-Socialist Law.[280] Six or seven years ago he travelled from Switzerland to Darmstadt. Around this time a trunk full of the *Sozialdemokrat* from Zurich had fallen into the hands of the police somewhere. Who could the smuggler be other than the Social Democratic professor? After all, in the eyes of the police a chemist is a scientifically trained smuggler. So there were raids on the homes of his mother and his brother; but the professor was in Höchst. Immediate telegrams: a domicilary search there too, in which something quite unexpected was found—an English passport. After the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law Schorlemmer had had himself naturalised in England. This English passport stopped the police in their tracks; they shied away from diplomatic complications with England. So the upshot was a big scandal in Darmstadt, which was worth at least 500 votes to us at the next election.

In the name of the Party Executive I laid upon the grave of our true friend and comrade a wreath with a red streamer inscribed: "FROM THE EXECUTIVE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY".

*London*, July 1, 1892

*Frederick Engels*

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# [PREFACE TO THE SECOND GERMAN EDITION (1892) OF *THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING-CLASS IN ENGLAND*][281]

The book herewith again made available to the German public first appeared in the summer of 1845. Both in its strengths and in its weaknesses it bears the stamp of the author's youth. At the time, I was twenty-four; today, I am thrice as old, and as I reread this early work I find I need not be ashamed of it on any count. So I have no intention of somehow obliterating this stamp of youthfulness. I am presenting my work to the reader again, unchanged. I have only worded more precisely a few not entirely clear passages and added, here and there, a brief footnote, marked with the present date (*1892*).

As for the fate of this book, I will only mention that an English translation of it (by Mrs. Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky) came out in New York in 1887 and was also published by Swan Sonnenschein & Co. in London in 1892. The preface to the American edition[282] underlies that to the English one,[a] and the latter in its turn underlies the present German preface. Modern large-scale industry makes the economic conditions in all the countries affected uniform to such an enormous extent that I hardly need tell the German reader anything different from what I tell the American or English.

The state of things described in this book belongs today in many respects, to the past, as far as England is concerned. Though not expressly stated in our recognised treatises, it is still a law of modern political economy that the larger the scale on which capitalistic production is carried on, the less can it support the petty devices of swindling and pilfering which characterise its early

[a] See this volume, pp. 257-69.—*Ed.*

stages. The pettifogging business tricks of the Polish Jew, the representative in Europe of commerce in its lowest stage, those tricks that serve him so well in his own country, and are generally practised there, fail him once he comes to Hamburg or Berlin; and, again, the commission agent who hails from Berlin or Hamburg, Jew or Christian, after frequenting the Manchester Exchange, finds out that in order to buy cotton yarn or cloth cheap, he, too, had better drop those slightly more refined but still miserable wiles and subterfuges which are considered the acme of cleverness in his native country. Of course, with the progress of large-scale industry a great deal has supposedly changed in Germany too, and a bad odour now attaches, particularly since the industrial Jena of Philadelphia,[283] even to the time-honoured German principle: People will be nothing but pleased if we first send them good samples and then bad goods. The fact is, those tricks do not pay any longer in a large market, where time is money, and where a certain standard of commercial morality is unavoidably developed not because of any considerations of virtue, but purely as a means of saving time and trouble. And exactly the same has taken place in England with the relation between the manufacturer and his "hands".

The revival of trade, after the crisis of 1847, was the dawn of a new industrial epoch. The repeal of the Corn Laws[284] and the financial reforms subsequent thereon gave to English industry and commerce all the elbow-room they had asked for. The discovery of the Californian and Australian goldfields followed in rapid succession. The colonial markets developed at an increasing rate their capacity for absorbing English manufactured goods. In India millions of handweavers were finally crushed out by the Lancashire power-loom. China was more and more being opened up. But most important of all, America was developing at a rate unprecedented even for that country of tremendous progress; and America, it will be recalled, was then merely a colonial market, indeed the largest of all, i.e., a country supplying raw materials and importing industrial products, notably from England.

And, finally, the new means of communication introduced at the close of the preceding period—railways and ocean steamers—were now worked out on an international scale; they realised actually what had hitherto existed only potentially, a *world-market.* This world-market, at the time, was still composed of a number of chiefly or entirely agricultural countries grouped around one manufacturing centre—England—which consumed the greater part of their surplus raw produce, and supplied them in return

# THE CONDITION

OF THE

# WORKING-CLASS IN ENGLAND

## IN 1844

*WITH PREFACE WRITTEN IN 1892*

BY

FREDERICK ENGELS

*TRANSLATED BY FLORENCE KELLEY WISCHNEWETZKY*

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1892

Title page of the English edition
of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*

22-1550

To his dear Tussy

London 12/3/92 F. Engels

Reverse of the title page
of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*
presented by Engels to Eleanor Marx-Aveling

with the greater part of their requirements in manufactured articles. No wonder, therefore, that England's industrial progress was colossal and unparallelled, and such that the status of 1844 now appears to us as comparatively insignificant, almost primitive.

And in proportion as this increase took place, in the same proportion did manufacturing industry become apparently moralised. The competition of manufacturer against manufacturer by means of petty thefts upon the workpeople did no longer pay. Trade had outgrown such low means of making money; the manufacturing millionaire had to know better than waste his time on petty tricks of this kind. Such practices were good enough, at best, for small fry in need of money, who had to snap up every penny in order not to succumb to competition. Thus the TRUCK SYSTEM was suppressed, the Ten-Hours' Bill[285] was enacted, and a number of other secondary reforms introduced—much against the spirit of Free Trade and unbridled competition, but quite as much in favour of the giant-capitalist in his competition with his less favoured brother.

Moreover, the larger the concern, and with it the number of workers, the greater the loss and inconvenience caused by every conflict with the workers and thus a new spirit came over the manufacturers, especially the largest ones, which taught them to avoid unnecessary squabbles, to acquiesce in the existence and power of TRADES UNIONS, and finally even to discover in strikes—at opportune times—a powerful means to serve their own ends. The largest manufacturers, formerly the leaders of the war against the working class, were now the foremost to preach peace and harmony. And for a very good reason.

All these concessions to justice and philanthropy were nothing else but means to accelerate the concentration of capital in the hands of the few and crushing the smaller competitors, who could not survive without extra receipts of this sort. To these few, the petty accessory extortions of earlier years had not only lost all significance but had turned, as it were, into hindrances to large-scale business. Thus the development of production on the basis of the capitalistic system has of itself sufficed—at least in the leading industries, for in the more unimportant branches this is far from being the case—to do away with all those minor grievances which aggravated the workman's fate during its earlier years. And thus it renders more and more evident the great central fact that the cause of the miserable condition of the working class is to be sought, not in these minor grievances, but *in the capitalistic system itself.* The worker sells to the capitalist his

labour-force for a certain daily sum. After a few hours' work he has reproduced the value of that sum; but the substance of his contract is, that he has to work another series of hours to complete his working-day; and the value he produces during these additional hours of surplus labour is surplus value, which costs the capitalist nothing, but yet goes into his pocket. That is the basis of the system which tends more and more to split up civilised society into a few Rothschilds and Vanderbilts, the owners of all the means of production and subsistence, on the one hand, and an immense number of wage-workers, the owners of nothing but their labour-force, on the other. And that this result is caused, not by this or that secondary grievance, but by the system itself—this fact has been brought out in bold relief by the development of capitalism in England.

Again, the repeated visitations of cholera, typhus, smallpox, and other epidemics have shown the British bourgeois the urgent necessity of sanitation in his towns and cities, if he wishes to save himself and family from falling victims to such diseases. Accordingly, the most crying abuses described in this book have either disappeared or have been made less conspicuous. Drainage has been introduced or improved, wide avenues have been opened out athwart many of the worst "slums". "Little Ireland" had disappeared, and the "SEVEN DIALS"[286] are next on the list for sweeping away. But what of that? Whole districts which in 1844 I could describe as almost idyllic have now, with the growth of the towns, fallen into the same state of dilapidation, discomfort, and misery. Only the pigs and the heaps of refuse are no longer tolerated. The bourgeoisie have made further progress in the art of hiding the distress of the working class. But that, in regard to their dwellings, no substantial improvement has taken place is amply proved by the Report of the Royal Commission "ON THE HOUSING OF THE POOR", 1885.[a] And this is the case, too, in other respects. Police regulations have been plentiful as blackberries; but they can only hedge in the distress of the workers, they cannot remove it.

But while England has thus outgrown the juvenile state of capitalist exploitation described by me, other countries have only just attained it. France, Germany, and especially America, are the formidable competitors who, at this moment—as foreseen by me

[a] See *Report of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes. England and Wales, 1885.—Ed.*

in 1844—are more and more breaking up England's industrial monopoly. Their manufactures are young as compared with those of England, but increasing at a far more rapid rate than the latter; and they have at this moment arrived at about the same phase of development as English manufacture in 1844. With regard to America, the parallel is indeed most striking. True, the external surroundings in which the working class is placed in America are very different, but the same economical laws are at work, and the results, if not identical in every respect, must still be of the same order. Hence we find in America the same struggles for a shorter working-day, for a legal limitation of the working-time, especially of women and children in factories; we find the TRUCK SYSTEM in full blossom, and the COTTAGE SYSTEM,[287] in rural districts, made use of by the "BOSSES", the capitalists and their agents, as a means of domination over the workers. When I received, in 1886, the American papers with accounts of the great strike of 12,000 Pennsylvanian coal-miners in the Connellsville district,[288] I seemed but to read my own description of the North of England colliers' strike of 1844.[a] The same cheating of the workpeople by false measure; the same TRUCK SYSTEM; the same attempt to break the miners' resistance by the capitalists' last, but crushing, resource—the eviction of the men out of their dwellings, the cottages owned by the companies.

Neither here nor in the English editions did I try to update the book, i.e. to list one by one the changes that have taken place since 1844. I did not do it for two reasons. Firstly, I would have had to double the volume of the book. And secondly, Volume One of Marx's *Capital* gives a detailed description of the condition of the British working class for about 1865, i.e. the time when Britain's industrial prosperity had reached its peak. I would therefore have had to repeat what Marx says.

It will be hardly necessary to point out that the general theoretical standpoint of this book—philosophical, economical, political—does not exactly coincide with my standpoint of to-day. Modern international socialism, since fully developed as a science, chiefly and almost exclusively through the efforts of Marx, did not as yet exist in 1844. My book represents one of the phases of its embryonic development; and as the human embryo, in its early stages, still reproduces the gill-arches of our fish-ancestors, so this book exhibits everywhere the traces of the descent of modern

[a] See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 540-47.—*Ed.*

socialism from one of its ancestors, German classical philosophy. Thus great stress is laid on the dictum that communism is not a mere party doctrine of the working class, but a theory compassing the emancipation of society at large, including the capitalist class, from its present narrow conditions. This is true enough in the abstract, but absolutely useless, and sometimes worse, in practice. So long as the wealthy classes not only do not feel the want of any emancipation, but strenuously oppose the self-emancipation of the working class, so long the social revolution will have to be prepared and fought out by the working class alone. The French bourgeois of 1789,[a] too, declared the emancipation of the bourgeoisie to be the emancipation of the whole human race; but the nobility and clergy would not see it; the proposition—though for the time being, with respect to feudalism, an abstract historical truth—soon became a mere sentimentalism, and disappeared from view altogether in the fire of the revolutionary struggle. And to-day, the very people who, from the "impartiality" of their superior standpoint, preach to the workers a socialism soaring high above their class interests and class struggles—these people are either neophytes, who have still to learn a great deal, or they are the worst enemies of the workers—wolves in sheep's clothing.

The recurring period of the great industrial crisis is stated in the text as five years. This was the period apparently indicated by the course of events from 1825 to 1842. But the industrial history from 1842 to 1868 has shown that the real period is one of ten years; that the intermediate revulsions were secondary, and had been increasingly disappearing from 1842 onwards. Since 1868 the state of things has changed again, of which more anon.

I have taken care not to strike out of the text the many prophecies, amongst others that of an imminent social revolution in England, which my youthful ardour induced me to venture upon. The wonder is, not that a good many of these prophecies proved wrong, but that so many of them have proved right, and that the critical state of English trade, to be brought on by Continental and especially American competition, which I then foresaw—though in too short a period—has now actually come to pass. In this respect I am bound to bring the book up to date, by placing here an article which appeared in the London *Commonweal*

[a] Engels refers to the French Revolution.—*Ed.*

of March 1, 1885, in English and in *Neue Zeit* in June of the same year (Issue 6) in German.[289]

"Forty years ago England stood face to face with a crisis, solvable to all appearances by force only. The immense and rapid development of manufactures had outstripped the extension of foreign markets and the increase of demand. Every ten years the march of industry was violently interrupted by a general commercial crash, followed, after a long period of chronic depression, by a few short years of prosperity, and always ending in feverish over-production and consequent renewed collapse. The capitalist class clamoured for Free Trade in corn,[290] and threatened to enforce it by sending the starving population of the towns back to the country districts whence they came, to invade them, as John Bright said, not as paupers begging for bread, but as an army quartered upon the enemy.[a] The working masses of the towns demanded their share of political power—the People's Charter[291]; they were supported by the majority of the small trading class, and the only difference between the two was whether the Charter should be carried by physical or by moral force. Then came the commercial crash of 1847 and the Irish famine, and with both the prospect of revolution.

"The French Revolution of 1848 saved the English middle class. The Socialistic pronunciamentos of the victorious French workmen frightened the small middle class of England and disorganised the narrower, but more matter-of-fact movement of the English working class. At the very moment when Chartism was bound to assert itself in its full strength, it collapsed internally before even it collapsed externally, on the 10th of April, 1848.[292] The action of the working class was thrust into the background. The capitalist class triumphed along the whole line.

"The Reform Bill of 1831[293] had been the victory of the whole capitalist class over the landed aristocracy. The repeal of the Corn Laws was the victory of the *manufacturing* capitalist not only over the landed aristocracy, but over those sections of capitalists, too, whose interests were more or less bound up with the landed interest—bankers, stockjobbers, fundholders, etc. Free Trade meant the readjustment of the whole home and foreign, commercial and financial policy of England in accordance with the interests of the manufacturing capitalists—the class which now

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[a] These words belong apparently not to Bright but to his adherents. See *The Quarterly Review*, Vol. 71, No. 141, p. 273.—*Ed.*

represented the nation. And they set about this task with a will. Every obstacle to industrial production was mercilessly removed. The tariff and the whole system of taxation were revolutionised. Everything was made subordinate to one end, but that end of the utmost importance to the manufacturing capitalist: the cheapening of all raw produce, and especially of the means of living of the working class; the reduction of the cost of raw material, and the keeping down—if not as yet the bringing down—of wages. England was to become the 'workshop of the world'[294]; all other countries were to become for England what Ireland already was—markets for her manufactured goods, supplying her in return with raw materials and food. England, the great manufacturing centre of an agricultural world, with an ever-increasing number of corn and cotton-growing Irelands revolving around her, the industrial sun. What a glorious prospect!

"The manufacturing capitalists set about the realisation of this their great object with that strong common sense and that contempt for traditional principles which has ever distinguished them from their more narrow-minded compeers on the Continent. Chartism was dying out. The revival of commercial prosperity, natural after the revulsion of 1847 had spent itself, was put down altogether to the credit of Free Trade. Both these circumstances had turned the English working class, politically, into the tail of the 'great Liberal Party', the party led by the manufacturers. This advantage, once gained, had to be perpetuated. And the manufacturing capitalists, from the Chartist opposition, not to Free Trade, but to the transformation of Free Trade into the one vital national question, had learnt, and were learning more and more, that the middle class can never obtain full social and political power over the nation except by the help of the working class. Thus a gradual change came over the relations between both classes. The Factory Acts,[295] once the bugbear of all manufacturers, were not only willingly submitted to, but their expansion into acts regulating almost all trades was tolerated. Trades Unions, hitherto considered inventions of the devil himself, were now petted and patronised as perfectly legitimate institutions, and as useful means of spreading sound economical doctrines amongst the workers. Even strikes, than which nothing had been more nefarious up to 1848, were now gradually found out to be occasionally very useful, especially when provoked by the masters themselves, at their own time. Of the legal enactments, placing the workman at a lower level or at a disadvantage with regard to the master, at least the most revolting were repealed. And, practically, that

horrid People's Charter actually became the political programme of the very manufacturers who had opposed it to the last. *The Abolition of the Property Qualification* and *Vote by Ballot* are now the law of the land. The Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884[296] make a near approach to *universal suffrage,* at least such as it now exists in Germany; the Redistribution Bill now before Parliament creates *equal electoral districts*—on the whole not more unequal than those of France or Germany; *payment of members,* and shorter, if not actually *annual Parliaments,* are visibly looming in the distance—and yet there are people who say that Chartism is dead.

"The Revolution of 1848, not less than many of its predecessors, has had strange bedfellows and successors. The very people who put it down have become, as Karl Marx used to say, its testamentary executors.[297] Louis Napoleon had to create an independent and united Italy, Bismarck had to revolutionise Germany and to restore Hungarian independence, and the English manufacturers had to enact the People's Charter.

"For England, the effects of this domination of the manufacturing capitalists were at first startling. Trade revived and extended to a degree unheard of even in this cradle of modern industry; the previous astounding creations of steam and machinery dwindled into nothing compared with the immense mass of productions of the twenty years from 1850 to 1870, with the overwhelming figures of exports and imports, of wealth accumulated in the hands of capitalists and of human working power concentrated in the large towns. The progress was indeed interrupted, as before, by a crisis every ten years, in 1857 as well as in 1866; but these revulsions were now considered as natural, inevitable events, which must be fatalistically submitted to, and which always set themselves right in the end.

"And the condition of the working-class during this period? There was temporary improvement even for the great mass. But this improvement always was reduced to the old level by the influx of the great body of the unemployed reserve, by the constant superseding of hands by new machinery, by the immigration of the agricultural population, now, too, more and more superseded by machines.

"A permanent improvement can be recognised for two 'protected' sections only of the working class. Firstly, the factory hands. The fixing by Act of Parliament of their working-day within relatively rational limits has restored their physical constitution and endowed them with a moral superiority, enhanced by their local concentration. They are undoubtedly better off than

before 1848. The best proof is that, out of ten strikes they make, nine are provoked by the manufacturers in their own interests, as the only means of securing a reduced production. You can never get the masters to agree to work 'short time', let manufactured goods be ever so unsaleable; but get the workpeople to strike, and the masters shut their factories to a man.

"Secondly, the great Trades Unions. They are the organisations of those trades in which the labour of *grown-up men* predominates, or is alone applicable. Here the competition neither of women and children nor of machinery has so far weakened their organised strength. The engineers, the carpenters and joiners, the bricklayers, are each of them a power, to that extent that, as in the case of the bricklayers and bricklayers' labourers, they can even successfully resist the introduction of machinery. That their condition has remarkably improved since 1848 there can be no doubt, and the best proof of this is in the fact that for more than fifteen years not only have their employers been with them, but they with their employers, upon exceedingly good terms. They form an aristocracy among the working class; they have succeeded in enforcing for themselves a relatively comfortable position, and they accept it as final. They are the model working men of Messrs. Leone Levi & Giffen (and also the worthy Lujo Brentano), and they are very nice people indeed nowadays to deal with, for any sensible capitalist in particular and for the whole capitalist class in general.

"But as to the great mass of working people, the state of misery and insecurity in which they live now is as low as ever, if not lower. The East End of London is an everspreading pool of stagnant misery and desolation, of starvation when out of work, and degradation, physical and moral, when in work. And so in all other large towns—abstraction made of the privileged minority of the workers; and so in the smaller towns and in the agricultural districts. The law which reduces the value of labour-power to the value of the necessary means of subsistence, and the other law which reduces its average price, as a rule, to the minimum of those means of subsistence, these laws act upon them with the irresistible force of an automatic engine which crushes them between its wheels.

"This, then was the position created by the Free Trade policy of 1847, and by twenty years of the rule of the manufacturing capitalists. But then a change came. The crash of 1866 was, indeed, followed by a slight and short revival about 1873; but that did not last. We did not, indeed, pass through the full crisis at the

time it was due, in 1877 or 1878; but we have had, ever since 1876, a chronic state of stagnation in all dominant branches of industry. Neither will the full crash come; nor will the period of longed-for prosperity to which we used to be entitled before and after it. A dull depression, a chronic glut of all markets for all trades, that is what we have been living in for nearly ten years. How is this?

"The Free Trade theory was based upon one assumption: that England was to be the one great manufacturing centre of an agricultural world. And the actual fact is that this assumption has turned out to be a pure delusion. The conditions of modern industry, steam-power and machinery, can be established wherever there is fuel, especially coals. And other countries besides England—France, Belgium, Germany, America, even Russia—have coals. And the people over there did not see the advantage of being turned into Irish pauper farmers merely for the greater wealth and glory of English capitalists. They set resolutely about manufacturing, not only for themselves, but for the rest of the world; and the consequence is that the manufacturing monopoly enjoyed by England for nearly a century is irretrievably broken up.

"But the manufacturing monopoly of England is the pivot of the present social system of England. Even while that monopoly lasted, the markets could not keep pace with the increasing productivity of English manufacturers; the decennial crises were the consequence. And new markets are getting scarcer every day, so much so that even the Negroes of the Congo are now to be forced into the civilisation attendant upon Manchester calicos, Staffordshire pottery, and Birmingham hardware. How will it be when Continental, and especially American, goods flow in in ever-increasing quantities—when the predominating share, still held by British manufacturers, will become reduced from year to year? Answer, Free Trade, thou universal panacea.

"I am not the first to point this out. Already in 1883, at the Southport meeting of the British Association,[298] Mr. Inglis Palgrave, the President of the Economic section, stated plainly that

"'the days of great trade profits in England were over, and there was a pause in the progress of several great branches of industrial labour. *The country might almost be said to be entering the non-progressive state'*.[a]

"But what is to be the consequence? Capitalist production *cannot* stop. It must go on increasing and expanding, or it must die. Even

[a] *Report of the Fifty-Third Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science; held at Southport in September 1883*, pp. 608-09.—*Ed.*

now the mere reduction of England's lion's share in the supply of the world's markets means stagnation, distress, excess of capital here, excess of unemployed workpeople there. What will it be when the increase of yearly production is brought to a complete stop?

"Here is the vulnerable place, the heel of Achilles, for capitalistic production. Its very basis is the necessity of constant expansion, and this constant expansion now becomes impossible. It ends in a deadlock. Every year England is brought nearer face to face with the question: either the country must go to pieces, or capitalist production must. Which is it to be?

"And the working class? If even under the unparalleled commercial and industrial expansion, from 1848 to 1868, they have had to undergo such misery; if even then the great bulk of them experienced at best but a temporary improvement of their condition, while only a small, privileged, 'protected' minority was permanently benefited, what will it be when this dazzling period is brought finally to a close; when the present dreary stagnation shall not only become intensified, but this, its intensified condition, shall become the permanent and normal state of English trade?

"The truth is this: during the period of England's industrial monopoly the English working class have, to a certain extent, shared in the benefits of the monopoly. These benefits were very unequally parcelled out amongst them; the privileged minority pocketed most, but even the great mass had, at least, a temporary share now and then. And that is the reason why, since the dying-out of Owenism, there has been no Socialism in England. With the breakdown of that monopoly, the English working class will lose that privileged position; it will find itself generally—the privileged and leading minority not excepted—on a level with its fellow-workers abroad. And that is the reason why there will be Socialism again in England."

So I wrote in 1885. In the Preface to the English edition written on January 11, 1892 I continued:

"To this statement of the case, as that case appeared to me in 1885, I have but little to add. Needless to say that to-day there is indeed 'Socialism again in England', and plenty of it—Socialism of all shades: Socialism conscious and unconscious, Socialism prosaic and poetic, Socialism of the working class and of the middle class, for, verily, that abomination of abominations, Socialism, has not only become respectable, but has actually donned evening dress and lounges lazily on drawing-room *causeuses*. That shows the incurable fickleness of that terrible despot of 'society', middle-class public

opinion, and once more justifies the contempt in which we Socialists of a past generation always held that public opinion. At the same time we have no reason to grumble at the symptom itself.

"What I consider far more important than this momentary fashion among bourgeois circles of affecting a mild dilution of Socialism, and even more than the actual progress Socialism has made in England generally, that is the revival of the East End of London. That immense haunt of misery is no longer the stagnant pool it was six years ago. It has shaken off its torpid despair, has returned to life, and has become the home of what is called the 'New Unionism', that is to say, of the organisation of the great mass of 'unskilled' workers. This organisation may to a great extent adopt the form of the old Unions of 'skilled' workers but it is essentially different in character. The old Unions preserve the traditions of the time when they were founded, and look upon the wages system as a once-for-all established, final fact, which they at best can modify in the interest of their members. The new Unions were founded at a time when the faith in the eternity of the wages system was severely shaken; their founders and promoters were Socialists either consciously or by feeling; the masses, whose adhesion gave them strength, were rough, neglected, looked down upon by the working-class aristocracy; but they had this immense advantage, that *their minds were virgin soil,* entirely free from the inherited 'respectable' bourgeois prejudices which hampered the brains of the better situated 'old' Unionists. And thus we see now these new Unions taking the lead of the working-class movement generally, and more and more taking in tow the rich and proud 'old' Unions.

"Undoubtedly, the East Enders have committed colossal blunders; so have their predecessors, and so do the doctrinaire Socialists who pooh-pooh them. A large class, like a great nation, never learns better or quicker than by undergoing the consequences of its own mistakes. And for all the faults committed in past, present and future, the revival of the East End of London remains one of the greatest and most fruitful facts of this *fin de siècle,* and glad and proud I am to have lived to see it."

Since I wrote the above, six months ago, the English working-class movement has again made a good step forward. The parliamentary elections which took place a few days ago gave both the official parties, Conservative as well as Liberal, notice in due form that from now on one and the other will have to reckon with a third party, the workers' party. This workers' party is now only

in the process of formation; its elements are still engaged in shaking off traditional prejudices of all kinds—bourgeois, old trade-unionist, indeed, even doctrinaire-socialist—in order to be able to get together at last on ground common to all of them. And yet the instinct to unite which they followed was already so strong that it produced election results hitherto unheard-of in England. In London two workers[a] have stood for election, and openly as Socialists at that; the Liberals did not dare to put up one of theirs against them, and the two Socialists have won by an overwhelming and unexpected majority. In Middlesbrough a workers' candidate[b] has stood against a Liberal and a Conservative and been elected in the teeth of both; on the other hand, the new workers' candidates who allied themselves with the Liberals have been hopelessly defeated, with the exception of a single one. Among those who so far have been called workers' representatives, that is, those who are forgiven their quality of workers because they themselves would willingly drown it in the ocean of their liberalism, the most significant representative of the old Unionism, Henry Broadhurst, has suffered a striking defeat because he declared himself against the eight-hour day. In two Glasgow, one Salford, and several other constituencies, independent workers' candidates stood against candidates of the two old parties; they were beaten, but so were the Liberal candidates. Briefly, in a number of large-town and industrial constituencies the workers have resolutely severed all connections with the two old parties and thus achieved direct or indirect successes such as they had never scored in any election so far. And the joy on this account among the workers is boundless. For the first time they have seen and felt what they can do when they make use of their electoral rights in the interest of their class. The superstitious belief in the "great Liberal Party" which had kept a hold on the English workers for nearly forty years has been destroyed. They have seen by striking examples that they, the workers, are the decisive force in England if only they have the will and know their own will; and the 1892 elections have been the beginning of that knowledge and that will. The workers' movement on the Continent will see to the rest: the Germans and the French, who are already so strongly represented in parliaments and local councils, will keep the spirit of emulation of the English sufficiently high by further successes. And if in the not very distant future it turns out that this new parliament can get

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[a] James Keir Hardie and John Burns.—*Ed.*
[b] John Havelock Wilson.—*Ed.*

nowhere with Mr. Gladstone, nor Mr. Gladstone with this parliament, the English workers' party will surely be sufficiently constituted to put an early end to the seesaw game of the two old parties which have been succeeding each other in power and thereby perpetuating bourgeois rule.

*F. Engels*

*London,* July 21, 1892

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Printed according to the book

Published in English in full for the first time

# [ON CERTAIN PECULIARITIES IN ENGLAND'S ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT][299]

Owing to its eternal compromises, the kind of gradual, peaceful political development that takes place in England gives rise to a situation full of contradictions; because of its overwhelming advantages this situation can be practically tolerated within certain limits, but its logical absurdities cause much anguish to the thinking mind. Hence, the need of all "state-supporting" parties for a theoretical cloak, a justification, which, naturally, can be provided only through sophisms, distortions, and *enfin* by dubious tricks. Thus, a literature is being cultivated in the political field that repeats all the wretched hypocrisy and untruthfulness of theological apologetics, and which also transplants the theological intellectual vices to a mundane soil. Thus the soil of the specific liberal hypocrisy is fertilised, sown and cultivated by the Conservatives themselves. And thus is theological apologetics offered an argument, produced by ordinary minds, which it lacks in other lands. What of it if the facts related in the gospel and the dogmas preached in the New Testament in general contradict each other? Does that make them untrue? The English Constitution contains many more inconsistencies and constantly contradicts itself, but continues to exist and, hence, is true!

September 12, 1892

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The absence of crises since 1868 is also due to the expansion of the world market, which distributes the surplus English, respectively European, capital in transport investment, etc., *throughout the world* and also among a whole mass of other *branches* of

investment. This has made a crisis impossible owing to excessive speculation in railways, banking, etc., or in specifically American investments, or in *Indian* trade, but small crises, such as the Argentinian,[300] have become possible for the past three years. But all this proves that a *giant crisis* is in the making.

Written on September 12, 1892

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XVI, Part II, Moscow, 1936

Printed according to the manuscript

# [TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY OF SPAIN][301]

Dear Comrades,

The English Trade Union Congress, meeting in Glasgow, adopted at its session of September 8th a resolution which the socialists of the European continent will hardly be able to ignore.

The Zurich Committee which, in conformity with the Brussels 1891 resolutions, was entrusted with the preparations for the next congress of the International in 1893, sent a letter of invitation to the Trade Union Congress. Despite the repeated complaints of the secretary of the Gas Union, Comrade Will Thorne, during three days of the proceedings, this letter was neither produced nor read to the Congress, which as a result never had an opportunity to express its opinion about the Zurich invitation.

Finally, Matkin proposed a motion that the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress[302] should be entrusted with the convening of an international congress to discuss and pass a resolution on an international legal eight-hour working day.

Comrade Parnell (who went to the Paris congress of 1889) and Comrade Quelch replied that two international workers' congresses had already been called for 1893, one to meet in Zurich, the other in Chicago[303]; that the Zurich provisional committee had invited the Trade Union Congress to participate in the Zurich congress, and that instead of calling a third congress the invitation to the Zurich congress should be accepted.

In reply, the representatives of the old conservative unions stated that the Zurich and Chicago congresses had not been convened by the English Trade Unions; that the workers on the Continent were badly organised and weak compared to the

English, and that it was inappropriate for the English to make themselves responsible for all the WILD THEORIES of continental socialism, etc. etc. Only then was the invitation of our Zurich Committee read out.

In the end the Zurich Committee was turned down by 189 votes against 97, and the proposal to summon "immediately" an international congress to discuss and pass a resolution on the international legal eight-hour working day was approved.

These two votes constitute an offence directed against the organised and socialist proletariat of the whole European Continent. Let us hope that the most advanced sectors of the English proletariat who, while being socialists at *heart,* are still frightened of the *name* and have been taken in by the old conservatives; that these more intelligent and bolder elements will be able to make amends for the mistake at the next congress.

Meanwhile it seems appropriate that the continental workers save their dignity in the face of the insult contained in the said resolutions, and this is why I have informed our friends in France and Germany of the events in Glasgow, hoping that they will agree on what line of action to follow; as the French comrades will be celebrating their Marseilles congress[304] in a few days, they will be able to make a first reply to the Trade Union Congress.

But in my capacity as ex-secretary for Spain on the General Council of the old International of glorious memory, I believe it my duty to communicate to the Spanish National Council an event which concerns the Spanish comrades no less than those of other countries.

Greetings and social revolution.

Written on September 16, 1892

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

Printed according to the rough manuscript

Translated from the Spanish

Published in English for the first time

# [ADDENDA TO THE BIOGRAPHY][305]

1) Secretary for Italy, Spain and Portugal on the General Council of the International Working Men's Association.
2) New edition of *Condition*[a] (1892).
3) *Ludwig Feuerbach*[b] etc. Stuttgart, 1888.

Written after October 7, 1892

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50, Moscow, 1981

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England.—Ed.*
[b] F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy.—Ed.*

# THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION[306]

The ancient world was dominated by Fatum, Heimarmene, inescapable mysterious fate. These were the names given by the Greeks and Romans to that impalpable omnipotence which frustrated all human will and effort, which led all human deeds to results quite other than those intended, that irresistible force which has since then been called providence, predestination, etc. This mysterious force has slowly taken on a more palpable form, and for this we may thank the rule of the bourgeoisie and capital, the first system of class rule which seeks to find clarity about the causes and conditions of its own existence, thus opening the door to the recognition of the inevitability of its own imminent fall. Fate, providence—that we know now—consists of the economic conditions under which production and exchange take place, and these combine today in the *world market.*

And this is the importance of the American presidential election, that it is an event of the first order on the world market.

Four years ago I published an essay on protective tariffs and free trade, in Boston in English and in Stuttgart in German.[a] Here I demonstrated that England's industrial monopoly could not be reconciled with the economic development of the other civilised countries; that the protective tariffs introduced in America since the Civil War[307] showed Americans' will to shake off the yoke of this monopoly; that thanks to the gigantic natural resources and the intellectual and moral talents of the American race this target has already been reached, and the customs barrier has become in America, no less than in Germany, a fetter to industry. And then I

[a] F. Engels, "Protection and Free Trade".—*Ed.*

wrote: If America introduces free trade, then it will beat England on the world market in ten years.

Very well. The presidential election of November 8, 1892 has opened the way for free trade. The protective tariff in the form devised by MacKinley had become an unbearable fetter; the nonsensical price increase for all imported raw materials and foodstuffs, which affected the price of many domestic products, had largely closed world markets to American products, while the home market suffered a glut of American industrial products. In fact, in the past few years the protective tariff only served to ruin the small producers under the pressure of the large producers combined in cartels and trusts, and to surrender the market and thus the consuming nation to exploitation by the latter, that is to say the organised monopoly. America can only escape from this permanent domestic industrial crisis caused by the protective tariff by opening itself up to the world market, and for this it must emancipate itself from the protective tariff, at least in its present nonsensical form. The total turn-about of public opinion demonstrated by the election shows that it is determined to do this. Once established on the world market, America—*like,* and *through* England—will irresistibly be driven further along the path of free trade.

And then we shall experience an industrial battle as never before. On all markets English products, particularly textiles and iron goods, will have to fight with American products, and finally lose. Even now American cottons and linens chase the English from the field. Would you like to know who performed the miracle of converting in one short year the cotton operatives of Lancashire from furious opponents to enthusiastic advocates of the legal eight-hour day? Refer to the *Neue Zeit,* No. 2 of October this year, p. 56, where you can see how American cottons and linens are displacing the English step by step on the domestic market, how English imports have, since 1881, never reached the American, and in 1891 only amounted to about one third of the latter.[308] And China is, beside India, much the main market for these textiles.

This is renewed proof that with the turn of the century all relations are shifting. Transfer the centre of gravity of the textile and iron industries from England to America, and England will become either a second Holland, whose bourgeoisie live on their former greatness, and whose proletariat shrivels, or—it will reorganise itself along socialist lines. The first is not possible, the English proletariat will not put up with it, it is far too numerous and developed for this. Only the second remains. *The fall of protective tariffs in America means the ultimate victory of socialism in England.*

And Germany? Back in 1878 it won a position on the world market, which it is now losing step by step thanks to its foolish protective tariff policy—will it insist upon continuing obstinately to close for itself the path to the world market by taxing raw materials and foodstuffs, even against its American competitors, who will throw themselves into things quite differently from the English competition hitherto? Will the German bourgeoisie have the understanding and courage to follow the example set by America, or will it, lethargic as hitherto, wait until American industry, grown all-powerful, forcibly breaks the tariff-cartel between the Junkers and the large-scale manufacturers[309]? And will the government and the bourgeoisie finally realise how marvellously clumsily this precise moment has been chosen to crush the economic forces of Germany with new and prohibitive military burdens, when it should be entering into industrial competition with the most youthfully strong nation in the world, which has easily paid off its colossal war debt in a few years, and whose government does not know what to do with the tax income?

The German bourgeoisie have—perhaps for the last time—the opportunity finally to perform a great deed. One hundred to one they are too narrow-minded and too cowardly to utilise this opportunity for anything except to prove that once and for all their time is up.

Written between November 9 and 15, 1892

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Vorwärts*, No. 269, November 16, 1892

Signed: *Frederick Engels*

# MARX, HEINRICH KARL,[310]

was born in Trier on May 5, 1818, the son of the lawyer and later counsellor of justice Heinrich Marx, who, as is shown by the baptismal certificate of his son, converted with his family from Judaism to Protestantism in 1824. After concluding his preparatory education at Trier Gymnasium, Karl Marx studied from 1835 in Bonn and then in Berlin, first law and later philosophy, attaining his *Dr. Phil.* in Berlin in 1841 with a dissertation on the philosophy of Epicurus.[a] In the same year he moved to Bonn in order to qualify as a lecturer, but the obstacles which the government laid in the path of his friend *Bruno Bauer,* officially there as lecturer in theology, which culminated in Bauer's removal from the university, soon made it clear to him that there was no room for him at a Prussian university.—This was the time when the younger elements of the radical bourgeoisie of the Rhineland, tinged with Young Hegelianism, urged, in agreement with the liberal leaders *Camphausen* and *Hansemann,* the publication of a big opposition paper in Cologne; Marx and Bauer were also consulted as capable main contributors. A concession—necessary at that time—was quietly obtained by a devious route, and the *Rheinische Zeitung* appeared on January 1, 1842. Marx contributed lengthy articles from Bonn for the new paper; foremost among these were: a critique of proceedings in the Rhine Province Assembly, a study of the situation of the peasant vintners on the Mosel, and another on wood theft and the relevant legislation.[b] In

[a] K. Marx, "Difference Between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature".—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, "Proceedings of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly. First Article. Debates on Freedom of the Press and Publication of the Proceedings of the Assembly of the Estates"; "Proceedings of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly. Third Article. Debates on the Law on Thefts of Wood"; "Justification of the Correspondent from the Mosel".—*Ed.*

Marx Works

1/ Doktorarbeit über Epikurs Philosophie

2/ Artikel über Rheinische Provinzialzeitung, Gesellschaftsreformer und Rheinische Zeitung 1842

3/ Die neue Redaktion der Rheinischen Zeitung, Beilage zur Leipziger Allgemeinen Zeitung 1842

4/ Manuskripte über Hegelsche Philosophie, unveröffentlicht 1843

5/ Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie 1844

6/ Artikel in den Deutsch-Französischen Jahrbüchern 1844-47

7/ Manuskripte über Nationalökonomie, Philosophie, Geschichte, Bruchstücke, Vorgänger, Marx 1847

8/ Die moralisierende Kritik oder die kritisierende Moral, Vorgänger 1848

9/ Manuskripte über Geschichte der Französischen Revolution 1848, Geschichte der Französischen Revolution 1848, Geschichte der Französischen Revolution 1848

10/ Artikel in der N. R. Z., London 1850; 1848-49, Artikel und Manuskripte, Manuskripte

11/ Manuskripte über die Geschichte der Französischen Revolution 1849

12/ Die 18 Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte, London 1852 (3 Auflagen 1869) 1852

13/ Artikel über die Türkenkrise, New-York Daily Tribune 1853/Juni 1857

14/ Artikel in der N. Y. Tribune 1852-61 über die Geschichte der Französischen Revolution 1848/57

15/ Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century in Sheffield, Vorgänger 1856 Sheffield 28 Juni 1856 bis 12 April 1857

16/ Artikel über Diplomatie, Vorgänger Sheffield, London 1857

17/ Das Kapital, London 1859

18/ Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie, Berlin 1859

19/ Vogt London 1860

20/ Inaugural Address der International 1864, Address, Address, Address

October 1842 he took over the management of the paper and moved to Cologne. From this point the paper adopted a sharply oppositional character. But the management was so adroit that despite first double censorship, and then triple censorship, imposed upon the paper (first the ordinary censor, then the Regierungspräsident, and finally a Mr. von Saint-Paul dispatched *ad hoc* from Berlin), the government found this sort of newspaper hard to deal with and therefore decided to forbid further publication of the paper as of April 1, 1843. Marx's resignation from the editorial board[312] on this date bought a three months' stay of execution, but then the paper was finally suppressed.

Marx then decided to move to Paris where *Arnold Ruge* also wished to turn, following the suppression of the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* at about the same time. But first in Kreuznach he married Jenny von Westphalen, sweetheart of his youth, to whom he had been engaged since the beginning of his university days. The young couple reached Paris in the autumn of 1843, and here Marx and Ruge published the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher,* a journal of which only the first issue appeared; a continuation failed, partly because of the insuperable difficulties of circulating it secretly in Germany, and partly because of the differences of principle which very soon became apparent between the two editors. *Ruge* remained tied up with Hegelian philosophy and political radicalism, while Marx threw himself into the study of political economy, the French socialists, and the history of France. The result was his conversion to socialism. In September 1844, Fr. Engels visited Marx in Paris for a few days: the two had been in correspondence since their joint work on the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher,* and their collaboration, which only ended with the death of Marx, dates from this point. The first fruit of this collaboration was a polemical pamphlet against *Bruno Bauer,* with whom they had likewise parted ways on principles in the course of the disintegration of the Hegelian school: *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Company,* Frankfurt a. M., 1845.

Marx helped to edit a small German weekly called *Vorwärts!,* published in Paris, which poured biting scorn on the wretchedness of the German absolutism and sham constitutionalism of the time. This prompted the Prussian Government to demand that Guizot's ministry expel Marx from France. It was agreed: in early 1845 Marx moved to Brussels, and Engels arrived there soon afterwards. Here Marx published *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon,* Brussels and Paris, 1847,

and also "Speech on the Question of Free Trade", Brussels, 1848. In addition he wrote occasional articles for the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung.* In January 1848 he drew up, together with Engels, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* on the instructions of the Central Authority of the Communist League, a secret propaganda society which Marx and Engels had joined in the spring of 1847.[313] The *Manifesto* has since appeared in innumerable authorised and unauthorised German editions and been translated into nearly all European languages.

On the outbreak of the 1848 February Revolution, which brought about popular movements in Brussels too, Marx was arrested and expelled from Belgium; in the meantime the Provisional Government of the French Republic had invited him to come back to Paris, so he returned there.

At first in Paris he and his friends took a stand against the game of forming legions, which gave the majority in the new government a simple means of ridding themselves of the "tiresome" foreign workers. It was clear that such openly organised Belgian, German, etc., legions would only be able to march across the frontiers into a well-organised trap, and this was indeed the case. Marx and the other leaders of the Communist League obtained for about four hundred unemployed Germans the same travel allowance as the legionaries, so that they too could return to Germany.

In April Marx went to Cologne, and on July 1 the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was published there under his management; it appeared for the last time on May 19 the following year. The editors were either threatened with judicial arrest, or with expulsion as non-Prussians. The latter fate befell Marx, who during his time in Brussels had taken his release from the Prussian state. During the existence of the paper he had to appear twice before the Jury, on February 7, 1849 because of a press misdemeanour, and on the 8th on charges of incitement to armed resistance to the government (at the time of the tax refusal, November 1848); both times he was acquitted.[314]

After the paper had been suppressed Marx returned to Paris, but after the demonstration of June 13[315] he was faced with the choice of either allowing himself to be interned in Brittany or of turning his back on France once again. He naturally chose the latter and moved to London, where he now finally established his residence.

In London he published: the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue,* Hamburg, 1850, of which six issues appeared.

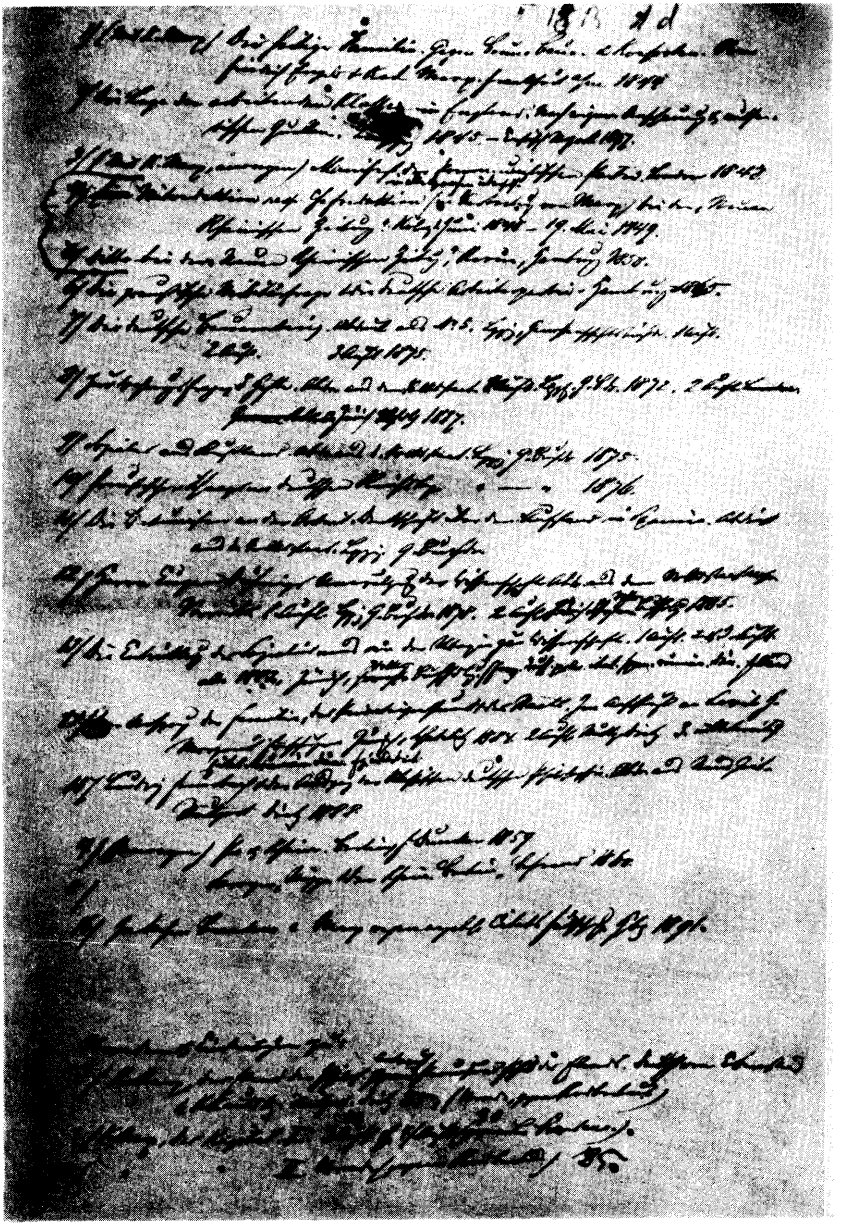

List of F. Engels' works drawn up by himself[316]

List of F. Engels' works drawn up by himself
(*continued*)

His main work there was *1848 to 1849*,[a] an account of the causes and the inner connection of the events of these years, particularly in France; also (together with Engels) reviews and political résumés. The former work was soon followed by the continuation, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* New York, 1852, reissued in Hamburg in 1869 and 1885. The big Communist trial in Cologne gave rise to a further pamphlet, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne,* Boston, 1853, latest edition Zurich, 1885. From 1852 onwards Marx was London correspondent of the *New-York Tribune,* and for years virtual European editor. His articles are in part signed with his name, and in part published as editorials: they are not ordinary articles, but extensive accounts of the political and economic position of the various countries of Europe, based upon thorough study, and often constituting a whole series of articles. The military essays amongst them, on the Crimean War, the Indian Rebellion, etc., are by Engels. Some of Marx's articles on Lord Palmerston were reprinted in London in pamphlet form.[b] His work for the *Tribune* only came to an end with the American Civil War.

The year 1859 involved Marx, on the one hand, in a polemic with Karl Vogt arising from the Italian War, which found its conclusion in *Herr Vogt* by Karl Marx, London, 1860. But on the other hand, it brought the first fruits of his years of economic studies in the British Museum in the form of Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* Berlin, 1859. This Part One had scarcely been published when Marx discovered that he was not yet completely clear about the detailed execution of the basic ideas of the subsequent parts; the manuscript, which is still extant, is the best proof of this.[317] So he immediately started again from the beginning, and so, instead of the continuation, *Capital* was published in 1867. Book One: *The Process of Production of Capital,* Hamburg, 1867.

While he was working on all three volumes of *Capital*—the second and third volumes at least in draft—Marx finally again found an opportunity for practical work in the world of labour. In 1864 the International Working Men's Association was founded. Many people, in particular Frenchmen, have arrogated to themselves the honour of having been founders of this Association. It is obvious that something like this cannot be founded by one person

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[a] K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850.—Ed.*
[b] K. Marx, *Lord Palmerston.—Ed.*

alone. But one thing is certain: amongst all those participating there was only one who was clear about what had to be done and what had to be founded; and this was the man who back in 1848 had flung the call to the world: Workingmen of all lands, unite!

At the foundation of the International Giuseppe Mazzini too attempted to win and utilise the elements coming together for his mystical conspiratorial democracy *Dio e popolo.*[a] But the drafts for the statutes and the Inaugural Address submitted in his name were rejected in favour of those edited by Marx,[318] and from this point Marx was sure of the leadership of the International. He wrote all the promulgations of the General Council, including most notably *The Civil War in France* which appeared after the fall of the Paris Commune and was translated into most European languages.

This is not the place to relate the history of the International. It is enough to say that Marx was able to draft statutes with principled motivation[b] under which French Proudhonists, German Communists and English New Trades Unionists could work together in unity, and that nothing disturbed the harmony of the Association until there appeared on the scene those people who have since then attempted to disrupt every workingmen's movement, the anarchists under Bakunin. It is clear that the strength of the Association lay solely in the previously unheard-of attempt to unite the European and American proletariat; the General Council had no means but moral ones, not even funds; instead of the fabled "millions of the International" it generally had only debts. Never, probably, has so much been achieved with so little money.

After the Commune the International became impossible in Europe. To continue in the previous form the struggle against the governments and against the bourgeoisie, which was equally excited in all countries, would have demanded enormous sacrifices. Then there was the struggle inside the Association itself against the anarchists and the Proudhonist elements sympathising with them. *Le jeu ne valait pas la chandelle.*[c] So after formal victory over the anarchists had been achieved at the Hague Congress,[319] Marx proposed that the General Council be moved to New York.

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[a] God and the people.—*Ed.*
[b] See K. Marx, "Provisional Rules of the Association".—*Ed.*
[c] The game was not worth the candle.—*Ed.*

The continued existence of the Association was thus guaranteed in case changed conditions made necessary its re-establishment in Europe. When, however, such conditions emerged, the old form was outdated; the movement had far outgrown the old International.

From this time Marx stayed aloof from public agitation, but this is not to suggest he was any less active in the European and American working-class movement. He was in correspondence with almost all the leaders in the various countries, who, whenever possible, consulted him on important matters; he increasingly became the much-sought-after and ever-willing adviser of the valiant proletariat. But despite all this, Marx was now able to devote himself once more to his studies, the field of which had greatly expanded in the meantime. For a man who checked every subject for its historical origin and its preconditions, every single question naturally produced whole series of new questions. Pre-history, agronomy, Russian and American landownership relations, geology, etc., were combed, in particular to work out, to an extent hitherto never previously attempted, the section on ground rent in Book III of *Capital.* In addition to all the Germanic and Romance languages, which he read with ease, he also learned Old Slavonic, Russian and Serbian. Unfortunately increasing illness prevented him from utilising the material so collected. On December 2, 1881 his wife died,[a] on January 11, 1883 his eldest daughter,[b] and on March 14 of the same year he passed away quietly in his armchair.

Most biographies of Marx which have appeared in print teem with errors. The only authentic one is that which appeared in Bracke's *Volks-Kalender* for 1878 in Brunswick (by Engels).[c]

The following is the fullest possible list of the published writings by Marx:

*Rheinische Zeitung,* Cologne, 1842: articles on the Rhine Province Assembly, on the situation of the peasant vintners on the Mosel, on wood theft; leading articles October to December 1842.[d]—*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* by A. Ruge and K. Marx, Paris, 1844: *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction; On the Jewish Question.*—K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family, Against Bruno Bauer and Company,* Frankfurt a.M.,

[a] Jenny Marx.—*Ed.*
[b] Jenny Longuet.—*Ed.*
[c] F. Engels, "Karl Marx".—*Ed.*
[d] See present edition, Vol. 1, pp. 215-23, 264-310.—*Ed.*

1845.—Shorter articles (anonymous) in Paris *Vorwärts!,* 1844.[a]—Various articles, anonymous and signed, in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung,* Brussels, 1847-1848.[b]— *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon,* Brussels and Paris, 1847. German: Stuttgart, 2nd edition, 1892. Spanish: Madrid, 1891.—"Speech on the Question of Free Trade", Brussels, 1848. English: Boston, 1888. German in the German edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy.*—With F. Engels: *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* London, 1848. Latest German: London, 1890; translated into almost all European languages.—Articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* editorials, etc., Cologne, 1848-1849.[c] Of these repeatedly reprinted separately: *Wage Labour and Capital,* latest Berlin, 1891; appeared in Russian, Polish, Italian, French.—"Two Political Processes", Cologne, 1849 (two defence speeches by Marx).[d]—*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue,* Hamburg, 1850. 6 issues. Including by Marx: *1848 to 1849.*—Written with Engels: reviews and monthly synopses.— *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* New York, 1852. Third edition: Hamburg, 1885. Also published in French.— *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne,* Basle, 1853 (edition confiscated); Boston, 1853. Latest Zurich, 1885.—Articles in the *New-York Tribune,* 1852-1861. Of these some about Palmerston—enlarged—published as pamphlet in London, 1856.— *Free Press,* Sheffield, June 1856, and London, until April 1857; *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* (on the continued interested dependence of English Whig ministers upon Russia).— *Das Volk,* London, 1859: Articles on the diplomatic history of the Italian War of 1859.[e]— *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* Part One, Berlin, 1859. Polish, 1890.— *Herr Vogt,* London, 1860.— *The Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association,* London, 1864; further all publications of the General Council, up to and including *The Civil War in France,* London, 1871. (Latest German Berlin, 1891, also published in French, Italian, Spanish.)— *Capital. A Critique of Political Economy,* first volume, Hamburg, 1867, latest edition, 4th, 1890. Published in Russian, French, English, Polish, Danish.—The

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[a] Ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 189-210.— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid., Vol. 6, pp. 72-74, 220-34, 312-40, 402-05, 537-39.— *Ed.*

[c] Ibid., Vols. 7 and 8.— *Ed.*

[d] K. Marx, "The First Trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*", "The Trial of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats".— *Ed.*

[e] K. Marx, "Spree and Mincio", "Erfurtery in the Year 1859", "Quid pro Quo".— *Ed.*

same, second volume, Hamburg, 1885, second edition in the press. Published in Russian. The third volume will be published in 1893.

*London*

*Frederick Engels*

Written between November 9 and 25, 1892

First published in the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften,* Vol. 4, 1892

Printed according to the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*

# [TO THE EDITORS OF THE *BERLINER VOLKS-TRIBÜNE*][320]

The series of articles "The Jura Federation and Mikhail Bakunin" published in the *Volks-Tribüne,* constrains me to a short rebuttal.

Although the author[a] appears to take pains to treat his subject objectively and impartially, he in fact depicts it as the anarchist gentlemen depicted it themselves and wished it to be depicted. In particular he has at his disposal very extensive Bakuninist material; he utilises very little from the publications of the Geneva opposing party, and nothing at all from the publications of the London General Council.

I extract the most obvious untruths from only *one* of the articles (X of November 12).

It is incorrect that in 1871 the General Council summoned a "secret" conference to London[321] of which

> "only the anarchist sections in Switzerland were not informed; they, however, learned of the plan", etc.

The conference was just as public and just as secret as any committee meeting of any Social-Democratic party; it was not broadcast to all and sundry in the newspapers and reporters were not invited to the meeting place.

The Jura sections were in open rebellion against the General Council and outside all official relations with the same. On the other hand there sat on the General Council *two Bakuninist anarchists* and members of the Bakuninist secret society, elected on the proposal of "dictator" Marx: Robin and Bastelica. Robin in particular provided relations with the Jurassians, proposed on

[a] Louis Héritier.—*Ed.*

their behalf, back in March 1871, the same conference which they later disavowed, and also informed them that it had been summoned. Anything else is an anarchist lie.

The conference

"which was to assemble at Marx's place ... was held ... in Marx's house".

Stupid lie; it was held in the Blue Posts, an inn near Tottenham Court Road, right in the so-called French Quarter.

The composition of the conference is also given wrongly, as is the point of difference on a paragraph, not of the Rules, but of their motivating introduction. In its French translation the first Paris (Proudhonist) local committee had falsified the relevant passage: "The economical emancipation of the working classes is [...] the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means"[a]—as:

"the great goal, in the face of which every political movement must withdraw".[322]

While the papers of the Geneva Congress[323] were confiscated by the Bonapartist police in transit through France, and only finally released after intervention by the English Foreign Office, the old Paris translation was immediately reprinted in Geneva, whereupon the later anarchists could claim that the Geneva Congress had so decided. This HUMBUG was brought to an end, though to the great sorrow of the Bakuninists, by the publication in 1871 of an authentic English, French and German text of the Rules,[b] with which the General Council had been charged by the same Geneva Congress. Before me I have the copy of the Rules in which Marx entered the changes decided by the Geneva Congress; these are wholly confined to the articles of the Rules, and have no effect on the motivating introduction.

Neither is it true that the London conference decided to place

"the anarchist movement of the Jura under the command of the Geneva committee".

And it is here that I begin to doubt the honourable intentions of the author. Either he can read, or he cannot. If he can read, he can only gather from the conference decisions: 1. that the Jura committee was deprived of the name *Comité romand* (which it had arrogated), and that this name was awarded to the old Geneva committee; 2. that the Jurassians were urged to get along with the Genevans; 3. if this was not possible, they should establish their

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 14, 441.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., Vol. 23, pp. 3-20.—*Ed.*

own federation entitled Jura Federation.[a] The conference thus did nothing except to leave their own complete autonomy to the Genevans and the Jurassians.

Enough. The author is, or acts like, an innocent child who believes to the word everything said by the poor, slandered anarchist lambs. Our reporter knows not a word of that which these gentlemen preferred to keep quiet, that is to say nothing about the background to the whole dispute. Behind the *public* "Alliance of Social Democracy" founded by Bakunin there hid a *secret* Alliance with the aim of putting into the hands of the anarchists control over the whole International.[324] This secret Alliance was very widespread in the Jura, in Italy and in Spain. The General Council received proof of this first from Spain, and later from Geneva the Rules and many other documents of this innocent plot against the European workers' movement. It was these documents upon which the Hague Congress of 1872 adjudicated, when it excluded Bakunin and Guillaume from the International.[325] And all this, and much more to correct the now warmed-up anarchist falsifications of history may be studied in the work commissioned by the Hague Congress: *L'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste et l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs,* London & Hamburg, 1873, German by Kokosky: *Ein Komplott gegen die Internationale,* Brunswick, Bracke, 1874.[b]

*London,* November 15, 1892

*Frederick Engels*

First published in the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne,* No. 47, November 19, 1892 (supplement)

Printed according to the newspaper, checked with the rough manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] Ibid., Vol. 22, pp. 419-22.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association.*—*Ed.*

# [LETTER TO A MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY][326]

[London,] November 30, 1892
122, Regent's Park Road

Dear Comrade,

My most sincere thanks for the kind greetings from the comrades. May the society feel as well as I do when it reaches my age.

With Social Democratic greetings,
*F. Engels*

First published in *Internationale wissenschaftliche Korrespondenz zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung,* No. 10, Berlin, 1970

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# A NEWLY-DISCOVERED CASE OF GROUP MARRIAGE[327]

Recently it has become the fashion among certain rationalist *ethnographers* to deny the existence of group marriage. Hence, the following report, which I have translated from *Russkija Vjedomosti* (Russian Gazette)[a], Moscow, October 14, 1892, Old Style, will be of interest. Not only is group marriage, e.g., the right of sexual intercourse between a number of men and a number of women, expressly stated to be in full practice, but it is shown to bear a form closely approximating the punaluan marriage of the Hawaiians, that is, the most developed and most classical phase of group marriage. Whereas the typical punaluan family consisted of a number of brothers (natural and collateral) married to a number of natural and collateral sisters, on the Island of Sakhalin we find that a man is married to all his brothers' wives and to all his wife's sisters, which, from the female viewpoint, means that his wife has the right to free sexual intercourse with her husband's brothers and her sisters' husbands. Thus, the only difference between this and the typical form of punaluan marriage is that the husband's brothers and the sisters' husbands are not necessarily the same persons.

It is to be observed, further, that the report also confirms what I stated in *The Origin of the Family,* 4th edition, pp. 28-29[b]; that group marriage by no means looks like what it is fancied to be by the philistine in his brothel-tainted imagination; that the people married in groups do not lead openly anything like the life of depravity that the philistine leads in secret; and that this form of

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[a] *Русскія Вѣдомости.—Ed.*

[b] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 154-55).—*Ed.*

marriage, at least in those examples of it that still exist today, differs in practice from the loose pairing marriage, or from polygamy, only in that custom allows a number of cases of sexual intercourse which under other circumstances would be severely punished. The fact that the exercise of this right is gradually dying out only proves that this form of marriage is doomed to extinction, which is confirmed by the rarity of the cases met with now.

For the rest, the whole description is interesting for the reason that it shows once again how similar, and in fundamentals identical, are the social institutions of these primitive people who are in about the same stage of development. Most of what is related about these Mongoloids of Sakhalin applies to the Dravidian tribes of India, to the South Sea Islanders at the time of their discovery, and to the American Indians. The report states:

"At a meeting of the Anthropological Section of the Friends of Natural History Society, held in Moscow[a] on October 10" (October 22, New Style), "N. A. Yanchuk reported on an interesting communication made by Mr. Sternberg on the Sakhalin Giliaki, a tribe that has been little investigated, and living on the cultural level[b] of savages. The Giliaki know neither agriculture nor the art of pottery; they obtain their means of subsistence mainly by hunting and fishing; they heat water in a wooden trough by dropping red-hot stones into it, etc. Particularly interesting are their family and gens institutions. A Giliak calls not only his natural father, but all the latter's brothers father; the wives of these brothers, as well as his mother's sisters, he calls his mothers; and the children of all these 'fathers' and 'mothers'[c] he calls his brothers and sisters. As is well known, a similar way of naming[d] prevails among the Iroquois and other Indian tribes in North America, as well as among some tribes in India. Among these, however, it has long ceased to correspond to existing conditions, whereas among the Giliaki it serves to designate *conditions that exist to this day.* Even today *every Giliak has conjugal rights to the wives of his brothers and the sisters of his wife*[e]; (at all events, the exercise of these rights is not regarded as a transgression[f]). These survivals of group marriage based on gentile organisation[g] are reminiscent of the celebrated punaluan family, which still existed in the Sandwich Islands in the first half of the present century. This form of family and gens relationship[h] serves as the basis of the Giliaki's social and gentile organisation.

"A Giliak's gens consists of all his father's brothers (near and collateral, actual

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[a] The words "in Moscow" were added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "degree" instead of "level" here.—*Ed.*

[c] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "all the relatives enumerated" instead of "all these 'fathers' and 'mothers'".—*Ed.*

[d] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "terminology" instead of "way of naming".—*Ed.*

[e] Engels' italics.—*Ed.*

[f] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "sin" instead of "transgression".—*Ed.*

[g] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has here: "These survivals of gentile marriage..."—*Ed.*

[h] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "family relations and kinship" instead of "family and gens relationship".—*Ed.*

and nominal), their fathers and mothers (?),[a] his brothers' children and his own children. Naturally, a gens constituted in this way may have a very large number of members. The life of the gens proceeds on the following principles. Marriage in the gens is absolutely prohibited. The wife of a deceased Giliak passes, on the decision of the gens, to one of his brothers (natural or nominal).[b] The gens maintains all its members who are unfit to work. 'There are no beggars among us,' said a Giliak to the reporter: 'if anybody is poor, the khal (gens) feeds him.' Furthermore, the members of the gens are united by common sacrifices and festivals, a common burial ground, etc.

"The gens guarantees the life and safety of every one of its members from attack by members of another gens.[c] The punitive means for this is blood revenge,[d] which owing to the influence of the Russians, has greatly subsided of late. Women are entirely exempt from the operation of blood revenge.—In some cases, extremely rare, members of other gentes are adopted by the gens. As a general rule the property of a deceased member must not leave the gens. In this respect, the well-known rule of the Twelve Tables: 'Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento'—'If he has no heirs, then the members of the gens shall inherit'[328]—is in operation in the literal sense of the word among the Giliaki. Not a single important event in the Giliak's life takes place without the participation of the gens. Until comparatively recently, one or two generations ago, the oldest member of the gens was the head, the '*starost*',[e] of the gens. At the present time, however, the functions of the elder of the gens are confined almost entirely to superintending religious rites. Often the members of the gens are scattered over places very remote from each other; but even though separated, they remember each other, visit each other, help and protect each other, etc. Incidentally, the Giliak does not leave his fellow-gentiles or the graves of the gens unless absolute necessity compels him to do so. The life of the gens has a strong impact upon the Giliak's mentality, character, ethics and institutions. The habit of discussing all matters collectively, the necessity of having constantly to act in the interests of his fellow-gentiles, mutual obligation in matters of blood revenge,[f] the necessity and custom of living in large yurtas together with scores of his fellows, of living constantly among the people, have all served to make the Giliak sociable and communicative. The Giliaki are extremely hospitable, they love to entertain guests and to go visiting themselves. The noble custom of hospitality manifests itself particularly in times of need. In hard years, when the Giliak lacks food for himself and his dogs, he does not beg for alms; he goes off visiting, certain of finding sustenance—and sometimes for a fairly long period.

"Among the Sakhalin Giliaki one rarely meets with crime due to selfish motives. The Giliak keeps his valuables in a shed, which is never locked. He is so sensitive to shame that if he is found guilty of some shameful act he goes off into the taiga and hangs himself. Murder among the Giliaki is very rare, and in most cases is committed in fits of anger: at all events it is never committed for selfish motives. In his relations with others[g] the Giliak displays truthfulness, loyalty to his word and conscientiousness.

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[a] The question mark is Engels'.—*Ed.*

[b] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "of any grade" instead of "natural or nominal".—*Ed.*

[c] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "khal" instead of "gens" here.—*Ed.*

[d] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "means" instead of "punitive means" and "gens revenge" instead of "blood revenge".—*Ed.*

[e] Engels' transliteration.—*Ed.*

[f] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "revenge" instead of "blood revenge".—*Ed.*

[g] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "civic relations" instead of "relations with others".—*Ed.*

"Notwithstanding their long subjection to the China-ised Manchurians and the corrupting influence of the colonisation[a] of the Amur Region, the Giliaki in their morals have retained many of the virtues peculiar to primitive tribes. But the fate of their social system is irrevocably sealed. Another generation or two, and the Giliaki on the mainland will have become completely Russified, and with the benefits of civilisation they will acquire all its vices. The Sakhalin Giliaki, being more or less removed from the centres of Russian settlement, have some chance of preserving themselves in their purity somewhat longer. But even on them the Russian population is beginning to exercise its influence. From all the villages they travel to Nikolayevsk to make purchases or to seek employment; and every Giliak who returns from such employment to his native village carries with him the same atmosphere that the town worker carries into the Russian village. Moreover, employment in town, with its vicissitudes of fortune, is more and more destroying the primitive equality which is the predominating feature of the simple economic life of people like the Giliaki.

"Mr. Sternberg's article also contains data on the religious views of the Giliaki, their rites, legal institutions,[b] etc. It will be published in *Etnografitscheskoje Obozrenie* (*Ethnographical Review*)."[c]

Written at the end of November-December 4, 1892

Printed according to the journal

First published in *Die Neue Zeit,* Vol. 1, No. 12, 1892-1893

Signed: *Frederick Engels*

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[a] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "disreputable population" instead of "colonisation".— *Ed.*

[b] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "legal customs" instead of "legal institutions".— *Ed.*

[c] See Л. Я. Штернберг, «Сахалинские гиляки», *Этнографическое обозреніе,* No. 2. 1893.— *Ed.*

# [TO THE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF VIENNA][329]

[London,] December 9, 1892
122, Regent's Park Road

Dear Comrades,

Sincere congratulations on the silver anniversary of the Association. The fight lasted long enough so that you might celebrate the happy occasion with honour.

And even outside Austria, there are plenty of people who admire your stamina in these battles. Your past is a guarantee for us all in future as well.

Many thanks for your kind invitation, which I am unfortunately unable to accept.

Once more: long live the festival of the proletariat, long live international Social Democracy!

Yours as ever,
*F. Engels*

First published in *Weg und Ziel*, No. 5, May 1978

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# [TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF HUNGARY][330]

Dear Comrades,

My best thanks for your kind invitation to the Party Congress of the Hungarian Social Democrats, which I shall sadly be unable to attend.

I cannot dispatch these lines without expressing my great regret at the strife which has broken out in your ranks. Far be it from me to intervene in matters which I am neither called upon to decide nor sufficiently informed to be capable of so doing. I can only express the wish that the Party Congress succeeds in reconciling the differences of opinion and[a] ends the danger of a split.

With best wishes for the success of the Party Congress

Yours,
*F. E.*

Written in early January 1893

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XVI, Part II, Moscow, 1936

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] The following is deleted in the manuscript: "the Hungarian Party retains such a capable worker as Comrade P. Engelmann hardly is".— *Ed.*

# [ON THE LATEST CAPER OF THE PARIS POLICE][331]

The bourgeois press of Paris announces with great pomp that the police have uncovered a very vile plot. A number of "Russian Nihilists" have conspired to dispatch to eternity the gentle Tsar and Autocrat of All the Russias[a]; but the police have been on their guard, the "transgressors and aggressors" have been caught, the magnanimous Father of the Russian Fatherland has been saved.

Seen in the light of day it turns out that the "Russian Nihilists" deserve this name insofar as they have *nihil*—nothing—to do with Russians. They are simply Poles who only have the misfortune to have been born under the sceptre of the Little Father in Petersburg, people who lived very quietly and retiringly in Paris, and were not simple-minded enough to hatch murder plots—sensible people today leave such business to the police. The simple necessity of presenting to the public the Polish names of these "Russian Nihilists" was sufficient to make untenable the whole rigmarole of murder and plotting even for the police. They had to instruct their Havas-Reuter[332] that the persons would simply be expelled from France.

Why such a hubbub everywhere? Very simple.

The rulers of the opportunist-radical bourgeois republic—the ministers, senators, deputies—are, all of them, mixed up in the Panama scandal,[333] some as bribe-takers, others as accomplices and hushers-up. In their view, the public has occupied itself long enough with *this* side of their grimy existences. They think: the world has now said enough about us discrediting the Republic with our swindling. Let us now demonstrate that we are also

[a] Alexander III.—*Ed.*

capable of discrediting this Republic politically. Let us demonstrate that in grovelling to the Tsar we can beat the blessed Bismarck by six boot-licking lengths. The Russian Embassy wishes to inspect the papers of the Polish émigrés, so let us prove our burning desire to lay before it everything it wants: not only the papers, but the Poles themselves at the same time, and the whole of France if need be.

We cannot complain if the bourgeois Republic ruins itself in this way. Its heirs stand at the door: not the monarchists, busily plotting again but not dangerous for all that, but the socialists who will be the heirs. But what is beyond the pale, even for us, is the stupidity of these people, the powers-that-be in France at this time. They beg for the grace and favour of official Russia, they lick its boots, they demean themselves before this Russian robber band, they appoint the Tsar real ruler of France and director of French policy—and this Tsar is in a position of impotence which makes it absolutely impossible for him to render any sort of real service to France. The present winter proves that a permanent state of starvation for years to come has been declared in Russia[a]; the resources of the country have been exhausted for a long time to come, the financial situation is absolutely desperate. It is not France which needs Russia, on the contrary, it is Russia which would be completely paralysed without the moral support of France. If these French bourgeois had a bit of sense, they could force their Russian ally to anything which involved no money and no war. Instead they lie prostrate before it in the dust, allowing themselves to be exploited for Russian state ends as not even Prussia was in its deepest abasement. And they imagine that they are being cunning and have no idea, the stupid devils, how they are being laughed at in Petersburg.

*Paris vaut bien une messe*—Paris is worth a mass, as Henri IV said when he obtained the surrender of Paris by converting to Catholicism. *La France vaut bien une Marseillaise*—France is worth a *Marseillaise*—said Alexander III when, at the moment of his greatest political helplessness and perplexity, Admiral Gervais handed him France on a plate.[334]

Written on January 10, 1893

First published in the *Vorwärts*, No. 11, January 13, 1893

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, pp. 248-50, 387.—*Ed.*

# THE ITALIAN PANAMA[335]

## I

"Italia, Italia, you really have canaglia" runs a German student song on Italian bugs and fleas. But apart from the six-legged canaglia there are the two-legged sort there as well, and *la belle Italia* insists on showing that in this respect it is not outranked either by *la belle France* with its Panama Affair, or by that chaste Germania with its piety, sanctimoniousness and the Guelph fund.[336]

Italy has its paper-money turned out by six banks, two Tuscan, one Neapolitan, one Sicilian and two Roman: the Banca Romana and the Banca Nazionale. The banknotes of these six privileged banks have currency as fully valid legal tender under a law which expired some years ago, and was then extended from year to year up to December 31, 1892 and finally for three months up to March 31, 1893.

Back under the Crispi administration in 1889 an investigation was ordered into the management of these banks, in view of the renewal of this bank privilege which had become necessary, and because of the disquieting rumours that were circulating. The Banca Nazionale was investigated by Senator Consiglio, the Banca Romana by Senator Alvisi, an honourable man, to whom was assigned as expert Biagini, a capable official from the Ministry of Finance. Nothing is known up to the present as to what Consiglio has discovered; after Alvisi's death a copy of the Alvisi report together with all documentary evidence, came into hands generally described as unauthorised, and this led to the Panamino, the little Panama, as the Italians call it.

At that time the Crispi administration quietly pigeonholed the report. Alvisi referred to the matter in the Senate a few times, threatened a scandal, but always allowed himself to be silenced. He

was silent too when Minister Miceli, who had ordered the investigation, presented to the Chamber Commission on the next annual prolongation of the Bank Law an enormously white-washing report on the Banca Romana; and he implored his friend Alvisi not to compromise him and the credit of his country through disclosures. Crispi fell, Rudini replaced him; Rudini fell, and was succeeded by the Giolitti administration now in power. The definitive bank law, which was to reorganise the banks and extend their privilege for six years, was still up in the air. Nobody wanted to nibble this dangerous bait. As in the children's game "The spark still lives" the glowing spill passed from hand to hand, until finally, on December 21, the last spark was crushed out, cruelly and without authorisation.

As recently as December 6, 1892, Giolitti had introduced a bill to prolong the bank privilege for *six years*. But as a result of the embarrassing rumours unauthorisedly circulating about gross irregularities in bank administration, on December 21 Giolitti was quick to demand only a stay of execution for three months—until March 31. During the debate Deputy Colajanni took the floor and read out, to universal astonishment, various passages from Alvisi's general report on the Banca Romana, and from Biagini's special report on the books and holdings which he had checked. Fine things came to light! Nine million francs in illegally issued excess banknotes; an intermingling, contrary to the statutes, of the bank funds and the gold reserve extremely agreeable to the bank governor and cashier; a portfolio full of totally irredeemable fictitious bills; 73 million from the bank funds advanced to 179 privileged persons; $33^1/_2$ million of this amount to just 19 persons; amongst the bank debtors there figured Tanlongo, the bank governor, with over one million and Prince Giulio Torlonia, chairman of the board of directors, with 4 million, etc., etc. Colajanni gave no further names, but made it clear that he knew more than he had said, and demanded a parliamentary investigation of the banks.

Another deputy, Gavazzi, then read out a further passage from the report, according to which the Banca Romana had made large advances to lawyers, journalists and political figures, and that such special clients had received monies up to 12 million, which did not figure in the published balance sheets.

Up jumped Miceli, the ex-minister, who had ordered the investigation under Crispi. Up jumped Giolitti, Crispi, Rudini, one after another, the three prime ministers involved, to declare that these disclosures were fabrications.

And what a depth of moral indignation they displayed! A German commercial traveller, confronted with goods ordered from him on sound samples and then delivered in poor quality, could not have shown more righteous rage.

On the same day deputies exchanged banknotes of the Banca Romana to the value of over 50,000 francs at the bank counter of the Chamber, and the shares (nominal par 1,000 fr.) fell by 100 francs. But after the heroic ministerial speeches, the stock exchange people were on top again that very same evening. Impressions were that the scandal was dead and buried.

## II

But every word uttered by Colajanni was true, and it was scarcely one third of what the investigation report contained. Tanlongo the governor, Lazzaroni the chief cashier and Torlonia, chairman of the board of directors, had quite cosily authorised advances up to nine million. According to Tanlongo's testimony the bank was altogether managed "cosily"—*patriarcalmente*; so cosily that the funds which should have guaranteed easier credit for commerce and industry had been loaned on bad and practically irredeemable mortgages, or to persons whose knowledge of industry was confined to a cavalier treatment of every financial obligation, against constantly prolonged bills of exchange, or even on open current account. It was run so cosily that gradually almost all journalists and no fewer than *one-hundred-and-fifty members of the current Chamber of Deputies,* most of them notoriously insolvent, or even living solely upon debts, were carried on the books of the bank as debtors. A list of these clients was also attached to Alvisi's report; on this list, apart from only one deputy of the right wing, Arbib, there figured almost all persuasions of the left with sums of 500,000-600,000 fr. per head. The bearer of a name honoured throughout the world[a] is amongst them, as are two current ministers—Grimaldi and Martini; Grimaldi is even one of the legal advisers of the bank with an annual salary of 25,000 fr. That was already quite jolly, but that was in 1889, that was just the beginning, that was not even a Panamino, it was only a Panaminetto, a very very small Panama.

These delicate matters and others, naturally including exaggerated rumours, spread slowly and bit by bit amongst the public,

[a] Menotti Garibaldi.— *Ed.*

once Colajanni's speech had started things off. The public began to withdraw deposits from the Banca Romana—in a few days more than 9 million of the total 14 million deposited—and to regard its notes with distrust. The government felt that action must now be taken. Something which had been shuffled for years from one administration to another—regulation of the banks and paper-money—was now to be accomplished helter-skelter. At the beginning of January negotiations were initiated on the amalgamation of the two Roman and the two Tuscan banks as one large credit institution, and at the same time the administration ordered a new inspection of the banks. The Banca Nazionale, which was to constitute the core of the new institution, naturally declined to take over the sins of the Banca Romana unseen; it made difficulties and low offers. All this got around; distrust grew into panic. The city of Rome withdrew from the Banca Romana its credit balance of over one million, and the Savings Bank also retrieved its deposit of over 500,000 fr. The shares of the Banca Romana, which had fallen after Colajanni's speech to 670, were quoted on January 15 at just 504 fr. for 1,000 fr. face value. In the north of the country people began refusing to accept the notes of this bank.

And now rumours seeped out to the public about the still more astounding results of the new inspection of the Banca Romana. Admittedly, Prince Giulio Torlonia had paid off his debt: on January 13, 4 million, on the 14th a further 600,000 fr., on the 15th the remaining 2 million. Admittedly, Tanlongo the governor, and Lazzaroni the cashier had made over to the bank their entire large fortunes against their debts. Admittedly, "a very high-ranking person"—the *Corriere di Napoli* pointed out with the broadest of hints at the king[a]—had paid the bank debts of Minister Grimaldi and the members of his family. Admittedly, the constitutional-radical Deputy Fortis had issued a declaration that the credit granted him had been sanctioned in his capacity of legal adviser to the bank. But what was all this against the news that the new inspection had revealed that the Banca Romana, which was permitted to issue 70 million in banknotes, *had put 133 million in circulation*; that, in order to conceal this, fake creditors to the tune of 49 million figured in the books, and that Governor Tanlongo had withdrawn 25 million on a simple receipt dated as recently as January 3, 1893 (*Secolo,* January 21-22). Further it was whispered that the gold reserves had, it is true, been found to be in order,

[a] Umberto I.—*Ed.*

but only because Baron Michele Lazzaroni, nephew of the chief cashier, had borrowed from Swiss business friends sundry millions in cash for a few days specially for this purpose, promising he would immediately return them *in natura* after the inspection had been made; but this will be somewhat difficult, as the government has, in the meantime, impounded all the funds of the Banca Romana. And now disclosures came rattling out here, there and everywhere; now the names of the 150 deputies circulated with greater or lesser accuracy and certainty; now it could no longer be denied that at least the last three administrations had known all about the business. That they had put the money of the bank regularly and in large quantities at the disposal of their supporters for election purposes, that they had frequently discussed the misappropriations in the Council of Ministers and had intentionally kept them secret in full knowledge of the responsibility they thus incurred—that they had thus assented to their continuation.

How pale in contrast was Biagini's report published in the *Corriere di Napoli,* January 19-20. The Panamino was there.

## III

The crisis could no longer be avoided. Amongst the people who had cheated with the bank and blown and blued its funds—by means of honest tick, of course—one section disposed of public power, the other not. It was abundantly clear that as soon as the knife was put to their throats, the first section would sacrifice the second. One accomplice took the lofty decision to be the hangman of the other. Just as in France. There too Rouvier, Floquet, Freycinet and Co. similarly sacrificed Lesseps and Fontane; they and their accomplices had often enough, as Charles Lesseps said, "put the knife to our throats" to squeeze, from Panama, funds for political purposes. In exactly the same way Giolitti and Grimaldi sacrificed their bosom friend Tanlongo, after they and their predecessors had extracted from him bank money for electoral and pressure purposes for so long that nothing remained but the crash. And when Grimaldi's debts had been paid off in the familiar secretive way, it was he who called loudest for Tanlongo's arrest.

But Tanlongo is a thoroughly crafty old Italian who knows all the tricks of the trade, not a greenhorn in swindling like Charles Lesseps and the other puppets, who had to run Panama for Reinach and Co. Tanlongo is a pious man who went to mass every

morning at 4; here he fixed his deals with representatives and middlemen—no scandal on me, dear child[a]—whom he did not want to see on his bank premises. Tanlongo was on excellent terms with the Vatican, and he is said to have conveved into the safety of the Vatican, untouchable to the Italian police, a small casket containing those documents which guarantee him against his powerful friends and patrons, those documents which he does not wish to entrust too hastily to the law. For in Italy with its Panamino, just as in France with its Panama, there are strong suspicions that the domicilary searches by the law sometimes serve not to bring documents to light, but rather to make them disappear. And Tanlongo feels that certain documents which are to defend him and clarify the real state of affairs are not safe with the Italian examining magistrate, but only in the Vatican.

Enough. Scarcely had the ministry concluded the business of the Banca Nazionale, by which the latter takes over the entire assets and liabilities of the Banca Romana and pays the shareholders 450 fr. for each 1,000 fr. share; scarcely did it believe that it had thereby protected from publication the names of the political bank debtors, than worthy Tanlongo met his fate—the ingratitude which is the reward of bourgeois politics. From the evening of January 16 his house was watched; on the nineteenth he and chief cashier Lazzaroni were arrested.

This did not hit him unexpectedly. Earlier he had told a journalist from the *Parlamento.*

> "They may lock me up, but they should consider that they will be playing a bad card ... if they want to hold me responsible for the sins of other people then I shall be forced to create a scandal... They want to ruin me? Then I shall drag into the public eye the names of people *who demanded from me million upon million.* How often did I say: I cannot provide them, the only reply was: they are necessary (*occorrono*). And I have the proof of this ... it is always the same; the more I did, the more they kicked me in the face; but *if I fall then I shall be in good company.*"

And when the sick old man, who had been held in custody until then in this palace, was taken to Regina Coeli prison on the 25th, he said to the officials who accompanied him: "I shall come, but I reserve the right to make disclosures," and to his family he said: "They would like to see me die in prison, but I have strength enough to take revenge."

He does not look the man to go to pieces in open court session, like the Paris Panama directors who, instead of crushing their prosecutors with the incriminating facts, ten times as grave, which

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[a] H. Heine, *Die Heimkehr.* Anhang.—*Ed.*

stood at their disposal, begged in silence for a mild sentence. Palsied as he is, the newspapers describe him as a large boney man, "a real cuirassier of seventy", and his whole past vouches that he knows he can only find salvation in violent combat, in the toughest resistance; and so it will surely come that one fine day the notorious *cassetta d'oro*[a] will find its way from the Vatican to the courtroom, and spread its contents on the court table. *Bon appetit*!

In the meantime the Chambers went into session again on the 25th, and the scandal has started up there too. Giolitti can only shout to his 150 what Rouvier shouted to his 104: If we had not taken this money, then you would not be seated here. And that is a fact. And Crispi and Rudini can only say the same. But that is not the end of the matter. Further revelations are bound to follow, both in the Chamber and in the courtroom. The Panamino, like the Panama, stands only at the start of its development.

And what is the moral of the story? That the Panama, and the Panamino, and the Guelph funds demonstrate the whole of bourgeois politics, both the pleasing squabble between the bourgeois parties themselves, and their collective resistance to the pressure of the working class, cannot be undertaken without enormous volumes of money; that these volumes of money are used for purposes which cannot be publicly admitted; and that owing to the tight-fistedness of the bourgeoisie governments find themselves increasingly constrained to obtain by unutterable means the cash for these unutterable ends. "We take the money where we find it," said Bismarck, who must know. And we have just seen "*where* we find it".

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[a] Gold casket.—*Ed.*

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**CARLO MARX e FEDERICO ENGELS**

# IL MANIFESTO

DEL

# PARTITO COMUNISTA

*CON UN NUOVO PROEMIO AL LETTORE ITALIANO*

DI

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Title page of the Italian edition
of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* presented
to Engels by F. Turati

# TO THE ITALIAN READER

## [PREFACE TO THE ITALIAN EDITION (1893) OF THE *MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY*][337]

The publication of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* coincided, one may say, with March 18, 1848, the day of the revolutions in Milan and Berlin, which were armed uprisings of the two nations situated in the centre, the one, of the continent of Europe, and the other, of the Mediterranean; two nations until then enfeebled by division and internal strife, and thus fallen under foreign domination. While Italy was subject to the Emperor of Austria, Germany underwent the yoke, not less effective though more indirect, of the Tsar of all the Russias. The consequences of March 18, 1848, freed both Italy and Germany from this disgrace; if from 1848 to 1871 these two great nations were reconstituted and somehow again put on their own, it was, as Karl Marx used to say, because the men who suppressed the revolution of 1848 were, nevertheless, its testamentary executors in spite of themselves.[338]

Everywhere that revolution was the work of the working class; it was the latter that built the barricades and paid with its lifeblood. Only the Paris workers, in overthrowing the government, had the very definite intention of overthrowing the bourgeois regime. But conscious though they were of the fatal antagonism existing between their own class and the bourgeoisie, still, neither the economic progress of the country nor the intellectual development of the mass of French workers had as yet reached the stage which would have made a social reconstruction possible. In the final analysis, therefore, the fruits of the revolution were reaped by the capitalist class. In the other countries, in Italy, in Germany, in Austria, the workers, from the very outset, did nothing but raise the bourgeoisie to power. But in any country the rule of the bourgeoisie is impossible without national independence. There-

fore, the revolution of 1848 had to bring in its train the unity and autonomy of the nations that had lacked them up to then: Italy, Germany, Hungary. Poland will follow in turn.

Thus, if the revolution of 1848 was not a socialist revolution, it paved the way, prepared the ground for the latter. Through the impetus given to large-scale industry in all countries, the bourgeois regime during the last forty-five years has everywhere created a numerous, concentrated and powerful proletariat. It has thus raised, to use the language of the *Manifesto,* its own grave-diggers. Without restoring autonomy and unity to each nation, it will be impossible to achieve either the international union of the proletariat, or the peaceful and intelligent co-operation of these nations toward common aims. Just imagine joint international action by the Italian, Hungarian, German, Polish and Russian workers under the political conditions preceding 1848!

The battles fought in 1848 were thus not fought in vain. Nor have the forty-five years separating us from that revolutionary epoch passed to no purpose. The fruits are ripening, and all I wish is that the publication of this Italian translation may augur as well for the victory of the Italian proletariat as the publication of the original did for the international revolution.

The *Manifesto* does full justice to the revolutionary part played by capitalism in the past. The first capitalist nation was Italy. The close of the feudal Middle Ages, and the opening of the modern capitalist era are marked by a colossal figure: an Italian, Dante, both the last poet of the Middle Ages and the first poet of modern times. Today, as in 1300, a new historical era is approaching. Will Italy give us the new Dante, who will mark the hour of birth of this new, proletarian era?

*London, February 1, 1893*

*Frederick Engels*

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# CAN EUROPE DISARM?[339]

Written in February 1893; Foreword, on March 28

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Signed: *Frederick Engels*

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# Kann Europa abrüsten?

Von

Friedrich Engels.

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Title page of the pamphlet *Can Europe Disarm?*

## FOREWORD

The articles reprinted here were published in the Berlin newspaper *Vorwärts* in March 1893, during the Reichstag debate on the Military Bill.

In them I proceed from the assumption that is increasingly gaining general acceptance: that the system of standing armies has been carried to such extremes throughout Europe that it must either bring economic ruin to the peoples on account of the military burden, or else degenerate into a general war of extermination, unless the standing armies are transformed in good time into a militia based on the universal arming of the people.

I attempt to prove that this transformation is possible right at this moment, even for the present governments and in the present political situation. I thus take this situation as my basis and for the time being propose only such means as could be adopted by any government of the day without jeopardising national security. I simply seek to establish that from a purely military point of view there is nothing whatever to prevent the gradual abolition of standing armies; and that, if these armies are nevertheless maintained, it is for political and not military reasons—that, in a word, the armies are intended to provide protection not so much against the external enemy as the internal one.

However, I consider the gradual reduction of the term of service by international treaty, which forms the core of my argument, to be the simplest and quickest way possible of effecting the general transition from a standing army to the arming of the people organised as a militia. The terms of such a treaty would naturally vary according to the nature of the contracting governments and the political situation of the day. And things

could not possibly be more favourable than at present; if it is possible even today to set a *maximum* term of service of two years as a starting point, in a few years it may be possible to choose a much shorter period of time.

By making the physical and military training of all male youths an essential condition for the transition to the new system, I expressly preclude the possibility of the military system proposed here being confused with any other militia now in existence, e.g., the Swiss one.

*London,* March 28, 1893

*F. Engels*

## I

For the past twenty-five years all Europe has been arming on a hitherto unprecedented scale. Every major power is seeking to surpass another in military might and readiness for war. Germany, France and Russia are exhausting themselves in their efforts to outdo one another. At this very moment the German government is demanding from the people a new exertion so tremendous that even the present tame Reichstag shrinks away from it. Is it not folly, then, to talk of disarmament?

And yet in all countries the classes of people who almost exclusively have to provide the bulk of the soldiers and pay the bulk of the taxes are crying out for disarmament. And yet everywhere the effort has reached the stage where its strength—here the recruits, there the money, somewhere else both—is beginning to fail. Is there no way out of this blind alley except through a war of destruction such as the world has never seen?

I maintain: disarmament and thus a guarantee of peace is possible, it is even comparatively easy to carry out, and Germany more than any other civilised state has the power, as well as the mission, to carry it out.

After the war of 1870-71, the superiority of the system of universal compulsory military service with a reserve and Landwehr—even in its then stunted Prussian form[340]—over the system of conscription by proxy had been conclusively demonstrated. All the continental countries adopted it in more or less modified forms. There would not have been any great harm in this itself. An army that has its main reserve in middle-aged married men is by its very nature less offensive than was the conscript army of

Louis Napoleon, which was heavily permeated by paid proxies—recruited professional soldiers. But then came the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, which turned the Peace of Frankfurt into a mere ceasefire for France, as the Peace of Tilsit[341] had been for Prussia. And now began the feverish arms race between France and Germany, into which Russia, Austria and Italy were also gradually drawn.

To start with, the obligatory term of service in the Landwehr was extended. In France the territorial army acquired a reserve of older men; in Germany the second levy of the Landwehr and even the Landsturm were revived.[342] And so it went on, step by step, until the age limit set by nature was reached and even exceeded.

Then conscription was stepped up and the new training cadres which this made necessary were set up; but here again the limit has been almost or fully reached, and in France has even been exceeded. The last enlistment intakes of the French army already include quite a number of young men who are not yet—or not at all—equal to the hardships of service. The English officers, impartial on this point, who attended the large manoeuvre in Champagne in 1891 and acknowledged the high efficiency of the present French army, generously and at times admiringly, report unanimously that an excessively large number of young soldiers dropped out in the course of the marches and combat exercises. In Germany we have admittedly not yet exhausted our reserves of men fit for military service, but to remedy that is precisely the purpose of the new Military Bill. In short, even in this respect we are approaching the limits of our powers.

Now the modern, the *revolutionary* aspect of the Prussian military system consists precisely in the demand that the strength of every able-bodied man should be placed at the service of national defence for as long as he is capable of bearing arms. And the only revolutionary thing that can be discerned in all military development since 1870 is the very fact that it has been deemed necessary—often enough with some reluctance—actually to increasingly carry out this demand, which had hitherto only been fulfilled in chauvinist fantasy. Neither the term of service liability nor the enlistment of all able-bodied young men can be called into question today, least of all by Germany and even less by the Social-Democratic Party, which, quite the contrary, is the only force able to translate also this demand fully into practice.

Accordingly there remains only one point where the need for disarmament can apply the lever: the term of service with the colours. And this, in fact, is the Archimedean point: *international*

*regulation,* by the great powers of the Continent, *of the maximum term of active service with the colours* for all arms of the service, initially for two years, as far as I am concerned—but with the proviso of an immediate further reduction as soon as people are convinced of the possibility, and *with the militia system as the ultimate objective.* And I maintain that Germany in particular is better able to make this proposal, and that Germany will profit more than anyone else by making it, even if it is rejected.

## II

The international regulation of the maximum term of service with the colours would affect the armies of all powers equally. It is generally assumed that, in armies whose men have never been under fire, for the initial phase of a campaign the term of active service—within certain limits—provides the best measure of their suitability in all war situations, particularly for strategic and tactical attack. Our warriors of 1870 had sufficient experience of the *furia francese,* of the bayonet attack of the long-serving imperial infantry and the full force of the cavalry attacks at Wörth and Sedan; but at Spichern, right at the beginning of the war, they also demonstrated that they could expel this same infantry from a strong position—even though outnumbered.[343] Generally speaking, then, let us concede that within certain limits, which vary with the national character, in troops with no experience of war the term of service with the colours is decisive with regard to their general suitability for war and particularly their fitness for the offensive.

If we succeed in setting a maximum limit to their term of service internationally, the relative capacity of the various armies will remain roughly what it is today. What one forfeits in immediate potential, the others will also forfeit. Insofar as a surprise attack by one state on another is excluded, it will continue to be so, to the same extent. The difference in the term of active service between France and Germany, for instance, has up till now not been such that it is of any importance; even under the reduced term of service everything would depend on how the agreed term of service was used in each of the armies, just as it does today. Apart from this, the relative strength of the two armies would correspond to the ratio between the populations of the two countries. Once universal compulsory military service is actually introduced, in countries of roughly equal economic

development (which determines the percentage of the unfit) the population size will always be the measure of the strength of the armed forces. Then there will be no more tricks like the Prussian tricks of 1813; *that* cream will have been skimmed off.

But a great deal is dependent on how the established term of service is utilised. And on this subject there are men in almost all armies who could tell a tale or two if they were—permitted to, for shortage of money has everywhere forced armies to give a proportion of their recruits a "makeshift" training in a few months. Then they have to restrict themselves to essentials, a whole lot of traditional tomfoolery is thrown out of the window, and they find to their surprise how little time it takes to make a soldier out of a tolerably well-built young man. Bebel has related in the Reichstag how this astonished the training officers of the German Ersatzreserve.[344] In the Austrian army there are plenty of officers who maintain that the Landwehr, which has about the same term of service as the German Ersatzreserve, is better than the line. No wonder. There they lack the time that is wasted in the line on the traditional and hence sanctified idiocies—and for this very reason it is not wasted.

The German infantry regulations of 1888 limit the tactical formations for battle to the essentials. It contains nothing new; fighting ability in all reversed situations had already been introduced by the Austrians after 1859; the formation of all battalion columns by means of a simple combination of four company columns had been introduced at about the same time by the Darmhessians, who had to succumb to this rational formation again being prohibited by the Prussians after 1866.[345] In other respects the new regulations do away with an immense tangle of antediluvian ceremonies that were as useless as they were sancrosanct; least of all do I have any reason to find fault with it. For after the war of 1870 I allowed myself the luxury of drawing up a plan of the closed formations and movements of companies and battalions appropriate to present-day warfare, and was not a little surprised to find this piece of the "state of the future" implemented in almost every particular in the relevant sections of the new regulations.

But the regulations are one thing, and putting them into practice is another. The martinets, which have always flourished in the Prussian army in times of peace, reintroduce the time-wasting abolished in the instructions through the back door of the parade-ground. All at once parade drill is vitally necessary to counterbalance the unruliness of the dispersed battle order, as the sole means of establish-

ing true discipline, etc., etc. This is tantamount to saying that order and discipline can only be established by making the men practise utterly useless things. The abolition of the "goose step" alone would make whole weeks available for rational exercises, quite apart from the fact that foreign officers could then watch a German review without laughing up their sleeves.

Another similar obsolete institution is sentry duty, which, according to an old traditional notion, also serves to develop the intelligence and especially the independent thought of the men by teaching them the art—in case they are not already familiar with it—of standing guard and thinking of nothing at all for two hours. In view of the present universal custom of practising outpost duty in the field, sentry duty in town, where there are after all security police of every kind, has become totally senseless. Its abolition would result in at least a twenty per cent gain in the effective term of service for the army and ensure safety on the streets for civilians.

And then there are everywhere a lot of soldiers who on all sorts of pretexts do as little service as possible: company craftsmen, batmen, etc. There is plenty of scope for changes here.

Yes—but what about the cavalry? Surely they must have a longer term of service?—This is certainly desirable if one is dealing with recruits who can neither ride nor tend a horse. But there is plenty of scope for changes here too. If the horse rations were not so meagerly proportioned—the horses have to be specially fed for the manoeuvres in order to attain their normal strength!—and if every squadron had a number of extra horses available so that the men were able to practise in the saddle more often and for longer periods—in short, if a serious effort were made to compensate for the shorter term of service by the more intensive pursuit of essentials and the elimination of things superfluous, it would soon be found that it is possible to manage in that way, too. Even for rough-riding, on which so much stress has been placed and the vital necessity of which I readily concede, ways and means can be found. And anyway there is nothing to prevent the retention and extension of the system of three or four-year volunteers or of re-enlisted soldiers for cavalry troops, for as long as it is considered necessary—in return for corresponding compensations in the service liability of the reserve and the Landwehr, without which such things will not be attained.

Of course, if one listens to the military authorities one hears quite a different tale. It is all quite impossible, they say, and

nothing may be altered without everything collapsing. But for fifty years now I have heard so many military institutions solemnly described as unassailable and sacrosanct today, only to see them flung mercilessly into the junk room tomorrow, and by the very same authorities; furthermore, I have so often seen that what is praised to the skies in one army is deemed beneath contempt in another; I have so often observed that customs lavished with praise and institutions of long standing prove to be folly in the face of the enemy; finally, it has so often been my experience that in every army there is a particular conventional tradition intended for those of minor rank, the common soldier and the public, that is cultivated by the higher superiors but ridiculed by the officers of independent mind and reduced to nought by every campaign—in short, I have had so much historical experience of this that I would advise everyone to distrust nothing more than military "*expertise*".

## III

It is a peculiar contrast: our high-ranking soldiers are generally so dreadfully conservative precisely in their own field, and yet there is today scarcely any other domain that is as revolutionary as the military one. The smooth-bore six-pounder and the seven-pound howitzer which I handled close by the Kupfergraben in the old days[346] and today's rifled breech-loading guns, the large-calibre smooth-bore gun of those days and the modern 5mm repeating breech-loaders, seem centuries apart; and there is still no end to it, every day technology still ruthlessly throws overboard all the latest innovations. Now it is even discarding the romantic powder-smoke, giving battle a totally different character and course that are quite incalculable in advance. We must, however, increasingly come to terms with such incalculable factors in the midst of this ceaseless revolutionising of the technical basis of warfare.

As late as forty years ago the effective firing range of the infantry extended no further than 300 paces, at which distance a single man could survive unscathed a volley from an entire battalion, provided that the men were all really aiming at him. As for the firing range of the field artillery, it was practically ineffectual even at 1,500 to 1,800 paces. In the Franco-Prussian War the effective firing range of the rifles was 600-1,000 paces, that of the artillery 3,000-4,000 paces at the most. But the new

small-bore rifles, as yet untried in war, have a range approaching that of the artillery, their projectiles have four to six times the penetration; the repeating rifle gives a section today the same firepower that a whole company used to have; the artillery, while it cannot boast of a similar increase in firing range, has loaded its shells with entirely new explosives of previously unheard-of effect; though admittedly it is not yet quite certain who will have to suffer this effect, the shooter or the shot-at.

And in the midst of this unceasing, ever accelerating revolutionisation of the whole military system we are faced with military authorities who five years ago were still drumming into their troops all the conventional ceremonies and artificial contortions of old Fritz's[a] linear tactics, which vanished from the battlefield long ago, and continued to revere regulations by which you could still be beaten because you had marched off to the right and there was no room to form up on the left! Authorities who to this very day dare not question the shiny buttons and metal fittings of the soldiers' equipment—just as many magnets to attract 5mm bullets—who send the Uhlans into action with broad red doublets, and the cuirassiers admittedly without cuirasses—at last!—but in white battledress, and have only decided after much heart-searching to sacrifice on the altar of the fatherland the epaulettes (which were all the more sacred for being in such appalling taste)—rather than the epaulette-bearer himself.

It seems to me that it is neither in the interest of the German people, nor of the German army that this conservative superstition remains in control of the army amidst the technical revolution surging all around it. We need fresher, bolder minds, and I would be very much mistaken if there were not plenty of these among our most capable officers, plenty longing to be liberated from the routine and the pedantry which has again run riot in the last twenty years of peace. But until they find the courage and the opportunity to assert their convictions, the rest of us will have to step into the breach and do our best to prove that we too learnt something in the army.

Furthermore I have attempted to demonstrate above that the two-year term of service can be put into practice now in all arms of the service if the men are taught what they need to know in war and are spared the traditional time-consuming antiquities. But I stated right from the outset that it should not stop at two years. Rather, the proposal for an international two-year term of service

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[a] Frederick II.—*Ed.*

should be seen as simply the first step towards a gradual further reduction in the term of service—say, eighteen months to begin with, two summers and a winter—then a year—then...? This is where the state of the future starts, the unadulterated militia system, and we shall return to this once the thing has really been set in motion.

And this, setting the thing in motion, is most important of all. If one first faces the fact that the reduction of the term of service is a necessity for the economic existence of all countries and for the preservation of European peace, the next gain to be made is the realisation that *the stress in military training should be placed on the education of youth.*

When I returned to the Rhine after ten years' exile,[347] I was pleasantly surprised to see parallel and horizontal bars set up everywhere in the yards of the village schools. So far, so good: unfortunately it did not go very far. The apparatus was acquired in accordance with instructions, in the good old Prussian manner, but when it came to using it there was always some sort of obstacle. That was a different kettle of fish entirely—in fact, it usually never came to it at all. Is it too much to ask that the whole business should be taken seriously at last? That school pupils of all classes should be taught gymnastics both with and without apparatus systematically and thoroughly while their limbs are still elastic and supple, instead of, as now, making twenty-year-old lads slave away in vain in the sweat of their brows—and one's own—in order to make their stiffened bones, muscles and ligaments loose and pliant once again? Any doctor will tell you that the division of labour deforms any human being subjected to it, whole series of muscles being developed at the expense of others, and that the effects of this vary according to the specific branch of labour, each job producing its own deformity. Is it not then madness first to let the men become deformed and then afterwards make them straight and mobile again in the army? Does it demand a degree of insight surpassing the official horizon to see that one will obtain soldiers that are three times as good if one guards against this deformation at the appropriate time, at elementary school and secondary college?

But this is only the beginning. A boy can be taught the formation and movement of a serried troop at school with ease. The schoolboy stands and walks straight by nature, particularly when he has physical training; during our military service every one of us has observed the way our recruits stand and how hard it is to teach many of them to walk and stand straight. The

movements in column and company can be trained at any school and with a facility unknown in the army. What is a detested, often almost insurmountable difficulty for the recruit is a game and a diversion for the schoolboy. The contact and sense of direction in frontal marching and wheeling which is so difficult to attain with adult recruits is easily learnt by schoolboys as soon as drill is systematically carried out with them. If a good part of the summer is devoted to marches and exercises in the field, the minds and bodies of the boys will derive no less benefit from it than the military coffers, which will thus save whole months of service time. Military rambles of this kind are particularly well suited for getting the boys to solve such problems as are encountered on active service, and this in turn is highly apt to develop the pupils' intelligence and enable them to acquire a specifically military training in a comparatively short time. The practical proof of this has been provided by my old friend Beust, himself a former Prussian officer, at his school in Zurich. With the present complicated state of military matters, a transition to the militia system is inconceivable without preparatory military training for young people, and it is precisely in this field that Beust's successful experiments are of the greatest importance.

And now permit me to strike a specifically Prussian note. The vital question of concern to the Prussian state is: what is to become of the non-commissioned officer who has served his time? Until now he has been used as a policeman, frontier guard, doorkeeper, clerk, as a civil servant of every conceivable kind; there is not a single slot in the Prussian bureaucracy, however humble, that has not been filled with non-commissioned officers with a claim to a government appointment. Well then: you have worked your fingers to the bone to find situations for the non-commissioned officers; you have insisted on thrusting them in where they are no good, and using them for things of which they know nothing; is it not about time they were found a place in the field with which they are familiar and in which they can perform a useful job? They should become schoolmasters, but not in reading, writing and arithmetic—let them teach gymnastics and drill. That will do them and the boys good. And once the non-commissioned officers are transferred from the secrecy of the barracks and military jurisdiction into the daylight of the schoolyard and civil criminal procedure, I bet our rebellious school pupils will soon teach even the worst parade-ground despot good manners.

## IV

We reserve the right to return to the question of whether such a proposal for a universal, equal and gradual reduction in the term of service has any prospect of being adopted by international treaty. For the time being let us proceed from the assumption that it has been adopted. Will it then be translated from paper into reality, will it be honestly carried out by all parties?

Certainly, in the main. Firstly, it will not be possible to keep secret a way of evading it that is in any respect worth the trouble. And secondly, the population itself will ensure that it is implemented. No one remains in the barracks of his own free will if he is kept there beyond the period prescribed by law.

As far as individual countries are concerned, Austria and Italy, as well as the second and third-rank states that have introduced universal military service, will welcome such a treaty as an act of liberation and will happily adhere to it in every detail. We shall discuss Russia in the next section. But what about France? And in this matter France is quite definitely the decisive country.

Once France has signed and ratified the treaty there can be no doubt that it will have, by and large, to keep to it. But let us admit that the revanchist tendency existing in the propertied classes and the part of the working class that is not yet socialist may win the upper hand for a moment and provoke infringements of the treaty limits, either direct or based on hair-splitting. Such infringements can, however, never be of any importance, for otherwise Paris would prefer to abrogate the treaty. But Germany is in the fortunate position of being able generously to turn a blind eye to such minor cheating. Despite all the very commendable efforts of France to render a repetition of the defeats of 1870 impossible, Germany is much further ahead of it than is evident at first glance. Firstly there is the annually growing gap between the populations, now amounting to more than 12 million in Germany's favour. Secondly, the fact that the present military system has been in existence in Prussia for more than seventy years; the population has grown accustomed to it; it has been tested in every detail in a long series of mobilisations; all the problems that may arise and the mode of solving them have been experienced in practice and are familiar—advantages from which the other German armies also benefit. In France, however, general mobilisation still has to be tried out, and with an organisation that, for this purpose, is much more complicated. Thirdly, however, the undemocratic institution of one-year volunteers has encountered

insuperable obstacles in France; the three-year soldiers have simply ousted the one-year privileged ones from the army by means of chicanery. This proves how far public political consciousness in Germany, and the political institutions tolerated by it, lag behind those of France. But the political shortcoming is in this case a military advantage. It is beyond all doubt that no country, in relation to its population, sends such a number of young people through its secondary and high schools as Germany, and so the institution of one-year volunteers, undemocratic and politically objectionable though it may be, provides the army command with an excellent means of giving the majority of these young people (who have already received an adequate all-round training) a military training for service as officers. The campaign of 1866 first illustrated this, but since then, and particularly since 1871, this aspect of Germany's military strength has been specially fostered, indeed almost to excess. And even if so many of the German reserve officers have recently been doing their best to make their rank a laughing stock, there is still no doubt that as a body they are militarily superior, man for man, to their French counterparts, and, most importantly, that among its reservists and territorials Germany possesses a much higher percentage of men qualified for service as officers than any other country.

This peculiar abundance of officers enables Germany to muster a disproportionately larger number of new formations, already trained in peacetime, than any other country. According to the claim made by Richter (*Freisinnige Zeitung,* November 26, 1892[348]), which as far as I know has not been refuted either in the Reichstag or in the military commission, each German infantry regiment will be able to provide a mobile reserve regiment, two battalions of Landwehr and two Ersatzreserve battalions for action in war. Thus every three battalions provide ten, or the 519 battalions of the 173 peacetime regiments turn into 1,730 battalions in wartime, not counting riflemen and gunners. And in such a short time that no other country is able to come even remotely near it.

The French reserve officers, as one of them admitted to me, are much less numerous; yet they are supposed to be sufficient to fill the posts of the new formations envisaged by official publications. What is more, this man confessed that half of these officers are not of much use. The new formations in question are, however, a long way from equalling what Germany is said to be capable of achieving. And even so, the officers that France is able to muster will by then all have been used, while Germany will still be keeping some of them in reserve.

In all wars hitherto there has been a lack of officers after a couple of months of campaigning. With all other countries this would still be the case even today. Germany alone has an inexhaustible supply of officers. This being so, should we not be able to turn a blind eye to it if the French occasionally drill their men two or three weeks longer than stipulated in the treaty?

## V

We now come to Russia. Frankly speaking, it makes little difference whether Russia adheres to a treaty on the gradual equal reduction of the term of service, or even enters into one at all. In fact, as far as the issue at hand is concerned, we can disregard Russia almost entirely, for reasons given below.

Although the Russian Empire embraces over a hundred million people, easily twice as many as the German Empire, it is far from possessing an offensive military force anywhere near that of Germany. The fifty million people of Germany are huddled together over an area of 540,000 square kilometres; the at most 90 to 100 million people in Russia that come into consideration for us militarily are dispersed over $3^1/_2$ million square kilometres, at a moderate estimate; the advantage accruing to the Germans on account of this far greater density of population is enhanced even further by the incomparably better railway network. In spite of this, the fact remains that a hundred million can in the long run provide more soldiers than fifty. As things stand it will take quite a long time before they come; but they are bound to come eventually. What then?

An army needs not only recruits but also officers. And in this respect the position in Russia looks pretty bad. In Russia only the nobility and the citizenry of the towns are considered for the rank of officer. The nobility is comparatively very small in numbers; there are few towns—one man in ten at most lives in a town—and of these towns only very few indeed merit the name. The number of secondary schools and of the pupils attending them is exceedingly small. Where are the officers for all the rank-and-file troops supposed to come from?

One man's meat is another man's poison. The system of universal military service presupposes a certain degree of economic and intellectual development; where this is lacking the system does more harm than good. And this is obviously the case in Russia.

First, it takes a comparatively long time anyway to make a trained soldier out of the average Russian recruit. The Russian soldier is of unquestionable bravery. As long as the attack by serried ranks of infantry was tactically decisive, he was in his element. His entire experience of life had led him to rely on the union with his comrades. In the villages, the semi-communistic community, in the towns, the cooperative work of the artel,[349] everywhere the *krugovaya poruka,*[a] the mutual liability of the comrades; in short, a state of society that palpably points to cohesion, the fount of all salvation, on the one hand, and the powerless solitude of the isolated individual left to his own initiative, on the other. The Russian retains this character even in the army; the massed battalions are almost impossible to break up, the greater the danger, the harder the lumps cluster together. But this instinct to close ranks, which was still of inestimable value at the time of the Napoleonic campaigns and compensated for a good many less useful aspects of the Russian soldier, is today a definite danger. Today the masses in closed ranks have disappeared from the battle-line, today it is a matter of holding together dispersed bands of infantrymen, in which troops from the most diverse units are all mixed up and command often and rapidly enough switches to officers who are completely unknown to most of the men; today every soldier must be able to do what has to be done at any particular moment on his own, though without losing his sense of belonging to the whole. This sense of cohesion cannot be facilitated through the primitive herd instinct of the Russian but only by developing the intelligence of each individual. The essential conditions for this can only be found at a stage of civilisation marked by higher "individualistic" development, such as that existing in the capitalist nations of the West. The small-bore repeating breech-loader and low-smoke powder have transformed the quality which was hitherto the greatest strength of the Russian army into one of its greatest weaknesses. Thus nowadays it will take even longer than before to make the Russian recruit into a soldier fit for battle, and he will no longer be able to match the soldiers of the West at all.

But secondly: where are the officers to come from to give all these new formations a framework in wartime? If even France is having trouble finding a sufficient number of officers, how will Russia manage? Russia, where the educated population, which alone can supply competent officers, constitutes such a dispropor-

[a] Engels' transliteration of the Russian words.— *Ed.*

tionately small percentage of the total, and yet the soldiers, even the trained soldiers, need a larger percentage of officers than in other armies?

And thirdly: with the notorious, widespread system of embezzlement and theft on the part of the civil servants in Russia, and all too often the officers too, how is a mobilisation supposed to take place? In all previous Russian wars it immediately turned out that even part of the peacetime army and its stocks of equipment existed only on paper. How will they manage, then, when the reservists on leave and the *opoltschenie*[a] (Landwehr) are to join their units and be equipped with uniforms, arms and ammunition? Unless everything goes off smoothly during mobilisation, unless everything is available at the right time and in the right place, there is utter confusion. But how is everything to go off smoothly if everything passes through the hands of thieving, corrupt Russian *tschinowniks*[b]? The Russian mobilisation—that will be a show fit for the Gods!

All things considered: for purely military reasons alone, we can allow the Russians to call up as many soldiers and to keep them with the colours as long as the Tsar sees fit. Apart from the troops who are already under arms he will hardly be able to put many more on their feet, and hardly at the right time. The experiment with universal military service may cost Russia dear.

And then, if it comes to war, all along the border from Kovno to Kaminiets the Russian army will be in enemy country right there on her own soil, amidst Poles and Jews, the Tsarist government even having made mortal enemies of the Jews. The moment Russia loses a couple of battles the battlefield will be pushed back from the Vistula to the Dvina and the Dnieper; in the rear of the German army, under its protection, an army of Polish allies will be formed; and it will be a just punishment for Prussia if it is then compelled to restore a strong Poland to ensure its own safety.

Up to now we have only considered the directly military conditions, finding that Russia can be disregarded as far as the present issue is concerned. This will become even more evident, however, as soon as we cast a glance at the overall economic situation, and particularly the financial position, in Russia.

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[a] Engels' transliteration of the Russian word.— *Ed.*

[b] Engels' transliteration of the Russian word meaning "civil servants".— *Ed.*

## VI

The internal situation in Russia is almost desperate at the moment. The emancipation of the serfs in 1861 and the development of large-scale capitalist industry related to it, partly as cause, partly as effect, have hurled this, the stablest of all countries, *this European China,* into an economic and social revolution which is now proceeding inexorably on its way; and its progress is, for the time being, overwhelmingly devastating.

At the time of the emancipation, the nobility received compensation in state loan bonds, which they spent in revelry as fast as they could. When this was accomplished, the new railways opened up a market for the wood from their forest for them; they had the timber cut and sold and once again lived in splendour and pleasure as long as the proceeds lasted. The management of the estates under the new conditions and with free workers generally remained most unsatisfactory; little wonder that the landowning Russian nobility are up to their ears in debt, if not utterly bankrupt, and that the produce yielded by their estates is decreasing rather than increasing.

The peasant generally received worse land, and less of it, than he had owned until then; he lost the right to common grazing and the use of the forest, and hence the basis for rearing livestock. Taxes were raised considerably, and now had to be paid by him personally in cash, everywhere; on top of this there were the instalments—also in cash—to pay off the interest and capital on the redemption money advanced by the state (*wykup*)[a]. In short, the deterioration of his overall economic position was aggravated by his suddenly being forcibly removed from a subsistence farming economy and being placed in a money economy, which is alone enough to ruin the peasantry of a country. The result of this was the luxuriant development of the exploitation of the peasants by the rural money-owners, well-to-do farmers and pot-house landlords, *mirojedy* (literally "community eaters") and *kulaki*[a] (usurers). And as if that were not enough, along came modern large-scale industry and ruined the subsistence economy of the peasants to the very last bit. Not only did its competition undermine the domestic industrial production of the peasant for his own wants, it also took away the market for his handicrafts intended for sale, or placed it, at best, under the sway of the capitalist "entrepreneur" or, even worse, his middleman. The

[a] Engels' transliteration of the Russian words.—*Ed.*

Russian peasant, with his primeval agriculture and his old communistic community system, was thus suddenly brought into collision with the most advanced form of modern large-scale industry, which had to forcibly acquire a domestic market; a situation in which he was irredeemably bound to perish. But the peasant comprised almost nine-tenths of the population of Russia, and the ruin of the peasant was synonymous with the—at least temporary—ruin of Russia.*

After this process of social upheaval had been going on for about twenty years, other results emerged too. The ruthless deforestation destroyed the stocks of subsoil water, the rain and snow water flowed quickly away along the streams and rivers without being absorbed, producing serious floods; but in summer the rivers became shallow and the ground dried out. In many of the most fertile areas of Russia the level of subsoil water is said to have dropped a full metre, so that the roots of the corn crops can no longer reach it and wither away. So that not only are the human beings ruined, but in many areas so is the land itself for at least a generation.

This hitherto chronic process of ruination was rendered acute and thus visible to the whole world by the famine of 1891. And for this reason Russia has not managed to escape from famine since 1891. That bad year largely ruined the peasants' last and most important means of production—livestock—and drove their indebtedness to such heights that it is bound to crush their last powers of resistance.

In a position like this a country could do no more than embark on a war of desperation. But even the means for this are lacking. In Russia the nobility lives on debts, the peasant now also lives on debts, and the state, especially, lives on debts. The amount of money owed by the Russian state abroad is known: over four thousand million marks. The amount it owes at home is known to no one; firstly, because neither the total of the loans raised nor that of the paper-money in circulation is known and, secondly, because the value of this paper-money changes every day. But one thing is certain: Russia's credit abroad is exhausted. The four thousand million marks of the Russian national debt bonds have glutted the Western European money market to bursting point.

* I set forth all this a year ago in the *Neue Zeit* 1891/92, No. 19, in the article "Socialism in Germany".[a]

[a] See this volume, pp. 246-50.— *Ed.*

England got rid of most of her "Russians" long ago, and Germany has recently done so. Holland and France have ruined their digestion by purchasing them, as was evident from the last Russian loan in Paris: only 300 of the 500 million francs could be placed, and the Russian minister of finance had to take back 200 million from the subscribing and oversubscribing bankers.[350] This constitutes proof of the fact that there is no prospect whatever of a new Russian loan in the immediate future, not even in France.

This is the position of the country which is said to be threatening us with the imminent risk of war and yet is even unable to get a war of desperation off the ground unless we are stupid enough to toss the money for it into its jaws ourselves.

The ignorance of the French government and the French *bourgeois* public opinion that controls it is incomprehensible. It is not France that needs Russia—rather it is Russia that needs France. Without France, the Tsar and his policy would be isolated in Europe; powerless he would have to let everything in the West and the Balkans take its course. With a little common sense France could squeeze as much out of Russia as it wanted to. But instead, the French authorities are grovelling prostrate before the Tsar.

Russia's wheat exports have already been ruined by cheaper American competition. This leaves only rye as its chief export commodity, and this goes almost exclusively to Germany. *The moment Germany starts eating white bread instead of black bread, the present, official Tsarist-big-bourgeois Russia will go bankrupt.*

## VII

We have now sufficiently criticised our neighbouring, placid enemies. But what are things like at home?

Well, to put it bluntly: a gradual reduction in the term of service can only be to the advantage of the army if an end is put once and for all to *maltreatment* of soldiers which has gained ground in recent years and become the rule in the army, far more than people care to admit.

This maltreatment is the counterpart of square-bashing and parade drill; both have always spread in the Prussian army as soon as it becomes a peacetime army for a while, and from the Prussians it is passed on to the Saxons, Bavarians, etc. It is a legacy from the genuine "Old Prussian" age, when the soldier was either an enlisted ragamuffin or the son of a bond peasant, and therefore had to put up with every form of ill-treatment and

degradation from his Junker officer without a murmur. And particularly the down-at-heel nobility of starvelings and spongers, which is by no means under-represented east of the Elbe, still provides its share of the worst tormentors even today, and is only equalled in this respect by the snobbish little sons of the bourgeoisie eager to play the Junker.

The browbeating of the soldier has never entirely died out in the Prussian army. But it used to be rarer, more lenient and at times more humorous. But then, on the one hand, it became necessary to teach the soldier more and more, while, on the other hand, nobody thought of abolishing the useless debris of outmoded tactical drills, which had become meaningless. From this time on, the non-commissioned officer increasingly received tacit authorisation to adopt any method of training which he deemed suitable. Furthermore he was indirectly constrained to employ forcible means by the order to drum one thing or another into his squad with a satisfactory result in a limited period. On top of all this, the soldier's right of complaint is a downright mockery—no wonder the favourite Old Prussian method came into vogue again wherever the soldiers put up with it. For I am certain that there is much less tormenting of soldiers in the regiments of the West or those with a strong admixture of city-dwellers than in those which are chiefly made up of country people from east of the Elbe.

There used to be a means of counterbalancing this, at least in practice. With the smooth-bore muzzle-loader it was a simple matter to drop a pebble down the barrel onto the blank cartridge during manoeuvres, and it was by no means unusual for hated superiors to be accidentally shot during manoeuvres. Sometimes it went wrong as well: I knew a young man from Cologne who was killed in this way in 1849, by a shot that was intended for his captain. Now, with the small-bore breech-loader it is no longer possible to do this so easily and unobtrusively; for this reason, the army suicide statistics indicate to us the barometric level of soldier tormenting fairly accurately. But if the live cartridge is put to use in "serious cases", there is certainly every reason to wonder whether the old practice is again finding its advocates, as is said to have happened here and there in recent wars; though of course that would not contribute much to victory.[351]

The reports of English officers are unanimous in praising the exceptionally good relations between superiors and soldiers in the French army on manoeuvres in Champagne in 1891. Such things as so often leak out of the barracks and into the press in our country would be quite impossible in this army. Even before the

Great Revolution the attempt to introduce Prussian flogging with rods failed. Even at the worst moment of the Algerian campaigns and the Second Empire, no superior would have dared treat the French soldiers anything like as badly as the German soldier is treated before our very eyes. And today, after the introduction of universal compulsory military service, I should like to see the French non-commissioned officer who would venture to order the soldiers to box each other's ears or spit in each other's faces. But what scorn the French soldiers must feel for their future adversaries when they hear and read what they submit to without turning a hair. And every care is taken to ensure that the men in French barracks do read and hear all about it.

In the French army there prevails the spirit and relationship between officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers that prevailed in Prussia from 1813 to 1815, and twice took our soldiers to Paris. In our own country, however, the state of affairs is fast approaching that of 1806, when the soldier was hardly even considered a human being, and was flogged and tormented, when there was an unbridgeable gulf between him and the officer—and this state of affairs led the army to Jena[352] and into French captivity.

There is a lot of talk about the decisive value of morale in war. Yet what else is done in peacetime but to destroy it almost systematically?

## VIII

So far we have assumed that the proposal for a gradual, equal reduction in the term of service with an ultimate transition to the militia system has been universally adopted. But the main question is: will it be adopted?

Let us assume that Germany first puts the proposal to Austria, Italy and France. Austria will gladly accept a maximum term of service of two years and will probably reduce it even further in actual practice. In the Austrian army it seems that there is far less reticence than in the German army to talk about the fact that the short term of service of some troops has been a success. Many officers there state quite bluntly that the Landwehr, which only serves for a few months, is a better troop than the line; one thing in their favour, at any rate, I am assured, is that a Landwehr battalion can mobilise in 24 hours, while a battalion of the line requires several days. Naturally: in the line they are afraid to

infringe on the casual old Austrian arrogance; in the Landwehr, where all the institutions are newly created, they have, however, had the guts not to introduce it. At any rate, both the people and the government of Austria are longing for an alleviation of the military burden, which is most easily obtainable here by reducing the term of service, precisely on account of their own experience.

Italy will likewise grasp the opportunity with both hands. It is succumbing under the pressure of the military budget to such a degree that the help must be brought in, and soon. Here, too, reduction of the maximum term of service is the shortest and easiest way. One may thus say: either the Triple Alliance[353] will come to grief or it will have to adopt a method that is more or less tantamount to our proposal.

But if Germany, supported by the acceptance of Austria and Italy, puts this proposal to the French government, the latter will be placed in a very awkward position. If it accepts the proposal, it will certainly not be making its relative military position any worse. On the contrary, it would have the opportunity of improving this relative position. In some respects it is a disadvantage for France that universal compulsory military service was only introduced there 20 years ago. But this disadvantage entails the advantage that everything is still new, that the pigtail of yore has only recently been chopped off, that further improvements can easily be introduced without coming up against the stubborn resistance of ingrained prejudices. All armies are immensely capable of development after *major defeats*. Better utilisation of the term of service laid down by treaty would therefore be far easier to put into effect in France than elsewhere. Moreover, since the educational system is also in a state of revolutionisation, just like the army, it will be possible to put the all-round physical (and particularly the military) training of young people into operation far more rapidly and more easily there than elsewhere. But this would mean a strengthening in the military position of France vis-à-vis that of Germany. In spite of all this, it is possible and indeed even probable that the chauvinist tendency—French chauvinism is just as stupid as the German variety—will be strong enough to bring down any government that adopts any such thing, particularly if it hails from Germany. So let us assume that France refuses. What then?

Then, by the simple fact of having made this proposal, Germany will have gained a tremendous advantage. We should not forget: the twenty-seven years of Bismarckian rule have made Germany hated in all countries—not without justification. Neither the

annexation of the North Schleswig Danes, nor the breaking and subsequent juggling away of the Prague Peace Treaty article relating to it,[354] nor the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, nor the petty-minded measures against the Prussian Poles, had anything at all to do with restoration of the "national unity". Bismarck has managed to give Germany the reputation of being greedy for territory; the chauvinist German burgher who threw out the German Austrians and yet still desires to hold Germany fraternally together above everything "from the *Etsch* to the Memel",[a] but would like to unite Holland, Flanders, Switzerland and the allegedly "German" Baltic provinces of Russia with the German Empire—this German chauvinist has given Bismarck every possible assistance, and with such splendid success that not a single person in Europe trusts the "honest Germans" any more. Wherever you care to go, you will find everywhere sympathy for France and distrust of Germany, which is regarded as the cause of the present war danger. There would be an end to all this if Germany decided to put forward our proposal. It would be acting as a peacemaker in a manner that left no room for doubt. It would be declaring its willingness to lead the way in the work of disarmament, as rightly befits the country that gave the signal for armament. Distrust would turn into trust, aversion into sympathy. Not only would the saying that the Triple Alliance is an alliance for peace finally become a reality—so would the Triple Alliance itself, which at present is a mere pretence. All public opinion in Europe and America would take sides with Germany. And that would be a moral conquest which would amply outweigh even any military disadvantages in our proposal that could possibly be thought out.

France, on the other hand, having turned down the disarmament proposal, would slip into the same unfavourable position of suspicion now occupied by Germany. Now we all see, the European philistine would say—and it is he who is the greatest great power—now we all see who wants peace and who wants war. And if a really warlike government should one day take the helm in France, it would be faced with a situation that with a little sense would positively prohibit war. No matter how it went about it, it would stand before the whole of Europe as the party that had precipitated, indeed generated the war. Thus it would not only have prejudiced the small countries against it, and England too; it would not even be sure of the aid of Russia, not even the

[a] A paraphrase of *Lied der Deutschen* by Hoffmann von Fallersleben.— *Ed.*

traditional Russian aid that consists of first getting its allies into trouble and then leaving them in the lurch.

Let us not forget: *the next war will be decided by England.* The Triple Alliance at war with Russia and France, as well as France, separated from Russia by enemy territory, are all dependent on sea transport for the large grain imports which are indispensable to them. England is absolute master of the sea. If it places its navy at the disposal of one side, the other will simply be starved into submission, its grain supplies being cut off; it will be the starvation of Paris[355] on an immensely larger scale, and the side that is starved out will have to surrender, as sure as two and two are four.

All right then: at the moment the Liberal tendency has the upper hand in England, and the English Liberals have distinct French sympathies. Moreover, old Gladstone is personally a Russophile. If a European war breaks out, England will remain neutral as long as possible; but in the above-mentioned circumstances even her "benevolent" neutrality may be of decisive help to one of the warring parties. If Germany puts forward our proposal and it is rejected by France, Germany will not only have overcome all English sympathies opposed to it, and assured itself of England's benevolent neutrality; it will also have made it virtually impossible for the English government to join the war on the side of Germany's opponents.

So, in conclusion:

Either France accepts the proposal. Then the risk of war arising out of ever-increasing armaments will really have been removed, the peoples will come to rest and Germany will enjoy the glory for having initiated this.

Or France does not accept. It will then make its own position in Europe worse and Germany's better, to such an extent that Germany will no longer need to fear a war at all and will even be able to proceed to gradually reduce the term of service and pave the way for the militia system off its own bat and free of danger in collaboration with its allies, who will only then truly be its allies.

Will it have the courage to take the step towards deliverance? Or will it wait until France, enlightened as to the position of Russia, takes the first step and reaps the credit for itself?

# [TO THE GERMAN WORKERS ON MAY DAY 1893]

What better can I tell the German workers today than about the coming May Day celebration here in England, which, particularly this year, will be of special importance.[a] If Germany now is no longer Heinrich Heine's "pious nursery",[b] then England of today is no longer the model country of the German academic tender-hearts, the country where worthy TRADES UNIONS and progress within the law ensure that the bogus dreams of socialism find no soil. That has gone for ever. The working class of England, after its glorious struggles and ultimate defeats in the Chartist period, has taken a long time to get under way again. But it is undoubtedly under way again. Those socialist organisations which exist here were until recently no more than simply sects, compared with which the old TRADES UNIONS appeared a great force in fact. Hence the protestation of the tame German academics that the English workers did not wish to abolish the wage system, but only "refine" it. But how are things today? The masses of the

[a] In the manuscript this sentence is preceded by the following paragraph which does not occur in the published text (it was either omitted in the fair copy or—in view of the changed situation—at the printing stage): "At the moment when I am to despatch these lines to the German May Day newspaper a crisis is expected in Berlin in connection with the debates on the Military Bill.[356] What will happen? If the Bill is rejected, then the [Reichstag] will be dissolved and the election campaign will override and overshadow the May Day celebrations and with good reason. Now, it is true, one can bet five to one that the compromise being longed for will come about and the Reichstag will prolong its existence for another two years. But a tiny accident can upset everything. What can I then tell the German workers on the occasion of their May Day if it is unknown in what circumstances they will be celebrating it?"—*Ed.*

[b] H. Heine, "Zur Beruhigung".—*Ed.*

workers are awakening more and more to the realisation that their salvation lies not so much in wresting higher wages and shorter hours in the struggle against individual employers, but above all in winning political rights, parliament,[a] through the working class organised into an independent party. This was first demonstrated in the general election of 1892. The workers prevailed with three of their candidates[b] in the struggle against both old parties, and in addition in over twenty constituencies gave the latter a tough taste of their power, hitherto unexerted. This increased enormously the self-awareness of the workers.

In England, even with the present limited suffrage, the workers form the absolute majority in at least 150 constituencies. If the electoral reform[357] introduced by the government goes through, then in 200. And even today the worker votes are decisive in a majority of all constituencies. What the awakening of the workers to class consciousness means under such circumstances is obvious. The workers only have to want it, and England cannot be governed against their will.

This awakening is also shown in the preparations for this year's May Day. For the first time the negotiations are going smoothly, without wrangles and petty jealousy, with unanimous enthusiasm. And what is more: the socialists hold the leadership, and for the first time the celebrations will have an unquestionably Social-Democratic character.

March 13, 1893

*Frederick Engels*

First published in the May Day issue of the *Vorwärts*, May 1, 1893

Printed according to the May Day issue, checked with the rough manuscript

Published in English in full for the first time

[a] In the manuscript: "but in winning parliament, the political power".—*Ed.*
[b] J. K. Hardie, J. Burns, J. H. Wilson.—*Ed.*

# [TO THE AUSTRIAN WORKERS ON MAY DAY 1893][358]

*London.* I have been asked to address a few words to the Austrian comrades in their May Day newspaper. What can I say to them? They know better than I how May Day should be celebrated. From 1890 onwards the Austrian workers have shown their brothers in all other countries, year after year, what a real May Day is in the sense of the proletariat. Nowhere else has it been possible to do the same, or even imitate them.

Indeed the festival of May Day has a far greater importance in Austria than elsewhere. In Germany in 1890 they could point to the Reichstag election, just concluded, which had provided such a grandiose review of the militant German working class that any May festival appeared pale in comparison. In France in 1892 the municipal elections on the basis of general suffrage, which similarly brought great victories to the workers, fell on May the First[359]; there it was necessary to work for the cause of the proletariat on May the First, not to celebrate. But in Austria the workers have not yet got the vote, and the state of press freedom as well as their right of coalition and right of assembly was defined by Government Counsellor Baron von Czapka in his answer to questions in the Reichs Council.[360] And for this reason the Austrian workers are right and right again when they insist, under all circumstances, upon their rigorously executed May Day celebration. For the workers of other countries this celebration is mainly an international affair; it can therefore come to pass that it takes second place to special domestic circumstances. For the Austrians

it is not only an international affair but also, and perhaps predominantly, a domestic affair, and thus stands for them, unconditionally and always, in the first place.

May it this year too pass off as brilliantly as ever.

Written in March-early April 1893

First published in *Zum 1. Mai 1893,* the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* publishing house, Vienna, 1893

Printed according to *Zum 1. Mai 1893*

Published in English for the first time

# FOR THE CZECH COMRADES ON THEIR MAY DAY CELEBRATION

## A REMINISCENCE OF THE YEAR 1848[361]

At that time Karl Marx met in Vienna[362] the Prague bookseller Borrosch, the leader of the German-Bohemian group in the Austrian National Assembly.

Borrosch complained a great deal about the national strife in Bohemia, and the alleged fanatical enmity of the Czechs towards the Bohemian Germans. Marx asked him how things were with the Bohemian workers. "Yes," replied Borrosch, "that is quite a different matter; as soon as the workers join the movement, that comes to an end; there is no more talk of Czechs or Germans, they all stand together."

What the Bohemian workers of both nationalities only *sensed* [at that time] they now *know*: that all national strife is only possible under the rule of the big landed feudal lords and capitalists; that it serves solely to perpetuate this rule; that Czech and German workers have the same common interests and that as soon as the working class attains political power all causes for national strife will be removed. For the working class is international by its very nature, and it will demonstrate this once again on the coming First of May.

London, April 8, 1893

*F. E.*

First published in a special publication: *První Máj 1893*, Praha

Printed according to the rough manuscript, checked with the Czech edition

Published in English in full for the first time

# NONETHELESS

[GREETINGS TO THE FRENCH WORKERS ON THE OCCASION OF MAY DAY OF 1893]

I may be mistaken, but it seems to me that this year May Day will not play the dominant role in the life of the international proletariat that it has done these last three years.

Of the major European countries it is only Austria that seems to wish to keep the demonstration in the foreground. Indeed, there the workers have no other scope for action.

Certainly in France, very likely in Germany and possibly in England, this year will see the importance of May Day eclipsed by general elections, in which the proletariat will be called upon to conquer new positions and, without any doubt, it will do so.[a]

If, then, May Day should suffer a little in some respects from the approach of the elections, there will be no need to be perturbed. We will not have given way. On the contrary.

Demonstrations are excellent things, but only so long as we have nothing better to do.

Let the bourgeoisie beware of rejoicing too soon!

See you at the polls and after that at the Palais-Bourbon![364]

*Frederick Engels*

London, April 14

First published in *Le Socialiste,* No. 134, April 23, 1893

Printed according to the newspaper, checked with the rough manuscript

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] Crossed out in the manuscript is the following passage: "In Belgium on the very eve of May Day the incapable government and short-sighted bourgeoisie are playing with fire as if attempting to inflame the whole of Europe."[363]—*Ed.*

# [TO THE SPANISH WORKERS ON MAY DAY 1893][365]

It seems that the proletarian revolution overturns everything, even chronology. Thus, in Spain at least, May 1 comes after May 2,[366] whatever the calendar may say about it. Formerly the Spanish workers used to celebrate May 2, today they celebrate the 1st of the same month.

From May 2 to May 1, we have made a good deal of progress. What, in fact happened on May 2, 1808? The foreign invasion, on the one hand, the people of Madrid on the other.[a] It all seems simple. And yet the situation was very complicated. In order to fight the foreign invasion and the tyranny of Napoleon, the Spanish people also had to fight the French Revolution,[b] and to regain its independence the same Spanish people was forced to re-establish the despotic rule of the fanatical idiot Ferdinand VII, supported by the nobles and the priests.

And it was the same in Italy and in Germany, even in France; these two countries could only rid themselves of the Napoleonic yoke by turning themselves over, to the monarchist, feudal and clerical reactionaries.

Thus do wars between one people and another make apparently the most simple and straightforward situations complex and confused.

But it is a tremendous step forward from May the 2nd to May the 1st: May the 1st denotes a clear and transparent situation; two

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[a] Crossed out in the manuscript is the following passage: "Behind the foreign army, Napoleon, the self-styled representative of the bourgeois revolution, in actual fact the domestic despot, the conqueror of neighbouring peoples. Behind the people of Madrid, the royalty of the imbecilic Bourbons, the feudal nobility, the priests. Strange confusion!"— *Ed.*

[b] The following is crossed out in the manuscript: "of which Napoleon was the son".— *Ed.*

quite distinct camps opposing each other; on the one side the international proletariat marching to victory beneath the red flag of world liberation; on the other the property-owning classes and reactionaries of all countries, united in the defence of their privileges as exploiters. The struggle is in the open, the red flag is unfurled, victory is certain—forwards!

Written in April 1893

First published in *El Socialista,* No. 373, Madrid, May 1, 1893

Printed according to the rough manuscript

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

# [TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE BULGARIAN MAGAZINE *SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT*][367]

ДО РЕДАКЦИЯТА НА СБОРНИКЪ *СОЦИАЛЪ-ДЕМОКРАТЪ*

London, June 9, 1893
122, Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Party Comrades,

I cordially thank you for sending me No. 2 of your *Социалъ-Демократъ* and am endeavouring to show you by the superscription of this letter that I am at least beginning to understand your language. The requirements of internationalism are growing with each year. Up to 1848 one believed one had done enough if one had a smattering of the main languages of Western and Central Europe, but now a point has been reached where I must in my old age learn even Rumanian and Bulgarian if I want to follow the progress of socialism eastward and south-eastward. However for all that we in the West rejoice no less over these our south-eastern vanguards on the Asian frontier, who are carrying as far as the Black Sea and the Aegean Sea the banner of the modern proletariat that Marx has unfurled—if only he had lived to see this!—and who answer the enticements and threats of Russian tsarism by countering the tsarist proclamations with socialist works written by the Russian champions of the proletariat. It has given me great pleasure to see Plekhanov's works translated into Bulgarian.[368]

Да живъе интернационалния социализмъ![a]

Yours,
*F. Engels*

First published in *Sotsial-Demokrat*, No. 3, 1893

Printed according to the manuscript, checked with the magazine

[a] Long live international socialism! (from the Bulgarian).—*Ed.*

# [TO CZECH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS][369]

I regret that my advanced age prevents me from studying Czech as well. In the history of your people there are very many social as well as democratic phenomena favourable to the development of our movement. Those in your country who seek self-determination are right, that is natural, and we must welcome it. It's a pity that they show but little knowledge of natural social movements. We firmly believe in our victory, which will also end all oppression of peoples. Give my regards to our brothers.

Written in August 1893

First published, in Czech, in *Posel lidu*, No. 15, August 19, 1893

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the Czech

Published in English for the first time

# [CLOSING SPEECH AT THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST WORKERS' CONGRESS IN ZURICH AUGUST 12, 1893][370]

Citizens and Citizenesses,

Allow me to translate my address (which the speaker had just delivered in English and French) into my beloved German. I could not but experience deep emotion at the unexpectedly splendid reception which you have given me, accepting it not for myself personally but as a collaborator of the great man whose portrait hangs up there (Marx). Just fifty years have passed since Marx and I entered the movement by publishing our first socialist articles in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*.[a] Since then socialism has developed from small sects to a mighty party which makes the whole official world quail. Marx is dead, but were he still alive there would be not one man in Europe or America who could look back with such justified pride over his life's work. There is another anniversary to commemorate. The last congress of the International was in 1872.[371] Two things happened there. First the absolute breach with the anarchists. Was this a superfluous decision or not? The Paris, the Brussels, the present Congress would have had to do the same.[372] Second, the ending of the activities of the International in its old form. This was the time when the fury of the reactionaries, intoxicated by the blood of the glorious Commune, had reached its zenith. The perpetuation of the old International would have led to sacrifices out of proportion with the results; it transferred its seat to America, i.e., it withdrew from the scene. The proletariat in the various countries was left to organise itself in its own forms. This happened, and the International is now much stronger than

[a] See this volume, pp. 335, 341.—*Ed.*

before. In accordance with this we must continue to work on common ground. We must permit discussion in order not to become a sect, but the common standpoint must be retained. The loose association, the voluntary bond which is furthered by congresses, is sufficient to win us the victory which no power in the world can snatch from us again. I am particularly glad that the English are represented here in large numbers, for they were our teachers in the organisation of the workers; but however much we learned from them, they will have seen various new things here from which they too can still learn.

I travelled through Germany, and heard regret in some respects that the Anti-Socialist Law had been repealed. The fight with the police had been much more amusing. No police force, no government in the whole world can suppress such fighters.

At the request of the Bureau, I declare the Congress closed. Long live the international proletariat!

(The meeting breaks out in stormy cheers. The acclamation lasts for quite some time. Those present rise and sing the *Marseillaise.*)

Published as a summary or verbatim report in a number of socialist and workers' papers in August-September 1893 and also in *Protokoll des Internationalen Sozialistischen Arbeiterkongresses in der Tonhalle Zürich vom 6. bis 12. August 1893,* Zurich, 1894

Printed according to *Protokoll des Internationalen Sozialistischen Arbeiterkongresses in der Tonhalle...*

# [SPEECH AT A SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC MEETING IN VIENNA ON SEPTEMBER 14, 1893]

[NEWSPAPER REPORT][373]

Esteemed Comrades!

I cannot leave this hall without expressing my deepest, heartfelt thanks for the undeserved reception given to me this evening. I can only say that unfortunately it is my fate to reap the fame of my departed friend. It is in this spirit that I accept your ovations. If I have been able to do anything for the movement in the fifty years I have belonged to it, I ask no reward. You are the finest reward! We have our people in the prisons of Siberia, we have them in the gold mines of California—everywhere, even as far afield as Australia. There is no country, no large state, where Social Democracy is not a power to be reckoned with. Everything that happens all over the world happens with due consideration to us. We are a great power that is to be feared, on which more depends than on the other great powers. That is my pride! We have not lived in vain, and can look back on our efforts with pride and satisfaction. In Germany they tried to stifle the movement by force, and each time the Social-Democratic movement has answered in ways which the bourgeoisie least expected.[a] The repeated elections, this steady, irresistible growth of the Social Democratic vote frightens the bourgeoisie, frightens Caprivi, and frightens all the authorities. (Tumultuous applause.) The previous speaker[b] observed that the Social-Democratic movement has

[a] Instead of this sentence, the report in the *Neue Freie Presse* has: "You are currently fighting for universal suffrage; that is one of the most powerful weapons in the hands of the proletariat. Universal suffrage is the sole means of gauging the power, the strength of the party. The history of Germany over the past twenty years teaches us this."—*Ed.*

[b] Karl Leuthner.—*Ed.*

always been underestimated abroad. My esteemed comrades, I have walked through the streets of Vienna and seen the wonderful buildings which the bourgeoisie has been kind enough to build for the proletariat of the future (tumultuous amusement) and I was also shown the magnificent arcaded building of the town hall, of which you have so deservedly taken possession. After that takeover of power no one will ever again underestimate you. (Vigorous applause.) That day was epoch-making. I saw the terror of the English newspaper correspondents—I was in London at the time—when they reported that on July 9 the proletariat ruled Vienna,[374] ruled it better than it has ever been ruled before. (Uproarious, persistent applause and hand-clapping. Constantly renewed cries of "Long live Engels".)

First published in the *Neue Freie Presse,* No. 10440, September 15, 1893 and *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* No. 38, September 22, 1893

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Published in English in full for the first time

# [TO CZECH SOCIALIST WORKERS]

## [TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE *SOCIÁLNÝ DEMOKRAT* IN PRAGUE]

Berlin, September 18, 1893
Großgörschen-Straße, 22a

Dear Comrades,

I received your letter of the 13th at the moment of my departure from Vienna, so I could not answer it at once.

Unfortunately, we only saw your city briefly when passing through. Hence it was impossible for us to comply with your wish and visit the editorial offices of the *Sociálný Demokrat* and meet the comrades there. Both Bebel and myself sincerely regret this, but our travelling arrangements, once made, could not be changed. However, since a state of emergency had been introduced in Prague in the meantime,[375] other obstacles too would have prevented our complying with your desires.

With best wishes for the success of the Czech working-class movement

Yours sincerely,
Frederick[a] Engels

First published, in Czech, in the newspaper *Rudé Pravo,* March 24, 1981 and, in the language of the original (German), in the journal *Nová Mysl,* No. 4, 1981

Printed according to a photocopy of the original

Published in English for the first time

[a] Engels uses the Czech form: Bedřich.—*Ed.*

# [SPEECH AT A SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC MEETING IN BERLIN ON SEPTEMBER 22, 1893]

[NEWSPAPER REPORT][376]

Party Comrades!

I thank you from my heart for the splendid and undeserved reception which you have given me. I can only repeat here what I already said in Zurich and Vienna[a]: I regard this reception not as a tribute to me personally but to me as collaborator and ally of a greater man, as the comrade-in-arms of Karl Marx, and in this sense I accept it gratefully. You know that I am not an orator or a parliamentarian; I work in a different field, chiefly in the study and with the pen. And yet I would like to address a few words to you. It is now almost fifty-one years to the day since I last saw Berlin.[377] Since then Berlin has been totally transformed. At that time it was a small, so-called "royal seat" of hardly 350,000 inhabitants, living off the court, the nobility, the garrison and the civil service. Today it is a great capital city with almost two million inhabitants and lives off industry; today the court, nobility, garrison and civil service could seek another home, and Berlin would still remain Berlin. And the industrial development of Berlin has brought about another revolution. In those days there was not one single Social Democrat in Berlin; people did not even know what Social Democracy was; a few months ago, the Social Democrats of Berlin were passed in review, and mustered almost 160,000 votes,[378] and Berlin has five Social-Democratic deputies out of a total of six representatives. In this respect Berlin is at the head of all the major European cities and has even outstripped Paris by far.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 404-07.—*Ed.*

Yet not only Berlin but the whole of the rest of Germany has also undergone this industrial revolution. I have not been in Germany for sixteen years.[379] As you know—for you have personal experience of it—the Anti-Socialist Law has been in force here since 1878, though happily you have now got rid of it. As long as this law was in force I avoided coming to Germany; I wished to spare the authorities the trouble of deporting me, which they certainly would have done. (Amusement; cries of "They certainly would have done!") And now, on my present journey, I have been able to see with my own eyes how splendid is the turnabout that has taken place in Germany's economic situation. One generation ago Germany was an agricultural country whose rural population comprised two-thirds of the total; today it is an industrial country of the first order, and along the entire length of the Rhine, from the Dutch border to the Swiss, I did not find a single little spot where you can look around you without seeing chimneys. Certainly, this seems at first sight to concern nobody but the capitalists. But by expanding industry the capitalists are not only creating surplus value, they are also creating proletarians; they are destroying the petty-bourgeois and small peasant middle classes; they are pushing the class antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat to the limit; and those who create proletarians also create Social Democrats. At every fresh election to the Reichstag, the bourgeoisie is dismayed at the irresistible growth of the Social-Democratic vote. They ask, "How does it come about?" Well, if they had any sense they would surely see that it is their own work! So it has come about that the German Social Democrats are the most united, the most cohesive, the strongest in the whole world, marching from victory to victory thanks to the calm, the discipline and the good humour with which they conduct their struggles. Party comrades, I am convinced that you will continue to do your duty, and so I conclude with the cry: "*Long live international Social Democracy!*"

First published in the *Vorwärts,* No. 226, September 26, 1893 (supplement), and in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* No. 40, October 6, 1893

Printed according to the *Vorwärts,* checked with the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*

# [TO THE COLOGNE CONGRESS OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY][380]

[*Telegram*]

[London, October 24, 1893]

Heartfelt thanks and best wishes for the success of the Party Congress!

*Engels*

First published in the pamphlet: *Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Parteitages der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands. Abgehalten zu Köln a. Rh. vom 22. bis 28. Oktober 1893*, Berlin, 1893

Printed according to the pamphlet

Published in English for the first time

# [TO THE GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY IN LONDON][381]

London, December 1, 1893
122, Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Comrade,

I ask you to convey my sincere thanks to the Committee and the members of the Communist Workers' Educational Society for their kindness in remembering my seventy-third birthday. May the Society prosper for many years to come, and always hold high the old red banner that it first unfurled here in England!

With best wishes,
*F. Engels*

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOCIALIST STUDENTS[382]

London, December 19, 1893

Dear Citizens,

While thanking you for your kind invitation to the Congress of Socialist Students, I greatly regret that I am unable to accept, being detained by some urgent and important work. I must therefore limit myself to wishing your Congress all the success which it deserves. May your efforts succeed in developing among students the awareness that it is from their ranks that there must emerge intellectual proletariat which will be called on to play a considerable part in the approaching revolution alongside and among their brothers, the manual workers.

The bourgeois revolutions of the past asked nothing of the universities but lawyers, as the best raw material for their politicians; the emancipation of the working class needs, in addition, doctors, engineers, chemists, agronomists and other experts; for we are faced with taking over the running not only of the political machine but of all social production, and in that case what will be needed is not fine words but well-grounded knowledge.

Fraternal greetings,

*F. Engels*

First published in *L'Étudiant socialiste*, No. 8, March 25-April 10, 1894

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Translated from the French

Published in English in full for the first time

# PREFACE
# [TO THE PAMPHLET *INTERNATIONALES AUS DEM "VOLKSSTAAT" (1871-75)*][383]

Apart from the fact that the following essays were all written for the *Volksstaat,* they have in common that they all deal with international matters outside Germany.

The first: "Once Again 'Herr Vogt'" constitutes the conclusion of the polemic on the Italian War[384] carried out in 1859-60 between this false natural scientist and Republican, but genuine vulgar-liberal Bonapartist and book manufacturer and Marx. This essay stamped the said Mr. Vogt once and for all with the character of a paid Bonapartist agent, for which Marx, in his *Herr Vogt* in 1860 could obviously only supply indirect evidence.

The second essay: *The Bakuninists at Work,* which describes the action of the anarchists during the rising in Spain in July 1873, appeared earlier as a separate pamphlet. Even though the anarchist caricature of the workers' movement has long passed its climax, the governments in Europe and America are much too interested in its continued existence, and spend much too much money on supporting it, for us to omit any consideration of the heroic deeds of the anarchists. The article is therefore reprinted again here.

"A Polish Proclamation" deals with an aspect of Germany's relations with Eastern Europe which is often overlooked today, but which must not be neglected if these relations are to be assessed correctly.

The critique of the "Programme of the Blanquist Commune Refugees" of 1874 is of special interest today again, now that, apart from the other socialist groups, a small group of Blanquists have entered the French Chamber of Deputies, with our friend Vaillant at their head.[385] Since their return to France in 1880,[386]

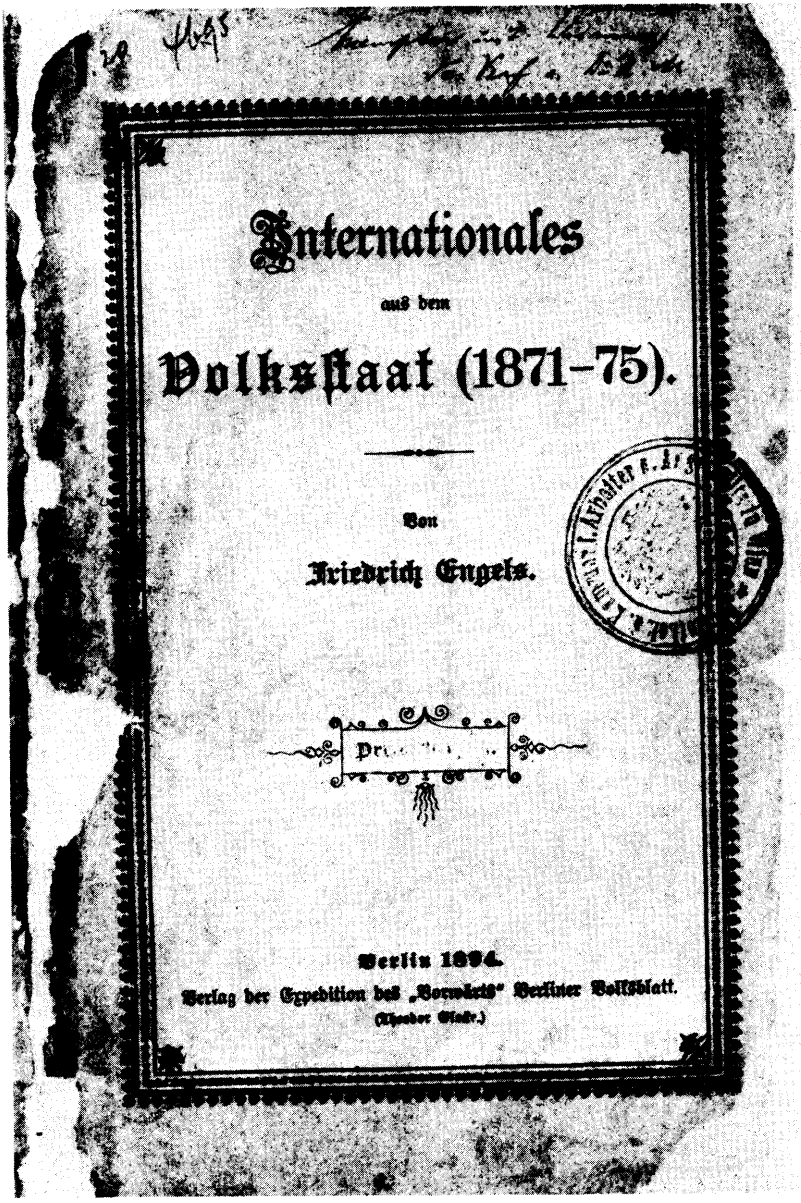

# Internationales

aus dem

# Volksstaat (1871–75).

Von

**Friedrich Engels.**

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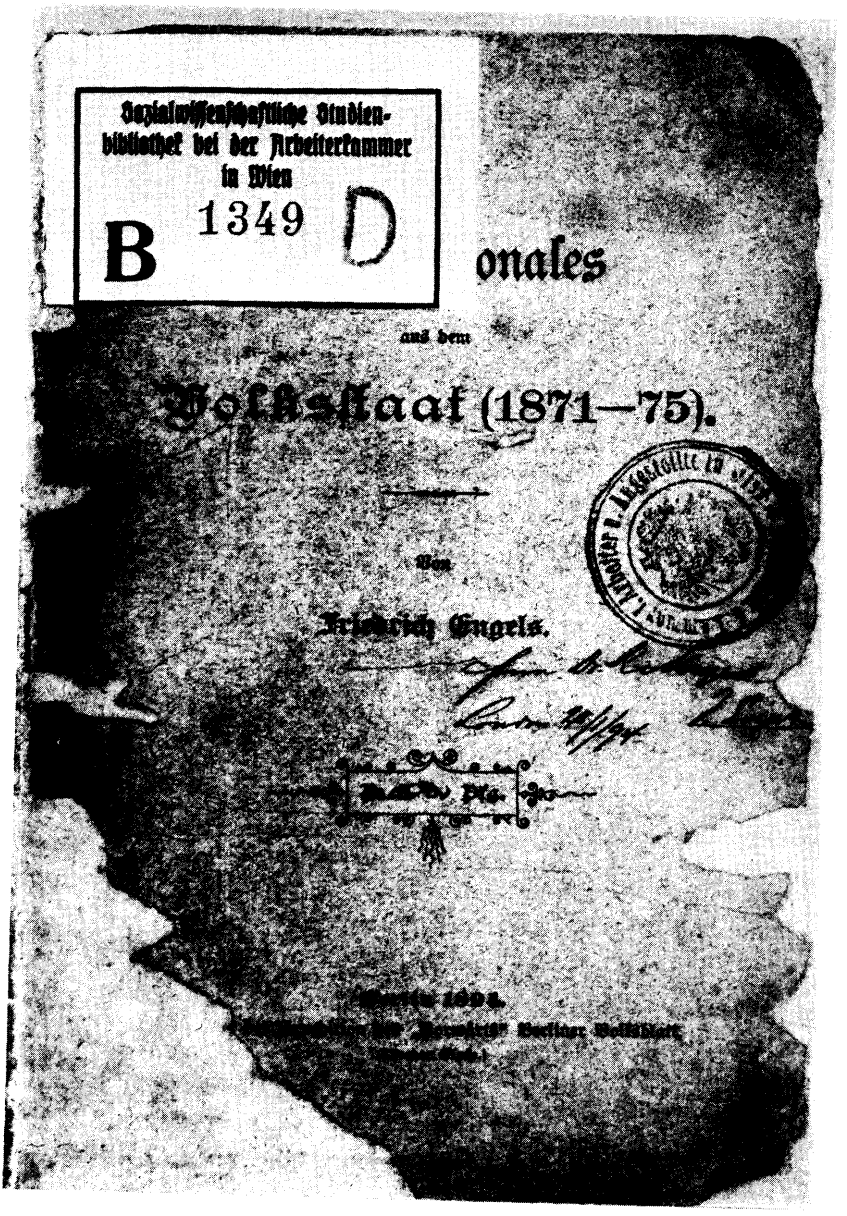
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the Blanquists have once intervened decisively in events—namely in 1887, the day of the last presidential election following Grévy's abdication. The majority in the National Assembly favoured Jules Ferry, one of the most infamous of all the infamous suppressors of the Commune, and one of the most consummate representatives of that opportunist bourgeoisie[387] which only wants to rule France in order to bleed it and its colonies white. At that time preparations were underway for an uprising in Paris which was to be headed by the Paris municipal council with the agreement of the radical deputies; the military organisation, however, was in the hands of the Blanquists, who provided the officers' corps, and whose military leader, General of the Commune Eudes, took over command and established his general staff office in a café next to the Hotel de Ville. Faced with the threat of this uprising, the opportunists gave in and elected Carnot.

And recently too, when the Russian naval guests were in Paris, *Le Parti socialiste,* the Blanquist weekly, distinguished itself by a courageous stand, defying all chauvinist prejudices. This stand gives us the guarantee that the Blanquist group in the Chamber under Vaillant's leadership will do its utmost for the cooperation of *all* the socialist groups and their association in a strong socialist coalition party.

It will be noted that in all these essays, and particularly in the aforementioned one, I consistently do not call myself a Social Democrat, but a Communist. This is because at that time in various countries people called themselves Social Democrats who had certainly not inscribed upon their banners the taking over by society of all the means of production. In France, a Social Democrat was conceived as a democratic republican with more or less genuine but always indefinable sympathies for the working class, that is people like Ledru-Rollin in 1848, and the Proudhon-ist-tinged "radical socialists" of 1874. In Germany, the Lassalleans called themselves Social Democrats; but although the mass of them increasingly appreciated the necessity of socialising the means of production, the specifically Lassallean production cooperatives with state aid nevertheless remained the only publicly recognised item on their agenda. For Marx and myself it was therefore quite impossible to choose a name of such elasticity to describe our special standpoint. Today the situation is different, and the word can be allowed to pass, unfitting as it remains for a party whose economic programme is not just generally socialist, but directly communist, and whose ultimate political aim is to surpass the entire State, and thus democracy too. The names of *real*

political parties never fit exactly; the party develops, but the name stays.

The last essay "On Social Relations in Russia", which also appeared in 1875 in a special edition as a pamphlet, could not possibly be reprinted again without a more or less comprehensive epilogue.[a] The question of the future of the Russian peasant communities occupies more than ever all Russians who are concerned about the economic development of their country. The letter from Marx which I quoted[b] has been given the most diverse interpretations by the Russian socialists. More recently, too, Russians at home and abroad have repeatedly urged me to express my opinion on this question. I baulked at this for a long time, well knowing how insufficient is my knowledge of the details of the economic situation of Russia: how was I to complete the third volume of *Capital* and in addition study the truly colossal mound of literature in which old Russia, as Marx liked to say, took inventory before its death? Well now, a reprint of "On Social Relations in Russia" is urgently requested, and this circumstance forces me to undertake the attempt, in expansion of this old essay, to draw some conclusions from the historical-comparative enquiry into the economic position of Russia today. These conclusions may not have turned out unreservedly in favour of a great future for the Russian communities, but on the other hand they seek to substantiate the view that the approaching dissolution of capitalist society in the West will put Russia too in a position significantly to shorten its passage through capitalism which is now becoming inevitable.

*London,* January 3, 1894

*F. Engels*

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[a] See this volume, pp. 421-33.— *Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, "Letter to *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*" (see this volume, pp. 428-30).— *Ed.*

# INTRODUCTORY NOTE (1894) [TO *THE BAKUNINISTS AT WORK*][388]

A few pieces of chronological information may make it easier to understand the following account.

On February 9, 1873 King Amadeo was fed up with his Spanish kingdom; he—the first king to go on strike—abdicated. On the 12th the republic was proclaimed; immediately after that a new Carlist rebellion broke out in the Basque provinces.[389]

On April 10 a constituent assembly was elected which met in early June and proclaimed the federative republic on June 8. On the 11th a new administration under Pi y Margall was formed. At the same time a committee was elected to draw up the new constitution, but the extreme republicans, the so-called Intransigents, were excluded. But when this new constitution was proclaimed on July 3, it did not go far enough for the Intransigents in breaking Spain up into "independent cantons"; so the Intransigents staged revolts in the provinces; in the days from July 5 to 11 they triumphed everywhere: in Seville, Cordoba, Granada, Malaga, Cadiz, Alcoy, Murcia, Cartagena, Valencia, etc., and in each of these towns they set up an independent cantonal government. On July 18 Pi y Margall resigned and was replaced by Salmerón, who at once embarked on a campaign against the insurgents. The latter were defeated in a few days, offering little resistance; on July 26 the rule of the government was restored throughout Andalusia by the fall of Cadiz, while Murcia and Valencia were suppressed at roughly the same time; only Valencia put up much of a fight.

Cartagena alone stood firm. This, the largest naval harbour in Spain, which had fallen into the hands of the rebels along with the fleet, possessed thirteen more detached forts on the landward side apart from the ramparts, and was thus not easy to capture. And as

the government took good care not to destroy its own naval station, the "sovereign Canton of Cartagena" survived until January 11, 1874, when it finally surrendered, because it no longer served any earthly purpose whatsoever.

In this whole disgraceful insurrection we are only concerned here with the even more disgraceful deeds of the Bakuninist anarchists; it is only they who are described in any detail here, as a warning to the rest of the world.

Written in early January 1894

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# AFTERWORD (1894) [TO "ON SOCIAL RELATIONS IN RUSSIA"][a] [390]

First I must report that Mr. P. Tkachov was strictly speaking not a Bakuninist, i.e. an anarchist, but made himself out to be a "Blanquist". The error was an understandable one, since the said gentleman, in accordance with the Russian refugee custom of the time, expressed his solidarity with all Russian émigrés against the West, and indeed defended Bakunin and comrades against my attacks[b] in his pamphlet[c] as if they had been directed at himself.[391]

The views on the Russian communistic peasant commune which he championed vis-à-vis myself were essentially those of Herzen. This Pan-Slavist literary man, who was puffed up into a revolutionary, had discovered from Haxthausen's *Studien über Rußland*[d] that the serfs on his estates know of no private property, but redistribute the fields and meadows amongst themselves from time to time. As a literary man, he did not need to learn what soon after became common knowledge, that the common ownership of land is a form of ownership which was, in fact, common to all peoples at a certain stage of development. It prevailed among the Germans, Celts, Indians—in short, all the Indo-European peoples in primeval times; it still exists in India, was only recently suppressed by force in Ireland and Scotland,

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[a] See this volume, p. 418.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to Engels' third article in the "Refugee Literature" series (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 19-28).—*Ed.*

[c] See P. Tkatschoff, *Offener Brief an Herrn Friedrich Engels...*—*Ed.*

[d] A. Haxthausen, *Studien über innern Zustände, das Volksleben und insbesondere die ländlichen Einrichtungen Rußlands.*—*Ed.*

and, though it is dying out, still occurs here and there in Germany today. But as a Pan-Slavist who was at most a socialist in his rhetoric, he found in this a fresh pretext to depict his "holy" Russia and its mission to rejuvenate and regenerate the rotten and decrepit West—if necessary by force of arms—in an even more brilliant light in contrast to the same indolent West. What the worn-out French and English are unable to achieve for all their pains, the Russians have at home, ready-made.

"Maintaining the peasant commune and establishing the freedom of the individual, extending the self-management of the village to the towns and the entire state while preserving national unity—this sums up the entire question of the future of Russia, i.e. the question of the same social antinomy whose solution occupies and moves the minds of the West" (Herzen, *Letters to Linton*).[392]

So there may be a political question for Russia; but the "social question" is already solved as far as Russia is concerned.

Herzen's successor Tkachov made it just as easy for himself as his master. Although he could no longer maintain in 1875 that the "social question" in Russia had already been solved, according to him the Russian peasants—as born communists—are infinitely closer to socialism than the poor, god-forsaken West European proletarians, and are infinitely better off into the bargain. When, on the strength of a hundred-year-old revolutionary tradition, French republicans consider their people to be the chosen people from a political point of view, many Russian socialists of the day declared that Russia was socially the chosen nation; the rebirth of the old economic world would, they thought, spring not from the struggles of the West European proletariat but from the innermost interior of the Russian peasant. My attack was directed at this childish view.

But now the Russian commune had also found respect and recognition among people of infinitely greater stature than the Herzens and Tkachovs. They included Nikolai Chernyshevsky, that great thinker to whom Russia owes such a boundless debt and whose slow murder through years of exile among Siberian Yakuts will remain an eternal disgrace on the memory of Alexander II the "Liberator".

Owing to the Russian intellectual embargo Chernyshevsky never knew the works of Marx, and when *Capital* appeared he had long been captive in Sredne-Vilyuisk among the Yakuts. His entire intellectual development had to take place within the surrounding medium created by this intellectual embargo. What Russian censorship would not let in scarcely existed for Russia, if at all. If there are sporadic weaknesses, sporadic instances of a limited

outlook, then one can only feel admiration that there are not more of them.

Chernyshevsky, too, sees in the Russian peasant commune a means of progressing from the existing form of society to a new stage of development, higher than both the Russian commune on the one hand, and West European capitalist society with its class antagonisms on the other. And he sees a mark of superiority in the fact that Russia possesses this means, whereas the West does not.

"The introduction of a better order of things is greatly hindered in Western Europe by the boundless extension of the rights of the individual ... it is not easy to renounce even a negligible portion of what one is used to enjoying, and in the West the individual is used to unlimited private rights. The usefulness and necessity of mutual concessions can be learned only by bitter experience and prolonged thought. In the West, a better system of economic relations is bound up with sacrifices, and that is why it is difficult to establish. It runs counter to the habits of the English and French peasants." But "what seems a utopia in one country exists as a fact in another ... habits which the Englishman and the Frenchman find immensely difficult to introduce into their national life exist in fact in the national life of the Russians.... The order of things for which the West is now striving by such a difficult and long road still exists in our country in the mighty national customs of our village life.... We see what deplorable consequences resulted in the West from the loss of communal land tenure and how difficult it is to give back to the Western peoples what they have lost. The example of the West must not be lost on us" (Chernyshevsky, *Works,* Geneva edition, Vol. V, pp. 16-19, quoted by Plekhanov, "Naši raznoglasija",[a] Geneva, 1885, [16-17]).[393]

And of the Ural Cossacks, who still retained communal tilling of the soil and subsequent distribution of the produce among individual families, he says:

"If the people of the Urals live under their present system to see machines introduced into corn-growing, they will be very glad of having retained a system which allows the use of machines that require big-scale farming embracing hundreds of dessiatines" (ibid., p. 131).

It should not be forgotten, however, that the people of the Urals with their communal tilling—saved from extinction by military considerations (we also have barrack-room communism)—stand alone in Russia, more or less like the farmstead communities on the Mosel back home with their periodic redistributions. And if they adhere to their present system until they are ready for the introduction of machinery, it will not be they who profit from it, but the Russian military exchequer whose slaves they are.

At any rate, it was a fact: at the same time as capitalist society was disintegrating and threatening to founder on the necessary

[a] Г. Плехановъ, *Наши разногласія.—Ed.*

contradictions of its own development, half of the entire cultivated land in Russia was still the common property of the peasant communes. Now, if in the West the resolution of the contradictions by a reorganisation of society is conditional on the conversion of all the means of production, hence of the land too, into the common property of society, how does the already, or rather still, existing common property in Russia relate to this common property in the West, which still has to be created? Can it not serve as a point of departure for a national campaign which, skipping the entire capitalist period, will convert Russian peasant communism straight into modern socialist common ownership of the means of production by enriching it with all the technical achievements of the capitalist era? Or, to use the words with which Marx sums up the views of Chernyshevsky in a letter to be quoted below: "Should Russia first destroy the rural commune, as demanded by the liberals, in order to go over to the capitalist system, or can it on the contrary acquire all the fruits of this system, without suffering its torments, by developing its own historical conditions?" [a]

The very way in which the question is posed indicates the direction in which the answer should be sought. The Russian commune has existed for hundreds of years without ever providing the impetus for the development of a higher form of common ownership out of itself; no more so than in the case of the German Mark system, the Celtic clans, the Indian and other communes with primitive, communistic institutions. In the course of time, under the influence of commodity production surrounding them, or arising in their own midst and gradually pervading them, and of the exchange between individual families and individual persons, they all lost more and more of their communistic character and dissolved into communities of mutually independent landowners. So if the question of whether the Russian commune will enjoy a different and better fate may be raised at all, then this is not through any fault of its own, but solely due to the fact that it has survived in a European country in a relatively vigorous form into an age when not only commodity production as such, but even its highest and ultimate form, capitalist production, has come into conflict in Western Europe with the productive forces it has created itself; when it is proving incapable of continuing to direct these forces; and when it is

[a] K. Marx, "Letter to *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*" (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 196-201 and also this volume, pp. 428-30).— *Ed.*

foundering on these innate contradictions and the class conflicts that go along with them. It is quite evident from this alone that the initiative for any possible transformation of the Russian commune along these lines cannot come from the commune itself, but only from the industrial proletarians of the West. The victory of the West European proletariat over the bourgeoisie, and, linked to this, the replacement of capitalist production by socially managed production—that is the necessary precondition for raising the Russian commune to the same level.

The fact is: at no time or place has the agrarian communism that arose out of gentile society developed anything of its own accord but its own disintegration. As early as 1861 the Russian peasant commune itself was a relatively weakened form of this communism; the common tilling of the land which survived in some parts of India and in the South Slav household community (*zádruga*), the probable mother of the Russian commune, had been forced to give way to cultivation by individual families; common ownership only continued to manifest itself in the redistribution of land which took place at greatly varying intervals according to the different localities. This redistribution needs only to lapse or be abolished by decree, and the village of allotment peasants is a *fait accompli.*

But the mere fact that alongside the Russian peasant commune capitalist production in Western Europe is simultaneously approaching the point where it breaks down and where it points itself to a new form of production in which the means of production are employed in a planned manner as social property—this mere fact cannot endow the Russian commune with the power to develop this new form of society out of itself. How could it appropriate the colossal productive forces of capitalist society as social property and a social tool even before capitalist society itself has accomplished this revolution; how could the Russian commune show the world how to run large-scale industry for the common benefit, when it has already forgotten how to till its land for the common benefit?

Certainly, there are enough people in Russia who are quite familiar with Western capitalist society with all its irreconcilable antagonisms and conflicts and are also clear about the way out of this apparent dead-end. But firstly, the few thousand people who realise this do not live in the commune, and the fifty million or so in Great Russia who still live with common ownership of the land have not the faintest idea of all this. They are at least as alien and unsympathetic to these few thousand as the English proletarians

from 1800 to 1840 with regard to the plans which Robert Owen devised for their salvation. And, of the workmen whom Owen employed in his factory in New Lanark, the majority likewise consisted of people who had been raised on the institutions and customs of a decaying communistic gentile society, the Celtic-Scottish clan; but nowhere does he so much as hint that they showed a greater appreciation of his ideas. And secondly, it is an historical impossibility that a lower stage of economic development should solve the enigmas and conflicts which did not arise, and could not arise, until a far higher stage. All forms of gentile community which arose before commodity production and individual exchange have one thing in common with the future socialist society: that certain things, means of production, are subject to the common ownership and the common use of certain groups. This one shared feature does not, however, enable the lower form of society to engender out of itself the future socialist society, this final and most intrinsic product of capitalism. Any given economic formation has its own problems to solve, problems arising out of itself; to seek to solve those of another, utterly alien formation would be absolutely absurd. And this applies to the Russian commune no less than to the South Slav *zádruga,* the Indian gentile economy or any other savage or barbaric form of society characterised by the common ownership of the means of production.

On the other hand, it is not only possible but certain that after the victory of the proletariat and the transfer of the means of production into common ownership among the West European peoples, the countries which have only just succumbed to capitalist production and have salvaged gentile institutions, or remnants thereof, have in these remnants of common ownership and in the corresponding popular customs a powerful means of appreciably shortening the process of development into a socialist society and of sparing themselves most of the suffering and struggles through which we in Western Europe must work our way. But the example and the active assistance of the hitherto capitalist West is an indispensable condition for this. Only when the capitalist economy has been relegated to the history books in its homeland and in the countries where it flourished, only when the backward countries see from this example "how it's done", how the productive forces of modern industry are placed in the service of all as social property—only then can they tackle this shortened process of development. But then success will be assured. And this is true of all countries in the pre-capitalist stage, not only Russia. It will be

easiest—comparatively speaking—in Russia, however, because there a section of the indigenous population has already assimilated the intellectual results of capitalist development, thereby making it possible in revolutionary times to accomplish the social transformation more or less simultaneously with the West.

This was stated by Marx and me as long ago as January 21, 1882 in the preface to Plekhanov's Russian translation of the *Communist Manifesto.* The passage reads:

"Alongside a rapidly developing capitalist swindle and bourgeois landed property which is only just in the process of formation, in Russia we find the greater part of the land in the common ownership of the peasants. Now the question is: can the Russian commune, this form of the original common ownership of land which is actually already in a state of severe disintegration, make the direct transition into a higher communist form of landed property—or must it first undergo the same process of dissolution that characterises the historical development of the West? The only possible answer to this question today is as follows: when the Russian revolution gives the signal for a workers' revolution in the West, so that each complements the other, then Russian landed property might become the starting point for a communist development." [394]

It should not be forgotten, however, that the considerable disintegration of Russian common property mentioned above has since advanced significantly. The defeats of the Crimean War [395] had exposed Russia's need for rapid industrial development. Above all railways were needed, and these are not possible on a broad footing without large-scale domestic industry. The precondition for this was the so-called emancipation of the serfs; it marked the beginning of the capitalist era in Russia; but hence also the era of the rapid destruction of the common ownership of land. The redemption payments imposed on the peasants, together with increased taxes and the simultaneous reduction and deterioration of the land allotted to them, inevitably forced them into the hands of usurers, chiefly members of the peasant commune who had grown rich. The railways opened up for hitherto remote areas a market for their grain, but they also brought the cheap products of large-scale industry to them, thereby killing off the cottage industry of the peasants, who had previously manufactured similar goods partly for their own use and partly for sale. The traditional conditions of employment were thrown into confusion; there followed the breakdown which everywhere accompanies the transition from a subsistence economy to a money economy;

within the commune large differences in wealth appeared between the members—debt turned the poorer into the slaves of the rich. In short, the same process that had caused the Athenian gens to break down in the period before Solon, with the advent of the money economy,* now began to break down the Russian commune. Solon was able to liberate the slaves of debt, it is true, by means of a revolutionary intervention in the then still fairly recent law of private property by simply annulling the debts. But he could not revitalise the old Athenian gens, any more than any power in the world will be able to restore the Russian commune once its breakdown has reached a certain point. And to cap it all the Russian Government has forbidden redistribution of land among the members of the commune more frequently than every twelve years, so that the peasant should grow increasingly unaccustomed to it and start to think of himself as the private owner of his share.

This was the tenor of Marx's comments in a letter to Russia which he wrote back in 1877.[b] A certain Mr. Zhukovsky, the same man who as head cashier of the State Bank now lends his signature to Russian credit notes, had written something about Marx in the *European Herald* (*Vestnik Yevropy*), to which another writer had replied in the *National Records* (*Otechestvenniye Zapiski*).[396] In order to correct this article Marx wrote a letter to the editor of the *Records*,[c] which, after copies of the French original had long been circulating in Russia, appeared in Russian translation in the *Herald of the People's Will* (*Vestnik Narodnoi Voli*) in 1886 in Geneva and later in Russia itself.[397] Like everything that emanated from Marx, this letter attracted a good deal of attention and varying interpretations in Russian circles, and I therefore present its gist here.

First, Marx repudiates the view attributed to him in the *Records* that he shared the opinion of the Russian liberals, according to which nothing was more urgent for Russia than to destroy the communal property of the peasants and plunge headlong into capitalism. His short note on Herzen in the appendix to the first edition of *Capital* proves nothing. This note reads: "If the

* Cf. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie etc.*, 5th edition, Stuttgart, 1892, pp. 109-113.[a]

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[a] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see present edition, Vol. 26). Pages refer to the 4th German edition.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, "Letter to *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*".—*Ed.*

[c] M. Ye. Saltykov-Shchedrin.—*Ed.*

influence of capitalist production, which is undermining the human race ... continues to develop on the continent of Europe as hitherto, hand in hand with competition in the size of national soldiery, national debts, taxes, elegant means of warfare, etc., the rejuvenation of Europe by the knout and the obligatory infusion of Kalmuck blood so earnestly prophesied by the half-Russian and whole-Muscovite Herzen (this literary man did not, incidentally, make his discoveries in the field of "Russian communism" in Russia but in the work of the Prussian privy councillor Haxthausen) might eventually become inevitable" (*Capital,* I, first edition, p. 763).[a] Marx then continues[b]: This passage "can under no circumstances provide the key to my opinion of the efforts" (the following is quoted in Russian in the original) "'of Russian men to find a course of development for their native country which differs from that which Western Europe has followed and is still following', etc.—In the Afterword to the second German edition of *Capital,* I speak of a 'great Russian scholar and critic'" (Chernyshevsky) "with the high esteem which he deserves.[c] In his noteworthy articles the latter dealt with the question whether Russia should start, as its liberal economists demand, by destroying the rural commune in order to go over to a capitalist system, or whether, on the contrary, it can acquire all the fruits of this system, without suffering its torments, by developing its own historical conditions. He comes out in favour of the second solution.

"Be that as it may, as I do not like to leave anything to 'guesswork', I will speak straight out. In order to be able to assess Russia's economic development from the position of an expert, I learned Russian and then spent several long years studying official publications and others with a bearing on this subject. I have arrived at this result: *if Russia continues along the path it has followed since 1861, it will miss the finest chance that history has ever offered a nation, only to undergo all the fatal vicissitudes of the capitalist system.*[d]"

Marx goes on to clear up a number of other misunderstandings on the part of his critic; the only passage relating to the matter in question reads:

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[a] K. Marx, *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie,* Bd. I. Hamburg, 1867. This appendix was omitted by Marx in all subsequent editions of the first volume of *Capital.—Ed.*

[b] Here follow excerpts from Marx's "Letter to *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*". See present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 196-201.—*Ed.*

[c] See present edition, Vol. 35.—*Ed.*

[d] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

"Now, in what way was my critic able to apply this historical sketch to Russia?" (The account of primitive accumulation in *Capital.*) "Only this: if Russia is tending to become a capitalist nation, on the model of the countries of Western Europe,—and in recent years it has gone to great pains to move in this direction—it will not succeed without having first transformed a large proportion of its peasants into proletarians; and after that, once it has been placed in the bosom of the capitalist system, it will be subjected to its pitiless laws, like other profane peoples. That is all."

Thus wrote Marx in 1877. At that time there were two governments in Russia: the Tsar's and that of the secret executive committee (ispolnitel'nyj komitet[a]) of the terrorist conspirators.[398] The power of this secret second government grew daily. The fall of tsardom seemed imminent; a revolution in Russia was bound to deprive the entire forces of European reaction of its mainstay, its great reserve army, and thus give the political movement of the West a mighty new impulse and, what is more, infinitely more favourable conditions in which to operate. No wonder that Marx advises the Russians to be in less of a hurry to make the leap into capitalism.

The Russian revolution did not come. Tsardom got the better of terrorism, which even managed to drive all the propertied, "law-abiding" classes back into its arms for the time being. And in the seventeen years which have elapsed since that letter was written both capitalism and the dissolution of the peasant commune have made tremendous headway in Russia. So how do matters stand today, in 1894?

When the old tsarist despotism continued unchanged after the defeats of the Crimean War and the suicide of Tsar Nicholas, only one road was open: the swiftest transition possible to capitalist industry. The army had been destroyed by the gigantic dimensions of the empire, on the long marches to the theatre of war; the distances had to be nullified by a strategic railway network. But railways mean capitalist industry and the revolutionising of primitive agriculture. For one thing, the agricultural produce of even the remotest areas is brought into direct contact with the world market; for another, an extensive railway system cannot be constructed and kept working without domestic industry to supply rails, locomotives, rolling stock, etc. But it is not possible to introduce *one* branch of large-scale industry without accepting the entire system; the textile

[a] Engels' transliteration of the Russian words.—*Ed.*

industry on a relatively modern footing, which had already taken root both in the region of Moscow and Vladimir and on the Baltic coasts, received fresh impetus. The railways and factories were accompanied by the expansion of existing banks and the establishment of new ones; the emancipation of the peasants from serfdom instituted freedom of movement, in anticipation of the ensuing automatic emancipation of a large proportion of these peasants from landownership too. Thus in a short while all the foundations of the capitalist mode of production were laid in Russia. But the axe had also been taken to the root of the Russian peasant commune.

To lament this fact now is futile. Had the despotism of the tsars been replaced after the Crimean War by the direct parliamentary rule of nobles and bureaucrats, the process might have been slowed down somewhat; if the burgeoning bourgeoisie had taken the helm, it would certainly have been accelerated even more. As things were, there was no alternative. Alongside the Second Empire in France and the most brilliant rise of capitalist industry in England, it could really not be demanded of Russia that it plunge headlong into state-socialist experiments on account of the peasant commune. Something had to happen. What was possible under the circumstances did happen, as everywhere and always in countries engaged in commodity production, in most cases only semi-consciously or quite mechanically, and without knowing what was being done.

Now came the new age of revolution from above initiated by Germany, and hence the age of the rapid growth of socialism in all European countries. Russia took part in the general movement. There it took the form—as if it went without saying—of an assault aimed to bring about the fall of tsarist despotism, to attain intellectual and political freedom of action for the nation. A faith in the miraculous power of the peasant commune to bring about a social renaissance—a faith for which Chernyshevsky, as we have seen, was not entirely blameless—this faith played its part in heightening the enthusiasm and energy of the heroic Russian pioneers. We do not blame the people, scarcely more than a few hundred in number, who through their selfless devotion and heroism brought tsarist absolutism to the point where it was forced to consider the possibility and the conditions of surrender—we do not blame them for regarding their Russian compatriots as the chosen people of the social revolution. But this does not mean we need to share their illusion. The age of chosen peoples is gone for ever.

But during this struggle capitalism went from strength to strength in Russia and increasingly achieved what terrorism was unable to do: to force tsardom to surrender.

Tsardom needed money. Not merely for the luxury of its court, its bureaucracy, above all for its army and its foreign policy based on bribery, but notably also for its miserable finance system and the idiotic railway policy that went hand in hand with it. Foreign countries would not and could not any longer find the money for all the Tsar's deficits; help had to come from home. A proportion of the railways shares had to be disposed of at home, as had a proportion of the loans. The Russian bourgeoisie's first victory lay in the railway concessions, which guaranteed the share-holders all future profits while loading all future losses on the state. Then came the subsidies and premiums for industrial enterprises, and the protective tariffs favouring domestic industry which eventually made it virtually impossible to import many articles. With its colossal indebtedness and its credit in almost total ruins abroad, the Russian state has a direct fiscal interest in forcing the development of domestic industry. It constantly needs gold to pay off the interest on its foreign debts. But there is no gold in Russia; all that circulates there is paper. Part of it is provided by the prescribed payment of tariffs in gold, which also incidentally raises these tariffs by fifty per cent. But the greater part of it is supposed to come from the surplus in the export of Russian raw materials over the import of foreign industrial products; the bills of exchange drawn on foreign banks for this surplus are bought by the government at home for paper money and in return it receives gold. So if the government wishes to meet the payment of interest to foreign countries by some other method than new foreign loans, it must ensure that Russian industry rapidly expands to the point where it is able to meet domestic demand in full. Hence the requirement that Russia must become an industrial nation that is self-sufficient and independent of other countries; hence the frantic efforts of the government to bring the capitalist development of Russia to a peak in the space of a few years. For if this does not take place, there will be no options but to draw on the metallic war funds accumulated in the State Bank and the State Exchequer, or else state bankruptcy. In either case Russian foreign policy would be finished.

One thing is clear: in these circumstances the fledgling Russian bourgeoisie has the state completely in its power. In all economic matters of importance the state must do its bidding. If for the time being the bourgeoisie continues to put up with the despotic

autocracy of the Tsar and his officials, it is only because this autocracy, mitigated as it is by the venality of the bureaucracy, offers it more guarantees than would changes even of a bourgeois-liberal nature, whose consequences no one could foresee, given the present internal situation in Russia. And so the transformation of the country into a capitalist industrial nation, the proletarianisation of a large proportion of the peasantry and the decay of the old communistic commune proceeds at an ever quickening pace.

Whether enough of this commune has been saved so that, if the occasion arises, as Marx and I still hoped in 1882, it could become the point of departure for communist development in harmony with a sudden change of direction in Western Europe,[a] I do not presume to say. But this much is certain: if a remnant of this commune is to be preserved, the first condition is the fall of tsarist despotism—revolution in Russia. This will not only tear the great mass of the nation, the peasants, away from the isolation of their villages, which comprise their "mir",[b] [399] their "world", and lead them out onto the great stage, where they will get to know the outside world and thus themselves, their own situation and the means of salvation from their present distress; it will also give the labour movement of the West fresh impetus and create new, better conditions in which to carry on the struggle, thus hastening the victory of the modern industrial proletariat, without which present-day Russia can never achieve a socialist transformation, whether proceeding from the commune or from capitalism.

Written during first half of January 1894

Printed according to the book

First published in: F. Engels, *Internationales aus dem "Volksstaat" (1871-75)*, Berlin, 1894

[a] Cf. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Preface to the Second Russian Edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*" (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 425-26); see also this volume, p. 57.—*Ed.*

[b] The original has the Russian word in Latin transliteration.—*Ed.*

# [THE THIRD VOLUME OF KARL MARX'S *CAPITAL*][400]

The third book of Marx's *Capital* is now being printed and will, we hope, appear not later than this September. The contents of this long-awaited third book will conclude the theoretical part of the work, leaving only the fourth and final book, which will contain a critical historical survey of the theories of surplus value.[401] The first book shows how the capitalist's surplus value is wrung out of the worker, and the second how this surplus value, which initially is contained in product, is realised in the form of money. These first two books are thus concerned only with surplus value so long as it is still in the hands of its first appropriator, the industrial capitalist. But it remains only partially in the hands of this first appropriator; it is later distributed to various interested parties in the form of commercial profit, profit of enterprise, interest and ground rent; and it is the laws of this distribution that are set out in the third book. With the production, circulation and distribution of surplus value, however, its entire life-cycle is concluded and there is nothing more to say about it. Apart from the laws of the profit rate in general, the third book examines commercial capital, interest-bearing capital, credit and banks, ground rent and landed property, which in conjunction with the themes dealt with in the first two books complete the "Critique of Political Economy" promised in the title.

Written about January 9, 1894

First published in the *Vorwärts*, No. 9, January 12, 1894

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# [ON THE CONTENTS OF THE THIRD VOLUME OF *CAPITAL*]

The third book of *Capital,* by *Marx,* "The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole", will now appear this coming autumn,[402] as already announced in the *Vorwärts.*[a] It will be recalled that the first book was concerned with "the process of capitalist production", while the second examined the "process of circulation of capital". The third book will deal with "the process of capitalist production as a whole". Thus the separate processes of production and circulation are no longer examined each in isolation but in their interconnection, as preconditions of, and mere links in, the uniform overall process of the movement of capital. As each of the first two books only concerned itself with *one* of the two main aspects of this process, the contents turned out to be in need of supplementing and the form grew one-sided and abstract. This was particularly apparent in the fact that in both books surplus value could only be investigated in so far and so long as it remained in the hands of its first appropriator, the industrial capitalist; it could only be indicated in general terms that this first appropriator was not necessarily—or even usually—its last appropriator. But it is precisely in the distribution of surplus value among its various interested parties—businessmen, money-lenders, landowners, etc.—that the overall movement of capital takes place most conspicuously and on the surface of society, so to speak. The distribution of surplus value, after it has undergone the processes analysed in the first two books, thus forms the leitmotif running through the third book. The laws governing this distribution are demonstrated in detail: the relation

[a] See this volume, p. 434.—*Ed.*

of the rate of surplus value to the rate of profit; the formation of average rate of profit; the tendency of this average rate of profit to fall progressively in the course of economic development; the diversion of commercial profit; the intervention of loan capital and the division of profit into interest and profit of enterprise; the credit system erected on the basis of loan capital with its mainstays, the banks, and the fraudulent blossom, the stock exchange; the genesis of surplus profit and the transformation of this surplus profit, in certain cases, into ground rent; the landed property which receives this rent; as a result the overall distribution of the product value newly created by labour among the three kinds of revenue: wages, profit (including interest), ground rent; finally, the recipients of these three kinds of income: workers, capitalists, landowners—the classes of present-day society. Unfortunately this final section—the classes—was not elaborated by Marx.

This brief survey of the contents should, however, suffice to show that all the relevant questions which, of necessity, had to be left unanswered in the first two volumes of the work are given exhaustive treatment here.

Written about January 9, 1894

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 1, No. 16, 1893-1894 and in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 8, January 26, 1894

Signed:—*fe.*

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first time

# [THE FUTURE ITALIAN REVOLUTION AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY][403]

The situation in Italy is, in my opinion, as follows.

Having come to power during and after national emancipation, the bourgeoisie was neither able nor willing to complete its victory. It did not sweep away the remains of feudalism, nor did it reorganise national production on modern bourgeois lines. Incapable of enabling the country to share in the relative and temporary benefits of the capitalist regime, the bourgeoisie imposed on it all this regime's burdens and disadvantages. Not content with that, it has rendered itself intolerable and contemptible in the extreme and for ever through its disgraceful financial swindles.

Working people—peasants, tradesmen, agricultural and industrial workers—thus find themselves crushed, on the one hand, by old-fashioned corrupt practices, not merely the legacy of feudal times but also dating from antiquity (*mezzadria,*[a] the latifundia of the south, where cattle are replacing men) and, on the other, by the most voracious fiscal policy which the bourgeois system has ever devised. We might well say, with Marx, that we "like all the rest of Continental Western Europe, suffer not only from the development of capitalist production,but also from the incompleteness of that development. Alongside of modern evils, a whole series of inherited evils oppress us, arising from the passive survival of antiquated modes of production with their inevitable train of social and political anachronisms, we suffer not only from the living, but from the dead. *Le mort saisit le vif!*"[b]

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[a] Roman sharecropping.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, "Preface to the First German Edition of *Capital*" (see present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

This situation is heading towards a crisis. Everywhere the productive mass is in a state of ferment; in places it is rebelling. Where will this crisis lead us?

Obviously the socialist party is too young and, because of the economic situation, too weak to hope for the immediate victory of socialism. Nationwide, the rural population far outnumbers that of the towns; in the towns there is little large-scale developed industry, and consequently few *typical* proletarians; the majority are made up of tradesmen, small shopkeepers and *déclassés*, a mass floating between the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat. It is the small and middle bourgeoisie of the Middle Ages in decline and disintegration; for the most part they are future, but not yet actual, proletarians. Only this class, constantly facing economic ruin and now provoked to despair, will be able to supply both the mass of fighters and the leaders of a revolutionary movement. It will be backed by the peasants, whose geographical dispersal and illiteracy prevent them from taking any effective initiative, but who will nonetheless make powerful and indispensable auxiliaries.

In the event of more or less peaceful success, there will be a change of government: the "converted" republicans,[404] Cavallotti & Co., would take the rudder; in the event of revolution there will be a bourgeois republic.

What part should be played by the socialist party with regard to these eventualities?

Since 1848 the tactics which have most often ensured success for the socialists have been those of the *Communist Manifesto*: in the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, the socialists[a] always represent the interests of the movement as a whole..., they fight for the attainment of the immediate aims in the interest of the working class, but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement.[b]—Thus they take an active part in each of the evolutionary phases through which the struggle of the two classes passes, without ever losing sight of the fact that these phases are only so many stages leading to the great goal: the conquest of political power by the proletariat as a means of social reorganisation. They have their place among the combatants for any immediate advantage which can be obtained in the interest of the working class; they accept all these

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[a] "Communists" in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 497 and 518).—*Ed.*

political and social advantages, but only *as advance payments.* Therefore they consider every revolutionary or progressive movement to be heading in the same direction as their own; their special mission is to drive the other revolutionary parties forwards and, should one of these parties be victorious, to safeguard the interests of the proletariat. These tactics, which never lose sight of the great goal, spare the socialists the bouts of disillusionment to which the less clear-sighted parties are invariably subject—whether pure republicans, or sentimental socialists who mistake a mere stage for the final outcome of the march forwards.

Let us apply this to Italy.

The victory of the disintegrating petty bourgeoisie and the peasants may thus lead to a government of "converted" republicans. That would give us universal suffrage and much greater freedom of action (freedom of the press, assembly, association, abolition of the *ammonizione,*[a] etc.)—new weapons which are not to be despised.

Or a bourgeois republic with the same people and a few Mazzini supporters. That would widen our freedom of action and field of action even more, at least for the moment. And the bourgeois republic, said Marx, is the sole political form in which the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie can be decided.[b] Not to mention the repercussions this would have in Europe.

The victory of the present revolutionary movement cannot, therefore, be achieved without strengthening us and placing us in a more favourable environment. Thus we would be committing the greatest of errors should we wish to abstain, if in our attitude to "akin" parties we sought to limit ourselves to purely negative criticism. The time may come when we shall have to co-operate with them in a positive fashion. When will this time come?

Obviously it is not up to us to prepare directly a movement which is not exactly that of the class which we represent. If the radicals and republicans believe that the time has come to take to the streets, let them give free rein to their impetuosity! But we have been deceived all too often by the grandiose promises of these gentlemen to let ourselves fall into the trap once again. Neither their proclamations nor their conspiracies should affect us. If we are obliged to support every *real* popular movement, we are also obliged not to sacrifice in vain the scarcely formed core of

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[a] Police surveillance.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 111).—*Ed.*

our proletarian party or to allow the proletariat to be decimated in sterile local riots.

If, on the contrary, the movement is truly national, our men will be there before the order can be given, and it goes without saying that we shall take part. But it must be understood, and we should proclaim it aloud, that we are taking part *as an independent party,* allied for the moment with the radicals and the republicans, but entirely distinct from them; that we have no illusions about the result of the struggle, in the event of victory; that for us this result, far from satisfying us, will only be a stage that has been won, a new base of operations for further conquests; that on the very day of victory our paths will diverge; that from that day hence we shall form the *new opposition* vis-à-vis the new government, not a reactionary opposition but a progressive one, an opposition of the extreme left which will be pressing for new conquests beyond the territory already gained.

After the joint victory we might be offered a few seats in the new government, but always *in a minority.* This is the greatest danger. After February 1848 the French socialist democrats (of the *Réforme,* Ledru-Rollin, L. Blanc, Flocon, etc.) made the mistake of occupying such seats.[405] As a minority in the government they voluntarily shared the blame for all the foul deeds and betrayals perpetrated by the majority of pure republicans against the workers[406]; whilst the presence of these gentlemen in the government completely paralysed the revolutionary action of the working class which they claimed to represent.

In all this I am merely giving my personal opinion, because I have been asked for it, and also with the greatest diffidence. As for the general tactics; I have experienced their effectiveness throughout my life; they have never let me down. But as for applying them to the state of affairs in Italy, that is quite a different matter; that must be decided on the spot and by those who are in the midst of events.

Written on January 26, 1894

First published, in Italian, in the *Critica Sociale,* No. 3, February 1, 1894

Signed: *Frederick Engels*

Printed according to the manuscript, checked with the *Critica Sociale*

Translated from the French

# [TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE FRENCH WORKERS' PARTY ON THE OCCASION OF THE 23RD ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARIS COMMUNE][407]

London, March 18, 1894

I drink with you to the coming of an international March 18th which, by ensuring the triumph of the proletariat, will abolish class antagonisms and strife between nations, and bring peace and happiness in the civilised countries.

*Engels*

First published in *Le Socialiste,* No. 183, March 25, 1894

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

# [TO THE FOURTH AUSTRIAN PARTY CONGRESS][408]

*London,* March 22, 1894

I sincerely thank the Austrian Party Congress for the invitation card most kindly sent to me, which I am sadly prevented from using in person. Nevertheless I convey to the assembled delegates of the Party my ardent and cordial wishes for success in their work.

This year's Party Congress has particularly important tasks to fulfil. What matters most in Austria is the campaign for universal suffrage, that weapon which, in the hands of class-conscious workers, has a longer range and a surer aim than a small-calibre magazine rifle in the hands of a trained soldier. The ruling classes—feudal aristocracy and bourgeoisie alike—are doing their utmost to prevent the delivery of this weapon into the hands of the workers. The struggle will be long and fierce. But if the workers show the political judgment, the patience and perseverance, the unanimity and discipline with which they have already won so many fine victories, then the ultimate victory will surely be theirs. The whole of historical necessity, both economic and political, is on their side. And although full and equal suffrage may not be achieved at the first blow, we can even today give three cheers for the future representatives of the proletariat in the Austrian Reichs Council.

*F. Engels*

First published in the pamphlet *Verhandlungen des vierten österreichischen sozialdemokratischen Parteitages,* Vienna, 1894

Printed according to the pamphlet

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Nr. 20. Budapest, den 18. Mai 1894. 22. Jahrgang.

Arbeiterpresse.

Zentral-Organ der ungarländischen sozialdemokratischen Partei.

# [TO THE EXECUTIVE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF HUNGARY ON THE THIRD PARTY CONGRESS][409]

London, May 15, 1894

Dear Comrades,

Your kind invitation to your Party Congress reached me on the 8. inst. Unfortunately a passing indisposition prevented me from replying immediately, and thus today I can only express my thanks retrospectively, and wish the greatest success in your work.

I too have followed with utmost interest the recent developments in Hungary.[a] In Hungary, as elsewhere, capital is increasingly taking over the whole of national production. Not satisfied with creating a new industrial sector, it subjugates agriculture too, transforms its traditional methods, destroys the individual peasant, divides the rural population into large estate owners[b] and capitalist *faiseurs*[c] on the one hand and a host of propertyless proletarians on the other. The headway this revolution of capital has already made in Hungary we saw recently in Hódmezövásárhely.[410] But we shall have to endure this capitalist revolution. It brings with it unspeakable misery for the great mass of the people, but it alone also creates the conditions which make

[a] Crossed out in the manuscript is the following paragraph: "They show the irresistible power with which capital everywhere sets itself up as owner of national production, and this not only in the field of industry but also in agriculture, and this is by far the most important sector for the east of Europe.".— *Ed.*

[b] The manuscript has: "a few large estate owners".— *Ed.*

[c] Middlemen.— *Ed.*

possible a new social order, and the men and women who alone will have the strength and the will to bring into existence this new and better society.

With sincere greetings,

*F. Engels*

First published in the *Arbeiterpresse,* No. 20, May 18, 1894 and, in Hungarian, in *Népszava,* No. 20, May 18, 1894

Printed according to the *Arbeiterpresse,* checked with the rough manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# ON THE HISTORY OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY[411]

Written between June 19 and July 16, 1894

Published in *Die Neue Zeit,* Vol. 1, Nos. 1 and 2, 1894-1895

Signed: *Frederick Engels*

Printed according to the journal

## I

The history of early Christianity has notable points of resemblance with the modern working-class movement. Like the latter, Christianity was originally a movement of oppressed people: it first appeared as the religion of slaves and freedmen, of poor people deprived of all rights, of peoples subjugated or dispersed by Rome. Both Christianity and the workers' socialism preach forthcoming salvation from bondage and misery; Christianity places this salvation in a life beyond, after death, in heaven; socialism places it in this world, in a transformation of society. Both are persecuted and subjected to harassment, their adherents are ostracised and made the objects of exceptional laws, the ones as enemies of the human race, the others as enemies of the state, enemies of religion, the family, the social order. And in spite of all persecution, nay, even spurred on by it, they forge victoriously, irresistibly ahead. Three hundred years after its appearance Christianity was the recognised state religion in the Roman World Empire, and in barely sixty years socialism has won itself a position which makes its victory absolutely certain.

If, therefore, Prof. Anton Menger wonders in his *Right to the Full Product of Labour* why, with the enormous concentration of landownership under the Roman emperors and the boundless sufferings of the working class of the time, which was composed almost exclusively of slaves, "the fall of the Western Roman Empire was not followed by socialism",[a] it is because he cannot see that this "socialism" did in fact, as far as it was possible at the time, exist and

[a] A. Menger, *Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag in geschichtlicher Darstellung*, p. 108. For criticism of this book see F. Engels, *Lawyers' Socialism* (present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 597-616).—*Ed.*

even became dominant—in Christianity. Only this Christianity, as was bound to be the case in the historical conditions, did not seek to accomplish the social transformation in this world, but in the hereafter, in heaven, in eternal life after death, in the impending "millennium".

The parallel between the two historic phenomena becomes perfectly obvious as early as the Middle Ages in the first risings of the oppressed peasants and particularly of the town plebeians. These risings, like all mass movements of the Middle Ages, were bound to wear the mask of religion and appeared as the restoration of early Christianity from spreading degeneration*; but behind the religious exaltation there were every time extremely tangible worldly interests. This was demonstrated most splendidly in the organisation of the Bohemian Taborites under Jan Žižka,[413] of glorious memory; but this trait pervades the whole of the Middle Ages until it gradually fades away after the German Peasant War[414] to revive again with the worker communists after 1830. The French revolutionary communists, as also in particular Weitling and his supporters, referred to early Christianity long before Ernest Renan said:

> When you want to get an idea of the early Christian communities, look at a local section of the International Working Men's Association.

This French man of letters, who by mutilating German criticism of the Bible in a manner unprecedented even in modern

* A peculiar counterpart to this was the religious risings in the Mohammedan world, particularly in Africa. Islam is a religion adapted to Orientals, especially Arabs, i.e., on the one hand to townsmen engaged in trade and industry, on the other to nomadic Bedouins. Therein lies, however, the embryo of a periodically recurring collision. The townspeople grow rich, luxurious and lax in observing the "law". The Bedouins, poor and hence of strict morals, contemplate with envy and covetousness these riches and pleasures. Then they unite under a prophet, a Mahdi, to chastise the apostates and restore the observation of the ritual and the true faith and to appropriate in recompense the treasures of the renegades. In a hundred years they are naturally in the same position as the renegades were: a new purge of the faith is required, a new Mahdi arises and the game starts again from the beginning. That is what happened from the campaigns of conquest by the African Almoravids and Almohads in Spain to the last Mahdi of Khartoum[412] who so successfully thwarted the English. It happened in the same way or similarly with the risings in Persia and other Mohammedan countries. All these movements are couched in religion but they have their source in economic causes; and yet, even when they are victorious, they allow the old economic conditions to persist untouched. So the old situation remains unchanged and the collision recurs periodically. In the popular risings of the Christian West, on the contrary, the religious disguise is only a flag and a mask for attacks on an economic order which is becoming antiquated. This is finally overthrown, a new one arises and the world progresses.

journalism composed the novel on church history *Origines du christianisme,*[a] did not know himself how much truth there was in the words just quoted. I should like to see the old "International" who can read, for example, what goes under the name of the Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians without old wounds re-opening, at least in one respect. The whole epistle, from chapter eight onwards, echoes the eternal, and oh so well-known complaint: *les cotisations ne rentrent pas*—contributions are not coming in! How many of the most zealous propagandists of the sixties would sympathisingly squeeze the hand of the author of that epistle, whoever he may be, and whisper: "So it was like that with you too!" We too—Corinthians were legion in our Association—can tell you a tale about contributions not coming in but tantalising us as they floated elusively before our eyes. They were the famous "millions of the International"!

One of our best sources on the first Christians is Lucian of Samosata, the Voltaire of classic antiquity, who was equally sceptical towards every kind of religious superstition and therefore had neither pagan-religious nor political grounds to treat the Christians otherwise than as some other kind of religious community. On the contrary, he mocked them all for their superstition, those who worshipped Jupiter no less than those who worshipped Christ; from his shallow rationalistic point of view one sort of superstition was as stupid as the other. This in any case impartial witness relates among other things the life story of a certain adventurer Peregrinus, who called himself Proteus, from Parium in Hellespontus. When a youth, this Peregrinus made his *début* in Armenia by committing adultery. He was caught in the act and lynched according to the custom of the country. He was fortunate enough to escape and, after strangling his father in Parium, he had to flee.

"And so it happened"—I quote from Schott's translation[415]—"that he also came to hear of the astonishing learning of the Christians, with whose priests and scribes he had cultivated intercourse in Palestine. He made such progress in a short time that his teachers were like children compared with him. He became a prophet, an elder, a master of the synagogue, in a word, all in everything. He interpreted their writings and himself wrote a great number of works, so that finally people saw in him a superior being, let him lay down laws for them and made him their overseer (bishop).... On that ground" (i.e., because he was a Christian) "Proteus was at length arrested by the authorities and thrown into prison.... As he thus lay in chains, the Christians, who saw in his capture a great misfortune, made all possible attempts to free him. But they did not succeed. Then they administered to him in all possible ways with the greatest solicitude. As early as daybreak one could

[a] E. Renan, *Histoire des origines du christianisme.—Ed.*

see aged mothers, widows and young orphans crowding at the door of his prison; the most prominent among the Christians even bribed the warders and spent whole nights with him; they took their meals with them and read their holy books in his presence; briefly, the beloved Peregrinus (he still went by that name) was no less to them than a new Socrates. Envoys of Christian communities came to him even from towns in Asia Minor to lend him a helping hand, to console him and to testify in his favour in court. It is unbelievable how quick these people are to act whenever it is a question of their community; they immediately spare neither exertion nor expense. And thus from all sides money then poured in to Peregrinus so that his imprisonment became for him a source of great income. For the poor people persuaded themselves that they were immortal in body and in soul and that they would live for all eternity; that was why they scorned death and many of them even voluntarily sacrificed their lives. Then their most prominent lawgiver convinced them that they would all be brothers one to another once they were converted, i.e., renounced the Greek gods, professed faith in the crucified sophist and lived according to his prescriptions. That is why they despise all material goods without distinction and own them in common—doctrines which they have accepted in good faith, without demonstration or proof. And when a skilful impostor who knows how to make clever use of circumstances comes to them he can manage to get rich in a short time and laugh up his sleeve over these simpletons. For the rest, Peregrinus was set free by the then prefect of Syria."

Then, after a few more adventures,

"Our worthy set forth a second time" (from Parium) "on his peregrinations, the Christians' good disposition standing him in lieu of money for his journey: they administered to his needs everywhere and never let him suffer want. He was fed for a time in this way. But then, when he violated the laws of the Christians too—I think he was caught eating of some forbidden food—they excommunicated him from their community."[a]

What memories of youth come to my mind as I read this passage from Lucian! First of all the "prophet Albrecht" who from about 1840 literally plundered the Weitling communist communities in Switzerland[416] for several years—a tall powerful man with a long beard who wandered on foot through Switzerland and gathered audiences for his mysterious new Gospel of world emancipation, but who, after all, seems to have been a tolerably harmless hoaxer and soon died. Then his not so harmless successor, "Dr." Georg Kuhlmann from Holstein, who put to profit the time when Weitling was in prison to convert the communities of French Switzerland to *his* Gospel, and for a time with such success that he even caught August Becker, by far the cleverest but also the biggest ne'er-do-well among them. This Kuhlmann used to deliver lectures to them which were published in Geneva in 1845 under the title *Die Neue Welt oder das Reich des Geistes auf Erden. Verkündigung.*[417] In the introduction [pp. VIII

[a] Lucian, *On the Death of Peregrinus,* Chapters 11-14 and 16.—*Ed.*

and IX], written by his supporters (probably August Becker) we read:

"A man was needed who would give utterance to all our sorrows, all our longings and all our hopes, to everything, in a word, which moves our age most deeply... This man, whom our age was awaiting, has appeared. He is Dr. Georg Kuhlmann of Holstein. He has come forward with the doctrine of the new world or the kingdom of the spirit in reality."

I hardly need to add that this doctrine of the new world is nothing more than the most vulgar sentimental nonsense rendered in half-biblical expressions *à la* Lamennais and declaimed with prophet-like arrogance. But this did not prevent the good Weitlingers from carrying the swindler shoulder-high as the Asian Christians once did Peregrinus. They who were otherwise arch-democrats and extreme equalitarians to the extent of fostering ineradicable suspicion against any schoolmaster, journalist, and any man generally who was not a manual worker as being an "erudite" who was out to exploit them, let themselves be persuaded by the melodramatically arrayed Kuhlmann that in the "New World" it would be the wisest of all, *id est,* Kuhlmann, who would regulate the distribution of pleasures and that therefore, even then, in the Old World, the disciples ought to bring pleasures by the bushel to that same wisest of all while they themselves should be content with crumbs. So Peregrinus Kuhlmann lived a splendid life of pleasure at the expense of the community—as long as it lasted. It did not last very long, of course; the growing murmurs of doubters and unbelievers and the threat of persecution by the Vaudois Government put an end to the "Kingdom of the Spirit" in Lausanne—Kuhlmann disappeared.

Everybody who has known by experience the European working-class movement in its beginnings will remember dozens of similar examples. Today such extreme cases, at least in the larger centres, have become impossible; but in remote districts where the movement has won new ground a small Peregrinus of this kind can still count on temporary limited success. And just as all those who can expect no favours from the official world or are finished with it—opponents of inoculation, supporters of abstemiousness, vegetarians, anti-vivisectionists, nature-healers, free-community preachers[418] whose communities have fallen to pieces, authors of new theories on the origin of the universe, unsuccessful or unfortunate inventors, silent sufferers of real or imaginary injustices who are termed "good-for-nothing pettifoggers" by the bureaucracy, honest fools and dishonest swindlers—all throng to the working-class parties in all countries—so it was with the first

Christians. All the elements which had been set free, i.e., shown the door by the dissolution of the old world came one after the other into the orbit of Christianity as the only element that resisted this process of dissolution—for the very reason that it was the necessary product of the process—and that therefore persisted and grew while the other elements were but nine-day wonders. There was no fanaticism, no foolishness, no scheming that did not attach itself to the young Christian communities and did not at least for a time and in isolated places find attentive ears and willing believers. And like our first communist workers' associations the early Christians too took with such unprecedented gullibility to anything which suited their purpose that we are not even sure that some fragment or other of the "great number of works" Peregrinus wrote for Christianity did not find its way into our New Testament.

## II

German criticism of the Bible, so far the only scientific basis of our knowledge of the history of early Christianity, went in two directions.

The first was that of the *Tübingen school,*[419] in which, in the broad sense, D. F. Strauss must also be included. In critical inquiry it goes as far as a *theological* school can go. It admits that the four Gospels are not eyewitness accounts but only later adaptations of writings that have been lost; that no more than four of the Epistles attributed to the apostle Paul are authentic, etc. It strikes out of the historical narrations all miracles and contradictions, considering them unacceptable; but from the rest it tries "to salvage what can be salvaged" and then its nature, that of a theological school, is very evident. Thus it enabled Renan, who bases himself mostly on it, to "salvage" still more by applying the same method and, moreover, to try to impose upon us as historically authenticated many New Testament accounts that are more than doubtful and, on top of that, a multitude of other legends about martyrs. In any case, all that the Tübingen school rejects in the New Testament as unhistorical or apocryphal can be considered as definitively eliminated for scientific purposes.

The other direction has but one representative—*Bruno Bauer.*[420] His greatest service consists not merely in having given a pitiless criticism of the Gospels and the Epistles of the apostles, but in having for the first time seriously undertaken an inquiry into not only the Jewish and Greco-Alexandrian elements but the purely

Greek and Greco-Roman elements that first opened for Christianity the career of a world religion. The legend that Christianity arose ready-made from Judaism and, starting from Palestine, conquered the world with its dogma already defined in the main and its morals, has been untenable since Bruno Bauer; it can continue to vegetate only in the theological faculties and among those people who wish "to keep religion alive for the people" even at the expense of science. The enormous influence which the Philonic school[421] of Alexandria and Greco-Roman vulgar philosophy—Platonic and especially Stoic[422]—had on Christianity, which became the state religion under Constantine, is far from having been ascertained in detail, but its existence has been proved and that is primarily the achievement of Bruno Bauer: he laid the foundation of the proof that Christianity was not imported from outside—from Judea—into the Romano-Greek world and imposed on it, but that, at least in its world-religion form, it is the very own product of that world. Bauer, of course, like all those who are fighting against deep-rooted prejudices, overshot the mark by far in this work. In order to define also through literary sources Philo's and particularly Seneca's influence on emerging Christianity and actually to show up the authors of the New Testament formally as downright plagiarists of those philosophers he had to place the appearance of the new religion about half a century later, to reject the opposing accounts of Roman historians and take extensive liberties with historiography as such. According to him Christianity as such appears only under the Flavians, the literature of the New Testament only under Hadrian, Antonius and Marcus Aurelius. As a result the New Testament accounts of Jesus and his disciples are deprived for Bauer of any historical background: they are diluted into legends in which the phases of interior development and the moral struggles of the first communities are transferred to more or less fictitious persons. Not Galilee and Jerusalem, but Alexandria and Rome, according to Bauer, are the birthplaces of the new religion.

If, therefore, the Tübingen school presents to us in the remains of the New Testament stories and literature that it left untouched the absolute maximum of what science today can still accept as disputable, Bruno Bauer presents to us the maximum of what can be contested. The actual truth lies between these two boundaries. Whether that truth can be defined with the means at our disposal today is very doubtful. New discoveries, particularly in Rome, in the Orient, and above all in Egypt, will contribute more to this than any criticism.

But we have in the New Testament a single book whose time of writing can be defined within a few months, which must have been written between June 67 and January or April 68[a]; a book, consequently, which belongs to the very beginning of the Christian era and reflects with the most naïve fidelity and in the corresponding idiomatic language the ideas of the beginning of that era. This book, therefore, in my opinion, is a far more important source from which to define what early Christianity really was than all the rest of the New Testament, which, in its present form, is of a far later date. This book is called the Revelation of John. And as this, apparently the most obscure book in the whole Bible, is moreover today, thanks to German criticism, the most comprehensible and the clearest, I shall give my readers an account of it.

One needs but to look into this book in order to be convinced of the state of great exaltation not only of the author, but also of the "surrounding medium" in which he moved. Our "Revelation" is not the only one of its kind and time. From the year 164 B.C., when the first which has reached us, the Book of Daniel,[423] was written, up to about 250 A.D., the approximate date of Commodian's *Carmen*,[b] Renan counted no fewer than fifteen extant classical "Apocalypses", not counting subsequent imitations. (I quote Renan because his book is the best known by non-specialists too, and the most accessible.) That was a time when even in Rome and Greece and still more in Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt an absolutely uncritical mixture of the crassest superstitions of the most varying peoples was indiscriminately accepted and complemented by pious deception and downright charlatanism; a time in which miracles, ecstasies, visions, apparitions, divining, gold-making, cabbala[424] and other secret magic played the leading role. It was in that atmosphere, and, moreover, among a class of people who were more inclined than any other to listen to these supernatural fantasies, that Christianity arose. For did not the Christian gnostics[425] in Egypt during the second century A.D. engage extensively in alchemy and introduce alchemistic notions into their teachings, as the Leyden papyrus documents, among others, prove. And the Chaldean and Judean *mathematici*,[c] who, according to Tacitus, were twice expelled from Rome for

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[a] A misprint in *Die Neue Zeit*; it should read "between June 68 and January or April 69"; cf. p. 465 and also pp. 457, 460.—*Ed.*

[b] Commodianus, *Carmen apologeticum adversus Judaeos et gentes.*—*Ed.*

[c] Mathematicians.—*Ed.*

witchcraft, once under Claudius and again under Vitellius,[a] practised no other kind of geometry than the kind we shall find at the basis of John's Revelation.

To this we must add another thing. All the apocalypses attribute to themselves the right to deceive their readers. Not only were they written as a rule by quite different people than their alleged authors, and mostly by people who lived much later, for example the Book of Daniel, the Book of Henoch, the Apocalypses of Ezra, Baruch, Juda, etc., and the Sibylline books,[426] but, as far as their main substance is concerned, they prophesy only things that had already happened long before and were perfectly well known to the real author. Thus in 164, shortly before the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the author of the Book of Daniel has Daniel, who is supposed to have lived in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, prophesy the rise and fall of the Persian and Macedonian empires and the beginning of the Roman Empire, in order by this proof of his gift of prophecy to prepare the reader to accept the final prophecy that the people of Israel will overcome all hardships and finally be victorious. If therefore the Revelation of John were really the work of its alleged author it would be the only exception among the whole body of apocalyptic literature.

The John who claims to be the author was, in any case, a man of great distinction among the Christians of Asia Minor. This is borne out by the tone of the message to the seven churches. Possibly he was the apostle John, whose historical existence, however, is not completely authenticated but is very probable. If this apostle was really the author, so much the better for our point of view. That would be the best confirmation that the Christianity of this book is real genuine early Christianity. Let it be noted in passing that, demonstrably, the Revelation was not written by the same author as the Gospel or the three Epistles which are also attributed to John.

The Revelation consists of a series of visions. In the first Christ appears clothed with a garment of a high priest, goes in the midst of seven candlesticks representing the seven churches of Asia and dictates to "John" messages to the seven "angels" of those churches. Here at the very beginning we see plainly the difference between *this* Christianity and Constantine's world religion formulated by the Council of Nicaea.[427] The Trinity is not only unknown, it is even impossible here. Instead of the *one* Holy Ghost of subsequent times we here have the "*seven* spirits of God"

[a] Tacitus, *Annales*, XII, 52 and *Historiae*, II, 62.—*Ed.*

construed by the Rabbis from Isaiah 11:2. Christ is the son of God, the first and the last, the *alpha* and the *omega,* by no means God himself or equal to God, but on the contrary, "the beginning of the *creation* of God", hence an emanation of God, existing from all eternity but subordinate to God, like the above-mentioned seven spirits. In Chapter 15:3, the martyrs in heaven sing "the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb" glorifying God. Hence Christ here appears not only as subordinate to God but even, in a certain respect, on an equal footing with Moses. Christ is crucified in Jerusalem (11:8) but rises again (1:5, 18); he is "the Lamb" that has been sacrificed for the sins of the world and with whose blood the faithful of all tongues and nations have been redeemed to God. Here we find the basic idea which enabled early Christianity to develop into a world religion. All Semitic and European religions of that time shared the view that the gods offended by the actions of man could be propitiated by sacrifice; the first revolutionary basic idea (borrowed from the Philonic school) in Christianity was that by the one great voluntary sacrifice of a mediator the sins of all times and all men were atoned for once and for all—in respect of the faithful. Thus the necessity of any further sacrifices was removed and with it the basis for a multitude of religious rites: but freedom from rites that made difficult or forbade intercourse with people of other confessions was the first condition of a world religion. In spite of this the habit of sacrifice was so deeply rooted in national customs that Catholicism—which borrowed so much from paganism—found it appropriate to accommodate itself to this fact by the introduction of at least the symbolical sacrifice of the mass. On the other hand there is no trace whatever of the dogma of original sin in our book.

But what is most characteristic in these messages, as in the whole book, is that it never and nowhere occurs to the author to refer to himself and his co-believers by any other name than that of *Jews.* He reproaches the members of the sects in Smyrna and Philadelphia against whom he fulminates with the fact that they

> "say they are Jews, and are not but are the synagogue of Satan";

of those in Pergamos he says: they hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to cast a stumbling-block *before the children of Israel,* so that they ate things sacrificed unto idols, and committed fornication. Here it is therefore not a case of conscious Christians but of people who make out they are Jews. Granted, their Judaism is a new stage in the development of the earlier one, but for that

very reason it is the only true one. Hence, when the saints appeared before the throne of God there came first 144,000 Jews, 12,000 from each tribe, and only after them the countless masses of heathens who had been converted to this renovated Judaism. That was how little our author was aware in the year 69 of the Christian era that he represented quite a new phase in the development of a religion which was to become one of the most revolutionary elements in the history of human thought.

We therefore see that the Christianity of that time, which was still unaware of itself, was as different as heaven from earth from the later dogmatically fixed world religion of the Nicene Council; the one cannot be discerned in the other. Here we have neither the dogma nor the morals of later Christianity, but instead a feeling that one is struggling against the whole world and that the struggle will be a victorious one; an eagerness for struggle and a certainty of victory which are totally lacking in the Christians of today and which are to be found in our time only at the other pole of society, among the socialists.

In fact, the struggle against an initially overpowering world, and at the same time among the novators themselves, is common to the early Christians and the socialists. Neither of these two great movements were made by leaders or prophets—although there are prophets in plenty in both of them—they are mass movements. And mass movements are bound to be confused at the beginning; confused because the thinking of the masses at first moves among contradictions, uncertainties and incoherencies and also because of the role that prophets still play in them at the beginning. This confusion is to be seen in the formation of numerous sects which fight against one another with at least the same zeal as against the common external enemy. So it was with early Christianity, so it was in the beginning of the socialist movement, no matter how much that worried the well-meaning worthies who preached unity where no unity was possible.

So was the International held together by a uniform dogma? Quite the opposite. There were communists of the French pre-1848 tradition, these in turn being themselves of varying complexion: communists of Weitling's school and others of the regenerated Communist League, Proudhonists dominant in France and Belgium, Blanquists, the German Workers' Party, and finally the Bakuninist anarchists, who for a while had the upper hand in Spain and Italy, to mention only the principal groups. It took a whole quarter of a century from the foundation of the International before the separation from the anarchists was final and

complete everywhere and unity could be established at least in respect of most general economic viewpoints. And that with our means of communication—railways, telegraph, giant industrial cities, the press, organised people's assemblies.

There was among the early Christians the same division into countless sects, which was the very means by which discussion and thereby, at a later date, unity was achieved. We already find it in this book, which is beyond doubt the oldest Christian document, and our author fights it with the same irreconcilable ardour as the great sinful world outside. There were first of all the Nicolaitans, in Ephesus and Pergamos; those that said they were Jews but were the synagogue of Satan, in Smyrna and Philadelphia; the supporters of Balaam, who is called a false prophet, in Pergamos; those who said they were apostles and were not, in Ephesus; and finally, in Thyatira, the supporters of the false prophetess known as Jezebel. We are given no more details about these sects, it being only said about the followers of Balaam and Jezebel that they ate things sacrificed to idols and committed fornication. Attempts have been made to conceive these five sects as Pauline Christians and all the messages as directed against Paul, the false apostle, the alleged Balaam and "Nicolaos". Arguments to this effect, hardly tenable, are to be found collected in Renan's *Saint Paul* (Paris 1869, pp. 303-05 and 367-70). They all amount to explaining the messages by the Acts of the Apostles and the so-called Epistles of Paul, writings which, at least in their present form, are no less than 60 years younger than the Revelation and the relevant factual data of which, therefore, are not only extremely doubtful but also totally contradictory. But the decisive thing is that it could not occur to the author to give five different names to one and the same sect and even two to Ephesus alone (false apostles and Nicolaitans) and two also to Pergamos (Balaamites and Nicolaitans), and each time refer to them explicitly as two different sects. At the same time one cannot deny the probability that there were also elements among these sects that would be termed Pauline today.

In both cases where further details are given the accusation amounts to eating meats offered to idols and to fornication, two points on which the Jews—the old ones as well as the Christian ones—were in continual dispute with converted heathens. The meat from heathen sacrifices was not only served at banquets where refusal of the food offered would have seemed improper and could even have been dangerous; it was also sold on the public markets, where it was not always possible to ascertain

whether it was kosher or not. By fornication the Jews understood not only extra-nuptial sexual relations but also marriage within the degrees of kinship prohibited by Jewish law or between a Jew and a gentile, and it is in this sense that the word is generally understood in the Acts of the Apostles 15:20 and 29. But our John has his own views on the sexual relations allowed to orthodox Jews. He says, 14:4, of the 144,000 heavenly Jews:

"These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins."

And in fact, in our John's heaven there is not a single woman. He therefore belongs to the trend, which also often appears in other early Christian writings, that considers sexual relations generally as sinful. And if we moreover take into consideration that he calls Rome the Great Whore with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication and have become drunk with the wine of fornication and the merchants of the earth have waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies, it becomes impossible for us to take the word in the messages in the narrow sense that theological apologists would like to attribute to it in order thus to pick up some corroboration for other passages in the New Testament. On the contrary. These passages in the messages are an obvious indication of a phenomenon common to all tempestuous times, that the traditional bonds of sexual relations, like all other fetters, are shaken off. In the first centuries of Christianity, too, there appeared often enough, side by side with asceticism which mortified the flesh, the tendency to extend Christian freedom to more or less unrestrained intercourse between man and woman. The same thing was observed in the modern socialist movement. What unspeakable horror was felt in the then "pious nursery"[a] of Germany at Saint-Simon's *réhabilitation de la chair*[b] in the thirties, which was rendered in German as "*Wiedereinsetzung des Fleisches*" [reinstatement of the flesh]! And the most horrified of all were the then ruling distinguished estates (there were as yet no classes in our country) who could not live in Berlin any more than on their country estates without constant reinstatement of their flesh! If only those good people had known Fourier, who contemplated quite different pranks for the flesh! When utopianism was superseded these extravagances yielded to a more rational and actually far more radical conception, and since Germany grew out of Heine's pious nursery and developed into

[a] H. Heine, "Zur Beruhigung".—*Ed.*
[b] "Regeneration of the flesh".—*Ed.*

the centre of the socialist movement, scorn has been poured upon the hypocritical indignation of the distinguished pious world.

That is the entire content of the messages. The rest consists in exhorting the faithful to be zealous in propaganda, to courageous and proud confession of their faith in the face of the foe, to unrelenting struggle against the enemy both within and without—and as far as this goes they could just as well have been written by one of the prophetically minded enthusiasts of the International.

## III

The messages are but the introduction to the theme proper of John's communication to the seven churches of Asia Minor and through them to what remained of reformed Judaism in the year 69, out of which Christianity later developed. And herewith we enter the innermost holy of holies of early Christianity.

What kind of people were the first Christians recruited from? Mainly from the "labouring and burdened", the members of the lowest strata, as becomes a revolutionary element. And what did they consist of? In the towns of impoverished free men, all sorts of people, like the MEAN WHITES of the southern slave states and the European beachcombers and adventurers in colonial and Chinese seaports, then of freedmen and, above all, slaves; on the large estates in Italy, Sicily, and Africa of slaves, and in the rural districts of the provinces of small peasants who had fallen more and more into bondage through debt. There was absolutely no common road to emancipation for all these elements. For all of them paradise lay lost behind them; for the ruined free men it was the former *polis,* the town and the state at the same time, of which their forefathers had been free citizens; for the war-captive slaves the time of freedom before their subjugation and captivity; for the small peasants the abolished gentile social system and communal landownership. All that had been smitten down by the levelling iron fist of conquering Rome. The largest social group that antiquity had attained was the tribe and the union of kindred tribes; among the barbarians grouping was based on alliances of families and among the town-founding Greeks and Italians on the *polis,* which consisted of one or more kindred tribes. Philip and Alexander gave the Hellenic peninsula political unity but that did not lead to the formation of a Greek nation. Nations became possible only through the downfall of Roman world domination.

This domination had put an end once and for all to the smaller groups; military might, Roman jurisdiction and the tax-collecting machinery completely dissolved the traditional inner organisation. To the loss of independence and distinctive organisation was added the forcible plunder by military and civil authorities who first took the treasures of the subjugated away from them and then lent them back at usurious rates in order to extort still more out of them. The pressure of taxation and the need for money which it caused in regions with a purely or predominant natural economy plunged the peasants into ever deeper bondage to the usurers, gave rise to great differences in fortune, making the rich richer and the poor completely destitute. Any resistance by isolated small tribes or towns to the gigantic Roman world power was without prospect. Where was the way out, salvation, for the enslaved, oppressed and impoverished, a way out common to all these diverse groups of people whose interests were mutually alien or even opposed? And yet it had to be found if a great revolutionary movement was to embrace them all.

This way out was found. But not in this world. As things were, it could only be a religious way out. Then a new world was embraced. The continued life of the soul after the death of the body had gradually become a recognised article of faith throughout the Roman world. A kind of recompense or punishment of the deceased souls for their actions while on earth also received more and more general recognition. As far as recompense was concerned, admittedly, the prospects were not so good: antiquity was too primitively materialistic not to attribute infinitely greater value to life on earth than to life in the shades; to live on after death was considered by the Greeks rather as a misfortune. Then came Christianity, which took seriously recompense and punishment in the world beyond and created heaven and hell, and a way out was found which would lead the labouring and burdened from this vale of woe to eternal paradise. And in fact only with the prospect of a reward in the world beyond could the stoico-philonic renunciation of the world and ascetics be exalted to the basic moral principle of a new world religion which would enthuse the oppressed masses.

But this heavenly paradise does not open itself to the faithful by the mere fact of their death. We shall see that the kingdom of God, the capital of which is the New Jerusalem, can only be conquered and opened up after arduous struggles with the powers of hell. But the early Christians believed these struggles lay in the immediate future ahead. Our John describes his book at the very

beginning as the revelation of "things which must *shortly* come to pass"; and then immediately, 1:3, declares

"Blessed is he that readeth and they that hear the words of this prophecy ... for *the time is at hand.*"

To the church in Philadelphia Christ sends the message: "Behold, I come *quickly.*" And in the last chapter the angel says he has shown John "things which must *shortly* be done" and gives him the order:

"Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book: for the time is *at hand.*"

And Christ himself twice says ([22:]12, 20): "I come *quickly.*" The sequel will show us how soon this coming was expected.

The visions of the Apocalypse which the author now shows us are copied throughout, and mostly literally, from earlier models, partly from the classical prophets of the Old Testament, particularly Ezekiel, partly from later Jewish apocalypses written after the fashion of the Book of Daniel and in particular from the Book of Henoch which had already been written at least in part. Criticism has shown to the smallest details where our John got every picture, every menacing omen, every plague poured down upon unbelieving humanity, in a word, the whole of the material for his book; so that he not only shows great poverty of mind but actually proves himself that he never experienced even in the imagination the alleged ecstasies and visions he describes.

The order of these visions is briefly as follows: First John sees God sitting on his throne holding in his hand a book with seven seals and before him the Lamb that has been slain and has risen from the dead (Christ) and is found worthy to open the seals of the book. The opening of the seals is accompanied by all sorts of miraculous menacing signs. When the fifth seal is opened John sees under the altar of God the souls of the martyrs of Christ that were slain for the word of God and who cry with a loud voice saying:

"How long, O Lord, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?"

And then white robes are given to them and they are told that they must rest for a little while yet, for more martyrs must be slain.

So here there is no mention of a "religion of love", of "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you", etc. Here undiluted revenge is preached, sound, honest revenge on the persecutors of the Christians. So it continues throughout the book. The nearer the crisis comes, the heavier the plagues and punishments rain

from the heavens and with all the more satisfaction John announces that the mass of humanity will still not atone for their sins, that new scourges of God must lash them, that Christ must rule them with a rod of iron and tread the wine-press of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God, but that the impious still remain obdurate in their hearts. It is the natural feeling, free of all hypocrisy, that a fight is going on and that — *à la guerre comme à la guerre.*[a]

When the seventh seal is opened there come seven angels with seven trumpets and each time one of them sounds his trumpet new horrors occur. After the seventh blast seven more angels come on to the scene with the seven vials of the wrath of God which they pour out upon the earth; still more plagues and punishments, mainly tedious repetitions of what has already happened several times. Then comes the woman, Babylon the Great Whore, sitting arrayed in scarlet over the waters, drunk with the blood of the saints and the martyrs of Jesus, the great city of the seven hills that rules over all the kings of the earth. She is sitting on a beast with seven heads and ten horns. The seven heads represent the seven hills, and also seven "kings". Of those kings five are fallen, one is, and the other is not yet come, and after him comes again one of the first five; he was wounded to death but was healed. He will reign over the world for 42 months or $3^1/_2$ years (half of a week of seven years) and will persecute the faithful to death and bring the rule of godlessness. But then follows the great final fight, the saints and the martyrs are avenged by the destruction of the Great Whore Babylon and all her followers, i.e., the great mass of mankind; the devil is cast into the bottomless pit and shut up there for a thousand years during which Christ reigns with the martyrs risen from the dead. But after a thousand years the devil is freed again and there is another great battle of the spirits in which he is finally defeated. Then follows the second resurrection, when the other dead also arise and appear before the throne of judgment of God (*not* of Christ, be it noted) and the faithful will enter a new heaven, a new earth, and a new Jerusalem for life eternal.

As this whole monument is made up of exclusively pre-Christian Jewish material it presents almost exclusively Jewish ideas. Since things started to go badly in this world for the people of Israel, from the time of the tribute to the Assyrians and Babylonians, from the destruction of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judea to

[a] In war as in war.— *Ed.*

the bondage under Seleucids, that is from Isaiah to Daniel, in every dark period there were prophecies of a saviour. In Daniel, 12 : 1-3, there is even a prophecy about Michael, the guardian angel of the Jews, coming down on earth to deliver them from great trouble; many dead will awake again, there will be a kind of last judgment and the teachers who have taught the people justice will shine like stars for all eternity. The only Christian point is the great stress laid on the imminent reign of Christ and the glory of the faithful, particularly the martyrs, who have risen from the dead.

For the interpretation of these prophecies, as far as they refer to events of that time, we are indebted to German criticism, particularly Ewald, Lücke and Ferdinand Benary. It has been made accessible to non-theologians by Renan. We have already seen that Babylon the Great Whore, stands for Rome, the city of seven hills. We are told in 17 : 9-11 about the beast on which she sits:

> "The seven heads" of the beast "are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth. And there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space. And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition."

According to this the beast is Roman world domination, represented by seven caesars in succession, one of them having been mortally wounded and no longer reigning, but he will be healed and will return. It will be given unto him as the eighth to establish the kingdom of blasphemy and defiance of God. It will be given unto him

> "to make war with the saints and to overcome them.... And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb.... And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads: and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name. Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is Six hundred threescore and six" (13 : 7-18).

We merely note that boycott is mentioned here as one of the measures to be applied against the Christians by the Roman Empire—and is therefore patently an invention of the devil—and pass on to the question who this Roman emperor is who has reigned once before, was wounded to death and eliminated but will return as the eighth in the series in the role of the Antichrist.

Taking Augustus as the first we have: 2. Tiberius, 3. Caligula, 4. Claudius, 5. Nero, 6. Galba. "Five are fallen, and one is." Hence, Nero is already fallen and Galba is. Galba ruled from

June 9, 68 to January 15, 69. But immediately after he ascended the throne the legions of the Rhine revolted under Vitellius while other generals prepared for military risings in other provinces. In Rome itself the praetorians rose, killed Galba and proclaimed Otho emperor.

From this we see that our Revelation was written under Galba. Probably towards the end of his rule. Or, at the latest, during the three months (up to April 15, 69) of the rule of Otho, "the seventh". But who is the eighth, who was and is not? That we learn from the number 666.

Among the Semites—Chaldeans and Jews—there was at the time a kind of magic based on the double meaning of letters. From about 300 years B.C. Hebrew letters were also used as symbols for numbers: a=1, b=2, g=3, d=4, etc. The cabbala diviners added up the value of each letter of a name like a sum of digits and sought from the sum to prophesy the future of the one who bore the name, e.g., by forming words or combinations of words of equal value. Secret words and the like were also expressed in this language of numbers. This art was given the Greek name *gematriah,* geometry; the Chaldeans, who pursued this as a business and were called *mathematici* by Tacitus, were later expelled from Rome[a] under Claudius and again under Vitellius, presumably for "serious disorders".

It was by means of this mathematics that our number 666 appeared. Behind it stands the name of one of the first five Roman emperors. But besides the number 666, Irenaeus, at the end of the second century, knew another version—616, which, at all events, appeared, at a time when the number puzzle was still widely known.[b] The proof of the solution will be if it holds good for both numbers.

This solution was provided by Ferdinand Benary of Berlin. The name is Nero. The number is based on נרון קסר, *Neron Kesar,* the Hebrew spelling of the Greek Nerôn Kaisar, Emperor Nero, authenticated by means of the Talmud and Palmyrian inscriptions. This inscription was found on coins of Nero's time minted in the eastern half of the empire. And so—n (*nun*)=50; r (*resh*)=200; v (*vav*) for o=6; n (*nun*)=50; k (*kof*)=100; s (*samekh*)=60; r (*resh*)=200. Total 666. If we take as a basis the Latin spelling Nero Caesar the second *nun*=50 disappears and we get 666−50=616, which is Irenaeus' reading.

[a] See this volume, pp. 454-55.—*Ed.*
[b] Irenaeus, *Libri V adversus Haeresis,* V, 28-30.—*Ed.*

In fact the whole Roman Empire suddenly broke into confusion in Galba's time. Galba himself marched on Rome at the head of the Spanish and Gallic legions to overthrow Nero, who fled and ordered a freedman to kill him. But not only the praetorians in Rome plotted against Galba, the supreme commanders in the provinces did too; new pretenders to the throne appeared everywhere and prepared to march on Rome with their legions. The empire seemed doomed to civil war, its dissolution appeared imminent. Over and above all this the rumour spread, especially in the East, that Nero had not been killed but only wounded, that he had fled to the Parthians and was about to advance with an army over the Euphrates to begin another and more bloody rule of terror. Achaia and Asia in particular were terrified by such reports. And at the very time at which the Revelation must have been written there appeared a false Nero who settled with a fairly considerable number of supporters not far from Patmos and Asia Minor on the island of Kythnos in the Aegean Sea (now called Thermia), until he was killed while Otho still reigned. Little wonder that among the Christians, against whom Nero had launched the first great persecution, the view spread that he would return as the Antichrist and that his return and the intensified attempt at a bloody suppression of the new sect that it would involve would be the sign and prelude of the return of Christ, of the great victorious struggle against the powers of hell, of the thousand-year kingdom "shortly" to be established, the confident expectation of which inspired the martyrs to go joyfully to their deaths.

Christian and Christian-influenced literature in the first two centuries gives sufficient indication that the secret of the number 666 was then known to many. Irenaeus no longer knew it, but on the other hand he and many others up to the end of the third century also knew that the returning Nero was meant by the beast of the Apocalypse. This trace is then lost and the work which interests us is fantastically interpreted by religious-minded future-tellers; I myself as a child knew old people who, following the example of old Johann Albrecht Bengel, expected the end of the world and the last judgment in the year 1836. The prophecy was fulfilled, and to the very year. The victim of the last judgment, however, was not the sinful world, but the pious interpreters of the Revelation themselves. For in 1836 F. Benary provided the key to the number 666 and thus put a torturous end to all the prophetical calculations, that new *gematriah.*

Our John can only give a very superficial description of the

kingdom of heaven that is reserved for the faithful. The new Jerusalem occupies a fairly large area, at least according to the conceptions of the time: it is 12,000 furlongs, or 2,227 kilometres broad, so that its area is about five million square kilometres, more than half the size of the United States of America. And it is built entirely of gold and precious stones. There God lives with his people, lightening them instead of the sun, and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, neither shall there be any more pain. And a pure river of water of life flows through the city, and on either side of the river are trees of life, bearing twelve manner of fruits and yielding fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree "serve for the healing of the heathens". (A kind of medicinal beverage, Renan thinks—*L'Antechrist,* p. 542.) Here the saints shall live for ever.

Such, as far as we know, was Christianity in Asia Minor, its main seat, around the year 68. No trace of any Trinity but, on the contrary, the old single and indivisible Jehovah of later Judaism which had exalted him from the national god of the Jews to the one and supreme God of heaven and earth, where he claims to rule over all nations, promising mercy to the converted and mercilessly smiting down the obdurate in accordance with the ancient *parcere subjectis ac debellare superbos.*[a] Hence, this God, in person, not Christ as in the later accounts of the Gospels and the Epistles, will preside at the last judgment. According to the Persian doctrine of emanation which was current in later Judaism, Christ the Lamb proceeds eternally from him as do also, but on a lower footing, the "seven spirits of God" who owe their existence to a misunderstanding of a poetical passage (Isaiah, 11 : 2). All of them are subordinate to God, not God themselves or equal to him. The Lamb sacrifices itself to atone for the sins of the world and for that its status is considerably enhanced in heaven, for its voluntary martyrdom is credited as an extraordinary feat throughout the book, not as something which proceeds necessarily from its intrinsic nature. Naturally the whole heavenly court of elders, cherubim, angels and saints is there. In order to become a religion monotheism has always had to make concessions to polytheism—since the time of the Zend-Avesta.[428] With the Jews the decline to the sensuous gods of the heathens continued chronically until, after the exile,[429] the heavenly court according to the Persian model adapted religion somewhat better to the imagination of the masses, and Christianity itself, even after it had replaced the

[a] Pardon the humble and make war on the proud.—*Ed.*

eternally self-equal immutable god of the Jews by the mysterious self-differentiating god of the Trinity, could find nothing to supplant the worship of the old gods but that of the saints; thus, according to Fallmerayer, the worship of Jupiter in Peloponnesus, Maina and Arcadia died out only about the ninth century (*Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea,* I, p. 227). Only the modern bourgeois period and its Protestantism did away with the saints again and at last took differentiated monotheism seriously.

In the book there is just as little mention of original sin and justification by faith. The faith of these early pugnacious communities is quite different from that of the later victorious church: side by side with the sacrifice of the Lamb, the imminent return of Christ and the thousand-year kingdom which is shortly to dawn form its essential content; this faith survives only through active propaganda, unrelenting struggle against the internal and external enemy, the proud profession of the revolutionary standpoint before the heathen judges and martyrdom, confident in victory.

We have seen that the author is not yet aware that he is something else than a Jew. Accordingly there is no mention of baptism in the whole book, just as many more facts indicate that baptism was instituted in the second period of Christianity. The 144,000 believing Jews are "sealed", not baptised. It is said of the saints in heaven and the faithful upon earth that they had washed themselves of their sins and washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb; there is no mention of the water of baptism. The two prophets who precede the coming of the Antichrist in Chapter 11 do not baptise; and according to 19:10, the testimony of Jesus is not baptism but the spirit of prophecy. Baptism should naturally have been mentioned in all these cases if it had already been in vigour; we may therefore conclude with almost absolute certainty that the author did not know of it, that it first appeared when the Christians definitively separated from the Jews.

Neither does our author know any more about the second sacrament, Communion. If in the Lutheran text Christ promises every Thyatiran who remains firm in the faith to take Communion with him, this creates a false impression. The Greek text has *deipnêsô*—I shall eat supper (with him), and the English bible translates this correctly: I SHALL *SUP* WITH HIM. There is no question here of Communion even as a mere commemoration meal.

There can be no doubt that this book, with its date so originally

authenticated as the year 68 or 69, is the oldest of all Christian literature. No other is written in such barbaric language, so full of Hebraisms, awful constructions and grammatical errors. Chapter 1, verse 4, for example, says literally:

"Grace be unto you, and peace from him which is, and which was, and which is to come."

Only professional theologians and other historians who have a stake in it now deny that the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles are but later adaptations of writings which are now lost and whose feeble historical core is now unrecognisable in the maze of legend, that even the few Epistles supposed by Bruno Bauer to be "authentic" are either writings of a later date[a] or at best adaptations of old works of unknown authors altered by additions and insertions. It is all the more important since we are here in possession of a book whose date of writing has been determined to the nearest month, a book that displays Christianity to us in its most primitive form. This form stands in the same relation to the fourth-century state religion with its fully evolved dogma and mythology as Tacitus' still vacillating mythology of the Germans does to the developed teaching of the gods of Edda[430] as influenced by Christian and ancient elements. The germ of the world religion is there, but it includes without discrimination the thousand possibilities for development which became realities in the countless subsequent sects. And the reason why this oldest writing of the time when Christianity was coming into being is especially valuable for us is that it shows without any dilution what Judaism, strongly influenced by Alexandria, contributed to Christianity. All that comes later is western, Greco-Roman appendage. It was only by the intermediary of the monotheistic Jewish religion that the cultured monotheism of later Greek vulgar philosophy could clothe itself in the religious form in which alone it could grip the masses. But once this intermediary was found, it could become a world religion only in the Greco-Roman world, and that by further development in and merger with the ideas of that world.

[a] In the French authorised translation, published in *Le Devenir social*, the part of this sentence "that even the few Epistles ... of a later date" reads: "that even three of four Epistles still considered authentic by the Tübingen school are, as Bruno Bauer showed in his penetrating analysis, nothing more than later writings."—*Ed.*

# [TO THE ENGLISH SOCIALIST AND WORKING MEN'S ORGANISATIONS][431]

Dear Comrades,[a]

I am instructed by the Executive Council of the Spanish Working Men's Socialist Party to inform the English Working Men's [and] Socialist Organisations that the said Spanish Socialist Party will hold their 4th annual Congress at Madrid on the 29 August and following days, and that they would be happy to receive on that occasion a few lines of congratulation—in Spanish or French—from English friends, directed to the address at foot.

The Belfast Trades Union Congress [of] 1893[432] having adhered to the International Socialist Movement by voting a resolution demanding the socialisation of all means of production and exchange, I feel bound to include its organ the Parliamentary Committee [of the Trades Union Congress][433] in the list of those to whom this invitation is sent.[b]

This invitation is sent to

The Legal Eight Hours League
The Social Democratic Federation
" Independent Labour Party
" Fabian Society
" Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress

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[a] The version addressed to the Secretary of the Fabian Society opens with the words: "Dear Sir".—*Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript this paragraph is enclosed in square brackets; in the version addressed to the Secretary of the Fabian Society it is omitted.—*Ed.*

" Gas Workers and General Labourers Union.[434]

I am yours respectfully

*F. E.*

Pablo Iglesias
H. Cortés 8 principal. Madrid.

Written on August 6, 1894

First published in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

Reproduced from the rough manuscript, checked with the version addressed to the Secretary of the Fabian Society

Published in English for the first time

# [TO THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE ITALIAN WORKING PEOPLE]

## [LETTER TO CARLO DELL'AVALLE][435]

Eastbourne, 6 September

Dear Citizen,[a]

....Although I cannot be at your Congress in person, I nevertheless send you my best wishes for its success in the interests of international socialism.

An unprecedented exceptional law has fallen upon the Italian socialists[436] which will without doubt cost them several years of severe suffering. So be it! Others had to pass through similar trials.

When the Paris Commune fell, the bourgeois reaction in France got drunk on proletarian blood. The result is before your eyes: the French Chamber has 50 socialist deputies.

In Germany Bismarck put the socialists outside the law for 12 long years; they ended by trampling on the Anti-Socialist Law[437] and then driving Bismarck from power; and now they have become the strongest party in the empire.

What the French and German workers have done the Italian workers will also do. A Crispi will certainly not succeed where Thiers, MacMahon and Bismarck have failed. Victory is yours.[b]

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[a] In the manuscript there follows the passage omitted in the newspaper: "Your letter of August 30 did not reach me in London and was sent down here—that explains the delay in my reply which I deeply regret. I thank you personally and the Italian socialists whom you represent for your kind invitation. Unfortunately, I am not able to accept it."—*Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript: "Victory is ours".—*Ed.*

Long live international revolutionary socialism!
Fraternal greetings.

*Frederick Engels*

First published in the *Lotta di classe*, No. 38, September 22-23, 1894

Printed according to the newspaper, checked with the French manuscript

Translated from the Italian

Published in English for the first time

# [GREETINGS TO THE SOCIALISTS OF SICILY][438]

Greetings and a long life to your newspaper, organ of the Sicilian workers, good health to your party in its reorganisation![a]

Nature has made Sicily an earthly paradise; this was a sufficient reason for human society, divided into opposing classes, to turn it into a hell.

Greco-Roman antiquity endowed Sicily with slavery in order to produce the great estates and the mines.

The middle ages replaced slavery with serfdom and the feudal order.

The modern age, although it claimed to have broken these chains, has merely changed their form. Not only has it retained these ancient forms of servitude; it has also added a new form of exploitation, the cruellest, the most merciless of all: capitalist exploitation.

The ancient Sicilian[b] poets, Theocritus and Moschus, sang the idyllic life of their slave-shepherd contemporaries. These were, without doubt, poetic dreams. But is there a modern poet so bold as to sing the idyllic life of the "free" workers of present-day Sicily? Would not the peasants of this island be happy if they could work their fields even under the harsh conditions of Roman sharecropping? This is where the capitalist system has led us: free men pining for the slavery of the past!...

But let them take heart. The dawn of a new and better society sheds its light for the oppressed classes of all countries. And

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[a] In the manuscript this paragraph reads: "Greetings and a long life to the organ of the Sicilian workers which has just come into being."—*Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript: "Greek".—*Ed.*

everywhere the oppressed are closing ranks; everywhere they understand one another across frontiers, across different languages: the army of the international proletariat is forming, and the new century which is about to begin will guide it to victory!...

(London)

*F. Engels*

Written on September 26, 1894

First published in *La Riscossa,* June 30, 1895 and in the *Critica Sociale,* No. 16, August 16, 1895

Printed according to the *Critica Sociale,* checked with the French manuscript

Translated from the Italian

Published in English in full for the first time

# [CONDITIONS FOR A LOAN FOR THE FOUNDING OF THE DAILY *ARBEITER-ZEITUNG*][439]

The conditions laid down are as follows:

1) The loan of 5,000 Fl. will be made to the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* firm, or whatever the name of the newspaper's registered firm may be; the receipt must be signed by this firm's legally authorised representatives. Payment is to be made to Dr. Victor Adler.

2) All business, negotiations, interest payments and repayments relating to the loan shall be made through Mrs. Louise Kautsky-Freyberger as the representative of the lender, and Dr. V. Adler, as the representative of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

3) The loan may be called in for two years as from January 1, 1895. As from January 1, 1897 it may be called in at any time, and is then repayable by the end of the year following the day when notice is given.

4) The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* for its part may pay back the loan at an earlier date, at its convenience.

5) The loan will incur interest at a rate of 4% per year.

6) Payment will be made gradually from January 1, 1895; the repayments, the last of which shall be due not later than June 30, 1895, shall be made as far as possible at the convenience of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

Written in September-early October 1894

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50, Moscow, 1981

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM AND ITALIAN SOCIALISM

TO THE EDITORS OF THE *CRITICA SOCIALE*[440]

At a time when the young Italian Socialist Party is suffering the blows of the most violent government reaction, it is our duty, as socialists from across the Alps, to try to come to its aid. We can do nothing against the dissolution of sections and societies. But perhaps our testimony will not be entirely useless in the face of the odious and brazen slanders of an unofficial and corrupt press.

This press reproaches the Italian socialists with having deliberately simulated Marxist propaganda,[a] in order to hide a quite different politics behind this mask, a politics which proclaims the "class struggle" (something that "would take us back to the Middle Ages") and whose aim is to form a political party aspiring to the "conquest of power in the state"; whereas the socialist parties of other countries, and the Germans in particular, "do not concern themselves with politics, do not attack the form of the government in power", indeed they are simply harmless good chaps and one can make jokes about them!

If anyone is being made a joke of here it is the Italian public. One would never dare peddle them such stupidities if one did not take them to be wholly ignorant of what goes on in the world outside. If the Italian socialists proclaim the "class struggle" as the dominant fact of the society we live in, if they form themselves into a "political party aspiring to the conquest of public power and the management of the nation's affairs", they are making Marxist propaganda in the most literal sense of the word; they are following exactly the line indicated in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* published by Marx and myself in 1848; they are

[a] The manuscript has: "...Marxist propaganda in the manner of the German socialists".— *Ed.*

doing precisely what the socialist parties of France, Belgium, Switzerland,[a] Spain and above all Germany are doing. There is not a single one of all these parties that does not aspire to the conquest of public power, just as the other parties, the conservatives, liberals, republicans, etc. etc.

As for the "class struggle", it takes us back not just to the "Middle Ages" but to the internal conflicts of the ancient republics: Athens, Sparta, Rome. All those conflicts were class struggles. Since the dissolution of primitive communities, the struggle between the different classes of which every society was composed was always the great driving force of historical progress. This struggle will not disappear except with the disappearance of these classes themselves, in other words after the victory of socialism. Until that day, the opposing classes, the proletariat, bourgeoisie and landed nobility,[b] will continue to fight amongst themselves, whatever the unofficial Italian press may say.

For the rest, Italy at this moment is undergoing the same test that Germany[c] underwent during the twelve years of the Anti-Socialist Law.[441] Germany defeated Bismarck; socialist[a] Italy will get the better of Crispi.

London, October 27, 1894

*Frederick Engels*

First published in the *Critica Sociale*, No. 21, November 1, 1894

Printed according to the journal, checked with the French manuscript

Translated from the Italian

Published in English for the first time

[a] The word is not in the manuscript.— *Ed.*

[b] The words "the proletariat, bourgeoisie and landed nobility" are not in the manuscript.— *Ed.*

[c] The manuscript has: "socialist Germany".— *Ed.*

# [LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF THE *VORWÄRTS*]

According to the Party press, in the agrarian debate of the Frankfurt Party Congress on October 25 Comrade Vollmar cited the resolutions of the French Socialist Congress at Nantes,[442] "which have met with the *explicit approval of Frederick Engels*". According to the *Vorwärts* of November 10, this is also being spread around by the hostile press.[443] I am therefore forced to declare that there is an error here, and that Vollmar must be completely misinformed with regard to me.

As far as I can recall, I have only sent two messages to France in relation to the Nantes programme. The first, *before* the Congress, in reply to an enquiry by a French comrade,[a] stated in essence: the development of capitalism irrevocably destroys the landholdings of the small peasantry. Our Party is quite clear on this point, but it has absolutely no occasion to speed up this process even more by its own intervention. There is nothing to be said in principle against properly selected measures designed to make this inevitable fate less painful for the small peasantry; if one goes further, if one wishes to maintain the small peasantry in perpetuity, I am of the opinion that one is striving for something economically impossible, sacrificing principle, becoming reactionary.

The second message, *after* the Congress, confined itself to the assumption that our French friends would stand alone in the socialist world with their attempt to perpetuate not only the small peasant proprietors but also the small tenants exploiting outside labour.

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[a] Apparently Paul Lafargue.—*Ed.*

Thus, in so far as I have voiced any opinion at all on the question, I have declared the opposite to what Vollmar was reported.

Once having become involved in this matter, I find it difficult to get out of it without expressing myself more plainly. I therefore intend to offer the *Neue Zeit* a short article outlining and explaining my viewpoint.[a]

*London,* November 12, 1894

*F. Engels*

First published in the *Vorwärts,* No. 268, November 16, 1894 and in *Der Sozialdemokrat,* No. 43 (supplement); November 22, 1894

Printed according to the *Vorwärts*

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, pp. 481-502.— *Ed.*

# THE PEASANT QUESTION IN FRANCE AND GERMANY[444]

Written between November 15 and 22, 1894

First published in *Die Neue Zeit,* Vol. 1, No. 10, 1894-1895

Signed: *Frederick Engels*

Printed according to the journal

The bourgeois and reactionary parties are feverishly wondering why everywhere among socialists the peasant question has now suddenly been placed on the agenda. What they should be wondering at, by rights, is that this was not done long ago. From Ireland to Sicily, from Andalusia to Russia and Bulgaria, the peasant is a very essential factor of the population, production and political power. Only two regions of Western Europe form an exception. In Great Britain proper big landed estates and large-scale agriculture have totally displaced the self-supporting peasant; in Prussia east of the Elbe the same process has been going on for centuries; here too peasant is being increasingly "put down"[a] or at least economically and politically forced into the background.

The peasant has so far largely manifested himself as a factor of political power only by his apathy, which has its roots in the isolation of rustic life. This apathy on the part of the great mass of the population is the strongest pillar not only of parliamentary corruption in Paris and Rome but also of Russian despotism. Yet it is by no means insuperable. Since the rise of the working-class movement in Western Europe, especially in those parts where small peasant holdings predominate, it has not been particularly difficult for the bourgeoisie to render the socialist workers suspicious and odious in the minds of the peasants as *partageux,* as people who want to "divide up", as lazy greedy city dwellers who

[a] *Wird "gelegt" Bauernlegen*—a technical term from German history meaning eviction, expropriation of peasants. [Lenin's note to his Russian translation of the beginning of Engels' work.]

have an eye on the property of the peasants. The hazy socialist aspirations of the revolution of February 1848 were rapidly disposed of by the reactionary ballots of the French peasantry; the peasant, who wanted peace of mind, dug up from his treasured memories the legend of Napoleon, the peasant emperor, and created the Second Empire. We all know what this one feat of the peasants cost the people of France; it is still suffering from its consequences.

But much has changed since then. The development of the capitalist form of production has cut the life-strings of small production in agriculture; small production is irretrievably going to rack and ruin. Competitors in North and South America and in India, too, have swamped the European market with their cheap grain, so cheap that no domestic producer can compete with it. The big landowners and small peasants alike see ruin staring them in the face. And since they are both owners of land and country folk, the big landowners assume the role of champions of the interests of the small peasants, and the small peasants by and large accept them as such.

Meanwhile a powerful socialist workers' party has sprung up and developed in the West. The obscure presentiments and feelings dating back to the February revolution have become clarified and acquired the broader and deeper scope of a programme that meets all scientific requirements and contains definite tangible demands; and a steadily growing number of socialist deputies are fighting for these demands in the German, French and Belgian parliaments. The conquest of political power by the socialist party has become a matter of the foreseeable future. But in order to conquer political power this party must first go from the towns to the country, must become a power in the countryside. This party, which has an advantage over all others in that it possesses a clear insight into the interconnections between economic causes and political effects and long ago spotted the wolf in the sheep's clothing of the big landowner, that importunate friend of the peasant—may this party calmly leave the doomed peasant in the hands of his false protectors until he has been transformed from a passive into an active opponent of the industrial workers? This brings us right into the thick of the peasant question.

## I

The rural population to which we can address ourselves consists of quite different parts, which again vary greatly with the various regions.

In the West of Germany, as in France and Belgium, there prevails the small-scale cultivation of small-holding peasants, the majority of whom own and the minority of whom rent their plots of land.

In the Northwest—in Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein—we have a preponderance of big and middle peasants who cannot do without male and female farm servants and even day labourers. The same is true of part of Bavaria.

In Prussia east of the Elbe and in Mecklenburg we have the region of big landed estates and large-scale cultivation with hinds, cotters and day labourers, and in between small and middle peasants in relatively unimportant and steadily decreasing proportion.

In central Germany all these forms of production and ownership are found mixed in various proportions, depending upon the locality, without the clear prevalence of any particular form over a large area.

Besides there are localities varying in extent where the arable land owned or rented is insufficient to provide for the subsistence of the family, but can serve only as the basis for operating a domestic industry and enabling the latter to receive the otherwise incomprehensibly low wages that ensure the steady sale of its products despite all foreign competition.

Which of these subdivisions of the rural population can be won over by the Social-Democratic Party? We, of course, investigate this question only in broad outline; we single out only clear-cut forms. We lack space to give consideration to intermediate stages and mixed rural populations.

Let us begin with the small peasant. Not only is he, of all peasants, the most important for Western Europe in general, but he is also the critical case that decides the entire question. Once we have clarified in our minds our attitude to the small peasant we have all the grounds needed to determine our stand relative to the other constituent parts of the rural population.

By small peasant we mean here the owner or tenant—particularly the former—of a patch of land no bigger, as a rule, than he and his family can till, and no smaller than can sustain the family. This small peasant, just like the small handicraftsman, is

therefore a toiler who differs from the modern proletarian in that he still possesses his instruments of labour; hence a survival of a past mode of production. There is a threefold difference between him and his ancestor, the serf, bondman or, very exceptionally, the free peasant liable to rent and feudal services. First, in that the French Revolution freed him from the feudal services and dues that he owed to the landlord and in the majority of cases, at least on the left bank of the Rhine, assigned his peasant farm to him as his own free property. Second, in that he lost the protection of and the right to participate in the self-administering Mark community, and hence his share in the emoluments of the former common Mark. The common Mark was whisked away partly by the erstwhile feudal lord and partly by enlightened bureaucratic legislation modelled on Roman law. This deprives the small peasant of modern times of the possibility of feeding his draft animals without buying fodder. Economically, however, the loss of the emoluments derived from the Mark by far outweighs the benefits accruing from the abolition of feudal services. The number of peasants unable to keep draft animals of their own is steadily increasing. Third, the peasant of today has lost half of his former productive activity. Formerly he and his family produced, from raw material he had made himself, the greater part of the industrial products that he needed; the rest of what he required was supplied by village neighbours who plied a trade in addition to farming and were paid mostly in articles of exchange or in reciprocal services. The family, and still more the village, was self-sufficient, produced almost everything it needed. It was a natural economy almost unalloyed; almost no money was necessary. Capitalist production put an end to this by its money economy and large-scale industry. But if the Mark emoluments represented one of the basic conditions of his existence, his industrial sideline was another. And thus the peasant sinks ever lower. Taxes, crop failures, divisions of inheritance and litigations drive one peasant after another into the arms of the usurer; the indebtedness becomes more and more general and steadily increases in amount in each case—in brief, our small peasant, like every other survival of a past mode of production, is hopelessly doomed. He is a future proletarian.

As such he ought to lend a ready ear to socialist propaganda. But he is prevented from doing so for the time being by his deep-rooted sense of property. The more difficult it is for him to defend his endangered patch of land the more desperately he clings to it, the more he regards the Social Democrats, who speak

of transferring landed property to the whole of society, just as dangerous a foe as the usurer and lawyer. How is Social Democracy to overcome this prejudice? What can it offer to the doomed small peasant without becoming untrue to itself?

Here we find a practical point of support in the agrarian programme of the French socialists of the Marxist trend, a programme which is the more noteworthy as it comes from the classical land of small peasant economy.

The Marseilles Congress of 1892 adopted the first agrarian programme of the Party.[445] It demands for propertyless rural *workers* (that is to say, day labourers and hinds): minimum wages fixed by trade unions and community councils; rural trade courts consisting half of workers; prohibition of the sale of communal land; and the leasing of public domain land to communities which are to rent out all this land, whether owned or leased by them, to associations of propertyless families of farm labourers for common cultivation, on condition that the employment of wage labourers be prohibited and that communities exercise control; old-age and invalid pensions, to be defrayed by means of a special tax on big landed estates.

On behalf of the *small peasants,* with special consideration to tenant farmers, it demands: acquisition of farm machinery by the community to be leased at a cost price to the peasants; the formation of peasant co-operatives for the purchase of manure, drain-pipes, seed, etc., and for the sale of the produce; abolition of the real estate transfer tax if the value involved does not exceed 5,000 francs; arbitration commissions on the Irish pattern to reduce exorbitant rents and compensate quitting tenant farmers and sharecroppers (*métayers*) for the appreciation of the land due to them; repeal of Article 2102 of the Civil Code which allows a landlord to impound the crop, and the abolition of the right of creditors to levy on growing crops; exemption from levy and distraint of a definite amount of farm implements and of the crop, seed, manure, draft animals, in short, whatever is indispensable to the peasant for carrying on his business; revision of the general cadastre, which has long been out of date, and until such time a local revision in each community; lastly, free instruction in farming, and agricultural experimental stations.

As we see, the demands made in the interests of the peasants—those made in the interests of the workers do not concern us here for the time being—are not very far-reaching. Some of them have already been implemented elsewhere. The tenants' arbitration courts refer explicitly to the Irish prototype.

Peasant co-operatives already exist in the Rhine provinces. The revision of the cadastre has constantly been a pious wish of all liberals and even bureaucrats throughout Western Europe. The other points, too, could be carried into effect without any substantial impairment of the existing capitalist order. So much simply in characterisation of the programme. No reproach is intended; quite the contrary.

The Party did such good business with this programme among the peasants in the most diverse parts of France that—since appetite comes with eating—a need was felt to adapt it still more to their taste. The feeling was, however, that this would be treading on dangerous ground. How was the peasant to be helped, not the peasant as a future proletarian but as a propertied peasant of the present time, without violating the basic principles of the general socialist programme? In order to meet this objection the new practical proposals were prefaced by a theoretical preamble which seeks to prove that it is in keeping with the principles of socialism to protect small-peasant property from destruction by the capitalist mode of production although one is perfectly aware that this destruction is inevitable. Let us now examine more closely this preamble as well as the demands themselves, which were adopted by the Nantes Congress in September of this year.

The preamble begins as follows:

"Whereas according to the terms of the general programme of the Party producers can be free only in so far as they are in possession of the means of production;

"Whereas in the sphere of industry these means of production have already reached such a degree of capitalist centralisation that they can be restored to the producers only in collective or social form, but—at least in present-day France—this is by no means the case in the sphere of agriculture, the means of production, namely the land, being in very many localities still in the hands of the individual producers themselves as their individual property;

"Whereas even this state of affairs characterised by small-holding ownership is irretrievably doomed (*est fatalement appelé à disparaître*), still it is not for socialism to hasten this doom, as its task does not consist in separating property from labour but, on the contrary, in uniting both of these factors of all production by placing them in the same hands, factors whose separation entails the servitude and poverty of the workers reduced to proletarians;

"Whereas, on the one hand, it is the duty of socialism to put the agricultural proletarians again in possession—collective or social in form—of the great domains after expropriating their present idle owners, it is, on the other hand, no less its imperative duty to maintain the peasants themselves tilling their patches of land in possession of the same as against the treasury, the usurer, and the encroachments of the newly arisen big landowners;

"Whereas it is expedient to extend this protection also to the producers who as tenants or sharecroppers (*métayers*) cultivate the land owned by others and who, if

they exploit day labourers, are to a certain extent compelled to do so by the exploitation to which they themselves are subjected—

"Therefore the Workers' Party—which unlike the anarchists does not count on an increase and spread of poverty for the transformation of the social order but expects labour and society in general to be emancipated only by the organisation and concerted efforts of the workers of both country and town, by their taking possession of the government and legislation—had adopted the following agrarian programme in order to bring together all the elements of rural production, all occupations which by virtue of various rights and titles utilise the national soil, to wage an identical struggle against the common foe: the feudality of landownership."

Now for a closer examination of these "whereas".

To begin with, the statement in the French programme that freedom of the producers presupposes the possession of the means of production must be supplemented by those immediately following: that the possession of the means of production is possible only in two forms: either as individual possession, which form never and nowhere existed for the producers in general, and is daily being made more impossible by industrial progress; or else as common possession, a form the material and intellectual preconditions of which have been established by the development of capitalist society itself; that therefore taking *collective* possession of the means of production must be fought for by all means at the disposal of the proletariat.

The common possession of the means of production is thus set forth here as the sole principal goal to be striven for. Not only in industry, where the ground has already been prepared, but in general, hence also in agriculture. According to the programme individual possession never and nowhere obtained generally for all producers; for that very reason and because industrial progress removes it anyhow, socialism is not interested in maintaining, but rather in removing, it; because where it exists and in so far as it exists it makes common possession impossible. Once we cite the programme in support of our contention, we must cite the entire programme, which considerably modifies the proposition quoted in Nantes by making the universal historical truth expressed in it dependent upon the conditions under which alone it can remain a truth today in Western Europe and North America.

Possession of the means of production by the individual producers nowadays no longer grants these producers any real freedom. The handicrafts have already been ruined in the cities; in metropolises like London they have even disappeared entirely, having been replaced by large-scale industry, the sweatshop system and miserable bunglers who thrive on bankruptcy. The

self-supporting small peasant is neither in the safe possession of his tiny patch of land nor is he free. He, as well as his house, his farmstead and his few fields belong to the usurer; his livelihood is more uncertain than that of the proletarian, who at least does have tranquil days now and then, which is never the case with the tortured debt slave. Strike out Article 2102 of the Civil Code, provide by law that a definite amount of a peasant's farm implements, livestock, etc., shall be exempt from levy and distraint; yet you cannot ensure him against an emergency in which he is compelled to sell his cattle "voluntarily", in which he must sign himself away body and sole to the usurer and be glad to get a reprieve. Your attempt to protect the small peasant in his property does not protect his liberty but only the particular form of his servitude; it prolongs a situation in which he can neither live nor die. It is, therefore, entirely out of place here to cite the first paragraph of your programme.

The preamble states that in present-day France the means of production, that is, the land, is in very many localities still in the hands of individual producers as their individual possession; that, however, it is not, so it continues, the task of socialism to separate property from labour, but, on the contrary, to unite these two factors of all production by placing them in the same hands.—As has already been pointed out, the latter in this general form is by no means the task of socialism. The latter's task is rather only to transfer the means of production to the producers as their *common possession.* As soon as we lose sight of this the above statement becomes directly misleading in that it implies it is the mission of socialism to convert the present sham property of the small peasant in his fields into real property, that is to say, to convert the small tenant into an owner and the indebted owner into a debtless owner. Undoubtedly socialism is interested to see that the false semblance of peasant property should disappear, but not in this manner.

At any rate we have now got so far that the preamble can straightforwardly declare it to be the duty of socialism, indeed, its imperative duty,

> "to maintain the peasants themselves tilling their patches of land in possession of the same as against the treasury, the usurer,and the encroachments of the newly arisen big landowners".

The preamble thus imposes upon socialism the imperative duty to carry out something which it had declared to be impossible in the preceding paragraph. It charges it to "maintain" the small-holding ownership of the peasants although it itself states

that this form of ownership is "irretrievably doomed". What are the treasury, the usurer and the newly arisen big landowners if not the instruments by means of which capitalist production brings about this inevitable doom? What means "socialism" is to employ to protect the peasant against this trinity we shall see below.

But not only the small peasant is to be protected in his property. It is likewise

> "expedient to extend this protection also to the producers who as tenants or sharecroppers (*métayers*) cultivate the land owned by others and who, if they exploit day labourers, are to a certain extent compelled to do so by the exploitation to which they themselves are subjected".

Here we are entering upon peculiar ground indeed. Socialism is particularly opposed to the exploitation of wage labour. And here it is declared to be the imperative duty of socialism to protect the French tenants when they "*exploit* day labourers", to quote the text verbatim! And that because they are compelled to do so to a certain extent "by the exploitation to which they themselves are subjected"!

How easy and pleasant it is to keep on coasting once you are on the toboggan slide! When the big and middle peasants of Germany now come to ask the French socialists to intercede with the German Party Executive to get the German Social-Democratic Party to protect them in the exploitation of their male and female farm servants, citing in support of their contention the "exploitation to which they themselves are subjected" by usurers, tax collectors, grain speculators and cattle dealers, what will they answer? What guarantee have they that our agrarian big landlords will not send them Count Kanitz (as he also submitted a proposal like theirs providing for a state monopoly in grain importation) and likewise ask for socialist protection of their exploitation of the rural workers, citing in support "the exploitation to which they themselves are subjected" by stock-jobbers, money lenders and grain speculators?

Let us say here at the outset that the intentions of our French friends are not as bad as one would suppose. The above paragraph, we are told, is intended to cover only a quite special case, namely the following: In Northern France, just as in our sugar-beet districts, land is leased to the peasants obliged to cultivate beets on conditions which are extremely onerous. They must deliver the beets to a stated factory at a price fixed by it, must buy definite seed, use a fixed quantity of prescribed fertiliser and on delivery are badly cheated into the bargain. We are only too familiar with this in Germany as well. But if this sort of

peasant is to be taken under one's wing this must be said openly and explicitly. As the sentence reads now, in its unlimited general form, it is a direct violation not only of the French programme but also of the fundamental principle of socialism in general, and its authors will have no cause for complaint if this careless piece of editing is used against them in various quarters contrary to their intention.

Also capable of such misconstruction are the concluding words of the preamble according to which it is the task of the Socialist Workers' Party

> "to bring together all the elements of rural production, all occupations which by virtue of various rights and titles utilise the national soil, to wage an identical struggle against the common foe: the feudality of landownership".

I flatly deny that the socialist workers' party of any country is charged with the task of taking into its fold, in addition to the rural proletarians and the small peasants, also the middle and big peasants and perhaps even the tenants of big estates, the capitalist cattle breeders and the other capitalist exploiters of the national soil. To all of them the feudality of landownership may appear to be a common foe. On certain questions we may make common cause with them and be able to fight for some time on their side for definite aims. True, we can use in our Party individuals from every class of society, but we have no use whatever for any groups representing capitalist, middle-bourgeois or middle-peasant interests. Here too what they mean is not as bad as it looks. The authors evidently never even gave all this a thought. But unfortunately they allowed themselves to be carried away by their zeal for generalisation and they must not be surprised if they are taken at their word.

After the preamble come the newly adopted addenda to the programme itself. They betray the same cursory editing as the preamble.

The article providing that the communities must acquire farm machinery and lease it at prime cost to the peasants is modified so as to provide that the communities are, in the first place, to receive state subsidies for this purpose and, secondly, that the machinery is to be placed at the disposal of the small peasants free of charge. This further concession will not be of much avail to the small peasants, whose fields and mode of production permit of but little use of machinery.

Furthermore,

> "substitution of a single progressive tax on all incomes upward of 3,000 francs for all existing direct and indirect taxes".

A similar demand has been included for many years in almost every Social-Democratic programme. But that this demand is raised especially in the interests of the small peasants is something new and shows only how little its real scope has been calculated. Take England. There the state budget amounts to 90 million pounds sterling, of which $13^1/_2$ to 14 million are accounted for by income tax. The smaller part of the remaining 76 million is contributed by taxing business (post and telegraph charges, stamp tax), but by far greater part of it imposts on articles of mass consumption, by constantly repeated clipping of small, imperceptible amount totalling many millions from the incomes of all members of the population, but particularly of its poorer sections. In present-day society it is scarcely possible to defray state expenditures in any other way. Suppose the whole 90 million are saddled in England on the incomes of 120 pounds sterling=3,000 francs and in excess thereof by the imposition of a progressive direct tax. The average annual accumulation, the annual increase of the aggregate national wealth, amounted in 1865 to 1875, according to Giffen, to 240 million pounds sterling. Let us assume it now equals 300 million annually; a tax burden of 90 million would consume almost one-third of the aggregate accumulation. In other words, no government except a socialist one can undertake any such thing. When the socialists are at the helm there will be things for them to carry into execution alongside which that tax reform will figure as a mere, and quite insignificant, settlement for the moment while altogether different prospects open up to the small peasants.

There seems to be a realisation that the peasants will have to wait rather a long time for this tax reform so that "in the meantime" (*en attendant*) the following prospect is held out to them:

"abolition of taxes on land for all peasants living by their own labour, and reduction of these taxes on all mortgaged plots".

The latter half of this demand can refer only to peasant farms *too big* to be operated by the family itself; hence it is again a provision in favour of peasants who "exploit day labourers".

Again:

"freedom of hunting and fishing without restriction other than such as may be necessary for the conservation of game and fish and the protection of growing crops".

This sounds very popular, but the concluding part of the sentence wipes out the introductory part. How many hares, partridges, pikes and carp are there even today per peasant family

in all the rural localities? Would you say more than would warrant giving each peasant just *one* day a year for free hunting and fishing?

"Lowering of the legal and conventional rate of interest"—

hence renewed usury laws, a renewed attempt to introduce a police measure that has always failed everywhere for the last two thousand years. If a small peasant finds himself in a position where recourse to a usurer is the lesser evil to him, the usurer will always find ways and means of sucking him dry without falling foul of the usury laws. This measure could serve at most to soothe the small peasant but he will derive no advantage from it; on the contrary, it makes it more difficult for him to obtain credit precisely when he needs it most.

"Medical treatment free of charge and medicines at cost price"—

this at any rate is not a measure for the special protection of the peasants. The German programme goes further and demands that medicine too should be free of charge.

"Compensation for families of reservists called up for military duty for the duration of their service"—

this already exists, though most inadequately, in Germany and Austria and is likewise no special peasant demand.

"Lowering of the transport charges for fertiliser and farm machinery and produce"—

is on the whole in effect in Germany, and mainly in the interests—of the big landowners.

"Immediate preparatory work for the elaboration of a plan of public works for the amelioration of the soil and the advancement of agricultural production"—

leaves everything in the realm of uncertainty and fine-sounding promises and is also above all in the interest of the big landed estates.

In brief, after the tremendous theoretical effort exhibited in the preamble the practical proposals of the new agrarian programme are even more unrevealing as to the way in which the French Workers' Party expects to be able to maintain the small peasants in possession of their smallholdings which, on its own testimony, are irretrievably doomed.

## II

In one point our French comrades are absolutely right: No lasting revolutionary transformation is possible in France *against*

the will of the small peasant. Only it seems to me they have not got the right leverage if they mean to lay hold of the peasant.

They are bent, it seems, on winning over the small peasant forthwith, possibly even for the next general elections. This they can hope to achieve only by making very risky general assurances in defence of which they are compelled to set forth even much more risky theoretical considerations. Then, upon closer examination, it appears that the general assurances are self-contradictory (promise to maintain a state of affairs which, as one declares oneself, is irretrievably doomed) and that the various measures are either wholly without effect (usury laws), or are general workers' demands or demands which also benefit the big landowners or finally are such of no great bearing at all on the interests of the small peasants. In consequence, the directly practical part of the programme of itself corrects the erroneous initial part and reduces the apparently formidable grandiloquence of the preamble to actually innocent proportions.

Let us say it outright: in view of the prejudices arising out of their entire economic position, their upbringing and their isolated mode of life, prejudices nurtured by the bourgeois press and the big landowners, we can win over the mass of the small peasants forthwith only if we make them a promise which we ourselves know we shall not be able to keep. That is, we must promise them not only to protect their property in any event against all economic forces sweeping over them but also to relieve them of the burdens which already now oppress them: to transform the tenant into a free owner and to pay the debts of the owner succumbing to the weight of his mortgage. If we could do this we should again arrive at the point from which the present situation would necessarily develop anew. We shall not have emancipated the peasant but only given him a reprieve.

But it is not in our interests to win over the peasant overnight only to lose him again on the morrow if we cannot keep our promise. We have no more use for the peasant as a Party member if he expects us to perpetuate his property in his smallholding than for the small handicraftsman who would fain be perpetuated as a boss. These people belong to the anti-Semites. Let them go to them and let them get the promise to salvage their small enterprises. Once they learn there what these glittering phrases really amount to and what melodies are fiddled down from the anti-Semitic heavens they will realise in ever-increasing measure that we who promise less and look for salvation in entirely different quarters are after all more reliable people. If the French

had the strident anti-Semitic demagogy we have they would hardly have committed the mistake at Nantes.

What, then, is our attitude towards the small peasants? How shall we have to deal with them on the day of our accession to power?

To begin with, the French programme is absolutely correct in stating: that we foresee the inevitable doom of the small peasant but that it is not our mission to hasten it by any interference on our part.

Secondly, it is just as evident that when we are in possession of state power we shall not even think of forcibly expropriating the small peasants (whether with or without compensation), as we shall have to do in the case of the big landowners. Our task relative to the small peasant consists, in the first place, in effecting a transition of his private undertaking, private property to a co-operative one, not forcibly but by dint of example and the proffer of social assistance for this purpose. And then of course we shall have ample means of showing to the small peasant prospective advantages that must be obvious to him even today.

Almost twenty years ago the Danish socialists, who have only one real city in their country—Copenhagen—and therefore have to rely almost exclusively on peasant propaganda outside of it, were already drawing up such plans. The peasants of a village or parish—there are many big individual homesteads in Denmark—were to pool their land to form a single big farm in order to cultivate it for common account and distribute the yield in proportion to the land, money and labour contributed. In Denmark small landed property plays only a secondary role. But if we apply this idea to a region of smallholdings we shall find that if these are pooled and the aggregate area cultivated on a large scale, part of the labour power employed hitherto is rendered superfluous. It is precisely this saving of labour that represents one of the main advantages of large-scale farming. Employment for this labour power can be found in two ways. Either additional land taken from big estates in the neighbourhood is placed at the disposal of the peasant co-operative or the peasants in question are provided with the means and opportunity to engage in industrial sidelines, primarily and as far as possible for their own use. In either case their economic position is improved and simultaneously the general social directing agency is assured the necessary influence to gradually transform the peasant co-operative to a higher form, and to balance the rights and duties of the co-operative as a whole as well as of its individual members with

those of the other departments of the entire community. How this is to be carried out in practice in each particular case will depend upon the circumstances of the case and the conditions under which we take possession of political power. We may thus possibly be in a position to offer these co-operatives yet further advantages: assumption of their entire mortgage indebtedness by the national bank with a simultaneous sharp reduction of the interest rate; advances from public funds for the establishment of large-scale production (to be made not necessarily or primarily in money but in the form of required products: machinery, artificial fertiliser, etc.), and other advantages besides.

The main point is and will be to make the peasants understand that we can save, preserve their houses and fields for them only by transforming them into co-operative property operated co-operatively. It is precisely the individual farming conditioned by individual ownership that drives the peasants to their doom. If they insist on individual operation they will inevitably be driven from house and home and their antiquated mode of production superseded by capitalist large-scale production. That is how the matter stands. Now we come along and offer the peasants the opportunity of introducing large-scale production themselves, not for account of the capitalists but for their own, common account. Should it really be impossible to make the peasants understand that this is in their own interest, that it is the sole means of their salvation?

Neither now nor at any time in the future can we promise the smallholding peasants to preserve their individual property and individual enterprise against the overwhelming power of capitalist production. We can only promise them that we shall not interfere in their property relations by force, against their will. Moreover, we can advocate that the struggle of the capitalists and big landlords against the small peasants should be waged even now with a minimum of unfair means and that direct robbery and cheating, which are practised only too often, be as far as possible prevented. In this we shall succeed only in exceptional cases. Under the developed capitalist mode of production nobody can tell where honesty ends and cheating begins. But always it will make a considerable difference whether public authority is on the side of the cheater or the cheated. We of course are decidedly on the side of the small peasant; we shall do everything at all permissible to make his lot more bearable, to facilitate his transition to the co-operative should he decide in favour of it, and even to make it possible for him to remain on his smallholding

for a protracted length of time to think the matter over, should he still be unable to bring himself to this decision. We do this not only because we consider the small peasant living by his own labour as virtually belonging to us, but also in the direct interest of the Party. The greater the number of peasants whom we can save from being actually hurled down into the proletariat, whom we can win over to our side while they are still peasants, the more quickly and easily the social transformation will be accomplished. It will serve us nought to wait with this transformation until capitalist production has developed everywhere to its utmost conseqences, until the last small handicraftsman and the last small peasant have fallen victim to capitalist large-scale production. The material sacrifice to be made for this purpose in the interest of the peasants and to be defrayed out of public funds can, from the point of view of capitalist economy, appear only as money thrown away, but it is nevertheless an excellent investment because it will effect a perhaps tenfold saving in the cost of the social reorganisation in general. In this sense we can, therefore, afford to deal very liberally with the peasants. This is not the place to go into details, to make concrete proposals to that end; here we can deal only with general principles.

Accordingly we can do no greater disservice to the Party as well as to the small peasants than to make promises that even so much as create the impression that we intend to preserve the smallholdings permanently. It would mean directly to block the way of the peasants to their emancipation and to degrade the Party to the level of rowdy anti-Semitism. On the contrary, it is the duty of our Party to make clear to the peasants again and again that their position is absolutely hopeless as long as capitalism holds sway, that it is absolutely impossible to preserve their smallholdings for them as such, that capitalist large-scale production is absolutely sure to run over their impotent antiquated system of small production as a train runs over wheelbarrow. If we do this we shall act in conformity with the inevitable trend of economic development, and this development will not fail to bring our words home to the small peasants.

Incidentally, I cannot leave this subject without expressing my conviction that the authors of the Nantes programme are also essentially of my opinion. Their insight is much too great for them not to know that areas now divided into smallholdings are also bound to become common property. They themselves admit that smallholding ownership is destined to disappear. The report of the National Council drawn up by Lafargue and delivered at the

Congress of Nantes likewise fully corroborates this view. It has been published in German in the Berlin *Sozialdemokrat* of October 18 of this year.[a] The contradictory nature of the expressions used in the Nantes programme itself betrays the fact that what the authors actually say is not what they mean to say. If they are not understood and their statements misused, as actually has already happened, that is of course their own fault. At any rate, they will have to elucidate their programme and the next French congress revise it thoroughly.

We now come to the bigger peasants. Here as a result of the divisions of inheritance as well as of indebtedness and forced sales of land we find a variegated pattern of intermediate stages, from smallholding peasant to big peasant proprietor, who has retained his old patrimony intact or even added to it. Where the middle peasant lives among smallholding peasants his interests and views will not differ greatly from theirs; he knows from his own experience how many of his kind have already sunk to the level of small peasants. But where middle and big peasants predominate and the operation of the farms requires, generally, the help of male and female servants it is quite a different matter. Of course a workers' party has to fight, in the first place, on behalf of the wage workers, that is, for the male and female servants and the day labourers. It is thus unquestionably forbidden to make any promises to the peasants which include the continuance of the wage slavery of the workers. But as long as the big and middle peasants continue to exist as such they cannot manage without wage workers. If it would, therefore, be downright folly on our part to hold out prospects to the smallholding peasants of continuing permanently to be such, it would border on treason were we to promise the same to the big and middle peasants.

We have here again the parallel case of the handicraftsmen in the cities. True, they are more ruined than the peasants but there still are some who employ journeymen in addition to apprentices or for whom apprentices do the work of journeymen. Let those of these master craftsmen who want to perpetuate their existence as such cast in their lot with the anti-Semites until they have convinced themselves that they get no help in that quarter either. The rest, who have realised that their mode of production is inevitably doomed, are coming over to us and, moreover, are ready in future to share the lot that is in store for all other

[a] P. Lafargue, "Das bauerliche Eigentum und die ökonomische Entwicklung."—*Ed.*

workers. The same applies to the big and middle peasants. It goes without saying that we are more interested in their male and female servants and day labourers than in them themselves. If these peasants want to be guaranteed the continued existence of their enterprises we are in no position whatever to assure them of that. They must then take their place among the anti-Semites, peasant leaguers and similar parties who derive pleasure from promising everything and keeping nothing. We are economically certain that the big and middle peasant must likewise inevitably succumb to the competition of capitalist production and the cheap overseas corn, as is proved by the growing indebtedness and the everywhere evident decay of these peasants as well. We can do nothing against this decay except recommend here too the pooling of farms to form co-operative enterprises, in which the exploitation of wage labour will be eliminated more and more, and their gradual transformation into branches of the great national producers' co-operatives with each branch enjoying equal rights and duties can be instituted. If these peasants realise the inevitability of the doom of their present mode of production and draw the necessary conclusions they will come to us and it will be incumbent upon us to facilitate to the best of our ability also their transition to the changed mode of production. Otherwise we shall have to abandon them to their fate and address ourselves to their wage workers, among whom we shall not fail to find sympathy. Most likely we shall be able to abstain here as well from resorting to forcible expropriation, and as for the rest to count on future economic developments making even these more stubborn characters amenable to reason.

Only the big landed estates present a perfectly simple case. Here we are dealing with undisguised capitalist production and no scruples of any sort need restrain us. Here we are confronted by rural proletarians in masses and our task is clear. As soon as our Party is in possession of political power it has simply to expropriate the big landed proprietors just like the manufacturers in industry. Whether this expropriation is to be compensated for or not will to a great extent depend not upon us but the circumstances under which we obtain power, and particularly upon the attitude adopted by these gentry, the big landowners, themselves. We by no means consider compensation as impermissible in any event; Marx told me (and how many times!) that in his opinion we would get off cheapest if we could buy out the whole lot of them. But this does not concern us here. The big estates thus restored to the community are to be turned over by us to the

rural workers who are already cultivating them and are to be organised into co-operatives. They are to be assigned to them for their use and benefit under the control of the community. Nothing can as yet be stated as to the terms of their tenure. At any rate the transformation of the capitalist enterprise into a social enterprise is here fully prepared for and can be carried into execution overnight, precisely as in Mr. Krupp's or Mr. von Stumm's factory. And the example of these agricultural co-operatives would convince even the last of the still resistant small-holding peasants, and surely also many big peasants, of the advantages of co-operative, large-scale production.

Thus we can open up prospects here before the rural proletarians as splendid as those facing the industrial workers, and it can be only a question of time, and of only a very short time, before we win over to our side the rural workers of Prussia east of the Elbe. But once we have the East-Elbe rural workers a different wind will blow at once all over Germany. The actual semi-servitude of the East-Elbe rural workers is the main basis for the domination of Prussian Junkerdom and thus for the specially Prussian overlordship in Germany. It is the Junkers east of the Elbe who have created and preserved the specifically Prussian character of the bureaucracy as well as of the body of army officers—the Junkers, who are being reduced more and more to ruin by their indebtedness, impoverishment and parasitism at state and private cost and for that very reason cling the more desperately to the dominion which they exercise; the Junkers, whose haughtiness, bigotry and arrogance have brought the German Empire of the Prussian nation within the country into such hatred—even when every allowance is made for the fact that at present this Empire is inevitable as the sole form in which national unity can now be attained—and abroad so little respect despite its brilliant victories. The power of these Junkers is grounded on the fact that within the compact territory of the seven old Prussian provinces—that is, approximately one-third of the entire territory of the Empire—they have at their disposal the landed property, which here brings with it both social and political power; and not only the landed property but, through their beet-sugar refineries and liquor distilleries, also the most important industries of this area. Neither the big landowners of the rest of Germany nor the big industrialists are in a similarly favourable position. Neither of them have a compact kingdom at their disposal. Both are scattered over a wide stretch of territory and compete among themselves and with other social elements surrounding them for economic

and political predominance. But the economic foundation of this domination of the Prussian Junkers is steadily deteriorating. Here too indebtedness and impoverishment are spreading irresistibly despite all state assistance (and since Frederick II this item has been included in every regular Junker budget). Only the actual semi-serfdom sanctioned by law and custom, and the resulting possibility of the unlimited exploitation of the rural workers, still barely keeps the drowning Junkers above water. Sow the seed of Social Democracy among these workers, give them the courage and cohesion to insist upon their rights, and the glory of the Junkers will be at an end. The great reactionary power, which to Germany represents the same barbarous, predatory element as Russian tsardom does to the whole of Europe, will collapse like a pricked bubble. The "picked regiments" of the Prussian army will become Social-Democratic, which will result in a shift in power that is pregnant with an entire upheaval. But for this reason it is of vastly greater importance to win over the rural proletariat east of the Elbe than the small peasants of Western Germany or yet the middle peasants of Southern Germany. It is here, in East-Elbe Prussia, that the decisive battle of our cause will have to be fought and for this very reason both government and Junkerdom will do their utmost to prevent our gaining access here. And should, as we are threatened, new forcible measures be resorted to in order to impede the spread of our Party their primary purpose will be to protect the East-Elbe rural proletariat from our propaganda. It's all the same to us. We shall win it nevertheless.

# [ON THE FOURTH VOLUME OF KARL MARX'S *CAPITAL*][446]

An announcement of this published by the *Vorwärts* says that it would probably be necessary to forgo the publication of the fourth volume, which was to contain the history of the theory:

"apart from a few notes, no preparatory material for the concluding volume of his work has been found".

We hope that the *Vorwärts* is somewhat mistaken in this. At any rate F. Engels presents us with a rather less hopeless piece of information in the Preface to the second volume of *Capital.* According to this, a manuscript dating from the years 1861-63, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* comprising 1,472 quarto pages, contains (pp. 220-972) a section entitled "Theories of Surplus Value", of which Engels says: "This section contains a *detailed critical history* of the pith and marrow of Political Economy, the theory of surplus value... After eliminating the numerous passages covered by Books II and III, I intend *to publish* the critical part of this manuscript *as Book IV.*"[a]

Written on November 22, 1894

First published in *Die Neue Zeit,* Vol. 1, No. 9, 1894-1895

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first time

[a] See present edition, Vol. 36, Engels' Preface.— *Ed.*

# [TO THE GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY IN LONDON][447]

London, December 6, 1894
41, Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Comrade,

I would ask you to convey to the Society my heartiest thanks for the kind message of greetings on my birthday. I hope that the Society, which has already outlived by four years its first half century, will also reach the 74 years which have been my lot, and then find enough strength and youthful vigour to complete a full century.

Sincere greetings from
*Fr. Engels*

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

# [MESSAGE OF GREETINGS TO THE AUSTRIAN WORKERS ON THE DAILY PUBLICATION OF THE *ARBEITER-ZEITUNG*][448]

The first daily newspaper everywhere marks an epochal advance in the life of a party, and a workers' party in particular[a]! It is the first position from which it can tackle its opponents with the same weapons, at least in the field of the press. You have won this position; now the second is at stake: suffrage, parliament. And you are certain of this too, if you exploit the political situation—becoming ever more favourable to you as it is—with the same skill as [you have done] in the past fifteen months; if you are determined to act at the right time, but, as so often necessary, also determined to wait at the right time, that is to say: if you know how to let circumstances act on your behalf.

Good luck and success to the daily *Arbeiter-Zeitung*!

*London,* December 27, 1894

First published in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* No. 1, January 1, 1895

Printed according to the newspaper, checked with the rough manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] In the letter to Victor Adler of December 27, 1894, there is a phrase opening the letter which is omitted in the printed text: "I ask you to convey my greetings to the Austrian workers on the daily publication of their newspaper."—*Ed.*

# INTRODUCTION [TO KARL MARX'S *THE CLASS STRUGGLES IN FRANCE 1848 TO 1850*] [1895][449]

The work republished here was Marx's first attempt to explain a piece of contemporary history by means of his materialist conception, on the basis of the prevailing economic situation. In the *Communist Manifesto,* the theory was applied in broad outline to the whole of modern history; in the articles by Marx and myself in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* it was constantly used to interpret political events of the day. Here, on the other hand, the question was to demonstrate the inner causal connection in the course of a development which extended over some years, a development as critical, for the whole of Europe, as it was typical; hence, in accordance with the conception of the author, to trace political events back to effects of what were, in the final analysis, economic causes.

If events and series of events are judged by current history, it will never be possible to go back to the *ultimate* economic causes. Even today, when the specialised press provides such rich material, it still remains impossible even in England to follow day by day the movement of industry and trade on the world market and the changes which take place in the methods of production in such a way as to be able to draw a general conclusion for any point in time from these manifold, complicated and ever-changing factors, the most important of which, into the bargain, generally operate a long time in realms unknown before they suddenly make themselves forcefully felt on the surface. A clear overall view of the economic history of a given period can never be obtained contemporaneously, but only subsequently, after the material has been collected and sifted. Statistics are a necessary auxiliary aid here, and they always lag behind. For this reason, it is only too

often necessary in current history to treat this, the most decisive, factor as constant, and the economic situation existing at the beginning of the period concerned as given and unalterable for the whole period, or else to take notice of only such changes in this situation as arise out of the patently manifest events themselves, and are, therefore, likewise patently manifest. So here the materialist method has quite often to limit itself to tracing political conflicts back to the struggles between the interests of the existing social classes and fractions of classes caused by economic development, and to demonstrate that the particular political parties are the more or less adequate political expression of these same classes and fractions of classes.

It is self-evident that this unavoidable neglect of contemporaneous changes in the economic situation, the very basis of all the processes to be examined, must be a source of error. But all the conditions required for a comprehensive presentation of current history inevitably include sources of error—which, however, keeps nobody from writing current history.

When Marx undertook this work, the source of error mentioned was even more unavoidable. It was simply impossible during the Revolution period of 1848-49 to follow the economic transformations taking place simultaneously or even to keep them in view. It was the same during his first months of exile in London, in the autumn and winter of 1849-50. But that was precisely the time when Marx began this work. And in spite of these unfavourable circumstances, his exact knowledge both of the economic situation in France before, and of the political history of that country after, the February Revolution made it possible for him to present a picture of events which laid bare their inner connections in a way never attained ever since, and which later passed with flying colours the double test applied by Marx himself.

The first test arose when, after the spring of 1850, Marx once again found time for economic studies, and began by applying himself to the economic history of the previous ten years. What he had hitherto deduced, half *a priori,* from sketchy material, thus became absolutely clear to him from the facts themselves, namely that the world trade crisis of 1847 had been the true mother of the February and March revolutions, and that the industrial prosperity which had been returning gradually since the middle of 1848 and attained full bloom in 1849 and 1850 was the revitalising force of a restrengthened European reaction. That was crucially important. Whereas in the first three articles (which appeared in the January, February and March issues of the *Neue Rheinische*

*Zeitung Politisch-ökonomische Revue,* Hamburg, 1850) there was still the expectation of an early fresh upsurge of revolutionary vigour, the historical review written by Marx and myself for the last issue, a double one (May to October), which was published in the autumn of 1850, breaks with these illusions once and for all: "A new revolution is possible only in consequence of a new crisis. It is, however, just as certain as this crisis." [450] But that was the only major change which had to be made. There was absolutely nothing to alter in the interpretation of events given in the earlier chapters, or in the causal connections established therein, as proved by the continuation of the narrative from March 10 up to the autumn of 1850 in the said review. I have, therefore, included this continuation as the fourth article in the present new edition.

The second test was even more severe. Immediately after Louis Bonaparte's coup d'état of December 2, 1851, Marx dealt afresh with the history of France from February 1848 up to this event which concluded the revolutionary period for the time being. (*Der 18. Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte.* Third edition, Hamburg, Meissner, 1885.[a]) In this pamphlet the period depicted in our present publication is again dealt with, albeit in briefer form. Compare this second presentation, written in the light of the decisive event which happened over a year later, with ours and it will be found that the author had very little to change.

What gives our work quite special significance is the fact that it was the first to express the formula in which, by common agreement, the workers' parties of all countries in the world briefly summarise their demand for economic transformation: the appropriation of the means of production by society. In the second chapter, in connection with the "right to work", which is described as "the first clumsy formula wherein the revolutionary demands of the proletariat are summarised", it is said: "but behind the right to work stands the power over capital; behind the power over capital, the *appropriation of the means of production,* their subjection to the associated working class and, therefore, the abolition of wage labour, of capital and of their mutual relations".[b] Thus, here, for the first time, the proposition is formulated by which modern workers' socialism is sharply differentiated both from all the different shades of feudal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, etc., socialism and from the confused community of goods of

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[a] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.* See present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 99-197.— *Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 77-78.— *Ed.*

utopian and of primitive [*naturwüchsigen*] workers' communism. If, later, Marx extended the formula to include appropriation of the means of exchange, this extension, which in any case was self-evident after the *Communist Manifesto,* only expressed a corollary to the main proposition. A few wiseacres in England have of late added that the "means of distribution" should also be handed over to society. These gentlemen would be hard put to say what these economic means of distribution, distinct from the means of production and exchange, actually are; unless *political* means of distribution are meant, taxes, poor relief, including the *Sachsenwald*[451] and other endowments. But, first, these are even now means of distribution in the possession of society as a whole, either of the state or of the community, and second, it is precisely these we want to abolish.

* * *

When the February Revolution broke out, all of us, as far as our conceptions of the conditions and the course of revolutionary movements were concerned, were under the spell of previous historical experience, particularly that of France. It was, indeed, the latter which had dominated the whole of European history since 1789, and from which now once again the signal had gone forth for general revolutionary change. It was, therefore, natural and unavoidable that our conceptions of the nature and the course of the "social" revolution proclaimed in Paris in February 1848, of the revolution of the proletariat, should be strongly coloured by memories of the prototypes of 1789 and 1830. Moreover, when the Paris uprising found its echo in the victorious insurrections in Vienna, Milan and Berlin; when the whole of Europe right up to the Russian frontier was swept into the movement; when thereupon in Paris, in June, the first great battle for power between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was fought; when even the victory of its class so shook the bourgeoisie of all countries that it fled back into the arms of the monarchist-feudal reaction which had just been overthrown—there could be no doubt for us, under the circumstances then obtaining, that the great decisive battle had commenced, that it would have to be fought out in a single, long and vicissitudinous period of revolution, but that it could only end in the final victory of the proletariat.

After the defeats of 1849 we in no way shared the illusions of the vulgar democrats grouped around the future provisional

governments *in partibus*.[a] These vulgar democrats reckoned on a speedy and definitive victory of the "people" over the "tyrants"; we reckoned on a long struggle, after the removal of the "tyrants", among the antagonistic elements concealed within this "people" itself. The vulgar democrats expected sparks to fly again any day; we declared as early as autumn 1850 that at least the *first* chapter of the revolutionary period was closed and that nothing was to be expected until the outbreak of a new world economic crisis. For which reason we were excommunicated, as traitors to the revolution, by the very people who later, almost without exception, made their peace with Bismarck—so far as Bismarck found them worth the trouble.

But history has shown us too to have been wrong, has revealed our point of view at that time as an illusion. It has done even more; it has not merely dispelled the erroneous notions we then held; it has also completely transformed the conditions under which the proletariat has to fight. The mode of struggle of 1848 is today obsolete in every respect, and this is a point which deserves closer examination on the present occasion.

All revolutions up to the present day have resulted in the displacement of the rule of one class by the rule of another; but all ruling classes up to now have been only small minorities in relation to the ruled mass of the people. One ruling minority was thus overthrown; another minority seized the helm of state in its stead and refashioned the state institutions to suit its own interests. Thus on every occasion a minority group was enabled and called upon to rule by the given degree of economic development; and just for that reason, and only for that reason, it happened that the ruled majority either participated in the revolution for the benefit of the former or else simply acquiesced in it. But if we disregard the concrete content in each case, the common form of all these revolutions was that they were minority revolutions. Even when the majority took part, it did so—whether wittingly or not—only in the service of a minority; but because of this, or even simply because of the passive, unresisting attitude of the majority, this minority acquired the appearance of being the representative of the whole people.

As a rule, after the first great success, the victorious minority split; one half was satisfied with what had been gained, the other wanted to go still further, and put forward new demands, which,

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[a] *In partibus infidelium*—in the land of the infidels, outside reality—an addition to the title of Catholic bishops appointed to non-Christian countries.—*Ed.*

partly at least, were also in the real or apparent interest of the great mass of the people. In isolated cases these more radical demands were actually forced through, but often only for the moment; the more moderate party would regain the upper hand, and what had been won most recently would wholly or partly be lost again; the vanquished would then cry treachery or ascribe their defeat to accident. In reality, however, the truth of the matter was usually this: the achievements of the first victory were only safeguarded by the second victory of the more radical party; this having been attained, and, with it, what was necessary for the moment, the radicals and their achievements vanished once more from the stage.

All revolutions of modern times, beginning with the great English Revolution of the seventeenth century, showed these features, which appeared inseparable from every revolutionary struggle. They appeared applicable, also, to the struggle of the proletariat for its emancipation; all the more applicable, since precisely in 1848 there were but a very few people who had any idea at all of the direction in which this emancipation was to be sought. The proletarian masses themselves, even in Paris, after the victory, were still absolutely in the dark as to the path to be taken. And yet the movement was there, instinctive, spontaneous, irrepressible. Was not this just the situation in which a revolution had to succeed, led, it is true, by a minority, though this time not in the interest of the minority, but in the finest interest of the majority? If, in all the longer revolutionary periods, it was so easy to win over the great masses of the people simply by the plausible false representations of the pressing minorities, why should they be less susceptible to ideas which were the truest reflection of their economic condition, which were none other than the clear, rational expression of their needs, of needs not yet understood but merely vaguely felt by them? To be sure, this revolutionary mood of the masses had almost always, and usually very speedily, given way to lassitude or even to a change to the opposite as soon as illusion evaporated and disappointment set in. But what was involved here were not false representations, but the implementation of the most vital interests of the great majority itself, interests which, it is true, were at that time by no means clear to this great majority, but which were bound to become clear to it as their practical implementation proceeded, by their convincing obviousness. And when, as Marx showed in his third article, in the spring of 1850, the development of the bourgeois republic that arose out of the "social" Revolution of 1848 had even concentrated real

power in the hands of the big bourgeoisie—monarchistically inclined as it was into the bargain—and, on the other hand, had grouped all the other social classes, peasantry as well as petty bourgeoisie, around the proletariat, so that during and after the common victory, not they but the proletariat grown wise from experience had to become the decisive factor—was there not every prospect then of turning the revolution of the minority into a revolution of the majority?

History has proved us wrong, and all who thought like us. It has made it clear that the state of economic development on the Continent at that time was not, by a long way, ripe for the elimination of capitalist production; it has proved this by the economic revolution which, since 1848, has seized the whole of the Continent, and has caused big industry to take real root in France, Austria, Hungary, Poland and, recently, in Russia, while it has made Germany positively an industrial country of the first rank—all on a capitalist basis, which in the year 1848, therefore, still had a great capacity for expansion. But it is precisely this industrial revolution which has everywhere produced clarity in class relations, has removed a number of intermediate forms handed down from the period of manufacture and in Eastern Europe even from guild handicraft, has created a genuine bourgeois and a genuine large-scale industrial proletariat and has pushed them into the foreground of social development. However, owing to this, the struggle between these two great classes, a struggle which, outside England, existed in 1848 only in Paris and, at the most, in a few big industrial centres, has spread over the whole of Europe and reached an intensity still inconceivable in 1848. At that time the many obscure gospels of the sects, with their panaceas; today the *single* generally recognised, crystal-clear theory of Marx, sharply formulating the ultimate aims of the struggle. At that time the masses, sundered and differing according to locality and nationality, linked only by the feeling of common suffering, undeveloped, helplessly tossed to and fro from enthusiasm to despair; today the *single* great international army of socialists, marching irresistibly on and growing daily in number, organisation, discipline, insight and certainty of victory. If even this mighty army of the proletariat has still not reached its goal, if, far from winning victory by *one* mighty stroke, it has slowly to press forward from position to position in a hard, tenacious struggle, this only proves, once and for all, how impossible it was in 1848 to win social transformation merely by a surprise attack.

A bourgeoisie split into two dynastic-monarchist sections,[452] a

bourgeoisie, however, which demanded, above all, peace and security for its financial operations, faced by a proletariat vanquished, indeed, but still a menace, a proletariat around which petty bourgeois and peasants grouped themselves more and more—the continual threat of a violent outbreak, which, nevertheless, offered absolutely no prospect of a final solution—such was the situation, as if made-to-measure for the coup d'état of the third, the pseudo-democratic pretender, Louis Bonaparte. On December 2, 1851, by means of the army, he put an end to the tense situation and secured Europe internal tranquillity, only to confer upon it the blessing of a new era of wars. The period of revolutions from below was concluded for the time being; there followed a period of revolutions from above.

The reversion to the empire in 1851 provided fresh proof of the immaturity of the proletarian aspirations of that time. But it was itself to create the conditions under which they were bound to grow mature. Internal tranquillity ensured the unfettered advancement of the new industrial boom; the necessity of keeping the army occupied and of diverting the revolutionary currents in an outward direction produced the wars in which Bonaparte, under the pretext of asserting the "principle of nationalities",[453] sought to secure annexations for France. His imitator, Bismarck, adopted the same policy for Prussia; he carried out his coup d'état, his revolution from above, in 1866, against the German Confederation and Austria, and no less against the Prussian *Konfliktskammer*.[454] But Europe was too small for two Bonapartes and thus the irony of history had it that Bismarck overthrew Bonaparte, and King William of Prussia not only established the little German empire, but also the French republic. The overall outcome, however, was that in Europe the independence and internal unity of the great nations, with the exception of Poland, had become a fact. Within relatively modest limits, it is true, but for all that on a scale large enough to allow the development of the working class to proceed without finding national complications any longer a serious obstacle. The grave-diggers of the Revolution of 1848 had become the executors of its will. And alongside them there already rose threateningly the heir of 1848, the proletariat, in the shape of the *International*.

After the war of 1870-71, Bonaparte vanished from the stage and Bismarck's mission was fulfilled, so that he could now sink back again to the position of an ordinary Junker. The period, however, was brought to a close by the Paris Commune. A perfidious attempt by Thiers to steal the cannon of the Paris

National Guard sparked off a victorious rising. It was shown once more that in Paris none but a proletarian revolution is any longer possible. After the victory power fell, quite of itself and quite undisputed, into the hands of the working class. And once again it was proved how impossible even then, twenty years after the time described in our work, this rule of the working class still was. On the one hand, France left Paris in the lurch, looked on while it bled to death from the bullets of MacMahon; on the other hand, the Commune was consumed in unfruitful strife between the two parties which split it, the Blanquists (the majority) and the Proudhonists (the minority), neither of which knew what was to be done. The victory which came as a gift in 1871 remained just as unfruitful as the surprise attack of 1848.

It was believed that the militant proletariat had been finally buried with the Paris Commune. But, completely to the contrary, it dates its most powerful resurgence from the Commune and the Franco-Prussian War. The recruitment of the whole of the population able to bear arms into armies that henceforth could be counted only in millions, and the introduction of fire-arms, projectiles and explosives of hitherto unprecedented yield, completely transformed all warfare. This revolution, on the one hand, put an abrupt end to the Bonapartist war period and ensured peaceful industrial development by making any war other than a world war of unprecedented cruelty and absolutely incalculable outcome an impossibility. On the other hand, it caused military expenditure to rise in geometrical progression and thereby forced up taxes to exorbitant levels and so drove the poorer classes of people into the arms of socialism. The annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, the immediate cause of the mad competition in armaments, was able to set the French and German bourgeoisie chauvinistically at each other's throats; for the workers of the two countries it became a new bond of unity. And the anniversary of the Paris Commune became the first universal holiday of the whole proletariat.

The war of 1870-71 and the defeat of the Commune transferred the centre of gravity of the European workers' movement in the meantime from France to Germany, as Marx had foretold. In France it naturally took years to recover from the blood-letting of May 1871. In Germany, on the other hand, where industry—fostered, in addition, in positively hothouse fashion by the blessing of the French milliards[455]—developed at increasing speed, Social-Democracy experienced a still more rapid and enduring growth. Thanks to the intelligent use which the German

workers made of the universal suffrage introduced in 1866, the astonishing growth of the party is made plain to all the world by incontestable figures: 1871, 102,000; 1874, 352,000; 1877, 493,000 Social-Democratic votes. Then came recognition of this advance by high authority in the shape of the Anti-Socialist Law[456]; the party was temporarily broken up, the number of votes dropped to 312,000 in 1881. But that was quickly overcome, and then, under the pressure of the Exceptional Law, without a press, without a legal organisation and without the right of association and assembly, rapid expansion began in earnest: 1884, 550,000; 1887, 763,000; 1890, 1,427,000 votes. The hand of the state was paralysed. The Anti-Socialist Law disappeared; the socialist vote rose to 1,787,000, over a quarter of all the votes cast. The government and the ruling classes had exhausted all their expedients—uselessly, pointlessly, unsuccessfully. The tangible proofs of their impotence, which the authorities, from night watchman to the imperial chancellor had had to accept—and that from the despised workers!—these proofs were counted in millions. The state was at the end of its tether, the workers only at the beginning of theirs.

But, besides, the German workers rendered a second great service to their cause in addition to the first, a service performed by their mere existence as the strongest, most disciplined and most rapidly growing socialist party. They supplied their comrades in all countries with a new weapon, and one of the most potent, when they showed them how to make use of universal suffrage.

There had long been universal suffrage in France, but it had fallen into disrepute through the way it had been abused by the Bonapartist government. After the Commune there was no workers' party to make use of it. It had also existed in Spain since the republic,[457] but in Spain election boycotts had been the rule for all serious opposition parties from time immemorial. The experience of the Swiss with universal suffrage was also anything but encouraging for a workers' party. The revolutionary workers of the Latin countries had been wont to regard the suffrage as a snare, as an instrument of government trickery. It was different in Germany. The *Communist Manifesto* had already proclaimed the winning of universal suffrage, of democracy, as one of the first and most important tasks of the militant proletariat, and Lassalle had again taken up this point. Now that Bismarck found himself compelled to introduce this franchise as the only means of interesting the mass of the people in his plans, our workers immediately took it in earnest and sent August Bebel to the first,

constituent Reichstag. And from that day on they have used the franchise in a way which has paid them a thousandfold and has served as a model to the workers of all countries. The franchise has been, in the words of the French Marxist programme, *transformé de moyen de duperie qu'il a été jusqu'ici en instrument d'émancipation*—transformed by them from a means of deception, which it was before, into an instrument of emancipation.[458] And if universal suffrage had offered no other advantage than that it allowed us to count our numbers every three years; that by the regularly established, unexpectedly rapid rise in our vote it increased in equal measure the workers' certainty of victory and the dismay of their opponents, and so became our best means of propaganda; that it accurately informed us of our own strength and that of all opposing parties, and thereby provided us with a measure of proportion second to none for our actions, safeguarding us from untimely timidity as much as from untimely foolhardiness—if this had been the only advantage we gained from the suffrage, it would still have been much more than enough. But it did more than this by far. In election propaganda it provided us with a means, second to none, of getting in touch with the mass of the people where they still stand aloof from us; of forcing all parties to defend their views and actions against our attacks before all the people; and, further, it provided our representatives in the Reichstag with a platform from which they could speak to their opponents in parliament, and to the masses outside, with quite different authority and freedom than in the press or at meetings. Of what avail was their Anti-Socialist Law to the government and the bourgeoisie when election campaigning and socialist speeches in the Reichstag continually broke through it?

With this successful utilisation of universal suffrage, however, an entirely new method of proletarian struggle came into operation, and this method quickly took on a more tangible form. It was found that the state institutions, in which the rule of the bourgeoisie is organised, offer the working class still further levers to fight these very state institutions. The workers took part in elections to particular diets, to municipal councils and to trades courts; they contested with the bourgeoisie every post in the occupation of which a sufficient part of the proletariat had a say. And so it happened that the bourgeoisie and the government came to be much more afraid of the legal than of the illegal action of the workers' party, of the results of elections than of those of rebellion.

For here, too, the conditions of the struggle had changed fundamentally. Rebellion in the old style, street fighting with barricades, which decided the issue everywhere up to 1848, had become largely outdated.

Let us have no illusions about it: a real victory of insurrection over the military in street fighting, a victory as between two armies, is one of the rarest exceptions. And the insurgents counted on it just as rarely. For them it was solely a question of making the troops yield to moral influences which, in a fight between the armies of two warring countries, do not come into play at all or do so to a much smaller extent. If they succeed in this, the troops fail to respond, or the commanding officers lose their heads, and the insurrection wins. If they do not succeed in this, then, even where the military are in the minority, the superiority of better equipment and training, of uniform leadership, of the planned employment of the military forces and of discipline makes itself felt. The most that an insurrection can achieve in the way of actual tactical operations is the proficient construction and defence of a single barricade. Mutual support, the disposition and employment of reserves—in short, concerted and co-ordinated action of the individual detachments, indispensable even for the defence of one borough, not to speak of the whole of a large town, will be attainable only to a very limited extent, and usually not at all. Concentration of the military forces at a decisive point is, of course, out of the question here. Hence passive defence is the predominant form of struggle; an attack will be mounted here and there, by way of exception, in the form of occasional thrusts and assaults on the flanks; as a rule, however, it will be limited to the occupation of positions abandoned by retreating troops. In addition, the military have at their disposal artillery and fully equipped corps of trained engineers, means of warfare which, in nearly every case, the insurgents entirely lack. No wonder, then, that even the barricade fighting conducted with the greatest heroism—Paris, June 1848; Vienna, October 1848; Dresden, May 1849—ended in the defeat of the insurrection as soon as the leaders of the attack, unhampered by political considerations, acted according to purely military criteria, and their soldiers remained reliable.

The numerous successes of the insurgents up to 1848 were due to a great variety of causes. In Paris, in July 1830 and February 1848, as in most of the Spanish street fighting, a civic guard stood between the insurgents and the military. This guard either sided directly with the insurrection, or else by its lukewarm, indecisive

attitude caused the troops likewise to vacillate, and supplied the insurrection with arms into the bargain. Where this civic guard opposed the insurrection from the outset, as in June 1848 in Paris, the insurrection was vanquished. In Berlin in 1848, the people were victorious partly through considerable reinforcements in the shape of new fighting forces during the night and the morning of March 19th, partly as a result of the exhaustion and poor rations of the troops, and, finally, partly as a result of the paralysis engendered by the command. But in all cases the fight was won because the troops failed to respond, because the commanding officers lost the faculty to decide or because their hands were tied.

Even in the classic time of street fighting, therefore, the barricade produced more of a moral than a material effect. It was a means of shaking the steadfastness of the military. If it held out until this was attained, victory was won; if not, the outcome was defeat. This is the main point which must be kept in view, also when examining the outlook for possible future street fighting.[a]

Back in 1849 already, this outlook was pretty poor. Everywhere the bourgeoisie had thrown in its lot with the governments, "culture and property" had hailed and feasted the military moving against insurrection. The barricade had lost its magic; the soldier no longer saw behind it "the people", but rebels, subversives, plunderers, levellers, the scum of society; the officer had in the course of time become versed in the tactical forms of street fighting, he no longer marched straight ahead and without cover against the improvised breastwork, but went round it through gardens, yards and houses. And this was now successful, with a little skill, in nine cases out of ten.

But since then there have been very many more changes, and all in favour of the military. If the big towns have become considerably bigger, the armies have become bigger still. Paris and Berlin have, since 1848, grown less than fourfold, but their garrisons have grown more than that. By means of the railways, these garrisons can, in twenty-four hours, be more than doubled, and in forty-eight hours they can be increased to huge armies. The arming of this enormously increased number of troops has become incomparably more effective. In 1848 the smooth-bore, muzzle-loading percussion gun, today the small-calibre, breech-loading magazine rifle, which shoots four times as far, ten times as accurately and ten times as fast as the former. At that time the relatively ineffective round shot and grape-shot of the artillery;

[a] The last sentence is omitted in *Die Neue Zeit* and in the 1895 edition of *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich 1848 bis 1850.—Ed.*

today the percussion shells, of which one is sufficient to demolish the best barricade. At that time the pick-axe of the sapper for breaking through fire proof walls; today the dynamite cartridge.

On the other hand, all the conditions of the insurgents' side have grown worse. An insurrection with which all sections of the people sympathise is likely to recur; in the class struggle all the middle strata will never in all probability group themselves around the proletariat so exclusively that in comparison the party of reaction gathered round the bourgeoisie will well-nigh disappear. The "people", therefore, will always appear divided, and thus a most powerful lever, so extraordinarily effective in 1848, is gone. If more soldiers who have seen service came over to the insurrectionists, the arming of them would become so much the more difficult. The hunting and fancy guns of the munitions shops—even if not previously made unusable by the removal of part of the lock on police orders—are far from being a match for the magazine rifle of the soldier, even in close fighting. Up to 1848 it was possible to make the necessary ammunition oneself out of powder and lead; today the cartridges differ for each gun, and are everywhere alike only in one point, namely, that they are a complicated product of big industry, and therefore not to be manufactured *ex tempore,* with the result that most guns are useless as long as one does not possess the ammunition suited only to them. And, finally, since 1848 the newly built quarters of the big cities have been laid out in long, straight, broad streets, tailor-made to give full effect to the new cannons and rifles. The revolutionary would have to be mad to choose of his own accord the new working class districts in the north or east of Berlin for a barricade fight.

Does that mean that in the future street fighting will no longer play any role? Certainly not. It only means that the conditions since 1848 have become far more unfavourable for civilian fighters and far more favourable for the military. In future, street fighting can, therefore, be victorious only if this disadvantageous situation is compensated by other factors. Accordingly, it will occur more seldom at the beginning of a great revolution than at its later stages, and will have to be undertaken with greater forces. These, however, may then well prefer, as in the whole great French Revolution or on September 4 and October 31, 1870, in Paris,[a] the open attack to passive barricade tactics.[b]

[a] See this volume, pp. 182-83.— *Ed.*

[b] This paragraph is omitted in *Die Neue Zeit* and the 1895 edition of *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich.*—*Ed.*

Does the reader now understand why the powers-that-be positively want to get us to go where the guns shoot and the sabres slash? Why they accuse us today of cowardice, because we do not take without more ado to the streets, where we are certain of defeat in advance? Why they so earnestly implore us to play for once the part of cannon fodder?

The gentlemen pour out their petitions and their challenges for nothing, for absolutely nothing. We are not that stupid. They might just as well demand from their enemy in the next war that he should accept battle in the line formation of old Fritz,[a] or in the columns of whole divisions à la Wagram and Waterloo,[459] and with the flint-lock in his hands at that. If conditions have changed in the case of war between nations, this is no less true in the case of the class struggle. The time of surprise attacks, of revolutions carried through by small conscious minorities at the head of masses lacking consciousness is past. Where it is a question of a complete transformation of the social organisation, the masses themselves must also be in on it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what they are fighting for, body and soul.[b] The history of the last fifty years has taught us that. But in order that the masses may understand what is to be done, long, persistent work is required, and it is just this work that we are now pursuing, and with a success which drives the enemy to despair.

In the Latin countries, too, it is being realised more and more that the old tactics must be revised. Everywhere the German example of utilising the suffrage, of winning all posts accessible to us, has been imitated; everywhere the unprepared launching of an attack has been relegated to the background.[c] In France, where for more than a hundred years the ground has been undermined by one revolution after another, where there is not a single party which has not done its share in conspiracies, insurrections and all other revolutionary actions; in France, where, as a result, the government is by no means sure of the army and where the conditions for an insurrectionary coup de main are altogether far more favourable than in Germany—even in France the Socialists are realising more and more that no lasting victory is possible for

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[a] Frederick II.— *Ed.*

[b] In *Die Neue Zeit* and in the 1895 edition of *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich* the text reads "what they are coming out for" instead of "what they are fighting for, body and soul".— *Ed.*

[c] In *Die Neue Zeit* and in the 1895 edition of *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich* the words "everywhere the unprepared launching of an attack has been relegated to the background" are omitted.— *Ed.*

them unless they first win over the great mass of the people, i.e. the peasants in this instance. Slow propaganda work and parliamentary activity are recognised here, too, as the immediate tasks of the party. Successes have not been lacking. Not only have a whole series of municipal councils been won; fifty Socialists have seats in the Chambers, and they have already overthrown three ministries and a president of the republic. In Belgium last year the workers forced the adoption of the franchise,[460] and have been victorious in a quarter of the constituencies. In Switzerland, in Italy, in Denmark, yes, even in Bulgaria and Romania the Socialists are represented in the parliaments. In Austria all parties agree that our admission to the Imperial Council can no longer be withheld. We will get in, that is certain; the only question still in dispute is: by which door? And even in Russia, when the famous *Zemsky Sobor*[461] meets—that National Assembly to which young Nicholas offers such vain resistance—even there we can reckon with certainty on being represented in it.

Of course, our foreign comrades do not in the least renounce their right to revolution. The right to revolution is, after all, the only *really* "historical right", the only right on which all modern states rest without exception, Mecklenburg included, whose aristocratic revolution was ended in 1755 by the "hereditary settlement", the glorious charter of feudalism still valid today.[462] The right to revolution is so incontestably recognised in the general consciousness that even General von Boguslawski derives the right to a coup d'état, which he vindicates for his Kaiser, solely from this popular right.

But whatever may happen in other countries, the German Social-Democrats occupy a special position and thus, at least in the immediate future, have a special task. The two million voters whom they send to the ballot box, together with the young men and women who stand behind them as non-voters, form the most numerous, most compact mass, the decisive "shock force" of the international proletarian army. This mass already supplies over a quarter of the votes cast; and as the by-elections to the Reichstag, the Diet elections in individual states, the municipal council and trades court elections demonstrate, it is constantly on the increase. Its growth proceeds as spontaneously, as steadily, as irresistibly, and at the same time as tranquilly as a natural process. All government intervention has proved powerless against it. We can count even today on two and a quarter million voters. If it continues in this fashion, by the end of the century we shall have the greater part of the middle strata of society, petty bourgeoisie

and small peasants, and we shall grow into the decisive power in the land, before which all other powers will have to bow, whether they like it or not. To keep this growth going without interruption until it gets beyond the control of the prevailing governmental system of itself, not to fritter away this daily increasing shock force in vanguard skirmishes, but to keep it intact until the decisive day,[a] that is our main task. And there is only one means by which the steady rise of the socialist fighting forces in Germany could be temporarily halted, and even thrown back for some time: a clash on a grand scale with the military, a blood-letting like that of 1871 in Paris. In the long run even that would be overcome. To shoot a party which numbers millions out of existence is too much even for all the magazine rifles of Europe and America. But the normal development would be impeded, the shock force would, perhaps, not be available at the critical moment, the decisive combat[b] would be delayed, protracted and attended by a heavier toll.

The irony of world history turns everything upside down. We, the "revolutionaries", the "overthrowers"—we are thriving far better on legal methods than on illegal methods and overthrow. The parties of order, as they call themselves, are perishing under the legal conditions created by themselves. They cry despairingly with Odilon Barrot: la *légalité nous tue,* legality is the death of us[463]; whereas we, under this legality, get firm muscles and rosy cheeks and look like life eternal. And if *we* are not so crazy as to let ourselves be driven to street fighting in order to please them, then in the end there is nothing left for them to do but themselves break through this dire legality.

Meanwhile they make new laws against overthrows. Again everything is turned upside down. These anti-overthrow fanatics of today, are they not themselves the overthrowers of yesterday? Have *we* perchance evoked the civil war of 1866? Have *we* driven the King of Hanover, the Elector of Hesse, and the Duke of Nassau from their hereditary lawful domains and annexed these hereditary domains?[464] And these overthrowers of the German Confederation and three crowns by the grace of God complain of

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[a] In *Die Neue Zeit* and in the 1895 edition of *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich* the words "not to fritter away this daily increasing shock force in vanguard skirmishes, but to keep it intact until the decisive day" are omitted.—*Ed.*

[b] In *Die Neue Zeit* and in the 1895 edition of *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich* the words "the shock force would, perhaps, not be available at the critical moment" are omitted and instead of "the decisive combat" the word "decision" is printed.—*Ed.*

overthrow! *Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?*[a] Who could allow the Bismarck worshippers to rail at overthrow?

Let them, nevertheless, put through their anti-overthrow bills, make them still worse, transform the whole penal law into india-rubber, they will gain nothing but fresh proof of their impotence. If they want to deal Social-Democracy a serious blow they will have to resort to quite other measures. They can cope with the Social-Democratic overthrow, which just now is doing so well by keeping the law, only by an overthrow on the part of the parties of Order, an overthrow which cannot live without breaking the law. Mr. Rössler, the Prussian bureaucrat, and Mr. von Boguslawski, the Prussian general, have shown them the only way perhaps still possible of getting at the workers, who simply refuse to let themselves be lured into street fighting. Breach of the constitution, dictatorship, return to absolutism, *regis voluntas suprema lex*![b] Therefore, take courage, gentlemen; here half measures will not do; here you must go the whole hog!

But do not forget that the German empire, like all small states and generally all modern states, is a *product of contract*; of the contract, first, of the princes with one another and, second, of the princes with the people. If one side breaks the contract, the whole contract falls to the ground; the other side is then also no longer bound, as Bismarck demonstrated to us so beautifully in 1866. If, therefore, you break the constitution of the Reich, Social-Democracy is free, and can do as it pleases with regard to you. But it will hardly blurt out to you today what it is going to do then.[c]

It is now, almost to the year, sixteen centuries since a dangerous party of overthrow was likewise active in the Roman empire. It undermined religion and all the foundations of the state; it flatly denied that Caesar's will was the supreme law; it was without a fatherland, was international; it spread over the whole empire, from Gaul to Asia, and beyond the frontiers of the empire. It had long carried on seditious activities underground in secret; for a considerable time, however, it had felt itself strong enough to come out into the open. This party of overthrow, which was known by the name of Christians, was also strongly represented in the army; whole legions were Christian. When they were ordered to attend the sacrificial ceremonies of the pagan established

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[a] Who would suffer the Gracchi to complain of sedition? (Juvenal, Satire, II, 24).— *Ed.*

[b] The King's will is the supreme law! — *Ed.*

[c] In *Die Neue Zeit* and in the 1895 edition of *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich* the end of this paragraph starting with the words "as Bismarck" is omitted.— *Ed.*

church, in order to do the honours there, the subversive soldiers had the audacity to stick peculiar emblems—crosses—on their helmets in protest. Even the customary barrack bullying of their superior officers was fruitless. The Emperor Diocletian could no longer quietly look on while order, obedience and discipline in his army were being undermined. He stepped in with vigour, while there was still time. He promulgated an anti-Socialist—I beg your pardon, I meant to say anti-Christian—law. The meetings of the overthrowers were forbidden, their meeting halls were closed or even pulled down, the Christian emblems, crosses, etc., were, like the red handkerchiefs in Saxony, prohibited. Christians were declared ineligible for holding public office; they were not to be allowed to become even corporals. Since at that time there were no judges so well trained in "respect of persons" as Mr. von Köller's anti-overthrow bill assumes, Christians were forbidden out of hand to seek justice before a court. Even this exceptional law was to no avail. The Christians tore it down from the walls with scorn; they are even supposed to have set fire to the Emperor's palace in Nicomedia in his presence. Then the latter revenged himself by the great persecution of Christians in the year 303 A.D. It was the last of its kind. And it was so effective that seventeen years later the army consisted overwhelmingly of Christians, and the succeeding autocrat of the whole Roman empire, Constantine, called the Great by the priests, proclaimed Christianity the state religion.

*F. Engels*

London, March 6, 1895

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Printed according to the full text of the galleys of the book, checked with the manuscript

# [TO THE EXECUTIVE OF THE GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY IN LONDON][465]

March 11, 1895
41, Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Comrade,

I regret that I shall not be able to participate this time in your March celebration. The recurrence of an otherwise trivial malady which afflicts me from time to time, and which can only be cured by absolute rest, has again confined me to my house for several weeks. However, I hope and wish that my absence will not diminish the success of your celebration, and remain, with best wishes,

Yours,
*F. Engels*

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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Published in English for the first time

# [TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY][466]

Best thanks to the Committee for its kind invitation, but as my medical adviser strongly objects just now to my accepting every engagement of any sort I am compelled to decline it. As the ticket may be useful for some one else I take the liberty of returning it herewith.

Written after April 16, 1895

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Reproduced from the draft manuscript

# APPENDICES

# AN OLD FRIEND OF LABOUR[467]

By the death during the past week[a] of Helena Demuth the Socialist party has lost a remarkable member. Born on New Year's Day, 1823,[b] of peasant parents, at St. Wendel, she came, at the age of 14, into the family of the Von Westphalens of Trier. Jenny von Westphalen in 1843 became the wife of Karl Marx. From 1837 to the death of Mrs. Marx in 1881, with the exception of the first few months of the married life, the two women were constant companions. After the death of Mrs. Marx in December 1881, and of Marx on March 14th, 1883, Helena Demuth went to keep house for Frederick Engels. The leaders of the Socialist movement bore testimony to "her strong common-sense, her absolute rectitude of character, her ceaseless thoughtfulness for others, her reliability, and the essential truthfulness of her nature". Engels at her funeral declared that Marx took counsel of Helena Demuth, not only in difficult and intricate party matters, but even in respect of his economical writings. "As for me," he said, "what work I have been able to do since the death of Marx has been largely due to the sunshine and support of her presence in the house." Helena is buried at Highgate in the same grave as Marx and his wife.

First published in *The People's Press*, November 22, 1890

Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] Helene Demuth died on November 4, 1890.—*Ed.*

[b] A misprint; Helene Demuth was born in 1820.—*Ed.*

# ENGELS, FREDERICK[468]

Born in Barmen on November 28, 1820. Took up commerce and worked as an office clerk from 1837 to 1841, first in Barmen and from 1838 in Bremen. After serving for a year as an army volunteer (1841-42), he joined his father's business in Manchester in 1843, staying there until 1844. From 1845 to 1848 he lived in Brussels (with K. Marx) and, alternately, in Paris; from 1848 to May 1849 he worked for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne. In June and July of that year he took part in the uprising in South Germany as an aide-de-camp in Willich's volunteer corps. Then he went to London for a short time and, in 1850, rejoined his father's concern in Manchester, working first as a clerk and, from 1864, as a joint proprietor. In 1869 he retired from business for good. He has lived in London since 1870.

Of his works we shall mention the following:

"Umrisse zu einer Kritik der National-ökonomie" (in *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbucher,* published by Ruge and Marx, Paris, 1844 (Issues 1 and 2), pp. 86-114; reprinted in *Die Neue Zeit,* IX Jahrgang 1890/91, Bd. I, p. 236 et seq.).

(Jointly with Karl Marx.) *Die Heilige Familie oder Kritik der kritischen Kritik. Gegen Bruno Bauer und Konsorten,* F. E. und K. M. Frankfurt a. M., 1845.

*Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England,* Leipzig, 1845 (English translation, New York, 1887).

(Jointly with Karl Marx, anonymously.) *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei,* London, 1848 (also in French, Spanish, Italian, Danish, Russian, Polish, English).

(Worked as coeditor, editor-in-chief respectively (substituting Marx) in *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* 1848-1849 in Cologne and in *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue,* 1850 in London.)

(Anonymously.) *Po und Rhein,* Berlin, 1859.

(Anonymously.) *Savoyen, Nizza und der Rhein,* Berlin, 1860.

"Die Preussische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei", Hamburg, 1865.

*Der deutsche Bauerkrieg.* (Reprinted from *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue.*) Leipzig, three editions, the latest of 1875.

*Zur Wohnungsfrage.* Three issues, lst edition, Leipzig, 1872, 2nd edition, Zurich, 1887.

*Soziales aus Russland,* Leipzig, 1875.

(Anonymously.) *Preussische Schnaps in Deutschen Reichstag,* Leipzig, 1876.

*Die Bakunisten an der Arbeit. Denkschrift über den Aufstand in Spanien,* Leipzig, 1873.

*Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft,* lst edition, Leipzig, 1878, 2nd edition, Zurich, 1886.

*Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft,* lst, 2nd, 3rd editions, Zurich, 1883, 4th edition, prepared for publication, Berlin, 1891 (also in French, Russian, Polish, Italian, Spanish, Romanian, Dutch, Danish).

*Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigenthums und des Staats. Im Anschluss an Lewis H. Morgan's Forschungen,* Zurich, 1884, 3rd edition, Stuttgart, 1889 (also in Italian, Romanian, Danish; French edition under preparation).

*Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausgang der klassischen deutschen Philosophie,* Stuttgart, 1888.

"Die auswärtige Politik des russischen Zarenthums" (in *Die Neue Zeit,* VIII Jahrgang, 1889/90, Bd. II; also in Russian, English, French, Romanian).

*Ueber den Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich* (in *Die Neue Zeit,* IX Jahrgang, 1890/91, Bd. II, p. 33 et seqq.).

*In Sachen Brentano contra Marx wegen angeblicher Zitatsfälschung. Geschichtserzälung und Dokumente,* Hamburg, 1891.

Besides he prepared for publication the following works to which he wrote introductions and prefaces;

I. In German:

*K. Marx.* "Das Kapital". Vol. I, 3rd edition, 1883; 4th edition, 1890 (Preface about Brentano). Also, Vol. II (Preface about Rodbertus), 1885.

*K. Marx. Das Elend der Philosophie.* Deutsch von Bernstein und Kautsky. Stuttgart, 1885 (Preface about Rodbertus).

*K. Marx. Vor den Kölner Geschwornen.* 1849, Zurich, 1885 (Preface).

*K. Marx. Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln.* 1852, Zurich, 1885 (Introduction: "Zur Geschichte des 'Bundes der Kommunisten'").

*W. Wolf. Die Schlesische Milliarde.* Zurich, 1886. (Introduction: Biography of Wolf and "Zur Geschichte der preussischen Bauern").

*S. Borkheim. Zur Erinnerung für die deutschen Mordspatrioten.* Zurich, 1888 (Introduction: Biography of Borkheim).

*K. Marx. Lohnarbeit und Kapital* (Introduction). Berlin, 1891.

II. In English:

*K. Marx. Capital.* Translated by S. Moore & E. Aveling, published by F. Engels, London, 1887 (edited translation and wrote a preface).

*K. Marx.* "Free Trade". A Speech delivered in Brussels in 1848. Translated by F. Kelly-Wischnewetzky, Boston and London, 1888 (Introduction on Free Trade, published in German in *Die Neue Zeit*).

*F. Engels. The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844.* Translated by F. K. Wischnewetzky. New York, 1887 (Preface and Appendix, the latter was published also as a separate edition: "The Working Class Movement in America"; in German: "Die Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika", New York, 1887; reprinted in English, London, 1887. In German also in *Die Neue Zeit*).

First published in the encyclopaedic dictionary *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften,* Vol. 3, Jena, 1892

Printed according to the dictionary

Published in English for the first time

# [INTERVIEW OF FREDERICK ENGELS BY THE CORRESPONDENT OF *L'ÉCLAIR* ON APRIL 1, 1892][469]

...Mr. Engels, an enemy of the interview, was kind enough to make an exception for us and let us have his impressions.

"What do you think," we asked him, "of the recent outrages in Paris committed by the anarchists?"

"I can only see in them the work of agents-provocateurs who have been paid to try to dishonour the parties in which they play a part. The government has every interest in the occurrence of these explosions, as they simultaneously serve the interests of the bourgeoisie in general and the intrigues of certain political groups in particular. In fact the intention is to panic the population, organise terror and lead a reaction.

"The same procedure was employed in Germany recently at the time of the 'Berlin troubles'.[470] There again we would do well to seek out the hand of the police. It is indisputable that on the first day of these allegedly socialist demonstrations some of our people may have been involved in the movement, but our erring friends soon realised the true character of the demonstration and withdrew from it immediately.

"The proof is that several shops belonging to known socialists were looted. The trial of the detained rioters showed that the leaders were anti-Semites seeking to exploit the hunger of a few poor wretches by getting them to shout: 'Down with the Jews!'

"In Italy—again the same set-up with the proceedings instituted against Cipriani and the other anarchists. There, too, the actions of the agents-provocateurs have been exposed in open court.

"But that does not always work. In Paris there were one or two wretches willing to play the police's game, but nobody except the police themselves will be able to claim that they belong to the socialist party."

## RUSSIAN DIPLOMACY

"Do you not fear that all these domestic upheavals will lead the governments to look around for a distraction in a continental war? Take your Emperor William, for example..."

"No. It is my wish that Emperor William may enjoy a long life, for the greater good of the German socialists," said Mr. Engels, laughing. "Anyway, I don't believe there will be a war in the immediate future."

"The alliance between Russia and France has not caused you any apprehension on this score?"

"Not at all. Last year, perhaps, there was a slight inclination to take the offensive. The demonstrations in Cronstadt,[471] the very visible advances which imperial Russia made to republican France may have appeared suspicious. The concentrations of troops on the border also appeared to give cause for some alarm. But today things are quite different.

"In fact, Russia would like to go to war, but it could not do so. At present it has to face an enemy more redoubtable than any other: famine.

"This scourge was not the result of a passing shortage caused by some climatic or other accident: it is the outcome of the new organisation of Russian society.

"Since the Crimean War, when entire regiments perished in the snow, the situation has changed considerably. This war marks the start of a major crisis in Russian history. When defeat was complete, when Russia's powerlessness had been demonstrated to the whole of Europe, Tsar Nicholas, in despair after ascertaining the woeful state of his empire, did not hesitate to poison himself. On ascending to the throne, Alexander II was therefore obliged to try to find a solution to the appalling situation in which his country found itself."

## THE CAUSES OF THE FAMINE IN RUSSIA

"That was when the Tsar proceeded to emancipate the serfs, which provided an excuse for a new redistribution of land between the nobles and the peasants. The nobles were given the best land, as well as the lakes, rivers and forests. The peasants received only land of inferior quality, and this distribution was done in an inadequate manner and for a sum repayable in annual instalments over a period of 49 years! What was the outcome?

"The peasants were unable to meet the payments to the state and they had to borrow: they had too much to die and not enough to live on. A gang of *kulaks* (money-lenders) pounced on these tillers of the soil, who gradually became indebted to such an extent as to lose all hope of ever freeing themselves. When the usurers were no longer willing to provide advances, the peasants were forced to sell their harvests to obtain money, and they sold not only the wheat they needed to live on but also their vital seed-corn, so that future harvests were jeopardised.

"In these circumstances the first poor harvest would be sure to result in a fullblown famine. This famine, in turn, has just delivered the final blow to agricultural production in Russia. In effect, the peasant, no longer able to feed his livestock, has been forced either to slaughter them or to sell them off. Now, without farm animals, it is not possible to till or manure the land. As a result, agricultural production will be interrupted for many years to come.

"The emancipation of the serfs was only one aspect of the economic revolution which has occurred in Russia; the other aspect is the artificial creation of an industrial bourgeoisie destined to serve as an intermediary class. To fasten the process, a truly prohibitive system was established, favouring and developing Russian industry in an extraordinary fashion; but as this industry was not able to export, it needed a domestic market. Now the Russian peasant hardly buys anything, accustomed as he is to making everything himself: houses, tools, clothes, etc.; not long ago he even produced wooden, iron and leather articles which he sold at the fairs. But when the peasant was deprived of wood by giving the forests to the nobility, rural industry all but collapsed. Manufacturing industry came along to finish it off, and the peasants were obliged to resort to it. At the very moment when this industry was about to triumph, famine arrived to deal it a mortal blow: the peasants are no longer able to buy anything it produces, and the ruin of the one leads to the ruin of the other."

### THE ECONOMIC AND MILITARY SITUATION

"So in your view the economic situation in Russia will prevent it from thinking of going to war?"

"Yes. I am not exaggerating when I say that the picture which Vauban and Boisguillebert[a] painted of the French peasant in the

[a] See this volume, p. 249.— *Ed.*

seventeenth century can be applied to the Russian peasant, today reduced to eating grass. The transition from the feudal regime to the bourgeois regime in France was not accomplished without upheavals; in Russia it has just produced a crisis which,from being acute, threatens to become chronic. For all these reasons, the Russians are more concerned at the moment with eating rather than fighting."

"The last Russian loan..."

"I was going to mention that. It is an enormous setback. The French bourgeoisie, which is much given to talking about revenge, did not push its patriotism to the point of opening its purse. The Tsar's government asked for twenty million pounds sterling; all they got was twelve..."

"It has been said that the Rothschilds contributed to the failure of this loan in order to avenge their fellow-believers who have been persecuted by the Russian government?"

"I have attacked the Rothschilds enough to be able to defend them against the charge of being so stupid. As bankers, the Rothschilds are only concerned with their own interests, interests which amounted to extracting the biggest possible commissions and exploiting as many gullible fools as possible. That's all."

"To sum up, you do not believe in the power of Russia?"

"Russia, while strong in defence, is not strong in attack either at sea or on land. I have shown you that the economic situation does not permit it to indulge in dangerous and costly ventures. If we examine its military organisation we shall see that Russia does not pose a danger from this angle either.

"In the event of war it would not put more men into the line than it currently has under arms. The reserves do not exist except on paper and, although it may have thousands and thousands of men, it has no reserve officers to command them. Where would it get them from? From what source?

"In Germany we have fifty per cent more reserve officers than we need. In this respect would not France also be in a position of relative inferiority?" our interlocutor asks us.

### A STRONG FRANCE

"Not at all," we reply. "In France we do not have more officers than we need; but the officers and NCOs are at full strength."

"I am not in the slightest dismayed," says Mr. Engels. "I do not wish to see the German army strong enough to conquer all

Europe. In order to attain our goal, the liberation of the European working class may need a powerful France, the master of its own fate, as well as a Germany that enjoys the same advantages. Your compatriot Saint-Simon was the first to proclaim the necessity of an alliance between France, England and Germany as a primary condition for peace in Europe.[a] That is the true 'Triple Alliance'.[472]

"In conclusion, let us put it to you that you have painted a rather gloomy picture of the situation in Russia."

"Not at all. Look, would you like to hear an anecdote? You know that in order to aid the starving Russian peasants it was decided to send them wheat from the Caucasus, where they had a surplus. Orders were given to this effect; the wheat was gathered together in large quantities and waggons were sent to transport it. Well, what happened was that the empty waggons were grouped in such large numbers that congestion occurred: the wheat was alongside the waggons, and the waggons could not leave. On learning of this, the Tsar[b] went into a violent rage and sent a general to the scene; this military man made a lot of noise, announced that everything was proceeding normally and only managed to send off a few trains: the greater part of the wheat rotted where it was! What would have happened in the event of mobilisation? Russia does not have many railways yet, and its officers do not even know how to use them."

### THE QUESTION OF ALSACE-LORRAINE

"One more question: what about Alsace-Lorraine, the cause of all the disagreements? Do you believe in a peaceful solution acceptable to both France and Germany?"

"I hope that the German socialist party will be in power in ten years or so. Its first concern will be to put the people of Alsace-Lorraine in a position to decide their own political future. Consequently the question will be settled without a single French soldier having to stir. On the contrary, a war between Germany and France would be the only means of preventing the socialists' coming to power. And if France and Russia in alliance attacked Germany, the latter would defend to the death its national existence, in which the German socialists have an even greater

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[a] See this volume, p. 87.— *Ed.*
[b] Alexander III.— *Ed.*

interest than the bourgeoisie. The socialists, then, would fight to the last man, and would not hesitate to resort to the revolutionary means employed by France in 1793."

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Printed according to *L'Éclair,* checked with *Le Socialiste*

Translated from the French

# [BIOGRAPHICAL ARTICLE ON ENGELS][473]

*Engels,* Frederick, socialist, born in Barmen on Nov. 28, 1820, the son of a well-to-do manufacturer. Took up commerce, but already at an early age began propagating radical and socialist ideas in newspaper articles and speeches. After working for some time as a clerk in Bremen and serving for one year as an army volunteer in Berlin in 1842, he went for two years to Manchester, where his father was co-owner of a cotton mill. In 1844 he worked for the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* published by Arnold Ruge and Karl Marx in Paris. In 1844 he returned to Barmen and in 1845 addressed communist meetings organised by Moses Hess and Gustav Köttgen in Elberfeld. Then, until 1848, he lived alternately in Brussels and Paris; in 1846 he joined, with Marx, the secret Communist League,[474] a predecessor of the International, and represented the Paris communities at the two League congresses in London in 1847. On the League's instructions, he wrote, jointly with Marx, the *Communist Manifesto,*[a] addressed to the "working men of all countries", which was published shortly before the February revolution[b] (a new edition appeared in Leipzig in 1872). In 1848 and 1849 E. worked in Cologne for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* edited by Marx, and after its suppression he contributed, in 1850, to the *Politisch-ökonomische Revue.*[c] He witnessed the uprisings in Elberfeld, the Palatinate and Baden and took part in the Baden-Palatinate campaign as aide-de-camp in Willich's

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 477-519.—*Ed.*

[b] The February revolution of 1848 in France.—*Ed.*

[c] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.*—*Ed.*

volunteer corps. After the suppression of the Baden uprising E. returned as a refugee to England and re-entered his father's firm in Manchester in 1850. He retired from business in 1869 and has lived in London since 1870. He assisted his friend Marx in providing support for the international labour movement, which arose in 1864, and in carrying on social-democratic propaganda. E. was Secretary for Italy, Spain and Portugal on the General Council of the International. He advocates Marxian communism in opposition to both "petty bourgeois" Proudhonist and nihilistic Bakuninist anarchism. His main work is *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (Leipzig, 1845; new edition, Stuttgart, 1892), which, although one-sided, possesses undeniable scientific value. His *Anti-Dühring* is a polemic of considerable size (2nd ed. Zurich, 1886). E.'s other published works include *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* (Stuttgart, 1888), *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (4th ed. Stuttgart, 1892), *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (4th ed., Berlin, 1891). E. also published Vols 2 and 3 of Karl Marx's *Capital* and the 3rd and 4th editions of Vol. I, and contributed many articles to the *Neue Zeit.*

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Published in English for the first time

# [RECORD OF FREDERICK ENGELS' SPEECH AT A MEETING TO COMMEMORATE THE PARIS COMMUNE]

The speech of Mr. Engels (Dr. Marx's right hand) at the meeting he attended was very good.

He referred to the history of the past twenty-two years and said:

At the beginning of that time, the only two Englishmen connected with the International—Lucraft and Odger—left it because of its endorsing the policy of the Communards, and because Socialism was then looked upon as an abomination. In the autumn of 1871, a conference was held, and the proposal of a political party, distinct and separate from all other political parties, was first brought forward. The next year at the Hague, the English delegates took the side of the Anarchists in deprecating parliamentary action.[475] At that time, political effort on the part of the working classes was unknown. Now, the position has completely changed. The formation of the new Trade Unions in 1888[476] was the most important event that had ever happened in working class history, and had led to the formation for the first time of an Independent Labour Party,[477] which was bound to absorb all other parties. He thought this showed that the lessons of the Paris Commune had not been lost nor forgotten."

Amongst the other speakers at this gathering were Mrs. Eleanor Marx Aveling (Dr. Marx's daughter), Mr. F. Lessner (one of the founders of the International), Mr. Edward Bernstein and Mr. J. Connell. May the memory of the Paris Commune never die!

First published in *The Labour Elector*, No. 12, March 25, 1893

Reproduced from the newspaper

# [MESSAGE OF MAY DAY GREETINGS TO THE AUSTRIAN WORKERS. 1893]

*London.* Greetings on May Day. Long live the Austrian proletariat.

*Kautsky, Engels, Freyberger*

First published in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 18, May 5, 1893

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# [INTERVIEW OF FREDERICK ENGELS BY THE CORRESPONDENT OF *LE FIGARO* ON MAY 11, 1893][478]

...Having learnt the purpose of my visit, Engels told me the following:

"Germany is entering one of the gravest phases of its history, but let me add straightaway that we socialists have nothing to fear from the situation; on the contrary, we shall gain some major benefits from it. It is above all thanks to our efforts, that the military credits were refused.[479] It was impossible for the various parties in Parliament to ignore us, and even more so for the government, which knows full well that we are its most dangerous enemy. When the government motion to seek new military credits became known in Germany, the people were indignant, and the vote of the Centre and the Radicals[480] was certainly influenced by the pressure of public opinion.

"You see," added Engels, deliberately stressing his statement, "in Germany the people said: '*We have enough soldiers; there must be an end to it*!'"

"And the new Reichstag, Mr. Engels?"

"*As I speak to you,* it seems to me that the next Reichstag will be even less inclined to approve the credits than the old one. However, I do not shut my eyes to the possibility that we may see the newly elected deputies, with five years of legislature in front of them, negotiating with the government, which with a little *gentle arm-twisting* could force through a compromise. In the likely event of the Reichstag refusing the credits, it would be necessary to resort to a second dissolution, which I am convinced would result in the election of a Reichstag even more hostile to accepting the government's proposals. Then the conflict would move into a critical stage, and it would be a matter of finding out who is to

have power, Parliament or the emperor. It would be a repetition of the conflict between Bismarck and the Prussian Chamber in 1864, which was brought to an end by the war with Austria."[481]

By his very reply, Frederick Engels prompted me to ask him to consider the two eventualities already discussed in the European press: that of a domestic coup d'état and that of a diversion abroad.

"Today a coup d'état is no longer as easy as it used to be," replied my interlocutor briskly. "In 1864, at the time of Bismarck's clash with the Prussian Chamber, Prussia was a centralised state, whereas today the German Empire is a federal state. The central government would be taking too great a risk in attempting a coup d'état. In order to be certain of bringing it off, it would need the *unanimous* consent of these different federal governments. If *one* of these failed to accept the coup d'état, it would be released from its obligations towards the Empire, and that would mean the break-up of federal state. That is not all! The federal constitution is the only guarantee which the small states have against the domination of Prussia; in violating it themselves, they would be handing themselves over, bound hand and foot, to the mercies of the central power. Is it likely that Bavaria would capitulate to such an extent? No, and to reserve myself on this point, I tell you this: 'To carry out a coup d'état in Germany, the emperor would have to have either the people on his side—and he has not—or all the confederate governments, *and he will never have them all.*'"

Engels' last statement having failed to convince me, I insist on the possibility of a domestic coup d'état.

"Oh," he replied, "I am not saying that what I will call *the revolution from above* is not a threat for the future. Bebel and several of our friends have already said that they foresaw an attempted coup against universal suffrage."

"In that case, would you answer violence with violence?"

"We would not be mad enough to walk into the trap set by the government to catch us, because there is nothing the German government would like more than an insurrection, in order to crush us. We are all too well acquainted with the current state of our forces and those of the government to risk a game like that from sheer high spirits. Moreover, would William II dare to suppress universal suffrage *completely*? I do not think so. Perhaps he would raise the voting age and bestow upon us the *revised and corrected* suffrage" (and in uttering these words Engels started to laugh) "which Belgium is about to experience."[482]

"You do not fear the mass arrest of the opposition deputies?"

"Oh!" exclaimed Engels, "no-one in Germany considers such an event possible. There are confederate governments, such as Bavaria for example, which would never agree to sanction such a flagrant breach of the constitution. Do not lose sight of the fact that, for the small states, the imperial constitution and the Reichstag are the only weapons that can prevent their absorption by the Prussian Government."

We come to the hypothesis of a foreign diversion. Engels is far from being pessimistic.

"Obviously," he told me, "a war may occur. But who, today, would dare assume responsibility for provoking one, if not perhaps Russia, whose territory, because of its enormous area, cannot be conquered? And yet...! At the moment Russia is in such a situation that it could not keep up a war for four weeks unless it received money from abroad."

* * *

Here my interlocutor stopped for a moment, continuing with a scarcely contained note of anger:

"I really do not understand the French Government. It is Russia that needs France, not France Russia. Russia is ruined, its soil exhausted. If the French Government saw the situation as it really is, it could obtain from Russia everything it wanted... everything... except money and efficient military assistance. Without France Russia would be isolated, completely isolated. And do not speak to me of the military might of the Russians! Remember the Turkish war. Without the Roumanians, the Russians would have been powerless before Plevna.[483] No, the more I think about it, the less I believe in war. Its fortunes today are so uncertain! The armies are placed in totally new conditions which defy all calculations. There are rifles that fire ten rounds a minute, whose range approaches that of a cannon and whose bullets are endowed with unheard-of percussive force! There are melinite and roburite shells, etc.! All these terrible weapons of destruction have never been put to the test in wartime. Therefore we know nothing at all about the effect this revolution in armaments will have on tactics and on the morale of the troops.

"If William II wished to launch himself into a war he would encounter resistance from his own general staff; he would be made to *feel* the enormous risks of war. In the time of Napoleon III it was possible to have localised wars; today war

would be general, and *Europe would be at the mercy of England,* because England could starve to death at will one or other of the belligerents. Neither Germany nor France produces enough wheat within its borders; they are constrained to import it from abroad. In particular they acquire their provisions from Russia. Germany at war with Russia would not be able to obtain a single hectolitre. On the other hand, France would be cut off from supplies of Russian wheat by Central Europe entering the campaign against her. So that would leave only the sea-routes open. But the sea, in wartime, would be more than ever in the grip of the English. In return for a fee granted to the companies which run the various transoceanic services, the British Government has at its disposal vessels built *under its control*; so that once war was declared England would possess, apart from its powerful navy, fifty to sixty cruisers instructed to prevent provisions from reaching one or more of the belligerents to whom it wished to declare its opposition. If it remained neutral it would still be the supreme arbiter of the situation. While the belligerents exhausted themselves fighting, England would come along at the opportune moment to dictate the peace conditions. Anyway, you need not worry about the possibility of a war provoked by William II. The German emperor has lost a lot of his old fire...."

* * *

It remained for me to question Mr. Engels on one important matter: the chances of the German socialists at the next elections.

"I am convinced," he replied to this question, "that we will gain between 700,000 and one million votes more than in 1890. Thus we shall pick up altogether two and a quarter million, if not two and a half million votes. But the seats won will not correspond to this figure.... If the seats had been shared out equally in the last Reichstag, after the elections which gave us one and a half million votes, we would have had eighty deputies instead of thirty-six. Since the foundation of the empire, when the electoral districts were established, the distribution of the population has changed to our disadvantage. The rule which governed the formation of the electoral districts was this: one deputy per 100,000 inhabitants. Now Berlin, which still only has six deputies, currently has a population in excess of one and a half million. Nowadays Berlin should be regularly returning sixteen deputies. Another example: Cologne, which now has 250,000 inhabitants, still has only one deputy."

"Will the socialist party have candidates in all the constituencies?"

"Yes, we shall have candidates in all 400 constituencies. It is important to us that we should muster our forces."

"And what is your final goal as German socialists?" Mr. Engels looks at me for a few moments and then says:

"Why, we have no final goal. We are *evolutionaries,* we have no intention of dictating definitive laws to mankind. Prejudices instead of detailed organisation of the society of the future? You will find no trace of that amongst us. We shall be satisfied when we have placed the means of production in the hands of the community, and we fully realise that this is quite impossible with the present monarchist and federalist government."

I permit myself to observe that the day when the German socialists will be in a position to put their theories into practice still seems a long way off to me.

"Not as far as you think," replied Mr. Engels. "For me the time is approaching when our party will be called upon to take over the government. Towards the end of the century you may perhaps see this event come about.

"Indeed, take the figure of our supporters since the start of our parliamentary struggles. There is a steady progression at each election. Personally I am convinced that, if the last Reichstag had run the full legal term, that is to say if the elections had not taken place until 1895, we would have collected three and a half million votes. Now there are ten millions electors in Germany, and on average seven million who vote. With three and a half million electors out of seven million, the German empire cannot continue in its present form. And ... do not forget this fact, which is very important: the number of our electors tells us the number of our supporters in the army. With one and a half million out of ten million electors *already,* that is roughly a seventh of the population in our favour, and so we can count on one soldier out of six. When we have three and a half million votes—which is not far off—we shall have half the army."

When I express doubt as to the loyalty of the socialist troops in the army to their principles in the event of revolution, Mr. Engels makes the following statement, word-for-word:

"The day when we are in the majority, what the French army did instinctively in not firing on the people will be repeated in our country quite consciously. Yes, whatever the frightened bourgeois say, we are able to calculate the moment when we shall have the majority of the people behind us; our ideas are making headway everywhere, as much among teachers, doctors, lawyers, etc. as

among the workers. If we had to start wielding power tomorrow, we should need engineers, chemists, agronomists. Well, it is my conviction that we would have a good many of them behind us already. In five or ten years we shall have more of them than we need."

And with these extremely optimistic words from him I took my leave of Mr. Engels.

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Translated from the French

# [INTERVIEW OF FREDERICK ENGELS BY THE *DAILY CHRONICLE* CORRESPONDENT AT THE END OF JUNE 1893][484]

...I found Herr Engels at his house in Regent's Park Road, jubilant, of course, over the result of the elections to the German Reichstag.

"We have gained 10 seats," said he, in answer to my inquiries. "On the first ballot we obtained 24 seats, and out of 85 of our men left in the second ballots, 20 were returned. We gained 16 seats and lost 6, leaving us with a net gain of 10 seats. We hold 5 out of the 6 seats in Berlin."

"What is your gross poll?"

"That we shall not know until the Reichstag meets, when the returns will be presented, but you may take it at something over 2,000,000 votes. In 1890 we polled 1,427,000 votes. And you must remember that this is a purely socialist vote. All parties coalesced against us with the exception of a small number of the Volkspartei, which is a sort of Radical-Republican party.[485] We ran 391 candidates, and we refused to make terms with any other party. Had we cared to do so, we might have had 20 or 30 more seats, but we steadfastly set our faces against any compromise, and that is what makes our position so strong. None of our men are pledged to support any party or any measure excepting our own party programme."

"But surely your 2,000,000 votes ought to have carried more seats?"

"That is owing to the defects in the distribution of seats. When the Reichstag was first created, we were supposed to have equal electoral districts, with one member to every 100,000 inhabitants, but original inequalities and the growth and shifting of population have made the number of electors in each district very unequal. This tells heavily against us. Take the case of Liebknecht's seat in

Berlin. He polled 51,000 votes in a constituency which contains some 500,000 inhabitants."

"And how about the 6 seats you have lost?"

"Well, there are circumstances connected with each which explain their loss. Bremen was always looked upon as a fluke in 1890. In Lubeck, I have just heard from Bebel, many working people are away, and if the election had occurred in the winter we should have held the seat. Then, again, you must remember that trade depression affects us more than it does you, and we have had to fight against the bitter hostility of every employer of labour. Although voting is by ballot, interested people have found out means nullifying its secrecy. We don't vote marking a paper, as you do in England, but by means of ballot papers, which each voter brings with him. The depression of trade, besides, and the cholera epidemic of 1892, have compelled numbers of working men to accept public relief which disfranchises them for the term of a year.

"But I am more proud of our defeats than our victories," continued Herr Engels. "In Dresden (country district) we came within 100 of the votes polled for a candidate who received the suffrages of every other party, and in a total poll of 32,000. In Ottenseen our candidate came within 500 of a member who has been supported in the same way, on a gross poll of 27,000. In Stuttgart our candidate polled 13,315 votes, and he was only 128 behind the sitting member. In Lubeck we were only 154 behind on a total poll of 19,000. And, as I said before, these are all socialist votes polled against a combination of all other parties."

"Now, tell me what is your political programme?"

"Our programme is very nearly identical with that of the Social-Democratic Federation in England,[486] although our policy is very different."

"More nearly approaching that of the Fabian Society,[487] I suppose?"

"No, certainly not," replied the Herr, with great animation. "The Fabian Society, I take to be nothing but a branch of the Liberal Party. It looks for no social salvation except through the means which that party supplies. We are opposed to all the existing political parties, and we are going to fight them all. The English Social-Democratic Federation is, and acts, only like a small sect. It is an exclusive body. It has not understood how to take the lead of the working-class movement generally, and to direct it towards socialism. It has turned Marxism into an orthodoxy. Thus

it insisted upon John Burns unfurling the red flag at the dock strike, where such an act would have ruined the whole movement, and, instead of gaining over the dockers, would have driven them back into the arms of the capitalists. We don't do this. Yet our programme is a purely socialist one. Our first plank is the socialisation of all the means and instruments of production. Still, we accept anything which any government may give us, but only as a payment on account, and for which we offer no thanks. We always vote against the Budget, and against any vote for money or men for the Army. In constituencies where we have not had a candidate to vote for on the second ballot, our supporters have been instructed to vote only for those candidates who pledged to vote against the Army Bill, any increased taxation, and any restriction on popular rights."

"And what will be the effect of the election on German politics?"

"The Army Bill will be carried.[488] There is a complete breakdown of the Opposition. In fact, we are now the only real and compact Opposition. The National Liberals have joined the Conservatives. The Freisinnige party has split into two, and the elections have all but annihilated it. The Catholics and the small sections dare not risk another dissolution, and will give way sooner than face it."

"Now, coming to European politics, what do you think will be the effect of the elections on them?"

"Well, the Army Bill being voted, France and Russia will evidently do something in the same direction. France has already absorbed all her male population into her Army, even down to those who are physically unfit, but she will no doubt go in for improving her Army as a fighting machine. Russia will be met with the difficulty of obtaining officers. Austria and Germany will of course stick together."

"Then there is rather an ugly outlook for the peace of Europe?"

"Of course, any little thing may precipitate a conflict, but I don't think the rulers of these countries are anxious for war. The precision and range of the new quick-firing arms, and the introduction of smokeless powder, imply such a revolution in warfare that nobody can predict what will be the proper tactics for a battle fought under these novel conditions. It will be a leap in the dark. And the armies confronting each other in future will be so immense as to make all previous wars mere child's play in comparison with the next war."

"And what do you think will be the influence of the Social-Democratic Party in Europe?"

"For peace, undoubtedly. We have always protested against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, and after Sedan Marx and I drew up an address of the International, pointing out that the German people had no quarrel with the French Republic, and demanding peace on honourable terms, and also pointing out exactly what has happened—that the annexation would drive France into the arms of Russia, and would be a standing menace to the peace of Europe.[489] Our Party in the Reichstag has always demanded that the Alsace-Lorrainers should have the opportunity given them to decide their future destiny—whether they should rejoin France, remain German, join Switzerland, or become independent."

"Then you look for a 'United States of Europe' at no distant date?"

"Certainly. Everything is making in that direction. Our ideas are spreading in every European country. Here is" (producing a thick volume) "our new review for Roumania.[a] We have a similar one for Bulgaria.[b] The workers of the world are fast learning to unite."

"Can you give me any figures to illustrate the growth of socialism in Germany?"

Herr Engels then produced an elaborate diagram illustrating the number of votes polled by each party at every election to the Reichstag as at present constituted.

"In 1877", he said, "we polled 500,000 votes; in 1881, owing to the rigour of the Socialist Law,[2] only 300,000; in 1884, 550,000, and in 1890, 1,427,000. This time we have polled over 2,000,000."

"And to what do you attribute this marvellous growth?"

"Chiefly to economic causes. We have had as great an industrial revolution in Germany since 1860, with all its attendant evils, as you had in England from 1760 to 1810. Your manufacturers know this very well. Then, again, the present commercial depression has affected ours, a new industrial country, more than yours, an old one. Hence the pressure on the workers. I mean those of all classes. The small tradesman, crushed out by the big store, the clerk, the artisan, the labourer, both in town and country, are beginning to feel the pinch of our present capitalist system. And we place a scientific remedy before them, and as they can all read and think for themselves, they soon come round and join our ranks. Our organisation is perfect—the admiration and despair of

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[a] *Contemporanul.—Ed.*
[b] *Социалъ-Демократъ.—Ed.*

our opponents. It has been made perfect owing to the Socialist laws of Bismarck, which were very much like your coercion laws for Ireland. Then, again, our military training and discipline is invaluable. The whole of the 240,000 electors of Hamburg received our election addresses and literature in a quarter of an hour. In fact, last year the government of that town appealed to us to help it in sending round instructions as to how to deal with cholera."

"Then you expect soon to see, what everybody is curious to see—a Socialist Government in power?"

"Why not? If the growth of our Party continues at its normal rate we shall have a majority between the years 1900 and 1910. And when we do, you may be assured we shall neither be short of ideas nor men to carry them out. You people, I suppose, about that time, will be having a government, in which Mr. Sidney Webb will be growing gray in an attempt to permeate the Liberal Party. We don't believe in permeating middle-class parties. We are permeating the people."

First published in *The Daily Chronicle*, July 1, 1893

Reproduced from the newspaper

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] This article was inspired by the major victory scored by the Social-Democratic Party of Germany in the first round of the general elections to the Reichstag on February 20, 1890. The party polled 1,427,323 votes and received 20 (21 according to initial election returns) seats in the Reichstag. On March 1, the Social Democrats were successful at the run-off (a second ballot was held in the constituencies where none of the candidates had received an absolute majority in the first round). Engels learned the outcome of the second ballot after writing this article. All in all, the Social Democrats polled 1,427,298 votes and received 35 seats in the Reichstag.

The article in the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* (March 3, 1890) was prefaced by the editorial introduction cited below:

"The following article has been contributed by one of the most influential members of the German Socialistic party. By his long identification with the party, his intimate acquaintance with Karl Marx and the Socialistic leaders generally, the writer is well entitled to interpret their views—perhaps better than any one else."

Following publication in the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle,* the article was reprinted in the *Berliner Volksblatt* on April 6, 1890, under the heading "Ein Artikel Friedrich Engels". In the German translation, the edge was taken off some of Engels' phrases due, as the editors explained in the introduction, to the Anti-Socialist Law then in force in the country. p. 3

[2] This refers to the Anti-Socialist Law passed by the Reichstag on October 21, 1878 for the purpose of suppressing the socialist and the working-class movement. It banned all party organisations, mass workers' associations and the socialist and labour press, and authorised repressive actions against Social Democrats. However, the Social-Democratic Party, supported by Marx and Engels, had managed to strike a balance between underground work and legal activities, and to consolidate and expand its influence even in the years when the Anti-Socialist Law was in force. The Law's validity was extended in 1881, 1884, 1886 and 1888, and it was repealed on October 1, 1890. Engels gave an assessment of it in his essay "Bismarck and the German Working Men's Party" (present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 407-09.) p. 3

[3] Engels is apparently referring to the elections of 1878; despite the slander hurled against the party by the reactionary press, nine Social-Democratic deputies were elected, only three less than in 1877. p. 3

[4] The *National Liberals,* originally a Prussian, and from 1871 an all-German right-wing bourgeois political party that existed between 1867 and 1918, a mainstay of the Junker-bourgeois bloc. Its programme proclaimed civic equality and bourgeois-democratic freedoms, but against the background of a stronger working-class movement in Germany, it ceased campaigning for these issues and declared its satisfaction with Bismarck's half-hearted reforms. Following Germany's unification, it acquired its final shape as a party first and foremost of the big industrial bourgeoisie, and to all intents and purposes went back on the liberal programme it had previously advanced.

The *Centre,* a political party of German Catholics, came into being in June 1870 as a result of the merger between the Catholic groups in the Prussian Landtag and the German Reichstag (the seats occupied by the deputies from these groups were located in the centre of the assembly halls). The Centre usually adhered to a middle-of-the-road policy, manoeuvring between the parties supporting the government and the left-wing opposition groups in the Reichstag. It used the banner of Catholicism to bring together the Catholic clergy, the landowners, the bourgeoisie and part of the peasantry (i.e., strata of different social standing), mainly in the small and medium-sized states in Western and South-Western Germany, and encouraged their separatism and anti-Prussianism. The Centre opposed the Bismarck government, but still voted in favour of the steps it took against the working-class and socialist movement. Engels gave a detailed description of this party in his work "The Role of Force in History" (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 453-510), and also in the essay "What Now?" (see this volume, pp. 7-10).

The *Conservatives,* a Prussian Junker party encompassing the aristocracy, senior officers, and senior Lutheran clergy and civil servants, was founded in 1848 to combat the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848-49. In the initial years after Germany's unification, it stood in opposition to the Bismarck government, criticising it from the Right. Permeated with the spirit of Prussian hegemonism and militarism, the party resisted attempts to introduce bourgeois reforms. In 1866, the Party of Free Conservatives (or the German Imperialists) split from it. The new party represented the interests of big landowners and industrialists and extended unconditional support to Bismarck. p. 4

[5] Engels is referring to two decrees issued by William II on February 4, 1890, the eve of the elections to the Reichstag, and presenting the government's manifesto. The decrees pointed to the failure of Bismarck's punitive measures against the working-class movement and to the transition to a more flexible policy combined with stronger social demagogy.

The first decree was addressed to the Chancellor and instructed him to propose to some European governments the convention of an international conference to discuss the introduction of a single labour law. Such a conference did in fact take place in March 1890 in Berlin. Apart from Germany, taking part in it were government representatives from Britain, France, Austria-Hungary, Italy and other countries. The conference passed resolutions banning the employment of children under 12 and reducing working hours for teenagers and women. But these resolutions were not binding on its signatories.

The second decree, addressed to the Ministers of Public Works and of Commerce and Industry voiced the Emperor's wish to revise the labour law of

the time, supposedly with a view to improving the conditions of workers employed at state and private enterprises. p. 4

6 This article, like the previous one, was prompted by the elections to the Reichstag, the first round of which was held on February 20, 1890 (see Note 1). p. 7

7 The *Cartel,* a bloc of the Conservatives and the Free Conservatives with the National Liberals (see Note 4), which was formed after Bismarck had dissolved the Reichstag in January 1887 and which supported his government. The Cartel was victorious at the February 1887 elections and received a majority (220) of the seats in the Reichstag. Leaning on the bloc, Bismarck managed to get a number of laws passed which promoted the interests of the Junkers and big bourgeoisie (introduction of protective tariffs, higher taxes, etc.). However, he failed to get the Anti-Socialist Law extended in 1890 (see Note 2). Growing discord between the parties incorporated in the Cartel and defeat at the 1890 elections (a mere 132 seats) brought about its collapse. p. 7

8 The *Deutsche Freisinnige Partei* was formed in 1884 as a result of the merger of the Party of Progress and the Left wing of the National Liberals. Among its leaders was Eugen Richter, a deputy to the Reichstag. The party represented the interests of the middle class and was in opposition to the Bismarck government. p. 8

9 The *Guelphs*—a party established in 1866 after Hanover had joined Prussia. The name derives from the old House of Guelphs. The party's objective was to reinstate the rights of the Royal House of Hanover and Hanover's autonomy in the German Empire. It sided with the Centre.

The representatives of national minorities (Poles, the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine) and in addition the Hanoverian Guelphs in the Reichstag dissatisfied with the policy of national oppression, allied themselves with the major opposition parties and frequently acted in collaboration with the Party of the Centre. p. 8

10 An ironical reference to the outcome of the *Kulturkampf,* a set of measures introduced by the Bismarck government in 1871-75 under a campaign for secular culture. The main thrust of this campaign (clergymen were forbidden to conduct political agitation and to supervise education; nearly all Catholic Orders were disbanded, the state appointed Church leaders) was directed against the Catholic Church and the Party of the Centre (see Note 4), which were following an anti-Prussian line. However, the persecution and the blatant interference in the internal affairs of the Church only served to consolidate clericalism. Bismarck, who in May 1872 declared in the Reichstag: "We shall not go to Canossa" was forced in the late 1870s to effect a reconciliation with the clergy and repeal nearly all anti-Catholic laws in order to unite all reactionary elements in a campaign against the working-class movement.

The phrase "to go to Canossa" derives from the humiliating pilgrimage made by the German Emperor Henry IV to the Castle of Canossa, Northern Italy, in 1077 to plead with Pope Gregory VII to revoke his decision that he be excommunicated. p. 9

11 See Note 5. p. 9

12 The Delphic Oracle ambiguously prophesied to Croesus that if the latter crossed the Halys River, he would bring ruin on a vast kingdom. Croesus' own kingdom perished in a war with the Persian King Cyrus. p. 9

[13] Engels was prompted to write the essay "The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom" by the deteriorating situation in Europe in the late 1880s-early 1890s and the mounting threat of a world war engendered by the formation of two military-political blocs, the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy), and the Franco-Russian alliance, which was taking on definite shape as the essay was being written. In the works written over that period Engels repeatedly dealt with problems of militarism, chauvinism, competition in armaments and the predatory policies of European states (see "Introduction to Sigismund Borkheim's Pamphlet *In Memory of the German Blood-and-Thunder Patriots. 1806-1807*", present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 407-52 and "Socialism in Germany" and "Can Europe Disarm?", this volume, pp. 235-50, 367-93). This work continues his anti-militarist campaign sustained through the press and correspondence with socialists in many countries. It was prompted by Vera Zasulich's request on behalf of the Russian Marxist *Sotsial-demokrat* magazine (preparations for its publication were underway in London) for Engels' collaboration. Engels responded by sending his essay for publication in Russian (translated from the German). He also decided to simultaneously have it published in other socialist papers and magazines (see Engels' letter to Vera Zasulich of April 3, 1890, present edition, Vol. 48).

The first chapter of the work was published in the *Sotsial-demokrat,* No. 1, February 1890, and the end, in its next issue which did not appear until August 1890. Over that period, two chapters were published in the April issue of *Die Neue Zeit* with editorial changes that Engels had not authorised (e.g., milder descriptions of the Russian and German ruling circles and representatives of the Hohenzollern dynasty, etc.). Engels learned about this editorial interference when he received the first book of the *Sotsial-demokrat* (c. April 1, 1890) and compared the Russian translation with the *Neue Zeit* version. He strongly protested against such treatment of his work and demanded that the first chapters be reprinted in conformity with the original (see his letters to Kautsky, editor of the journal, and Dietz, its publisher, of April 1, 1890, present edition, Vol. 48). In the May issue of the journal, these chapters appeared without changes together with chapter three; they were supplied with an editorial footnote by the editors: "As a result of a misunderstanding, several deviations from the original occurred in the publication of chapters I and II, which appeared in the April issue, substantially affecting the character of the article. Our readers will certainly appreciate it if, instead of correcting individual passages, we reproduce the entire article in its original form. The present issue carries it in full." The publication was dated "London, late February 1890", when the work was completed.

The article appeared in English in *Time,* April and May issues, 1890. When working on the article's translation into English, Engels somewhat revised and complemented the text. Judging by the content of some of the changes he introduced, the translation of chapters two and three for *Time* was made later than February 1890, probably in March of that year.

The work was quite widely known in Engels' lifetime. In 1893, it appeared as a separate edition in Polish and was published by the Romanian journal *Contemporanul,* No. 7, 1890, the French *Idée nouvelle,* 1890 (first two chapters), and the Bulgarian *Balkanska zora* on February 21-March 3, 1891.

The concluding part of the work dealing with the situation in Europe was published as piece in its own right in the newspapers *Nord Wacht,* No. 28, July 13, 1890 and *Wähler,* No. 113, July 1, 1890. p. 11

[14] The reference is to the assassination of Russian Emperor Paul I by palace conspirators in March 1801. p. 15

[15] Engels is referring to the introduction of universal compulsory conscription to replace recruit conscription in Russia in 1874. Under the army Rules that came into force on January 1, 1874, all males in Russia between the ages of 21 and 43, with the exception of Central Asians, Kazakhs and a number of nationalities from the Caucasus, Siberia, the Volga region and the Far North, were obliged to do military service in the regular army, the reserves or the militia. Conscription was effected by drawing lots. However, under the autocratic system of tsarist Russia, the introduction of compulsory military service on the model of bourgeois states was obstructed by the estates' privileges and numerous rights extended to the propertied classes, and by unequal conditions of service for people from various walks of life, etc. p. 16

[16] The reference is to the wars of the Sixth (1813-14) and Seventh (1815) Coalitions of European States against Napoleonic France. In the war of 1813-14, Russian troops made up over a third of the army formed by the allies (Russia, Britain, Austria, Prussia and other states) and played a major part in liberating Germany from Napoleonic rule and defeating Napoleon's troops on French territory, which eventually brought about the collapse of the First Empire. p. 17

[17] Engels is referring to *liberum veto* (literally, "freedom of prohibition"), which was in force in feudal Poland in the 17th and 18th centuries and implied the right of any member of the Sejm to revoke its decisions. Decisions had to be unanimous. The right of liberum veto was extensively used by the magnates to promote their own private ends and was one of the factors that encouraged feudal anarchy. It mirrored the incompleteness of state centralisation and the weakness of royal authority. p. 18

[18] Appraising tsarist Russia's policy towards Poland in the 18th century, Engels uses the term "Principle of Nationalities" advanced by Napoleon III and widely used by the ruling quarters of the Second Empire as an ideological smokescreen for predatory designs and political adventures abroad. Casting himself in the thoroughly hypocritical role of "protector of nationalities" Napoleon III sought to exploit the national interests of the oppressed people as a means to consolidate the positions of France in her competition with other great powers and to expand the country's frontiers. Marx exposed the "Principle of Nationalities" in his pamphlet *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 133-83) and Engels did the same in his work "What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?" (present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 152-61). p. 18

[19] The reference is to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, a feudal state formed in the early 13th century. Between the mid-13th and the early 15th century, Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Western Russian territories fell under the rule of the Lithuanian princes. Lithuanian feudal lords succeeded in gaining these territories because these lands were weakened by the Mongol-Tartar yoke, feudal fragmentation and strife.

The first attempt to unite Poland and Lithuania was made in 1385, when the two states signed the Union of Krevo, principally for the purpose of jointly fighting the mounting aggression of the Teutonic Order. The Union provided for the incorporation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania into Poland and the imposition of Catholicism on Lithuania. Up to the mid-15th century, the Union

fell apart and was revived several times. Eventually, it ceased to be a defensive alliance and turned into an association of Polish and Lithuanian feudal lords directed against the people of the Ukraine and Byelorussia. In 1569, the Union of Lublin was concluded under which Poland and Lithuania formed a single state that assumed the name of Rzecz Pospolita (Republic), with Lithuania retaining its autonomy. p. 18

20 In the 16th century, the Jesuits vigorously fought the Reformation and the spread of Protestantism in Europe. Their Order became a leading factor in the Catholic reactionary movement widely known as the Counter-Reformation. The Polish Catholic clergy had called in the Jesuits in 1564, who as early as 1575 established the Polish Provinces of their Order. p. 18

21 The *Uniate Greco-Catholics* were Christians belonging to the Uniate Church that emerged as a result of the union between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic churches. The Union was formed on the demand of the Polish feudal lords and the Catholic clergy (mainly Jesuits) voiced at the Synod in Brest in 1596. The union provided for Catholic supremacy but preserved a substantial portion of Orthodox rites. The Union was a tool in the hands of Polish magnates and the aristocracy, who sought to consolidate their rule in the Ukraine and Byelorussia. Supported by senior clergy and the local feudal nobility, it was opposed by the masses, who made the struggle against the Uniate Church one of the objects of their liberation movement at the end of the 16th-beginning of the 17th century. p. 19

22 See Note 17. p. 19

23 The *Peace of Westphalia* of 1648, which concluded the Thirty Years' War (1618-48), is the name given to two peace treaties, the one between the German Emperor, the German princes and Sweden signed in Osnabrück, and the other between the German Emperor and France signed in Münster (both of them Westphalian towns). Under its terms, Germany lost a significant part of its territory owing to the collusion of the victor states (Sweden and France) with the German princes. Sweden got all of Western Pomerania, including the Island of Rügen, a number of territories in Eastern Pomerania, some of the church lands, etc. France got the former Habsburg territories in Alsace, and its rights to territories captured earlier were confirmed. Some of the German principalities also added to their possessions. The Peace of Westphalia sealed the political disunity of Germany. The German princes received the right to pursue independent foreign policies and conclude alliances among themselves and with foreign states. p. 19

24 The reference is to the counterfeit document used by West European politicians and journalists in their propaganda campaign against Russia whenever relations with that country deteriorated. The legend about a Testament of Peter the Great first emerged in the West back in 1797. The substance of the allegedly authentic document was recounted in Ch.-L. Lesur's *Des progrès de la puissance russe, depuis son origine jusqu'au commencement du XIX-e siècle* (Paris, 1812), and in 1836 the forgery was presented as an authentic document in the *Mémoires du chevalièr d'Eon* published by F. Gaillardet. In the 19th century, Western Europe was firmly convinced that the Testament was either genuine or drawn up on the instructions of Peter I's successors. That the testament was a forgery was first proved by the Riga librarian G. Berkholz in his works "Das Testament Peters des Grossen" (*Baltische Monatsschrift,* Oktober 1859, S. 61-73), and *Napoléon I—auteur du testament de Pierre-le-grand,* Brussels, 1863. p. 20

[25] The *Seven Years' War* (1756-63), the war between two coalitions of European states, Anglo-Prussian, on the one hand, and Franco-Russo-Austrian, on the other. The cause of the war was the clashing interests of the feudal-absolutist powers (Prussia, Austria, Russia and France) and colonial rivalry between France and Britain. Besides the war at sea, hostilities took place in Europe and in some of the combatants' American and Asian colonies. In 1756-57, the troops of Frederick II of Prussia scored a number of victories over the Austrian and the French armies, but the Russian successes in Prussia in 1757-60 reduced the Prussian triumph to zero, putting the country on the brink of defeat. An abrupt revision of Russia's foreign policy after the death of Empress Elizabeth on January 5, 1762 and the accession of Peter III, who concluded peace with Prussia, gave the latter a chance to end the war with Austria as well. The Seven Years' War ended with the signing of the Paris and Hubertusburg peace treaties in 1763. Under the Paris Treaty, France was to cede to Britain its major colonies, including Canada, nearly all of its possessions in the East Indies and some others, which consolidated Britain's colonial and naval might. The Peace of Hubertusburg re-established Prussia and Austria in their prewar frontiers. p. 21

[26] The *St. Petersburg Treaty* of April 11, 1764 was concluded by Russia and Prussia for a term of 8 years for defensive purposes. It was signed by N. I. Panin and Vice-Chancellor A. M. Golitsin on behalf of Russia, and by the Prussian Envoy to St. Petersburg, V. F. Solms. The parties guaranteed inviolability of territories, military and financial aid in the event of attack, and observation of commercial interests. The secret clauses stipulated that Russia and Prussia undertook to prevent changes in the Swedish and Polish constitutions. A special clause set out Prussia's obligation to support a Russian-approved successor to the Polish throne. The treaty reflected the desire of Prussia and Russia to prevent any growth of Austrian and French influence in Poland. p. 22

[27] The first partition of Poland among Prussia, Austria and Russia was effected in 1772. Under the conventions on the partition signed in St. Petersburg on August 5, 1772, Austria and Prussia received some of the West Ukrainian and old Polish territories. Galicia went to Austria, and Warmia, parts of Pomerania, Kujawia, Greater Poland to Prussia. Russia received Latgale and part of Eastern Byelorussia. p. 22

[28] The *principle of legitimacy* was proclaimed by Talleyrand at the Vienna Congress of European monarchs and their ministers held in 1814-15. To all intents and purposes, it meant the restoration of the "legitimate" dynasties and monarchies overthrown during the French Revolution of 1789-94 and the Napoleonic wars. p. 22

[29] The reference is to the *Bavarian Succession War* (1778-79) provoked by the claims of German states to various parts of Bavaria after the death of Elector Maximilian-Joseph, who had no direct heirs, and by the struggle between Austria and Prussia for supremacy in Germany. The war ended with the signing, in May 1779, of the Treaty of Teschen between Austria, on the one hand, and Prussia and Saxony, on the other. Under the Treaty, Prussia and Austria received some Bavarian territories, and Saxony, a sum of money by way of compensation. The Bavarian throne passed to the Elector of the Palatinate. The Treaty of Teschen confirmed a number of treaties signed by the German states at earlier dates, from the Peace of Westphalia (1648) to the Peace of Hubertusburg (1763) (see notes 23 and 25). Originally an intermediary between

the belligerents, Russia was declared, together with France, a guarantor of the order established by the Treaty, thus in fact gaining the right to interfere in the affairs of the German states. p. 23

[30] Engels refers to the Russo-Turkish wars of 1768-74 and 1787-92, in which Russia emerged victorious. At the time of the wars, the appearance of the Russian navy in the Archipelago gave rise to an anti-Turkish campaign: in 1770, a mass revolt in Peloponnesus, and in 1786, an uprising in Suli, Southern Albania. These poorly prepared revolts were doomed to failure. p. 23

[31] The principles of *armed neutrality* were first formulated in a declaration issued by Catherine II on February 28 (March 11), 1780. It proclaimed the right of neutral states to carry on trade with belligerent ones and the inviolability of enemy property (with the exception of war contraband) under a neutral flag. The declaration, supported by Austria, Denmark, Holland, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Portugal, Prussia and Sweden, provided the basis for the first Armed Neutrality (1780-83). In 1800, when Britain was at war with Napoleonic France, the second Armed Neutrality was formed by Denmark, Prussia, Russia and Sweden.

The principle of armed neutrality as a collective means for neutral states to resist aggression was finalised by the Paris Declaration of 1856 (*Declaration réglant divers joints du droit maritime, signée ... à Paris le 16 avril 1856*), signed by Austrian, French, British, Prussian, Russian, Sardinian and Turkish representatives. It banned privateering and protected the trade vessels of the neutral state against assault by belligerent countries. The signing of the Declaration signified diplomatic victory for Russia, which opposed the British claim to examine and requisition vessels belonging to neutral states. The Declaration was attached to the Peace of Paris signed on March 30, 1856 by the participants in the Crimean war of 1853-56. p. 24

[32] The reference is to the second and third partitions of Poland in 1793 and 1795 as a result of the aggressive policies of Austria, Prussia and Russia and which served as a means of suppressing the Polish national movement. Under the second partition, Russia received part of Byelorussia (White Russia) and the Right-bank Ukraine (Little Russia); Prussia—Gdansk, Thorun and part of Greater Poland. Austria was not involved in the second partition.

Under the third partition, Russia received Lithuania, Courland, the western regions of Byelorussia and part of Volhynia; Austria, part of Little Poland with Lublin and Cracow. The bulk of the old Polish lands went to Prussia. The third partition put an end to the existence of Poland as an independent state. p. 24

[33] The reference is to the coalition formed by the European feudal-absolutist states against revolutionary France. A significant part in its formation was performed by Britain. In February 1792, Prussia and Austria with the support of Britain and Russia concluded a military alliance and invaded France. In 1793, after the declaration of the republic (August 10, 1792) and the execution of King Louis XVI (January 1793), the anti-French coalition was openly joined by Britain, Holland, Spain, Naples, Sardinia and a number of small German and Italian states. The war between France and the first coalition lasted up to 1797. p. 24

[34] The reference is to the Polish national liberation uprising led by Tadeusz Kościuszko in March-November 1794. Its watchword was unification of the Polish lands received by Austria, Prussia and Russia under the partitions of

1772 and 1793. It called for more extensive progressive reforms. Having engaged some of the Prussian forces, the uprising contributed to the success of the French revolutionary army and paved the way for Prussia's withdrawal from the first anti-French coalition of European powers in 1795. p. 24

35 In the summer of 1783, the Swedish King Gustavus III and Empress Catherine II met in Frederikshamn (Finland). King Gustavus wished to ascertain the Empress' intentions with respect to Turkey and the Crimea, and her attitude to Sweden's plans to annex Norway. For her part, Catherine II was seeking rapprochement with Sweden in connection with the preparations for a war with Turkey. p. 24

36 The *Peace of Lunéville* was signed by Austria and France on February 9, 1801 following the defeat of the second anti-French coalition of European states (Russia, Britain, Austria, Turkey and the Kingdom of Naples) (1798-1801). Under the terms of the peace treaty, Austria ceded large territories in Germany and Italy to France, and recognised the republics dependent on France in Holland, Switzerland and Northern Italy. p. 25

37 See Note 29. p. 26

38 The *Reichs-Deputations-Hauptschluss* (decision of the Imperial Deputation, a commission made up of the representatives of German states appointed by the German Reichstag in October 1801) was taken on February 25, 1803; it liquidated a large number of small states in West Germany. Their territories were incorporated into larger German states as compensation for the territories on the left bank of the Rhine that went over to France under the Peace of Lunéville. As a result, 112 German states with a total population of three million ceased to exist (most of them, ecclesiastical estates and imperial cities). The main beneficiaries were Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden, all of them totally dependent on Napoleonic France, and also Prussia. The Imperial Deputation's decision gave a legal and official form to the provisions of the secret convention concluded between France and Russia in October 1801, which provided for territorial compensation in Rhenish Germany in the interests of Napoleonic France. p. 26

39 The *Battle of Austerlitz* (Moravia) that took place on December 2, 1805 between the Russo-Austrian and the French armies was won by Napoleon I. After this defeat, Austria withdrew from the third anti-French coalition and concluded a peace treaty with Napoleon. Russia and Britain formed a new, fourth coalition in 1806 and continued the war.

The *Confederation (Confederacy) of the Rhine,* an alliance of Southern and Western German states founded under Napoleon I's protectorate in July 1806. The establishment of this military and political alliance in Germany was made possible by the Austrian defeat of 1805. When the Confederation of the Rhine was formed, the medieval Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation ceased to exist. Originally, the Confederation of the Rhine embraced 16 states including Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden, and later five more (Saxony and Westphalia among them) which to all intents and purposes became vassals of Napoleonic France. Their troops took part in Napoleonic wars of conquest, including the Russian campaign of 1812. The Confederation fell apart in 1813 when the French army was defeated. p. 27

40 Engels is referring to some of the battles against Napoleonic France fought in 1806-07 by the fourth coalition (Britain, Russia, and Prussia, which in July 1806 concluded a secret treaty with Russia against Napoleon, and Sweden).

In the *Battle of Jena* (Thuringia) on October 14, 1806 the Prussian troops were defeated by Napoleon's army, which brought about Prussia's capitulation.

The *Battle of Preussisch-Eylau* (East Prussia) on February 7-8, 1807 between the French and the Russian troops was one of the bloodiest in the war of the fourth coalition against France. The battle was indecisive.

The *Battle of Friedland* (East Prussia) between French and Russian troops on June 14, 1807 was won by Napoleon's army.

The *Treaty of Tilsit*—the peace treaties concluded on July 7 and 9, 1807 by Napoleonic France with Russia and Prussia, members of the fourth anti-French coalition, which was defeated in the campaigns of 1806 and 1807. In an attempt to divide the defeated powers, Napoleon made no territorial claims on Russia and even managed to have part of Prussia's eastern possessions (the Bialystok region) transferred to it. At the same time, harsh terms were imposed on Prussia, which lost nearly half its territory to the German states dependent on France. It was also obliged to pay an indemnity, had limits imposed on the strength of its army, etc. However, Russia, along with Prussia, had to sever its alliance with Britain and, to its own disadvantage, join the Continental System. Napoleon formed the vassal Grand Duchy of Warsaw on Polish territory seized by Prussia during the partitions of Poland in the late 18th century, and planned to use it as a bridgehead in the event of war with Russia. The further aggravation of Russo-French differences led to Napoleon's campaign against Russia in 1812. p. 27

41 This refers to the Russian army crossing the Gulf of Bothnia in the winter of 1809 during the Russo-Swedish war of 1808-09. The Russian troops' entry into Sweden hastened the coup d'état effected in the interests of the aristocratic oligarchy. In March 1809, Gustavus IV was deposed and his uncle declared king under the name of Charles XIII shortly afterwards. In September of the same year, Sweden was forced to conclude the Frederikshamn Peace Treaty with Russia and to cede Finland to it. p. 27

42 In August 1812, Abo (Turku) hosted a meeting between Alexander I and Marshal Bernadotte, heir to the Swedish throne. The outcome of the meeting was a convention signed by Sweden and Russia on August 30, 1812, which formalised what was in fact a military alliance between these two states spearheaded against Napoleonic France. Under the convention Russia also assumed an obligation to render Sweden military aid against Denmark should the latter refuse to cede Norway to the King of Sweden. In its turn, Sweden undertook to support the territorial claims of the Russian government, specifically with respect to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which was dependent on Napoleon.

In October 1813, Sweden opened hostilities against Denmark in which Russian units took part. Denmark was defeated and a peace treaty signed in Kiel on January 14, 1814. Under its terms, Norway was given over to Sweden. In November of that year, it was declared that Norway was joining Sweden on the basis of a personal union.

On Catherine's plan see pp. 24-25 of this volume. p. 27

43 When Alexander I and Napoleon I met in Tilsit in June and July 1807, the latter promised to support the plan to annex the Danubian principalities to Russia.

Napoleon I and Alexander I met for a second time in Erfurt on September 27-October 14, 1808. Napoleon, who was concerned about the growing national liberation movement in the countries he had conquered, particularly in Spain,

and fearing that Austria might rise against him, hoped to secure a promise of assistance from Alexander in the event of war with Austria, promising, in return, his support for Russia's claim to Moldavia and Wallachia. The talks ended in the signing of a secret convention which provided for a formal renewal of the Franco-Russian alliance signed in 1807 in Tilsit. However, Alexander refused to give Napoleon direct support in his campaign against Austria. At the time of the Franco-Austrian war of 1809, Russia confined its actions to the occupation of Galicia but declined to engage in active hostilities against Austria. p. 27

44 The *Russo-Turkish war of 1806-12* was caused by the attempts of Turkey to win back supremacy in the Black Sea area which had been undermined by defeats in the wars with Russia, the efforts of Napoleon's diplomats to make Russia direct its forces away from the struggle against France, and Russia's plans to consolidate its position in Moldavia and Wallachia. In the course of the war, Russian troops dealt the Turkish army crippling blows on the European and Caucasian theatres of war, and in 1811 smashed the principal forces of the Turkish army on the Danube. Under the Bucharest Treaty signed on May 28, 1812, Russia received Bessarabia as far as the River Prut and the right of commercial navigation on the Danube, as well as a number of territories in Transcaucasia. The Treaty confirmed the earlier agreements between Russia and Turkey concerning the recognition of Moldavia's and Wallachia's autonomous rights.

Russia's victory in the war objectively facilitated the emancipation of the peoples of the Caucasus and the Balkans from the Turkish rule. Successful action by the Russian troops in the Balkans was of substantial help to the popular uprising in Serbia in 1804-13, which was a major landmark in the long history of the Serbian people's national liberation struggle against the rule of the Turkish feudal lords. In the course of the uprising, the Serbs drove away the Turkish invaders and in 1805-11 achieved domestic autonomy. Under the Bucharest Treaty of 1812, Turkey was to grant Serbia autonomy in matters of domestic administration. However, capitalising on the French army's invasion of Russia, the Sultan broke the agreement and in 1813 launched a punitive campaign against Serbia and temporarily reinstated his own dominion there. A further victorious Serbian uprising in 1815, together with Russia's diplomatic aid, overthrew the Turkish yoke; after the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29, the Sultan's special firman of 1830 recognised the autonomy (actual independence) of Serbia from Turkey. p. 27

45 The *Continental System,* or the *Continental Blockade,* declared by Napoleon in 1806 and maintained up to 1814, banned the continental European countries from trading with Britain. Russia's enforced participation in it was an outcome of the Peace of Tilsit of 1807. p. 28

46 A reference to the *battle of Leipzig* on October 16-19, 1813 between the armies of the sixth European coalition (Russia, Austria, Prussia, Britain, Sweden, Spain and some other states) and Napoleonic France. This "battle of the nations" ended in victory for the anti-French coalition and led to Germany's liberation from Napoleonic rule. p. 28

47 See Note 39. p. 28

48 The *Treaty of Bucharest of 1812*—see Note 44.

By decision of the Vienna Congress of European monarchs and their ministers which sat, with some intervals, between 1814 and 1815 following the

defeat of Napoleonic France, the map of Europe was redrawn with a view to restoring the legitimate monarchies and in total disregard for the interests of national unification and the independence of nations. Poland was once more divided between Austria, Prussia and Russia, with the bulk of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw (see Note 40) going to Russia under the name of the Kingdom of Poland. p. 29

49 Sweden received Norway as a result of the war of 1807-14 between Denmark, an ally of France, on the one hand, and Britain and Sweden, on the other. This formed part of the Napoleonic wars. Under the Swedish-Danish peace treaty of 1814, Denmark exchanged Norway for Swedish Pomerania. The Norwegian-Swedish personal union (see Note 42) was formalised by the decision of the Vienna Congress of 1814-15 (see Note 48). p. 29

50 The *Holy Alliance,* an association of European monarchs founded in 1815 to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries. The Holy Alliance, in which the main role was played by Russia, Austria and Prussia, was dissolved in the late 1820s, but after the 1830 and 1848-49 revolutions attempts were made to resurrect it. p. 29

51 Engels is referring to the Greek revolt which began in the spring of 1821 and soon assumed a massive scale. In January 1822, the National Congress convened in Epidaurus proclaimed Greek independence and adopted a constitution. The Sultan of Turkey, who was unable to suppress the insurgent Greeks relying solely on his own forces, called in his vassal, the Egyptian ruler Mehemet Ali, whose troops invaded Morea in 1825, severely putting down the Greek revolt. At the outset of the uprising, the Holy Alliance, notably Russia, took a very negative stand towards it. However, the tremendous sympathy that the Greeks' struggle aroused everywhere, and, most important, a chance to use it to consolidate their position in the south of the Balkans prompted Britain, Russia and France to recognise Greece as a country at war and render it military aid. Of decisive significance was the victory of Russia in the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29, which meant that Turkey was forced to recognise Greece as an independent state. However, a decision was taken by the European powers to establish monarchy in Greece in 1832, with the throne going to Otto, second son of King Louis of Bavaria. p. 30

52 The reference is to the bourgeois revolutions in Spain (1820-23), the Kingdom of Naples (1820-21) and Piedmont (1821). The revolutionary movement in these countries was suppressed as a result of intervention by the Holy Alliance which sent French troops to Spain and Austrian troops to Italy. p. 30

53 These congresses of the Holy Alliance took place in Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) in 1818, Troppau (Opava) in 1820, Laibach (Ljubljana) in 1821, and Verona in 1822. Their decisions were aimed at suppressing bourgeois-democratic revolutions and the national liberation movements in European countries. p. 31

54 At *Navarino* (now Pylos, a sea port in Greece), the Turko-Egyptian fleet clashed with the British, French and Russian squadrons sent into Greek waters for armed mediation in the war between Turkey and the Greek insurgents. The battle was fought after the Turkish command had refused to end the massacre of the Greek population. The forces of the three European powers, commanded by the British Vice-Admiral Edward Codrington, routed the Turko-Egyptian fleet. This promoted the Greek national liberation struggle and Russia's success in its war against Turkey in 1828 and 1829. p. 32

55 The *Treaty of Adrianople* was concluded by Turkey and Russia in September 1829 following the war of 1828-29. Under the Treaty, Russia obtained the Danube delta, including the islands and a considerable part of the eastern Black Sea coast south of the Kuban estuary. Turkey was to recognise the autonomy of Moldavia and Wallachia, granting them the right to elect their own hospodars (rulers). Their autonomy was to be guaranteed by Russia. The Turkish government also undertook to recognise the independence of Greece, whose only obligation to Turkey was to pay an annual tribute to the Sultan, and to abide by all the previous treaties relating to the autonomy of Serbia, which was to be formalised by a special firman. p. 33

56 The July bourgeois revolution of 1830 in France. p. 33

57 The reference is to the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, which was caused by the national and police oppression orchestrated by the autocracy. It began on November 29, 1830 in Warsaw as a military coup d'état but soon assumed a popular character and led to the withdrawal of Russian troops. However, the aristocracy at the helm of the Polish government and in the army remained passive and obstructed the involvement of the masses in the national liberation movement. Representatives of bourgeois-democratic quarters failed to get serfdom abolished, which deprived the insurrection of peasant support. The hostilities, which began in February 1831, eventually forced the Polish government to capitulate on September 8 and surrender Warsaw to the tsarist forces. Although the Polish insurrection was smashed, it nevertheless made a great contribution to the national liberation struggle of the Polish people and was of major international significance. It foiled the plans for a campaign against the French revolution of 1830 and promoted the advance of the revolutionary movement in many European countries. p. 33

58 The *Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi* (Hunkiar Iskelessi) was signed by Russia and Turkey on July 8, 1833. Prior to that, in the spring of the same year, Russian troops had landed in Unkiar-Skelessi, on the Bosphorus, to help protect the Turkish capital from the army of Ibrahim Pasha, son of Mehemet Ali, the ruler of Egypt who had rebelled against the Sultan of Turkey. In May 1833, the Porte concluded peace with Mehemet Ali through the mediation of Britain and France, ceding Syria and Palestine to Egypt. However, the Russian government, taking advantage of the tense situation and the presence of Russian troops in Turkey, induced the Porte to conclude a defence treaty with Russia which contained a secret clause obliging Turkey to close the Straits to all foreign warships except Russian ones. This clause remained in force until the Turko-Egyptian war of 1839-41, when Nicholas I was compelled to agree to the closure of the Straits to non-Turkish warships in peacetime. p. 34

59 The start of the new Turko-Egyptian war (1839-41) led to the mounting controversy between Britain and France, with the latter extending secret assistance to Egyptian ruler Mehemet Ali. Fearing Russia's unilateral intervention in the conflict on the side of the Sultan, Britain managed to persuade the Western powers to offer the Porte collective military assistance. On July 15, 1840, Britain, Russia, Prussia, Austria and Turkey, leaving out France, signed a convention in London on assistance to the Sultan of Turkey. A threat of war between France and the coalition of European states arose; however, France thought better of it and agreed not to support Mehemet Ali. As a result of British and Austrian military intervention, Mehemet Ali was forced to give up his possessions outside Egypt and submit to the Sultan's supreme rule. p. 34

60 *Règlement organique* (1831-32), constitutional acts laying down the socio-political system of the Danubian Principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia) after the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29. The *Règlement,* based on a draft framed by P. D. Kiselev, head of the Russian administration, was adopted by an assembly of boyars and clergymen. Legislative power in each of the Principalities was vested in an assembly elected by the big landowners. Executive power was in the hands of the hospodars, rulers elected for life by representatives of the landowners, the clergy and the towns. The *Règlement* envisaged a number of bourgeois reforms: abolition of internal customs duties, introduction of free trade and the right of peasants to move from one owner to another. However, in view of the preservation of serfdom and concentration of political power in the hands of the big landowners and the boyars, the progressive forces in the Principalities regarded the *Règlement* as a symbol of feudal stagnation. It was repealed during the 1848 revolution. For Marx's comments on the *Réglement,* see *Capital,* Vol. I, Part III, Chapter X, Section 2, "The Greed for Surplus-Labour. Manufacturer and Boyard" (present edition, Vol. 35). p. 34

61 A reference to the bourgeois revolution of 1848 in Moldavia and Wallachia, in which the population campaigned for complete independence from Turkey, the abolition of serfdom and other obstacles in the way of capitalist development. The revolution was suppressed by the combined effort of domestic reaction and armed intervention on the part of Turkey and Russia. p. 35

62 A reference to the talks between Prussian and Austrian representatives that took place in Warsaw in May and October 1850 with the mediation of Nicholas I. Their purpose was to settle relations between the two countries whose competition for hegemony in Germany grew fiercer after the revolution of 1848-49. Austria sought to restore the German Confederation, the association of German states established by the Vienna Congress, which to all intents and purposes had fallen apart at the time of the revolution, while Prussia was hoping to consolidate its supremacy by forming a union of German states under its own domination, a plan that was opposed by Austria and provoked the irritation of Russia and France.

On November 29, 1850, a treaty was signed in Olmütz (Olomouc), Moravia, under which Prussia gave up the idea of a unilateral revision of the situation in Germany. The Treaty of Olmütz was the last victory for Austrian diplomacy in the struggle with Prussia. It was abrogated as a result of the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 which led to the formation of the North German Confederation under Prussian domination. p. 35

63 Engels is referring to the following. On July 4, 1850, Russia, Austria, Britain, France, Prussia and Sweden, together with representatives of Denmark, signed a protocol in London which established the integrity of the Danish Crown possessions, including the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, thus hampering the efforts of these duchies' German population to separate from Denmark and join Germany. This protocol formed the basis of the London Convention on the integrity of the Danish monarchy signed by representatives of the same states on May 8, 1852. Whilst recognising the duchies' right to self-government, the Convention still legalised the Danish Crown's supreme authority over them. As King Frederick VII of Denmark was childless, Christian of Glücksburg (subsequently King Christian IX) was recognised as his heir. p. 35

64 The circumstances of Tsar Nicholas I's death on March 2, 1855, gave reason to believe that he died, not of a virus infection, but took his own life unable to face the Russian army's imminent defeat in the Crimean war (1853-56).

The reference below is to the Peace of Paris concluded on March 30, 1856 at the end of the Crimean war of 1853-56 between France, Britain, Austria, Sardinia, Prussia and Turkey, on the one hand, and Russia, on the other. Russia, which lost the war, was to cede the Danube delta and part of Southern Bessarabia, to renounce its protectorate over the Danubian Principalities and rights of protection over Turkish Christian subjects, and agree to the neutrality of the Black Sea, which meant that the Straits were to be closed for foreign warships and that Russia and Turkey would be forbidden to keep naval forces there; Russia also returned Kars to Turkey in exchange for Sebastopol and other towns captured by the allies in the Crimea. p. 37

65 A phrase from Gorchakov's circular despatch of August 21, 1856 to Russian diplomatic representatives abroad, in which, as the newly appointed foreign minister, he set out the thrust of Russia's foreign policy. p. 38

66 Engels is referring to the *Declaration réglant divers joints du droit maritime...* (see Note 31).

The rapprochement between Bonapartist France and tsarist Russia, which first made itself felt at the Paris Congress, led to a secret Franco-Russian treaty signed on March 3, 1859 on Napoleon III's initiative. Tsar Alexander II undertook to render Napoleon III diplomatic assistance in the latter's preparations for the military rout of Austria, and to move Russian troops to the Austrian border in the event of war so as to immobilise part of the Austrian army in the east. In return, Napoleon III, acting in the spirit of the treaty, committed himself to continued support for Russia's policy in the Balkans. p. 39

67 Having enlisted Alexander II's support, Napoleon III unleashed a war between France and Piedmont (Kingdom of Sardinia), on the one hand, and Austria, on the other, seeking to capture new territories and consolidate the Bonapartist regime in France by a successful military campaign. His true intentions were exposed at the time by Mazzini in his manifesto "The War" which Marx quoted at length in his article "Mazzini's Manifesto" (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 354-59).

The big bourgeoisie and the liberal nobility in Italy were hoping to use the war to effect the country's unification under the Savoy dynasty then ruling in Piedmont. Having defeated the Austrian army at Magenta and Solferino, Napoleon III, who was frightened by the advance of the national liberation movement in Italy and unwilling to see the latter's unification, concluded an armistice with Austria (Villafranca, July 11, 1859). France obtained Savoy and Nice, and Lombardy was annexed to Piedmont.

However, throughout 1860, the struggle for unification continued to mount. The heroic armed actions of Garibaldi's volunteers supported by the populace overthrew the Bourbon dynasty in Sicily and Naples, and the south of Italy was united with Piedmont in a single Kingdom of Italy. Venetia remained under the Austrians until 1866. The final unification of Italy was accomplished when Italian troops entered Rome and the Papal States in 1870. p. 39

68 At the time of the Polish national liberation insurrection of 1863-64, the Prussian government headed by Bismarck offered the tsarist government military assistance in its suppression, wishing to stop it spreading to the Polish territories captured by Prussia and hoping to obtain Russian support for Germany's unification under Prussian hegemony. On Bismarck's initiative a convention was signed between Russia and Prussia in February 1863 on joint police action against the insurgents. p. 39

69 In 1864, as a result of Austria's and Prussia's war against Denmark, which ended in the latter's defeat, the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were declared a joint possession of Austria and Prussia. After the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 they were annexed by Prussia. p. 39

70 During their meeting in Biarritz in October 1865, Bismarck won Napoleon III's consent to an alliance between Prussia and Italy and to a war by Prussia against Austria; Napoleon III agreed to this in the expectation that he would be able to intervene in the conflict to his own benefit should Prussia suffer defeat.

At the outset of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, Russian Foreign Minister Gorchakov declared during his negotiations with Bismarck in Berlin that in the war Russia would maintain a neutrality favourable to Prussia, and would exert diplomatic pressure on Austria; for its part, the Prussian government undertook not to impede Russia in her policy in the East. p. 40

71 Alsace and Eastern Lorraine, as well as an indemnity of 5,000 million francs, were handed by France to the German Empire (proclaimed on January 18, 1871) under the preliminary peace treaty concluded on February 26, 1871 in Versailles after France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. Its terms were confirmed by the peace treaty signed in Frankfurt-am-Main on May 10, 1871. p. 41

72 A preliminary peace treaty between Russia and Turkey was concluded on March 3, 1878 in San Stefano (near Constantinople) at the end of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. It entailed a growth of Russian influence in the Balkans, provoked sharp opposition on the part of Britain and Austria-Hungary and won Germany's tacit approval. Under pressure from these powers, the Russian government was forced to submit the treaty for revision to an international congress, held in Berlin between June 13 and July 13, 1878 and comprising representatives of Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Britain, Italy and Turkey. On the eve of the congress, Britain signed a secret convention with Turkey under which it received a major strategic point, Cyprus, in exchange for an undertaking to protect the Turkish possessions in Asia. Britain also signed an agreement with Austria on pursuing a joint anti-Russian line at the congress. The congress led to the Treaty of Berlin under which the terms of the Peace of San Stefano were significantly changed to the detriment of Russia and the Slavic peoples of the Balkans. The self-governing territory of Bulgaria was halved; Bulgarian territories to the south of the Balkans were united to form the autonomous province of Eastern Roumelia, which remained under the Sultan; and the territory of Montenegro was substantially curtailed. The Treaty of Berlin confirmed that Russia was to be returned part of Bessarabia (a clause of the Peace of San-Stefano) cut off from it in 1856 but also sanctioned occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary. p. 41

73 Engels is referring to the quadrangle formed by the fortresses of Silistria, Rustchuk, Shumla and Varna in Bulgaria, the area in which the main forces of the Turkish army were concentrated at the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. p. 41

74 In 1857-59, a large-scale popular uprising against British rule took place in India. It flared up in the spring of 1857 among the Sepoy units of the Bengalese army recruited from among the local population, spread throughout Northern and Central India, and ended in April 1859 with the defeat of the

insurgents. Taking part in it were peasants, craftsmen and a significant part of the feudal nobility. Among the reasons for its failure were the British military superiority, differences among the insurgents as to the goals of the uprising (especially the peasants and the nobility, with the latter receiving some concessions from the British), and significant feudal, religious and caste distinctions, which were deliberately played up by the colonialists, who isolated the centre of the uprising. Marx and Engels devoted numerous essays and letters to the event making an in-depth analysis of the causes, motive forces and the reasons for the failure of the uprising, tracing the course of the hostilities in detail, and examining the principal battles and other events (see present edition, Vol. 15). p. 42

75 In November 1839, an expeditionary corps headed by the Orenburg military governor-general Perovsky set out on a campaign against the Khiva Khanate. However, the 5,000-strong corps with several guns and a food transport proved ill-prepared for the harsh conditions of a winter march across the arid steppe. Having lost over a half of the men to epidemics and exposure to an unusually harsh winter, Perovsky was forced to return to Orenburg in the summer of 1840, failing to even reach Khiva. p. 42

76 Russian Tsarina Maria Fyodorovna was a daughter of the Danish King Christian IX; her brother Valdemar was married to Louis Philippe's granddaughter Maria, Princess of Orleans. p. 43

77 Engels is referring to the chauvinistic anti-German movement in France in 1886-89 associated with the name of General Boulanger. Exploiting popular discontent with the policies of the bourgeois republicans, the Boulangists launched a propaganda campaign with a view to carrying out a coup d'état and restoring the monarchy in France. Engels considered Boulangism a version of Bonapartism and pointed to the dangers it presented, demanding that the French socialists expose the demagogic revanchist slogans advanced by Boulanger and his followers. p. 43

78 *Plevna* (now Pleven, a town in Northern Bulgaria) was captured by the allied Russo-Romanian army on December 10, 1877 after prolonged fighting with the Turkish troops in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. p. 44

79 After the transformation (in 1867) of the Austrian Empire into the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy, the river Leitha was recognised as the frontier between the two parts of the monarchy, with Cisleithania (incorporating Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Galicia, etc.) lying to the north and west of it, and Transleithania (Hungary, Slovakia, Transylvania, Croatia, Slavonia, etc.) to the east of it. p. 44

80 A reference to the series of essays entitled *Siberia and the Exile System* which were written by the American reporter George Kennan after his trip to Siberia in 1885-86 and printed by *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine,* New York, in 1888-90. In 1889-91, they were published several times as a separate edition in English, German and Russian. p. 44

81 Engels is referring to Russia's introduction in 1864 of limited local self-administration, the *zemstvos,* in an attempt to adapt the autocracy to the requirements of capitalist development. However, as early as 1866, the government, which viewed the zemstvos as sources of liberal opposition, began systematic reprisals against them, which were sharply escalated in the 1880s, at the time of reaction and bloody repressions against the revolutionary movement. p. 45

82 See Note 1. p. 49

83 Engels wrote the letter in reply to the Austrian bank clerk, member of the Bank and Credit Establishment Employees' Club Isidor Ehrenfreund. In his letter to Engels of March 21, 1890, Ehrenfreund wrote that anti-semitism was rampant among the Club members, as it was among some sections of the Viennese population, and took the form of campaign against Jewish capital. Engels' reply to Ehrenfreund was carried by the *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* No. 19, May 9, 1890 under the heading "Friedrich Engels über den Antisemitismus". It was supplied with the following editorial footnote: "It need hardly be said that we have published this letter with the consent of both the writer and the recipient." The addressee's name was not mentioned.

Engels' letter was reprinted under the same heading in the *Berliner Volksblatt,* No. 109, May 13, 1890, the German social and political weekly *Das Recht auf Arbeit,* No. 315, May 28, 1890, the *Londoner Freie Presse,* No. 21, May 24, 1890, *Die Nord-Wacht* (Bant), No. 21, May 25, 1890, and the *New Yorker Volkszeitung,* No. 21, May 25, 1890 (Sunday issue).

The Romanian translation was carried by the *Munca,* No. 16, June 10, 1890, and the French one, by *Le Socialiste,* No. 93, July 3, 1892.

The letter was published in English for the first time (with the opening phrase left out) in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895,* Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934. p. 50

84 Engels is referring to the strikes of Jewish workmen in London: clothiers and furriers in August and September 1889, bakers in November 1889, and shoemakers in March-April 1890. The clothiers, furriers and bakers managed to get their working day reduced to ten hours from 14-16, and the shoemakers won the right to work in workshops instead of at home and the introduction of labour arbitration. p. 51

85 Engels wrote this preface to the fourth authorised German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 477-519), which appeared in May 1890 as the last (XXXII) instalment of the *Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek* series published by the Social-Democratic Party of Germany in Zurich from 1885 and in London from October 1888. The pamphlet also included Marx's and Engels' preface to the 1872 German edition of the *Manifesto* (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 174-75) and Engels' preface to the 1883 German edition of the *Manifesto* (present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 118-19). Part of the present preface (beginning with the sentence "The Manifesto has had a history of its own") was reproduced in the editorial printed by *Der Sozialdemokrat,* No. 33, August 16, 1890 under the title "Eine Neu-Auflage des Kommunistischen Manifestes", and in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* No. 48, November 28, 1890 in the editorial dedicated to Engels' 70th birthday. The fourth edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was the last authorised one, with the subsequent ones mostly reprinted from this edition. The prefaces were usually included in every edition.

Published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Communist Manifesto,* Glasgow, Socialist Labour Party, 1909. p. 53

86 In his Afterword to the article "On Social Relations in Russia" (this volume, p. 427), Engels says that the translation was the work of Plekhanov; in the 1900 edition of the *Manifesto,* Plekhanov also states that the translation was his.

The lost German original of Marx's and Engels' preface to the Russian edition of the *Manifesto* mentioned by Engels has been found and is kept in the

Archive of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. The preface published in the present edition is based on it. p. 53

87 The printing office of the *Kolokol* or the Free Russian Press was founded by Alexander Herzen in London for the purpose of printing literature banned in Russia. In 1865, it was transferred to Geneva. The above-mentioned translation was printed in Geneva at Chernetsky's press, where the *Kolokol* was printed. This edition did not become widely known as nearly all the copies were confiscated when an attempt was made to smuggle them across the Russian border. p. 53

88 A reference to Tsar Alexander III, who succeeded to the throne on March 1, 1881 after his father, Alexander II, had been assassinated by members of the *Narodnaya Volya* (People's Will) revolutionary-democratic organisation. Fearing a revolutionary outburst and further terrorist acts, Alexander III stayed in Gatchina near St. Petersburg. p. 54

89 The Cologne Communist Trial (October 4-November 12, 1852) was a trial of a group of the Communist League members charged with "treasonable conspiracy". The trial was rigged by the Prussian police on the basis of forged documents and fabricated evidence, which were used not only against the accused but also to discredit the whole proletarian organisation. The evidence included, for instance, the so-called Original Minute-Book of the Communist League Central Authority meetings and other documents forged by police agents, and also genuine documents of the Willich-Schapper adventurist faction, which was responsible for the split in the Communist League. Seven of the defendants were sentenced to terms of imprisonment of three to six years. Marx guided the defence from London by sending materials exposing the provocative methods of the prosecution; after the trial he showed up its organisers for what they really were (see Marx's pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne,* and also Engels' article "The Late Trial at Cologne", present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 395-457 and 388-93).

At the trial and in the prosecution's summing-up, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* figured as evidence against the defendants. p. 58

90 Marx and Engels set forth this idea in a number of works starting from the 1840s; this definition is to be found in the Rules of the International Working Men's Association (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 14, and Vol. 23, p. 3). p. 60

91 The *Geneva Congress of the First International,* the first congress of the International Working Men's Association, was held on September 3-8, 1866. Taking part in it were 60 delegates from the General Council and sections and workers' societies from Britain, France, Germany and Switzerland. The congress was chaired by Hermann Jung. The official report of the General Council was Marx's *Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions* (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 185-94). The Proudhonists, who had one-third of the votes, set against the *Instructions* their own programme covering all items on the agenda. However, the General Council supporters outvoted them on most issues. Six out of nine points in the *Instructions* (on the international combination of effort, on limitation of the working day to 8 hours, on juvenile and women's labour, on co-operative labour, on trades' unions, and on standing armies) were approved as congress resolutions. The Geneva congress also endorsed the *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association.*

On July 14-20, 1889, an *International Socialist Workers' Congress* took place in Paris, which in point of fact was the inaugural congress of the Second International. Preparations for the congress had been made against the background of persistent struggles between the Marxists, led by Engels, and the French opportunists (Possibilists) together with their followers in the British Social Democratic Federation, who tried to take over the preparations for the congress. However, it became evident at the congress that the Marxist parties were in the majority. The congress opened on July 14, 1889, the centenary of the storming of the Bastille. It was attended by 393 delegates representing nearly all the workers' and socialist parties and organisations of the time from 20 European and American countries. The Possibilists convened their own, parallel congress, which opened in Paris on the same day. However, it had very little success, and the reformists eventually had to give up the idea of establishing an international association.

The congress pointed out that the emancipation of labour could be attained only by the proletariat capturing political power with a view to expropriating capitalists and socialising the means of production.

The congress heard reports from representatives of the socialist parties on the working-class movement in their countries and worked out the foundations of international labour law, calling for the 8-hour working day and made a number of other improvements in industrial working conditions through international legislation. The congress advocated the disbandment of standing armies and the armament of the people. It passed a decision to mark May 1, 1890 in all countries by demonstrations and meetings in defence of the demand for the 8-hour day and other demands put forward by the congress for labour legislation. p. 60

92 The article "May 4 in London" was devoted to the first celebration of May Day, the day of international solidarity among the working people, held by the socialist parties and workers' organisations in conformity with the decision of the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889 in Paris (see Note 91). Mass demonstrations and meetings, which were best organised in Austria, were held under the banner of the campaign for the legalised 8-hour working day.

A high level of organisation also characterised the May Day demonstration staged by London workers on the first Sunday of the month, May 4. Notwithstanding the attempts of reformist trade-union leaders and the British opportunist socialist Henry Hyndman to stage-manage the demonstration and make it advance conciliatory slogans, it testified to the readiness of London workers to fight for a socialist programme. The bulk of the participants, about 200,000 in number, supported the demands advanced by the British Marxists. Unskilled workers employed at gas works and the London docks played the principal part in the demonstration, they were the first to launch a campaign for the formation of new mass trade unions in the 1880s (see Note 93) and the 8-hour day. Engels attended the meeting in Hyde Park that concluded the demonstration, with Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling, Paul Lafargue and Sergei Kravchinsky (Stepnyak), the representative of the Russian revolutionary émigrés, giving speeches.

Besides the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the article appeared in *Der Wähler* (Leipzig), No. 85, May 29, 1890, and the *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik* (Budapest), No. 22, June 1, 1890. With the exception of the opening part dealing with May Day celebrations in Austria, it was carried by the *Berliner Volksblatt*, No. 123, May 31, 1890.

It appeared in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain,* Moscow, 1962, pp. 521-28. p. 61

93 The *Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union* was the first union of unskilled workers in the history of the British labour movement. It was formed in late March-early April 1889 against the background of a mounting strike movement. A major contribution to the foundation and work of the union was made by Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling. The Union campaigned for the 8-hour day. Within a short time, it became very influential: it was joined by up to 100,000 gasworks employees in the space of a year. The union was actively involved in organising the London docks strike of 1889.

The *London docks strike,* which lasted from August 12 to September 14, 1889, was one of the major events in the British labour movement of the late 19th century. It involved 30,000 dockers and over 30,000 workers in other trades, the bulk of them unskilled and not belonging to any union. The strikers' persistence and organisation were instrumental in obtaining wage rises, and improved working conditions. The docks strike strengthened proletarian solidarity (about £50,000 was donated to the strike fund) and organisation; dockers' and other unskilled workers "new" unions were set up, recruiting 200,000 members within a year. In the next year, the number of trade unions more than doubled. p. 62

94 The *Radical clubs* began to emerge in London and other cities in the 1870s. They united bourgeois radicals and workers. In the poorer sections of London, like the East End, the clubs were predominantly proletarian. They criticised the Irish policy pursued by Gladstone's Liberal government, demanded greater democracy (broader suffrage and other reforms). In the early 1880s the Radical clubs began to popularise socialist ideas. In 1885, the Radical clubs of London merged to form the Metropolitan Radical Federation. p. 62

95 An allusion to Henry Hyndman's absence at the demonstration of November 13, 1887 in Trafalgar Square. The demonstration had been called by the Metropolitan Radical Federation (see Note 94) in protest against the arrest of the Irish M.P. William O'Brien. Taking part in the demonstration were about 80,000-100,000 people. Since on November 8, the London police had prohibited meetings in Trafalgar Square, declaring it crown property, 4,000 policemen tried to disperse the demonstration using truncheons. Several hundred people were injured, three beaten to death, and some of the organisers arrested. These events went down in the history of the British labour movement as the Bloody Sunday. p. 62

96 The *Silvertown strike* (named after a district in the East End) was mounted in September-December 1889 by employees of the Indiarubber Company's works. The strikers, about 3,000 people in all, demanded higher hourly and piece-rate wages, more money for work on holidays and overtime, and higher wages for children and women. Eleanor Marx-Aveling helped organise the strike and in the course of it founded a young working women's union. The strike, which lasted for nearly three months, was unsuccessful, mainly because it was not supported by other trade unions. p. 62

97 Engels is referring to the gas workers' strike in the south of London, which lasted from December 1889 to February 1890. It was triggered off by the company owners' failure to honour their promise to introduce the 8-hour day,

raise wages and give employment only to members of the Gas Workers' Union, as well as by the sacking of three Union activists. p. 62

98 The *Social Democratic Federation,* a British socialist organisation set up in August 1884 as a result of the reorganisation of the Democratic Federation which had existed since 1881. It united socialist elements of varying complexion, predominantly intellectuals and some politically active workers. Its programme set forth the demand for collectivisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange. The leadership of the Federation was dominated by H. Hyndman and his followers who tended towards authoritarianism and denied the need to carry on work in the trade unions. A group of revolutionary Marxists within it, including Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling, William Morris and Tom Mann, advocated closer contacts with the mass working-class movement. In December 1884, the differences in the Federation on tactics and international cooperation resulted in its split and the founding of an independent organisation, the Socialist League.

The *Possibilists* belonged to a trend in the French socialist movement whose leaders declared the principle of the transformation of the capitalist system into a socialist one through gradual reforms and advocated a "policy of possibilities". On the Possibilists' divisive activities during preparations for the International Socialist Workers' Congress, see Note 91. p. 63

99 The Manchester School, a trend in political economy reflecting the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. Its followers, known as Free Traders, advocated the removal of protective tariffs and non-intervention by the state in the economy. The centre of the Free Traders' agitation was Manchester, where the movement was led by Richard Cobden and John Bright. In the 1860s, the Free Traders formed the Left wing of the Liberal Party.

By "the Manchesterism of the old Trades Unions", Engels means the bourgeois-reformist character of their activities. Seeking to confine the proletariat's goals to economic action for shorter working hours, higher wages, and changes in labour law for the workers' benefit, the leaders of these trade unions diverted the proletariat from the struggle for the class goals of the labour movement, opposed the workers' political action and preached class harmony with the bourgeoisie. p. 65

100 A reference to the Baden-Palatinate uprising in defence of the Imperial Constitution in May-July 1849, in which Engels took part. See his work *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 147-239). p. 66

101 Engels wrote the "Draft of a Reply to the Editors of the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*" following the attempt of the editorial board, which was made up of members of the "Young" opposition group, to present his work as supporting the newspaper's campaign against the policies pursued by the German Social-Democratic leadership. In late August 1890 the materials carried by the newspaper, which had an independent status, placed it under the party and resulted in the resignation of its editorial board which tried, in its farewell article, to present this as a consequence of a build-up of "petty-bourgeois parliamentary socialism" in the party and to take advantage of Engels' authority to promote its own ends. The indignant Engels felt compelled to deal a public rebuff to the "Young".

This version of the reply to the editors of the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* was not completed and exists as a rough draft. The final version (see the following item) was printed by *Der Sozialdemokrat,* the *Berliner Volksblatt* and the *Sächsische*

*Arbeiter-Zeitung* and went a long way towards exposing the "Young's" true colours. Engels' reply was also carried by the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 38, September 19, 1890.

The "Young"—a petty-bourgeois semi-anarchist opposition group in German Social Democracy, which finally took shape in 1890. At that time, its leadership was made up of students and aspiring writers (hence the name of the opposition), who claimed the role of party theorists and leaders for themselves. Among the "Young's" leaders were Paul Ernst, Paul Kampffmeyer, Hans Müller, and Bruno Wille. Failing to realise that the conditions of party work had changed following the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law, the "Young" refused to employ legal methods of struggle, opposed the Social Democrats' participation in parliamentary elections and the use of parliamentary methods, and accused the party and its leadership of defending the interests of petty-bourgeoisie, opportunism, and a departure from democratic principles. In October 1891, the Erfurt congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany expelled some of the opposition leaders from the party. p. 67

102 Engels is referring to the address to the German workers issued by the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag on April 13, 1890, in connection with the celebration of May Day resolved by the Paris International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889 (see Note 91). The address was published in the *Berliner Volksblatt* on April 15, 1890. It was the party leadership's reply to the demand by the "Young" opposition for a general strike on May 1 which had been made public on March 23. It pointed out the dangers of such a course while the Anti-Socialist Law was still in force and in the situation created by the elections of February 20, 1890, with its feasibility of provocation from the reactionary authorities which were eager for any excuse to smash the Social-Democratic Party. The address warned the German workers not to give any excuse for provocations, to abandon the idea of a general strike, stop work only when a serious conflict was clearly impossible and confine themselves elsewhere to demonstrations and meetings. On May 1, strikes involving over 10-per cent of the workforce took place in a number of cities.

On May 1, Hamburg construction workers launched a strike that lasted into July. The strikers demanded a 9-hour working day and a pay rise. The employers carried out their threat of a lockout and the strike failed, the trade union funds having run out. However, the employers failed to introduce a ban on workers joining the trade unions. p. 68

103 In the years when the Anti-Socialist Law was in force (see Note 2), the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag was the only legal body that could assume leadership of the party. An attempt was made to have the group's supremacy over the party's elective bodies perpetuated in the Rules even after the repeal of the Law. p. 68

104 The *London Conference of the First International* was held from September 17 to 23, 1871. Convened against the background of harsh reprisals against the International's members following the defeat of the Paris Commune, this Conference was held behind closed doors and was not very representative: taking part in it were 22 voting delegates and 10 without the right to vote. The countries that were unable to send a delegate were represented by corresponding secretaries. Marx represented Germany, and Engels Italy. All in all, nine closed sessions were held. The reports were not intended for publication. The Conference resolutions were made public in November and December 1871. For the Conference's materials, see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 409-31.

The London Conference was a landmark in Marx's and Engels' efforts to found a proletarian party. It adopted a resolution "On the Political Action of the Working Class", which described the need to establish an independent workers' Party as a fundamental principle of the international working-class movement. The Hague Congress of the International (1872) decided to incorporate the main part of the resolution into the General Rules of the International Working Men's Association. Other Conference resolutions set out major tactical and organisational principles of a proletarian party. Approval of these resolutions signified a victory for Marxism in the International.

At its congress in Sonvillier held on November 12, 1871, the Bakuninist Jura Federation adopted the *Circulaire à toutes les Fédérations de l'Association internationale des travailleurs,* which demanded immediate convocation of a congress of the International in view of the fact that the Conference was not entitled to pass decisions pertaining to the rules and organisational principles of the Association. In actual fact, the Sonvillier Circular was designed to undermine the authority of the General Council in the International Working Men's Association. For more details, see: Frederick Engels, "The Congress of Sonvillier and the International" (present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 64-70). p. 68

105 The reference is to the *International Alliance of Socialist Democracy* (L'Alliance internationale de la démocratie socialiste) founded by Mikhail Bakunin in Geneva in October 1868. Its petty-bourgeois anarchist programme demanded recognition of the equality of classes and abolition of the state. Members of the Alliance denied the need for political action by the working class. Organisationally, the Alliance was based on the unconditional subordination of the rank-and-file members to a tiny group of "initiated". Having been denied admittance to the International in March 1869, the Bakuninists declared the dissolution of the Alliance while in fact preserving it and working their way into the International under the guise of the Geneva section. The Alliance, with Bakunin at its head, plotted and campaigned against Marx and Engels seeking to gain control over the General Council.

The Alliance stepped up its activities against the International after the defeat of the Paris Commune, when Bakunin and his followers attacked the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the consolidation of an independent working-class political party. The Hague Congress of September 1872 expelled Bakunin and Guillaume, the leaders of the Alliance, from the International by a majority vote. Soon after the Hague Congress, the Alliance disintegrated. p. 68

106 Late in 1884, seeking to boost Germany's colonial policy, Bismarck demanded that the Reichstag institute annual subsidies to shipping companies for the purpose of establishing regular communication with Eastern Asia, Australia and Africa. This government demand provoked a controversy within the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag. The Left wing headed by Bebel and Liebknecht took Engels' advice and opposed it. The opportunist majority in the group, including Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Dietz, F. Frohme and C. Grillenberger, intended to vote for the subsidies under the false pretext of wishing to promote international contacts. Under pressure from the majority, the group passed a decision which stated that the issue of subsidies was of no great importance, and gave each member of the group a right to vote as he saw fit. It declared the intention of the majority of Social-Democratic deputies to vote for the subsidies.

The stand taken by the Right wing was unequivocally censured by the bulk of party members and its central organ, *Der Sozialdemokrat,* whose struggle

against the opportunists was warmly supported by Engels. Sharp criticism forced the majority to somewhat modify their attitude to the government plan at the time it was debated in the Reichstag in March 1885, making support by the group conditional on the Reichstag's acceptance of a number of its proposals (e.g., that the ships to be used on such routes be built at German shipyards). When the Reichstag rejected them, the entire Social-Democratic group voted against the project, which, however, was passed by a majority vote. p. 68

107 See Note 101. p. 69

108 Engels first mentioned Marx's words, addressed to Lafargue, in a letter to Eduard Bernstein of November 2-3, 1882. He also wrote about this in a letter to Conrad Schmidt of August 5, 1890 (see present edition, Vols 46 and 50). p. 70

109 The essay "The International Workers' Congress of 1891" is Engels' reply to the letter from the French socialist Charles Bonnier of September 9, 1890 in which he sets out the Marxists' tactics during the run-up to this international socialist forum. Representatives of the Belgian Workers' Party, whose stand had lacked consistency even during the Paris International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889 (see Note 91), were instructed by it to convene the next congress together with the Swiss socialists. They received the same instructions from the parallel congress of the Possibilists (see Note 98) who, by acting through the Belgians, again sought to seize the initiative in convening international socialist workers' congresses.

Engels also set down the main ideas of his reply to Bonnier in his letters to Lafargue of September 15, 1890 and to Sorge of September 27, 1890 (see present edition, Vol. 49). Engels' advice helped the French and other Marxists to convene and conduct the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1891 in Brussels along Marxist principles. p. 72

110 The congress of the British Trades Unions was held in Liverpool from September 1 to 6, 1890. Taking part in it were about 460 delegates representing over 1.4 mln workers organised in trade unions. For the first time, the congress attracted a substantial number of representatives of the new trade unions, strongly influenced by the British socialists.

Despite the resistance of the old trade-union leaders, the congress passed a resolution demanding the legal introduction of the 8-hour day and declared it expedient for the trade unions to take part in the activities of international workers' associations. The congress resolved to send delegates to the international socialist workers' congress to be held in Brussels. p. 72

111 The reference is to two pamphlets, *The International Working Men's Congress of 1889. A Reply to "Justice"*, which appeared in London as a separate edition in English in March 1889 and in German in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nos 13 and 14, March 30 and April 6, 1889, and *The International Working Men's Congress of 1889. A Reply to the "Manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation"* published as a pamphlet in English in June 1889 in London. A passage from it was carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 24, June 15, 1889. The pamphlets, written by Eduard Bernstein, editor of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, on Engels' suggestion and edited by him, dealt with the actions of the Possibilists and the Social Democratic Federation leaders during the preparations for the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Paris (see Note 91). p. 72

112 The International Socialist Conference at The Hague, at which participants in the socialist movement in Germany, France, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland were present, was held on February 28, 1889. It was convened on Engels' suggestion by the Social-Democratic group in the German Reichstag to work out the terms for convening the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Paris (see Note 91). The Possibilists were invited but refused to take part in the conference, and later declined to recognise its resolutions. The Conference defined the rights, the time and the agenda of the congress. p. 73

113 In the French socialist movement of the 1870-80s, the *Collectivists* were the followers of Marxism who advocated socialisation of the means of production and active involvement in the political struggle on the part of the working class. The trend was headed by Paul Lafargue and Jules Guesde (hence the Guesdists, another and more common name for the French Marxists). In 1879, they and some other socialist groups formed the Workers' Party (Parti ouvrier), which, however, immediately succumbed to ideological dissent. In 1882 it split into the Marxists (Guesdists) and the Possibilists (see Note 98). The Marxist trend retained the original name. p. 74

114 See Note 77. p. 74

115 The *"revolutionary" Danes,* the revolutionary minority in the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark who grouped around the *Arbeideren* (Workers) newspaper and opposed the party's reformist course. Expelled from the party, they founded their own organisation in 1889, which, however, failed to grow into a strong proletarian party owing to the sectarian line followed by its leadership. p. 74

116 Engels wrote his "Farewell Letter to the Readers of the *Sozialdemokrat*" on the occasion of its closure. Following publication in the said newspaper, it was reprinted by the Austrian magazine *Sozialdemokratische Monatsschrift,* No. 9, September 30, 1890. It was also included in English translation and slightly abridged, in Edward Aveling's article "The New Era in German Socialism", which appeared in *The Daily Chronicle,* No. 8903, September 25, 1890, and in Italian translation in *La Giustizia* in October 1890. The letter was also printed (with the last phrase omitted) in the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung,* No. 119, October 2, and (without the first two paragraphs) in the *Berliner Volksblatt,* No. 230, October 3, 1890. p. 76

117 The daily *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie* appeared in Cologne under Marx's editorship between June 1, 1848 and May 19, 1849. The editorial board also included Engels, Wilhelm Wolff, Georg Weerth, Ferdinand Wolff, Ernst Dronke, Ferdinand Freiligrath and Heinrich Bürgers. A militant organ of the proletarian wing of the democrats, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* educated the masses and awakened them to the struggle against counter-revolution. The editorials, which set out the paper's attitude to the issues associated with the German and the European revolution, were usually written by Marx and Engels.

Notwithstanding reprisals and police obstruction, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* staunchly defended revolutionary democracy and the interests of the proletariat. In May 1849, with the counter-revolutionary elements in the midst of a massive offensive, the Prussian government used the fact that Marx was not a citizen of that state to issue a deportation order against him. Marx's deportation, as well as repressive measures against other editors, eventually led

to the paper's closure. The last issue, No. 301, was printed in red and appeared on May 19, 1849. The editors' farewell address to the workers read in part: "Their last word everywhere and always will be: *emancipation of the working class!*" (see present edition, Vol. 9, p. 467). p. 76

118 The congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany in Wyden (Switzerland) was held from August 20 to 23, 1880, with 56 delegates present. That was the first illegal congress of the German Social Democrats following the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law. The convocation showed that the party leadership had surmounted the uncertainty and confusion caused by the dramatic changes in the conditions of its work. The congress criticised the anarchist stand of Johann Most and Wilhelm Hasselmann, who rejected all legal means of struggle, advocated individual terror and launched an open campaign against the party leadership, and expelled them from the party. The congress unanimously decided to strike out the word "legal" from the statement, contained in Part II of the programme adopted in 1875 in Gotha, that the party was working to attain its goals "with all legal means". The congress confirmed *Der Sozialdemokrat* as the party's official organ. p. 77

119 Engels is referring to the statement [*Erklärung*] issued by the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag (printed by *Der Sozialdemokrat,* No. 14, April 2, 1885) in connection with the disagreements between the majority of the parliamentary group and the paper's editorial board over the stance to be adopted on the government bill on subsidies to shipping companies (see Note 106). The group questioned the right of the party organ to criticise its actions, calling the position occupied by it an unjustified attack. After this statement was published in the newspaper, its editorial board began to receive numerous letters of protest from party members both in Germany and abroad, as well as resolutions of protest of local party branches. The majority in the parliamentary group was forced to retreat. A joint statement by the editorial board and the Social-Democratic group, printed by the paper on April 23, 1885, said that any attempt to restrict criticism constituted a departure from the party's principles and a blow at its foundations. p. 77

120 In April 1888 the Swiss federal council (Bundesrat) yielded to the pressure of the German authorities and deported four leading figures from the editorial board and printing house of *Der Sozialdemokrat.* Its offices were transferred to London, where publication was resumed on October 1, 1888. p. 78

121 Under the impact of the French revolutionary events of 1830 the movement for a revision of the Federal Pact of 1815, which declared Switzerland a federation of 22 autonomous cantons, began to gain strength. The campaign went on until 1848, when, against the background of a general revolutionary uprising in Europe, a new constitution declaring the country a unitary federal state was adopted. p. 78

122 See Note 1. p. 79

123 See Note 101. p. 79

124 See Note 101. p. 80

125 The reference is to the charter imposed by Louis XVIII (La Charte octroyée) in 1814 which established a constitutional monarchy and forced the higher nobility to share power with the big commercial and financial bourgeoisie. p. 81

126 A reference to the constitution promulgated in 1814 by the Norwegian Representative Assembly in Eidsvoll, which was modelled on the constitution adopted in 1791, during the French Revolution. p. 81

127 Emperor William II referred to the Social Democrats as flagrantly "unpatriotic" ("*vaterlandslosen* Gesellen"). He probably referred to the idea proclaimed in the *Communist Manifesto* that "the working men have no country" (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 502),which later on used to be repeated by Social Democrats. p. 82

128 Engels ironically paraphrases the expression "a vigorous joyful war" first used by the reactionary historian and journalist Heinrich Leo in *Volksblatt für Stadt und Land,* No. 61, June 1853, and which gained wide currency in chauvinist and militarist quarters. p. 84

129 Engels wrote this letter as a reply to the message he received from the National Council of the French Workers' Party on the occasion of his 70th birthday. The message appeared in *Le Socialiste,* No. 14, December 25, 1890, signed by Paul Lafargue, and read: "Dear citizen! We wish you, a man who together with Marx has developed the theory of the international social movement, which will soon attain its goals, a man who has retained the warmth of his heart and his youthful enthusiasm, a long life, so that you, like a new Moses, could watch the proletariat enter the promised land of communism."

Apart from *Le Socialiste,* Engels' letter was published, in German, in the *Berliner Volksblatt,* No. 303, December 30, 1890, and in Italian, in *La Giustizia,* January 4, 1891, and in the *Arbeiterpresse* (Budapest), No. 20, January 9, 1891 (in German).

First published in English in: F. Engels, P. and L. Lafargue, *Correspondence,* Vol. 2, 1887-1890, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960, pp. 423-24. p. 87

130 This is Engels' reply to the congratulations he received on November 26, 1890 from the *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik* and the *Népszava* on the occasion of his 70th birthday, and simultaneously to the invitation to take part in the congress of the Hungarian Social Democrats scheduled for December 7 and 8, 1890. Read out at the opening of the congress, Engels' letter was printed, apart from the newspapers mentioned above, in *Protokoll des Parteitages der Sozialdemokratie Ungarns in Budapest vom 7. und 8. Dezember,* Budapest, 1891, and, simultaneously, in the Hungarian edition of these minutes, as well as in the *Berliner Volksblatt,* No. 292, December 14, 1890.

A passage from this letter was first published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *On Scientific Communism,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967, p. 163. p. 89

131 The congress of representatives of Hungarian workers' organisations held on December 7 and 8, 1890 in Budapest was an important event in the history of the Hungarian working-class and socialist movement. It was attended by 121 delegates (87 from Budapest and 34 from provincial branches). The congress discussed the state of the working-class movement in Hungary, the political position and the rights of workers, their attitude to social reforms, the condition of the rural proletariat, the trade unions, etc. It adopted a declaration of principles (party programme) based on the main provisions of the programme of the Austrian Social Democrats approved by the Hainfeld Congress of 1888 (see Note 181). The congress decided to call the workers' party founded in Hungary the Social-Democratic Party of Hungary. p. 89

132 Engels expressed his gratitude for the letter sent to him on November 28, 1890 on the occasion of his 70th birthday by the members of the executive of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.

The *(Communist) German Workers' Educational Society* in London was founded in 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll together with other leaders of the League of the Just. Marx and Engels were actively involved in its work in 1847 and 1849-50. On September 17, 1850, they and some of their followers left the Society which had come to be dominated by the sectarian and adventurist Willich-Schapper group who were responsible for the split in the Communist League. From the late 1850s, Marx and Engels once again contributed to the work of the Society. When the First International was founded, the Society, with Friedrich Lessner among its leaders, became one of its sections. The London Educational Society existed up to 1918, when it was closed down by the British government. p. 91

133 Engels wrote this preface to the first edition of Marx's work *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 75-99) and had it printed in *Die Neue Zeit* in connection with the forthcoming discussion in the party press of a new party programme [*Programm der deutschen Arbeiterpartei*] to be adopted at the next congress of the German Social Democrats. Engels hoped that the publication of this work would safeguard the party against repeating the mistakes of the Gotha programme and dispel the reformist illusions associated with the still persisting cult of Lassalle. Given the pressure of censorship, Engels considered it necessary to make certain omissions and to take the edge off the most pointed phrases (see MEGA, I/25, S. 540-44). In undertaking the publication of this most important programme document of scientific communism, which was exemplary in the way it combatted opportunism, Engels sought to deal a blow at the opportunist elements among the German Social Democrats, which were becoming more active at that time. That was all the more important as at the Erfurt congress the party was going to discuss and adopt a new programme to replace that endorsed at Gotha (see Note 183).

The work was frowned upon by the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag and the *Vorwärts* editorial board, but, as Engels had expected, the party itself and socialists in other countries welcomed it.

The *Critique of the Gotha Programme* and Engels' preface were not reprinted in his lifetime. In its original version, without Engels' deletions, the text of the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* was first published in 1932 in the USSR in the Russian translation from a copy of Marx's manuscript made by Louise Kautsky. The publication in the present edition (Vol. 24) is based on Marx's original manuscript.

The Preface first appeared in English, with the opening phrase slightly abridged, and under the title "Introductory Note by Engels" in: *The Socialist Series,* No. 1, 1918, pp. 3-4, published by The Socialist Labour Press, Glasgow. p. 92

134 The Unity Congress in Gotha held on May 22-27, 1875, effected a merger of the two trends in the German working-class movement, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (the Eisenachers) headed by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, and the Lassallean General Association of German Workers. Prior to the congress, there had been a long struggle between the Eisenachers, who on the whole adhered to scientific communism, and the Lassalleans, who advocated a kind of petty-bourgeois socialism and refused to recognise the need for economic action and the establishment of trade unions. Up to 1890,

the united party was called the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. This healed the rift in the German working class. When in February 1875 the common platform (the draft Rules and especially the Programme) was worked out, the Eisenachers' leadership agreed to an ideological compromise with the Lassalleans submitting to the German workers' quest for unity and seeking to attain it at any price. Welcoming the establishment of a united socialist party, Marx and Engels nevertheless opposed the ideological compromise with the Lassalleans and subjected the erroneous provisions of the programme to sharp criticism. This, however, did not prevent the congress from approving it with only very minor changes. p. 92

135 The congress of the German Social Democrats held on October 12-18, 1890 in Halle was the first one following the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law. Taking part in it were 413 delegates and 17 guests from abroad. The congress adopted new Rules measuring up to the task of turning the party into a mass organisation of the working class under conditions of legality. It rejected the Lassallean party programme in force at the time and, on Wilhelm Liebknecht's suggestion, passed a decision on the preparation of a new draft programme for the next party congress in Erfurt. This was to be published three months before the congress for the purpose of discussing it in local party branches and the press. The congress recognised the *Berliner Volksblatt* as the new party organ and the party assumed a new name, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. p. 92

136 The *Hague Congress of the International Working Men's Association* took place on September 2-7, 1872. Its task was to reach decisions that would consolidate the resolutions passed by the London Conference of 1871 (see Note 104) on the political activity of the working class and against the sectarian sections. Marx and Engels did a tremendous amount of work in preparation for the congress. The General Council meetings, in which they took a most active part, discussed and approved proposals to the congress on the changes to be introduced into the Rules and Regulations of the International, above all, the suggestion that the Rules should incorporate the resolutions on political activity of the working class and on the extension of the powers vested in the General Council.

The Hague Congress was the most representative one in the history of the First International being attended by 65 delegates from 15 national organisations. It took stock of the many years Marx, Engels and their followers devoted to the struggle against all brands of petty-bourgeois sectarianism in the working-class movement, above all Bakuninism. The anarchist leaders were expelled from the International. The decisions of the Hague Congress laid the groundwork for the establishment in various countries of independent political parties of the working class. p. 93

137 Engels' work "In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx" was an immediate response to the publication in the press of the pamphlet *Meine Polemik mit Karl Marx* by Lujo Brentano, a prominent representative of armchair socialism. Simultaneously with the publication, the *Deutsches Wochenblatt* carried Brentano's preface, and somewhat later, a note in which an attempt was made to substantiate Brentano's stand by passages from Gladstone's letters to him regarding the phrase from his speech in the House of Commons on April 16, 1863 that Marx had supposedly misquoted.

Brentano's purpose was to continue the campaign of slander against Marx, which he had begun anonymously back in 1872 and which was later supported by the British economist Sedley Taylor. To foil the attempts to cast

aspersions on Marx as a scholar and undermine confidence in his doctrine, Engels decided to give another rebuff to Brentano and his followers in the press, and at the same time to deal a blow to the armchair socialists' dogmas concerning an alleged improvement in the condition of the working class.

Immediately following the appearance in the *Deutsches Wochenblatt* of the note containing passages from Gladstone's letters to Brentano (see this volume, p. 175), Engels published in December 1890 a reply in *Die Neue Zeit* (included as a supplement in Engels' pamphlet and featured on pp. 175-76 of this volume), to be followed by the entire work in April 1891.

Under the heading "Documents" Engels published all materials relevant to Marx's polemic with Brentano and Eleanor Marx's with Taylor, as well as his own writings on the subject. The documents featured in this section have been included in the pertinent volumes of the present edition. In this volume, they are reproduced again in conformity with the plan and the arrangement of the material in Engels' pamphlet.

*Armchair socialism,* a trend in bourgeois ideology in the 1870s-90s, whose advocates, notably, liberal professors, preached bourgeois reformism from university lecterns passing it off as socialism. The trend emerged out of the fear engendered in the exploiting classes by the spread of Marxist ideas and the growing working-class movement, and was an attempt by bourgeois ideologists to find new ways of diverting the working masses from the class struggle. Prominent armchair socialists, including Adolph Wagner, Gustave Schmoller, Lujo Brentano and Werner Sombart, insisted that the state was an institution above classes, and one capable of reconciling the hostile classes and gradually introducing "socialism" without violating the interests of the capitalists. The programme of armchair socialism was merely to set up bodies that would insure workers against illness and accidents, improve factory legislation etc. Armchair socialism was one of the ideological sources of revisionism.

An excerpt from this work was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Literature and Art,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, pp. 113-14. p. 95

138 See Note 135. p. 117

139 The *Registrar-General,* the officer presiding over the General Register Office established in London under the Birth and Death Registration Act of 1836. p. 133

140 This quotation (see also pp. 141, 146, 153, 172, 174 of this volume) belongs not to Molière but to his contemporary Nicolas Boileau (*Satires,* VIII). p. 134

141 Marx is referring to the incident that occurred at the Reichstag session of November 8, 1871. The National Liberal deputy Lasker stated in a polemic with Bebel that, should the German Social-Democratic workers dare to follow the example of Paris Communards, "the respectable and propertied citizens would club them to death". However, the speaker did not dare to preserve the words "would club them to death" in the printed text, and the stenographic report substituted it with "would keep them in hand". Bebel exposed this falsification, making Lasker an object of ridicule among the workers. Being very short, Lasker was nicknamed "Laskerchen", little Lasker. p. 139

142 See Note 140. p. 146

143 *Blue Books,* a series of British parliamentary and foreign policy documents published in blue bindings since the 17th century. p. 147

144 This refers to the words of the Prussian Minister of the Interior von Rochow. In his letter of January 15, 1838 addressed to the citizens of Elbin, who expressed their dissatisfaction at the expulsion of seven oppositional professors from the Hanover Diet, von Rochow wrote: "Loyal subjects are expected to exhibit due obedience to their King and sovereign, but their limited thinking should keep them from interfering in affairs of heads of state." p. 151

145 Eleanor Marx's reply, published in the column "Record of the International Popular Movement" under the heading "England", was accompanied by the following note in which she wrote about Sedley Taylor's renewed slanderous attack on Marx and the refusal of *The Times* and *The Daily News* to print her reply to him: "There is so much to record concerning this socialist movement in England that I rather hesitate to take up these columns for speaking of a personal matter. As, however, I have no other means of refuting a very serious charge brought against my father, I hope the readers of *To-Day* will forgive my touching on the matter here. On the 29th of last November a letter from Mr. Sedley Taylor appeared in *The Times,* which repeated the old calumny that my father had knowingly misquoted a passage from one of Mr. Gladstone's speeches to suit his own purpose.

"There has never been a better calumniated man than my father, but his calumniators were, as a rule, too contemptible to be worth answering. In this particular case my father did answer his anonymous accuser, because the alleged misquotation appeared in the inaugural address of the International Workingmen's Association.

"On reading Mr. Taylor's letter, which is only a *rechauffé* of the old story, I at once wrote to *The Times.* So often had I read of the English press that I never doubted my answer would be given the same publicity as that accorded to Mr. Taylor's accusations.

"Days passed, and my letter did not appear. Still impressed with the idea that even *The Times* might be honest in a personal matter, I again wrote to the editor. With no result. Then I addressed myself to *The Daily News,* which I had so far found very fair. But apparently a dead lion may be kicked with impunity by living professors, and the Liberal *Daily News* could not stretch its liberality to the length of publishing my letter. I therefore publish both Mr. Taylor's letter and my own reply" (*To-Day,* No. 2, February 1884, pp. 150-53). p. 156

146 Eleanor Marx's second reply, as well as "Sedley Taylor's Retort" was printed by *To-Day* in the "Correspondence" column under the heading "Dr. Marx and Mr. Gladstone's Budget Speech of 1863" (*To-Day,* No. 3, March 1884, pp. 228-35). p. 159

147 On the "invention of little Lasker", see Note 141. p. 166

148 See Note 135. p. 170

149 See Note 140. p. 172

150 Engels wrote this piece between December 4 and 13, 1890, soon after he had received the relevant issue of the *Deutsches Wochenblatt* from Wilhelm Liebknecht. On December 13, Engels sent the piece to Kautsky, requesting him to print it in the next issue of *Die Neue Zeit.* p. 175

151 During the presidential elections in France in early December 1887, Paris witnessed mass demonstrations and meetings staged by workers and other democratic forces in opposition to the candidature of the former Prime Minister Jules Ferry (nicknamed Ferry the Tonkinois because of the

expeditions he undertook in the 1880s to conquer Tonkin—Northern Vietnam—as well as Tunisia and Madagascar). He had been nominated by moderate bourgeois republicans, the so-called opportunists, and enjoyed the support of the monarchists. Having received an insignificant number of votes in the first round, Ferry was forced to withdraw his candidature before the second round. In his letter to Paul Lafargue of December 5, 1887, (present edition, Vol. 48) Engels described Ferry's failure as the people's victory over allied monarchists and opportunists.

On February 27 and 28, 1891, the German Reichstag debated the issue of bonuses to non-commissioned officers. Chancellor Caprivi substantiated his request for funds for this purpose by the need to build up this section of the army to counteract the Social-Democratic influence among the men which began to mount after the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law. With the Centre, the conservatives and the National Liberals voting in favour, the Reichstag approved the allocations at a level corresponding to 80 per cent of that requested by the government. p. 178

152 Engels wrote this Introduction for the third German edition of Marx's work *The Civil War in France* (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 307-59), which was issued in 1891 by the *Vorwärts* newspaper publishing house in Berlin to mark the 20th anniversary of the Paris Commune. Engels also included in this edition the First and Second Addresses of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War, written by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 3-8 and 263-70). Subsequent separate editions of *The Civil War in France* in various languages have usually included Engels' Introduction.

Originally, Engels' Introduction was printed, with his consent, in *Die Neue Zeit,* Vol. 2, No. 28, 1890-91, under the heading "Über den Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich".

First published in English in: K. Marx, *The Civil War in France,* Chicago, Kerr, [1901], pp. 3-11 (abridged) and in full in: K. Marx, *The Paris Commune,* New York, Labor News Comp., 1917, pp. 1-20. p. 179

153 A reference to the national liberation war of the German people against Napoleonic rule in 1813-14. p. 179

154 The *demagogues* in Germany were participants in the opposition movement of the intellectuals after the liberation of the country from Napoleonic rule. The name became current after the Karlsbad Conference of Ministers of the German States in August 1819, which adopted a special decision on the persecution of the demagogues. p. 180

155 See Note 2. p. 180

156 A reference to the political receptions organised by the bourgeois opposition on the eve of the February 1848 revolution in France. The ban on the Paris reception of February 22 triggered off the revolutionary events of February 23-24 which eventually resulted in the collapse of the monarchy. p. 181

157 The three dynastic parties—the Legitimists, the Orleanists and the Bonapartists.

The *Legitimists,* the party of supporters of the Bourbon dynasty, which was overthrown in France in 1792, represented the interests of big landed aristocracy and the senior clergy; it became a party and assumed its name in 1830, after the dynasty was overthrown for a second time. During the Second Republic, the Legitimists, together with the other monarchist parties, formed

the Party of Order. Under the Second Empire, failing to win any support from the people, they confined themselves to marking time and issuing critical pamphlets, and were galvanised into action only in 1871, when they joined the general counter-revolutionary onslaught against the Paris Commune.

The *Orleanists* supported the Orleans dynasty, which ruled in France during the July monarchy (1830-48). They upheld the interests of the financial aristocracy and the big industrial bourgeoisie.

The *Bonapartists* advocated the restoration of the Bonaparte dynasty.

p. 182

158 On December 2, 1851, President of the French Republic Louis Napoleon Bonaparte launched a coup d'état, disbanded the Legislative Assembly and arrested the leaders of political parties, thus establishing a military-bourgeois dictatorship and a regime of police terror. On December 2, 1852 an empire was declared, with Louis Bonaparte becoming emperor under the name of Napoleon III. For details see: K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 99-197). p. 182

159 The *Austro-Prussian war of 1866* concluded the long struggle for supremacy in Germany and was a major step towards the country's unification "from above". One consequence of the war was the formation of the North German Confederation under the leadership of Prussia, which substantially augmented its territory by incorporating petty principalities and concluded secret treaties with South German states. Austria remained outside the Confederation and thus outside Germany. p. 182

160 On September 1-2, 1870, one of the decisive battles of the Franco-Prussian War was fought at Sedan. The French army was defeated. On September 2, the French command surrendered over 80,000 men, officers and generals. Among them was Napoleon III himself, who from September 5, 1870 to March 19, 1871 was detained in Wilhelmshöhe (near Kassel), a residence of the Prussian kings. p. 182

161 According to the terms of the preliminary peace treaty signed on February 26, 1871 at Versailles, France ceded Alsace and East Lorraine to Germany and paid it an indemnity of 5,000-million francs; until it was paid, part of the French territory continued to be occupied by the German troops. The final peace treaty was signed in Frankfurt am Main on May 10, 1871. p. 183

162 The "*Wall of the Federals*"—a wall at the Père-Lachaise Cemetery in Paris at which 200 "federal" Communards fought heroically against the numerically superior Versailles units during the last days of the Paris Commune, and where they were shot on May 27, 1871; now usually called the Wall of the Communards. p. 186

163 A reference to Proudhon's *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX siècle*, Paris, 1851. A critique of this work is to be found in some of Marx's and Engels' letters written in August 1851 (present edition, Vol. 38) and in Engels' manuscript *A Critical Analysis of Proudhon's Book "Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX siècle"* (K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 44, Moscow, 1977, pp. 150-77, in Russian). p. 188

164 See Note 98. p. 188

165 When printing Engels' Introduction, the editors of *Die Neue Zeit* substituted his phrase "the Social-Democratic philistine" by "the German philistine". The same was done in the book, most probably with Engels' consent. p. 191

166 This is Engels' reply to the letter sent by Jose Mesa, one of the leaders of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain, on March 2, 1891, in which he requested Engels' consent to the publication by the Party's National Council of his Spanish translation of Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 105-212). Mesa had begun work on the translation back in 1872. Excerpts from it were published in Spanish for the first time in the organ of the Madrid Sections of the First International *La Emancipacion,* No. 44, April 13, and Nos 68 and 69, October 5 and 13, 1872. Mesa continued work on the translation in the 1870s and 1880s, although an opportunity to publish the book in Spain did not appear until the early 1890s.

Engels' letter was published as a preface to the Spanish edition of Marx's work, which came out in Madrid in the summer of 1891.

The supplement carried the party programme adopted at its first congress in Barcelona in 1888. p. 192

167 This is Engels' reply to the letter from the Committee for the International Meeting for the Claims of Labour to be convened on April 12, 1891 in Milan. The Committee was formed by Milan's democratic organisations and comprised prominent members of the Italian working-class and socialist movement. Seeking to give the forthcoming meeting a broad international character, the Committee sent out invitations to take part in it, or to express solidarity with it in writing, to workers' and socialist organisations of different countries, including the Social-Democratic Party of Germany and the French Workers' Party, as well as to many prominent socialists. Besides the official invitation, Engels was also sent a special letter (on April 2, 1891), which read: "You are one of the most known warriors in this battle between liberty and oppression. You are one of the most prominent men—as regards socialism—both in Germany and in England; and your letter of adhesion to our Meeting will have a great influence upon all working people.

"But your presence in Milan, on the 12th of April and—we hope—your speaking in favour of freedom and independence of workmen would have a greater influence both upon your countrymen and upon our comrades of other nations." p. 193

168 Engels was the General Council's corresponding secretary for Italy in 1871-72 and the representative of the General Council for Italy in 1873. p. 193

169 Engels wrote this Introduction for the new separate edition of Marx's work *Wage Labour and Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 9, pp. 197-228), which appeared in Berlin in 1891 and which he edited. In the opening part of the Introduction Engels reproduced an introductory note he had written for an earlier edition of this work, one that appeared in 1884 (see present edition, Vol. 26, p. 277).

The Introduction became widely known thanks to the workers' and socialist press, and was also printed as a separate article. Prior to the pamphlet's publication, it was carried by the supplement to *Vorwärts,* No. 109, May 13, 1891 under the title "Lohnarbeit und Kapital". In a somewhat abridged form, it was published by the *Freiheit* of New York, No. 22, May 30, 1891, the Italian journal *Critica Sociale,* No. 10, July 10, 1891, *Le Socialiste,* No. 44, July 22, 1891 and in the socialist annual *Almanach de la question sociale et du centenaire de la République* in 1892, as well as in Bulgarian, Czech, Hungarian, Polish, Romanian and Russian translations.

The Introduction was included in all subsequent editions of Marx's work, which were translated into many languages from the 1891 edition.

First published in English in: K. Marx. *Wage-Labor and Capital,* Chicago, Kerr, [1902], pp. 3-13. p. 194

170 The *German Workers' Society in Brussels* was founded by Marx and Engels at the end of August 1847, its aim being to provide a political education for German workers living in Belgium, and to spread the ideas of scientific communism among them. With Marx, Engels and their followers at its head, the Society became the legal centre rallying the German revolutionary proletarian forces in Belgium and maintained direct contacts with Flemish and Walloon workers' clubs. Its most active members belonged to the Brussels Democratic Association. Its activities ceased soon after the February 1848 revolution in France, when some of its members were arrested and many German workers left Belgium. p. 194

171 Russian troops entered Hungary in June 1849 to help suppress the Hungarian bourgeois revolution and the war of national liberation against Austrian rule.

The uprisings in defence of the Imperial Constitution passed by the Frankfurt National Assembly on March 28, 1849 but rejected by most German governments were the last stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848-49 in Germany. p. 194

172 Subsequently found among Marx's manuscripts was a rough draft of the last, or the last series, of lectures about wage labour and capital. It was entitled "Arbeitslohn" and had a note on the cover: "Brüssel, Dezember 1847" (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 415-37). As far as its content is concerned, it partially complemented Marx's unfinished work *Wage Labour and Capital.* It was published for the first time in Russian in the *Sotsialisticheskoye khozyaistvo* (Socialist Economy), No. 1, 1924, pp. 19-36, and in 1925 in the language of the original in the magazine *Unter dem Banner des Marxismus,* No. 1, pp. 141-59. p. 194

173 Engels is referring to May Day festivities of 1891. In some countries, including Britain and Germany, May Day was celebrated on the first Sunday of the month, which in 1891 fell on May 3. In 1891, May Day meetings and demonstrations took place in Britain, Austria, Germany, France, and Italy, to name but a few countries. That year, the international day of workers' solidarity was celebrated for the first time in Russia despite the authorities' persecution of its participants. p. 201

174 Engels wrote this preface for the fourth German edition of his work "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific" (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 281-325), which was issued by the *Vorwärts* printing house in Berlin in 1891. The first German edition of this work, which was first published in French in *La Revue socialiste* in 1880, appeared in Hottingen-Zurich at the printing house of *Der Sozialdemokrat* in March 1883 (the date on the title page was 1882). In the preface, Engels voiced his certainty that the German working-class readership would not find the work too difficult (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 458). The second and third German editions of Engels' work were issued by the same printing house in 1883. The fourth edition was the last to appear in German in Engels' lifetime. The supplement to this edition, like those to the earlier German editions, contained Engels' work "The Mark" (present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 439-56).

First published in English in: K. Marx, *Selected Works.* In two volumes, Vol. I, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1946, pp. 145-46. p. 202

175 See Note 2. p. 202

176 The additions to the original text of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* mentioned by Engels (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 281-325), which is based on the corresponding chapters of *Anti-Dühring,* are also reproduced in Vol. 25, in the section "Additions to the Text of Anti-Dühring", pp. 636-37 (on Saint-Simon) and 639-40 (on trusts). p. 202

177 This preface to the fourth edition of the book *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 129-276) was published on Engels' suggestion, before the actual book came out, in *Die Neue Zeit,* Vol. 2, No. 41, 1890-91 under the heading "Zur Urgeschichte der Familie (Bachofen, McLennan, Morgan)", and in Romanian translation in the Social-Democratic weekly *Munca,* No. 26, August 18, 1891.

The fourth, revised and enlarged edition of the book appeared in Stuttgart in late 1891; no changes were made in any of the subsequent editions. This preface was included into them all, both the German one and the others.

First published in English in: F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State,* Kerr, Chicago, [1902], pp. 12-26. p. 203

178 The *Magars,* a nationality inhabiting the western regions of Nepal. p. 208

179 Engels travelled to the United States and Canada in the company of Edward Aveling, Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Carl Schorlemmer in August-September 1888. For his impressions of the trip, see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 581-83. p. 213

180 Engels wrote this message of greetings in response to an invitation to take part in the second congress of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Austria, which was enclosed in Victor Adler's letter of June 22, 1891.

The second congress of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Austria was held in Vienna on June 28-30, 1891 and attended by 193 delegates. The congress discussed the state and the work of the party, the campaign for universal, equal and direct suffrage, the May Day celebrations, the party's participation in the international socialist workers' congress of 1891 in Brussels (see Note 109), the trade unions, social reform in Austria, and some other issues. Summing up the results of the congress, *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* the party's central organ, wrote on July 3, in the editorial "Unser Parteitag zu Wien" that the Austrian Social Democrats could be satisfied with their congress which testified to the internationalist character of the party and its clarity and unity on tactical questions. p. 215

181 Between December 30, 1888 and January 1, 1889, Hainfeld (Lower Austria) hosted a unity congress attended by 73 socialist delegates from nearly all Austrian provinces. The congress founded the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Austria and adopted a programme labelled "Declaration of Principles" and based on the main tenets of Marxism. The Declaration named as its objectives the political organisation of the proletariat and the advancement of its class-consciousness, campaign to turn the means of production into public property, emancipation of all working people from economic dependence, the attainment of political rights and enhancement of their cultural level. The Declaration proclaimed proletarian internationalism an organisational principle and the foundation of practical work. But it failed to mention the issues of seizure of political power by the proletariat, the forms of its political rule and its attitude to the peasantry. p. 215

182 Engels is referring to the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Laws introduced by the reactionary governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary to combat the socialist and the working-class movement.

On the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany see Note 2.

Austria passed Anti-Socialist and Anti-Anarchist laws in 1884. They were used to subject socialist and trade-union organisations and their press to police persecution or ban them, and to deport their leaders. However, in June 1891, the government was forced to repeal them under pressure from the mounting strike movement and the mass actions of the Austrian workers on May Day 1890 and 1891. p. 215

183 This work contains critical remarks about the new draft programme of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. By decision of the party congress held in 1890 in Halle, it was to replace the Gotha programme (adopted in 1875), which contained serious theoretical errors. This version of the draft, drawn up mainly by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, was not made public; the new draft, carried by the *Vorwärts* on July 4, 1891, was worked out with due consideration to many of Engels' remarks and suggestions, especially with regard to its Preamble and the economic demands it contained.

The publication was followed by a discussion in the course of which new drafts were proposed, notably by *Die Neue Zeit* editorial board. This draft was drawn up by Karl Kautsky, substantially endorsed by Engels and published in the said magazine. It became the foundation of the final version worked out by a commission headed by Liebknecht. The draft was submitted to the party congress held in Erfurt on October 14-21, 1891.

The programme adopted by the congress was Marxist in character and testified to the ideological victory of Marxism over other trends of socialism and over petty-bourgeois distortions. "The last vestiges of Lassalleanism have been removed," wrote Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge on October 24, 1891 (see present edition, Vol. 49).

The programme scientifically substantiated the ultimate goals and the short-term objectives set by the party (direct legislation, self-government by the people, the replacement of standing armies by an armed populace, freedom of speech, association, meetings and the press, equality for women, free education and medical care, etc., with all the points on the programme based on a Marxist analysis). A separate section defined what had to be done to promote the interests of the working class (the 8-hour day, a ban on child labour, the introduction of factory inspection and a state-run system of social insurance, etc.).

But the programme was not without its faults. It lacked some essential theoretical provisions and demands, including a definition of the ways and means for the proletariat to take over political power, the establishment of a democratic republic or, as Engels suggested with regard to the political situation in Germany, "concentration of all political power in the hands of the people's representatives", and a plan of work among the peasantry. However, the significance of these drawbacks became clear only much later.

By and large, the programme was on a par with Marxist theory and made a strong impact on the new programmes of other socialist parties.

At the time, Engels did not intend his work to be published. It appeared for the first time in 1901 in *Die Neue Zeit*. The editorial preface stated that Engels' manuscript had been found among Liebknecht's papers.

First published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*. In three volumes, Vol. III, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970, pp. 429-39. p. 217

184 The manuscript of the draft programme sent to Engels and a number of other German Social-Democratic leaders on June 18, 1891 by the Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany and subjected to critical analysis by Engels was believed lost for a long time. It was found and published for the first time in the journal *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung* (Berlin), 1968, special issue, pp. 173-74.

The paragraphs have been numbered in square brackets for the sake of comparison with Engels' critical remarks in the Preamble.

"*Strictly confidential*

"Esteemed Comrades! Please find enclosed the draft programme of our party to be considered at the next congress. We beg you to express your opinion and add any proposals you may have for amendments. But we ask you to treat this draft as *strictly confidential* since it should be made known to the comrades and therefore to the general public only after the reservations and objections which may arise have been considered. We shall deal with your replies by *Saturday, June 27th* at the latest since, according to the Halle Congress decision, the draft programme is to be submitted for public discussion not later than 3 months before the next party congress.

With Social-Democratic greetings,
the Party Executive"

[Draft Programme of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany

[Paragraph 1] The separation of the workingman from the means of labour—land, mines, pits, quarries, machinery and tools, the means of communication, and their transfer into exclusive possession of part of the members of society have split the society into two classes, the toiling and the propertied.

[Paragraph 2] Concentrated in the hands of exclusive owners (monopolists), the means of labour necessary for the existence of society have turned into means of exploitation. The workers' dependence on individual owners of the means of labour ensuing from this is the foundation of slavery in all its forms, denial of political rights, social misery, physical degradation and mental denigration.

[Paragraph 3] Under the domination of the exclusive owners—capitalists, big landowners, the bourgeoisie—the accumulation of the means of labour and of the wealth that has been created by the exploited increases in the hands of the capitalists with growing speed, the distribution of the product of labour becomes more and more uneven, the number and the misery of the proletariat increase continuously, the army of superfluous labour assumes an increasingly mass character, class antagonisms and the class struggle are mounting, splitting society into two armed hostile camps and becoming a characteristic feature of all industrially developed countries.

[Paragraph 4] The planlessness rooted in the nature of capitalist private production breeds increasingly lengthy crises and unevenness of production, which further deteriorate the condition of the workingmen, ruin broad strata of the population, give rise to universal economic and political instability and plunge society at large into turbulence and confusion.

[Paragraph 5] To put an end to this state, which is growing more intolerable day by day, by removing the causes, and to bring about the emancipation of the working class—this is the goal and the task of Social Democracy.

[Paragraph 6] The Social-Democratic Party of Germany therefore strives to bring about the transformation of the means of labour—land, mines, pits, quarries, machinery, and tools, the means of communication—into common property, and capitalist private production, into social socialist production, a transformation for which capitalist society itself creates the material and spiritual conditions.

[Paragraph 7] The emancipation of the working class can be the work only of the working class itself, for all the other classes and parties base themselves on capitalism and, despite their conflicting interests, have a common goal, to preserve and consolidate capitalism.

[Paragraph 8] Realising that the emancipation of the working class is not a national but a social task in which the workers of all civilised countries are equally involved and which can be resolved only through international co-operation, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany feels and declares itself to be *at one* with the class-conscious workers in all other countries.

[Paragraph 9] The Social-Democratic Party had nothing in common with so-called state socialism: a system of fiscal nationalisation which places the state in place of the private entrepreneur and imposes the double yoke of economic exploitation and political oppression upon the worker.

[Paragraph 10] The Social-Democratic Party is fighting not for new class privileges and prerogatives, but for the abolition of class domination and for equal rights for all, without discrimination on the basis of sex or origin. In its struggle for the emancipation of the working class, the struggle for the emancipation of mankind, Social Democracy fights for all demands, measures and arrangements which are capable of improving the position of the people in general and the working class in particular.

With these ends in view, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany advances the following demands:

1. Universal equal and direct election and voting rights and secret ballot for all citizens of the empire over 21 without distinction on the basis of sex at all stages of the elections and voting. Introduction of a system of proportional representation. The elections and voting are to be scheduled for Sundays or public holidays.

2. Direct legislation by the people, i.e., the right of the people to propose and reject laws.

3. Settlement of the issues of war and peace by elected representatives of the people. Establishment of an international court of arbitration.

4. Repeal of all laws restricting or suppressing freedom of opinion and the right of association and meetings.

5. Abolition of all allocations from public funds to the Church and for religious purposes. Church and religious communities are to be regarded as private associations.

6. Secular character of the school. Compulsory attendance of state schools. Free education and supply of teaching aids at all state educational establishments.

7. The fostering in all citizens of a readiness to defend the country. Replacement of the standing armies by a people's militia.

8. Legal proceedings and legal aid free of charge. All legal proceedings to be conducted by judges elected by the people.

9. Free medical care and medicines.

10. Progressive income, capital and inheritance taxes to cover all expenditure by the state since the latter is subject to payment out of the monies

provided by the taxes. Abolition of all indirect taxes, duties and other economic and political measures that subjugate the interests of the community to those of the privileged minority.

For the purpose of protecting the rights of the working class, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany advances the following demands:

1. Effective national and international labour protection legislation drawn up on the following basis:

a) Introduction of a normal working day not exceeding eight hours.

b) A ban on industrial labour for children under 14.

c) A ban on night work, except in the industries where such work is required due to their specific features, for technical reasons, or in the interests of the public weal.

d) A ban on female labour in the industries where the mode of production is harmful to the woman's organism.

e) A ban on night work for all women and young men under 18.

f) An unbroken period of rest for each worker lasting at least 36 hours a week.

g) Prohibition of the truck system.

h) Surveillance by public service inspectors of all workshops and industrial enterprises, including the home crafts.

2. Protection of the right of association from infringement by entrepreneurs.

3. Assumption of responsibility for all workers' insurance by the empire, with the decisive say in the administration of insurance belonging to the persons concerned.

For the regulation and supervision of labour relations, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany demands an imperial labour department, regional labour bureaus and labour chambers, with half of their members to be elected by the workers, and the other half by the entrepreneurs.] p. 219

185 The reference is to the programme of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany adopted at the unity congress in Gotha in 1875. Marx critically analysed its draft, which was later approved by the congress with only minor alterations, in his work *Gritique of the Gotha Programme,* and Engels did the same in a letter to Bebel of March 18-28, 1875 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 67-73, 75-99 and Vol. 45.) p. 219

186 See Note 2. p. 220

187 The *Constitution of 1850* was promulgated in Prussia following a revision of the constitution granted by Frederick William IV on December 5, 1848 in the wake of the counter-revolutionary putsch and the dissolution of the Prussian National Assembly. In April 1849, the king dissolved the chamber of representatives, and on May 30 passed a new electoral law establishing a three-class electoral system based on property qualifications and unequal representation of the various strata. The majority in the new chamber, elected on the basis of the new law, approved a new and more reactionary constitution proposed by the king. Prussia retained the upper chamber consisting mainly of the feudal nobility; the powers of the Landtag were severely curtailed and it was deprived of the right to initiate legislation. Ministers were to be appointed by the king and made accountable to him alone. The constitution granted the government the right to set up special courts to deal with cases of high treason. The 1850 constitution remained in force in Prussia even after the formation of the German Empire in 1871.

The so-called *constitutional conflict* arose in the early 1860s between the Prussian government and the bourgeois-liberal majority in the Landtag. In February 1860, the majority refused to approve a plan for reorganising the army submitted by War Minister von Roon. However, the government soon managed to secure allocations for "maintenance of the army's combat readiness and enhancement of its firepower", which meant, to all intents and purposes, that the reorganisation could proceed. When in March 1862 the liberal majority refused to approve the military budget and demanded that the war ministry be made accountable to the Landtag, the government dissolved the latter and called new elections. In late September 1862 an administration was formed under Bismarck, which again dissolved the Landtag that October and embarked on the military reform without it approving the necessary funds. The conflict was not resolved until 1866, when, following the Prussian victory over Austria, the Prussian bourgeoisie capitulated before Bismarck.

The *Constitution of the German Empire* promulgated on April 16, 1871 was based on the constitution of the North German Confederation approved on April 17, 1867, with the changes introduced into it in November 1870 by the treaties on the entry of South German states (Baden, Hesse, Bavaria and Württemberg) into the Confederation. The Constitution of 1871 consolidated Prussian supremacy in Germany and the reactionary foundations of the German Empire's state structure. The Reichstag's legislative powers were substantially curtailed, and the laws passed by it made subject to approval by the Federal Council and the Emperor. The prerogatives of the latter, and of the Chancellor, who enjoyed independence from the Reichstag, were very broad. The constitution perpetuated the vestiges of particularism and the privileges of some small German states. p. 226

188 An ironical reference to the two dwarf states that were incorporated into the German Empire in 1871, Reuss-Greiz and Reuss-Gera-Schleiz-Lobenstein-Ebersdorf, ruled by the elder and the younger lines of the Reuss princes. p. 226

189 Engels is referring to the action launched by the Social-Democratic deputy M. Kayser with the consent of the Reichstag group in defence of the plan to introduce protective tariffs in 1879. In a series of letters to members of the German party, e.g., in the circular of September 17-18, 1879 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 253-69, and Vol. 45), Marx and Engels were deeply critical of Kayser's efforts to defend a plan that was clearly aimed at promoting the interests of big industrialists and landowners to the detriment of the bulk of the people, and also the easy-going attitude to Kayser demonstrated by some of the German Social-Democratic leaders.

*Manchesterism*—see Note 99. p. 227

190 The *reservation rights*—the rights of South German states, principally Bavaria and Württemberg, confirmed by the treaties on their accession to the North German Confederation (in November 1870) and the Constitution of the German Empire (April 1871). Among other things, Bavaria and Württemberg retained a special tax on beer and spirits and independent administration of posts and telegraphic communications. Bavaria further retained control over its army and the railways. Representatives of Bavaria, Württemberg and Saxony formed a special committee in the Federal Council for dealing with foreign policy issues. The commission enjoyed the right of veto. p. 227

191 Thuringia was a striking example of the fragmentation still persisting in the German Empire. It incorporated the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach,

the duchies of Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Altenburg and Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and the principalities Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen, Reuss-Greiz and Reuss-Gera. p. 227

192 The reference is to the dictatorship of Napoleon Bonaparte, who proclaimed himself First Consul as a result of the coup d'état of the Eighteenth Brumaire (November 9), 1799 and in actual fact instituted his own one-man rule. This lasted until 1804, when an empire was officially declared in France. p. 228

193 Engels is referring to the programme of the French Workers' Party adopted at the congress in Le Havre in November 1880. In May 1880, Jules Guesde, one of the French socialist leaders, arrived in London, where he worked together with Marx, Engels and Lafargue on the draft programme. The preamble was dictated to Guesde by Marx.

The preamble and the text proper of the programme are included in Vol. 24 of the present edition (pp. 340-42). p. 230

194 The programme of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain, to which Engels refers here, was adopted by the congress in Barcelona in 1888 and published in the supplement to the Spanish edition of Marx' work *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon* (present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 105-212), which appeared in 1891 in Madrid. p. 230

195 This essay is an extract from Engels' letter to Lafargue of 2 September 1891 (for the full text of the letter see present edition, Vol. 49). This essay was published in *Le Socialiste,* in a slightly abridged form and with editorial changes. Its German translation appeared in the *Vorwärts,* No. 216, September 16, 1891 in the "Politische Übersicht" column. In a letter to Bebel of October 1, 1891, Engels voiced his displeasure at the quality of the German translation.

The *Second International Socialist Workers' Congress* took place in Brussels on August 16-22, 1891. It was preceded by bitter struggle between the Marxists and the opportunists, with the latter attempting to take over preparations for the congress (see Note 109). Thanks to the Marxists' and Engels' personal efforts, the attempt failed. The congress, at which over 350 delegates from European countries and the USA were present, was mostly Marxist. The majority resolved against admitting the anarchists. Also taking part in its work were representatives of the British trade unions.

Among the points on the agenda were the labour law, the strike and the boycott, and the attitude to militarism.

Of the decisions reached by the congress, Engels commented in his essay on the resolution on labour law (borrowing phrases from the introduction to, and the conclusion of, the resolution), and the resolution on the strike and the boycott. The former urged the workers of the world to pool their efforts in the struggle against the rule of capitalism and to use their political rights (wherever they existed) to emancipate themselves from wage slavery. In the resolution on the strike and the boycott, the congress recommended the workers to employ these means of struggle. It emphasised the absolute necessity of trades associations for the working people.

The key issue at the congress was the attitude of the working class to militarism. Wilhelm Liebknecht's and Édouard Vaillant's reports on the subject, as well as the resolution submitted by Liebknecht, stated that militarism was an inevitable product of the capitalist system, that only the establishment of a socialist society could put an end to it and secure peace among nations, and that the socialists were the real party of peace. However, the resolution did not

say what could be done to remove the threat of war in practical terms. It ended with an appeal to the workers of all countries to launch vigorous protest actions against war preparations and military alliances, and to do their best to bring the triumph of socialism nearer by strengthening the international organisation of the proletariat.

Liebknecht's resolution was opposed by the Dutch delegate Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuys, who inclined towards anarchism. The resolution he submitted, calling on the socialists of all countries to exhort their peoples to stage a general strike in the event of war, was defeated by the congress.

The delegates adopted the resolution proposed by Liebknecht. Engels described the outcome of the congress as a tactical and theoretical victory for Marxism.

The first part of the essay ("The Brussels Congress") was first published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, p. 180. p. 233

196 See Note 136. p. 233

197 The "Rurals", the Assembly of the "Rurals", a derisive nickname for the National Assembly that met on February 12, 1871 in Bordeaux (France) and consisted mostly of reactionary monarchists, such as provincial landowners, civil servants, rentiers and merchants elected from rural constituencies. Engels scornfully applied the name to the German Junkers. p. 234

198 See Note 2. p. 234

199 Engels wrote the article "Socialism in Germany" between 13 and 22 October 1891 for the *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier pour 1892* on the request of the leadership of the Workers' Party. The article was included in the issue that came out in early December 1891.

In early January 1892, Engels translated the work into German for *Die Neue Zeit* and supplied it with a short introduction and a conclusion.

The first two parts in the Italian translation made from the French by Pasquale Martignetti were published in the magazine *Critica Sociale,* Nos 2 and 3, January 16 and February 1, 1892, the first under the editorial title "The Imminent Triumph of Socialism in Germany", and the second, under the heading "The German Socialist Party and Peace". The last part of the work was printed in that magazine in translation from the German and in a slightly abridged form (No. 7, April 1, 1892) under the heading "The Famine in Russia, Its Causes and Significance". A separate Italian edition appeared in the same year.

In Polish translation, the article was carried by the London-based journal *Przedświt,* Nos 33 and 34, February 13 and 20, 1892, and in Romanian (minus the introduction), in the magazine *Critica Sociale* (Jassy), Nos 2 and 3, January and February 1892. In the same year, the work appeared in the USA in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung,* Nos 8 and 9, and in English translation, in *The People,* New York, February 28, March 6. p. 235

200 By the "pure" (or tricolour) *republicans* are meant members of the party of moderate republicans headed by Armand Marrast, which formed around the newspaper *Le National* in the 1840s; it was supported by the industrial bourgeoisie and a section of the liberal intellectuals connected with it.

*Organisation of Labour* (*Organisation du travail*) is the title of Louis Blanc's

book in which he expounded his petty-bourgeois socialist programme; the first edition appeared in Paris in 1840. p. 238

201 The reference is to the General Association of German Workers, the country's first nationwide organisation of the kind, founded in 1863 at a meeting of workers' unions in Leipzig. The Association was dominated by Lassalle, one of its founding fathers and first president. The Association campaigned for universal suffrage. Considering the workers' daily economic struggle unnecessary, its members believed that the social contradictions should be dealt with by setting up production associations financed by the state. At its congress in Gotha in 1875 (see Note 134) the Association merged with the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. p. 238

202 A reference to the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany founded at the general congress of Social Democrats of Germany, Austria and Switzerland held on August 7-9, 1869 in Eisenach. Later, it also became known as the party of Eisenachers. The programme adopted by the congress contained ill-considered and erroneous ideas but was generally based on Marxist principles. p. 238

203 Out of the nine socialist deputies elected to the Reichstag in 1847, six were members of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (August Bebel, Wilhelm Geib, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Johann Joseph Most, Julius Motteler and Carl Julius Vahlteich), and three members of the General Association of German Workers (Wilhelm Hasenclever, Wilhelm Hasselmann and Otto Reimer).
On the Gotha merger, see Note 134. p. 239

204 See Note 2. p. 239

205 Engels is referring to the decision passed by the Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany in 1891 to publish the complete works of Ferdinand Lassalle. The project was carried through in 1892-93 (*Ferdinand Lassalle's Reden und Schriften.* Hg. v. Eduard Bernstein. 3 Bände. Verlag der Expedition des "Vorwärts"-Berliner Volksblatt, Berlin, 1892-93). p. 239

206 A reference to the unanimous approval of the new programme completely free from Lassallean ideas at the Erfurt congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (October 1891). p. 239

207 On the 1890 elections, see Note 1, and pp. 3-10 of this volume. Referring to the Reichstag of 1866, Engels means the Reichstag of the North German Confederation that existed up to the formation of the German Empire in 1871. p. 239

208 See Notes 4 and 8. p. 240

209 Engels quotes Odilon Barrot, a conservative politician of the Second Republic in France, who said: "Legality is the death of us" ("*la légalité nous tue*") when repressions were instituted against democratic organisations in late 1848-early 1849. p. 241

210 Engels is paraphrasing the words uttered by the commander of the French guards Count d'Anterroche during the Battle of Fontenoy on May 11, 1745, won by the French in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-46). As legend has it, when the hostile Anglo-Dutch-Hanoverian troops had drawn up to the French army, he exclaimed: "You shoot first, English gentlemen! ["Messieurs les Anglais, tirez les premiers!"]. p. 241

211 See Note 160. p. 242

212 In the 19th century, the issue of the statehood of Schleswig-Holstein whose population was largely German figured prominently among the contradictions plaguing the European states. Remaining, since the 15th century, under the Danish administration, as a result of the German-Danish war of 1864 and the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 (see Note 159) it became Prussia's province.
On Alsace and Lorraine, see Note 161. p. 243

213 Under the secret agreement on joint steps against the Paris Commune signed in Frankfurt am Main simultaneously with the official peace treaty on the termination of the Franco-Prussian war (see Note 161), the German command was obliged to let the counter-revolutionary Versailles troops pass through the German lines, which allowed the former to approach Paris from the north and significantly worsened the position of the Communards. p. 244

214 The reference is to the rebuff given by the troops of the French republic to the coalition of European states (Austria, Prussia, Britain, etc.), in 1793, at the time of the French Revolution. p. 245

215 The reference is to the welcoming ceremony in honour of the French squadron's arrival at Kronstadt in July 1891, which was meant to demonstrate the rapprochement between Russia and France. Negotiations were under way between the two countries at the time; in August 1892 they led to the signing of the Franco-Russian accords under which France and Russia were to consult each other on international issues and to take joint action should either of them find itself facing the threat of aggression. The accords were a major step towards the eventual formation of a Franco-Russian alliance in 1893. p. 246

216 The reference is to the 3 per cent loan for the sum of 125 mln rbs (500 mln francs) in gold which Russia took out in France in September 1891. Initially, the loan was a great success, the designated sum being oversubscribed seven and a half times. Eventually, however, as the price of Russian securities on European stock markets began to drop due to the worsening economic situation there and the famine of 1891, some subscribers refused to accept the bonds. In an effort to ward off a total failure of the loan, the Russian government was forced to buy up part of the bonds. As a result, the loan yielded only about 96 mln rbs. p. 246

217 See Note 64. p. 247

218 To protect domestic industry from foreign competition and increase government revenues, from the 1870s Russia repeatedly raised protective import tariffs. In 1877-80, they amounted to 16 per cent of the cost of the imported goods, in 1881-84, 19 per cent, in 1885-90, 28 per cent, and from 1891, 33 per cent. As a consequence of the government's protectionist policies, the prices of manufactured goods in Russia were significantly higher than those on the world market. Considering the country's backwardness as compared to the more advanced capitalist states, this policy was of great assistance to Russia's industrial advance, but also a major burden on the populace; it also narrowed down the home market and held up technological progress. p. 247

219 In the 19th century the term *Pan-Slavism* was used to describe differing phenomena: the ideas of Slavic mutuality and cultural proximity, plans for federations of the Slavic peoples, plans of tsarist Russia to utilise national liberation movements in its own purposes, etc. Pan-Slavism made the greatest political impact in the 1860s-70s, especially at the time of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, which resulted from the upsurge of the national liberation

movement in the Balkans and the exacerbation of international strife in the Middle East. p. 247

220 Engels dealt with the agrarian reforms in the 19th century and the abolition of serfdom "from above" in Prussia, in the course of which the landowners virtually plundered the peasants, in his work "On the History of the Prussian Peasants" (present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 341-51). p. 247

221 Engels received an invitation to take part in the tenth anniversary celebrations of the *Volksfreund* newspaper to be held in Brünn (now Brno) on November 22, 1891 in a letter from the editorial board despatched in early November. The celebrations, which were to be in the nature of a political demonstration against the reactionary Austrian press laws, were banned by the police authorities. p. 251

222 The *Young Czechs,* the Czech bourgeois-liberal party which championed the interests of industrial bourgeoisie. It initially formed the liberal wing of the National Party; in 1874, the Young Czechs established an independent "free-thinking" party, which in the 1890s became the Czech leading bourgeois party. They demanded that Austria-Hungary become a triune Austro-Hungarian-Czech monarchy and campaigned to strengthen the economic and political position of the Czech bourgeoisie by weakening that of the Austrian bourgeoisie. The Young Czechs were hostile towards Social Democracy and sought to undermine its influence among the workers. p. 251

223 Marx wrote about the persecution of Lafargue and his own daughters by the French authorities during their stay, in August 1871, in the resort town of Bagnères-de-Luchon in the Pyrénées in his letter of August 25, 1871 to Dana, editor of the American newspaper *The Sun.* Marx's daughter Jenny commented on the same in a letter to the editor of the American *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* in September 1871 (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 396-99 and 622-32). p. 253

224 See Note 132.

The text beginning with the words "Both Marx and I..." was first published in English in: Marx, Engels, Lenin, *The Communist View on Morality,* Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1974, p. 66. p. 254

225 See Note 132. p. 256

226 Engels wrote this Preface for the English edition of his work *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 295-583), which appeared in London in 1892. It was the second edition of the authorised English translation,which first appeared in New York in 1887. The major part of the Preface, with minor editorial changes and omissions, is formed by the Appendix to the American edition written by Engels in 1886 (present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 399-405) and his article "England in 1845 and in 1885" included into the Appendix (ibid., pp. 295-301). The concluding part of the Preface was written specifically for the English edition of 1892. p. 257

227 This refers to the repeal of the Corn Laws introduced in the interests of the English landed aristocracy. The maintenance of high protective tariffs for corn to keep prices high on the home market hampered the growth of capitalist profits.

The campaign for the repeal of the Corn Laws was conducted within the framework of the Anti-Corn Law League founded in 1838 by the Manchester factory owners Cobden and Bright. It demanded lower corn tariffs and free

trade. The satisfaction of these demands would have undermined the economic and political might of the landed aristocracy but also resulted in lower wages for agricultural labourers. The campaign ended with the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. p. 258

228 Engels described the *truck system* in *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 470-71). A law banning this system (the Truck-Act) was passed in 1831; many factory owners, however, refused to comply with it.

The *Ten Hours' Bill,* which applied to women and children only, was passed by the British Parliament on June 8, 1847. p. 259

229 *Little Ireland,* a working-class suburb populated mostly by the Irish on the southern edge of Manchester. Engels described it in detail in *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (present edition, Vol. 4. pp. 360-62).

*Seven Dials,* seven radial streets in the centre of London mainly populated by workers at the time. p. 260

230 The *cottage system,* the leasing of dwellings to workers by factory owners at exorbitant rents, these being deducted from their wages (for more details, see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 471-72). p. 261

231 A reference to the strike in Pennsylvania, involving over 10,000 miners, which lasted from January 22 to February 26, 1886. Workers servicing blast furnaces and coke ovens managed to secure some of their demands for higher wages and better conditions.

On the 1844 colliers' strike in the north of England, see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 541-47. p. 261

232 The first English translation of Volume One of *Capital,* made by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, and edited by Engels, appeared in 1887. p. 261

233 Engels wrote the article "England in 1845 and in 1885" for *The Commonweal.* Later, he translated it into German and had it published by *Die Neue Zeit* (June 1885). Subsequently, Engels included it in full in the Appendix to the American edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* which appeared in 1887 (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 399-405). p. 262

234 A reference to the drive for the repeal of the Corn Laws (see Note 227). p. 262

235 The *People's Charter* containing the demands of the Chartists was published on May 8, 1838 in the form of a Bill to be submitted to Parliament. It listed six points: universal manhood suffrage, annual elections to Parliament, vote by ballot, equal electoral districts, abolition of the property qualifications for M.P.s, and payment of M.P.s. In 1839 and 1842, petitions for the Charter were rejected by Parliament. p. 263

236 A reference to the peaceful Chartist demonstration on April 10, 1848, which intended to head for the Houses of Parliament to present a third Petition demanding the promulgation of the People's Charter. The demonstration was prohibited by the government which flooded the capital with troops and formed a body of "special constables" recruited from among the middle class to thwart it. Chartist leaders, many of whom were too hesitant, gave up the idea and persuaded the would-be participants to disperse. p. 263

237 The reference is to the *Reform Bill of 1831* which was finally passed by the British Parliament in June 1832. The Reform Act of 1832 consisted of three

acts adopted accordingly for England and Wales on June 7, for Scotland on July 17, and for Ireland on August 17, 1832. It was directed against the political monopoly of the landed and finance aristocracy and enabled the industrial bourgeoisie to be duly represented in Parliament. The proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, the main forces in the struggle for the reform, remained disfranchised. p. 263

238 The phrase "workshop of the world", which gained wide currency in the 19th century, was first used by Benjamin Disraeli with reference to Britain in his speech in the House of Commons on March 15, 1838. p. 263

239 A reference to the factory legislation shaped in Britain in the first half of the 19th century as a result of the establishment of the capitalist factory system, and the proletariat's campaign for legislative regulation of working conditions. The first factory laws (1802, 1819, 1833 and 1844) introduced age restrictions for child labour in the textile industry. The law of 1833 provided for factory inspectors to supervise compliance with the factory law and also impose penalties on employers who broke it. A major landmark was the Ten Hours' Bill of 1847 which limited the working hours of women and children. p. 264

240 This refers to the second and third electoral reforms in Britain.

Under the reform of 1867, suffrage was granted in urban areas to landlords and tenants and to tenants of flats with a term of residence of not less than twelve months and paying at least £10 in rent annually. In the counties, property qualifications for voters were established at £12 a year in rent. The reform extended suffrage to a section of industrial workers. Secret ballots were introduced in 1872. The reform of 1884 extended the terms of the 1867 reform to rural districts, granting suffrage to a proportion of rural dwellers. But even then, 87 per cent of the country's population remained disfranchised, including the less affluent sections of the urban and rural population and all women. Here and below, Engels quotes the People's Charter. p. 264

241 Marx voiced the idea that after 1848, the reactionaries became a sort of "testamentary executors" of the revolution fulfilling as they did part of its programme, even if in a grotesquely distorted way, in a number of works, specifically, in the essay "Erfurtery in the Year 1859" (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 404-06).

Below, the reference is to the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1867 as a result of the transformation of the Austrian Empire. p. 265

242 The *British Association for the Advancement of Science* was founded in 1831 and exists to this day. The documents of its annual meetings are published in the form of reports. The Association has a printed organ, *The Advancement of Science,* which appears quarterly. p. 267

243 This is a reply to the critique by the Italian bourgeois philosopher and politician Giovanni Bovio of the first part of Engels' article "Socialism in Germany" (see pp. 237-41 of this volume) carried by the *Critica Sociale,* No. 2, January 16, 1892 (in the Italian translation made from the French version featured by the *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier pour 1892*). On February 2, 1892, Filippo Turati, editor of the *Critica Sociale,* sent Engels Bovio's article, which had been published in *La Tribuna,* asking him for a reply. Engels wrote his reply in French and sent it to Turati on February 6, 1892, as well as a letter.

Turati's Italian translation of the article, approved by Engels, was carried by *Critica Sociale,* No. 4, February 16, 1892 under the heading "Federico Engels a Giovann. Bovio".

First published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *The Socialist Revolution,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, pp. 286-88. p. 270

244 Engels wrote this Preface on the request of the Polish socialist Stanisław Mendelson, editor of the London-based magazine *Przedświt,* for the new Polish edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* planned by the magazine (for the text of the *Manifesto,* see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 477-519). The edition was designated as the second, the first one having been put out by the same publishers in 1883. The first Polish translation, which Marx and Engels mentioned in the preface to the 1872 German edition of the *Manifesto* (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 174-75), appeared in 1848 and has not been found.

First published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *The Communist Manifesto,* Lawrence, London, 1930, pp. 269-70 and International Publishers, New York, 1930, pp. 269-70. p. 273

245 *Congress Poland,* the part of Poland which, under the official name of the Kingdom of Poland, passed over to Russia by decision of the Vienna Congress of 1814-15. p. 273

246 Engels is apparently referring to the campaign waged by M. N. Katkov, editor of the reactionary Russian newspaper *Moskovskiye Vedomosti* (Moscow News) for the introduction of protective tariffs on the goods produced in the Kingdom of Poland. Engels was informed of this by S. M. Kravchinsky's (Stepnyak) essay "The Russian Storm-cloud; or, Russia in Her Relations to Neighbouring Countries", which was printed by *Time* in September and October 1885 and was later included in a volume of his essays under the same name which appeared in London in 1886. p. 273

247 *On July 14, 1789,* Bastille was stormed by the people of Paris, and the French Revolution began.

*September 22, 1792,* the first day of the French Republic, declared by the Convent on September 21. It was recognised as the first day on the revolutionary calendar approved by the Convent in 1793.

The article was first published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *On the Paris Commune,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 275-76. p. 275

248 The second German edition (1892) of Marx's work *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 105-212) was reprinted from the first German edition (1885) and contained the corrections which Engels had specified in this Preface. The 1892 edition reproduced Engels' preface to the first German edition (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 278-91), as well as Marx's work "Speech on the Question of Free Trade" and his essay "On Proudhon" included in the Supplement (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 450-65, and Vol. 20, pp. 26-33).

For the passage mentioned in the Preface see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 138. The minor inaccuracies which occurred in the text of the 1847 French edition and were reproduced in the 1885 German edition were used by the Austrian bourgeois sociologist and lawyer Anton Menger in his book *Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag in geschichtlicher Darstellung,* Stuttgart, 1886 to cast aspersions on Marx and Engels. Their unsoundness was exposed in the work "Lawyers' Socialism" written by Engels in collaboration with Kautsky (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 597-616).

First published in English in: K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy,* International Publishers, New York, 1934, p. 23. p. 277

249 Engels wrote this Introduction for the English edition of his work *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 281-325), which appeared in London in 1892 in Edward Aveling's translation. The appendix to this edition also contained Engels' essay "The Mark" written in 1882 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 439-56).

In June 1892, Engels translated the Introduction into German, and in July sent it to *Die Neue Zeit,* which printed it in its first and second issues for 1892 under the heading "Ueber historischen Materialismus". The editorial board omitted the first seven paragraphs, alleging that their substance was well known in Germany and was of no interest to the German readership.

Parts of the Introduction under the headings "Les trois batailles de la bourgeoisie contre le féodalisme" and "Le Parti ouvrier" were published in French by *Le Socialiste,* Nos 115, 116 and 118 on December 4, 11 and 25, 1892, and Nos 119 and 120 on January 1 and 9, 1893. The Introduction, minus the first eight paragraphs, was also published in Bulgarian in the *Социалъ-демократъ* magazine, No. 3, 1892. p. 278

250 See Note 134. p. 278

251 *Bimetallism*—a monetary system based on two metals (e.g., gold and silver) with a fixed ratio to each other as legal tender. p. 281

252 Engels compiled his pamphlet from Section I of the Introduction to *Anti-Dühring* and chapters I and II of Part III of this work, making a number of additions and changes. p. 281

253 See Note 232. p. 282

254 The *nominalists* (from Latin *nominalis*—of or relating to a name) were adherents of a trend in medieval scholasticism, generally considered heretical and dangerous, which maintained that universal terms such as indicate genus or species and all general collective words or terms have no objective real existence corresponding to them but are mere words. They criticised the traditional "realist" doctrine, derived from Plato, that universals or "ideas" have real existence above and independent of individual things, and likewise the "conceptualist" view that while universals do not exist outside the mind they do exist in the mind as general conceptions. The doctrine of Nominalism was later forcefully taken up and developed by the English materialist philosopher Thomas Hobbes. p. 283

255 *Homoiomeriae,* according to the teaching of the ancient Greek philosopher Anaxagoras, are tiny qualitatively determined material particles which are infinite in number and variety and constitute through their combination and separation everything in the world. p. 283

256 Marx and Engels used the term "theism" although the context indicates that what they actually mean is "deism". The most probable explanation is that, as dictionaries and encyclopaedias of the second half of the 19th century testify, at that time the terms could be used interchangeably. p. 285

257 The reference is to the Great Exhibition, the first world industrial exhibition held in May-October 1851 in London. p. 286

258 Engels dealt with the uprising of the German nobility in 1522-23 and the Peasant War of 1524-25 in Germany in his work *The Peasant War in Germany* (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 397-482). p. 290

259 The "*Glorious Revolution*" of 1688 in England established a constitutional monarchy based on a compromise between the landed aristocracy and the finance bourgeoisie. p. 292

260 The *Wars of the Roses* (1455-85) for the English throne were fought between two dynasties, the Yorks, whose coat of arms features a white rose, and the Lancasters, with a red rose on their coat of arms. Rallying round the Yorks was a section of big feudal nobility residing in the more economically developed south, the lesser nobility (the knights) and the cities; the Lancasters were supported by the feudal nobility of the northern counties. The bloody wars nearly wiped out both dynasties and ended in the enthronement of the Tudors, who introduced absolutism throughout the country. p. 292

261 "A robust and malicious man"—a phrase from Thomas Hobbes' preface to his book *De Cive* written in Paris in 1642. Initially, the book was circulated as a manuscript; it was published in Amsterdam in 1647. p. 293

262 *Cartesianism,* a doctrine upheld by the followers of René Descartes (Cartesius in Latin), a 17th-century French philosopher. They derived materialist conclusions from his teaching. p. 294

263 This refers to the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* (Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen) adopted by the French Constituent Assembly on August 26, 1789 during the French Revolution. It proclaimed the main principles of the revolution: sovereignty of the people and the natural rights of man (the right to freedom, property, security and resistance to oppression). p. 294

264 *Code Civil,* one of the five codes drawn up in France in 1804-10 under Napoleon I (hence the term *Code Napoléon* used interchangeably with *Code civil*), which represented a systematisation of bourgeois law. Engels referred to the *Code Civil* passed in 1804 as "a classic legal code of bourgeois society" (see present edition, Vol. 26, p. 392). p. 294

265 The reference is to the members of the London Corresponding Society and corresponding societies in other English cities. Their adherents demanded universal suffrage and other democratic reforms (alongside representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, their organisers and members included people drawn from the working class). Corresponding societies were harassed by the British authorities. p. 295

266 See Note 237. p. 296

267 In 1824, under mass pressure, the British Parliament lifted the ban on the trade unions. In 1825, however, it passed a Bill on workers' combinations which, while confirming the earlier decision, greatly restricted the unions' activity. In particular, any agitation among workers to join unions and take part in strikes was regarded as compulsion and violence and punished as a crime. p. 296

268 See Note 235. p. 296

269 See Note 227. p. 296

270 *Brother Jonathan,* the ironic nickname given by the English to North Americans at the time of the American War of Independence (1775-83).

*Revivalism,* a trend in the Protestant Church that emerged in England in the first half of the 18th century and spread to North America. Its followers

sought to consolidate and expand the influence of Christianity by preaching and setting up new congregations. p. 297

271 A reference to the Reform Bill of 1867 introduced by the Derby-Disraeli Tory government (see also Note 240). p. 298

272 See Note 240. p. 299

273 See Note 137. p. 299

274 *Ritualism*—a trend in the Anglican Church from the 1830s to the 1860s, also named Puseyism after one of its founders, Edward Bouverie Pusey, an Oxford University theologian, who advocated the restoration of Catholic rites and dogma in the Anglican Church. p. 300

275 The opening of the third congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Austria was scheduled for April 17, 1892 in Linz. However, the authorities did not allow the congress to be held there. Late in May, the Austrian government lifted the ban, and the congress took place in Vienna between June 5 and 9. It considered tactical and organisational questions of the Austrian socialist movement, adopted party rules and made additions to the party programme. p. 303

276 The obituary "Carl Schorlemmer" was published, besides the *Vorwärts*, by the *Hessische Volksstimme* (Darmstadt), No. 158, July 7, 1892, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), No. 29, July 15, 1892, and the Bulgarian magazine *День* (Day), Book 7, 1892. p. 304

277 *Owens College*, a higher educational establishment in Manchester founded in 1851 with the means bequeathed by the Manchester merchant John Owens specifically for the purpose. p. 304

278 See Note 179. p. 306

279 Engels took a trip to Norway and the North Cape together with Schorlemmer on July 1-26, 1890. They spent late July and the August of 1891 in the Isle of Wight, from where they intended to travel to Scotland and Ireland. However, Schorlemmer did not feel up to the trip due to failing health, and Engels made it with his wife's niece Mary Ellen Rosher and his secretary Louise Kautsky in September 1891. p. 306

280 See Note 2. p. 306

281 Engels wrote this Preface for the second German edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 295-583), which appeared in Stuttgart in 1892. For the main part, it is Engels' own translation (with minor changes) of the Preface to the 1892 English edition (see this volume, pp. 257-69 and Notes 226 and 233). Engels wrote the concluding part of the Preface specifically for the German edition.

It was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *On Scientific Communism*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967, p. 112. p. 307

282 Engels is referring to the Appendix to the American edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 399-405) which was originally conceived as a preface. Later, he replaced it by another one describing the condition of the working-class movement in America (ibid., pp. 434-42). p. 307

283 The Sixth World Industrial Fair opened in Philadelphia on May 10, 1876 to mark the centenary of the founding of the USA (July 4, 1776). Professor Franz Reuleaux, director of the Berlin Industrial Academy appointed by the German government as chairman of the German panel of judges, had to admit that German-made goods were far inferior to those from other countries and that German industry's guiding principle was "cheap and nasty". Referring to this incident as the "industrial Jena" Engels alludes to the defeat of the Prussian Army in the Battle of Jena in October 1806 during the war with Napoleonic France. p. 308

284 See Note 227. p. 308

285 See Note 228. p. 311

286 See Note 229. p. 312

287 See Note 230. p. 313

288 See Note 231. p. 313

289 See Note 233. p. 315

290 See Note 227. p. 315

291 See Note 235. p. 315

292 See Note 236. p. 315

293 See Note 237. p. 315

294 See Note 238. p. 316

295 See Note 239. p. 316

296 See Note 240. p. 317

297 See Note 241. p. 317

298 See Note 242. p. 319

299 This draft, the first part of which was dated September 12, 1892 by Engels himself, echoes, in substance, the "Preface to the Second German Edition (1892) of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*" (see this volume, pp. 307-23).

It was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953, p. 483. p. 324

300 Engels is referring to the financial crisis which hit Argentina in 1889-90 and produced a panic on the money market, severe inflation, mass bankruptcies and the termination of national debt repayments. It was part of the world economic crisis of 1890 and served to aggravate the latter, especially in England, which had large investments in Argentina. The crisis of 1889-90 exacerbated Argentina's economic enslavement to European finance capital. p. 325

301 Engels wrote the letter to the National Council of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain (in Engels' translation—the Spanish Working Men's Socialist Party—see Note 431) in response to the decision of the British trade union congress, which opened in Glasgow on September 5, 1892, to decline its invitation to the third International Socialist Workers' Congress to be held in Zurich.

In a reply to Engels of October 2, 1892, the National Council of the

Spanish Working Men's Socialist Party stated that it intended to protest against the actions of the British trade unions, and confirmed its approval of the decisions passed by the Paris and Brussels congresses of the Second International (see Notes 91 and 195).

Resolutely opposing the divisive policy pursued by the British trade union leaders, Engels exposed the prejudicial nature of their stand in letters to working-class movement leaders in France, Germany and some other European countries. p. 326

302 The *Parliamentary Committee,* the executive body of the association of Britain's trade unions, which was formed in the late 1860s and became known as the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain. Beginning with 1871, the Committee was elected annually at trade union congresses. Among its duties was nomination of trade union candidates to Parliament, support for bills promoting the interests of trade unions and preparatory work for congresses. In 1921, the Parliamentary Committee was superseded by the Trades Union Congress General Council. p. 326

303 For the congress in Zurich see Note 370. The congress held in Chicago in December 1893 was that of the American Federation of Labor. It recognised the need for political action on the part of the working class and adopted a programme demanding the introduction by law of the 8-hour day. p. 326

304 On September 19-23, 1892, Marseilles was the venue for the congress of the National Federation of Trade Unions. Among other issues (May Day celebrations, women's and child labour in industry, etc.), the congress discussed the resolution of the British Trades Union Congress in Glasgow. It decided to decline the invitation to the international congress convened by the trade unions to discuss the 8-hour day and to invite trade union representatives to the International Socialist Workers' Congress to be held in Zurich.

The congress of the French Workers' Party, which took place on September 24-28 of the same year in Marseilles (see Note 445) passed a similar resolution. p. 327

305 Engels made this addenda to the text of his biography intended for publication in the sixth volume of the 14th edition of *Brockhaus' Konversations-Lexikon* (see this volume, pp. 539-40). The addenda was written on F. A. Brockhaus' letter of October 7, 1892 in which the publisher, on behalf of the editorial board, requested Engels to look through the text and to make such changes and additions as he saw fit. p. 328

306 Engels wrote the article "The American Presidential Election" after the Democratic candidate Stephen Grover Cleveland had been elected President of the USA on November 8, 1892. He hoped that the new government would abolish the protectionist tariff introduced by MacKinley in 1890. In 1894, the Democrats, who during the election campaign professed to oppose the tariff, introduced a new tariff, which, although it reduced the rates of the 1890 one, was also protectionist.

The article was also printed by the *Wähler* newspaper, No. 270, November 21, 1892, and by the *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* No. 48, November 25, 1892.

It was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *On the United States,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, pp. 300-01. p. 329

307 The *Civil War in America* started in April 1861 with the open revolt of the slave-owning South against the American Union. The main cause of the war

was the struggle between two social systems, the capitalist system of wage labour in the North and the slave system in the South. The war, which was in fact a bourgeois-democratic revolution, passed through two stages: a constitutional war for the preservation of the Union and a revolutionary war for the abolition of slavery. The decisive role in the defeat of the Southern slaveowners and the victory of the North in April 1865 was played by the workers and farmers. p. 329

308 Engels is referring to the piece entitled "Die amerikanische Textilindustrie auf dem chinesischen Markt" featured by *Die Neue Zeit,* No. 2, Stuttgart, 1892. p. 330

309 See Note 7. p. 331

310 Engels wrote this version of Marx's biography for the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* (Jena) at the request of one of its publishers. It was reprinted, in part, in the *Vorwärts,* Berlin, on January 29, 1893, second supplement. On the tenth anniversary of Marx's death, it was reprinted by the *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* No. 11, March 17, 1893 under the heading "Karl Marx' Lebensgang" and by the Bulgarian magazine *Социалъ-демократъ,* No. 3, 1893. p. 332

311 The translation of the list of Marx's works drawn up by Engels when writing the present essay is given below (wrong dates have been corrected).

Marx's Works

1. Marx's Doctoral Dissertation on Epicurus' philosophy.
2. Articles on the debate by the Rhine Province Assembly on the law on Thefts of Wood and on the Mosel peasants in the *Rheinische Zeitung,* 1842.
3. The same in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher:* "Einl[eitung] zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie" and "Judenfrage", 1844.
4. In collaboration with Engels. "Die heilige Familie". F[rank]furt a. M., 1845.
5. Short articles in the Paris newspaper *Vorwärts!,* 1844.
6. Articles in the *Deutsche-Brüss[eler]-Zeitung,* 1846-47 [a slip of the pen, the date should be 1847-48].
7. "Misère de la philosophie, réponse à la philosophie de la misère de M. Proudhon". Brussels and Paris, 1847.
8. "Discours sur le libre échange", Brussels, 1848.
9. In collaboration with Engels. "Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei". London, 1848. Translated into all languages.
10. Essays in the *N[eue] Rh[einische] Z[ei]t[un]g.* Editorials, etc. "Wage Labour and Capital".
11. Two speeches for the defence in the pamphlet "Zwei polit[ische] Prozesse", Cologne, 1849.
12. In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue,* Hamburg, 1850: "1848-1849" (on the February revolution in France), and, in collaboration with Engels, critical essays and monthly revues.
13. "Der 18. Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte". New York, 1852 (3rd edition, Hamburg 18[85]), French translation 1891.
14. "Enthüllungen über den Kölner Komm[unisten-] Prozeß". Boston, 1853 (Hott[ingen]—Zurich, 1885).
15. Articles in the *N[ew-] Y[ork Daily] Tribune,* 1852-61. Some of them about Palmerston (printed and distributed in London in the form of pamphlet in [1853-54] 1856-57).

16. "Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18[t]h Century" in *Free Press* (Sheffield, June 28, 1856—London, April 1, 1857).
17. Essays on the diplomatic negotiations prior to and during the war of 1859 in *Das Volk,* London, 1859.
18. *Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.* Part One, Berlin, 1859.
19. *Herr Vogt,* London 1860.
20. Inaugural Address of the International, 1864, and all the publications of the General Council, including *The Civil War in France,* 1871. Translated into nearly all European languages.
21. *Das Kapital.* Kritik der pol[itischen] Oek[onomie], Book 1, Hamburg 1867. 4th edition 1890. Translated into Russian, French and English.
22. (posthumously) *Das Kapital.* Vol II (Book II). Published by F. Engels, Hamburg 1885, 2nd edition 1893 has gone to press.
23. (posthumously) *Das Kapital.* Vol. III (Book III), the same, will appear in 1893. p. 333

312 Marx announced his resignation from the editorial board of the *Rheinische Zeitung* on March 17, 1843. His statement appeared in the paper on March 18 (see present edition, Vol. 1, p. 376). p. 335

313 The *Communist League* was the first German and international communist organisation of the proletariat formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847 as a result of the reorganisation of the League of the Just (a secret association of workers and artisans that emerged in the 1830s and had branches in Germany, France, Switzerland and England). The programme and organisational principles of the Communist League were drawn up with the direct participation of Marx and Engels. In 1848-49, the League's members took an active part in the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Europe. In 1849-50, after the defeat of the revolution, the Communist League was reorganised. In the summer of 1850, differences arose between the supporters of Marx and Engels and the sectarian Willich-Schapper group, which led to a split within the League. Owing to police persecution and the arrest of League members in May 1851, the activities of the Communist League as an organisation practically ceased in Germany. On November 17, 1852, on a motion by Marx, the London District announced the dissolution of the League.

The Communist League played an important historical role as the first proletarian party based on the principles of scientific communism, as a school for proletarian revolutionaries, and as the historical forerunner of the International Working Men's Association. p. 336

314 The trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see Note 117) began on February 7, 1849. Marx, editor-in-chief, Engels, co-editor, and Hermann Korff, responsible publisher, were tried by the Cologne jury court. They were accused of insulting Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel and calumniating police officers in the article "Arrests" carried by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* No. 35, July 5, 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 177-79).

The next day, Marx, together with Karl Schapper and the lawyer Karl Schneider II, was brought to trial as the leader of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats. In both cases, Marx and his associates proved their innocence and were acquitted thanks to skilful defence. p. 336

315 On June 13, 1849, the petty-bourgeois Mountain party organised a peaceful demonstration in Paris in protest against a violation of the Constitution—the dispatch of French troops against the Roman Republic. The demonstration was dispersed by troops. The events of June 13 testified to the bankruptcy of the

tactics used by petty-bourgeois democrats and dealt a severe blow to the revolutionary movement in Europe. p. 336

316 This list was compiled by Engels after July 1890. Written at the top of it was "Meine unsterblichen Werke" (My immortal works). The list runs as follows:

1. (In collaboration with K. Marx). "Die heilige Familie. Gegen Bruno Bauer und Konsorten". By Frederick Engels and Karl Marx, Frankfurt a.M. 1845.
2. "Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England. Nach eigner Anschauung und authentischen Quellen", Leipzig, 1845. English translation, N[ew] York, 1887.
3. (In collaboration with K. Marx, anonymously) "Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei", London, 1848. Translated into all languages.

Work as co-editor, correspondingly, editor-in-chief (in Marx's absence) on the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* Cologne, June 1, 1848-May 19, 1849.

The same on the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue.* Hamburg, 1850.

6. "Die preußische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei", Hamburg, 1865.
7. "Der deutsche Bauernkrieg". A reprint from Nos 5 [-6 *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*], Leipzig. Genossenschaftsbuchdr[uckerei]. 1st edition [1850], 2nd edition [1870], 3rd edition 1875.
8. "Zur Wohnungsfrage", 3 issues. A reprint from the *Volksstaat.* 1st edition, Leipzig. G[enossenschafts]b[uch]dr[uckerei] 1872. 2nd edition, Zurich, The Popular Press, 1887.
9. "Soziales aus Rußland". Reprinted from the *Volksstaat,* Leipzig. G[enossenschafts]buchdr[uckerei] 1875.
10. "Preußischer Schnaps im Deutschen Reichstag", Leipzig. G[enossenschafts]buchdr[uckerei] 1876.
11. "Die Bakunisten an der Arbeit. Denkschrift über den [letzten] Aufstand in Spanien". Reprinted from the *Volksstaat.* Leipzig. G[enossenschafts]buchdr[uckerei] [1874].
12. "Herrn Eugen Dührings Umwälzung der Wissenschaft". Reprinted from the *Volksstaat,* after *Vorwärts.* 1st edition, Leipzig. G[enossenschafts]buchdr-[uckerei] 1878. 2nd edition. Zurich. Volksbuchh[an]dl[un]g, 1886.
13. "Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft". 1st, 2nd and 3rd editions all in 1883, Zurich, Volksbuchh[an]dl[un]g, (there are French, Russian, Polish, Italian, Spanish, Romanian, Danish and Dutch translations).
14. "Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats. Im Anschluß an Lewis H. Morgans Forschungen". Zurich, V[olks]-b[uch]h[an]dl[un]g 1884. 2nd edition, Stuttgart. Dietz [1886]. 3rd edition is being prepared (work is under way on the Italian, Romanian, Danish and French translations).
15. "Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausgang der klassischen deutschen Philosophie". Reprinted from *Die Neue Zeit,* Dietz, Stuttgart, 1888.
4. (Anonymously) "Po und Rhein". F. Duncker, Berlin, 1859.
5. (Anonymously) "Savoyen, Nizza und der Rhein". Behrend, Berlin, 1860.
16. "In Sachen Brentano c[ontra] Marx wegen angebl[icher] Zitatsfälschung". Hamburg 1891.

Prefaces and Introductions to:

3. K. Marx. "Das Elend der Philos[ophie]. Antwort auf Proudhons Philosophie des Elends". Translated into German by E. Bernstein and K. Kautsky, Dietz, Stuttgart, [18]85 (a preface against Rodbertus).

1. K. Marx, "Das Kapital", 1st, 3rd edition 1883 and 4th edition 1890 (against L. Brentano).
1. K. Marx. "Das Kapital", II, Preface (against Rodbertus), [18]85.
4. "Karl Marx von den Kölner Geschwornen", 1849. A new reprint from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* [18]49. Zurich, V[erlag] Hott[ingen], 1885. (Preface.)
5. K. Marx. "Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozeß zu Köln". A new reprint. Zurich, V[olks]b[uchhandlung] 1885 (Introduction "Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten".)
6. W. Wolff. "Die schlesische Milliarde". Reprinted from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* 1849. Zurich, V[olks]b[uchhand]l[ung] [18]90 (Introduction: W. Wolff's Biography and "Zur Geschichte der preußischen Bauern"), [1886].
7. S. Borkheim. "Zur Erinnerung an die d[eutschen] Mordspatrioten [...]. Zurich, V[olks]b[uch]h[an]dlung 1888 (Introduction: S. Borkheim's biography).
1. K. Marx. "Capital. A critical analysis of capitalist production". Translated from the 3[r]d German edition by S. Moore and E. Aveling, edited by F. Engels, Sonnenschein, London, 1887 (Editing the translation and the preface).
2. K. Marx. "Free Trade. A speech deliv[ered] in Brussels 1848". Translated by F. K.-Wischnewetzky. Boston and London, 1888 (Preface on free trade, in German, in *Die Neue Zeit*).
3. Engels. "The condition of the working class in England in 1844". Translated by F. K.-Wischnewetzky, New York, Lorell 1887 (Preface and supplement) (The latter also appeared as a separate publication: "The Working class movement in America", in German: "Die arb[eiter]-bewegung in Amerika" 1887, New York; reprinted Reeves, London, 1887. In German also in *Die Neue Zeit*). 2nd edition, Sonnenschein, London, 1892 (partially new text of the preface).

   In *Die Neue Zeit* only:

   "Die auswärtige Politik des russ[ischen] Zarentums", May 1890. (In Russian in the *Соціалъ-демократъ,* London, 1890, I and II, in English in *The Times,* April and May 1890, in French in the *Idée nouvelle,* in Romanian in the *Contemporanul,* May-July 1890).
4. "Socialism utopian and scientific", L[ondon], 2 E. ... p. 339

317 Engels is referring to Marx's Economic Manuscript of 1861-63. See present edition, Vols 30-34. p. 339

318 On October 8, 1864, when drafting the programme of the International Working Men's Association (set up on September 28 at the inaugural meeting in St. Martin's Hall), Mazzini, acting through his follower Luigi Wolff, a member of the Central Council of the Association, suggested adoption of the "Fraternal Bond between the Italian Working Men's Association", a document published in *Il Giornale delle Associazioni Operaie* in July 1864. However, its provisions were substantially bourgeois-democratic and did not measure up to the goals set by the newly established organisation of the international proletariat. The final editing of the programme was entrusted to Marx. In November 1864, the Central Council (later General Council) unanimously approved the "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association" and the "Provisional Rules of the Association" written by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 5-16). p. 340

319 See Note 136. p. 340

320 Engels wrote the statement for the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne* after it had started to publish a series of essays by Louis Héritier "Die Juraföderation und Michael Bakunin". The essays vindicated the divisive activities of the Bakuninists and especially the anarchist Jura Federation formed after the split in the sections of the First International in Romance Switzerland (provoked by the Bakuninists at the congress in La Chaux-de-Fonds of April 4-6, 1870). On November 15, 1892, without waiting for the series to be concluded, Engels despatched his statement to Bebel in Berlin to be taken to the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne.* He requested Bebel to make sure that the statement appeared in the next issue of the paper, for, as he put it, "we must not allow this web of lies to pass unchallenged" (see present edition, Vol. 50).

Engels' statement was printed by the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne* on November 19, 1892, and on December 24, the paper featured Héritier's reply, as well as his thirteenth essay. Héritier tried to justify himself, in the newspaper reply and in his personal letter to Engels of December 25. On January 20, 1893, Engels wrote him a letter, in which, using the information contained in Héritier's thirteenth essay, he again resolutely opposed the distortion of the International's history along Bakuninist lines (see present edition, Vol. 50). p. 344

321 See Note 104. p. 344

322 Engels draws a comparison between the definition of this major point in the Provisional Rules (1864) and the General Rules (1871) of the International Working Men's Association (for more details see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 14, and Vol. 23, p. 3), and the distorted French translation of this point, in the Rules (1866) (made by the right-wing Proudhonist Henri Louis Tolain) quoted by Engels from memory. p. 345

323 See Note 91. p. 345

324 See Note 105. p. 346

325 See Note 136. p. 346

326 See Note 131. p. 347

327 In this essay, Engels uses the report (carried by the newspaper *Русскія Вѣдомости* (Russian News), No. 284, October 14, 1892) on the results of the study made by the Russian ethnographer L. Ja. Sternberg into the customs and social order of the Giliaki (the old name of the Nivkhi), a people inhabiting the area in the lower reaches of the Amur and the northern and middle section of the Island of Sakhalin. The German translation of the report included into Engels' essay almost in full was made by him. Minor inaccuracies are pointed out in the footnotes.

It was first published in English in: F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1940, pp. 151-54. p. 348

328 The *Twelve Tables (lex duodecim tabularum),* the oldest legislative document of the Roman slave-owning state. These laws were enacted as a result of the struggle which the plebeians waged against the patricians during the republican period in the mid-5th century B.C. They formed the point of departure for the further development of Roman civil law. p. 350

329 Engels wrote this message of greetings in response to the invitation to take part in the 25th anniversary celebrations of the Vienna Workers' Educational

Association (founded on December 15, 1867) sent by the Association's board in November 1892. The German original of Engels' letter has been found in the Vienna State Archive.

A report on the celebrations was carried in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* No. 51, December 16, 1892. p. 352

330 Engels wrote this letter in response to an invitation (received in late December 1892) to the second congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Hungary, which took place in Budapest on January 6-8, 1893. Before the congress and during it, a conflict arose between the party's opportunist wing and its Left wing led by Paul Engelmann. The opportunists managed to get the decision (which they had reached in December) on Engelmann's and his followers' expulsion from the party confirmed. Engels' letter, in which he advocated a peaceful settlement of the conflict, was not read out at the congress or published in the party press. p. 353

331 Engels wrote this article in connection with the arrests of Polish émigrés in France on a charge of plotting to assassinate Tsar Alexander III. He had been informed about the arrests by the Polish socialist Maria Mendelson. The article was printed anonymously in the *Vorwärts,* No. 11, January 13, 1893 in the "Politische Übersicht" column. The editorial board supplied it with the following introductory note: "On the latest Paris police outrage, which we mentioned in passing yesterday, we are informed from most competent sources." p. 354

332 Engels is referring to two press agencies: the French press agency set up in 1835 in Paris by the businessman and journalist Charles Havas, and the British one founded in 1849 in London by Paul Julius Reuter. p. 354

333 The *Panama scandal* involved the bribery of French statesmen, officials and the press by the Panama Canal joint-stock company founded in France in 1879 on the suggestion of the engineer and businessman Fernand de Lesseps for the purpose of construction a canal across the isthmus of Panama. Late in 1888, the company collapsed, causing the ruin of small shareholders and numerous bankruptcies. Involvement in the Panama Canal affair by some high-ranking officials in France became public knowledge in 1892.

Engels describes France as an "opportunist-radical bourgeois republic", alluding to the two principal bourgeois ruling parties, the moderate bourgeois republicans (the so-called opportunists), who stood for the interests of big bourgeoisie, and the radicals, a parliamentary group that had split off from the opportunists; in 1901, the radicals formed a party which above all defended the interests of the middle classes. p. 354

334 Engels is referring to the visit of the French squadron commanded by Admiral Gervais to Kronstadt in July 1891 (see Note 215). p. 355

335 The article "The Italian Panama" was prompted by the debate in the Italian parliament in December 1892-January 1893 on the transgressions at the Banca Romana. The debate was triggered off by a speech made by deputy Colajanni. The shady transactions which came to light and which involved statesmen, quite a few members of parliament, lawyers, journalists and private persons, were labelled "Panamino" ("Little Panama"). When working on the article, Engels used the materials (parliamentary reports, the press) sent to him by Antonio Labriola, the Italian socialist philosopher, with whom he was corresponding at the time. Knowing that the correspondence was monitored by the Italian

authorities, Engels published the article anonymously since, as he wrote to Wilhelm Liebknecht on January 29, 1893, the signature could have "put the chaps in Rome onto the track of my Italian source" (see present edition, Vol. 50).

On the Panama affair see Note 333. p. 356

336 The *Guelph fund,* money at the personal disposal of Bismarck used for bribing the press. p. 356

337 Engels wrote this Preface in French on Filippo Turati's request for a separate Italian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party.* The *Manifesto* was published in 1893 in Milan (in Pompeo Bettini's translation; the Preface was translated by Turati) by the *Critica Sociale* press. The book also included Engels' Preface to the fourth authorised German edition of the *Manifesto* (1890), which Engels likewise sent to Turati on his request in January 1893.

It was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Communist Manifesto,* International Publishers, New York, 1930, pp. 270-72; Idem. Lawrence, London, 1930, pp. 270-72. p. 365

338 See Note 241. p. 365

339 Engels wrote his work "Can Europe Disarm?" in February 1893 in response to Bebel's request to help the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag to work out a sound position in the debate on the Military Bill submitted by the government. The Bill provided for a significant numerical increase in the army and additional allocations for military purposes, which provoked widespread discontent. Even some of the bourgeois parties opposed the Bill, and in May 1893 it was defeated by the majority in the Reichstag. However, in July 1893, after the dissolution of the Reichstag and new elections, a similar bill was approved by the new Reichstag.

The manuscript was sent to Berlin on February 23, 1893 and, in conformity with Engels' wishes (see his letter to Bebel of February 24 of the same year, present edition, Vol. 50), printed by the *Vorwärts* as a series of eight articles. Late in March, it appeared as a separate pamphlet for which Engels had written a preface.

The series was also reprinted by the Social-Democratic paper *Wähler,* Nos 65, 66 and 68, and the supplements to Nos 69-72 and 74, March 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 28 and 30, 1893. The editorial introductory note stated that Engels' work was of universal interest. p. 367

340 The *Prussian Landwehr system* provided for the formation of army units from among members of the older age groups who were liable to military service and had served in the regular army and the reserve for the established period. The Landwehr was first formed in Prussia in 1813-14 as a people's militia to combat Napoleon. p. 372

341 See Notes 161 and 40. p. 373

342 The *territorial army*—from 1872, the section of the French armed forces that were to be formed in wartime to keep rear, garrison and guard duty. Those recruited to the territorial army and to its reserve (for six years in both cases) were men in the older age groups subject to military service who had done their service in the standing army and its reserve.

The *Landsturm,* an armed force, a second-rate militia, originally organised in Prussia in 1813. In the 19th century the Landsturm existed in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Holland, Switzerland and Sweden. It was called out in the event of a national emergency. p. 373

343 The *Battle of Wörth* (Alsace) was one of the first major battles of the Franco-Prussian War. It took place on August 6, 1870 and ended in the defeat of the French troops commanded by Marshal MacMahon.

The *Battle of Sedan*—see Note 160.

In the *Battle of Spichern,* sometimes referred to as the Battle of Forbach (Lorraine), on August 6, 1870 the Prussian troops routed the 2nd corps of the French army commanded by General Frossard. p. 374

344 The reference is to Bebel's speech on the principles of a future state delivered in the Reichstag on February 3, 1893.

*Ersatzreserve,* the section of the reserve in the Prussian, and later German, army made up of men of the draftable age who in peacetime had had their active military service postponed. The term of service in the Ersatzreserve was established at 12 years in 1874; it was used to reinforce the army during mobilisation. p. 375

345 This refers to the adoption of the Prussian military system by Hesse-Darmstadt after the formation, in 1867, of the North German Confederation under the Prussian aegis. The Confederation included part of the duchy's territory. p. 375

346 *Kupfergraben,* a canal in Berlin beside which stood the barracks of the artillery brigade where Engels did his military service between September 1841 and October 1842 as a volunteer. p. 377

347 Engels is referring to his trip to Barmen in late March-early April 1860 to attend his father's funeral. p. 379

348 Engels is referring to the editorial "Ein alter Kunstgriff" carried by the *Freisinnige Zeitung* on November 26, 1892. The editorial criticised the new Military Bill. p. 382

349 *Artel,* an association of small producers in pre-revolutionary Russia for the purpose of joint commercial activities (carpenters', fishermen's, masons', woodcutters', agricultural and other types of artels). p. 384

350 See Note 216. p. 388

351 When publishing this work, the *Vorwärts* (No. 58, March 9, 1893) omitted this paragraph. Instead, the editors inserted the following passage (in brackets): "Here Engels refers to the consequences frequently produced by the despair of ill-treated soldiers in times past. Notwithstanding their objectivity, we are not reproducing these details, being aware of the judicial practice by which the objective statement of facts as a warning betrayed the *intent* to reproduce such facts." In the pamphlet, the paragraph was reinstated and the editorial comment left out. p. 389

352 See Note 40. p. 390

353 The *Triple Alliance,* an aggressive military and political bloc formed by Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy against France and Russia. It acquired its final shape in 1882 when Italy joined the Austro-German military alliance concluded in 1879. The Triple Alliance was originally signed for a term of five years and was extended in 1887, 1891, 1902 and 1912. The formation of the Triple Alliance paved the way for the division of Europe into two major hostile camps, and in the long run led to the First World War of 1914-18. p. 391

354 The *Prague Peace Treaty,* which concluded the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, was signed on August 23, 1866. Under it, Austria, the vanquished party, agreed to

the formation of the North German Confederation headed by Prussia. In conformity with Art. V it also ceded to Prussia its right to Schleswig-Holstein, which, since the two countries' victory over Denmark in the war of 1864, had been their joint possession. The population of Northern Schleswig was to be allowed to reunite with Denmark through a plebiscite. However, Prussia went back on this treaty provision and retained Northern Schleswig. In 1878, Art. V of the Peace of Prague was annulled. p. 392

355 This refers to the famine in Paris during its siege by the German army in September 1870-January 1871 at the time of the Franco-Prussian War. p. 393

356 On the *Military Bill* see Note 339.

This work was published in English for the first time in an abridged form in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *On Scientific Communism,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967, p. 112. p. 394

357 Having come to office in 1892, Gladstone's Liberal government submitted bills proposing that M. P.s be paid salaries and that electors be entitled to one vote each instead of several (one in each of several constituencies: at the place of residence, location of property, etc.), as was specified by the existing electoral qualification system. The House of Lords, however, voted both bills down. p. 395

358 Engels sent the message of greetings to the Austrian workers for the special May Day issue of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* having written it at the request of the Austrian Social Democrat Michael Schacherl made in his letter of January 14, 1893.

It was published under the heading "Ein Brief von Friedrich Engels". The same issue carried May Day greetings to the Austrian workers and articles on the day of proletarian solidarity sent by Marx's daughters Laura Lafargue and Eleanor Marx-Aveling, as well as by Paul Lafargue, August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Georgy Plekhanov and some other prominent members of the working-class and socialist movement. p. 396

359 At the municipal elections of 1892, the French Workers' Party scored a major victory, polling over 100,000 votes. p. 396

360 At the sitting of the Austrian Reichs Council of January 17, 1893 von Czapka answered the questions of Social-Democratic deputies and admitted the illegal character of actions by local authorities which had violated the right of association and assembly in some parts of Austria. p. 396

361 Engels wrote this note at the request of the editors of the Czech newspaper *Soziálny Demokrat* for a special May Day issue (*Prvni Máj 1893, Praha*), which also featured greetings to the Czech workers from Paul Lafargue, August Bebel and some other prominent socialists.

It was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *On Scientific Communism,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967, p. 374. p. 398

362 Marx visited Vienna in late August-early September 1848 to strengthen contacts with the Austrian democratic and workers' organisations and urge them to show greater resolve in their opposition to the counter-revolution in Austria. He was also hoping to collect enough money to continue the publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* p. 398

363 Engels is referring to the campaign for universal suffrage that developed in Belgium in 1890-93. On April 18, 1893, mass action and strikes led by the Workers' Party compelled the Chamber of Deputies to pass a law on universal suffrage which was approved by the Senate on April 29. The law introduced voting rights for all men of over 25 years of age, who had a term of residence of not less than 12 months. It further granted one or two additional votes to certain categories of people, depending on their property status, educational standard and employment in the civil service. p. 399

364 The *Palais-Bourbon* in Paris houses the country's Chamber of Deputies. p. 399

365 Engels wrote the May Day greeting to the Spanish workers at the request of Pablo Iglesias, a prominent figure in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement. In April 1893, Iglesias sent Engels a letter asking for an article for the May Day issue of the newspaper *El Socialista.* p. 400

366 On May 2, 1808, a popular uprising against the Napoleonic troops occupying Spain took place in Madrid. It was the opening event in the Spanish people's national liberation campaign. May 2 is a national holiday in Spain in tribute to those who fell fighting for its liberation. p. 400

367 The intermediary between Engels and the editorial board of the Bulgarian magazine *Социалъ-демократъ* was Stoyan Nokov, an organiser of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic students' group in Geneva. It was through him that Engels sent this letter, which the magazine carried under the title «Письмо отъ Фридрихъ Энгельсъ».

It was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955, p. 539. p. 402

368 Engels is referring to Georgy Plekhanov's works "The Hegelian Philosophy of History" and "The Socialists' Tasks in the Fight Against Famine in Russia", which appeared in the Bulgarian magazine *Социалъ-демократъ,* No. 2, 1892. p. 402

369 Engels' message to the Czech Social Democrats has survived in the Czech translation which appeared in the Social-Democratic newspaper *Posel lidu,* No. 15, August 19, 1893.

The publication opened with the following introductory note supplied by the editorial board: "In connection with the congress the aged sociologist and scholar Engels questioned the Editor about the position of political parties in Bohemia and said:" (see the text of the message). p. 403

370 Engels made a speech at the last meeting of the Third International Socialist Workers' Congress in Zurich (August 12, 1893). He arrived in Zurich in the course of his tour of Europe, having visited Germany. At the last meeting, the congress Bureau requested Engels as its honorary chairman to close the congress.

At the time, Engels' speech was extensively reproduced in the workers' and socialist press of various countries. It appeared, for instance, in the supplement to the *Vorwärts,* No. 190, August 15, and, with minor omissions, in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* No. 35, September 1, 1893.

The *Third International Socialist Workers' Congress* took place in Zurich on August 6-12, 1893. Taking part in it were 411 delegates from 18 countries. The key issue discussed at the congress was the political tactics of the Social

Democrats. The resolution passed on this issue urged workers in all countries to fight for political rights so as to win political power and turn it, from an instrument of capital's rule, into one for the emancipation of the working class. The congress condemned anarchist tactics and resolved that the right to remain in the International's ranks belonged only to the parties that recognised the need for political action, after which the anarchists were forced to leave the congress.

Major importance at the congress attached to the Social Democrats' attitude to war. On the basis of Georgy Plekhanov's report, the delegates endorsed the main provisions of the resolution passed by the Brussels congress and rejected Nieuwenhuis' anarchist proposal to declare a general strike if war broke out. The congress made it incumbent on socialist members of parliament to vote against war credits.

In the discussion of the May Day celebrations, the delegates criticised the position of the German Social Democrats, who suggested that they be postponed until the first Sunday of May. The Congress stressed the particular importance of holding demonstrations on May 1 as the day of proletarian solidarity. p. 404

371 Engels is referring to the Hague Congress of the First International (see Note 136). p. 404

372 See Notes 91 and 195. p. 404

373 On his way back from Switzerland (in the company of August Bebel) after the Zurich congress, Engels stopped off for a few days in Vienna. On September 11, the Austrian Social Democrats held a reception in their honour, at which, according to the report in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (September 15, 1893) about 600 guests were present. On September 14, a meeting was held to discuss the results of the Zurich congress, with about 2,000 people taking part. Engels made the concluding speech.

Apart from the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and the *Neue Freie Presse,* the speech was reproduced in the *Vorwärts,* No. 219, September 17, 1893.

It was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *The Communist View on Morality,* Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1974, p. 68. p. 406

374 Engels is referring to the mass demonstration of Viennese workers demanding universal suffrage, which was organised by the Austrian Social Democrats and held on July 9, 1893. In the course of the demonstration, in which over 40,000 people took part, a number of workers' meetings were held, including one in Vienna city hall. p. 407

375 The Austrian authorities declared a state of emergency in Prague and its suburbs on September 12, 1893 following demonstrations by radically minded Czech youth. The demonstrations provided an excuse for police reprisals against the Social-Democratic movement. p. 408

376 Having visited Vienna (see Note 373), Engels travelled to Berlin, where he stayed from September 16 to 28, 1893. He was warmly received there, as he had been in Vienna. But the police authorities were watching his every step, as is clear from the extant reports of Viennese and Berlin police agents.

Engels made this speech at the meeting held in his honour in Berlin on September 22, 1893, at which up to 4,000 people were present. On

September 26, Engels attended a reception at which Wilhelm Liebknecht made a speech emphasising his outstanding contribution to the German working-class movement.

Engels' speech was first published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *On Scientific Communism,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, p. 112. p. 409

377 Engels is referring to the time he spent in Berlin between September 1841 and October 1842 when doing his term of military service as a volunteer. p. 409

378 A reference to the elections to the Reichstag in June 1893, on which Engels commented in an interview to the *Daily Chronicle* correspondent (see this volume, pp. 549-53). p. 409

379 Engels is referring to his trip to Heidelberg on family business in the second half of June 1876. p. 410

380 Engels sent this telegram to the presidium of the Cologne congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany in response to the greeting sent to him, at August Bebel's suggestion, on the opening day of the congress, October 22, 1893. The greeting read: "The representatives of the German Social Democrats attending the party congress at the birthplace of German socialism send their sincere greetings and grateful acknowledgements to the co-founder of socialism and their indefatigable champion." p. 411

381 See Note 132. p. 412

382 The *International Congress of Socialist Students* was held in Geneva on December 22-25, 1893. Present at it were 26 delegates from Armenian, Belgian, Bulgarian, French, German, Italian, Polish, Romanian, Russian and Swiss student organisations. The congress resolutions were drawn up in the spirit of the decisions of the Brussels and Zurich congresses of the Second International. The congress recommended that more vigorous socialist propaganda be conducted among students and decided to set up an International Secretariat in Geneva for the purpose of establishing and strengthening contacts among the socialist students in different countries.

Apart from the newspaper *L'Etudiant socialiste,* Engels' greeting was printed by the Bulgarian Social-Democratic magazine *День* (Day), books 4-5, 1894.

It was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *On Scientific Communism,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967, pp. 82-83. p. 413

383 Engels wrote this Preface for the selection from his works entitled *Internationales aus dem "Volksstaat" (1871-75)* published in Berlin in 1894.

It was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *Anarchism and Anarcho-syndicalism,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, p. 123. p. 414

384 The reference is to the Franco-Sardinian war against Austria, which lasted from April 29 to July 8, 1859. p. 414

385 At the elections to the French Chamber of Deputies held on August 20 and September 3, 1893, five Blanquists were successful: Édouard Vaillant, Eugène Baudin, Emmanuel Chauvière, Marcel Sembat and Walter. p. 414

386 On July 11, 1880, under the impact of the working-class and democratic movement, an amnesty for the Communards was announced in France making it possible for many refugees and exiles to return home. p. 414

387 Engels means the moderate bourgeois republicans, the so-called opportunists (see Note 333). p. 417

388 Minor inaccuracies in the dating of individual events occur in the text of the Introductory Note. The republic in Spain was proclaimed on February 11, 1873, and the elections to the Cortes were held on May 10, 1873.

It was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *Anarchism and Anarcho-syndicalism,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, pp. 125-27. p. 419

389 The *Carlists,* the clerical absolutist group in Spain that from the 1830s supported Don Carlos (1788-1855), pretender to the Spanish throne, and later his descendants. In 1872-76, it was responsible for the so-called Second Carlist War (the First Carlist War lasted from 1833 to 1840 and ended in their defeat). p. 419

390 The Afterword was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Russian Menace to Europe,* Allen and Unwin, London, 1953, pp. 229-41. p. 421

391 Engels replied to Tkachov with his articles IV and V in the *Refugee Literature* series (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 3-50). p. 421

392 Alexander Herzen's three letters to W. J. Linton, editor of *The English Republic* magazine were written in January and February 1854 and first published in 1854 in English in the third volume of the magazine. Engels quotes Herzen's third letter to Linton dealing with Russia from the book: [Г. Плехановъ] *Наши разногласія* (Our Differences), Geneva, 1885, p. 9. p. 422

393 Quoted here is Nikolai Chernyshevsky's critical essay "Notes about Magazines" («Замѣтки о журналахъ») first published in the fifth issue of the *Современникъ* magazine for 1857. Quoted below is another essay by the same author, "Studies of the Inner Correlations of Popular Life and Especially Rural Institutions in Russia. By Baron A. Haxthausen" («Изслѣдованіе о внутреннихъ отношеній народной жизни и въ особенности сельскихъ учрежденій Россіи. Барона А. Гакстгаузена».) which first appeared in the seventh issue of *Современникъ,* 1857. Both essays were included in Volume Five of Nikolai Chernyshevsky's *Works,* which appeared under the general heading *On the Commune Ownership of Land* (Объ общинномъ владѣніи землею), Geneva, 1879. In Plekhanov's book *Наши разногласія* (Geneva, 1885), this quotation can be found on pp. 16-17, and the one used below, on p. 15. Engels clearly quoted Chernyshevsky from Plekhanov's book, which is why the text of the quotations corresponds to that edition. p. 423

394 Engels quotes his Preface to the 1882 Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* translating it back from the Russian translation made by Plekhanov (see Note 86). Cf. pp. 53-57 of this volume. p. 427

395 The *Crimean War* (1853-56) was waged by Russia against the allied forces of Britain, France and Turkey for supremacy in the Middle East and ended with the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty (1856). p. 427

396 Marx wrote his "Letter to *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*" probably in November 1877, soon after the magazine had printed (in October 1877) an article by the

ideologist of Russian Narodism (populism) Nikolai Mikhailovsky "Karl Marx Before the Tribunal of Mr. Zhukovsky" («Карлъ Марксъ передъ судомъ г. Ю. Жуковскаго») (*Отечественныя Записки,* No. 10, pp. 321-56). Mikhailovsky's article was a reply to the review of the first volume of *Capital* written by the Russian bourgeois vulgar economist Yuly Zhukovsky and printed in the journal *Вѣстникъ Европы,* No. IX, 1877. p. 428

397 The "Letter to *Otechestvenniye Zapisky*" had not been posted and was found by Engels among Marx' papers after his death. Engels made several copies from it and sent one to Vera Zasulich, a member of the Emancipation of Labour group in Geneva, which he enclosed with a letter of March 6, 1884 (see present edition, Vol. 47).

Marx's letter was published in Russia legally in *Юридический Вѣстникъ,* October 1888. p. 428

398 This is probably a reference to the leaders of the Narodnik (populist) organisations Land and Freedom (autumn of 1867-autumn of 1879) and the People's Will (August 1879-March 1881). The latter declared terror to be the main means of political action. p. 430

399 *Mir*—the name of the Russian village community from the 13th and until the early 20th century. p. 433

400 The third volume of *Capital* prepared for publication by Engels appeared in the autumn of 1894. Engels signed the preface to it on October 4, 1894.

Besides *Vorwärts,* this note was printed by the *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt,* No. 16, January 14, 1894. p. 434

401 Engels did not carry through his intention to publish, as the fourth volume of *Capital,* Marx's *Theories of Surplus-Value* (present edition, Vols 30-32) from the Manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vols 30-34).

In an abridged form, the *Theories of Surplus-Value* were first published in English in: K. Marx, *Theories of Surplus Value.* A selection from the volumes published between 1905 and 1910 as *Theorien über den Mehrwert,* edited by Karl Kautsky, taken from Karl Marx's preliminary manuscript for the projected fourth volume of *Capital.* Transl. from the German by G. A. Bonner and Emile Burns. London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1951. This work was published in English in full for the first time in: K. Marx, *Theories of Surplus-Value* (Vol. IV of *Capital*). Part 1, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963; Part 2, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968; Part 3, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. p. 434

402 See Note 400. p. 435

403 Engels wrote this essay at the request of the leaders of the Socialist Party of the Italian Working People, Anna Kulishowa and Filippo Turati, to state his views on the revolutionary crisis brewing in Italy at that time. They had requested this in their letter to Engels of January 19, 1894. The essay was translated by Turati from French into Italian and featured by the *Critica Sociale,* No. 3, February 1, 1894 as a letter from Engels to Turati under the editorial heading "La futura rivoluzione italiana e il Partito socialista". Turati's translation somewhat deviated from the original.

The essay was also published in the German newspaper *Sozialdemokrat,* No. 24, July 12, 1894 under the heading "Friedrich Engels über die Lage in Italien".

In the present edition, the essay is printed according to the manuscript that first appeared in the publication of the Feltrinelli Institute in Milan; *Annali*, Anno primo, 1958. It was first published in English in: Marx K. and Engels F., *Correspondence 1864-1895*, Lawrence, London, 1934, pp. 519-23. p. 437

404 The "converted" republicans was the name given to the Italian radicals led by Felice Cavallotti. Seeking to promote the interests of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, the radicals took a democratic stand and were willing, in a number of instances, to reach a compromise with the socialists. p. 438

405 The reference is to the French Provisional Government formed on February 24, 1848. p. 440

406 See Note 200. p. 440

407 It was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 473. p. 441

408 The fourth Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Austria was held in Vienna on March 25-31, 1894. The congress passed a resolution stating that the Austrian workers intended to campaign for universal suffrage using all available means, including a general strike. The congress also adopted new Party Rules and resolved to continue with the annual May Day celebrations by holding demonstrations demanding an 8-hour day, universal suffrage and in support of international brotherhood among all working people. p. 442

409 Engels wrote this letter in response to the invitation (sent to him on April 30, 1894) to take part in the work of the third congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Hungary. The invitation was enclosed with the letter from Franz Reisch, editor of the *Arbeiterpresse* newspaper. Engels was late with the answer which therefore was printed by the paper after the congress had closed.

The *third congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Hungary* took place in Budapest on May 13-15, 1894 against the background of an upsurge of the working-class movement there. The congress decided in favour of a merger between the Social-Democratic Party and the Social-Democratic Workers' Party founded in January 1894 by the revolutionary wing of the Social-Democratic Party, which was expelled from it at the second congress in 1893 (see Note 330). The merger was effected on the basis of revolutionary principles; the opportunists—officials of the General Workers' Hospital and Invalids' Fund—who previously dominated the Board of the Social-Democratic Party, were ousted from their position of leadership. Half of the seats on the Board of the united party were filled by representatives of the old Social-Democratic Party.

The congress approved the Party Rules. It described the campaign for universal suffrage as the immediate political goal, and stressed the place of trade unions in workers' political education and the importance of Party work in them, as well as the need for an alliance of agricultural and industrial workers. p. 443

410 In Hódmezövásárhely and its suburbs, the Hungarian Social Democrats conducted vigorous propaganda in defence of the political and economic rights of agricultural workers and peasants, who lived and worked in extremely harsh conditions and suffered chronic unemployment. They organised a union of agricultural workers and poor peasants with up to 2,000 members. On April 21, 1894, the police confiscated the union's literature, and on April 22, arrested workers' leaders, János Szántó-Kovács among them. On the same day, police and

troops shot at a workers' demonstration in Hódmezövásárhely demanding the release of Szántó-Kovács. The union was disbanded, and Szántó-Kovács and many of his followers received prison sentences. p. 443

411 Engels' work *On the History of Early Christianity* is one of the fundamental writings on scientific atheism. It resulted from years of research into the emergence and the essence of Christianity, a subject which, as he himself said, had interested him since 1841 (see Engels' letter to Karl Kautsky, July 28, 1894, present edition, Vol. 50). Engels set forth some of his views and ideas in the articles "Bruno Bauer and Early Christianity" and "The Book of Revelation" (see present edition, Vols 24 and 26).

Written for *Die Neue Zeit,* this work was also published, in Engels' lifetime, in French in the *Devenir social,* Nos 1 and 2, April and May 1895, the translation having been made by Marx's daughter Laura Lafargue.

It was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Religion,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1957, pp. 313-43. p. 445

412 Engels is referring to the national liberation uprising of the Nubians, Arabs and other peoples of the Sudan headed by the Moslem preacher Mahommed Ahmed, who called himself *Mahdi,* the saviour. The uprising broke out in 1881 and was particularly successful in 1883-84, when nearly all of the country's territory was liberated from the British colonialists and an independent Mahdi state declared. It was not until 1899 that British troops reconquered the Sudan, capitalising on the weakening of the new state by incessant wars and tribal strife and relying on an overwhelming military superiority. p. 448

413 The *Taborites* (so-called from their camp in the town of Tabor in Bohemia), a radical trend in the Hussite movement (first half of the 15th century). They formed a revolutionary, democratic wing of the Hussites, their programme conveying the desire of the peasantry and the urban poor to end all feudal oppression and social and political despotism. The Taborites were the core of the Hussite army. The betrayal of the Taborites by the Calixtines (the burgher wing of the movement) led to the suppression of the Hussite movement. p. 448

414 The *Peasant War of 1524-26,* the biggest insurrection of German peasants supported by townspeople against the feudal oppression in South-Western and Middle Germany. See also Note 258. p. 448

415 The passages from Lucian's satire *On the Death of Peregrinus* conform to the German translation of this work made by August Pauly (see *Lucian's Werke,* Vol. 13, Stuttgart, 1831, pp. 1618-20 and 1622). p. 449

416 Engels is referring to the communities of the secret German workers' and artisans' organisation, the League of the Just, founded in Switzerland by Wilhelm Weitling in the early 1840s. The history of the organisation is presented in Engels' work "On the History of the Communist League" (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 312-30). p. 450

417 Marx and Engels exposed George Kuhlmann's views in their work *The German Ideology. Critique of Modern German Philosophy According to Its Representatives Feuerbach, B. Bauer and Stirner, and of German Socialism According to Its Various Prophets* (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 531-39). p. 450

418 The *free communities* broke away from the official Protestant Church in 1846 under the influence of the so-called Friends of Light, who were against Pietism,

a mystical and self-righteous trend which dominated the Protestant Church. These two forms of religious opposition reflected the discontent of the bourgeoisie in the 1840s with the reactionary order in Germany. p. 451

419 The *Tübingen school* of students and critics of the Bible emerged in the first half of the 19th century. p. 452

420 Critique of the New Testament is contained in the following works by Bruno Bauer: *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte des Johannes,* Bremen, 1840, and *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker,* Vol. I-II, Leipzig, 1841; the third volume of this work entitled *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker und des Johannes* came out in Brunswick in 1842. The first three Gospels, Matthew, Mark and Luke, are known as the Synoptic Gospels. p. 452

421 The *Philonic school*—followers of the Judaist and Hellenic philosopher Philo of Alexandria (last quarter of the lst century B.C.—mid-lst century A.D.). Philo's ideas were close to those of Christianity. p. 453

422 *Stoicism,* one of the basic trends in the philosophy of Antiquity emerged in Ancient Creece in the late 4th century B.C. and survived until the 6th century A.D. p. 453

423 The *Book of Daniel* was written between 168 and 164 B.C. p. 454

424 *Cabbala* signifies "reception" or "doctrines received by tradition". It is a mystic trend in Judaism interpreting the Bible as a myth of symbols. It emerged in the 3rd century A.D. but took its proper shape by the beginning of the 13th century among the Jews living in Spain and Provence. From the 15th century Christian scholars also began to display an interest in it. p. 454

425 The *gnostics,* adherents of gnosticism, a religious and philosophical doctrine that emerged in the 1st century A.D. and existed in late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Gnosticism sought to achieve a synthesis of the various Oriental beliefs (Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Babylonian and Egyptian religions), Christianity, Greek philosophy and the mysterial cults. The core of gnosticism is the concept of knowledge, gnosis. Orthodox Christian quarters regarded it as heresy. p. 454

426 The *Sibylline books,* a collection of prophecies attributed to a legendary prophetess Sibyl. They were used in ancient Rome for official fortune-telling when the state was in danger. At the time of the Roman Empire, the Jews and the Christians also had Sibylline books. p. 455

427 The *Council of Nicaea*—the first Ecumenical Council of the bishops of the Christian Church of the Roman Empire called in 325 by Constantine the Great in Nicaea, Asia Minor. The Council formulated the creed obligatory to all Christians (the basic dogmas of the Orthodox Christian Church). Refusal to recognise it was punishable as a crime against the state. p. 455

428 *Zend-Avesta,* the name given in the 18th and 19th centuries to the Avesta, the holy book of Zoroastrianism, a religion that was widespread in ancient Persia, Azerbaijan and Central Asia. It was based on the dualist idea of the battle between good and evil. It is believed that the Avesta was compiled between the 9th century B.C. and the 3rd-4th century A.D. p. 467

429 A reference to the so-called *Babylonian exile* (*Babylonian Captivity*) of the Jews in the 6th century B.C., enforced migration of the nobility, officials, merchants and artisans to Babylon after the conquest of Jerusalem in 597 B.C. and the

final routing of Judea by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C. In the 530s B.C., the Persian king Cyrus II, who had conquered Babylonia, allowed most deported Jews to return home. p. 467

430 The *Edda,* a collection of Scandinavian mythological and heroic sagas and lays; two versions dating back to the 13th century are extant. The *Elder Edda* is a collection of epic poems and songs about the lives and deeds of Scandinavian gods and heroes. It has come down to us in a manuscript discovered in 1643 by the Icelandic Bishop Sveinsson. The *Younger Edda* is a treatise on pagan mythology and the poetry of the scalds compiled in the early 13th century by Snorri Sturlusson. p. 469

431 Engels wrote this address at the request of Pablo Iglesias, a leader of the Spanish Working Men's Socialist Party, set forth in his letter to Engels of July 27, 1894. Besides the rough draft addressed to the trade union congress, Engels mailed copies to the British socialist and workers' organisations listed below in the letter. The letter sent to the Fabian Society is extant. Engels also sent similar greetings to the Social Democrats of Austria and Germany.

The fourth congress of the Spanish Working Men's Socialist Party took place in Madrid on August 29-September 1, 1894. It heard the reports of the Party's National Council and the delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Zurich (see Note 370), discussed the question of the party press and approved new Party Rules. p. 470

432 On September 4-9, 1893, the 26th annual British Trade Union Congress was held in Belfast. The mounting revolutionary mood among the rank-and-file members of unions compelled the congress to recognise the principle of collective ownership of the means of production, as well as the demand for the legislative introduction of the 8-hour working day. p. 470

433 See Note 302. p. 470

434 The *Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League* was founded in 1890 by a group of British socialists with Engels' participation. Its starting point was the Committee that organised the first May Day demonstration in Britain (1890) (see this volume, pp. 61-66). The League set as its goal the emancipation of the working class, implementation of the resolutions adopted by the Paris Congress of the Second International, etc. (see Note 91). In 1893, the League's representatives contributed to the foundation of the Independent Labour Party.

The *Social Democratic Federation,* see Note 98.

The *Independent Labour Party* was founded in Bradford in January 1893 by the leaders of the new trade unions against the background of a growing strike movement and a stronger campaign for an independent policy on the part of the British working class. It was headed by Keir Hardie. The party programme called for collective ownership of the means of production, introduction of the 8-hour working day, a ban on child labour and introduction of social insurance and unemployment benefit. In his letters to Friedrich Adolph Sorge of January 18 and March 18, 1893, Engels welcomed the foundation of the party, hoping that it would become a truly mass workers' organisation (see present edition, Vol. 50). However, right from the start, the Independent Labour Party's leadership concentrated on parliamentary methods and was not averse to reaching compromises with the Liberals. In 1900, the Independent Labour Party was incorporated into the Labour Party.

The *Fabian Society,* a British reformist organisation founded by bourgeois intellectuals in 1884. Its recognised leaders were Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

The Society got its name from the 3rd-century Roman military leader Quintus Fabius Maximus, nicknamed Cunctator (the Delayer) because of his cautious tactics in the war against Hannibal. The Fabian Society embraced mostly intellectuals, who insisted on the possibility of transition from capitalism to socialism through piecemeal reforms and gradual changes, combined with municipal (i.e. locally-organised) socialism. In 1900, the Society was incorporated into the Labour Party.

The *Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union*—see Note 93. p. 471

435 Engels wrote this greeting in response to the invitation to take part in the third congress of the Socialist Party of the Italian Working People. The invitation was sent by a prominent member of the party Carlo Dell'Avalle in a letter of August 30, 1894. The congress, scheduled for September 7-9, 1894 in Imola, was prohibited by the police.

Engels' greeting, as well as the greetings addressed to the congress by other leaders of the socialist movement, including Paul Lafargue and Pablo Iglesias, were read out at the meeting of the Party's Central Committee on September 10, 1894, and then printed by the *Lotta di classe* newspaper, No. 38, September 22-23, 1894.

The *Socialist Party of the Italian Working People* was founded in 1892 at a congress in Genoa (it assumed that name in 1893, and from 1895 was called the Italian Socialist Party). It resolutely broke with the anarchists and in the 1890s was a vigorous leader of the Italian mass working-class movement, despite certain reformist errors. p. 472

436 Engels is referring to the law on extraordinary measures aimed at protecting public safety passed by the Italian Parliament on July 14, 1894. Allegedly a step only against the anarchists, it was used by Crispi's government to fight the working-class movement and the mounting influence of the socialists. It provided the grounds for banning the Socialist Party of the Italian Working People, workers' organisations and press organs; arrests, police raids and court trials became common occurrences. p. 472

437 See Note 2. p. 472

438 Engels wrote this greeting at the request of F. Colnago, a prominent member of the Sicilian Socialist Party, expressed in a letter of September 18, 1894. Informing Engels that despite harsh repression the party would be reorganised and in early October 1894 resume publication of its journal *Giustizia sociale,* Colnago wrote: "Would you, our revered teacher, send us a word of encouragement and support; would you send the Sicilian Socialist Party a greeting which we shall publish in the first issue of our journal? Your testimony of solidarity will give us great strength in the face of the bourgeoisie."

The Italian translation of Engels' greeting was published, most probably due to censorship considerations, only on June 30, 1895 in the weekly newspaper *La Riscossa,* and in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* No. 208, August 1, 1895 in the slightly abridged German translation from the Italian.

It was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *On Literature and Art,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, pp. 200-01. p. 474

439 Engels wrote down this note having learnt about the intention of the Austrian Social Democrats to turn their weekly *Arbeiter-Zeitung* into a daily. Engels approved this plan and did his best to help carry it through. On December 14, 1894 he wrote to Victor Adler that in London a group of people standing

outside the party were ready to let the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* have about 5,000 florins on condition that Adler would have been "given the leading position" (see present edition, Vol. 50). Engels also arranged for the royalties for his works published by the Dietz Verlag in Stuttgart to be transferred to Victor Adler to cover the needs of the Austrian Social Democrats. Engels tried to get prominent members of the working-class movement in other countries to contribute to the paper and himself wrote a number of articles for it. He wrote a special greeting to the Austrian workers on the publication of the first issue of the daily *Arbeiter-Zeitung* on January 1, 1895 (see this volume, p. 505) p. 476

440 Engels wrote this letter when, on behalf of the leadership of the Socialist Party of the Italian Working People, Filippo Turati asked him (in a letter of October 24, 1894) to contribute a piece to the *Critica Sociale* journal exposing the slanderous fabrications spread by the Italian bourgeois press about the activities of the Italian socialists in an effort to vindicate government repressions instituted against them (see Note 436).

Engels' letter to the journal under the editorial heading "Il socialismo internationale e il socialismo italiano" was supplied with the following editorial note: "This letter sent to us by the oldest leader of all the socialist parties of the world we dedicate to ignorant tricks of the Italian press which has been, or is being, corrupted." Following in the steps of the *Critica Sociale,* Engels' letter (translated from the Italian) was published by the *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* No. 89, November 6, 1894 in the newspaper report entitled "Die kläglichen Ausflüchte und Lügen", and in the *Vorwärts,* No. 263, November 10, 1894, in the report "Italien". p. 477

441 See Note 2. p. 478

442 The reference is to the speech on the agrarian question made by Georg Vollmar, leader of the Bavarian Social Democrats, at the congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany in Frankfurt am Main (October 21-27, 1894). Vollmar insisted that the Party's agrarian programme that was being drawn up should incorporate provisions advancing the interests, not only of the toiling peasantry, but also of the wealthier rural strata, the village bourgeoisie. To boost his stand, he referred to the decision passed by the congress of the French Workers' Party held on September 14-16, 1894 in Nantes that Engels had supposedly approved. The Nantes congress both approved the preamble of the Party's agrarian programme and introduced into it a number of concrete demands; some of the provisions it contained were incompatible with the Marxist stand on the agrarian issue. For a critique of the Nantes agrarian programme, see Engels' work "The Peasant Question in France and Germany" (this volume, pp. 481-502). p. 479

443 Engels is referring to the article "Nochmals der Parteitag" featured by the *Vorwärts,* No. 263, November 10, 1894. It gave a rebuff to the *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* which used Georg Vollmar's opportunist stand on the agrarian question at the Frankfurt am Main congress to slanderously attack the German Social Democrats. p. 479

444 Engels wrote "The Peasant Question in France and Germany", this fundamental Marxist work on the agrarian question, for *Die Neue Zeit.* The immediate reason for its appearance was Georg Vollmar's opportunist speeches and especially his report on the agrarian question at the Frankfurt congress of the German Social Democracy on October 25, 1894 (see Notes 442 and 443). Engels

considered it necessary to set forth the fundamentals of the revolutionary proletarian policy on this matter (see this volume, pp. 479-80) and to level criticism against Vollmar's opportunist ideas, as well as against the deviations from the Marxist theory in the French socialists' agrarian programme adopted at the Marseilles congress (see Note 445) and further developed at the Nantes congress (September 1894).

In Engels' lifetime, the article was reprinted by the Polish magazine *Przedświt,* No. 12, 1894 under the heading "Kwestya włościańska".

In February 1903, the first part of Engels' article (see this volume, pp. 483-86) was translated into Russian by Lenin, who intended to use it in his lectures on the agrarian question, at the Russian Social Sciences College in Paris (this translation, the manuscript of which is kept at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism Central Party Archive, was published in *Lenin Miscellany XIX,* pp. 295-300).

The article was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works,* Vol. 2, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1949, pp. 381-89. p. 481

445 The reference is to the tenth congress of the French Workers' Party held in Marseilles on September 24-28, 1892. p. 487

446 As follows from Engels' letter to Karl Kautsky of November 22, 1894 (see present edition, Vol. 50) this note was deliberately written as an anonymous reply to a publication in the *Vorwärts,* No. 266 on November 14, 1894.

On the manuscript of Marx's *Theories of Surplus Value* (the fourth volume of *Capital*), see Note 401. p. 503

447 See Note 132. p. 504

448 Engels wrote this greeting on the occasion of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* becoming a daily (on January 1, 1895; since 1894, it appeared twice weekly). Enclosed with a letter to Victor Adler, the greeting was printed in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* No. 1, January 1, 1895 in "Die tägliche *Arbeiter-Zeitung*" report, and opened with the following editorial introduction: "Our faithful friend Comrade Frederick Engels in London asks us to pass his congratulations to the Austrian workers on their daily paper, and continues" (there followed the text of the greeting). p. 505

449 Engels wrote this Introduction to Marx's work *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 45-145) between February 14 and March 6, 1895 for the separate edition that appeared in Berlin in 1895.

When publishing the Introduction, the Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany urgently requested Engels to tone down the excessively revolutionary (or so they believed) tenor of the work by couching his ideas in more cautious terms due to the Reichstag's debate of the bill on "preventing a coup d'état" submitted by the government in December 1894 and discussed throughout January-April 1895.

In a letter to Richard Fischer of March 8, 1895, Engels criticised the irresolute stand by the Party leadership and their attempts to act strictly within the bounds of legality. However, forced to reckon with the opinion of the Executive, he agreed to omit a number of passages and modify some of the definitions (see present edition, Vol. 50). The galley proofs where these changes were made and the manuscript of the Introduction allow us to completely reconstruct the original text. In the present edition, the deletions and the changes are pointed out in the footnotes.

Some Social-Democratic leaders used this work to try and present Engels as a supporter of a strictly peaceful transfer of power to the working class. With this end in view, on March 30, 1895 *Vorwärts,* the central printed organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, featured an editorial entitled "Wie man heute Revolutionen macht", which contained a biassed selection from the Introduction made without Engels' knowledge. Profoundly indignant, Engels lodged a resolute protest against the distortion of his views, addressing it to Wilhelm Liebknecht, editor of the *Vorwärts* (see present edition, Vol. 50). In a letter to Karl Kautsky of April 1, 1895 Engels emphasised that with the publication of the Introduction in *Die Neue Zeit* "this disgraceful impression may be erased" (see present edition, Vol. 50). However, both in the separate edition of Marx's work and in *Die Neue Zeit* (Nos 27 and 28, 1895), the Introduction appeared with the same omissions. The full text was not published even after the threat of a new anti-socialist law in Germany had failed to materialise (in May 1895, the bill was voted down).

First published in English in an abridged form under the heading "Revolutionary Tactics" in *The Plebs,* London, 1921, Vol. 13, No. 1, January, pp. 12-15; No. 2, February, pp. 48-50; No. 3, March, pp. 71-74; No. 4, April, pp. 112-14. Published in full in English for the first time in: *The Revolutionary Act,* New York city, New York Labor News Company, 1922. p. 506

450 When publishing Marx's work *The Class Struggles in France* as a separate edition in 1895, Engels included in it (as the first three chapters) Marx's articles from the series "1848 to 1849" originally carried by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue,* Nos 1 and 2, 1850 (Engels is referring to them here), and (as the fourth article or chapter) Marx's section on France from the "Review, May to October [1850]" compiled in collaboration with Engels for the double, fifth-sixth issue of the journal for 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 490-532). The passage quoted by Engels has been borrowed from the section figuring in the edition of Marx's work as the fourth chapter (ibid., p. 510). p. 508

451 *Sachsenwald,* an estate near Hamburg, which Emperor William I gave to Bismarck in 1871. p. 509

452 A reference to the monarchist parties of the Legitimists and the Orleanists. See Note 157. p. 512

453 See Note 18. p. 513

454 A reference to the so-called *constitutional conflict.* See Note 187. p. 513

455 A reference to the 5,000-million-franc indemnity paid by France to the German Empire under the terms of the Frankfurt Peace of 1871 (see Note 161) after the former's defeat in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. p. 514

456 See Note 2. p. 515

457 Universal suffrage was introduced in Spain in 1868, at the time of the Spanish bourgeois revolution of 1868-74, and constitutionally confirmed in 1869. Having been declared in 1873, the republic in Spain existed up to 1874, when it was abolished as a result of a monarchist coup d'état. p. 515

458 Engels quotes the theoretical Preamble to the French Workers' Party's programme adopted at the 1880 congress in Le Havre. The Preamble was written by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 340). p. 516

459 At the *Battle of Wagram* on July 5-6, 1809, Napoleon I defeated the Austrian army commanded by Archduke Charles.

In the *Battle at Waterloo* (Belgium) on June 18, 1815, Napoleon's army was routed by the Anglo-Dutch and Prussian armies under Wellington and Blücher, an event that decided the final victory of the anti-French coalition. p. 520

460 See Note 363. p. 521

461 *Zemsky Sobor,* the central representative bodies in Russia between the mid-16th and 17th centuries. Engels obviously refers to local self-government bodies (*zemstvos*) which appeared in 1864 (see also Note 81). p. 521

462 Engels is referring to the prolonged struggle between the princes and the nobility in the duchies of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Mecklenburg-Strelitz, which ended in the constitutional agreement on hereditary rights signed in 1755 in Rostock. Under the agreement, the Mecklenburg nobility had its former freedoms and privileges confirmed and consolidated its leading position in the Landtags and their standing bodies. p. 521

463 See Note 209. p. 522

464 An allusion to the incorporation into Prussia of the Kingdom of Hanover, the electorate of Hesse-Cassel and the Grand Duchy of Nassau in 1866 as a result of Prussia's victory in the war against Austria in 1866. p. 522

465 See Note 132. p. 525

466 The Committee of the Independent Labour Party (see Note 434) invited Engels to the May Day Socialist Carnival in a letter of April 16, 1895. p. 526

467 This is a transcript of Engels' speech at the funeral of Helene Demuth who died on November 4, 1890. p. 529

468 As is clear from the letter sent to Engels on May 22, 1891 by Ludwig Elster, editor of the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften,* which carried Engels' biography and a list of his works (Vol. 3, 1892), Engels had himself looked through the text of the biography.

In the preparation of the bibliography of this volume, some of the publication dates of Engels' works have been corrected. p. 530

469 Engels was interviewed by Émile Massard, a reporter on the French newspaper *L'Eclair,* on April 1, 1892. On April 3, Engels read through the reporter's notes and wrote an almost entirely new text. On April 4, he wrote to Laura Lafargue that should the editors make arbitrary changes in the text he had corrected, he would disavow the reporter's actions. Considering that the interview was reprinted (on April 16) in the organ of the Workers' Party, *Le Socialiste,* Engels had obviously found the publication in *L'Eclair* faithful enough. That newspaper published the interview under the title "L'Anarchie. Entrevue avec le socialiste allemand Engels", and *Le Socialiste,* "La paix à cause de la famine" (the last two sections being omitted).

The present edition does not reproduce the reporter's remarks.

First published in English in: F. Engels and P. and L. Lafargue, *Correspondence,* Vol. 3, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963, pp. 382-88. p. 533

470 The reference is to the action of the unemployed in Berlin on February 25-27, 1892. p. 533

471 See Note 215. p. 534

472 See Note 353. p. 537

473 Engels had himself looked through his concise biography that appeared in the *Brockhaus' Konversations-Lexikon,* Vol. 6, 1893. This is evident from its editor F. Brockhaus' letter to Engels of October 7, 1892. p. 539

474 See Note 313. p. 539

475 A reference to the *London Conference of the International Working Men's Association* held on September 17-23, 1871 (see Note 104), and the *Hague Congress of the First International* (see Note 136). p. 541

476 On the new trade unions, see this volume, pp. 61-63 and Notes 92 and 93. p. 541

477 See Note 434. p. 541

478 Engels was interviewed by a reporter from *Le Figaro* on May 11, 1893. On May 17, Engels informed Sorge that his views on the situation in Germany had been stated in the interview to that newspaper, but with one reservation, "that, as with all interviews, something has been omitted here and there, that the context is sometimes lacking, but otherwise presented correctly" (see present edition, Vol. 50).

*Le Figaro* featured the interview under the heading "Conversation avec Frédéric Engels", which was also used by *Le Socialiste,* No. 140 when it printed Engels' interview on May 20, 1893.

First published in English in: F. Engels and P. and L. Lafargue, *Correspondence,* Vol. 3, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963, pp. 388-94. p. 543

479 A reference to the Reichstag's rejection of the Military Bill (see Note 339) that provided for building up the army over the peaceful years of 1893-99 by more than 80,000 men, and for additional military allocations. On the same day, May 6, 1893, the government dissolved the Reichstag and called new elections for June 1893. p. 543

480 A reference to a section of the Deutsche Freisinnige Partei (see Note 8). p. 543

481 An allusion to the so-called constitutional conflict in Prussia, which broke out in the early 1860s (see Note 187). p. 544

482 See Note 363. p. 544

483 See Note 78. p. 545

484 Engels was interviewed by a correspondent from the *Daily Chronicle* in connection with the June elections to the Reichstag and the German Social Democrats' success in them. Apart from the British newspaper, the interview, in a somewhat abridged form, was carried by *Le Socialiste,* No. 148, July 15, 1893 and in full, by the *Critica Sociale,* No. 14, July 16, 1893. p. 549

485 The reference is to the *Freisinnige Volkspartei* formed in May 1893 as a result of the split in the *Freisinnige Partei* (see Note 8). The split occurred on May 6, 1893, the day when the Reichstag was dissolved following a difference of opinion on the Military Bill. Part of the parliamentary group led by Heinrich Rickert and Theodor Barth, which supported the government, formed the *Freisinnige Vereinigung*; the other part, headed by Eugen Richter, which

opposed an increase in military expenditure and reflected the mood of the radical elements, called itself the *Freisinnige Volkspartei.* p. 549

486 See Note 98. p. 550

487 See Note 434. p. 550

488 The Military Bill rejected in May 1893 was, in a somewhat modified form, again submitted by the government for approval by the Reichstag and passed by the latter on July 15, 1893.

The new military law gave the government an opportunity to increase allocations to the army and to revise the war budget (actually to raise it) not every 7 years (as had occurred under the septennial laws of 1874, 1880 and 1887), but every 5 years. For this reason it became known as the quinquennium. p. 551

489 Engels is referring to the "Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War" (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 263-70).

The "Address" was written by Marx but also contained material by Engels that exposed as unfounded the claims of the Prussian Junkers and the German bourgeoisie to Alsace and Lorraine and refuted the military-strategic arguments used to boost them. p. 552

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*Bacon, Francis, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans* (1561-1626)—English philosopher, founder of English materialism; naturalist, historian and statesman.—283-85

*Bahr, Hermann* (1863-1934)—Austrian literary critic, novelist and playwright.—80, 81, 83

*Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich* (1814-1876)—Russian democrat, journalist, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; later ideologist of Narodism (Populism) and anarchism; opposed Marxism in the International; was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress (1872) for his splitting activities.—53, 59, 93, 340, 344-46, 419-21, 457

*Barrot, Camille Hyacinthe Odilon* (1791-1873)—French lawyer; leader of the liberal dynastic opposition until February 1848; headed the monarchist coalition ministry from December 1848 to October 1849.—241, 522

*Bastelica, André Augustin* (1845-1884)—participant in the French and Spanish working-class movement, printer; Bakuninist, member of the General Council of the International (1871), delegate to the 1871 London Conference.—344

*Bauer, Bruno* (1809-1882)—German idealist philosopher, Young Hegelian; author of works on the history of Christianity; radical; National Liberal after 1866.—332, 335, 341, 452, 453, 469

*Beaumarchais, Pierre Augustin Caron de* (1732-1799)—French dramatist.—36, 115

*Bebel, August* (1840-1913)—a leading figure in the German and international working-class movement, turner; President of the Union of German Workers' Associations from 1867; member of the International; deputy to the Reichstag from 1867; one of the founders and leaders of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—67, 92, 117, 139, 166, 238, 239, 375, 408, 515, 544, 550

*Becker, August* (1814-1871)—German writer, member of the League of the Just in Switzerland, Weitling's supporter; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; in 1853 emigrated to the USA, where he contributed to democratic newspapers.—450

*Beesly, Edward Spencer* (1831-1915)—British historian and radical politician; positivist philosopher; professor at London University; chaired at the inaugural meeting of the International held at St. Martin's Hall on September 28, 1864; defended the International and the Paris Commune in the English press in 1870-71.—100, 101, 103, 116, 137, 138, 141, 146, 147, 152

*Benary, Franz Simon Ferdinand* (1805-1880)—German orientalist and an expert on the Bible, professor at Berlin University.—464-66

*Bengel, Johann Albrecht* (1687-1752)—German Protestant theologian, interpreted and published Christian religious texts.—466

*Bernadotte, Jean Baptiste Jules* (1763-1844)—Marshal of France; became heir to the Swedish throne in 1810; took part in the war against

Napoleon I in 1813; King of Sweden and Norway as Charles XIV John (1818-44).—27

*Bernstein, Eduard* (1850-1932)—German Social Democrat, journalist, editor of *Der Sozialdemokrat* (1881-90); later revisionist.—51, 541

*Beust, Friedrich von* (1817-1899)—Prussian officer, member of the committee of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848); an editor of the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung* (September 1848-February 1849); took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland and later to the USA.—380

*Bevan, W.*—Chairman of the Trades Council in Swansea, presided at the congress of trade unions held in that town in 1887.—59

*Biagini*—an official in the Italian Ministry of Finance, investigated the Banca Romana in 1889.—356, 357, 360

*Bismarck-Schönhausen, Otto, Prince von* (1815-1898)—statesman of Prussia and Germany; ambassador to St. Petersburg (1859-62) and Paris (1862); Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-71) and Chancellor of the German Empire (1871-90), introduced the Anti-Socialist Law in 1878.—4-10, 39-40, 42, 46, 49, 78, 178-80, 182, 234, 239, 241, 244, 265, 274, 317, 355, 362, 392, 472, 478, 510, 513, 515, 523, 544, 553

*Blanc, Jean Joseph Charles Louis* (1811-1882)—French socialist; historian; member of the Provisional Government and President of the Luxembourg Commission in 1848; pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie; emigrated to England in August 1848; a leader of petty-bourgeois emigrants in London; returned to France in 1870.—238, 440

*Blanqui, Louis Auguste* (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, utopian communist; organised several secret societies and plots; active participant in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, leader of the French revolutionary proletarian movement; repeatedly sentenced to imprisonment.—186-88, 417, 421, 457, 514

*Blum, Robert* (1807-1848)—German democratic journalist; leader of the Left in the Frankfurt National Assembly; took part in the defence of Vienna against counter-revolutionary forces in October 1848; court-martialled and executed after the fall of the city.—66

*Boguslawski, Albert* (1834-1905)—German general and military writer; took part in the suppression of the Polish uprising of 1863-64; an active contributor to the German nationalist press from the 1890s.—521, 523

*Böhme, Jakob* (1575-1624)—German artisan, pantheist philosopher.—283

*Boileau-Despréaux, Nicolas* (1636-1711)—French poet and theoretician of classicism.—134

*Boisguillebert, Pierre le Pesant, sieur de* (1646-1714)—French economist, predecessor of Physiocrats, father of French classical political economy.—248, 535

*Bolingbroke, Henry St. John, Viscount* (1678-1751)—English deist philosopher, politician, a Tory leader.—293

*Börne, Ludwig* (1786-1837)—German critic and writer; advocated Christian socialism towards the end of his life.—51

*Borrosch, Alois* (1797-1869)—Austrian politician, bourgeois liberal; bookseller in Prague; participant in the 1848 revolution in Austria; leader of the German-Bohemian group in the Austrian Reichstag.—398

*Boulanger, Georges Ernest Jean Marie* (1837-1891)—French general, War Minister (1886-87); strove to establish his military dictatorship in France.—43, 74

*Bourbons*—royal dynasty in France (1589-1792, 1814-15, 1815-30), in Spain (1700-1808, 1814-68, 1874-1931 and since 1975), and some of the Italian states.—29, 33, 400

*Bovio, Giovanni* (1841-1903)—Italian idealist philosopher and politician, republican, took an anti-clerical stand; deputy to the Parliament from 1876; professor at Naples University.—270-72

*Bracke, Wilhelm* (1842-1880)—German Social Democrat; a founder (1869) and leader of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers); deputy to the Reichstag (1877-79); was close to Marx and Engels.—92, 341, 346

*Bremer, Julius*—German Social Democrat, cigar-maker; a leader of the working-class movement in Magdeburg.—83

*Brentano, Lujo* (*Ludwig Joseph*) (1844-1931)—German economist, professor; one of the major representatives of armchair socialism.—95, 97-127, 131, 135-37, 140-46, 148, 149, 151-58, 160-61, 164-76, 301, 318

*Bright, John* (1811-1889)—English manufacturer and politician, a Free Trade leader and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; M.P. (from 1843); an organiser of the Liberal Party.—224, 263, 298, 315

*Broadhurst, Henry* (1840-1911)—British politician and a trade union leader, bricklayer, secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress (1875-90), Liberal M. P., Under Secretary for Home Affairs (1886).—322

*Buckland, William* (1784-1856)—English geologist and priest, in his works tried to combine geological data and biblical legends.—285

*Burns, John* (1858-1943)—activist of the English working-class movement, a leader of the new trade unions in the 1880s, leader of the London dock strike (1889); M.P. (from 1892).—322, 395, 551

C

*Cabet, Étienne* (1788-1856)—French writer, utopian communist, author of *Voyage en Icarie*.—60

*Caesar* (*Gaius Julius Caesar*) (c. 100-44 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman.—210, 523

*Caligula* (A.D. 12-41)—Roman Emperor (37-41).—464

*Calvin, John* (real name *Jean Chauvin*) (1509-1564)—Swiss theologian, Protestant Reformer.—291

*Camphausen, Ludolf* (1803-1890)—German banker, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Prime Minister (March-June 1848).—332

*Caprivi de Caprera de Montecuccoli, Georg Leo von, Count* (1831-1899)—German statesman and general, Chancellor of the German Empire (1890-94).—178, 230, 244, 406

*Carnot, Márie François Sadi* (1837-1894)—French statesman, held several ministerial posts, President of the Republic (1887-94).—417

*Cartwright, Edmund* (1743-1823)—English inventor.—296

*Catherine II* (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-96).—15, 20-25, 27, 29, 39

*Cavallotti, Felice* (1842-1898)—Italian politician and journalist, participant in the Italian national liberation movement, leader of the Radicals; deputy to the Parliament from 1873.—438

*Charles I* (1600-1649)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1625-49); executed during the English Revolution.—291

*Charles X* (1757-1836)—King of France (1824-30).—31

*Charles XII* (1682-1718)—King of Sweden (1697-1718).—17

*Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Cháteaubriand, François René, vicomte de* (1768-1848)—French writer, statesman and diplomat, Minister for Foreign Affairs (1822-24), represented France at the Congress of Verona (1822).—31

*Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich* (1828-1889)—Russian revolutionary democrat; socialist; materialist philosopher, writer and literary critic; one of the precursors of Russian Social Democracy.—422-23, 424, 429, 431

*Christian IX* (1818-1906)—Prince of Glücksburg, King of Denmark (1863-1906).—35

*Cipriani, Amilcare* (1845-1918)—Italian revolutionary, socialist; supported Garibaldi in the 1860s; member of the Paris Commune.—533

*Claudius* (10 B.C.—A.D. 54)—Roman Emperor (41-51).—455, 464

*Clemenceau, Georges Benjamin* (1841-1929)—French politician and journalist, leader of the Radicals from the 1880s; Prime Minister (1906-09 and 1917-20).—244

*Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865)—English manufacturer, a Free Trade leader and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League, M.P.—227, 298

*Colajanni, Napoleone* (1847-1921)—Italian politician and journalist, Republican; participant in the Italian national liberation movement; was close to socialists in the 1880s-90s; deputy to the Parliament from 1890.—357-59

*Collins, Anthony* (1676-1729)—English philosopher.—285

*Commodian(us)* (1st half of the 3rd cent.)—Latin poet and churchman of the early Christianity.—454

*Connell, J.*—541

*Consiglio*—director general of the Naples Bank, Senator.—356

*Constans, Jean Antoine Ernest* (1833-1913)—French statesman; Minister of the Interior (1880-81, 1889-92), severely suppressed working-class movement.—244, 245

*Constantine I (the Great)* (274-337)—Roman Emperor (306-337).—453, 455, 524

*Constantine, Grand Duke*—see *Konstantin Pavlovich*

*Courier, Paul Louis* (1772-1825)—French philologist and writer, democrat; opposed the aristocratic and clerical reactionaries in France.—115

*Coward, William* (c. 1656-1725)—English physician and philosopher.—285

*Crispi, Francesco* (1818-1901)—Italian statesman, republican, took part in the 1848-49 Italian revolution and in Garibaldi's revolutionary campaign in South Italy (1860); championed constitutional monarchy after the final unification of Italy (the late 1860s).—356-58, 362, 472, 478

*Croesus*—King of Lydia (560-546 B.C.).—9

*Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—one of the leaders of the English Revolution, Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653.—291

*Czapka, Baron von*—Austrian government counsellor.—396

D

*Dante, Alighieri* (1265-1321)—Italian poet.—366

*Darboy, Georges* (1813-1871)—French theologian, Archbishop of Paris from 1863; shot by the Commune as a hostage in May 1871.—186

*Darwin, Charles Robert* (1809-1882)—English naturalist, founder of the

theory of evolution by natural selection.—212

*Dell'Avalle, Carlo*—participant in the Italian socialist movement, a leader of the Socialist Party of the Italian Working People in 1894.—422

*Democritus* (c. 460-c. 370 B.C.)—Greek philosopher, one of the founders of the atomistic theory.—283

*Demuth, Helene* (*Lenchen*) (1820-1890)—housemaid and devoted friend of the Marx family.—529

*Dickens, Charles John Huffam* (1812-1870)—English novelist.—150

*Diebitsch, Ivan Ivanovich, Count* (1785-1831)—Russian Field-Marshal General, German by birth; Commander-in-Chief in the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29; commanded the troops which put down the Polish insurrection of 1830-31.—33

*Dietz, Johann Heinrich Wilhelm* (1843-1922)—German Social Democrat, founder of the Social-Democratic publishing house, deputy to the Reichstag from 1881.—203

*Diocletian* (*Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus*) (c. 245-313)—Roman Emperor (284-305).—524

*Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and author, a Tory leader; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68) and Prime Minister (1868 and 1874-80).—299

*Dodwell, Henry, the younger* (d. 1784)—English philosopher.—285

*Drumont, Édouard Adolphe* (1844-1917)—French reactionary journalist, author of anti-semitic articles and books.—50

*Dühring, Eugen Karl* (1833-1921)—German eclectic philosopher and vulgar economist; lecturer at Berlin University from 1863 to 1877.—84, 278, 281

*Duke of Westminster*—see *Grosvenor, Hugh Lupus, Count*

*Duns Scotus, John* (c. 1265-1308)—Scottish scholastic philosopher and theologian.—283

E

*Engelmann, Paul* (1854-1916)—participant in the Hungarian working-class movement, tinsmith; a founder (1890) of the Social-Democratic Party; was expelled from it by the opportunists in 1893; organiser and leader of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Hungary (1894), which merged with the Social-Democratic Party (May 1894).—353

*Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895)—13, 21, 29, 33, 50-61, 67-73, 76, 77, 79-81, 83-84, 97-99, 101, 103, 105, 107, 113, 115, 118, 164, 165, 169, 171-73, 175, 178-80, 191-93, 195, 201-03, 213-15, 220, 223-24, 229-30, 234, 237-38, 246, 251-57, 260-74, 276, 277, 281-85, 288-90, 300, 302, 303, 305-07, 312-20, 321, 323, 327-29, 335, 336, 339, 341, 342, 344-47, 353, 365, 366, 371-72, 374-80, 386, 389, 394-96, 398, 399, 402-19, 421, 427-28, 433, 438, 440-44, 449-51, 454, 466, 470-73, 475, 478-80, 492, 498, 500, 503-06, 508-09, 524-26, 529-52

*Engels, Friedrich* (1796-1860)—father of Frederick Engels, co-founder with Ermen of a cotton firm in Manchester (1837) and later in Engelskirchen.—530, 540

*Epicurus* (c. 341-c. 270 B.C.)—Greek materialist philosopher, atheist.—332

*Ernst, Paul* (1866-1933)—German journalist, critic and playwright; sided with the Social Democrats in the late 1880s; a leader of the "Young"; abandoned Social Democrats in 1891; later took Right, anti-Marxist stand.—80, 81, 83-85

*Eudes, Émile François Désiré* (1843-1888)—French revolutionary, Blanquist, General of the National Guard and member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Switzerland and then to England; amnestied in 1880, he returned to France and was among the organisers of the Blanquist Central Revolutionary Committee.—185, 417

*Ewald, Georg Heinrich August* (1803-1875)—German orientalist; Bible scholar.—464

F

*Fallmerayer, Jakob Philipp* (1790-1861)—German historian and traveller; author of works on the history of Greece and Byzantium.—468

*Fawcett, Henry* (1833-1884)—English economist, Liberal M.P. from 1865.—134

*Ferdinand VII* (1784-1833)—King of Spain (1808 and 1814-33).—400

*Ferry, Jules François Camille* (1832-1893)—French lawyer, journalist and politician; member of the Government of National Defence, Mayor of Paris (1870-71), suppressed revolutionary movement, as Prime Minister (1880-81 and 1883-85) conducted an active colonial policy.—177, 417

*Flavians*—dynasty of Roman emperors (A.D. 69-96).—453

*Flocon, Ferdinand* (1800-1866)—French politician and journalist, democrat, an editor of *La Réforme*.—440

*Floquet, Charles Thomas* (1828-1896)—French statesman, member of the Chamber of Deputies (1876-93), Prime Minister (1888-89); abandoned politics in 1892 after his involvement in the Panama affair had been exposed.—360

*Fontane, Marius* (1838-1914)—French writer; held an administrative post in the Panama Canal Co.; was sentenced in 1893 to two years' imprisonment for his involvement in the Panama affair, but later acquitted.—360

*Forster, William Edward* (1818-1886)—British manufacturer and statesman, Liberal M.P., Chief Secretary for Ireland (1880-82).—298

*Fortis, Alessandro* (1842-1909)—Italian lawyer and politician, deputy to the Parliament from 1880.—359

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—59, 202, 213, 459

*Frederick II (the Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—5, 19, 21-22, 24, 378, 502, 520

*Frederick William* (1831-1888)—Crown Prince of Prussia and the German Empire; son of William I; general, commanded the 2nd Prussian Army during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866; King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany as Frederick III (1888).—8

*Frederick William II* (1744-1797)—King of Prussia (1786-97).—24

*Frederick William III* (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—28

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—35

*Freyberger, Ludwig* (1863-1934)—Austrian physician; Louise Kautsky's husband (from 1894).—542

*Freycinet, Charles Louis de Saules de* (1828-1923)—French statesman and diplomat, held ministerial posts several times, Prime Minister (1879-80, 1882, 1886, 1890-92); compromised himself in the Panama affair in 1892 and resigned, abandoned politics for some time.—360

G

*Galba Servius Sulpicius* (5 B.C.—A.D. 69)—Roman statesman, was proclaimed Emperor in June 68; mur-

dered by conspiring Praetorians in January 69.—464, 466

*Garibaldi, Menotti* (1840-1903)—Giuseppe Garibaldi's son, took part in the Italian national liberation movement, fought in the Franco-Prussian war on the French side; entrepreneur from the early 1870s, deputy to the Italian Parliament (1876-1900).—358

*Gavazzi*—Italian politician, deputy to the Parliament in the early 1890s.—357

*Geib, August* (1842-1879)—German bookseller in Hamburg; Social Democrat; member of the General Association of German Workers; participant in the Eisenach Congress (1869); a founder of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; Treasurer of the party (1872-78); deputy to the Reichstag (1874-77).—92

*Gervais, Alfred Albert* (1837-1921)—French admiral, took part in the Crimean war, Franco-Prussian war and colonial expedition to China (1860); commanded the French squadron which visited Kronstadt (1891).—355

*Giers, Nikolai Karlovich* (1820-1895)—Russian diplomat, envoy to Teheran (from 1863), Berne (from 1869), Stockholm (from 1872); Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs (1875-82) and Minister for Foreign Affairs (1882-95).—15

*Giffen, Sir Robert* (1837-1910)—English economist and statistician, head of the statistical department at the Board of Trade (1876-97).—266, 318, 493

*Giolitti, Giovanni* (1842-1928)—Italian statesman, Treasurer (1889-90), Prime Minister (1892-93); following the disclosure of abuses in the Banca Romana had to resign; later head of government several times.—357, 360, 362

*Giraud-Teulon, Alexis* (b. 1839)—professor of history in Geneva.—211, 213

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory, later Peelite; a leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the 19th century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55, 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—22, 44, 98-112, 114-15, 117, 119-28, 131-63, 165-76, 323, 393

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet and playwright.—167, 287

*Gort(s)chakoff (Gorchakov), Alexander Mikhailovich, Prince* (1798-1883)—Russian statesman and diplomat, envoy to Vienna (1854-56); Foreign Minister (1856-82); State Chancellor (1867-82).—15, 38, 40

*Gracchus Gaius Sempronius* (c. 153-121 B.C.)—people's tribune in Rome (123-122 B.C.); campaigned for agrarian laws in the interests of the peasants; brother of Gracchus Tiberius.—523

*Gracchus Tiberius Sempronius* (c. 163-133 B.C.)—people's tribune in Rome (133 B.C.); campaigned for agrarian laws in the interests of the peasants.—523

*Grévy, François Paul Jules* (1807-1891)—French statesman, President of the Republic (1879-87).—417

*Grimaldi, Bernardino* (1841-1897)—Italian statesman, deputy to the Parliament (from 1876), Finance Minister (1879, 1888-89, 1890-91), Treasurer (1892-93).—358-60

*Grosvenor, Hugh Lupus, Count* (1825-1899)—British Liberal politician, took part in the Volunteer movement.—51

*Guillaume, James* (1844-1916)—Swiss teacher, anarchist; member of the International; participant in all its congresses; an organiser of the Al-

liance of Socialist Democracy; was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress (1872) for his splitting activities.—346

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and conservative statesman, who actually directed France's home and foreign policy from 1840 until the February revolution of 1848.—335

*Gülich, Gustav von* (1791-1847)—German historian and economist.—19

*Gustavus III* (1746-1792)—King of Sweden (1771-92).—24

H

*Hadrian* (*Publius Aelius Hadrianus*) (A.D. 76-138)—Roman Emperor (117-138).—453

*Hansemann, David Justus* (1790-1864)—German capitalist, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Finance Minister (from March to September 1848).—332

*Hardie, James Keir* (1856-1915)—British Labour leader, miner, later journalist; founder and leader of the Scottish Labour Party (from 1888) and Independent Labour Party (from 1893).—322, 395

*Hartley, David* (1705-1757)—English physician and philosopher.—285

*Haxthausen, August Franz Maria, Baron von* (1792-1866)—Prussian official and writer; author of works on the agrarian system and the peasant commune in Russia.—421, 429

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—190, 287, 305

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—51, 361, 394, 459

*Henry IV* (1553-1610)—King of France (1589-1610).—355

*Henry VII* (1457-1509)—King of England (1485-1509).—292

*Henry VIII* (1491-1547)—King of England (1509-47).—292

*Héritier, Louis* (1863-1898)—Swiss socialist, author of works on the history of the revolutionary and socialist movement.—344-46

*Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich* (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher and writer.—421, 422, 428

*Hess, Moses* (1812-1875)—German radical journalist; "true socialist" in the mid-1840s; member of the Communist League; sided with the separatist Willich-Schapper group after the split in the League; member of the International.—539

*Hobbes, Thomas* (1588-1679)—English philosopher.—284, 285, 293

*Hodgskin, Thomas* (1787-1869)—English economist and journalist, utopian socialist, drew socialist conclusions from the Ricardian theory.—277

*Hoffmann von Fallersleben, August Heinrich* (1798-1874)—German poet and philologist.—392

*Hopkins, Thomas*—English economist of the early 19th century.—277

*Hunter, Henry Julian*—English physician; author of reports on the workers' dire living conditions.—127

*Hyndman, Henry Mayers* (1842-1921)—English socialist, founder (1881) and leader of the Democratic Federation which became Social-Democratic Federation in 1884; later a leader of the British Socialist Party.—62, 63

I

*Ibsen, Henrik* (1828-1906)—Norwegian playwright.—83

*Iglesias, Posse Pablo* (1850-1925)—participant in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement, printer; member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1871-72) and the New Madrid Federation (1872-73); combated the anarchist influence; a founder (1879) and later a leader of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain.—471

*Irenaeus* (c. 130-c. 202)—Christian theologian; became Bishop of Lyons in 177; criticised the tenets of various heretical sects and vindicated the doctrines of Christianity.—465, 466

J

*Jekaterina II*—see *Catherine II*

*Jones, Richard* (1790-1855)—one of the last English classical political economists.—165

*Joseph II* (1741-1790)—co-regent of his mother Maria Theresa (1765-80), Holy Roman Emperor (1765-90).—20, 22, 24

*Juvenal* (*Decimus Junius Juvenalis*) (born c. 60-died after 127)—Roman satirical poet.—523

K

*Kanitz, Hans Wilhelm Alexander, Count von* (1841-1913)—German politician, a leader of the Conservatives, deputy to the Prussian Landtag and German Reichstag.—491

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—288

*Kautsky, Karl Johann* (1854-1938)—German Social Democrat, journalist, economist and historian, editor of *Die Neue Zeit* (1883-1917); author of theoretical works on Marxism; later became an ideologist of Centrism among the German Social Democrats and in the Second International.—21

*Kautsky, Louise*—Austrian socialist, Karl Kautsky's first wife; Engels' secretary from 1890.—254, 476, 542

*Kelly-Wischnewetzky, Florence* (1859-1932)—American socialist; translated Engels' book *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* into English.—257, 307

*Kennan, George* (1845-1924)—American journalist, travelled through Siberia in 1885-86 and described his impressions in a series of essays, *Siberia and the Exile System*.—44

*Kokosky, Samuel* (1838-1899)—German journalist, Social Democrat from 1872, edited several Social-Democratic newspapers.—346

*Köller, Ernst Matthias von* (1841-1928)—German statesman, a Conservative, deputy to the Reichstag (1881-88), Prussian Minister of the Interior (1894-95); conducted the policy of persecution of the Social-Democratic Party.—524

*Konstantin Pavlovich* (1779-1831)—Russian Grand Duke, brother of Emperor Nicholas I, army commander-in-chief in Warsaw and actually Viceroy of the Kingdom of Poland from 1814.—34

*Köttgen, Gustav Adolf* (1805-1882)—German artist and poet; took part in the working-class movement in the 1840s, was close to the "true socialists".—539

*Kovalevsky, Maxim Maximovich* (1851-1916)—Russian sociologist, historian, ethnographer and lawyer; political figure.—282

*Krupp, Friedrich Alfred* (1854-1902)—one of the biggest manufacturers of cast steel and armaments in Germany.—501

*Kuhlmann, Georg* (b. 1812)—secret informer of the Austrian government, in the 1840s preached "true socialism" among the German artisans, followers of Weitling in Switzerland, using

religious phraseology to pose as a prophet.—450, 451

L

*Lafargue, Laura* (1845-1911)—Karl Marx's second daughter, Paul Lafargue's wife from 1868, participant in the French working-class movement.—253

*Lafargue, Paul* (1842-1911)—prominent figure in the international and French working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International; a founder of the Workers' Party in France; author of a few works on the history of Marxism; disciple and associate of Marx and Engels.—233, 253, 281, 479, 498, 499

*Lamennais, Félicité Robert de* (1782-1854)—French abbot, writer, one of the ideologists of Christian socialism.—451

*Laplace, Pierre Simon* (1749-1827)—French astronomer, mathematician and physicist.—286

*Lasker, Eduard* (1829-1884)—German politician, deputy to the Reichstag, member of the Party of Progress till 1866, later a founder and leader of the National Liberal Party in Germany.—139, 166

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German writer and lawyer; socialist; reformist; participant in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); a founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863).—51, 58, 67, 69, 92, 117, 219, 238-39, 278, 304, 417, 515

*Latham, Robert Gordon* (1812-1888)—English philologist and ethnologist, professor at London University.—208

*Laveleye, Émile Louis Victor, baron de* (1822-1892)—Belgian economist and journalist.—111, 155

*Lazzaroni, Cesare, baron* (b. 1825)—chief cashier in the Banca Romana.—358, 359, 361

*Lazzaroni, Michele, baron*—Italian aristocrat, Cesare Lazzaroni's nephew.—359

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician; a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats; editor of *La Réforme*; Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government in 1848, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative assemblies (leader of the Montagnards); fled to England following the events of June 13, 1849.—417, 440

*Leopold II* (1747-1792)—Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1790-92).—24

*Lesseps, Charles Aimée Marie* (1849-1923)—French businessman, Ferdinand de Lesseps' son, an administrator in the Panama Canal Co.; following the Panama Canal scandal was sentenced in 1893 to one year in prison.—360

*Lesseps, Ferdinand Marie, vicomte de* (1805-1894)—French engineer and businessman; founded an international company which constructed the Suez Canal (1859-69); headed the Panama Canal Co., was sentenced in 1893 to the five-year imprisonment following the disclosure of the Panama affair.—360

*Lessner, Friedrich* (1825-1910)—German tailor; member of the Communist League, where he was known as Karstens; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; defendant at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); member of the General Council of the International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—254, 541

*Leuthner, Karl* (b. 1869)—Austrian Social Democrat, member of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* editorial board; deputy to the Reichsrat from 1911.—406

*Levi, Leone* (1821-1888)—English economist, statistician and lawyer.—266, 318

*Liebig, Justus, Baron von* (1803-1873)—German scientist, agrochemist.—304

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League and the First International; a founder and leader of the German Social-Democratic Party; deputy to the Reichstag from 1874; editor of *Der Volksstaat*; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—67, 92, 117, 136, 226, 238, 239, 549

*Lieven, Christophor Andreyevich, Prince* (1774-1839)—Russian diplomat, envoy to Berlin (1810-12), ambassador to London (1812-34).—15, 31-32

*Linton, William James* (1812-1897)—English engraver, poet and journalist; democrat; republican; publisher of *The Leader*; sympathised with the Right-wing Chartists, contributed under the pen-name Spartacus to Chartist publications; lived in the USA from 1866.—422

*Locke, John* (1632-1704)—English philosopher and economist.—285

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—19, 249

*Louis XVI* (1754-1793)—King of France (1774-92), guillotined during the French Revolution.—185

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—181, 182, 227, 292, 297

*Lubbock, Sir John Lord Avebury* (1834-1913)—English biologist, adherent of Darwinism, ethnographer and archaeologist, financier and politician.—210, 211

*Lucian* (c. 120-c. 180)—Greek satirist.—449-51

*Lücke, Gottfried Christian Friedrich* (1791-1855)—German theologian of Protestantism, professor at Bonn and later at Göttingen universities.—464

*Lucraft, Benjamin* (1809-1897)—a leader of the British trade unions, furniture-maker; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71) and of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; left the International in 1871.—541

*Luther, Martin* (1483-1546)—German theologian and writer, leader of the Reformation, founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany.—290, 291

M

*MacKinley, William* (1843-1901)—American statesman, a leader of the Republicans; was elected to the Congress several times (from 1877), introduced the tariff bill which provided for higher customs duties (1890); twenty-fifth President of the USA (1897-1901).—330

*McLennan, John Ferguson* (1827-1881)—Scottish lawyer and historian.—203, 209-13

*MacMahon, Marie Edmé Patrice Maurice, comte de, duc de Magenta* (1808-1893)—Marshal of France, reactionary politician; senator, Bonapartist; fought in the wars of the Second Empire; President of the Third Republic (1873-79).—472, 514

*Mahdi, the*—see *Mahommed Ahmed ibn Seyyid Abdullah*

*Mahommed Ahmed ibn Seyyid Abdullah* (*the Mahdi*) (1843-1885)—Moslem preacher, leader of the national liberation uprising against the British colonialists which began in the Sudan in 1881.—448

*Manners, John James Robert, Duke of Rutland* (1818-1906)—British statesman, Tory, subsequently Conservative; member of the Young England group in the 1840s, M.P., held ministerial posts.—299

*Mantell, Gideon Algernon* (1790-1852)—English geologist and paleontologist, in his works tried to combine scientific data with biblical legends.—285

*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von* (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1848-50), Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs (1850-58).—49

*Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* (121-180)—Roman Emperor (161-180), Stoic philosopher.—453

*Maria Theresa* (1717-1780)—Archduchess of Austria (1740-80); wife of Holy Roman Emperor Francis I (1745-80).—22

*Marrast, Armand* (1801-1852)—French journalist and politician, leader of moderate republicans, editor of *Le National*; member of the Provisional Government and Mayor of Paris (1848); President of the Constituent Assembly (1848-49).—238

*Martignetti, Pasquale*—Italian socialist; translated Marx's and Engels' works into Italian.—202

*Martini, Ferdinando* (1841-1928)—Italian playwright, journalist and politician, Minister of Education (1892-93).—358

*Marx, Eleanor (Tussy)* (1855-1898)—Karl Marx's youngest daughter, prominent figure in the British and international working-class movement; married Edward Aveling in 1884.—62, 64, 98, 112-13, 115, 155-64, 168, 169, 171, 253, 254, 541

*Marx, Heinrich* (1777-1838)—Karl Marx's father, lawyer, Counsellor of Justice in Trier.—332

*Marx, Jenny* (*née von Westphalen*) (1814-1881)—Karl Marx's wife.—253, 335, 341, 529

*Marx, Jenny* (1844-1883)—Karl Marx's daughter, journalist, active in the international working-class movement; married Charles Longuet in 1872.—253, 341

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883)—14, 34, 40, 51-60, 70, 78, 80, 81, 84, 86, 89, 91-93, 95, 97-127, 131-76, 179, 180, 187, 188, 190, 192, 194-96, 198, 212, 213, 238, 241, 242, 248, 253, 254, 261, 265, 271, 273, 274, 277, 278, 281-85, 294, 305, 306, 313, 317, 332, 335-42, 344, 346, 365, 366, 398, 402, 404, 406, 409, 414-18, 422, 424, 427-30, 433-39, 477, 500, 503, 506-14, 516, 529, 552

*Matkin, William*—participant in the English trade union movement, headed the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.—326

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; headed the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850); opposed Bonapartism.—39, 340, 439

*Mehemet (Mohammed) Ali* (1769-1849)—Viceroy of Egypt (1805-49), introduced a series of progressive reforms.—33

*Mehring, Franz* (1846-1919)—German philosopher, historian and journalist; Social Democrat from 1891; author of works on the history of Germany and German Social Democracy, wrote Karl Marx's biography; subsequently a leader of the Left-wing German Social Democrats.—171

*Meissner, Otto Karl* (1819-1902)—Hamburg publisher; published *Capital* and some other works by Marx and Engels.—508

*Menger, Anton* (1841-1906)—Austrian lawyer, professor at Vienna University.—277, 447

*Mesa y Leompart, José* (1840-1904)—took part in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement, printer;

an organiser of the Spanish sections of the First International, member of the Spanish Federal Council (1871-72) and New Madrid Federation (1872-73); an active opponent of anarchism; a founder of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain (1879); translated a number of works by Marx and Engels into Spanish.—192

*Metternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince von* (1773-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat, Minister for Foreign Affairs (1809-21) and Chancellor (1821-48), an organiser of the Holy Alliance.—35

*Miceli, Luigi* (1824-1906)—Italian politician, took part in the 1848-49 revolution and national liberation movement in Italy; deputy to the Parliament from 1861, Minister of Agriculture (1879-81, 1888-91).—357

*Mikhailovsky, Nikolai Konstantinovich* (1842-1904)—Russian sociologist, journalist and literary critic; ideologist of the liberal Narodniks, an editor of *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* and *Russkoye Bogatstvo*.—428

*Miklošić, František* (*Miklosich, Franz von*) (1813-1891)—professor of Slavonic philology at Vienna University (1849-86); founder of the comparative grammar of Slavonic languages; Slovenian by birth.—19

*Miquel, Johannes* (1828-1901)—German lawyer, politician, banker; member of the Communist League up to 1852, later National Liberal.—227

*Molière* (*Jean Baptiste Poquelin*) (1622-1673)—French playwright.—134, 142, 146, 153, 172, 174

*Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard, Count von* (1800-1891)—Prussian army officer, subsequently Field-Marshal-General, military writer and strategist; served in the Turkish army (1835-39).—5, 9, 33, 46

*Moody, Dwight Lyman* (*Ryther*) (1837-1899)—American evangelist and preacher.—297

*Moore, Samuel* (1838-1911)—English lawyer, member of the First International; translated Volume I of Karl Marx's *Capital* into English (in collaboration with Edward Aveling) and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; friend of Marx and Engels.—58

*More, Sir Thomas* (1478-1535)—English politician, Lord Chancellor (1529-32), humanist.—21

*Morgan*—American colonel, brother of Lewis Henry Morgan.—213

*Morgan, Lewis Henry* (1818-1881)—American ethnographer, archaeologist and historian of primitive society.—203, 208, 210-13

*Moschus* (mid-2nd cent. B.C.)—Greek pastoral poet.—474

*Mundella, Anthony John* (1825-1897)—British statesman and manufacturer, M. P. (from 1868), held ministerial posts several times.—139, 151

N

*Nădejde, Joan* (1854-1928)—Romanian journalist, Social Democrat; translated Engels' works into Romanian.—207

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—25-29, 32, 81, 184, 189, 244, 286, 384, 400, 484

*Napoleon III* (*Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte*) (1808-1873)—nephew of the above; President of the Second Republic (1848-51); Emperor of the French (1852-70).—36, 40, 179, 182, 265, 274, 297, 317, 339, 342, 373, 508, 513, 545

*Nebuchadnezzar* (c. 604-c. 562 B.C.)—King of Babylon.—455

*Nero* (*Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus*) (A.D. 37-68)—Roman Emperor (54-68).—464-66

*Nesselrode, Karl Vasilyevich, Count* (1780-1862)—Russian statesman and

diplomat; Foreign Minister (1816-56), State Chancellor from 1845.—15, 32, 34

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—32, 35-37, 54, 247, 365, 430, 534

*Nicholas II* (1868-1918)—Emperor of Russia (1894-1917).—521

*Nieuwenhuis, Ferdinand Domela* (1846-1919)—prominent figure in the working-class movement of Holland, a founder of the Dutch Social-Democratic Party, deputy to the Parliament (from 1888); later sided with the anarchists.—233

O

*Odger, George* (1820-1877)—a leader of the British trade unions, shoemaker, Secretary of the London Trades Council (1862-72); member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland, the Land and Labour League; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), its President (1864-67); left the Council in 1871.—541

*Orleans*—French royal dynasty (1830-48).—43

*Orlow (Orlov), Alexei Fyodorovich, Count, from 1856 Prince* (1786-1861)—Russian general and statesman, diplomat; signed the treaties of Adrianople (1829) and Unkiar-Skelessi (1833) with Turkey; headed the Russian delegation at the Paris Congress (1856).—39

*Otho Marcus Salvius* (A.D. 32-69)—Roman statesman; in January 69 organised Praetorians' plot against Emperor Galba, had him murdered and proclaimed himself Emperor; committed suicide in April 69.—465, 466

*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—English utopian socialist.—426

*Owens, John* (1790-1846)—English merchant, founder of a college in Manchester.—304, 305

P

*Palgrave, Sir Robert Harry Inglis* (1827-1919)—British banker and economist. publisher of *The Economist* (1877-83).—267, 319

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman, a Tory at the beginning of his career, from 1830 onwards a Whig; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41 and 1846-51); Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58 and 1859-65).—34, 36, 339, 342

*Parnell, William*—British trade union leader, joiner, headed the union of cabinet-makers.—326

*Paul I* (1754-1801)—Emperor of Russia (1796-1801).—15, 25, 32

*Pease, Edward Reynolds* (1857-1955)—secretary of the Fabian Society.—470

*Peter I (the Great)* (1672-1725)—Tsar of Russia (1682-1721), Emperor of Russia (1721-25).—18-20, 23

*Peter III* (1728-1762)—Emperor of Russia (1761-62).—21

*Philip II of Macedon* (c. 382-336 B.C.)—King of Macedon (359-336 B.C.), father of Alexander the Great.—460

*Philo of Alexandria* (c. 20 B.C.-A.D. c. 50)—main representative of the Judaistic Alexandrian philosophy who exerted great influence on the shaping of Christian theology.—453, 456, 461

*Pindar* (c. 522-c. 442 B.C.)—Greek lyric poet, famous for his odes.—134

*Pi y Margall, Francisco* (1824-1901)—Spanish politician, leader of the Left federalist republicans, was influenced by the ideas of utopian socialism;

lawyer and man of letters; took part in the bourgeois revolutions (1854-56 and 1868-74); Minister of the Interior (February 13-June 11, 1873), President pro tem (June 11-July 18, 1873) of the Republican Government.—419

*Plato* (c. 427-c. 347 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—453

*Plekhanov, Georgi Valentinovich* (1856-1918)—prominent figure in the Russian and international working-class movement, theoretician of Marxism, founder of the Emancipation of Labour group (first Russian Marxist organisation) in 1883.—234, 402, 423, 427

*Pozzo di Borgo, Karl Osipovich, Count* (1764-1842)—Russian diplomat, Corsican by birth, envoy (1814-21) and ambassador (1821-35) to Paris and then to London (1835-39).—15, 32

*Priestley, Joseph* (1733-1804)—English chemist and philosopher, public figure.—285

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist; petty-bourgeois socialist.—58, 187, 192, 336, 342, 345, 457, 514

*Pushkin, Alexander Sergeyevich* (1799-1837)—Russian poet.—28

Q

*Quelch, Harry* (1858-1913)—participant in the British working-class movement, a leader of the new trade unions and Left-wing socialists.—326

R

*Ravé, Henri*—French journalist, translated Engels' works into French.—203

*Reinach, Jacques, baron de* (d. 1892)—French banker, conducted financial matters of the Panama Canal Co.; committed suicide after the disclosure of the Panama affair.—361

*Renan, Joseph Ernest* (1823-1892)—French philologist and historian of Christianity, idealist philosopher.—448, 449, 452, 454, 458, 464, 467

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—English economist.—196, 198

*Richter, Eugen* (1838-1906)—German politician, leader of the Party of Progress, deputy to the Reichstag.—382

*Robin, Paul Charles Louis Jean* (1837-1912)—French teacher, Bakuninist, a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (from 1869), member of the General Council of the International (1870-71), delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) and the London Conference (1871) of the International.—344

*Rogers, James Edwin Thorold* (1823-1890)—English economist.—128

*Roscoe, Sir Henry Enfield* (1833-1915)—English chemist.—304

*Rössler, Constantin* (1820-1896)—German writer, professor at Jena University.—523

*Rothschilds*—dynasty of bankers with branches in many European countries.—51, 259, 312, 536

*Rouget de Lisle, Claude Joseph* (1760-1836)—French soldier and composer of songs, widely known as the author of the *Marseillaise*.—245

*Rouvier, Maurice* (1842-1911)—French statesman, was minister and Prime Minister several times; when his involvement in the Panama affair had been disclosed (1892) he had to resign and withdraw from politics for a time.—244, 360, 362

*Roy, Henry*—English physician and economist.—100, 101, 103, 116, 118-19, 122, 134, 137, 138, 141, 144-46, 152, 153, 170-72, 174

*Rudini, Antonio Starrabba, marchese di* (1839-1908)—Italian statesman, big

landlord; Prime Minister (1891-92 and 1896-98).—357, 362

*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—335, 341, 539

S

*Saint-Paul, Wilhelm* (c. 1815-1852)—Prussian army officer, later an official in the Ministry of the Interior; censor of the *Rheinishe Zeitung* in 1843.—335

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—87, 202, 459, 537

*Salmerón y Alonso, Nicolás* (1838-1908)—Spanish politician, professor of history and philosophy at Madrid University; President pro tem of the Spanish Republic (July 18-September 7, 1873).—419

*Saltykov-Shchedrin, Mikhail Yevgrafovich* (1826-1889)—Russian satirical writer; in the 1840s took a great interest in the ideas of Saint-Simon and Fourier and was exiled to Vyatka "for harmful thoughts" (1848); Vice-Governor of Ryazan, then of Tver (1858-62); member of the editorial board of *Sovremennik* (1862-64); co-editor and shareholder of *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* (1868-84). Thanks to him these journals became the main tribune of the Russian democrats.—428

*Sankey, Ira David* (1840-1908)—American Protestant preacher.—297

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, playwright, historian and philosopher.—139

*Schorlemmer, Carl* (1834-1892)—German organic chemist, dialectical materialist; professor at Owens College in Manchester; member of the German Social-Democratic Party; friend of Marx and Engels.—304-06

*Schwarzenberg, Felix Ludwig Johann Friedrich, Prince* (1800-1852)—Austrian conservative statesman and diplomat; envoy to Turin (1838-46) and to Naples (1846-48); after the suppression of the Vienna uprising in October 1848 Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs (November 1848-1852).—36

*Seleucids*—royal dynasty of the Hellenistic state formed in Asia Minor after the collapse of Alexander of Macedon's empire; ruled from 312 to 64 B.C.—464

*Seneca, Lucius Annaeus* (c. 4 B.C.-A.D. 65)—Roman Stoic philosopher.—453

*Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of* (1671-1713)—English moral philosopher, politician, Whig.—293

*Shipton, George*—activist in the British trade union movement, secretary of the painters' trade union, President of the London Trades Council (1871-96).—64

*Sickingen, Franz von* (1481-1523)—German knight who joined the Reformation, leader of the knights' uprising in 1522-23.—290

*Sihida (Malaksiano), Nadezhda Konstantinovna* (1862-1889)—Russian revolutionary, member of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) party; could not endure corporal punishment she was subjected to in prison and committed suicide.—44

*Singer, Paul* (1844-1911)—participant in the German working-class movement, member of the Executive of the German Social-Democratic Party (from 1887) and its Chairman (from 1890); deputy to the Reichstag (from 1884) and head of its Social-Democratic group (from 1885).—52, 67

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—Scottish classical economist.—28, 145

*Smith, Robert Angus* (1817-1884)—English chemist.—304

*Socrates* (c. 469-c. 399 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—450

*Solon* (c. 638-c. 558 B.C.)—Athenian politician and legislator.—428

*Sophia Augusta of Anhalt*—see *Catherine II*

*Stephan, Heinrich von* (1831-1897)—German statesman, the first postmaster general of the German Empire.—77

*Sternberg, Lev Yakovlevich* (1861-1927)—Russian ethnographer; for his activity in the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) organisations was exiled to Sakhalin (1889-97) where he carried ethnographic studies of the local population.—348-54

*Steuart, Sir James,* afterwards *Denham* (1712-1780)—British economist, one of the last Mercantilists.—164

*Strauss, David Friedrich* (1808-1874)—German Young Hegelian, philosopher and writer.—452

*Stuart* (*Stewart*)—royal dynasty which ruled in Scotland (from 1371) and in England (1603-49 and 1660-1714).—294

*Stumm-Halberg, Karl Ferdinand, Baron von* (1836-1901)—German manufacturer and conservative politician.—501

T

*Tacitus* (*Publius Cornelius*) (c. 55-c. 120)—Roman historian, orator and politician.—210, 455, 465, 469

*Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de* (1754-1838)—French diplomat and statesman; Bishop of Autun (1788-91); Minister for Foreign Affairs (1797-99, 1799-1807 and 1814-15), represented France at the Congress of Vienna (1814-15).—29

*Tanlongo, Bernardo* (born c. 1820)—big Italian businessman, governor of the Banca Romana (from 1882).—357, 358, 359-61

*Taylor, Sedley* (second half of the 19th-beginning of the 20th cent.)—participant in the co-operative movement in Britain, favoured a share of capitalist profits for workers.—97, 98, 111-13, 118, 123, 125, 155-63, 167-69, 171

*Teistler, Hermann*—German Social Democrat, a leader of "The Young", editor of the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* (1890).—85

*Theocritus* (c. 315-250 B.C.)—Greek pastoral poet.—474

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836, 1840); Deputy to the Constituent (1848) and Legislative assemblies (1849-51); head of the Orleanists after 1848; organised the suppression of the Paris Commune; President of the Republic (1871-73).—177, 183, 186, 244, 472, 513

*Thompson, William* (c. 1785-1833)—Irish economist, follower of Owen.—277

*Thorne, William James* (1857-1946)—participant in the British working-class movement, member of the Social-Democratic Federation, an organiser of the unskilled workers' mass movement (late 1880s-early 1890s), secretary of the Gas-Workers' and General Labourers' Union.—326

*Tiberius* (*Tiberius Claudius Nero Caesar*) (42 B.C.-A.D. 37)—Roman Emperor (A.D. 14-37).—464

*Tichomiroff* (*Tikhomirov*), *Lev Alexandrovich* (1852-1923)—Russian journalist, member of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) party; abandoned revolutionary movement (in the late 1880s) and became a monarchist.—15

*Tkachov (Tkatschoff), Pyotr Nikitich* (1844-1885)—Russian revolutionary, journalist and an ideologist of Narodism.—421, 422

*Torlonia, Giulio Borghese, principe* (1847-1914)—Italian aristocrat, chairman of the board of directors of the Banca Romana.—357, 359

*Trier, Gerson* (b. 1851)—Danish Social Democrat, a leader of the revolutionary minority in the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark, teacher; translated Engels' works into Danish.—203

*Tylor, Sir Edward Burnett* (1832-1917)—English anthropologist and historian of primitive culture, supporter of the evolution doctrine.—204

U

*Umberto I* (1844-1900)—King of Italy (1878-1900).—359

*Ure, Andrew* (1778-1857)—Scottish chemist and economist, Free Trader.—164

*Urquhart, David* (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician, Turkophile, carried out diplomatic missions in Turkey in the 1830s, exposed the foreign policy of Palmerston and the Whigs, M.P. (1847-52); founder and editor of *The Free Press* newspaper.—13, 14, 34

V

*Vaillant, Marie Édouard* (1840-1915)—French socialist, Blanquist, member of the Paris Commune and of the General Council of the International (1871-72); a founder of the Socialist Party of France (1901).—187, 414, 417

*Vanderbilts*—family of big financial and industrial magnates in the USA.—259, 312

*Vauban, Sébastien Le Prêtre (Prestre) de* (1633-1707)—Marshal of France and military engineer.—248, 535

*Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro)* (70-19 B.C.)—Roman poet.—139

*Vitellius, Aulus* (A.D. 15-69)—Roman statesman; legate in Germany in the 60s; was proclaimed emperor in January 69; at the end of that year his army was defeated in the civil war and he was put to death.—455, 465

*Vogt, Karl* (1817-1895)—German naturalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five imperial regents (June 1849); emigrated in 1849; was Louis Bonaparte's paid agent; libelled Marx and Engels.—339, 342, 414

*Vollmar, Georg Heinrich von* (1850-1922)—a leader of the German Social Democrats; deputy to the German Reichstag and the Bavarian Landtag.—479, 480

*Voltaire, François Marie Arouet* (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—115, 449

W

*Wakefield, Edward Gibbon* (1796-1862)—English writer, statesman and economist; author of a colonisation theory.—138, 148, 153

*Watt, James* (1736-1819)—Scottish engineer, inventor of the steam-engine.—296

*Watts, John* (1818-1887)—English utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen, a liberal.—129

*Webb, Sidney James* (1859-1947)—English politician, a founder of the Fabian Society; together with his wife Beatrice wrote a number of works on the history and theory of the British working-class movement.—553

*Weitling, Wilhelm Christian* (1808-1871)—German tailor; one of the

early leaders of the working-class movement in Germany, a theoretician of utopian egalitarian communism.—60, 238, 270, 271, 448, 450, 457

*Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of* (1769-1852)—British general and Tory statesman; fought against Napoleon; commander-in-chief of the British army (1827-28 and 1842-52); Prime Minister (1828-30).—29

*Westphalen, Jenny von*—see *Marx, Jenny*

*Wille, Bruno* (1860-1928)—German writer on the theatre, associated with the Social Democrats in the late 1880s; a leader of "The Young" group.—85

*William I* (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, Prince Regent (1858-61), King of Prussia (1861-88) and Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—5, 9, 39, 513

*William II* (1859-1941)—King of Prussia and German Emperor (1888-1918).—4-5, 9, 46, 48, 521, 534, 544-46

*William IV* (1765-1837)—King of England (1830-37).—34

*Willich, August* (1810-1878)—Prussian army officer; retired on account of his political views; member of the Communist League; participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849); a leader of the sectarian group which split from the Communist League in 1850; emigrated to the USA in 1853, took part in the American Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—530, 539

*Wilson, John Havelock* (1858-1929)—activist in the British trade union movement, organised and headed (from 1887) the National Amalgamated Sailors' and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland; M. P. from 1892.—322, 340, 395

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*Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*—a newspaper founded by German political refugees in Brussels and published from January 1847 to February 1848. From September 1847 Marx and Engels regularly contributed to it and under their influence it became an organ of revolutionary communist propaganda.—336, 342

*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*—a German-language yearly published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge; only the first issue, a double one, appeared in February 1844. It carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—335, 341, 404

*Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst*—a Young Hegelian literary and philosophical journal published in Leipzig from July 1841 under the editorship of Arnold Ruge. Earlier (1838-41) it appeared under the title *Hallische Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst*. In January 1843 it was closed down by the government.—335

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*The Free Press. Journal of the Foreign Affairs Committees*—a journal on questions of foreign policy, opposed to the Palmerston government; it was published by David Urquhart and his supporters in London from 1855 to 1865 (weekly until April 1858 and then monthly); in 1866 it was renamed *Diplomatic Review*.—342

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*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a daily, organ of the proletarian revolutionary democrats during the revolution of 1848-49 in Germany; it was published in Cologne under Marx's editorship from June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849 (with an interval from September 27 to October 12, 1848).—76, 194, 336, 342, 506

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*—a theoretical journal of the Communist League published by Marx and Engels from December 1849 to November 1850.—339, 342, 507-08

*Die Neue Zeit*—a theoretical journal of the German Social Democrats, published in Stuttgart (1883-1923) under the editorship of Karl Kautsky.—12, 175, 234, 236, 315, 330, 387, 480

*New-York Daily Tribune*—a daily published from 1841 to 1924, organ of the Left-wing American Whigs till the mid-1850s, and later of the Republican Party; expressed progressive views, and denounced slavery; Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862.—339, 342

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*Le Parti socialiste. Organ du Comité Révolutionnaire Central*—a Blanquist weekly published in Paris from 1890 to 1898.—417

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*La Réforme*—a daily, organ of the republican democrats and petty-bourgeois Socialists, published in Paris from 1843 to 1850.—440

*Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*—a daily founded on January 1, 1842, as an organ of the Rhenish bourgeois opposition, and published in Cologne till March 31, 1843. When edited by Marx (from October 15, 1842 to March 17, 1843), the paper became a mouthpiece of revolutionary-democratic ideas,which led to its suppression. Engels was one of its contributors.—332, 341

*Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*—a German social-democratic daily published in Dresden from 1890 to 1908, in the early 1890s organ of the "Young" group.—67, 69, 84

*Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*—a conservative weekly published in London from 1855 to 1938.—147

*Il Secolo*—an Italian weekly published in Milan from 1866.—359

*The Sheffield Free Press*—an English newspaper published in Sheffield from 1851 to 1857 by David Urquhart and his supporters.—342

*El Socialista*—a weekly central organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain published in Madrid from 1885.—57

*Le Socialiste*—a French weekly published in Paris from 1885; up to 1902, organ of the Workers' Party; Engels contributed to it in the 1880s and 90s.—57, 178, 276

*Der Sozialdemokrat*—a weekly central organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, was published during the Anti-Socialist Law, in Zurich from September 1879 to September 1888 and in London from October 1888 to September 1890; its editors were Georg von Vollmar (1879-80) and Eduard Bernstein (1880-90).—3, 52, 68, 69, 72, 76-79, 306

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*Das Volk*—a German-language weekly published in London from May 7 to August 20, 1859; it was founded as the official organ of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; Marx took part in its publication beginning with issue No. 2 and in early July he virtually became its editor and manager.—342

*Volksfreund*—a socialist newspaper founded in Brünn in 1881, from 1889 organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Austria.—251

*Volks-Kalender*—a social-democratic literary miscellany published in Brunswick from 1875 to 1879; Wilhelm Bracke was its editor-in-chief and publisher.—341

*Der Volksstaat*—a central organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party published in Leipzig from October 2, 1869 to September 29, 1876, first twice a week and, from 1873, three times a week; Wilhelm Liebknecht was its editor-in-chief.—100, 102, 103, 113, 136, 140-41, 143-45, 147, 148, 152-54, 156, 163, 165, 166, 170, 414

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*Volks-Tribüne*—see *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*

*Vorwärts. Berliner Volksblatt*—a German social-democratic daily founded in 1884; from 1891, by the decision of the Halle party congress, it became a central organ of the German Social-Democratic Party and was published under the title

*Vorwärts. Berliner Volksblatt*; its editor-in-chief was Wilhelm Liebknecht.—371, 435, 479, 503

*Vorwärts. Centralorgan der Social-demokratie Deutschlands*—a paper founded after the merger of the *Neuer Sozialdemokrat* and the *Volksstaat*. It was published in Leipzig from October 1876 to October 1878 and ceased publication because of the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law.—281

*Vorwärts! Pariser Deutsche Zeitschrift*—a German-language newspaper published in Paris from January to December 1844 twice a week. Marx and Engels contributed to it.—335, 342

*Вѣстникъ Европы. Журналъ историко-политическихъ наукъ* (European Herald. A historical and political journal)—a Russian monthly on history, politics and literature published in St. Petersburg from 1866 to 1918.—428

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*Колоколъ* (The Bell)—a revolutionary-democratic newspaper published by Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Ogaryov from 1857 to 1867 in Russian and in 1868-69 in French (*La Cloche*) with Russian supplements; it was published in London until 1865, then in Geneva.—53

*Отечественныя Записки* (Fatherland's Notes)—a Russian journal on literary and political questions published in St. Petersburg from 1839, it was closed down by the tsarist government in 1884.—428

*Русскія Вѣдомости* (Russian Gazette)—a Russian newspaper published in Moscow from 1863 to 1918 by liberal professors of Moscow University and by Zemstvo public figures.—348-51

*Социалъ-Демократъ* (Social-Democrat)—a Bulgarian magazine on social and literary questions published once in three months in the town of Sevlievo in 1892-93.—402, 552

*Этнографическое Обозрѣніе* (Ethnographical Review)—a Russian journal published by the ethnographical section of the Society of Lovers of Natural Science, Anthropology and Ethnography of Moscow University from 1889 to 1916.—351

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# GLOSSARY OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES[a]

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| Abo | Turku |
| Adrianople | Edirne |
| Aix-la-Chapelle | Aachen |
| Austerlitz | Slavkov |
| Breslau | Wrocław |
| Brünn | Brno |
| Constantinople (Tsaregrad) | Stambul |
| Kythnos | Thermia |
| Elberfeld | Wuppertal |
| Friedland | Pravdinsk |
| Jaxartes | Syr Darya |
| Halys | Kizil-Irmak |
| Hellespontus | Dardanelles |
| Kaminiets | Kamenets-Podolski |
| Kovno | Kaunas |
| Laibach | Ljubljana |
| Little Russia | Ukraine |
| Memel | Niemen |
| Merv | Mary |
| Navarino | Pylos |
| Nicomedia | Ismid |
| Oxus | Amu Darya |
| Persia | Iran |
| Philadelphia | Ala-Shehr |
| Eylau | Bagrationovsk |
| Samosata | Samsat |
| San Stefano | Yeşilköy |
| Smyrna | Izmir |
| St. Petersburg | Leningrad |
| Thyatira | Ak-Hissar or Ek-Hissar |
| Tilsit | Sovetsk |
| Troppau | Opava |
| Wilhelmshöne | Cassel |

[a] This glossary includes geographical names occurring in Engels' articles in the form customary in the press of the time but differing from the national names or from those given on modern maps. The left column gives geographical names as used in the original; the right column gives corresponding names as used on modern maps and in modern literature.—*Ed.*

# MARX & ENGELS
# COLLECTED WORKS

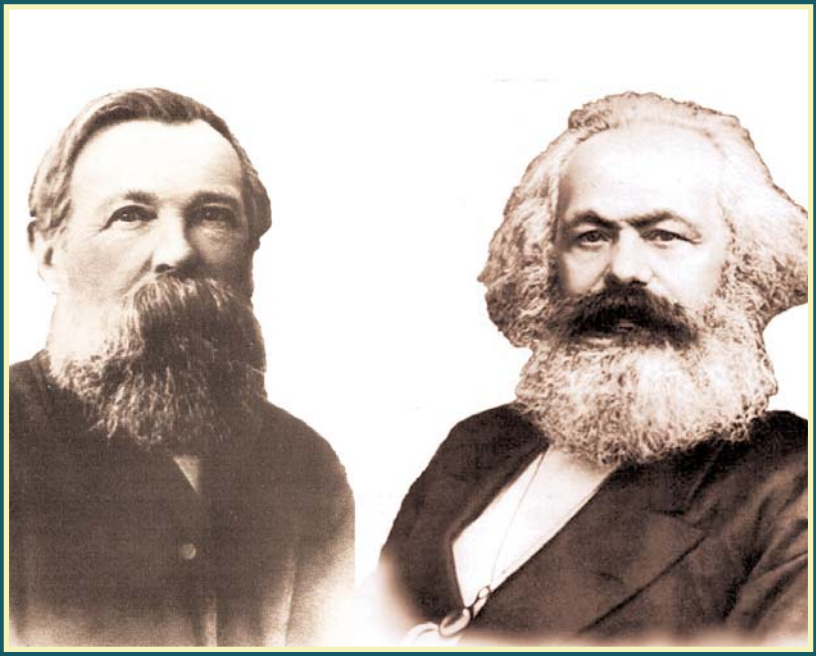

## VOLUME 28

Marx 1857-61

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 28

Marx 1857-61

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Translated by

ERNST WANGERMANN

# Preface

Volume 28 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels opens a new section of this edition, containing Marx's main work, *Capital,* its preliminary versions and the economic writings which immediately preceded it.

The first two volumes of this section, 28 and 29, contain the *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy*—the economic manuscripts widely known as the *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Oekonomie* (the editorial heading under which they were first published in the language of the original in Moscow in 1939-41)—and also Marx's work *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* The findings of research undertaken in the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and other countries into the *Grundrisse* since the appearance of the first edition, particularly in connection with their publication in the second Russian edition of *Works* of Marx and Engels and in the second edition of *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe* (*MEGA*$_2$, a collection of works by Marx and Engels in the languages of the originals), have been taken into account.

In the present edition the whole range of economic works written in the period 1857-61 is divided up into two interrelated groups. The first of these is the series Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58 which strictly speaking represent the original rough version of *Capital.* Of these Volume 28 includes "Bastiat and Carey", "Introduction" and the first, larger instalment of the *Grundrisse* (the Chapter on Money and the greater part of the Chapter on Capital).

Volume 29 contains the concluding part of the Chapter on Capital and the *Index to the 7 Notebooks.* It also includes the second

group of works dating from that period: *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (which came out in 1859) and preparatory material for that work—a fragment of the original text of the second and of the beginning of the third chapter, a draft plan for the third chapter, and also *References to My Own Notebooks.*

Viewed as a whole, these works represent a complete cycle, reflecting a crucial stage in the formation of Marxist political economy and in the writing of *Capital.* They immediately preceded the economic manuscript of 1861-63, which was the first systematic, although still not final, elaboration of the contents of all the volumes of *Capital.* Basing himself on the results achieved and completing yet another manuscript version of his work in 1863-65, Marx was able to start preparing for publication the first volume of *Capital,* which came out in September 1867, and continue work on the other volumes.

*Capital* represents the supreme achievement of Marx's theoretical thought, an outstanding scientific feat accomplished in the name of the intellectual and social emancipation of toiling mankind. This work of genius is virtually the product of Marx's whole life. As early as the 1840s, when Marx had only just embarked on research into economic problems and was working on his *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844,* he sketched the outlines of a major economic work. His subsequent studies in political economy were subordinated to this broad plan, which he originally intended to realise in the form of a two-volume work entitled *A Critique of Politics and Political Economy.*

The 1840s were an important stage in the development of Marxist economic theory. The dialectical materialist conception of history worked out by Marx and Engels enabled them to reveal the essential features of the capitalist economy and understand its contradictory, antagonistic nature. In his works of the 1840s—*The Poverty of Philosophy*, *Speech on the Question of Free Trade* and *Wage Labour and Capital* (see present edition, vols. 6 and 9)—Marx took his first steps towards a detailed elaboration of his economic theory. In those works certain aspects of the future theory of value and surplus value were worked out. However, it required further elaboration to become a comprehensive economic teaching.

A new stage in Marx's economic research began after the defeat of the revolution of 1848-49, when, in the autumn of 1849, he was to move to England, where he was able to resume his studies in political economy. Not content with the results already achieved

and the material he had collected during his stay in Paris in 1844 and in Brussels between 1845 and 1847, which made up many notebooks of excerpts from various economic writings, Marx, in his own words, started from scratch once more. With unflagging energy he supplemented, elaborated and developed the economic data collected in the forties, without losing sight of his long-term project for a major economic work.

Until July 1857 Marx's work consisted mainly in collecting and critically assessing an enormous wealth of material on economic problems, "a veritable Mont Blanc of factual material", to use Lenin's expression, and also in direct study of all and every development of significance in the economic life of Britain and other countries at that time. Marx turned once again to the works of Adam Smith and David Ricardo, of which he made a most thorough study. He also used voluminous material on various aspects of economics and politics from the vast collection of the British Museum library and from the current press. Between 1850 and 1853 Marx filled with excerpts 24 notebooks which he numbered I to XXIV (there are also several unnumbered notebooks). He made repeated attempts to systematise that material. Evidence of this are his notebooks in which excerpts from different authors are grouped according to subject and supplied with brief commentaries, and also his manuscript headlined "Reflections" (present edition, Vol. 10). Marx made extensive use of the notebooks in writing his works. He often refers to them by number and page number in the *Grundrisse.*

Marx set forth his first theoretical conclusions drawn from his new research in letters to Engels dated 7 January and 3 February 1851 (see present edition, Vol. 38), in which he criticised Ricardo's theory of rent, based on Malthus's law of diminishing returns, and also Ricardo's theory of money circulation, based on the quantitative theory of money.

Expecting a new rise in the revolutionary movement, he intensified his economic research. In the summer of 1857 he twice embarked on an exposition of his economic theory: made drafts on the vulgar economists Bastiat and Carey and started writing the general "Introduction" which he did not finish. Yet on both occasions he had to interrupt his work.

The first ever world economic crisis, which broke out in the autumn of 1857, made Marx set down once again to a systematic exposition of the results of his research in political economy. "I am working like mad all night and every night collating my economic studies so that I at least get the outlines clear before the

déluge," he wrote to Engels on 8 December 1857 (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 217). At the time Jenny Marx wrote to Conrad Schramm: "By day Karl works for his living and by night at the completion of his political economy" (ibid., p. 566). Physical discomfort stemming from a liver disease seriously slowed down this work, obliging Marx to modify his plans. Nevertheless between late 1857 and May 1858 he completed an extensive manuscript of over fifty printed sheets—not for the press but for "self-clarification".

The draft manuscript "Bastiat and Carey", opening this volume, shows that by that time Marx had reached a far clearer understanding of the distinctions between the classical bourgeois political economy and its vulgar school, whose rise pointed to a decline in bourgeois economic thought. Marx accurately characterised the merits of the classical school while at the same time pointing out its limitations. Using his analysis of the views of Bastiat and Carey as an illustration, Marx singled out the main areas in which the theory of the classical political economists Smith and Ricardo was vulgarised by their imitators. He pointed out that unlike the classical economists, who did not conceal the contradictory character of capitalist production relations and "naively analysed their antagonism" (see this volume, p. 6), Bastiat, Carey and other vulgar economists sought to gloss over the antagonistic nature of the capitalist system, depicting it as the natural ideal of harmonious social development.

Although unfinished, Marx's draft "Introduction" to his future economic treatise is of extraordinary scientific value. It shows that by the autumn of 1857 he had already worked out in detail the methodological principles of his economic theory, which rests on the basic conclusions drawn from the materialist conception of history, above all on the proposition concerning the primacy of social production. At the same time, unlike bourgeois economists who declared capitalist production eternal and treated production as some general abstraction, Marx in his "Introduction" wrote of production as shaped by specific social conditions, singling out bourgeois production of his time as the object of his research.

Setting forth his understanding of the subject of political economy, Marx rises above the limitations of the bourgeois economists, including the classical economists, who confined the tasks of economics to the study of relations of distribution. His analysis of the dialectical unity and interaction of production, distribution, exchange and consumption leads Marx to conclude

that production is not just the point of departure but also the decisive moment of this unity and that the forms of distribution are merely an expression of the forms of production. Thus the production relations between men, and the laws governing the development of a given mode of production, constitute the true subject matter of economics.

Marx worked out his ideas on various aspects of political economy in close connection with general philosophical questions of the revolutionary world outlook. Regarding production relations as the economic basis of social development, Marx went on to examine processes at work within the political and ideological superstructure, pointing out their dependence on the basis and their reaction on the basis. In the "Introduction", for example, we find statements reflecting the development and concretisation of Marx's views on certain ideological phenomena, in particular his ideas on the specific laws governing the development of art as one of the forms of social consciousness.

The conclusions drawn by Marx in the "Introduction"—that artistic creation is conditioned by specific historical social relations, although these are not reflected in works of art in a primitive, mechanical way, but in accordance with the special laws of development peculiar to art; that as a result of this periods of florescence in art do not necessarily coincide with periods of progress in the economy and other social spheres; that art plays an enormous social role and exerts a strong influence on social progress, and finally that the art of different epochs and different peoples contains inimitable and undying values of general relevance—form an essential part of the overall heritage of Marxian aesthetic ideas.

In the "Introduction" Marx thoroughly substantiated the method of political economy as a science, a method which he applied from all possible angles in his subsequent economic research. He contrasted the dialectical materialist interpretation of scientific method with Hegel's idealist dialectics, while at the same time utilising all the rational elements of Hegel's logic of scientific analysis.

Research, Marx pointed out in the "Introduction", should start out from the immediately manifest and probe down into the very heart of phenomena until finally the very simplest determinations are reached. Only after that can the researcher move on from abstract determinations to "a rich totality of many determinations and relations" (see this volume, p. 37). While the first part of this path—from the concrete to the abstract—has virtually been

converted into commodities and commodities into money. "The real question is: does not the bourgeois system of exchange itself make a specific instrument of exchange necessary?" Marx noted, "Does it not of necessity create a special equivalent of all values?" (see this volume, p. 65). Here Marx raised the question of the essential link between commodity and money, which he had first formulated in *The Poverty of Philosophy*; however, he provided a solution to this question only in the Manuscript of 1857-58. It was based on his analysis of the two aspects of the commodity—its use value and its value—and of the dual nature of labour creating the commodity. Marx showed that the contradiction between the qualitative homogeneity of commodities as values and their natural difference as use values finds its external solution in the process of exchange, in the splitting of the commodity into commodity and money, in the fact that the value of the commodity acquires an independent existence in a special commodity, namely money. Money, which provides an external solution to the contradiction between the use value and the value of the commodity, at the same time aggravates all the contradictions of commodity production based on private exchange. Inherent in these contradictions is the possibility of economic crises.

Marx's thesis on the dual nature of labour in commodity production constitutes the basis of his theory of value. It is precisely here that we find one of the main dividing lines which set apart his theory from the labour theory of value put forward by the classical bourgeois economists. These economists did not understand the qualitative difference between concrete and abstract labour, reducing the whole question to measuring value by labour time. Actually, as Marx was later to point out, "the *whole* understanding of the facts" hinged upon the appreciation of this dual nature of labour.

As he elaborated his theory of value, Marx discovered in the commodity the "economic cell" of bourgeois society. The point of departure in his analysis of the economic structure of society is neither value nor the value relationship of commodities but the commodity itself, the material bearer of those relations. This was precisely the reason why Marx later changed the name of the first chapter of his work, calling it "The Commodity". Already in his first draft of this chapter, at the end of the manuscript (see Vol. 29) Marx wrote: "The commodity is the first category in which bourgeois wealth makes its appearance."

One of the main conclusions drawn by Marx in the Chapter on Money was that the developed form of commodity production in conditions of private property in the means of production presupposes capitalist relations. The development of commodity production and exchange value inevitably tends to "the separation of labour and property; as a result, one's labour will create someone else's property and property will command someone else's labour" (see this volume, p. 170).

The major part of the economic Manuscript of 1857-58 consists of the Chapter on Capital.

In this volume are published the first section of that chapter, examining the process of the production of capital, and a large part of the second section, which deals with the circulation of capital. The end of the chapter is included in Volume 29. Taken as a whole, the Chapter on Capital covers the main questions which Marx intended to treat in the first of the six books originally planned, namely in that which, according to the letter to Lassalle cited above (22 February 1858), was to be entitled "On Capital", and whose title is elsewhere given as "Capital in General". Later, after Marx had altered the structure of his work and started to think in terms of a three-part study *(The Process of Production of Capital, The Process of Circulation of Capital* and *The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole),* the material contained in this chapter provided the starting-point for the whole work.

In the Chapter on Capital Marx concerned himself with the problem central to the whole of his analysis, that of explaining the mechanism of capitalist exploitation. Bourgeois economists regarded capital as the simple sum of values, vainly attempting to move on directly from value to capital and grasp the essence of the transformation of money into capital. Marx notes that "the simple movement of exchange values, as it is present in pure circulation, can never realise capital" (this volume, p. 185).

The content of capitalist production relations is the relation between worker and capitalist, between labour and capital, which stand opposed to each other and between which exchange takes place. The difficulty in analysing these relations lies in the fact that the essentially non-equivalent exchange between worker and capitalist is carried on on the basis of an exchange of equivalents.

Marx started out by dividing the exchange between capital and labour into two qualitatively different, diametrically opposed processes: (1) the actual exchange between the worker and the capitalist as a result of which the capitalist "obtains the productive power which maintains and multiplies capital" (see this volume,

p. 204); (2) the actual process of labour in which the maintenance and multiplication of capital takes place. In his analysis of the first stage Marx formulated the following thesis: "In the relationship of capital and labour ... one side (capital) faces the other above all as *exchange value* while the other side (labour) faces capital as use value" (see this volume, p. 197). From the bourgeois economists' traditional formulas "commodity labour" and "sale of labour" Marx passed on, for the first time, to an investigation of the specific properties of the commodity "labour power" (although in this manuscript he mostly uses the term "labour capacity"). Labour in Marx's analysis does not figure as a commodity, but as the use value of the commodity the worker sells to the capitalist. The peculiarity of this use value lies in the fact that it "is not materialised in a product, it does not exist in any way external to him [the worker]. Consequently, his use value does not exist in reality but only potentially, as his capacity" (see this volume, ibid.). As a result of the first stage of the exchange between labour and capital the control of the worker's living labour has passed into the hands of the capitalist. The second stage of the exchange is the actual process of the creation of exchange values, as a result of which capital is maintained and increased.

Marx demonstrated that since the worker does not own the means of production he cannot be the owner of the value which living labour creates in the production process. Part of the value created by the worker and belonging to the capitalist the latter is obliged to return to the worker in the form of wages so as to pay the value of labour power, i. e. the quantity of labour spent on the production of the worker himself. If the level of labour productivity is so high that the value created by living labour exceeds the value of labour power, surplus labour is being performed, and the capitalist receives surplus value equal to the difference between the value created by living labour and the value of labour power.

In the Chapter on Capital Marx also developed his teaching on the two forms of surplus value—absolute and relative surplus value—and in this connection formulated the ambivalent tendency of capital: towards lengthening the working day as a means of increasing absolute surplus value, and towards reducing the necessary labour time as a means of increasing relative surplus value.

Having revealed the true nature of surplus value, Marx proceeded on this basis to investigate its converted forms—profit, interest, rent—which appear on the surface of bourgeois society.

Basing himself on the theory of the two forms of capital—constant and variable—elaborated for the first time in this manuscript, Marx put forward a new theory of profit qualitatively different from that of bourgeois political economists, who constantly confused specific forms of surplus value with its general form. In a letter to Engels about his work on this manuscript Marx wrote on 16 January 1858 that he had "completely demolished the theory of profit as hitherto propounded" (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 249).

Marx had now come very close to the discovery of the law of average profit and price of production. After establishing that the profit of the whole capitalist class could not exceed the sum of surplus value, Marx concluded that of necessity individual rates of profit varied from one branch of production to another and that these were redistributed as a result of inter-branch competition, thus forming a general rate of profit. He went on to demonstrate that this general rate was formed through the redistribution of the total sum of surplus value produced in all branches of capitalist production, in proportion to the amount of capital invested. It was a feature of this process that commodities were sold at prices that did not correspond to their values, being in some branches higher and in others lower than the values of the commodities. An exhaustive solution to the problem of average profit and price of production was to be provided by Marx later, in his Manuscript of 1861-63.

In the Manuscript of 1857-58 Marx critically analysed the theories of bourgeois economists, drawing comparisons between various bourgeois concepts and contrasting them with his own views on key questions of economics. The Manuscript of 1857-58 demonstrates graphically that Marx's elaboration of a new economic theory was combined with a critical refutation of concepts which were predominant in the economic thought of his day. Nor did Marx overlook the rational ideas expounded by his predecessors in political economy. He often came out in their defence against unjust accusations and reproaches from contemporary bourgeois political economists.

A particularly large amount of critical material is in the sub-section on bourgeois theories of surplus value and profit in Section Two of the Chapter on Capital. Although here Marx did not yet provide a comprehensive picture of the historical development of bourgeois economics, he nevertheless singled out many of the traits typical of bourgeois economic thought on this cardinal question in his critical analysis of the ideas expounded by

representatives of various schools of political economy, including the classical school of Smith and Ricardo. He pointed out its incapacity to penetrate to the heart of the relations between labour and capital and grasp the character of the appropriation of the product of the worker's surplus labour by the capitalist; he showed its tendency to consider capital itself only from the point of view of its material content, ignoring its essence as an historically determined form of social relations, and indicated a number of other fundamental shortcomings. As he singled these out Marx revealed the class causes accounting for the narrow outlook of the bourgeois economists. He stressed that even as penetrating a thinker as Ricardo had failed to clarify for himself the process of capitalist production, "nor, as a bourgeois, could he" (see this volume, p. 474). Marx severely criticised the theories of capital and profit set forth in the works of Say, Senior, McCulloch and other economists as blatant example of apologetic writing that hypocritically presented capitalist exploitation in a rosy light. Malthus's interpretation of the "value of labour" and wages was characterised by Marx as "shallow fallacy", and his theory of population as a "brutal expression" of the "brutal view taken by capital" (see this volume, pp. 496, 524). Marx pointed out that his theory was false from beginning to end and that it was based on tendentious premisses and completely ignored the historical changes in the conditions of production: "In this way, he [Malthus] transforms historically distinct relations into an abstract numerical relation which he simply plucks out of thin air, and which is based on neither natural nor historical laws" (see this volume, pp. 524-25).

In contrast to Malthus Marx revealed the real causes behind the formation of over-population in the pre-capitalist epoch and under capitalism. He pointed out that these causes were by no means to be found in the alleged insufficiency of natural resources and the increase of the human race, which was outgrowing them, but in the actual conditions of social production, in particular in the social contradictions, unemployment, etc., engendered by the capitalist system.

The Manuscript of 1857-58 testifies to the fact that by that time Marx was already thinking of allotting a special place in his future work to a critical survey of the history of bourgeois political economy from the viewpoint of its main problems.

While working on the Chapter on Capital Marx arrived at the conclusion—in accordance with his interpretation of the dialectical link between the logical and historical aspects of the scientific

research method—that it was essential to supplement his analysis of the capitalist mode of production with a survey of the preceding social forms on the one hand, and a survey of the social form which would inevitably replace capitalism on the other.

Marx included in his Chapter on Capital an historical description of the *forms that had preceded capitalist production,* in which he traced the development of the forms of property from primitive communal society to the emergence of capitalist forms of appropriation. The investigation of the pre-capitalist modes of production undertaken here by Marx constitutes a further elaboration of his views on the principal stages of the historical process first set forth in *The German Ideology.*

While analysing the pre-capitalist forms of property Marx probed to the very heart of the question of the various types of production relations, stressing the active role of the productive forces in the process of social development, which conditioned the inevitable change of these forms. In the Manuscript of 1857-58 Marx took another important step in the development of his theory of socio-economic formations.

Profound ideas were voiced here concerning the earliest stage of human history. Marx underlined the absence of class divisions in primitive society, which was dominated by tribal ties and communal principles. The collective spirit and, at the initial stage, the "herd spirit" were the dominant traits of primitive man's whole way of life.

The Manuscript of 1857-58 also contains an analysis of the forms of pre-capitalist exploitation, in particular slave and serf labour, and the features that set them apart from wage labour.

In his analysis of pre-capitalist formations Marx concentrated on problems of the evolution of the agricultural commune. The disintegration of the commune, retained in various forms in all previous stages, was, as he stressed, one of the conditions making possible the emergence of the capitalist mode of production. This to a considerable extent serves to explain Marx's particular interest in its historical fate. The historical and typological description of the commune first provided by Marx in the Manuscript of 1857-58 to this day clarifies many of the key problems of ancient and medieval history. Marx's ideas on the universality of the commune as the most ancient social institution, on its influence on social and political structures in ancient times and the Middle Ages, on the direction and main stages of its historical evolution and modification and on the reasons for its decline and disintegration, are as valid as ever today.

His analysis of the development of pre-capitalist forms of property enabled Marx to reveal the historical conditions for the emergence of the capitalist mode of production and to demonstrate that the main precondition was the disintegration of various forms of labourers' ownership of their conditions of production or of the ownership of labourers as an objective condition of production. In the Manuscript of 1857-58 Marx provided a profound treatment of the primitive accumulation of capital, demonstrating that its essence consisted on the one hand in the formation of a class of hired workers deprived of instruments or means of production and on the other in the transformation of former means of production into a "free fund", i.e., into capital free of traditional feudal, guild and other fetters. "The same process which confronts the masses of free workers with the *objective conditions of labour,* has also put them face to face with these conditions as *capital*" (see this volume, p. 427). For the first time the epoch of primitive accumulation was singled out as a specific, transitional period of historical development. In this context, Marx pointed out that the roots of capitalism should be sought not only in the development of urban industry, but in the process of the capitalist transformation of agriculture, which began in a number of countries (Britain, Holland) at the very dawn of the capitalist era.

In the Manuscript of 1857-58 Marx elaborated in more detail the principles of the scientific periodisation of the history of capitalist society which he had originally outlined as early as the 1840s in *The German Ideology* and *The Poverty of Philosophy.* He substantiated the need to draw a distinction between the manufactory and machine stages of capitalist development, pointing out that the manufactories were still unable to create the material basis for the universal spread of capitalist relations and for the ousting of pre-capitalist social forms. Only large-scale machine production can provide the basis for the final assertion of the capitalist system, it alone really makes possible the full domination of capital and at the same time creates the material conditions for its overthrow and the emergence of a new, more progressive order.

After studying the genesis of capitalism and disclosing the laws of its emergence and development Marx went on to define its actual historical position, demonstrating the inevitability of its collapse and of the abolition of the separation between labour and property intrinsic to that society.

Surplus value, treated in Marx's theory as the necessary result of capitalist relations of production and the expression of their

essence and contradictory character, shapes the law of the progress of the capitalist mode of production leading inevitably to its downfall and its replacement by communism. Since capitalist exploitation, as demonstrated by Marx, stems from the very essence of capitalist production relations, it follows on from this that the emancipation of the working class from exploitation cannot be achieved within the framework of the capitalist order.

The analysis Marx went on to provide of the new social order destined to replace capitalism contained astute ideas as to the main traits and laws of development peculiar to social relations under communism. Marx stressed the historical necessity of the transition to communism, the emergence of which presupposes a specific stage of development of material and cultural conditions. Communism, according to Marx, is a society that will be dominated by "free individuality, based on the universal development of the individuals and the subordination of their communal, social productivity, which is their social possession" (see this volume, p. 95).

The Manuscript of 1857-58 also contains significant ideas concerning the change in the character of labour in the communist society of the future. Marx pointed out that in conditions of collective production the individual's labour will, from the outset, appear as socialised labour; the contradiction between the social character of labour and the private form of the appropriation of its products which is intrinsic to capitalism will disappear. Underlining the fact that each worker will be interested in ensuring the most expedient, rational and systematic organisation of production, Marx formulated the law of time economy in communist society: "As with a single individual, the comprehensiveness of its [society's] development, its pleasures and its activities depends upon the saving of time. Ultimately, all economy is a matter of economy of time. Society must also allocate its time appropriately to achieve a production corresponding to its total needs, just as the individual must allocate his time correctly to acquire knowledge in suitable proportions or to satisfy the various demands on his activity. Economy of time, as well as the planned distribution of labour time over the various branches of production, therefore, remains the first economic law if communal production is taken as the basis. It becomes a law even to a much higher degree" (ibid., p. 109).

Unlike the Utopian socialists who dreamt of turning labour under communism from a hateful burden or curse, which it is for the vast majority of working people under capitalism, into a game

or simple diversion, Marx wrote of labour in communist society as a prime necessity of life, which "is also the most damnably difficult" (see this volume, p. 530). A high level of labour organisation and discipline, a harmonic balance between the personal interests of the producer and the interests of the whole of society, wide utilisation of the results of production, of all social wealth, to satisfy the material and cultural needs of society—such was Marx's vision of communist society.

* * *

In the course of publishing the present *Collected Works* it was decided to expand the economic section. In particular, the whole of the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 is to be included. This has made necessary certain modifications in the original plan of the edition. In volumes 28 and 29 the series of Marx's economic works dating from 1857 to 1861 (with the exception of his notebooks of excerpts) appears in English in a complete and systematised form.

The translation of the Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58 and the accompanying manuscripts, published in volumes 28 and 29, is based on the text: *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe (MEGA),* II, 1; II, 2, Berlin, 1976-1981.

The fact that these manuscripts were rough drafts explains many of their textual features: the absence of division into sections and paragraphs over long passages, the considerable number of digressions and incomplete sentences, and a certain unevenness of style. In many places Marx put down his ideas in a cursory, fragmentary, elliptic form. The greater part of the manuscripts was written in German but Marx often made use of foreign expressions and sometimes switched over completely to English or French. He quotes sometimes in German translation, sometimes in the language of the original and sometimes in more than one language at a time with switches in the middle. There are also word forms of Marx's own invention: English and French words used with German prefixes or endings, and terms made up of elements from different language, etc. When these manuscripts were translated into English all these factors had to be taken into account and unified so that Marx's ideas expressed in different languages could be rendered unequivocally and as precisely as possible.

The indispensable elucidations in certain parts of the manuscripts, insertions, made to complete unfinished or abbreviated sentences, quotations etc. are given in square brackets, as are the

numbers of Marx's notebooks (Roman numbers or Latin letters) and the page numbers in each notebook (Arabic numerals). In view of this the square brackets which are sometimes encountered in the actual manuscripts have been replaced with two oblique lines. If the text is not presented consecutively, but in a slightly rearranged way based on Marx's directions, this is pointed out in footnotes. The footnotes also point out words or passages crossed out by Marx and in certain instances reproduce the original versions.

Excessively long paragraphs have been broken up into smaller ones to make for easier reading. In certain cases where there occur particularly cumbersome phrases with incidental insertions, these insertions are given in the form of author's footnotes so as not to blur the main line of argument.

In this edition the manuscripts are printed in a new English translation. Foreign expressions including those in Greek and Latin are given in the original language. English quotations, phrases, expressions and individual words encountered in the original are set in small caps. Quotations from English sources are given according to the editions used by the author. In all cases the form of quoting used by Marx is respected. The language in which Marx quotes is indicated unless it is German.

The volume was compiled, the preface and notes written by Tatyana Vasilyeva and edited by Lev Golman and Vladimir Brushlinsky (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The name index and the index of periodicals were prepared by Galina Kostryukova; the index of quoted and mentioned literature and the subject index by Tatyana Vasilyeva (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The translation was made by Ernst Wangermann (Lawrence and Wishart) and edited by Natalia Karmanova, Margarita Lopukhina and Victor Schnittke (Progress Publishers). The volume was prepared for the press by Svetlana Gerasimenko (Progress Publishers).

Scientific editor for this volume was Larisa Miskievich (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

# KARL MARX

## ECONOMIC WORKS

## 1857-1861

# ECONOMIC MANUSCRIPTS

# OF 1857-1858

## (First Version of *Capital*)

# BASTIAT AND CAREY[1]

## [III-1] BASTIAT, *HARMONIES ÉCONOMIQUES*, 2-ME ÉDITION, PARIS, 1851

### *AVANTPROPOS*

The history of modern political economy ends with Ricardo and Sismondi: antithetical figures, of whom the one speaks English, the other French—just as it begins at the end of the 17th century with Petty and Boisguillebert. The later literature of political economy ends up either in eclectic, syncretic compendia, like e.g. the work of J. St. Mill,[a] or in rather detailed elaboration of particular branches, like e.g. Tooke's *History of Prices* and in general the more recent English writings on circulation—the only branch in which really new discoveries have been made. For the writings on colonisation, landed property (in its different forms), population, etc., really go beyond the older writings only in respect of their greater abundance of material. There are some reproductions of old economic controversies for a larger public and some practical solutions for day-to-day problems, like the writings on FREE TRADE and PROTECTION. Finally, there are tendentious exaggerations of the classical theories, e.g. Chalmers exaggerates Malthus, Gülich exaggerates Sismondi, and, in their earlier writings, MacCulloch and Senior in some ways exaggerate Ricardo. This literature is altogether derivative, reproduction characterised by a greater refinement of form, a more extensive appropriation of the material, a greater emphasis, popularisation, synopsis and elaboration of detail. It lacks salient and decisive phases of development, confining itself on the one hand to stock-taking and on the other to adding detail on individual moments.

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[a] J. St. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy with some of their Applications to Social Philosophy.— Ed.*

The only apparent exceptions are the writings of Carey, the Yankee, and Bastiat, the Frenchman, the latter acknowledging that he bases himself on the former.[a] Both understand that the opposition to political economy—socialism and communism—finds its theoretical assumptions in the works of classical political economy itself, especially in Ricardo, who must be considered as its most complete and final expression. Both therefore find it necessary to criticise the theoretical expression which bourgeois society has historically achieved in modern political economy as a misunderstanding and to demonstrate the harmony of the relations of production at the point where the classical economists naively analysed their antagonism. The entirely different, even contradictory national context from which their writings derive, nevertheless impels them in the same direction.

Carey is the only original economist among the North Americans. He belongs to a country in which bourgeois society is not developing on the basis of feudaiism but in which it has originated from itself; in which it does not appear as the surviving product of the development of centuries but as the point of departure for a new development; in which the State, in contrast to all previous national forms, was from the start subordinated to bourgeois society, to its production, and could never claim to be an end in itself; in which bourgeois society itself, combining the productive forces of an old world with the immense natural terrain of a new one, is developing on an unprecedented scale and in unprecedented [conditions of] freedom of movement and far surpassing all previous achievements in [III-2] mastery of the forces of nature, and in which, finally, the contradictions of bourgeois society itself appear only as transient moments.

What could be more natural than that Carey should consider the relations of production in which this immense New World has grown so quickly, so astonishingly and so fortunately, as the eternal normal relations of social production and intercourse; that they should seem to him merely impeded and restricted in Europe and especially in England, which he really identifies with Europe, by the fetters inherited from the feudal period; that they should seem to him merely to have been regarded, depicted or generalised in a distorted, falsified way by the English economists in that they mistook accidental perversions of them for their immanent character?

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[a] F. Bastiat, *Harmonies économiques*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1851, p. 364.—*Ed.*

American relations as opposed to English: that is what his critique of the English theory of landed property, wages, population, class antagonisms, etc., boils down to. Bourgeois society does not exist in England in its pure form, corresponding to its concept, adequate to itself. How, then, could the English economists' ideas of bourgeois society be the true, unsullied expression of a reality which they did not know?

Carey ultimately identifies the disturbing effect of traditional influences not emerging from the womb of bourgeois society itself upon that society's *natural* relations with the influence of the State on bourgeois society, with State interference and State regulation. E. g. wages [according to Carey] rise naturally with the productivity of labour. If we find that reality does not correspond to this law, we have only to abstract from the influence of government, taxes, [State] monopolies, etc., whether in Hindustan or in England. Bourgeois relations considered in themselves, i.e. after taking away the influence of the State, will in fact always confirm the harmonious laws of bourgeois political economy. To what extent these State influences (PUBLIC DEBT, TAXES, etc.) themselves arise from bourgeois relations—and thus appear in e.g. England by no means as the results of feudalism but rather of its dissolution and suppression, and to what extent even in North America the power of the central government grows with the centralisation of capital—this, naturally, Carey does not investigate.

While Carey thus seeks to confront the English economists with the higher potency of bourgeois society in North America, Bastiat seeks to confront the French socialists with the lower potency of bourgeois society in France. You think [he says to the French socialists] that you are revolting against the laws of bourgeois society in a country in which these laws have never been allowed their full realisation! You only know these laws in their stunted French form, and take as their immanent form what is only their national French distortion. Look at England. Here in France the task is to free bourgeois society from the fetters which the State lays upon it. You wish to multiply these fetters. First develop bourgeois relations in their pure form, then we shall discuss the matter again. (Bastiat is right to this extent, that in France, because of its peculiar social structure, much is taken for socialism which in England is political economy.)

Carey, however, whose starting point is the American emancipation of bourgeois society from the State, ends with the demand for State interference, lest the pure development of bourgeois

relations be disturbed by external influences in the way in which this has actually happened in America. He is a PROTECTIONIST, while Bastiat is a FREE TRADER.

The harmony of economic laws appears in the whole world as disharmony, and the beginnings of this disharmony strike Carey even in the United States. How does one explain this strange phenomenon? Carey ascribes it to the destructive effect of England's striving for industrial monopoly on the world market. Originally, [economic] relations were distorted inside England by the false theories of its economists. Now, [III-3] as the dominating power on the world market, England distorts the harmony of economic relations in all countries of the world. This disharmony is real, not based merely on the subjective perception of economists.

What Russia is for Urquhart politically,[a] England is for Carey economically. The harmony of economic relations is based, according to Carey, on the harmonious cooperation of town and country, of industry and agriculture. England, having destroyed this basic harmony within itself, destroys it everywhere on the world market through its competition, and is thus the destructive element of universal harmony. The only defence against this are protective tariffs—the forcible isolation of the nation from the destructive power of English large-scale industry. Therefore the State, branded at the outset as the only disturber of the "*harmonies économiques*", becomes their last refuge.

On the one hand, Carey here once more articulates the specific national development of the United States, its opposition to and its competition with England. He does it in the naive form of proposing that the United States destroy the industrialism propagated by England by developing its own more quickly through protective tariffs. Apart from this naivety, the harmony of bourgeois relations of production ends with Carey in the total disharmony of these relations just where they appear upon the most magnificent scene, the world market, and in their most magnificent development, as the relations of producing nations. All the relations which appear to him harmonious within particular national boundaries, or also in the abstract form of general relations of bourgeois society—the concentration of capital, division of labour, wage labour, etc.—appear to him as disharmonious where they show themselves in their most developed form—in their world market form—as the internal

[a] An allusion to Urquhart's anti-Russia sentiments.—*Ed.*

relations which produce England's domination in the world market and which, as destructive influences, are the result of this domination.

It is harmonious, if, within a country, patriarchal production gives way to industrial production, and the process of dissolution accompanying this development is conceived only in its positive aspect. But it becomes disharmonious, if England's large-scale industry dissolves the patriarchal or petty-bourgeois or other primitive forms of another country's national production. The concentration of capital within a country and the dissolving effect of this concentration present themselves to him only in their positive aspect. But the monopoly enjoyed by concentrated English capital and its dissolving effects on the smaller national capitals of other countries, are disharmonious. Carey has not grasped that these world market disharmonies are only the ultimate adequate expression of the disharmonies which have become fixed in the economic categories as abstract relations or have a local existence on the smallest scale.

No wonder, then, that on the other side he forgets the positive content of these processes of dissolution—the only aspect which he recognises of the economic categories in their abstract form or of the real relations within particular countries from which they are abstracted—in their complete world market form. Hence, where he is confronted by economic relations in their truth, i.e. in their universal reality, he collapses from his systematic optimism into a denunciatory and irritated pessimism. This contradiction constitutes the originality of his writings and gives them their significance. He is American as much in his assertion of the harmony within bourgeois society as in his assertion of the disharmony of the same relations in their world market form.

In Bastiat nothing of all this. With him, the harmony of these relations belongs to another world which lies beyond the borders of France, in England and America. It is merely the imagined, ideal form of the un-French Anglo-American relations, not the real form which actually confronts him on his own territory. Hence, while in Bastiat harmony does not in any way arise from a wealth of living observation, but is rather the stilted product of a thin and strained, contradictory reflection, the only aspect of reality is his demand that the French state should renounce its economic limits.

Carey sees the contradictions inherent in [bourgeois] economic relations as soon as they appear as *English* relations on the world

market. Bastiat, who merely imagines the harmony, begins to see its realisation only where France ends and where all the nationally separated component parts of bourgeois society compete with each other freed from State supervision. This ultimate harmony of his—and the premiss of all his earlier imagined ones—is, however, itself a mere postulate which is supposed to be realised by free trade legislation.

[III-4] Thus, if Carey, quite apart from the scientific value of his researches, has at least the merit of articulating in abstract form the magnitude of American relations and of doing so in contradistinction to those of the Old World, the only real background to Bastiat is the pettiness of French relations, whose long ears stick out of his harmonies everywhere. But this is a superfluous merit, because the relations of so old a country are sufficiently known and least of all require to be made known by such a negative circuitous route. Carey is therefore rich in so to speak *bona fide* researches into such areas of political economy as credit, rent, etc. Bastiat is only occupied with paraphrases glossing over the contradictory result of his researches; *l'hypocrisie du contentement.*

Carey's generality is Yankee universality. For him France and China are equally near. He is at all times the man who lives both on the Atlantic and the Pacific coast. Bastiat's generality is a turning away from all countries. Carey, as a true Yankee, absorbs from all directions the abundant material which the Old World offers him, not indeed to cognise the immanent soul of this material and thus to concede to it its right to its own proper life, but to work it up as lifeless pieces of evidence, as indifferent matter, for his own purposes, i.e. for the propositions derived from his Yankee point of view. Hence his traversing of all countries, his mountains of uncritical statistics, his encyclopaedic reading. Bastiat on the other hand produces fantastic history: his abstraction takes the form now of logical reasoning, now of notional events which never actually occurred anywhere. Just as the theologian discusses sin now as a law of human nature, now as the history of man's fall.

Bastiat and Carey are therefore equally unhistorical and anti-historical. But the unhistorical element in Carey is the contemporary historical principle of North America, while the unhistorical element in Bastiat is only a reminiscence of the 18th-century French mode of generalisation. Carey is therefore formless and diffuse, Bastiat affected and formally logical. The utmost that Bastiat achieves are commonplaces paradoxically expressed, polished *en facettes.* Carey's work is

prefaced by a few general theses in axiomatic form. These are followed by his unshaped material—compilation serving as verification—which is not in any way worked up to sustain his theses. In Bastiat, the only material—apart from a few local examples or some ordinary English phenomena fantastically distorted—amounts to no more than the general theses of the economists.

The chief counterpart to Carey is Ricardo, in short the modern English economists; to Bastiat, the French socialists.

### [III-5] XIV. *DES SALAIRES*[2]

The following are Bastiat's main propositions:

All men strive for fixity of income, FIXED REVENUE.

//Truly French example: (1) Everyone wants to be an official or wants his son to become an official (see p. 371).//

Wages are a fixed form of remuneration (p. 376), and thus a highly perfected form of association, in the original form of which the "aleatory element" predominates in so far as "all members of the association" are subject "to all the chances of the enterprise"[a] [p. 380].

//If capital assumes the risks by itself, the remuneration of labour becomes fixed and is called *wages*. If labour chooses to assume the risks for better or worse, the remuneration of capital detaches itself and becomes fixed as *interest* (p. 382); see further on this juxtaposition pp. 382, 383. //

However, if originally the aleatory element predominates in the worker's condition, wage stability is not yet sufficiently secured. There is an

"intermediate stage which separates the aleatory element from stability" [p. 384].

This final stage is reached by

"saving up, in days of work, the means to satisfy one's needs in days of old age and sickness" (p. 388).

The final stage develops through the "mutual aid societies" (l.c.) and in the last instance through "the workers' *pension fund*"[3] (p. 393).

(Just as man began with the desire to become an official, he ends with the satisfaction of drawing a pension.)

*ad 1.* Suppose everything Bastiat says about the fixity of wages is correct. Then subsuming wages under FIXED REVENUES still would not

[a] Here and further in this paragraph Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

reveal to us the *real character* of wages, their characteristic determinateness. One feature of wages—one which they have in common with other sources of income—would be emphasised; nothing more. True, this would be of some use for the advocate who wished to plead the advantages of the wage system. But it would still be of no use to the economist who wanted to understand the distinctive character of this relation in its totality. Establishing a one-sided definition of a relation, of an economic form, and exalting it in opposition to the converse definition—this common ploy of advocates and apologists is the hallmark of Bastiat's reasoning.

So let us assume instead of wages: fixity of income. Is not fixity of income a good thing? Does not everyone like to be able to count on an assured income? Especially every philistine, petty-minded Frenchman? *L'homme toujours besogneux?*[a] Serfdom has been defended on this ground, and perhaps with greater justification.

The contrary could also be asserted and has been asserted. Let us assume that wages mean non-fixity, i.e. advancement beyond a certain point. Who does not like to get ahead instead of standing still? Can a relationship be bad which makes possible a bourgeois *progressus in infinitum*? Of course, Bastiat himself argues elsewhere that wages are non-fixity. How else than by non-fixity, by fluctuations, could it become possible for the worker to stop working and to become a capitalist, as Bastiat wants him to?

Therefore wages are good because they are fixity; wages are also good because they are non-fixity. They are good because they are neither the one nor the other, but at the same time are both the one and the other. What relationship is not good, when it is reduced to a one-sided definition, which is then treated as position, not as negation? All reasoning chatter, one way or another, all apologetics, all philistine sophistry is based on this type of abstraction.

After this general preliminary consideration, we come to Bastiat's actual construction.

(Let us note in passing just one more point. His *métayer*[b] of Landes [p. 388], the poor fellow for whom the misfortune of the wage labourer is compounded by the bad luck of the small capitalist, might indeed consider himself fortunate if he were put on fixed wages.)

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[a] The man forever in need of something?—*Ed.*

[b] Sharecropper.—*Ed.*

Proudhon's *histoire descriptive* and *philosophique*[4] does not attain the level of that of his opponent Bastiat. The original form of association, in which all *associés* share in all the risks of chance, is succeeded by a higher [III-6] form of association freely entered into by both sides, in which the remuneration of the worker is fixed. We pass over the ingenuity which first assumes a capitalist on the one side and a worker on the other, in order afterwards to derive, from the agreement between the two, the relationship between capital and wage labour.

The form of association in which the worker is exposed to all the risks of business—in which all producers are equally exposed to these risks—and which immediately precedes the wage system, in which the remuneration of labour attains fixity and becomes stable, precedes it as thesis precedes antithesis—is, as Bastiat informs us, the state in which fishing, hunting and pastoralism are the dominant forms of production and society. First the nomadic fisherman, the hunter and the herdsman—and then the wage labourer. Where and when did this *historical* transition from the half-savage to the modern condition take place? If at all, in the columns of *Charivari.*

In real history, wage labour arises from the disintegration of slavery and serfdom—or from the decay of communal property as among the Oriental and Slav peoples—and, in its adequate, epoch-making form affecting the entire social existence of labour, from the decline of the guild economy, of the feudal estates system, of labour services and income in kind, of industry carried on as a rural sideline, of small-scale feudal agriculture, etc. In all these really historical transitions, wage labour appears as the dissolution, as the destruction of relations in which labour was fixed in all respects, in respect of income, content, locality, scope, etc. *Hence as negation of the fixity of labour and its remuneration.* The direct transition from the fetish of the African to Voltaire's *être suprême,*[a5] or from the hunting gear of a North American savage to the capital of the Bank of England, is not as absurdly anti-historical as is Bastiat's transition from the fisherman to the wage labourer.

(In all these developments, moreover, there is no evidence of changes coming about as a result of voluntary mutual agreements.)

On a level with this historical construction—in which Bastiat deceives himself by imagining his shallow abstraction in the

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[a] Supreme being.—*Ed.*

form of an event—is the synthesis in which the English FRIENDLY SOCIETIES and the savings banks are presented as the last word in the wage system and as the transcendence of all social contradictions.

Historically, as we have seen, non-fixity is the character of the wage system: the opposite of Bastiat's construction. But how could he possibly have arrived at the construction of fixity as the all-compensating characteristic of wages? And what prompted him to attempt an historical presentation of the wage system in this specific form as a higher form of the remuneration of labour, higher than that in other forms of society or association?

All the economists, whenever they discuss the prevailing relationship of capital and wage labour, of profit and wages, and wish to prove to the worker that he has no right to share in the opportunities of gain and in general to reconcile him to his subordinate role vis-à-vis the capitalist, put great stress on the fact that the worker, in contrast to the capitalist, enjoys a certain fixity of income more or less independent of the great ADVENTURES of capital. Just as Don Quixote comforts Sancho Panza with the thought that while he does indeed get all the stick, there is at least no need for him to be brave. In other words, Bastiat transforms a quality which the economists attribute to wages as opposed to profit, into a quality of wage labour as opposed to earlier forms of labour and as a progressive development from the remuneration of labour in these earlier relations. A commonplace put into the prevailing relationship which consoles one side of the relationship relative to the other, is taken out of this relationship by Mr. Bastiat and made into the historical basis of its origin.

The economists declare that in the relationship of wages to profit, of wage labour to capital, wages have the advantage of fixity.

Mr. Bastiat declares that fixity, i.e. one of the aspects of the relationship of wages to profit, is the historical foundation from which wage labour emerged (or that fixity is the advantage of wages, not as opposed to profit, but as opposed to the earlier forms of the remuneration of labour), hence also the historical foundation of profit, hence that of the whole relation.

In this way, a commonplace concerning one aspect of the relationship of wages to profit is magically transformed in Bastiat's treatment into the historical foundation of this entire relation. This happens because he is constantly preoccupied with the thought of socialism, which is then everywhere dreamed up as the

first form of association. This an example of how important a form the apologetic commonplaces which accompany the arguments in economic writings assume in Bastiat's hands.

[III-7] To return to the economists. In what does this fixity of wages consist? Are wages unalterably fixed? This would completely contradict the law of demand and supply, which is the basis of wage determination. No economist denies the fluctuation of wages, their rise and fall. Or are wages independent of crises? Or of the machines which render wage labour superfluous? Or of the divisions of labour which displace it? It would be heterodox to assert all this, and no one does so.

What is meant is that, over a period of time, wages roughly keep to an average level, i.e. there is a minimum wage for the whole [working] class, despite Bastiat's great detestation of the idea, and there is a certain average continuity of labour, e.g. wages may continue to be paid even in cases where profit declines or completely disappears for a time. Now, what does this mean other than that, assuming wage labour as the dominant form of labour and the basis of production, the working class exists by wages and the individual worker possesses on average the fixity of working for wages? In other words, a tautology. Where capital and wage labour is the dominant relation of production, average continuity of wage labour exists; to that extent there *is* fixity of wages for the worker. Where wage labour exists, it exists. And this is what Bastiat regards as the attribute of wage labour which compensates for everything else.

To state, moreover, that in the form of society in which capital has developed, social production is generally more regular, more continuous, more varied—hence also the income of those engaged in production "more fixed"—than where capital, i.e. production, has not been developed to this level, is another tautology which is inherent in the very concept of capital and of production based on capital. In other words: who denies that the general existence of wage labour presupposes a higher development of the productive forces than that which existed in the stages preceding wage labour? And how could it occur to the socialists to put forward greater demands, if they did not assume this higher development of the social productive forces brought about by wage labour? The latter is indeed the presupposition of their demands.

*Note.* The first form in which wages generally appear is military pay, which emerges with the decline of national armies and civic militias. First the citizens themselves are paid [for military service].

This is soon followed by mercenaries taking their place, who are no longer citizens.

2) *(It is impossible to pursue this* NONSENSE *any further.* WE, THEREFORE, DROP MR. BASTIAT.*)* [III-7]

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# [M-1] A) INTRODUCTION[6]

## I. PRODUCTION, CONSUMPTION, DISTRIBUTION, EXCHANGE (CIRCULATION)[7]

### 1. PRODUCTION

(α) To begin with, the subject to be discussed is *material production.*

Individuals producing in a society—hence the socially determined production by individuals is of course the point of departure. The individual and isolated hunter and fisherman, who serves Adam Smith and Ricardo as a starting point,[a] is one of the unimaginative fantasies of the 18th century. Robinsonades which, contrary to the fancies of the historians of civilisation, by no means signify simply a reaction against over-refinement and a reversion to a misconceived natural life. No more is Rousseau's *contrat social,*[8] which by means of a contract establishes a relationship and connection between subjects that are by nature INDEPENDENT, based on this kind of naturalism. This is an illusion and nothing but the aesthetic illusion of the small and big Robinsonades. It is, rather, the anticipation of "bourgeois society",[9] which began to evolve in the 16th century and was making giant strides towards maturity in the 18th. In this society of free competition the individual seems to be rid of the natural, etc., ties which in earlier historical epochs made him an appurtenance of a particular, limited aggregation of human beings. The prophets of the 18th century, on whose shoulders Smith and Ricardo were still standing completely, envisaged this 18th-century individual—a product of the dissolution of the feudal forms of society on the one hand, and of the new productive forces evolved since the 16th century on the other—as an ideal whose existence belonged to the past. They saw

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[a] See the Introduction to A. Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (Vol. I, London, 1835, p. 2) and Section III, Chapter I of D. Ricardo's *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation* (3rd ed., London, 1821, pp. 16-23).—*Ed.*

this individual not as an historical result, but as the starting point of history; not as something evolving in the course of history, but posited by nature, because for them this individual was the natural individual, according to their idea of human nature. This delusion has been characteristic of every new epoch hitherto. Steuart, who in many respects was in opposition to the 18th century and as an aristocrat tended rather to regard things from an historical standpoint, avoided this naive view.

The further back we go in history, the more does the individual, and accordingly also the producing individual, appear to be dependent and belonging to a larger whole. At first, he is still in a quite natural manner part of the family, and of the family expanded into the tribe[10]; later he is part of a community, of one of the different forms of community which arise from the conflict and the merging of tribes. It is not until the 18th century, in "bourgeois society", that the various forms of the social nexus confront the individual as merely a means towards his private ends, as external necessity. But the epoch which produces this standpoint, that of the isolated individual, is precisely the epoch of the hitherto most highly developed social (according to this standpoint, general) relations. Man is a ζῶον πολιτικόν[11] in the most literal sense: he is not only a social animal, but an animal that can isolate itself [M-2] only within society. Production by an isolated individual outside society—something rare, which might occur when a civilised person already dynamically in possession of the social forces is accidentally cast into the wilderness—is just as preposterous as the development of language without individuals who live *together* and speak to one another. It is unnecessary to dwell upon this point further. It need not have been mentioned at all if this inanity, which was understandable in people of the 18th century, had not been in all seriousness introduced into the most modern [political] economy by Bastiat, Carey, Proudhon,[a] etc. It is of course pleasant for Proudhon, for instance, to give a historico-philosophical explanation of the origin of an economic relationship whose historical genesis he does not know by indulging in a bit of mythology asserting that Adam or Prometheus hit upon the ready-made idea, which was then put into practice,[b] etc. Nothing is more tedious and dull than the fantasies of *locus communis.*

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[a] See this volume, pp. 10, 13.—*Ed.*

[b] P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère,* Vol. I, Ch. 2, § 1, Paris, 1846, pp. 77-83.—*Ed.*

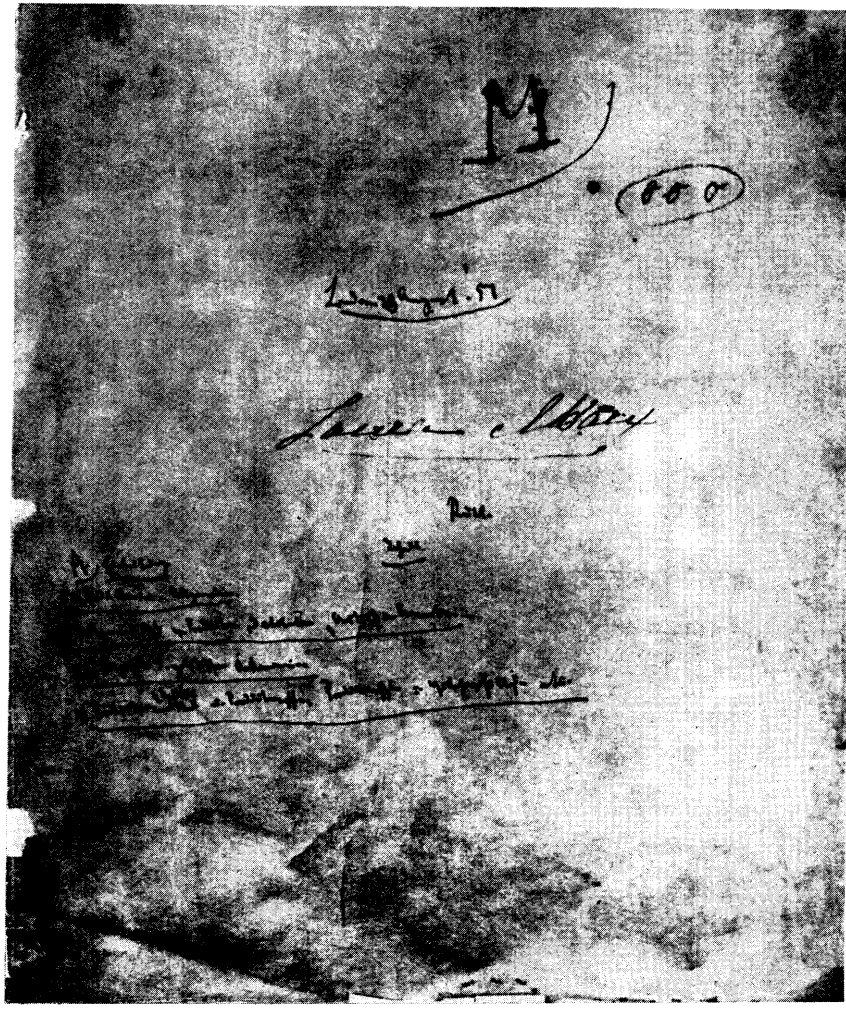

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1 A

I) [illegible]

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Thus when we speak of production, we always have in mind production at a definite stage of social development, production by social individuals. It might therefore seem that, in order to speak of production at all, we must either trace the historical process of development in its various phases, or else declare at the very beginning that we are dealing with one particular historical epoch, for instance with modern bourgeois production, which is indeed our real subject-matter. All epochs of production, however, have certain features in common, certain common determinations. *Production in general* is an abstraction, but a reasonable abstraction in so far as it actually emphasises and defines the common aspects and thus spares us the need of repetition. Yet this *general aspect,* or the common element which is brought to light by comparison, is itself multiply divided and diverges into different determinations. Some features are found in all epochs, others are common to a few epochs. The most modern epoch and the most ancient will have [certain] determinations in common. Without them production is inconceivable. But although the most highly developed languages have laws and categories in common with the most primitive ones, it is precisely what constitutes their development that distinguishes them from this general and common element. The determinations which apply to production in general must rather be set apart in order not to allow the unity which stems from the very fact that the subject, mankind, and the object, nature, are the same—to obscure the essential difference. On failure to perceive this difference rests, for instance, the entire wisdom of modern economists who are trying to prove the eternity and harmony of the existing social relations. For example, no production is possible without an instrument of production, even if this instrument is simply the hand. None is possible without past, accumulated labour, even if this labour is merely the skill accumulated and concentrated in the hand of the savage by repeated [M-3] exercise. Capital is among other things also an instrument of production, also past, objectified labour. Consequently [modern economists say] capital is a universal and eternal relation given by nature—that is, provided one omits precisely those specific factors which turn the "instrument of production" or "accumulated labour" into capital. The whole history of the relations of production therefore appears, for instance in Carey, as a falsification maliciously brought about by the governments.

If there is no production in general, there is also no general production. Production is always a *particular* branch of production—e.g., agriculture, cattle-breeding, manufacture, etc.—or it is

the *totality* [of production]. Political economy, however, is not technology. The relation of the general determinations of production at a given social stage to the particular forms of production is to be set forth elsewhere (later).

Finally, production is not only particular production, but it is invariably a definite social body, a social subject, that is active in a wider or narrower totality of branches of production. The relation of the scientific presentation to the actual movement does not yet belong here either. Production in general. Particular branches of production. Totality of production.

It is fashionable to preface economic works with a general part—and it is just this that appears under the heading "Production" (see for instance J. St. Mill[a])—which deals with the *general conditions* of all production.

This general part comprises or purports to comprise:

1. The conditions without which production is impossible. This means in fact only that the essential moments of all production are indicated. But actually this boils down, as we shall see, to a few very simple definitions, which are expanded into trivial tautologies.

2. The conditions which promote production to a larger or smaller degree, as in the case of Adam Smith's progressive and stagnant state of society.[b] In Smith's work this [proposition] has its value as an *aperçu,* but to raise it to scientific significance an inquiry into the *degree of productivity* at various periods in the development of individual nations would be necessary. Such an inquiry lies outside the actual framework of the subject, yet those aspects which are relevant to it must be dealt with in discussing competition, accumulation, etc. The answer in its general form amounts to the general statement that an industrial nation is at the height of its production when it is at all at the height of its historical development. IN FACT, a nation is at the height of its industrial development so long as gaining, not gain, is its principal aim. In this respect the Yankees are ahead of the English. Or else that for example certain racial characteristics, climates, natural conditions, such as maritime position, fertility of the soil, etc., are more favourable to production than others. This again amounts to the tautology that wealth is the easier to produce the more—subjectively and objectively—its elements are available.

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[a] J. St. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy with some of their Applications to Social Philosophy,* Vol. I, London, 1848, pp. 29-236.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Vol. I, London, 1835, pp. 171-209 and 220-21; Vol. II, London, 1836, pp. 168-74.—*Ed.*

[M-4] But all that is not really what the economists are concerned with in this general part. It is rather—see for example Mill[a]—that production, as distinct from distribution, etc., is to be presented as governed by eternal natural laws independent of history, and then *bourgeois* relations are quietly substituted as irrefutable natural laws of society *in abstracto.* This is the more or less conscious purpose of the whole procedure. As regards distribution, however, men are said to have indeed indulged in all sorts of arbitrary action. Quite apart from the crude separation of production and distribution and from their real relation, it should be obvious from the outset that, however dissimilar [the mode of] distribution at the various stages of society may be, it must be possible, just as in the case of production, to [single out] common determinations, and it must be likewise possible to confuse or efface all historical differences in *general human* laws. For example, the slave, the serf, the wage worker, all receive an amount of food enabling them to exist as a slave, serf or wage worker. The conqueror who lives by tribute, or the official who lives by taxes, or the landowner who lives by rent, or the monk who lives by alms, or the Levite who lives by tithes, all receive a portion of the social product which is determined by laws different from those that determine the portion of the slave, etc. The two principal items which all economists include in this section are: (1) property and (2) safeguarding of property by the judiciary, police, etc.

To this, only a very brief reply is needed:

Regarding (1): All production is appropriation of nature by the individual within and by means of a definite form of society. In this sense it is a tautology to say that property (appropriation) is a condition of production. But it is ridiculous to make a leap from this to a definite form of property, e.g. private property (this is moreover an antithetical form, which presupposes *non-property* as a condition, too). History shows, on the contrary, that common property (e.g., among the Indians, Slavs, ancient Celts, etc.) is the earlier form, a form which in the shape of communal property continues to play a significant role for a long time. The question whether wealth develops better under this or under that form of property is not yet under discussion here. But it is tautological to say that where no form of property exists there can be no production and hence no society either. Appropriation which appropriates nothing is a *contradictio in subjecto.*

Regarding (2): Safeguarding of what has been acquired, etc. If

[a] J. St. Mill, op. cit., pp. 25-26 and 239-40.—*Ed.*

these trivialities are reduced to their real content, they say more than their preachers realise, namely, that each form of production produces its own legal relations, forms of government, etc. The crudity and lack of comprehension lies precisely in that organically [M-5] coherent factors are brought into haphazard relation with one another, i.e., into a merely speculative connection. The bourgeois economists only have in view that production proceeds more smoothly with modern police than, e.g., under club-law. They forget, however, that club-law too is law, and that the law of the stronger survives, in a different form, even in their "constitutional State".

When the social conditions corresponding to a particular stage of production are just emerging or are already in a state of dissolution, disturbances naturally occur in production, although these may be of varying degree and varying effect.

To recapitulate: there are determinations which are common to all stages of production and are fixed by reasoning as general; the so-called *general conditions* of all production, however, are nothing but these abstract moments, which do not define any of the actual historical stages of production.

## 2. THE GENERAL RELATION OF PRODUCTION TO DISTRIBUTION, EXCHANGE AND CONSUMPTION

Before starting upon a further analysis of production it is necessary to consider the various rubrics which economists place alongside it.

The quite obvious conception is this: in production members of society appropriate (produce, fashion) natural products in accordance with human needs; distribution determines the proportion in which the individual shares in these products; exchange supplies him with the particular products into which he wants to convert the portion accruing to him through distribution; finally, in consumption the products become objects of use, of appropriation by individuals. Production creates articles corresponding to needs; distribution allocates them according to social laws; exchange in its turn distributes what has already been allocated, according to the individual needs; finally, in consumption the product drops out of this social movement, becomes the direct object and servant of an individual need, which its use satisfies. Production thus appears as the point of departure, consumption as the final point, distribution and exchange as the middle, which has a dual aspect since distribution is determined as

actuated by society, and exchange as actuated by individuals. In production the person acquires an objective aspect, in the person the object acquires a subjective aspect; in distribution, society in the form of general, dominating determinations takes over the mediation between production and consumption; in exchange, they are mediated by the chance determinateness of the individual.

Distribution determines the proportion (the quantity) of the products accruing to the individuals; exchange determines the products in which the individual claims the share [M-6] assigned to him by distribution.

Production, distribution, exchange and consumption thus form a proper syllogism; production represents the general, distribution and exchange the particular, and consumption the individual case which sums up the whole. This is indeed a connection, but a superficial one. Production [according to the political economists] is determined by general laws of nature, distribution by social chance, and it may therefore exert a more or less stimulating influence on production; exchange lies between the two as a formal social movement, and consumption, as the concluding act, which is regarded not only as the ultimate aim but as the ultimate purpose, falls properly outside the sphere of [political] economy, except in so far as it in turn reacts on the point of departure thus once again initiating the whole process.

The opponents of the political economists, whether within or without the latter's domain, who accuse them of crudely separating interconnected elements, either argue from the same standpoint or from an inferior one. Nothing is more common than the reproach that the political economists regard production too much as an end in itself. Distribution, they say, is equally important. This reproach is based on the economic conception that distribution is an independent sphere in its own right alongside production. Or [the reproach] that the different moments are not considered in their unity. As though this separation had not forced its way from real life into the textbooks, but, on the contrary, from the textbooks into real life, and as though it were a question of a dialectical reconciliation of concepts and not of comprehending actually existing relations.

### *(a) [Consumption and Production]*

Production is directly also consumption. Two-fold consumption, subjective and objective: [firstly,] the individual, who develops his

capacities while producing, expends them as well, using them up in the act of production, just as in natural procreation vital energy is consumed. Secondly, consumption of the means of production, which are used and expended and in part (as, for instance, in combustion) are broken down into the basic elements. Similarly consumption of raw material, which does not retain its natural form and condition; these are, rather, extinguished. The act of production itself is thus in all its moments also an act of consumption. But the economists concede this. Production as directly identical with consumption, consumption as directly coinciding with production, is called by them *productive consumption.* This identity of production and consumption amounts to Spinoza's proposition: *determinatio est negatio.*[12]

[M-7] But this determination of productive consumption is only advanced in order to separate consumption that is identical with production from consumption proper, which is regarded rather as the destructive antithesis of production. Let us therefore consider consumption proper.

Consumption is directly also production, just as in nature consumption of elements and chemical substances is production of a plant. It is obvious that man produces his own body, e.g., through nutrition, a form of consumption. But the same applies to any other kind of consumption which in one way or another produces man in some aspect. Consumptive production. But, says [political] economy, this [type of] production, which is identical with consumption, is a second [type, one] arising from the destruction of the first product. In the first [type] the producer objectifies himself, in the second the object created by him personifies itself. Hence this consumptive production—although it represents a direct unity of production and consumption—is essentially different from production proper. The direct unity, in which production coincides with consumption and consumption with production, allows their direct duality to persist.

Production is thus directly consumption, consumption is directly production. Each is immediately its opposite. At the same time, however, a mediating movement takes place between the two. Production mediates consumption, for which it provides the material; consumption without production would have no object. But consumption also mediates production, by providing for the products the subject for whom they are products. The product only attains its final FINISH in consumption. A railway on which no one travels, which is therefore not used up, not consumed, is only

a railway δυνάμει,[a] not in reality. Without production there is no consumption, but without consumption there is no production either, since in that case production would be useless.

Consumption produces production in two ways.

(1) In that only through consumption does a product become a real product. For example, a dress becomes really a dress only by being worn, a house which is not lived in is IN FACT not really a house; in other words, a product as distinct from a mere natural object manifests itself as a product, *becomes* a product, only in consumption. It is only consumption that, by dissolving the product, gives it the FINISHING STROKE, for [the result of] production is a product not merely as objectified activity, but only as an object for the active subject.

(2) In that consumption creates the need for *new* production, and therefore the ideal, intrinsically actuating reason for production, which is the presupposition of production. Consumption furnishes the urge to produce, and also creates the object which determines the purpose of production. If it is evident that production supplies the object of consumption externally, it is [M-8] equally evident that consumption *posits* the object of production *ideally,* as an internal image, a need, an urge and a purpose. Consumption furnishes the objects of production in a form that is still subjective. No production without need. But consumption reproduces the need.

This is matched on the side of production,

(1) by the fact that it supplies the material, the object of consumption. Consumption without an object is no consumption; in this respect, therefore, production creates, produces consumption.

(2) But it is not only the object that production creates for consumption. It also gives consumption its definite form, its character, its FINISH. Just as consumption gave the product its FINISH as a product, so production gives the FINISH to consumption. *For one thing,* the object is not an object in general, but a definite object which must be consumed in a definite way, a way mediated by production itself. Hunger is hunger; but hunger that is satisfied by cooked meat eaten with knife and fork differs from hunger that devours raw meat with the help of hands, nails and teeth. Production thus produces not only the object of consumption but also the mode of consumption, not only objectively but also subjectively. Production therefore creates the consumer.

(3) Production not only provides the material to satisfy a need,

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[a] Potentially.— *Ed.*

but it also provides a need for the material. When consumption emerges from its original natural crudeness and immediacy—and its remaining in that state would be due to the fact that production was still caught in natural crudeness—then it is itself, as an urge, mediated by the object. The need felt for the object is created by the perception of the object. An *objet d'art*—just like any other product—creates a public that has artistic taste and is capable of enjoying beauty. Production therefore produces not only an object for the subject, but also a subject for the object.

Hence production produces consumption: (1) by creating the material for consumption; (2) by determining the mode of consumption; (3) by creating in the consumer a need for the products which it first posits as objects. It therefore produces the object of consumption, the mode of consumption and the urge to consume. Similarly, consumption produces the *predisposition* of the producer by soliciting him as a purpose-determining need.

The identity of consumption and production thus appears three-fold:

(1) *Direct identity:* production is consumption; consumption is production. Consumptive production. Productive consumption. Economists call both [M-9] productive consumption, but they still make a distinction. The former figures as reproduction, the latter as productive consumption. All investigations into the former are concerned with productive and unproductive labour, those into the latter with productive and non-productive consumption.

(2) Each appears as a means of the other, is mediated by it; this is expressed as their mutual dependence; a movement through which they are brought into mutual relation and appear to be indispensable to each other, but nevertheless remain external to each other. Production creates the material as the external object for consumption, consumption creates the need as the internal object, the purpose of production. No consumption without production; no production without consumption. [This proposition] appears in political economy in many forms.

(3) Production is not only directly consumption, and consumption directly production; nor is production only a means of consumption and consumption the purpose of production, in the sense that each provides the other with its object, with production supplying the external object of consumption, and consumption the notional object of production. Each of them is not only directly the other, nor does it merely mediate the other, but each of the two, by the fact of its taking place, creates the other, creates itself as the other. It is only consumption that consummates the act

of production, since consumption completes the product as a product by dissolving it, by consuming its independent material form. Moreover, by the need for repetition consumption raises the abilities evolved during the first act of production to a skill. Consumption is therefore the concluding act which not only turns the product into a product, but also turns the producer into a producer. Production, on the other hand, produces consumption by creating the definite mode of consumption, and also by creating the incentive to consumption, the very capacity to consume, as a need. The last [kind of] identity, defined in point 3, has many times been explained by economists when discussing the relation of demand and supply, of objects and needs, of needs created by society and natural needs.

After this, nothing is simpler for a Hegelian than to posit production and consumption as identical. And this has been done not only by socialist belletrists[13] but also by prosaic economists, such as Say, in declaring that if one considers a nation—or mankind *in abstracto*—then its production is its consumption.[a] Storch has shown that this proposition of Say's is wrong,[b] since a nation, for instance, does not consume its entire product, but also creates means of production, etc., fixed capital, etc.[14] Moreover, to consider society as a single subject is wrong; a speculative approach. With regard to one subject, production and consumption appear as moments of a single act. One must only [M-9] emphasise the important point here that production and consumption, if considered as activities of one subject or of many individuals, appear in any case as moments of a process in which production is the actual point of departure and hence also the dominant moment. Consumption as a necessity, as a need, is itself an intrinsic moment of productive activity. The latter, however, is the point where the realisation begins and thus also its dominant moment, the act epitomising the entire process. An individual produces an object and by consuming it returns again to himself; he returns however as a productive individual and an individual reproducing himself. Consumption thus appears as a moment of production.

But in society, the relation of the producer to the product, once it has been completed, is extrinsic, and the return of the product

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[a] J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique,* 4th ed., Vol. II, Paris, 1819, pp. 72 and 74.—*Ed.*

[b] H. Storch, *Considérations sur la nature du revenu national,* Paris, 1824, pp. 126-59.—*Ed.*

to the subject depends on his relations to other individuals. The product does not immediately come into his possession. Nor is its direct appropriation his aim, if he produces in society. *Distribution,* which on the basis of social laws determines the individual's share in the world of products, intervenes between the producer and the products, i.e. between production and consumption.

Is distribution, therefore, an independent sphere alongside and outside production?

### *(b) [Distribution and Production]*

When looking through the ordinary run of economic works, one is struck at once by the fact that everything is posited twice in them, e.g. rent, wages, interest and profit figure under the heading of distribution, while under the heading of production we see land, labour and capital figure as agents of production. As to capital, it is evident from the outset that it is posited twice, (1) as an agent of production, and (2) as a source of income; as determining and determined forms of distribution. Interest and profit as such therefore figure in production as well, since they are forms in which capital increases and grows, and are thus moments of its very production. As forms of distribution, interest and profit presuppose capital as an agent of production. They are modes of distribution whose presupposition is capital as an agent of production. They are likewise modes of reproduction of capital.

Wages are also wage labour, which is examined in another section; the determinateness that labour has here as an agent of production appears as a determinateness of distribution. If labour were not determined as wage labour, then, as is the case, for instance, under slavery, its share in the products would not appear as wages. Finally rent—if we take the most developed form of distribution by which landed property shares [M-10] in the products—presupposes large-scale landed property (strictly speaking, large-scale agriculture) as an agent of production, and not land in general; just as wages do not presuppose labour in general. The relations and modes of distribution thus appear merely as the reverse aspect of the agents of production. An individual whose participation in production takes the form of wage labour receives a share in the products, the results of production, in the form of wages. The structure of distribution is entirely determined by the structure of production. Distribution itself is a product of production, not only with regard to the object, [in the sense] that only the results of production can be

distributed, but also with regard to the form, [in the sense] that the particular mode of participation in production determines the specific forms of distribution, the form in which one shares in distribution. It is altogether an illusion to posit land in production, and rent in distribution, etc.

Economists like Ricardo, who are mainly reproached with having paid exclusive attention to production, have accordingly regarded distribution as the only subject of [political] economy,[a] for they have instinctively treated the forms of distribution as the most definite expression in which the agents of production are found in a given society.

To the single individual distribution naturally appears as a social law, which determines his position within [the system of] production in which he produces; distribution thus being antecedent to production. The individual starts out with neither capital nor landed property. He is dependent by birth on wage labour as a consequence of social distribution. But this dependence is itself the result of the existence of capital and landed property as independent agents of production.

When one considers whole societies, distribution appears in yet another way to be antecedent to production and to determine it; an ante-economic FACT, as it were. A conquering people divides the land among the conquerors and in this way imposes a definite mode of distribution and form of landed property, thus determining production. Or it turns the conquered into slaves, thus making slave labour the basis of production. Or a people breaks up the large landed estates into plots in a revolution; hence gives production a new character by this new distribution. Or legislation perpetuates land ownership in certain families, or allocates labour [as] a hereditary privilege, thus fixing it according to caste. In all these cases, and they are all historical, distribution does not seem to be regulated and determined by production but, on the contrary, production seems to be regulated and determined by distribution.

[M-11] Conceived most superficially, distribution appears as the distribution of products, and thus further removed from production and quasi-independent of it. But before distribution becomes the distribution of products, it is (1) distribution of the instruments of production, and (2) (which is another determination of the same relation) distribution of the members of society among the various types of production (the subsuming of individuals

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[a] See D. Ricardo, op. cit., Preface, p. V.—*Ed.*

under definite relations of production). The distribution of products is obviously merely a result of this distribution, which is comprised in the production process itself and determines the structure of production. To examine production separately from this distribution, which is included in it, is obviously idle abstraction; whereas conversely the distribution of products is automatically given by that distribution, which is initially a moment of production. Ricardo, whose object was the understanding of modern production in its specific social structure, and who is the economist of production *par excellence*, for this very reason declares distribution, *not* production, the proper subject of modern [political] economy. This is added proof of the absurdity of those economists who treat production as an eternal truth, and confine history to the domain of distribution.

The question as to how this form of distribution determining production itself relates to production obviously belongs to [the sphere of] production itself. If it should be said that, since production must proceed from a specific distribution of the instruments of production, distribution is at least in this sense antecedent to and a presupposition of production, then the answer would be that production in fact has its conditions and presuppositions which constitute moments of it. At the very outset these may appear as naturally evolved. Through the process of production itself they are transformed from naturally evolved factors into historical ones, and although they appear as natural preconditions of production for one period, they were its historical result for another. They are continuously changed within production itself. For example, the employment of machinery altered the distribution of both the instruments of production and the products. Modern large-scale landed property itself is the result not only of modern trade and modern industry, but also of the application of the latter to agriculture.

The questions raised above can be ultimately resolved into this: what role do historical conditions generally play in production and how is production related to the process of history in general? This question clearly belongs to the analysis and discussion of production itself.

[M-12] In the trivial form, however, in which these questions have been raised above, they can be dealt with quite briefly. Conquests may lead to either of three results. The conquering people imposes its own mode of production upon the conquered (for example, the English in Ireland during this century, and partly in India); or it allows the old [mode of production] to

continue and contents itself with tribute (e.g. the Turks and Romans); or interaction takes place, giving rise to something new, a synthesis ([this occurred] partly in the Germanic conquests). In all cases it is the mode of production—whether that of the conquering people or of the conquered or that brought about by a merging of the two—that determines the new [mode of] distribution that is established. Although the latter appears as a presupposition of the new period of production, it is itself a product of production, not only of the historical [evolution of] production in general, but of a definite historical [form of] production.

The Mongols, for example, who caused devastation in Russia, acted in accordance with their [mode of] production, cattle-breeding, for which large uninhabited tracts are a fundamental requirement. The Germanic barbarians, whose traditional [mode of] production was agriculture involving serfs and an isolated life in the countryside, could the more easily subject the Roman provinces to these conditions because the concentration of landed property carried out there had already uprooted the older agricultural relations.

It is a long-established view that at certain periods people lived exclusively by plunder. But to be able to plunder, there must be something to plunder, and this implies production. Moreover, the manner of plunder is itself determined by the manner of production, e.g. a STOCK-JOBBING NATION cannot be robbed in the same way as a nation of cowherds.

The instrument of production may be taken away by force directly in the case of slaves. But then the system of production in the country to which the slave is abducted must admit of slave labour, or (as in South America,[a] etc.) a mode of production appropriate to slave labour must be established.

Laws may perpetuate an instrument of production, e.g., land, in certain families. These laws acquire economic significance only if large-scale landed property is in harmony with the mode of social production, as for instance in England. In France, agriculture was carried on on a small scale, despite the existence of large estates, which were therefore broken up by the Revolution. But can the small plot system be perpetuated, e.g. by laws? Property concentrates itself again despite these laws. The influence of laws aimed at preserving [existing] relations of distribution, and hence their effect on production, have to be examined specially.

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[a] Marx presumably means the Southern States of the USA.—*Ed.*

### [M-13] *(c) Lastly, Exchange and Circulation*

Circulation itself is only a definite moment of exchange, or it is also exchange regarded in its totality.

Since *exchange* is only a mediating moment linking production and distribution (which is determined by production) with consumption; since consumption moreover itself appears as a moment of production, exchange is obviously also comprised in production as one of its moments.

Firstly, it is clear that the exchange of activities and capacities which takes place in production itself is a direct and essential part of production. Secondly, the same applies to the exchange of products in so far as this exchange is a means for manufacturing the finished product intended for immediate consumption. To this extent the act of exchange itself is comprised in production. Thirdly, what is called EXCHANGE between DEALERS and DEALERS[15] is by virtue of its organisation entirely determined by production and is itself a productive activity. Exchange appears to exist independently alongside production, to be indifferent to it, only in the last stage, when the product is exchanged directly for consumption. But (1) [there is] no exchange without division of labour, whether this is naturally evolved or is itself already the result of an historical process; (2) private exchange presupposes private production; (3) the intensity of exchange, its extent and nature, are determined by the development and structure of production. E.g. exchange between town and country, exchange in the countryside, in the town, etc. Thus exchange in all its moments appears either to be directly comprised in production, or else determined by it.

The result at which we arrive is, not that production, distribution, exchange and consumption are identical, but that they are all elements of a totality, differences within a unity. Production is the dominant moment, both with regard to itself in the contradictory determination of production and with regard to the other moments. The process always starts afresh with production. That exchange and consumption cannot be the dominant moments is self-evident, and the same applies to distribution as the distribution of products. As distribution of the agents of production, however, it is itself a moment of production. A definite [mode of] production thus determines a definite [mode of] consumption, distribution, exchange and *definite relations of these different moments to one another.* Production *in its one-sided form*, however, is in its turn also determined by the other moments. For

example, if the market, i.e. the sphere of exchange, expands, production grows in volume, and becomes more differentiated. Changes in distribution, e.g. concentration of capital, different distribution of the population in town and country, and the like, entail changes in production. Lastly, production is determined by the needs of consumption. There is an interaction between the different moments. This is the case with any organic entity.

### [M-14] 3. THE METHOD OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

When considering a given country from the standpoint of political economy, we begin with its population, the division of the population into classes, town and country, sea, the different branches of production, export and import, annual production and consumption, commodity prices, etc.

It would seem right to start with the real and concrete, with the actual presupposition, e.g. in political economy to start with the population, which forms the basis and the subject of the whole social act of production. Closer consideration shows, however, that this is wrong. Population is an abstraction if, for instance, one disregards the classes of which it is composed. These classes in turn remain an empty phrase if one does not know the elements on which they are based, e.g. wage labour, capital, etc. These presuppose exchange, division of labour, prices, etc. For example, capital is nothing without wage labour, without value, money, price, etc. If one were to start with population, it would be a chaotic conception of the whole, and through closer definition one would arrive analytically at increasingly simple concepts; from the imagined concrete, one would move to more and more tenuous abstractions until one arrived at the simplest determinations. From there it would be necessary to make a return journey until one finally arrived once more at population, which this time would be not a chaotic conception of a whole, but a rich totality of many determinations and relations.

The first course is the one taken by political economy historically at its inception. The 17th-century economists, for example, always started with the living whole, the population, the nation, the State, several States, etc., but analysis always led them in the end to the discovery of a few determining abstract, general relations, such as division of labour, money, value, etc. As soon as these individual moments were more or less clearly deduced and abstracted, economic systems were evolved which from the simple [concepts], such as labour, division of labour, need, exchange

value, advanced to the State, international exchange and world market.

The latter is obviously the correct scientific method. The concrete is concrete because it is a synthesis of many determinations, thus a unity of the diverse. In thinking, it therefore appears as a process of summing-up, as a result, not as the starting point, although it is the real starting point, and thus also the starting point of perception and conception. The first procedure attenuates the comprehensive visualisation to abstract determinations, the second leads from abstract determinations by way of thinking to the reproduction of the concrete.

Hegel accordingly arrived at the illusion that the real was the result of thinking synthesising itself within itself, delving ever deeper into itself and moving by its inner motivation; actually, the method of advancing from the abstract to the concrete is simply the way in which thinking assimilates the concrete and reproduces it as a mental concrete. This is, however, by no means the process by which the concrete itself originates. For example, the simplest economic category, e.g. exchange value, presupposes population, population which produces under definite conditions, as well as [M-15] a distinct type of family, or community, or State, etc. Exchange value cannot exist except as an abstract, one-sided relation of an already existing concrete living whole.

But as a category exchange value leads an antediluvian existence. Hence to the kind of consciousness—and philosophical consciousness is precisely of this kind—which regards the comprehending mind as the real man, and only the comprehended world as such as the real world—to this consciousness, therefore, the movement of categories appears as the real act of production—which unfortunately receives an impulse from outside—whose result is the world; and this (which is however again a tautology) is true in so far as the concrete totality regarded as a conceptual totality, as a mental concretum, is IN FACT a product of thinking, of comprehension; yet it is by no means a product of the self-evolving concept whose thinking proceeds outside and above perception and conception, but of the assimilation and transformation of perceptions and images into concepts. The totality as a conceptual totality seen by the mind is a product of the thinking mind, which assimilates the world in the only way open to it, a way which differs from the artistic-, religious- and practical-intellectual assimilation of this world. The real subject remains outside the mind and independent of it—that is to say, so long as the mind adopts a purely speculative, purely theoretical attitude. Hence the

subject, society, must always be envisaged as the premiss of conception even when the theoretical method is employed.

But have not these simple categories also an independent historical or natural existence preceding that of the more concrete ones? *Ça dépend.*[a] Hegel, for example, correctly takes possession, the simplest legal relation of the subject, as the point of departure of the philosophy of law.[b] No possession exists, however, before the family or the relations of lord and servant are evolved, and these are much more concrete relations. It would, on the other hand, be correct to say that families and entire tribes exist which have as yet only *possession* and not *property.* The simpler category appears thus as a relation of simpler family or tribal associations with regard to property. In a society which has reached a higher stage the category appears as the simpler relation of a developed organisation. The more concrete substratum underlying the relation of possession is, however, always presupposed. One can conceive an individual savage who has possessions; possession in this case, however, is not a legal relation. It is incorrect that historically possession develops into the family. On the contrary, possession always presupposes this "more concrete legal category". Still, one may say that the simple categories express relations in which the less developed concrete may have realised itself without as yet having posited the more complex connection or relation which is conceptually expressed in the more concrete category; whereas the more developed concrete retains the same category as a subordinate relation.

Money can exist and has existed in history before capital, banks, wage labour, etc., came into being. In this respect it can be said, therefore, that the simpler category can express relations predominating in a less developed whole or subordinate relations in a more developed whole, relations which already existed historically before the whole had developed the aspect expressed in a more concrete category. To that extent, the course of abstract thinking which advances from the elementary to the combined corresponds to the actual [M-16] historical process.

It can be said, on the other hand, that there are highly developed, and yet historically less mature, forms of society in which one finds the most advanced forms of economy, e.g. cooperation, developed division of labour, etc., but no form of

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[a] This depends.— *Ed.*

[b] G. W. F. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, Part 1, §§ 40, 50 and 49-52.— *Ed.*

money at all, for instance Peru.[16] In Slavonic communities too, money—and exchange, which conditions it—occurs little, or not at all, within the individual community, but is used on the borders, in the intercourse with other communities; and it is altogether wrong to posit exchange within the community as the original constituting element. On the contrary, in the beginning exchange tends to arise in the intercourse of different communities with one another, rather than among members of the same community. Moreover, although money plays a role very early and in diverse ways, it was a dominant element in antiquity only among nations determined in one particular manner, i.e. trading nations. Even in the most advanced antiquity, among the Greeks and Romans, money reaches its full development, which is presupposed in modern bourgeois society, only in the period of their disintegration. Thus this quite simple category does not emerge historically in its intensive form until the most highly developed phases of society, and it certainly does not penetrate all economic relations. For example, taxes in kind and deliveries in kind remained the basis in the Roman empire even at the height of its development. In effect, the monetary system in its fully developed form was to be encountered there only in the army,[17] and it never embraced the whole of labour.

So although the simpler category may have existed historically before the more concrete category, its complete intensive and extensive development can nevertheless occur precisely in a complex form of society, whereas the more concrete category was more fully evolved in a less developed form of society.

Labour seems to be a very simple category. The notion of labour in this universal form, as labour in general, is also as old as the hills. Nevertheless, considered economically in this simplicity, "labour" is just as modern a category as the relations which give rise to this simple abstraction. The monetary system, for example, still posits wealth quite objectively, as a thing existing independently in the form of money. Compared with this standpoint, it was a great advance when the manufacturing or mercantile system transferred the source of wealth from the object to the subjective activity—mercantile or manufacturing labour—but it still considered that only this circumscribed activity itself produced money. In contrast to this system, the Physiocrats posit one definite form of labour—agriculture—as wealth-producing, and the object itself no longer in the guise of money, but as a product in general, as the universal result of labour. In accordance with the still circumscribed activity, the product remains a naturally determined

product, an agricultural product, a product of the earth *par excellence.*

[M-17] It was an immense advance when Adam Smith discarded any definiteness of the wealth-producing activity—for him it was labour as such, neither manufacturing, nor mercantile, nor agricultural labour, but all types of labour. The abstract universality of wealth-creating activity [implies] also the universality of the object determined as wealth: product in general, or once more labour in general, but as past, objectified labour. How difficult and immense a transition this was is demonstrated by the fact that Adam Smith himself still occasionally relapses into the Physiocratic system. It might seem that in this way merely an abstract expression was found for the simplest and most ancient relation in which human beings act as producers—whatever the type of society they live in. This is true in one respect, but not in another.

The fact that the specific kind of labour is irrelevant presupposes a highly developed totality of actually existing kinds of labour, none of which is any more the dominating one. Thus the most general abstractions arise on the whole only with the most profuse concrete development, when one [phenomenon] is seen to be common to many, common to all. Then it is no longer perceived solely in a particular form. On the other hand, this abstraction of labour in general is not simply the conceptual result of a concrete totality of labours. The fact that the particular kind of labour is irrelevant corresponds to a form of society in which individuals easily pass from one kind of labour to another, the particular kind of labour being accidental to them and therefore indifferent. Labour, not only as a category but in reality, has become here a means to create wealth in general, and has ceased as a determination to be tied with the individuals in any particularity. This state of affairs is most pronounced in the most modern form of bourgeois society, the United States. It is only there that the abstract category "labour", "labour as such", labour *sans phrase*, the point of departure of modern [political] economy, is first seen to be true in practice.

The simplest abstraction which plays the key role in modern [political] economy, and which expresses an ancient relation existing in all forms of society, appears to be true in practice in this abstract form only as a category of the most modern society. It might be said that what is a historical product in the United States—this indifference to the particular kind of labour—appears to be among the Russians, for instance, a natural predisposition. But in the first place, there is an enormous

difference between barbarians having a predisposition to be applied to everything, and civilised people applying themselves to everything. And then, as regards the Russians, this indifference to the particular kind of labour in practice goes hand in hand with the traditional stagnation in some very definite kind of labour, from which they can only be wrenched by external influences.

[M-18] The example of labour strikingly demonstrates that even the most abstract categories, despite their being valid—precisely because they are abstractions—for all epochs, are, in the determinateness of their abstraction, just as much a product of historical conditions and retain their full validity only for and within these conditions.

Bourgeois society is the most developed and many-faceted historical organisation of production. The categories which express its relations, an understanding of its structure, therefore, provide, at the same time, an insight into the structure and the relations of production of all previous forms of society the ruins and components of which were used in the creation of bourgeois society. Some of these remains are still dragged along within bourgeois society unassimilated, while elements which previously were barely indicated have developed and attained their full significance, etc. The anatomy of man is a key to the anatomy of the ape. On the other hand, indications of higher forms in the lower species of animals can only be understood when the higher forms themselves are already known. Bourgeois economy thus provides a key to that of antiquity, etc. But by no means in the manner of those economists who obliterate all historical differences and see in all forms of society the bourgeois forms. One can understand tribute, tithe, etc., if one knows rent. But they must not be treated as identical.

Since bourgeois society is, moreover, only a contradictory form of development, it contains relations of earlier forms of society often only in very stunted shape or as mere travesties, e.g. communal property. Thus, if it is true that the categories of bourgeois economy are valid for all other forms of society, this has to be taken *cum grano salis*,[a] for they may contain them in a developed, stunted, caricatured, etc., form, always with substantial differences. What is called historical development rests, in general, on the fact that the latest form regards the earlier ones as stages leading towards itself and always conceives them in a one-sided manner, since only rarely, and under quite definite conditions, is it

[a] With a grain of salt.—*Ed.*

capable of self-criticism (this of course does not apply to historical periods which regard themselves as times of decline). It was not until its self-criticism was to a certain extent prepared, as it were δυνάμει, that the Christian religion was able to contribute to an objective understanding of earlier mythologies. Similarly, it was not until the self-criticism of bourgeois society had begun that bourgeois [political] economy came to understand the feudal, ancient and oriental economies. In so far as bourgeois economy did not simply identify itself with the earlier economies in a mythological manner, its criticism of them—especially of the feudal economy, against which it still had to wage a direct struggle—resembled the criticism that Christianity directed against heathenism, or which Protestantism directed against Catholicism.

[M-19] Just as generally in the case of any historical, social science, so also in examining the development of economic categories it is always necessary to remember that the subject, in this context modern bourgeois society, is given, both in reality and in the mind, and that therefore the categories express forms of being, determinations of existence—and sometimes only individual aspects—of this particular society, of this subject, and that *even from the scientific standpoint* it therefore by no means begins at the moment when it is first discussed *as such.* This has to be remembered because it provides the decisive criteria for the arrangement [of the material].

For example, nothing seems more natural than to begin with rent, with landed property, since it is bound up with the earth, the source of all production and all life, and with agriculture, the first form of production in all more or less established societies. But nothing would be more erroneous. In every form of society there is a particular [branch of] production which determines the position and importance of all the others, and the relations obtaining in this branch accordingly determine those in all other branches. It is the general light tingeing all other colours and modifying them in their specific quality; it is a special ether determining the specific gravity of everything found in it.

For example, pastoral peoples (peoples living exclusively on hunting or fishing are beyond the point from which real development begins). A certain type of agriculture occurs among them, sporadically, and this determines landed property. It is common property and retains this form in a larger or smaller measure, depending on the degree to which these peoples maintain their traditions, e.g. communal property among the Slavs. Among peoples with settled agriculture—this settling is

already a great advance—where agriculture predominates, as in antiquity and the feudal period, even industry, its organisation and the forms of property corresponding thereto, have more or less the character of landed property. Industry is either completely dependent on it, as with the ancient Romans, or, as in the Middle Ages, it copies in the town and in its conditions the organisation of the countryside. In the Middle Ages even capital—unless it was purely money capital—capital as traditional tools, etc., has this character of landed property.

The reverse is the case in bourgeois society. Agriculture to an increasing extent becomes merely a branch of industry and is completely dominated by capital. The same applies to rent. In all forms in which landed property rules supreme, the nature relationship still predominates; in the forms in which capital rules supreme, the social, historically evolved element predominates. Rent cannot be understood without capital, but capital can be understood without rent. Capital is the economic power that dominates everything in bourgeois society. It must form both the point of departure and the conclusion and must be analysed before landed property. After each has been considered separately, their interconnection must be examined.

[M-20] It would therefore be inexpedient and wrong to present the economic categories successively in the order in which they played the determining role in history. Their order of succession is determined rather by their mutual relation in modern bourgeois society, and this is quite the reverse of what appears to be their natural relation or corresponds to the sequence of historical development. The point at issue is not the place the economic relations took relative to each other in the succession of various forms of society in the course of history; even less is it their sequence "in the Idea" (*Proudhon*[a]) (a nebulous notion of the historical process), but their position within modern bourgeois society.

It was the predominance of agricultural peoples that made the trading peoples—Phoenicians, Carthaginians—appear in such purity (abstract determinateness) in the ancient world. For capital as merchant or money capital appears precisely in that abstract form where capital is not yet the dominant factor in society. Lombards and Jews occupied the same position in relation to mediaeval agrarian societies.

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[a] P. J. Proudhon, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 145-46.—*Ed.*

Another example of the different roles which the same categories play at different stages of society are JOINT-STOCK COMPANIES, one of the most recent features of bourgeois society; but they appear also in its early period in the form of large privileged commercial companies with rights of monopoly.

The concept of national wealth finds its way into the works of the economists of the 17th century as the notion that wealth is created solely for the State, whose power, on the other hand, is proportional to this wealth—a notion which to some extent survives among 18th-century economists. This was still the unintentionally hypocritical form in which wealth itself and the production of wealth was proclaimed to be the goal of the modern State, which was regarded merely as a means for producing wealth.

The arrangement has evidently to be made as follows:

(1) The general abstract determinations, which therefore appertain more or less to all forms of society, but in the sense set forth above. (2) The categories which constitute the internal structure of bourgeois society and on which the principal classes are based. Capital, wage labour, landed property. Their relation to one another. Town and country. The 3 large social classes. Exchange between them. Circulation. Credit system (private). (3) The State as the epitome of bourgeois society. Analysed in relation to itself. The "unproductive" classes. Taxes. National debt. Public credit. Population. Colonies. Emigration. (4) International character of production. International division of labour. International exchange. Export and import. Rate of exchange. (5) World market and crises.

[M-21] 4. PRODUCTION.

MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION.
RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION AND CONDITIONS OF COMMUNICATION.
FORMS OF THE STATE AND OF CONSCIOUSNESS IN RELATION
TO THE RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION AND OF COMMERCE.
LEGAL RELATIONS. FAMILY RELATIONS

NB. Notes regarding points which have to be mentioned here and should not be forgotten:

(1) *War* develops [certain features] earlier than peace; the way in which as a result of war, and in the armies, etc., certain economic conditions, e.g. wage labour, machinery, etc., were evolved earlier than within civil society. The relation between productive power and conditions of communication is likewise particularly evident in the army.

(2) *The relation of the hitherto existing idealistic historiography to realistic historiography. In particular what is known as history of civilisation,* which is all a history of religion and states. (In this context something can also be said about the various kinds of historiography hitherto existing. So-called objective,[18] subjective (moral and other kinds), philosophical [historiography].)

(3) *Secondary and tertiary* [relations], in general *derived* and *transmitted*, non-original, relations of production. The influence of international relations here.

(4) *Reproaches about the materialism of this conception. Relation to naturalistic materialism.*

(5) *Dialectic of the concepts productive power* (means of production) *and relation of production,* a dialectic whose limits have to be defined and which does not abolish real difference.

(6) *The unequal development of material production and e.g. art.* In general, the concept of progress is not to be taken in the usual abstract form. With regard to art, etc., this disproportion is not so important and [not so] difficult to grasp as within practical social relations themselves, e.g. in culture. Relation of the *United States* to Europe. However, the really difficult point to be discussed here is how the relations of production as legal relations enter into uneven development. For example, the relation of Roman civil law (this applies in smaller measure to criminal and public law) to modern production.

(7) *This conception*[a] *appears to be an inevitable development.* But vindication of chance. How. (Of freedom, etc., as well.) (Influence of the means of communication. World history did not exist always; history as world history is a result).

(8) *The starting point is of course determinateness by nature*; subjectively and objectively. Tribes, races, etc.

(1) As regards art, it is known that certain periods of its florescence by no means correspond to the general development of society, or, therefore, to the material basis, the skeleton as it were of its organisation. For example, the Greeks compared with the moderns, or else Shakespeare. It is even acknowledged that certain forms of art, e.g. epos, can no longer be produced in their epoch-making, classic form after artistic production as such has begun; in other words that certain important creations within the compass of art are only possible at an early stage of its

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[a] Marx apparently means the conception of history discussed in the preceding points.— *Ed.*

development. If this is the case with regard to the different arts within the sphere of art itself, it is not so remarkable that this should also be the case with regard to the entire sphere of art in its relation to the general development of society. The difficulty lies only in the general formulation of these contradictions. As soon as they are specified, they are already explained.

[M-22] Let us take, for example, the relation of Greek art, and that of Shakespeare, to the present time. We know that Greek mythology is not only the arsenal of Greek art, but also its basis. Is the conception of nature and of social relations which underlies Greek imagination and therefore Greek [art] possible in the age of SELFACTORS, railways, locomotives and electric telegraphs? What is Vulcan compared with Roberts and Co.,[19] Jupiter compared with the lightning conductor, and Hermes compared with the Crédit Mobilier[20]? All mythology subdues, dominates and fashions the forces of nature in the imagination and through the imagination; it therefore disappears when real domination over these forces is established. What becomes of Fama beside Printing House Square[21]? Greek art presupposes Greek mythology, in other words, nature and even the social forms have already been worked up in an unconsciously artistic manner by the popular imagination. This is the material of Greek art. Not just any mythology, i.e. not any unconsciously artistic working up of nature (here the term comprises all objective phenomena, including society). Egyptian mythology could never become the basis or material womb of Greek art. But at any rate [it presupposes] *a* mythology. Hence, on no account a social development which precludes any mythological, [i.e.] any mythologising, attitude towards nature, and therefore demands from the artist an imagination independent of mythology.

Regarded from another angle: is Achilles possible when powder and shot have been invented? And is the *Iliad* possible at all when the printing press and even printing machines exist? Does not the press bar inevitably spell the end of singing and reciting and the muses, that is, do not the conditions necessary for epic poetry disappear?

But the difficulty lies not in understanding that Greek art and epic poetry are bound up with certain forms of social development. The difficulty is that they still give us aesthetic pleasure and are in certain respects regarded as a standard and unattainable model.

An adult cannot become a child again, or he becomes childish. But does not the naiveté of the child give him pleasure, and must

he not himself endeavour to reproduce the child's veracity on a higher level? Does not the specific character of every epoch come to life again in its natural veracity in the child's nature? Why should not the historical childhood of humanity, where it attained its most beautiful form, exert an eternal charm as a stage that will never recur? There are unbred children and precocious children. Many of the ancient peoples belong to this category. The Greeks were normal children. The charm their art has for us does not conflict with the immature stage of the society in which it originated. On the contrary, that charm is a consequence of this and is, rather, inseparably linked with the fact that the immature social conditions which gave rise, and which alone could give rise, to this art can never recur.

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# OUTLINES OF THE CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

## (ROUGH DRAFT OF 1857-58)[22]

[First Instalment]

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# [I-1] II. CHAPTER ON MONEY[23]

## ALFRED DARIMON, *DE LA RÉFORME DES BANQUES,* PARIS, 1856

"All the trouble derives from the predominance of the precious metals which is obstinately being preserved in circulation and exchange" (pp. 1, 2).[a24]

Begins with the measures taken by the Banque de France in October 1855

"to remedy the progressive diminution of its cash reserves" (p. 2).

Wants to give us a statistical *tableau* of the position of the Bank in the five months preceding its measures taken in October. For this purpose, he compares the size of its bullion reserves in each of these five months with the "fluctuations in its portfolio", i.e. the amount of its DISCOUNTS (the commercial papers, *bills of exchange* in its portfolio). According to Darimon, the figure expressing the value of the SECURITIES held by the Bank

"represents the greater or lesser need which the public feels for its services, *or, which amounts to the same, the requirements of circulation*" (p. 2).

Which amounts to the same? Not at all. If the amount of the BILLS presented for DISCOUNT were identical with the "requirements of circulation", strictly speaking of *money circulation,* the circulation of notes [its volume] would be determined by the amount of the bills of exchange discounted. But these movements, so far from being on average proportional to each other, often bear an inverse relationship. The amount of the bills of exchange discounted and its fluctuations express the requirements of credit, while the amount of money in circulation depends on quite different factors. In order to arrive at any conclusion about circulation, Darimon ought first to have compiled a column for the amount of

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[a] Here and below Marx quotes from Darimon mostly in French.— *Ed.*

notes in circulation, alongside the column for the bullion reserves and that for bills discounted.

In order to discuss the requirements of circulation, it was surely necessary to establish first of all the fluctuations in actual circulation. The omission of this necessary term of the comparison betrays at once amateurish incompetence and deliberate confusion of the requirements of credit with those of money circulation—a confusion upon which the entire secret of Proudhonian wisdom is in fact based. (As if in a mortality table illnesses figured on one side and deaths on the other, while births were overlooked.)

Darimon's two columns (see p. 3), that for the bullion reserves of the Bank from April to September on the one side and that for the changes in its portfolio on the other, express nothing but the tautological fact, which needs no display of statistical illustrations, that in proportion as bills were brought to the Bank to withdraw bullion from it, its portfolio became filled with bills and its vaults emptied of bullion. And even this tautology, which Darimon seeks to demonstrate with his table, is not directly expressed in it. It shows rather that from 12 April to 13 September 1855 the bullion reserves of the Bank fell by about 144 million [francs], while the commercial papers in its portfolio rose by about 101 million.[a] The decline in the bullion reserves therefore exceeded by 43 million the increase in the commercial papers discounted. The identity of the two movements founders on this total result of the movement over five months.

A more precise comparison of the figures reveals other discrepancies.[25]

| | Bullion reserves in the Bank | Bills discounted by the Bank |
|---|---|---|
| *12 April* | 432,614,797 frs | 322,904,313 |
| *10 May* | 420,914,028 | 310,744,925 |

In other words, between 12 April and 10 May, the bullion reserves fell by 11,700,769, while the volume of SECURITIES increased by 12,159,388; i.e. the increase in SECURITIES exceeded by about half a million francs (458,619 frs) the decline in the bullion reserves. An analogous discrepancy, but to a much more surprising degree,

[a] This should read "108 million". There are also other numerical inaccuracies in the section on Darimon and in the 1857-58 manuscript generally. They do not affect the substance of Marx's conclusions and are reproduced in the present edition without correction.—*Ed.*

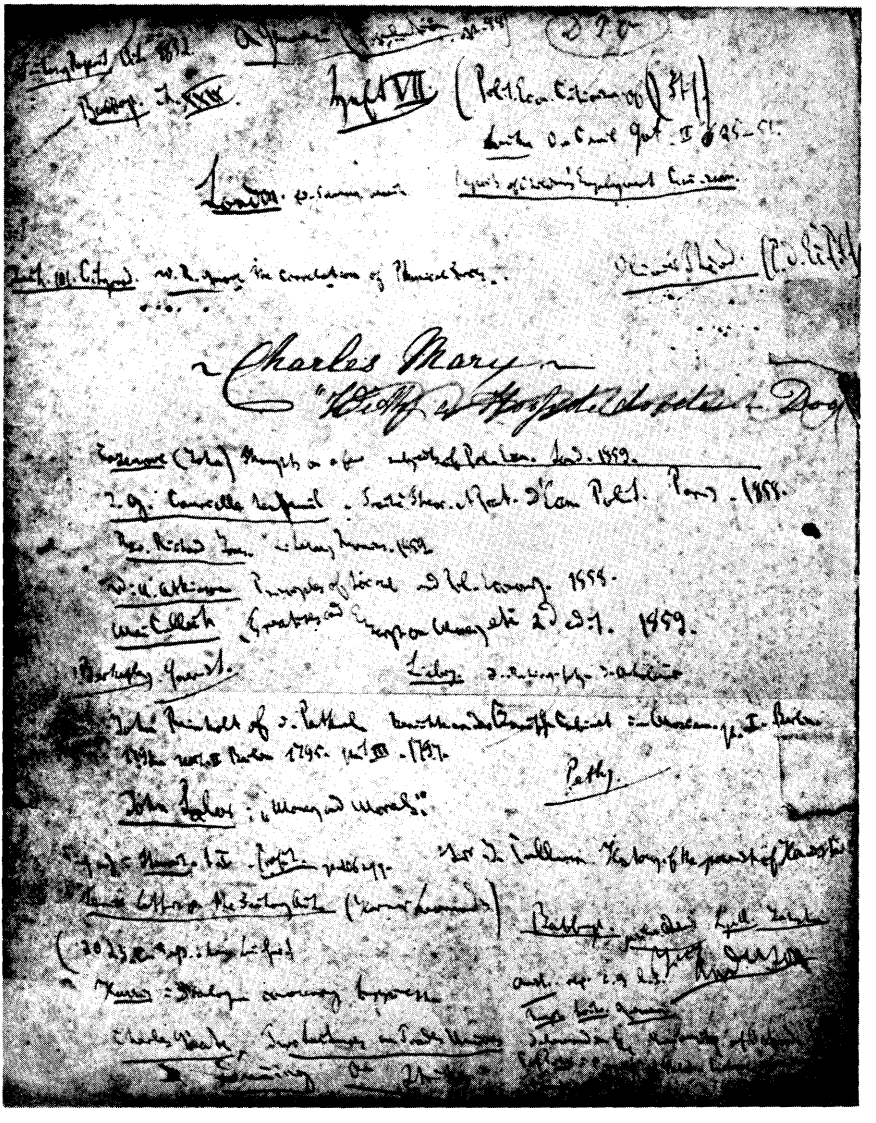

Cover of Notebook VII of the manuscript *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy*

is revealed when we compare the figures for the month of May with those for June:

| | Bullion reserves in the Bank | Bills discounted by the Bank |
|---|---|---|
| *10 May* | 420,914,028 | 310,744,925 |
| *14 June* | 407,769,813 | 310,369,439 |

[I-2] From 10 May until 14 June, therefore, the bullion reserves fell by 13,144,215 frs. Did the SECURITIES held by the Bank increase in the same measure? On the contrary, they decreased in the same period by 375,486 frs. Here, therefore, we have not merely a simple quantitative disproportion between the fall on the one side and the rise on the other. Even the inverse relationship between movements in the two series has disappeared. An enormous fall on the one side is accompanied by a relatively small fall on the other.

| | Bullion reserves in the Bank | Bills discounted by the Bank |
|---|---|---|
| *14 June* | 407,769,813 | 310,369,439 |
| *12 July* | 314,629,614 | 381,699,256 |

Comparison of the figures for June with those for July shows a decline of 93,140,199 in the reserves and an increase of 71,329,717 frs in the SECURITIES. That is, the decline of the former is 21,810,482 frs greater than the increase in the latter.

| | Bullion reserves in the Bank | Bills discounted by the Bank |
|---|---|---|
| *12 July* | 314,629,614 | 381,699,256 |
| *9 August* | 338,784,444 | 458,689,605 |

Here we have increases in both columns: in that for the bullion reserves by 24,154,830, in that for the portfolio by the much greater sum of 66,990,349 frs.

| | Bullion reserves in the Bank | [Bills discounted by the Bank] |
|---|---|---|
| *9 August* | 338,784,444 | 458,689,605 |
| *13 September* | 288,645,333 | 431,390,562 |

The fall of 50,139,111 frs in the bullion reserves was accompanied in this period by a decline of 27,299,043 frs in the SECURITIES. (In December 1855, despite the restrictions imposed by the Banque de France, its reserves were reduced by a further 24 million.)

What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. The facts that emerge from successive comparison of the five-month period possess the same claim to trustworthiness as do those resulting from Mr. Darimon's comparison of the first and last figures of the

columns. And what does the comparison show? Truths which devour one another. Twice there is an increase in the portfolio and a fall in the reserves, but in such a way that the decrease in the latter is smaller than the increase in the former (April-May and June-July). Twice there is a decrease in the reserves accompanied by a decrease in the portfolio, but the decrease in the latter is not as great as the decrease in the former (May-June and August-September). Finally, in one case there is an increase in the reserves and an increase in the portfolio, but the former is smaller than the latter [July-August].

A decline in one column, a rise in the other; a decline in both columns; a rise in both columns. So there is anything but a consistent pattern, above all there is not an inverse relationship [between the reserves and the portfolio], not even an interaction [between them], since a decline in the portfolio cannot be the cause of the fall in the reserves, and an increase in the portfolio cannot be the cause of the increase in the reserves. The inverse relationship and interaction is not even established by the isolated comparison between the figures for the first and the last month which Darimon makes. If the increase in the portfolio by 101 million does not make good the decline of 144 million in the reserves, there remains the possibility that the increase in the one [I-3] and the decrease in the other bear no causal relationship whatever to each other. The statistical illustration, instead of giving an answer, has only thrown up a mass of mutually intersecting questions. Instead of one riddle, three score.

In fact, the riddles would disappear at once, if only Mr. Darimon were to set down the columns for note circulation and deposits alongside those for the reserves and the portfolio (of bills discounted). A fall in the reserves smaller than the increase in bills discounted would then be explained thus: either deposits of bullion have increased at the same time; or a part of the notes issued in discount was not exchanged for bullion but remained in circulation; or finally, the notes issued were immediately returned [to the Bank] in the form of deposits or as payment for overdue bills, thus not increasing note circulation. A decrease in the reserves accompanied by a smaller decrease in the portfolio would be explained by deposits being withdrawn from the Bank or notes being brought in and exchanged for bullion, its own discounting thus being impaired by the owners of the withdrawn deposits or of the notes converted into silver. Finally, a small decrease in the reserves accompanied by a smaller decrease in the portfolio would be explained in the same way (we omit the possibility of a drain on

the reserves for the replacement of silver coinage within the country, since Darimon does not take account of it in his analysis).

But the columns which would thus have explained each other would also have proved something which it was not intended to prove: that the satisfaction of the growing requirements of trade by the Bank does not necessarily result in an expansion of the amount of its notes in circulation; that the contraction or expansion of this note circulation does not correspond to a contraction or expansion of the Bank's bullion reserves; that the Bank does not control the quantity of means of circulation, etc.—all of them conclusions which conflict with the arguments which Mr. Darimon is trying to sell. In his haste to present dramatically his preconceived opinion as to the opposition between the metallic basis of the Bank, as represented by its bullion reserves, and the requirements of circulation, represented in his view by the Bank's portfolio, he tears two columns from their necessary complementary context, which in this isolation lose all meaning, or, if they show anything at all, provide evidence against himself. We have dwelt upon this *fait*[a] to demonstrate from one example the value of the statistical and positive illustrations of the Proudhonists. Instead of the economic facts providing the test of their theories, they prove that they do not master the facts, in order to be able to play with them. Indeed their way of playing with the facts demonstrates the origins of their theoretical abstraction.

Let us follow Darimon further.

When the Bank of France saw its reserves diminished by 144 million and its portfolio increased by 101 million, it took measures on 4 and 18 October 1855 to protect its vaults against its portfolio. It raised its discount rate in successive steps from 4 to 5% and from 5 to 6%, and reduced from 90 to 75 days the time of payment of bills presented for discount. In other words: it rendered more difficult the conditions under which it placed its bullion at the disposal of commerce. What does this show? According to Darimon,

> "that a bank organised on present-day principles, i.e. founded upon the predominance of gold and silver, deprives the public of its services exactly at the moment when they are most needed" [ibid., p. 3].

Did Mr. Darimon need all his statistics to show that the supplier raises the price of his services in the same measure that the demand for them rises (and exceeds them)? And do not the

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[a] Matter.—*Ed.*

gentlemen who represent "the public" vis-à-vis the Bank follow the same "agreeable custom of life"[a]? Do the philanthropic grain dealers, who present their bills of exchange to the Bank in order to get notes to exchange for the Bank's gold, in order to exchange that gold for grain from abroad, in order to exchange that grain for the money of the French public, are they by any chance motivated by the idea that, because the public's need for grain is now at its peak, it is their duty to sell grain more cheaply? Or do they not rather rush to the Bank to exploit the rise in the price of grain, the need of the public, the imbalance between the public's demand and the available supply? And the Bank should be an exception from this general economic law? *Quelle idée!*[b]

But it may be the effect of the present-day organisation of the banks that gold must be accumulated in so large quantities that the means of purchase, which could be used most beneficially for the nation in the case of a grain shortage, are condemned to be idle, and that in general capital, which should circulate in fruitful [I-4] transformations of production, is turned into the unproductive and stagnant basis of circulation. In this case it would mean that, given the present organisation of the banks, the unproductive bullion reserves still exceed the necessary minimum, because the saving of gold and silver within circulation has not yet been pushed back to its economic limits. It would be a matter of something more or less on the same basis. But the question would have been brought down from the socialist heights to the bourgeois-practical plains in which we find it strolling in the books of most of the English bourgeois opponents of the Bank of England. *Quelle chute!*[c]

But perhaps it is not a matter of a greater or lesser economy of gold and silver by means of notes and other banking devices, but of abandoning the metallic basis of the currency altogether? But then again, the statistical fable loses its point, and so does its moral. If the Bank, under whatever conditions, is to export precious metals in case of an emergency, it must previously have accumulated them; and if foreign countries are to accept them in exchange for their commodities, these metals must have asserted their predominance.

The causes which drained from the Bank its precious metals were, according to Darimon, a bad harvest and the consequent

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[a] An allusion to a passage in Goethe's *Egmont,* Act V.—*Ed.*

[b] What an idea!—*Ed.*

[c] What a fall!—*Ed.*

necessity of importing grain from abroad. He forgets the failure of the silk harvest and the need of extensive purchases of silk from China. Darimon also blames the many large-scale undertakings which coincided with the last months of the Paris Industrial Exhibition.[a] Again he forgets the vast speculations and ventures abroad undertaken by the Crédit Mobilier[20] and its rivals, to show, as Isaac Péreire says, that French capital distinguishes itself from that of other countries by its cosmopolitan character, just as the French language does from other languages. Add to that the unproductive expenditure occasioned by the Eastern War[b]: the loan of 750 million.

In other words, on the one hand a great and sudden shortfall in two of the most important branches of French production! On the other hand, an extraordinary use of French capital in foreign markets for undertakings which created no direct equivalent and some of which will perhaps never cover their production costs! On the one hand, the imports which made up for the decline of domestic production and, on the other hand, the increase in industrial ventures abroad, required not the tokens of circulation which serve for the exchange of equivalents, but the equivalents themselves, not money but capital. In any case, the reduction in French domestic production was not an equivalent for the investment of French capital abroad.

Now, suppose that the Bank of France had not rested upon a metallic basis, and foreign countries had been willing to accept the French equivalent or capital in any form, not only in the specific form of the precious metals. Would not the Bank have been forced just the same to raise its discount rate exactly at the time when its "public" clamoured most eagerly for its services? The notes in which the Bank discounts the bills of exchange of this public are now nothing but drafts on gold and silver. They would be, on our assumption, drafts on the nation's store of products and its immediately employable labour power. The first is limited, the second is expandable only within very definite limits and in certain periods of time. On the other hand, the paper-machine is inexhaustible, as if driven by the power of magic. Simultaneously, while the failure of the grain and silk harvest enormously diminished the immediately exchangeable wealth of the nation, the foreign investments in railways, mines, etc., immobilised immediately exchangeable wealth in a form that created no

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[a] The Paris World Industrial Exhibition, May to November 1855.—*Ed.*

[b] The Crimean War, 1853-56.—*Ed.*

immediate equivalent and therefore swallowed it up for the moment without compensation! Thus the immediately exchangeable wealth of the nation which can circulate and can be exported, absolutely diminished! On the other hand, unrestricted growth of the issue of bank drafts. The immediate consequence: a rise in the price of manufactured goods, of raw materials and of labour. On the other hand, a fall in the price of bank drafts. The Bank would not have expanded the national wealth by the touch of a magic wand, but would only have depreciated its own paper as a result of a very ordinary operation. Would this depreciation not have led to a sudden paralysis of production?

But no, exclaims the Proudhonist. Our new bank organisation would [I-5] not be content with the negative merit of abolishing the metallic basis and leaving everything else as it was. It would create entirely new conditions of production and intercourse, and therefore intervene under entirely new circumstances. Did not the introduction of our present banks in its time revolutionise the conditions of production? Would modern large-scale industry have become possible without the concentration of credit which this effected; without the interest from the national debt which this created in opposition to rent of land, thereby creating finance in opposition to landed property, the MONEYED INTEREST in opposition to the LANDED INTEREST? Would the joint-stock companies, etc., and the thousand-fold forms of note circulation, which are as much products as they are conditions of production for modern commerce and modern industry, be possible without this new institute of circulation?

We have now arrived at the basic question, which is no longer connected with our point of departure. The general question is: is it possible to revolutionise the existing relations of production and the corresponding relations of distribution by means of changes in the instrument of circulation—changes in the organisation of circulation? A further question: can such a transformation of circulation be accomplished without touching the existing relations of production and the social relations based on them? If every such transformation of circulation were itself to presuppose changes in the other conditions of production and social upheavals, that would of course be the end of the doctrine which advocates smart gimmicks in the sphere of circulation *in order* to prevent changes from assuming a violent character on the one hand, and on the other to cast the changes themselves in the role not of the premiss but on the contrary of the gradual result of reforms in the sphere of circulation. The fallacy of this basic

premiss would suffice to prove the same misunderstanding concerning the inner connection between the relations of production, distribution and circulation.

Of course, the historical example referred to above is not conclusive, since the modern institutions of credit were as much a result as a cause of the concentration of capital, representing only an aspect of this process, and the concentration of wealth may be accelerated as much by lack of circulation (as in ancient Rome) as by improved circulation.

It should further be investigated, or rather it would be relevant to the general question: whether the various civilised forms of money—metal coinage, paper money, credit notes, labour money (this last as a socialist form)—can achieve what is required of them without abolishing the production relation itself which is expressed in the category of money; and whether it is not then necessarily a self-defeating effort to seek to overcome the essential conditions of a relationship by effecting a formal modification within it. The various forms of money may correspond better to social production at various stages of its development; one form may remove certain shortcomings with which the other cannot cope. But none of them, so long as they remain forms of money, and so long as money remains an essential relation of production, can resolve the contradictions inherent in the money relationship, they can all only express these contradictions in one form or another. Though one form of wage labour may overcome the defects of another, none can overcome the defects of wage labour itself. One lever may overcome better than another the resistance of matter at rest. But all depend upon the fact that the resistance remains.

Naturally, the general question of the relationship of circulation to the other relations of production can be raised only at the conclusion. But at a first glance it is suspicious that Proudhon and his followers never once pose it in its pure form, but only occasionally declaim about it. Whenever it is touched upon, we shall have to examine it carefully.

What emerges immediately from Darimon's introduction is that he completely identifies *money circulation with credit,* which is an economic fallacy. (*Crédit gratuit,*[a] incidentally, is only a hypocritical, philistine and timid reformulation of *"La propriété c'est le vol".*[b] [26] Instead of the workers *taking away* capital from the capitalists, the capitalists are to be compelled to *give* it to them.) This is another

[a] Free credit.—*Ed.*
[b] Property is theft.—*Ed.*

point to which we shall have to return.

In discussing the topic itself, Darimon gets no further than the point that the banks, which deal in credit, like the merchants, who deal in commodities, or the workers, who deal in labour, sell at a higher price when demand rises in relation to supply, i.e. they make it more difficult for the public to obtain their services at the very moment when the public most needs them. As we have seen, the Bank must do this, whether it issues convertible or inconvertible notes.

The policy of the Bank of France in October 1855 gave rise to an *"immense clameur"* (p. 4) and a *"grand débat"* between it and the spokesmen of the public. Darimon summarises, or rather claims to summarise, this debate. We follow him here only occasionally, because his résumé shows the weakness of both of the opposing parties—their continual desultory digressions, their blind tapping around among superficialities. Each of the opponents constantly drops his weapon in order to look for another. Neither manages to strike a blow, not only because they are constantly changing the weapons with which they should be fighting each other, but equally because they meet on one ground only to flee at once to another.

(From 1806 to 1855, the discount rate in France was never as high as 6%; for 50 years virtually *immuable à 90 jours le maximum de l'échéance des effets de commerce.*[a])

The weakness of the arguments with which Darimon lets the Bank defend itself, and his own misconception, emerge e.g. from the following passage of his fictitious [I-6] dialogue:

The opponent of the Bank says:

"Owing to your monopoly you dispense and regulate credit. When you are harsh, the private discount brokers not only emulate you, but even exceed your harshness... By your measures you have brought business to a stop" (p. 5).

The Bank replies "*humblement*":

"What do you want me to do?... To safeguard myself against foreigners I must safeguard myself against my own nationals... Above all, I must prevent the outflow of hard cash, without which I am nothing and can do nothing" (p. 5).

A folly is here imputed to the Bank. It is made to evade the question, to take refuge in a general phrase, so that it may be answered with a general phrase. In this dialogue the Bank shares Darimon's illusion that it really regulates credit by means of its monopoly. In fact, the power of the Bank only begins where the

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[a] For 50 years the term of bills of exchange remains virtually unchanged at 90 days.—*Ed.*

power of the private "*escompteurs*"[a] ends, that is, at a moment when its own power is already extraordinarily limited. Suppose the Bank were to allow the discount rate to remain at 5% at a time when the MONEY MARKET was in an EASY STATE, and when everyone was therefore discounting at $2\frac{1}{2}$%. The *escompteurs,* instead of emulating the Bank, would discount all its business under its very nose. Nowhere is this shown more clearly than in the history of the Bank of England after the 1844 Act,[27] which made the Bank a real rival of the PRIVATE BANKERS in the discount business, etc. The Bank of England, in order to secure itself a share, and a growing share, of the discount business during the periods of EASINESS in the money market, was continually forced to lower its discount rate, not only to the level maintained by the PRIVATE BANKERS, but often below it. Its "regulation of credit" is therefore to be taken *cum grano salis,*[b] whereas Darimon makes his superstitious belief in the Bank's absolute control of the money market and of credit the starting point of his argument.

Instead of critically examining the conditions of the Bank's real power over the money market, he at once clings to the phrase that CASH is its supreme concern and that it must prevent its outflow abroad. A professor of the Collège de France[28] (Chevalier) replies:

"Gold and silver are commodities just like any other... The only use of its bullion reserves is to be sent abroad for purchases in times of need."

The Bank replies:

"Metallic money is not a commodity like any other; it is an instrument of exchange, and, by virtue of this title, it enjoys the privilege of laying down the law for all other commodities."

Here Darimon jumps in between the combatants:

"Therefore one must attribute not only the present crisis but also the periodic commercial crises to this privilege enjoyed by gold and silver of being the only authentic instruments of circulation and exchange."

To avoid all the inconveniences of crises,

"it would be sufficient for gold and silver to become commodities just like any other, or, to be precise, for all commodities to become instruments of exchange of the same rank (*au même titre*) (by virtue of the same title) as gold and silver; for products to be truly exchanged for products" (pp. 5-7).

Shallowness with which the controversy is here presented. When the Bank issues drafts on money (notes), and promissory notes on

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[a] Discount brokers.—*Ed.*

[b] With a grain of salt.—*Ed.*

capital which are repayable in gold or silver (deposits), it is, self-evidently, only up to a point that it can look on and tolerate the diminution of its bullion reserves without taking steps against it. This has nothing to do with the theory of metallic money. We shall return to Darimon's theory of crises.

In the section entitled *Petite histoire des crises de circulation,*[a] Mr. Darimon ignores the English crisis of *1809-11*, and confines himself for *1810* to mentioning the appointment of the Bullion Committee. For 1811 he again ignores the real crisis (which began in 1809) and confines himself to mentioning the adoption by the House of Commons of the resolution that

> "the depreciation of the notes against bullion resulted from the rise in the price of bullion, not from the depreciation of paper money",

and Ricardo's pamphlet[b] which asserts the opposite, and which is supposed to conclude:

> "Money, in its most perfect state, is paper money" ([Darimon,] pp. 22, 23).

The crises of 1809 and 1811 were important in this respect because the Bank at that time issued inconvertible notes, hence the crises could not possibly have resulted from the convertibility of the notes into gold (metal), and hence also could not possibly have been prevented by the abolition of convertibility. Like a nimble tailor Darimon skips over these facts which refute his theory of crises. He clings to Ricardo's aphorism, which had nothing to do either with the question at issue or with the subject matter of the pamphlet—the depreciation of banknotes. He ignores the fact that Ricardo's theory of money has been totally refuted, as have been its false assumptions that the Bank controls the amount of notes in circulation, that the amount of means of circulation determines prices, whereas on the contrary prices determine the amount of means of circulation, etc. In Ricardo's time no detailed investigations into the phenomena of money circulation were yet available. This by the way.

Gold and silver are commodities like the others. Gold and silver are not commodities like the others: as universal instruments of exchange they are privileged commodities and degrade the other commodities by virtue of this very privilege. This is the final analysis to which Darimon reduces the antagonism. His final

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[a] Darimon's title of this section is "Petite histoire des banques de circulation" (*De la réforme des banques,* p. 20).—*Ed.*

[b] *The High Price of Bullion a Proof of the Depreciation of Bank Notes.*—*Ed.*

decision is: abolish this privilege of gold and silver, demote them to the level of all other commodities. Then you do not abolish the specific evil of gold and silver money, or of notes convertible into gold and silver. You do away with all evils. Or rather promote all commodities to the monopoly status now possessed by gold and silver. Let the Papacy remain, but make everyone Pope. Do away with money by turning every commodity into money and endowing it with the specific properties of money.

Here the question arises whether the problem does not express its own absurdity, and hence whether the impossibility of a solution does not lie already in the conditions set by the problem. The answer can often consist only in the critique of the question, can often be provided only [1-7] by denying the question itself.

The real question is: does not the bourgeois system of exchange itself make a specific instrument of exchange necessary? Does it not of necessity create a special equivalent of all values? One form of this instrument of exchange, or of this equivalent, may be handier, more appropriate, entail fewer inconveniences than another. But the inconveniences resulting from the existence of a special instrument of exchange, of a special and yet general equivalent, are bound to reproduce themselves (if in different ways) in every form. Darimon naturally passes over this question with enthusiasm. Abolish money and do not abolish it! Abolish the exclusive privilege which gold and silver possess by virtue of their exclusive status as money, but convert all goods into money, i.e. give to all in common a property which, bereft of exclusiveness, no longer exists.

In the bullion drains there does indeed appear a contradiction which Darimon conceives and tries to resolve equally superficially. It becomes apparent that gold and silver are not commodities just like the others, and modern political economy is suddenly shocked always to find itself temporarily back among the prejudices of mercantilism. The English economists try to resolve the difficulty by making a distinction. What is required at times of such monetary crises, they say, is not gold and silver as money, gold and silver as coin, but gold and silver as capital. They forget to add: capital, but capital in the definite form of gold and silver. Why otherwise the outflow of precisely these commodities, while most others are depreciating from a lack of outflow, if capital were exportable in any form?

Let us take particular examples: a DRAIN resulting from a bad domestic harvest of some staple food (e.g. grain); or from a bad harvest abroad and therefore a rise in the price of an imported

object of mass consumption (e.g. tea); a DRAIN because of a crop failure in vital industrial raw materials (cotton, wool, silk, flax); a DRAIN caused by excessive imports (through speculation, war, etc.). The replacement of a sudden or lasting shortage (of grain, tea, cotton, flax, etc.) causes the nation a double loss in case of a bad domestic harvest. A part of the country's invested capital or labour is not reproduced—a real loss of production. A part of the reproduced capital must be released to fill the gap, a part, that is, which is not simply arithmetically proportionate to the shortfall, for the price of the scarce product rises, and necessarily so, on the world market, because of the reduced supply and increased demand.

It is necessary to investigate closely what such crises would be like in the absence of the money factor, and what specific determinants money introduced within the given relationships. (*Bad grain harvests* and *excessive imports* the chief cases. War self-evidently too, since in economic terms it is the direct equivalent of a nation throwing a part of its capital into the water.)

*The case of a bad grain harvest*: comparing the nation affected with another, it is clear that its capital (not only its real wealth) has diminished, as clear as that the peasant who has burnt the dough for his bread and must now buy it from the baker is impoverished by the amount of his purchase. With respect to the domestic situation, the rise in the price of grain seems, so far as value is concerned, to leave everything unchanged, except that the reduced quantity of grain multiplied by the increased price in case of real bad harvests never equals the normal quantity multiplied by the lower price.

Suppose the wheat production of England were reduced to 1 quarter, and this 1 quarter fetched the same price as previously 30 million quarters of wheat. Then the nation, if we ignore the fact that it would lack the means for the reproduction of both life and grain, and if we assume that the working day needed for the reproduction of 1 quarter of wheat $= a$, would exchange $a \times 30$ million working days (production costs[29]) for $1 \times a$ working days (product). The productive power of its capital would have declined millions of times, and the sum of values owned in the country would have been reduced, for each working day would have depreciated 30 million-fold. Every item of capital would now represent only $^1/_{30,000,000}$ of its former value, of its equivalent in production costs, although in the given case the nominal value of the nation's capital would not have diminished (apart from the depreciation of land) because the diminished value of the other products would be exactly compensated for by the increased value

of the 1 quarter of wheat. The 30 million-fold rise in the price of wheat would express an equal depreciation of all other products.

Incidentally, this distinction between home and abroad is quite illusory. The relationship of the nation which suffers the grain shortage to the foreign nation from which it buys, is identical to that of every individual in that nation to the farmer or grain merchant. The extra sum that he must expend for the purchase of grain is a direct diminution of his capital, of his disposable means.

In order not to confuse the issue by introducing non-essential influences, we must assume a nation with FREE TRADE in grain. Even if the imported grain were as cheap as the home-produced, the nation would be poorer to the extent of the capital not reproduced by the farmers. However, in the case we have assumed, the nation always imports as much foreign grain as may be imported at the normal price. A growth in imports thus presupposes a rise in price.

The rise in the price of grain implies a fall in the price of all other commodities. The increased production costs (represented by the price) at which a quarter of grain is obtained, imply a reduction in the productivity of the capital that exists in all other forms. The increased amount spent on the purchase of grain implies a corresponding diminution in the amount available for the purchase of all other products, and therefore an automatic fall in their prices. With or without metallic or any other kind of money, the nation would find itself in a crisis, affecting not only grain but all other branches of production, not only because their productivity would be actually diminished, and the price of their output depreciated in relation to the value determined by normal production costs, but also because all contracts, bonds, etc., are based on the average price of products. E.g. $x$ bushels of grain must be delivered for the national debt, but the production costs of these $x$ bushels have been increased by a definite proportion.

Quite irrespective of money, the nation [I-8] would therefore be in a general crisis. Apart not only from money, but even from the exchange value of the products, the products would have depreciated, the productivity of the nation would have declined, in so far as all its economic relations are based upon an average productivity of its labour.

Thus the crisis caused by a bad grain harvest is in no case produced by the DRAIN OF BULLION, although it can be aggravated by attempts to stem this DRAIN.

In any case, we cannot follow Proudhon in saying that the crisis is due to the fact that the precious metals alone possess authentic

value in contrast to all other commodities[a]; for the rise in the price of grain means first of all only that more gold and silver must be exchanged for a given quantity of grain, i.e. that the price of gold and silver has fallen in relation to that of grain. Gold and silver therefore share in the depreciation of all other commodities relative to grain, from which no privilege protects them. The depreciation of gold and silver against grain is identical with the rise in the price of grain. (Not quite correct. A quarter of grain rises from 50 s. to 100 s., i.e. by 50%, but cotton goods fall by 100%. Silver has fallen against grain by only 50%, but cotton goods (because of slack demand, etc.) by 100%, i.e. the fall in the price of other commodities is greater than the rise in the price of grain. But the contrary may also take place. For example, in recent years when grain temporarily rose by 100%, industrial products did not depreciate in anything like the proportion in which gold had done compared to grain. This circumstance does not affect the general argument for the moment.) Nor can gold be said to possess a privilege by virtue of the fact that, as coinage, its quantity is exactly and authentically determined. A thaler (silver) remains under all circumstances a thaler. So does a bushel of wheat remain a bushel, and a yard of linen remain a yard.

The depreciation of most commodities (labour included) and the ensuing crisis in the case of a significant failure of the grain harvest cannot therefore be naively ascribed to the export of gold, since the depreciation and the crisis would occur even if no domestic gold were exported and no foreign grain imported. The crisis reduces itself simply to the law of supply and demand, which, as we all know, operates much more sharply and energetically in the sphere of primary necessities—at the national level—than in all other spheres. The export of gold is not the cause of the grain crisis, but the grain crisis is the cause of the export of gold.

Gold and silver in themselves can be said to affect the crisis and to aggravate its symptoms in only two ways: (1) In so far as the export of gold might be hindered because of the bullion-holding conditions by which the banks are bound; in so far as the measures taken by the Bank to counteract this gold export might adversely affect internal circulation. (2) In so far as the export of gold becomes necessary, because foreign nations will accept capital only in the form of gold and in no other form.

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[a] P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère*, Vol. I, pp. 68-70.—*Ed.*

Difficulty No. 2 can persist even if difficulty No. 1 is removed. The Bank of England experienced it precisely during the period when it was legally authorised to issue inconvertible notes. The notes fell against gold bullion, but equally the MINT PRICE OF GOLD fell against its bullion price. Gold had become a special kind of commodity as distinct from banknotes. It can be said that the note remained dependent upon gold in so far as it nominally represented a definite quantity of gold for which IN FACT it was not redeemable. Gold remained its denominator although the note was legally no longer exchangeable for this quantity of gold at the Bank.

There is surely no doubt (?) (this is to be investigated later and is not directly relevant to the OBJECT IN QUESTION) that so long as paper money is denominated in terms of gold (i.e. so long as e.g. a £5 note is the paper representative of 5 sovereigns) the convertibility of the note into gold remains for it an economic law, whether or not it exists *politically*. Even from 1799 to 1819[30] the notes of the Bank of England continued to state that they represented the value of a definite quantity of gold. How can this assertion be put to the test other than by the fact that the banknote actually commanded such and such a quantity of bullion? From the moment that a £5 note could no longer be exchanged for bullion equal to 5 sovereigns, the note was depreciated, even though it was INCONVERTIBLE. The equality of the face value of the note with a definite value of gold immediately entered into contradiction with the actual inequality between notes and gold.

Thus the controversy in Britain among those who adhere to gold as the denominator of the note, is not really about the convertibility of the note into gold—which is only the practical equation that the face value on the note expresses theoretically—but about how this convertibility is to be secured: whether by the legal imposition of restrictions on the Bank, or by non-interference. The advocates of the latter course assert that with a bank of issue which gives advances on bills of exchange, and whose notes therefore have a secured reflux, convertibility is guaranteed ON THE AVERAGE, and that their opponents never achieve more than this average security anyhow. The latter is a FACT. The average, incidentally, is not to be despised, and calculations of the average must constitute the basis of the banks' activities no less than they do that of all insurance companies, etc. In this respect the Scottish banks above all are justly pointed to as models.

The strict bullionists for their part argue that they take [I-9]

convertibility seriously—that the necessity of convertibility is imposed by the denomination of the note itself, that the obligation of the bank to convert maintains the convertibility of the note and restrains OVER-ISSUE, and that their opponents are disguised supporters of inconvertibility. Between these two positions a variety of shadings, a mass of little "*espèces*".[a]

Finally, the defenders of inconvertibility, the uncompromising anti-bullionists, are, without knowing it, disguised supporters of convertibility just as much as their opponents are of inconvertibility, because they allow the existing denomination of the note to remain and in practice therefore make the equation of a note of a particular denomination to a particular quantity of gold the measure of the full value of their notes.

In Prussia there is paper money with forced currency. (A reflux is assured for it in so far as a proportion of taxes must be paid in paper money.) These paper thalers are not drafts on silver, they are not legally exchangeable for it at any bank, etc. They are not loaned by any commercial bank against bills of exchange, but are paid out by the government to meet its expenses. But the notes are denominated in terms of silver. A paper thaler is supposed to represent the same value as a silver thaler. If either confidence in the government were seriously undermined, or this paper money were issued in greater amounts than required by the needs of circulation, the paper thaler would in practice cease to be equal to the silver thaler; it would depreciate, because it would have sunk below the value expressed by its denomination. It would even depreciate if none of the above-mentioned circumstances obtained, but if an exceptional demand for silver, e.g. for export, were to give silver a privilege over the paper thaler.

Convertibility into gold and silver is therefore in practice the measure of value of any paper currency denominated in terms of gold or silver, whether that currency is legally convertible or not. A nominal value is only a shadow running alongside its body; whether the two coincide must be proved by the actual convertibility (exchangeability) of the note. A decline of real value below nominal value is depreciation. Actual parity of nominal and real values, exchangeability, is convertibility. With [legally] inconvertible notes, convertibility shows itself not at the counter of the bank but in the day-to-day exchange between paper money and the metallic currency whose denomination it bears. Actually, the convertibility of convertible notes is already endangered when it is

[a] Species.—*Ed.*

no longer confirmed by normal business throughout the country but by special large experiments at the counter of the bank.

In the rural areas of Scotland, paper money is actually preferred to metallic currency. Before 1845, when the English Act of 1844 was imposed on it, Scotland was naturally affected by all English social crises, and in many cases to a higher degree, for in Scotland the CLEARING OF THE LAND was carried out more ruthlessly.[31] Nevertheless, Scotland did not experience a real monetary crisis (that a few banks here and there went bankrupt, because they extended credit recklessly, is not relevant here); there was no depreciation of banknotes, no complaints or investigations as to whether the quantity of CURRENCY in circulation was sufficient or not, etc.

Scotland is important in this context, because it shows on the one hand how the money system on its present basis can be completely regulated—all the evils deplored by Darimon abolished—without abandonment of the present social basis; indeed, while its contradictions, its antagonisms, the conflict of classes, etc., actually reach a higher degree than in any other country in the world.

It is significant that Darimon, as well as Émile Girardin, his protector, who writes an introduction to his book and who complements his practical swindling with theoretical utopianism, does not find the antithesis to the monopoly banks like the BANK OF ENGLAND and the BANK OF FRANCE in Scotland, but looks for it in the United States, where the banking system, because of the State charters required, is only nominally free, and where you do not have free competition among banks but a federative system of monopoly banks.

The Scottish banking and money system was indeed the most dangerous reef for the illusions of the circulation-tricksters. Gold and silver coins (where a bimetallic legal STANDARD does not exist) are not said to depreciate whenever their relative value compared to all other commodities changes. Why not? Because they are their own denominator; because their denomination is not that of a value, i.e. they are not valued in terms of a third commodity, but only express fractional parts of their own material. 1 sovereign=so much gold of such and such a weight.

Gold is therefore nominally undepreciable, not because it alone expresses *an authentic value,* but because as money it expresses *no value* AT ALL, only a certain quantity of its own material, because its own quantitative measure is stamped on its brow. (Later to be investigated more closely whether this distinctive feature of gold

and silver money is ultimately an immanent property of every form of money.)

Misled by this nominal undepreciability of metallic currency, Darimon and his colleagues see only the one aspect which becomes apparent during a crisis, the appreciation of gold and silver against almost all other commodities; they fail to see the other aspect, the *depreciation* of gold and silver *or money* against all other commodities (with the possible, but not invariable, exception of labour) in periods of so-called *prosperity,* the periods of a temporary general rise in prices. As this depreciation of metallic money (and all types of money based on it) always precedes its appreciation, they should have posed their problem the other way round: how to prevent the periodic recurrence of the depreciation of money (in their language, how to abolish the privileged status of commodities as against money). Formulated in this way, the riddle would have solved itself at once: abolish the rise and fall in prices. That means, do away with prices. That, in turn, means abolishing exchange value, which, in its turn, requires the abolition of the system of exchange corresponding to the bourgeois organisation [I-10] of society. This last entails the problem of revolutionising bourgeois society economically. Then it would have become evident from the start that the evils of bourgeois society cannot be remedied by bank "transformations" or the establishment of a rational "money system".

Convertibility, legal or otherwise, therefore remains a requirement of any kind of money whose denomination makes it into a token of value, i.e. equates it quantitatively to a third commodity. This equation already implies its antithesis, the possibility of non-equivalence; just as convertibility implies its opposite, inconvertibility, and appreciation implies depreciation, δυνάμει,[a] as Aristotle would say.

Let us assume, for instance, that the sovereign was not only called "sovereign", which is a mere title of honour for the $x$th fraction of an ounce of gold (accounting name), as "metre" is for a particular length, but that it was called, SAY, *x hours of labour time.* $^1/_x$ ounce of gold is in fact nothing but materialised, objectified, $x$ hours of labour time. But the gold is past labour time, defined labour time. This denomination would make a particular quantity of labour in general into its standard. A pound of gold would have to be CONVERTIBLE into $x$ hours of labour time, would have to

[a] Potentially.— *Ed.*

be able to purchase these at any time. As soon as it could purchase more or less labour, it would appreciate or depreciate; in the latter case, its convertibility would cease to exist.

Not the labour time incorporated in [previous] output, but the currently necessary labour time determines value. Take the pound of gold itself: let it be the product of 20 hours of labour time. Suppose that for some reason it later requires only 10 hours to produce a pound of gold. The pound of gold, whose denomination asserts that it=20 hours of labour time, would now only=10 hours of labour time, since 20 hours of labour time=2 pounds of gold. Ten hours of labour in fact exchange for 1 pound of gold; therefore 1 pound of gold can no longer exchange for 20 hours of labour.

Gold money with the plebeian denomination *x hours of labour,* would be more subject to fluctuations than any other kind of money, and especially more than the present gold money; because gold cannot rise or fall against gold (being equal to itself), while the past labour time embodied in a definite quantity of gold must continually rise or fall against present living labour time. To maintain its convertibility, the productivity of an hour's labour would have to be kept constant. Indeed, according to the general economic law that production costs fall continually, that living labour becomes more and more productive, and that the labour time objectified in products therefore continually depreciates, constant depreciation would be the inevitable fate of this gold labour money. One could say that, to overcome this drawback, the denomination of labour hours should be borne not by gold but by paper money, a mere token of value, as was suggested by Weitling[32] and before him by Englishmen and after him by Frenchmen, among them Proudhon and company. The labour time embodied in the paper itself would be of as little account as the paper value of banknotes. The one would simply be a representative of labour hours, as the other is of gold or silver. If an hour of labour became more productive the token that represented it would rise in purchasing power and conversely, exactly as now a £5 note buys more or less according to the rise or fall in the relative value of gold in comparison to other commodities.

In accordance with the same law by which the gold labour money would be subject to constant depreciation, the paper labour money would enjoy constant appreciation. That is precisely what we want: the worker would be glad of the rising productivity of his labour, instead of, as now, creating proportionately more alien

wealth and his own depreciation. So say the socialists.

BUT, UNFORTUNATELY, THERE ARISE SOME SMALL SCRUPLES. *D'abord,*[a] once we assume the existence of money, even if only as labour-time tickets, we must also assume accumulation of this money and contracts, obligations, interest payments, etc., which would be entered into in terms of this money. The accumulated tickets would continually appreciate, as well as the newly issued ones. Hence, on the one hand, the growing productivity of labour would benefit those who do not work, while on the other hand debts contracted earlier would keep pace with the greater productivity of labour. The rise and fall in the value of gold or silver would not matter at all if the world's business could be started anew at each instant, and obligations to pay a definite quantity of gold did not survive fluctuations in the value of gold. The same is the case with the labour-time ticket and the productivity of an hour's labour.

The point to be examined here is the convertibility of the labour-time tickets. We shall arrive at the same end if we make a digression here. Although it is still too early, we may make a few remarks about the delusions that underlie the labour-time ticket, and peer into the deepest secret that links Proudhon's theory of circulation with his general theory, his theory of the determination [I-11] of value. We find the same link, for example, in Bray and Gray. The possible elements of truth underlying it to be examined later. (Before that, INCIDENTALLY: banknotes considered simply as drafts on gold can never be issued in excess of the quantity of gold money that they purport to replace, without being depreciated. Three bank drafts of £15 each, which I issue to three separate creditors on the same £15 in gold, are in fact only drafts on $£^{15}/_{3}=£5$ each. Each of these notes would therefore be depreciated to $33^{1}/_{3}\%$ from the outset.)

The *value* (the real exchange value) of all commodities (including labour) is determined by their production costs, in other words, by the labour time required for their production. Their *price* is this exchange value of theirs expressed in money. The replacement of metallic currency (and the paper or credit money denominated in terms of it) by labour money deriving its denomination from labour time itself, would therefore equate the *real value* (exchange value) of commodities and their *nominal value, price, money value.* Equation of *real value and nominal value, of value and price.* But this would be attained only on the assumption that

[a] To begin with.—*Ed.*

*value* and *price* are only *nominally* distinct. But such is by no means the case. The value of commodities determined by labour time is only their *average value.* An average which appears as an external abstraction in so far as it is obtained by calculation as the average over a period of time, e.g. 1 pound of coffee, 1 shilling, if the average price of coffee is taken over a period of, say, 25 years. But this average is very real if it is recognised as both the driving force and the moving principle of the fluctuations which occur in the prices of commodities during a particular period of time.

This reality is not only of theoretical importance. It also constitutes the basis of commercial speculation, where the calculation of probability proceeds from both the mean average price, which is taken as the centre of the fluctuations, and the average heights and depths of these fluctuations above or below this centre. The *market value* of commodities is always different from this average value and always stands either below or above it.

The market value equates itself to the real value by means of its continual fluctuations, not by an equation with real value as some third thing, but precisely through continual inequality to itself (not, as Hegel would say, by abstract identity but by a continual negation of the negation,[a] i.e. of itself as the negation of the real value). I have shown in my pamphlet against Proudhon, and it need not be gone into further at this point, that the real value—independently of its dominance over the fluctuations of the market price (apart from its being the *law* of these fluctuations)—negates itself again and brings the real value of the commodities continually into contradiction with its own determination, depreciates or appreciates the real value of existing commodities.[b]

*Price,* therefore, differs from *value,* not only as the nominal differs from the real; not only by its denomination in gold and silver; but also in that the latter appears as the law of the movements to which the former is subject. But they are always distinct and never coincide, or only quite fortuitously and exceptionally. The price of commodities always stands above or below their value, and the value of commodities itself exists only in the UPS AND DOWNS of commodity prices. Demand and supply continually determine the prices of commodities; they never coincide or do so only accidentally; but the costs of production

[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik,* 2. Buch, 1. Abschnitt, 2. Kapitel, A. Die Identität.— *Ed.*

[b] Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 131-37).— *Ed.*

determine for their part the fluctuations of demand and supply.

The gold or silver in which the price of a commodity, its market value, is expressed, is itself a particular quantity of stored up labour, a certain measure of materialised labour time. On the assumption that the production costs of the commodity and of the gold and silver remain constant, the rise or fall of its market price means only that a commodity equal to $x$ labour time continually commands on the market something more or less than $x$ labour time, stands above or below its average value determined by labour time.

The first basic illusion of the champions of labour-time tickets consists in this: that by abolishing the *nominal distinction* between real value and market value, between exchange value and price, by expressing value in labour time itself instead of in a particular objectification of labour time, SAY, gold and silver, they also remove the real distinction and contradiction between price and value. On that basis it is self-evident how the simple introduction of labour-time tickets would remove all crises, all defects of bourgeois production. The money price of commodities=their real value; demand=supply; production=consumption; money simultaneously abolished and retained; the labour time whose product the commodity is, which is materialised in the commodity, would need merely to be stated to produce its corresponding counterpart in a token of value, in money, in labour-time tickets. Each commodity would thus be directly transformed into money, and gold and silver for their part reduced to the rank of all other commodities.

We do not need to dwell on the fact that the contradiction between exchange value and price, between the average price and the prices whose average it is, the distinction between magnitudes and their average magnitude, [I-12] cannot be eliminated by abolishing the mere *difference of name* between them, i.e. by instead of saying that 1 lb. of bread costs 8d., saying that 1 lb. of bread=$^1/_x$ hour of labour. Conversely, if 8d.=$^1/_x$ hour of labour, and if the labour time materialised in one pound of bread is more or less than $^1/_x$ hour of labour, then, because the measure of value would also be the element in which the price is expressed, the difference between value and price, which is concealed in the gold or silver price, would be only too apparent. We should have an infinite equation: $^1/_x$ hour of labour (contained in 8d. or expressed by a ticket) would equal either more or less than $^1/_x$ hour of labour (contained in the pound of bread).

The labour-time ticket, which represents the *average labour time,*

would never correspond to the *actual labour time* and never be convertible into it. That is, the labour time objectified in a commodity would never command a quantity of labour money equal to itself, and vice versa. It would command more or less, just as now each fluctuation of market values is expressed in a rise or fall in their gold and silver prices.

The constant depreciation of commodities—over longer periods—against the labour-time tickets, of which we spoke earlier,[a] would result from the law of the rising productivity of labour time, from the disturbances in relative value itself, which are created through its own inherent principle, labour time. The inconvertibility of the labour-time tickets, which we are now discussing, is nothing but another expression of the inconvertibility between real value and market value, exchange value and price. In contrast to all commodities, the labour-time ticket would represent an ideal labour time, which would exchange now for more, now for less, actual labour time, and which would have a separate, individual existence in this ticket corresponding to this real inequality. Once again the general equivalent, the means of circulation and measure of commodities would confront them as something individualised, following its own laws, alienated, i.e. with all the properties of our present money without performing its services. But confusion would reach quite a new peak, as the medium for comparing commodities, these objectified quantities of labour time, would not be a third commodity but their own measure of value, labour time itself.

Commodity *a,* the objectification of 3 hours of labour time,=2 hour's labour-time tickets; commodity *b,* likewise the objectification of 3 hours of labour=4 hours' labour-time tickets. This contradiction is indeed expressed in money prices, but in a concealed form. The distinction between price and value, between the commodity as measured by the labour time of which it is the product, and the product of the labour time for which it is exchanged, this distinction demands a third commodity as a measure, in which the real exchange value of the commodity is expressed. *Because price does not equal value, the element determining value, labour time, cannot be the element in which prices are expressed. For labour time would have to express itself at once as the determining and the non-determining element, as the equivalent and the non-equivalent of itself.* Because labour time as a measure of value exists only ideally, it cannot serve as the material for the comparison of prices. (This also

[a] See this volume, pp. 72-73.— *Ed.*

explains how and why the value relationship assumes a material and distinct existence in [the form of] money. This point to be developed further.) The distinction between price and value demands that values as prices be measured by a yardstick other than their own. Price as distinct from value is necessarily *money price.* Here it becomes clear that the *nominal* distinction between price and value is conditioned by their *real* distinction.

## [THE ORIGIN AND ESSENCE OF MONEY]

Commodity $a=1$ s. (i.e. equals $^1/_x$ silver); commodity $b=2$ s. (i.e. $^2/_x$ silver). Therefore commodity $b$=twice the value of commodity $a$. The value relationship between $a$ and $b$ is expressed by the proportion in which each exchanges against a definite quantity of a third commodity, silver; not against a value relationship.

Each commodity (product or instrument of production)=the objectification of a particular [quantity of] labour time. Its value, the proportion in which it is exchanged for other commodities or other commodities are exchanged for it, is equal to the quantity of labour time realised in it. If the commodity e.g.=1 hour's labour time, it can be exchanged for all other commodities which are the product of 1 hour's labour time. (This proposition is based on the assumption that exchange value=market value; real value=price.)

The value of a commodity is different from the commodity itself. The commodity is value (exchange value) only in exchange (real or imagined). Value is not only the exchangeability of this commodity in general, but its specific exchangeability. It is at once the indicator of the ratio in which the commodity exchanges for others and the indicator of the ratio in which it has already been exchanged for others (materialised labour time) in the process of production. Value is a commodity's quantitatively determined [I-13] exchangeability. Commodities, e.g. a yard of cotton and a quart of oil, considered as cotton and oil, are of course distinct, possess different properties, are measured in different units, are incommensurable. As values, all commodities are qualitatively equal and only quantitatively different, hence they can be measured in terms of each other and are mutually replaceable (exchangeable, convertible into each other) in definite quantitative proportions.

Value is their social relationship, their economic quality. A book that has a certain value, and a loaf that has the same value, are mutually exchangeable, they represent the same value, only in different materials. As value, the commodity is at the same time an

equivalent for all other commodities in a particular ratio. As value, the commodity is an equivalent; as an equivalent, all its natural properties are extinguished; it no longer bears any particular qualitative relationship to other commodities, but it is the general measure, the general representative, and the general means of exchange for all other commodities. As value it is *money.*

But because the commodity, or rather the product or instrument of production, is distinct from itself as value, it is also, as value, distinct from itself as a product. Its property as value not only can, but must, at the same time acquire an existence distinct from its natural existence. Why? Because, since commodities as values are only quantitatively different from each other, every commodity must be qualitatively distinct from its own value. Its value therefore must also have an existence qualitatively distinguishable from it, and in the actual exchange this separability must become an actual separation, because the natural distinctions between commodities must come into contradiction with their economic equivalence; the two can exist alongside one another only through the commodity acquiring a dual existence, a natural existence and alongside it a purely economic one, in which it is a mere sign, a letter for a relationship of production, a mere symbol for its own value.

As value, every commodity is uniformly divisible; in its natural existence, it is not. As value, it remains the same, no matter how many metamorphoses and forms of existence it goes through; in reality, commodities are exchanged only because they are different and correspond to different systems of needs. As value, it is general, as an actual commodity it is something particular. As value, it is always exchangeable; in actual exchange it is exchangeable only if it fulfils certain conditions. As value, the extent of its exchangeability is determined by itself: exchange value expresses precisely the ratio in which a commodity replaces other commodities; in actual exchange, it is exchangeable only in quantities related to its natural properties and corresponding to the needs of the exchangers.

(In short, all the properties that are enumerated as particular properties of money are properties of the commodity as exchange value; [properties] of the product as value as distinct from the value as product.) (The exchange value of the commodity, as a special existence alongside the commodity itself, is *money*: the form in which all commodities are equated, compared, measured; the form into which all commodities are dissolved, and which dissolves itself in all commodities; the general equivalent.)

In calculations, accountancy, etc., we are constantly transforming commodities into symbols of value, fixing them as mere exchange values, abstracting from their material composition and all their natural properties. On paper, in the head, this metamorphosis is produced by a simple process of abstraction; but in actual exchange a real *mediation* is necessary, a means by which this abstraction is effected. In its natural properties, the commodity is neither continually exchangeable, nor exchangeable with *every other commodity*; it is not exchangeable in its natural identity with itself, but only as something different from itself, only posited as exchange value. We must first convert it into itself as exchange value, in order to compare and to exchange this exchange value with others.

In the most primitive barter trade, when two commodities are exchanged for one another, each is first equated to a figure that expresses its exchange value, e.g. among certain Negro tribes on the West African coast as equal to $x$ BARS.[a] The one commodity is equal to 1 BAR, the other to 2 BARS. In this proportion they are exchanged. The commodities are first transformed in the head and in speech into BARS before they are exchanged for one another. They are valued before they are exchanged, and in order to be valued they must be brought into a definite numerical relationship to each other. In order to bring them into such a numerical relationship and to make them commensurable, they must obtain the same denomination (unit). (The BAR possesses a merely imaginary existence, and indeed in general a relationship can obtain a specific embodiment, can itself be individualised, only through abstraction.) To cover the surplus of one value over the other, to liquidate the balance, payment in money becomes necessary in the most primitive barter trade as well as in present-day international trade.

Products (or activities) exchange only as commodities; commodities themselves exist in exchange only as values; only as such are they comparable. To determine the weight of bread that I can exchange for a yard of linen cloth, I first equate the yard of linen to its exchange value, i.e. to $^1/_x$ labour time. Likewise I equate the pound of bread to its exchange value, $^1/_x$ or $^2/_x$, etc., labour time. I equate each commodity to a third, i.e. [I-14] I posit it as unequal to itself. This third thing, distinct from the other two since it ex-

[a] See W. Jacob, *An Historical Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals*, Vol. II, London, 1831, pp. 326-27; D. Urquhart, *Familiar Words as Affecting England and the English*, London, 1856, p. 112.—*Ed.*

presses a ratio, exists initially in the head, in the imagination, just as in general ratios can only be *thought* if they are to be fixed, as distinct from the subjects[33] which are in that ratio to each other.

When a product (or an activity) becomes exchange value, it is not only transformed into a particular quantitative ratio, a numerical ratio—namely into a number which expresses what quantity of other commodities is equivalent to it, is its equivalent, or in what proportion it is the equivalent of other commodities—it must at the same time be qualitatively transformed, converted into another element, so that both commodities become denominated quantities, in the same units, thus becoming commensurable.

The commodity must first be transformed into labour time, that is into something qualitatively different from itself (qualitatively different (1) because it is not labour time as labour time, but materialised labour time; labour time not in the form of movement, but in that of rest; not as process, but as result; (2) because it is not the objectification of labour time in general, which exists only in the imagination (is itself only labour separated from its quality, only quantitatively different labour), but is the definite result of a definite, naturally determined labour, qualitatively different from other labours) in order then to become comparable as a definite quantity of labour time, a definite magnitude of labour, with other quantities of labour time, other magnitudes of labour.

For mere comparison, for the valuation of products, for the notional determination of their value, it is enough to make this transformation in the head (a transformation in which the product exists simply as the expression of quantitative relationships of production). For the comparison of commodities, this abstraction is sufficient; for actual exchange, this abstraction must again be objectified, symbolised, realised through a token. The necessity arises as follows: (1) As we have already said, the commodities to be exchanged are both transformed in the head into common ratios of magnitudes, exchange values, and so valued against each other. If they are now to be actually exchanged, their natural properties come into contradiction with their determination as exchange values and mere denominated numbers. They are not arbitrarily divisible, etc. (2) In actual exchange, specific commodities are always exchanged for specific commodities, and the exchangeability of each commodity, like the proportion in which it is exchangeable, depends upon circumstances of place, time, etc.

But the transformation of a commodity into exchange value does not equate it with another specific commodity, but expresses

it as an equivalent, the ratio of its exchangeability to all other commodities. This comparison, which in the head is carried out at a stroke, is effected in reality only within a definite sphere, one determined by demand, and only in successive steps. (For example, I exchange little by little an income of 100 thaler, in accordance with my needs, against a whole range of commodities whose sum is equal to the exchange value of 100 thaler.)

Hence, in order to realise the commodity at a stroke as exchange value and to give it the general effect of exchange value, its exchange for a particular commodity is not sufficient. It must be exchanged for a third thing which is not itself a particular commodity but the symbol of the commodity as commodity, of the commodity's exchange value itself; *which therefore represents, say, labour time as such,* say, a piece of paper or leather which represents a certain portion of labour time. (Such a symbol presupposes general recognition; it can only be a social symbol; in fact, it only expresses a social relationship.)

This symbol represents certain portions of labour time, represents exchange value in such portions as are capable of expressing by simple arithmetic combinations all reciprocal relationships of exchange values. This symbol, this material sign of exchange value, is a product of exchange itself, not the execution of a preconceived idea. (In fact, the commodity which serves as the mediator of exchange is only transformed into money, into a symbol, gradually. As soon as that has happened, a symbol of the mediating commodity can in turn replace the commodity itself. It now becomes the conscious token of exchange value.)

Hence the process is simply this: the product becomes a commodity, i.e. a *mere element of exchange.* The commodity is transformed into exchange value. In order to equate it with itself as exchange value, it is exchanged for a token which represents it as exchange value as such. As such symbolised exchange value, it can then be exchanged again in certain proportions with any other commodity. Through the product becoming a commodity and the commodity becoming exchange value, it acquires, first in our mind, a dual existence. This mental duplication proceeds (and must proceed) to the point where the commodity appears dual in actual exchange: as natural product on the one hand, as exchange value on the other. I.e. its exchange value acquires an existence materially separated from it.

[I-15] The determination of the product as exchange value therefore necessarily brings it about that the exchange value acquires an existence apart from the product, detached from it.

Exchange value detached from the commodities themselves, and itself existing as a commodity alongside them, is—*money*. In *money*, all the properties of a commodity as exchange value appear as an object distinct from the commodity, as a social form of existence detached from the commodity's natural form of existence. (This is to be demonstrated further by enumerating the ordinary properties of money.) (The material used to express this symbol is a matter of some consequence, however varied it has been historically. As society develops it also evolves—along with the symbol—the material that more and more corresponds to the symbol, though it later strives to free itself from that material again; a symbol, if it is not arbitrary, requires certain conditions as regards the material in which it is presented. Thus, e.g. the signs for words possess a history; alphabetic script, etc.)

The exchange value of a product thus produces money alongside the product. Just as it is impossible to abolish complications and contradictions arising from the existence of money alongside specific commodities by changing the form of money (although difficulties inherent in a lower form of money may be avoided by a higher form), it is likewise impossible to abolish money itself, so long as exchange value remains the social form of products. It is essential to understand this clearly, so as not to set oneself impossible tasks, and to know the limits within which monetary reform and changes in circulation can remodel the relations of production and the social relations based upon them.

The properties of money (1) as measure of commodity exchange; (2) as means of exchange; (3) as representative of commodities (for that reason as the object of contracts); (4) as universal commodity existing alongside the particular ones, all follow simply from its role as objectified exchange value separated from the commodities themselves. (By virtue of its property as a universal commodity in relation to all others, as the embodiment of their exchange value, money is also the realised and always realisable form of capital, the form in which capital is always acceptable, as is demonstrated by the bullion DRAINS. It was owing to this property that capital appeared historically first only in the form of money. It explains moreover the connection of money with the rate of interest and its influence thereon.)

The more production develops in such a way that every producer becomes dependent upon the exchange value of his commodity, i.e. the more the product really becomes exchange

value, and exchange value becomes the immediate object of production, the more must *money relationships* develop, and with them the contradictions immanent in *money relationships,* immanent in the relationship of the product to itself as money. The need for exchange and the transformation of the product into pure exchange value progresses in the same measure as the division of labour, i.e. with the social character of production. But with the growth of the latter grows the power of *money,* i.e. the exchange relation establishes itself as a power external to and independent of the producers. What originally appeared as a means to promote production turns into a relationship alien to the producers. In proportion as the producers become dependent upon exchange, exchange appears to become independent of them; the rift between the product as product and the product as exchange value appears to widen. Money does not create this opposition and this contradiction; on the contrary, their development creates the apparently transcendental power of money.

(To be developed: the influence of the transformation of all relationships into money relationships; of taxes in kind into taxes in money, rent in kind into money rent, feudal military service into mercenaries, in general of all personal services into monetary dues, of patriarchal, slave, serf, guild labour into pure wage labour.)

The product becomes a commodity; the commodity becomes exchange value; the exchange value of the commodity is its immanent monetary attribute; this monetary attribute detaches itself from the commodity as money, assumes a general social existence separate from all specific commodities and their natural form of existence. The relationship of the product to itself as exchange value becomes its relationship to a money existing alongside it, or the relationship of all products to money existing outside all of them. As the actual exchange of products gives rise to their exchange value, so does their exchange value give rise to money.

The next question which confronts us is this: does not the existence of money alongside commodities contain from the outset contradictions inherent in this very relationship?

*Firstly*: The simple fact that the commodity has a dual existence, as a specific product which contains its exchange value in its natural form of existence as idea (in latent form), and then as revealed exchange value (*money*) which has discarded all connection with the product's natural form of existence; this dual existence in two *distinct* forms must lead to *differentiation,* and the

differentiation to *opposition* and [I-16] *contradiction.* The same contradiction between the particular nature of the commodity as a product and its general nature as exchange value, which necessitated its being posited as dual, on the one hand as particular commodity and on the other as money, the contradiction between its specific natural properties and its general social properties, contains from the outset the possibility that these two separate forms of existence of the commodity are not mutually convertible. The exchangeability of the commodity exists as a thing alongside it in money, as something distinct from it, no longer immediately identical with it. As soon as money is an external thing alongside the commodity, the exchangeability of the commodity for money is immediately linked to external conditions, which may or may not be present. It is subject to external circumstances.

The commodity is demanded in exchange because of its natural properties, because of the needs of which it is the object; money, on the other hand, only because of its exchange value, as exchange value. Whether therefore the commodity is convertible into money, whether it can be exchanged for it, whether its exchange value can be realised, depends upon circumstances which have no immediate connection with it as exchange value and are independent of it. The convertibility of the commodity depends upon the natural properties of the product; that of money coincides with its existence as symbolised exchange value. It therefore becomes possible that the commodity in its particular form as product can no longer be exchanged for or equated with its general form as money.

By existing outside the commodity as money, the exchangeability of the commodity has become something different from the commodity, alien to it, with which it must first be equated, to which it is therefore *d'abord* unequal; while the equating itself becomes dependent upon external circumstances, therefore a matter of chance.

*Secondly*: As the exchange value of a commodity has a dual form of existence, as a specific commodity and as money, so the act of exchange consists of two mutually independent acts: exchange of the commodity for money, exchange of the money for a commodity, buying and selling. Since these have now acquired a form of existence distinct from one another in space and time and indifferent to one another, their immediate identity ceases to exist. They may correspond or not; they may coincide or not; disparities may occur between them. True, they will always seek to get into balance, but the earlier direct equality has now been replaced by

the continual movement towards equalisation, which of course presupposes continual inequality. It is possible that consonance between them may now be fully attained only by passing through the most extreme dissonances.

*Thirdly*: With the separation of buying and selling, the division of exchange into two acts independent of each other in space and time, there emerges another new relationship.

As exchange itself splits into two mutually independent acts, so the general movement of exchange is severed from the exchangers, from the producers of the commodities. Exchange for the sake of exchange is separated from exchange for the sake of commodities. An estate of merchants intervenes between the producers, an estate which buys only in order to sell, and sells only in order to buy again, aiming in this operation not at the possession of the commodities as products but merely at the acquisition of exchange value as such, of money. (A merchant estate can arise even under conditions of mere barter. But since it has at its disposal only the surplus of production on both sides, its influence on production itself remains utterly secondary, as does its whole significance.)

To the acquisition of independence by exchange value in money, divorced from the products, corresponds the acquisition of independence by exchange (trade) as a function divorced from the exchangers. Exchange value was the measure of commodity barter; but the object of the latter was the direct possession of the exchanged commodity, its consumption (whether this consumption consisted in its use as a product for the direct satisfaction of needs, or as a tool of production).

The purpose of trade is not directly consumption but the acquisition of money, of exchange values. This dual nature of exchange—exchange for the sake of consumption and exchange for the sake of exchange—results in a new disparity. The merchant in his exchange is guided merely by the difference between purchase and sale of the commodity; but the consumer must once and for all replace the exchange value of the commodity he buys. Circulation, exchange within the merchant estate, and the final stage of circulation, exchange between the merchants and the consumers, however much they must ultimately condition each other, are determined by quite different laws and motives, and the greatest contradiction can develop between them. This separation alone can be the cause of trade crises. But since production is geared directly to trade and only indirectly to [I-17] consumption, it must get caught up in this incongruity between trade and

exchange for consumption just as much as, for its own part, it must produce it. (The relationships between demand and supply are completely reversed.) (The money business, in turn, becomes separated from trade in the strict sense.)

*Aphorisms.* (All commodities are transitory money; money is the eternal commodity. The further the division of labour develops, the more the immediate product ceases to be a means of exchange. The need arises for a general means of exchange, i.e. for a means of exchange that is independent of the specific production of any individual. In money, the value of things is separated from their substance. Money is originally the representative of all values; in practice it is the other way round, and all real products and all labour become representatives of money. In direct barter every article cannot be exchanged for every other article, and a particular activity can only be exchanged for particular products. The difficulties inherent in barter can be overcome by money only in so far as it generalises these difficulties, makes them universal. It is absolutely necessary that the forcibly separated elements which essentially belong together, should demonstrate by some violent eruption that theirs is a *separation* of what essentially belongs together. Unity is produced *by force.* As soon as the hostile separation leads to eruptions, the economists draw attention to the *essential unity* and ignore the alienation. Their apologetic wisdom consists in forgetting their own definitions at every decisive moment. The product as immediate means of exchange is still directly connected (1) with its natural properties, hence in every way limited by them; e.g. it can deteriorate, etc.; (2) with the direct need that another person has or does not have for this particular product, or might also have for his own product. Once the product of labour and labour itself are subjected to exchange, there comes a moment when they are separated from their owner. Whether they return to him from this separation in some other form becomes *a matter of chance.* In so far as money comes into the exchange, I am compelled to exchange my product for universal exchange value or universal exchangeability, and so my product becomes dependent upon general commerce and is torn out of its local, natural and individual boundaries. Precisely thereby it can cease to be a product.)

*Fourthly*: As exchange value in the form of money appears as the *general commodity* alongside all particular commodities, so exchange value, as money, thereby appears simultaneously as a *particular commodity* (since money has a particular existence) alongside all other commodities. Not only does this lead to the

incongruity that, as it exists only in exchange, money confronts the particular exchangeability of commodities as universal exchangeability and immediately extinguishes it, while the two must nevertheless always remain convertible into one another; but money also comes into contradiction with itself and its determination because it is itself a *particular* commodity (even if only a symbol) and thus, in its exchange with other commodities, is again subject to particular conditions of exchange which contradict its universal unconditional exchangeability. (Here no mention at all yet of money as fixed in the substance of a definite product, etc.)

In addition to its existence in the commodity, exchange value acquired an existence of its own in money; it was separated from its substance precisely because the natural determinateness of this substance contradicted its general determination as exchange value. Each commodity is identical (or comparable) to another as exchange value (*qualitatively*: each represents only a *quantitative* plus or minus of exchange value). Hence this identity, this unity of commodities, differs from their natural distinctiveness, and therefore appears in money both as the element common to them and also as a third thing confronting them. But on the one hand, exchange value naturally remains an inherent quality of commodities while at the same time existing outside them. On the other hand, in so far as money no longer exists as a quality of commodities, as their general attribute, but is individualised alongside them, it becomes itself a *particular* commodity among the other commodities (subject to the determination of demand and supply; can be divided into particular types of money, etc.).

It becomes a commodity like other commodities, and at the same time is not a commodity like other commodities. In spite of its general determination it is one exchangeable among other exchangeables. It is not only the general exchange value, but at the same time a particular exchange value among other particular exchange values. Here a new source of contradictions which manifest themselves in practice. (In the separation of the money business from actual trade, the special nature of money emerges yet again.)

We see, then, how it is inherent in money to fulfil its purposes by simultaneously negating them; to make itself independent in relation to commodities; to turn itself from a means into an end; to realise the exchange value of commodities by separating them from it; to facilitate exchange by splitting it; to overcome the difficulties of the direct exchange of commodities by [I-18] generalising them; to render exchange independent of the

producers to the same extent as the producers become dependent on exchange.

(It will later be necessary, before leaving this question, to correct the idealist manner of presentation which makes it appear as if it were merely a matter of the definitions of concepts and the dialectic of these concepts. Above all the phrase: the product (or activity) becomes a commodity; the commodity becomes exchange value; the exchange value becomes money.)

(*The Economist,* 24 January 1857. The following passage to be borne in mind when dealing with the BANKS[a]:

"So far as the mercantile classes share, which they now do very generally, in the profits of banks—and may to a still greater extent by the wider diffusion of joint-stock banks, the abolition of all corporate privileges, and the extension of perfect freedom to the business of banking,—they have been enriched by the increased rates of money. In truth, the mercantile classes by the extent of their deposits, are virtually their own bankers; and so far as that is the case, the rate of discount must be to them of little importance. All banking and other reserves must of course be the results of continual industry, and of savings laid by out of profits; and consequently, taking the mercantile or industrious classes as a whole, they must be their own bankers; and it requires only that the principles of free trade should be extended to all businesses, to equalise or neutralise for them the advantages and disadvantages of all the fluctuations in the money market.")

All contradictions of the *money system* and of the exchange of products under the money system lie in the development of the relationship of products as *exchange values,* of their role as *exchange value* or simply as *value.*

(*Morning Star,* 12 February 1857. "The pressure of money during last year, and the high rate of discount which was adopted in consequence, has been very beneficial to the profit account of the Bank of France. Its dividend has gone on increasing: 118 frs in 1852, 154 frs in 1853, 194 frs in 1854, 200 frs in 1855, 272 frs in 1856.")

The following passage also to be noted:

"The English silver coins [are] issued at a price higher than the value of the silver they contain. A pound silver of 60-62 sh. in intrinsic value (£3 on an average in gold) [was] coined into 66 sh. The Mint pays the market price of the day, from 5 sh. to 5 sh. 2d. the ounce, and issues at the rate of 5 sh. 6d. the ounce. There are two reasons which prevent any practical inconvenience resulting from this arrangement" (of *silver tokens,* not of intrinsic value): "first, the coin can only be procured at the Mint, and at that price; as home circulation, then, it cannot be depreciated, and it cannot be sent abroad because it circulates here for more than

[a] Here and further in this section, Marx quotes in English.— *Ed.*

its intrinsic value; and secondly, as it is a legal tender only up to 40 sh., it never interferes with the gold coins, nor affects their value."

Advises France likewise to

issue subordinate coins of silver tokens, not of intrinsic value, and limiting the amount to which they should be a legal tender.

But at the same time:

in fixing the quality of the coin, to take a larger margin between the intrinsic and the nominal value than we have in England, because the increasing value of silver in relation to gold may very probably, before long, rise up to our present Mint price, when we may be obliged again to alter it. Our silver coin is now little more than 5% below the intrinsic value: a short time since it was 10% (*The Economist,* 24 January 1857).

Now, it might be thought that the issue of labour-time tickets overcomes all these difficulties. (The existence of such tickets naturally presupposes conditions which are not directly given in the investigation of the relationship of exchange value and money, and without which both can and do exist: "public credit", bank, etc.; but all this not to be further discussed here; since of course the supporters of the labour-time ticket consider it as the *final* product of the "series",[34] which, if it corresponds most closely to the "pure" concept of money, "appears" last in reality.)

To begin with: if the conditions under which the price of a commodity=its exchange value are assumed as fulfilled, i.e. balance of demand and supply, of production and consumption, in the final analysis PROPORTIONATE PRODUCTION[a] (the so-called relations of distribution are themselves relations of production), then the question of money becomes quite secondary, and especially the question whether blue or green TICKETS, metal or paper ones, are issued, or in what other form social book-keeping will be done. It is then the height of absurdity to keep up the pretence that investigations of the actual money relationships should be instituted.

[I-19] The bank, ANY BANK, issues the labour-time tickets. Commodity $a$=exchange value $x$, i.e. $x$ labour time, exchanges for money representing $x$ labour time. The bank would have to purchase the commodity, i.e. exchange it for its monetary representative in the same way as e.g. now the Bank of England must give notes for gold. The commodity, the material and

[a] See J. Gray, *Lectures on the Nature and Use of Money,* Edinburgh, 1848, pp. 67, 108, 123, 125, 142-48 et al.—*Ed.*

therefore fortuitous [form of] existence of exchange value, is exchanged for the symbolic existence of exchange value as exchange value. There is thus no difficulty in converting it from the form of a commodity into that of money. The labour time it contains only needs to be authentically verified (which, incidentally, is not as easy as testing the fineness and weight of gold and silver) and produces thereby directly its *contrevaleur*[a]: its monetary existence.

However we twist and turn the matter, in the final analysis it comes to this: the bank which issues the labour-time tickets purchases the commodity at its production costs, purchases all commodities, and what is more, such purchases cost the bank nothing except the production of slips of paper, and gives to the seller, instead of the exchange value that he possessed in a particular substantial form, the symbolic exchange value of the commodity, in other words a draft upon all other commodities to the amount of the same exchange value. Exchange value as such, of course, can exist only symbolically, although this symbol, in order to be usable as a thing—not only as imaginary form—possesses an objective existence; is not only an ideal notion, but actually represented in an objective way. (A yardstick can be held in the hand; exchange value measures, but it exchanges only by the yardstick passing from one hand to another.[35])

So the bank gives money for the commodity, money which is exactly a draft upon the exchange value of the commodity, i.e. upon all commodities of the same value: the bank purchases. It is the general purchaser, the purchaser not only of this or that commodity, but of all commodities. For its specific function is to convert every commodity into its symbolic existence as exchange value. But if it is the general buyer it must also be the general seller, not only the store in which all commodities are deposited, the general warehouse, but the owner of the commodities in the same sense as every other merchant.

I have exchanged my commodity *a* for the labour-time ticket *b*, which represents the commodity's exchange value, but only so that I may now change this *b* at will into any actual commodity *c, d, e,* etc. Now can this money circulate outside the bank, otherwise than between the possessor of the ticket and the bank? How is the convertibility of this ticket secured? There are only two possible cases. Either all possessors of commodities (products or labour) wish to sell them at their exchange value, or some wish to sell and

[a] Equivalent.—*Ed.*

others do not. If they all wish to sell them at their exchange value, then they will not wait for a buyer to turn up by chance, but will go immediately to the bank, hand over the commodity and receive for it the bank's symbol of exchange value, money: they exchange it for the bank's own money. In this case, the bank is at once general buyer and seller in one person.

Or the contrary is the case. Then the bank ticket is merely paper, it only claims to be the generally recognised symbol of exchange value, but has no value. For the distinguishing characteristic of this symbol is that it not only represents exchange value, but *is* exchange value in actual exchange. In the second case, the bank ticket would not be money, or would be money valid only by convention between the bank and its customers, not on the general market. It would be the same as a dozen meal tickets bought at a restaurant, or a dozen theatre tickets. Both represent money, but only at this particular restaurant or this particular theatre. The bank ticket would have ceased to conform to the requirements of money, for it would circulate not amongst the GENERAL PUBLIC but only between the bank and its customers. We must therefore drop the latter supposition.

The bank would therefore be the general buyer and seller. Instead of notes, it could also issue CHEQUES and instead of those run simple BOOK ACCOUNTS. Whatever the sum of commodity values which *x* had sold to it, he would have a claim on it for the same sum of values in other commodities. A second attribute of the bank would be necessary: to establish authentically the exchange value of all commodities, i.e. the labour time materialised in them.

But its functions could not end with that. It would have to determine the labour time in which the commodities could be produced with the average means of labour, the time in which they must be produced.

But even this would not be sufficient. It would have to determine not only the time in which a certain quantity of output must be produced, and secure for the producers such circumstances as would equalise the productivity of their labour (hence also to equalise and order the distribution of the means of labour), but also what quantities of labour time [I-20] should be expended in the different branches of production. The latter would be necessary because, in order to realise exchange value, to make its money really convertible, production in general would have to be secured, and in such proportions that the needs of the partners in exchange were satisfied.

That is still not all. The exchange that occurs on the largest

scale is not that of commodities but that of labour for commodities. (More on this presently.) The workers would not sell their labour to the bank but would receive the exchange value of the whole product of their labour, etc. Strictly speaking, the bank would then be not only the general buyer and seller, but also the general producer. In fact, it would be either the despot governing production and managing distribution, or indeed nothing more than a BOARD to carry on the book-keeping and accounting for society working in common. The common ownership of the means of production is presupposed, etc., etc. The Saint-Simonians made their bank the papacy of production.

The dissolution of all products and activities into exchange values presupposes both the dissolution of all established personal (historical) relations of dependence in production, and the all-round dependence of producers upon one another. The production of each individual producer is dependent upon the production of all the others, as also the transformation of his product into means of subsistence for himself has become dependent upon the consumption of all the others. Prices are old; so is exchange; but both the increasing determination of the former by the production costs, and the increasing penetration of the latter into all relations of production only develop fully, and continue to develop ever more completely, in bourgeois society, the society of free competition. What Adam Smith in the true 18th-century manner placed in pre-history, what he assumed to have preceded history,[a] [36] is rather its product.

This mutual dependence expressed in the constant need for exchange and in exchange value as the universal mediator. The economists express it thus: everyone pursues his private interest and only his private interest, and thereby unintentionally and unwittingly serves the private interests of all, the general interest. The point is not that, in pursuing his private interest, everyone serves the totality of private interests and thus the general interest is attained. This abstract statement could rather lead to the conclusion that everyone mutually hinders the assertion of the interests of everyone else, and instead of a general affirmation, a general negation results from this *bellum omnium contra omnes*.[b]

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[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I, London, 1835, p. 130.— *Ed.*

[b] War of all against all—a phrase used by Thomas Hobbes in his treatises *De cive* (Ch. I) and *Leviathan* (Ch. XVII).— *Ed.*

The point is rather that private interest is itself already a socially determined interest and can be attained only within the conditions laid down by society and with the means provided by society, and is therefore tied to the reproduction of these conditions and means. It is the interest of private persons; but its content, as well as the form and means of its realisation, are given by social conditions that are independent of them all.

The absolute mutual dependence of individuals, who are indifferent to one another, constitutes their social connection. This social connection is expressed in *exchange value,* in which alone his own activity or his product becomes an activity or product for the individual himself. He must produce a general product—*exchange value,* or exchange value isolated by itself, individualised: *money.* On the other hand, the power that each individual exercises over the activity of others or over social wealth exists in him as the owner of *exchange values,* of *money.* He carries his social power, as also his connection with society, in his pocket.

The activity, whatever its individual form of manifestation, and the product of the activity, whatever its particular nature, is *exchange value,* i.e. something general in which all individuality, all particularity, is negated and extinguished. This is indeed a condition very different from that in which the individual, or the individual extended by a natural or historical process into a family and a tribe (later community), directly reproduces himself from nature, or in which his productive activity and his share in production are dependent on a particular form of labour and of the product, and his relationship to others is determined in this particular way.

The social character of the activity, as also the social form of the product and the share of the individual in production, appear here as something alien to and existing outside the individuals; not as their relationship to each other, but as their subordination to relationships existing independently of them and arising from the collision between indifferent individuals. The general exchange of activities and products, which has become the condition of life for every single individual, their mutual connection, appears to the individuals themselves alien, independent, as a thing. In exchange value, the social relationship of persons is transformed into a social [I-21] attitude of things; personal capacity into a capacity of things. The less social power the means of exchange possesses, the more closely it is still connected with the nature of the immediate product of labour and the immediate needs of the exchangers, the greater must that power of the community still be which binds

together the individuals, the patriarchal relationship, the community of antiquity, feudalism and the guild system (see my Notebook, XII, 34b[a]).

Every individual possesses social power in the form of a thing. Take away this social power from the thing, and you must give it to persons [to exercise] over persons. Relationships of personal dependence (which originally arise quite spontaneously) are the first forms of society, in which human productivity develops only to a limited extent and at isolated points. Personal independence based upon dependence *mediated by things* is the second great form, and only in it is a system of general social exchange of matter, a system of universal relations, universal requirements and universal capacities, formed. Free individuality, based on the universal development of the individuals and the subordination of their communal, social productivity, which is their social possession [Vermögen], is the third stage. The second stage creates the conditions for the third. Patriarchal conditions and those of antiquity (likewise feudal ones) therefore decline with the development of trade, luxury, *money, exchange value,* in the same measure in which modern society grows with them step by step.

Exchange and division of labour condition each other. Since each person works for himself but his product is nothing by itself, he must naturally engage in exchange, not only so as to take part in the general capacity to produce, but to transform his own product into means of subsistence for himself. (See my "Observations on Economy", p. V (13, 14).[b]) Of course, exchange as mediated by exchange value and money presupposes the absolute mutual dependence of the producers, but at the same time the complete isolation of their private interests and a division of social labour, whose unity and mutual complementarity exists as it were as a natural relationship outside the individuals, independently of them. The pressure of general demand and supply upon each other provides the connection between the mutually indifferent individuals.

The very necessity to transform the product or the activity of the individuals first into the form of *exchange value,* into *money,* and the fact that they obtain and demonstrate their social *power* only in this *objective* [*sachlichen*] form, proves two things: (1) that the individuals now only produce for and within society; (2) that their production is not *directly* social, not THE OFFSPRING OF ASSOCIATION

[a] This notebook has not been found.— *Ed.*

[b] This manuscript has not been found.— *Ed.*

distributing labour within itself. The individuals are subsumed under social production, which exists outside them as their fate; but social production is not subsumed under the individuals who manage it as their common wealth. There can therefore be nothing more incorrect or more absurd than to assume, on the strength of *exchange value* and *money,* control by the associated individuals of their collective production, as was done in the case of the labour-time ticket bank mentioned earlier.

The *private exchange* of all products of labour, capacities and activities, stands in contradiction to distribution based on the superordination and subordination (natural or political) of individuals to each other (*exchange* proper remaining a marginal phenomenon, or on the whole not affecting the life of entire communities, but taking place rather between different communities, by no means subjecting to itself all relationships of production and distribution) (whatever the character of this superordination and subordination: patriarchal, ancient or feudal). It also stands in contradiction to the free exchange of individuals who are associated on the basis of common appropriation and control of the means of production. (The latter association is not arbitrary: it presupposes the development of material and cultural conditions which need not be further elaborated at this point.)

Just as the division of labour produces agglomeration, combination, cooperation, the conflict of private interests, class interests, competition, concentration of capital, monopoly, joint-stock companies—all of which are antagonistic forms of the unity which calls forth the antagonism itself—so does private exchange produce world trade, private independence produces a complete dependence on the so-called world market, and the fragmented acts of exchange produce a banking and credit system whose accountancy [I-22] at least records the balancing of private exchange. However much the private interests within every nation divide it into as many nations as there are FULL-GROWN INDIVIDUALS in it, and however the interests of the EXPORTERS and the IMPORTERS of the same nation here conflict with each other—the rate of exchange creates the *semblance* of the existence of a national trade, etc., etc. No one will believe on such grounds that it is possible to abolish the *foundations* of internal or external private commerce by means of a *reform of the stock-exchange.* But within bourgeois society, based as it is upon *exchange value,* relationships of exchange and production are generated which are just so many mines to blow it to pieces. (A multitude of antagonistic forms of the social entity, whose antagonism, however, can never be exploded by a quiet

metamorphosis. On the other hand, if we did not find latent in society as it is, the material conditions of production and the corresponding relationships of exchange for a classless society, all attempts to explode it would be quixotic.)

We have seen that, although exchange value=the relative labour time materialised in the products and although money=the exchange value of commodities separated from their substance, this exchange value or monetary relationship contains the contradictions between commodities and their exchange value, between commodities as exchange values and money. We have seen that a bank which directly produces the counterpart of the commodity in labour money is a utopia. Although, therefore, money is merely exchange value detached from the substance of the commodity and owes its origin only to the tendency of this exchange value to posit itself in pure form, the commodity cannot be transformed directly into money, i.e. the authentic certificate of the quantity of labour time realised in it cannot serve as its price in the world of exchange values. HOW IS THIS?

(Economists see clearly that one form of money—in so far as it is a *medium* of exchange and not a *measure* of exchange value—presupposes the objectification of the social nexus, namely, to the extent that money appears as a *surety* that one person must leave behind in the hands of another in order to obtain a commodity from him. Here the economists themselves say that men put in the object (money) a trust they would not put in one another as persons. But why do they thus put their trust in the object? Clearly, only because it is the *objectified relationship* of persons to each other; as objectified exchange value, and exchange value is nothing but a mutual relation of the productive activities of persons. Any other surety may be directly of use to its possessor as such. Money is useful to him only as the "*movable surety of society*",[37] but it is such a surety only because of its social (symbolic) character; it can possess a social character only because the individuals have alienated their own social relationship in the form of an object.)

In the *current price lists*, in which all values are measured in money, it seems as though the independence of the social character of things from persons, and also the trading activity conducted on this basis of estrangement in which the general relations of production and exchange appear to the individual, to all individuals, subject the things once again to the individuals. Since the increasing autonomy of the world market, IF YOU PLEASE

(which includes the activity of every individual), grows with the development of monetary relationships (exchange value) and vice versa, and since the general interconnection and absolute interdependence in production and consumption grows simultaneously with the independence of consumers and producers and their indifference to each other; since this contradiction leads to crises, etc., simultaneously with the development of this estrangement there are attempts to abolish it on its own ground: current price lists, exchange rates, communication between commercialists by letters, telegrams, etc. (the means of communication of course develop simultaneously), by means of which each individual provides himself with information on the activities of all others and seeks to adjust his own activity accordingly. (In other words, although the demand and supply of all proceeds independently of all, each seeks to inform himself of the general state of demand and supply; and this knowledge influences their action. Although all this does not abolish the estrangement in the context of the existing point of view, it does bring about relations and connections which entail the possibility of overcoming the old standpoint.) (The possibility of general statistics, etc.)

(Actually this is to be developed further under the heading "*Prices, Demand and Supply*". Here we need only note that this survey of total trade and total production, so far as current price lists actually represent such a survey, does indeed supply the best evidence of how their own exchange and their own production confronts individuals as an *objective* relationship *independent* of them. In the *world market* the *connection of the individual* with all others, but at the same time also the *independence* [I-23] *of this connection from the individuals*, has itself developed to such a point that its formation already contains the conditions for its being transcended.)

*Comparison* in place of actual community and universality.

(It has been said, and may be said, that the beauty and greatness lies precisely in this spontaneously evolved connection, in this material and spiritual exchange, which is independent of the knowledge and wishes of individuals and presupposes their mutual independence and indifference. And certainly this objective connection is to be preferred to the lack of any connection or to a purely local connection based on primitive blood ties, nature, and relationships of lordship and bondage. It is equally certain that individuals cannot subordinate their own social connections to themselves before they have created them. But it is absurd to conceive of that merely *objective connection* as a natural one,

inseparable from the nature of human individuality (as opposed to knowledge and will derived from reflection) and immanent in it. It is their product. It is a product of history. It belongs to a definite phase in their development. The estrangement and isolation in which it still exists for them, show only that they are still in the process of creating the conditions of their social life instead of having started it from these conditions. It is the connection, the spontaneously evolved one, of individuals within certain narrow relationships of production.

Universally developed individuals, whose social relationships are their own communal relations and therefore subjected to their own communal control, are not products of nature but of history. The degree and the universality of development of the capacities in which *this kind* of individuality becomes possible, presupposes precisely production on the basis of exchange value, which, along with the universality of the estrangement of individuals from themselves and from others, now also produces the universality and generality of all their relations and abilities. During earlier stages of development, the single individual seems more fully developed because he has not yet worked out the fulness of his relations and has not yet set them over against himself as independent social powers and relations. It is as ridiculous to long for a return to that original fulness as it is to believe that the present complete emptiness must be permanent. The bourgeois view has never been more than the opposite of that Romantic view,[38] and so the romantic view will accompany it as a justified opposite till its blessed end.)

(Here the relationship of the individual to science can be taken as an example.)

(To compare money to blood—the word "circulation" suggested this—is about as valid as Menenius Agrippa's comparing the patricians to the stomach.[39])

(To compare money with language is no less incorrect.[40] Ideas are not transformed into language in such a way that their particular attributes are dissolved and their social character exists alongside them in language as do prices alongside commodities. Ideas do not exist apart from language. Ideas which must first be translated from their mother tongue into a foreign language in order to circulate and to become exchangeable would provide a better analogy; but then the analogy is not with the language but with its foreignness.)

(The exchangeability of all products, activities, relationships for a third, *objective* entity, which in turn can be exchanged for

everything *without distinction*—in other words, the development of exchange values (and of monetary relationships) is identical with general venality, with corruption. General prostitution appears as a necessary phase in the development of the social character of personal inclinations, capacities, abilities, activities. More politely expressed: the universal relationship of utility and usefulness. Equating the incommensurate, as Shakespeare appropriately conceived of money.[a] The craving for enrichment as such is impossible without money; all other accumulation and craving for accumulation appears merely natural, restricted, conditioned on the one hand by needs and on the other by the restricted nature of the products (*sacra auri fames*[b]).)

(The money system, in its development, clearly already presupposes other general developments.)

When we consider social conditions which produce an undeveloped system of exchange, of exchange values and of money, or to which these correspond only in an undeveloped form, it is clear from the outset that individuals, although their relationships appear to be more personal, only enter into relations with each other as individuals in a particular determination, as feudal lord and vassal, lord of the manor and serf, etc., or as members of castes, etc., or as members of an estate, etc. In money relations, in a developed system of exchange (and this appearance leads democracy astray), the ties of personal dependence, distinctions of birth, education, etc. (all the personal ties at least appear as *personal* relationships), are in fact broken, abolished. The individuals *appear* to be independent (this independence, which altogether is merely an illusion and should more correctly be called unconcern, in the sense of indifference), appear to collide with each other freely, and to exchange with each other in this freedom; but they appear independent only to those who abstract from the *conditions*, the *conditions of existence*, in which those individuals come into contact with each other (and these in turn are independent of the individuals and appear, though produced by society, as it were, as *natural conditions*, i.e. beyond the control of the individuals).

The [I-24] determinateness which in the first case appears as a personal limitation of one individual by another, appears in the second case, in its developed form, as an objective limitation of the

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[a] "Thou visible god, that solder'st close impossibilities" (Shakespeare, *Timon of Athens*, IV, 3).—*Ed.*

[b] "The accursed passion for gold" (Virgil, *Aeneid*, 3, 57).—*Ed.*

individual by relationships which are independent of him and self-sufficient. (Since the single individual cannot shed his personal determinateness but can overcome external relationships and subordinate them to himself, his freedom *appears* greater in the second case. A closer investigation of those external relationships and conditions shows, however, that it is impossible for the individuals of a class, etc., to overcome them *en masse* without abolishing them. A single individual may by chance cope with them; the mass of individuals dominated by them cannot do so, since the very existence of that mass expresses the subordination, and the necessary subordination, of the individuals to it.)

These external relationships, far from abolishing the "relationships of dependence", merely dissolve them into a general form; they are rather the elaboration of the general *foundation* of relationships of personal dependence. Here, too, individuals enter into relation with each other only as determinate individuals. These *objective* relations of dependence, in contrast to the *personal* ones, also appear in such a way that the individuals are now ruled by *abstractions* whereas previously they were dependent on one another. (The objective relationship of dependence is nothing but the social relations independently confronting the seemingly independent individuals, i.e. their own reciprocal relations of production which have acquired an existence independent of and separate from them.) Yet the abstraction or idea is nothing but the theoretical expression of those material relationships which dominate the individuals.

Relationships can naturally be expressed only in ideas, and so philosophers have seen the peculiarity of modern times in the individuals' being dominated by ideas, and have identified the birth of free individuality with the overthrow of this domination of ideas. From the ideological standpoint, this mistake was the easier to make because that domination of relationships (that objective dependence, which incidentally is in its turn transformed into certain personal relationships of dependence, only divested of all illusion) appears in the consciousness of individuals themselves to be the rule of ideas, and the belief in the eternal validity of these ideas, i.e. of those objective relationships of dependence, is OF COURSE in every way reinforced, sustained, drummed into people by the ruling classes.

(With regard to the illusion of the "purely personal relationships" of feudal times, etc., we must not of course for a moment forget: (1) that in a certain phase, these relationships themselves acquired within their sphere an objective character, as is shown by

the development of landed property relationships, for example, out of purely military subordination. But, (2) the objective relationship in which they founder has itself a restricted, naturally determined character and thus *appears* as personal, whereas in the modern world personal relationships emerge purely as the outcome of the relationships of production and exchange.)

The product becomes a commodity. The commodity becomes exchange value. The exchange value of the commodity acquires a separate existence alongside the commodity, i.e. the commodity in the form in which (1) it is exchangeable for all other commodities; in which (2) it is therefore a general commodity and its natural particularity is extinguished; (3) in which is established the measure of its exchangeability, the particular ratio in which it equates all other commodities to itself—is the commodity as money, not indeed as money in general, but as a *particular sum of money,* for to represent exchange value in all its variability, money must be countable, quantitatively divisible.

Money, the common form into which all commodities transform themselves as exchange values, the general commodity, must itself exist as a *particular* commodity alongside the others, for they are not only mentally measured by it but must be traded and exchanged for it in actual exchange. The contradiction that arises from this is to be discussed elsewhere. Money does not originate by convention, any more than the State does. It arises from exchange, grows naturally out of exchange, is a product of exchange.

*Initially* that commodity will serve as money, i.e. will be acquired through exchange not as an object of need and consumption, but to be exchanged again for other commodities, which is most frequently acquired through exchange as an object of need, is therefore in general circulation; which therefore can most certainly be exchanged again for any other particular commodities; which, in other words, in a given social organisation represents wealth κατ' ἐξοχήν,[a] is the object of the most general demand and supply and possesses a special use value. For example, salt, hides, cattle, slaves. Such a commodity in its particular form as commodity in fact corresponds more with itself as exchange value than do the other commodities (unfortunately it is impossible in German to render adequately the distinction between *denrée* [goods] and *marchandise* [commodities]).

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[a] Par excellence.—*Ed.*

What stamps a commodity as money here is its special usefulness, whether as an object of consumption (hides), or as a direct implement of production (slaves). In the course of development, exactly the reverse will occur, i.e. the commodity which is least a direct object of consumption or implement of production will best represent precisely this aspect, that of satisfying the requirements *of exchange as such.* In the first [I-25] case a commodity becomes money because of its special use value; in the second case, it acquires its particular use value by serving as money. Durability, unalterableness, divisibility and reconstitutability, relatively easy transportability, because a large exchange value is contained in a small volume, all these properties make the precious metals particularly suitable at the later stage. At the same time they form a natural transition from the first form of money. At a somewhat higher stage of production and exchange, the instrument of production becomes *more important* than the products, and *metals* are (after stones) the first and most indispensable implements of production. In *copper,* which is so important as money in antiquity, two things are still combined: the special use value as an instrument of production, and the other properties which do not derive from the use value of the commodity but correspond to its role as exchange value (which includes means of exchange).

Later, the *precious* metals are preferred to the others, because they do not oxidise, etc., are of uniform quality, etc., and correspond better to the higher stage, in that their immediate usefulness for consumption and production becomes less important, while their very scarcity makes them more representative of value founded purely upon exchange. From the outset, they represent surplus, the form in which wealth originally appears. Metals also more readily exchanged for metals than other commodities.

The first form of money corresponds to an early stage of exchange and barter, in which money still plays a greater role as *measure* than as actual *instrument of exchange.* At this stage, the measure can still be purely imaginary (however, the BAR used by the Negro *is* composed of iron[a]) (but *cowries,* etc., fit better into the series, which reaches its final peak in gold and silver).

As a result of the transformation of the commodity into general exchange value, exchange value becomes a particular commodity. But this is possible only if one particular commodity acquires over

[a] See this volume, p. 80.— *Ed.*

all others the privilege of representing, of symbolising their exchange value, i.e. of becoming *money*. The appearance of a particular commodity as the money subject of the money quality of all commodities, stems from the nature of exchange value itself. In the process of development, the exchange value of money can acquire again an existence separate from its material, from its substance, as in paper money, without, however, abolishing the privilege of this particular commodity, since the separate existence must continue to receive its denomination from the particular commodity.

Because the commodity is exchange value, it can be exchanged for money, equated with money. The ratio in which it is equated with money, i.e. the determinateness of its exchange value, *antecedes* its conversion into money. The ratio in which a particular commodity is exchanged for money, i.e. the quantity of money into which a definite quantity of the commodity is convertible, is determined by the labour time objectified in the commodity. As the realisation of a *definite amount* of labour time, the commodity is exchange value; in money the amount of labour time which it represents is both measured and given its general, exchangeable form corresponding to the concept. Money is the objective medium in which exchange values are immersed, and in which they acquire a form corresponding to their general determination. Adam Smith says that labour (labour time) is the original money with which all commodities are purchased.[a] With regard to the act of production, this remains always true (and likewise with respect to the fixing of relative values). In production every commodity is constantly being exchanged for labour time.

A form of money distinct from labour time becomes necessary precisely because the amount of labour time must be expressed not in its immediate and particular product, but in a mediated and general product, in its particular product as equal to and convertible into all other products of the same labour time; labour time embodied not in one commodity, but simultaneously in all commodities, and therefore in a particular commodity which represents all others.

Labour time itself cannot be money directly (to demand this would be the same as demanding that every commodity should be directly its own money), precisely because in fact it always exists (as an object) only in the form of particular products. As a general

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[a] *Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations*, Vol. I, Paris, 1802, p. 60.— *Ed.*

object it can only exist symbolically, again in a particular commodity which is posited as money. Labour time does not exist as a general object of exchange, independent of and separate (detached) from the natural particularities of commodities. It would have to exist as such if it were to fulfil the conditions of money directly. It is the objectification of the general, social character of labour (and therefore of the labour time contained in exchange value) that makes the product of labour an exchange value and gives the commodity its money quality, which, in turn, implies a money subject existing outside it and independently of it.

A definite labour time is objectified in a definite, particular commodity with particular properties and particular relations to needs. But as exchange value, it must be objectified in a commodity which expresses only its amount or quantity, is indifferent to its natural attributes, and therefore can be metamorphosed, i.e. exchanged, into any other commodity embodying the same labour time. As an object it should possess this general character, [I-26] which contradicts its natural particularity. This contradiction can be resolved only by being itself objectified, i.e. only by positing the commodity in a double form: first in its natural immediate form, then in its mediated form, as money. The latter is possible only by a particular commodity becoming, as it were, the general substance of exchange values, or by the exchange value of commodities being identified with a particular substance, a particular commodity distinct from all others; i.e. by the commodity having first to be exchanged for this general commodity, the symbolic general product or objectification of labour time, before it can, as exchange value, be exchanged indifferently for any other commodity, or be metamorphosed into it.

Money is labour time as general object, or the objectification of general labour time, labour time as a *general commodity.* Thus, if it appears very simple that labour time since it regulates exchange values, is in fact not only their inherent measure, but their very substance (for, as exchange values, commodities have no other substance, no natural characteristics), and can also serve directly as their *money*, i.e. be the element in which exchange values as such are realised, this apparent simplicity is deceptive. The truth is that the relationship of exchange values—of commodities as objectifications of labour time equal to one another and equatable—contains contradictions which are objectively expressed in a form of *money distinct* from labour time.

In Adam Smith, this contradiction still appears as two aspects set

side by side. Alongside the particular product of his labour (labour time as particular object), the worker still has to produce a quantity of general commodity (labour time as general object). The two determinations of exchange value appear to him externally *side by side.*[a] The inner essence of the whole commodity does not yet appear gripped and penetrated by contradiction. This corresponds to the stage of production with which Smith was confronted, where the worker still possessed a part of his subsistence directly in his product, and neither his entire activity nor the whole of his product had become dependent upon exchange, i.e. where subsistence agriculture (this or something similar is what Steuart calls it[41]) and also patriarchal industry (hand-weaving, domestic spinning tied to agriculture) still largely prevailed. At that stage, only the surplus is exchanged over a wide national area. Exchange value and determination by labour time [have] not yet fully developed on a national scale.

(*Incidentally*: It is less true of gold and silver than of any other commodity that their consumption can increase only in proportion to the reduction of their production costs. It increases rather in proportion to the increase in general wealth, since the use of gold and silver represents specifically wealth, surplus, luxury, because they themselves *represent* general wealth. Apart from their use as money, more silver and gold is consumed in proportion to the growth of general wealth. Therefore if their supply suddenly increases, even without their production costs or their value diminishing proportionately, they find a rapidly expanding market, which delays their depreciation. This explains a number of things about the *Australian-Californian* CASE,[42] which those economists who make the general consumption of gold and silver depend solely on a fall in their production costs cannot explain, and where they merely move around in a circle. This results directly from their representing wealth, therefore, from their property as money.)

(The contrast between gold and silver as the ETERNAL commodities and all others, which we find in Petty,[b] already hinted at in Xenophon, *De vectigalibus*, Ch. 1, with respect to marble and silver:

"And the pre-eminence of the land" [Attica] "is not only in the things that bloom and wither annually; she has other good things that last for ever. Nature has

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[a] A. Smith, *Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations,* Vol. I, p. 47.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 164.— *Ed.*

invested in her an abundance of stone", etc. (namely marble) ... "Again there is land that yields no fruit if sown, and yet, when quarried, feeds many times the number it could feed if it grew corn."[a])

(Note that exchange between different tribes or peoples—and this, not private exchange, is its first form—begins only when a surplus is purchased (obtained by trickery) from an uncivilised tribe, a surplus which is not the product of its labour but the natural product of the soil and of the region in which it dwells.)

(Analyse the ordinary economic contradictions which arise from the fact that money must be symbolised in a particular commodity, and then those which arise from the commodity itself (gold, etc.). This No. II. Then, since all commodities must be exchanged for money in order to be *priced*, whether this exchange occurs actually or only in the head, go on to determine the relation of the quantity of gold and silver to the prices of the commodities. This No. III. Clearly, as commodities are merely *measured* in gold or silver, the quantity of these metals has no influence upon the price of the commodities. The difficulty arises when exchange actually takes place, in so far as these metals actually serve as instruments of circulation; the conditions of supply and demand, etc. But whatever affects their value as an instrument of circulation obviously affects them as a measure.)

[I-27] Labour time itself exists as such only subjectively, only in the form of activity. In so far as it is exchangeable in that form (is itself a commodity), it is not only quantitatively but also qualitatively determined and differentiated, not at all general labour time equal to itself; it corresponds as subject as little to the general labour time that determines exchange value as particular commodities and products correspond to it as object.

Adam Smith asserts that the labourer must produce a general commodity alongside his particular commodity, in other words, that he must give the form of money to a part of his product, more generally that he must convert into money all that part of his commodity which is not to serve him as use value but as exchange value.[b] Subjectively expressed, this only means that his particular labour time cannot be directly exchanged for every other particular labour time; its general exchangeability must first be mediated, it must acquire an objective form distinct from itself, if it is to acquire this general exchangeability.

The labour of the individual, considered in the act of

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[a] Marx quotes in Greek.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 105-06.—*Ed.*

production itself, is the money with which he immediately purchases the product, the object of his particular activity; but it is a *particular* money, which of course buys only this *particular* product. In order to be *general money* directly, it would have to be not *particular* but *general* labour from the outset, i.e. it would from the outset have to be *posited* as part of *general production.* Now, if this assumption is made, the general character of labour would not be given to it only by exchange; its assumed communal character would determine participation in the products. The communal character of production would from the outset make the product into a communal, general one. The exchange initially occurring in production, which would not be an exchange of exchange values but of activities determined by communal needs and communal purposes, would include from the beginning the individual's participation in the communal world of products. On the basis of exchange value, labour is *posited* as general labour only through *exchange.* On this basis [of the exchange of activities in production], labour would be *posited* as general labour prior to exchange, i.e. the exchange of products would not in any way be the *medium* mediating the participation of the individual in general production. Mediation has of course to take place.

In the first case, which starts from the independent production of individuals—however much these independent productions may be determined and modified *post festum* by their interrelations—the mediation takes place through the exchange of commodities, through exchange value, money, which are all expressions of one and the same relationship. In the second case the *presupposition itself is mediated,* i.e. communal production, community as the basis of production, is assumed. The labour of the individual is from the outset taken as social labour. Therefore, whatever may be the particular material form of the product that he produces or helps to produce, what he has purchased with his labour is not a definite particular product but a certain share in the communal production. Nor has he, therefore, a particular product to exchange. His product is *not exchange value*; it does not have to be first converted into a particular form to acquire a general character for the individual. Instead of a division of labour which necessarily arises from the exchange of exchange values, labour would be organised in such a way that the individual's share in common consumption would directly follow.

In the first case, the social character of production is *established* only *post festum* by the elevation of the products into exchange values and the exchange of these exchange values. In the second

case, the *social character of production* is presupposed, and participation in the world of products, in consumption, is not mediated by exchange between mutually independent labours or products of labour. It is mediated by the circumstances of social production within which the individual carries on his activity.

Hence, to want to convert the labour of the individual (i.e. also his product) directly into *money*, into *realised exchange value*, means to define it *directly* as general labour, i.e. to negate the very conditions under which it must be transformed into money and exchange values and under which it depends on private exchange. This demand can only be satisfied under conditions in which it can no longer be advanced. For the fact is that labour on the basis of exchange values presupposes that neither the labour of the individual nor his product is *directly* general, but that it acquires this form only through *objective mediation* by means of a form of *money* distinct from it.

If we presuppose communal production, the time factor naturally remains essential. The less time society requires to produce corn, livestock, etc., the more time it wins for other production, material or spiritual. As with a single individual, the comprehensiveness of its development, its pleasures and its activities depends upon the saving of time. Ultimately, all economy is a matter of economy of time. Society must also allocate its time appropriately to achieve a production corresponding to its total needs, just as the individual must allocate his time correctly to acquire knowledge in suitable proportions or to satisfy the various demands on his activity. Economy of time, as well as the planned distribution of labour time over the various branches of production, therefore, remains the first economic law if communal production is taken as the basis. It becomes a law even to a much higher degree. However, this is essentially [I-28] different from the measurement of exchange values (of labours or products of labour) by labour time. The labours of individuals in the same branch of industry, and the different types of labour, are not only *quantitatively* but *qualitatively* different. What does mere *quantitative* difference between things presuppose? The sameness of their *quality*. Therefore quantitative measurement of labours [presupposes] their equivalence, the sameness of their *quality*.

(*Strabo*, Book XI, on the Albani of the Caucasus[43]:

The inhabitants of this country are unusually handsome and large. And they are frank in their dealings, and not mercenary; for they do not in general use

coined money, nor do they know any number greater than one hundred, but carry on business by means of barter.[a]

He says further on:

They are also unacquainted with accurate measures and weights.)

Money made its appearance as a *measure* (oxen were used for this purpose e.g. in Homer[b]) before it became a *means of exchange*, because in barter each commodity is still its own means of exchange. But it cannot be its own measure or standard of comparison.

## [THE PRECIOUS METALS AS EXPRESSION OF THE MONEY RELATIONSHIP]

From what has been said, we may conclude that a particular product (*commodity*) (material) must become the money subject, which exists as the property of every exchange value. The subject in which this symbol is to be represented is not a matter of indifference, since the demands made on the representing subject are contained in the circumstances—conceptual definitions, determined relationships—of that which is to be represented. The analysis of the precious metals as the subjects of the money relationship, the incarnation of that relationship, does not therefore lie, as Proudhon believes, outside the sphere of political economy,[44] just as little as the physical nature of colours and of marble lies outside the sphere of painting and sculpture. The properties which the commodity has as exchange value, and which are not identical with its natural properties, express the demands to be made on the commodities which are κατ' ἐξοχήν[c] the material of money. At the stage of which alone we can speak so far, these demands are most fully realised in the precious metals. As instruments of production, metals as such are preferred to other commodities, and among the metals the one which is first found in its physical perfection and purity—gold. Next comes copper, then silver and iron. As Hegel would say, the *essence of metal* is best realised in the precious metals.

THE PRECIOUS METALS UNIFORM IN THEIR PHYSICAL QUALITIES, SO THAT EQUAL QUANTITIES OF IT SHOULD BE SO FAR IDENTICAL AS TO PRESENT NO GROUND FOR PREFERRING THE ONE FOR THE OTHER. This is not true of EQUAL NUMBERS OF CATTLE AND EQUAL QUANTITIES OF GRAIN, for example.[45]

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[a] Strabo, *Rerum geographicarum libri XVII*, Lib. XI, Cap. IV. Marx quotes in Greek.—*Ed.*

[b] In his *Iliad*.—*Ed.*

[c] Pre-eminently.—*Ed.*

### *(a) Gold and Silver in Comparison with the Other Metals*

The base metals oxidise in the atmosphere; the precious metals (mercury, silver, gold, platinum) are not changed by the atmosphere.

*Aurum* (Au). Density=19.5; melting point: 1200°C.

"The glittering gold is the most splendid of all metals and therefore in antiquity was already called the sun or the king of metals. Fairly widely found, though never in great quantities; it is therefore also more valuable than the other metals. As a rule it is found pure, partly in large nuggets, partly in small grains embedded in other minerals. From the erosion of such minerals originates the gold-bearing sand which many rivers carry and from which gold can be washed because of its great density. Extraordinary ductility of gold: a grain can be drawn out into a filament 500 feet long, and beaten into a leaf of a thickness of scarcely $^{1}/_{200,000}$th [of an inch]. Gold resists all acids and is dissolved only by free chlorine (*aqua regia*, a mixture of nitric acid and hydrochloric acid). Gilding."[46]

*Argentum.* (Ag). Density=10. Melting point=1000° C. Bright appearance; the most friendly of all metals, very white and malleable; can be made into beautiful objects and drawn into fine filaments. Silver is found pure; very often alloyed with lead in silver-lead ores.

This much about the *chemical* properties of gold and silver. (The divisibility and fusibility, uniformity, etc., of pure gold and silver are well known.)

*Mineralogical* [properties]:

*Gold.* It is certainly remarkable that the more precious the metals are, the more sparsely and separated from the commonly occurring substances they appear, higher natures remote from the commonplace. Thus, as a rule gold is found pure, crystalline in various cubic forms or in the most diverse forms: irregular nuggets and grains, sand and dust, in which latter form it occurs embedded in many rocks, i.e. in granite, whose disintegration gives rise to gold-bearing sands in [I-29] rivers and in the gravel of alluvial soils. Since in this state the density of gold reaches 19.4, even those fine particles of gold can be obtained by stirring the gold-bearing sand in water. From this mixture the metal is precipitated first, because of its greater specific weight, and is, as they say, washed out. Silver is the metal most often associated with gold, and native alloys composed of both metals are encountered which contain 0.16 to 38.7% silver; this of course results in variations in colour and density.

*Silver.* In the considerable variety of its minerals, it occurs as one of the more abundant metals, both pure and alloyed with other

metals or combined with arsenic and sulphur. (Silver chloride, silver bromide, carbonic silver oxide, bismuth-silver ore, sternbergite, polybasite, etc.)

The main *chemical* properties *of all the precious metals* are that they do not oxidise in the atmosphere; and of gold (and platinum), that they are not dissolved by acids (gold only by chlorine). Not oxidising in the atmosphere keeps them pure, free from rust; they present themselves as that which they are. Their resistance to dissolution by oxidisation: *imperishability* (so highly praised by the gold and silver fanatics of antiquity).

*Physical properties*: *specific gravity*, i.e. much weight in a small volume, specially important for an instrument of circulation. Gold 19.5; silver 10. *Brilliance of colour*: the lustre of gold, the whiteness of silver. Splendour, *ductility*; hence so suitable for jewellery and the embellishment of other objects. The *whiteness* of silver (which reflects all light rays in their original mixture); the red-yellow of gold (which absorbs all the colours in the light rays falling upon it and reflects only the red). [They have] *very high melting points.*

*Geognostic properties*: they are found *pure* (particularly in the case of gold), separate from other substances, isolated, individualised. Individual occurrence independent of the elemental.

As for the other two precious metals: (1) *Platinum*, not distinguished by its colour: grey in grey (soot of metals); too rare; unknown to the ancients; became known only after the discovery of America; in the 19th century discovered also in the Urals; only chlorine will corrode it; it is always found pure; specific gravity=21; will not melt at the highest temperatures; its value primarily scientific. (2) *Mercury*, occurs in a liquid form; vaporisable; its fumes poisonous; can be absorbed by liquid mixtures (amalgams). (Density=13.5, boiling point=360° C.)

Thus, neither platinum, still less mercury, suitable as money.

One *geognostic* property common to all the precious metals: *rarity.* Now, rarity is an element of value (leaving aside demand and supply), in so far as that which is in itself not rare, the negation of rarity, the elemental, is without value because it does not appear as the result of production. In the original determination of value, that which is most independent of conscious and willed production has the greatest value, assuming a demand for it. Pebbles are of no value, *relativement parlant*,[a] because they are available *without production* (they do not even need looking for). If a thing is to be the object of exchange, have exchange value, it must not be available to everyone without the mediation of

[a] Relatively speaking.—*Ed.*

exchange; it must not appear in so elemental a form as to be common property. To that extent rarity an element of exchange value, therefore this property of the precious metals important, even apart from the precise relationship of demand and supply.

If we look generally at the superiority of the metals as instruments of production, the advantage of gold is that it is *au fond*[a] the *first metal discovered qua metal.* And this for two reasons. *Firstly*, because of all metals, gold appears in nature as the most metallic, distinct and distinguishable metal; *secondly*, because in its preparation nature undertook the work of art, and for its first discovery only ROUGH LABOUR, neither science nor developed instruments of production, required.

"Certain it is that gold must take its place as *the earliest metal known*, and in the first record of man's progress it is indicated as a standard of man's position"[b]

(because as *surplus*, the first form in which wealth appears. The first form of value is *use value*, the everyday aspect which expresses the relationship of the individual to nature. The second form *exchange value* alongside use value, its command over the use values of others, its social relation: itself originally the value of things for Sunday use, over and above immediate basic necessities).

[I-30] VERY EARLY DISCOVERY OF GOLD BY MAN:

"Gold differs remarkably from the other metals, with a very few exceptions, in the fact, that it is found in nature in its metallic state. Iron and copper, tin, lead, and silver are ordinarily discovered in chemical combinations with oxygen, sulphur, arsenic, or carbon; and the few exceptional occurrences of these metals in an uncombined, or, as it was formerly called, virgin state, are to be cited rather as mineralogical curiosities than as common productions. Gold is, however, always found native or metallic... Therefore, as a metallic mass, curious by its yellow colour, it would attract the eye of the most uneducated man, whereas the other substances likely to lie in his path would offer no features of attraction to his scarcely awakened powers of observation. Again gold, from the circumstance of its having been formed in those rocks which are most exposed to atmospheric action, is found in the *débris* of the mountains. By the disintegrating influences, of the atmosphere, of changes of temperature, of the action of water, and particularly by the effects of ice, fragments of rock are continually broken off. These are borne by floods into the valleys and rolled into pebbles by the constant action of flowing water. Amongst these, pebbles, or particles, of gold are discovered. The summer heats, by drying up the waters, rendered those beds which had formed river channels and the courses of winter torrents, paths for the journeys of migratory man; and here we can imagine the early discovery of gold" [pp. 171-72].

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[a] Basically.— *Ed.*

[b] *Lectures on Gold for the Instruction of Emigrants about to Proceed to Australia. Delivered at the Museum of Practical Geology,* London, 1852, p. 172. Here and below (see pp. 113-15) Marx quotes from this source in English.— *Ed.*

"Gold most frequently occurs pure, or, at all events, so nearly so that its metallic nature can be at once recognised", both in streams and in "quartz veins" [p. 8].

"The specific gravity of quartz, and of most other heavy compact rocks is about 2 $^1/_2$, whilst the specific gravity of gold is 18 or 19. Gold, therefore, is somewhere about 7 times as heavy as any rock or stone with which it is likely to be associated. A current of water accordingly having sufficient strength to bear along sand or pebbles of quartz or any other rock, might not be able to move the fragments of gold associated with them. Moving water, therefore, has done for the auriferous rocks formerly, just what the miner would do now, break it, namely, up into fragments, sweep away the lighter particles, and leave the gold behind it" [p. 10].

"Rivers are, indeed, great natural *cradles*, sweeping off all the lighter and finer particles at once, the heavier ones either sticking against natural impediments, or being left wherever the current slackens its force or velocity" (see *Gold (Lectures on)*, London, 1852) (pp. 12 and 13).

"In all probability, from tradition and early history, the *discovery of gold in the sand and gravel of streams would appear to have been the first step in the recognition of metals*, and in almost all, perhaps in all the countries of Europe, Africa and Asia, greater or smaller quantities of gold have from very early times been washed by simple contrivances from the auriferous deposits. Occasionally, the success of gold-streams has been great enough to produce a pulse of excitement which has vibrated for a while through a district, but has been hushed down again. In 760 the poor people turned out in numbers to wash gold from the river sands south of Prague, and three men were able in the day to extract a mark ($^1/_2$lb.) of gold; and so great was the consequent rush to the 'diggings', that in the next year the country was visited by famine. We read of a recurrence of similar events several times within the next few centuries, although here, as elsewhere, the general attraction to surface-spread riches has subsided into regular and systematic mining" [pp. 93-95].

"Two classes of deposits in which gold is found, the *lodes* or *veins*, which intersect the solid rock in a direction more or less perpendicular to the horizon; and the *drift-beds* or *'streams'*, in which the gold mingled with gravel, sand, or clay, has been deposited by the mechanical action of water, upon the surface of those rocks, which are penetrated to unknown depths by the lodes. To the former class belongs more specially the art of *mining*; to the latter the simple operations of *digging*. Gold-mining, properly so called, is, like other mining, an art requiring the [I-31] employment of capital, and of a skill only to be acquired by years of experience. There is no art practised by civilised man which requires for its full development the application of so many sciences and collateral arts. But although so essential to the miner, scarcely any of these are necessary to the gold-washer or streamer, who must trust chiefly to the strength of his arm, or the buoyancy of his health. The apparatus which he employs must necessarily be simple, so as to be conveyed from place to place, to be easily repaired if injured, and not to require any of those niceties of manipulation which would cause him to lose time in the acquiring of small quantities" [pp. 95-97].

The difference "between the drift-deposits of gold, best exemplified at the present day in Siberia, California, and Australia; and the fine sands annually brought down by rivers, some of which are also found to contain gold in workable quantities. The latter are of course found literally at the surface, the former may be met with under a cover of from 1 to 70 feet in thickness, consisting of soil, peat, sand, gravel etc. The modes of working the 2 must be identical in principle"[p. 97].

"For the stream-workers nature has pulled down the highest, proudest and richest parts of the lodes, and so triturated and washed up the materials, that the streamer has the heaviest part of the work already done for him; whilst the miner,

who attacks the poorer, but more lasting, deep-going lodes, must aid himself with all the resources of the nicest art" [p. 98].

"Gold has justly been considered the noblest of metals from various physical and chemical properties. It is unchangeable in air and does not rust." (This unchangeability precisely its resistance to the oxygen of the atmosphere.) "Of a bright reddish yellow colour when in a coherent state, and very dense. Highly malleable. Requires a strong heat to melt it. Specific gravity [19.3]" [pp. 72-73].

Thus three types of gold production: (1) In river sand. Simply found on the surface. *Washing.* (2) Deposited in BEDS. *DIGGING.* (3) *MINING.* Its production therefore does not require any development of the productive forces. Nature here does most of the work.

(For the *roots* of the words for gold, silver, etc., see *Grimm*[a]; here nothing but general concepts of *lustre* and *colour* are suggested which are soon transferred to the words. Silver is white, gold is yellow. Bronze and gold, bronze and iron interchange their names. Among the Germans, bronze in use earlier than iron. Direct relationship between *aes* and *aurum.*[b])

Copper (*brass, bronze*: tin and copper) and gold used before silver and iron.

"Gold employed long before silver, because it is found pure or only combined with a little silver; obtained by simple washing. Silver generally exists in lodes embedded in the hardest rocks of primitive formation; for its extraction machinery and complicated work are required. In South America the gold lodes are not exploited, only gold in the form of powder and grains in alluvial soils. Also at the time of Herodotus. The oldest monuments of Greece, Asia, Northern Europe and the New World show that the use of gold for utensils and jewels is possible in semi-barbaric conditions; and the use of silver for the same purpose denotes in itself fairly advanced social conditions" (cf. Dureau de la Malle, Notebook (1) [*Économie politique des Romains,* Vol. I, Paris, 1840, pp. 48-49]).[c47]

For copper as the main instrument of war and peace ibid. 2 [p. 56] (as *money* in Italy, ibid. [p. 57]).

### *(b) Fluctuations in the Value Ratio of the Different Metals*

If we are to examine the use of the metals as the substance of money, their use relative to each other, their earlier or later appearance, we must at the same time examine the *fluctuations in*

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[a] J. Grimm, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache,* Vol. I, Leipzig, 1853, pp. 9 and 7.— *Ed.*

[b] Copper and gold.— *Ed.*

[c] Here and below Marx quotes from Dureau de la Malle partly in French and partly in German translation.— *Ed.*

*their relative value* (see Letronne, Böckh, Jacob[a]). (In so far as this question is connected with the overall volume of the circulating metals and its relation to prices, to be considered later, as historical appendix to the chapter on the relation between money and prices.)

The *changement successif* between gold, silver and copper in different epochs inevitably depended in the first place on the nature of the deposits of these three metals and the greater or lesser purity in which they are found. Then on political changes like the invasion of Asia and part of Africa by the Persians and Macedonians, and later the Roman conquest of parts of the three continents (*orbis Romanus,* etc.) [Dureau de la Malle, op. cit., pp. 63-64].

Therefore dependent on the relative condition of purity in which they are found and the nature of the deposits.

The value ratio between the different metals can be determined without having regard to price, by means of the simple *quantitative* ratio in which they exchange for each other. We can generally adopt this procedure when we are comparing only a few commodities [I-32] that are measured in terms of the same unit, e.g. so many quarters of rye, barley, oats for so many quarters of wheat. In barter, where usually little is as yet exchanged and only a few commodities enter into commerce, this method is employed and hence money still unnecessary.

Among the *Arabs* neighbouring on the Sabaeans, according to Strabo, gold was locally so abundant that 10 lbs of gold was given for 1 lb. of iron and 2 lbs of gold for 1 lb. of silver [ibid., p. 52].

The land of the Bactrians (Bokhara, etc., in short Turkestan) and the parts of Asia SITUATED between the Paropamisus (Hundu Kush) and the Imaus (MUSTAGH MOUNTAINS), i.e. the *Desertum arenosum auro abundans*[b] (Gobi Desert), were so rich in gold that Dureau de la Malle thinks it

possible that from the 15th to the 6th century B.C. the ratio of gold to silver equalled 1:6 or 1:8, a ratio which existed in China and Japan up to the beginning of the 19th century. Herodotus puts the ratio at 1:13 for Persia under Darius Hystaspes [ibid., p. 54].

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[a] J. A. Letronne, *Considérations générales sur l'évaluation des monnaies grecques et romaines, et sur la valeur de l'or et de l'argent avant la découverte de l'Amérique;* A. Böckh, *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener;* W. Jacob, *An Historical Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals.—Ed.*

[b] Sand desert abounding in gold.—*Ed.*

According to the code of Manu,[48] written between 1300 and 600 B.C., the gold-silver ratio=1:2 1/2. Silver mines in fact scarcely exist except in primary strata, especially in stratified rocks, and in a few lodes in secondary rocks. Silver lodes are usually embedded in the densest and hardest rocks such as quartz, etc., and not in alluvial sands. This metal is more common [than gold] in regions which are cold either due to their latitude or to their height above sea level, while gold usually prefers hot countries. Unlike gold, silver is only very rarely encountered in the pure state, etc. (most frequently combined with arsenic or sulphur) (hydrochloric acid, nitric acid). With respect to the quantity of the two metals in circulation (before the discovery of Australia and California), Humboldt (1811) estimates the ratio of gold to silver in America=1:46, in Europe (including Asiatic Russia)=1:40. The *minéralogistes* of the Académie des Sciences make the ratio nowadays (1842[a])=1:52; yet the pound of gold is only worth 15 pounds of silver, hence the value ratio=1:15 [ibid., pp. 54-56].

*Copper.* Specific gravity=8.9. Beautiful colour, like the red of dawn. Fairly hard; requires a very high temperature to melt it. Not infrequently found pure; often combined with oxygen or sulphur.

Its lodes are embedded in ancient primary rocks. But is also frequently found, more than other minerals are, on the surface of the earth or at shallow depths, conglomerated in pure lumps, sometimes of considerable weight. Used before iron both in war and peace [ibid., p. 56].

(As the substance of money, gold bears the same relationship to silver as copper does to iron as an instrument of labour in historical development.)

It circulated in great quantities from the lst to the 5th century in the part of Italy subjected by the Romans. The degree of civilisation of a people can be determined a priori simply by knowing the kind of metal—gold, copper, silver or iron—which it uses for weapons, tools and ornaments. *Hesiod* in his poem on agriculture:

"Χαλκῷ δ' ε'ργάζοντο μέλας δ'οὐκ ἔσκε σιδηρος."[b]

*Lucretius*: "Et prior aeris erat quam ferri cognitus usus"[c] [ibid., p. 57].

Jacob refers to ancient copper mines in Nubia and Siberia (see Dureau, I, 58).

Herodotus says that the Massagetae possessed only bronze, not iron. According to the Oxford marbles, iron was not known before 1431 B.C. In *Homer*, iron is rare; by contrast, very common use of bronze (ore, bronze), this alloy of copper, zinc and tin, which for so long served both Greek and Roman society even for the manufacture of axes and razors" [ibid., p. 58].

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[a] This should read "1840".—*Ed.*

[b] "They worked with copper. There was no black iron" (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, Verse 151).—*Ed.*

[c] "The use of bronze was known before that of iron" (Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, Book V, 1286).—*Ed.*

Italy is fairly rich in native copper; to 247 B.C. copper money formed, if not the sole currency, then the usual money, the monetary unit of middle Italy. The Greek colonies in southern Italy received silver from Greece and Asia either directly or via Tyre and Carthage, which they coined from the 5th and 6th century onwards [ibid., p. 64].

The Romans apparently possessed silver money before the expulsion of the kings, but according to Pliny, "interdictum id vetere consulto patrum, Italiae parci" (i.e. of her silver mines) "jubentium"[a] [Plinius, *Naturalis historia*, Book III, Chapter 20]. They feared the consequences of a convenient means of circulation—luxury, increase of slavery, accumulation, concentration of landed property [ibid., pp. 65-66].

Also among the Etruscans, copper was used as money earlier than gold.

Garnier is wrong in saying (see Notebook III, p. 22) that

"the material destined for accumulation was naturally sought and chosen in the realm of minerals".[b]

On the contrary, it was after the coming into use of metallic money (whether as money in the proper sense or still merely as a privileged means of exchange by weight) that accumulation began. This point to be *discussed particularly in relation to gold.*

*Reitemeier* [is] right [when he says] (see Notebook III, p. 33):

"Gold, silver and copper first used among the peoples of antiquity to make breaking and crushing tools, despite their *relative weakness,* earlier than iron and earlier than their use as money." (Tools improved when men learnt to harden copper by tempering it, so that it could stand up to solid rock. A very much hardened copper was used to make chisels and hammers, which served to master stone. Finally, iron discovered.)[c]

*Jacob writes*:

"In the patriarchal state (see Notebook IV, p. 3) when the metals from which arms were made, such as (1) BRASS and (2) IRON, were scarce and enormously expensive compared with the COMMON FOOD AND CLOTHING THEN USED, although no COINED MONEY OF THE PRECIOUS METALS was known, YET GOLD AND SILVER HAD ACQUIRED THE FACULTY to be more easily and CONVENIENTLY exchanged for the other metals than CORN and CATTLE".[d]

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[a] "It was banned by an ancient decree of the Senate, which ruled that Italy" (i.e. her silver mines) "should be spared."—*Ed.*

[b] G. Garnier, *Histoire de la monnaie,* Vol. I, Paris, 1819, p. 7.—*Ed.*

[c] J. F. Reitemeier, *Geschichte des Bergbaues und Hüttenwesens bey den alten Völkern,* Göttingen, 1785, pp. 14-16 and 32.—*Ed.*

[d] W. Jacob, *An Historical Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals.* Vol. I, London, 1831, p. 142.—*Ed.*

[I-33] Moreover, only simple washing was required to obtain the pure, or nearly pure, gold of the immense areas of alluvial land situated between the Hindu Kush and Himalayan ranges. At that time the population was abundant in these Asian countries and labour was therefore very cheap. Silver, because of the (technical) difficulty of its exploitation, relatively dearer. The opposite obtained in Asia and in Greece after Alexander's death. The gold-bearing sands became exhausted; the price of slaves and labour rose; since mechanics and geometry had made immense progress between Euclid and Archimedes, it became possible to exploit profitably the rich seams of the silver mines of Asia, Thrace and Spain, and silver being 52 times more plentiful than gold, the ratio between the values of these two metals naturally changed, and a pound of gold, which in Xenophon's time, 350 B.C., had exchanged for 10 pounds of silver, was worth 18 pounds of the latter metal in A.D. 422 [Dureau de la Malle, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 62-63].

Hence gold had risen from 1:10 to 1:18.

At the end of the *5th century* A.D., there was an unusual decline in the quantity of coins and stagnation in mining. In the Middle Ages until the end of the 15th century, gold coins made up a relatively significant portion of the money supply. (The decline affected particularly the silver [coins], which had earlier provided the bulk of the circulating currency.) The [gold-silver] ratio in the 15th century=1:10, in the 18th century=1:14 on the Continent, 1:15 in England.

In Asia more recently, silver more as a commodity in trade; particularly in China, where copper money (*tehen,* an alloy of copper, zinc and lead) constituted the country's coinage; in China gold (and silver) reckoned by weight served as commodities for balancing external trade.[49]

Great fluctuations in the relative values of copper and silver (used as coins) in Rome.

Until the time of Servius, metal in ingots was used in exchange: the *aes rude.* The monetary unit was the as of copper,=1 lb. of the metal. At the time of Servius, the silver-copper value ratio=279:1, till the beginning of the Punic Wars[50]=400:1, at the time of the First Punic War=140:1, at the time of the Second Punic War=112:1 [ibid., pp. 66-68, 73, 76 and 82].

Gold initially very dear in Rome while silver came from Carthage (and Spain); gold used only in ingots until 547 [from the founding of Rome]. Gold to silver in trade=13.71:1, in coin 17.14:1; under Caesar=12:1 (at the outbreak of the civil war,[51] after Caesar's plundering of the *aerarium*[a] only=8.9:1); under Honorius and Arcadius ([A.D.] 397), fixed at 14.4:1; under Honorius and Theodosius Junior ([A.D.] 422)=18:1. Silver to copper=100:1; gold to silver=18:1 [ibid., pp. 85-91 and 95-96].

The first silver coin struck in Rome in 485 from the founding of Rome, the first gold coin in 547. As soon as the weight of the as was reduced to 1 ounce after the Second Punic War it was used only as small change; the sestertius (silver) became the monetary unit and all large payments were made in silver. (In everyday

[a] Treasury.— *Ed.*

dealings, copper (and later iron) continued to be the main metallic currency.) Under the Emperors of the East and West, the *solidus* (*aureus*), i.e. gold, the controlling money [ibid., pp. 65, 86, 81, 84 and 96].

Thus in antiquity, taking the average:

*Firstly*: *Relatively high value of silver compared with gold.* Apart from individual cases (the Arabs) where gold was cheaper than silver and even cheaper than iron, the value ratio of gold to silver in Asia from the 15th to the 6th century B.C.=6:1 or 8:1 (the latter *rapport*[a] in China and Japan till the beginning of the 19th century). In the code of Manu [the ratio was] even=$2\,^1/_2$:1. This low ratio arises from the same causes owing to which gold was the first metal to be discovered. At that time gold came chiefly from Asia and Egypt. The use of *copper* as money marks the corresponding period in the development of Italy. In general, copper as the main instrument of peace and war corresponds to gold as the dominant precious metal. Even in Xenophon's time gold to silver=10:1.

*Secondly*: Since the death of Alexander, relative rise in the value of gold compared to silver, following the exhaustion of the auriferous sands and the progress in technology and civilisation. Consequently, opening of silver mines; now you have the influence of the quantitatively greater occurrence of silver than gold in the earth. But especially the Carthaginians, whose exploitation of [silver mines in] Spain was bound to revolutionise the relationship of gold to silver like the discovery of American silver at the end of the 15th century. Ratio before Caesar's time=17:1; later 14:1; and finally, since A.D. 422, it was 18:1. (The fall in the relative value of gold under Caesar due to accidental causes.) To the fall in the value of silver in relation to gold corresponds the use of iron as the main instrument of production in war and peace.

While in the first period gold came mainly from the East, in the second period silver came from the more temperate West.

*Thirdly*: *In the Middle Ages,* the ratio was once again as in Xenophon's time, 10:1. (In some places 12:1?)

*Fourthly*: *After the discovery of America,* the ratio was once again ABOUT the same as at the time of Honorius and Arcadius ([A.D.] 397), 14 or 15:1. Although gold production increased from ABOUT 1815 to 1844, gold was at a premium (e.g. in France). It is probable that the Californian and Australian discoveries,

*fifthly,* will bring the ratio back to that of the Roman Imperium,

[a] Ratio.— *Ed.*

i.e. 18:1, if not to a still higher one.[52] Both in antiquity and in modern times silver became relatively cheaper with the progress of the production of the precious metals from East to West, until the Californian and Australian discoveries reversed this process. In the short run great fluctuations, but there is a striking recurrence, if the main differences are considered.

[I-34] In ancient times, copper was three or four times more expensive than it is today (Garnier[a]).

c) The sources of supply of gold and silver, and their connection with historical development, must now be considered.

d) *Money as coinage.* A brief historical survey of coinage. Debasement and enhancement, etc.

## [MONEY CIRCULATION]

The *circulation* or *turnover of money* corresponds to an opposite *circulation or turnover of commodities. A*'s commodity passes into *B*'s hands, while *B*'s money passes into *A*'s hands, etc. The circulation of money, like that of commodities, sets out from and returns to an infinite number of different points. The turnover of money at the stage at which we are discussing it here, i.e. the stage of its *direct* circulation, does not set out from one centre towards the various points of the periphery, or return from those points to one single centre. This takes place only when circulation is *mediated* by the banking system, though this first spontaneous and natural circulation does consist of a mass of turnovers. But turnover in the proper sense begins only when gold and silver cease to be commodities. No circulation in this sense takes place between countries exporting the precious metals and those importing them, for in this case we have only a simple exchange, since gold and silver figure as commodities, not as money.

In so far as money mediates the exchange of commodities, i.e. in this case their circulation, and is therefore the means of exchange, it is the *instrument of circulation, the "wheel of circulation"*.[b] But in so far as it is itself circulated in this process, turned over, follows its own movement, it has itself a *circulation, money circulation, money turnover.* We must ascertain how far this circulation is governed by special laws. To begin with, it is clear

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[a] G. Garnier, *Histoire de monnaie,* Vol. I, p. 253.—*Ed.*

[b] See A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Vol. II, London, 1836, pp. 272, 276 and 284.—*Ed.*

that if money is the wheel of circulation for commodities, commodities are likewise the wheel of circulation for money. If money circulates commodities, commodities circulate money. The circulation of commodities and the circulation of money therefore condition each other.

There are three points to consider in relation to money turnover: (1) the form of the movement itself, the line it follows (its concept); (2) the quantity of money in circulation; (3) the velocity with which it accomplishes its movement, circulates. This can only be done in relation to commodity circulation. It is clear, to begin with, that commodity circulation possesses elements which are completely independent of money circulation and which, indeed, determine the latter, either directly or e.g. because the same circumstances which govern the velocity of commodity circulation also govern that of money circulation. The character of the mode of production as a whole will govern both, and more directly the circulation of commodities.

[On it depends] the number of people carrying on exchange (the size of the population); their distribution as between town and countryside; the absolute quantity of commodities, of products and of productive agents; the relative quantity of commodities put into circulation; the development of the means of communication and transport, in the double sense that it determines both the circle of those involved in exchange with each other, entering into contact, and the speed with which the raw material gets to the producer and the product to the consumer; finally the development of industry, which concentrates different branches of production in one place, e.g. spinning, weaving, dyeing, etc., thus making superfluous a series of mediating acts of exchange. Commodity circulation is the basic premiss of money circulation. How far the latter reacts back on the circulation of commodities, to be examined.

To start with, the *general concept of circulation or turnover* must be established.

Also to be noted that it is exchange values and hence *prices* which are circulated by money. In commodity circulation, therefore, we must take into account the prices of commodities just as much as their volume. Obviously, less money is needed to circulate a large quantity of commodities of low exchange value (price) than to circulate a small quantity at double the price. The concept of price must therefore be developed *before* that of circulation. Circulation is the positing of prices, the movement in which commodities are transformed into prices, their realisation as

prices. Money has a dual determination: (1) as the *measure* or element in which the commodity is realised as exchange value, and (2) as *means of exchange,* instrument of circulation; and these two determinations have effects in quite different directions. Money only circulates commodities which have already been *notionally* transformed into money, not only in the mind of the individual but in the imagination of society (directly, of the parties involved in the process of purchase and sale). The notional transformation into money and the real one are not governed by the same laws at all. The relationship between them must be investigated.

### *(a) [Money as Measure of Value]*

An essential characteristic of circulation is that it circulates exchange values, exchange values, that is, in the form of *prices.* Hence, not every type of commodity exchange, e.g. BARTER, payments in kind, feudal services, etc., constitutes circulation. For circulation, two things above all are necessary: *firstly,* the premiss of commodities as prices; *secondly,* a circuit of exchanges, rather than isolated acts of exchange; a totality of exchanges in constant flow and taking place more or less over the whole surface of society; a system of acts of exchange.

[I-35] The commodity is cast in the role of exchange value. As such it is equivalent in a definite proportion (in proportion to the labour time contained in it) to all other values (commodities). But it does not correspond directly to itself in this role. As an exchange value it differs from itself in its natural form of existence. A mediation is required to posit the commodity as exchange value. Hence, in the form of money, exchange value confronts the commodity as something different from it. Only when posited as money is the commodity pure exchange value; or the commodity as pure exchange value is money. But at the same time, money now exists outside and alongside the commodity; its exchange value, the exchange value of all commodities, has acquired an existence independent of it, embodied in a material of its own, in a specific commodity. The exchange value of the commodity expresses the totality of the quantitative proportions in which all other commodities can be exchanged for it, as determined by the unequal quantities of the various commodities which can be produced in the same labour time. Money now exists as the exchange value of all commodities alongside and outside of them.

It is above all the general material into which they must be dipped to be gold- and silver-plated so as to acquire their free existence as exchange values. They must be translated into money, expressed in its terms. Money becomes the general denominator of exchange values, of commodities as exchange values. Exchange value expressed in money, i.e. equated to money, is *price.* Since money has been posited as something independent as against exchange values, exchange values are cast in the role of the money confronting them as subject.[33] But every exchange value is a definite quantity, is a quantitatively determined exchange value. As such it is=to a particular quantity of money. The particular quantity is determined according to the general law by the labour time realised in the exchange value. Thus, an exchange value that is the product of, SAY, a day's labour, is expressed in a quantity of gold or silver that is equal to a day's labour time, the product of a day's labour. The general measure of exchange values now becomes the measure between every exchange value and the money to which it is *equated.*

(Gold and silver are determined in the first instance by their production costs in the countries in which they are produced.

"In the MINING COUNTRIES all prices depend ultimately upon the production costs of the precious METALS; THE REMUNERATION PAID TO THE MINER AFFORDS THE SCALE upon which the REMUNERATION of all other PRODUCERS is calculated... The gold and silver value of all commodities not subject to any monopoly in a country not possessing mines depends upon the gold and silver WHICH CAN BE OBTAINED BY EXPORTING THE RESULT OF A GIVEN QUANTITY OF LABOUR, THE CURRENT RATE OF PROFIT, AND, IN EACH INDIVIDUAL CASE, THE AMOUNT OF WAGES WHICH HAVE BEEN PAID, AND THE TIME FOR WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN ADVANCED" (Senior [*Three Lectures on the Cost of Obtaining Money,* London, 1830, pp. 14-15 and 13-14]).

In other words, this value depends on the QUANTITY OF GOLD AND SILVER WHICH IS DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY obtained from the mining countries for a certain quantity of labour (i.e. of exportable products). Money is first of all that which expresses the relation of equality of all exchange values: in money they all have the same denominator.

*Exchange value posited in terms of money* is *price.* In price it is expressed as a definite quantity of money. In price, money appears, firstly, as the *unity* of all exchange values; and secondly, as the unit of which they contain a particular number, so that their quantitative character, their quantitative ratio to one another, is expressed by comparison with that unit. Hence money here plays the role of the *measure* of exchange values, and prices that of exchange values measured by money. That money is the measure of prices, and hence the basis for the comparison of exchange

values, is a definition that follows automatically. But more important for the purpose of this argument is that in price *exchange value is compared with money.* Once money has been cast in the role of exchange value independent of and separate from commodities, the particular commodity, the specific exchange value, is again *equated* to money, i.e. taken as equal to a certain sum of money, expressed in money, translated into it. By being equated to money, the commodities are again related to each other as they were, conceptually, as exchange values: as corresponding and comparable to each other in definite proportions.

The particular exchange value, the commodity, is expressed, subsumed, posited in the character of exchange value made independent, in money. How that happens (i.e. how the quantitative proportion between the quantitatively determined exchange value and a definite quantity of money is found), cf. above.[a] But since money has an independent existence outside commodities, the price of the commodity appears as an *external* relation of exchange values or commodities to money. The commodity *is not* price, not in the way it was exchange value in its social substance; it does not *immediately* coincide with its character as price; it acquires this character only through being compared with money. The commodity *is* exchange value, but it *has* a price. Exchange value was there in direct unity with the commodity, as its immediate character, from which it separated just as immediately so that on the one side there was the commodity, on the other its exchange value (as measured in money). But now, in its *price,* the commodity is on the one hand related to money as to something existing outside it, and on the other it is itself seen as money *notionally,* since money has a reality distinct from it. Price is an attribute of the commodity, a determination in which it is *introduced* as money. It is no longer an immediate but a reflected determinateness of the commodity. [I-36] Alongside real money there now exists the commodity as something notionally cast in the role of money.

This next determination both of money *as measure* and of the commodity as *price* is most simply illustrated by the distinction between *real money* and *money of account.* As measure, money always serves as money of account; and as price, the commodity is always transformed into money only notionally.

"The valuation of the commodity by the seller, the offer made by the buyer, the calculations, obligations, rents, inventories, etc., in short everything leading up to

[a] See this volume, pp. 77-84.—*Ed.*

and preceding the material act of payment, must be expressed in money of account. Real money intervenes only in order to realise the payments and to balance" (liquidate) "the accounts. If I have 24 livres 12 sous to pay, the money of account presents 24 units of one kind and 12 of another, while I will actually pay with two pieces of material: one piece of gold worth 24 livres and one of silver worth 12 sous. The total volume of real money has necessary limits in the needs of the circulation. The money of account is an ideal measure, which has no limits other than those of the imagination. Employed *to express every kind of wealth, if only it is considered from the viewpoint of its exchange value*: the national wealth, the national income, the income of individuals; accounting values, in whatever form these values may exist, regulated according to that same form; so there is not a single article in the mass of *choses consommables*[a] that is not repeatedly transformed into money in thought, while compared with this mass, the total sum of real money is at most=1:10" (Garnier [*Histoire de la monnaie,* Vol. I, pp. 72, 73, 77, 78]).

(This ratio is wrong. 1:many millions would be more correct. But this cannot be measured at all.)

Thus, if money originally expresses exchange value, the commodity as price, as notionally posited and conceptually realised exchange value, now expresses a sum of money: money in a particular proportion. As prices, all commodities are in various forms representatives of money, while previously money as exchange value made independent was the representative of all commodities. To money really posited as a commodity succeeds the commodity notionally posited as money.

It is now clear, to start with, that in this notional transformation of commodities into money, or in the positing of commodities as *prices,* the quantity of money actually available is completely irrelevant in two respects: *Firstly,* the notional transformation of commodities into money is *prima facie*[b] independent of and unrestricted by the quantity of real money. Not a single coin is necessary for this process, just as little as a measuring rod (say, a yardstick) need actually be employed in order to express, say, the length of the Earth's Equator in yards. If e.g. the whole national wealth of England is estimated in money, i.e. expressed as price, everyone knows that there is not enough money in the whole world to realise this price. Money is necessary here only as a category, as an imagined ratio. *Secondly,* since money is taken as a unit, and the commodity is thus expressed as containing a certain sum of equal parts of money, is measured by it, it follows that the measure between the two is the general measure of exchange values—the production costs or labour time. If $^1/_3$ oz. of gold is the product of 1 working day, and the commodity $x$ the product

[a] Consumable articles.—*Ed.*

[b] At first sight; here in the sense of "clearly".—*Ed.*

of 3 working days, that commodity=1 ounce of gold or £3 17 s. 7 d. sterling. In measuring money and commodity, the original measure of exchange values comes in again. Instead of being expressed in 3 working days, the commodity is expressed in the quantity of gold or silver which is the product of 3 working days. Obviously, the actual supply of money has no bearing on this proportion.

(*Error of James Mill*: overlooks the fact that the production costs, not their quantity, determine the value of the precious metals, and the prices of commodities MEASURED IN METALLIC VALUE.[53]

"Commodities in exchange act as each other's measure... But this procedure would require as many points of comparison as there are commodities in circulation. If one commodity were exchanged only for one, not for two commodities, it could not serve as the term of comparison... Hence the need for a *terme commun de comparaison*... This term can be a purely notional one... The determination of measure is the original one, more important than that of *gage*[a]... In the trade between Russia and China, silver is used to evaluate all commodities, yet this *commerce* is carried on by *trocs*[b]" (Storch [*Cours d'économie politique,* Vol. I, Paris, 1823, pp. 81-84, 87, 88]).

"Measuring with money is like the use of weights to compare material quantities. The same name for the two units whose function was to count the weight as well as the value of each object. *Measures of weight and measures of value have the same names.* An *étalon*[c] that is always of the same weight was easily found. With money, it was a question of the *value* of a pound of silver=its costs of production" (Sismondi [*Études sur l'économie politique,* Vol. II, Brussels, 1838, pp. 264-68]).

Not only the same names. Gold and silver originally weighed. Thus, the Roman *as*=1 lb. of copper. Wirth.[d])

[I-37] "Sheep and oxen, not gold and silver, figure as *money,* as the measure of value, in Homer and Hesiod. On the battle field of Troy, barter" (Jacob [*An Historical Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals,* Vol. I, p. 109]). (Similarly *slaves* in the Middle Ages, ibid. [p. 351].)

Money can function as the measure and general element of exchange values without assuming its further determinations—hence even before it has assumed the form of metallic money, e.g. in the case of simple barter. But this presupposes that little exchange of any kind takes place, that commodities have not been developed as exchange values and consequently not as *prices* either.

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[a] Security.— *Ed.*

[b] Barter.— *Ed.*

[c] Standard.— *Ed.*

[d] See J. G. A. Wirth, *Die Geschichte der Deutschen,* Vol. I, Stuttgart, 1846, pp. 97-99.— *Ed.*

("A COMMON STANDARD in the price of ANYTHING presumes ITS FREQUENT and FAMILIAR ALIENATION. This is not the case in simple states of society. In non-industrialised countries many things are without a definite price... SALE ALONE CAN DETERMINE PRICES, AND FREQUENT SALE ALONE CAN FIX A STANDARD. The FREQUENT SALE of articles of first NECESSITY depends on the relation of town and country", etc.[a])

Developed pricing presupposes that the individual does not directly produce his subsistence but that his immediate product is *exchange value,* and hence must first be mediated by a social process to become the *means of subsistence* for him. Between the full development of this basis of industrial society and patriarchal conditions many intermediate stages, endless nuances.

This much can be concluded from (a): if the costs of production of the precious metals rise, the prices of all commodities fall; if the costs of production of the precious metals fall, the prices of all commodities rise. This is the general principle which is, as we shall see, modified in particular cases. [I-37]

[I-38] (Note to *a*)[b] ("The term 'measure', used as an attribute of MONEY, means an *INDICATOR OF VALUE*"... Ridiculous assertion that "PRICES MUST FALL, because COMMODITIES are valued at SO MANY OUNCES OF GOLD and the AMOUNT OF GOLD IS DIMINISHED IN THIS COUNTRY."... THE EFFICIENCY OF GOLD AS AN INDICATOR OF VALUE IS UNAFFECTED BY ITS QUANTITY BEING GREATER OR SMALLER IN ANY PARTICULAR COUNTRY. If the whole paper and metallic circulation in this country were reduced by half by means of BANKING EXPEDIENTS, the relative value of gold and commodities would remain the same.[c] Examples of this: Peru in the 16th century and the transmission from France to England. Hubbard [*The Currency and the Country,* London, 1843, pp. 44-46,] VIII, 45.)

("On the African Coast, the measure of value is neither gold nor silver but a notional STANDARD, an imaginary bar"; Jacob, [*An Historical Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals,* Vol. II, London, 1831, pp. 326-27,] V, 15.) [I-38]

### *(b) [Money as a Means of Circulation]*

[I-37] If exchange values are *notionally* transformed into money in prices, then in exchange, in purchase and sale, they are *really* transformed into money, exchanged for money in order, as money, to be again exchanged for commodities. The particular exchange value must first be exchanged for the *general,* so as to be again exchanged for particular ones. The commodity is realised as

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[a] J. Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy,* Vol. I, Dublin, 1770, pp. 395 and 396.—*Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript the text marked "Note to *a*." is written on the next page, in a passage belonging to section *b*.—*Ed.*

[c] Cf. this volume, p. 111.—*Ed.*

exchange value only by means of this mediating movement in which money plays the role of mediator. Hence money circulates in the opposite direction from commodities. Money appears as mediator of commodity exchange, as means of exchange. It is the wheel of circulation, the instrument of circulation for the turnover of commodities; but as such it simultaneously has a circulation of its own—the *monetary turnover, money circulation.* The price of the commodity is only realised in its exchange for real money, or in its real exchange for money.

This much can be concluded from the foregoing. Commodities are exchanged for money in reality, transformed into real money, only after they have been previously transformed into money in idea—i.e. after they have acquired a *price determination,* as *prices. Prices* are therefore the *prerequisite* for money circulation, however much their realisation may appear as the result of that circulation. The circumstances which make the exchange value and hence the *prices* of commodities rise above or fall below their average value, are to be analysed in the section on exchange value; they precede the process of the actual *realisation* of the prices in money; consequently appear at first to be completely independent of it. The relations of numbers to one another obviously remain the same when I represent them in decimal fractions; I have merely given them another *name.*

The actual circulation of commodities requires *instruments of transport*; it cannot be effected by money. If I have bought 1,000 lbs of iron for the sum of £*x,* the ownership of this iron has been transferred to me. My £*x* has done its job as means of exchange and has circulated, just as the title of ownership has done. The seller, on the other hand, has realised the price of the iron, has realised the iron as exchange value. But money does not contribute to bringing the iron from him to me; for that wagon, horses, roads, etc., are needed. Money does not effect the actual circulation of commodities in space and time. It merely realises their *price* and in that way transfers the title of ownership to the commodities to the purchaser, to the person who has offered the means of exchange. What is circulated by money is not commodities, but the titles of ownership to them; and what is realised in return in this circulation, whether by purchase or sale, is again not the commodities, but their prices.

Thus, the quantity of money required for circulation is determined, in the first place, by the level of prices of the commodities that are put into circulation. But, the sum total of these prices is determined *firstly,* by the prices of the individual

commodities; *secondly,* by the volume of commodities which enter into circulation at given prices. For example, twice as much money is needed to circulate a quarter of wheat at the price of 60 s. than at the price of 30 s. And 30,000 s. is necessary to circulate 500 quarters at 60 s. each, while only 12,000 s. is needed for the circulation of 200 quarters at the same price. Thus the amount of money required depends on the level of commodity prices and the volume of commodities to be circulated at given prices.

*Secondly,* however, the quantity of money required for circulation depends not only on the sum of the prices to be realised, it also depends on the velocity with which the money circulates, with which it accomplishes the business of realisation. If 1 thaler makes 10 purchases in an hour, at the price of 1 thaler each time, i.e. exchanges itself 10 times, it completes QUITE the same business as 10 thaler which effects only 1 purchase in an hour. Velocity of circulation is the negative moment; it offsets quantity; by means of it, a single coin multiplies itself.

The factors determining, on the one hand, the aggregate of commodity prices to be realised, and, on the other hand, the velocity of circulation of money are to be examined later. This much is clear, that prices are not high or low because much or little money is in circulation, but that much or little money is in circulation because prices are high or low; and further, that the velocity of the circulating money does not depend on its quantity; rather, [I-38] the quantity of the circulating medium depends on its velocity (HEAVY PAYMENTS are not counted but weighed; this saves time).

But as already mentioned,[a] the circulation of money does not begin from one central point, nor does it return to a central point from all the points of the periphery (as is the case with the *BANKS OF ISSUE* and partly the case with state money); but it begins from and returns to an infinite number of points (this reflux itself, and the time in which it is completed, are fortuitous). The velocity of the means of circulation can therefore offset the quantity of the circulating medium only up to a certain point. (Factory-owners and farmers, e.g., pay the labourer; he pays the shopkeeper, etc.; and from the latter, the money returns to the factory-owners and farmers.) A given quantity of money can only effect a series of payments *successively,* whatever the velocity with which it effects them. But a certain number of payments must be made *simultaneously.* Circulation starts from a multitude of different

[a] See p. 121.—*Ed.*

points simultaneously. Hence a definite quantity of money is needed for circulation, a quantity which will always be in circulation, and which is determined by the total sum which sets out from the simultaneous points of departure of circulation and the velocity with which it runs its course (returns). However much this quantity of the circulating medium may be subject to ebbs and flows, there is an average level; for the permanent changes in it are only very gradual, take place only over long periods of time, and, as we shall see, are always counteracted by a mass of secondary circumstances.

In its determination as measure, money is indifferent to its quantity, or the existing quantity of money is a matter of indifference. In its determination as means of exchange, instrument of circulation, its quantity is measured. Whether these two determinations of money can come into contradiction with each other, to be examined later.

(The concept of *forced, compulsory circulation* (see Steuart[a]) does not belong here yet.[54])

It is an essential feature of *circulation* that exchange appears as a process, a fluid whole of purchases and sales. Its first premiss is the circulation of the commodities themselves, the circulation of these which continually sets out from a large number of points. The precondition of the circulation of commodities is that they are produced as *exchange values,* not as *immediate use values* but as use values mediated by exchange value. Appropriation through and by means of alienation and sale is a basic premiss. Circulation as the realisation of exchange values implies (1) that my product is a product only in so far as it is a product for others, in other words, transcended individuality, generality; (2) that it is a product for me only in so far as it has been alienated, has become a product for others; (3) that it is a product for the other person only in so far as he alienates his own product. This in turn implies (4) that production appears for me not an end in itself but a means.

Circulation is the movement in which general alienation appears as general appropriation and general appropriation as general alienation. Though the whole of this movement may well appear as a social process, and though the individual elements of this movement originate from the conscious will and particular purposes of individuals, nevertheless the totality of the process appears as an objective relationship arising spontaneously; a

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[a] J. Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy,* Vol. II, Dublin, 1770, p. 389.—*Ed.*

relationship which results from the interaction of conscious individuals, but which is neither part of their consciousness nor as a whole subsumed under them. Their own collisions give rise to an *alien* social power standing above them. Their own interaction [appears] as a process and force independent of them. Because circulation is a totality of the social process, it is also the first form in which not only the social relation appears as something independent of individuals as, say, in a coin or an exchange value, but the whole of the social movement itself. The mutual social relationship of individuals as an independent power standing over them, whether it is conceived of as a force of nature, an accident, or in any other form, is a necessary result of the fact that the starting point is not the free social individual. Circulation as the first totality among the economic categories serves well to illustrate this fact.

[I-39] At first sight, circulation appears to be *simply a never-ending process.*[55] The commodity is exchanged for money; money is exchanged for the commodity, and this is repeated *ad infinitum.* This constant renewal of an identical process does indeed constitute an essential feature of circulation. But on closer examination, it reveals other phenomena as well: the phenomena of closing the circle or the return of the point of departure into itself. The commodity is exchanged for money; money is exchanged for the commodity. So, commodity is exchanged for commodity, except that this exchange is a mediated one. The buyer becomes a seller again, and the seller again becomes a buyer. So each is placed in a dual and antithetical determination, and so we have the living unity of both determinations.

It is, however, quite incorrect to proceed as do the economists: as soon as the contradictions of the money system emerge suddenly to focus only on the end results, forgetting the process which mediates them, seeing only the unity without the difference, the affirmation without the negation. The commodity is exchanged in circulation for a commodity; but in so far as it is exchanged for money, it is also *not* exchanged for a commodity. In other words, the acts of purchase and sale appear as two acts, indifferent to each other, separated in place and time. If it is said that a seller is at the same time a buyer, in so far as he buys money, and that a buyer is at the same time a seller, in so far as he sells money, this is to ignore precisely the distinction, the specific distinction between commodity and money.

After the economists have shown us so beautifully that barter, in which sale and purchase coincide, will not suffice for a more

developed form of society and mode of production, they suddenly look at barter mediated by money as if it were immediate, and ignore the *specific* character of this transaction. After having shown us that in distinction to commodities money is needed, they ALL AT ONCE assert that there is no difference between money and commodities. They take refuge in this abstraction because, in the real development of money, contradictions occur which are embarrassing for the apologetics of bourgeois COMMON SENSE and must therefore be covered up. In so far as purchase and sale, the two essential moments of circulation, are indifferent to one another, separate in space and time, they need not coincide at all. Their mutual indifference can go so far as to fortify one against the other and to make them apparently independent of each other. But in so far as they are both essential moments of a single whole, there must come a time when their independent form is violently broken up and their inner unity is outwardly established by a violent explosion. Hence, the quality of money as mediator, the separation of exchange into two acts, already contains the germ of crises, at least their possibility, which cannot be realised except where there exist the basic conditions of classically and fully developed circulation corresponding to its concept.

It has become further apparent that in circulation money only realises prices. Price appears first of all as a notional characteristic of the commodity; but the money exchanged for a commodity is its realised price, its real price. Hence price appears quite as much *external to* and independent *alongside* the commodity as attached to it in thought. If the commodity cannot be realised in money, it ceases to be capable of circulating, and its price becomes purely notional; just as originally the product transformed into exchange value ceases to be a product if it is not actually exchanged. (The rise and fall of prices not the question here.)

Considered under (a), *price* appeared as *an attribute of commodities;* but considered under (b), *money* appears *as the price outside the commodity.* A mere demand for the commodity does not suffice, it must be *backed up with cash.* If the price of the commodity cannot be realised, if the commodity cannot be converted into money, it appears *devalued, depriced.* The exchange value expressed in its price must be sacrificed as soon as this specific transformation into money is necessary. Hence, the complaints of Boisguillebert, for instance, that money is the executioner of all things, the Moloch to which everything must be sacrificed, the despot over commodities.[a] At the time of the rise of

[a] P. Boisguillebert, "Dissertation sur la nature des richesses, de l'argent et des

absolute monarchy, when all taxes were being converted into money taxes, money does indeed appear as the Moloch to which real wealth is sacrificed. So it appears in every MONETARY PANIC, too. Boisguillebert says that money has been transformed from the servant of commerce into its despot. In fact, however, pricing itself already anticipates what is implied in the exchange for money, namely that money no longer represents the commodity, but the commodity represents money. Complaints that trading by means of money was not legitimate trade in some writers of the period of transition from feudal to modern times; as later among socialists.

(α) The more the division of labour develops, the more the product ceases to be a means of exchange. It becomes necessary to have a general means of exchange, independent of the specific production of any particular individual. In production directed towards immediate subsistence, it is not possible to exchange *every* article for *every* other, and a particular activity can only [I-40] be exchanged for a *particular* product. The more specialised, the more manifold, the less independent the products become, the greater becomes the need for a general means of exchange. Initially, the product of labour or labour itself is the general means of exchange. It gradually ceases to be such as it becomes increasingly specialised. It is a prerequisite for a fairly developed division of labour that everyone's needs have become very many-sided and his product very one-sided. The *need for exchange* and the *immediate means of exchange* develop in inverse proportion. Hence the need for a *general means of exchange,* where the particular product and the particular labour must be exchanged for *exchangeability.* The exchange value of an object is nothing but the quantitatively specified expression of its ability to serve as a *means of exchange.* In money the *means of exchange* itself becomes an object, or the exchange value of the object acquires an independent existence outside it. Since the commodity is a means of exchange of only limited power as compared with money, it may cease to be a means of exchange as against money.

(β) The separation of exchange into purchase and sale makes it possible for me to buy without selling (stockpiling of commodities) or to sell without buying (accumulation of money). It makes speculation possible. It makes exchange into a special business; i.e. it creates the *merchant estate.* This separation has made possible a multitude of transactions between the definitive exchange of

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tributs"(the metaphors Marx quotes from this work occur on pp. 395, 399 and 413 of the collection *Économistes financiers du XVIII^e siècle,* Paris, 1843.—*Ed.*

commodities, enabling a large number of persons to exploit this division. It has made possible a multitude of *pseudo-transactions.* At times it becomes clear that what appeared as an essentially divided act, is something essentially integrated; at other times, that what was thought to be an essentially integrated act is in reality essentially divided. At times in which purchase and sale assert themselves as essentially distinct acts, a general depreciation of all commodities takes place. At those in which money only functions as a means of exchange, a depreciation of money takes place. General fall or rise in prices.

*Money makes possible an absolute division of labour,* because it renders labour independent of its specific product, independent of the immediate use value of its product for labour.

The general rise in prices at times of speculation cannot be attributed to a general rise in the *exchange value* of commodities or their *production costs*; for if the *exchange value or the production costs* of gold rose to the same extent as those of all other commodities, their exchange values expressed in money, i.e. their *prices,* would remain the same. Just as little can it be ascribed to a fall in the price of production[56] of gold. (Here we are not dealing with credit yet.) But since money is not only the general commodity but a particular commodity *as well,* and as a particular commodity is subject to the laws of demand and supply, the general demand for particular commodities relative to money must bring money down [in price].

Hence, we see that it is in the nature of money to resolve the contradictions of both direct barter and exchange value only by making them general. It was a matter of chance whether the *particular means of exchange* was exchanged for another particular means of exchange or not. But now the commodity must be exchanged for the *general means of exchange,* to which its particularity stands in still greater contradiction. In order to secure the exchangeability of the commodity, it is confronted with exchangeability itself as an independent commodity. (It turns from a means into an end.) Previously, the question was whether the particular commodity would encounter the particular commodity. But money resolves the act of exchange itself into two acts indifferent to one another.

(Before going further into problems of circulation, its strength, weakness, etc., and especially into the contentious issue of the quantity of money in circulation and prices, money must be considered in its third determination.)

One moment of circulation is that commodity is exchanged for

commodity by means of money. But there is the other moment, namely that, just as commodity exchanges for money and money for commodity, so money exchanges for commodity and commodity for money, in other words, that money is mediated with itself by means of the commodity, and appears as the unit which goes together with itself in its circulation. Thus it no longer appears as the means but as the end of circulation (as e.g. for the merchants) (in trade in general). If circulation is considered not merely as a continuous alternation, but in the circular motions which it describes in itself, this circular motion appears as a double one: commodity—money—money—commodity; on the other hand, money—commodity—commodity—money, i.e. if I can sell in order to buy, I can just as well buy in order to sell. In the first case, money is only the means of obtaining the commodity, and the commodity is the end; in the second case, the commodity is only the means of obtaining money, and money is the end. We can recognise this clearly if we consider the moments of circulation together. Considered as mere circulation, it does not matter at which point I break in to make it the point of departure.

Certainly, there is a specific difference between the commodity in circulation and money in circulation. The commodity is ejected from circulation at a certain point and fulfils its ultimate purpose only when it is definitively withdrawn from circulation, consumed, either in the act of production or [I-41] in consumption proper. The purpose of money, on the contrary, is to remain in circulation as the agent which effects it, as a *perpetuum mobile* ever renewing its circular course.

Nevertheless, that second purpose is present in circulation as much as the first. Now one can say: to exchange commodity for commodity makes sense, for although commodities are equivalents as prices, they are qualitatively different and thus their exchange ultimately satisfies qualitatively different needs. To exchange money for money is senseless, however, unless a quantitative difference occurs through the exchange of less money for more, by selling more dearly than one buys, and we are not yet concerned with the category of profit. Hence the conclusion money—commodity—commodity—money, which we derive from the analysis of circulation, might appear merely as an arbitrary and senseless abstraction, rather as if one were to describe the cycle of life as: death—life—death; though in the latter case, it could not be denied that the constant dissolution of the individual into the elemental is as much an element of the natural process as the constant individualisation of the elemental. Similarly, in

circulation: the constant monetarisation of commodities no less than the constant transformation of money into commodities.[a]

Admittedly, in the real process of buying in order to sell the motive is the profit which is made in that transaction, and the ultimate aim is to exchange by means of the commodity less money for more money, since there is no qualitative difference between money and money. (We are not speaking here either of a particular metallic currency or of particular kinds of coinage.) Yet it cannot be denied that the operation can miscarry, and that, indeed, exchange of money for money without a quantitative difference repeatedly occurs in real life, and therefore can occur. But for this process, upon which trade is based and which therefore by its extent is also an important phenomenon of circulation, to be possible at all, the circuit money—commodity—commodity—money must be recognised as a special form of circulation. This form is specifically distinct from that in which money appears as a mere means of exchange of commodities; as the middle term; as a minor premiss for the conclusion. This circuit has to be distinguished in its purely qualitative form, its specific movement, alongside the quantitative determinateness which it possesses in trade.

*Secondly,* it already implies that money does not serve only as a measure or only as a means of exchange or only as both, but that it has yet a third determination. It appears here *firstly* as an end-in-itself, which commodity trade and exchange merely serve to realise. *Secondly,* since money is the final stage of the circuit here, it *leaves the circuit* just as the commodity exchanged for its equivalent by means of money is ejected from circulation. It is quite correct that money, in so far as it serves only as the agent of circulation, always remains included in the circuit. But now it becomes evident that money is something more than this instrument of circulation; that it also possesses an independent existence outside circulation, and in this new determination *can* be

[a] Here the following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: "Now on this we must remark, firstly, that the two moments of circulation are produced by the third, which we previously called its infinite process; and that by means of this process—whether we take money or the commodity as the starting point—the end point can and must lead again and again beyond the circuit. Hence: commodity—money—money—commodity—money, but equally, money—commodity—commodity—money—commodity. Therefore, although neither of the two moments ends in itself, it must nonetheless be considered in its specific character. Seen in this way, it no longer seems so curious that one moment of the movement consists in money exchanging itself for itself through the medium of the commodity, thus momentarily appearing as the ultimate object."—*Ed.*

withdrawn from it, just as the commodity *must* always definitively be withdrawn from it. Hence we must consider money in its third determination, in which it includes the previous two, namely the role of serving as measure and that of being the general means of exchange and thus the realisation of commodity prices.

### *(c) Money as Material Representative of Wealth.*
### *(Accumulation of money. But first we have still to consider money as the general material of contracts, etc.)*

It is implicit in the nature of the circuit that each point in it appears simultaneously as point of departure and termination, and that, indeed, it appears as the one to the extent that it appears as the other. The form *M—C—C—M* is therefore quite as correct as the other, which appears to be the original one, *C—M—M—C*. The difficulty is that the second commodity is qualitatively different, while this is not true of the second money. It can only be quantitatively different.

When money is considered as a *measure,* its material substance is essential, although its availability and especially its quantity, the *number* of the portions of gold or silver which serves as *unit,* is completely immaterial for it in this determination in which it is used merely as an imaginary, non-existent unit. It is as a unit that it must be available in this determination, not as a number. If I say that 1 lb. of cotton is worth 8d., I am saying that 1 lb. of cotton $= {}^{1}/_{116}$ ounce of gold (the ounce at £3 17s. 7d. or 931d.). This equation then also expresses its determinateness as exchange value, as the equivalent of all other commodities which contain so-and-so many times the ounce of gold, since they are all likewise compared with [I-42] the ounce of gold. This initial ratio of a pound of cotton to gold, which defines the quantity of gold that is contained in a pound of cotton, is given by the quantity of labour time realised in both, the real common substance of exchange values. This to be assumed from the chapter that deals with exchange value as such.[57]

The difficulty of finding this equation is not as great as it appears. For example: in terms of the labour that directly produces gold, a particular quantity of gold appears directly as the product of, say, a day's labour. Directly or indirectly, competition equates the other labour days with this, *modificandis modificatis.* In a word, in the direct production of gold a particular quantity of gold appears directly as product and therefore as the value, the equivalent, of a particular labour time. Hence, one only has to

determine the labour time that is realised in the various commodities, and relate it with the labour time that directly produces gold, to be able to say how much gold is contained in a particular commodity.

The determination of all commodities as prices—as measured exchange values—is a process that takes place only gradually, and presupposes extensive exchange and hence repeated comparison of commodities as exchange values. But once the existence of commodities as prices has become an assumption—an assumption that is itself a product of the social process, a result of the social process of production—the determination of new prices seems simple, for the elements of the production costs themselves already exist in the form of prices and thus have simply to be added together. (FREQUENT *ALIENATION, SALE, FREQUENT SALE* (Steuart[a]). Moreover, all this must have continuity, in order that prices may acquire a certain regularity.)

However, the point we wanted to come to is this: in so far as gold is to be established as a unit of measurement, its relation to commodities is determined by BARTER, by direct exchange, just like the relationship of all other commodities to one another. In BARTER, however, exchange value is only the product *in itself,* the first form in which exchange value appears; but the product is not yet posited as exchange value. Firstly, this determination [as exchange value] does not yet dominate production as a whole, but concerns only its surplus and is therefore itself more or less *superfluous* (like exchange itself); a fortuitous enlargement of the circle of satisfactions, of pleasures (relation to new objects). Consequently, it [exchange] takes place at only a few points (originally, at the borders of naturally evolved communities, in their contact with foreigners), is confined to a narrow area, something passing production by, incidental to it, ends as fortuitously as it comes into existence. Barter in which the surplus of one's own production is casually exchanged for that of the foreigner is only the *first occurrence* of the product as exchange value in general and is determined by accidental needs, desires, etc. But if it continues, if it becomes a continual act that contains in itself the means for its constant renewal, then—outwardly equally fortuitously—the regulation of reciprocal exchange through the regulation of reciprocal production gradually sets in, and the production costs, which in the final analysis are all reducible to labour time, would thus become the measure of exchange. This shows us how exchange

[a] See this volume, p. 128.—*Ed.*

and the exchange value of commodities evolve.

The circumstances in which a relationship is first encountered, however, never show us this relationship either in its purity or in its totality. A product posited as exchange value is essentially no longer determined as a simple product. It is posited in a form distinct from its natural qualities. It is posited as a *relationship,* a general relationship, not to one commodity but to every commodity, to every possible product. It therefore expresses a general relationship, the product that relates itself to itself as the realisation of a *definite quantity* of general labour, of social labour time, and to that extent it is equivalent to every other product in the ratio expressed in its exchange value. Exchange value presupposes social labour as the substance of all products, quite apart from their natural characteristics. Nothing can express a relationship unless it relates itself to a particular thing; and nothing can express a general relationship unless it relates itself to something general. Since labour is movement, time is its natural measure. BARTER in its crudest form presupposes labour as the substance and labour time as the measure of commodities; and this becomes evident as soon as barter becomes regularised, continuous, and if it is to contain in itself the reciprocal conditions for its renewal.

The commodity is *exchange value* only in so far as it is expressed in something else, in other words, as a ratio. A bushel of wheat is worth so many bushels of rye; in this case, the wheat is exchange value in so far as it is expressed in rye, and rye is exchange value in so far as it is expressed in wheat. If either of these two products is related only to itself, it is not exchange value. Now, to the extent to which money appears as measure, it is itself expressed not as a ratio, not as exchange value, but as a natural quantity of a certain material, a natural part by weight of gold or silver. In general, the commodity in which the exchange value of another is expressed, is never expressed as exchange value, never as a ratio, but as a particular quantity in its natural state. If 1 bushel of wheat is worth 3 bushels of rye, only the bushel of wheat is expressed as value, not the bushel of rye. Admittedly, the other is posited *in itself* as well; 1 bushel of rye then $= {}^1/_3$ bushel of wheat; but this is not [I-43] *posited,* it is only a second ratio that is indeed directly implicit in the first. When one commodity is expressed in another, the first is treated as a ratio, and the second as a simple quantity of a particular material. 3 bushels of rye are in themselves not a value, but the rye occupying a definite amount of space, as measured by a standard of volume.

The same is true of money as a measure, as the unit in which the exchange values of the other commodities are measured. It is a certain weight of the natural substance in which it is represented, gold, silver, etc. If 1 bushel of wheat is priced at 77s. 7d., it is expressed as another thing to which it is equal, as 1 ounce of gold, as a ratio, as exchange value. But 1 ounce of gold in itself is not exchange value; is not expressed as exchange value, but as a definite quantity of itself, of its natural substance, of gold. If 1 bushel of wheat is priced at 77s. 7d. or 1 ounce of gold, this may represent a greater or smaller value, for 1 ounce of gold will rise or fall in value in proportion to the quantity of labour required for its production. But this is immaterial for its pricing as such, since its price of 77s. 7d. expresses exactly the ratio in which it is an equivalent for all other commodities, can buy them. The particular level of price, whether 77s. or 1,780s. the quarter, falls outside pricing in general, i.e. outside the positing of wheat as price. It has a price, whether it costs 100s. or ls. The price of wheat merely expresses its exchange value in a unit common to all commodities, and therefore assumes that this exchange value is already settled by other relations.

Gold and wheat bear no relationship whatever to each other as natural objects; as *such,* they do not measure one another, are *indifferent* to one another. That 1 quarter of wheat has the price of 1 ounce of gold is established, because the ounce of gold in its turn is considered in relation to the labour time necessary for its production. Both wheat and gold are therefore considered in relation to a third thing, labour, and are equated in this ratio. The two are therefore compared with one another as exchange values. But this only shows us how the price of wheat is found, the quantity of gold with which it is equated. In this relationship itself, where money appears as the price of wheat, money itself is not posited as a ratio, as exchange value, but as a definite quantity of a natural material.

In exchange value, commodities (products) are posited as ratios of their social substance, of labour; but as prices they are expressed in quantities of other products in their natural properties. To be sure, it may be said that the price of money is also posited as 1 quarter of wheat, 3 quarters of rye, and all the other quantities of different commodities whose price is 1 ounce of gold. But then, in order to express the price of money, the whole range of commodities would have to be enumerated, each in the quantity in which it is equal to 1 ounce of gold. Hence money would have as many prices as there are commodities whose

price it itself expresses. The chief characteristic of price, *uniformity,* would be missing. No commodity would express the price of money because none would express its relationship to all other commodities, its general exchange value. But the specific feature of price is to express exchange value itself in its generality and yet in a particular commodity. But even that is immaterial. In so far as money appears as the material in which the price of all commodities is expressed, measured, money itself is posited as a definite quantity of gold, silver, etc., in short of its natural material; a simple quantity of a particular material, not itself as exchange value, as ratio. Thus every commodity in which another is expressed as price, is not itself *posited* as exchange value but as a simple quantity of itself.

In the determination of money as the unit of exchange values, as their measure, their general basis of comparison, the natural material of money—gold, silver—appears esssential, since as the price of the commodity it is not exchange value, not a ratio, but a definite weight of gold or silver, e.g. one pound, with its subdivisions; and thus money does indeed appear originally as a pound, *aes grave.*[a] It is precisely this which distinguishes price from exchange value, and we have seen that exchange value necessarily leads to pricing. Hence the folly of those who wish to make labour time as such into money, i.e. to posit and not to posit the distinction between price and exchange value.

Money as measure, as element of pricing, as the unit of measurement of exchange values, therefore displays the phenomenon (1) that it is only necessary as a notional unit, once the exchange value of an ounce of gold has been determined for any one commodity; that its actual presence and hence even more the quantity in which it is present is superfluous; the AMOUNT in which it exists in a country is irrelevant to its role as an indicator (INDICATOR of value); it is necessary only as a unit of reckoning; (2) that while it need be posited only notionally, and is in fact only notionally attached *to* the commodity as its price, it simultaneously provides the basis of comparison, the unit, the measure, as a simple quantity of the natural substance in which it represents itself, a definite weight of gold, silver, etc., adopted as unit. Exchange values (commodities) are conceptually transformed into certain units of weight of gold or silver, and posited in thought as equal to, as expressing, this imagined quantity of gold, etc.

[I-44] If we now consider money in its second determination, as

[a] Pound weight.—*Ed.*

means of exchange and realiser of prices, we have found that it must be present in a definite *quantity*; that a particular amount of the weight of gold or silver posited as the unit is necessary to fulfil this role adequately. If the sum of prices to be realised is given, on the one hand, this depending upon the price of a particular commodity multiplied by its quantity, and the velocity of money circulation, on the other, then a certain quantity of means of circulation is required. But if we now consider more closely the original form, the immediate form in which circulation is represented, *C—M—M—C,* money appears in it purely as a means of exchange. The commodity is exchanged for a commodity, and money appears merely as the means of this exchange. The price of the first commodity is realised in money, in order to realise with that money the price of the second commodity, and thus to obtain it in exchange for the first. After the price of the first commodity is realised, the person who has now obtained its price in money does not aim to receive the price of the second commodity. Rather, he pays its price to obtain the commodity. Basically, money has therefore served him only for the purpose of exchanging the first commodity for the second. As mere means of circulation, money has no other function. The man who has sold his commodity for money wishes to buy another commodity, and the person from whom he has bought uses the money to buy another commodity, etc.

In this determination of pure means of circulation, the function of money itself exists only in this circular movement which it effects by the fact that its quantity, its amount, is determined in advance. How many times it is itself contained in the commodities as a unit is determined in advance in their prices, and as the instrument of circulation it appears simply as the number of this presupposed unit. In so far as it realises the price of the commodities, the commodity is exchanged for its real equivalent in gold and silver; its exchange value is actually expressed in money as another commodity. But in so far as this process takes place merely to reconvert money into commodity, in other words, to exchange the first commodity for the second, money appears only fleetingly, and its substance consists only in its continual appearance in this fleeting form, as this bearer of mediation. Money as a means of circulation is *only* a means of circulation. To be able to serve in this role, its one essential attribute is that of the quantity (amount) in which it circulates. (Since the amount is determined also by the velocity of circulation, this requires no special mention at this point.) In so far as it realises price, its material existence as

gold and silver is essential; but in so far as this realisation is merely fleeting and is to be transcended, it is of *no consequence.* It is a mere *semblance,* as if it were [only] a question of exchanging the commodity for gold or silver as a particular commodity: a semblance that vanishes, since the process is completed as soon as the gold and silver are exchanged once more for a commodity, and thereby commodity is exchanged for commodity. Gold and silver as mere means of circulation, or the means of circulation as gold and silver, are therefore indifferent to their qualities as particular natural commodities.

Assume that the total price of the commodities in circulation is 10,000 thaler. Their measure is then 1 thaler$=x$ weight of silver. Now suppose that 100 thaler are needed to circulate these commodities in 6 hours, i.e. each thaler pays the price of 100 thaler in 6 hours. What is now essential is that 100 thaler, the amount 100 of the metallic unit, is available, which measures the total sum of commodity prices, 100 such units. That these units consist of silver is irrelevant to the process itself. This is already evident from the fact that 1 thaler in the cycle of circulation represents a quantity of silver 100 times greater than is really contained in it, although it represents only the weight of silver of 1 thaler in each particular act of exchange.

Taking the whole circulation, therefore, 1 thaler represents 100 thaler, a weight of silver 100 times greater than it actually contains. In fact, it is merely a *symbol* of the weight of silver contained in the 100 thaler. It realises a price 100 times that which it actually realises considered as a quantity of silver.

Suppose that the £ sterling e.g.$=1/3$ ounce of gold (in fact, it is worth less). In so far as the price of a commodity of £1 is paid, i.e. its price of £1 is realised, the commodity being exchanged for £1, it is crucial that the £ sterling should actually contain $1/3$ ounce of gold. If it were a counterfeit £ sterling, consisting of a base metal, a £ sterling only in appearance, the price of the commodity would not in fact be realised. For the price to be realised, it would have to be paid in as much base metal as$=1/3$ ounce of gold.

Considered in the context of this isolated aspect of circulation, it is accordingly essential that the money unit should actually represent a definite quantity of gold and silver. But it is a different matter if we consider the whole of circulation, circulation as a process in which the circle completes itself: $C—M—M—C$. In the first case, the realisation of the price would be merely a semblance: only *part* of the price would be realised. The price notionally attached to the commodity would not be obtained in

reality. The commodity notionally taken as=so many units by weight of gold would not in actual exchange bring in this number of units by weight of gold. Yet if a counterfeit £ sterling took the place of a genuine one in circulation, it would perform in the whole circulation absolutely the same service as if it were genuine. If commodity *a* at a price of £1 is exchanged for a counterfeit pound, and this counterfeit pound is further exchanged for commodity *b* priced at £1 sterling, the counterfeit pound has performed absolutely the same service as if it [I-45] were a genuine £ sterling.

Hence in this process the real pound sterling is in fact merely a *symbol*, in so far as we are considering not the aspect in terms of which it realises the prices, but the whole of the process in which the pound sterling serves only as the means of circulation, and in which the realisation of prices is merely a *semblance,* a fleeting mediation. Here the pound [sterling] of gold serves merely to exchange commodity *a* for commodity *b* which has the same price. The actual realisation of the price of commodity *a* is here commodity *b,* and that of the price [of] *b* is the commodity *a* or *c* or *d,* which is the same thing so far as the form of the relationship is concerned, since the particular content of the commodity is quite immaterial for it. Commodities of equal price are exchanged. Instead of commodity *a* directly exchanging for commodity *b,* the price of commodity *a* is exchanged with commodity *b,* and the price of commodity *b* with commodity *a.*

Money accordingly represents in respect of the commodity only its price. Commodities are exchanged for one another at their price. The price of the commodity itself is the notional expression attached to it that it [the commodity] is the amount of a certain natural unit (unit of weight) of gold or silver, the material in which money is embodied. In money, or the realised price of the commodity, an actual number of this unit now confronts it. But in so far as the realisation of price is not the end, and we are not concerned to obtain the price of the commodity as price but as the price of another commodity, the material of which money is composed, e.g. gold or silver, is of no consequence. Money becomes the subject as instrument of circulation, as means of exchange, and the natural material in which it is represented appears as an ACCIDENT, whose significance vanishes in the act of exchange itself, because it is not in this material that the commodity exchanged for money is eventually to be realised, but in the material of the other commodity.

For in addition to the fact that in circulation money (1) realises

prices; (2) circulates titles of ownership, we now also have the fact that (3) by means of circulation something happens which could not happen directly, namely, that the exchange value of the commodity is expressed in every other commodity. If 1 yard of linen costs 2 s., and 1 lb. of sugar costs 1 s., the yard of linen is realised in 2 lbs of sugar by means of the 2 s., and the sugar is therefore converted into the material of the linen's exchange value, into the material in which the linen's exchange value is realised.

As a mere means of circulation, in its determination in the process of circulation as a continuous flow, money is neither a measure of prices, for it is already posited as such in the prices themselves, nor is it a means for the realisation of prices, for as such it exists only in the one phase of circulation but vanishes in the totality of all its phases. It is rather the mere *representative* of price in relation to all commodities, and serves only as the means by which commodities are exchanged at equal prices. Money is exchanged for the one commodity because it is the general representative of its exchange value and as such the *representative* of every other commodity of the same exchange value, the general representative, and as such it is in circulation itself. It *represents* the price of the one commodity relative to all other commodities, or the price of all commodities relative to one commodity. In this respect it is not only the *representative* of commodity prices but *symbol* of itself, i.e. in the act of circulation itself, its material, gold and silver, is of no consequence.

It *is* price; it is a definite quantity of gold or silver. But in so far as the reality of price is here merely a fleeting one, destined constantly to disappear, to be transcended, not to be accepted as a definitive realisation but always only as an intermediate, mediating one; in so far as the purpose here is not the realisation of price at all, but the realisation of the exchange value of a particular commodity in the material of another commodity, the material of money itself is of no consequence, it disappears as the realisation of price, since the realisation itself vanishes. In so far as money is in this continuous movement, it is so only as the representative of exchange value, which becomes actual only by real exchange value continually taking the place of its representative, continually changing places with it, being continually exchanged for it.

In this process, therefore, its reality is not that it is price but that it *represents* price, that it is its representative. It is the objectively present representative of price, therefore of itself, and as such of the exchange value of commodities. As means of exchange it

realises commodity prices only in order to posit the exchange value of one commodity in another as its unit, in order to realise its exchange value in the other commodity, i.e. to posit the other commodity as the material of its exchange value.

As such an objective symbol, therefore, money appears only in circulation. Withdrawn from circulation it becomes realised price again; but within the process, as we have seen, the quantity, the number of these objective symbols of the monetary unit is essentially determined. Hence, while in circulation, in which money appears as objectively confronting commodities, its material substance, its basis as a definite quantity of gold or silver, is without significance, its amount, on the contrary, is essentially determined since it is merely a *symbol* for a definite number of these units. In its determination as measure, in which it was introduced only notionally, its material basis was of essential significance but its quantity and its existence in general were of no consequence. From this it follows that money as gold and silver, in so far as it serves *merely* as means of circulation, means of exchange, can be replaced by any other *symbol* [I-46] that expresses a definite quantity of its unit. Hence symbolic money can replace real money because material money as mere means of exchange is itself symbolic.

These contradictory determinations of money as measure, as realiser of prices and as mere means of exchange, explain the otherwise inexplicable phenomenon that if metallic money, gold, silver, is *debased* by the admixture of a base metal, the money is depreciated and prices rise. This occurs because in this case the measure of prices is no longer the cost of production of, say, 1 ounce of gold but of the ounce [of the alloy], $^2/_3$ of which is copper, etc. (Debasements of the coinage, which consist merely in falsifying or altering the names of the fractional weight units of the precious metals, by calling e.g. the eighth part of an ounce 1 sovereign, leave the standard absolutely the same and alter only its name. If $^1/_4$ of an ounce was previously called 1 sovereign, and it is now $^1/_8$ of an ounce, the price of 1 sovereign now expresses only $^1/_8$ of an ounce of gold; hence ABOUT 2 sovereigns are necessary to express the same price as was earlier expressed by one.) In other words, if only a falsification of the name of the fractional parts of the precious metals has occurred, the standard remains the same, but the fractional part is expressed in twice as many francs, etc., as before. On the other hand, if the basis of money—gold or silver—is entirely abolished and replaced with paper bearing the symbol of a definite amount of real money, in the quantity

required by circulation, the paper circulates as currency at the full value of the gold and silver. In the first case, [the rise in prices occurs] because the means of circulation is simultaneously the material of money as a measure and the material in which price is definitively realised. In the second case, [no rise in prices occurs] because money is functioning only in its determination as means of circulation.

Example of clumsy confusion of the contradictory functions of money:

"PRICE IS EXACTLY DETERMINED BY THE QUANTITY OF MONEY THERE IS TO BUY IT WITH. ALL THE COMMODITIES IN THE WORLD CAN FETCH NO MORE THAN ALL THE MONEY IN THE WORLD."

Firstly, pricing has nothing to do with actual sale; in it, money only [serves] as measure. Secondly, all the commodities present in circulation could FETCH a thousand times more MONEY than there is in the WORLD, if each PIECE of money circulated a thousand times (passage from the *London Weekly Dispatch,* 8 November [1857]).

Since the total sum of prices that are to be realised in circulation changes with the price of commodities and the volume in which they are put into circulation; since on the other hand the velocity of the means of circulation present in each case is determined by circumstances which are independent of it, the quantity of the means of circulation must be able to change, to be enlarged and contracted—*contraction and expansion of circulation.*

It can be said of money as mere means of circulation that it ceases to be a commodity (a *particular* commodity) in that its material is of no consequence, and it now only satisfies the requirements of [the act of] exchange itself, no longer any other immediate requirements. Gold and silver cease to be commodities as soon as they circulate as money. On the other hand, it can be said of money that it is *just commodity* (*general* commodity), commodity in its pure form, indifferent to its particular natural properties and hence to all immediate requirements, without natural relationship to a particular need as such. The adherents of the monetary system,[58] even some of those who adhere to the system of protection (see e.g. F. L. A. Ferrier, p. 2[59]) have clung to the first aspect, and the modern economists to the second; e.g. Say, who says that money is a "particular" commodity, treats it as a commodity like any other.[a]

As means of exchange, money appears as the necessary mediator between production and consumption. In a system of

[a] J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique,* 3rd ed., Vol. II, Paris, 1817, pp. 460-61.—*Ed.*

developed money relationships, one produces only in order to exchange, or one produces only by exchanging. Hence, if money were abolished, one would either be thrown back to a lower level of production (to which corresponds barter playing a marginal role in production), or one would progress to a higher level, where exchange value would no longer be the primary attribute of the commodity, because general labour, whose representative it is, would no longer appear only as socially mediated private labour.

The question whether money as means of circulation is productive or not is answered just as readily. According to Adam Smith, money is unproductive.[a] Yet Ferrier says e.g.:

"It creates *valeurs*,[b] since they would not exist without it" [F. L. A. Ferrier, *Du gouvernement considéré dans ses rapports avec le commerce*, Paris, 1805, p. 52]. One must not only "consider its *value* as metal, but just as much its *quality* as money" [op. cit., p. 18].

A. Smith is right in so far as money is not the instrument of some particular branch of production; Ferrier is right, [I-47] since it is inherent in general production based on exchange value to posit product and agent of production in the determination of money, and this implies a money distinct from the product; because the money relationship is itself a relationship of production, if production is considered in its totality.

In so far as *C—M—M—C* is divided up into its two moments, although the *prices* of the commodities are implied (and this makes all the difference), circulation is divided up into two acts of direct barter. *C—M:* the exchange value of the commodity is expressed in another particular commodity, the material of money, as also that of money in the commodity; equally in *M—C*. To that extent, A. Smith is correct in saying that money as means of exchange is only a more complicated kind of BARTER.[c] But when the whole of the process is considered, not the two phases as independent acts, so that the commodity is realised in money and money is realised in the commodity, the opponents of A. Smith are correct in their contention that he misunderstood the nature of money and that money circulation supplants BARTER; since money merely serves to balance the "ARITHMETICAL DIVISION" which arises from the division of labour. These "ARITHMETICAL FIGURES" need no more be of gold or silver than measures of length (see Solly,

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[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. II, London, 1836, pp. 271-85; Vol. III, London, 1839, pp. 70-106.— *Ed.*

[b] Values.— *Ed.*

[c] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Book I, Chapter IV.— *Ed.*

[*The Present Distress, in relation to the Theory of Money,* London, 1830, pp. 5-6,] p. 20).

Commodities from being *marchandises* become *denrées,* pass into consumption. Money as a means of circulation does not. *So long as* it retains its role of means of circulation, it does not cease at any point to be a commodity.

We pass now to the third determination of money, which results directly from the second form of circulation: *M—C—C—M.* Here money appears not only as a *means,* nor as a *measure,* but as an end in itself, and hence leaves circulation, in the same way as the particular commodity which completes its circuit, and which has changed from *marchandise* to *denrée.*

First still to be noted that, given the determination of money as an immanent relation of general production based upon exchange value, its service as an instrument of production can now also be demonstrated in detail.

"The advantage of gold and silver stems from the fact that it replaces labour" (Lauderdale, [*Recherches sur la nature et l'origine de la richesse publique,* Paris, 1808, p. 140,] p. 11[60]).

Without money a large number of *trocs*[a] is necessary to obtain in exchange the object one desires. Further, [without money,] it would be necessary to ascertain the relative value of the commodities in each particular exchange. The former necessity is obviated by money as instrument of exchange (instrument of trade); the latter, by money as measure of value and representative of all commodities (idem, [pp. 142, 140 and 144,] l.c.).

The opposite assertion, that money is *not* productive,[b] amounts only to saying that it is *unproductive* outside the role in which it is productive as measure, instrument of circulation and representative of values, that its quantity is productive only in so far as it is required to fulfil these determinations. It is true to say that money becomes not merely *unproductive* but *faux frais de production*[c] as soon as more of it is employed than is necessary for its productive role. But this is equally true of every other instrument of production or exchange, of machinery as much as of means of transport. But if by this is meant that money merely exchanges already existing real wealth, then this is wrong, for money likewise exchanges and purchases labour, productive activity itself, *potential* wealth.

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[a] Acts of barter.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 149.— *Ed.*

[c] Overhead costs of production.— *Ed.*

The *third determination* of money in its complete development presupposes the first two determinations and constitutes their unity. Money, then, has an independent existence outside circulation; it has stepped outside it. As a *particular* commodity, it can be converted from its form as money into that of objects of luxury, gold and silver ornaments (so long as the artistic labour involved is still very simple, e.g. as in the earlier periods of English history, silver money was continually converted into PLATE and vice versa. See *Taylor*[a]). Or it can be *accumulated* as money and so constitute a *hoarded treasure.* So far as money in its independent existence derives from circulation, it appears in circulation itself as the result of circulation; it closes its own circle by means of circulation. In this aspect, its role as *capital* is already latent. It is negated as mere means of exchange. Nevertheless, since historically it can be posited as measure before it appears as means of exchange, and can conversely appear as means of exchange before it is posited as measure—in the latter case it would exist only as a preferred *commodity**—it can also appear historically in its third determination before it has been posited in the two previous ones. But gold and silver can be accumulated as *money* only if they are already present in one of the two previous determinations, and in its third determination it can appear in a developed form only if it has already been developed in the earlier two. Otherwise, its accumulation is merely accumulation of gold and silver, not of money.

[I-48] (Mention as a particularly interesting example of this the *accumulation of copper money* in the earlier period of the Roman Republic.)

In so far as money as the *universal material representative of wealth* derives from circulation and as such is itself a *product of circulation,* which is simultaneously exchange to a higher degree and a *special* form of exchange, money is also in this third determination related to circulation. It is independent of circulation, but this independence is only circulation's own process. In the same measure as it leaves circulation, it re-enters it. Devoid of all relation to circulation, money would not be money but a simple natural object, gold or silver. In this determination money is as

* [II-8] "Since the dawn of civilisation people have fixed the exchange value of the products of their labour not by comparison with the *products offered in exchange* but by comparison with a certain preferred product" (Ganilh, [*Des systèmes d'économie politique*, Vol. II, Paris, 1809, pp. 64-65] 13a[61]). [II-8]

[a] J. Taylor, *A View of the Money System of England, from the Conquest*, London, 1828, pp. 18-19.— *Ed.*

much the premiss as the result of circulation. Its very independence is not a cessation of the relation to circulation, but a *negative* relation to it. This is inherent in the independence of money as a result of *M—C—C—M.*

Money as *capital* implies: (1) that money is as much a premiss of circulation as its result; (2) that its independence is therefore only a *negative* relation to circulation, but always a relation to it; (3) that it is itself posited as *instrument of production* in that circulation no longer appears in its initial simplicity, as quantitative exchange, but as process of production, as the real exchange of matter. And so money itself is determined as a particular moment of this production process. Production is concerned not merely with simple pricing, i.e. with translating the exchange value of commodities into a common unit, but with the creation of exchange values, hence with the creation of *what determines* prices as well, with the creation not merely of their form, but of their content. Hence, if in simple circulation money appears in general as productive, namely in so far as circulation in general is itself a moment of the system of production, as yet it has this determination only *for us*; it has not yet been *posited* in money. (4) Consequently, as capital, money is also posited as relating to itself by means of circulation—the *relation* of *interest and capital.* But here we are not yet concerned with this. We have simply to consider here how money in its third determination has emerged as *something independent* from circulation, or, more precisely, from its two earlier determinations.

("An increase of money [is] merely an increase in the *means of reckoning*" (Sismondi [*Études sur l'économie politique.*. Vol. II, Brussels, 1838, p. 278]).

This is correct only in so far as money functions as mere means of exchange. In its other role its increase is also an increase in the *means of payment.*)

"Trade has detached the shadow from the body, and introduced the possibility of possessing them separately" (Sismondi [op. cit., p. 300]).

Thus money is now exchange value become independent (as such it always appears as *means of exchange* only ephemerally) in its general form. True, it possesses its own materiality or substance, gold and silver, and it is just this which gives it its independence, for what only exists as an aspect of something else, as a determination or relation of other things, is not independent. On the other hand, in this material independence as gold and silver, it represents not only the exchange value of one commodity relative to the other but exchange value relative to all commodities; and

while it itself possesses a substance, it simultaneously appears in its particular existence as gold and silver as the general exchange value of the other commodities. On the one hand it is possessed as their exchange value; on the other they exist as just so many particular substances of the latter, so that it can be converted into each of these substances by means of exchange just as much as it is indifferent to and raised above their determinateness and particularity. They are thus merely fortuitous existences. It is the "*précis de toutes les choses*",[a] in which their particular character is wiped out; general wealth as concise compendium as against its spread and fragmentation in the world of commodities. While wealth appears in particular commodities as a feature of them, or they appear as a particular element of wealth, general wealth itself appears in gold and silver as concentrated in a particular material.

Every particular commodity, in so far as it is exchange value and has a price, itself expresses only a definite quantity of money in an incomplete form. For it must first be thrown into circulation to be realised, and because of its particularity, its realisation remains fortuitous. But in so far as the commodity is not posited as price, but in its natural quality, it is a moment of wealth only through its relation to a particular need which it satisfies, and expresses in this respect (1) only the wealth of use, (2) only one very special aspect of this wealth. Money, on the contrary, apart from its particular usefulness as a valuable commodity, is (1) realised price; (2) satisfies every need, in that it can be exchanged for the object of every need [and is] quite indifferent to every particularity. The commodity possesses this property only through the mediation of money. Money possesses it directly in relation to all commodities, therefore in relation to the whole world of wealth, to wealth as such. In money, general wealth is not only a form but at the same time the content itself. The concept of wealth is so to speak realised in a particular object, *individualised.* In the particular commodity, [II-1][b] so far as it is price, wealth is present only notionally, in a form which has not yet been realised; so far as it has a definite use value, it exhibits only one quite isolated aspect of it. In money, on the other hand, the price is realised, and the substance of money is wealth itself, both in its abstraction from its

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[a] *Summary of all things*—paraphrase of Boisguillebert's expression *précis de toutes les denrées* from his "Dissertation sur la nature des richesses, de l'argent et des tributs", in *Économistes financiers du XVIII^e siècle,* p. 399.—*Ed.*

[b] Here page 1 of Notebook II begins. The notebook is headed: "The Chapter on Money (continued)." Written in the upper right-hand corner of the page are the words "Abundance, accumulation".—*Ed.*

particular modes of existence and in its totality.

Exchange value constitutes the substance of money, and exchange value is wealth. In another way, therefore, money is also the embodiment of wealth, as against all the particular substances of which wealth is composed. If, therefore, on the one hand, the form and content of wealth are identical in money considered in itself, on the other hand, money is, in contrast to all other commodities, the general form of wealth in relation to them, while the totality of these particularities constitutes its substance. If money in the first determination is wealth itself, in the second determination it is *its general material representative.* In money itself this totality exists as the imagined quintessence of all commodities. Wealth (exchange value as totality and also as abstraction) therefore exists, to the exclusion of all other commodities, individualised as such, as a particular tangible object, only in gold and silver. Money is therefore the god among commodities.

As an isolated tangible object, money can thus be fortuitously sought, found, stolen, discovered, and general wealth can be tangibly brought into the possession of the individual. From its state of servitude, in which it appears as mere means of circulation, money suddenly becomes the ruler and god in the world of commodities. It represents the celestial existence of commodities, while they represent its earthly existence. Every form of natural wealth, before it is replaced by exchange value, implies an essential relationship of the individual to the object, so that one side of him becomes objectified in the thing and his possession of the thing also appears as a particular development of his individuality: wealth in sheep as the development of the individual as shepherd, wealth in corn as his development as farmer, etc. *Money, on the contrary, as the individuality* of general wealth, itself emerging from circulation and merely representing the general, as *mere social result,* implies no individual relation at all to its owner. Its possession is not the development of any one of the essential aspects of his individuality, but rather possession of something devoid of individuality, for this social [relationship] exists at the same time as a tangible, external object, of which possession can be taken mechanically and which can similarly be lost.

Its relationship to the individual appears therefore as a purely fortuitous one; while this relationship to a thing quite unconnected with his individuality gives him at the same time, because of the thing's character, general domination over society, over the whole world of enjoyment, labour, etc. It is the same as if e.g. my discovery of a stone, quite independent of my individuality, were

to procure me mastery over all fields of learning. The possession of money relates me to (social) wealth in very much the same way as that in which the philosopher's stone would relate me to all fields of learning.

Money is therefore not only *an* object of the quest for enrichment, it is *the* object of it. It is essentially *auri sacra fames.*[a] The quest for enrichment as such, as a particular form of impulse, i.e. as distinct from the quest for particular wealth, e.g. the quest for clothes, weapons, jewellery, women, wine, etc., becomes possible only when general wealth, wealth as such, has been individualised in a particular thing, i.e. when money has assumed its third determination. Money is therefore not only the object but at the same time the source of the quest for enrichment. Avarice is possible without money, but the quest for enrichment is itself the product of a definite social development, not a *natural,* in contrast to an *historical,* development. This explains the lamentations of the ancients about money as the source of all evil. The quest for pleasure in its general form and avarice are two particular forms of greed for money. The abstract quest for pleasure implies an object that can embody the possibility of all pleasures. The abstract quest for pleasure is realised by money in the determination in which it is the *material representative of wealth;* avarice is realised in so far as money is merely the general form of wealth as against commodities as its particular substances. To hoard money as such, the individual must sacrifice all relation to the objects that satisfy particular needs, he must abstain, in order to satisfy his need or greed for money as such. The greed for money or quest for enrichment is necessarily the downfall of the ancient communities. Hence the opposition to it. It itself is the *community,* and cannot tolerate any other standing above it. But this implies the full development of exchange value, hence of a social organisation corresponding to it.

In antiquity, exchange value was not the *nexus rerum*[62]; it appears as such only among the trading nations, but they had only a CARRYING TRADE and did not themselves produce. At least production was secondary among the Phoenicians, Carthaginians, etc. They could live in the interstices of the ancient world, like the Jews in Poland or in the Middle Ages. Rather, the ancient world was itself the precondition for the existence of such trading peoples. That is why they were ruined every time they came into serious conflict with the communities of antiquity.

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[a] See footnote[b] on p. 100.—*Ed.*

Among the Romans, Greeks, etc., money appears at first ingenuously in its two initial determinations as measure and means of circulation, in neither in very developed forms. But as soon as their trade, etc., developed or, as with the Romans, conquest supplied money to them [II-2] in abundance—then, suddenly at a certain stage of their economic development, money necessarily appears in its third determination and, the more its development in that form proceeds, the more it appears as the downfall of their community. To act productively, money in its third determination must be, as we have seen, not merely the premiss but just as much the result of circulation. And as the premiss of circulation, it must be itself a moment of circulation, something posited by it. In the case of the Romans, for instance, where money was accumulated by the plunder of the whole world, this was not the case.

It is inherent in the very nature of money itself that it can exist as a developed element of production only where *wage labour* exists, and hence far from dissolving the social order, it is indeed a condition for its development and a driving force for the development of all productive forces, material and spiritual. Today an individual person can still acquire money fortuitously, and its possession can therefore have just as destructive an effect on him as it had on the ancient communities. But the very destruction of this individual in modern society is only the enrichment of the productive part of society. The owner of money in the ancient sense is destroyed by the industrial process which he serves willy-nilly. The destruction concerns only his person. As *material representative of general wealth*, as *individualised exchange value,* money must be the *immediate* object, aim and product of general labour, of the labour of all individuals. Labour must directly produce exchange value, i.e. money. It must therefore be *wage labour.*

The quest for enrichment, being the driving force of everyone, since everyone wishes to produce money, produces general wealth. Only thus can the general quest for enrichment become the source of general wealth, wealth which continually reproduces itself anew. In that labour is wage labour and its immediate purpose is money, general wealth is *posited* as its purpose and object. (*In this context the connection with the transformation of the ancient military system into a mercenary one to be discussed.*) Here, money as an end becomes the means to general industriousness. General wealth is produced in order to seize hold of its representative. In this way, the real sources of wealth are opened up.

Since the aim of labour is not a particular product that bears a particular relation to the particular needs of the individual, but money, wealth in its general form, the industriousness of the individual firstly has no limits. It is indifferent to its particularity and assumes any form that serves the aim; it is inventive in the creation of new objects for social need, etc. It is clear, therefore, that with wage labour as its basis, the effect of money is not destructive but productive; while the ancient community by its very nature was in contradiction to wage labour as its general basis. General industry is possible only where all labour produces general wealth, not a particular form of it; where, therefore, the wage of the individual is also money. Otherwise only particular forms of industry are possible. Exchange value as immediate product of labour is money as its immediate product. The immediate labour that produces exchange value as such is therefore wage labour. Where money is not itself the community, it must dissolve the community.

The ancients could purchase labour directly, a slave; but the slave could not buy money with his labour. An increase in money could make slaves dearer, but could not make their labour more productive. *Negro slavery*—a purely industrial form of slavery which in any case is incompatible with and disappears as a result of the development of bourgeois society—*implies* wage labour; if other, free, states with wage labour did not exist alongside slavery, but it were isolated, all social conditions in the Negro states would immediately revert to pre-civilised forms.

Money as individualised exchange value and thus as incarnate wealth has been sought in alchemy; so it was determined in the monetary system. The prehistory of the development of modern industrial society opens with a general greed for money, on the part of both individuals and states. The actual development of the sources of wealth proceeds, as it were, behind its back, as a means to get possession of the representative of wealth. Where money does not originate from circulation but is physically discovered—as in Spain—the nation is impoverished, while the nations which have to work to take it away from the Spaniards develop the sources of wealth and really enrich themselves. The discoveries, the finding of gold in new parts of the world, in new countries, play such a great role in the history of the revolution because colonisation is being improvised here, forced in hot-house fashion.[42]

The hunt for gold in all countries leads to their discovery; to the foundation of new states; first of all, to the expansion of the range

of commodities which enter into circulation, creating new wants, and drawing remote parts of the world into the process of exchange and interchange of matter. In this respect, money as the general representative of wealth, as individualised exchange value, was therefore also a two-fold means of expanding wealth into universality and extending the dimensions of exchange to cover the whole earth; of first creating the real *universality* of exchange value in respect to material and space. But it is inherent in the determination of money discussed here that the illusion about its nature, i.e. the preoccupation with one of its determinations in its abstraction and the neglect of the contradictions contained in it, endows money—behind the back of individuals—with this really magical significance. It is in fact by means of this self-contradictory and hence illusory determination, through this abstraction, that money becomes so potent [II-3][a] an instrument in the real development of the forces of social production.

The elementary precondition for bourgeois society is that labour directly produces exchange value, in other words, money; and equally that thereupon money directly buys labour, hence buys the labourer only in so far as he himself sells his activity in exchange. Hence *wage labour* on the one hand, and *capital* on the other, are only different forms of developed exchange value and of money as its incarnation. Money is thus directly at once the *real community,* in so far as it is the general material of existence for all, and also the communal product of all. But, as we have seen, in money the community is also a mere abstraction, a mere external, accidental thing for the individual, and at the same time only a means for his satisfaction as an isolated individual. The community of antiquity implies quite a different relation of the individual in itself. Therefore it is shattered by the development of money in its third determination. Every production is an objectification of the individual. But in money (exchange value) the objectification of the individual is not that of himself in his natural character but that of himself posited in a social determination (relationship), which is at the same time external to him.

Money *posited* in the form of medium of circulation, is *coin.* As coin, it has lost its use value; its use value is coincident with its determination as means of circulation. E.g. it must first be melted down to be able to serve as money as such. It must be

[a] In the upper right-hand corner of this page Marx wrote: "*BARTER, SALE, COMMERCE*—three stages of exchange (Steuart)."—*Ed.*

demonetised. That is why in the form of coin, money is merely a *symbol* and indifferent to its material. But as coin, money also loses its universal character, taking on a national, local one. It is divided up into coinage of different sorts, according to the material of which it consists, gold, copper, silver, etc. It acquires a political title, and speaks, as it were, a different language in different countries. Finally, in the same country, it acquires different denominations, etc. Money in the third determination as *independently* emerging from and confronting circulation, therefore, negates also its character as coin. It reappears as gold and silver, whether it is melted down into it, or is only valued according to the number of units by weight of gold or silver it contains. It also loses its national character again and serves as means of exchange between nations, as universal means of exchange; no longer as *symbol,* however, but as a definite quantity of gold and silver. In the most developed system of international exchange, gold and silver therefore reappear in just the form in which they played a role already in primitive barter. Gold and silver, like exchange itself, as already mentioned, do not initially appear within the sphere of a social community but at the point at which it ends, at its boundaries; at its not very numerous points of contact with foreign communities. Gold and silver now appear posited as the *commodity* as such, the universal commodity which preserves its character as a commodity at all places. In this determination of its form money is uniformly valid in all places. Only in this way is money the material representative of *general* wealth. In the mercantile system, gold and silver are therefore regarded as the measure of the power of the various communities.

"As soon as the PRECIOUS METALS become OBJECTS OF COMMERCE, A UNIVERSAL EQUIVALENT FOR EVERYTHING, they also become the MEASURE OF POWER BETWEEN NATIONS. Hence the mercantile system" (Steuart [*An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy,* Vol. I, p. 327]).

However much the modern economists consider themselves to have advanced beyond the mercantile system, in periods of general crises gold and silver figure in precisely this determination, in the year 1857[63] as much as in 1600. In this character, gold and silver [play] an important role in the creation of the world market. Hence the circulation of American silver from West to East; the metallic link between America and Europe, on the one hand, with Asia on the other, since the beginning of the modern epoch. In primitive communities this trade in gold and silver is only incidental, like exchange as a whole, related only to the surplus. But in developed trade, posited as a moment that is essentially

connected with the whole of production, etc. Money no longer appears for the exchange of the surplus, but to balance the surplus in the overall process of international commodity exchange. It is now coin only as *world coin.* But as such it is essentially indifferent to its determination as form of the means of circulation, whereas its material is the all-important thing. As form, in this determination, gold and silver remain the ubiquitous accessible commodity, the *commodity* as such.

(In this first section,[64] where exchange value, money and price are considered, commodities always appear as already in existence. The determination of form [is] simple. We know that they express characteristics of social production, but the latter itself is their presupposition. But they are *not posited* in this determination. And so in fact the first exchange appears as an exchange of the surplus, which does not embrace and condition the whole of production. It is the *available* surplus of a total production which is outside the world of exchange value. Even in a developed society, this surplus still emerges on the surface as the immediately existing world of commodities. Through itself, however, it points beyond itself to economic relationships which are posited as *relations of production.* The internal structure of production therefore forms the second section; its culmination in the State the third; the international relationship [of production] the fourth; and as the conclusion, the world market, in which production is posited as a totality and all its moments also, but in which simultaneously all contradictions are set in motion. Hence the world market is likewise both the presupposition of the totality and its bearer. Crises are then the general pointer to beyond the presupposition, and the urge to adopt a new historical form.)

"THE QUANTITY OF GOODS AND THE QUANTITY OF MONEY MAY REMAIN THE SAME, AND PRICES MAY RISE OR FALL NOTWITHSTANDING" (namely through greater EXPENDITURE by e.g. the MONIED CAPITALISTS, landlords, State officials, etc. Malthus, [*Principles of Political Economy,* 2nd ed., London, 1836, p. 391] X, 43).[65]

[II-4] As we have seen, money in the form in which it independently emerges from circulation and confronts it, is the negation (negative unity) of its determination as means of circulation and measure.*

* In so far as money is the means of circulation, "the quantity of it that circulates" can "never be individually employed, it must always circulate" (Storch [*Cours d'économie politique,* Vol. II, Paris, 1823, pp. 113-14]). The individual can use money only by divesting himself of it, by positing it as *being for others,* in its social

We have already shown:

*Firstly*: Money is the negation of the means of circulation as such, of *coin.* But it at the same time includes it as its determination, negatively, since it can always be converted into coin; positively as *world coin.* But as such it is indifferent to its form determination, and is essentially *commodity* as such, ubiquitous commodity, not locally determined. This indifference expresses itself in two ways: *one,* it is now money only as gold and silver, and not as a *symbol* nor in the form of coinage. Hence the *façon*[a] put on money as coinage by the State has no value; only its metallic content gives value to the coin. Even in internal trade it has only a temporary, local value,

"because it is no more useful to him who possesses it than to him who possesses the commodities to be bought" [Storch, op. cit., p. 175].

The more domestic trade is conditioned on all sides by foreign trade, the more even the value of this *façon* disappears: it does not exist in private exchange but only appears as a tax. *Then,* as such a *general commodity,* as world coin, gold and silver do not have to return to their point of departure, circulation as such is not necessary at all. *Example*: Asia and Europe. Hence the lamentation of the adherents of the monetary system that money vanishes among the heathens, and does not return (see *Misselden*[b] ABOUT 1600). The more the external circulation is conditioned and comprehended by the domestic circulation, the more world coin as such enters into circulation (rotation). We are not yet concerned here with this higher stage, and it is not part of the simple relationship which we are considering here.

*Secondly*: Money is the negation of itself as simple realisation of the prices of commodities, where the particular commodity always

determination. This, as Storch correctly observes, is why the material of money "must not be indispensable for the existence of man", as are e.g. hides, salt, etc., which are used as money among many nations. For the quantity of it which is in circulation is lost to consumption. Hence, firstly, metals are generally preferred to other commodities as money, and, secondly, the precious metals to those which are useful as instruments of production. It is characteristic of the economists that Storch formulates it thus: the material of money must "have a direct value but based on a *besoin factice* [artificial need]". By *besoin factice* the economist means firstly: the *besoins* that arise from the *social* existence of the individual; secondly, those that are not a consequence of his bare existence as a natural object. This illustrates the desperate internal poverty that is the basis of bourgeois wealth and its science.

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[a] Stamp.— *Ed.*

[b] [E. Misselden,] *Free Trade. Or, the Means to Make Trade Florish,* London, 1622, pp. 19-24.— *Ed.*

remains the essential factor. Rather, money becomes price realised in itself, and as such both the *material representative of wealth* and the *general form of wealth,* relative to all commodities as merely particular substances of wealth; but

*Thirdly*: Money is also negated in the determination in which it is merely the *measure* of exchange values. As the general form of wealth and as its material representative, money is no longer the notional measure of something else, of exchange values. For in its metallic existence it is itself the adequate reality of exchange value. The determination of measure must here be posited in money itself. It is its own unit; and the measure of its own value, its measure as wealth, as exchange value, is the quantity of itself which it represents. The multiple of a quantity of itself which serves as unit. As a measure, its amount was of no consequence; as a means of circulation, its substance, the material of which the unit is composed, was of no consequence; but as money in this third determination its own amount as a definite material quantity is essential. Given its quality as general wealth there is no further distinction in it other than the quantitative one. It represents a greater or lesser amount of general wealth, in the proportion in which a given unit of it is possessed in a greater or lesser number.

If it is general wealth, one is the richer the more of it one possesses, and the sole important process for both the individual and the nations is its *accumulation.* In accordance with its determination, it here performed the act of stepping out of circulation. Now this withdrawal from circulation and this *accumulation* of it appear as the essential object of the drive for enrichment and as the essential process of enrichment. In gold and silver I possess general wealth in its pure form, and the more of it I hoard up, the more general wealth I appropriate to myself. If gold and silver represent general wealth, then as certain quantities they represent it only to a certain degree, which is capable of being expanded indefinitely. This accumulation of gold and silver, which takes on the appearance as their repeated withdrawal from circulation, is simultaneously the safeguarding of general wealth against circulation, in which it continually gets lost in exchange for some particular wealth which eventually disappears in consumption.

Among all ancient peoples, the accumulation of gold and silver appears initially as a priestly and royal privilege, since only gods and kings are entitled to the god and king of commodities. Only they are worthy of possessing wealth as such. This accumulation then on the one hand merely for the exhibition of the surplus, i.e.

of wealth as something extraordinary, something only for Sundays; for gifts to the temple and its gods; for public works of art; finally as a *security* for cases of extraordinary emergency, for the purchase of arms, etc. Accumulation later becomes a matter of politics among the ancient peoples. The *State treasury* as reserve fund and the temple are the original banks, in which this holy of holies is preserved. Hoarding and accumulation [attains] its ultimate development in the modern banks, but in this case [II-5] with a more developed determination. On the other hand, with private persons, accumulation as a means of safeguarding wealth in its pure form against the vicissitudes of the external world, the form in which it can be *buried,* etc., in which, in short, it enters into a *very secret* relationship to the individual. This still occurs on a great historical scale in Asia. It is repeated in all PANICS, wars, etc., in bourgeois society, which then falls back into the condition of barbarism. Likewise the hoarding up of gold, etc., for ornaments and display among semi-barbaric peoples. But a very great and continually growing part of gold, etc., withdrawn from circulation as luxury objects in the most developed bourgeois society (see Jacob,[a] etc.).

The wealth of individuals is proved precisely by their retaining possession of it as the representative of general wealth, without yielding it up to circulation and employing it for particular needs. And in the same degree as money is developed in its different determinations, i.e. as wealth as such becomes the general yardstick of the worth of individuals, there develops the impulse to exhibit wealth and hence the DISPLAY of gold and silver as representatives of wealth, just as Herr von Rothschild displays as his chosen coat of arms, I believe, two banknotes of £100,000, each in its own frame. The barbaric display of gold, etc., is only a more naive form of this modern exhibition, in that it is less related to gold as money than to gold as something which simply *glitters.* In the modern display gold makes a reflected point, the point that gold is *not* being used as money; the antithetical form to circulation is the important thing here.

The accumulation of all other commodities less original than that of gold and silver:

(1) because of their perishability. Metals as such represent durability relative to other commodities. They are also eagerly accumulated because of their greater scarcity and their exceptional

[a] W. Jacob, *An Historical Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals,* Vol. II, pp. 270-323.—*Ed.*

character as instruments of production *par excellence.* The precious metals, as they are not exposed to oxidisation in the atmosphere, etc., are even less perishable than the base metals. What other commodities lose is precisely their form; but it is their form which gives them exchange value, while their use value consists in the destruction of this form, in consumption. With money, on the contrary, its substance, its materiality, is the very form in which it represents wealth. If money appears as the commodity which is general everywhere, with respect to space, it now also becomes general in respect to time. It preserves itself as wealth at all times. It has specific durability. It is the treasure which neither moth nor rust doth corrupt.[a] All commodities are merely perishable money; money is the imperishable commodity. Money is the ubiquitous commodity; the commodity is only local money. But accumulation is essentially a process which goes on in time. On this aspect *Petty* writes[66]:

"The great and ultimate effect of trade is not wealth at large, but particularly abundance of silver, gold, and jewels, which are not *perishable,* nor so *mutable* as other Commodities, but are wealth at all times, and in all places; whereas abundance of wine, corn, fowls, flesh, etc., are riches but *hic et nunc,*[b] so as the raising of such commodities, and the following of such trade, which does store the country with gold and silver, is profitable before others" ([W. Petty, *Several Essays in Political Arithmetick,* London, 1699, pp. 178-79] p. 3). "Suppose that money by way of tax be taken from one who spends the same in superfluous eating and drinking and delivered to another who employs the same in improving of land, in fishing, in working of mines, in manufacture or in the purchase of clothes; then the Commonwealth has an advantage, because even clothes do not altogether perish as soon as meats and drinks. But if the same be spent in furniture of houses, the advantage is yet a little more; if in building of houses, yet more; if in improving of lands, working of mines, fishing, yet more; but most of all, in bringing gold and silver into the country, because those things are not only *not perishable,* but are esteemed for wealth at all times, and everywhere" ([ibid., pp. 195-96] p. 5).

Thus an author of the 17th century. One can see how the conception of gold and silver as the material representative and general form of wealth supplied the real stimulus to their accumulation. The cult of money has its corresponding asceticism, its renunciation, its self-sacrifice—thrift and frugality, contempt for the worldly, temporary and transient pleasures; the pursuit of *eternal* treasure. Hence the connection of English Puritanism or also Dutch Protestantism with money-making. A writer at the beginning of the 17th century (*Misselden*) expressed the matter quite ingenuously in this way:

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[a] Matthew 6:20.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and now.—*Ed.*

"The natural matter of commerce is merchandise, the artificial is money. Money, though it be in nature and time after merchandise, yet forasmuch as it is now in use, become the chief." He compares this to the two [grand]sons of the old Jacob, who laid his right hand upon the younger and his left hand upon the older[a] ([E. Misselden, *Free Trade. Or the Meanes to Make Trade Florish*, p. 7] p. 24).

"We consume among us a great abundance of the wines of Spain, of France, of the Rhine, of the Levant, and of the Isles; the raisins of Spain, the corinths of the Levant, the cambrics of Hannault[b] and the Netherlands, the silks of Italy, the sugars and tobacco of the West Indies, the spices of the East Indies; all which are of no necessity unto us and yet are bought with *ready* money... If it [a commonwealth] vented fewer of the foreign [commodities], and more of the native, the residue must needs return in gold and silver, as treasure" (l.c. [pp. 12, 13]).

The modern economists naturally make fun of such remarks in the general section of their treatises. But if we consider the anxiety expressed in the theory of money in particular, and the feverish anxiety with which the inflow and outflow of gold and silver are watched over in practice in times of crises, we see that to regard money in the determination in which the adherents of the monetary and mercantile system conceived of it with naive one-sidedness is still quite justified, not merely in thought but as a real economic category.

[II-6] This contrast between the actual needs of production and the supremacy of money is most strikingly depicted by *Boisguillebert* (see the striking passages excerpted in my Notebook[67]).

(2) Apart from the perishability of other commodities, their accumulation differs in two essential respects from that of gold and silver, which are here identical with money. For one, the hoarding up of other commodities does not possess the character of a hoarding up of wealth in general, but of a particular wealth, and is therefore itself a particular act of production, where simple accumulation is not sufficient. Special appliances, etc., are required for the storage of grain; the accumulation of sheep does not automatically produce a herdsman; of slaves or land requires master-servant relationships, etc. All this, therefore, requires actions and certain conditions different from simple accumulation, from the augmentation as such of wealth. Secondly, if I now wish to realise the stored-up goods as general wealth, to appropriate to myself wealth in all its particular forms, I must carry on trade with the particular commodities that I have accumulated, I must become a corn dealer, cattle dealer, etc. Money as the *general* representative of wealth relieves me of this.

The ACCUMULATION of gold and silver, of money, is the first

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[a] Genesis 48:1, 8-20.—*Ed.*

[b] A province of the former Spanish Netherlands (now part of Belgium).—*Ed.*

historical appearance of the accumulation of capital and the first great means for this. But as such it is not the accumulation of capital. For that, the re-entry of the accumulated money into circulation itself would have to be posited as a regular feature and means of accumulation.

Money in its final perfected determination now appears in all respects as a contradiction which resolves itself, which drives itself to its own resolution. As the *general form of wealth,* it is confronted by the whole world of real riches. It is their pure abstraction—hence comprehended as such, it is mere imagination. Where wealth appears to exist as such in a quite material, tangible form, it has its existence merely in my mind, is a sheer figment of the imagination. Midas. On the other hand, as the *material representative of general wealth,* money is realised only when it is thrown back into circulation and vanishes in procuring the individual particular forms of wealth. It remains in circulation as the means of circulation; but it is lost to the accumulating individual, and this disappearance is the only possible way in which it can be secured as wealth. The dissolution of the stored-up wealth into individual enjoyments is its realisation. It can now be amassed once more by other individuals, but then the same process commences anew. I can really posit its being for myself only by giving it up as mere being for others. If I want to hold on to it, it evaporates in my hand into a mere phantom of real wealth.

Furthermore, the idea of the augmentation of money by means of its accumulation, the idea that its own quantity is the measure of its value, again proves a delusion. If the other riches are not accumulated it loses its value in the measure in which it is accumulated. What appears as its augmentation is in fact its diminution. Its independence is only a semblance; its independence of circulation exists only in relation to circulation, as dependence on it.

It pretends to be the general commodity, but because of its natural particularity it is again a particular commodity, whose value both depends on demand and supply and changes with its specific production costs. And since it is itself incarnated in gold and silver, it becomes one-sided in any actual form; so that when the one appears as money the other appears as particular commodity, and vice versa, and thus each appears in both determinations.

As absolutely secure wealth quite independent of my individuality, it is simultaneously quite external to me; it is absolutely insecure wealth, which any accidental event can separate from me.

The same is true of the quite contradictory determination of money as measure, as means of circulation, and as money as such. Finally, in the last determination it contradicts itself in yet another way, because it is supposed to represent value as such; but in fact it represents only an identical quantity of variable value. It therefore transcends itself as *perfected* exchange value.

As mere measure, money is already negated in itself as means of circulation; as means of circulation and measure it is negated in itself as money. Its negation in the last determination is thus at the same time its negation in the other two. Negated as mere *general form of wealth*, it must therefore be realised in the particular substances of real wealth; but in actually proving itself as the *material representative* of the totality of wealth, it must at the same time preserve itself as the general form. Its entry into circulation must itself be an element of its staying with itself, and its staying with itself must be an entry into circulation. That is to say, as realised exchange value it must also be posited as process in which exchange value is realised. It is at the same time the negation of itself as a purely objective form, a form of wealth which is external and fortuitous for the individuals. It must appear, rather, as the production of wealth, and this as the result of the relations of individuals to one another in production.

In other words, exchange value is now determined no longer as a simple object, for which circulation is only an external movement, or which exists individually in a particular material, but as a process, as its self-relation by means of the process of circulation. On the other hand, circulation itself is no longer merely the simple process of the exchange of commodities for money and of money for commodities, no longer the mere mediating movement that takes place in order to realise the prices of the different commodities, to equate them as exchange values for one another, where both appear external to circulation: the presumed exchange value, the final withdrawal of the commodity into consumption, and hence the annihilation of exchange value on the one hand; and on the other, the withdrawal of money, which makes it independent of its substance, and which is again another form of its annihilation.

Exchange value itself, and now no longer [II-7] exchange value in general but measured exchange value, must, as a presupposition, appear as posited by circulation and, as posited by it, preposited to it. The process of circulation must appear also as the process of the production of exchange values. It is thus, on the one hand, the return of exchange value into labour, and, on the other hand, of

money into exchange value; which, however, is now posited in a more profound determination. In circulation, the *definite* price is assumed, and it is only formally posited by circulation as money. The *definiteness* of exchange value itself, or the measure of price, must now itself appear as brought about by circulation. Posited in this way, exchange value is *capital,* and circulation is simultaneously posited as an act of production.

*Omission*: In circulation, as it appears as circulation of money, the coincidence in time of both sides of the exchange is always assumed. But a time gap can occur in between the availability of the commodities to be exchanged. It can be the nature of the reciprocal services rendered that one service is performed today but the reciprocal service can be performed only a year later, etc.

"In the majority of contracts," says Senior, "only one of the contracting parties has the thing at its disposal and loans it; and if exchange is to take place, one must transfer it at once under the condition of receiving the equivalent only at a later time. Since the value of all things varies in a given period of time, one takes as means of payment the thing whose value varies least, which over the longest period maintains a given average capacity to purchase things. So money becomes the *expression or representative* of value" [N. W. Senior, *Principes fondamentaux de l'économie politique,* Paris, 1836, pp. 116, 117].

According to that, the latter determination of money is in no way connected with its earlier ones. But that is wrong. It is only when money is established as an independent representative of value, that contracts are no longer estimated in e.g. quantities of grain or in services to be performed. (The latter prevails e.g. in feudalism.) It is only a notion of Mr. Senior that money possesses a "long-term average capacity" to maintain its value. THE FACT is that it is made the general material of contracts (*general commodity of contracts,* says Bailey[a]) as *general commodity, representative of general wealth* (says Storch[b]), *exchange value made independent.* Money must already be highly developed in its first two determinations to appear generally in its third. Now, it turns out in fact that the value of money can vary even though its quantity remains uniformly the same; that altogether, as a definite quantity, money is subject to the variability of all values. Here its nature as a particular commodity asserts itself over its general determination. [Money] as measure is indifferent to changes in its value, for

[a] [S. Bailey,] *Money and Its Vicissitudes in Value,* London, 1837, p. 3.—*Ed.*
[b] H. Storch, *Cours d'économie politique,* Vol. II, p. 135.—*Ed.*

"in a variable medium, two different relations to that medium can be expressed as well as in a constant".[a]

As means of circulation it is also indifferent to changes in its value, for its quantity as such is posited by the measure. But as *money,* as it appears in contracts, it is affected [by such changes], just as, in general, its contradictions come to the fore in this determination.

To be inserted in particular sections:

(1) *Money as coin.* Coinage can be dealt with very summarily here. (2) An historical survey of the sources of supply of gold and silver. Their discoveries, etc. The history of their production. (3) Causes of VARIATIONS in the value of the precious metals and thus of metallic currency; effects of these changes on industry and the different classes. (4) *Above all* the QUANTITY of money in circulation in relation to the rise and fall of prices. (16th century; 19th century.) In this connection also to be examined how money is affected as a measure by increases in its QUANTITY, etc. (5) On circulation: velocity, necessary quantity, the effect of circulation; more, or less, developed circulation, etc. (6) The dissolving effect of money.

(*This to be inserted.*) (Include here the specifically economic investigations.)

(The specific gravity of gold and silver, its containing much weight in a relatively small volume, AS COMPARED WITH OTHER METALS, recurs in the world of value, where gold and silver contain great value (labour time) in a relatively small volume. The labour time realised in it, its exchange value, is the specific gravity of the commodity. This makes the precious metals especially suitable for use in circulation (since one can carry a considerable portion of value in one's pocket) and for accumulation, since a large value can be securely kept and stored up in a small space. Gold does [not] change while it is being accumulated, unlike iron, lead, etc. It remains what it is.)

"If Spain had never possessed the mines of Mexico and Peru, it would never have needed the corn of Poland" (Ravenstone [*Thoughts on the Funding System, and Its Effects,* London, 1824, p. 20]).

"Illi unum consilium habent et virtutem et potestatem suam bestiae tradunt. Et ne quis posset emere aut vendere, nisi qui habet characterem aut nomen bestiae, aut numerum nominis ejus" (*Apocalypse. Vulgata*).[b]

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[a] This passage is a summary of the relevant arguments from Samuel Bailey's book, *Money and Its Vicissitudes in Value* (pp. 9-10).— *Ed.*

[b] "These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast ... and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name" (Revelation 17:13, 13:17).— *Ed.*

"The correlative quantities of commodities that one gives up for one another, constitute the price of commodities" (Storch [*Cours d'économie politique*, Vol. I, p. 72]).

"Price is the *degré de la valeur échangeable*[a]" (l.c. [p. 73]).

As we have seen, in simple circulation as such (in exchange value in its movement), the action of individuals upon one another is in content only the reciprocal self-interested satisfaction of their needs; in its form, it is exchange, positing things as equal to each other (equivalents). Hence property, too, is still posited here only as the appropriation of the product of labour by labour, and of the product of someone else's labour by one's own labour, in so far as the product of one's own labour is bought by someone else's labour. Property in someone else's labour is acquired through the equivalent of one's own labour. This form of property—just like freedom and equality—is posited in this simple relationship. In the course of the further development of exchange value, this will be transformed, and ultimately it will appear that the private property in the product of one's own labour is identical with the separation of labour and property; as a result, one's labour will create someone else's property and property will command someone else's labour.

[a] Degree of exchange value.—*Ed.*

# [III. CHAPTER ON CAPITAL[68]]

## [Section One]

## [THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION OF CAPITAL]

### [II-8] Chapter on Money as Capital

### [TRANSFORMATION OF MONEY INTO CAPITAL]

What makes the comprehension of money in its fully developed character as money especially difficult—difficulties from which political economy seeks to escape by neglecting one of the aspects of money in favour of another, and when confronted by the one appealing to the other—is that here a social relationship, a specific relationship of individuals to one another, appears as a metal, a stone, a purely corporeal object outside individuals, something which is found as such in nature, and in which not a single aspect of its form remains to be distinguished from its natural existence. Gold and silver are not money in and for themselves. Nature no more produces money than it produces a rate of exchange or bankers. In Peru and Mexico, gold and silver were not used as money, although they can be found as jewelry and a developed system of production existed there. To be money is not a natural property of gold and silver, and is therefore entirely unknown to the physicist, chemist, etc., as such. But money is directly gold and silver. Considered as a measure, its specific form still predominates; still more as coin, where this also appears externally in the stamp on the face of the coin. But in the third determination of money, i.e. in its perfected form, in which to be measure and coin appears as merely a function of money, all specificity of form has disappeared, or it coincides directly with its metallic existence. It does not at all appear on its face that it has acquired the function of money as the mere result of the social process; it *is* money.

This is the more difficult to understand since the immediate use value of precious metal for the living individual bears no relation at all to this role, and altogether, in its role as incarnation of pure exchange value, the recollection of its use value as distinct from exchange value is completely extinguished. Consequently, the basic contradiction contained in exchange value and in the correspond-

ing social mode of production here stands out in its purest form. The attempts to abolish this contradiction by divesting money of its metallic form and postulating it as something also externally *posited* by society, as the expression of a social relationship of which the ultimate form would be labour money, have already been criticised above[a]. It must be quite clear by now that this is mere folly so long as the basis of exchange value is maintained; and, even more, that the illusion that metallic money perverts exchange arises from a complete ignorance of the nature of money. On the other hand, it is also clear that, as the opposition to the dominant relations of production grows, and as these relations themselves push ever more insistently towards casting off the old skin, the polemic turns against metallic money or money in general as the most striking, most contradictory and harshest aspect in which the system tangibly confronts us. Contradictions, of which money is merely the palpable manifestation, are then to be transcended by means of all kinds of artificial monetary manipulations. It is no less clear that many revolutionary operations with money can be carried out, in so far as an attack on it appears only to rectify it while leaving everything else unchanged. We then beat the sack on the donkey's back, while aiming at the donkey. But so long as the donkey does not feel the blows, one actually beats only the sack, not the donkey; contrariwise, if he does feel the blows, we are beating him and not the sack. As long as the operations are directed against money as such, it is simply an attack upon the effects, while the causes remain operative; in other words, a disturbance of the productive process which the solid basis [of the process] has the strength to take and to master—by a more or less violent reaction to it—as a merely temporary *disturbance.*

On the other hand, in so far as the monetary relationship has hitherto been developed in its pure form, and without reference to more highly developed relations of production, it is inherent in its role that, in monetary relationships simply conceived, all immanent contradictions in bourgeois society appear to be extinguished. Bourgeois democracy therefore falls back on this in its apologetics for existing economic relationships. Bourgeois economists are less inclined to do so (they are at least consistent enough to go back to even simpler determination of exchange value and exchange).

Indeed, in so far as the commodity or labour is now only

[a] See this volume, pp. 64-67.—*Ed.*

determined as exchange value, and the relationship of the different commodities to one another is now only determined as the mutual exchange—the equating—of these exchange values, the individuals—the subjects between whom this process takes place—are only and simply determined as exchangers. There is absolutely no difference between them, so far as their specific form is concerned, and this is the economic role, the role in which they stand in a commercial relationship to each other; it is the indicator of their social function or social relationship to one another. Each of the subjects is an exchanger, i.e. each has the same social relationship to the other as the other has to him. As subjects of exchange, their relation is therefore that of *equality.* It is impossible to find any trace of a difference, let alone of a conflict between them, not even a distinction. Furthermore, the commodities which they exchange are, as exchange values, equivalents or at least count as such. (They could only make subjective mistakes in their valuation of each other's commodity; and if one individual were to cheat the other, this would *not be because of the nature of the social function in which they confront each other,* for this is *the same*; in this they are *equal*; but only because of the natural cunning, the arts of persuasion, etc., in short because of the purely individual superiority of the one individual over the other. The difference would be a natural one, having nothing to do with the nature of the relationship as such, and which, as further analysis will show, will even be weakened by competition, etc., and robbed of its original force.)

Considering the pure form, the economic aspect of the relationship, there emerge only three formally distinct moments. (The content outside this form here really does not concern political economy; or it is posited as a natural content distinct from the economic; and it can be said to be completely distinct from the economic relationship, because it still directly coincides with it.[69]) These three moments are: the subjects of the relationship, the *exchangers,* posited in the same role; the objects of their exchange, exchange values, *equivalents,* [II-9] which not only are equal but are explicitly supposed to be equal, and are posited as equal; finally, the act of exchange itself, the mediation by which the subjects are posited precisely as exchangers, equals, and their objects as equivalents, as equal. The equivalents are the objectification of the one subject for the others, i.e. they themselves are of equal worth and prove themselves in the act of exchange as of equal value and at the same time as indifferent to one another. The subjects exist for one another in exchange only through the

equivalents, as individuals of equal value, and prove themselves as such by the exchange of the objectivity in which the one exists for the others. Since they only exist for one another in this way, as individuals of equal value, as possessors of equivalents who prove this equivalence in exchange, they are both equivalent and at the same time indifferent to one another. Any other individual difference between them does not concern them; they are indifferent to all other properties they may individually possess.

The act of exchange is both the positing and the confirmation of exchange values as well as of the subjects as exchangers. The content falling outside the act of exchange, outside the specific economic form, can only consist of: (1) the natural particularity of the commodities exchanged; (2) the particular natural need of the exchangers. Or, combining both aspects, the different use value of the commodities to be exchanged. So far from compromising the social equality of individuals, this content of exchange, which lies wholly outside the specifically economic form, turns their natural difference into the basis of their social equality. If individual *A* had the same need as individual *B*, and had realised his labour in the same object as individual *B*, no relation at all would exist between them. From the viewpoint of production, they would not be different individuals at all. Both of them must breathe; for both of them the air exists as the atmosphere; but this does not bring them into any social contact. As individuals who must breathe, they are related to one another not as persons but only as natural bodies. Only the difference of their needs and their production is the occasion for exchange and for their being socially equated in it. Hence this natural difference is the precondition of their social equality in the act of exchange and of this relationship in general, in which they relate to each other as productive agents. Regarded in the light of this natural difference, individual *A* exists as the possessor of a use value for *B*, and *B* exists as the possessor of a use value for *A*. In this respect their natural difference again places them in the relationship of mutual equality. However, this does not make them indifferent to one another, but integrate with one another, they need each other, so that individual *B*, objectified in his commodity, is needed by *A* and vice versa. Accordingly, they stand not merely in a relation of equality to one another, but also in a social relation.

More: the fact that the need of the one individual can be satisfied by the product of the other and vice versa, and that the one is able to produce the object for the other's need, and that each confronts the other as possessor of the object of the other's

need, shows that as a *human being* each transcends his own particular needs, etc., that they are behaving towards each other as men, that their common species being is known by all. This is unique. Elephants do not produce for tigers, or animals for other animals. A swarm of bees, for instance, *au fond* constitutes only one bee, and all the bees produce the same thing.

Moreover, in so far as this natural difference between individuals and their commodities[a] constitutes the motivation for their integration, for their social relationship as exchangers, in which they are *presupposed* as and *prove* themselves to be equals, *freedom* comes to play a role in addition to equality. Although individual *A* may feel a need for the commodity of individual *B*, he does not seize it by force, or vice versa; *A* and *B* recognise each other as owners, as persons, whose commodities are permeated by their will. Accordingly, the juridical concept of the person comes in here, as well as that of freedom in so far as it is contained therein. Neither forcibly takes possession of the property of the other; each disposes of it voluntarily.

But this is not all. Individual *A* satisfies individual *B*'s need by means of the commodity *a* only to the extent that and because individual *B* satisfies individual *A*'s need by means of commodity *b*, and vice versa. Each serves the other in order to serve himself; and makes reciprocal use of the other as his means. Each individual is now conscious that (1) each attains his end only in so far as he serves the other as means; (2) each becomes a means for the other (being for another) only as end for himself (being for himself); (3) this reciprocity whereby each is at once means and end, and moreover attains his end only in so far as he becomes means, and only becomes means in so far as he posits himself as end for himself, in other words that each posits himself as being for another in so far as he is being for himself, and the other as being for him in so far as he is being for himself—that this reciprocity is a necessary FACT, presupposed as a natural condition of exchange, but that it is as such a matter of indifference for each of the two subjects of exchange, and is of interest to each of them

[a] Here Marx inserted the following passage in brackets: "Products, labour, etc., are not at all differentiated here yet[70] but exist only in the form of commodities or, as Mr. Bastiat, echoing Say, wishes to put it, *services*[71]; Bastiat imagines that by reducing the economic role of exchange value to its natural content, commodity or service, thereby showing himself unable to grasp the economic relationship of exchange value as such, he has made a great advance over the classical economists of the English school, who are able to grasp the relations of production as such in their specific characteristics, in their pure form."—*Ed.*

only in so far as it satisfies his own interest as excluding that of the other, without relation to it.

This means that the social interest which appears as the motive of the act as a whole, is certainly recognised as a FACT on both sides, but as such it is not the motive, but goes on, as it were, merely behind the back of the self-reflected[72] particular interests, behind the back of an individual's interest in contrast to that of the other. In this latter respect, the individual can at most have the consoling awareness that the satisfaction of his individual interest as opposed to that of the other is precisely the realisation of the transcended [II-10] antithesis, of the general social interest. From the act of exchange itself, the individual, each of them, is reflected in himself as the exclusive and dominant (determining) subject of the exchange. With that the complete freedom of the individual is posited: voluntary transaction; force on neither side; positing of oneself as means, or as serving, only as a means to posit oneself as end in oneself, as the dominating and transcending element; ultimately realising the selfish interest, not an interest standing above it. The other party to the exchange is also recognised and known as likewise realising his own selfish interest, so that both know that the social interest is nothing but the exchange of the selfish interest in its duality, many-sidedness and autonomy. The general interest is nothing but the generality of selfish interests.

Thus, if the economic form, exchange, in every respect posits the equality of the subjects, the content, the material, both individual and objective, which impels them to exchange, posits *freedom.* Hence equality and freedom are not only respected in exchange which is based on exchange values, but the exchange of exchange values is the real productive basis of all *equality* and *freedom.* As pure ideas, equality and freedom are merely idealised expressions of this exchange; developed in juridical, political and social relations, they are merely this basis at a higher level. And indeed this has been confirmed by history. Equality and freedom at the higher level are the exact opposite of freedom and equality in the ancient world, which were not based on developed exchange value, but which on the contrary perished through its development. They presuppose relations of production not yet realised in the ancient world, nor indeed in the Middle Ages. Direct forced labour was the foundation of the ancient world; it was on this existing basis that the community rested. Labour itself regarded as a privilege, as still particularised, not labour generally producing exchange values, was the foundation of the Middle

Ages. [Modern] labour is neither forced labour, nor, as in the second case, is it carried on with reference to something common, as something higher (corporations).

Admittedly, it is true that [the relationship of] the exchangers is also based on a certain coercion when considered from the viewpoint of their motive for carrying on exchange, i.e. their natural needs, which fall outside the economic process. But on the one hand, this relationship itself is merely the indifference of the other for my need as such, for my natural individuality; in other words, his equality with me and his freedom, which is, however, just as much the precondition of mine. On the other hand, in so far as I am conditioned, forced by my needs, it is merely my own nature as a totality of needs and impulses (or, posited in a general, reflected form, my *interest*) that does violence to me, not something alien. But it is after all also precisely this aspect of me with which I coerce the other, driving him into the system of exchange.

In Roman Law the *servus* is therefore correctly defined as one who can acquire nothing for himself by means of exchange (see *Institutiones*[73]). It is therefore clear that this *law,* although it corresponds to a state of society in which exchange was by no means developed, nevertheless, in as much as it was developed in a certain sphere, could evolve *the definitions of the legal person, i.e. the individual engaged in exchange,* and could thus (at least in basic principle) anticipate the legal system of industrial society. Above all, it could be upheld as the law of emerging bourgeois society as against the Middle Ages. It is significant that its development coincides exactly with the dissolution of the Roman community.

Since exchange value is only realised in money, and the system of exchange value has only been realised with the rise of a developed money system or conversely, the money system can in fact only be the realisation of this system of freedom and equality. As a measure, money merely gives a definite expression to the equivalent. It turns it into the equivalent also in form. In the process of circulation, it is true, a distinction in form arises: the two parties to the exchange appear in the distinct roles of buyer and seller; exchange value appears first as general in the form of money, then as particular in the natural commodity, which now has a price. However, firstly, these forms alternate; circulation itself does not establish inequality, but is an equalisation, a transcendence of the merely imagined difference. The inequality is purely formal. Finally, equality is established quite objectively in money when in circulation, appearing now in the hands of one

person, now in the hands of another, and quite indifferent to where it appears. In the process of exchange, each party appears to the other as the possessor of money, as money itself. Hence the indifference and equivalence gain explicit existence in the form of the object. The particular natural difference that characterised the commodity is extinguished and is continually being extinguished by means of circulation. A worker who buys a commodity for 3s. appears to the seller in the same function, in the same equality, in the form of 3s., as the king who buys this commodity. All difference between them is extinguished. The seller qua seller appears only as the possessor of a commodity priced at 3s., so that both [buyer and seller] are perfectly equal, except that the 3s. exist once in the form of silver, the other time in the form of sugar, etc.

In the third form of money, it might appear that the subjects of the process play different roles. But in so far as money here appears as material, as the universal commodity of contracts, all distinction between the parties to the contract is in fact extinguished. In as much as money becomes the object of accumulation, the subject here [II-11] appears only to withdraw money, the universal form of wealth, from circulation, in so far as he does not withdraw from it commodities for the same price. If, therefore, one individual accumulates while the other does not, neither does so at the expense of the other. The one enjoys real wealth, the other gains possession of the universal form of wealth. If one becomes impoverished while the other enriches himself, it is by their own free will and in no way the result of economic conditions, of the economic relation in which they stand to one another. Even inheritance and similar juridical relationships, which perpetuate inequalities arising in this manner, do not impair this natural freedom and equality. If the original relationship of individual *A* is not in contradiction with this system, such a contradiction certainly cannot be created by individual *B* taking the place of individual *A*, thus perpetuating him. Rather, inheritance makes the social determination valid beyond the natural length of [human] life; it reinforces the social determination against the casual impact of nature, whose effect as such would indeed be tantamount to the transcendence of the freedom of the individual. Besides, since the individual in this relationship is merely the individuation of money, he is as such just as immortal as money, and his representation by his heirs is nothing but the realisation of this role.

If this way of looking at the matter is not emphasised in its historical significance, but held up in refutation of the more highly

developed economic relationships in which individuals emerge no longer as mere exchangers or buyers and sellers but in specific relationships to one another, in which they no longer all have the same character—this would amount to the assertion that no difference exists between natural bodies, still less antagonism and contradiction, because they are e.g. all heavy and consequently equal in so far as defined by having weight; or that they are equal because they are all spatially three-dimensional. Also exchange value itself is here taken in its simple character as against its more developed antagonistic forms. Seen as part of the process of science these abstract roles appear as the first and most rudimentary. To some extent this is how they occur in history; what is more highly developed appears later. In the totality of existing bourgeois society, this postulation as price and its circulation, etc., appears as the superficial process, below which, in the depths, quite other processes occur in which the apparent equality and freedom of individuals disappear.

On the one hand, it is forgotten that right from the start the *premiss* of exchange value as the objective basis of the whole system of production already implies coercion of the individual, that his immediate product is not a product for himself but *becomes* such only in the social process, and *is obliged* to adopt this general and nevertheless exterior form. It is forgotten that the individual no longer exists except as a producer of exchange value. This implies the complete negation of his natural existence; hence he is wholly determined by society. It is forgotten, moreover, that this also presupposes division of labour, etc., in which the individual is already placed in relationships other than those of mere *exchangers,* etc. It is forgotten that, consequently, the premiss [of the individual as producer of exchange value] in no way arises either from the individual's will or his immediate nature, but is *historical,* and already assumes the individual as *determined* by society.

On the other hand, it is forgotten that the higher forms in which exchange or the relations of production realised in exchange now appear, certainly do not remain in this simple determinateness, where the greatest difference which develops is formal and hence insignificant.

Finally, it is overlooked that the antagonism of wages[a] and capital, etc., is already latent in the simple determination of

[a] The use of the word *Arbeitslohn* (wages for labour) instead of *Lohnarbeit* (wage labour) may be a slip of the pen.—*Ed.*

exchange value and money. What this wise approach therefore amounts to is a refusal to advance beyond the simplest economic relationships. Conceived of in isolation these are pure abstractions; but in reality they are mediated by means of the most profound contradictions, and present an aspect in which the expression of these contradictions is blurred.

On the other hand, this also shows the folly of those socialists (especially the French socialists, who wish to prove socialism to be the realisation of the ideas of *bourgeois* society enunciated by the French Revolution) who purport to demonstrate that exchange, exchange value, etc., were *originally* (in time) or are *essentially* (in their adequate form) a system of the freedom and equality of all, but have been perverted by money, capital, etc. Or alternately, that history has so far failed in its attempts to realise exchange and exchange value in their real essence, and that now the socialists, e.g. Proudhon, have discovered the genuine recipe which will substitute the true history of these relationships for the false. The answer to them is as follows: exchange value or, more precisely, the money system, is indeed the system of freedom and equality, and what disturbs them in the more recent development of the system are disturbances immanent to the system, i.e. the very realisation of *equality and freedom,* which turn out to be inequality and unfreedom. It is an aspiration as pious as it is stupid to wish that exchange value would not develop into capital, or that labour which produces exchange value would not develop into wage labour. What distinguishes these gentlemen from the bourgeois apologists is, on the one hand, their awareness of the contradictions inherent in the system and, on the other, their utopianism, manifest in their failure to grasp the inevitable difference between the real and ideal shape of bourgeois society, and the consequent desire to undertake the superfluous task of changing the ideal expression itself back into reality, whereas it is in fact merely the photographic image [Lichtbild] of this reality.

[II-12] Now behold, in opposition to these socialists, the vapid arguments of the degenerate political economy of the most recent times,[a] claiming to *prove* that economic relationships always express the *same* simple determinations and hence always express

[a] Here Marx inserted the following passage in brackets: "Whose classical representative, as regards tediousness, affectation of dialectics, philistine conceit, silly, self-satisfied triviality, and complete inability to conceive of historical processes, is *Frederick Bastiat,* for the American *Carey* at least brings out the particular American situation as against the European."—*Ed.*

the equality and freedom of the simply determined exchange of exchange values, which amounts to nothing but infantile abstraction. For example: the relationship of capital and interest is reduced to the exchange of exchange values. No sooner is it admitted on the basis of experience that exchange value not only exists in this simple determinateness but also in the essentially different one as capital, than capital is reduced once more to the simple concept of exchange value; and, what is more, interest, which expresses a definite relationship of capital as such, is likewise divested of its specific form and equated to exchange value. The entire relationship in its specific form is turned into an abstraction and reduced to the undeveloped relationship of the exchange of commodity for commodity. If I abstract from that which distinguishes something concrete from its abstract form it [the result] is naturally the abstract and [turns out to be] in no way different from it. *According to this procedure, all economic categories are only various names given to one and the same relationship, and this crude inability to grasp the real differences between them is then supposed to represent pure* COMMON SENSE *as such. Hence the "economic harmonies" of Mr. Bastiat amount au fond to asserting that only a single economic relationship exists which adopts different names, or that difference can occur only in nomenclature.* His reductionism is not even formally scientific in the sense that everything is reduced to one real economic relationship ignoring the difference inherent in development. He merely ignores now one aspect, now another, so as to bring out now one side of the identity, now another.

For example, the wages for labour are said to be payment for the service which one individual renders to another. (Here, as already pointed out above, the economic form as such is ignored.) Profit is also defined as the payment for the service which one individual renders to another. Consequently, wages for labour and profit are identical, and it is really an aberration of language which leads us to call one payment "wages" and the other "profit". But now for profit and interest. In profit, the payment for service is exposed to risk; in interest, it is fixed. Hence, since in wages payment is relatively fixed, while in profit, in contrast to labour, it is exposed to risk, the relationship between interest and profit is the same as that between wages and profit, which, as we have seen, is a reciprocal exchange of equivalents. The opponents [of Bastiat][74] then take these trivialities literally (which arise because they go back from economic relationships in which the conflict is explicit to those in which it is still merely latent and obscured) and purport to prove that, e.g. with capital and interest,

there is not a simple exchange, in that capital is not replaced by an equivalent, but that after the owner has consumed 20 times the equivalent in the form of interest, he still has it in the form of capital and can exchange it again for 20 new equivalents. Thus we get the unedifying debate in which one side asserts that there is no difference between developed and undeveloped exchange value, while the other asserts that such a difference unfortunately does exist, but in all fairness should not.

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*Money as capital* is a determination of money that goes beyond its simple determination as money. It can be considered as a higher form of realisation just as it might be said that man is a developed ape. In this case, however, the lower form is taken as the transcending subject and set above the higher form. In any case, *money as capital* is distinct from *money as money.* We must analyse the new determination. On the other hand, *capital as money* appears to be the retrogression of capital into a lower form. But it is only the positing of capital in a particular form which as non-capital already exists prior to it, and constitutes one of its presuppositions. Money recurs in all later relationships, but then it no longer functions as mere money. If, as at this point, our first task is to follow its development up to its totality as money market, the rest of the development is presupposed, and must be brought into the argument from time to time. Thus, we consider here the general determination of capital before we go on to discuss its particular form as money.

If, like e.g. Say, I define capital as a *sum of values,*[a] I am saying nothing more than that *capital= exchange value.* Every sum of values is an exchange value, and every exchange value is a sum of values. I cannot get from exchange value to capital by simple addition. As we have seen, the mere accumulation of money does not yet imply the relationship of capitalisation.

In what is called retail trade, the daily commerce of bourgeois life, as it is carried on directly between producers and consumers, in petty trade, the aim is the exchange of the commodity for money on the one hand and the exchange of money for a commodity on the other, for the satisfaction of individual needs. And it is only in this movement, which takes place on the surface of the bourgeois world, that the movement of exchange values,

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[a] J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique,* 3rd ed., Vol. II, pp. 428 and 478.—*Ed.*

their circulation, proceeds in its pure form. A worker who buys a loaf of bread, and a millionaire who does the same, appear in this transaction merely as simple purchasers, just as the shopkeeper appears to confront them merely as a seller. Here all their other characteristics are extinguished. The *content* as well as the *volume* of their purchases appear completely irrelevant [II-13] to this specific form.

In theory, the concept of value is antecedent to that of capital but, on the other hand, its pure development presupposes a mode of production based on capital. The same is true in practice. For this reason the economists necessarily view capital on the one hand as the creator and source of values, and on the other hand they presuppose value for the formation of capital and represent capital itself only as a sum of values in a particular function. The existence of value in its pure state and generality presupposes a mode of production in which the individual product has ceased to exist as such for the producer in general, and still more for the individual worker, and is nothing unless realised in circulation. For the person who produces an infinitesimal part of a yard of cotton, it is not a formal definition that it is value, exchange value. If he had not produced an exchange value, money, he would have produced nothing at all. Hence, this determination of value presupposes a given historical stage of the social mode of production and is itself a historical relationship arising out of that stage.

On the other hand, individual moments of the determination of value develop at earlier stages of society's historical process of production and appear as its result.

Within the system of bourgeois society, therefore, capital directly follows upon value. *Historically,* it is *preceded by other systems* which constitute the material basis for the less complete development of value. Just as exchange value here only figures incidentally alongside use value, not capital but the relation of landed property appears as the real basis. Modern landed property, by contrast, cannot be understood at all [in this context], because its existence presupposes that of capital, and historically it does in fact develop as the earlier historical version of landed property turned by capital into a form adequate to itself. Thus the development of landed property is particularly suitable for the study of the gradual victory and establishment of capital. That is why Ricardo, the economist of the modern era, with a fine sense of history chose to examine the relations of capital, wage labour and ground rent within the boundaries of landed property, in order to

describe them in their specific form. The relationship of the industrial capitalist to the landlord appears to lie outside the sphere of landed property. But as the relationship of the modern farmer to the recipient of rent, it appears immanent in landed property itself, and the latter now appears to exist only in relation to capital. In fact, the history of landed property, demonstrating the gradual transformation of the feudal landlord into the recipient of rent, of the hereditary, half-tributary and often unfree tenant into the modern farmer, and of the serf and villein tied to the soil and subjected to labour-services into the agricultural day-labourer, would be the history of the formation of modern capital. It would include the relationship [of landed property] to urban capital, trade, etc. But here we are concerned with bourgeois society as it has become, developing on its own basis.

In the first instance capital emerges from circulation, and money is its point of departure. We have seen[a] that money entering into circulation, and at the same time returning from circulation into itself, is the ultimate form of money, in which money is transcended. It is simultaneously the first concept of capital and the first form in which capital appears. Money has negated itself as something merely absorbed in circulation; but it has likewise negated itself as something independently confronting circulation. This negation, taken as a whole, in its positive aspects, contains the first elements of capital. Money is the first form in which capital appears as such. *M—C—C—M;* the exchange of money for the commodity and of the commodity for money; *this movement of buying in order to sell, which constitutes the specific form of trade, capital as merchant capital,* is found in the earliest periods of economic development. It is the first movement in which exchange value as such forms the content of the exchange, is not only form but its own content. This movement can take place within peoples and between peoples for whose production exchange value has by no means yet become the prerequisite. The movement only touches the surplus of their output, which is still directed towards the satisfaction of their immediate needs, and takes place only on the boundary of production. Special trading peoples could play this mediating role between peoples whose mode of production did not yet presuppose exchange value as its basis. Thus in antiquity, and later the Lombards, thus the Jews within the old Polish society or in medieval society in general.

Commercial capital is merely circulating capital, and circulating

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[a] See this volume, p. 167.—*Ed.*

capital is the first form of capital, a form in which it *has by no means yet become the basis of production.* A more developed form of capital is *money capital and monetary interest,* usury, whose independent appearance likewise belongs to an early stage of development. Finally, the initial appearance of merchant capital presupposes the form, *C—M—M—C,* in which money and circulation in general appear as mere means for the *circulating commodity,* which for its part leaves circulation again and directly satisfies needs. The preconditions appear to be distributed among different peoples, or within society commercial capital as such is conditioned only by this circulation directed purely towards consumption. On the other hand, the *circulating commodity,* the commodity that is realised only by adopting the form of another commodity which drops out of circulation and satisfies immediate [II-14] needs, is also an original form of capital, which is essentially *commodity capital.*

On the other side, it is equally clear that the simple movement of exchange values, as it is present in pure circulation, can never realise capital. It can lead to the withdrawal and hoarding of money, but as soon as money enters into circulation again it is dissolved in a series of exchange processes with commodities, which are consumed. It is therefore lost once its purchasing power has been exhausted. Equally, the commodity that has been exchanged for a commodity by means of money, drops out of circulation to be consumed, destroyed. But if it is made independent of circulation as money, it now represents only the non-substantial general form of wealth. Since equivalents are exchanged for one another, the form of wealth which is fixed as money disappears as soon as that money is exchanged for the commodity, and the use value existing in that commodity disappears as soon as the commodity is exchanged for money. By means of the simple act of exchange, each can only be lost in its determination for the other when it is realised in the other. Neither can maintain itself in its own determination by transforming itself into the other. The sophistries of the bourgeois economists, who whitewash capital by purporting to reduce it to pure exchange, have therefore been countered by the demand—no less sophistical but justified against them—*really* to reduce capital to pure exchange, whereby it would disappear as a [social] power and be destroyed either in the form of commodity or money.*

* Just as exchange value, i.e. all relations of commodities as exchange values, appears as a thing in *money,* so in *capital* all determinations of the activity producing exchange values, *labour,* [appear as a thing].

The repetition of the process from both points, money or commodity, is not implied in the conditions of exchange itself. The act can only be repeated until it is completed, i.e. until there has been exchange up to the amount of the exchange value. It cannot rekindle itself. *Circulation therefore does not contain in itself the principle of self-renewal. Its moments are presupposed in it,* not posited by it itself. New commodities must continually be thrown into it from without, like fuel into fire. Otherwise it goes out in indifference. It would be extinguished in money as the indifferent result. For in so far as it no longer related to commodities, prices, circulation, money would cease to be money and to express a relationship of production; it would now continue to exist only as a metal but not economically. Circulation therefore, which appears as that which is immediately present on the surface of bourgeois society, exists only in so far as it is continually mediated. Considered in itself, it is the mediation of presumed extremes. But it does not posit these extremes. Hence it must itself be mediated not only in each of its moments but as the totality of mediation, as a total process. Its immediate being is therefore pure semblance. *It is the image of a process occurring behind it.*

Circulation is now negated in each of its moments—as commodity—as money—and as relation between them, as simple exchange and as circulation of both commodity and money. If originally the act of social production appeared as the positing of exchange values and this, in its further development, appeared as circulation—as the fully developed reciprocal movement of exchange values—then circulation itself now goes back into the activity that posits or produces exchange values. It goes back into it as into its ground. Commodities (whether in their particular form or in the general form of money) are the premiss of circulation, and these are the realisation of a definite labour time, and as such are values. Circulation therefore presupposes both the production of commodities by labour as well as their production as exchange values. This is its point of departure and by its own movement it returns into the production which creates exchange values as its result.

Once again, therefore, we have arrived back at the point of departure: *production* which creates, which posits, exchange values. But now it *presupposes circulation as a developed moment* and appears as a constant process positing circulation and continually returning from circulation back into itself, in order to posit it anew. Hence the movement which posits exchange values now appears in a much more complex form, in that it is no longer only the

movement of the presupposed exchange values or the movement which formally posits them as prices, but the movement which simultaneously creates, produces, exchange values as its own premiss. Production itself is here no longer present before its results, is no longer presupposed, but appears as something which itself simultaneously produces these results. But it no longer produces these results as merely leading to circulation, as at the first stage, but as simultaneously presupposing circulation, developed circulation, in its process. (*Au fond,* circulation only consists in the formal process of positing exchange value, now in the determination of commodity, now in that of money.)

This movement appears in different forms, both historically as giving rise to labour which produces value and also, on the other hand, within the system of bourgeois production itself, i.e. production which posits exchange values. In the case of barbarian or semi-barbarian peoples, the trading peoples at first act as intermediaries; or else tribes whose production is different in character due to natural conditions enter into contact with each other and exchange their surplus. The first case is the more classical form. Let us therefore stick to it. The exchange of surpluses is a relation which posits exchange and exchange value, but it extends only to the surplus and plays a secondary role vis-à-vis [II-15] production itself. But with the more frequent return of the traders soliciting exchange (the Lombards, Normans, etc., play this role in relation to almost all European peoples), a continuing trade is developed. In this trade the producing people now only carries on a so-called *passive* trade, in that the stimulus to the activity positing exchange value is an external one, not the internal form of its production. When this happens, the surplus product must not be a fortuitous one, only occasionally available, but must be continually reproduced. In this way domestic production itself acquires a tendency to be directed towards circulation, towards the positing of exchange values.

At first the effect is mainly material. The range of needs is enlarged; the aim is the satisfaction of new needs, and therefore greater regularity in and expansion of production. The organisation of domestic production itself has already been modified by circulation and exchange value; but it has not yet been captured by them either over its entire surface or in its full depth. This is what is called the *civilising effect* of foreign trade. To what extent the activity positing exchange value captures production as a whole then depends partly upon the intensity of this external influence, partly upon the degree to which the elements of

domestic production—division of labour, etc.—have already been developed. Thus in England in the 16th century and at the beginning of the 17th, the importation of commodities from the Netherlands gave a decisive significance to the surplus of wool that England had to offer in exchange. In order to produce more wool, arable land was converted into sheep pastures, the small leaseholding system was broken up, etc., the CLEARING of ESTATES took place, etc.

Agriculture therefore lost the character of labour for use value, and the exchange of its surplus lost its character of indifference towards the internal structure of agriculture. At certain points, agriculture was exclusively determined by circulation, transformed into a production positing exchange value. Not only was the mode of production changed thereby, but all the former conditions of population and production, all the economic relations corresponding to that mode, were dissolved. Thus, here we have a case of circulation which originally presupposed a production creating exchange values only as a surplus; but this production gave way to one purely oriented towards circulation, a production whose exclusive content was the positing of exchange values.

On the other hand, in modern production, which presupposes exchange value and developed circulation, prices and production determine each other.

If it is said that capital "is accumulated (realised) labour (properly *objectified* labour) which serves as the means for new labour (production)",[a] then only the simple substance of capital is being considered, and its formal character, without which it is not capital, is ignored. It means no more than that capital is—an instrument of production, for, in the broadest sense, everything must first be appropriated by means of some kind of activity, even an object supplied purely by nature, e.g. stones, before it can serve as an instrument, a means of production. According to this, capital would have existed in all forms of society, would be something entirely unhistorical. According to this, every part of the body is capital, for each part has not only to be developed by activity, by labour, but must also be nourished, reproduced, in order to be active as an organ. The arm and especially the hand are capital according to this. Capital would only be a new name for something as old as mankind, for each type of labour, even the most undeveloped, like hunting, fishing, etc., presupposes that the

[a] Cf. D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* pp. 327 and 499.—*Ed.*

product of previous labour is used as a means for immediate, living, labour.

A further implication of the definition given above is that the physical matter of the products is wholly abstracted from, and previous labour itself is considered as their only content (matter). Also abstracted from is the particular special purpose for whose fulfilment this product is intended to serve as means, and only production in general is posited as purpose. All this would appear merely as the work of abstraction, which is equally valid for all social conditions, and which only takes the analysis further and formulates it more abstractly (generally) than was usually the case.

If we abstract in this way from the specific form of capital, and emphasise only its *content with respect to which it is a necessary moment of all labour, then of course nothing is easier than to prove that capital is a necessary condition for all human production.* We have only to abstract from the specific characteristics of capital which make it into a moment of a particularly developed *historical* stage of human production. The irony is that if all capital is objectified labour which serves as means for new production, not all the objectified labour that serves as means for new production is capital. *Capital is conceived of as a thing, not as a relationship.*

If it is said on the other hand that capital is a sum of values employed for the production of values, then this means: capital is self-reproducing exchange value. But formally exchange value also reproduces itself in simple circulation. In this explanation, admittedly, the form is grasped wherein exchange value is the point of departure, but the relation to content (which in the case of capital, unlike in that of simple exchange value, is *not irrelevant*) is dropped.

If it is said that capital is exchange value which produces a profit, or at least is employed with the intention of producing a profit, capital is already presupposed for its own explanation, for profit is a definite relationship of capital to itself. Capital is not a simple relationship but a *process,* always remaining capital in its various moments. This process must therefore be analysed.

There is already something surreptitious about defining capital as *accumulated* labour, for [II-16] in its essential characteristic it should be merely *objectified* labour, though this admittedly embodies an already accumulated definite quantity of labour. But accumulated labour itself already comprises a quantity of objects in which labour is realised.

"In the beginning everyone was satisfied, since only objects without value to the respective exchangers were exchanged; no importance was attached to this

exchange, and each was satisfied to get a useful object in exchange for a useless one. But when the division of labour had made ... everyone into a merchant and society into a commercial society, no one wished to part with one's products except in exchange for their equivalent; it was therefore necessary, in order to determine this equivalent, to know *the value* of what was being offered and what was received" (Ganilh, [*Des systèmes d'économie politique*, Vol. 2, Paris, 1809, pp. 11-12,] 12, b[75]).[a]

In other words, exchange did not remain at the stage of formally positing exchange values but necessarily went on to subject production itself to exchange value.

### 1. CIRCULATION AND EXCHANGE VALUE DERIVING FROM CIRCULATION AS A PREREQUISITE OF CAPITAL

In order to develop the concept of capital, we must begin not with labour but with value, or more precisely, with the exchange value already developed in the movement of circulation. It is just as impossible to pass directly from labour to capital as from the different races of men directly to the banker, or from nature to the steam-engine. We have seen that in money as such exchange value has already acquired a form independent of circulation, but only a negative, evanescent or illusory one when fixed. Money exists only in relation to circulation and as the possibility of entering into it; but it loses this determination as soon as it realises itself, and falls back into its two earlier determinations as measure of exchange values and as means of exchange. As soon as money is posited as exchange value which not merely makes itself independent of circulation but maintains itself inside it, it is no longer money, for money as such does not extend beyond the negative determination; it is *capital.*

It is an historical FACT that money is the first form in which exchange value proceeds to the character of capital, and that therefore the first *form* in which capital *appears* is confused with capital itself or is considered to be its only adequate form. And this fact, far from contradicting our analysis, actually confirms it. The first attribute of capital is this: that the exchange value deriving from circulation and thus presupposing it, maintains itself within it and by means of it; that it does not lose itself when it enters into circulation; that circulation is not the movement of its vanishing but rather the movement of its real self-positing as exchange value, its realisation as exchange value.

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[a] Marx quotes partly in French and partly in German.—*Ed.*

It cannot be said that in simple circulation exchange value as such is realised. It is always realised only in the moment of its disappearance. If a commodity is exchanged for another commodity by means of money, its value-character disappears in the moment in which it is realised, and it steps outside the relation, becomes indifferent to it and is now only a direct object of need. If money is exchanged for a commodity, then this posits even the disappearance of the form of exchange as merely formal mediation to get hold of the natural material of the commodity. If a commodity is exchanged for money, the form of exchange value, exchange value posited as exchange value, money, persists only so long as it remains outside exchange, withdraws from it. Money is therefore a purely illusory, purely notional realisation in this form, in which the independence of exchange value palpably exists. Finally, if money is exchanged for money—the fourth form in which circulation can be analysed but *au fond* only the third form expressed in the form of exchange—there no longer appears even a formal distinction between the different things; DISTINCTION WITHOUT A DIFFERENCE; not only does exchange value disappear, but so does the formal movement of its disappearance. *Au fond,* these four specific forms of simple circulation can be reduced to two, which, however, coincide in themselves. The difference between them is a question of emphasis and depends on which of the two moments—money and commodity—is stressed, which of them is taken as the point of departure. Thus, money for commodity: the exchange value of the commodity disappears and is replaced by its material content (substance); commodity for money: its content (substance) disappears and is replaced by its form as exchange value. In the first case the form of exchange value is extinguished, in the second its substance; in both, therefore, its realisation is its disappearance.

Only in *capital* is exchange value posited as exchange value, because only there does it maintain itself in circulation, i.e. only there does it neither lose its substance, because it realises itself in ever different substances, in a totality of them; nor does it lose its specific form, because it maintains its identity with itself in each of the different substances. Hence it always remains both money and commodity. It is, at each instant, both of the moments which disappear into one another in the course of circulation. But it is this only because it is itself a constantly self-renewing circuit of exchanges. In this respect, too, the circulation of exchange value [in capital] is distinct from that of simple exchange values as such. This simple circulation is in fact circulation only from the

standpoint of the observer, or circulation *in itself,* not circulation posited as such. Precisely because the substance of exchange value is a particular commodity, it is not the same exchange value which first becomes money and then commodity again; on the contrary, it is always different exchange values, different commodities, which confront money. Circulation, the circuit, consists merely of the simple repetition or alternation [II-17] of the determination of commodity and money, and not of the identity of the real point of departure and the point of return. Therefore, simple circulation as such where only money is the persistent moment, has been described as mere *circulation of money,* mere *turnover of money.*

"Capital values perpetuate themselves" (Say, [*Traité d'économie politique,* 3rd ed., Vol. II, p. 185,] 14 [76]).[a]

"Capital—permanent value" ("multiplying itself" is not yet relevant here) "which did not perish any more. This value tears itself away from the commodity which had created it; it remained equal to a metaphysical, insubstantial quality always in the possession of the same *husbandman*" (the precise term makes no difference: say "owner") "for whom it assumed different forms" (Sismondi, [*Nouveaux principes d'économie politique,* 2nd ed., Vol. I, Paris, 1827, p. 89,] VI [77]).

The immortality to which money aspired when it posited itself negatively as against, and withdrew from, circulation, is attained by capital, which maintains itself precisely by surrendering to circulation. As exchange value presupposed by or presupposing circulation and maintaining itself in it, capital is not only at each instant *ideally* each of the two moments contained in simple circulation, but alternately adopts the form of each of them. But it does so no longer merely by passing from one into the other, as in simple circulation, but by being in each of these determinations at the same time a relation to the opposite one, i.e. notionally containing it within itself.

Capital alternately becomes commodity and money. But (1) *it is itself the alternation of these two determinations;* (2) it becomes commodity, not this or that commodity, but *a totality of commodities.* It is not indifferent to the substance [of the commodity] but to its particular form. In this respect, it appears as a constant metamorphosis of this substance. In so far as capital is posited as a particular content of exchange value, this particularity is itself a totality of particularity; hence not indifferent to particularity as such, but to single or individuated particularity. The identity, the form of generality which it acquires, is that of being exchange value and as such money. Hence it is still posited as money, IN FACT

[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

it exchanges as commodity for money. But being posited as money, i.e. as this antithetical form of the generality of exchange value, it is at the same time inherently bound to lose not generality, as in simple circulation, but rather the antithetical attribute of generality, or to adopt it only fleetingly, i.e. it exchanges itself again for the commodity, but as a commodity which expresses in its very particularity the generality of exchange value and therefore continually changes its particular form.

When we speak of capital here, it is still only a name. The only determinateness in which capital is posited in distinction from immediate exchange value and from money, is *that of exchange value maintaining and perpetuating itself in and by circulation.* We have so far considered only one aspect of this quality, that of self-maintenance in and by circulation. The other, equally important, aspect is that exchange value is *presupposed,* no longer as simple exchange value, as it exists as a purely notional determination in the commodity before it enters into circulation, or rather as a merely intended determination, since it fleetingly becomes exchange value only in circulation; nor as exchange value as it exists as a moment in circulation, as money. It exists here as money, as objectified exchange value, but in such a way that the relation just described is posited in it.

What distinguishes the second determination from the first is that exchange value (1) exists in an objective form; (2) comes out of circulation, hence presupposes it, but simultaneously starts from itself as a premiss as against circulation.

There are two ways of expressing the result of simple circulation:

*The simple negative*: The commodities thrown into circulation have fulfilled their purpose. They have been exchanged for one another; each becomes the object of need and is consumed, and circulation is thereby terminated. Only money remains as simple residue. But as such a residue, money has ceased to be money, it has lost its characteristic form. It collapses into its own matter, which remains behind as the inorganic ashes of the whole process.

*The positive negative*: Money is negated not as objectified exchange value existing for itself—not as exchange value merely disappearing in circulation—but what is negated is its *antithetical* independence, its merely abstract generality in which it has established itself. However:

*Thirdly*: Exchange value as the premiss and at the same time the result of circulation, just as it is assumed to have emerged from it, must emerge from it again. If this happens only in a formal

manner, exchange value would merely become money again; if it emerges as a real commodity, as in simple circulation, it would become a simple object of need, would be consumed as such, and would also lose its characteristic form. If the emergence from circulation is to become real, exchange value must also become an object of need and be consumed as such; but it must be consumed by labour, and in this way reproduce itself anew.

Differently expressed: As regards its content, exchange value was originally an objectified quantity of labour or labour time. As such it progressed, in the process of its objectification, through circulation until it became money, palpable money. Now it must again posit the point of departure of circulation, which lay outside of, and was presupposed by, circulation, in relation to which circulation itself appeared as a movement grasping it from outside and transforming it within itself. That is, exchange value must now posit labour; but now no longer as the simple equivalent or simple objectification of labour but as objectified exchange value become independent, which yields itself up to labour as its material, only in order to renew itself and from itself to begin circulation anew. And with that it is no longer a simple equation, a maintenance of its identity, as in circulation; but a *multiplication* of itself. Exchange value posits itself as exchange value only by valorising itself, i.e. by increasing its value. *As capital, money* (having returned from circulation to itself) *has lost its rigidity, and has turned from a palpable thing into a process.* But on the other hand, labour has modified its relationship to its own objectivity: it has also returned to itself. Yet the nature of the return is such that the labour objectified in exchange value posits living labour as a means for its reproduction, while originally exchange value appeared only as a product of labour.

### [II-18] 2. EXCHANGE VALUE EMERGING FROM CIRCULATION BECOMES ITS PREMISS, MAINTAINS ITSELF IN IT AND MULTIPLIES ITSELF BY MEANS OF LABOUR

//I. (1) General concept of capital.—(2) Particularity of capital: circulating capital, fixed capital. (Capital as means of subsistence, as raw material, as instrument of labour.) (3) Capital as money.

II. (1) *Quantity of capital. Accumulation.*—(2) *Capital measured in terms of itself. Profit. Interest. Value of capital,* i.e. capital in distinction from itself as interest and profit. (3) *The circulation of capitals*: (α) Exchange of capital with capital. Exchange of capital with revenue. Capital and *prices*; (β) *Competition of capitals*; (γ) *Concentration of capitals.*

III. Capital as credit.
IV. Capital as share capital.
V. *Capital as money market.*
VI. Capital as source of wealth. The capitalist.

After capital, landed property would have to be dealt with. After that wage labour. Then, assuming all three, the *movement of prices* as circulation now defined in its inner totality. On the other hand, the three classes as production posited in its three basic forms and presuppositions of circulation. Then the *State.* (State and bourgeois society.—Taxation, or the existence of the unproductive classes.—The national debt.—Population.—The State in its external relations: Colonies. Foreign trade. Rate of exchange. Money as international coin.—Finally the world market. Encroachment of bourgeois society on the State. Crises. Dissolution of the mode of production and form of society based upon exchange value. The real positing of individual labour as social and vice versa.)//

(Nothing is more erroneous than the way in which both the economists and the socialists consider *society* in relation to economic conditions. Proudhon, for example, replies to Bastiat by saying ([*Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon,* Paris, 1850, p. 250,] XVI, 29):

"*For society* the distinction between capital and product does not exist. This distinction is a purely *subjective* one, existing only for individuals."[a]

Thus it is precisely the social aspect which he calls subjective and the subjective abstraction which he calls society. The distinction between product and capital is precisely that, as capital, the product expresses a specific relation belonging to an historical form of society. This so-called consideration from the point of view of society means nothing more than to overlook precisely the *differences* which express the *social relation* (relation of civil society). Society does not consist of individuals, but expresses the sum of the relationships and conditions in which these individuals stand to one another. As if someone were to say: for society, slaves and CITIZENS do not exist: both are men. They *are* both men, if we consider them outside society. To be a slave and to be a CITIZEN are social determinations, relations between human beings *A* and *B*. Human being *A* as such is not a slave; he is a slave in and through society. Mr. Proudhon's remarks about capital and

[a] This and the subsequent quotations from *Gratuite du crédit* are in French in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

product mean that in his view there is no distinction between capitalists and workers from the point of view of society. But actually this distinction exists only from the point of view of society.)

(Proudhon's polemic against Bastiat, *Gratuité du crédit,* amounts only to his wish to reduce the exchange between capital and labour to the simple exchange of commodities as exchange values, to reduce them to moments of simple circulation, i.e. he abstracts precisely from the specific distinction upon which everything depends. He says:

"Every product becomes capital at a certain moment, because everything that is consumed is at a certain moment consumed reproductively" [ibid., p. 177].

This is profoundly mistaken, BUT NEVER MIND.

"What causes the sudden transformation of the notion of product into that of capital? It is the *idea of value.* This means that the product, in order to become capital, must have passed through an authentic valuation, must have been bought or sold, its price discussed and fixed by a kind of legal convention. Hides, for instance, coming from the butcher's shop, are the product of the butcher. Have these hides been bought by a tanner? At once he adds either them or their value to his working capital. By the work of the tanner this capital becomes a product again" [ibid., pp. 179-80].

Every capital is here "an *established value*". Money is the "*most established value*",[a] established value of the highest potency. This means (1) the product becomes capital by becoming value, or capital is nothing more than simple value. There is no difference between them. Therefore he says alternately "commodity" (the natural aspect of the commodity expressed as product) and "value" or rather "price", since he assumes the act of purchase and sale. (2) Since money appears as the perfected form of value, as value exists in simple circulation, money is also the true *established value.*)

The transition from simple exchange value and its circulation to capital may also be expressed in the following way: in circulation, exchange value appears dual—once as commodity, again as money. If it is present in one of these determinations, it is not present in the other. This is valid for every particular commodity. But the whole of circulation considered in itself consists in the same exchange value, exchange value as subject, positing itself once as commodity and again as money; it is the movement by means of which exchange value posits itself in this dual

[a] Marx gives the two Proudhonian terms in French: "une valeur faite" and "la valeur la plus parfaite".—*Ed.*

determination, and preserves itself in each of its roles as its opposite, in the commodity as money, and in money as the commodity. This is in itself present in simple circulation, but it is not posited in it. Exchange value posited as the unity of commodity and money is *capital,* and this positing itself appears as the circulation of capital. (But this is a spiral line, an expanding curve, not a simple circle.)

Let us first analyse the simple determinations contained in the relationship of capital and labour, in order to discover the inner connection, both of these determinations and of their further developments, to what has gone before.

[II-19] The first presupposition is that capital stands on one side and labour on the other, each as an independent entity confronting the other, and hence each also alien to the other. The labour that confronts capital is *alien* labour; the capital that confronts labour is *alien* capital. The extremes that confront each other are *specifically* distinct. In the first form in which simple exchange value was posited, labour was determined in such a way that its product was not immediately use value for the labourer, not his direct means of subsistence. This was the general condition for the production of exchange value and of exchange in general. Otherwise the worker would merely have produced a product—an immediate use value for himself—but not exchange value. However, this exchange value was materialised in a product, which as such had use value for others and as such was the object of their needs. The use value which the worker has to offer to capital, and hence which he has to offer to others in general, is not materialised in a product, it does not exist in any way external to him. Consequently, his use value does not exist in reality but only potentially, as his capacity. It becomes reality only when it is solicited by capital, set in motion, since activity without an object is nothing, or, at most, mental activity, with which we are not dealing here. As soon as this use value is set in motion by capital, it exists as the definite, productive activity of the worker; it is his vitality itself, directed towards a definite aim and hence manifesting itself in a definite form.

In the relationship of capital and labour, exchange value and use value are brought into relation to one another: one side (capital) faces the other above all as *exchange value** while the other

* Should not *value* be conceived as the unity of use value and exchange value? In and for itself is not *value* as such the general form as compared with use value and exchange value as *particular* forms of it? Is this not significant in political economy? Use value is also presupposed in simple exchange or pure exchange. But

side (labour) faces capital as use value. In simple circulation, every commodity can be considered alternately in one or the other determination. In both cases, provided that it is considered as a commodity as such, it steps outside circulation as an object satisfying a need, and falls entirely outside the economic relationship. In so far as the commodity is fixed as exchange value—money—it tends towards the same formlessness, but remains within the economic relationship. In any case, commodities are of interest in the exchange relationship (simple circulation) only to the extent that they have exchange values. On the other hand, their exchange value is of only passing interest, for it transcends their one-sidedness—the fact of their usefulness, their use value, being related to, and hence *immediately* existing for, only one specific individual—but does not transcend this use value itself. Rather, exchange value posits and mediates use value, namely, as

there exchange is only taking place because of the reciprocal use of the commodity; and use value, i.e. the content, the natural particularity of the commodity as such, has no existence as a characteristic economic form. Rather, its characteristic form is exchange value. The content outside this form is of no consequence; it is not the content of the relationship as a social relationship. But does not this content develop as such in a system of needs and production? Does not use value as such enter into the form itself as something determining the economic form itself, e.g. in the relationship of capital and labour? in the different forms of labour?—Agriculture, industry, etc.—Rent?—Influence of the seasons on the price of primary products? etc. If *only* exchange value as such played a role in political economy, how could there be introduced at a later stage such elements as relate purely to use value, e.g. in the case of capital considered as raw material, etc.? How does the physical quality of the soil suddenly turn up in Ricardo? etc. The [German] word *Waare* ["commodity"] implies the relation (the German *Güter* ["goods"] perhaps best be taken in the sense of [the French] *denrée* as opposed to *merchandise*?). Price appears as a merely formal determination in it. This is quite compatible with exchange value being the predominant determination. Obviously, the element of use does not cease to exist because it is *only* determined by exchange, although the direction of use is of course determined in this way. In any case, this question should be examined thoroughly in the investigation of value. One should not completely abstract from it, as does Ricardo, nor give oneself airs by merely presupposing the word "utility",[78] as does the insipid Say. Above all, it will and must be shown, in the analysis of the individual sections, to what extent use value not only remains outside political economy and its characteristic forms as a presupposed matter but to what extent it enters into them. For Proudhon's insipidities see my *Misère*.[79] This much is certain: in exchange, we have (in circulation) the commodity—use value—as price; that apart from its price it is a commodity, the object of need, goes without saying. The two determinations do not enter into any relationship at all to each other, except in so far as the particular use [value] appears as a natural limit of the commodity, and hence posits money, i.e. the commodity's exchange value, simultaneously as existence of the commodity in money outside itself, but only formally. Money itself is a commodity, it has a use value as its substance.

use value for others, etc. But in so far as exchange value as such is fixed in money, use value confronts it merely as an abstract chaos; and it is precisely by being separated from its substance that exchange value collapses and drifts out of the sphere of simple exchange value, whose highest movement is simple circulation and whose highest perfection is money. But within the sphere of simple exchange value itself, the distinction exists IN FACT only as a superficial difference, a purely formal distinction. Money in its maximum fixation is itself commodity, and is distinguished as such from other commodities only by the fact that it expresses exchange value *more perfectly.* But precisely by doing so, by being coin, [II-20] it loses its immanent determination as *exchange value* and becomes *mere* use value, even if it be use value for the purpose of positing the price, etc., of commodities. The two determinations are still directly coincident in it and equally directly fall apart. Where they behave independently to one another, *positively,* as in the case of the commodity which becomes an object of consumption, it ceases to be a moment of the economic process; where negatively, as in money, it becomes *madness;* madness, however, as a moment of political economy, and a factor determining the practical life of peoples.

We have seen earlier[a] that exchange value cannot be said to realise itself in simple circulation. But this is so because [in simple circulation] use value as such does not confront exchange value. Use value is not here determined as such by exchange value. Conversely, use value as such stands in no relation to exchange value, but turns into a specific exchange value only by the application of the common feature of use values—their being labour time—as an external yardstick to them. As yet the unity of use value and exchange value directly falls apart, and their distinctness still fuses directly into unity. It must now be posited that use value becomes use value by virtue of its being exchange value, and that exchange value mediates itself through use value. In money circulation, we had only two different forms of exchange value (price of the commodity—money) or only different use values ($C$—$C$), for which money, exchange value, was merely a fleeting mediator. A real relationship between exchange value and use value did not occur. And for that reason the commodity as such—its particularity—is an irrelevant, a merely fortuitous content conceived only in general and falling outside the relation of economic form. Or else the latter is only a

[a] See this volume, p. 191.—*Ed.*

superficial form, a formal determination, outside whose field the real substance lies and which has no relationship at all to this real substance as such. Consequently, if this formal determination as such is to be fixed in money, it surreptitiously transforms itself into an indifferent natural product, a metal, in which whatever remained of a relationship, whether to the individual or to the intercourse of individuals, has been extinguished. Metal as such does not, of course, express any social relations; the form of coin, the last sign of life of its social significance, is also extinguished in it.

Exchange value which confronts use value posited as one side of the relationship, confronts it as money; but money confronting it in this way is no longer money in its determination as such, but money as *capital.* The *use value* or commodity confronting capital or posited *exchange value* is no longer the commodity as it appeared as against money, when its specific form was quite as irrelevant as its content, and when it merely appeared as any substance whatsoever.

(1) Firstly [the commodity now appears] as use value for capital, i.e. as an object which can be exchanged for capital without the latter losing its value dimension as e.g. money does when it is exchanged for a particular commodity. The only utility which an object in general can have for capital can only be to maintain it or to augment it. We have already seen, in the case of money, that value having become independent as such—or the general form of wealth—is incapable of any movement other than a quantitative one; it can only increase itself. According to its concept it is the essence of all use values; yet as always being merely a definite quantity of money (here capital) its quantitative limitation contradicts its quality. Hence it lies in its nature constantly to exceed its own limits. (As something to be enjoyed, wealth consequently appears as limitless prodigality, as e.g. in the time of the Roman emperors by the devouring of salads of pearls, etc. Here the attempt is made to realise a fantasy of enjoyment without limits.) That is why increase coincides with self-preservation in the case of value which adheres to its nature as value, and it preserves itself only by constantly striving to exceed its quantitative limits, which contradict its characteristic form, its inner generality.

Hence enrichment is an end in itself. The activity corresponding to the purpose of capital can only be that of enrichment, i.e. that of its own increase and multiplication. A specific sum of money (and money always exists for its owner only in a specific quantity, always as a specific sum of money) (this should already be shown

in the chapter on money) may completely suffice for a specific volume of consumption, as a result of which it ceases to be money. But as the representative of general wealth, it cannot so suffice. As a quantitatively determined, limited sum it is only a limited representative of general wealth or the representative of a limited wealth which corresponds exactly to its exchange value, is exactly measured by it. Thus it does not by any means have the capacity which it should have according to its general concept: that of being able to buy all pleasures, all commodities, the totality of material substances of wealth. It is not a "précis de toutes les choses",[a] etc. Fixed as wealth, as the general form of wealth, as value which counts as value, it is therefore the constant impulse to exceed its quantitative limits: an endless process. Its own vitality consists exclusively of that; it *maintains* itself only as exchange value which is distinct from use value and valid for itself, only by *constantly multiplying* itself.

(It is damned difficult for our economists to explain theoretically how we get from the self-preservation of value in capital to its multiplication, i.e. to explain the latter as inherent in the fundamental determination of capital, and not merely as an accident or a result. See e.g. how *Storch* brings in this fundamental determination with an adverb, "actually".[80] Admittedly, the economists try to introduce this increase into the relationship of capital as an essential aspect. But if this is not done in the brutal form of defining capital as that which yields profit, in which case the very increase of capital is already posited as a particular *economic form* in profit, [II-21] it only appears surreptitiously and very feebly, as we shall later demonstrate, by a brief review of all that the economists have offered us concerning the definition of the concept of capital. The drivel to the effect that no one would employ his capital without obtaining a profit thereby, amounts either to the idiocy that the worthy capitalists would remain capitalists even *without* employing their capital; or to the very simple-minded assertion that the profit-bearing employment of capital is inherent in the very concept of capital. WELL. That is just what would then have to be demonstrated.)

Money as a sum of money is measured by its quantity. This measurableness contradicts its determination, which must be oriented towards what has no measure. Everything said about money here, is even more true of capital, in which money in its perfected determination really first develops. Only that which

[a] See footnote on p. 153.— *Ed.*

increases it, multiplies it, and therefore preserves it as capital, can represent use value, i.e. usefulness, to capital as such.

(2) Capital, according to its concept, is money, but money that no longer exists in the simple form of gold and silver, nor as money in opposition to circulation, but in the form of all substances—commodities. To that extent therefore it does not, as capital, stand in opposition to use value, but exists apart from money only in use values. Its substances themselves are therefore now transitory, which would have no exchange value if they had no use value; but which lose their value as use values, are dissolved simply by the natural exchange of matter, if they are not actually used; and which, if actually used, disappear all the more. In this regard, the opposite of capital cannot itself be a particular commodity; for as such it does not constitute an antithesis to capital, since the substance of capital itself is use value; since it is not this or that commodity, but every commodity. The common substance of all commodities, i.e. their substance once again not as their material stuff, as physical determination, but their common substance as *commodities* and therefore as *exchange values,* is that they are *objectified labour.*

//But it can only be a question of this economic (social) substance of use values, i.e. their economic determination as content in distinction from their form (but this form is *value,* because specific quantity of this *labour*), if one is looking for the antithesis to them. So far as their natural differences are concerned, none of them excludes capital from entering into it and making it capital's own body, so long as none of them excludes the character of exchange value and commodity.//

The only thing distinct from *objectified* labour is *non-objectified* labour, labour still objectifying itself, *labour* as subjectivity. Or *objectified* labour, i.e. *labour present in space,* can also be opposed as *past labour* to labour still *present in time.* If it is to be present in time, present alive, it can only be present as a *living subject,* in which it exists as capacity, as potentiality; therefore as *worker.* The only *use value,* therefore, which can constitute an antithesis to capital is *labour* //to be exact, *value-creating, i.e. productive labour.* This is an anticipation; must first be developed; BY AND BY. Labour as mere service for the satisfaction of immediate needs has nothing at all to do with capital, which does not seek this kind of labour. If a capitalist hires a woodcutter to cut wood to roast his mutton, both his relationship to the woodcutter and that of the woodcutter to him is one of simple exchange. The woodcutter gives him a service, a use value that does not increase capital but

in which it is consumed, and the capitalist gives him another commodity in exchange in the form of money. Such is the case with all services which workers exchange directly for the money of other people and which are consumed by these people. This is consumption of revenue, which as such is always part of simple circulation, not consumption of capital. Since one of the contracting parties does not confront the other as capitalist, this form of service cannot come into the category of productive labour. From the harlot to the Pope there is a mass of such rabble. But the honest and "working" Lumpenproletariat, too, belongs to this category, e.g. the large mob of casual day-labourers, etc., in ports, etc. The person representing money requires the service only for its use value, which immediately disappears for him; but the casual labourer demands the money and since in this way the person supplying money is concerned with the commodity, and the person supplying the commodity is concerned with the money, they merely represent the two sides of simple circulation to one another. It is always clear that the casual labourer, who is concerned with the money, hence directly with the general form of wealth, seeks to enrich himself at the expense of his improvised friend, which hurts the latter, a HARD CALCULATOR, all the more, as the service he now requires is to be ascribed only to his ordinary human weaknesses, but is in no way required by him *qua capitalist.*

*A. Smith* was *essentially* right with his distinction between *productive* and *unproductive* labour, right from the standpoint of bourgeois political economy.[a] The arguments advanced against it by other economists are either rot (e.g. Storch, Senior still more pitiable,[81] etc.), namely that any action after all acts upon something, thus confusion of the product in its natural and economic sense. According to this a criminal is also a productive worker, since he [II-22] indirectly produces books on criminal law (at least this reasoning as sound as if a judge is called a productive worker because he protects *from* theft). Or the modern economists have become such sycophants of the bourgeois, that they wish to make him believe that it is productive labour if someone picks the lice out of his hair, or strokes his tail, because the latter activity might make his fat head—BLOCKHEAD—clearer the next day for the office. It is therefore quite correct—but at the same time also characteristic—that for the consistent economists the workers in e.g. luxury shops are productive, although the fellows who consume such objects are

[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Book 2, Ch. III.—*Ed.*

explicitly castigated as unproductive wastrels. The FACT is that these workers are INDEED productive AS FAR AS THEY INCREASE THE CAPITAL OF THEIR MASTER; UNPRODUCTIVE AS TO THE MATERIAL RESULT OF THEIR LABOUR. IN FACT, this "productive" worker is just as interested in the shit which he must make as the capitalist who employs him, and who does not give a damn about the junk. But looked at more precisely, it turns out in fact that the true definition of a productive worker consists in this: a man who requires and demands absolutely no more than is necessary to enable him to bring to his capitalist the greatest possible advantage. ALL THIS NONSENSE. Digression. But have to return to the productive and unproductive in more detail later.[82]//

## EXCHANGE BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOUR

*Use value* confronting capital as posited exchange value is *labour.* Capital exchanges itself, or exists in this specific form only in relation to *non-capital,* the negation of capital, in respect to which alone it is capital; the real non-capital is *labour.*

If we consider the exchange between capital and labour, we find that it is divided into two processes which are not only formally but qualitatively distinct and even contradictory:

(1) The worker exchanges his commodity, labour, the use value which as a commodity also has a *price* like all other commodities, for a specific sum of exchange values, specific sum of money, which capital cedes to him.

(2) The capitalist obtains, in exchange, labour itself, labour as value-positing activity, as productive labour; i.e. he obtains the productive power which maintains and multiplies capital and which therefore becomes the productive power and reproducing power of capital, a power belonging to capital itself.

The separation of these two processes is so evident that they can fall asunder in time and need in no way coincide. The first process can be completed, and in most cases is to a certain extent completed, before the second has even begun. The completion of the second act implies the completion of the product. The payment of wages cannot wait for this. We shall even find it an essential characteristic of the relationship [between worker and capitalist] that it does not do so.

In simple exchange, circulation, this two-fold process does not occur. If commodity *a* is exchanged for money *b,* and this then for commodity *c* which is destined for consumption—the original object of the exchange for *a*—the use of commodity *c,* its

consumption, falls quite outside circulation; does not concern the form of the [economic] relationship; lies beyond circulation itself, and is a purely physical interest which now only expresses a relationship of individual *A* in his natural quality to an object of his individual need. What he does with commodity *c* is a question that lies outside the economic relationship.

Here, on the contrary, the *use value of what is exchanged for money* appears *as a particular economic relationship,* and the *specific utilisation of what is exchanged for money constitutes the ultimate purpose of both processes. Thus there is already a distinction of form between the exchange of capital and labour and simple exchange—two distinct processes.*

If we now investigate further how the exchange between capital and labour differs in content from simple exchange (circulation), we find that this distinction does not arise from an external relation or comparison, but that in the totality of the latter process the second form distinguishes itself from the first, that the comparison itself is included. The difference of the second act from the first—the particular process of appropriation of labour on the part of capital is the second act—is EXACTLY the distinction between the exchange of capital and labour and the exchange of commodities as mediated by money. *In the exchange between capital and labour, the first act is an exchange and falls wholly within ordinary circulation; the second is a process qualitatively different from exchange and it is only* BY MISUSE that *it* could have been called *exchange* of any kind *at all.* It stands directly opposed to exchange; essentially different category.

*// Capital.*

I. *Generality:* (1) (a) Evolution of capital from money. (b) Capital and labour (mediating itself by *alien* labour). (c) The elements of capital, distinguished according to their relationship to labour (product, raw material, instrument of labour). (2) *Particularisation of capital*: (a) Circulating capital, fixed capital. Turnover of capital. (3) *Singularity of capital*: Capital and profit. Capital and interest. Capital as *value,* distinct from itself as interest and profit.

II. *Particularity*: (1) Accumulation of capitals. (2) Competition of capitals. (3) Concentration of capitals (quantitative difference of capital as at the same time qualitative, as *measure* of its volume and effect).[a]

[a] Here the following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: "(b) Capital as credit. (c) Share capital. (d) The money market. (e) Capital as determining price."—*Ed.*

[II-23] III. *Singularity*: (1) Capital as credit. (2) Capital as share capital. (3) Capital as money market.

In the money market, capital is posited in its totality; there it *determines price, provides work, regulates production,* in a word, *source of production*; but capital, not only as something producing itself (materially by means of industry, etc., positing price, developing the productive forces), but at the same time as creator of values, must posit a value or form of wealth specifically distinct from capital. This is *rent.* It is the only value created by capital as value distinct from itself, and from its own production. Both by its nature and historically, capital is the *creator* of modern landed property, of rent; just as its action therefore appears also as the dissolution of the old form of landed property. The new form arises from the action of capital on the old. Capital is this—in one respect—as creator of modern agriculture. In the economic relationships of modern landed property which appears as a process: rent—capital—wage labour (the form of the series can also be otherwise conceived as: wage labour—capital—rent; but capital must always be the active middle element), the inner structure of modern society, or capital in the totality of its relations, is therefore posited.

The question now is: how does the transition from landed property to wage labour come about? (The transition from wage labour to capital comes about of itself; for capital here has returned into its active ground.) Historically, the transition is indisputable. It is already implied in the fact that [modern] landed property is the product of capital. We thus always find that wherever the reaction of capital on the older forms of landed property converts the latter into money rent (the same thing occurs in other ways, where the modern farmer is created) and agriculture therefore, carried on by capital, is converted into industrial agronomy, the COTTIERS, serfs, villeins, copyholders, cottagers, etc., necessarily become day-labourers, wage labourers. Thus *wage labour* in its totality is first created by the action of capital upon landed property, and later, as soon as this has been elaborated as a form, by the landowner himself. The landowner himself then CLEARS the land, as Steuart says,[a] of its superfluous mouths, rips the children of the earth away from the breast on which they were raised, and so converts even labour on the land, which appears by its nature as immediate source of subsistence,

[a] J. Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy,* Vol. I, Book 1, pp. 50, 153, 156 and 157.—*Ed.*

into a mediated source of subsistence, purely dependent on social relations. (The mutual dependence must first have developed into its pure form, before there can be any question of a real social communality [Gemeinschaftlichkeit]. All relations as posited by society, not as determined by nature.) This alone makes possible the application of science and the full development of productive power.

There can therefore be no doubt that *wage labour* in its *classical* form, as permeating the whole extent of society, and making itself in lieu of the soil the ground on which society rests, is first created by modern landed property, i.e. by landed property as a value created by capital itself. This is why landed property leads back to wage labour. It is in one respect nothing but the transference of wage labour from the towns to the countryside, therefore wage labour spread over the whole surface of society. The old landowner, if he is rich, does not require a capitalist to become a modern landowner. He only has to convert his labourers into wage labourers and to begin producing for profit instead of revenue. Then the modern tenant farmer and the modern landowner are presumed in his person. But it is not a formal distinction, that the form in which he receives his revenue or the form in which the labourer is paid, is changed; it implies, rather, *a total transformation of the mode of production* (of agriculture) itself; it therefore presupposes a particular level of development of industry, of trade and of science, in short of the productive forces.

In general, production based upon capital and wage labour is not only formally different from other modes of production, but also presupposes a total revolution and development of material production. Although capital as merchant capital can develop itself fully (only not to the same extent quantitatively) without this transformation of landed property, it cannot do so as industrial capital. Even the development of manufacture presupposes an incipient-dissolution of the old economic relationships of landed property. On the other hand, it is not until modern industry is developed to a high degree that this dissolution at individual points becomes the new form in its totality and full extent; but this development itself always proceeds the more quickly, the higher the development of modern agriculture, of the form of property, of the economic relationships corresponding to it. Thus England in this respect the model country for other, continental countries.

Equally: if the first form of industry, large-scale manufacture, already presupposes the dissolution of landed property, this dissolution, in turn, is determined by the subordinate development

of capital in its still undeveloped (medieval) forms, which has taken place in the towns, and at the same time by the effect of manufacture flourishing together with trade in other countries (thus Holland's influence upon England in the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries). In these countries themselves the process already gone through and agriculture sacrificed to stock-raising, and grain imported from backward countries, like Poland, etc. (Holland AGAIN).

It must be kept in mind that the new productive forces and relations of production do not develop out of *nothing*, or out of thin air, or from the womb of the Idea positing itself, but within and in contradiction to the existing development of production and inherited, traditional property relations. If in the fully developed bourgeois system each economic relationship presupposes the other in a bourgeois-economic form, and everything posited is thus also a premiss, that is the case with every [II-24] organic system. This organic system itself has its premisses as a totality, and its development into a totality consists precisely in subordinating all elements of society to itself, or in creating out of it the organs it still lacks. This is historically how it becomes a totality. Its becoming this totality constitutes a moment of its process, of its development.

On the other hand, if, within a society, the modern relations of production, i.e. capital, are developed in their totality, and this society now takes possession of a new terrain, as e.g. in the colonies, it finds, more especially its representative the capitalist finds, that his capital ceases to be capital without wage labour, and that one of the premisses of wage labour is not only landed property in general but modern landed property; landed property which, as capitalised rent, is expensive and as such excludes the direct utilisation of the soil by individuals. Therefore *Wakefield's* theory of colonisation, followed in practice by the English government in Australia. Landed property is here artificially raised in price in order to transform the workers into wage workers, to make capital act as capital, and thus to make the new colony *productive*; to develop wealth in it, instead of, as in America, using it for the direct provision of wage workers. *Wakefield's* theory is immensely important for a correct understanding of modern landed property.[83]

Capital, as a producer of rent, thus returns to the production of wage labour as its general creative ground. Capital arises from circulation and posits labour as wage labour; thus it takes form, and developed as a whole it posits landed property both as its

condition and as its antithesis. But it turns out that in doing this, it has only created wage labour as its general premiss. This, therefore, must now be considered for itself. On the other hand, modern landed property itself appears at its most powerful in the process of the CLEARING OF ESTATES and the transformation of the rural labourers into wage labourers.

Thus two-fold transition to wage labour. This the positive side. Negatively, after capital has posited landed property and thereby achieved its two-fold aim: (1) industrial agriculture and thereby development of the productivity of the soil and (2) wage labour, therefore the general domination of capital on the land, it considers the existence of landed property itself as a purely transitory development, which is necessary as the action of capital on the old relationships of landed property, and is a *product of their decomposition;* but which as such—once this aim has been achieved—is merely a restriction on profit, not a necessity for production. Capital therefore seeks to dissolve landed property as private property and to transfer it to the State. This the negative side. Thus to transform the whole internal society into capitalists and wage labourers.

When capital has reached this point, wage labour has as well, and tries, like the bourgeois, to get rid of the landlords as supererogatory in order to simplify the relationship, to moderate taxes, etc., on the one hand; and on the other, in order to escape from wage labour and to become independent producer—for direct use—it demands the break-up of the great landed estates. Landed property is here negated from two directions; the negation from the direction of capital is only a change of form, to its undivided rule. (Rent as the general State rent (State tax), so that bourgeois society reproduces the medieval system in another way, but as the complete negation of it.) The negation from the direction of wage labour is only a hidden negation of capital, and therefore also of wage labour itself. It is now to be considered as independently confronting capital.

Thus the transition two-fold: (1) *positive transition* from modern landed property or transition of capital by means of modern landed property to general wage labour; (2) *negative transition*: negation of landed property by capital, i.e. negation of independent value by capital, i.e. precisely negation of capital by itself. But their negation is *wage labour.* Then negation of landed property and by means of it negation of capital from the direction of wage labour, i.e. wage labour that wishes to posit itself as independent.//

//The *market,* which at the beginning in political economy appears as abstract determination, assumes total forms. First the *money market.* This includes the bill of exchange market; in general the loan market; therefore dealings in money, bullion market. As *money-lending market,* it appears both in the banks, FOR INSTANCE in the rate of discount: LOAN-MARKET, BILL-BROKERS, etc.; but then also as the market for all *interest-bearing bills*: state bonds and the SHARE MARKET. The latter fall into larger groups. Firstly the *SHARES of the monetary institutes* themselves; BANK SHARES; JOINTSTOCK BANK SHARES; *means of communication SHARES (RAILWAY SHARES* the most important; *CANAL* SHARES; STEAM NAVIGATION SHARES; TELEGRAPH SHARES; OMNIBUS SHARES); *SHARES of general industrial ENTERPRISES (MINING SHARES* the main ones). Then for the supply of the general elements (*GAS* SHARES, SHARES in waterworks). *MISCELLANEOUS* going into thousands. For the *storing of commodities* (DOCK SHARES, etc.). *MISCELLANEOUS* in infinite variety, such as ENTERPRISES of industrial or commercial companies based on shares. Finally for securing the whole, *INSURANCE SHARES* of all kinds.

Just as the market by and large divides itself into the HOME MARKET and the FOREIGN MARKET, so the domestic market itself divides further into MARKET OF HOME SHARES, NATIONAL FUNDS, etc., and FOREIGN FUNDS, FOREIGN [II-25] SHARES, etc. But this development really belongs to the world market, which is not only the domestic market in relation to all the FOREIGN MARKETS existing outside it, but at the same time the domestic market of all FOREIGN MARKETS, as, in turn, components of the HOME MARKET.

The *concentration of the money market* in one main place within a country, whereas the other markets distribute themselves more according to the division of labour; although here also great concentration in the capital city, if this is also the port for its exports.

The markets distinct from the money market are in the first place as different as are the products and branches of production, and likewise constitute markets in their own right. The main markets for these different products establish themselves in centres which are such either in relation to import or export, or because they are either themselves centres of a particular production or the direct points of supply for such centres. But from this simple distinction, the markets proceed further to a more or less organic separation into large groups, which themselves necessarily divide up according to the basic elements of capital into: markets for products and markets for raw materials. The instrument of production as such constitutes no particular market; it exists as such mainly, first, in the raw materials

themselves, which are sold as means of production; but then in particular in the metals, since these exclude all thought of direct consumption, and then in products such as coal, oil, chemical materials, which are destined to disappear as accessory means of production. Likewise dyestuffs, timber, DRUGS, etc.

Accordingly:

I. *Products.* (1) *Grain market,* with its different subdivisions, e.g. SEED market: rice, sago, potatoes, etc. This economically very important; at the same time market for production and for direct consumption. (2) *COLONIAL-PRODUCE MARKET.* Coffee, tea, cocoa, sugar; tobacco; SPICES (pepper, all-spice, CINNAMON, cassia lignea, CLOVES, GINGER, MACE, NUTMEGS, etc.). (3) *Fruits.* ALMONDS, CURRANTS, FIGS, PLUMS, PRUNES, RAISINS, ORANGES, LEMONS, etc. *MOLASSES* (for production, etc.). (4) *Provisions.* Butter; CHEESE; BACON; HAMS; LARD; PORK; BEEF (smoked); fish, etc. (5) *SPIRITS.* Wine, rum, beer, etc.

II. *Raw produce.* (1) *Raw materials of the mechanised industry.* Flax; hemp; cotton; silk; wool; hides; leather; gutta percha, etc. (2) *Raw materials of the chemical industry.* Potash, SALTPETRE; turpentine; nitrate OF soda, etc.

III. *Raw materials which are at the same time instruments of production: Metals* (copper, iron, tin, zinc, lead, steel, etc.). *Wood.* [Fire] WOOD. TIMBER. Dyer's wood. Timber for ship-building, etc. *Accessory means of production* and *raw materials.* DRUGS and DYES (cochineal, indigo, etc.). Tar. Tallow. Oils. Coal, etc.[84]

Each product must naturally enter the market; but really large markets, as distinct from retail trade, are formed only by the important products for consumption (economically important only the market for grain, tea, sugar and COFFEE; wine-market to some extent and the market for spirits in general) or those which are the raw materials of industry (wool, silk, wood, metal-market, etc.). At which point the abstract category of the market has to be brought in, will become clear later.//

The exchange between the worker and the capitalist is a simple exchange; each obtains an equivalent; the one money, the other a commodity whose *price* is exactly equal to the money paid for it. What the capitalist receives in this simple exchange is a use value: disposition over alien labour. From the worker's side—and this is the exchange in which he appears as seller—it is evident that for him, as for the seller of any other commodity, of a use value, the use the buyer makes of the purchased commodity does not concern the characteristic form of the relationship. What the worker sells is the disposition over his labour, which is a specific labour, specific skill, etc.

It is quite immaterial what the capitalist does with his labour, although he can naturally employ it only according to its specific characteristics and his disposition itself is limited to only a *specific* labour and is *restricted in time* (so much labour time). The system of piece-rate payment, it is true, makes it appear that the worker receives a certain share in the product. But this is only another form of measuring time. (Instead of saying, you will work for 12 hours, it is said, you will receive so much per piece; i.e. we measure the time you have worked by the quantity of the products.) This does not at all concern us here, where we are considering the general relationship.

If the capitalist were to content himself with the mere right of disposing, without actually setting the worker to work, e.g. in order to have his labour as a reserve, etc.,or to take away the right of disposing over that labour from his competitors (as e.g. theatre directors purchase singers for a SEASON, not to let them sing but so that they do not sing in a rival theatre), the exchange would have taken place in full. The worker receives the exchange value in money, the general form of wealth in a definite quantity, and the more or less he receives procures for him a greater or smaller share in general wealth. How this more or less is determined, how the quantity of money he obtains is measured, concerns the general relationship so little that it cannot be deduced from it as such. In general, the exchange value of his commodity can only be determined not by the way in which the buyer *uses* his commodity but only by the quantity of objectified labour present in the commodity itself; here, therefore, by the quantity of labour required to produce the worker himself. For the use value which [II-26] he offers exists only as ability, as his bodily capacity; it has no existence outside of that. The objectified labour necessary both to maintain the general substance in which his labour capacity[85] exists, i.e. bodily to maintain the worker himself, as well as to modify this general substance for the development of the particular capacity—that is the labour objectified in this substance. This, in general terms, is the measure of the quantity of value, the sum of money, which he receives in exchange. This is not yet the place for the further development of the argument as to how the wages of labour are determined like [the value of] all other commodities by the labour time necessary to produce the worker as such.

In circulation, when I exchange a commodity for money and for that money purchase a commodity and satisfy my need, the act is at an end. So it is with the worker. But he has the possibility to

start again from the beginning, because his life is the source constantly renewing his own use value for a certain time, until it is used up, and constantly confronts capital again, in order to begin the same exchange anew. As in the case of every individual standing in circulation as subject, the worker is the owner of a use value; he disposes of it for money, the general form of wealth, but only in order to dispose of this money in turn for commodities as objects of his immediate consumption, as the means for the satisfaction of his needs. Since he exchanges his use value for the general form of wealth, he shares in the enjoyment of general wealth up to the limit of his equivalent—a quantitative limit which, of course, changes into a qualitative one, as in every exchange. But he is not restricted to particular objects, nor to a particular kind of satisfaction. The range of his enjoyments is not limited qualitatively, but only quantitatively. This distinguishes him from the slave, serf, etc.

Consumption CERTAINLY reacts back upon production; but this reaction concerns the worker in his exchange as little as it does every other seller of a commodity; rather, from the standpoint of simple circulation—and as yet we have no other developed relationship before us—it falls outside the economic relationship. This much, however, can already be said in passing: that the relative limitation of the range of the workers' consumption, which is only quantitative, not qualitative, or rather qualitative only as posited by quantity, gives them as consumers (in the course of the further analysis of capital, the relationship of consumption and production must, in general, be considered more closely) a quite different importance as agents of production from that which they possess and possessed in e.g. ancient world, in the Middle Ages or in Asia. But all this does not belong here, as we have already said.

Equally, while the worker receives his equivalent in the form of money, in the form of general wealth, he figures in this exchange as the equal of the capitalist, like every other exchanger; at least, *in appearance.* In FACT, this equality is already disturbed in that his relationship as worker to the capitalist, as use value in the form specifically distinct from exchange value, in contrast to the value posited as value, is presupposed for this apparently simple exchange. He therefore already stands in a differently determined economic relationship—outside that of exchange, in which the nature of the use value, the particular use value of the commodity as such, is immaterial.

This appearance, however, exists as an illusion on his part and to a certain extent on the other side, and therefore essentially

modifies his relationship by comparison to that of labourers in other social modes of production. But, what is essential is that the aim of the exchange for him is the satisfaction of his need. The object of his exchange is the immediate object of need, not exchange value as such. True, he receives money, but only in its determination as coin; i.e. only as a self-transcending and vanishing mediator. What he gets in exchange is therefore not exchange value, not wealth, but means of subsistence, objects to sustain his life, satisfaction of his needs in general, of his physical, social, etc., needs. It is a specific equivalent in means of subsistence, objectified labour, measured by the production costs of his labour.

What he gives up is the right of disposition over his labour. On the other hand, it is true that even within simple circulation, coin may develop into money and that, therefore, in so far as he receives coin in exchange, he can convert it into money, by accumulating it, etc., withdrawing it from circulation; fixing it as general form of wealth, instead of as vanishing means of exchange. In this respect it could thus be said that, in the exchange of the worker with capital, his object—and therefore also the product of the exchange for him—is not means of subsistence but wealth, not a particular use value, but exchange value as such. According to this, the worker could make exchange value into his own *product* in the only way wealth can *appear* at all as *product of simple circulation* in which equivalents are exchanged, namely by sacrificing substantial satisfaction to the *form* of wealth, i.e. by *self-denial,* saving, cutting down his consumption, and thus withdrawing less from circulation than he puts into it in *goods.* This is the only possible form for enriching oneself which is posited by circulation itself.

Self-denial could then also appear in the more active form, not posited in simple circulation, of denying himself more and more rest, thus sacrificing altogether his existence as distinct from his existence as worker, and being as much as possible only a worker; thus renewing the act of exchange more often, or extending it quantitatively further, in other words, by *industriousness.* Thus in present-day society, the demand for industriousness and especially also for *saving,* for *self-denial,* is addressed not to the capitalists but to the workers, and especially by the [II-27] capitalists. Present-day society makes the paradoxical demand that he for whom the object of exchange is means of subsistence should deny himself, not he for whom it is enrichment. The illusion as if the capitalists in fact practised "self-denial"—and thereby became capitalists—a de-

mand and a notion which made any sense at all only in the early period when capital was emerging from feudal, etc., relationships—has been abandoned by all serious modern economists. The worker is told to save, and much fuss has been made with savings banks, etc.

(As regards the latter, even the economists concede that their real purpose is not wealth, but only a more appropriate distribution of expenditure, so that in old age, or in sickness, crises, etc., the workers do not become a burden on the poorhouses, on the State, or go begging (in a word, so that they become a burden on the working class itself and not by any means on the capitalists, vegetating on the latter's pocket); i.e. so that they save for the capitalists and reduce the costs of production for them.)

Still, not a single economist will deny that, if the workers acted on this demand *in general,* that is as *workers* (what the individual worker, in distinction from his *genus,* does or can do, can only exist as an *exception,* not as the *rule,* because it is not determined by the relationship itself), hence if they acted on this demand as a *rule* (apart from the damage they would do to general consumption—the loss would be enormous--therefore also to production, therefore also to the number and volume of exchanges that they could make with capital, therefore to themselves as workers), they would employ means which would absolutely negate their own end, and which would inevitably degrade them to the level of the Irish, to that level of wage labourers where the merest animal minimum of needs and means of subsistence appears as the sole object and purpose of their exchange with capital.

In aspiring to wealth instead of use value, the worker would not only not enrich himself but also lose the use value into the bargain. For as a rule the maximum of industriousness and of labour, and the minimum of consumption—and this amounts to the maximum of his self-denial and his money-making—could lead to nothing else than that he would receive a minimum of wages for a maximum of labour. By his exertion he would only have diminished the general *level* of the costs of production of his own labour and thereby its general price. It is only as an exception that the worker, by means of will-power, physical strength and endurance, parsimoniousness, etc., can convert his coin into money, as an exception from his class and from the general conditions of his existence.

If all or the majority are over-industrious (in so far as industriousness is left to their own discretion at all in modern

industry, which is not the case in the most important and most developed branches of production), they do not increase the value of their commodity, but only its quantity; that is, the demands which would be imposed on them as use value. If they all save, a general reduction of wages will soon put them back on the right foot. For such general saving would show the capitalist that their wages were in general too high, that they were receiving more than the equivalent for their commodity, the right to dispose over their labour; for it is precisely the essence of simple exchange—and they stand in this relation towards the capitalist—that no one throws more into circulation than he withdraws from it, but also that no one can withdraw more than he has thrown in.

An individual worker can be *industrious* above the necessary level, more industrious than is necessary to live as a worker, only because another is below the level, is lazier. He can save only because and if another squanders. The most he can attain on average with his frugality is to be better able to endure the adjustment of prices—high and low, their circuit; that is only to distribute his enjoyments more appropriately, not to acquire wealth. And that is actually what the capitalists demand. The workers should save enough in times of good business to be able to more or less live in bad times, to endure SHORT TIME or the reduction of wages, etc. (The wage would then fall still lower.) It really amounts to the demand that they should always make do with a minimum of pleasures of life and make crises easier, etc., for the capitalists; that they should consider themselves as pure labouring machines, and pay as much as possible of their WEAR AND TEAR themselves. Apart from the sheer brutalisation to which this would lead—and this brutalisation would itself make it impossible even to strive for wealth in its general form, as money, as accumulated money—(and the worker's participation in higher, including spiritual, pleasures, agitation for his own interests, subscription to newspapers, attending lectures, educating his children, developing his taste, etc., his only share in civilisation, which distinguishes him from the slave, is economically possible only by his extension of the range of his enjoyments in times of good business, that is at the times when saving is possible to a certain degree)—apart from this, if he truly saved in this ascetic fashion, and so accumulated premiums for the Lumpenproletariat, the rogues, etc., whose number would grow in proportion to demand, he would merely be able to preserve his savings—if they went beyond the saving-boxes of the official savings banks, which pay him a minimum of interest so that the capitalists make a large interest on them or the State

consumes them, whereby he only increases the power of his opponents and his own dependence—he would be able to preserve and gain from his savings only if he put them into banks, etc., so that he afterwards loses his deposits in times of crises, while in times of prosperity he has abstained from all the pleasures of life in order to expand the power of capital. Thus he has in every way saved *for* capital, not [II-28] for himself.

Moreover—in so far as the whole thing is not a hypocritical pretence of bourgeois "philanthropy", which in general consists in fobbing the workers off with "pious wishes"—each capitalist certainly demands that his workers should save, but only *his* own, because they confront him as workers; but by no means the remaining *world of workers,* because they confront him as consumers. IN SPITE of all "pious" phrases, he therefore tries to find all kinds of means to spur them on to consumption, to endow his commodities with new attractions, to talk the workers into feeling new needs, etc. It is precisely this aspect of the relationship between capital and labour which is an essential moment of civilisation, and upon which rests the historical justification but also the present power of capital. (This relationship between production and consumption is only to be developed later, under capital and profit, etc., or also under accumulation and competition of capitals.)

These are nevertheless all exoteric considerations, relevant here in so far as the demands of hypocritical bourgeois philanthropy are shown to be self-negating and therefore to prove precisely what they are meant to refute: that in the exchange between the worker and capital, the worker finds himself in the relationship of simple circulation, therefore does not obtain wealth, but only subsistence, use values for immediate consumption. That the demand contradicts the relationship itself, emerges from the simple reflection (We shall deal with the demand, recently advanced occasionally with self-complacency, to give the workers a certain share in profit, in the section on the *wages of labour*; except as *special bonus* which can fulfil its purpose only as an exception to the rule, and which is IN FACT virtually restricted to the buying of individual OVERLOOKERS, etc., in the interest of the employer *against* that of their own class; or to [the employment of] salesmen, etc., in short no longer *common workers,* in which case it no longer affects the general relationship. Or it is a special way of cheating the workers and *withholding part of their wages* in the more precarious form of a profit depending on the state of the business.) that if the saving of the worker is not to remain a simple product of

circulation—saved-up money which can only be realised by being converted sooner or later into the substantial content of wealth, enjoyments—the accumulated money itself would have to become capital, i.e. would have to buy labour, to relate to labour as use value. It thus again presupposes labour which is not capital, and presupposes that labour has turned into its opposite—non-labour. The worker's saving, in order to become capital, implies labour as non-capital in contrast to capital. Therefore the contradiction which was supposed to have been overcome at one point, would reappear at another point.

If, then, in the original relation itself the object and the *product* of the exchange of the worker—as product of simple exchange it cannot be any other product—were not use value, subsistence, satisfaction of immediate needs, withdrawal from circulation of the equivalent put into it, in order to be destroyed by consumption—labour would confront capital not as labour, not as non-capital, but as capital. But capital, too, cannot confront capital, if it is not confronted by labour, for capital is capital only as non-labour, in this antithetical relation. Therefore the concept and relation of capital itself would be destroyed.

That there are conditions in which owners who themselves work exchange with one another is CERTAINLY not denied. But such conditions are not conditions of a society in which capital developed as such exists; they are everywhere destroyed, therefore, by its development. Capital can posit itself as capital only by positing labour as non-capital, as pure use value.

(As a slave, the labourer has *exchange value,* a *value*; as a free worker, he has *no value*; only the right to dispose over his labour, acquired by exchange with him, has value. He does not confront the capitalist as exchange value, but the capitalist confronts him as exchange value. His *valuelessness* and *devaluation* is the prerequisite of capital and the condition for *free* labour in general. Linguet considers it a retrogression[a]; he forgets that the worker is thereby formally posited as a person who is something for himself *apart from his labour,* and who alienates what expresses his life [Lebensäusserung] only as a means for his own life.[86] So long as the worker as such has *exchange value, industrial capital* as such cannot exist, therefore developed capital in general cannot exist. Labour must confront capital as *pure use value,* which is offered as a commodity by its owner himself in exchange for capital, in

[a] [S. N. H. Linguet,] *Théorie des loix civiles, ou Principes fondamentaux de la société,* Vol. II, London, 1767, pp. 462-513.—*Ed.*

exchange for its *exchange value* [coin], which, of course, becomes real in the hands of the worker only in its determination as general means of exchange; otherwise disappears.} WELL.

The worker, then, is only in the relation of simple circulation, of simple exchange, and obtains only *coin* for his use value; subsistence; but mediated. This form of mediation is, as we have seen, essential for and characteristic of the relationship.[a] That he can proceed to the conversion of his coin into money—savings—only proves that his relationship is that of simple circulation; he can save more or less; but beyond that he cannot go. He can realise his savings only by temporarily enlarging the range of his enjoyments. It is important—and it affects the determination of the relationship itself—that, as money is the product of his exchange, general wealth drives him on as an illusion; makes him industrious. At the same time, this not only formally provides scope for arbitrariness for the realisation [II-29][b]...

[In this exchange, the worker indeed receives money only as *coin*, i.e. only in the vanishing form of subsistence for which he exchanges it. Subsistence, not wealth, the purpose of the exchange for him.

The *capacity to work* has been called the capital of the worker, in so far as it is the fund which he does not consume in an individual exchange, since he can constantly repeat the exchange for the duration of his *life as a worker*. According to this, everything would be capital which is a fund of repeated[c]]

[III-8][87] processes of the same subject; e.g. the substance of the eye is the capital of sight, etc. Such belletristic phrases, which by means of some sort of analogy relate everything to everything else, may even appear profound when are said for the first time, and the more so the more they identify the most disparate things. If repeated, and especially if repeated complacently, as statements of

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[a] See this volume, pp. 211-14.—*Ed.*

[b] The last, 29th, page of Notebook II of the manuscript is missing. The contents of this page can be judged by reference to the following passage in the *References* Marx made in the summer of 1861 as a guide to the notebooks of his 1857-58 manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 29): "Capital confronts the worker only as power of things. Without personal worth. Distinction from service-rendering. The worker's aim in exchange with capital—consumption. Must keep starting afresh. *Labour as the worker's capital.*"—*Ed.*

[c] The end of the missing page is restored according to the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (Notebook II-A), where Marx reproduced it. Further as on page 8 of Notebook III of the 1857-58 manuscript.

Page 8 of Notebook III of the manuscript is marked: *Chapter on Capital* (*continuation*) (from Notebook II) (Last day of November) "*29, 30 November* and *December*".—*Ed.*

scientific value, they are *tout bonnement*[a] foolish. Suitable only for belletristic story-tellers and empty chatterboxes who besmear all sciences with their liquorice-sweet rubbish.

The fact that labour is always a new source of exchange for the worker so long as he is able to work—that is to say, not of any exchange but of exchange with capital—is inherent in the nature of the concept itself, namely that he sells only the temporary right to dispose over his labour capacity, hence can always begin the exchange anew as soon as he has absorbed the required amount of substances to be able to reproduce his life-activity. Instead of making this the object of their amazement—and telling the worker it is a great merit of capital he can live at all, that he can repeat certain life processes every day, as soon as he has slept and eaten sufficiently—these whitewashing sycophants of bourgeois political economy should rather have noted that after constantly repeated labour, the worker has *only* his living immediate labour to exchange. The repetition itself is IN FACT only apparent. *What he exchanges with capital is his entire labour capacity which he spends in,* SAY, *20 years.* Instead of paying him for this at once, capital pays for it in instalments, as he puts it at the disposal of capital, say, in weekly instalments. This alters absolutely nothing in the nature of the matter and does not at all justify the conclusion that, because the worker must sleep for 10-12 hours before he is able to repeat his labour and his exchange with capital, labour constitutes *his capital.* What is IN FACT conceived of as capital here, is the limit on, the interruption of, his labour, the fact that he is not a *perpetuum mobile.* The struggle for the Ten Hours Bill,[88] etc., proves that the capitalist desires nothing more than that the worker should *expend his dosages of life power as much as possible without interruption.*

We come now to the second process, which constitutes the relation between labour and capital *after* this exchange. We want to add here only that the political economists themselves express the above statement thus: *wages are not productive.* Productive for them, OF COURSE, means productive of wealth. Now, since wages are the product of exchange between worker and capital—and the only product that is posited *in* this act itself—they admit that the worker produces *no wealth* in this exchange, either for the capitalist, for whom the payment of money for a use value—and this *payment* forms the only function of capital in this relationship—is the giving up of wealth, not its creation, which is why he tries to pay as little as possible; or for the worker, because it

[a] Simply.—*Ed.*

produces for him only means of subsistence, satisfaction of individual needs, more or less—*never* the general form of wealth, never wealth. Nor can it, for the content of the commodity which he sells does not in any way place it above the general laws of circulation, under which the value he throws into circulation obtains him, by means of coin, an equivalent in another use value, which he consumes. Such an operation can OF COURSE never enrich, but must at the end of the process bring the operator back exactly to the point at which he was at its beginning. This does not, as we have seen,[a] exclude but rather includes the possibility that the range of his immediate satisfactions may contract or expand to a certain extent. On the other hand, if the capitalist—who in this exchange is not even posited yet as capitalist but only as *money*—repeated this act again and again, his money would soon have been eaten up by the worker and he [III-9] would have squandered it in a series of other satisfactions, patched trousers, polished boots,—in short, services received. In any case, the repetition of this operation would be measured exactly by the limit of his purse. It would not enrich him any more than the expenditure of money for other use values for his own beloved self, all of which, as is well known, do not bring in but cost money.

Seeing that in the relationship of labour and capital, and also in this first relationship of exchange between the two, the worker buys exchange value and the capitalist use value, in that labour confronts capital not as *a* use value but as use value *pure and simple*, it may seem peculiar that the capitalist should obtain wealth, and the worker only a use value which is extinguished in consumption. //In so far as this concerns the capitalist, this is only to be developed in relation to the second process.// This appears as a dialectic, which turns into the reverse of what would be expected. But looked at more closely, it becomes clear that the worker, who exchanges his commodity, goes through the form $C—M—M—C$ in the process of exchange. If in circulation we start from the commodity, from use value as the principle of exchange, we necessarily arrive back at the commodity, in that money appears only as coin, and as means of exchange is only a vanishing mediator; but the commodity as such, after it has traversed its circuit, is consumed as a direct object of need. On the other hand, capital represents $M—C—C—M$; the antithetical moment.

The *separation of property from labour* appears as a necessary law

[a] See this volume, pp. 211-17.—*Ed.*

of this exchange between capital and labour. Labour as *non-capital*, posited as such, is:

(1) *Not objectified labour, negatively conceived* (itself still objective; the not-objective itself in objective [objectiver][a] form). As such it is non-raw material, non-instrument of labour, non-raw product: labour separated from all means of labour and all objects of labour, from its whole objectivity [Objectivität]. Living labour existing as *abstraction* from these moments of its actual reality (likewise, non-value); this complete denudation, the purely subjective existence of labour lacking all objectivity [Objectivität]. Labour as *absolute poverty*: poverty, not as shortage, but as a complete exclusion of objective wealth. Or also as *the* existing *non-value* and hence purely objective use value, existing without mediation, this objectivity can only be one not separated from the person; only one coincident with his immediate corporality. Since the objectivity is purely immediate, it is also immediately non-objectivity. In other words: not an objectivity falling outside the immediate existence of the individual himself.

(2) *Not-objectified labour, non-value, positively* conceived; or negativity relating itself to itself. As such it is not-*objectified*, therefore non-objective, i.e. subjective existence of labour itself. Labour not as object but as activity; not as itself *value*, but as the *living source* of value. General wealth, in contrast to capital, in which wealth exists objectively, as reality—general wealth as its *general possibility*, which [possibility] proves itself as such in activity. It is therefore no contradiction at all that labour is on the one hand *absolute poverty as object*, and on the other the *general possibility* of wealth as subject and activity, or rather these mutually wholly contradictory statements condition each other and follow from the essence of labour, as it is *presupposed* by capital as its opposite, as the antithetical existence of capital, and as, on the other hand, it, in its turn, presupposes capital.

The last point, to which attention still has to be paid concerning the relationship of labour to capital, is this: as use value *as such* confronting money posited as capital, it is not this or that labour, but *labour pure and simple*, abstract labour; absolutely indifferent to its particular *determinateness*, but capable of assuming any determinateness. Labour must of course correspond to the particular

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[a] Except for the cases where the German words *objectiv* or *Objectivität* (objective, objectivity as against subjective, subjectivity) is given in brackets, the English *objective* and its derivatives stand for words derived from the German *Gegenstand* (object, thing).—*Ed.*

substance of which a particular capital consists as a particular labour; but since capital *as such* is indifferent to every particularity of its substance, and is both the totality of all its particularities as well as the abstraction from all of them, labour confronting capital has subjectively this same totality and abstraction in itself. E.g. in guild and craft labour, where capital itself still has an undeveloped form, is still completely immersed in a specific substance, hence is not yet *capital as such*, labour, too, appears as still immersed in its particular specificity; [appears] not in the totality and abstraction of labour *as such* as it confronts capital. That is to say, though labour is in every individual case a specific kind of labour, capital can confront any *specific* labour; the *totality* of all labour confronts it δυνάμει[a] and it is fortuitous which particular one confronts it at any particular time.

On the other hand, the worker himself is absolutely indifferent to the specificity of his labour; it has as such no interest for him, but only in so far as it is, in general, *labour* and is as such use value for capital. [III-10] To be the bearer of labour as such, i.e. of labour as *use value* for capital, is therefore the sum total of his economic character; he is *worker* in contrast to the capitalist. This is not the character of the artisan, guild-member, etc., whose economic character lies precisely in the *specificity* of their labour and their relation to a *specific master*, etc.

This economic relation—the character which capitalist and worker bear as the extremes of a relation of production—is therefore developed the more purely and adequately, the more labour loses all craft-like character, the more its particular skill becomes something abstract, irrelevant, and the more it becomes *purely abstract*, purely mechanical *activity*, hence irrelevant, indifferent to its particular form; the more it becomes merely *formal* activity or, what is the same, merely *physical* [*stoffliche*] activity, activity pure and simple, indifferent to its form. Here we have another example of how the particular specificity of the relation of production, of the category—here capital and labour—becomes real only with the development of a particular *material mode of production* and a particular stage of development of the industrial *productive forces*. (This point in general to be particularly developed in the context of this relation later, as it is already *posited* here in the relation itself, while in the case of the abstract determinations, exchange value, circulation, money, it is still more relevant to our subjective reflection.)

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[a] Potentially.— *Ed.*

(2) We come now to the second aspect of the process. The exchange between capital or capitalist and the *worker* is now complete, in so far as it is a question of the process of *exchange* at all. It now proceeds to the relation of capital to labour as its use value. Labour is not only the *use value* confronting capital, it is *the use value* of capital itself. As the non-being of values in so far as they are objectified, labour is their being in so far as they are not objectified, their ideal being; the possibility of values, and as activity the positing of value. Opposed to capital it is the mere abstract form, the mere possibility of value-positing activity which exists only as ability, capacity in the bodily existence of the worker. But brought into real activity by contact with capital—by itself it cannot enter upon such activity, since it is without object—it becomes a real value-positing, productive activity. With respect to capital, the activity can, in general, only consist in the reproduction of capital—the preservation and increase of it as *real* and *effective* value, not of only notional value, as in money as such. By the exchange with the worker, capital has appropriated labour itself, which has become one of the moments of capital, and which now acts as a fructifying vitality upon its merely present and hence dead objectivity.

Capital is money (exchange value posited for itself), but no longer money as in a particular substance and therefore excluded from the other substances of the exchange values existing alongside it, but obtaining its ideal determination in all substances, in exchange values representing every form and mode of existence of objectified labour. In so far as capital, as money existing in all particular forms of objectified labour, now enters the process with labour, not objectified labour but living labour, labour existing as process and action, it is initially in this qualitative difference of the substance in which it exists from the form, in which it now *also* exists as labour. It is in the process of this distinction and the transcendence of this distinction that capital itself becomes a process.

Labour is the yeast thrown into capital, bringing it now into fermentation. On the one hand, the objectivity in which capital exists must be processed, i.e. consumed by labour. On the other hand, the mere subjectivity of labour as pure form must be transcended, and it must be objectified in the material of capital. The relation of capital in accordance with its content to labour, of objectified labour to living labour—in this relation where capital appears as passive towards labour, it is its passive being, as a particular substance, that enters into relation with labour as

creative activity—can in general only be the relation of labour to its objectivity, its physical matter—(which must be dealt with already in the first chapter which must precede that on exchange value and must treat of production in general)—and with regard to labour as activity the physical matter, the objectified labour, has only two relations: that of the *raw material*, i.e. of the formless physical matter, of mere material for the form-giving, purposive activity of labour; and that of the *instrument of labour*, of the means, itself objective, by which the subjective activity inserts an object as its conductor between itself and the object.

The determination as *product*, which the economists bring in here, does not yet belong here at all, as a determination *distinct* from raw material and instrument of labour. It appears as *result*, not as *premiss* of the process between the passive content of capital and labour as activity. As *premiss*, the product is not a relation of the object to labour different from raw material and instrument of labour, because raw material and instrument of labour, as they are the substance of values, are themselves *objectified labour, products.* The substance of value is in general not the particular natural substance, but objectified labour. This itself, [III-11] in turn, appears in relation to *living labour* as *raw material* and *instrument of labour.* Considering the simple act of production in itself, the instrument of labour and the raw material may appear as already existing in nature, so that they only need to be *appropriated*, i.e. made into object and means of labour, which is not itself a process of labour. In relation to them, therefore, the *product* appears as something qualitatively different, and is a product not only as the result of labour applied by means of the instrument to the physical matter, but as the first *objectification of labour* alongside them. But as component parts of capital, raw material and instrument of labour are themselves already objectified labour, that is *product.*

This still does not exhaust the relationship. For, e.g. in production in which no exchange value at all exists, no capital therefore exists, the product of labour can become the means and object of new labour. For example, in agriculture producing purely for use value. The bow of the hunter, the net of the fisherman, in short the simplest conditions already presuppose the product which ceases to count as product and becomes *raw material*, or in particular *instrument of production*, for this is really the first specific form in which the product appears as means of reproduction. This relation therefore by no means exhausts the relationship in which *raw material* and *instrument of labour* make their appearance as moments of capital itself.

The economists, incidentally, bring in the *product* as the third element of the substance of capital in quite a different connection as well. It is the product, in so far as it is destined to step outside both the process of production and circulation, and to be immediate object of individual consumption, *approvisionnement*, as Cherbuliez calls it.[a] That is to say, the products which are presupposed so that the worker lives as worker and is capable of living during production, before a new product is produced. That the capitalist possesses this capacity is posited in that each element of capital is money and as such can be transformed from itself as the general form of wealth into the physical matter of wealth, objects of consumption. The *approvisionnement* of the economists, therefore, applies only to the workers; i.e. it is the money expressed in the form of consumable objects, use value, which they receive from the capitalist in the act of exchange between the two [parties]. But this belongs in the first act [of the exchange]. How far this first act is related to the second, is not yet at issue here. The only diremption posited by the process of production itself is the original diremption, that posited by the distinction between objectified labour and living labour itself, i.e. that between *raw material* and *instrument of labour*. That the economists confuse these determinations is quite in order, since they must confuse the two moments of the relation between capital and labour and dare not fix the specific difference between them.

Thus: the raw material is consumed by being changed, formed by labour, and the instrument of labour is consumed by being used up in this process, worn out. On the other hand, labour is likewise consumed by being employed, set in motion and so a definite quantity of the muscular strength, etc., of the worker is spent, whereby he exhausts himself. But it is not merely consumed; at the same time, it is converted from the form of activity and fixed, materialised, into that of object, of rest; as change of object, it changes its own form and from activity becomes being. The end of the process is the *product*, in which the raw material appears as combined with labour, and in which the instrument of labour has likewise translated itself from mere possibility into reality, in that it has become the real conductor of labour, but thereby it has been consumed in its static form through its mechanical or chemical relation to the material of labour.

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[a] Cherbuliez used "approvisionnement" in the sense of "means of subsistence" (*Richesse ou pauvreté*, Paris, 1841, p. 16).—*Ed.*

All three moments of the process: material, instrument, labour, coincide in a neutral result: *the product.* In the product are at once reproduced the moments of the process of production which were consumed in it. The whole process therefore appears as *productive consumption,* i.e. as consumption which neither ends in *nothing* nor in the mere subjectification of the objective, but which, in turn, is itself posited as an *object.* The consumption is not a simple consumption of the physical matter, but consumption of consumption itself; in the transcendence of the physical matter, it is the transcendence of this transcendence, and hence the *positing* of the physical matter. The *form-giving* activity consumes the object and consumes itself, but it consumes the given form of the object only in order to posit it in a new objective form, and it consumes itself only in its subjective form as activity. It consumes the objectivity [das Gegenständliche] of the object—the indifference to form—and the subjectivity [das Subjektive] of the activity; forms the one, materialises the other. As *product,* however, the result of the process of production is *use value.*

[III-12] If we now consider the result so far obtained, we find:

*Firstly*: By the appropriation, incorporation of labour into capital—money, i.e. the act of purchase of the right to dispose over the worker, appears here only as a means of bringing about this process, not as a moment of the process itself—capital begins to ferment and becomes a process, the *process of production,* in which it, as totality, as living labour, relates to itself not only as objectified, but—because objectified—as *mere object* of labour.

*Secondly*: In simple circulation, the substance of the commodity and of money was itself of no consequence for their formal character, i.e. in so far as commodity and money remained moments of circulation. The commodity, so far as its substance was concerned, fell outside the economic relationship as object of consumption (of need). Money, in so far as its form made itself independent, still related itself to circulation, but only negatively, and was only this negative relation. Fixed for itself, it was likewise extinguished in dead materiality, ceased to be money. Commodity and money were both expressions of exchange value and different only as general and particular exchange value. This difference itself was, in turn, only a notional one, in that both in real circulation the two determinations were exchanged, and each considered for itself changed its determination: money itself was a particular commodity and the commodity as price was itself general money. The difference was only formal. Each was posited

in the one determination only because, and in so far as, it was not posited in the other. Now, however, in the process of production, capital distinguishes itself as a form from itself as a substance. It is both aspects at once, and at the same time the relation of the two to one another. But:

*Thirdly*: It appeared as this relation still only *in itself*. The relation is not yet *posited*, or is initially posited only in the character of one of the two moments, that of the *physical matter*, which is in itself different as material (raw material and instrument) and form (labour), and as the relation of both, as real process, is itself again only a relation of physical matter—relation of the two physical elements which make up the content of capital distinct from its formal relation as capital.

If we consider capital from the aspect in which it originally appears distinct from labour, it is in the process only passive being, only objective being, in which the formal character which makes it capital—i.e. a social relationship existing for itself[89]—is completely extinguished. It enters the process only as content—as objectified labour in general; but the fact that it is objectified labour is completely indifferent to labour, and it is the relation of labour to capital which constitutes the process. Indeed, it is only as object, not as *objectified labour*, that it enters the process, that it is worked on. Cotton which becomes yarn, or yarn which is woven into cloth, or the cloth which becomes material for printing and dyeing, exist for labour only as already available cotton, yarn, cloth. In so far as they themselves are products of labour, are objectified labour, they do not enter into any process at all; they do so only as material existences with particular natural properties. *How* these have been posited in them does not concern the relation of living labour to them; for living labour they exist only in so far as they exist in distinction from it, i.e. as material for labour.

This, in so far as the point of departure is capital in its objective form as a prerequisite for labour. On the other hand, in so far as labour itself has become one of capital's objective elements through the exchange with the worker, its distinction from the objective elements of capital is itself only an objective one; the objective elements are in the form of rest, labour is in the form of activity. The relation is the physical one of one of its elements to the other; but not *its own* relation to both.

Capital appears therefore on the one hand only as *passive object*, in which all relation of form has been extinguished; it appears on the other hand only as simple *process of production*, in which capital

as such, as distinct from its substance, does not enter. It does not even appear in the substance appropriate to it—as objectified labour, for this is the substance of exchange value—but only in the natural form of being of this substance, in which all relation to exchange value, objectified labour, to labour itself as use value of capital—and therefore all relation to capital itself—has been extinguished.

Looked at from this side, [III-13] the process of capital coincides with the simple process of production as such, in which its character as capital is quite as extinguished in the form of the process, as money was extinguished as money in the form of value. So far as we have considered this process up to this point, capital existing for itself, i.e. the capitalist, does not enter at all. It is not the capitalist who is consumed by labour as raw material and instrument of labour. Nor is it the capitalist who consumes, but labour. The process of production of capital thus does not appear as the process of production of capital but as the process of production pure and simple, and, in *distinction from labour*, capital appears only in its physical determination of *raw material* and *instrument of labour.* It is this aspect—which is not merely an arbitrary abstraction but an abstraction vanishing in the process itself—which the economists seize upon in order to represent capital as a necessary element of every process of production. Of course, they only do this by forgetting to pay attention to its behaviour as capital during this process.

Here is the place to draw attention to a moment which here, for the first time, arises not only from the standpoint of observation but is posited in the economic relationship itself. In the first act, in the exchange between capital and labour, labour as such, existing *for itself,* necessarily appeared as the *worker.* Similarly here in the second process: capital in general is posited as value existing for itself, as *egotistic* value, so to speak (something which was only aspired to in money). But capital existing for itself is the *capitalist.* Of course, socialists say: we need capital, but not the capitalist.[90] Capital then appears as a pure thing, not as relationship of production, which, reflected in itself, is precisely the capitalist. I can indeed separate capital from this individual capitalist and it can pass on to another one. But when the former loses his capital, he loses the quality of being a capitalist. Capital is therefore quite separable from an individual capitalist, but not from *the* capitalist who as such confronts *the* worker. In the same way the individual worker can cease to be the being-for-itself of labour; he can inherit money, steal, etc. But then he ceases to be a *worker.* As

worker he is only labour existing for itself. (This to be further developed later.)

## [LABOUR PROCESS AND PROCESS OF VALORISATION]

Nothing can emerge at the end of the process which did not appear at its beginning as its premiss and condition. On the other hand, however, all this must indeed emerge. If, therefore, at the end of the process of production which began with capital as its premiss, capital seems to have finally disappeared as a formal relation, this can only be the case because the invisible threads which it draws through the process, have been overlooked. Let us therefore consider this aspect.

The first result, then, is:

α) By the incorporation of labour into capital, capital becomes process of production; but initially *material* process of production; process of production in general, so that the process of production of capital is not distinct from the material process of production in general. Its determinateness of form is completely extinguished. Since capital has exchanged a part of its objective being for labour, that objective being itself is internally divided into object and labour; the relation of the two constitutes the process of production, or more precisely the *labour process.* Thus the *labour process, posited as point of departure before value,*—a process which because of its abstractness, its pure materiality, is equally common to all forms of production—here reappears *again within capital,* as a process which proceeds within its physical matter, forms its content.

(It will become evident that also within the process of production itself, this *extinction of the determinateness of form* is only a semblance.)

In so far as capital is value, but as a process initially appears under the form of the simple process of production, the process of production not posited in any particular *economic* determinateness, but the process of production in general, it can be said—depending on which particular aspect of the simple process of production (which as such, as we have seen, does not presuppose capital at all but is common to all modes of production) is fixed on—that capital becomes product, or that it is instrument of labour, or also the raw material of labour. Further, if it is conceived as one of those aspects which confronts labour as physical matter or mere means, then it is correct to say that capital

is not productive[91] because it is then considered merely as the object, the material confronting labour; as merely passive. What is correct, however, is that it does not appear as one of these aspects, nor as the distinction of one aspect in itself, nor as mere result (product), but as the simple process of production itself; that this process now appears as the self-moving *content* of capital.

[III-14] β) Now to consider the aspect of formal determinateness, as it preserves and modifies itself in the process of production.

//What is *productive labour* or what is *not*, a point about which there has been much contention since *Adam Smith* made this distinction,[a] must emerge from the dissection of the different aspects of capital itself. *Productive labour* is only that which produces *capital.* Is it not crazy, asks e.g. (at least something like that) Mr. Senior, that the piano-maker should be a *productive worker* but not the *piano-player*, although surely the piano would be a NONSENSE without the piano-player[b]? But this is exactly the case. The piano-maker reproduces *capital*; the pianist only exchanges his labour for revenue.[92] But doesn't the pianist produce music and satisfy our musical ear; doesn't he also produce the latter to a certain degree? IN FACT, he does so; his labour produces something; but it is not thereby *productive labour* in the *economic* sense; as little productive as is the labour of the madman who produces delusions. *Labour is productive only when it produces its own opposite.* Other economists therefore allow the so-called unproductive worker to be indirectly productive. For example, the pianist stimulates production; partly because he gives a more positive, vital tuning to our individuality, or also in the ordinary sense that he awakens a new need for whose satisfaction more industry is applied in immediate material production. But this already implies the admission that only labour which produces capital is productive; that therefore labour which does not do that, however *useful* it may be—it may just as well be harmful—is not productive for capitalisation, HENCE is unproductive labour.

Other economists say that the distinction between productive and unproductive labour should be related not to production but to consumption. QUITE THE CONTRARY. The tobacco-producer is productive, although the consumption of tobacco is unproductive.

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[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Vol. II, London, 1836, pp. 335-85.—*Ed.*

[b] N. W. Senior, *Principes fondamentaux de l'économie politique,* Paris, 1836, pp. 195-206.—*Ed.*

Production for unproductive consumption is QUITE AS PRODUCTIVE AS THAT FOR PRODUCTIVE CONSUMPTION; ALWAYS SUPPOSED THAT IT PRODUCES OR REPRODUCES CAPITAL.

"*PRODUCTIVE LABOURER* HE THAT *DIRECTLY* AUGMENTS HIS *MASTER'S WEALTH*," says Malthus therefore quite correctly ([*Principles of Political Economy*, 2nd ed., London, 1836, p. 47] IX,[a] 40).[65]

Correct at least in one aspect. The expression is too abstract, since, formulated like this, it is equally true of the slave. The MASTER'S WEALTH in relation to the worker is the form of wealth itself in its relation to labour, i.e. capital. PRODUCTIVE LABOURER HE THAT DIRECTLY AUGMENTS CAPITAL.//

As *use value* labour exists only *for capital*, and it is the use value of capital itself, i.e. the mediating activity by which capital *valorises* itself. Capital reproducing and increasing its value is independent exchange value (money) as process, as *process of valorisation.* Labour does not therefore exist as use value for the worker; it does not exist *for* him, therefore, as *power productive* of wealth, as means or as activity of enrichment. He brings it as use value into the exchange with capital, which thus confronts him not as capital but as *money.* It is only capital as capital in relation to the worker through the consumption of labour, which initially falls outside this exchange and is independent of it. Whereas it is *use value* for capital, labour is *mere exchange value* for the worker; available *exchange value.* As such it is posited in the act of exchange with capital, by means of its sale for money.

The use value of a thing does not concern its seller as such, only its buyer. The property of saltpetre—that it can be used to make gun-powder—does not determine the price of saltpetre. This price is determined by the production costs of the saltpetre itself, the quantity of labour objectified in it. In circulation, into which use values enter as prices, their value does nor result from circulation, although it is realised only in circulation; it is *presupposed* to it, and is realised only by means of exchange for money.

Similarly, the labour which is sold by the worker as *use value* to capital, is for the worker his *exchange value* which he wants to realise, but which has already been *determined* before this act of exchange, is presupposed as condition for it, determined like the value of every other commodity by demand and supply or, in general—and we are concerned here only with the general

[a] This should be X.—*Ed.*

level—by the costs of production, the quantity of objectified labour, by which the worker's labour capacity has been produced and which it therefore receives as equivalent. The [III-15] exchange value of labour, whose realisation takes place in the process of exchange with the capitalist, is therefore *presupposed*, predetermined, and merely undergoes the formal modification which every price posited only notionally receives through its realisation. It is not determined by the use value of labour. For the worker himself, labour has use value only in so far as it is *exchange value*, not in so far as it produces exchange values. For capital, it has exchange value only in so far as it is use value. It is use value as distinct from its exchange value not for the worker himself, but only for capital. The worker therefore exchanges labour as a simple exchange value which has been predetermined, determined by a previous process. He exchanges labour itself as *objectified labour*, i.e. only in so far as it already objectifies a definite quantity of labour and hence its equivalent is already measured, given. Capital obtains it through exchange as living labour, as the general power productive of wealth; as wealth-augmenting activity. It is clear, therefore, that the worker cannot *enrich* himself through this exchange, since, in exchange for his labour capacity as a given magnitude, he surrenders its *creative power*, like Esau who gave up his birthright for a mess of pottage.[a] Rather, he necessarily impoverishes himself, as we shall see later on, in that the creative power of his labour establishes itself as the power of capital, and confronts him as an *alien power*. He *divests* himself of labour as power productive of wealth; capital appropriates it as such. The separation of labour and property in the product of labour, the separation of labour and wealth, is therefore posited in this very act of exchange. What appears as paradoxical *result*, is already contained in the premiss itself. The economists have expressed this more or less empirically.

Thus the productivity of his labour, his labour altogether, in so far as it is not a *capacity* but movement, *real* labour, *becomes* an *alien power* relative to the worker. Capital, on the contrary, valorises itself through the *appropriation of alien labour*. (At least valorisation is thereby made possible; as a result of the exchange between labour and capital. The relationship is realised only in the act of production itself, where capital actually consumes alien labour.)

Just as labour as *presupposed* exchange value is exchanged by the

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[a] Genesis 25:31-34.—*Ed.*

worker for an equivalent in money, this is, in turn, exchanged for an equivalent in *commodities* which are consumed. In this process of exchange, labour is not productive; it only becomes so for capital; it can withdraw from circulation only what it has thrown into it, a *predetermined* quantity of commodities which is no more its own product than it is its own value.

The workers, says *Sismondi,* exchange their labour for grain and consume it, while their labour "has become *capital* for their master" (Sismondi, [*Nouveaux principes d'économie politique,* Vol. I, p. 90,] VI).

"Giving their labour in exchange, the workers *convert* it into capital" (idem, [p. 105,] VIII).

By selling his labour to the capitalist, the worker receives a right only to the *price of labour,* not to the *product of this labour* nor to the value *he has added to it* (Cherbuliez, [*Richesse ou pauvreté,* pp. 55-56,] XXVIII).

*"Sale of labour=renunciation of all the fruits of labour"* (l.c. [p. 64]).

All advances of civilisation, therefore, or in other words all expansion of the *social productive forces,* or, IF YOU WANT, of the *productive forces of labour itself*—as they result from science, inventions, division and combination of labour, improved means of communication, creation of the world market, machinery, etc.—do not enrich the worker but *capital*; hence they only further enlarge the power dominating over labour; enlarge only the productive power of capital. Since capital is the antithesis of the worker, they augment only the *objective power* standing over labour.

The *transformation of labour* (as living, purposive activity) into *capital* is, *in itself,* the result of the exchange between capital and labour, in so far as that transformation gives the capitalist the right of ownership over the product of labour (and command over labour). *This transformation* is *posited* only in the *process of production* itself. The question whether or not capital is productive is therefore absurd. Labour itself is *productive only* as absorbed into capital, only where capital constitutes the basis of production and the capitalist is therefore the commander of production. The productivity of labour becomes the productive power of capital in the same way as the general exchange value of commodities fixes itself in money. Labour, as it exists in contrast to capital, *for itself,* in the worker, labour therefore in its *immediate being,* separated from capital, is *not productive.* As activity of the worker, moreover, it never becomes *productive,* because it enters only into the simple process of circulation, which effects only formal transformations. Those writers, therefore, who demonstrate that all [III-16] the productive power ascribed to capital is a *misplacement,* a *transposi-*

*tion of the productive power* of labour, forget precisely that capital is itself essentially this *misplacement, this transposition,* and that wage labour as such presupposes capital, which is, therefore, this TRANSUBSTANTIATION also from the viewpoint of wage labour; the necessary process for wage labour to posit its own powers as *alien* to the worker. To leave wage labour and at the same time to abolish capital is therefore a self-contradictory and self-negating demand.

Others, even economists, e.g. Ricardo, Sismondi, etc., say that *only labour,* not capital, is productive.[a] But then they do not conceive capital in its *specific determinateness of form,* as a *relation of production,* reflected in itself, and think only of its physical substance, raw material, etc. But these physical elements do not make capital into capital. On the other hand, it then again occurs to them that capital is in one respect *value,* i.e. something *immaterial,* indifferent to its physical consistency. Thus *Say*:

"*Capital is always immaterial by nature,* since it is not matter which makes capital, but the *value* of that matter, value which has nothing corporeal about it" (Say, [*Traité d'économie politique,* 3rd ed., Vol. II, p. 429,] 21).

Or *Sismondi*:

"Capital is a commercial *idea*" (J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi, [*Études sur l'économie politique,* Vol. II, p. 273,] LX).[b]

But then again it occurs to them that capital is also another economic determination than *value,* for otherwise it would not be possible at all to speak of capital *in distinction from value,* and, that even if all capitals are values, values as such are not capital. Then they take refuge again in its physical form within the process of production, e.g. when Ricardo explains capital as ACCUMULATED LABOUR EMPLOYED IN THE PRODUCTION OF NEW LABOUR, i.e. as mere *instrument of labour* or *material for labour.*[c] In this sense, *Say* even speaks of the *productive service of capital,*[d] upon which its remuneration is supposed to be based, as if the instrument of labour as such had a claim upon the gratitude of the worker, and as if it were not

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[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* pp. 334-37; J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi, *Études sur l'économie politique,* Brussels, 1837-38, Vol. I, p. 22 and Vol. II, p. 273.— *Ed.*

[b] The quotations from Say and Sismondi are in French in the manuscript.— *Ed.*

[c] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* pp. 327 and 499.— *Ed.*

[d] J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique,* 3rd ed., Vol. II, pp. 425 and 429. Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

precisely and only through him that it can function as instrument of labour and become *productive.* The independence of the instrument of labour, i.e. a *social* determination of the instrument of labour, i.e. its determination as capital, is thus presupposed in order to deduce the claims of capital. *Proudhon's* phrase "capital is value, labour produces"[a] means absolutely nothing but: capital is value, and as nothing is said about capital here other than that it is value, value is value (the subject of the judgement is here simply another name for the predicate); and labour produces, is productive activity, means labour is labour, since it is nothing apart from the "produces".

That these identical judgements do not contain any great fund of wisdom must be obvious; and especially that they cannot express a relationship such as that between value and labour in which they themselves relate to one another and distinguish themselves from each other, and do not just lie side by side in mutual indifference. Already the fact that it is *labour* which appears confronting capital as subject, i.e. the worker only in the determination of *labour,* and this is not *he himself,* should open one's eyes. This already implies, quite apart from capital, a relationship of the worker to his own activity which is in no way the "*natural*" relationship, but itself already contains a specific *economic* determination.

Capital, so far as we consider it here, as a relationship of value and money, which must be distinguished, is *capital in general,* i.e. the quintessence of the characteristics which distinguish value as capital from value as simple value or money. Value, money, circulation, etc., prices, etc., are all presupposed, as well as labour, etc. But we are concerned neither as yet with a *particular* form of capital, nor with *one individual capital* as distinct from other individual capitals, etc. We are present at the process of its becoming. This dialectical process of becoming is only the ideal expression of the real movement through which capital comes into being. The later relations are to be considered as a development coming out of this germ. But it is necessary to fix the specific form in which capital exists at a *certain* point. Otherwise, confusion results.

[III-17] Capital has so far been considered under the aspect of its physical matter as *simple process of production.* But this process is,

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[a] P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère,* Vol. I, p. 61. Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

under the aspect of its formal determination, a *process of self-valorisation.* Self-valorisation includes both the preservation of the original value and its multiplication.

Value enters as subject. Labour is purposive activity, and so, as far as the physical aspect is concerned, it is presupposed that in the process of production the instrument of labour has really been used as a means to an end, and that the raw material has obtained a higher use value as product than it had before, whether as a result of a chemical change of matter or of a mechanical transformation. But this side of the process, as it concerns only use value, still belongs to the simple process of production. It is not the issue here—this is indeed included, presupposed—that a higher use value has been produced (this is itself very relative; if corn is transformed into brandy, the higher use value itself is already posited with respect to circulation). Also no higher use value is produced for the individual, for the producer. At least this is fortuitous and does not concern the relationship as such. But a higher use value is produced *for others.* The point is that a *higher exchange value* has resulted.

In simple circulation, the process ended for the individual commodity when it reached its destination as use value and was consumed. It thereby went out of circulation, lost its exchange value, and its economic determination in general. Capital has consumed its material by means of labour and labour by means of its material; it has consumed itself as use value, but only as *use value for it itself,* as capital. Its consumption as use value itself, therefore, here falls within circulation, or rather it itself posits the *beginning of circulation,* or its end, whichever one wishes. The consumption itself of use value falls here within the economic process, because the use value itself is here determined by exchange value. At no moment of the process of production does capital cease to be capital or value to be value, and as such *exchange value.* Nothing is more stupid than to say, as Mr. Proudhon does,[a] that capital changes from product into exchange value by the act of exchange, i.e. by the fact that it re-enters simple circulation. We would thereby have been flung right back to the beginning, even to direct barter, where the genesis of exchange value from the product is observed.

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[a] *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon*, pp. 177-81. See this volume, pp. 195-96.—*Ed.*

That capital can and does re-enter circulation as commodity after the conclusion of the process of production, after its consumption as use value, is already implied in the fact that it was presupposed as self-preserving exchange value. But in so far as it now becomes commodity again only as product, and as commodity becomes exchange value, gets a price and as such is realised in money, it is a simple commodity, exchange value in general. As such it is in circulation exposed to the even chance that it may or may not be realised in money, i.e. that its exchange value may or may not become money. It is therefore much truer to say that its exchange value has become problematical—previously it was notionally posited—than that it has *come into existence.* And what is more, the fact that it is *really* posited as a higher exchange value in circulation cannot have arisen from circulation itself, in which in its simple determination only equivalents are exchanged. If it comes out of circulation as a higher exchange value, it must have entered it as such.

Capital as a form consists not of objects of labour and labour, but of *values* and still more definitely of *prices.* That its value elements have assumed different substances during the process of production, does not concern their determination as values; they are not thereby changed. If out of the form of unrest—of the process—they again condense themselves at the end of the process into resting, objective form in the product, this is likewise a mere change of physical matter in relation to value which does not affect it. True, the substances as such have been destroyed, but they have not been made into nothing but into a differently formed substance. Earlier, they appeared as elementary, indifferent conditions of the product. Now they are the product. The value of the product can therefore only=the sum of values which were materialised in the particular physical elements of the process, as raw material, instrument of labour (to this category belong also the purely instrumental commodities) and as labour itself. The raw material has been entirely consumed, so has the labour; the instrument only partly so; it therefore continues to possess part of the value of the capital in its particular mode of existence before the process began. This part therefore does not enter at all into consideration here, since it suffered no alteration. The different modes of existence of value were mere semblance, value itself constituted the essence which remained identical to itself in their disappearance. The product considered as value is from this aspect not a *product,* but rather identical, unchanged value, only existing in a different mode, which

is, however, also irrelevant to it and can be exchanged for money.

The value of the product=the value of the raw material+the value of the destroyed part of the instrument of labour (i.e. the part which has been transferred to the product and transcended in its original form)+the value of the labour. Or the price of the product is equal to its costs of production, i.e.=the sum of the prices of the commodities which have been consumed in the process of production. In other words, this means nothing more than that with respect to its physical matter the process of production was of no consequence for value; [III-18] that it has therefore remained identical with itself and has only adopted another physical mode of existence, has been materialised in another substance and form. (The form of the substance does not concern the economic *form*, i.e. value as such.)

If the capital was originally=to 100 thaler, then afterwards, as before, it is 100 thaler, although the 100 thaler existed in the process of production as 50 thaler of raw cotton, 40 thaler of wages+10 thaler of the spinning machine; and now exists as spun cotton yarn to the price of 100 thaler. This reproduction of the 100 thaler is a simple retention of self-identity, it is only mediated by the material process of production. This must therefore proceed to the product or else the cotton loses its value, the instrument of labour has been consumed in vain and wages paid to labour in vain. The only condition for the self-preservation of value is that the process of production is really a total process, i.e. proceeds to the product. The totality of the process of production, i.e. that it proceeds to the product, is here in fact the condition for the self-preservation, retention of self-identity of value; but this is already implied in the first condition, that capital really becomes use value, real process of production; it is therefore at this point *presupposed.*

On the other hand, the process of production is a process of production for capital *only* in so far as it preserves itself as value in this process, i.e. in the product. The statement that the necessary price=the sum of the prices of the costs of production, is therefore purely analytical.[93] It is the premiss of the production of capital itself. First, the capital is posited as 100 thaler, as simple value; then it is posited in this process as the sum of the prices of specific value elements of itself, determined by the very process of production. The price of capital, its value expressed in money=the price of its product. That is, the value of capital as result of the process of production is the same as it was as the premiss of the

process.

During the process, however, it does not subsist in the simplicity it had at the beginning, or the one which it takes on again at the end as result, but divides itself into what are initially completely indifferent quantitative components, namely value of labour (wages), value of instrument of labour and value of raw material. As yet, no other relation is posited than that in the process of production simple value divides itself numerically as several values which fuse again in the product in their simplicity, but which exist now as a *sum*. But the sum=the original unity. With respect to value, there is apart from the quantitative division absolutely no distinction in the relation between the different value quantities. 100 thaler was the original capital, 100 thaler is the product, but the 100 thaler now as the sum of 50+40+10 thaler. I could also have taken the 100 thaler originally as a sum of 50+40+10 thaler, but just as well as a sum of 60+30+10 thaler, etc. That it now appears as a sum of specific numbers of units is posited by the fact that each of the different physical elements into which the capital divided itself in the process of production represented a part, but a specific part, of its value.

It will become clear later that these numbers into which the original unity is divided, themselves have certain relations to one another, but that does not concern us here yet. In so far as a movement is posited in value itself during the process of production, it is a purely formal movement consisting in the following simple act: that value first exists as a unity, a definite number of units, which is itself regarded as a unity, as a whole: capital of 100 thaler; second, that during the process of production this unity is divided into 50 thaler, 40 thaler, and 10 thaler, a division which is essential in so far as material of labour, instrument and labour are required in specific quantities, but here, in relation to the 100 thaler themselves, this division is merely an indifferent breaking down into different amounts of the same unit; finally, that the 100 thaler reappear in the product as sum. The only process in relation to value, that at one time it appears as a whole, a unity; then as division of this unity into specific amounts; finally as sum. The 100 thaler which appear at the end as sum are equally and precisely the sum which appeared at the beginning as a unity. The determination of the sum, of the adding together, came about only through the division occurring in the act of production; but does not exist in the product as such. The statement thus says nothing more than that the price of the product=the price of the production costs, or that the value of the

capital=the value of the product, i.e. that the value of the capital has preserved itself in the act of production and now appears as sum.

With this simple identity of capital or reproduction of its value through and throughout the process of production, we would not yet have got any farther than we were at the beginning. What was there at the beginning as premiss is now [III-19] there as result and indeed in unaltered form. It is clear that this is not what the economists in fact mean when they speak of the determination of price by the production costs. Otherwise, a value greater than was originally present could never be created; no greater exchange value, although a greater use value, which is not the point at all here. The point is the *use value of capital* as such, not of the use value of a commodity.

If one says that the production costs or the necessary price of a commodity is=to 110, the calculation is as follows: original capital=100 (thus e.g. raw material=50; labour=40; instrument=10)+5% interest +5% profit. Therefore the production costs=110, not=100; the production costs [Produktionskosten][29] are therefore greater than the costs of production [Kosten der Produktion].

It is of absolutely no avail to flee from the exchange value of commodities to their use value, as some economists like to do. Whether this use value is higher or lower does not as such determine exchange value. Commodities often fall below their price of production,[94] though they doubtless have obtained a higher use value than they had in the period *before* production.

It is just as useless to take refuge in circulation. I produce for 100 but sell for 110.

"PROFIT IS NOT MADE BY EXCHANGING. HAD IT NOT EXISTED BEFORE, NEITHER COULD IT AFTER THAT TRANSACTION" (Ramsay, [*An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth,* Edinburgh, 1836, p. 184] IX, 88).

That amounts to trying to explain from simple circulation the augmentation of value, whereas, on the contrary, circulation *expressly* posits value only as an equivalent. It is also clear empirically that if everyone sells 10% too dear, this is the same if they all sold for the production costs. Surplus value[95] would thereby be purely nominal, fictitious, conventional, a mere phrase. And since money is itself a commodity, a product, it would also be sold 10% too dear, i.e. the seller who received 110 thaler would IN FACT receive only 100.

(See *Ricardo* on foreign trade which he conceives of as simple circulation and therefore says:

"Foreign trade can never increase the exchange values of a country" (Ricardo, [*On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* p. 131,] 39, 40[96]).

The reasons he advances for this are absolutely the same as those which "prove" that exchange as such, simple circulation, that is trade in general, so far as it is conceived of as circulation, can never raise *exchange values*, can never produce *exchange value.*)

The statement that price=production costs, would otherwise have to be read as: the price of a commodity is always greater than its production costs.

Apart from the simple numerical division and adding together, the process of production also adds the formal element to value, namely that its elements now appear as *production costs,* i.e. precisely that the elements of the process of production itself are not preserved in their physical qualities but rather as *values,* which are consumed in the form of being they had *prior* to the process of production.

On the other hand, it is clear that, if the act of production is only the reproduction of the value of capital, only a change of physical matter, not an economic one, would have occurred in it, and that such a mere preservation of its value contradicts its concept. True, it would remain outside circulation, like autonomous money, it would adopt the form of various commodities, but to no purpose. This would be a pointless process, since it would ultimately represent only the identical sum of money, and would merely have run the risk of being damaged in the act of production, which can miscarry, and in which money gives up its imperishable form.

Well. The process of production is now at en end. The product has also been realised in money again, and has adopted once more the original form of the 100 thaler. But the capitalist must also eat and drink; he cannot live on this change in the form of money. A part of the 100 thaler would therefore have to be exchanged not as capital, but as coin for commodities as use values and consumed in this form. The 100 thaler would have become 90, and since he always ultimately reproduces capital in the form of money, more precisely, in the form of the quantity of money with which he began production, in the end the 100 thaler would be eaten up and the capital would have gone. But the capitalist is paid for the *labour* of throwing the 100 thaler as capital into the process of

production instead of consuming them. But with what is he to be paid? And does not his labour appear absolutely useless, since capital includes wages, which means that the workers could live by the simple reproduction of the production costs, which the capitalist cannot do? He would therefore appear among the *faux frais de production.*[a] But whatever the service he renders may be—reproduction would be possible without him, since the workers in the process of production demand only the value they bring into it, therefore do not need the whole relation of capital in order to begin the process of production always anew. Secondly, there would be no fund from which the capitalist's service could be paid for, since the price of the commodity=the production costs. But if his labour were conceived of as a special labour, alongside and apart from that of the workers, perhaps as the labour of SUPERINTENDENCE, etc., then he would receive like them a definite wage, therefore he would fall into their category, and his relationship to labour would not at all be that of a capitalist; neither would he ever enrich himself, he would only receive an exchange value which he would have to consume through circulation.

The existence of capital as against labour requires that capital in its being-for-itself, the capitalist as *not-worker,* should be able to exist and live. On the other hand, it is equally clear that capital, even from the standpoint of [III-20] its ordinary economic characteristics, if it could only preserve its *value* would *not* in fact do so. *The risks of production must be compensated for.* Capital must preserve itself in the fluctuations of prices. The depreciation of capital which goes on constantly through rising productivity must be compensated for, etc. Therefore the economists flatly assert that if no proceeds, no profit, resulted from the process of production, every capitalist would consume his money instead of throwing it into production and employing it as capital. In short, if this *non-valorisation,* i.e. non-multiplication of the value of capital is presupposed, it is presupposed that capital is not a real element of production, not a *particular relation of production*; a condition is presupposed in which the production costs do not have the form of capital, and capital is not posited as a condition of production.

It is easy to understand how labour can augment use value; the difficulty lies in understanding how it can create higher exchange values than those with which it began.

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[a] Overhead costs of production.—*Ed.*

Suppose the exchange value which capital pays to the worker were an exact equivalent for the value which labour produces in the process of production. In this case, an increase in the exchange value of the product would be impossible. What labour as such would have brought into the process of production over and above the original value of the raw material and instrument of labour would be paid to the worker. The value of the product itself, in so far as it is a surplus over and above the value of the raw material and instrument, would go to the worker; only the capitalist pays this value to the worker in wages and the worker gives it back to the capitalist in the product.

//The fact that the term *production costs* does not mean the sum of values entering production—even by the economists who assert that it does—is clearly illustrated by interest on borrowed capital. For the industrial capitalist this belongs directly to his outgoings, to his *real* production costs. But the very existence of interest already implies that capital emerges from production as surplus value, since interest is itself only *one form* of this surplus value. Therefore, since interest constitutes for the borrower already a part of his *direct production costs,* it is apparent that capital as such enters into the production costs, but capital as such is not a mere addition of its value components.

In interest, capital itself reappears in the character of a *commodity,* but as a commodity *specifically* distinct from all other commodities; *capital as such*—not as a simple sum of exchange values—enters into circulation and becomes *commodity.* Here the character of the commodity itself is present as *economic, specific* determination, not indifferent as in simple circulation, nor directly related to labour as its [capital's] opposite, as its use value, as in industrial capital; that is, in capital as it is in its more immediate determinations resulting from production and circulation. The commodity as capital or capital as *commodity* is not, therefore, exchanged in circulation for an equivalent. By entering into circulation, it *maintains its being-for-itself;* it therefore maintains its original relation to its owner even when it passes into the possession of another. It is therefore merely *loaned.* Its use value as such for its owner is its *valorisation,* money as money, not as means of circulation; its *use value as capital.*

The demand put forward by Mr. Proudhon that capital should not be loaned and bear interest, but should be sold as a commodity for its equivalent, like every other commodity,[a] is

[a] *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon,* pp. 65-74.— *Ed.*

nothing but the demand that exchange value should never become capital but remain mere exchange value, i.e. that *capital should not exist as capital.*[97] This demand, together with the other one, namely that wage labour should remain the general basis of production, displays a delightful confusion about the simplest economic concepts. Hence the miserable role which he played in the polemic with Bastiat, about which later.[a] His chatter about considerations of fairness and justice only amounts to this: he wants to apply the property or legal relationships corresponding to simple exchange, as a standard for the property and legal relationships of a higher stage of exchange value. Therefore Bastiat himself, unconsciously, re-emphasises the moments in simple circulation which tend to give rise to capital.

Capital itself as commodity is *money as capital* or *capital as money.*//

//The third moment to be developed in the formation of the concept of capital, is *primitive accumulation* as against labour, therefore also objectless labour as against accumulation.

The *first moment* took its point of departure from value, as emerging from circulation and presupposing it. It was the *simple concept* of capital: money on the direct path to becoming capital. The *second moment* proceeded from capital as the premiss of production and the result of it. The *third moment* posits capital as a *specific unity* of circulation and production.

It must be distinguished from the accumulation [III-21] of capitals; this presupposes capitals, presumes the relationship of capital as *present,* and therefore also implies its relations to labour, prices (*capital fixe* and *circulant*), interest and profit. But capital, in order to become capital, presupposes a certain accumulation which is already contained in the independent antithesis of objectified labour to living labour; in the independent existence of this antithesis. This accumulation, which is necessary for the genesis of capital, and is therefore already contained in its concept as premiss—as a moment—is to be distinguished essentially from the accumulation of capital which has already become capital, where *capitals* must already be available.//

//We have already seen so far[b] that capital presupposes: (1) the process of production in general, as it is common to all social

[a] Cf. Appendix to Chapters on Money and Capital in the 1857-58 manuscript, present edition, Vol. 29.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 167-68, 186-87 and 189-95.—*Ed.*

conditions, that is without historical character, *human* IF YOU PLEASE; (2) *circulation,* which is already a specific *historical* product in each of its moments, and still more in its totality; (3) *capital* as the *specific* unity of both.

Now, how far the general process of production is itself modified historically, as soon as it appears only as an element of capital, must emerge in the course of its analysis; just as capital's historical premisses in general must emerge from the simple conception of its distinctive characteristics.//

//Everything else is empty chatter. Which determinations belong to the first section, *On Production in General,* and in the first part of the second section, *On Exchange Value in General,* can only emerge at the end of and as a result of the whole analysis. For example, we have already seen[a] that the distinction between use value and exchange value belongs within political economy itself, and use value should not be passed over in silence as a simple premiss as in Ricardo. The chapter on production ends objectively with the product as result; that on circulation begins with the *commodity,* which is itself *use value* and *exchange value* (therefore also *value* distinct from both), circulation as the unity of both—which, however, is only formal, and therefore collapses in the commodity as mere object of consumption, extra-economic, and in exchange value as money become independent.//

The *surplus value of capital at the end of the production process*—a surplus value which is realised in the higher price of the product only in circulation, but realised in it as all prices are, by already being *presupposed* to it in thought, laid down, before they enter into it—signifies, if expressed according to the general concept of exchange value, that the labour time objectified in the product—or the quantity of labour (expressed in terms of rest, the magnitude of labour appears as a spatial quantity, but expressed in terms of motion it is measurable only by time)—is greater than that present in the original components of capital. Now this is possible only if the labour objectified in the price of labour is less than the living labour time which has been bought with it.

The labour time objectified in capital appears, as we have seen,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 197-98.—*Ed.*

as a sum made up of three parts: (a) the labour time objectified in the raw material; (b) the labour time objectified in the instrument; (c) the labour time objectified in the price of labour. Now, parts (a) and (b) remain unchanged as components of capital; even if they alter their form in the process, their physical modes of being, they remain unchanged as values. It is only (c) which capital exchanges for something qualitatively different: a given quantity of objectified labour for a quantity of living labour. If the living labour time were to reproduce only the labour time objectified in the price of labour, this exchange would also be purely formal, and in general with respect to value, there would only have been an exchange for living labour as another form of being of the same value, just as with respect to the value of the material and instrument of labour, only a change in its physical form of being has occurred. If the capitalist has paid the worker a price=one day's labour and the day's labour of the worker adds only one day's labour to the raw material and instrument, the capitalist would simply have exchanged exchange value in one form for exchange value in another. He would not have acted as capital. On the other hand, the worker would not have remained in the simple process of exchange: he would in fact have received the product of his labour in payment, except that the capitalist would have done him the favour of paying him the price of the product in advance before its realisation. The capitalist would have given him credit and gratis at that, *pour le roi de Prusse.*[a] *Voilá tout.*[b]

The exchange between capital and labour, the result of which is the price of labour, even though for the worker it is a simple exchange, must for the capitalist be not-exchange. He must receive more value than he has given. From the point of view of capital, the exchange must be merely *apparent,* i.e. an economic category other than exchange, or else capital as capital and labour as labour in antithesis to it would be impossible. They would exchange for each other only as equal exchange values, which exist physically in different forms of being.

In order to vindicate capital, to defend it, the economists therefore take refuge in this simple [III-22] process; they explain capital by the very process which makes impossible its existence. In order to demonstrate it, they demonstrate it away. You pay me for my labour, exchange it for its own product, and deduct the value

[a] For the King of Prussia, i.e. for nothing.—*Ed.*
[b] That's all.—*Ed.*

of the raw and other materials with which you have supplied me. That is to say, we are *associates* who bring different elements into the production process and exchange them according to their value. Thus the product is turned into money, and the money is divided up in such a way that you, the capitalist, obtain the price of your raw material and instrument, and I, the worker, get the price which labour has added to them. The benefit for you is that you now possess the raw material and the instrument in a consumable form; for me, that my labour has been valorised. Of course, you would soon be in the position of having consumed your capital in the form of money, while I as worker would get possession of both.

What the worker exchanges for capital is his labour itself (in the exchange, the right of disposing over it); he *alienates* it. What he receives as price is the *value* of this alienation. He exchanges the value-positing activity for a predetermined value, regardless of the result of his activity.

//Mr. Bastiat displays immense wisdom when he claims that the *wage* is an inessential, merely outward form; a form of association which *as such* has nothing to do with the economic relation of labour and capital.[a] If the workers were so well off, he says, as to be able to wait for the completion and sale of the product, the wage system, wage labour, would not hinder them from concluding a contract with the capitalist just as advantageous as that which one capitalist makes with another. Therefore the evil does not lie in the form of the wage system but in conditions independent of it. It does not occur to him, of course, that these conditions themselves are the *conditions of the wage system.* If the workers were also capitalists, they would in fact be related to non-labouring capital as labouring capitalists, not as labouring workers, i.e. not in the form of wage workers. Hence for Bastiat wages and profit are *essentially* the same as *profit* and *interest.* He calls this the *harmony of economic relationships,* meaning that economic relationships only *seem* to exist, while in essence, only one relationship exists—that of simple exchange. Hence the *essential* forms appear to him as in themselves *without content,* i.e. not as real forms.//

Now, how is the worker's value determined? By the objectified labour contained in his commodity. This commodity exists in his

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[a] See this volume, pp. 11-16 and 180-82.—*Ed.*

vitality. In order to maintain it from day to day (we are not yet dealing with the working class, i.e. not with compensation for WEAR and TEAR by which it can maintain itself as a class, since here the worker faces capital as *worker,* as the presupposed perennial subject in antithesis to capital, not yet as a transient individual of the type "worker") he must consume a certain quantity of provisions, replace the consumed blood, etc. He receives only an equivalent. Hence tomorrow, after the conclusion of the exchange—and it is only after he has formally concluded the exchange that he carries it out in the process of production—his labour capacity will exist in the same way as before; he has received an exact equivalent, as the price he has received leaves him in possession of the same exchange value as he had before. Capital has paid him the quantity of objectified labour contained in his vitality. He has consumed it, and since it did not exist as a thing but as a capacity in a living being, he can renew the exchange in view of the *specific* nature of his commodity—the specific nature of the life process. Since we are not dealing here with *specially* skilled labour, but with labour pure and simple, we are not yet concerned with the fact that in addition to the labour time objectified in his vitality—i.e. to the labour time necessary to pay for the products required for the maintenance of his vitality—more labour is objectified in his immediate being, namely the values he has consumed in order to produce a specific *labour capacity,* a particular *skill,* the value of which is given by the costs of production of a similar specific skill.

If a whole working day were required in order to keep a worker alive for a working day, capital would not exist, because one working day would exchange for its own product. As a result, capital could not valorise itself as capital and thus could not preserve itself. The self-preservation of capital is its self-valorisation. If capital had to work in order to live, it would not preserve itself as capital but as labour. The ownership of raw materials and the instruments of labour would be purely *nominal*; [III-23] economically, they would belong just as much to the worker as to the capitalist, since they would produce *value* for the capitalist only in so far as he was himself a worker. He would therefore not treat them as capital but as mere physical matter and means of labour, just as the worker himself does in the process of production.

If, on the contrary, e.g. only half a working day is needed to keep a worker alive for a whole working day, a surplus value of the product is the automatic result, because the capitalist has paid

in the price [of labour] only half a working day and he has received a whole working day objectified in the product; therefore has exchanged *nothing* for the second half of the working day. It is not exchange but a process in which he obtains without exchange *objectified labour time,* i.e. *value,* which alone can make him into a capitalist. Half the working day costs capital *nothing*; it therefore receives a value for which it has given no equivalent. And the augmentation of values can occur only because a value over and above the equivalent is obtained, hence *created.*

Speaking generally, surplus value is value over and above the equivalent. The equivalent, by definition, is only the identity of value with itself. Surplus value can never, therefore, spring from the equivalent; nor, therefore, can it spring originally from circulation. It must spring from the process of production of capital itself. The matter can also be expressed thus: if the worker requires only half a working day to live for a whole day, he needs to work only half a day to eke out his existence as a worker. The second half of the working day is forced labour; surplus labour.[98] What appears on the side of capital as surplus value, appears on the worker's side precisely as surplus labour over and above his requirements as worker, hence over and above his immediate requirements to sustain his vitality.

The great historical aspect of capital is the *creation* of this *surplus labour,* superfluous from the point of view of mere use value, of mere subsistence, and its historical mission is fulfilled when, on the one hand, needs are developed to the point where surplus labour beyond what is necessary has itself become a general need and arises from the individual needs themselves; and on the other, when, by the strict discipline of capital to which successive generations have been subjected, general industriousness has been developed as the universal asset of the new generation; and, lastly, when the productive forces of labour, constantly whipped on by capital in its unbounded lust for enrichment, and in the conditions in which alone it can satisfy this lust, have been developed to the stage where the possession and preservation of general wealth requires from the whole of society only comparatively little labour time on the one hand, and on the other labouring society takes a scientific attitude towards the process of its continuing reproduction, its reproduction in ever greater abundance; so that labour in which man does what he can make things do for him has ceased.

Accordingly, capital and labour relate to each other here like money and commodity: if the one is the general form of wealth,

the other is merely the substance seeking immediate consumption. As the ceaseless striving for the general form of wealth, however, capital forces labour beyond the limits of natural need and thus creates the material elements for the development of the rich individuality, which is as varied and comprehensive in its production as it is in its consumption, and whose labour therefore no longer appears as labour but as the full development of activity itself, in which natural necessity has disappeared in its immediate form; because natural need has been replaced by historically produced need. This is why *capital is productive,* i.e. an *essential relationship for the development of the productive forces of society.* It ceases to be such only where the development of these productive forces themselves encounters a barrier in capital itself.

*The Times* of November [21,] 1857 contains a most endearing scream of rage from a West Indian planter.[a] With great moral indignation this advocate—by way of plea for the reintroduction of Negro slavery—explains how the *Quashees* (the free blacks of Jamaica) content themselves to produce only what is strictly necessary for their own consumption and apart from this "use value", regard loafing itself (INDULGENCE and IDLENESS) as the real luxury article; how they don't give a damn about sugar and the fixed capital invested in the PLANTATIONS, but rather react with malicious pleasure and sardonic smiles when a planter goes to ruin, and even exploit their acquired Christianity as a cover for this sardonic mood and indolence.

They have ceased to be slaves, not in order to become wage workers, but SELF-SUSTAINING PEASANTS, working for their own meagre consumption. Capital as capital does not exist for them, because wealth made independent in general exists *only* either through *direct* forced labour, slavery, or through *mediated* forced labour, *wage labour.* Wealth confronts direct forced labour not as capital but as *relationship of domination.* On the basis of direct forced labour, therefore, only the relationship of domination is reproduced, for which wealth itself has value only as gratification, not as wealth as such, and which [III-24] can therefore never create *general industriousness.* (We shall come back later to this relationship between slavery and wage labour.)

The difficulty in grasping the genesis of [surplus] value is illustrated by (1) the modern English economists, who accuse

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[a] "Negroes and the Slave Trade. To the Editor of *The Times*", *The Times,* No. 22844, 21 November 1857.—*Ed.*

Ricardo of failing to understand surplus [the excess of the value produced over the production costs], *surplus value*[99] (see *Malthus on value,*[100] who at least tries to proceed scientifically[a]), yet of all economists, Ricardo alone has grasped it, as his polemic against A. Smith's confusion of the determination of value by wages and by the labour time objectified in the commodity shows.[b]

The new economists are nothing but shallow simpletons. True, Ricardo himself often gets into confusion, because, although he understands the emergence of surplus value as the prerequisite of capital, he often falters in the attempt to understand on this basis[c] the multiplication of values except by the investment of *more objectified labour time* in the same product, in other words only by production becoming *more difficult.* Hence the absolute contradiction between *value* and *wealth* in his theory.[d] Hence the one-sidedness of his theory of rent; his false theory of international trade, which is supposed to produce only use value (which he calls wealth), not exchange value.[e] The only remaining path leading to the multiplication of values as such, other than the *growing difficulty of production* (theory of rent), is the increase in *population* (the natural increase in the number of workers through the growth of capital), although he himself has nowhere coherently analysed this relation. His fundamental error, that he nowhere examines what actually gives rise to the distinction between the determination of value by wages and its determination by objectified labour. Money and exchange itself (circulation) thus appear only as a purely formal element in his political economy; and although political economy according to him deals *only* with exchange value, profit, etc., appear *only* as a percentage share of the product, which is equally the case on the basis of slavery. He nowhere investigates the form of the mediation.

(2) *The Physiocrats.* Here the difficulty of understanding capital, the self-valorisation of value, hence the surplus value which capital creates in the act of production, stands out palpably, as it was bound to do with the fathers of modern political economy, just as at its ultimate classical conclusion with Ricardo, who [...] the creation of surplus value in the form of rent...[f]

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[a] Th. R. Malthus, *The Measure of Value Stated and Illustrated.*—*Ed.*

[b] See D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* pp. 1-12.—*Ed.*

[c] On that of the labour theory of value.—*Ed.*

[d] D. Ricardo, op. cit., pp. 60-61, 131-32.—*Ed.*

[e] Ibid., pp. 320-37.—*Ed.*

[f] The sentence is unfinished in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

It is *au fond* the question of the concept of capital and wage labour, and hence the fundamental question which arises at the threshold of the system of modern society. The money system grasped the independence of value only in the form in which it emerges from simple circulation—as *money*; the monetarists therefore made this *abstract form* of wealth into the exclusive target of the nations, which were just then entering the period when *enrichment as such* appeared as the aim of society itself.

Then came the *mercantile system,* coinciding with the epoch in which industrial capital and therefore wage labour appeared in manufacture and developed in opposition to and at the cost of non-industrial wealth, feudal landed property. The mercantilists already dimly conceived money as capital, but really again only in the form of money, of the circulation of *merchant* capital, of capital *turning itself into money.* Industrial capital had for them a value, indeed the highest value—as means, not as wealth itself in its productive process—because it created merchant capital and this became money in the process of circulation. Manufacturing labour—i.e. *au fond* industrial labour. But agricultural labour, on the other hand, was and appeared to them as mainly productive of use value; raw produce processed is more valuable, because in this clear form, a form more suitable for circulation, for COMMERCE, a mercantile form, it produces more money (in this context, the historically evolved view of the wealth of non-agricultural nations, notably Holland, in contrast to the agricultural, feudal ones; agriculture did not appear at all in industrial but in feudal form, therefore as source of feudal, not bourgeois, wealth). One form of wage labour, industrial wage labour, and one form of capital, industrial capital, were thus recognised as a source of wealth, but only in so far as they created money. Exchange value itself was therefore not yet conceived of in the form of capital.

Now the *Physiocrats.* They distinguish capital from money and conceive it in its general form as exchange value made independent, preserving itself in and augmented by production. Hence they also consider the relation for itself, not as itself a moment of simple circulation but rather as its premiss, and as it continually reproduces itself in circulation as its premiss. The Physiocrats are therefore the fathers of modern political economy.[101]

They also understand that the positing of surplus value by wage labour is the self-valorisation of capital, i.e. its realisation. But how is surplus value created through capital, i.e. through existing values, by means of labour? Here they disregard the form altogether and consider only the simple process of production.

Hence only such labour can be productive which is carried on in a field where the natural power of the instrument of labour palpably allows the worker to produce more values than he consumes. Surplus value thus originates not from labour as such, but from the natural power used and directed by labour—[III-25] i.e. agriculture. Agricultural labour is thus the only *productive labour,* for this much the Physiocrats understand that *only labour which creates surplus value is productive.* (That surplus value must express itself in the form of a material product, is a primitive view still to be encountered in A. Smith.[a] Actors are productive workers, not by virtue of the fact that they produce plays, but in so far as they INCREASE THEIR EMPLOYER'S WEALTH. But what sort of labour is performed, in what form labour is materialised, is a matter of absolute indifference for *this relationship.* On the other hand, it is not indifferent from later points of view.) But this surplus value is imperceptibly transformed into a greater quantum of use value arising from production than that which was consumed in it. This multiplication of use values, the excess of the product above the component part of it which must be used for new production—of which a part can therefore be unproductively consumed, appears palpably only in the relationship of the natural seed to its product. Only a part of the harvest has to be directly returned to the soil as seed. In products themselves occurring naturally, in the elements, in air, water, soil, light, and in substances supplied through manure and otherwise, the seeds then reproduce that part in a multiplied quantity as grain, etc. In short, human labour has only to guide the chemical exchange of matter (in agriculture), partly also to promote it mechanically or to promote the reproduction of life itself (stock-raising) to obtain a surplus, i.e. to convert these same natural substances from a useless into a valuable form. The true form of general wealth is therefore the surplus of the products of the soil (grain, cattle, raw materials). From the economic viewpoint, therefore, only *rent* is a form of wealth. This is why the first prophets of capital recognise only the non-capitalist, the *feudal landowner* as the representative of *bourgeois* wealth. But then the consequence, the levying of all taxes on rent, is entirely to the advantage of bourgeois capital. The theory accords a bourgeois accolade to feudalism in principle—which misled many a feudal gentleman, like the elder Mirabeau—only in order to ruin it in the practical application.

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[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Vol. II, London, 1836. p. 356.—*Ed.*

All other values represent only raw material+labour; labour itself represents grain or other products of the soil which the worker consumes. Therefore the factory worker, etc., adds to the raw material no more than he consumes in raw materials. Neither he, by his labour, nor his employer, therefore, add anything to wealth—for wealth is the surplus above the commodities consumed in production—but only impart to it agreeable forms useful for consumption.

At that time the utilisation of the powers of nature in industry had not been developed, nor had the division of labour, etc., which increases the natural power of labour itself. But by Adam Smith's time this was the case. For him, therefore, labour in general is the source of value, as it is the source of wealth. But actually even labour posits surplus value only in so far as in the division of labour the surplus appears likewise as a gift of nature, as the natural power of society, just as with the Physiocrats it appeared as a gift of the soil. Hence the importance A. Smith attaches to the division of labour.

On the other hand, *capital* appears to him originally not as containing within itself the moment of wage labour, antagonistically, but as it emerges from circulation, as money, and hence as it is created out of circulation through *saving*.[a] Initially, therefore, capital does not valorise itself—precisely because the appropriation of another's labour has not been assimilated into its concept. It appears only *subsequently,* after it has already been presupposed as *capital—mauvais cercle*[b]—as *command over alien labour.* Thus labour should really receive its own product as wage according to A. Smith, the wage should be=to the product, therefore labour should not be wage labour, and capital not capital. Therefore, in order to introduce profit and rent as original elements of the production costs, i.e. to make a surplus value result from the process of production of capital, he presupposes them in the crudest form. The capitalist does not want his capital to be used for nothing; similarly, the landowner does not want to make his land available for production for nothing. They demand something in return. In this way, they and their demands are brought

[a] Here Marx inserted the following passage in brackets: "For, although he conceives of labour as creating value and itself being use value, productivity existing for itself, *human* natural power in general (this distinguishes him from the Physiocrats), he does not conceive of it as wage labour, not in its *specifically* determined form in opposition to capital".— *Ed.*

[b] Vicious circle.— *Ed.*

in as historical FACTS, not explained. Wages are really the *only economically* justified, because necessary, element of the production costs. Profit and rent are merely *deductions* from wages, arbitrarily enforced in the historical process by capital and landed property, and *legally,* not economically, justified.

But since on the other hand Smith opposes to labour the means and materials of production in the form of landed property and capital as independent elements, he has virtually posited labour as wage labour. Hence contradictions. Hence his vacillations in the determination of value; his placing of profit and rent at the same level; his false [III-26] views on the influence of wages upon prices, etc.

Now *Ricardo* (see 1[a]). He again understands wage labour and capital as a natural, not specific historical, social form of the production of wealth as use value, i.e. its form as such, precisely because it is conceived of as natural, is *indifferent,* and is not conceived in its *specific* relation to the form of wealth, just as wealth itself, in its form as exchange value, appears as a purely formal mediation of its physical existence. Therefore he does not understand the specific character of bourgeois wealth—just because it appears [to him] as the adequate form of wealth in general. Although his point of departure is *exchange value,* the *specific economic forms of exchange* themselves play *economically* no role at all in his political economy. Instead he only speaks about the distribution of the general product of labour and the soil among the three classes, as though wealth based on *exchange value* were only a matter of *use value,* and as though exchange value were only a ceremonial form, which in Ricardo disappears in quite the same manner as does money as means of circulation in exchange. To bring out the true laws of political economy, he therefore likes to refer also to this relation of money as a merely formal one. Therefore also his weaknesses in the basic theory of money proper.

The exact development of the concept of capital necessary, because it is the basic concept of modern political economy, just as capital itself, of which it is the abstract reflected image, is the basis of bourgeois society. The clear understanding of the basic premiss of the [capitalist] relationship must reveal all the contradictions of bourgeois production, as well as the limits at which this relationship outgrows itself.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 251-52.—*Ed.*

//It is important to note that wealth as such, i.e. bourgeois wealth, is always expressed to the highest power in exchange value, where it is posited as *mediator,* as mediation between the extremes of exchange value and use value themselves. This middle term always appears as the completed *economic* relation, because it comprises the opposites, and always ultimately appears as a higher power than the extremes themselves, but in a one-sided way; because the movement or the relationship which *originally* appears as mediating between the extremes, must dialectically come to appear as mediation with it itself, as the subject of which the extremes are merely the elements. It transcends their autonomous premisses, and by doing so posits itself as that which alone is autonomous. An example in the religious sphere is Christ the mediator between God and man—mere instrument of circulation between them—becomes their unity, God-man, and as such becomes more important than God; the saints more important than Christ; the priests more important than the saints.

The total economic expression, itself one-sided as against the extremes, is always exchange value, where it is posited as middle link; e.g. money in simple circulation; capital itself as mediator between production and circulation. Within capital itself, one of its forms resumes the position of use value as against the other form as exchange value. Industrial capital, for example, appears as producer in relation to the merchant, who appears as circulation. So the former represents the physical aspect, and the latter the formal aspect, hence wealth as wealth. At the same time, merchant capital itself, in turn, mediates between production (industrial capital) and circulation (the consuming public) or between exchange value and use value, where both sides are posited alternately, production as money, circulation as use value (consuming public), or the first as use value (product) and the second as exchange value (money).

Likewise within trade itself: the wholesaler as mediator between manufacturer and retailer, or between manufacturer and farmer, or between different manufacturers, represents this same higher middle link. And again, the commodity brokers in relation to the wholesaler. Then the banker in relation to the industrialists and merchants; the joint-stock company in relation to simple production; the financier as mediator between the State and bourgeois society at the highest level.

*Wealth as such* represents itself the more distinctly and broadly the further it is removed from immediate production and itself mediates between aspects each of which, considered by itself, is

already posited as a characteristic economic form. [This is due to the fact] that[a] money turns from means into an end, and the higher form of mediation as capital itself posits everywhere the lower form as labour, as merely source of surplus value. For example, the BILL-BROKER, banker, etc., in relation to the manufacturers and FARMERS, who for him are posited in the determination of labour (of use value), while he posits himself in relation to them as capital, production of surplus value; in the most extravagant form in the FINANCIER.//

*Capital* is the *immediate unity* of product and money, or, better, of production and circulation. So it is in turn itself something *immediate,* and its development consists in positing and transcending itself as this unity, which is posited as a specific and therefore simple relation. The unity initially appears in capital as something *simple.*

[III-27] //Ricardo's reasoning is simply this:

Products are exchanged for each other—hence capital for capital—in the ratio of the quanta of objectified labour contained in them. A day's labour always exchanges for a day's labour. This is the assumption. Exchange itself can therefore be ignored altogether. The product—capital posited as product—is *in itself* exchange value, to which the act of exchange merely adds form, in Ricardo, formal form.

The only question now is: in what *ratios* the product is to be shared. These *ratios* are the same, whether they are regarded as specific quotas of the presupposed exchange value or of its content, material wealth. Indeed, since exchange as such is mere circulation—money as circulation—it is better to abstract from it altogether, and to consider only the proportions of material wealth which are distributed to the various agents within the process of production or as the result of that process. In the form of *exchange,* all value, etc., is purely *nominal;* it is real only in the form of the *ratio.* The entire exchange, in so far as it does not produce a greater *material variety,* is *nominal.* Since a whole day's labour is always exchanged for a whole day's labour, the sum of *values* remains the same—the growth of the productive forces affects only the content of wealth, not its form. Augmentation of value can therefore originate only in increased difficulty of production—and this can only occur in agriculture where the natural power of equal quantities of human labour no longer

[a] In the manuscript the sentence begins with the conjunction *dass* (that).—*Ed.*

renders the same service, therefore the fertility of the natural elements declines. The fall of profits is therefore caused by rent.

Firstly the false assumption that a *whole day's labour* is always worked in all conditions of society; etc., etc. (see above[a]).//

We have seen[b]: the worker needs to work for only (e.g.) half a working day to live a whole day, and thus be able to begin the same process on the following day. In his labour capacity—so far as it exists in him as a *living being*, or in him as a *living* instrument of labour—only half a working day is objectified. One whole living day (day of life) of the worker is the static result, the objectification of half a working day. The capitalist, by appropriating the whole working day in exchange for the labour objectified in the worker, i.e. in exchange for half a working day, and then consuming it in the production process by applying it to the materials of which his capital consists, in this way creates the surplus value of his capital—in the case assumed here, half a day of objectified labour.

Let us now assume that the productivity of labour doubles, i.e. a given amount of labour produces twice as much *use value* in the same time. (In the relation we are discussing here, use value is defined for the time being as that which the worker consumes to keep alive as a worker; the quantum of provisions for which, through the mediation of money, he exchanges the labour objectified in his living labour capacity.) The worker would then have to work for only $^1/_4$ of a day to live a whole day; the capitalist then has to give only $^1/_4$ of a day's objectified labour in exchange to the worker to increase his surplus value in the process of production from $^1/_2$ to $^3/_4$; because he would gain, instead of $^1/_2$ day's objectified labour, $^3/_4$ of a day of it. The value of the capital, as it emerges from the process of production, would have increased by $^3/_4$ instead of by $^2/_4$.[c] The capitalist thus would need to require only $^3/_4$ of a day's work to add to his capital the same surplus value—$^1/_2$ or $^2/_4$ of objectified labour.

But since capital represents the general form of wealth—money—it has a boundless and measureless urge to exceed its own limits. Every boundary is and must be a barrier for it. Otherwise it would cease to be capital, money reproducing itself. If a particular boundary were not to be a barrier for it, but one to which it could

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[a] See this volume, p. 252.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 249-50.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx abstracts from the value of the constant capital.—*Ed.*

confine itself without difficulty, capital would itself have declined from exchange value to use value, from the general form of wealth to a particular substance of it. Capital as such creates a particular surplus value, because it cannot create an infinite one AT ONCE; but it is the constant drive to create more of it. The quantitative border to surplus value appears to it only as a natural barrier, as a necessity, which it constantly tries to overcome and beyond which it constantly tries to go.

//The limitation appears as an accidental phenomenon which must be overcome. This is obvious even on the most superficial examination. If capital grows from 100 to 1,000, then 1,000 becomes the new point of departure from which further expansion must proceed; the ten-fold increase, by 1,000%, counts for nothing; profit and interest, in turn, become capital. *What appeared as surplus value now appears as a simple premiss,* etc., as comprised in the *simple composition* [of capital] *itself.*//

Hence (quite apart from the factors entering in later, competition, prices, etc.) the capitalist will not make the worker work only $^3/_4$ of a day, because $^3/_4$ of a day creates *the same surplus value* as did a whole day previously, he will make him work the full day; and the increased productive power, which enables the worker to live for a whole day on the basis of $^1/_4$ of a working day, now expresses itself simply in the fact that he must now work $^3/_4$ of a day [III-28] for capital, whereas he previously worked for it only $^2/_4$ of a day. The increased productivity of his labour, in so far as it means shortening of the time necessary for the replacement of the labour objectified in him (for the use value, for the subsistence), appears as a lengthening of his labour time for the valorisation of capital (for the exchange value).

From the worker's point of view, he must now perform a surplus labour of $^3/_4$ of a day to live a full day, while previously he had only to perform a surplus labour of $^2/_4$ of a day. The increase, the doubling of his productive power has increased his surplus labour by $^1/_4$ [of a day]. One thing should be noted here: productivity has doubled, the surplus labour performed by the worker has not; it has grown by only $^1/_4$ [of a day]. Nor has the surplus value of capital doubled, it too has increased by only $^1/_4$ [of a day, i.e. by 50%]. This shows that surplus labour (from the worker's point of view) or surplus value (from the point of view of capital) does not grow in the same numerical proportion as does productivity. How does this come about?

The doubling of productivity is the reduction of necessary labour[102] (for the worker) by $^1/_4$ [of a day]; hence also the

production of surplus value is [greater] by $^1/_4$, because the original ratio assumed was $^1/_2$. If the worker had to work, originally, $^2/_3$ of a day to live one full day, the surplus value (as well as the surplus labour) would have been $^1/_3$. A doubling of the productivity of labour would then have enabled the worker to reduce the amount of necessary labour to one-half of $^2/_3$, or $\frac{2}{3\times2}$, $^2/_6$ or $^1/_3$ of a day, and the capitalist would have gained $^1/_3$ of [a day's surplus] value. The total surplus labour would amount to $^2/_3$ [of a day]. The doubling of productivity, which in the first example resulted in an [extra] $^1/_4$ of a day's surplus value and surplus labour, would now result in an [extra] $^1/_3$ of a day's surplus value and surplus labour. The multiplier of productivity—the factor by which it is multiplied—is, therefore, [as a rule] not the multiplier of surplus labour or surplus value; if the original ratio of labour objectified in the price of labour was $^1/_2$ of the labour objectified in one day's labour—and a day is always the limit[a]—then the doubling of productivity is tantamount to the division of $^1/_2$ (the original ratio) by 2, or $^1/_4$. If the original ratio was $^2/_3$, then the doubling is tantamount to the division of $^2/_3$ by $2=^2/_6$ or $^1/_3$.

The multiplier of productivity is thus never the multiplier but always the divisor of the original ratio, not the multiplier of its numerator but of its denominator. If the former were the case, the multiplication of productivity would result in a corresponding multiplication of surplus value. But the [growth of] surplus value is always equal to a division of the original ratio by the multiplier of productivity. If the original ratio was $^8/_9$, i.e. the worker needed $^8/_9$ of the working day to live, and capital therefore gained only $^1/_9$ of a day in the exchange with living labour, and surplus labour equalled $^1/_9$, then, if productivity were doubled, the worker could earn his subsistence in one-half of $^8/_9$ of the working day, i.e. with $^8/_{18}=^4/_9$ (it is the same whether we divide the numerator or multiply the denominator), and the capitalist, who orders a full day's work, would have a total surplus value of $^5/_9$ of the working day; subtract from that the original surplus value of $^1/_9$, and $^4/_9$ remains. The doubling of productivity in this case is thus tantamount to a growth of surplus value or surplus labour time by $^4/_9$.

This is simply because surplus value always depends on the ratio between the whole working day and that part of it which is

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[a] Here Marx inserted the following passage in brackets: "though the worthy manufacturers have extended it into the night. *Ten Hours' Bill.* See the report of Leonard Horner. The working day itself is not limited by the natural day; it can be extended *deep into the night;* this belongs in the Chapter on *Wages*".[103]—*Ed.*

necessary for the worker to keep himself alive. The unit by which surplus value is calculated is always a fraction, i.e. the particular part of a day which exactly represents the price of labour. If this fraction=$^1/_2$, the growth[a] of [III-29] productivity=reduction of necessary labour to $^1/_4$; if it=$^1/_3$, necessary labour is reduced to $^1/_6$; hence in the first [case] the total surplus value=$^3/_4$, in the second=$^5/_6$. Relative surplus value,[104] i.e. [the increase] in relation to that previously obtained, in the first case=$^1/_4$, in the second=$^1/_6$.

The value of capital therefore does not grow in the same proportion as productivity grows, but in the proportion in which the increase of productivity, the multiplier of productivity, divides the fraction of the working day expressing the part of the day belonging to the worker. By how much [the growth of] the productivity of labour increases the value of capital thus depends on the original ratio of the part of labour which is objectified in the worker to his living labour. This part always expresses itself as a fraction of the whole working day, $^1/_3$, $^2/_3$, etc. The increase in productivity, i.e. its multiplication by a certain number, is tantamount to a division of the numerator, or a multiplication of the denominator of this fraction by the same number. How large or small the increase in the value of capital is, depends therefore not only on the number expressing the multiplication of productivity, but equally on the previously given proportion expressing the part of the working day pertaining to the price of labour. If that proportion is $^1/_3$, a doubling of the productivity of the working day means a reduction of the proportion to $^1/_6$; if the proportion is $^2/_3$, a reduction to $^2/_6$.

The objectified labour contained in the price of labour is always equal to a fraction of the whole working day; always arithmetically expressed by a fraction; always a numerical ratio, never a simple number. If productivity doubles, is multiplied by 2, the worker needs to work only $^1/_2$ the former time to cover the price of labour; but it depends on the initially given ratio, namely on the time he required before the increase in productivity, how much labour time he now still requires for this purpose. The multiplier of productivity is the divisor of the original fraction. [Surplus] value or surplus labour, therefore, does not grow in the same numerical proportion as does productivity. If the original ratio is $^1/_2$ and productivity doubles, the *necessary* labour time (for the worker) is accordingly reduced to $^1/_4$ [of the working day] and surplus value grows by only $^1/_4$ [of the working day]. If

[a] Should be "doubling".—*Ed.*

productivity is multiplied four-fold, the original ratio changes to $^1/_8$ and [surplus] value grows by only $^3/_8$.

[Surplus] value can never be equal to the whole working day, i.e. a definite part of the working day must always be exchanged for the labour objectified in the worker. Altogether, surplus value is always determined by the ratio of living labour to that objectified in the worker; *this* [the latter] *part of the ratio must therefore always remain.* By the very fact that the ratio is constant as a ratio, although its factors vary, a definite correlation is already given between an increase in productivity and an increase in [surplus] value. On the one side, we thus see that the relative surplus value is exactly equal to the relative surplus labour. If the [necessary] working day was $^1/_2$ and productivity doubled, then the part of the working day belonging to the worker, *necessary labour,* is reduced to $^1/_4$ [of the working day] and the newly created [surplus] value is also exactly $^1/_4$; but total [surplus] value is now $^3/_4$. While surplus value has risen by $^1/_4$, i.e. in the ratio of 1:4, the total [surplus] value=$^3/_4$ of the working day, i.e. the ratio=3:4.

If we now assume $^1/_4$ to have been the originally *necessary* working day, and a doubling of productivity to have occurred, then necessary labour is reduced to $^1/_8$, and [the increase in] surplus labour or surplus value exactly=$^1/_8$=1:8. On the other hand, total surplus value=7:8. In the first example, total surplus value was originally=1:2 ($^1/_2$) and then rose to 3:4; in the second case it was originally $^3/_4$ and has now risen to 7:8 ($^7/_8$). In the first case it grew from $^1/_2$ or $^2/_4$ to $^3/_4$; in the second, from $^3/_4$ or $^6/_8$ to $^7/_8$; in the first case by $^1/_4$, in the second by $^1/_8$; i.e. in the first case the increase was twice as big as in the second; [III-30] but in the first case total surplus value [after the doubling of productivity] is only $^3/_4$ or $^6/_8$, while in the second it is $^7/_8$, therefore $^1/_8$ more.

Let us assume the *necessary labour* to be $^1/_{16}$: then total surplus value=$^{15}/_{16}$ which is $^3/_{16}$ higher than in the previous case, where total surplus value was taken to be $^6/_8$=$^{12}/_{16}$. Let us assume now a doubling of productivity: necessary labour now=$^1/_{32}$; previously it was=$^2/_{32}$ ($^1/_{16}$); therefore surplus [labour] time has risen by $^1/_{32}$, hence also surplus value. Let us consider total surplus value, which was $^{15}/_{16}$ or $^{30}/_{32}$; it is now $^{31}/_{32}$. As compared to the earlier relation (where *necessary labour* was $^1/_4$ or $^8/_{32}$), total surplus value is now $^{31}/_{32}$, while in the earlier example it was only $^{28}/_{32}$, so the difference equals $^3/_{32}$. But considered relatively, the increase in surplus value resulting from the doubling of productivity equalled in the former case $^1/_8$ or $^4/_{32}$, whereas now it equals only $^1/_{32}$, i.e. it is less by $^3/_{32}$.

If *necessary labour* had already been reduced to $^1/_{1,000}$, total

surplus value would be $^{999}/_{1,000}$. Now, if productivity increased a thousand-fold, *necessary labour* would decline to $^{1}/_{1,000,000}$ of a working day and total surplus value would amount to $^{999,999}/_{1,000,000}$ of a working day; while before this increase in productivity it amounted only to $^{999}/_{1,000}$ or $^{999,000}/_{1,000,000}$ of a working day; it would thus have grown by $^{999}/_{1,000,000}=^{1}/_{1,001}$ (with the addition of $\frac{1}{1,001+^{1}/_{999}}$), i.e. the thousand-fold increase in productivity would not have raised total surplus [value] by even $^{1}/_{1,001}$, i.e. not even by $^{3}/_{3,003}$, while in the previous case surplus value rose by $^{1}/_{32}$ as a result of a mere doubling in productivity. If necessary labour declines from $^{1}/_{1,000}$ to $^{1}/_{1,000,000}$, it declines by exactly $^{999}/_{1,000,000}$ (for $^{1}/_{1,000}=^{1,000}/_{1,000,000}$), i.e., by as much as surplus value rose.

If we summarise all this, we find:

*Firstly:* The increase in the productivity of living labour increases the *value* of capital (or diminishes the value of the worker), not because it increases the quantity of products or use values produced with a given amount of labour—productivity of labour is its natural power—but because it reduces *necessary* labour and thus in the same proportion creates *surplus labour,* or, what amounts to the same thing, surplus value; because the surplus value of capital, which it obtains by means of the process of production, consists solely in the excess of surplus labour over *necessary labour.* The increase in productivity can only increase surplus labour, i.e., the excess of labour objectified in capital as a product over that objectified in the exchange value of the working day, in so far as it reduces the ratio of *necessary labour* to *surplus labour,* and only in the proportion to which it reduces this ratio. Surplus value is exactly equal to surplus labour; its increase is measured exactly by the reduction of *necessary labour.*

*Secondly*: The surplus value of capital does not increase in the same way as the multiplier of productivity, i.e. by the number by which productivity (posited as a unity, as multiplicant) is increased; but by the surplus of the fraction of the living working day which originally represents necessary labour over and above the same fraction divided by the multiplier of productivity. Thus if *necessary labour*$=^{1}/_{4}$ of the living working day, and productivity doubles, the [surplus] value of capital does not double but [III-31] grows by $^{1}/_{8}$; which is equal to $^{1}/_{4}$ or $^{2}/_{8}$ (the original fraction of the working day which represents necessary labour)$-^{1}/_{4}$ divided by 2, or$=^{2}/_{8}-^{1}/_{8}=^{1}/_{8}$. (Value doubles, which can also be expressed thus: it grows $^{4}/_{2}$-fold or $^{16}/_{8}$-fold. If in the above example,[105] therefore,

productivity grew by $^{16}/_{8}$, profit[a] would rise by only $^{1}/_{8}$. Its growth would relate to that of productivity as $^{1}/_{16}$.[b] (THAT IS IT!) If the fraction was $^{1}/_{1,000}$ and productivity increased a thousand-fold, the value of capital would grow not a thousand-fold but by less than $^{1}/_{1,001}$; it would grow by $^{1}/_{1,000} - {}^{1}/_{1,000,000}$, i.e. by $^{1,000}/_{1,000,000} - {}^{1}/_{1,000,000} = {}^{999}/_{1,000,000}$).

The *absolute sum* by which capital increases its value because of a certain increase in productivity depends, therefore, on the *given fraction* of the working day, on the fractional part of the working day, which represents *necessary* labour, and which therefore expresses the original ratio of necessary labour to the living working day. The expansion of productivity in a given proportion, therefore, may increase the value of capital differently e.g. in the *different countries.* A general increase in productivity in the same proportion may increase the value of capital differently in different branches of industry, and will do so according to the different ratios of *necessary labour* to the living working day in these branches. This ratio would of course be the same in all branches of business in a system of free competition, if labour were in all cases simple labour, and hence *necessary labour* were the same. (If it represented the same amounts of objectified labour.)

*Thirdly*: The greater the surplus value of capital *before the increase in productivity,* i.e. the greater the quantum of surplus labour or surplus value of capital presupposed, or the smaller the fraction of the working day which constitutes the equivalent of the worker and expresses necessary labour, the smaller is the growth of surplus value accruing to capital from increased productivity. The surplus value of capital rises, but in an ever diminishing ratio to the development of productivity. Thus the more developed capital already is, the more surplus labour it has already created, the more tremendously must it develop productivity if it is to valorise itself, i.e. to add surplus value even in a small proportion—because its barrier always remains the ratio between that fractional part of the working day which expresses *necessary labour* and the whole working day. It can move only within these limits. The smaller the fractional part already which represents *necessary* labour, the greater the *surplus labour,* the less can any increase in productivity perceptibly diminish necessary labour; for the denominator [of the fraction] has grown enormously. The

[a] This should read "surplus value".—*Ed.*

[b] Instead of "... as $^{1}/_{16}$" it should read "... as $16^{2}/_{3}$:100 or 1:6".—*Ed.*

self-valorisation of capital becomes more difficult to the extent to which it is already valorised. The increase in productivity could become a matter of indifference to capital; its valorisation itself could cease to matter, because its proportions have become minimal; and it would have ceased to be capital.

If necessary labour were $^1/_{1,000}$ and productivity tripled, necessary labour would fall only to $^1/_{3,000}$ or surplus labour would have grown by only $^2/_{3,000}$. But this happens not because wages or the share of labour in the product have increased, but because they have *already* fallen so low, considered in relation to the product of labour or the living working day.

//The labour objectified in the worker here shows itself as a fractional part of *his own living working day*; for this is the same ratio as that between the objectified labour he receives from capital as his wage and the whole working day.//

(All these propositions correct in this degree of abstraction only for the relation at this particular stage of the analysis. Further relations will come in later which modify them significantly. All this, in so far as it does not [present] itself in the most general form, *really belongs in the doctrine of profit.*)

So much in general for the time being: the development of the productivity of labour—in the first place the positing of surplus labour—is a necessary condition for the growth of the value or the valorisation of capital. As an infinite drive for enrichment, capital strives for an infinite enlargement of the productive forces of labour and calls them into being. But on the other hand, every enlargement of the productivity of labour—apart from the fact that it increases use values for the capitalist—is an increase in the *productivity of capital* and is, from the present standpoint, only a productive force of labour in so far as it is a productive force of capital.[a]

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[a] Here the following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: "If after the doubling of productivity and the resultant fall of *necessary labour*—which was $^1/_2$—to $^1/_4$, and the consequent rise of the surplus labour at the disposal of the capitalist, from $^2/_4$ to $^3/_4$, capital only commanded $^3/_4$ of a day's labour, then, as Ricardo says,[106] the increase in productivity would not, in fact, increase values, the *value of capital.* It would remain the same; if originally it represented the $^2/_4$ of the working day objectified in capital that remained over and above the part of the working day belonging to the worker, it still would do so. The same [III-32] surplus of objectified labour would have been created. But as we have seen, it lies in the nature of capital to consume the whole surplus labour at its disposal, for it is the creation of surplus labour that is its concept."—*Ed.*

[ABSOLUTE AND RELATIVE SURPLUS VALUE]

[III-32] This much is already clear and can at least be mentioned in anticipation: the increase in productivity does not in and by itself raise prices.[a] For example, the bushel of wheat. If half a working day were objectified in a bushel of wheat, and this was the price of the worker, the surplus labour can only produce 1 bushel of wheat. 2 bushels of wheat therefore the value of one working day and, if this in money=26s., then 2 bushels of wheat=26s. The bushel=13s.

If productivity now doubles, the bushel of wheat now only=$^1/_4$ of a working day;=$6^1/_2$s. The price of this fractional part of the commodity has fallen because of the [doubling of] productivity. But the total price has remained the same; but now surplus of $^3/_4$ of a working day. Every quarter=1 bushel of wheat=$6^1/_2$s. Therefore the total product=26s.=4 bushels. The same as before. The value of capital increased from 13 to $18^3/_2$s. The value of labour diminished from 13s. to $6^1/_2$; material production up from 2 bushels to 4. [The surplus value of capital] now $18^3/_2$.

If productivity also doubled in gold production, so that if 13s. was previously the product of half a working day, and half a working day the *necessary labour;* now of $^1/_4$ [of a working day], so produces 52s., or 52−13, or 39s. more. 1 bushel of wheat now=13s.; now, as before, the same fractional price; but the total product=52s.; earlier only=26s. But on the other hand, the 52s. now buy 4 bushels, while the 26 earlier bought only 2.

WELL. *D'abord,* it is clear that, if capital has already raised the surplus labour so far that the whole living working day is consumed in the process of production (and here we take the working day to be the natural quantum of labour time which the worker can place at the disposal [of capital]; he always puts his capacity to work at the disposal of capital only for a *specific time,* i.e. *a specific labour time*), then an increase in productivity cannot increase labour time, nor, therefore, objectified labour time. One working day is objectified in the product, WHETHER *THE NECESSARY TIME OF LABOUR* BE REPRESENTED BY 6 OR 3 HOURS, BY $^1/_2$ OR $^1/_4$ of the working day. The surplus value of capital has grown, i.e. its value relative to the worker—for if previously it was only=$^2/_4$, it is now=$^3/_4$ of the objectified labour time; but its value has grown, not because the *absolute* but because the *relative amount of labour* has grown, i.e. the

[a] Crossed out in the manuscript: "because we always take a fractional part of the product as a unit".—*Ed.*

total amount of labour has not grown. Now, as before, one day's work is done; hence no absolute increase in surplus time (surplus labour time), but the *amount of necessary labour has diminished,* and thereby the relative surplus labour has increased.

Previously, the worker IN FACT worked the whole day, but only $^1/_2$ day surplus time; now, as before, he works the whole day, but $^3/_4$ of the working day is surplus time. To that extent, therefore, the price (assuming the value of gold and silver to remain the same) or the exchange value of capital has not increased as a result of the doubling of productivity. This therefore affects *the rate of profit,* not the price of the product nor the value of the capital which has been changed back into a commodity in the form of the product. But IN FACT the absolute values also increase in this way, because the part of wealth posited as capital increases—as self-valorising value. *(Accumulation of capitals.)*

Take our earlier example.[a] Let *capital* be=100 thaler, and let it split itself up in the process of production into the following component parts: 50 thaler cotton, 40 thaler wages, 10 thaler the instrument. Assume also, to simplify the calculation, that the whole of the instrument of labour is consumed in one act of production (and this assumption here as yet quite insignificant), its value would therefore reappear completely, in the form of the product. Let us assume, in this case, that labour gives 8 hours to capital in exchange for 40 thaler, which expresses the labour time objectified in its living labour capacity, say, a labour time of 4 hours. The instrument and raw material assumed, the total product would amount to 100 thaler if the worker worked for only 4 hours, i.e. if the raw material and instrument belonged to him and he worked for only 4 hours. He would increase the 60 thaler by 40, which he could consume, since he firstly replaces the 60 thaler—the raw material and instrument required for production—and [secondly] adds to them a surplus value of 40 thaler, as reproduction of his own living labour capacity, or of the time objectified in him. He could recommence labour again and again, since he has reproduced in the process of production both the [III-33] value of the raw material and the instrument and of his labour capacity; the latter by constantly increasing the value of the former by 4 hours of objectified labour. But now let him receive the wages of 40 thaler only if he worked for 8 hours, i.e. if he added to the material and instrument of labour now confronting him as capital a surplus value of 80 thaler; while the former

[a] See this volume, pp. 239-44.—*Ed.*

surplus value of 40 thaler that he added was exactly equal to only the value of his labour. He would thus add [to the value of the raw material, the instrument and his labour capacity] a surplus value exactly=the surplus labour or surplus time.

//It is not in the least necessary at this point to assume that the material and instrument must also increase along with surplus labour or surplus time. For how mere surplus labour increases the raw material, see *Babbage,* e.g. the working of gold filament [in Venice], etc.[a]//

The value of the capital would therefore have increased from 100 thaler to 140 thaler.

//Suppose further that the raw material doubles and the instrument of labour increases (for simplicity of calculation) [proportionally]. The outlays of capital would now amount to 100 thaler cotton, 20 thaler instrument, therefore 120 thaler, and for labour now, as before, 40 thaler; ALTOGETHER 160 thaler. If the surplus labour of 4 hours increases 100 thaler by 40% it increases 160 thaler by 64 thaler. Therefore the total product=224 thaler. Here it is assumed that the rate of profit remains the same with the magnitude of capital, and the material and instrument of labour are not considered as already being themselves realisations of surplus labour, capitalisation of surplus time; as we have seen,[b] the greater the surplus time already posited, i.e. the greater the size of capital as such, the more it is assumed that the *absolute increase in labour time* impossible and that relative increase DECLINING in geometrical proportion, because of increased productivity.//

Now, capital considered as simple exchange value would be absolutely greater, 140 thaler instead of 100; but IN FACT only a new value would be produced, i.e. a value which is not necessary just to replace the outlays of 60 thaler for the material and instrument of labour and 40 thaler for labour, a new value of 40 thaler. The values present in the circulation would be increased by 40 thaler, by 40 thaler more objectified labour time.

Now make the same assumption as before. 100 thaler capital; namely 50 for cotton, 40 thaler for labour, 10 for the instrument of production; let surplus labour time remain the same as in the previous case, namely 4 hours, and the total labour time 8 hours. Hence the product in all cases only=8 hours labour time=140 thaler. Suppose now that the productivity of labour doubles, i.e. 2

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[a] Ch. Babbage, *Traité sur l'économie des machines et des manufactures,* Paris, 1833, pp. 216-19.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 265-66.—*Ed.*

hours would be sufficient for the worker to utilise the raw material and instrument to the extent necessary for the maintenance of his labour capacity. If 40 thaler were the labour time of 4 hours objectified in silver, then 20 thaler would be the objectified labour time of 2 hours. These 20 thaler now express the same use value as earlier the 40 thaler did. The exchange value of labour capacity has diminished by half, because half the original labour time creates the same use value, while the exchange value of the use value is measured only by the labour time objectified in it.

But the capitalist makes the worker work 8 hours as before, and his product therefore represents as before a labour time of 8 hours=80 thaler labour time, while the value of raw material and instrument has remained the same, namely 60 thaler; ALTOGETHER, as before, 140 thaler.

(The worker himself to live would only have had to add to the 60 thaler present as raw material and instrument a value of 20 thaler, he would therefore have produced a value of 80 thaler. Because of the doubling of productivity the total value of his product would have diminished from 100 to 80, by 20 thaler, i.e. by $^1/_5$ of 100=20%.)

But the surplus time or surplus value of capital is now 6 hours instead of 4, or 60 thaler instead of 40. Its increase is 2 hours, 20 thaler. The capitalist's calculation would now run thus: for raw material 50, for labour 20, for instrument 10; total outlay=80 thaler. Gain=60 thaler. The capitalist would sell the product for 140 thaler as before, but make a gain of 60 thaler instead of the previous 40. In one respect he throws into circulation only the same exchange value as before, 140 thaler, but the surplus value of his capital has grown by 20 thaler. Accordingly, only his share in the 140 thaler [is] the rate of his profit. The worker has IN FACT worked gratis for him for 2 more hours; namely 6 hours instead of 4, and for him it is the same as if he had worked 10 instead of 8 hours, i.e. increased his *absolute labour time,* under the earlier condition.

But in fact, a *new value* has emerged, too, namely, 20 thaler more are posited as *independent* value, as objectified labour, which has become free, relieved of the necessity merely to serve for the exchange of the previous labour power [Arbeitskraft]. This can occur in two forms. Either the 20 thaler are used to set as much additional labour in motion as corresponds to their becoming *capital* and creating increased exchange value, i.e. to their making a greater quantity of objectified labour into the starting point of the new production process. Or the capitalist exchanges the 20

thaler as money for commodities other than those he requires in his production as industrial [III-34] capital; in that case all commodities other than labour and money itself exchange for 20 thaler more, for 2 more hours of objectified labour time. Their *exchange value,* therefore, has risen by precisely this *sum which has been set free.*

In fact, 140 thaler are 140 thaler, as the very "astute" French publisher[a] of the Physiocrats observes in opposition to *Boisguillebert.* But it is false that these 140 thaler represent only more use value; they represent a greater part of *independent exchange value,* of *money,* of *latent capital;* therefore of wealth posited as *wealth.* This the economists themselves concede when they later allow the accumulation of capitals to comprise not only the increase in the mass of use values but that in *exchange values* too; for according to Ricardo himself,[b] the element of the accumulation of capitals is posited just as completely by relative surplus labour—and indeed it cannot be otherwise—as it is by absolute surplus labour.

On the other hand, it is already implicit in the thesis best developed by Ricardo himself[107] that these excess 20 thaler which are created purely by the increase in productivity, can again become capital. Of the 140 thaler, only 40 could earlier have become new capital (leaving aside the consumption of capital for the moment); 100 thaler did not become but remained capital. Now 60 thaler can become new capital, therefore a capital of an exchange value of 20 thaler more is now available. Exchange values, *wealth as such,* have therefore increased, although now, as before, the total sum of wealth has *not* directly increased. Why has wealth increased? Because there has been an increase in that part of its total sum which is not merely means of circulation but money, or which is not merely an equivalent but *exchange value existing for itself.*

The 20 thaler set free would either be accumulated as money, i.e. added to the existing exchange values in the abstract form of exchange value, or they all pass into circulation, and then the prices of the commodities purchased with them rise. They all represent more gold, and, since the cost of production of gold has not fallen (rather it has risen relative to the commodity produced with the capital which has become more productive), more objectified labour. (As a result, the surplus, which initially

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[a] E. Daire, "Commentaires et des notes explicatives", *Économistes financiers du XVIII^e siècle,* p. 419, Note 1.—*Ed.*

[b] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* p. 89.—*Ed.*

appeared on the side of one producing capital, now appears on the side of the other capitals which produce the commodities that have become dearer.) Or the 20 thaler are directly utilised by the original circulating capital itself as capital. In this way a new capital of 20 thaler—a sum of self-preserving and self-valorising wealth—is posited. Capital has risen by the exchange value of 20 thaler.

(We are not really concerned yet with circulation, for we are dealing here with capital in general, and circulation can only mediate between the form of capital as money and its form as capital; capital as money may realise money as such, i.e. exchange it for commodities, which it consumes in greater quantity than before; in the hands of the producer of these commodities, however, this money is converted into capital. It thus becomes capital either directly in the hands of the first capital, or by a detour, in those of another capital. But the other capital is always once more capital as such; and we are dealing here with *capital as such*, SAY THE CAPITAL OF THE WHOLE SOCIETY. We are not yet dealing with the difference, etc., between capitals.)

In general, these 20 thaler can appear only in two forms: [(1)] as money, so that capital itself once more adopts the determination of money which has not yet become capital—its point of departure; the abstract-autonomous form of exchange value or general wealth; or [(2)] again as capital, as a new domination of objectified labour over living. As general wealth materialised in the form of money (of the thing where it is merely abstract), or as *new* living labour.

//In the example given productivity has doubled, has risen by 100%, the [surplus] value of capital has risen by 50%.//

(Every expansion of the mass of capital employed can increase *productive power* not only in an arithmetic but in a geometric proportion, while—precisely as the multiplier of productive power—it can increase profit only at a much lower rate. The effect of the increase of capital upon the increase in productive power is therefore infinitely greater than that of the increase of productive power upon the growth of capital.)

Of the 140 thaler, the capitalist consumes (say) 20 as use values for himself by means of money as the medium of circulation. Thus, under the first assumption, he could begin the process of self-valorisation only with a greater capital, with a greater exchange value of 120 thaler (as against 100). After the doubling of productivity, he can do it with 140 thaler, without restricting his consumption. A greater part of the exchange values fixes itself as

exchange value, instead of disappearing in use value (whether it directly fixes itself in this way or indirectly through production). To create a larger capital means to create a larger exchange value: although exchange value in its *direct* form as simple exchange value has not been increased by the growth of productivity, it has been increased in its intensified form as *capital.*

This larger capital of 140 thaler[a] represents absolutely more objectified labour than did the earlier capital of 120 thaler. [III-35] It thus sets in motion, at least relatively, more living labour, and thus also ultimately reproduces a greater simple exchange value. The capital of 120 thaler at [a rate of profit of] 40% produced a product or simple exchange value of 60 thaler at 40%; the capital of 140 thaler, a simple exchange value of 64 thaler.[b] Here then the augmentation of exchange value in the form of capital is also directly posited as an increase of exchange value in its simple form.

It is of the highest importance to grasp this. It is not enough to say, as Ricardo does, that [with increased productivity] exchange value, i.e. the abstract form of wealth, does not increase, but only exchange value as capital.[c] In saying this, he only means the original process of production. But when relative surplus labour increases—and thus capital increases absolutely—the *relative* exchange value *existing as exchange value,* money as such, necessarily increases within circulation, and thereby, through the mediation of the production process, also *absolute exchange value.* In other words: a part of this same amount of exchange value (or money)—and it is in this simple form that the product of the process of valorisation appears—(the product is surplus value only in relation to capital, to value as it existed prior to the production process; for itself, considered as independent existence, it is merely *quantitatively determined exchange value*)—has been set free which does not exist as equivalent for existing exchange values nor for existing labour time. If it is exchanged for the existing exchange values, it gives them not an equivalent but more than an equivalent, and therefore sets free a part of the exchange value on their side. In a state of rest, this released exchange value, by which society has enriched itself, can only be money; and then only the abstract form of wealth is increased; when in motion, it can only realise itself in *new* living labour (it may be that previously

[a] See this volume, p. 269.—*Ed.*

[b] Figures in this paragraph do not correspond to previous calculations.—*Ed.*

[c] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* pp. 325-26.—*Ed.*

unemployed labour is set in motion or that *new workers* are created (population [growth] is accelerated); or again that a new circle of exchange values is created, that the circle of exchange values in circulation is enlarged, which can occur on the production side, if the released exchange value opens up a *new branch of production,* therefore [creates] a new object of exchange, objectified labour in the form of a new use value; or finally that the same is achieved by the introduction of objectified labour into the sphere of circulation in a new country by means of the expansion of trade). This [new living labour] must therefore be created [by raising productivity].

The form in which Ricardo tries to clarify the matter for himself (and he is very unclear in this respect), *au fond* amounts to nothing more than that he at once brings in a certain relationship, instead of simply saying that of the same sum of simple exchange values a smaller part is posited in the form of simple exchange value (equivalent) and a larger part in the form of money (of money as the original, antediluvian form, which constantly gives rise to capital; of money in its determination as money, not as coin, etc.); that therefore the part posited *as* exchange value for itself, i.e. as *value,* increases, *wealth in its form as wealth*[a] (whereas he comes to exactly the wrong conclusion that wealth increases only in its *material, physical* form as use value). The origin of *wealth as such,* in so far as it does not proceed from *rent,* i.e. according to him not from the *increase* of productivity but, on the contrary, from *its diminution,* is therefore *totally incomprehensible* to him, and he gets entangled in the craziest contradictions.

Let us take the matter in his form. Capital 1,000 sets in motion 50 workers; or 50 living working days. By a doubling of productivity, it could set 100 working days in motion. But these latter do not exist in his premiss and are arbitrarily brought in, because otherwise—if no *more real working days* are brought in—he does not understand the increase of exchange value arising from increased productivity. On the other hand, the *growth of population* is nowhere *analysed* by him as an *element in the increase of exchange values*; he doesn't even clearly and definitely mention it.

Let the given assumption be capital 1,000 and workers 50. The correct deduction—and he *draws* it (see Notebook [108]): 500 capital with 25 workers can [with productivity doubling] produce the

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[a] The following note relating to this passage is written in the upper margin of the next, 36th page of Notebook III: "(*Money* for itself should be designated neither as use value nor as exchange value, but as *value.*)"—*Ed.*

same use value as before; the other 500 with the other 25 workers starts a new business and also produces exchange value of 500. Profit remains the same, since it arises not from the exchange of the 500 for the 500, but from the proportions in which profit and the wages of labour originally share in the 500, and the exchange is, rather, that of equivalents, which can increase value here no more than it can in *foreign trade*, in relation to which Ricardo explicitly demonstrates this.[a] For exchange of equivalents implies nothing more than that the value which existed in the hand of *A* before the exchange with *B*, still exists in his hand after the exchange with *B*.

Total value or wealth has remained the same [after the doubling of productivity]. But the use value or the *physical substance of wealth* has doubled. Now, there is absolutely no reason why *wealth as wealth, exchange value as such*, should grow at all—so far as the *increase in the productive forces* is concerned. If the productive forces are doubled in both [III-36] branches again, capital *a* can again be divided into two of 250 with $12^1/_2$ days labour each, and capital *b* can do the same. There are now four capitals, with the same exchange value of £1,000, consuming, as before, altogether 50 living working days //it is *au fond wrong to say* that living labour consumes capital; capital (objectified labour) consumes living labour in the production process// and producing four times as much use value [as] before the doubling of consumption value.

Ricardo is too classical to commit the absurdities of those who claim to improve him, who ascribe the increase in value resulting from the growth of productivity to the fact that one party sells more dearly in circulation. Instead of exchanging the capital of 500, so soon as it has become commodity, simple exchange value, for 500, he exchanges it for 550 (at 10%), but obviously the other obtains in exchange only 450 instead of 500, and the total sum remains 1,000 as before. This occurs quite frequently in trade, but it explains the profit of one capital only by the loss of the other capital, hence not the profit as such of capital as such, and without this premiss, there can be profit neither on one side nor the other.

Ricardo's process [the growth of the mass of use values] can therefore continue without coming up against any other limitation than that of the *increase in productivity* (and this is again physical, initially located outside the *economic relation* itself) which is possible with a capital of 1,000 and 50 workers. See the following passage:

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[a] *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* Chapter VII.—*Ed.*

"Capital is that part of the wealth of a country which IS EMPLOYED WITH A VIEW TO FUTURE PRODUCTION, *AND MAY BE INCREASED IN THE SAME MANNER AS WEALTH*" [*On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* p. 327].

(*WEALTH* is for him here the abundance of use values, and considered from the standpoint of simple exchange, the same objectified labour can express itself in unlimited use values and always remain *the same exchange value,* so long as it remains the same amount of objectified labour, since its *equivalent* is measured not by the mass of use values in which it exists but by its own amount.)

"AN *ADDITIONAL CAPITAL* WILL BE EQUALLY EFFICACIOUS IN THE FORMATION[109] OF FUTURE WEALTH, WHETHER IT BE OBTAINED FROM IMPROVEMENTS OF SKILL OR MACHINERY, OR FROM USING MORE REVENUE PRODUCTIVELY; FOR WEALTH" (use value) "ALWAYS DEPENDS ON THE *QUANTITY* OF COMMODITIES PRODUCED" (also to some extent on their VARIETY, IT SEEMS), "WITHOUT REGARD TO THE FACILITY WITH WHICH THE INSTRUMENTS EMPLOYED IN PRODUCTION MAY HAVE BEEN PRODUCED" (i.e. the labour time objectified in them). "A CERTAIN QUANTITY OF CLOTHES AND PROVISIONS WILL MAINTAIN AND EMPLOY THE SAME NUMBER OF MEN; BUT THEY WILL BE OF TWICE THE VALUE" *(exchange value)* "IF 200 HAVE BEEN EMPLOYED ON THEIR PRODUCTION" [ibid., pp. 327-28].

If by means of the increase in productivity 100 produce as much in use values as 200 did earlier, then:

"half of the 200 are dismissed, thus the remaining 100 produce as much as did the previous 200. One-half of the capital can therefore be withdrawn from the branch of industry; just as much capital has been released as labour. And since half the capital performs exactly the same service as previously the entire capital did, two capitals are now formed, etc." (cf. ibid., pp. 39, 40 on international trade,[110] to which we must return).

Ricardo does not speak here about the working day; that, if the capitalist previously exchanged half a day's objectified labour for the entire living working day of the worker, he gained, *au fond,* only half a living working day, since he gives the other half to the worker in objectified form and gets it back from him in the form of living labour, i.e. pays the worker half a working day, [he presents it] rather in the form of simultaneous working days, i.e. of the working days of different workers. This changes nothing in the substance of the matter, only in its expression. [As a result of the increase in productive power] each of these working days provides so much more surplus time. If formerly the capitalist's limit was *the* working day, he now has 50 days, etc. As has been said, in this form the increase in the number of capitals arising

from the increase in productivity, does not posit any increase in exchange values; and, according to Ricardo, the population could also decline from say 10,000,000 to 10,000 without a decrease in exchange value or in the quantity of use values (see the conclusion of his book[a]).

We are the last to deny that contradictions are contained in *capital.* Indeed, it is our aim to analyse them fully. But Ricardo *does not analyse them.* He SHIFTS THEM OFF BY CONSIDERING THE VALUE IN EXCHANGE AS INDIFFERENT FOR THE FORMATION OF WEALTH. THAT IS TO SAY, HE CONTENDS THAT IN A SOCIETY BASED UPON THE VALUE OF EXCHANGE, AND WEALTH RESULTING FROM SUCH VALUE, THE CONTRADICTIONS WHICH THIS FORM OF WEALTH IS DRIVEN TO WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTIVE POWERS ETC. DO NOT EXIST, AND THAT A PROGRESS OF VALUE IS NOT NECESSARY IN SUCH A SOCIETY TO SECURE THE PROGRESS OF WEALTH, [III-37] CONSEQUENTLY THAT VALUE AS THE FORM OF WEALTH DOES NOT AT ALL AFFECT THAT WEALTH ITSELF AND ITS DEVELOPMENT, i.e. he considers exchange value as merely *formal.*

But then he suddenly remembers that (1) capitalists are concerned with VALUE; (2) historically, the progress of the productive forces (just as of international trade—he *should* have thought of this) has been accompanied by the growth of *wealth as such,* i.e. of the sum of values. How does he explain this? Capitals accumulate more quickly than the population; therefore wages rise; therefore population; therefore the price of grain; therefore the difficulty of production and therefore *exchange values.* Thus, the latter are finally reached by a detour.

We still here omit altogether the element of rent for at this stage we are concerned not with greater difficulty of production but on the contrary with the growth of the productive forces. With the accumulation of capitals, wages rise, unless population grows simultaneously; the worker marries, stimulus is given to propagation or his children live better, do not die prematurely, etc. In short, the population grows. But its growth leads to competition among the workers, and thus compels the worker once again to sell his labour capacity to the capitalist at, or even for a time below, its *value.* Now the accumulated capital, which in the meantime has grown more slowly, disposes over the surplus—once more as money—which it laid out before in the form of wages, that is as coin, to buy the use value of labour; as money, the surplus can be utilised as capital in exchange for [new] living labour, and since it now also disposes over greater quantities of working days, its *exchange value* grows again.

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[a] *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* pp. 416-17.—*Ed.*

(Even this not properly analysed by Ricardo, but mixed up with the theory of rent; for the growth of population now deprives capital of the surplus in the form of rent, which it lost before in the form of wages.) But even the growth of population is not really comprehensible in his theory. Nowhere does he show that there is an *immanent* relationship between the whole of the labour objectified in capital and the living working day (whether this is represented as a working day of 50×12 hours or as 12 hours' work by 50 workers, is the same as far as the relationship is concerned), and that this immanent relationship is precisely the *proportion of the fractional part of the living working day*, or of the equivalent for the objectified labour, with which the worker is paid, to the [whole] living working day; where the whole is the day itself and the immanent relationship is the variable proportion (the day itself is a constant magnitude) of the *fraction of the necessary hours of labour* to that of the *hours of surplus labour*. And just because he has not analysed this relationship, he has not demonstrated (and we have not as yet been concerned with this, for we were dealing with *capital as such*, and the development of the productive forces was introduced as an extraneous factor) that the development of productive power itself presupposes both the augmentation of capital and that of the simultaneous working days, but that within the given limits of the capital which sets in motion one working day (even if it be one of 50×12 hours, 600 hours) this development is itself the barrier to the development of its productive power.

Wages include not only the worker, but also his reproduction—so that when this specimen of the working class dies, another replaces him; when the 50 workers are dead, there are 50 new ones to replace them. The 50 workers themselves—as living labour capacities—represent not only the costs of their own production, but the costs that had to be paid to their parents over and above their own wages as individuals in order to replace themselves in 50 new individuals. Therefore the population grows even without a rise in wages. Now, why does it not grow quickly enough? Why must it receive a special stimulus? Surely only because it is of no use to capital merely to obtain more "WEALTH" in Ricardo's sense, it wants to command more *VALUE*, more objectified labour. But, according to him, it can do so in fact only if wages fall, i.e. more living working days are exchanged for the same capital with objectified labour and therefore a greater VALUE is produced. To make wages fall, he presupposes an increase in population. And in order to prove increase in population here, he

presupposes that the demand for working days increases, in other words, that capital can buy more *objectified labour* (objectified in labour capacity), hence that its VALUE has grown. But originally, he proceeded from precisely the opposite assumption, and made the detour only *because* he started from that assumption. If £1,000 could buy 500 working days and productivity grows, then it can either continue to employ the 500 in the same branch of labour, or split itself up into 2 capitals of 500 and employ 250 in one branch of labour and 250 in another. But it can never command more than 500 working days, for otherwise, according to Ricardo, not only the use values produced by it, but their *exchange value* must have been multiplied, the *objectified labour time* over which it has command. Therefore, if one proceeds from Ricardo's assumption, there can be no greater demand for labour. And if there [III-38] is, then the *exchange value* of capital has grown. Cf. *Malthus on value,*[a] who *senses* the contradictions, but comes a cropper when he himself tries to analyse them.[111]

We have always spoken only of the two elements of capital, of the two parts of the living working day, of which the one represents wages and the other profit, the one necessary labour and the other surplus labour. Where, then, are the two other parts of capital, which are realised in the material and instrument of labour? As regards the simple production process, labour implies the existence of an instrument which facilitates labour and of material in which it represents itself, which it forms. This form gives it its use value. In exchange, this use value becomes exchange value to the extent that it contains objectified labour. But as components of capital, are the material and instrument values which labour must replace?

Thus in the above example[b] (and such objections are frequently made to Ricardo: he considers only profit and wages as components of the production costs, it is said, not machinery and material) it would seem that, if the capital of 100—splitting itself up into 50 for cotton, 40 for wages, 10 for instrument, and wages of 40 thaler=4 hours of objectified labour—orders a working day of 8 hours, then the worker who would have to reproduce 40 thaler for wages, 40 thaler surplus time (profit), 10 thaler for the instrument, 50 thaler cotton=140 thaler, reproduces only 80 thaler. For 40 thaler [wages] is the product of half a working day,

[a] Th. R. Malthus, *The Measure of Value Stated and Illustrated.—Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 268-70.—*Ed.*

40 of the other, surplus half. But 60 thaler is the value of the two other components of capital. Since the real product of the worker is 80 thaler, he can reproduce only 80, not 140. Rather, he would have diminished the value of the 60 [instrument and material], since, of the 80, 40 is replacement of his wages; and the remaining 40 surplus labour is smaller than 60 by 20. Instead of a profit of 40, the capitalist would have suffered a loss of 20 on the original part of his capital consisting of instrument and material.

How is the worker to produce another 60 thaler value in addition to the 80, seeing that one-half of his working day, as his wages show, produces only 40 thaler with the instrument and material; the other half only produces the same amount; and he disposes of only one working day, as he cannot work two days in one?

Let us assume that the 50 thaler material=$x$ pounds of cotton yarn; the 10 thaler instrument=the loom. Now, first as regards the *use value,* it is clear that, if the cotton were not already in the form of yarn and the wood and iron already in that of the loom, the worker could not produce any *cloth,* any higher use value. For the worker himself in the production process, the 50 thaler and the 10 thaler are *nothing more than yarn and loom, not exchange values.* His labour has given them a higher use value, and added to them an amount of objectified labour of 80 thaler, namely 40 thaler in which he reproduces his wages and 40 surplus time. The use value—the cloth—contains one working day more, one-half of which, however, replaces only that part of capital in return for which the right to dispose over the labour capacity is exchanged. The worker did not produce the objectified labour time contained in the yarn and loom and constituting part of the value of the product; for him they were and remain material to which he has given a new form and in which he has incorporated new labour. The only condition is that he must not WASTE them, and he has not done so, to the extent that his product has a use value, indeed a higher use value than before. It now contains two parts of objectified labour—his working day, and the labour already present in his material, yarn and loom, independently of him and prior to his labour.

The labour previously objectified was the condition of *his* labour; it alone made it into labour but cost him no labour. Assume that they [yarn and loom] were not already presupposed as components of capital, as *values,* and had not cost *him* anything. Then the value of the product, if he had worked for a whole day, would be 80 thaler, if for half a day, 40 thaler. It would just=an objectified working day. They did not, in fact, cost him anything

in production. But that does not cancel out the labour time objectified in them, which remains and only receives another form. If the worker had to produce during the same working day the yarn and loom as well as the cloth, the process would IN FACT be impossible. It is precisely the fact that they do not require his labour either as use values in their original form or as exchange values, but are already *present,* which makes it possible to create with the addition of a day's labour a product of a value higher than that of a day's labour. But he succeeds in this in so far as he does not have to produce this surplus over and above a day's labour but *finds* it already *available* as material, as premiss.

It can therefore only be said that he reproduces these values in so far as they would go to waste, would be useless, *without* labour; but *labour* would be equally useless *without them.* So far as the worker reproduces these values, he does not do so by giving them a higher exchange value or entering into any process with their exchange value, but just by subjecting them to the simple process of production, merely by *working.* [III-39] But it costs him no more labour time *besides* that which he requires for their working-up and their higher valorisation. It is a condition under which capital has set him to work. He reproduces the value of material and instrument only by giving them a higher value, and this process of giving them a higher value=his day's labour. In other respects he leaves them as they are. The preservation of their old value derives from the addition of a new one, not from the production or *reproduction* of the old value itself. In so far as they are products of previous labour, a product of previous labour, i.e. a sum of previously objectified labour, remains an element of his *product*; the product contains the previous value as well as the new.

In fact, therefore, he produces in this product only the working day which he adds to it, and the preservation of the old value costs him absolutely nothing apart from what it costs him to add the new. For him the old value is only material and remains such, no matter how it changes its form; therefore it is something present *independently* of his labour. It does not concern him, it concerns capital, that this material which remains, as it only receives another form, itself already contains labour time; it is also *independent* of his labour and continues on *after* it as it existed before it. This so-called reproduction does not cost him any labour time but is the condition for his labour time, for it is nothing but the positing of the substance on hand as the material of his labour, relating to it as material.

He therefore replaces the old labour time by the *act* of labouring itself, not by the application of particular labour time for this purpose. He replaces it simply by the addition of *new* labour time, whereby the old is preserved in the product and becomes an element of a new product. The worker therefore does not replace with his working day the raw material and instrument, in so far as they are values. *The capitalist thus obtains this preservation of the old value just as free of charge as he obtains surplus labour.* But he obtains it free of charge [not] because it costs the worker nothing, but because the material and instrument of labour are already in his hands as *presupposition* and the worker thus cannot *work* without making the labour already present in objectified form in the hands of capital into the material of his labour, and thereby also conserving the labour objectified in this material. The capitalist, then, pays the worker nothing for the fact that the yarn and the loom—to wit their value—reappears in the cloth, and has thus maintained itself as value. This preservation results simply from the addition of new labour, which adds higher value.

From the original relationship between capital and labour, it therefore emerges that the same service which living labour renders to the objectified labour by means of its relation to it as living, does not cost capital anything, any more than it does the worker, but merely expresses the fact that the material and the instrument of labour confront him as capital, as premisses *independent* of him. The preservation of the old value is not an act separate from the addition of the new, but occurs of itself; appears as the natural result of it. But the fact that this preservation costs capital nothing, and costs the worker nothing either, is already posited in the relationship of *capital and labour,* which in itself is already the profit of the one and the wages of the other.

The individual capitalist can imagine (and for his calculation it serves the same purpose) that, if he owns a capital of 100 thaler, 50 thaler cotton, 40 thaler provisions with which to buy labour, 10 thaler instrument; plus a profit of 10% counted on his production costs, then labour has to replace his 50 thaler in respect of raw cotton, 40 thaler provisions, 10 thaler instrument, and 10% of 50, 40 and 10 respectively; so that in his imagination labour creates for him 55 thaler raw material, 44 thaler provisions, 11 thaler instrument, ALTOGETHER=110. But for economists[112] this is a peculiar notion, although asserted with great pomp as an innovation against Ricardo.

If the working day of the worker=10 hours, and he can produce 40 thaler in 8 hours, i.e. produce his wages or, what is the same thing, maintain and replace his labour capacity, he requires $^4/_5$ of a day to compensate capital for his wages and gives capital $^1/_5$ of a day surplus labour or 10 thaler. Capital therefore receives in exchange for the 40 thaler wages, for 8 hours of objectified labour, 10 hours of living labour, and this surplus constitutes its entire profit. The total objectified labour which the worker has created, then, is 50 thaler, and whatever may be the costs of instrument and raw material, he cannot add any more to them, for his day cannot objectify itself in more labour. So now, by the fact that he has added to the 60 thaler raw material and instrument the 50 thaler—10 hours labour (of which 8 are merely the replacement of his wages)—he has at the same time preserved the material and the instrument—they are preserved just by again coming into contact with living labour and being utilised as instrument and material. This costs him no labour (and he would have no time available for it), nor is he paid for it by the capitalist. Like every natural or social power of labour which is not the product of earlier labour or is not the product of such earlier labour as must be repeated (e.g. the historical development of the worker, etc.), this animating natural power of labour—namely that while it utilises material and instrument it preserves them in one form or another, and thus preserves also the labour objectified in them, their exchange value—this power becomes the *power of capital,* not of labour. Hence also not paid for by capital, any more than the worker is paid for his ability to think, etc.

[III-40] We have seen that originally the prerequisite for the appearance of *capital* is the *value* which has become independent of and *opposed to* circulation—i.e. the commodity for which the character of exchange value is not a purely formal, vanishing character facilitating its exchange for other use values and ultimately leading to its disappearance as an object of consumption—*money as money,* that is money withdrawn from circulation and *negatively* asserting itself as opposed to it.[a] On the other side, *money* (in its third, adequate form[b])—as value which no longer enters circulation as an equivalent, but is not yet potentiated to the level of capital, i.e. *negative* value independent of and opposed to circulation—again results from the product of capital, in so far as that product is not merely the *reproduction* of the capital (but this

[a] See this volume, pp. 182-204.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 151-52.—*Ed.*

reproduction is purely formal, since of the three parts of the value of capital only one is really consumed, therefore reproduced, that replacing wages; but profit is not reproduction, it is addition of value, surplus value). Just as money first appeared as the prerequisite of capital, as cause of it, so it now appears as its effect. In the first movement, money arose from simple circulation; in the second it arises from the production process of capital. In the first it *makes a transition* to capital; in the second it appears as a prerequisite of capital posited by capital itself, and is already *in itself* therefore posited as capital; already contains within itself ideally the relation to capital. [In the second movement] money no longer simply makes a transition to capital, but its potential transformation into capital is already inherent in it as *money.*

The augmentation of values is therefore the result of the self-valorisation of capital; [regardless of] whether this self-valorisation is the result of absolute *surplus time* or *relative,* i.e. of an actual increase of absolute labour time or of an increase in relative surplus labour, i.e. of the diminution of the fractional part of the working day representing necessary labour time for the maintenance of labour capacity, *necessary* labour in general.

Living labour time reproduces nothing more than the part of the objectified labour time (of capital) which appears as payment for the right to dispose over the living labour capacity, and which, therefore, as an equivalent, must replace the labour time objectified in this labour capacity, i.e. replace the production costs of the living labour capacity, in other words, keep the worker alive as a worker. What it produces in addition to that is not reproduction, but new creation, and indeed new creation of values, because objectification of new labour time in a use value. That the labour time contained in the raw material and instrument is preserved at the same time, is the result *not of the quantity of labour,* but of its *quality* of being labour as such; and there is no special payment for this general quality—which does not qualify it as any specifically determined labour, but consists in *labour as labour being labour*—since capital has purchased *this quality* in the exchange with the worker.

But the equivalent of this quality (the specific use value of labour) is measured simply by the *quantity* of labour time which has produced it. To start with, the worker's use of the instrument as instrument and his shaping of the raw material adds to the value of the raw material and instrument as much new

form[a] as is=to the labour time contained in his own wages; anything more he adds is surplus labour time, surplus value. But by virtue of the simple relationship, that the instrument is used as an instrument and the raw material is posited as the raw material for labour, by virtue of the simple fact that they are brought into contact with labour, that they are posited as its means and object and thus as objectification of living labour, as moments of labour itself, they are preserved not in their form but in their substance; and, viewed economically, objectified labour time is their substance. The labour time objectified [in raw material and instrument] ceases to exist in a merely one-sided objective form—in which as a mere thing, it is liable to dissolution by chemical processes, etc.—for it is now posited as the material mode of existence, means and object, of living labour.

Out of merely objectified labour time, in whose physical being labour exists only as vanished, *external form* of its natural substance, a form exterior to this substance itself (e.g. to wood the form of the table, or to iron the form of the cylinder), as merely existing in the external form of the physical matter, develops the indifference of physical matter to its form. Objectified labour time maintains that form not through any living immanent law of reproduction, as e.g. the tree maintains its form as tree (wood maintains itself in a particular form as tree, because this form is a form of wood; whereas the form as table is accidental to wood, not the immanent form of its substance); that form exists only as a form external to the physical matter, or it exists itself only physically. The dissolution to which its matter is subject, therefore dissolves the form as well. But posited as conditions for living labour, the instrument and raw material are themselves reanimated. Objectified labour is no longer attached to the physical matter as a dead, external, indifferent form, since it is itself, in turn, posited as an element of living labour, as a relation of living labour to itself as objective material, as *objectivity* of living labour (as means and object) (the *objective* conditions of living labour).

While living labour by its realisation in the material transforms the material itself, a transformation determined by the purpose of labour, its purposive activity—(a transformation which does not, as in the inanimate object, posit the form as external to the physical matter, as a mere vanishing semblance of its existence)—

[a] Probably a slip of the pen; "labour" would seem to be the right word here.—*Ed.*

it preserves the material in a definite form, and subjects the change of form of the physical matter to the purpose of labour. Labour is the living, form-giving fire; it is the transience of things, their temporality, [III-41] as the process of their formation by living time. In the simple production process—leaving aside the valorisation process—the transience of the form of things is used to posit their usefulness.

When raw cotton becomes yarn, the yarn becomes fabric, the fabric becomes printed or dyed fabric, etc., and this, say, becomes a dress, (1) the substance of the cotton has been preserved in all these forms. (In the chemical process, the reactions regulated by labour have throughout consisted in an exchange of (natural) equivalents, etc.); (2) in all these successive processes, the substance has obtained a more useful form, one making it more suitable for consumption, until it has finally obtained the form in which it can be direct object of consumption; in which, therefore, the consumption of the substance and the transcendence of its form constitutes human satisfaction, and its transformation is its use. The substance of raw cotton is preserved in all these processes; it perishes in one form of use value in order to *make way for a higher one, until the object is in being as the object of direct consumption.*

But when the raw cotton is converted into twist, it is posited in a definite relation to a further type of labour. If this labour did not take place, not only has the form been imposed on it uselessly, i.e. the earlier labour is not endorsed by the new, the substance is also spoilt, for it has use value in the form of twist only if it is worked on further: it is use value only in respect of the use which further labour makes of it; it is use value only if its form as twist is transcended into that of cloth, whereas the raw cotton in its being as raw cotton is capable of an infinite number of useful applications.

Thus, without further labour, the use value of raw cotton and twist, material and form, would be wrecked; it would be destroyed, instead of being produced. The material as well as the form, substance like the form, are preserved by further labour—preserved as use values, until they assume the form of use value as such, whose use is consumption. It is therefore inherent in the simple production process that the earlier stage of production is preserved by the later, and that the creation of a higher use value preserves the old, or transforms it only in so far as it is raised as use value. It is living labour which preserves the use value of the un-finished product of labour by making it into the material of further labour. But it only preserves it, i.e. only protects it from

uselessness and decay, by working on it in accordance with its purpose, by making it, in general, the object of new living labour.

This *preservation of the old use value* is not a process taking place alongside the augmentation of the old use value or its completion by new labour; it is the result of this new labour of raising the use value itself. When the work of weaving transforms twist into cloth, i.e. treats it as the raw material of weaving—a particular kind of living labour—(and the twist has use value only if it is woven into fabric), it preserves the use value which the raw cotton as such possessed and that which it obtained specifically as twist. It preserves the product of [earlier] labour by making it into the raw material of new labour. But it does not (1) add new labour and (2) besides that preserve the use value of the raw material by means of another labour. *It preserves the utility of the raw cotton as yarn by weaving the yarn into fabric.* (All this belongs already to the first chapter, *on production in general.*) *Preserves it by weaving it.* This preservation of labour as a product, or of the use value of the product of labour, by its becoming the raw material for new labour, by again being posited as material objectivity of purposive living labour, is given in the simple production process. In relation to use value, labour possesses the property that it preserves the existing use value by raising it to a higher one, and raises it by making it the object of a new labour determined by a final aim; by transforming it again from the form of indifferent consistency into that of the objective material of labour, of the body of labour.

(*The same is true of the instrument.* A spindle preserves itself as use value only when it is used for spinning. Otherwise, the particular form imparted here to the iron and wood would make unusable both the labour which produced that form and the material in which it produced it. Only if it is posited as the means of living labour, as an objective moment of being of its living existence, only then are the use value of the wood and iron, as well as their form, preserved. To be used up is the specific role of the spindle as an instrument of labour, but to be used up in the process of spinning. The greater productivity which it confers on labour creates more use values and thereby replaces the use value used up in the consumption of the instrument. This appears most clearly in agriculture, since here [the product] as an immediate means of life and use value appears most readily, because earliest historically, as use value in distinction to exchange value. If, by using a hoe, the cultivator produces twice as much grain as he could otherwise produce, he needs to use less time on the

production of the hoe itself; he has enough food [for the time required] to make a new hoe.)

Now in the process of valorisation, the value components of capital—one existing in the form of material, the other in the form of instrument—do not appear as values in respect of the worker, i.e. of living labour (for the worker exists only as such in this process), but as simple moments of the production process; as use values for labour, as the objective conditions for its taking place, or as its objective moments. That the worker preserves them when he uses the instrument as instrument and gives to the raw material [III-42] a higher form of use value, is inherent in the nature of labour itself. But the use values of labour thus preserved are, as components of capital, exchange values. As such they are determined by the production costs contained in them, the amount of labour objectified in them. (For use value, only the *quality* of the labour already objectified is relevant.) The amount of *objectified labour* is preserved by the preservation of its *quality as use values for further labour* through contact with living labour.

The use value of raw cotton, like its use value as yarn, is preserved by the cotton—as yarn—being woven into fabric, by its existing as one of the objective moments (along with the loom) in weaving. *The amount of labour time contained in the raw cotton and the yarn is thereby also preserved.* What appears *in the simple production process as the preservation of the quality of previous labour—and consequently* also of the material in which it is embodied—appears in the process of valorisation as the preservation of the amount of labour already objectified. *For capital,* this preservation is the preservation of the amount of objectified labour *through* the production process; for *living labour* itself, it is only the preservation of the already present use value, present for labour to use.

Living labour adds a *new amount of labour;* but it is not by virtue of this *quantitative addition* that it preserves the quantity of labour already objectified, but by virtue of its *quality* as *living labour,* or by relating itself as labour to the use values in which the previous labour exists. Living labour, however, is not paid for this quality it possesses as living labour—it would not be bought at all, were it not living labour—but for the *quantity* of labour contained in it. What is paid for is only the *price* of its use value, as is the case with all other commodities. The specific quality it possesses, its ability by adding a new amount of labour to the amount previously objectified to preserve the objectified labour in its quality as objectified labour, is not paid for, nor does it cost the

worker anything, since it is the natural property of his labour capacity.

In the production process, the separation of labour from the objective moments of its existence—instrument and material—is *transcended. The existence of capital and wage labour rests on this separation. The transcendence of the separation, which really takes place in the production process*—for otherwise no work could be carried on at all—*is not paid for by capital.* (The transcendence is effected not by the exchange with the worker, but *by labour itself in the production process.* But as such *ongoing labour,* it is itself already incorporated into capital, is one of its moments. This preserving power of labour therefore appears as the *self-preserving power* of capital. The worker has only added new labour; previous labour—by virtue of the existence of capital—has eternal existence as value, completely independent of its physical form of being. This is how the matter appears to capital and to the worker.) If capital also had to pay for the transcendence, it would simply cease to be capital. For this is simply part of the physical role which labour plays in the production process by virtue of its nature; part of its use value.

But as use value, labour belongs to the capitalist; as merely exchange value, it belongs to the worker. Its living quality in the production process itself, its quality of preserving objectified labour time by making it into the objective mode of being of living labour, is not the worker's concern. *This appropriation, by which living labour* transforms *the instrument and material in the production process itself* into the body of its soul, and thereby raises them from the dead, is indeed an antithesis to the fact that labour is without an object or is a reality in the worker only as immediately living labour—and that the material and instrument of labour exist in capital as beings-for-themselves. (To this we must return.)

The valorisation process of capital is carried on through and in the simple production process by putting living labour in its natural relation to its material elements of being. But in so far as living labour enters into this relation, this relation does not exist for labour itself but for capital; it is itself already an element of capital.

It is evident, then, that the capitalist, by means of the process of exchange with the worker—by actually paying the worker an equivalent for the production costs contained in his labour capacity, i.e. by giving him the means to preserve his labour capacity but appropriating living labour for himself—obtains two things free of charge: firstly, the surplus labour which increases

the value of his capital, but at the same time, secondly, the quality of living labour which preserves the previous labour materialised in the component parts of capital and thus preserves the previously existing value of the capital. Yet this preservation is not due to living labour *increasing the amount of objectified labour* and thus creating value, but simply to the fact that in adding a new quantity of labour it exists as *living* labour, in the immanent relationship to the material and instrument of labour posited by the production process; i.e. it is due to its *quality* as living labour. But as this quality, living labour is itself a moment of the simple production process, and the capitalist does not have to pay for it, just as the yarn and the loom do not cost him anything over and above their price for being likewise moments of the production process.

If, e.g. in time of STAGNATION OF TRADE, etc., the MILLS are shut down, then it can indeed be seen that the machinery rusts and the yarn is useless ballast, and rots, as soon as their relation to living labour ceases. If the capitalist merely [III-43] orders work so as to produce surplus value—to produce value not yet existing—it can be seen that as soon as he ceases to order work, his already existing capital, too, is depreciated; i.e. that living labour not merely adds new value, but by the VERY ACT OF ADDING A NEW VALUE TO THE OLD ONE, MAINTAINS, ETERNALISES IT.

(This shows clearly the stupidity of the accusation levelled against Ricardo, that he conceives *only* of profit and wages as necessary components of production costs, and not also of the part of capital contained in the raw material and instrument. In so far as the value existing in them is merely preserved, no new production costs are incurred. But as far as these existing values themselves are concerned, they all dissolve themselves once more into objectified labour—necessary labour and surplus labour—wages and profit. The purely natural material, in so far as *no* human labour is objectified in it, in so far as it is thus merely matter, exists independently of human labour, has no *value,* since value is only objectified labour; any more than the basic elements in general have any value.)

The preservation of the existing capital by the labour which valorises it, thus costs capital nothing, and therefore does not belong to the production costs, although the existing values are preserved in the product, and in exchange, therefore, equivalents must be given for them. But the *preservation of these values* in the product costs capital nothing, so capital cannot rank it among the production costs. Nor are they replaced by labour, since they are

not consumed, except in so far as they are consumed in an aspect of their mode of being which is indifferent to labour and exists outside it, i.e. in so far as their *transience is consumed* (transcended) through labour. Only wages are really consumed.

[SURPLUS VALUE AND PROFIT]

Let us return once more to our example[a]: 100 thaler capital, i.e. 50 thaler raw material, 40 thaler labour, 10 thaler instrument of production. The worker needs 4 hours to produce the 40 thaler, the means required for his subsistence, or the part of production necessary for his maintenance; let his working day be 8 hours. The capitalist then obtains a surplus of 4 hours free of charge; his surplus value equals 4 objectified hours, 40 thaler; therefore his product=50+10 (the values preserved, not reproduced; values which have remained *constant, unaltered,* as values)+40 thaler (wages, reproduced because consumed in the form of wages)+40 thaler surplus value. *Sum total*: 140 thaler.

Of these 140 thaler, 40 are now surplus. Now, the capitalist must live during production and before he begins to produce; say, 20 thaler. He must have these 20 thaler apart from his capital of 100 thaler; equivalents for them must therefore be present in circulation. (How these originate does not concern us here.) Capital presupposes circulation as a constant magnitude. These equivalents are present once again. He therefore consumes 20 thaler of his profit. These enter into simple circulation. The 100 thaler also enter into simple circulation, but only to be transformed again into conditions of new production: 50 thaler raw material, 40 subsistence for worker, 10 instrument. Remains a surplus value added as such, newly produced, of 20 thaler. This is *money*, value made negatively independent in opposition to circulation. It cannot enter into circulation as simple equivalent, for the exchange of objects of simple consumption, since circulation is presupposed as constant. But the independent illusory existence of money has been transcended; it exists now only to valorise itself, i.e. to become capital.

In order to do so, however, it would have to be exchanged once more for the moments of the production process: subsistence for the worker, raw material and instrument. These are all reducible to objectified labour; can only be posited by living labour. *Money*, so far as it already exists *in itself* as capital, is thus merely a *draft*

[a] See this volume, pp. 268-70 and 279.—*Ed.*

*on future* (new) labour. In objective form it exists only as *money*. The surplus value, the increase of *objectified labour*, so far as it exists for itself, is *money*; but money is now *in itself* already capital, and as such a *draft on new labour*. Here capital no longer enters into relation only with existing labour but with future labour as well. Nor does it any longer appear dissolved into its simple elements in the production process, but dissolved into these as money; but no longer as money which is merely the abstract form of general wealth, but as money which is a draft on the real possibility of general wealth—on labour capacity, and, more precisely, on *labour capacity coming into being*. As such a draft, its material existence as money is of no consequence and can be replaced by any other title. Just like the State creditor, every capitalist possesses in his newly acquired value a draft on future labour, and has already appropriated future labour by the very appropriation of current labour. (This aspect of capital to be developed later. It already reveals here its characteristic feature: that as value it exists separately from its substance. This already contains the basis of credit.) The accumulation of capital in the form of money is therefore in no way a material accumulation of the material conditions of labour, but the accumulation of property titles to labour. It posits future labour as *wage labour*, as use value of capital. No *equivalent* exists for the newly created value; its possibility [exists] only in new [III-44] labour.

In this example, then, by means of absolute surplus labour time—labour of 8 hours instead of 4—a new value of 20 thaler money is produced, and this is money already related to its form as capital (money already as *posited possibility* of capital, not, as earlier, when this possibility arose only as the result of money ceasing to be money as such). This new value is added to the old values, to the existing world of wealth.

Now, if productivity doubles, so that the worker needs to put in only 2 hours' *necessary labour* instead of 4, and the capitalist CONSEQUENTLY makes him work 8 hours as before, then the account is as follows: 50 thaler material, 20 wages, 10 instrument of labour, 60 surplus value (6 hours, previously 4). Increment of absolute surplus value: 2 hours or 20 thaler. *Sum total*: 140 thaler (in the product).

A sum of 140 thaler as before, but 60 of it is surplus value, and of that 60, 40 as before is accounted for by the absolute increase of surplus time [beyond the necessary labour time], 20 by its relative increase. But the simple exchange value contains only 140 thaler, as before. Now [that productivity has doubled] is it only the

use values which have increased, or has a new value been created? Previously, capital had to recommence the process with 100 thaler in order to expand anew by 40%. What becomes of the 20 [relative] surplus value? Previously, capital consumed 20; it was left with a value of 20. Now it consumes 20, and is left with 40. On the other hand, the capital entering into production previously remained 100; now it has become 80. What has been gained on one side as value in one form, has been lost on the other as value in the other form.

The previous capital re-enters the production process, and again produces 20 surplus value (after its consumption has been deducted). At the end of this second operation newly created value exists for which there is no equivalent: 20 thaler together with the first 40. Let us now take the second capital [whose productivity is twice as high]. 50 material, 20 wages (=2 hours), 10 instrument of labour. But with the 2 hours [spent on wages], it produces a value of 8, namely 80 thaler (of which 20 are for production costs [wages]). 60 thaler are left over, since only 20 reproduce wages (therefore vanish as wages). [If the second capital re-enters the production process, at the end of this second operation it will have produced, together with the first 60 thaler, a surplus value of] 60+60=120. At the end of this second operation, 20 thaler for consumption, remainder 20[a] surplus value; together with the first 60.

In the third operation with the first [capital], 60 [surplus value], with the second, 80; with the fourth [operation] with the first [capital], 80, with the second [capital], 100. The first capital has increased as *value* by as much as its exchange value as productive capital has diminished.[b]

Suppose that both capitals together with their surplus can be used as capital, i.e. the surplus can be exchanged for new living labour. We then get the following account (omitting the [capitalist's own] consumption): the *first capital* produces [at a rate of profit of] 40%; the second 60%. 40% of 140 is 56; 60% of 140 (i.e. 80 capital, 60 surplus value) is 84. The total product in the first instance [if surplus value is used productively] is 140+56=196; in the second, 140+84=224. In the second instance, the absolute exchange value [of the product] is thus 28 thaler greater.

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[a] Should be 40.—*Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript there follows at this point Marx's first draft of the comparison of the first and second capitals, with corresponding calculations. However Marx crossed it out, probably because he was dissatisfied with it.—*Ed.*

The first capital has 40 thaler to purchase new labour time; the value of one working hour was assumed to be 10 thaler, so it buys another 4 working hours with the 40 thaler which produce for it 80 (of which 40 for replacement of wages) (i.e. give it 8 hours' labour time).[113] The first capital was at the end [of the production process] 140+80 (namely, reproduction of the capital of 100; surplus value 40 or reproduction of 140; the first 100 thaler [of advanced capital] reproduce themselves as 140; the second 40 (since they are spent only on the purchase of new labour, hence do not *simply* replace a value—incidentally, an impossible assumption) produce 80). 140+80=220.

The second capital [on completion of the first production cycle equals] 140; the 80 produce 40; or the 80 thaler reproduce themselves as 120. But the remaining 60 [surplus value added to capital] (as they are spent *only* on the purchase of *labour*, and are therefore not used for the simple replacement of value but reproduce themselves from themselves and posit the surplus) reproduce themselves as 180; therefore 120+120=240 (40 thaler more produced than by the first capital, a surplus time of 2 hours, for the first is a surplus time of 2 hours as assumed also in the first capital). Therefore a greater exchange value as a result because more labour objectified, 2 hours more surplus labour.

[III-45] Something else to be noted here as well: 140 thaler at 40% yield 56; capital and interest[a] together=140+56=196. But in our calculations we have obtained [for the first capital] 220, according to which the interest on 140 would not be 56 but 84, which would be 60% on 140. ($140:84=100:x$; $x={}^{8,400}/_{140}=60$). Likewise in the second instance: 140 at 60%=84; capital and interest together=140+84=224. But we obtain [for the second capital] 240; according to which the interest on 140 is not 84 but 100 (140+100=240); i.e. % ($140:100=100:x$; $x={}^{10,000}/_{140}$) $71\,{}^{3}/_{7}$%.

How does this come about? (In the first instance 60% instead of 40%; in the second instance $71\,{}^{3}/_{7}$% instead of 60%). In the first instance, where it was 60 instead of 40, 20% too much came out; in the second $71\,{}^{3}/_{7}$ instead of 60, i.e. $11\,{}^{3}/_{7}$% too much. Why, firstly, the difference in both cases, and secondly, the difference in each case?

In the first case the original capital of 100=60 (material and instrument of labour) and 40 labour, i.e. ${}^{3}/_{5}$ material [and instrument], ${}^{2}/_{5}$ labour. The first ${}^{3}/_{5}$ yields no interest at all; the

[a] By interest (Zins) Marx means here the whole profit made on the advanced capital.— *Ed.*

latter $^2/_5$ yields 100% interest. But computed on the basis of the whole capital, the capital has increased by only 40%; $^2/_5$ of 100=40. But 100% on 40 yields only 40% on the whole 100, i.e. growth of the whole capital by $^2/_5$. Now, if, similarly, only $^2/_5$ of the newly added capital of 40 had increased by 100%, the total would have increased by 16. 40+16=56. This added to the 140=196, which is in fact an addition of 40% to the 156, if capital and interest are taken together.

40 [the newly added capital] has grown by 100%, has doubled, is 80; an expansion of $^2/_5$ of 40 by 100% adds 16. 40 of the 80 replaces the capital [spent on wages]. 40 is profit.

The account then is [for the first case]:

100 $C$[a]+40 interest[b]+40 $C$+40 interest=220;

or capital of 140 with interest of 80; but had we calculated it as:

100 $C$+40 interest+40 $C$+16 interest=196;

or capital of 140 with interest of 56.

[In our initial calculation,] we added too much in interest; the extra interest on 40 thaler of capital is 24 thaler. But 24=$^3/_5$ of 40 (3×8=24); i.e. alongside the capital [of 100 thaler] a mere $^2/_5$ of the [newly added] capital [of 40 thaler] has grown by 100%, so the total [newly added] capital has grown by only $^2/_5$, i.e. 16 thaler.

The interest we calculated for the 40 thaler was 24 thaler too high (this 24 represents 100% increase of $^3/_5$ of the capital of 40); 24 on 24 is 100% on 3×8 ($^3/_5$ of 40). But on the whole sum of 140, it is 60% [extra profit] instead of [the initial] 40%, i.e. on 40 thaler 24 too much has been calculated ($^3/_5$), 24 on 40 is 60%. On the capital of 40, therefore, 60% too much has been calculated (60=$^3/_5$ of 100). But on the total capital of 140, 24 too much has been calculated (and this is the difference between 220 and 196), thus together 28 $^1/_3$% too much.[114] Hence on the total [capital of 140 thaler], not 60% too much [has been calculated], as on the 40 [thaler] capital, but only 28 $^1/_3$ too much; which makes a difference of 31 $^2/_3$%, depending on whether we calculate 24 too much on the 40 [thaler] of the capital of 140.

Similarly in the other example.[115]

Of the 80 thaler advanced, which produces a value of 120, 50+10 [expended on the raw material and instrument] was merely replaced; but the 20 [expended on wages] reproduced itself three-fold, 60 (20 reproduction, 40 surplus). If 20 thaler

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[a] Capital. Here: advanced capital.—*Ed.*

[b] In the sense of the total profit obtained on the advanced capital.—*Ed.*

[expended on wages] produces 60 thaler, i.e. three times its value, then 60 thaler [of newly expended capital] produces [a surplus value of] 180.

[IV-1][a] We need not concern ourselves any longer with this most tedious calculation. The point is simply this: if, as in our first example, material and instrument amount to $^3/_5$ [of the advanced capital] (60 out of 100), wages $^2/_5$ (40) and the capital yields 40% profit, then it equals 140 at the conclusion [of the production process] (this 40% profit is equivalent to the capitalist ordering 12 hours' labour when the necessary labour time is 6 hours, thus gaining 100% of the necessary labour time). Now, if the 40 thaler profit were employed once more as capital under the same assumptions—and at the point we have reached, the assumptions have not altered—then $^3/_5$ of the 40 thaler, i.e. 24 thaler, must again be expended on the material and instrument, and $^2/_5$ on labour. So only the wages of 16 are doubled, becoming 32, of which 16 are for reproduction of the wages and 16 are surplus labour; at the end of the process of production the profit is therefore 40+16, ALTOGETHER=56 or 40%. Thus the total capital of 140 would have produced 196 under the same conditions. It is not permissible to assume, as most political economists do, that the 40 thaler are spent wholly on wages, to buy living labour, and thus at the conclusion of the process of production yield 80 thaler.

If it is said: a capital of 100 yields 10% in a certain period, 5% in another, nothing could be more mistaken than to conclude, as do Carey[b] and his associates,[116] that in the first case the share of capital in the output was $^1/_{10}$, therefore that of labour only $^9/_{10}$; and that in the second case the share of capital was only $^1/_{20}$, therefore that of labour was $^{19}/_{20}$; to conclude, in other words, that because the rate of profit falls, the share of labour rises. Of course, from the standpoint of capital, which has no awareness of the nature of its valorisation process, and has an interest in having one only at times of *crises,* the profit of 10% on a capital of 100 looks like a flat increase of 10% on each of the value components of the capital—material, instrument, wages—as though the capital as a sum of 100 thaler value, as that number of a certain unit of values, has increased by 10%.

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[a] Here Notebook IV of the manuscript begins. Written on page 1 are the words "Notebook IV. December 1857. Chapter on Capital (continued)."—*Ed.*

[b] H. C. Carey, *Principles of Political Economy*, Part I, Philadelphia, 1837, pp. 338-39.—*Ed.*

But in fact the question is: (1) how did the components of capital relate to each other, and (2) how much surplus labour did it buy with the wages—with the hours of labour objectified in the wages? If I know the total sum of capital, the relationship of its value components to each other (in practice I should also have to know what fractional part of the instrument of production is used up in the process, therefore actually enters into the process), and if I know the profit, I know how much surplus labour has been produced.

If $^3/_5$ of the capital consisted of material [and instrument of production], therefore 60 thaler (for the sake of convenience we assume that all the material [and the instrument] is consumed productively), and [$^2/_5$] of wages, 40, and if the profit on the 100 thaler is 10, then the labour bought with the 40 thaler of objectified labour time has produced 50 thaler of objectified labour in the production process. It has therefore worked a surplus time or produced a surplus value of 25%=$^1/_4$ of the necessary labour time. If, therefore, the worker works a 12-hour day, he has worked 3 hours of surplus time, and the labour time necessary to obtain his subsistence for one day was 9 hours' labour.[a]

The new value produced in production is indeed only 10 thaler, but according to the real rate these 10 thaler are to be taken as a percentage of the 40, not of the 100. The 60 thaler value has created no new value, only the working day has. The worker has therefore increased the capital exchanged for his labour capacity by 25%, not by 10%. The total capital has been increased by 10%. 10 is 25% of 40; it is only 10% of 100. The rate of profit of capital therefore by no means expresses the rate at which living labour increases objectified labour; for this increase is simply=to the surplus with which the worker reproduces his wages, i.e.=the time which he works over and above that which he would have to work to produce his wages.

If in the above example the worker were not a [wage] worker set to work by the capitalist, and if he treated the use values contained in the 100 thaler not as capital, but merely as objective conditions of his labour, he would possess, before starting on the production process anew, 40 thaler subsistence (which he would consume during the working day) and 60 thaler instrument and material. He would work only $^3/_4$ of a day, 9 hours, and his

[a] Here and below it should be "$2^2/_5$ hours of surplus time" and "$9^3/_5$ hours' labour".—*Ed.*

product at the end of the day would not be 110 thaler but 100, which he would then exchange [for the objective conditions of his labour] in the above proportions and recommence the process again and again. But on the other hand he would work 3 hours less, i.e. save the 25% surplus labour=25% surplus value on the exchange he would have made between 40 thaler subsistence and his labour time. And if on some occasion he worked 3 hours extra, because he had extra material to hand and also the instrument, it would not occur to him to argue that he had made an additional gain of 10%, but one of 25%; because he could buy $^1/_4$ more means of subsistence, for 50 thaler instead of for 40, and the means of subsistence alone would have value to him, since he is concerned with use value.

This illusion that the new gain is not [IV-2] produced by the exchange of the 9 hours of labour objectified in the 40 thaler for 12 hours of living labour, thus producing a surplus value of 25% on this portion, but that the total capital has grown over the board by an even 10%—10% of 60 [constant capital] is 6 and of 40 [variable capital] is 4; this illusion is the basis of *compound interest calculation* made by the notorious Dr. Price,[a] which prompted the HEAVEN-BORN Pitt to commit the folly of his *SINKING FUND*.[117] The identity of surplus gain [Mehrgewinn] with surplus labour time—absolute and relative—sets a qualitative limit[118] to the accumulation of capital, the *working day* (the time during which the worker's labour capacity can be active within any given 24 hours), the degree of development of productive power, and the size of the population, which represents the sum of simultaneous working days, etc. If, on the contrary, surplus gain is conceived of merely as interest—i.e. as the rate at which capital grows by means of some imaginary SLEIGHT OF HAND—the limit [to the accumulation of capital] would only be quantitative. Then it would be absolutely incomprehensible why capital should not add the accrued interest to itself as capital every other morning, and so create interest on its interest in endless geometric progression. Experience has shown the economists the *impossibility* of the Priceian augmentation of interest, but they have never revealed the BLUNDER contained in it.

Of the 110 thaler which come out at the end of the process of production, 60 thaler (material and instrument), so far as they are

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[a] R. Price, *An Appeal to the Public, on the Subject of the National Debt*, 2nd ed., London, 1772, and *Observations on Reversionary Payments; on schemes for providing annuities for widows, and for persons in old age; on the method of calculating the values of assurances on lives; and on the national debt*, 2nd ed., London, 1772.—*Ed.*

values, have remained absolutely unaltered. The worker has taken nothing from them nor added anything to them. Although he maintains objectified labour for capital free of charge, by the VERY FACT OF HIS LABOUR BEING LIVING LABOUR, it nevertheless seems, from the capitalist's standpoint, that the worker must pay him even for the capitalist's permission to enter as labour into the adequate relation to the objectified elements, the objective conditions [of labour]. Now as regards the remaining 50 thaler, 40 thaler of them represent not mere preservation but *real reproduction,* since capital has divested itself of them in the form of wages and the worker has consumed them. 10 thaler represent the production over and above the reproduction, namely $^1/_4$ surplus labour (of 3 hours).

The product of the production process is only these 50 thaler. Hence if the worker, as is wrongly maintained, shared the product [of the newly added labour] with the capitalist [at a rate of profit of 10%] in such a way as to obtain $^9/_{10}$ of it, he would have to get not 40 thaler which is only $^8/_{10}$ [of the newly added labour] (and he has received it in advance and reproduced it in return; in fact, he has fully repaid it to capital and has, moreover, maintained the already existing value for it free of charge), but 45 thaler, leaving capital only 5. Therefore the capitalist would only possess 65 thaler at the end as the product of the production process which he began with 100 thaler.

But the worker gets none of the reproduced 40 thaler, nor any of the 10 thaler surplus value. If the reproduced 40 thaler should be conceived of as destined to serve once more as wages, therefore to be used by capital for a new purchase of living labour, one can only say, as far as the ratio is concerned, that the objectified labour of 9 hours (40 thaler) purchases a living [labour] of 12 hours (50 thaler), and thus produces a surplus value of 25% of the real product of the valorisation process (partly reproduced as wage fund, partly newly produced as surplus value).

Just now the original capital was 100:

| Conditions of labour | Instrument | Wage labour |
|---|---|---|
| 50 | 10 | 40 |

Produced a surplus gain of 10 thaler (25% surplus time). *Altogether* 110 thaler.

Suppose that it has now become:

| [Conditions of labour] | [Instrument] | [Wage labour] |
|---|---|---|
| 60 | 20 | 20 |

Let the result be 110 thaler. The commonplace economist, and the even more commonplace capitalist, will argue that [the profit of] 10% has been produced in equal proportions by all parts of the capital. Once again 80 thaler of the capital would merely have been preserved; no change in its value would have taken place. The 20 thaler would have been exchanged for 30, that is all; therefore the surplus labour would have increased to 50% [of necessary labour time] from the previous 25%.

Take the third case:

| [Capital] | [Conditions of labour] | [Instrument] | [Wage labour] |
|---|---|---|---|
| 100 | 70 | 20 | 10 |

Result 110. In this case, the unchanging value [is] 90. The new product 20; therefore surplus value or surplus time 100%.

We thus have three cases in which the profit on the whole capital is 10 in each case; but in the first case, the new [surplus] value produced equals 25% of the objectified labour expended in the purchase of the living labour, in the second case 50%, in the third 100%.[a]

The devil take these damned wrong calculations. But NEVER MIND. *Commençons de nouveau.*[b]

In the first case we had:

| Unchanging value | Wage labour | Surplus value | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 60 | 40 | 10 | 110 |

We assume throughout the working day=12 hours. (We could also assume it as growing, e.g. that it was previously only $x$ hours but is now $x+b$ hours, and productive power as remaining the same; or assume both factors as varying.)

| | Hours | Thaler |
|---|---|---|
| [IV-3] The worker produces in | 12 | 50 |
| so in ..... | 1 | $4\,^1/_6$ |
| so in ..... | $9\,^3/_5$ | 40 } In 12 hours, |
| so in ..... | $2\,^2/_5$ | 10 } 50 thaler. |

The worker's necessary labour amounts therefore to $9^3/_5$ hours (40 thaler); the surplus labour thus to $2^2/_5$ hours ([produces] value

[a] Several lines of calculations relating to the three cases considered above were crossed out by Marx here.— *Ed.*

[b] Let's begin anew.— *Ed.*

of 10 thaler). $2^2/_5$ hours is a fifth of the working day. The surplus labour of the worker amounts to $^1/_5$ of a day, therefore=the value of 10 thaler. Let us now consider these $2^2/_5$ hours as a percentage which capital has gained on the labour time objectified in $9^3/_5$ hours in exchange for living labour, $2^2/_5 : 9^3/_5 = {}^{12}/_5 : {}^{48}/_5$, i.e. 12:48=1:4. Hence [$2^2/_5$ hours=] $^1/_4$ of the capital [advanced for wages]=25% on it. Similarly 10 thaler : 40 thaler=1 : 4=25%.

If we now summarise the whole result:

No. I

| Original capital | Unchanging value | Value reproduced for wages | Surplus value of production | Total sum | Surplus time and surplus value | % [of surplus time] to the exchanged objectified labour |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | $2\,^2/_5$ hrs or | |
| 100 tlr. | 60 tlr. | 40 tlr. | 10tlr. | 110 tlr. | 10 tlr. | 25% |

(One could say that the *instrument of labour,* i.e. its value, must be reproduced, not merely replaced, since it is in fact used up, is consumed in production. This is to be considered under *capital fixe.* In fact, the value of the instrument passes over into that of the material; in so far as it is objectified labour, it alters only its form. If in the above example the value of the material was 50 and that of the instrument of labour 10, so now, where 5 of the instrument's value is used up, that of the material [together with that of the used-up part of the instrument] is 55 and that of the instrument 5. If it is completely used up, the value of the material [together with that of the used-up instrument] has gone up to 60. This is an element of the simple production process. The instrument has not, like wages, been consumed *outside the production process.*)

We come now to the second case assumed:

| Original capital | Unchanging value | Value reproduced for wages | Surplus value of production | Total sum |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 100 | 80 | 20 | 10 tlr. | 110 tlr. |

If the worker produces 30 thaler in 12 hours, so in 1 hour $2^2/_4$ thaler, in 8 hours 20 thaler, and in 4 hours 10 thaler. 10 thaler is 50% of 20 thaler; as are 4 hours on 8; surplus value=4 hours, $^1/_3$ of a day or 10 thaler.

Therefore:

No. II

| Original capital | Unchanging value | Value reproduced for wages | Surplus value of production | Total sum | Surplus time and surplus value | % on [variable] capital |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | 4 hrs. | |
| 100 | 80 | 20<br>8 hours | 10 tlr. | 110 | 10 tlr. | 50% |

In the first case as in the second, the profit on the total capital 100=10%; but in the first case the real surplus value which capital obtains in the production process is 25%, in the second 50%.

The assumptions in No. II are in themselves quite as plausible as those in No. I. But related to each other, those in No. II appear to be absurd. The material and the instrument have been raised in value from 60 to 80 thaler, the productivity of labour has fallen from $4^1/_6$ thaler [newly created value] per hour to $2^2/_4$ thaler, and [the rate of] surplus value has increased by 100%. (But if we assume that the greater outlay for wages in the first case represents more working days, in the second fewer, then the assumption is correct.)

The fact that the necessary wages, therefore the value of labour expressed in thaler, have fallen, would in itself be of no consequence. Whether the value of one hour's labour is expressed in 2 or 4 thaler, both in the first case as well as in the second the product of 12 hours' labour exchanges (in circulation) for 12 hours' labour, and in both cases the surplus labour appears as surplus value. The absurdity of the assumption [in No. II] arises from the fact that (1) we have presupposed the maximum of labour time as 12 hours; hence cannot bring in more or fewer working days; (2) the more we allow capital to grow on one side [that of constant value], the more we cause not only the *necessary* labour *time* to diminish but its *value* as well; although the value is the same. In the second case the price would actually have to rise. The fact that the worker can live with less labour, i.e. produce more in the same number of hours, would have to make itself evident not in the [IV-4] decline in [the number of] thaler [paid] for one necessary working hour, but in the number of the necessary working hours itself.

If, e.g. as in the first example, he obtained $4^1/_6 \times 9^3/_5$ thaler, but the use value of this value, which must be *constant* in order to express *value* (not price), had so increased that he no longer required (as in the first case) $9^3/_5$ but only 4 hours for the

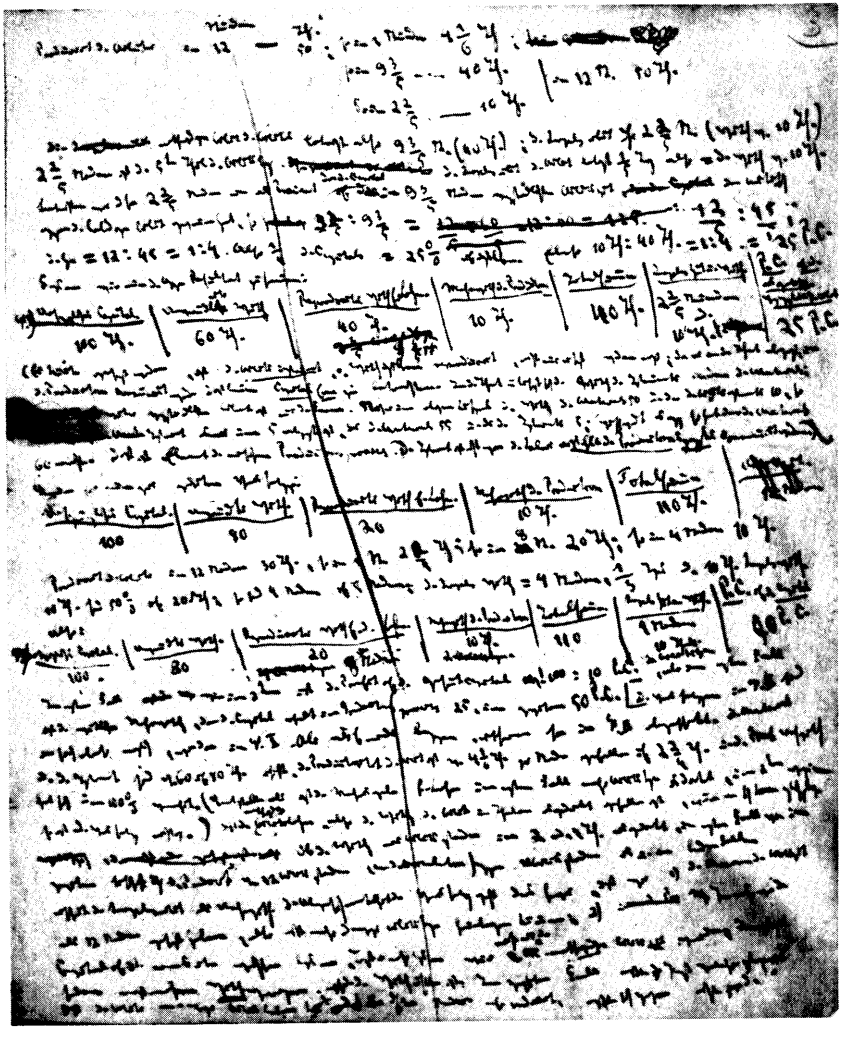

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production of his living labour capacity, then this would be bound to manifest itself in the surplus of the value. But in this case we have, in accordance with the conditions we have set ourselves, varied the "unchanging value" and have not changed the 10% which is constant here as the addition to reproductive labour, although it expresses different percentage parts of the same.

In the first case the unchanging value is smaller than in the second, the total product of [newly added] labour is greater; since if one component part of [the advanced capital of] 100 is smaller, the other must be greater; and since absolute labour time has also been fixed at the same amount; and since, finally, the total product of [newly added] labour diminishes as the "unchanging value" increases, and increases as this diminishes, we obtain less product of [newly added] labour (in absolute terms) for the same [newly added] labour time in proportion as more [constant] capital is employed. Now, this would be quite correct, since, if out of a given sum like 100, more is laid out in "unchanging value", less can be laid out in [newly added] labour time, and hence in general less new value can be produced *relatively* to the capital employed. But then [if capital is to make a profit] the *labour time* must not be fixed, as it is here, or, if it is fixed, the *value of one hour's labour* must not become smaller as it does here, which is impossible if the "unchanging value" and [the rate of] *surplus value increase*; the *number* of working hours would have to become smaller. But this is presupposed in our example. We assumed, in the first case, that in 12 hours' labour 50 thaler [of new value] is produced; in the second case, only 30 thaler. In the first case, we assumed that the worker worked for $9^3/_5$ hours [to reproduce the equivalent of his wages]; in the second case, for only 6, although he produced less in one hour. *C'est absurde.*[a]

And yet, is there not something correct about these figures, if they are looked at differently? Does not the absolute new value diminish, although the relative new value grows, when more material and instrument, relative to labour, enters into the elements of capital? Relative to a given capital, less living labour is employed. Therefore, even if the excess of [the product of] this living labour over its cost is greater, and thus the percentage increases specifically relative to wages, i.e. the percentage relative to the [variable] capital really consumed, does not the absolute new value necessarily become relatively smaller than in the case of the capital which employs less material and instrument of labour

[a] That's absurd.— *Ed.*

(precisely this is the main point in the change of the unchanging value, i.e. of the value unchanging as value in the production process) and more living labour, for the very reason that relatively more living labour is employed?

An increase in productive power then corresponds to the increase of the instrument of labour, since the surplus value [produced by Capital II], as in the previous mode of production [Capital I], is not proportional to its use value, its productive power, and since any increase in productive power produces surplus value, even though it does not do so in the same numerical proportion.

The increase in productive power which must manifest itself in an increase in the value of the instrument, in the relative share it accounts for in the expenses of capital, is necessarily accompanied by an increase in the [amount of] material, since more material must be worked on so that more product can be produced. (But the increase in productive power is also related to quality. It is related to quantity only, if a given product is of defined quality; it is related only to quality, if a specific quantity is given for the product; it can relate to both.)

Although [when the share of the material and instrument of labour in the advanced capital increases] less (necessary) labour exists relative to surplus labour, as in general less living labour necessarily exists relative to capital, can its surplus value not increase, though relative to total capital it declines, i.e. the so-called rate of profit declines?

For example, take a capital of 100, made up originally of material 30, instrument 30 (together 60 of unchanging value), wages 40 (4 working days), profit 10. In this case the profit [is] 25% new value relative to the labour objectified in the wages and 10% relative to capital.

Now assume that the material is 40, and the instrument 40. Assume that productivity doubles, so that only 2 working days are now necessary [for wages]=20. Suppose that absolute profit is now less than 10, i.e. the profit relative to the total capital. Can not the profit relative to the labour employed amount to more than 25%, i.e. in the given case to more than a quarter of 20? In fact, a third of 20 is $6^2/_3$; i.e. less than 10, [IV-5] but this is $33^1/_3$% of the labour employed, while in the previous case it was only 25%. Here we would have had at the end of the process only $106^2/_3$, whereas previously we had 110, and yet starting with the same sum [of advanced capital] (100), the surplus labour, the surplus gain would be greater relative to the labour employed than in the first case.

But since in absolute terms 50% less labour was employed, while the greater profit on the labour employed amounts to only $8\,^1/_3\%$ [$33\,^1/_3\% - 25\%$] more than in the first case, the absolute quantity which results must be smaller, hence the profit on the total [advanced] capital as well. For $20 \times 33\,^1/_3$ [$=6\,^2/_3$] is smaller than $40 \times 25\%$ [$=10$].

This entire case is improbable and cannot be taken as a general example in political economy, for an increase both in [the cost of] the instrument of labour and in the amount of material worked up are presupposed here, although not only the relative but also the absolute number of workers has declined. (Of course, if two factors=a third, the one must become smaller as the other grows larger.) But an increase in the instrument of labour in value terms relative to capital, and an increase in the material of labour in value terms with relatively less labour, presuppose a [growing] division of labour in the whole [of society], therefore an increase in the number of workers at least in absolute terms, even though not relatively to the volume of capital employed.

However, take the example of the lithographic machine, which everyone can use himself to make lithographs. Assume the *value* of the instrument when newly invented was greater than that [of the equipment] which previously 4 workers used before these handy things were invented; assume that it only requires 2 workers for its use (here, as in the case of many machines which are a kind of instrument, one cannot speak of any further division of labour; it is rather the qualitative division which disappears). Assume that originally the instruments were of the value of only 30, but that the necessary labour (i.e. necessary for the capitalist to make a profit) [was] 4 working days.

(There are machines, e.g. forced air heating ducts, which completely eliminate labour as such, except at one point; the ducts are opened at one point; to convey the heated air to the other points no workers at all are required. This is generally the case (see Babbage[a]) with power [energy] transmission: where previously power [energy] [was conveyed] in material form from one point to another by many workers, the former stokers, the transmission of that power [energy] from one room to another, which is now a physical process, appeared as the labour of so many workers.)

If the lithographer employs his machine as a source of profit, as

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[a] Ch. Babbage, *Traité sur l'économie des machines et des manufactures*, pp. 20-21.—*Ed.*

capital, not as use value, the material necessarily increases, since he can print more lithographs in a given period of time [than before], and it is precisely from this that his profit arises. Assume that this lithographer employs instrument of 40, material of 40, 2 working days (20), that [yields] him $33^1/_3$%, i.e. $6^2/_3$ on 20 objectified labour time. If his capital consists, like that of the other one, of 100, it yields him only $6^2/_3$% profit, but he gains $33^1/_3$% relative to the labour employed; the other capitalist gains 10% on the capital, but only 25% on the labour employed.

The value obtained from the labour employed may be smaller, but the profit on total capital is greater, if the other component parts of the capital are proportionately smaller. Nevertheless, the business with the $6^2/_3$% on the total capital and $33^1/_3$% on the labour employed could become more profitable than that originally based on a 25% profit on the labour and 10% profit on the total capital.

Suppose e.g. grain, etc., to have risen in value so much that the subsistence of the worker rises in value by 25%. The 4 working days would now cost the first lithographer 50 instead of 40. His instruments and material remain the same: 60 thaler. He would therefore have to invest a capital of 110. His profit, with a capital of 110, on the 50 thaler for 4 working days would be 12 (25%). Therefore 12 thaler on 110 (i.e. $9^1/_6$% on the total capital of 110).

The other lithographer: machine 40, and material 40. But the 2 working days would cost him 25% more, i.e. 25, instead of 20. He would therefore have to invest 105; his surplus value relative to the labour would be $33^1/_3$%, i.e. $^1/_3$, therefore $8^1/_3$. He would therefore gain $8^1/_3$ on 105; or $13^1/_8$%.[119]

Now suppose that, over a cycle of 10 years, there are 5 good harvests and 5 bad harvests, with the AVERAGE proportions as indicated above: the first lithographer would gain, as compared to the second, 50 thaler interest [profit] in the first [good] 5 years; in the second [bad] 5 years $45^5/_6$; over the whole period, $95^5/_6$ thaler. His AVERAGE interest [average profit] over the 10 years [would be] $9^7/_{12}$ thaler. The other capitalist would have gained $31^1/_3$ in the first [good] 5 years; in the second [bad] 5 years, $65^5/_8$; over the whole period, $96^{23}/_{24}$ thaler. AVERAGE [profit] over the 10 years would be $9^{87}/_{120}$.

Since [capitalist] No. II worked up more material at the same price, he sells the product more cheaply. One could say in reply that, since he used up more instrument, he sells his product more dearly; particularly since he uses up more of the machine's value

in proportion as he uses up more material. However, in practice it is [IV-6] not true that machines are used up proportionately the more quickly, i.e. that they must be replaced the sooner, the more material they work up. But all this does not belong here. We assume in both cases that the ratio of the value of the machine to that of the material is constant.

This example becomes significant only if we assume a smaller capital which employs more labour and less material and machinery but earns a higher percentage on the total capital employed; and a larger capital which employs more machinery, more material, proportionately less but in absolute terms just as many working days and makes a smaller percentage profit on the total capital employed, because less on labour, which is more productive because division of labour, etc., applied. Here, it must be assumed (and this was not assumed above) that the use value of the machine is significantly greater than its value, i.e. that its depreciation in the service of production is not proportional to its effect in increasing production.

So, assume, as above, a printing press: the first a printing press operated manually and the second a SELF-ACTING printing press.

*Capital I* of 100 invests 30 in material; 30 in the manually operated press; and in labour 4 working days=40 thaler. Profit is 10%, therefore 25% on the living labour (surplus time $^1/_4$ [of necessary time]).

*Capital II* of 200 invests 100 in material; 60 in the *press*; 4 working days (40 thaler). Profit relative to the 4 working days is $13\,^1/_3$ thaler=$1\,^1/_3$ working days, whereas in the first case it was only 1 working day. Sum total: $413\,^1/_3$, i.e. [rate of profit] $3\,^1/_3$%, whereas in the first case it was 10%. Nevertheless, the surplus value of the labour employed is $13\,^1/_3$ thaler in this second case, while in the first it is only 10. In the first case, 4 working days produce in 4 days 1 surplus day; in the second case, 4 [days] produce $^1/_3$ surplus day. But the rate of profit on the total capital employed is smaller by $^1/_3$ or $33^1/_3$% in the second case than in the first; the total sum of profit is $^1/_3$ greater.

Now let us assume that the 30 and the 100 invested in material [by the two capitals respectively] consist of sheets of print, and that the instrument is used up in the same time [in both cases], in 10 years or by $^1/_{10}$ [of its value] each year. No. I then has to replace [annually] $^1/_{10}$ of the 30 invested in the instrument, i.e. 3; No. II, $^1/_{10}$ of 60, i.e. 6. As assumed above, the instrument does not enter into the annual production in either case to a greater extent [than

$^1/_{10}$ of its value] (the 4 working days can count as days of 3 months each).[a]

*Capital I* sells 30 sheets of print at 30 material+3 instrument+50 (objectified [newly added] labour time) [production time]=83 thaler.

*Capital II* sells 100 sheets of print at 100 material+6 instrument+$53^1/_3$ [objectified (newly added) labour time]=$159\,^1/_3$ thaler.

*Capital I* sells 30 sheets for 83 thaler; 1 sheet for $^{83}/_{30}$ thaler=2 thaler 23 silver groschen.[b]

*Capital II* sells 100 sheets for 159 thaler 10 silver groschen; 1 sheet for $\frac{\text{159 thaler 10 silver groshen}}{100}$, i.e. for 1 thaler 9 silver groschen 10 pfennigs.

Clearly, then, Capital I has had it, because it sells its product infinitely too high. Although in the first case the profit relative to total capital was 10% and only $3\,^1/_3$% in the second, yet the first capital has taken in only 25% relative to [paid] labour time, while the second has taken in $33\,^1/_3$%. With Capital I, the ratio of necessary labour to the total capital invested is greater, and thus the surplus labour appears, though less in absolute terms than in Capital II, as a greater rate of profit upon the smaller total capital. 4 working days at 60 [produce a] greater [relative surplus value] than 4 at 160: in the first, 1 working day corresponds to an available [constant] capital of 15, in the second, 1 working day corresponds to 40. But with the second capital, labour is more productive. (This follows both from the *greater* amount of machinery and thus from its larger share in the value components of the capital; and hence from the greater amount of material, in which the working day including [IV-7] more surplus time and hence using up more material in the same time is expressed.) It produces more surplus time (relative surplus time, i.e. surplus time resulting from the development of productivity). In the first case the surplus time is $^1/_4$ [of the necessary time], in the second $^1/_3$. [In the case of the second capital] surplus time thus produces more use values as well as a greater exchange value in the same time. But the latter not in the same proportion as the former,

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[a] Here Marx crossed out a passage discussing an example of how the two capitals can sell their product. At its end he stated that "the example chosen is wrong, the prices being incorrect". Instead, he proceeded to give other calculations.— *Ed.*

[b] The (Prussian and Saxon) thaler equalled 30 silver groschen, the silver groschen equalled 12 pfennigs.— *Ed.*

since, as we have seen, exchange value does not grow in the same numerical proportion as does the productivity of labour. The fractional price of the product is thus smaller than the total price of production—i.e. the fractional price multiplied by the amount of fractional prices produced [is] greater [than it was before—despite the decrease of the fractional price].

If we had assumed an *absolutely greater* total number of working days than in No. I, though relatively smaller, the matter would have been even more striking. The profit of the larger capital, working with a greater amount of machinery, appears smaller than that of the smaller capital working with relatively or absolutely more living labour, precisely because the *greater profit on the living labour* appears smaller when calculated on a total capital in which the living labour employed makes up a lesser proportion of the total capital, than the *smaller profit on the living labour* which represents a greater proportion of the smaller total capital. But the fact that the proportion [of the value expended on material and instrument and that expended on living labour] in No. II is such that more material can be worked up, and a greater part of value is invested in the instrument of labour, is only the manifestation of the [increased] productivity of labour.

This, then, is the famous point of the hapless Bastiat, who had firmly convinced himself—and Mr. Proudhon did not know what to reply[a]—that, because the rate of profit seems less on the greater and more productive total capital, the worker's share had become larger, whereas in fact precisely *the opposite* is the case: his surplus labour had become greater.

Nor does Ricardo seem to have understood the matter, since OTHERWISE he would not have explained the periodical decline of profit itself only by the rise of wages caused by the rise in the price of grain (and thus of rent). But *au fond* surplus value—in so far as it is indeed the basis of profit but at the same time distinct from profit COMMONLY so-called—has never been analysed.

The hapless Bastiat would have said, in the above case, that since in the first example the profit is 10% (i.e. $^1/_{10}$), and in the second it is only $3\,^1/_3$%, i.e. (roughly) $^1/_{33}$, the worker receives $^9/_{10}$ of the product in the first case and $^{32}/_{33}$ in the second. The ratio [of profit and wages] is wrong in each of the two CASES, as is the ratio of the one to the other.

The further relation of the new value of capital to capital as

[a] This refers to *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon*, pp. 127-31, 133-57 and 288.—*Ed.*

*indifferent total value* (altogether, this is how capital appeared to us before we proceeded to the discussion of the production process and this is how it must appear again at the end of the process) is to be developed partly under the heading of *profit,* where the new value assumes a new determination, partly under the heading of *accumulation.* Here we are concerned above all else to analyse the nature of surplus value as the equivalent of the absolute or relative labour time over and above the necessary labour time set in motion by capital.

The consumption, in the production process, of the value component in the instrument cannot in the least distinguish the instrument of production from the material, especially in the present context, where only the creation of surplus value, self-valorisation, is still to be explained. This is simply because that consumption is part of the simple production process itself, i.e. the value of the consumed instrument (whether it be the *simple use value* or the exchange value, if production has developed to the stage of division of labour and at least the surplus is exchanged) has to be recovered in the value (exchange value or use value) of the product already in the production process, so that it can start anew from itself. The instrument loses its use value in the same measure in which it helps to raise the exchange value of raw material and serves as means of labour. This point, INDEED, must be investigated, since it is fundamentally important to draw the distinction between the unchanging value as a part of capital which is maintained, the other part which is reproduced (*reproduced* for capital; from the standpoint of the real production of labour, *produced*), and that which is newly produced.

IT IS NOW TIME TO *finir avec la question regardant la valeur résultant de l'accroissement des forces productives.*[a] We have seen that a *surplus value* (not merely a greater use value) is created, as in the case of an absolute increase of surplus labour.[b] If a definite limit is given [to necessary labour as against surplus labour], say e.g. that the worker requires only half a day in order to produce his subsistence for a *whole* day, if the natural limit of surplus labour the worker can provide with a given quantity of labour is reached, then an increase in the absolute labour time is possible only if more workers are employed *simultaneously,* if the real working day

[a] Finish with the question of value resulting from the growth of the productive forces.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 267-71.— *Ed.*

is SIMULTANEOUSLY multiplied, rather than merely lengthened. (Under the assumption made here, one worker can work for only 12 hours. If the surplus time provided by 24 hours [of labour] is to be gained, 2 workers must be employed.) In this case, the capital, before it enters upon the process of self-valorisation, must buy an extra 6 hours' labour in the act of exchange with the worker, in other words, it has to lay out a greater part of itself. On the other hand, the capital on average has to spend more on the material to be worked up (apart from the fact that the extra worker has to be *available,* i.e. that the working population must have grown). Hence the possibility of the further process of [IV-8] valorisation depends here on a previous accumulation of capital (considered in terms of its physical substance).

If, on the contrary, productivity, and thus relative surplus time, grow—from the present standpoint capital can still be regarded as directly producing means of subsistence, raw material, etc.—a smaller outlay for wages is necessary and the increase in the material is created by the valorisation process itself. But this question is related RATHER to the *accumulation* of capitals.

We return to the point where we last broke off.[a] Growing productivity increases *surplus value,* though it does not increase the absolute sum of exchange values. It increases values because it produces a new *value as value,* i.e. a value which is not intended simply to be exchanged as an equivalent but to maintain itself; in a word, more money. The question is: does the growth in productivity eventually increase the sum of exchange values as well? *Au fond,* this may be conceded, since even Ricardo admits that with the accumulation of capitals, savings, HENCE the amount of exchange values produced, also grow. The growth of savings implies nothing but the growth of autonomous values—of money. But Ricardo's demonstration of this fact contradicts his own assertion.

Take our old example.[b] 100 thaler capital: 60 unchanging value; 40 wages, produces 80; hence product=140.

//Here we see again that the surplus value on the whole capital =half of the newly produced value, since a half of it=necessary labour. The proportion accounted for by surplus value, which is always equal to surplus time, therefore=the total product of the worker minus the part which constitutes his wages, depends on (1) the ratio of the unchanging part of capital to the productive part; (2) the ratio of necessary labour time to surplus time. In the above

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[a] Ibid., pp. 272-79.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 268-70, 279 and 291-96.—*Ed.*

example, the ratio of surplus time to necessary labour time is 100%; which gives 40% on the capital of 100; hence (3) it depends not only on the ratio specified in (2), but also on the absolute volume of necessary labour time.

If 80 of the capital of 100 were the unchanging part, the part exchanged for necessary labour would be=to 20; and if this produced 100% surplus time, the profit of the capital would be 20%.

But if the capital were=to 200 with the same proportion of constant and variable parts[120] (namely $^3/_5$ to $^2/_5$), the sum would be 280, which is 40 [thaler profit] on [each] 100 [thaler of the capital employed]. In this case the absolute amount of profit would grow from 40 to 80, but the ratio would remain 40%.

However, if the constant element in the capital of 200 were 120, and the amount of necessary labour 80, but this increased by only 10%, i.e. by 8, the sum total would be equal to 208, therefore profit would be 4%. If necessary labour increased by only 5, then the sum total 205, i.e. [profit] $2\,^1/_2$%.//

Let this 40 in surplus value be absolute labour time.

Suppose now that productivity doubles. If the worker could provide for 40 thaler [wages] 8 hours of necessary labour, he now produces in 4 hours a whole day of living labour. Surplus time would then grow (previously $^2/_3$ of a working day was necessary to produce a whole day, now only $^1/_3$ of a day is necessary) by $^1/_3$. Of the product of a working day, $^2/_3$ would be surplus value, and if the hour of necessary labour=5 thaler ($5\times8=40$), he would now need only $5\times4=20$ thaler. Consequently, there is a surplus profit of 20 on the capital, namely 60 instead of 40. At the end of the process, the total sum is 140, of which 60=constant value, 20=wages and 60=surplus profit; altogether 140. With 80 thaler capital, the capitalist may now begin production anew:

Let capitalist *A* at the same stage of the old production invest his capital of 140 in new production. According to the original proportions, he uses $^3/_5$ [of that 140] for the invariable part of capital, therefore $3\times{}^{140}/_5=3\times28=84$. 56 remains for the necessary labour. He previously expended 40 for labour, he now expends 56, i.e. $^2/_5$ of 40 more. Then at the end his capital $=84+56+56=196$.

Capitalist *B* at the higher stage of production would similarly invest the 140 thaler in new production. If out of a capital of 80, he needs 60 for invariable value and only 20 for labour, then out of 60 he needs 45 for invariable value and 15 for labour. Hence the sum would be, firstly,$=60+20+20=100$ and, secondly,$=45+15+15=75$.

His total product is therefore 175, while that of the first capitalist=196.

An increase in the productivity of labour means only that the same capital produces the same value with less labour; or that less labour produces the same product with a greater capital; that a decrease in necessary labour results in an increase in surplus labour. Necessary labour [IV-9] being smaller relative to capital, for its valorisation process, is obviously the same as capital being greater relative to the necessary labour which it sets in motion; for the same capital sets more surplus labour in motion, therefore less necessary labour.

//If it is assumed, as in our example, that the capital remains the same, i.e. that both capitalists recommence [the process of production] with 140 thaler, then in the case of the more productive capital, a larger part has to go to capital (that is to say, to its invariable part), and in the case of the less productive capital, a larger part to labour. Thus the first capital of 140 sets in motion necessary labour of 56, and this necessary labour assumes for its process an invariable part of the capital, 84. The second capital sets in motion labour of 20+15=35; and [operates with] an invariable capital of 60+45=105 (and it also follows from our previous argument that the increase in productivity does not increase value in the same proportion as it increases itself).//

//In the first case, as already shown,[a] the absolute new value [surplus value] is greater than in the second, because the amount of labour employed is greater in relation to the invariable part of capital [labour is less productive], while in the second case the amount of labour is smaller precisely because labour is more productive. But (1) the difference, that the [total] new value [surplus value] in the first case was only 40 while it was 60 in the second, excludes [given equality of the initial capitals] the possibility of the first capitalist recommencing production with the same capital as the second. For a part of the new value in both cases must go into circulation as an equivalent, so that the capitalist may live, and indeed live by means of his capital. If both consume 20 thaler of their capital, the first would begin the new labour [after the first production cycle] with 120 capital, the other also with 120 [owing to the fact that the first capitalist entered the first production cycle with 100 thaler and the second with 80], etc. See above.[b] We must return to all this again; but the question of the

[a] See this volume, pp. 291-93.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 293-94.— *Ed.*

relationship of the new value produced by greater productivity to the new value produced by an absolute increase in labour, belongs to the chapter on *accumulation and profit.*//

This is why it is said of machinery that it *saves labour* [by helping reduce necessary labour and increase surplus labour]. But the *mere* saving of labour is not, as *Lauderdale*[a] correctly observed, the characteristic thing, since with the help of machinery human labour performs actions and creates things which it absolutely could not do and create without it. The latter concerns the use value of machinery. The *saving* of necessary labour and the production of *surplus labour* is the characteristic thing. The greater productivity of labour expresses itself in the fact that capital has to buy less necessary labour to produce the same value and a greater mass of use values, or that less necessary labour produces the same exchange value, valorises more material, and creates a greater mass of use values.

The growth of productivity therefore implies that, if the *total value of capital remains the same,* the constant part of it (consisting of material and machinery) grows relative to the variable, i.e. to that part of the capital which is exchanged for living labour, the part which constitutes the wages fund. This means at the same time that a smaller amount of labour sets in motion a greater amount of capital. If the *total value of capital* entering into the production process grows, the wages fund (the variable part of capital) must decline *relatively* to what it would be, if the productivity of labour, i.e. the ratio of necessary labour to surplus labour, had remained the same.

Let us suppose the 100 capital in the above case is agricultural capital, then 40 thaler seeds, fertilisers, etc., 20 thaler instrument of labour and 40 thaler wages, at the old level of production. (Assume that these 40 thaler=4 days' necessary labour.) These produce a sum of 140 at the old level of production. Suppose that fertility doubles, perhaps by improvement of the instrument or by the application of improved fertilisers, etc. In this case, the product must be [as before]=to 140 thaler (assuming the instrument to be totally used up in the process). Let fertility double, so that the price of a necessary working day falls by one-half; or so that only 4 necessary half-days of work (i.e. 2 whole days) are required in order to produce 8. 2 working days being necessary to produce 8 is the same as $^1/_4$ (3 hours) of a

[a] J. Lauderdale, *Recherches sur la nature et l'origine de la richesse publique*, Paris, 1808, pp. 119-20.—*Ed.*

[12-hour] working day being necessary labour. Instead of 40 thaler, the farmer now has to spend only 20 on labour.

Thus, at the end of the process, the components of capital have changed: it now consists of the original 40 on seeds, etc., which has doubled in use value; 20 instrument of labour; and 20 labour (2 whole working days). Previously the ratio of the constant part of capital to the variable=60:40=3:2, now=80:20 or=4:1. If we consider the whole capital, the necessary labour was previously $^2/_5$ of it; now it is $^1/_5$. If the farmer wants to continue to employ labour in the earlier proportion, by how much must his capital grow? But let us avoid the *malicious assumption* that he continued to operate with 60 constant capital and 40 wages fund after the doubling of productivity, which would bring in false ratios; // although in the case of the farmer this is quite correct, if favourable SEASONAL conditions doubled fertility. It would be equally correct for every industrialist, if productivity doubled not in his branch of industry, but in the branches whose output he uses, e.g. if cotton cost him 50% less, and grain (i.e. wages), and finally the instrument; he would then continue as before to spend 40 thaler on raw cotton, which would now buy double the amount; 20 on machinery; and 40 on labour// because this assumes that, despite the doubled productivity, capital continued to operate with the same component parts, to employ the same amount of necessary labour, without spending more on raw material and instrument of labour. //Suppose that only the cotton doubled in productivity, while that of the machinery remained the same—this is to be examined further.// Hence productivity doubles, so that, if he had to spend 40 thaler for labour before, he now needs only 20.

(If it is assumed that 4 whole working days—each=10 thaler—were necessary to produce for the capitalist a surplus of 4 whole working days, and that this surplus was produced for him by [e.g.] the 40 thaler raw cotton being converted into yarn, then he now requires only 2 whole working days [IV-10] to produce the same value—i.e. that of 8 working days; the value of the yarn previously expressed a surplus time of 4 working days, now of 6. Or each worker previously required 6 hours' necessary labour time to produce 12; *now* 3. The necessary labour time amounted to 12×4=48 [hours] or 4 days. In each of these days the surplus time=$^1/_2$ day (6 hours). The necessary labour time now amounts to only 12×2=24 [hours] or 2 days; 3 hours [per working day].

To produce the surplus value, each of the 4 workers had previously to work 6×2 hours, i.e. 1 day; now he needs to work for only 3×2, i.e. $^1/_2$ day. Now, it comes to the same thing whether

4 workers work for $^1/_2$ day each, or 2 for a whole day. The capitalist could now dismiss 2 of the workers. Indeed, he would have to do so, because he can make only a definite quantity of yarn from a definite quantity of cotton. Consequently, he can no longer provide work for 4 whole days, but only for 4 half-days.

Yet, if the worker must work 12 hours to obtain 3 hours, i.e. his *necessary* wages, he will receive only $1^1/_2$ hours' exchange value if he works 6 hours. And if he can maintain himself for 12 hours with 3 hours of necessary labour, he can maintain himself for only 6 hours with $1^1/_2$ hours' necessary labour. Each of the 4 workers therefore, if all 4 continue to be employed, could only live for half a day, i.e. all 4 of them could not be kept alive as *workers* by the same capital, but only 2 of them. The capitalist could pay 4 workers from the former [wages] fund for 4 half working days; but he would then pay them 2 days' too much, and would be making them a gift out of productivity, since he can use only 4 half-days of living labour. Such "possibilities" neither occur in practice nor can we deal with them here, where we are concerned with the relation of capital as such.)

20 thaler of the capital of 100 are now [after the doubling of productivity] not utilised directly in production. The capitalist, as before, invests 40 thaler in raw material, 20 in the instrument, therefore 60, but now only 20 thaler in labour (2 working days). Of the total capital of 80, he uses $^3/_4$ (60) for the constant part and only $^1/_4$ for labour. Therefore, if he invests the remaining 20 in the same way, it is $^3/_4$ in constant capital, $^1/_4$ in labour; i.e. 15 for the first, 5 for the second. Now, since a working day is assumed to be=to 10 thaler, 5 thaler would=6 hours=$^1/_2$ working day. With the new value of 20 gained through [the increase in] productivity, the capital could buy only half a working day more, to valorise itself in the same proportion. The capital would have to grow three-fold (i.e. to 60) (together with the 20,=80) to be able to employ fully the 2 dismissed workers, to utilise fully the previously utilised 2 working days. According to the new ratio [between the constant and variable parts after productivity doubled], capital invests $^3/_4$ of itself in constant capital in order to invest $^1/_4$ in the wages fund.

With a total capital of 20, $^3/_4$, i.e. 15, are thus used for constant capital, and $^1/_4$ for labour (i.e. 5)=$^1/_2$ working day.

With a total capital of 4×20, therefore, 4×15=60 constant and 4×5 wages=$^4/_2$ working days=2 working days.

If, therefore, the productivity of labour doubles, so that a capital of 60 thaler raw cotton and instrument requires only 20 thaler

labour (2 working days) for its valorisation, when previously this [a valorisation process on this scale] required [a total capital of] 100 thaler, the total capital would have to grow from 100 to 160, or the capital of 80, on which we now base our calculation, would have to double, if the whole of the labour put out of work is to be kept in employment. But the doubling of productive power creates a new capital of only 20 thaler=$^1/_2$ the previously employed labour time; and this is only sufficient to utilise $^1/_2$ working day more. The capital, which before the doubling of productivity was 100 and employed 4 working days (under the assumption that $^2/_5$=40 wages fund), now, when the wages fund has fallen to $^1/_5$ of 100, to 20=2 working days (but to $^1/_4$ of 80, the capital newly entering into the valorisation process), would have to rise to 160, by 60%, to be able to utilise the previous 4 working days. It can only employ $^1/_2$ new working day with the 20 thaler withdrawn from the wages fund because of the increase in productivity, if the whole of the former capital is to continue to be invested. Previously, it utilised, with a sum of 100, $^{16}/_4$ (4) working days; now it could employ only $^{10}/_4$ days.

Consequently, if productivity doubles, capital does not have to double to set in motion the same necessary labour (4 working days), hence it does not have to grow to 200, but only to twice the whole minus the part withdrawn from the wages fund. (100−20=80)×2=160. (In contrast, the first capital which, before the increase in productivity, out of a sum of 100 expended 60 on constant capital, and 40 for wages (4 working days), needed to grow from 100 to only 150 to utilise 2 extra working days; i.e. $^3/_5$ constant capital (30) and $^2/_5$ wages fund (20). Assuming that in both cases the [total] working day increased by 2 days, the second capital would amount to 160 at the end of the process [IV-11], whereas the first to only 150.)

Of the part of capital withdrawn from the wages fund as a result of the growth in productivity, a part must again be converted into raw material and instrument, and another part exchanged for living labour. This can only happen in the proportions between the different components as posited by the new productivity. It can no longer happen in the old proportions, for the ratio of the wages fund to the fund for constant capital has fallen. If a capital of 100 invested $^2/_5$ in the wages fund (40), and as a result of the doubling of productivity only $^1/_5$ (20), then $^1/_5$ of the capital (20 thaler) has been released. The employed part, 80 thaler, now invests only $^1/_4$ in the wages fund. Thus of the [released] 20 thaler only 5 thaler ($^1/_2$ working day) is

used for wages. The whole capital of 100 therefore now utilises $2^1/_2$ working days; or it would have to grow to 160 to utilise 4 again.

If the original capital had been 1,000 and had been divided up in the same way: $^3/_5$ constant capital and $^2/_5$ wages fund, we would have 600+400 (let 400 be equal to 40 working days; 1 working day=10 thaler). Doubling of the productivity of labour, i.e. only 20 working days (=200 thaler [wages]) required for the same product, and the capital needed to begin production anew would =800; namely 600+200; 200 thaler would have been released. This is invested in the same proportions as formerly, $^3/_4$ in constant capital=150 and $^1/_4$ wages fund=50. Hence, if the whole of the 1,000 thaler is invested, 750 would be constant capital+250 wages fund=1,000 thaler. But 250 wages fund would=25 working days (i.e. the new fund can utilise labour time only in the new proportions, i.e. $^1/_4$ [of the advanced capital]; to utilise all of the previous labour time, it would have to *quadruple*).

The released capital of 200 employed a wages fund of 50=5 working days ($^1/_4$ of the released labour time). (The part of the wages fund detached from capital, when itself invested as capital, is now only $^1/_4$ wages fund, which is exactly the same proportion as that between the part of the new capital which is wages fund and the total sum of the capital.) To utilise 20 working days (4×5 working days), therefore, this fund would have to grow from 50 to 4×50=200, hence the released part would have to increase from 200 to 600, i.e. grow three-fold; so that the total new capital would have to be 800. Hence the total capital 1,600. If so, 1,200 would be the constant part and 400 wages fund.

If, then, the capital of 1,000 originally contained a wages fund of 400 (40 working days), and, as a result of a doubling of productivity, required a wages fund of only 200 in order to purchase the *necessary labour,* i.e. only $^1/_2$ of the previous labour, the capital would have to grow by 600 to employ all the previous labour (and gain the same surplus time). It would have to be able to employ double the wages fund, namely 2×200=400; but since the ratio of the wages fund to the total capital is now 1:4, this would require a total capital of 4×400=1,600.

//The total capital which would be necessary to utilise the previous labour time therefore=the *previous wages fund×the denominator* of the fraction expressing the ratio of the wages fund to the new total capital. If the doubling of productivity has reduced this to $^1/_4$, then multiplied by 4; if reduced to $^1/_3$, then multiplied by 3. If productivity doubles, the necessary labour and

thus the wages fund is reduced to $^1/_2$ its former value; but this amounts to $^1/_4$ of the new total capital of 800 or $^1/_5$ of the former total capital of 1,000. *Or the new total capital* [required to employ the previous labour time]=*2×the previous capital minus the released part of the wages fund*; (1,000−200)×2=(800)×2=1,600.

The new total capital expresses exactly the total sum of constant and variable capital necessary to employ half the former labour time ($^1/_3$, $^1/_4$, etc., $^1/_x$, depending on whether productivity has increased by 3×, 4×, $x$×). 2× therefore is the capital needed to utilise the whole of the previous labour time (or 3×, 4×, $x$×, etc., depending on the proportion in which productivity has grown). The original ratio between the [constant and variable] components of capital must always be given here (*technologically*); for on that depend e.g. the fractions in which the multiplication of productivity is expressed as the division of the *necessary labour.*//

Or, which is the same thing, [IV-12] it=2×*the new capital* which replaces the old capital in the production process as a result of the new productivity (*800×2*) (therefore, if productivity had quadrupled, increased five-fold, etc.=4×, 5×*the new* capital, etc. If productivity has doubled, *necessary labour* is reduced by $^1/_2$, and so is the wages fund. If necessary labour, therefore, amounted to 400 as in the above case of the former capital 1,000, i.e. $^2/_5$ of the total capital, it now amounts to $^1/_5$ or 200. This proportion, by which it is reduced, is the released part of the wages fund=$^1/_5$ of the previous capital=200. $^1/_5$ of the previous capital=$^1/_4$ of the new. The new capital is=to the old capital +$^3/_5$ of it. These trivia in more detail later, etc.).

Given the same initial ratios between the components of capital and the same increase in productivity, the particular magnitude of the capital does not in the least affect the general propositions. Quite another question is whether, when capital *grows,* the ratios actually remain the same (but this really belongs in the section on accumulation). But, given this, we see how the increase in productivity changes the ratios between the components of capital. For a capital of 1,000, as for one of 100, a doubling of productivity has the same effect, if in both cases [e.g.] $^3/_5$ of the capital was originally invested in constant capital and $^2/_5$ in the wages fund. (The term *wages fund* [*Arbeitsfonds*] is used here merely for the sake of convenience; we have not yet analysed this *specific characteristic* of capital. So far 2 parts: the one exchanged for commodities (material and instrument), the other for labour capacity.)

(The *new capital,* i.e. that part of the old capital which performs

its *function,* is=to the old capital minus the released part of the wages fund; but this released part is=to the fraction expressing necessary labour (or, which is the same, the wages fund) divided by the multiplier of productivity. Hence if the old capital was 1,000, the fraction expressing necessary labour or the wages fund=$^2/_5$; and if productivity doubles, the new capital performing the same function as the old,=800: namely $^2/_5$ of the previous capital=400; this divided by 2, the multiplier of productivity, =$^2/_{10}$=$^1/_5$=200. Therefore the new capital=800 and the released part of the wages fund=200.)

We have seen that, given these conditions, a capital of 100 thaler must grow to 160, and one of 1,000 to 1,600, to maintain the same labour time (of 4 or 40 working days), etc. Both must grow by 60%, i.e. by $^3/_5$ of themselves (of the old capital), to be able to re-employ the released $^1/_5$ (in the first case 20 thaler, in the second 200)—to reinvest the released wages fund as such.

//*N.B.* We saw earlier how the same percentage yield on total capital can express very different proportions in which capital creates its surplus value, i.e. in which it posits surplus labour, relative or absolute.[a] If the ratio of the unchanging value part of capital and the variable part (exchanged for labour) were such that the latter=$^1/_2$ of the total capital (therefore capital of 100=50 (constant)+50 (variable)), the part exchanged for labour would have to increase by only 50% in order to yield 25% on the capital, i.e. 50+50 (+25)=125; whereas in the above example it was 75+25 (+25)=125; therefore the part exchanged for living labour increased by 100% to yield 25% on the capital. Here we see how, if the proportions [between the components of capital] remain the same, the percentage yield on the total capital also remains the same, however large or small it may be, i.e. if the proportion of the wages fund to total capital remains the same, hence $^1/_4$ as above. Thus: 100 yields 125, 80 yields 100, 1,000 yields 1,250, 800 yields 1,000, 1,600 yields 2,000, etc., always=25%. If capitals with different ratios between their component parts, and therefore with different levels of productivity, [nevertheless] yield the same percentages on the total capital, then the real surplus value must be very different in the different branches of industry.[b]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 296-311.— *Ed.*

[b] The following table occurs on the next, 13th page in Notebook IV, but belongs here contextually.— *Ed.*

| [Total capital] | Constant capital | | Variable capital | [Surplus value] | | [Value of product] | [Rate of profit] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 100 | 60 | + | 40 | (Original proportion) | | | |
| 100 | 75 | + | 25 | (+25) | = | 125 | (25%) |
| 160 | 120 | + | 40 | (+40) | = | 200 | (25%) |

//Thus the example is correct, productivity compared under the same conditions with the same capital *before* the rise in productivity.

Let a capital of 100 invest 50 in constant value, 50 in wages. Let the wages fund increase [in the course of production] by 50%, i.e. by $^1/_2$; then the total product=125. Let the wages fund of 50 thaler utilise 10 working days, paying 5 thaler per day. Since the new value=$^1/_2$ the wages fund, the surplus time must be=to 5 working days, i.e. the worker, who needed to work only 10 days to live for 15, must work 15 for the capitalist in order to live for 15, and his surplus labour of 5 days constitutes the surplus value of capital. Expressed in hours, if the working day=12 hours, the surplus labour=6 hours per day. So in 10 days or 120 hours he works 60 hours too much=5 days.

Now, with the doubling of [IV-13] productivity, the ratio of the components of the 100 thaler would be 75 and 25, i.e. the same capital would only need to employ 5 workers to produce the same value of 125. Thus the 5 working days=10, it doubles itself, i.e. 5 working days are paid for, 10 are produced. The worker would need to work only 5 days to live for 10 (before the increase of productivity he had to work 10 days to live for 15: therefore he could live for only $7^1/_2$ days if he worked for 5); but he must work 10 days for the capitalist in order to live for 10. The capitalist accordingly profits to the extent of 5 days; a day per day; or, expressed by the day, before he had to work for $^1/_2$ day to live for 1 (i.e. 6 hours to live for 12); now he would need to work only $^1/_4$ day to live for 1 day (i.e. 3 hours). Previously, if he worked for a whole day, he could live for 2 days; if he worked 12 hours, he could live for 24 hours; if he worked 6 hours, 12 hours. But now he must work 12 hours to live for 12 hours. He would need to work only $^1/_2$ day to live for 1; but he must work $2\times{}^1/_2=1$, to live for 1. At the previous level of productivity, he had to work 10 days to live for 15, or 12 hours to live for 18; or 1 hour to live for $1^1/_2$ hours, or 8 hours to live for 12, i.e. $^2/_3$ of a day to live for $^3/_3$ of a day. But he has to work $^3/_3$ to live for $^3/_3$, i.e. $^1/_3$ too much.

The doubling of productivity raises the proportion of surplus time from $1:1^1/_2$ (i.e. 50%) to 1:2 (i.e. 100%). In comparison with

the previous labour time: he had to work 8 hours in order to live for 12, i.e. the necessary time was $^2/_3$ of the whole working day; he now has to work only $^1/_2$ day, i.e. 6 hours to live for 12 hours. As a consequence, capital now employs 5 workers instead of 10. If previously the 10 workers (cost 50) produced 75, now the 5 ([cost] 25) produce 50, i.e. the former only 50% [surplus value], the second 100%. The workers work as before 12 hours, but in the first case capital bought 10 working days, now it buys only 5; because productivity has doubled, the 5 [working days now produce] 5 surplus working days; because in the first case 10 working days only produced 5 surplus working days, whereas now that productivity has doubled, [the ratio of surplus value to variable capital] having risen from 50% to 100%, 5 [working days produce] 5 [surplus working days]. In the first case, 120 hours of work (=10 working days) produce 180 hours [total time in terms of value], in the second 60 [hours of work] produce 60 [surplus hours], i.e. in the first case, the surplus time amounts to $^1/_3$ of the whole day (50% of necessary labour time) (i.e. 4 hours out of 12; necessary time 8); in the second case, the surplus time amounts to $^1/_2$ of the whole day (100% of necessary labour time) (i.e. 6 hours out of 12; necessary time 6). Hence the 10 days in the first case produced 5 days' surplus time (surplus labour), and in the second the 5 produce 5. The relative surplus time has therefore doubled; relative to the previous proportion it has grown by only $^1/_2$ compared to $^1/_3$, i.e. by $^1/_6$, i.e. by $16^4/_6$%.//

Since surplus labour or surplus time is the prerequisite of capital, it consequently rests on the basic presupposition that there exists a surplus over and above the labour time necessary for the maintenance and propagation of the individual, so that e.g. the individual has to work only 6 hours in order to live for a day, or 1 day to live for 2, etc. With the development of the productive forces, necessary labour time diminishes and as a result surplus time increases. Or, to put it another way, one individual can work for two, etc.

("*WEALTH IS DISPOSABLE TIME* AND NOTHING MORE. If the whole labour of a country were merely sufficient TO RAISE THE SUPPORT OF THE WHOLE POPULATION, THERE WOULD BE NO *SURPLUS LABOUR*, and consequently NOTHING THAT CAN BE ALLOWED TO ACCUMULATE AS CAPITAL... A nation is truly rich if *no interest* exists or if the working day is 6 hours rather than twelve... WHATEVER MAY BE *DUE* TO THE CAPITALIST, HE CAN ONLY RECEIVE THE *SURPLUS LABOUR* OF THE LABOURER; FOR THE LABOURER MUST LIVE" (*The Source and Remedy of the National Difficulties* [London, 1821, pp. 6, 4, 6 and 23]) (pp. 27, 28[121])).

*Property.* Origin in the productivity of labour. "If one can produce only for one, everyone is a worker; THERE CAN BE NO PROPERTY. WHEN ONE MAN'S LABOUR CAN

MAINTAIN FIVE, THERE WILL BE FOUR IDLE MEN FOR ONE EMPLOYED IN PRODUCTION. PROPERTY GROWS FROM THE IMPROVEMENTS IN THE MODE OF PRODUCTION... THE GROWTH OF PROPERTY, THIS GREATER ABILITY TO MAINTAIN IDLE MEN AND UNPRODUCTIVE INDUSTRY=CAPITAL... MACHINERY itself CAN SELDOM BE APPLIED WITH SUCCESS TO ABRIDGE THE LABOURS OF AN INDIVIDUAL: *MORE TIME WOULD BE LOST IN ITS CONSTRUCTION THAN COULD BE SAVED BY ITS APPLICATION. IT IS ONLY REALLY USEFUL WHEN IT ACTS ON GREAT MASSES, WHEN A SINGLE MACHINE CAN ASSIST THE LABOURS OF THOUSANDS.* IT IS ACCORDINGLY IN THE MOST POPULOUS COUNTRIES WHERE THERE ARE MOST IDLE MEN THAT IT IS ALWAYS MOST ABUNDANT. IT IS NOT CALLED INTO ACTION BY A SCARCITY OF MEN, BUT BY THE FACILITY WITH WHICH THEY ARE BROUGHT TOGETHER... Less than one-quarter OF THE ENGLISH POPULATION PROVIDES [IV-14] EVERYTHING THAT IS CONSUMED BY ALL. Under William the Conqueror e.g., the number directly participating in production was much greater in proportion to the IDLE MEN" (Ravenstone, [*Thoughts on the Funding System, and Its Effects*, London, 1824, pp. 11, 13, 45 and 46,] IX, 32).[122]

If it is true that capital produces surplus labour, it is equally true that surplus labour is the prerequisite for the existence of capital. The entire development of wealth rests upon the creation of disposable time. The ratio of the *necessary* labour time to the *superfluous* (such it is initially from the standpoint of necessary labour) changes at the different stages of development of the productive forces. At the more primitive stages of exchange, men exchange nothing but *their superfluous labour time*; it is the measure of their exchange, which is therefore confined also to their superfluous products. In production based on capital, the existence of *necessary* labour time is conditioned by the production of *superfluous* labour time. At the lowest stages of production, firstly, few human needs have as yet been produced, hence there are few to be satisfied. Necessary labour time is therefore restricted, not because labour is productive but because little is necessary. Secondly, there exists at all stages of production a certain common quality [Gemeinsamkeit] of labour, it has a *social* character, etc. Later, social productive power, etc., develops. (Return to this.)

*Surplus time* exists [firstly] as the excess of the working day over and above that part of it which we call *necessary* labour time. It exists secondly as the multiplication of *simultaneous working days,* i.e. of the *working population.*

(It can also be produced—but this to be mentioned here only allusively, as this point belongs to the chapter on wage labour—by a forcible extension of the working day beyond its natural limits; or by the addition of wives and children to the working population.)

The first ratio of the surplus time to the necessary time in the working day can be and is modified by development of the productive forces, so that necessary labour is restricted to an ever

smaller fractional part. The same is then true relative to the population. A working population OF, SAY, 6 million can be considered as one working day of 6×12, i.e. 72 million hours; so that the same laws are applicable here.

It is the law of capital, as we have seen, to produce surplus labour, disposable time. It can do this only by setting in motion *necessary labour,* i.e. by entering into exchange with the worker. It is therefore the tendency of capital to produce as much labour as possible, just as it is its tendency to reduce necessary labour to a minimum. It is therefore as much the tendency of capital to enlarge the working population, as well as constantly to make a part of that population surplus—that is useless, until such time as capital can utilise it. (Hence the correctness of the theory of surplus population and surplus capital.)

It is as much the tendency of capital to render human labour (relatively) superfluous, as to drive it on without limit. Value is only objectified labour, and surplus value (valorisation of capital) is only the excess over and above that part of objectified labour which is necessary for the reproduction of labour capacity. But labour as such is and remains the prerequisite, and surplus labour exists only in relation to necessary labour, therefore only in so far as necessary labour exists. Capital must therefore constantly posit necessary labour in order to posit surplus labour; it must increase it (i.e. the *simultaneous* working days), in order to increase the surplus; but, equally, it must transcend it as necessary labour in order to posit it as surplus labour.

With respect to the single working day, the process is, of course, simple: (1) to lengthen it to its natural limits; (2) to shorten more and more the necessary part of it (i.e. to increase the productive forces without limit). But, the working day regarded spatially—time itself regarded spatially—is the *existence of many working days alongside one another.* The greater the number of working days with which capital can enter into exchange AT ONCE, in which it exchanges *objectified labour for living,* the greater is its valorisation AT ONCE. It can go beyond the *natural* limit imposed by the living working day of the individual, *at a given stage of the development of the productive forces* (and this is not affected by the fact that this stage is CHANGING), only by setting *alongside* the one working day *another* one—by the spatial addition *of more simultaneous working days.*

E.g. I can extend the surplus labour of *A* only to 3 hours; but if I add the working days of *B, C, D,* etc., I have created surplus labour of 12 hours. Instead of a surplus time of 3, I have created

one of 12. As a result, capital solicits the increase of population, and the VERY PROCESS by which necessary labour is reduced, makes it possible to set to work new necessary labour (and hence surplus labour). (That is to say, the *production of workers* becomes cheaper, more workers can be produced in the same time, in the same measure as *necessary labour time* becomes less, or the time required for the *production of the living labour capacity* becomes relatively less. These are identical propositions.)

(This still irrespective of the fact that the increase in population increases the productive power of labour, by making possible greater division and greater combination of labour, etc. Increase in population is a *natural power* [IV-15] of labour for which nothing is paid. From the present standpoint, we use the term *natural power* to refer to *social power.* All *natural powers of social labour* are themselves historical products).

On the other hand, it is the tendency of capital—just as previously in the case of the single working day—to reduce to a minimum the many simultaneous necessary working days (which, so far as value alone is concerned, may be considered as *one* working day), i.e. to posit as many of them as possible as *not necessary.* As previously in the case of the single working day, it was the tendency of capital to reduce the hours of necessary labour, so now it tends to reduce the necessary working days in relation to the total of objectified labour time. (If 6 are necessary to produce 12 superfluous working hours, then capital works towards the reduction of these 6 to 4. Or the 6 working days can be considered as a single working day of 72 hours; if capital succeeds in reducing necessary labour time by 24 hours, 2 days of necessary labour are eliminated, i.e. 2 workers.)

On the other hand, the newly created surplus capital can be valorised as such only by being exchanged for living labour. Hence the tendency of capital just as much to increase the *working population* as constantly to diminish the *necessary* part of it (constantly to reallocate a part of it as a reserve). And the increase in population is itself the chief means for the reduction of the necessary part.

*Au fond this is only the application of the ratio* [between necessary and surplus labour] *to the single working day.* Here we thus already have all the contradictions which have been expressed as such, although not understood, in modern population theory. Capital, in positing surplus labour, equally and simultaneously posits and does not posit necessary labour; it exists only in so far as necessary labour both exists and does not exist.

//It does not belong here yet, but can already be mentioned here, that the creation of surplus labour on the one side corresponds to a creation of minus-labour, relative IDLENESS (or at best *non-productive* labour) on the other. This goes without saying, to start with, as regards capital itself; but it applies equally to the classes with which it shares, i.e. to the PAUPERS living on the surplus product, FLUNKEYS, JENKINSES, etc., in short the whole TRAIN of RETAINERS; the part of the *serving* class which does not live on capital but on revenue.

Essential distinction between this *serving* class and the *working* class. In relation to the whole of society, the production of *disposable time* [can] also [be considered] as the creation of time for the production of science, art, etc. It is by no means the course of social development that an individual, having satisfied his needs, goes on to produce his surplus, but that an individual or class of individuals are compelled to work more than is necessary for the satisfaction of their own needs; and because *surplus labour* is thus posited on the one side, non-labour and surplus wealth are posited on the other.

In reality, the development of wealth exists only in these contradictions; in potentiality, it is this very development of wealth which makes it possible to transcend these contradictions. Or, because an individual can satisfy *his own* needs only by simultaneously satisfying the needs of, and producing a surplus over and above that for, *another* individual. Under slavery, this merely brutal, only under the conditions of wage labour does it lead to *industry, industrial* labour.

Hence Malthus was quite consistent when, along with surplus labour and surplus capital, he demands SURPLUS IDLERS, CONSUMING WITHOUT PRODUCING, postulating the necessity of waste, luxury, extravagant spending, etc.[a]//

If the ratio of the necessary working days to the total of the objectified working days=9:12 (i.e. surplus labour=$^1/_4$), capital strives to reduce it to 6:9 (i.e. $^2/_3$, hence surplus labour=$^1/_3$). (This to be developed in more detail later; but the basic outlines here, where we are dealing with the general concept of capital.)

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[a] Th. R. Malthus, *Principles of Political Economy,* 2nd ed., London, 1836, pp. 314-30.— *Ed.*

[Section Two]

## [CIRCULATION PROCESS OF CAPITAL]

### [REPRODUCTION AND ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL]

We have now seen how, by means of the *valorisation process,* capital has (1) maintained its value by means of exchange (i.e. exchange with living labour); (2) increased, produced surplus value. There now appears, as the result of this unity of the production and valorisation process, the product of the process, i.e. capital itself, as it emerges as the product of the process whose precondition it was—as a product which is value. Or *value* itself appears as the product of this process, but a *higher value,* because more objectified labour is contained in it than in that from which the process originally set out. This value as such is *money.* However, this is the case only *in itself*; it is not posited as such. What is initially *posited,* what is actually there, is a commodity of a certain (ideal) price, i.e. a commodity which exists only in idea in the form of a certain sum of money, and which can be *realised* as such only in exchange, i.e. it must first re-enter the process of simple circulation in order to be posited as *money.* Hence we arrive at *the third side of the process* in which capital is posited as such.

(3) Strictly considered, the valorisation *process* of capital—and it is only by means of the valorisation process that money becomes capital—appears at the same time as its *devaluation process,* ITS DEMONETISATION. And this in two respects. Firstly, in so far as capital does not increase absolute labour time, but reduces relative necessary labour time by increasing productive power, it reduces its own cost of production, i.e. in so far as it was presupposed as a definite sum of commodities, it reduces its exchange value. A part of the existing capital is continually devalued by the reduction of the costs of production at which it can be *reproduced*; by the

reduction not of the labour objectified in it, but of the living labour which it is now necessary to objectify in this specific product.

This constant [IV-16] devaluation of *existing* capital does not belong here, because it presupposes capital as completed. It is to be noted here only in order to indicate how later developments are already contained in the general concept of capital. Belongs to the doctrine of concentration and competition of capitals.

The *devaluation* being dealt with here, is that capital has made the transition from the form of money to that of a *commodity,* of a product which has a certain price, which is to be *realised.* As money, it existed as *value.* Now it *exists* as product and only in idea as price; but not as *value as such.* In order to *valorise* itself, i.e. to preserve and to multiply itself as value, it would first have to make the transition from the form of money into that of use values (raw material—instrument—wages). But in doing so it would lose its *form* as value. It now has to re-enter circulation in order to posit this form of general wealth anew. No longer does the capitalist enter into the circulation process merely as an exchanger; he does so now as a *producer* confronting the other exchangers as *consumers.* They are to exchange money to obtain his commodity for their consumption, while he exchanges his product in order to obtain their money. If this process miscarries—and the very separation [of producers and consumers] entails the possibility of miscarriage in the individual case—the money of the capitalist has been transformed into a worthless product; not only has it not gained any new value, it has lost its original value.

But whether this is so or not, the devaluation of capital constitutes a moment of its valorisation process. This is already inherent in the simple fact that the product of the process in its immediate form is not *value,* but must first re-enter circulation to be realised as such. Hence, if capital is reproduced as value and new value by means of the production process, it is simultaneously posited as *non-value,* something still to be *valorised by means of exchange.*

The three processes [maintenance of the value of the capital employed, valorisation, realisation of the value of the product] whose unity is formed by capital are external to one another, separate in time and space. As such, the transition from one to the other, i.e. their unity in relation to the individual capitalists, is fortuitous. They exist *independently* alongside one another, despite their *inner unity,* and each exists as the precondition of the other. Over the whole range of production it must assert itself, in so far

as the whole of production is based on capital, and capital must therefore realise all the necessary moments of its self-formation and contain the conditions for the realisation of these moments. At the point which we have reached so far, capital does not yet appear as determining circulation (exchange) itself, but merely as a moment of circulation and ceasing to be capital precisely at the point where it enters into circulation. As *commodity* in general, capital now shares the fate of commodities in general; it becomes a matter of chance, whether or not it is exchanged for money, whether or not its *price* is realised.

In the production process itself—where capital always remained presupposed as value—its *valorisation* appeared to be entirely dependent upon its relationship as objectified labour to living labour, i.e. upon the relationship of capital to wage labour. But now as product, as commodity, it appears dependent on circulation, which lies outside the production process. (In fact, as we have seen,[a] it returns into that process as its ground, but just as much re-emerges from it.) As a commodity, it must be (1) use value, and as such object of need, object of consumption; (2) exchanged for its equivalent—in money. Only through a sale can the new value be realised.

If the capital previously contained objectified labour at a price of 100 thaler, and now does so at a price of 110 (the price merely expressing in money the volume of objectified labour), this has to come out in the fact that the objectified labour now contained in the produced commodity exchanges for 110 thaler. To start with, the product is devalued in so far as it must be exchanged for money at all in order to regain its form as value.

Within the production process the valorisation appeared to be completely identical with the production of surplus labour (the objectification of surplus time), and thus without any *limits* other than those which are partly presupposed and partly posited within this process itself, but always posited within it as *barriers* to be overcome.

But now barriers appear which lie *outside* the process. To start with, considered quite superficially, the commodity is exchange value only in so far as it is simultaneously *use value,* i.e. object of consumption (what kind of consumption, still quite irrelevant here). It ceases to be exchange value if it ceases to be use value (since it does not as yet exist again as money but in a specific mode of being coinciding with its natural quality).

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[a] See this volume, pp. 150-52, 167-68 and 186-87.—*Ed.*

The first barrier [it runs up against] is therefore *consumption* itself—the *demand for it.* (Within the assumptions so far made, there can be no question of an *ineffective* demand, i.e. a demand not backed up by a commodity or money to be given in exchange [IV-17] for the commodity demanded.) Secondly, however, an equivalent for the commodity must be available, and since circulation was originally presupposed as a fixed magnitude, as having a given volume, while capital has produced a new value in the production process, it appears that there can in fact be no equivalent available for it.

Hence, when capital emerges from the production process and returns into circulation, it appears

(a) that as *production* it has come up against the barrier of the given volume of *consumption,* or of the *consumption capacity.* As a specific use value, its quantity is to some extent irrelevant. But at a certain level it ceases to be required for consumption—since it satisfies only a specific need. As a *particular, one-sided, qualitative* use value, e.g. as grain, its quantity itself is irrelevant only to a certain degree; it is required only in a specific quantity, i.e. in a certain measure. But this measure is given partly by the quality of the commodity as use value—its *specific* utility, usability—and partly by the number of exchangers who have a need for this particular object of consumption. The number of consumers multiplied by the size of their demand for this *specific* product. Use value in itself does not possess the boundlessness of value as such. Certain objects can be consumed and are the objects of demand only to a certain degree. E.g. only a definite quantity of grain, etc., is consumed. As *use value,* the product accordingly has a barrier within itself—precisely that of the demand for it—but this barrier is now measured not by the need of the producer but by the aggregate demand of the exchangers. At the point where the demand for a certain use value ceases, it ceases to be use value. As use value it is measured by the demand for it. As soon as it ceases to be use value, it ceases to be an object of circulation (in so far as it is not money).

(b) As *new value* and *value* as such, capital appears to come up against the barrier of the volume of *available equivalents,* in the first place of money—money not as means of circulation but as money. Surplus value (the surplus over and above the original value) requires a surplus equivalent. This now appears as the second barrier.

(c) Originally, money—i.e. wealth as such, wealth existing in and through exchange for *alien objectified labour*—appeared to collapse

into itself, in so far as it did not proceed to the exchange for *alien living labour,* i.e. to the production process. Circulation was incapable of renewing itself from within itself. On the other hand, the production process now appears to be IN A FIX, if it cannot make the transition into the process of circulation. Capital as production based on wage labour presupposes circulation as a necessary condition and moment of the entire movement. This specific form of production presupposes the specific form of exchange which finds its expression in money circulation. If the process is to be renewed, the whole product must be converted into money; not as in earlier stages of production, where exchange embraces only superfluous production and superfluous products, but not production in its totality.

These are the contradictions which cannot escape a simple, objective, impartial examination. How they are constantly transcended in production based on capital, yet constantly reproduced, and only forcibly transcended (although up to a certain point this transcendence appears merely as a smooth adjustment), is another question. For the moment, the important thing is to take note of the existence of these contradictions. All the contradictions of [simple commodity] circulation come to life again in a new form. The product as use value is in contradiction to itself as value; i.e. in so far as it exists in a specific quality, as a specific thing, as a product possessing specific natural properties, as a substance of need in contradiction with the substance which as value it possesses exclusively in the *labour objectified in it.* But this time the contradiction is no longer posited as *a purely formal difference,* as in [simple] circulation. Being measured by use value is here tantamount to being measured by the aggregate demand of the exchangers for this product, i.e. by the amount of total consumption.

This appears here as the *measure* for the product as use value and therefore also as *exchange value.* In simple circulation the product simply had to be transposed from the form of the particular use value to that of exchange value. Its barrier was merely that, as use value, it existed in a particular form because of its *natural properties,* rather than in the value form in which it was directly exchangeable for all other commodities. But now it is posited that the *measure* of its availability is actually given in its *natural properties.* If it is to be transposed into the general form, the use value must be present only in a specific quantity; a *quantity* the measure of which does not lie in *the labour objectified in it,* but arises from *its nature as use value,* that is to say *as use value for others.*

At the same time, the previous contradiction that the money existing for itself [IV-18] had to proceed to its exchange for living labour, appears even greater now, because the surplus money, in order to exist as such, or the surplus value, has to be exchanged for surplus value. Hence, as value, it comes up against a barrier in the production of others, just as, as use value, it comes up against a barrier in the consumption of others. As use value, its measure is the size of the demand for the specific product; as value, its measure is the *amount of objectified labour* existing in circulation. The indifference of value as such towards use value is thereby brought into just as false a position as are, on the other side, the substance and measure of value as objectified labour in general.

//As yet we cannot go on to the relationship of demand, supply, prices, for they presuppose capital in their characteristic development. In so far as demand and supply are abstract categories, not as yet expressing any particular economic relationships, they should perhaps be considered along with simple circulation or production?//

The main point here, where we are concerned with the general concept of capital, is that capital is *this unity of production and valorisation* not *immediately* but only as a *process* tied to certain conditions, and, as it appeared, *external* conditions.

//We have already seen how the valorisation process of capital presupposes the prior development of the *simple production process.*[a] This will be the case with *demand and supply* in so far as in simple exchange a need for the product is presupposed. The (immediate) producer's *own* need as a need for the demand of others. In the course of this development it will appear of itself what has to be *presupposed* to this demand, and all this is then to be thrown into the first chapters.//

Capital's creation of *absolute surplus value*—more objectified labour—is conditional upon the expansion, indeed the constant expansion, of the periphery of circulation. The *surplus value* produced at one point requires the production of surplus value at *another* point, for which it may be exchanged. Initially the production of more gold and silver, more money, will suffice so that, if the surplus value cannot directly become capital again, it can exist in the form of money as the possibility of new capital. A condition of production based on capital is therefore *the production of a constantly expanding periphery of circulation,* whether the sphere

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[a] See this volume, pp. 230-66.—*Ed.*

is directly expanded, *or whether* more points within it *become points of production.*

If circulation initially appeared as a given magnitude, it appears here as a moving one, expanding through production itself. In the light of this, it already appears itself as a moment of production. Hence, just as capital has the tendency to produce ever more surplus labour, it has the complementary tendency to produce more points of exchange. With respect to *absolute* surplus value or surplus labour, this means that capital tends to generate more surplus labour as complement to itself; *au fond,* that it tends to propagate production based on capital or the mode of production corresponding to it. The tendency to create the *world market* is inherent directly in the concept of capital itself. Every limit appears as a barrier to be overcome. At first [capital strives] to subject each moment of production itself to exchange, and to transcend the production of immediate use values which do not enter into exchange, i.e. to replace the earlier and from its standpoint naturally evolved modes of production by production based on capital. *Trade* appears no longer as an activity carried on between independent productions for the exchange of their surplus product, but as the essential, all-embracing prerequisite for and moment of production itself.

Of course, all production directed towards the creation of immediate use values reduces the number of exchangers just as much as it does the sum of exchange values thrown into circulation, and above all the production of surplus values. Hence the tendency of capital (1) to continually enlarge the periphery of circulation; (2) to transform it at all points into production carried on by capital.

On the other side, the production of *relative surplus value,* i.e. the production of surplus value based upon the increase and development of the productive forces, requires production of new consumption, so that the sphere of consumption within circulation is enlarged, as that of production [of absolute surplus value] was enlarged before. Firstly, quantitative increase in existing consumption; secondly, the creation of new needs by the propagation of existing ones over a wider area; *thirdly,* production of *new* needs and discovery and creation of new use values. In other words, it requires that the surplus labour obtained does not remain a merely quantitative surplus, but that at the same time the range of qualitatively distinct types of labour (including surplus labour) must be constantly extended, rendered more diverse, and internally differentiated.

E.g. if because of a doubling of productivity, a capital of only 50

needs to be invested where 100 was needed before, and a capital of 50 and the necessary labour corresponding to it are released, [IV-19] a new, qualitatively different branch of production satisfying and generating a new need, must be created for the released capital and labour. The value of the old industry is preserved [by] the creation of a FUND for a new industry, in which the relation of capital and LABOUR establishes itself in a *new* form.

Hence the exploration of the whole of nature in order to discover new useful properties of things; the universal exchange of the products coming from the most diverse climates and lands; new (artificial) modes of processing natural objects to give them new use values. //The role played by *luxury* in antiquity in contrast to its role in modern times, TO BE ALLUDED TO later.// The all-round exploration of the earth to discover both new useful objects and new uses for old objects, such as their use as raw materials, etc.; hence the development of the natural sciences to their highest point; the discovery, creation and satisfaction of new needs arising from society itself; cultivating all the qualities of social man and producing him in a form as rich as possible in needs because rich in qualities and relations—producing man as the most total and universal social product possible (for in order to enjoy many different kinds of things he must be capable of enjoyment, that is he must be cultivated to a high degree)—all these are also conditions of production based on capital. This creation of new branches of production, i.e. qualitatively new surplus time, is not only the division of labour, but also the separation of a definite kind of production from itself as labour of a new use value; the development of a constantly expanding comprehensive system of different kinds of labour, different kinds of production, with a corresponding system of ever more extended and ever more varied needs.

Thus, just as production based on capital produces universal industry, i.e. surplus labour, value-creating labour, on the one hand, so does it on the other produce a system of universal exploitation of natural and human qualities, a system of universal utility, whose bearer is science itself as much as all the physical and spiritual qualities, and under these conditions nothing appears as something *higher-in-itself,* as an end in itself, outside this circle of social production and exchange. Thus it is only capital which creates bourgeois society and the universal appropriation of nature and of the social nexus itself by the members of society. HENCE THE GREAT CIVILISING INFLUENCE OF CAPITAL; hence its production of a stage of society compared to which all previous stages seem merely *local*

*developments* of humanity and *idolatry of nature.* For the first time, nature becomes purely an object for men, nothing more than a matter of utility. It ceases to be acknowledged as a power for itself, and even the theoretical cognition of its autonomous laws appears merely as a stratagem for its subjection to human needs, whether as object of consumption or as means of production. It is this same tendency which makes capital drive beyond national boundaries and prejudices and, equally, beyond nature worship, as well as beyond the traditional satisfaction of existing needs and the reproduction of old ways of life confined within long-established and complacently accepted limits. Capital is destructive towards, and constantly revolutionises, all this, tearing down all barriers which impede the development of the productive forces, the extension of the range of needs, the differentiation of production, and the exploitation and exchange of all natural and spiritual powers.

But from the fact that capital posits every such limit as a barrier which it has *ideally* already overcome, it does not at all follow that capital has *really* overcome it; and since every such limit contradicts the determination of capital, its production is subject to contradictions which are constantly overcome but just as constantly posited. Moreover, the universality for which capital ceaselessly strives, comes up against barriers in capital's own nature, barriers which at a certain stage of its development will allow it to be recognised as being itself the greatest barrier in the way of this tendency, and will therefore drive towards its transcendence through itself.

The economists who, like Ricardo, conceive production as directly identical with the self-valorisation of capital, who therefore ignore the barriers of consumption or the existing barriers of circulation itself, so far as circulation must represent counter-values at all points, and who are only concerned with the development of the productive forces and the growth of the industrial population—i.e. with supply, regardless of demand—have therefore grasped the positive essence of capital more correctly and profoundly than those who, like Sismondi, emphasise the barriers of consumption and of the existing circle of counter-values, although the latter has better grasped the limitations of production based on capital, its negative one-sidedness. Ricardo has better grasped its universal tendency, Sismondi its particular restrictedness.

The whole controversy as to whether *overproduction* is possible and necessary in production based on capital, is about whether the

valorisation of capital in production directly posits its valorisation in circulation; whether its [IV-20] valorisation posited in the *production process* is its *real* valorisation. Ricardo of course also has A SUSPICION that *exchange value* is not value outside exchange, and that it proves itself as value only through exchange. But he considers the barriers which production encounters in this direction as accidental, as barriers which are simply overcome. He therefore conceives the overcoming of such barriers as implied in the very essence of capital, although his exposition of this is often absurd. *Sismondi,* by contrast, emphasises not only the encountering of the barrier but its creation by capital itself, which thus gets itself into contradictions, contradictions in which he glimpses the impending BREAKDOWN of capital. He therefore wants to impose barriers on production from outside, by means of custom, laws, etc., which, as merely external and artificial constraints, would necessarily be demolished by capital. On the other hand, Ricardo and his entire school have never comprehended the real *modern crises* in which this contradiction of capital discharges itself in violent thunderstorms, which more and more threaten capital itself as the basis of society and production.

The attempts made from the orthodox economic standpoint to deny the fact of *general overproduction* at a given moment are indeed childish. To rescue production *based on capital,* the orthodox economists (see e.g. MacCulloch[a]) either ignore all its specific characteristics, all its conceptual definitions, and rather conceive of it as simple production for *immediate use value.* [They] entirely abstract from its essential relations. IN FACT, to purify it of contradictions, they simply drop it and negate it. Or, like e.g. *Mill,*[b] they adopt a more perceptive procedure (insipidly imitated by Say): *supply* and *demand* are identical, hence they must correspond to each other. For supply is really a demand, measured by its [supply's] own amount.[123]

Here a great confusion: (1) the identity of supply, i.e. being a demand which is measured by its [supply's] own amount, is true only to the extent that it is *exchange value*=a certain amount of objectified labour. To that extent, supply is the measure of its own demand as far as *value* is concerned. But as such a value, it is realised only through exchange for *money*; and as an object of exchange for money it depends upon (2) its *use value*; and as use

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[a] J. R. MacCulloch, *The Principles of Political Economy,* Edinburgh, 1825, p. 190.— *Ed.*

[b] J. Mill, *Éléments d'économie politique*, Paris, 1823, pp. 250-60.— *Ed.*

value, in turn, it depends upon the mass of existing needs for it, the demand for it. However, as use value it is absolutely not measured by the labour time objectified in it, but by a standard quite unconnected with its nature as exchange value.

Or else it is asserted that *supply itself is a demand for a certain product* of *a certain value* (which is expressed in terms of the required amount of the product). If, therefore, the product supplied cannot be sold, this proves only that too much of the commodity supplied and too little of some other commodity, demanded by the supplier, has been produced. Thus, allegedly, there is no general overproduction, only overproduction of one or some articles, but underproduction of others. What is forgotten here is the fact that producing capital demands not a particular use value but *value* for itself, i.e. money—money not in its role as means of circulation but as the general form of wealth, or as the form of the realisation of capital in one respect, and return to its original dormant state in the other.

The assertion that too *little money* is being produced is tantamount to the assertion that production does not coincide with valorisation, hence is *overproduction*; or, which is the same thing, that it is production which cannot be converted into money, hence into *value,* production which does not pass the test of circulation. HENCE THE ILLUSION of the money-conjurers (also Proudhon, etc.) that there is a shortage of *means of circulation* because of the dearness of money, and that more money has to be created artificially. (See also the Birmingham School, e.g. the *Gemini.*[124])

Or it is said that, *considered from the social standpoint, production and consumption* are identical; therefore an excess of one in relation to the other or a disproportion between them can never occur. The "social standpoint" here referred to is precisely the abstraction which *ignores* the specific social structure and relations and hence also the contradictions arising from them. Already *Storch,* for example, argued very correctly against Say[a] that a large part of consumption is not consumption for immediate use but consumption within the production process, e.g. consumption of machines, coal, oil, necessary buildings, etc.[14] This type of consumption [IV-21] is not at all identical with the consumption which is being discussed here. Similarly, *Malthus* and *Sismondi* have correctly observed that e.g. the consumption of the workers

[a] H. Storch, *Considérations sur la nature du revenu national,* pp. 126-59.—*Ed.*

is by no means in itself a *sufficient* consumption for the capitalist.[a] The moment of valorisation is here completely excluded, and production and consumption simply counterposed to each other, i.e. a production based directly on *use value,* and hence not on capital, is presupposed.

Or in *socialist* jargon: let labour and the exchange of labour, i.e. production and exchange of the product (circulation), be the whole process. How could a disproportion then arise, except by an oversight or a miscalculation? Labour is not conceived here as wage labour, nor capital as capital. On the one hand, the consequences of production based on capital are taken for granted; on the other hand, the requisite and condition of these consequences is denied—necessary labour as labour posited by and for surplus labour.

Or—e.g. *Ricardo*[b]—since production is itself regulated by the costs of production, it regulates itself. And if a particular branch of production does not valorise itself, capital withdraws from it to a certain degree and moves into other branches in which it is necessary. But, quite apart from the fact that the very necessity of evening-up *presupposes* the imbalance, the disharmony and hence the contradiction, in a general crisis of overproduction the contradiction is not between different types of productive capital, but between industrial and loan capital, between capital as it is directly involved in the production process and capital as it appears as money independently *(relativement)* outside that process.

Finally, PROPORTIONATE PRODUCTION[c] (this also already in Ricardo, etc.). But if it is the tendency of capital to distribute itself in the correct proportions, it is just as much its necessary tendency to drive beyond the correct proportion, because it strives boundlessly for surplus labour, surplus productivity, surplus consumption, etc.

(In *competition,* this immanent tendency of capital appears as a compulsion imposed upon it by *other* capital and driving it beyond the correct proportion with a constant *March, march!* As Mr. *Wakefield* correctly sniffs out in his commentary on Smith,[d] free

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[a] Th. R. Malthus, *Principles of Political Economy,* 2nd ed., London, 1836, p. 405 (publisher's note), and J. Ch. L. Simonde de Sismondi, *Études sur l'économie politique,* Vol. I, p. 61.—*Ed.*

[b] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* pp. 80-85.—*Ed.*

[c] See J. Gray, *Lectures on the Nature and Use of Money*, pp. 67, 108, 123, 125 and 142-48.—*Ed.*

[d] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.* With a Commentary, by the Author of *England and America* [E. G. Wakefield], Vol. I, London, 1835, pp. 244-46.—*Ed.*

competition has *never* been analysed *at all* by political economists, however much they may chatter about it, even though it is the basis of the entire bourgeois production based on capital. It has only been understood negatively, i.e. as the negation of monopolies, corporations, legal regulations, etc., and as the negation of feudal production. But, after all, it must also be something *for itself,* since a mere 0 is an empty negation, an abstraction from a barrier which is immediately resurrected e.g. in the form of monopoly, natural monopolies, etc. Conceptually, *competition* is nothing but the *inner nature of capital,* its essential character, manifested and realised as the reciprocal action of many capitals upon each other; immanent tendency realised as external necessity.) (Capital exists and can only exist as many capitals; hence its own character appears as their reciprocal action on each other.)

Capital is just as much the constant positing of, as it is the constant transcendence of PROPORTIONATE PRODUCTION. The existing proportions must constantly be transcended through the creation of surplus values and the increase of productive forces. But to demand that production should be expanded *instantaneously,* SIMULTANEOUSLY and in *the same proportions,* is to impose external demands on capital, which in no way correspond to anything arising from capital itself. In fact, the departure from the given proportion in one branch of production drives all the other branches out of that proportion, and at unequal rates. So far (for we have not yet reached capital in its character as *capital circulant*; we still have circulation on one side and capital on the other, or production as the premiss of circulation or the ground from which it arises), even from the standpoint of production, circulation has the relation to consumption and production, in other words, surplus labour as counter-value, and differentiation of labour in ever richer variety.

The simple concept of capital must contain *in itself* its civilising tendencies, etc. They must not be presented, as they are up to now in political economy, as merely external consequences. Similarly, the contradictions which are later released, must be demonstrated as already latent within it.

So far, we have in the valorisation process only the indifference of the individual moments to each other, that they determine each other internally and search for each other externally, but that they may or may not find each other, balance each other, correspond to each other. The necessary inner connection of moments belonging together and their mutually indifferent, independent

existence are already a foundation [IV-22] of contradictions.

However, we have by no means finished yet. The contradiction between production and valorisation—of which capital, according to its concept, is the unity—has to be grasped more intrinsically than merely as the mutually indifferent and apparently independent appearance of the individual moments of the process or, rather, of the totality of processes.

To get closer to the point: *d'abord* THERE IS A LIMIT, NOT INHERENT TO PRODUCTION GENERALLY, BUT TO PRODUCTION FOUNDED ON CAPITAL. This LIMIT is two-fold, or rather it is the same limit considered from two different aspects. Here it is sufficient to demonstrate that capital contains a *particular* restriction on production—which contradicts its general tendency to drive beyond every barrier to production—to have uncovered the foundation of *overproduction,* the basic contradiction of developed capital; or, to put it more generally, to have uncovered that capital is not, as the economists believe, the *absolute* form for the development of the productive forces—not the absolute form for that, nor the form of wealth which absolutely coincides with the development of the productive forces.

The stages of production which precede capital appear, when looked at from the standpoint of capital, as just so many fetters upon the productive forces. But capital itself, correctly understood, appears as the condition for the development of the productive forces only so long as they require an external spur, a spur which at the same time appears as their bridle. It is a discipline over them, which at a certain level of their development becomes quite as superfluous and burdensome as [previously] the corporations, etc. These inherent limits must coincide with the nature of capital, with the essential character of its very concept. These necessary LIMITS are:

(1) *necessary labour* as the limit on the exchange value of living labour capacity or on the wages of the industrial population;

(2) *surplus value* as the limit on surplus labour time; and, with respect to relative surplus labour time, as the limit on the development of the productive forces;

(3) what is the same, *transformation into money,* exchange value in general as the limit on production; or exchange based on value, or value based on exchange, as the limit on production. It is:

(4) again identical as the *restriction of the production of use values* by exchange value; or that real wealth has to assume a *specific* form distinct from itself, i.e. a form not absolutely identical with itself, if it is to become an object of production at all.

On the other hand, it arises from the *general tendency of capital* (and this is what in simple circulation was manifest in the fact that money as a means of circulation appeared only fleetingly, devoid of independent necessity, and hence not as a limit and barrier) that it forgets and abstracts from:

(1) necessary labour as the limit on the exchange value of living labour capacity; (2) surplus value as the limit on surplus labour and the development of the productive forces; (3) money as the limit on production; (4) the restriction of the production of use values by exchange value.

*Hinc* overproduction, i.e. a sudden *reminder* of all these necessary moments of production based on capital; hence general devaluation in consequence of forgetting them. This immediately faces capital with the task of trying again from a higher level of development of the productive forces, etc., resulting in an ever greater COLLAPSE *as capital.* Therefore clear that the higher the level to which capital has developed, the more it appears as a barrier to production—hence also to consumption—quite apart from the other contradictions which make it appear as a burdensome barrier on production and commerce.

//The whole *credit system,* and the OVER-TRADING, OVER-SPECULATION, etc., connected with it, rest upon the necessity to extend the range of, and to overcome the barrier to, circulation and exchange. This appears more colossal, more classical, in the relationship between peoples than in the relationship between individuals. Thus e.g. Englishmen compelled to *lend* to foreign nations to have them as their CUSTOMERS. *Au fond,* the English capitalist carries on a two-fold exchange with *productive* English capital: (1) as himself, (2) as Yankee, etc., or in whatever other form he has placed his money.//

//Capital as a *barrier to production* is hinted at in e.g. *Hodgskin*:

"IN THE PRESENT STATE, EVERY ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL ADDS TO THE AMOUNT OF PROFIT DEMANDED FROM THE LABOURER, AND EXTINGUISHES ALL THAT LABOUR WHICH WOULD ONLY PROCURE THE LABOURER HIS COMFORTABLE EXISTENCE... *PROFIT* THE LIMITATION OF PRODUCTION" [Th. Hodgskin, *Popular Political Economy*, London, 1827, pp. 245, 246] (IX, p. 46).[125]

By means of FOREIGN TRADE the limit on the sphere of exchange is extended and capitalists are enabled to consume more surplus labour:

"IN A SERIES OF YEARS THE WORLD CAN TAKE NO MORE FROM US, THAN WE CAN TAKE FROM THE WORLD. EVEN THE PROFITS MADE BY OUR MERCHANTS IN THEIR FOREIGN TRADE ARE PAID BY THE CONSUMER OF THE RETURN GOODS HERE. FOREIGN TRADE MERE BARTER, AND AS SUCH EXCHANGE FOR THE CONVENIENCE AND ENJOYMENT OF THE

CAPITALIST. [IV-23] BUT HE CAN CONSUME COMMODITIES TO A CERTAIN DEGREE ONLY. HE EXCHANGES COTTONS ETC. FOR THE WINES AND SILKS OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES. BUT THESE *REPRESENT ONLY THE SURPLUS LABOUR OF OUR OWN POPULATION* AS MUCH AS THE CLOTHES AND COTTONS, AND IN THIS WAY THE *DESTRUCTIVE POWER OF THE CAPITALIST IS INCREASED BEYOND ALL BOUNDS.* THUS NATURE IS *OUTWITTED*" ([*The*] *Source and Remedy* [*of the National Difficulties,* pp. 17-18,] pp. 27, 28).

To what extent *GLUT* is connected with the *barrier* of necessary labour:

"THE VERY MEANING OF AN INCREASED DEMAND [for work] BY THE LABOURERS IS A DISPOSITION TO TAKE LESS THEMSELVES, AND LEAVE A LARGER SHARE FOR THEIR EMPLOYERS; AND IF IT BE SAID THAT THIS, BY *DIMINISHING CONSUMPTION, INCREASES GLUT,* I CAN ONLY SAY THAT *GLUT THEN IS SYNONYMOUS WITH HIGH PROFITS*" (*Enquiry,* etc., [*An Inquiry into those Principles, respecting the Nature of Demand and the Necessity of Consumption, lately advocated by Mr. Malthus,*] London, 1821, [p. 59] p. 12[126]).

Herein the one aspect of the contradiction fully expressed.

"THE PRACTICE OF STOPPING LABOUR AT THAT POINT WHERE IT CAN PRODUCE, IN ADDITION TO THE SUBSISTENCE OF THE LABOURER, A PROFIT FOR THE CAPITALIST, OPPOSED TO THE NATURAL LAW WHICH REGULATES PRODUCTION" (Hodgskin, [op. cit., p. 238,] 41,[127] IX).

"THE MORE THE CAPITAL ACCUMULATES, THE *WHOLE AMOUNT OF PROFIT DEMANDED* DOES SO; SO THERE ARISES AN *ARTIFICIAL CHECK* TO PRODUCTION AND POPULATION" (Hodgskin, [op. cit., p. 246,] 46).

The contradictions between capital as instrument of production in general and instrument of production of VALUE are developed by *Malthus* thus (IX, 40 ff):

"PROFITS ARE INVARIABLY MEASURED BY *VALUE* AND NEVER BY *QUANTITY*... THE *WEALTH* OF A COUNTRY DEPENDS PARTLY UPON THE *QUANTITY OF PRODUCE* OBTAINED BY ITS LABOUR, AND PARTLY UPON *SUCH AN ADAPTATION OF THIS QUANTITY TO THE WANTS AND POWERS OF THE EXISTING POPULATION* AS IS CALCULATED TO GIVE IT VALUE. NOTHING CAN BE MORE CERTAIN THAN THAT IT IS NOT DETERMINED BY EITHER OF THEM ALONE. BUT WHERE WEALTH AND VALUE ARE PERHAPS THE MOST NEARLY CONNECTED, IS IN *THE NECESSITY OF THE LATTER TO THE PRODUCTION OF THE FORMER.* THE VALUE SET UPON COMMODITIES, THAT IS THE SACRIFICE OF LABOUR WHICH PEOPLE ARE WILLING TO MAKE IN ORDER TO OBTAIN THEM, IN THE ACTUAL STATE OF THINGS MAY BE SAID TO BE *ALMOST THE SOLE CAUSE* OF THE EXISTENCE OF WEALTH... THE CONSUMPTION AND DEMAND OCCASIONED ONLY BY THE WORKMEN EMPLOYED IN PRODUCTIVE LABOUR CAN NEVER *ALONE* FURNISH A MOTIVE TO THE ACCUMULATION AND EMPLOYMENT OF CAPITAL ... THE *POWERS OF PRODUCTION ALONE DO NOT SECURE THE CREATION OF A PROPORTIONATE DEGREE OF WEALTH,* AS LITTLE AS THE *INCREASE OF POPULATION.* What it requires in addition IS SUCH A *DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCE,* AND SUCH AN ADAPTATION OF THIS PRODUCE TO THE WANTS OF THOSE WHO ARE TO CONSUME IT, AS CONSTANTLY TO INCREASE THE *EXCHANGEABLE VALUE OF THE WHOLE MASS,* I.E. THE POWERS OF PRODUCTION ARE ONLY CALLED FULLY INTO ACTION BY THE UNCHECKED DEMAND FOR ALL THAT IS PRODUCED..." [*Principles of Political Economy,* 2nd ed., London, 1836, pp. 266, 301, 302, 315, 361, 311 and 361].

True, this is brought about on the one hand by constant establishment of new branches of industry (and *reciprocal* expan-

sion of the old), by means of which the old obtain new *MARKETS*, etc. Production does indeed create DEMAND in that it employs more labourers in the same branch of business and creates new branches of business, in which new capitalists employ new labourers and at the same time reciprocally become a market for the old; but

"THE DEMAND CREATED BY THE PRODUCTIVE LABOURER HIMSELF CAN NEVER BE AN *ADEQUATE* DEMAND, BECAUSE IT DOES NOT GO TO THE FULL EXTENT OF WHAT HE PRODUCES. IF IT DID, THERE WOULD BE NO PROFIT, CONSEQUENTLY NO MOTIVE TO EMPLOY HIM. THE VERY EXISTENCE OF A PROFIT UPON ANY COMMODITY PRESUPPOSES *A DEMAND EXTERIOR TO THAT OF THE LABOUR WHICH HAS PRODUCED* IT" [ibid., p. 405, publisher's note]. "BOTH LABOURERS AND CAPITAL MAY BE REDUNDANT COMPARED WITH THE MEANS OF EMPLOYING THEM PROFITABLY" [ibid., p. 414, note].//

//To be noted for (3),[a] to which we shall soon proceed, that the preliminary accumulation, which is the form in which capital appears in relation to labour, and by means of which it is COMMAND over it, is initially nothing but *SURPLUS LABOUR* itself in the form of *SURPLUS PRODUCE*, and on the other hand a *draft on the CO-EXISTING* LABOUR[b] *of others.*//

OF COURSE, the point here is not yet to analyse overproduction in all its specific characteristics, but only the predisposition to it as it is posited in primitive form in the relation of capital itself. We must therefore also omit the other possessing and consuming classes, etc., which do not produce but live from their revenue, and therefore exchange with capital, constitute centres of exchange for it. We can take them partly into account only in so far as they play a MOST IMPORTANT role in the historical formation of capital (but they are better dealt with in connection with *accumulation*).

In production based on slavery, and similarly in patriarchal rural-industrial production, where the great majority of the population satisfies most of its needs directly by its labour, the sphere of circulation and exchange is very narrow; and particularly in the first, the slave does not come into consideration at all as an *exchanger*. But in production based on capital, consumption is at all points mediated by exchange, and labour never has direct use value for those who perform it. Its [IV-24] whole basis is labour as exchange value and as producer of exchange value.

WELL. *D'abord*

the wage worker, as distinct from the slave, is himself an independent centre of circulation, someone who exchanges, posits

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[a] See this volume, pp. 245-46.—*Ed.*

[b] An expression from Hodgskin's anonymously published book *Labour Defended against the Claims of Capital*, London, 1825.—*Ed.*

exchange value and maintains exchange value by means of exchange. *Firstly*: Through the exchange between the part of capital which is determined as wages and his living labour capacity, the *exchange value* of this part of capital is directly posited before capital again steps out of the production process to enter into circulation; or this may itself be conceived of as an act of circulation. *Secondly*: In relation to each capitalist the total mass of all workers except his own appears not as workers but as consumers, possessors of exchange values (wages), of money, which they exchange for his commodities. They are so many centres of circulation, from which the act of exchange begins and by means of which the exchange value of capital is preserved. They constitute a very large proportion of consumers, although NOT QUITE SO GREAT AS IS GENERALLY IMAGINED if one thinks only of the industrial workers proper. The greater their number—the greater the size of the industrial population—and the greater the amount of money over which they dispose, the greater the sphere of exchange for capital. We have seen that it is the tendency of capital to increase the industrial population as much as possible.[a]

Actually, we are not at all concerned here yet with the relationship of one capitalist to the workers of *other* capitalists. It only shows the illusion of each capitalist, but does not alter the relationship of capital in general to labour. Each capitalist knows that he does not confront his own worker as a producer confronts a consumer, and so he wants to restrict his consumption, i.e. his ability to exchange, his wages, as much as possible. But of course, he wants the workers of *other* capitalists to be the greatest possible consumers of *his* commodity. Yet the relationship of *each* capitalist to *his* workers is the *general relationship* of *capital and labour,* the essential relation. It is precisely this which gives rise to the illusion—true for each individual capitalist as distinct from all the others—that *apart from his own* workers, the rest of the working class confronts him not as workers, but as *consumers* and *exchangers*—as moneyspenders. It is forgotten that, as *Malthus* says,

> "THE VERY EXISTENCE OF A PROFIT UPON ANY COMMODITY PRESUPPOSES A *DEMAND EXTERIOR TO THAT OF THE LABOURER WHO HAS PRODUCED IT*", and hence the "*DEMAND OF THE LABOURER HIMSELF CAN NEVER BE AN ADEQUATE DEMAND*" [*Principles of Political Economy*, 2nd ed., London, 1836, p. 405, publisher's note].

Since one production sets another production in motion and hence creates consumers for itself in the *alien* capital's workers,

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[a] Here Marx wrote, in a separate line, "*JANUARY (1858)*".—*Ed.*

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the demand of the working class posited by production itself *appears* to each individual capital as an "ADEQUATE DEMAND". On the one hand, this demand posited by production itself drives on production beyond the *proportion* in which it would have to produce with regard to the [effective demand of] workers, and must do so. On the other hand, the demand *EXTERIOR TO THE DEMAND OF THE LABOURER HIMSELF* disappears or shrinks, hence the COLLAPSE occurs. Capital itself then regards the *demand of the labourer,* i.e. the payment of wages upon which this demand is based, not as gain but as loss, i.e. the *immanent relationship of capital and labour* asserts itself.

*Here again, it is owing to the competition of capitals,* their indifference to and independence of one another, that the individual capital does *not* relate to the workers of the entire remaining capital *as workers*: *hinc* is driven beyond the right proportion. It is precisely this which distinguishes capital from the [feudal] relationship of domination—that the *worker* confronts the capitalist as consumer and one who posits exchange value, in the form of a *possessor of money*, of money, of a simple centre of circulation—that he becomes one of the innumerable centres of circulation, in which his specific character as worker is extinguished.

//Exactly the same is true of the demand created by production itself for raw materials, semi-finished products, machinery, means of communication, and for the accessory materials used in production, such as dyes, coal, tallow, soap, etc. This demand, being effective and positing exchange value, is adequate and sufficient as long as the producers exchange among themselves. Its inadequacy becomes evident as soon as the final product encounters its limit in immediate and final consumption. This *semblance* [of adequate demand], which drives [production] beyond the right proportion, also arises from the essence of capital, which, as will have to be shown in more detail in the analysis of competition, *is* that of a number of capitals entirely indifferent to one another, repelling one another. In so far as one capitalist *buys* from others, buys or sells commodities, they stand in the relationship of simple exchange and do not relate to one another as capital. The *correct* (imaginary) proportion in which they must exchange with one another in order to be able to valorise themselves at the end as capital, lies *outside* their relation to one another.//

To begin with: capital compels the workers beyond necessary labour to surplus labour. Only thus does it valorise itself and

create surplus value. But on the other hand capital posits necessary labour only *in so far as* and *to the extent to which* it is surplus labour, and is *realisable* as *surplus value.* It therefore posits surplus labour as a condition of necessary labour, and surplus value as the limit to objectified labour, to value in general. When it can no longer posit the former, it no longer posits the latter, and on the basis of capital only capital can posit necessary labour. Consequently, it restricts labour and the creation of value—by an ARTIFICIAL CHECK, as the English put it[a]—and it does so for the same reason and to the same extent that it posits surplus labour and surplus value. By its very nature, therefore, capital sets [IV-25] a *limit* for labour and the creation of value, which stands in contradiction to its tendency to expand them boundlessly. And by both positing a limit *specific* to itself and on the other hand driving beyond *any* limit, it is the very embodiment of contradiction.

//Since value constitutes the basis of capital, and capital thus necessarily exists only through exchange for a *counter-value,* it necessarily repels itself from itself. A *universal capital,* not confronted by alien capitals with which it exchanges—and from our present standpoint nothing confronts it but wage labour or itself—is consequently an impossibility. The mutual repulsion of capitals is already inherent in capital as realised exchange value.//

While capital thus on the one hand makes surplus labour and its *exchange* for [other] *surplus labour*[b] the precondition of necessary labour and therefore of positing the *capacity to labour* as a centre of exchange—hence already restricting and qualifying the sphere of exchange in this direction—it is just as essential for capital, on the other hand, to limit the consumption of the worker to what is necessary for the reproduction of his labour capacity, i.e. to make the *value* which expresses *necessary labour* the limit of the utilisation of the worker's labour capacity and hence of his *capacity to exchange,* and to try to reduce to a minimum the ratio of this necessary labour to surplus labour. [This is] a new limit on the sphere of exchange which, however, like the first, is identical with the tendency of capital to treat every limit on its self-valorisation as a barrier [which must be overcome]. The boundless enlargement of its value—the boundless positing of value—is thus absolutely identical here with the setting of limits to the sphere of exchange, i.e. to the possibility of valorisation, to the realisation of the value posited in the production process.

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[a] Th. Hodgskin, *Popular Political Economy*, p. 246.—*Ed.*

[b] I.e. its realisation in the process of exchange.—*Ed.*

The same is true of the *productive power.* On the one hand, the tendency of capital necessarily to raise it to the utmost in order to increase relative *surplus time.* On the other hand, *necessary labour time*, i.e. the workers' capacity to exchange, thereby diminished. Moreover, as we have seen,[a] relative *surplus value* grows much less relative to the productive power and indeed the proportion [between the increase in surplus value and that in productive power] declines the higher the level of productivity already attained. *But the volume of products grows in similar proportion*—if it did not, new capital and labour would be set free which would not enter into circulation. But in proportion to the growing volume of products, the difficulty of utilising the labour time contained in them also grows, because the demands made on consumption rise.

(Here, we are still only concerned with the way in which the *process of the valorisation* of capital is simultaneously its *process of devaluation.* We are not discussing the extent to which, while it has the tendency *boundlessly to expand the productive forces,* it also makes one-sided, limits, etc., the *main force of production, man* himself, and tends in general to restrict the productive forces.)

Capital thus posits *necessary labour time* as the limit on the exchange value of living labour capacity; posits *surplus labour time* as the limit on necessary labour time, and posits *surplus value* as the limit on surplus labour time. At the same time, it pushes all these limits aside, in so far as it looks to *labour capacity* as simply a participant in exchange, as money, and posits surplus labour time as the only limit, because it is the creator of surplus value. (Or, from the first aspect, capital posits the exchange of surplus values as a limit on the exchange of necessary values.)

Capital simultaneously posits the *values already present* in circulation—or, what amounts to the same thing, the ratio of the value created by capital to the value *presupposed* in capital itself and in circulation—as the limit, the necessary limit, to its creation of value. On the other hand, it posits its productivity as the only limit on, and as the sole creator of, values. Hence it constantly drives towards its own devaluation on the one hand, and towards the restriction of the productive forces and of the labour which objectifies itself in values on the other.

//The nonsense about the impossibility of overproduction (in other words, the assertion of the immediate identity of the production process of capital and its process of valorisation) was at

[a] See this volume, pp. 259-66.—*Ed.*

least sophistically, i.e. ingeniously, expressed by James Mill, as mentioned above,[a] in the formula: supply=its own demand, hence demand and supply are identical, which, put differently, means only that value is determined by labour time, and consequently *exchange adds nothing to value.* The only thing which is forgotten here is that exchange must take place, and whether it does or does not depends upon *use value* (in the final analysis). Therefore, as Mill says, if demand and supply are not identical, this is the result of too much being produced of one particular product (which is supplied) and too little of another (for which there is a demand). This too much and too little concerns not exchange value, but use value. More of the product is supplied than can be "used"; that is the essence of the matter; hence overproduction derives from use value and therefore from exchange itself.

Say expresses this proposition in stultified form: products are exchanged only for products[b]; therefore all that can happen is that too much is produced of one product and too little of another. He forgets (1) that values are exchanged for values, and one product is exchanged for another only in so far as it is value, i.e. only in so far as it is or becomes money; and (2) is exchanged for labour. The good fellow adopts the standpoint of *simple exchange*, in which indeed no overproduction is possible because it really is concerned with use value, not with exchange value. Overproduction takes place in relation to valorisation, NOTHING ELSE.//

[IV-26] Proudhon, who certainly hears the bells ringing, but never knows where, derives overproduction from the fact that "the worker cannot buy back his product".[c] By this he means that interest and profit are charged on it, or that the price charged for the product is in excess of its actual value. This proves *d'abord* that he understands nothing of value determination, which, GENERALLY SPEAKING, cannot possibly include an item like OVERCHARGE. In actual commerce, capitalist *A* can cheat capitalist *B*. One profits by the amount the other loses. If we add them both together, the sum of their exchange=the sum of the labour time objectified in their products, of which capitalist *A* merely pocketed more than his due in relation to *B*. From the entire profits that capital, i.e. the total number of capitalists, makes, there are deducted (1) the constant

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[a] See this volume, p. 338.—*Ed.*

[b] J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique*, 3rd ed., Vol. II, p. 441.—*Ed.*

[c] P. J. Proudhon, *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?*, Ch. IV, § 5, Paris, 1841, p. 202; *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon*, pp. 207-08. —*Ed.*

part of capital; (2) the wages, or the objectified labour time necessary to reproduce the living labour capacity. They can therefore divide among themselves only surplus value. The proportions—just or otherwise—in which they share out this surplus value among themselves, make absolutely no difference to the exchange and to the relation of exchange between capital and labour.

It might be said that *necessary labour time* (i.e. wages), which therefore does not include profit but is RATHER to be subtracted from it, is itself in turn determined by the *prices* of the products, which already include profit. Where else could the profit come from, which the capitalist not directly employing this worker makes in the exchange with him? E.g. the worker employed by the SPINNER exchanges his wages for so many bushels of grain. But the profit of the farmer, i.e. of capital, is already included in the price of each bushel, so that the *price* of the means of subsistence which necessary labour time itself buys, already includes surplus labour time. *D'abord,* it is clear that the wages paid by the SPINNER to his WORKINGMEN must be sufficient to buy the necessary bushels of corn, whatever the farmer's profit entering into the *price* of the bushel of corn, but that equally, on the other side, the wages paid by the farmer to his labourers must be sufficient to enable them to obtain the necessary quantity of clothing, whatever may be the profit of the SPINNER and WEAVER entering into the *price* of this clothing.[a]

[IV-27] The point is simply that in this argument (1) *price* and *value* are confused; (2) relations are brought in which are irrelevant to the determination of value as such.

Assume, initially—and this is the conceptual relation—that capitalist *A* himself produces all the means of subsistence which the worker requires, or which represent the sum of use values in which his necessary labour objectifies itself. The worker would therefore have to buy back from the capitalist, with the money he received from him—money appears in this transaction merely as means of circulation—that fractional part of the product which represents his necessary labour. The *price* of a fractional part of the product of capitalist *A* is OF COURSE the same for the worker as it is for any other exchanger. From the moment he buys from the capitalist, his specific quality as worker is extinguished; in his money, every trace of the relationship and of the operation by

[a] Here Marx crossed out a series of calculations illustrating the above proposition. He gives these calculations, in somewhat changed form, below (see pp. 354-55).—*Ed.*

means of which it was obtained has disappeared. He confronts the capitalist in circulation simply as *M* [money], and the capitalist confronts him as *C* [commodity]; he confronts the capitalist as realiser of the *price* of *C,* which is therefore presupposed for him just as it is for every other representative of *M*, i.e. for every other buyer.

WELL. But in the price of the fractional parts of the commodity which he buys there is included the profit in which the surplus value falling to the capitalist appears. If, therefore, his necessary labour time represents 20 thaler=a particular fractional part of the product, and if profit is 10%, the capitalist sells him the commodity for 22 thaler.

This is what Proudhon thinks, and he therefore concludes that the worker cannot buy back his product, i.e. the fractional part of the total product which objectifies his *necessary labour.*[a] (We shall come back directly to his other CONCLUSION: that *therefore* capital is unable to exchange adequately, *hence* overproduction.) To clarify the matter, suppose that the 20 thaler received by the worker=4 bushels of grain. If 20 thaler was the value of the 4 bushels expressed in money, and the capitalist sold it for 22, the worker could not then buy back the 4 bushels; he could buy only $3^7/_{11}$ bushels. In other words, he [Proudhon] imagines that the monetary transaction falsifies the relationship. The price of necessary labour is 20 thaler=4 bushels, and this the capitalist hands over to the worker. But as soon as the latter wants to obtain the 4 bushels for his 20 thaler, he finds that he only gets $3^7/_{11}$. But since he would then not be getting his *necessary* wages he could not live at all, and thus Mr. Proudhon proves too much.

//The fact that in practice, capital both in its general tendency and directly via the *price,* as e.g. in the TRUCK-SYSTEM, tries to cheat *necessary* labour and to depress it below the standard set by nature as well as by a particular state of society, is irrelevant here. Here we must assume throughout that the wages being paid are *economically* just, i.e. determined by the general laws of political economy. The contradictions here must follow from the general relations themselves, not from the fraudulent tricks of individual capitalists. How all this develops in reality belongs to the theory of wages.//

But the presupposition, if you please, is wrong. If 5 thaler express the *value* of a bushel, i.e. the labour time objectified in it,

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[a] *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon,* pp. 191-208.—*Ed.*

and 4 bushels the necessary wages, capitalist *A* does not sell these 4 bushels for 22 thaler, as Proudhon believes, but for 20 thaler. The point is this: let total product (including necessary and surplus labour time) be 110 thaler=22 bushels; of these 16 bushels=80 thaler represent the capital laid out on seed, machinery, etc.; 4 bushels=20 thaler represent the necessary labour time; and 2 bushels=10 thaler represent surplus labour time. The capitalist sells each bushel for 5 thaler, the necessary value of the bushel, and yet he gains 10% on each bushel, or $^5/_{10}$ thaler, $^1/_2$ thaler=15 silver groschen. Where does this come from? From the fact that he sells 22×5 instead of 20×5. We can here let the additional capital he must lay out to produce 2 more bushels=0, since they can be reduced to pure surplus labour, such as more thorough ploughing, weeding, spreading-on of animal manure, etc., which cost him nothing at all.

[IV-28] The value contained in the 2 surplus bushels has cost *him nothing,* and therefore constitutes a surplus above his expenses. If he sells 20 of the 22 bushels for what they have cost him, 100 thaler, and 2, which have cost him nothing—but whose value=the labour contained in them—for 10 thaler, this is the same for him as if he [having 20 bushels to sell] had sold each bushel for 15 silver groschen more than it cost him. (For $^1/_2$ thaler or 10% on 5 thaler=$^5/_{10}$.) Thus, although he makes a profit of 2 thaler on the 4 bushels sold to the worker, the worker gets the bushel for its necessary value. The capitalist only makes a profit of 2 thaler on the 4 bushels, because in addition to these he sells another 18 at the same price. If he sold only 16 additional ones, he would make no profit; for he would then sell a total of 5×20=100, his capital outlay.

In manufacture, in fact, the outlays of capital need not necessarily grow for a surplus value to be realised; i.e. it is not necessary for the outlay on raw material and machinery to grow. Suppose that a given product acquires a higher FINISH and a higher use value merely through labour by hand—the volume of necessary raw material and instrument is assumed to be constant—and thus its use value is increased, not because its quantity but because its quality has been raised due to the increased handiwork employed on it. Its exchange value—the labour objectified in it—simply grows in proportion to this labour. If the capitalist then sells the product 10% more dearly, the fractional part of the product (expressed in terms of money) which represents necessary labour is paid to the worker, and if the product were divisible, the worker could purchase this fractional part. The capitalist's profit

would not originate from his overcharging the worker for this fractional part, but from the fact that with the whole he sells a fractional part for which he has not paid, and which represents precisely *surplus labour time.*

As value, the product is always divisible; in its natural form it need not be so. Profit here always comes from the fact that the total value contains a fractional part which is not paid for, and therefore a fractional part of surplus labour is paid for in each fractional part of the whole. Take the example given above: if the capitalist sells 22 bushels, i.e. 2 representing the surplus labour, it is the same thing as if [with only 20 bushels to sell] he sold each bushel for $^1/_{10}$ too much, i.e. $^1/_{10}$ surplus value. If e.g. only 1 clock has been produced, with the same ratio of labour, capital and surplus value, the quality of the clock has been raised by $^1/_{10}$ of the labour time, a rise of $^1/_{10}$ in value which costs the capitalist nothing.

Assume a third example in which the capitalist, as is often the case in manufacture (though not in the extractive industries), requires more raw material, in which surplus labour time is objectified (we assume that [the value of] the instrument remains constant; but it would make no difference if it were assumed to be variable).

(Really, this does not belong here yet, for capital can or must just as well be presumed to have produced the raw material, e.g. cotton, and surplus production at any particular point must be reducible to *mere* surplus labour; or, what is rather the *reality,* capital presupposes the *simultaneous* existence of surplus labour at all points in circulation.)

Let the capitalist spin 25 lbs of cotton, costing him 50 thaler, for which he needs machinery (which we shall assume to be completely used up in the production process) to a value of 30 thaler and let wages be 20 thaler; all this for 25 lbs of twist which he sells for 110 thaler. He then sells each pound of twist for $4\,^2/_5$ thaler or 4 thaler 12 silver groschen. The worker consequently obtains $4\,^6/_{11}$ lbs of twist, if he wishes to buy back his product. If the worker worked for himself, he would likewise sell the pound for 4 thaler 12 silver groschen and make no profit—assuming that he merely performs the necessary labour; but he will spin less cotton into twist.[a]

[IV-29] As we know, the value of a pound of twist consists exclusively of the amount of labour time objectified in it. Now

[a] In the manuscript, there follows a passage, crossed out by Marx, containing a series of calculations which must have dissatisfied him.—*Ed.*

suppose the value of the pound of twist is 5 thaler. Suppose, $^4/_5$ [of that 5 thaler], i.e. 4 thaler, represent cotton, instrument, etc.; then 1 thaler represents the labour realised in the cotton by means of the instrument. If the worker needs 20 thaler to subsist for say a month as a spinner, he would have to spin 20 lbs of twist, since he earns 1 thaler for spinning 1 lb. of twist, but needs to earn 20. If he himself owned the cotton, instrument, etc., and worked for himself, i.e. if he were his own master, he would have to sell 20 lbs of twist; for he would only earn on each lb. $^1/_5$ [of its value], a thaler, and $1\times20=20$. If he works for the capitalist, the labour which spins the 20 lbs of cotton only represents necessary labour; for, by presupposition, of the 20 lbs of twist or $20\times5=100$ thaler, 80 thaler represent only the raw cotton and instrument already purchased, and the newly reproduced value represents nothing but *necessary labour.*

4 of the 20 lbs of twist=20 thaler would represent necessary labour and 16 nothing but the constant part of capital. $16\times5=80$ thaler. Every lb. in excess of 20 which the capitalist orders to be produced would contain $^1/_5$ surplus labour, surplus value for him. (Objectified labour which he sells without having paid for it.) If he orders one more pound of twist spun, he makes a profit of 1 thaler; if 10 pounds more, 10 thaler. Out of 10 pounds or 50 thaler [obtained for surplus product] the capitalist would have 40 thaler to replace his outlays and 10 thaler of surplus labour; or 8 lbs of twist to buy the material for 10 (machinery and cotton), and 2 lbs of twist or their value which cost him nothing.

If we now summarise the capitalist's accounts, we find that he has invested

| Thaler [Constant capital] | Thaler Wages | Thaler Surplus value | | Thaler [Value of the product] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 80+40=120 (raw material, instrument, etc.) | 20 | 10 | | |
| 120 | 20 | 10 | = | 150 |

The capitalist has produced a total of 30 lbs of twist ($30\times5=150$); the pound at 5 thaler, its precise *value,* i.e. the value determined purely by the labour objectified in it and derived from it alone. Of these 30 lbs, 24 represent constant capital, 4 lbs are expended on wages, and 2 constitute *surplus value.* This surplus value, if we calculate it—as the capitalist himself does—on the basis of his total outlay, i.e. 140 thaler (or 28 pounds), is $^1/_{14}=7\,^1/_7\%$ (although in the present example the rate of surplus value on the [necessary] labour is 50%).

[IV-30] Suppose that there is an increase in the productivity of labour, so that the capitalist can spin 40 lbs with the same outlay on labour. According to our assumption, he would sell these 40 lbs at their real value, i.e. for 5 thaler per pound, 4 thaler representing the labour objectified in cotton, etc., and 1 thaler the labour newly added. He would therefore sell:

| Thaler | | Thaler |
|---|---|---|
| 40 lbs—the lb. for 5=40×5= | | 200; of these 40 lbs |
| 20 lbs are expended for necessary labour, etc. | = | 100 |
| | | 100. On the first 20 lbs he would not have earned a farthing; from the remaining hundred, take off $^4/_5$=4×20=80. |
| | | 80 for material, etc. Leaves |
| | | 20 thaler. |

On an outlay of 200 thaler, the capitalist would have gained 20, or 10% on the total outlay. In fact, however, his gain would be derived from the 20 thaler profit on the second 100 thaler, or from the second 20 lbs, for he has not paid for the labour objectified in them. Assume now that he can double his output, say:

| Lbs | | Thaler |
|---|---|---|
| 80 | | 400. Of these take away |
| 20 for necessary labour, etc. | = | 100. Leaves |
| | | 300. Of these, take away $^4/_5$ for material, etc. |
| | | 240. Leaves |
| | | 60; a profit of 60 on 400 =6 on 40=15% |

In fact, in the above example, the outlay of the capitalist is only 180, and on this he gains 20, or 11 $^1/_9$%.

The smaller the proportion of the outlay representing necessary labour, the larger will be his profit, though it bears no obvious relation to the real surplus value, i.e. surplus labour. For example, for the capitalist to make a profit of 10%, he must have 40 lbs of twist spun; the worker needs to spin only 20=necessary labour.

Surplus labour=necessary labour, hence 100% surplus value. This is our old-established law. But this is not what is at issue here.

In the above example of the 40 lbs, the *real value* of the pound is 5 thaler, and, like the capitalist, the worker, if he carried on his own business, *as a worker* who could advance to himself the funds to enable him to utilise the raw material, etc., to the extent required to enable him to subsist as a worker, would sell the pound at 5 thaler. But he would produce only 20 pounds; from the proceeds he would employ $^4/_5$ for the purchase of new raw materials and $^1/_5$ for his subsistence. His yield from the 100 thaler would only be his wages. The profit of the capitalist does not arise from selling the pound of twist too dearly—he sells it for its *exact value*—but from selling it for more than its *production costs him* (not for what its production costs in general; for the $^1/_5$ [of the value of twist which constitutes the capitalist's profit] costs the worker his surplus labour). If he sold it for less than 5 thaler, he would sell it for *less* than its value, and the buyer would get the $^1/_5$ labour contained in each pound of twist over and above the outlays, etc., free of charge. But the capitalist reckons in this way:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Value of 1 lb. | = | 5 thaler | |
| of 40 lbs | = | 200 | thaler; of which take away costs |
| | | 180 | |
| | | 20. | Leaves 20. |

He does not calculate that he [IV-31] gains 20 on the second 100 thaler, but that his profit is 20 on his total outlay of 180. This gives him a profit of $11\,^1/_9$%, instead of 20. Furthermore, he calculates that in order to make this profit he must sell 40 lbs. 40 lbs at 5 thaler per lb. do not yield him $^1/_5$, or 20%, but 20 thaler distributed over 40 lbs or $^1/_2$ thaler per pound. At the price for which he sells the pound, he gains $^1/_2$ thaler on 5 thaler; or 1 thaler on 10, 10% on the selling price.

The price [of the total product] is determined by the price of the fractional unit (1 lb.) multiplied by the number of these units sold; in this case, 1 lb. at 5 thaler ×40. Appropriate as this way of determining the price may be with regard to the wallet of the capitalist, it is liable to mislead theoretically, since it seems as if there were an overcharge above the *real* value of each individual pound, and the creation of surplus value in the individual pound has disappeared from sight. This *price determination by means of the multiplication of the value of the unit (measure) of use value (pound, yard, hundredweight, etc.) by the number of units produced,* is important

later on in the theory of prices. There follows from it among other things that the fall in the unit-price and the rise in the number of units, which occurs as the productive forces grow, demonstrates that profit rises in relation to labour or that the ratio of necessary labour to surplus labour falls—not the opposite, as maintained by Mr. Bastiat,[a] etc.

E.g. if labour increased because of an increase in productivity, so that the worker produced twice as much twist as before in the same time—presupposing that e.g. 1 lb. of twist renders him the same service whatever it costs, and that he needs only twist, clothing to live—then the value added by labour to 20 lbs of twist would no longer amount to $^1/_5$ but only to $^1/_{10}$, because he would now convert 20 lbs of cotton into twist in half the time. Hence a value of only 10 thaler, not 20, would be added to the 80 the raw material cost. The cost of the 20 lbs would be 90 thaler, and that of each pound $^{90}/_{20}$ or $^{49}/_{20}$ thaler.[128]

But if total labour time remained the same, labour would now convert 80 lbs, not 40, of cotton into twist. 80 lbs of twist, at $^{49}/_{20}$ thaler per lb.=356 thaler. The capitalist's calculation would be:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Total revenue* | 356 thaler;<br>90 deducted for labour, etc., leaving 266. From this take away for outlays, etc., $239\,^{17}/_{89}$ |
| | $26\,^{72}/_{89}$. |

The profit of the capitalist is therefore $26\,^{72}/_{89}$ now, instead of 20. Say 27, which is somewhat more ($^{17}/_{89}$ more). His total outlays are 330; more than 12%, although he would make a smaller profit on each pound.

The profit of the capitalist calculated in relation to the value of the measure (unit) of use value—pound, yard, quarter, etc.—declines in proportion to the decline in the ratio of living labour to raw material, etc.—newly added labour, i.e. in proportion to the decline in the quantity of labour time necessary to give the raw material the form expressed by the unit of use value, a yard of cloth, etc. But on the other hand—since this is identical with the increasing productivity of labour, or the growth of surplus labour time—there is an increase in the number of these units in which

[a] See *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon,* pp. 130-31 and 133-57.— *Ed.*

surplus labour time is contained, i.e. labour time not paid for by the capitalist.[129]

It further follows from the above that capital can still make a profit even if the price falls *below* the value. The capitalist has only to sell a number multiplied by the unit which constitutes a surplus, over and above the number multiplied by the unit constituting the necessary price of labour [and constant capital]. If the proportion of [surplus] labour to raw material, etc., is $^1/_5$, he can e.g. sell at a price of only $^1/_{10}$ [IV-32] above constant value, since surplus labour *costs him nothing.* He then makes a present of $^1/_{10}$ of the surplus labour to the consumer and realises only $^1/_{10}$ for himself. This is a very important factor in competition, which Ricardo in particular overlooked.

The determination of price is based on the determination of value; but new elements are added. The price, which originally appears merely as value expressed in money, is further determined as itself a specific magnitude. If 5 thaler is the *value* of a pound of twist, i.e. if the same labour time is contained in 5 thaler as in a pound of twist, the determination of value is the same whether 4 or 4 million pounds of twist are valued. The factor of the number of pounds becomes decisively significant in the *determination of price,* because it expresses the ratio of surplus to necessary labour in another form. This point illustrated in simple terms by the question of the *Ten Hours Bill,*[88] etc.

It also follows from the above:

The worker would spin only 20 lbs of twist, utilise raw materials, machinery, etc., to the value of only 80 thaler per month, if he confined himself to *necessary* labour. Apart from the raw materials, machinery, etc., which are necessary for the *reproduction,* self-maintenance, of the worker, the capitalist must lay out *necessary* capital in raw materials (and in machinery, even if not in the same proportion) for the objectification of surplus labour. (In the case of agriculture, fishing, and the extractive industries in general, this is not absolutely necessary; but it is always necessary even in these industries as soon as they are carried on on a large scale, i.e. *industrially.* The additional outlay then does not appear to be for the raw materials themselves but for the instruments to procure them.) These surplus outlays, i.e. making available the material for surplus labour, the objective elements for its realisation, are in fact what constitutes the specific so-called *preliminary accumulation* of capital; the accumulation of stock (let us say for the time being), *specifically* for capital. For it is absurd, as we shall see in more

detail later, to regard it as a condition specific only to capital that the objective conditions of living labour must be present at all, whether they are supplied by nature or historically produced. These *specific* ADVANCES which capital makes signify nothing more than that it *valorises* surplus labour—surplus product—in new living surplus labour, instead of investing (spending) it on the building of pyramids, etc., like, say, the Egyptian Pharaohs or the Etruscan priestly nobles.

So far as *price determination* is concerned (and this will also be apparent in connection with profit), *fraud, mutual cheating,* also comes in. One party can gain through exchange what the other party loses; they, capital as a class, can only divide surplus value among themselves. It is the proportions [of exchange] which open up a whole field of individual trickery, etc. (quite apart from the effect of supply and demand), and this has nothing to do with the determination of value as such.

This, then, puts paid to Mr. Proudhon's discovery that the worker cannot buy back his product. It arises from his (Proudhon's) failure to understand either value determination or price determination. But even apart from that, his CONCLUSION that *this is the cause* of overproduction is false at this level of abstraction. Under the slave system, masters are not troubled by the fact that the labourers do not compete with them as consumers. (However, *luxury production,* as it appeared in antiquity, is a necessary result of the slave system. Not overproduction but *overconsumption* and *absurd consumption,* which in their degeneration to the level of the monstrous and the bizarre mark the downfall of the ancient state system.)

After capital steps out of the production process as a *product,* it must be reconverted into money. Money, which before appeared only as realised commodity, etc., now appears as *realised capital,* or realised capital as *money.* This is a new determination of *money* (and also of capital). It is already evident from the previous argument that the volume of money as means of circulation has nothing to do with the difficulty of realising capital, i.e. *valorising* it.

[IV-33] In the above example, where the capitalist sells the pound of twist for 5 thaler—i.e. 40 lbs at 5 thaler per pound—he sells the pound for its *real value* and thereby gains $^1/_2$ thaler on 5 (the sale price), 10% on the sale price, or $^1/_2$ on $4^1/_2$, i.e. $11^1/_9$% on his outlay. Assume that he sells it for only a 10% overall profit—that he takes only $^9/_{20}$ thaler profit on $4^1/_2$ thaler (this

differs by $^1/_{20}$ from $^1/_2$ thaler on $4^1/_2$; a difference of precisely $1^1/_9$%).

Let him then sell the pound for $4^1/_2$ thaler+$^9/_{20}$ thaler, i.e. $4^{19}/_{20}$ thaler, or the 40 lbs for 198 thaler. There are now various possibilities. Suppose that the capitalist with whom he exchanges—to whom he sells his 40 lbs—is the owner of a silver-mine, therefore a silver producer, and pays him only 198 thaler, hence gives him 2 thaler too little objectified labour in silver for the labour objectified in 40 lbs of twist. Suppose the proportions [of the component parts] of the outlay, etc., to be exactly the same for this capitalist *B* [as for capitalist *A*]. If capitalist *B* also takes only 10% profit instead of $11^1/_9$%, he could not demand 40 lbs of twist for 200 thaler but only $39^3/_5$ lbs. Hence it is impossible for both capitalists at the same time to sell for $1^1/_9$% too little, or for the one to offer 40 lbs for 198 thaler and the other to bid 200 thaler for $39^3/_5$ lbs; this situation cannot occur. Hence, in the case assumed, capitalist *B* would have paid $1^1/_9$% too little in purchasing the 40 lbs of twist; i.e. he would have gained $1^1/_9$% by the other capitalist incurring a loss, in addition to the profit of $11^1/_9$% which he does not obtain in exchange but which is merely confirmed in exchange, or a total profit of $12^2/_9$%. He would have profited $11^1/_9$% from his own workers—the labour set in motion with his own capital; the extra $1^1/_9$% is surplus labour performed by the workers of capitalist *A* and appropriated by capitalist *B*.

Consequently, the *general rate of profit* can fall in one or another branch of business, because competition, etc., forces the capitalist to sell below *value,* i.e. to realise a part of surplus labour not for himself but for the buyers of his product. But the general rate [of profit] cannot fall in this way; it can fall only because of a *relative* fall in the ratio of surplus labour to necessary labour [and constant capital]. And this, as we have seen earlier, occurs if the ratio [of constant to variable capital] is already very large or, otherwise expressed, the proportion of living labour set in motion by capital is very small—if the part of capital exchanged for living labour is very small relative to that which is exchanged for machinery and raw materials. In that case the general rate of profit may fall, even though absolute surplus labour rises.

This brings us to another point. A *general rate of profit* becomes possible only if the rate of profit in one branch of business is too great and in another too small, i.e. if a part of surplus value—which corresponds to surplus labour—is transferred from one capitalist to another. If, for example, in 5 branches of

business, the rate of profit is respectively

| *a* | *b* | *c* | *d* | *e* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15% | 12% | 10% | 8% | 5%, |

the average rate of profit is 10%. But for this rate to exist in reality, capitalists *A* and *B* must give up 7% to *D* and *E*, i.e. 2% to *D* and 5% to *E*, while in the case of *C* things remain as they are.

Equality of the rate of profit on the same capital of 100 [in the cases considered] is impossible, since the proportions of surplus labour [to the outlays of capital] are completely different [in them], depending on the productivity of labour and the proportions between raw materials, machinery and wages, and the scale on which the product must generally be produced. But assume that branch *e* is necessary, e.g. that of BAKERS, then the average 10% must be paid to it. But this can only happen, if *a* and *b* transfer part of their surplus labour to the credit of *e*. The capitalist class to a certain extent distributes total surplus value among its members in such a way that, TO A CERTAIN DEGREE, the capitalists [share in it] in proportion to the *size* of their capital, instead of to the surplus values actually created by the capitals in the particular branches. The larger profit which arises from actual surplus labour within one branch, from surplus value really created in that branch, is forced down to the general level by competition, and the minus of surplus value in the other branch is forced up to the general level by withdrawal of capital from that branch and the resulting favourable relationship between demand and supply. Competition cannot depress the general level itself, but only tends to create such a level. Further analysis [of this problem] belongs to the section on competition.

The general level is realised by the relationship of prices in the different branches, which in the one branch fall *below value,* in the other *rise* above it. This creates the appearance that an equal sum of capital in different branches creates *equal surplus labour or surplus value.*

[IV-34] In the above example, where capitalist *A* is forced, say by competition, to sell at a profit of 10% instead of $11^1/_9$%, and therefore sells the pound of twist $^1/_{20}$ thaler too cheaply, the worker would continue, as assumed, to receive 20 thaler in money as before, his necessary wages; but in twist he would receive $4^4/_{99}$ lbs instead of 4. In terms of twist, he would get [a little over] $^4/_{20}$ thaler$=^1/_5$ thaler or 6 silver groschen, i.e. 1% more than his necessary wages.[130]

If the worker works in a branch of business whose product is

completely outside the sphere of his consumption, he gains not a farthing from this operation, but for him it is a question of performing a part of his surplus labour indirectly for capitalist *B* instead of directly for capitalist *A*, i.e. through the mediation of capitalist *A*. The worker can only gain from the fact that capitalist *A* lets go of a part of the labour objectified in his product free of charge, if he is himself a consumer of this product and only to the extent to which he is such a consumer. Consequently, if his consumption of twist amounts to $^1/_{10}$ of his outlay, he gains EXACTLY $^1/_{50}$ thaler by means of the operation ($^2/_{100}$ thaler on 2 thaler, $^1/_{100}$ on 1, exactly 1% on the 2 thaler), i.e. $^1/_{10}$% on his total wages of 20 thaler, or $7^1/_5$ pfennigs.[a] This would be the proportion—$7^1/_5$ pfennigs—in which he would share in his own surplus labour of 20 thaler. This is the order of magnitude which the worker's surplus wage can reach in the most favourable case as the result of a fall in the *price* of the product below necessary value in the branch of business in which he is employed. In the *most favourable* case—and that is impossible—the LIMIT is (in the given case) 6 silver groschen or 1%, i.e. if he could live exclusively on twist. This means that in the most favourable case, his surplus wage is determined by the ratio of necessary labour time to surplus labour time. In the luxury-goods industries proper, from whose consumption he is himself excluded, it always=0.

Now let us assume that the capitalists *A, B, C* exchange [their products] among one another; for each of them, the total product=200 thaler. *A* produces twist, *B* grain and *C* silver. Let us assume that the ratio of surplus labour and necessary labour, and of outlay and profit, are exactly the same. *A* sells 40 lbs of twist for 198 thaler instead of for 200 thaler and loses $1^1/_9$% profit; ditto, *B* his (say) 40 bushels of grain for 198 instead of for 200; but *C* exchanges all of his labour objectified in 200 thaler. The relationship between *A* and *B* is such that if each exchanged all of his product with the other, neither would lose. *A* would obtain 40 bushels of grain, *B* 40 lbs of twist; but each would obtain a value of only 198. *C* obtains for 198 thaler 40 lbs of twist or 40 bushels of grain, and in both cases pays 2 thaler too little, or obtains $^2/_5$ lb. of twist or $^2/_5$ of a bushel of grain too much.

But let us assume that the relationship was such that *A* sold his 40 lbs of twist to the silver producer *C* for 200 thaler, but the silver producer in turn must pay 202 thaler to the grain producer

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[a] The (Prussian and Saxon) thaler equalled 30 silver groschen, the silver groschen equalled 12 pfennigs.—*Ed.*

*B,* i.e. *B* receives 2 thaler more than the value of his product. In the relationship between the twist producer *A* and the silver producer *C,* everything is ALL RIGHT; both exchange [equal] values with one another. But because for *B,* price has risen above the value of his product, the 40 lbs of twist and the 200 thaler of silver expressed in terms of grain have fallen by $1^1/_9$%, or both can in fact no longer purchase 40 bushels of grain with the 200 thaler but only $39^{61}/_{101}$ bushels. $39^{61}/_{101}$ bushels of wheat would cost 200 thaler, or one bushel of wheat $5^1/_{20}$ thaler, 5 thaler $1^1/_2$ silver groschen, instead of 5 thaler.

Assume now in the latter relationship that the worker's consumption consists $^1/_2$ of wheat. His consumption of twist amounted to $^1/_{10}$ of his income, his consumption of wheat to $^5/_{10}$. On the $^1/_{10}$ he gained $^1/_{10}$% on his total wages; on the wheat he loses $^5/_{10}$%; hence he loses $^4/_{10}$% in all instead of gaining. Although the capitalist would have paid him his necessary labour, his wages would fall below the necessary wages because of grain producer *B*'s overcharging. If this persisted, his necessary *wages* would have to *rise.*

Thus, if the sale of twist [at a lower price] by capitalist *A* is due to a rise above their value in the price of *grain* or other use values which form the greater part of the worker's consumption, capitalist *A*'s worker loses in the same proportion in which his consumption of the dearer product is greater than that of the cheaper one produced by himself. But had *A* sold his twist $1^1/_9$% above its value, and had *B* sold his grain $1^1/_9$% below its value, the worker could at best, if he consumed only grain, have gained no more than 6 silver groschen. Or, since we have assumed that he [consumes] half his income in grain, he would gain only 3 silver groschen or $^1/_2$% [IV-35] on his wages of 20 thaler.

For the worker, therefore, all three cases are possible: his gain or loss by the operation [the evening-up of profits] could=zero; the operation could depreciate his necessary wage so that it no longer suffices, hence depress it below the necessary minimum; lastly, it could create for him a surplus wage, which would amount to an EXTREMELY SMALL share of his own surplus labour.

We have seen above that if the proportion of necessary labour to the other conditions of production [needed to perform necessary labour]=$^1/_4$ (20 of the total outlay of 100) or=20% of the total value (4 lbs of the 20 lbs of twist produced) (or the 100 thaler capital would be divided up into 80 raw materials and instrument, 20 labour), and the proportion of surplus labour to

necessary labour is 100% (i.e. the same quantity), the capitalist makes $11\frac{1}{9}$% on his outlay.

If he took only 10% and made a present of $1\frac{1}{9}$% or 2 thaler [of the 20 thaler] to the consumers (transferred surplus value to them), the worker would also gain in so far as he is a consumer, and in the best (impossible) case, if he lived only on the product produced by his MASTER, the following would take place, as we have seen:

| | $1\frac{1}{9}$% (=2 thaler) loss on the part of the capitalist | 1%=6 silver groschen on 20 thaler ($\frac{1}{5}$ thaler on 20) gain on wages for the worker |
|---|---|---|
| Assume that the capitalist sold the pound of twist for $4\frac{15}{20}$ ($4\frac{3}{4}$) thaler instead of 5; then the worker would gain $\frac{5}{20}$ on the pound, and $\frac{20}{20}=1$ on 4 lbs; but 1 on 20 is $\frac{1}{20}$, i.e. 5%; (1 thaler on 20); the capitalist would sell the 40 lbs at $4\frac{15}{20}$ thaler or $\frac{95}{20}$ thaler×40=190 thaler; his outlay 180, his profit of 10 is $5\frac{5}{9}$[%]. | $5\frac{5}{9}$ (=10 thaler) | =1 thaler<br>=5%<br>(1 thaler on 20) |
| His loss [or] minus-profit=$5\frac{5}{9}$. If the capitalist sold the twist for $4\frac{12}{20}$, the worker would gain $\frac{8}{20}$ thaler on the pound, $\frac{32}{20}$ on 4 lbs, $1\frac{12}{20}$ thaler or $1\frac{3}{5}$ thaler on his total wages, i.e. 8%, but the capitalist would lose 16 thaler in surplus profit, or keep a total of only 184 thaler or 4 thaler profit on 180, i.e. $\frac{1}{45}$ of 180 or $2\frac{2}{9}$%; he would then lose $8\frac{8}{9}$%. | =$8\frac{8}{9}$%<br>(=16) | =8%<br>(1 thaler 18 sgr.) |
| Finally, assume the capitalist sold the pound of twist for $4\frac{1}{2}$ thaler; the 40 lbs for 180; his profit is then 0; he makes the consumer a present of the surplus value or [surplus] labour time [of the worker], so the worker gains $\frac{1}{2}$ thaler per lb.=$\frac{4}{2}$ thaler=2 thaler, or 2 thaler on 20=10%. | Profit=0<br>(Loss=$11\frac{1}{9}$%) | =10%<br>*(2 thaler)*<br>*(not quite $\frac{1}{2}$ lb.)* |

[IV-36] If, on the contrary, the capitalist had raised wages by 10%, from 20 to 22 thaler, perhaps because in his branch the demand for labour had risen above supply, while selling the pound of twist as before at its value, i.e. for 5 thaler, his profit would have fallen by only 2 thaler, from 20 to 18, i.e. by $1\frac{1}{9}$%, and would still have been 10%.[131]

Consequently, if the capitalist, perhaps out of consideration for Mr. Proudhon, sold his commodities at the production costs they cost *him,* and his total profit=0, this would merely constitute a transfer of surplus value or surplus labour time from capitalist *A* to *B, C, D,* etc.; and with respect to his worker, in the best case the gain—i.e. his share in his own surplus labour—would be restricted to the part of his wages which he consumes in the depreciated commodity. And even if he spent his entire wages on it, his gain could not be any greater than in the proportion of necessary labour to the total product (in the above example, 20:200=$^1/_{10}$, [his maximum share] $^1/_{10}$ of 20=2 thaler).

With respect to the workers of other capitalists, the case is exactly the same: they gain from the depreciated commodity only (1) in proportion to their consumption of it; (2) in proportion to the size of their wages, which are determined by necessary labour. If the depreciated commodity were e.g. grain, ONE OF THE STUFFS OF LIFE, then first its producer, the farmer, and afterwards all the other capitalists would discover that the [hitherto] necessary wage of the worker is no longer the necessary wage, but stands above its level; it would therefore be lowered. Hence, in the end, only the surplus value of capitals *a, b, c,* etc., and the surplus labour of those employed by them would be increased.

Assume 5 capitalists, *A, B, C, D* and *E. E* produces a commodity which is consumed only by workers. *E* would then realise his profit exclusively by exchanging his commodity with wages. But, as always, his profit would not derive from the exchange of his commodity for the money of the workers, but from the exchange of his capital with living labour. Assume necessary labour in all 5 branches as $^1/_5$; let surplus labour in all be $^1/_5$; let constant capital in all=$^3/_5$ [of the value of the product]. Capitalist *E* then exchanges [$^4/_5$ of] his product for $^1/_5$ of capital *a,* $^1/_5$ of capital *b,* $^1/_5$ of capital *c,* $^1/_5$ of capital *d,* and $^1/_5$ constitutes his own workers' wages. He would make no profit on this last $^1/_5$, as we have seen, or RATHER, his profit would not derive from his giving the workers $^1/_5$ of his capital in money and from their buying back this $^1/_5$ from him as product. In other words, it would not derive from the exchange with the workers as *consumers* or centres of circulation. His whole transaction with them as consumers of his product consists in his giving it to them in the form of money and in their returning to him this same money for exactly the same fractional part of the product. His relationship to the workers of *A, B, C, D* is not that of capitalist to worker, but that of *C* to *M,* of seller to buyer.

According to our assumption, the workers of *A, B, C* and *D* do not consume anything of the latters' own products; *E* certainly exchanges $^1/_5$ of the product of *A, B, C* and *D,* i.e. $^4/_5$ of their product.[a] But this exchange is only a roundabout way in which *A, B, C* and *D* pay the wages to their own workers. They give their workers money, each to the amount of $^1/_5$ of their product, or $^1/_5$ of their product as payment for necessary labour, and with this, i.e. with $^4/_5$ of the value of their product or [commodity] capital, the workers buy the commodity of *E.*[b] This exchange with *E* is therefore only an indirect form in which they advance that part of their capital which represents necessary labour—it is a *deduction* from their capital. Clearly, they cannot make a profit by this transaction. The profit derives from the valorisation of the remaining $^4/_5$ of the capitals *a, b, c* and *d,* which is effected by each one getting back in the exchange the labour objectified in his product in another form. As division of labour exists among them, $^3/_5$ replaces for each his constant capital—raw material and instrument of labour. The profit derives from the mutual valorisation of the last $^1/_5$—the valorisation of surplus labour time, which posits it as surplus value.

It is not necessary for capitals *a, b, c* and *d* to exchange the $^4/_5$ [remaining after the deduction of wages] entirely among one another. Since as capitalists they are at the same time significant consumers, and cannot live on air; and since likewise as capitalists they do not live by their own labour, it follows that they have nothing to exchange or consume but the product of alien labour. I.e. for their consumption, they exchange precisely the $^1/_5$ which represents surplus labour time, the labour created by capital. Assume that each [of the capitalists *A, B, C* and *D*] consumes $^1/_5$ of this $^1/_5$, i.e. $^1/_{25}$, in the form of his [IV-37] own product. $^4/_{25}$ then still remain to be either valorised or converted into use value for the capitalist's own consumption by means of exchange. Let *A* exchange $^2/_{25}$ [of his product] with *B*, $^1/_{25}$ with *C*, and $^1/_{25}$ with *E*, and similarly on the part of *B, C* and *E.*[c]

The case we have assumed, where capital *e* realises its entire profit in exchange for wages, is the most favourable one—or rather it expresses the only correct relation in which it is possible

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[a] This should read "... of *A, B, C* and *D,* giving $^4/_5$ of his own product for it".— *Ed.*

[b] This should read "... and with this the workers buy the commodity of *E* to the amount of $^4/_5$ of the value of his product or [commodity] capital".— *Ed.*

[c] Here Marx crossed out several lines representing an unfinished outline of the exchange of products between capitals belonging to different branches.— *Ed.*

for capital to realise in *exchange* its surplus value produced in *production,* by means of the workers' consumption. But in this case, capitals *a, b, c* and *d* can realise their value only by means of exchange with one another, i.e. by exchange of the capitalists among themselves. Capitalist *E* does not consume any of his own commodity, since he has paid $^1/_5$ of it to his own workers, exchanged $^1/_5$ for $^1/_5$ of capital *a,* $^1/_5$ for $^1/_5$ of capital *b,* $^1/_5$ for $^1/_5$ of capital *c,* $^1/_5$ for $^1/_5$ of capital *d. A, B, C* and *D* make no profit from this exchange, since it merely realises the $^1/_5$ with which they have respectively paid their own workers.

Given the proportions we have assumed, $^2/_5$ raw materials, $^1/_5$ machinery, $^1/_5$ workers' NECESSARIES, $^1/_5$ surplus produce of which Messrs. the capitalists both live and realise their surplus value, then, if the total product of each of the capitalists *A, B, C, D* and *E*=100, we need a producer *E* for workers' NECESSARIES, 2 capitalists *A* and *B* who produce raw materials for [themselves and] all the others, 1 capitalist *C* who produces machinery, and one capitalist *D* who makes the surplus produce.

The calculation [for the different capitalists] would be as follows (the machine producer, etc., must each produce part of his commodity for himself):

| | For labour | Raw material | Machinery | Surplus produce | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A. *Raw material producer* | 20 | — 40 | — 20 | — 20 | =100 | 2 $^1/_2$ |
| B. *Ditto* | 20 | — 40 | — 20 | — 20 | =100 | 2 $^1/_2$ |
| C. *Machine producer* | 20 | — 40 | — 20 | — 20 | =100 | 2 $^1/_2$ |
| E. *Workers' NECESSARIES* | 20 | — 40 | — 20 | — 20 | =100 | 2 $^1/_2$ |
| D. *Surplus producer* | 20 | — 40 | — 20 | — 20 | =100 | |
| | 10 | 20 | 10 | 10 | = 50 | |

*E* therefore exchanges his total product of 100 for 20 in his own workers' wages, 20 for the workers of the raw material producer *A,* 20 for the workers of the raw material producer *B,* 20 for the workers of the machine producer *C,* 20 for the workers of the surplus producer *D.* Hence he exchanges 40 for raw material, 20 for machinery, gets back 20 for [his own] workers' NECESSARIES, and 20 remain with him for the purchase of surplus produce, on which he himself subsists. Likewise in proportion the other capitalists. What constitutes their surplus value is the $^1/_5$ or 20 which they can all exchange for surplus produce. If they

consumed the entire surplus, they would have got no further at the end than they were at the beginning, and the surplus value of their capital would not grow.

Suppose that they consume only 10, or $^1/_{10}$ [of the value of the product], half the surplus value. As a result, the surplus producer *D* would himself consume 10 less, and each of the others 10 less. In total, therefore, *D* would sell only half his commodity=50, and could not recommence his business.

So assume that he produces only 50 in consumables [for the capitalists].[a] Of the 400 thaler which exist in the form of raw materials, machinery, workers' NECESSARIES, only 50 become available in the form of consumables for the capitalists. But each of the capitalists now possesses a surplus of 10, 4 of which he lays out in raw materials, 2 in machinery and 2 in workers' NECESSARIES, on which he should get a profit of 2 (as previously with 80, 100). *D* has gained 10 on his 40 and can therefore increase his production in the same proportion [as the other capitalists], viz. by 5. In the next year he will increase his production by $7^1/_2$ [the total then being]=$57^1/_2$.

[IV-38] This example may or may not be developed later. Does not really belong here. This much is clear that valorisation occurs here in the exchange of the capitalists among one another. For although *E* produces only for workers' consumption, he obtains by means of exchange in the form of wages $^1/_5$ of *A*, $^1/_5$ of *B*, $^1/_5$ of *C*, and $^1/_5$ of *D*. In the same way, *A*, *B*, *C* and *D* exchange with *E*: not directly but indirectly, since each one of them must get $^1/_5$ from *E* as workers' NECESSARIES. The valorisation consists in each capitalist exchanging his own product for a fractional part of the products of the other four, and this in such a way that a part of the surplus product is destined for the consumption of the capitalist, and a part is converted into surplus capital with which to set new labour in motion. The valorisation consists in the *real possibility* of greater valorisation—the production of new and larger values.

It is clear here that if *D* and *E* (*E* representing commodities entirely consumed by workers and *D* commodities entirely consumed by capitalists) had produced too much—i.e. too much

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[a] Crossed out in the manuscript: "In money likewise 50; thus each of the capitalists *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, *E* would accumulate in money 10 thaler. This would represent the unconsumed surplus value. The 10 thaler or TOGETHER 50, however, could only be valorised if invested in new labour. *A* and *B*, in order to produce more raw material, need 4 thaler more living labour and, since they have no new machinery for that, 6 thaler more manual labour."—*Ed.*

relative to the proportion of the part of capital destined for the workers, or too much relative to the part of capital consumable by the capitalists //too much relative to the rate at which they must expand capital; and this rate later becomes subject to a minimum limit in the form of interest//—*general overproduction* would occur, not because relatively *too little* of the commodities to be consumed by the workers, or relatively too little of those to be consumed by the capitalists, [would have been consumed,] but because too much of *both* would have been produced—too much *not for consumption,* but too much to maintain the *correct ratio between consumption and valorisation; too much for valorisation.*

In other words: at a given point in the development of the productive forces—(for this will determine the ratio of necessary to surplus labour)—there exists a fixed relationship in which the product is divided into several parts—corresponding to raw materials, machinery, necessary labour, and surplus labour; and ultimately surplus labour is divided itself into one part which falls to consumption, and another which becomes capital again. In exchange, this inner conceptual division of capital expresses itself in the particular and delimited (though in the production process constantly varying) proportions in which capitals exchange with one another. A proportional division within a capital of e.g. $^2/_5$ raw material, $^1/_5$ machinery, $^1/_5$ wages and $^1/_5$ surplus product, of which in turn $^1/_{10}$ is destined for [the capitalist's] consumption and $^1/_{10}$ for new production, will appear in exchange as the division [of the total product] between (SAY) 5 capitals. In any case, both the sum of the exchange which can take place, and the proportions in which each of these capitals must both exchange and produce, are thereby given. If the ratio of necessary labour to the constant part of capital, as e.g. in the above example, $={}^1/_5:{}^3/_5$, then, as we have seen, the total capital which works for the consumption of both capitalists and workers [i.e. capitals *D* and *E*] cannot be greater than $^1/_5+{}^1/_{10}$ of the 5 capitals, each of which represents $1=1^1/_2$ capitals.

Given also is the proportion in which each capital must exchange with the other which represents one of its own particular moments. Given, finally, is the proportion in which each capital must generally exchange.

If the proportion of e.g. the raw material is $^2/_5$, then the capitals which produce raw materials can at any final point only exchange $^3/_5$, while $^2/_5$ have to be considered as fixed (e.g. seeds, etc., in agriculture). *Exchange* in and for itself gives these conceptually

distinct moments a being indifferent to one another. They exist independently of one another; their inner necessity becomes *manifest* in crises, which make short shrift of the semblance of their mutual indifference.

A revolution in the productive forces further alters these relations, *transforms* these relationships themselves, whose basis—from the viewpoint of capital and thus also of valorisation by means of exchange—always *remains the ratio of necessary labour to surplus labour*, or, IF YOU PLEASE, of the different moments of objectified labour to living labour. It is possible, as we have already indicated earlier,[a] that the capital as well as the living labour capacity set free by the increase in the productive forces must both remain unused, because they are not present in the proportions required by production on the basis of the newly developed productive forces. If production proceeds regardless of this, then ultimately a minus on the one side or the other, a negative magnitude, must result from the exchange.

The limit always remains the fact that exchange—hence also production—takes place in such a way that the ratio of surplus labour to necessary labour remains the same, for this=the constancy of the valorisation of capital. The second relationship—the ratio of the part of the surplus product consumed by capital to the part converted anew into capital—is determined by the first ratio. In the first place, *the magnitude of the sum to be divided into these two parts depends on this original ratio.* Secondly, just as the creation of the surplus value of capital is based on the creation of surplus labour, so the increase of capital as capital (i.e. accumulation, without which capital cannot constitute the basis of production, since it [IV-39] would remain stagnant and would not be an element of progress, which it must needs become if only because of the growth of population, etc.) depends on the conversion of part of this surplus product into new capital. If surplus value were merely consumed, capital would *not* have valorised itself and not produced itself as *capital,* i.e. as value which produces value.

We have seen that, if 40 lbs of twist with a value of 200 thaler—because they contain the labour time objectified in 200 thaler—are exchanged for 198, not only does the twist manufacturer lose $1^1/_9$% profit but his product is also depreciated, is sold *below* its real value, although it is sold at a *price* which STILL LEAVES HIM A PROFIT OF 10%. On the other hand, the silver producer gains 2 thaler; he retains 2 thaler as released capital. Nevertheless, a

[a] See this volume, p. 351.—*Ed.*

depreciation has occurred if the total sum is considered. For the sum is now 398 thaler instead of 400. For, in the hands of the silver producer, the 200 thaler of twist are now also worth only 198; for him it is the same as if the productivity of his labour had increased in such a way that the same objectified labour as before is contained in 200 thaler, but 2 thaler of it had been transferred from the account of necessary outlay to that of surplus value; as if he had paid 2 thaler less for necessary labour.

The opposite could be the case only if the silver producer were able to resell for 200 thaler the 40 lbs of twist he had bought for 198 thaler. He would then have 202 thaler. Let us say he sold the twist to a silk manufacturer who gave him silk to the value of 200 thaler for the 40 lbs of twist. The 40 lbs of twist would then have been sold at their true value, if not at first hand by their producer, at least at second hand by their buyer. The overall calculation would then look thus: 3 products, each containing objectified labour to the value of 200, have been exchanged; hence the *sum* of values of the capitals: 600. *A* is the twist manufacturer, *B* the silver producer, *C* the silk manufacturer: [as a result of the exchange] *A* has 198, *B* 202 (namely 2 excess from the first exchange and 200 in silk), *C* 200. *Total* 600. In this case the total value of the capitals has remained the same, and there has merely been a *déplacement*, since *B* would have pocketed an excessive part of the value of which *A* received too little.

If *A*, the twist manufacturer, could only sell 180 [thaler's worth of twist] (what it cost *him*), and was absolutely unable to dispose of 20 [in] twist, objectified labour of 20 thaler would have become valueless. The same would be the case, if he sold a value of 200 for 180 thaler. *B*, the silver producer—in so far as this necessity [to reduce the price of twist] had arisen for *A* because of overproduction of twist, *B* too would be unable to dispose of the value contained in the 40 lbs of twist for more than 180—[*B*] would have 20 thaler of his capital set free for him. He would have in hand a relative surplus value of 20 thaler, but in absolute value—objectified labour time in so far as it is exchangeable—only 200 as before, viz. 40 lbs of twist for 180 and 20 thaler of released capital. For him it would be the same as if the costs of production of twist had declined, i.e. as if, as a result of a rise in the productivity of labour, 20 thaler less labour time were contained in 40 lbs of twist; or, as if the value of the working day=4 thaler; as if 5 days less labour were necessary to transform *x* lbs of cotton into 40 lbs of twist; as if he would therefore have to exchange less labour time objectified in silver for the labour time

objectified in twist. But the total sum of existing values would be 380 instead of 400. Thus a *general devaluation* of 20 thaler, or a destruction of capital to the extent of 20 thaler, would have taken place.

Hence a *general devaluation* takes place, although the *depreciation* resulting from the twist manufacturer's sale of 40 lbs for 180 thaler instead of 200 necessarily appears as an appreciation on the side of silver, a depreciation of twist relative to silver, and a general depreciation of prices in any case always includes an appreciation of money, i.e. of the commodity in terms of which all others are valued. Thus in a crisis—with a general depreciation of prices—there also occurs up to a certain moment a *general devaluation* or *destruction of capital.* The devaluation can be *general,* absolute, and not just relative, as with a *depreciation,* because value does not, like price, merely express the relationship of one commodity to another, but the relationship between the price of the commodity to the labour objectified in it, or the relationship of one amount of objectified labour of the same quality to another. If these amounts are not equal, a *devaluation* occurs which is not compensated for by an appreciation on the other side, since the other side expresses a fixed amount of objectified labour which cannot be altered by exchange. In general crises, this devaluation extends even to living labour capacity.

According to what has been indicated above, [IV-40] the destruction of value and capital which occurs in a crisis coincides with—or means the same as—a *general growth of the productive forces,* which, however, does not take place through a real increase in the productivity of labour (in so far as this results from crises, it does not belong here) but through a diminution of the existing value of raw materials, machinery and labour capacity. E.g. the cotton manufacturer loses capital on his products (e.g. twist), but he buys the same value in cotton, labour, etc., at a lower price. It is the same for him as if the *real value* of labour, of cotton, etc., had diminished, i.e. as if they had been more cheaply produced through an increase in the productivity of labour.

Likewise, on the other hand, a sudden general growth of the productive forces would devalue relatively all *existing values,* labour objectified at a lower level of the productive forces, and therefore destroy existing capital just as it would destroy existing labour capacity. The other aspect of the crisis resolves itself into a real fall in production, in living labour, in order to restore the correct proportion of necessary to surplus labour, on which, in the last analysis, everything rests. (Thus it is by no means the case, as Lord

Overstone thinks[a]—as a true usurer—that crises simply resolve themselves into ENORMOUS PROFITS FOR THE ONE, AND TREMENDOUS LOSSES FOR THE OTHER.)

Exchange does not alter the inner conditions of valorisation, but it projects them outwards, gives them a form independent of one another, and thus lets their inner unity exist only as an inner necessity which is therefore given violent external expression in crises. Both are therefore posited in the essence of capital: its devaluation in the production process, as well as the transcendence of this devaluation and the restoration of the conditions for the valorisation of capital. The movement in which this really takes place can only be considered when we consider *real* capital, i.e. competition, etc.; the real, existing conditions. It does not belong here yet. On the other hand, *without* exchange, the production of capital as such would not exist, since *valorisation* as such does not exist without exchange. Without exchange, we should be concerned only with the measurement, etc., of the *use value* produced, with absolutely nothing but use value.

After capital, by means of the production process, has (1) valorised itself, i.e. created a new value; (2) devalued itself, i.e. passed from the form of money into that of a particular commodity; it (3) valorises itself together with its new value, in that the product is thrown into circulation again and exchanged as *C* for *M*. At the point which we have now reached, where capital is only being considered in general, the real difficulties of this third process exist only as *possibilities*, and are therefore likewise transcended as *possibilities*. Hence the product is now posited as having been transformed back into money.

Consequently, capital is now again posited as money, and money thus posited in its *new* determination as *realised capital*, not merely as the realised price of the commodity. In other words, the commodity realised as price is now realised capital. This new determination of money, or rather of capital as money, will be considered later. In the first place, according to the nature of money—when capital is converted into money—only the new value which it has created appears to be measured by it, i.e. the first determination of money as the general measure of commodities is reiterated, now as the measure of surplus value—of

[a] This presumably refers to the speech on the economic crisis by Lord Overstone (Loyd) at the opening session of the House of Lords on 3 December 1857.— *Ed.*

the valorisation of capital. In the form of money, this valorisation appears measured in terms of itself, as being its own measure.

The capital was originally 100 thaler; since it is now 110, the measure of its valorisation is posited in its own form—as a proportion of the capital returned (reverted to its form as money) from the production process and from exchange, to the original capital. It is no longer posited as the relation of two qualitatively different things—objectified and living labour—or of necessary labour and the surplus labour produced. In as much as capital is posited as money, it is posited in the first determination of money, i.e. as the measure of value. But this value is here its own value, or the measure of its own valorisation. We shall return to this (in the section on profit).

The second form of money was that of means of circulation, and in this regard the money form of capital appears as a merely transitory moment, a form which capital assumes merely to be re-exchanged, but not, as in the case of money as means of circulation in general, to be exchanged for commodities—use values—for consumption, but for the particular use values of raw materials and instrument on the one hand, and living labour capacity on the other, in which it can recommence its turnover as capital.

[IV-41] In this determination it is *capital circulant,* which we shall discuss later. However, the end product of capital as money in its determination as means of circulation is the starting point of the act of production originating from *posited* capital. This is the point which we shall consider, before going any further.

(In the first determination [of capital as money], that of *measure,* the *new value* does indeed appear to be measured. But the distinction is purely formal: instead of surplus labour, money—i.e. surplus labour objectified in a particular commodity. But the *qualitative* nature of this new value, i.e. of the magnitude of the measure itself, also undergoes a change, which we shall discuss later.

Secondly, as means of circulation, the disappearance of the money form is now also only *formal.* It does not become *essential* until not only the first circuit but also the second has been completed. Thus, initially it results only in our standing at the beginning of the *valorisation process* once more. Consequently, it is at *this point* that we shall take up the development to start with.)

The third form of money as independent value maintaining itself negatively as against circulation, is capital which does not

emerge from the production process as a commodity that re-enters exchange to become money, but which becomes a commodity in the form of self-relating value, and enters into circulation in this form. (*Capital and interest.*) This third form presupposes capital in the previous forms and simultaneously constitutes the transition from *capital* to *particular capitals,* the real capitals. For in this third form capital in its very concept is divided into two capitals with an independent existence. With this duality, plurality in general is then given. SUCH IS THE MARCH OF THIS DEVELOPMENT.

//Before we go any further, one more observation: *capital in general,* as distinct from particular capitals, does indeed appear (1) *only as an abstraction*; not an arbitrary abstraction but one which grasps the *differentia specifica* which distinguishes capital from all other forms of wealth or modes in which (social) production develops. These are determinations which are common to every capital as such, or which make any particular sum of values into capital. And the distinctions within this abstraction are likewise abstract particularities which characterise every type of capital, in that it is their position or negation (e.g. *capital fixe* or *capital circulant*).

But (2) capital in general is itself a *real* existence *distinct* from particular real capitals. This is recognised, even if it is not *understood,* by current political economy, and constitutes a very important element for its doctrine of evening up [of profits], etc. For instance, capital in this *general form,* although belonging to individual capitalists, in its *elemental form* as capital, constitutes capital which accumulates in BANKS or is distributed by them, and, as Ricardo puts it, is distributed most admirably in proportion to the needs of production.[a] Similarly, through LOANS, etc., it forms a LEVEL between the different countries. Therefore, if e.g. it is a law of capital in general that, in order to valorise itself, it must posit itself doubly, and must be valorised in this dual form, then e.g. the capital of a particular nation which represents capital *par excellence* in opposition to another, must be loaned to a third nation to be able to valorise itself. This double-positing, this relating itself to itself as to something alien, becomes damn real in this CASE. While on the one hand the general is therefore only a set of *differentia specifica in thought,* it is at the same time a *particular* real form alongside the form of the particular and individual.

(*Nous reviendrons plus tard sur ce point qui, quoique d'un caractère*

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[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* pp. 81-82.— *Ed.*

*plus logique*[132] *qu'économiste, prouvera néanmoins d'une grande importance dans le progrès de notre recherche.*[a]

The same also in algebra. E.g. *a, b, c* are numbers as such; in general; but they are also whole numbers as opposed to $^{a}/_{b}$, $^{b}/_{c}$, $^{c}/_{b}$, $^{c}/_{a}$, $^{b}/_{a}$, etc., which, however, presuppose them as their general elements.)//

[IV-42] The new value[b] is thus posited once more as capital, as objectified labour entering into the process of exchange with living labour, therefore dividing itself into a constant part—the objective conditions of labour, material and instrument—and the conditions for the subjective condition of labour, the existence of living labour capacity, the NECESSARIES, means of subsistence for the worker. At this second appearance of capital in this form, some points appear clarified which were altogether unclear in its first appearance—as money in its transition from its determination as value to its determination as capital. Now they are explained by the process of valorisation and production itself. In its first appearance, the *presuppositions* themselves appeared outwardly to emerge from circulation; as external presuppositions of the origin of capital, and not therefore emerging from and explained by its inner essence. These *external* presuppositions will now appear as moments of the movement of capital itself, so that it has itself presupposed them as its own moments—however they may have arisen historically.

Within the production process itself, the surplus value, the surplus value solicited by the compulsion of capital, appeared as *surplus labour*; even in the form of living labour, which, however, since it cannot produce something out of nothing, finds its objective conditions already in existence. Now this *surplus labour* appears objectified as *surplus product*, which in turn, to be valorised as capital, must divide itself into two forms: the *objective condition of labour*—material and instrument—and the subjective condition—means of subsistence for the living labour now to be set to work.

The general form of value—objectified labour, and objectified labour emerging from circulation—is of course the general,

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[a] We shall return to this point, which, although it possesses a logical rather than an economic character, will nevertheless prove to be of great importance in the progress of our investigation.—*Ed.*

[b] Newly created surplus value.—*Ed.*

self-evident presupposition. Furthermore: the surplus product in its totality—objectifying the totality of surplus labour—now appears as *surplus capital* (as compared to the initial capital, before it had traversed this circuit), i.e. as exchange value become independent and confronting the living labour capacity as its *specific use value.* All the moments which confronted living labour capacity as *alien, external* powers, consuming and using it under *certain conditions independent of it,* are now posited as *its own product and result.*

*Firstly*: *Surplus value* or *surplus product* is nothing but a certain sum of objectified living labour—the sum of surplus labour. This new *value,* which confronts living labour as value independent of and exchanging itself with it, i.e. as capital, is the *product of labour.* It is itself nothing but the *surplus of labour in general over necessary labour*—in objective form and hence as *value.*

*Secondly*: The particular forms which this value must adopt to be valorised anew, i.e. to be posited as capital—on the one hand as raw material and instrument, on the other hand as means of subsistence for labour during the act of production—are likewise, therefore, merely *particular* forms of surplus labour itself. It is surplus labour which produces raw material and instrument in such a ratio—or it is itself objectively posited as raw material and instrument in such a proportion—that not only can a definite sum of necessary labour, i.e. living labour which reproduces the means of subsistence (their value), objectify itself in it and indeed do so continuously, i.e. can always begin anew the diremption into the objective and subjective conditions of its self-preservation and self-reproduction, but that living labour, by carrying out this process of reproducing its objective conditions, simultaneously posits raw material and instrument in such proportions that it can realise itself in them as *surplus labour, labour over and above necessary labour,* and can thus convert them into the material for the creation of *new* value. The objective conditions of *surplus labour* are limited to the proportion of raw materials and instrument over and above the requirements of necessary labour, while the objective conditions of necessary labour are divided within their objectivity into objective and subjective moments of labour, physical moments and subjective ones (means of subsistence for living labour). They therefore appear now, are now posited, as the product, the result, the objective form, the external existence, of surplus labour itself. Originally, by contrast, it appeared alien to living labour itself, appeared as an act of capital, that instrument and means of subsistence were available to an extent which made

it possible to realise living labour not only as *necessary labour* but as *surplus labour* as well.

*Thirdly*: The independent being-for-itself of value vis-à-vis living labour capacity, hence its being as capital; the objective self-sufficient indifference, the *separateness* of the objective conditions of labour vis-à-vis living [IV-43] labour capacity, which goes so far that these conditions confront the person of the worker in the person of the capitalist—as a personification with its own will and interest; this absolute *divorce* and *separation* of property, i.e. of the physical conditions of labour, from living labour capacity—that they confront it as *alien property*, as the reality of another juridical person, as the absolute realm of *his* will; that on the other hand, therefore, labour appears as *alien labour* vis-à-vis the value personified in the capitalist, or vis-à-vis the conditions of labour—this absolute separation between property and labour, between living labour capacity and the conditions for its realisation, between objectified labour and living labour, between value and value-creating activity, hence also the fact that the content of labour is alien to the worker himself—this separation now also appears as the product of labour itself, as the objectification of its own moments. For through the very act of new production—which only confirmed the exchange between capital and living labour that preceded it—surplus labour and hence surplus value, the surplus product, the total result of labour altogether (of both surplus and necessary labour) are posited as capital, as exchange value confronting living labour capacity independently and indifferently, in other words as its mere use value.

Labour capacity has appropriated only the subjective conditions of necessary labour—the means of subsistence for productive labour capacity, i.e. for its reproduction as mere labour capacity separated from the conditions of its realisation—and it has posited these conditions themselves as *objects, values,* which confront it in an alien, commanding personification. It emerges from the process not only no richer but actually poorer than it entered into it. For not only has it created the conditions of necessary labour as conditions belonging to capital; but the valorisation inherent in it as a potentiality, the value-creating potentiality, now also exists as surplus value, surplus product, in a word, as capital, as domination over living labour capacity, as value endowed with its own power and will confronting it in its abstract, object-less, purely subjective poverty. Not only has it produced alien wealth and its own poverty, but also the relationship of this wealth as self-sufficient

wealth to itself as poverty, which this wealth consumes to draw new life and spirit to itself and to valorise itself anew.

All this arose from the act of exchange in which the worker exchanged his living labour capacity for an amount of objectified labour, except that this objectified labour, these conditions for his being which are external to him, and the independent externality (to him) of these physical conditions, now appear as posited by himself, as *his own product,* as his own self-objectification as well as the objectification of himself as a power independent of himself, indeed dominating him, dominating him as a result of his own actions.

All the moments of *surplus capital* are the product of *alien* labour—*alien surplus labour* converted into capital: means of subsistence for necessary labour; the objective conditions—material and instrument—so that necessary labour can reproduce the value exchanged for it in means of subsistence; finally, the necessary amount of material and instrument so that new surplus labour can realise itself in them or new surplus value can be created.

It no longer seems here, as it still did in the first consideration of the production process, as if capital, for its part, brought with it some sort of value from circulation. The objective conditions of labour now appear as labour's product—both in so far as they are value in general, and as use values for production. But if capital thus appears as the product of labour, the product of labour for its part appears as capital—no longer as mere product nor exchangeable commodity, but as *capital*; objectified labour as dominion, command over living labour. It likewise appears as the product of labour that its product appears as *alien property,* as a mode of existence independently confronting living labour, equally as a *value*-for-itself; that the product of labour, objectified labour, is endowed with a soul of its own by living labour itself and establishes itself as an *alien power* confronting its creator.[a]

Considered from the standpoint of labour, the result of its activity in the production process thus appears to be that it rejects its realisation in objective conditions as an alien reality, and therefore posits itself as an insubstantial, merely necessitous labour capacity in face of this reality alienated from it, a reality not belonging to it but to others; that it posits its own reality not as a being-for-itself but as a mere being for something else, and hence

[a] See present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 270-82.—*Ed.*

also as a mere other-being or as the being of something else confronting itself.

The process of the realisation of labour is at the same time the process of its de-realisation. It posits itself objectively, but it posits this its objectivity as its own non-being, or as the being of its non-being—the being of capital. It returns back into itself as the mere potentiality of positing value or of valorisation, because the totality of real wealth, the world of real value, and equally the real conditions for its own [IV-44] realisation, are posited as independent existences facing it. It is the potentialities resting in living labour's own womb which come to exist as realities outside it as a result of the production process—but as *realities alien* to it, which constitute wealth in opposition to it.

In so far as the surplus product is valorised anew as surplus capital, enters anew the production process and the process of self-valorisation, it divides itself into (1) means of subsistence for the workers to be exchanged for living labour capacity. Let us define this part of *capital* as the *wages fund.* This wages fund, the part destined for the maintenance of labour capacity—and for its progressive maintenance, since surplus capital grows continuously—now appears as the product of *alien* labour, of labour alien to *capital,* just as much as do (2) the other components of [surplus] capital—the physical conditions for the reproduction of a value=these means of subsistence+a surplus value.

Furthermore, when we consider this surplus capital, the division of capital into a constant part—a part primevally existing before labour, namely raw materials and instruments of labour—and a variable part, i.e. the means of subsistence exchangeable for living labour capacity, appears to be a purely formal division in so far as both parts are equally *posited* by labour and equally posited by it as its own *presuppositions.* Now, however, this internal division of capital appears in such a way that labour's own product—objectified surplus labour—is divided into two components: (1) objective conditions for new utilisation of labour, and (2) a wages fund for maintaining the possibility of this living labour, i.e. for keeping living labour capacity alive, but in such a way that labour capacity can only reappropriate that part of its own result—of its own being in objective form—which is determined as wages fund, can only extract that part from the form of alien wealth confronting it, by not only reproducing its value but also by valorising the part of new capital which represents the objective conditions for the realisation of new surplus labour and surplus production or production of surplus values. Labour has itself

created a new fund for the employment of new necessary labour, or, which is the same, a fund for the maintenance of new living labour capacities, of workers; but at the same time it has created the condition that this fund can be appropriated only if new surplus labour is employed on the extra part of surplus capital. Hence, by producing surplus capital, surplus value, labour has simultaneously created the real necessity for new surplus labour, surplus capital thus itself being the real possibility of both new surplus labour and new surplus capital.

It becomes evident here how progressively the objective world of wealth is enlarged through labour even as an alien power confronting it, and how it gains an ever wider and fuller existence, so that relatively, in relation to the values created or to the real conditions for the creation of value, the necessitous subjectivity of living labour capacity stands out in ever more glaring contrast. The more labour capacity—labour—objectifies itself, the greater becomes the objective world of values which confronts it as alien—as alien property. By creating surplus capital, labour imposes on itself the compulsion to create yet further surplus capital, etc., etc.

With regard to the original, not-surplus, capital the relation has changed for labour capacity in so far as (1) the part exchanged for necessary labour is reproduced by this labour itself, i.e. it no longer comes to labour out of circulation but is its own product; and (2) the part of value which represents the real conditions for the utilisation of living labour, in the form of raw material and instrument, has been maintained by living labour itself in the production process. And since every use value by its nature consists of transitory material, and exchange value is present, exists, only within use value, this maintenance=protection from destruction, or the negation of the transitory nature of the values owned by the capitalists. In this way, these values are posited as values-for-themselves, as *imperishable wealth.* Hence only in the production process has living labour posited this original sum of values as capital.

Now from the standpoint of capital: so far as *surplus capital* is considered, the capitalist represents value-for-itself, money in its third moment, wealth obtained by simple *appropriation of alien labour.* For each moment of surplus capital (material, instrument, means of subsistence) resolves into *alien labour,* which the capitalist has not appropriated by means of *exchange* for already existing values but which he has appropriated *without exchange.* True, the

exchange of a *part of the values belonging to him,* or of *objectified labour* possessed by him, for alien living labour capacity, appears as the *original condition* for [the production of] this *surplus capital.*

The possession of *values* by the capitalist, part of which he *formally* exchanges for living labour capacity, appears to be the condition for the formation of *surplus capital I,* if that is what we call the surplus capital arising from the original production process, i.e. the condition for the *appropriation of alien labour, of objectified alien labour.* We say "formally", because living labour has to replace and return to the capitalist these *exchanged* values as well. Be that as it may. In any case, it appears as a condition for the formation of *surplus capital I,* i.e. for the appropriation of alien labour or of the values in which it has objectified itself, that there be an exchange of values belonging to the capitalist, thrown into circulation by him, and supplied to living labour capacity by him—of values which do *not* derive from his [IV-45] *exchange* with living labour, or from his relation as *capital* to *labour.*

But now let us think of this surplus capital being thrown again into the production process, realising its surplus value in exchange once more, and appearing once more as new surplus capital at the beginning of a third production process. This *surplus capital II* has different presuppositions from those of surplus capital I. The presupposition of surplus capital I was the existence of values belonging to the capitalist and thrown by him into circulation, or more precisely into the exchange with living labour capacity. The presupposition of surplus capital II is nothing but the existence of surplus capital I; i.e. in other words, the presupposition that the capitalist has already appropriated alien labour without exchange. This enables him to begin the process again and again. True, in order to create surplus capital II, he had to exchange a part of the value of surplus capital I in the form of means of subsistence for living labour capacity. But what he thus exchanged were values which he did not originally put into circulation from his own funds, but alien objectified labour which he appropriated without giving any equivalent for it, and which he now exchanges again for alien living labour, just as the material, etc., in which this new labour is realised and produces surplus value has come into his possession without exchange, by means of simple appropriation.

*Past appropriation of alien labour now appears as the simple condition for new appropriation of alien labour.* In other words, his possession of alien labour in objective [physical] form, in the form of values already in existence, appears to be the condition for his appropriation of new alien *living* labour capacity, hence of surplus

labour, labour without equivalent. That he should already be confronting living labour as capital, this appears to be the sole condition not only for him maintaining himself as capital, but for him as growing capital *appropriating* alien labour without equivalent on an increasing scale, or extending his power, his existence as capital vis-à-vis living labour capacity, while constantly positing and repositing living labour capacity as living labour capacity in its subjective, insubstantial necessitousness.

Property in past or objectified alien labour appears as the sole condition for further appropriation of present or living alien labour. In so far as a surplus capital I was created by means of simple exchange between objectified labour and living labour capacity—an exchange wholly based on the laws of exchange of equivalents as estimated by the quantity of labour or labour time contained in them—and *in so far as* this exchange, speaking juridically, presupposed nothing but the right of property of each person in his own products and his right to freely dispose of them—but in so far as the relationship of surplus capital II to I is therefore a consequence of this first relationship [between labour and capital]—we see that by a peculiar logic the right of property on the side of capital is dialectically transformed into the right to an alien product or into the right of property in alien labour, the right to appropriate alien labour without equivalent; on the side of labour capacity it is transformed into the duty to relate itself towards its own labour or its own product as *alien property.* The right to property is inverted into the right on the one side to appropriate alien labour and the duty on the other side to respect the product of one's own labour and one's own labour itself as values belonging to others.

But the exchange of equivalents which appeared as the initial operation, and which juridically expressed the right to property, has been reversed in such a way that on the one side only an apparent exchange takes place, in that the part of capital exchanged for living labour capacity is, in the first place, itself *alien labour* appropriated without equivalent, and in that, secondly, it *must be replaced by labour capacity with a surplus,* i.e. it is not IN FACT given away but only transformed from one form into another. The relationship of exchange has therefore completely disappeared, or it has become a *mere semblance.*

Furthermore, the right to property originally appeared to be based on one's own labour. Now property appears as the right to alien labour and as the impossibility for labour to appropriate its own product. The complete separation of property, and even more of

wealth, from labour now appears as a consequence of the law which arose from their identity.

Finally, the result of the process of production and valorisation now appears to be above all the reproduction and new production of the *very relationship of capital and labour,* of *capitalist and worker.* IN FACT, this social relationship, this relationship of production, appears to be an even more important result of the process than its material results. And more particularly, within this process the worker produces himself as labour capacity and produces the capital confronting him, while at the same time the capitalist produces himself as capital and produces the living labour capacity confronting him. Each reproduces himself by reproducing his other, his negation. The capitalist produces labour as alien; labour produces the product as alien. The capitalist produces the worker and the worker the capitalist, etc.

As soon as production based on capital is presupposed—actually money has been transformed into capital only *at the end of the first production* process, which resulted in its reproduction and the new production of surplus capital I; but surplus capital I is itself only *posited,* realised, as surplus capital once it has produced surplus capital II, i.e. once the presuppositions of money in the process of becoming capital which still lie outside the movement of *real* capital have disappeared, and capital therefore has IN FACT itself and in accordance with its immanent essence posited the very conditions from which it sets out in production—the condition that the capitalist must bring into circulation values [IV-46] created by his own labour or in some other way—excepting only values created by already existing, past wage labour—in order to posit himself as capital, belongs to the antediluvian conditions of capital; to its *historical presuppositions,* which, precisely as such *historical* presuppositions, have vanished and therefore belong to the *history of its formation* but by no means to its *contemporary* history, i.e. do not belong to the real system of the mode of production dominated by it.

If e.g. the flight of serfs into the cities is one of the *historical* conditions and presuppositions for the development of cities, it is not a *condition,* a moment, of the reality of fully developed city life, but belongs to its *past* presuppositions, to the presuppositions of its becoming, which are transcended in its being. The conditions and presuppositions of the *becoming,* the *emergence,* of capital imply precisely that it is not yet in being but is only *becoming.* Hence they disappear with the development of real

capital, the capital which, setting out from its own reality, itself posits the conditions for its realisation. Thus e.g., while the process in which money or value-for-itself originally becomes capital presupposes an accumulation by the capitalist—perhaps by savings made on the products and values created by his own work, etc.—which he has achieved as *non-capitalist*; while, therefore, the presuppositions for the transformation of money into capital appear as the given, external *presuppositions* for the emergence of capital; as soon as capital has become capital, it creates its own presuppositions, namely the possession of the real conditions for the creation of new values *without exchange*—by means of its own production process.

These presuppositions which originally appeared as prerequisites of its becoming—and therefore could not arise from its action *as capital*—now appear as results of its own realisation, reality, as *posited* by it—*not as conditions of its emergence, but as results of its being.* It no longer sets out from presuppositions in order to become, but is itself presupposed, and, setting out from itself, it itself creates the presuppositions for its maintenance and growth. The conditions, therefore, which preceded the creation of surplus capital I, or which express the becoming of capital, do not fall within the sphere of the mode of production for which capital serves as the presupposition. They lie behind it as preliminary historical stages of its becoming, just as the processes through which the Earth was transformed from a fluid sea of fire and vapour into its present form, lie beyond its life as finished Earth. This means that individual capitals can still emerge e.g. by HOARDING. But the HOARD is transformed into capital only by the exploitation of labour.

The bourgeois economists, who consider capital to be an eternal and *natural* (not historical) form of production, nevertheless try to justify it by declaring the conditions of its becoming as the conditions of its present realisation, i.e. they present the moments in which the capitalist still appropriates as non-capitalist—because he is only in the process of becoming—as the VERY CONDITIONS in which he appropriates *as capitalist.* These attempts at apologetics demonstrate a bad conscience and the inability to bring the mode of appropriation of capital as capital into harmony with the *general laws of property* proclaimed by capitalist society itself.

On the other hand—and this is much more important for us—our method indicates the points at which historical analysis must be introduced, or at which bourgeois economy as a mere historical form of the production process points beyond itself

towards earlier historical modes of production. To present the laws of the bourgeois economy, it is not necessary therefore to write the *real history of the production relations.* But the correct analysis and deduction of these relations as relations which have themselves arisen historically, always leads to primary equations—like e.g. empirical numbers in natural science—which point to a past lying behind this system. These indications, together with the correct grasp of the present, then also offer the key to the understanding of the past—a work in its own right, which we hope to be able to undertake as well. This correct approach, moreover, leads to points which indicate the transcendence of the present form of production relations, the movement coming into being, thus FORESHADOWING the future. If, on the one hand, the pre-bourgeois phases appear as *merely historical,* i.e. transcended premisses, so [on the other hand] the present conditions of production appear as conditions which *transcend themselves* and thus posit themselves as *historical premisses* for a new state of society.

If we consider first of all the relationship as it has become, value which has become capital, and living labour as mere use value confronting it, so that living labour appears as mere means for the utilisation of objectified, dead labour, for its permeation with a life-giving soul while losing its own soul to it—and having produced as a result alien wealth on the one hand, but on the other, as its own property, only the necessitousness of living labour capacity—then we can see clearly that the physical conditions of living labour (the material in which it is utilised, the instrument by means of which it is utilised, [IV-47] and the means of subsistence which kindle the flame of living labour capacity into activity and prevent its being extinguished, and supply the necessary matter for its life process) are posited in and through the process itself as alien, independent existences; in other words as the mode of existence of an *alien person,* as self-sufficient values-for-themselves, and thus as values which form wealth alien to the subjective labour capacity standing in isolation from them, the wealth of the capitalist.

The objective conditions of living labour appear as *separate* values, *become independent* as against living labour capacity as subjective being, which therefore appears, as against them, only as value of *another kind* (distinct from them not as value, but as use value). Once this separation is presupposed, the production process can only produce it anew, reproduce it, and that on a larger scale. How it does this, we have already seen. The objective

conditions of living labour capacity are presupposed as an independent existence confronting it, as the objectivity of a subject distinct from living labour capacity and independently confronting it. The reproduction and *valorisation,* i.e. the expansion, of these *objective conditions* is therefore simultaneously their reproduction and their new production as the wealth of an alien subject, indifferent to and independently confronting labour capacity. What is reproduced and newly produced is not only the *being* of these objective conditions of living labour but *their being as independent values, i.e. values belonging to an alien subject, confronting this living labour capacity.*

The objective conditions of labour gain a subjective existence as against the living labour capacity—capital gives rise to the capitalist. On the other hand, the purely subjective being of labour capacity vis-à-vis its own conditions gives it a merely indifferent objective form as against these conditions—it is only a *value* of a particular use value *alongside* the conditions of its own utilisation as *values* of a different use value. Instead of being realised in the production process as conditions for its realisation, living labour capacity on the contrary emerges from the process as a mere condition for *their* valorisation and preservation as values-for-themselves over against it.

The material on which it works is *alien* material; just as the instrument is an *alien* instrument; its labour appears as a mere accessory to them as substance and therefore objectifies itself in things not belonging to *it.* Indeed, living labour itself appears as *alien* vis-à-vis living labour capacity whose labour it is, whose life it expresses, for it is surrendered to capital in return for objectified labour, for the product of labour itself. Labour capacity relates to it as to something alien, and if capital wanted to pay it *without* setting it to work, it would make the bargain with pleasure. Its own labour is therefore just as alien to it—and it really *is* alien, as regards its direction, etc.—as the material and instrument. Therefore, naturally, the product appears to it as a combination of alien material, alien instrument and alien labour—as *alien property,* and after production it has only become poorer by the life force expended; but begins the DRUDGERY anew of itself as a merely subjective labour capacity separated from the condition of its life.

The recognition of the products as its own, and its awareness that its separation from the conditions of its realisation is improper and imposed by force, is an enormous consciousness, and is itself the product of the mode of production based on capital, and just as much the KNELL TO ITS DOOM as the consciousness

of the slave that he cannot be the *property of another,* his consciousness of being a person, reduced slavery to an artificial lingering existence, and made it impossible for it to continue to provide the basis of production.

However, if we consider the original relation, before money entered into the process of self-valorisation, we come up against various conditions which must have arisen, or been given, historically, for money to become capital and for labour to become labour positing, producing capital, i.e. wage labour. (*Wage labour,* here in the strict economic sense, which is the only one we need—and we shall later have to distinguish it from other forms of labour for day-wages, etc.—is labour which posits, produces capital, i.e. living labour which produces the objective conditions for its realisation as activity, as well as the objective moments of its being as labour *capacity,* as alien powers confronting itself, as *values-for-themselves independent of it.*)

The essential conditions are posited in the relationship itself as it originally appeared: (1) On the one side, the existence of living labour capacity as a purely *subjective* existence, separated from the moments of its objective reality; therefore separated just as much from the *conditions* of living labour as from the *means of existence, the means of subsistence,* the means of self-maintenance of living *labour capacity*; the living possibility of labour on one side in this complete abstraction. (2) On the other side, the value or objectified labour must be an accumulation of use values, sufficiently large to provide the objective conditions not merely for the production of the products or values necessary to reproduce or maintain living labour capacity, but also to absorb surplus labour, to [IV-48] supply the objective material for it. (3) A system of free exchange—money circulation—between the two sides; a relationship between the two extremes which is based upon exchange values, not on the lord-subject relationship, i.e. production which does not directly supply the means of subsistence to the producers but is mediated by exchange, and which cannot therefore usurp alien labour directly but must buy it from the worker himself by means of exchange. Finally (4) the one side—which represents the objective conditions of labour in the form of independent values-for-themselves—must present itself as *value* and regard as its ultimate aim the positing of value, self-valorisation, the creation of money—not immediate enjoyment or creation of use value.

So long as *both* sides exchange their labour with one another only in the form of *objectified* labour, the relation is impossible. It

is equally impossible if *living labour capacity* itself appears as the property of the other side and not, therefore, as exchanger. (That slavery can exist at individual points within the bourgeois system of production, does not contradict this. But slavery is then possible only because it does not exist at other points, and represents an anomaly in relation to the bourgeois system itself.)

The conditions under which the relationship originally appears, or which appear as historical presuppositions for its becoming, exhibit at first glance a dual character—on the one side dissolution of lower forms of living labour, on the other side dissolution of happier forms of it.[a]

To start with, the first presupposition is the transcendence of the relation of slavery or serfdom. Living labour capacity belongs to itself and disposes by means of exchange over the application of its own energy. The two sides confront each other as persons. *Formally,* their relation is that of equal and free exchangers.

That this form is mere *appearance,* and *deceptive appearance* at that, appears, as far as the juridical relationship is concerned, as an *external* matter. What the free worker sells is always only a particular, specific measure of the application of his energy. Above every specific application of energy stands labour capacity as a totality. The worker sells the specific application of his energy to a specific capitalist, whom he confronts independently as a *single individual.* Clearly, this is not his [real] relationship to the existence of capital as capital, i.e. to the class of capitalists. Nevertheless, as far as the individual, real person is concerned, a wide field of choice, caprice and therefore of formal freedom is left to him. In the relation of slavery, he belongs to the *individual, specific* owner, and is his labouring machine. As the totality of the application of his energy, as labour capacity, he is a thing belonging to another, and hence does not relate as a subject to the specific application of his energy, or to the living act of labour. In the relation of serfdom, he appears as an integral element of landed property itself; he is an appurtenance of the soil, just like draught-cattle. In the relation of slavery, the worker is nothing but a living labouring

[a] In reproducing this passage in his 1861-63 manuscript (Notebook XXII, p. 1397) Marx added here: "for the immediate producer. On the one hand, dissolution of slavery and serfdom. On the other, dissolution of the form under which the means of production are immediately available as the property of the immediate producer, whether his work is *predominantly* directed at use value (agriculture) or exchange value (urban work). Dissolution of the form of *community* in which the worker as organ of this naturally evolved community is, at the same time, posited as owner or possessor of his means of production."—*Ed.*

machine, which therefore has a value for others, or rather is a value. Labour capacity in its totality appears to the free worker as his own property, one of his own moments, over which he as subject exercises control, and which he maintains by selling it. This to be developed later under wage labour.

The exchange of objectified labour for living labour does not [as such] constitute either capital on the one hand or wage labour on the other. The entire class of so-called *services,* from boot-black up to King, falls into this category. The same is true of the free day-labourer, whom we encounter sporadically wherever either the Oriental community or the Western commune of free landowners has broken up into its individual elements—as a result of an increase in population, release of prisoners of war, chance occurrences through which individuals were impoverished and deprived of the objective conditions for their SELF-SUSTAINING LABOUR, as a result of the division of labour, etc.

If *A* exchanges a value or money, i.e. objectified labour, in order to obtain a service from *B,* i.e. living labour, this can belong:

*(1) within the relation of simple circulation.* Both parties in fact exchange only use values with each other; the one means of subsistence, the other labour, a service, which the former wishes to consume either directly—a personal service—or he supplies the latter with the material, etc., in which that other person supplies him, through his labour, by the objectification of his labour, a use value designed for *A*'s consumption. E.g. when the peasant takes into his house a tramping tailor, such as existed in the past, and gives him the material to make clothes with. Or if I give money to a doctor to patch up my health. What is important in these cases is the service which the two perform for each other. *Do ut facias* appears here on quite the same level as *facio ut des* or *do ut des.*[a]

The man who uses material which I gave him to make clothes for me, gives me a use value. But instead of giving it to me directly in objectified form, he gives it in the form of activity. I give him a finished use value; he produces another one for me. The distinction between past objectified labour and living present labour appears here as a merely formal distinction between the different tenses of labour, which is in the perfect tense at one time and in the present at another. It appears in fact merely as a

[a] "I give that you may make", "I make that you may give", "I give that you may give" (contractual formulas in Roman law), *Corpus iuris civilis, Digesta* XIX, 5.5.—*Ed.*

formal distinction mediated by division of labour and exchange, whether *B* himself produces his own means of subsistence, or whether he obtains them from *A* and, instead of producing the means of subsistence directly, produces clothes for which he obtains his subsistence from *A* in exchange. In both cases, he can take possession of the use value owned by *A* only by giving him an equivalent for it, an equivalent which is ultimately always reducible to his own living labour, whatever the objective form it may assume, either before the exchange has been agreed, or as a result of it. Now, the clothes contain not only a particular form-giving labour—a particular utility bestowed upon the material by the act of labour—but also a certain quantity of labour; therefore not only use value but *value* in general, *value* as such. But this value does not exist for *A,* because he consumes the clothes and is not a clothes merchant. Therefore he has obtained the labour in exchange as an activity which creates utility, use value, not as *labour* which *posits value.*

[IV-49] In the case of personal services, this use value is consumed as such, without passing from the form of movement into that of a thing. If, as is frequently the case in simple relationships, the person performing the service does not receive *money* but direct use values, even the semblance disappears that either party to the exchange is concerned with *values* as distinct from use values. But even assuming that *A* pays money for the service, *A*'s money has not thereby been converted into capital. Rather, it is posited as mere means of circulation in order to obtain an object of consumption, a particular use value. Consequently, this act is not one which produces wealth but, on the contrary, one which consumes it. What concerns *A* is not at all that labour as such, a certain labour time, i.e. *value,* is objectified in the cloth, but that a certain need is satisfied. *A* sees his money not *valorised* but *devalued* by converting [it] from the form of value into that of use value. Labour here is not obtained in exchange as use value for value, but as itself a specific use value, as a value for use. The more frequently *A* repeats the exchange, the poorer he becomes. This exchange is not an *act by which he enriches himself,* not an act which *creates value,* but one by which he *devalues* existing values in his possession. The money which *A* exchanges here for living labour—service in kind or a service which is objectified in a thing—is not *capital* but *revenue*; money as means of circulation in order to obtain use value; money in which value is posited in a merely transient form; not money which seeks to preserve and valorise itself as such through the purchase of

labour. The exchange of *money as revenue,* as mere means of circulation, for living labour, can never posit money as capital, nor, therefore, labour as wage labour in the economic sense.

It needs no elaborate explanation to show that the consumption of money is not the same as its production. In conditions where most surplus labour takes the form of agricultural labour, and where the landowner is therefore the owner of both surplus labour and surplus product, it is the revenue of the landowner which makes up the wages fund for the free workers, for the workers in manufacture (here artisans) as against the agricultural labourers.

His exchange with them is a form of the landowner's consumption—he divides another part of his revenue directly, for personal services, often for only the semblance of service, with a horde of RETAINERS. In Asiatic societies, where the monarch is the exclusive owner of the surplus produce of the land, the exchange of his revenue with the "FREE HANDS", as Steuart calls them,[a] gives rise to whole cities which are *au fond* nothing but migratory camps. In this relationship there is nothing of wage labour, although it *can* stand in contradiction to slavery and serfdom; it *need* not do so, however, for it constantly recurs under different forms of overall organisation of labour. In so far as *money* mediates this exchange, price determination will become important for both parties, but for *A* only in so far as he does not wish to pay too much for the *use value* of labour; not in so far as he is concerned about its *value.* The essence of the relationship is not affected by the fact that this price, originally largely conventional and traditional, is gradually determined economically, at first by the condition of demand and supply and eventually by the production costs at which the vendors themselves of these living services can be produced; for the determination of price remains only a formal moment for the exchange of mere use values. This determination itself, however, arises from other relationships, from the general laws and self-determination of the dominant mode of production, acting, as it were, behind the back of this particular act of exchange.

One of the forms in which this type of payment first occurs in ancient communities is the *standing army.* The pay of the common soldier is also reduced to a minimum, is determined purely by the production costs for which he can be procured. But what he

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[a] J. Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy,* Vol. I, pp. 30-31, 40, 48, 151, 153, 176, 178, 179 and 396.— *Ed.*

receives in exchange for his service is the revenue of the State, not *capital.*[17]

In bourgeois society itself all kinds of exchange of personal services for revenue belong in this category—including labour for personal consumption, cooking, sewing, etc., gardening, etc., right up to all the unproductive classes, civil servants, doctors, lawyers, scholars, etc. All MENIAL SERVANTS, etc. By means of the services they perform—often forced [upon the client]—all these workers, from the lowest to the highest, obtain for themselves a share of the surplus product, of the *revenue* of the capitalist. But it does not occur to anyone to think that through the exchange of his revenue for such services, i.e. by his private consumption, the capitalist posits himself as capital. Rather, he thereby spends the fruits of his capital. The nature of the relationship is not affected by the fact that the proportions in which revenue is exchanged for this type of living labour are themselves determined by the general laws of production.

As we have already mentioned in the section on *money,*[a] it is the person performing a service who here essentially posits *value*; who converts a use value—a certain type of labour, service, etc.—into *value, money.* In the Middle Ages, therefore, those who are orientated towards the production and accumulation of money proceed partly not from the side of the consuming landed nobility, but from the side of living labour; they accumulate and thus become δυνάμει[b] capitalists for a later period. Capitalists partly derive from emancipated serfs.

It therefore does not depend on the relation in general but on the natural, specific quality of the service performed, whether the recipient of payment obtains a day-wage, or a fee, or a Civil List—and whether he appears superior or inferior in rank to the person paying him for his service.

True, under the rule of capital, all these relationships will become more or less *dishonoured.* But this does not belong here yet, this *de-sanctification* of personal services, however exalted a character tradition, etc., may have attributed to them.

Capital and therefore wage labour are not, then, constituted simply by an exchange of *objectified labour* for *living labour*—which from this viewpoint appear as two different determinations, as use values in different form; the one as determination in objective

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[a] See this volume, pp. 202-03. (The passage is in the section on capital, not in that on money.)—*Ed.*

[b] Potentially.—*Ed.*

form, the other in subjective form. They are constituted by the exchange of objectified labour as *value*, as self-sufficient value, for living labour as *its* use value, as use value not for a certain specific use or consumption, but as use value for *value*.

[IV-50] In the exchange of money for labour or service for immediate consumption, a real exchange always takes place; that *amounts of labour* are exchanged on both sides is merely of *formal* interest, for measuring the *particular* forms of the utility of labour in relation to one another. This concerns only the *form* of the exchange; it does not constitute its *content*. When capital is exchanged for labour, *value* is not the measure for the exchange of two use values but the *content of the exchange* itself.

(2) In periods of the dissolution of *pre-bourgeois* relationships, we sporadically find free workers whose service is bought not for the purpose of consumption but for that of *production*. But, *firstly*, even on a large scale only for the production of *direct* use values, not of *values*. *Secondly*, if the nobleman e.g. employs the free worker alongside his serf, and moreover resells part of his product, and the free worker thus produces *value* for him, this exchange takes place only for the superfluous product and only in the interest of superfluity, of *luxury consumption*; is thus *au fond* only a disguised purchase of alien labour for direct consumption or as use value. Incidentally, where these free workers increase in number and this relationship becomes more extensive, the old mode of production—commune, patriarchal, feudal, etc.—is in a state of dissolution and the elements for real wage labour are coming into being. But these free servants [Knechte] can also appear and then disappear again, as e.g. in Poland, without the mode of production being thereby changed.

//In order to express the relations into which capital and wage labour enter as *property relationships* or *laws*, we have only to express the conduct of both sides in the *process of valorisation* as a *process of appropriation*. For instance, the fact that surplus labour is posited as surplus value of capital means that the worker does not appropriate the product of his own labour; that it appears to him as *alien property*; and, conversely, that *alien labour* appears as the property of capital. This second law of bourgeois property, which is the inversion of the first [the law that the product of labour is the property of the labourer]—and which through the right of inheritance, etc., obtains an existence independent of the chance transitory existence of individual capitalists—is just as much established as a law as the first. The first law is the identity of labour with property; the second is labour as negated property or

property as the negation of the alien quality of alien labour.

In fact, in the production process of capital, as will become more evident in the further analysis of that process, labour is a totality—a combination of labours—the individual components of which are alien to one another, so that the aggregate of labour, as a totality, is *not* the *work* of the individual worker, and, moreover, it is the work of the different workers taken together only in so far as they are combined [by an external force]—not entering into [voluntary] combination with each other. In combination, this labour likewise appears subservient to an alien will and an alien intelligence, and directed by the latter—having *its animate unity* outside itself, and subordinated in its material unity to the *objective unity* of *machinery,* of *capital fixe,* which as an *animated monster* objectifies the scientific idea, and is in fact the concentrating element, which in no way relates to the individual worker as instrument, but to which, on the contrary, he is affixed as an animated individual spot [of labour], a living isolated accessory to it.

Combined labour is thus in two ways a combination *in itself*; for it is neither combination as the relationship of individuals working together to one another, nor as their going beyond their specific individualised task or beyond [the activity proper to] their instrument of labour. Hence, if the worker relates to the product of his labour as alien, he no less relates to combined labour as alien, and to his own labour as an expression of his life which, though it certainly belongs to him, is alien to him and brought out under duress, and which Adam Smith, etc., therefore conceived as a *burden, sacrifice,* etc.[a] Labour itself, like its product, is *negated in its form as the labour of the particular, individualised worker.* The negated individualised labour is now in fact posited as social or combined labour. However, *social or combined labour* thus posited—both as activity and as having passed over into the inert form of the object—is simultaneously posited directly as an other in relation to really existing individual labour—both as *alien objectivity* (alien property) and *alien subjectivity* (that of capital). Thus capital represents both labour and its product as negated individualised labour, and hence as the negated property of the individualised worker. It is therefore the existence of social labour—its combination as subject and also as object—but it is this existence as itself existing independently as against its real

[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Vol. I, London, 1835, pp. 104-05.— *Ed.*

moments—i.e. as a *separate* existence beside them. Capital for its part therefore appears as the trespassing subject and as the owner of *alien labour,* and its own relation is as complete a contradiction as is that of wage labour.//

## [FORMS PRECEDING CAPITALIST PRODUCTION][133]

One of the prerequisites of wage labour and one of the historical conditions for capital is free labour and the exchange of free labour for money, in order to reproduce money and to valorise it, in order to be consumed by money, not as use value for enjoyment, but as use value for money. Another prerequisite is the separation of free labour from the objective conditions of its realisation—from the means and material of labour. This means above all separation of the worker from the land, which functions as his natural workshop, hence the dissolution both of free small holdings and of communal landed property, based on the Oriental commune.

In both these forms the labourer relates to the objective conditions of his labour as to his property; this is the natural unity of labour with its physical prerequisites. Hence the labourer has an objective existence independent of his labour. The individual relates to himself as proprietor, as master [IV-51] of the conditions of his reality. He relates in the same way to the others, and—depending on whether this *prerequisite* derives from the community or from the individual families constituting the community—he relates to the others as co-proprietors, as so many incarnations of the common property, or as independent proprietors coexisting with him, independent private proprietors, beside whom the common property which formerly absorbed everything and embraced them all subsists as a special *ager publicus*[a] separate from the numerous private landed proprietors.

In both forms, the individuals relate not as workers but as proprietors—as members of a community who also work. The purpose of this labour is not the *creation of value,* although they may perform surplus labour in order to exchange it for *alien,* i.e. surplus, products. Its purpose is the maintenance of the individual proprietor and his family as well as of the community as a whole. The positing of the individual as a *worker,* who is stripped of all qualities except this one, is itself a *historical* product.

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[a] Common land, state-owned land in ancient Rome.— *Ed.*

In the earliest form of this landed property, a naturally evolved community is the first prerequisite: the family, and the family expanded into a tribe,[134] or [formed] through INTERMARRIAGE between families, or a combination of tribes. Since we may assume that *pastoralism,* or more generally a *nomadic way of life,* is the first form of existence; that the tribe does not settle on a certain site but that it grazes off what it finds there and moves on—men are not settled by nature (unless perhaps in such an exceptionally fertile region that they settle on a tree like the monkeys; otherwise, they are ROAMING like the wild animals)—the *tribal community,* the natural community, is not the *result* but the *precondition of the common* (temporary) *appropriation* and *use of the soil.*

When men finally do settle down, the degree of change which this original community will undergo, will depend partly on various external, climatic, geographical, physical, etc., conditions and partly on their particular natural disposition, etc.—their tribal character. The naturally evolved tribal community, or, if you wish, the herd—common ties of blood, language, custom, etc.—is the first precondition for the *appropriation of the objective conditions* of their life, and of the life activity reproducing and objectifying itself (activity as herdsmen, hunters, agriculturalists, etc.).

The earth is the great workshop, the arsenal which provides both the means and the materials of labour, as well as the location, the *basis* of the community. Men relate naively to it as the *property of the community,* and of the community which produces and reproduces itself in living labour. Each individual regards himself as a *proprietor* or *owner* only qua MEMBER of such a community.

The real *appropriation* through the process of labour takes place under these *preconditions,* which are not themselves the *product* of labour but appear as its natural or *divine* preconditions. This form, where the fundamental relationship is the same [common property in land], may realise itself in a variety of ways. It does not contradict it at all, for instance, that, as in most *Asiatic* fundamental forms, the *all-embracing unity* which stands above all these small communities may appear as the *higher* or as the *sole proprietor,* and the real communities, therefore, merely as *hereditary* occupiers. Since the *unity* is the real proprietor, and the real precondition of common property, it is quite possible for it to appear as something *distinct* over and above the many real, particular communities. The individual is then IN FACT propertyless, or property—i.e. the relation of the individual to the *natural* conditions of labour and reproduction as belonging to him, as the

objective body of his subjectivity present in the form of inorganic nature—appears to be mediated for him through a concession from the total unity—a unity realised in the despot as the father of the many communities—to the individual via the particular commune. It therefore follows that the surplus product (which, incidentally, is legally determined in consequence of the real appropriation through labour) belongs to this highest unity.

Hence, in the midst of Oriental despotism and the absence of property which it juridically appears to imply, there in fact exists as its foundation this tribal or communal property, mostly produced through a combination of manufacture and agriculture within the small community, which thereby becomes completely SELF-SUSTAINING and comes to contain within itself all the conditions necessary for reproduction and extended production. Part of its surplus labour belongs to the higher community, which ultimately exists as a *person,* and this surplus labour is expressed both in tribute, etc., and in common labours performed for the glorification of the unity, which is in part the real despot and in part the imagined tribal being, the god.

In so far as it is actually realised in labour, this type of communal property can appear in two ways: either the small communities vegetate independently side by side, and within each the individual labours independently with his family on the plot assigned to him. (A certain amount of labour will also be performed for the *communal reserve*—for INSURANCE, so to speak—on the one hand; and [on the other] for *defraying the costs of the community as such,* i.e. for war, religious worship, etc.; lordly dominion, in its most original sense, emerges only at this point, e.g. in the Slavonic and Romanian communities, etc. Herein lies the transition to labour services, etc.) Or the unity can extend to the communality of labour itself, which may be systematically organised, as in Mexico and especially Peru, among the ancient Celts, and among some tribes in India.

Furthermore, the communality within the tribal body may appear either in such a way that its unity is represented in one head of the tribal kinship group, or else as a relationship between the heads of families. The former will produce a more despotic, the latter a more democratic form of this community. The communal conditions for real appropriation through labour, such as *irrigation systems* (very important among the Asian peoples), means of communication, etc., then appear as the work of the higher unity—of the despotic government poised above the lesser communities. Cities in the proper sense arise alongside these

villages only where the location is especially favourable to foreign trade, or where the head of State and his satraps exchange their revenue (the surplus product) for labour, spend it as LABOUR funds.

[IV-52] The second form [of property] has, like the first, given rise to substantial local, historical, etc., variations. It is the product of a more dynamic historical life, of the fate and modification of the original tribes. It also assumes the *communal system* as the first presupposition, but not, as in the first case, as the substance of which the individuals are mere accidental factors, or of which they are only naturally evolved parts. It does not presuppose land as its basis, but the city as already constructed seat [centre] of the rural population (landowners). The cultivated fields are the territory of the city, whereas [in the first form of property] the village was a mere appendage to the land.

However great the obstacles the land may put in the way of those who till it and really appropriate it, it offers no resistance to the people relating to it as the inorganic nature of the living individual, as his workshop, his means of labour, the object of his labour, and the means of subsistence of the subject. The difficulties encountered by the organised community can arise only from other communities which either have already occupied the territory or disturb the community in its occupation of it. War is therefore the great all-embracing task, the great communal labour, which is required either for the occupation of the objective conditions for being alive, or for the protection and perpetuation of this occupation. The community consisting of families is therefore organised above all on military lines, for purposes of war, and this is one of the conditions of its being there as a proprietor. Concentration of settlement in the city is the foundation of this warlike organisation.

The nature of the tribal system leads to the differentiation of kinship groups into higher and lower, and this differentiation is developed further through intermixture with subjugated tribes, etc.

Communal property—as State property, *ager publicus*—is here separate from private property. The property of the individual is here not itself direct communal property, as in our first case, where the individual is not a proprietor in separation from the community, but rather merely the occupier [of the plot of communal land allotted to him].

The less it is the case that individual property can be utilised only through communal labour (such as e.g. the irrigation systems of the Orient); the more the purely naturally evolved character of

the tribe breaks down through the movement of history or migration; the more the tribe moves away from its original place of settlement and occupies *foreign* territory, thus entering into essentially new conditions of labour and stimulating the development of the energies of the individual; and the more the communal character of the tribe appears, and must appear, rather as a negative unity as against the outside world—the more are the conditions given under which the individual can become a *private proprietor* of land—of a particular plot—whose particular cultivation falls to him and his family.

The community as a State is on the one hand the relationship of these free and equal private proprietors to each other, their combination against the outside world—and it is at the same time their safeguard. Communal life is here based as much on the fact that its members are working landed proprietors, smallholding peasants, as the peasants' independence is based on their mutual relation as members of the community, on safeguarding the *ager publicus* for the communal needs and the communal glory, etc. To be a member of the community remains the precondition for the appropriation of land, but as a member of the community the individual is a private proprietor. He relates to his private property as to land but at the same time as to his being as a member of the community, and his maintenance as such is just as much the maintenance of the community, and vice versa, etc. Since the community, though here already a *product of history,* not only *de facto,* but also in its own consciousness, is therefore conceived as *having come into being*, we have here the precondition for *property* in land—i.e. for the relation of the working subject to the natural preconditions of labour as belonging to him. But this belonging is mediated through his being as a member of the State, through the existence of the State—i.e. through a *presupposition* which is regarded as divine, etc.

Concentration in the city, with the land as its territory; small-scale agriculture producing for direct consumption; manufacture as the domestic sideline of wives and daughters (spinning and weaving), or made independent only in a few individual branches (*fabri,*[a] etc.).

The precondition for the survival of this community is the maintenance of equality among its free SELF-SUSTAINING PEASANTS, and their own labour as the condition for the continued existence of their property. They relate as proprietors to the natural conditions

[a] Artisans (in ancient Rome).— *Ed.*

of labour; but their personal labour must constantly posit these conditions as real conditions and objective elements of the personality of the individual, of his personal labour.

On the other hand, the tendency of this small warlike community drives it beyond these limits, etc. (Rome, Greece, the Jews, etc.).

As Niebuhr says:

"When the auguries had assured Numa of the divine approval for his election, the first concern of the pious monarch was not the worship of the gods, but a human one. He distributed the land that Romulus had conquered in war and left to be occupied; he founded the worship of Terminus. All the ancient law-givers, and above all Moses, founded the success of their arrangements for virtue, justice and good morals upon landed property, or at least secure hereditary possession of land, for the greatest possible number of citizens" ([B. G. Niebuhr,] *Römische Geschichte,* Vol. I, 2nd edition, [Berlin,] 1827, p. 245).

The individual is PLACED IN SUCH CONDITIONS OF GAINING HIS LIFE AS TO MAKE NOT THE ACQUIRING OF WEALTH HIS OBJECT, BUT SELF-SUSTENANCE, HIS OWN REPRODUCTION AS A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNITY; THE REPRODUCTION OF HIMSELF AS PROPRIETOR OF THE PARCEL OF GROUND AND, IN THAT QUALITY, AS A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNE.

The continuation of the COMMUNE is the reproduction of all its MEMBERS as SELF-SUSTAINING PEASANTS, whose surplus time belongs precisely to the COMMUNE, to the labour of war, etc. Property in one's own labour is mediated through property in the conditions of labour—the hide of land, which is itself guaranteed by the existence of the community, which in turn is safeguarded by the surplus labour of its members in the form of military service, etc. The member of the community reproduces himself not by cooperation in WEALTH-PRODUCING labour, but by cooperation in labour for the (real or imaginary) communal interests aimed at maintaining the union against external and internal stress [nach aussen und innen]. Property is *quiritarium,*[a] property of the Romans; the private owner of land is such only by virtue of being a Roman, but as Roman he *is* a private landowner.

[IV-53] A third form of the property of working individuals, SELF-SUSTAINING MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY, in the natural conditions of their labour, is the *Germanic.* Here it is not the case, as in the specifically Oriental form, that the member of the community is as such co-holder of the communal property.[b] The Germanic

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[a] I.e. the property of the *quirites,* citizens of ancient Rome in their civil capacity.—*Ed.*

[b] Here Marx inserted the following passage in brackets: "Where property exists *only* as communal property, the individual member is as such only the *occupier* of a

form also differs from the Roman, Greek (in short, the ancient classical) form, where the land is occupied by the community, Roman land; where part of the land remains with the community as such, as distinct from its members, *ager publicus* in its various forms; and where the remainder is distributed, and each plot is Roman by virtue of the fact that it is the private property, the domain, of a Roman, the part of the workshop which belongs to him, but he is a Roman only by virtue of the fact that he enjoys this sovereign right over part of the Roman soil.

//"In antiquity, urban crafts and trade looked down on, but agriculture held in high esteem; in the Middle Ages the contrary appraisal" [B. G. Niebuhr, op. cit., p. 418].//

//"The right to *use* communal land through *occupation* originally belonged to the patricians, who later enfeoffed their clients; the *assignment of property* out of the *ager publicus* belonged exclusively to the plebeians; all assignments in favour of plebeians as compensation for a share in the communal land. *Landed property in the strict sense,* if we except the area adjacent to the city wall, was originally in the hands only of the plebeians" (rural communities admitted at a later stage) [ibid., pp. 435-36].//

//"Essence of the Roman plebs as a totality of agriculturalists, as indicated in their quiritary property. The ancients were unanimous in regarding agriculture as the *proper occupation* of the free man, the school for soldiers. In it the ancient stock of the nation is maintained; it changes in the cities, where foreign merchants and artisans settle, as the indigenous inhabitants migrate there, enticed by the hope of gain. Wherever there is slavery, the freedman seeks his subsistence in such activities, through which he often accumulates wealth; and indeed in antiquity such occupations were mostly in their hands, and were therefore regarded as unsuitable for citizens; hence the view that the admission of craftsmen to full citizenship was risky (the early Greeks, as a rule, excluded them from it). οὐδενὶ ἐξῆν Ῥωμαίων οὔτε κάπηλον οὔτε χειροτέχνην βίον ἔχειν.[a] The ancients had no conception of the guild pride and dignity of medieval urban history; and even here the military spirit declined as the guilds overcame the noble families, and was finally extinguished; and consequently, with it, the respect and freedom the cities enjoyed in the outside world" [ibid., pp. 614-15].//

//"The tribes of the ancient states were constituted in one of two ways, either by *kinship* or by *locality. Kinship tribes* historically precede locality tribes, and were almost everywhere supplanted by them. Their extreme and most rigid form is the

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particular part of it, hereditary or not, since any fraction of property does not belong to a member of the community for himself, but only as the direct part of the community, i.e. as someone in direct unity with the community and not as distinct from it. The individual is therefore merely an occupier. There is only *communal* property and *private occupation.* How this occupation relates to communal property may vary widely historically, locally, etc., depending on whether labour is performed in isolation by the private occupier or is itself determined by the community, or by the unity standing above the particular community."— *Ed.*

[a] "No Roman was permitted to lead the life of a petty trader or craftsman." Niebuhr quotes from *Roman Archaeology* by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.— *Ed.*

caste system where one caste is separated from another, without the right of intermarriage, with quite different status; each with its exclusive, unchangeable occupation.

"The *locality tribes* originally corresponded to a division of the area into districts and villages; so that someone residing in a village at the time of this division, in Attica under Cleisthenes, was registered as a *demotes* of that village, and as a member of the *phyle*[135] of the area to which that village belonged. However, as a rule his descendants, regardless of place of domicile, remained in the same *phyle* and the same *deme*, whereby this division assumed an appearance of ancestral descent."

The Roman *kin groups* did not consist of blood-relatives; to the common name, Cicero adds descent from free men as a criterion. The members of the Roman *gens* had common shrines, but this had already disappeared by the time of Cicero. The joint inheritance from fellow-kinsmen who died without dependants and intestate survived longest of all. In the earliest period, members of the *gens* obliged to assist fellow-kinsmen in need of help to bear unusual burdens. (This originally universal among the Germans, and persisted longest among the Dithmarschen.[136]) The *gentes* were guilds. "A more general organisation than that of kin groups did not exist in the ancient world. Thus among the Gaels[137] the aristocratic Campbells and their vassals constituted a single clan" [ibid., pp. 317-35].//

Since the patrician represents the community to a higher degree, he is the POSSESSOR of the *ager publicus*, and uses it through his clients, etc. (also, gradually appropriates it).

The Germanic commune is not concentrated in the city; by means of such a concentration—the city as centre of rural life, residence of the agricultural labourers, as also the centre of warfare—the commune as such gains an outward existence, distinct from that of the individual. Ancient classical history is the history of cities, but cities based on landed property and agriculture; Asiatic history is a kind of indifferent unity of town and country (the really large cities must be regarded here merely as royal camps, as an artificial excrescence on the actual economic structure); the Middle Ages (Germanic period) begins with the land as the locus of history, whose further development then proceeds through the contradiction between town and country; modern [history] is the urbanisation of the countryside, not, as in ancient times, the ruralisation of the city.

[V-1][a] With its coming together in the city, the commune as such acquires an economic existence; the very *presence* of the city as such distinguishes it from a mere multiplicity of separate houses. The whole here is not merely a collection of its separate

[a] Here Notebook V of the manuscript begins. The cover bears the words: "Notebook V. January 1858. London (Begun on 22 January)." An inscription on page 1 reads: "Notebook V. Chapter on Capital (Continued)."—*Ed.*

parts. It is a kind of independent organism. Among the Germanic peoples where the individual family chiefs settled in forests, separated by long distances, the commune exists even *outwardly* merely by virtue of the periodic gatherings of its members, although their unity *in-itself* is posited in descent, language, common past and history, etc.

The *commune* therefore appears as an *assembly,* not an *association,* as a unification whose independent subjects are the landed proprietors, and not as a unity. IN FACT, the community therefore does not exist as a *State,* as a *State system,* as among the ancients, because it does not exist as a *city.* For the community to come into real existence, the free landed proprietors must hold an *assembly,* whereas, e.g. in Rome, it *exists* apart from such assemblies, in the presence of the *city itself* and in the persons of the officials put in charge of it, etc.

True, the *ager publicus,* the communal land or people's land, occurs among the Germanic peoples also, as distinct from the property of the individual. It consists of hunting grounds, pastures, woodlands, etc., that part of the land which cannot be partitioned, if it is to serve as a means of production in this specific form. However, the *ager publicus* does not, as among e.g. the Romans, embody the specific economic being of the State, as against the private owners—so that they were *private* owners properly speaking in so far as they were *excluded* from, i.e. deprived of the use of, the *ager publicus,* like the plebeians.

The *ager publicus* is rather a mere supplement to individual property among the Germanic peoples, and figures as property only in so far as it is defended against hostile tribes as the common property of one particular tribe. The property of the individual is not mediated through the community, but the existence of the community and of communal property is mediated, i.e. it appears as a relation of the independent subjects to one another. *Au fond,* each individual household contains an entire economy, forming as it does an independent centre of production (manufacture merely the domestic sideline of the women, etc.).

In the ancient world, it is the city with its attached territory that forms the economic totality, in the Germanic world, it is the individual home, which itself appears merely as a small dot in the land belonging to it; which is not a concentration of many proprietors, but the family as an independent unit. In the Asiatic form (at least in its predominant variant), there is no property, but only occupation by individuals; the commune is properly speaking

the real proprietor—hence property only as *communal property* in land.

Among the ancients (Romans as the classical example, the thing in its purest, most fully developed form), there is a contradiction between the form of State landed property and private landed property, so that the latter is mediated through the former, or the former itself exists in this dual form. The private landed proprietor is thus simultaneously an urban citizen. Economically, citizenship may be expressed in the simple statement that the tiller of the soil is a city dweller.

In the Germanic form, the tiller of the soil is not a citizen, i.e. not a city dweller; the foundation of this form is the isolated, independent family settlement, guaranteed by its bond with the other family settlements of the same tribe, and their occasional assembly for purposes of war, religion, adjudication, etc., which establishes their mutual surety. Individual landed property does not here appear as a contradictory form as against communal landed property, nor as mediated by the community, but the other way round. The community exists only in the mutual relation of the individual landed proprietors as such. Communal property as such appears only as a communal appendage to the individual kin settlements and land appropriations.

The [Germanic] community is neither the substance, of which the individual appears merely as the accident [as in the Oriental community], nor is it the general, which exists as such and has a *unified being* [as with the ancients] either in the mind or in the reality of the city and its urban requirements as distinct from those of the individual, or in the urban territory as its separate being as distinct from the particular economic being of the member of the community. The community is, rather, on the one hand, presupposed in itself to the individual proprietor as the common element in language, blood, etc.; but on the other hand it has being only in its *real assembly* for communal purposes. In so far as it has a separate economic existence in the communally used hunting grounds, pastures, etc., it is used in these ways by every individual proprietor as such, and not in his capacity as a representative of the State (as in Rome). It is therefore genuinely the common property of the individual proprietors, and not of the union of these proprietors as an entity endowed with an existence of its own in the city, distinct from themselves as individuals.

The crucial point here is this: in all these forms, in which landed property and agriculture constitute the basis of the

economic order, and hence the economic object is the production of use values, i.e. the *reproduction of the individual* in his particular relationships to his community, in which he forms its basis, we find the following elements:

(1) Appropriation of the natural condition of labour, of the *earth* as the original instrument of labour, both as workshop and repository of raw materials; however, appropriation not by means of labour but as the prerequisite for labour. The individual relates simply to the objective conditions of labour as his own, as the inorganic nature of his subjectivity, which realises itself through them. The chief objective condition of labour does not itself appear as the *product* of labour, but is already there as *nature.* [V-2] On the one hand the living individual, on the other the earth, as the objective condition of his reproduction.

(2) However, this *relation* to the land, to the soil, as the property of the working individual, who therefore right from the outset does not appear merely as a working individual in this abstraction, but who has an *objective mode of existence* in his ownership of the land, an existence which is *presupposed* to his activity and is not a mere result of it, and which is as much a precondition of his activity as his skin, his sense organs, which, though he also reproduces and develops these in his life process, are nevertheless presupposed to this reproduction process—this relation is instantly mediated by the naturally evolved and more or less historically developed and modified being of the individual as a *member of a community*—his naturally evolved being as part of a tribe, etc.

An isolated individual could no more have property in land than he could speak. True, he could live off the land, as animals do. But the relation to the soil as property always arises from the peaceful or violent occupation of the land by the tribe, the community in a form more or less naturally evolved or already historically developed. The individual here can never appear so thoroughly isolated as he does as mere free worker. If the objective conditions of his labour are presupposed as belonging to him, he himself is subjectively presupposed as belonging to a community, through which his relationship to the land is mediated. His relation to the objective conditions of labour is mediated by his being as a member of a community. Conversely, the real being of the community is determined by the particular form of his ownership of the objective conditions of labour. Whether this property mediated by his being within a community is *communal property,* where the individual is merely occupier and where there is no private property in land,—or whether property

has the dual form of State and private property, but in such a way that the latter appears as posited by the former, so that only the citizen is and has to be a private proprietor, while on the other hand his property as a citizen also has a separate existence,—or whether, finally, communal property appears as merely supplementary to individual property, the latter, however, as the basis, and the community does not exist for itself at all outside the *assembly* of its members and their association for common purposes—these different forms of relation of the members of the commune or tribe to the tribal land—to the territory on which it has settled—depend partly upon the natural character of the tribe, partly on the economic conditions under which it now actually relates itself to the soil as proprietor, i.e. appropriates its fruits by means of labour, and this, in turn, depends on the climate, the physical properties of the soil, the physically conditioned mode of its utilisation, the relationship to hostile or neighbouring tribes, and the modifications brought about by migrations, historical events, etc.

For the commune to continue to exist as such in the old way, the reproduction of its members under the objective conditions presupposed is necessary. In time, production itself, the increase in population (which also belongs to production) necessarily transcends these conditions, destroys them instead of reproducing them, etc., and as a result of this the communal system decays and dies along with the property relations on which it was based.

The Asiatic form necessarily survives longest and most stubbornly. This is inherent in its presupposition, namely that the individual does not become independent vis-à-vis the commune; that there is a SELF-SUSTAINING circle of production, a unity of agriculture and handicrafts, etc.

If the individual changes his relationship to the community, he thereby changes and undermines the community and its economic premiss. On the other hand, the modification of this economic premiss, which is brought about by its own dialectic, impoverishment, etc., particularly the impact of war and conquest, which, e.g. in Rome, belongs essentially to the economic conditions of the community itself, transcends the real bond on which the community rests.

In all these forms, the basis of development is the *reproduction of presupposed* relationships between the individual and his commune —relationships more or less naturally evolved or else historically developed, but become traditional—and a *specific objective* existence, *predetermined* for the individual, both as regards his relation

to the conditions of labour and his relation to his co-workers, fellow-tribesmen, etc. The development therefore is from the outset a *limited* one, but once the limit is transcended, decay and ruin ensue. The development of slavery, the concentration of landed property, exchange, a monetary economy, conquest, etc., had this effect among the Romans, though all these elements seemed up to a certain point compatible with the basis, in part a mere harmless extension of it, in part mere abuses flowing out of it. Considerable developments are possible here within a particular sphere. Individuals may appear great. But free and full development, either of the individual or of society, is inconceivable here, since such a development stands in contradiction to the original relation.

[V-3] Among the ancients, we never come across an investigation into which form of landed property, etc., is the most productive, creates the greatest wealth. Wealth does not appear as the purpose of production, although Cato may well investigate which way of field cultivation is the most profitable, or even Brutus may lend his money at the highest rate of interest. The enquiry is always about which form of property creates the best citizens. Wealth as an end-in-itself appears only among a few trading peoples—monopolists of the CARRYING TRADE—who live in the pores of the ancient world like the Jews in medieval society. Now, wealth is on the one hand a thing, embodied in things, in material products, which man confronts as subject. On the other hand, wealth as value is simply command over alien labour, not for the purpose of domination but of private consumption, etc. In all its forms it appears in physical shape, whether as a thing or as a relationship mediated by a thing, located outside the individual, somewhere near him.

In this way, the old view according to which man always appears in however narrowly national, religious or political a determination as the end of production, seems very exalted when set against the modern world, in which production is the end of man, and wealth the end of production. IN FACT, however, if the narrow bourgeois form is peeled off, what is wealth if not the universality of the individual's needs, capacities, enjoyments, productive forces, etc., produced in universal exchange; what is it if not the full development of human control over the forces of nature—over the forces of so-called Nature, as well as those of his own nature? What is wealth if not the absolute unfolding of man's creative abilities, without any precondition other than the preceding historical development, which makes the totality of this develop-

ment—i.e. the development of all human powers as such, not measured by any *previously given* yardstick—an end-in-itself, through which he does not reproduce himself in any specific character, but produces his totality, and does not seek to remain something he has already become, but is in the absolute movement of becoming?

In the bourgeois economy—and in the epoch of production to which it corresponds—this complete unfolding of man's inner potentiality turns into his total emptying-out. His universal objectification becomes his total alienation, and the demolition of all determined one-sided aims becomes the sacrifice of the [human] end-in-itself to a wholly external purpose. That is why, on the one hand, the childish world of antiquity appears as something superior. On the other hand, it *is* superior, wherever fixed shape, form and established limits are being looked for. It is satisfaction from a narrow standpoint; while the modern world leaves us unsatisfied or, where it does appear to be satisfied with itself, is merely *vulgar.*

What Mr. Proudhon calls the *extra-economic* origin of property—by which he means precisely landed property[a]—is the *pre-bourgeois* relation of the individual to the objective conditions of labour, and initially to the *natural,* objective, conditions of labour. For, just as the working subject is a natural individual, a natural being, so the first objective condition of his labour appears as nature, earth, as his inorganic body. He himself is not only the organic body, but also this inorganic nature as a subject. This condition is not something he has produced, but something he finds to hand; as the natural world outside himself and presupposed to him.

Before proceeding in our analysis, one further point: the worthy Proudhon would not only be able to, he would have to, accuse *capital* and *wage labour*—as forms of property—of having an *extra-economic* origin. For the worker's encounter of the objective conditions of his labour as something separate from him, as *capital,* and the capitalist's encounter of the propertyless *worker,* as an abstract worker—the exchange as it takes place between value and living labour—presupposes an *historical process,* however much capital and wage labour themselves reproduce this relation and elaborate it in its objective scope, as well as in depth. And this

[a] See P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère,* Vol. II, Paris, 1846, p. 269; also Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon,* present edition, Vol. 6, p. 197.— *Ed.*

historical process, as we have seen, is the history of the emergence of both capital and wage labour.

In other words, the *extra-economic origin* of property means nothing but the *historical origin* of the bourgeois economy, of the forms of production to which the categories of political economy give theoretical or conceptual expression. The statement that pre-bourgeois history, and each phase of it, has its own *economy* and an *economic basis* of its movement, is *au fond* merely the tautology that human life has from the beginning rested on production, and, *d'une manière ou d'une autre*,[a] on *social* production, whose relations are precisely what we call economic relations.

*The original conditions of production cannot* initially be *themselves produced,* cannot be the results of production. (Instead of original conditions of production we might also say: the conditions for the reproduction of an increasing number of human beings by means of the natural process of the two sexes. For if this reproduction appears on one side as the appropriation of the objects by the subjects, it equally appears on the other as the shaping and the subjection of the objects by and to a subjective purpose; the transformation of the objects into results and repositories of subjective activity.) What requires explanation is not the *unity* of living and active human beings with the natural, inorganic conditions of their exchange of matter with nature, and therefore their appropriation of nature; nor of course is this the result of an [V-4] historical process. What we must explain is the *separation* between these inorganic conditions of human existence and this active being, a separation which is posited in its complete form only in the relationship between wage labour and capital.

In the relation of slavery and serfdom there is no such separation; rather, one part of society is treated by another as the mere *inorganic and natural* condition of its own reproduction. The slave stands in no relation whatsoever to the objective conditions of his labour; rather, *labour* itself, both in the form of the slave and of the serf, is placed along with the other natural beings such as cattle *as an inorganic condition* of production, as an appendage of the soil.

In other words: the original conditions of production appear as natural presuppositions, *natural conditions of the existence of the producer,* just as his living body, even though he reproduces and develops it, is not originally posited by himself, but appears as his own *presupposition*; his own (corporeal) being is a natural

[a] In one way or another.— *Ed.*

presupposition not posited by himself. These *natural conditions of existence,* to which he relates as to his own inorganic body, have a dual character: they are (1) subjective and (2) objective. The producer becomes aware of himself as member of a family, a tribe, a clan, etc.—which then, in the process of intermixture and conflict with others, assume historically different shapes; and, as such a member, he relates to a specific nature (we can still call it earth, land, soil) as his own inorganic being, as the condition of his production and reproduction. As the natural member of the community, he participates in the communal property and takes a particular share of it into his own possession; just so, as a native Roman citizen, he has (AT LEAST) a notional claim to the *ager publicus* and a real claim to a specified number of *jugera* of land, etc.

His *property,* i.e. his relation to the natural presuppositions of his production as belonging to himself, as *his own,* is mediated by his natural membership of a community. (The abstraction of a community whose members have nothing in common but e.g. language, etc., and barely even that, is plainly the product of much later historical circumstances.) With regard to the individual, for instance, it is evident that he himself relates to his language as *his own* only as the natural member of a human community. Language as the product of an individual is an absurdity. But this is equally true of property.

Language itself is just as much the product of a community as in another respect it is the being of the community, its articulate being, as it were.

//Communal production and communal property, as found e.g. in Peru, is evidently a *secondary* form, introduced and transmitted by conquering tribes, who had been familiar at home with communal property and communal production in the older and simpler form, as it occurs in India and among the Slavs. Similarly, the form found e.g. among the Celts in Wales appears to have been transmitted to them, a *secondary* form, introduced by conquerors among the less developed conquered tribes. The perfection and systematic elaboration of these systems by *supreme central authority* indicate their later origins. Just as the feudalism introduced into England was formally more complete than the feudalism which had evolved naturally in France.//

//Among nomadic pastoral tribes—and all pastoral peoples are originally nomadic—the land, like all other conditions of nature, appears in its elemental boundlessness, e.g. in the Asian steppes and the Asian high plateau. But it is grazed, etc., consumed by the herds, off which the nomadic peoples live. They relate to it as

their property, though they never stabilise that property. This is the case with the hunting grounds of the wild Indian tribes of America; the tribe considers a certain region as its hunting territory, and maintains it by force against other tribes, or seeks to expel other tribes from the territory they claim. Among the nomadic pastoral tribes, the community is in fact always united, a travelling party, caravan, horde, and the forms of hierarchy evolve from the conditions of this mode of life. In fact, only the herd and not the soil is here *appropriated* and *reproduced,* but the soil is always temporarily used *in common* at each and every halting place.//

Let us now turn to the consideration of settled peoples. The only barrier which the community can encounter in relating itself to the natural conditions of production—to the land—as its *own,* is some *other community* which has already laid claim to them as its inorganic body. *Warfare* is therefore one of the earliest types of labour for every naturally evolved community of this kind, both for the defence of property and for its acquisition.

(It will actually be sufficient here to speak of original property in land, for among pastoral peoples property in natural products of the earth, e.g. sheep, is at the same time property in the pastures they pass through. In general, property in land includes property in its organic products.)

//If [V-5] man himself is captured together with the land as an organic appendage of it, he is captured as one of the conditions of production, and this is the origin of slavery and serfdom, which soon debase and modify the original forms of all communities, and then themselves become their basis. The simple structure is thereby negatively determined.//

Thus originally *property* means nothing more than man's relating to his natural conditions of production as belonging to him, as his own, as *presupposed along with his own being*; his relating to them as *natural presuppositions* of himself, which constitute, as it were, only an extension of his body. Actually, he does not relate to his conditions of production, but has a dual being, both subjectively as himself, and objectively in these natural inorganic conditions of his existence.

The forms of these *natural conditions of production* are dual: (1) his being as member of a community, hence the being of this community which in its original form is a *tribal community,* more or less modified; (2) his relation to the *land* by means of the community, as to *his own*; communal landed property, at the same time *individual occupation* for the individual, or in such a manner

that the soil itself and its cultivation remain communal, and only its fruits are divided. (Yet, *dwellings,* etc., even if only the waggons of the Scythians, appear nevertheless to be always in the possession of individuals.) Membership of a *naturally evolved society,* a tribe, etc., is a natural condition of production for the living individual. Such membership is e.g. already a condition of his language, etc. His own productive being can only have existence under this condition. His subjective being as such is conditioned by it as much as it is conditioned by his relating to the land as to his workshop.

(True, property is originally *mobile,* for *d'abord* man takes possession of the ready-made fruits of the earth, to which, among others, belong the animals and especially those he can domesticate. However, even this situation—hunting, fishing, pastoralism, subsistence by collecting the fruits of the trees, etc.—always presupposes the appropriation of the land, whether as a place of fixed residence or a territory for ROAMING, a pasture for his animals, etc.)

*Property* therefore means *belonging to a tribe* (community) (having one's subjective/objective existence within it), and, mediated by the relation of this community to the land, to the earth as its inorganic body, [it also means] the relation of the individual to the land, to the external primary condition of production—since the earth is at the same time raw material, tool and fruit—as the preconditions belonging to his individuality, as its modes of being. We *reduce this property to the relation to the conditions of production.* Why not to those of consumption, since originally the act of producing by the individual is confined to the reproduction of his own body through the appropriation of ready-made objects prepared by nature for consumption? But even where the task is only to *find* and *discover,* effort, labour—as in hunting, fishing, the care of herds—and the production (i.e. the development) of certain skills are soon required on the part of the subject. This means that conditions in which man need merely reach for what is already available, without any tools (i.e. products of labour already designed for production), without alteration of form (which takes place even in herding), etc., are very transitory, and can nowhere be regarded as normal; not even as normal at the earliest stage. Of course, it has to be remembered that the original conditions of production include substances directly consumable without labour, such as some fruit, animals, etc.; thus the consumption fund is itself part of the *original production fund.*

The fundamental condition of property based on tribalism (which is what communalism originally amounts to) is to be a

member of the tribe. This makes a tribe conquered and subjugated by another *propertyless* and places it among the *inorganic conditions* of the conquering tribe's reproduction, to which that community relates as to its own. Slavery and serfdom are therefore only further developments of property based on tribalism. They necessarily modify all its forms. They are least able to do this in the Asiatic form. In the SELF-SUSTAINING unity of manufacture and agriculture on which this form is based, conquest is not so essential a condition as where *landed property, agriculture,* predominate exclusively. On the other hand, since the individual in this form never becomes a proprietor but only an occupier, he is *au fond* himself the property, the slave of that [in] which the unity of the community exists. Here slavery neither puts an end to the conditions of labour, nor does it modify the essential relation.

[V-6] It is now further evident that:

In so far as property is only a conscious relation to the conditions of production as to one's *own*—and, with respect to the individual, a relation posited by the community and proclaimed and guaranteed as law, the being of the producer thus appearing as a being within the objective conditions *belonging to him*—it is realised only through production. Real appropriation does not occur through the establishment of a notional relationship to these conditions, but takes place in the active, real relationship to them, when they are really posited as the conditions of man's subjective activity.

In the light of this it is also clear that *these conditions change.* Only when a tribe hunts, does a particular region of the earth become a hunting ground; only when the soil is tilled, is the land posited as the extension of the body of the individual. Once the *city of Rome* was built, and its surrounding land cultivated by its citizens, the conditions of the community were different from what they had been before. The object of all these communities is preservation, i.e. *the reproduction of their individual members as proprietors, i.e. in the same objective mode of existence,* which *also constitutes the relationship of the members to each other, and therefore constitutes the community itself. But this reproduction is at the same time necessarily new production and the destruction of the old form.* For instance, where each individual is supposed to possess a certain amount of land, the increase in population already presents a problem. If it is to be coped with, colonisation and with it wars of conquest have to be undertaken. Hence slaves, etc., also e.g. the enlargement of the *ager publicus,* and hence more patricians, who represent the community, etc.

Thus the preservation of the old community implies the destruction of the conditions on which it rests, and turns into its opposite. For instance, if it were to be argued that productivity could be increased within the same territory, through a development of the productive forces, etc. (which in traditional agriculture is precisely what develops more slowly than anything else), this would imply new methods and combinations of labour, a high proportion of the day being devoted to agriculture, etc., and, once again, the old economic conditions of the community would be transcended. In the act of reproduction itself are changed not only the objective conditions—e.g. village becomes city, the wilderness becomes cultivated clearings, etc.—but also the producers, who transform themselves in that they evolve new qualities from within themselves, develop through production new powers and new ideas, new modes of intercourse, new needs, and new speech.

The more traditional the mode of production itself—and it persists for a long time in agriculture and even longer in the Oriental mutual complementation of agriculture and manufacture—i.e. the more the *real process* of appropriation remains the same, the more unchanging will be the old forms of property and therefore also the community as a whole.

Where the members of the community have already developed a separate entity as private proprietors from their collective entity as an urban community and owners of the urban territory, conditions already arise in which the individual may *lose* his property, i.e. the dual relationship which makes him both a citizen with equal status, belonging to the community, and a *proprietor.* In the Oriental form, this *loss* is hardly possible, except as a result of wholly external influences, since the individual member of the commune never enters into so independent a relation to it that he could lose his (objective, economic) tie with it. He is firmly rooted. This is also inherent in the union of manufacture and agriculture, of town (in this instance the village) and country.

Among the ancients [Greeks and Romans], manufacture already appears as degeneration (an occupation fit only for freedmen, clients and foreigners), etc. This development of productive labour (its emancipation from total subordination to agriculture, as domestic labour, labour of freedmen, manufacture devoted only to agricultural purposes and war, or to religious observances and communal requirements such as the construction of houses, roads or temples), this development, which necessarily arises from intercourse with foreigners, from slaves, from the desire to exchange the surplus product, etc., destroys the mode of

production on which the community rests, and with it the *objective individual*—i.e. the individual Greek, Roman, etc. Exchange has the same effect, and so has indebtedness, etc.

The original unity between a specific form of communal or tribal entity and the property in nature corresponding to it, or relation to the objective conditions of production as natural, as the objective being of the individual mediated by the community—this unity, which in one sense appears as the particular form of property, has its living reality in a specific *mode of production* itself, and this mode is as much the relationship of the individuals to one another as it is their specific active relationship [V-7] towards inorganic nature, a specific mode of working (which is always family labour and often communal labour). The community itself appears as the first great force of production; particular conditions of production ([favouring] e.g. stock-breeding or agriculture) give rise to particular modes of production and particular forces of production, both subjective ones, i.e. those which appear as qualities of the individuals, and objective ones.

In the final analysis the community, as well as the property based upon it, comes down to a certain stage in the development of the productive forces of the working subjects, to which correspond certain relations of these subjects to each other and to nature. Up to a certain point, reproduction. Then this turns into dissolution.

*Property*—and this applies to its Asiatic, Slavonic, ancient [classical] and Germanic forms—therefore originally means the relation of the working (producing) subject (or the subject reproducing himself) to the conditions of his production or reproduction as his own. Hence it will take different forms depending on the conditions of production. The object of production itself is to reproduce the producer in and together with these objective conditions of his being. This relation as a proprietor—not as the result but as the presupposition of labour, i.e. of production—presupposes in turn a particular existence of the individual as member of a tribal or communal entity (whose property he himself is up to a certain point).

Slavery, serfdom, etc., where the labourer himself appears among the natural conditions of production for a third individual or community (this does *not* apply e.g. to the general slavery of the Orient, [or does] *only* from the European POINT OF VIEW)—and where property therefore is no longer the relation of the independently working individual to the objective conditions of labour—is always secondary, never original, although it is the

necessary and logical result of property based on the community and on labour in the community.

It is of course very simple to imagine a powerful, physically superior individual, who starts by catching animals and proceeds to capture men in order to make them catch animals for him; in other words, uses man as a naturally occurring condition for his reproduction as he uses any other natural living being. His own labour then is reduced to domination, etc. But such a view is absurd, even though it may be correct from the standpoint of some particular tribal or communal entity, because it starts from the development of *isolated* individuals.

Man becomes individualised only through the process of history. Originally he is a *species being, a tribal being, a herd animal*—though by no means as a ζῶον πολιτικόν[11] in the political sense. Exchange itself is a major agent of this individuation. It makes herd-like existence superfluous and dissolves it. This occurs when matters have changed in such a way that man as an isolated individual relates only to himself, but that the means of positing himself as an isolated individual have become precisely what gives him his general and communal character. It is in the community that the objective being of the individual as a proprietor (e.g. a landed proprietor) is presupposed, and is so, moreover, under certain conditions which chain him to the community, or rather constitute a link in his chain. In bourgeois society, e.g., the worker stands there purely subjectively, without object; but the thing which *confronts* him has now become the *true community,* which he tries to make a meal of and which makes a meal of him.

All forms (more or less naturally evolved, but all at the same time results of historical processes) in which the community presupposes its subjects in a specific objective unity with the conditions of their production, or in which a specific subjective mode of being presupposes the communities themselves as condition of production, necessarily correspond only to a development of the productive forces which is limited, and indeed limited in principle. The development of the productive forces dissolves them, and their dissolution is itself a development of the human productive forces. Labour is only undertaken on a certain basis—first naturally evolved—then an historical presupposition. Later, however, this basis or presupposition is itself transcended, or posited as a transient one, which has become too narrow for the unfolding of the progressive human pack.

In so far as the landed property of [classical] antiquity reappears in modern smallholding property, it belongs to political economy

and we shall deal with it in the section on landed property.

[V-8] (We have to return to all this for a deeper and more detailed analysis.)

What concerns us for the moment here is this: the relation of labour to capital or to the objective conditions of labour as capital, presupposes an historical process that dissolves the different forms in which the labourer is a proprietor or the proprietor works.

This means first and foremost:

(1) *Dissolution* of the relation to the earth—to land or soil—as a natural condition of production to which man relates as his own inorganic being, the workshop of his forces and the domain of his will. All forms in which this property is found presuppose a *communal entity* whose members, whatever the formal distinctions between them, are *proprietors* by virtue of being its members. The original form of this property is therefore *direct communal property* (the *Oriental form* modified among the Slavs; developed to the point of contradiction in the property of [classical] antiquity and in Germanic property, though still constituting its hidden, if antagonistic, foundation).

(2) *Dissolution of the relations* in which he appears as the *proprietor of the instrument.* Just as the above form of landed property presupposes a *real community,* so this ownership of the instrument by the labourer presupposes a particular form of development of manufacture—namely *handicraft labour.* Guild and corporative institutions, etc., bound up with this. (The manufacture system of the ancient Orient can already be considered under heading (1) above.) Here labour itself is still half the expression of artistic creation, half an end-in-itself, etc. Craft mastery. The capitalist himself still a master craftsman. Special craft skill ensures the ownership of the instrument, etc., etc. Then, in a sense, the mode of labour becomes hereditary together with the organisation of labour and its instrument. Medieval city organisation. Labour still belongs to the labourer; a certain self-sufficient development of limited specialised capacities, etc.

(3) Included in both is the fact that man possesses the means of consumption prior to production; this necessary to enable him to keep alive as producer—i.e. during production, *before* its completion. As landed proprietor, he is directly provided with the necessary consumption fund. As a master craftsman he has inherited it, earned it or saved it up, and as a youth he is first an *apprentice,* i.e. not yet an independent worker properly speaking, but living in the master's household in the patriarchal manner.

The (real) journeyman enjoys a certain communality with regard to the consumption fund owned by the master. Even if this is not the journeyman's *own property,* it is, under the laws and customs, etc., of the guild, at least his co-possession. (To be gone into further.)

(4) On the other hand, *dissolution,* also, of the relations under which the *workers themselves,* the *living labour capacities,* are still a *direct part of the objective conditions of production* and are appropriated as such—are therefore slaves or serfs. For capital, the worker does not represent a condition of production, but only labour. If capital can get it performed by machinery, or even by water or air, *tant mieux.*[a] And what capital appropriates is not the worker, but his labour—and not directly, but by means of exchange.

These, then, on the one hand, are historical preconditions for the worker to be found as a free worker, as purely subjective labour capacity, devoid of objectivity, confronting the objective conditions of production as his *non-property,* as *alien property,* as *value*-for-itself, as capital. On the other hand, the question arises, what are the conditions in which he can find himself confronting *capital*?

//The formula of capital in which living labour relates to raw material, as well as to the instrument and the means of subsistence required during work, negatively, as non-property, *d'abord includes non-property in land.* In other words, the condition is negated in which the working individual relates to land, to the soil, as his own, i.e. in which he works, produces as the proprietor of the land. In the best case, the working individual relates to the land not only as worker, but as proprietor of the land to himself as working subject. Potentially, land ownership includes property both in raw material and in the primordial instrument of labour, the soil itself, as well as in its spontaneous fruits. Within the earliest form, this means that the individual relates to the soil as its owner, finds in it raw material, instrument and means of subsistence created not through labour but springing from the soil itself. Then, reproducing this relation, secondary instruments and fruits of the earth produced by labour are taken as included in land ownership in its primitive forms. This historical situation is thus *d'abord* negated as the fuller relating-as-property in the worker's relation to the conditions of labour as capital. This is historical situation No. I, which is negated or presupposed as historically dissolved in this relation.

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[a] So much the better.— *Ed.*

Secondly, [V-9] however, the situation where the worker has a *property in the instrument,* where the worker relates to the instrument as his own, where he works as owner of the instrument (which necessarily presupposes that the instrument is subsumed in his individual labour, i.e. presupposes a particular limited stage in the development of the productive power of labour), where this form of the *worker as proprietor* or the *working proprietor* is already posited as an independent form, separate from and alongside *land ownership*—the urban development of labour in its artisan forms; not as in the first case, as accidental to land ownership and subsumed under it. Raw material and means of subsistence are only *mediated* here as the property of the artisan, mediated by his craft, by his property in the instrument. This situation already presupposes a second historical stage, separate from and alongside the first, which must itself have been considerably modified by the fact that this *second type of property* or of *working proprietor* has established an *independent existence.*

Since the instrument itself is already the product of labour, i.e. the element which constitutes property is already posited by labour, the community can here no longer appear, as it can in the first case, in its naturally evolved form, as the community on which this form of property is based, but rather as a community which is itself already produced, which has come into being, as secondary, as a community produced by the worker himself. It is clear that where property in the instrument is the relation to the production conditions of labour as property, the instrument appears in real labour *only* as a *means* of individual labour; the art of really appropriating the instrument, of employing it as a means of labour, here appears as a special skill of the worker, which posits him as the proprietor of the instrument. In short, the essential character of the guild and corporative system, where craftwork constitutes its subject as proprietor, can be reduced to the distinction between the relation to the instrument of production—the instrument of labour—as property, and the relation to the soil, to the land (to the raw material as such), as one's own. Thus historical situation No. II, which is characterised by the fact that the relation to this single element of the conditions of production constitutes the working subject as a proprietor, a working proprietor, and which by its nature can exist only as contradiction, or, if you like, as complement, to the modified first situation, is also negated in the first formula of capital.

There is a *third possible form,* which is to relate as proprietor neither to the land nor to the instrument, hence not even to

labour itself, but only to the means of subsistence, which are found as the natural condition of the working subject. This is *au fond* the formula of slavery and serfdom, which is also negated, i.e. posited as an historically superseded condition, in the relation of the worker to the conditions of production as capital.

The primitive forms of property necessarily dissolve into one's relation to the different objective elements conditioning production as to one's own; they both constitute the economic basis of different forms of community and presuppose specific forms of community. These forms are significantly modified once labour itself becomes one of the *objective conditions of production* (as in slavery and serfdom), as a result of which the simple affirmative character of all forms of property referred to in No. I is lost and modified. They all potentially include slavery, and therefore their own transcendence. So far as No. II is concerned, where labour has become particularised—where craft mastery and consequently property in the instrument of labour=property in the conditions of production—this admittedly excludes slavery and serfdom, but it may undergo an analogous negative development in the form of the caste system.//

//The third form of property, in the means of subsistence, unless it is dissolved into slavery and serfdom, cannot contain any relation of the *working* individual to the conditions of production, and therefore of existence. It can therefore only be the relation of the member of the primitive community founded upon landed property who has lost his landed property and has not yet advanced to property No. II, as in the case of the Roman plebs at the time of the *panes et circenses.*[138]//

//The relation of RETAINERS to their lords, or that of personal service, is essentially different. For personal service constitutes *au fond* merely the mode of existence of the landowner who no longer works himself but whose property includes the workers themselves as serfs, etc., among the conditions of production. Here the *relationship of dominion* exists as an essential relation of appropriation. *Au fond* there can be no relationship of dominion to animals, to the soil, etc., by virtue of appropriation, even though the animal serves. The appropriation of another's *will* is presupposed in the relationship of dominion. Creatures without will, like animals for instance, may indeed render services, but this doesn't make the owner their *lord.* However, what we see here is how the *relationships of dominion and servitude* also belong to this formula of the appropriation of the instruments of production; and they constitute a necessary ferment in the development and

decay of all primitive relations of property and production, just as they express their limitations. To be sure, they are reproduced in capital, in a mediated form, and hence they also constitute a ferment in its dissolution, and are the emblems of its limitations.//

[V-10] //"The right to sell oneself and one's dependants in times of distress, was a grievous general right; it prevailed in the North, as well as among the Greeks and in Asia. The right of the creditor to take the defaulting debtor into servitude, and to redeem the debt as far as possible either by his labour or by the sale of his person, was almost equally widespread" (Niebuhr, [*Römische Geschichte,* Vol.] I, p. 600).//

//Elsewhere *Niebuhr* attributes the difficulties antl misunderstandings of Greek writers of the Augustan period concerning the relationship between patricians and plebeians and their confusion of this relationship with that between patrons and clients, to the fact that they

"were writing at a time when *rich and poor constituted the only real classes of citizens*; when the man in need, no matter how noble his origins, required a patron, and the millionaire, even though only a freedman, was sought after as a patron. They could find scarcely a trace of inherited relations of attachment" (I, 620).//

//"Artisans were to be found in both classes" *(metoikos*[a] *and freedmen together with their descendants),* "and plebeians who abandoned agriculture passed into the limited citizen status enjoyed by these. Nor did they lack the honour of *legally recognised guilds,* and these were so highly respected that Numa was supposed to have been their founder. There were nine such guilds: pipers, goldsmiths, carpenters, dyers, harness-makers, tanners, coppersmiths and potters, the ninth guild embracing the rest of the crafts... Those among them who were independent citizens living outside the city limits, or who enjoyed isopolity[b] and were independent of any patron (supposing such status was recognised), or those who were descendants of dependent men whose bond had lapsed with the extinction of their patrons' families: these undoubtedly remained as remote from the quarrels of ancient citizens and the commons [der Gemeinde] as the Florentine guilds remained outside the feuds of the Guelf and Ghibelline families. It is probable that the dependent men were still as a whole at the disposal of the patricians" (I, 623).//

On the one hand, historical processes are presupposed which transform a mass of individuals of a nation, etc., if not immediately into genuine free workers, at any rate into workers who are free δυνάμει,[c] whose only property is their labour capacity and the possibility of exchanging it for existing values. Such individuals confront all objective conditions of production as *alien property,* as their *non-property,* but at the same time as *values*

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[a] Resident aliens.— *Ed.*

[b] A status equivalent to citizenship.— *Ed.*

[c] Potentially.— *Ed.*

which can be exchanged and therefore to a CERTAIN DEGREE appropriated by living labour. Such historical processes of dissolution can take the form of the dissolution of the dependent relationship which binds the worker to the soil and to the lord but which actually presupposes his ownership of the means of subsistence (which amounts in truth to the process of his "emancipation" from the soil). They can also take the form of the dissolution of those relations of landed property which constitute him as YEOMAN, as a free working petty landowner or tenant (*colonus*), i.e. as a free peasant. //The dissolution of the even more ancient forms of communal property and of real community needs no special mention.// Or they can take the form of the dissolution of guild relations, which presuppose the worker's property in the instrument of labour and labour itself, determined as a certain form of artisanal skill, not merely as the source of property but as property itself. Lastly, they can take the form of the dissolution of the various client relationships, in which *non-proprietors* appear as co-consumers of the surplus produce in the retinue of their lord, and in return wear his livery, participate in his feuds, perform real or imaginary acts of personal service, etc.

Closer examination of all these processes of dissolution will show that relations of production are dissolved in which use value, i.e. production for immediate use, predominates and in which exchange value and its production presuppose the predominance of the other form. Thus in all the above relationships, deliveries in kind and labour services predominate over money payments and services remunerated by money. All this by the way. Closer examination will also reveal that all the relations dissolved were possible only at a certain level of development of the material (and therefore also of the mental) forces of production.

What immediately concerns us here is the following. The process of dissolution which turns a mass of individuals in a nation, etc., into δυνάμει[a] free wage workers—that is into individuals obliged to work and to sell their labour merely by their lack of property—does *not* presuppose the *disappearance* of these individuals' previous sources of income and (in part) of their previous conditions of property. On the contrary, it presupposes that *only* their use has changed, that their mode of being has been transformed, that they have passed into other hands as a *free fund,* or perhaps that they have partly remained in *the same* hands. But

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[a] Potentially.— *Ed.*

this much is clear. The same process which has *d'une manière* OR *d'une autre* separated a mass of individuals from their previous affirmative relations to the *objective conditions of labour,* which has negated these relations and thereby transformed these individuals into *free workers,* that same process has liberated δυνάμει these *objective conditions of labour* (land, raw material, means of subsistence, instruments of labour, money, or all of these) from their *previous ties* to the individuals who are now separated from them. They are still *present,* but present in a different form, as a *free fund,* one in which all the old political, etc., RELATIONS are obliterated, and which now confront those separated, propertyless individuals merely in the form of *values,* of values maintaining themselves and each other.

The same process which confronts the masses of free workers with the *objective conditions of labour,* has also put them face to face with these conditions as [V-11] *capital.* The historical process was one of the separation of hitherto combined elements; its result is therefore not the disappearance of one of these elements, but that each of them appears negatively related to the other: the (potentially) free worker on the one hand, (potential) capital on the other. The separation of the objective conditions on the part of the classes which have been transformed into free workers, must appear just as much at the opposite pole as the attainment of independence by these same conditions.

If we consider the relationship of capital and wage labour not as something which is already of decisive importance, determining the character of production as a whole (for in this case capital, presupposed as the condition of wage labour, is the product of wage labour, and presupposed by wage labour itself as its condition, created by wage labour as its own presupposition), but as still in the stage of historical evolution—i.e. if we consider the original transformation of money into capital, the process of exchange between capital still existing only δυνάμει on the one hand, and the free workers existing δυνάμει on the other—then of course one cannot help making the simple observation, about which the economists make a great fuss—namely that the side which appears as capital must possess enough raw materials, instruments of labour and means of subsistence to enable the worker to live while producing, before production is completed.

This, moreover, takes the form that accumulation—an accumulation prior to labour and not arising from labour—must have taken place on the part of the capitalist, which enables him to set the worker to work and to maintain him in activity, as living

labour capacity.* This action of capital, which is independent of and not posited by labour, is then further transferred from this history of its origin into the present, and transformed into a factor of its reality and effectiveness, of its self-formation. Ultimately it is from this that the eternal right of capital to the fruit of other men's labour is derived, or rather the mode of appropriation of capital is deduced from the simple and "just" laws of the exchange of equivalents.

Wealth present in the form of money can only be exchanged for the objective conditions of labour, because and if these have been separated from labour itself. We have seen that money can in part be accumulated by the simple exchange of equivalents; however, this is so insignificant a source that historically it is not worth mention—assuming, that is, that this money has been gained by the exchange of one's own labour. It is rather money accumulated by usury—especially usury inflicted on landed property—and mobile (monetary) wealth accumulated through mercantile profits, that turns into capital in the proper sense, into industrial capital. We will have occasion to say more about both forms below—that is, in so far as they themselves appear, not as forms of capital, but as prior forms of wealth which are the prerequisites for capital.

As we have seen, it is inherent in the concept of capital—in its origin—that it begins with *money,* and therefore with wealth in the form of money. It is likewise inherent in it that it appears as emerging from circulation, as the *product* of circulation. Capital formation does not therefore arise from landed property (it could only arise from a *tenant farmer* in so far as he is also a trader in farm produce), nor from the guild (though the latter also provides a possibility), but from merchants' and usurers' wealth. But this wealth only encounters the conditions which permit the purchase

* Once capital and wage labour are posited as their own presupposition, as the basis presupposed to production itself, then what appears initially is that the capitalist, in addition to the fund of raw material and means of labour required for the worker to reproduce himself, to produce the necessary means of subsistence, i.e. to realise *necessary labour,* must possess a fund of raw material and means of labour in which the worker realises his surplus labour, i.e. the capitalist's profit. Further analysis reveals that the worker is constantly creating a double fund for the capitalist, or in the form of capital, one part of which constantly fulfils the conditions of his own existence, and the other, the conditions of the existence of capital. As we have seen, in surplus capital—and surplus capital in its relation to its antediluvian relation to labour—all *real, present capital,* each of its elements, has been uniformly *appropriated* as objectified *alien labour,* appropriated by capital, without exchange, without an equivalent being given in return.

of free labour, once free labour has been detached from its objective conditions of existence as a result of an historical process. Only then does it also become possible to buy these *conditions* themselves. Under the guild system, for instance, mere money (unless it is guild money, money of the masters) cannot purchase looms in order to put men to work on them. There are regulations determining how many looms one man may operate, etc. In short, the instrument itself is still so intimately linked to living labour, of which it appears as the domain, that it does not truly circulate.

What enables monetary wealth to turn into capital is, on the one hand, the availability of free workers, and on the other, the availability of means of subsistence, materials, etc., which were hitherto *d'une manière ou d'une autre* the *property* of the now objectiveless masses, but are now likewise *free* and for sale.

However, the other condition of labour—a certain craft skill, the existence of the instrument as a means of labour, etc.—is *already available* to capital in this, its preliminary or first period. This is partly the result of the urban guild system, partly of domestic industry, or of such industry as exists as an accessory to agriculture. The historical process is not the result of capital, but its prerequisite. By means of this process, the capitalist then insinuates himself as a (historical) middleman between landed property, or between property generally, and labour. History knows nothing of the cosy legend according to which the capitalist and the worker form an association, etc.; [V-12] nor is there a trace of it in the development of the concept of capital. *Manufacture* may develop sporadically in a context belonging to quite a different period, as e.g. in the Italian cities where it developed *side by side* with the guilds. But if capital is to be the generally dominant form of an epoch, its conditions must be developed not merely locally, but on a large scale. (It is no contradiction of this that during the dissolution of the guilds, individual guild masters may turn into industrial capitalists; however, in the nature of the phenomenon, the case is rare. All in all, the entire guild system—both master and journeyman—dies out, where the capitalist and the worker arise.)

It goes without saying, and is borne out by closer analysis of the historical epoch which we are now discussing, that *the period of dissolution* of the earlier modes of production and the older relations of the worker to the objective conditions of labour, is *at the same time a period* in which *monetary wealth has* already developed to a certain extent, and also one in which it is rapidly

growing and expanding, through the same circumstances which accelerate this dissolution. Monetary wealth is itself one of the agents of that dissolution, just as that dissolution is the condition of its transformation into capital. But the *mere existence of monetary wealth,* even its conquest of a sort of SUPREMACY, is not sufficient for this *dissolution into capital* to occur. Otherwise ancient Rome, Byzantium, etc., would have concluded their history with free labour and capital, or rather, they would have begun a new [stage of] history. There the dissolution of the old relations of property was also linked to the development of monetary wealth—of commerce, etc. But IN FACT this dissolution did not result in industry but in the domination of the countryside over the city.

The *original formation of capital* does not, as is often supposed, occur in the form that capital *amasses* means of subsistence, instruments of labour and raw materials, in short, the *objective* conditions of labour detached from the soil and already fused with human labour.* Capital does not create the objective conditions of labour.

Its *original formation* occurs simply because the historical process of the dissolution of the old mode of production enables value, existing in the form of *monetary wealth,* to *buy* the objective conditions of labour on the one hand, and to exchange the *living* labour of the now free workers for money on the other.

All these moments are already present. Their separation is itself an historical process, a process of dissolution, and it is *this* which enables money to turn into *capital.* In so far as money itself plays a part in the process, it is only to the extent that it is itself a highly energetic agent of separation, and to that extent contributes to the creation of the *plucked,* objectiveless, *free workers.* It is certainly not by *creating* the objective conditions for their existence, but by helping to accelerate their separation from them, their propertylessness.

* Nothing would be more obviously and nonsensically circular than the argument that, on the one hand, the *workers* whom capital must set to work if it is to posit itself as capital, must first be *created* and called into life by *its* accumulation (waiting, as it were, for its "*Let* there be workers!"), while, on the other hand, capital could not *accumulate* without alien labour, could at most accumulate *its own labour,* i.e. that capital could itself exist in the form of *non-capital* and *non-money;* for prior to the existence of capital, labour can only realise itself in the form of handicraft work, of small-scale agriculture, etc., in short, only in forms in which *no* or only little *accumulation* is possible, which allow for only a small SURPLUS PRODUCE, and *consume* the greater part of that. In general, we shall have to look more closely at this concept of *accumulation* later.

For instance, when the great English landowners dismissed their RETAINERS, who had consumed with them the SURPLUS PRODUCE of their land; when their tenant farmers drove out the small cottagers, etc., then a mass of living labour power was thrown on to the *labour market,* a mass which was free in a double sense: free from the old client or bondage relationships and any obligatory services, and free also from all goods and chattels, from every objective and material form of being, *free from all property.* It was reduced either to the sale of its labour capacity or to beggary, vagabondage or robbery as its only source of income. History records that it tried the latter first, but was driven off this road and on to the narrow path which led to the labour market, by means of gallows, pillory and whip. In this way the *governments,* e.g. Henry VII, VIII, etc.,[139] appear as conditions of the historical process of dissolution and as creators of the conditions for the existence of capital.

On the other side, the means of subsistence, etc., formerly consumed by the lords with their RETAINERS, could now be obtained by money, and money wanted to purchase them in order THROUGH THEIR INSTRUMENTALITY to purchase labour. Money had neither *created* nor *accumulated* these means of subsistence. They were already present, were consumed and reproduced, before they were consumed and reproduced through the mediation of money. The only difference was, that these means of subsistence were now thrown on to the *exchange market.* They had now been released from their immediate connection with the mouths of the RETAINERS, etc., and transformed from use values into exchange values, thus falling into the domain and under the [V-13] sovereignty of monetary wealth.

It was the same with the instruments of labour. Monetary wealth neither invented nor manufactured spinning wheel and loom. But once they had been separated from their land, spinners and weavers with their wheels and looms came under the sway of monetary wealth, etc. *The only characteristic of capital is that it brings together the masses of hands and the instruments which are already there. It agglomerates them under its sway.* This is its *real accumulation*; the accumulation of workers along with their instruments at particular points. We shall have to go into this more deeply when we come to the so-called accumulation of capital.

Admittedly, monetary wealth in the form of merchants' wealth had helped to accelerate the dissolution of the old relations of production, and had e.g. enabled the landowner (as A. Smith has already nicely demonstrated) to exchange his corn, cattle, etc., for imported use values, instead of squandering his own production

with his RETAINERS, and measuring his wealth largely by their number.[a] Monetary wealth had increased for him the significance of the *exchange value* of his revenue. It did the same for his tenant farmers, who were already semi-capitalists, though in a rather disguised manner.

The evolution of exchange value, which is favoured by the existence of *money* in the form of the merchant estate, dissolves the production which is orientated mainly towards immediate use value and the forms of property which correspond to it—relations of labour to its objective conditions—thus giving an impetus to the creation of the *labour market* (not to be identified with the slave market). However, even this effect of money is possible only on the basis of an *urban industriousness,* which rests *not* on capital and wage labour, but on the organisation of labour in guilds, etc. Urban labour itself had created means of production for which the guilds became as great an encumbrance as were the old relations of landed property for agricultural improvement, which was in turn partly the result of the greater sale of agricultural products to the cities, etc. The other circumstances which e.g. in the 16th century increased the mass of circulating commodities as well as of money, created new needs and therefore raised the exchange value of native products, etc., increased prices, etc.—all these fostered the dissolution of the old relations of production, accelerated the separation of the worker or the able-bodied non-worker from the objective conditions of his reproduction, and thus hastened the transformation of money into capital.

Nothing is therefore more foolish than to conceive of the *original formation* of capital as having created and accumulated the *objective conditions of production*—means of subsistence, raw materials, instruments—and then having offered them to workers *stripped* of them. For it was monetary wealth which had partly helped to *strip* of these conditions the labour power of the individuals capable of work. In part this process of separation proceeded without the intervention of monetary wealth. Once the formation of capital had reached a certain level, monetary wealth could insinuate itself as mediator between the objective conditions of life thus become free and the freed but also *uprooted and dispossessed* living labour powers, and buy the one with the other. As regards the *formation of monetary wealth* itself, prior to its transformation into capital, this belongs to the prehistory of the

[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Book III, Chapter IV.—*Ed.*

bourgeois economy. Usury, trade, urbanisation and the development of government finance which these made possible, play the main role here. Also *hoarding* by tenant farmers, peasants, etc., though to a smaller extent.

Here we can see at the same time how trade everywhere mediates exchange and exchange value, a mediation which we can call trade—money acquires an independent existence in the merchant estate, as does circulation in trade—and how the development of exchange and exchange value brings about both the dissolution of *labour's relations of property in its* conditions of existence, and of *labour* itself *as one of the objective conditions of production.* All the relations [thus dissolved] express a predominance of use value and of production orientated towards immediate use as well as of a real community which is still in being as an immediate prerequisite of production.

Production based on exchange value and a community based on the exchange of these exchange values, however much they may appear (cf. the previous chapter on money) to posit property as the result only of *labour,* and to posit private property in the product of one's own labour as a condition [of labour], and thus to posit labour as a general precondition of wealth, actually presuppose and produce the separation of labour from its objective conditions. An exchange of equivalents occurs, [but it] is merely the surface layer of a [system of] production which rests on the appropriation of alien labour *without exchange,* but under the *guise of exchange.* This system of exchange has *capital* as its basis. If we consider it in isolation from capital, as it presents itself on the surface, as an *independent* system, we are subject to a mere *illusion,* though a *necessary one.*

It is therefore no longer surprising to find that the system of exchange values—the exchange of equivalents measured by labour—turns into, or rather reveals as its concealed background, the *appropriation of alien labour without exchange,* the total separation of labour and property. For the domination of exchange value and of production producing exchange values *presupposes* [V-14] alien labour capacity as itself an exchange value. I.e. it presupposes the separation of living labour capacity from its objective conditions. It presupposes relating to these—or to its own objectivity—as to alien property; in a word, relating to them as *capital.* The golden age of labour emancipating itself is confined to those periods when feudalism was in decay, but still engaged in internecine conflict, as in England in the 14th and the first half of the 15th centuries. If labour is once again to relate to its objective

conditions as to its property, another system must replace that of private exchange. For, as we have seen,[a] private exchange posits the exchange of objectified labour against labour capacity, and therefore the appropriation of living labour without exchange.

Historically, the transformation of money into capital often assumes quite simple and concrete forms. Thus, for instance, the merchant sets to work a number of spinners and weavers, who up to then carried on these activities as a rural secondary occupation, and turns their secondary into their principal occupation, whereby he has brought them under his sway as wage workers. The next step is to remove them from their homes and to assemble them in a work place. In this simple process it is evident that the merchant has prepared neither raw material nor instrument, nor means of subsistence for the spinner or the weaver. All he has done is gradually to confine them to one sort of labour, in which they become dependent on selling, on the *buyer,* on the *merchant,* and in which they eventually produce only *for* and *through* him. Originally he has bought their labour only by the purchase of their product. As soon as they confine themselves to the production of this exchange value, and must thus directly produce *exchange values* and exchange their labour wholly for money in order to survive, they come under his sway. In the end, even the illusion that they are *selling* him products disappears. He purchases their labour and takes away first their property in the product, before long in the instrument as well, unless he lets them have it as their *sham property* in order to diminish his own production costs.

*Manufacture* in the strict sense of the term (not yet the factory) is one of the original historical forms in which capital appears at first sporadically or *locally, alongside* the old modes of production, but gradually destroying them everywhere. Manufacture arises where there is mass production for export, i.e. on the *basis of large-scale maritime and overland trade,* in its emporia, such as the Italian cities, Constantinople, the Flemish and Dutch cities, a few Spanish ones like Barcelona, etc. It does not initially embrace the so-called *urban trades,* but the *rural secondary occupations,* spinning and weaving, the sort of work which requires the least craft skill and technical training. Outside these great emporia, in which it finds the basis of an *export* market, and where production is, as it were, *spontaneously* orientated towards exchange value—i.e. man-

[a] See this volume, pp. 384-87.—*Ed.*

ufactures directly connected with shipping, shipbuilding itself, etc.—manufacture first establishes itself not in the cities but in the countryside, in villages beyond the range of guild restrictions, etc. The rural secondary occupations provide the broad basis of manufacture, while urban trades require a high degree of progress in production before they can be organised on a factory basis. Likewise such branches of production as glassworks, metal factories, sawmills, etc., which right from the start require more concentration of labour power, utilise more natural power, and demand both mass production and a concentration of the means of labour, etc. Likewise papermills, etc.

On the other hand, the emergence of the tenant farmer and the transformation of the agricultural population into free day-labourers. Though this transformation in the country is the last to develop to its ultimate consequences and in its purest form, its origins are among the earliest.

The ancients, who never progressed beyond specifically urban craft industry, could therefore never evolve large-scale industries. For the first prerequisite of the latter is the involvement of the entire countryside in the production, not of use values, but of exchange values. Glassworks, papermills, ironworks, etc., cannot be organised on guild principles. They require mass production, sales on a general market, *monetary wealth* on the part of the entrepreneur. He does not create these conditions, whether subjective or objective; but under the old property and production relations these conditions cannot be brought together.

Gradually the dissolution of the relations of serfdom and the rise of manufacture transform all branches of production into branches operated by capital. Actually, the cities themselves contain one element for the formation of genuine wage labour—the day-labourers outside the guild system, the porters, etc.

[V-15] We have thus seen that the transformation of money into capital presupposes an historical process which has separated the objective conditions of labour from, and made them independent of, the worker. Once capital has come into being, the effect of its process is to subject all production to itself, and everywhere to develop and complete the separation between labour and property, between labour and the objective conditions of labour. In the course of the argument it will become clear how capital destroys craft labour, the smallholder working for himself, etc., and even itself in all those forms in which it does *not* appear in contradiction to labour: in *small-scale capital,* and the intermediate hybrid types between the old modes of production, which may

have renewed themselves on the basis of capital, and the classical, adequate modes of capitalist production.

The only accumulation which is a prerequisite for the rise of capital is that of *monetary wealth,* which, when considered in and for itself, is entirely unproductive, arising only from and belonging only to circulation. Capital rapidly creates for itself an internal market by destroying all rural secondary industries, i.e. by spinning and weaving for all, providing clothing for all, etc.; in short by turning the commodities formerly produced as immediate use values into the form of exchange values. This process arises of itself from the separation of the workers from the land and from property (perhaps only servile property) in the conditions of production.

Though the urban trades are essentially based on exchange and the creation of exchange values, the immediate, principal object of this production is not *enrichment* or *exchange value as exchange value,* but the *subsistence* [of the producer] as an *artisan,* as a *master craftsman,* i.e. use value. Production is therefore everywhere subordinate to a presupposed consumption, supply to demand, and it expands only slowly.

The *production of capitalists and wage workers is therefore a major product of the valorisation process of capital.* Ordinary political economy, which considers only the objects produced, entirely forgets this. In as much as this process posits objectified labour as simultaneously the *non-objectification* of the worker, as the objectification of a subjectivity confronting the worker, as the *property* of someone else's will, capital is necessarily also a *capitalist.* The idea of some socialists that we need capital but not capitalists,[90] is therefore completely false. It is inherent in the concept of capital that the objective conditions of labour—and these are its own product—acquire a *personality* confronting labour, or, and this amounts to the same thing, that they are posited as the property of a personality alien to the worker. The concept of capital contains the capitalist.

Still, this error is in no way greater than that of e.g. all those classicists who speak of the existence of *capital* in antiquity, and of Roman or Greek capitalists. This is merely another way of saying that in Rome and Greece labour was *free,* an assertion which these gentlemen would hardly wish to make. That we now not only describe the plantation-owners in America as capitalists, but that they *are* capitalists, is due to the fact that they exist as anomalies within a world market based upon free labour.

If our concern were with the word "capital", which does not occur in antiquity (though corresponding to the *principalis summa rei creditae*,[a] the Greek ἀρχαῖα),[b] then the still nomadic hordes with their flocks on the steppes of Central Asia would be the greatest capitalists, for the original meaning of the word "capital" is cattle. Hence the *métairie* contract[c] still common in the South of France because of the shortage of capital, is paradoxically called *bail de bestes à Chaptel*.[d] If one wants to indulge in a little bad Latin, then our capitalist or *Capitales Homines*[e] would be those "qui debent *censum de capite*".[f]

The conceptual analysis of capital entails difficulties which do not arise in that of money. Capital is essentially a *capitalist*; but at the same time it is *capital* as an element in the existence of the capitalist distinct from him, or as production in general. Thus we shall further find that in the term *capital* much is subsumed that does not appear to belong to the concept. E.g. capital is loaned. It is accumulated, etc. In all these relations it appears to be a mere thing, and entirely to coincide with the matter of which it consists. However, this and other problems will be clarified as the argument proceeds.

(Incidentally let us note for the sake of amusement: the good Adam Müller, who takes all figurative phrases very mystically, has also heard of *living capital* in ordinary life, as opposed to *dead capital*, and rationalises this theosophically.[g] King Athelstan could have enlightened him about this: "Reddam de meo proprio decimas Deo tam in *Vivente Capitali*, quam in *mortuis fructibus terrae*."[h])

Money always retains the same form in the same substratum, and is therefore more readily conceived as a mere thing. But one and the same thing, a commodity, money, etc., can represent capital or income, etc. Thus even the economists recognise that money is nothing tangible, but that the same thing can be

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[a] The principal of a loan.— *Ed.*

[b] See Ch. D. Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* ..., Vol. II, Paris, 1842, pp. 139-42.— *Ed.*

[c] Crop-sharing.— *Ed.*

[d] Contract of leasing cattle.— *Ed.*

[e] Headmen.— *Ed.*

[f] Who have to pay a *head tax*.— *Ed.*

[g] A. H. Müller, *Die Elemente der Staatskunst*, Part I, Berlin, 1809, pp. 226-41.— *Ed.*

[h] "I shall give a tithe of my property to God, both in *living cattle* and in the *dead fruits of the soil*." Marx quotes from Du Cange's *Glossarium etc.*— *Ed.*

subsumed now under the determination of capital, now under some other and quite contrary determination, and accordingly that it *is* capital, or *is not* capital. It is thus evidently a *relation* and *can only* be *a relation of production.*

[V-16][a]//One further remark on the above:

The exchange of equivalents, which appears to imply property in the product of one's own labour—and therefore also to imply that one must posit as identical *appropriation by means of labour,* the real economic process of appropriating, and *property in objectified* labour (what previously appeared as a real process here appears as legal relation, i.e. is recognised as a general condition of production, and hence legally recognised as such, posited as expression of the general will)—is reversed, manifests itself by a necessary dialectic as the absolute separation of labour and property and the appropriation of alien labour without exchange, without equivalent. Production based on exchange value, on the surface of which that free and equal exchange of equivalents takes place, is basically the exchange of *objectified labour* as exchange value for living labour as use value; or, as it may also be expressed, labour relating to its objective conditions—and hence to the objectivity created by labour itself—as to alien property: *the alienation of labour.* On the other hand, the condition of exchange value is that it is measured by labour time, and thus living labour—not its value—is the measure of values. It is a DELUSION to believe that production in all its forms and hence society rests upon the *exchange of mere labour for labour.* In the various forms in which labour relates itself to its conditions of production as to its property, the reproduction of the worker is in no way posited *merely by labour,* for his property relationship is not the result but the presupposition of his labour. In the case of landed property this is clearly the case. It must also become clear in the case of the guild system that the particular type of property which labour creates is not based merely upon labour or the exchange of labour, but upon the objective connection of the worker with a community and with conditions which he finds already in existence, from which he proceeds as his basis. They are also products of a labour, of world-historical labour, of the labour of the community. They are products of its historical development, which does not proceed from the labour of individuals or from

[a] Page 16 of Notebook V begins with a passage relating to the next section of the Chapter on Capital (see this volume, p. 439).—*Ed.*

the exchange of their labours. Therefore mere labour is not the presupposition of the realisation [of the product]. A condition in which labour is simply exchanged for labour—whether in the form of immediate activity or in that of product—implies the separation of labour from its original intertwinement with its objective conditions. As a result, labour appears on the one hand as mere labour, and on the other its product as objectified labour acquires a completely independent existence as value confronting [living] labour. *The exchange of labour for labour—apparently the condition for the property of the worker—is based on his propertylessness.*//

(The *most extreme form of estrangement* in which—in the relationship of capital to wage labour—labour, productive activity, appears to its own conditions and its own product, is a necessary transitional stage. This form therefore already contains *in itself,* but as yet only in inverted form, the dissolution of all *conditions restricting production,* and creates and produces the unconditional premisses for production, and hence all the material conditions for the total, universal development of the productive powers of the individual. This will be considered later.)

[CIRCUIT AND TURNOVER OF CAPITAL]

We have seen how the true nature of capital only emerges *at the end of its circulation.*[a]

We must now consider *circulation* itself or the *turnover of capital.* Initially, production appeared to lie beyond circulation and circulation beyond production. The circulation of capital—circulation posited as circulation of capital—embraces both moments. In that circulation, production appears both as the end point of circulation and as its point of departure and vice versa. Now both the independence of circulation and the remote isolation of production from it are reduced to a mere semblance.[b]

The circulation of money set out from an infinite number of points and returned at an infinite number of points. The point of return was in no way posited as the point of departure. In the circulation of capital, the point of departure is posited as the point of return, and the point of return as the point of departure. The capitalist himself is the point of departure and the point of return. He exchanges money for the conditions of production, produces

[a] See this volume, pp. 384-87.—*Ed.*

[b] The above two paragraphs are on page 16 of Notebook V.—*Ed.*

the product, and valorises it, i.e. converts it into money and recommences the process. The circulation of money considered for itself is necessarily extinguished in money as a static thing. The circulation of capital is a continuously self-igniting process, divides itself into its different moments, and is a perpetuum mobile. On the side of the circulation of money price is posited purely formally, in so far as *value* is presupposed independently of that circulation. The circulation of capital *posits price,* not only formally but really, in so far as it posits value.

If value itself appears within it as presupposition, it can only be as *value posited* by another capital. The circulation of money follows a path whose width has been measured in advance, and the circumstances which accelerate or retard it are external impulses. Capital in its circulation expands both itself and [V-17] its path, and the rapidity or slowness with which it circulates is one of the intrinsic moments of that path. It is qualitatively changed in circulation, and the totality of the moments of its circulation are themselves the moments of its production—of its reproduction as well as of its new production.

//We have seen how, at the end of the second curcuit, i.e. [at the stage] of surplus value which is employed as surplus capital, the illusion disappears that the capitalist exchanges with the worker anything other than a part of the latter's own, objectified labour. Within the mode of production already founded on capital itself, the part of the individual capital which represents raw material and instrument of course appears for that capital as a value *presupposed* to it and similarly presupposed to the *living labour* which it purchases. These two items turn out to be posited by *alien capital,* hence again by *capital,* but by another one. One capitalist's raw material is the other's product. One capitalist's product is the other's raw material. One capitalist's *instrument* is the other's product, and may even serve as raw material for the production of another instrument. Thus what appears as a presupposition in the individual capital, what we have called constant value, is nothing but the presupposition of capital by capital, i.e. the capitals in the different branches of industry posit one another as presupposition and condition. Each capital considered for itself can be resolved into dead labour as *value become independent* vis-à-vis living labour. In the last analysis, none of them contains anything other than labour—apart from the natural substances, which do not possess value. The discussion at this point must not be diverted by the introduction of *many* capitals. Indeed, the relationship of the *many* capitals will become

clear when what they all have in common, their quality of being capital, has been analysed.//

The circulation of capital is simultaneously its becoming, its growth, its life-process. If anything can be compared to the circulation of blood, it was not the formal circulation of money, but the circulation of capital, which really has a content of its own.

If circulation presupposes production at all points, and is the circulation of products, whether money or commodity—and products everywhere emerge from the process of production, which is itself the process of capital—it follows that the circulation of money itself is determined by the circulation of capital, while it previously appeared to run *alongside* the process of production. We shall return to this point.

If we now consider circulation or the turnover of capital as a whole, the process of production and circulation itself appear as the two great distinctions within that process, both as moments of capital's circulation. How long capital remains within the sphere of the process of production depends upon the technological conditions of the process; and the time capital stays in this phase directly coincides with the development of the productive forces—however much its length must vary according to the type of production, its object, etc. The duration here is simply the labour time necessary for the manufacture of the product. (Wrong!)[140] The shorter the labour time necessary, the greater is relative surplus value, as we have seen. It is the same if less labour time is required for a given quantity of products, or if in a given labour time more finished products are supplied. The reduction of the time during which a certain amount of capital remains in the process of production and is thus taken out of circulation proper, EMBARGOED as it were,[a] coincides with the reduction of the labour time necessary for the manufacture of a product, [which comes] with the development of the productive forces, both through the application of natural forces and machinery, and through the natural powers of social labour—the agglomeration of workers, combination and division of labour. Hence in this respect, no new moment seems to enter the process. However, if we remember that the part of the individual capital which constitutes raw material and instrument (means of labour) is the product of an alien capital, it becomes clear that the speed with which it can renew the process of production is at the same time determined by

[a] Marx has "embarked".— *Ed.*

the development of the productive forces in all other branches of industry. This becomes quite clear if one supposes the same capital to produce its raw materials, its instruments and its final products. The length of time during which capital remains in the phase of the production process, itself becomes a moment of circulation, if we presuppose *various* capitals. But we are not yet concerned with the *many* capitals. This moment therefore does not belong here.

The second moment is the time which elapses between the completed transformation of capital into the product and its transformation into money. Obviously, the frequency with which capital can recommence the process of production, of self-valorisation, in a given period of time depends upon the speed at which this phase is run through, or on its duration.

If a capital of originally, say, 100 thaler turns over four times a year, and each time it is turned over at a profit of 5% of its value without the re-capitalisation of the new value, it is the same as if a capital 4 times as large, 400, at the same percentage, were to turn over *once* in one year. [The profit] in each case 20 thaler.

The velocity of the turnover—assuming that the other conditions of production remain the same—therefore compensates for the [smaller] *volume* of capital. In other words, if [V-18] a value 4 times smaller is realised as capital 4 times in the same period in which a 4 times greater value is realised as capital only once, the profit—the production of surplus value—on the part of the smaller capital is as great—*at least as great*—as on the part of the larger one. We say "at least", although it may actually be greater, because the surplus value itself can be employed as surplus capital.

E.g. assume that the profit on a capital of 100 is 10% each time it is turned over (for the sake of the calculation *this form* of surplus value is anticipated). Then [with 4 turnovers a year] at the end of the first three months the capital of 100 would be 110; at the end of the second three months 121; at the end of the third three months $133\,^{1}/_{10}$; and at the end of the fourth three months $146\,^{41}/_{100}$. Yet a capital of 400 turned over once a year [at the same rate of profit] would only be 440. In the first case the profit$=46\,^{41}/_{100}$, in the second case only$=40$. (The presupposition is incorrect in so far as the rate of profit *changes* with each increase in the volume of capital. But the issue here is not to show how much more than 40 it brings in, but the fact that in the first case it brings in more than 40—and it does.)

In our discussion of the circulation of money[a] we have already

[a] See this volume, p. 130.—*Ed.*

encountered the law of the compensation of speed by mass and vice versa. It applies as much to production as it does to mechanics. We shall have to return to it when we come to discuss the equalisation of profit rates, prices, etc. The question which concerns us here is this: does not a moment of value determination come in here which is independent of labour, a moment which does not directly take its origin from labour but from circulation itself?

//The role of *credit* in ironing-out differences in the turnover of capital does not belong here yet. But the question itself does belong here, because it arises from the simple concept of capital—considered in general.//

The greater frequency of the turnover of capital in a given period of time resembles the more frequent repetition of the harvest in the more southerly countries compared to the more northerly ones in the course of the natural year. As already pointed out above,[a] we are here completely abstracting from the difference in the time during which capital must remain in the phase of production—in the process of productive valorisation. Just as the corn put as seed into the soil loses its immediate use value, is *devalued* as immediate use value, capital is *devalued* during the period between the completion of the process of production and its reconversion into money and thence back into capital.//The speed with which a particular capital can reconvert itself from its form as money into the conditions of production—the worker himself is not subsumed under these conditions of production, as in slavery, but rather the exchange with him—depends both on the speed and continuity of the production sustained by the other capitals which supply this particular capital with its raw material and instrument, as well as on the availability of workers. With regard to the latter, a relative surplus population is the most favourable condition for capital.//

//Quite apart from capital *a*'s production process, the speed and continuity of production process *b* appears as a moment which conditions the reconversion of capital *a* from the form of money into that of industrial capital. The duration of the *process of production* of capital *b* thus appears as a moment *of the rapidity of the process of circulation* of capital *a*. The duration of the production phase of the one determines the speed of the circulation phase of the other. Their *simultaneity* is a condition for the circulation of *a* not to be obstructed—its own elements for

[a] See this volume, p. 442.—*Ed.*

which it must be exchanged must simultaneously be thrown into production and circulation.

E.g. in the last third of the 18th century, hand-spinning could not supply the required volume of raw material for weaving—or, which is the same thing, spinning could not put flax or cotton through the process of production, convert them into yarn, with the required simultaneity or simultaneous speed. The result was the invention of spinning machinery which supplied an incomparably greater output in the same labour time or, which is the same thing, required an incomparably shorter labour time to produce the same output, required an incomparably shorter stay [of the raw material] in the spinning process. All the moments of capital which appear involved in it, if it is considered according to its general concept, acquire an independent reality, and moreover become manifest only when it appears in its reality as many capitals. Only then does its internal living structure, which is created within and through competition, develop on a broader scale.//

If we consider the turnover of capital in its entirety, there appear to be four moments of it; or the two major moments of the process of production and the process of circulation considered as two moments, each of which contains a duality. We can begin our discussion with either circulation or production. This much has already been said that circulation itself is a moment of production, since only through circulation does capital become capital; and production is merely a moment of circulation, in so far as circulation itself is considered as the totality of the process of production.

The moments are: (I) The real process of production and its duration. [V-19] (II) Conversion of the product into money. Duration of this operation. (III) Conversion of the money into the appropriate proportions of raw material, means of labour and labour, in short into the elements of capital as productive capital. (IV) The exchange of a part of capital for the living labour capacity can and must be considered a special moment of the process, since the labour market is regulated by other laws than the PRODUCE MARKET, etc. In the labour market, population is the main factor, not absolute but relative population. Moment (I) does not come into consideration here, as already stated, since it coincides with the conditions of valorisation in general. Moment (III) can only be considered when we are dealing not with capital in general but with many capitals. Moment (IV) belongs to the section on wages, etc.

Here we are only concerned with moment II. In the circulation of money, there was only a formal alternation of exchange value as money and commodity. Here, *money and the commodity are a condition of production*; in the final analysis, the process of production. The very contents of the moments [of circulation] are different here. The difference in capital turnover, as it is posited in II, since it depends neither on greater difficulty in the exchange with labour, nor on delays resulting from the non-simultaneous presence of raw material and means of labour in circulation, nor on the different duration of the production process, could only be due to greater difficulties in valorisation. This is obviously not an immanent case arising from the relationship itself, but coincides here, where we are considering capital in general, with what we have said about devaluation as a concomitant of valorisation.[a]

No business is founded on the principle that it can sell its products *with greater difficulty* than another business. If this [difficulty] resulted from a smaller market [for the product], a smaller capital—not a larger, as assumed—would be invested in it than in the business with a larger market. It could be connected, however, with the *greater geographical distance of the market* and hence the later RETURN. The longer time required by capital *a* for its valorisation is due here to the greater geographical distance it must travel after the process of production in order to be exchanged as *C* for *M*.

But suppose we have a product which is produced for export to China: is it not reasonable to argue that the product is only finished, only emerges from its process of production, when it has actually reached the Chinese market? The costs of valorisation would rise by the costs of transporting it from England to China. (We cannot yet discuss here the compensation for the longer fallow period of the capital, because this presupposes the secondary and derived forms of surplus value, i.e. interest.) In this case the production costs would resolve into the labour time objectified in the immediate process of production+the labour time contained in transport.

The first question which now arises is this: according to the principles we have so far established, can a surplus value be extracted from the transport costs? Let us deduct the constant part of capital used up in transporting [the commodity], i.e. ship, wagon, etc., and everything that pertains to their application, since

[a] See this volume, pp. 329-30.—*Ed.*

these elements are not relevant to the question and it is immaterial whether we posit them as=0 or=$x$. Now, is it possible that surplus labour is embodied in the transport costs, and that capital can extract surplus value from them? The question may be simply answered by another question: what is the necessary labour or the value in which it is objectified?

The product must pay for (1) its own exchange value, which is the labour objectified in it; (2) the surplus time which the sailor, the carrier, etc., employs in transportation. Whether or not he can extract this depends on the wealth of the country to which he exports the product and on the need for it, i.e. on the use value which the product has in that country. In direct production it is clear that all the surplus labour which the manufacturer compels the worker to perform is surplus value for him, for it is labour objectified in new use values which costs him nothing. But clearly he cannot stretch the time used for transporting [the product] beyond the time actually required. If he did so, he would throw labour time away, not valorise it, i.e. he would not objectify it in a use value. If the sailor, the carrier, etc., needs to work for only half a year to obtain a year's subsistence (assuming that this is GENERALLY the ratio of necessary [to total] labour), the capitalist employs him for a whole year and only pays him for half a year. By adding a whole year's labour time to the value of the transported products but paying only for half a year, he gains a surplus value of 100% on the necessary labour. It is the same as in direct production, and the original surplus value on the transported product can only derive from the fact that a part of the transport time worked by the workers *is not paid for,* because it is surplus time, time *over and above* that which is necessary for them to live.

That a single product could be made so dear by transport costs that it could not be exchanged—because of the disproportion between the value of the product and its additional value as a transported product, the latter being a quality which is extinguished in it as soon as it has reached its destination—does not affect the matter. If a manufacturer set the whole of his machinery into operation to spin 1 lb. of TWIST, the value of this lb. would likewise rise to such an extent that it would hardly find a ready sale. The rise in the price of foreign products and their limited consumption in the Middle Ages, etc., stem precisely from this cause.

Whether I extract metals from the mines or take commodities to the places where they are consumed, both equally represent a

spatial [V-20] movement. Improvements in the means of transport and communication likewise fall into the category of the development of the productive forces in general. This is not the place to discuss the fact that the extent to which products can bear transport costs may depend on their value; or that, moreover, commercial traffic on a massive scale is necessary if transport costs are to be reduced—a ship of 100 tons capacity can carry 2 or 100 tons of freight at the same production costs, etc.—and if means of communication are to be commercially profitable, etc. (Nevertheless, it will be necessary to devote a separate section to the means of communication, since they constitute a form of *capital fixe,* which has its own laws of valorisation.)

If we assume that the same capital performs the functions of both production and transportation, both would be subsumed under immediate production, and circulation as we have considered it so far, i.e. conversion of the product into money as soon as the product has acquired its final form for use, the form in which it is suitable for circulation, would begin only when the product had been brought to its place of destination. This capitalist's delayed RETURN as compared to that of another, who sold his product locally, would resolve into another form of greater use of *capital fixe,* with which we are not as yet concerned. Whether capitalist *A* needs 100 thaler more for his instrument than *B* or whether he must spend 100 thaler more on bringing his product to its place of destination, to its market, is the same thing. In both cases greater *capital fixe* is required [by *A*], more *means* of production which are consumed in direct production. Thus from this aspect no immanent CASE [belonging to circulation proper] would be posited here; it would have to be considered in connection with the distinction between *capital fixe* and *capital circulant.*

Nevertheless, one additional moment does enter here: the *costs of circulation* which are not contained in the simple concept of circulation and do not as yet concern us. The *costs of circulation* which derive from circulation as an economic act—as a relation of production, not as directly a moment of production as is the case of the *means of transport and communication,* can be properly discussed only when we come to interest and especially to credit. Circulation, in the sense in which we are considering it, is a process of transformation, a qualitative process of value, as it appears in the different forms of money, production process, product, reconversion into money and surplus capital. This

process of transformation as such concerns us here in so far as this transition from one determination into the other produces new determinations. The costs of circulation are not necessarily included e.g. in the transition from product to money. They could be=0.

However, in so far as circulation itself involves costs, requires surplus labour, it appears as itself included in the process of production. In this respect circulation appears as a moment of the direct production process. In the case of production directed towards immediate use, and exchanging only the surplus, the costs of circulation are incurred only in relation to that surplus, not to the main product. The more production comes to be based on exchange value, and thus on exchange, the more important for production do the physical conditions of exchange become—the means of communication and transport. By its very nature, capital strives to go beyond every spatial limitation. Hence the creation of the physical conditions of exchange—of the means of communication and transport—becomes a necessity for it to an incomparably greater degree: space must be annihilated by time. In so far as the immediate product can be valorised on a mass scale in distant markets only to the extent that transport costs decline, and in so far as, on the other hand, means of transport and communication themselves can only function as spheres of valorisation, of labour organised by capital, to the extent that commercial traffic takes place on a massive scale—whereby more than the necessary labour is replaced—the production of cheap means of transport and communication is a condition of production based on capital, and *therefore* they are produced by it. All the labour which is required to put the finished product into circulation—it is in economic circulation only when it is on the market—is regarded by capital as a barrier to be overcome. Likewise all labour required as *condition* for the process of production (such as e.g. costs incurred to ensure the security of the exchange, etc.).

Water transport, along a self-propelling route, is the means of transportation κατ' ἐξοχήν[a] of all trading peoples. On the other hand, roads for communication were originally the responsibility of the community; later, for a long time, they became the responsibility of the government. They represented pure deductions from production, coming out of the common surplus product of the country but not constituting a source of its wealth, i.e. they did not cover their production costs. In the original Asiatic SELF-SUSTAINING

[a] Par excellence.— *Ed.*

communities there was on the one hand no need for roads; on the other hand, their lack kept the communities totally isolated, and hence constituted an essential moment of their unchanging survival (as in India). The building of roads by means of forced labour or through taxation, which is another form of forced labour, amounts to the compulsory conversion of a part of surplus labour or the surplus product of the country into roads. If an individual capital is to assume that function, i.e. to produce the conditions of the process of *production* which do not fall immediately within that process, it must be possible for the labour [involved in road building] to be valorised.

A definite road between points *A* and *B* (assuming that the land [on which it is constructed] does not cost anything) contains [V-21] a definite quantity of labour, and hence of value. It is immaterial whether the capitalist or the State has organised its construction. Does the capitalist therefore derive a profit from it by creating surplus labour and therefore surplus value?[a] First strip off what is PUZZLING about the road and arises from its nature as *capital fixe.* Imagine that the road could be sold AT ONCE, like a coat or a ton of iron. If it takes, say, 12 months to produce the road, its value=12 months. If the GENERAL STANDARD OF LABOUR is such that the worker can live [for a year] on, say, six months' objectified labour, then, if the worker built the entire road, he would produce surplus value to the amount of 6 months of labour for himself. Or if the community built the road, and the worker wished to work only for the necessary time, another worker would have to be engaged for six months. But the capitalist compels the one worker to work for 12 months and pays him 6. The part of the road's value which contains the worker's surplus labour constitutes the profit of the capitalist. The specific form in which the product appears need in no way upset the foundation of the theory of value through objectified labour time.

But the question is precisely: can the capitalist valorise the road, can he realise its value by means of exchange? This question can of course be asked about any product, but it assumes a special form in relation to the general conditions of production. Let us assume that the road is not valorised. But it is built because it represents a necessary use value. How does the matter stand then?

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[a] Here Marx crossed out the following passage: "Certainly not! Where then does his profit come from? The public pays him interest and profit. So far as the road facilitates production and exchange, it is a productive force, not value—use value for the act of production."—*Ed.*

It must be built and paid for—in so far as its production costs must be given in exchange for it. It only comes into existence through the consumption of a certain amount of labour, means of labour, raw materials, etc. It makes no difference whether it is built by means of forced labour or taxes. It is built only because it is a necessary use value for the community, because it needs it *à tout prix.*[a]

This is certainly a surplus labour which the individual must perform over and above the labour directly necessary for his own subsistence, whether it takes the form of forced labour or the mediated form of taxes. But in so far as the road is necessary for the community and for each individual *as a member* of it, it is not surplus labour which he performs but a part of his *necessary* labour, of the labour which is necessary for him to reproduce himself as a *member of the community* and hence to reproduce the community, which is itself a general condition of his productive activity.

If the labour time were wholly consumed in direct production (or, indirectly expressed, if it were impossible to levy surplus taxes for this particular purpose), the road would have to remain unbuilt. If the whole society were considered as a single individual, necessary labour would consist of the sum of all the particular functions of labour which are made independent by the division of labour. The single individual would have to spend e.g. so much time for agriculture, so much for industry, so much for trade, so much for the production of instruments, and so much, to return to our bugbear, for road construction and means of communication. All these necessary activities resolve into certain quantities of labour time which must be directed to different purposes and spent on particular activities. How much labour time can be employed depends on the amount of labour capacity (=the mass of able-bodied individuals who constitute the society) and on the development of the productive power of labour (on the quantity of products which it can produce in a given time).

Exchange value, which presupposes a more or less developed division of labour, depending on the level of exchange itself, also presupposes that, instead of the single individual (the society) performing different kinds of labour, spending his labour time in different forms, the labour time of every individual is devoted solely to the necessary particular functions. When we speak of *necessary labour time,* the particular separate branches of labour

[a] At any cost.— *Ed.*

appear as *necessary* [for one another]. This reciprocal necessity is mediated by exchange on the basis of exchange value, and is manifested precisely by the fact that each particular objectified labour, each particular specified and materialised labour time is exchanged for the product and symbol of general labour time, of objectified labour time pure and simple, i.e. for money, and can then be exchanged again for any particular labour. This necessity is itself subject to change, in that needs are produced just as much as products and the various craft skills. The scope of these needs and necessary labours may expand or contract.

The more the needs which are themselves historically produced, the needs produced by production itself, the social needs which are themselves the OFFSPRING of SOCIAL PRODUCTION and INTERCOURSE—the more these needs are posited as *necessary,* the higher the development of real wealth. Considered as *physical matter,* wealth consists merely in the multiplicity of needs. The crafts themselves do not appear *necessary* alongside SELF-SUSTAINING AGRICULTURE, where spinning, weaving, etc., are carried on as domestic sidelines. But if e.g. agriculture itself [V-22] is based upon scientific cultivation; if it requires machines, chemical fertilisers available through trade, seeds imported from distant countries, etc.; if—as all this implies—rural patriarchal manufacture has disappeared, then the machine-making factory, foreign trade, crafts, etc., appear as *needs* for agriculture. Perhaps guano can be obtained for it only by exporting silks. Thus silk manufacture no longer appears as a luxury industry, but as an industry necessary for agriculture. In this case, agriculture no longer finds the conditions for its own production within itself, provided by nature. These now exist outside it as independent industries, and with this outside existence, the whole complex set of interconnections in which these alien industries exist is drawn into the sphere of the conditions of agricultural production. It is chiefly and essentially owing to this that what earlier appeared as luxury is now necessary, and that so-called luxury needs appear e.g. as a necessity for the most natural industry rooted in the most basic natural need.

It is the tendency of capital to remove the natural ground from the foundation of every industry, and to transfer the conditions of its production outside it to a general context. Hence the conversion of what previously appeared superfluous into necessities, things whose necessity is a product of history. Universal exchange itself, i.e. the world market and hence the totality of activity, intercourse, needs, etc., of which it consists, becomes the

universal foundation of all industries. *Luxury* is the opposite of *natural necessities.* Necessary needs are those of the individual reduced to a natural subject. The development of industry abolishes both natural necessity and luxury—though in bourgeois society it does so only in *antithetical form,* in that it itself only posits a particular social standard as the measure of what is necessary as against what is luxury.

At what point are these questions of the *system of needs* and *system of labours* to be discussed? Will emerge in due course.

Let us return to our [example of the] road. If it can be built at all, it proves that society possesses the labour time (living and objectified labour) required for that purpose.

//It is of course assumed here that society follows a correct instinct. It could consume its seed and let its agricultural land lie fallow, in order to construct roads. But then it would not have accomplished the *necessary labour,* because by this labour it would not *reproduce* itself, not maintain itself as living labour capacity. Or living labour capacity could also be directly murdered, as Peter I did in order to build St. Petersburg. This sort of thing does not belong here.//

Why is it then that, when production based on exchange value and the division of labour develops, road construction does not immediately become the private business of individuals? And it is not private business when it is carried on by the State by means of taxes. *D'abord,* society, the associated individuals, may possess surplus time with which to construct the road, but only in association. The association is always the aggregation of that part of labour capacity which the individual can employ on road construction apart from his particular work. But it is *not merely* its aggregation. The unification of their forces increases their *productive power.* But this does not mean at all that the labour capacity of the individuals numerically added together, but not employed in *working together,* would be the same. For to the sum of individual labour capacities is added that *surplus* which only exists in and through their *associated, combined labour.* Hence the forcible herding together of the people in Egypt, Etruria, India, etc., for compulsory labour on buildings and public works. Capital brings about the same concentration in *another* way, by the manner of its exchange with free labour.

//That capital is not concerned with isolated but with combined labour, just as it is in and for itself a social, combined force, is a point which can perhaps already be discussed here, in the general history of the emergence of capital.//

*Secondly*: The population may have developed to a sufficiently high level on the one hand, and on the other the aid given to it by the application of machinery, etc., may have been developed to such an extent that the productive power arising simply from material *concentration on a mass scale*—and in ancient times it was always this *massive* effect of the compulsory concentration of labour [which counted]—is now superfluous, and a *relatively* smaller *mass of living labour* is necessary.

//The greater the extent to which production is still based on mere manual labour, on the use of muscle power, etc., in short on the physical exertion and labour of individuals, the more does any increase in *productive power* consist in their working together *on a mass scale.* In the semi-artistic crafts, the opposite aspects become important, particularisation and individualisation, the skilfulness of individual, uncombined labour. Capital in its true development combines [V-23] mass labour with skill, but in such a way that the former loses its physical power, and skill resides not in the worker, but in the machine and in the scientific combination of both in the FACTORY operating as a single whole. The social mind of labour acquires an objective existence outside the individual workers.//

A particular class of road workers which is employed by the State can emerge.[a] Or a part of the population who happen to be unemployed at the moment can be used for that purpose, working under a number of master-builders, etc. The latter, however, do not work as capitalists but as more highly educated *MENIALS.* (About the relation of this skilled labour, etc., later.) The workers are wage workers in this situation, although they are not employed as such by the State, but as MENIAL SERVANTS.

Now, for the capitalist to undertake road construction as a business, at his expense, different conditions are necessary, which all amount to this, that the mode of production based on capital must have already been developed to its highest level. //If the

[a] Here Marx has the following digression in brackets: "*In Rome, the army constituted a mass* [of individuals]—but already divorced from the rest of the people—disciplined for labour whose surplus time belonged to the State. They sold the whole of their labour time to the State for a wage, they exchanged the whole of their labour capacity for a wage necessary for the maintenance of their life, in precisely the same way as the worker does with the capitalist. This was true of the time when the Roman army was no longer a citizens' army but an army of mercenaries. In this case the soldiers likewise freely sold their labour. But the State does not buy it for the purpose of producing values. Thus, although it may appear that the form of wage labour initially came into existence in armies, this mercenary system is essentially different from wage labour. There is a certain similarity in the fact that the State uses up the army to increase its power and wealth."—*Ed.*

State organises such projects through *State contractors,* then it is still indirectly effected through forced labour or taxes.//

*Firstly: Large-scale capital* is presupposed, capital concentrated in the hands of the capitalist, for him to be able to undertake projects of such dimension and where turnover, and therefore valorisation, are going to be so slow. Hence mostly *joint-stock capital,* the form in which capital has worked itself through to its ultimate form, in which it is capital not only *in itself,* in its substance, but in which it is posited in its *form* as social power and product.

*Secondly:* It must yield *interest,* not *profit.* (It can yield more than interest, but that is not necessary.) This point need not be further discussed here.

*Thirdly:* The presupposition of a sufficient volume of traffic—above all, commercial and industrial traffic—for the road to be profitable, i.e. for the price demanded for the use of the road to be *worth* that much exchange value to the producers [using the road], or for the road to supply a productive force for which they can pay so much.

*Fourthly:* A part of the wealth consumed as income must be available for investment in these means of locomotion.

But the two most important presuppositions are: (1) the availability of capital which can be employed for this object in the required quantity and which contents itself with receiving interest; (2) it must be worth it for the productive capitals, for industrial capital, to pay the price of passage. Hence e.g. the first railway between Liverpool and Manchester.[141] It had become a necessity of production for the Liverpool COTTON-BROKERS and even more for the Manchester MANUFACTURERS.

//*Competition* may easily create the necessity for e.g. a railway in a country where the existing level of development of the productive forces would not otherwise make it urgent. The effect of *competition among nations* belongs to the section on *international trade.* The civilising effects of capital become especially evident here.//

Capital as such—assuming its availability on the necessary scale—will only construct a road when its construction has become a necessity for the producers, especially for productive capital itself; when it has become a prerequisite for the capitalist *making a profit.* Then the road will also be profitable. But in these cases a large volume of traffic is already presupposed. It is the same presupposition become *dual:* on the one hand, the wealth of the country sufficiently concentrated and converted into the form of

capital to undertake such operations as processes of the valorisation of capital; and on the other hand, the volume of traffic sufficient, and the barrier imposed on capital by the lack of means of communication sufficiently felt as such, to enable the capitalist to realise the value of the road as a road (in a piecemeal fashion, as it is used over a period of time).

All *general conditions* of *production* like roads, canals, etc., whether they facilitate circulation, perhaps even make it possible for the first time, or whether they also increase productive power (like the irrigation systems, etc., constructed in Asia and, incidentally, in Europe as well, by governments), will only be undertaken by capital rather than by the government, which represents the commonality as such, where the highest level of development of production based on capital has been attained. The separation of *travaux publics*[a] from the State and their migration into the domain of works undertaken by capital itself indicates the degree in which the real commonality has constituted itself in the form of capital. A particular country, e.g. the UNITED STATES, may sense the importance of railways for production. Yet, the immediate advantage [V-24] accruing to production may be too small for the outlay to appear as anything but *à fonds perdu.*[b] In that case capital shifts the burden onto the shoulders of the State; or, where the State still traditionally occupies a position *supérieure* to capital, the State still has the privilege and the will to force the generality of capitalists [to put] a part of their *income,* not of their capital, into such generally useful works, which at the same time appear as *general* conditions of production, and therefore not as the *particular* conditions for any particular capitalist. And so long as capital has not assumed the form of joint-stock capital, it seeks only the *particular* conditions of its valorisation, while shifting the burden of the *communal* conditions onto the whole country as national requirements. Capital only undertakes projects which are *profitable,* profitable, that is, from its own point of view.

Admittedly, it also speculates unsoundly, and *is bound,* as we shall see, to do so. In such cases, it undertakes *investments* which are not profitable and only yield a return once they have been *depreciated* to a certain degree. Hence the many undertakings where the first *mise de capital* is *à fonds perdu*[c] and the first

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[a] Public works.— *Ed.*

[b] A waste of money.— *Ed.*

[c] Investment is lost.— *Ed.*

investors go bankrupt. The advanced capital yields a profit only at second or third hand, when it has been reduced by *depreciation.* Incidentally, the State itself and all that pertains to it belongs to these deductions from *revenue,* is part, as it were, of the *costs of consumption* for individuals, part of the social production costs. A road may itself so increase the productive forces that it creates a traffic through which it becomes profitable. There are works and investments which may be necessary without being productive in the sense of capital, i.e. without the *surplus labour* contained in them being realised as *surplus value* by means of circulation and exchange.

If a worker works on a road e.g. for 12 hours per day in a year, and if the generally necessary labour time on average=6 hours, he has worked a surplus labour of 6 hours. But if the road cannot be sold at [the value of] 12 hours [of objectified labour time], perhaps only at 6, its construction is not a suitable undertaking for capital, and road construction is not productive work for it. Capital must be able to sell the road (the type of sale and the length of time required for it are irrelevant here) in such a way that the necessary labour as well as the surplus labour is realised, or in such a way that it receives out of the general fund of profits, of surplus values, a sufficient share to make it the same as if this capital had [actually] created surplus value. *This relation* to be analysed *later, in connection with profit and necessary labour.*

Capital has attained the highest level of development when the production of the general conditions of the social process of production is not financed by *deductions from the social revenue,* i.e. out of taxation, where revenue and not capital appears as the LABOUR fund, and where the worker, though a free wage worker like all the others, stands economically in a different relation, but by *capital as capital.* This demonstrates, on the one hand, the degree to which capital has subjected to itself all the conditions of social production, and hence, on the other hand, the extent to which social reproductive wealth is *capitalised* and all needs are satisfied by means of exchange, even the *socially posited* needs of the individual, i.e. the needs which he feels and satisfies, not as an isolated individual in society, but socially, together with others—which by their very nature can only be satisfied socially—the extent to which even these are not only satisfied but also produced by exchange and individual exchange at that.

In the case of the above-mentioned road, its construction must be sufficiently profitable for a certain amount of labour time transformed into road to reproduce the worker's labour capacity

in exactly the same way as if he had converted it into agriculture. Value is determined by objectified labour time, whatever the form it takes. But whether this *value* can be realised depends on the use value in which it is embodied. Here it is assumed that the road meets a need of the community, its use value is therefore presupposed. On the other hand, for capital to undertake the construction of the road, it is a prerequisite that not only the *necessary labour time* will be paid for [by the users], but also the *surplus labour time* put in by the worker—for that is the source of capital's profit. (The capitalist often enforces this payment by means of protective tariffs, monopoly, State compulsion, while under conditions of free exchange the individual exchangers would pay *at most* for the necessary labour.)

It is quite possible for surplus labour time to have been put in without being paid for (after all, this can also happen to any individual capitalist). *Where capital is dominant* (just as where slavery and serfdom or compulsory labour of any kind is dominant) *the absolute labour time of the worker is posited as the condition which he must meet, if he is to be allowed to perform necessary labour time, i.e. if he is to be allowed to realise the labour time necessary for the maintenance of his labour capacity in use values for himself.* In every type of labour, competition then brings it about that he must work the full time—i.e. surplus labour time. But it may happen that this surplus labour time is not exchangeable, even though it is embodied in the product. Now for the worker himself—as compared with the other wage workers—it is [still] surplus labour. But for the employer it is labour which has, to be sure, a use value for him, like e.g. his cook, but no exchange value. Hence the entire distinction [V-25] between *necessary and surplus labour time* does not exist.

Labour may be necessary without being productive. All *general, social* conditions of production—as long as they cannot as yet be produced by capital as such and under its conditions—are consequently paid for out of a part of the revenue of the country, by the government's treasury, and the workers do not appear as productive workers even though they increase the productive power of capital.

The result of our digression is, incidentally, that the production of the means of communication, the physical conditions of circulation, are put into the category of the production of *capital fixe*, and hence do not constitute a special CASE. But a prospect has thereby incidentally opened before us, a prospect which at this point cannot yet be clearly depicted, of a *specific relation of capital*

*to the communal, general conditions of social production,* as distinct from the conditions of a *particular capital* and its *particular process of production.*

*Circulation proceeds in space and time.* The spatial condition, the conveyance of the product to the market, belongs, economically considered, to the process of production itself. The product is not really finished until it is on the market. The movement by which it gets there, represents a part of its costs of production. It does not constitute a necessary moment of circulation conceived as a particular process of value, for a product may be purchased and even consumed where it is produced. But this spatial moment is significant in so far as the expansion of the market, the exchangeability of the product, are connected with it. The reduction of the costs of this *real* circulation (in space) belongs to the development of the productive forces by capital, the diminution of the costs of its valorisation. In certain respects, as an external condition for the existence of the economic process of circulation, this moment can also be reckoned among the *production costs* of circulation, so that, with respect to this moment, circulation appears as a moment not merely of the production process in general, but of the direct production process as well. In any case, what appears here is the determination of this moment by the general degree of development of the productive forces and of production based upon capital in general.

This spatial moment, the conveyance of the product to the market, could be more precisely viewed as the conversion of the product into a *commodity,* for it is a necessary condition for its circulation, except where the place of its production is itself the market. It is a commodity only when put on the market. (WHETHER OR NOT this constitutes a particular moment is a matter of chance. If capital works to order, neither this moment nor the transformation into money exist as a particular moment for it. But *working to order,* i.e. supply which corresponds to a previously stated demand, is not a *general or dominant* situation, does not correspond to large-scale industry, and in no way arises as a condition [of the production process] from the nature of capital.)

*Secondly, the temporal moment.* This is an essential part of the concept of circulation. Suppose the act of converting the commodity into money is fixed by contract, this costs time—time involved in counting, weighing, measuring. The abridgement of this moment similarly constitutes an increase in productive power. This is time conceived only as the *external* condition for the

transition from the form of commodity into that of money. The transition itself is presupposed. We are concerned with the time which *elapses during this presupposed act.* This belongs to the *costs of circulation.* There is also another thing: the time which elapses before the commodity is transformed into money; or the time during which it remains a *commodity,* only potential, not real, value. This is pure loss.

The conclusion from all that has been said is that circulation appears as an essential process of capital. The process of production cannot be recommenced until the commodity has been transformed into money. The *uninterrupted continuity* of that process, the unhindered and fluent transition of value from one form into the other, or from one phase of the process into the other, appears as a basic condition for production based on capital to a much greater degree than for all earlier forms of production.

On the other hand, while the necessity of this continuity is posited, the phases [of the process] fall asunder in time and space as particular processes indifferent to one another. Thus it appears to be a matter of chance for production based on capital, whether or not its essential condition, the continuity of the various processes which constitute the totality of its process, is fulfilled. The transcendence of this element of chance through capital itself is *credit.* (It has other aspects as well; but this one arises directly from the nature of the process of production and is therefore the basis of the necessity of credit.) That is why *credit* in any developed form does not appear in any earlier mode of production. There was borrowing and lending in earlier situations too; indeed, usury is the most ancient of the antediluvian forms of capital. But borrowing and lending no more constitute *credit* than working constitutes *industrial labour* or *free wage labour.* As an essential, developed relation of production, credit appears *historically* only in circulation based on capital or wage labour. (*Money* itself is a form to transcend the inequality of the time required in different branches of production in so far as this inequality obstructs [V-26] exchange.) *Usury* in its *bourgeois form, adapted to capital,* is itself a form of credit, but in its pre-bourgeois form it is rather an *expression of the lack of credit.*

(The reconversion of money into the objective moments or conditions of production presupposes their *availability.* It constitutes the various *markets* in which the producer encounters them as commodities—in the hands of the merchant—markets (alongside the LABOUR MARKET) which are essentially different from the markets for direct individual, final consumption.)

In its circulation, money was converted into a commodity, and in the exchange of *M* for *C*, consumption completed the process. Or the commodity was exchanged for money—and in the exchange of *C* for *M*, *M* was either a vanishing moment to be itself exchanged again for *C*, where the process again ended in consumption; or the money was withdrawn from circulation and became dead treasure, a merely symbolic wealth. At no point did the process ignite from a spark within itself, for the presuppositions of the circulation of money lay outside it and it constantly required new stimulus from without.

In so far as the two moments [*C*—*M*] exchanged for one another, the change in their form within circulation was merely formal. But in so far as content was involved in the change, it fell outside the economic process; the content did not belong within it. Neither did the commodity maintain itself as money nor the money as commodity; each was the one or the other. Value as such did not maintain itself in and through circulation as embracing its process of transformation, its change of form; nor was *use value* itself produced by *exchange value* (which is the case in the production process of capital).

With capital, the consumption of the commodity itself is not a final act; it falls within the production process and appears as itself a moment of production, i.e. of the process of *positing value.* Capital is now posited, but posited in each of the moments in which it appears now as money, now as commodity, now as exchange value, now as use value, posited as value which not only formally maintains itself throughout these changes in its form, but which *valorises* itself as well, i.e. it is posited as value relating to itself as value. The transition from one moment to the other appears as a particular process, but each of these processes is the transition into the other. In this way capital is posited as value-in-process, which is capital in every one of the moments. It is therefore posited as *capital circulant;* in each of the moments it is capital and circulating from one determination to the other. The point of return is simultaneously the point of departure and vice versa—i.e. the *capitalist.* All capital is originally *capital circulant,* both produced by and producing circulation, tracing its orbit as its own.

The circulation of money now, from the present standpoint, appears only as a moment of the circulation of capital, and its independence is posited as a mere *semblance.* It appears as determined on all sides by the circulation of capital, a point to which we shall return. In so far as it constitutes an independent

movement alongside that of capital, this independence is only posited by the *continuity* of the circulation of capital, so that this one moment can be fixed and considered for itself.

//"Capital permanent *value multiplying itself,* which no longer becomes extinct. This value detaches itself from the commodity which has produced it; equivalent to a *metaphysical, insubstantial quality* always in the possession of the same cultivator" (e.g.) "for whom it assumes various forms" (Sismondi, [*Nouveaux principes d'économie politique,* Vol. I, pp. 88-89,] VI).

"In the exchange of labour for capital, the worker demands subsistence *pour vivre*[a]; the capitalist demands *du travail pour gagner*[b]" (Sismondi, l.c. [p. 91]).

"The *chef d'atelier*[c] gains, profits *de tout l'accroissement des pouvoirs productifs qu'avait opéré la division du travail*[d]" (l.c. [p. 92]).

"The sale of labour=renunciation of all the fruits of labour" (Cherbuliez, [*Richesse ou pauvreté,* p. 64,] Ch. XXVIII[142]).

"The three component parts of capital" (i.e. *matière première, instrument, approvisionnement*[e]) "do not grow in the same proportion, nor are they in *the same relation* at different stages of society. The *approvisionnement* remains the same for a definite time, however quickly the *rapidité de la production* and in consequence the quantity of products may grow. Hence the increase in *productive capital* does not necessarily entail an increase in the *approvisionnement,* which should determine the price of labour. It may actually be accompanied by its diminution" (l.c. [pp. 61-63]).//

//In as much as the continuous renewal of production depends on the sale of the finished products, on the conversion, that is, of the commodity into money and the reconversion of money into the conditions of production—raw material, instrument, wages—; and in as much as the path capital must follow in passing from one of these determinations to the other constitutes sections of circulation, and these sections are traversed in certain *periods of time*; (note that even spatial distance resolves itself into time; e.g. in the case of the market, it is not its spatial distance which really matters, but the speed, the amount of time, in which it is reached) by the same token it depends on the speed of circulation, on the *time* taken by it, how many products can be produced in a given period of time, how often capital can valorise itself in a given period of time, how often it can *reproduce* and *multiply* its value in that time.

Thus there really does enter here a moment of *value determina-*

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[a] *In order to be able to live.— Ed.*

[b] *Labour in order to be able to make a profit.— Ed.*

[c] Factory owner.— *Ed.*

[d] By all *the growth* in the *productive forces* brought about by *the division of labour.— Ed.*

[e] Raw material, instrument, means of subsistence.— *Ed.*

*tion* which [V-27] does not arise from the direct relation of labour to capital. It would seem that the relation in which the same capital can repeat the process of production (creation of new value) in a given period of time is a condition not directly posited by the production process itself. Though circulation does not give rise to a moment of *value determination* itself, for this lies exclusively in the sphere of labour, the speed of circulation does determine the rate at which the process of production can be repeated, and therefore the speed with which values are created. In other words, while not creating *values,* circulation does, to a certain degree, determine the mass of values which can be created. This will be the values and surplus values posited by the process of production × the number of times the production process can be repeated in a given period of time.

When we speak of the speed of the turnover of capital, we presume that only *external barriers* obstruct the transition from one phase [of circulation] to another, not ones arising from the production process and from circulation itself (as in crises, overproduction, etc.).

Thus, in addition to the labour time realised in the product, the *circulation time* of capital comes in as a moment of value creation—of productive labour time itself. If labour time appears as the activity which posits value, the circulation time of capital appears as the *time of devaluation.* This distinction appears as follows: if we assume that the totality of labour time commanded by capital is set at its maximum, say the infinite $\infty$, in such a way that the necessary labour time would constitute an infinitely small part and the surplus labour time an infinitely large part of this $\infty$, then this would be the greatest possible valorisation of capital, and that is what it strives for. On the other hand, if we assume that the *circulation time of capital* $=0$, and that it traverses the various stages of its transformation as quickly in reality as it does in thought, then this would equally be the greatest possible factor by which the production process could be repeated, i.e. the greatest possible number of valorisation processes of capital which could take place in a given period of time.

The repetition of the production process would be restricted only by the duration of that process itself, the time required to transform the raw material into product. The *circulation time* is therefore not a positive value-creating element. If it were equal to 0, value creation would be at its highest level. If either surplus or necessary labour time $=0$, i.e. if necessary labour time absorbed all time, or if production could be carried on *without* any labour,

there would be neither value nor capital, nor value creation. Hence the *circulation time* determines value only in so far as it appears as a *natural barrier* for the valorisation of labour time. Thus it is IN FACT a deduction from surplus labour time, i.e. an increase in *necessary labour time.* It is clear that necessary labour time must be paid for, whether the circulation process goes on slowly or quickly.

E.g. in industries in which specialised workers are required, who, however, can be employed for only a part of the year, perhaps because the product can only be sold during a particular SEASON, they would still have to be paid for the whole year, i.e. surplus labour time is diminished in proportion as they are underemployed during a given period of time, but still have to be paid *d'une manière ou d'une autre.* (E.g. by receiving in 4 months enough wages to subsist for a year.) If capital could employ them for 12 months, it would not pay them any more in wages, and would have gained that much [8 months'] surplus labour.

*Circulation time therefore appears as a barrier to the productivity of labour*=increase in necessary labour time=decrease in surplus labour time=decrease in surplus value=an obstruction, a barrier to the self-valorisation process of capital. Thus, while capital must strive on the one hand to tear down every local barrier to traffic, i.e. to exchange, and to conquer the whole world as its market, it strives on the other hand to annihilate space by means of time, i.e. to reduce to a minimum the time required for the movement [of products] from one place to another. The more capital has been developed, and the greater therefore the expansion of the market in which it circulates, which constitutes the spatial path of its circulation, the more it goes on to strive for an even greater spatial expansion of the market and for a more complete annihilation of space by means of time.

(If labour time is not considered as the working day of an individual worker but as the indefinite working day of an indefinite number of workers, all the *relations of population* come in here. The basic theories of population are therefore contained in this first chapter on capital, as are those of profit, price, credit, etc.)

The universalising tendency of capital becomes apparent here, which distinguishes it from all earlier stages of production. Although itself limited by its very nature, capital strives towards the universal development of the productive forces and thereby clears the way for a new mode of production, in which the productive forces are not developed just to reproduce a particular

situation or, at most, to extend it, but where the free, unobstructed, progressive and universal development of the productive forces is itself the presupposition of society and therefore of its own reproduction; where the sole presupposition is the advance beyond the point of departure. This tendency possessed by capital, which simultaneously contradicts capital as a limited form of production and hence drives it towards its dissolution, distinguishes capital from all earlier modes of production and at the same time implies that it is posited as mere point of transition. All previous forms of society [V-28] were destroyed by the development of wealth—or, which is the same thing, by the development of the social productive forces. Among the ancients, who were conscious of this fact, wealth was therefore directly denounced as bringing about the dissolution of the community. Feudal society, for its part, was destroyed by urban industry, trade and modern agriculture. (Even by some inventions, e.g. gun powder and the printing press.)

With the development of wealth—and hence also of new [productive] forces and expanded intercourse among individuals—the economic conditions upon which the community was based were dissolved, as were the corresponding political relations between the various component parts of the community: the religion, in which it was viewed in idealised form (and both community and religion, in turn, were rooted in a given relationship to nature, into which all productive force resolves itself); the character, outlook, etc., of the individuals. The *development of science alone,* i.e. of the most solid form of wealth, both product and producer of wealth, was sufficient to dissolve this community. But the *development of science,* this notional and at the same time practical form of wealth, is only one aspect, one form, in which the *development of human productive powers,* i.e. of wealth, appears.

Considered *notionally,* the dissolution of a definite form of consciousness would be sufficient to destroy an entire epoch. In reality, this barrier to consciousness corresponds to a *definite degree of development of the material productive forces* and thus of wealth. True, development not only took place on the old basis, there was also a *development of this basis itself.* The highest development of this *basis* itself (the flower into which it is transformed, while remaining *this* basis, *this* plant as flower; hence withering *after* flowering and as a result of flowering) is the point at which it is itself worked out and developed to the form in which it becomes compatible with the *highest degree of the development of the productive*

*forces* and thus also with the richest development of the individuals [possible on this basis]. As soon as this point has been reached, further development appears as a decline, and the new development begins from a new basis.

We have seen above[a] that [the worker's] property in the conditions of production was posited as identical with a limited, specific form of community, a community consisting of individuals with just this kind of characteristics—limited characteristics and limited development of their productive powers. This presupposition was itself in turn the result of a restricted historical stage of development of the productive forces, of both wealth and the mode of producing it. The purpose of the community, of the individual—as well as the condition of production—was the *reproduction of these specific conditions of production* and of the individuals, both singly and in their social groups and relations—as the living carriers of these conditions.

Capital posits the *production of wealth* itself and thus the universal development of the productive forces, posits the continual overthrow of its existing presuppositions, as the presupposition of its reproduction. Value excludes no use value, i.e. includes no specific kind of consumption, etc., intercourse, etc., as absolute condition, and likewise every degree of the development of the social productive forces, of intercourse, of knowledge, etc., appears to it as a barrier which it strives to overcome. Its very presupposition—value—is posited as product, not as a higher presupposition hovering above production. The barrier to *capital* is the fact that this entire development proceeds in a contradictory way, and that the elaboration of the productive forces, of general wealth, etc., knowledge, etc., takes place in such a way that the working individual *alienates* himself; that he relates to the conditions brought out of him by his labour, not as to the conditions of *his own,* but of *alien wealth,* and of his own poverty. But this contradictory form is itself vanishing and produces the real conditions for its own transcendence.

The result is: the tendentially and δυνάμει[b] universal development of the productive forces—of wealth in general—as basis, likewise the universality of intercourse, hence also the world market as basis. The basis as the possibility of the universal development of the individuals, and their actual development from this basis as constant transcendence of their *barrier,* which is

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[a] See this volume, pp. 408-20.—*Ed.*

[b] Potentially.—*Ed.*

recognised as such, and is not interpreted as a *sacred limit.* The universality of the individual not as an imaginary concept, but the universality of his real and notional relations. Hence also the comprehension of his own history as a *process* and the knowledge of nature (likewise available as practical control over nature) as his real body. The process of development itself posited and known as the presupposition of the same. For this, however, necessary above all that the full development of the productive forces has become the *condition of production;* and not that particular *conditions of production* are posited as the limit to the development of the productive forces.

Let us now return to the *circulation time* of capital. Its reduction (in so far as this is not due to the development of the means of communication and transport which are necessary to bring the product to the market) is in part *creation* of a continuous market and hence of an ever expanding market; and in part development of *economic* relations, developments of forms of capital [V-29] by means of which circulation time is *artificially* reduced. *(All forms of credit.)*

//At this point, it may be further noted that, since only capital has the conditions of the production of capital, hence satisfies and strives to realise them, it is the general tendency of capital at all points which are presuppositions of circulation and function as the latter's productive centres, to assimilate these points to itself, i.e. to transform them into capitalising production or production of capital. This propagandistic (civilising) tendency is unique to capital—it distinguishes it from all earlier conditions of production.//

The modes of production in which circulation is not an immanent, dominating condition of production, naturally [do] not [have] the specific circulation needs of capital, nor, consequently, do they evolve either the economic forms or the real productive forces corresponding to them.

Production based on capital initially set out from circulation. We now see how it posits circulation as its own condition and how it likewise posits the production process in its immediacy as a moment of the process of circulation and equally posits that process as a phase of the production process in its totality.

In so far as different capitals circulate in different lengths of time (e.g. one [produces for] a more distant market, the other for one near at hand; the conversion of one capital into money is secure, that of the other hazardous; one [contains] more *capital*

*fixe,* the other more *capital circulant*), this brings about differences among them in valorisation. But this only occurs in the secondary valorisation process. Circulation time in itself is a *barrier* to valorisation. (*Necessary labour time* is, admittedly, another barrier; but it is simultaneously an essential element, for without it there would be no value or capital.) It is a deduction from surplus labour time or an increase of the *necessary labour time* in relation to *surplus labour time.* The circulation of capital *realises value,* as living labour *produces value.* Circulation time is a barrier only to the realisation of value and to that extent to value creation. It is a barrier which does not arise from production in general but which is specific to production based on capital. Its transcendence—or the struggle against it—therefore belongs to the specific economic development of capital and provides the impulse for the development of its forms in credit, etc.//

//Capital itself is subject to the contradiction that while it constantly tries to transcend *necessary labour time* (which implies the reduction of the worker's role to a minimum, i.e. his existence as mere living labour capacity), *surplus labour time* exists only in a contradictory way, only in antithesis to necessary labour time. Consequently, capital posits necessary labour time as a *necessary* condition for its own reproduction and valorisation. A development of the material productive forces, which is at the same time the development of the forces of the working class, at a certain point *transcends capital itself.*//

//"The entrepreneur can only recommence production after he has sold the finished product and has used the price in purchasing new *matières* and new *salaires.* Hence, the more promptly circulation brings about these two effects, the more quickly is he in a position to recommence his production, and the greater the quantity of products capital produces in a given period of time" (Storch, [*Cours d'économie politique,* Vol. I, pp. 411-12,] 34).//

//"THE SPECIFIC *ADVANCES OF THE CAPITALIST* DO NOT CONSIST OF CLOTH, ETC., BUT OF LABOUR" (Malthus, [*The Measure of Value Stated and Illustrated,* p. 17,] IX, 26).[143]//

//"THE ACCUMULATION OF THE GENERAL CAPITAL OF THE COMMUNITY IN OTHER HANDS [than] THOSE OF THE OPERATIVE LABOURERS, NECESSARILY RETARDS THE PROGRESS OF ALL INDUSTRY SAVE THAT OF THE USUAL REMUNERATION OF CAPITAL, WHICH THE TIME AND CIRCUMSTANCES AFFORD TO THE HOLDERS OF THE CAPITAL... In the previous systems, *productive force considered IN REFERENCE TO and SUBORDINATE TO ACTUAL ACCUMULATIONS, AND TO THE PERPETUATING OF THE EXISTING MODES OF DISTRIBUTION. ACTUAL ACCUMULATION AND DISTRIBUTION ARE SUBORDINATE TO THE POWER OF PRODUCING*" (Thompson, [*An Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth...,* London, 1824, pp. 176, 589,] 3).[a]//

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[a] Marx reproduces the two passages from Thompson in a free rendering, on the basis of his 1845 notebook of excerpts.— *Ed.*

It follows from the relationship of circulation time to the production process that the sum of values which is produced, or the total valorisation of capital in a given period of time, is determined not only by the new value which capital creates in the production process, or by the surplus time realised in that process, but also by this surplus time (surplus value) multiplied by the factor which expresses the frequency with which the production process of capital can be repeated in that period. The factor expressing this repetition can be regarded as the coefficient of the production process or of the surplus value created by it.

However, this coefficient is not positively but negatively determined by the speed of circulation. I.e. if the speed of circulation were absolute, that is to say, if the production process were not interrupted at all by circulation, this coefficient would be at its greatest. E.g. if the real conditions of wheat production in a given country allowed only one harvest a year, no speed of circulation could make that country's soil yield two harvests a year. But if circulation were obstructed, if the farmer could not sell his wheat quickly enough e.g. to hire workers again, production would be stopped. The maximum of the coefficient of the production process or process of valorisation in a given period of time is determined by the absolute time taken by the [V-30] production phase itself. Once circulation has been completed, capital can recommence its production process. If, therefore, circulation caused no delay at all, its speed would be absolute and its duration would be 0, i.e. if it were accomplished IN NO TIME, that would merely be the same as if *capital* had been able to recommence its production process just as soon as it had been completed. I.e. circulation would not have existed as a limiting barrier on production, and the repetition of the production process in a definite period of time would be absolutely dependent upon, would coincide with, the duration of the production process.

Hence, if the development of industry permitted a capital of £100 to produce $x$ lbs of twist in 4 months, the production process could only be repeated 3 times a year with the same capital; only $3x$ lbs of twist could be produced. No speed of circulation could accelerate the reproduction of capital or rather the repetition of its valorisation process beyond this point. It could only come about in consequence of an *increase of the productive forces.* Circulation time itself is not a *productive force* of capital but a *barrier to its productive force,* arising from its nature as exchange value. The passage [of capital] through the various phases of circulation here appears as a *barrier to production,* a barrier posited by the specific nature of

capital itself. An acceleration and reduction of *circulation time*—of the process of circulation—can only reduce the barrier posited by the nature of capital. The natural barriers to the repetition of the production process e.g. in agriculture, coincide with the duration of one cycle of the production phase. The barrier posited by capital is not the time which elapses between sowing and harvesting, but between harvesting and the conversion of the harvest into money and the reconversion of the money into e.g. the purchase of labour. The circulation manipulators who imagine that by accelerating circulation they can do anything other than reduce the obstacles to the reproduction of capital posited by capital itself, are on the wrong track.

(Even crazier, of course, are the circulation manipulators who imagine that credit banks and new credit devices which transcend the duration of circulation time can not only remove the delays, the interruption of production, required for the conversion of the finished product into capital, but make the capital for which the producing capital exchanges, itself superfluous, i.e. they want to continue to produce on the basis of exchange value, but at the same time to remove by some magical formula the conditions necessary for production on this basis.)

The most that credit can do in this respect, where it is a matter of *mere* circulation, is to maintain the continuity of the production process *if* all other conditions for this continuity are present, i.e. if the capital to be exchanged with actually exists, etc.

It is posited in the process of circulation that the conversion of capital into money, or the exchange of capital for capital as a barrier to the exchange of capital for labour and vice versa is posited as the condition for the valorisation of capital by production, for the exploitation of labour by capital //for from the present standpoint, we only have labour or capital at all points of circulation//.

Capital exists as capital only in so far as it passes through the phases of circulation, the different moments of its transformation, to be able to recommence the production process. These phases are themselves phases of its valorisation—but at the same time, as we have seen,[a] phases of its *devaluation.* As long as capital remains fixed in the form of finished product, it cannot be active as capital; it is *negated* capital. Its process of valorisation is held up in the same degree and its value-in-process negated. This appears as a loss for capital, a relative loss of its value, for its value consists

[a] See this volume, pp. 329-31.—*Ed.*

precisely in the process of valorisation. In other words, this loss [of value] of capital only means that time passes for it unutilised, time in which it could appropriate *surplus labour time,* alien labour, by exchange with living labour, if the DEADLOCK had not occurred.

Let us suppose a *large number* of capitals employed in particular branches of industry, which are all *necessary* (in the sense that if there were a massive flight of capital from one branch, the supply of products in this branch would fall below the demand, hence market price would rise above the natural price). Let us suppose further that it was necessary for capital *a* in one branch to remain longer in its devalued form, i.e. that the time it takes the capital to pass through the various phases of circulation is longer than in all other branches. This capital *a* would then consider the lesser new value it could produce to be a positive loss, just as if it had to invest so much more to produce the same value. Hence it would charge a proportionately higher exchange value for its products than the other capitals, in order to share in the same rate of profit. But IN FACT this could only happen if the loss were distributed among the other capitals. If *a* demands more exchange value for the product than is objectified in it as labour, [V-31] it can obtain this "*more*" only if the other capitals obtain less than the real value of their products. I.e. all the capitalists who exchanged with *a* would bear a fractional part of [the cost of] the less favourable conditions under which *a* had produced. In this way, an equal average profit would result. Yet the sum of surplus values produced by all the capitals taken together would be diminished precisely in proportion to the lesser valorisation of capital *a* relative to the other capitals. Only this diminution, instead of falling exclusively upon capital *a*, would be borne as a general loss shared proportionately by all the capitals.

Nothing could therefore be more ludicrous than to imagine (see e.g. Ramsay[a]) that capital can constitute an *original* source of *value creation* apart from labour, from its exploitation. For the distribution of surplus labour among the individual capitals takes place not in proportion to the surplus labour time achieved by the individual capital, but in proportion to the *total surplus labour* achieved by the totality of capitals. The *individual capital* can therefore be credited with more value creation than is directly explicable by its *particular* exploitation of labour power. But this "*more*" on the one side must be compensated for by a "*less*" on the

[a] G. Ramsay, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth,* p. 55.— *Ed.*

other. Otherwise, *average* means nothing at all. The question how the relation of capital to alien capital, i.e. the competition of capitals, distributes surplus value among them, obviously has nothing to do with the absolute amount of this surplus value. Nothing therefore more absurd than to conclude that, because a particular capital is compensated for its *exceptional* circulation time, i.e. calculates its relatively lesser valorisation as a positively higher valorisation, all the *capitals* taken together, *capital,* can make something out of nothing, turn a minus into a plus, minus-surplus labour time or minus-surplus value into plus-surplus value; to conclude, in other words, that it has a *mystical* source of value creation independent of the appropriation of alien labour.

The method of calculating the capitals' respective shares in *surplus value*—not only on the basis of the surplus labour time which they have achieved, but also in accordance with the *length of time during which their capital has been working as such,* i.e. has lain fallow, gone through the phase of devaluation—does not of course in the least affect the total amount of surplus value which they have to distribute among themselves.

This amount cannot be increased by the fact that it is smaller than it would have been if capital *a* had produced surplus value instead of lying fallow, in other words, by the fact that it has produced less surplus value in the same time than the other capitals. Capital *a* is compensated for this *lying-fallow* only in so far as it arises necessarily from the conditions of the particular branch of production, and so appears in relation to *capital* in general as an impediment to its valorisation, a *necessary barrier* to its valorisation generally. The division of labour allows us to regard this barrier only as a barrier to the production process of this particular capital. But if we regard the production process as carried on by capital in general, it constitutes a *general barrier* to its valorisation. If we regard only labour itself as productive, all larger advances which it requires during its valorisation appear as what they are—*deductions from surplus value.*

Circulation can *create value* only in so far as it requires additional employment—*of alien labour*—additional to that directly consumed in the production process. This is then the same as if more *necessary labour* were directly required in the production process. Only the real *costs of circulation* increase the *value* of the product, but they reduce surplus value.

In so far as the circulation of capital (the product, etc.) does not express merely the necessary phases [which capital must pass through] to recommence the production process, this circulation

(see Storch's example[a]) does not constitute a moment of production in its totality—is not therefore circulation posited by production; and in so far as it involves costs, these are *faux frais de production.*[b] In so far as circulation costs in general, i.e. the production costs of circulation, concern the exclusively economic moments, circulation in the strict sense (bringing the product to the market gives it *new use value*), they have to be regarded as deductions from *surplus value,* i.e. as an increase of necessary labour relative to surplus labour.

The continuity of production presupposes that circulation time has been transcended. If it is not, time must elapse between the various metamorphoses through which capital must pass; its circulation time *must* appear as a deduction from its production time. On the other hand, the nature of capital presupposes that it passes through the various phases of circulation, not indeed as in the imagination, where one concept can turn into another with the speed of thought, IN NO TIME, but rather as real situations which are separated from one another in time. It must spend some time as a chrysalis before it can take wing as a butterfly. The conditions of production arising from the nature of capital itself are therefore mutually contradictory. The contradiction can be transcended and overcome// except if one were to imagine that all capitals work to order for each other, and the product is therefore always immediately money, a notion which contradicts the nature of capital and hence also the practice of large-scale industry// [V-32] only in two ways:

*Firstly, credit:* A pseudo-purchaser *B*—i.e. one who really *pays* but does not really buy—mediates the transformation of capitalist *A*'s product into money. But *B* himself is only paid when capitalist *C* has purchased *A*'s product. It is immaterial whether this CREDIT-MAN *B* gives money to *A* to buy labour, or the raw material and instrument of labour, before *A* can replace them from the proceeds of the sale of his product. *Au fond,* given our premisses, *B* must give him both—i.e. all the conditions of production (these, however, represent a greater value than that with which *A* embarked on the production process). In this case, capital *b* replaces capital *a*; but both are not valorised simultaneously. *B* now takes the place of *A*, i.e. his capital lies fallow until it is exchanged with capital *c*. It is fixed in the product of *A*, who has made his product liquid in capital *b*.

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[a] H. Storch, *Cours d'économie politique,* Vol. I, pp. 404-13.— *Ed.*
[b] Overhead costs of production.— *Ed.*

[THEORIES OF SURPLUS VALUE AND PROFIT]

The absolute confusion of the economists with respect to the Ricardian determination of value by labour time—a confusion which is rooted in a fundamental defect of his own analysis—is very clearly apparent in Mr. Ramsay's work. He says, after earlier discussing the influence of the circulation time of capitals on their *relative valorisation,* i.e. on their relative share in total surplus value, and coming to the absurd conclusion that:

"This shows HOW CAPITAL MAY REGULATE VALUE INDEPENDENTLY OF LABOUR" (IX, 84. R[amsay, G., *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth,*] 43),

or that

"CAPITAL [is] A SOURCE OF VALUE INDEPENDENT OF LABOUR" (l.c., p. 55);

literally:

"A CIRCULATING CAPITAL *(approvisionnement)* WILL ALWAYS MAINTAIN MORE LABOUR THAN THAT FORMERLY BESTOWED UPON ITSELF. BECAUSE, COULD IT EMPLOY NO MORE THAN HAD BEEN PREVIOUSLY BESTOWED UPON ITSELF, *WHICH ADVANTAGE* COULD ARISE TO THE OWNER FROM THE USE OF IT *AS SUCH?*" (l.c., p. 49).

"Given two capitals of equal value, EACH PRODUCED by the labour of 100 MEN OPERATING FOR A GIVEN TIME, of which the one is entirely circulating, the other entirely FIXED, AND MAY PERHAPS CONSIST OF WINE KEPT TO IMPROVE. Now, this circulating capital, *RAISED BY THE LABOUR OF 100 MEN,* will *set into motion 150 MEN.* THEREFORE THE PRODUCT AT THE END OF THE COMING YEAR will in this case be the RESULT of the labour of 150 MEN. BUT STILL IT WILL BE OF NO MORE VALUE THAN THE WINE AT THE TERMINATION OF THE SAME PERIOD, although only 100 MEN [have been ] EMPLOYED UPON THE LATTER" (50). "Or does one wish to persuade us that the QUANTITY OF LABOUR WHICH EVERY CIRCULATING CAPITAL *WILL EMPLOY* IS NO MORE THAN EQUAL TO [the labour] PREVIOUSLY BESTOWED UPON IT? That would mean THAT *THE VALUE OF THE CAPITAL EXPENDED* is equal to that of the product" (52).

There is great confusion here between the LABOUR BESTOWED UPON capital and that WHICH IT WILL EMPLOY. The capital which is exchanged for labour capacity, the *approvisionnement*—and this is what he calls *capital circulant*—can never EMPLOY more labour THAN HAS BEEN BESTOWED UPON IT. (We are not concerned here with the way in which the development of the productive forces reacts back upon existing capital.) But THERE HAS BEEN MORE LABOUR BESTOWED UPON IT THAN IT HAS PAID FOR—*SURPLUS LABOUR,* WHICH IS CONVERTED INTO *SURPLUS VALUE AND SURPLUS PRODUCE,* ENABLING THE CAPITAL TO RENEW THIS PROFITABLE BARGAIN, WHERE THE MUTUALITY IS ALL ON ONE SIDE, ON A MORE ENLARGED SCALE. IT IS ENABLED TO EMPLOY MORE NEW LIVING LABOUR, BECAUSE DURING THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION A PORTION OF FRESH LABOUR HAS BEEN BESTOWED UPON IT BEYOND THE ACCUMULATED LABOUR OF WHICH IT CONSISTED BEFORE ENTERING THAT PROCESS.

Mr. Ramsay appears to imagine that if capital is the product of 20 working days (necessary and surplus time together), this product of 20 working days can employ 30 working days. But this is by no means the case. Say that 10 days of necessary labour and 10 days of surplus labour have been bestowed on the product. Surplus value then=10 days' surplus labour. By re-exchanging this for raw material, instrument and labour, the capitalist can set new *necessary labour* in motion again *with the surplus product.* The point is not that he would have EMPLOYED more labour time than already existed in the product, but that he re-exchanges the surplus labour time, which costs him nothing, for necessary labour time, in other words, precisely that he EMPLOYS the *whole of the labour time* BESTOWED UPON THE PRODUCE, WHILE HE HAS PAID [for] ONLY PART OF THAT LABOUR. Mr. Ramsay's conclusion is THAT if THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR WHICH EVERY CIRCULATING CAPITAL WILL EMPLOY WAS NO MORE THAN EQUAL TO THAT PREVIOUSLY BESTOWED UPON IT, THE VALUE OF THE CAPITAL EXPENDED WOULD BE EQUAL TO THAT OF THE PRODUCE, I.E. NO SURPLUS VALUE WOULD BE LEFT. This would only be correct, if the QUANTITY OF LABOUR BESTOWED UPON THE CAPITAL *had been fully paid for,* i.e. if capital had not appropriated a part of labour *without equivalent.*

These misunderstandings of *Ricardo*['s theory ] obviously derive from the fact that Ricardo himself was not clear about the nature of the process [of capitalist production], nor, as a bourgeois, could he be. Insight into this process is=to the STATEMENT that capital is not merely, as A. Smith thinks, command over alien labour, in the sense in which every exchange value is that, because it provides its owner with *buying power,* but that it is the power of appropriating alien labour *without exchange, without equivalent,* but under the guise of exchange. Ricardo knows no other argument to refute A. Smith and others who fall into the same error about value AS DETERMINED BY LABOUR and value AS DETERMINED BY THE PRICE OF LABOUR (WAGES), except to say that with the product of the same quantity of labour one can sometimes set a greater quantity and sometimes a lesser quantity of living labour in motion, i.e. he regards the product of labour with respect to the worker only as *use value,* the part of the product which the worker requires to live as a worker. But it is BY NO MEANS clear to him how it comes about that the worker suddenly represents only *use value* in exchange, or that he extracts only use value from the exchange, as is already proved by his [V-33] argument against A. Smith, which is never general, but always relies on the illustration of individual examples.

How, then, does it come about that the share of the worker in

the value of the product is not determined by its value but by its use value, hence not by the labour time bestowed upon it but by its quality of maintaining living labour capacity? If he tries to explain this by, say, competition among the workers, the answer would be the same as the one he himself gives to A. Smith in relation to competition among capitalists—that this competition can certainly even up and equalise the level of profit, but can in no way establish the measure of this level.[a] In the same way, competition among the workers could bring down the higher wage levels, etc., but the general standard of wages or, as Ricardo calls it, the natural price of the wages of labour, could not be explained by competition between worker and worker but only by the original relation between capital and labour. Competition in general, this essential locomotive force of the bourgeois economy, does not establish its laws but is their executor. Hence UNLIMITED COMPETITION is not the presupposition for the validity of the economic laws but the consequence—the form of appearance in which their necessity is realised. For the economists to presuppose, as Ricardo does, that UNLIMITED COMPETITION exists,[b] is to presuppose the full reality and realisation of the bourgeois relations of production in their *differentia specifica.* Competition therefore does not *explain* these laws, nor does it produce them; it lets them *become manifest.*

Ricardo also says[c] the costs of production of living labour depend on the cost of producing the values necessary to reproduce it. If previously he regarded the product with respect to the worker merely as use value, he now regards the worker with respect to the product merely as *exchange value.* He does not concern himself at all with the historical process by means of which the product and living labour enter into this relation to one another. But he is just as unclear about the way in which this relation is perpetuated. In his view, capital is the *result of saving,* which already indicates that he misunderstands its origin and process of reproduction. He therefore also believes that production cannot be carried on without capital, while he believes that capital may very well exist without ground rent. The difference between *profit* and *surplus value* does not exist for him; proof that he is not clear about the nature of either. His procedure right from the start already shows this. Initially, he lets workers

[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* pp. 338-39.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 3.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., p. 86.—*Ed.*

exchange with workers—and their exchange is then determined by the equivalent, by the labour time reciprocally expended in production. Then the basic problem of his political economy emerges: he must prove that this determination of value is not changed by the accumulation of capitals—i.e. by the existence of capital.

Firstly, it does not occur to him that his first spontaneously evolved relation is only a relation which has been abstracted from production based on capital. Secondly, he assumes the [prior] existence of a *particular amount of objectified labour time,* which may of course increase, and then asks himself how it is *distributed.* But the question is RATHER how it is created, and it is precisely the specific nature of the relation of capital and labour, or the *differentia specifica* of capital, which explains this. In fact, as De Quincey puts it ([*The Logic of Political Economy,* Edinburgh, London, 1844, p. 204] X, 5), modern *(Ricardian)* political economy is only concerned with the dividends, while the total product is regarded as fixed, determined by the quantity of labour bestowed upon it—its value is estimated in accordance with that. Ricardo is therefore justifiably reproached for a lack of understanding of [the nature of] *SURPLUS VALUE,* although his opponents understand it even less.[a] Capital is represented as appropriating a certain part of the available value of labour (of the product); the creation of this value, which it appropriates over and above [that of] the reproduced capital, is not represented as the *source* of surplus value. The creation of this [surplus value] coincides with the appropriation of alien labour *without exchange,* and it must therefore never be clearly understood by the bourgeois economists.

*Ramsay* reproaches Ricardo for forgetting that *capital fixe* (which together with *approvisionnement* constitutes capital; in Ramsay's view, [circulating capital is composed of] both *RAW MATERIAL* and *INSTRUMENT*) is deducted from the sum which the capitalist and the worker have to share out among themselves.

"Ricardo overlooks the fact that the whole product is not only divided up between WAGES and PROFITS, but that a part of it is also NECESSARY FOR REPLACING FIXED CAPITAL" (IX, p. 88. R[amsay, G., op. cit.,] 174, note).

In fact, since Ricardo does not conceive the relation between objectified and living labour—which cannot be deduced from the dividends of a given amount of labour, but presupposes the

[a] See this volume, pp. 252.—*Ed.*

positing of surplus labour—in its living movement, and does not therefore grasp the relation of the different components of capital to one another, he appears to be arguing that the total product is divided into WAGES and PROFITS, so that the reproduction of capital itself is counted as part of profit.

Quincey (l.c., Notebook X, 5) analyses the Ricardian theory as follows:

"If the price is 10 shillings, then WAGES and PROFITS AS A WHOLE CANNOT EXCEED 10 SHILLINGS. BUT DO NOT THE WAGES AND PROFITS AS A WHOLE, THEMSELVES, ON THE CONTRARY, PREDETERMINE THE PRICE? NO, THAT IS THE OLD SUPERANNUATED DOCTRINE" (p. 204). "The new political economy has shown THAT ALL PRICE IS GOVERNED BY *PROPORTIONAL QUANTITY OF THE PRODUCING LABOUR*, AND BY THAT ONLY. BEING ITSELF ONCE SETTLED, THEN, *ipso facto*,[a] *PRICE SETTLES THE FUND* OUT OF WHICH BOTH WAGES AND PROFITS MUST DERIVE THEIR *SEPARATE DIVIDENDS*" (l.c., p. 204).

Capital appears here not as the positing of surplus value, i.e. surplus labour, but merely as making deductions from a given amount of labour. The fact that the instrument and raw material appropriate these *dividends* to themselves must then be explained by their *use value* in production. But this then assumes the absurdity that raw material and instrument produce use value through their *separation* from labour. For it is this *separation* which converts them into capital. Considered for themselves they are themselves labour, previous labour. Moreover, this is an affront to COMMONSENSE, since the capitalist knows very well that he counts wages and profit as part of the production costs and regulates the *necessary price* accordingly. This contradiction between the determination of [the value of] the product by relative labour time, and the limitation of the sum of profit and WAGES by the sum of this labour time, and the *real determination of price* in practice, derives simply from the failure to conceive of profit itself as a derivative, secondary form of *surplus value;* and the same applies to what the capitalist correctly regards as his *production costs.* His profit arises simply from the fact that a part of the production costs does not cost him anything, and so does not enter into *his* outlays, *his* production costs.

[VI-1][b] "ANY CHANGE THAT CAN DISTURB THE EXISTING RELATIONS BETWEEN WAGES AND PROFITS MUST ORIGINATE IN WAGES" (Quincey, l.c. (X, 5), p. 205).

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[a] By virtue of this.—*Ed.*

[b] On the first page of this notebook Marx wrote: "Notebook VI. Chapter on Capital. London. February. 1858."—*Ed.*

But this is true only in so far as ANY VARIATIONS IN THE MASS OF SURPLUS LABOUR MUST BE DERIVED FROM A VARIATION IN THE RELATION BETWEEN NECESSARY AND SURPLUS LABOUR. But such a variation may occur either because there has been a decline in the productivity of NECESSARY LABOUR, SO that a larger part of the total labour falls to it; or because there has been an increase in the productivity of total labour, so that necessary labour time is reduced. It is NONSENSE to assert that this productive power of labour originates from *WAGES*. On the contrary, the diminution of relative WAGES is its result. But it arises (1) from the appropriation by capital of the growth of the productive forces resulting from the division of labour, trade, which cheapens the raw materials, science, etc., (2) but this increase in the productive forces must be regarded as initiated by capital, in so far as it is realised by the employment of a greater capital, etc. Furthermore, PROFIT and WAGES, though determined by the relation of necessary to surplus labour, are not coincident with them, but merely secondary forms of the same.

The point, however, is: the Ricardians presuppose a certain amount of labour, which determines the price of the product. From this price labour now draws its dividend in WAGES and capital in PROFITS. The dividend of the worker=the price of the necessary means of subsistence. In the "EXISTING RELATIONS BETWEEN WAGES and PROFITS" the rate of profit is at its maximum and that of wages at its minimum. Competition between capitalists can alter only their proportionate shares in total profit, not the relation between total profit and total WAGES. The GENERAL STANDARD OF PROFIT is this relation of total profit to total WAGES, and this is not altered by competition. Where, then, does ALTERATION come from? Certainly not by a voluntary reduction in the rate of profit; and it would have to be voluntary, since competition does not have this result. So it must be by an ALTERATION in WAGES: their necessary costs may rise (cf. the theory of the progressive deterioration of the soil through agriculture; the theory of rent) because of a decline in the productive power of labour due to natural causes. To this, Carey, etc., rightly objects (although he bases his objection on an incorrect analysis) that the rate of profit falls, not because of the decrease, but because of the increase in productive power.[a]

The solution of the whole problem is simply that the rate of profit does not orientate itself by absolute surplus value, but by surplus value in relation to the capital employed; and that the growth of productive power is accompanied by a reduction in the

[a] H. C. Carey, *Principles of Political Economy,* Part I, Ch. 6, pp. 73-101.— *Ed.*

part of capital representing *approvisionnement* relative to the part representing invariable capital. Hence, when the ratio of total labour to the capital which employs it declines, then the part of labour which appears as surplus labour or surplus value necessarily declines [relatively], too. This inability to explain one of the most striking phenomena of modern production, is the source of Ricardo's failure to understand his own principle. The difficulties in which he thereby involves his disciples are illustrated by this quotation, among others, from Quincey:

"IT IS THE COMMON PARALOGISM, THAT IF UPON THE SAME FARM YOU HAVE ALWAYS KEPT 5 MEN, AND IN 1800 THEIR PRODUCE WAS 25 QRS., BUT IN 1840 50 QRS., YOU ARE APT TO VIEW THE *PRODUCE ONLY AS VARIABLE*, AND THE *LABOUR AS CONSTANT;* WHEREAS *VIRTUALLY* BOTH HAVE VARIED. IN 1800 EACH QR. MUST HAVE COST $^1/_5$ PART OF A MAN; IN 1840 EACH HAS COST NO MORE THAN $^1/_{10}$ PART OF A MAN" (l.c., p. 214).

In both cases, absolute labour time was the same, 5 days; but in 1840 the productivity of labour was twice that of 1800, and the COST OF PRODUCING NECESSARY LABOUR had consequently fallen. The labour BESTOWED UPON 1 QUARTER was less, but total labour was the same. But Mr. Quincey should know from Ricardo that it is not the productivity of labour which determines the value of the product—it does determine surplus value, though not in the proportion in which productivity has increased. These contradictions [speak] *against* Ricardo, as [do] the desperate sophistries of his disciples (e.g. Mr. MacCulloch,[144] who explains by surplus labour the surplus value of old wine compared to new[a]). Nor is value determined by the labour which the UNIT has cost, i.e. the *price* of the SINGLE QUARTER. *The price multiplied by the quantity is what constitutes value.* The 50 quarters in 1840 had the *same value* as the 25 in 1800, because they objectified the same amount of labour. The price for one single quarter, the UNIT, *must* have been different [in 1800 from what it was in 1840], and *total price* (expressed in money) may have been different [in the two years] for very different reasons.

(What Quincey says about the machine is equally true of the worker:

"A machine, as soon as its secret is known, WILL NOT SELL FOR THE LABOUR PRODUCED, BUT FOR THE LABOUR PRODUCING ... IT WILL NO LONGER BE VIEWED AS *A CAUSE EQUAL TO CERTAIN EFFECTS,* BUT *AS AN EFFECT CERTAINLY REPRODUCIBLE BY A KNOWN CAUSE AT A KNOWN COST*" ([l.c.] pp. 84, 85).)

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[a] J. R. MacCulloch, *The Principles of Political Economy,* p. 313.— *Ed.*

De Quincey says of Malthus:

"MALTHUS IN HIS POLITICAL ECONOMY REFUSES TO SEE, NAY HE POSITIVELY DENIES, THAT IF 2 MEN PRODUCE A VARIABLE RESULT OF 10 AND 5, THEN IN ONE CASE EACH UNIT OF THE RESULT HAS COST DOUBLE THE LABOUR WHICH IT HAS COST IN THE OTHER. ON THE CONTRARY, BECAUSE THERE ARE ALWAYS 2 MEN, MR. MALTHUS OBSTINATELY INSISTS THAT *THE COST IN LABOUR* IS CONSTANT" (l.c., p. 215, note).

IN FACT, *THE COST IN LABOUR IS CONSTANT*, because, by presupposition, just as much labour is contained in 10 as in 5. But the *COST OF LABOUR* is not CONSTANT, because in the first case, since the productivity of labour has doubled, the time attributable to necessary labour is in a certain proportion reduced.

We shall examine Malthus' views immediately after this. Now, and before we discuss further the circulation time of capital and its relation to labour time, is the best time to consider the whole doctrine of Ricardo on this matter, in order to bring into sharper relief the difference between our own conception and his. (The quotations from Ricardo in Notebook VIII.)

His first premiss is *"competition without limitation"* and the unlimited possibility of increasing products through industry (19. R[icardo, D., *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,*] 3). In other words, this means nothing other than that the laws of capital are completely realised only within *UNLIMITED COMPETITION* and *INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION*. Capital develops adequately [only] on the latter productive basis and the former relation of production. [Only] on this basis and in this relation [do] the immanent laws of capital become complete reality. As this is so, it would be necessary to show how *UNLIMITED COMPETITION* and *INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION* are conditions for the realisation of capital, which it must itself produce to an ever increasing degree. (Instead, the hypothesis here appears as that of the mere theoretician, who places FREE COMPETITION and the productive mode of existence of capital externally and arbitrarily into the relation of capital to itself as capital, positing them not as themselves developments of capital, but as imaginary presuppositions of capital for the sake of its pure form.) This is, incidentally, the only place in Ricardo where he shows any inkling of the *historical* nature of bourgeois economic laws.

On this assumption, the *relative value* of commodities ("relative" is meaningless here, since [the concept of] absolute value is NONSENSE) is determined by the different quantities which can be produced in the same labour time, or in proportion to the quantities of labour realised in the commodities. (P. 4.) (Notebook,

19.) (Henceforth the first figure for the page in the notebook [VIII], the 2nd for the page in Ricardo.)

Ricardo is not at all interested in how we get from value as equivalent, determined by labour, to the non-equivalent, or to the value which posits surplus value in exchange, i.e. from value to capital, from one determination to the apparently antithetical one. The question for him is only: how the *value relation* between the commodities can remain the same, and how it can and must be determined by the relative amount of labour, *despite the fact* that the owners of accumulated labour and those of living labour do not exchange *equivalents* in labour, i.e. despite the relation of capital and labour. It is then a very simple mathematical example to show that commodity *a* and commodity *b* may exchange in proportion to the labour realised in them, although the producers of *a* or *b share out* product *a* or product *b,* for which it is exchanged, differently. But since all *division* here takes place on the basis of exchange, it seems in fact utterly inexplicable why one exchange value—living labour—exchanges according to the labour time realised in it, [VI-2] while the other exchange value—accumulated labour, capital—does not exchange according to the same standard. In this case, the owner of the *accumulated labour* could not be exchanging as a capitalist. Bray e.g. therefore believes that only with his concept of EQUAL EXCHANGE between living and dead labour has he taken Ricardo's analysis to its proper conclusion.[a] That from the standpoint of simple EXCHANGE, the *wages of the worker* would have to be equal to the *value of the product,* i.e. that the quantity of labour in objective form received by the worker in wages would have to be equal to the quantity of labour in subjective form which he expends in labour, is so necessary a conclusion that A. Smith actually draws it.[b]

Ricardo, by contrast, avoids this fallacy, but how?

"The *value* of labour, and the quantity of commodities which a definite quantity of labour can buy, are not identical."

WHY NOT?

"*Because* the product of the worker or an equivalent for this product is not=to the remuneration of the worker."

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[a] J. F. Bray, *Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy,* Leeds, 1839, pp. 28, 31, 34, 41-43, 47-50, 52, 53-57, 59-61, 68, 81-85, 153 and 154.— *Ed.*

[b] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Vol. I, London, 1835, pp. 100-02 and 130-31.— *Ed.*

This is to say that the identity does not exist, *because* the difference exists.

> *"Therefore"* (because the identity does not exist) "it is not the value of labour which is the measure of value, but the labour bestowed upon the quantity of commodities" (19, 5).

The value of labour is not identical with the remuneration of labour. *For* they are different. *Therefore* they are not identical. This is an odd conclusion. *Au fond,* the only ground for this assertion is that the identity is *not* observed in practice. But according to [his] theory, it ought to exist. For the exchange of values is determined by the labour time realised in them. Hence equivalents are exchanged. Hence a particular amount of labour time in living form would have to exchange for the same amount of labour time in the form of past labour. What would have to be proved is precisely that the law of exchange turns into its opposite. Not even the faintest suspicion is expressed here that it does so, unless this is expressed in the frequently repeated warning against the confusion [of the amount of labour with the remuneration for that labour]. That the distinction between past and living labour cannot do the job, is readily admitted:

> "The comparative quantity of commodities which a given amount of labour can produce determines their past and present value" (19, 9),

Where living labour thus even retrospectively determines the value of past labour. Thus, why is not capital also exchanged for living labour in relation to the labour realised in the capital? Why is it only an amount of living labour which is not itself=to the amount of labour in which it has objectified itself?

> "Labour naturally varies in quality, and it is difficult to compare different working hours in different industries. But a scale of comparison is very quickly established in practice" (19, 13). "For short periods of time, at least from one year to another, variations in this inequality are insignificant, and are *therefore* left out of account" (19, 15).

This is nothing. If Ricardo had applied his own principle, the amounts of (simple) labour to which different *labour capacities* are reducible, the matter would have been simple. Generally, he is concerned straight away with the hours of labour. What the capitalist obtains through exchange is *labour capacity*; this is the exchange value for which he pays. Living labour is the use value which this exchange value has for him, and from this use value arises surplus value and the transcendence of exchange altogether.

By letting [the capitalist] exchange with living labour, and thus plunging straight into the process of production, Ricardo is left with an insoluble antinomy in his system, that a certain amount of living labour is not=to the commodity which it produces, in which it objectifies itself, even though the value of the commodity =the amount of labour contained in it.

"The labour necessary to bring the commodities to market is also included" in their value (19, 18).

We shall see that circulation time, in so far as it appears as determining value with Ricardo, is only the labour necessary to bring the commodities to market.

"The principle that the relative amounts of labour contained by commodities determine their value, becomes significantly modified by the application of machinery and other fixed and durable capital. A rise or fall in the wages of labour will affect differently 2 capitals, one of which is almost entirely circulating and the other almost entirely fixed; similarly the different duration of the fixed capital employed. For the *profit on the fixed capital* (interest) has to be added and also the compensation for the longer period of time which must elapse before the more valuable of the two commodities can be brought to market" (19; 25, 27, 29, 30).

This latter moment concerns only the duration of the process of production, i.e. the labour time directly employed, at least in Ricardo's example of the farmer and the baker [ibid., pp. 26, 27]. (If the former's wheat takes longer to become ready for the market than the latter's bread, then this so-called *compensation* already presupposes *interest*, as in the case of *capital fixe*; thus already something derivative, not an original determination.)

"Profit and wages are only the respective *shares* of the two classes of capitalists and workers in the original commodity, hence also in the commodity exchanged for it" (pp. 21, [19-]20).

How much the production of *the original commodity,* its origin itself, is determined by these *shares,* how it therefore *precedes* these shares as the basis of determination, is shown by the fact that the *original commodity* would not be produced at all, if it did not contain surplus labour for the capitalist.

"Commodities upon which the same quantity of labour has been bestowed differ in relative value, if they cannot be brought to market in the same time... Also, in the case of a *greater fixed capital,* the higher value of a commodity is due to the greater length of time which must elapse before it can be brought to market... The difference in both cases arises from profits being accumulated as capital, and is only a compensation for the *time that the profits were held back*" (20, 34, 30-31, 35).

This means absolutely nothing other than that capital lying fallow *is reckoned and accounted for* as though it were not lying fallow but were being exchanged for surplus labour time. This has nothing to do with value determination; it comes under the heading of price. (In the case of fixed capital it comes into the determination of value only in so far as it is *another method* of the payment of objectified labour, abstracted from profit.)

//"THERE IS ANOTHER PRINCIPLE OF LABOUR WHICH NOTHING POINTS OUT TO THE ECONOMICAL INQUIRER IN OLD COUNTRIES, BUT OF WHICH EVERY COLONIAL CAPITALIST HAS BEEN MADE CONSCIOUS IN HIS OWN PERSON. BY FAR THE GREATER PART OF THE OPERATIONS OF INDUSTRY, AND ESPECIALLY THOSE OF WHICH THE *PRODUCE IS GREAT IN PROPORTION TO THE CAPITAL AND LABOUR EMPLOYED,* REQUIRE *A CONSIDERABLE TIME FOR COMPLETION.* AS TO MOST OF THEM, IT IS NOT WORTH WHILE TO MAKE A COMMENCEMENT WITHOUT THE CERTAINTY OF BEING ABLE TO CARRY THEM ON FOR SEVERAL YEARS. A LARGE PORTION OF THE CAPITAL EMPLOYED IN THEM IS *FIXED, INCONVERTIBLE, DURABLE.* IF ANYTHING HAPPENS TO STOP THE OPERATION, ALL THIS CAPITAL IS LOST. *IF THE HARVEST CANNOT BE GATHERED, THE WHOLE OUTLAY IN MAKING IT GROW* HAS BEEN THROWN AWAY... This shows that *CONSTANCY* IS A NO LESS IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE AS COMBINATION OF LABOUR. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSTANCY IS NOT SEEN HERE, BECAUSE RARELY INDEED DOES IT HAPPEN, THAT THE LABOUR WHICH CARRIES ON A BUSINESS, IS STOPPED AGAINST THE WILL OF THE CAPITALIST... But in the *COLONIES* exactly the reverse happens. Here CAPITALISTS ARE SO MUCH AFRAID OF IT, THAT THEY AVOID ITS OCCURRENCE AS MUCH AS THEY CAN, BY AVOIDING AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE OPERATIONS WHICH REQUIRE MUCH TIME FOR THEIR COMPLETION" (Wakefield, [*A View of the Art of Colonisation*, London, 1849,] pp. 169-70, XIV [70,] 71). "THERE ARE NUMEROUS *OPERATIONS OF SO SIMPLE A KIND* AS NOT TO ADMIT *A DIVISION INTO PARTS,* WHICH CANNOT BE PERFORMED WITHOUT THE CO-OPERATION OF MANY PAIRS OF HANDS. E.G. THE LIFTING OF A LARGE TREE ONTO A WAIN, KEEPING DOWN WEEDS IN A LARGE FIELD OF GROWING CROP, SHEARING A LARGE FLOCK OF SHEEP AT THE SAME TIME, GATHERING A HARVEST OF CORN AT THE TIME WHEN IT IS RIPE ENOUGH AND NOT TOO RIPE, MOVING ANY GREAT WEIGHT; EVERYTHING, IN SHORT, WHICH CANNOT BE DONE UNLESS A GOOD MANY PAIRS OF HANDS HELP TOGETHER IN THE SAME UNDIVIDED EMPLOYMENT, AND AT THE SAME TIME" (l.c., p. 168). "*COMBINATION* AND *CONSTANCY OF LABOUR* ARE PROVIDED FOR IN OLD COUNTRIES, WITHOUT AN EFFORT OR [a] THOUGHT ON THE PART OF THE CAPITALIST, MERELY BY THE *ABUNDANCE OF LABOURERS FOR HIRE.* THE SCARCITY OF LABOURERS FOR HIRE IS THE UNIVERSAL COMPLAINT OF COLONIES" (l.c., p. 170). "Only the *CHEAPEST LAND* IN A COLONY IS THAT WHOSE PRICE AFFECTS THE *LABOUR MARKET. THE PRICE OF THIS LAND, AS OF ALL BARE LAND, AND OF EVERYTHING ELSE WHICH IT COSTS NOTHING TO PRODUCE,* DEPENDS OF COURSE ON THE *RELATION BETWEEN THE DEMAND AND THE SUPPLY*" [l.c., p. 332]. "IN ORDER THAT *THE PRICE OF WASTE LAND* SHOULD ACCOMPLISH ITS OBJECTS" (i.e. to make the worker into a *non*-proprietor of land) "IT MUST BE *SUFFICIENT* FOR THE PURPOSE. HITHERTO THE PRICE HAS BEEN EVERYWHERE INSUFFICIENT" (l.c., p. 338).

On this "SUFFICIENT" PRICE:

"IN FOUNDING A COLONY THE PRICE MIGHT BE SO LOW AS TO RENDER THE QUANTITY OF LAND APPROPRIATED BY SETTLERS PRACTICALLY UNLIMITED: IT MIGHT BE HIGH

ENOUGH TO OCCASION A PROPORTION BETWEEN LAND AND PEOPLE SIMILAR TO THAT OF OLD COUNTRIES, IN WHICH CASE, IF THIS VERY HIGH PRICE DID NOT PREVENT EMIGRATION, THE CHEAPEST LAND IN THE COLONY MIGHT BE AS DEAR, AND THE SUPERABUNDANCE OF LABOURERS AS DEPLORABLE AS IN ENGLAND: OR IT MIGHT BE A JUST MEDIUM BETWEEN THE TWO, OCCASIONING NEITHER SUPERABUNDANCE OF PEOPLE NOR SUPERABUNDANCE OF LAND, BUT SO LIMITING THE QUANTITY OF LAND, AS TO GIVE THE CHEAPEST LAND A MARKET VALUE, THAT WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF COMPELLING LABOURERS TO WORK SOME CONSIDERABLE TIME FOR WAGES BEFORE THEY COULD BECOME LANDOWNERS" (l.c., p. 339) (Notebook XIV, 71).

(The passage here quoted from Wakefield's *Art of Colonisation* belongs to those quoted above concerning the necessary separation of the worker from the conditions of property.)//

[VI-3] (The calculation of profit as distinct from that of the real surplus value which capital posits in its exchange with living labour, is clear e.g. in the following example.[145] It is A STATEMENT in the *First Report of the Factory Commissioners.* (Malthus, *Principles of Political Economy,* 2nd ed. [London,] 1836, [pp. 269-70] (Notebook X, p. 42).)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | CAPITAL SUNK IN BUILDING AND MACHINERY | £10,000 |
| | FLOATING CAPITAL | 7,000 |
| £ 500 | INTEREST ON £10,000 FIXED CAPITAL | |
| 350 | ON FLOATING CAPITAL | |
| 150 | RENTS, TAXES, RATES | |
| 650 | SINKING FUND OF 6 1/2[%] FOR WEAR AND TEAR OF THE FIXED CAPITAL | |
| £ 1,650 | | |
| £ 1,100 | CONTINGENCIES, CARRIAGE, COAL, OIL | |
| 2,750 | | |
| 2,600 | WAGES AND SALARIES | |
| 5,350 | | |
| 10,000 | FOR ABOUT 400,000 LBS. RAW COTTON AT 6D. | |
| 15,350 | | |
| 16,000 | FOR 363,000 LBS TWIST SPUN. VALUE | £16,000 |

The capital laid out on labour is 2,600; surplus value is=to 1,650 (850 INTEREST+150 RENTS, etc., making 1,000+650 profit).

But 2,600:1,650=100:63 6/13. Hence the rate of surplus value is 63 6/13%. If calculated in the same way as [the rate of] profit itself, the figures would be 850 INTEREST, 150 RENTS, [etc.,] and 650 profit, or 1,650:15,350; over 10.7%.

In the above example, the circulating capital is turned over $1\,^{67}/_{70}$ times a year; the fixed capital is turned over once in $15\,^{5}/_{13}$ years, once in $^{200}/_{13}$ years.[146]

*Profit*: 650 OR ABOUT 4.2% [on the capital of £15,350 annually employed]. The WAGES of the OPERATIVES [and salaries] $^{1}/_{6}$ [of the yearly outlay]. Profit is stated here at 4.2%; let us say it was only 4%. This 4% is calculated on an outlay of 15,350. But then we still have [to add] 5% INTEREST on £10,000 and 5% on 7,000; £850=5% on 17,000.

We must deduct from the annual ADVANCES actually MADE (1) the part of fixed capital which does not figure in the SINKING FUND; (2) that which is calculated as INTEREST. (It is possible that capitalist *B*, not capitalist *A*, pockets the interest. In any case, it is income, not capital; surplus value.) 850 must therefore be deducted from the outlays of 15,350; leaves: 14,500. Of the 2,600 for WAGES and SALARIES there were £$41\,^{2}/_{3}$ in the form of SALARY; since $^{1}/_{6}$ of 15,350 is not 2,600, but $2{,}558\,^{1}/_{3}$.[147] This divided by 14,500 is [1:] $5\,^{205}/_{307}$, say [1:] 6.

He therefore sells the 14,500 for 16,000, giving him a profit of 1,500 or $10\,^{10}/_{29}$%. We can ignore the $^{10}/_{29}$% and take [the rate of profit as] 10%; $^{1}/_{6}$ of 100 is $16\,^{2}/_{3}$. Thus 100 [capital] would yield $83\,^{1}/_{3}$ for ADVANCES [on constant capital], $16\,^{2}/_{3}$ for wages, and profit 10. Thus:

| ADVANCES | Wages | Sum | Reproduced | Profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| £ $83\,^{1}/_{3}$ | $16\,^{2}/_{3}$ | 100 | 110 | 10 |

10 on $16\,^{2}/_{3}$ or on $^{50}/_{3}$ is EXACTLY 60%. Therefore, if the capitalist on his own calculation is to derive an annual profit of 10% (actually, it was somewhat greater) on a capital of £17,000, wherein labour accounts for only $^{1}/_{6}$ of the annual ADVANCES of £14,500, the worker (or capital, if you prefer) must produce a surplus value of 60%. Or $62\,^{1}/_{2}$% of the total labour time is for necessary labour and $37\,^{1}/_{2}$% for surplus labour. Their ratio is 625:375 or 5:3 or $1{:}^{3}/_{5}$. If, however, the ADVANCES on capital had been 50, the ADVANCES on wages also 50, then a surplus value of only 20% would have to be produced for the capitalist to derive [a profit of] 10%; 50+50+10=110. But 10:50 is 20:100 or 20%. If necessary labour posited as much surplus labour in the second CASE as in the first, the profit of the capitalist would amount to £30. On the other hand, if the rate of real value creation, of the positing of surplus labour, were only as large in the first CASE as in the second, profit would amount only to £$3\,^{1}/_{3}$; and if the capitalist had to pay

5% interest to another capitalist, he would have to carry an actual LOSS.

This much arises simply from the formula: (1) that to measure the real [rate of] surplus value, one must calculate the profit on the ADVANCE made for wages; the percentage which expresses the proportion between the so-called profit and wages; (2) the relatively smaller percentage expressing the proportion between the outlay on living labour and the total outlay, presupposes a greater outlay on fixed capital, machinery, etc., a greater division of labour. Although the percentage of labour is therefore smaller than in the case of the capital working with more labour, the mass of labour it actually sets in motion must be significantly greater, i.e. a greater capital generally has to be worked with. The fractional part of labour relative to total ADVANCES is smaller; but the absolute sum of labour set in motion is greater for the individual capital, which means that this capital must itself be greater. (3) If we are dealing not with a greater quantity of machinery, etc., but with an instrument which does not set more labour in motion, and does not itself represent a great fixed capital (e.g. a manually operated lithographic press), but simply replaces labour, then the profit of one [the capitalist] using that instrument is absolutely smaller than that of one working with living labour. (But the former can make a percentage of profit higher than the latter and therefore drive him from the market.) (etc.) The examination of how far the rate of profit can decline as capital grows, in such a way that GROSS PROFIT still increases, belongs in the theory of profit *(competition).*

In his *Principles of Political Economy,* 2nd ed., [London,] 1836, *Malthus* has an inkling of the fact that profit, i.e. not profit but *real surplus value,* must be calculated not in relation to the capital advanced, but to the living labour advanced, whose value is objectively expressed in wages. But this leads him into pure trivialities, which become absurdities when he tries to use them as a basis for the determination of value or for statements concerning the relation of labour to value determination.

For if I take the total value of the finished product, then I can compare every part of the product advanced with the corresponding part of the outlays; and the percentage of profit in relation to the whole product is of course also the percentage for the fractional part of the product. Say e.g. 100 thaler yielded 110. Thus 10% on the whole product. Say that 75 thaler is for the invariable part of capital, and 25 for labour; hence $^3/_4$ [VI-4] for the former and $^1/_4$ for living labour. If I now take $^1/_4$ from the

total product, i.e. from 110, I obtain $27\,^2/_4$ or $27\,^1/_2$. On an outlay of 25 for labour, the capitalist has gained $2\,^1/_2$, i.e. 10%. Malthus could just as well have said, if I take $^3/_4$ from the total product, i.e. 75, then these $^3/_4$ are represented in the total product by $82\,^1/_2$, thus $7\,^1/_2$ out of 75 is EXACTLY 10%. Obviously, this means nothing more than that if my profit is 10% on 100, the profit on every part of the 100 is as much as will in total add up to 10% on the overall sum. If my profit is 10 on 100, then on 2×50 my profit is 5 each time, etc. The knowledge that, if my profit is 10 on 100, it is $2\,^1/_2$ on $^1/_4$ of 100, and $7\,^1/_2$ on $^3/_4$, does not get us one step further. If my profit is 10 on 100, then what is it on $^1/_4$ of 100 or on $^3/_4$? Malthus's inspiration comes down to this sort of triviality. The advance on labour amounted to $^1/_4$ of 100, hence the profit on it was 10%, which is $2\,^1/_2$ on 25. Or if the capitalist's profit is 10 on 100, it is $^1/_{10}$ on each part of his capital, i.e. 10%. This does not in any way give the parts of capital any qualitative character relative to one another, and therefore this is just as true of fixed capital, etc., as it is of that advanced in labour.

Moreover, this [procedure] merely expresses the illusion that every part of capital has contributed equally to the newly created value. Not even the $^1/_4$ advanced for wages has created surplus value, but the unpaid living labour. But from the proportion of total value [outlays deducted]—in this case 10 thaler—to wages, we can ascertain what percentage of the labour has not been paid, or how much was surplus labour. In the above relation, necessary labour is objectified in 25 thaler, surplus labour in 10; hence their ratio is 25:10=100:40; 40% of labour was surplus labour or, what is the same thing, 40% of the value it created was surplus value. It is quite true that the capitalist can calculate thus: if my profit is 10 on 100, my profit on the wages of 25 is $2\,^1/_2$. It is not possible to see what use this calculation is supposed to be. But the purpose Malthus has in mind we shall see shortly when we go into his determination of value. That he actually believes that his simple arithmetical example contains a real determination is clear from the following:

"Suppose that capital is wholly expended in wages; £100 EXPENDED IN IMMEDIATE LABOUR. The RETURNS at the end of the year 110, 120 or 130; IT IS EVIDENT THAT IN EACH CASE THE PROFITS WILL BE DETERMINED BY THE PROPORTION OF THE *VALUE OF THE WHOLE PRODUCE* WHICH IS REQUIRED TO PAY THE LABOUR EMPLOYED. IF THE VALUE OF THE PRODUCE IN THE MARKET=110, THE PROPORTION REQUIRED TO PAY THE LABOURERS=$^{10}/_{11}$ of the VALUE of the PRODUCE, or PROFITS=10%" [p. 267].

(Here Mr. Malthus merely expresses the original advance, £100, as a proportion of total product. 100 is $^{10}/_{11}$ of 110. To say that my profit is 10 on 100, i.e. $^{1}/_{10}$ of 100, is the same as saying that $^{1}/_{11}$ of the 110 is profit.)

"If the value of the produce be 120, the proportion for LABOUR=$^{10}/_{12}$, and profits 20%; if 130, the PROPORTION REQUIRED TO PAY THE LABOUR=$^{10}/_{13}$, and profits=30%" [ibid.].

(Instead of saying that my profit is 10 on 100, I can also say that the advances amount to $^{10}/_{11}$ of the 110; or if my profit is 20 on 100, that the advances amount to $^{10}/_{12}$ of 120, etc. The character of these advances, whether in LABOUR or OTHERWISE, has absolutely nothing to do with this arithmetical form of expressing the matter. If a capital of 100 has only yielded 110, I can either set out from the capital and say that I have gained 10 on it; or I can set out from the product of 110 and say that I have previously advanced only $^{10}/_{11}$ of it. The relation is of course the same.)

"Now suppose that the ADVANCES of the CAPITALIST do not consist of LABOUR alone ... the capitalist *expects an equal profit upon all the parts of the capital which he advances*" [pp. 267-68].

(This only means that he attributes the profit he has made, and about whose origin he may be very much in the dark, equally to all parts of his expenses, abstracting entirely from their qualitative difference.)

"Assume that $^{1}/_{4}$ of his ADVANCES [are] for (immediate) LABOUR, and $^{3}/_{4}$ consist of ACCUMULATED LABOUR and PROFITS, with ANY ADDITIONS WHICH MAY ARISE from RENTS, TAXES or other OUTGOINGS... *Then it will be STRICTLY TRUE THAT THE PROFITS OF THE CAPITALIST WILL VARY WITH THE VARYING VALUE of this $^{1}/_{4}$ of the PRODUCE COMPARED WITH THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR EMPLOYED*" [ibid.].

(Not [compared with the] QUANTITY [of labour employed], as Mr. Malthus has it, but COMPARED WITH THE WAGES PAID.)

(It is thus STRICTLY TRUE THAT HIS PROFITS WILL VARY WITH THE VARYING VALUE OF THE $^{3}/_{4}$ OF HIS PRODUCE COMPARED WITH THE ADVANCES IN ACCUMULATED LABOUR, i.e. profit relates to the total capital advanced (10:100) in the same way as each part of the total product (110) relates to the part of the ADVANCES corresponding to it.)

"As an instance let us suppose," continues Malthus, "that a FARMER employs in CULTIVATION £2,000, 1,500 of which he expends IN SEED, KEEP OF HORSES, WEAR and TEAR OF HIS FIXED CAPITAL, etc., and £500 on IMMEDIATE LABOUR; and that the RETURNS obtained at the end [of the year] are worth 2,400. His profits will be 400 on 2,000=20%. It is straight away OBVIOUS THAT IF WE TOOK $^{1}/_{4}$ of the VALUE of the PRODUCE, namely £600, and COMPARED IT WITH THE AMOUNT PAID IN THE WAGES OF THE

IMMEDIATE LABOUR, THE RESULT WOULD SHOW EXACTLY THE SAME RATE OF PROFITS" (l.c., pp. 267, 268. Notebook X, 41, 42).

(It is equally OBVIOUS that IF WE TOOK $^3/_4$ of the VALUE of the PRODUCE, namely 1,800, and COMPARED IT WITH THE AMOUNT PAID IN THE ADVANCES OF ACCUMULATED LABOUR, namely with 1,500, THE RESULT WOULD SHOW EXACTLY THE SAME RATE OF PROFITS. 1,800:1,500=18:15=6:5. But 6 is $^1/_5$ more than 5, hence 20%.)

(Malthus here has two different arithmetic forms in his head, and jumbles them together. *Firstly*: If my profit is 10 on 100, I have not gained 10 on each part of 100, but 10%; therefore 5 on 50, 2 $^1/_2$ on 25, etc.; if I make 10 on 100, I have gained $^1/_{10}$ on each part of 100, and profit must work itself out as $^1/_{10}$ profit on wages. If profit is attributed equally to all parts of the capital, I can say that the rate of profit on total capital varies with the rate of profit on each of its component parts, and thus e.g. also on that advanced in wages. *Secondly:* If I have made 10% on 100, then total product is 110. If wages were $^1/_4$ of the advances=25, they now represent only a 4 $^2/_5$th part of 110; i.e. a fraction which is smaller by $^2/_5$, and it will [have] to constitute a smaller part of the total product in the same proportion as the total product has increased in comparison with the original [capital]. This, again, is merely a different type of calculation. 10 is $^1/_{10}$ of 100, but only $^1/_{11}$ of 110. Therefore, I can say that in the same proportion as total product increases, each of the fractional parts of the original capital constitutes a smaller part of it. Tautology.)

In his work, *The Measure of Value Stated and Illustrated*, London, 1823, (Notebook IX), Malthus asserts that the *"VALUE OF LABOUR"* is *"CONSTANT"* and is thus the TRUE MEASURE OF VALUE GENERALLY.

"ANY GIVEN QUANTITY OF LABOUR MUST BE OF THE *SAME VALUE* AS THE WAGES WHICH COMMAND IT, OR FOR WHICH IT ACTUALLY EXCHANGES" (l.c., p. 5) (IX, 29).

He is of course referring to wage labour. The truth of the matter is rather that ANY GIVEN QUANTITY OF LABOUR IS=to the same QUANTITY OF LABOUR expressed in a product; or every product is only a particular amount of labour, objectified in the value of the product. The value of this product relative to that of others is measured by this amount. Certainly wages express the value of living labour capacity, but not at all that [VI-5] of living labour, which is expressed rather in terms of wages+profit. Wages are the price of *necessary labour.* If the worker had to work for 6 hours to live, and he produced only for himself, as a pure worker, he would obtain commodities [to the value] of 6 hours' labour, say

6d., each day. Now the capitalist sets him to work for 12 hours and pays him 6d. He pays him $^1/_2$d. per hour. I.e. A GIVEN QUANTITY OF 12 HOURS OF LABOUR HAS THE VALUE OF 12D., AND 12D. IS INDEED THE VALUE FOR WHICH THE PRODUCE EXCHANGES, WHEN IT GETS SOLD.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE CAPITALIST COMMANDS WITH THIS VALUE, IF HE COULD REINVEST IT IN MERE LABOUR, 24 HOURS. THE WAGES COMMAND, THEREFORE, A MUCH GREATER QUANTITY OF LABOUR THAN THEY CONSIST OF, AND A GIVEN QUANTITY OF LIVING LABOUR ACTUALLY EXCHANGES FOR A MUCH SMALLER ONE OF ACCUMULATED LABOUR. THE ONLY THING THAT IS SURE IS THAT THE PRICE OF LABOUR, WAGES, MUST ALWAYS EXPRESS THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR WHICH THE LABOURERS WANT IN ORDER TO KEEP SOUL AND BODY TOGETHER. THE WAGES OF ANY QUANTITY OF LABOUR MUST BE EQUAL TO THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR WHICH THE LABOURER MUST EXPEND UPON HIS OWN REPRODUCTION. IN THE ABOVE INSTANCE A MAN WOULD SET TO WORK TWO MEN FOR 12 HOURS EACH—TOGETHER 24 HOURS—WITH THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR AFFORDED BY ONE MAN. In the above example, the product would be exchanged for another product to the value of 12d., or for 12 hours' labour, and in this way its profit of 6d. would arise (ITS SURPLUS VALUE for the capitalist).

The value of products is determined by the labour contained in them, not by that part of it which the employer pays for. *Labour performed, not labour paid for, constitutes the value of the product;* but WAGES express *only* labour *paid for,* never *the labour actually performed.* The measure of this payment itself depends on the productivity of labour, for this determines the quantity of necessary labour time; and since WAGES constitute the *VALUE OF LABOUR* (LABOUR itself posited as a commodity), this VALUE is continuously VARIABLE, and anything but CONSTANT. The quantity of labour actually performed by the worker is very different from the quantity which is embodied in his labour capacity, or which is necessary to reproduce his labour capacity. But as commodity he does not sell the use which is made of it; he does not sell himself as CAUSE but as EFFECT. Let us hear how Mr. Malthus exerts himself to get on top of the matter:

"THE CONDITIONS OF THE SUPPLY OF COMMODITIES DO NOT REQUIRE THAT THEY SHOULD RETAIN ALWAYS THE SAME RELATIVE VALUES; BUT THAT EACH SHOULD RETAIN ITS PROPER *NATURAL* VALUE, OR THE MEANS OF OBTAINING THOSE OBJECTS WHICH WILL CONTINUE TO THE PRODUCER *THE SAME POWER OF PRODUCTION* AND ACCUMULATION ... PROFITS ARE CALCULATED UPON THE ADVANCES NECESSARY TO PRODUCTION ... *THE SPECIFIC ADVANCES OF CAPITALISTS DO NOT CONSIST OF CLOTH, BUT OF LABOUR*; AND *AS NO OTHER OBJECT WHATEVER CAN REPRESENT A GIVEN QUANTITY OF LABOUR,* it is clear that it is the *QUANTITY OF LABOUR WHICH A COMMODITY WILL COMMAND,* AND NOT THE QUANTITY OF ANY OTHER COMMODITY, WHICH CAN REPRESENT THE CONDITION OF ITS SUPPLY, OR ITS *NATURAL VALUE*" (pp. 17, 18) (IX, 29).

From the fact alone that the *ADVANCES* of the CAPITALIST consist *OF LABOUR*, Malthus could see that something was wrong with this line of argument. Suppose that necessary labour time is 6 hours; *A* and *B*, two fellows both working for themselves but exchanging with one another. Let *A* work 6 hours, *B* 12 hours. If *A* now wishes to eat up the extra 6 hours which *B* has worked, wants to consume the product of the 6 surplus hours worked by *B*, he can do so only by giving *B* 6 hours of living labour, say on the next day. But *B* now possesses a product of 6 hours' work over and above that in *A*'s possession. Assume now that in this situation *B* imagined himself as a capitalist, and stopped working altogether. On the third day, he would only have his ACCUMULATED PRODUCE of 6 hours to exchange for *A*'s 6 hours [of living labour]; and as soon as he completed the exchange, he would have to take up working again or die of starvation. But if he continued to work 12 hours for *A*, and *A* continued to work 6 hours for himself and 6 for *B*, they would both exchange exactly 12 hours with one another.

The *NATURAL VALUE* of the COMMODITY, Malthus says, consists in its ability to return to its owner, by means of exchange, THE *SAME POWER OF PRODUCTION* AND *ACCUMULATION*. His commodity is composed of two distinct quantities of labour: one of accumulated labour, and one of IMMEDIATE labour. Hence, if he exchanges his commodity for another commodity which contains exactly the same total quantity of labour, his POWER OF PRODUCTION and ACCUMULATION is at least the same, undiminished. In fact, however, it has grown, because a part of the IMMEDIATE labour has cost him *nothing*, and yet he sells it. Malthus, however, concludes that the quantity of labour of which the commodity consists is *only* labour which has been paid for, and therefore=the sum of WAGES; or that *WAGES* provide the measure of the value of the commodity. If every quantity of labour contained in the commodity were paid for, Mr. Malthus's doctrine would be correct. But then it would be equally correct to say that his capitalist would not have to make any "ADVANCES OF LABOUR" and he would lose his "POWERS OF ACCUMULATION" altogether.

Where should profit come from if no gratis labour is performed? Ah, says Mr. Malthus, from the WAGES for ACCUMULATED labour. But since *labour already performed* has ceased to labour, it also ceases to draw WAGES. True, the product in which it exists could be exchanged again for living labour. But assume this product to be=to 6 hours' labour; the worker would then supply 6 hours of living labour and receive in return the ADVANCES, the 6 hours of already performed labour in the possession of

the capitalist, who would have gained nothing from this transaction. Living labour would very soon be in possession of his dead labour. The reason put forward by Malthus is that, because "NO OTHER OBJECT WHATEVER CAN REPRESENT A GIVEN QUANTITY OF LABOUR", the NATURAL VALUE of a commodity consists of the "QUANTITY OF LABOUR WHICH A COMMODITY WILL COMMAND, AND NOT THE QUANTITY OF ANY OTHER COMMODITY" [ibid., p. 18], i.e. A GIVEN QUANTITY OF LABOUR can only be represented by A QUANTITY OF LIVING (IMMEDIATE) LABOUR. But far from "NO OTHER" object being able TO REPRESENT A GIVEN QUANTITY OF LABOUR, EVERY OBJECT WHATEVER CAN do so, viz. every object in which the same QUANTITY [of] LABOUR is contained. Yet Malthus wants the QUANTITY OF LABOUR contained in the commodity to be measured; in his view, it should be equal to the *quantity of paid labour* which it sets in motion, not *that of living labour* which it can set in motion.

Assume that the commodity contains 24 hours of labour. Malthus imagines that the capitalist can buy 2 days' labour with it; and if the capitalist paid for the full amount of the labour [contained in it], or if the quantity of labour already performed were=to the quantity of paid living labour, he could buy *only* 24 hours of living labour with 24 hours of labour already performed, and his "POWERS OF ACCUMULATION" WOULD HAVE GONE TO THE WALL. But the capitalist does not pay the worker for the labour time, the quantity of labour, but merely for the necessary labour time, while he compels him to work for the REST of the time free of charge. With the 24 hours' accumulated labour time, he will thus set in motion perhaps 48 hours of living labour. With one hour of accumulated labour, he therefore pays IN FACT for 2 hours of living labour, and hence gains 100% on the exchange. The value of his commodity now=48 hours; but it is in no way equal to the WAGES for which it has been exchanged, nor to the WAGES for which it is again exchanged. If he continues in the same relation, he will purchase 96 hours of living labour with 48 hours of accumulated labour.

Suppose that not a single capitalist existed, but only workers directly exchanging with one another, who worked more than was necessary to live, because they also wished to accumulate, etc. Call the part of the labour which the worker performs in order to live *WAGES*, and the surplus time he works in order to accumulate, *profit*. In this case, the value of his commodity would=the total quantity of labour contained in it=the total sum of living labour time; but in no way would it=the WAGES which he paid himself, or be equal to the part of the commodity which he would have to reproduce

in order to live.

Because the value of a commodity is=to a certain quantity of labour, Malthus asserts that it is=to the quantity of necessary labour contained in it (i.e. the WAGES) and not to the total sum of labour contained in it; i.e. its whole is=to a fraction of it. [VI-6] Obviously, the worker's "POWERS OF ACCUMULATION" could only arise from the fact that he had worked more than was necessary to pay his WAGES to himself. If a particular quantity of living labour were=to the time for which the worker must work to live, then a particular quantity of living labour would be=to the WAGES which he produces, or the WAGES would be exactly equal to the living labour which they set in motion. If such were the case, capital would of course be impossible. If a worker cannot produce more than his WAGES in his entire labour time, he cannot with the best will in the world squeeze out a farthing for the capitalist. PROPERTY IS THE OFFSPRING OF THE PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOUR.

"If one can produce only for one, everyone a worker; THERE COULD BE NO PROPERTY. WHEN ONE MAN'S LABOUR CAN MAINTAIN 5, THERE WILL BE 4 IDLE MEN FOR 1 EMPLOYED IN PRODUCTION" (Ravenstone [*Thoughts on the Funding System, and Its Effects*, p. 11]).

We have seen above how Malthus's fanciful profundity expressed itself in a purely childish kind of arithmetic. Incidentally, behind it lay the doctrine that THE VALUE OF LABOUR is constant and that WAGES constitute price. Because the rate of profit upon an entire capital can be expressed as the same rate upon the fractional part which represents WAGES, he asserts that this fractional part constitutes and determines price. Exactly the same *profundity* as here. If commodity $a$=an amount of $x$ commodity, he imagines that this can only mean that commodity $a=x$ living labour, for only labour can represent labour. From this he concludes that commodity $a$=the quantity of *wage labour* it can command, and that therefore the value of labour is constant, because it is always=to [that of] the commodity by which it is set in motion. The point is simply that he equates the quantity of living labour with that of wage labour, and that he believes that every fractional part of wage labour is really paid for. But $x$ living labour can be (and as wage labour is only)=$x-y$ necessary labour (WAGES)+$y$ surplus labour. Hence $x$ dead labour can set in motion $x-y$ necessary labour (WAGES)+$y$ surplus labour time, i.e. it always sets in motion as much additional living labour time as there are hours of surplus labour time over and above necessary labour time

in $x$ hours of labour.

Wage labour always consists of paid and unpaid labour.

To say that the VALUE *of labour* is constant therefore means nothing other than that all labour time is necessary labour time, i.e. labour time producing WAGES. There is no surplus labour time and—nevertheless there are "POWERS OF ACCUMULATION" and capital. Since WAGES are always equal to a given quantity of labour, i.e. the quantity of living labour which they set in motion, and this is the same quantity of labour which is contained in the WAGES, the *value of labour* is constant, since it is always=to the quantity of labour objectified. The fall and rise of wages thus stems from the fall and rise of the price of commodities, not of the *value of labour.* Whether a worker gets 8 or 16 shillings in silver a week, depends only on whether the price of shillings has risen or fallen, but the value of labour has remained the same. In both cases, he receives a week of accumulated labour for a week of living labour. Mr. Malthus proves this in the following way:

"If labour alone, without capital, WERE EMPLOYED IN PROCURING THE FRUITS OF THE EARTH, THE GREATER FACILITY OF PROCURING ONE SORT OF THEM COMPARED WITH ANOTHER, WOULD NOT, IT IS ACKNOWLEDGED, ALTER THE VALUE OF LABOUR, OR THE EXCHANGEABLE VALUE OF THE WHOLE PRODUCE OBTAINED BY A GIVEN QUANTITY OF EXERTION" [Th. R. Malthus, *The Measure of Value Stated and Illustrated*, p. 33].

This means nothing but that [the value of] every commodity, leaving aside its quantity, would be determined by the labour contained in it, although this labour would be expressed in a greater quantity of use values in one CASE and a lesser quantity in another, depending upon the degree of its productivity.

"*WE SHOULD, WITHOUT HESITATION, ALLOW THAT THE DIFFERENCE WAS IN THE CHEAPNESS OR DEARNESS OF THE PRODUCE, NOT OF THE LABOUR*" [ibid.].

We should say that labour is more productive in the one branch of production than in the other, or also that the product costs more or less labour. In as much as no *wage labour* existed, we could not speak of CHEAPNESS OR DEARNESS OF LABOUR. Hence an hour of immediate labour would always command an hour of objectified labour, which would not of course prevent one hour's labour being more productive than another's. Nevertheless, in so far as we distinguish the part of labour necessary for subsistence, from surplus labour—and if any hours of the day at all are worked as surplus time, it is the same as if each fractional part of labour time

consisted of one part necessary and one part surplus labour—done by the IMMEDIATE LABOURERS, it could not be said that the *value of labour*, i.e. *WAGES*, the part of the product which is exchanged for necessary labour, or the part of total labour bestowed on the necessary product, is *constant*. The fractional part of labour time which reproduces WAGES would change with the productivity of labour. Consequently, the *value of labour*, i.e. WAGES, would constantly vary with the productivity of labour. WAGES would still be measured by a definite *use value;* and since the exchange value of this use value constantly varies with changes in the productivity of labour, WAGES or the *value of labour* would vary. The concept of the *value of labour* in any case implies that living labour is *not* equal to its product, or, what is the same thing, that it is sold not as an acting cause but as itself a produced effect. To say that the value of labour is constant means nothing but that it is constantly measured by the quantity of labour contained in it.[a]

A product may contain a greater or lesser quantity of labour. Hence at various times a greater or a lesser portion of product *a* may exchange for product *b*. But the quantity of living labour which the product purchases can never be greater or smaller than the quantity of accumulated labour it represents; for a particular quantity of labour is always a particular quantity of labour, whether it exists in the form of objectified or that of living labour. If, therefore, a greater or lesser quantity of a product is given for a certain quantity of living labour, i.e. if wages rise or fall, this does not stem from a rise or fall in the value of labour, for the value of a particular quantity of labour is always equal to the same quantity of labour. It is due rather to the fact that the products cost more or less labour, and so a greater or lesser quantity of the products represents the same quantity of labour.

The *value of labour therefore remains constant.* Only the *value of the products changes*, i.e. the productive power of labour varies, not its value. This is THE PITH OF THE THEORY OF MALTHUS, IF YOU CAN CALL SUCH A SHALLOW FALLACY A THEORY. *D'abord*, a product which costs only half a day's labour time may enable me to subsist, and thus also to work, for a whole day. Whether or not the product possesses this property does not depend on its *value*, i.e. on the labour time

[a] Here the following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: "In this sense, the value of every product is constant. But, Malthus says, the difference is that what measures the value of the product—namely the [living] labour bestowed on it—differs AT ALL INSTANCES from the product itself, since the latter has other properties too. The product is measured by something *distinct* from it—living labour."—*Ed.*

which is bestowed on it, but on its *use value.* And the exchange which takes place between living labour and the product of labour on this basis, is not an exchange of the two as exchange values, but their relation resides partly in the use value of the product and partly in the conditions of existence of living labour capacity.

If objectified labour is exchanged for living labour, then, according to the laws of exchange value, the product which=half a day's labour could only purchase half a day's living labour, although the worker could live a whole working day on it. And if his entire working day were to be purchased, he would have to receive a whole working day in product, on which by our assumption he could live for two working days. But on the basis of capital, living labour and accumulated labour do not exchange for one another as exchange values so that both would be identical, and the same quantity of labour in objectified form would be the *value* of, the equivalent for, the same quantity of [VI-7] labour in living form. What is exchanged, rather, is product and labour capacity, which is itself a product. Labour capacity is not=to the living labour which it can perform, i.e. the quantity of labour which it can accomplish—this is its *use value.* It is equal to the quantity of labour by which it itself *must be produced* and can be reproduced. Hence the product is not IN FACT exchanged for living labour but for objectified labour, labour objectified in the labour capacity. Living labour itself is a use value possessed by the exchange value acquired in the bargain by the owner of the product. How little or how much more of this living labour he has traded in than he has expended—in the form of the product—for the labour capacity, depends on the quantity of living labour which has been paid to the worker in the product.

If a quantity of labour exchanged for an [equal] quantity of labour, whether in the form of objectified or of living labour, every quantity of labour would of course be equal to itself, and its value would be equal to its quantity. In that case, a product of half a day's labour could only purchase half a day's labour. But then, IN FACT, there would exist neither *WAGES* nor *value of labour.* Labour would have no *value distinct* from its product, or from the equivalent of its product, no *specific* value, and it is precisely this specific value which constitutes the *value of labour,* WAGES.

From the fact, therefore, that a certain quantity of labour=a certain quantity of labour, or also from the fact that a certain quantity of labour=itself; from the great discovery that a certain quantity is a certain quantity, Mr. Malthus concludes that wages are constant and that the value of labour is constant, i.e. [that they

both]=the same quantity of objectified labour. This *would be* correct, if living labour and accumulated labour were exchanged for one another as *exchange values*. But then neither the *value of labour* nor WAGES nor *capital* nor *wage labour*, nor Malthus's investigations, would exist. These are all based on the fact that in relation to labour accumulated in capital, living labour is *use value* and living labour capacity is *exchange value*. Malthus continues calmly:

"*The same is true* if *capital and* PROFITS ENTER INTO THE COMPUTATION OF VALUE *and the* DEMAND FOR LABOUR VARIES" [ibid., p. 33].

Here we have the whole profundity. As soon as capital and profits enter the scene, it transpires that living labour capacity is purchased, and therefore a smaller portion of accumulated labour is exchanged for a greater portion of living labour. It is altogether characteristic of his profundity that capital, which posits wage labour and transforms labour into wage labour and labour capacity into a commodity, brings about absolutely no CHANGE in the utilisation of labour, as little as it does in that of accumulated labour. *Capital, a specific form of the relation of labour to its product and to the value of this product,* "ENTERS", *according to Malthus,* WITHOUT CHANGING ANYTHING. It is as though he recognised no change in the constitution of the Roman Republic as a result of the "ENTERING OF EMPERORS".

He continues:

"If AN INCREASED REWARD goes to the LABOURERS without an INCREASE in the PRODUCE, this is only possible on account of a FALL OF PROFITS. TO OBTAIN ANY GIVEN PORTION OF THE PRODUCE THE SAME QUANTITY OF LABOUR IS NECESSARY AS BEFORE, BUT PROFIT BEING DIMINISHED, THE VALUE OF THE PRODUCE IS DECREASED, WHILE THIS DIMINUTION OF PROFITS IN REFERENCE TO THE VALUE OF WAGES IS JUST COUNTERBALANCED BY THE INCREASED QUANTITY OF LABOUR NECESSARY TO PROCURE THE INCREASED PRODUCE AWARDED TO THE LABOURER, LEAVING THE VALUE OF LABOUR THE SAME AS BEFORE" (l.c., pp. 33, 34, Notebook IX, 29).

By assumption, the product contains the same QUANTITY OF LABOUR [as before]. But its value is supposed to be reduced, because profits have fallen. Yet why should profits fall if the labour time contained in the product has remained the same? If wages rise, while total labour time remains the same and not because of temporary causes, such as conditions of competition being favourable to the workers—this means nothing but that the productivity of labour has fallen, that a greater quantity of time is

necessary to reproduce labour capacity, i.e. that a bigger part of the living labour set in motion by capital falls to necessary time and a smaller part to surplus time. Let us leave this hair-splitting till later. For the sake of completeness, just the following conclusion:

"The converse applies in the opposite case. A SMALLER QUANTITY OF PRODUCE WOULD BE AWARDED TO THE LABOURER AND PROFITS WOULD RISE. A GIVEN QUANTITY OF PRODUCE, WHICH HAD BEEN OBTAINED BY THE SAME QUANTITY OF LABOUR AS BEFORE, WOULD RISE IN VALUE ON ACCOUNT OF THE RISE OF PROFITS; WHILE THIS RISE OF PROFITS, IN REFERENCE TO THE WAGES OF THE LABOURER, WOULD BE BALANCED BY THE SMALLER QUANTITY OF LABOUR NECESSARY TO OBTAIN THE DIMINISHED PRODUCE AWARDED TO THE LABOURER" (Malthus, p. 35) (l.c.) (IX, 29).

We shall consider later what he says on this *occasion* about the implications of his PRINCIPLE for *money prices in different countries.*

//Commodity *a* can for instance purchase one day's labour, and pays for only half a day of it (the necessary part), but exchanges for the whole day. The total quantity of labour it has purchased is then equal to necessary+surplus time. Hence, if I know that the price of necessary labour=$x$, the price of the entire quantity of labour would=$2x$, and I could then value the newly produced commodity in WAGES, and so calculate the prices of all commodities in wages. But this would be anything but a *constant value.* The confusion concerning the AVERAGE TIME, let us say 12 hours, which in civilised countries must indeed be worked for the prevailing wage, whatever it may be, namely as to how much of these 12 hours is necessary labour and how much surplus labour, has made even Mr. Carey, who reduces the quantity of labour to working days (and indeed they can be reduced to living working days), realise that, because the same capital costs less and less labour time to reproduce, a machine costing £100, for example, will be reduced to only £50 as a result of the progress of the productive forces during a given period of time, and will therefore be the result of half as much labour time, working days or labour hours, AS YOU LIKE. From this Mr. Carey concludes that *the worker* can buy *this machine,* acquire it for himself with half as many working days as before.[a] He commits the slight mistake of considering the growth of surplus labour time as a gain *for* the worker, while on the contrary the real result is that the worker works a smaller part of the entire working day for himself and a greater part of it for capital,

[a] H. C. Carey, *Principles of Political Economy,* Part I, pp. 73-80, 83-92, 99, 337 and 339-40.— *Ed.*

which means that the objective power of capital in relation to him grows rapidly and in proportion to the increase in the productive forces.

Mr. Carey lets the worker buy or borrow the machine; in short, he transforms him into a capitalist. He is supposed to achieve this greater power over capital, because the reproduction of a given amount of capital requires less necessary labour, i.e. less paid labour, in other words, because wages fall in relation to profit. In America, so long as the worker there still appropriates a part of his surplus labour himself, he may be able to accumulate enough to become e.g. a farmer (although that too is now coming to an end). Where wage labour in America can still achieve something quickly [for the worker], this occurs through the reproduction of earlier modes of production and [forms of] property on the basis of capital (e.g. of the INDEPENDENT PEASANTRY). In short, Carey regards the working days as belonging to the worker, and *instead of concluding that the worker must produce more capital to be employed for the same labour time, he concludes that he needs to work less to acquire capital* (to appropriate the conditions of production).[a]

If the worker previously produced 20 machines but can now produce 40, as a result of an increase in productivity, the individual machine does indeed become cheaper. But because a smaller part of the working day is needed to produce a given quantity of this machine, it does not follow that the product of the working day has increased for the worker. On the contrary, it means that less living labour is employed to produce a given quantity of the machine. Incidentally, Mr. Carey, who is concerned with *harmony,* has himself discovered that [even] if the rate of profit falls, GROSS PROFIT rises, because an ever larger capital is required proportionately to the living labour employed. *Therefore* it becomes ever more difficult for the worker to appropriate the requisite sum of capital, the minimum of capital required for the productive employment of labour at the new stage of production. The reproduction of a fractional part of capital requires less labour time, but a larger volume of capital is required to valorise the reduced labour time. The growth of productivity is expressed in the fact that the part of capital consisting of living labour [VI-8] constantly falls in comparison with that laid out in ADVANCES, machinery, etc.

Carey's whole argument, which is of course grist to Bastiat's mill, is based on his transforming the labour time or working days

[a] Ibid.— *Ed.*

necessary for production into working days *belonging* to the worker, while in reality this time belongs to capital, and relative to the increase in productivity an ever smaller portion of his labour time remains to the worker. *The less living labour time a given capital has to buy*—or the more the total sum of capital increases, and the living labour employed by it declines in proportion to its volume—the greater, according to Mr. Carey, the worker's chance of becoming an owner of capital, *because* capital is *reproduced by less living labour.* The larger the capital and the smaller the number of workers it employs in proportion to its volume, the greater these workers' chance of becoming capitalists, for is not capital now reproduced with fewer working days? Can it not, *therefore,* also be bought, acquired, with fewer working days?

Assume a capital of £100, which employs 50 in advances [on constant capital], 50 on labour and takes 50% profit. The decline in the rate of profit is Carey's chief hobby-horse and is bound up with the theory. Let each £1 in wages be equal to one working day=one worker. Then assume another capital, of £16,000, which employs £14,500 in advances [on constant capital], £1,500 in wages (also=1,500 workers) and only earns 20% profit. In the first case, the product=150; in the second case (to simplify the calculation we assume the fixed capital to turn over in a year)=19,200 (3,200 profit).

This is the most favourable CASE for Mr. Carey. The rate of profit has declined from 50 to 20%, hence by $^3/_5$ or 60%. The first capital yields a [surplus] product of 50, the result of 50 days' living labour; in the other CASE a [surplus] product of 3,200 produced by 1,500 workers. In the first case, one working day yields a [surplus] product of [£] 1; in the second, it yields a [surplus] product of [£] $2\,^2/_{15}$. In the second case, less than half the labour time is necessary to produce a [surplus] value of [£] 1 as compared with the first case. Now, does this mean that in the second case the worker produces [£] $1\,^1/_{15}$ for himself in half a working day, while in the first case he produced only [£] 1 in double the time, [and] that [now] he is therefore well on the way to becoming a capitalist? He would first have to acquire a capital of £16,000 and purchase alien labour, instead of working himself, if this reduction in necessary labour time were to be of any help to him.

The reduction has in fact merely created an unbridgeable gap between his labour and *the conditions* for its employment. It has reduced the rate of *necessary labour,* and has thus made redundant more than 6 times as many workers in proportion to the first relation. These workers who have been thrown into the street can

now console themselves with the thought that if they enjoyed the conditions required to enable them to work independently or rather to work as capitalists, they would themselves require fewer workers. In the first CASE, the entire capital necessary is £100, and the individual worker thus has just a chance of saving up this much and, if he is exceptionally lucky, of himself becoming a *capitalist* like capitalist *A* [the owner of the capital of £100]. The time worked by the worker is the same whether he is employed by *A* or *B* [the owner of £16,000], although the total number of working days required by each of them is essentially different. For every 6 workers required by the first capitalist, the second requires less than one. Therefore the remaining ones must work just as much and more surplus time.

The fact that capital requires fewer living working days at a given stage of production in which it has increased equally with the productive forces, means according to Carey that the worker requires fewer working days to appropriate capital—presumably with the working days of the workers who are not "occupied". Because the capitalist needs fewer workers in order to valorise his immense capital, the worker he employs can appropriate more capital with less labour. SUCH IS THE LOGIC OF MR. CAREY, THE HARMONISER.//

With respect to Ricardo's theory, *Wakefield* (Notebook VII, p. 74), l.c., [Vol. I, London, 1835,] p. [230-] 231, note, observes:

"TREATING LABOUR AS A COMMODITY, AND CAPITAL, THE PRODUCE OF LABOUR, AS ANOTHER, THEN, IF THE VALUE OF THESE 2 COMMODITIES WERE REGULATED BY EQUAL QUANTITIES OF LABOUR, A GIVEN AMOUNT OF LABOUR WOULD, UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES, EXCHANGE FOR THAT QUANTITY OF CAPITAL WHICH HAD BEEN PRODUCED BY THE SAME AMOUNT OF LABOUR; *ANTECEDENT* LABOUR WOULD ALWAYS EXCHANGE FOR THE SAME AMOUNT AS *PRESENT* LABOUR. But THE VALUE OF LABOUR, IN RELATION TO OTHER COMMODITIES, IN SO FAR, AT LEAST, AS WAGES DEPEND UPON SHARE, IS DETERMINED, NOT BY EQUAL QUANTITIES OF LABOUR, BUT BY THE PROPORTION BETWEEN SUPPLY AND DEMAND."[148]

//Bailey, *Money and Its Vicissitudes in Value etc.*, London, 1837, (Notebook V, p. 26 ff), observes that *DORMANT CAPITAL* may be activised by means of accelerated circulation (in his view, by means of an increase in the volume of CURRENCY; he should have said, of *money*), and seeks to demonstrate that, in general, if a country's capital were always fully employed, no INCREASE OF DEMAND could bring forth AN INCREASE OF PRODUCTION. The concept of *DORMANT CAPITAL* belongs to the sphere of circulation, since capital which is not in circulation is dormant. The relevant passages are:

"Much CAPITAL and PRODUCTIVE SKILL MAY EXIST IN AN INERT STATE. It is incorrect when the economists believe THAT THE NUMBER OF LABOURERS and the QUANTITY OF CAPITAL are CERTAIN DEFINITIVE POWERS which must INEVITABLY PRODUCE A DETERMINATE RESULT IN ANY COUNTRY WHERE THEY EXIST" (p. 54). "Far FROM BEING FIXED AND DETERMINED, THE AMOUNT OF COMMODITIES which the EXISTING PRODUCERS and the EXISTING CAPITAL BRING TO MARKET, IS SUBJECT TO A WIDE RANGE OF VARIATION" (p. 55). Therefore, it is "NOT ESSENTIAL TO AN INCREASE OF PRODUCTION THAT NEW CAPITAL OR NEW LABOURERS SHOULD ARISE"... (E.g. in a country where WANT OF PRECIOUS METALS) "some commodities or, what is the same thing, the *POWER TO PRODUCE THEM*, may at one place be in excess, OTHER COMMODITIES AT ANOTHER PLACE likewise, and the HOLDERS OF EACH WISHING TO EXCHANGE THEIR ARTICLES FOR THOSE HELD BY THE OTHER, BUT KEPT IN A STATE OF NON-INTERCOURSE FOR WANT OF A COMMON MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE, AND IN A STATE OF INACTION BECAUSE THEY HAVE NO MOTIVE FOR PRODUCTION" (pp. 55, 56).

In the circulation of capital, money makes a dual appearance. [Firstly,] as the transformation of capital into money and realisation of the price of the commodity; but in this case, the positing of price is not a formal one. The transformation of the product into money is here the reconversion of capital into *value* as such, value existing independently; capital as money or money as realised capital. Secondly, in its determination as mere means of circulation. Here it only serves to reconvert capital into the conditions of production. In this second moment, in the form of wages, a certain volume of money must be simultaneously present as means of circulation, means of payment. The fact that money now plays this dual role in the circulation of capital, makes it appear in all crises that there is a lack of money as means of circulation; whereas actually capital is lacking in value, and thus cannot *monétiser* itself. In such a crisis the volume of money in circulation may in fact increase. The new determinations of money; how it is posited as a moment of the circulation of capital, partly as its means of circulation and partly as the *realised value of capital,* as itself *capital,* will require a section of its own when we discuss interest, etc.

Bailey continues:

"The labour set in motion is not at all solely dependent upon the AVAILABLE CAPITAL of a country. It depends upon whether FOOD, TOOLS and RAW MATERIALS are distributed slowly or rapidly [VI-9] TO THOSE PARTS WHERE IT IS WANTED; whether it circulates with difficulty or not, whether it EXISTS FOR LONG INTERVALS IN INERT MASSES, and so as a result DOES NOT FURNISH SUFFICIENT EMPLOYMENT TO THE POPULATION" (pp. 56, 57).

(The example of Gallatin, l.c., p. 68,[149] of the WESTERN COUNTIES of Pennsylvania.)

"Political economists are too apt to consider a certain quantity of capital and a certain number of labourers as instruments of production of UNIFORM POWER, or

OPERATING WITH A CERTAIN UNIFORM INTENSITY... The producer, who employs a certain capital, can have his products ON HAND for a long or a short time, and while he waits for the opportunity to exchange them, HIS POWER OF PRODUCING IS STOPPED OR RETARDED, so that in a given period, for instance one year, HE MAY PRODUCE only half as much as if a PROMPT DEMAND had existed. This REMARK is EQUALLY applicable to the LABOURER, who is his instrument. The ADJUSTMENT OF THE VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS OF MEN IN SOCIETY TO EACH OTHER must be at least IMPERFECTLY EFFECTED. But if there is A WIDE DISTANCE between the stages in which [it] is effected—every EXPEDIENT which FACILITATES TRAFFIC is a STEP towards this ADJUSTMENT. THE MORE UNIMPEDED and EASY the INTERCHANGE OF COMMODITIES BECOMES, the SHORTER WILL BE THOSE UNPRODUCTIVE INTERVALS in which MEN, EAGER FOR WORK, SEEM SEPARATED BY AN IMPASSABLE BARRIER FROM THE CAPITAL ... which, although CLOSE AT HAND, is tied up IN BARREN INERTNESS" (pp. 58-60).

"The general PRINCIPLE [is] THAT A NEW DEMAND WILL BE MET BY FRESH EXERTIONS; BY THE ACTIVE EMPLOYMENT OF CAPITAL AND LABOUR BEFORE DORMANT, AND NOT BY THE DIVERSION OF PRODUCTIVE POWER FROM OTHER OBJECTS. The latter is only possible if the employment of capital and labour in a country were no longer capable of growth. The exportation OF THE GOODS perhaps does not set new labour in motion directly, but then it absorbs [them], if already existing goods [are] DEAD STOCK and SETS AT LIBERTY CAPITAL TIED UP IN AN UNPRODUCTIVE STATE" (p. 65). "Those who maintain that an influx of money cannot promote the production of other commodities, since those commodities ARE THE SOLE AGENTS OF PRODUCTION, prove that production could never be ENLARGED, for such an ENLARGEMENT requires THAT FOOD, RAW MATERIALS, AND TOOLS SHOULD BE PREVIOUSLY AUGMENTED; WHICH IS IN FACT MAINTAINING *THAT NO INCREASE OF PRODUCTION CAN TAKE PLACE WITHOUT A PREVIOUS INCREASE*" (but is that not the economic doctrine of accumulation?) "or in other words, that AN INCREASE IS IMPOSSIBLE" (p. 70).

"Now, it is said that if the purchaser goes to MARKET with an augmented QUANTITY OF MONEY and does not raise the price of the commodity which he finds there, he does not give any ADDITIONAL ENCOURAGEMENT TO PRODUCTION: [but] if he raises the price, if PRICES ARE PROPORTIONALLY ENHANCED, THE PURCHASERS HAVE NO GREATER POWER OF DEMAND THAN BEFORE" (p. 73). "It must be denied AS A GENERAL PRINCIPLE that A PURCHASER CANNOT GIVE ADDITIONAL ENCOURAGEMENT TO PRODUCTION, *UNLESS HIS DEMAND RAISE PRICES*. Apart from the circumstance that the preparation OF A LARGER QUANTITY ADMITS OF A MORE EFFECTIVE DIVISION OF LABOUR AND THE EMPLOYMENT OF SUPERIOR MACHINERY, THERE IS IN THIS MATTER THAT SORT OF LATITUDE, ARISING FROM A QUANTITY OF LABOUR AND CAPITAL LYING UNEMPLOYED, AND *READY TO FURNISH ADDITIONAL COMMODITIES AT THE SAME RATE*. So it happens that A CONSIDERABLE INCREASE OF DEMAND often TAKES PLACE without RAISING PRICES" (pp. 73-74).//

//John Wade, *History of the Middle and Working Classes, etc.*, 3rd ed., London, 1835, (Notebook, p. 20[150]):

"LABOUR IS THE AGENCY BY WHICH CAPITAL IS MADE *PRODUCTIVE OF WAGES, PROFIT, OR REVENUE*" (p. 161). "CAPITAL IS STORED UP INDUSTRY, PROVIDED TO DEVELOP ITSELF IN NEW AND EQUIVALENT FORMS; IT IS *COLLECTIVE FORCE*" (p. 162). "Capital is but another name for civilisation" (p. 164).

The association of workers—cooperation and DIVISION OF LABOUR as basic conditions of the productivity of labour—appear, like all productive forces of labour, i.e. those which determine the degree of its intensity and hence of its extensive realisation, as a *productive force of capital*. The collective power of labour, its character as social labour, is therefore the *collective power* of

capital. Likewise *science* and the division of labour, which appear as the division of EMPLOYMENTS and the exchange corresponding to them. All social powers of production are productive forces of capital and consequently capital itself appears as their subject.

Hence the association of the workers as it appears in the factory is not posited by them but by capital. Their combination is not *their* being, but rather the *being* of capital. To the individual worker it appears fortuitous. He relates to his own association with other workers and to his cooperation with them as *alien,* as to modes of operation of capital. Where capital does not appear in its inadequate form—say, in that of small-scale self-employed capital—it already implies [at quite an early stage] a certain, greater or smaller, degree of concentration, both in objective form, i.e. as the concentration in the hands of one person, which here still coincides with the accumulation, of means of subsistence, raw material and instruments; or, in a word, the concentration of money as the general form of wealth, and also in subjective form, as the accumulation of the forces of labour and their concentration in one place under the command of capital. In this situation there is not one capitalist to one worker, but a number of workers to one capitalist, not like the one or two journeymen who work for one master.

Productive capital, or the mode of production corresponding to capital, can only take two forms: manufacture or large-scale industry. In the former, the division of labour prevails; in the latter, the combination of the forces of labour (with a uniform mode of labour) and the application of scientific POWER, where the combination and, as it were, the communal spirit of labour is transferred to the machine, etc. In the first form, the number of workers (accumulated) must be large in proportion to the AMOUNT OF CAPITAL; in the second, fixed capital is large in proportion to the many associated workers. But the concentration of many workers and their allocation among the machinery as so many cogs (why in agriculture it is different, irrelevant here) is here already presupposed. Therefore we do not have to consider CASE II here in any detail, but only CASE I.

The characteristic development of manufacture is the *division of labour.* But this presupposes that a large number of workers has been (previously) assembled under one command, in just the same way as the *transformation of money into capital presupposes that a certain* AMOUNT *of means of subsistence, raw materials and instruments of labour has been set free.* Here we must also abstract from the division of labour as a later development. Certain branches of [illegible]

e.g. mining, presuppose cooperation right from the start. As long as capital does not exist, cooperation takes place through forced labour (serf or slave labour) under an overseer. Likewise the construction of roads, etc. To undertake such activities, capital does not produce the accumulation and concentration of workers, it takes them over. This aspect is therefore not IN QUESTION.

The simplest form, and the one most independent of the division of labour, is that in which capital employs a number of hand-weavers, spinners, etc., independent of and living separately from one another. (This form still exists alongside industry.) *Therefore, at this stage, the mode of production itself is not yet determined by capital, but is found by it already in existence.* The unifying focus of these scattered workers is solely their mutual relation to capital, the fact that their product, and hence the surplus values they produce over and above their own income, are accumulated in the hands of capital. As associated labour, they exist only *in themselves,* in so far as each of them works for capital and thus possesses a centre in it, without really working together. Their association by capital is thus merely *formal,* [VI-10] and concerns only the product of labour, not labour itself. Instead of exchanging with many, they exchange with the one capitalist. Capital therefore effects a *concentration of* EXCHANGES.

Capital does not *exchange* as an individual, but as representing the consumption and the needs of many. It *no longer exchanges* as individual exchanger, but in the act of exchange represents the whole society. *Collective exchange* and *concentrating exchange* on the side of capital with individually working weavers, etc., the products of whose labour are collected and brought together by this exchange, and thus their labour is brought together, too, although they act independently of one another. The combination of their labour appears as a particular act, alongside which the independent fragmentation of their labour continues. This is the *first prerequisite* for *money* to exchange as capital with free labour.

The second prerequisite is the transcendence of the independent fragmentation of the many workers, in such a way that the *single capital* no longer appears relative to them merely as *social collective power* in the *act of exchange,* combining many exchanges in capital, but assembles them in one place under its command, in one place of work, no longer letting them continue *in the previously existing mode of production* and establishing its power on that basis, but rather creating as basis a mode of production corresponding to itself. It posits the *combination* of the workers in production, a combination which at first will be confined to a common place of

work under the direction of overseers, *regimentation, greater discipline, consistency, and a* posited *dependence on capital in production itself.* With this development certain *faux frais de production*[a] are saved right away. (On this whole process, cf. *Gaskell,* which is specially concerned with the development of large-scale industry in England.[b])

Capital now appears both as the collective power of the workers, their social power, and as the unity which binds them together and thereby creates this power. Now as before, and at every stage of the development of capital, all this is mediated by the many exchanging with it as the one, so that the exchange itself is concentrated in capital. This is the social character of the exchange: capital exchanges socially with the workers, but they exchange individually with it.

With handicraft production, it is the quality of the product which matters, the particular skill of the individual labourer, and the master as master is SUPPOSED to have achieved mastery in this skill. His position as master rests not only on his ownership of the conditions of production, but also on his own skill in the particular trade. With production based on capital, right from the start it is not this half-artistic relationship which matters—a relationship which altogether corresponds [more] to the development of the use value of labour, to the development of the particular skill of immediate manual labour, to training the human hand, etc., for labour. Right from the start, capitalist production is concerned with quantity, because it is concerned with exchange value and surplus value. The developed principle of capital is precisely to render superfluous any particular skill, to render superfluous manual labour, immediate physical labour in general, both as a specialised skill and as muscular exertion, to locate all skill rather in the inanimate forces of nature.

Now, with the presupposition of the rise of manufacture as the emergence of the mode of production of capital (slaves are combined in themselves because they are under the direction of *one* master), it is presupposed that the productive power of labour to be called forth only by capital itself does not as yet exist. Hence it is presupposed that, in manufacture, necessary labour still claims a great part of all available labour time, which means that the surplus labour which can be performed by the individual worker is still relatively small.

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[a] Overhead costs of production.— *Ed.*

[b] P. Gaskell, *Artisans and Machinery,* London, 1836, pp. 11-114 and 293-362.— *Ed.*

Now, this is compensated for and the progress of manufacture is accelerated by the fact that the rate of profit is larger, and hence capital is accumulated more rapidly relative to the AMOUNT of it already in existence than in large-scale industry. If 50 thaler of [an advanced capital of] 100 thaler is paid to labour, and surplus time=$^1/_5$ [of necessary time], the value created is 110, or [the rate of profit is] 10%. If only 20 thaler of [a capital of] 100 thaler is paid to labour, and surplus time=$^1/_4$ [of necessary time], the value created=105, or [the rate of profit is] 5%.

On the other hand, this greater rate of profit in manufacture can only be achieved by the simultaneous employment of many workers. The greater surplus time can only be obtained by the collection of the surplus time of many workers for the benefit of capital. Absolute, not relative, surplus time predominates in manufacture. This is even more the case originally, if the scattered independent workers still make use of part of their surplus time for themselves. For capital to exist as capital, for it to be able both to live on its profit and to accumulate, its profit must=the sum of the surplus time of many simultaneous living working days. In agriculture, the soil itself, in its chemical, etc., activity, is already a machine which makes immediate labour more productive, and it yields a surplus earlier, because it is *the first* productive activity carried on with a machine, namely a *natural* one. This is the only correct basis of the Physiocratic doctrine, which considers agriculture from this angle in relation to as yet very undeveloped manufacture. If the capitalist employed *one* worker in order to live on the surplus time worked by that worker, then it appears that he would double his profit if [instead] he worked himself and with his own funds. For apart from the surplus time, he would gain the wages paid to the worker. In fact, he would lose in the process. For either he would not yet be in the CONDITIONS enabling him to work as a capitalist, or the worker would merely be his assistant and would not yet relate to him as capitalist.

For money to be transformed into capital, it is therefore not only necessary that it should be able to set surplus labour in motion, but that it should be able to set in motion a *certain quantity of surplus labour,* the surplus labour of a certain quantity of necessary labour, i.e. *of many workers* at the same time. The combined sum must suffice for capital both to live as *capital,* i.e. to represent, in consumption, wealth as against the life of the worker, and to put aside surplus labour for accumulation. Right from the start, capital does not produce for use value, for immediate subsistence. Hence right from the start, surplus labour must be

sufficiently large for a part of it to be reinvested as capital. Thus, whenever the stage is reached at which a certain quantity of social wealth is already concentrated in one hand, in an objective form, wealth which therefore as capital immediately appears as exchange with many workers and later as production by many workers, by a combination of workers, and can SIMULTANEOUSLY set TO WORK a certain quantity of living labour capacity,—when this stage is reached, production by capital begins. Right from the start, capital appears as a *collective power,* as a social power and as the transcendence of individual isolation, first of the exchange with the workers, and then of the workers themselves. The isolation of the workers still implies their relative independence. Complete dependence on capital, complete separation of the workers from the conditions of production, consequently imply their grouping around the individual capital as the sole source of their subsistence.

The result will be the same—or it is the same in another form—if we set out from the particular form of exchange which is presupposed for capital to exchange as capital, where money must already *represent many exchangers* or possess a *power of exchange* going beyond the scope of the individual and his individual surplus; no longer an individual power of exchange, but one which, though it belongs to the Individual, belongs to him as a Social function and by virtue of his exchanging as the representative of the wealth of society. All this also arises from the conditions of *free labour.* The separation of the individual from the production conditions of labour=the assembly of many around the one capital.//

//Merchant capital also right from the start the concentration of many exchanges in one hand. It already represents a mass of exchangers both as *M* and as *C.*//

[VI-11] "This *continual progression of knowledge and experience* is our great strength," writes Babbage.[a]

This progression, this social progress, belongs to and is exploited by capital. All previous forms of property condemn the greater part of mankind, the slaves, to be mere instruments of labour. Historical development, political development, art, science, etc., are located in the higher spheres above them. But it is only capital which has subjected historical progress to the service of wealth.

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[a] Ch. Babbage, *Traité sur l'économie des machines et des manufactures,* p. 485. Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

//Prior to the accumulation by capital, an accumulation is presupposed which constitutes capital and which belongs to its concept. We cannot really call it *concentration* yet, because this occurs in contradistinction to many capitals. But if one still speaks of *the* capital, concentration still coincides with accumulation or the concept of capital. In other words, concentration does not yet constitute a particular determination. But right from the start, capital does indeed exist as One or Unity, confronting the workers as Many. It thus appears as the concentration of the workers which confronts labour, [that is to say] as a unity located outside them. From this aspect, concentration is contained in the concept of capital—the concentration of many living labour capacities for a particular purpose; a concentration which initially need not by any means have been fully effected in the mode of production itself, or have permeated it. The centralising effect of capital upon labour capacities, or the positing of itself as their unity which exists independently of and outside their multiplicity.//.

//In his *Leçons d'économie politique*[a] (Notebook, p. 26), *Rossi* writes:

"Social progress cannot consist in the dissolution of all association, but in replacing the compulsory, oppressive associations of the past by voluntary and just ones... The most extreme form of isolation is the savage state; the most extreme form of compulsory and oppressive association is barbarism. Outside these extremes, history shows us many different varieties and nuances. Perfection is found in voluntary associations which multiply strength through union, without stripping individual power of its energy, morality or responsibility" (p. 353).[b]

Under capital, the *association* of the *ouvriers*[c] is not enforced through direct physical force, compulsory, serf and slave labour; it is enforced by the circumstance that the conditions of production are alien property and are themselves present as *objective association,* which is the same as accumulation and concentration of the conditions of production.//

//The economists are led into all manner of DIFFICULTIES by their way of conceiving capital purely in its physical aspect, as instrument of production, and ignoring the economic form, which is what makes the instrument of production capital. For instance, Rossi asks (Notebook, 27):

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[a] P. Rossi, "Cours d'économie politique. Année 1836-1837", *Cours d'économie politique,* Brussels, 1843, p. 353.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

[c] Workers.— *Ed.*

"Is the raw material really an instrument of production? Is it not rather an object which is acted upon by the instrument of production?" (p. 367).[a]

In this passage, Rossi merges capital completely with the instrument of production in the technological sense, and on this basis every savage is a capitalist (which Mr. Torrens in fact asserts with respect to a savage who aims a *stone* at a bird.[b]) Moreover, even from the aspect of the purely physical abstraction—i.e. the abstraction from the economic category itself—Rossi's remark is a shallow one, and only shows that he has not understood his English teacher [Torrens].

ACCUMULATED LABOUR USED AS INSTRUMENT FOR NEW PRODUCTION, OF PRODUCE pure and simple APPLIED TO PRODUCTION[c]; the raw material is applied to production, i.e. subjected to an alteration of form, just as much as the instrument, which is also *produit.* The *finished result of production becomes in turn a moment of the process of production.* That is all the statement means. Within the process of production it can figure as raw material or as instrument. But it is an instrument of production, not in so far as it serves as an instrument in the direct process of production, but in so far as it is a means for the renewal of the process of production itself—one of its presuppositions.

More important and more TO THE POINT is the question whether or not the means of subsistence, i.e. wages, are part of capital, and here the whole confusion of the economists becomes evident.

"One says the remuneration of the worker is capital, because the capitalist advances it to him. If only there were families of workers who had sufficient to subsist for a year, wages would not exist. The worker could say to the capitalist: you advance the capital for the common project. I will bring the labour to it; the product will be shared among us in such and such proportions. As soon as the product has been realised, each of us will take his share" [Rossi,] (p. 369[-370]). "Then there would be no advances for the workers. Even if work were at a standstill, they would still consume. What they would [in that case] consume belongs to the consumption fund, not at all to capital. Therefore: the advances for the workers are not necessary. *Therefore wages are not a constituent element of production. They are of an accidental nature, a form arising from our social condition.* Capital, labour and land, on the other hand, are necessary for production. *Secondly:* The word 'wages' is employed in a double sense: one says that wages are a capital, but what do they represent? Labour. He who says wages says labour and vice versa. Hence, if the wages advanced constituted a part of capital, one would have to speak only of two instruments of production: capital and land" (p. 370).[d]

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[a] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

[b] R. Torrens, *An Essay on the Production of Wealth,* London, 1821, pp. 70-71.— *Ed.*

[c] Ibid., pp. 33-34.— *Ed.*

[d] Marx quotes in German except for a few isolated words and phrases reproduced in French.— *Ed.*

And further:

"*Basically, the worker does not consume the capitalist's possessions, but his own; what is given to him as remuneration for his labour is his own fractional part of the product*" (p. 370). "The capitalist's contract with *the worker is not one of the phenomena of production*... The entrepreneur goes along with this arrangement in so far as it may facilitate production. But this is nothing but *a second operation*, an operation of a quite different nature, grafted on to a productive operation. *It could disappear if labour were organised differently.* Even today there are spheres of production in which it has no place. Wages are therefore a form of the distribution of wealth, not an element of production. The part of the fund which the entrepreneur devotes to the payment of wages does not constitute a part of capital... It is a distinct operation, which undoubtedly may promote the course of production but which cannot be called a *direct* instrument of production" (p. 370).[a]

"To conceive the power of labour, while ignoring the worker's means of subsistence during the work of production, is to conceive an imagined being. He who says labour or the power of labour says worker and means of subsistence, worker and wage... *The same element reappears under the name of capital; as if the same thing could simultaneously form part of two distinct instruments of production*" (pp. 370, 371).[b]

There is much confusion here, justified only by Rossi taking the economists at their word and equating the *instrument of production* as such with capital. *D'abord,* he is quite right in arguing that wage labour is not an absolute form of labour. But he forgets that capital is just as little an absolute form of the means and materials of labour, that these two forms [wage labour and capital] are the same form in different moments, and therefore stand and fall together. Hence it is absurd of him to speak of capitalists without wage labour.

His example of families of workers who can subsist for a year without the capitalist, who therefore own the conditions of their production, and who perform their necessary labour without the permission of Mr. Capitalist, reduces the capitalist whom he lets come to them with his PROPOSAL to a producer of instruments of production. The coming to them is nothing but a division of labour mediated by exchange with the outside. Even without any arrangement—by means of simple EXCHANGES—the two share in the common product. The EXCHANGE is the sharing-out; no further arrangement is necessary. What these families of workers would be exchanging would be the absolute or relative surplus labour which the instrument would have enabled them to perform—either new labour carried on as a sideline over and above the old labour on which they were able to live from year to year before the

[a] Marx quotes in German except for a few isolated words and phrases reproduced in French.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

appearance of the capitalist, or [extra labour made possible] by the employment of this instrument in their traditional branch of work. Here Mr. Rossi transforms the worker into the owner and exchanger of his [VI-12] surplus labour, and in this way he has succeeded in removing from him the last vestige of what stamps him as a wage worker; but he has also thereby removed from the instrument of production the last vestige of what makes it capital.

It is true that the worker "basically does not consume the capitalist's possessions, but his own", however not exactly as Mr. Rossi thinks, because it is only a *fractional* part of *the* product, but because it is a fractional part of *his* product. If the semblance of exchange is stripped away, the payment consists in the fact that the worker works one part of the day for himself and another for the capitalist, but *only gets the permission to work at all* as long as his labour permits this division. As we have seen, the *act of exchange* itself is not a moment of the immediate process of production but one of its conditions. Yet within the total process of production of capital, which includes in itself the different moments of its EXCHANGES, i.e. circulation, this exchange is posited as a moment of the total process.

But, says Rossi, wages appear twice in the calculation: once as capital, the other time as labour. Hence wages represent two distinct instruments of production; and if they represent the instrument of production "labour", they cannot represent the instrument of production "capital". There is a confusion here which is likewise due to the fact that he takes the orthodox economic distinctions seriously. In production, wages figure only once, as the fund destined to be converted into wages, as *virtual* wages. As soon as they become real wages, they are paid out and now only figure in consumption as the income of the worker. What is exchanged for wages is labour capacity, and this does not figure in production at all, only the use made of it—*labour.* Labour appears as an instrument of production of value, because it is not paid for and hence is not represented by wages. As an activity producing use value, it has also nothing to do with itself as paid labour. Wages in the hands of the worker are no longer wages, but a consumption fund. Only in the hands of the capitalist are they wages, i.e. the part of capital destined to be exchanged for labour capacity. For the capitalist they have reproduced a saleable labour capacity, so that from this aspect even the consumption of the workers serves the interest of the capitalist. He does not pay anything at all for the labour itself, only for the

labour capacity. What enables him to do this is of course precisely the efficacy of this capacity.

The double appearance of wages is not due to the fact that they represent on two occasions two different instruments of production, but to the fact that they appear at one time under the aspect of production and at another under that of distribution. Yet this particular form of distribution is not any sort of arrangement that can be altered at one's own discretion. It is posited by the form of production itself; it is merely one of production's own moments considered in another determination.

The value of the machine certainly constitutes a part of capital, which is laid out in that form; but the machine as value does not produce anything, although it makes a profit for the factory-owner. Wages do not represent labour as an instrument of production, as little as value represents the machine as an instrument of production. They merely represent labour capacity, and, since the value of that capacity exists separately from it as capital, they are part of capital.

In as much as the capitalist appropriates *alien* labour and with this appropriated *labour* purchases more labour, wages—i.e. the representative of labour—appear in a dual form, if Mr. Rossi wishes, (1) as the property of capital, (2) as representative of labour. What really worries Rossi is that wages appear as the representative *of two instruments of production,* of *capital* and of *labour.* He forgets that labour as a productive force is embodied in capital and that as *labour in esse,*[a] not *labour in posse,*[b] it is in no way an *instrument of production* distinct from capital, but that, on the contrary, it is only labour which converts capital into an instrument of production. As for the distinction between wages as constituting part of capital and as simultaneously the income of the worker, we shall discuss that in the section on profit, interest, with which we conclude this first chapter on capital.//

// *Malthus* returns to the points made in the above-mentioned *The Measure of Value* etc. in his *Definitions in Political Economy, etc.*, London, 1827. In that book he says:

"NO WRITER THAT I HAVE MET WITH, ANTERIOR TO MR. RICARDO, EVER USED THE TERM *WAGES*, OR REAL WAGES, AS IMPLYING *PROPORTIONS*. PROFITS, INDEED, IMPLY PROPORTIONS; AND THE *RATE OF PROFITS* HAD ALWAYS JUSTLY BEEN ESTIMATED BY A *PERCENTAGE UPON THE VALUE OF THE ADVANCES*. BUT WAGES HAD UNIFORMLY BEEN CONSIDERED AS RISING OR FALLING, NOT *ACCORDING TO ANY PROPORTION* WHICH THEY

[a] In existence.— *Ed.*
[b] In possibility.— *Ed.*

MIGHT BEAR TO THE WHOLE PRODUCE OBTAINED BY A CERTAIN QUANTITY OF LABOUR, BUT BY THE GREATER OR SMALLER QUANTITY OF ANY PARTICULAR PRODUCE RECEIVED BY THE LABOURER, OR BY THE GREATER OR SMALLER POWER WHICH SUCH PRODUCE WOULD CARRY OF COMMANDING THE NECESSARIES AND CONVENIENCES OF LIFE" (M[althus, pp.] 29, 30) (Notebook X, p. 49).

The sole value produced in a given production by capital, is the value added by the new quantity of labour. But this value consists of necessary labour which reproduces wages—the advances made by capital in the form of wages—, and of surplus labour, hence surplus value over and above necessary labour. The advances made in the form of material and machinery are only translated from one form into another. The instrument passes over into the product just as much as does the raw material, and its wearing out at the same time posits the form on the product. If the raw material and instrument cost nothing, as in the case of some extractive industries, where they are still almost=0 (the *raw material* always in each extractive industry, metal-mining, coal-mining, fishing, hunting, timber-cutting in primeval forests, etc.), they add absolutely nothing to the value of production. Their value is the result of previous production, not of the immediate production in which they serve as instrument and material. *Surplus value* can therefore only be estimated in relation to necessary labour. *Profit* is merely a *secondary*, derived and transformed form of surplus value, the bourgeois form in which the traces of its origin are wiped out.

Ricardo himself never understood this, (1) because he always speaks merely of the division of a *finished* quantity, never of the original positing of this distinction [between profit and wages]; (2) because an understanding of this distinction would have forced him to realise that the relation established between capital and labour differs entirely from that of exchange, and he dared not realise that the bourgeois system of equivalents turns into and is based on appropriation without an equivalent; (3) because his doctrine of PROPORTIONATE PROFITS and WAGES merely expresses the fact that, [if] a certain total value is divided into two parts, or if *any* quantity is divided into two parts, the size of the two parts is necessarily inversely related. And indeed his school subsequently reduced the matter to this commonplace.

Ricardo's purpose in putting forward the doctrine of PROPORTIONATE WAGES and PROFITS was not to discover the basis of the creation of surplus value—for he starts from the assumption that a given value must be divided between wages and profit, between labour and capital, and hence implies that this division is self-evident. His

purpose was, rather, *firstly,* to assert the correct method of price determination, which he bases on value, as against the current one by showing that the limit of value itself is not affected by its distribution in various proportions between PROFITS and WAGES; *secondly,* to explain the reason for not only the transitory but the continuous fall in the rate of profit, which was inexplicable to him on the basis of the assumption that a fixed portion of value accrues to labour; *thirdly,* by explaining this fall of profits by the rise of wages, to explain this rise itself by a rise in the *value* of agricultural products, i.e. by the increasing difficulty of producing them, and thus at the same time to explain *ground rent* as not at variance with his value principle.

This also provided a polemical weapon for industrial capital against landed property, which was exploiting the progress made by industry. But at the same time, impelled by simple logic, he had thus proclaimed the contradictory nature of profit, labour and capital, [VI-13] however much he exerted himself subsequently to prove to the worker that the contradiction between profit and wages did not affect his real income, that, on the contrary, a *proportional* (not absolute) rise of wages is *undesirable,* because it impedes accumulation, and because the development of industry then benefits only the idle landowner. STILL, the contradiction was proclaimed, and Carey, who does not understand Ricardo, could therefore denounce him as the father of the communists, etc.,[a] and in a sense he is right, though he does not himself understand in what sense.

The other economists, however, who, like Malthus, want to have absolutely nothing to do with the proportional (and hence contradictory) nature of wages, *desire* on the one hand to obscure the contradiction, but on the other cling to the proposition that the worker simply exchanges a certain use value, his labour capacity, for capital, and thus renounces labour's productive power, the power of producing new value, that the worker has nothing *to do with the product,* and that consequently the exchange between capitalists and workers, wages, just like every simple EXCHANGE where economic *equivalents* are presupposed, is concerned only with *quantity,* the quantity of use value.

However correct this may be in a sense, the apparent form of BARTER and EXCHANGE prompts the worker, when competition allows him to bargain and haggle with the capitalist, to measure his

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[a] H. C. Carey, *The Past, the Present, and the Future,* Philadelphia, 1848, pp. 74-75.— *Ed.*

claims by reference to the capitalist's profit, and to demand a certain share in the surplus value he has produced; so that the *proportion* becomes a real moment of economic life itself. Furthermore, in the struggle between the two classes—which necessarily arises with the development of the working class—the measure of the reciprocal distance between them, which is expressed precisely by wages as a proportion, becomes decisively important. The *semblance of exchange* disappears in the process of the mode of production based on capital. The process itself and its repetition now posits what is the case in itself, namely that the worker receives in his wages from the capitalist only a part of his own labour. Eventually this enters the consciousness of both the workers and the capitalists.

*Actually, the only question in Ricardo is: what proportion of the total value do necessary wages constitute in the course of development?* It always remains only the *necessary wages;* their proportional nature is therefore of no concern to the worker, who now as before receives the same minimum, but only to the capitalist, whose deductions from his net income vary without the workers receiving any more in terms of use value. But the fact that Ricardo formulated the contradictory nature of profit and wages, even if he was seeking to deal with quite different problems, in itself shows that in his time the mode of production based on capital had taken on a form increasingly adequate to its nature.

In the *Definitions* referred to (Notebook IX, pp. 49, 50), Malthus comments with regard to Ricardo's theory of value:

"Ricardo's assertion, that as the VALUE OF WAGES RISES PROFITS PROPORTIONALLY FALL and vice versa, can be true only on the assumption that commodities in which the same quantity of labour has been worked up are always of the same value, and this will be found to be true in one case out of five hundred; and necessarily so because the progress of civilisation and IMPROVEMENT continually increases the QUANTITY OF FIXED CAPITAL EMPLOYED and renders more VARIOUS AND UNEQUAL the TIMES OF THE RETURNS OF THE CIRCULATING CAPITAL" (l.c., pp. 31, 32).

(This relates to *prices,* not *value.*)

With respect to HIS OWN DISCOVERY OF THE TRUE STANDARD OF VALUE, Malthus remarks:

"*In the first place:* I HAD NOWHERE SEEN IT STATED, THAT THE ORDINARY *QUANTITY OF LABOUR WHICH A COMMODITY WILL COMMAND* MUST REPRESENT AND MEASURE *THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR WORKED UP IN IT, WITH THE ADDITION OF PROFITS*... BY REPRESENTING THE LABOUR WORKED UP IN A COMMODITY, WITH THE ADDITION OF PROFITS, LABOUR represents THE NATURAL AND NECESSARY CONDITIONS OF ITS SUPPLY, OR THE ELEMENTARY COSTS OF ITS PRODUCTION. *Secondly*: I HAD NOWHERE SEEN IT STATED THAT, HOWEVER THE FERTILITY OF THE SOIL MIGHT VARY, THE ELEMENTARY

COSTS OF PRODUCING THE WAGES OF A GIVEN QUANTITY OF LABOUR MUST ALWAYS NECESSARILY BE THE SAME" (pp. 196, 197).

This only means that WAGES are always equal to the labour time necessary for their production, which varies with the productivity of labour. The QUANTITY OF COMMODITIES remains the same.

"If VALUE is regarded as a commodity's GENERAL POWER OF PURCHASE, this must refer to the purchase of all commodities, the GENERAL MASS OF COMMODITIES. But this mass is quite UNMANAGEABLE. NOW, OF ANY ONE OBJECT, IT CANNOT FOR A MOMENT BE DENIED THAT LABOUR BEST REPRESENTS AN AVERAGE OF THE GENERAL MASS OF PRODUCTIONS" (p. 205). "A LARGE CLASS OF COMMODITIES, such as RAW PRODUCE, rises in the PROGRESS OF SOCIETY as compared with labour, while MANUFACTURED ARTICLES FALL. So it is not FAR FROM THE TRUTH TO SAY that the AVERAGE MASS of commodities which A GIVEN QUANTITY OF LABOUR WILL COMMAND IN THE SAME COUNTRY, DURING THE COURSE OF SOME CENTURIES, MAY NOT VERY ESSENTIALLY VARY" (p. 206). "VALUE should always be value in exchange for labour" (l.c., p. 224, note).

In other words, [Malthus's] doctrine is that the value of a commodity, the labour worked up in it, is represented by the [number of] living working days which it commands, for which it can exchange, and hence by *WAGES*. The living working days contain both [necessary] time and surplus time. Let us do Malthus the biggest possible favour. Let us assume that the proportion of surplus labour to necessary labour, and hence the proportion of WAGES to PROFIT, always remains constant. To begin with, the fact that Mr. Malthus speaks of the labour worked up in the commodity *WITH THE ADDITION OF PROFITS*, demonstrates his confusion, since profits can only constitute a part of the labour worked up. What he has in mind are the *profits* which are supposed to result *from the fixed capital*, etc., *over and above the labour worked up*. But this can only affect the distribution of total profit among the various SHAREHOLDERS in this capital, not its total quantity. For if everyone obtained for his commodity the labour worked up in it+PROFITS, where do these profits come from, Mr. Malthus? If one obtains the labour worked up in his commodity+profit, another must obtain the labour worked up [in *his* commodity]−profit. Profit is being considered here as greater than actual surplus value. Hence this drops out of the calculation.

Now suppose that the labour worked up=3 working days. If the proportion of surplus [to total] labour time is 1:2, these have been obtained in payment for $1\,^1/_2$ working days. INDEED, the workers worked for 3 days, but each was paid only half a day [for a full day's labour]. Or the commodity which they received for their 3 working days had only $1\,^1/_2$ working days worked up in it. Hence, all other things being equal, the capitalist would obtain 6 working

days for the 3 days worked up in his commodity. (This proposition is correct only because surplus labour time has been assumed as equal to necessary, so that in the second CASE *only* the first is repeated.)

(*Obviously, relative surplus value is limited not only by the above ratio* [between necessary and surplus time], *but also by the proportion in which the product enters into the consumption of the worker.* If the capitalist, through growth of the productive forces, could obtain double the number of *cashmere* SHAWLS and sell them at their *value,* he would not have created any relative surplus value, because the workers do not consume such SHAWLS, and the time necessary for the reproduction of their labour capacity would remain the same. In practice this would not be so, because in such cases the price rises above the value. But this does not yet concern us here in the theoretical section, for we are considering capital in itself, not in a particular branch.)

I.e. the capitalist will pay wages for 3 days and set the workers to work 6. With each half working day he buys a whole day; thus, with $^6/_2$ or 3 days, he buys 6 days. Therefore, to assert that the value of a commodity is expressed by the [number of] working days it commands, or the WAGES it pays, is to understand absolutely nothing about the nature of capital and wage labour. THE PITH of all value creation and capital formation is that objectified working days command a greater number of living working days. Mr. Malthus would have been correct, if he had argued that the living labour time which a commodity commands expresses the measure of its *valorisation,* the measure of the *surplus labour* which it posits. Yet this would only be the tautology that to the extent to which it posits more labour, it posits more labour, or it would express the opposite of what Malthus wants to say, namely that surplus value arises from the fact that the living labour time which a commodity commands never represents the labour time which is worked up in it.// (NOW WE HAVE FINALLY DONE WITH MALTHUS.)

[VI-14]//We have demonstrated above in the development of the concept of capital that it is value as such, i.e. *money,* which both maintains itself in circulation and grows through the exchange with living labour; that therefore the purpose of productive capital is *never use value,* but the general form of wealth as wealth. In a work which is otherwise in many ways silly and distasteful, *On Political Economy in Connexion with the Moral State and Moral Prospects of Society,* 2nd ed., London, 1832, the cleric *Thomas Chalmers* has correctly struck upon this point, and has done so

without falling into the asininity of fellows such as *Ferrier,*[a] etc., who confuse money as the value of capital with the metallic money actually available. In crises, capital (as commodity) cannot be exchanged, not because there are *too few* means of circulation; it does not circulate because it is *not exchangeable.* The significance which cash acquires in times of crisis arises only from the fact that, while capital is not exchangeable for its value—and only for that reason does its value appear to confront it fixed in the form of money—it still has obligations to pay. Alongside the interrupted circulation, a *forced circulation* takes place.

*Chalmers* writes (Notebook IX, p. 57):

"WHEN A CONSUMER REFUSES CERTAIN COMMODITIES, it is not always, as it has been ASSUMED by the new economists, BECAUSE HE WANTS TO PURCHASE OTHERS IN PREFERENCE—but because he WANTS TO RESERVE ENTIRE THE GENERAL POWER OF PURCHASING. And WHEN A *MERCHANT* BRINGS COMMODITIES TO MARKET, IT IS GENERALLY NOT IN QUEST OF OTHER COMMODITIES TO BE GIVEN IN RETURN FOR THEM ... HE WILL EXTEND HIS *GENERAL POWER OF PURCHASE OF ALL COMMODITIES.* It is no use saying that money, too, is a *commodity.* The REAL METALLIC MONEY FOR WHICH A MERCHANT HAS ANY USE, DOES NOT AMOUNT TO MORE THAN A SMALL *FRACTION OF HIS CAPITAL,* EVEN OF *HIS MONIED CAPITAL;* ALL OF WHICH, THOUGH ESTIMATED IN MONEY, CAN BE MADE, ON THE STRENGTH OF WRITTEN CONTRACTS, TO DESCRIBE ITS ORBIT, AND BE EFFECTIVE FOR ALL ITS PURPOSES, WITH THE *AID OF COIN AMOUNTING TO AN INSIGNIFICANT PROPORTION OF THE WHOLE. THE GREAT OBJECT OF THE MONIED CAPITALIST,* IN FACT, IS TO ADD TO THE *NOMINAL AMOUNT OF HIS FORTUNE.* IT IS THAT, IF EXPRESSED PECUNIARILY THIS YEAR BY £20,000 for example, IT SHOULD BE EXPRESSED PECUNIARILY NEXT YEAR BY £24,000. *TO ADVANCE HIS CAPITAL, AS ESTIMATED IN MONEY,* IS THE ONLY WAY IN WHICH HE CAN ADVANCE HIS INTEREST AS A MERCHANT. The IMPORTANCE of this OBJECT to him is not affected by FLUCTUATIONS IN THE CURRENCY OR BY A CHANGE IN THE REAL VALUE OF MONEY. For instance, he may have advanced his fortune, by the business of one year, from £20,000 to £24,000, and yet, from a decline in the value of money, he may not HAVE INCREASED HIS COMMAND over the COMFORTS, etc. Still it was as much his interest [to have engaged in the business], as if money had not fallen; for else, his MONIED FORTUNE WOULD HAVE REMAINED STATIONARY, and his REAL WEALTH WOULD HAVE DECLINED IN THE PROPORTION OF 24 TO 20... *COMMODITIES*" (i.e. use value, real wealth) "are not the TERMINATING OBJECT of the TRADING CAPITALIST"

(the illusion of the monetary system[58] lies in that it saw in REAL METALLIC MONEY (or paper money, for that matter), in short, in the form of value as *real* money, the *general form of wealth* and self-enrichment; while it is precisely as *money* increases as the accumulation of the GENERAL POWER OF PURCHASING that it declines relatively in its particular form as means of circulation or also as *realised hoard.* As *assignation* of REAL WEALTH or PRODUCTIVE POWER, it acquires a thousand forms)

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[a] F. L. A. Ferrier, *Du gouvernement considéré dans ses rapports avec le commerce.*—*Ed.*

"*save in the spending of his revenue in purchases for the* SAKE OF CONSUMPTION. IN THE *OUTLAY OF HIS CAPITAL,* AND *WHEN HE PURCHASES FOR THE SAKE OF PRODUCTION,* MONEY IS HIS TERMINATING OBJECT" (N.B. not *COIN*) (pp. 164-66).

"*PROFIT,*" says the same *Chalmers,* "HAS THE EFFECT OF ATTACHING THE SERVICES OF THE DISPOSABLE POPULATION TO OTHER MASTERS, BESIDES THE MERE LANDED PROPRIETORS, WHILE their EXPENDITURE REACHES HIGHER THAN THE NECESSARIES OF LIFE" (p. [77-]78) (Notebook IX, p. 53).//

In the book from which we have just quoted, Chalmers calls the entire *circulation process* THE ECONOMIC CYCLE:

"THE WORLD OF TRADE MAY BE CONCEIVED TO REVOLVE IN WHAT WE SHALL CALL AN ECONOMIC CYCLE, WHICH ACCOMPLISHES ONE REVOLUTION BY BUSINESS COMING ROUND AGAIN, THROUGH ITS SUCCESSIVE TRANSACTIONS, TO THE POINT FROM WHICH IT SET OUT. ITS COMMENCEMENT MAY BE DATED FROM THE POINT AT WHICH THE CAPITALIST HAS OBTAINED THOSE RETURNS BY WHICH HIS CAPITAL IS REPLACED TO HIM: WHENCE HE PROCEEDS ANEW TO ENGAGE HIS WORKMEN; TO DISTRIBUTE AMONG THEM, IN WAGES, THEIR MAINTENANCE, OR RATHER THE POWER OF LIFTING IT; TO OBTAIN FROM THEM, IN FINISHED WORK, THE ARTICLES IN WHICH HE SPECIALLY DEALS; TO BRING THESE ARTICLES TO MARKET, AND THERE TERMINATE THE ORBIT OF ONE SET OF MOVEMENTS, BY EFFECTING A SALE, AND RECEIVING IN ITS PROCEEDS A RETURN FOR THE WHOLE OUTLAYS OF THE CAPITAL. The intervention of money in no way changes the REAL character of this operation" (p. 85, l.c.) (Notebook IX, p. 54).

*The difference in the* RETURN [of different capitals], so far as it is dependent upon the phase of the circulation process which coincides with the immediate production process, depends not only on the *longer or shorter labour time which is necessary* for the completion of the object (e.g. canal construction, etc.), but in certain branches of industry—agriculture—also on the interruptions in labour which are inherent in the nature of the work itself, when either capital lies fallow, or labour is at a standstill. Thus the example given by A. Smith of wheat as a crop which takes a year to produce, and of oxen as one which takes five years.[a] Consequently, 5 years' labour is employed on the latter, but only 1 on the former.

Little labour is employed on e.g. cattle which grows up on the open pastures. On the other hand, in agriculture itself, little labour is employed e.g. during the winter. In agriculture (and to a greater or lesser degree in many other branches of production), there are certain interruptions, pauses in labour time, which arise from the conditions of the production process itself; work must be recommenced at a given point, to continue or to complete the process of production. Here the constancy of the production process does not coincide with the continuity of the labour

[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Book I, Chapter XI, Part I.— *Ed.*

process. This is one moment of the difference [in the return]. *Secondly*: [In some branches] the product altogether requires a longer time to be *completed*, to be put into its FINISHED STATE [than in others]. This is the total duration of the process of production, quite apart from whether or not there are interruptions in the operations of labour; the different duration of the phase of production in general. *Thirdly*: After the product is FINISHED, it may have to lie fallow for quite a long time, during which it requires relatively little labour, in order to let natural processes work upon it, e.g. wine. (Conceptually, this is approximately the same CASE as I.) *Fourthly*: It may take a longer time to bring the product to market, because it is destined for a more distant market. (This coincides conceptually with CASE II.) *Fifthly*: The shorter or longer time involved in the total RETURN of capital (its total reproduction), so far as it is determined by the ratio of fixed to circulating capital, evidently does not relate to the duration of the *immediate process of production*, but is determined by circulation. The time for the reproduction of the total capital is determined by the total process, including circulation.

"INEQUALITY IN THE PERIODS NECESSARY FOR PRODUCTION."

"THE *DIFFERENCE OF TIME* REQUIRED TO COMPLETE THE PRODUCTS OF AGRICULTURE, AND OF OTHER SPECIES OF LABOUR, is the MAIN CAUSE of the GREAT DEPENDENCE of the AGRICULTURISTS. THEY CANNOT BRING THEIR COMMODITIES TO MARKET IN LESS TIME THAN A YEAR. FOR THAT WHOLE PERIOD they are obliged TO BORROW of the shoemaker, the TAILOR, the smith, the WHEELWRIGHT, and the VARIOUS OTHER LABOURERS, whose products they need, but which are COMPLETED IN A FEW DAYS OR WEEKS. OWING TO THIS NATURAL CIRCUMSTANCE, AND OWING TO THE MORE RAPID INCREASE OF THE WEALTH PRODUCED BY OTHER LABOUR THAN THAT OF AGRICULTURE, THE MONOPOLISERS OF ALL THE LAND, [VI-15] though they have also MONOPOLISED LEGISLATION, have not been able TO SAVE THEMSELVES AND THEIR SERVANTS, THE FARMERS, FROM BEING THE MOST DEPENDENT CLASS IN THE COMMUNITY" (Thomas Hodgskin, *Popular Political Economy. Four Lectures, etc.*, London, 1827, p. 147, note) (Notebook IX, p. 44).

"THE NATURAL CIRCUMSTANCE *OF ALL COMMODITIES BEING PRODUCED IN UNEQUAL PERIODS, WHILE* THE WANTS OF THE LABOURER MUST BE SUPPLIED DAILY... THIS INEQUALITY IN THE TIME NECESSARY TO COMPLETE DIFFERENT COMMODITIES, WOULD in the rude state of society CAUSE THE HUNTER ETC. TO HAVE A SURPLUS OF GAME ETC., BEFORE THE MAKER OF BOWS AND ARROWS ETC. HAD ANY COMMODITY COMPLETED TO GIVE FOR THE SURPLUS GAME. NO EXCHANGE COULD BE MADE; THE BOW MAKER MUST ALSO BE A HUNTER and the DIVISION OF LABOUR impossible. This DIFFICULTY led to the invention of MONEY" (pp. 179, 180) (l.c.).

//The very concept of the *free labourer* already implies that he is a *pauper*: a virtual pauper. According to his economic conditions, he is mere *living labour capacity*, and hence a bearer of the needs of life. All-round indigence, lacking the objective being to realise

his labour capacity. If the capitalist has no use for his surplus labour, he cannot perform his necessary labour and thereby produce his means of subsistence. He cannot, in this case, obtain them by means of exchange. If he does obtain them, it can only be because alms accrue to him from the revenue. As a worker, he can only subsist so long as he exchanges his labour capacity for the part of capital which constitutes the wages fund. This exchange is itself tied to conditions which are *for him* accidental and indifferent vis-à-vis his *organic* being. Hence he is virtually a *pauper*.

Moreover, since the condition of production based on capital is that the worker produces an ever greater quantity of surplus labour, it follows that an ever greater quantity of *necessary labour* is set free. The chances of his sinking into pauperism therefore increase. The development of surplus labour implies that of surplus population.

In different social modes of production, there are different laws governing the growth of population and overpopulation; the latter is identical with pauperism. These different laws can simply be reduced to the different modes of relating to the conditions of production, or, in the case of the living individual, to the conditions for his reproduction as a member of society, since it is only in society that he works and appropriates. The dissolution of these [traditional] relations, with regard to the single individual or a part of the population, posits them outside the reproductive conditions of this particular basis, hence posits them as overpopulation, and not only as destitute but also as unable to appropriate means of subsistence by labour, hence as paupers.

Only in the mode of production based on capital does pauperism appear as the result of labour itself, the result of the development of the productive power of labour. What is overpopulation at one stage of social production may not be overpopulation at another stage, and its effects may be different. E.g. those sent by the ancients to the colonies constituted overpopulation, i.e. they could not continue to live in the same area on the basis of the existing material property relations, i.e. conditions of production. The number [of colonists] may appear very small when compared with the modern conditions of production. Nevertheless, they were a long way from being paupers. But the plebs in Rome with their *panis et circenses*[138] were paupers. The overpopulation which caused the great *Völkerwanderung* presupposed yet other conditions.[151]

Since in all previous forms of production the development of the productive forces is not the basis of appropriation, but the

particular mode of relating to the conditions of production (forms of property) appears as a *presupposed* barrier to the productive forces, which are confined to reproduction, it follows that the growth of population, in which the development of all productive forces is subsumed, must come up even more against an *external barrier* and thus appear as something to be restricted.

The conditions of communal life are only compatible with a finite size of population. On the other hand, if the limits on population which are posited by the elasticity of the particular form of the conditions of production *change, contract or expand in accordance with the latter*—thus overpopulation among hunting peoples differed from overpopulation among the Athenians, and the latter differed from overpopulation among the Germanic tribes—the absolute rate at which population increases also changes, and thus the rate of overpopulation and population changes as well. Therefore the [level of] overpopulation which is posited on a particular basis of production is no less determinate than the [level of] sufficient population. Overpopulation and population taken together are *the* population to which a particular basis of production can give rise. How far it exceeds its barrier is determined by the barrier itself—or rather by the same factor which posits the barrier. Just as necessary labour and surplus labour taken together constitute the totality of labour on a given basis.

*Malthus's* theory which, incidentally, was not his own discovery, but for which he got the credit by the clerical zeal with which he proclaimed it, really only by the emphasis which he gave to it, is significant in two ways: (1) because he gave a brutal expression to the brutal view taken by capital; (2) because he *asserted* the FACT of overpopulation in all forms of society. He did not prove it, for nothing could be more uncritical than his motley, kaleidoscopic compilations[a] from historical and travel literature. His analysis is altogether wrong and childish, because

(1) he considers *overpopulation* as *of the same kind* in different historical phases of economic development, does not understand its specific differences and hence stupidly reduces those very complicated and changing relations to one relation, in which on the one hand the natural propagation of mankind, on the other the natural propagation of edible plants (or MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE) confront each other as two natural series, the one geometric and the other arithmetic in progression. In this way, he transforms

[a] [Th. R. Malthus,] *An Essay on the Principle of Population.—Ed.*

historically distinct relations into an abstract numerical relation which he simply plucks out of thin air, and which is based on neither natural nor historical laws. There is supposed to be a natural difference between the propagation of men and that of e.g. grain. The monkey here assumes that the *increase of mankind* is a purely natural process, which requires *external* RESTRAINTS, CHECKS, if it is not to proceed geometrically.

The *geometrical propagation* is [supposed to be] the natural process of human propagation. In history, he can find that population develops under widely different conditions and that overpopulation is, likewise, an historically determined relationship, and not at all determined by numbers, or by any absolute limit to the production of means of subsistence. It is always determined by limits posited by *particular conditions of production.* Limited with respect to numbers. How small do the numbers now seem to us which signified overpopulation to the Athenians! Secondly, limited with respect to character. An overpopulation of free Athenians who are transformed into colonists differs significantly from an overpopulation of workers who are transformed into INMATES OF WORKHOUSES. Similarly, the mendicant overpopulation, which consumes the surplus produce of a monastery, differs significantly from that which develops in a FACTORY. It is Malthus who abstracts from these specific historical laws of population movements, which make up the history of the nature of man, his *natural* laws. But they are the natural laws of man only at a certain level of historical development, corresponding to a certain level of development of the productive forces which is determined by his own historical process.

Malthusian man, abstracted from historically determined man, exists only in Malthus's brain; hence also the geometrical method of propagation corresponding to this natural Malthusian man. Actual history therefore appears to him in such a light that he does not conceive the propagation of his natural man as an abstraction from the historical process, from actual propagation, but, on the contrary, he conceives actual propagation as an application of the Malthusian theory. Therefore, what constitutes in history, at every stage, the immanent conditions of both population and overpopulation, appears with him as a series of *external* CHECKS, which have *prevented* population from growing in the Malthusian way. The conditions in which men historically produce and reproduce themselves, appear as *barriers* on the reproduction of Malthusian natural man, who is a pure Malthusian creation. [VI-16] On the other side, the production of the

means of subsistence, as it is "CHECKED", i.e. determined by the action of men, appears as a *CHECK* imposed by that production itself. Ferns once covered the whole earth. Their reproduction ceased only when there was no more room for any more. It did not conform to any arithmetical proportion. It is difficult to say where Malthus discovered that the reproduction of spontaneously propagating natural products comes to a halt in response to an inner urge, without *external CHECKS*. He transforms the immanent, historically changing limits on the process of man's propagation into *external barriers*; and the *external CHECKS* acting on natural reproduction into *immanent limits* or *natural laws* of propagation.

(2) He foolishly relates a certain number of men to a certain quantity of means of subsistence. Ricardo straight away countered this by correctly pointing out that the quantity of available grain is quite immaterial for the worker if he is without *employment*; that it is therefore the MEANS OF EMPLOYMENT and not OF SUBSISTENCE which determine whether or not he belongs in the category of surplus population.[a]

But this applies more widely, and is true in general of the *social mediation* by which the individual relates to the means of his reproduction and produces them. Hence it is true of the *conditions of production* and his relation to them. For the slave in Athens, the only barrier to his multiplication was the quantity of NECESSARIES which could be produced. And we never hear that there was a *surplus of slaves* in antiquity. On the contrary, the demand for them rose. Yet there was certainly a surplus population of non-workers (in the direct sense), who were not too many with respect to the available means of subsistence, but who had lost the conditions enabling them to appropriate. The invention of surplus workers, i.e. of propertyless men who work, belongs to the epoch of capital.

The beggars who attached themselves to the monasteries, and helped them to consume their surplus product, belong to the same class as the RETAINERS of the feudal lords, and this shows that the surplus PRODUCE could not be entirely consumed by the small number of its owners. This is only another form of the RETAINERS OF OLD, or the MENIAL SERVANTS OF TODAY. Overpopulation among e.g. the HUNTING PEOPLES, which is manifested in the struggle between individual tribes, does not prove that the soil could not support the small number of people who lived on it, but rather that the conditions of their reproduction necessitated a large territory to

[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, pp. 493 and 495.— *Ed.*

feed a few mouths. Nowhere [overpopulation] relative to a *non-existent* absolute quantity of MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE, only relative to the conditions of reproduction, of the production of these MEANS. But this includes the *conditions of the reproduction of human beings*, of the total population, of relative SURPLUS POPULATION. This surplus purely relative: in no way related to the *means of subsistence* as such, but only to the mode of their production. Hence also a *surplus* only given this STATE OF DEVELOPMENT.

(3) What was not, properly speaking, *Malthus*'s own idea at all, the bringing in of the theory of rent, [is] *au fond* only a formula expressing the fact that at the stage of industrial development familiar to Ricardo, etc., agriculture lagged behind manufacture, an aspect which, incidentally, is immanent in bourgeois production, although in varying degrees. Does not belong here.//

//Generally speaking, when we look at production based on capital, an essential condition appears to be the combination of the greatest absolute quantity of necessary labour with the greatest relative quantity of surplus labour. Hence as basic condition the greatest possible growth of population—of living labour capacities. If we further look at the conditions for the development of both productive power and exchange, we find that they are the division of labour, cooperation, observation in all directions, which can only be the work of many heads, science, as many centres of exchange as possible—and all these are identical with the growth of population.

On the other hand, it is inherent in the condition for the appropriation of alien surplus labour that necessary population—i.e. the population representing necessary labour, labour necessary for production—is matched by a *surplus population*, which does not work. In the further development of capital, we find that alongside the industrial part of this surplus population—the industrial capitalists—a purely consuming part branches off. Idlers whose business it is to consume alien products, and [who,] since crude consumption has its limits, have to have a part of these products FORWARDED to them in refined form, as luxury products.

When the economists speak of surplus population, they are not referring to this idle surplus population. On the contrary, it is precisely they, with their consumption business, who are regarded by the population fanatics as necessary population, and [if one takes their view] justly (consistently) so. The expression "surplus population" refers exclusively to labour capacities, i.e. to the *necessary population*; surplus *labour capacities*. This arises simply from the nature of capital. Labour capacity can only perform its

necessary labour if its surplus labour has value for capital, if it can be valorised by capital. If there are obstacles of one kind or another to its being valorised, *labour capacity itself* (1) appears to fall *outside the conditions of reproduction of its existence*; it exists without the *conditions of its existence*, and is thus A MERE ENCUMBRANCE; it has needs and lacks the means of satisfying them. (2) Necessary labour appears superfluous, because superfluous labour is not necessary. It is necessary only in so far as it is a condition for the valorisation of capital.

Thus the relation between necessary and surplus labour, as it is posited by capital, comes to this, that a part of necessary labour—i.e. of the labour which reproduces the labour capacity—is superfluous, and this labour capacity itself is needed as a *surplus* of the necessary working population, i.e. of that part of the working population whose necessary labour is not superfluous but necessary for capital. Since the effect of the development of productive power necessarily posited by capital is to increase the ratio of surplus to necessary labour, or to reduce the amount of necessary labour required for a given quantity of surplus labour, then, in a given quantity of labour capacity, the proportion of *necessary* labour required by capital must constantly diminish, i.e. a part of these labour capacities must become superfluous, because [only] a fraction of the amount previously necessary is now sufficient to perform the given quantity of surplus labour.

Positing a certain portion of labour capacity, i.e. of the labour required to reproduce it, as superfluous, is thus a necessary consequence of the increase in the ratio of surplus to necessary labour. The relative decline of necessary labour appears as a relative increase of surplus labour capacities—i.e. as the positing of surplus population. It is maintained, not out of the wages fund, but out of the income of all classes. It is not maintained by the labour of the labour capacity itself—the worker no longer maintained by his normal reproduction as a worker; he is rather maintained as a living being, by the charity of others. He therefore becomes a derelict and a pauper; in as much as he no longer maintains himself by his necessary labour, by exchange with a part of capital, he has fallen outside the conditions of the apparent relation of exchange and independence. Secondly, society [as a whole] in various proportions takes on for Mr. Capitalist the job of maintaining his virtual instrument of labour—defraying its WEAR and TEAR—keeping it in reserve for later use by him. He passes on a part of the cost of reproducing the working class, [VI-17] and so pauperises a part of the rest of the population for his own profit.

On the other hand, since capital constantly reproduces itself as surplus capital, it tends to posit this pauperism just as much as it tends to transcend it. It acts in opposing directions, so that sometimes one tendency prevails, and sometimes the other.

Finally, positing surplus capital implies the following: (1) It needs a growing population in order to be set in motion; if the relative population it needs has diminished, it has itself grown in proportion. (2) It needs an unemployed (relatively, at least) part of the population, i.e. a relative surplus population, in order to have the population necessary for its growth immediately available. (3) At a given level of the productive forces, surplus value may already be present, but not yet to the degree and in the proportions necessary for its employment as capital. Not only is a minimum level of production posited, but of its growth as well. In this case, surplus capital and surplus population. Likewise, a surplus population may be present, but not large enough, not in the proportions required for surplus production. In all this discussion, we have purposely abstracted entirely from the vicissitudes of the market, its contraction, etc., in short from everything which presupposes the *process of many capitals.*//

//*A. Smith's* view that *the value of labour* never *varies*, in the sense that *for the worker a certain quantity of labour* is always a certain *quantity of labour*, i.e. in A. Smith's view, the *sacrifice* is always *quantitatively equal.* Whether I obtain much or little for one hour of work—and that depends on its productivity and on other circumstances—I have *worked* for one hour. What I had to pay for the result of my labour, for my wage, is always the same *hour of work*, no matter how its result varies.

"Equal quantities of labour, at all times and places, may be said to be of equal value to the labourer. In his ordinary state of health, strength and spirits, in the ordinary degree of his skill and dexterity, he must always lay down the *same portion* of his *ease*, his *liberty*, and his *happiness.* The *price which he pays* must always be the same, whatever may be the quantity of goods which he receives in return for it. Of these, indeed, it may sometimes purchase a greater and sometimes a smaller quantity; but it is their value which varies, not that of the labour which purchases them. Labour alone, therefore, never varies in its own value. It is the *real price* of commodities; money is their nominal price only" ([A. Smith, *Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations,*] ed. Garnier, Vol. I, [Paris, 1802,] pp. 64-66) (Notebook, p. 7 [152]).

Thou shalt earn thy bread in the sweat of thy brow! was the curse which Jehovah laid on Adam.[a] And so A. Smith conceives

[a] Genesis 3:19.— *Ed.*

labour to be a curse. To him, "rest" appears as the adequate state, as identical with "liberty" and "happiness". It does not seem remotely to occur to him that the individual "in his ordinary state of health, strength, spirits, skill, dexterity" also needs a normal portion of labour and the transcendence of "rest". Certainly, the volume of labour itself appears to be externally determined by the aim to be attained and the obstacles to its attainment which have to be overcome by labour. But equally A. Smith has no inkling that the overcoming of these obstacles is in itself a manifestation of freedom—and, moreover, that the external aims are [thereby] stripped of their character as merely external natural necessity, and become posited as aims which only the individual himself posits, that they are therefore posited as self-realisation, objectification of the subject, and thus real freedom, whose action is precisely work.

Of course, Smith is right that in its historical forms of slave labour, serf labour and wage labour, work is always repulsive and always appears as *externally imposed, forced labour*, and as against that not-work as "liberty and happiness". This holds doubly: it is true of this antagonistic work and of everything connected with it, it is true of work which has not as yet created the subjective and objective conditions (or also of the pastoral, etc., state which has lost them) for work to become *travail attractif*, to be the self-realisation of the individual, which in no way implies that work is pure fun, pure amusement, as in Fourier's childishly naive conception.[a] Really free work, e.g. the composition of music, is also the most damnably difficult, demanding the most intensive effort.

Work involved in material production can achieve this character only if (1) its social character is posited; (2) if it is of a scientific character and simultaneously general [in its application], and not the exertion of the worker as a natural force drilled in a particular way, but as a subject, which appears in the production process not in a merely natural, spontaneous form, but as an activity controlling all natural forces.

A. Smith, by the way, has only the slaves of capital in mind. E.g. not even the skilled craftsman of the Middle Ages can be subsumed under his definition. However, *our immediate concern here* is not to discuss his philosophical conception of work, but the economic aspect. If we consider work only as *sacrifice*, therefore positing value, as *price* which is paid for objects and thus endows

[a] Ch. Fourier, "Le Nouveau Monde industriel et sociétaire", *Œuvres complètes*, 3rd ed., Vol. 6, Paris, 1848, pp. 245-52.— *Ed.*

them with price according to the greater or lesser quantity of labour they cost, we confine ourselves to a purely *negative* determination of labour. On this basis Mr. *Senior* for instance could transform capital into a source of production in the same sense as labour, *sui generis*, a source of *value* creation, because the capitalist can also be said to make a *sacrifice*, the sacrifice of ABSTINENCE, in that he enriches himself instead of directly consuming his product.[a] Something that is merely negative, creates nothing. If work for instance is a source of pleasure to the worker—as Senior's *abstinence* surely is for the miser—the product does not thereby lose any of its value. Labour *alone* produces; it is the sole *substance* of products as *values*.

//How little Proudhon understands the matter is clear from his axiom that every labour leaves a surplus.[b] What he denies in the case of capital, he makes into a natural attribute of labour. The point is rather that the labour time necessary for the satisfaction of absolute needs leaves *free* time (the amount differs in different stages of the development of productive forces) and hence surplus produce can be produced if *surplus labour* is performed. The aim is to transcend the relation itself [the division of the product into necessary and surplus], so that surplus PRODUCE itself appears as necessary,[153] and so that finally material production leaves every person surplus time for other activities. There is no longer anything mystical about this. Originally, the voluntary gifts of nature abundant, or at least they only had to be appropriated. From the outset spontaneous association (family) and a corresponding division of labour and cooperation. For originally human needs also slight. They themselves grow only with the development of the productive forces.//

Its measure, labour time—assuming equal intensity of labour—is therefore the measure of values. The qualitative difference between workers, in so far as it is not natural in origin, posited by sex, age, physical strength, etc.—and thus *au fond* expresses not the qualitative value of labour but the division of labour and its differentiation—is itself an historical result and then transcended again for the great mass of labour, in that the latter is simple labour, while the qualitatively higher labour takes its measure economically from the simple.

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[a] N. W. Senior, *Principes fondamentaux de l'économie politique*, pp. 309-35.— *Ed.*

[b] P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère*, Vol. I, p. 73; *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon*, p. 200.— *Ed.*

To say that *labour time* or the quantity of labour is the measure of values, means only that the measure of labour is the measure of values. Two things can be measured in terms of the same unit only if they are *of the same nature.* Products can only be measured by the measure of labour—by labour time—because by their nature they are *labour.* They are objectified labour. As objects, they assume forms from which their being as labour may indeed be apparent (as their externally posited suitability for their purpose; though this is *not* apparent e.g. with the oxen, nor with reproduced natural products in general), but in which there is nothing else in common any more. They exist as things of the same kind [VI-18] so long as they exist as activity. This is measured by time, which therefore becomes the measure of the objectified labour. We shall examine elsewhere the extent to which this *measuring* is connected with exchange, not with organised social labour—a certain level of the social process of production.

Use value is not related to human activity as the source of the product, to its positing by human activity—but to its being for men. So far as the product has a measure for itself, it is its natural measure, its measure as a natural object, its heaviness, weight, length, spatial volume, etc. The measure of usefulness, etc. But as effect, or as inert being of the power which produced it, it is measured only by the measures of this power itself. The measure of labour is time. It is only because the products are *labour* that they can be measured by the measure of labour, by labour time, or by the quantity of labour consumed in them. The negation of rest, simply as negation, as ascetic sacrifice, produces nothing. *A man may mortify, torment himself, etc., the whole day long like the monks, etc., and this quantity of sacrifice which he makes will have no effect at all.* The *natural* price of things is not the sacrifice made to produce them. This is reminiscent, rather, of the pre-industrial notion of acquiring wealth by making sacrifices to the gods. Apart from the sacrifice, there must be something else. What appears as a sacrifice of rest may also be called a sacrifice of idleness, of unfreedom, of unhappiness, i.e. the negation of a negative condition.

A. Smith considers work psychologically, with respect to the pleasure or displeasure which it gives the individual. Yet it must be something else in addition to this *sentimental* relation to his activity—above all for others, since the mere sacrifice of *A* would be of no use to *B*; but also the way he himself relates to the object which he works on and to his own disposition to work. Labour is a *positive, creative activity.* Of course the measure of labour, time, does not depend on the productivity of labour; its measure is

nothing but a unit of which the fractional parts of labour express a particular number. It certainly does not follow from this that the *value* of labour is constant; or this follows only in so far as equal quantities of labour are of equal measured magnitude.

If we wish to define the matter more precisely, we find that the values of products are measured not by the labour which was bestowed on them, but by the labour necessary for their production. Thus not the sacrifice but the labour as the condition of production. The equivalent expresses the condition of their reproduction as given to them by exchange, i.e. the possibility of the renewal of productive activity as posited by its own product.//

//By the way, A. Smith's *theory of sacrifice,* which actually expresses correctly the *subjective attitude of the wage worker to his own activity,* does not achieve the object of the exercise—namely the determination of value by labour time. For the worker, an hour of labour may always be an equally great sacrifice. But the value of commodities by no means depends upon his FEELINGS; nor does the value of his hour's labour. Since A. Smith admits that one may sometimes purchase this sacrifice more cheaply and sometimes more dearly, it is odd that it should always be *sold* at the same price. He is also inconsistent. For he subsequently makes wages into the measure of value, not the quantity of labour. *The sacrifice of the ox when it is slaughtered is always the same.* [But] *that does not make beef constant in value.*//

//"But though equal quantities of labour are always of equal value to the labourer, yet to the person who employs him they appear sometimes to be of greater and sometimes of smaller value. He purchases them sometimes with a greater and sometimes with a smaller quantity of goods, and to him the price of labour seems to vary like that of all other things. In reality, however, it is the goods which are cheap in the one case, and dear in the other" (A. Smith, l.c., Vol. I, p. 66) (Notebook, p. 8).//

//The way in which A. Smith explains the origin of *profit* is very naive.

"In the early and rude state of society the whole produce of labour belongs to the labourer; and the quantity" (also the greater difficulty, etc.) "of labour commonly employed in acquiring or producing any exchangeable object is the *only circumstance* which regulates the quantity of labour which it ought commonly to purchase, command, or exchange for... But *as soon as stock* has accumulated in the hands of *particular persons the value which the workmen add to the object resolves itself into two parts,* of which the one pays their wages, the other the profits of their employer upon the whole stock of materials and wages which he advanced. He could have *no interest* to employ them, unless he expected from the sale of their

work something more than what was sufficient to replace his stock to him; and he could have no interest to employ a great stock rather than a small one, unless his profits were to bear some proportion to the extent of his stock" (l.c., pp. 96, 97) (Notebook, p. 9[152]).

(Cf. the peculiar view of A. Smith that [in the period] *prior to the division of labour,*

"in which everyman provides everything for himself, it is not necessary that any stock should be accumulated or stored up beforehand..." [op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 191-92].

As though in this state of society, the individual, finding no stock provided by nature, would not have to find the objective conditions of life in order to be able to work. Even the savage, even animals, accumulate reserves. What Smith talks about can only apply to the state of society where nothing but immediate, momentary instinct impels men to some immediate piece of work, and in that case, the *stock* must *d'une manière* or *d'autre* be present in nature *without labour* (Notebook, p. 19). (Smith gets things confused. *Concentration of stock* in one hand not then necessary.)//

//In Vol. III of his edition of A. Smith [*An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, London, 1846], *Wakefield* remarks:

"THE LABOUR OF SLAVES BEING COMBINED, IS MORE PRODUCTIVE THAN THE MUCH DIVIDED LABOUR OF FREEMEN. THE LABOUR OF FREEMEN IS MORE PRODUCTIVE THAN THAT OF SLAVES, ONLY WHEN IT COMES TO BE COMBINED *BY MEANS OF GREATER DEARNESS OF LAND*, AND *THE SYSTEM OF HIRING FOR WAGES*" (p. 18, note) (Notebook VIII, p. 1). "IN COUNTRIES WHERE LAND REMAINS VERY CHEAP, EITHER ALL THE PEOPLE ARE IN A STATE OF BARBARISM, OR SOME OF THEM ARE IN A STATE OF SLAVERY" (l.c.).//

//"*PROFIT* IS A TERM SIGNIFYING THE INCREASE OF CAPITAL OR WEALTH; SO FAILING TO FIND THE LAWS WHICH GOVERN THE RATE OF PROFIT, IS FAILING TO FIND THE LAWS OF THE FORMATION OF CAPITAL" (W. Atkinson, *Principles of Political Economy*, London, 1840, p. 55) (Notebook,[150] p. 2).//

//"MAN IS AS MUCH THE *PRODUCE OF LABOUR* AS ANY OF THE MACHINES CONSTRUCTED BY HIS AGENCY; AND IT APPEARS TO US THAT IN ALL ECONOMICAL INVESTIGATIONS HE OUGHT TO BE CONSIDERED IN PRECISELY THE SAME POINT OF VIEW. EVERY INDIVIDUAL WHO HAS ARRIVED AT MATURITY MAY, WITH PERFECT PROPRIETY, BE VIEWED AS A MACHINE WHICH IT HAS COST 20 YEARS OF ASSIDUOUS ATTENTION AND THE EXPENDITURE OF A CONSIDERABLE CAPITAL TO CONSTRUCT. And if a further sum is laid out in his education or QUALIFICATION for the EXERCISE OF A BUSINESS, etc., his value is proportionately INCREASED, exactly as a machine is rendered more valuable by the EXPENDITURE of ADDITIONAL CAPITAL or labour in its construction, in order to give new POWERS to it" (MacCulloch, *The Principles of Political Economy*, Edinburgh, 1825, p. 115) (Notebook, p. 9).

"IN POINT OF FACT, A COMMODITY WILL ALWAYS EXCHANGE FOR MORE" LABOUR (than that with which it has been produced): "AND IT *IS THIS EXCESS THAT CONSTITUTES PROFITS*" (MacCulloch, l.c., p. 221) (Notebook, p. 13).

The same worthy MacCulloch, of whom Malthus rightly says that for him the distinctive attribute of science [VI-19] is the equation of everything with everything,[a] says:

"*THE PROFITS OF CAPITAL* ARE ONLY ANOTHER NAME FOR THE WAGES OF *ACCUMULATED LABOUR*" (l.c., p. 291) (Notebook, p. 14)

and hence presumably also the WAGES OF LABOUR [are] ONLY ANOTHER NAME FOR THE PROFITS OF LIVING CAPITAL.

"WAGES ... REALLY CONSIST OF *A PART OF THE PRODUCE OF THE INDUSTRY OF THE LABOURER*; CONSEQUENTLY, their real value is high if the LABOURER gets a comparatively large part of the product of his industry, and conversely" (l.c., p. 295) (Notebook, p. 15).//

//Capital's positing of *surplus labour* is generally so little understood by the economists that they present individual striking phenomena in which it manifests itself as something *extraordinary*, as curiosities. *Ramsay* on night-work is an example. *John Wade*, in his *History of the Middle and Working Classes*, 3rd ed., London, 1835 (p. 240) (Notebook, p. 21), writes for instance:

"The STANDARD OF WAGES is *also* related to the hours of labour and the periods of rest. It was the policy of the MASTERS in recent years" (before 1835) "to usurp ON [THE] OPERATIVES in this RESPECT, by CUTTING [OFF] OR ABRIDGING HOLIDAYS and MEALTIMES and gradually extending the hours of labour; knowing that an INCREASE of one-quarter in labour time is equivalent to a reduction of the same extent in the AMOUNT OF WAGES."//

John Stuart Mill, *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy*, London, 1844. (The few original ideas of Mill junior are contained in this slim booklet, not in his voluminously pedantic *magnum opus*.[b])

"Whatever is destined to be employed reproductively, either in its existing shape, or INDIRECTLY BY A PREVIOUS (OR EVEN SUBSEQUENT) EXCHANGE, is *capital*. Suppose that I have laid out all the money I possess in wages and tools, and that the article which I produce is just COMPLETED; in the interval which elapses before I can sell the article, realise the proceeds, and lay them out again in WAGES and TOOLS, will it be said that I have *no capital*? Certainly not: I have the same capital as before, perhaps a greater, but it is locked up and is not DISPOSABLE" (p. 55) (Notebook, p. 36).

"At all times a very large proportion of the capital of a country is lying idle. The annual produce of a country is never anything approaching in magnitude to what it might be if all the resources devoted to reproduction, if all the capital, IN

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[a] Th. R. Malthus, *Definitions in Political Economy*, London, 1827, pp. 69-70.—*Ed.*

[b] *Principles of Political Economy with some of their Applications to Social Philosophy*, in two volumes, London, 1848. Below Marx quotes from *Essays*....—*Ed.*

SHORT, of the country, were IN FULL EMPLOYMENT. *If every commodity on an average remained unsold for a length of time equal to that required for its production,* it is obvious that, at ANY ONE TIME, *no more than half the productive capital of the country would be really performing the FUNCTIONS of capital. The half which was in employment would be a fluctuating portion,* composed of varying parts; but the result would be, that each producer would be able to produce every year only half as large a supply of commodities, as he could produce if he were sure of selling them the moment the production was completed" (l.c., pp. 55, 56). "This, or something like it, is HOWEVER the habitual state of a very large proportion of all the capitalists in the world" (p. 56).

"The number of producers, or dealers, who turn over their capital in the shortest possible time, is VERY small. There are few who have so rapid a sale for their wares, that all the goods which their own capital, or the capital which they can borrow, enables them to supply, are *carried off* as fast as they can be supplied. The majority have not an *EXTENT OF BUSINESS,* AT ALL ADEQUATE TO THE AMOUNT OF THE CAPITAL THEY DISPOSE OF. It is true that, in the communities in which industry and commerce are practised with greatest success, the CONTRIVANCES OF BANKING enable the possessor of a larger capital than he can employ in his own business, to employ it productively and derive a revenue from it notwithstanding. Yet even then, there is a great quantity of capital which remains *fixed* in the shape of IMPLEMENTS, MACHINERY, BUILDINGS, etc., whether it is ONLY HALF EMPLOYED, OR IN COMPLETE EMPLOYMENT: and every DEALER keeps a *STOCK IN TRADE,* TO BE READY FOR A POSSIBLE SUDDEN DEMAND, though he may not be able TO DISPOSE OF IT FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD" (p. 56). "This *perpetual non-employment of a large proportion of capital,* is the *price we pay for the division of labour. The purchase is worth what it costs; BUT THE PRICE IS CONSIDERABLE*" (p. 56).

If I have invested 1,500 thaler in a SHOP and derive a profit of 10% on it, while 500 lies IDLE in order to decorate the SHOP, etc., it is the same as if I had invested 2,000 thaler at [a profit of] 7 $^1/_2$%.

"In many TRADES, there are some DEALERS who sell articles of an equal quality at a lower price than other DEALERS. This is not a voluntary sacrifice of profits: they expect by the consequent OVERFLOW of CUSTOMERS to turn over their capital more quickly, and to be gainers BY KEEPING THE WHOLE OF THEIR CAPITAL IN MORE CONSTANT EMPLOYMENT, though on any given operation their gains are less" (pp. 56, 57). "It is QUESTIONABLE whether there be any DEALERS for whom an additional purchaser is of no use; and to the great majority this hypothesis is not applicable at all. An additional customer, to most DEALERS, is equivalent to an increase of their productive capital. He enables them to convert a portion of their capital which was lying idle (and which could never have become productive in their hands until a customer was found) into WAGES and INSTRUMENTS OF PRODUCTION... The aggregate produce of the country for the succeeding year is, therefore, increased; not by the mere exchange, but BY *CALLING INTO ACTIVITY* a portion of the national capital, which, HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR THE EXCHANGE, would have remained FOR SOME TIME longer UNEMPLOYED" (pp. 57, 58).

"The benefit which a producer or DEALER derives from the acquisition of a *new customer* can be defined as follows:

"(1) If any part of his capital was locked up in the form of unsold goods, producing (for a longer or shorter period) NOTHING AT ALL; a portion of this is *called into greater activity, and becomes MORE CONSTANTLY PRODUCTIVE.*

"(2) If the ADDITIONAL DEMAND exceeds what can be supplied by setting at liberty the capital which exists in the state of unsold goods; and if the DEALER has additional resources, which were productively invested (in the public funds, for instance), but not in his own TRADE; he is enabled to obtain, ON A PORTION OF THESE, not mere interest, but profit, and so to gain that difference between the rate OF PROFIT and the rate OF INTEREST.

"(3) If all the dealer's capital is employed in his own trade, and no part of it locked up as unsold goods, he can carry on an additional business with borrowed capital, and so gain the difference between interest and profit" (p. 59).

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] The unfinished draft manuscript "Bastiat and Carey", the first of Marx's Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58, takes up the first seven pages in one of the seven notebooks containing the main manuscript of that cycle, the *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy* (Rough Draft). However, the date, "July 1857", which Marx put on the cover of that notebook, shows that "Bastiat and Carey" was written somewhat earlier than the *Outlines*. Pages 1, 2, 3 and the upper half of page 4 contain the "Avantpropos" (Introductory Notes) to "Bastiat and Carey", the lower half of page 4 is blank, and pages 5-7 are taken up by a passage entitled "XIV. *De salaires*". From page 8 onwards, there follows the continuation of the text contained in Notebook II of the main manuscript (see page 219 of this volume). Marx marked this continuation "Notebook III" and dated it "November 29 and 30, and December 1857".

Since in the manuscript the draft bears the same subtitle as Bastiat's book, it may be assumed that Marx originally wanted to write an extensive review, but later decided that the book did not deserve detailed discussion, and therefore gave up his original intention.

The draft goes beyond the bounds of an ordinary review. In the "Avantpropos", Marx sums up the bourgeois political economy of his time and strictly delimits the era of classical political economy as beginning in the late 17th century, with the works of Petty and Boisguillebert, and ending in the first third of the 19th century, with the writings of Ricardo and Sismondi. He shows that the bourgeois economists of the subsequent period were either epigones of the classics or vulgar critics of them. The works of the Frenchman Bastiat and the American Carey, directed above all against Ricardo, were examples of that kind of criticism.

The title "Bastiat and Carey" occurs in Marx's "References to My Own Notebooks", written in the summer of 1861 (see present edition, Vol. 29). This shows that Marx himself regarded the draft as part of his Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58. He quotes from Bastiat partly in French and partly in German translation. In this volume, all quotations are in English; only foreign-language phrases in Marx's own text are given in the language of the original.

The draft was first published in the journal *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 2, No. 27, Stuttgart, 1903-1904. In English, it first appeared, under the title "Critique of

Bastiat and Carey", in *Marx's Grundrisse* by David McLellan, Macmillan Press Ltd., London, 1971, pp. 47-58 and in: Karl Marx, *Grundrisse. Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy (Rough Draft).* Translated with a Foreword by Martin Nicolaus. Penguin Books in association with *New Left Review.* London, 1973, pp. 883-93.—5

2 This refers to Chapter XIV in the second edition of Bastiat's book *Harmonies économiques* (there are 25 chapters in that edition). Since this section of the draft "Bastiat and Carey" begins on page 5 of the manuscript, while half of page 4 was left blank, it may be assumed that Marx originally intended to discuss Bastiat's book in greater detail, giving, in particular, an account of the preceding 13 chapters.—11

3 According to Bastiat, "the workers' pension fund" was to be made up of contributions by the workers themselves, for thus alone the necessary degree of "stability" could be ensured (Fr. Bastiat, *Harmonies économiques,* 2nd edition, Paris, 1851, p. 395).—11

4 Marx means the philosophical and historical constructions in Proudhon's book *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère* (Paris, 1846). In 1847 Marx attacked them in *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 105-212, particularly pp. 111-15 and 157-60).—13

5 The "supreme being" (*être suprême*) was Voltaire's designation of God, whom he, in contrast to the positive religions, described as an impersonal rational creator, who, having, laid down the laws of the world and given it an initial impulse, has refrained from any further intervention in the natural course of events.—13

6 This Introduction, prefaced by Marx to the *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy,* the first rough draft of *Capital,* holds an important place among his Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58. It is contained in Notebook M, marked "London, 23 August '57", which is probably the day when Marx began writing the Introduction. He interrupted this work, in all likelihood, in the last days of August, leaving the Introduction unfinished.

On the cover of Notebook M, Marx listed the main items to be discussed in the Introduction. The headings of the individual sections in this table of contents differ somewhat from the corresponding headings in the text proper. Marx's list is as follows:

"Contents

"A. Introduction
"1) Production in general
"2) General relationship between production, distribution, exchange and consumption
"3) The method of political economy
"4) The means (forces) of production and production relations; production relations and relations of intercourse, etc."

As the table reflects the overall structure of the Introduction more accurately than the headings of some of the sections in the text do, one may assume that Marx wrote it *after* drafting the Introduction.

The fourth, closing section is in the form of a detailed outline. Of the subsections listed in it, only subsection 1, containing Marx's views on art, was written, and even that not in full. For instance contrary to his original intention,

he did not investigate the relation of Shakespeare to the modern world. Having put to paper his views on Greek art, Marx broke off the work on the Introduction.

Later, when preparing the manuscripts for publication, he abandoned his intention to open them with an extensive introduction and confined himself to a shorter preface formulating in brief the general philosophical premisses of his method of economic research (the materialist conception of history). In the Preface to Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, dated January 1859, Marx wrote: "A general introduction, which I had drafted, is omitted, since on further consideration it seems to me confusing to anticipate results which still have to be substantiated, and the reader who really wishes to follow me will have to decide to advance from the particular to the general" (see present edition, Vol. 29).

The Introduction was first published in the journal *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 1, Nos. 23-25, Stuttgart, 1902-1903. In English, in first appeared in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy by Karl Marx*. Translated from the second German edition by N. I. Stone. With an appendix containing Marx's Introduction to the Critique recently published among his posthumous papers. Charles H. Kirr & Company, Chicago, 1904, pp. 265-312. It was also published in *Marx and Modern Economics*, ed. by D. Horowitz. Mac Gibbon & Kee, London, 1968, pp. 21-48, in *Marx's Grundrisse* by David McLellan, Macmillan Press Ltd., London, 1971, pp. 16-46, and in Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*. Translated with a Foreword by Martin Nicolaus. London, 1973, pp. 81-111.—17

7 The heading "I. Production, Consumption, Distribution, Exchange (Circulation)" does not occur in Marx's table of contents on the cover of Notebook M and refers, strictly speaking, only to the first two sections of the Introduction, that headed "Production" (the heading in the table of contents on the cover is more accurate: "Production in general") and that headed "The General Relation of Production to Distribution, Exchange and Consumption". There are no Roman numerals in the further text of the Introduction to correspond to the figure I marking the section "Production, Consumption, Distribution, Exchange (Circulation)".—17

8 *Contrat social*—in Rousseau's theory, the voluntary agreement entered into by primitive people—originally living in "the state of nature"—which led to the formation of the political state. The theory was set forth in Rousseau's *Du Contrat social; ou Principes du droit politique*, London, 1782.—17

9 The term *bürgerliche Gesellschaft* (see G.W.F. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, in: *Werke*, Vol. 8, Berlin, 1833, § 182, Addendum) was used by Marx, even in his early writings, in two senses: in a broader one, to denote the economic system of society regardless of the historical stage of its development, i.e. the totality of material relations determining the political institutions and ideological life; and in a narrower one, to denote the material relations of bourgeois society (later, bourgeois society as a whole), i.e. capitalism. Depending on the context, the term is translated in this edition either as "bourgeois society" or as "civil society".—17

10 In subsequent years Marx modified his views on family relations in primitive society and the early tribal system in accordance with the latest studies in ethnography and ancient history, notably the books *Das Mutterrecht* by the Swiss historian Johann Jacob Bachofen and *Ancient Society* by the American

anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan, published in the 1860s and 1870s. In particular, he abandoned the view, commonly held by historians in the 1840s and 1850s, asserting the primacy of the family and the secondary nature of the tribe and deriving the tribe from the developing family. The new conception of the relation between tribe and family was reflected, in particular, in Marx's synopsis of Morgan's *Ancient Society*. Frederick Engels drew on this book in writing *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.—18

[11] The *zoon politicon*—literally, "political animal" or, in a broader sense, "social animal"—was Aristotle's description of man. The term occurs in Book I of his *Politica*. In a note to Chapter XIII of Vol. I of *Capital* Marx says: "Strictly, Aristotle's definition is that man is by nature a town-citizen" (see present edition, Vol. 35).—18, 420

[12] *Determination is negation*—Marx quotes this thesis of Spinoza in the widely accepted interpretation given it by Hegel. In Spinoza, it means "limitation is negation" *(Epistolae doctorum quorundam virorum ad B. de Spinoza et auctoris responsiones; ad aliorum ejus operum elucidationem non parum facientes. Epistola L 2 Junii 1674)*. Hegel's interpretation emphasises the element of negation inherent in any determined being, in any particular thing (see his *Wissenschaft der Logik*, Book I, Part I, Chapter 2, note on "Reality and Negation" and his *Enzyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften*, Part I; *Wissenschaft der Logik*, § 91, Addendum).—28

[13] Marx refers to vulgar socialists like the German "true socialists" (in particular, Karl Grün) and the French petty-bourgeois socialist Proudhon. See present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 509, 515, 518 and Vol. 6, pp. 157-58.—31

[14] Marx discusses the views of Say and Storch on the relation between production and consumption in the chapter "Adam Smith" of his manuscripts of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30).—31, 339

[15] Speaking of "what is called exchange between dealers and dealers", Marx has in mind Adam Smith's division of circulation into that between dealers, and that between dealers, on the one hand, and individual consumers, on the other (see Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. II, Book II, Chapter II).—36

[16] Marx drew the data on pre-Spanish Peru from the American scholar William Hickling Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Peru, with a preliminary view of the civilisation of the Incas*, in three volumes, 4th ed., London, 1850. Excerpts from Volume I of this book are contained in Marx's Notebook XIV, begun in London in 1851. That the Incas had no knowledge of money is stated on p. 147 of Volume I.—40

[17] Marx expresses similar ideas in his letter to Engels of September 25, 1857: "More graphically than anything else the history of the *army* demonstrates the rightness of our views as to the connection between the productive forces and social relations. Altogether, the army is of importance in economic development. E.g. it was in the army of Antiquity that the *salaire* was first fully developed. Likewise the *peculium castrense* [personal property of soldiers in military camps] in Rome, the first legal form according recognition to the movable property of others than fathers of families. Likewise the guild system

in the corporation of the *fabri* [teams of artisans attached to the army in ancient Rome]. Here too the first use of machinery on a large scale. Even the special value of metals and their use as money would seem to have been based originally—as soon as Grimm's Stone Age was over—on their significance in war. Again, the division of labour *within* a branch was first put into practice by armies. All this, moreover, a very striking epitome of the whole history of civil societies" (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 186).—40, 396

18 The reference is to the *school of Ranke*, a trend in German historiography which was above all interested in political and diplomatic history, proclaimed the pre-eminence of foreign policy over domestic, ignored the history of social relations and exaggerated the part played by outstanding personalities.

The views of Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) were formed under the influence of philosophical idealism and Protestantism. According to Ranke, religion played the key role in the life of nations, another important factor being the political idea, embodied in the state. His historical concept was Eurocentrist, with chauvinistic overtones.—46

19 A Manchester firm which designed tools, machines and locomotives. From 1843 it was headed by Richard Roberts, the inventor of many machines, including the self-actor.—47

20 The *Crédit Mobilier* (Société générale du Crédit mobilier) was a big French joint-stock bank founded by the Péreire brothers in 1852. It was notorious for speculation and other irregular practices. The Crédit Mobilier took an active part in railway construction and the establishment of industrial enterprises. Though closely linked with and enjoying the protection of Napoleon III's government, it went bankrupt in 1867. In 1856 and 1857, Marx wrote a series of articles about its speculative activities for the Chartist *People's Paper*, published in London, and the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see this edition, Vol. 15, pp. 8-24, 270-77, 357-60).—47, 59

21 *Printing House Square*—a small square in London where *The Times*, the biggest British daily newspaper, had its editorial offices and printshop, famous in the mid-19th century for exemplary organisation and efficiency.—47

22 This is the most important of Marx's Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58. Comprising seven large notebooks, numbered by Marx I-VII, it is the first rough draft of the future *Capital*. On the cover of the last, seventh notebook Marx wrote in English "Political Economy, Criticism of" and, in German, "Fortsetzung (Continuation)". This means that Notebook VII forms the continuation to the preceding six notebooks and that Marx did not consider it as the concluding one. It also implies that the words "Political Economy, Criticism of" can be regarded as the main title of the whole draft manuscript. In his letter to Engels of November 29, 1858, Marx refers to his economic manuscript of 1857-58 as a "Rohentwurf (Rough Draft)". Unfinished and breaking off in mid-sentence, it is indeed a rough draft. In a letter to Engels of May 31, 1858, Marx wrote that the manuscript was "a real hotchpotch, much of it intended for much later sections" (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 318).

The manuscript begins with Chapter II, entitled "Chapter on Money", which is followed by the long third chapter, "Chapter on Capital". On the last page of the manuscript Marx jotted down the beginning of the missing first chapter (see present edition, Vol. 29).

Work on the manuscript apparently began at the end of 1857, as Marx's quoting, in Notebook I (p. 46), of a passage from the *Weekly Dispatch* of November 8, 1857 (this volume, p. 148) seems to suggest.

The possibility is not ruled out, however, that he began this work earlier, but interrupted it for a long time. Marx's letter to Engels of January 10, 1857, (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 90) containing a brief analysis of Darimon's book, and the references to *The Economist* of January 24, 1857, and *The Morning Star* of February 12, 1857, on p. 18 of the manuscript (this volume, pp. 89 and 90) might be seen as pointing in this direction. At any rate, the concluding part of Notebook I could not have been written before November 8, 1857.

This edition reproduces the component parts of the economic manuscript of 1857-58 in the order given by Marx. Exceedingly long paragraphs have been broken up into shorter ones. A few passages plainly intended as addenda to earlier parts of the text have been shifted.

Where Marx, in quoting, gives references to pages of his notebooks of excerpts, these have been supplemented, in brackets, with references to the pages in the editions used by Marx. Where he merely gives the authors' names, the titles of the quoted works have been supplied (in the text or in footnotes).

This manuscript was first published in full in Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Oekonomie (Rohentwurf). 1857-1858,* Moscow, 1939-41 (reproduced by Dietz Verlag, Berlin, in 1953).

In English, the manuscript was published in full in Karl Marx, *Grundrisse. Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy (Rough Draft).* Translated with a Foreword by Martin Nicolaus. Penguin Books in association with *New Left Review.* London, 1973. Individual excerpts were published earlier in *Marx's Grundrisse* by David McLellan, Macmillan Press Ltd., London, 1971. A part from the "Chapter on Capital", Section Two, "Circulation Process of Capital" (pp. 399-439 in this volume) was published as a separate book under the title: Karl Marx, *Pre-capitalist Economic Formations.* Translated by Jack Cohen, edited and with an Introduction by E. J. Hobsbawm. London, 1964.—49

23 This chapter was first published—in German, with a parallel Russian translation—in the collection *Marx-Engels Archives,* Vol. IV, Moscow, 1935. Excerpts from the chapter appeared in English for the first time in *Marx's Grundrisse* by David McLellan, Macmillan Press Ltd., London, 1971, pp. 59-64, 65-69 and 70-73. The chapter was first published in English in full in Karl Marx, *Grundrisse.* Translated with a Foreword by Martin Nicolaus, London, 1973, pp. 115-238.—51

24 For an assessment of Darimon's *De la réforme des banques* see also Marx's letter to Engels of January 10, 1857 (present edition, Vol. 40, p. 90).—51

25 In the manuscript, Marx rounds off the figures cited by Darimon (the latter gives the number of centimes as well as of francs). However, some of the approximations are not quite accurate.—52

26 "La propriété c'est le vol" (Property is theft) is the main thesis of Proudhon's *Qu'est ce que la propriété?* The theory of "free credit" was expounded by Proudhon in *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon,* Paris, 1850, pp. 66-74. For Marx's critique of this theory see the Economic Manuscripts of 1861-63, "Revenue and Its Sources" (present edition, Vol. 32).—61

[27] The Currency Act of 1844 on the Bank of England, carried through Parliament by Sir Robert Peel's government, fixed a maximum for the amount of banknotes in circulation. These were guaranteed by a special gold and silver reserve. Banknotes in excess of the fixed amount could be issued only given a proportional increase in the reserves of precious metals. The Act was repeatedly infringed by the government itself, in particular during the 1847 and 1857 monetary crises. Marx analysed its content and significance in a series of articles written for the *New-York Daily Tribune* in 1857 and 1858 ("The Bank Act of 1844 and the Monetary Crisis in England", "The British Revulsion", "The English Bank Act of 1844" and others, see present edition, vols. 15 and 16). Subsequently, he gave a detailed analysis of the Act in *Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. XXXIV (see present edition, Vol. 37).—63

[28] *Collége de France*—a higher educational establishment founded in Paris in 1530.—63

[29] Here and in a number of other cases the term "production costs" (*Produktionskosten*) is used by Marx in the sense of "the immanent production costs of the commodity, which are equal to its value", i.e., "the real production costs of the commodity itself", not the costs defrayed by the capitalist, who pays only part of the labour time contained in the commodity (see Marx's manuscripts of 1861-63, present edition, Vol. 32).—66, 241

[30] This refers to the period of operation (from 1797 onwards) of the Bank Restriction Act, which imposed a compulsory exchange rate for banknotes and cancelled their convertibility into gold. Convertibility was nominally re-established by an Act passed in 1819. Actually, it was re-introduced in 1821.—69

[31] The expropriation of the farmers by the landed aristocracy (the so-called clearing of estates) in the Scottish highlands, where survivals of the clan system lingered on for a long time, began in the mid-eighteenth century, when the clearing of estates in England had nearly been completed, and continued in the first half of the nineteenth century. Marx analysed it in the article "Elections.—Financial Clouds.—The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery", published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on February 8, 1853 (see present edition, Vol. 11), and in *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. XXVII (present edition, Vol. 35).—71

[32] Wilhelm Weitling's theory of *labour money* is set forth in his book *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit*, Vevey, 1842, pp. 153-75. Speaking of the English supporters of this theory, Marx means John Francis Bray, Thomas Hodgskin, William Thompson and other adherents of Robert Owen, who tried to draw socialist conclusions from the economic theory of Ricardo. Marx gave a critical analysis of the views of these utopian socialists in *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon* (see present edition, Vol. 6). Later he discussed their theory of "labour money", as propounded, e.g., by John Gray, in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Part One (see present edition, Vol. 29).—73

[33] Here as in a number of other places Marx uses the term "subject" in its pre-Kantian sense, as the bearer of predicates, properties, determinations, characteristic features, relations.—81, 124

[34] An allusion to Proudhon's quasi-Hegelian arguments, in *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère,* about abstract economic categories, and his alleged discovery of their dialectical interconnection, "their serial relation in the understanding". Marx attacked this metaphysical conception of Hegelian dialectics in *The Poverty of Philosophy* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 162-65).—90

[35] Here Marx summarises John Locke's arguments on the fundamental difference between silver as a measure of value and standards like the ell or the quart: while the latter two may remain in the hands of the buyer or of the seller, silver coin not only measures the value of the thing bought, but always passes from the buyer to the seller (see *Further Considerations Concerning Raising the Value of Money* in *The Works of John Locke,* in four volumes, 7th ed., Vol. II, London, 1768, p. 92). Marx quotes this passage on page 34 of his seventh notebook (see present edition, Vol. 29).—91

[36] Marx means Smith's arguments (in the opening part of Chapter VI, Book I, of his work) that "in that early and rude state of society which precedes both the accumulation of stock and the appropriation of land" the exchange value of commodities was determined by the amount of labour time required for their production.

Marx uses here the term "production costs" in the sense of "the immanent production costs of the commodity" (see Note 29).—93

[37] Characterising money as a "surety" or "movable surety of society" (*Pfand* or *Faustpfand der Gesellschaft*), Marx meant, first, Aristotle's words in his *Ethica Nicomachea* (Book V, Chapter 8, § 14) and, second, the definition of money given by John Bellers in his *Essays about the Poor, Manufactures, Trade, Plantations, and Immorality...* London, 1699, p. 13. Marx refers to Aristotle in his *Index to the Seven Notebooks* (see present edition, Vol. 29) and to Bellers in *Capital,* Vol. I, Chapter III (present edition, Vol. 35).

The term "Faustpfand der Gesellschaft" occurs in J. G. Büsch's *Abhandlung von dem Geldumlauf* (Part I, 2nd ed., Hamburg and Kiel, 1800, pp. 298-99). Locke speaks of "money as a pledge". Cf. his *Some Considerations of Consequences of the Lowering of Interest, and Raising the Value of Money* (1691),(*The Works of John Locke,* Vol. II, London, 1768, p. 15).—97

[38] In speaking about the Romantic embellishment of the individual's position in pre-capitalist society in contrast to capitalism. Marx is alluding to Adam Müller's *Die Elemente der Staatskunst* (Part II, Berlin, 1809. pp. 72-217), and to works by Thomas Carlyle, including his pamphlet *Chartism* (London, 1840, pp. 49-80).—99

[39] According to tradition, the Roman patrician Menenius Agrippa persuaded the plebeians to return to Rome from the Holy Hill, to which they had withdrawn in 494 B.C. in protest against patrician oppression. He did so by telling them a parable about the limbs of the human body which had rebelled against the stomach. Agrippa compared society to a living organism, attributing to the plebeians the role of the hands and to the patricians that of the stomach. Refusal by the plebeians to feed the patricians, he said, was tantamount to the separation of the hands from the stomach and was bound to lead to the death of the organism, i.e. of the Roman state.—99

[40] Apparently a reference to John Francis Bray's book *Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy,* Leeds, 1839, p. 141.—99

[41] James Steuart distinguishes between "agriculture exercised *as a trade*" and "agriculture exercised *as a direct means of subsisting*" (*An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy,* Vol. I, Dublin, 1770, p. 88).—106

[42] This refers to the discovery of rich gold fields in California in 1848 and Australia in 1851. As early as January 1850, eighteen months after the Californian discovery, Marx and Engels pointed to its vast importance for the commercial and industrial development of Europe, as well as of America and Asia—in particular, as stimulating the colonisation of new territories (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 502-06). The Californian and Australian discoveries spurred industrial and financial activity in the capitalist countries and to a certain degree contributed to the defeat of the European revolutions of 1848 and 1849.—106, 157

[43] The *Albani*—the name given by Pliny, Strabo and other ancient writers to the inhabitants of Albania, a country in the lower reaches of the Kura and the Aras in Eastern Transcaucasia.—109

[44] In his *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère,* Proudhon claimed that the use of precious metals as money was above all due to the "sovereign consecration", the interference of sovereigns who took possession of "gold and silver and affixed their seal to them". Marx showed the fallacy of this attempt to explain the origin of money by purely political factors and to attribute to the person wielding political power the ability to lay down economic laws at will (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 147).—110

[45] The passage is from [S. Bailey,] *Money and Its Vicissitudes in Value; as they affect national industry and pecuniary contracts: with a postscript on joint-stock banks,* London, 1837, pp. 5-6. Marx quotes in English. He also reproduces the whole passage in English in the original version of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* Part One (see present edition, Vol. 29).—110

[46] The source of this passage, quoted in German, has not been established. Though there are no quotation marks, there is every indication that the further text, too, is an abridged excerpt from some German source.—111

[47] Marx refers to Excerpt Notebook XIV, which he compiled in London, approximately in August and September 1851.—115

[48] The *Code of Manu* (Mānava Dharma-Çāstra)—an old Hindu collection of laws and precepts, the product of an early attempt at codifying common law in accordance with the needs of the ancient Hindu state and the dogmas of Brahmanism. It is attributed to Manu ("man" in Sanskrit), the mythical progenitor of human beings. The laws and precepts making up the *Code of Manu* were accumulated over the centuries and given their more or less definitive formulation at about the beginning of the Christian era. They reflected the specific nature of the early class society in India, which was retaining many survivals of the primitive communal system.—117

[49] The data on Chinese money are from Gustav von Gülich's book *Geschichtliche Darstellung des Handels, der Gewerbe und des Ackerbaus der bedeutendsten handeltreibenden Staaten unsrer Zeit,* Vol. V, Jena, 1845, pp. 110-11, 131.—119

50 The *Punic Wars* (264-241, 218-201 and 149-146 B.C.) were fought by Rome and Carthage, the two biggest slave-owning states of antiquity, for domination in the Western Mediterranean and for the capture of new territory and slaves. They ended in the destruction of Carthage.—119

51 This refers to the armed struggle for dictatorship between Caesar and Pompey (49-45 B.C.). It was part of the civil war in Rome at the end of the 2nd and during the 1st century B.C., which took the form of clashes between different groups of the slave-owning class, accompanied by slave uprisings and sharp conflicts between the poor sections and the landed and financial aristocracy. The civil war led to the fall of the republic and the establishment of the Empire.—119

52 Presumably a slip of the pen, for in the next sentence Marx speaks of the relative depreciation of silver that was caused by the progress in the methods of mining and continued "until the Californian and Australian discoveries reversed this process", i.e. caused a relative depreciation of gold. In *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (Chapter Two, Section 4, "The Precious Metals"), he also points out that "the discovery of gold in Australia, California and Colombia will probably lead to another fall in the value of gold" (see present edition, Vol. 29).—121

53 A reference to the quantitative theory of money set forth in James Mill's *Elements of Political Economy* (London, 1821), Chapter III, sections VII and VIII. Marx quoted at length from these sections and gave a critical analysis of Mill's views in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* Part One (see present edition, Vol. 29). He took the passage showing up Mill's error from Thomas Tooke's *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle,* 2nd ed., London, 1844, p. 136.—127

54 "Compulsory circulation" is Steuart's term for obligatory payments such as the payment of a money debt on a fixed date. In contrast to this, he calls the expenditure of money on purchases "voluntary circulation". J. Steuart, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 389.—131

55 Marx has "ein *schlecht unendlicher Prozess*", which may be an allusion to the Hegelian term "schlechte Unendlichkeit" (bad infinity), meaning the infinite repetition of an identical situation according to the pattern: "something" becomes "something else", that "something else" is itself "something" which in turn becomes "something else", and so on *ad infinitum.*—132

56 "*Price of production*" (*Produktionspreis*) means here the same as "the exchange value or the production costs" in the preceding sentence. As was pointed out above (see Note 29), the term "production costs" means "the immanent production costs of the commodity, which are equal to its value, i.e. to the total amount of labour time required for its production". The term *Produktionspreis* occurs in Marx's notebooks of excerpts as early as the 1840s. For instance, in one of the Brussels notebooks of 1845, containing excerpts from Louis Say's book *Principales causes de la richesse ou de la misère des peuples et des particuliers* (Paris, 1818), Marx uses it to render the words "coût de production" (page 32 of Say's book).—135

57 The planned chapter on exchange value was not written, as Marx started from Chapter II, dealing with money. He jotted down the beginning of the chapter

on value at the end of his seventh (last) notebook of the manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 29). Soon after, he decided that Chapter I should deal with the commodity, not with value. However, he realised that idea not in this manuscript, but in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Part One, Chapter One of which is entitled "The Commodity".—138

58 The *monetary system*, an early form of mercantilism, consisted of a variety of economic measures applied by European states in the 17th and 18th centuries. Its advocates equated wealth with money and favoured policies designed to ensure the inflow of money into the country by maintaining an active trade balance and imposing protective tariffs.—148, 520

59 This refers to page 2 of the excerpt notebook Marx filled in Brussels approximately in April and May 1845. The page in question contains excerpts from pages 31-73 of Ferrier's book *Du gouvernement considéré dans ses rapports avec le commerce*, Paris, 1805. Ferrier says there that silver, when mined, is a commodity, for it is the object of the direct demand of those who buy it. However, he goes on to say, "silver ceases to be a commodity as soon as it becomes money, for it turns into an indispensable mediator between production and consumption and can no longer directly satisfy any need" (p. 35).—148

60 Page 11 of Marx's Brussels notebook of excerpts (1845).—150

61 In the manuscript, this quotation from Ganilh, although clearly referring to the "Chapter on Money", is written in the form of a note or comment in Notebook II on the opening page of the "Chapter on Capital".—151

62 *Nexus rerum*—"the link between things". In his excerpt notebook of 1851 entitled "The Completed System of Money Relations" Marx describes money (p. 41) as the "nexus rerum et hominum" (the link between things and people). He refers this quotation to p. 34. Unfortunately, it has been impossible to establish what work he meant. In calling money the "nexus rerum et hominum", Marx means the state of society which resulted from the disintegration of all the formerly dominant social links, patriarchal, feudal, family, religious, all of which were superseded by the rule of "cash".—155

63 Marx wrote this chapter in late 1857, when the capitalist economy, in particular, the financial system, was beginning to experience the effects of the first world economic crisis (1857-58), which had started in the USA and spread to all large European countries.—159

64 Here and below Marx means the "arrangement" of the material of his study first outlined at the end of section 3 of his Introduction (see this volume, p. 45).—160

65 This passage, attributed by Marx to Malthus, is actually by the editor of the second posthumous edition of Malthus' book (1836), who tried to give a more precise formulation of Malthus' ideas.—160, 232

66 The pages in Petty's and, further on, Misselden's book are given according to Marx's Manchester notebook of excerpts (July 1845).—164

67 Marx is referring to a notebook he filled in Brussels in the summer of 1845 with excerpts (on which he comments) from Boisguillebert's works, as published by E. Daire in a collection entitled *Économistes financiers du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1843).—165

68 The "Chapter on Capital" forms the main content of the manuscript *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy* (1857-58). It takes up the greater part of Notebook II, the whole of notebooks III to VI and 64 pages of Notebook VII. In Notebook II, it is entitled "The Chapter on Money as Capital", but in the subsequent notebooks it figures under the heading "Chapter on Capital".

On earlier publications of this chapter see Note 22.—171

69 The proposition that the natural content of the exchange process originally "is completely distinct from the economic relationship, because it still directly coincides with it" was developed further in Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Marx says there that under the conditions of direct barter, the earliest form of exchange, "exchange value does not acquire an independent form, but is still directly tied to use value". At this stage, use values form the content of wealth, a content which is "indifferent" to its social form. "Use value in this indifference to the determined economic form lies outside the sphere of investigation of political economy" (see present edition, Vol. 29).—173

70 Under the conditions of a simple commodity economy, to which this refers, the exchange value of labour and the value of the products of labour coincide (at this stage Marx still speaks of the value of labour rather than that of labour power). In *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* he points out that the study of the higher, capitalist stage of commodity production should provide the answer to the question: "how does production on the basis of exchange value solely determined by labour time lead to the result that the exchange value of labour is less than the exchange value of its product?" (see present edition, Vol. 29).—175

71 This refers to Bastiat's attempt wholly to reduce the exchange of commodities, both under the conditions of barter and under commodity-money circulation, to an exchange of "services" between farmers, bakers, shoe-makers, weavers, machine builders, teachers, physicians, lawyers, etc. See Fr. Bastiat, *Harmonies économiques*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1851, pp. 87-169.

The theory of services, which Bastiat and other vulgar economists opposed to the labour theory of value, was meant to gloss over the capitalists' appropriation of the surplus value produced by wage labourers, and demonstrate the "harmony" of economic interests under capitalism. Marx wrote: "Because therefore in the purchase of *services* the specific relation between labour and capital is in no way involved, being either completely obliterated or altogether absent, it is naturally the favourite form used by Say, Bastiat and their consorts to express the *relation between capital and labour*" (see present edition, Vol. 34).—175

72 "Self-reflection" is a Hegelian term denoting the reflection of a conceptual determination back into itself.—176

73 One of the four parts of the *Corpus iuris civilis*, a code of Roman civil law compiled under the Byzantine Emperor Justinian between 529 and 534. The four parts are: a collection of legal decrees, a collection of pronouncements by

Roman lawyers (*Digesta* or *Pandectae*), a rambling survey of law (*Institutiones*), and a collection of additional constitutional acts (*Novellae*). Marx refers to the 1815 stereotyped edition of the *Institutiones*.—177

[74] Marx means such opponents of Bastiat as Proudhon and the Proudhonist Chevé. In 1849 and 1850, the two polemised against Bastiat in seven letters published in a pamphlet entitled *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon*, Paris, 1850, which also contained seven letters by Bastiat written in reply.—181

[75] Marx means the page number in his 1846 notebook of excerpts entitled *Geschichte der Nationalökonomie*; *b* indicates the column.—190

[76] The page number refers to the 1844 notebook of excerpts.—192

[77] The Roman numeral indicates the page number in a notebook which has not reached us.—192

[78] J. B. Say's theory of utility, set forth in his *Traité d'économie politique*, was a vulgarisation of Adam Smith's labour theory of value. By reducing value to use value and equating the latter with utility, Say sought to prove that utility resulted from the harmonious interaction of human industry, nature and capital.—198

[79] This refers to the critique of Proudhon's views on the origin and relation of use value and exchange value Marx gave in *The Poverty of Philosophy*, Chapter I, § 1. Proudhon considered the problem in isolation from the specific historical conditions of the development of commodity and capitalist production, basing his analysis on an arbitrary contraposition of the abstract concepts of abundance and scarcity, and utility and estimation (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 111-20).—198

[80] In an excerpt notebook compiled in Brussels approximately in March and April 1845 and containing passages from Storch's *Cours d'économie politique*, Vol. I, Paris, 1823, Marx has the following summary of a passage occurring on p. 154 of Storch's book: "Human industry is only productive if it produces a value sufficient to replace the production costs ... actually, that reproduction is not enough: it ought to produce a certain value over and above that".—201

[81] Marx means Storch's assertion that "non-material labour"—the labour of doctors, teachers, artists and the like—is productive (*Cours d'économie politique*), and Senior's attributing of productivity to all functions useful to the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state (*Principes fondamentaux de l'économie politique*, Paris, 1836). This theory, like many others, differed from the views of Adam Smith who, albeit inconsistently, distinguished between productive labour, i.e. labour creating surplus value, and all other kinds of labour, unproductive from the standpoint of bourgeois relations.

Marx gave a detailed analysis of Smith's views on productive and unproductive labour and a critique of the relevant theories of Storch, Senior and others in his manuscripts of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 31).—203

[82] Marx gave a broad analysis of productive and unproductive labour later, in his manuscripts of 1861-63 (see present edition, vols. 31 and 34).—204

[83] Marx discusses Wakefield's theory of colonisation in detail in *Capital,* Vol. I, Ch. XXXIII. In conclusion he points out that this theory confirms the laws governing the rise and development of capitalist production. "...The capitalist mode of production and accumulation, and therefore capitalist private property, have for their fundamental condition the annihilation of self-earned private property; in other words, the expropriation of the labourer" (see present edition, Vol. 35).—208

[84] Market reports on the listed commodities were published regularly in *The Economist* in 1850-57. Quotations from the journal in Marx's notebooks of excerpts and his frequent references to *The Economist* in his newspaper articles show that he followed these reports regularly.—211

[85] Here Marx has "Arbeitsvermögen" (labour capacity). In his manuscripts of 1857-58 he as a rule uses this term in place of "Arbeitskraft" (labour power), which occurs once in his earlier economic work, *Wage Labour and Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 9, p. 214) and several times in his manuscripts of 1861-63. In Volume I of *Capital* he treats the two terms as identical: "By labour-power or capacity for labour is to be understood the aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities existing in a human being, which he exercises whenever he produces a use-value of any description" (see present edition, Vol. 35).—212

[86] Linguet's views are discussed in the manuscripts of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 31).—218

[87] The text beginning on page 8 of Notebook III is the continuation of the text of Notebook II. The beginning of the sentence opening page 8 was on page 29—which has not reached us—of Notebook II and was reconstructed, together with the continuation, on the basis of the economic manuscripts of 1861-63. The first seven pages of Notebook III contain an unfinished critique of Bastiat and Carey, written several months earlier (see this volume, pp. 5-16).—219

[88] Britain's working class had fought for a legal limitation of the working day to ten hours from the late 18th century, the struggle assuming a mass character in the 1830s. The Ten Hours' Bill, passed by Parliament on June 8, 1847, applied only to women and "young persons". Marx discusses the British workers' struggle for a normal working day in detail in *Capital,* Vol. I, Ch. X (see present edition, Vol. 35).—220, 361

[89] *Existing for itself* may be an allusion to the Hegelian term "Fürsichsein", which denotes the condition of an attribute regarded in its fixity or relative self-containment.—228

[90] This refers to the British Owenites John Francis Bray, John Gray, Thomas Hodgskin, William Thompson and others who drew socialist conclusions from Ricardo's theory (see Note 32). Marx discussed their views in the manuscripts of 1861-63, in connection with the pamphlet *Labour Defended against the Claims of Capital* (London, 1825), published anonymously by Thomas Hodgskin. He examined the tendency, common to all these socialists, to regard capital not as a social relation but as a sum of objects and explain the misery of the working people by the estranged form in which these objects appear in the hands of the capitalists (see present edition, Vol. 32).—229, 436

91 Marx refers, in particular, to the pamphlet *Labour Defended against the Claims of Capital* (see previous note).—231

92 Marx discussed this example in greater detail in the manuscripts of 1861-63, where he writes: "...The workman employed by a piano maker is a productive labourer... But assume on the contrary that I buy all the materials required for a piano (or for all it matters the labourer himself may possess them), and that instead of buying the piano in a shop I have it made for me in my house. The workman who makes the piano is now an unproductive labourer, because his labour is exchanged directly against my revenue" (see present edition, Vol. 31).

Marx also showed that "a singer who sells her song for her own account is an *unproductive labourer*. But the same singer commissioned by an entrepreneur to sing in order to make money for him is a *productive labourer*; for she produces capital" (see present edition, Vol. 34). "*The same* kind of labour," Marx concludes, "may be *productive* or *unproductive*".—231

93 In Kantian terminology, an analytical proposition is one in which the predicate merely explains the content of the subject, as distinct from synthetic propositions, in which the predicate adds to the subject an attribute not inherent in it.—239

94 "Price of production" (*Produktionspreis*) means here the same as, in the preceding paragraph and elsewhere in this manuscript, "production costs" or "the necessary price of the commodity" (see Note 56). In his manuscript of 1857-58 Marx did not yet make a clear distinction between value and the price of production.—241

95 This is the first time Marx uses the term "surplus value" (*Mehrwert*) to denote that surplus over and above the advanced value which is appropriated by the capitalist without compensation. Further in the text he frequently uses the combination "Surplus-wert" for surplus value.

The term "surplus value" also occurs in *An Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth Most Conducive to Human Happiness* (London, 1824, pp. 167, 169) by the English socialist William Thompson, who based his conclusions on the theory of Ricardo. However, as Engels showed, Thompson meant by it the extra profit obtained by the capitalist employing machinery over and above the profit of the manual artisan. Thompson also used the term "additional value", to designate all newly created value (the value of the expended part of constant capital and the surplus value) ($v+s$). Apart from this, as Engels noted in his article "Juridical Socialism", "in the daily business life of France the term *plus-value* has been commonly used since time immemorial to denote any increase in value which involves no expense for the owner of the commodity" (see present edition, Vol. 27).

In one of his early articles (written in October 1842) Marx used the term "Mehrwert" several times for the extra value received by forest owners in the form of fines imposed for the theft of wood (see present edition, Vol. 1, pp. 250-51, 254-55). This had no relation to his later use of the word "Mehrwert" in the analysis of the capitalist exploitation of wage labourers.—241

96 This refers to Marx's notebook of excerpts from and critical commentaries on Ricardo (Notebook VIII).—242

97 Marx also analysed Proudhon's views on interest in the manuscripts of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 32).—245

98 This is the first time Marx uses the term "surplus labour" in this work.—250

99 In his synopsis of Ricardo's book *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation* (April 1851, Excerpt Notebook VIII), Marx says: "Most of Ricardo's opponents, like e.g. Wakefield, assert that he cannot explain what the surplus is. Thus suppose that a manufacturer lays out £30 for raw material, £20 for machinery, and £50 for wages. A total of £100. He sells his commodity for £110. Where does the £10 come from?"

Ricardo's failure to analyse the source of surplus value is also noted by Marx in the manuscripts of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 32).—252

100 A detailed analysis of Malthus' theory of value and, in particular, of his critique of Ricardo is given in Marx's manuscripts of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 32).—252

101 Marx discusses the Physiocrats' role as the "fathers of modern political economy" in the manuscripts of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30).—253

102 This is the first time ever that Marx uses the term "necessary labour".—260

103 In *Capital,* Vol. I, chapters IX, X and XI Marx analysed in detail the capitalists' tendency to prolong the working day beyond all reasonable limits. He discussed the history of English factory legislation, in particular the struggles over the Ten Hours' Bill (see Note 88). In describing the condition of the English working class, he made extensive use of the reports of Factory Inspector Leonard Horner, who upheld the workers' interests (*Reports of the Inspectors of Factories to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department,* 1847-56).

In his reports, Horner cited numerous infringements of the Ten Hours' Bill by factory owners, expressed, in particular, in the introduction of the so-called Relay System, which included night work and led to the prolongation of the working day.—261

104 This is the first time ever that Marx uses the term "relative surplus value".—262

105 This example can be presented as follows:

Before the doubling of productivity, a working day of, say, 8 hours fell into 2 hours of necessary labour and 6 hours of surplus labour. After the doubling, it falls into 1 hour of necessary labour and 7 hours of surplus labour.—264

106 This refers to the 3rd edition of Ricardo's *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* London, 1821, pp. 325-26.—266

107 Marx gives a detailed analysis of Ricardo's views on the accumulation of capital in the manuscripts of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 32).—271

108 Marx means his Notebook VIII of excerpts on political economy (1851). It includes, in particular, a synopsis of Ricardo's *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation* (see Note 99) with Marx's commentaries. On pp. 35-37 he

has an abstract of Chapter XX ("Value and Riches, Their Distinctive Properties") of Ricardo's book. He is referring to this chapter.—274

109 Ricardo had "production".—276

110 Marx is referring to his abstract, in Excerpt Notebook VIII, of the opening part of Chapter VII ("On Foreign Trade") of Ricardo's book.—276

111 Marx gives a detailed critique of Malthus' views on value and surplus value in the manuscripts of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 32).—279

112 This refers to G. Ramsay (who writes in *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth,* Edinburgh, London, 1836, p. 55: "Capital is a source of value independent of labour") and particularly to N. W. Senior (see his *Letters on the Factory Act,* London, 1837, pp. 12-13).—282

113 Here Marx proceeds from the assumption that the capitalised surplus value is wholly spent on the purchase of new labour power—"an impossible assumption", as he says himself a few lines further.—294

114 In the manuscript, there follow the words: "sind erst $^1/_5$ vom 100 und $^{11}/_{12}$ vom 100 zuviel gerechnet; $^1/_5$ vom 100=20%, $^{11}/_{12}$ vom 100 $8\,^4/_{12}$% oder $8\,^1/_3$%."—295

115 There follows a blank space in the manuscript, presumably for calculations referring to the second case.—295

116 On the confusion of the rate of surplus value with the rate of profit by Carey and other bourgeois economists see *Capital,* Vol. I, Ch. IX and Vol. III, Ch. VIII (present edition, vols. 35 and 37).—296

117 In 1786, the government of William Pitt, Jr., set up a special sinking fund to repay the growing national debt by means of taxes. The project, based on recommendations by Dr. Richard Price, provided for the government to draw loans on simple interest and grant credits on compound interest. Far from alleviating the financial difficulties, the operation of the fund caused serious complications in the sphere of government credit. In 1825 the fund was practically liquidated. For details see *Capital,* Vol. III, Chapter XXIV, and Marx's article "Mr. Disraeli's Budget", written in April 1858 (present edition, vols. 37 and 15).—298

118 On the *qualitative limit* to the accumulation of capital see Marx's manuscripts of 1861-63 (present edition, vols. 32 and 34).—298

119 Marx assumes here that the rate of surplus value after the rise in the price of labour power remains unchanged (25% for capital I and $33\,^1/_3$% for capital II). This is only possible given a corresponding lengthening of the working day.—308

120 This is the first time ever that Marx uses these terms to denote the two different components of capital.—314

121 This refers to Excerpt Notebook XII (July 1851).—324

[122] The last sentence is Marx's rendering of the following passage from Ravenstone's *Thoughts on the Funding System, and Its Effects,* London, 1824, p. 46: "Where the labour of nine is required for the maintenance of ten, only one-tenth of the gross produce can be given to rent. Where one man's labour is sufficient for the maintenance of five, four-fifths will go to rent, or the other charges of the state, which can only be provided for out of the surplus produce of industry. The first proportion seems to have prevailed in England at the time of the Conquest, the last is that which actually takes place. As only one-fifth part of the people are now employed in the cultivation of the land..." (Marx refers to his Excerpt Notebook IX).—325

[123] Marx means James Mill's proposition that there exists a permanent and necessary equilibrium between production and consumption, between supply and demand, and between the sum-total of purchases and the sum-total of sales. First put forward in Mill's pamphlet *Commerce Defended* (London, 1808), it was seconded by Say. Marx discusses this proposition in greater detail in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* Part One, Chapter Two, 2 (see present edition, Vol. 29) and in the manuscripts of 1861-63.—338

[124] Marx means the "little shilling men", the Birmingham school of political economy initiated by the English banker Thomas Attwood. Its views were put forth in *The Currency Question. The Gemini Letters,* a book published anonymously in London in 1844 by Thomas Wright and John Harlow, who called themselves the Gemini.—339

[125] The last sentence is a summary of the following passage in Hodgskin's book (pp. 245-46): "When the capitalist, being the owner of all the produce, will allow labourers neither to make nor use instruments, unless *he* obtains a profit over and above the subsistence of the labourer, it is plain the bounds are set to productive labour much within what Nature prescribes. In proportion as capital in the hands of a third party is accumulated, so the whole amount of profit required by the capitalist increases, and so there arises an artificial check to production and population."—343

[126] The page numbers refer to Marx's London Excerpt Notebook XII.—344

[127] Should be: 45.—344

[128] The presuppositions being what they are, the value newly added by living labour (10 thaler) would actually constitute $^1/_9$, not $^1/_{10}$, of the total value of the product, as the value of the lb. of twist has decreased from 5 thaler to $4\,^1/_2$ thaler and the total value of 20 lbs of twist has, accordingly, declined from 100 to 90 thaler.—360

[129] Marx examines the effect of changes in the organic composition of capital on the size of surplus value in *Capital,* Vol. I, Chapter XXIV (see present edition, Vol. 35).—361

[130] The figures in this calculation should be as follows: the worker would obtain each pound of twist at a discount of $^1/_{20}$ thaler, and since he would now get, altogether, $4\,^4/_{99}$ lbs, or $^{400}/_{99}$ lbs, his gain would be $\frac{1\times400}{20\times99}$ thaler, i.e. $^{20}/_{99}$ thaler, not $^{20}/_{100}$ thaler, as Marx assumes to simplify the calculation.—364

131 The figures in this calculation should be as follows: before the rise in wages the value of the 40 lbs of twist fell into 160 *c* (constant capital) + 20 *v* (variable capital)+20*s* (surplus value). Now it falls into $160c+22v+18s$. Formerly, the rate of profit was $^{20}/_{180}$, i.e. $11\,^{1}/_{9}\%$, now it is $^{18}/_{182}$, i.e. $9\,^{81}/_{91}\%$.—367

132 In working on this manuscript, Marx attached great importance to the logical and methodological aspects of economic research. In this connection, he repeatedly had recourse to Hegel's *Wissenschaft der Logik* and even conceived the idea of writing a special work comparing his own materialist method with Hegel's idealist method and bringing out the rational features of Hegel's dialectics. On January 16, 1858, he wrote to Engels: "I should very much like to write 2 or 3 sheets making accessible to the common reader the *rational* aspect of the method which Hegel not only discovered but also mystified" (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 249). In 1860, Marx copied out a number of passages from *Wissenschaft der Logik* in one of his notebooks. He never wrote a special work on Hegel's method, but he did compare that method with his own, in his Afterword to the second German edition of Volume I of *Capital* (1873).—379

133 This section of the 1857-58 manuscript takes up pages 50-53 of Notebook IV and pages 1-15 of Notebook V. The title, "Forms Preceding Capitalist Production", is from Marx's *References to My Own Notebooks* (see present edition, Vol. 29). Pages 1-15 of Notebook V are entitled in the *References* "Continuation on the Process Preceding the Formation of the Capitalist Relationship or Primitive Accumulation". For details concerning earlier publications of this section see Note 22.—399

134 The term "Stamm", translated here as "tribe", was used in the middle of the 19th century in a broader sense than today and denoted all people descended from a common ancestor, thus covering the modern concept of the "gens" as well as that of the "tribe". A precise definition and differentiation of these concepts was given by the American ethnographer and historian Lewis Henry Morgan. In his *Ancient Society* (1877), he brought out the importance of the gens as the basic unit of the primitive communal system and thus laid the scientific foundation for the study of the history of primitive society as a whole. Marx and Engels saw in Morgan's discoveries confirmation of their proposition—put forward by them in *The German Ideology,* and elaborated by Marx in the present manuscript and by Engels in his studies on the history of Ireland (1869-70)—that tribal relations constituted a stage common to the development of all peoples. (See also Note 10.)—400

135 *Demotes*—a commoner assigned to a *deme,* a unit of local government in Attica (district of ancient Greece). Several demes constituted a *phyle.* Under the administrative reform of Cleisthenes (6th century B.C.) there were 10 phyles in Attica.—406

136 *Dithmarschen*—a region in North Germany. Inhabited in the Middle Ages by East Saxons and Franks, Dithmarschen was a stronghold of the free peasantry, who for a long time retained the communal system and staunchly resisted the attempts by German and Danish feudal lords to subjugate them. The communal system survived even after the conquest of Dithmarschen, in 1559, by the King of Denmark.—406

137 *Gaels*—the indigenous population of the mountain regions of Northern and Western Scotland, descendants of the Celts.—406

138 *"Panis et circenses"*—"bread and circuses". Marx means the heyday of the Roman slave-holding state, when the lower strata of the urban population, the *plebs,* were excluded from production and lived largely on sops from the State and rich slave-holders, who granted "bread and circuses" to them (Juvenal, *Satires,* X, 81).—424, 523

139 This refers to the laws against vagabonds and beggars introduced in England under the first Tudors (Henry VII and Henry VIII) and in later years. They envisaged cruel corporal punishment (branding, maiming) and slavery, in some cases even execution, for able-bodied persons accused of vagabondage and beggary. On the part played by this legislation in turning the expropriated population into wage labourers see *Capital,* Vol. I, Chapter XXXVIII (present edition, Vol. 35).—431

140 The insertion "(Wrong!)", added by Marx later, refers to the sentence immediately preceding it. In the course of his further work on the manuscript, Marx demonstrated that the duration of the production process depended on a number of circumstances (see, e.g., this volume, pp. 521-22).—441

141 The Liverpool and Manchester Railway was opened on September 15, 1830. Built under the direction of George Stephenson, it was the first line fully served by locomotives. Earlier-built lines, including the 21-kilometre Stockton and Darlington Railway (opened in 1825), on which Stephenson's locomotive was first employed, partly used horse traction.—454

142 The Roman numeral refers to an undiscovered notebook of Marx's filled between 1844 and 1847.—461

143 For Marx's comments on this proposition of Malthus' see the manuscripts of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 32).—467

144 McCulloch's unjustified extension of the concept of labour to the processes of Nature was discussed by Marx in detail in the manuscripts of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 32).—479

145 Marx uses the same example to illustrate the calculation of profit in a letter to Engels written about a month later, on March 5, 1858 (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 283).—485

146 To calculate the turnover of the *fixed* capital (£10,000) Marx divides it by the sinking fund (£650); to calculate the turnover of the *circulating* capital, he divides the contingencies (£1,100), the wages (£2,600) and the cost of the raw materials (£10,000)—£13,700 in all—by the circulating capital (£7,000).—486

147 In his letter to Engels of March 5, 1858, Marx adduces this example of profit calculation and remarks: "It is a great pity that the above statement does not show the *number* of operatives, or the proportion of actual *wages* to what appears as *salaries*" (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 283). In this passage of his manuscript Marx assumes that wages account for exactly $^1/_6$ of the annual outlays, while the rest of the £2,600 goes for salaries.—486

[148] For Marx's comments on this proposition of Wakefield's see the manuscripts of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 32).—502

[149] This refers to a quotation in Bailey's book (pp. 57-58) from Albert Gallatin's *Considerations on the Currency and Banking System of the United States,* Philadelphia, 1831, p. 68.—503

[150] Marx means his Manchester notebook of excerpts of 1845.—504, 534

[151] For the colonies of antiquity and the *Völkerwanderung* see Marx's article of March 4, 1853 for the *New-York Daily Tribune,* "Forced Emigration.—Kossuth and Mazzini.—The Refugee Question.—Election Bribery in England.—Mr. Cobden" (present edition, Vol. 11).—523

[152] Marx is referring to his Paris notebook of 1844.—529, 534

[153] Concerning the transformation of surplus labour into necessary labour under communism, Marx says the following in *Capital,* Vol. I (present edition, Vol. 35): "Only by suppressing the capitalist form of production could the length of the working day be reduced to the necessary labour-time. But, even in that case, the latter would extend its limits. On the one hand, because the notion of 'means of subsistence' would considerably expand, and the labourer would lay claim to an altogether different standard of life. On the other hand, because a part of what is now surplus labour, would then count as necessary labour; I mean the labour of forming a fund for reserve and accumulation."—531

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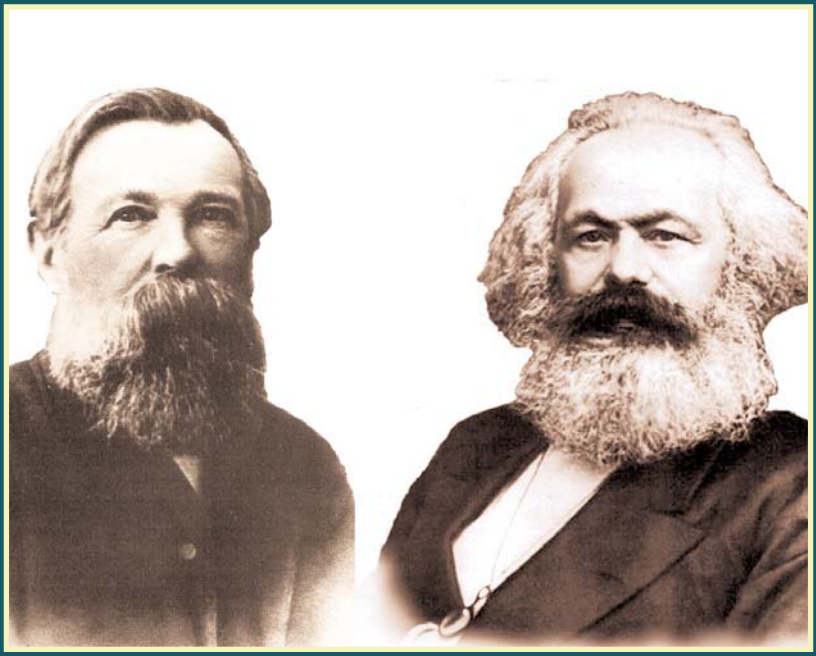

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## 29

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# Preface

Volume 29 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains writings belonging to the cycle of Marx's economic works of 1857-1861. They include: the concluding part of the manuscript of 1857-58—*Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy (Rough Draft); A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* and preparatory materials to it; two drafts of the *Index to the 7 Notebooks*; the original text of the second and the beginning of the third chapter of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*; a Draft Plan of the Chapter on Capital and the *References to My Own Notebooks*. Together with the manuscripts included in Volume 28 of the present edition these writings represent a definite stage in the shaping of Marxist political economy, a highly important preparatory period in the creation of Marx's main work, *Capital*.

The concluding part of the economic manuscript of 1857-58, with which the volume begins, embraces the end of the Chapter on Capital, namely the final subsections of Section Two, "Circulation Process of Capital", and Section Three, "Capital as Bearing Fruit. Interest. Profit. (Production Costs, etc.)", of which Marx only wrote the beginning. The seventh and last notebook of this manuscript also includes the "Addenda to the Chapters on Money and on Capital", which are very extensive and significant in content.

This part of the manuscript deals mainly with the circulation of capital. Marx's novel approach to this problem compared with the way in which it was dealt with by bourgeois economists is manifested first and foremost in his considering production and circulation of capital as a dialectical unity. The functioning of capital, he stresses, represents a continuous movement, a constant

transition from one state to another, a variation and change of form. "This change of form and substance is similar to that in an organic body" (see p. 51 of this volume).

In considering the circuit of capital, Marx traces the metamorphoses of its components: fixed capital (value of the instruments of production) and circulating capital (value of the raw materials and labour power). He shows that the first transfers its value to the product in parts, whereas the value of the second is reproduced in the product entirely. Taking these specifics into account, Marx establishes the relation between the time required for circulation and the time required for the production of the commodity, determines the effect of this relation on the rate of surplus value, and reveals other aspects of the law-governed connection between the various phases and forms of the movement of social capital.

In capital's circuit Marx singles out the exchange between capital and labour power, calling this the "lesser circulation". It is precisely at this stage that circulation of capital appears as an "exchange of equivalents which is posited in form, but actually supersedes itself, which posits itself as merely formal (the transition of value into capital, where the exchange of equivalents turns into its opposite and, on the basis of exchange, exchange becomes purely formal, AND THE MUTUALITY IS ALL ON ONE SIDE)..." (see p. 63). The very growth of capital, its valorisation, Marx again stresses, takes place in the sphere of exchange between capital and labour power through the appropriation of the surplus value produced by the worker. Exchange is here transformed into "the alienation of his labour" (see p. 64). For this reason Marx regards "lesser circulation" as the decisive link in capital's circuit, the link which determines all the others, as the substance of the whole process, the basic condition of the existence of the capitalist mode of production.

The specifics of capital's circuit determine the various ways in which capitalist income is formed and distributed, and the source of all kinds of capitalist income, as Marx proves, is surplus value. In Section Three of the Chapter on Capital Marx endeavoured to sum up the results of his analysis of the transformation of surplus value into profit and other forms of non-earned income (interest, etc.). He formulated here "the 2 immediate laws manifested to us by this conversion of surplus value into the form of profit" (see p. 146). The first of these laws is that the rate of profit is always less than the rate of surplus value. The second law—that the rate of profit tends to decrease—is characterised by Marx as the "most important law" of modern political economy, a law which, "despite

its simplicity, ... has never been grasped and still less has ... been consciously formulated" (see p. 133). Marx linked this law with technical progress and the increase in labour productivity, with the change in the organic composition of capital, with the quicker growth of its constant part, which comprises the value of the means of production and the raw materials, in comparison with the variable part, i.e., the part which goes to pay for labour power. This relative increase of the share of constant capital necessarily leads, as Marx shows, to a fall in the rate of profit, although the amount of surplus value constantly increases due to the expansion of capitalist production.

In Marx's opinion, the tendency of the rate of profit to decrease gives rise, among other things, to the growing discrepancy between the development of society's productive forces and the bourgeois relations of production, and this discrepancy inevitably leads to economic crises.

His analysis of the transformation of surplus value into profit here, as in other parts of the manuscript where this problem is dealt with, led Marx to the understanding of the law of average profit and the price of production, which regulates the distribution of surplus value between branches of production with different organic composition of capital. However, the study of this process, as well as the investigation of the origin and economic nature of the other converted forms of surplus value (commercial profit, interest, ground rent), was far from being completed in the first version of *Capital*. Marx continued his analysis of these problems in his subsequent writings and it was in his Economic Manuscripts of 1861-1863 that he achieved the scientific solution of many problems facing him in this connection (see present edition, Vols 30-34).

Marx devoted serious attention in his manuscript to scientific and technical progress and its influence on production. He noted capitalism's inherent striving not only to constant expansion of production, but also to its technical improvement, to mechanisation and automation and to the application of scientific discoveries and inventions for this purpose. Looking into the future, he pointed out that this tendency leads to increasing transformation of "the production process from the simple labour process into a scientific process, one forcing the powers of Nature into its service and thus setting them to work in the service of human needs" (see p. 86). At the same time Marx revealed the contradictory features in the application of science to production under capitalism. He showed that under capitalism technical progress is subordinated to

the interests of increasing absolute and relative surplus value. The results of technical progress frequently turn against the immediate producers, from a means of easing labour technical progress becomes an instrument of its intensification, furthering the subordination of living labour to capital and turning the worker himself into an appendage of the machine. "The activity of the worker, restricted to a mere abstraction of activity, is determined and governed in every respect by the movement of the machinery, not vice versa" (see pp. 82-83).

Capitalist relations with their inherent antagonistic contradictions, Marx stressed, stimulate scientific and technical progress one-sidedly, limiting to a certain degree their harmonious and all-round development and the utilisation of scientific and technical achievements in the interests of all members of society. From the fact that machine production is the true basis of capitalism, Marx writes, "it in no way follows that its subsuming under the social relation of capital is the most appropriate and best social production relation for the application of machinery" (see p. 85). Elsewhere he points out: "Beyond a certain point, the development of the productive forces becomes a barrier to capital, and consequently the relation of capital becomes a barrier to the development of the productive forces of labour" (see p. 133).

The conclusion to be drawn from these arguments is obvious: only the communist system will give full scope to scientific and technical progress, only under the communist system will full development be given to the tendency towards the transformation of science, knowledge into an "*immediate productive force*" (see p. 92). The application of science to production will really become a lever for satisfying the requirements of the working people and for saving labour time not for the purpose of increasing the capitalists' profit but for the benefit of society as a whole.

With the establishment of communism Marx linked the elimination of that phenomenon inherent in class-antagonistic social formations which he designated as the alienation of labour. In his economic writings of the time, above all in the *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy,* Marx continues to use the concept of "alienation" (in the original "Entäusserung", "Veräusserung") or "estrangement" ("Entfremdung"), although here in his analysis of economic relations this concept no longer plays such a universal role as in the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844.* The sphere of application of this category became less broad and more

definite from the time when he had worked out the system of economic concepts revealing the concrete operation of the mechanism of capitalist exploitation. However, Marx considered this broad concept quite suitable and accurately expressing the existing reality for a philosophical generalisation of the exploiter essence of the capitalist system and the destitution of those who produce the material values, in the first place, of the wage workers. Treating alienation as a historical category, he expounded its essence and peculiarity in capitalist society. Marx sees in the transformation of the conditions and products of labour into something alien and hostile to the worker a profound distortion of the social nature of labour, a manifestation of the glaring contradiction between the social character of production itself in the capitalist epoch and the appropriation of its fruits by property-owners. Marx stresses that capitalism is a system under which "social wealth in huger portions confronts labour as an alien and dominating force" (see p. 209). The emphasis is laid not on the mighty potential of social labour, its capacity to materialise or objectify natural resources, but on its "alienation", on the fact that "this enormous power" belongs "not to the worker, but to the personified conditions of production, i.e. to capital" (p. 210).

Seeing alienated labour under capitalism as the extreme form of alienation in general, Marx considered it a historically transient, temporary phenomenon. When capitalist production is replaced by collective production, he pointed out, the sources of all alienation of labour will be eliminated, the perversion of its social character will be overcome. On the basis of collective production there will be created the material preconditions not only for the powerful growth of the productive forces of society as a whole, but also for the integral and all-round development of every worker. This, and not an increase in surplus time, will be the purpose of saving labour time under communism. On the other hand, leisure time will in its turn be a most important factor of social progress. It will broaden people's outlook and knowledge, giving them access to all the achievements of world culture, which is bound to have a favourable effect on their role in production too. "The saving of labour time," Marx wrote, "is equivalent to the increase of free time, i.e. time for the full development of the individual, which itself, as the greatest productive force, in turn reacts upon the productive power of labour. From the standpoint of the immediate production process, it can be considered as the production of *fixed capital*, this fixed capital BEING MAN HIMSELF" (see p. 97 of this volume).

The next series of Marx's economic writings published in this volume is directly connected with his work *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* the first part of which was published in book form in the summer of 1859. It was a landmark in the history of Marxism. It was in this book that Marx made public for the first time some of the findings of his theoretical research. The book was not merely an elaboration of the corresponding sections of the 1857-58 manuscript. In it Marx enriched and deepened his understanding of the questions he analysed and made the exposition more streamlined and systematic. Although the increased bulk of the material obliged him to confine his analysis to the commodity and money, devoting a special chapter to each subject (the Chapter on Capital was not included in the final text), the exposition nevertheless embraced the basic, major problems of political economy, the elements which served as its foundation and points of departure for analysing all its categories. By elucidating these problems from fundamentally new positions radically different from those of bourgeois economic doctrines, Marx in substance revolutionised the very basis of political economy as a science.

In his review of Marx's book in the newspaper *Das Volk* in August 1859, Engels pointed out that its purpose was by no means "a discussion of some economic issue or other in isolation. On the contrary, it is from the beginning designed to give a systematic résumé of the whole complex of political economy and a coherent elaboration of the laws governing bourgeois production and bourgeois exchange. This elaboration is at the same time a critique of all economic literature, for economists are nothing but interpreters of and apologists for these laws" (see present edition, Vol. 16, p. 472).

Marx's preface to the first part of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* is of exceptional methodological and theoretical significance. In it he reveals the profound link between the general philosophical foundations of the dialectical and materialistic world outlook, the understanding of the general laws of social development and the scientific method of analysing economic phenomena. By giving a concise survey of the history of his economic studies Marx showed that they represented an organic part of all his theoretical and practical revolutionary activity. The development of each component element of the revolutionary doctrine determined and stimulated progress in all the others.

The most valuable part of the preface is the characterisation of the essence of the materialist conception of history discovered by

Marx. The definition given here by Marx of the essence of historical materialism reflected a new and higher stage in the development of his theory of the historical process since that theory was first expounded in the form of a harmonious conception in *The German Ideology* in 1845. This classical formulation took into account in a generalised form the new results of Marx's study of whole epochs in world history, of the experience of the 1848-49 revolutions in Europe and of comprehensive research in the field of political economy. The terminology and the system of concepts of historical materialism were also perfected. In particular, the interpretation of history as the process of succession of social formations was formulated in the appropriate terms. (The very term "social formation" appears for the first time on the last page of the principal economic manuscript of 1857-58.)

In this work Marx expounded in a concentrated form the fundamentals of his doctrine on the principal laws governing the development of human society, on the aggregate of the production relations, as forming the economic structure of society, its real basis determining the political and juridical superstructures and, in the final analysis, the various forms of social consciousness, on the dialectical development of the productive forces and the relations of production, on the inevitability—due to the conflict between the developing productive forces and the obsolete relations of production—of social revolution leading to the replacement of one mode of production by another, more progressive one, of the old social formation by a new one, a replacement which in its turn involves an upheaval in the whole enormous superstructure. "In broad outline, the Asiatic, ancient, feudal and modern bourgeois modes of production may be designated as epochs marking progress in the economic development of society," Marx wrote, making abstraction here of the earliest stage in human development—primitive communism (see p. 263). Capitalism, Marx stressed, is the last social formation based on class antagonisms. However, within it the conditions are created for the elimination of the antagonism, for the revolutionary transition to a higher system under which social production will cease to be carried on in antagonistic forms. "The prehistory of human society accordingly closes with this social formation," Marx notes (see p. 264).

As Lenin said, Marx gave in the preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* "an integral formulation of the fundamental principles of materialism as applied to human society

and its history". In so doing he "indicated the way to a scientific study of history as a single process which, with all its immense variety and contradictoriness, is governed by definite laws" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 21, pp. 55, 57).

In his book Marx applied the method of materialist dialectics to the study of economic problems in all their aspects, in particular to analysing the commodity, labour, value and money. Unlike the bourgeois economists, who considered the commodity and value eternal and natural categories, Marx shows their historically transient character. He notes that the product only takes the form of a commodity under definite social relations, that commodity production appears at a certain historical stage and passes through various stages in its development from simple commodity production to the capitalist type. Marx considers the commodity as an elementary particle of capitalist society, the "unit" of bourgeois wealth. He stresses that it is necessary to study the commodity in order to elucidate the very nature of the contradictions which manifest themselves in a more complex and developed form in capital.

Economists prior to Marx had already noted the dual character of the commodity as use value and exchange value, but they were unable to clarify their actual correlation. Marx in his analysis was the first to establish that use value and exchange value form a contradictory unity reflecting the really existing contradiction between the private and social labour of the commodity producers. Analysing the commodity, Marx discovered that the contradiction inherent in the commodity is conditioned by the contradictory character of the labour expended on its production. Here Marx formulated with great precision the proposition concerning the dual character of labour embodied in the commodity (concrete labour and abstract, general labour) which he had already established in his manuscript of 1857-58. In his own words, this discovery was the "point of departure" which made it possible to explain the true nature of value and a number of other most important categories of political economy.

Basing himself on his study of the commodity and labour and proceeding from the conclusions he had drawn in 1857-58, Marx developed his theory of value. Sharing the view held by the classics of bourgeois political economy on labour as the source of value, he went further than his predecessors in analysing the nature of value, clarifying the qualitative nature and the specifics of the labour which creates it. He showed that value is the embodiment of abstract, socially necessary labour, which is its measure. By his

theory of value Marx provided the premisses for understanding how surplus value arises in the process of exchange between labour and capital.

It was in this book that Marx for the first time clearly disclosed the meaning of the phenomenon which he later described in *Capital* as "commodity fetishism". In the world of commodity producers, especially at the capitalist stage, the external manifestation of economic laws, he stressed, is different from their essence. On the surface the exchange of commodities appears to be an exchange between things, the capacity to be exchanged seems to be a natural, inherent property of the object itself, whereas in reality commodity exchange is the result of historically determined production relations between the producers. "Only the conventions of everyday life make it appear commonplace and ordinary that social relations of production should assume the shape of things, so that the relations into which people enter in the course of their work appear as the relations of things to one another and of things to people" (see p. 276). This illusory appearance by which properties expressing relations between people are attributed to the things themselves, an appearance which confused even such perspicacious economists as Smith and Ricardo, is intensified all the more, Marx points out, as the veiled economic relations between people are more complex and more concealed by the surface phenomena of capitalist society.

Marx achieved great perfection in elaborating the theory of money. In the chapter "Money, or Simple Circulation" Marx disclosed the economic essence of money, analysed its historical origin and its role in bourgeois society. He demonstrated that money is a necessary product of the development of commodity exchange and serves as the complete expression of value, the embodiment of that form of value in which the particular individual labour which creates the commodity appears, through a process of alienation, "as its opposite, impersonal, abstract, general—and only in this form social—labour" (see p. 308). Marx elucidates in detail the causes determining the functioning of precious metals, gold and silver, as money. In this chapter he discusses in detail the functions of money as a measure of value, a medium of circulation, a means of payment, a means of hoarding, and finally as world money. On the basis of his analysis of these functions Marx establishes the factors determining the amount of money required in circulation and discloses other laws of money circulation.

Each chapter in Marx's book is provided with historical and critical surveys: in the first chapter of the analysis of commodities, in the second of theories of money as a standard of measure and a medium of circulation. In these surveys and in a number of notes Marx subjects to a critical analysis the views of bourgeois economists and the utopian doctrines built on the illusion that the contradictions of capitalism can be eliminated by reforming money circulation, replacing the existing monetary systems by "labour money", and so on.

The book *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* holds a prominent place among the classical works of Marxism. Marx himself later regarded the first volume of *Capital* as, in a certain sense, its continuation. He considered it necessary in the first section of that volume to summarise its contents for coherence of exposition, at the same time substantially supplementing certain aspects of the theories of the commodity, value, and price which, from the standpoint of his new studies, had not been sufficiently disclosed in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* Nevertheless, even after the publication of *Capital* this book did not lose its independent scientific significance. A number of propositions elucidated in detail in it, especially in the chapter on money and in the historical excursions in the field of the theory of the commodity and money circulation, were treated only cursorily in *Capital,* the reader being practically referred to the earlier monograph for a more detailed acquaintance with them. Up to the present time the book remains the best work on money in world economic literature. It is important also as a model of the application of the Marxist methodology in studying fundamental economic and sociological processes.

This volume contains also manuscripts belonging to the preparatory materials for *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* These include the *Index to the 7 Notebooks,* which was drawn up in the form of two drafts. The *Index* shows Marx's striving to group the materials of his basic rough manuscript in connection with the transition to a new stage in the work on his planned economic study, the stage of preparing it for publication. Intending, at the time, to publish it in six books, Marx outlined in one of the drafts in question the grouping of the material for the first book, devoted to analysing value, money and capital—"capital in general", as he entitled this section in his letter to Engels on April 2, 1858, and in a letter to Lassalle on March 11 of

the same year. In the second draft he systematised in greater detail the material for the section on money.

The *Index* is of interest because it gives an idea of Marx's method of scientific work and of the character of the initial outline for the first book of his intended study. In one of the drafts Marx outlined for the first time the subdivisions of the section "Capital in General", which anticipated in a rudimentary form the distribution of the material in the theoretical part of the future *Capital* in three parts.

Among the preparatory materials is the extensive "Original Text of the Second and the Beginning of the Third Chapter of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*", written directly before the final text. It contains several sections which were not included in the final text because it was written before Marx decided to confine himself in the first part of the book to the chapters on the commodity and money and to publish the third chapter as the second part of the work. For this reason the last sections of the Chapter on Money—"The Manifestation of the Law of Appropriation in the Simple Circulation" and "Transition to Capital" and also the beginning of the chapter on capital in the initial variant substantially supplement the final version as published by Marx.

In these sections Marx shows in a systematic and precise form the conditions for money's transformation into capital, the transition from simple money circulation to the circulation of capital, defines the directions and sphere of study of the sources of its growth, which are to be found in the exchange between capital and the labour power of the producers and are realised in the very process of capitalist production. Here the reader becomes acquainted, as it were, with an intermediary stage in the analysis of the economic foundations of capitalist society, a stage which reveals the organic link between Marx's theory of value, exchange value, and money and his doctrine on surplus value. Marx's study of money's metamorphosis, its transformation into capital, besides throwing light on the historical sources of capitalism, also shows the place of simple money circulation in the general movement of capital as a subordinate link in its circuit. "The examination of the simple circulation," he writes, "shows *us* the general concept of capital, because within the bourgeois mode of production the simple circulation itself exists only as preposited by capital and as prepositing it. The exposition of the general concept of capital does not make it an incarnation of some eternal idea, but shows how in actual reality, merely as a *necessary* form, it has yet to flow

into the labour creating exchange value, into production resting on exchange value" (see p. 505).

Two other manuscripts from the preparatory materials were produced when *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* had already been published and Marx had resumed work on the second part, which he had now decided to devote entirely to the problems of "capital in general".

A Draft Plan of the Chapter on Capital is a detailed text in which the theoretical questions concerning capital are divided into three parts: "The Process of Production of Capital", "Circulation Process of Capital", and "Capital and Profit". The first two of these are worked out in particular detail. The section "Varia" contains separate remarks and references to the corresponding material in the manuscript of 1857-58, obviously intended to supplement the above-named three sections. One of the remarks is particularly characteristic; it reveals the Marxian understanding of capital: "*capital*, not simple relationship, but process" (see p. 516).

The plan as a whole served Marx as a general guideline in creating new variants of his economic work. In the course of this work the thought matured in Marx of concentrating the exposition of the problems of political economy not in six books as planned in 1858, but around the questions which he wanted to elucidate in the three above-named sections of the chapter on "capital in general". What formerly had been intended as the scheme for one chapter or one part was now altered into the structure of the whole work. The *References to My Own Notebooks*, which Marx drew up in this connection, reflect his intention to make use of the materials of his earlier manuscripts, including the original text of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, which had a bearing on the given theme, omitting what had already been utilised in the first part. The *References* therefore represent a far more detailed scheme for working out the problem of "capital in general" than that drawn up by Marx in 1858 in the *Index to the 7 Notebooks* and are based on more extensive material.

The 1857-61 period, to which the works of Marx published in Volumes 28 and 29 belong, was thus marked by paramount results in the development of Marxist thought. In these years there appeared a whole cycle of economic manuscripts by Marx, the first rough version of his *Capital* was produced, and his book *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* was published. It

could not yet embrace Marx's main discovery—his theory of surplus value, which crowned the revolutionary upheaval he wrought in political economy. However, in the form of a draft research paper intended to clarify things for himself, Marx had already evolved this theory as a whole; at least its main features had been elucidated—the economic premisses for the formation of surplus value, the basic aspects of this process, and its determinant place in the entire system of bourgeois production relations. The published first part of the conceived work contained all the necessary postulates for expounding this theory.

Nevertheless Marx himself did not yet consider his study of this central problem of political economy complete. Being an exacting scientist, he set himself new research tasks, aiming in particular at fully elucidating questions which he had only posed in his writings of 1857-61, namely the problem concerning the correlation between surplus value and its converted forms. This was the main cause of the delay in publishing the second part of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* and his subsequent decision not to publish it at all because of a change in the general plan of his intended work. Many years later Engels wrote in this connection to one of the Russian socialists: "Marx worked out the theory of surplus value in the fifties in solitude and stubbornly refused to publish anything about it until he had fully clarified all the conclusions to himself. That was the reason why the second and subsequent parts of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* were not published" (Engels to V. Y. Shmuilov, February 7, 1893).

All the same, during the years 1857-61 Marx covered a gigantic, and one may say the decisive part of the road to the summits of the new economic science. This was a time of great scientific accomplishments in comprehending the economic laws of the development of capitalist society and in economically grounding the inevitability of its revolutionary communist reorganisation.

* * *

This volume comprises rough manuscripts, partly unfinished, and one work which appeared in print during the author's lifetime.

The translations of these writings, as of the manuscripts included in Volume 28, are based on the text: *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe (MEGA)*, II, 1; II, 2, Berlin, 1976-1981.

The fact that these manuscripts were rough drafts explains many of their textual features and determines the principles of their publication in the present edition, which were expounded in a general form in the editorial preface to Volume 28. The specifics of each of them and the corresponding form of presenting them in this volume are mentioned in the notes.

In this edition the manuscripts are printed in a new English translation. Foreign expressions including those in Greek and Latin are given in the original language. English quotations, phrases, expressions and individual words encountered in the original are set in small caps. Some of the words are now somewhat archaic or have undergone changes in usage. For example, the term "NIGGER", which has acquired generally—but especially in the USA—a more profane and unacceptable status than it had in Europe during the 19th century.

All the manuscripts included in the section "From the Preparatory Materials" are here published in English for the first time. The concluding part of the economic manuscript of 1857-58—*Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy* (*Rough Draft*) is given in a new English translation.

*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* is published according to the first edition of 1859 with the account being taken of the amendments made by Marx himself in his own copy and in a copy he presented to his friend Wilhelm Wolff. The English text is based on the translation by Salo Ryazanskaya published in K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. For the present edition this translation was checked and made more precise and the arrangement of the text was brought into conformity with the rules accepted in the publication of similar works in other volumes.

The volume was compiled, the preface and notes were written and all the indexes prepared by Tatyana Vasilyeva and edited by Lev Golman (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The translations were made by Victor Schnittke and Yuri Sdobnikov and edited by Svetlana Gerasimenko, Yelena Kalinina, Margarita Lopukhina, Andrei Skvarsky and Yelena Vorotnikova (Progress Publishers).

The scientific editor for this volume was Larisa Miskievich (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

# KARL MARX

## ECONOMIC WORKS

## 1857-1861

# ECONOMIC MANUSCRIPTS OF 1857-1858

(First Version of *Capital*)

# OUTLINES OF THE CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

## (ROUGH DRAFT OF 1857-58)

[Second Instalment] [1]

Written between late 1857 and May 1858

First published in full in Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Oekonomie (Rohentwurf). 1857-1858,* Moscow, 1939

Printed according to the manuscript

# [III. CHAPTER ON CAPITAL]

## [Section Two]

## [CIRCULATION PROCESS OF CAPITAL]

## [Conclusion][2]

### [FIXED AND CIRCULATING CAPITAL]

[VI-19] *Retournons maintenant à nos moutons.*[a]

Conceptually, the phases through which capital passes, which constitute one turnover of capital, begin with the conversion of money into the conditions of production. However, now that we proceed not from capital in its process of formation, but from capital as it has emerged from that process, it passes through the following phases:

(1) The creation of surplus value, or the immediate process of production. Its result is the product. (2) Bringing the product to market. Conversion of the product into a commodity. (3) (α) The entry of the commodity into ordinary circulation. Circulation of the commodity. Its result: conversion into money. This appears as the first moment of ordinary circulation. (β) Re-conversion of the money into conditions of production: money circulation; in ordinary circulation, commodity circulation and money circulation always appear as allotted to two distinct subjects. Capital first circulates as a commodity and then as money, and vice versa. (4) The renewal of the process of production, which appears here as the reproduction of the original capital and the process of production of surplus [VI-20] capital.

The costs of circulation are reducible to the costs of movement; the costs of bringing the product to market; the labour time which is necessary for effecting the conversion from one condition into the other. All these costs are, in essence, reducible to accounting operations and the time they take (this the basis for a special,

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[a] Let us return to our subject (literally: "...to our sheep").—*Ed.*

technical money business). (It will emerge later whether or not the latter costs are to be regarded as deductions from surplus value).

In considering this movement, we find that the circulation of capital, mediated by exchange operations, opens up, on the one hand, to release the product into general circulation and to restore itself by drawing from it an equivalent in the form of money. We are not concerned here with what becomes of this product, which has thus dropped out of the circulation of capital and reverted to ordinary circulation. On the other hand, capital again ejects from its circulation process its form as money (partly so, to the extent that it is not wages), or it moves now in the form of money—after it has realised itself in it as value and simultaneously posited in itself the measure of its valorisation—but money only as means of circulation, and absorbs from general circulation the commodities necessary for production (the conditions of production). As a commodity, it ejects itself from its circulation into general circulation; as a commodity, capital also escapes from general circulation and incorporates it into itself, into its movement, in order to flow into the process of production. The circulation of capital is thus related to general circulation, constituting a moment of it, while general circulation itself appears to be posited by capital. This to be discussed later.

The overall production process of capital includes both the circulation process proper and the production process proper. They constitute the two great divisions of its movement, which appears as the totality of the two processes. On the one hand, there is labour time, on the other, circulation time. And the movement as a whole appears as the unity of labour time and circulation time, as the unity of production and circulation. This unity is itself movement, process. Capital appears as this dynamic unity of production and circulation, a unity which can be considered both as the totality of its production process and as the particular process through which capital goes during a *single* turnover, a *single* movement returning to itself.

The fact that capital needs circulation time, as well as labour time, is, however, only the adequate, ultimate form of a condition posed by production based upon the division of labour and exchange. The costs of circulation are costs of the division of labour and exchange, and are inevitably encountered in every less developed, pre-capital, form of production carried on on this basis.

As the subject, as value which dominates the various phases of this movement and maintains and multiplies itself in it, as the

subject of these transformations, which occur in a circular way—a spiral movement, a series of expanding circles—capital is *circulating capital.*[3] Hence circulating capital is, to begin with, not a *particular* form of capital. It is capital *as such,* in a more highly developed determination, as the subject of the movement described, which is capital itself as its own process of valorisation. In this respect, therefore, every capital is *circulating capital.*

In simple circulation, circulation itself appears as the subject. One commodity is cast out of it; another enters it. However, a given commodity is only evanescent in it. Money itself, to the extent that it ceases to be a means of circulation and is posited as independent value, withdraws from circulation. By contrast, capital is posited as the subject of circulation, and circulation as its very life process.

However, while capital as the totality of circulation is *circulating capital,* the transition from one phase to another, it is, in each phase, also posited in a specific determination, confined to a particular form, which negates it as the subject of the movement as a whole. In each particular phase capital, therefore, is the negation of itself as the subject of the various transformations. Non-circulating capital. *Capital fixe,* properly speaking *fixed* capital, fixed in one of the various determinations, phases, through which it has to pass. As long as it persists in one of these phases, that phase itself not appearing as a fluid transition—and each phase has a certain duration—capital is not circulating but fixed.

As long as it is tied up in the process of production, it is incapable of circulation, and hence is virtually devalued. As long as it is tied up in circulation, it is incapable of production, posits no surplus value, is not capital-in-process. As long as it cannot be thrown onto the market, it is fixed as a product; and as long as it must remain on the market, it is fixed as a commodity. So long as it cannot be exchanged for conditions of production, it is fixed as money. Finally, if the conditions of production remain in their form as conditions and do not enter into the process of production, capital is once again fixed and devalued. Capital as the subject which passes through all the phases, as the moving unity, the unity-in-process comprising circulation and production, is *circulating* capital; capital as itself locked up in any one of these phases, as posited in its *distinct forms,* is *fixed,* or *engaged* capital. As circulating capital it fixes itself, and as fixed capital it circulates.

Consequently, the distinction between *circulating capital* and *fixed capital* appears first of all as a determination of the form of

capital, depending on whether it appears as the unity of the process or as a particular moment of it. The concept of *dormant capital,* capital lying fallow, can only refer to its lying fallow in one of these determinations, and it is a feature of capital that part of it always lies fallow. This is manifested in the fact that part of the national capital is always tied up in one of the phases through which capital has to pass. *Money* itself, so far as it constitutes a particular part of a nation's capital, but always remains in the form of means of circulation and hence never passes through the other phases, is therefore regarded by A. Smith as a pseudo-form of fixed capital.[a] Similarly, capital may lie fallow, be fixed in the form of money, of value withdrawn from circulation. In crises—*after* the moment of panic—at the time when industry lies stagnant, money is fixed in the hands of BANKERS, BILL-BROKERS, etc., and pants after a FIELD OF EMPLOYMENT in which it can be utilised as capital as the hart pants after the water brooks.[b]

The fact that the determinations of capital as circulating and fixed are, to begin with, merely capital itself posited in the two determinations, first as the unity of the process, and then as a particular phase of it, capital *distinct* from itself as a unity,— not as two particular types of capital, capital of two particular types, but as different *formal determinations of the same capital*—this fact has given rise to a great deal of confusion in political economy. If one aspect of a material product was seized upon according to which it was to be regarded as circulating capital, it was easy to point to the opposite aspect, and vice versa. Capital as the unity of circulation and production is just as much their distinctness, namely their falling apart in space and time. In each of these moments, capital exists in a form which is indifferent to the other moment. So far as the individual capital is concerned, the transition from the one to the other appears to be a matter of chance, dependent upon external, uncontrollable circumstances. The *same* capital therefore always appears in both determinations, which is expressed in the fact that one part of it appears in one determination [VI-21] and the other in the other; one part as tied up, the other as circulating. However, it circulates here not in the sense that it is in *the phase of circulation proper* as distinct from the *phase of production,* but that the phase in which it happens to be is a *fluid* phase, a phase-in-process, leading on to the other phase. It is

[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Vol. II, London, 1836, pp. 271-85, and Vol. III, 1839, pp. 70-106. (See present edition, Vol. 28, p. 149.)—*Ed.*

[b] Psalms 42:1.—*Ed.*

not tied up in either phase as such and hence is not checked in its overall process.

E.g., the industrialist employs in production only part of the capital available to him (whether borrowed or his own, is irrelevant here; nor, if one considers total capital, does this affect the economic process), because the other part needs a certain time before it returns from circulation. The part active in production is then the circulating one; the part in circulation is the fixed one. The overall productivity of his capital is thus limited; the part reproduced is limited, and therefore also the part which is thrown into the market.

This also applies to the merchant: part of his capital is immobilised in the form of STOCK IN TRADE, the other part circulates. True, as in the case of the industrialist, now one part of his capital adopts this determination, now another, but his total capital is constantly posited in both determinations.

On the other hand, since this limit, arising from the nature of the valorisation process itself, is not a fixed one but alters with the circumstances, and capital may be closer to or further from its adequate determination as circulating capital, and since the splitting-up into these two determinations, with the valorisation process simultaneously appearing as the process of devaluation, contradicts capital's striving for the greatest possible valorisation, it invents CONTRIVANCES to shorten the phase of its fixity. Moreover, rather than coexisting side by side, the two determinations *alternate*. During one period, the process appears as a completely fluid one—the period of the maximum valorisation of capital. During the other period, a reaction to the first one, the other moment asserts itself all the more violently—the period of the maximum depreciation of capital and stagnation of production. The moments when the two determinations appear side by side are themselves merely intermediate periods between these violent transitions and upheavals.

It is very important to conceive of these determinations of circulating and fixed capital as *form determinations* of capital in general, since [otherwise] many phenomena of the bourgeois economy—the period of the economic cycle, which is essentially distinct from the time of the single turnover of capital; the effect of new demand, and even of new gold- and silver-producing countries, upon general production—cannot be understood. There is no point in talking about the stimulus given by the Australian gold[4] or by a newly discovered market. If it were not inherent in the nature of capital to be never fully employed, i.e. to

be always partly *fixed,* devalued, unproductive, no stimuli could impel it to greater production. On the other hand, there are the absurd contradictions in which those economists—even Ricardo—get involved who assume that capital is always fully employed, and who therefore can only explain an INCREASE in production by the creation of new capital. Every INCREASE would then presuppose an earlier one or an expansion of the productive forces.

These limits to production based on capital are inherent to a still greater degree in the previous modes of production, in so far as they are based on exchange. But they do not constitute a law of production as such; when material production is no longer limited by exchange value, but [solely] by its relation to the overall development of the individual, all this business, with its convulsions and pains, comes to an end. We have already seen that money transcends the barriers imposed by barter only by making them general, i.e. by entirely separating purchase and sale from one another.[a] Later we shall see that *credit* likewise transcends these barriers to the valorisation of capital only by elevating them to their most general form, by positing the period of overproduction and underproduction as two periods.

The value posited by capital in one turnover, ONE revolution, one *circuit,* is = to the value posited in the production process, i.e. to the value reproduced + the new value. Whether we consider the turnover to be completed when the commodity has been converted into money, or when the money has been reconverted into conditions of production, the result, whether expressed in money or in conditions of production, is always absolutely equal to the value posited in the production process. Here, we take [the cost of] the physical bringing of the product to the market as being zero; or rather as forming part of the immediate production process. The economic circulation of the product only begins when it is put on the market as a commodity—only then does it circulate. Here we are only dealing with the economic distinctions, determinations and moments of circulation, not with the physical prerequisites for bringing the finished product into the second phase, its circulation as a commodity. This is of as little concern to us as the technological process by which the raw material has been transformed into a product. The greater or lesser distance of the market from the producer, etc., is as yet of no concern to us.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 87-89.—*Ed.*

What we want to state first of all is that the costs arising from the traversing of the different economic moments as such, the *circulation costs* as such, add nothing to the value of the product, are not costs which posit value, whatever the labour involved. They are mere *deductions from* the value *produced.* Suppose there are two individuals, each of whom produces his own product, but their labour is based on the division of labour, so that they exchange with each other, and the utilisation of their product for the satisfaction of their needs depends upon this exchange. The time which the exchange would cost them, e.g. their bargaining with each other and the calculations they must make to come to an agreement, would obviously not add the least amount to either their products or their exchange value.

If *A* claimed to *B* that he had spent such and such an amount of time on the exchange, *B* would claim exactly the same to *A*. Each of them loses exactly as much time in the exchange as the other. The time taken by the exchange is the same for both of them. If *A* demanded 10 thaler for his product—its equivalent—and 10 thaler for the time it costs him to obtain the 10 thaler from *B*, the latter would declare him ripe for the madhouse. This loss of time arises from the division of labour and the need for exchange. If *A* himself produced everything, he would not lose any of his time on exchanging with *B*, or on converting his product into money and the money back into a product.

The *circulation costs* proper (and they acquire a significant independent development in the money business) are not reducible to productive labour time. They are by their very nature confined to the time necessary to convert the commodity into money and the money back into a commodity, i.e. to the time needed for the translation of capital from one form into another. *B* and *A* might now find that they could save time by introducing a third person, *C*, as an intermediary between them, who would devote his time to effecting the *circulation process.* This could come about if, e.g., there were enough exchangers, enough subjects of circulation processes for the time taken by them in the successive acts of bilateral exchange over a year to be equal to a year. If every individual in turn had to spend (say) $^1/_{50}$ of a year in the act of circulation, and if there were 50 of them, then one individual could devote all his time to this occupation. If this individual were paid only his necessary labour time, i.e. if he had to give up all his time in exchange for the NECESSARIES OF LIFE, the remuneration he would be receiving would be wages. But if he charged payment for the whole of his time, the remuneration that he would receive

would be an equivalent—in the form of objectified labour time. Now, this individual would not have added anything to value; he would merely have shared in the surplus value of the capitalists *A, B,* etc. They would still have gained by this, since by assumption a smaller amount would have been deducted from their surplus value. (Capital is not merely a quantity, or merely an operation; it is both at once.)

*Money* itself, [VI-22] in as much as it is made of precious metals or, in general, in as much as its production involves expense—as is the case even with, e.g., a paper currency—money itself, in as much as it costs labour time, adds nothing to the value of the objects exchanged, the exchange values. Its cost is, rather, a deduction from these values, a deduction which must be borne proportionately by the exchangers. The costliness of the instrument of circulation, of the instrument of exchange, merely expresses the *costs of exchange.* Rather than adding to value, they subtract from it. E.g. gold and silver money are themselves values *like any others* (not in the sense of money) to the extent that labour is objectified in them. But the fact that these values serve as *means of circulation* forms a deduction from available wealth.

It is the same with the production costs of the circulation of capital. Circulation adds nothing to values. The *circulation costs* as such *do not posit value;* they are *the costs of realising values*—deductions from values. *Circulation* [appears]*as a series of transformations* in which capital posits itself, but as far as value is concerned, it adds nothing to capital but merely posits it in the *form* of value. The potential value which is converted into money by circulation is presupposed as the result of the production process. To the extent that this series of processes takes place in time and involves costs, costs labour time or objectified labour, the *costs of circulation* are deductions from the quantity of value.

Assuming the costs of circulation to be zero, the result of *one* turnover of capital, in terms of value, is equal to the value posited in the process of production. I.e. the value preposited to circulation is that which emerges from it. At most, a smaller value may emerge from circulation—because of the circulation costs—than that which entered into it. From this angle, circulation time adds nothing to value; it does not appear alongside labour time as time which posits value. If a commodity of a value of £10 has been produced, circulation is necessary to set this commodity equal to the £10, its value, which exists in the form of money. The costs occasioned by this process, this alteration of form, are a deduction from the value of the commodity. *The circulation of*

*capital is the alteration of form through which value passes in different phases.* The *time* which this process takes, or which is required to effect it, forms part *of the production costs of circulation, of the division of labour, of production based on exchange.*

This applies to *one turnover of capital,* i.e. to one passage of capital through these its different moments. The process of capital as value has money as its point of departure and ends in money, but in a greater quantity of money. The difference is merely a quantitative one. *M—C—C—M* has thus acquired a content. If we consider circulation up to this point, we are back at the point of departure. Capital has again become money. But it is now also presupposed, it has now become a condition, that this money becomes capital again, money which multiplies and maintains itself by purchasing labour, by going through the process of production. Its form as money is posited merely as a form, one of the many through which it passes in its metamorphosis.

If we now consider this point not as the end-point, but—as we must now consider it—as an intermediate point, or a new point of departure, itself posited by the production process as a transitory end-point and a merely apparent point of departure, then it is clear that the reconversion of the value posited as money into value-in-process, value entering into the production process, can only occur—or that the *renewal of the production process* can only take place—when the part of the circulation process which is distinct from the production process has been completed.

The *second turnover* of capital—the reconversion of money into capital as such, or the renewal of the production process, depends on the time which capital requires to complete its circulation, i.e. on its *circulation time,* as distinct from the production time. On the other hand, we have seen that the total value produced by capital (reproduced as well as newly produced value), which is realised in circulation as such, is wholly determined by the production process. Hence the sum of values that can be produced in a given period of time depends upon the number of times the production process can be repeated during this period. But the repetition of the production process is determined by the circulation time, which is equivalent to the velocity of circulation. The more rapid circulation is and the shorter the circulation time, the more frequently the same capital can repeat the production process. Hence, in a given cycle of turnovers of capital, the sum of values produced by it (therefore the sum of surplus values as well, since capital always posits necessary labour only as labour necessary for surplus labour) is *directly proportional to the labour time and inversely*

*proportional to the circulation time.* In a given cycle, the total value (hence also the sum of the surplus values posited) is equal to the labour time multiplied by the number of turnovers of the capital.

Or, the surplus value posited by capital no longer appears to be determined purely by the surplus labour it appropriates in the process of production, but by the coefficient of that process, i.e. the number expressing the frequency of its repetition in a given period of time. And this coefficient is determined by the circulation time capital requires for one turnover. Consequently, the sum of values (surplus values) is determined by the value posited in one turnover multiplied by the number of turnovers capital performs in a given period of time. One turnover of capital is equal to the production time+the circulation time. Assuming the circulation time as given, the total time required for one turnover depends upon the production time. Assuming the production time [as given], the duration of one turnover depends upon the circulation time. So far as circulation time determines the total mass of production time in a given period of time, and so far as the repetition of the production process, its renewal in a given period, depends upon it, it is itself a moment of production, or rather appears as a limit to production.

It is the nature of capital, of production based upon it, that circulation time becomes a moment determining labour time, the production of value. The independence of labour time is thereby negated, and the production process itself is posited as determined by exchange, so that the social relation and the dependence on this relation in immediate production is posited not merely as a material moment, but as an *economic* moment, a determination of form. The maximum of circulation—the limit to the renewal, through circulation, of the production process—is obviously determined by the duration of the production time during one turnover.

Suppose that the production process of a given capital, i.e. the time it requires to reproduce its value and to posit surplus value, takes three months. (Or the time that is necessary to complete a certain quantity of product=the total value of the producing capital+surplus value.) In this case, the capital could not, under any circumstances, renew the process of production or valorisation more frequently than four times a year. The maximum number of turnovers this capital could make in the course of a year would be 4, i.e. there would be no interruptions between the completion of one production phase and the beginning of another. The maximum of turnovers would be equivalent to continuity of the

production process; as soon as the product was completed, new raw material would be worked up into product. The process would be continuous not merely within a single [VI-23] *phase of production; there would also be continuity of the phases themselves.*

But suppose now that, at the end of each phase, the capital requires one month of circulation time in order to assume once more the form of conditions of production. In this case, it could only perform three turnovers a year. In the first case, the number of turnovers = 1 phase × 4; or 12 months divided by 3. The maximum production of value by capital in a given period of time is this time period divided by the duration of the production process (the production time). In the second case, the capital would perform only three turnovers a year; it would repeat the valorisation process only three times. The sum of its valorisation processes would therefore $= {}^{12}/_{4} = 3$. Here the divisor is the total circulation time required by the capital: 4 months; or the circulation time it requires for one production phase × by the number of times this circulation time is contained in a year.

In the first case, the number of turnovers = 12 months, one year, the given time, divided by the duration of one production phase, or by the length of the production time itself. In the second case, it equals the same time divided by the [total] circulation time. There is maximum valorisation of capital, and maximum continuity of the production process, if circulation time = 0, i.e. if the conditions under which capital produces, its limitation by circulation time, the need to pass through the different phases of its metamorphosis, are transcended. Capital necessarily strives to posit circulation time as = 0, i.e. to transcend itself, for it is only capital that posits circulation time as a moment determining production time. It is the same as transcending the necessity of exchange, of money and of the division of labour based on them, i.e. the same as transcending capital itself.

If for the time being we abstract from the conversion of surplus value into surplus capital, a capital of 100 thaler that produced a surplus value of 4% on the total capital in the production process, would in the first case reproduce itself 4 times, and would, by the end of the year, have posited a surplus value of 16. By the end of the year the capital would = 116. It would be the same as if a capital of 400 had made one turnover in a year, likewise producing a surplus value of 4%. In relation to the total production of commodities and values, surplus value has quadrupled. In the other case, a capital of 100 thaler would only produce a surplus value of 12; the total capital at the end of the

year=112. In relation to the total production—whether of values or use values—the difference would be still more significant. In the first case, a capital of 100 would have converted e.g. 400 thaler's worth of leather into boots, while in the second case it would have converted only 300 thaler's worth of leather.

Hence the total valorisation of capital is determined by the duration of the production phase—which we assume here, for the time being, to be identical with labour time × by the number of turnovers, or renewals of the production phase, in a given period of time. If the number of turnovers were only determined by the duration of one production phase, the total valorisation would be determined solely by the number of production phases contained in a given period of time. Or the number of turnovers would be absolutely determined by the production time itself. This *would be the maximum of valorisation.* So it is clear that circulation time, considered absolutely, is a deduction from the maximum of valorisation < than absolute valorisation. Therefore, it is impossible for any velocity of circulation or reduction of circulation time to bring about a valorisation > than that posited by the production phase itself. The most that velocity of circulation could effect—and then it would have to rise to ∞—would be to posit circulation time as=0, i.e. to abolish itself. Therefore, it cannot constitute a positive value-creating moment, since its abolition—circulation without circulation time—would imply the maximum possible valorisation; its negation would imply that the productivity of capital had attained its highest possible level. //The productivity of capital as capital is not the productive power which multiplies use values, it is capital's capacity to produce values, the degree to which it produces values.// The total productivity of capital=the duration of one production phase × by the number of times it is repeated during a certain period of time. But this number is determined by circulation time.

Assume that a capital of 100 makes 4 turnovers in a year, i.e. completes the production process 4 times. At the end of the year, taking surplus value as 5% each time, the surplus value produced would be 20. On the other hand, for a capital of 400 that completed one turnover in a year, surplus value, given the same percentage, would also be 20. Hence a capital of 100 which circulated 4 times a year would yield a gain of 20%, while a capital 4 times as big which turned over only once, would yield a profit of only 5%. (We shall see presently, on closer examination, that the surplus value is exactly the same.) It appears, therefore, that size of capital can be compensated for by velocity of circulation, and

velocity of circulation by size of capital. The appearance is thus created that circulation time is in itself productive. We must, therefore, use this CASE to clear the matter up.

Another question which arises is this: If 100 thaler is turned over 4 times a year, each time at, say, 5%, the production process could be commenced at the beginning of the second turnover with 105 thaler, and its product would be $110\,^{1}/_{4}$; at the beginning of the *third turnover*, $110\,^{1}/_{4}$, the product of which would be $115\,^{61}/_{80}$; at the beginning of the fourth turnover, $115\,^{61}/_{80}$, and at its end, $121\,^{881}/_{1,600}$. The actual numbers chosen are without significance for the matter in hand. The point is that if a capital of 400 turns over only once a year, at 5%, the gain can only be 20; whereas if a capital a quarter as large turns over 4 times at the same percentage, the gain is $1+^{881}/_{1,600}$ more. It thus appears that the mere moment of turnover—the fact of repetition—that is to say, a moment determined by circulation time, or rather by *circulation*, not merely realises value, but increases it in absolute terms. This, too, must be investigated.

Circulation time expresses merely the velocity of circulation; the velocity of circulation is merely a limit upon circulation. *Circulation without circulation time*—i.e. the passage of capital from one phase to another with the same speed with which one concept supplants another—would be the maximum, i.e. the coincidence of the renewal of the production process with its completion.

The act of exchange—and the economic operations by means of which circulation takes place are reducible to a succession of *échanges*—up to the point where capital relates not as a commodity to money or as money to a commodity, but as value to its specific use value, labour—the act of exchanging value in one form for value in the other, money for a commodity or a commodity for money (and these are the moments of simple circulation), posits the value of one commodity in terms of another, thus realising it as exchange value, or, to put it another way, it posits the commodities as equivalents. The act of exchange thus *posits value*, in so far as values are presupposed; it realises the *determination* of the objects of exchange as values. But an act which posits a commodity as *value* or, what comes to the same thing, which posits another commodity as its *equivalent*—or, the same thing again, posits the *equivalence* of the two commodities—obviously adds nothing to value itself, just as the sign ± neither increases nor decreases the number which follows it.

If I posit 4 as +4 or −4, it remains, irrespective of the sign, equal to itself, 4, after this operation, and does not become either 3 or 5.

Similarly, if I [VI-24] exchange one lb. of cotton, with an exchange value of 6d., for 6d., it is posited as value; and it can equally be said that the 6d. is posited as value in the lb. of cotton; in other words, the labour time contained in the 6d. (the 6d. regarded here as *value*) is now expressed in terms of another material representing the same labour time. But since by the act of exchange the lb. of cotton and the 6d. of copper are each equated to their value, it is impossible that this exchange should bring about a quantitative increase in the value of the cotton or the value of the 6d., or in the sum of their values.

Exchange, as the positing of equivalents, merely alters the form; it realises the potentially existing values; realises the prices, IF YOU LIKE. A positing of objects, e.g. of *a* and *b* as equivalents cannot raise the value of *a*, for this act posits *a* as equal to its own value, hence not as unequal to it. It is posited as unequal only with respect to the form, in so far as it was not posited as value previously. At the same time, this act posits the value of *a* as equal to the value of *b*, and the value of *b* as equal to that of *a*. The sum of values exchanged = the value of *a* + the value of *b*. Each remains=to its own value; hence their sum remains equal to the sum of their values. Exchange, as the *positing of equivalents,* cannot therefore, by its very nature, raise the sum of values or the value of the commodities exchanged. (That things are different in the exchange with labour is due to the fact that the use value of labour itself *posits value,* but is not directly connected with its exchange value.)

A single exchange operation cannot increase the value of what is exchanged, nor can a sum of exchanges.

//It is essential to make this clear since the distribution of surplus value among capitals, the *calculation* of aggregate surplus value among individual capitals—this *secondary* economic operation—gives rise to phenomena that in ordinary political economy are confused with primary ones.//

Whether I repeat an act which does not produce any value once or an infinite number of times, IT CANNOT CHANGE ITS NATURE by virtue of its repetition. The repetition of an act which does not produce value can never turn it into an act which does. E.g., the number $^1/_4$ expresses a definite proportion. If I convert $^1/_4$ into decimals, positing it as 0.25, its form is altered, but this alteration of form leaves the value unchanged. Similarly, if I convert a commodity into the form of money, or money into the form of a commodity, the value remains the same; but its form has changed.

It is clear, therefore, that circulation—since it comes down to a

series of operations in which equivalents are exchanged—cannot increase the value of the circulating commodities. Hence if labour time is required to effect this operation, i.e. if values must be consumed—for all consumption of values comes down to the consumption of labour time or objectified labour time, products—if circulation involves costs, and if circulation time costs labour time, then this is a deduction, a relative abolition of the circulating values, their devaluation by the amount of the circulation costs.

Suppose we have two workers—a fisherman and a hunter—who exchange with each other. The time that both of them lose in effecting the exchange would produce neither fish nor game; it would be a deduction from the time during which they can produce values, the one by fishing and the other by hunting, objectifying their labour time in a use value. If the fisherman wished to compensate for this loss by demanding more game from the hunter, or by giving him fewer fish, the hunter would similarly be entitled to compensation. They would sustain the same loss. These costs of circulation, of exchange, could only appear as a deduction from their total product or the value they had created. If they commissioned a third person, *C*, to carry on these EXCHANGES, and in this way avoided the direct loss of labour time, each of them would have to cede a proportional part of his product to *C*. All they could gain by this would be a greater or smaller [reduction of] loss. However, if they worked as joint proprietors, no exchange would take place, but, rather, joint consumption. The costs of exchange would therefore be eliminated. Not the division of labour, but the division of labour as based on exchange. J. St. Mill is therefore wrong in treating the circulation costs as the *necessary price of the division of labour.*[a] They are merely costs of the naturally evolved division of labour, a division based not upon community of property, but upon private property.

The circulation costs as such, i.e. the consumption of labour time or of objectified labour time, values, occasioned by the operation of exchange and by a series of exchange operations, are therefore a deduction either from the time used for production or from the values posited by production. They can never increase value. They belong to the *faux frais de production*,[b] and these belong to the immanent costs of production based on capital. The

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[a] J. St. Mill, *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy*, London, 1844, pp. 55, 56.—*Ed.*

[b] Overhead costs of production.—*Ed.*

merchant business and STILL MORE the money business proper—to the extent that their sole function is to perform the operations of circulation as such, e.g. the determination of prices (the measurement and calculation of values), in general, to perform these exchange operations as a function rendered independent by the division of labour, and hence represent this function of the overall process of capital—represent merely the *faux frais de production* of capital. In so far as they reduce these *faux frais*, they contribute to production, not by producing value but by diminishing the negation of the values produced. If they confined themselves to performing this function, they would always represent only the minimum of the *faux frais de production*. If they enable the producers to produce more values than they could produce without this division of labour, and so much more that a surplus remains after paying for this function, then they have, in effect, increased production. However, in this case, the values have increased not because the operations of circulation have created value, but because they have absorbed less value than they would have done otherwise. However, they are a necessary condition for production by capital.

The time lost by a capitalist in carrying out exchange is not as such a deduction from labour time. He is a capitalist—i.e. the representative of capital, personified capital—only in as much as he relates to labour as alien labour and appropriates and posits alien labour time. Hence circulation costs do not exist in the sense that *they take away the time of the capitalist.* His time is posited as *superfluous time: not-labour-time,* time *that does not produce value,* although it is capital that realises the value produced. The fact that the worker must work surplus time is identical with the capitalist's not having to work; it follows that his time is posited as not-labour-time, and that he does not work even the *necessary time.* The worker must work surplus time to be allowed to reify, utilise, i.e. objectify, the labour time necessary for his reproduction. On the other hand, the capitalist's *necessary labour time*, too, is therefore *free time*, time not required for his immediate subsistence. Since all *free time* is time for free development, the capitalist usurps the *free time* created by the workers for society, i.e. civilisation, and Wade is indeed right in this sense when he equates capital with civilisation.[a]

In so far as circulation time claims the time of the capitalist as

[a] J. Wade, *History of the Middle and Working Classes*, 3rd ed., London, 1835, pp. 161, 162 and 164.—*Ed.*

such, it is, from the economic viewpoint, exactly of as much concern to us as the time he spends with his doxy. If TIME is MONEY, this applies, from the standpoint of capital, only to alien labour time, which is, indeed, the MONEY of capital in the most basic sense of the word. With respect to capital as such, circulation time can be equated with labour time only in so far as it interrupts the time during which capital can appropriate alien labour time—and it is clear that this relative devaluation of capital adds nothing to its valorisation, but can only detract from it—or in so far as circulation costs capital objectified alien labour time, values. [VI-25] (E.g., because capital must pay someone else to perform this function.) In both cases, circulation time only comes into consideration in so far as it cancels, negates alien labour time, whether by interrupting the process of appropriation of alien labour time by capital, or by obliging capital to consume part of the produced value in order to accomplish the operations of circulation, i.e. in order to posit itself as capital. (This must be carefully distinguished from the PRIVATE CONSUMPTION OF THE CAPITALIST.)

Circulation time comes into consideration only in its relation to—as a limit upon, negation of—the production time of capital; but this production time is the time during which capital appropriates alien labour, the alien labour time posited by capital. It is the greatest confusion to regard the time spent by the capitalist on circulation as time positing value or, indeed, time positing surplus value. Capital as such has no labour time other than its production time. The capitalist does not concern us here at all, except as capital. As such, too, he is active only in the overall process which we have to analyse. Otherwise one could even imagine that the *capitalist is entitled to compensation for the time during which he does not earn money as the wage worker of another capitalist*—or else that he *loses that time.* That it belongs to the production costs. The time he loses or employs as a capitalist is, in general, *lost time, placé à fonds perdu,*[a] from this viewpoint. We shall have to discuss later the so-called *labour time of the capitalist*—as distinct from that of the worker—which is supposed to form the basis of the capitalist's *profit* as WAGES *sui generis.*

Nothing is more common than to include transport, etc., in so far as they are connected with commerce, among the pure costs of circulation. By bringing a product to market, commerce gives it a new form. Of course, it only changes the spatial location of the product. But we are not concerned with the way in which its form

[a] A wasted fund.—*Ed.*

is altered. Commerce imparts a new use value to the product (and this is true right down to the retailer, who weighs, measures and packs it up, thus giving the product a form that makes it suitable for consumption). This new use value costs labour time and hence is simultaneously exchange value. The bringing to market is part of the production process itself. The product is a commodity, is in circulation, only when it is on the market.

//"In every species of industry the entrepreneurs become sellers of products, while the entire rest of the nation and often even foreign nations are buyers of these products... The continuous, constantly repeated movement made by *circulating capital* in departing from the entrepreneur and in returning to him in the form it first possessed, is comparable to its traversing a circle. Hence the name 'circulating' applied to capital, and 'circulation' applied to its movement" (Storch, *Cours d'économie politique,* Vol. I, Paris, 1823, pp. 404-05. Notebook,[5] p. 34).[a]

"In the broad sense, circulation includes the movement of every commodity which is exchanged" (p. 405, l.c.). "Circulation is effected by exchanges ... once money is introduced, they [commodities] are no longer exchanged, they are sold" (pp. 405-06, l.c.). "To put a commodity into circulation, it is sufficient to offer it [for sale]... Wealth in circulation: *commodity*" (p. 407, l.c.). "Commerce is only a part of circulation. The former comprehends only the purchases and sales by merchants; the latter those by all entrepreneurs and even all INHABITANTS" (p. 408, l.c.).

"Circulation is real, and *its value* increases the annual product, only as long as the *costs* of circulation are indispensable for *getting the commodities to the consumers.* From the moment when it exceeds this measure, circulation is artificial and no longer contributes in any way to the enrichment of the nation" (p. 409). "In recent years, we have seen examples of artificial circulation in Russia, at St. Petersburg. The stagnation of foreign trade had forced the merchants to adopt a different method of investing their idle capital; no longer being able to use it to import foreign commodities and to export domestic ones, they hoped to profit by buying and reselling commodities available on the market. Enormous quantities of sugar, coffee, hemp, iron, etc., passed rapidly from one merchant to another, and often a commodity changed hands twenty times without leaving the warehouse. A circulation of this type offers merchants all the opportunities of a game of chance. But while it enriches some, it ruins others, and the national wealth gains nothing from it. Similarly in the circulation of money... An artificial circulation of this type, which is only based upon the simple variation of prices, is called *agiotage*" (pp. 410, 411). "Circulation only benefits society in so far as it is indispensable for bringing the goods to the consumer. Every detour, retardation, intermediate exchange which is not absolutely necessary to bring this about, or which does not contribute to *diminishing the costs of circulation,* harms the national wealth by needlessly raising the prices of commodities" (p. 411).

"Circulation is the more productive the more rapid it is, i.e. the less time it requires to enable the entrepreneur to dispose of the finished product which he offers for sale, and to regain his capital in its original form" (p. 411). "The entrepreneur can only recommence production after he has sold the finished

[a] Marx reproduces these and the following passages from Storch in German translation, using many French words and phrases.— *Ed.*

product and has used the price in purchasing new *matières* and new *salaires*. Hence, the more promptly circulation brings about these two effects, the more quickly is he in a position to recommence his production, and the greater the profit his capital yields in a given period of time" (pp. 411-12). "A nation whose capital circulates rapidly enough to return several times a year to him who first set it in motion, is in the same position as the labourer in a favourable climate, who can raise three or four harvests in succession on the same land each year" (pp. 412, 413). "A slow circulation makes the objects of consumption more expensive (1) indirectly, by diminishing the volume of commodities that could exist; (2) directly, because as long as a product is in circulation *its value is progressively* increased by the interest on the capital employed in its production. The more slowly circulation goes on, the more this interest piles up, needlessly raising the price of the commodity." "Means for the shortening and acceleration of circulation: (1) formation of a special class of workers solely occupied in commerce; (2) ease of transportation; (3) money; (4) credit" (p. 413).//

Simple circulation consisted of a multitude of simultaneous or successive exchanges. Strictly speaking, their unity as circulation existed only from the standpoint of the observer. (Exchange may be a matter of chance, and it more or less has this character where it is confined to the exchange of the surplus, and does not embrace the entire production process.) In the circulation of capital, we have a series of exchange operations, of acts of exchange, each of which constitutes a qualitative moment vis-à-vis the other, a moment in the reproduction and growth of capital. A system of exchanges, exchange of matter, if seen from the angle of use value; a change of form, if seen from the angle of value as such. The product is related to the commodity as use value to exchange value; the commodity is related similarly to money. Here the one series attains its peak. Money is related to the commodity into which it is reconverted, as exchange value to use value, and to an even greater degree the same is true of the relation of money to labour.

[VI-26] In so far as capital in every moment of the process is itself the possibility of transition into its other, next phase, and is thus the possibility of the whole process which expresses the life-act of capital, each of the moments appears as potentially capital—hence commodity capital, money capital—alongside the value which posits itself as capital in the production process. The commodity may represent capital as long as it can be converted into money, i.e. as long as it can purchase wage labour (surplus labour). This from the *aspect of the form* deriving from the circulation of capital. From the material aspect, the commodity remains capital as long as it constitutes raw material (in the strict sense or partly processed), instrument, and means of subsistence for the workers. Each of these forms is potential capital. Money is,

on the one hand, realised capital, capital as realised value. From this aspect (considered as the end-point of circulation, where it must also be considered as the point of departure), money is capital κατ'ἐξοχήν.[a] It is then once again capital, especially in relation to the production process, to the extent that it is exchanged for living labour. On the other hand, when the capitalist exchanges it for commodities (purchases new raw materials, etc.), it appears not as capital but as means of circulation; merely a vanishing mediator by means of which the capitalist exchanges his product for its primary elements.

Circulation is not a merely external operation for capital. Just as it only becomes capital by means of the production process, in which value is perpetuated and increased, so it is reconverted into the pure *form* of value—in which both the traces of its becoming and its specific being in use value are extinguished—only by means of the first act of circulation. The repetition of this act, i.e. of the life-process [of capital], is only made possible by the second act of circulation, which consists in the exchange of money for the conditions of production and is the introduction to the act of production. Circulation therefore belongs *within* the concept of capital. Initially, money or accumulated labour appeared as a prerequisite *for,* and hence *preceding,* the exchange with free labour. But the apparent independence of the objective moment of capital in relation to labour was cancelled, and objectified labour, which becomes independent in value, appeared in every respect as the *product of alien labour,* the *alienated product* of labour itself. In similar fashion, capital now appears first as presupposed to its circulation (capital as money was presupposed to its becoming capital; but capital as the result of value absorbing and assimilating living labour appeared as the point of departure of the *circulation of capital,* not of circulation in general), as if capital existed independently, indifferent to and *without* this process. But the *movement of the metamorphoses it has to go through appears now as a condition of the production process* itself, just as much as its result.

Capital in its reality thus appears as a series of turnovers in a given *period.* It is no longer merely a *single turnover,* a single circulation, but the positing of turnovers, of the entire process. Its positing of value therefore appears as determined (and value is capital only in so far as it is value which perpetuates and multiplies itself) (1) *qualitatively*: since it cannot renew the phase of production without passing through the phases of circulation;

[a] In the true sense.—*Ed.*

(2) *quantitatively*: since the quantity of values which it posits depends upon the number of turnovers it performs in a given period; (3) since circulation time thus appears from both aspects as a limiting principle, a barrier to production time and vice versa. Hence capital is essentially *circulating capital.* While appearing as owner and MASTER in the workshop of the production process, it is, from the angle of circulation, dependent and determined by the social nexus, which at the point where we still find ourselves causes capital to enter into simple circulation and figure in it alternately as *C* over against *M* and *M* over against *C.*

Yet this circulation is a mist veiling an entire world, the world of the interconnections of capital, which affix the property deriving from circulation, from social intercourse, to this intercourse and rob it of the independence of SELF-SUSTAINING PROPERTY as its characteristic feature. Two views of this world, as yet lying in the distance, have already opened up to us: [firstly,] at the point where the circulation of capital precipitates from its circle the value which capital posits and circulates in the form of the product, and secondly, at the point where capital draws another product from circulation into its circuit, converting this product itself into one of the moments of its existence. At the second point, it presupposes production, though not its own immediate production. At the first point, it may presuppose either production, if its product is itself the raw material for other production; or consumption, if its product has acquired the final form that makes it suitable for consumption. That much is clear that consumption does not have to enter into its circle *directly.* The characteristic circulation of capital is, as we shall see later, still CIRCULATION BETWEEN DEALERS AND DEALERS.[6] CIRCULATION BETWEEN DEALERS and CONSUMERS, identical with retail trade, is a second circle, which does not fall within the immediate sphere of circulation of capital. It is a path it traverses after and simultaneously with traversing the first path. The *simultaneity of the different paths traversed by capital,* like that of its different determinations, only becomes evident when many capitals are presupposed. In the same way, the life-process of man consists in his passing through a succession of ages; at the same time, all ages of man exist alongside one another, distributed to different individuals.

In so far as capital's production process is, at the same time, a technological process—production process pure and simple—namely, the production of particular use values by means of particular labour, in short, production carried on in a way determined by this purpose itself; in so far as of all these

production processes, the most fundamental appears to be that by which the body reproduces for itself the necessary exchange of matter, i.e. produces means of subsistence in the physiological sense; in so far as this production process coincides with agriculture, which either directly (as in the case of cotton, flax, etc.) or indirectly, by means of the animals it feeds (silk, wool, etc.), simultaneously supplies a large part of the raw materials for industry (in effect, all that are not supplied by the extractive industries); in so far as reproduction in agriculture in the temperate zone (the homeland of capital) is tied up with the general telluric circulation, i.e. harvests are mostly of an *annual* nature—in so far as all this is so, the *year* is generally taken as the period of time with respect to which the sum of turnovers of capital is calculated and measured (except that the year is calculated differently for the different branches of production), just as the *natural working day* provided such a natural unit as measure of labour time. Accordingly, in the calculation of profit, and even more in that of interest, we see the unity of circulation time and production time—capital—posited as such and acting as its own measuring-rod. Capital itself as *capital-in-process*—i.e. capital performing a turnover—[VI-27] is regarded as *working capital,* and the fruits WHICH IT IS SUPPOSED TO YIELD are calculated with respect to its working time—the total circulation time of one turnover. The mystification to which this gives rise is inherent in the nature of capital.

Before we embark upon a more detailed analysis of the arguments outlined above, let us first examine the distinctions between *fixed capital* and *circulating capital* given by the economists. Above, we have already come across a new moment which enters in the calculation of profit as distinct from surplus value.[a] Similarly, another new moment must emerge now between profit and interest. Surplus value in relation to *circulating capital* obviously appears as profit, in distinction to *interest* as surplus value in relation to *fixed capital.*

Profit and interest are both forms of surplus value. Profit is contained in *price,* and hence ceases and is realised as soon as capital has reached that point in its circulation at which it is reconverted into money, or passes over from its form as commodity into the form of money. The striking ignorance upon which Proudhon's polemic against interest is based [will be discussed] later on.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, p. 485.—*Ed.*

(Yet, lest we forget it, here once more *ad vocem*[a] Proudhon: The problem of SURPLUS VALUE, which is a source of much trouble for all Ricardians and anti-Ricardians, is solved by this bold thinker simply by mystifying it. "*Tout travail laisse un surplus*", "*je le pose en axiome*"...[b] The basic formula to be looked up in my notebook.[7] The fact that labour *is done in excess of* necessary labour is turned by Proudhon into a mystical property of labour. Surplus value cannot be explained by the mere growth of the productive power of labour; for while the latter may increase the quantity of products produced in a definite labour time, it can give no PLUS-VALUE to them. It is only relevant here in as much as it sets free SURPLUS TIME, TIME for labour in excess of necessary labour. The sole *extra-economic* FACT here is that man does not need all his time for the production of NECESSARIES, that he has free time at his disposal in excess of the labour time necessary for subsistence, and hence can use it also for surplus labour. But there is nothing mystical about this, since his NECESSARIES are small in the same measure as is his labour power[8] in the primitive condition. And wage labour, in general, makes its appearance only when the productive power has already been developed to such an extent that a significant amount of time has been set free. This setting-free is already an historical product here. Proudhon's ignorance is only EQUALLED BY Bastiat's *décroissante rate du profit qui est supposé d'être l'équivalent d'une rate du salair croissante.*[c] Bastiat gives a dual expression to this NONSENSE, which he borrows from Carey: firstly, the *rate* of profit falls (i.e. the ratio of surplus value to the capital employed); secondly, prices fall, but value, i.e. the total sum of prices, increases. This merely means that what grows is the GROSS PROFIT, not the rate of profit.)

Firstly, *fixed* capital in the sense in which we have used it above. Defined by *John St. Mill (Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy,)* (p. 55) as tied-down capital, capital which is not DISPOSABLE, not AVAILABLE, stuck fast in a particular phase of its overall circulation process. In this sense he correctly says, as does Bailey too in the above quotations,[d] that a large part of a country's capital always lies idle.

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[a] As regards.—*Ed.*

[b] "All labour gives rise to a surplus", "I take it as an axiom."—*Ed.*

[c] Falling rate of profit, supposed to be the equivalent of a rising rate of wages.—*Ed.*

[d] This refers to the quotations, in the previous section, from [S. Bailey,] *Money and Its Vicissitudes in Value*, London, 1837, and J. St. Mill, *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy*. See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 503-04, 535-36.—*Ed.*

"The distinction into fixed and floating capital is more apparent than real. For example, gold is FIXED CAPITAL; FLOATING only as far as it is consumed for GILDING, etc. Ships are fixed capital, ALTHOUGH LITERALLY FLOATING. FOREIGN RAILWAY SHARES ARE ARTICLES OF COMMERCE IN OUR MARKETS; SO MAY OUR RAILWAYS BE IN THE MARKETS OF THE WORLD; AND SO FAR THEY ARE FLOATING CAPITAL, ON A PAR WITH GOLD" (Anderson, *The Recent Commercial Distress, etc.*, London, 1847, p. 4) (Notebook I, 27).[9]

According to Say, [fixed capital is] capital

"so engaged in one *kind of production* that it can no longer be diverted from it to be employed in *another kind of production*" (*Traité d'économie politique*, Vol. II, Paris, 1817, p. 430).[a]

The identification of capital with a particular use value, use value for the process of production. The fact that capital as value is *tied* to a particular use value—use value within production—is at any rate an important aspect. It expresses more than does the inability to circulate, which essentially means only that fixed capital is the opposite of circulating capital.

In his *Logic of Political Economy* ([London, Edinburgh, 1844,] pp. 113-14) (Notebook X, 4),[10] *De Quincey* says:

"*CIRCULATING CAPITAL*, IN ITS NORMAL IDEA, MEANS *ANY AGENT WHATEVER*" (marvellous logician) "USED PRODUCTIVELY WHICH PERISHES IN THE VERY ACT OF BEING USED."

(According to this, coal would be *circulating capital*, and so would be *oil*, but not cotton, etc. It cannot be said THAT COTTON PERISHES BY BEING TRANSFORMED INTO TWIST OR CALICO, AND SUCH TRANSFORMATION MEANS CERTAINLY USING IT PRODUCTIVELY!)

"Capital is *FIXED*, if the object serves, repeatedly, again and again, for the same operation, AND BY HOW MUCH LARGER HAS BEEN THE RANGE OF ITERATIONS, BY SO MUCH MORE INTENSELY IS THE *TOOL, ENGINE*, OR *MACHINERY* ENTITLED TO THE DENOMINATION OF FIXED" (pp. 113-14) (Notebook X, 4).

According to this, CIRCULATING CAPITAL would perish, be consumed, in the act of production; fixed capital—which for greater clarity is defined as *TOOL, ENGINE, OR MACHINERY* (and which therefore excludes, e. g., the IMPROVEMENTS incorporated in the soil)—would serve repeatedly for the same operation. The distinction concerns here only the technological difference in the act of production; it does not concern the form at all. CIRCULATING and FIXED CAPITAL, in the distinctions given here, may well possess features on the strength of which one agent, "any AGENT WHATEVER", is FIXED capital and the other CIRCULATING, but NEITHER OF THEM [possesses] ANY QUALIFICATION WHICH WOULD ENTITLE IT TO THE "*DENOMINATION*" OF *CAPITAL*.

[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

According to Ramsay ([*An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth*, Edinburgh, London, 1836,] IX, 83-84)[11]

"only the *approvisionnement*[a] is CIRCULATING CAPITAL, because the capitalist MUST PART WITH IT IMMEDIATELY and it *does not enter into the process of reproduction at all*, but is exchanged direct for living labour, for consumption. All other capital (raw material, too) REMAINS IN THE POSSESSION OF ITS OWNER OR EMPLOYER UNTIL THE *PRODUCE IS COMPLETED*" (l. c. [p. 21]). "*CIRCULATING CAPITAL* CONSISTS ONLY OF SUBSISTENCE AND OTHER NECESSARIES ADVANCED TO THE WORKMAN, *PREVIOUS* TO THE COMPLETION OF THE PRODUCE OF HIS LABOUR" (l.c. [p. 23]).

With respect to the *approvisionnement*, he is right in so far as it is the only part of capital which circulates during the production phase itself, and from this aspect it is circulating capital *par excellence*. On the other hand, it is wrong to maintain that FIXED CAPITAL REMAINS IN THE POSSESSION OF ITS OWNER OR EMPLOYER no longer than or only "UNTIL THE PRODUCE IS COMPLETED". Hence later, too, he defines FIXED CAPITAL as

"ANY PORTION OF THAT LABOUR (BESTOWED UPON ANY COMMODITY) *IN A FORM* IN WHICH, THOUGH ASSISTING TO RAISE THE FUTURE COMMODITY, IT DOES NOT *MAINTAIN LABOUR*" [p. 59].

(But how many COMMODITIES DO NOT MAINTAIN LABOUR! I. e. do not belong to the articles of the worker's consumption. In Ramsay's view, these are all *fixed capital*.)

(If the interest on £100 at the end of the first year or of the first three months is £5, then at the end of the first year, the capital will be 105 or 100 (1 + 0.05); at the end of the 4th year, it will = 100 $(1 + 0.05)^4$ = £121. £$^{55}/_{100}$ and £$^{1}/_{1,600}$ = £121 11s. $^{3}/_{5}$ farth. or £121 11s. 0.6 farthing. Therefore it yields £1 11s. $^{6}/_{10}$ farthing over and above 20.)

[VI-28] (In the question posed above,[b] it is assumed that on the one hand a capital of 400 turns over only once in a year, while on the other [a capital of 100 turns over] four times, in both cases at 5%. In the first case the capital would yield 5% once a year, i.e. 20 on 400; in the second case, 4 × 5%, likewise 20, on 100 in a year. The velocity of circulation would compensate for the size of the capital; just as in simple money circulation, 100,000 thaler which circulates three times a year is=to 300,000, but so also is 3,000 which circulates 100 times. But if the capital circulates four times a

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[a] Means of subsistence.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 18-19.— *Ed.*

year, it is *possible* that the surplus gain itself is added to the capital in the second turnover and turned over with it. In this way the difference of £1 11s. 0.6 farthing would come about. But this difference in no way follows from the presupposition. Only the *abstract* possibility exists. What follows from the presupposition is, rather, that three months are necessary to turn over a capital of £100. Then, if, e.g., the month = 30 days, to turn over a capital of £105—assuming the same turnover ratio, the same relation of the turnover time to the size of the capital—would take not 3 months but* $105 : x = 100 : 90$; $x = \frac{90 \times 105}{100} = \frac{9{,}450}{100} = 94\,{}^{5}/_{10}$ days = 3 months $4\,{}^{1}/_{2}$ days. The first difficulty is thereby completely resolved.)

(The fact that a larger capital with a slower turnover does not produce more surplus value than a smaller capital with a relatively more rapid turnover, in no way means in itself that a smaller capital turns over more rapidly than a larger one. In so far as the larger capital consists of more fixed capital and must seek out more distant markets, this is indeed the case. The size of the market and the velocity of circulation are not necessarily inversely related. This relationship only occurs when the available physical market is no longer the economic market, i.e. when the economic market moves farther and farther away from the place of production. Incidentally, to the extent that this does not stem from the mere distinction between fixed and circulating capital, the moments determining the circulation of the different capitals cannot, as yet, be discussed here at all. It may be observed in passing that in so far as trade posits new points of circulation, i.e. brings different countries into the sphere of commerce, discovers new markets, etc., this is something quite different from the mere circulation costs, which are required to effect a definite number of exchange operations. It is the positing of exchange itself, not of operations of exchange. Creation of markets. This point will have to be considered specially, before we HAVE DONE WITH CIRCULATION.)

Let us now continue our examination of the views on "FIXED" and "CIRCULATING CAPITAL".

"Depending on whether *capital* is more *perishable* or less *perishable*, i.e. *must be reproduced more frequently or less frequently in a given period of time*, it is called *circulating capital or fixed capital.* Furthermore, capital circulates, or returns to its employer, *in very unequal times.* E.g., the wheat bought by a farmer to sow is

* On the other hand, it could be assumed that, with continuity of the production process, the surplus obtained is converted into capital every 3 months.

*comparatively a fixed* capital to the wheat purchased by a baker to make into loaves" (Ricardo, [*On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, 3rd edition, London, 1821, pp. 26-27,] VIII, 19)[12]

Then he also remarks:

"Different *proportions of fixed and circulating capital* in different trades; different *durability of fixed capital* itself" (Ricardo, l.c. [p. 27]).

"Two kinds of COMMERCE may employ capital of equal value, but it may be very differently divided with respect to the part which is fixed, and that which is circulating. They may even employ an equal value of fixed capital and of circulating capital; but the durability of the fixed capital may be very unequal. E.g., one may have steam-engines to the value of £10,000, the other, ships." (This from the translation of *Ricardo's* book [published] by Say, [*Des principes de l'économie politique et de l'impôt*, 2nd ed.,] Vol. I, [Paris, 1835,] pp. 29, 30).

What is wrong, from the outset, is that, according to Ricardo, capital is "*more or less perishable*". Capital as capital, *value*, is not perishable. Yet the use value in which the value is fixed, in which it exists, is "more or less perishable" and must therefore "be *reproduced more frequently or less frequently in a given period of time*". Hence the distinction between fixed capital and circulating capital is reduced here to the greater or lesser *necessity to reproduce a given capital, in a given period of time.* This is one distinction made by Ricardo.

The different *degrees of durability* or *different degrees of fixity of capital,* i.e. *the different degrees, the relative duration of the relative fixity,* is the second distinction. So that fixed capital itself is fixed more or less. *The same* capital appears in the same business in two different forms, *particular modes of existence,* as *fixed and circulating,* hence exists doubly. To be fixed or circulating appears as a *particular* determinateness of capital, apart from that of being capital. But it necessarily must proceed to this particularity.

Finally, as [regards] the third distinction, "that capital circulates, or returns, in very *unequal times*", Ricardo means by it, as his example of the baker and the farmer shows, merely the difference in the time for which capital in different branches of business, according to their specificity, is *fixed, engaged* in the *phase of production* as distinct from that of circulation. *Fixed capital* therefore occurs here as we had it before, as fixedness in each phase; except that the specifically longer or shorter fixedness in the phase of production, in this definite phase, is regarded as positing a characteristic feature, a particularity, of capital.

Money sought to posit itself as *imperishable value,* as eternal value, by relating negatively to circulation, i.e. to exchange with real wealth, perishable commodities, which are dissolved in

transient enjoyments, as Petty very neatly and very naively puts it.[a] In capital, the imperishability of value is posited (TO A CERTAIN DEGREE) in that capital, while of course embodying itself in, adopting the form of, perishable commodities, just as constantly changes form, alternately adopting its eternal form as money and its perishable form as commodities. The imperishability is posited as the only thing it can be, perishability that is perishable—process—life. But capital maintains this ability only by constantly sucking in, vampire-like, living labour as its life-blood.

The imperishability—the durability of value in its form as capital—is only posited by reproduction, which itself is dual, reproduction as commodity, reproduction as money and unity of these two reproduction processes. When reproduced as a commodity, capital is fixed in a particular form of use value, and hence is not *universal exchange value,* or indeed realised *value,* as it should be. That it has posited itself as value in the act of reproduction, in the production phase, it only proves through circulation. The greater or lesser perishability of the commodity in which [VI-29] value exists, requires slower or more rapid reproduction of that value, i.e. repetition of the labour process.

The *particular nature of the use value* in which value exists, or which now appears as the body of capital, appears here as itself *determining the form* and the action of capital; as giving one capital a particular quality as compared with another; as particularising it. Hence, as we have already seen on repeated occasions, nothing is more mistaken than overlooking the fact that the distinction between use value and exchange value, which in simple circulation, to the extent that it is *realised,* lies outside the economic determination of form, lies outside it in general. We have found, rather, that at the different stages of the development of economic relations exchange value and use value are determined in different relations, and that this determinateness itself appears as a different determination of value as such.

Use value itself plays a role as an economic category. Where precisely it does so, emerges from the development itself. E.g. Ricardo, while believing that bourgeois political economy deals only with exchange value and treats use value merely as exoteric, derives precisely the most important determinations of exchange value from use value, from their mutual relation: for instance, *rent, the minimum level of wages, and the distinction between fixed and*

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[a] W. Petty, *Several Essays in Political Arithmetick,* London, 1699, pp. 178-79 and 195-96.—*Ed.*

*circulating capital,* to which precisely he attributes a very important influence on the determination of prices (THROUGH THE DIFFERENT REACTION PRODUCED UPON THEM BY A RISE OR FALL IN THE RATE OF WAGES). Similarly in the relationship of demand and supply, etc.

The same determination appears once in the determination of use value and then in that of exchange value, but at different stages and with different significance. Using is consuming, whether for production or for consumption. Exchange is this act mediated by a social process. The using itself may be posited by, and be a mere consequence of, exchange; on the other hand, exchange may appear simply as a moment of using, etc. From the standpoint of capital (in circulation), exchange appears as the positing of its use value; while, on the other hand, its use (in the act of production) appears as positing for exchange, as the positing of its exchange value.

It is the same with production and consumption. In the bourgeois economy (as in every economy) they are posited in specific distinctions and in specific unities. The point is, precisely, to understand this *differentia specifica.* Mr. Proudhon's or the social sentimentalists' [assertion] that they are *the same* gets one nowhere.[a]

The good thing about Ricardo's analysis is that, to begin with, the moment is emphasised of the necessity of *more rapid or slower reproduction*; that, hence, the greater or lesser perishability, the slower or more rapid consumption (in the sense of self-consumption), is considered with respect to *capital* itself. I.e., the relationship of use value for *capital* itself.

*Sismondi,* on the contrary, at once introduces a determination which is initially exoteric to capital: *direct or indirect consumption by man,* i.e. whether the object is a direct or an indirect means of subsistence for him. He associates this with the *more rapid or slower consumption of the object* itself. The objects which serve directly as means of subsistence are more perishable, because intended for consumption, than those which help to make means of subsistence. The latter type of objects are meant to be durable; their perishability is fate. He says:

"Fixed capital is *consumed slowly,* in an indirect manner, to help to reproduce what man destines for his use; circulating capital never ceases to be directly employed for the use of man. Whenever a thing is consumed, it is consumed for one person *sans retour*[b]; at the same time, there may be a person for whom its consumption

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 31 and 339-40.—*Ed.*

[b] Irrevocably.—*Ed.*

implies its reproduction" (Sismondi, [*Nouveaux principes d'économie politique,* 2nd ed., Vol. I, Paris, 1827, p. 95] VI).[13]

He also represents the relationship thus:

"The *first transformation* of the annual consumption into permanent installations suitable for *increasing the productive forces of* future *labour* [is] *fixed capital;* this first labour is always accomplished by a labour, represented by a wage, exchanged for means of subsistence, which the worker consumes in the process of labour. *Fixed capital is consumed gradually*" (i.e. is gradually used up). *Second transformation*: "*Circulating capital* consists of the *seeds to be worked up by labour* (raw material) and the *worker's consumption*" (l.c. [pp. 97-98, 94]).

This is more relevant to the origin [of capital]. Firstly, the *transformation* of fixed capital itself into what is merely a stationary form of circulating capital, *fixed* circulating capital; secondly, the *purpose*: the one is intended to be consumed as means of production, the other as product; or the different ways in which a thing is *consumed,* determined by its role among the conditions of production in the production process.

*Cherbuliez* simplifies the matter in the sense that circulating capital [is] the *consumable, fixed capital* the non-consumable, part of capital.[a] (The one can be eaten up, the other cannot. A VERY EASY METHOD OF TAKING THE THING.)

*Storch,* in a passage already cited above[b] (34 in the Notebook), vindicates for circulating capital in general the property of capital to circulate. But he refutes himself by arguing[c] that

"all fixed capital is originally derived from circulating capital and must constantly be maintained at the expense of the latter".[d]

(Hence it derives from circulation, or is itself circulating in its first moment and constantly renews itself *by means of* circulation; consequently, though *it* does not enter *into circulation,* circulation enters *into it.*) Storch adds further on:

"*No fixed capital can bring in revenue except by means of circulating capital*" (26, b Notebook).[14]

We shall come back to this later.

//"Reproductive consumption is not, properly speaking, an expense, but merely an *advance,* since it is reimbursed to him who grants it." Storch's polemic against Say [*Considérations etc.*], p. 54 (p. 5b, *second* notebook on Storch).

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[a] A. Cherbuliez, *Richesse ou pauvreté,* Paris, 1841, pp. 16-19.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 24.—*Ed.*
[c] H. Storch, *Cours d'économie politique,* Vol. I, p. 246.—*Ed.*
[d] Here and below Marx quotes Storch in French.—*Ed.*

(The capitalist gives back to the worker a part of his own surplus labour in the form of an *avance*, for which he must reimburse the capitalist not merely with an equivalent, but with surplus labour.)//

(The formula for the *calculation of compound interest* is: $S = c\ (1 + i)^n$. ($S$ is the total volume of capital $c$ after the lapse of $n$ years at an interest rate of $i$.)

The formula for the *calculation of an* ANNUITY is:

$$x \text{ (the ANNUITY)} = \frac{c(1+i)^n}{1+(1+i)+(1+i)^2+\ \ldots\ +(1+i)^{n-1}}.)$$

In the preceding analysis, we divided capital up into *constant value* and *variable value*.[a] This is always correct when capital is considered within the production phase, i.e. in its immediate valorisation process. How capital itself, as presupposed value, may alter its value, depending upon whether its reproduction costs rise or fall, or also as a result of a fall in profits, etc., obviously does not belong here, where the general concept of capital is discussed, but in the section dealing with capital as real capital, as the reciprocal effect of many capitals upon each other.

//Because competition appears historically as the dissolution of guild compulsion, government regulation, internal tariffs and the like, within the country, and as the abolition of shutting-off, prohibition or protection, on the world market—in short, because it appears historically as the negation of the limits and barriers peculiar to the production stages preceding capital—and because historically it was quite correctly described and [VI-30] advocated by the Physiocrats as *laissez faire, laissez passer,* it has accordingly been considered in terms of that, purely negative, its purely historical, aspect. On the other hand, this has led to the even greater stupidity of regarding competition as the clash of the unfettered individuals actuated only by self-interest—as the mutual repulsion and attraction of the free individuals, and hence as the absolute form of existence of free individuality in the sphere of production and exchange. Nothing could be further from the truth.

(1) If free competition dissolved the barriers of earlier production relations and modes of production, one must *d'abord*[b] take into account that what was a barrier to free competition, was

[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 291-323 and 352-53.—*Ed.*
[b] First of all.—*Ed.*

an immanent limit for earlier modes of production, within which they spontaneously developed and moved. These limits became barriers only after the productive forces and relations of intercourse had attained a level of development sufficient for capital as such to begin to act as the regulating principle of production. The limits it swept away were barriers to its movement, development, realisation. In so doing, it by no means abolished all limits, or all barriers, only the limits that did not correspond to it, that were barriers to it. Within its own limits—much as they may appear, from a higher viewpoint, as barriers to production and be posited as such by capital's own historical development—it feels itself to be free, unconfined, i.e. limited only by itself, only by its own conditions of life. Just as guild industry in its heyday found in the guild organisation absolutely the kind of freedom which it needed, i.e. the production relations which corresponded to it. Indeed, it posited these relations out of itself and developed them as *its own* immanent conditions, hence not at all as external and restricting barriers. From the historical aspect, the negation of the guild system, etc., by capital through free competition merely means that capital, once it had grown strong enough, tore down, by means of the mode of intercourse adequate to it, the historical barriers which hindered and impeded the movement adequate to it.

Yet competition is far removed from having only this historical significance or from being only *this negativity. Free competition* is the relation of capital to itself as another capital, i.e. the real behaviour of capital as capital. It is only at this point that the inner laws of capital—which only appear as tendencies in the initial historical stages of its development—are first posited as laws; production based upon capital only posits itself in its adequate forms in so far and to the extent that free competition is developed. For free competition is the free development of the mode of production based upon capital; the free development of its conditions and of its process as constantly reproducing these conditions.

In free competition, it is capital that is set free, not the individuals. As long as production based on capital is the necessary, hence the most appropriate, form for the development of society's productive power, the movement of individuals within the pure conditions of capital appears as their freedom. But then it is also dogmatically affirmed as such by continual references to the barriers which free competition has demolished. Free competi-

tion is the real development of capital. By means of it, that which corresponds to the nature of capital, to the mode of production based upon capital, to the concept of capital, is posited as an external necessity for the individual capital. The reciprocal compulsion exerted under free competition by capitals upon one another, upon labour, etc. (the competition of workers among themselves is merely another form of the competition of capitals) is the *free*, and at the same time *real*, development of wealth as capital. This is so much the case that the most profound economic thinkers, e.g. Ricardo, *presuppose* the absolute dominance of free competition as essential for studying and formulating the adequate laws of capital, which simultaneously appear as the vital tendencies dominating it.

On the other hand, free competition is the adequate form of the productive process of capital. The further free competition is developed, the purer do the forms of the movement of capital emerge. What Ricardo, e.g., has thereby admitted, *malgré lui*, is the *historical nature* of capital, and the restricted character of free competition, which is merely the free movement of capitals, i.e. their movement within conditions which are not part of any dissolved earlier stages, but are capital's own conditions. The dominance of capital is the presupposition for free competition, just as the Roman imperial despotism was the presupposition for the free Roman "private law".

As long as capital is weak, it itself still looks for the crutches of past modes of production, or of modes of production which pass away with its rise. As soon as it feels strong enough, it throws the crutches away and moves according to its own laws. As soon as it begins to feel that it itself is, and is known to be, a barrier to development, it takes refuge in forms which, while apparently completing the dominance of capital by curbing free competition, simultaneously proclaim the dissolution of capital and of the mode of production based upon it. What is inherent in the nature of capital *is* actually externalised, as an outward necessity, only by competition, which is merely the forcing by the many capitals of the immanent determinations of capital upon one another and upon themselves. Hence not a single category of the bourgeois economy, not even the most basic one, e.g. the determination of value, really comes into its own [other than] through free competition, i.e. through the actual process of capital, which appears as the reciprocal effect of all capitals and all other relations of production and commerce determined by capital upon one another.

Hence, on the other hand, the absurdity of regarding free competition as the ultimate development of human freedom, and the negation of free competition as equivalent to the negation of individual freedom and of social production based upon individual freedom. It is merely the kind of free development possible on the limited basis of the domination of capital. This type of individual freedom is therefore, at the same time, the most sweeping abolition of all individual freedom and the complete subjugation of individuality to social conditions which assume the form of objective powers, indeed of overpowering objects—objects independent of the individuals relating to one another.

To bring out the essence of free competition is the only rational answer to its glorification by the prophets of the MIDDLE CLASS and to its anathematising by the socialists. If it is argued that within free competition individuals, in pursuing their purely private interest, realise the common or RATHER the *general* interest, this means merely that they press upon each other under the conditions of capitalist production and hence their mutual repulsion itself only reproduces the conditions under which this interaction takes place. Incidentally, once the illusory view of competition as the alleged absolute form of free individuality begins to vanish, this is proof that the conditions of competition, i.e. of production based upon capital, are already felt to be and thought of as *barriers*, and therefore already *are* barriers, and to a constantly increasing degree. The assertion that free competition is equivalent to the ultimate form of development of the productive forces, and hence of human freedom, boils down to the assertion that the rule of the MIDDLE CLASS is the terminal point of world history—certainly an agreeable thought for the parvenus of the day before yesterday.//

[VI-31] Before continuing our survey of views on fixed and circulating capital, let us for a moment return to something discussed earlier.

For the time being we assume that production time coincides with labour time. The CASE in which there are, within the production phase itself, interruptions conditioned by the technological process will be considered later.

Suppose that the production phase of a capital is 60 working days, 40 of which are necessary labour time. Then, under the law developed earlier, surplus value, or the new value posited by capital, i.e. the alien labour time appropriated, = 60 − 40; = 20. Let this surplus value (=20) be represented by *S*, and the production

phase—or the labour time used during the production phase—by $p$. In a given period of time, (which we shall call $Z$)—e.g., 360 days—the total value produced can never be greater than the [sum of value produced within the] number of production phases contained in 360. The highest possible coefficient of $S$—i.e. the maximum of surplus value that capital can produce under the given assumptions—is equal to the number of repetitions of the production of $S$ in 360 days. The maximum number of times this process—the reproduction of capital, or rather, now, the reproduction of its production process—can be repeated is determined by the ratio of the production period to the overall time period within which the former is to be repeated. If the given time=360 days, and the duration of the production phase=60 days, then $\frac{360}{60}$ or $\frac{Z}{p}$, i.e. 6, is the coefficient which shows how many times $p$ is contained in $Z$, or how many times, given its own immanent limits, the process of reproduction of capital can be repeated in 360 days.

Self-evidently, the maximum quantity of $S$ that can be produced, i.e. of surplus value that can be posited, is determined by the number of processes in which $S$ can be produced in a given time period. $\frac{Z}{p}$ expresses this relation. The quotient of $\frac{Z}{p}$ or $q$ is the largest possible coefficient of $S$ in the time period of 360 days, in general in $Z$. $\frac{SZ}{p}$ or $Sq$ is the maximum [surplus] value [that can be produced in $Z$]. If $\frac{Z}{p}=q$, $Z=pq$, i.e. the entire duration of $Z$ would be production time: the production phase $p$ is repeated as many times as it is contained in $Z$. The total [surplus] value produced by capital in a given period of time would then be=to the surplus labour appropriated by it in one production phase × by the number of times this production phase is contained in the given time.

Hence, in the above example, $= 20 \cdot {}^{360}/_{60} = 20 \times 6 = 120$ days. The magnitude $q$, i.e. $\frac{Z}{p}$, would express the number of *turnovers* of capital; but since $Z=pq$, $p=\frac{Z}{q}$, i.e. the duration of one production phase would be equal to the total time divided by the number of turnovers. One production phase of capital would therefore equal one turnover. Turnover time and production time would then be completely identical; hence the number of turnovers would be

determined exclusively by the ratio of one production phase to total time.

However, in this case, circulation time has been assumed as=0. Actually, it has a certain length, which can never become=0. Now assume that for every 60 days' production time or 60 production days, 30 circulation days are required. This circulation time, required for $p$, can be designated as $c$. In this case, one turnover of capital, i.e. the total time it requires before it is in a position to repeat the valorisation process, the positing of surplus value, is equal to 30+60,=90 days $(=p+c)$ $(1U$ (turnover)$=p+c)$.

In a period of 360 days, a turnover taking 90 days can be repeated only $\frac{360}{90}$, i.e. 4 times. The surplus value of 20 could then be posited only 4 times; 20×4=80. In 60 days, the capital produces 20 surplus days; yet it must circulate for 30 days, i.e. it cannot posit any surplus labour, any surplus value, during these 30 days. For the capital this is the same (so far as the result is concerned) as if in 90 days it had only posited a surplus value of 20 days. Formerly, the number of turnovers was determined by $\frac{Z}{p}$; now it is determined by $\frac{Z}{p+c}$, or $\frac{Z}{U}$. Formerly, the maximum [surplus] value was $\frac{SZ}{p}$; the surplus value actually produced now is $\frac{SZ}{p+c}$; $(20\cdot\frac{360}{60+30}=20\cdot\frac{360}{90}=20\times4=80)$. The number of turnovers is, therefore, equal to the total time divided by the sum of the production time and the circulation time; and the total [surplus] value is $S$ multiplied by the number of turnovers. But this formula is not enough yet to express the relations of surplus value, production time and circulation time.

The maximum of [surplus] value creation is expressed by the formula $\frac{SZ}{p}$, the maximum limited by circulation time is given by $\frac{SZ}{p+c}$ (or $\frac{SZ}{U}$). Subtracting the second quantity from the first, we get:

$$\frac{SZ}{p}-\frac{SZ}{p+c}=\frac{SZ(p+c)-SZp}{p(p+c)}=\frac{SZp+SZc-SZp}{p(p+c)}=\frac{SZc}{p(p+c)},$$

The difference is therefore $\frac{SZc}{p(p+c)}$, or $\frac{SZ}{p}\times\frac{c}{p+c}$. The magnitude $\frac{SZ}{p+c}$, or $S'$, as we may represent [surplus] value in the second determination, is expressed by the formula

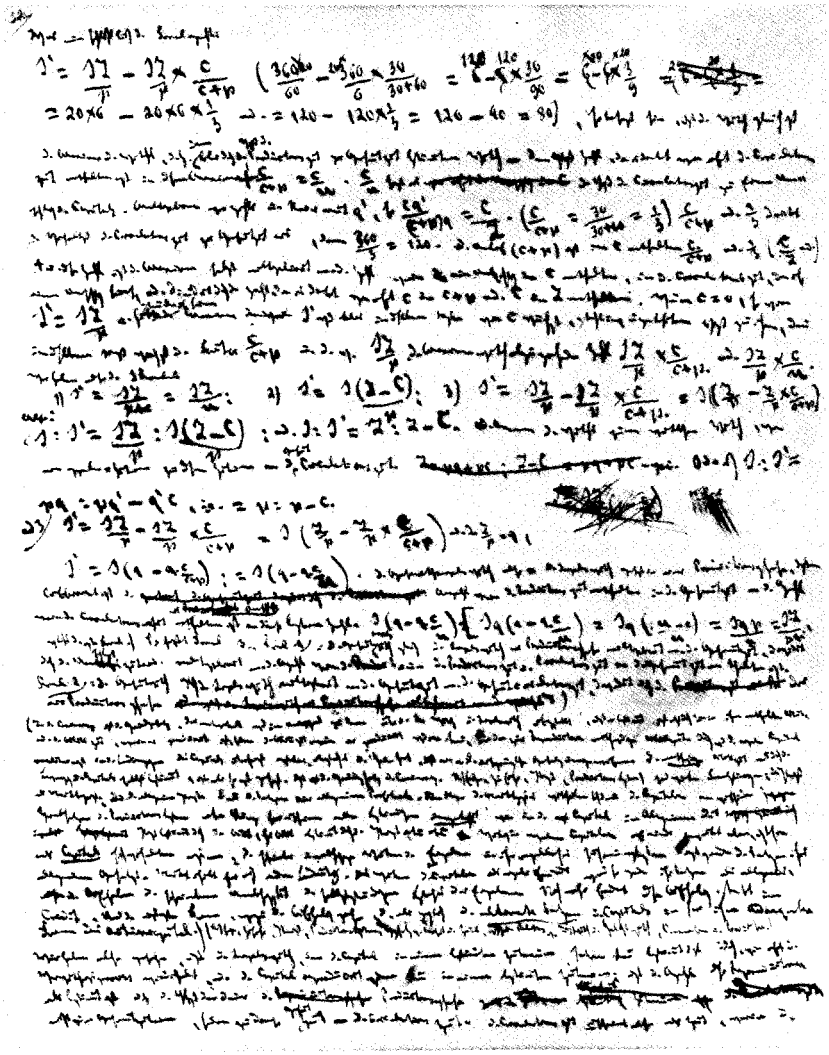

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$S' = \frac{SZ}{p} - \left(\frac{SZ}{p} \times \frac{c}{p+c}\right)$. Before we continue the analysis of this formula, others have to be brought in.

If the quotient of $\frac{Z}{p+c}$ is designated as $q'$, then $q'$ expresses the number of times $U=(p+c)$ is contained in $Z$, the number of turnovers. $\frac{Z}{p+c} = q'$; hence $Z=pq'+cq'$. In this equation, $pq'$ expresses the total production time and $cq'$ the total circulation time.

Designate the total circulation time as $C$ (so $cq'=C$). ($Z$ (360)=4×60 (240)+4×30 (120). From what has been presupposed, $q'=4$. $C=cq'=4c$; 4 being the number of turnovers. As we saw earlier, the maximum of [surplus] value creation $= \frac{SZ}{p}$, but in that case $Z$ was assumed to be equal to the production time. Yet now the actual production time is $Z-cq'$, as also follows from the equation. $Z=pq'$ (total production time)$+cq'$ (total circulation time, or $C$). Consequently, $Z-C=pq'$. As a result, $S \cdot \frac{Z-C}{p}$ is the maximum of [surplus] value creation. For the production time is not 360 days but 360 days $-$ $cq'$, i.e. $-$ 4×30, or $-$ 120; hence [the total surplus value produced is]

$$20 \cdot \left(\frac{360-120}{60}\right) = \frac{20 \times 240}{60} = 80.$$

[VI-32] Finally, as regards the formula

$$S' = \frac{SZ}{p} - \left(\frac{SZ}{p} \times \frac{c}{c+p}\right) = \frac{360 \times 20}{60} - \left(\frac{20 \times 360}{60} \times \frac{30}{30+60}\right) =$$

$$= 120 - (120 \times \frac{30}{90}) = 6 \times 20 - (6 \times 20 \times \frac{3}{9} = 20 \times 6 - (20 \times 6 \times \frac{1}{3}) \text{ or}$$

$$= 120 - (120 \times \frac{1}{3}) = 120 - 40 = 80,$$

it means that [surplus] value is equal to the maximum [surplus] value, i.e. to the [surplus] value determined purely by the relation of production time to total time, minus the number which expresses how many times the circulation time is contained in this maximum, and this number is the maximum itself multiplied by the number of times one turnover is contained in $c$, in the circulation time per turnover, or divided by the number which expresses how many times $c$ is contained in $c+p$ or $C$ in $Z$.

If $c$ were $=0$, $S'$ would be $=\frac{SZ}{p}$, and would thus be at its maximum. $S'$ grows smaller in the same measure as $c$ increases, and hence is inversely related to it, for the factor $\frac{c}{c+p}$ and the number $\frac{SZ}{p}\times\frac{c}{c+p}$, or $\frac{SZ}{p}\times\frac{c}{U}$, which is to be subtracted from $\frac{SZ}{p}$, the maximum [surplus] value, increase in the same measure. $\frac{c}{c+p}=\frac{c}{U}\cdot\frac{c}{U}$ expresses the relation of circulation time to one turnover of capital. If we multiply the numerator and the denominator by $q'$, we get: $\frac{cq'}{(c+p)q'}=\frac{C}{Z}$ . $\left(\frac{c}{c+p}=\frac{30}{30+60}=\frac{1}{3}\right)$; $\frac{c}{c+p}$, or $\frac{1}{3}$, expresses the relation of circulation time to total time, since $\frac{360}{3}=120$. The turnover $(c+p)$ is contained in $c$ $\frac{c}{c+p}$ or $^1/_3$ (or $\frac{C}{Z}$) [times].

We therefore have three formulas:

$$(1)\qquad S'=\frac{SZ}{p+c}=\frac{SZ}{U}$$

$$(2)\qquad S'=\frac{S(Z-C)}{p}$$

$$(3)\qquad S'=\frac{SZ}{p}-\left(\frac{SZ}{p}\times\frac{c}{c+p}=S\left\{\frac{Z}{p}-\left(\frac{Z}{p}\times\frac{c}{c+p}\right)\right\}\right.$$

Hence $Sq:S'=\frac{SZ}{p}:\frac{S(Z-C)}{p}$; or $Sq:S'=Z:(Z-C)$. The maximum [surplus] value relates to the actual [surplus] value as a given period of time relates to this period minus total circulation time. Or also $Sq:S'=(pq'+cq'):(pq'+cq'-cq')=(p+c):p$.

Concerning (3):

$$S'=\frac{SZ}{p}-\left(\frac{SZ}{p}\times\frac{c}{c+p}\right)=S\left\{\frac{Z}{p}-\left(\frac{Z}{p}\times\frac{c}{c+p}\right)\right\}\text{ or, since }\frac{Z}{p}=q,$$

$$S'=S(q-q\cdot\frac{c}{c+p}=S(q-q\frac{c}{U}).$$

The total surplus value is therefore equal to the surplus value posited in one production phase, the coefficient of the latter value

being the number of times the production time is contained in the total time minus the number of times the circulation time of one turnover is contained in this latter number.

$$S(q-q\frac{c}{U})=Sq\,(1-\frac{1c}{U})=Sq(\frac{U-c}{U}=\frac{Sqp}{U}=\frac{SZ}{p+c},$$

which is the first formula. Hence formula (3) means ... formula (1): The total surplus value is equal to the surplus value produced in one production phase multiplied by the total time, divided by the turnover time, or multiplied by the number of times the sum of production time and circulation time is contained in the total time.

*Formula (2)*: The total [surplus] value is equal to the surplus value multiplied by the total time minus the total circulation time, divided by the duration of one production phase.

(The basic law developed under competition, as distinct from that established with respect to value and surplus value, is that value is determined, not by the labour contained in it, or by the labour time in which it is produced, but by the labour time in which it can be produced, or by the labour time necessary for reproduction. Only in this way is the individual capital in reality placed under the conditions of capital in general, although the original law seems to have been overthrown. But it is only thus that *necessary* labour time is posited as determined by the movement of capital itself. This is the basic law of competition. Demand, supply, price (production costs) are further determinations of form; price as market price; or general price. Then the positing of a general rate of profit. On the basis of the market price, capitals are then allocated to different branches. Lowering of production costs, etc. In short, here all determinations appear in *inverse order* as compared with their appearance in capital in general. There price is determined by labour; here labour is determined by price, etc., etc.

The action of the individual capitals upon one another has the effect, precisely, of forcing them to behave as *capital*; the apparently independent operation of the individual capitals, and their chaotic collisions, are precisely the positing of their general law. The market acquires yet another meaning here. The action of capitals as individual ones upon each other thus becomes precisely their positing as general ones, and the abolition of the apparent independence and autonomous existence of individual capitals.

This abolition takes place to an even greater extent in credit. And the extreme form to which this abolition proceeds, but which is, at the same time, the *ultimate positing* of capital in its adequate form, is joint-stock capital.)

(Demand, supply, price, production costs, the opposition of profit and interest, the different relations between exchange value and use value, consumption and production.)

So we have seen that the surplus value that capital can posit in a definite period of time is determined by the number of times the valorisation process can be repeated, or the capital can be reproduced, within that period, but that the number of these reproductions is determined by the relation of the duration of the production phase, not to the total time period, but to this total time minus circulation time. Circulation time therefore appears as time during which the [VI-33] ability of capital to reproduce itself, and therefore to reproduce surplus value, is suspended. Hence its productivity—i.e. its production of surplus values—is inversely related to circulation time, and would attain its maximum level if the latter dropped to zero.

Since circulation is the passage of capital through the different, conceptually determined moments of its necessary metamorphosis, of its life process, it is an indispensable condition for capital, one posited by capital's own nature. In so far as this passage takes time, capital cannot *increase* its value during this time, for it is *not*-production time, it is time in which capital does *not* appropriate living labour. Hence, circulation time can never increase the value produced by capital, but can only posit time *which posits no value*, i.e. can only appear as a limit to the increase of value, its limiting effect being measurable by the ratio it bears to labour time. Circulation time cannot be reckoned as value-producing time, the latter only being labour time which objectifies itself in value. It is not part of the production costs of value; nor is it part of the production costs of capital; but it is a condition which impedes capital's self-reproduction.

Obviously, the obstacles to the valorisation of capital—i.e. to its appropriation of living labour—do not constitute a moment of its valorisation, of its positing of value. Therefore, it is ludicrous to take the term *production costs* in the original sense here. Or we must set the production costs apart as a particular form from the labour time which objectifies itself in value (as we must set profit apart from surplus value). But even then, circulation time does not

form part of the production costs of capital in the same sense as wages, etc., do. It is an ITEM which comes into the reckoning in the settling of accounts between individual capitals, because they share out the surplus value among themselves in certain general proportions.

Circulation time is not time in which capital produces value, but time in which it realises the value produced in the production process. Circulation time does not increase the quantity of value, but posits it in other appropriate determinations of form, converting it from the determination of product into that of commodity, from that of commodity into that of money, etc. The fact that the price, which previously had a notional existence in the commodity, is now really posited, and that the commodity is now actually exchanged for its price, money, does not increase this price, of course.

Circulation time, therefore, does not appear as time which determines value; and the number of turnovers, as far as it is determined by circulation time, does not appear as indicating that capital introduces a new value-determining element, one which belongs to it, *sui generis*, as distinct from labour. On the contrary, it appears as a limiting, negative principle. Hence the necessary tendency of capital is *circulation without circulation time*, and this tendency is the basic attribute of credit and the credit CONTRIVANCES of capital. On the other hand, credit is, therefore, also a form in which capital seeks to posit itself as distinct from the individual capitals, or in which the individual capital seeks to posit itself as capital as distinct from its quantitative limit. However, the most that it can achieve in this LINE is, on the one hand, *FICTITIOUS capital*. On the other hand, credit merely appears as a new element of *concentration*, of the swallowing-up of capitals by individual centralising capitals.

From one aspect, circulation time is objectified in *money*. The attempt of credit to posit money as a merely formal moment, so that money mediates the change of form without itself being *capital*, i.e. value. This is a form of *circulation without circulation time*. Money is itself a product of circulation. We shall see later how capital creates new products of circulation in credit.

But if, on the one hand, capital strives for *circulation without circulation time*, it seeks, on the other, to attribute the value of *production time* to *circulation time* as such, to attribute *value* to it in the various organs by which the process of circulation time and circulation is mediated; to posit all of them as money, and in a further determination as capital. This is another aspect of credit.

All this springs from the same source. All the requirements of circulation, money, conversion of commodity into money, conversion of money into commodity, etc., may be traced back to *circulation time*, although they adopt various, apparently quite heterogeneous, forms. The machinery designed to reduce circulation time is itself part of it.

*Circulation time* is that time of capital which may be regarded as the time of its specific movement as capital, as distinct from production time, during which it reproduces itself, exists not as already produced capital which has merely formal transformations to undergo, but as capital-in-process, creative capital, sucking its life-blood from labour.

The opposition of labour time and circulation time comprises the entire doctrine of credit, as this involves, i.a., the problem of CURRENCY, etc. Of course, apart from circulation time being a deduction from the possible production time, real costs of circulation come into evidence later, i.e. it emerges that values which have already been posited in reality, must be expended in circulation. But IN FACT capital only burdens itself with all these costs—deductions from the surplus value already produced—in order to increase the sum of surplus values that can be produced, e.g., in a year, that is, to increase the aliquot part of production time contained in a definite time period—i.e. to reduce circulation time.

True, it also emerges that in practice circulation time does not really interrupt production time (except in crises and DEPRESSIONS OF TRADE). But this is merely because each capital is divided up into portions, with one part in the production phase and the other in the circulation phase. Not the whole of a given capital is active, but, e.g. (depending on the ratio of circulation time to production time), $^1/_3$, $^1/_x$ of it, while the other part is involved in circulation. Or it may be that a given capital is doubled (e.g., by means of credit). For this capital—[for] the original capital—it is then the same as if circulation time did not exist at all. But then the capital it has borrowed is in that PLIGHT. And if we abstract from the question of OWNERSHIP, it is again quite the same as if one capital had been divided into two. Instead of *a* being divided into two and *b* being divided into two, *a* draws *b* to itself and then divides up into *a* and *b*. Illusions concerning this process are widespread among the credit cranks (who are seldom creditors, but RATHER debtors).

We have already indicated[a] that the dual and contradictory

[a] See the beginning of the previous paragraph.—*Ed.*

condition of capital, continuity of production and the necessity for circulation time, or, also, continuity of circulation (not circulation time) and the necessity for production time, can only be fulfilled by dividing capital into portions, one of which *circulates as finished product*, and the other *reproduces itself in the production process*, and these portions alternate; when the one returns to phase *P* (production process), the other leaves it.

This process takes place day after day, and also within longer intervals (time dimensions). The whole capital and the total value have been reproduced as soon as both portions have gone through the production process and the circulation process, or also as soon as the second portion re-enters into circulation. Thus the point of departure is also the end point. Hence the turnover depends on the size of the capital, or RATHER, here, still on the *total sum* of these two portions. Only when it has been reproduced, has the *whole turnover* been completed; otherwise, only $^1/_2$, $^1/_3$, $^1/_x$ of it, depending upon the proportion of the constantly circulating part.

[VI-34] It was further emphasised that each part could be regarded in opposition to the other as fixed or circulating and that they did in fact alternately adopt these roles in relation to each other. The simultaneity of the different phases of the process of capital is only made possible by the fact that capital is divided and rejects portions, each of which is capital, but capital in a different determination.

This change of form and substance is similar to that in an organic body. If, e.g., it is said that the body reproduces itself within 24 hours, it does not do so all at once; rejection in one form and renewal [in] another are spread out in time and take place simultaneously. Incidentally, in the body the bone-structure is fixed capital; it is not renewed in the same time as flesh and blood. Consumption (self-consumption), and hence reproduction, proceed with different degrees of rapidity. (Here we, therefore, already have the *transition to* many capitals.) The important thing here above all is to keep in mind, as yet, only capital as such; for the determinations developed here are determinations which make value in general into capital, constitute the *differentia specifica* of capital as such.

Before going any further, we shall once again draw attention to the important point that circulation time—i.e. the time during which capital is separated from the process in which it absorbs labour into itself, i.e. the labour time of capital as capital—merely transposes *presupposed* value from one determination of form into the other, but it is not an element which *creates* or increases *value*.

By converting a value of 4 days' labour which existed in the form of twist, into a value of 4 days' labour which exists as money, or a symbol recognised as the representative of 4 days' labour in general, 4 general working days, the *presupposed* and *measured* value is translated from one form into the other, but it is not increased. The exchange of equivalents leaves them, *qua* quantities of value, the same *after* the exchange as they were *before* it. If we assume a single capital, or treat the various capitals of a country as one capital (national capital) as distinct from that of other countries, it is clear that the time during which this capital is not active as productive capital, i.e. posits no surplus value, is a deduction from the valorisation time at its disposal.

Such time appears—conceived in this abstract form, still wholly disregarding the costs of circulation itself—as a negation, not of the valorisation time actually posited, but of the *possible* valorisation time, i.e. possible if circulation time were zero. Plainly, the national capital cannot regard the time during which it does not multiply itself as time during which it does. Nor can, e.g., an isolated peasant regard the time in which he cannot harvest or sow, in which in general his labour is interrupted, as time which enriches him. That capital, used as it is, and necessarily so, to considering itself as productive and yielding fruit independently of labour, of its absorption of labour, assumes itself to be fruitful at all times, and reckons its circulation time as time producing value—as production cost—is QUITE ANOTHER THING.

One therefore sees the error when Ramsay, e.g., says

"THAT THE USE OF FIXED CAPITAL MODIFIES TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT THE PRINCIPLE THAT VALUE DEPENDS ON QUANTITY OF LABOUR. FOR SOME COMMODITIES ON WHICH THE SAME QUANTITY OF LABOUR HAS BEEN EXPENDED, REQUIRE VERY DIFFERENT PERIODS BEFORE THEY ARE FIT FOR CONSUMPTION. BUT AS DURING THIS TIME THE CAPITAL BRINGS NO RETURN, *IN ORDER THAT THE EMPLOYMENT IN QUESTION SHOULD NOT BE LESS LUCRATIVE THAN OTHERS IN WHICH THE PRODUCE IS SOONER READY FOR USE,* IT IS NECESSARY THAT THE COMMODITY, WHEN AT LAST BROUGHT TO MARKET, SHOULD BE INCREASED IN VALUE *BY ALL THE AMOUNT OF PROFIT WITHHELD.*"

(It is already presupposed here that capital as such always yields a uniform profit, as a healthy tree yields fruit.)

"*THIS SHEWS HOW CAPITAL MAY REGULATE VALUE INDEPENDENTLY OF LABOUR.*" E.g., wine in the cellar. (Ramsay, [*An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth,* p. 43,] IX, 84.)[11]

This is as if circulation time—alongside labour time, or on the same scale as it—produced *value.* Capital, of course, includes both moments. (1) *Labour time* as the moment which produces value.

(2) *Circulation time* as the moment which limits labour time and hence the total production of value by capital; a moment necessary because value, or capital, in the form in which it immediately results from the production process, is certainly value, but value which has yet to be posited in its adequate form. The time required for this change of form—i.e. the time which elapses between production and reproduction—is time which depreciates capital. While, on the one hand, the determination of capital as circulating, as capital-in-process, implies *continuity*, it equally implies the *interruption* of continuity.

The economists correctly define circulation, the revolution that capital must go through to kindle itself for new production, as *une série d'échanges*. But by doing so, they admit that this circulation time does not increase the quantity of value, and hence cannot be time positing new value. For a *série d'échanges*, whatever the number of *échanges* it comprises, and whatever the amount of time required to perform these operations, is merely an exchange of equivalents. The positing of values—the extremes mediated—as equal, obviously cannot posit them as unequal. In quantitative terms, they can neither have been increased nor decreased by the exchange.

The surplus value produced during one production phase is determined by the surplus labour set in motion by capital during that phase (the surplus labour appropriated). The sum of surplus values that capital can produce in a certain period of time is determined by the repetition of the production phase during this period; or by the *turnover* of capital. The turnover, however, is equal to the duration of the production phase + the duration of circulation, i.e. equal to the sum of circulation time and production time. The turnover approaches production time the more closely the shorter circulation time is, i.e. the time which elapses between capital *sortant de la production et rentrant dans elle*.[a]

Surplus value is IN FACT determined by the labour time objectified during one production phase. The more often capital is reproduced, the more often the production of surplus value takes place. The number of reproductions=the number of *turnovers*. Hence total surplus value $[S']=S\times nU$ ($n$ is the number of turnovers). $S'=S\times nU$; therefore $S=\frac{S'}{nU}$. If the production time required by a capital of £100 in a certain branch of industry equals 3 months, the capital could turn over 4 times a year; and if the $S$ value

[a] Leaving production and its re-entry into it.—*Ed.*

produced each time=5, the total surplus value would=5 (the $S$ produced in one production phase)×4 (the number of turnovers determined by the relation of production time to the year)=20. But since circulation time is, e.g., $^1/_4$ of production time, 1 turnover would=3+1 months, i.e. 4 months, and the capital of 100 could turn over only 3 times a year [; $S'$]=15. Therefore, although the capital posits an $S$ value of £5 in 3 months, [it] is the same for it as if it only posited a [surplus] value of 5 in 4 months, since it can only posit one of 5×3 in a year. It is the same for it as if it produced an $S$ of 5 per 4 months; i.e. as if in 3 months it produced only $^{15}/_4$ or $3^3/_4$, and in the one month of circulation $1^1/_4$.

To the extent that the turnover is distinct from the duration posited by the conditions of production itself, it=circulation time. The latter, however, is not determined by labour time. Hence the sum of surplus values posited by capital in a given period of time appears to be determined, not simply by labour time, but by labour time and circulation time, [VI-35] in the proportions given above. But the determination which capital introduces here into the positing of value is, as shown above, a *negative, limiting* one.

If, e.g., a capital of £100 requires 3 months, say 90 days, for production, it could, if circulation time=0, turn over 4 times a year, and *all of it* would be continuously active as capital, i.e. as positing surplus labour, as value multiplying itself. If 80 of the 90 days represented necessary labour, 10 would represent surplus labour. Assume now that circulation time was $33^1/_3$% of production time or $^1/_3$ of it; i.e., 1 month to 3. Circulation time would then equal $^{90}/_3$; one-third of production time, or 30 days; $c = {}^1/_3\ p$. ($c = \frac{p}{3}$.)

Well. The question is: how large a proportion of this capital can now be continuously engaged in production? during the whole year? If the capital of 100 had worked for 90 days, and circulated as a product of 105 for a month, then during this month it could not employ any labour at all.

(Of course, the 90 working days can be 3, 4, 5, $x$×90, depending upon the number of workers employed during those 90 days. They would only=90 days if only 1 worker were employed. But for the time being, we are not concerned with this.)

(In all these calculations, it is assumed that surplus value is not re-capitalised, but that the capital continues to work with the same number of workers. Yet it is only with the realisation of the surplus [value] that the entire capital as well is again realised as money.)

I.e., for one month, the capital could not be employed at all. (The capital of 100 constantly employs, e.g., 5 workers; contained in it is their surplus labour, and the product which is circulated is never the original capital but that which has absorbed the surplus labour and hence has a surplus value. Strictly speaking, therefore, the circulation of a capital of 100 is to be understood as the circulation of a capital of, e.g., 105, i.e. of the capital together with the profit posited in 1 act of production. But at this point, that *erreur*[a] is of no consequence, notably in dealing with the above question.)

Suppose that twist worth £100 has been produced at the end of 3 months, and 1 month passes before I receive the money and can recommence production. Now to set the same number of workers to work during the 1 month when the capital circulates, I must have a surplus capital of £33 $^1/_3$, for if £100 sets a certain amount of labour in motion for 3 months, $^1/_3$ of £100 would set it in motion for one month.

At the end of the 4th month, the capital of 100 would RETURN into the production phase, and that of 33 $^1/_3$ would enter into the circulation phase. Given the same relation, the latter would take $^1/_3$ of a month for circulation, and hence would come back into production after 10 days.

The first capital could only re-enter circulation at the end of the 7th month. The 2nd capital, which entered into circulation at the beginning of the 5th month, would return, say, on the 10th day of the 5th month, re-enter circulation on the 10th of the 6th month and return on the 20th of the 6th month. It would then re-enter circulation on the 20th of the 7th month, and return at the end of the 7th month. So the first capital would be resuming its course at precisely the moment when the 2nd would be returning. Beginning of the 8th month and return at etc. Beginning of the 9th etc.

In a word: if the capital were $^1/_3$ larger—precisely the amount made up by circulation time—it could give continuous employment to the same number of workers. But it can also continuously maintain itself in the production phase by constantly employing $^1/_3$ less labour. Suppose the capitalist began with only 75 of his capital; at the end of the 3rd month production would be completed, and one month would be needed for circulation. During this month, however, he could still carry on production, since he has kept a capital of 25 on hand; and if he needs 75 to

[a] Inaccuracy.—*Ed.*

set a certain amount of labour in motion for 3 months, he needs 25 to set a corresponding amount in motion for 1 month. He would continuously have the same number of men working. Each of his commodities takes $^1/_{12}$ of a year to sell.

If the sale of his commodities always takes [a time equal to] $^1/_3$ of production time, so etc. It should be possible to solve this problem by means of a very simple equation, to which we shall come back later. Properly speaking, it does not belong here. But it is important because of the problems of credit later.

Meanwhile thus much is clear. Call production time *pt*, circulation time *ct*, and capital *C*. *C* cannot be simultaneously in its production phase and in its circulation phase. If it is to continue to produce while it circulates, it must divide itself up into 2 parts, of which one is engaged in the production phase and the other in the circulation phase, the continuity of the process being maintained thus: when part *a* is posited in the former determinateness, part *b* is posited in the latter. Let the portion always engaged in production be *x*. Then $x=C-b$ (where *b* is the part of capital engaged in circulation). $C=b+x$. If *ct*, circulation time, were zero, *b* would also be zero; and *x* would be equal to *C*. *b* (the part of capital engaged in circulation):*C* (total capital)=*ct* (circulation time):*pt* (production time). $b:C=ct:pt$; i.e. the ratio of the part of capital in circulation to total capital is given by that of circulation time to production time.

If a capital of 100 turns over at a gain of 5% every 4 months, with one month's circulation time per 3 months' production time, total surplus value will, as we have seen,[a] $=\frac{5\cdot 12}{4}M$ (month) $=5\times 3=15$; instead of 20, if $c=0$, for in that case, $S'=\frac{5\times 12}{3}=20$. But now 15 is the gain yielded at 5% by a capital of 75 whose circulation time $=0$; which turns over 4 times a year; which is always employed. At the end of the 1st quarter, $3\,^3/_4$; at the end of the year, 15. (But it would only turn over a total capital of 300, as against 400 if, in the former case, $ct=0$.)

Consequently, a capital of 100, with circulation time of 1 month per 3 *M* production time, can continuously EMPLOY productively a capital of 75; a capital of 25 is always in circulation and unproductive. $75:25=3M:1M$; or, if we call the part of capital employed in production *p*, that in circulation *c*, and the corresponding time periods *p'* and *c'*, then $p:c=p':c'$. ($p:c=1:^1/_3$.)

[a] See this volume, pp. 40-47, but there time is reckoned in days, not months.— *Ed.*

The ratio of the part of $C$ engaged in production to that in circulation is always $1:{}^1/_3$; this ${}^1/_3$ is continuously represented by varying component parts. But $p:C=75:100={}^3/_4$; $c={}^1/_4$; $p:C=1:{}^4/_3$ and $c:C=1:4$. The total turnover$=4M$; $p:U=3M:4M=1:{}^4/_3$.

[VI-36] In the circulation of capital, there is a simultaneous change of form and material.[a] We must begin here not with money, but with the production process as the presupposition. In production, so far as the material aspect is concerned, the instrument is expended and the raw material is worked up. The result is the product—a newly created use value, which is different from its elemental presuppositions. As regards the material aspect, first a product is created in the production process. This is the first, and an essential material change. On the market, in the exchange with money, the product is ejected from the circulation of capital and falls within the sphere of consumption, becomes an object of consumption, whether for the final satisfaction of an individual need or as the raw material of another capital.

In the exchange of the commodity for money, the material change and the change of form coincide, for in money precisely the content itself belongs to the economic determination of form. And the reconversion of capital into the material conditions of production implies here the reconversion of money into commodity. A definite use value is reproduced, just as is value as such. But just as the material element from the outset, at its entry into circulation, was posited here as a product, so at the end of circulation the commodity is again posited as condition of production. To the extent that money figures here as means of circulation, it is, on the one hand, in fact, merely the mediator between production and consumption, in the *échange,* where capital rejects value from itself in the form of the product; and, on the other hand, the mediator between production and production, where capital rejects itself in the form of money and draws the commodity into its circulation in the form of condition of production.

From the material aspect of capital, money appears merely as

[a] Here the following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: "Firstly, capital exists as money, which at this stage we still can conceive of in the form of undeveloped metallic money. Here form and content are abstractly identical; the material of value and its form are the same; taken in the abstract, since capital as."—*Ed.*

means of circulation; from the formal aspect, it appears as the nominal measure of its valorisation and, during a particular phase, as value-for-itself. Hence capital is $C—M—M—C$ to just the same extent as it is $M—C—C—M$, and in such a way that both forms of simple circulation are, at the same time, determined further here: $M—M_1$ is money that produces money, and $C—C_1$ is a commodity whose use value is both reproduced and increased. With respect to money circulation, which at this point appears both as entering into the circulation of capital and as determined by it, we will only observe *en passant*[a]—since *au fond*[b] the issue can only be dealt with after we have considered the many capitals in their action and reaction upon one another—that obviously money is posited here in different determinations.

Up to this point, we have assumed that production time and labour time coincide. However, in, e.g., agriculture, interruptions in labour occur within production itself, prior to the completion of the product. The same labour time may be employed and yet the duration of the production phase may differ, because labour is interrupted. If the only difference is that in one case longer labour is required to finish the product than in the other, NO CASE AT ALL IS CONSTITUTED. For then it is clear that, in conformity with the general law, the product which contains a greater quantity of labour is of correspondingly greater value, and if reproduction in a given period of time is less frequent, the value reproduced is so much the greater. $2\times100$ is precisely as much as $4\times50$. This is as valid for surplus value as for total value.

The unequal duration [of the production process] for different products, although exactly the same quantity of labour time (i.e. accumulated and living labour together) is employed upon them, is the QUESTION. Ostensibly, fixed capital operates here entirely by itself, without the intervention of human labour, like, e.g., the seed committed to the earth's womb. If additional labour is needed, this is to be subtracted. The question is to be posed in its pure form.

If circulation time is the same here, the turnover is less frequent because the production phase lasts longer. Therefore, production time+circulation time$=1U$ is greater than when production time coincides with labour time. The time required here to bring the

[a] In passing.—*Ed.*
[b] Basically.—*Ed.*

product to maturity, the interruptions of labour involved, constitute conditions of production here. Non-labour time is a condition for labour time, necessary to actually posit the latter as production time. Obviously, the question must be discussed later, in connection with the equalisation of the rate of profit. Yet we must clear the ground here.

The slower RETURN—this is the essential point—is due here, not to circulation time, but to the very conditions under which labour becomes productive; it is part of the technological conditions of the production process. What must be absolutely denied, since it is perfectly absurd, is the idea that a natural circumstance which prevents capital in a certain branch of production from exchanging itself in the same time with the same quantity of labour time, as another capital does in another branch of production, can in any way contribute to *increasing* its value. Value, and hence surplus value too, is not equal to the time the production phase lasts, but to the labour time employed during this production phase, both objectified labour time and living. The latter alone can produce surplus value—and does so in the proportion which it bears to the objectified labour time employed—because it alone yields surplus labour time. //It is clear that other determinations also come into play in the equalisation of the rate of profit. But here we are dealing with the creation of surplus value, not with its distribution.//

Hence, it has been correctly asserted that from this viewpoint, e.g. agriculture is less productive (productivity refers here to the production of values) than other industries. Just as in another respect—*in so far as the growth of productivity in it* directly *diminishes necessary labour time—it is more productive than all other industries.* Yet in itself this circumstance can only benefit it where *capital* and the GENERAL FORM OF PRODUCTION corresponding to it are already dominant.

This interruption within the production phase already implies that agriculture can never be the sphere with which capital begins, where it originally establishes itself. The interruption contradicts the most fundamental conditions of industrial labour. Hence it is only through its reaction that agriculture is vindicated to capital and farming becomes industrial. Requires a high degree of development of competition, on the one hand, and advanced chemistry, machinery, etc., i.e. manufacturing industry, on the other. Therefore, historically too agriculture never *appears in a pure form* in the modes of production that precede capital or correspond to the lower stages of its development. Rural sideline

industries, e.g., spinning, weaving, etc., must MAKE UP for the limitation on the employment of labour time in this sphere—a limitation resulting from these interruptions.

The non-coincidence of production time and labour time can, in general, only be due to natural conditions which here stand directly in the way of the utilisation of labour, i.e. of the appropriation of surplus labour by capital. Of course, far from constituting ADVANTAGES, these obstacles in capital's way rather involve it, *de son point de vue*[a], in losses.

Strictly speaking, the whole CASE is only to be mentioned here as an example of fixed capital, capital fixed in a particular phase. The only thing to be noted here is that capital creates no surplus value as long as it employs no living labour. The mere reproduction of the fixed capital employed posits no surplus value, of course.

(In the human body, as in capital, the reproduction of the various constituent parts does not take place in equal periods of time. Blood is renewed more quickly than muscle, muscle more quickly than bone, which in this respect may be considered as the fixed capital of the human body.)

[VI-37] As means by which circulation may be accelerated, Storch lists: (1) the formation of a class of "workers" who are solely occupied with trade; (2) improvement of the means of transport; (3) money; (4) credit. (See above.[b])

This higgledy-piggledy enumeration shows the entire confusion of the political economists. Money and the money circulation—what we called simple circulation—is the presupposition, condition of both capital itself and of the circulation of capital. Hence, money as it exists, as a relation of commerce belonging to a stage of production antecedent to capital, money as money, in its immediate form, cannot be said to accelerate the circulation of capital, but is, rather, its presupposition. When we speak of capital and its circulation, we are dealing with a stage of social development at which money is not introduced as a discovery, etc., but is a *presupposition*. To the extent that money in its immediate form itself possesses value, is not merely the value of other commodities, the symbol of their value—for if something immediate in itself is to be something else which is likewise immediate, it can only *represent* the latter thing, be, *d'une manière ou d'une autre*,[c] a symbol—to the extent that money itself possesses

[a] From its point of view.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 25.—*Ed.*
[c] In one way or another.—*Ed.*

value, is itself objectified labour in a particular use value, it retards the circulation of capital, rather than accelerates it.

If one considers both aspects in which money appears in the circulation of capital, as means of circulation and as the realised value of capital, it forms part of the circulation costs to the extent that it itself is labour time, employed, on the one hand, to reduce circulation time, and, on the other, to represent a qualitative moment of circulation—the reconversion of capital into itself as value-for-itself. In neither aspect does it increase value. On the one side, it is a form of representing value which involves expenses, costs labour time and hence constitutes a deduction from surplus value. On the other side, it can be regarded as a device that saves circulation time, and hence sets time free for production. But to the extent that money itself, as such a device, costs labour and is a product of labour, it represents *faux frais de la production*[a] in relation to capital. It figures among the circulation costs.

The original circulation cost is circulation time itself in opposition to labour time. The real circulation costs are themselves objectified labour time—machinery for reducing the original costs of circulation time. Hence money in its immediate form, as it is appropriate to a stage of production which historically precedes capital, appears to capital as a circulation cost, and capital therefore seeks to convert it into a form adequate to capital itself, and thus to turn it into a [mere] representative of one of the moments of circulation, a representative which costs no labour time and does not itself possess any value. The aim of capital is therefore to abolish money in its traditional, immediate reality, and to convert it into something which is *posited*, and likewise transcended, solely by capital, into something purely *notional*. So one cannot argue, as Storch does, that money is in general a means for accelerating the circulation of capital. On the contrary, it must be argued that capital seeks to transform money into a purely *notional* moment of its circulation, and to elevate it into the adequate form corresponding to capital. The abolition of money in its immediate form appears as a demand of money circulation which has become a moment of capital circulation; because in its immediate, presupposed form, money constitutes a *barrier* to the circulation of capital.

*Circulation without circulation time* is the tendency of capital. Hence also the positing of the instruments which only serve to

[a] Overhead costs of production.—*Ed.*

reduce circulation time, in *determinations of form* posited solely by capital, in the same way as the different moments through which capital passes in circulation are qualitative determinations of its own metamorphosis.

The formation of a special trading estate—i.e. a development of the division of labour which has transformed the very business of exchanging into a particular kind of labour—naturally implies that the sum of exchange operations must already have attained a certain level.

(If 100 people spent $^1/_{100}$ of their labour time on exchange, each man would be an exchanger to the extent of $^1/_{100}$. $^{100}/_{100}$ exchangers would represent ONE SINGLE MAN. To the 100, there could then be one merchant. The separation of trade from production proper, or the fact that exchange itself is represented to the exchangers by a special person, in general presupposes A CERTAIN DEGREE of development of exchange and intercourse. The merchant represents all buyers to the seller, and all sellers to the buyer; so he is not one of the extremes, but rather the middle term, of the exchange; hence he appears as mediator.)

The formation of a merchant estate, which presupposes the formation of money, even if not developed in all its moments, is likewise presupposed by capital and thus cannot be adduced as that which mediates its specific circulation. Since trade is, both historically and conceptually, a *presupposition* for the rise of capital, we shall have to come back to it before we conclude this chapter, since it belongs in the section on the origin of capital or the one preceding it.

The improvement of the means of transport, as far as it means the facilitation of the physical circulation of commodities, does not belong here, where only the determinations of form peculiar to the circulation of capital are considered. The product only becomes a commodity, only emerges from the production phase, when it is put onto the *market.* On the other hand, the means of transport are relevant here in so far as the *time* taken by capital *to return*—i.e. circulation time—is bound to increase with the distance separating the market from the place of production. From this angle, reduction of circulation time with the help of means of transport therefore appears as directly relevant to the analysis of the circulation of capital. Yet, strictly speaking, this belongs in the theory of the market, which itself belongs in the section on capital.

Finally, *credit.* This form of circulation, etc., directly posited by capital and hence deriving specifically from the nature of capital,

this *differentia specifica* of capital, is lumped in by Storch, etc., together with money, the trading estate, etc., which belong in general to the development of exchange and of production MORE OR LESS based upon it. To state the *differentia specifica* is here both part of the *logical* development of the matter in hand and the key to understanding its *historical* development. Historically, too, we find that in, e.g., England (and similarly in France) the attempts to replace money by paper coincide with the rise of capital, as do, on the other hand, the attempts to give capital, as far as it exists in the form of *value*, a form posited exclusively by capital itself, and, finally, the attempts to found credit. (E.g., Petty, Boisguillebert.)

Within circulation as the total process, we can distinguish between the greater and the lesser circulation. The former embraces the entire period from the moment when capital emerges from the production process until it returns into it. The latter is continuous and takes place simultaneously with the production process itself. It involves the part of capital which is paid out as wages, exchanged for the labour capacity.[8]

This circulation process of capital, this exchange of equivalents which is posited in form, but actually supersedes itself, which posits itself as merely formal (the transition of value into capital, where the exchange of equivalents turns into its opposite and, on the basis of exchange, exchange becomes purely formal, AND THE MUTUALITY IS ALL ON ONE SIDE), this circulation process of capital is to be developed thus:

The values which are exchanged are always objectified labour time, a *mutually* presupposed quantity of labour present (as a use value) in the form of an object. Value as such is always an effect, never a cause. It expresses the quantity of labour by which an object is produced, and hence that by which—assuming the same level of the productive forces—it can be reproduced.

The capitalist does not directly exchange capital for labour or labour time; he exchanges time contained, worked up in commodities, for time contained, worked up in the living labour capacity. The living labour time which he gets through exchange is not the exchange value of the labour capacity but its use value. Just as a machine is not exchanged or paid for as the cause of effects but as itself an effect; not by relation to its use value in the production process but as a product—a definite quantity of objectified labour. The labour time contained in the labour capacity, i.e. the time necessary to produce the living labour

capacity, is the same as is necessary—given the same level of the productive forces—to reproduce it, i.e. to maintain it.

Hence the exchange carried on between capitalist and [VI-38] worker is totally in accordance with the laws of exchange; moreover, it is its ultimate development. For as long as the labour capacity itself is not being exchanged, production is not as yet based upon exchange, and exchange is, rather, merely a narrow circle resting upon non-exchange as its basis, as in all stages preceding bourgeois production. But the use value of the value which the capitalist has acquired in the exchange is itself the element of valorisation and its measure, living labour and labour time. Moreover, the capitalist has acquired more labour time than is objectified in the labour capacity, i.e. more labour time than it costs to reproduce the living worker.

Hence, by acquiring in the exchange the labour capacity as an equivalent, capital has acquired labour time—to the extent that it exceeds the quantity contained in the labour capacity—without giving an equivalent for it; it has appropriated alien labour time *without exchange,* by means of the *form* of exchange. The exchange therefore becomes a merely formal one; and, as we have seen,[a] as capital develops further, even the appearance is eliminated that capital was giving in exchange for the labour capacity anything other than the latter's own objectified labour, i.e. giving anything at all for it.

This inversion [Umschlag] is thus due to the fact that the ultimate stage of free exchange is the exchange of the labour capacity as a commodity, as value, for a commodity, for value, that it is acquired as objectified labour, but its use value consists in living labour, i.e. in the positing of exchange value. The inversion is due to the fact that the use value of the labour capacity as value is itself the value-creating element, the substance of value and the substance which increases value. Hence in this exchange the worker gives up his value-creating and value-increasing living labour time in exchange for the equivalent of the labour time objectified in him. He sells himself as an effect. As cause, as activity, he is absorbed by and incarnated in capital. Thus exchange is inverted into its opposite, and the laws of private property—liberty, equality, property—property in one's own labour and the ability to freely dispose of it—are inverted into the propertylessness of the worker and the alienation of his labour, his relation to it as alien property and vice versa.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 381-83.—*Ed.*

The circulation of the part of capital posited as wages accompanies the production process, appears as an economic relation of form alongside it, and is simultaneous and INTERWOVEN with it. It is this circulation that posits capital as such; it is the condition of its valorisation process and posits not merely a formal determination of that process, but its substance. It is the continuously circulating part of capital, which does not for a moment enter into the production process itself, and continually accompanies it. It is the part of capital that does not for a moment enter into its reproduction process, which is not the case with the raw material. The *approvisionnement* of the worker emerges as a product from the production process, as its resultant. But as such it never enters into the production process, because it is FINISHED PRODUCE intended for individual consumption. It enters directly into the worker's consumption, and is directly exchanged to serve that purpose. Hence it is, in distinction from both raw material and instrument of labour, CIRCULATING CAPITAL κατ'ἐξοχήν.[a]

This is the only moment in the circuit of capital at which consumption directly enters into it. At this point, where the commodity is exchanged for money, it may be exchanged by another capital as raw material for new production. Further, under the presuppositions of capital, it is not the individual consumer but the merchant that confronts capital, and he buys the commodity merely to resell it for money. (This presupposition concerning the trading estate is in general to be developed. It implies that circulation among DEALERS is different from that between DEALERS and consumers.[6])

Therefore circulating capital appears here directly as capital intended for the individual consumption of the workers; in general, as intended for immediate consumption and therefore existing in the form of finished product. Hence, if, on the one hand, capital appears as the presupposition of the product, the finished product appears, to the same extent, as the presupposition of capital—which in terms of history means that capital did not create the world afresh, but rather found production and products already in existence before it subjugated them to its process. Once in motion, setting out from itself, it continuously presupposes itself in its different forms as consumable product, raw material and instrument of labour, in order to continuously reproduce itself in these forms. They appear first as the conditions presupposed by capital itself, and then as its result. In reproducing itself it produces its own conditions.

[a] Par excellence.—*Ed.*

Hence we find that—because of the relation of capital to the living labour capacity, and to the natural conditions of the maintenance of the latter—circulating capital is also determined in respect of use value, as directly entering into individual consumption and subject to be consumed as a product. It has therefore been incorrectly concluded that circulating capital is, in general, *consumable* capital, as though coal, oil, dyes, etc., instruments, etc., soil improvements, etc., factory buildings were not all equally consumed, if by consumption one is to understand the abolition of their use value and their form. But, just as much, none of these are consumed, if individual consumption, consumption in the proper sense, is meant thereby.

In this circulation, capital continuously rejects [part of] itself as objectified labour so that it may assimilate living labour power, the air it needs to live. Now as for the worker's consumption, it reproduces one thing—the worker himself as living labour capacity. *Since this reproduction of him is a condition of capital, the consumption of the worker also appears as the reproduction, not directly of capital, but of the circumstances in which alone it is capital. The living labour capacity forms part of the conditions for the existence of capital just as much as raw material and instrument do. Hence capital reproduces itself doubly, in its own form, [and] in the consumption of the worker, but only to the extent that it reproduces him as living labour capacity.* Capital, therefore, calls this consumption productive—productive, not in so far as it reproduces the individual, but the individuals as labour capacity.

If Rossi objects to wages being included twice in the calculation, first as the revenue of the worker and then as reproductive consumption of capital,[a] his objection is valid only in reference to those who cause wages to enter directly into the production process of capital as value. For the payment of wages is an act of circulation, which takes place simultaneously with and alongside the act of production. Or as Sismondi says in this connection, the worker consumes his wages non-reproductively; but the capitalist consumes them productively,[b] in so far as he exchanges them for labour, which reproduces the wages and more than the wages.

This refers to capital itself only considered as an object. But in so far as capital is a relation, notably a relation to the living labour capacity, the worker's consumption reproduces this relation, or

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[a] P. Rossi, *Cours d'économie politique. Année 1836-1837.* In: *Cours d'économie politique,* Brussels, 1843, pp. 369-71.—*Ed.*

[b] S. de Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes d'économie politique etc.,* Vol. I, pp. 87 and 93,—*Ed.*

capital reproduces itself doubly: as value, by its exchange with labour—as the possibility of recommencing the valorisation process, of once again acting as capital; and as a relation, by means of the worker's consumption, which reproduces him as labour capacity exchangeable for capital, for wages as part of capital.

From this circulation between capital and labour there follows, therefore, the determination of part of capital as constantly circulating, *approvisionnement;* constantly consumed; constantly to be reproduced. Strikingly displayed in this circulation is the difference between capital and money, between the circulation of capital and that of money. Capital pays, e.g., weekly wages; the worker takes his wages to the *épicier,*[a] etc., who directly or indirectly deposits it with the BANKER; and the following week, the factory owner takes it from the banker again, in order again to distribute it among the same workers, etc., and so on. The same sum of money continuously circulates new portions of capital. But the sum of money itself does not determine the portions of capital thus circulated. If the money value of wages rises, the circulating medium will rise too; but the volume of the circulating medium does not determine the rise. If the production costs of money did not fall, no increase in the amount of money would have any effect on the portion of it entering into this circulation. Here money appears as mere means of circulation. Since there is a large number of workers to be paid simultaneously, a certain sum of money is simultaneously necessary, a sum that increases with their number. On the other hand, if the money is turned over quickly, a smaller quantity of it is necessary than in situations in which there are fewer workers, but the machinery of the money circulation is not so well ordered.

This circulation is a prerequisite of the production process and thereby of the circulation [VI-39] process as well. On the other hand, if capital did not return from circulation, this circulation between worker and capital could not begin anew. Hence it is, for its part, conditioned by the fact that capital passes through the different moments of its metamorphosis *outside* the production process. Its failure to do so would not be due to an insufficient supply of *money* as *means of circulation,* but because either capital was not available in the form of products, [i.e.] this part of *circulating* capital was absent; or because capital had not posited itself in the *form of money,* i.e. had not realised itself as capital. Yet

[a] Grocer.— *Ed.*

this too would not be due to the quantity of means of circulation, but to the fact that capital had not posited itself in the *qualitative determination* as money. For it to do so, it need not at all be posited in the form of HARD CASH, in the immediate money form, and whether or not it posited itself in this form would once again depend not on the quantity of money in circulation as means of circulation, but on the exchange of capital for value as such. Again a qualitative, not a quantitative, moment, as we shall argue in more detail when we come to speak of capital as money. (Interest, etc.)

Considered as a whole, circulation therefore appears in three forms:

(1) The total process—the passage of capital through its different moments. Here capital is posited as in flux, as circulating. To the extent that each of the moments constitutes a virtual interruption of the continuity, and can set itself up as an obstacle to the transition into the next phase, capital here likewise appears to be fixed in different relations, and the different modes of this fixity constitute different capitals: commodity capital, money capital, capital as conditions of production.

(2) The lesser circulation between capital and labour capacity. It accompanies the production process and appears as a contract, exchange, a form of intercourse, which is a presupposition for the production process to be set in motion. The part of capital which enters into this circulation—*approvisionnement*—is circulating capital κατ'ἐξοχήν.[a] Not only is it determined in regard of form, but its use value, i.e. its material determination as a consumable product entering directly into individual consumption, itself constitutes part of its determination of form.

(3) The greater circulation, the movement of capital outside the production phase, the time during which it does so appearing as circulation time in contrast to labour time. From this opposition between capital engaged in the production phase and capital emerging from it, there results the distinction between *fixed* and *fluid capital.* The former is capital which is fixed to the production process and consumed in it; certainly it derives from the greater circulation, but it does not return into it, and in so far as it circulates, it only does so in order to be consumed in, to be confined to, the production process.

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[a] Par excellence.—*Ed.*

The three different forms of circulation of capital give rise to the three distinctions between circulating and fixed capital; they posit one part of capital as circulating κατ'ἐξοχήν, because it never enters into the production process, but constantly accompanies it; and, thirdly, they yield the distinction between *fluid* and *fixed* capital. Circulating capital in form No. 3 also includes No. 2, since the latter likewise forms a contrast to fixed capital. Yet No. 2 does not include No. 3.

The part of capital that as such belongs to the production process is the part of it which, in its material aspect, serves only as *means of production;* is the mediator between living labour and the material to be worked up. A part of the fluid capital, e.g., coal, oil, etc., also serves only as means of production. Everything that only serves as a means to maintain in operation a given machine, or another machine that keeps in motion the former. This distinction will have to be examined more closely. *D'abord,* this does not contradict determination 1, for fixed capital as *value* also circulates, in the degree in which it is used up. It is precisely in this determination as *fixed* capital—i.e. in the determination in which capital has lost its fluidity and is identified with a *definite* use value, which deprives it of the ability to be transformed—that *developed* capital, in as much as we have so far known it as productive capital, presents itself most strikingly, and it is precisely in this apparently inadequate form, and in its increasing ratio to the form of circulating capital in No. 2, that the development of capital as capital is measured. A pretty contradiction. To be developed.

The different kinds of capital, which in political economy come in from without like snow from the sky, appear here as just so many precipitates of the movements to which the nature of capital itself gives rise, or rather of this movement itself in its different determinations.

Circulating capital constantly

"PARTS" from the capitalist in order to return to him in the first form. *Fixed capital* does not do this (Storch).

"*CIRCULATING CAPITAL* THAT PORTION OF THE CAPITAL WHICH DOES NOT YIELD PROFIT *TILL IT IS PARTED WITH;* FIXED ETC. YIELDS SUCH PROFIT, *WHILE IT REMAINS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE OWNER*" *(Malthus).* "Circulating capital yields no revenue or profit to its owner, *while it remains in his possession. Fixed capital* yields profit to him without changing owners, and without requiring circulation" *(A. Smith).*[a]

[a] H. Storch, *Cours d'économie politique,* Vol. I, pp. 405 and 420; Th. R. Malthus, *Definitions in Political Economy,* London, 1827, pp. 237-38; A. Smith, *Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations,* Paris, 1802, Vol. II, pp. 197-98.—*Ed.*

From this viewpoint, the definition given above cannot be correct, since the departure of capital from its OWNER *(partir de son possesseur)* is precisely the *alienation* of property or possession which occurs in the act of exchange, and since it is the nature of all exchange value and hence of all capital to become value for its owner by being alienated. If fixed capital existed for its owner without the mediation of exchange and of the exchange value it comprises, fixed capital would IN FACT merely be use value, and consequently not capital.

But what underlies the above definition is this: as *value* fixed capital does circulate (even though merely in a piecemeal fashion, successively, as we shall see). As *use value* capital, it does not. *Fixed capital,* considered in its material aspect, as a moment of the production process, never goes beyond its BOUNDARIES; is not alienated by its possessor; remains in his hands. It only circulates with respect to its *formal aspect* as capital, perennial value. In circulating capital, there is no such distinction between form and content, use value and exchange value. In order to circulate as, to be, exchange value, it must enter into circulation as use value, be alienated as such. Use value for *capital* as such is only value itself. Circulating capital is realised as value for capital only by being alienated. As long as it remains in the capitalist's hands, it only has value *in itself;* it is not *posited;* only δυνάμει, not *actu.*[a] Fixed capital, on the contrary, is only realised as value as long as it remains in the hands of the capitalist as use value, or, expressed as a physical relation, as long as it remains in the production process, which can be regarded as the inner organic movement of capital, its relating to itself, as against its animalistic movement, its existence for other purposes. Hence, since *fixed capital* remains in the production process once it has entered into it, it also vanishes in it, is consumed in it. The length of the time taken by this vanishing does not as yet concern us.

From this angle, therefore, what Cherbuliez calls *matières instrumentales,*[b] such as coal, wood, oil, tallow, etc., which are completely destroyed in the production process and which possess only *use value* for that process itself, are part of *fixed capital.* But the same materials have a use value outside production too and can also be consumed in other ways, just as buildings, houses, etc., are not necessarily intended for production. They are *fixed capital*

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[a] Only potentially, not actually.—*Ed.*

[b] Instrumental materials. See A. Cherbuliez, *Richesse ou pauvreté,* pp. 14-15.—*Ed.*

not by virtue of the particular mode of their existence, but by virtue of the use made of them. They become fixed capital by entering into the production process. They are *fixed capital* as soon as they are posited as moments of the production process of capital; because then they [VI-40] lose their quality of being potential circulating capital.

Just as the part of capital which enters into the lesser circulation of capital—or capital, so far as it enters into this movement—the circulation between capital and labour capacity, the part of capital circulating as wages—taken in its material aspect, as use value—*never departs from circulation and never enters into the production process of capital,* but is always rejected by that process as a product, as the result of a prior process of production, so the part of capital determined as *fixed capital,* on the contrary, never departs as use value, in its material existence, from the *production process* and never *re-enters into circulation.* While fixed capital enters into circulation only as *value* (as part of the value of the finished product), circulating capital enters into the production process only as *value,* since necessary labour is the reproduction of wages, of the part of the value of capital that circulates as wages. This is, therefore, the *first* determination of fixed capital; and seen from this angle fixed capital also embraces the *matières instrumentales.*

*Secondly:* Fixed capital, however, can only enter into circulation as value to the extent that it vanishes as use value in the production process. It enters as value into the product—i.e. as labour time worked up or preserved in it—to the extent that it vanishes in its independent form as use value. In consequence of its being used it is used up, but in such a way that its value is transferred from its form into that of the product. If it is not used, is not consumed in the production process itself—if the machine is idle, if the iron rusts and the wood rots—its value of course vanishes with its transitory existence as use value. Its circulation as value corresponds to its consumption as use value in the production process. Its total value is fully reproduced, i.e. returns from circulation, only when it has been completely consumed as use value in the production process. As soon as it has been completely resolved in value and, hence, has completely entered into circulation, it has completely disappeared as a use value, and must therefore be replaced as a necessary moment of production by a new use value of the same kind, i.e. it must be reproduced. The necessity of its reproduction, i.e. its reproduction time, is determined by the time in which it is used up, consumed, within the production process.

In the case of circulating capital, the reproduction is determined by circulation time; in the case of fixed capital, the circulation is determined by the time in which it is used up as use value, in its material existence, within the act of production, i.e. by the time within which it must be reproduced. A thousand lbs of twist can be reproduced as soon as it has been sold and the money received for it re-exchanged for cotton, etc., in short for the elements of production of twist. Its reproduction is therefore determined by its circulation time. A machine valued at £1,000, which lasts for 5 years, i.e. is only used up after 5 years has passed, and then is merely scrap iron—is used up each year to the extent of, say, $^1/_5$, if we assume the AVERAGE [rate] of consumption in the production process. Only $^1/_5$ of its value, therefore, enters into circulation each year, and it is only upon the passage of the 5 years that the whole of it has entered into and returned from circulation. [The rate of] its entry into circulation, therefore, is determined solely by the length of the time during which it is used up, and the time its value takes to enter wholly into circulation and return from it is determined by its overall reproduction time, the time in which it must be reproduced.

Fixed capital enters into the product only as value, whereas the use value of circulating capital has persisted in the product as its substance, and has merely acquired another form. This distinction introduces an essential modification into the *turnover time* of a total capital divided into fixed and circulating capital. Suppose that the total capital is $S$; the circulating part of it is $c$, and the fixed part, $f$. Let the fixed capital constitute $\frac{1}{x}S$ ; the circulating capital $\frac{S}{y}$. Let the circulating capital turn over 3 times a year, the fixed capital only twice in 10 years. Within 10 years, $f$ or $\frac{S}{x}$ turns over twice, while in the same 10 years $\frac{S}{y}$ turns over $3\times10=30$ times. If $S$ were=to $\frac{S}{y}$, i.e. if the capital wholly consisted of circulating capital, its turnover, $U$, would be=30; and the total capital turned over in 10 years would be$=30\times\frac{S}{y}$. But the fixed capital turns over only twice in 10 years. Its $U'=2$, and the total fixed capital turned over$=\frac{2S}{x}$. But $S=\frac{S}{y}+\frac{S}{x}$, and its total turnover time=the sum of the turnover times of these two parts. If the fixed capital turns over twice in 10 years, $^2/_{10}$ or $^1/_5$ of it turns over in one year; while

the circulating capital turns over 3 times in one year. $\frac{S}{5x}$ turns over once a year.

The question boils down to this: assuming that a capital of 1,000 thaler consists of 600 circulating capital and 400 fixed capital, i.e. $^3/_5$ circulating and $^2/_5$ fixed capital, that the fixed capital lasts for 5 years, hence turns over once in 5 years, and that the circulating capital turns over 3 times a year, what is the average turnover number, or turnover time, of the total capital? If it were wholly circulating capital, it would turn over 5×3, or 15 times; the total capital turned over in the 5 years would be 15,000. However, $^2/_5$ of the capital only turns over once in 5 years. Consequently, of these 400 thaler $^{400}/_5$, i.e. 80 thaler, turn over in a year. Of the 1,000 thaler 600 turn over 3 times a year, and 80 once a year. That is to say, only 1,880 would turn over in the whole year; in the 5 years, therefore, 5×1,880=9,400 will turn over; i.e. 5,600 less than if the capital wholly consisted of circulating capital. If the latter were the case, the total capital would turn over once in $^1/_3$ of a year.[a]

[VI-41] If the capital=1,000, with $c$=600 and turning over twice a year, and $f$=400 and turning over once a year, then 600 ($^3/_5$ $S$) turns over in half a year; and $^{400}/_2$ or ($\frac{2S}{5\times 2}$) similarly in half a year. Hence in half a year, 600+200=800 (i.e. $c+\frac{f}{2}$) turns over. Correspondingly, in a whole year 2×800, or 1,600 thaler, turns over; 1,600 thaler in a year; i.e. 100 in $^{12}/_{16}$ months, and therefore 1,000 in $^{120}/_{16}$, or $7^1/_2$, months. The entire capital of 1,000 thus turns over in $7^1/_2$ months, as compared with the 6 months required if it consisted wholly of circulating capital. $7\,^1/_2$:6=1:1 $^1/_4$ or 1:$^5/_4$.[b]

Suppose the capital=100, made up of 50 circulating and 50 fixed, with the former turning over twice a year and the latter once. Then $^1/_2$ of 100 turns over once in 6 months, and $^1/_4$ of 100 likewise once in 6 months. Therefore, $^3/_4$ of the capital turns over in 6 months, $^3/_4$ of 100 in 6 months; or 75 in 6 months, and 100 in 8 months. If $^2/_4$ of 100 turns over in 6 months and $^1/_4$ of 100 ($^1/_2$ the fixed capital) in the same time, this means that $^3/_4$ of 100 turns over in 6 months. Consequently, $^1/_4$ turns over in $^6/_3$ or 2 months, and so $^4/_4$ of 100, or 100, in 6+2, or 8 months.

The total turnover time of capital=6 (the turnover time of the

[a] Here Marx crossed out several lines containing another version of this calculation.— *Ed.*

[b] Thus in the manuscript.— *Ed.*

entire circulating capital and $^1/_2$ of the fixed capital or $^1/_4$ of the total capital)+$^6/_3$, i.e.+ this turnover time divided by the number which expresses the proportion of the remaining fixed capital to the capital turned over in the turnover time of the circulating capital. So in the above example: $^3/_5$ of 100 turns over in 6 months, ditto $^1/_5$ of 100; therefore $^4/_5$ of 100 in 6 months; therefore the remaining $^1/_5$ of 100 in $^6/_4$ months; therefore the total capital in 6+$^6/_4$ months=6+1$^1/_2$; or 7$^1/_2$, months.[a]

Expressed in general terms: The average turnover time=the turnover time of the circulating capital+this turnover time divided by the number of times the remaining part of the fixed capital is contained in the total sum of capital which was circulated in this turnover time.[b]

Suppose there are 2 capitals each of 100 thaler. One is entirely circulating capital, the other is half fixed capital. Both operate at a gain of 5%. The one turns over entirely twice a year; in the other, the circulating capital likewise twice, and the fixed capital only once. The total capital turned over in the first case would be 200, and the profit 10; in the second, there would be 1 turnover in 8 months, or $^1/_2$ in 4, i.e. 150 would be turned over in 12 months and its profit would be 7$^1/_2$.

This sort of calculation has tended to harden the common delusion that circulating capital or fixed capital yields gain by means of some MYSTERIOUS INNATE POWER, a delusion manifest even in Malthus's statement that "circulating capital yields gain if its POSSESSORS PART WITH IT, etc."; similarly, in the passages cited above from his *Measure of Value,* etc., namely in the way he describes the accumulation of the profits of fixed capital.[c] The greatest confusion and mystification has arisen from the failure of the hitherto economic doctrines to consider the theory of surplus gain in its purity. Instead, they have lumped it together with the theory of real profit, which is all about the way the different capitals share in the general rate of profit. The profit of the capitalists as a class, or the profit of capital *as such,* must be there before it can be distributed, and it is the height of absurdity to wish to explain its origin by its distribution.

It follows from the above that profit diminishes because the turnover time of capital increases in proportion to the increase of the component part of it which is called fixed capital.

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[a] Here Marx crossed out several lines containing a formula for determining the turnover time of the part of capital—*Ed.*

[b] Here Marx crossed out a formula representing this proposition.—*Ed.*

[c] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 487-99 and this volume, p. 69.—*Ed.*

//The size of capital is assumed to be permanent, but this does not concern us here anyway, since the proposition is valid for capital of whatever size. Capitals differ in size, but the size of each individual capital *is equal to itself.* Hence as long as capital is only considered in its quality as capital, it may be of ANY size. But if we consider 2 capitals in distinction from one another, the difference in their size introduces a relation of qualitative determinations. Their very size becomes a quality distinguishing them from one another. *This is an essential aspect* showing how the consideration of capital as such differs from that of one capital in relation to another, or from that of capital in its reality—and size is only ONE SINGLE INSTANCE.//

A capital of the same [VI-42] size, 100 in the example above, would turn over completely twice a year, if it consisted entirely of circulating capital. But it is only turned over twice in 16 months, or only 150 thaler is turned over in a year, because half of it is fixed capital. As the number of times a capital is reproduced in a given time declines, or as the quantity of it reproduced in a given time declines, there is also a decline in the production of surplus time or surplus value, since capital in general posits value only to the extent that it posits surplus value. (At least, this is its tendency, its adequate action.)

As we have seen, fixed capital circulates as value only in the degree in which it is used up or consumed as use value in the production process. But the time in which it is thus consumed and must be reproduced in its form as use value depends upon its relative durability. Its durability, or its greater or lesser perishability—i. e. the greater or lesser length of time for which it can continue to repeat its function within the repeated production processes of capital—this determination of its use value, therefore, becomes here a form-determining moment, i. e. a determinant of capital with respect to its formal, not its material, aspect. Hence the necessary reproduction time of fixed capital, just as much as the proportion it constitutes of the whole capital, modify here the turnover time of the total capital and therefore its valorisation. A greater durability of capital (the duration of its necessary reproduction time) and a higher proportion of fixed capital to total capital, therefore, have precisely the same effect on valorisation as a slower turnover, occasioned either by the fact that the market from which capital returns as money is more distant, and hence more time is needed for it to run the course of circulation (e. g., capitals which work in England for the East Indies market return more slowly than those which work for less distant foreign

markets or for the HOME MARKET); or because the production phase itself is interrupted owing to natural conditions, as in agriculture. Ricardo at first emphasised the influence of fixed capital upon the valorisation process; but then he jumbled all these determinations together, as can be seen from the passages cited above.[a]

In the first case (fixed capital) [the rate of] the turnover of capital is diminished because fixed capital is only slowly consumed within the production process, or because of the length of time required for its reproduction. In the second case, the diminished [rate of] turnover is due to the lengthening of *circulation time* (in the first case the fixed capital necessarily circulates always with the same velocity as the product, *in so far as* it does circulate, enter into circulation, because it does not circulate in its material form of existence but only as value, i. e. as a notional component of the total value of the product), to be more precise, to the lengthening of the circulation time of the second half of the circulation process proper, the reconversion of money. In the third case, the diminished [rate of] turnover is due to the longer time required by capital to emerge from the production process as a product, not, as in the first case, the longer time capital takes to perish in the production process. The first case is peculiar specifically to fixed capital; the other belongs to the category of non-fluid fixed capital, capital fixed in any phase of the total circulation process (FIXED CAPITAL OF A CONSIDERABLE DEGREE OF DURABILITY, *OR* CIRCULATING CAPITAL RETURNABLE AT DISTANT PERIODS. McCulloch, [*The*] *Principles of Political Economy,* [London, 1825, p. 300] *Notebook, p. 15).*[15]

*Thirdly:* Up to this point, we have considered fixed capital only from one angle—in as much as its distinctions are posited in terms of its particular, specific relation to the circulation process proper. Considered from this angle, it shows further distinctions. Firstly, its value returns piecemeal, whereas each portion of circulating capital is exchanged wholly, because in the case of circulating capital the existence of value coincides with that of use value. Secondly, we have hitherto only considered the effect of fixed capital upon the average turnover time of a given capital. But we must also examine the effect it has on its own turnover time. The latter circumstance becomes important where fixed capital appears not as a mere instrument of production within the production process, but as an independent form of capital, e. g., in the form of railways, canals, roads, waterworks, as capital wedded to the soil, etc.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 32-35.— *Ed.*

This latter determination is especially important with respect to the proportions in which the total capital of a country is divided up into these two forms [fixed and circulating capital]. Then the way in which fixed capital is renewed and maintained; the economists argue that it can yield revenue only by means of circulating capital, etc. *Au fond*, this boils down to a consideration of the MOMENT in which fixed capital appears not as a particular, independent existence *alongside* and *outside* circulating capital, but as circulating capital transformed into fixed capital.

But what we want to consider first at this point is the relation of fixed capital, not towards the outside, but as given by the fact that it remains locked up in the production process. Fixed capital is posited by its being a particular moment of the production process itself.

//We are not in any way arguing that *fixed capital* is, in every determination, capital which does not serve individual consumption but production alone. A house can just as well be used for production as for consumption; similarly all vehicles: a ship or a wagon can be used both for pleasure trips and as means of transport; a road can be used as means of communication for production proper, as well as for strolling along, etc. We are not at all concerned with *fixed capital* in this second relation; for at this point we are discussing capital only as valorisation process and production process. The second determination will enter when we come to discuss interest. Ricardo can only have this determination in mind when he says:

"Depending on whether capital is more perishable or less perishable, i.e. must be reproduced more frequently or less frequently in a given period of time, it is called circulating capital or fixed capital" (Ricardo, [*On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, p. 26] VIII, 19[a]).[12]

On that basis, a coffee pot would be fixed capital, and the coffee, circulating capital. The economists regard people's social relations of production, and the determinations acquired by things subsumed under these relations, as *natural properties* of the things. This crude materialism is an equally crude idealism, indeed a fetishism which ascribes to things social relations as determinations immanent to them, and thus mystifies them. The difficulty of defining any thing at all as fixed or circulating capital by reference to its natural character has brought the economists here, as an exception, to the idea that things themselves are neither fixed nor

[a] See this volume, pp. 32-33.— *Ed.*

circulating capital, hence probably not capital at all, as little as it is the natural property of gold to be money.//

(Lest we forget it, we must add to the points enumerated above the circulation of fixed capital as circulating capital, i.e., the transactions by which it changes its owners.)

"*Fixed capital—engaged:* capital so *engaged in one kind of production* that it can no longer be diverted from it to be employed *in another kind of production*" (Say, [*Traité d'économie politique,* Vol. II, p. 430,] 21 16).[a]

"Fixed capital is consumed in order to help to reproduce what man destines for his use ... consists of *permanent installations suitable for increasing the productive forces of future labour*" (Sismondi, [*Nouveaux principes d'économie politique,* Vol. 1, pp. 95, 97-98] VI).[b] 13

"*Fixed capital* is the capital which is necessary to maintain the instruments, machines, etc., of labour" (Smith, [*Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations*], Vol. II, p. 226).

"FLOATING CAPITAL IS CONSUMED, FIXED CAPITAL MERELY USED IN THE GREAT WORK OF PRODUCTION" ([*The*] *Economist,* [No. 219, 6 November 1847, p. 1271] Notebook VI, p. 1).[17]

"It will be shown that the first stick or stone he took into his hand to help him in the pursuit of those objects, by performing part of his work, fulfilled exactly the same function as the capitals employed at present by the mercantile nations" (Lauderdale, [*Recherches sur la nature et l'origine de la richesse publique,* Paris, 1808,] p. 87, Notebook 8, a).[c] 14 "It is one of the characteristic and distinguishing features of the human species *thus to supplant labour* by capital transformed into machinery" (p. 120) (p. 9, Notebook Lauderdale). "Now it will be seen that the profit of capital always derives either from its *supplanting* a portion of labour which would otherwise have to be performed by the hand of man; or from its performing a portion of labour which is beyond the reach of the personal exertion of man to accomplish" (p. 119, l. c.).

Lauderdale takes issue with Smith and Locke, [VI-43] whose belief that labour is the source of profit has, according to Lauderdale, the following result:

"If this notion of the profit of capital were strictly correct, it would follow that profit is not an *original source* of wealth but a derivative one; and capital could not be considered a source of wealth, *its profit being only a transfer from the pocket of the labourer into that of the capitalist*" (l. c., pp. 116, 117).

"The profit of capital always derives either from its *supplanting* a portion of labour which would otherwise have to be performed by the hand of man; or from its performing a portion of labour which is beyond the reach of the personal exertion of man to accomplish" (p. 119, l. c., [Notebook] p. 9, b).

"It should be noted that if the capitalist, by the use he makes of his money, saves a certain amount of labour to the class of consumers, *he does not substitute for it*

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[a] See this volume, p. 30. Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 35-36. Marx quotes partly in French.—*Ed.*

[c] This and the following passages from Lauderdale are quoted in French in the manuscript. In one quotation (from p. 116) Marx occasionally uses German words.—*Ed.*

*an equal portion of his own;* which proves that it is *his capital,* and not himself, that performs it" (10, Notebook, l. c., p. 132).

"If Adam Smith had not imagined that the effect of a machine was to facilitate labour or, as he expressed himself, to increase the productive power of labour (it is a strange confusion of ideas that has led Dr. Smith to describe the effect of capital as increasing the productive power of labour. According to this logic, one could very well claim that *shortening a circuitous road between two given places by half means doubling the velocity of the walker*), he would have seen that it was by supplanting labour that the funds paid for the machine yielded profit, and he would have attributed the origin of profit to this very circumstance" ([Notebook,] p. 11; p. 137).

"Capital, whether fixed or circulating, in home trade, far from serving to set labour in motion, or adding to the productive power of labour, is, on the contrary, only useful and profitable in these two situations: either it supplants the necessity of a portion of labour that would otherwise have to be performed by the hand of man, or it performs a certain kind of labour that is beyond the powers of man himself to accomplish."

This, Lauderdale says, is not a purely verbal distinction.

"The idea that capital sets labour in motion, and that it adds to its productive power, gives rise to the opinion that labour is everywhere proportioned to the quantity of existing capital; that the industry of a country always corresponds to the funds employed; from which it follows that the increase of capital is by far the best and unlimited means of augmenting wealth. If, instead, we admitted that capital can have no other useful and profitable employment than that of supplanting or performing a certain kind of labour, we would draw the natural conclusion that the State can derive no advantage from possessing more capital than can be employed in performing or supplanting labour in the production and manufacture of things required by the consumer" (pp. 150-52, [Notebook,] pp. 11, 12).

To prove his proposition that capital is, independently of labour, a source *sui generis* OF PROFIT and thus OF WEALTH, he points to the surplus profit which the owner of a newly invented machine derives before his *brevet d'invention*[a] expires, and competition depresses prices, and then concludes with the words:

"This alteration in the rule of charging does not prevent the profit" (for the use value) "of the machine from being received out of a fund of the same nature as that which it was paid from before the expiration of the patent: *this fund is always that part of the revenue of the country which formerly was destined to pay the wages of the labour supplanted by the new invention*" (l. c., p. 125, [Notebook,] p. 10, b).

*Ravenstone,* on the contrary, argues (IX, 32)[11] that:

MACHINERY CAN SELDOM BE APPLIED WITH SUCCESS TO ABRIDGE THE LABOURS OF AN INDIVIDUAL; MORE TIME WOULD BE LOST IN ITS CONSTRUCTION THAN COULD BE SAVED BY ITS APPLICATION. IT IS ONLY REALLY USEFUL WHEN IT ACTS ON GREAT MASSES, WHEN A SINGLE MACHINE CAN ASSIST THE LABOURS OF THOUSANDS. IT IS ACCORDINGLY IN THE MOST POPULOUS COUNTRIES WHERE THERE ARE MOST IDLE MEN THAT IT IS ALWAYS MOST

[a] Patent.—*Ed.*

ABUNDANT. IT IS NOT CALLED INTO ACTION BY A SCARCITY OF MEN, BUT BY THE FACILITY WITH WHICH THEY ARE BROUGHT TOGETHER" (l. c.) [*Thoughts on the Funding System, and Its Effects,* London, 1824, p. 45].

## [FIXED CAPITAL AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES OF SOCIETY]

"Division of machines into (1) those applied to produce power; (2) those whose aim is simply the transmission of power and the performance of labour" (Babbage, [*Traité sur l'économie des machines et des manufactures,* pp. 20-21,] Notebook, p. 10).[a] [14]

"*FACTORY* signifies the cooperation of different classes of workers, adults and non-adults, skilfully and diligently watching over a system of productive machinery continually kept in operation by a central [source of] power, and excludes any workshop the mechanism of which does not form a continuous system, or which does not depend on a single driving force. Examples of the latter are dyeing works, brass foundries, etc.—This term, in its strictest sense, implies a vast automaton, made up of a large number of *mechanical and intellectual organs* working together and without interruption, to produce the same object, all these organs being subordinated to a self-powered driving force" (Ure, [*Philosophie des manufactures,* Vol. I, Brussels, 1836, pp. 18-19] p. 13 [14]).

The capital which is consumed in the production process proper, or fixed capital, is emphatically *means of production.* In a broader sense, the entire production process and each of its moments, as well as each moment of circulation—so far as its material aspect is considered—is merely means of production for capital, to which value alone exists as an end in itself. Raw material itself, from its material aspect, is means of production for the product, etc.

But to determine the use value of fixed capital by its being consumed in the production process proper is the same as saying that it is used only as a means in this process, and itself exists merely as an agent for the transformation of raw material into product. As such means of production, its use value may consist in its being merely a technological condition for the process to take place (the place in which the production process is carried on), as in the case of buildings, etc., or in its being an immediate condition for the operation of the means of production proper, as all *matières instrumentales* are. Both are, in turn, merely material presuppositions for carrying on the production process in general, or for the application and maintenance of the means of labour. And the means of labour in the strict sense serves only within

[a] Marx quotes from Babbage partly in German and partly in French. The following quotation from Ure is in French.—*Ed.*

production and for production, and has no other use value.

Initially, when we discussed the transition of value into capital, the labour process was simply included into capital, and with respect to its physical condition, the material form in which it existed, capital appeared as the totality of the conditions for this process, and accordingly fell into definite qualitatively different portions: *the material of labour* (this, not raw material, is the correct and conceptual expression), *means of labour* and *living labour.*[a] On the one hand, capital, according to the material form in which it existed, was divided up into these three elements; on the other, the moving unity of these elements was the *labour process* (or the entering of these elements into process with one another), and their inert unity was the product. In this form, the material elements—material of labour, means of labour and living labour—appear merely as the essential moments of the labour process itself, which is appropriated by capital. But this material aspect of capital—or its determination as use value and real process—diverged completely from the determination of its form. In this determination itself

(1) the 3 elements in which capital appears prior to the exchange with labour capacity, prior to the actual process, appeared merely as quantitatively different portions of capital itself, as quantities of value, whose unity is formed by capital itself as their sum. The material form, the use value, in which these different portions existed, did not affect the homogeneity of this determination. From the viewpoint of their formal determination, they only appeared as reflecting the fact that quantitatively capital fell into distinct portions.

(2) Within the process itself, the distinction between the element of labour and the other two, as regards form, consisted only in that labour was determined as positing value, and the other two as constant values. Yet as far as their distinctness as use values, the material aspect, was concerned, it was quite extrinsic to the formal determination of capital. Now, however, in the distinction between circulating capital (raw material and product) [VI-44] and *fixed capital* (means of labour), the distinction between the elements as use values is, at the same time, posited as a distinction of capital as capital, in its formal determination. The relationship of the factors to each other, which was only quantitative, now appears as a qualitative distinction of capital itself and as determining its overall movement (turnover). In terms of physical substance, too, the

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 224-27.—*Ed.*

material of labour and the product of labour, the neutral precipitate of the labour process, as *raw material* and *product,* are no longer determined as the material and product of labour but as the use value of capital itself in different phases.

As long as the means of labour remains means of labour in the strict sense, as it was—directly, historically—included by capital into its valorisation process, it only undergoes a formal change in that it now appears not merely as means of labour from its material aspect, but at the same time as a particular mode of existence of capital, one determined by the overall process of capital—as *fixed capital.*

Once included into the production process of capital, however, the means of labour passes through a series of metamorphoses until it ends up as the *machine,* or rather as an *automatic system of machinery* (system of machinery; *automatic* merely means the most complete, most adequate form of machinery, and alone transforms machinery into a system). That system is set in motion by an automaton, self-moved motive power; this automaton consists of a large number of mechanical and intellectual organs, with the workers themselves cast in the role of merely conscious members of it. In the machine, and to an even greater degree in machine[ry] as an automatic system, the means of labour is transformed, with respect to its use value, i. e. to its material character, into a form adequate to fixed capital and to capital in general. And the form in which it was included, as immediate means of labour, into the production process of capital is superseded by a form posited by capital itself and corresponding to it.

In no respect does the machine appear as the means of labour of the individual worker. Its *differentia specifica* is not at all to mediate between the activity of the worker and the object, as is the case with the means of labour. On the contrary, the worker's activity is posited rather as merely mediating the labour of the machine, its action upon the raw material—he watches over it and guards against obstructions. Not as in the case of the instrument, which the worker animates with his own skill and activity as an organ, and whose manipulation is thus dependent upon his virtuosity. On the contrary, the machine, which possesses skill and power in contrast to the worker, is itself the virtuoso. It possesses a soul of its own in the laws of mechanics which determine its operations; and to maintain its continuous self-motion it consumes coal, oil, etc. *(matières instrumentales),* as the worker consumes foodstuffs. The activity of the worker, restricted to a mere

abstraction of activity, is determined and governed in every respect by the movement of the machinery, not vice versa. Science, which compels the inanimate members of the machinery, by means of their design, to operate purposefully as an automaton, does not exist in the worker's consciousness, but acts upon him through the machine as an alien force, as the force of the machine itself.

The appropriation of living labour by objectified labour—of the value-creating power or activity by value-for-itself—an appropriation inherent in the concept of capital, is posited in production based upon machinery as the character of the production process itself, and is also posited in terms of its material elements and its material movement. The production process has ceased to be a labour process in the sense that it is no longer embraced by labour as the unity which dominates it. Now, on the contrary, labour appears merely as a conscious organ, dispersed at many points of the mechanical system in isolated living workers. It is subsumed under the overall process of the machinery itself, and is merely a member of the system, whose unity exists not in living workers but in the living (active) machinery. The latter confronts the isolated, insignificant activity of the worker as a mighty organism. In machinery, objectified labour confronts living labour in the labour process itself as the power which dominates it, a power which, in terms of its form, as the appropriation of living labour, is capital. The incorporation of the labour process into the valorisation process of capital as merely one of its moments is also posited materially by the transformation of the means of labour into machinery, and of living labour into a mere living accessory of this machinery, as the means of its action.

As we have seen,[a] it is the necessary tendency of capital to increase the productive power of labour and to bring about the greatest possible negation of necessary labour. This tendency is realised by the transformation of the means of labour into machinery. In machinery, objectified labour physically confronts living labour as the power which dominates it and actively subsumes it under itself—not merely by appropriating living labour, but in the actual production process itself. In fixed capital existing as machinery, the relation of capital as value which appropriates the value-creating activity is posited, at the same time, as the relation of the use value of capital to the use value of the labour capacity. Moreover, the value objectified in the

[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, p. 351.—*Ed.*

machinery appears as a presupposition in comparison to which the value-creating power of the individual labour capacity disappears as being infinitesimally small. With the enormous rates of production posited by machinery, there also disappears in the product every reference to the immediate need of the producer, and thus to immediate use value. The form in which the product is produced, and the conditions in which it is produced, already imply that it is only produced as a bearer of value, and its use value only as the condition for this. Objectified labour itself directly appears in the machine not only in the form of the product, or of the product employed as the means of labour, but in that of productive power itself. The development of the means of labour into machinery is not a matter of chance for capital, but the historical transformation of the traditional means of labour, as handed down from the past, into a form adequate to capital. The accumulation of knowledge and skill, of the general productive forces of the social mind, is thus absorbed in capital as opposed to labour, and hence appears as a property of capital, more precisely, of *fixed capital*, to the extent that it enters into the production process as means of production in the strict sense.

Therefore, *machinery* appears as the most adequate form of *fixed capital;* and fixed capital, as far as capital is considered in its relation to itself, as the *most adequate form of capital in general.* On the other hand, as far as fixed capital is confined to its existence as a particular use value, it does not correspond to the concept of capital, for capital as value is indifferent to every particular form of use value, and can with equal indifference adopt or shed any of them as its incarnation. In this respect, in terms of capital's relation to what is outside it, *circulating capital* appears as the adequate form of capital as against fixed capital.

Furthermore, to the extent that machinery develops with the accumulation of social knowledge and productive power in general, it is not in the worker but in capital that general social labour is represented. The productive power of society is measured in terms of *fixed capital*, exists in it in the form of objects; and conversely the productive power of capital develops with this general progress, which is appropriated gratis by capital. We need not enter into the development of machinery *en détail* here, but only in general, in so far as in *fixed capital* the *means of labour,* considered in its physical aspect, loses its immediate form and confronts the worker physically as *capital.* Knowledge appears in machinery as alien and external to him, and living labour as subsumed under objectified labour operating independently of

him. The worker appears as superfluous—unless his action is conditioned by the needs [of capital].[a]

[VII-l][b] Hence, the full development of capital only takes place—or capital has only posited the mode of production corresponding to it—when the means of labour is not merely formally determined as *fixed capital* but is superseded in its immediate form, and *fixed capital* confronts labour within the production process as machinery. The entire production process then appears no longer as subsumed under the immediate skill of the worker, but as technological application of science. Capital thus tends to impart a scientific character to production, and immediate labour is reduced to a mere moment of this process. Just as we found when discussing the transformation of value into capital, a more detailed analysis of capital shows that, on the one hand, it presupposes a definite given historical development of the productive forces—these including science, too—and, on the other, spurs them on and accelerates their growth.

Hence the quantitative volume and effectiveness (intensity) of the development of capital as fixed capital indicates, in general, the DEGREE to which capital is developed as capital, as power over living labour, and to which it has, in general, subjected to itself the production process. It is also indicative as expressing the degree of accumulation of objectified productive forces and similarly of objectified labour. But if capital gives to itself its adequate form as use value within the production process only when it adopts the form of machinery and other physical forms of existence of fixed capital, e.g., railways, etc. (which we shall take up later), it does not in any way follow that this use value—machinery in itself—is capital, or that its existence as machinery is identical with its existence as capital. Just as little as gold would lose its use value as gold if it ceased to be *money*. Machinery would not lose its use value through ceasing to be capital. From the fact that machinery is the most appropriate form of use value of fixed capital, it in no way follows that its subsuming under the social relation of capital is the most appropriate and best social production relation for the application of machinery.

In the same measure as labour time—the simple quantity of labour—is posited by capital as the sole determinant of value,

[a] Manuscript damaged.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx opens page 1 of the seventh, last, notebook with the heading "Chapter on Capital (Continuation)" and the note "(This notebook [was] begun at the end of February '58)".—*Ed.*

immediate labour and its quantity disappear as the determining principle of production, of the creation of use values. It is reduced both quantitatively, in that its proportion declines, and qualitatively, in that it, though still indispensable, becomes a subaltern moment in comparison to general scientific work, the technological application of the natural sciences, on the one hand, and also in comparison to the general productive power originating from the organisation of society in overall production, a productive power which appears as a natural gift of social labour (although it is an historical product). Thus capital works to dissolve itself as the form which dominates production.

Thus if, on the one hand, the transformation of the production process from the simple labour process into a scientific process, one forcing the powers of Nature into its service and thus setting them to work in the service of human needs, appears as a property of *fixed capital* as against living labour; if, further, individual labour as such ceases in general to appear as productive, but rather is productive only in collective labours which subjugate the powers of Nature to themselves, and this elevation of immediate into social labour appears to reduce individual labour to helplessness compared to the concentrated collectivity represented in capital, then, on the other hand, the maintenance of labour in one branch of production by *COEXISTING LABOUR*[18] in another now appears as the property of *circulating capital.*

In the lesser circulation,[a] capital advances wages to the worker, who exchanges them for the products necessary for his consumption. The money he has received can effect the exchange only because simultaneously others work alongside him; and it is only because capital has appropriated his labour that it can give him in money a draft upon alien labour. This exchange of his own labour with alien does not appear here to be mediated and conditioned by the simultaneous coexistence of the labour of others, but by the advance which capital makes [to him]. The part of the *CIRCULATING CAPITAL* which is handed over to the worker, and CIRCULATING CAPITAL in general, appear to have the property of enabling the worker to undertake during production the exchange of matter necessary for his consumption. It appears not as an exchange of matter between simultaneously working labour powers, but as an exchange of matter effected by capital; a consequence of the existence of CIRCULATING CAPITAL.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 63-68.— *Ed.*

Hence all the powers of labour are transposed into powers of capital. Fixed capital stands for the productive power of labour (which is posited outside labour and appears to exist independently of it, objectively). And in circulating capital, the fact, on the one hand, that the worker has himself posited the conditions for the repetition of his labour, and, on the other hand, that the exchange of this his labour is mediated by the coexisting labour of others, appears in the form that capital makes the advance to him and, on the other hand, posits the contemporaneity of the different branches of labour. (Strictly speaking, the latter two determinations belong in the section on accumulation.) Capital posits itself as the mediator between the different LABOURERS in the form of circulating capital.

*Fixed capital,* in its determination as means of production, whose most adequate form is machinery, produces value, i. e. increases the value of the product, only in two respects: (1) to the extent that it possesses *value,* i.e. is itself a product of labour, a certain quantity of labour in objectified form; (2) in so far as it increases the proportion of surplus labour to necessary labour, by enabling labour, through increasing its productive power, to produce a larger quantity of products necessary for the maintenance of the living labour capacity in a shorter time. It is, therefore, an utterly absurd bourgeois phrase to claim that the worker shares with the capitalist because the latter, by means of fixed capital (which, moreover, is itself the product of labour, is *alien labour* simply appropriated by capital), alleviates or abridges his labour for him. (In fact, by setting him to work with a machine, the capitalist robs his labour of all independence and attractiveness.)

Capital employs the machine, rather, only in so far as it enables the worker to work a larger part of his time for capital, to relate to a larger part of his time as not belonging to him, to work a longer time for another. By this process, the quantity of labour necessary for the production of a certain object is in fact reduced to the minimum, but only in order that a maximum of labour can be valorised in a maximum of such objects. The first aspect is important because capital in this way—quite unintentionally—reduces human labour, the expenditure of [human] energy, to a minimum. This will be to the advantage of emancipated labour and is the condition for its emancipation.

What has been said above shows the absurdity of Lauderdale's attempt to make fixed capital into an autonomous source of value, one independent of labour time.[19] It can be so only to the extent that it itself posits objectified labour time and surplus labour time. The employment of machinery itself historically

presupposes [VII-2]—see Ravenstone, above[a]—superfluous hands. Only when there is a superfluity of labour powers, does machinery intervene to replace labour. It is only in the imagination of economists that machinery assists the individual worker. It can only operate with masses of workers, whose concentration vis-à-vis capital is, as we have seen, one of capital's historical presuppositions.[b] Machinery is not introduced to make up for a shortage of labour power, but to reduce abundantly available labour power to the necessary volume. Only where labour capacity is available in large quantities is machinery introduced. (This to be reverted to.)

Lauderdale believes to have made a great discovery in asserting that machinery does not increase the productive power of labour, since it rather replaces labour or performs tasks which labour cannot perform on its own. It is inherent in the concept of capital that the increased productive power of labour is posited rather as the aggrandizement of a power outside it and as its own enfeeblement. The means of labour makes the worker independent—posits him as a proprietor. Machinery—as fixed capital—posits him as dependent, as appropriated. However, machinery has this effect only to the extent that it is determined as fixed capital; and it is determined as such only by the fact that the worker relates himself to it as a wage labourer, and the active individual in general as a mere labourer.

Hitherto, fixed capital and circulating capital appeared merely as different transitory determinations of capital. Now they have hardened into particular modes of existence of capital, and circulating capital appears alongside fixed capital. There are now 2 particular kinds of capital. In so far as one considers a single capital in a particular branch of production, it appears divided up into these 2 portions, or it falls in definite proportions into these 2 kinds of capital.

The different elements within the production process, originally means of labour and material of labour, and finally product of labour, now appear as circulating capital (the last two) and fixed capital. The differentiation of capital according to its purely material aspect has now been assimilated into the very form of capital and appears as a differentiator of capital.

Fixed capital—notably that whose material existence or use value is machinery—is the form best suited to give some

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 324-25 and this volume, pp. 79-80.—*Ed.*
[b] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 504-10.—*Ed.*

semblance of truth to the shallow FALLACIES of those who, like *Lauderdale*, etc., believe that capital as such, divorced from labour, can produce *value*, and thus also *surplus value* (or profit). One may answer them, as was done, e.g., in *Labour Defended*,[a] that the road-maker may indeed share with the road-user, but the "road" itself cannot do so.[20]

Circulating capital—assuming that it actually passes through its various phases—causes the decrease or increase, the shortening or lengthening of circulation time, the easier or more arduous course through the various stages of circulation, a diminishing of the surplus value that could be produced in a given period of time if the process were not subject to these interruptions—either *because there is a decline in the number of reproductions,* or because the quantity of *capital continuously engaged in the production process* contracts. In neither case is there a reduction in the initially posited value; but, in both cases, a reduction in the rapidity of its growth. Yet, as soon as fixed capital has attained a certain level of development—and this level, as we have already indicated, is the measure of development of large-scale industry in general, and therefore rises in proportion to the development of the productive forces of large-scale industry (fixed capital is itself the objectification of these productive forces, is these forces themselves as a presupposed product)—from this moment onwards, every interruption of the production process directly reduces capital itself, its presupposed value.

The value of fixed capital is only reproduced to the extent that it is used up in the production process. If it is not used, fixed capital loses its use value, without its value passing on to the product. Hence the larger the scale on which fixed capital develops, in the sense in which it is considered here, the more *the continuity of the production process* or the continuous flow of reproduction becomes a compelling external condition of the mode of production based upon capital.

In this respect, too, the appropriation of living labour by capital takes on an immediate reality in machinery: on the one hand, it is the analysis and application of mechanical and chemical laws—originating directly from science—that enables the machine to perform the same labour as was previously performed by the worker. However, the development of machinery takes this course only when large-scale industry has already attained a high level of

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[a] [Hodgskin, Th.,] *Labour Defended against the Claims of Capital; or, the Unproductiveness of Capital Proved....— Ed.*

development and all the sciences have been forced into the service of capital, and when, on the other hand, the machinery already in existence itself affords great resources. At this point, invention becomes a business, and the application of science to immediate production itself becomes a factor determining and soliciting science.

However, this is not the way in which machinery has come into being on a general basis; and still less is it the way in which it develops in detail. The actual way is that of analysis—through the division of labour, which increasingly transforms the workers' operations into mechanical ones, so that at a certain point the workers can be replaced by a mechanism. (*Ad.* ECONOMY OF POWER.) Therefore, a definite mode of labour appears here to be directly transferred from the worker to capital in the form of the machine, and this transposition devalues his own labour capacity. Hence the workers' struggle against machinery. What was the activity of a live worker now becomes an activity of the machine. Thus the appropriation of labour by capital confronts the worker in a gross-sensuous way; capital as absorbing living labour into itself—"as though it had love in its bosom".[a]

The exchange of living labour for objectified, i.e. the positing of social labour in the form of the antithesis of capital and wage labour, is the ultimate development of the *value relationship* and of production based on value. Its presupposition is and remains the sheer volume of immediate labour time, the quantity of labour employed, as the decisive factor in the production of wealth. But in the degree in which large-scale industry develops, the creation of real wealth becomes less dependent upon labour time and the quantity of labour employed than upon the power of the agents set in motion during labour time. And their power—their POWERFUL EFFECTIVENESS—in turn bears no relation to the immediate labour time which their production costs, but depends, rather, upon the general level of development of science and the progress of technology, or on the application of science to production. (The development of science itself, especially of natural science, and with it of all the other sciences, is, in turn, related to the development of material production.) E.g. agriculture becomes mere application of the science of the exchange of matter—in terms of how that exchange can be regulated to the maximum advantage of the social body as a whole.

Real wealth manifests itself rather—and this is revealed by

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[a] Goethe, *Faust*, Part I, "Auerbach's Cellar in Leipzig".—*Ed.*

large-scale industry—in the immense disproportion between the labour time employed and its product, and similarly in the qualitative disproportion between labour reduced to a pure abstraction and the power of the production process which it oversees. Labour no longer appears so much as included in the production process, but rather man relates himself to that process as its overseer and regulator. (What is true of machinery is equally true of the combination of human activities and the development of human intercourse.) No longer does the worker interpose a modified natural object as an intermediate element between the object and himself; now he interposes the natural process, [VII-3] which he transforms into an industrial one, as an intermediary between himself and inorganic nature, which he makes himself master of. He stands beside the production process, rather than being its main agent.

Once this transformation has taken place, it is neither the immediate labour performed by man himself, nor the time for which he works, but the appropriation of his own general productive power, his comprehension of Nature and domination of it by virtue of his being a social entity—in a word, the development of the social individual—that appears as the cornerstone of production and wealth. The *theft of alien labour time, which is the basis of present wealth,* appears to be a miserable foundation compared to this newly developed one, the foundation created by large-scale industry itself. As soon as labour in its immediate form has ceased to be the great source of wealth, labour time ceases and must cease to be its measure, and therefore exchange value [must cease to be the measure] of use value. The *surplus labour of the masses* has ceased to be the condition for the development of general wealth, just as the *non-labour of a few* has ceased to be the condition for the development of the general powers of the human mind. As a result, production based upon exchange value collapses, and the immediate material production process itself is stripped of its form of indigence and antagonism. Free development of individualities, and hence not the reduction of necessary labour time in order to posit surplus labour, but in general the reduction of the necessary labour of society to a minimum, to which then corresponds the artistic, scientific, etc., development of individuals, made possible by the time thus set free and the means produced for all of them.

By striving to reduce labour time to a minimum, while, on the other hand, positing labour time as the sole measure and source of wealth, capital itself is a contradiction-in-process. It therefore

diminishes labour time in the form of necessary labour time in order to increase it in the form of superfluous labour time; it thus posits superfluous labour time to an increasing degree as a condition—*question de vie et de mort*[a]—for necessary labour time. On the one hand, therefore, it calls into life all the powers of science and Nature, and of social combination and social intercourse, in order to make the creation of wealth (relatively) independent of the labour time employed for that purpose. On the other hand, it wishes the enormous social forces thus created to be measured by labour time and to confine them within the limits necessary to maintain as value the value already created. The productive forces and social relations—two different aspects of the development of the social individual—appear to capital merely as the means, and *are* merely the means, for it to carry on production on its restricted basis. IN FACT, however, they are the material conditions for exploding that basis.

"A nation is truly rich if 6 instead of 12 hours are worked. *WEALTH* is not command over surplus labour time" (real wealth) "but *DISPOSABLE TIME*, in addition to that employed in immediate production, for *every individual* and for the whole society." [21]

Nature does not construct machines, locomotives, railways, ELECTRIC TELEGRAPHS, SELF-ACTING MULES, etc. They are products of human industry; natural material transformed into organs of man's will over Nature, or of man's activity in Nature. They are *organs of the human mind which are created by the human hand*, the objectified power of knowledge. The development of fixed capital shows the degree to which society's general science, KNOWLEDGE, has become an *immediate productive force*, and hence the degree to which the conditions of the social life process itself have been brought under the control of the GENERAL INTELLECT and remoulded according to it. It shows the degree to which the social productive forces are produced not merely in the form of knowledge but as immediate organs of social praxis, of the actual life process.

*There is yet another aspect from which the development of fixed capital indicates the degree of development of wealth in general or of the development of capital.* The object of production directly aimed at use value, and similarly directly at exchange value, is the product itself, which is intended for consumption. The part of production

[a] A matter of life or death.—*Ed.*

aimed at the production of fixed capital does not produce immediate objects of enjoyment or immediate exchange values; at least it does not produce immediately realisable exchange values. *So it depends upon the level of productivity already attained—upon a mere part of production time being sufficient for immediate production—that an increasingly large part of production time is employed in producing means of production.*

This presupposes that society can wait, can withdraw a large part of the wealth already created both from immediate enjoyment and from production intended for immediate enjoyment, and employ it for labour which is *not immediately productive* (within the material production process itself). For it to be able to do so, productivity and relative excess must already have attained a certain level, and indeed a level directly proportionate to the scale on which circulating capital is transformed into fixed capital. Just as the *amount of relative surplus labour depends upon the productivity of necessary* labour, so *the amount of the labour time employed on the production of fixed capital*—living labour time as well as objectified—depends upon the *productivity of the labour time intended for the direct production of products.*

*Surplus population* (surplus from this standpoint), like *surplus production,* is a condition for this, i.e. the result of the time employed upon immediate production must be relatively in excess of what is immediately required for the reproduction of the capital employed in these branches of industry. *The less* the immediate yield of *fixed capital,* the less fixed capital engaged in the *immediate production process,* the larger this relative *surplus population and surplus production* must be; i.e. more relative surplus population and surplus production is required to build railways, canals, waterworks, telegraphs, etc., than to make machinery used in the immediate production process. Hence—and we shall come back to that later—the continual over- and underproduction in modern industry reflecting the continual fluctuations and convulsions in the disproportionate—now insufficient, now excessive—transformation of circulating capital into fixed capital.

//The *creation of an abundance of* DISPOSABLE TIME apart from necessary labour time, for society in general and for each of its members (i.e. scope for the development of the full productive powers of the individual, hence also of society), this creation of not-labour-time appears under the conditions of capital, and at all earlier stages, as the creation of not-labour-time, free time, for a few. What capital adds is that it increases the surplus labour time of the masses by all the means of art and science, because its

wealth consists directly in its appropriation of surplus labour time; for its *direct aim is value*, not use value.

Hence it is INSTRUMENTAL, *malgré lui*,[a] IN CREATING THE MEANS OF SOCIAL DISPOSABLE TIME, of reducing labour time for the whole of society to a declining minimum, and of thus setting free the time of all [members of society] for their own development. But its tendency is always, on the one hand, *to create DISPOSABLE TIME, and on the other TO CONVERT IT INTO SURPLUS LABOUR.* Yet if it is too successful in the former, it is afflicted with surplus production, and then necessary labour is interrupted, as *no SURPLUS LABOUR* can be utilised *by capital.*

The more this contradiction develops, the more obvious it becomes that the growth of the productive forces can no longer be tied to the appropriation of alien SURPLUS LABOUR, and that the working masses must, rather, themselves appropriate their surplus labour. Once they have done so—and *DISPOSABLE TIME* has thereby ceased to possess an *antithetical* existence—then, on the one hand, necessary labour time will be measured by the needs of the social individual; and, on the other, society's productive power will develop so rapidly that, although production will now be calculated to provide wealth for all, the *DISPOSABLE TIME* of all will increase. For real wealth is the developed productive power of all individuals. Then [VII-4] wealth is no longer measured by labour time but by DISPOSABLE TIME. *Labour time as the measure of wealth* posits wealth itself as based upon poverty, and DISPOSABLE TIME only as existing *in and through the opposition to surplus labour time*; or the whole time of an individual is posited as labour time, and he is consequently degraded to a mere labourer, subsumed under labour. *Hence the most developed machinery now compels the labourer to work for a longer time than the savage does, or than the labourer himself did when he was using the simplest, crudest implements.*//

"If the whole labour of a country were only sufficient TO RAISE THE SUPPORT OF THE WHOLE POPULATION, THERE WOULD BE NO *SURPLUS LABOUR*, CONSEQUENTLY NOTHING THAT COULD BE ALLOWED TO ACCUMULATE AS CAPITAL. IF THE PEOPLE RAISE in one year sufficient for the SUPPORT OF 2 YEARS, ONE YEAR'S CONSUMPTION MUST PERISH, OR FOR ONE YEAR MEN MUST CEASE FROM PRODUCTIVE LABOUR. BUT THE *POSSESSORS OF SURPLUS PRODUCE OR CAPITAL* EMPLOY PEOPLE UPON *SOMETHING NOT DIRECTLY AND IMMEDIATELY PRODUCTIVE*, e.g. IN THE ERECTION OF MACHINERY. So it goes ON" (*The Source and Remedy of the National Difficulties* [London, 1821, pp. 4-5]).

//Just as with the development of large-scale industry the basis on which it rests, appropriation of alien labour time, ceases to constitute or to create wealth, so, as this development takes place,

[a] Despite itself.—*Ed.*

*immediate labour* as such ceases to be the basis of production. That happens because, on the one hand, immediate labour is transformed into a predominantly overseeing and regulating activity; and also because, on the other hand, the product ceases to be the product of isolated immediate labour, and it is rather the *combination* of social activity that appears as the producer.

"As soon as the division of labour has been developed, almost any labour by an isolated individual becomes some part OF A WHOLE, *HAVING NO VALUE OR UTILITY OF ITSELF. THERE IS NOTHING ON WHICH THE LABOURER CAN SEIZE* [and say:] *THIS IS MY PRODUCE, THIS I WILL KEEP TO MYSELF*" ([Th. Hodgskin,] *Labour Defended,* [London, 1825,] 1, 2, XI[22] [p. 25]).

In immediate exchange, the isolated immediate labour appears as realised in a particular product or part of a product, and its communal social character—its character as the objectification of general labour, and satisfaction of general need—is only posited by exchange. By contrast, in the production process of large-scale industry, we see, on the one hand, that the productive power of the means of labour developed to an automatic process presupposes the subjection of the natural forces to the social intelligence, *and, on the other hand, that the labour of the individual in its immediate existence is posited as superseded individual, i.e., as social, labour. Thus the other basis of this mode of production is abolished.//*

Within the production process of capital itself, the labour time employed upon the production of fixed capital relates to that employed upon the production of circulating capital as *surplus labour time to necessary labour time.* In the degree in which production directed to the satisfaction of immediate needs becomes more productive, a larger part of production can be directed to satisfy the needs of production itself or to the production of means of production. In so far as the production of *fixed capital* aims directly, in material terms too, neither at the production of immediate use values, nor of values required for the immediate reproduction of capital, i.e. values which in the creation of value itself represent, relatively, use value, but aims at the production of means for the creation of value, hence not at value as an immediate object, but at the creation of value, at the means of valorisation as the immediate object of production—the production of value materially posited in the object of production itself as the purpose of production, of the objectification of productive power, the value-producing power of capital—to that extent *capital posits itself as an end-in-itself*—and is active as *capital—in a higher potency in the production of fixed capital than in that of circulating capital.* Therefore, in this respect too, the

magnitude which fixed capital already possesses, and which its production constitutes in overall production, is *the measure of the development* of wealth based upon the capitalist mode of production.

"The number of labourers DEPENDS ON *CIRCULATING CAPITAL* SO FAR as that number DEPENDS ON THE QUANTITY OF *PRODUCTS OF CO-EXISTING LABOUR*, WHICH LABOURERS ARE ALLOWED TO CONSUME" ([Th. Hodgskin,] *Labour Defended* [p. 20]).

All the passages from various economists cited above refer to fixed capital as the part of capital which is locked up in the production process.

"FLOATING CAPITAL IS CONSUMED; FIXED CAPITAL IS MERELY USED IN THE GREAT PROCESS OF PRODUCTION" ([*The*] *Economist*, [No. 219, 6 November 1847, p. 1271,] VI, 1 [17]).

This is incorrect, and holds good only for the part of circulating capital which is itself consumed by fixed capital, i.e., for the *matières instrumentales*. Only *fixed capital* is consumed "IN THE GREAT PROCESS OF PRODUCTION", taking this to be the immediate production process. And its consumption within the production process is IN FACT its *USE*, the *using up* of it.

Furthermore, the *greater durability* of *fixed capital* is not to be understood in purely material terms either. The iron and wood which compose the bed in which I sleep, or the stone of which the house is built in which I live, or the marble statue with which a palace is adorned, are as durable as the iron and wood, etc., which are employed in the construction of machinery. But *durability* is a condition for the instrument, for the means of production, not merely for the technical reason that metal, etc., is the main material of all machinery, but because the instrument is to play the same role continually in repeated production processes. Its durability as a means of production is a direct requirement of its use value. The more frequently it has to be renewed, the more expensive it is; the larger is the part of capital which must be uselessly employed on it. Its duration is its existence as a means of production. The longer it lasts, the greater its productive power. With circulating capital, on the contrary, to the extent that it is not transformed into fixed capital, its durability has no relation whatever to the act of production itself and is thus not a conceptually posited moment. That some of the objects thrown into the *fonds de consommation* are again determined as *fixed capital*, because they are consumed slowly and may be consumed by many individuals successively, is connected with further determinations

(renting instead of selling, interest, etc.) with which we are not yet concerned here.

[VII-5][a] "Since the general introduction of inanimate mechanism into British manufactories, man, with few exceptions, has been treated as a secondary and inferior machine; and far more attention has been given to perfect the raw materials of wood and metals than those of body and mind" (Robert Owen, *Essays on the Formation of the Human Character*, London, 1840, p. 31).

//Real economising—saving—consists in the saving of labour time (the minimum production costs,[23] and their reduction to the minimum). But this saving is identical with the development of the productive power. Hence in no way *renunciation of enjoyment* but development of POWER, of the capacity to produce and hence of both the capacity for and the means of enjoyment. The capacity for enjoyment is a condition for it, and hence the basic means for it, and this capacity is created by the development of an individual disposition, productive power.

The saving of labour time is equivalent to the increase of free time, i.e. time for the full development of the individual, which itself, as the greatest productive force, in turn reacts upon the productive power of labour. From the standpoint of the immediate production process, it can be considered as the production of *fixed capital*, this fixed capital BEING MAN HIMSELF.

Incidentally, it is self-evident that immediate labour time itself cannot remain in abstract antithesis to free time, as it appears to do from the standpoint of bourgeois political economy. Labour cannot become a game, as desired by Fourier,[b] whose great merit it remains to have stated that the ULTIMATE OBJECT is the raising of the mode of production itself, not [that] of distribution, to a higher form. Free time—which is both leisure and time for higher activity—has naturally transformed its possessor into another subject; and it is then as this other subject that he enters into the immediate production process. This process is simultaneously discipline, with respect to the developing human being, and application, experimental science, material creative and self-objectifying science, with respect to the developed man, whose mind is the repository of the accumulated knowledge of society. So far as labour demands practical manual exertion and free motion, as in agriculture, the production process is for both of them, at the same time, EXERCISE.

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[a] In Marx's hand at the top of this page: "March. 1858".—*Ed.*

[b] Ch. Fourier, *Le Nouveau Monde industriel et sociétaire*. In: *Œuvres complètes*, 3rd ed., Vol. 6, Paris, 1848, pp. 245-52.—*Ed.*

Just as the system of bourgeois economy unfolds to us only gradually, so also does its negation of itself, which is its ultimate result. At this point, we are still concerned with the immediate production process. If we consider bourgeois society in the round, it is always society itself, i.e. man himself in his social relations, that appears as the final result of the social production process. Everything that has a solid form, like the product, etc., appears merely as a moment, a vanishing moment in this movement. Even the immediate production process itself appears here merely as a moment. The conditions and objectifications of that process are themselves, to an equal degree, moments of it, and it is only individuals that appear as its subjects; yet individuals in relations to one another, which they reproduce just as much as they produce them anew. Their own continuous process of movement, in which they renew themselves to just the same extent as they renew the world of wealth which they create.//

(In his *Six Lectures delivered at Manchester*, 1837, *Owen* discusses the difference between workers and capitalists which capital creates BY ITS VERY GROWTH and appearance on a wide scale (and it attains this only in large-scale industry, which is connected with the development of fixed capital). However, he says that the development of capital is a *necessary condition* for the RE-CREATION OF SOCIETY, and relates of himself:

"It was BY BEING GRADUALLY TRAINED TO CREATE AND CONDUCT SOME OF THESE LARGE" (MANUFACTURING) "ESTABLISHMENTS, THAT YOUR LECTURER" (Owen himself) "was taught to perceive the great errors and DISADVANTAGES of past and present attempts to improve the character and the condition of his fellow-men" (p. [57-]58).

We shall quote here the entire passage, so that we may refer to it on another occasion.[24]

"The producers of fully developed wealth may be divided into workers in soft and workers in hard materials, under the immediate direction, as a general rule, of masters whose object it is to make pecuniary gain by the labour of those whom they employ. Before the introduction of the chemical and mechanical manufacturing system, operations were carried on upon a confined scale; there were many small masters, each having a few journeymen, who looked forward to becoming also in due time, small masters. These usually fed at the same table, and lived together; and there prevailed a spirit and feeling of equality between them. Since the period when SCIENTIFIC POWER began to be largely applied to the business of manufacture, a gradual change took place in this respect. Almost all manufactures, to be successful, must now be carried on EXTENSIVELY and with large capital; small masters with small capitals have now very little chance of success, especially in the manufacture of the soft materials, such as cotton, wool, flax, etc.; it is now indeed

EVIDENT that so long as the present classification of society and mode of conducting business life shall continue, the small masters will be more and more superseded by those who possess large capitals, and that the former comparatively happy equality among producers must give place to the greatest inequality between master and worker that has yet occurred in the history of man. The large capitalist is now elevated to the position of an imperial lord, having the health, life, and death, INDIRECTLY, of his slaves at his will. This power he obtains by combining with other large capitalists engaged in the same interests with himself, and thus does he effectively coerce to his purpose those whom he employs. The large capitalist now wallows in wealth, the right use of which he has not been taught and knows not. He has acquired power by his riches. His riches and his power blind his understanding; and when he most GRIEVOUSLY oppresses, he believes he is conferring favours... His SERVANTS, as they are called, his SLAVES IN FACT, are reduced to the most hopeless degradation; the majority of them, robbed of their health, of their domestic comforts and of the leisure and the healthy open air amusements of former days. Through excessive exhaustion of their powers, brought on by long protracted monotonous employments, they are seduced into habits of intemperance and unfitted for thought or reflection. They can have no physical, intellectual or moral enjoyments, except of the very lowest description; all the real pleasures of life being far removed from them. The existence which a very large portion of the workers endure under the present system is, in short, not worth possessing.

"But for the changes of which these are the results no individuals are BLAMEABLE; *they proceed in the REGULAR ORDER OF NATURE, and are preparatory and necessary steps towards the great and important social revolution* which is in progress. Without large capitals, large establishments would not have been formed; men could not have been trained to conceive the PRACTICABILITY OF EFFECTING NEW COMBINATIONS, IN ORDER TO SECURE A SUPERIOR CHARACTER TO ALL and the production of more wealth annually than all could consume; and that that wealth also should be of a very superior description to that [VII-6] hitherto generally produced" (l.c., [pp.] 56, 57).

"It is this new chemical and mechanical manufacturing system that is now enlarging the human faculties to prepare them to understand other PRINCIPLES and PRACTICES, to adopt them, and thus to effect the greatest beneficial change in affairs that the world has yet known. And it is this new manufacturing system that now creates the necessity for another and superior classification of society" (l.c., [p.] 58).)

## [CIRCULATION AND REPRODUCTION OF FIXED AND CIRCULATING CAPITAL]

We have previously noted that the productive power (fixed capital) only imparts value—because it only possesses value—in so far as it is itself produced, is itself a certain quantity of objectified labour time. But there are also natural agents, such as water, land (especially), mines, etc., which are appropriated, hence possess exchange value and therefore must be included as values in the calculation of the production costs. In a word, landed property (it includes the soil, mines, water) enters the reckoning. But the value

of means of production which are not the product of labour does not as yet belong here, since they do not come under the heading of capital itself. For capital, they appear in the first place as a given, historical presupposition, and we leave them as such at this point. Only the form of landed property modified to correspond to capital—or of natural agents as value-determining magnitudes—belongs in the discussion of the system of bourgeois economy. For our analysis of capital nothing is changed, at this point, by considering the soil, etc., as a form of fixed capital.

Since *fixed capital* in the sense of the produced productive power, as agent of production, increases the mass of use values produced in a definite time, fixed capital cannot increase unless there is an increase in the quantity of the raw material which it works up. (This applies to manufacturing industry. In the extractive industries, e.g. fishing, mining, labour consists merely in overcoming the obstacles to the winning and appropriation of raw products or primary products. There, no raw material is worked on for production, but rather the existing raw product is appropriated. In agriculture, on the other hand, the raw material is the soil itself; the circulating capital is the seed, etc.) Hence the employment of fixed capital on a larger scale presupposes an enlargement of the part of circulating capital which consists of raw materials, and consequently a growth of capital in general. It also presupposes a (relative) decline in the portion of capital exchanged for living labour.

In *fixed capital*, capital exists, physically too, not merely as objectified labour intended to serve as means of new labour, but as value whose use value is the production of new values. The existence of fixed capital is therefore κατ'ἐξοχήν[a] its existence as productive capital. *Hinc*[b] the level of development already attained by the mode of production based on capital—or the extent to which capital itself is already presupposed, has presupposed itself, as the condition for its own production—is measured by the existing volume of fixed capital. Not only by its quantity, but by its quality as well.

Finally: In *fixed capital*, the social productive power of labour is posited as a property inherent in capital; *the* SCIENTIFIC POWER *as well as the combination of social forces within the production process, and finally the skill translated from immediate labour into machines, into lifeless productive power.* In *circulating capital*, on the other hand, it

[a] Above all.—*Ed.*
[b] Hence.—*Ed.*

is the exchange of labours, of the various branches of industry, their inter-meshing and formation of a system, the coexistence of productive labour, that appears as the *property of capital.*

//The determinations of raw material, product and instrument of production vary in accordance with the determination adopted by the use values in the production process itself. What may be regarded as mere raw material is itself the product of labour. (The description of mere raw material certainly does not apply to agricultural products, all of which are reproduced, and not only reproduced in their original form, but modified in their natural being itself in conformity with human needs. Quote from Hodges, etc. The products of purely extractive industries, e.g. coal, metals, are themselves results of labour, which is required not merely to bring them up to the surface, but also, as with the metals, to give them the form in which they can serve as the raw materials of industry. But they are not reproduced, for as yet we do not know how to make metals.)

The product of one industry is the raw material of another, *et* vice versa. The instrument of production itself is the product of one industry and serves as instrument of production in another. The waste product of one industry is the raw material of another. In agriculture, a part of the product (seed, livestock, etc.) itself figures as the raw material of that very industry, and therefore, like fixed capital, never emerges from the production process. The part of agricultural produce set aside for consumption by livestock can be regarded as a *matière instrumentale.* But the seed is reproduced in the production process, while the instrument as such is consumed in it. Since the seed and the working animals always remain in the production process, can not both be regarded as fixed capital? No, since otherwise all raw material would have to be regarded thus. As such, raw material is always engaged in the production process.

Finally, the products entering into direct consumption re-emerge from it as raw materials for production, e.g. fertiliser in the process of nature, etc., paper made of rags, etc. Yet, secondly, their consumption reproduces the individual himself in a particular mode of existence, not merely in his immediate vitality, and in particular social relations. So that the final appropriation by individuals, which takes place in the process of consumption, reproduces them in the original relations in which they figure in the production process and in mutual intercourse; it reproduces them in their social existence, and thus reproduces their social existence itself—society—which appears as the subject of this

great overall process to the same extent as it appears as its result. //

*Fourthly*[a]:

We must now examine the other relations of fixed capital and circulating capital.

We said above that in *circulating capital* the social relation of the different labours to one another is posited as the property of capital, just as the social productive power of labour is in fixed capital.

"The circulating capital of a nation consists of money, means of subsistence, raw materials, and *l'ouvrage fait*[b]" (A. Smith, [*Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations,*] Vol. II, p. 218).

As regards money, Smith cannot decide whether he should call it circulating or fixed capital. If it is constantly employed only as the instrument of circulation, which is itself a moment of the total reproduction process, it is *fixed capital*—as instrument of circulation. Yet its use value then consists solely in circulating; never, then, does it enter either into the production process proper or into individual consumption. It is the part of capital which is permanently fixed in the circulation phase, and in this respect it is the most perfect form of circulating capital. From the other angle, since it is fixed as instrument, it is *fixed capital.*

In so far as the relation to individual consumption is a criterion for distinguishing between *fixed capital and circulating capital,* this distinction is already given by the fact that *fixed capital* does not enter into circulation as use value. (In agriculture, a part of the seed enters [VII-7] as use value into circulation, since the seed multiplies itself.) The fact that fixed capital does not enter into circulation as use value implies that it does not become an object of individual consumption.

"*Fixed capital*" serves reiteratedly, again and again, for the same operation, "AND BY HOW MUCH LARGER HAS BEEN THE RANGE OF THESE ITERATIONS, BY SO MUCH [THE] MORE INTENSELY IS THE TOOL, ENGINE, OR MACHINERY, ENTITLED TO THE DENOMINATION OF FIXED" (De Quincey, [*The Logic of Political Economy,* p. 114,] X, 4[10]).

Assume a capital of £10,000, composed of 5,000 fixed capital and 5,000 circulating capital; the latter turns over once a year, the former once in 5 years. This means that 5,000, or $^1/_2$ the total capital, turns over once a year. During the same time, $^1/_5$ of the fixed capital, or £1,000, turns over; in 1 year, therefore, £6,000,

[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 71,76.—*Ed.*

[b] Work completed.—*Ed.*

or $^3/_5$ of the total capital, turns over. Hence $^1/_5$ of the total capital turns over in $^{12}/_3$ months and the whole capital in $\frac{12\times5}{3}$ months, i.e. in $^{60}/_3$=20 months=1 year 8 months.

The total capital of £10,000 has turned over in 20 months, although it takes 5 years to replace the fixed capital. That turnover time, however, only holds for the repetition of the production process and hence for the creation of surplus value; not for the reproduction of the capital itself. If capital recommences the process—returns from circulation into the form of fixed capital—less frequently, it returns the more frequently into the form of circulating capital. But this does not replace the capital itself.

The same is true of circulating capital. If a capital of 100 returns 4 times a year and, as a result, yields 20%, while a capital of 400 circulates only once and yields an equal amount [in absolute terms], the former capital is, in the outcome, still 100 at the end of the year, and the latter still 400, although the former has acted in the production of use values, and in the positing of surplus value, as a capital four times its size. Here we see the velocity of turnover compensate for the size of the capital—striking proof that it is only the quantity of surplus labour set in motion, and of labour in general, not the size of capital in itself, that determines the creation of value and hence of surplus value. The capital of 100 has successively set in motion as much labour during the year as one of 400, and thus has produced the same quantity of surplus value.

But the point here is this: In the above example the circulating capital of 5,000 first returns in the [first] half of the first year,[a] then at the end of the second [half]; in the [first] half of the second year; in the second half of the second year (the first 4 months) £3,333$^2/_6$ of it is returned, and the rest will have been replaced by the end of that half year.

But only $^1/_5$ of the fixed capital was returned in the first year and $^1/_5$ in the second. At the end of the first year, the owner of the capital has £6,000 in hand, at the end of the second, 7,000; and at the end of the third, fourth and fifth years, 8,000, 9,000 and 10,000 respectively. Only at the end of the fifth year is he once again in possession of the total capital with which he began the production process, although *his capital has been operative in the*

[a] According to the original assumption, it should first return at the end of the first year. In this paragraph and in one passage further on, Marx seems to assume that the circulating capital turns over twice a year.—*Ed.*

*production of surplus value as if the whole of it were turned over in 20 months. So the total capital itself is reproduced only in 5 years.*

*The first determination of the turnover is important for the relation in which capital is valorised*; but the second introduces a new relation, which is not present at all in the case of circulating capital. Since *circulating capital enters into circulation in its entirety and returns from it in its entirety, it is reproduced as capital as often as it is realised as surplus value* or as surplus capital. On the other hand, since fixed capital never enters into circulation as use value, and enters into it as value only in the degree in which it is consumed as use value, it is by no means reproduced immediately *the surplus value determined by the average turnover time of the total capital is posited.*

The circulating capital must be turned over 10 times in the 5 years which elapse before the fixed capital is reproduced, i.e. the turnover period of the circulating capital must pass 10 times whilst that of fixed capital passes once; and the *total average turnover of the capital—20 months—must be repeated 3 times before the fixed capital has been reproduced*. Hence, the larger the part of capital consisting of fixed capital—i.e. the greater the extent to which capital is active in the mode of production corresponding to it, with an extensive application of produced productive power—and the more durable the fixed capital, i.e. the longer its reproduction time, the more its use value corresponds to its determination—with so much the greater frequency must the part of capital determined as circulating *repeat the period of its turnover, and the longer the total time capital takes to run the course of its total circulation.*

HENCE *continuity* of production becomes an extreme necessity for capital with the development of the portion of it determined as fixed capital. For circulating capital, *interruptions, unless they are so long as to ruin its use value, are merely interruptions in the creation of surplus value. For fixed capital, however, an interruption* constitutes a destruction of its original value itself, SO FAR as in the meantime its use value is inevitably destroyed relatively unproductively, i.e. without replacing itself as value. So it is only with the development of fixed capital that the continuity of the production process corresponding to the concept of capital is posited as the *conditio sine qua* [*non*] for its maintenance; and therefore, similarly, the continuity and continual growth of consumption.

This is No. I [the first distinction between fixed and circulating capital]. But in respect of form No. II is even more important. The total time in terms of which we measured the RETURN of capital was the year, as the unit of time in which we measured labour was the day. We did so firstly because the year is more or less the

natural reproduction time or duration of the production phase for most vegetable raw materials used in industry. The turnover of circulating capital was thus determined by the number of turnovers it completed in a year as the total time. IN FACT, circulating capital begins its reproduction at the end of each turnover, and if the number of turnovers during the year has a bearing on the total value, the particular fates experienced by circulating capital, during each turnover, do appear to determine the conditions under which it recommences its reproduction, but each of these fates constitutes, in itself, a complete life-act of circulating capital. As soon as capital has been reconverted into money, it can e.g. be transformed into conditions of production different from the initial ones, throw itself from one branch of production into another, with the result that its *reproduction, materially considered, will not be repeated in the same form.*

The introduction of fixed capital alters this, and neither the turnover time of capital nor the unit by reference to which the number of turnovers is measured, the year, appears any longer as the measure of time for the movement of capital. This unit is now determined, rather, by the *reproduction time* required for the fixed capital and hence by the total circulation time it takes to enter into circulation as value and return from it in the totality of its value. During all this time the reproduction of fixed[a] capital must *take place in the same form materially too,* and the number of its necessary turnovers, i.e. *the number of turnovers necessary for the reproduction of the original capital, is distributed over a longer or shorter period of years.* A longer *total period* is therefore posited as the unit in terms of which its turnovers are measured, and their *repetition* is now linked to this unit not merely externally but by necessity. According to Babbage,[b] the average reproduction of machinery in England takes 5 years; hence, the real, probably 10 years. There can be no doubt at all that the cycle through which industry has been passing in *plus ou moins*[c] ten-year periods since the large-scale development of fixed capital, is linked with the *total reproduction phase of capital* determined in this way. We shall find other determining factors too, but this is one of them. There were good and bad times for industry and for the harvests (in agriculture) in the past, too. But the several-year-long industrial cycle divided up into characteristic periods, epochs, is unique to large-scale industry.

[a] The original has "circulating".— *Ed.*

[b] *Traité sur l'économie des machines et des manufactures,* pp. 375-76.— *Ed.*

[c] Roughly.— *Ed.*

[VII-8] Here we come to distinction No. III, which appears for the first time.

Circulating capital was precipitated from the production process in the form of the product, the newly created use value, and entered wholly into circulation. Once reconverted into money, the value of the product (the entire necessary and surplus labour time objectified in it) was fully realised, and thereby both the surplus value was realised and all the conditions of reproduction fulfilled. With the realisation of the price of the commodity, all these conditions were fulfilled and the process could be recommenced. However, this is true only of that part of circulating capital which enters into the large circulation. As TO THE OTHER PORTION OF IT, WHICH CONTINUOUSLY ACCOMPANIES THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION ITSELF, THE CIRCULATION OF THAT PART OF IT WHICH IS TRANSFORMED INTO WAGES, whether or not these WAGES themselves are replaced by a use value entering into circulation naturally depends upon whether labour is employed in the production of fixed capital or of circulating capital.

Fixed capital, on the other hand, does not itself circulate as use value, but only enters—to the extent that it is used up as use value in the production process—as value into the manufactured raw material (in manufacture and agriculture) or into the raw product directly extracted [from the earth] (as in mining). Hence fixed capital in its developed form only returns over a cycle of years, which comprises a series of turnovers of circulating capital. It is not AT ONCE exchanged in the form of the product for money, so that its reproduction process coincides with the turnover of circulating capital. It enters into the price of the product only piecemeal, and therefore returns as value only piecemeal. *It returns piece by piece over longer periods, whereas circulating capital circulates wholly in shorter ones*. To the extent that fixed capital exists as such, [it] does not return, because it does not enter into circulation. To the extent that it does enter into circulation, it no longer exists as fixed capital, but constitutes a notional component of the value component of circulating capital. In general, it only returns in so far as it is directly or indirectly *converted into the product, and therefore into circulating capital.* Because it is not an immediate use value for consumption, it does not enter into circulation as use value.

This difference in the form of RETURN of fixed and circulating capital will later appear significant as the distinction between selling and renting, ANNUITY, interest and profit, *loyer*[a] in its different forms and profit. Their failure to understand this *merely*

[a] Rent.—*Ed.*

*formal* distinction led Proudhon and his gang to the most confused conclusions, as we shall see.

In its remarks on the recent crisis,[25] *The Economist* reduces the whole distinction between fixed and circulating capital to that between the

"RESALE OF ARTICLES WITHIN *A SHORT PERIOD AND AT A PROFIT*" (*The Economist*, No. 754, 6 February 1858 [p. 137]) and "PRODUCTION OF A REVENUE LARGE ENOUGH TO PROVIDE FOR *EXPENSES*, RISK, *WEAR AND TEAR*, AND THE MARKET RATE OF INTEREST".

//*Risk*, which plays a role in the economists' determination of profit—it can obviously play none in the case of surplus gain, since the creation of surplus value is not increased as a result of it, and it is impossible that capital may run risks in the *realisation* of this surplus value—is the danger that capital may not traverse the different phases of circulation, or that it remains fixed in one of them.

We have seen[a] that surplus gain forms part of the production costs, if not of capital, then certainly of the product. The necessity for capital to realise this surplus gain or part of it, is doubly an external compulsion to it. As soon as interest and profit become separated, hence the industrial capitalist must pay interest, a portion of the surplus gain constitutes *production costs* from the viewpoint of capital, i.e. forms part of its outlays. On the other hand, to protect itself against the danger of depreciation to which it is exposed in the metamorphoses of the overall process, it gives itself a kind of AVERAGE insurance. A part of the surplus gain appears to it merely as compensation for the risk it runs to make more money; a risk that the advanced value itself may be lost. In this form, the surplus gain appears to capital as having to be realised to ensure its reproduction. Of course, neither of these factors determines surplus value, but they do cause its positing to appear as an external necessity for capital, not merely as the satisfaction of its tendency towards enrichment.//

The quicker RETURN resulting from the sale of the entire article, and the RETURN, only once a year, of part of the fixed capital, have been discussed above. As regards profit—we are not concerned with merchant's profit here—every part of the circulating capital as emerging and returning from the production process, i.e. in so far as objectified labour (the value of the advances), necessary labour (the value of wages) and surplus labour are contained in it,

[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 241-45.—*Ed.*

yields profit as soon as it passes through circulation, because the realisation of the product is also the realisation of the surplus labour contained in it. However, it is neither circulating nor fixed capital that creates profit, but the appropriation of alien labour mediated by both, therefore *au fond* only that part of circulating capital which enters into the small circulation. And this profit is in fact realised only by capital's entering into circulation, hence only by capital in its form as circulating capital, never in that of fixed capital. And what *The Economist* means here by fixed capital—so far as its revenues are concerned—is the form of fixed capital in which it does not enter directly into the production process as machinery, but exists in RAILWAYS, BUILDINGS, AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENTS, DRAININGS, etc.

//We are not concerned here with the illusory view that *all parts of capital yield profit evenly.*[a] This illusion stems from the division of surplus value into average portions, without reference to the proportions in which capital is divided up into circulating and fixed, or to the part of capital which is converted into living labour. That was, to some extent, also Ricardo's illusion, and in determining value as such he therefore discusses the effect of the proportions of fixed and circulating capital right at the beginning. And the reverend PARSON Malthus speaks with STUPID ingenuousness of the profits accruing to fixed capital, as though capital grew organically by virtue of some natural power. //

In this case, the realisation of the value and surplus value contained in the fixed capital appears in the form of an ANNUITY, with the interest representing surplus value, and the ANNUITY itself the piecemeal RETURN of the value advanced. So what we have here, IN FACT, is not fixed capital entering into circulation as value by virtue of its constituting part of the product (though this *is* the case with AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENTS), but fixed capital being sold in the form of its use value. It is not sold here in one go, but as an ANNUITY.

It is now quite clear, *d'abord*, that some forms of fixed capital initially figure as circulating capital, and only become fixed capital when they are fixed in the production process. E.g., the circulating products of the owner of a machine-building factory are machines, just as the product of a cotton-weaver is calico, and they enter into circulation for him in precisely the same way. To him, they are circulating capital; to the manufacturer who uses them in the

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[a] See Th. R. Malthus, *Principles of Political Economy*, 2nd ed., London, 1836, p. 268.—*Ed.*

production process, they are fixed capital; because they are product to the former, and instrument of production only to the latter. Similarly, for the BUILDING-TRADE, even houses are circulating capital, in spite of their immovability; but they are fixed capital for one [VII-9] who buys them in order to rent them out, or to use them for production as workshops. How fixed capital itself circulates as use value, i.e. is sold, changes hands, will be discussed further on.

However, the point of view that capital is sold as capital—whether as money or in the form of fixed capital—obviously does not belong here, where we are considering circulation as the movement of capital in which it posits itself in its different, conceptually determined moments. Productive capital becomes product, commodity, money, and is reconverted into the conditions of production. In each of these forms it remains capital and becomes capital only by being realised as such. As long as it remains in one of the phases, it is fixed as commodity capital, money capital, or industrial capital. But each of these phases constitutes only one moment of its movement, and in the form in which it rejects itself in order to pass from one phase into another it ceases to be capital. If it rejects itself as a commodity and becomes money, or vice versa, it does not exist as capital in the rejected form but in the newly adopted one. Of course, the rejected form can in turn become the form of another capital, or it can be directly the form of a consumable product. Yet this does not concern us, nor does it concern capital itself, in so far as we are discussing its circuit, revolving as it does within itself. Rather, it rejects each of the forms as its being-not-capital, in order to assume them later again. Yet if capital is loaned out as money, land, a house, etc., it becomes a commodity *as capital*; or the commodity which is put into circulation is *capital as capital*. This is to be discussed further in the next section.

What is paid when the commodity is converted into money—to the extent that its price concerns the part of the fixed capital turned into value—is the part necessary for the partial reproduction of the fixed capital, the part used up and worn out in the production process. So what the buyer pays for is the use or wear of fixed capital, in so far as it is itself value, objectified labour. Since this wear occurs gradually, he only pays for part of it in the product, while he replaces, in the price he pays for the product, the entire value of the fractional part of raw material contained in that product. The consumed, worn-out fractional part of fixed capital is not only paid for successively; it is paid for simultaneous-

ly by a large number of buyers, piecemeal, in the proportion in which they buy products.

Since in the first half of its circulation capital appears as *C* and the buyer as *M*, capital's aim being value, and that of the buyer being use (whether, in turn, productive [does not] concern us here, where we only have to consider the formal aspect, as it appears vis-à-vis capital in its circulation), the buyer's relation to the product is, in general, that of the consumer. Hence the buyer indirectly pays in all commodities successively and in a piecemeal fashion for the use and wear of the fixed capital, although it does not enter into circulation as a use value.

However, there are forms of fixed capital in which he pays for its use value directly—as in the case of means of communication, transport, etc. In all these cases, fixed capital IN FACT never emerges from the production process, e.g. railways, etc. Yet, while it serves some within the production process as means of communication necessary to bring the product to market, and [as] means of circulation for the producers themselves, it may serve others as a means of consumption, as a use value, e.g. the traveller taking a pleasure trip, etc.

Regarded as a means of production, it differs here from machinery, etc., in that it is consumed simultaneously by different capitals as a common condition for their production and circulation. (We are not as yet discussing consumption as such.) It does not appear as comprised within one particular production process, but as a blood-vessel linking together a large number of such production processes carried on by particular capitals, which only consume it piecemeal. Over against all these particular capitals and their particular production processes, fixed capital is therefore determined here as the product of a particular branch of production distinct from them, a branch in which it, in contrast to machinery, cannot be sold by one producer as circulating capital and obtained by another as fixed capital, but can only be sold in the form of fixed capital itself. Then its piecemeal RETURN, concealed in the commodity, becomes apparent.

Yet as itself a product which is sold (for the industrialist, the machine which he uses is not a product), it then simultaneously includes the surplus value, therefore the RETURN of interest and profit, *s'il y a*.[a] Since it can be consumed in the same common and successive form, can be use value for immediate consumption, its sale—not as an instrument of production but as a commodity in

[a] If there is any.—*Ed.*

general—appears in the same form. But as far as it is sold as an instrument of production—a machine is *sold* simply as a commodity, and becomes an instrument of production only in the industrial process—i.e. as far as its sale coincides directly with its consumption in the general social production process, this is a determination which does not belong in the discussion of the simple circulation of capital. In simple circulation, fixed capital, as far as it is involved as an agent of production, appears as a presupposition of the production process, not as its result. Hence it can only be a matter of replacing its value, a value in which no surplus value is included for the person who employs it. On the contrary, *he* has paid surplus value to the producer of the machine. But a railway or buildings rented out for production *at one and the same time* constitute instruments of production and are realised as a product, as capital, by the person who sells them.

*Since every moment that appears as a presupposition of production is at the same time its result*—in that production reproduces its own prerequisites—the original division of capital within the production process now appears as the falling-asunder of the production process into 3 production processes, in which different portions of capital—now also appearing as distinct capitals—operate. (Here we can still speak of a single capital operating, since we are considering *capital* as such, and this method of consideration makes it simpler to discuss the proportions of these different types of capital.)

The capital is annually reproduced in different and varying portions as raw material, product and means of production; in short, as fixed capital and circulating capital. In each of these production processes there appears as a presupposition at least that part of the circulating capital which is to be exchanged for the labour capacity and for the maintenance and consumption of the machinery or the instrument, and of the means of production.

In purely extractive industry, e.g. mining, the mine itself exists as the material of labour, but not as raw material passing on into the product. In manufacturing industry, on the other hand, the raw material must, in all forms, possess a particular existence. In agriculture, the seed, fertiliser, livestock, etc., can be regarded as raw materials and, equally, as *matières instrumentales*. Agriculture constitutes a form of production *sui generis*, because the mechanical and chemical process is combined with the organic, and the natural reproduction process is merely controlled and directed. Similarly, the extractive industries (of which mining is the principal one) form an industry *sui generis*, because no reproduc-

tion process takes place in them, at least none subject to our control or known to us. (Fishing, hunting, etc., may involve a reproduction process; similarly forestry. So these are not necessarily purely extractive industries.)

Now, in so far as the means of production, fixed capital, as itself [VII-10] produced by capital and hence including objectified surplus time, can only be disposed of by its producer as circulating capital, e.g. the machine by the machine-builder, before it becomes fixed capital, i.e. in so far as it only enters into circulation as a use value, its circulation contains no new determination whatever. But in so far as it can only be realised, like e.g. railways, while simultaneously serving as an instrument of production, or only in the degree in which it is consumed as such, it shares with fixed capital in general the feature that its value only returns piecemeal; but in addition, there is the fact that in this RETURN of value is included the RETURN of its surplus value, the surplus labour objectified in it. It then has a special form of RETURN.

Now, the important point is that the production of capital thus appears as the production of circulating capital and fixed capital in definite portions, so that capital itself produces its dual type of circulation as fixed capital and circulating capital.

Before we SETTLE this last point, there are a few collateral matters.

"FLOATING CAPITAL IS CONSUMED, FIXED CAPITAL MERELY USED, IN THE GREAT WORK OF PRODUCTION" (*The Economist*, [No. 219, 6 November 1847, p. 1271,] VI, p. 1 [17]).

The difference between *CONSUMPTION* and *USE* is merely a matter of rapid or gradual DESTRUCTION. We need not dwell on this POINT any further.

"FLOATING CAPITAL ASSUMES AN *INFINITE VARIETY OF FORMS*, FIXED CAPITAL *HAS ONLY ONE*" (*The Economist*, [loc. cit.,] VI, p. 1).

As far as the production process of capital itself is concerned, this "INFINITE VARIETY OF FORMS" is much more correctly reduced by A. Smith to a mere change of form.

Fixed capital is used by its master "as long as it remains in the same shape". I.e. it persists in the production process, as use value, in a particular material form. Circulating capital, on the contrary, (A. Smith, [*Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations*,] Vol. II, pp. 197, 198) "constantly goes from his hand in one shape" (as a product) "to return to him in another" (as a condition of production) "and only yields profit by means of such CIRCULATION and successive *échanges*".

Here, Smith is not speaking of the "INFINITE VARIETY OF FORMS" in which circulating capital appears. Considered materially, "fixed capital" also adopts an "INFINITE VARIETY OF FORMS"; he is speaking of the metamorphoses through which circulating capital passes precisely as use value, and this "INFINITE VARIETY OF FORMS" is therefore reducible to the qualitative distinctions between the different phases of circulation. Circulating capital, considered in a definite production process, always returns in the same form of raw materials and money for wages. Its material form at the end of the process is the same as it was at its beginning. Incidentally, elsewhere *The Economist* itself reduces the "INFINITE VARIETY OF FORMS" to the conceptually determined change of form peculiar to circulation:

"The commodity is entirely consumed IN THE SHAPE IN WHICH IT IS PRODUCED" (i.e. enters into circulation as use value and is precipitated from it) "and REPLACED IN HIS HANDS IN A *NEW SHAPE*" (as raw material and wages), "READY TO REPEAT A *SIMILAR* OPERATION" (much rather, the same) (l.c., VI, p. 1).

Smith also explicitly states that fixed capital "needs no circulation" ([op. cit.,] Vol. II, pp. 197, 198).

In the case of *fixed capital*, value is locked up in a particular use value; in that of circulating capital, value adopts the form of various use values, and also the form independent of any particular use value (as money), just as much as it discards them. Hence a continuous change of its material and form takes place.

"Circulating capital furnishes him" (the entrepreneur) "with the materials and the wages for the labourers and puts industry in action" (A. Smith, Vol. II, p. 226).

"*Every fixed capital originally derives from*, and requires to be continually supported by, *a circulating capital*" (l.c., p. 207).[a]

"So great a part of the circulating capital being continually withdrawn from it in order to be placed in the other two branches of the general stock of society, this capital in turn needs to be renewed by continual supplies, without which it would soon be reduced to nought. These supplies are drawn from 3 principal sources: the produce of the land, of mines, and of fisheries" (l.c., p. 208).

//We have already analysed one of the distinctions emphasised by *The Economist*:

"EVERY PRODUCTION THE WHOLE COST OF WHICH IS RETURNED TO THE PRODUCER OUT OF THE *CURRENT INCOME* OF THE COUNTRY IS *FLOATING CAPITAL*; but every PRODUCTION for which ONLY *AN ANNUAL SUM IS PAID FOR THE USE*, IS—*FIXED CAPITAL*" (Notebook VI, p. 1). "In the first case the producer depends wholly upon the CURRENT INCOME of the country" (l.c. [*The Economist*, No. 219, 6 November 1847, p. 1271]).

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[a] Marx quotes this and the following passage from Smith in French.—*Ed.*

We have seen[a] that only part of the fixed capital returns within the time determined by the circulating capital, the time which serves as the unit by reference to which the number of the latter's turnovers is measured, because it is the natural unit for the reproduction of most means of subsistence and raw materials, just as, and because, it appears as the natural period in the life process (cosmic process) of the Earth. This unit is the year, whose length, as calculated for the ordinary purposes of society, differs more or less, but insignificantly, from its natural length. The more closely the material being of fixed capital corresponds to its concept, i.e. the more adequate its material mode of existence is to that concept, the more likely its turnover time is to comprise a cycle of years.

Since circulating capital is wholly exchanged, first for money and secondly for the elements composing that capital, it presupposes the *production of a counter-value* equal to its entire value (which includes surplus value). One cannot say that it enters wholly into consumption or is able to do so, for it must, just as much, again serve in part as raw material or as an element for fixed capital, in short as itself an element for production—a counter-production. One part of the use value rejected by capital as a product, as the result of the production process, becomes an object of consumption and thus falls out of the circulation of capital in general; another part enters into another capital as a condition of production. This is posited in the very circulation of *capital as such*, since in the first half of circulation it pushes itself off from itself as a commodity, i.e. as a use value, that is to say—*considered in relation to itself* in this form—releases itself from its own circulation as a use value, an article of consumption. And in the second half of its circulation, it is exchanged as money for a commodity as a condition of production. Hence, as itself a circulating use value, it posits its material existence both as an article of consumption and as a new element of production or, rather, an element of reproduction. In both cases, however, its counter-value must be wholly available, i.e. it must be wholly produced, during the year. E.g. the quantity of manufactured products which can be exchanged over a year for agricultural products is determined by the volume of raw products produced in that year, reckoned from harvest to harvest. Since we are dealing here with *capital as such*, capital in the process of formation—the plurality of capitals does not yet exist for us—all

[a] See this volume, pp. 104-05.—*Ed.*

we have outside capital is nothing but capital itself and simple circulation. From this circulation, capital absorbs into itself value in the two-fold form as money and commodity; and into this circulation, it throws value in the two-fold form as money and commodity.

When an industrial nation whose production is based on capital, e.g. England, exchanges with, say, the Chinese, and absorbs value in the form of money and commodity from their production process; or rather if it draws them into the sphere of circulation of its capital, it is immediately obvious that this does not oblige the Chinese themselves to produce as capitalists. Within a society itself, e.g. English society, the mode of production of capital develops in one branch of industry, while in others, e.g. agriculture, [VII-11] pre-capitalist modes of production are still more or less dominant.

Nevertheless, it is (1) the necessary tendency of capital at every point to subject the mode of production to itself, to its domination. Within a particular national society, this necessarily results from the transformation by capital of all labour into wage labour. (2) With respect to foreign markets, capital enforces this propagation of its mode of production by means of international competition. Competition is in general the means by which capital establishes its mode of production.

This much is clear: Quite regardless of what stands on either side of the successive exchanges, each time in the opposite determination, whether a capital again or capital itself as another capital, both determinations are already posited by the circulation of *capital* itself, even before we consider this two-fold movement. In the first phase, capital expels itself as use value, as commodity from the movement of capital, and is exchanged for money. The commodity expelled from the circulation of capital is no longer the commodity as a moment of self-perpetuating value, as the presence of value. It is its presence as use value, its being for consumption. Capital is converted from the form of commodity into that of money only in that in the usual circulation an exchanger *confronts it* as a consumer and converts $M$ into $C$; in that he [carries out] this conversion in its material aspect, so that he relates himself to the use value as use value, his attitude to it being that of a consumer; only in this way is the use value replaced for capital as *value*. Capital, therefore, produces articles of consumption, but expels them in this form from itself, from its circulation. There is no other relation as far as the determinations hitherto developed are concerned.

The commodity, which as such is expelled from the circulation of capital, loses its determination of value and takes on that of use value in consumption as distinct from production. However, in the second phase of circulation, capital exchanges money for a commodity, and its transformation into a commodity now itself appears as a moment of the positing of value, since the commodity as such is taken into the circulation process of capital. If in the first phase capital presupposes consumption, in the second phase it presupposes production, production for production. For in this phase, value in the form of the commodity is taken into the circulation of capital from outside, or a process opposite to that effected in the first phase takes place. The commodity as use value for capital itself can only be the commodity as element, use value for capital's production process.

The process is a doubled one: In the first phase, capital *a* exchanges its product as *C* for the *M* of capital *b*; in the second, capital *b* exchanges itself as *C* for the *M* of capital *a*. Or in the first phase, capital *b* exchanges itself as *M* for the *C* of capital *a*; and in the second, capital *a* as *M* for the *C* of capital *b*. I.e. capital is simultaneously posited as *M* and *C* in each of the two circulation phases; but in two different capitals, which are always in the opposite phases of their circulation process. In the simple circulation process, the acts of exchange *C—M* or *M—C* appear as directly coinciding or as directly falling apart. Circulation is not merely the succession of the two forms of exchange, but is simultaneously each of them distributed to two different sides.

But we are not yet dealing here with exchange between many capitals. This belongs in the theory of competition or also in that of the circulation of capitals (credit). What does concern us here is, on the one side, the presupposition of consumption, of the commodity being ejected as use value from the movement of value, and [on the other] the presupposition of production for production, of value being posited in the form of use value as a condition for the reproduction of capital, a condition external to its circulation. What concerns us is that both these aspects result from the consideration of the simple form of circulation of capital.

This much is clear: The whole of the circulating capital is exchanged as *C* for *M* in the first phase, and as *M* for *C* in the second. Hence, taking the year as the unit of time by reference to which its evolutions are considered, the transformations of circulating capital are limited by the fact that the raw materials,

etc., are reproduced annually (the commodity for which it is exchanged as money must be produced, simultaneous production must correspond to it); and also by the fact that an annual revenue (the part of *M* which is exchanged for the commodity as use value) must be constantly produced, if the product precipitated by capital as use value is to be consumed. As such revenue there only exists that of the capitalists themselves and that of the workers, since we have not yet introduced any more developed relations. Incidentally, analysis of the exchange between capital and revenue, another form of the relation between production and consumption, is not as yet relevant.

On the other hand, since fixed capital is exchanged only to the extent that it enters as value into circulating capital, and since it is therefore only partly realised in the course of the year, it presupposes the existence of only *part of the counter-value*, and hence the production of only part of this counter-value in the course of the year. It is paid for only in proportion to its consumption. So far it is clear—and this already follows above from the difference in the industrial cycle introduced by fixed capital—that *fixed capital engages the production of future years*, and in the same way as it contributes to the creation of a large revenue, it anticipates future labour as its counter-value. Hence the anticipation of future fruits of labour is by no means a consequence of the national debt, etc., in short, it is not an invention of the credit system. It has *its roots in the specific mode of valorisation, turnover and reproduction of fixed capital.*//

Since the point for us here is to state the pure determinations of form, without introducing anything irrelevant, the above discussion clearly indicates that analysis of the different forms in which circulating capital and fixed capital yield revenue—or of revenue in general—does not, as yet, belong here at all. Here we should only deal with the different modes in which they return and affect the total turnover of capital, its reproduction movement in general. But the occasional observations above are important because, apart from dismissing the economists' higgledy-piggledy arguments irrelevant to the discussion of the simple distinction between fixed and circulating capital, they have shown us that the differences in the way they yield revenue, etc., stem from the formal distinction in the reproduction of fixed and circulating capital. We are still dealing merely with the simple RETURN of value. How this becomes the RETURN of revenue, and how that in turn gives rise to a difference in the determination of revenue, will only be seen later.

We have not yet spoken about the *maintenance costs*, the *frais d'entretien*, of fixed capital. They are partly composed of the *matières instrumentales* which it consumes in order to operate. They come under the heading of fixed capital in the first sense in which we considered it within the production process.[a] These are circulating capital, and may just as well serve for consumption. They become fixed capital only to the extent that they are consumed in the production process. But unlike fixed capital proper, they do not possess a materiality which is determined purely by the form in which they exist. The other part of these *frais d'entretien* consists of the labour necessary for repairs.

[VII-12] Adam Smith's proposition that every fixed capital originally derives from, and requires to be continually supported by, a circulating capital.

"All fixed capital is originally derived from circulating capital and must constantly be maintained at the expense of the latter. *No fixed capital can yield revenue except at the expense of a circulating capital*" (Storch, [*Cours d'économie politique*, Vol. I, p. 246] 26a[5]).[b]

As regards Storch's remark about revenue—a determination which does not belong here—it is clear that fixed capital only returns as value to the extent that it perishes in portions as use value, as fixed capital, and enters as value into circulating capital. So far as its *value* is concerned, it can, therefore, only return in the form of a circulating capital. And as a use value it does not circulate at all.

Further, since it itself only possesses use value for production, it can, likewise, return as value for individual use, for consumption, only in the form of circulating capital. Soil improvements can enter chemically direct into the reproduction process, and so be converted direct into use values. But in that case they are consumed in the form in which they exist as fixed capital. *In general, a capital can only yield revenue in the form in which it enters into and returns from circulation, since the production of revenue in direct use values, use values not mediated by circulation, contradicts the nature of capital. Therefore, since fixed capital only returns as value in the form of circulating capital, it is only in this form that it can yield revenue.* In general, revenue is merely the part of surplus value intended for immediate consumption. Its RETURNS therefore depend

[a] See this volume, pp. 70-71.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 36, 113. Marx quotes from Storch in French.—*Ed.*

upon the mode in which value itself RETURNS. HENCE the different forms in which fixed capital and circulating capital yield revenue. Similarly, since fixed capital as such never enters into circulation as use value, and so is never precipitated from the valorisation process as use value, it never serves for immediate consumption.

As regards Smith, his view is made clearer to us by his saying that circulating capital must be annually replaced and constantly renewed by being constantly drawn from the sea, the land and the mines.[a] Here circulating capital becomes something purely material to him; it is brought up in nets, mined, harvested. It is constituted by movable primary products, which are made movable by being detached, isolated, from their connection with the earth; or which are separated from their element in their ready-made isolation, like fish, etc.

Moreover, considered in purely material terms, if Smith presupposes the production of capital and does not go back to the beginnings of the world, it is equally certain that every circulating capital just as much *provient originairement d'un capital fixe.*[b] Without nets, man cannot catch fish; without a plough, he cannot till the soil; and without a hammer, etc., he cannot open up a mine. Even if he merely uses a stone as his hammer, etc., CERTAINLY this stone is not circulating capital, not capital at all, but means of labour. As soon as it becomes necessary for man to carry on production, he resolves to utilise a part of the existing natural objects directly as means of labour, and subsumes them under his activity, as Hegel has correctly put it, without any further process of mediation.[26]

All capital, circulating as well as fixed, derives, not merely *originairement* but *continuellement*, from the appropriation of alien labour. However, as we have seen,[c] this process presupposes constant small circulation, the exchange of wages for the labour capacity, or the provision of means of subsistence. The production process of capital implies that *all capital returns only in the form of circulating capital*; consequently the renewal of fixed capital depends upon part of circulating capital becoming fixed, i.e. upon part of the produced raw materials being employed, and part of the labour being consumed (and therefore part of the means of subsistence being exchanged for living labour), in order to produce fixed capital. E.g. in agriculture, part of the product is consumed by the labour

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[a] See this volume, p. 113.—*Ed.*
[b] Derives originally from a fixed capital.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, pp. 63-68.—*Ed.*

employed in building irrigation works; or part of the corn is exchanged for guano, chemical substances, etc., which are incorporated into the soil but which, IN FACT, are without use value except to the extent that they are exposed to its chemical process.

A part of the circulating capital possesses use value only for the reproduction of fixed capital, and is only produced to serve the purposes of fixed capital (even if this production merely stands for the labour time needed to transfer it from one place to another). Fixed capital itself, however, can only be renewed as capital by becoming a value component of circulating capital, and by its *elements thus being reproduced by the transformation of circulating capital* into fixed. *The production of circulating capital presupposes fixed capital to just the same extent as the production of fixed capital presupposes circulating capital.* Or, the reproduction of fixed capital requires (1) that its value should RETURN in the form of circulating capital, for only thus can it be re-exchanged for its conditions of production; (2) that part of the living labour and raw material should be employed to produce instruments of production, direct or indirect, rather than exchangeable products. Circulating capital enters by relation to its use value into fixed capital in precisely the same way as labour does, while fixed capital enters by relation to its value into circulating capital, and into use value as MOVEMENT (where it is direct machinery), as movement in repose, as form.

//In connection with our above propositions concerning free labour, in particular, that pauperism is latent in it,[a] the following passages should be cited from *Sir Fr. Morton Eden, Bt: The State of the Poor: or, an History of the Labouring Classes in England from the Conquest etc.,* 3 vols, 4°. London, 1797.[27] In Volume I, Book I, Ch. I, we have the following:

"Our zone requires labour for the satisfaction of wants, and *therefore* at least *a portion* of society must work *indefatigably,* others are occupied in the arts, etc., and a few command the produce of industry even though they do not work. But these proprietors owe this solely to *civilisation and order.* They are peculiarly the creatures of *civil institutions,* for these have recognised that one [may] acquire the fruits of labour by other means than labour; the MEN OF INDEPENDENT FORTUNE owe their *property almost entirely to the labour of others,* not to their own abilities, which are not superior at all. It is not the possession of land, or money, but the COMMAND OF LABOUR that distinguishes the rich from the poorer part of the community" [op. cit., pp. 1-2].

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 522-29.— *Ed.*

With the emancipation of the peasants, *Poverty* as such arises—in feudal times, the peasant's being fettered to the soil, or at least to a given locality, spared the legislature from the need to concern itself with VAGRANTS, the poor, etc. Eden believes that the various commercial guilds, etc., supported their own poor [ibid., pp. 57, 60]. He says:

"WITHOUT THE MOST DISTANT IDEA, THEN, OF DISPARAGING THE NUMBERLESS BENEFITS DERIVED FOR THE COUNTRY FROM MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE, THE RESULT OF THIS INVESTIGATION SEEMS TO LEAD *TO THIS INEVITABLE CONCLUSION THAT MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE*" //i.e. the sphere of production in which capital first establishes its dominance// "ARE *THE TRUE PARENTS OF OUR NATIONAL POOR*" [ibid., p. 61].

He also states that from the time of Henry VII onwards (the CLEARING of superfluous MOUTHS from the land by the conversion of arable land into pasture begins at that time and continues for over 150 years, [or so] at least [do] the complaints and legislative interference; a period, therefore, when the number of hands placed at the disposal of industry kept growing) wages in industry were no longer laid down [by the law], but only those in agriculture. 11 Henry VII [ibid., pp. 73-75].

//Wage labour is not yet fully posited with the emergence of free labour. The labourers still have a basis in the feudal relations; there are still too few of them, and capital is therefore as yet unable as capital to reduce them to the minimum. Hence the statutory wage regulations. As long as the wages of labour are still regulated by statute, it cannot be said either that capital as capital has subsumed production under itself, or that wage labour has attained the mode of existence adequate to it.//

The Act referred to mentions linen-weavers, building-craftsmen and SHIPWRIGHTS. It also [VII-13] lays down the hours of work:

"As many day-labourers waste half the day in late coming, early departing, sleeping long at afternoon, long sitting at their breakfast, dinner, and supper, etc., etc.," the hours of work shall be as follows: "between March 15 and September 15, from 5 of the clock in the morning, half an hour for BREAKFAST, and hour and a half for DINNER and sleeping, and half an hour FOR NOON MEAT, and work till between 7 and 8 at night. In winter, work throughout the light hours, but no midday sleep, which shall be granted only from May 15 until August 15" [ibid., pp. 75-76].

//In 1514, the wages of labour were again regulated, almost in the same way as in the previous case. The hours of work, too, were once again stipulated. Those unwilling to work UPON APPLICATION, were put into prison [ibid., pp. 81-82].

So, the free workers were still subject to *forced labour* at a stipulated wage. Initially, they have to be *forced* to work on the terms set by capital. The propertyless man is more inclined to

become a vagabond, a robber and a beggar than a worker. It is only under the developed mode of production of capital that becoming a worker is the self-evident thing for him to do. In the preliminary stage of capital, there is coercion by the State to convert the propertyless into *workers* on terms favourable to capital, terms that at this stage have not yet been forced upon the workers by their competition among themselves.//

(Savage means of coercion applied to this end under Henry VIII *i.a.*) (The dissolution of the *monasteries* by Henry VIII[28] likewise set many hands free.) (Under Edward VI, the severity of the laws against ABLE-BODIED LABOURERS unwilling to work was further intensified [ibid., pp. 83-100]. 1 Edw, VI, [Ch.] 3:

"Whoever is ABLE TO WORK, but REFUSES TO LABOUR AND LIVES IDLE FOR 3 DAYS, SHALL BE BRANDED WITH RED-HOT IRON ON THE BREAST WITH THE LETTER V—AND SHALL BE ADJUDGED THE SLAVE FOR 2 YEARS OF THE PERSON WHO SHOULD INFORM AGAINST SUCH IDLER, etc." "IF HE RUNS AWAY FROM HIS MASTER FOR 14 DAYS, HE SHALL BECOME HIS SLAVE FOR LIFE AND BE BRANDED ON FOREHEAD OR CHEEK WITH THE LETTER I, AND IF HE RUNS AWAY A SECOND TIME AND SHALL BE CONVICTED THEREOF BY 2 SUFFICIENT WITNESSES, HE SHALL BE TAKEN AS A FELON AND SUFFER PAINS OF DEATH" [ibid., p. 101].

(The first mention of VAGRANTS OF STURDY ROGUES was in 1376; that of PAUPERS in 1388.)

(A similarly cruel law was passed in 1572 under Elizabeth.) [Ibid., pp. 42-43, 61-62, 127.]

Circulating capital and fixed capital appeared in the previous determination as alternating forms of the same capital in the different phases of its turnover. Now that fixed capital has been developed to its highest form, they are simultaneously posited as 2 different modes of existence of capital. They become such because they return in different ways. Circulating capital which returns slowly has this feature in common with fixed capital. But what distinguishes it from fixed capital is that its use value itself—its material existence—enters into circulation and is simultaneously eliminated from it, cast beyond the limits of the turnover process. Fixed capital, on the other hand, as developed so far, only enters into circulation as value; and as long as it remains in circulation as a use value, too, as e.g. a machine in the stage of circulation, it is fixed capital only δυνάμει.[a]

However, this distinction between fixed capital and circulating

[a] Potentially.— *Ed.*

capital, based immediately upon the relation of the material existence of capital, or its existence as use value, to circulation, must, in reproduction, simultaneously be posited as the reproduction of capital in the dual form of fixed capital and circulating capital. To the extent that the reproduction of capital in each of its forms posits not merely objectified labour time but surplus labour time as well, i.e. not merely reproduces its value but posits a surplus value too, there is no difference between the production of fixed capital and that of circulating capital in this respect. Hence, in the case of a manufacturer of instruments or machines—in all the forms in which fixed capital at first appears as circulating capital, with respect to its material existence, in its existence as use value, before it is fixed as fixed capital, i.e. before it is consumed (for it is precisely its consumption that attaches it to the production phase and distinguishes it as fixed capital)—there is no difference at all in the form of valorisation of capital, whether it is reproduced as fixed capital or as circulating capital. In economic terms, therefore, no new determination is thereby introduced.

However, when fixed capital as such, and not merely in the determination of circulating capital, is thrown into circulation by its producer, and hence *the piecemeal use of it is sold, whether for production* or consumption—in the conversion of *C* into *M* which takes place in the first section of the circulation of capital, it is immaterial to this capital itself whether the commodity re-enters into the circulation sphere of another productive capital, or whether it serves the purpose of direct consumption, the commodity being *always* determined *as a use value* in relation to this capital, whenever the capital rejects it from itself, exchanges it for *M*—the mode of RETURN for the producer of fixed capital must differ from that for the producer of circulating capital. The surplus value produced by the former can return to him only piecemeal and successively, with the value itself. This is to be examined in the following section.

Finally, although circulating capital and fixed capital now appear as 2 different types of capital, circulating capital is posited by the consumption, the using-up, of fixed capital. Fixed capital for its part is merely circulating capital converted into this particular form. All capital converted into objectified productive power—all fixed capital—is fixed in this form, and is, therefore, use value torn as use value both from consumption and from circulation. When a machine or a railway is built, the fact that wood, iron, coal and living labour (hence, indirectly, also the

products consumed by the workers) are transformed into this particular use value, would not render them fixed capital unless there were also the other determinations analysed above. When circulating capital is converted into fixed capital, a part of the use values in the form of which capital circulated, as well as, indirectly, the part of capital exchanged for living labour, are converted into capital whose counter-value is only produced over a longer cycle. This capital enters into circulation as value only piecemeal and successively, and can only be realised by being used up in production.

The conversion of circulating capital into fixed capital presupposes relative surplus capital, since it is capital employed not for direct production but for the production of new means of production. Fixed capital itself can in turn serve as a direct instrument of production—as a means within the immediate production process. In this case, its value enters into the product and is replaced by the successive RETURN of products. Or fixed capital does not enter into the immediate production process, but appears as a general condition for the various production processes, e.g. as buildings, railways, etc., and its value can only be replaced by circulating capital, to whose production it has indirectly contributed.

A more detailed discussion of the proportions of production of fixed capital and circulating capital really belongs in a later section. If valuable machinery were employed to make a small amount of products, it would not be operating as a productive force, but would render the product infinitely more costly than if it had been produced without the aid of the machinery. Machinery produces surplus value, not because it itself possesses value—for this is simply replaced—but only because it increases relative surplus time, or diminishes necessary labour time. Hence, in the proportion in which the volume of machinery employed increases, the amount of products must increase and the living labour employed must relatively decline. *The smaller the value of the fixed capital in relation to its effectiveness, the more does it correspond to its purpose.* All non-necessary fixed capital appears as *faux frais de production,*[a] just as do all unnecessary circulation costs. If capital could possess machinery without expending labour on it, capital would raise the productive power of labour and diminish necessary labour, without having to buy labour. Hence, the value

[a] Overhead costs of production.—*Ed.*

of fixed capital is never an end in itself in the production of capital.

[VII-14] Therefore, circulating capital is converted into fixed capital, and fixed capital is reproduced in circulating capital, both processes only taking place in so far as capital appropriates living labour.

"Every saving in fixed capital means an increase in the net revenue of society" (A. Smith [*Recherches etc.*, Vol. II, p. 226]).

The final and last distinction put forward by economists is that between *mobile and immobile;* not in the sense that the former enters into the movement of circulation and the latter does not; but in the sense that one form is physically fixed, immobile, in the same way as a distinction is made between movable and immovable property. E.g. IMPROVEMENTS SUNK IN THE SOIL, water conduits, buildings, and to a large extent even machinery itself, since it must be physically fixed in order to operate; railways; in short, every form in which the product of industry is anchored to the surface of the earth. *Au fond,* this adds nothing to the determination of fixed capital; but its determination does imply that the more its use value, its material existence, corresponds to its determination of form, the more eminently it is fixed capital. Immovable use value, e.g. houses, railways, etc., is, therefore, the most tangible form of fixed capital. True, it is able to circulate just the same, in the sense in which immovable property circulates in general, as title; but not as use value; not in the physical sense. Initially, the growth of movable property, its increase as against immovable property, is evidence of the ASCENDANT MOVEMENT OF CAPITAL as against landed property. But once the mode of production of capital has been assumed, the degree in which capital has subjected the conditions of production to itself is shown by the extent to which capital is converted into immovable property. In this way it strikes roots in the soil itself, and what seemed to be the solid presuppositions—given by Nature itself—of landed property now themselves appear as merely posited by industry.

(Originally, membership of the community and, through that, a relation to the soil as property, are the basic presuppositions for the reproduction of both the individual and the community. Among the pastoral peoples, the land appears merely as a prerequisite for their nomadic life, hence there is no question of appropriating it. When permanent dwelling-places emerge with land cultivation the land is initially common property, and even

where things advance to private property, the individual's relation to it appears as posited by his relation to the community. He appears merely to hold it in fief from the community; etc., etc. Its transformation into mere exchangeable value—its mobilisation—is brought about by capital and the complete subordination of the state organism to it. Hence, even where the land has become private property, it is exchange value only in a restricted sense. Exchange value originates in the isolated natural product separated from the earth and individualised by means of industry (or simple appropriation). This is the stage, too, at which individual labour makes its first appearance. In general, exchange does not initially arise within the original communities, but on their borders; where the communities come to an end. To exchange the land which constitutes their territory, to sell it to alien communities, would OF COURSE be treason. Only BY AND BY can exchange be extended from its original sphere, that of movable property, to that of immovable property. It is only by expanding the former that capital gradually takes hold of the latter. Money is the principal agent in this process.)

A. Smith initially distinguishes circulating capital and fixed capital according to their determination in the *production process.*[a] Only at a later point does he introduce the following proposition:

"A capital may be employed in different ways to yield profit: (1) as circulating capital, (2) as fixed capital" [ibid., p. 197].

Obviously, that second proposition is, as such, not relevant to the analysis of this distinction, since fixed capital and circulating capital must first be assumed as 2 types of capital before we can go on to argue how capital in both forms may be employed to yield profit.

"The total capital of the undertaker of every work is necessarily divided between his fixed and his circulating capital. Given the same sum, the greater the one part, the smaller will be the other" (A. Smith, [ibid.,] Vol. II, p. 226).

Since capitals (1) are divided up in unequal portions between fixed capital and circulating capital; (2) [have] a phase of production which either is or is not subject to interruption and since they return from markets which are more distant or less distant, and so [have] unequal circulation times, it follows that the surplus value which they produce in a given period of time, e.g.

[a] See this volume, pp. 112-13.—*Ed.*

annually, must be unequal, as the number of reproduction processes which they perform in that period is unequal. The value they create appears to be determined not merely by the labour they employ within the immediate production process, but also by the DEGREE in which this EXPLOITATION OF LABOUR can be repeated in a given period of time.

Finally, therefore: While in the analysis of the simple production process, capital as valorising itself appears solely in relation to wage labour, and circulation lies outside it, in the reproduction process of capital, circulation is absorbed into capital, and indeed both moments of the circulation *C—M—M—C* are (as a system of exchanges which it has to pass through, and in which it experiences a qualitative transformation each time it is exchanged). The circulation appears to be absorbed in capital in the form *M—C—C—M,* in so far as the process sets out from capital that is in the form of money and hence returns to that form. Capital now comprises both circuits, and no longer as mere change of form, or mere change of materials which is external to its form, but both as included into the very determination of value.

The production process as containing within itself the conditions for its renewal is the reproduction process, the latter's velocity being determined by the various relations analysed above, all of which stem from the distinctions characteristic of the circuit itself. Within the framework of the reproduction of capital, there simultaneously takes place the reproduction of the use values in which it is realised—or generally the continuous renewal and reproduction by human labour of use values, which are both consumed by man and perishable by nature. From the viewpoint of capital, the change of materials and alteration of form, subordinated to human needs by human labour, appear as the reproduction of capital itself. *Au fond* it is the constant reproduction of labour itself.

"Values comprising capital perpetuate themselves by means of reproduction: the products which compose a capital are consumed, just like any others; but their value, while being destroyed by consumption, reproduces itself in other materials or in the same"[a] (Say [*Traité d'économie politique,* Vol. II, p. 185], 14[16]).

Exchange and a system of exchanges, and what is thereby implied, the conversion into money as an independent value, appear both as a condition for, and a barrier to, the reproduction of capital. Under the conditions of capital, production itself is in

[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

every respect subjected to exchange. These exchange operations, circulation as such, produce no surplus value, but they are conditions for its realisation. They are conditions for the *production of capital* itself, in so far as its *form as capital* is only posited to the extent that it passes through them. The reproduction of capital is at the same time the production of definite formal conditions; of definite [VII-15] modes of the relation in which personified objectified labour is posited. Circulation is therefore not merely the exchange of the product for the conditions of production—hence, e.g. of harvested wheat for seed, new labour, etc. In every form of production, the labourer must exchange his product for the conditions of production if he is to be able to repeat production. The peasant producing for immediate use also converts part of the product into seed, instrument of labour, draught animals, fertiliser, etc., and recommences his labour. The conversion into money is necessary for the reproduction of capital as such, and the reproduction of capital is necessarily production of surplus value.

//With respect to the reproduction phase (circulation time in particular) it should also be noted that limits are set to it by the use value itself. Wheat must be reproduced within a year. Perishable things, like milk, etc., must be reproduced more frequently. Meat, since the animal lives, i.e. withstands the passage of time, need not be reproduced so frequently; but the dead meat available in the market must be reproduced in the form of money in a very short period of time, or else it goes bad. The reproduction of value partly coincides with that of use value, and partly does not.//

Although what we previously called the constant part of capital is merely maintained by labour in one production process as value, it must be constantly reproduced by labour in another, because what appears in one production process as the presupposed material and instrument is a product in the other, and this renewal, reproduction, must take place constantly and simultaneously.

We come now to the *third section.*

## Section Three

### CAPITAL AS BEARING FRUIT. INTEREST. PROFIT. (PRODUCTION COSTS, ETC.)

Capital is now posited as the unity of production and circulation; and the surplus value which it produces in a certain period of time, e. g. a year, is $=\frac{SZ}{p+c}=\frac{SZ}{U}$, or $=S\left(\frac{Z}{p}-\frac{Z}{p}\times\frac{c}{p+c}\right)$.[a]

Capital is now realised not merely as value which reproduces and therefore perpetuates itself, but also as value which posits value. By absorbing living labour time, on the one hand, and by its own movement of circulation (in which the movement of exchange is posited as capital's own movement, as the immanent process of objectified labour), capital relates itself to itself as positing new value, producing value. Its relation to surplus value is that of the basis to what is based upon it. Its movement consists in that, while producing itself, it at the same time behaves as basis towards itself as that which is based upon it; as presupposed value to itself as surplus value, or to surplus value as posited by it.

In a definite period of time which is posited as the unit by reference to which the number of its turnovers is measured, because it is the natural measure of its reproduction in agriculture, capital produces a definite surplus value, which is determined not only by the surplus value posited by capital in one production process, but also by the number of times the process is repeated, or capital is reproduced, within that period. Because of the incorporation of circulation, capital's movement outside the immediate production process, into its reproduction process, surplus value no longer *appears* as posited by the simple,

[a] Here $S$ means surplus value, $Z$—period of time, $p$—production phase, $c$—phase of circulation, $U$—turnover.—*Ed.*

immediate relation of capital to living labour. This relation appears, rather, as merely one moment of its overall movement.

Capital setting out from itself as the active subject, the subject of the process—and in the turnover the immediate production process does in fact appear to be determined by the movement of capital as capital independently of its relation to labour—relates to itself as to self-multiplying value, i.e. it behaves towards surplus value as posited by and based upon capital; it relates itself as the source of production to itself as the product; as the producing value to itself as the value produced. It therefore no longer measures the newly produced value in terms of its real measure, the ratio of surplus labour to necessary labour, but in terms of capital itself as its presupposition. In a definite period of time, a capital of a definite value produces a definite surplus value.

Surplus value thus measured in terms of the value of the preposited capital, capital thus being posited as self-valorising value, is *profit.* Viewed *sub specie capitalis,* not *sub specie aeternitatis,*[a] surplus value is profit; and capital distinguishes itself within itself as capital, the producing and reproducing value, from itself as profit, the newly produced value. The product of capital is *profit.* The magnitude surplus value is therefore measured by reference to the value magnitude of the capital, and the *rate of profit* is consequently determined by the ratio between the value of the profit and that of the capital.

A very large part of what belongs here has been discussed above.[b] But what has been anticipated must be placed here.

In so far as the newly posited value, which is of the same nature as capital, is itself re-absorbed into the production process, in turn maintains itself as capital, capital itself has increased and now operates as a capital of greater value. After capital set profit as the newly produced value apart from itself as the preposited self-valorising value and posited profit as the measure of its valorisation, capital again cancels that separation and posits profit in its identity with itself as capital, which, having increased by the amount of the profit, now recommences the same process on a larger scale. By describing its circle it augments itself as the subject of that circle, and thus describes ever larger circles, moving in a spiral.

The general laws we have so far developed can be briefly

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[a] "Sub specie aeternitatis"—"under the aspect of eternity" (Spinoza, *Ethics,* Part II, Proposition 44, Corollary 2; Part V, Propositions 22-36).—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 291-328.—*Ed.*

summarised thus: Actual surplus value is determined by the ratio of surplus labour to necessary labour; or by the ratio between the portion of capital, of objectified labour, which is exchanged for living labour, and the portion of objectified labour by which it is replaced. On the other hand, surplus value in the form of profit is measured in terms of the total value of the capital preposited to the production process. Hence—*assuming* the same surplus value, *the same ratio of surplus labour to necessary labour*—the *rate of profit* depends on the ratio between the part of capital exchanged for living labour and the part of it existing in the form of raw material and means of production. So, as the portion exchanged for living labour declines, there is a corresponding decline in the rate of profit. In the same degree, therefore, in which capital as capital takes up more space in the production process relative to immediate labour, i.e. the greater the increase in relative surplus value—in the value-creating power of capital—the more *the rate of profit declines.*

We have seen that the size of the preposited capital, the capital preposited to reproduction, is specifically expressed in the growth of fixed capital as the produced productive power, objectified labour endowed with an illusory life of its own. The total size of the value of the producing capital will be expressed in every portion of it as a smaller proportion of capital exchanged for living labour, as compared to the part of capital existing as constant value. Take manufacturing industry as an example. In the same proportion as fixed capital (machinery, etc.) increases, there must be an increase in the part of capital existing in the form of raw materials and a decline in the part of it exchanged for living labour.

Hence the rate of profit falls in proportion to the value magnitude of the capital preposited to production—and of the part of capital working in production as capital. The broader the existence already attained by capital, the smaller is the ratio of the value newly [VII-16] produced to that preposited (the value which is reproduced). Therefore, *if we assume equal surplus value, i.e. an equal ratio of surplus labour to necessary labour,* the profit may still be unequal; and, indeed, must be unequal, in relation to the size of the capitals. The rate of profit may fall, although the actual surplus value rises. The rate of profit may rise, although the actual surplus value falls.

In fact, capital may grow, and profit may grow in the same proportion, if the part of capital preposited as value and existing in the form of raw materials and fixed capital increases in

the same proportion as the part of capital exchanged for living labour. Yet this proportionality presupposes growth of capital without growth and development of the productive power of labour, an assumption that cannot possibly be made. It contradicts the law of development of capital and especially that of the development of fixed capital. Such progress can only take place at stages of development at which the mode of production of capital is not yet adequate to it, or in spheres of production in which capital has arrogated dominance to itself as yet merely in form, e.g. in agriculture. In that sphere, the natural fertility of the soil may have the same effect as an increase of fixed capital—i.e. the relative surplus labour time may increase—without reducing the quantity of necessary labour time. (E.g. in the UNITED STATES.) The GROSS PROFIT, i.e. the surplus value considered outside its formal relation, not as a proportion, but as a simple quantity of value without reference to another quantity, will on average grow *not in step with the rate of profit, but in step with the size of the capital.*

While the rate of profit will therefore be inversely related to the value of capital, *the sum of profit* will be directly proportional to it. However, this proposition, too, only holds for a limited level of development of the productive power of capital or labour. A capital of 100 operating at a profit of 10% yields a smaller sum of profit than a capital of 1,000 operating at a [rate of] profit of 2%. In the first case the sum is 10, in the second it is 20, i.e. the GROSS PROFIT on the large capital is twice that on the capital which is $^1/_{10}$ its size, although the rate of profit on the smaller capital is 5 times that on the larger capital. But if the profit on the larger capital were only 1%, the sum of profit would be 10, the same as that for the capital which is $^1/_{10}$ its size, because the rate of profit would have declined in the same proportion as the size of the capital [had increased]. If the rate of profit on the capital of 1,000 were only $^1/_2$%, the sum of profit would be only half as great as that of the capital $^1/_{10}$ its size, only 5, because the rate of profit would be $^1/_{20}$th.

Therefore, expressed in general terms:

If the rate of profit of the larger capital declines, but not in proportion to its size, the GROSS PROFIT increases even though the rate of profit declines. If the rate of profit declines in proportion to its size, the GROSS PROFIT remains the same as that on the smaller capital; it remains stationary. If the decline in the rate of profit is proportionately greater than the increase in the size of the capital, the GROSS PROFIT on the larger capital, as compared with the smaller, declines just as much as the rate of profit does.

In every respect, this is the most important law of modern political economy, and the most essential one for comprehending the most complex relationships. It is the most important law from the historical viewpoint. Hitherto, despite its simplicity, it has never been grasped and still less has it been consciously formulated.

This decline in the rate of profit is synonymous with: (1) the productive power already produced and the material basis which it constitutes for new production; this presupposes, at the same time, an enormous development of SCIENTIFIC POWERS; (2) the decline of the part of the capital already produced which must be exchanged for immediate labour, i.e. the decline of the quantity of immediate labour necessary for the reproduction of an immense value, which is embodied in a large mass of products, a large mass of low-priced products, because the total sum of prices=the capital reproduced+profit; (3) [great] dimensions of capital in general, and also of the portion of it which is not fixed capital; hence the development of intercourse on a vast scale, a great number of exchange operations, a large market, and the all-round nature of simultaneous labour; means of communication, etc., the existence of the consumption fund necessary to effect this gigantic process (the workers eat, need housing, etc.). This being so, it becomes evident that the material productive power already available, already elaborated, existing in the form of fixed capital, as well as the SCIENTIFIC POWER, population, etc., in short, all the prerequisites of wealth, all the conditions for the maximum reproduction of wealth, i.e. for the rich development of the social individual—that the development of the productive forces, brought about by capital itself in its historical development, at a certain point abolishes the self-valorisation of capital, rather than posits it.

Beyond a certain point, the development of the productive forces becomes a barrier to capital, and consequently the relation of capital becomes a barrier to the development of the productive forces of labour. Once this point has been reached, capital, i.e. wage labour, enters into the same relation to the development of social wealth and the productive forces as the guild system, serfdom and slavery did, and is, as a fetter, necessarily cast off. The last form of servility assumed by human activity, that of wage labour on the one hand and of capital on the other, is thereby shed, and this shedding is itself the result of the mode of production corresponding to capital. It is precisely the production process of capital that gives rise to the material and spiritual conditions for the negation of wage labour and capital, which are

themselves the negation of earlier forms of unfree social production.

The growing discordance between the productive development of society and the relations of production hitherto characteristic of it, is expressed in acute contradictions, crises, convulsions. The violent destruction of capital as the condition for its self-preservation, and not because of external circumstances, is the most striking form in which it is ADVISED TO BE GONE AND TO GIVE ROOM TO A HIGHER STATE OF SOCIAL PRODUCTION. It is not merely the growth of SCIENTIFIC POWER but the measure in which it has already been posited as fixed capital; the extent, the breadth, in which it has been realised and has taken possession of the totality of production. It is, also, the development of population, etc., in short, of all the moments of production; for the productive power of labour, just as the employment of machinery, depends on the population number; the growth of population is in and for itself both the presupposition for, and the result of, the growth of the quantity of use values to be reproduced, and therefore also to be consumed.

Since this decline of profit is synonymous with a decline in the ratio of immediate labour to the amount of objectified labour which it reproduces and posits anew, capital will try everything to make up for the smallness of the proportion of living labour to the size of capital in general, and hence for the smallness of the proportion which surplus value, if expressed as profit, bears to the preposited capital. It will seek to do so BY REDUCING THE ALLOTMENT MADE TO NECESSARY LABOUR AND BY STILL MORE EXPANDING THE QUANTITY OF SURPLUS LABOUR WITH REGARD TO THE WHOLE LABOUR EMPLOYED. HENCE THE HIGHEST DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTIVE POWER TOGETHER WITH THE CREATEST EXPANSION OF EXISTING WEALTH WILL COINCIDE WITH DEPRECIATION OF CAPITAL, DEGRADATION OF THE LABOURER, AND A MOST STRAIGHTENED EXHAUSTION OF HIS VITAL POWERS.

THESE CONTRADICTIONS LEAD TO EXPLOSIONS, CATACLYSMS, CRISES, IN WHICH BY MOMENTANEOUS SUSPENSION OF LABOUR AND ANNIHILATION OF A GREAT PORTION OF CAPITAL THE LATTER IS VIOLENTLY REDUCED TO THE POINT WHERE IT CAN GO ON [VII-17] FULLY EMPLOYING ITS PRODUCTIVE POWERS WITHOUT COMMITTING SUICIDE. YET, THESE REGULARLY RECURRING CATASTROPHES LEAD TO THEIR REPETITION ON A HIGHER SCALE, AND FINALLY TO ITS VIOLENT OVERTHROW.

In the developed movement of capital, this process is slowed down by moments other than crises; e.g. the continuous depreciation of a part of the existing capital; the conversion of a large part of capital into fixed capital which does not serve as an agent of direct production; the unproductive dissipation of a large part of capital, etc.

(Capital, productively employed, is always replaced in a double way; as we have seen, the positing of value by productive capital presupposes a counter-value. The unproductive consumption of capital replaces it on the one hand, and annihilates it on the other.) //The same law is expressed simply—but this form of expression is to be considered later, in the population theory—as the relation of the growth of population, notably of the working part of it, to the capital already preposited.//

(The fact, further, that the fall in the rate of profit can be checked by the elimination of existing deductions from profit, e.g. a fall in taxes, a reduction in rent, etc., does not, for all its practical significance, really belong here, since these are themselves portions of profit under another name and appropriated by persons other than the capitalists themselves.) //That the same law manifests itself differently in the relation of the multitude of capitals to one another, i.e. in competition, also belongs in another section. It may also be postulated as the law of accumulation of capitals, as e.g. by Fullarton. We shall take this up in the next section.//

//It is important to draw attention to the fact that this law is not simply concerned with the development of productive POWER δυνάμει, but at the same time with the extent to which this PRODUCTIVE POWER operates as capital, i.e. the extent to which it is realised above all as fixed capital, on the one hand, and as population, on the other.//

(The fall [in the rate of profit] may also be checked by the creation of new branches of production in which more immediate labour is needed in proportion to capital, or in which the productive power of labour, i.e. the productive power of capital, is not yet developed.) (Similarly, monopolies.)

"PROFIT IS A TERM SIGNIFYING THE INCREASE OF CAPITAL OR WEALTH; SO FAILING TO FIND THE LAWS WHICH GOVERN THE RATE OF PROFIT, IS FAILING TO FIND THE LAWS OF THE FORMATION OF CAPITAL" (W. Atkinson, *Principles of Political Economy etc.*, Lond., 1840, p. 55).

But he has FAILED IN UNDERSTANDING EVEN WHAT THE RATE OF PROFIT IS.

A. Smith attributed the fall in the rate of profit as capital grows to the competition of capitals among themselves.[a] Ricardo objected to this[b] that while competition may certainly reduce the profits in the different branches of business to an average level, even up the

[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Book 1, Ch. 9.—*Ed.*

[b] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, Ch. 21.—*Ed.*

rate of profit, it cannot depress this average rate itself. A. Smith's proposition is correct to the extent that it is only in competition—the action of capital on capital—that the immanent laws of capital, its TENDENCIES, are realised. But it is incorrect in the sense in which he understands it—namely that competition imposes on capital laws external to capital, laws brought in from outside, which are not capital's own laws. Competition can permanently depress the rate of profit in all branches of industry, i.e. the average rate of profit, only if, and only to the extent that, a general and permanent fall in the rate of profit operating as a law is conceivable also *prior to* and regardless of competition. Competition executes the inner laws of capital; it turns them into coercive laws in relation to the individual capital, but it does not invent them. It realises them. To wish to explain them simply by competition means to admit that one does not understand them.

*Ricardo* for his part says:

"No accumulation of capitals can *permanently* depress profits, unless some equally permanent cause rises wages" ([*Des principes de l'économie politique et de l'impôt*] p. 92, t. II, Paris, 1835, *traduit de* Constancio).

He finds this cause in the growing, relatively growing unproductiveness of agriculture, "the growing difficulty of increasing the quantity of means of subsistence", i.e. in the growth of the share of the wages of labour. Not that he sees labour as really receiving more, but as receiving the product of more labour; in a word, necessary labour makes up a greater share of the labour required for the production of agricultural products. The fall in the rate of profit is therefore accompanied, in Ricardo, by a nominal growth of wages and a real growth of rent. His is a one-sided analysis because it only conceives of one single CASE—the rate of profit may just as much fall in consequence of a momentary rise in wages, etc.—and because it elevates to a universal law an historical relationship characteristic of a period of 50 years but inverted during the next 50 years, and because, in general, it is based upon the historical disproportion between the development of industry and agriculture. In and for itself, it was odd of Ricardo, Malthus, etc., to postulate universal, eternal laws for physiological chemistry at a time when as yet it scarcely existed. This analysis of Ricardo's has therefore been attacked from all sides, mainly because of an instinctive feeling that it was wrong and unsatisfactory, but mostly on account of its true rather than its false aspect.

"A. SMITH THOUGHT THAT ACCUMULATION OR INCREASE OF STOCK IN GENERAL LOWERED THE RATE OF PROFITS IN GENERAL, ON THE SAME PRINCIPLE WHICH MAKES THE

INCREASE OF STOCK IN ANY PARTICULAR TRADE LOWER THE PROFITS OF THAT TRADE. BUT SUCH INCREASE OF STOCK IN A PARTICULAR TRADE *MEANS* AN INCREASE MORE *IN PROPORTION* THAN STOCK IS AT THE SAME TIME INCREASED IN OTHER TRADES: IT IS RELATIVE" (p. 9, *An Inquiry into those Principles respecting the Nature of Demand and the Necessity of Consumption, lately advocated by Mr. Malthus,* London, 1821).

"COMPETITION AMONG THE INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISTS can LEVEL the profits rising especially high above the level, but it cannot LOWER THIS ORDINARY LEVEL" (Ramsay [*An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth,* pp. 179-80], IX, 88[11]).

(Ramsay and other economists justly distinguish between the growth of productivity in the branches of industry supplying the constituents of fixed capital, and naturally of WAGES, and growth in other industries, e.g. the luxury-goods industries. The latter industries cannot diminish necessary labour time. However, this can be achieved by exchanging their products for agricultural products of foreign nations, the effect then being the same as if productivity had been raised in agriculture. Hence the importance of free trade in corn for the industrial capitalists.)

*Ricardo says* (*On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* 3rd English edition, London, 1821):

"THE FARMER AND MANUFACTURER CAN NO MORE LIVE WITHOUT PROFITS, THAN THE LABOURER WITHOUT WAGES" (l.c., p. 123). "The natural tendency of profits is to fall; for, in the progress of society and wealth, the ADDITIONAL [quantity of] FOOD requires more and more labour. This tendency, this gravitation of profit, is checked at repeated intervals by the improvements in machinery, connected with the production of NECESSARIES, as well as by discoveries in the science of agriculture which diminish the production costs" (l.c., pp. 120-21).

Ricardo immediately lumps together profit and surplus value; he never made this distinction at all. *But while [the rate of] surplus value is determined by the ratio of the surplus labour employed by capital to necessary labour, the rate of profit is merely the ratio of the surplus value to the total value of the capital preposited to production.* Hence its proportion falls and rises with the ratio of the part of capital exchanged for living labour to that existing as material and fixed capital. *Under* all *circumstances, surplus value considered as profit must express a proportion of the gain that is smaller than the actual proportion of surplus value.* For under all circumstances it [profit] is measured in terms of the total capital, and this is always greater than the capital employed in WAGES and exchanged for living labour.

Since Ricardo thus simply lumps together surplus value and [VII-18] profit, and since surplus value can only diminish constantly, diminish *tendentially,* if there is a decline in the ratio of surplus labour to necessary labour, i.e. to the labour required for the reproduction of the labour capacity, and this is only possible

given a decline in the productive power of labour, Ricardo assumes that the productive power of labour, while increasing in industry with the accumulation of capital, does decline in agriculture. From the sphere of political economy he flees into organic chemistry. We have proved that this is a necessary tendency without referring to rent at all, just as we had no need to refer, e.g., to rising demand for labour, etc.

How rent is connected with profit is to be discussed when we come to consider rent itself; does not belong here. But modern chemistry has shown that Ricardo's physiological postulate, presented as a universal law, is false. Now Ricardo's pupils, to the extent that they do not merely echo him, have, like modern political economy in general, quietly dropped what they found disagreeable in their master's doctrine. TO DROP THE PROBLEM IS THEIR GENERAL METHOD OF SOLVING IT.

Other economists, e.g. Wakefield, take refuge in discussing the *FIELD OF EMPLOYMENT* for the growing capital.[a] This belongs in the analysis of competition and is evidence, rather, of a preoccupation with *the difficulty for capital to realise a growing volume of profit, which amounts to a denial of the immanent tendency of the rate of profit to fall.* And the necessity for capital to seek a constantly expanding FIELD OF EMPLOYMENT is itself a consequence. One cannot list Wakefield and suchlike with those who first raised the question. (To some extent, they merely reproduce A. Smith's view.)

Finally, there are the harmonists among the most recent economists, headed by the American Carey, whose most obtrusive companion was the Frenchman Bastiat. (In passing, it may be noted as a fine irony of history that the Continental FREE-TRADERS parrot Mr. Bastiat, who for his part draws his wisdom from Carey the protectionist.) They admit the FACT that the rate of profit tends to fall in the degree in which productive capital increases. But they explain it *simplement* and *bonnement*[b] by an increase in the value of the share of labour, i.e. in the proportion the worker receives of the total product; capital, for its part, benefits by the growth of the GROSS PROFITS. In this way, the unpleasant oppositions and antagonisms within which classical political economy moves, and which Ricardo emphasises with scientific remorselessness, are presented as WELL-TO-DO HARMONIES. Carey's analysis at least has a semblance of being one, and in general he does his own thinking. His analysis concerns a law which we need not discuss until we get

[a] E. G. Wakefield, *A View of the Art of Colonization*, London, 1849, pp. 76, 79 and 91.—*Ed.*

[b] Simply and plainly.—*Ed.*

to the theory of competition, and it is only then that we shall deal with him.

But Bastiat's insipidity, which expresses platitudes as paradoxes, polishes them *en facettes*, and conceals the most complete poverty of thought under a façade of formal logic, can be disposed of at once. //At this point we can insert something about the antithesis between Carey and Bastiat from Notebook III.[a]// In *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon*, Paris, 1850 (it may be noted in passing that Proudhon cuts a highly ridiculous figure in this polemic, in which he conceals his incapacity for dialectical reasoning under a cloak of rhetorical pretension) Bastiat says in Letter VIII (in which, incidentally, the noble gentleman *tout bonnement* and *tout simplement* transforms, with his reconciling dialectic, the gain accruing from the simple division of labour to the road-*maker* just as much as to the road-user, into a gain accruing to the "road" itself, i.e. to capital):

"In the degree in which capitals (and with them their products) are augmented, the absolute part which returns to capital is augmented, and its proportional part diminished. In the degree in which capitals (and with them their products) are augmented, both the proportional part and the absolute part accruing to labour are augmented. Since the absolute part accruing to capital rises, even though it only draws successively $^1/_2$, $^1/_3$, $^1/_4$, $^1/_5$ of the total product, labour, which successively gets $^1/_2$, $^2/_3$, $^3/_4$, $^4/_5$, obviously draws from the distribution an ever greater part, both proportionately and absolutely."[b]

As an *illustration* he gives this:

| | Total product | Part accruing to capital | Part accruing to labour |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1st period | 1,000 | $^1/_2$ or 500 | $^1/_2$ or 500 |
| 2nd " | 1,800 | $^1/_3$ or 600 | $^2/_3$ or 1,200 |
| 3rd " | 2,800 | $^1/_4$ or 700 | $^3/_4$ or 2,100 |
| 4th " | 4,000 | $^1/_5$ or 800 | $^4/_5$ or 3,200 |

(Pp. 130, 131)

The same trick is repeated on *p. 288* in the form of an increasing GROSS PROFIT accompanied by a falling rate of profit but an increasing mass of products sold at lower prices, and on that occasion he speaks with great importance of

"the law of an infinitely decreasing series which never reaches zero, a law well known to mathematicians" (p. 288). "One sees here" (charlatan) "that the

[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 5-16.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes this and the following passage, and also the table, in French.—*Ed.*

multiplier decreases continually, because the multiplicand constantly increases" (l.c., p. 288).

Ricardo had a presentiment of his Bastiat. While stressing that, despite the decline in the rate of profit, profit grows as a sum with the growth of capital—here he anticipates all of Bastiat's wisdom—he does not fail to observe that this progression "is only true for a certain time". He says, literally:

"However the rate of the PROFITS OF STOCK may diminish in consequence of the accumulation of capital on the land, and the rise of wages" (and by this, *notabene*, Ricardo understands a rise in the production costs of the agricultural products indispensable for the maintenance of the labour capacity) "the aggregate amount of PROFITS still must increase. Thus supposing that, with repeated accumulations of £100,000, the rate of profit should fall from 20 to 19, to 18, to 17%, we should expect that the whole AMOUNT OF PROFITS RECEIVED BY THE SUCCESSIVE OWNERS OF CAPITAL WOULD BE ALWAYS PROGRESSIVE; that it would be greater when the capital was £200,000, than when 100,000; still greater when 300,000; and so on, increasing, though at a diminishing rate, WITH EVERY INCREASE OF CAPITAL. *This progression however is only true for a certain time*: thus 19% on £200,000 is more than 20 on 100,000; 18% on 300,000 is more than 19% on 200,000; but after capital has accumulated TO A LARGE AMOUNT, and PROFITS have fallen, the further accumulation diminishes the sum of profits. Thus suppose the accumulation should be 1,000,000, and the PROFITS 7%. The whole amount of profits will be £70,000; now if an addition of £100,000 be made to the million, and profits should fall to 6%, [VII-19] £66,000 or a diminution of £4,000 will be received by the owners of STOCK, although the AMOUNT OF CAPITAL will be increased from 1,000,000 to 1,100,000" (l.c., pp. 124, 125).

Of course, this does not prevent Mr. Bastiat from carrying out the schoolboyish operation of making an increasing multiplicand to increase in such a way that, when combined with a declining multiplier, it should yield an increasing product, as little as the laws of production prevented Dr. Price from framing his compound interest calculation.[29] Since the rate of profit declines, it does so relatively to wages, which consequently must grow both proportionally and absolutely. That is Bastiat's conclusion.

(Ricardo was aware of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall with the increase of capital; and since he confused profit with surplus value, he could account for the fall in profit only by making wages rise. Yet since he also realised that wages actually declined rather than increased, he caused their value, i.e. the quantity of necessary labour, to increase, but did not cause their use value to do the same. In fact, with him, it is rent alone that increases. The harmonising Bastiat, however, discovers that, as capitals accumulate, wages increase both proportionally and absolutely.)

He assumes what he has to prove, i.e. that the decline in the rate of profit is identical with the increase in the rate of wages,

and then "illustrates" his assumption with a numerical example which seems to have greatly tickled him.[a] If the decline in the rate of profit expresses nothing but a decline in the proportion in which the total capital requires living labour for its reproduction, that is another story. Mr. Bastiat overlooks the little circumstance that, in his presupposition, even though the rate of profit on capital declines, capital itself, the capital preposited to production, increases. Even Mr. Bastiat could have surmised that the value of capital cannot increase, unless capital appropriates surplus labour. The lamentations, constant in French history, about excessive harvests could have shown to him that the mere augmentation of the quantity of products does not increase value. Then it would merely be a matter of finding out whether the fall in the rate of profit was synonymous with the growth of the rate of necessary labour in relation to surplus labour; or, rather, whether it was not synonymous with the fall in the overall rate of the living labour employed in relation to the capital reproduced.

Mr. Bastiat therefore distributes the product simply between capitalist and worker, instead of allocating it between raw material, instrument of production, and labour, and asking himself in what proportional parts its value is exchanged for these different elements. Obviously, the part of the product exchanged for raw material and instrument of production does not concern the workers. What they share with capital, as wages and profit, is nothing but the newly added living labour itself. Yet what particularly worries Bastiat is the question of who shall consume the increased product. Since the capitalist only consumes a relatively small part, must not the worker consume a relatively large one? Particularly in France, whose total production yields too much to consume only in Mr. Bastiat's imagination, he could see that capital is sponged on by a host of parasites, who under one title or another draw so much of the total production to themselves as to rule out the possibility of any undue affluence for the worker. It is clear, by the way, that with large-scale production the total amount of labour employed may increase even though the ratio of the labour employed to capital declines, and that, therefore, there is nothing to prevent a situation in which, with the growth of capital, a growing population of workers requires a larger mass of products. Moreover, since in Bastiat's harmonising brain all cats are grey (see above what he says about

[a] Crossed out in the manuscript: "In any case, if the rate of profit declines, it must decline in relation to something, and this something is capital itself."—*Ed.*

wages[a]), he confuses the decline of interest with the increase of wages. The former implies, rather, an increase in industrial profit; and has no bearing at all on the workers, but only affects the proportion in which the various species of capitalists share in the total profit.

*Retournons à nos moutons.*[b] The product of capital is therefore profit. By relating itself to itself as profit, it relates itself to itself as *the source of production of value, and the rate of profit expresses the proportion in which it has increased its own value.* But the capitalist is not merely capital. He must live, and since he does not live by labour, he must live on profit, i.e. on the alien labour which he appropriates. As a source of wealth, capital is posited thus. Since it has incorporated productivity as one of its immanent properties, capital treats profit as *revenue.* It can consume part of that revenue (apparently all of it, but this will be seen to be wrong), without ceasing to be capital. After consuming this fruit, it can yield fruit afresh. It can represent consuming wealth, without ceasing to represent the general form of wealth, an impossibility for money in simple circulation. *Money had to refrain from enjoyment* in order to remain *the general form of wealth*; or, if it consumed itself through exchange for real wealth, enjoyments, it ceases to be the general form of wealth.

Thus profit, like wages, appears as *a form pertaining to distribution.* But since capital can only grow by reconverting profit into capital—into surplus capital—profit is equally *a form pertaining to the production of capital.* In just the same way, the wage is a mere *relation of production* from the standpoint of capital, but a relation of distribution from that of the worker.

It is seen here that the relations of distribution are themselves produced by the relations of production, and represent them *d'un autre point de vue.*[c] It is further seen that the relation of production to consumption is posited by production itself. The absurd view taken by all bourgeois economists, e.g. J. St. Mill, who regards the bourgeois relations of production as eternal, but their forms of distribution as historical[d]; it is evident that he understands neither the former nor the latter.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 11-15, 180-82 and 248.—*Ed.*

[b] Let us return to our subject.—*Ed.*

[c] From another point of view.—*Ed.*

[d] J. St. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, Vol. 1, London, 1848, pp. 25, 26, 239, 240.—*Ed.*

With respect to simple exchange, *Sismondi* correctly remarks:

"An *échange* always presupposes 2 values; their fates may be different; yet the *quality of capital and revenue* does not go with the object exchanged, but is attached to the person who owns it" (Sismondi, [*Nouveaux principes d'économie politique*, Vol. I, p. 90] VI[13]).

Therefore, revenue cannot be explained in terms of simple exchange relations. Whether a value acquired through exchange possesses the quality of representing capital or revenue is determined by relations which lie beyond simple exchange. Hence it is stupid to wish to reduce these more complicated forms to those simple exchange relations, as the harmonising FREETRADERS do. Considered from the standpoint of simple *échange*, and taking accumulation to be merely the accumulation of money (exchange value), the profit and revenue of capital are impossible.

"If the rich spent their accumulated wealth on luxury goods—and they can only obtain commodities through *échange*—their funds would soon be exhausted... But in the *ordre social*, wealth has acquired the ability to reproduce itself by means of *alien labour*. Wealth, like labour, and *by means of labour*, yields an annual fruit, which can annually be *destroyed* without the rich thereby becoming poorer. This fruit is the revenue which springs from capital" (Sismondi, IV) [ibid., pp. 81-82].

If profit therefore appears as the result of capital, it also appears, on the other hand, as the *presupposition for the formation of capital*. And so the circular movement is posited anew, in which the result appears as the presupposition.

"Thus part of the revenue was converted into capital, into a permanent self-multiplying value which no longer perished. This value detached itself from the commodity which had produced it; like a metaphysical, insubstantial quality it always remained in the possession of the same *cultivateur*" (capitalist) "for whom it took on different forms" (Sismondi, VI) [ibid., p. 89].

[VII-20] *When capital is posited as positing profit, as a source of wealth independent of labour, each part of the capital is supposed to be equally productive.* Just as surplus value in profit is measured by reference to the total value of capital, it appears to have been produced to an equal extent by its different components. Hence, the circulating part of capital (the part consisting of raw materials and *approvisionnement*) does not yield a higher profit than the component which constitutes fixed capital; indeed profit refers evenly to these components according to their size.

Since the profit of capital is realised only in the price which is paid for it, for the use value it produces, profit is therefore determined by *the excess of the price obtained over the price covering the outlays*. Moreover, since this realisation only takes place in *the act of*

*exchange,* the *profit* accruing to the individual capital is *not necessarily limited by its surplus value,* by the surplus labour contained in it, but depends on the excess of the price it obtains in the act of exchange. It may be *exchanged* for more than its *equivalent, and then the profit it yields is greater than its surplus value.* This can only be the case if the other party to the exchange does not obtain an equivalent. The total surplus value, and similarly the *total profit,* which is merely the *surplus value itself calculated in a different way,* can neither grow nor diminish as a result of this operation; what *is modified here* is not the total surplus value itself, but only *its allocation among the different capitals.* However, this does not belong here, but in the analysis of the multitude of capitals.

The value of the capital preposited in production appears over against profit as *advances—production costs,* which must be replaced in the product. What is left after the part of the price which replaces them has been deducted, constitutes profit. Since surplus labour—which comprises profit and interest, these being merely portions of it—does not cost capital anything, and hence is not part of the value advanced by it—not part of the value which it possessed before the production process and the valorisation of the product—this surplus labour, which is included in the production costs[30] of the product and constitutes the source of surplus value, and hence also of profit, does not figure under the production costs of capital. These are only equal to the values actually advanced by it, not to the surplus value appropriated in production and realised in circulation. Consequently, the production costs from the standpoint of capital are not the actual production costs, precisely because surplus labour does not cost *it* anything. The excess of the price of the product over the price of the production costs constitutes the profit of capital.

Hence, capital can make a profit even if its actual production costs—i.e. the whole of the surplus labour it sets to work—have not been realised. Profit, the excess over the advances made by capital, may be smaller than surplus value, the excess of living labour obtained by capital through exchange over the objectified labour which it has exchanged for the labour capacity. However, through the separation of interest from profit—something which we shall discuss presently—a part of the surplus value is posited as a production cost even for productive capital.

The confusion of the *production costs* from the standpoint of capital with the quantity of labour objectified in the product of capital, including surplus labour, has given rise to the assertion that

"profit is not included in the NATURAL PRICE", and that it is "absurd to call the excess or profit A PART OF THE EXPENDITURE" (Torrens, [*An Essay on the Production of Wealth*, London, 1821, pp. 51-52,] IX, 30[11]).

This leads then to a great deal of confusion. Either profit is seen not as merely being realised in the act of exchange but as originating from it (which, under all circumstances, can only be the case relatively, when one party to the exchange does not obtain his equivalent) or else the magic power is ascribed to capital of creating something out of nothing. As the value posited in the production process realises its price by means of exchange, the price of the product appears as determined IN FACT by the sum of money which expresses an equivalent for the total quantity of labour contained in the raw material, the machinery, the wages and the unpaid surplus labour. Here price therefore still appears merely as an altered form of value; value expressed in money; but the magnitude of this price is presupposed in the production process of capital. Capital thereby appears as price-determining; so that price is determined by the advances made by capital+the surplus labour it has realised in the product. We shall see later how, on the contrary, price appears as profit-determining. And if at this point the total *actual* production costs appear as price-determining, price will later appear as determining the production costs. To impose the immanent laws of capital upon it as an external necessity, competition apparently completely inverts all of them, *distorts them.*

Just to repeat: The profit of capital does not depend upon its size; but rather, given the same size, upon the relative magnitude of its components (the constant and the variable part); then upon the productivity of labour (which, however, expresses itself in that first proportion, since if productivity were lower, the same capital could not work up the same quantity of material in the same time with the same amount of living labour); upon the turnover time, which is determined by the different proportions between fixed and circulating capital, the different durability of the fixed capital, etc., etc. (see above[a]). The inequality of profit in different branches of industry for capitals of the same size, i.e. the inequality of the rate of profit, is a condition and presupposition for the equalisations brought about by competition.

In so far as capital obtains, purchases, raw material, instrument and labour by means of exchange, its elements themselves are

[a] See this volume, pp. 102-12.— *Ed.*

already there in the form of prices, already posited as prices, preposited to capital. The way the market price of its product compares with the prices of its elements then becomes decisive for it. But this belongs in the chapter on competition.

So the surplus value posited by capital in a given turnover time assumes the form of *profit*, in so far as it is measured by reference to the total value of the capital preposited to production; whereas surplus value is measured directly by the surplus labour time which capital gains in its exchange with living labour. Profit is merely another, more developed—in the sense of capital—form of surplus value. Surplus value here is regarded rather as exchanged in the production process for capital itself, not for labour. Capital therefore appears as capital, as preposited value which, through the mediation of its own process, is related to itself as posited, produced value, and the value posited by it is called *profit*.

The 2 immediate laws manifested to us by this conversion of surplus value into the form of profit are:

(1) *Surplus value expressed as profit always appears as a smaller proportion than that actually constituted by surplus value in its immediate reality.* For instead of being measured in relation to a part of the capital, that exchanged for living labour (a ratio which is manifested as that of surplus to necessary labour), it is measured in relation to the total. Whatever the surplus value posited by a capital $a$, and whatever the proportion in $a$ of $c$ and $v$, the constant and the variable part of capital, the surplus value $s$ must appear smaller if measured in terms of $c+v$ than if measured in terms of its real measure, $v$. Profit, or the rate of profit—if profit is not considered as an absolute sum but, as is usually the case, as a *proportion* (the rate of profit is profit expressed as the *proportion* in which capital has posited surplus value)—[VII-21] never expresses the actual rate of exploitation of labour by capital but always a much smaller proportion, and that proportion is the more misleading the larger the capital is. The rate of profit could express the actual rate of surplus value only if the whole capital were converted into wages; if the whole capital were exchanged for living labour, i.e. only existed as *approvisionnement*. Then not only would it not exist in the form of already produced raw material (as is the case in the extractive industries), so that the raw material would=0; but the means of production, whether in the form of instruments or developed fixed capital, would also=0. The latter CASE cannot possibly occur on the basis of the mode of production corresponding to capital. If $a=c+v$, whatever the

magnitude of $s$ it follows that

$$\left[\frac{s}{c+v} < \frac{s}{v}\right].$$

(2) The 2nd great law is that in the degree in which capital has already appropriated living labour in the form of objectified labour; in the degree, therefore, in which labour has already been capitalised and thus increasingly operates in the production process in the form of fixed capital; or in the degree in which the productive power of labour increases; the rate of profit declines. The growth of the productive power of labour is synonymous with (a) the growth of relative surplus value or the relative surplus labour time which the worker gives to capital; (b) the diminution of the labour time necessary for the reproduction of the labour capacity; (c) the decrease of the part of capital exchanged in general for living labour relative to those parts of it which participate in the production process as objectified labour and preposited value. The rate of profit is thus inversely related to the growth of relative surplus value or relative surplus labour, to the development of the productive forces, and to the size of the capital employed in production as [constant] capital. In other words, the second law is the *tendency of the rate of profit to fall* with the development of capital, both of its productive power and of the extent to which it has already posited itself as objectified value; the extent to which labour as well as productive power have been capitalised.

Other factors which can affect the rate of profit, which can depress it for longer or shorter periods, do not yet come into consideration. It is quite correct to say that, if the production process is considered as a whole, the capital acting as material and as fixed capital is not merely objectified labour but also must be newly reproduced by labour, and reproduced constantly. Therefore, its existence, on any particular scale, presupposes a certain magnitude of the working population, a large population, which in and for itself is a prerequisite for any productive power; but this reproduction everywhere presupposes the operation of fixed capital and raw material and SCIENTIFIC POWER, both as such and as appropriated by production and already realised in it. This point is only to be developed in more detail when we come to discuss accumulation.

It is further clear that, although the part of capital exchanged for living labour declines relative to total capital, the total quantity of living labour employed may increase or remain the same if capital grows in the same or in a greater proportion. Hence the

population may continuously grow in the proportion in which necessary labour declines. If capital $a$ expends $^1/_2$ in $c$ and $^1/_2$ in $v$, and capital $a'$ expends $^3/_4$ in $c$ and $^1/_4$ in $v$, then capital $a'$ could employ $^2/_4$ $v$ on $^6/_4$ $c$. But if it was originally$=^3/_4$ $c+^1/_4$ $v$, it is now $=^6/_4$ $c+^2/_4$ $v$, or it has increased by $^4/_4$, i.e. it has doubled. However, this relationship too is only to be investigated more closely in the theory of accumulation and population. In general, at this stage we must not be diverted from our subject by the conclusions following from the laws stated above or by any speculations on that matter.

Hence, the rate of profit is determined not only by the ratio of surplus labour to necessary labour, or by the ratio in which objectified labour is exchanged for living labour, but in general by the ratio of living labour employed to objectified labour; the ratio of the portion of capital exchanged in general for living labour to the part which participates in the production process as objectified labour. And that portion declines in the same proportion as surplus labour increases relative to necessary labour.

(Since the worker must reproduce the part of capital exchanged for his labour capacity just as much as he must reproduce the other parts of capital, the proportion in which the capitalist gains in his exchange with the labour capacity appears as determined by the ratio of surplus labour to necessary labour. Originally, necessary labour appears merely to replace the capitalist's outlays for him. But since—as is shown in reproduction—he lays out nothing but labour itself, the relation of surplus value can be simply expressed as the relation of surplus labour to necessary labour.)

//With respect to fixed capital, and durability as a condition of it which does not enter from without, the following should also be noted: To the extent that the instrument of production is itself value, objectified labour, *it contributes nothing as a productive force.* If a machine whose production costs 100 working days only replaced 100 working days, it would in no way increase the productive power of labour and in no way diminish the cost of the product. The more durable the machine, the greater is the number of times the same quantity of product can be produced with its aid; or the greater the number of times circulating capital can be renewed, or its reproduction repeated; and the smaller is the proportion of value necessary to replace the *déchet,* the WEAR and TEAR of the machine; i.e. the greater is the reduction in the price of the product and its previous [jemalig] production cost.

However, we cannot as yet bring the price relation into our analysis. The reduction of price as a condition for conquering the market can only be discussed in connection with competition.

Hence the question must be posed differently. Suppose that the instrument of production could be obtained by capital without cost, for nothing. What would be the consequence? The same as if the circulation costs were zero. I.e. the labour necessary to maintain the labour capacity would be reduced, and so surplus labour, i.e. surplus value, [would be increased] without its costing capital the slightest amount. Such an increase in productive power, a kind of machinery which does not cost capital anything, is the division of labour and the combination of labour within the production process. But it presupposes labours on a large scale, i.e. the development of capital and wage labour.

Another productive force which costs it nothing is SCIENTIFIC POWER. (It is self-evident that capital must always pay a certain duty for the support of parsons, schoolmasters, and men of learning, whether the SCIENTIFIC POWER they develop is great or small.) However, capital can only appropriate it by the employment of machinery (partly also in chemical processes). The growth of population is also a productive force which costs capital nothing.

In short, all the social forces which develop with the growth of population and the historical development of society cost it nothing. But to the extent that they themselves require a substratum produced by labour, i.e. existing in the form of objectified labour, in order to be employed in the immediate production process, and hence are themselves values, capital can appropriate them only by giving an equivalent in exchange for them.

WELL. Fixed capital whose employment is more costly than that of living labour, [VII-22] i.e. which requires more living labour for its production or maintenance than the amount of labour it replaces, would be a NUISANCE. Such as costs nothing at all and merely needs to be appropriated by the capitalist, would possess maximum value for capital. The simple proposition that machinery possesses maximum value for capital if its value=0, implies that every reduction in its cost is a gain for the capitalist. *While, on the one hand, it is the tendency of capital to increase the total value of fixed capital, it is, at the same time,* [*its tendency*] *to diminish the value of every fractional part of it.*

Once fixed capital enters into circulation as value, it ceases to operate as use value in the production process. Its use value consists precisely in that it increases the productive power of

labour, reduces necessary labour, augments relative surplus labour and thus surplus value. Once it enters into circulation, its value is merely replaced, not increased. On the other hand, the product, circulating capital, is the bearer of surplus value, which is only realised when the product emerges from the production process into circulation.

If the machine were of infinite durability, if it were not itself composed of perishable material that has to be reproduced (quite apart from the invention of more efficient machines, which rob it of its character as a machine), if it were a *perpetuum mobile*, it would most completely correspond to its concept. Its value would not need to be replaced, since it would subsist in an indestructible materiality. Since fixed capital is employed only in so far as its value is smaller than that which it posits, the surplus value realised in circulating capital would—even though fixed capital itself never entered [in a single act] as value into circulation—nevertheless soon replace the advances and once the cost of the fixed capital to the capitalist, and that of the surplus labour which he appropriates, were=0, the fixed capital would operate as positing value. It would continue to operate as a productive force of labour, and at the same time be money in the third sense, constant value-for-itself.

Assume a capital of £1,000. Let $^1/_5$ be machinery, and let the sum of surplus value be 50. The value of the machinery therefore equals 200. After 4 turnovers, the machinery would be paid for. Then, apart from continuing to possess £200 worth of objectified labour in the machinery, the capitalist would, from the fifth turnover onwards, be in the same position as if he was gaining 50 with a capital which cost him only 800, i.e. his gain would be $6^1/_4$% instead of 5%.

As soon as fixed capital enters into circulation as value, it ceases to be use value for the valorisation process of capital; or it enters into circulation only when that process ceases. Therefore, the more durable fixed capital is, [i.e.] the less it needs to be repaired, to be entirely or partly reproduced, [i.e.] the longer its circulation time—the more does it operate as a productive force of labour, as capital, i.e. as objectified labour which posits living surplus labour. The durability of fixed capital, identical with the duration of the circulation time of its value or of the time required for its reproduction, emerges as its value-moment from its very concept. (That this durability in and for itself, in merely *material* terms, is implicit in the concept of the means of production, needs no explanation.)//

The rate of surplus value is simply determined by the ratio of surplus labour to necessary labour; the rate of profit is determined by the ratio, not merely of surplus labour to necessary labour, but of the part of capital exchanged for living labour to the total capital that enters into production.

Concretely expressed, profit, in the form in which we are still considering it, i.e. as the profit of capital *as such*, not that gained by an individual capital at the expense of another, but as *the profit of the capitalist class*, can *never be greater than the sum of surplus value.* As a sum, it is the sum of surplus value, but this very sum of value as a proportion of the total value of capital, not of the part of it whose value actually increases, i.e. is exchanged for living labour. *In its immediate form, profit is merely the sum of surplus value expressed as a proportion of the total value of capital.*

The transformation of surplus value into the form of profit, this method of calculation of surplus value by capital, much as it is based on an illusion as to the nature of surplus value, or rather disguises it, is necessary from the standpoint of capital.

//It is easy to imagine that the machine as such posits value, since it operates as a productive force of labour. However, if the machine needed no labour, it could of course increase use value, but the exchange value which it produced would never be greater than its own production costs, its own value, the labour objectified in it. It produces value not because it replaces labour, but only in so far as it is a means of increasing surplus labour, and it is only surplus labour itself—and hence labour in general—that is both the measure and the substance of the surplus value posited with the help of the machine.//

The reduction of necessary labour relative to surplus labour is expressed, if we consider the day of an individual worker, in the appropriation of a larger part of the working day by capital. Here the living labour which is employed remains the same. Assume that, because of an increase in productive power, resulting, e.g., from the employment of machinery, 3 of 6 workers who each worked 6 days a week are made superfluous. If the 6 workers themselves possessed the machinery, they would now work for only half a day each. Now 3 continue to work for the whole day each day of the week. If capital continued to employ the 6, they would each work for only half a day, but perform no surplus labour. Assume that necessary labour previously amounted to 10 hours and surplus labour to 2 hours daily; in this case, the total surplus labour performed by the 6 workers was previously equal to 2×6 hours daily, i.e. to one whole day, and hence over the

whole week to 6 days, or 72 hours. Each worked one day a week gratis. It would be the same as if the 6th worker had worked for the whole week gratis. The 5 workers represent necessary labour; and if their number could be reduced to 4, and the one worker work for nothing, as before, relative surplus value would have grown. Previously, its ratio was 1 : 6; now it would be 1 : 5. *Hence, the former law, stipulating an increase in the number of surplus working hours, now assumes the form of a stipulation to reduce the number of necessary workers.* If it were possible for the same capital to employ the 6 workers at this new rate, surplus value would increase not merely relatively but absolutely as well. The surplus labour time would amount to $14^2/_5$ hours. $2^2/_5$ hours each worked by 6 workers is of course more than $2^2/_5$ hours each worked by 5.

As far as absolute surplus value is concerned, it appears to be determined by the absolute extension of the working day beyond the necessary labour time. Necessary labour time works merely for use value, for subsistence. The surplus working day is labour for exchange value, for wealth. It is the first moment of industrial labour. The natural limit is set—assuming that the conditions for labour are available, i.e. raw material and instrument of labour; or one of the two, according to whether labour is merely extractive or form-giving, i.e. whether it merely isolates the use value from the body of the Earth or forms it—the natural limit is set by the number of simultaneous working days or of living labour capacities, i.e. by the magnitude of the working population. At this stage, the difference between production based on capital and earlier stages of production is still a merely formal one. Kidnapping, slavery, trading in slaves and compelling them to labour, [VII-23] increase in the number of these labouring machines, machines producing SURPLUS PRODUCE, is here directly posited by force. In the case of capital, it is mediated by exchange.

Here use values increase in the same simple proportion as exchange values, and therefore this form of surplus labour appears in the modes of production of slavery, serfdom, etc., which are mainly and predominantly concerned with use value, and also in that of capital, which is directly orientated towards exchange value and only indirectly towards use value. This use value may be purely fantastic, as, e.g., in the construction of Egyptian pyramids, in short the religious luxury-works which the bulk of the nation were compelled to perform in Egypt, India, etc., or it may take the form of immediately useful objects, as, e.g., among the ancient Etruscans.

The second form of surplus value, as relative surplus value,

appears as a development of the productive power of the workers, *in relation to the working day—as a reduction of necessary labour time,* and in relation to population—as *a reduction of the necessary working population* (this is the antithetical form). In this form [of surplus value], the industrial and distinctively historical character of the mode of production based upon capital is, by contrast, immediately apparent.

To the first form corresponds the forcible transformation of the greater part of the population into wage labourers, and the discipline which transforms their existence into that of mere labourers. E.g., over a period of 150 years, from the time of Henry VII onwards, written in blood in the annals of English legislation is a series of coercive measures which were applied to transform into free wage labourers the mass of the population who had become propertyless and free. The abolition of the institution of retainers, the confiscation of the Church estates, the abolition of the guilds and the confiscation of their property, the forcible eviction of the population from the land by the conversion of arable into pastures, ENCLOSURES OF COMMONS, etc., had posited the labourers as mere labour capacity. But, OF COURSE, at this stage they preferred vagabondage, beggary, etc., to wage labour, and had first to be forcibly broken in to it. A similar process took place with the introduction of large-scale industry, of factories in which production was carried on with machinery. Cf. *Owen.*[a]

Only at a certain stage of the development of capital does *the exchange between capital and labour* IN FACT *become a formally free one.* It can be said that, in England, wage labour was fully realised in a formal sense only at the end of the 18th century, with the abolition of the LAW OF APPRENTICESHIP.[31]

The tendency of capital is, OF COURSE, to link absolute surplus value with relative; hence *the greatest possible extension of the working day and the maximum number of simultaneous working days, accompanied* by the reduction *to the minimum, on the one hand, of necessary labour time and, on the other, of the necessary number of workers.* This contradictory demand, whose development will be seen to manifest itself in different forms as overproduction, overpopulation, etc., asserts itself in the form of a process in which the contradictory determinations alternate in time. A necessary consequence of this is the *greatest possible diversification of the use value of labour*—or *of the branches of production.* Thus the production of capital, while on the one hand constantly and necessarily *developing the intensity* [*of*

[a] See this volume, pp. 98-99.—*Ed.*

*the*] *productive power* of labour, on the other hand produces a *limitless variety of branches of labour*, i.e., therefore, the greatest possible wealth of forms and content of production, subjecting to it all aspects of Nature.

Since the increase in productive power is, in large-scale production, the spontaneous product of the division and combination of labour, savings on certain outlays—conditions for the labour process—which *remain the same or are reduced in case of communal operation, such as heating*, etc., *factory buildings*, etc., it does not cost capital anything; it acquires this increased productive power of labour gratis.

If productive power increased simultaneously in the production of the various conditions of production—raw material, means of production and means of subsistence—and in [the branches of production] determined [by them], its increase would not bring about any change in the relation between the different components of capital. If the productive power of labour increased simultaneously in, e.g., the production of flax, weaving-looms and weaving itself (through division of labour), the greater quantity woven in a day would be matched by the greater quantity of raw material, etc. When labour becomes more productive in the extractive industries, e.g. mining, there is no need for an increased supply of raw material, since no raw material is worked up [in these industries]. To increase the productivity of agriculture, it is not EVEN necessary that the number of INSTRUMENTS should be raised, but merely that they should be *concentrated* and that *labour, which was previously* performed *by hundreds of people working individually*, should be carried on *communally*. But what is needed for all forms of surplus labour is *growth of population*: of the working population for the first form; of the population in general for the second, since it requires the development of science, etc. Population therefore appears here as the basic source of wealth.

But in the form in which we consider capital initially, the raw material and instrument appear to originate from circulation, not as produced by capital itself; and in reality the individual capital does obtain the conditions for its production from circulation, although these are themselves produced by capital, but by another capital. The consequence of this is, on the one hand, the necessary tendency of capital to seek to dominate the whole range of production; its tendency to posit the production of the materials of labour or of the raw materials and also of the instruments as

likewise produced by capital, even if by another capital—the propagandistic tendency of capital.

Secondly, however, it is clear that if *the objective conditions of production obtained by capital from circulation remain the same in value,* i.e. the same quantity of labour is objectified in the same quantity of use value, a smaller part of capital may be expended on living labour, i.e. the *proportion of the component parts of capital changes.* Suppose that $^2/_5$ of a capital of 100 is raw material, $^1/_5$ is instrument, and $^2/_5$ is labour. Suppose, too, that in consequence of a doubling of the productive power (resulting from division of labour), the same quantity of labour employing the same instrument could work up double the amount of raw material. The capital would then have to increase by 40, i.e. a capital of 140 would have to work, of which 80 would be raw material, 20 instrument, and 40 labour.

The proportion of labour would now be 40 : 140 (previously 40 : 100); previously it was 4 : 10, now only 4 : 14.

Or, if the capital remained the same, 100, $^3/_5$ would now be raw material, $^1/_5$ instrument and $^1/_5$ labour. The gain would be 20, as before. But surplus labour would now be 100%, whereas previously it was 50%. The capitalist now needs only 20 labour for 60 raw material and 20 instrument. 80. | 20. | 100. |

A capital of 80 yields him a profit of 20. Hence, if the capital employed the total amount of labour at this stage of production, it would have to grow to 160, composed of 80 raw material, 40 instrument and 40 labour. This would yield a surplus value of 40. At the stage initially assumed, where a capital of 100 yields a surplus value of only 20, a capital of 160 would yield a surplus value of only 32, i.e. 8 less, and the capital would have to grow to 200 in order to produce the same surplus value of 40.

The following cases are to be distinguished between:

(1) Labour (*the intensity, speed of labour*) increases, but this does not necessitate greater advances in material or instrument of labour. E.g., owing to an increase in skills, better combination and division of labour, etc., the same 100 workers with instruments of the same value catch more fish, or till the soil better, or extract more ore or coal from the mines, or beat out more foil from the same quantity of gold, or waste less raw material, i.e. produce more with the same value-quantity of raw material. If, in this case, their products themselves enter into their consumption, their necessary labour time will diminish; they will do more work at the same [VII-24] maintenance costs. Or a smaller part of their labour is necessary to reproduce their labour capacity. The necessary part

of labour time is reduced relatively to the surplus labour time; and although the value of the product remains the same, 100 working days, the portion accruing to capital, surplus value, is increased. If total surplus labour was previously $^1/_{10}$, i.e. 10 working days, and if now it is $^1/_5$, surplus labour time has increased by 10 days. The workers now work 80 days for themselves and 20 for the capitalist, while in the first case they worked 90 for themselves and only 10 for the capitalist. (This method of calculation, in terms of working days, and with labour time as the sole substance of value, is so openly manifest where relations of bondage exist. In the case of capital, it is concealed by the veil of money.) A greater portion of the newly produced value accrues to capital. But the relations between the different components of the invariable capital remain, by assumption, the same. I.e., although the capitalist employs a larger volume of surplus labour, because he pays less in wages, he does not employ more capital in raw materials and instruments. He exchanges a smaller part of objectified labour for the same quantity of living labour, or the same quantity of objectified labour for a greater quantity of living labour. This is only possible in the extractive industries; in the manufacturing industries, in so far as the raw material is used more economically; further, in agriculture, in which the material is increased by chemical processes; and in the transport industries.

(2) Productivity increases not merely within a particular branch of production but, at the same time, in [the industries which produce] its prerequisites; in this CASE an intensification of labour or a rise in the quantity of products it turns out in a given time necessitates an increase in the quantity of raw material or instrument or both. (The raw material need not cost anything, e.g. rushes for wickerwork; wood which costs nothing, etc.) In this case, the proportion [between the parts] of capital would remain the same. I.e., the increased productivity of labour does not make capital expend any greater value in raw material or instrument.

(3) The increased productivity of labour necessitates the expenditure of a larger part of capital on raw material and instrument. If it is merely due to the division of labour, etc., that a given number of workers have become more productive, the instrument remains the same; only the raw material must increase, since in the same period of time the same number of men work up a greater quantity of raw material, and, by assumption, the greater productivity derives only from an increase in the workers' skill, division and combination of labour, etc. In this case, the part of capital exchanged for living labour falls (it remains the same if

absolute labour time alone increases, and it diminishes if relative labour time increases) relative to the other components of capital, which remain the same, and it does so not only by the amount of its own fall, but just as much by the amount of the increase in relative labour time.

Let us consider this:

| | Raw material | Instrument | Labour | *s* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Working days | 180 | 90 | 80 | 10 |
| | $411^3/_7$ | 90 | 70 | 20 |

In the first case, 10 of the 90 working days are surplus working days; surplus labour is $12^1/_2$%. In the second case, the proportion of raw material has risen to the same extent as has the proportion of surplus labour, compared with the first case [$180:411^3/_7={}^1/_8:{}^2/_7$].

If an increase in surplus value presupposes, in all cases, an increase in population, the present case also presupposes accumulation or the entry of a larger capital into production. (In the final analysis this also implies a larger working population employed in the production of raw materials.) In the first case, the total part of capital expended on labour constitutes $^1/_4$ of the total capital, and its ratio to the constant part of capital is 1 : 3. In the second case, the total part expended on labour is less than $^1/_6$ of the total capital, and its ratio to the constant part of capital is not even 1 : 5. Although *an increase in productive power resulting from the division and combination of labour is therefore based upon an absolute increase of the labour power employed, it is necessarily linked with a reduction in it relative to the capital which sets it in motion.* And if in the first form, that of *absolute surplus labour, the quantity of labour employed must increase in the same proportion as the capital employed,* in the second *case it increases in a lesser proportion, its growth being inversely related to that of productive power.*

If the productivity of the soil were doubled by applying the latter method in agricultural labour, so that the same quantity of labour yielded 1 QUARTER of wheat instead of $^1/_2$, necessary labour would decline by $^1/_2$, and capital could employ twice as many labourers with the same wages. (This expressed only in terms of corn.) But suppose he [the farmer] would not need any additional labourers for the cultivation of his land. In that case, he will employ the same amount of labour with half the previous wages. A part of his capital, that previously expended in money, is set free. The labour time employed has remained the same in proportion to the capital employed, but the surplus part of labour

time has risen relative to the necessary part. If necessary labour was previously $^3/_4$ of the total working day, or 9 hours, it is now $^3/_8$ of it, or $4^1/_2$ hours. The surplus value was 3 hours in the first case; in the second, it$=7^1/_2$.

The process is as follows: With a given working population and duration of the working day, i.e. the duration of the working day multiplied by the number of simultaneous working days, surplus labour can only be increased relatively, by raising the productive power of labour, the possibility of which is already posited by the presupposed growth of the population and TRAINING TO LABOUR (this also posits a certain amount of free time for non-working population, population which does not work directly; hence development of mental capacities, etc.; mental appropriation of nature). Given a certain level of development of the productive forces, surplus labour can only be increased absolutely, by turning a larger part of the population into workers, with a consequent increase in the number of simultaneous working days. The first process *relatively reduces the relative working population, although it remains the same in absolute terms*; the second *increases it.* Both tendencies are necessary tendencies of capital. The unity of these contradictory tendencies, hence the living contradiction, is only given with machinery, which we shall discuss presently. The second form obviously permits of only a *small proportion of non-working to working population.* The first form, since the quantity of living labour required under it increases more slowly than the quantity of capital employed, permits of a *larger proportion of non-working to working population.*

In the process by which capital becomes capital, its different component parts appear in a particular relationship to one another, with capital obtaining the raw material and instrument, the prerequisites of the product, from circulation and relating to them as to its given presuppositions. On closer inspection, it is true, this relationship disappears, for all the moments appear as equally produced by capital, since otherwise it would not have subjected to itself the totality of the conditions of its production. Yet for the individual capital, its components always remain in the same relationship. A part of it may therefore always be considered as constant value, and it is only the part laid out in labour that varies. These components do not develop evenly, but, as will be seen in the analysis of competition, it is the tendency of capital to distribute productive power evenly.

[VII-25] Since the increasing productivity of labour would cause capital to come up against a barrier in the form of the

non-increasing volume of raw material and machinery, it is the normal course of industrial development that, the more production is production of raw materials for industry, raw material both for the material of labour and [for] the instrument, and the more the material of labour approximates to mere raw material, the more likely it is that the large-scale introduction of [wage] labour and the employment of machinery will begin precisely in these branches. E.g., in spinning earlier than in weaving, in weaving earlier than in printing, etc. Earliest of all in the production of metals, which are the main raw material for the instruments of labour themselves. If the raw product proper which supplies the raw material of industry at the nethermost stage cannot be rapidly increased itself, recourse is had to a substitute whose output can be increased more rapidly. (*Cotton* for linen, wool and silk.) The same thing happens as regards means of subsistence, when the potato is substituted for grain. In the latter case, productivity is raised by producing an inferior article, one with a lower content of blood-forming substances and hence requiring cheaper organic conditions for its reproduction. This, the latter, belongs in the analysis of wages. We must not forget Rumford[32] when discussing the minimum of wages.

We now come to the third CASE of relative surplus labour, as it is manifested in the employment of machinery.

//In the course of our presentation, it has become evident that value, which appeared as an abstraction, is possible only as such an abstraction as soon as money is posited. On the other hand, money circulation leads to capital, and hence can only be completely developed on the basis of capital; and in general, it is only on the basis of capital that circulation can draw within its sphere all the moments of production. Hence, in the course of analysis, not only does the historical character of forms which belong to a definite historical epoch, e.g. capital, become evident, but determinations like value, which appear to be purely abstract, show the historical basis from which they have been abstracted, and on which alone they therefore can appear in this abstraction. And such determinations as *plus ou moins*[a] belong to all epochs, e.g. money, show the historical modification which they undergo. The economic concept of value does not occur among the ancients. Value as distinct from *pretium*[b] was a purely legal category, invoked against fraud, etc. The concept of value wholly belongs to the latest political

[a] More or less.— *Ed.*
[b] Price.— *Ed.*

economy, because that concept is the most abstract expression of capital itself and of the production based upon it. In the concept of value, the secret of capital is betrayed.//

What distinguishes surplus labour based on machinery is the diminution of necessary labour time, which is used in such a way that fewer simultaneous working days, fewer workers are employed. The second moment is that the increase in productive power itself must be paid for by capital, that it is not obtained gratis. The means by which this increase in productive power is brought about is itself objectified immediate labour time, value; and to get hold of it, capital must exchange a part of its value for it. It is easy to derive the advent of machinery from competition and the law of the reduction of the production costs which it imposes. But here it is a matter of deriving it from the relation of capital to living labour, without bringing in other capital.

Suppose a capitalist previously employed 100 workers in cotton spinning at an annual cost of £2,400. Now he replaces 50 workers by a machine worth £1,200. If the machine were likewise completely used up in a year and had to be replaced at the beginning of the second year, he would obviously gain nothing; nor would he be able to sell his products more cheaply. The remaining 50 workers would perform the same amount of work as the 100 did previously; the surplus labour time of each individual worker would increase in the same proportion as the number of workers declined, and hence [total surplus labour time] would remain the same. If it was previously=200 hours a day, i.e. 2 hours on each of the 100 working days, it would now be likewise=200 hours, i.e. 4 hours on each of the 50 working days. The amount of surplus time per worker would increase; for capital things would remain unchanged, since it would now have to exchange 50 working days (necessary and surplus time together) for the machine. The 50 objectified working days which it exchanged for the machinery would merely give it an equivalent, and hence no surplus time, as though it had merely exchanged 50 objectified working days for 50 living. However, this would be made up for by the surplus labour time of the remaining 50 workers. Divested of the form of exchange, it would be the same as if the capitalist set 50 workers to work whose entire day's labour constituted necessary labour, while at the same time employing another 50 workers whose working day compensated him for this "loss".

But suppose the machine only cost £960, i.e. only 40 days' labour, and each of the remaining workers continued to perform

4 hours surplus labour time, hence 200 hours or 16 days 8 hours ($16^2/_3$ days). The capitalist would then have saved £240 in outlays. But whereas previously he gained 16 days 8 hours on an outlay of 2,400, he would now gain the same 200 working hours on an outlay of only 960. 200 to 2,400=1 : 12; in comparison, 200 : 2,160=20 : 216=1 : $10^4/_5$. His gain, expressed in working days, would in the first case be 16 days 8 hours per 100 working days; in the second, the same amount per 90; in the first, 200 on the 1,200 hours of labour worked daily; in the second, 200 on 1,080. 200 : 1,200=1 : 6; 200 : 1,080=1 : $5^2/_5$. In the first case, the surplus time of the individual worker=$^1/_6$ working day=2 hours. In the second, it is $2^6/_{27}$ hours per 1 working day. One should add that, if machinery is employed, the part of capital which was previously employed in instruments must be deducted from the extra cost occasioned by the machinery.

# [ADDENDA TO THE CHAPTERS ON MONEY AND ON CAPITAL]

//"THE MONEY CIRCULATING IN A COUNTRY IS A *CERTAIN PORTION OF THE CAPITAL* OF THE COUNTRY, ABSOLUTELY WITHDRAWN FROM PRODUCTIVE PURPOSES, IN ORDER TO FACILITATE *OR INCREASE THE PRODUCTIVENESS OF THE REMAINDER.* A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF WEALTH IS, THEREFORE, AS NECESSARY, IN ORDER TO ADOPT GOLD AS A CIRCULATING MEDIUM, *AS IT IS TO MAKE A MACHINE, IN ORDER TO FACILITATE ANY OTHER PRODUCTION*" (*The Economist*, Vol. V, [No. 193, 8 May 1847,] p. 520).//

//"What is the practice? A manufacturer receives from his BANKER £500 in notes on Saturday for WAGES; these he distributes among his workers. On the same day, the majority of the notes are carried to the SHOPKEEPERS, and by them returned to their various BANKERS" (l.c., [No. 195, 22 May 1847,] p. 575).//

//"A COTTON SPINNER, who with a capital of £100,000 laid out £95,000 for HIS MILL AND MACHINERY, WOULD SOON FIND HE WANTED MEANS TO BUY COTTON AND PAY WAGES. HIS TRADE WOULD BE HAMPERED AND HIS FINANCES DERANGED. AND YET MEN EXPECT THAT A NATION WHICH HAS RECKLESSLY SUNK THE BULK OF ITS AVAILABLE MEANS IN RAILWAYS, shall nevertheless be able TO CONDUCT THE INFINITE OPERATIONS OF MANUFACTURE AND COMMERCE" (l.c., [No. 219, 6 November 1847] p. 1271).//

"MONEY ... *AN ADEQUATE EQUIVALENT FOR ANY THING ALIENABLE*" (J. Steuart, [*An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy*,] (p. 13),[33] Vol. I, Dublin, 1770, p. 32).

//"In old times ... TO MAKE MANKIND LABOUR BEYOND THEIR WANTS, TO MAKE ONE PART OF A STATE WORK, TO MAINTAIN THE OTHER GRATUITOUSLY, could only be brought about by slavery... IF MANKIND BE NOT FORCED TO LABOUR, THEY WILL ONLY LABOUR FOR THEMSELVES; AND IF THEY HAVE FEW WANTS, THERE WILL BE LITTLE LABOUR. BUT WHEN STATES COME TO BE FORMED AND HAVE OCCASION FOR IDLE HANDS TO DEFEND THEM AGAINST THE VIOLENCE OF THEIR ENEMIES, FOOD AT ANY RATE MUST BE PROCURED [VII-26] FOR THOSE WHO DO NOT LABOUR; AND AS, BY THE SUPPOSITION, THE WANTS OF THE LABOURERS ARE SMALL, A METHOD MUST BE FOUND TO INCREASE THEIR LABOUR ABOVE THE PROPORTION OF THEIR WANTS. FOR THIS PURPOSE SLAVERY WAS CALCULATED... HERE THEN WAS A VIOLENT METHOD OF MAKING MEN LABORIOUS IN RAISING FOOD; ... MEN WERE THEN FORCED TO LABOUR BECAUSE THEY WERE SLAVES TO OTHERS; MEN ARE NOW FORCED TO LABOUR BECAUSE THEY ARE SLAVES TO THEIR OWN WANTS" (Steuart, Vol. I, pp. 38-40).

"IT IS THE *INFINITE VARIETY OF WANTS*, AND OF THE *KINDS OF COMMODITIES* NECESSARY TO THEIR GRATIFICATION, WHICH ALONE RENDERS THE PASSION FOR WEALTH INDEFINITE AND INSATIABLE" (Wakefield in a commentary to Ad. Smith['s *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*], p. 64 note).//

"*MACHINES* I CONSIDER AS A METHOD OF AUGMENTING (VIRTUALLY) THE NUMBER OF THE INDUSTRIOUS, WITHOUT THE EXPENSE OF FEEDING AN ADDITIONAL NUMBER" (Steuart, Vol. I, p. 123).

("WHEN MANUFACTURERS GET TOGETHER IN BODIES, THEY DEPEND NOT DIRECTLY UPON *CONSUMERS*, BUT UPON *MERCHANTS*") (Steuart, vol. I, p. 153).

("THE ABUSIVE AGRICULTURE IS NO *TRADE*, BECAUSE IT APPLIES NO *ALIENATION*, BUT IS PURELY A METHOD OF SUBSISTING") (l.c., p. 156).

("*TRADE* IS AN OPERATION, BY WHICH THE WEALTH, OR WORK, EITHER OF INDIVIDUALS, OR OF SOCIETIES, MAY BE EXCHANGED, BY A SET OF MEN CALLED *MERCHANTS*, FOR AN EQUIVALENT, PROPER FOR SUPPLYING EVERY WANT, WITHOUT ANY INTERRUPTION TO INDUSTRY, OR ANY CHECK UPON CONSUMPTION" (Steuart, I, p. 166).)

("WHILE WANTS CONTINUE SIMPLE AND FEW, A WORKMAN FINDS TIME ENOUGH TO DISTRIBUTE ALL HIS WORK; WHEN WANTS BECOME MORE MULTIPLIED, MEN MUST WORK HARDER; *TIME BECOMES PRECIOUS*; HENCE TRADE IS INTRODUCED.The MERCHANT as mediator between the WORKMAN and the CONSUMER") (l.c., p. 171).

("MONEY the *COMMON* PRICE of all things") (l.c., p. 177).

"Money is represented by the merchant. To the CONSUMERS, he represents the whole body of MANUFACTURERS; to the latter, the whole body of CONSUMERS; and to both CLASSES HIS CREDIT SUPPLIES THE USE OF MONEY. He represents WANTS, MANUFACTURERS and MONEY BY TURNS" (l.c., pp. 177, 178).

(In Vol. I, pp. 181-83, q.v., Steuart considers profit as *PROFIT UPON ALIENATION*, fluctuating with DEMAND, and contrasts it with *REAL VALUE*, which he defines in a very confused fashion (in doing so he thinks of the production costs) as the quantity of objectified labour (WHAT A WORKMAN CAN PERFORM IN A DAY, etc.), NECESSARY EXPENSE of the WORKMEN, and price of the raw material.)

(With Steuart, the categories are still very changeable, not yet fixed as with A. Smith. We have just seen *REAL VALUE* presented as identical with the production costs, for alongside the labour of the WORKMEN and the VALUE of the material, WAGES still figure confusedly as a particular component. Elsewhere he understands by the *INTRINSIC VALUE* of a commodity the value of its raw material or the raw material itself, while by *USEFUL VALUE* he understands the labour time expended on the commodity.

"The former is SOMETHING REAL IN ITSELF, e.g. the silver in wrought silver plate. The *INTRINSIC WORTH* OF A SILK, WOOLLEN OR LINEN MANUFACTURE IS LESS THAN THE PRIMITIVE VALUE EMPLOYED, BECAUSE IT IS RENDERED ALMOST UNSERVICEABLE FOR ANY OTHER USE BUT THAT FOR WHICH THE MANUFACTURE IS INTENDED; the *USEFUL VALUE, on the other hand, MUST BE ESTIMATED ACCORDING TO THE LABOUR IT HAS COST TO PRODUCE IT. THE LABOUR EMPLOYED IN THE MODIFICATION REPRESENTS A PORTION OF A MAN'S TIME*, WHICH HAVING BEEN USEFULLY EMPLOYED, *HAS GIVEN A FORM TO SOME SUBSTANCE* WHICH HAS RENDERED IT USEFUL, ORNAMENTAL, OR IN SHORT, FIT FOR MAN, MEDIATELY OR IMMEDIATELY" (l.c., Vol. I, pp. 361, 362).)

//The real use value is the form which is given to the substance. But this form is itself merely labour in repose.//

"WHEN WE SUPPOSE A COMMON STANDARD IN THE PRICE OF ANY THING, WE MUST SUPPOSE THE ALIENATION OF IT TO BE FREQUENT OR FAMILIAR. IN COUNTRIES WHERE SIMPLICITY REIGNS, it is scarcely possible TO DETERMINE ANY STANDARD FOR THE PRICE OF ARTICLES OF FIRST NECESSITY ... in such a state of society, the ARTICLES OF FOOD AND NECESSARIES ARE HARDLY FOUND IN COMMERCE: NO PERSON PURCHASES THEM; BECAUSE THE PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION OF EVERYBODY IS TO PROCURE THEM FOR HIMSELF... SALE ALONE CAN DETERMINE PRICES, AND FREQUENT SALE CAN ONLY FIX A STANDARD. NOW THE FREQUENT SALE OF ARTICLES OF THE FIRST NECESSITY MARKS A DISTRIBUTION OF INHABITANTS IN LABOURERS and FREE HANDS" etc. (l.c., Vol. I, pp. 395, 396).)

(The theory of the determination of price by the volume of the circulating medium was first postulated by Locke; repeated in *The Spectator* of 19 October, 1711; developed and elegantly formulated by Hume and Montesquieu[34]; in its basic premisses formally carried to an extreme by Ricardo; and, with all its absurdities, applied in practice to banking, etc., by Loyd, Colonel Torrens, etc.) *Steuart* polemises against it, and his analysis essentially anticipates pretty well all that was later asserted by Bosanquet, Tooke and Wilson. (Notebook, p. 26.[33]) [Steuart, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 399-404.]

(By way of historical illustration he says, among other things:

"It is a FACT that at the time when Greece and Rome ABOUNDED IN WEALTH, WHEN EVERY RARITY AND THE WORK OF CHOICEST ARTISTS WAS CARRIED TO AN EXCESSIVE PRICE, AN OX WAS BOUGHT FOR A MERE TRIFLE, AND GRAIN WAS CHEAPER PERHAPS THAN EVER IT WAS IN SCOTLAND... DEMAND IS PROPORTIONED, NOT TO THE NUMBER OF THOSE WHO CONSUME, BUT OF THOSE WHO BUY: NOW THOSE WHO CONSUME, ARE ALL THE INHABITANTS, BUT THOSE WHO BUY, ARE ONLY THE FEW INDUSTRIOUS WHO ARE FREE ... Slavery in Greece and Rome: THOSE WHO WERE FED by the labour of their own SLAVES, [by that of] the slaves of the State, or by GRAIN gratuitously distributed to the people, HAD NO OCCASION TO GO TO THE MARKET; THEY DID NOT ENTER INTO COMPETITION WITH THE BUYERS... The FEW MANUFACTURERS THEN KNOWN, MADE WANTS IN GENERAL LESS EXTENSIVE; CONSEQUENTLY, THE NUMBER OF THE INDUSTRIOUS FREE WAS SMALL, AND *THEY* WERE THE ONLY PERSONS WHO *COULD* HAVE OCCASION TO PURCHASE FOOD AND NECESSARIES; CONSEQUENTLY, THE COMPETITION OF THE BUYERS MUST HAVE BEEN SMALL IN PROPORTION, AND PRICES LOW; further, the MARKETS were SUPPLIED partly from the SURPLUS PRODUCED on the LANDS of the GREAT MEN, LABOURED BY SLAVES; WHO BEING FED FROM THE LANDS, THE SURPLUS COST IN A MANNER NOTHING TO THE PROPRIETORS; and as the number of those who had OCCASION to buy was very small, THIS SURPLUS WAS SOLD CHEAP. Besides, the GRAIN DISTRIBUTED TO THE PEOPLE gratis must necessarily have kept the market DOWN, etc. By contrast, A FINE MULLET or an ARTIST, etc., were the object of great competition, with prices consequently rising extraordinarily high. THE LUXURY OF THOSE TIMES, THOUGH EXCESSIVE, WAS CONFINED TO A FEW, AND AS MONEY, IN GENERAL, CIRCULATED BUT SLOWLY THROUGH THE HANDS OF THE MULTITUDE, IT WAS CONSTANTLY STAGNATING IN THOSE OF THE RICH, WHO FOUND NO MEASURE, BUT THEIR OWN CAPRICE, IN REGULATING THE PRICES OF WHAT THEY WISHED TO POSSESS.") ([Pp.] 26, 27, Notebook [on] Steuart [op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 403-05].)

"*MONEY OF ACCOUNT* is no more than an ARBITRARY SCALE OF EQUAL PARTS, INVENTED FOR MEASURING THE RESPECTIVE VALUE OF THINGS VENDIBLE. MONEY OF ACCOUNT is something quite different from *MONEY-COIN*, WHICH IS PRICE, and could exist even if there were no substance in the world which could be a PROPORTIONAL EQUIVALENT for every commodity" (Vol. II, p. 102). "MONEY OF ACCOUNT performs the same office with regard to the value of things that [degrees,] minutes, seconds, etc., do with regard to angles or as SCALES do to GEOGRAPHICAL MAPS, etc. In all these INVENTIONS, there is always SOME DENOMINATION TAKEN FOR THE UNIT" (l.c.). "THE USEFULNESS OF ALL THOSE INSTITUTIONS BEING SOLELY CONFINED TO THE MARKING OF *PROPORTION*. JUST SO THE UNIT IN MONEY CAN HAVE NO INVARIABLE DETERMINATE PROPORTION TO ANY PART OF VALUE, I.E. IT CANNOT BE FIXED TO ANY PARTICULAR QUANTITY OF GOLD, SILVER or ANY OTHER COMMODITY WHATSOEVER. THE *UNIT ONCE FIXED, WE CAN, BY* [VII-27] *MULTIPLYING IT, ASCEND TO THE GREATEST* VALUE", etc. (p. 103). "SO MONEY A SCALE FOR MEASURING VALUE" (p. 102).

"THE VALUE OF COMMODITIES, THEREFORE, DEPENDING UPON A GENERAL COMBINATION OF CIRCUMSTANCES RELATIVE TO THEMSELVES AND [TO] THE FANCIES OF MEN, THEIR VALUE OUGHT TO BE CONSIDERED AS CHANGING ONLY WITH RESPECT TO ONE ANOTHER; CONSEQUENTLY, ANY THING WHICH TROUBLES OR PERPLEXES THE ASCERTAINING THOSE *CHANGES OF PROPORTION BY THE MEANS OF A GENERAL, DETERMINATE AND INVARIABLE SCALE,* MUST BE HURTFUL TO TRADE AND A CLOG UPON ALIENATION" (p. 104). "It is absolutely essential to distinguish between *PRICE* (i.e. COIN) CONSIDERED AS A MEASURE AND *price* CONSIDERED AS AN EQUIVALENT FOR VALUE. The METALS do not discharge both functions equally well... *MONEY IS AN IDEAL SCALE OF EQUAL PARTS.* IF IT BE DEMANDED, WHAT OUGHT TO BE THE STANDARD OF VALUE OF ONE PART? I ANSWER, BY PUTTING ANOTHER QUESTION: WHAT IS THE STANDARD LENGTH OF A DEGREE, A MINUTE, A SECOND? IT HAS NONE—BUT SO SOON AS ONE PART BECOMES DETERMINED, BY THE NATURE OF A SCALE, ALL THE REST MUST FOLLOW IN PROPORTION" (p. 105). "Examples of this ideal money are the bank money of Amsterdam, and the MONEY in Angola, on the African coast. The BANK MONEY STANDS INVARIABLE LIKE A ROCK IN THE SEA. ACCORDING TO THIS IDEAL STANDARD ARE THE PRICES OF ALL THINGS REGULATED" (pp. 106, 107).

In Custodi's collection of Italian economists, *Parte Antica, Tomo III,* (Geminiano) Montanari's *Della Moneta*, written ABOUT 1683, says the following about the "invention" of money:

"Intercourse between nations has spread across the whole globe to such an extent that one could say all the world has virtually become a single city in which a permanent fair of all commodities is taking place, so that everyone, without leaving his home, can, by means of money, obtain and enjoy everything produced by the earth, the animals and human industry. A marvellous invention!" (P. 40.) "It is also a feature of measures to enter into such a relation with the thing measured that in a certain way the latter becomes the measure of the former, so that, just as motion is the measure of time, time becomes the measure of motion itself; and so it comes about that not only is money the measure of our desires, but, conversely, the desires are the measure of money itself and of value" (pp. 41, 42). "Obviously, the larger the quantity of money circulating in commerce within the confines of a province in proportion to the quantity of saleable things there, the more expensive those things will become—if one can call a thing expensive because it is worth a great deal of gold in a country in which gold is abundant, rather than considering the gold itself to be cheap in this case, since so much gold is equated to another thing which is elsewhere considered to be cheaper" (p. 48).[a]

[a] Marx quotes in Italian.—*Ed.*

"A hundred years ago, the *AMASSING* OF GOLD AND SILVER, AS A KIND OF WEALTH par excellence, was the CHIEF FEATURE IN THE COMMERCIAL POLICY OF NATIONS (Wm. Gouge, *A Short History of Paper Money and Banking in the United States*, Philadelphia, 1833, [Part I,] p. 67).

(*Barter in the United States* (see Gouge, Notebook VIII,[38] pp. 81 et sqq.):

"In Pennsylvania, as well as in the other colonies, a considerable TRAFFIC WAS CARRIED ON BY BARTER ... in Maryland, as late as 1732, an act was PASSED MAKING TOBACCO A LEGAL TENDER AT ONE PENNY A POUND, AND INDIAN CORN AT 20 D. A BUSHEL" (p. 5) (PART II). But soon "THEIR TRADE WITH THE WEST INDIES, AND A CLANDESTINE COMMERCE with the SPANISH MADE SILVER SO PLENTIFUL that, in 1652 A MINT WAS ESTABLISHED IN NEW ENGLAND FOR COINING SHILLINGS, SIXPENCES AND THREE-PENNY PIECES (p. 5) (l.c.). "Virginia, in 1645, prohibited DEALINGS BY BARTER, and established the SPANISH PIECE OF 8 TO 6 SH. AS THE STANDARD CURRENCY of the COLONY" (the Spanish dollar). "The other colonies AFFIXED different DENOMINATIONS to the dollar... The MONEY IN ACCOUNT was everywhere the same nominally as in England. The country's COIN was chiefly Spanish and Portuguese", etc. [pp. 5-6] Cf. p. 81, Notebook VIII. (P. 6. By an Act of QUEEN Anne an attempt was made to put an end to this confusion.)

Tuckett: *A History of the Past and Present State of the Labouring Population etc.*, 2 vols, London, 1846.

"*Woollen manufacture*: At the time of Elizabeth, the *CLOTHIER* OCCUPIED THE PLACE OF THE *MILLOWNER OR MANUFACTURER*; HE WAS THE CAPITALIST WHO BOUGHT THE WOOL, AND DELIVERED IT TO THE WEAVER, IN PORTIONS OF ABOUT 12 POUNDS, TO BE MADE INTO CLOTH. It the beginning, the MANUFACTURE [was] *CONFINED* TO *CITIES* and *CORPORATE and MARKET-TOWNS*, THE INHABITANTS OF THE VILLAGES MAKING LITTLE MORE THAN [sufficed] FOR THE USE OF THEIR FAMILIES. Later IN NON-CORPORATE TOWNS FAVOURED BY LOCAL ADVANTAGES and also IN COUNTRY PLACES BY FARMERS, GRAZIERS and HUSBANDMEN, WHO COMMENCED MAKING CLOTH FOR SALE, AS WELL AS FOR DOMESTIC USE. (The coarser types.) In 1551 a statute was passed that limited the number of LOOMS and APPRENTICES that could be kept BY CLOTHIERS AND WEAVERS RESIDING OUT OF CITIES; and that no COUNTRY WEAVER SHOULD HAVE A TUCKING MILL, NOR ANY TUCKER A LOOM. Under a law of the same year, all WEAVERS of BROAD CLOTH had to undergo an APPRENTICESHIP of 7 years. Nevertheless, *VILLAGE MANUFACTURE*, AS AN *OBJECT OF MERCANTILE PROFIT*, TOOK FIRM ROOT. *5 and 6 Edward VI* (22) A STATUTE which prohibited the USE OF *MACHINERY*. The FLEMINGS and DUTCH therefore retained superiority in this manufacture until the end of the 17th century. In 1668, the DUTCH LOOM introduced from Holland" ([Vol. I,] pp. 136-41). "*As a result of the introduction of machinery, one person in 1800 could do as much WORK as 46 in 1785.* In 1800, the CAPITAL INVESTED IN MILLS, MACHINERY, etc., APPROPRIATED for the WOOLLEN TRADE was not LESS than *6 MILLIONS POUNDS STERLING, and the total number of PERSONS OF ALL AGES employed in this branch of industry in England was 1,500,000*" (pp. 142-43).

The productive power of labour had therefore increased by 4,600%. But, firstly, in relation to the fixed capital alone this

figure was only about $^1/_6$; in relation to the total capital (raw material, etc.) perhaps only $^1/_{20}$.

"There is scarcely a manufacture [which has gained] such advantage from the IMPROVEMENTS IN SCIENCE as the art of dyeing cloth, by the application of the *LAWS OF CHEMISTRY*" (l.c., pp. 143-44).

*SILK MANUFACTURE.* Till the beginning of the 18th century, "the ART OF *SILK-THROWING* at its most proficient in Italy, where MACHINERY OF A PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION [was] ADOPTED for this purpose. In 1715, John Lombe, one of 3 brothers who were in business as THROWSTERS and SILK-MERCHANTS, travelled to Italy, and managed to obtain a model in one of the MILLS. A SILK MILL, with the IMPROVED MACHINERY, [was] set up by Lombe and his brothers in Derby in 1719. This MILL CONTAINED 26,586 WHEELS, ALL TURNED BY ONE WATER WHEEL. PARLIAMENT granted £14,000 to him FOR THROWING OPEN THE SECRET TO THE TRADE. This MILL came nearer TO THE IDEA OF A MODERN FACTORY THAN ANY PREVIOUS ESTABLISHMENT of the kind. The machine had 97,746 WHEELS, MOVEMENTS, AND INDIVIDUAL PARTS [VII-28] WORKING DAY AND NIGHT, which all obtained their MOTION FROM ONE LARGE WATER WHEEL AND WERE GOVERNED BY ONE REGULATOR: and IT EMPLOYED 300 PERSONS TO ATTEND AND SUPPLY IT WITH WORK" ([pp.] 133-34).

(No SPIRIT OF INVENTION was ever manifested in the English SILK TRADE; first introduced by the weavers of Antwerp, who had fled after the SACKING OF THE TOWN by the Duke of Parma; then different branches were introduced by FRENCH REFUGEES in 1685-92 [pp. 132, 135, 136].)

In 1740, 1,700 TONS of iron was produced by 59 blast furnaces; in 1827, 690,000 tons by 284 furnaces. Hence the number of blast furnaces increased $1:4^{48}/_{59}$, not even five-fold; the TONS increased $1:405^{15}/_{17}$. (For the relationship over a number of years see l.c. [p. 157,] Notebook,[11] p. 12.)

Glass manufacturing provides the best illustration of how the progress of science depends upon manufacturing. On the other hand, e.g. the invention of the quadrant originated in the needs of navigation; Parliament offered a premium to stimulate inventions [ibid., pp. 171-79].

8 COTTON machines, which in 1825 cost £5,000 WERE SOLD in 1833 for £300. (On COTTON spinning, see l.c., [p. 204,] p. 13, Notebook.)

"A FIRST-RATE COTTON SPINNING FACTORY CANNOT BE BUILT, FILLED WITH MACHINERY, AND FITTED WITH GAS-WORKS AND STEAM-ENGINE, UNDER £100,000. A STEAM-ENGINE OF ONE HUNDRED HORSE POWER WILL TURN 50,000 SPINDLES, WHICH WILL PRODUCE 62,500 MILES OF FINE COTTON-THREAD PER DAY. IN SUCH A FACTORY 1,000 PERSONS WILL SPIN AS MUCH THREAD AS 250,000 PERSONS COULD WITHOUT MACHINERY. McCulloch ESTIMATES THE NUMBER IN BRITAIN AT 130,000" (l.c., p. 218).

"WHERE THERE ARE NO REGULAR ROADS, THERE CAN HARDLY BE SAID TO BE A COMMUNITY; THE PEOPLE COULD HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON" (Tuckett, l.c., [Vol. I,] p. 270).

"Of the PRODUCE of the EARTH, USEFUL TO MEN, $^{99}/_{100}$ are the PRODUCE OF MEN" (l.c., [Vol. II,] p. 348).

"WHEN SLAVERY OR LIFE-APPRENTICESHIP WAS ABOLISHED, THE LABOURER BECAME HIS OWN MASTER and was left to his own RESOURCES. But, if unprovided with sufficient work, etc., MEN WILL NOT STARVE WHILST THEY CAN BEG OR STEAL; CONSEQUENTLY THE FIRST CHARACTER THE POOR ASSUMED WAS THAT OF THIEVES AND MENDICANTS" (l.c., Vol. II, p. 637, NOTE).

"ONE REMARKABLE DISTINCTION OF THE PRESENT STATE OF SOCIETY, SINCE Elizabeth, is that her Poor Act was expressly an Act FOR THE ENFORCEMENT OF INDUSTRY, INTENDED TO MEET THE MASS OF VAGRANCY THAT GREW OUT OF THE SUPPRESSION OF THE MONASTERIES AND THE TRANSITION FROM SLAVERY TO FREE LABOUR. As an example of that, the Act of 5 Elizabeth, DIRECTING HOUSEHOLDERS USING HALF A PLOUGH OF LAND IN TILLAGE, TO REQUIRE ANY PERSON THEY MIGHT FIND UNEMPLOYED, TO BECOME THEIR APPRENTICE IN HUSBANDRY, OR IN ANY ART OR MYSTERY; and if unwilling, TO BRING him BEFORE A JUSTICE, WHO WAS ALMOST COMPELLED TO COMMIT HIM TO WARD UNTIL HE CONSENTED TO BE BOUND. At the time of Elizabeth, of every 100 men it was necessary to employ 85 for the production of FOOD. AT PRESENT, not A LACK OF INDUSTRY, BUT OF PROFITABLE EMPLOYMENT... *THE GREAT DIFFICULTY THEN WAS* TO OVERCOME THE PROPENSITY OF IDLENESS AND VAGABONDAGE, NOT TO PROCURE THEM REMUNERATIVE OCCUPATION. DURING THIS REIGN THERE WERE SEVERAL ACTS OF THE LEGISLATURE TO ENFORCE THE IDLE TO LABOUR" (l.c., Vol. II, pp. 643, 644).

"*FIXED CAPITAL*, WHEN ONCE FORMED, CEASES TO AFFECT THE DEMAND FOR LABOUR, BUT DURING ITS FORMATION IT GIVES EMPLOYMENT TO JUST AS MANY HANDS AS AN EQUAL AMOUNT WOULD EMPLOY, EITHER OF CIRCULATING CAPITAL OR OF REVENUE" (John Barton, *Observations on the Circumstances which influence the condition of the labouring classes of society*, London, 1817, p. 56).

"The COMMUNITY consists *of 2 classes of persons*, the one which CONSUMES and REPRODUCES; the other, which CONSUMES WITHOUT REPRODUCTION. If the whole of society consisted of PRODUCERS, it would be of little consequence at what price they exchanged their commodities amongst each other; BUT THOSE WHO ARE ONLY CONSUMERS FORM TOO NUMEROUS A CLASS TO BE OVERLOOKED. THEIR POWERS OF DEMANDING ARISE FROM RENTS, MORTGAGES, ANNUITIES, PROFESSIONS and SERVICES OF VARIOUS DESCRIPTIONS RENDERED TO THE COMMUNITY. THE HIGHER THE PRICE AT WHICH THE CLASS OF CONSUMERS CAN BE MADE TO BUY, THE GREATER WILL BE THE PROFIT OF THE PRODUCERS UPON THE MASS OF COMMODITIES WHICH THEY SELL TO THEM. Among these purely consuming classes, the government holds THE MOST PROMINENT STATION" (W. Blake, *Observations on the Effects produced by the expenditure of government during the restriction of cash payments*, London, 1823, pp. 42, 43).

In order to show that capital loaned to the State is not necessarily capital which WAS previously EMPLOYED productively, *Blake* argues that—and here we are concerned only with his admission that a part of capital is always DORMANT—

"the error lies in supposing, (1) that the WHOLE CAPITAL of the COUNTRY [is] FULLY EMPLOYED; (2) *THAT THERE IS IMMEDIATE EMPLOYMENT FOR SUCCESSIVE ACCUMULATIONS OF CAPITAL AS IT ACCRUES FROM SAVING.* I BELIEVE THERE ARE AT ALL TIMES SOME PORTIONS OF CAPITAL DEVOTED TO UNDERTAKINGS THAT YIELD VERY SLOW RETURNS AND SLENDER PROFITS, AND SOME PORTIONS LYING WHOLLY DORMANT IN THE FORM OF GOODS, FOR WHICH THERE IS NO SUFFICIENT DEMAND... NOW, IF THESE DORMANT PORTIONS AND SAVINGS COULD BE TRANSFERRED INTO THE HANDS OF GOVERNMENT IN

EXCHANGE FOR ITS ANNUITIES, THEY WOULD BECOME SOURCES OF NEW DEMAND, WITHOUT ENCROACHING UPON EXISTING CAPITAL" (l.c., pp. 54, 55).

"*WHATEVER AMOUNT OF PRODUCE IS WITHDRAWN FROM MARKET BY THE DEMAND OF THE SAVING CAPITALIST, IS POURED BACK AGAIN, WITH ADDITION, IN THE GOODS THAT HE REPRODUCES.* The government, on the contrary, takes it away for consumption without reproduction. Whenever SAVINGS are made from REVENUE, it is clear that the person ENTITLED TO ENJOY THE PORTION SAVED IS SATISFIED WITHOUT CONSUMING IT. IT PROVES THAT THE INDUSTRY OF THE COUNTRY IS CAPABLE OF RAISING MORE PRODUCE THAN THE WANTS OF THE COMMUNITY REQUIRE. IF THE QUANTITY SAVED IS EMPLOYED AS CAPITAL IN REPRODUCING A VALUE EQUIVALENT TO ITSELF, TOGETHER WITH A PROFIT, THIS NEW CREATION, WHEN ADDED TO THE GENERAL FUND, CAN BE DRAWN OUT BY THAT PERSON ALONE WHO MADE THE SAVINGS, I.E. BY THE VERY PERSON WHO HAS ALREADY SHOWN HIS DISINCLINATION TO CONSUME... IF EVERYONE CONSUMES WHAT HE HAS A RIGHT TO CONSUME, THERE MUST OF NECESSITY BE A MARKET. WHOEVER SAVES FROM HIS REVENUE, FOREGOES THIS RIGHT, AND HIS SHARE REMAINS UNDISPOSED OF. SHOULD THIS SPIRIT OF ECONOMY BE GENERAL, THE MARKET IS NECESSARILY OVERSTOCKED, AND IT MUST DEPEND UPON THE DEGREE in which this SURPLUS ACCUMULATES, WHETHER IT CAN FIND NEW EMPLOYMENTS AS CAPITAL" ([pp.] 56, 57).

(Cf. this work in general in the section on *accumulation.*)

(Cf. Notebook, p. 68 and p. 70,[11] where it is shown that the rate OF PROFITS and WAGES rose because of the *prices*, in consequence of wartime demand, WITHOUT ANY RESPECT "TO THE QUALITY OF LAND TAKEN LAST INTO CULTIVATION".)

"During the Revolutionary War, the market rate of [VII-29] interest rose to 7, 8, 9 and even 10%, although during the whole time LANDS OF THE LOWEST QUALITY WERE CULTIVATED" (l.c., pp. 64-66). "The rise of interest to 6, 8, 10 and even 12% proves the rise of profit. The depreciation of money, SUPPOSING IT TO EXIST, could not alter anything in the relation of capital and interest. If £200 were now only worth £100, £10 interest would now only be worth £5. What AFFECTED the VALUE of the PRINCIPAL, WOULD EQUALLY AFFECT THE VALUE OF PROFITS. IT COULD NOT ALTER THE RELATION BETWEEN THE TWO" (p. 73).

"Ricardo's argument that the price of WAGES cannot occasion a rise in the price of commodities, does not apply to a society *in which A LARGE CLASS ARE NOT PRODUCERS*" (l.c.). "MORE THAN THE JUST SHARE IS OBTAINED BY THE PRODUCERS AT THE EXPENSE OF THAT PORTION, WHICH OF RIGHT BELONGS TO THE CLASS WHO ARE ONLY CONSUMERS" ([p.] 74).

This is, of course, important, since capital is not exchanged for capital alone, but for revenue as well, and every capital can itself be consumed as revenue. Nevertheless, it has no bearing on the determination of profit in general. Profit, under the different forms of PROFIT, INTEREST, RENT, PENSIONS, taxes, etc. (just as EVEN part of the wages), may be distributed under different names and to different classes of the population. They can never distribute more among themselves than the total surplus value or the total surplus produce. The ratio in which they distribute it is, of course, important economically, but it has no bearing on the matter in hand.

"If the circulation of commodities of 400 MILLIONS required A CURRENCY of 40 MILLIONS, and this proportion of $^1/_{10}$ was the DUE LEVEL, then, if the value of the commodities to be circulated increased to 450 millions, FROM NATURAL CAUSES, THE CURRENCY, IN ORDER TO CONTINUE AT ITS LEVEL, would have to increase to 45 millions, or the 40 MILLIONS MUST BE MADE TO CIRCULATE with such INCREASED RAPIDITY, BY BANKING OR OTHER IMPROVEMENTS, AS TO PERFORM THE FUNCTIONS OF 45 MILLIONS... SUCH AN AUGMENTATION, OR SUCH RAPIDITY, is the CONSEQUENCE and not the CAUSE of the INCREASE OF PRICES" (W. Blake, l.c., p. 80 et sqq. Cf. Notebook, p. 70).

"The UPPER and MIDDLE CLASS in Rome obtained great wealth BY ASIATIC CONQUEST, BUT NOT BEING CREATED BY COMMERCE OR MANUFACTURES, IT RESEMBLED THAT OBTAINED BY SPAIN FROM HER AMERICAN COLONIES" (Mackinnon, *History of Civilisation*, London, 1846, Vol. I, p. 66).

"In the 15th century, *Harrison* ASSERTS" (see also Eden[a]), "the FARMERS were scarcely ABLE TO PAY THEIR RENTS without SELLING A COW, OR A HORSE, OR SOME OF THEIR PRODUCE, although they paid at most £4 for a FARM... THE FARMER IN THESE TIMES CONSUMED THE CHIEF PART OF THE PRODUCE TO BE RAISED, HIS SERVANTS TAKING THEIR SEATS WITH HIM AT HIS TABLE... THE *PRINCIPAL MATERIALS FOR CLOTHING WERE NOT BOUGHT, BUT WERE OBTAINED BY THE INDUSTRY OF EACH FAMILY.* THE *INSTRUMENTS OF HUSBANDRY* WERE SO SIMPLE THAT MANY OF THEM WERE MADE, OR AT LEAST KEPT IN REPAIR BY THE FARMER HIMSELF. EVERY YEOMAN WAS EXPECTED TO KNOW HOW TO MAKE YOKES OR BOWS, AND PLOUGH GEAR; *SUCH WORK* EMPLOYED THEIR WINTER EVENINGS" (Tuckett, l.c., Vol. II, pp. 324, 325).

*Interest and profit*:

"Where an individual employs his own SAVINGS productively, [he obtains] the remuneration for HIS TIME AND SKILL—*AGENCY FOR SUPERINTENDENCE* (the *profit* further includes [an allowance for] the risk TO WHICH HIS CAPITAL MAY HAVE BEEN EXPOSED IN HIS PARTICULAR BUSINESS); and the remuneration for the PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT OF HIS SAVINGS, *INTEREST.* The whole of this remuneration is the *gross profit.* Where an individual employs the SAVINGS of another, he obtains the AGENCY ONLY. Where an individual lends his SAVINGS to another, [he obtains] only the *INTEREST* or the *NET PROFIT*" (*Westminster Review*, JANUARY 1826, pp. 107, 108).

Therefore, here INTEREST=*NET PROFIT*=*REMUNERATION FOR THE PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENTS OF SAVINGS*; profit proper is the remuneration for the *AGENCY FOR SUPERINTENDENCE* DURING HIS PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT.

The same philistine says:

"EVERY IMPROVEMENT IN THE ARTS OF PRODUCTION that DOES not DISTURB THE PROPORTIONS between the PORTIONS of CAPITAL dedicated and not dedicated to the PAYMENT FOR WAGES, IS ATTENDED WITH AN INCREASE OF EMPLOYMENT TO THE LABOURING CLASSES; every FRESH APPLICATION OF MACHINERY AND HORSE-LABOUR *IS ATTENDED WITH AN INCREASE OF PRODUCE and consequently of capital*; TO WHATEVER EXTENT IT MAY DIMINISH THE *RATIO* WHICH THAT PART OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL FORMING THE FUND FOR THE PAYMENT OF WAGES BEARS TO THAT WHICH IS OTHERWISE EMPLOYED, its tendency is, NOT TO DIMINISH BUT TO INCREASE THE *ABSOLUTE*

[a] F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor; or, an history of the labouring classes in England etc.*, Vol. I, London, 1797, pp. 119-20.—*Ed.*

*AMOUNT OF THAT FUND* and HENCE TO INCREASE THE QUANTITY OF EMPLOYMENT" (l.c., p. 123).

## [MONEY AS MEASURE OF VALUES]

From the determination of money as *measure*, as well as, secondly, from the fundamental law that the quantity of the circulating medium, assuming a certain velocity of circulation, is determined by the prices of the commodities and by the quantity of the commodities, which circulate at certain prices, or by the total price, the aggregate volume of commodities—which is itself, in turn, determined by 2 factors: (1) the level of commodity prices, and (2) the quantity of commodities circulating at certain prices—and, thirdly, from the law that money as means of circulation becomes *coin*, a merely evanescent moment, a mere *token* of the values which it exchanges, there follow more detailed determinations, which we shall only develop where and in so far as they coincide with more complicated economic relations, credit circulation, rate of exchange, etc. It is necessary to avoid all detail and, when it must be introduced, to do so only where it loses its elementary character.

*D'abord*,[a] money circulation, as the most superficial (in the sense that it is driven out onto the surface) and most abstract form of the whole production process, is, in itself, utterly devoid of content, except in so far as its own formal distinctions, notably the simple determinations discussed in Section II,[b] constitute its content. It is clear that simple money circulation, considered in itself, does not lead back into itself, but consists of a multitude of indifferent and fortuitously juxtaposed movements. E.g. the mint may be regarded as the point from which money circulation sets out, but there is no law of REFLUX to the mint, except for depreciation by WEAR and TEAR, which makes necessary the melting-down and NEW ISSUE OF COINS. This only concerns the physical aspect, and by no means constitutes a moment of circulation itself.

Within circulation itself, the point of return may be different from the point of departure; to the extent that they do coincide, money circulation appears merely as a manifestation of a circulation which lies behind it and determines it, e.g. if we examine the money circulation between the factory-owner, the worker, the SHOPKEEPER and the banker. Furthermore, all of the

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[a] To begin with.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 51-170.—*Ed.*

factors which concern the quantity of commodities thrown into circulation, the rise and fall of prices, the velocity of circulation, the volume of simultaneous payments, etc., lie *outside* simple money circulation. They are relationships which are expressed in it; it gives, so to speak, the names to them; but they cannot be explained by its own differentiation. Different metals serve as money, which have different, varying value relations to one another. Thus the problem of the DOUBLE STANDARD, etc., comes in, a problem that assumes world-historical forms. But it assumes these forms, and the DOUBLE STANDARD itself comes in, only owing to foreign trade. Hence, if its analysis is to yield any useful results, far more highly developed relations must be examined than the simple monetary relation.

Money *as the measure* of value is not expressed in quantities of bullion but in coins of account, arbitrary names for fractional parts of a definite quantity of the money substance. These names can be changed, relation of the coin to its metallic substance can be changed, while the name remains the same. Hence debasement, which plays a great role in the history of states. Further, the currencies of different countries. But this question is only of interest in connection with the rate of exchange.

[VII-30] Money is *measure* only because it materialises labour time in a definite substance, hence is itself *value*, and, specifically, because this definite material is regarded as the generally objective material of value, as the material of labour time as such in distinction from its merely particular incarnations. Hence, because it is an *equivalent*. Yet, since in its function as *measure*, money is a merely notional point of comparison, and only needs to exist ideally—for the commodities are translated into their general mode of existence as value only notionally; since, further, in this quality as measure, it figures only as coin of account, and I say that a commodity is worth so many shillings, francs, etc., when I translate it into money; this has given rise to the confusing notion of an *ideal measure*, a notion developed by Steuart[a] and freshed up in England at different periods, quite recently too, as a discovery of deep significance. That notion implies that the names pound, shilling, guinea, dollar, etc., which are current as units of account, are not definite denominations of definite quantities of gold, silver, etc., but merely arbitrary points of comparison which themselves express no value, no definite quantity of objectified labour time.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 164-65.

Hence the whole claptrap about fixing the price of gold and silver—understanding by price the name given to [their] fractional parts. An ounce of gold is at present divided into £3 17s. 10d. This is called fixing the price; it is, as Locke correctly remarks,[a] merely a fixing of the names of fractional parts of gold, silver, etc. Expressed in terms of itself, gold or silver is, of course, equal to itself. An ounce is an ounce, whether I call it £3 or £20.

In short, this *ideal measure*, in Steuart's sense, means this: If I say that commodity *a* is worth £12, commodity *b* £6 and commodity *c* £3, their proportion to one another=12 : 6 : 3. Their prices merely express the ratios in which they are exchanged for one another. 2*b* exchanges for 1*a*, and $1^1/_2 b$ for 3*c*. But instead of expressing the relation of *a*, *b* and *c* in real money, which itself possesses value, is value, could I not just as well replace the £, which expresses a definite quantity of gold, with any arbitrarily chosen name devoid of content (this is called *ideal* here), e.g. mackerel. $A=12$ mackerels, $b=6$M, $c=3$M. The word M is here merely a name, without any relation at all to its specific content.

Steuart's example of the degree, the minute and the second proves nothing; for although the degree, the minute and the second have a varying magnitude, they are not mere names, but always express the fractional part of a definite spatial magnitude or period of time. So they do have a specific substance. The fact that money in its determination as measure functions merely as *notional* money, is here converted into the proposition that money is any arbitrary notion, a mere *name*, the name for the numerical value relation, the name for a mere relation of numbers. Yet then the correct thing to do would be to use no names at all and only express the relation of numbers. For it all boils down to this: I get 6*a* for 12*b*, and 3*b* for 6*c*; these relations may also be expressed thus: $a=12x$, $b=6x$, $c=3x$, where $x$ itself is merely a name for the relation of *a* to *b* and of *b* to *c*. But the simple, undenominated relation of numbers WOULD NOT DO. For a:b=12:6=2:1, and b:c=6:3=2:1. Therefore, $c={}^1/_2$. Therefore, $b={}^1/_2$, therefore b=c. Therefore, a=2 and b=2; therefore, a=b.

Suppose I take any list of prices current, e.g. potash, per cwt., 35s.; COCOA, per lb., 60s.; IRON BARS, per ton, 145s.; etc.[b] To have the relation of these commodities to one another, I may not merely forget the silver in the shilling: the mere numbers 35, 60, 145, etc., are sufficient to determine the mutual value relations of

[a] Ibid., pp. 184-85.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes the prices from different issues of *The Economist* for the period 6 February to 6 March 1858.—*Ed.*

potash, COCOA, iron bars. Numbers without any name at all are now sufficient; and not merely may I give their unit, the 1, any name I like, without reference to any value; I need not give it any name whatsoever. Steuart insists that I must give it some name, but that this name, as a merely arbitrary one, as itself merely a *MARKING OF PROPORTION*, CANNOT BE FIXED TO ANY PARTICULAR QUANTITY OF GOLD, SILVER OR ANY OTHER COMMODITY.

Whatever the measure in question, as soon as it serves as the point of comparison, i.e. as soon as the different things to be compared are posited in a numerical relation to the measure as unit, and are now related to one another, the nature of the measure becomes irrelevant and disappears in the act of comparison itself. The measuring unit has become merely a numerical unit; the quality of that unit, e.g. that it itself represents a definite length, or a definite period of time, or an angle of a certain degree, etc., has disappeared. But it is only when the different things are presupposed as already measured that the measuring unit *MARKS ONLY [THE] PROPORTION BETWEEN THEM*, e.g., in our case, the proportion of their values. The unit of account not merely has different names in different countries; it is the nomen for different fractional parts of, e.g., an ounce of gold. Yet they are all reduced to the same weight unit of gold or silver by means of the rate of exchange.

Hence, if I assume the different commodity magnitudes to equal, e.g., as above, 35s., 60s., and 145s., then, since the unit in which all of them are represented is now assumed to be the same, i.e. since they have been made commensurable, it is quite irrelevant to their comparison that the shilling is a definite quantity of silver, the name for a definite amount of silver. But they only become comparable with one another as mere numerical magnitudes, as numbers of any unit with the same name, and only begin to express proportions in relation to one another, when each individual commodity is measured in terms of that which serves as unit, as measure. And I can measure them in terms of each other, can make them commensurable, only in so far as they have a common element. This element is the labour time contained in both.

Consequently, the measuring unit must be a certain quantity of a commodity in which a quantity of labour is objectified. Since the same quantity of labour is not always expressed in e.g., the same quantity of gold, the value of this measuring unit itself is variable. But to the extent that money is considered only as a measure, this variability is no hindrance. Even in barter, as soon as it has

reached a certain stage of development as barter, hence is a normal operation which is repeated, and not merely an isolated act of exchange, some other commodity appears as the measuring unit, e.g. cattle in Homer.[a] In the case of the savage Papuan of the coast,

> who "to have a FOREIGN ARTICLE BARTERS 1 or 2 of his children, and if they are not at hand, borrows those of his neighbour, promising TO GIVE HIS OWN IN EXCHANGE, WHEN THEY COME TO HAND, HIS REQUEST BEING RARELY REFUSED,"[35]

no measure of exchange exists. The sole aspect of exchange that exists for him is that he can appropriate a thing belonging to another only by alienating a thing belonging to himself. This alienation itself is regulated for him only by his FANCY, ON THE ONE SIDE, and the extent of his MOVABLE property, on the other.

In *The Economist*, 13 March 1858 [p. 290], we read the following in a letter to the Editor:

> "AS THE SUBSTITUTION IN FRANCE OF GOLD FOR SILVER IN THE COINAGE (WHICH HAS BEEN THE PRINCIPAL MEANS HITHERTO OF ABSORBING THE NEW DISCOVERIES OF GOLD) MUST BE APPROACHING ITS COMPLETION, PARTICULARLY AS LESS COINAGE WILL BE WANTED FOR A STAGNANT TRADE AND REDUCED PRICES, WE MAY EXPECT ERE LONG THAT OUR FIXED PRICE OF £3 17S. 10½D. AN OUNCE WILL ATTRACT THE GOLD HERE."[b]

Now, what does this OUR "FIXED PRICE OF AN OUNCE" OF GOLD mean? NOTHING ELSE BUT THAT A CERTAIN ALIQUOT PART OF AN OUNCE IS CALLED A PENNY, A CERTAIN MULTIPLE OF THIS PENNY-WEIGHT OF GOLD A SHILLING, AND A CERTAIN MULTIPLE OF THIS SHILLING-WEIGHT OF GOLD A POUND? Does the gentleman imagine that [VII-31] in other countries a gold gulden, louis d'or, etc., do not, likewise, denote a certain quantity of gold, i.e. that a certain quantity [of gold] does not have a fixed name? and that this is a privilege of England? or a special feature of it? Does he believe that in England an ounce of gold expressed in money is more than an ounce of gold and that in other countries it is less? We would be curious to know what this worthy fellow imagines the rate of exchange to be.

What misleads Steuart is this: The prices of commodities express nothing but the ratios in which they are exchangeable for one another, the *proportions* in which they exchange for one another. Given these proportions, I can give the unit any name I like, because the undenominated abstract number would suffice for the purpose, and instead of saying that this commodity=6 stivers and that=3, etc., I could say that this=6 units and that=3. I would not need to give the unit any name at all. Since now it is only a matter

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 110 and 127.— *Ed.*

[b] H. Stansfeld, "Will the Low Rate of Interest Last? To the editor of *The Economist*".— *Ed.*

of the numerical relation, [I] can give the unit any name I like.

But here it is already presupposed that these proportions have been *given*, that the commodities have prior to this become commensurable magnitudes. Once magnitudes have been posited as commensurable, the relations between them become simple numerical relations. Money appears precisely as measure, and a definite quantity of the commodity in which it is represented [appears] as the measuring unit employed to determine the *proportions*, to express the commodities as commensurable AND TO HANDLE them accordingly. The real common element is labour time, which is relatively objectified in them. But labour time itself is posited as general. The process by which values within the money system are determined by labour time does not come within the consideration of money itself and falls outside circulation; it stands behind circulation as its motivating basis and presupposition.

The question could only be this: Instead of saying this commodity is=to an ounce of gold, why do we not say directly that it is=to *x* labour time objectified in the ounce of gold? Why is labour time, the substance and measure of value, not also the measure of prices; or, in other words, why are price and value different things in general? The Proudhonist school believe to be doing something great in demanding that this identity should be posited and that the price of commodities should be expressed in labour time. The coincidence of price and value implies the equality of demand and supply, the simple exchange of equivalents (hence not of capital for labour), etc. In short, formulated in economic terms, it is immediately obvious that this demand is the negation of the entire groundwork of production relations based on exchange value. Yet, if we assume this basis to have been abolished, the problem itself is eliminated, for it only exists on and with this basis. To say that the commodity, in its immediate existence as use value, is not value, not the adequate form of value, is the same as saying that it is value if transposed into a different objective form or if equated to another object; or that value possesses its adequate form in a specific object as distinct from other objects. As values commodities are objectified labour; hence adequate value must itself appear in the form of a definite object, as a definite form of objectified labour.

Steuart supports his drivel about the ideal standard with 2 historical examples. The first of these, the bank money of Amsterdam, shows precisely the opposite, since it means nothing but the reduction of the circulating coinage to its bullion content (metallic content). The second example has been echoed by all of

the more recent writers belonging to the same trend. E.g., Urquhart adduces the example of the Berbers, among whom an ideal BAR, an iron bar, a purely imaginary iron bar, serves as a standard which neither rises nor falls.[a] If, e.g., the real iron bar falls [in value] by, say, 50%,[b] the [ideal] bar is worth 2 iron bars; if the real bar rises again by 100% [of its value after the fall], [the ideal bar is worth] only one [real bar]. Mr. Urquhart also claims to have observed that neither commercial nor industrial crises, nor still less monetary crises, occur among the Berbers, and attributes this to the magical effects of this IDEAL STANDARD OF VALUE. This "ideal" imaginary standard is merely an imaginary real value, a fancy, which does not attain any objective reality because the monetary system has not developed its further determinations—a development which is dependent upon quite different conditions. It is the same as if one wished, in the mythology, to assign a superior position to those religions whose deities have not been worked out as visual images, but remain confined to the sphere of concepts, i.e. attain at most a verbal but not an artistic existence.

The BAR is based upon a real iron bar, which was later converted into an object of fantasy and fixed as such. An ounce of gold expressed in English coin of account=£3 17s. 10 1/2d. WELL. WELL. Suppose that the price of a pound of silk had been exactly the same, but had later fallen, as e.g. Milanese raw silk stood at £1 8s. per lb. in London on 12 March [18]58.[c]

The ideal bar is the mental image of a quantity of iron, an iron bar, whose value is invariable with respect to (1) all other commodities; (2) the labour time contained in it. Of course, this iron bar is purely imaginary, only not quite as fixed and "STANDING LIKE A ROCK IN THE SEA", as Steuart[d] and, nearly 100 years later, Urquhart believe. The only thing about the iron bar which is fixed is its name; in one case, the real iron bar comprises 2 ideal ones, in the other, only 1. This is expressed in such a way that the same, invariable, ideal bar at one time=2, and at another=1 real [bar]. If this is granted, only the relation of the real iron bar has changed, the ideal one has not. BUT IN FACT, in one case the ideal iron bar is double its length compared with the other case, and only its name is unchanged. On the one occasion, e.g. 100 lbs of iron is called A BAR, on the other occasion 200 [lbs].

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[a] [D. Urquhart,] "Currency", *The Free Press*, No. 22, 25 November 1857, pp. 545 and 546.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx has "100%".—*Ed.*

[c] *The Economist*, No. 759, 13 March 1858, p. 300.—*Ed.*

[d] J. Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy*, Vol. II, p. 107.

Suppose that money was issued which represented labour time, F.I. hour tickets; some baptismal name could be arbitrarily bestowed upon them in turn, e.g. one pound; $^1/_{20}$ of an hour would be 1s., $^1/_{240}$ of an hour 1d. Gold and silver, like all other commodities, depending on the production time they cost, would express different MULTIPLES or fractional parts of pounds, shillings, pence; and an ounce of gold might just as well=£8 6s. 3d. as £3 17s. 10$^1/_2$d. These numbers would always express the proportion in which a certain quantity of labour is contained in the ounce. Instead of saying that £3 17s. 10$^1/_2$d., equal to one ounce of gold, now costs only $^1/_2$lb. of silk, we can imagine that the ounce now=£7 15s. 9d., or that £3 17s. 10$^1/_2$d. is now only equal to half an ounce, because that money is now only half its value.

Comparing prices in England in, e.g., the 15th century with those in the 18th, we might find that two commodities had precisely the same nominal money value, e.g., £1 stg. Here the pound sterling is the standard, but in the first case it expresses 4 or 5 times as much value as in the second, and we could say that if the value of this commodity in the 15th century was=$^1/_4$ ounce, in the 18th century it was=1 ounce of gold, because in the 18th century 1 ounce of gold expresses the same labour time as $^1/_4$ ounce did in the 15th century. It might therefore be said that the measure, the pound, had remained the same, but in one case it was equal to four times as much gold as in the other. This is the *ideal standard.* People of the 15th century, if they had lived until the 18th, could have made the same comparison as we have done, and could have said that 1 ounce of gold, now worth £1 stg., was previously worth only $^1/_4$. Now 4 pounds of gold is worth no more than 1 was, e.g., in the 15th century. If this pound was previously called the livre, I can imagine that a livre then was=4 pounds of gold, while now it is only=1; that the value of gold has changed, but the measure of value, the livre, has remained unchanged. IN FACT, a livre originally signified in France and England 1 pound of silver, and now only $^1/_x$. Hence it can be said that the name livre, the standard, has always remained nominally the same, but silver has, by contrast, changed its [VII-32] value. A Frenchman who had lived from the time of Charlemagne up to the present day could say that the livre of silver had always remained the standard of value, unchanged, but that, while it was once worth 1 pound of silver, it had, because of a diversity of circumstances, eventually come to be worth only $^1/_x$ of half an ounce. The yard, although the same, is of different length in different countries. It is, IN FACT, the same as if, e.g., the product of a day's labour, the gold that

can be mined in one working day, were given the name livre, and this livre always remained the same, although expressing very different quantities of gold at different periods.[a]

When we compare the pound sterling of the 15th century with that of the 18th century, how in fact do we do it? The two are the same quantity of metal (each=20s.), but of different value; for then the metal was worth 4 times as much as it is now. Hence, we say that then the livre=4 times the amount of metal it contains today. And one could imagine that the livre had remained unchanged, but was=4 real gold livres then as compared with only 1 now. That would be only relatively correct, not in terms of the quantity of metal contained in the livre, but in terms of its value; and this value itself is, in turn, expressed quantitatively in the form that $^1/_4$ livre of gold then=1 livre of gold now. WELL; the livre is identical, but then it was=4 REAL *librae* of gold (by relation to the current value), and is only=1 now. If gold falls in value, and its fall or rise relative to other articles is expressed in their price, instead of saying that an object which previously cost £1 of gold now costs 2, it could be said that it still costs a pound but a pound is now worth 2 real gold livres, etc.; hence £1 comprises 2 real gold livres, etc. Instead of saying: I sold this commodity yesterday for £1, I am selling it today for £4, I can say that I sell it for £1, but yesterday for a £ of 1 real £, and today for £1 of 4 real pounds.

All other prices are determined automatically, as soon as the relation of the real BAR to the imaginary one has been established; and this is simply the comparison between the past value of the BAR and its present value. It is the same as if we were to do all our calculations in the £ sterling of the 15th century, FOR INSTANCE. What the historian must do who traces the same kind of coinage, the same name of account for a coin of the same metallic content through the centuries, when he reckons it in present-day money, having to equate it with a greater or smaller quantity of gold depending on the coin's changing value in different centuries—this precisely is done by the Berber or Negro. It is the striving of the semi-civilised to maintain as value, too, the monetary unit, the quantity of metal which serves as measure; to uphold this value as a fixed measure as well. At the same time, however, the shrewdness of knowing that the real value of the BAR has changed.

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[a] Here Marx crossed out the following passage: "In the 18th century the ounce of gold was only $^1/_4$ of the value it was in the 15th century, i.e. 4 ounces of gold, in terms of value, is 1 ounce 3 centuries earlier. If the name "ounce" were taken as the unit of account, one could say that the ounce in the 15th century was worth 4 real ounces, in the 18th only one."—*Ed.*

Since this Berber has few commodities to measure, and tradition is still fresh among the uncivilised, this complicated method of calculation is not so difficult as it appears to be.

1 ounce is=£3 17s. 10 1/2d., i.e. not quite=£4. For the sake of convenience let us assume it is exactly=£4. Then 1/4 of an ounce of gold is given the name of pound, and serves under this name as coin of account. But this pound changes its value; partly it does so relatively, in relation to the value of other commodities whose value alters, and partly in so far as it is itself the product of more or less labour time. The one thing constant about it is its name, and the quantity, the fractional part of the ounce, the weight-part of gold whose baptismal name it is; i.e. the weight-part of gold contained in a PIECE OF MONEY CALLED ONE POUND.

The savage seeks to uphold it as unchanging value, and so it is the quantity of metal it contains that changes for him. If the value of gold falls by 50%,[a] in his view the pound is still the measure of value, but a £ of 2/4 ounce of gold, etc. He sees the pound as always equal to an amount of gold (iron) which has the same value. But since this value changes, the pound is equal now to a greater and now to a smaller quantity of real gold or iron, according as more or less of them must be given in exchange for other commodities. He compares the present value with the previous which functions for him as the STANDARD and lives on only in his imagination. Consequently, rather than reckoning in terms of 1/4 ounce of gold whose value varies, he reckons in terms of the value 1/4 ounce of gold possessed previously, i.e. by reference to an imaginary, unchanging value of 1/4 ounce, which, however, is expressed in varying quantities. On the one hand, he seeks to uphold the measure of value as constant in value; on the other, he is shrewd enough not to come to any harm in applying this roundabout method of calculation. In assimilating the measuring of values with money, a procedure imposed on them from without, the semi-savages first displace it and then, out of this displacement, find their bearings again. But it is utterly absurd to regard that fortuitous displacement as an organic historical form or, still worse, to set it up as something superior in opposition to more developed relations. These savages, too, proceed from a quantity, the iron bar; but they uphold as a unit of account the value it traditionally possessed, etc.

The whole problem acquired its significance in modern political economy chiefly because of 2 circumstances:

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[a] Marx has "100%".—*Ed.*

(1) It has happened at different times—in England, e.g. during the Revolutionary War—that the price of gold bullion rose above that of coined gold. This historical phenomenon appeared to be irrefutable proof that the names possessed by definite fractional weight-parts of gold (of the precious metal)—pound, shilling, pence, etc.—by some inexplicable process conduct themselves independently towards the substance whose names they are. Otherwise, how could an ounce of gold be worth more than the same ounce coined into £3 17s. 10 $^1/_2$d.? Or how could an ounce of gold be worth more than 4 livres of gold, if livre is merely the name for $^1/_4$ ounce?

Closer investigation, however, revealed that this was due to one of two causes. Either, the coins which circulated under the name of pound were IN FACT no longer of the normal metallic content; F.I., 5 circulating pounds IN FACT weighed only one ounce of gold (of the same fineness). Since a coin that ostensibly represented $^1/_4$ ounce of gold (or thereabouts) in fact only represented $^1/_5$, it was quite understandable that the ounce=5 such circulating £'s; hence that the value of the BULLION PRICE rose above the MINT PRICE, as £1 IN FACT no longer represented, no longer denominated, $^1/_4$ but only $^1/_5$ ounce of gold; was now only the name for $^1/_5$ ounce.

Or the same happened when, even though the metallic content of the gold coins in circulation had not fallen below the normal measure, they circulated simultaneously with depreciated paper money, and it was prohibited to melt them down and export them. In this case, the $^1/_4$ ounce of gold circulating in the form of a £ shared in the depreciation of the notes, a fate from which gold in bullion was exempt.* It was the same FACT again: [VII-33] the name of account "pound" had ceased to be the name for $^1/_4$ ounce, was the name for a smaller quantity. The ounce was therefore equal to, e.g., 5 such pounds. This meant, then, that the BULLION PRICE had risen above the MINT PRICE.

So it was these or analogous historical phenomena, all just as simple to explain and all belonging to the same series, that first gave rise to the discussion of the *ideal measure*, or the view that money as measure should be merely a point of comparison and not a definite quantity. Hundreds of volumes have been written on this CASE in England over the last 150 years.

In itself, there is nothing strange about a rise in the value of a definite kind of coin above that of its bullion content, since the

* Within a given country, seignorage may raise the mint price above the bullion price.

making (shaping) of coin involves the addition of new labour. But the value of a particular kind of coin may rise above its bullion content for other reasons too. Yet this is without any economic interest whatsoever, and has not given rise to any economic investigations. All it means is that for definite purposes gold or silver WAS REQUISITE precisely in this form, SAY OF BRITISH POUNDS OR OF SPANISH DOLLARS. The Bank directors naturally had a particular interest in proving that it was not a fall in the value of the notes, but a rise in that of gold. The latter problem can only be dealt with later.

(2) But the theory of the *IDEAL MEASURE* OF VALUE was first put forward at the beginning of the 18th century, and was raised again in the second decade of the 19th century, in connection with matters in which money figured not as measure, or as means of exchange, but as an invariable equivalent, as value-for-itself (money in its third determination) and hence as the universal material of contracts. On both occasions, the point at issue was whether or not State and other debts contracted in a depreciated money should be paid back and honoured in money of full value. The question was merely one between the creditors of the State and the mass of the nation. This question as such does not concern us here. Those who demanded a readjustment of claims, on the one hand, and of obligations, on the other, strayed into the wrong field by asking whether the *STANDARD OF MONEY* should be altered or not. In this connection, such CRUDE theories were advanced about the STANDARD OF MONEY, the fixing of the price of gold, etc.

("ALTERING THE STANDARD [is] LIKE ALTERING THE NATIONAL MEASURES OR WEIGHTS." Steuart [*An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy*, Vol. II, Dublin, 1770, p. 110].

It is immediately obvious that a nation's stock of grain is not altered by the volume of the bushel being, e.g., doubled or reduced by half. But such a change would be of great importance to, e.g., tenant farmers who had to discharge corn rents in a definite number of bushels, i.e. if the size of the measure had been doubled, and they had to supply the same number of bushels as before.)

In this case, it was the creditors of the State who clung to the name pound, in abstraction from the fractional weight-part of gold which it expressed, and hence to the "ideal STANDARD"—for IN FACT this is merely the name of account of the weight-part of the metal which serves as measure. Singularly enough, however, it was

precisely their opponents that put forward this theory of the "ideal STANDARD", and the creditors themselves that opposed it. Instead of simply demanding a READJUSTMENT, or that the creditors of the State should only be paid back the quantity of gold which they had in fact advanced, they demanded that the STANDARD should be lowered in proportion to the depreciation; that is, e.g., if the £ sterling had fallen to $^1/_5$ ounce of gold, the name pound should in future be borne by this $^1/_5$ ounce, or the pound should perhaps be coined into 21 shillings instead of into 20. This lowering of the *STANDARD* was called raising the value of money, since the ounce would now be equal to £5 instead of, as previously, to £4. So they did not argue that those who had advanced, e.g., one ounce of gold in 5 depreciated pounds should now get back only 4 pounds of full value. They said, rather, that the creditors should get back £5, but that in future the pound should express $^1/_{20}$ ounce less than it did before.

When they put forward this demand in England after the RESUMPTION OF CASH PAYMENTS, the coin of account had regained its previous metallic value. In this connection other CRUDE theories about money as the measure of value were also advanced, and on the pretext that those theories were false, which was easy to demonstrate, the interests of the creditors of the State were smuggled through.

The first conflict of this kind was that between Locke and Lowndes. From 1688 to 1695, the loans of the State were contracted in depreciated money—depreciated because all the full-weight money had been melted down, leaving only light money in circulation. The guinea had risen to 30 shillings. Lowndes (Master of the Mint?) wanted to have the £ sterling reduced by 20%; Locke insisted on maintaining the OLD STANDARD of Elizabeth. In 1695,[a] the remelting, the GENERAL RECOINAGE. Locke carried the day: debts contracted when the guinea passed current for 10 or 14 shillings were discharged at the RATE OF 20 shillings. This was equally advantageous to the State and the landed proprietors.

"Lowndes put the question upon the wrong footing. First he maintained that his SCHEME implied no DEBASEMENT of the former STANDARD. Then he ascribed the rise of the price of BULLION to the intrinsic value of silver, and not to the LIGHTNESS OF [the] COIN with which it was bought. He always supposed that the STAMP, and not the substance, made the CURRENCY. Locke, for his part, only wondered whether or not Lowndes' scheme implied a DEBASEMENT but he did not analyse the interests of those who are engaged in PERMANENT CONTRACTS. MR.

[a] 1696.—*Ed.*

LOWNDES'S GREAT ARGUMENT FOR REDUCING THE STANDARD WAS, THAT SILVER BULLION WAS RISEN TO 6S. 5D. PER OUNCE (I.E. THAT IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN BOUGHT WITH 77 PENCE OF SHILLINGS OF $^1/_{77}$ PART OF A POUND TROY), and therefore he was of the opinion that the POUND TROY SHOULD BE COINED INTO 77 shillings, which was a DIMINUTION of the value of the £ sterling by 20% or $^1/_5$. Locke answered him that the 77d. WERE PAID IN CLIPPED MONEY, and that they were not in weight above 62 PENCE STANDARD COIN. But ought a man who had borrowed £1,000 sterling in THIS CLIPPED MONEY to be obliged to pay back £1,000 IN STANDARD WEIGHT? Both Lowndes and Locke examined only very slightly the influence of changes in the STANDARD upon the relationship between debtors and creditors... In those days, the credit system was still little developed in England... THE LANDED INTEREST and THE INTEREST OF THE CROWN, WERE ONLY ATTENDED TO. TRADE AT THAT TIME WAS ALMOST AT A STOP, AND HAD BEEN RUINED BY A PIRATICAL WAR... RESTORING THE STANDARD WAS THE MOST FAVOURABLE, BOTH FOR THE LANDED INTEREST AND THE EXCHEQUER; AND SO IT WAS GONE INTO" (Steuart, l.c., Vol. II, pp. 178, 179).

Steuart remarks about the whole TRANSACTION ironically:

"By this RAISING OF THE STANDARD, the government gained considerably upon the score of taxes, and the creditors upon their capital and interest; and the nation, which was the PRINCIPAL LOSER, was quite PLEASED, because *its* standard" (i.e. the measure of its *own* value) "was not DEBASED; thus ALL THE THREE PARTIES WERE SATISFIED" (l.c., Vol. II, p. 156).

Cf., in John Locke, *Works*, 4 vols, 7th edition, London, 1768, the essay *Some Considerations of the [Consequences of the] Lowering of Interest, and Raising the Value of Money* (1691) and also *Further Considerations concerning raising the value of Money, wherein Mr. Lowndes's arguments for it, in his late Report concerning "An Essay for the amendment of the silver coins" are particularly examined*, both in Vol. II. The first treatise says, among other things:

[VII-34] "THE RAISING OF MONEY, about which so much nonsense is talked now, is EITHER *RAISING* [the] *VALUE OF OUR MONEY*, and you cannot do that; or *RAISING THE DENOMINATION OF OUR COIN*" (p. 53). "Call, e.g., a crown what formerly was called $^1/_2$ a crown. The value remains determined by the metallic content. IF THE ABATING $^1/_{20}$ OF THE QUANTITY OF THE SILVER OF ANY COIN DOES NOT LESSEN ITS VALUE, THE ABATING $^{19}/_{20}$ OF THE QUANTITY OF THE SILVER OF ANY COIN WILL NOT ABATE ITS VALUE. So according to this theory, A SINGLE THREEPENCE, OR A SINGLE FARTHING, BEING CALLED A CROWN, WILL BUY AS MUCH SPICE OR SILK, OR ANY OTHER COMMODITY, AS A CROWNPIECE WHICH CONTAINS 20 OR 60 TIMES AS MUCH SILVER" (p. 54). "The RAISING OF MONEY is therefore nothing but GIVING A LESS QUANTITY OF SILVER THE STAMP AND DENOMINATION OF A GREATER" (l.c.). "The STAMP of the mint was a guarantee to the PUBLIC that under SUCH A DENOMINATION so much silver was contained" (p. 57). "IT IS SILVER, AND NOT NAMES, THAT PAYS DEBTS AND PURCHASES COMMODITIES" (p. 58). "The mint stamp suffices as a guarantee of the weight and fineness of the piece of money, but lets the GOLD MONEY SO COINED FIND ITS OWN RATE, like other commodities" (p. 66). In general, by the RAISING OF MONEY you can only make "MORE MONEY IN TALE", but not more "MONEY IN WEIGHT AND WORTH" (p. 73).

[In the second essay:]

"Silver is a standard quite different from all others. The yard, or quart men measure by, may rest in the buyer's or seller's, or a third person's hands, IT MATTERS NOT WHOSE IT IS. But silver is not only the measure of BARGAINS, IT IS THE THING BARGAINED FOR, and in commerce passes from the buyer to the seller, AS BEING IN SUCH A QUANTITY EQUIVALENT TO THE THING SOLD; AND SO IT NOT ONLY *MEASURES* THE VALUE OF THE COMMODITY IT IS APPLIED TO, BUT IS GIVEN IN EXCHANGE FOR IT, AS OF EQUAL VALUE. BUT THIS IT DOES ONLY BY ITS QUANTITY, AND NOTHING ELSE" (p. 92). "THE RAISING BEING BUT GIVING OF NAMES AT PLEASURE TO ALIQUOT PARTS OF ANY PIECE, VIZ. THAT NOW THE SIXTIETH PART OF AN OUNCE SHALL BE CALLED A PENNY, MAY BE DONE WITH WHAT INCREASE YOU PLEASE" (118). "THE PRIVILEGE THAT BULLION HAS, TO BE EXPORTED FREELY, WILL GIVE IT A LITTLE ADVANCE IN PRICE ABOVE OUR COIN, LET THE DENOMINATION OF THAT BE RAISED, OR FALLEN AS YOU PLEASE, WHILST THERE IS NEED OF ITS EXPORTATION, AND THE EXPORTATION OF OUR COIN IS PROHIBITED BY LAW" (pp. 119, 120).

In his conflict with Locke, Lowndes had argued that the rise in the price of BULLION was due to the fact that there had been a rise in its value and hence a fall in the value of the coin of account (i.e. because the value of BULLION had risen, the value of a fractional part of it, that called £, had fallen). The same position was adopted by the LITTLE-SHILLING-MEN—Attwood and the other members of the Birmingham SCHOOL, from 1819 onwards.[36] (Cobbett[a] had put the question on the right basis: NON-ADJUSTMENT OF NATIONAL DEBTS, RENTS, etc.; but spoiled everything by his incorrect theory altogether rejecting paper money. Oddly enough, he arrived at this conclusion proceeding from the same incorrect premiss—that price was determined by the quantity of the means of circulation—as led Ricardo to draw the opposite conclusion.) Their whole wisdom is comprised in the following phrases:

"In his quarrel with the Birmingham CHAMBER OF COMMERCE Sir R. Peel asks: "WHAT WILL *YOUR* POUND NOTE REPRESENT?" (*The Currency Question. The Gemini Letters*, London, 1844, pp. 266) (i.e. the pound note if not redeemable in gold). "What is to be understood by the PRESENT STANDARD OF VALUE?... £3 17s. 10 1/2d., does it denote one *ounce of gold* or its *value*? If the ounce itself, why not call things by their names, and say OUNCES, PENNYWEIGHTS, AND GRAINS instead of POUNDS, SHILLINGS and PENCE? This would bring us back *TO A DIRECT SYSTEM OF BARTER*" (p. 269).

(Not QUITE. But what would Mr. Attwood have gained if people said "ounce" instead of £3 17s. 10 1/2d., and "so many PENNYWEIGHT" instead of "shilling"? That for the sake of convenience in calculation names are given to the fractional parts—which shows, besides, that the metal is here given a social determination alien to it—in what sense is this evidence either for or against Attwood's theory?)

"Or does it denote the *value*? If an ounce=£3 17s. 10 1/2d., why is gold at different periods £5 4s. and then again £3 17s. 9d.? ... the EXPRESSION POUND HAS

[a] W. Cobbett, *Paper against Gold.—Ed.*

REFERENCE TO *VALUE*, BUT NOT A *FIXED STANDARD VALUE*... *LABOUR* IS THE PARENT OF COST, AND GIVES THE RELATIVE VALUE TO GOLD OR IRON."

(And this is IN FACT why the value of one ounce and of £3 17s. 10 1/2d. are both variable.)

"*WHATEVER DENOMINATION OF WORDS ARE USED TO EXPRESS THE DAILY OR WEEKLY LABOUR OF A MAN*, SUCH WORDS EXPRESS THE COST OF THE COMMODITY PRODUCED" (p. 270). "The word ONE POUND IS THE *IDEAL UNIT*" (p. 272).

This last proposition is significant because it shows how the theory of the "IDEAL UNIT" boils down to the demand for a money which should represent labour directly. "POUND" would then be the expression for, e.g., 12 days' labour. It is demanded that the determination of value should not give rise to that of money as a distinct determination, or that labour's being the measure of values should not lead to the labour objectified in a particular commodity being made the measure of other values. The important thing is that this demand is here made from the standpoint of the bourgeois economy (thus, among others, by Gray, who really carries the matter to the extreme, and of whom we shall speak presently) and not from that of the negation of the bourgeois economy, as was the case with, e. g., Bray. The Proudhonists (see, e. g., Mr. Darimon[a]) have in fact managed to postulate the demand, both as one corresponding to the present-day relations of production, and as a great innovation, a demand totally revolutionising these relations. They can afford to do so because, like the *crapauds*[b] they are, they of course need know nothing whatsoever of what has been written or thought on the other side of the Channel. AT ALL EVENTS, the simple fact that the demand was first put forward more than 50 years ago by a group of bourgeois economists in England, shows in itself how far the socialists who pretend thereby to be advancing something new and anti-bourgeois have strayed onto the wrong track. On the demand itself, see above.[c] (Here we can only bring in a few points from *Gray*. As for the rest, we can only go into the details of this matter when we come to discuss banking.)

[MONEY AS MEANS OF CIRCULATION AND AS INDEPENDENT VALUE]

As regards money as an equivalent that remains equal to itself, i. e. as *value* as such, and hence as the material of all contracts, it

[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 51-72.—*Ed.*
[b] Philistines (literally: toads).—*Ed.*
[c] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 60-93.—*Ed.*

is obvious that changes in the value of the material in which it is represented (directly, as in gold or silver, or indirectly, as a draft upon a specific quantity of gold, silver, etc., in the form of notes) must give rise to great revolutions between the different classes of a State. This is not to be examined here, since the relations in question can only be discussed given a knowledge of the different economic relations. [VII-35] Only so much by way of illustration.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, as is well known, the depreciation of gold and silver, resulting from the discovery of America, lowered the standing of the working class and of the landed proprietors, and raised that of the capitalists (especially the industrial capitalists). In the Roman Republic, the plebeians became the slaves of the patricians because of the APPRECIATION of copper.[a]

"Since the largest sums had to be paid in copper, one had to accumulate this metal either IN MASSES or as shapeless fragments which could be given and accepted by weight. Copper in this state was called *aes grave*.[b] Metal MONEY was weighed." //Initially, the copper circulating among the Romans bore no stamp; later it bore the stamp of foreign mints. *Servius rex ovium boumque effigie primus aes signavit*[c] (Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, Book 18, Ch. 3).//

"After the patricians had accumulated a mass of this dull and rough metal, they sought to get rid of it either by buying from the plebeians all the lands which the latter agreed to sell to them or by lending it out at long term. They were forced to sell cheap a value which was an inconvenience to them, and which they had acquired without cost. The competition between all those who wished to get rid of it was bound to result in a considerable decline in the price of copper in Rome in a short time. At the beginning of the 4th century after the foundation of Rome, the ratio of copper to silver=1:960, as can be seen from the *lex Menenia* (302 A.U.C.[d])....

"At the same time, this metal, so depreciated in Rome, was one of the most sought-after articles in trade (since the Greeks made works of art out of bronze, etc.).... The exchange of the precious metals for copper in Rome yielded enormous profits, and so lucrative a trade daily stimulated fresh imports....

"Gradually, the patricians replaced in their hoards the piles of old copper, so inconvenient to store and so unpleasant to see, with ingots of gold and silver, *aurum infectum* and *argentum infectum*. After the defeat of Pyrrhus and especially after the conquests in Asia ... the *aes grave* completely disappeared and the needs of circulation necessitated the introduction of the Greek drachma, under the name of *victoriatus*, weighing 1 $^1/_2$ scruples of silver, like the Attic drachma; *in the 7th century after the foundation of Rome* the *lex Clodia* made it into Roman coin. Usually, it exchanged for one pound of copper or *the as of 12 ounces*.

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[a] The passages from Garnier's *Histoire de la monnaie* that follow are reproduced by Marx partly in French, and partly in German translation or rendering.—*Ed.*

[b] Heavy copper (measured by weight).—*Ed.*

[c] Servius was the first king who stamped the copper with the images of sheep and oxen.—*Ed.*

[d] From the founding of the city (of Rome).—*Ed.*

"So, owing to export, the ratio of silver to copper was now 192:1, i. e. the advantage of silver had declined to $^1/_5$ of what it was at the time of the greatest depreciation of copper. Nevertheless, copper was still cheaper in Rome than in Greece and Asia.

"This great revolution in the exchange value of the material of money, as it proceeded, brought about the cruellest deterioration in the lot of the unfortunate plebeians who, having borrowed the copper when it was depreciated, and spent or used it in accordance with the value it possessed at the time, were now indebted, according to the letter of their contracts, for 5×the sum they had actually borrowed. They had no means of buying themselves free from servitude.... Who had borrowed 3,000 *as* when this sum was=300 oxen or 900 scruples of silver could now obtain that amount only for 4,500 scruples of silver, since by then the *as* was represented by 1 $^1/_2$ scruples of this metal.... If the plebeian had returned $^1/_5$ of the copper which he had obtained, he would in reality have discharged his debt, for $^1/_5$ now [possessed] the same value as 1 at the time when the contract had been made. The value of copper relative to that of silver had risen five-fold....

"The plebeians demanded a revision of their debts, a new assessment of the sums due, and amendments in the title of their original obligations. True, the creditors did not demand restitution of the capital, but as a result of the excessive appreciation of the money, the very payment of interest originally stipulated at 12%, had become unbearable, as onerous as if it had been set at 60% of the principal. The debtors obtained a law subtracting the accumulated interest from the capital, but gained nothing by it....

"The senators would not relinquish the means by which they held the people in the most abject dependence. The owners of almost all the landed property, armed with legal titles authorising them to throw their debtors into irons and subject them to corporal punishment, they crushed the rebellions and raged against the most unruly ones. The house of every patrician was a prison. Finally, wars were provoked, which provided pay to the debtor, with a suspension of obligations, and opened up new sources of wealth and power to the creditor.

"This was the internal situation of Rome at the time of the defeat of Pyrrhus, the seizure of Taranto, and the important victories over the Samnites, Lucanians and other South Italic peoples, etc. The first Roman silver coin, the *libella*, was issued in 483 or 485 [after the foundation of Rome]; it was called the libella because, being of small weight, it was the *libra* of 12 ounces of copper" (Germain Garnier, *Histoire de la monnaie etc.*, 2 vols, Paris, 1819, Vol. II, [21-24] pp. 15 et sqq.).

## //*Assignats.*[37]

"*NATIONAL PROPERTY. Assignat OF 100 FRANCS*" LEGAL TENDER. They differed from all other NOTES IN *NOT EVEN PROFESSING TO REPRESENT ANY SPECIFIED THING.* The words "NATIONAL PROPERTY" signified that their value could be obtained by purchasing with them the CONFISCATED PROPERTY at the regular auctions of such property. But there was no reason why that value should have been called 100 francs. It depended on the COMPARATIVE QUANTITY of the PROPERTY SO PURCHASABLE, and the number of assignats issued (Nassau W. Senior, *Three Lectures on the Cost of Obtaining Money etc.*, London, 1830, pp. 78, 79).

"The *livre of account*, introduced by Charlemagne, and almost never represented by a real equivalent coin, retained its name, as well as its divisions into sous and deniers, up to the end of the 18th century. By contrast, there was infinite variation in the name, form, weight and value of real money, not only at every change of

government, but under the same government. True, the value of the livre of account was also subjected to enormous reductions, but this was always done forcibly" (Garnier, l.c., Vol. I, p. 76 [77]).

All coins of the ancients were originally weights (ibid.).

"MONEY IS IN THE FIRST PLACE THE UNIVERSALLY MARKETABLE COMMODITY, OR THAT IN WHICH EVERY ONE DEALS FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROCURING OTHER COMMODITIES" (Bailey, *Money and Its Vicissitudes etc.*, London, 1837, p. 1). "IT IS THE GREAT *MEDIAL* COMMODITY" (l.c., p. 2). It is the *GENERAL COMMODITY OF CONTRACTS*, OR THAT IN WHICH THE MAJORITY OF BARGAINS ABOUT PROPERTY, TO BE COMPLETED AT A FUTURE TIME, ARE MADE (p. 3). Finally, it is the "*MEASURE OF VALUE*.. NOW, AS ALL ARTICLES ARE EXCHANGED FOR MONEY, THE MUTUAL VALUES OF A AND B ARE AS NECESSARILY SHOWN BY THEIR VALUES IN MONEY OR THEIR PRICES... [VII-36] AS THE COMPARATIVE WEIGHTS OF SUBSTANCES ARE SEEN BY THEIR WEIGHTS IN RELATION TO WATER, OR THEIR SPECIFIC GRAVITIES" (p. 4).

"THE FIRST ESSENTIAL REQUISITE IS THAT MONEY SHOULD BE UNIFORM IN ITS PHYSICAL QUALITIES, SO THAT EQUAL QUANTITIES OF IT SHOULD BE SO FAR IDENTICAL AS TO PRESENT NO GROUND FOR PREFERRING ONE TO THE OTHER. For example, GRAIN and CATTLE are not suitable for this purpose, if only because EQUAL quantities OF GRAIN AND EQUAL NUMBERS OF CATTLE ARE NOT ALWAYS ALIKE IN THE QUALITIES FOR WHICH THEY ARE PREFERRED" (pp. 5-6).

"Hence *STEADINESS OF VALUE* IS DESIRABLE in money as the MEDIAL COMMODITY AND A COMMODITY OF CONTRACT; it is QUITE UNESSENTIAL TO IT IN ITS CAPACITY OF THE MEASURE OF VALUE" (p. 9). "MONEY MAY CONTINUALLY VARY IN VALUE, AND YET BE AS GOOD A MEASURE OF VALUE AS IF IT REMAINED PERFECTLY STATIONARY. SUPPOSE, for example, IT IS REDUCED IN VALUE and the reduction in value implies A REDUCTION OF VALUE IN RELATION TO SOME ONE OR MORE COMMODITIES; SUPPOSE IT IS REDUCED IN VALUE IN RELATION TO CORN AND LABOUR. BEFORE THE REDUCTION, A GUINEA WOULD PURCHASE THREE BUSHELS OF WHEAT, OR SIX DAYS' LABOUR; SUBSEQUENTLY, IT WOULD PURCHASE ONLY TWO BUSHELS OF WHEAT OR 4 DAYS' LABOUR. In both cases, THE RELATIONS OF WHEAT AND LABOUR TO MONEY BEING GIVEN, THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS CAN BE INFERRED; IN OTHER WORDS, WE CAN ASCERTAIN THAT A BUSHEL OF WHEAT IS WORTH 2 DAYS' LABOUR. THIS, WHICH IS ALL THAT MEASURING VALUE IMPLIES, IS AS READILY DONE AFTER THE REDUCTION AS BEFORE. THE EXCELLENCE OF ANY THING AS A MEASURE OF VALUE IS ALTOGETHER INDEPENDENT OF ITS OWN VARIABLENESS IN VALUE.... One confuses *INVARIABLENESS OF VALUE WITH INVARIABLENESS IN FINENESS AND WEIGHT*.... THE COMMAND OF *QUANTITY* BEING THAT WHICH CONSTITUTES VALUE, A *DEFINITE QUANTITY* OF A SUBSTANCE OF SOME UNIFORM COMMODITY MUST BE USED AS A UNIT TO MEASURE VALUE; AND IT IS THIS DEFINITE *QUANTITY* OF A SUBSTANCE OF UNIFORM QUALITY WHICH MUST BE INVARIABLE" (p[p. 9-]11).

All pecuniary contracts are concerned with the *quantity* of gold and silver to be loaned, not with their value (p. [100-] 103). "If a person insists that it is a contract for a definite *value*, HE IS BOUND TO SHOW IN RELATION TO WHAT COMMODITY: THUS, HE WOULD BE MAINTAINING THAT A PECUNIARY CONTRACT DOES NOT RELATE TO A QUANTITY OF MONEY AS EXPRESSED ON THE FACE OF IT, BUT TO A QUANTITY OF SOME COMMODITY OF *WHICH NO MENTION IS MADE*" (p. 104).

"It is not necessary to confine this to contracts where actual *money* is lent. It is true FOR ALL STIPULATIONS FOR THE FUTURE PAYMENTS OF MONEY, WHETHER FOR ARTICLES OF ANY KIND SOLD ON CREDIT, OR FOR SERVICES, OR AS RENT OF LAND OR HOUSES; they are PRECISELY IN THE SAME CONDITION AS PURE LOANS OF THE MEDIAL COMMODITY. IF A SELLS A TON OF IRON TO B FOR 10 POUNDS, AT 12 MONTHS' CREDIT, IT IS JUST THE SAME IN EFFECT AS LENDING THE TEN POUNDS FOR A YEAR, and the interests of both parties to the contract will BE AFFECTED in the same manner BY CHANGES IN THE CURRENCY" (pp. 110, 111).

The naming of specific and invariable fractional parts of the money substance which are to serve as the measuring unit is confused with fixing the *price* of money. This confusion is characteristic of, among others, Mr. Adam Müller, the highfalutin Romantic political economist. He says, among other things:

> "Everybody realises how important it is to *determine the price of coins* correctly, especially in a country like England, where the government with generous liberality coins money gratuitously" (i. e. at the expense of the country and to the profit of the Bank of England BULLION DEALERS), "where no seigniorage is levied, etc., and consequently if the government were to fix the mint price considerably above the market price, if instead of paying £3 17s. 10 1/2 d. for an ounce of gold as at present, it fixed the mint price of an ounce of gold at £3 19s., all gold would flow into the mint and the silver obtained there would be exchanged for the cheaper gold on the market and, as a result, again brought to the mint, thus throwing the monetary system into disorder" (*Die Elemente der Staatskunst*, Part II, Berlin, 1809, pp. 280, 281).

So Mr. Müller is unaware of the fact that pence and shilling here are merely names for fractional parts of a gold coin. Because pieces of silver and copper—which, *notabene*, are not stamped according to the ratio of silver and copper to gold, but are issued merely as tokens representing portions of gold of the same name, and hence have only to be taken in payments in very small amounts—circulate under the names "shillings" and "pence", he imagines that an ounce of gold is divided into pieces of gold, silver and copper (hence a triple STANDARD OF VALUE). But a few lines further, he recalls that in England there is not even a double standard, still less a triple one. Mr. Müller's hazy notions of "common" economic relations is the real foundation of his "higher" conception.

From the general law that the total price of the commodities in circulation determines the volume of the circulating medium, assuming a definite velocity of circulation, it follows that, at a definite stage in the growth of values thrown into circulation, the more precious metal—the metal of greater specific value, i. e., which contains more labour time in a smaller quantity of itself—supersedes the less precious metal as the dominant means of circulation. Hence, copper, silver, gold, one ousts the other as the dominant means of circulation. The same aggregate sum of prices can, e. g., be circulated with 14 times less gold coins than silver coins. The dominance of copper coins, and still more of iron coins, as the means of circulation implies a low level of circulation. In just the same way, the more powerful but more valuable means of transport and communication replace the less valuable, as the

volume of commodities in circulation and of circulation in general increases.

On the other hand, the petty retail trade of everyday life, of course, requires acts of exchange which are on a diminutive scale—the smaller the poorer the country and the lower the level of circulation in general are. It is in this retail trade, in which very small quantities of commodities, and hence very small values, are circulated, that money appears in the strictest sense of the word only as an evanescent means of circulation and is not fixed as realised price. To serve the needs of this trade a subsidiary means of circulation is therefore introduced which is merely the token of the fractional parts of the dominant means of circulation. They are silver and copper chips which are, consequently, not coined according to the proportion of the value of their substance to the value of, e. g., gold. Here money appears merely as a token, even though itself still in a relatively valuable substance. Gold, e. g., would have to be divided into exceedingly small fractions to correspond as an equivalent to the division of commodities which is required by this retail trade.

Therefore, these subsidiary means of circulation need, under law, to be taken in payment only in small amounts; so they can never assert themselves as the realisation of price. [VII-37] E. g., in England, copper to the amount of 6d., and silver to the amount of 20s. The higher the degree of development of circulation in general, and the greater the sum of prices of the commodities entering into circulation, the more is the WHOLESALE exchange of commodities separated from their retail exchange, and the more do they require different kinds of coin for circulation. The velocity of circulation of the chips is inversely related to the magnitude of their value.

"In the EARLY STAGE OF SOCIETY, WHEN NATIONS ARE POOR, AND THEIR PAYMENTS TRIFLING, COPPER HAS FREQUENTLY BEEN KNOWN TO ANSWER ALL THE PURPOSES OF CURRENCY; and IT IS COINED INTO PIECES OF VERY LOW DENOMINATIONS IN ORDER TO FACILITATE THE INCONSIDERABLE EXCHANGES WHICH THEN TAKE PLACE. Thus in the EARLY AGE of the ROMAN REPUBLIC and Scotland" (David Buchanan, *Observations on the Subjects Treated of in Dr. Smith's Inquiry etc.*, Edinburgh, 1814, p. 3).

"THE GENERAL WEALTH OF A COUNTRY IS VERY ACCURATELY MEASURED BY THE NATURE OF ITS PAYMENTS AND THE STATE OF ITS COIN; AND THE DECIDED PREVALENCE OF A COARSE METAL IN ITS CURRENCY, JOINED TO THE USE OF COINS OF VERY LOW DENOMINATIONS, MARKS A RUDE STATE OF SOCIETY" (p. 4). "Later the BUSINESS of the CURRENCY divides itself into 2 DISTINCT DEPARTMENTS: THE DUTY OF EFFECTING THE MAIN PAYMENTS being reserved for the MORE PRECIOUS METALS, while the INFERIOR METALS are RETAINED FOR MORE TRIVIAL EXCHANGES, and are thus merely SUBSERVIENT TO THE MAIN CURRENCY. Between the first INTRODUCTION of a precious metal into the CURRENCY of a country, and its exclusive USE in the MAIN PAYMENTS, there is

a wide interval; and the PAYMENTS of the RETAIL TRADE must, in the meantime, have become so CONSIDERABLE, in consequence of the INCREASE OF WEALTH, that they COULD, in part at least, BE CONVENIENTLY MANAGED BY THE NEW and MORE VALUABLE COIN; SINCE NO COIN CAN BE USED FOR THE MAIN PAYMENTS" (this is wrong, as is seen in the case of banknotes) "WHICH IS NOT SUITED, at the same time, TO THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE RETAIL TRADE, because every TRADE ultimately derives THE RETURN OF ITS CAPITAL from the CONSUMER....

On the Continent silver has held its ground everywhere in the MAIN PAYMENTS.... In Britain, the quantity of silver in circulation does not exceed what is necessary for the SMALLER PAYMENTS.... In point of fact, FEW PAYMENTS to the amount of 20s. are made in silver. Before the REIGN OF William III, SILVER WAS BROUGHT IN LARGE BAGS TO THE TREASURY IN PAYMENT OF THE NATIONAL REVENUE. At this period the great change took place.... The exclusive INTRODUCTION of gold into the MAIN PAYMENTS OF ENGLAND WAS A CLEAR PROOF that *the RETURNS of the RETAIL TRADE were by this time chiefly made in gold*; this possible without a SINGLE PAYMENT ever EXCEEDING or even EQUALLING ANY OF THE GOLD COINS; BECAUSE, IN THE GENERAL ABUNDANCE OF GOLD, AND SCARCITY OF SILVER, GOLD COINS would naturally be OFFERED FOR SMALL SUMS and A BALANCE OF SILVER DEMANDED IN RETURN; as a result of which gold, BY THUS ASSISTING in the RETAIL TRADE, and ECONOMISING THE USE OF SILVER, even for the SMALL PAYMENTS, WOULD PREVENT ITS *ACCUMULATION* BY THE RETAIL TRADER.... The substitution of gold for silver in the MAIN PAYMENTS in England" (1695) "coincided with the substitution of silver for copper in Sweden....

"*It is clear that the COIN USED FOR THE LARGER PAYMENTS CAN ONLY PASS CURRENT AT ITS INTRINSIC WORTH....* But intrinsic worth *is not necessary to a SUBSIDIARY CURRENCY....* In Rome, as long as COPPER was the PREVAILING COIN, it was CURRENT ONLY FOR ITS INTRINSIC VALUE.... Silver was introduced 5 years before the commencement of the First Punic War, and superseded copper in the main payments only gradually.... Gold was introduced 62 years after silver; BUT IT NEVER SEEMS TO HAVE EXCLUDED SILVER FROM THE MAIN PAYMENTS.... In India, copper is not a SUBSIDIARY CURRENCY; therefore, passes current for its INTRINSIC WORTH. The RUPEE, A SILVER COIN of 2s. 3d., is the MONEY OF ACCOUNT; IN RELATION to which, the MOHOUR, A GOLD COIN, and the PICE, A COPPER COIN, ARE ALLOWED TO FIND THEIR VALUE IN THE MARKET; the NUMBER OF PICE CURRENTLY EXCHANGED FOR A RUPEE constantly VARIES with the weight and value of the COIN; while here 24 HALFPENCE always=1s. without regard to their weight. In India, the RETAIL DEALER must still accept CONSIDERABLE QUANTITIES OF COPPER in return for his GOODS; and he CANNOT AFFORD TO TAKE IT, therefore, BUT for its intrinsic worth. In the CURRENCIES of Europe, copper PASSES for whatever value is fixed on it, without examination either of its weight or FINENESS" (pp. 4-18).

"In ENGLAND, an excess of copper coin was issued in 1798, BY PRIVATE TRADERS; and although COPPER is LEGAL PAYMENT for no more than 6d., the surplus found its way to the RETAIL TRADERS, who sought to put it back into circulation; but it ultimately returned to them. When this CURRENCY was stopped, COPPER had accumulated with the RETAIL TRADERS, in sums of £20, £30 and even £50, which they were finally obliged to dispose of for their INTRINSIC worth" (p. 31).

In the SUBSIDIARY CURRENCY the means of circulation as such, as a mere evanescent medium, assumes a special existence, alongside the means of circulation which simultaneously is an equivalent, realises prices, and is accumulated as independent value. Here, therefore, purely a token. Hence it can only be issued in the

quantity that is absolutely necessary for the petty RETAIL TRADE, and consequently it can never be accumulated. That quantity must be determined by the aggregate of the prices it circulates divided by its velocity. Since the amount of the circulating medium, of a certain value, is determined by the prices, it follows that if a greater quantity were artificially thrown into circulation than that required by circulation itself, and could not flow off (which is not the case here, because as a means of circulation it is above its INTRINSIC WORTH), it would be depreciated—not because the quantity determines the prices, but because the prices determine the quantity, so that only a definite quantity of it, to a definite value, can remain in circulation.

Hence, if there are no openings through which circulation can throw out the excessive quantity, if the circulating medium cannot change from its form as means of circulation into that of value-for-itself, the value of the means of circulation must fall. But unless there are artificial hindrances, prohibition of the melting-down of coin, of its export, etc., this can only take place if the circulating medium is merely a token, does not itself possess a real value which corresponds to its nominal value, and hence cannot pass over from the form of circulating medium into that of commodity in general, divesting itself of the stamp it bears; if it is imprisoned in its existence as coin.

On the other hand, it follows that the token, the money chip, can circulate at the nominal value of the money which it represents—without in fact possessing any value of its own—only in so far as it represents the means of circulation in the quantity in which that means would have circulated itself. But the condition then is, simultaneously, that it itself either is available only in so small a quantity that it circulates only in the subsidiary form, i.e. never ceases for a moment to be means of circulation (in which situation it constantly serves partly to effect the exchange of small quantities of commodities, and partly merely for the exchange of the real means of circulation), and hence can never be accumulated; or else it must not possess any value at all, so that its nominal value can never be compared with its intrinsic value. In the latter case it is posited as a mere *token,* which indicates a value as existing outside it. In the former case, the occasion never arises for a comparison to be made between its intrinsic value and its nominal value.

[VII-38] That is why debasements of money become manifest immediately, while a total abolition of its value has no negative effect. Otherwise it would look paradoxical that money could be

replaced with valueless paper, while the least diminution of its metallic content depreciates it.

In general, there is a contradiction in the dual determination of money in circulation, i.e. as mere means of circulation, in which role it is an evanescent mediator; and simultaneously as the realisation of prices, in which form it is accumulated and converted into its third determination as money. As means of circulation, it is worn out, and therefore does not comprise the metallic content which makes it a fixed quantity of objectified labour. Hence its correspondence to its value is always more or less illusory. Here an example should be given.

It is important, already at this point in the chapter on money, to introduce the determination of quantity, but deduced in a way that is the very opposite to that in the usual doctrine. Money can be replaced, because its quantity is determined by the prices which it circulates. To the extent that it itself has value—as in the case of the subsidiary means of circulation—its quantity must be so determined that it can never be accumulated as an equivalent and in fact always figures only as an auxiliary wheel of the actual means of circulation. But if it is to replace the latter itself, it must have no value at all, i.e. its value must exist outside it. The VARIATIONS in circulation are determined by the AMOUNT and NUMBER OF TRANSACTIONS ([*The*] *Econ*[*omist*][a]). The circulation may increase because of an increase in the AMOUNT of commodities, prices remaining the same; because of a rise in prices, the AMOUNT of commodities remaining the same; because of a combination of the two factors.

The proposition that the prices regulate the QUANTITY OF CURRENCY and not vice versa, or, in other words, THAT TRADE REGULATES CURRENCY (the quantity of the means of circulation), AND CURRENCY DOES NOT REGULATE TRADE, implies, OF COURSE, AS OUR DEDUCTION HAS SHOWN, THAT PRICE IS ONLY VALUE TRANSLATED INTO ANOTHER LANGUAGE. Value, more specifically value determined by labour time, is the presupposition. Hence it is clear that this law is not equally applicable to price FLUCTUATIONS at all epochs; e.g., to those in the ancient world, e.g. in Rome, where the circulating medium does not itself spring from circulation, from EXCHANGE, but originates from looting, plunder, etc.

"No country can consistently have more than one STANDARD; MORE THAN ONE STANDARD FOR THE *MEASURE OF VALUE;* for this STANDARD must be UNIFORM and UNCHANGING. No article has a uniform and unchanging value in relation to

[a] "On the Use and Functions of Bank Notes.—Circulation.—The Bank Act of 1844", *The Economist*, No. 226, 25 December 1847.—*Ed.*

another; IT ONLY HAS SUCH WITH ITSELF. One piece of gold is always of the same value as another of exactly the same fineness, the same weight and in the same place; BUT THIS CANNOT BE SAID OF GOLD *AND* ANY OTHER ARTICLE, e.g. silver" ([*The*] *Econ*[*omist*], Vol. I, [No. 37, 11 May 1844,] p. 771). "The POUND is nothing but A DENOMINATION IN ACCOUNT, WHICH HAS REFERENCE TO A GIVEN and FIXED QUANTITY OF GOLD OF STANDARD QUALITY" (ibid.). "To speak OF MAKING an ounce of gold worth £5 instead of £3 17s. 10 1/2d. is merely to say that it ought henceforth to be minted into 5 SOVEREIGNS instead of into 3 429/480 SOVEREIGNS. We would not thereby alter the *value of gold,* but merely the *weight* and consequently the *value of the pound* or *SOVEREIGN.* An ounce of gold would continue to have the same value relative to wheat and all other commodities; but since a pound, though bearing the same name as before, would represent a smaller part of an ounce of gold, it would represent a CORRESPONDINGLY less quantity of wheat and other commodities. Just exactly as if we were to say that a *quarter of wheat* should *no longer* be divided *into 8, but into 12 BUSHELS;* we could not thereby alter the value of wheat but [only] diminish the QUANTITY contained in a BUSHEL and consequently diminish its value" (l.c., p. 772).

"Whatever temporary or permanent CHANGE may take place [in the value of gold], its *price* will always be expressed in the same AMOUNT OF MONEY: one ounce of gold will continue to be £3 17s. 10 1/2d. OF OUR MONEY. The change in its value is indicated by the greater or lesser quantity of other commodities which it can buy" (l.c., [*The Economist,* No. 42, 15 June 1844,] p. 890).

The *ideal bar*[a] may be compared, e.g., with the *ideal milrea* in Brazil (similarly with the POUND in England at the time of the depreciation of bank notes, etc.). What is fixed here is the name *milrea;* what fluctuates is the quantity of gold or silver which it expresses.

In Buenos Aires, the CURRENCY is an INCONVERTIBLE paper money (paper dollars); this dollar was originally=4s. 6d., now about 3 1/4d., and HAS BEEN AS LOW AS 1 1/2d. A yard of CLOTH was previously worth 2 dollars, now *nominally* 28 dollars in consequence of the depreciation of the paper [*The Economist,* No. 57, 28 September 1844, p. 1253].

"In Scotland, THE *MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE*", not to be confused with the STANDARD OF VALUE, "of the AMOUNT OF £1 and UPWARDS, MAY BE SAID TO BE EXCLUSIVELY PAPER, and GOLD DOES NOT CIRCULATE AT ALL; YET GOLD IS AS MUCH THE STANDARD OF VALUE AS IF NOTHING ELSE CIRCULATED, BECAUSE THE PAPER IS CONVERTIBLE INTO THE *SAME FIXED QUANTITY* OF THAT METAL; AND IT CIRCULATES ONLY ON THE FAITH OF BEING SO CONVERTIBLE" ([*The Economist,* No. 58, 5 October 1844,] p. 1275).

"GUINEAS are *HOARDED* IN TIMES OF DISTRUST" (Thornton, [*An Enquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Paper Credit of Great Britain,* London, 1802,] p. 48).

The *HOARDING PRINCIPLE,* in which money functions as independent value, is necessary as *a moment*—leaving aside the striking forms in which it appears—of exchange based on money circulation. For, as A. Smith says,[b] besides one's own commodity everyone needs

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 80 and 128.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Vol. I, London, 1835, p. 85.—*Ed.*

the MEDIAL QUANTITY, a definite proportion, of the "general commodity".

"*THE MAN IN TRADE HAS PROPERTY IN TRADE*" (l.c. [Thornton], p. 21).//

"EQUAL CAPITALS, or, in other words, EQUAL QUANTITIES OF ACCUMULATED LABOUR, WILL OFTEN PUT IN MOTION DIFFERENT QUANTITIES OF IMMEDIATE LABOUR; but this changes nothing in substance" (Torrens, *An Essay on the Production of Wealth*, London, 1821, pp. 29-30). "In the EARLY PERIOD OF SOCIETY, it is the TOTAL QUANTITY OF LABOUR, ACCUMULATED and IMMEDIATE, EXPENDED ON PRODUCTION, that *determines the relative value of commodities.* But as soon as STOCK has ACCUMULATED, and there emerges a class of capitalists distinct from that of labourers, WHEN THE PERSON WHO UNDERTAKES ANY BRANCH OF INDUSTRY DOES NOT PERFORM HIS OWN WORK, BUT ADVANCES SUBSISTENCE and MATERIALS TO OTHERS, THEN IT IS THE AMOUNT OF CAPITAL, OR THE QUANTITY OF ACCUMULATED LABOUR EXPENDED IN PRODUCTION, that determines the EXCHANGEABLE POWER OF COMMODITIES" (pp. 33-34). "As long as 2 capitals are equal, their products are of *equal value,* HOWEVER WE MAY VARY THE QUANTITY OF IMMEDIATE LABOUR WHICH THEY PUT IN MOTION, OR WHICH THEIR PRODUCTS MAY REQUIRE. If they are unequal, their PRODUCTS are OF UNEQUAL VALUE, THOUGH THE TOTAL QUANTITY OF LABOUR EXPENDED UPON EACH SHOULD BE PRECISELY EQUAL" (p. 39). "Therefore after the separation of CAPITALISTS and LABOURERS, it is the AMOUNT OF CAPITAL, the QUANTITY OF ACCUMULATED LABOUR, and not, as before this separation, the SUM OF ACCUMULATED *and* IMMEDIATE LABOUR, EXPENDED ON PRODUCTION, that determines the exchange value" (l.c., [pp. 39-40]).

Mr. Torrens' confused approach is correct compared to the ABSTRACT WAY of the RICARDIANS. In itself, fundamentally wrong. Firstly, the determination of value by pure labour time takes place only on the basis of production [VII-39] of capital, hence on that of the separation of the 2 classes. The equalisation of *prices* IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE SAME AVERAGE RATE OF PROFIT—(and EVEN this is to be taken *cum grano salis*[a])—has *nothing* to do with the determination of value, but rather *presupposes* value. The passage is important for showing the confusion of the RICARDIANS.

The rate of surplus value as profit is determined (1) by the volume of surplus value itself; (2) by the ratio of living labour to ACCUMULATED labour (the ratio of the CAPITAL EXPENDED in wages TO THE CAPITAL EMPLOYED AS SUCH). The two factors which determine (1) and (2) must be examined specially. E.g., the law of rent pertains to (1). For the time being, necessary labour as such is assumed, i.e. that the worker always receives only the necessary minimum of wages. This assumption is, of course, necessary in order to establish the laws of profit, to the extent that they are not determined by the rise and fall of wages or by the influence of landed property. All the *solid* assumptions themselves become

[a] With a grain of salt.—*Ed.*

fluid in the course of the analysis. But it is only by fixing them at the outset that one can undertake the analysis WITHOUT CONFOUNDING EVERYTHING. BESIDES, IT IS PRACTICALLY SURE, THAT, FOR INSTANCE, HOWEVER THE STANDARD OF NECESSARY LABOUR MAY DIFFER AT VARIOUS EPOCHS AND IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES, OR HOW[ever] MUCH, IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE CHANGING PRICES OF RAW PRODUCE, ITS RATIO, OR IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE DEMAND AND SUPPLY OF LABOUR ITS AMOUNT AND RATIO MAY CHANGE, AT ANY GIVEN EPOCH THE STANDARD IS TO BE CONSIDERED AND ACTED UPON AS A FIXED ONE BY CAPITAL. TO CONSIDER THOSE CHANGES THEMSELVES BELONGS ALTOGETHER TO THE CHAPTER TREATING OF WAGES-LABOUR.

"EXCHANGEABLE VALUE IS DETERMINED, NOT BY THE ABSOLUTE, BUT BY THE RELATIVE COST OF PRODUCTION. IF THE COST OF PRODUCING GOLD REMAINED THE SAME, WHILE THE COST OF PRODUCING ALL OTHER THINGS SHOULD BE DOUBLED, THEN WOULD GOLD HAVE A LESS POWER OF PURCHASING ALL OTHER THINGS THAN BEFORE; AND ITS EXCHANGEABLE VALUE WOULD FALL $^1/_2$; and this DIMINUTION in its exchange value would be precisely the same, IN EFFECT, as if the COST OF PRODUCING ALL OTHER THINGS REMAINED UNALTERED, WHILE THAT OF PRODUCING GOLD HAD BEEN REDUCED $^1/_2$" (Torrens, l.c., pp. 56-57).

This is important for prices, but not at all for the determination of value; a mere tautology. To say that the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labour which it contains is to say that it exchanges for the same quantity of labour embodied in any other form of use value. Hence it is clear that, if the labour time necessary for the production of object *a* DOUBLES, only $^1/_2$ of it is now=to its former equivalent *b*. Since equivalence is determined by the equality of labour time or of the quantity of labour, difference in value is OF COURSE determined by inequality of these, or labour time is the measure of value.

"In 1826 the VARIOUS MACHINERY USED IN MANUFACTURING COTTON enabled 1 man TO PERFORM THE WORK OF 150. Now assuming that only 280,000 men are employed in it, half a century ago 42,000,000 men would have had to be in it" (Hodgskin, [*Popular Political Economy*, London, 1827,] p. 72).

"THE RELATIVE VALUE OF THE PRECIOUS METALS TO OTHER COMMODITIES DETERMINES HOW MUCH OF THEM MUST BE GIVEN FOR OTHER THINGS; AND THE NUMBER OF SALES TO BE MADE, WITHIN A GIVEN PERIOD, DETERMINES, AS FAR AS MONEY IS THE INSTRUMENT FOR EFFECTING SALES, THE QUANTITY OF MONEY REQUIRED" (l.c., p. 188).

"ABUNDANT REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE PRACTICE OF COINING ORIGINATED WITH INDIVIDUALS and was CARRIED ON BY THEM BEFORE IT WAS SEIZED ON AND MONOPOLISED BY GOVERNMENTS. Such was for a LONG time the practice in RUSSIA" (see Storch[a]) (l.c., p. 195, note).

[a] H. Storch, *Cours d'économie politique*, Vol. II, p. 128.—*Ed.*

Hodgskin takes a different view from that of the romantic Müller[a]:

"THE MINT STAMPS ONLY WHAT INDIVIDUALS BRING, MOST INJUDICIOUSLY CHARGING THEM NOTHING FOR THE LABOUR OF COINING; AND TAXING THE NATION FOR THE BENEFIT OF THOSE WHO DEAL IN MONEY" (*Popular Political Economy, etc.*, London, 1827, p. 194).

[MACHINERY AND PROFIT]

After all these digressions on money—and we shall have occasionally to take up the subject again before ENDING THIS CHAPTER—we return to the *point de départ* (see. p. 25[b]).

Here is an example of how in manufacturing industry, too, the improvement of machinery, and the increase in productive power effected by it, creates (relatively) *raw material*, rather than necessitating an absolute increase in it:

"The *FACTORY SYSTEM* in the LINEN TRADE is very new. Prior to 1828, the great bulk of the linen yarn in Ireland and England was spun BY HAND. About that time, FLAX-SPINNING MACHINERY was so much improved, particularly by the perseverance of Mr. Peter Fairbairn of Leeds, that it came into very GENERAL USE. From that time SPINNING MILLS very extensively erected at Belfast and other parts of the North of Ireland, as well as in DIFFERENT PARTS in Yorkshire, Lancashire, and in Scotland, for the spinning of fine yarns, and in the course of a few years hand spinning was abandoned. FINE TOW YARN is now manufactured from what was 20 years ago thrown away as refuse" ([*The Economist*,] No. 366, 31 August 1850, [p. 954]).

Whenever machinery is employed—let us first consider the CASE in its immediate form, i.e. that a capitalist, instead of expending a part of his capital on immediate labour, puts it into machinery—a part of capital is taken away from the variable and self-multiplying portion of capital, i.e. from the portion which exchanges with living labour, in order to be added to the constant part, whose value is merely reproduced or is maintained in the product. Yet this is done TO MAKE THE REMAINING PORTION MORE PRODUCTIVE.

*First case:* The *value of the machinery is equal to the value of the labour capacity which it replaces.* In this case, the newly produced value would diminish, not increase, if the surplus time worked by the remaining labour capacity did not increase in the same proportion as its amount diminished. If 50 of 100 workers are dismissed and replaced by machinery, the remaining 50 must produce as much surplus labour time as did the 100 previously employed. If the 100 worked a total of 1,200 hours a day, of which 200 hours was surplus labour time, the same amount of

[a] See this volume, p. 190.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 158-61.—*Ed.*

surplus labour time must now be produced by the 50; i.e. 4 hours daily [by each of them], whereas the former only produced 2. In this case, the surplus labour time remains 50×4=200, the same as before (100×2=200), although the absolute labour time has diminished. Since capital is concerned only with the production of surplus labour, nothing changes for it in this CASE. The volume of raw material worked up would remain the same, and hence the outlay on it; the outlay on the instrument of labour would increase, and that on labour decline. The value of the total product would be the same, because it would equal the same sum of objectified and surplus labour time.

Such a CASE would hold no incentive for capital at all. What it gained in surplus labour time on the one hand, it would lose in that part of capital which would enter into production as objectified labour, i.e. as invariable value. Yet we must bear in mind that the machinery replaces less efficient instruments of production, which possessed a certain value, i.e. had been obtained in exchange for a certain sum of money. In the case of the capitalist who starts a new business, if not in that of the one already established in business, the part of the capital which was employed in instruments of lower productivity does not enter into the cost of the machinery.

[VII-40] Hence if, e.g., with the introduction of machinery to the value of £1,200 (50 labour capacities) an earlier outlay of, say, £240 on instruments of production falls away, the extra outlay of capital would amount to only £960, the price of 40 workers for a year. If in this case the remaining 50 workers produce between them exactly as much surplus labour as the 100 did before, so 200 hours of surplus labour are now produced with a capital of 2,160, as compared with the previous capital of 2,400. The number of workers has been halved; absolute surplus labour has remained the same, 200 hours of labour as before; the capital laid out in the material of labour has also remained the same; but the ratio of surplus labour to the invariable part of capital has increased absolutely.[a]

Since the capital laid out in raw material has remained the same, and that laid out in machinery has increased, but not in the same proportion by which the capital laid out in labour has diminished, it means that *the total outlay of capital has decreased*; surplus labour has remained the same, i.e. it has increased relative to capital, and not merely in the proportion by which surplus labour time must

[a] Here Marx crossed out an unfinished calculation of the relation between the volume of surplus labour and the constant and variable parts of capital.—*Ed.*

increase to remain the same with half as many workers, but to a greater extent, i.e., by the extent to which the [outlay] on the former means of production is deducted from the costs of the new ones.

The introduction of machinery—or, more generally, an increase in productive power which makes objectified labour the substratum of this productive power itself, and therefore involves costs; when, therefore, part of the capital previously laid out on labour is laid out as a component of the capital that enters into the production process as lasting value—the introduction of machinery can only take place if the proportion of surplus labour time not merely remains the same, and hence increases in relation to the living labour employed, but increases in a greater proportion than the ratio of the value of the machinery to the value of the workers displaced.

This may occur either because the entire outlay made for the previous instrument of production must be deducted, in which case *the total sum of the capital laid out diminishes,* and although the ratio of the total sum of labour employed to the constant part of capital has declined, the surplus labour time has remained the same, and has, therefore, increased not merely in relation to the capital expended on labour, i.e., in relation to necessary labour time, but in relation to the total capital, the total value of the capital, because this value has diminished.

Or it may be that the value of the machinery is the same as that previously laid out on the living labour which has now become superfluous, but the ratio of surplus labour yielded by the part of capital still employed has increased, so that the 50 workers perform not merely as much surplus labour as the 100 did previously, but more. Suppose, e.g., that each now performs $4\,^1/_4$ hours [surplus labour] instead of 4. In this case, however, a larger part of capital is required for raw material, etc., in short, a larger total capital is needed.

Suppose that a capitalist who previously employed 100 workers at an annual cost of £2,400, discharges 50 and substitutes for them a machine costing £1,200. This machine—although it costs him as much as the 50 workers did before—is the product of fewer workers, because he pays to the capitalist from whom he buys it not only the necessary labour but the surplus labour, too. Or, if he had his own men make the machine, he could employ a smaller number of workers and have them perform only the necessary labour.

The introduction of machinery, therefore, leads to an increase

in surplus labour and an absolute decline in necessary labour time. It may be accompanied by either an absolute decrease or an increase in the capital employed.

*Surplus value* as posited by capital itself, and measured by its numerical ratio to the total value of the capital, is *profit.* Living labour as appropriated and absorbed by capital appears as capital's own life-power, its self-reproducing power, modified, moreover, by the motion of capital itself, circulation, and the time required for that motion, circulation time. Only thus is capital posited as self-perpetuating and self-multiplying value, by its being distinguished as preposited value from itself as posited value.

Since capital enters into production wholly, and as capital its different components are distinct from one another only in form, being sums of value evenly, the positing of value appears to be evenly immanent to them. Moreover, since the part of capital which is exchanged for labour operates productively only *in so far as the other parts of capital are posited too*—and since the ratio of this productivity depends on the value magnitude, etc., and the different determinations of these components relative to each other (as fixed capital,[3] etc.), so the positing of surplus value, of profit, appears to be evenly determined by all parts of capital. Since, on the one hand, the conditions of labour are posited as objective components of capital, and, on the other, labour itself is posited as an activity incorporated in it, the entire labour process appears as the process of capital itself, and the positing of surplus value as its product, whose magnitude, therefore, is not measured by the surplus labour which capital forces labour to perform, but appears as [deriving from] the increased productivity which capital imparts to labour.

The real product of capital is profit. To that extent, capital is now posited as the source of wealth. But in so far as it produces use values, these are *determined by value:* "value constitutes the product" (Say[a]). Consequently, it produces for consumption. In so far as it is perpetuated by the constant renewal of labour, it appears as the permanent value presupposed for production, which depends upon its being maintained. In so far as it is constantly exchanged for new labour, it appears as the wages fund.

Obviously, the worker cannot produce without the objective

[a] *Cours complet d'économie politique pratique,* Vol. I, Brussels, 1836, p. 243. Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

conditions of labour. [VII-41] These are now separated from him in the form of capital and independently confront him. He can relate himself to them as conditions of labour only in so far as his labour itself has previously been appropriated by capital. From the standpoint of capital, the objective conditions of labour do not appear as necessary for the worker. What is essential to it is that they should *exist independently over against him, that he should be separated from them, that they should be owned by the capitalist,* and that this separation could only be abolished by his giving up his productive power to capital, in return for which capital should maintain him as abstract labour capacity, i.e., precisely as a mere capacity to reproduce wealth as a force dominating that capacity and confronting it in the form of capital.

Hence all parts of capital yield profit simultaneously, both the circulating part (laid out in wages and raw material, etc.) and that laid out in fixed capital. Capital can now reproduce itself either in the form of circulating capital or in that of fixed capital. Since, as we saw above, in our analysis of circulation,[a] the value of capital returns in different forms, depending upon whether it is preposited in either the one or the other form, and since, from the standpoint of capital which produces profit, it is not merely value which returns but the value of capital and profit, value as value itself and as self-valorising value, capital is obviously posited in either of these forms as, in different ways, profit-bearing.

The circulating capital enters into circulation wholly, with its use value serving as the bearer of its exchange value, and is thus exchanged for money. I.e., therefore, it is sold, sold entirely, although each time only a part of it enters into circulation. But in a single turnover it is entirely passed over into consumption as a product (whether this consumption is individual or productive), and is fully reproduced as value. This value includes the surplus value, which now appears as profit. Circulating capital is alienated as use value in order to be realised as exchange value. So this is *selling at a profit.*

By contrast, we have seen that the fixed capital only returns piecemeal, in the course of a number of years, a number of cycles of the circulating capital, and it does so only in the degree in which it is consumed (we saw this happen in the immediate act of production), enters as exchange value into circulation and returns as such value from it.[b] However, both the entry of exchange value into circulation and its return from it are now posited as the entry

[a] See this volume, pp. 102-28.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 109-10, 117-20.—*Ed.*

and return not merely of the value of capital, but simultaneously of profit as well, so that a fractional part of profit corresponds to the fractional part of capital.

"The capitalist expects an equal profit on all parts of the capital which he advances" (Malthus, *Principles of Political Economy*, 2nd ed., London, 1836, p. 268).

"WHERE WEALTH AND VALUE ARE PERHAPS THE MOST NEARLY CONNECTED, IS IN THE NECESSITY OF THE LATTER TO THE PRODUCTION OF THE FORMER" (ibid., p. 301).

//"The *FIXED CAPITAL* (IN COTTON FACTORIES) usually=4:1 to the circulating; so that if a MANUFACTURER has £50,000, he will expend £40,000 in erecting his MILL, and FILLING IT WITH MACHINERY, and devote only £10,000 TO THE PURCHASE OF RAW MATERIAL (COTTON, COALS, etc.) and the PAYMENT OF WAGES" (Nassau W. Senior, *Letters on the Factory Act etc.*, [London] 1837, pp. 11-12).

"THE FIXED CAPITAL IS SUBJECT TO INCESSANT DETERIORATION, not only from WEAR AND TEAR, but also from CONSTANT MECHANICAL IMPROVEMENTS..." (ibid.).

"Under the present law, NO MILL in which PERSONS under 18 years of age are employed CAN BE WORKED MORE THAN 11 $^1/_2$ HOURS a DAY, i.e. 12 HOURS for 5 days and 9 on Saturday. Now, the following analysis will show THAT IN A MILL SO WORKED, THE WHOLE *NET PROFIT* IS DERIVED FROM THE *LAST HOUR*. Suppose a MANUFACTURER to invest £100,000—£80,000 IN HIS MILL AND MACHINERY, and £20,000 IN RAW MATERIAL and WAGES. The ANNUAL RETURN of that MILL, SUPPOSING THE CAPITAL TO BE TURNED ONCE A YEAR, AND GROSS PROFITS TO BE 15%, ought to be GOODS WORTH £115,000, PRODUCED BY THE CONSTANT CONVERSION AND RECONVERSION OF THE £20,000 CIRCULATING CAPITAL, FROM MONEY INTO GOODS AND FROM GOODS INTO MONEY" (IN FACT, the CONVERSION and RECONVERSION of surplus labour first into commodity and then again into necessary labour, etc.) "IN PERIODS OF RATHER MORE THAN 2 MONTHS. Of these £115,000 EACH OF THE 23 HALF HOURS OF WORK PRODUCES $^5/_{115}$, or $^1/_{23}$. Of the $^{23}/_{23}$ CONSTITUTING THE WHOLE £115,000, $^{20}/_{23}$, i.e., £100,000 out of the 115,000 simply replace the capital; $^1/_{23}$ (or 5,000 OUT OF THE 115,000), MAKES UP FOR THE DETERIORATION of the MILL and MACHINERY. The REMAINING $^2/_{23}$, i.e. the LAST 2 OF THE 23 HALF HOURS OF EVERY DAY, PRODUCE THE NET PROFIT OF 10%. If therefore (PRICES REMAINING THE SAME) the FACTORY could be kept AT WORK 13 hours instead of 11 $^1/_2$, BY AN ADDITION OF ABOUT £2,600 TO THE CIRCULATING CAPITAL, THE NET PROFIT WOULD BE MORE THAN DOUBLED."

(I.e., the 2,600 would be employed without using proportionately more fixed capital and without any payment *of labour* AT ALL. The GROSS and NET PROFIT is=to the material which is worked up *gratis* for the capitalist, and then an extra hour is of course=to 100%, if surplus labour, as Mr. Shit wrongly assumes, is only=to $^1/_{12}$ of the day, or only $^2/_{23}$, as Senior says.)

"On the other hand, if the hours of working were reduced by 1 hour per DAY (PRICES REMAINING THE SAME), *NET* PROFIT WOULD BE DESTROYED; if they were reduced by 1 $^1/_2$ hours, GROSS PROFIT would be destroyed too. The CIRCULATING CAPITAL WOULD BE REPLACED, BUT THERE WOULD BE NO FUND TO COMPENSATE THE PROGRESSIVE DETERIORATION OF THE FIXED CAPITAL" ([ibid.,] pp. 12-13).

(Incorrect as Mr. Senior's data are, the example he gives is very important for our theory.)

"The ratio of FIXED to CIRCULATING CAPITAL grows constantly owing to 2 causes: (1) the TENDENCY OF MECHANICAL IMPROVEMENT TO THROW ON MACHINERY MORE AND MORE OF THE WORK OF PRODUCTION; (2) the IMPROVEMENT of the MEANS OF TRANSPORT, and the CONSEQUENT DIMINUTION OF THE STOCK OF RAW MATERIAL IN THE MANUFACTURER'S HANDS WAITING FOR USE. FORMERLY, WHEN COALS AND COTTON CAME BY WATER, THE UNCERTAINTY AND IRREGULARITY OF SUPPLY FORCED HIM TO KEEP ON HAND 2 OR 3 MONTHS' CONSUMPTION. NOW, A RAILWAY BRINGS IT TO HIM WEEK BY WEEK, OR RATHER DAY BY DAY, FROM THE PORT OR THE MINE. UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, I FULLY ANTICIPATE THAT, IN A VERY FEW YEARS, THE FIXED CAPITAL, INSTEAD OF ITS PRESENT PROPORTION, WILL BE AS 6 OR 7 OR EVEN 10 TO 1 TO THE CIRCULATING; AND, *CONSEQUENTLY, THAT THE MOTIVES TO LONG HOURS OF WORK WILL BECOME GREATER, AS THE ONLY MEANS BY WHICH A LARGE PROPORTION OF FIXED CAPITAL CAN BE MADE PROFITABLE.* 'WHEN A LABOURER,' SAID Mr. Ashworth TO ME, 'LAYS DOWN HIS SPADE, HE RENDERS USELESS, FOR THAT PERIOD, A CAPITAL WORTH 18d. WHEN ONE OF OUR PEOPLE LEAVES THE MILL, HE RENDERS USELESS A CAPITAL THAT HAS COST £100,000'" ([ibid.,] pp. 13-14).

(This is striking proof that, under the domination of capital, the employment of machinery does not reduce work, but rather lengthens it. What it reduces is necessary labour, not the labour necessary for the capitalist. Since fixed capital is devalued as long as it is not employed in production, its growth is linked with the tendency to make work *perpetual.* With respect to the other point emphasised by Senior, [VII-42] the decline in the ratio of circulating capital to fixed would be as great as he assumes if prices remained constant. But if, e.g., COTTON has fallen below its AVERAGE PRICE, the manufacturer will purchase as large a stock of it as his floating capital permits, and vice versa. On the other hand, in respect of coal, whose output is regular and not subject to any special circumstances which might warrant expectations of an extraordinary increase in demand, Senior's remark is correct.

We have seen[a] that transport, and hence means of communication, do not determine circulation, in so far as they are concerned with the bringing of the product to market or its conversion into a commodity. For, seen from this angle, they are themselves included in the production phase. But they do determine circulation in so far as they determine (1) the return [of capital]; (2) the reconversion of capital from the form of money into that of conditions of production. The more rapid and uninterrupted the supply of materials and *matières instrumentales,* the smaller stocks of them the capitalist needs to buy. He can therefore turn the same circulating capital into this form, or reproduce it, the more frequently, instead of having to keep it on hand as dormant capital. On the other hand, as Sismondi remarked, it also has the

[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 447-59.— *Ed.*

effect that the retail trader, the SHOPKEEPER, can renew his stock the more quickly, and hence is less obliged to keep goods in stock, because he can renew his SUPPLY any moment.

All this shows how, with the development of production, accumulation in the sense of HOARDING relatively declines; it only increases in the form of fixed capital, whereas continuous simultaneous labour (production) increases in regularity, in intensity, and in volume, too. To an increasing extent, the velocity of the means of transport, along with their universality, converts (with the exception of AGRICULTURE) the necessity for ANTECEDENT LABOUR, AS FAR AS CIRCULATING CAPITAL IS CONCERNED, into that for the simultaneous operation of interdependent, differentiated branches of production. (This observation is important for the section on accumulation).//

"*Our COTTON FACTORIES AT THEIR COMMENCEMENT WERE KEPT GOING THE WHOLE 24 HOURS.* THE DIFFICULTY OF CLEANING AND REPAIRING THE MACHINERY, AND THE DIVIDED RESPONSIBILITY, ARISING FROM THE NECESSITY OF EMPLOYING A DOUBLE STAFF OF OVERLOOKERS, BOOK-KEEPERS, ETC., HAVE NEARLY PUT AN END TO THIS PRACTICE; BUT UNTIL HOBHOUSE'S ACT REDUCED THEM TO 69, OUR FACTORIES GENERALLY WORKED FROM 70 TO 80 HOURS PER WEEK" ([Senior,] op. cit., p. 15).

"According to Baines, A FIRST-RATE COTTON-SPINNING FACTORY CANNOT BE BUILT, FILLED with machinery, and FITTED with STEAM ENGINES and GAS WORKS, under £100,000. A STEAM ENGINE OF 100 HORSE-POWER WILL TURN 50,000 SPINDLES, WHICH WILL PRODUCE 62,500 MILES OF FINE COTTON THREAD PER DAY. IN SUCH A FACTORY, 1,000 PERSONS WILL SPIN AS MUCH THREAD AS 250,000 PERSONS COULD WITHOUT MACHINERY" (S. Laing, *National Distress etc.*, London, 1844, p. 75).

"WHEN *PROFITS FALL*, CIRCULATING CAPITAL IS DISPOSED TO BECOME TO SOME EXTENT *FIXED CAPITAL*. If interest is 5%, CAPITAL would not be USED IN MAKING NEW ROADS, CANALS OR RAILWAYS, until these WORKS YIELD A CORRESPONDING LARGE percentage; BUT WHEN INTEREST is only 4 OR 3%, CAPITAL WOULD BE ADVANCED FOR SUCH IMPROVEMENTS, IF IT OBTAINED ONLY A PROPORTIONAL LOWER PERCENTAGE. *JOINT-STOCK COMPANIES*, TO ACCOMPLISH GREAT IMPROVEMENTS, ARE THE NATURAL OFFSPRING OF A FALLING RATE OF PROFIT. IT ALSO INDUCES INDIVIDUALS TO *FIX* THEIR CAPITALS IN THE FORM OF BUILDINGS AND MACHINERY" (Th. Hopkins, *Great Britain for the Last Forty Years etc.*, London, 1834, p. 232).

"McCulloch computes the NUMBERS and INCOMES of those ENGAGED IN the COTTON MANUFACTURE as:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 833,000 | WEAVERS, SPINNERS, BLEACHERS, etc., AT £24 EACH A YEAR | £20,000,000 |
| 111,000 | JOINERS, ENGINEERS, MACHINE MAKERS, etc., AT £30 EACH | £3,333,000 |
| | PROFIT, SUPERINTENDENCE, COAL AND MATERIALS OF MACHINES | £6,667,000 |
| 944,000 | | £30,000,000 |

"Of the $6^2/_3$ MILLIONS, 2 MILLIONS ARE SUPPOSED TO GO FOR COAL, IRON, AND OTHER MATERIALS, FOR MACHINERY AND OTHER OUTGOINGS, WHICH WOULD GIVE EMPLOYMENT, AT £30 A YEAR EACH, TO 66,666, MAKING A TOTAL OF PEOPLE EMPLOYED OF 1,010,666; to these are to be added $^1/_2$ the number OF CHILDREN, AGED, etc., DEPENDENT ON THOSE WHO WORK, OR AN ADDITIONAL 505,330; SO A TOTAL, SUPPORTED ON WAGES, OF 1,515,996 PERSONS. To these are to be added those who ARE SUPPORTED, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, BY THE $4^2/_3$ MILLIONS OF PROFIT", etc. (Hopkins, ibid., pp. 336-37).

According to this calculation, therefore, 833,000 are directly engaged in production; 177,666 in the production of the MACHINERY and the *matières instrumentales*, which are only required because of the employment of machinery. But the latter are reckoned at £30 per head; hence, to reduce their number into LABOUR OF THE SAME QUALITY as that performed by the 833,000, they are to be reckoned AT £24 per HEAD; according to this, £5,333,000 would employ ABOUT 222,208 workers, which would mean 1 worker employed in the production of machinery and *matières instrumentales* to ABOUT $3^3/_4$ employed in the production of COTTON fabric. More than 1 to 4 but let us say 1:4. If now the 4 workers still employed worked only as much as 5 did previously, i.e. if each worked $^1/_4$ surplus labour time more, there would be no [increase of] profit for capital. The remaining 4 must provide more surplus labour than 5 did previously; or the number of workers employed in the production of the machinery must be less than the number of workers displaced by it. Machinery is only PROFITABLE to capital to the extent that it increases the surplus labour time of the workers working with it (not in so far as it reduces labour time; only in so far as it raises the ratio of surplus labour time to necessary, so that the latter not merely decreases relatively, while the number of simultaneous working days remains the same, but decreases absolutely).

An increase in absolute [surplus] labour time implies the same or an increasing number of simultaneous working days; ditto an increase in productive power due to the division of labour, etc. In both cases, the aggregate labour time remains the same or increases. With the employment of machinery, relative surplus labour time increases not merely in relation to necessary labour time and hence to aggregate labour time; as well, its ratio to necessary labour time increases, while there is a decrease in aggregate labour, i.e. in the number of simultaneous working days (in proportion to surplus labour time).

A Glasgow factory-owner gave J. C. Symons, for his *Arts and Artisans at Home and Abroad* (Edinburgh, 1839), the following data (we reproduce several of his tables here to have examples at hand

illustrating the proportion of FIXED CAPITAL, CIRCULATING capital, the part of capital laid out in WAGES, etc.):

[VII-43] *Glasgow*:

| | |
|---|---|
| "EXPENSE OF *ERECTING A POWER-LOOM FACTORY* OF 500 LOOMS, CALCULATED TO WEAVE A GOOD FABRIC OF CALICO, OR SHIRTING, SUCH AS IS GENERALLY MADE IN GLASGOW, WOULD BE ABOUT | £18,000 |
| ANNUAL PRODUCE, SAY 150,000 PIECES OF 24 YARDS, AT 6 SHILLINGS | £45,000 |
| WHICH COST AS UNDER: | |
| INTEREST ON SUNK CAPITAL, AND FOR DEPRECIATION OF THE VALUE of the MACHINERY | 1,800 |
| STEAM-POWER, OIL, TALLOW, etc., KEEPING UP MACHINERY, UTENSILS, etc. | 2,000 |
| YARNS AND FLAX | 32,000 |
| WAGES TO WORKMEN | 7,500 |
| SUPPOSE PROFIT | 1,700 |
| | 45,000" |

(p. 233).

Hence, if we take 5% INTEREST ON MACHINERY, GROSS PROFIT is 1,700+900=2,600. But the capital expended in wages amounts to only £7,500. The proportion of profit to wages therefore=26:75=5 $^1/_5$:15, therefore 34 $^2/_3$%.

| | |
|---|---|
| "PROBABLE EXPENSE OF ERECTING A SPINNING *COTTON-MILL* with HAND MULES, CALCULATED TO PRODUCE No. 40 OF A FAIR AVERAGE QUALITY | £23,000 |
| IF PATENT SELF-ACTORS, £2,000 ADDITIONAL. | |
| PRODUCE ANNUALLY TO THE PRESENT PRICES OF COTTONS AND THE RATES AT WHICH YARNS COULD BE SOLD | £25,000 |
| COST OF WHICH AS FOLLOWS: | |
| INTEREST OF SUNK CAPITAL, ALLOWANCE FOR DEPRECIATION OF VALUE OF MACHINERY 10% | 2,300 |
| COTTON | 14,000 |
| STEAM-POWER, OIL, TALLOW, GAS, AND GENERAL EXPENSE OF KEEPING UP UTENSILS and MACHINERY IN REPAIR | 1,800 |
| WAGES TO WORKERS | 5,400 |
| PROFIT | 1,500 |
| | £25,000" |

(p. 234).

(Floating capital of £7,000 is thus assumed, since 1,500 is 5% on 30,000.)

"The PRODUCE of the MILL TAKEN AT 10,000 lb. WEEKLY" (ibid., p. 234).

Hence, profit here=1,150+1,500=2,650; 2,650:5,400 (wages) $=1:2\,^{2}/_{53}=49\,^{8}/_{108}\%$.

| | |
|---|---|
| "COST OF *A COTTON SPINNING MILL OF 10,000 THROSTLES*, CALCULATED TO PRODUCE A FAIR QUALITY OF No. 24 | £20,000 |
| TAKING PRESENT VALUE OF PRODUCE, THE AMOUNT WOULD ANNUALLY BE COSTING | £23,000 |
| INTEREST ON SUNK CAPITAL, DEPRECIATION OF VALUE OF MACHINERY at 10% | 2,000 |
| COTTON | 13,300 |
| STEAM-POWER, TALLOW, OIL, GAS, KEEPING MACHINERY IN REPAIR, ETC. | 2,500 |
| WAGES TO WORKERS | 3,800 |
| PROFIT | 1,400 |
| | 23,000" |

(p. 235).

Hence GROSS PROFIT=2,400; WAGES 3,800; 2,400:3,800=24:38= =12:19=$63\,^{3}/_{19}\%$.

In the first case, $34\,^{2}/_{3}\%$; in the second, $49\,^{8}/_{108}\%$; and in the last, $63\,^{3}/_{19}\%$. In the first case, wages constitute $^{1}/_{6}$ of the total price of the product; in the second, more than $^{1}/_{5}$; in the last, less than $^{1}/_{6}$. But in the first case, the proportion of wages to the value of the capital employed=$1:4\,^{8}/_{15}$; in the second, $1:5\,^{15}/_{27}$; and in the third, $1:7\,^{7}/_{19}$. In the same measure as the ratio of the part of capital laid out in wages to that laid out in machinery and circulating capital (this equals, TOGETHER, in the first case, 34,000; in the second, 30,000; in the third, 28,000) declines, the profit on the part laid out in wages must, of course, increase if the percentage of profit is to remain the same.

The absolute decrease of the aggregate labour employed, i.e. of the working day multiplied by the number of simultaneous working days, relative to surplus labour can appear in either of two ways. Either in the form specified first, i.e., that a part of the workers previously employed are dismissed because of the use of fixed capital (machinery). Or, that the introduction of machinery diminishes the *increase* in the number of working days employed, although productivity grows, and (OF COURSE) does so in a greater proportion, too, than it is decreased in consequence of the "*value*" of the newly

introduced machinery. To the extent that fixed capital possesses *value*, it does not augment but reduces the productivity of labour.

"THE SURPLUS HANDS would enable the MANUFACTURERS TO LESSEN THE RATE OF WAGES; BUT THE CERTAINTY THAT ANY CONSIDERABLE REDUCTION WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY IMMEDIATE IMMENSE LOSSES FROM TURNOUTS, EXTENDED STOPPAGES, AND VARIOUS OTHER IMPEDIMENTS WHICH WOULD BE THROWN IN THEIR WAY, MAKES THEM PREFER THE SLOWER PROCESS OF MECHANICAL IMPROVEMENT, BY WHICH, THOUGH THEY MAY TRIPLE PRODUCTION, THEY REQUIRE NO NEW MEN" (Gaskell, *Artisans and Machinery*, London, 1836, p. 314).

"WHEN THE IMPROVEMENTS NOT QUITE DISPLACE THE WORKMAN, THEY WILL RENDER ONE MAN CAPABLE OF PRODUCING, OR RATHER SUPERINTENDING, THE PRODUCTION OF [a] QUANTITY NOW REQUIRING 10 OR 20 LABOURERS (ibid., p. 315).

"MACHINES HAVE BEEN INVENTED WHICH ENABLE ONE MAN TO PRODUCE AS MUCH YARN AS 250, OR 300 EVEN, COULD HAVE PRODUCED 70 YEARS AGO, WHICH ENABLE 1 MAN AND 1 BOY TO PRINT AS MANY GOODS AS A HUNDRED MEN AND A HUNDRED BOYS COULD HAVE PRINTED FORMERLY. The 150,000 WORKMEN IN THE SPINNING MILLS produce as much yarn as 40 MILLIONS could have produced with the ONE-THREAD WHEEL" (ibid., p. 316).

[VII-44] "The *IMMEDIATE MARKET FOR CAPITAL, or FIELD FOR CAPITAL, MAY BE SAID TO BE LABOUR.* THE AMOUNT OF CAPITAL WHICH CAN BE INVESTED AT A GIVEN MOMENT, IN A GIVEN COUNTRY, OR THE WORLD, SO AS TO RETURN NOT LESS THAN A GIVEN RATE OF PROFITS, SEEMS PRINCIPALLY TO DEPEND ON THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR, WHICH IT IS POSSIBLE, BY LAYING OUT THAT CAPITAL, TO INDUCE THE THEN EXISTING NUMBER OF HUMAN BEINGS TO PERFORM" *(An Inquiry into those Principles respecting the Nature of Demand etc.*, London, 1821, p. 20) (written by a RICARDIAN in opposition to Malthus's *Principles etc.).*

## [ALIENATION]

The FACT that, with the development of the productive forces of labour, there must be an increase in the reified conditions of labour, in reified labour, relative to living labour—strictly speaking, this is a tautology, since the growth of the productive power of labour can mean only that less immediate labour is required to create a larger product, and that, therefore, social wealth is increasingly expressed in the conditions of labour created by labour itself—this fact does not, from the standpoint of capital, appear in the form that the one moment of social activity, reified labour, becomes the ever huger body of the other moment, of subjective, living labour. Rather—and this is important in the context of wage labour—it appears in the form that the objective conditions of labour take on an ever more colossal degree of independence, represented by their VERY EXTENT, over against living labour; and that social wealth in huger portions confronts labour as an alien and dominating force. The emphasis is not laid upon labour's being *objectified*, but upon its being *alienated*, given up, sold; it is laid upon the fact that the enormous objectified power

which social labour has set up over against itself as one of its moments belongs, not to the worker, but to the personified conditions of production, i.e. to capital.

To the extent that, from the standpoint of capital and wage labour, the creation of this objective body of activity takes place in opposition to the immediate labour capacity—to the extent that this process of objectification IN FACT appears from the standpoint of labour as a process of giving up, or from the standpoint of capital as one of appropriation of alien labour—this distortion and inversion is a *real*, not a *merely thought* one, not one which exists only in the imagination of the workers and the capitalists. Yet it is obvious that this process of inversion is merely an *historical* necessity, merely a necessity for the development of the productive forces from a definite historical point of departure, or basis. In no way is it an *absolute* necessity of production; it is, rather, a transitory one, and the result and (immanent) aim of this process is to transcend this basis itself and this form of the process.

The bourgeois economists are so wrapped up in the notions of a definite historical stage of social development that the necessity for the *objectification* of the social powers of labour appears to them to be inseparable from the necessity for their *alienation* over against living labour. But as soon as the *immediate* character of living labour is transcended, i.e., its character as merely *individual*, or as only internally or only externally general, with the positing of the activity of individuals as immediately general or *social* activity, this form of alienation is stripped from the reified moments of production. Then they are posited as [social] property, as the organic social body in which the individuals reproduce themselves as individuals, but as social individuals. The conditions enabling them to be such in the reproduction of their life, their productive life-process, are only posited by the historical economic process itself; both the objective and the subjective conditions, which are merely two different forms of the same conditions.

The propertylessness of the worker and the property of objectified labour in living labour, or the appropriation of alien labour by capital—both merely expressing the same relation at two opposite poles—are basic conditions of the bourgeois mode of production, by no means indifferent accidental features of it. These modes of distribution are the production relations themselves, only *sub specie distributionis*.[a] Hence nothing could be more absurd than the statement by, e.g., *J. St. Mill* that

[a] From the viewpoint of distribution.—*Ed.*

"THE LAWS AND CONDITIONS OF THE PRODUCTION OF WEALTH PARTAKE OF THE CHARACTER OF PHYSICAL TRUTHS.... IT IS NOT SO WITH THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH. THAT IS A MATTER OF HUMAN INSTITUTION SOLELY" (*Principles of Political Economy*, 2nd ed., London, 1848, Vol. I, pp. 239, 240).

The "LAWS and CONDITIONS" of the production of wealth and the LAWS of the "DISTRIBUTION of wealth" are the same laws under different forms, and both change, undergo the same historical process; they are, in general, merely moments of an historical process.

No extraordinary intellectual powers are needed to comprehend that, if the initial situation assumed is that of free labour arising from the dissolution of serfdom, or wage labour, the only way in which machines can *originate* is in opposition to living labour, as property alien to it and a hostile power opposed to it, i.e., they must confront labour as capital. On the other hand, it is equally simple to understand that machines will not cease to be agents of social production when they become, e.g., the property of the associated workers. But in the first case, their distribution, i.e. the fact that they *do not belong* to the worker, is just as much a condition of the mode of production based upon wage labour. In the second, the changed mode of distribution would set out from a *changed*, new basis of production, one which has arisen solely as a result of the historical process.

## [VARIA]

In the figurative language of the Peruvians, gold is "THE TEARS WEPT BY THE SUN" ([W. H.] Prescott [*History of the Conquest of Peru*, 4th ed., Vol. I, London, 1850, p. 92]).

"Without the USE of the TOOLS or the machinery FAMILIAR TO THE EUROPEAN, EACH INDIVIDUAL" (in Peru) "COULD HAVE DONE BUT LITTLE; BUT ACTING IN LARGE MASSES and UNDER A COMMON DIRECTION, THEY WERE ENABLED BY INDEFATIGABLE PERSEVERANCE TO ACHIEVE RESULTS" etc. (l.c. [p. 127]).

//The money used by the Mexicans (to a greater extent with BARTER and oriental landed property) [was]

"A REGULATED CURRENCY OF DIFFERENT VALUES. THIS CONSISTED OF TRANSPARENT QUILLS OF GOLD DUST; OF BITS OF TIN, CUT IN THE FORM OF A T; and OF BAGS OF CACAO, CONTAINING A SPECIFIED NUMBER OF GRAINS. 'O blessed money which furnishes mankind with a sweet and nutritious beverage and protects its innocent possessors from the infernal disease of avarice, since it cannot be long hoarded, nor hidden underground.' SAYS Peter Martyr (*De orbe novo*), (Prescott, [p. 123]).[a]

[a] Marx quotes in Latin.—*Ed.*

"Eschwege (1823) estimates the total value of the DIAMOND WORKINGS in 80 years AT A SUM HARDLY EXCEEDING 18 MONTHS' PRODUCE OF SUGAR OR COFFEE IN BRAZIL" ([H.] Merivale [*Lectures on Colonization and Colonies*, Vol. I, London, 1841, p. 52]). "The FIRST" (BRITISH) "SETTLERS" (IN NORTH AMERICA) "CULTIVATED THE CLEARED GROUND ABOUT THEIR VILLAGES IN COMMON.... This CUSTOM PREVAILS until 1619 in Virginia" etc. (ibid., pp. 91-92). (Notebook, p. 52.[38])

("The Cortes addressed the following petition to Philip II in 1593: 'The Cortes of Valladolid of the year '48 requested Your Majesty not to permit the further importation into this kingdom of candles, glassware, jewellery, knives and similar articles coming from abroad, which, though they are of no use in human life, have to be exchanged *for gold, as though the Spaniards were Indians*' (Sempéré, [*Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence de la monarchie espagnole*, Vol. I, Paris, 1826, pp. 275-76]).)[a]

"IN DENSELY PEOPLED COLONIES THE LABOURER, ALTHOUGH FREE, IS NATURALLY DEPENDENT ON THE CAPITALIST; IN THINLY PEOPLED ONES THE WANT OF THIS NATURAL DEPENDENCE MUST BE SUPPLIED BY ARTIFICIAL RESTRICTIONS" (Merivale, *Lectures on Colonization etc.*, Vol. II, London, 1842, p. 314).//

[VII-45] *Roman Money*: the *aes grave*[b] was a pound of copper (*emere per aes et libram*[c]). This was the as.* In 485 A.U.C.[d] *silver denarii*=10 *as* (initially, 40 of these denarii to the pound; in 510 [A.U.C.] 75 denarii to the pound; the denarius was still=10 *as*, but 10 *as* of 4 ounces). In 513 the *as* was reduced to 2 ounces; the denarius still=10 as, now represented only $^1/_{84}$ of a pound of silver. This figure, $^1/_{84}$, applied until the end of the Republic, but in 537 the denarius was rated at 16 *as* of one ounce, and in 665 only at 16 *as* of half an ounce.... In the year 485 of the Republic the silver denarius=1 franc 63 [centimes]; in 510=87 centimes; between 513 and 707=78 centimes. From Galba to the Antonines, 1 franc[e] (Dureau de la Malle, [*Economie politique des Romains*,] Vol. 1, [pp. 15, 16, 448, 450]).

At the time of the first silver denarius, the ratio between 1 pound of silver and 1 pound of copper=400:1. At the beginning of the Second Punic War[39] it was 112:1 (l.c., Vol. 1, pp. 76-77, 81-82).

"The Greek colonies in Southern Italy drew silver from Greece and Asia, direct or via Tyre and Carthage, and minted silver coins from the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. onwards. Despite this proximity, the Romans proscribed the use of gold and silver for political reasons. The people and the Senate felt that *so facile a means of circulation* would be conducive *to concentration*, an increase in the number of slaves, and the decay of the ancient customs and of agriculture" (l.c., pp. 64, 65).

"According to Varro, the slave was an *instrumentum vocale*, the animal an *instrumentum semi-mutum*, and the plough an *instrumentum mutum*" (l.c., pp. 253, 254).

* *as* or *libra*=12 ounces; I ounce=24 scrupula; 288 scrupula to the pound.

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[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

[b] Heavy copper (measured by weight).—*Ed.*

[c] Literally: to buy with the help of copper and scales; figuratively: to buy with due observance of the formalities.—*Ed.*

[d] From the founding of the city (of Rome).—*Ed.*

[e] This and the following passages are partly in French and partly in German translation in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

(The Roman citizen's daily consumption [of bread] was somewhat more than 2 French pounds; that of a countryman 3 pounds. A Parisian consumes 0.93 pound of bread; a countryman in the 20 departments in which corn is the main source of nourishment, 1.70 pounds (l.c., [p. 277]). In present-day Italy, 1 lb. 8 ounces, where corn is the main source of nourishment. Why did the Romans eat relatively more? Originally they ate the corn raw or only softened in water; afterwards, they got the idea of roasting it. Later they picked up the art of grinding corn into flour, and at first ate the dough made from this flour raw. To grind the grain, they used a pestle or two stones knocked or rotated against each other.... The Roman soldier prepared a supply of this raw dough, *puls*, that would last him for several days. Then the winnowing-fan was invented, which screens the grain; a means was found for separating the bran from the flour; finally, leaven was added, and at first bread was eaten raw, until it was accidentally discovered that by cooking the bread it could be prevented from going sour and that it would keep much longer. It was not until after the war against Perseus, in 580, that bakers appeared in Rome (l.c., p. 279). "Before the Christian era, the Romans had no knowledge of windmills" (l.c., p. 280).)

"Parmentier has shown that in France the art of milling has made great progress since the time of Louis XIV, and that the difference between the yield of the old and the new method of milling amounts to $^1/_2$ the bread supplied by the same grain. At first 4, then 3, then 2 and finally 1 $^1/_3$ *setiers* of wheat were assigned for the annual consumption of an inhabitant of Paris. So the enormous disproportion between the daily consumption of wheat by the Romans and by us is easily explained; it stems from the imperfect methods of milling and bread-making" (l.c., p. 281).

"The agrarian law WAS A LIMITATION OF LANDED PROPERTY AMONG ACTIVE CITIZENS. THIS LIMITATION OF PROPERTY FORMED THE FOUNDATION OF THE EXISTENCE AND PROSPERITY OF THE OLD REPUBLICS" (l.c., [Vol. II,] p. 256).

"The revenues of the State consisted of the returns from Crown land, payment in kind, statute labour, and a number of money taxes paid on the import and export of merchandise, or levied on the sale of certain commodities. This mode exists, almost without change, in the Ottoman Empire. At the time of Sulla's dictatorship and even at the end of the 7th century, anno 697, the annual receipts of the Roman republic totalled only 40 million francs.... In 1780, the revenue of the Turkish sultan was only 35 million piastres or 70 million francs.... The Romans and the Turks collected most of their revenues in kind. In the case of the Romans, the taxes amounted to $^1/_{10}$ of the grain crop, $^1/_5$ of the fruit; among the Turks, they varied from $^1/_2$ to $^1/_{10}$ of the produce.... Since the Roman Empire was merely an immense agglomeration of independent municipalities, the greater part of the charges and expenses remained communal" ([Vol. II], pp. 402-05).

(The Rome of Augustus and Nero, without the suburbs, had only 266,684 inhabitants. Assumes that in the fourth century of the Christian era the suburbs had 120,000 inhabitants, and that 382,695 people lived within the Aurelian walls; a total of 502,695; plus 30,000 soldiers and 30,000 foreigners; all told roughly 562,000 people. *Madrid*, for 1 $^1/_2$ centuries from the time of Charles V the capital of a part of Europe and of half the New World, had many correspondences with Rome. Its population, too, did not grow in proportion to its political importance" (l.c., [Vol. I,] pp. [370, 403,] 405-06).)

"The state of society in Rome at the time resembled that in Russia or in the Ottoman Empire, far more than that in France or in England: little commerce or industry; immense fortunes alongside extreme poverty" (l.c., [Vol. II,] p. 214).

(Luxury only in the capital and at the residences of the Roman satraps.)

"From the destruction of Carthage to the founding of Constantinople, the relation of Roman Italy to Greece and the Orient was the same as that of Spain to Europe in the eighteenth century. In Alberoni's words: 'Spain is to Europe what the mouth is to the body: everything goes into it, nothing stays there'" (l.c., [Vol. II,] pp. 399-400).

Usury was initially free in Rome. The law of the Twelve Tables (303 A.U.C.) fixed interest on money at 1% per annum (Niebuhr says 10%).[40] These laws were promptly violated. Duilius (398 A.U.C.) once again reduced the interest on money to 1%, *unciarium foenus*.[a] Reduced to $^1/_2$% in 408; in 413, lending at interest was absolutely forbidden by a referendum held by the tribune Genucius. It is not surprising that in a republic in which industry and wholesale and retail trade were forbidden to citizens, *trading in money* was likewise forbidden (l.c., Vol. II, pp. [259,] 260, 261). This state of affairs lasted for 300 years, till the capture of Carthage. Then [the maximum chargeable] 12%; the usual rate 6% per annum (l.c., p. 261). Justinian fixed the interest rate at 4%. In Trajan's time, the *usura quincunx*[b] was the legal interest of 5%. In Egypt in 146 B.C., the commercial rate of interest was 12% (ibid., p[p. 261-]263).

[VII-46] The INVOLUNTARY ALIENATION of feudal landed property develops with usury and money:

"THE INTRODUCTION OF MONEY, WHICH BUYS ALL THINGS, and hence the FAVOUR for the CREDITOR who loans MONEY to the landowner, BRINGS IN THE NECESSITY OF LEGAL ALIENATION for the advance" (John Dalrymple, *An Essay towards a General History of Feudal Property in Great Britain*, 4th ed., London, 1759, p. 124).

*In medieval Europe*: "Payments in *gold* were customary only in the case of some objects of trade, mainly costly objects. Gold changed hands for the most part outside the merchant circle, in gifts made by the Great, in the payment of certain high duties and heavy money fines, and in purchases of landed estates. *Uncoined* gold was not infrequently weighed, in pounds or marks (half-pounds) ... 8 ounces=1 mark; one ounce was therefore=to 2 *Lot* or 3 carats. Until the time of the Crusades, the only *gold coins* known were the Byzantine solidi, the Italic tari, and the Arabian maurabotini" (AFTERWARDS maravedi). (Hüllmann, *Städtewesen des Mittelalters*, Part I, Bonn, 1826, pp. 402-04.)

"In the Frankish laws as well, *the solidus figures merely as coin of account* in which the value of agricultural products levied as fines was expressed. E.g., among the Saxons, the solidus was equivalent to a yearling bullock, in the condition in which it usually is in autumn.... In Ripuarian law,[41] a healthy cow represented one solidus ... twelve denarii=1 gold solidus" (pp. 405, 406). 4 tari=1 Byzantine solidus.... From the thirteenth century onwards, various gold coins were minted in Europe: *augustales* (issued by Emperor *Frederick II* in Sicily: Brundisium and Messina); *florentini or floreni* (1252 in Florence); ... *ducats or sequins* (Venice, since 1285) (l.c., pp. 408-11).

"In Hungary, Germany and the Netherlands also, larger gold coins were minted from the fourteenth century onwards; in Germany, such coins were simply called gulden" (l.c., p. 413).

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[a] An increase of one ounce.— *Ed.*

[b] An interest of 5 ounces.— *Ed.*

"When *payment was in silver,* weighing, mostly in marks, was the general practice in all larger payments. Coined silver, too, was weighed in such payments, since the coins were still almost totally composed of pure silver, and it was only a matter of weight. Hence the names *pound* (livre, lire)* and 'mark' in part signified imaginary coins or coins of account, and in part were transferred to real silver coins. *Silver coins: denaren* or *kreuzer.* In Germany, these denaren were called *pfennigs* (pennig, penning, phenning) from as early as the ninth century. Originally *pending, penthing, pfentinc,* derived from *pfündig,*[a] in the old form *pfünding,* as much as full-weight: hence pfündige denaren, abbreviated into *pfündinge.* Another name for the *denaren,* from the beginning of the twelfth century in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and England, derives from the star [*Stern,* in German] which replaced the crosses stamped on the coin: *sternlinge, sterlinge, starlinge.* Denaren sterling=pfennigs sterling. In the fourteenth century, 320 of the Netherlands sterlinge composed a pound, 20 pieces to the ounce. Silver solidi in German were called schildlinge, schillinge. *In the early Middle Ages, silver solidi were not real coins but the content of 12 denaren.* 1 gold solidus=12 denaren or sterlinge, for this was the average ratio of gold and silver.

"*Obols,* half pfennigs, hälblinge were in circulation as *small change....* As the small crafts became increasingly widespread, a growing number of trading cities and petty princes obtained the right to strike their local coin, which was therefore mostly small change. They admixed copper, this went further and further.... Thick pfennigs, gros deniers, grossi, groschen, groats, were first coined in Tours before the middle of the thirteenth century. These groschen were originally double pfennigs" (pp. 415-33).

"The fact that the Popes levied ecclesiastical dues upon almost all Catholic countries contributed not a little, first, to the development of the entire monetary system in trade-plying Europe, and then, as a consequence, to various attempts to get round the Church ban (on interest). The Pope made use of Lombards for the collection of the pallium-fees from the Archbishops, and for exacting the other dues. They were the most important usurers and pawnbrokers, under Papal protection. Known ever since the middle of the twelfth century. Particularly from Siena. 'Official *usurarii*'. In England, they were called *'Romish-episcopal money dealers'.* Some bishops, i.a. those of Basel, pawned their episcopal ring, silken vestments and the whole of the Church valuables to the Jews in return for a small sum, and paid interest. On the other hand, bishops, abbots and priests themselves engaged in usury by pawning the Church valuables, with Tuscan money-dealers from Florence, Siena and other cities for a share in the profits", etc. (see l.c. [Part II, pp. 36-45], *Notebook,* p. 39[42]).

Since money is the universal equivalent, the *GENERAL POWER OF PURCHASING,* everything is purchasable, everything is convertible into money. But it can be converted into money only by being alienated, by its owner giving it up. EVERYTHING IS THEREFORE ALIENABLE, or indifferent for the individual, external to him. The so-called *inalienable, eternal* possessions, and the immovable, settled property relations corresponding to them, therefore collapse before money. Furthermore, since money itself only exists in circulation and is

* *Notabene*: In Mexico, there existed money, but no weights; in Peru, weights, but no money.

[a] Weighing one pound.—*Ed.*

exchanged for enjoyments, etc.—for values—which are all ultimately reducible to purely individual enjoyments, everything is valuable only in so far as it exists for the individual. The independent value of things—except in so far as it consists in their mere being for other purposes, their relativity, exchangeability—the absolute value of all things and relations is thereby dissolved. Everything is sacrificed to egoistic enjoyment. For, just as everything can be alienated for money, everything can be obtained for money. Everything can be had for "ready money", which as something existing externally to the individual can be got hold of BY FRAUD, VIOLENCE, etc. Hence everything is appropriable by everyone, and what the individual can or cannot appropriate is a matter of chance, since it depends upon the money he possesses. In this way, the individual in himself is posited as the lord of everything. There are no absolute values, since value as such is relative to money. There is nothing inalienable, for everything is alienable for money. There is nothing sublime, sacred, etc., since everything can be appropriated with money. The "res sacrae" and "religiosae", which can be "in nullius bonis", "nec aestimationem recipere, nec obligari alienarique posse", which are exempted from "commercio hominum",[a] do not exist before money, just as all are equal before God. Beautiful the way the Roman Church itself acted as the chief propagandist for money in the Middle Ages.

"As the ecclesiastical law against usury had long since become a dead letter, [Pope] Martin in 1425 abolished it in name too" (Hüllmann, l.c., Part II, Bonn, 1827, p. 55). "In the Middle Ages, no country had a general rate of interest. First, the strictness of the clerics. Insecurity of the legal provisions for protecting loans. The interest rate was so much the higher in individual cases. The limited circulation of money, the need to make most payments in cash, [VII-47] the bill business being as yet undeveloped. Therefore wide divergences in interest rates and in the concept of usury. In Charlemagne's time, it was only considered usurious to charge 100% [or more]. In Lindau on Lake Constance, in 1344, local burghers took $216\,^2/_3$%. In Zurich, the City Council fixed the legal interest rate at $43\,^1/_3$%. In Italy, 40% had sometimes to be paid, although the usual rate from the 12th to the 14th century did not exceed 20%. Verona decreed that $12\,^1/_2$% should be the legal rate. Frederick II fixed the rate at 10%, but only for Jews. He did not wish to speak for Christians. In Rhenish Germany, 10% was the usual rate as early as the 13th century" (l.c., pp. 55-57).

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[a] The "sacred and religious objects", which can be "in no one's possession" and "can neither be put a value upon nor pawned or alienated", and which are exempted from the "trade of men" (*Corpus iuris civilis,* Digesta I, 5, 8, 9 and Institutiones II, 1, 7, 8).—*Ed.*

"*Productive* CONSUMPTION, where the consumption of a commodity IS A *PART OF THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION* ([S. Ph.] Newman, [*Elements of Political Economy*, Andover and New York, 1835, p. 296,] Notebook XVII, 10[42]). "IT WILL BE NOTICED THAT IN THESE INSTANCES *THERE IS NO CONSUMPTION OF VALUE*, THE SAME VALUE EXISTING UNDER A NEW FORM" (ibid.). Further "*CONSUMPTION* ... the APPROPRIATION OF INDIVIDUAL REVENUE TO ITS DIFFERENT USES" (l.c., p. 297).

"TO *SELL FOR MONEY* SHALL AT ALL TIMES BE MADE SO EASY AS IT IS NOW *TO BUY WITH MONEY*, AND PRODUCTION WOULD BECOME THE UNIFORM AND NEVER FAILING CAUSE OF DEMAND" (John Gray, *The Social System etc.*, Edinburgh, 1831, p. 16). "After land, capital and labour, the fourth necessary condition of production is: the *INSTANT POWER OF EXCHANGING*" (l.c., p. 18). "TO BE ABLE TO *EXCHANGE* IS FOR THE MAN IN SOCIETY AS IMPORTANT AS IT WAS TO ROBINSON CRUSOE TO BE ABLE TO *PRODUCE*" (ibid., p. 21).

"According to *Say*, credit merely transfers capital, but creates none. This is true only in the case of loans made by capitalists to industrialists, but not of credit between producers in their mutual advances. What one producer advances to another is not capital; it is products, commodities. These products, these commodities, can and doubtless will become active capital in the hands of the borrower, i.e. instruments of labour; but in the hands of their owner they are, in fact, merely products for sale, and consequently inactive.... One must distinguish between products, or commodities, and agents of labour, or productive capital. As long as a product remains in the hands of its producer, it is merely a commodity, or, if one wishes to put it this way, inactive, inert capital. Far from offering any advantage to the manufacturer who holds it, that product is a burden to him, a constant source of inconvenience, of overhead costs and losses: the cost of storage, maintenance and safeguarding, interest on the outlay, etc., not counting the deterioration or waste to which nearly every commodity is subject when it is not used for a long time.... If he, therefore, sells his commodity on credit to another industrialist who can apply it to his own kind of labour, the commodity is converted, for the latter, from inert merchandise into active capital. In this way, the productive capital of one party increases without any diminution in that of the other. What is more: if it is admitted that the seller, even though disposing of his commodities on credit, nevertheless receives for them bills of exchange which it is legal for him to have discounted at once, is it not clear that he thereby acquires the means to renew his own raw material and instruments of labour, enabling him to resume work? There is thus a double increase in productive capital; in other words, power acquired by both parties" (Charles Coquelin, *Du crédit et des banques dans l'industrie, Revue des deux mondes*, Vol. 31, 1842, pp. 799-800).[a]

"[Suppose] that the whole of the merchandise for sale passes rapidly, without delays or obstacles, from the state of an inert product to that of active capital: what new activity in a country! ... This rapid transformation is precisely the benefit brought about by credit. This is the *activity of circulation*. In this way, credit can multiply the industrialists' business ten-fold. In a given period of time, the merchant or producer renewed his raw materials and products not once but ten times. Credit effects this by increasing everyone's purchasing power. Instead of this power being restricted to those who are able to pay at the given moment, credit confers it upon everyone whose position and morality offer a guarantee of future repayment; it gives it to whoever is capable of using the products by means of labour. Hence the first benefit of credit is that it increases, if not the sum of the

[a] Here and below Marx quotes from Coquelin in French, using German words occasionally.— *Ed.*

values possessed by a country, at least the sum of the active values. This is the immediate effect. From it flows an increase in the productive forces, hence also in the sum of values, etc." (l.c. [pp. 801, 802, 805]).

"*LETTING* IS A CONDITIONAL SALE, OR SALE OF THE USE OF A THING FOR A LIMITED TIME" (Th. Corbet, *An Inquiry into the Causes and Modes of the Wealth of Individuals etc.*, London, 1841, p. 81).

"TRANSFORMATIONS TO WHICH CAPITAL IS SUBJECTED IN THE WORK OF PRODUCTION. CAPITAL, TO BECOME PRODUCTIVE, MUST BE CONSUMED" (S. P. Newman, *Elements of Political Economy,* Andover and New York, 1835, p. 80).

"*ECONOMIC CYCLE* ... THE WHOLE COURSE OF PRODUCTION, FROM THE TIME THAT OUTLAYS ARE MADE, TILL RETURNS ARE RECEIVED. IN AGRICULTURE, SEED TIME IS ITS COMMENCEMENT, AND HARVESTING ITS ENDING" ([ibid.,] p. 81). The *distinction between FIXED and CIRCULATING CAPITAL* is based on the fact THAT DURING EVERY ECONOMIC CYCLE, A PART IS PARTIALLY, AND ANOTHER PART TOTALLY CONSUMED (l.c.).

*CAPITAL AS DIRECTED TO DIFFERENT EMPLOYMENTS* (l.c. [p. 82]).

This belongs in the theory of competition.

"*A MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE:* In undeveloped nations, WHATEVER COMMODITY CONSTITUTES THE LARGER SHARE OF THE WEALTH OF THE COMMUNITY, OR FROM ANY CAUSE BECOMES MORE FREQUENTLY THAN OTHERS AN OBJECT OF EXCHANGE, IS WONT TO BE USED AS A CIRCULATING MEDIUM. Hence CATTLE are a means of exchange among PASTORAL TRIBES, DRIED FISH IN NEWFOUNDLAND, SUGAR in the West Indies, tobacco in Virginia. *PRECIOUS METALS* [have the] advantage: (a) SAMENESS OF QUALITY IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD; (b) ADMIT OF MINUTE DIVISION AND EXACT APPORTIONMENT; (c) RARITY AND DIFFICULTY OF ATTAINMENT; (d) THEY ADMIT OF COINAGE (l.c., p[p. 99,] 100 [101]).

The notion of capital as an entity which reproduces itself—as a value which perpetuates and augments itself by VIRTUE OF AN INNATE QUALITY—has led Dr. Price to prodigious fancies, which far outstrip the fantasies of the alchemists. Pitt took them seriously and, in his laws on the SINKING FUND (see Lauderdale), made them into the pillars of his financial wisdom.[43] The following are a few striking extracts from Price:

[VII-48] "MONEY BEARING COMPOUND INTEREST INCREASES AT FIRST SLOWLY. BUT, THE RATE OF INCREASE BEING CONTINUALLY ACCELERATED, IT BECOMES IN SOME TIME SO RAPID, AS TO MOCK ALL THE POWERS OF THE IMAGINATION. ONE PENNY, PUT OUT AT OUR SAVIOUR'S BIRTH TO 5% COMPOUND INTEREST, WOULD, BEFORE THIS TIME, HAVE INCREASED TO A GREATER SUM, THAN WOULD BE CONTAINED IN A 150 MILLIONS OF EARTHS. ALL SOLID GOLD. BUT IF PUT OUT TO SIMPLE INTEREST, IT WOULD, IN THE SAME TIME, HAVE AMOUNTED TO NO MORE THAN 7 SHILLINGS $4\,^1/_2$ d. OUR GOVERNMENT HAS HITHERTO CHOSEN TO IMPROVE MONEY IN THE *LAST,* RATHER THAN THE FIRST OF THESE WAYS" (Richard Price, *An Appeal to the Public, on the Subject of the National Debt,* 2nd ed., London, 1772, pp. 18-19).

(His grand idea: The Government should borrow at simple interest, and loan out that money at compound interest.[a])

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, p. 298.—*Ed.*

In his *Observations on Reversionary Payments etc.* ([2nd ed.,] London, 1772), his fantasy soars even higher:

"A SHILLING PUT OUT TO 6% COMPOUND INTEREST AT OUR SAVIOUR'S BIRTH WOULD ... HAVE INCREASED TO A GREATER SUM THAN THE WHOLE SOLAR SYSTEM COULD HOLD, SUPPOSING IT A SPHERE EQUAL IN DIAMETER TO THE DIAMETER OF SATURN'S ORBIT" (l.c., p. XIII, note). "A State NEEDS NEVER, THEREFORE, BE UNDER ANY DIFFICULTIES; FOR, WITH THE *SMALLEST* SAVINGS, IT MAY, IN AS LITTLE TIME AS ITS INTEREST CAN REQUIRE, PAY OFF THE *LARGEST* DEBTS" (pp. XIII-XIV).

The worthy Price WAS SIMPLY DAZZLED BY THE ENORMOUS QUANTITIES RESULTING FROM GEOMETRICAL PROGRESSION OF NUMBERS. Since he considered capital, WITHOUT ANY REGARD TO THE CONDITIONS OF REPRODUCTION OF LABOUR, AS A SELF-ACTING THING, merely as a number which multiplies itself, he was well able to believe that he had discovered the law of its growth in that formula (see above). Pitt, in 1792, in a speech in which he proposed increasing the sum allocated to the SINKING FUND, took Dr. Price's mystification quite seriously. ($S=C\ (1+i)^{n}$ [44]).

In his *Dictionary of commerce*, 1841, McCulloch lists the properties of metal money thus:

"The material must be: (1) divisible INTO THE SMALLEST PORTIONS; (2) capable of being kept for AN INDEFINITE PERIOD without DETERIORATING; (3) easily TRANSPORTABLE from place to place by virtue of possessing GREAT VALUE IN SMALL BULK; (4) such that one piece of money, OF A CERTAIN DENOMINATION, should always be equal, in magnitude and QUALITY, TO EVERY OTHER PIECE OF THE SAME DENOMINATION; (5) ITS VALUE should be COMPARATIVELY STEADY" (p. 836 [MacCulloch, *A Dictionary, practical, theoretical, and historical, of commerce and commercial navigation*, London, 1847.]).

Throughout his polemic with Bastiat, in *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon*, Paris, 1850, the whole argument of the worthy Proudhon hinges on the fact that lending appears to him to be something quite different from selling.

The lending of money at interest "is the ability of selling the same object over and over again, and receiving the price of it, over and over again, without ever giving up the ownership of what is sold" [a] (p. 9, in the first letter of Chevé, one of the editors of *La Voix du Peuple*).

The different forms in which the reproduction of capital appears here prevent him from seeing that this continual reproduction of capital—the price of which constantly returns, and is over and over again exchanged for labour with profit, a profit which is over and over again realised in purchase and sale—constitutes its concept. He is led astray by the fact that the

[a] Here and below Marx quotes from Proudhon in French.—*Ed.*

"object" does not change owners, as in purchase and sale; hence, *au fond*, by the form of reproduction, which capital loaned out at interest shares with fixed capital. In the case of house rent, of which Chevé speaks, the form involved is, directly, that of fixed capital. If circulating capital is considered in its entire process, it is evident that, although it is not *the same object* (e.g., a particular pound of sugar) that is sold over and over again, the same value is reproduced over and over again, and the alienation only concerns the form, not the substance.

Obviously, people who are capable of raising such objections are still confused about the most elementary concepts of political economy. Proudhon does not understand how either profit or, therefore, interest originates from the law of exchange of values. Hence he argues that "house", money, etc. should not be exchanged as "capital" but as "commodities ... at cost price" ([*Gratuite du crédit*, pp. 43,] 44).

The worthy young fellow does not understand the crucial point—that value is exchanged for labour, according to the law of values; and consequently that, if he is to abolish interest, he would have to abolish *capital* itself, the mode of production based on exchange value, and therefore abolish wage labour, too.

Mr. Proudhon's inability to find even one distinction between loan and sale:

> "Actually, the hatter who sells his hats ... obtains the value of them, neither more nor less. But the capitalist who loans out his capital ... not merely gets his capital back in full; he gets back more than his capital, more than he brought to the exchange; over and above his capital, he gets an interest" (p. 69).

Consequently, Mr. Proudhon's hatters do not reckon either profit or interest in their cost price. He does not understand that precisely by obtaining the *value* of their hats they obtain more than the hats have cost them, because a part of this value has been appropriated without equivalent in the exchange with labour. Here is also his great proposition, elucidated above[a]:

> "It is impossible, with interest on capital being added in commerce to the worker's wages to make up the price of the commodity, for the worker to be able to buy back what he himself has produced. Living by working is a principle which, under the rule of interest, is implicitly self-contradictory" ([l.c.,] p. 105).

In letter IX (pp. 144-52), the worthy Proudhon confuses money as means of circulation with capital, and on this basis concludes that the "capital" existing in France yields 160% (viz. 1,600 million in annual interest on the national debt, mortgages, etc., for a

[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 352-62.—*Ed.*

capital of 1,000 million ... the sum of money ... circulating in France).

How little he understands about capital in general and its continuous reproduction is evident from the following assertions which he makes specifically about capital-money, i.e. money loaned out as capital:

"As, by the accumulation of interest, capital-money, from exchange to exchange, always returns to its source, it follows that the re-lending, always done by the same hand, always profits the same person" (p. 154).

"*All labour must yield a surplus*" [p. 200].

(Everything should be *sold*, nothing should be *loaned*. That is the whole trick. Inability to see that the exchange of commodities rests upon the exchange between capital and labour, and the latter form of exchange involves profit and interest. Proudhon wants to cling to the simplest, most abstract form of exchange.)

Mr. Proudhon provides the following elegant demonstration:

"Since value is only a proportion, and all products necessarily bear a certain proportion to one another, it follows that from the social point of view products are always values and realised values; for society, the distinction between capital and product does not exist. The distinction is completely subjective to the individuals" (p. 250).

The antagonistic nature of capital, and the necessity for it of the existence of the propertyless worker, is naively expressed by earlier English economists, e.g. the REVEREND MR. Joseph Townsend, the father of the population theory, by the FRAUDULENT appropriation of which Malthus made himself into a great man. (In general, Malthus is a shameless plagiarist, e.g., his theory of rent is borrowed from the farmer Anderson.) Townsend [VII-49] says:

"IT SEEMS TO BE A *LAW OF NATURE* THAT THE POOR SHOULD BE TO A CERTAIN DEGREE IMPROVIDENT, THAT THERE MAY BE ALWAYS SOME TO FULFIL THE MOST SERVILE, THE MOST SORDID, AND THE MOST IGNOBLE OFFICES IN THE COMMUNITY. THE STOCK OF HUMAN HAPPINESS IS THEREBY MUCH INCREASED. The more delicate are thereby relieved from DRUDGERY, and are at liberty to pursue higher CALLINGS", etc. (*A Dissertation on the Poor Laws*. EDITION OF 1817, p. 39). "LEGAL CONSTRAINT to labour is ATTENDED WITH TOO MUCH TROUBLE, VIOLENCE, AND NOISE, CREATES ILL WILL, etc., WHEREAS HUNGER IS NOT ONLY A PEACEABLE, SILENT, UNREMITTED PRESSURE, BUT, AS THE MOST NATURAL MOTIVE TO INDUSTRY AND LABOUR, IT CALLS FORTH THE MOST POWERFUL EXERTIONS" (p. 15).

(This, IN FACT, provides the answer to the question: which LABOUR is MORE PRODUCTIVE, that of slaves or that of free workers? A. Smith did not need to raise this question, since the capitalist mode of production presupposes free labour. On the other hand, it is likewise the developed relationship of capital and labour that vindicates A. Smith in distinguishing between PRODUCTIVE and

UNPRODUCTIVE LABOUR. Lord Brougham's insipid witticisms against that distinction, and the objections to it, intended to be serious, by Say, Storch, McCulloch, and *tutti quanti*,[a] rebound upon it. A. Smith went astray only by conceiving of the objectification of labour in somewhat too crude a fashion, as labour which fixes itself in a tangible object. But this is of little consequence in him, clumsiness of expression.)

For Galiani, too, the existence of WORKMEN is due to a law of nature. In his book, published in 1750, Galiani says:

"God ordains that men who carry on trades of primary utility are born in abundance" (*Della Moneta, Scrittori classici Italiani di Economia Politica, Parte Moderna*, Vol. III, Milan, 1803, p. 78).[b]

But he also already has the correct conception of value:

"It is toil alone ... that gives value to the thing" ([ibid.,] p. 74).

True, there are also qualitatively different kinds of labour, not merely because there are different branches of production, but because labour may be more intensive or less intensive, etc. Of course, the way in which these differences are adjusted, and all labour is reduced to SIMPLE UNSKILLED LABOUR, cannot be discussed here yet. It is sufficient to state that this reduction is, in fact, *completed* by the positing of the products of all kinds of labour as values. As values, they are equivalent to one another in certain proportions; the higher sorts of labour are themselves estimated in terms of simple labour. This becomes clear immediately when it is considered that, e.g., Californian gold is the product of simple labour, and yet every kind of labour is paid with it. This means that the qualitative distinction is abolished, and the product of a higher kind of labour is, in effect, reduced to a certain quantity of simple labour. Hence, such calculations of the various qualities of labour are completely irrelevant and do not lessen the validity of the [general] principle.

"Metals are used as money because they are valuable; they are not valuable because they are used as money" ([Galiani,] l.c., [p.] 95). "It is the velocity of the circulation of money, and not the quantity of the metals, that causes the amount of money to be large or small" ([p.] 99). "Money is of two kinds: *ideal* and *real*. And it is used for two different purposes: to *valuate* things and to *buy* them. For valuation, ideal money is just as good as real money, and probably even better.... The other use of money is to buy the very things for the pricing of which it serves.... Prices and contracts are estimated in ideal money and realised in real"

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[a] All the rest.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes this and the following passages from Galiani's book in Italian.— *Ed.*

(pp. 112 *et sq.*). "*A peculiar feature of metals is that in them alone all relations are reduced to a single one, namely, their quantity, for they have not been endowed by nature with any difference of quality* either in their internal composition or in their external form and structure" ([pp.] 126-27).

This is a very important observation. Value implies a common substance, and that all distinctions, proportions, are reduced to purely quantitative ones. This is the case with the precious metals, which therefore appear as the natural substance of value.

"Money ... as a standard measuring all things by reference to the needs of life—is that which is generally called the *price* of things" (152). "Ideal money itself is usually the *money of account,* that is to say, the medium used to stipulate, contract and valuate everything. This is due to the same reason why the coins which today are ideal are the oldest coins of every nation, and all of them were once real, and precisely because they were real they were used for calculation" (153).

(This is also the formal explanation of the ideal money of Urquhart, etc. The BAR of iron was originally real money to the NIGGERS,[a] etc., and was then converted into an ideal money; but they still tried to maintain its previous value. Since, as they see from trade, iron varies in value against gold, etc., the ideal BAR, to maintain its value, expresses varying proportions of actual quantities of iron. A complicated method of calculation, which does honour to these gentlemen's power of abstraction.) (*Castlereagh,* in the debates set off by the Bullion Committee in 1810, put forward similar CONFUSED NOTIONS.[b])

Galiani elegantly states:

"That infinity which (things) do not possess when progressing, they possess in circulation" (156).

About use value, Galiani says beautifully:

"Price is a relation.... The price of things is their proportion to our need ... it does not yet have a fixed measure. Perhaps it will be found. I, for my part, think it is *man himself*" ([159,] 162).

"Spain, at the time when it was both the greatest and the richest power, calculated with reals and with the very small maravedis" (172-73).

"In fact, he" (man) "is the sole and true wealth" (188). "*Wealth is a relation between two persons*" (221). "When the price of a thing, or its proportion with other things, changes in the same proportion relative to all things, it is an obvious indication that the value of this thing alone has changed, and not that of all the others" (154).

(The costs of PRESERVING capital, repairing it, must also be included in the calculation.)

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[a] See p. XXIV of the Preface.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 319.—*Ed.*

"THE *POSITIVE LIMITATION OF QUANTITY IN PAPER* MONEY WOULD ACCOMPLISH THE ONLY USEFUL PURPOSE THAT COST OF PRODUCTION DOES IN THE OTHER" ([G.] Opdyke, [*A Treatise on Political Economy*, New York, 1851, p.] 300).

## The merely quantitative distinction in the material of money:

"MONEY IS RETURNED *IN KIND ONLY*" (in the case of LOANS); "WHICH FACT DISTINGUISHES THIS AGENT FROM ALL OTHER MACHINERY ... INDICATES THE NATURE OF ITS SERVICE ... CLEARLY PROVES THE SINGLENESS OF ITS OFFICE" ([ibid., p.] 267).

"WITH MONEY IN POSSESSION, WE HAVE BUT ONE EXCHANGE TO MAKE IN ORDER TO SECURE THE OBJECT OF DESIRE, WHILE WITH OTHER SURPLUS PRODUCTS WE HAVE TWO, THE FIRST OF WHICH (SECURING THE MONEY) IS INFINITELY MORE DIFFICULT THAN THE SECOND" (287-88).

"The *BANKER* DIFFERS FROM THE OLD *USURER* ... THAT HE LENDS TO THE RICH AND SELDOM OR NEVER TO THE POOR. HENCE HE LENDS WITH LESS RISK, AND CAN AFFORD TO DO IT ON CHEAPER TERMS; AND FOR BOTH REASONS, HE AVOIDS THE POPULAR ODIUM WHICH ATTENDED THE USURER" (F. W. Newman, *Lectures on Political Economy*, London, 1851, p. 44).

[VII-50] All hide and secretly bury their money deep in the ground, especially the *gentiles*, who are almost the sole masters of trade and money, being held in thrall to the belief that gold and silver they hide during their lifetime will serve them after their death (François Bernier, *Voyages contenant la description des états du Grand Mogol etc.*, Vol. I, Paris, 1830, p. 314).[a]

In its natural state, matter is *always destitute of value.* Only by means of labour does it obtain exchange value, become an element of wealth (McCulloch, *Discours sur l'origine, [les progrès, les objets particuliers, et l'importance] de l'économie politique etc.*, translated by Prévost. Geneva and Paris, 1825, p. 57).

Commodities in exchange act as each other's *measure* (Storch, *Cours d'economie politique.* Avec des notes, etc., par J. B. Say, Vol. I, Paris, 1823, p. 81). "In the trade between Russia and China, silver is used to evaluate all commodities, yet this commerce is carried on by *trocs*[b]" (p. 88). "Just as labour is not the *source* of the value of wealth, is it not its *measure* either" (l.c., p. 123). "Smith allowed himself to be persuaded that the same cause which makes material objects *exist* was also the source and measure of their value" (p. 124).

"Interest is the price which one pays for the use of a capital" (p. 336). Money must have a direct value, but one based on a *besoin factice.*[c] Its material must not be indispensable for man's existence, since the entire quantity of it which is used as money can never be individually employed; it must always circulate (Vol. II, pp. 113, 114). "Money takes the place of all things" (p. 133).

## Vol. V., *Considérations sur la nature du revenu national*, Paris, 1824:

"Acts of reproductive consumption are not, strictly speaking, expenses, but merely *advances*, since they are paid back to those who make them" (p. 54). "Is there not a manifest contradiction in this proposition that nations enrich themselves

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[a] The passages from Bernier and, below, from the French translation of McCulloch's book are quoted in the manuscript in French; those from Storch are partly in German translation and partly in the original French.—*Ed.*

[b] Barter.—*Ed.*

[c] Factitious need.—*Ed.*

by their abstinence or their *privations*, that is to say by voluntarily condemning themselves to poverty?" (p. 176).

"At the time when hides and furs served as money in Russia, the inconvenience attached to the circulation of so bulky and so perishable a currency gave rise to the idea of replacing them with small stamped pieces of leather, which thus became tokens payable in hides and furs.... They preserved this role until 1700" (namely, later, that of representing the fractional parts of the silver kopecks), "at least in the town of Kaluga and its environs, until Peter I" (in 1700) "decreed that they should be surrendered in exchange for small brass coins" ([Storch, Vol. IV,] p. 79).

A suggestion of the miracles worked by compound interest is already to be found in *Jos. Child*, the great opponent of usury in the 17th century (*Traités sur le commerce etc.*, translated from the English (published in English in 1669), Amsterdam and Berlin, 1754, pp. 115-17).

"IN POINT OF FACT A COMMODITY WILL ALWAYS EXCHANGE FOR MORE LABOUR THAN that which has produced it; *AND IT IS THIS EXCESS THAT CONSTITUTES PROFITS*" (McCulloch, *The Principles of Political Economy*, London, 1825, p. 221).

This remark shows how well Mr. McCulloch has understood Ricardo's principle. He distinguishes between the *real value* and the *exchange value* [of a commodity]; the former, (1), is the QUANTITY OF LABOUR EXPENDED IN ITS APPROPRIATION OR PRODUCTION; the latter, (2), is [this commodity's] *power of purchasing* CERTAIN QUANTITIES OF LABOUR or other commodities (p. 211).

MAN IS AS MUCH THE *PRODUCE OF LABOUR* AS ANY OF THE MACHINES CONSTRUCTED BY HIS AGENCY; AND IT APPEARS TO US THAT IN ALL ECONOMICAL INVESTIGATIONS HE OUGHT TO BE CONSIDERED IN PRECISELY THE SAME POINT OF VIEW (l.c., p. 115). WAGES REALLY CONSIST OF A PART OF THE PRODUCE OF THE INDUSTRY OF THE LABOURER (p. 295). THE PROFITS OF CAPITAL ARE ONLY ANOTHER NAME FOR THE WAGES OF ACCUMULATED LABOUR (p. 291).

"A PERIODICAL DESTRUCTION OF CAPITAL HAS BECOME A NECESSARY CONDITION OF THE EXISTENCE OF ANY MARKET RATE OF INTEREST AT ALL. AND, CONSIDERED IN THAT POINT OF VIEW, THESE AWFUL VISITATIONS, TO WHICH WE ARE ACCUSTOMED TO LOOK FORWARD WITH SO MUCH DISQUIET AND APPREHENSION, AND WHICH WE ARE SO ANXIOUS TO AVERT, MAY BE NOTHING MORE THAN THE NATURAL AND NECESSARY CORRECTIVE OF AN OVERGROWN AND BLOATED OPULENCE, THE *vis medicatrix* BY WHICH OUR SOCIAL SYSTEM, AS AT PRESENT CONSTITUTED, IS ENABLED TO RELIEVE ITSELF FROM TIME TO TIME OF AN EVER-RECURRING PLETHORA WHICH MENACES ITS EXISTENCE, AND TO REGAIN A SOUND AND WHOLESOME STATE" (John Fullarton, *On the Regulation of Currencies, etc.*, London, 1844, p. 165).

MONEY—*GENERAL POWER OF PURCHASING* (Chalmers, [*On Political Economy in Connexion with the Moral State and Moral Prospects of Society*, 2nd ed., Glasgow, 1832, p. 164]).[a]

*CAPITAL* ... SERVICES AND COMMODITIES USED IN PRODUCTION. *MONEY*: THE MEASURE OF VALUE, THE MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE, AND THE UNIVERSAL EQUIVALENT; MORE PRACTICALLY: THE *MEANS OF OBTAINING CAPITAL*; THE *ONLY MEANS OF PAYING FOR CAPITAL* PREVIOUSLY OBTAINED FOR CREDIT; VIRTUALLY A SECURITY FOR OBTAINING ITS

[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, p. 520.—*Ed.*

EQUIVALENT VALUE IN CAPITAL. *COMMERCE* IS THE EXCHANGE OF CAPITAL FOR CAPITAL THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF MONEY, AND THE CONTRACT BEING FOR THE MEDIUM, MONEY ALONE CAN SATISFY THE CONTRACT AND DISCHARGE THE DEBT. IN SELLING, ONE KIND OF CAPITAL IS DISPOSED OF FOR MONEY FOR OBTAINING ITS EQUIVALENT SPECIFIED VALUE IN ANY KIND OF CAPITAL. *INTEREST*—THE CONSIDERATION GIVEN FOR THE LOAN OF MONEY. IF THE MONEY BE BORROWED FOR THE PURPOSE OF *PROCURING CAPITAL*, THEN THE CONSIDERATION GIVEN IS A REMUNERATION FOR THE USE OF CAPITAL (RAW MATERIALS, LABOUR, MERCHANDISE, ETC.) WHICH IT OBTAINS. IF BORROWED FOR THE PURPOSE OF DISCHARGING A DEBT, FOR PAYING FOR CAPITAL PREVIOUSLY OBTAINED AND USED (CONTRACTED TO BE PAID FOR IN MONEY), THEN THE CONSIDERATION GIVEN IS FOR THE USE OF MONEY ITSELF, AND IN THIS RESPECT INTEREST AND DISCOUNT ARE SIMILAR. *DISCOUNT* SOLELY THE REMUNERATION FOR MONEY ITSELF, FOR CONVERTING CREDIT MONEY INTO REAL MONEY. A GOOD BILL GIVES THE SAME COMMAND OVER CAPITAL AS BANK NOTES, MINUS THE CHARGE FOR DISCOUNT; AND BILLS ARE DISCOUNTED FOR THE PURPOSE OF OBTAINING MONEY OF A MORE CONVENIENT DENOMINATION FOR WAGES AND SMALL CASH PAYMENTS, OR TO MEET LARGER ENGAGEMENTS FALLING DUE; AND ALSO FOR THE ADVANTAGE TO BE GAINED WHEN READY MONEY CAN BE HAD BY DISCOUNTING AT A LOWER RATE THAN 5%, THE USUAL ALLOWANCE MADE FOR CASH. THE MAIN OBJECT, HOWEVER, IN DISCOUNTING DEPENDS FUNDAMENTALLY UPON THE SUPPLY AND DEMAND OF LEGAL TENDER MONEY.... THE RATE OF INTEREST DEPENDS MAINLY ON THE DEMAND AND SUPPLY OF CAPITAL, AND THE RATE OF DISCOUNT ENTIRELY ON THE SUPPLY AND DEMAND OF MONEY (*The Economist*, 13 March, 1858. Letter to the Editor).

[VII-51] Mr. K. Arnd, who is quite in his element when he argues about the "dog tax",[45] has made the following interesting discovery:

"In the natural course of goods production there is just *one* phenomenon which, in countries where all available land is under cultivation, seems in some measure to regulate the rate of interest; this is the proportion in which the timber in European forests is augmented through their annual growth. This new growth occurs, quite independently of the exchange value of the timber, at the rate of 3 or 4 to 100" (*Die naturgemässe Volkswirthschaft, gegenüber dem Monopoliengeiste und dem Communismus*, Hanau, 1845, pp. 124-25).

This deserves to be called the forest-grown rate of interest.

"THE REMAINING VALUE OR OVERPLUS WILL IN EACH TRADE BE IN PROPORTION TO THE VALUE OF THE CAPITAL EMPLOYED" (Ricardo, [*On the Principles of Political Economy etc.*, p. 84]).

Speaking of *interest*, two things must be considered:

*Firstly*, the division of *profit* into interest and profit. (Profit as the unity of the two is called GROSS PROFIT by the English.) The distinction becomes a tangible, palpable one as soon as a class of MONIED CAPITALISTS confronts a class of INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISTS. *Secondly*, *capital* itself becomes a commodity, or the commodity (money) is sold as capital. For instance, capital is said to adjust its price according to supply and demand like any other commodity. So it is this that determines the rate of interest. Therefore, here capital as such enters into circulation.

MONIED CAPITALISTS and INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISTS can only constitute 2 distinct classes, because it is possible for profit to be split up into 2 distinct branches of revenue. The 2 sorts of CAPITALISTS merely express that FACT; but there must be this division, this splitting-up of profit into 2 distinct forms of revenue, for 2 distinct classes of capitalists to arise.

The form of interest is older than that of profit. The rate of interest paid by COMMON AGRICULTURISTS in India is in no way an indication of the level of profit. It shows, rather, that the usurer appropriates both profit and a part of wages itself in the form of interest. It is a proceeding worthy of Mr. Carey's historical acumen to compare this interest with that prevailing in the English MONEY MARKET, the interest paid by the English capitalist, and to conclude from that how much higher "labour's portion" (labour's share in the product) is in England than in India.[a] He ought to have taken for comparison the interest paid in England, e.g. in Derbyshire, by the HANDLOOM WEAVERS whose material and instrument are advanced (loaned) to them by the capitalist. He would have found that the interest here is so high that in the end, after all ITEMS have been settled, the worker is still in debt, despite the fact that he has not merely returned the advances to the capitalist, but has also added his own labour to them gratis.

Historically, the form of industrial profit only emerges when capital has ceased to appear alongside the independent worker. Initially, therefore, profit appears as determined by interest. But in bourgeois economy, interest is determined by profit and is merely a part of it. Hence, profit must be sufficiently large for a part of it to be able to be detached from it as interest. The converse was the case historically. Interest must be depressed to such an extent that a part of the surplus gain can make itself independent as profit.

THERE IS A NATURAL RELATION BETWEEN WAGES AND PROFIT—NECESSARY LABOUR AND SURPLUS LABOUR; BUT IS THERE ANY BETWEEN PROFIT AND INTEREST, SAVE THAT WHICH IS DETERMINED BY THE COMPETITION BETWEEN THESE TWO CLASSES ARRANGED UNDER THESE DIFFERENT FORMS OF REVENUES? BUT IN ORDER THAT THIS COMPETITION EXIST, AND THE TWO CLASSES, THE DIVISION OF THE SURPLUS VALUE INTO PROFITS AND INTEREST IS ALREADY PRESUPPOSED. Capital considered in general is not a mere abstraction. If I consider the total capital of a nation, e.g., in distinction from the totality of its wage labour (or also landed property), or if I regard capital as the general economic basis of

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[a] H. Ch. Carey, *The Credit System in France, Great Britain, and the United States*, London, Philadelphia, 1838, pp. 2 and 9.—*Ed.*

one class in distinction from another class, I am considering it in general. It is the same as if, e.g., I considered man physiologically, as distinct from the animal. The real distinction between profit and interest exists as that between a MONEYED CLASS OF CAPITALISTS and an INDUSTRIAL CLASS OF CAPITALISTS. But the possibility of 2 such classes confronting each other, their existence as 2 classes, presupposes a diremption of the surplus value posited by capital.

(Political economy is concerned with the specific social forms of wealth or rather of the production of wealth. The substance of wealth, whether subjective, like labour, or objective, like objects for the satisfaction of natural or historically evolved requirements, appears at first as common to all epochs of production. Hence, this substance initially appears as a mere presupposition, which lies completely outside the sphere of political economy, and falls within that sphere only when it is modified by, or appears as modifying, the relations of form. All that is usually said about it in general terms, is confined to abstractions. These were of historical value in the early essays of political economy, in which the forms were laboriously extracted from the substance and fixed, with great effort, as the proper object of analysis. Later they become leaden platitudes, the more distasteful the greater the scientific pretension with which they are presented. This applies to all the idle chatter the German economists indulge in under the category of "goods".)

The important thing is that interest and profit both express relations of *capital*. As a particular form, interest-bearing capital does not confront labour but profit-bearing capital. The relationship in which, on the one hand, the worker still appears as independent, i.e. not as a wage worker, while, on the other hand, his objective conditions already possess an independent existence alongside him, constituting the property of a particular class of usurers, necessarily develops—in all the modes of production more or less based upon exchange—with the development of merchants' wealth or monetary wealth in opposition to the particular and restricted forms of AGRICULTURAL or artisan wealth. The development of merchants' wealth itself can be regarded as a development of exchange value and hence of circulation and of money relationships in those spheres. On the one hand, this relationship of course shows that the conditions of labour—which to an increasing degree are derived from circulation and depend upon it—become independent of and detached from the economic existence of the worker. On the other hand, his economic existence is not as yet subsumed in the process of

capital. Therefore the mode of production has not, as yet, essentially changed. If this relationship recurs within the bourgeois economy, it does so in backward branches of industry or in such as still [VII-52] resist extinction in the face of the modern mode of production. The most loathsome exploitation of labour still takes place within them, without the relationship of capital and labour in them constituting to any extent the basis for the development of new productive forces or the germ of new historical forms. In the mode of production itself, capital still appears here as materially subsumed in the individual worker or the worker's family—whether in handicraft industry or in small-scale agriculture. There is exploitation by capital, without the mode of production of capital. The rate of interest is very high because it includes profit and even part of the wages. This form of usury, in which capital does not seize hold of production, and therefore is capital only in form, presupposes the dominance of pre-bourgeois forms of production. But it is given a new lease of life, in subordinate spheres, within the bourgeois economy itself.

The second historical form of interest is the lending of capital to consuming wealth. It is historically important here as itself a moment of the origin of capital, since the revenue (AND OFTEN THE LAND TOO) OF THE LANDED PROPRIETORS ACCUMULATES AND BECOMES CAPITALISED IN THE POCKETS OF THE USURER. It is one of the processes by which circulating capital or also capital in the form of money concentrates in the hands of a class independent of the landed proprietors.

The form adopted by realised capital, as well as by its realised surplus value, is money. Hence profit (and not only interest) is expressed in money; because it is in money that value is realised and measured.

The necessity of paying in money—not merely of money for the purchase of commodities, etc.—arises wherever relations of exchange and money circulation obtain. It is not at all necessary that the exchange should be simultaneous. With money, it becomes possible for one party to yield up its commodity [at once], while the other makes its payment later. The need for money to that end (later developed in LOANS and DISCOUNTS) is historically one of the main sources of interest. We are not as yet concerned with this aspect; we must leave it until we come to discuss credit relations.

The distinction between *BUYING* ($M—C$) and *SELLING* ($C—M$):

"If I sell, I have (1) charged the profit on the commodity and obtained that profit; (2) received AN ARTICLE UNIVERSALLY REPRESENTATIVE OR CONVERTIBLE,

*MONEY*, for which, MONEY BEING ALWAYS SALEABLE, I can at all times command every other commodity; THE SUPERIOR SALEABLENESS OF MONEY BEING THE EXACT EFFECT OR NATURAL CONSEQUENCE OF THE LESS SALEABLENESS OF COMMODITIES. It is otherwise with buying. IF HE BUYS TO SELL AGAIN OR SUPPLY CUSTOMERS, WHATEVER MAY BE THE PROBABILITY, THERE IS NO ABSOLUTE CERTAINTY OF HIS SELLING AT A REMUNERATIVE PRICE. But all who buy do not sell again, people also buy for THEIR OWN USE OR CONSUMPTION," etc. (Th[omas] Corbet, *An Inquiry into the Causes and Modes of the Wealth of Individuals*, London, 1841, pp. 117 *et sq.*).

*The Economist*, 10 April [1858]: "A PARLIAMENTARY RETURN MOVED FOR BY MR. JAMES WILSON SHOWS THAT THE MINT COINED IN 1857 GOLD TO THE VALUE OF £4,859,000, OF WHICH £364,000 WAS IN HALF-SOVEREIGNS. THE SILVER COINAGE OF THE YEAR AMOUNTED TO £373,000, THE COST OF THE METAL USED BEING £363,000. THE TOTAL AMOUNT COINED IN THE TEN YEARS ENDING THE 31ST OF DECEMBER, 1857, WAS £55,239,000 IN GOLD, AND £2,434,000 IN SILVER. THE COPPER COINAGE LAST YEAR AMOUNTED IN VALUE TO £6,720—THE VALUE OF THE COPPER BEING £3,492; OF THIS, 3,136 WAS IN PENCE, 2,464 IN HALF-PENCE, AND 1,120 IN FARTHINGS. THE TOTAL VALUE OF THE COPPER COINAGE OF THE LAST TEN YEARS WAS £141,477, THE COPPER OF WHICH IT WAS COMPOSED BEING PURCHASED FOR £73,503."

"According to Thomas Culpeper (1641), Josiah Child (1670), Paterson (1694), Locke (1700), wealth depends upon the reduction, even if a forced one, of the interest rate of gold and silver. Abided by in England for almost 2 centuries" (Ganilh [*Des systèmes d'économie politique*, Vol. I, Paris, 1809, pp. 76-77]).

When *Hume* argued, in opposition to Locke, that the rate of interest was determined by the rate of profit,[a] he was witnessing capital at a considerably higher stage of development; it was even more highly developed when Bentham, at the end of the 18th century, wrote his apologia for usury.[b]

(From Henry VIII to Queen Anne, reduction of interest by law.)

"In every country: (1) A PRODUCING CLASS,[46] and (2) A MONIED CLASS, who live upon the interest of their capital" (J. St. Mill, [*Essays on*] *Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy*, London, 1844, p. 110).

"IT IS BY FREQUENT FLUCTUATION IN A MONTH, AND BY PAWNING ONE ARTICLE TO RELIEVE ANOTHER, WHERE A SMALL SUM IS OBTAINED, THAT THE PREMIUM FOR MONEY BECOMES SO EXCESSIVE. 240 LICENSED PAWNBROKERS IN LONDON AND ABOUT 1,450 IN THE COUNTRY.THE CAPITAL EMPLOYED IS ESTIMATED AT ABOUT 1 MILLION. It is turned round at least thrice in the course of a year and yields each time 33 $^1/_2$% on an average; so that the INFERIOR ORDERS of England yearly pay 1 million for A TEMPORARY LOAN of one million, EXCLUSIVE OF WHAT THEY LOSE BY GOODS BEING FORFEITED" (J. D. Tuckett, *A History of the Past and Present State of the Labouring Population etc.*, Vol. I, London, 1846, p. 114).

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[a] D. Hume, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*, Vol. I.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Bentham, *Defence of Usury*, London, 1787.—*Ed.*

"There are some labours which cannot be carried on except on a large scale, e.g. porcelain-making, glass-making, etc. Hence, these are never handicrafts. Some labours, like weaving, were already carried on on a large scale in the 13th and 14th centuries" (Poppe [p. 32]).

"In older times, all factories belonged to the handicrafts, and the *merchant* was merely carrier and deliverer for the handicrafts. This system was most strictly adhered to in cloth and linen manufacture. However, in many places the merchants gradually began to set themselves up as masters" (naturally, they were free from the old masters' guild prejudices, traditions and relation to the journeymen) "and took the journeymen into employment for daily wages" (Poppe, *Geschichte der Technologie*, Vol. I, Göttingen, 1807, pp. 70-71).

This was one of the main reasons why in England industry proper became established and developed in non-incorporated towns.

Commercial capital or money, as it makes its appearance as merchants' wealth, is the first form of capital, i.e. of value which originates exclusively from circulation (exchange) and is maintained, reproduced and increased in it, and hence the sole aim of this movement and activity is exchange value. Both movements [take place], buying in order to sell, and selling in order to buy, but the [VII-53] form $M—C—C—M$ is dominant. Money and the increase of money is the exclusive aim of the operation. The merchant neither buys the commodity for his own need, for the sake of its use value, nor does he sell it in order to, e.g., discharge contracts stipulated in money, or to acquire other commodities for his needs. His direct aim is increase of value—increase in its immediate form as money. Mercantile wealth is first of all money as means of exchange, money as the mediating movement of circulation; it exchanges commodity for money, and money for commodity, and vice versa. Similarly, money appears here as an end in itself, but without for that reason existing in its metallic form. It is, here, the living conversion of value into the two forms of commodity and money: the indifference of value to the particular form of use value which it assumes, and simultaneously its metamorphosis into all these forms, which, however, appear merely as disguises.

If the activity of trade thus summarises the movements of circulation, and money as mercantile wealth, therefore, is, on the one hand, the first form of existence of capital, and appears so historically—this form appears, on the other hand, as directly contradictory to the *concept of value*. The law of trade is to buy cheap and sell dear. Hence *not exchange of equivalents, with which trade as a particular branch of business would, in fact, be impossible.*

Nevertheless, money as mercantile wealth—as it appears in the

most different social forms and at the most different stages of development of the social productive forces—is merely the mediating movement between extremes which it does not dominate, and between presuppositions which it does not create.

A. Smith, [*Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations,*] ed. Garnier, Vol. II, Book III:

"The great *commerce* of every civilised society is that carried on between the inhabitants of the town and those of the country ... consists *in the exchange of raw products* for *manufactured products*, either immediately, or by the intervention of money" (p. 403).[a]

Trade always draws together; originally, production on a small scale.

"The town is a continual fair or market, to which the inhabitants of the country resort to exchange their raw products for manufactured products. It is this commerce which supplies the inhabitants of the town both with the materials of their work and with the means of their subsistence. The quantity of *finished goods* which they sell to the inhabitants of the country necessarily determines the quantity of the materials and provisions which they buy" (p. 408 [409]).

As long as "means of subsistence and of enjoyment" are the main aim, use value is dominant.

It is implicit in the concept of value that it is maintained and increased only by means of exchange. But existing value is first of all money.

"That industry, which aims at something outside the circle of absolute necessaries, was established in towns long before it could be commonly practised by the cultivators in the countryside" (p. 452).

"Although the inhabitants of a town ultimately draw their subsistence and all the means and materials for their industry from the countryside, those of a city near either the sea coast or a navigable river may draw them also from the most remote corners of the world, either in exchange for the manufactured products of their own industry, or by performing the office of carriers between distant countries and exchanging the products of one for those of another. Thus a city can become very rich, while not only the country in its immediate neighbourhood but the entire area in which it trades is poor. Each of those countries, taken singly, can afford it only a very small part of its subsistence and of what it needs for business; but all of them, taken together, can afford it a great quantity of subsistences and a great diversity of employment" (p. [452,] 453).

(The cities of Italy were the first in Europe to rise thanks to trade; at the time of the Crusades—Venice, Genoa and Pisa—partly owing to the transportation of people, and always owing to the transportation of provisions which had to be supplied to them. These republics were, one might say, the commissaries of those armies) (l.c.).

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[a] Marx quotes Smith in French. From the words "Although the inhabitants of a town", he quotes in German translation, occasionally using French phrases.—*Ed.*

*Merchants' wealth conceived of as continuously in exchange,* and exchanging for the sake of exchange value, is IN FACT living money.

"The inhabitants of trading cities, by importing refined articles and expensive luxuries from richer countries, catered to the vanity of the big landed proprietors, who bought them eagerly, paying with great quantities of the raw produce of their lands. The trade of a great part of Europe at the time, accordingly, consisted in the exchange of the raw products of some countries for the manufactured products of the industrially more advanced ones" (p. [454,] 455). "When this taste became so general as to occasion a considerable demand, the merchants, to save the expense of carriage, sought to establish similar manufactures in their own country. This the rise of the first manufactures for distant sale" (l.c.). Luxury goods manufactures, sprung from FOREIGN COMMERCE, were established by merchants (worked up foreign materials) (p. 456 [457]).

Adam Smith speaks of a second type of manufactures, which "arise naturally, of their own accord, by the gradual refinement of the crude domestic crafts". They work up HOMEGROWN MATERIALS (p. 459).

The trading peoples of antiquity were located, like the Gods of Epicurus, in the intermundia of the world,[47] or RATHER like the Jews in the pores of Polish society. Most of the independent trading peoples or cities that attained a high level of development were engaged in the *CARRYING TRADE*, based upon the barbarity of the producing peoples, between whom they played the role of money (the mediator).

At the initial stages of bourgeois society, trade dominated industry; in modern society, the other way round.

Naturally, trade will have repercussions, to a greater or lesser degree, upon the communities between which it is carried on. It will increasingly subject production to exchange value, and force immediate use value more and more into the background, by making subsistence depend more upon the sale of the product than upon its immediate use. It dissolves the old relationships and thereby increases money circulation. At first, it embraces only the surplus of production; but gradually it seizes hold of production itself. However, the dissolving effect greatly depends upon the nature of the producing communities between which trade is carried on. E.g., it has hardly shaken the ancient Indian community and Asiatic relationships in general. Fraud in the exchange is the [VII-54] basis of trade as it appears independently.

But capital emerges only when trade seizes control of production itself, and the merchant becomes a producer or the producer becomes merely a merchant. Opposed to this are the medieval guilds, the caste system, etc. But the rise of capital in its adequate

form presupposes capital as commercial capital, so that production, more or less mediated by money, is no longer carried on for use, but for trade on a large scale.

Mercantile wealth as an independent economic form, and as the basis of trading cities and trading peoples, exists and has existed among peoples who are at the most different levels of economic development. And within the trading city itself (e.g. the ancient Asian, the Greek, and the Italian, etc., city of the Middle Ages), production may continue to exist in the form of guild production, etc.

*Steuart.* "*TRADE* IS AN OPERATION BY WHICH THE WEALTH, OR WORK, EITHER OF INDIVIDUALS, OR OF SOCIETIES, MAY BE EXCHANGED, BY A SET OF MEN CALLED MERCHANTS, FOR AN EQUIVALENT, PROPER FOR SUPPLYING EVERY WANT, WITHOUT ANY INTERRUPTION TO INDUSTRY, OR ANY CHECK TO CONSUMPTION. *INDUSTRY* IS THE APPLICATION TO INGENIOUS LABOUR IN A FREE MAN, IN ORDER TO PROCURE, BY THE *MEANS OF TRADE*, AN EQUIVALENT FIT FOR SUPPLYING EVERY WANT" ([*An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy*,] Vol. I, [Dublin, 1770,] p. 166).

"WHILE WANTS CONTINUE SIMPLE AND FEW, A WORKMAN FINDS TIME ENOUGH TO DISTRIBUTE ALL HIS WORK; WHEN WANTS BECOME MORE MULTIPLIED, MEN MUST WORK HARDER; *TIME BECOMES PRECIOUS*; HENCE TRADE IS INTRODUCED.... The MERCHANT as mediator between WORKMEN AND CONSUMERS" (p. 171).

THE COLLECTION (of the products) INTO A FEW HANDS is the INTRODUCTION OF TRADE (l.c.). The CONSUMER does not buy in order to sell again. The merchant buys and sells merely with A VIEW TO A GAIN (p. 174) (i.e. for value). "The most simple of all TRADE is that which is carried on by *BARTERING the most necessary means of subsistence*" (between the SURPLUS FOOD in the hands of the farmers, and the FREE HANDS) [p. 175]. Progress is due mainly to the INTRODUCTION OF MONEY (p. 176).

As long as reciprocal wants are SUPPLIED BY BARTER, there is not the smallest occasion for money. This is the simplest combination. When wants are multiplied, BARTERING BECOMES more difficult; UPON THIS, *MONEY* IS INTRODUCED. This is the COMMON PRICE of all things. A PROPER EQUIVALENT in the hands of those who WANT. This OPERATION OF BUYING and SELLING is somewhat more complex than the former [p. 177].

Hence (1) *BARTER*; (2) *SALE*; (3) *COMMERCE*...

The merchant must come into play as a mediator. What we previously called WANTS, is now represented by the CONSUMER; industry, by the MANUFACTURER; money, by the merchant. The merchant represents the money, BY SUBSTITUTING CREDIT IN ITS PLACE; and as money was invented to facilitate BARTER, so the MERCHANT with his CREDIT is A NEW REFINEMENT UPON THE USE OF MONEY. This OPERATION of BUYING and SELLING is now TRADE; IT RELIEVES both parties of the whole TROUBLE OF TRANSPORTATION, and ADJUSTING WANTS TO WANTS, OR WANTS TO MONEY; the MERCHANT REPRESENTS BY TURNS THE CONSUMER, THE MANUFACTURER, and the money. To the CONSUMER he represents the whole body of MANUFACTURERS; to the latter, the whole body of CONSUMERS; and to both classes HIS CREDIT SUPPLIES THE USE OF MONEY (pp. 177, 178).

*Merchants are SUPPOSED to BUY and SELL, not from necessity, but WITH A VIEW TO PROFIT* (p. 201).

"Only the industrialist produces for the use of others, not for his own; these goods begin to be useful to him only at the moment at which he exchanges them. Thus they give rise to the need for trade or the art of exchange. They are only estimated in terms of their exchangeable value" (Sismondi, *Études sur l'économie politique*, Vol. II, Brussels, 1838, p. 161).[a] Trade has robbed the things, the riches, of their primitive character of usefulness: *commerce has reduced everything to the opposition between use value and exchange value* (p. 162). Initially, utility is the true measure of values; trade does exist then, in the patriarchal state of society; but it has not wholly absorbed society, it embraces only the surplus of everyone's production, not what is necessary for his existence (pp. 162, 163). By contrast, our economic progress is characterised by the fact that *trade* has taken upon itself the *distribution* of the totality of the wealth annually produced, and consequently has completely suppressed the character of wealth as use value, and will not permit any other but exchange value to exist (163).

Before the introduction of trade, an increase in the quantity of output constituted a direct increase of wealth. The quantity of labour by means of which useful things were obtained was of little consequence then. And, in fact, the utility of the thing required would in no way be diminished even if no labour at all were necessary to obtain it. Grain and linen would be no less necessary to those possessing them, even if they had fallen from the heavens. That is without doubt the true estimation of wealth—enjoyment and utility. But from the moment when men ... made their subsistence dependent upon the exchanges which they could carry out, or on commerce, they were forced to adhere to another mode of estimation, to exchange value, to a value which stems not from utility, but from *the relationship between the need of the entire society and the quantity of labour sufficient to satisfy this need*, or also the quantity of labour which could satisfy it at some future time (l.c., p. 266). In the estimation of values which people have sought to measure by the agency of money, the concept of utility is wholly set aside. It is *labour* alone, the effort necessary to obtain the two things exchanged for one another, that is taken into consideration (p. 267).

On interest, J. W. Gilbart says (*The History and Principles of Banking*, London, 1834):

"That a man who borrows money with a *view of making a profit by it*, should give some portion of his profit to the lender, is A SELF-EVIDENT PRINCIPLE OF NATURAL JUSTICE. A man usually makes a profit by means of TRAFFIC. But in the Middle Ages the population was purely agricultural. And under such conditions, as under feudal GOVERNMENT, there can be but little TRAFFIC, and hence little PROFIT. Therefore, the laws on usury in the Middle Ages were justified. Besides, IN AN AGRICULTURAL COUNTRY A PERSON SELDOM WANTS TO BORROW MONEY EXCEPT HE BE REDUCED TO POVERTY OR DISTRESS BY MISERY[b]" (p. 163).

Henry VIII limited interest to 10%, James I to 8, Charles II to 6, Anne to 5 (164, 165). In those [VII-55] times the lenders were in fact, if not legally, monopolists, and hence it was necessary to place them, like other monopolists, UNDER RESTRAINT (p. 165). In our times, the rate of profit regulates the rate of interest; in those times, the rate of interest regulated the rate of profit. If the money-lender charged a high rate of interest to the merchant, the merchant had to

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[a] The excerpts from Sismondi are quoted by Marx in German translation, with a French word or phrase here and there.—*Ed.*

[b] Gilbart has "by misfortune".—*Ed.*

set a higher rate of profit on his GOODS. Hence, a large sum of money was taken from the pockets of the buyers to be put into the pockets of the MONEY-LENDERS. This ADDITIONAL PRICE set upon the GOODS made the PUBLIC less able and inclined to buy them (l.c., p. 165).

"UNDER THE RULE OF INVARIABLE EQUIVALENTS, *COMMERCE*, etc., WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE" (G. Opdyke, *A Treatise on Political Economy*, New York, 1851, p. 67).

"THE POSITIVE LIMITATION[a] OF QUANTITY IN THIS INSTRUMENT" (i.e. paper money) "WOULD ACCOMPLISH THE ONLY USEFUL PURPOSE THAT COST OF PRODUCTION DOES IN THE OTHER" (METAL MONEY) (l.c., p. 300).

*Interest.* "If A FIXED SUM OF PRECIOUS METAL falls [in value], this is no reason why A SMALLER QUANTITY OF MONEY SHOULD BE TAKEN FOR ITS USE, for if the PRINCIPAL is of less value for the BORROWER, the interest is to the same extent less difficult for him to pay. In California, 3% per MONTH, 36% per annum, because of the UNSETTLED STATE. In Hindustan, with the Indian princes borrowing *for UNPRODUCTIVE EXPENSES*, the lenders, to counterbalance on the average the losses of capital, [charge] very high interest, 30%, *HAVING NO RELATION TO PROFIT* WHICH MIGHT BE GAINED IN INDUSTRIAL OPERATIONS" (*The Economist*, [No. 491,] 22 January 1853 [p. 89]). (The lender "CHARGES here INTEREST SO HIGH AS TO BE SUFFICIENT TO REPLACE THE PRINCIPAL IN A SHORT TIME, OR AT LEAST AS ON THE AVERAGE OF ALL HIS LENDING TRANSACTIONS, MIGHT SERVE TO COUNTERBALANCE HIS LOSSES IN PARTICULAR INSTANCES, BY THE APPARENTLY EXORBITANT GAINS ACQUIRED IN OTHERS" (l.c.).)

The RATE of INTEREST DEPENDS: (1) on the RATE OF PROFIT; (2) on the proportion in which the ENTIRE PROFIT is divided between the LENDER and BORROWER (l.c.).

ABUNDANCE OR SCARCITY OF THE PRECIOUS METALS, THE HIGH OR LOW SCALE OF GENERAL PRICES PREVAILING, DETERMINES ONLY WHETHER A GREATER OR LESS AMOUNT OF MONEY WILL BE REQUIRED IN EFFECTING THE EXCHANGES BETWEEN BORROWERS AND LENDERS, AS WELL AS EVERY OTHER SPECIES OF EXCHANGE.... The only difference is THAT A GREATER SUM OF MONEY WOULD BE NEEDED TO REPRESENT AND TRANSFER CAPITAL LENT ... THE RELATION BETWEEN THE SUM PAID FOR THE USE OF CAPITAL AND THE CAPITAL EXPRESSES THE RATE OF INTEREST AS MEASURED IN MONEY (l.c. [pp. 89-90]).

*DOUBLE STANDARD.*

Formerly in the countries where gold and silver were the LEGAL STANDARD, the circulating currency consisted almost entirely of silver, because from 1800 to 1850 THE TENDENCY WAS FOR GOLD TO BECOME DEARER THAN SILVER. GOLD had somewhat risen in relation to silver, and in France bore a PREMIUM as compared to its ratio to silver fixed in 1802. So in the UNITED STATES; in India. (In the latter, there is now a silver standard, as in Holland, etc.) The circulation of the UNITED STATES was the first to be affected. Large imports of gold from California, a premium on silver in Europe, EXTENSIVE SHIPMENT OF SILVER COINS AND REPLACEMENT BY GOLD. The UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT minted gold coins of as LOW a value as 1 DOLLAR. Substitution of silver for gold in France (*The Economist*, [No. 429,] 15 November 1851 [p. 1257]).

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[a] i. e., in Opdyke's usage, limitation "by positive law".—*Ed.*

LET THE "STANDARD OF VALUE" BE WHAT IT WILL, "AND LET THE CURRENT MONEY REPRESENT *ANY* FIXED PORTION OF THAT STANDARD THAT MAY BE DETERMINED UPON, THE TWO CAN ONLY HAVE A FIXED AND PERMANENT VALUE IN RELATION TO EACH OTHER, BY BEING CONVERTIBLE AT THE WILL OF THE HOLDER" (*The Economist* [No. 215, 9 October 1847, p. 1158]).

THE ONLY WAY IN WHICH ANY CLASS OF COINS CAN COMMAND A PREMIUM IS THAT NO ONE IS OBLIGED TO PAY THEM, WHILE EVERYONE IS OBLIGED TO TAKE THEM AS A LEGAL TENDER (*The Economist* [No. 386, 18 January 1851, p. 59]).

Consequently, no country can have more than one STANDARD (MORE THAN *ONE* STANDARD OF THE MEASURE OF VALUE); for this STANDARD must be UNIFORM and UNCHANGING. No article has a uniform, unchanging value in relation to others; IT ONLY HAS SUCH WITH ITSELF. One piece of gold is always of the same value as another of exactly the same fineness, the same weight and the same value in the same place; BUT THIS CANNOT BE SAID of gold *and* ANY OTHER ARTICLE, e.g. silver (*The Economist*, [No. 37, 11 May] 1844 [p. 771]).

The English pound sterling is somewhat less than $^1/_3$ of its original value; the German florin=$^1/_6$; Scotland, prior to the Union,[48] had DEBASED its pound to $^1/_{36}$; the French livre=$^1/_{74}$ [of its original value]; the Spanish maravedi=less than $^1/_{1,000}$; the Portuguese re has suffered still more (Morrison, [*Observations on the system of Metallic Currency adopted in this country*, London, 1837,] p. 13).

Previous to the law of 1819,[49] the CAUSES IN EXISTENCE DETERMINING THE BULLION PRICE, other than the circulation of bank notes were (1) THE MORE OR LESS PERFECT CONDITION OF THE COIN. If the circulating metallic coins are DEBASED below their STANDARD WEIGHT, the slightest TURN OF EXCHANGE CAUSING A DEMAND FOR EXPORTATION must raise the price of UNCOINED BULLION at least by the amount of the degradation of the COIN; (2) PENAL LAWS, which prohibited the MELTING and EXPORTING of COIN and permitted the TRAFFIC IN BULLION. Given an intensive demand for EXPORT, this afforded LATITUDE for the VARIATION OF THE BULLION-PRICE in relation to that of COIN even at times when paper was fully convertible. In 1783, 1792, 1795, 1796 ... 1816, the bullion price rose above the MINT PRICE, because the BANK DIRECTORS, IN THEIR ANXIETY TO PREPARE FOR THE RESUMPTION OF CASH PAYMENT, accepted gold at considerably above the MINT PRICE (Fullarton, [*On the Regulation of Currencies*, 2nd ed., London, 1845, pp. 7-9]).

The STANDARD can be in terms of gold, without there being a single ounce of gold in circulation (*The Economist* [No. 58, 5 October 1844]).

Under George III (1774) silver was legal TENDER only up to £25. The bank, too, was now legally obliged to pay only in gold (Morrison [ibid., p. 12]). Through Lord Liverpool (beginning of the 19th century) silver and copper were turned into purely representative coins (l.c. [pp. 14-15]).

## The dissolving effect of money. Money is the means of splitting up property.

*Urquhart's rubbish concerning the* STANDARD OF MONEY:

"THE *VALUE* OF GOLD IS TO BE MEASURED BY ITSELF; HOW CAN ANY SUBSTANCE BE THE MEASURE OF ITS OWN WORTH IN OTHER THINGS? THE WORTH OF GOLD IS TO BE ESTABLISHED BY ITS OWN *WEIGHT*, UNDER A FALSE DENOMINATION OF THAT WEIGHT—AND AN *OUNCE* IS TO BE WORTH SO MANY *POUNDS* AND FRACTIONS OF POUNDS. THIS IS—FALSIFYING A *MEASURE*, NOT ESTABLISHING A *STANDARD*!" (*Familiar Words* [London, 1856, pp. 104-05]).

[VII-56] A. Smith calls LABOUR THE *REAL* and MONEY THE *NOMINAL MEASURE OF VALUE*; describes the former as the original measure.[a]

*The value of money. John Stuart Mill.*

"Given the quantity of goods sold, and the number of sales and resales of these goods, the value of money depends upon its quantity, together with the number of times each piece of money changes hands in the process." "The quantity of money in circulation=the money value of all the goods sold, divided by the number which expresses the velocity of circulation." "Given the amount of goods and of transactions, the value of money is inversely as its quantity multiplied by the velocity of its circulation." But in all these propositions "only that quantity of money is meant which really circulates and is actually exchanged for goods". "The necessary quantity of money is determined partly by its production costs and partly by the velocity of its circulation. The velocity of circulation being given, the production costs are determinant; and the production costs being given, the quantity of money depends on the velocity of circulation" [J. St. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, Vol. II, London, 1848, pp. 17, 18, 20, 30].

Money has no other equivalent than itself or what is a commodity. Hence it degrades everything. In France at the beginning of the 15th century, even the consecrated Church vessels (chalices), etc., were in pawn to the Jews (Augier [*Du crédit public*, Paris, 1842, pp. 95, 101]).[b]

*Money is not an object of direct consumption:*

Currency never becomes an object of consumption. It always remains a commodity for sale [*marchandise*], never becomes one for consumption [*denrée*]. It directly possesses intrinsic value only for society; for every individual, it possesses exchange value. Therefore, the material of which it is composed must have value, but one based on a *besoin factice*,[c] it may not be indispensable for man's existence, since the entire quantity of money which is employed as currency can never be individually employed; it must always circulate (Storch [*Cours d'économie politique*, Vol. II, Paris, 1823, pp. 109, 113-14]).

[VII-57] John Gray: *The Social System: a treatise on the principle of exchange*, Edinburgh, 1831.

"TO SELL FOR MONEY should AT ALL TIMES be made as easy AS it is TO BUY WITH MONEY; PRODUCTION WOULD THEN BECOME THE UNIFORM AND NEVER FAILING CAUSE OF DEMAND" (p. 16).

IT IS THE QUANTITY THAT CAN BE SOLD AT A PROFIT, NOT THE QUANTITY THAT CAN BE MADE, THAT IS THE PRESENT LIMIT TO PRODUCTION (59).

MONEY SHOULD BE MERELY A *RECEIPT*, AN EVIDENCE THAT THE HOLDER OF IT HAS EITHER CONTRIBUTED A CERTAIN VALUE TO THE NATIONAL STOCK OF WEALTH, OR THAT

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[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I, London, 1835, pp. 100, 101 and 105.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes partly in French and partly in German translation. The passage from Storch that follows is in German translation, with a few occasional French words.—*Ed.*

[c] Factitious need.—*Ed.*

HE HAS ACQUIRED A RIGHT TO THE SAID VALUE FROM SOME ONE WHO HAS CONTRIBUTED TO IT.... MONEY SHOULD BE NOTHING MORE OR LESS THAN PORTABLE, TRANSFERABLE, DIVISIBLE AND INIMITABLE EVIDENCES OF THE EXISTENCE OF WEALTH IN STORE (63-64).

*AN ESTIMATED VALUE BEING PREVIOUSLY PUT UPON PRODUCE*, LET IT BE LODGED IN A BANK, AND DRAWN OUT AGAIN WHENEVER IT IS REQUIRED, MERELY STIPULATING, BY COMMON CONSENT, THAT HE WHO LODGES ANY KIND OF PROPERTY IN THE PROPOSED NATIONAL BANK, MAY TAKE OUT OF IT AN EQUAL VALUE OF WHATEVER IT MAY CONTAIN, INSTEAD OF BEING OBLIGED TO DRAW OUT THE SELF SAME THING THAT HE PUT IN.... THE PROPOSED NATIONAL BANKER SHOULD RECEIVE AND TAKE CHARGE OF *EVERY* DESCRIPTION OF VALUABLE, AND GIVE BACK *ANY* DESCRIPTION OF VALUABLE IN ITS STEAD (l.c., p. 68).

"IF MONEY," says Gray, "BE OF *EQUAL VALUE* WITH THAT WHICH IT REPRESENTS, IT CEASES TO BE A *REPRESENTATIVE* AT ALL. IT IS ONE OF THE CHIEF DESIDERATUMS IN MONEY, THAT THE HOLDER OF IT SHOULD BE COMPELLED AT ONE TIME OR OTHER TO PRESENT IT FOR PAYMENT AT THE PLACE FROM WHENCE HE RECEIVED IT. BUT IF MONEY BE OF THE SAME *INTRINSIC VALUE* AS THAT WHICH IS GIVEN FOR IT, NO SUCH NECESSITY EXISTS" (74).

"*DEPRECIATION OF STOCK* SHOULD FORM AN ITEM OF NATIONAL CHARGE" (p. [115-] 116). "THE BUSINESS OF EVERY COUNTRY TO BE CONDUCTED ON A NATIONAL CAPITAL" (171). "All land TO BE TRANSFORMED INTO NATIONAL PROPERTY" (298).

## Gray (John): *Lectures on the Nature and Use of Money* (Edinburgh, 1848):

"MAN COLLECTIVELY *SHOULD* KNOW NO LIMIT TO HIS PHYSICAL MEANS OF ENJOYMENT, SAVE THOSE OF THE EXHAUSTION EITHER OF *HIS INDUSTRY OR* [of] *HIS PRODUCTIVE POWERS*; WHILST WE, BY THE ADOPTION OF A MONETARY SYSTEM, FALSE IN PRINCIPLE, AND DESTRUCTIVE IN PRACTICE, HAVE CONSENTED TO RESTRICT THE AMOUNT OF OUR PHYSICAL MEANS OF *ENJOYMENT TO THAT PRECISE QUANTITY WHICH CAN BE PROFITABLY EXCHANGED FOR A COMMODITY, ONE OF THE LEAST CAPABLE OF MULTIPLICATION BY THE EXERCISE OF HUMAN INDUSTRY*, OF ANY UPON THE FACE OF THE EARTH" (p. 29). What is required for a good system is (1) a system of banking, by the OPERATIONS of which the *NATURAL* RELATIONSHIP OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND WOULD BE RESTORED; (2) a *true* measure of value, in place of the existing fiction (108).

## (In this book, the idea of the exchange bank is developed in even greater detail, with the present mode of production being retained.)

"THERE MUST BE A MINIMUM PRICE OF LABOUR PAYABLE IN STANDARD MONEY" (p. 160). E.g., let us call THE LOWEST RATE OF WAGES PER WEEK, of 60-72 hours, THAT MAY BY LAW BE GIVEN by the name of 20s. or £1 standard (161). "SHALL WE RETAIN OUR *FICTITIOUS* STANDARD OF VALUE, *GOLD*, AND THUS KEEP THE PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY IN BONDAGE, OR SHALL WE RESORT TO THE *NATURAL* STANDARD OF VALUE, *LABOUR*, AND THEREBY SET OUR PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES FREE?" (p. 169). THE AMOUNT OF THIS MINIMUM WAGE BEING ONCE FIXED..., IT SHOULD REMAIN THE SAME FOR EVER (174). "Only let gold and silver TAKE THEIR PROPER PLACE IN THE MARKET BESIDE BUTTER AND EGGS AND CLOTH AND CALICO, and then the value of the precious metals will interest us no more than that of diamonds", etc. (182 [183]). NO OBJECTION to make TO GOLD AND SILVER USED *AS INSTRUMENTS OF EXCHANGE*, BUT ONLY AS *MEASURES OF VALUE*... In a short time one would see how many ounces of gold or silver were obtainable in London, Edinburgh or Dublin in exchange for a HUNDRED POUND STANDARD NOTE (p. 188).

*Interest.*

AS THE CLASS OF RENTIERS INCREASES, SO ALSO DOES THAT OF LENDERS OF CAPITAL, FOR THEY ARE ONE AND THE SAME. For this reason alone, interest must have had a tendency to fall in old countries (Ramsay, [*An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth,* Edinburgh, 1836] p. 202).

"IT IS PROBABLE THAT IN ALL AGES THE PRECIOUS METALS [have] COST MORE IN THEIR PRODUCTION THAN THEIR VALUE EVER REPAID" (W. Jacob, *An Historical Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals,* Vol. II, London, 1831, p. 101).

*Value of money.*

The value of all things, divided by the number of transactions in which they have figured in their passage from the producer to the consumer, is equal to the value of the écus employed in their purchase divided by the number of times that these thaler have passed from hand to hand in the same period of time (Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes d'économie politique etc.* [2nd ed., Vol. II, Paris, 1827, p. 120]).

The false theory of price is developed most formally by *James Mill* (quoted according to the translation by J. T. Parisot, Paris, 1823. *Élémens d'écon. pol.*).[50]

The most important passages from Mill are as follows:

"By *value* of money, is here to be understood the proportion in which it exchanges for other commodities, or the quantity of it which exchanges for a certain quantity of other things" (p. 128). "It is the *total quantity* of money in any country, which determines that portion. If we suppose that all the goods of the country are on one side, all the money on the other, and that they are exchanged at once against one another, it is evident that the value of money would depend wholly upon the quantity of it" (l.c.). "It will appear that the case is precisely the same in the actual state of the facts. The whole of the goods of a country are *not* exchanged *at once* against the whole of the money; the goods are exchanged in portions, often in very small portions, and at different times, during the course of the whole year. The same piece of money which is paid in one exchange to-day, may be paid in another exchange to-morrow. Some of the pieces will be employed in a [VII-58] great many exchanges, some in very few, and some, which happen to be hoarded, in none at all. There will, amid all these varieties, be a certain average number of exchanges, the same which, if all the pieces had performed an equal number, would have been performed by each; that average we may suppose to be any number we please; say, for example, ten. If each of the pieces of the money in the country perform ten purchases, that is exactly the same thing as if all the pieces were multiplied by ten, and performed only one purchase each. The value of all the goods in the country is equal to ten times the value of all the money, etc." (pp. 129, 130). "If the quantity of money, instead of performing ten exchanges in the year, were ten times as great, and performed only one exchange in the year, it is evident that whatever addition were made to the whole quantity, would produce a proportional diminution of value, in each of the minor quantities taken separately. As the quantity of goods, against which the money is all exchanged at once, *is supposed* to be *the same,* the value of all the money is no more, after the quantity is augmented, than before it was augmented. *If it is supposed* to be augmented one-tenth, the value of every part, that of an ounce for example, must be diminished one-tenth" (pp. 130, 131). "In whatever degree, therefore, the quantity of money is increased or diminished, other things remaining the same, in that same

proportion, the value of the whole, and of every part, is reciprocally diminished or increased. This, it is evident, is a proposition universally true. Whenever the *value of money* has either risen or fallen (the quantity of goods against which it is exchanged and the rapidity of circulation remaining the same), the change must be owing to a corresponding diminution or increase in the quantity; and can be owing to nothing else. If the quantity of goods diminish, while the quantity of money remains the same, it is the same thing as if the quantity of money had been increased," and vice versa. "Similar changes are produced by any alteration in the *rapidity of circulation.* An increase in the number of these purchases has the same effect as an increase in the quantity of money; a diminution the reverse" (pp. 131, 132). "If there is any portion of the annual produce which is not exchanged at all, as what is consumed by the producer; or what is not exchanged for money; that is not taken into account[a] because what is not exchanged for money is in the same state with respect to the money, as if it did not exist" (pp. 132, 133). "Whenever the coining of money ... is free, its quantity is regulated by the value of the metal.... Gold and silver are in reality commodities, products.... It is *cost of production* ... which determines the value of these, as of other ordinary productions" (pp. 136, 137).

The insipidity of this line of argument is obvious.

(1) To *assume* that the quantity of commodities and also the velocity of circulation remain the same, and yet a greater quantity of gold or silver is exchanged for the same quantity of commodities (while the value of gold and silver, i.e. the quantity of labour contained in them, has not changed), is to assume EXACTLY what one wished to prove, viz. that the prices of commodities are determined by the quantity of the circulating medium and not the other way round.

(2) Mill admits that the commodities not thrown into circulation do not exist for money. It is equally clear that the money not thrown into circulation does not exist for the commodities. It follows that there is no fixed relation between the value of money in general and the quantity of it which enters into circulation. To say that the quantity of it actually in circulation, divided by the number of its turnovers, is equal to the value of money, is merely a tautological roundabout way of saying that the value of the commodity expressed in money is its price; because the money in circulation expresses the value of the commodities which it circulates—hence the value of these commodities is determined by the *quantity* of money in circulation.

(3) The confusion in Mill's views is clearly seen from his statement that the value of money diminishes or increases with "any alteration in the rapidity of circulation". Whether a pound sterling circulates once or 10 times in a day, in each exchange it expresses an equivalent for the commodity, is exchanged for the same value embodied in the commodity. In

[a] The rest of the sentence is quoted in French in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

each exchange its own value remains the same, and hence does not change whether its circulation is slow or rapid. The quantity of money in circulation does change but neither the value of the commodity nor that of money.

"To say that a piece of cloth is worth £5, means that it possesses the value of 616,370 GRAINS OF STANDARD GOLD. THE REASON ASSIGNED ABOVE MAY BE PARAPHRASED THUS: 'PRICES MUST FALL BECAUSE COMMODITIES ARE ESTIMATED AS BEING WORTH SO MANY OUNCES OF GOLD; AND THE AMOUNT OF GOLD IN THIS COUNTRY IS DIMINISHED'" (J. G. Hubbard, *The Currency and the Country*, London, 1843, p. 44).

(4) In his exposition of the theory, Mill initially assumes that the total quantity of money in a country is exchanged *at once* for the total quantity of commodities in that country. He then says that this is really the case, and that it is so above all because in practice precisely the opposite takes place: only portions of money are exchanged for portions of commodities, and only very few payments are ARRANGED BY PAYMENT ON THE SPOT-TIME BARGAINS. It follows that the total number of transactions or purchases made on any one day is quite independent of the [quantity of] money in circulation on this day, and that the quantity of money in circulation on a certain day is not the cause but the effect of a quantity of transactions executed earlier and quite independent of the money supply at the moment in question.

(5) Finally, Mill himself admits that with free money circulation, and we are concerned with it alone, the value of money is determined by its production costs, i.e., on his own showing, by the labour time contained in it.

[VII-59] *Money matters.* In Ricardo's pamphlet, *Proposals for an Economical and Secure Currency; with observations on the profits of the Bank of England,* London, 1816, there is a passage in which he topples his whole theory. It says:

"The amount of notes in circulation depends ... upon the amount required for the circulation of the country, which is regulated by the *value* of the STANDARD, the amount of payments, and the [degree of] economy practised in effecting them" (l.c., pp. 17, 18).

Under Louis XIV, XV and XVI in France, duties in kind were still levied on the rural population for government taxes (Augier [*Du crédit public,* pp. 128-29]).[a]

*Prices and the quantity of the circulating medium.*

[a] Marx quotes partly in French and partly in German translation.—*Ed.*

A mere RISE in prices is not sufficient to create a DEMAND for ADDITIONAL CURRENCY. This only the case if there is a simultaneous rise in production and consumption. E.g. the price of corn may rise, but its supply decline. Can therefore be handled with the same amount of CURRENCY.... But if prices rise because of rising demand, [the opening of] new markets, an increased SCALE OF PRODUCTION, in short, if *a rise in prices is accompanied by a rise in the GENERAL SUM OF TRANSACTIONS*, then this REQUIRES THE INTERVENTION OF MONEY TO BE MULTIPLIED IN NUMBER AND ENLARGED IN MAGNITUDE (Fullarton [*On the Regulation of Currencies*, 2nd ed., pp. 102-04]).

TRADE GOVERNS MONEY, not MONEY TRADE. THE SERVANT OF TRADE must follow the VARIATIONS (in the prices) of the other commodities (Davenant [*Discourses on the Publick Revenues, and on the Trade of England*, Part II, London, 1698, p. 16]).

Under the feudal monarchs, the few articles that were purchased by the great mass of the people had fallen to such an extent that no piece of gold or of silver was small enough to pay for what the LABOURER needed for his daily subsistence... Hence, as in ancient Rome, the CURRENT MONEY was wholly composed of the INFERIOR METALS, COPPER, TIN, IRON (Jacob [*An Historical Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals*, Vol. I, pp. 301-02]).

Jacob assumes that, in this century, $^2/_3$ of the gold and silver in Europe is in the form of other objects—UTENSILS and ORNAMENTS, not in that of COIN [ibid, Vol. II, pp. 212-13]. (Elsewhere he reckons the precious metal thus used in Europe and America at £400 million.)

*Prices and the quantity of the circulating medium.*

Locke, *The Spectator* (19 October 1711), Hume, Montesquieu. Their theory is based on three propositions:

(1) The prices of commodities are proportional to the quantity of money in the country;

(2) The COIN and CURRENT MONEY in a country are the representatives of all the labour and commodities of it, so that in proportion as there is MORE OR LESS of this representation a greater or less QUANTITY OF THE THING REPRESENTED GOES TO THE SAME QUANTITY OF IT;

(3) INCREASE COMMODITIES, THEY BECOME CHEAPER; INCREASE MONEY, THEY RISE IN THEIR VALUE (Steuart).[a]

*Marks* (small copper or silver money, *COUNTERS*) in contrast to MONEY OF INTRINSIC WORTH (l.c.).

*The dissolving effect of money.*

Money is a means by which property (houses, other capital) can be split up into innumerable fragments and devoured piecemeal through exchange (Bray [*Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy*, Leeds, 1839, pp. 140-41]).

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[a] See this volume, p. 164.—*Ed.*

(Many objects cannot be exchanged, alienated, without the aid of money.)

"When immovable and IMMUTABLE THINGS came to be in commerce amongst men, as well as things which were movable and made for change, money came into use as the rule and measure (SQUARE) whereby these things received estimation and value" ([E. Misselden,] *Free Trade [Or, the Meanes to Make Trade Florish]*, London, 1622 [p. 21]).

*Coin.* The silver and copper marks are REPRESENTATIVES OF FRACTIONAL PARTS OF THE POUND STERLING. (*Thus in a recent reply by the Lord* OF THE TREASURY.)

*Exchange Value. F. Vidal* says (as does *Lauderdale*) (AND IN CERTAIN RESPECTS Ricardo):

"Real social value is value for use or consumption; exchange value merely indicates the *relative wealth* of each member of society in relation to the others" (*De la répartition des richesses etc.*, Paris, 1846, p. 70).[a]

On the other hand, exchange value expresses the *social form* of value, while use value is not at all an economic form of value but merely the being of the product, etc., for man in general.

//From the fact that the profit may be *less* than the surplus value, and hence that capital [may] exchange at a profit without being valorised in the strict sense, it follows that not only individual capitalists, but nations too may continuously exchange with one another, and continuously repeat the exchange on an ever-growing scale, without gaining equally thereby. One nation may continuously appropriate part of the surplus labour of the other and give nothing in exchange for it, except that here the measure is not as in the exchange between capitalist and worker.//

*Money in its third determination as money.* (Value-for-itself, equivalent, etc.) The importance of the role still played by money in this determination—even in its immediate form—becomes evident at times of crises, deficient harvests, etc., in short, every time one nation must settle its account with another *on the sudden.* Money in its immediate, metallic form then appears as the only absolute *means of payment*, i.e. as the only *counter-value*, acceptable equivalent. Therefore, the movement it then performs is directly contradictory to that of all other commodities. Commodities as

[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

means of payment, etc., are transported from the country where they are cheapest to the country where they are dearest. It is the other way round with money. At all times when it presents its specific nature, i.e. when money, in contrast to all other commodities, is required as value-for-itself, absolute equivalent, the universal form of wealth, in the definite form of gold and silver—and such times are always more or less times of crisis, whether of a general crisis or of a grain crisis—at all such times gold and silver are transmitted from the country where they are dearest—i.e. where the relative fall in the prices of all commodities has been the greatest—to the country where they are cheapest, where commodity prices are relatively higher.

"IT IS A SINGULAR ANOMALY IN THE ECONOMY OF THE EXCHANGES, AND ONE PARTICULARLY DESERVING OF REMARK, THAT ... THE COURSE OF TRANSIT (OF GOLD BETWEEN TWO NATIONS EQUALLY EMPLOYING GOLD AS A CIRCULATING MEDIUM) IS ALWAYS *FROM* THE COUNTRY WHERE FOR THE MOMENT THE METAL IS *DEAREST* TO THE COUNTRY WHERE IT IS *CHEAPEST*, A RISE OF THE MARKET PRICE OF THE METAL TO ITS HIGHEST LIMIT IN THE HOME MARKET, AND A FALL OF THE PREMIUM IN THE FOREIGN MARKET, BEING THE CERTAIN RESULTS OF THAT TENDENCY TO AN EFFLUX OF GOLD WHICH FOLLOWS A DEPRESSION OF THE EXCHANGES" (J. Fullarton, *On the Regulation of Currencies etc.*, 2nd ed., [pp. 119-20]).

[VII-60] Just as, in general, exchange begins where communities come to an end, and money as the measure produced by exchange itself, as means of exchange, and universal equivalent, acquires its specific significance not in internal trade, but in that between different communities, peoples, etc., in the same way, it was κατ' ἐξοχήν[a] as international means of payment—for the liquidation of international debts—that money became in the 16th century, in the period of the infancy of bourgeois society, the exclusive interest of states and of the nascent political economy. The important role which money (gold and silver) in this third form still plays in international trade, only became fully clear and was recognised once more by economists as a result of the series of monetary crises in 1825, 1839, 1847 and 1857. The economists help themselves by arguing that on such occasions money is not required as means of circulation, but as *capital*. This is correct. But it must not be forgotten that capital is required in the particular form of gold and silver, and not in that of any other commodity. Gold and silver play the role of absolute international means of payment because they are money as value-for-itself, independent equivalent.

[a] Above all.—*Ed.*

"THIS, IN FACT, IS NOT A QUESTION OF *CURRENCY*, BUT OF *CAPITAL*."

(It is, rather, A QUESTION OF MONEY, NOT OF CURRENCY, NOR OF CAPITAL, BECAUSE NOT *CAPITAL* WHICH IS INDIFFERENT TO THE SPECIAL FORM IN WHICH IT EXISTS, BUT VALUE IN THE SPECIFIC FORM OF MONEY IS REQUESTED.)

"...ALL THOSE VARIOUS CAUSES WHICH, IN THE EXISTING CONDITION OF MONETARY AFFAIRS, ARE CAPABLE ... OF DIRECTING THE STREAM OF BULLION FROM ONE COUNTRY TO ANOTHER" (i.e. GIVING RISE TO A *DRAIN OF BULLION*) "RESOLVE THEMSELVES UNDER A SINGLE HEAD, NAMELY THE STATE OF THE BALANCE OF FOREIGN PAYMENTS, AND THE CONTINUALLY RECURRING NECESSITY OF TRANSFERRING *CAPITAL*" (BUT *notabene*! CAPITAL IN THE FORM OF MONEY) "FROM ONE COUNTRY TO ANOTHER TO DISCHARGE IT." For example, FAILURE OF CROPS. "WHETHER THAT CAPITAL IS *TRANSMITTED IN MERCHANDISE OR IN SPECIE*, IS A POINT WHICH IN NO WAY AFFECTS THE NATURE OF THE TRANSACTION" (*AFFECTS IT VERY MATERIALLY*!). Further, WAR EXPENDITURE.

(We are not concerned here with the CASE OF TRANSMISSION OF CAPITAL IN ORDER TO PLACE IT OUT TO GREATER ADVANTAGE AT INTEREST; likewise that resulting from the import of A SURPLUS QUANTITY OF FOREIGN GOODS, which Mr. Fullarton cites, although this CASE is, of course, relevant if that SURPLUS IMPORTATION coincides with crises.) (Fullarton, l.c., pp. 130, 132.)

"GOLD IS PREFERRED FOR THIS TRANSMISSION OF CAPITAL" //but in the case OF VIOLENT DRAINS OF BULLION there is no question at all of PREFERMENT// "ONLY IN THOSE CASES WHERE IT IS LIKELY TO EFFECT THE PAYMENT MORE CONVENIENTLY, PROMPTLY, OR PROFITABLY, *THAN ANY OTHER DESCRIPTION OF STOCK OR CAPITAL*."

(Mr. Fullarton incorrectly treats the TRANSMISSION of GOLD or of other forms of CAPITAL as a matter of choice, whereas what is at issue are CASES WHEN *GOLD* MUST BE TRANSMITTED IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE, just as in internal trade BILLS MUST THEN BE ACQUITTED IN THE LEGAL MONEY, AND NOT IN ANY SUBSTITUTE.)

"GOLD AND SILVER ... CAN ALWAYS BE CONVEYED TO THE SPOT WHERE IT IS WANTED WITH PRECISION AND CELERITY, AND MAY BE COUNTED UPON TO REALISE ON ITS ARRIVAL NEARLY THE EXACT SUM REQUIRED TO BE PROVIDED, RATHER THAN INCUR THE HAZARD OF SENDING IT IN TEA, COFFEE, SUGAR, OR INDIGO. *GOLD AND SILVER POSSESS AN INFINITE ADVANTAGE OVER ALL OTHER DESCRIPTIONS OF MERCHANDISE FOR SUCH OCCASIONS*, FROM THE CIRCUMSTANCE OF THEIR BEING UNIVERSALLY IN USE AS MONEY. IT IS NOT IN TEA, COFFEE, SUGAR, OR INDIGO, THAT DEBTS, WHETHER FOREIGN OR DOMESTIC, ARE *USUALLY CONTRACTED TO BE PAID, BUT IN COIN*; AND A REMITTANCE, THEREFORE, EITHER IN THE IDENTICAL COIN DESIGNATED, OR IN BULLION WHICH CAN BE PROMPTLY TURNED INTO THAT COIN THROUGH THE MINT OR MARKET OF THE COUNTRY TO WHICH IT IS SENT, MUST ALWAYS AFFORD TO THE REMITTER THE MOST CERTAIN, IMMEDIATE, AND ACCURATE MEANS OF EFFECTING THIS OBJECT, WITHOUT RISK OF DISAPPOINTMENT FROM THE FAILURE OF DEMAND OR FLUCTUATION OF PRICE" ([ibid.,] pp. 132, 133).

He therefore refers precisely to the suitability of gold and silver for being MONEY, the universal commodity of contracts, the

standard of values, which can, at the same time, be converted into means of circulation *ad libitum*. The English have the good word *currency* for money as means of circulation ("coin" is not a suitable word to use for that purpose, since it itself is the means of circulation in a particular form) and *money* for money in its third determination. But since they have not properly investigated that determination, they declare this MONEY to be CAPITAL, although then they are again in fact compelled to distinguish money as this definite form of capital from capital in general.

"*RICARDO* APPEARS TO HAVE ENTERTAINED VERY PECULIAR AND EXTREME OPINIONS, AS TO THE LIMITED EXTENT OF THE OFFICES PERFORMED BY GOLD AND SILVER IN THE ADJUSTMENT OF FOREIGN BALANCES. MR. RICARDO HAD PASSED HIS LIFE AMID THE CONTROVERSIES WHICH GREW OUT OF THE RESTRICTION ACT,[49] AND HAD ACCUSTOMED HIMSELF SO LONG TO CONSIDER ALL THE GREAT FLUCTUATIONS OF EXCHANGE AND OF THE PRICE OF GOLD AS THE RESULT OF THE EXCESSIVE ISSUES OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND, THAT AT ONE TIME HE SEEMED SCARCELY WILLING TO ALLOW, THAT SUCH A THING COULD EXIST AS AN ADVERSE BALANCE OF COMMERCIAL PAYMENTS ... AND SO SLIGHT AN ACCOUNT DID HE SET ON THE FUNCTIONS PERFORMED BY GOLD IN SUCH ADJUSTMENTS, AS TO HAVE EVEN ANTICIPATED, THAT *DRAINS FOR EXPORTATION* WOULD CEASE ALTOGETHER SO SOON AS CASH PAYMENTS SHOULD BE RESUMED, AND THE CURRENCY RESTORED TO THE METALLIC LEVEL" (SEE *Mr. Ricardo's Evidence before the Lords' Committee of 1819 on the Bank of England*, p. 186).

"[...] But after 1800, when paper completely superseded gold in England, OUR MERCHANTS DID NOT REALLY WANT IT; FOR, OWING TO THE UNSETTLED STATE OF CONTINENTAL EUROPE, AND THE INCREASED CONSUMPTION THERE OF IMPORTED MANUFACTURES, IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE INTERRUPTIONS GIVEN TO INDUSTRY AND TO ALL DOMESTIC IMPROVEMENT BY THE INCESSANT MOVEMENT OF INVADING ARMIES, TOGETHER WITH THE COMPLETE MONOPOLY OF THE COLONIAL TRADE WHICH ENGLAND HAD OBTAINED THROUGH HER NAVAL SUPERIORITY, THE EXPORT OF COMMODITIES FROM GREAT BRITAIN TO THE CONTINENT CONTINUED GREATLY TO EXCEED HER IMPORTS FROM THENCE, SO LONG AS THE INTERCOURSE REMAINED OPEN; AND, AFTER THAT INTERCOURSE WAS INTERRUPTED BY THE BERLIN AND MILAN DECREES,[51] THE TRANSACTIONS OF TRADE BECAME MUCH TOO INSIGNIFICANT TO AFFECT EXCHANGES IN ONE WAY OR THE OTHER. IT WAS THE FOREIGN MILITARY EXPENDITURE AND THE SUBSIDIES, AND NOT THE NECESSITIES OF COMMERCE, THAT CONTRIBUTED IN SO EXTRAORDINARY A MANNER TO DERANGE THE EXCHANGES AND ENHANCE THE PRICE OF BULLION IN THE LATTER YEARS OF THE WAR. THE DISTINGUISHED ECONOMISTS OF THAT PERIOD, THEREFORE, HAD FEW OR NO REAL OPPORTUNITIES OF PRACTICALLY ESTIMATING THE RANGE OF WHICH FOREIGN *COMMERCIAL* BALANCES ARE SUSCEPTIBLE." (They believed that with war and OVERISSUE the INTERNATIONAL TRANSMISSION of BULLION would cease.) "HAD MR. RICARDO LIVED TO WITNESS THE DRAINS OF 1825 AND 1839, HE WOULD NO DOUBT HAVE SEEN REASON TO ALTER HIS VIEWS" (l.c., pp. 133-36).

[VII-61] *PRICE* IS THE *MONEY VALUE* OF COMMODITIES (Hubbard [*The Currency and the Country*, p. 33]).

MONEY HAS THE QUALITY OF BEING ALWAYS EXCHANGEABLE FOR WHAT IT MEASURES, AND THE QUANTITY REQUIRED FOR THE PURPOSES OF EXCHANGE MUST VARY, OF COURSE,

ACCORDING TO THE QUANTITY OF PROPERTY TO BE EXCHANGED (J. W. Bosanquet, *Metallic, Paper, and Credit Currency etc.*, London, 1842, p. 100).

"I AM READY TO ADMIT THAT GOLD IS A COMMODITY IN SUCH GENERAL DEMAND THAT IT MAY ALWAYS COMMAND A MARKET, THAT IT CAN ALWAYS BUY ALL OTHER COMMODITIES; WHEREAS, OTHER COMMODITIES CANNOT ALWAYS BUY GOLD. THE MARKETS OF THE WORLD ARE OPEN TO IT AS MERCHANDISE AT LESS SACRIFICE UPON AN EMERGENCY, THAN WOULD ATTEND AN EXPORT OF ANY OTHER ARTICLE, WHICH MIGHT IN QUANTITY OR KIND BE BEYOND THE USUAL DEMAND IN THE COUNTRY TO WHICH IT IS SENT" (Th. Tooke, *An Enquiry into the Currency Principle etc.*, 2nd ed., London, 1844, p. 10).

"THERE MUST BE A VERY CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF THE PRECIOUS METALS APPLICABLE AND APPLIED AS THE MOST CONVENIENT MODE OF ADJUSTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL BALANCES, BEING A COMMODITY MORE GENERALLY IN DEMAND, AND LESS LIABLE TO FLUCTUATIONS IN MARKET VALUE THAN ANY OTHER" (p. 13).

Causes of rises in the price of bullion above MINT PRICE, according to Fullarton:

"COIN DEBASED BY WEAR TO THE EXTENT OF 3 OR 4% BELOW ITS STANDARD WEIGHT; PENAL LAWS WHICH PROHIBITED THE MELTING AND EXPORTATION OF THE COIN, WHILE THE TRAFFIC IN THE METAL OF WHICH THAT COIN WAS COMPOSED REMAINED PERFECTLY FREE. However, these causes themselves only had an effect in the event of an unfavourable rate of exchange. But from 1816 to 1821 [the market price of gold bullion] always fell to the *BANK PRICE* OF BULLION when the EXCHANGE was favourable to England; BUT it ROSE NO HIGHER, when the EXCHANGE was unfavourable, than TO SUCH A RATE AS WOULD INDEMNIFY THE MELTERS OF THE COIN FOR ITS DEGRADATION BY WEAR AND FOR THE PENAL CONSEQUENCES OF MELTING IT" (see Fullarton's book, pp. [7,] 8, 9). "FROM 1819 TO THE PRESENT TIME, AMID ALL THE VICISSITUDES WHICH THE MONEY HAS UNDERGONE DURING THAT EVENTFUL PERIOD, THE MARKET PRICE OF GOLD HAS ON NO OCCASION RISEN ABOVE 78s. per oz., NOR FALLEN BELOW 77s. 6d., AN EXTREME RANGE OF ONLY 6d. IN THE OUNCE. NOR WOULD EVEN THAT EXTENT OF FLUCTUATION BE NOW POSSIBLE; FOR IT WAS SOLELY OWING TO THE RENEWED DETERIORATION OF THE COIN, THAT EVEN SO TRIVIAL A RISE OCCURRED AS $1\,^1/_2$d. IN THE OUNCE, OR ABOUT $^1/_6$ P.C. ABOVE THE MINT PRICE; AND THE FALL TO 77s. 6d. IS ENTIRELY ACCOUNTED FOR BY THE CIRCUMSTANCE OF THE BANK HAVING AT ONE TIME THOUGHT PROPER TO ESTABLISH THAT RATE AS THE LIMIT FOR ITS PURCHASES. THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES, HOWEVER, EXIST NO LONGER. FOR MANY YEARS THE BANK HAS BEEN IN THE PRACTICE OF ALLOWING 77s. 9d. FOR ALL THE GOLD BROUGHT TO IT FOR COINAGE" (i.e. the Bank pockets $1\,^1/_2$d. seigniorage, as the Mint does the job gratis for it); "AND AS SOON AS THE RECOINAGE OF SOVEREIGNS NOW IN PROGRESS SHALL BE COMPLETED, THERE WILL BE AN EFFECTUAL BAR, UNTIL THE COIN SHALL AGAIN BECOME DETERIORATED, TO ANY FUTURE FLUCTUATION OF THE PRICE OF GOLD BULLION IN OUR MARKET BEYOND THE SMALL FRACTIONAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN 77s. 9d. ALLOWED BY THE BANK, AND THE MINT PRICE OF 77s $10\,^1/_2$d." (l.c., pp. 9-10).

*The contradiction between money as MEASURE and equivalent, on the one hand, and as means of circulation.* In the latter form—abrasion, LOSS OF METALLIC WEIGHT. Garnier observes that

"if a slightly worn écu were to be considered to be worth somewhat less than a quite new one, circulation would be continually checked, and every payment would provide an occasion for dispute" [Garnier, *Histoire de la monnaie*, Vol. I, p. 24].

(The material destined for accumulation was naturally sought and chosen in the *realm of minerals*. Garnier [ibid., p. 7].)

"IT BEING OBVIOUS THAT THE COINAGE, IN THE VERY NATURE OF THINGS, MUST BE FOR EVER, UNIT BY UNIT, FALLING UNDER DEPRECIATION BY THE MERE ACTION OF ORDINARY AND UNAVOIDABLE ABRASION (TO SAY NOTHING OF THE INDUCEMENT WHICH EVERY RESTORATION OF THE COINAGE HOLDS OUT TO THE WHOLE LEGION OF 'PLUGGERS' AND 'SWEATERS'), IT IS A PHYSICAL IMPOSSIBILITY AT ANY TIME, EVEN FOR A SINGLE DAY, UTTERLY TO EXTERMINATE LIGHT COINS FROM CIRCULATION" (*The Currency Theory reviewed etc.. By a Banker in England,* Edinburgh, 1845 [pp. 69-70]).

This was written in December 1844, COMMENTING UPON THE OPERATION OF THE THEN RECENT PROCLAMATIONS RESPECTING THE LIGHT GOLD IN CIRCULATION in a letter to *The Times.* (Hence a difficulty arises: If light gold [coin] is refused, the whole STANDARD is made insecure. If it is accepted, the door is opened to fraudulence, with the same result.) Concerning the above-mentioned proclamations, it is said that

"their EFFECT ... HAS VIRTUALLY BEEN TO DENOUNCE THE WHOLE OF THE CURRENT GOLD COIN AS AN UNSAFE AND ILLEGAL MEDIUM FOR MONETARY TRANSACTIONS" (l.c., pp. 68-69).

"By English law, if a gold sovereign is more than 0.774 GRAINS DEFICIENT in weight, it should no longer pass as CURRENT. No such law for silver money" (W. H. Morrison, *Observations on the system of Metallic Currency adopted in this country,* London, 1837, p. 54).

*The* CURRENCY *Men*[52] *assert* THAT THE VALUE OF A CURRENCY DEPENDS UPON ITS QUANTITY (Fullarton, [op. cit.,] p. 13). If the VALUE of THE CURRENCY and, on the other hand, the prices and the mass of transactions are given (and also the velocity of circulation), OF COURSE only a *definite quantity* can circulate. Given the prices and the mass of transactions, and the velocity of circulation, this quantity depends exclusively on the *value* of the CURRENCY. Given this value and the velocity of circulation, it depends exclusively on the prices and the mass of transactions. This is how the quantity is determined. Hence, if representative money—mere tokens of value—is in circulation, the quantity of tokens that can circulate depends upon the STANDARD which they represent. It is wrongly concluded from this that their value is determined solely by their quantity. E.g., notes representing pounds cannot circulate in the same quantity as notes representing shillings.

[VII-62] Capital which yields profit is real capital, value posited as simultaneously self-reproducing and self-multiplying, and as a presupposition remaining equal to itself, distinct from itself as surplus value posited by capital. Capital yielding interest is in its turn a purely abstract form of profit-yielding capital.

When capital is posited as yielding profit, corresponding to its value (assuming a certain level of productive power), the commodity, or the commodity posited in its form as money (the form which corresponds to it as value become independent, or, as we may now say: realised capital), can enter into circulation as *capital*; capital can as *capital* become a commodity. In this case, it is capital loaned out at interest. The form of its circulation—or of the exchange through which it passes—then appears specifically different from that considered so far. We have seen how capital posits itself both in the determination of commodity and in that of money. But this occurs only in so far as both appear as moments of the circuit of capital, in which it is alternately realised. They are merely transitory and constantly reproduced modes of existence of capital, moments of its life-process. Yet capital as capital has not itself become a moment of circulation; capital itself as a commodity. The commodity has not been sold as capital, nor has money as capital. In a word, neither commodity nor money—and strictly speaking we have only to consider the latter as the adequate form—have entered into circulation as *profit-yielding values.*

Maclaren says[53]:

"Mr. Tooke, Mr. Fullarton, and Mr. Wilson consider money as possessing intrinsic value as a commodity, and exchanging with goods according to that value, and not merely in accordance with the supply of pieces at the time; and they suppose with Dr. Smith that exports of bullion are made, quite irrespective of the state of the currency, to discharge balances of international debt, and to pay for commodities, such as corn, for which there is a sudden demand, and that they are taken from a fund which forms no part of the internal circulation, nor affects prices, but is set apart for these purposes.... Difficulty in explaining in what manner the bullion they say is set apart for this purpose, and has no effect on prices, can escape the laws of supply and demand, and though existing in the shape of money lying unemployed and known for the making of purchases, is neither applied for that purpose nor affects prices by the possibility of its being so applied."

The reply to this is, that the stock of bullion in question represents surplus-capital, not surplus-income, and is not available, therefore, merely to increase the demand for commodities, except on condition of increasing also the supply. Capital in search of employment is not a pure addition to the demanding power of the community. It cannot be lost in the currency. If it tends to raise prices by a demand, it tends to lower them by a corresponding supply. Money, as the security for capital, is not a mere purchasing power,—it purchases only in order to sell, and finally goes abroad in exchange for foreign commodities rather than disburse itself in merely adding to the currency at home. Money, as the security for capital, never comes into the market so as to be set off against commodities, because its purpose is to reproduce commodities; it is only the money

which represents *consumption* that can finally affect prices (*The Economist*, 15 May [18]58).

"Mr. Ricardo maintained that prices depend on the relative amount of the circulating medium and of commodities respectively, that prices rise only through a depreciation of the currency, that is, from a too great abundance of it in proportion to commodities, that they fall either from a reduction in the amount of the currency, or from a relative increase in the stock of general commodities which it circulates. *All* the bullion and gold coin in the country is, according to Mr. Ricardo, to be reckoned currency, and if this increases without a corresponding increase in commodities, the currency is depreciated, and it becomes profitable to export bullion rather than commodities. On the other hand, if a bad harvest or any other calamity cause a great destruction of commodities, without any corresponding change in the amount of the circulation, the currency, whose amount was proportioned to the estimated rather than to the suddenly reduced market of commodities, again becomes redundant or 'depreciated', and must be diminished by exportation before its value can be restored. According to this view of the circulation, which is at the root of Lord Overstone's theory, the supply of circulating medium or currency is always capable of being indefinitely increased in amount, and diminishes in value according to that increase; and can be restored to its proper value only by exportation of the superabundant portion. Any issue, therefore, of paper money which might supply the gap caused by the exportation of the bullion, and so prevent the 'natural' fall of prices otherwise certain to ensue, is held by Mr. Ricardo's school to be an interference with the economical laws of price, and a departure from the principles which would necessarily regulate a purely metallic currency" (l.c.).

# I. VALUE[54]

[VII-63]

This section to be inserted earlier.

The first category in which bourgeois wealth makes its appearance is that of the *commodity*. The commodity itself appears as the unity of two determinations. It is *use value*, i.e. an object for the satisfaction of some system of human wants. This is its material aspect, which can be common to the most disparate epochs of production and lies outside the sphere of investigation of political economy. Use value comes within that sphere as soon as it is modified by the modern production relations or itself exerts a modifying influence on them. What is usually said about this in general terms, for the sake of decorum, is confined to platitudes which had an historical value in the early beginnings of that science, when the social forms of bourgeois production were still being laboriously abstracted from the material and with great effort fixed as independent objects for investigation. In fact, however, the use value of the commodity is a given presupposition—the material basis in which a definite economic relation presents itself. It is only this definite relation which stamps the use value as a commodity. E.g., wheat possesses the same use value, whether it is grown by slaves, serfs or free labourers. It would not lose its use value were it to fall from the sky like snow.

Well, how does use value turn into a commodity? By being a bearer of *exchange value*. Although they are directly united in the commodity, use value and exchange value equally directly fall asunder. Exchange value not merely does not appear to be determined by use value, but the commodity, rather, only becomes

a commodity, is only realised as exchange value, to the extent that its owner does not relate to it as a use value. Only by alienating it, by exchanging it for other commodities, does he appropriate use values. Appropriation by means of alienation is the basic form of the social system of production whose simplest, most abstract expression is exchange value. The use value of the commodity is presupposed, yet not for the owner of the commodity, but for society in general.

//Just as a Manchester family of factory workers in which the children stand in a relation of exchange to their parents and pay board and lodging to them does not represent the customary economic organisation of the family, so the system of modern private exchange does not, in general, represent the spontaneously evolved economy of societies. Exchange does not begin between individuals within a community, but at the point where the communities cease—at their frontiers, at the point of contact between different communities. Communal property has recently been rediscovered as a peculiarly Slavic curiosity.[55] But in fact India offers us a pattern card of the most diverse forms of such an economic community, more or less decomposed but still entirely recognisable; and more thorough historical study finds it as the starting point of all cultured peoples. The system of production based upon private exchange is initially the historical dissolution of this spontaneously evolved communism. Yet a whole series of economic systems lies between the modern world, in which exchange value dominates production in its entire depth and width, and the social formations whose basis is decomposed communal property, without however [...][56]

# GOLD-WEIGHING MACHINES[a]

[VII-64]

"Mr. Cotton's machine ... the most delicate ever yet constructed for weighing gold coin. Adopted by the Bank of England. Divides the sheep from the goats[b] ... In the transaction between the Bank of England and the public, the weighing of gold coin has been a most anxious and tedious process. As between the Bank and the Mint, the labour is not so minute; for 200 sovereigns being first accurately weighed, all the rest are weighed in groups of 200. The Mint officers are allowed a deviation of 12 grains in about 50 sovereigns; but they generally work to within half of this amount of error; and if the groups of sovereigns are correct within the prescribed limits no closer weighing is adopted. In the transactions between the Bank and the public, however, matters must be treated in more detail. It is no satisfaction to Smith to know that if his sovereign is light, Brown has a correct one and Jones a heavy one, so that therefore the Bank is just in the aggregate; each one demands that *his* sovereign should be of proper weight ... If a difference of even $^1/_{100}$ of a grain existed between 2 sovereigns, it is said that this machine would detect it. On a rough average, 30,000 sovereigns pass over the Bank counter every day; each machine can weigh 10,000 sovereigns in 6 hours; and there are 6 machines; so that the Bank can weigh all its issues of gold by these means, and have reserve power to spare. Between 1844 and 1848 there were 48 million gold coins weighed by these machines at the Bank ... These machines save £1,000 a year to the Bank in weighers' wages. (A child can turn the handle, but the machine judges for itself, casts the full-weight sovereigns to one side and the light ones to the other.) (Formerly liability of error on the part of the weighers (the 'personal equation', as the astronomers would term it) not equal.) An expert weigher could weigh about 700 sovereigns in an hour by the old balance; but the agitation of the air by the sudden opening of a door, the breathing of persons near the apparatus, the fatigued state of the hand and eye of the weigher—all led to minute errors" (Dodd's *Curiosities of Industry*, London, 1854 [pp. 19-21]).

*Curiosities of Money*. "When society rises above the level of mere barter[ing] transactions, any substance which is equally valued by buyer and seller may become

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[a] The title and the text, except for a few words, are in English in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[b] Matthew 25:32.—*Ed.*

money; ... One of the earliest *cattle*, but this is obviously a coin inapplicable to small purchasers, for it would puzzle the seller to give change out of an ox. *Shells* are used to a great extent as money, in India, the Indian islands, and Africa; the *cowry shells* of India have a value of about 32 to an English farthing. *Cocoa-nuts, almonds, maize* have all had to do duty as money. In hunting countries *skins ... salt ... Dried fish* [is] often the money in Iceland and Newfoundland; *sugar* has at times been a West-India money."

"Gold very solid and dense; divisible or separable in an extraordinary degree; very little affected by air or moisture, or ordinary usage, etc. (its supply very limited).

"*Wearing away of gold coin*, by the constant friction to which it is exposed. No one can say whither the worn particles go.... When gone, somebody must bear the loss. A baker who takes a sovereign one day, and pays it away to his miller the next, does not pay the veritable sovereign itself; it is a lighter one than when he received it.... According to Jacob each gold coin in England bears an annual loss of about $^1/_{900}$ by friction (little more than a farthing in the pound). In silver coins the loss is supposed to be 5 or 6 times greater, owing to the more unceasing circulation of silver than gold, and to the less fitness of the metal to bear friction" [ibid., pp. 14-17].

# A CONTRIBUTION TO THE CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY[57]

## PART ONE

Written in November 1858-January 1859

Printed in Berlin in 1859
Signed: *Karl Marx*

Printed according to the 1859 edition

# Zur Kritik

der

# Politischen Oekonomie

von

**Karl Marx.**

Erstes Heft.

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Title page of the first edition
of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

## PREFACE

I examine the system of bourgeois economy in the following order: *capital, landed property, wage-labour; the State, foreign trade, world market.* The economic conditions of existence of the three great classes into which modern bourgeois society is divided are analysed under the first three headings; the interconnection of the other three headings is self-evident. The first part of the first book, dealing with Capital, comprises the following chapters: 1. The commodity; 2. Money or simple circulation; 3. Capital in general. The present part consists of the first two chapters. The entire material lies before me in the form of monographs, which were written not for publication but for self-clarification at widely separated periods; their remoulding into an integrated whole according to the plan I have indicated will depend upon circumstances.[58]

A general introduction,[a] which I had drafted, is omitted, since on further consideration it seems to me confusing to anticipate results which still have to be substantiated, and the reader who really wishes to follow me will have to decide to advance from the particular to the general. A few brief remarks regarding the course of my study of political economy may, however, be appropriate here.

Although jurisprudence was my special study, I pursued it as a subject subordinated to philosophy and history. In the year 1842-43, as editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung,* I first found myself in the embarrassing position of having to discuss what is known as

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 17-48.— *Ed.*

material interests. The deliberations of the Rhine Province Assembly in thefts of wood and the division of landed property; the official polemic started by Herr von Schaper, then Oberpräsident of the Rhine Province, against the *Rheinische Zeitung* about the condition of the Mosel peasantry, and finally the debates on free trade and protective tariffs caused me in the first instance to turn my attention to economic questions.[a] On the other hand, at that time when good intentions "to push forward" often took the place of factual knowledge, an echo of French socialism and communism, slightly tinged by philosophy, was noticeable in the *Rheinische Zeitung*. I objected to this dilettantism, but at the same time frankly admitted in a controversy with the *Allgemeine Augsburger Zeitung*[b] that my previous studies did not allow me to express any opinion on the content of the French theories. When the publishers of the *Rheinische Zeitung* conceived the illusion that by a more compliant policy on the part of the paper it might be possible to secure the abrogation of the death sentence passed upon it, I eagerly grasped the opportunity to withdraw from the public stage to my study.

The first work which I undertook to dispel the doubts assailing me was a critical re-examination of the Hegelian philosophy of law; the introduction[c] to this work being published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* issued in Paris in 1844. My inquiry led me to the conclusion that neither legal relations nor political forms could be comprehended whether by themselves or on the basis of a so-called general development of the human mind, but that on the contrary they originate in the material conditions of life, the totality of which Hegel, following the example of English and French thinkers of the eighteenth century, embraces within the term "civil society"[59]; that the anatomy of this civil society, however, has to be sought in political economy. The study of this, which I began in Paris, I continued in Brussels, where I moved owing to an expulsion order issued by M. Guizot.[d] The general conclusion at which I arrived and which, once reached, became the guiding principle of my studies can be summarised as follows.

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[a] A reference to the articles "Proceedings of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly. Third article. Debates on the Law of Thefts of Wood", "Polemical Articles Against the *Allgemeine Zeitung*" and "Justification of the Correspondent from the Mosel".— *Ed.*

[b] See "Communism and the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*".— *Ed.*

[c] See «Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law" and "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction".— *Ed.*

[d] On January 11, 1845.— *Ed.*

In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or—this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms—with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution. The changes in the economic foundation lead sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure. In studying such transformations it is always necessary to distinguish between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, artistic or philosophic—in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as one does not judge an individual by what he thinks about himself, so one cannot judge such a period of transformation by its consciousness, but, on the contrary, this consciousness must be explained from the contradictions of material life, from the conflict existing between the social forces of production and the relations of production. No social formation is ever destroyed before all the productive forces for which it is sufficient have been developed, and new superior relations of production never replace older ones before the material conditions for their existence have matured within the framework of the old society. Mankind thus inevitably sets itself only such tasks as it is able to solve, since closer examination will always show that the problem itself arises only when the material conditions for its solution are already present or at least in the course of formation. In broad outline, the Asiatic, ancient, feudal and modern bourgeois modes of production may be designated as epochs marking progress in the economic development of society. The bourgeois relations of production are the last antagonistic form of the social process of

production—antagonistic not in the sense of individual antagonism but of an antagonism that emanates from the individuals' social conditions of existence—but the productive forces developing within bourgeois society create also the material conditions for a solution of this antagonism. The prehistory of human society accordingly closes with this social formation.

Frederick Engels, with whom I maintained a constant exchange of ideas by correspondence since the publication of his brilliant essay on the critique of economic categories[a] (printed in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*), arrived by another road (compare his *Condition of the Working-Class in England*) at the same result as I, and when in the spring of 1845 he too came to live in Brussels, we decided to set forth together our conception as opposed to the ideological one of German philosophy, in fact to settle accounts with our former philosophical conscience. The intention was carried out in the form of a critique of post-Hegelian philosophy. The manuscript, two large octavo volumes,[b] had long ago reached the publishers in Westphalia when we were informed that owing to changed circumstances it could not be printed. We abandoned the manuscript to the gnawing criticism of the mice all the more willingly since we had achieved our main purpose—self-clarification. Of the scattered works in which at that time we presented one or another aspect of our views to the public, I shall mention only the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, jointly written by Engels and myself, and a *Speech on the Question of Free Trade*, which I myself published. The salient points of our conception were first outlined in an academic, although polemical, form in my *Poverty of Philosophy*..., this book which was aimed at Proudhon appeared in 1847. The publication of an essay on *Wage-Labour* written in German in which I combined the lectures I had held on this subject at the German Workers' Society in Brussels,[60] was interrupted by the February Revolution and my forcible removal from Belgium in consequence.

The publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848 and 1849 and subsequent events cut short my economic studies, which I could only resume in London in 1850. The enormous amount of material relating to the history of political economy assembled in the British Museum, the fact that London is a convenient vantage point for the observation of bourgeois society, and finally the new stage of development which this society seemed to have entered

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[a] F. Engels, "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy".—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*.—*Ed.*

with the discovery of gold in California and Australia,[4] induced me to start again from the very beginning and to work carefully through the new material. These studies led partly of their own accord to apparently quite remote subjects on which I had to spend a certain amount of time. But it was in particular the imperative necessity of earning my living which reduced the time at my disposal. My collaboration, continued now for eight years, with the *New York Tribune*,[61] the leading Anglo-American newspaper, necessitated an excessive fragmentation of my studies, for I wrote only exceptionally newspaper correspondence in the strict sense. Since a considerable part of my contributions consisted of articles dealing with important economic events in Britain and on the Continent, I was compelled to become conversant with practical details which, strictly speaking, lie outside the sphere of political economy.

This sketch of the course of my studies in the domain of political economy is intended merely to show that my views—no matter how they may be judged and how little they conform to the interested prejudices of the ruling classes—are the outcome of conscientious research carried on over many years. At the entrance to science, as at the entrance to hell, the demand must be made:

*Qui si convien lasciare ogni sospetto*
*Ogni viltà convien che qui sia morta.*[a]

*Karl Marx*

London, January 1859

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[a] Dante, *La Divina commedia*, Inferno, Canto III.

Here all misgiving must thy mind reject.
Here cowardice must die and be no more.

(English translation by Laurence Binyon—Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, Inferno, Canto III, ll. 14-15, Viking Portable Library, 1969.)—*Ed.*

# BOOK ONE

# ON CAPITAL

# Section One

# CAPITAL IN GENERAL

## Chapter One

## THE COMMODITY

The wealth of bourgeois society, at first sight, presents itself as an immense accumulation of commodities, its unit being a single commodity. Every commodity, however, has a twofold aspect—*use value* and *exchange value*.*

To begin with, a commodity, in the language of the English economists, is "any thing necessary, useful or pleasant in life",[62] an object of human wants, a means of subsistence in the widest sense of the term. Use value as an aspect of the commodity coincides with the physical palpable existence of the commodity. Wheat, for example, is a distinct use value differing from the use values of cotton, glass, paper, etc. A use value has value only in use, and is realised only in the process of consumption. One and the same use value can be used in various ways. But the extent of its possible applications is limited by its existence as an object with distinct properties. It is, moreover, determined not only qualitatively but also quantitatively. Different use values have different measures appropriate to their physical characteristics; for example, a bushel of wheat, a quire of paper, a yard of linen, etc.

* Aristoteles, *De Republica*, l. I, c. 9 (edit. I. Bekkeri, Oxonii, 1837). "Of everything which we possess there are two uses: ... one is the proper, and the other the improper or secondary use of it. For example, a shoe is used for wear, and is used for exchange; both are uses of the shoe. He who gives a shoe in exchange for money or food to him who wants one, does indeed use the shoe as a shoe, but this is not its proper or primary purpose, for a shoe is not made to be an object of barter. The same may be said of all possessions...." [The English translation is taken from Aristotle, *Politica*, by Benjamin Jowett, revised edition, Oxford, 1966, 1257[a].] [Marx quotes in Greek.]

Whatever its social form may be, wealth always consists of use values, which in the first instance are not affected by this form. From the taste of wheat it is not possible to tell who produced it, a Russian serf, a French peasant or an English capitalist. Although use values serve social needs and therefore exist within the social framework, they do not express the social relations of production. For instance, let us take as a use value a commodity such as a diamond. We cannot tell by looking at it that the diamond is a commodity. Where it serves as an aesthetic or mechanical use value, on the neck of a courtesan or in the hand of a glass-cutter, it is a diamond and not a commodity. To be a use value is evidently a necessary prerequisite of the commodity, but it is immaterial to the use value whether it is a commodity. Use value in this indifference to the determined economic form, i.e. use value as such, lies outside the sphere of investigation of political economy.* It belongs in this sphere only when it is itself a determinate form. Use value is the immediate physical entity in which a definite economic relationship—*exchange value*—is expressed.

Exchange value appears first as a *quantitative relation*, the proportion in which use values are exchanged for one another. In this relation they constitute equal exchangeable magnitudes. Thus one volume of Propertius and eight ounces of snuff may have the same exchange value, despite the dissimilar use values of snuff and elegies. Considered as exchange value, one use value is worth just as much as another, provided the two are available in the appropriate proportion. The exchange value of a palace can be expressed in a definite number of tins of boot polish. London manufacturers of boot polish, on the other hand, have expressed the exchange value of their numerous tins of polish in terms of palaces. Quite irrespective, therefore, of their natural form of existence, and without regard to the specific character of the needs they satisfy as use values, commodities in definite quantities are congruent, they take one another's place in the exchange process, are regarded as equivalents, and despite their motley appearance have a common denominator.

Use values serve directly as means of subsistence. But, on the other hand, these means of subsistence are themselves the

* That is why German compilers write *con amore* about use values, calling them "goods". See for example the section on "goods" in L. Stein, *System der Staatswissenschaft*, Bd. I. Useful information on "goods" may be found in "manuals dealing with merchandise".

products of social activity, the result of expended human energy, *objectified labour.* As objectification of social labour, all commodities are crystallisations of the same substance. The specific character of this substance, i.e. of labour which is embodied in exchange value, has now to be examined.

Let us suppose that one ounce of gold, one ton of iron, one quarter of wheat and twenty yards of silk are exchange values of equal magnitude. As equivalents in which the qualitative difference between their use values is eliminated, they represent equal amounts of the same kind of labour. The labour which is uniformly objectified in them must be uniform, homogeneous, simple labour; it matters as little whether this is embodied in gold, iron, wheat or silk, as it matters to oxygen whether it is found in rusty iron, in the atmosphere, in the juice of grapes or in human blood. But digging gold, mining iron, cultivating wheat and weaving silk are qualitatively different kinds of labour. In fact, what appears objectively as diversity of the use values, appears, when looked at dynamically, as diversity of the activities which produce those use values. Since the particular material of which the use values consist is irrelevant to the labour that creates exchange value, the particular form of this labour is equally irrelevant. Different use values are, moreover, products of the activity of different individuals and therefore the result of individually different kinds of labour. But as exchange values they represent the same homogeneous labour, i.e. labour in which the individual characteristics of the workers are obliterated. Labour which creates exchange value is thus *abstract general* labour.

If one ounce of gold, one ton of iron, one quarter of wheat and twenty yards of silk are exchange values of equal magnitude or equivalents, then one ounce of gold, half a ton of iron, three bushels of wheat and five yards of silk are exchange values which have very different magnitudes, and this quantitative difference is the only difference of which as exchange values they are at all capable. As exchange values of different magnitudes they represent larger or smaller portions, larger or smaller amounts of simple, uniform, abstract general labour, which is the substance of exchange value. The question now arises, how can these amounts be measured? Or rather the question arises, what is the quantitative form of existence of this labour, since the quantitative differences of the commodities as exchange values are merely the quantitative differences of the labour objectified in them. Just as motion is measured by time, so is labour by *labour time.* Variations in the duration of labour are the only possible difference that can occur

if the quality of labour is assumed to be given. Labour time is measured in terms of the natural units of time, i.e. hours, days, weeks, etc. Labour time is the living state of existence of labour, irrespective of its form, its content and its individual features; it is the living quantitative aspect of labour as well as its inherent measure. The labour time objectified in the use values of commodities is both the substance that turns them into exchange values and therefore into commodities, and the standard by which the precise magnitude of their value is measured. The corresponding quantities of different use values containing the same amount of labour time are equivalents; that is, all use values are equivalents when taken in proportions which contain the same amount of expended, objectified labour time. Regarded as exchange values all commodities are merely definite quantities of *congealed labour time.*

The following basic propositions are essential for an understanding of the determination of exchange value by labour time. Labour is reduced to simple labour, labour, so to speak, without any qualitative attributes; labour which creates exchange value, and therefore commodities, is specifically *social labour*; finally, labour in so far as its results are use values is distinct from labour in so far as its results are exchange values.

To measure the exchange values of commodities by the labour time they contain, the different kinds of labour have to be reduced to uniform, homogeneous, simple labour, in short to labour of uniform quality, whose only difference, therefore, is quantity.

This reduction appears to be an abstraction, but it is an abstraction which is made every day in the social process of production. The conversion of all commodities into labour time is no greater an abstraction, and is no less real, than the resolution of all organic bodies into air. Labour, thus measured by time, does not seem, indeed, to be the labour of different persons, but on the contrary the different working individuals seem to be mere organs of *this* labour. In other words the labour embodied in exchange values could be called *human* labour *in general.* This abstraction, human labour in general, *exists* in the form of average labour which, in a given society, the average person can perform, productive expenditure of a certain amount of human muscles, nerves, brain, etc. It is *simple* labour * which any average individual can be trained to do and which in one way or another he has to

* English economists call it "UNSKILLED LABOUR".

perform. The characteristics of this average labour are different in different countries and different historical epochs, but in any particular society it appears as something given. The greater part of the labour performed in bourgeois society is simple labour as statistical data show. Whether *A* works 6 hours producing iron and 6 hours producing linen, and *B* likewise works 6 hours producing iron and 6 hours producing linen, or *A* works 12 hours producing iron and *B* 12 hours producing linen is quite evidently merely a different application of the *same* labour time. But what is the position with regard to more complicated labour which, being labour of greater intensity and greater specific gravity, rises above the general level? This kind of labour resolves itself into simple labour put together; it is simple labour raised to a higher power, so that for example one day of skilled labour may equal three days of simple labour. The laws governing this reduction do not concern us here. It is, however, clear that the reduction is made, for, as exchange value, the product of highly skilled labour is equivalent, in definite proportions, to the product of simple average labour; thus being equated to a certain amount of this simple labour.

The determination of exchange value by labour time, moreover, presupposes that the *same amount* of labour is objectified in a particular commodity, say a ton of iron, irrespective of whether it is the work of A or of B, that is to say, different individuals expend equal amounts of labour time to produce use values which are qualitatively and quantitatively equal. In other words, it is assumed that the labour time contained in a commodity is the labour time *necessary* for its production, namely the labour time required, under the generally prevailing conditions of production, to produce another unit of the same commodity.

From the analysis of exchange value it follows that the conditions of labour which creates exchange value are *social categories* of labour or categories of *social labour,* social however not in the general sense but in the particular sense, denoting a specific type of society. Uniform simple labour implies first of all that the labour of different individuals is *equal* and that their labour is treated as equal by being in fact reduced to homogeneous labour. The labour of every individual in so far as it manifests itself in exchange values possesses this social character of equality, and it manifests itself in exchange value only in so far as it is equated with the labour of all other individuals.

Furthermore, in exchange value the labour time of a particular individual is directly represented as *labour time in general,* and this

*general character* of individual labour appears as the *social character* of this labour. The labour time expressed in exchange value is the labour time of an individual, but of an individual in no way differing from the next individual and from all other individuals in so far as they perform equal labour; the labour time, therefore, which one person requires for the production of a given commodity is the *necessary* labour time which any other person would require to produce the same commodity. It is the labour time of an individual, *his* labour time, but only as labour time common to all; consequently it is quite immaterial *whose* individual labour time this is. This universal labour time finds its expression in a universal product, a *universal equivalent*, a definite amount of objectified labour time, for which the distinct form of the use value in which it is manifested as the direct product of one person is a matter of complete indifference, and it can be converted at will into any other form of use value, in which it appears as the product of any other person. Only as such a *universal* magnitude does it represent a *social* magnitude. The labour of an individual can produce exchange value only if it produces *universal equivalents*, that is to say, if the individual's labour time represents universal labour time or if universal labour time represents individual labour time. The effect is the same as if the different individuals had amalgamated their labour time and allocated different portions of the labour time at their joint disposal to the various use values. The labour time of the individual is thus, in fact, the labour time required by society to produce a particular use value, that is to satisfy a particular want. But what matters here is only the specific manner in which the social character of labour is established. A certain amount of a spinner's labour time is objectified, say, in 100 lbs. of linen yarn. The same amount of labour time is assumed to be represented in 100 yards of linen, the product of a weaver. Since these two products represent equal amounts of universal labour time, and are therefore equivalents of *any* use value which contains the same amount of labour time, they are equal to each other. Only because the labour time of the spinner and the labour time of the weaver represent universal labour time, and their products are thus universal equivalents, is the social aspect of the labour of the two individuals represented for each of them by the labour of the other, that is to say, the labour of the weaver represents it for the spinner, and the labour of the spinner represents it for the weaver. On the other hand, under the rural patriarchal system of production, when spinner and weaver lived under the same

roof—the women of the family spinning and the men weaving, say for the requirements of the family—yarn and linen were *social* products, and spinning and weaving *social* labour within the framework of the family. But their social character did not appear in the form of yarn becoming a universal equivalent exchanged for linen as a universal equivalent, i.e. of the two products exchanging for each other as equal and equally valid expressions of the same universal labour time. On the contrary, the product of labour bore the specific social imprint of the family relationship with its naturally evolved division of labour. Or let us take the service and dues in kind of the Middle Ages. It was the distinct labour of the individual in its original form, the particular features of his labour and not its universal aspect that formed the social ties at that time. Or finally let us take communal labour in its naturally evolved form as we find it among all civilised nations at the dawn of their history.* In this case the social character of labour is evidently not mediated by the labour of the individual assuming the abstract form of universal labour or his product assuming the form of a universal equivalent. The communal system on which [this mode of] production is based prevents the labour of an individual from becoming private labour and his product the private product of a separate individual; it causes individual labour to appear rather as the direct function of a member of the social organisation. Labour which manifests itself in exchange value appears to be the labour of an isolated individual. It becomes social labour by assuming the form of its direct opposite, of abstract universal labour.

Lastly, it is a characteristic feature of labour which posits exchange value that it causes the social relations of individuals to appear in the perverted form of a social relation between things. The labour of different persons is equated and treated as universal labour only by bringing one use value into relation with another one in the guise of exchange value. Although it is thus

* At present an absurdly biased view is widely held, namely that *primitive* communal property is a specifically Slavonic, or even an exclusively Russian, phenomenon.[55] It is an early form which can be found among Romans, Teutons and Celts, and of which a whole collection of diverse patterns (though sometimes only remnants survive) is still in existence in India. A more careful study of Asiatic, particularly Indian, forms of communal property would indicate that the disintegration of different forms of primitive communal ownership gives rise to diverse forms of property. For instance, various prototypes of Roman and Germanic private property can be traced back to certain forms of Indian communal property.

correct to say that exchange value is a relation between persons,* it is however necessary to add that it is a relation hidden by a material veil. Just as a pound of iron and a pound of gold have the *same* weight despite their different physical and chemical properties, so two commodities which have different use values but contain the same amount of labour time have the *same exchange value.* Exchange value thus appears to be a social determination of use values, a determination which is proper to them as things and in consequence of which they are able in definite proportions to take one another's place in the exchange process, i.e. they are equivalents, just as simple chemical elements combined in certain proportions form chemical equivalents. Only the conventions of everyday life make it appear commonplace and ordinary that social relations of production should assume the shape of things, so that the relations into which people enter in the course of their work appear as the relations of things to one another and of things to people. This mystification is still a very simple one in the case of a commodity. Everybody understands more or less clearly that the relations of commodities as exchange values are really the relations of people to the productive activities of one another. The semblance of simplicity disappears in more advanced relations of production. All the illusions of the monetary system[63] arise from the failure to perceive that money,[a] though a physical object with distinct properties, represents a social relation of production. As soon as the modern economists, who sneer at the illusions of the monetary system, deal with the more complex economic categories, such as capital, they display the same illusions. This emerges clearly in their confession of naive astonishment when the phenomenon that they have just ponderously described as a thing reappears as a social relation and, a moment later, having been defined as a social relation, teases them once more as a thing.

Since the exchange value of commodities is indeed nothing but a mutual relation between various kinds of labour of individuals regarded as equal and universal labour, i.e. nothing but a material expression of a specific social form of labour, it is a tautology to say that labour is the *only* source of exchange value and accordingly of wealth in so far as this consists of exchange value.

* "Wealth is a relation between two persons." Galiani, *Della Moneta,* p. 221 in Vol. III of Custodi's collection of *Scrittori classici Italiani di Economia Politica. Parte Moderna,* Milano, 1803. [Marx quotes in Italian.]

[a] The original has "gold"; changed by Marx in his own copy.— *Ed.*

It is equally a tautology to say that material in its natural state does not have exchange value* since it contains no labour, and that exchange value as such includes no material in a natural state. It is true that William Petty calls "labour the father and earth the mother of wealth",[a] Bishop Berkeley asks

"WHETHER THE FOUR ELEMENTS, AND MAN'S LABOUR THEREIN, BE NOT THE TRUE SOURCE OF WEALTH",**

and the American Thomas Cooper explains in popular form:

"Take away from a loaf of bread the labour bestowed on it, the labour of the baker, the miller, the farmer, etc., and what will remain? A few grains of grass, growing wild, and unfit for any human purpose." ***

But all these observations are concerned not with abstract labour, which is the source of exchange value, but with concrete labour as the source of material wealth, in short with labour in so far as it produces use values. Since the use value of the commodity is postulated, the specific utility and the definite usefulness of the labour expended on it is also postulated; but this is the only aspect of labour as useful labour which is relevant to the study of commodities. In considering bread as a use value, we are concerned with its properties as an article of food and by no means with the labour of the farmer, miller, baker, etc. Even if the labour required were reduced by 95 per cent as a result of some invention, the usefulness of a loaf of bread would remain quite unaffected. It would lose not a single particle of its use value even if it dropped ready-made from the sky. Whereas labour positing exchange value manifests itself in the equality of commodities as universal equivalents, labour as useful productive activity manifests itself in the infinite variety of use values. Whereas labour positing exchange value is *abstract universal* and *uniform* labour, labour positing use value is concrete and distinctive labour, comprising infinitely varying kinds of labour as regards its form and the material to which it is applied.

* "In its natural state, matter ... is always destitute of value." MacCulloch, *Discours sur l'origine de l'économie politique etc.*, traduit par Prévost, Genève, 1825, p. 57. [Marx quotes MacCulloch in French.] This shows how high even a MacCulloch stands above the fetishism of German "thinkers" who assert that "material" and half a dozen similar irrelevancies are elements of value. Cf., e.g., *L. Stein*, l. c., Vol. I, p. 170.

** Berkeley, *The Querist*, London, 1750. [The original English text is given by Marx in this footnote.]

*** Th. Cooper, *Lectures on the Elements of Political Economy*, London, 1831 (Columbia, 1826), p. 99.

[a] W. Petty, *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions*, London, 1667, p. 47.— *Ed.*

It would be wrong to say that labour which produces use values is the *only* source of the wealth produced by it, that is of material wealth. Since this labour is an activity which adapts material for some purpose or other, it needs material as a prerequisite. Different use values contain very different proportions of labour and natural products, but use value always comprises a natural element. As useful activity directed to the appropriation of natural factors in one form or another, labour is a natural condition of human existence, a condition of material interchange between man and nature, quite independent of the form of society. On the other hand, the labour which posits exchange value is a specific social form of labour. For example, tailoring if one considers its physical aspect as a distinct productive activity produces a coat, but not the exchange value of the coat. The exchange value is produced by it not as tailoring as such but as abstract universal labour, and this belongs to a social framework not devised by the tailor. Women in ancient domestic industry, for instance, produced coats without producing the exchange value of coats. Labour as a source of material wealth was well known both to Moses, the law-giver, and to Adam Smith, the customs official.*

Let us now examine a few propositions which follow from the reduction of exchange value to labour time.

A commodity as a use value has an eminently material function. Wheat for example is used as food. A machine replaces a certain amount of labour. This function, by virtue of which a commodity is only a use value, an article of consumption, may be called its service, the service it renders as a use value. But the commodity as an exchange value is always considered solely from the standpoint of the result. What matters is not the service it renders, but the service** rendered to it in the course of its production. Thus the exchange value of a machine, for instance, is determined not by the amount of labour time which it can replace, but by the amount of labour time expended in its production and therefore required for the production of a new machine of the same type.

* Friedrich List has never been able to grasp the difference between labour as a producer of something useful, a use value, and labour as a producer of exchange value, a specific social form of wealth (since his egotistic mind being occupied with practical matters was not concerned with understanding); he therefore regarded the modern English economists as mere plagiarists of Moses of Egypt. [F. List, *Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie*, Vol. 1, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1841, p. 205.]

** It can easily be seen what "service" the category "service" must render to economists such as J. B. Say and F. Bastiat, whose sagacity, as Malthus has aptly remarked, always abstracts from the specific form of economic conditions.

Thus, if the amount of labour required for the production of commodities remained constant, their exchange value would also remain unchanged. But the facility or difficulty of production varies continually. If the productivity of labour grows, the same use value will be produced in less time. If the productivity of labour declines, more time will be needed to produce the same use value. The amount of labour time contained in a commodity, and therefore its exchange value, is consequently a variable quantity, rising or falling in inverse proportion to the rise or fall of the productivity of labour. The level of the productivity of labour, which is predetermined in manufacturing industry, depends in agriculture and extractive industry also upon uncontrollable natural conditions. The *same* quantity of labour will result in a larger or smaller output of various metals—depending on the relative rarity and frequency of the deposits of these metals in the earth's crust. The *same* amount of labour may yield two bushels of wheat in a favourable season, and perhaps only one bushel in an unfavourable season. Scarcity or abundance brought about by natural circumstances seems in this case to determine the exchange value of commodities, because it determines the productivity of the specific concrete labour which is bound up with the natural conditions.

Equal amounts of labour time, or equal amounts of exchange value, are contained in unequal volumes of different use values. The smaller the volume of a use value which contains a given amount of labour time as compared with other use values of commodities, the greater is the *specific exchange value* of that commodity. If we find that in different epochs of civilisation separated by long periods of time, various use values—for example gold, silver, copper and iron, or wheat, rye, barley and oats—form a series of specific exchange values which on the whole retain their relative order in relation to one another, though not their exact numerical proportions, it follows that the progressive development of the social productive forces has exerted a uniform or nearly uniform effect on the labour time required for the production of these various commodities.

The exchange value of a commodity is not expressed in its own use value. But as objectification of universal social labour time, the use value of one commodity is brought into relation with the use values of other commodities. The exchange value of one commodity thus manifests itself in the use values of other commodities. In fact the exchange value of one commodity expressed in the use value of another commodity represents

equivalence. If one says, for instance, one yard of linen is worth two pounds of coffee, then the exchange value of linen is expressed in the use value of coffee, and it is moreover expressed in a definite quantity of this use value. Once the proportion is given, the value of any quantity of linen can be expressed in terms of coffee. It is evident that the exchange value of a commodity, e.g. linen, is not exhaustively expressed by the proportion in which a particular commodity, e.g. coffee, forms its equivalent. The quantity of universal labour time represented by a yard of linen exists simultaneously in infinitely varied amounts of the use values of all other commodities. The use value of any other commodity taken in the proportion which represents the same quantity of labour time constitutes an equivalent for the yard of linen. The exchange value of *this particular commodity* can therefore be exhaustively expressed only by the infinite number of equations in which the use values of all other commodities form its equivalent. The only exhaustive expression for a *universal equivalent* is the sum of these equations or the totality of the different proportions in which a commodity can be exchanged for any other commodity. For example the series of equations—

1 yard of linen = $^1/_2$ lb. of tea,
1 yard of linen = 2 lbs. of coffee,
1 yard of linen = 8 lbs. of bread,
1 yard of linen = 6 yards of calico

may be put in the following form—

1 yard of linen = $^1/_8$ lb. of tea + $^1/_2$ lb. of coffee + 2 lbs. of bread + 1 $^1/_2$ yards of calico.

Thus if we had all the equations in which the value of a yard of linen is exhaustively expressed, we could denote its exchange value in the form of a series. This is in fact an infinite series, for the range of commodities can never be finally circumscribed but expands continuously. Since the exchange value of one commodity is measured by the use values of all other commodities, the exchange values of all other commodities are on the contrary measured in terms of the use value of the one commodity measured by them.* If the exchange value of one yard of linen is expressed in $^1/_2$ lb. of tea, or 2 lbs. of coffee, or 6 yards of calico,

* "It is also a feature of measures to enter into such a relation with the thing measured that in a certain way the latter becomes the measure of the former." Montanari, *Della Moneta*, p. 41 in Custodi's collection, Vol. III, *Parte Antica*. [Marx quotes in Italian.]

or 8 lbs. of bread, etc., it follows that coffee, tea, calico, bread, etc., must be equal to one another in the proportion in which they are equal to linen, a third magnitude, linen thus serves as a common measure of their exchange value. The exchange value of any commodity considered as objectified universal labour time, i.e. as a definite quantity of universal labour time, is measured successively in terms of definite quantities of the use values of all other commodities; and on the other hand the exchange values of all other commodities are measured in the use value of this one exclusive commodity. But any commodity considered as exchange value is both the exclusive commodity which serves as the common measure of the exchange values of all other commodities and on the other hand it is merely one commodity of the many commodities in the series in which the exchange value of any other commodity is directly expressed.

The existing number of different types of commodities does not affect the *value* of a commodity. But whether the series of equations in which its exchange value can be realised is longer or shorter depends on the greater or smaller variety of other commodities. The series of equations which express, say, the value of coffee shows the range of its exchangeability, the limits within which it functions as an exchange value. The exchange value of a commodity as the objective expression of universal social labour time finds its appropriate expression of equivalence in the infinite variety of use values.

We have seen that the exchange value of a commodity varies with the quantity of labour time directly contained in it. Its realised exchange value, that is its exchange value expressed in the use values of other commodities, must also depend on the degree to which the labour time expended on the production of all other commodities varies. For example, if the labour time necessary for the production of a bushel of wheat remained unchanged, while the labour time needed for the production of all other commodities doubled, the exchange value of a bushel of wheat in terms of its equivalents would have been halved. The result would actually be the same as if the labour time required to produce a bushel of wheat had been halved and the labour time required to produce all other commodities had remained unchanged. The value of commodities is determined by the amount of them which can be produced in a given labour time. In order to examine what changes are liable to affect this proportion, let us take two commodities, *A* and *B*. *First.* The labour time required for the production of *B* is assumed to remain unchanged. In this case the

exchange value of *A* expressed in terms of *B* falls or rises in direct proportion to the decrease or increase in the labour time necessary for the production of *A*. *Secondly.* The labour time necessary for the production of commodity *A* is assumed to remain unchanged. The exchange value of commodity *A* in terms of *B* falls or rises in inverse proportion to the decrease or increase in the labour time required to produce *B*. *Thirdly.* The labour time required for the production of *A* and of *B* is assumed to decrease or increase at the same rate. The equation expressing the value of commodity *A* in terms of *B* remains unchanged in this case. If some factor were to cause the productivity of all types of labour to fall in equal degree, thus requiring the same proportion of additional labour time for the production of all commodities, then the value of *all* commodities would rise, the actual expression of their exchange value remaining unchanged, and the real wealth of society would decrease, since the production of the same quantity of use values would require a larger amount of labour time. *Fourthly.* The labour time required for the production of both A and B is assumed to increase or decrease but in unequal degree, or else the labour time required for the production of *A* is assumed to increase while that required for B decreases, or vice versa. All these cases can be simply reduced to the position where the labour time required for the production of one commodity remains unchanged, while that required for the production of the other either increases or decreases.

The exchange value of any commodity is expressed in terms of the use value of any other commodity, either in whole units or in fractions of that use value. Every commodity as exchange value can be just as easily divided as the labour time objectified in it. The equivalence of commodities is just as independent of their physical divisibility as use values as the summation of the exchange values of commodities is unaffected by the real change of form which the use values of these commodities may undergo in the course of their transformation into a *single* new commodity.

So far two aspects of the commodity—use value and exchange value—have been examined, but each time one-sidedly. The commodity, however, is the direct *unity* of use value and exchange value, and at the same time it is a commodity only in relation to other commodities. The *exchange process* of commodities is the *real* relation that exists between them. This is a social process which is carried on by individuals independently of one another, but they take part in it only as commodity owners; they exist for one another only in so far as their commodities exist, they thus appear

to be in fact the conscious representatives of the exchange process.

The commodity is a use value, wheat, linen, a diamond, machinery, etc., but as a commodity it is simultaneously *not* a use value. It would not be a commodity, if it were a use value for its owner, that is a direct means for the satisfaction of his own needs. For its owner it is on the contrary a *non-use value,* that is merely the physical depository of exchange value, or simply a *means of exchange.* Use value as an active carrier of exchange value becomes a means of exchange. The commodity is a use value for its owner only so far as it is an exchange value.* The commodity therefore has still to *become* a use value, in the first place a use value for others. Since it is not a use value to its owner, it must be a use value to owners of other commodities. If this is not the case, then the labour expended on it was useless labour and the result accordingly is not a commodity. The commodity must, on the other hand, become a use value *for its owner,* since his means of subsistence exist outside it, in the use values of other people's commodities. To *become* a use value, the commodity must encounter the particular need which it can satisfy. Thus the use values of commodities *become* use values by a mutual exchange of places: they pass from the hands of those for whom they were means of exchange into the hands of those for whom they serve as consumer goods. Only as a result of this universal *alienation* of commodities does the labour contained in them become useful labour. Commodities do not acquire a new economic form *in the course* of their mutual relations as use values. On the contrary, the specific form which distinguished them as commodities disappears. Bread, for instance, in passing from the baker to the consumer does not change its character as bread. It is rather that the consumer treats it as a use value, as a particular foodstuff, whereas so long as it was in the hands of the baker it was simply representative of an economic relation, a concrete and at the same time an abstract thing. The only transformation therefore that commodities experience in the course of becoming use values is the cessation of their formal existence in which they were non-use values for their owner, and use values for their non-owner. To become use values commodities must be altogether alienated; they must enter into the exchange process; exchange however is concerned merely with their aspect as exchange values. Hence,

* It is in this sense that Aristotle speaks of exchange value (see the passage quoted at the beginning of this chapter).

only by being realised as exchange values can they be realised as use values.

The individual commodity as a use value was originally regarded as something independent, while as an exchange value it was from the outset regarded in its relation to all other commodities. But this was merely a theoretical, hypothetical, relation. It realises itself only in the process of exchange. On the other hand, a commodity is an exchange value in so far as a definite amount of labour time has been expended on its production and it accordingly represents *objectified labour time.* Yet the commodity as it comes into being is only objectified individual labour time of a specific kind, and not *universal* labour time. The commodity is thus *not* immediately exchange value, but has still to *become* exchange value. To begin with, it can be objectification of universal labour time only when it represents a particular useful application of labour time, that is a use value. This is the material condition under which alone the labour time contained in commodities is regarded as universal, social labour time. A commodity can only therefore become a use value if it is realised as an exchange value, while it can only be realised as an exchange value if it is alienated and functions as a use value. The alienation of a commodity as a use value is only possible to the person for whom it is a use value, i.e. an object satisfying particular needs. On the other hand, it can only be alienated in exchange for another commodity, or if we regard the matter from the standpoint of the owner of the other commodity, he too can only alienate, i.e. realise, his commodity by bringing it into contact with the particular need of which it is the object. During the universal alienation of commodities as *use values* they are brought into relation with one another as discrete things which are physically different and because of their specific properties satisfy particular needs. But as mere use values they exist independently of one another or rather without any connection. They can be exchanged as use values only in connection with particular needs. They are, however, exchangeable only as equivalents, and they are equivalents only as equal quantities of objectified labour time, when their physical properties as use values, and hence the relations of these commodities to specific needs, are entirely disregarded. A commodity functions as an exchange value if it can freely take the place of a definite quantity of any other commodity, irrespective of whether or not it constitutes a use value for the owner of the other commodity. But for the owner of the other commodity it becomes a commodity only in so far as it constitutes a use value

for him, and for the owner in whose hands it is it becomes an exchange value only in so far as it is a commodity for the other owner. One and the same relation must therefore be simultaneously a relation of essentially equal commodities which differ only in magnitude, i.e. a relation which expresses their equality as materialisations of universal labour time, and at the same time it must be their relation as qualitatively different things, as distinct use values for distinct needs, in short a relation which differentiates them as actual use values. But equality and inequality thus posited are mutually exclusive. The result is not simply a vicious circle of problems, where the solution of one problem presupposes the solution of the other, but a whole complex of contradictory premisses, since the fulfilment of one condition depends directly upon the fulfilment of its opposite.

The exchange process must comprise both the evolution and the solution of these contradictions, which cannot however be demonstrated in the process in this simple form. We have merely observed how the commodities themselves are related to one another as use values, i.e. how commodities as use values function *within* the exchange process. On the other hand, exchange value as we have considered it till now has merely existed as our abstraction, or, if one prefers, as the abstraction of the individual commodity owner, who keeps the commodity as use value in the warehouse, and has it on his conscience as exchange value. In the exchange process, however, the commodities must exist for one another not only as use values but also as exchange values, and this aspect of their existence must appear as their own mutual relation. The difficulty which confronted us in the first place was that the commodity as a use value has to be alienated, disposed of, before it can function as an exchange value, as objectified universal labour time, while on the contrary its alienation as a use value presupposes its existence as exchange value. But let us suppose that this difficulty has been overcome, that the commodity has shed its particular use value and has thereby fulfilled the material condition of being socially useful labour, instead of the particular labour of an individual by himself. In the exchange process, the commodity as exchange value must then become a universal equivalent, objectified general labour time for all other commodities; it has thus no longer the limited function of a particular use value, but is capable of being directly represented in all use values as its equivalents. Every commodity however is *the* commodity which, as a result of the alienation of its particular use value, must appear as the direct materialisation of universal labour

time. But on the other hand, only particular commodities, particular use values embodying the labour of private individuals, confront one another in the exchange process. Universal labour time itself is an abstraction which, as such, does not exist for commodities.

Let us consider the series of equations in which the exchange value of a commodity is expressed in concrete terms, for example—

1 yard of linen = 2 lbs. of coffee,
1 yard of linen = $^1/_2$ lb. of tea,
1 yard of linen = 8 lbs. of bread, etc.

To be sure, these equations merely denote that equal amounts of universal social labour time are objectified in 1 yard of linen, 2 lbs. of coffee, $^1/_2$ lb. of tea, etc. But the different kinds of individual labour represented in these particular use values, in fact, become labour in general, and in this way social labour, only by actually being exchanged for one another proportionately to the duration of labour contained in them.[a] Social labour time exists in these commodities in a latent state, so to speak, and becomes evident only in the course of their exchange. The point of departure is not the labour of individuals considered as social labour, but on the contrary the particular kinds of labour of private individuals, i.e. labour which proves that it is universal social labour only by the supersession of its original character in the exchange process. Universal social labour is consequently not a ready-made prerequisite but an emerging result. Thus a new difficulty arises: on the one hand, commodities must enter the exchange process as objectified universal labour time, on the other hand, the labour time of individuals becomes objectified universal labour time only as the result of the exchange process.

It is through the alienation of its use value, that is of its original form of existence, that every commodity has to acquire its corresponding existence as exchange value. The commodity must therefore assume a dual form of existence in the exchange process. On the other hand, its second form of existence, exchange value, can only be represented by another commodity, for only commodities confront one another in the exchange process. How is it possible to present a particular commodity directly as *objectified universal* labour time, or—which amounts to the same thing—how can the individual labour time objectified in

[a] The original has: "proportionately to their duration"; changed by Marx in his own copy.—*Ed.*

a particular commodity directly assume a universal character? The concrete expression of the exchange value of a commodity, i.e. of any commodity considered as universal equivalent, consists of an infinite series of equations such as—

1 yard of linen = 2 lbs. of coffee,
1 yard of linen = $^1/_2$ lb. of tea,
1 yard of linen = 8 lbs. of bread,
1 yard of linen = 6 yards of calico,
1 yard of linen = and so on.

This is a theoretical statement since the commodity is merely *regarded* as a definite quantity of objectified universal labour time. A particular commodity as a universal equivalent is transformed from a pure abstraction into a *social* result of the exchange process, if one simply reverses the above series of equations. For example—

2 lbs. of coffee = 1 yard of linen,
$^1/_2$ lb. of tea = 1 yard of linen,
8 lbs. of bread = 1 yard of linen,
6 yards of calico = 1 yard of linen.

Just as the labour time contained in coffee, tea, bread, calico, in short in all commodities, is expressed in terms of linen, so conversely the exchange value of linen is reflected in all other commodities which act as its equivalents, and the labour time objectified in linen becomes direct universal labour time, which is equally embodied in different volumes of all other commodities. Linen thus becomes the *universal equivalent* in consequence of the *universal action* of all other commodities in relation to it. Every commodity considered as exchange value became a measure of the value of all other commodities. In this case, on the contrary, because the exchange value of all commodities is measured in terms of one particular commodity, the excluded commodity becomes the adequate representation of exchange value as the universal equivalent. On the other hand, the infinite series or the infinite number of equations in which the exchange value of each commodity was expressed is now reduced to a single equation consisting of two terms. The equation 2 lbs. of coffee = 1 yard of linen is now a comprehensive expression for the exchange value of coffee, for in this expression it appears as the direct equivalent to a definite quantity of any other commodity. Commodities within the exchange process accordingly exist for one another, or appear to one another, as exchange values in the form of linen. The fact

that all commodities are related to one another as exchange values, i.e. simply as different quantities of objectified universal labour time, now appears in the form that all exchange values represent merely different quantities of one and the *same* article, linen. Universal labour time thus appears in turn as a specific thing, as a commodity in addition to and apart from all other commodities. At the same time, the equation in which one commodity represents the exchange value of another commodity, e.g. 2 lbs. of coffee = 1 yard of linen, has still to be realised. Only by being alienated as a use value—an alienation which depends on whether it is able to prove in the exchange process that it is a needed object—is it really converted from the form of coffee into that of linen, thus becoming a universal equivalent and really representing exchange value for all other commodities. On the other hand, because as a result of their alienation as use values all commodities are converted into linen, linen becomes the converted form of all other commodities, and only as a result of this transformation of all other commodities into linen does it become the direct *objectification of universal labour time,* i.e. the product of universal alienation and of the supersession of all individual labour. While commodities thus assume a dual form in order to represent exchange value for one another, the commodity which has been set apart as universal equivalent acquires a dual use value. In addition to its particular use value as an individual commodity it acquires a universal use value. This latter use value is itself a determinate form, i.e. it arises from the specific role which this commodity plays as a result of the universal action exerted on it by the other commodities in the exchange process. The use value of each commodity as an object which satisfies particular needs has a different value in different hands, e.g. it has one value for the person who disposes of it and a different value for the person who acquires it. The commodity which has been set apart as the universal equivalent is now an object which satisfies a universal need arising from the exchange process itself, and has the same use value for everybody—that of being carrier of exchange value or a universal means of exchange. Thus the contradiction inherent in the commodity as such, namely that of being a particular use value and simultaneously universal equivalent, and hence a use value for everybody or a universal use value, has been solved in the case of this one commodity. Whereas now the exchange value of all other commodities is in the first place presented in the form of an ideal equation with the commodity that has been set apart, an equation which has still to be realised;

the use value of this commodity, though real, seems in the exchange process to have merely a formal existence which has still to be realised by conversion into actual use values. The commodity originally appeared as commodity in general, as universal labour time objectified in a particular use value. All commodities are compared in the exchange process with the one excluded commodity which is regarded as commodity in general, *the* commodity, the embodiment of universal labour time in a particular use value. They are therefore as *particular* commodities opposed to one particular commodity considered as being the *universal* commodity.* The fact that commodity owners treat one another's labour as universal social labour appears in the form of their treating their own commodities as exchange values; and the interrelation of commodities as exchange values in the exchange process appears as their universal relation to a particular commodity as the adequate expression of their exchange value; this in turn appears as the specific relation of this particular commodity to all other commodities and hence as the distinctive, as it were naturally evolved, social character of a thing. The particular commodity which thus represents the exchange value of all commodities, that is to say, the exchange value of commodities regarded as a particular, exclusive commodity, constitutes *money.* It is a crystallisation of the exchange value of commodities and is formed in the exchange process. Thus, while in the exchange process commodities become *use values* for one another by discarding all determinate forms and confronting one another in their immediate physical aspect, they must assume a new determinate form, they must evolve money, so as to be able to confront one another as *exchange values.* Money is not a symbol, just as the existence of a use value in the form of a commodity is no symbol. A social relation of production appears as something existing apart from individual human beings, and the distinctive relations into which they enter in the course of production in society appear as the specific properties of a thing—it is this perverted appearance, this prosaically real, and by no means imaginary, mystification that is characteristic of all social forms of labour positing exchange value. This perverted appearance manifests itself merely in a more striking manner in money than it does in commodities.

The necessary physical properties of the particular commodity,

* The same term is used by Genovesi. [Note in Marx's own copy.]

in which the money form of all other commodities is to be crystallised—in so far as they directly follow from the nature of exchange value—are: unlimited divisibility, homogeneity of its parts and uniform quality of all units of the commodity. As the materialisation of universal labour time it must be homogeneous and capable of expressing only quantitative differences. Another necessary property is durability of its use value since it must endure through the exchange process. Precious metals possess these qualities in an exceptionally high degree. Since money is not the result of deliberation or of agreement, but has come into being spontaneously in the course of exchange, many different, more or less unsuitable, commodities were at various times used as money. When exchange reaches a certain stage of development, the need arises to polarise the functions of exchange value and use value among various commodities—so that one commodity, for example, shall act as means of exchange while another is disposed of as a use value. The outcome is that one commodity or sometimes several commodities representing the most common use value come occasionally to serve as money. Even when no immediate need for these use values exists, the demand for them is bound to be more general than that for other use values, since they constitute the most substantial physical element in wealth.

Direct barter, the spontaneous form of exchange, signifies the beginning of the transformation of use values into commodities rather than the transformation of commodities into money. Exchange value does not acquire an independent form, but is still directly tied to use value. This is manifested in two ways. Use value, not exchange value, is the purpose of the whole system of production, and use values accordingly cease to be use values and become means of exchange, or commodities, only when a larger amount of them has been produced than is required for consumption. On the other hand, they become commodities only within the limits set by their immediate use value, even when this function is polarised so that the commodities to be exchanged by their owners must be use values for both of them, but each commodity must be a use value for its non-owner. In fact, the exchange of commodities evolves originally not within primitive communities,* but on their margins, on their borders, the few

* Aristotle makes a similar observation with regard to the individual family considered as the primitive community. But the primitive form of the family is the tribal family, from the historical dissolution of which the individual family

points where they come into contact with other communities. This is where barter begins and moves thence into the interior of the community, exerting a disintegrating influence upon it. The particular use values which, as a result of barter between different communities, become commodities, e.g. slaves, cattle, metals, usually serve also as the first money within these communities. We have seen that the degree to which the exchange value of a commodity functions as exchange value is the higher, the longer the series of its equivalents or the *larger* the sphere in which the commodity is exchanged. The gradual extension of barter, the growing number of exchange transactions, and the increasing variety of commodities bartered lead, therefore, to the further development of the commodity as exchange value, stimulate the formation of money and consequently have a disintegrating effect on direct barter. Economists usually reason that the emergence of money is due to external difficulties which the expansion of barter encounters, but they forget that these difficulties arise from the evolution of exchange value and hence from that of social labour as universal labour. For example commodities as use values are not divisible at will, a property which as exchange values they should possess. Or it may happen that the commodity belonging to A may be use value required by B; where B's commodity may not have any use value for A. Or the commodity owners may need each other's commodities but these cannot be divided and their relative exchange values are different. In other words, on the plea of examining simple barter, these economists display certain aspects of the contradiction inherent in the commodity as being the direct unity of use value and exchange value. On the other hand, they then persistently regard barter as a form well adapted to commodity exchange, suffering merely from certain technical inconveniences, to overcome which money has been cunningly devised. Proceeding from this quite superficial point of view, an ingenious British economist has rightly maintained that money is merely a material instrument, like a ship or a steam engine, and not an expression of a social relation of production, and hence is not an economic category. It is therefore simply a malpractice to deal with this subject in political economy, which in fact has nothing in common with technology.*

develops. "In the first community, indeed, which is the family, this art" (that is, trade) "is obviously of no use" (Aristotle, loc. cit.). [Marx quotes in Greek.]

* "Money is, in fact, only the instrument for carrying on buying and selling" (but, if you please, what do you understand by buying and selling?) "and the

The world of commodities presupposes a developed division of labour, or rather the division of labour manifests itself directly in the diversity of use values which confront one another as particular commodities and which embody just as many diverse kinds of labour. The *division of labour* as the aggregate of all particular types of productive activity constitutes the totality of the physical aspects of social labour as labour producing use values. But it exists as such—as regards commodities and the exchange process—only in its results, in the particularisation of the commodities themselves.

The exchange of commodities is the process in which the social metabolism, in other words, the exchange of particular products of private individuals, simultaneously gives rise to definite social relations of production, into which individuals enter in the course of this metabolism. As they develop, the interrelations of commodities crystallise into distinct aspects of the universal equivalent, and thus the exchange process becomes at the same time the process of formation of money. This process as a whole, which comprises several processes, constitutes *circulation.*

## A. HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE ANALYSIS OF COMMODITIES

The decisive outcome of the research carried on for over a century and a half by classical political economy, beginning with William Petty in Britain and Boisguillebert in France,* and ending with Ricardo in Britain and Sismondi in France, is an analysis of the aspects of the commodity in two forms of labour—use value is reduced to concrete labour or purposive productive activity, exchange value to labour time or homogeneous social labour.

*Petty* reduces use value to labour without deceiving himself about the dependence of its creative power on natural factors. He

consideration of it no more forms a part of the science of political economy than the consideration of ships or steam engines, or of any other instruments employed to facilitate the production and distribution of wealth" (Th. Hodgskin, *Popular Political Economy etc.*, London, 1827, pp. 178, 179). [Marx quotes and makes a remark in English.]

* A comparative study of Petty's and Boisguillebert's writings and characters—apart from illuminating the social divergence between Britain and France at the close of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth—would explain the origins of those national contrasts that exist between British and French political economy. The same contrast reappears in Ricardo and Sismondi.

immediately perceives concrete labour in its entire social aspect as *division of labour.** This conception of the source of material wealth does not remain more or less sterile as with his contemporary Hobbes, but leads to the *political arithmetic,* the first form in which political economy is treated as a separate science. But he accepts exchange value as it *appears* in the exchange of commodities, i.e. as money, and money itself as an existing commodity, as gold and silver. Caught up in the ideas of the monetary system, he asserts that the labour which determines exchange value is the particular kind of concrete labour by which gold and silver is extracted.

* Petty treats the division of labour also as a productive force, and he does so on a much grander scale than Adam Smith. See *An Essay concerning the Multiplication of Mankind etc.,* Third Edition, 1698, pp. 35-36. In this essay he shows the advantages which division of labour has for production not only with the example of the manufacture of a watch—as Adam Smith did later with the example of the manufacture of a pin—but considers also a town and a whole country as large-scale industrial establishments. *The Spectator* of 26 November 1711 refers to this "ILLUSTRATION OF THE ADMIRABLE Sir William Petty". MacCulloch's conjecture that *The Spectator* confused Petty with a writer forty years his junior is therefore wrong. (See MacCulloch, *The Literature of Political Economy, a Classified Catalogue,* London, 1845, p. 102.) Petty regards himself as the founder of a new science. He says that his method "is not very usual", for instead of using only comparative and superlative words, and intellectual arguments, he proposes to speak in TERMS OF NUMBER, WEIGHT OR MEASURE; to use only arguments of sense, and to consider only such causes, AS HAVE VISIBLE FOUNDATIONS IN NATURE; leaving those that depend upon the MUTABLE MINDS, OPINIONS, APPETITES, AND PASSIONS OF PARTICULAR MEN, to the consideration of others (*Political Arithmetick etc.,* London, 1699, Preface). His audacious genius becomes evident for instance in his proposal to transport all the movables and people of Ireland, and of the Highlands of Scotland ... into the rest of Great Britain. This would result in the saving of labour time, in increasing productivity of labour, and "the King and his Subjects would thereby become more rich and strong" (*Political Arithmetick,* Chapter 4 [p. 225]). Also in the chapter of his *Political Arithmetick* in which—at a time when Holland was still the predominant trading nation and France seemed to be on the way to becoming the principal trading power—he proves that England is destined to conquer the world market: "THAT THE KING OF ENGLAND'S SUBJECTS HAVE STOCK COMPETENT AND CONVENIENT TO DRIVE THE TRADE OF THE WHOLE COMMERCIAL WORLD" (l.c., Chapter 10 [p. 272]). "THAT THE IMPEDIMENTS OF ENGLAND'S GREATNESS, ARE BUT CONTINGENT AND REMOVABLE" (p. 247 *et seq.*). A highly original sense of humour pervades all his writings. Thus he shows for example that the conquest of the world market by Holland, which was then regarded as the model country by English economists just as Britain is now regarded as the model country by continental economists, was brought about by perfectly natural causes "WITHOUT SUCH ANGELICAL WITS AND JUDGMENTS, AS SOME ATTRIBUTE TO THE HOLLANDERS" (l. c., pp. 175-76). He champions freedom of conscience as a condition of trade, "because the poor are diligent and believe that labour and industry is their duty towards God so long as they are permitted to think that, having less wealth, they have the more Wit and Understanding, especially of the things of God, which they think

What he really has in mind is that in bourgeois economy labour does not directly produce use values but commodities, use values which, in consequence of their alienation in exchange, are capable of assuming the form of gold and silver, i.e. of money, i.e. of exchange value, i.e. of objectified universal labour. His case is a striking proof that recognition of labour as the source of material wealth by no means precludes misapprehension of the specific social form in which labour constitutes the source of exchange value.

*Boisguillebert* for his part, in fact, although he may not be aware of it, reduces the exchange value of commodities to labour time, by determining the "true value" (*la juste valeur*) according to the correct proportion in which the labour time of the individual producers is divided between the different branches of industry, and declaring that free competition is the social process by which this correct proportion is established. But simultaneously, and in contrast with Petty, Boisguillebert wages a fanatical struggle against money, whose intervention, he alleges, disturbs the natural equilibrium or the harmony of the exchange of commodities and, like a fantastic *Moloch*, demands all physical wealth as a sacrifice. This polemic against money is, on the one hand, connected with definite historical conditions, for Boisguillebert fights against the blindly destructive greed for gold which possessed the court of

chiefly belong to the Poor". From whence it follows that trade is "not fixed to any species of religion as such; but rather to the Heterodox part of the whole" (l.c., pp. 183-86). He recommends special public contribution for rogues, since it would be better for the general public to impose a tax on themselves for the benefit of the rogues than to be taxed by them (l.c., p. 197). On the other hand, he rejects taxes which transfer wealth from industrious people to those who "do nothing at all, but eat and drink, sing, play, and dance: nay such as *study the Metaphysics*" [op. cit., p. 198]. Petty's writings have almost become bibliographical curiosities and are only available in old inferior editions. This is the more surprising since William Petty is not only the father of English political economy but also an ancestor of Henry Petty, alias Marquis of Lansdowne, the Nestor of the English Whigs. But the Lansdowne family could hardly prepare a complete edition of Petty's works without prefacing it with his biography, and what is true with regard to the origin of most of the big Whig families, applies also in this case—THE LESS SAID OF IT THE BETTER. The army surgeon, who was a bold thinker but quite unscrupulous and just as apt to plunder in Ireland under the aegis of Cromwell as to fawn upon Charles II to obtain the title of baronet to embellish his trash, is hardly a suitable image of an ancestor for public display. In most of the writings published during his lifetime, moreover, Petty seeks to prove that England's golden age was the reign of Charles II, a rather heterodox view for hereditary exploiters of the "GLORIOUS REVOLUTION".[64]

Louis XIV, his tax-farmers and the aristocracy*; whereas Petty acclaims the greed for gold as a vigorous force which spurs a nation to industrial progress and to the conquest of the world market; at the same time however it throws into bold relief more profound fundamental differences which recur as a perpetual contrast between typically English and typically French** political economy. Boisguillebert, in fact, turns his attention only to the material content of wealth, to use value, enjoyment of it,*** and regards the bourgeois form of labour, the production of use values as commodities and the exchange of commodities, as the appropriate social form in which individual labour accomplishes this object. Where, as in money, he encounters the specific features of bourgeois wealth, he therefore speaks of the intrusion of usurping alien factors, and inveighs against one of the forms of labour in bourgeois society, while simultaneously pronouncing utopian eulogies on it in another form.**** Boisguillebert's work proves that it is possible to regard labour time as the measure of the value of commodities, while confusing the labour which is objectified in the exchange value of commodities and measured in time units with the direct physical activity of individuals.

It is a man of the New World—where bourgeois relations of production imported together with their representatives sprouted rapidly in a soil in which the superabundance of humus made up for the lack of historical tradition—who for the first time deliberately and clearly (so clearly as to be almost trite) reduces exchange value to labour time. This man was *Benjamin Franklin*, who formulated the basic law of modern political economy in an

* As against the "black art of finance" of his time, Boisguillebert says: "The science of finance is nothing but a thorough knowledge of the interests of agriculture and of commerce" (*Le détail de la France*, 1697. In Eugène Daire's edition of *Economistes financiers du XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1843, Vol. I, p. 241). [Marx quotes in French.]

** But not *Romance* political economy, since the contrast of English and French economists is repeated by the Italians in their two schools, one at Naples and the other at Milan; whereas the Spaniards of the earlier period are either simply Mercantilists and modified Mercantilists like Ustáriz, or follow Adam Smith in observing the "happy mean" like Jovellanos (see his *Obras*, Barcelona, 1839-40).

*** "True wealth ... is the complete enjoyment not only of the necessaries of life but also of all the superfluities and of all that can give pleasure to the senses" (Boisguillebert, *Dissertation sur la nature de la richesse etc.*, p. 403). [Marx quotes in French.] But whereas Petty was just a frivolous, grasping, unprincipled adventurer, Boisguillebert, although he was one of the intendants of Louis XIV, stood up for the interests of the oppressed classes with both great intellectual force and courage.

**** French socialism as represented by Proudhon suffers from the same national failing.

early work, which was written in 1729 and published in 1731.* He declares it necessary to seek another measure of value than the precious metals, and this measure is labour.

"By labour may the value of silver be measured as well as other things. As, suppose one man is employed to raise corn, while another is digging and refining silver; at the year's end, or at any other period of time, the complete produce of corn, and that of silver, are the natural price of each other; and if one be twenty bushels, and the other twenty ounces, then an ounce of that silver is worth the labour of raising a bushel of that corn. Now if by the discovery of some nearer, more easy or plentiful mines, a man may get forty ounces of silver as easily as formerly he did twenty, and the same labour is still required to raise twenty bushels of corn, then two ounces of silver will be worth no more than the same labour of raising one bushel of corn, and that bushel of corn will be as cheap at two ounces, as it was before at one, *caeteris paribus*.[a] THUS THE RICHES OF A COUNTRY ARE TO BE VALUED BY THE *QUANTITY OF LABOUR* ITS INHABITANTS ARE ABLE TO PURCHASE" (l.c., p. 265).[b]

From the outset Franklin regards labour time from a restricted economic standpoint as the measure of value. The transformation of actual products into exchange values is taken for granted, and it is therefore only a question of discovering a measure of their value.

To quote Franklin again:

"TRADE IN GENERAL BEING NOTHING ELSE BUT THE EXCHANGE OF LABOUR FOR LABOUR, THE VALUE OF ALL THINGS IS, AS I HAVE SAID BEFORE, MOST JUSTLY MEASURED BY LABOUR" (l.c., p. 267).[c]

If in this sentence the term labour is replaced by concrete labour, it is at once obvious that labour in one form is being confused with labour in another form. Because trade may, for example, consist in the exchange of the labour of a shoemaker, miner, spinner, painter and so on, is therefore the labour of the painter the best measure of the value of shoes? Franklin, on the contrary, considers that the value of shoes, minerals, yarn, paintings, etc., is determined by abstract labour which has no particular quality and can thus be measured only in terms of quantity.** But since he does not explain that the labour contained in exchange value is abstract universal social labour, which is

* B. Franklin, *A Modest Inquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency*, in *The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, edit. by J. Sparks, Vol. II, Boston, 1836.

** *Remarks and Facts relative to the American Paper Money*, 1764 (l.c.).

[a] Other things being equal.— *Ed.*

[b] The original English text of the last sentence and the page reference are given by Marx in a footnote.— *Ed.*

[c] The original English text of this passage and the page reference are given by Marx in a footnote.— *Ed.*

brought about by the universal alienation of individual labour, he is bound to mistake money for the direct embodiment of this alienated labour. He therefore fails to see the intrinsic connection between money and labour which posits exchange value, but on the contrary regards money as a convenient technical device which has been introduced into the sphere of exchange from outside.* Franklin's analysis of exchange value had no direct influence on the general course of the science, because he dealt only with special problems of political economy for definite practical purposes.

The difference between concrete useful labour and labour which creates exchange value aroused considerable interest in Europe during the eighteenth century in the following form: what particular kind of concrete labour is the source of bourgeois wealth? It was thus assumed that not every kind of labour which is materialised in use values or yields products must thereby directly create wealth. But for both the Physiocrats and their opponents the crucial issue was not what kind of labour creates *value* but what kind of labour creates *surplus value.* They were thus discussing the problem in a complex form before having solved it in its elementary form; just as the historical progress of all sciences leads only through a multitude of contradictory moves to the real point of departure. Science, unlike other architects, builds not only castles in the air, but may construct separate habitable storeys of the building before laying the foundation stone. We shall now leave the Physiocrats and disregard a whole series of Italian economists, whose more or less pertinent ideas come close to a correct analysis of the commodity,** in order to turn at once to Sir *James Steuart*,*** the first Briton to expound a general system of bourgeois political economy. The concept of exchange value like the other abstract categories of political economy are in his work still in process of differentiation from their material content and therefore appear to be blurred and ambiguous. In one passage he

* See *Papers on American Politics*, and *Remarks and Facts relative to the American Paper Money*, 1764 (l.c.).

** See for instance Galiani, *Della Moneta*, Vol. III, in *Scrittori classici Italiani di Economia Politica* (published by Custodi), *Parte Moderna*, Milano, 1803. He says: "It is toil [*fatica*] alone that gives value to the thing," p. 74. The term "*fatica*" for labour is characteristic of the southerner. [Marx quotes in Italian.]

*** Steuart's work *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy, Being an Essay on the Science of Domestic Policy in Free Nations* was first published in London in 1767, in two quarto volumes, ten years earlier than Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. I quote from the Dublin edition of 1770.

determines *real value* by labour time (WHAT A WORKMAN CAN PERFORM IN A DAY), but beside it he introduces wages and raw material in a rather confusing way.* His struggle with the material content is brought out even more strikingly in another passage. He calls the physical element contained in a commodity, e.g. the silver in silver filigree, its "*INTRINSIC WORTH*",[a] and the labour time contained in it its "*USEFUL VALUE*".[a]

"The first," he says, "is something real in itself... the use value, on the contrary, must be estimated according to the labour it has cost to produce it. The labour employed in the modification of the material REPRESENTS A PORTION OF A MAN'S TIME, ETC." **

His clear differentiation between specifically social labour which manifests itself in exchange value and concrete labour which yields use values distinguishes Steuart from his predecessors and his successors.

Labour, he says, which through its ALIENATION[a] creates A UNIVERSAL EQUIVALENT,[a] I call *industry*.

He distinguishes labour as industry not only from concrete labour but also from other social forms of labour. He sees in it the bourgeois form of labour as distinct from its antique and mediaeval forms. He is particularly interested in the difference between bourgeois and feudal labour, having observed the latter in the stage of its decline both in Scotland and during his extensive journeys on the continent. Steuart knew very well that in pre-bourgeois eras also products assumed the form of commodities and commodities that of money; but he shows in great detail that the commodity as the elementary and primary unit of wealth and alienation as the predominant form of appropriation are characteristic only of the bourgeois period of production, and that accordingly labour which creates exchange value is a specifically bourgeois feature.***

* Steuart, l.c., Vol. I, pp. 181-83.

** Ibid., pp. 361-62 [here Marx reproduces the English part of the sentence].

*** Steuart therefore declares that the patriarchal form of agriculture whose direct aim is the production of use values for the owner of the land, is an "abuse", although not in Sparta or Rome or even in Athens, but certainly in the industrial countries of the eighteenth century. This "ABUSIVE AGRICULTURE" is not "TRADE" but a "mere means of subsistence". Just as bourgeois agriculture clears the land of superfluous mouths, so bourgeois manufacture clears the factory of superfluous hands.

[a] Marx gives this English term in parentheses after its German equivalent.— *Ed.*

Various kinds of concrete labour, such as agriculture, manufacture, shipping and commerce, had each in turn been claimed to constitute the real source of wealth, before *Adam Smith* declared that the sole source of material wealth or of use values is labour in general, that is the entire social aspect of labour as it appears in the *division of labour.* Whereas in this context he completely overlooks the natural factor, he is pursued by it when he examines the sphere of purely social wealth, exchange value. Although Adam determines the value of commodities by the labour time contained in them, he then nevertheless transfers this determination of value in actual fact to pre-Adamian times. In other words, what he regards as true when considering simple commodities becomes confused as soon as he examines the higher and more complex forms of capital, wage labour, rent, etc. He expresses this in the following way: the value of commodities was measured by labour time contained in them in the PARADISE LOST of the bourgeoisie, where people did not confront one another as capitalists, wage workers, landowners, tenant farmers, usurers, and so on, but simply as persons who produced commodities and exchanged them. Adam Smith constantly confuses the determination of the value of commodities by the labour time contained in them with the determination of their value by the value of labour; he is often inconsistent in the details of his exposition and he mistakes the objective equalisation of unequal quantities of labour forcibly brought about by the social process for the subjective equality of the labours of individuals.* He tries to accomplish the transition from concrete labour to labour which produces exchange value, i.e. the basic form of bourgeois labour, by means of the *division of labour.* But though it is correct to say that private exchange presupposes division of labour, it is wrong to maintain that division of labour presupposes private exchange. For example, division of labour had reached an exceptionally high degree of development among the Peruvians, although no private

* Adam Smith writes for instance—"Equal quantities of labour, at all times and places, must be of equal value to the labourer. In his ordinary state of health, strength, and spirits; in the ordinary degree of his skill and dexterity, he must always lay down the same portion of his ease, his liberty, and his happiness. The price which he pays is always the same, whatever may be the quantity of goods which he receives in return for his labour. Of these, indeed, that price may sometimes purchase a greater and sometimes a smaller quantity; but it is so merely because their value varies, not that of the labour which purchases them. Labour alone, therefore, never varies in its own value. It is, therefore, the real price of commodities, etc." [*Wealth of Nations*, Book I, Chapter V.]

exchange, no exchange of products in the form of commodities, took place.

*David Ricardo*, unlike Adam Smith, neatly sets forth the determination of the value of commodities by labour time, and demonstrates that this law governs even those bourgeois relations of production which apparently contradict it most decisively. Ricardo's investigations are concerned exclusively with the *magnitude of value*, and regarding this he is at least aware that the operation of the law depends on definite historical preconditions. He says that the determination of value by labour time applies to

> such commodities only as can be increased to any quantity by industry, and the production of which is dominated by unrestrained competition.*

This in fact means that the full development of the law of value presupposes a society in which large-scale industrial production and free competition obtain, in other words, modern bourgeois society. For the rest, the bourgeois form of labour is regarded by Ricardo as the eternal natural form of social labour. Ricardo's primitive fisherman and primitive hunter are from the outset owners of commodities who exchange their fish and game in proportion to the labour time which is objectified in these exchange values. On this occasion he slips into the anachronism of allowing the primitive fisherman and hunter to calculate the value of their implements in accordance with the annuity tables used on the London Stock Exchange in 1817. Apart from bourgeois society, the only social system with which Ricardo was acquainted seems to have been the "parallelograms of Mr. Owen".[65] Although encompassed by this bourgeois horizon, Ricardo analyses bourgeois economy, whose deeper layers differ essentially from its surface appearance, with such theoretical acumen that Lord Brougham could say of him:

> "MR. Ricardo SEEMED AS IF HE HAD DROPPED FROM ANOTHER PLANET."[a]

Arguing directly with Ricardo, *Sismondi* not only emphasises the specifically social character of labour which creates exchange value,** but states also that it is a "characteristic feature of our economic progress" to reduce value to *necessary* labour time, to

* David Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, Third Edition, London, 1821, p. 3.

** Sismondi, *Etudes sur l'économie politique*, tome II, Bruxelles, 1838. "Trade has reduced the whole matter to the antithesis of use value and exchange value." P. 162. [Marx quotes in French.]

[a] *The Parliamentary Debates*. New series, Vol. I, London, 1820, p. 685.— *Ed.*

"the relation between the needs of the whole society and the quantity of labour which is sufficient to satisfy these needs".*

Sismondi is no longer preoccupied with Boisguillebert's notion that labour which creates exchange value is distorted by money, but just as Boisguillebert denounced money so does Sismondi denounce large industrial capital. Whereas Ricardo's political economy ruthlessly draws its final conclusion and therewith ends, Sismondi supplements this ending by expressing doubt in political economy itself.

Since the determination of exchange value by labour time has been formulated and expounded in the clearest manner by Ricardo, who gave to classical political economy its final shape, it is quite natural that the arguments raised by economists should be primarily directed against him. If this polemic is stripped of its mainly trivial** form it can be summarised as follows:

*One.* Labour itself has exchange value and different types of labour have different exchange values. If one makes exchange value the measure of exchange value, one is caught up in a vicious circle, for the exchange value used as a measure requires in turn a measure. This objection merges into the following problem: given labour time as the intrinsic measure of exchange value, how are wages to be determined on this basis. The theory of wage labour provides the answer to this.

*Two.* If the exchange value of a product equals the labour time contained in the product, then the exchange value of a working day is equal to the product it yields, in other words, wages must be equal to the product of labour.*** But in fact the opposite is true.

* Ibid., pp. 163-66 *et seq.*

** It probably assumes the most trivial form in J. B. Say's annotations to the French translation—prepared by Constancio—of Ricardo's work, and the most pedantic and presumptuous in Mr. Macleod's recently published *Theory of Exchange*,[66] London, 1858.

*** This objection, which was advanced against Ricardo by bourgeois economists, was later taken up by socialists. Assuming that the formula was theoretically sound, they alleged that practice stood in conflict with the theory and demanded that bourgeois society should draw the practical conclusions supposedly arising from its theoretical principles. In this way at least English socialists turned Ricardo's formula of exchange value against political economy. The feat of declaring not only that the basic principle of the old society was to be the principle of the new society, but also that he was the inventor of the formula used by Ricardo to summarise the final result of English classical political economy, was reserved to M. Proudhon. It has been shown that the utopian interpretation of Ricardo's formula was already completely forgotten in England, when M. Proudhon "discovered" it on the other side of the Channel. (Cf. the section on *la valeur constituée*, in my *Misère de la philosophie...*, Paris, 1847.)

*Ergo,* this objection amounts to the problem,—how does production on the basis of exchange value solely determined by labour time lead to the result that the exchange value of labour is less than the exchange value of its product? This problem is solved in our analysis of capital.

*Three.* In accordance with the changing relation of demand and supply, the market price of commodities falls below or rises above their exchange value. The exchange value of commodities is, *consequently,* determined not by the labour time contained in them, but by the relation of demand and supply. In fact, this strange conclusion only raises the question how on the basis of exchange value a market price differing from this exchange value comes into being, or rather, how the law of exchange value asserts itself only in its antithesis. This problem is solved in the theory of competition.

*Four.* The last and apparently the decisive objection, unless it is advanced—as commonly happens—in the form of curious examples, is this: if exchange value is nothing but the labour time contained in a commodity, how does it come about that commodities which contain no labour possess exchange value, in other words, how does the exchange value of natural forces arise? This problem is solved in the theory of rent.

# Chapter Two

## MONEY OR SIMPLE CIRCULATION

Gladstone, speaking in a parliamentary debate on Sir Robert Peel's Bank Act of 1844 and 1845,[67] observed that even love has not turned more men into fools than has meditation upon the nature of money. He spoke of Britons to Britons. The Dutch, on the other hand, who in spite of Petty's doubts[a] possessed a "divine sense" for money speculation from time immemorial, have never lost their senses in speculation about money.

The principal difficulty in the analysis of money is surmounted as soon as it is understood that the commodity is the origin of money. After that it is only a question of clearly comprehending the specific form peculiar to it. This is not so easy because all bourgeois relations appear to be gilded, i.e. they appear to be money relations, and the money form, therefore, seems to possess an infinitely varied content, which is quite alien to this form.

During the following analysis it is important to keep in mind that we are only concerned with those forms of money which arise directly from the exchange of commodities, but not with forms of money, such as credit money, which belong to a higher stage of production. For the sake of simplicity gold is assumed throughout to be the money commodity.

### 1. MEASURE OF VALUE

The first phase of circulation is, as it were, a theoretical phase preparatory to real circulation. Commodities, which exist as use

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[a] W. Petty, "Political Arithmetick" in *Several Essays in Political Arithmetick*, London, 1699, p. 176.— *Ed.*

values, must first of all assume a form in which they *appear* to one another nominally as exchange values, as definite quantities of objectified *universal* labour time. The first necessary move in this process is, as we have seen, that the commodities set apart a specific commodity, say, *gold,* which becomes the direct materialisation of universal labour time or the universal equivalent. Let us return for a moment to the form in which gold is converted into money by commodities.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 ton of iron | = 2 | ounces of gold, |
| 1 quarter of wheat | = 1 | ounce of gold, |
| 1 hundredweight of Mocha coffee | = $^1/_4$ | ounce of gold, |
| 1 hundredweight of potash | = $^1/_2$ | ounce of gold, |
| 1 ton of Brazil-timber | = 1 $^1/_2$ | ounces of gold, |
| Y commodities | = X | ounces of gold. |

In this series of equations iron, wheat, coffee, potash, etc., appear to one another as materialisation of uniform labour, that is labour materialised in gold, in which all distinctive features of the concrete labour represented in the different use values are entirely obliterated. They are as values identical, i.e. materialisations of the *same* labour or the *same* materialisation of labour—gold. Since they are uniform materialisations of the same labour, they differ only in *one way,* quantitatively: in other words they represent different magnitudes of value, because their use values contain *unequal* amounts of labour time. These individual commodities can be compared with one another as embodiments of universal labour time, since they have been compared with universal labour time in the shape of the excluded commodity, i.e. gold. The same dynamic relation, as a result of which commodities become exchange values for one another, causes the labour time contained in gold to represent universal labour time, a given amount of which is expressed in different quantities of iron, wheat, coffee, etc., in short in the use values of all commodities, or it may be displayed directly in the infinite series of commodity equivalents. Since the exchange value of all commodities is expressed in gold, the exchange value of gold is directly expressed in all commodities. Because the commodities themselves assume the form of exchange value for one another, they turn gold into the universal equivalent or into money.

Gold becomes the *measure of value* because the exchange value of *all* commodities is measured in gold, is expressed in the relation of a definite quantity of gold and a definite quantity of

commodity containing equal amounts of labour time. To begin with, gold becomes the universal equivalent, or money, only because it thus functions as the measure of value and as such its own value is measured directly in all commodity equivalents. The exchange value of all commodities, on the other hand, is now expressed in gold. One has to distinguish a qualitative and a quantitative aspect in this expression. The exchange value of the commodity exists as the embodiment of equal uniform labour time, the value of the commodity is thus fully expressed, for to the extent that commodities are equated with gold they are equated with one another. Their golden equivalent reflects the *universal* character of the labour time contained in them on the one hand, and its quantity on the other hand. The exchange value of commodities thus expressed in the form of universal equivalence and simultaneously as the degree of this equivalence in terms of a specific commodity, that is a single equation to which commodities are compared with a specific commodity, constitutes *price*. Price is the converted form in which the exchange value of commodities *appears* within the circulation process.

Thus as a result of the same process through which the values of commodities are expressed in gold prices, gold is transformed into the measure of value and thence into money. If the values of all commodities were measured in silver or wheat or copper, and accordingly expressed in terms of silver, wheat or copper prices, then silver, wheat or copper would become the measure of value and consequently universal equivalents. Commodities as exchange values must be antecedent to circulation in order to appear as prices in circulation. Gold becomes the measure of value only because the exchange value of all commodities is estimated in terms of gold. The universality of this dynamic relation, from which alone springs the capacity of gold to act as a measure, presupposes however that every single commodity is measured in terms of gold in accordance with the labour time contained in both, so that the real measure of commodity and gold is labour itself, that is commodity and gold are as exchange values equated by direct exchange. How this equating is carried through in practice cannot be discussed in the context of simple circulation. It is evident, however, that in countries where gold and silver are produced a definite amount of labour time is directly incorporated in a definite quantity of gold and silver, whereas countries which produce no gold and silver arrive at the same result in a roundabout way, by direct or indirect exchange of their home products, i.e. of a definite portion of their average national labour,

for a definite quantity of labour time materialised in the gold and silver of countries that possess mines. Gold must be in principle a *variable* value, if it is to serve as a measure of value, because only as materialisation of labour time can it become the equivalent of other commodities, but as a result of changes in the productivity of concrete labour, the same amount of labour time is embodied in unequal volumes of the same type of use values. The valuation of all commodities in terms of gold—like the expression of the exchange value of any commodity in terms of the use value of another commodity—merely presupposes that at a given moment gold represents a definite quantity of labour time. The law of exchange value set forth earlier applies to changes occurring in the value of gold. If the exchange value of commodities remains unchanged, then a general rise of their prices in terms of gold can only take place when the exchange value of gold falls. If the exchange value of gold remains unchanged, then a general rise of prices in terms of gold is only possible if the exchange values of all commodities rise. The reverse takes place in the case of a general decline in the prices of commodities. If the value of an ounce of gold falls or rises in consequence of a change in the labour time required for its production, then it will fall or rise *equally* in relation to all other commodities and will thus for all of them continue to represent a *definite* volume of labour time. The same exchange values will now be estimated in quantities of gold which are larger or smaller than before, but they will be estimated in accordance with their values and will therefore maintain the same value relative to one another. The ratio 2 : 4 : 8 remains the same whether it becomes 1 : 2 : 4 or 4 : 8 : 16. The fact that, because of the changing value of gold, exchange values are represented by varying quantities of gold does not prevent gold from functioning as the measure of value, any more than the fact that the value of silver is one-fifteenth of that of gold prevents silver from taking over this function. Labour time is the measure of both gold and commodities, and gold becomes the measure of value only because all commodities are measured in terms of gold; it is consequently merely an illusion created by the circulation process to suppose that money makes commodities commensurable.* On the contrary,

* Aristotle does indeed realise that the exchange value of commodities is antecedent to the prices of commodities: "That exchange took place thus before there was money is plain; for it makes no difference whether it is five beds that exchange for a house, or the money value of five beds." On the other hand, since it is only in price that commodities possess the form of exchange value in relation to one another, he makes them commensurable by means of money. "This is why

it is only the commensurability of commodities as objectified labour time which converts gold into money.

The concrete form in which commodities enter the process of exchange is as use values. The commodities will only become universal equivalents as a result of their alienation. The establishment of their price is merely their ideal conversion into the universal equivalent, an equation with gold which still has to be put into practice. But because prices convert commodities only ideally into gold or only into imaginary gold—i.e. the existence of commodities as money is indeed not yet separated from their real existence—gold has been merely transformed into imaginary money, only into the measure of value, and definite quantities of gold serve in fact simply as names for definite quantities of labour time. The distinct form in which gold crystallises into money depends in each case on the way in which the exchange values of commodities are represented with regard to one another.

Commodities now confront one another in a dual form, really as use values and ideally as exchange values. They represent now for one another the dual form of labour contained in them, since the particular concrete labour actually exists as their use value, while universal abstract labour time assumes an imaginary existence in their price, in which they are all alike embodiments of the same substance of value, differing only quantitatively.

The difference between exchange value and price is, on the one hand, merely nominal; as Adam Smith says, labour is the real price of commodities and money their nominal price. Instead of saying that one quarter of wheat is worth thirty days' labour, one now says it is worth one ounce of gold, when one ounce of gold is produced in thirty working days. The difference is on the other

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all goods must have a price set on them; for then there will always be exchange, and if so, association of man with man. Money, then, acting as a measure, makes goods commensurate and equates them; for neither would there have been association if there were not exchange, nor exchange if there were not equality, nor equality if there were not commensurability." Aristotle is aware of the fact that the different things measured by money are entirely incommensurable magnitudes. What he seeks is the oneness of commodities as exchange values, and since he lived in ancient Greece it was impossible for him to find it. He extricates himself from this predicament by making essentially incommensurable things commensurable—so far as this is necessary for practical needs—by means of money. "Now in truth it is impossible that things differing so much should become commensurate, but with reference to demand they may become so sufficiently" (Aristotles, *Ethica Nicomachea*, l. V, c. 8, edit. Bekkeri, Oxonii, 1837). [The English text is from Aristotle—*Ethica Nicomachea*, Book V, Chapter 8, translation by W. D. Ross, Oxford, 1925, 1133b.] [Marx quotes in Greek.]

hand so far from being simply a nominal difference that all the storms which threaten the commodity in the actual process of circulation centre upon it. A quarter of wheat contains thirty days' labour, and it therefore does not have to be expressed in terms of labour time. But gold is a commodity distinct from wheat, and only circulation can show whether the quarter of wheat is actually turned into an ounce of gold as has been anticipated in its price. This depends on whether or not the wheat proves to be a use value, whether or not the quantity of labour time contained in it proves to be the quantity of labour time necessarily required by society for the production of a quarter of wheat. The commodity as such *is* an exchange value, the commodity *has* a price. This difference between exchange value and price is a reflection of the fact that the particular individual labour contained in the commodity can only through alienation be represented as its opposite, impersonal, abstract, general—and only in this form social—labour, i.e. money. Whether it can be thus represented or not seems a matter of chance. Although, therefore, the price gives exchange value a form of existence which is only nominally distinct from the commodity, and the two aspects of the labour contained in the commodity appear as yet only as different modes of expression; while, on the other hand, gold, the embodiment of universal labour time, accordingly confronts concrete commodities merely as an imaginary measure of value; yet the existence of price as an expression of exchange value, or of gold as a measure of value, entails the necessity for alienation of commodities in exchange for glittering gold and thus the possibility of their non-alienation. In short, there is here contained in latent form the whole contradiction which arises because the product is a commodity, or because the particular labour of an isolated individual can become socially effective only if it is expressed as its direct opposite, i.e. abstract universal labour. The utopians who wish to retain commodities but not money, production based on private exchange without the essential conditions for this type of production, are therefore quite consistent when they seek to "abolish" money not only in its palpable state but even in the nebulous, chimerical state that it assumes as the measure of value. For beneath the invisible measure of value lurks hard money.

Given the process by which gold has been turned into the measure of value and exchange value into price, all commodities when expressed in their prices are merely imagined quantities of gold of various magnitudes. Since they are thus various quantities of the same thing, namely gold, they are similar, comparable and

commensurable, and thus arises the technical necessity of relating them to a definite quantity of gold as a *unit of measure.* This unit of measure then develops into a scale of measure by being divided into aliquot parts which are in turn subdivided into aliquot parts.* The quantities of gold themselves, however, are measured by weight. The standard weights generally used for metals accordingly provide ready-made standard measures, which originally also served as standard measures of price wherever metallic currency was in use. Since commodities are no longer compared as exchange values which are measured in terms of labour time, but as magnitudes of the same denomination measured in terms of gold, gold, the *measure of value,* becomes the *standard of price.* The comparison of commodity prices in terms of different quantities of gold thus becomes crystallised in figures denoting imaginary quantities of gold and representing gold as a standard measure divided into aliquot parts. Gold as measure of value and as standard of price has quite distinct specific functions, and the confusion of the one with the other has led to the most absurd theories. Gold as objectified labour time is a measure of value, as a piece of metal of definite weight it is the standard of price. Gold becomes the measure of value because as an exchange value it is compared with the exchange values of other commodities; in its aspect as a standard of price a definite quantity of gold serves as a unit for other quantities of gold. Gold is the measure of value because its value is variable; it is the standard of price because it has been established as an invariable unit of weight. Here, as in all cases of measuring quantities of the same denomination, stability and exactitude of the proportions is essential. The necessity of establishing a quantity of gold as the unit of measure and its aliquot parts as subdivisions of this unit has given rise to the idea that a fixed ratio of values has been set up between a definite quantity of gold, whose value is of course variable, and the exchange values of commodities. But such a view simply ignores the fact that the exchange values of commodities are turned into prices, into quantities of gold, before gold becomes the standard of price. Quite irrespective of any changes in the value of gold,

* The strange fact that the ounce of gold as the standard of money in England is not divided into fractional parts is accounted for as follows: "Our coinage was originally adapted to the employment of silver only—hence an ounce of silver can always be divided into a certain adequate number of pieces of coin; but, as gold was introduced at a later period into a coinage adapted only to silver, an ounce of gold cannot be coined into an adequate number of pieces" (Maclaren, *History of the Currency,* London, 1858, p. 16). [Marx quotes in English.]

different quantities of gold will always represent the same ratio of values with regard to one another. If the value of gold should fall by 1,000 per cent, then the value of twelve ounces of gold would still be twelve times bigger than that of one ounce of gold, and so far as prices are concerned what matters is only the proportion of the different quantities of gold to one another. Since, on the other hand, a rise or fall in the value of an ounce of gold does not in any way affect its weight, the weight of its aliquot parts remains likewise unaffected; gold can thus always serve as a stable standard of price, regardless of any changes in its value.*

As a result of an historical process, which, as we shall explain later, was determined by the nature of metallic currency, the names of particular weights were retained for constantly changing and diminishing weights of precious metals functioning as the standard of price. Thus the English pound sterling denotes less than one-third of its original weight, the pound Scots before the Union[48] only $^1/_{36}$, the French livre $^1/_{74}$, the Spanish maravedi less than $^1/_{1,000}$ and the Portuguese rei an even smaller proportion. Historical development thus led to a separation of the money names of certain weights of metals from the common names of these weights.** Because the designation of the unit of measure, its aliquot parts and their names is, on the one hand, purely conventional, and on the other hand must be accepted as universal and indispensable within the sphere of circulation, it had to be established by *legal* means. The purely formal enactment thus devolved upon the government.*** Which particular metal served

* "Money may continually vary in value, and yet be as good a measure of value as if it remained perfectly stationary. Suppose, for instance, it is reduced in value.... Before the reduction, a guinea would purchase three bushels of wheat or 6 days' labour; subsequently, it would purchase only 2 bushels of wheat, or 4 days' labour. In both cases, the relations of wheat and labour to money being given, their mutual relations can be inferred; in other words, we can ascertain that a bushel of wheat is worth 2 days' labour. This, which is all that measuring value implies, is as readily done after the reduction as before. The excellence of thing as a measure of value is altogether independent of its own variableness in value" (Bailey, *Money and Its Vicissitudes*, London, 1837, pp. 9, 10). [Marx quotes in English.]

** "The coins which today are ideal are the oldest coins of every nation, and all of them were once real" (so generally stated the latter assertion is incorrect) "and precisely because they were real they were used for calculation" (Galiani, *Della Moneta*, l.c., p. 153). [Marx quotes in Italian.]

*** The romantic A. Müller says: "According to our views every independent sovereign has the right to introduce metallic currency and ascribe to it a social nominal value, order, position and title" (A. H. Müller, *Die Elemente der Staatskunst*, Berlin, 1809. Part II, p. 288). The aulic councillor is right as regards the title, but he forgets the *content*. How confused his "views" are becomes evident, for instance,

as the material of money depended on the given social conditions. The legal standard of price is of course different in different countries. In England, for example, the ounce as a weight of metal is divided into PENNYWEIGHTS, GRAINS and CARATS TROY; but the ounce of gold as the unit of money is divided into $3^7/_8$ sovereigns, the sovereign into 20 shillings and the shilling into 12 pence, so that 100 pounds of 22-carat gold (1,200 ounces) equal 4,672 sovereigns and 10 shillings. But in the world market, where state frontiers disappear, such national features of the standards of money disappear as well and are replaced by measures of weight generally used for metals.

The price of a commodity, or the quantity of gold into which it is nominally converted, is now expressed therefore in the monetary names of the standard of gold. Thus, instead of saying a quarter of wheat is worth an ounce of gold, one would say in England it is worth £3 17s. $10^1/_2$d. All prices are thus expressed in the same denomination. The specific form which the exchange value of commodities assumes is converted into *denominations of money,* by which their value is expressed. Money[a] in turn becomes *money of account.**

in the following passage: "Everybody realises how important it is to determine the price of coins correctly, especially in a country like England, where the government with *splendid generosity* coins money gratuitously" (Mr. Müller apparently assumes that the members of the British government defray the costs of minting out of their own pocket), "where it does not levy seigniorage, etc., and consequently if it were to fix the mint price of gold considerably above the market price, if instead of paying £3 17 s. $10^1/_2$ d. for an ounce of gold as at present, it should decide to fix the price of an ounce of gold at £3 19s., all money would flow into the mint and the silver obtained there would be exchanged for the cheaper gold on the market, and then it would again be taken to the mint, thus throwing the monetary system into disorder" (l.c., pp. 280, 281). Müller throws his ideas into "disorder", so as to preserve order at the mint in England. Whereas shillings and pence are merely names, that is names of definite fractions of an ounce of gold represented by silver and copper tokens, he imagines that an ounce of gold is estimated in terms of gold, silver and copper and thus confers upon the English a triple STANDARD OF VALUE. Silver as the standard of money along with gold was formally abolished only in 1816 by 56 George III, C. 68, although it was in fact legally abolished by 14 George II, C. 42 in 1734, and in practice even earlier. Two circumstances in particular enabled A. Müller to arrive at a so-called *higher* conception of political economy: first his extensive ignorance of economic facts and second his purely amateurish infatuation with philosophy.

* "When Anacharsis was asked what the Hellenes used money for, he replied—for calculation" (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistæ,* l. IV, 49, v. II, [p. 120], ed. Schweighäuser, 1802). [Marx quotes in Greek.]

[a] The original has "gold"; changed by Marx in his own copy.— *Ed.*

The transformation of commodities into money of account in the mind, on paper or in words takes place whenever the aspect of exchange value becomes fixed in a particular type of wealth.* This transformation needs the material of gold, but only in imagination. Not a single atom of real gold is used to estimate the value of a thousand bales of cotton in terms of a certain number of ounces of gold and then to express this number of ounces in £. s. d., the names of account of the ounce. For instance, not a single ounce of gold was in circulation in Scotland before Sir Robert Peel's Bank Act of 1845, although the ounce of gold, called £3 17s. 10 $^1/_2$d. as the British standard of account, served as the legal standard of price. Similarly, silver serves as the standard of price in exchange of commodities between Siberia and China, although this trade is in fact merely barter. It makes no difference, therefore, to gold as money of account whether or not its standard unit or its subdivisions are actually coined. During the reign of William the Conqueror, one pound sterling, at that time a pound of pure silver, and the shilling, $^1/_{20}$ of a pound, existed in England only as money of account, while the penny, $^1/_{240}$ of a pound of silver, was the largest silver coin in existence. On the other hand, there are no shillings or pence in England today, although they are legal names of account for definite fractions of an ounce of gold. Money as money of account may exist only ideally, while actually existing money may be coined according to an entirely different standard. Thus in many of the English colonies in North America, the money in circulation consisted of Spanish and Portuguese coins till late in the eighteenth century, whereas the money of account was everywhere the same as in England.**

Because as standard of price gold is expressed by the same names of account as the prices of commodities—for example £3 17s. 10$^1/_2$d. may denote an ounce of gold just as well as a ton of iron—these names of account are called the *mint price* of gold. Thus the queer notion arose that gold is estimated in its own

* *G. Garnier*, one of the first to translate Adam Smith into French, had the odd idea of establishing the proportion between the use of money of account and that of real money. [According to him] this proportion is 10 to 1 (G. Garnier, *Histoire de la monnaie depuis les temps de la plus haute antiquité etc.*, t. I, p. 78).

** The Act of Maryland of 1732, which made tobacco legal currency but converted its value into English gold money, by declaring a pound of tobacco equal to a penny, recalls the *leges barbarorum*,[68] which on the contrary equated definite sums of money with oxen, cows, etc. In this case the real material of the money of account was neither gold nor silver, but the ox and the cow. [See J. Wirth, *Die Geschichte der Deutschen*, Vol. I, Stuttgart, 1846, pp. 97-99.]

material and that, unlike all other commodities, its price is *fixed* by the State. The establishing of names of account for definite weights of gold was mistaken for the establishing of the value of these weights.* Gold has neither a *fixed* price *nor any* price at all, when it is a factor in the determination of prices and therefore functions as money of account. In order to have a price, in other words to be expressed in terms of a *specific* commodity functioning as the *universal* equivalent, this other commodity would have to play the same exclusive role in the process of circulation as gold. But two commodities which exclude all other commodities would exclude each other as well. Consequently, wherever silver and gold exist side by side as legal money, i.e. as measure of value, the vain attempt has always been made to treat them as *one and the same substance.* If one assumes that a given labour time is invariably objectified in the same proportion in silver and gold, then one assumes, in fact, that silver and gold are the same substance, and that silver, the less valuable metal, represents a constant fraction of gold. The history of the monetary system in England from the reign of Edward III up to the time of George II consists of a continuous series of disturbances caused by conflict between the legally established ratio between the values of gold and silver and the actual fluctuations in their value. Sometimes the value of gold was too high, sometimes that of silver. The metal whose value was estimated at too low a rate was withdrawn from circulation, melted down and exported. The value ratio of the two metals was then once again changed by law; but soon the new nominal value in its turn clashed with the actual value ratio. In our own time, the slight and short-lived fall in the value of gold as compared with silver, brought about by the Indian and Chinese demand for silver, produced the same phenomenon on a large scale in France—the export of silver and the elimination of silver from the sphere of circulation by gold. During the years 1855, 1856 and 1857, the excess of France's gold imports over her gold exports amounted to £41,580,000, while the excess of her silver exports over silver imports came to £34,704,000.[a] In countries like France, where both metals are legally sanctioned measures of value and

* Thus we read, for example, in the *Familiar Words* of Mr. *David Urquhart*—"The value of gold is to be measured by itself; how can any substance be the measure of its own worth in other things? The worth of gold is to be established by its own weight, under a false denomination of that weight—and an ounce is to be worth so many pounds and fractions of pounds. This is falsifying a measure, not establishing a standard." [Marx quotes in English.]

[a] "Foreign Correspondence", *The Economist*, No. 775, July 3, 1858.—*Ed.*

both are accepted as legal tender, where moreover every person can pay in the one or the other metal as he pleases, the metal whose value rises is in fact at a premium, and its price like that of any other commodity is measured in terms of the over-rated metal, which thus serves alone as the measure of value. All historical experience in this sphere simply shows that, where two commodities function as legally valid measures of value, it is always one of them only which actually maintains this position.*

## B. THEORIES OF THE STANDARD OF MONEY

The fact that commodities are only nominally converted in the form of prices into gold and hence gold is only nominally transformed into money led to the doctrine of the *ideal standard of money.* Because only imaginary gold or silver, i.e. gold and silver merely as money of account, is used in the determination of prices, it was asserted that the terms pound, shilling, pence, thaler, franc, etc. denote ideal particles of value but not weights of gold or silver or any form of objectified labour. If, for example, the value of an ounce of silver were to rise, it would contain more of these particles and would therefore have to be divided or coined into a greater number of shillings. This doctrine, which arose at the close of the seventeenth century, was again advanced during the last commercial crisis in England[25] and was even advocated by Members of Parliament in two special reports appended to the 1858 Report of the Select Committee on the Bank Acts. In England at the time of the accession of William III, the mint price of an ounce of silver was 5s. 2d., that is $^1/_{62}$ of an ounce of silver was called a penny and 12 of these pence were called a shilling. A bar of silver weighing say six ounces would, according to this standard, be coined into 31 coins which would be called shillings. But whereas the *mint price* of an ounce of silver was 5s. 2d., its *market price* rose to 6s. 3d., that is to say in order to buy an ounce of uncoined silver 6s. 3d. had to be handed over. How was it possible for the market price of an ounce of silver to rise above its mint price, if the mint price was merely a name of account for fractions of an ounce of silver? The solution of this riddle was quite simple. Four million of the £5,600,000 of silver money in

* "Money as the measure of commerce ought to be kept (as all other measures) as steady and invariable as may be. But this cannot be, if your money be made of two metals, whose proportion constantly varies" (John Locke, *Some Considerations on the Lowering of Interest etc.*, 1691; in his *Works*, 7th Edition, London, 1768, Vol. II, p. 65).

circulation at that time were worn out or clipped. A trial showed that £57,200 in silver coins, whose weight ought to have been 220,000 ounces, weighed only 141,000 ounces. The mint continued to coin silver pieces according to the same standard, but the lighter shillings which were actually in circulation represented smaller fractions of an ounce than their name denoted. A larger quantity of these reduced shillings had consequently to be paid for an ounce of uncoined silver on the market. When, because of the resulting difficulties, it was decided to recoin all the money, *Lowndes,* the SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY, claimed that the value of an ounce of silver had risen and that in future accordingly 6s. 3d. would have to be struck from an ounce instead of 5s. 2d. as previously. He thus in effect asserted that, because the value of an ounce of silver had risen, the value of its aliquot parts had fallen. But his false theory was merely designed to make a correct practical measure more palatable. The government debts had been contracted in light shillings, were they to be repaid in coins of standard weight? Instead of saying pay back 4 ounces of silver for every 5 ounces you received nominally but which contained in fact only 4 ounces of silver, he said, on the contrary, pay back nominally 5 ounces but reduce their metal content to 4 ounces and call the amount you hitherto called $^4/_5$ of a shilling a shilling. Lowndes's action, therefore, was in reality based on the metal content, whereas in theory he stuck to the name of account. His opponents on the other hand, who simply clung to the name of account and therefore declared that a shilling of standard weight was identical with a shilling which was 25 to 50 per cent lighter, claimed to be adhering to the metal content. *John Locke,* who championed the new bourgeoisie in every way—he took the side of the manufacturers against the working classes and the paupers, the merchants against the old-fashioned usurers, the financial aristocracy against governments that were in debt; he even demonstrated in a separate work that the bourgeois way of thinking is the normal human way of thinking—took up Lowndes's challenge. John Locke won the day and money borrowed in guineas containing 10 to 14 shillings was repaid in guineas of 20 shillings.* Sir *James Steuart* gives the following ironical summary of this operation:

* Locke says *inter alia*: "Call that a Crown now, which before was a half Crown. Its Value is determined, as before, by the quantity of metal. If you can reduce the quantity of silver of any coin by $^1/_{20}$ without lessening its value, you can just as well reduce it by $^{19}/_{20}$. According to this theory, a farthing, being called a Crown, should buy as much spice, or silk, or any other commodity, as a crown-piece, which

"...The state gained considerably upon the score of taxes, as well as the creditors upon their capitals and interest; and the nation, which was the principal loser, was pleased; because their *standard*" (the standard of their own value) "was not debased." *

Steuart believed that in the course of further development of commerce the nation would become wiser. But he was wrong. Some 120 years later the same *quid pro quo* was repeated.

Very fittingly it was Bishop *Berkeley,* the advocate of mystical idealism in English philosophy, who gave the doctrine of the nominal standard of money a theoretical twist, which the practical SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY had omitted to do. Berkeley says:

"Whether the terms livre, pound sterling, crown, etc., are not to be considered as mere *denominations of proportions?*" (i.e. proportions of abstract value as such). "And whether gold, silver, and paper are not tickets or counters for reckoning, recording and transferring thereof?" (of the proportion of value). "Whether *power* to command the industry of others" (social labour) "be not real wealth? And whether money be not in truth, tickets or tokens for conveying and recording such power, and whether it be of great consequence what materials the tickets are made of?" **

contains 60 times as much silver. All you can do is to give a less quantity of silver the stamp and denomination of a greater, but 'tis silver and not names that pay debts and purchase commodities. The raising being but giving of names at pleasure to aliquot parts of a silver piece, e.g. calling the eighth part of an ounce a penny, you may, in fact, set money as high as you please." [*Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest...*, London, 1768, pp. 54, 58.] In reply to Lowndes, Locke declared that the rise of the market price above the mint price was not brought about by "an increase in the value of silver, but by a decrease in the weight of the silver coins." Seventy-seven clipped shillings did not weigh more than 62 shillings of standard weight. Finally Locke is quite correct in emphasising that, irrespective of the loss of silver suffered by the coins in circulation, a certain rise in the market price of silver bullion over the mint price might occur in England, because the export of silver bullion was permitted whereas that of silver coin was prohibited (see l.c., pp. 54-116 *passim*). Locke takes good care to avoid the vital issue of the national debt, just as he equally prudently refrains from discussing another ticklish economic problem, i.e. that according to the evidence of both the exchange rate and the ratio of silver bullion to silver coin, the depreciation of the money in circulation was by *no* means proportional to the amount of silver it had actually lost. We shall return to this question in its general form in the section dealing with the medium of circulation. In *A Discourse Concerning Coining the New Money Lighter, in answer to Mr. Locke's considerations etc.*, London, 1696, *Nicholas Barbon* vainly sought to entice Locke on to difficult ground.

* Steuart, l.c., Vol. II, p. 156.

** *The Querist*, l.c. Incidentally, the section "Queries on Money" is rather witty. Among other things it contains the true observation that the development of the North American colonies "makes it plain as daylight, that gold and silver are not so necessary for the wealth of a nation, as the vulgar of all ranks imagine." [The text in quotes is in English in the original.]

In this passage, the author, on the one hand, confuses the measure of value with the standard of price, and on the other he confuses gold or silver as measure of value and as means of circulation. Because tokens can be substituted for precious metals in the sphere of circulation, Berkeley concludes that these tokens in their turn represent *nothing,* i.e. the abstract concept of value.

The theory of the nominal standard of money was so fully elaborated by Sir *James Steuart,* that his followers—they are not aware of being followers since they do not know him—can find neither a new expression nor even a new example. He writes:

"Money of account is no more than an arbitrary scale of equal parts, invented for measuring the respective value of things vendible. Money of account is quite a different thing from MONEY-COIN,[a] which is price,* and it might exist, although there was no such substance in the world as could be a proportional equivalent for every commodity. Money of account performs the same office with regard to the value of things, that degrees, minutes, seconds, etc., do with regard to angles, or as scales do to geographical maps, etc. In all these inventions, the same denomination is always taken for the unit. The usefulness of all these inventions being solely confined to the *marking of proportion.* Just so the unit in money can have no invariable determinate proportion to any part of value, that is to say it cannot be fixed to any particular quantity of gold, silver, or any other commodity whatsoever. The unit once fixed, we can, by multiplying it, ascend to the greatest value. As the value of commodities depends upon a general combination of circumstances relative to themselves and to the fancies of men, it ought to be considered as changing only with respect to one another; anything which disturbs or confuses the ascertaining those changes of proportion by the means of a general, determinate and invariable scale, must be hurtful to trade. Money is an *ideal scale* of equal parts. If it be demanded what ought to be the standard value of one part? I answer by putting another question: What is the standard length of a degree, a minute, a second? It has none, but so soon as one part becomes determined, by the nature of a scale, all the rest must follow in proportion. Examples of this ideal money are the money of the bank of Amsterdam and that of Angola, on the African coast." **

Steuart simply considers money *as it appears* in the sphere of circulation, i.e. as *standard of price* and as *money of account.* If different commodities are quoted at 15s., 20s. and 36s. respectively in a price list, then in a comparison of their value both the silver content of the shilling and its name are indeed quite irrelevant. Everything is now expressed in the numerical relations of 15, 20 and 36, and the numeral one has become the sole unit of measure. The purely abstract expression of a proportion is after all only the abstract numerical proportion. In order to be consistent, Steuart therefore had to abandon not only gold and silver but also their

* Here, as in the works of seventeenth-century English economists, *price* is used in the sense of a concrete equivalent.

** Steuart, l.c., Vol. II, pp. 102-07.

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[a] Marx gives this English term in brackets after its German equivalent.— *Ed.*

legal designations. But since he does not understand how the measure of value is transformed into the standard of price, he naturally thinks that the particular quantity of gold which serves as a unit of measure is, as a measure, related to values as such, and not to other quantities of gold. Because commodities appear to be magnitudes of the same denomination as a result of the conversion of their exchange values into prices, Steuart denies that the measure possesses the quality which reduces commodities to the same denomination, and since in this comparison of different quantities of gold the quantity of gold which serves as a standard is a matter of convention, he denies that it must be established at all. Instead of calling a 360th part of a circle a degree, he might call a 180th part a degree; the right angle would then measure not 90 degrees but 45, and the measurements of acute and obtuse angles would change correspondingly. Nevertheless, the measure of the angle would remain firstly a qualitatively determined mathematical figure, the circle, and secondly a quantitatively determined section of the circle. As for Steuart's economic examples one of these disproves his own assertions, the other proves nothing at all. The money of the Bank of Amsterdam was in fact only the name of account for Spanish doubloons, which retained their standard weight because they lay idle in the vaults of the bank, while the coins which busily circulated lost weight as a result of intensive friction with their environment. As for the African idealists, we must leave them to their fate until critical accounts by travellers provide further information about them.* One might say that the French assignat[37]—"*National property, Assignment of 100 francs*"—is nearly ideal money in Steuart's sense. The use value which the assignat was supposed to represent, i.e. confiscated land, was indeed specified, but the quantitative definition of the unit of measure had been omitted and "franc" was therefore a meaningless word. How much or little land this franc represented depended on the outcome of public auctions. But in practice the assignat circulated as a token representing silver money, and its depreciation was consequently measured in terms of this silver standard.

The period when the Bank of England suspended cash

* In connection with the last commercial crisis a certain faction in England ardently praised the ideal African money after moving its location on this occasion from the coast into the interior of Barbary. It was declared that because their BARS constituted an ideal measure, the Berbers had no commercial and industrial crises. Would it not have been simpler to say that commerce and industry are the *conditio sine qua non* for commercial and industrial crises?

payments was hardly more prolific of war bulletins than of monetary theories.[69] The depreciation of bank notes and the rise of the market price of gold above its mint price caused some defenders of the Bank to revive the doctrine of the ideal measure of money. Lord *Castlereagh* found the classically confused expression for this confused notion when he declared that the standard of money is

"A SENSE OF VALUE IN REFERENCE TO CURRENCY AS COMPARED WITH COMMODITIES".[a]

A few years after the Treaty of Paris[70] when the situation permitted the resumption of cash payments, the problem which Lowndes had broached during the reign of William III arose again in practically the same form. A huge national debt and a mass of private debts, fixed obligations, etc., which had accumulated in the course of over 20 years, were incurred in depreciated bank notes. Should they be repaid in bank-notes £4,672 10s. of which represented, not in name but in fact, 100 lbs. of 22-carat gold? *Thomas Attwood,* a Birmingham banker, acted like a Lowndes *redivivus.*[b] He advocated that as many shillings should be returned to the creditors as they had nominally lent, but whereas according to the old monetary standard, say $^1/_{78}$ of an ounce of gold was known as a shilling, now perhaps $^1/_{90}$ of an ounce should be called a shilling. Attwood's supporters are known as the Birmingham school of "little shillingmen".[36] The quarrel about the ideal standard of money, which began in 1819, was still carried on in 1845 by Sir Robert Peel and Attwood, whose wisdom in so far as it concerns the function of money as a measure is fully summarised in the following quotation:

In his polemic with the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, Sir Robert Peel asked, What will your pound note represent? What is a pound? What, conversely, is to be understood by the present standard of value? Is £3 17s. 10$^1/_2$d. an *ounce of gold,* or is it its *value*? If it be an *ounce of gold,* why not call things by their proper names, and, instead of saying pounds, shillings and pence, say ounces, pennyweights and grains? Then we revert to direct system of barter.... Or is it the *value*? If an ounce = £3 17s. 10 $^1/_2$ d., why was it worth at different times now £5 4s. now £3 17s. 9d?... The expression *pound* (£) has reference to value, but not to the value fixed in an unchangeable weight unit of gold. The term pound is the *ideal unit.... Labour* is the substance to which the production costs can be reduced and it gives the relative value to gold or iron. *Therefore, whatever the particular names of account used to express the daily or weekly labour of a man,* such names express the value of the commodity produced.*

* *The Currency Question, the Gemini Letters,*[36] London, 1844, pp. 268-72 *passim.*

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[a] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates,* Vol. 74, London, 1844, p. 725.— *Ed.*

[b] Resurrected.— *Ed.*

The hazy notion about the ideal measure of money fades away in the last words and its real mental content becomes clear. Pound, shilling, etc., the names of account of money,[a] are said to be names representing definite quantities of labour time. Since labour time is the substance and the inherent measure of value, the names thus indeed express the value relations themselves. In other words it is asserted that labour time is the real standard of money. Here we leave the Birmingham school and merely note in passing that the doctrine of the ideal measure of money has gained new importance in connection with the controversy over the convertibility or non-convertibility of bank notes. While the denomination of paper is based on gold or silver, the convertibility of the note, i.e. its exchangeability for gold or silver, remains an economic law regardless of what juridical law may say. For instance, a Prussian paper thaler, although legally inconvertible, would immediately depreciate if in everyday commerce it were worth less than a silver thaler, that is if it were not convertible in practice. The consistent advocates of inconvertible paper money in Britain, therefore, had recourse to the ideal standard of money. If the denominations of money, pound, shilling and so on, are names for a determinate amount of particles of value, of which sometimes more, sometimes less are either absorbed or lost by a commodity when it is exchanged for other commodities, then the value of an English £5 note, for instance, is just as little affected by its relation to gold as by its relation to iron and cotton. Since its designation would no longer equate the bank note in theory to a determinate quantity of gold or of any other commodity, its very concept would preclude the demand for its convertibility, that is for its equation in practice with a determinate quantity of a specific thing.

*John Gray* was the first to set forth the theory that labour time is the direct measure of money in a systematic way.* He proposes that a national central bank should ascertain through its branches the labour time expended in the production of various commodities. In exchange for the commodity, the producer would

* John Gray, *The Social System. A Treatise on the Principle of Exchange*, Edinburgh, 1831. *Cf.* the same author's *Lectures on the Nature and Use of Money*, Edinburgh, 1848. After the February [1848] Revolution, Gray sent a memorandum to the French Provisional Government in which he explains that France did not need an "ORGANISATION OF LABOUR" but an "ORGANISATION OF EXCHANGE", the plan for which was fully worked out in the monetary system he had invented. The worthy John had no inkling that sixteen years after the publication of *The Social System*, the ingenious Proudhon would be taking out a patent for the same invention.

[a] The original has "gold".—*Ed.*

receive an official certificate of its value, i.e. a receipt for as much labour time as his commodity contains,* and this bank note of one labour week, one labour day, one labour hour, etc., would serve at the same time as an order to the bank to hand over an equivalent in any of the other commodities stored in its warehouses.** This is the basic principle, which is scrupulously worked out in detail and modelled throughout on existing English institutions. Gray says that under this system

"to sell for money may be rendered, at all times, precisely as easy as it now is to buy with money;... production would become the uniform and never-failing cause of demand".***

The precious metals would lose their "privileged" position in comparison with other commodities and

"take their proper place in the market beside butter and eggs, and cloth and calico, and then the value of the precious metals will concern us just as little ... as the value of the diamond".****

"Shall we retain our fictitious standard of value, gold, and thus keep the productive resources of the country in bondage? or, shall we resort to the natural standard of value, labour, and thereby set our productive resources free?" *****

Since labour time is the intrinsic measure of value, why use another extraneous standard as well? Why is exchange value transformed into price? Why is the value of all commodities computed in terms of an exclusive commodity, which thus becomes the adequate expression of exchange value, i.e. money? This was the problem which Gray had to solve. But instead of solving it, he assumed that commodities could be directly compared with one another as products of social labour. But they are only comparable as the things they are. Commodities are the direct products of isolated independent individual kinds of labour, and through their alienation in the course of individual exchange

* Gray, *The Social System etc.*, p. 63. "Money should be merely a receipt, an evidence that the holder of it has either contributed a certain value to the national stock of wealth, or that he has acquired a right to the said value from some one who has contributed to it." [Marx quotes in English.]

** "An estimated value being previously put upon produce, let it be lodged in a bank, and drawn out again whenever it is required; merely stipulating, by common consent, that he who lodges any kind of property in the proposed National Bank, may take out of it an equal value of whatever it may contain, instead of being obliged to draw out the self-same thing that he put in." L.c., pp. 67-68. [Marx quotes in English.]

*** L.c., p. 16.

**** Gray, *Lectures on Money etc.*, p. 182.

***** L.c., p. 169.

they must prove that they are general social labour, in other words, on the basis of commodity production, labour becomes social labour only as a result of the universal alienation of individual kinds of labour. But as Gray presupposes that the labour time contained in commodities is *immediately social* labour time, he presupposes that it is communal labour time or labour time of directly associated individuals. In that case, it would indeed be impossible for a specific commodity, such as gold or silver, to confront other commodities as the incarnation of universal labour and exchange value would not be turned into price; but neither would use value be turned into exchange value and the product into a commodity, and thus the very basis of bourgeois production would be abolished. But this is by no means what Gray has in mind—*goods are to be produced as commodities but not exchanged as commodities.* Gray entrusts the realisation of this pious wish to a national bank. On the one hand, society in the shape of the bank makes the individuals independent of the conditions of private exchange, and, on the other hand, it causes them to continue to produce on the basis of private exchange. Although Gray merely wants "to reform" the money evolved by commodity exchange, he is compelled by the intrinsic logic of the subject-matter to repudiate one condition of bourgeois production after another. Thus he turns capital into national capital,* and land into national property** and if his bank is examined carefully it will be seen that it not only receives commodities with one hand and issues certificates for labour supplied with the other, but that it directs production itself. In his last work, *Lectures on Money,* in which Gray seeks timidly to present his labour money as a purely bourgeois reform, he gets tangled up in even more flagrant absurdities.

Every commodity is immediately money; this is Gray's thesis which he derives from his incomplete and hence incorrect analysis of commodities. The "organic" project of "labour money" and "national bank" and "warehouses" is merely a fantasy in which a dogma is made to appear as a law of universal validity. The dogma that a commodity is immediately money or that the particular labour of a private individual contained in it is immediately social labour, does not of course become true because

* "The business of every country ought to be conducted on a national capital" (John Gray, *The Social System etc.*, p. 171). [Marx quotes in English.]

** "The land to be transformed into national property" (l.c., p. 298). [Marx quotes in English.]

a bank believes in it and conducts its operations in accordance with this dogma. On the contrary, bankruptcy would in such a case fulfil the function of practical criticism. The fact that labour money is a pseudo-economic term, which denotes the pious wish to get rid of money, and together with money to get rid of exchange value, and with exchange value to get rid of commodities, and with commodities to get rid of the bourgeois mode of production,—this fact, which remains concealed in Gray's work and of which Gray himself was not aware, has been bluntly expressed by several British socialists, some of whom wrote earlier than Gray and others later.* But it was left to M. *Proudhon* and his school to declare seriously that the degradation of *money* and the exaltation of *commodities* was the essence of socialism and thereby to reduce socialism to an elementary misunderstanding of the inevitable correlation existing between commodities and money.**

## 2. MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE

When, as a result of the establishing of prices, commodities have acquired the form in which they are able to enter circulation and gold has assumed its function as money, the contradictions latent in the exchange of commodities are both exposed and resolved by circulation. The real exchange of commodities, that is the social metabolic process, constitutes a transformation in which the dual nature of the commodity—commodity as use value and as exchange value—manifests itself; but the transformation of the commodity itself is, at the same time, epitomised in certain forms of money. To describe this transformation is to describe circulation. Commodities, as we have seen, constitute fully developed exchange value only when a world of commodities and consequently a really developed system of division of labour is presupposed; in the same manner circulation presupposes that acts of exchange are taking place everywhere and that they are being continuously renewed. It also presupposes that commodities enter into the process of exchange with a *determinate price,* in other words that in the course of exchange they *appear* to confront one another in a dual form—really as use values and nominally (in the price) as exchange values.

* See, e.g., W. Thompson, *An Inquiry into the Distribution of Wealth etc.,* London, 1824; Bray, *Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy,* Leeds, 1839.

** Alfred Darimon, *De la réforme des banques,* Paris, 1856, can be regarded as a compendium of this melodramatic monetary theory.

The busiest streets of London are crowded with shops whose show cases display all the riches of the world, Indian shawls, American revolvers, Chinese porcelain, Parisian corsets, furs from Russia and spices from the tropics, but all of these worldly things bear odious, white paper labels with Arabic numerals and then laconic symbols £ s. d. This is how commodities are presented in circulation.

### *a. The Metamorphosis of Commodities*

Closer examination shows that the circulation process comprises two distinct types of circuit. If commodities are denoted by *C* and money by *M,* the two circuits may be represented in the following way:

$$C—M—C$$
$$M—C—M.$$

In this section we are solely concerned with the first circuit, that is the one which directly expresses commodity circulation.

The circuit *C—M—C* may be divided into the movement *C—M,* the exchange of commodities for money, or *sale;* the opposite movement *M—C,* the exchange of money for commodities, or *purchase;* and the unity of the two movements *C—M—C,* exchange of commodities for money so as to exchange money for commodities, in other words, *selling* in order to *purchase.* The outcome in which the transaction terminates is *C—C,* i.e. exchange of one commodity for another, actual exchange of matter.

*C—M—C,* when considered from the point of departure of the first commodity, represents its conversion into money and its reconversion from money into commodity; that is to say a movement in which at the outset the commodity appears as a particular use value, then sheds this form of existence and assumes that of exchange value or universal equivalent—which is entirely distinct from its natural form—finally it sheds this as well and emerges as a real use value which can serve particular needs. In this last form it drops out of the sphere of circulation and enters that of consumption. Thus to begin with, the whole circuit of *C—M—C* represents the entire series of metamorphoses through which every individual commodity passes in order to become a direct use value for its owner. The first metamorphosis takes place in *C—M,* the first phase of the circuit; the second in

*M—C,* the other phase, and the entire circuit forms the *curriculum vitae* of the commodity. But the cycle *C—M—C* represents the complete metamorphosis of an individual commodity only because it is at the same time an aggregate of definite partial metamorphoses of other commodities. For each metamorphosis of the first commodity is its transformation into another commodity and therefore the transformation of the second commodity into the first; hence it is a double transformation which is carried through during a single stage of the cycle. To start with, we shall separately examine each of the two phases of exchange into which the cycle *C—M—C* is resolved.

*C—M* or *sale:* C, the commodity, enters the sphere of circulation not just as a particular use value, e.g. a ton of iron, but as a use value with a definite price, say £3 17s. 10 $^1/_2$d., or an ounce of gold. The price while on the one hand indicating the amount of labour time contained in the iron, namely its value, at the same time signifies the pious wish to convert the iron into gold, that is to give the labour time contained in the iron the form of universal social labour time. If this transformation fails to take place, then the ton of iron ceases to be not only a commodity but also a product; since it is a commodity only because it is not a use value for its owner, that is to say his labour is only really labour if it is useful labour for others, and it is useful for him only if it is abstract general labour. It is therefore the task of the iron or of its owner to find that location in the world of commodities where iron attracts gold. But if the sale actually takes place, as we assume in this analysis of simple circulation, then this difficulty, the *salto mortale* of the commodity, is surmounted. As a result of this alienation—that is its transfer from the person for whom it is a non-use value to the person for whom it is a use value—the ton of iron proves to be in fact a use value and its price is simultaneously realised, and merely imaginary gold is converted into real gold. The term "ounce of gold", or £3 17s. 10 $^1/_2$d., has now been replaced by an ounce of real gold, but the ton of iron has gone. The sale *C—M* does not merely transform the commodity—which by means of the price was nominally turned into gold—really into gold, but gold, which as measure of value was only nominally money and in fact functioned only as the money name of commodities, is through the same process transformed into actual money.* As gold became nominally the universal equivalent,

* "Money is of two kinds: ideal and real; and it is used for two different purposes: to valuate things and to buy them. For valuation, ideal money is just as

because the values of all commodities were measured in terms of gold, so now, as a result of the universal alienation of commodities in exchange for it—and the sale $C—M$ is the procedure by which this universal alienation is accomplished—does it become the absolutely alienated commodity, i.e. real money. But gold becomes real money through sale, only because the exchange values of commodities expressed in prices were already converted into nominal gold.

During the sale $C—M$, and likewise during the purchase $M—C$, two commodities, i.e. units of exchange value and use value, confront each other; but in the case of the commodity exchange value exists merely nominally as its price, whereas in the case of gold, although it has real use value, its use value merely represents exchange value and is therefore merely a formal use value which is not related to any real individual need. The contradiction of use value and exchange-value is thus polarised at the two extreme points of $C—M$, so that with regard to gold the commodity represents use value whose nominal exchange value, the price, still has to be realised in gold; with regard to the commodity, on the other hand, gold represents exchange value whose formal use value still has to acquire a material form in the commodity. The contradictions inherent in the exchange of commodities are resolved only by reason of this duplication of the commodity so that it appears as commodity and gold, and again by way of the dual and opposite relation in which each extreme is nominal where its opposite is real, and real where its opposite is nominal, in other words they are resolved only by means of presenting commodities as bilateral polar opposites.

So far we have regarded $C—M$ as a sale, as the conversion of a commodity into money. But if we consider it from the other side, then the same transaction appears, on the contrary, as $M—C$, a purchase, the conversion of money into a commodity. A sale is inevitably and simultaneously its opposite, a purchase; it is the former if one looks at the transaction from one side and the latter if one sees it from the other. In other words, the difference between the transactions is in reality merely that in $C—M$ the initiative comes from the side of the commodity or of the seller while in $M—C$ it comes from the side of money or of the

good as real money, and probably even better. The other use of money is to buy the very things for the pricing of which it serves.... Prices and contracts are estimated in ideal money and are realised in real money" (Galiani, l.c., p. 112 *et seq.*). [Marx quotes in Italian.]

purchaser. When we describe the first metamorphosis of the commodity, its transformation into money, as the result of the first phase of the circuit, we simultaneously presuppose that another commodity has already been converted into money and is therefore now in the second phase of the circuit, *M—C*. We are thus caught up in a vicious circle of presuppositions. This vicious circle is indeed circulation itself. If we do not regard *M* in *C—M* as belonging to the metamorphosis of another commodity, then we isolate the act of exchange from the process of circulation. But if it is separated from the process, the phase *C—M* disappears and there remain only two commodities which confront each other, for instance iron and gold, whose exchange is not a distinct part of the cycle but is direct barter. At the place where gold is produced, it is a commodity like any other commodity. Its relative value and that of iron or of any other commodity is there reflected in the quantities in which they are exchanged for one another. But this transaction is presupposed in the process of circulation, the value of gold is already given in the prices of commodities. It would therefore be entirely wrong to assume that *within the framework of circulation,* the relation of gold and commodities is that of direct barter and that consequently their relative value is determined by their exchange as simple commodities. It seems as though in the process of circulation gold were exchanged merely as a commodity for other commodities, but this illusion arises simply because a definite quantity of a given commodity is equalised by means of prices with a definite quantity of gold: that is it is compared with gold as money, the universal equivalent, and *consequently* it can be directly exchanged for gold. In so far as the price of a commodity is *realised* in gold, the commodity is exchanged for gold as a commodity, as a particular materialisation of labour time; but in so far as it is the *price* of the commodity that is realised in gold, the commodity is exchanged for gold as money and not as a commodity, i.e. for gold as the general materialisation of labour time. But the quantity of gold for which the commodity is exchanged in the process of circulation is in both cases determined not by means of exchange, but the exchange is determined by the price of the commodity, by its exchange value calculated in terms of gold.*

* This does not, of course, prevent the market price of commodities from rising above or falling below their value. But this consideration lies outside the sphere of simple circulation and belongs to quite a different sphere to be examined later, in which context we shall discuss the relation of value and market price.

Within the process of circulation gold seems to be always acquired as the result of a sale *C—M.* But since *C—M,* the sale, is simultaneously *M—C,* a purchase, it is evident that while C, the commodity which begins the process, undergoes its first metamorphosis, the other commodity which confronts it as *M* from the opposite extreme undergoes its second metamorphosis and accordingly passes through the second phase of the circuit while the first commodity is still in the first phase of its cycle.

The outcome of the first stage of circulation, of the sale, provides money, the point of departure of the second stage. The first form of the commodity has now been replaced by its golden equivalent. This outcome may to begin with involve a pause, since the commodity has now assumed a specific durable form. The commodity which was not a use value in the hands of its owner exists now in a form in which it is always useful because it can always be exchanged, and it depends on circumstances when and at which point in the world of commodities it will again be thrown into circulation. The golden chrysalis state forms an independent phase in the life of the commodity, in which it can remain for a shorter or longer period. The separation and independence of the acts of purchase and sale is a general feature of the labour which creates exchange value, whereas in barter the exchange of one discrete use value is directly tied to the exchange of another discrete use value.

The *purchase, M—C,* is the reverse movement to *C—M* and at the same time the second or final metamorphosis of the commodity. Regarded as gold or as the general equivalent, the commodity can be directly expressed in terms of the use values of all other commodities, all of which through their prices seek gold as their hereafter, and simultaneously they indicate the key note which must be sounded so that their bodies, the use values, should change over to the money side, while their soul, the exchange value, is turned into gold. The general result of the alienation of commodities is the absolutely alienated commodity. The conversion of gold into commodities has no qualitative limit but only a quantitative limit, the fact that the amount of gold, or the value it represents, is limited. Everything can be obtained with ready money. Whereas the commodity realises its own price and the use value of someone else's money through its alienation as a use value in the movement *C—M,* it realises its own use value and the price of the other commodity through its alienation as an exchange value in the movement *M—C.* Just as by the realisation of its price, the commodity simultaneously turns gold into real money,

so by its retransformation it converts gold into its (the commodity's) own merely transitory money form. Because commodity circulation presupposes an advanced division of labour and therefore also a diversity of wants on the part of the individual, a diversity bearing an inverse relation to the narrow scope of his own production, the purchase $M—C$ will at times consist of an equation with one commodity as the equivalent, and at other times of a series of commodity equivalents determined by the buyer's needs and the amount of money at his disposal. Just as a sale must at the same time be a purchase, so the purchase must at the same time be a sale; $M—C$ is simultaneously $C—M$, but in this case gold or the purchaser takes the initiative.

Returning to the complete circuit $C—M—C$, we can see that in it one commodity passes through the entire series of its metamorphoses. But at the same time as this commodity begins the first phase of its circuit and undergoes the first metamorphosis, another commodity commences the second phase of the circuit, passes through its second metamorphosis and drops out of circulation; the first commodity, on the other hand, enters the second phase of the circuit, passes through its second metamorphosis and drops out of circulation, while a third commodity enters the sphere of circulation, passes through the first phase of its cycle and accomplishes the first metamorphosis. Thus the total circuit $C—M—C$ representing the complete metamorphosis of a commodity is simultaneously the end of a complete metamorphosis of a second commodity and the beginning of a complete metamorphosis of a third commodity; it is therefore a series without beginning or end. To demonstrate this and to distinguish the commodities we shall use different symbols to denote $C$ in the two extremes, e.g. $C'—M—C''$. Indeed, the first term $C'—M$ presupposes that $M$ is the outcome of another $C—M$, and is accordingly itself only the last term of the circuit $C—M—C'$, while the second term $M—C''$ implies that it will result in $C''—M$, and constitutes the first term of the circuit $C''—M—C'''$, and so on. It is moreover evident, that, although $M$ is the outcome of a *single* sale, the last term $M—C$ may take the form of $M—C'+M—C''+M—C'''+$ and so forth; in other words it may be divided into numerous purchases, i.e. into numerous sales and hence numerous first terms of new complete metamorphoses of commodities. While in this way the complete metamorphosis of a single commodity forms not only a link of just one sequence of metamorphoses without beginning or end, but of many such sequences, the circulation of the world of commodities—since

every individual commodity goes through the circuit *C—M—C*—constitutes an infinitely intricate network of such series of movements, which constantly end and constantly begin afresh at an infinite number of different points. But each individual sale or purchase stands as an independent isolated transaction, whose complementary transaction, which constitutes its continuation, does not need to follow immediately but may be separated from it temporally and spatially. Because every particular cycle *C—M* or *M—C* representing the transformation of one commodity into use value and of another into money, i.e. the first and second phase of the circuit, forms a separate interval for both sides, and since on the other hand all commodities begin their second metamorphosis, that is turn up at the starting point of the circuit's second phase, in the form of gold, the general equivalent, a form common to them all, in the real process of circulation any *M—C* may follow any particular *C—M,* i.e. the second section of the life cycle of any commodity may follow the first section of the life cycle of any other commodity. For example, A sells iron for £2, and thus *C—M* or the first metamorphosis of the commodity iron has taken place, but for the time being A does not buy anything else. At the same time B, who had sold two quarters of wheat for £6 two weeks ago, buys a coat and trousers from Moses and Son with the same £6, and thereby completes *M—C* or the second metamorphosis of the commodity wheat. The two transactions *M—C* and *C—M* appear to be parts of the same sequence only because as M [money or] gold, all commodities look alike and gold does not look any different whether it represents transformed iron or transformed wheat. In the real process of circulation *C—M—C,* therefore, represents an exceedingly haphazard coincidence and succession of motley phases of various complete metamorphoses. The actual process of circulation *appears,* therefore, not as a complete metamorphosis of the commodity, i.e. not as its movement through opposite phases, but as a mere accumulation of numerous purchases and sales which chance to occur simultaneously or successively. The process accordingly loses its distinct form, especially as each individual transaction, e.g. a sale, is simultaneously its opposite, a purchase, and *vice versa.* On the other hand, the metamorphoses in the world of commodities *constitute* the process of circulation and the former must therefore be reflected in the total movement of circulation. This reflection will be examined in the next section. Here we shall merely observe that the *C* at each of the two extremes of the circuit *C—M—C* has a different formal relation to *M.* The first *C* is a particular

commodity which is compared with money as the universal commodity, whereas in the second phase money as the universal commodity is compared with an individual commodity. The formula *C—M—C* can therefore be reduced to the abstract logical syllogism *P—U—I,* where particularity forms the first extreme, universality characterises the common middle term and individuality signifies the final extreme.

The commodity owners entered the sphere of circulation merely as guardians of commodities. Within this sphere they confront one another in the antithetical roles of buyer and seller, one personifying a sugar-loaf, the other gold. Just as the sugar-loaf becomes gold, so the seller becomes a buyer. These distinctive social characters are, therefore, by no means due to individual human nature as such, but to the exchange relations of persons who produce their goods in the specific form of commodities. So little does the relation of buyer and seller represent a purely individual relationship that they enter into it only in so far as their individual labour is negated, that is to say, turned into money as *non*-individual labour. It is therefore as absurd to regard buyer and seller, these bourgeois economic types, as eternal social forms of human individuality, as it is preposterous to weep over them as signifying the abolition of individuality.* They are an essential expression of individuality arising at a particular stage of the social process of production. The antagonistic nature of bourgeois production is, moreover, expressed in the antithesis of buyer and seller in such a superficial and formal manner that this antithesis exists already in pre-bourgeois social formations, for it requires

* The following extract from M. Isaac Péreire's *Leçons sur l'industrie et les finances,* Paris, 1832, shows that delicate spirits can be deeply hurt even by the quite superficial aspect of antagonism which is represented by purchase and sale. The fact that the same Isaac is the inventor and dictator of the *Crédit mobilier*[71] and as such a notorious wolf of the Paris stock exchange points to the real significance of such sentimental criticism of political economy. M. Péreire, at that time an apostle of St. Simon, says: "Since individuals are isolated and separated from one another, whether in their labour or their consumption, they exchange the products of their respective occupations. The necessity of exchanging things entails the necessity of determining their relative value. The ideas of value and exchange are therefore closely linked and in their present form both are expressions of individualism and antagonism.... The value of products is determined only because there is sale and purchase, in other words, because there is antagonism between different members of society. Preoccupation with price and value exists only where there is sale and purchase, that is to say, where every individual is compelled *to fight* in order to obtain the things necessary for the maintenance of his existence" (l.c., pp. 2, 3 *passim*). [Marx quotes in French.]

merely that the relations of individuals to one another should be those of commodity owners.

An examination of the outcome of the circuit $C—M—C$ shows that it dissolves into the exchange of $C—C$. Commodity has been exchanged for commodity, use value for use value, and the transformation of the commodity into money, or the commodity as money, is merely an intermediary stage which helps to bring about this metabolism. Money emerges thus as a mere *medium of exchange* of commodities, not however as a medium of exchange in general, but a medium of exchange adapted to the process of circulation, i.e. *a medium of circulation*.*

If, because the process of circulation of commodities ends in $C—C$ and therefore appears as barter merely mediated by money, or because $C—M—C$ in general does not only fall apart into two isolated cycles but is simultaneously their dynamic unity, the conclusion were to be drawn that only the unity and not the separation of purchase and sale exists, this would display a manner of thinking the criticism of which belongs to the sphere of logic and not of political economy. The division of exchange into purchase and sale not only destroys locally evolved primitive, traditionally pious and sentimentally absurd obstacles standing in the way of social metabolism, but it also represents the general fragmentation of the associated factors of this process and their constant confrontation, in short it contains the general possibility of commercial crises, essentially because the contradiction of commodity and money is the abstract and general form of all contradictions inherent in the bourgeois mode of labour. Although circulation of money can occur therefore without crises, crises cannot occur without circulation of money. This simply means that where labour based on individual exchange has not even got as far as the formation of money, it is naturally still less able to produce phenomena that presuppose a full development of the bourgeois process of production. This gives some measure of the degree of profundity of a criticism which proposes to remove the "maladies" of bourgeois production by abolishing the "privileges" of precious metals and by introducing a so-called rational monetary system. A proposition reputed to be exceedingly clever may on the other hand serve as an example of economic

* "Money is only the medium and the agency, whereas commodities that benefit life are the aim and purpose." Boisguillebert, *Le détail de la France*, 1697, in Eugène Daire's *Economistes financiers du XVIII^e siècle*, Vol. I, Paris, 1843, p. 210. [Marx quotes in French.]

apologetics. *James Mill*, the father of the well-known English economist John Stuart Mill, says:

> There can never be a lack of buyers for all commodities. Whoever offers a commodity for sale wants to obtain another in exchange for it, and is therefore a buyer through the mere fact of being a seller. Thus, the buyers and sellers of all commodities taken together must, through a metaphysical necessity, balance each other. Hence if there are more sellers than buyers of one commodity, there must be more buyers than sellers of another commodity.*

Mill establishes equilibrium by reducing the process of circulation to direct barter, but on the other hand he insinuates buyer and seller, figures derived from the process of circulation,—into direct barter. Using Mill's confusing language one may say that there are times when it is impossible to sell all commodities, for instance in London and Hamburg during certain stages of the commercial crisis of 1857/58 there were indeed more buyers than sellers of *one* commodity, i.e. *money*, and more sellers than buyers as regards *all other forms of money*, i.e. commodities. The metaphysical equilibrium of purchases and sales is confined to the fact that every purchase is a sale and every sale a purchase, but this gives poor comfort to the possessors of commodities who unable to make a sale cannot accordingly make a purchase either.**

* A pamphlet by William Spence entitled *Britain Independent of Commerce* was published in London in November 1807; its thesis was further elaborated by William Cobbett in his *Political Register* under the more militant heading "Perish Commerce". Against this James Mill wrote his *Defence of Commerce*,[72] which appeared in 1808; in that work he already advances the argument which is also contained in the passage quoted above from his *Elements of Political Economy*. This ingenious invention has been appropriated by J. B. Say, and used in his polemic against Sismondi and Malthus on the question of commercial crises,[73] and since it was not clear which new idea this comical *prince de la science*—whose merit consists rather in the impartiality with which he consistently misinterpreted his contemporaries Malthus, Sismondi and Ricardo—has contributed to political economy, continental admirers have trumpeted him abroad as the discoverer of the invaluable proposition about a metaphysical equilibrium of purchases and sales.

** The way in which economists describe the different aspects of the commodity may be seen from the following examples:

"With money in possession, we have but one exchange to make in order to secure the object of desire, while with other surplus products we have two, the first of which (securing the money) is infinitely more difficult than the second" (G. Opdyke, *A Treatise on Political Economy*, New York, 1851, pp. 287-88).

"The superior saleableness of money is the exact effect or natural consequence of the less saleableness of commodities" (Thomas Corbet, *An Inquiry into the Causes and Modes of the Wealth of Individuals, etc.*, London 1841, p. 117).

"Money has the quality of being always exchangeable for what it measures" (Bosanquet, *Metallic, Paper, and Credit Currency, etc.*, London, 1842, p. 100).

"Money can always buy other commodities, wheareas other commodities can not always buy money" (Thomas Tooke, *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle*, Second

The separation of sale and purchase makes possible not only commerce proper, but also numerous *pro forma* transactions, before the final exchange of commodities between producer and consumer takes place. It thus enables large numbers of parasites to invade the process of production and to take advantage of this separation. But this again means only that money, the universal form of labour in bourgeois society, makes the development of the inherent contradictions *possible.*

### *b. The Circulation of Money*

In the first instance real circulation consists of a mass of random purchases and sales taking place simultaneously. In both purchase and sale commodities and money confront each other always in the same way; the seller represents the commodity, the buyer the money. As a means of circulation money therefore appears always as a *means of purchase,* and this obscures the fact that it fulfils different functions in the antithetical phases of the metamorphosis of commodities.

Money passes into the hands of the seller in the same transaction which transfers the commodity into the hands of the buyer. Commodity and money thus move in opposite directions, and this change of places—in the course of which the commodity crosses over to one side and money to the other—occurs simultaneously at an indefinite number of points along the entire surface of bourgeois society. But the first move of the commodity in the sphere of circulation is also its last move.* No matter whether the commodity changes its position because gold is attracted by it ($C—M$) or because it is attracted by gold ($M—C$), in consequence of the single move, the single change of place, it falls out of the sphere of circulation into that of consumption. Circulation is a perpetual movement of commodities, though always of different commodities, and each commodity makes but one move. Each commodity begins the second phase of its circuit not as the same commodity, but as a different commodity, i.e. gold. The movement of the metamorphosed commodity is thus

Ed., London, 1844, p. 10). [Marx quotes from Opdyke, Corbet, Bosanquet and Tooke in English.]

* A commodity may be several times bought and sold again. It circulates, in this case, not as a mere commodity, but fulfils a function which does not yet exist from the standpoint of simple circulation and of the simple antithesis of commodity and money.

the movement of gold. The same coin or the identical bit of gold which in the transaction *C—M* changed places with a commodity becomes in turn the starting point of *M—C*, and thus for the second time changes places with another commodity. Just as it passed from the hands of *B*, the buyer, into those of *A*, the seller, so now it passes from the hands of *A*, who has become a buyer, into those of *C*. The changes in the form of a commodity, its transformation into money and its retransformation from money, in other words the movement of the total metamorphosis of a commodity, accordingly appear as the extrinsic movement of a single coin which changes places twice, with two different commodities. However scattered and fortuitous the simultaneous purchases and sales may be, a buyer is always confronted by a seller in actual circulation, and the money which takes the place of the commodity sold must already have changed places once with another commodity before reaching the hands of the buyer. On the other hand, sooner or later the money will pass again from the hands of the seller who has become a buyer into those of a new seller, and its repeated changes of place express the interlocking of the metamorphoses of commodities. The same coins therefore proceed—always in the opposite direction to the commodities moved—from one point of the circuit to another; some coins move more frequently, others less frequently, thus describing a longer or shorter curve. The different movements of one and the same coin can follow one another only temporally, just as conversely the multiplicity and fragmentation of the purchases and sales are reflected in the simultaneous and spatially concurrent changes of place of commodity and money.

The simple form of commodity circulation, *C—M—C*, takes place when money passes from the hands of the buyer into those of the seller and from the seller who has become a buyer into the hands of a new seller. This concludes the metamorphosis of the commodity and hence the movement of money in so far as it is the expression of this metamorphosis. But since there are new use values produced continuously in the form of commodities, which must therefore be thrown continuously afresh into the sphere of circulation, the circuit *C—M—C* is renewed and repeated by the same commodity owners. The money they have spent as buyers returns to them when they once more become sellers of commodities. The perpetual renewal of commodity circulation is reflected in the fact that over the entire surface of bourgeois society money not only circulates from one person to another but that at the same time it describes a number of distinct small

circuits, starting from an infinite variety of points and returning to the same points, in order to repeat the movement afresh.

As the change of form of the commodity appears as a mere change in place of money, and the continuity of the movement of circulation belongs entirely to the monetary side—because the commodity always makes only one step in the direction opposite to that of money, money however invariably making the second step for the commodity to complete the motion begun by the commodity—so the entire movement *appears* to be initiated by money, although during the sale the commodity causes the money to move, thus bringing about the circulation of the money in the same way as during the purchase the money brings about the circulation of the commodity. Since moreover money always confronts commodities as a *means of purchase* and as such causes commodities to move merely by realising their prices, the entire movement of circulation appears to consist of money changing places with commodities by realising their prices either in separate transactions which occur simultaneously, side by side, or successively when the same coin realises the prices of different commodities one after another. If, for example, one examines $C—M—C'—M—C''—M—C'''$, etc., and disregards the qualitative aspects, which become unrecognisable in actual circulation, there emerges only the same monotonous operation. After realising the price of $C$, $M$ successively realises the prices of $C'$, $C''$, etc., and the commodities $C'$, $C''$, $C'''$, etc., invariably take the place vacated by money. It thus appears that money causes the circulation of commodities by realising their prices. While it serves to realise prices, money itself circulates continuously, sometimes moving merely to a different place, at other times tracing a curve or describing a small cycle in which the points of departure and of return are identical. As a medium of circulation it has a circulation of its own. The movement and changing forms of the circulating commodities thus appear as the movement of money mediating the exchange of commodities, which are in themselves immobile. The movement of the circulation process of commodities is therefore represented by the movement of money as the medium of circulation, i.e. by the *circulation of money*.

Just as commodity owners presented the products of individual labour as products of social labour, by transforming a thing, i.e. gold, into the direct embodiment of labour time in general and therefore into money, so now their own universal movement by which they bring about the exchange of the material elements of their labour confronts them as the specific movement of a thing,

i.e. as the circulation of gold. The social movement is for the commodity owners, on the one hand, an external necessity and, on the other, merely a formal intermediary process enabling each individual to obtain different use values of the same total value as that of the use value which he has thrown into circulation. The commodity begins to function as a use value when it leaves the sphere of circulation, whereas the use value of money as a means of circulation consists in its very circulation. The movement of the commodity in the sphere of circulation is only an insignificant factor, whereas perpetual rotation within this sphere becomes the function of money. The specific function which it fulfils within circulation gives money as the medium of circulation a new and distinctive aspect, which now has to be analysed in more detail.

First of all, it is evident that the circulation of money is an infinitely divided movement, for it reflects the infinite fragmentation of the process of circulation into purchases and sales, and the complete separation of the complementary phases of the metamorphosis of commodities. It is true that a recurrent movement, real circular motion, takes place in the small circuits of money in which the point of departure and the point of return are identical; but in the first place, there are as many points of departure as there are commodities, and their indefinite multitude balks any attempt to check, measure and compute these circuits. The time which passes between the departure from and the return to the starting point is equally uncertain. It is, moreover, quite irrelevant whether or not such a circuit is described in a particular case. No economic fact is more widely known than that somebody may spend money without receiving it back. Money starts its circuit from an endless multitude of points and returns to an endless multitude of points, but the coincidence of the point of departure and the point of return is fortuitous, because the movement $C—M—C$ does not necessarily imply that the buyer becomes a seller again. It would be even less correct to depict the circulation of money as a movement which radiates from one centre to all points of the periphery and returns from all the peripheral points to the same centre. The so-called circuit of money, as people imagine it, simply amounts to the fact that the appearance of money and its disappearance, its perpetual movement from one place to another, is everywhere visible. When considering a more advanced form of money used to mediate circulation, e.g. bank notes, we shall find that the conditions governing the issue of money determine also its reflux. But as regards simple money circulation it is a matter of chance whether a particular buyer becomes a seller once again.

Where actual circular motions are taking place continuously in the sphere of simple money circulation, they merely reflect the more fundamental processes of production, for instance, with the money which the manufacturer receives from his banker on Friday he pays his workers on Saturday, they immediately hand over the larger part of it to retailers, etc., and the latter return it to the banker on Monday.

We have seen that money simultaneously realises a given sum of prices comprising the motley purchases and sales which coexist in space, and that it changes places with each commodity only once. But, on the other hand, in so far as the movements of complete metamorphoses of commodities and the concatenation of these metamorphoses are reflected in the movement of money, the same coin realises the prices of various commodities and thus makes a larger or smaller number of circuits. Hence, if we consider the process of circulation in a country during a definite period, for instance a day, then the amount of gold required for the realisation of prices and accordingly for the circulation of commodities is determined by two factors: on the one hand, the sum total of prices and, on the other hand, the average number of circuits which the individual gold coins make. The number of circuits or the velocity of money circulation is in its turn determined by, or simply reflects, the average velocity of the commodities passing through the various phases of their metamorphoses, the speed with which the metamorphoses constituting a chain follow one another, and the speed with which new commodities are thrown into circulation to replace those that have completed their metamorphoses. Whereas during the determination of prices the exchange value of all commodities is nominally turned into a quantity of gold of the same value and in the two separate transactions, *M—C* and *C—M,* the same value exists twice, on the one hand, in the shape of commodities and, on the other, in the form of gold; yet gold as a medium of circulation is determined not by its isolated relation to individual static commodities, but by its dynamic existence in the fluid world of commodities. The function of gold is to represent the transformation of commodities by its changes of place, in other words, to indicate the speed of their transformation by the speed with which it moves from one point to another. Its function in the process as a whole thus determines the actual amount of gold in circulation, or the actual quantity which circulates.

Commodity circulation is the prerequisite of money circulation; money, moreover, circulates commodities which have prices, that is

commodities which have already been equated nominally with definite quantities of gold. The determination of the prices of commodities presupposes that the value of the quantity of gold which serves as the standard measure or the value of gold, is given. According to this assumption, the quantity of gold required for circulation is in the first place determined therefore by the sum of the commodity prices to be realised. This sum, however, is in its turn determined by the following factors: 1. the price level, the relative magnitude of the exchange values of commodities in terms of gold, and 2. the quantity of commodities circulating at definite prices, that is the number of purchases and sales at given prices.* If a quarter of wheat costs 60s., then twice as much gold is required to circulate it or to realise its price as would be required if it cost only 30s. Twice as much gold is needed to circulate 500 quarters at 60s. as is needed to circulate 250 quarters at 60s. Finally only half as much gold is needed to circulate 10 quarters at 100s. as is needed to circulate 40 quarters at 50s. It follows therefore that the quantity of gold required for the circulation of commodities can fall despite rising prices, if the mass of commodities in circulation decreases faster than the total sum of prices increases, and conversely the amount of means of circulation can increase while the mass of commodities in circulation decreases provided their aggregate prices rise to an even greater extent. Thus excellent investigations carried out in great detail by Englishmen have shown that in England, for instance, the amount of money in circulation grows during the early stages of a grain shortage, because the aggregate price of the smaller supply of grain is larger than was the aggregate price of the bigger supply of grain, and for some time the other commodities continue to circulate as before at their old prices. The amount of money in circulation decreases, however, at a later stage of the grain shortage, because along with the grain either fewer commodities are sold at their old prices, or the same amount of commodities is sold at lower prices.

* The amount of money is a matter of indifference "provided there is enough of it to maintain the prices determined by the commodities". Boisguillebert, *Le détail de la France*, p. 209. [Marx quotes in French.] "If the circulation of commodities of four hundred millions required a currency of forty millions, and ... this proportion of one-tenth was the due level, ... then, if the value of commodities to be circulated increased to four hundred and fifty millions, from natural causes ... the currency, in order to continue at its level, must be increased to forty-five millions." William Blake, *Observations on the Effects Produced by the Expenditure of Government, etc.*, London, 1823, p. 80.

But the quantity of money in circulation is, as we have seen, determined not only by the sum of commodity prices to be realised, but also by the velocity with which money circulates, i.e. the speed with which this realisation of prices is accomplished during a given period. If in one day one and the same sovereign makes ten purchases, each consisting of a commodity worth one sovereign, so that it changes hands ten times, it transacts the same amount of business as ten sovereigns each of which makes only one circuit a day.* The velocity of circulation of gold can thus make up for its quantity: in other words, the stock of gold in circulation is determined not only by gold functioning as an equivalent alongside commodities, but also by the function it fulfils in the movement of the metamorphoses of commodities. But the velocity of currency can make up for its quantity only to a certain extent, for an endless number of separate purchases and sales take place simultaneously at any given moment.

If the aggregate prices of the commodities in circulation rise, but to a smaller extent than the velocity of currency increases, then the volume of money in circulation will decrease. If, on the contrary, the velocity of circulation decreases at a faster rate than the total price of the commodities in circulation, then the volume of money in circulation will grow. A general fall in prices accompanied by an increase in the quantity of the medium of circulation and a general rise in prices accompanied by a decrease in the quantity of the medium of circulation are among the best documented phenomena in the history of prices. But the causes occasioning a rise in the level of prices and at the same time an even larger rise in the velocity of currency, as also the converse development, lie outside the scope of an investigation into simple circulation. We may mention by way of illustration that in periods of expanding credit the velocity of currency increases faster than the prices of commodities, whereas in periods of contracting credit the velocity of currency declines faster than the prices of commodities. It is a sign of the superficial and formal character of simple money circulation that the quantity of means of circulation is determined by factors—such as the amount of commodities in circulation, prices, increases or decreases of prices, the number of purchases and sales taking place simultaneously, and the velocity of currency—all of which are contingent on the metamorphosis

* "It is the velocity of the circulation of money and not the quantity of the metals, that causes the amount of money to be large or small" (Galiani, l.c., p. 99). [Marx quotes in Italian.]

proceeding in the world of commodities, which is in turn contingent on the general nature of the mode of production, the size of the population, the relation of town and countryside, the development of the means of transport, the more or less advanced division of labour, credit, etc., in short on circumstances which lie *outside* the framework of simple money circulation and are merely mirrored in it.

If the velocity of circulation is given, then the quantity of the means of circulation is simply determined by the prices of commodities. Prices are thus high or low not because more or less money is in circulation, but there is more or less money in circulation because prices are high or low. This is one of the principal economic laws, and the detailed substantiation of it based on the history of prices is perhaps the only achievement of the post-Ricardian English political economy. Empirical data show that, despite temporary fluctuations, and sometimes very intense fluctuations,* over longer periods the level of metallic currency or the volume of gold and silver in circulation in a particular country may remain on the whole stable, deviations from the average level amounting merely to small oscillations. This phenomenon is simply due to the contradictory nature of the factors determining the volume of money in circulation. Changes occurring simultaneously in these factors neutralise their effects and everything remains as it was.

The law that, if the speed of circulation of money and the sum total of the commodity prices are given, the amount of the medium of circulation is determined, can also be expressed in the following way: if the exchange values of commodities and the average speed of their metamorphoses are given, then the quantity of gold in circulation depends on its own value. Thus, if the value of gold, i.e. the labour time required for its production, were to increase or to decrease, then the prices of commodities would rise

* An example of a remarkable fall of the metallic currency below its average level occurred in England in 1858 as the following passage from the London *Economist* shows: "From the nature of the case" (i.e. owing to the fragmentation of simple circulation) "very exact data cannot be procured as to the amount of cash that is fluctuating in the market, and in the hands of the not banking classes. But, perhaps, the activity or the inactivity of the mints of the great commercial nations is one of the most likely indications in the variations of that amount. Much will be manufactured when it is wanted; and little when little is wanted.... At the English mint the coinage was in 1855: £9,245,000; 1856: £6,476,000; 1857: £5,293,858. During 1858 the mint had scarcely anything to do." *Economist*, July 10, 1858. [Marx quotes in English.] But at the same time about eighteen million pounds sterling were lying in the bank vaults.

or fall in inverse proportion and, provided the velocity remained unchanged, this general rise or fall in prices would necessitate a larger or smaller amount of gold for the circulation of the same amount of commodities. The result would be similar if the previous standard of value were to be replaced by a more valuable or a less valuable metal. For instance, when, in deference to its creditors and impelled by fear of the effect the discovery of gold in California and Australia might have, Holland replaced gold currency by silver currency, 14 to 15 times more silver was required than formerly was required of gold to circulate the same volume of commodities.

Since the quantity of gold in circulation depends upon two variable factors, the total amount of commodity price and the velocity of circulation, it follows that it must be possible to reduce and expand the quantity of metallic currency; in short, in accordance with the requirements of the process of circulation, gold, as means of circulation, must sometimes be put into circulation and sometimes withdrawn from it. We shall see later how these conditions are realised in the process of circulation.

### *c. Coins. Tokens of Value*

Money functioning as a medium of circulation assumes a specific shape, it becomes a *coin.* In order to prevent its circulation from being hampered by technical difficulties, gold is minted according to the standard of the money of account. Coins are pieces of gold whose shape and imprint signify that they contain weights of gold as indicated by the names of the money of account, such as pound sterling, shilling, etc. Both the establishing of the mint price and the technical work of minting devolve upon the State. Coined money assumes a *local and political character,* it uses different national languages and wears different national uniforms, just as does money of account. Coined money circulates therefore in the *internal* sphere of circulation of commodities, which is circumscribed by the boundaries of a given community and separated from the *universal* circulation of the world of commodities.

But the only difference between gold in the form of bullion and gold in the form of coin is that between the denomination of the coin and denomination of its metal weight. What appears as a difference of denomination in the latter case, appears as a difference of shape in the former. Gold coins can be thrown into

the crucible and thus turned again into gold *sans phrase*, just as conversely gold bars have only to be sent to the mint to be transformed into coin. The conversion and reconversion of one form into the other appears as a purely technical operation.

In exchange for 100 pounds or 1,200 ounces troy of 22-carat gold one receives £4,672$^1/_2$ or 4,672$^1/_2$ gold sovereigns from the English mint, and if one puts these sovereigns on one side of a pair of scales and 100 pounds of gold bars on the other, the two will balance. This proves that the sovereign is simply a quantity of gold—with a specific shape and a specific imprint—the weight of which is denoted by this name in the English monetary scale. The 4,672$^1/_2$ gold sovereigns are thrown into circulation at different points and, once in the current, they make a certain number of moves each day, some sovereigns more and others less. If the average number of moves made by one ounce of gold during a day were ten, then the 1,200 ounces of gold would realise a total of commodity prices amounting to 12,000 ounces or 46,725 sovereigns. An ounce of gold, no matter how one may twist and turn it, will never weigh ten ounces. But here in the process of circulation, one ounce does indeed amount to ten ounces. In the process of circulation a coin is equal to the quantity of gold contained in it multiplied by the number of moves it makes. In addition to its actual existence as an individual piece of gold of a certain weight, the coin thus acquires a nominal existence which arises from the function it performs. But whether the sovereign makes one or ten moves, in each particular purchase or sale it nevertheless acts merely as a single sovereign. The effect is the same as in the case of a general who on the day of battle replaces ten generals by appearing at ten different places at the crucial time, but remains the same general at each point. The nominalisation of the medium of circulation, which arises as a result of the replacement of quantity by velocity, concerns only the functioning of coins within the process of circulation but does not affect the status of the individual coins.

But the circulation of money is an external movement and the sovereign, although *non olet*,[a] keeps mixed company. The coin, which comes into contact with all sorts of hands, bags, purses, pouches, tills, chests and boxes, wears away, leaves a particle of gold here and another there, thus losing increasingly more of its intrinsic content as a result of abrasion sustained in the course of its worldly career. While in use it is getting used up. Let us

[a] It does not smell (Vespasian).—*Ed.*

consider a sovereign at a moment when its original solid features are as yet hardly impaired.

"A baker who receives a brand-new sovereign straight from the bank today, and pays it away to the miller tomorrow, does not pay the same veritable sovereign; it is lighter than when he received it...." *

"It being obvious that the coinage, in the very nature of things, must be for ever, unit by unit, falling under depreciation by the mere action of ordinary and unavoidable abrasion. It is a physical impossibility at any time, even for a single day, utterly to eliminate light coins from circulation." **

Jacob estimates that of the £380 million which existed in Europe in 1809, £19 million had completely disappeared as a result of abrasion by 1829, that is in the course of 20 years.*** Whereas the commodity having taken its first step, bringing it into the sphere of circulation, drops out of it, the coin, after making a few steps in the sphere of circulation, represents a greater metal content than it actually possesses. The longer a coin circulates at a given velocity, or the more rapidly it circulates in a given period of time, the greater becomes the divergence between its existence as a coin and its existence as a piece of gold or silver. What remains is *magni nominis umbra*,[a] the body of the coin is now merely a shadow. Whereas originally circulation made the coin heavier, it now makes it lighter, but in each individual purchase or sale it still passes for the original quantity of gold. As a *pseudo*-sovereign, or pseudo-gold, the sovereign continues to perform the function of a legal gold coin. Although friction with the external world causes other entities to lose their idealism, the coin becomes increasingly ideal as a result of practice, its golden or silver substance being reduced to a mere pseudo-existence. This second idealisation of metal currency, that is, the disparity between its nominal content and its real content, brought about by the process of circulation itself, has been taken advantage of both by governments and individual adventurers who debased the coinage in a variety of ways. The entire history of the monetary system from the early

* Dodd, *The Curiosities of Industry etc.*, London, 1854 [p. 16].

** *The Currency Question Reviewed etc.* By a Banker, Edinburgh, 1845, p. 69 etc. "If a slightly worn écu were to be considered to be worth somewhat less than a quite new one, circulation would be continually checked, and every payment would provide an occasion for dispute" (G. Garnier, *Histoire de la monnaie*, tome I, p. 24). [Marx quotes in French.]

*** W. Jacob, *An Historical Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals*, London, 1831, Vol. II, Chapter XXVI [p. 322].

[a] The mere shadow of a mighty name (Lucanus, "De bello civili", *Pharsalia*, I, 135).—*Ed.*

Middle Ages until well into the eighteenth century is a history of such bilateral and antagonistic counterfeiting, and Custodi's voluminous collection of works of Italian economists is largely concerned with this subject.

But the "ideal" existence of gold within the confines of its function comes into conflict with its real existence. In the course of circulation some gold coins have lost more of their metal content, others less, and one sovereign is now indeed worth more than another. Since they are however equally valid while they function as coin—the sovereign that weighs a quarter of an ounce is valued no more highly than the sovereign which only represents a quarter of an ounce—some unscrupulous owners perform surgical operations on sovereigns of standard weight to achieve the same result artificially which circulation has brought about spontaneously in the case of lighter coins. Sovereigns are clipped and debased and the surplus gold goes into the melting pot. When $4{,}672^1/_2$ gold sovereigns placed on the scales weigh on the average only 800 ounces instead of 1,200, they will buy only 800 ounces of gold on the gold market: in other words, the market price of gold has risen above the mint price. All sovereigns, even those retaining the standard weight, would be worth less as coin than in the shape of bars. Sovereigns of standard weight would be reconverted into bars, a form in which a greater quantity of gold has a greater value than a smaller quantity of gold. When the decline of the metal content has affected a sufficient number of sovereigns to cause a permanent rise of the market price of gold over its mint price, the coins will retain the same names of account but these will henceforth stand for a smaller quantity of gold. In other words, the standard of money will be changed, and henceforth gold will be minted in accordance with this new standard. Thus, in consequence of its idealisation as a medium of circulation, gold in its turn will have changed the legally established relation in which it functioned as the standard of price. A similar revolution would be repeated after a certain period of time; gold both as the standard of price and the medium of circulation in this way being subject to continuous changes, so that a change in the one aspect would cause a change in the other and vice versa. This accounts for the phenomenon mentioned earlier, namely that, as the history of all modern nations shows, the same monetary titles continued to stand for a steadily diminishing metal content. The contradiction between gold as coin and gold as the standard of price becomes also the contradiction between gold as coin and gold as the universal equivalent, which circulates not only within the boun-

daries of a given territory but also on the world market. As a measure of value gold has always retained its full weight, because it has served only nominally as gold. When serving as an equivalent in the separate transaction *C—M*, gold reverts from movement immediately to a state of rest; but when it serves as a coin its natural substance comes into constant conflict with its function. The transformation of gold sovereigns into nominal gold cannot be entirely prevented, but legislation attempts to preclude the establishment of nominal gold as coin by withdrawing it from circulation when the coins in question have lost a certain percentage of their substance. According to English law, for instance, a sovereign which has lost more than 0.747 grain of weight is no longer legal tender. Between 1844 and 1848, 48 million gold sovereigns were weighed by the Bank of England, which possesses scales for weighing gold invented by Mr. Cotton. This machine is not only able to detect a difference between the weights of two sovereigns amounting to one-hundredth of a grain, but like a rational being it flings the light-weight coin onto a board from which it drops into another machine that cuts it into pieces with oriental cruelty.

Under these conditions, however, gold coins would not be able to circulate at all unless they were confined to a definite sphere of circulation where they wear out less quickly. In so far as a gold coin in circulation is worth a quarter of an ounce, whereas it weighs only a fifth of an ounce, it has indeed become a mere token or symbol for one-twentieth of an ounce of gold, and in this way the process of circulation converts all gold coins to some extent into mere tokens or symbols representing their substance. But a thing cannot be its own symbol. Painted grapes are no symbol of real grapes, but are imaginary grapes. Even less is it possible for a light-weight sovereign to be the symbol of a standard-weight sovereign, just as an emaciated horse cannot be the symbol of a fat horse. Since gold thus becomes a symbol of itself but cannot serve as such a symbol it assumes a symbolic existence—quite separate from its own existence—in the shape of silver or copper counters in those spheres of circulation where it wears out most rapidly, namely where purchases and sales of minute amounts go on continuously. A certain proportion of the total number of gold coins, although not always the same coins, perpetually circulate in these spheres. This proportion of gold coins is replaced by silver or copper tokens. Various commodities can thus serve as coin alongside gold, although only one specific commodity can function as the measure of value and therefore

also as money within a particular country. These subsidiary means of circulation, for instance silver or copper tokens, represent definite fractions of gold coins within the circulation. The amount of silver or copper these tokens themselves contain is, therefore, not determined by the value of silver or copper in relation to that of gold, but is arbitrarily established by law. They may be issued only in amounts not exceeding those in which the small fractions of gold coin they represent would constantly circulate, either as small change for gold coin of higher denominations or to realise correspondingly low prices of commodities. The silver tokens and copper tokens will belong to distinct spheres of retail trade. It is self-evident that their velocity of circulation stands in inverse ratio to the price they realise in each individual purchase and sale, or to the value of the fraction of the gold coin they represent. The relatively insignificant total amount of subsidiary coins in circulation indicates the velocity with which they perpetually circulate, if one bears in mind the huge volume of retail trade daily transacted in a country like England. A recently published parliamentary report[a] shows, for instance, that in 1857 the English Mint coined gold to the amount of £4,859,000 and silver having a nominal value of £373,000 and a metal value of £363,000. In the ten-year period ending December 31, 1857, the total amount of gold coined came to £55,239,000 and that of silver to only £2,434,000. The nominal value of copper coins issued in 1857 was only £6,720, while the value of the copper contained in them was £3,492; of this total £3,136 was issued as pennies, £2,464 as halfpennies and £1,120 as farthings. The total nominal value of the copper coin struck during the last ten years came to £141,477, and their metal value to £73,503. Just as gold coin is prevented from perpetually functioning as coin by the statutory provision that on losing a certain quantity of metal it is demonetised, so conversely by laying down the price level which they can legally realise silver and copper counters are prevented from moving into the sphere of gold coin and from establishing themselves as money. Thus for example in England, copper is legal tender for sums up to 6d. and silver for sums up to 20s. The issue of silver and copper tokens in quantities exceeding the requirements of their spheres of circulation would not lead to a rise in commodity-prices but to the accumulation of these tokens in the hands of retail traders, who would in the end be forced to sell them as metal. In 1798, for instance, English copper coins to the

[a] *The Economist*, No. 763, April 10, 1858, p. 401.—*Ed.*

amounts of £20, £30 and £50, spent by private people, had accumulated in the tills of shopkeepers and, since their attempts to put the coins again into circulation failed, they finally had to sell them as metal on the copper market.*

The metal content of the silver and copper tokens, which represent gold coin in distinct spheres of home circulation, is determined by law; but when in circulation they wear away, just as gold coins do, and, because of the velocity and constancy of their circulation, they are reduced even faster to a merely imaginary, or shadow existence. If one were to establish that silver and copper tokens also, on losing a certain amount of metal, should cease to function as coin, it would be necessary to replace them in turn in certain sections of their own sphere of circulation by some other symbolic money, such as iron or lead; and in this way the representation of one type of symbolic money by other types of symbolic money would go on for ever. The needs of currency circulation itself accordingly compel all countries with a developed circulation to ensure that silver and copper tokens function as coin independently of the percentage of metal they lose. It thus becomes evident that they are, by their very nature, symbols of gold coin not because they are made of silver or copper, not because they have value, but they are symbols in so far as they have no value.

Relatively worthless things, such as *paper*, can function as symbols of gold coins. Subsidiary coins consist of metal, silver, copper, etc., tokens principally because in most countries the less valuable metals circulated as money—e.g. silver in England, copper in the ancient Roman Republic, Sweden, Scotland, etc.—before the process of circulation reduced them to the status of small coin and put a more valuable metal in their place. It is in the nature of things moreover that the monetary symbol which directly arises from metallic currency should be, in the first place, once again a metal. Just as the portion of gold which would constantly have to circulate as small change is replaced by metal tokens, so the portion of gold which as coin remains always in the sphere of home circulation, and must therefore circulate perpetually, can be replaced by tokens without intrinsic value. The level below which the volume of currency never falls is established in each country by experience. What was originally an insignificant divergence of the nominal content from the actual metal content

* David Buchanan, *Observations on the Subjects Treated of in Doctor Smith's Inquiry on the Wealth of Nations etc.*, Edinburgh, 1814, p. 31.

of metallic currency can therefore reach a stage where the two things are completely divorced. The names of coins become thus detached from the substance of money and exist apart from it in the shape of worthless scraps of paper. In the same way as the exchange value of commodities is crystallised into gold money as a result of exchange, so gold money in circulation is sublimated into its own symbol, first in the shape of worn gold coin, then in the shape of subsidiary metal coin, and finally in the shape of worthless counters, scraps of paper, mere *tokens of value.*

But the gold coin gave rise first to metallic and then to paper substitutes only because it continued to function as a coin despite the loss of metal it incurred. It circulated not because it was worn, but it was worn to a symbol because it continued to circulate. Only in so far as in the process of circulation gold currency becomes a mere token of its own value can mere tokens of value be substituted for it.

In so far as the circuit $C—M—C$ is the dynamic unity of the two aspects $C—M$ and $M—C$, which directly change into each other, or in so far as the commodity undergoes the entire metamorphosis, it evolves its exchange value into price and into money, but immediately abandons these forms again to become once more a commodity, or rather a use value. The exchange value of the commodity thus acquires *only a seemingly independent existence.* We have seen, on the other hand, that gold, when it functions only as specie, that is when it is perpetually in circulation, does indeed represent merely the interlinking of the metamorphoses of commodities and *their ephemeral existence as money.* Gold realises the price of one commodity only in order to realise that of another, but it never appears as exchange value in a state of rest or even a commodity in a state of rest. The reality which in this process the exchange value of commodities assumes, and which is expressed by gold in circulation, is merely the reality of an electric spark. Although it is real gold, it functions merely as apparent gold, and in this function therefore a token of itself can be substituted for it.

The token of value, say a piece of paper, which functions as a coin, represents the quantity of gold indicated by the name of the coin, and is thus a *token of gold.* A definite quantity of gold as such does not express a value relation, nor does the token which takes its place. The gold token represents value in so far as a definite quantity of gold, because it is objectified labour time, possesses a definite value. But the amount of value which the token represents depends in each case upon the value of the quantity of

gold represented by it. As far as commodities are concerned, the token of value represents the *reality of their price* and constitutes a *signum pretii*[a] and a token of their value only because their value is expressed in their price. In the circuit *C—M—C*, in so far as it expresses merely the dynamic unity of the two metamorphoses or the direct transformation of one metamorphosis into the other—and this is how it appears in the sphere of circulation, within which the token of value operates—the exchange value of commodities assumes in the price merely a nominal existence and in money merely an imaginary or symbolic existence. Exchange value thus appears to be something *purely* conceptual or an imagined entity but possessing no *reality* except in the commodities, in so far as a definite amount of labour time is objectified in them. The token of value therefore *seems* to represent the value of commodities *directly*, since it appears to be not a token of gold but a token of the exchange value which exists solely in the commodity and is merely expressed in the price. But the appearance is deceptive. The token of value is directly only a *token of price*, that is a *token of gold*, and only indirectly a token of the value of the commodity. Gold, unlike Peter Schlemihl, has not sold its shadow, but uses its shadow as a means of purchase. Thus the token of value is effective only when in the process of exchange it signifies the price of one commodity compared with that of another or when it *represents gold* with regard to every commodity owner. First of all custom turns a certain, relatively worthless object, a piece of leather, a scrap of paper, etc., into a token of the material of which money consists, but it can maintain this position only if its function as a symbol is guaranteed by the general intention of commodity owners, in other words, if it acquires a legal conventional existence and hence a legal rate of exchange. Paper money issued by the state and given a legal rate is an advanced form of the *token of value*, and the only kind of paper money which directly arises from metallic currency or from simple commodity circulation itself. *Credit money* belongs to a more advanced stage of the social process of production and conforms to very different laws. Symbolic paper money indeed does not differ at all from subsidiary metal coin except in having a wider sphere of circulation. Even the merely technical development of the standard of price, or of the mint price, and later the external transformation of gold bars into gold coin led to state intervention and consequently to a visible separation of internal circulation

[a] Sign of price.—*Ed.*

from the general circulation of commodities, this division being completed by the transformation of coin into a token of value. Money as a simple medium of circulation can after all acquire an independent existence only within the sphere of internal circulation.

Our exposition has shown that gold in the shape of coin, that is tokens of value divorced from gold substance itself, originates in the process of circulation itself and does not come about by arrangement or state intervention. Russia affords a striking example of a spontaneously evolved token of value. At a time when hides and furs served as money in that country, the contradiction between the perishable and unwieldy material and its function as a medium of circulation led to the custom of substituting small pieces of stamped leather for it; these pieces thus became money orders payable in hides and furs. Later they were called kopeks and became mere tokens representing fractions of the silver ruble and as such were used here and there until 1700, when Peter the Great ordered their replacement by small copper coins issued by the State.* In antiquity writers, who were able to observe only the phenomena of metallic currency, among them Plato** and Aristotle,*** already understood that gold coin

* Henry Storch, *Cours d'économie politique etc.* avec des notes par J. B. Say, Paris, 1823, tome IV, p. 79. Storch published his work in French in St. Petersburg, J. B. Say immediately brought out a reprint in Paris, supplemented by so-called notes, which in fact contain nothing but platitudes. Storch's reaction to the annexation of his work by the "*prince de la science*" was not at all polite (see his *Considérations sur la nature du revenu national*, Paris, 1824).

** Plato, *De Republica*, l. II. "The coin is a token of exchange" (*Opera omnia etc.*, ed. G. Stallbaumius, London, 1850, p. 304). [Marx quotes in Greek.] Plato analyses only two aspects of money, i.e. money as a standard of value and a token of value; apart from the token of value circulating within the country he calls for another token of value serving in the commerce of Greece with other countries (cf. book 5 of his *Laws*).

*** Aristoteles, *Ethica Nicomachea*, l. V, c. 8 [p. 98]. "But money has become by convention a sort of representative of demand; and this is why it has the name 'money' [νόμισμα]—because it exists not by nature but by 'law' [νόμω], and it is in our power to change it and make it useless." [The English translation is from Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, Oxford, 1925, 1133a.] [Here and below Marx quotes from Aristotle in Greek.] Aristotle's conception of money was considerably more complex and profound than that of Plato. In the following passage he describes very well how as a result of barter between different communities the necessity arises of turning a specific commodity, that is a substance which has itself value, into money. "When the inhabitants of one country became more dependent on those of another, and they imported what they needed, and exported what they had too much of, money *necessarily* came into use ... and hence men agreed to employ in their dealings with each other something which was *intrinsically useful*

is a symbol or token of value. Paper money with a legal rate of exchange arises early in countries such as China, which have not evolved a credit system.* Later advocates of paper money also refer expressly to the transformation of the metal coin into a token of value which is brought about by the circulation process itself. Such references occur in the works of Benjamin Franklin** and Bishop Berkeley.***

How many reams of paper cut into fragments can circulate as money? In this form the question is absurd. Worthless tokens become tokens of value only when they represent gold within the process of circulation, and they represent it only to the amount of gold which would circulate as coin, an amount which depends on the value of gold if the exchange value of the commodities and

and easily applicable to the purposes of life, for example, iron, silver and the like." (Aristoteles, *De Republica*, l. I, c. 9, l.c. [p. 14]. [The English translation is from Aristotle, *Politica*, by Benjamin Jowett, Oxford, 1966, 1257 a.) Michel Chevalier, who has either not read or not understood Aristotle, quotes this passage to show that according to Aristotle the medium of circulation must be a substance which is itself valuable. Aristotle, however, states plainly that money regarded simply as medium of circulation is merely a conventional or legal entity, as even its name (νόμισμα) indicates, and its use value as specie is in fact only due to its function and not to any intrinsic use value. "Others maintain that coined money is a mere sham, a thing not natural, but conventional only, because, if the users substitute another commodity for it, it is worthless, and because it is not useful as a means to any of the necessities of life." (Aristoteles, *De Republica* [p. 15]. [The English translation is from Aristotle, *Politica*, 1257 b.])

* Sir John Mandeville, *Voyages and Travels*, London, 1705, p. 105: "This Emperor (of Cattay or China) may dispende ols muche as he wile withouten estymacion. For he despendenthe not, nor makethe no money, but of lether emprendeth, or of papyre. And when that money hathe ronne so longe that it begynethe to waste, then men beren it to the Emperoures Tresorye, and then they taken newe Money for the old. And that money gothe thorghe out all the contree, and thorge out all his Provynces... They make no money nouther of Gold nor of Sylver", and Mandeville adds, "therefore he may despende ynew and outrageously." [Marx quotes in English.]

** Benjamin Franklin, *Remarks and Facts Relative to the American Paper Money*, 1764, p. 348, l.c.: "At this very time, even the silver money in England is obliged to the legal tender for part of its value; that part which is the difference between its real weight and its denomination. Great part of the shillings and sixpences now current are by wearing become 5, 10, 20, and some of the sixpences even 50%, too light. For this difference between the *real* and the *nominal* you have no intrinsic value; you have not so much as paper, you have nothing. It is the legal tender, with the knowledge that it can easily be repassed for the same value, that makes three pennyworth of silver pass for a sixpence." [Marx quotes in English.]

*** Berkeley, l.c. [p. 3]. "Whether the denominations being retained, although the bullion were gone ... might not nevertheless ... a circulation of commerce (be) maintained?"

the velocity of their metamorphoses are given. The number of pieces of paper with a denomination of £5 which could be used in circulation would be one-fifth of the number of pieces of paper with a denomination of £1, and if all payments were to be transacted in shilling notes, then twenty times more shilling notes than pound notes would have to circulate. If gold coin were represented by notes of different denomination, e.g. £5 notes, £1 notes and 10s. notes, the number of the different types of tokens of value needed would not just be determined by the quantity of gold required in the sphere of circulation as a whole, but by the quantity needed in the sphere of circulation of each particular type of note. If £14 million were the level below which the circulation of a country never fell (this is the presupposition of English Banking legislation, not however with regard to coin but to credit money), then 14 million pieces of paper, each a token of value representing £1, could circulate. If the value of gold decreased or increased because the labour time required for its production had fallen or risen, then the number of pound notes in circulation would increase or decrease in inverse ration to the change in the value of gold, provided the exchange value of the same mass of commodities remained unchanged. Supposing gold were superseded by silver as the standard of value and the relative value of silver to gold were 1 : 15, then 210 million pound notes would have to circulate henceforth instead of 14 million, if from now on each piece of paper was to represent the same amount of silver as it had previously represented of gold. The number of pieces of paper is thus determined by the quantity of gold currency which they represent in circulation, and as they are tokens of value only in so far as they take the place of gold currency, their value is simply determined by their *quantity*. Whereas, therefore, the quantity of gold in circulation depends on the prices of commodities, the value of the paper in circulation, on the other hand, depends solely on its own quantity.

The intervention of the State which issues paper money with a legal rate of exchange—and we speak only of this type of paper money—seems to invalidate the economic law. The State, whose mint price merely provided a definite weight of gold with a name and whose mint merely imprinted its stamp on gold, seems now to transform paper into gold by the magic of its imprint. Because the pieces of paper have a legal rate of exchange, it is impossible to prevent the State from thrusting any arbitrarily chosen number of them into circulation and to imprint them at will with any monetary denomination such as £1, £5, or £20. Once the notes

are in circulation it is impossible to drive them out, for the frontiers of the country limit their movement, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, they lose all value, both use value and exchange value, *outside* the sphere of circulation. Apart from their function they are useless scraps of paper. But this power of the State is mere illusion. It may throw any number of paper notes of any denomination into circulation but its control ceases with this mechanical act. As soon as the token of value or paper money enters the sphere of circulation it is subject to the inherent laws of this sphere.

Let us assume that £14 million is the amount of gold required for the circulation of commodities and that the State throws 210 million notes each called £1 into circulation: these 210 million would then stand for a total of gold worth £14 million. The effect would be the same as if the notes issued by the State were to represent a metal whose value was one-fifteenth that of gold or that each note was intended to represent one-fifteenth of the previous weight of gold. This would have changed nothing but the nomenclature of the standard of prices, which is of course purely conventional, quite irrespective of whether it was brought about directly by a change in the monetary standard or indirectly by a increase in the number of paper notes issued in accordance with a new lower standard. As the name pound sterling would now indicate one-fifteenth of the previous quantity of gold, all commodity prices would be fifteen times higher and 210 million pound notes would now be indeed just as necessary as 14 million had previously been. The decrease in the quantity of gold which each individual token of value represented would be proportional to the increased aggregate value of these tokens. The rise of prices would be merely a reaction of the process of circulation, which forcibly placed the tokens of value on a par with the quantity of gold which they are supposed to replace in the sphere of circulation.

One finds a number of occasions in the history of the debasement of currency by English and French governments when the rise in prices was not proportionate to the debasement of the silver coins. The reason was simply that the increase in the volume of currency was not proportional to its debasement; in other words, if the exchange value of commodities was in future to be evaluated in terms of the lower standard of value and to be realised in coins corresponding to this lower standard, then inadequate number of coins with lower metal content had been issued. This is the solution of the difficulty which was not resolved

by the controversy between Locke and Lowndes. The rate at which a token of value—whether it consists of paper or bogus gold and silver is quite irrelevant—can take the place of definite quantities of gold and silver calculated according to the mint price depends on the number of tokens in circulation and by no means on the material of which they are made. The difficulty in grasping this relation is due to the fact that the two functions of money—as a standard of value and a medium of circulation—are governed not only by conflicting laws, but by laws which appear to be at variance with the antithetical features of the two functions. [As regards its function[a]] as a standard of value, when money serves solely as money of account and gold merely as nominal gold, it is the physical material used which is the crucial factor. Exchange values expressed in terms of silver, or as silver prices, look of course quite different from exchange values expressed in terms of gold, or as gold prices. On the other hand, when it functions as a medium of circulation, when money is not just imaginary but must be present as a real thing side by side with other commodities, its material is irrelevant and its quantity becomes the crucial factor. Although whether it is a pound of gold, of silver or of copper is decisive for the standard measure, mere number makes the coin an adequate embodiment of any of these standard measures, quite irrespective of its own material. But it is at variance with common sense that in the case of purely imaginary money everything should depend on the physical substance, whereas in the case of the corporeal coin everything should depend on a numerical relation that is nominal.

The rise or fall of commodity prices corresponding to an increase or decrease in the volume of paper notes—the latter where paper notes are the sole medium of circulation—is accordingly merely a forcible assertion by the process of circulation of a law which was mechanically infringed by extraneous action; i.e. the law that the quantity of gold in circulation is determined by the prices of commodities and the volume of tokens of value in circulation is determined by the amount of gold currency which they replace in circulation. The circulation process will, on the other hand, absorb or as it were digest any number of paper notes, since, irrespective of the gold title borne by the token of value when entering circulation, it is compressed to a token of the quantity of gold which could circulate instead.

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[a] These words are missing in the original. Marx added them in his own copy.—*Ed.*

In the circulation of tokens of value all the laws governing the circulation of real money seem to be reversed and turned upside down. Gold circulates because it has value, whereas paper has value because it circulates. If the exchange value of commodities is given, the quantity of gold in circulation depends on its value, whereas the value of paper tokens depends on the number of tokens in circulation. The amount of gold in circulation increases or decreases with the rise or fall of commodity prices, whereas commodity prices seem to rise or fall with the changing amount of paper in circulation. The circulation of commodities can absorb only a certain quantity of gold currency, the alternating contraction and expansion of the volume of money in circulation manifesting itself accordingly as an inevitable law, whereas any amount of paper money seems to be absorbed by circulation. The State which issues coins even $^1/_{100}$ of a grain below standard weight debases gold and silver currency and therefore upsets its function as a medium of circulation, whereas the issue of worthless pieces of paper which have nothing in common with metal except the denomination of the coinage is a perfectly correct operation. The gold coin obviously represents the value of commodities only after the value has been assessed in terms of gold or expressed as a price, whereas the token of value seems to represent the value of commodities directly. It is thus evident that a person who restricts his studies of monetary circulation to an analysis of the circulation of paper money with a legal rate of exchange must misunderstand the inherent laws of monetary circulation. These laws indeed appear not only to be turned upside down in the circulation of tokens of value but even annulled; for the movements of paper money, when it is issued in the appropriate amount, are not characteristic of it as token of value, whereas its specific movements are due to infringements of its correct proportion to gold, and do not directly arise from the metamorphosis of commodities.

### 3. MONEY

*Money* as distinguished from coin is the result of the circuit $C—M—C$ and constitutes the starting point of the circuit $M—C—M$, that is the exchange of money for commodities so as to exchange commodities for money. In the form $C—M—C$ it is the commodity that is the beginning and the end of the transaction; in the form $M—C—M$ it is money. Money mediates

the exchange of commodities in the first circuit, the commodity mediates the evolution of money into money in the second circuit. Money, which serves solely as a medium in the first circuit, appears as the goal of circulation in the second, whereas the commodity, which was the goal in the first circuit, appears simply as a means in the second. Because money itself is already the result of the circuit *C—M—C*, the result of circulation appears to be also its point of departure in the form *M—C—M*. The exchange of material is the content of *C—M—C*, whereas the real content of the second circuit, *M—C—M*, is the commodity in the form in which it emerged from the first circuit.

In the formula *C—M—C* the two extremes are commodities of the same value, which are at the same time however qualitatively different use values. Their exchange, *C—C*, is real exchange of material. On the other hand, in the formula *M—C—M* both extremes are gold and moreover gold of the same value. But it seems absurd to exchange gold for commodities in order to exchange commodities for gold, or if one considers the final result *M—M*, to exchange gold for gold. But if one translates *M—C—M* into the formula—to *buy* in order to *sell*, which means simply to exchange gold for gold with the aid of an intermediate movement, one will immediately recognise the predominant form of bourgeois production. Nevertheless, in real life people do not buy in order to sell, but they buy at a low price in order to sell at a high price. They exchange money for commodities in order then to exchange these for a larger amount of money, so that the extremes *M, M* are quantitatively different, even if not qualitatively. This quantitative difference presupposes the *exchange of non-equivalents*, whereas commodities and money as such are merely antithetical forms of the commodity, in other words, different forms of existence of the same value. Money and commodity in the circuit *M—C—M* therefore imply more advanced relations of production, and within simple circulation the circuit is merely a reflection of movement of a more complex character. Hence money as distinct from the medium of circulation must be derived from *C—M—C*, the immediate form of commodity circulation.

Gold, i.e. the specific commodity which serves as standard of value and medium of circulation, becomes *money* without any special effort on the part of society. Silver has not become money in England, where it is neither the standard of value nor the predominant medium of circulation, similarly gold ceased to be money in Holland as soon as it was deposed from its position of

standard of value. In the first place, a commodity in which the functions of standard of value and medium of circulation are united accordingly becomes money, or the unity of standard of value and medium of circulation is money. But as such a unity gold in its turn possesses an independent existence which is distinct from these two functions. As the standard of value gold is merely nominal money and nominal gold; purely as a medium of circulation it is symbolic money and symbolic gold, but in its simple metallic corporeality gold is money or money is real gold.

Let us for a moment consider the commodity gold, that is money, in a state of rest and its relations with other commodities. All prices of commodities signify definite amounts of gold; they are thus merely notional gold or notional money, i.e. *symbols of gold*, just as, on the other hand, money considered as a token of value appeared to be merely a symbol of the prices of commodities.* Since all commodities are therefore merely notional money, money is the only real commodity. Gold is *the material aspect of abstract wealth* in contradistinction to commodities which only represent the independent form of exchange value, of universal social labour and of abstract wealth. So far as use value is concerned, each commodity represents only one element of physical wealth, only one separate facet of wealth, through its relation to a particular need. But money satisfies any need since it can be immediately turned into the object of any need. Its own use value is realised in the endless series of use values which constitute its equivalents. All the physical wealth evolved in the world of commodities is contained in a latent state in this solid piece of metal. Thus whereas the prices of commodities represent gold, the universal equivalent or abstract wealth, the use value of gold represents the use value of all commodities. Gold is, *therefore, the material symbol of physical wealth.* It is the *précis de toutes les choses*"[a] (Boisguillebert),[74] the compendium of social wealth. As regards its form, it is the direct incarnation of universal labour, and as regards its content the quintessence of all concrete labour. It is universal wealth in an individual form.** Functioning as a medium of circulation, gold suffered all manner of injuries, it was clipped and even reduced to a purely symbolical scrap of paper.

* "Not only are precious metals tokens of things ... but alternatively things ... are also tokens of gold and silver." A. Genovesi, *Lezioni di Economia Civile*, 1765, in Custodi, *Parte Moderna*, t. VIII, p. 281. [Marx quotes in Italian.]

** Petty: Gold and silver are "UNIVERSAL WEALTH". *Political Arithmetick*, p. 242.

[a] "Summary of all things."—*Ed.*

Its golden splendour is restored when it serves as money. The servant becomes the master.* The mere underling becomes the god of commodities.**

### *a. Hoarding*

Gold as money was in the first place divorced from the medium of circulation because the metamorphosis of the commodity was interrupted and the commodity remained in the form of a golden chrysalis. This happens whenever a sale is not immediately turned into a purchase. The fact that gold as money assumed an independent existence is thus above all a tangible expression of the separation of the process of circulation or of the metamorphosis of commodities into two discrete and separate transactions which exist side by side. The coin itself becomes money as soon as its movement is interrupted. In the hands of the seller who receives it in return for a commodity it is money, and not coin; but when it leaves his hands it becomes a coin once more. Everybody sells the particular commodity which he produces, but he buys all other commodities that he needs as a social being. How often he appears on the market as a seller depends on the labour time required to produce his commodity, whereas his appearance as a buyer is determined by the constant renewal of his vital requirements. In order to be able to buy without selling, he must have sold something without buying. The circuit $C—M—C$ is indeed the dynamic unity of sale and purchase only in so far as it

* E. Misselden, *Free Trade, Or, the Means to Make Trade Florish,* London, 1622. "The natural matter of Commerce is Merchandise, WHICH MERCHANTS FROM THE END OF TRADE HAVE STILED COMMODITIES. The artificial matter of commerce is money, which has obtained the title OF SINEWES OF WARRE AND OF STATE... Money, though it be in nature and time after merchandise, YET FOR AS MUCH AS IT IS NOW IN USE HAS BECOME THE CHIEFE" (p. 7). He compares the position of commodity and money with that of the descendents of "Old Jacob", who "blessing his Grandchildren, crost his hands, and laid his right hand on the younger, and his left hand on the elder" (l.c.).[75] Boisguillebert, *Dissertation sur la nature des richesses*: "Thus the slave of commerce has become its master.... The misery of the peoples is due to the fact that the slave has been turned into a master or rather into a tyrant" (pp. 395, 399). [Marx quotes in French.]

** Boisguillebert, l.c. "These metals (gold and silver) have been turned into an idol, and disregarding the goal and purpose they were intended to fulfil in commerce, i.e. to serve as pledge in exchange and reciprocal transfer, they were allowed to abandon this service almost entirely in order to be transformed into *divinities* to whom more goods, valuables and even human beings were sacrificed and continue to be sacrificed, than were ever sacrificed to the false divinities even in blind antiquity..." (p. 395). [Marx quotes in French.]

is simultaneously the continuous process of their separation. So that money as coin may flow continuously, coin must continuously congeal into money. The continual movement of coin implies its perpetual stagnation in larger or smaller amounts in reserve funds of coin which arise everywhere within the framework of circulation and which are at the same time a condition of circulation. The formation, distribution, dissolution and re-formation of these funds constantly changes; existing funds disappear continuously and their disappearance is a continuous fact. This unceasing transformation of coin into money and of money into coin was expressed by Adam Smith when he said that, in addition to the particular commodity he sells, every commodity owner must always keep in stock a certain amount of the general commodity with which he buys. We have seen that $M—C$, the second member of the circuit $C—M—C$, splits up into a series of purchases, which are not effected all at once but successively over a period of time, so that one part of $M$ circulates as coin, while the other part remains at rest as money. In this case, money is in fact only *suspended coin* and the various component parts of the coinage in circulation appear, constantly changing, now in one form, now in another. The first transformation of the medium of circulation into money constitutes therefore merely a technical aspect of the circulation of money.*

The first spontaneously evolved form of wealth consists of an overplus or excess of products, i.e. of the portion of products which are not directly required as use values, or else of the possession of products whose use value lies outside the range of mere necessity. When considering the transition from commodity to money, we saw that at a primitive stage of production it is this overplus or excess of products which really forms the sphere of commodity exchange. Superfluous products become exchangeable products or commodities. The adequate form of this surplus is

* *Boisguillebert* suspects that the first immobilisation of the *perpetuum mobile*, i.e. the negation of its function as the medium of circulation, will immediately render it independent in relation to commodities. Money, he says, must be "in continual movement, which is only the case so long as it is mobile, but as soon as it becomes immobile all is lost" (Boisguillebert, *Le détail de la France*, p. 213). [Marx quotes in French.] What he overlooks is that this inactivity is the prerequisite of its movement. What he actually wants is that the value form[a] of commodities should be a quite insignificant aspect of their metabolism, but should never become an end in itself.

[a] The original has "exchange value" instead of "value form"; changed in Marx's own copy.— *Ed.*

gold and silver, the first form in which wealth as abstract social wealth is kept. It is not only possible to store commodities in the form of gold and silver, i.e. in the material shape of money, but gold and silver constitute wealth in preserved form. Every use value fulfils its function while it is being consumed, that is destroyed, but the use value of gold as money is to represent exchange value, to be the embodiment of universal labour time as an amorphous raw material. As amorphous metal exchange value possesses an imperishable form. Gold or silver as money thus immobilised constitutes a *hoard.* In the case of nations with purely metallic currency, such as the ancients, hoarding becomes a universal practice extending from the individual to the State, which guards its State hoard. In Asia and Egypt, during their early period, these hoards were in the custody of kings and priests and served mainly as evidence of their power. In Greece and Rome the creation of State hoards became a principle of public policy, for excess wealth in this form is always safe and can be used at any moment. The rapid transfer of such hoards by conquerors from one country to another and their sudden effusion in part into the sphere of circulation are characteristics of the economy of antiquity.

As *objectified labour time* gold is a pledge for its own magnitude of value, and, since it is the embodiment of *universal* labour time, its continuous function as exchange value is vouched for by the process of circulation. The simple fact that the commodity owner is able to retain his commodities in the form of exchange value, or to retain the exchange value as commodities, makes the exchange of commodities, in order to recover them transformed into gold, the specific motive of circulation. The metamorphosis of commodities $C—M$ takes place for the sake of their metamorphosis, for the purpose of transforming particular physical wealth into general social wealth. Change of form—instead of exchange of matter—becomes an end in itself. Exchange value, which was merely a form, is turned into the content of the movement. Commodities remain wealth, that is commodities, only while they keep within the sphere of circulation, and they remain in this liquid state only in so far as they ossify into silver and gold. They remain liquid as the crystallisation of the process of circulation. But gold and silver establish themselves as money only in so far as they do not function as means of circulation. They become money as non-means of circulation.[a] The withdrawal of commodities from

[a] Underlined in Marx's own copy.—*Ed.*

circulation in the form of gold is thus the only means of keeping them continuously in circulation.

The owner of commodities can recover as money from circulation only as much as he put into it in the form of commodities. Looked at from the standpoint of the circulation of commodities, the first condition of hoarding is constant selling, the incessant throwing of commodities into circulation. On the other hand, money as a medium of circulation constantly disappears in the process of circulation itself, since it is all the time being realised in use values and dissolved in ephemeral enjoyments. It must, therefore, be withdrawn from the stream of circulation; in other words, commodities must be retained in the first stage of their metamorphosis in order to prevent money from functioning as means of purchase. The owner of commodities who has now become a hoarder of money must sell as much as possible and buy as little as possible, as even old Cato preached—*patrem familias vendacem, non emacem esse.*[a] Parsimony is the negative pre-condition of hoarding, just as industry is its positive pre-condition. The smaller the proportion that is withdrawn from circulation as an equivalent for the commodities [thrown into it] consisting of particular commodities or use values, the larger the proportion that consists of money or exchange value.* The appropriation of wealth in its general form therefore implies renunciation of the material reality of wealth. Hence the motive power of hoarding is *avarice,* which desires not commodities as use values, but exchange value as a commodity. So as to take possession of superfluous wealth in its general form, particular needs must be treated as luxuries and superfluities. For instance, in 1593 the Cortes sent a petition to Philip II, which among other matters contains the following passage:

"The Cortes of Valladolid requested Your Majesty in 1586 not to permit the further importation into this kingdom of candles, glassware, jewellery, knives and similar articles coming from abroad, which, though they are of no use to human life, have to be exchanged for gold, as though the Spaniards were *Indians.*"[b]

The hoarder of money scorns the worldly, temporal and ephemeral enjoyments in order to chase after the eternal treasure

* "The more the stock is increased in wares, the more it decreases IN TREASURE." E. Misselden, l.c., p. 23.

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[a] The head of the family should be eager to sell, not eager to buy. Cato the Elder, *De re rustica,* II, 7.—*Ed.*

[b] Sempéré, *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence de la monarchie espagnole,* Vol. I, pp. 275-76.—*Ed.*

which can be touched neither by moths nor by rust, and which is wholly celestial and wholly mundane.

In the above-quoted work Misselden writes:

"The general remote cause of our want of gold is the great excess of this Kingdom in consuming the commodities of foreign countries, which prove to us DISCOMMODITIES, rather than COMMODITIES, in hindering us of so much treasure, which otherwise would be brought in, in lieu of those toys. We consume amongst us a great abundance of the wines of Spain, of France, of the Rhine, of the Levant, the raisins of Spain, the corinths of the Levant, the lawns (a sort of fine linen) and cambrics of Hannault, the silks of Italy, the sugars and tobacco of the West Indies, the spices of the East Indies; all which are of *no necessity* unto us, and yet are bought with ready money." *

Wealth in the shape of gold and silver is imperishable because exchange value is represented by an indestructible metal and especially because gold and silver are prevented from functioning as means of circulation and thus from becoming a merely transient monetary aspect of commodities. The perishable content is thus sacrificed to the non-perishable form.

"Suppose that money by way of tax be taken from one who spends the same in superfluous eating and drinking, and delivered to another who employs the same in improving of land, in fishing, in working of mines, in manufacture or to one that bestows it on clothes; even in this case there is always an advantage to the Commonwealth, because clothes do not altogether perish so soon as meats and drinks. But if the same be spent in furniture of houses, the advantage is yet a little more; if in building of houses, yet more, etc.; but most of all, in bringing gold and silver into the country; because those things alone are not only not perishable, but are esteemed for wealth at all times, and everywhere; whereas all other things are wealth, but *pro hic et nunc*.[a]" **

An outward expression of the desire to withdraw money from the stream of circulation and to save it from the social exchange of matter is the *burying* of it, so that social wealth is turned into an imperishable subterranean hoard with an entirely furtive private relationship to the commodity owner. Doctor Bernier, who spent some time at Aurangzeb's court at Delhi, relates that merchants, especially non-Moslem heathens, in whose hands nearly the entire commerce and all money are concentrated—secretly bury their money deep in the ground,

"being held in thrall to the belief that the gold and silver they hide during their lifetime will serve them in the next world after their death".***

* E. Misselden, l.c., pp. 11-13 *passim.*

** Petty, *Political Arithmetick*, p. 196.

*** François Bernier, *Voyages contenant la description des états du Grand Mogol*, Paris edition of 1830, t. 1, cf. pp. 312-14.

[a] At a particular place and a particular time.—*Ed.*

Incidentally, in so far as the hoarder of money combines asceticism with assiduous diligence he is intrinsically a Protestant by religion and still more a Puritan.

"It cannot be denied that buying and selling are necessary practices, which cannot be dispensed with and may surely be used in a Christian manner, especially as regards things that serve necessity and honour; for thus the patriarchs also bought and sold cattle, wool, corn, butter, milk and other goods. These are gifts of God, which He produces from the soil and shares among men. But foreign trade, which brings merchandise from Calicut and India and other places—merchandise such as exquisite silks and jewellery and spices, which are only for ostentation and serve no need—and drains money from the country and the people, should not be permitted if we had a government and princes. But I do not want to write of this now, for I think that, eventually, when we have no more money, it will cease of itself, just as finery and gluttony; for all writing and preaching will be in vain until we are compelled by necessity and poverty." *

Even in advanced bourgeois societies hoards of money are buried at times of upheaval in the social exchange of matter. This is an attempt to save social cohesion—for the commodity owner this cohesion is represented by the commodity and the adequate embodiment of the commodity is money—in its compact form

* Doctor Martin Luther, *Bücher vom Kaufhandel und Wucher*, 1524. Luther writes in the same passage: "God has brought it about that we Germans must thrust our gold and silver into foreign countries making all the world rich while we ourselves remain beggars. England would surely have less gold if Germany refused to take her cloth, and the King of Portugal, too, would have less, if we refused to take his spices. If you calculate how much money is extracted, without need or cause, from the German territories during one fair at Frankfurt, you will wonder how it comes about that even a single farthing is still left in Germany. Frankfurt is the silver and gold drain through which everything that arises and grows, that is minted or struck here flows out of the German land; if the hole were plugged, one would not hear the present complaint that there is everywhere sheer debt and no money, that the entire country and all the towns are despoilt by usury. But never mind things will nevertheless continue in this way: we Germans have to remain Germans, we do not desist unless we have to" [pp. 4-5.]

In the above-quoted work *Misselden* wants gold and silver to be retained at all events within the bounds of Chirstendom: "The other foreign remote causes of the want of money, are the trades maintained out of Christendom to Turkey, Persia and the East Indies, which trades are maintained for the most part with ready money, yet in a different manner from the trades of Christendom within itself. For although the trades within Christendom are driven with ready monies, yet those monies are still contained and continued within the bounds of Christendom. There is indeed a fluxus and refluxus, a flood and ebb of the monies of Christendom traded within itself; for sometimes there is more in one part of Christendom, sometimes there is less in another, as one country wants and another abounds: It comes and goes, and whirls about the circle of Christendom, but is still contained within the compass thereof. But the money that is traded out of Christendom into the parts aforesaid is continually issued out and never returns again" [pp. 19-20].

from the social movement. The social *nervus rerum*[a] is buried alongside the body whose sinews they are.

If the hoard were not constantly in tension with circulation, it would now simply be a heap of useless metal, its monetary soul would have disappeared and nothing but burnt-out ashes of circulation, its *caput mortuum*,[b] would remain. Money, i.e. exchange value which has assumed an independent existence, is by nature the embodiment of abstract wealth; but, on the other hand, any given sum of money is a quantitatively finite magnitude of value. The quantitative delimitation of exchange value conflicts with its qualitative universality, and the hoarder regards the limitation as a restriction, which in fact becomes also a qualitative restriction, i.e. the hoard is turned into a merely limited representation of material wealth. Money as the universal equivalent may be directly expressed, as we have seen, in terms of an equation, in which it forms one side while the other side consists of an endless series of commodities. The degree in which the realisation of exchange value approaches such an infinite series, in other words, how far it corresponds to the concept of exchange value, depends on its magnitude. After all, movement of exchange value as such, as an automaton, can only be expansion of its quantitative limits. But in passing one set of quantitative limits of the hoard new restrictions are set up, which in turn must be abolished. What appears as a restriction is not a particular limit of the hoard, but any limitation of it. The formation of hoards therefore has no intrinsic limits, no bounds in itself, but is an unending process, each particular result of which provides an impulse for a new beginning. Although the hoard can only be increased by being preserved, on the other hand it can only be preserved by being increased.

Money is not just *an* object of the passion for enrichment, it is *the* object of it. This urge is essentially *auri sacra fames*.[c] The passion for enrichment by contrast with the urge to acquire particular material wealth, i.e. use values, such as clothes, jewellery, herds of cattle, etc., becomes possible only when general wealth as such is represented by a specific thing and can thus be retained as a particular commodity. Money therefore appears both as the object and the source of the desire for riches.* The

* "But from money first springs avarice ... this grows by stages into a kind of

[a] Literally: the nerve of things; figuratively: motive power of all things.—*Ed.*
[b] Worthless residue.—*Ed.*
[c] The accursed greed for gold (Virgil, *Aeneid*, III, 57).—*Ed.*

underlying reason is in fact that exchange value as such becomes the goal, and consequently also an expansion of exchange value. Avarice clings to the hoard and does not allow money to become a medium of circulation, but greed for gold preserves the monetary soul of the hoard and maintains it in constant tension with circulation.

The activity which amasses hoards is, on the one hand, the withdrawal of money from circulation by constantly repeated sales, and, on the other, simple piling up, *accumulation.* It is indeed only in the sphere of simple circulation, and specifically in the form of hoards, that accumulation of wealth as such takes place, whereas the other so-called forms of accumulation, as we shall see later, are quite improperly, and only by analogy with simple accumulation of money, regarded as accumulation. All other commodities are accumulated either as use values, and in this case the manner of their accumulation is determined by the specific features of their use value. Storing of corn, for example, requires special equipment; collecting sheep makes a person a shepherd; accumulation of slaves and land necessitates relations of domination and servitude, and so on. Unlike the simple act of piling up, the formation of stocks of particular types of wealth requires special methods and develops special traits in the individual. Or wealth in the shape of commodities may be accumulated as exchange value, and in this case accumulation becomes a commercial or specifically economic operation. The one concerned in it becomes a corn merchant, a cattle-dealer, and so forth. Gold and silver constitute money not as the result of any activity of the person who accumulates them, but as crystals of the process of circulation which takes place without his assistance. He need do nothing but put them aside, piling one lot upon another, a completely senseless activity, which if applied to any other commodity would result in its devaluation.*

madness, no longer merely avarice but a positive hunger for gold." (Plinius, *Historia naturalis*, l. XXXIII, c. III.) [The English translation is from Pliny, *Natural History*, Vol. IX, Book XXXIII, pp. 39-49, London, 1952.] [Marx quotes in Latin.]

* Horace, therefore, knows nothing of the philosophy of hoarding treasures, when he says (*Satir.*, l. II, Satir. 3): "If a man were to buy harps, and soon as bought were to pile them together, though feeling no interest in the harp or any Muse; if, though no cobbler, he did the same with shoes, knives and lasts; with ships' sails, though set against a trader's life—everyone would call him crazy and mad, and rightly too. How differs from these the man who hoards up silver and gold, though he knows not how to use his store, and fears to touch it as though hallowed?" [Horace, *Satires, Epistles, Ars Poetica*, London, 1942, p. 163.] [Marx quotes in Latin.]

Our hoarder is a martyr to exchange value, a holy ascetic seated at the top of a metal column. He cares for wealth only in its social form, and accordingly he hides it away from society. He wants commodities in a form in which they can always circulate and he therefore withdraws them from circulation. He adores exchange value and he consequently refrains from exchange. The liquid form of wealth and its petrification, the elixir of life and the philosophers' stone are wildly mixed together like an alchemist's apparitions. His imaginary boundless thirst for enjoyment causes him to renouce all enjoyment. Because he desires to satisfy all social requirements, he scarcely satisfies the most urgent physical wants. While clinging to wealth in its metallic corporeality the hoarder reduces it to a mere chimera. But the accumulation of money for the sake of money is in fact the barbaric form of production for the sake of production, i.e. the development of the productive powers of social labour beyond the limits of customary requirements. The less advanced is the production of commodities, the more important is hoarding—the first form in which exchange value assumes an independent existence as money—and it therefore plays an important role among ancient nations, in Asia up to now, and among contemporary agrarian nations, where exchange value has not yet penetrated all relations of production. Before, however, examining the specific economic function that hoarding fulfils in relation to metallic currency, let us note another form of hoarding.

Gold and silver articles, quite irrespective of their aesthetic properties, can be turned into money, since the material of which they consist is the material of money, just as gold coins and gold bars can be transformed into such articles. Since gold and silver are the material of abstract wealth, their employment as concrete use values is the most striking manifestation of wealth, and although at certain stages of production the commodity owner hides his treasures, he is impelled to show to other commodity

Mr. *Senior* knows more about the subject:

"Money seems to be the only object for which the desire is universal; and it is so, because money is *abstract wealth.* Its possessor may satisfy at will his requirements whatever they may be." *Principes fondamentaux de l'économie politique,* traduit par le Comte Jean Arrivabene, Paris, 1836, p. 221. [Marx quotes in French. The English passage is taken from Senior, *Political Economy,* 1850, p. 27.] And *Storch* as well: "As money represents all other forms of wealth, one needs only to accumulate it in order to obtain all other kinds of wealth that exist on earth" (l.c., t. II, p. 135).

owners that he is a *rico hombre*,[a] whenever he can safely do so. He bedecks himself and his house with gold.* In Asia, and India in particular, where the formation of hoards does not play a subordinate part in the total mechanism of production, as it does in bourgeois economy, but where this form of wealth is still considered a final goal, gold and silver articles are in fact merely hoards in an aesthetic form. The law in mediaeval England treated gold and silver articles simply as a kind of treasure-hoard, since the rough labour applied to them added little to their value. They were intended to be thrown again into circulation and the fineness of the metal of which they were made was therefore specified in the same way as that of coin. The fact that increasing wealth leads to an increased use of gold and silver in the form of luxury articles is such a simple matter that ancient thinkers clearly understood it,** whereas modern economists put forward the incorrect proposition that the use of silver and gold articles increases not in proportion to the rise in wealth but in proportion to the fall in the value of precious metals. There is therefore always a flaw in their otherwise accurate explanations regarding the use of Californian and Australian gold, for according to their views the increased employment of gold as raw material is not justified by a corresponding fall in its value. As a result of the fight between the American colonies and Spain[76] and the interruption of mining by revolutions, the average annual output of precious metals decreased by more than one-half between 1810 and 1830. The amount of coin circulating in Europe decreased by almost one-sixth in 1829 as compared with 1809. Although the output thus decreased and the production costs (provided they changed at all) increased, nevertheless an exceptionally rapid rise in the use of precious metals as articles of luxury took place in England even during the war and on the continent following the Treaty of Paris.[70] Their use increased with the growth of wealth in general.*** It may be regarded as a general law that the conversion

* How little the inner man of the individual owner of commodities has changed even when he has become civilised and turned into a capitalist is for instance proved by a London representative of an international banking house who displayed a framed £100,000 note as an appropriate family coat of arms. The point in this case is the derisory and supercilious air with which the note looks down upon circulation.

** See the passage from Xenophon quoted later.

*** Jacob, l.c., Vol. II, ch. 25 and 26.

[a] Rich man.—*Ed.*

of gold and silver coin into luxury goods predominates in times of peace, while their reconversion into bars and also into coin only predominates in turbulent periods.* How considerable a proportion of the gold and silver stock exists in the shape of luxury articles compared with the amount used as money is shown by the fact that in 1829, according to Jacob, the ratio was as 2 to 1 in England, while in Europe as a whole and America, 25 per cent more precious metal was used in luxury goods than in coins.

We have seen that the circulation of money is merely a manifestation of the metamorphosis of commodities, or of the transformation which accompanies the social exchange of matter. The total quantity of money in circulation must therefore perpetually increase or decrease in accordance with the varying aggregate price of the commodities in circulation, that is in accordance, on the one hand, with the volume of their metamorphoses which take place simultaneously and, on the other hand, with the prevailing velocity of their transformation. This is only possible provided that the proportion of money in circulation to the total amount of money in a given country varies continuously. Thanks to the formation of hoards this condition is fulfilled. If prices fall or the velocity of circulation increases, then the money ejected from the sphere of circulation is absorbed by the reservoirs of hoarders; if prices rise or the velocity of circulation decreases, then these hoards open and a part of them streams back into circulation. The solidification of circulating money into hoards and the flowing of the hoards into circulation is a continuously changing and oscillating movement, and the prevalence of the one or the other trend is solely determined by variations in the circulation of commodities. The hoards thus act as channels for the supply or withdrawal of circulating money, so that the amount of money circulating as coin is always just adequate to the immediate requirements of circulation. If the total volume of circulation suddenly expands and the fluid unity of sale and purchase predominates, so that the total amount of prices to be realised grows even faster than does the velocity of circulation of money, then the hoards dwindle visibly; whenever an abnormal stagnation prevails in the movement as a whole, that is when the separation of sale from purchase predominates, then the medium

* "In times of great agitation and insecurity, especially during internal commotions or invasions, gold and silver articles are rapidly converted into money; whilst, during periods of tranquillity and prosperity, money is converted into plate and jewellery" (l.c., Vol. II, p. 357). [Marx quotes in English.]

of circulation solidifies into money to a remarkable extent and the reservoirs of the hoarders are filled far above their average level. In countries which have purely metallic currency or are at an early stage of development of production, hoards are extremely fragmented and scattered throughout the country, whereas in advanced bourgeois countries they are concentrated in the reservoirs of banks. Hoards must not be confused with reserve funds of coin, which form a constituent element of the total amount of money always in circulation, whereas the active relation of hoard and medium of circulation presupposes that the total amount of money decreases or increases. As we have seen, gold and silver articles also act both as channels for the withdrawal of precious metals and latent sources of supply. Under ordinary circumstances only the former function plays an important role in the economy of metallic currency.*

### *b. Means of Payment*

Up to now two forms of money which differ from the medium of circulation have been considered, namely *suspended coin* and *hoard.* The first form, the temporary transformation of coins into money, reflects the fact that in a certain sphere of circulation, the second term of *C—M—C,* that is *M—C,* the purchase, must

* In the following passage *Xenophon* discusses money and hoard, two specific and distinct aspects of money: "Of all operations with which I am acquainted, this is the only one in which no sort of jealousy is felt at a further development of the industry ... the larger the quantity of ore discovered and the greater the amount of silver extracted, the greater the number of persons ready to engage in the operation.... No one when he has got sufficient furniture for his house dreams of making further purchases on this head, but of silver no one ever yet possessed so much that he was forced to cry 'Enough'. On the contrary, if ever anybody does become possessed of an immoderate amount he finds as much pleasure in digging a hole in the ground and hoarding it as an actual employment of it.... When a state is prosperous there is nothing which people so much desire as silver. The men want money to expend on beautiful armour and fine horses, and houses and sumptuous paraphernalia of all sorts. The women betake themselves to expensive apparel and ornaments of gold. Or when states are sick, either through barrenness of corn and other fruits, or through war, the demand for current coin is even more imperative (whilst the ground lies unproductive), to pay for necessaries or military aid." (Xenophon, *De Vectigalibus,* c. IV [transl. by H. G. Dakyns, London, 1892, Vol. II, pp. 335-36].) [Marx quotes in Greek.] In Ch. 9, Book I of his *De Republica,* Aristotle sets forth the two circuits of circulation C—M—C and *M—C—M,* which he calls "economics" and "Chrematistics", and their differences. The two forms under the names δίκη and κέρδος are contrasted with each other by the Greek tragedians, especially Euripides.

break up into a series of successive purchases. Hoarding, however, is either simply due to the separation of the transaction *C—M* which does not proceed to *M—C,* or it is merely an independent development of the first metamorphosis of commodities, money, or the alienated form of existence of all commodities as distinct from means of circulation, which represents the always saleable form of the commodity. Coin held in reserve and hoards constitute money only as non-means of circulation, and are non-means of circulation merely because they do not circulate. The distinctive form of money which we now consider circulates or enters circulation, but does not function as means of circulation. Money as means of circulation was always means of purchase, but now it does not serve in that capacity.

When as a result of hoarding money becomes the embodiment of abstract social wealth and the material representative of physical wealth, this aspect of money acquires specific functions within the process of circulation. When money circulates simply as a means of circulation and hence as a means of purchase, this presupposes that commodity and money confront each other simultaneously; in other words, that the same value is available twice, as a commodity in the hands of the seller at one pole, and as money in the hands of the buyer at the other pole. The simultaneous existence of the two equivalents at opposite poles and their simultaneous change of place, or their mutual alienation, presupposes in its turn that seller and buyer enter into relation with each other only as owners of actually existing equivalents. But the metamorphosis of commodities, in the course of which the various distinct forms of money are evolved, transforms the commodity owners as well or alters the social role they play in relation to one another. In the course of the metamorphosis of commodities the keeper of commodities changes his skin as often as the commodity undergoes a change or as money appears in a new form. Commodity owners thus faced each other originally simply as commodity owners; then one of them became a seller, the other a buyer; then each became alternately buyer and seller; then they became hoarders and finally rich men. Commodity owners emerging from the process of circulation are accordingly different from those entering the process. The different forms which money assumes in the process of circulation are in fact only crystallisations of the transformation of commodities, a transformation which is in its turn only the objective expression of the changing social relations in which commodity owners conduct their exchange. New relations of intercourse arise in the process of circulation, and commodity

owners, who represent these changed relations, acquire new economic characteristics. In the same way as within the sphere of internal circulation money becomes nominal, and a mere piece of paper representing gold is able to function as money, so a buyer or seller who comes forward as a mere representative of money or commodities, namely one who represents future money or future commodities, is enabled by the same process to operate as a real buyer or seller.

All the distinct forms evolved by gold as money are merely manifestations of aspects latent in the metamorphosis of commodities, but these aspects did not assume a separate form in the simple circulation of money, in money as it appears as coin and the circuit *C—M—C* as a dynamic unity, or else they emerged merely as potentialities, as did for example the interruption of the metamorphosis of commodities. We have seen that in the course of the transaction *C—M* the commodity as a real use value and nominal exchange value is brought into relation with money as a real exchange value and only nominal use value. By alienating the commodity as use value the seller realises its exchange value and the use value of money. In contrast, by alienating money as exchange value, the buyer realises its use value and the price of the commodity. Commodity and money, accordingly, change places. The active process of this bilateral polar antithesis is in its turn separated while it is being carried through. The seller actually alienates the commodity but realises its price in the first place only nominally. He has sold the commodity at its price, but the price will only be realised at a predetermined later date. The buyer buys as the representative of future money, whereas the seller sells as the owner of a commodity available here and now. On the one hand, the seller actually hands over the commodity as use value without actually realising its price; on the other hand, the buyer actually realises his money in the use value of the commodity without actually handing over the money as exchange value. Just as formerly money was represented by a token of value, so now it is symbolically represented by the buyer himself. Just as formerly the value-token as a universal symbol entailed a State guarantee and a legal rate, so now the buyer as a personal symbol gives rise to private, legally enforcible, contracts among commodity owners.

Conversely, in the transaction *M—C,* money as a real means of purchase may be alienated, thus realising the price of the commodity before the use value of the money is realised, or before the commodity is handed over. This happens, for instance,

in the well-known form of advance-payment; also in the form of payment used by the English government to buy opium from Indian ryots, and is largely used by foreign merchants living in Russia to buy goods produced in that country. In these cases, however, money functions only in the familiar form of means of purchase and therefore requires no new definition,* or any further discussion. With regard to the changed form which the two transactions *M—C* and *C—M* assume here, we shall only note that the purely conceptual distinction of purchase and sale as it appears directly in circulation becomes now a real distinction, since there is only money in one case and only commodity in the other; in each of them, however, only the extreme is actually available from which the initiative comes. Both forms, moreover, have in common the fact that in each of them one equivalent exists only by common decision of buyer and seller, a decision which is mutually binding and is given a distinct legal form.

Seller and buyer become creditor and debtor. Whereas the commodity owner as the guardian of a hoard was a rather comical figure, he now becomes terrifying, because he regards, not himself, but his neighbour as the embodiment of a definite sum of money, and turns his neighbour and not himself into a martyr to exchange value. The former believer becomes a creditor,[a] and turns from religion to jurisprudence.

"I STAY HERE ON MY BOND!"[b]

In the changed form of *C—M,* in which the commodity is actually on hand and the money is merely represented, money functions first as the measure of value. The exchange value of the commodity is assessed in money as its measure, but the exchange value assessed by contract, that is the price, exists not merely in the mind of the seller, but is also the measure of the liabilities of the buyer. Secondly, money functions here as means of purchase, although it is merely its future existence which casts its shadow before it, for it causes the commodity to move from the hands of the seller into those of the buyer. On the settlement day of the

* Of course capital, too, is advanced in the form of money and it is possible that the money advanced is capital advanced, but this aspect does not lie within the scope of simple circulation.

[a] In German a pun on the words "der Gläubige", the believer, and "der Gläubiger", the creditor.— *Ed.*

[b] Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice,* Act IV, Scene 1.— *Ed.*

contract, money enters circulation, for it moves from the hands of the former buyer into those of the former seller. But it does not come into the sphere of circulation as means of circulation or means of purchase. It fulfilled these functions before it existed, and it appears on the scene after ceasing to perform these functions. It enters circulation as the only adequate equivalent of the commodity, as the absolute embodiment of exchange value, as the last word of the exchange process, in short as money, and moreover as money functioning as the *universal means of payment*. Money functioning as means of payment appears to be the absolute commodity, but it remains within the sphere of circulation, not outside it as with the hoard. The difference between means of purchase and means of payment becomes very conspicuous, and unpleasantly so, at times of commercial crises.*

The conversion of products into money in the sphere of circulation appears originally simply as an individual necessity for the commodity owner when his own product does not constitute use value for himself, but has still to become a use value through alienation. In order to make payment on the contractual settlement day, however, he must already have sold commodities. The evolution of the circulation process thus turns selling into a social necessity for him, quite irrespective of his individual needs. As a former buyer of commodities he is forced to become a seller of other commodities so as to obtain money, not as a means of purchase, but as a means of payment, as the absolute form of exchange value. The conversion of commodities into money as a final act, or the first metamorphosis of commodities as the ultimate goal, which in hoarding appeared to be the whim of the commodity owner, has now become an economic function. The motive and the content of selling for the sake of payment constitutes the content of the circulation process, a content arising from its very form.

In this type of sale, the commodity moves from one position to another, although its first metamorphosis, its conversion into money, is deferred. On the buyer's side, however, the second metamorphosis is carried through, i.e. money is reconverted into commodities, before the first metamorphosis has taken place, i.e. before the conversion of the commodities into money. In this case, therefore, the first metamorphosis appears to take place later than

* Luther emphasises the distinction which exists between means of purchase and means of payment. [Note in author's copy.]

the second. Hence money, the form of the commodity in its first metamorphosis, acquires a new distinctive aspect. Money, that is the independent development of exchange value, is no longer an intermediary phase of commodity circulation, but its final result.

No proof in detail is needed to show that such *purchases on credit,* in which the two poles of the transaction are separated in time, evolve spontaneously on the basis of simple circulation of commodities. At first it happens that in the course of circulation certain commodity owners confront one another repeatedly as buyers and sellers. Such repeated occurrences do not remain merely accidental, but commodities may, for example, be ordered for a future date at which they are to be delivered and paid for. The sale in this case takes place only nominally, i.e. juridically, without the actual presence of commodities and money. The two forms of money, means of circulation and means of payment, are here still identical, since on the one hand commodities and money change places simultaneously, and on the other, money does not purchase commodities but realises the price of commodities previously sold. Moreover, owing to the specific nature of a number of use values they are really alienated not by being in fact handed over but only by being leased for a definite period. For example, when one sells the use of a house for a month, its use value is delivered only at the expiration of the month, although the house changes hands at the beginning of the month. Because in this case the actual transfer of the use value and its real alienation are separated in time, the realisation of its price also takes place later than the date on which it changes hands. Finally, owing to differences in the period and length of time required for the production of different commodities, one producer comes to the market as a seller before the other can act as a buyer, and if the same commodity owners repeatedly buy and sell one another's products, the two aspects of the transaction are separated according to the conditions of production of their commodities. This gives rise to relations of creditor and debtor among commodity owners. These relations can be fully developed even before the credit system comes into being, although they are the natural basis of the latter. It is evident however that the evolution of the credit system, and therefore of the bourgeois mode of production in general, causes money to function increasingly as a means of payment to the detriment of its function both as a means of purchase and even more as an element of hoarding. For instance in England, coin is almost entirely confined to the sphere of retail trade and to petty transactions between producers and

consumers, whereas money as means of payment predominates in the sphere of large commercial transactions.*

Money as the universal means of payment becomes the *universal commodity* of contracts, though at first only within the sphere of commodity circulation.** But as this function of money develops, all other forms of payment are gradually converted into payments in money. The extent to which money functions as the exclusive means of payment indicates how deep-seated and widespread the domination of production by exchange value is.***

The volume of money in circulation as means of payment is first of all determined by the amount of payments due, that is by the aggregate prices of the commodities which have been sold, not of the commodities that are to be sold as is the case with simple money circulation. But the amount thus determined is subject to modification by two factors: first by the velocity with which a coin repeats the same operation, or the number of payments which constitute a dynamic chain of payments. A pays B, then B pays C

* Despite Mr. Macleod's doctrinaire priggishness about definitions, he misinterprets the most elementary economic relations to such an extent that he asserts that money in general arises from its most advanced form, that is means of payment. He says *inter alia* that since people do not always require each other's services at the same time and to the same value, "there would remain a certain difference or amount of service due from the first to the second—debt". [Here and below Marx quotes from Macleod in English. The owner of this debt may need the services of a third person who does not immediately require his services, and "transfers to the third the debt due to him from the first". The "evidence of debts changes so hands—currency. ...when a person received an obligation expressed by metallic currency, he is able to command the services not only of the original debtor, but of the whole of the industrious community." [H. D.] Macleod, *The Theory and Practice of Banking etc.*, Vol. I, London, 1855, Ch. I [pp. 23, 24, 29].

** Bailey, l.c., p. 3. "Money is the general commodity of contracts, or that in which the majority of bargains about property, to be completed at a future time, are made." [Marx quotes in English.]

*** Senior (l.c., pp. 116, 117) says: "Since the value of all things varies in a given period of time, one takes as means of payment the thing whose value varies least, which over the longest period maintains a given average capacity to purchase things. So money becomes the expression or representative of values." On the contrary, gold, silver, etc., become universal means of payment, because they have become money, that is the independent embodiment of exchange value. It is precisely when the stability of the value of money, mentioned by Mr. Senior, is taken into account, i.e. in periods when force of circumstances establishes money as the universal means of payment, that people become aware of variations in the value of money. Such a period was the Elizabethan age in England, when, because of the manifest depreciation of the precious metals, an Act was shepherded through Parliament by Lord Burleigh and Sir Thomas Smith to compel the universities of Oxford and Cambridge to provide for the payment of one-third of the rent of their lands in wheat and malt.

and so on. The velocity with which the same coin can act repeatedly as means of payment depends, on the one hand, on the interconnection of the commodity owners' relations as creditors and debtors, in which the same commodity owner who is a creditor in relation to one person is a debtor in relation to another, and so forth; and on the other hand, on the period of time separating the various dates on which payments are due. The series of payments, or of first metamorphoses carried out subsequently, is qualitatively different from the series of metamorphoses represented by the movement of money as means of circulation. The second series does not only appear in temporal succession, but it *comes into being* in this way. A commodity is turned into money, then into a commodity again, thus making it possible for another commodity to be turned into money, and so on: in other words, a seller becomes a buyer and another commodity owner thereby becomes a seller. This sequence arises fortuitously in the course of commodity exchange itself. But the fact that the money which A pays to B is then used by B to pay C, and then by C to pay D, etc., and that moreover payments rapidly succeed one another—this external relation is but a manifestation of a previously existing social relation. The same coin passes through various hands not because it acts as means of payment; but it is passed on as means of payment because these hands have already been joined. A far more extensive integration of the individual into the process of circulation is accordingly signified by the velocity of money as means of payment, than by the velocity of money as coin or means of purchase.

The aggregate of prices of simultaneous, and therefore spatially coexisting, purchases and sales is the limit beyond which the velocity of currency cannot be substituted for its volume. But this barrier does not exist when money functions as means of payment. If payments falling due simultaneously are concentrated at one place, which occurs at first spontaneously at the large foci of commodity circulation, then payments offset one another like negative and positive quantities: A who has to pay B may receive a payment from C at the same time, and so on. The amount of money required as means of payment thus depends not on the aggregate amount of payments which are due to be made simultaneously, but on the degree of their concentration and on the size of the balance left over after the negative and positive amounts have been offset against one another. Special devices for this type of balancing arise even if no credit system has been evolved, as was the case in ancient Rome. But consideration of

them is no more relevant here than is consideration of the usual settlement dates, which in every country become established among people of certain social strata. Here we shall merely note that scholarly investigations of the specific influence exerted by these dates on the periodic variations in the quantity of money in circulation have been undertaken only in recent times.

When payments cancel one another as positive and negative quantities, no money need actually appear on the scene. Here money functions merely as measure of value with respect to both the price of the commodity and the size of mutual obligations. Apart from its nominal existence, exchange value does not therefore acquire an independent existence in this case, even in the shape of a token of value, in other words money becomes purely ideal money of account. Money functioning as means of payment thus contains a contradiction: on the one hand, when payments balance, it acts merely as a nominal measure; on the other hand, when actual payments have to be made, money enters circulation not as a transient means of circulation, but as the static aspect of the universal equivalent, as the absolute commodity, in short, as money. Where chains of payments and an artificial system for adjusting them have been developed, any upheaval that forcibly interrupts the flow of payments and upsets the mechanism for balancing them against one another suddenly turns money from the nebulous chimerical form it assumed as measure of value into hard cash or means of payment. Under conditions of advanced bourgeois production, when the commodity owner has long since become a capitalist, knows his Adam Smith and smiles superciliously at the superstition that only gold and silver constitute money or that money is after all the absolute commodity as distinct from other commodities—money then suddenly appears not as the medium of circulation but once more as the only adequate form of exchange value, as a unique form of wealth just as it is regarded by the hoarder. The fact that money is the sole incarnation of wealth manifests itself in the actual devaluation and worthlessness of all physical wealth, and not in purely imaginary devaluation as for instance in the monetary system. This particular phase of world market crises is known as monetary crisis. The *summum bonum*, the sole form of wealth for which people clamour at such times, is money, hard cash, and compared with it all other commodities—just because they are use values—appear to be useless, mere baubles and toys, or as our Doctor Martin Luther says, mere finery and gluttony. This sudden transformation of the credit system into a monetary system adds theoretical dismay

to the actually existing panic, and the agents of the circulation process are overawed by the impenetrable mystery surrounding their own relations.*

Payments in their turn necessitate reserve funds, accumulations of money as means of payment. The formation of reserve funds, unlike hoarding, no longer seems an activity extraneous to circulation, or, as in the case of coin reserves, a purely technical stagnation of coin; on the contrary money has to be gradually accumulated so as to be available at definite dates in the future when payments become due. Although with the development of bourgeois production, therefore, the abstract form of hoarding regarded as enrichment decreases, the form of hoarding necessitated by the exchange process itself increases; a part of the wealth which generally accumulates in the sphere of commodity circulation being drawn into reserve funds of means of payment. The more advanced is bourgeois production the more these funds are restricted to the indispensable minimum. Locke's work on the lowering of the rate of interest** contains interesting information about the size of these funds in his time. It shows how substantial a proportion of the money in circulation in England was absorbed by the reserves of means of payment precisely during the period when banking began to develop.

The law regarding the quantity of money in circulation as it emerged from the examination of simple circulation of money is significantly modified by the circulation of means of payment. If the velocity of circulation of money, both as means of circulation and as means of payment, is given, then the aggregate amount of money in circulation during a particular period is determined by the total amount of commodity prices to be realised [plus] the total amount of payments falling due during this period minus the payments that balance one another. This does not affect at all the general principle that the amount of money in circulation depends

* *Boisguillebert*, who wishes to prevent bourgeois relations of production from being pitted against the bourgeoisie themselves, prefers to consider those forms of money in which money appears as a purely nominal or transitory phenomenon. Previously he regarded means of circulation from this point of view and now means of payment. He fails to notice, however, the sudden transformation of the nominal form of money into external reality, and the fact that even the purely conceptual measure of value latently contains hard cash. Boisguillebert says, wholesale trade—in which, after "the appraisal of the commodities" [Marx quotes in French], exchange is accomplished without the intervention of money—shows that money is simply an aspect of the commodities themselves. *Le détail de la France*, p. 210.

** Locke, *Some Considerations on the Lowering of Interest*, pp. 17, 18.

upon commodity prices, for the aggregate amount of payments is itself determined by the prices laid down in the contracts. It is however quite obvious that the aggregate prices of the commodities in circulation during a definite period, say a day, are by no means commensurate with the volume of money in circulation on the same day, even if the velocity of circulation and the economic methods of payment are assumed to remain unchanged, since a certain quantity of commodities is in circulation whose prices will only be realised in money at a later date, and a certain amount of money in circulation corresponds to commodities which have left the sphere of circulation a long time ago. This amount of money depends in its turn on the value of the payments that fall due on this day, although the relevant contracts were concluded at widely varying dates.

We have seen that changes in the value of gold and silver do not affect their functions as measure of value and money of account. But with regard to hoarded money these changes are of decisive importance, since with the rise or fall in the value of gold and silver the value of the hoard of gold or silver will rise or fall. Such changes are of even greater importance for money as means of payment. The payment is effected at a date subsequent to the sale of the commodities; that is to say, money performs two different functions at two different periods, acting first as a measure of value, and then as the means of payment appropriate to this measure. If meanwhile a change has occurred in the value of the precious metals, or in the labour time needed for their production, the same quantity of gold or silver will have a greater or smaller value when it functions as means of payment than at the time it served as measure of value, when the contract was signed. The function which a specific commodity, such as gold or silver, performs as money, or as exchange value that has assumed an independent form, comes here into conflict with the nature of the specific commodity, whose value depends on variations in its production costs. It is well known that the fall in the value of precious metals in Europe gave rise to a great social revolution, just as the ancient Roman Republic at an early stage of its history experienced a reverse revolution caused by a rise in the value of copper, the metal in which the debts of the plebeians were contracted. Even without further examination of the influence which fluctuations in the value of precious metals exert on the system of bourgeois economy, it is clear that a fall in the value of precious metals favours debtors at the expense of creditors, while a rise in their value favours creditors at the expense of debtors.

### *c. World Money*

Gold becomes money, as distinct from coin, first by being withdrawn from circulation and hoarded, then by entering circulation as a non-means of circulation, finally however by breaking through the barriers of domestic circulation in oder to function as universal equivalent in the world of commodities. It thus becomes *world money.*

In the same way as originally the commonly used weights of precious metals served as measures of value, so on the world market the monetary denominations are reconverted into corresponding denominations of weight. Just as amorphous crude metal (*aes rude*) was the original form of means of circulation, and originally the coined form was simply the official indication of metallic weight, so precious metal serving as world coin discards its specific shape and imprint and reverts to neutral bullion form; that is when national coins, such as Russian imperials, Mexican thalers and English sovereigns, circulate abroad their titles become unimportant and what counts is only their substance. Finally, as international money the precious metals once again fulfil their original function of means of exchange: a function which, like commodity exchange itself, originated at points of contact between different primitive communities and not in the interior of the communities. Money functioning as world money reverts to its original natural form. When it leaves domestic circulation, money sheds the particular forms occasioned by the development of exchange within particular areas, or the local forms assumed by money as measure of price—specie, small change, and token of value.

We have seen that only one commodity serves as a measure of value in the internal circulation of any country. But since in one country gold performs this function, in another silver, a double standard of value is recognised on the world market, and all functions of money are duplicated. The translation of the values of commodities from gold prices into silver prices and vice versa always depends on the relative value of the two metals; this relative value varying continuously and its determination appearing accordingly as a continuous process. Commodity owners in every sphere of domestic circulation are compelled to use gold and silver alternately for foreign commerce thus exchanging the metal current as money within the country for the metal which they happen to require as money in a foreign country. Every nation thus employs both gold and silver as world money.

Gold and silver in the sphere of international commodity circulation appear not as means of circulation but as *universal means of exchange.* The universal means of exchange acts however merely as *means of purchase* and *means of payment,* two forms which we have already described, but their relations are reversed on the world market. When in the sphere of internal circulation money was used as coin, i.e. as the intermediary link in the dynamic unity $C—M—C$ or as the merely transitory form of exchange value during the perpetual motion of commodities—it functioned exclusively as means of purchase. The reverse is the case on the world market. Here gold and silver act as means of purchase if the interchange is only unilateral and therefore purchase and sale are separated. For example, the border trade at Kyakhta is in fact and according to treaty stipulations[77] barter, in which silver is only used as a measure of value. The war of 1857-58[78] induced the Chinese to sell without buying. Thereupon silver suddenly appeared as means of purchase. In deference to the letter of the treaty, the Russians turned French five-franc coins into crude silver articles which were used as means of exchange. Silver has always served as means of purchase for Europe and America, on the one side, and Asia, where it congeals into hoards, on the other. Precious metals, moreover, serve as international means of purchase when the usual equilibrium in the interchange of products between two nations is suddenly disturbed, e.g. when a bad harvest compels one of them to buy on an extraordinary scale. Precious metals, finally, are used as international means of purchase by the gold and silver producing countries, where they are direct products and also commodities, and not a converted form of commodities. With the development of commodity exchange between different national spheres of circulation, the function which world money fulfils as *means of payment* for settling international balances develops also.

International circulation, like domestic circulation, requires a constantly changing amount of gold and silver. Part of the accumulated hoards is consequently used by every nation as a reserve fund of world money, a fund which is sometimes diminished, sometimes replenished according to fluctuations in commodity exchange.* In addition to particular movements of

* "The accumulated money is added to the sum which, to be really in circulation and satisfy the possibilities of trade, departs and *leaves the sphere of circulation itself*" (G. R. Carli, Note on Verri's *Meditazioni sulla Economia Politica,* Vol. XV, p. 162, Custodi, l.c.). [Marx quotes in Italian.]

world money which flows backwards and forwards between national[a] spheres of circulation, there is a general movement of world money; the points of departure being the sources of production, from which gold and silver flow in various directions to all the markets of the world. Thus gold and silver as commodities enter the sphere of world circulation and in proportion to the labour time contained in them they are exchanged for commodity equivalents before reaching the area of domestic circulation. They accordingly already have a definite value when they turn up in these areas. Their relative value on the world market is therefore uniformly affected by every fall or rise in their production costs and is quite independent of the degree to which gold or silver is absorbed by the various national spheres of circulation. One branch of the stream of metal which is caught up in a particular area of the world of commodities immediately enters the domestic circulation of money as replacement of worn-out coins; another is diverted into various reservoirs where coin, means of payment and world money accumulate; a third is used to make luxury articles and the rest, finally, is turned simply into hoards. Where the bourgeois mode of production has reached an advanced stage the formation of hoards is reduced to the minimum needed by the different branches of the circulation process for the free action of their mechanism. Under these conditions hoards as such consist only of wealth lying idle, unless they represent a temporary surplus in the balance of payments, the result of an interruption in the interchange of products and therefore commodities congealed in their first metamorphosis.

Just as in theory gold and silver as money are universal commodities, so world money is the appropriate form of existence of the universal commodity. In the same proportion as all commodities are exchanged for gold and silver these become the transmuted form of all commodities and hence universally exchangeable commodities. They are realised as embodiments of universal labour time in the degree that the interchange of the products of concrete labour becomes world-wide. They become universal equivalents in proportion to the development of the series of particular equivalents which constitute their spheres of exchange. Because the exchange value of commodities is universally developed in international circulation, it appears transformed into gold and silver as world money. Since as a result of their versatile industry and all-embracing commerce the nations of

[a] The original has "international"; changed by Marx in his own copy.—*Ed.*

commodity owners have turned gold into adequate money, they regard industry and commerce merely as means enabling them to withdraw money in the form of gold and silver from the world market. Gold and silver as world money are therefore both the products of the universal circulation of commodities and the means to expand its scope. Just as the alchemists, who wanted to make gold, were not aware of the rise of chemistry, so commodity owners, chasing after a magical form of the commodity, are not aware of the sources of world industry and world trade that are coming into being. Gold and silver help to create the world market by anticipating its existence in their concept of money. Their magical effect is by no means confined to the infancy of bourgeois society, but is the inevitable consequence of the inverted way in which their own social labour appears to the representatives of the world of commodities; a proof of this being the remarkable influence which the discovery of gold in various new areas exerted on international trade in the middle of the nineteenth century.

As money develops into world money, so the commodity owner becomes a cosmopolitan. The cosmopolitan relations of men to one another originally comprise only their relations as commodity owners. Commodities as such are indifferent to all religious, political, national and linguistic barriers. Their universal language is price and their common bond is money. But together with the development of world money as against national coins, there develops the commodity owner's cosmopolitanism, a cult of practical reason, in opposition to the traditional religious, national and other prejudices which impede the metabolic process of mankind. The commodity-owner realises that nationality "IS BUT THE GUINEA'S STAMP", since the same amount of gold that arrives in England in the shape of American EAGLES is turned into sovereigns, three days later circulates as napoleons in Paris and may be encountered as ducats in Venice a few weeks later. The sublime idea in which for him the whole world merges is that of a market, the *world market*.*

* Montanari, *Della Moneta* (1683), p. 40: "Intercourse between nations has spread across the whole globe to such an extent that one could say all the world has virtually become a single city in which a permanent fair of all commodities is taking place, so that everyone, without leaving his home, can, by means of money, obtain and enjoy everything produced by the earth, the animals and human industry. A marvellous invention!" [Marx quotes in Italian.]

## 4. THE PRECIOUS METALS

The process of bourgeois production initially takes possession of metallic currency as an existing and ready-made instrument, which, although it has been gradually transformed, always retains nevertheless its basic structure. The question why gold and silver, and not other commodities, serve as the material of money lies outside the confines of the bourgeois system. We shall therefore do no more than summarise the most important aspects.

Because universal labour time itself can only display quantitative differences, the object to be recognised as its specific embodiment must be able to express purely quantitative differences, thus presupposing identical, homogeneous quality. This is the first condition for the functioning of a commodity as a measure of value. If, for instance, one evaluates all commodities in terms of oxen, hides, corn, etc., one has in fact to measure them in ideal average oxen, average hides, etc., since there are qualitative differences between one ox and another, one lot of corn and another, one hide and another. Gold and silver, on the other hand, as simple substances are always uniform and consequently equal quantities of them have equal values.* Another condition that has to be fulfilled by the commodity which is to serve as universal equivalent and that follows directly from its function of representing purely quantitative differences, is its divisibility into any desired number of parts and the possibility of combining these again, so that money of account can be represented in palpable form too. Gold and silver possess these qualities to an exceptional degree.

As means of circulation gold and silver have an advantage over other commodities in that their high specific gravity—representing considerable weight in a relatively small space—is matched by their economic specific gravity, in containing much labour time, i.e. considerable exchange value, in a relatively small volume. This facilitates transport, transfer from one hand to another, from one country to another, enabling gold and silver suddenly to appear and just as suddenly to disappear—in short these qualities impart physical mobility, the *sine qua non* of the commodity that is to serve as the *perpetuum mobile* of the process of circulation.

* "A peculiar feature of metals is that in them alone all relations are reduced to a single one, namely their quantity, for they have not been endowed by nature with any difference of quality either in their internal composition or in their external form and structure" (Galiani, l.c., pp. 126-27). [Marx quotes in Italian.]

The high specific value of precious metals, their durability, relative indestructibility, the fact that they do not oxidise when exposed to the air and that gold in particular is insoluble in acids other than *aqua regia*—all these physical properties make precious metals the natural material for hoarding. Peter Martyr, who was apparently a great lover of chocolate, remarks, therefore, of the sacks of cocoa which in Mexico served as a sort of money:

> "O blessed money which furnishes mankind with a sweet and nutritious beverage and protects its innocent possessors from the infernal disease of avarice, since it cannot be long hoarded, nor hidden underground!" (*De orbe novo.*[79])

Metals in general owe their great importance in the direct process of production to their use as instruments of production. Gold and silver, quite apart from their scarcity, cannot be utilised in this way because, compared with iron and even with copper (in the hardened state in which the ancients used it), they are very soft and, therefore, to a large extent lack the quality on which the use value of metals in general depends. Just as the precious metals are useless in the direct process of production, so they appear to be unnecessary as means of subsistence, i.e. as articles of consumption. Any quantity of them can thus be placed at will within the social process of circulation without impairing production and consumption as such. Their individual use value does not conflict with their economic function. Gold and silver, on the other hand, are not only negatively superfluous, i.e. dispensable objects, but their aesthetic qualities make them the natural material for pomp, ornament, glamour, the requirements of festive occasions, in short, the positive expression of supra-abundance and wealth. They appear, so to speak, as solidified light raised from a subterranean world, since all the rays of light in their original composition are reflected by silver, while red alone, the colour of the highest potency, is reflected by gold. Sense of colour, moreover, is the most popular form of aesthetic perception in general. The etymological connection between the names of precious metals and references to colour in various Indo-European languages has been demonstrated by Jakob Grimm (see his *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*).

Finally the fact that it is possible to transform gold and silver from coin into bullion, from bullion into articles of luxury and vice versa, the advantage they have over other commodities of not being confined to the particular useful form they have once been given makes them the natural material for money, which must constantly change from one form into another.

Nature no more produces money than it does bankers or a rate of exchange. But since in bourgeois production, wealth as a fetish must be crystallised in a particular substance gold and silver are its appropriate embodiment. Gold and silver are not by nature money, but money consists by its nature of gold and silver. Gold or silver as crystallisation of money is, on the one hand, not only the product of the circulation process but actually its sole stable product; gold and silver are, on the other hand, finished primary products, and they directly represent both these aspects, which are not distinguished by specific forms. The universal products of the social process, or the social process itself considered as a product, is a particular natural product, a metal, which is contained in the earth's crust and can be dug up.*

We have seen that gold and silver cannot comply with the demand that as money they should have an invariable value. Their value is nevertheless more stable than that of other commodities on the average, as even Aristotle noted.[a] Apart from the general effect of an appreciation or depreciation of the precious metals, variations in the relative value of gold and silver are of particular importance, since both are used side by side as monetary material on the world market. The purely economic reasons of such changes in value—conquests and other political upheavals, which exerted a substantial influence on the value of metals in antiquity, have merely a local and temporary effect—must be attributed to changes in the labour time required for the production of these metals. This labour time itself will depend on the relative scarcity of natural deposits and the difficulties involved in procuring them in a purely metallic state. Gold is in fact the first metal that man discovered. On the one hand, it occurs in Nature in pure crystalline form, as a separate substance not chemically combined with other substances, or in a virgin state, as the alchemists said; on the other hand, Nature herself performs the technical work by washing gold on a large scale in rivers. Only the crudest labour is required on the part of man for extracting gold either from rivers or from alluvial deposits; whereas production of silver requires

* In the year 760 the poor people turned out in numbers to wash gold from the river sands south of Prague, and three men were able in the day to extract a mark of gold; and so great was the consequent rush to the "DIGGINGS" and the number of hands attracted from agriculture so great, that in the next year the country was visited by famine (see M. G. Körner, *Abhandlung von dem Alterthume des böhmischen Bergwerks*, Schneeberg, 1758 [p. 37 *et seq.*]).[80]

[a] Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, Book V, Ch. 8, § 14.—*Ed.*

mining and in general a relatively high level of technical development. The value of silver is therefore originally higher than that of gold, although it is absolutely less scarce. Strabo's statement that an Arabian tribe gave ten pounds of gold for one pound of iron, and two pounds of gold for one pound of silver, is by no means incredible.[81] But the value of silver tends to fall in relation to that of gold, as the productive powers of social labour develop and consequently the product of simple labour becomes more expensive compared with that of complex labour, and with the earth's crust being increasingly opened up the original surface-sources of gold are liable to be exhausted. Finally, at a given stage of development of technology and of the means of communication, the discovery of new territories containing gold or silver plays an important role. The ratio of gold to silver in ancient Asia was 6 to 1 or 8 to 1; the latter ratio was prevalent in China and Japan even in the early nineteenth century; 10 to 1, the ratio obtaining in Xenophon's time, can be regarded as the average ratio of the middle period of antiquity. The working of the Spanish silver mines by Carthage and later by Rome exerted a rather similar influence on the ancient world to that of the discovery of the American mines on modern Europe. During the era of the Roman emperors, 15 or 16 to 1 can be taken as the rough average, although the value of silver in Rome often sank even lower. During the following period reaching from the Middle Ages to modern times, a similar movement which begins with a relative depreciation of gold and ends with a fall in the value of silver takes place. The average ratio in the Middle Ages, as in Xenophon's time, was 10 to 1, and as a result of the discovery of mines in America the ratio once again becomes 16 or 15 to 1. The discovery of gold in Australia, California and Colombia will probably lead to another fall in the value of gold.*

* The relative value of gold and silver up to now has not been affected by the Australian and other discoveries. Michel Chevalier's contention that the opposite is the case is worth no more than the socialism of this ex-St.-Simonist. Quotations on the London market show, indeed, that between 1850 and 1858 the average price of silver in terms of gold was nearly 3 per cent higher than in the period between 1830 and 1850; but this rise was simply due to the demand of Asian countries for silver. Silver prices between 1852 and 1858 change in different years and months *solely* in accordance with this *demand* and by no means in accordance with the supply of gold from the newly discovered sources. The following is a summary of silver prices in terms of gold quoted on the London market:

## C. THEORIES OF THE MEDIUM OF CIRCULATION AND OF MONEY

Just as in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when modern bourgeois society was in its infancy, nations and princes were driven by a general greed for gold to embark on crusades to distant lands* in quest of the golden grail,[82] so the first interpreters of the modern world, the originators of the monetary system—the mercantile system is merely a variant of it—declared that gold and silver i.e. money, alone constitutes wealth. They quite correctly stated that the vocation of bourgeois society was the making of money, and hence, from the standpoint of simple commodity circulation, the formation of permanent hoards which neither moths nor rust could destroy. It is no refutation of the monetary system to point out that a ton of iron whose price is £3 has the same value as £3 in gold. The point at issue is not the magnitude of the exchange value, but its adequate form. As to the special attention paid by the monetary and mercantile systems to international trade and to individual branches of national labour that lead directly to international trade, which are regarded by them as the only real source of wealth or of money, one has to remember that in those times national production was for the most part still carried on within the framework of feudal forms and served as the immediate source of subsistence for the producers themselves. Most products did not become commodities; they were accordingly neither converted into money nor entered at all into the general process of the social exchange of matter; hence they did not appear as objectification of universal abstract labour and did not indeed constitute bourgeois wealth. Money as the end and object of circulation represents exchange

Price of an Ounce of Silver

| Year | March | July | November |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1852 | $60^1/_8$ pence | $60^1/_4$ pence | $61^7/_8$ pence |
| 1853 | $61^3/_8$ " | $61^1/_2$ " | $61^7/_8$ " |
| 1854 | $61^7/_8$ " | $61^3/_4$ " | $61^1/_2$ " |
| 1855 | $60^7/_8$ " | $61^1/_2$ " | $60^7/_8$ " |
| 1856 | 60 | $61^1/_4$ " | $62^1/_8$ " |
| 1857 | $61^3/_4$ " | $61^5/_8$ " | $61^1/_2$ " |
| 1858 | $61^5/_8$ " | | |

* "Gold is a wonderful thing. Its owner is master of everything he desires. Gold can even enable souls to enter paradise" (*Columbus* in a letter from Jamaica written in 1503). [Note in Marx's own copy.]

value or abstract wealth, not any physical element of wealth, as the determining purpose and driving motive of production. It was consistent with the rudimentary stage of bourgeois production that those misunderstood prophets should have clung to the solid, palpable and glittering form of exchange value, to exchange value in the form of the universal commodity as distinct from all particular commodities. The sphere of commodity circulation was the strictly bourgeois economic sphere at that time. They therefore analysed the whole complex process of bourgeois production from the standpoint of that basic sphere and confused money with capital. The unceasing fight of modern economists against the monetary and mercantile systems is mainly provoked by the fact that the secret of bourgeois production, i.e. that it is dominated by exchange value, is divulged in a naively brutal way by these systems. Although drawing the wrong conclusions from this, Ricardo observes somewhere that, even during a famine, corn is imported because the corn-merchant thereby makes money, and not because the nation is starving. Political economy errs in its critique of the monetary and mercantile systems when it assails them as mere illusions, as utterly wrong theories, and fails to notice that they contain in a primitive form its own basic presuppositions. These systems, moreover, remain not only historically valid but retain their full validity within certain spheres of the modern economy. At every stage of the bourgeois process of production when wealth assumes the elementary form of commodities, exchange value assumes the elementary form of money, and in all phases of the production process wealth for an instant reverts again to the universal elementary form of commodities. The specific functions of gold and silver as money, in contradistinction to their functions as means of circulation and in contrast with all other commodities, are not abolished even in the most advanced bourgeois economy, but merely restricted; the monetary and mercantile systems accordingly remain valid. The catholic fact that gold and silver as the direct embodiment of social labour, and therefore as the expression of abstract wealth, confront other profane commodities, has of course violated the protestant *point d'honneur*[a] of bourgeois economists, and from fear of the prejudices of the monetary system, they lost for a long time any sense of discrimination towards the phenomena of money circulation, as the following account will show.

It was quite natural that, by contrast with the monetary and

[a] Code of honour.—*Ed.*

mercantile systems, which knew money only as a crystalline product of circulation, classical political economy in the first instance should have understood the fluid form of money, that is the form of exchange value which arises and vanishes within the metamorphosis of commodities. Because commodity circulation is looked at exclusively in the form *C—M—C,* and this in its turn solely as the dynamic unity of sale and purchase, the specific aspect of money as means of circulation is upheld against its specific aspect as money. If the function of means of circulation in serving as coin is isolated, then, as we have seen, it becomes a value token. But since classical political economy was at first confronted with metallic currency as the predominant form of currency, it regarded metallic money as coin, and coin as a mere token of value. In accordance with the law relating to the circulation of value tokens, the proposition is then advanced that the prices of commodities depend on the volume of money in circulation, and not that the volume of money in circulation depends on the prices of commodities. This view is more or less clearly outlined by Italian economists of the seventeenth century; it is sometimes accepted, sometimes repudiated by Locke, and firmly set forth in *The Spectator* (in the issue of 19 October 1711) as well as in the works of *Montesquieu* and *Hume.*[a] Since *Hume* is by far the most important exponent of this theory in the eighteenth century, we shall begin our survey to him.

Under certain conditions, an increase or decrease in the quantity of either specie in circulation, or tokens of value in circulation, seems to have a *similar* effect upon commodity prices. If there is a fall or rise in the *value* of gold and silver, in which the exchange value of commodities is measured as price, then prices rise or fall because a change has taken place in their standard of value; and an increased or diminished amount of gold and silver is in circulation as coin because the prices have risen or fallen. The observable phenomenon, however, is that with an increasing or diminishing volume of means of circulation, prices change while the exchange value of commodities remains constant. If, on the other hand, the amount of value tokens in circulation falls below the requisite level, or rises above it, then it is forcibly reduced to that level by a fall or rise of commodity prices. The effect in both cases appears to be brought about by the same cause, and *Hume* holds fast to this appearance.

Any scholarly investigation of the relation between the volume

[a] See this volume, pp. 164 and 243.—*Ed.*

of means of circulation and movements in commodity prices must assume that the value of the monetary material is given. Hume, however, considers exclusively periods when revolutionary changes in the value of the precious metals take place, that is revolutions in the standard of value. The rise in commodity prices that occurred simultaneously with the increase in the amount of specie consequent upon the discovery of the American mines forms the historical background of his theory, and its practical motive was the polemic that he waged against the monetary and mercantile systems. It is, of course, quite possible to increase the supply of precious metals while their costs of production remain unchanged. On the other hand, a decrease in their value, that is in the labour time required to produce them, will in the first place be attested only by an increase in their supply. Hume's disciples accordingly stated subsequently that the diminished value of the precious metals was reflected in the growing volume of means of circulation, and the growing volume of the means of circulation was reflected in increased commodity prices. But there is in reality an increase only in the prices of exported commodities which are exchanged for gold and silver as commodities and not as means of circulation. The price of those commodities, which are measured in gold and silver of reduced value, thus rises in relation to all other commodities whose exchange value continues to be measured in gold and silver in accordance with the scale of their former production costs. Such a dual evaluation of exchange values of commodities in a given country can of course occur only temporarily; gold and silver prices must be adjusted to correspond with the exchange values themselves, so that finally the exchange values of all commodities are assessed in accordance with the new value of monetary material. This is not the place for either a description of this process or an examination of the ways in which the exchange value of commodities prevails within the fluctuations of market prices. Recent critical investigations of the movement of commodity prices during the sixteenth century have conclusively demonstrated that in the early stages of the evolution of the bourgeois mode of production, such adjustment proceeds only very gradually, extending over long periods, and does not by any means keep in step with the increase of ready money in circulation.* Quite inappropriate are references—in vogue among Hume's disciples—to rising prices in ancient Rome brought about

* Incidentally, Hume admits that the adjustment takes place gradually, although this does not accord with his principle. See David Hume, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*, Vol. I, London, 1777, p. 300.

by the conquest of Macedonia, Egypt and Asia Minor. The sudden and forcible transfer of hoarded money from one country to another is a specific feature of the ancient world; but the temporary lowering of the production costs of precious metals achieved in a particular country by the simple method of plunder does not affect the inherent laws of money circulation, any more than, for instance, the distribution of Egyptian and Sicilian corn free of charge in Rome affects the general law which regulates corn prices. For a detailed analysis of the circulation of money, Hume, like all other eighteenth-century writers, lacked the necessary material, i.e. on the one hand a reliable history of commodity prices, and on the other hand, official and continuous statistics regarding the expansion and contraction of the medium of circulation, the influx or withdrawal of precious metals, etc., in other words material which on the whole only becomes accessible when banking is fully developed. The following propositions summarise Hume's theory of circulation. 1. Commodity prices in a given country are determined by the amount of money (real or token money) existing therein. 2. The money circulating in a given country represents all commodities which are in that country. As the amount of money grows, each unit represents a correspondingly larger or smaller proportion of the things represented. 3. If the volume of commodities increases, then their prices fall or the value of money rises. If the amount of money increases, then, on the contrary, commodity prices rise and the value of money falls.*

"The dearness of everything," says Hume, "from plenty of money, is a disadvantage to any established commerce, as it enables the poorer states to undersell the richer in all foreign markets." ** "It can have no effect, either good or bad, taking a nation within itself, whether much or little coin is available for payment or representation of commodities; any more than it would make an alteration on a merchant's books, if, instead of the Arabian method of notation, which requires few characters, he should make use of the Roman, which requires a great many. Nay, the greater quantity of money, like the Roman characters, is rather inconvenient, and requires greater trouble both to keep and transport it." ***

If this example were to prove anything, Hume would have to show that in a *given* system of notation the quantity of characters employed does not depend on the numerical value, but that on the contrary the numerical value is determined by the quantity of characters employed. It is quite true that there is no advantage in evaluating or "counting" commodity values in gold or silver of

* Cf. Steuart, l.c., Vol. I, pp. 394-400.
** David Hume, l.c., p. 300.
*** David Hume, l.c., p. [302-]303.

diminished value; and as the aggregate value of the commodities in circulation increased, therefore, nations invariably decided that it was more convenient to count in silver than in copper, and in gold than in silver. In the proportion that nations grew richer, they turned the less valuable metals into subsidiary coin and the more valuable metals into money. Hume, moreover, forgets that in order to calculate values in terms of gold and silver, neither gold nor silver need be "present". Money of account and means of circulation are for him identical phenomena and he regards both as COIN.[a] Because a change in the value of the standard of value, i.e. of the precious metals which function as money of account, causes a rise or fall in commodity prices, and hence, provided the velocity of circulation remains unchanged, an increase or decrease in the volume of money in circulation, Hume infers that increases or decreases of commodity prices are determined by the quantity of money in circulation. Hume could have deduced from the closing down of European mines that not only the quantity of gold and silver grew during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but that simultaneously their production costs diminished. Along with the volume of imported American gold and silver commodity prices rose in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; commodity prices are consequently in every country determined by the volume of gold and silver which the country contains. This was the first "necessary consequence" drawn by Hume.* Prices in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not rise in step with the increased amount of precious metals; more than half a century elapsed before *any* change at all was noticeable in the prices of commodities, and even after this a considerable time elapsed before the prices of commodities in general were revolutionised, that is before the exchange values of commodities were generally estimated according to the diminished value of gold and silver. Hume—who quite contrary to the principles of his own philosophy uncritically turns unilaterally interpreted facts into general propositions—concludes that, in consequence, the price of commodities or the value of money is determined not by the absolute amount of money present in a country, but rather by the amount of gold and silver actually in circulation; in the long run, however, all the gold and silver present in the country must be

* David Hume, l.c., p. 303.

[a] In the original, the English word is given in brackets after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

absorbed as coin in the sphere of circulation.* It is clear, that, if gold and silver themselves have value, quite irrespective of all other laws of circulation, only a definite quantity of gold and silver can circulate as the equivalent of a given aggregate value of commodities. Thus, if without reference to the total value of commodities, all the gold and silver that happens to be in the country must participate as means of circulation in the exchange of commodities, then gold and silver have no intrinsic value and are indeed not real commodities. This is Hume's third "necessary consequence". According to Hume, commodities without price and gold and silver without value enter the process of circulation. He, therefore, never mentions the value of commodities and the value of gold, but speaks only of their reciprocal quantity. Locke had already said that gold and silver have a purely imaginary or conventional value; this was the first blunt opposition to the contention of the monetary system that only gold and silver have genuine value. The fact that gold and silver are money only as the result of the function they perform in the social process of exchange is thus taken to mean that their specific value and hence the magnitude of their value is due to their social function.** Gold and silver are thus things without value, but in the process of circulation, in which they *represent commodities,* they acquire a fictitious value. This process turns them not into money but into value: a value that is determined by the proportion of their own volume to the volume of commodities, for the two volumes must balance. Although then, according to Hume, gold and silver enter the world of commodities as non-commodities, as soon as they function as coin he transforms them into plain commodities, which are exchanged for other commodities by simple barter. Provided the world of commodities consisted of a single commodity, e.g. one million quarters of corn, it would be quite simple to imagine that, if two million ounces of gold existed, one quarter of corn

* "It is evident, that the prices do not so much depend on the absolute quantity of commodities, and that of money, which are in a nation, as on that of the commodities, which can or may come to market, and of the money which circulates. If the coin be locked up in chests, it is the same thing with regard to prices, as if it were annihilated; if the commodities be hoarded in magazines and granaries, a like effect follows. As the money and commodities, in these cases, never meet, they cannot affect each other. The whole (of prices) at last reaches a *just proportion with the new quantity of specie which is in the kingdom*" (l.c., pp. 307, 308, 303). [Marx quotes in English.]

** See *Law* and *Franklin* on the *surplus value* which gold and silver are said to acquire from the function they perform as money. *Forbonnais* too. [Note in Marx's own copy.]

would be exchanged for two ounces of gold or, if twenty million ounces of gold existed, one quarter would be exchanged for twenty ounces of gold; the price of the commodity and the value of money would thus rise or fall in inverse ratio to the available quantity of money.* But the world of commodities consists of an infinite variety of use values, whose relative value is by no means determined by their relative quantities. How then does Hume envisage this exchange of commodities for gold? He confines himself to the vague abstract conception that every commodity being a portion of the total volume of commodities is exchanged for a commensurate portion of the existing volume of gold. The dynamic movement of commodities—a movement, which originates in the contradiction of exchange value and use value contained in the commodities, which is reflected in the circulation of money and epitomised in the various distinct aspects of the latter—is thus obliterated and replaced by an imaginary mechanical equalisation of the amount of precious metals present in a particular country and the volume of commodities simultaneously available.

*Sir James Steuart* begins his investigation of specie and money with a detailed criticism of Hume and Montesquieu.** He is indeed the first to ask whether the amount of money in circulation is determined by the prices of commodities, or the prices of commodities determined by the amount of money in circulation. Although his exposition is tarnished by his fantastic notion of the measure of value, by his inconsistent treatment of exchange value in general and by arguments reminiscent of the mercantile system, he discovers the essential aspects of money and the general laws of circulation of money, because he does not mechanically place commodities on one side and money on the other, but really deduces its various functions from different moments in commodity exchange.

"The uses of money in internal circulation may be comprehended under two general heads: payment of what one owes and buying what one has occasion for; the one and the other may be called by the general term of READY-MONEY DEMANDS[a]... Now the state of trade, manufactures, modes of living, and the customary expense of the inhabitants, when taken all together, regulate and

* This invention can actually be found in Montesquieu's works. [Note in Marx's own copy.]

** Steuart, l.c., Vol. I, p. 394 *et seq.*

[a] In the original, the English words are given in brackets after their German equivalents.—*Ed.*

determine what we may call the mass of ready-money demands, that is, of alienation. To operate this multiplicity of payments, a certain proportion of money is necessary. This proportion again may increase or diminish according to circumstances; although the quantity of alienation should continue the same... Anyway the circulation of a country can only absorb a determinate quantity of money." *

"The market price of a commodity is determined by the complicated operations of DEMAND AND COMPETITION",[a] which are quite independent of the quantity of gold and silver in the country. What then will become of the gold and silver not needed as coin? It will be hoarded up in treasures or converted into luxury articles. If the amount of gold and silver falls below the level required for circulation, they are replaced by symbolic money or other expedients. If a favourable rate of exchange brings a superfluity of money into the country, and at the same time cuts off the demands [of trade] for sending it abroad, it frequently falls into coffers; where it becomes as useless as if it were in the mine." **

The second law discovered by *Steuart* is that currency based on credit returns to its point of departure. Finally he analyses the consequences produced by the diversity in the rate of interest obtaining in different countries on the export and import of precious metals. The last two aspects are mentioned here only for the sake of a complete picture, since they are remote from our subject, namely simple circulation.*** Symbolical money or credit

* James Steuart, l.c., Vol. II, pp. 377-79 *passim*.

** L.c., pp. 379-80 [and 397-407] *passim*.

*** "The additional coin will be locked up, or converted into plate... As for the paper money, so soon as it has served the first purpose of supplying the demand of him who borrowed it, it will return upon the debtor in it and become realised... Let the specie of a country, therefore, be augmented or diminished in ever so great a proportion, commodities will still rise and fall according to the principles of demand and competition, and these will constantly depend upon the inclinations of those who have property or any kind of equivalent whatsoever to give, but never upon the quantity of coin they are possessed of... Let it" (i.e. the quantity of specie in a country) "be ever so low, while there is real property of any denomination in the country, and a competition to consume in those who possess it, prices will be high, by the means of barter, symbolical money, mutual prestations, and a *thousand* other inventions... If this country has a communication with other nations, there must be a proportion between the prices of many kinds of merchandise there and elsewhere, and a sudden augmentation or diminution of the specie, supposing it could *of itself* operate the effects of raising or sinking prices, would be *restrained* in its operation by foreign competition" (l.c., Vol. I, pp. 400-01). "The circulation of every country must be in proportion to the industry of the inhabitants producing the commodities which come to market... If the coin of a country, therefore, falls below the proportion of the produce of industry offered to sale, inventions, like symbolical money, will be fallen upon, to provide for an equivalent for it. But if the specie be found above the proportion of industry, it will have no effect in raising

[a] In the original, the English words are given in brackets after their German equivalents.— *Ed.*

money—Steuart does not yet distinguish these two forms of money—can function as means of purchase and means of payment in place of the precious metals in domestic circulation, but not on the world market. Paper notes are consequently MONEY OF THE SOCIETY, whereas gold and silver are MONEY OF THE WORLD.[a] *

It is a characteristic of nations with an "historical" development, in the sense given to this term by the Historical School of Law,[83] that they always forget their own history. Thus although during this half century the issue of the relation between commodity prices and the quantity of currency has agitated Parliament continuously and has caused thousands of pamphlets, large and small, to be published in England, Steuart remained even more of "a dead dog" than Spinoza appeared to be to Moses Mendelssohn in Lessing's time. Even the most recent historiographer of "CURRENCY", Maclaren, makes Adam Smith the inventor of Steuart's theory, and Ricardo the inventor of Hume's theory.** Whereas Ricardo improves upon Hume's theory, Adam Smith records the results of Steuart's research as dead facts. The Scottish proverb that if one has gained a little it is often easy to gain much, but the difficulty is to gain a little, has been applied by *Adam Smith* to intellectual wealth as well, and with meticulous care he accordingly keeps the sources secret to which he is indebted for the little,

prices, nor will it enter into circulation: *it will be hoarded up in treasures*... Whatever be the quantity of money in a nation, in correspondence with the rest of the world, there never can remain, *in circulation*, but the quantity nearly proportional to the consumption of the rich and to the labour and industry of the poor inhabitants" and this proportion is not determined "by the quantity of money actually in the country" (l.c., pp. 407-08 *passim*). "All nations will endeavour to throw their ready money, not necessary for their own circulation, into that country where the interest of money is high with respect to their own" (l.c., Vol. II, p. 5). "The richest nation in Europe may be the poorest in circulating specie" (l.c., Vol. II, p. 6). [Marx quotes in English. Note in Marx's own copy:] See polemic against Steuart in Arthur Young's work [*Political Arithmetic*].

* Steuart, l.c., Vol. II, p. 370. Louis Blanc transforms the "MONEY OF THE SOCIETY", which simply means internal, national money, into socialist money, which means nothing at all, and quite consistently turns John Law into a socialist. (See the first volume of his *History of the French Revolution.*)

** Maclaren, l.c., p. 43 et seq. A German writer (Gustav Julius), who died prematurely, was induced by patriotism to oppose the old Büsch as an authority to the Ricardian school. The honourable Büsch has translated Steuart's brilliant English into the Low-German dialect of Hamburg and distorted the original whenever it was possible. [J. G. Büsch, *Abhandlung von dem Geldumlauf, in anhalten der Rücksicht auf die Staatswirtschaft und Handlung.*]

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[a] In the original, the English words are given in brackets after their German equivalents.— *Ed.*

which he turns indeed into much. More than once he prefers to take the sharp edge off a problem when the use of precise definitions might have forced him to settle accounts with his predecessors. This is, for instance, the case with the theory of money. Adam Smith tacitly accepts Steuart's theory by relating that a part of gold and silver available in a country is used as coin, a part is accumulated as reserve funds for merchants in countries which have no banks and as bank reserves in countries with a credit system, a part serves as a stock for the adjustment of international payments, and a part is converted into luxury articles. He quietly eliminates the question about the amount of coin in circulation by quite improperly regarding money as a simple commodity.* This not entirely artless slip of Adam Smith was with much pomposity fashioned into a dogma** by his vulgariser, the insipid *J. B. Say,* whom the French have designated *prince de la science,* just as Johann Christoph Gottsched calls his Schönaich a Homer and Pietro Aretino calls himself *terror principum* and *lux mundi.*[a] The tension caused by the struggle against the illusions of the mercantile system prevented Adam Smith, moreover, from objectively considering the phenomena of metallic currency, whereas his views on credit money are original and profound. Just as the palaeontological theories of the eighteenth century inevitably contain an undercurrent which arises from a critical or an apologetic consideration of the biblical tradition of the Deluge, so behind the façade of all monetary theories of the eighteenth century a hidden struggle is waged against the monetary system, the spectre which stood guard over the cradle of bourgeois political economy and still cast its heavy shadow over legislation.

Investigations of monetary matters in the nineteenth century were stimulated directly by phenomena attending the circulation of bank notes, rather than by those of metallic currency. The latter was merely referred to for the purpose of discovering the

* This is inaccurate. In some passages Smith formulates the law correctly. [Note in Marx's own copy.]

** The distinction between "CURRENCY" and "MONEY", i.e. between means of circulation and money, does not therefore occur in the *Wealth of Nations.* Misled by the apparent ingenuousness of Adam Smith, who had studied Hume and Steuart closely, honest Maclaren observes: "The theory of the dependence of prices on the extent of the currency had not, as yet, attracted attention; and Doctor Smith, like Mr. Locke" (Locke's views vary) "considers metallic money nothing but a commodity" (Maclaren, l.c., p. 44). [Marx quotes in English.]

[a] Terror of the princes and the light of the world.—*Ed.*

laws governing the circulation of bank notes. The suspension of cash payments by the Bank of England in 1797, the rise in price of many commodities which followed, the fall in the mint price of gold below its market price, and the depreciation of bank notes especially after 1809[69] were the immediate practical occasion for a party contest within Parliament and a theoretical encounter outside it, both waged with equal passion. The historical background of the debate was furnished by the evolution of paper money in the eighteenth century, the fiasco of Law's bank,[84] the growing volume of value tokens which was accompanied by a depreciation of provincial bank notes of the British colonies in North America from the beginning to the middle of the eighteenth century; after which came the legally imposed paper money, the CONTINENTAL BILLS issued by the American Government[a] during the War of Independence, and finally the French assignats, an experiment conducted on an even larger scale. Most English writers of that period confuse the circulation of bank notes, which is determined by entirely different laws, with the circulation of value tokens or of government bonds which are legal tender and, although they pretend to explain the phenomena of this forced currency by the laws of metallic currency, in reality they derive the laws of metallic currency from the phenomena of the former. We omit the numerous writers whose works appeared between 1800 and 1809 and turn at once to Ricardo, because he not only summarises his predecessors and expresses their ideas with greater precision, but also because monetary theory in the form he has given it has dominated British banking law up to the present time. Like his predecessors, Ricardo confuses the circulation of bank notes or of credit money with the circulation of simple tokens of value. The fact which dominates his thought is the depreciation of paper money and the rise in commodity prices that occurred simultaneously. The printing presses in Threadneedle Street[85] which issue paper notes played the same role for Ricardo as the American mines played for Hume; and in one passage Ricardo explicitly equates these two causes. His first writings, which deal only with monetary matters, originated at a time when a most violent controversy raged between the Bank of England, which was backed by the Ministers and the war party, and its adversaries around whom were grouped the parliamentary opposition, the Whigs and the peace party. These writings appeared as the direct forerunners of the famous Report of the Bullion Committee of

[a] In German, "central Government"; at that time, the Continental Congress.— *Ed.*

1810, which adopted Ricardo's ideas.* The odd fact that Ricardo and his supporters, who maintained that money was merely a token of value, were called BULLIONISTS[a] was due not only to the name of the Committee but also to the content of Ricardo's theory. Ricardo restated and further elaborated the same ideas in his work on political economy, but he has nowhere examined money as such in the way in which he has analysed exchange value, profit, rent, etc.

To begin with, Ricardo determines the value of gold and silver, like the value of all other commodities, by the quantity of labour time objectified in them.** The value of other commodities is measured in terms of gold and silver as commodities of a determinate value.*** The quantity of means of circulation employed in a country is thus determined by the value of the standard of money on the one hand, and by the aggregate of the exchange values of commodities on the other. This quantity is modified by the economy with which payments are effected.**** Since, therefore, the quantity in which money of a given value can be circulated is determined, and within the framework of circulation its value manifests itself only in its quantity, money within the sphere of circulation can be replaced by simple value tokens, provided that these are issued in the amount determined by the value of money. Moreover

> "a currency is in its most perfect state when it consists wholly of paper money, but of paper money of an equal value with the gold which it professes to represent".*****

* David Ricardo, *The High Price of Bullion a Proof of the Depreciation of Bank Notes*, 4th ed., London, 1811 (the first edition was published in 1809). Also: *Reply to Mr. Bosanquet's Practical Observations on the Report of the Bullion Committee*, London, 1811.

** David Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy etc.*, p. 77. "The value of the precious metals, like that of all other commodities, ultimately depends on the total quantity of labour necessary to obtain them, and to bring them to market."

*** L.c., pp. 77, 180, 181.

**** Ricardo, l.c., p. 421. "The quantity of money that can be employed in a country depends on its value: if gold alone were in circulation, a quantity would be required, one fifteenth only of what would be necessary, if silver alone were made use of." See also Ricardo, *Proposals for an Economical and Secure Currency*, London, 1816, p. 8, where he writes: "The quantity of notes in circulation depends on the sum required for the circulation in the country, and this is regulated by the value of the standard of money, by the amount of payments and by the economy practised in effecting them."

***** Ricardo, *Principles of Political Economy*, pp. 432, 433.

[a] In the original, the explanation of this English term is given in brackets.—*Ed.*

So far, therefore, Ricardo has assumed that the value of money is given, and has determined the amount of means of circulation by the prices of commodities: for him money as a token of value is a token which stands for a determinate quantity of gold and is not a valueless symbol representing commodities, as it was for Hume.

When Ricardo suddenly interrupts the smooth progress of his exposition and adopts the opposite view, he does so in order to deal with the international circulation of precious metals and thus complicates the problem by introducing extraneous aspects. Following his own train of thought, let us first of all leave aside all artificial and incidental aspects and accordingly locate the gold and silver mines within the countries in which the precious metals circulate as money. The only proposition which follows from Ricardo's analysis up to now is that if the value of gold is given, the amount of money in circulation is determined by the prices of commodities. The volume of gold circulating in a country therefore is simply determined by the exchange value of the commodities in circulation at the given time. Now supposing that the aggregate amount of these exchange values decreases, because either a smaller amount of commodities is produced at the old exchange values, or the same amount of commodities is produced but the commodities represent less exchange value as a result of an increase in the productive power of labour. Or let us assume by contrast that the aggregate exchange value has increased, because a larger volume of commodities has been produced while production costs remain constant, or because either the same or a smaller volume of commodities has a larger value as a result of a decline in the productive power of labour. What happens to the *existing* quantity of metal in circulation in these two cases? If gold is money only because it circulates as a medium of circulation, if it is forced to stay in the sphere of circulation, like paper money with forced currency issued by the State (and Ricardo implies this), then the quantity of money in circulation will, in the first case, be excessive in relation to the exchange value of the metal, and it will stand below its normal level in the second case. Although endowed with a specific value, gold thus becomes a token which, in the first case, represents a metal with a lower exchange value than its own, and in the second case represents a metal which has a higher value. Gold as a token of value will fall below its real value in the first case, and rise above it in the second case (once more a deduction made from paper money with forced currency). The effect would be the same as if, in the first case, all commodities were evaluated in metal of lower value than gold, and in the

second case as if they were evaluated in metal of a higher value. Commodity prices would therefore rise in the first case, and fall in the second. The movement of commodity prices, their rise or fall, in either case would be due to the [relative][a] expansion or contraction in the amount of gold in circulation occasioning a rise above or a fall below the level corresponding to its own value, i.e. the normal quantity determined by the relation between its own value and the value of the commodities which are to be circulated.

The same process would take place if the aggregate price of the commodities in circulation remained constant, but the amount of gold in circulation either fell below or rose above the proper level; the former might occur if gold coin worn out in circulation were not replaced by sufficient new output from the mines, the latter if the new supply from the mines surpassed the requirements of circulation. In both cases it is assumed that the production costs of gold, or its value, remain unchanged.

To recapitulate: If the exchange values of the commodities are given, the money in circulation is at its proper level when its quantity is determined by its own metallic value. It exceeds this level, gold falls below its own metallic value and the prices of commodities rise, whenever the aggregate exchange value of commodities decreases or the supply of gold from the mines increases. The quantity of money sinks below its appropriate level, gold rises above its own metallic value and commodity prices fall, whenever the aggregate exchange value of commodities increases or the supply of gold from the mines is insufficient to replace worn-out gold. In these two cases the gold in circulation is a token of value representing either a larger or a smaller value than it actually possesses. It can become an appreciated or depreciated token of itself. When commodities are generally evaluated in conformity with the new value of money, and commodity prices in general have risen or fallen accordingly, the amount of gold in circulation will once more be commensurate with the needs of circulation (a result which Ricardo emphasises with special satisfaction), but it will be at variance with the production costs of precious metals, and hence with the relation of precious metals as commodities to other commodities. According to Ricardo's general theory of exchange value, the rise of gold above its exchange value, in other words above the value which is determined by the labour time it contains, would lead to an enlarged output of gold

[a] This word is missing in the original and is inserted by Marx in his own copy.— *Ed.*

until the increased supply reduced it again to its proper value. Conversely, a fall of gold below its value would lead to a decline in the output of gold until its value rose again to its proper level. These opposite movements would resolve the contradiction between the metallic value of gold and its value as a medium of circulation; the amount of gold in circulation would reach its proper level and commodity prices would once more be in accordance with the standard of value. These fluctuations in the value of gold in circulation would in equal measure affect gold bullion, since according to the assumption all gold that is not used as luxury articles is in circulation. Seeing that even gold in the form of coin or bullion can become a value token representing a larger or smaller metallic value than its own, it is obvious that any convertible bank notes that are in circulation must share the same fate. Although bank notes are convertible and their real value accordingly corresponds to their nominal value, THE AGGREGATE CURRENCY CONSISTING OF METAL AND OF CONVERTIBLE NOTES[a] may appreciate or depreciate if, for reasons described earlier, the total quantity either rises above or falls below the level which is determined by the exchange value of the commodities in circulation and the metallic value of gold. According to this point of view, inconvertible paper money has only one advantage over convertible paper money, i.e. it can be depreciated in two ways. It may fall below the value of the metal which it professes to represent, because too much of it has been issued, or it may fall because the metal it represents has fallen below its own value. This depreciation, not of notes in relation to gold, but of gold and notes taken together, i.e. of the aggregate means of circulation of a country, is one of Ricardo's main discoveries, which Lord Overstone and Co. pressed into their service and turned into a fundamental principle of Sir Robert Peel's bank legislation of 1844 and 1845.[67]

What should have been demonstrated was that the price of commodities or the value of gold depends on the amount of gold in circulation. The proof consists in postulating what has to be proved, i.e. that any quantity of the precious metal serving as money, regardless of its relation to its intrinsic value, must become a medium of circulation, or coin, and thus a token of value for the commodities in circulation regardless of the total amount of their value. In other words, this proof rests on disregarding all

[a] In the original, the English phrase is given in brackets after its German equivalent.— *Ed.*

functions performed by money except its function as[a] a medium of circulation. When driven into a corner, as for instance in his controversy with Bosanquet, Ricardo—entirely dominated by the phenomenon of value tokens depreciating because of their quantity—resorts to dogmatic assertion.*

If Ricardo had presented his theory in abstract form, as we have done, without introducing concrete circumstances and incidental aspects which represent digressions from the main problem, its hollowness would have been quite obvious. But he gives the whole analysis an *international* veneer. It is easy to show, however, that the apparent magnitude of scale can in no way alter the insignificance of the basic ideas.

The first proposition, therefore, was: the quantity of specie in circulation is normal if it is determined by the aggregate value of commodities in circulation estimated in terms of the metallic value of specie. Adjusted for the international scene this reads: when circulation is in a normal state, the amount of money in each country is commensurate with its wealth and industry. The value of money in circulation corresponds to its real value, i.e. its production costs; in other words, money has the same value in *all countries.*** Money therefore would never be transferred (exported or imported) from one country to another.*** A state of equilibrium would thus prevail between the CURRENCIES (the total volume of money in circulation) of different countries. The appropriate[b] level of national CURRENCY is now expressed in the form of international CURRENCY-equilibrium, and this means in fact simply that nationality does not affect the general economic law at all. We have now reached again the same crucial point as before. In what way is the appropriate level upset, which now reads as follows: in what way is the international equilibrium of CURRENCIES upset, or why does money cease to have the same value in all countries, or finally why does it cease to have its specific value in each country? Just as previously the appropriate level was upset

* David Ricardo, *Reply to Mr. Bosanquet's Practical Observations etc.*, p. 49. "That commodities would rise or fall in price, in proportion to the increase or diminution of money, *I assume as a fact which is incontrovertible.*" [Marx quotes in English.]

** Ricardo, *The High Price of Bullion etc.* "Money would have the *same value* in all countries" (p. 4). [Marx quotes in English.] Ricardo has this proposition in his *Political Economy*, but not so as to be of any importance in this context.

*** L.c., pp. 3-4.

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[a] The original has "disregarding all other determinations of form which money has except its form of"; changed in Marx's own copy.—*Ed.*

[b] This word is missing in the original and is inserted in Marx's own copy.—*Ed.*

because the volume of money in circulation increased or decreased while the aggregate value of commodities remained unchanged, or because the quantity of money in circulation remained constant while the exchange value of commodities increased or decreased; so now the international level, which is determined by the value of the metal, is upset because the amount of gold is augmented in one country as a result of the discovery of new gold mines in that country,* or because the aggregate exchange value of the commodities in circulation in a particular country increases or decreases. Just as previously the output of precious metals was diminished or enlarged in accordance with the need for reducing or expanding the CURRENCY, and in accordance with it lowering or raising commodity prices, so now the same effect is achieved by export and import from one country to another. In a country where prices have risen and, owing to expanded circulation, the value of gold has fallen below its metallic value, gold would be depreciated in relation to other countries, and the prices of commodities would consequently be higher than in other countries. Gold would, therefore, be exported and commodities imported. The opposite movement would take place in the reverse situation. Just as previously the output of gold continued until the proper ratio of values between metal and commodities was re-established, so now the import or export of gold, accompanied by a rise or fall in commodity prices, would continue until equilibrium of the international CURRENCIES had been re-established. Just as in the first example the output of gold expanded or diminished only because gold stood above or below its value, so now the international movement of gold is brought about by the same cause. Just as in the former example the quantity of metal in circulation and thereby prices were affected by every change in gold output, so now they are affected similarly by international import and export of gold. When the relative value of gold and commodities, or the normal quantity of means of circulation, is re-established, no further production of gold takes place in the former case, and no more export or import of gold in the latter, except to replace worn-out coin and for the use of the luxury industry. It thus follows,

"that the temptation to export gold as an equivalent for goods, or an unfavourable balance of trade, can never arise except owing to an excess of means of circulation".**

* L.c., p. 4.

** "An unfavourable balance of trade never arises but from a redundant currency" (Ricardo, l.c., pp. 11, 12). [Marx quotes in English.]

The import or export of metal is invariably brought about by the metal being underrated or overrated owing to an expansion of the currency above its proper level or its contraction below that level.* It follows further: since the output of gold is expanded or diminished in our first case, and gold is imported or exported in our second case, only because its quantity has risen above its proper level or fallen below it, because it is rated above its metallic value or below it, and consequently commodity prices are too high or too low, every one of these movements acts as its own corrective,** for, by augmenting or curtailing the amount of money in circulation, prices are reduced again to their correct level, which is determined by the value of gold and the value of commodities in the first case, and by the international level of CURRENCIES in the second. To put it in other words, money circulates in different countries only because it circulates as coin in each country. Money is simply specie, and the amount of gold present in a country must enter the sphere of circulation; as a token representing itself it can thus rise above or fall below its value. By the circuitous route of these international intricacies we have managed to return to the simple thesis which forms the point of departure.

A few examples will show how arbitrarily actual phenomena are arranged by Ricardo to suit his abstract theory. He asserts, for instance, that in periods of crop failure, which occurred frequently in England between 1800 and 1820, gold is exported, not because corn is needed and gold constitutes money, i.e. it is always an efficacious means of purchase and means of payment on the world market, but because the value of gold has fallen in relation to other commodities and hence the CURRENCY of the country suffering from crop failure is depreciated in relation to the other national CURRENCIES. That is to say, because the bad harvest reduces the volume of commodities in circulation, the existing quantity of money in circulation exceeds its normal level and all commodity prices consequently rise.*** As opposed to this paradoxical

* "The exportation of the coin is caused by its cheapness, and is not the effect, but the cause of an unfavourable balance" (l.c., p. 14). [Marx quotes in English.]

** L.c., p. 17.

*** Ricardo, l.c., pp. 74, 75. "England, in consequence of a bad harvest, would come under the case of a country having been deprived of a part of its commodities, and, therefore, requiring a diminished amount of circulating medium. The currency which was before equal to the payments would now become superabundant and relatively cheap in proportion of her diminished production. The exportation of this sum, therefore, would restore the value of the currency to the value of the currencies of other countries." [Here and below Marx quotes from

explanation, statistics show that in the case of crop failures in England from 1793 up to the present, the existing amount of means of circulation was not excessive but on the contrary it was insufficient, and therefore more money than previously circulated and was bound to circulate.*

At the time of Napoleon's Continental System[86] and the English Blockade Decrees,[87] Ricardo likewise asserted that the British exported gold instead of commodities to the Continent, because their money was depreciated in relation to that of Continental countries, the prices of their commodities were therefore higher and the export of gold rather than commodities was thus a more profitable commercial transaction. According to him commodities were dear and money cheap on the English market, whereas on the Continent commodities were cheap and money dear.

An English writer states however:

"The fact I mean was the ruinously low prices of our manufactures and of our colonial productions under the operation of the Continental System during the last six years of the war. The prices of sugar and coffee, for instance, on the Continent, computed in gold, were four or five times higher than their prices in England, computed in bank notes. It was the time in which the French chemists discovered sugar in beet-root, and a substitute for coffee in chicory; and when the English grazier tried experiments upon fattening oxen with treacle and molasses—the time when England took possession of Heligoland, in order to form there a depôt of goods to facilitate the smuggling of them into the North of Europe; and when the lighter descriptions of British manufactures found their way into Germany through Turkey... Almost all the merchandise of the world accumulated in our warehouses, where they became impounded, except when some small quantity was released by a French Licence, for which the merchants at Hamburgh or Amsterdam had, perhaps, given Napoleon such a sum as forty or fifty thousand pounds. They must have been strange merchants to have paid so large a sum for liberty to carry a cargo of goods from a dear market to a cheap one. What was the ostensible alternative the merchant had? Either to buy coffee at 6d. a pound in bank notes,

Ricardo in English.] His confusion of money and commodities and of money and specie appears in a quite ridiculous form in the following passage: "If we can suppose that after an unfavourable harvest, when England has occasion for an unusual importation of corn, another nation is possessed of a superabundance of that article, but has no wants for any commodity whatever, it would unquestionably follow that such a nation would not export its corn in exchange for commodities: *but neither would it export corn for money*, as that is a commodity which no nation ever wants absolutely, but relatively" (l.c., p. 75). In his epic poem Pushkin relates that the father of his hero fails to grasp that commodities are money [*Eugene Onegin*, I, 7]. But that the Russians long ago grasped that money is a commodity is demonstrated not only by the English corn imports from 1838 to 1842, but also by the whole history of their trade.

* Cf. Thomas Tooke, *History of Prices*, and James Wilson, *Capital, Currency and Banking*. (The latter is a reprint of a series of articles published in the London *Economist* in 1844, 1845 and 1847.)

and send it to a place where it would instantly sell at 3s. or 4s. a pound in gold, or to buy gold with bank notes at £5 an ounce, and send it to a place where it would be received at £3 17s. $10^1/_2$d. an ounce. It is too absurd, or course, to say that the gold was remitted instead of the coffee, as a preferable mercantile operation... There was not a country in the world in which so large a quantity of desirable goods could be obtained as in England. Bonaparte was constantly examining the English Price Current. So long as he saw that gold was dear, and coffee was cheap in England, he was satisfied that his Continental System worked well." *

In 1810—just at the time when Ricardo first advanced his currency theory, and the Bullion Committee embodied it in its parliamentary report—the prices of all British commodities slumped ruinously in comparison with their level in 1808 and 1809, whereas the relative value of gold[a] rose. Agricultural products were an exception because their import from abroad was impeded and the amount available within the country was greatly reduced by bad harvests.** So completely did Ricardo misunderstand the function that precious metals perform as international means of payment that in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Lords (1819) he could declare

"THAT DRAINS FOR EXPORTATION WOULD CEASE ALTOGETHER SO SOON AS CASH PAYMENTS SHOULD BE RESUMED, AND THE CURRENCY BE RESTORED TO ITS METALLIC LEVEL".

His death occurred in time before the onset of the crisis of 1825 demonstrated the falsehood of his forecast. The time within which Ricardo's literary activity falls was in general hardly favourable to the study of the function which precious metals perform as world money. Before the imposition of the Continental System Britain had almost continuously a favourable trade balance, and while the System was in force her transactions with the European continent were too insignificant to affect the English rate of exchange. The transfer of money had a predominantly political character, and Ricardo seems to have completely misunderstood the role which subsidies played in British gold export.***

Among the contemporaries of Ricardo, *James Mill* was the most important of the adherents of his principles of political economy. He attempted to expound Ricardo's currency theory on the basis of simple metallic currency, omitting the irrelevant international complications, which conceal the inadequacy of Ricardo's concep-

* James Deacon Hume, *Letters on the Corn Laws*, London, 1834, pp. 29-31.
** Thomas Tooke, *History of Prices etc.*, London, 1848, p. 110.
*** Cf. W. Blake, *Observations etc.*, quoted earlier.

[a] The original has "money"; changed in Marx's own copy.—*Ed.*

tion, and all controversial references to the operation of the Bank of England. His main propositions are as follows.*

"By value of money, is here to be understood the proportion in which it exchanges for other commodities, or the quantity of it which exchanges for a certain quantity of other things. It is the total quantity of the money in any country, which determines that portion. If we suppose that all the goods of the country are on one side, all the money on the other, and that they are exchanged at once against one another, it is evident that the value of money would depend wholly upon the quantity of it. It will appear that the case is precisely the same in the actual state of the facts. The whole of the goods of a country are not exchanged at once against the whole of the money; the goods are exchanged in portions, often in very small portions, and at different times, during the course of the whole year. The same piece of money which is paid in one exchange to-day, may be paid in another exchange to-morrow. Some of the pieces will be employed in a great many exchanges, some in very few, and some, which happen to be hoarded, in none at all. There will, amid all these varieties, be a certain average number of exchanges, the same which, if all the pieces had performed an equal number, would have been performed by each; that average we may suppose to be any number we please; say, for example, ten. If each of the pieces of the money in the country perform ten purchases, that is exactly the same thing as if all the pieces were multiplied by ten, and performed only one purchase each. The value of all the goods in the country is equal to ten times the value of all the money, etc. If the quantity of money, instead of performing ten exchanges in the year, were ten times as great, and performed only one exchange in the year, it is evident that whatever addition were made to the whole quantity, would produce a proportional diminution of value, in each of the minor quantities taken separately. As the quantity of goods, against which the money is all exchanged at once, is supposed to be the same, the value of all the money is no more, after the quantity is augmented, than before it was augmented. If it is supposed to be augmented one-tenth, the value of every part, that of an ounce for example, must be diminished one-tenth. In whatever degree, therefore, the quantity of money is increased or diminished, other things remaining the same, in that same proportion, the value of the whole, and of every part, is reciprocally diminished or increased. This, it is evident, is a proposition universally true. Whenever the value of money has either risen or fallen (the quantity of goods against which it is exchanged and the rapidity of circulation remaining the same), the change must be owing to a corresponding diminution or increase of the quantity; and can be owing to nothing else. If the quantity of goods diminish, while the quantity of money remains the same, it is the same thing as if the quantity of money had been increased"; and vice versa. "Similar changes are produced by any alteration in the rapidity of circulation. An increase in the number of these purchases has the same effect as an increase in the quantity of money; a diminution the reverse... If there is any portion of the annual produce which is not exchanged at all, as what is consumed by the producer; or which is not exchanged for money; that is not taken into the account, because what is not exchanged for money is in the same state with respect to the money, as if it did not exist... Whenever the coining of money is free, its quantity is regulated by the value of the metal... Gold and silver are in reality

* James Mill, *Elements of Political Economy.* Retranslated from the French translation by J. T. Parisot published in Paris in 1823.[50]

commodities. It is cost of production which determines the value of these, as of other ordinary productions." *

Mill's whole wisdom is reduced to a series of assumptions which are both arbitrary and trite. He wishes to prove that "it is the total quantity of the money in any country" which determines the price of commodities or the value of money. If one *assumes* that the quantity and the exchange value of the commodities in circulation remain constant, likewise the velocity of circulation and the value of precious metals, which is detemined by the production costs, and if simultaneously one *assumes* that nevertheless the quantity of specie *in circulation* increases or decreases in relation to the volume of money *existing* in a country, then it is indeed "EVIDENT" that one has assumed what one has pretended to prove. Mill, moreover, commits the same error as Hume, namely placing not commodities with a determinate exchange value, but use values into circulation; his proposition is therefore wrong, even if one accepts all his "assumptions". The velocity of circulation may remain unchanged, similarly the value of precious metals and the *quantity* of commodities in circulation, yet they may nevertheless require sometimes a larger sometimes a smaller amount of money for their circulation as a result of changes in their exchange value. Mill notices that a part of the money existing in a country circulates while another part stagnates. By means of a very odd rule of averages he *assumes* that all the money present in a country is actually in circulation, although in reality it does not seem to be so. If one assumes that in a given country 10 million silver thaler circulate twice in the course of a year, then, if each thaler were used in only one purchase, 20 million could be in circulation. And if the total quantity of all forms of silver in the country amounted to 100 million, it may be supposed that the 100 million could be in circulation if each coin performed one purchase in five years. One could as well assume that all the money existing in the world circulated in Hampstead,[a] but that each portion of it performed one circuit in 3,000,000 years instead of, say, three circuits in one year. The one assumption is just as relevant as the other to the determination of the relation between the aggregate of commodity prices and the amount of currency. Mill is aware of the crucial importance of establishing a direct connection between the commodities and the whole stock of money—not just the amount

* L.c., pp. 128-36 *passim.*

[a] One of the 29 districts in London.—*Ed.*

of money in circulation—in a particular country at a given time. He admits that the whole of the goods of a country are "not exchanged at once" against the whole of the money, but says that separate portions of the goods are exchanged for various portions of money at different times throughout the year. In order to remove this incongruity he *assumes* that it does not exist. Incidentally, the whole concept of a direct confrontation between commodities and money and their direct exchange is derived from the movement of simple purchases and sales or from the function performed by money as means of purchase. The simultaneous appearance of commodities and money ceases even when money acts as means of payment.

The commercial crises of the nineteenth century, and in particular the great crises of 1825 and 1836, did not lead to any further development of Ricardo's currency theory, but rather to new practical applications of it. It was no longer a matter of single economic phenomena—such as the depreciation of precious metals in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries confronting Hume, or the depreciation of paper currency during the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth confronting Ricardo—but of big storms on the world market, in which the antagonism of all elements in the bourgeois process of production explodes; the origin of these storms and the means of defence against them were sought within the sphere of currency, the most superficial and abstract sphere of this process. The theoretical assumption which actually serves the school of economic weather experts as their point of departure is the dogma that Ricardo had discovered the laws governing purely metallic currency. It was thus left to them to subsume the circulation of credit money or bank notes under these laws.

The most common and conspicuous phenomenon accompanying commercial crises is a sudden fall in the general level of commodity prices occurring after a prolonged general rise of prices. A general fall of commodity prices may be expressed as a rise in the value of money relative to all other commodities, and, on the other hand, a general rise of prices may be defined as a fall in the relative value of money. Either of these statements describes the phenomenon but does not explain it. Whether the task set is to explain the periodic rise in the general level of prices alternating with a general fall, or the same task is said to be to explain the alternating fall and rise in the relative value of money compared with that of commodities—the different terminology has just as little effect on the task itself as a translation of the terms from

German into English would have. Ricardo's monetary theory proved to be singularly apposite since it gave to a tautology the semblance of a causal relation. What is the cause of the general fall in commodity prices which occurs periodically? It is the periodically occurring rise in the relative value of money. What on the other hand is the cause of the recurrent general rise in commodity prices? It is the recurrent fall in the relative value of money. It would be just as correct to say that the recurrent rise and fall of prices is brought about by their recurrent rise and fall. The proposition advanced presupposes that the intrinsic value of money, i.e. its value as determined by the production costs of the precious metals, remains *unchanged.* If the tautology is meant to be more than a tautology, then it is based on a misapprehension of the most elementary notions. We know that if the exchange value of *A* expressed in terms of *B* falls, it may be due either to a fall in the value of *A* or to a rise in the value of *B*; similarly if, on the contrary, the exchange value of *A* expressed in terms of *B* rises. Once the transformation of the tautology into a causal relationship is taken for granted, everything else follows easily. The rise in commodity prices is due to a fall in the value of money, the fall in the value of money, however, as we know from Ricardo, is due to excessive currency, that is to say, to the fact that the amount of money in circulation rises above the level determined by its own intrinsic value and the intrinsic value of commodities. Similarly in the opposite case, the general fall of commodity prices is due to the value of money rising above its intrinsic value as a result of an insufficient amount of currency. Prices therefore rise and fall periodically, because periodically there is too much or too little money in circulation. If it is proved, for instance, that the rise of prices coincided with a decreased amount of money in circulation, and the fall of prices with an increased amount, then it is nevertheless possible to assert that, in consequence of some reduction or increase—which can in no way be ascertained statistically—of commodities in circulation, the amount of money in circulation has relatively, though not absolutely, increased or decreased. We have seen that, according to Ricardo, even when a purely metallic currency is employed, these variations in the level of prices must take place, but, because they occur alternately, they neutralise one another. For example, an insufficient amount of currency brings about a fall in commodity prices, the fall of commodity prices stimulates an export of commodities to other countries, but this export leads to an influx of money into the country, the influx of money causes again a rise in commodity

prices. When there is an excessive amount of currency the reverse occurs: commodities are imported and money exported. Since notwithstanding these general price movements, which arise from the very nature of Ricardo's metallic currency, their severe and vehement form, the form of crisis, belongs to periods with developed credit systems, it is clear that the issue of bank notes is not exactly governed by the laws of metallic currency. The remedy applicable to metallic currency is the import and export of precious metals, which are immediately thrown into circulation as coin, their inflow or outflow thus causing commodity prices to fall or to rise. The banks must now artificially exert the same influence on commodity prices by imitating the laws of metallic currency. If gold is flowing in from abroad, it is a proof that there is an insufficient amount of currency, that the value of money is too high and commodity prices too low, and bank notes must therefore be thrown into circulation in accordance with the newly imported gold. On the other hand, bank notes must be taken out of circulation in accordance with an outflow of gold from the country. In other words the issue of bank notes must be regulated according to the import and export of the precious metals or according to the rate of exchange. Ricardo's wrong assumption that gold is simply specie and that consequently the whole of the imported gold is used to augment the money in circulation thus causing prices to rise, and that the whole of the gold exported represents a decrease in the amount of specie and thus causes prices to fall—this theoretical assumption is now turned *into a practical experiment by making the amount of specie in circulation correspond always to the quantity of gold in the country. Lord Overstone* (Jones Loyd, the banker), Colonel Torrens, Norman, Clay, Arbuthnot and numerous other writers known in England as the "CURRENCY PRINCIPLE" school[52] have not only preached this doctrine, but have made it the basis of the present English and Scottish banking legislation by means of Sir Robert Peel's Bank Acts of 1844 and 1845.[67] The analysis of the ignominious fiasco they suffered both in theory and practice, after experiments on the largest national scale, can only be made in the section dealing with the theory of credit.* It is obvious however that Ricardo's theory,

* Investigation into the operation of the Bank Acts of 1844 and 1845 was conducted by a Committee of the House of Commons a few months before the onset of the general commercial crisis of 1857. In his evidence to the Committee, Lord Overstone, the theoretical father of these Acts, gave vent to the following piece of boasting: "By strict and prompt adherence to the principles of the Act of

which regards currency, the fluid form of money, in isolation, ends by attributing to increases and decreases in the amount of precious metals an absolute influence on bourgeois economy such as was never imagined even in the superstitious concepts of the monetary system. Ricardo, who declared that paper money is the most perfect form of money, was thus to become the prophet of the bullionists.

After Hume's theory, or the abstract opposition to the monetary system, had been developed to its extreme conclusions, Steuart's concrete interpretation of money was finally restored to its legitimate position by *Thomas Tooke.** Tooke derives his principles not from some theory or other but from a scrupulous analysis of the history of commodity prices from 1793 to 1856. In the first edition of his *History of Prices*, which was published in 1823, Tooke is still completely engrossed in the Ricardian theory and vainly tries to reconcile the facts with this theory. His pamphlet *On the Currency*, which was published after the crisis of 1825, could even be regarded as the first consistent exposition of the views which Overstone was to set forth later. But continued investigation of the history of prices compelled Tooke to recognise that the direct correlation between prices and the quantity of currency presupposed by this theory is purely imaginary, that increases or decreases in the amount of currency when the value of precious metals remains constant are always the consequence, never the cause, of price variations, that altogether the circulation of money is merely a secondary movement and that, in addition to serving as medium of circulation, money performs various other functions in the real process of production. His detailed research does not

1844, everything has passed off with regularity and ease; the monetary system is safe and unshaken, the prosperity of the country is undisputed, the public confidence in the wisdom of the Act of 1844 is daily gaining strength; and if the Committee wish for further practical illustration of the soundness of the principles on which it rests, or of the beneficial results which it has assured, the true and sufficient answer to the Committee is, look around you; look at the present state of trade of the country, look at the contentment of the people; look at the wealth and prosperity which pervades every class of the community; and then, having done so, the Committee may be fairly called upon to decide whether they will interfere with the continuance of an Act under which these results have been developed." [Marx quotes in English.] Thus did Overstone blow his own trumpet on 14 July 1857, and on 12 November of the same year the miraculous Act of 1844 had to be suspended by the Cabinet on its own responsibility. [*The Evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons of 1857, on Bank Acts*, London, 1858, pp. 263-64.]

* That Tooke was quite unaware of Steuart's work is apparent from his *History of Prices from 1839 to 1847*, London, 1848, where he summarises the history of theories of money.

belong to the sphere of simple metallic currency and at this stage it is accordingly not yet possible to examine it or the works of *Wilson* and *Fullarton*, who belong to the same school of thought.* None of these writers take a one-sided view of money but deal with its various aspects, though only from a mechanical angle without paying any attention to the organic relation of these aspects either with one another or with the system of economic categories as a whole. Hence, they fall into the error of confusing *money* as distinct from *currency* with *capital* or even with commodities; although on the other hand, they are occasionally constrained to assert that there is a distinction between these two categories and money.** When, for example, gold is sent abroad, then indeed capital is sent abroad, but this is also the case when iron, cotton, corn, in short when any commodity, is exported. Both are capital and the difference between them does not consist therefore in the fact that one is capital, but that one is money and the other commodity. The role of gold as international means of exchange is thus due not to the distinctive form it has as capital, but to the specific function it performs as money. Similarly when gold or bank notes which take its place act as means of payment in domestic trade they are at the same time capital. But it would be impossible to use capital in the shape of commodities instead, as crises very strikingly demonstrate, for instance. It is again the difference between commodities and gold used as money and not its function as capital which turns gold into a means of payment.

* Tooke's principal work—apart from the *History of Prices*, which was published in six volumes by his collaborator Newmarch—is *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle; the Connection of the Currency with Prices etc.*, 2nd ed., London, 1844. *Wilson*'s book has already been quoted. There remains to be mentioned John Fullarton, *On the Regulation of Currencies*, 2nd ed., London, 1845.

** "We ought to distinguish between gold considered as merchandise, i.e. as capital, and gold considered as currency" (Tooke, *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle etc.*, p. 10). [This quotation is in German, the two below are in English.] "Gold and silver may be counted upon to realise on their arrival nearly the exact sum required to be provided... Gold and silver possess an infinite advantage over all other description of merchandise ... from the circumstance of being universally in use as money... It is not in tea, coffee, sugar or indigo that debts, whether foreign or domestic, are usually contracted to be paid, but in coin; and the remittance, therefore, either in the identical coin designated, or in bullion which can be promptly turned into that coin through the Mint or market of the country to which it is sent, must always afford to the remitter the most certain, immediate, and accurate means of effecting this object, without risk of disappointment from the failure of demand or fluctuation of price" (Fullarton, l.c., pp. 132, 133). "Any other article" (apart from gold and silver) "might in quantity or kind be beyond the usual demand of the country to which it is sent" (Tooke, *An Inquiry etc.* [p. 10]).

Even when capital is directly exported as capital, e.g. in order to lend a definite amount on interest abroad, it depends on market conditions whether this is exported in the shape of commodities or of gold; and if it is exported as gold this is done because of the specific function which the precious metals perform as money in contradistinction to commodities. Generally speaking, these writers do not first of all examine money in its abstract form in which it develops within the framework of simple commodity circulation and grows out of the relations of commodities in circulation. As a consequence they continually vacillate between the abstract forms which money assumes, as opposed to commodities, and those forms of money which conceal concrete factors, such as capital, REVENUE, and so forth.*

* The conversion of money into capital will be examined in Chapter Three, which deals with capital and concludes this first section.[88]

# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

# INDEX TO THE 7 NOTEBOOKS

## (TO THE FIRST PART)[89]

[First Draft]

[M-23] I) VALUE

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II) MONEY

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(3) *Money as money* (Cf. I, 17) (21) (23) (VI, 28). Equivalent (*Steuart* VII, 25 bottom). Bailey VII, 35, 36. HOARDING (VII, 38). Petition of the Cortes (VII, 44) (VII, 46).

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[M-25] (4) *The precious metals as the material of money. Montanari.* Fantasies about the "invention" of money (VII, 27).

Bailey (VII, 36). Copper, silver, gold (*Buchanan* VII, 37).

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[a] Livres of account.—*Ed.*

[b] [E. Misselden,] *Free Trade. Or, the Meanes to Make Trade Florish*, p. 21.—*Ed.*

*Newman* (VII, 47). *Galiani* (VII, 49). Depreciation of copper in Rome (VII, 35).

Depreciation of different kinds of money. *Morrison* VII, 55.

(5) *The law of appropriation, as it appears in simple circulation*

[M-26] (6) *Transition from money to capital*

III) CAPITAL IN GENERAL

*Transformation of money into capital*

(1) *The production process of capital*
(a) *The exchange of capital with labour capacity*

[M-27] (b) *Absolute surplus value*
(*Ricardo* VI, 12.) (*Surplus labour.* Steuart VII, 25 and 26.)

(c) *Relative surplus value*

(d) *Primitive accumulation*
(Presuppositions for the relation of capital and wage labour)

[M-28] (e) *Inversion of the law of appropriation* (Ricardo VI, 1, 2) (VI, 37, 38).

(2) *The circulation process of capital*

[Second Draft]

[M-29] (1) *Money as measure*

*When paper money is denominated in a metallic (in general, in any)* STANDARD, its convertibility is, whether legally or not, an economic law. The controversial questions concerning convertibility therefore become purely technical—*how* to ensure this convertibility, legal or not, etc. (Notebook I, p. 8). Hence the theory of the *ideal* standard, i.e. NO STANDARD AT ALL, held by the consistent adherents to CONVERTIBILITY (p. 9, ibid.) (p. 10).

*Nominal undepreciability of money,* not because it alone expresses an authentic value, but because it expresses no value at all; rather,

its price, what is called the mint price, is nothing more than the name for certain quantities of its own substance (I, 9).

*Labour money* (I, 11) (12) (VII, 57).

*Money is the exchange value of the commodities which exists independently alongside them* and into which they must be converted (I, 13). Into a qualitatively different element. In this way, they become commensurable (I, 14) (I, 35).

*The exchange value of commodities in money is determined* by the labour time contained in them (I, 25) (I, 35). (How it actually takes place. Ibid.)

Price (I, 35) (36). As measure, money always serves as money of account, and as price the commodity is always transformed into money only notionally (I, 36) (*Garnier* l.c.). This notional transformation has nothing to do with the supply of money (l.c.) (38, I, *Hubbard*). The relation of prices to the value of money (I, 37).

Money as measure differs from money as means of circulation (Garnier, Storch I, 36) (I, 37). (*Gouge.* Measure in the American colonies VII, 27.) Scotland (VII, 38) (VII, 55. Wilson[90]). (Money among the ancient Germans. *Wirth.*)[91]

For *money as measure* its material presence is irrelevant, but it is conceived of as a substance (its material presence is essential in the imagination, not as a determination outside the commodity) (I, 41, 42) (43) (VII, 29 bottom) (30, 31 ibid.) (32, 33) (34) (35). Assignats (35). (*Ideal measure.*)

IDEAL STANDARD OF MONEY (*Steuart* VII, 26, 27) (VII, 38). *Urquhart* (VII, 55).

DOUBLE STANDARD (VII, 29) (VII, 38) (VII, 55).

[M-30] As *measure,* money does not need to be invariable in value (*Bailey* VII, 35, 36).

*Fixing the money of account* (Müller VII, 36) (VII, 38).

*Depreciation of the* STANDARD (VII, 55 Morrison).

*Causes of the rise in the price of bullion above the mint price* (Fullarton VII, 55) (VII, 61) (*Macleod* 1698), etc., (Notebook [p.] 2) sqq.[92]

(1) Notional transformation of commodities into money. So money is measure. The exchange value of commodities is expressed as price. So money becomes money of account. Labour time is the measure between money and commodity. How this takes place in reality.

(2) A definite quantity of this particular substance, which is as such therefore decisive, but only as imagined. Actual presence is of no consequence for this process; similarly, the quantity of money available. Money as measure can exist independently of money as actual means of exchange.

(3) As money of account, money acquires a universal social existence in the mint price; instead of the actual weight, the reckoning is done with its name. This is the mint price. Apparent non-depreciability of money. Depreciation. Appreciation.

(4) The laws very simple:

(a) If the value of money falls or rises, the money prices of commodities conversely rise or fall.

(b) The division must be fixed, i.e. definite quantities must always bear the same name. But if money is used as measure, variations in its value are of no consequence. Its mint price does not express any value, but only a quantity. This is the *FIXED STANDARD.*

(c) One metal must be the measure. No DOUBLE STANDARD.

(5) Historical survey on the IDEAL STANDARD. Labour money, etc.

[M-31] (2) *Money as means of exchange*

*Notebook I,* 14, 15, 16 (first, notional transformation into money; then actual). (*Transition from money as measure to money as means of exchange.*)

*Transcendental power of money* I, 15. Fortuitousness of the convertibility of commodities into money. (I, 15 bottom and 16). Separation of purchase and sale (I, 16) (16, 17). Exchange value is a quality completely inherent in the commodities, simultaneously outside them.

*Separation of purchase and sale* (I, 39). (A multitude of apparent transactions is possible I, 40.) (Social estate of merchants l.c.) (Germ of crises I, 39. I, 40.) Absolute division of labour possible (l.c.) (cf. 17, 18) (I, 40). [To obtain the thing required,] MONEY HAS only 1 EXCHANGE to make, commodities 2 (VII, 49). *Corbet* (VII, 52).

*Money circulation and commodity circulation are inverse movements* (I, 34) (I, 37). Distinction. Money remains in circulation (I, 40) (41)

(47) (*marchandise*[a] becomes *denrée*,[b] money as means of circulation does not).

*The split-up nature of money circulation* (I, 34). (Distinction from bank circulation ibid.) (VII, 25). The quantity of turnovers. In circulation proper, money ceases to be a commodity (ibid. [I, 34]). *Turnover of money.* Is means of circulation, has a circulation in its own right (l.c.). Commodities and money circulate each other. External moments determining money circulation (l.c.).

*Circulation as total movement* (I, 38). (Here for the first time a social process appears as a social nexus in opposition to the individuals.) Formal character of simple circulation (II, 16, 17) (VII, 29).

*The quantity of commodities and prices.* The commodities as prices are preposited to circulation. As prices, they are imagined as money not merely by the individual, but by all exchangers. We set out from the proposition that only equivalents are exchanged. But the determination of price always precedes the actual circulation process (I, 34). (Quantity of the circulating medium.)

*Presupposition of circulation: Firstly, fixation of prices.* The commodities are assumed as determined in price. Secondly. Totality of exchanges (I, 34 bottom). As price, the commodity appears as a *particular existence* of exchange value, alongside money as its universal adequate [existence] (I, 37). Properly speaking, money only circulates the titles of ownership (I, 37).

[M-32] *Value of money. Money remains a commodity only as means of circulation* VII, 56 (J. St. Mill). 57 l.c. *Sismondi.*

*Quantity of the circulating medium* (I, 37 bottom). Depends on the level of prices and the number of transactions. On the velocity [of circulation] (*Galiani* VII, 49) (38, I). A definite quantity is necessary for simultaneous payments, acts of exchange (I, 38). Contraction and expansion of circulation (I, 46). Steuart, etc. Locke, etc. (VII, 26). (*W. Blake* VII, 29.) James Mill's theory (VII, 57, 58). A passage on *velocity* (*Galiani* VII, 49) (VII, 61 Fullarton) (Ricardo VII, 59).

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[a] Commodity as an object of trade.—*Ed.*
[b] Commodity as an object of consumption.—*Ed.*

*Money* a means to circulate the immovable (Bray, *Free Trade,*[a] etc. VII, 59).

*Circulation as a never-ending process* (its form determination) (I, 39). (Germ of crises) (l. c.).

*Form of circulation.* *C—M—C.*
*M—C—M* (I, 40).

In *C—M—C*, money merely the means for exchanging the commodity (I, 44). As such, indifferent to the material of which it is composed (I, 44). Money becomes a representative of itself (l. c.). (Represents in the totality of circulation a greater quantity of silver and gold than it actually contains.) Distinction between money as realisation of prices and means of circulation (l. c.) (represents the prices of commodities in relation to one another). Because of this contradiction: effects of the counterfeiting of money, of merely symbolic money (I, 45, 46). Is money a commodity or not? (l. c.) productive or not? (l. c.) (*Ferrier,* A. Smith) (47). (*Solly* I, 47. BARTER or not?) (Means of production I, 47.)

*Money as realising prices.* Price exists outside the commodity; the commodity is perhaps not posited as price, etc. (I, 39) (44) (45). Money as means of circulation figures only as something to be alienated. Not for consumption (II, 4).

*The wear of coin in circulation* VII, 64. VII, 61.

*Coin* (II, 3). (Marking the material of money; money posited in the form of means of circulation is coin.) (Its use value now coincides with its form determination) (*Storch* VII, 50).

Changes in the circulating medium (gold, silver, copper; subsidiary coins) VII, 36, 37 (*Buchanan* 37). Excess of copper (ibid.) (*The Economist* VII, 52).

*Determination of the value of the means of circulation* simply by its quantity (VII, 37) (38) (*Opdyke* VII, 49) VII, 61.

[M-33] *Money as money*

*Money as general commodity* (I, 17).

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[a] [E. Misselden,] *Free Trade. Or, the Meanes to Make Trade Florish.—Ed.*

*Money as objectified social nexus* (I, 21). Social pledge (Aristotle calls it surety) (I, 22).

*Money as universal prostitution.* Dissolution of relations. Universal relationship of utility (I, 23) (24).

*Use of gold as an article of luxury* (I, 26, see *Jacob,* Notebook V, 14[93]). During the Middle Ages, conversion of PLATE into money and conversely.

Jacob. Notebook IV (p. 12, Vol. II) (II, 5).

Money an *imperishable value* through a negative relation to circulation (VI, 28).

"*MONEY—...AN ADEQUATE EQUIVALENT* FOR ANY THING ALIENABLE" *Steuart* l. c., Vol. I, [1770,] p. 32.

*General commodity.* Bailey VII, 35.

Material of the *GENERAL COMMODITY OF CONTRACTS* (Bailey VII, 35). As such, variations in its value are important VII, 36.

*HOARDING* VII, 38. Amassing of treasure I, 49[94] (II, 4) (5) (6).

*Petition of the Cortes* VII, 44.

*Dissolving effect of money* VII, 46. VII, 59.

*Money as international means of payment* (Fullarton, etc. VII, 59, 60, 61).

*Money as means of payment* VII, 52. VII, 50 (II, 7).

*M—C—M* (I, 40) (41) (I, 47).

*Money* as the unity of measure and means of circulation, comes out of circulation. *Material representative of wealth* (I, 41) (42).

As product of circulation (I, 48).

*Money as universal exchange value become independent* I, 48. II, 1.

*Money as object of the quest for enrichment* (II, 1, 2).

*Individualised exchange value* II, 2-3.

*Money and community* (II, 3).

*Money in contrast to coin strips off the local character* (II, 3). World coin (l. c.) (II, 4).

*Money.* Negation of its determination as means of circulation and measure (II, 4, and their unity l. c.).

*Apocalypse* (II, 7).

*Difficulty of grasping money in its 3rd determination* (II, 8).

"With the exception of Mexican dollars, in which the produce of the South American silver mines is mainly distributed, the IMPERIALS OF RUSSIA, in which the produce of the Asiatic provinces is adding to the GENERAL SUPPLY of the precious metals, and the English sovereigns, on which no SEIGNORAGE is charged, the

instances are rare in which, unless depreciated by paper money, COINS are sent abroad to supply foreign payments" (Tooke [*A History of Prices, and of the State of the Circulation, from 1839 to 1847 inclusive*, London, 1848, p. 226]).

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# THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF THE SECOND AND THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRD CHAPTER OF *A CONTRIBUTION TO THE CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY*[95]

## [CHAPTER TWO, MONEY]

### [2) MONEY AS MEANS OF PAYMENT]

[...] [B′-1] obtains. Every peculiarity of the relation between the two [parties to the exchange] has been obliterated (exchange value as such, the general product of the social circulation, is here alone involved), and similarly all the political, patriarchal and other relationships stemming from the particularity of the relation. Both relate to each other as abstract social persons, merely representing exchange value as such before each other. Money has now become the sole *nexus rerum*[96] between them, money *sans phrase.* The peasant no longer confronts the landowner as a peasant with his rural product and his rural labour, but as the money owner, for through the sale the immediate use value has been alienated and has assumed an indifferent form through the medium of the social process. On the other hand, the landowner no longer regards him as an uncouth individual producing means of subsistence in peculiar living conditions, but as one whose product—exchange value become independent, the universal equivalent, money—is no different from anyone else's product. Thus, the idyllic aura that covered up the transaction in its previous form is dispelled.

The absolute monarchy, itself already a product of the development of bourgeois wealth to a level incompatible with the old feudal relationships, is—in accordance with the uniform general power which it must be able to exercise at every point of the periphery—in need of a material instrument of that power: the *universal equivalent,* wealth in its constant battle-ready form in which it is completely independent of particular local, natural, individual relations. It needs wealth in the form of money. A system of services and deliveries in kind tends to impart, in accordance with their specific character, a particular character to their use as well. Money is alone capable of being immediately

converted into any particular use value. So the absolute monarchy is actively engaged in converting money into the universal means of payment. That can be done only through forced circulation, which makes products circulate at below their value. For the absolute monarchy, the conversion of all taxes into money taxes is a vital matter. So, whereas the conversion of [feudal] services into money services at an earlier stage appears as the shedding of relationships of personal dependence, as a victory of the bourgeois society, which buys its way out of the shackling fetters with cash—a process which, on the other hand, appears from the romantic viewpoint as a substitution of hard and insensitive money relationships for mankind's motley *ties*—in the epoch of the rising absolute monarchy, whose art of finance consists in the forcible conversion of commodities into money, money is itself attacked by bourgeois economists as imaginary wealth to which natural wealth is being forcibly sacrificed. So, whereas Petty,[a] for instance, actually celebrates in money, as the material for hoarding, merely the general energetic drive for enrichment of the young bourgeois society in England, Boisguillebert,[b] in the reign of Louis XIV, denounces money as the universal curse which causes the development of the real sources of the production of wealth to run dry, and whose dethronement alone can restore to the world of commodities, the true wealth and its general enjoyment, its good old rights. He could not as yet comprehend that the same black art of finance which threw men and commodities into the alchemistic retort in order to make gold, simultaneously caused all the relationships and illusions hemming the bourgeois mode of production to be vaporised, to leave simple money relationships, common exchange-value relationships, as a residue.

"In feudal time cash payment had not grown to be the sole nexus of man to man. Not as buyer and seller alone, but in many senses still as soldier and captain, as loyal subject and guiding king, etc. was the low related to the high. With the supreme triumph of cash, a changed time has entered" (Th. Carlyle, *On Chartism*, London, 1840, p. 58).

Money is "impersonal" property. I can carry it around with me in my pocket as the universal social power and the universal social nexus, the social substance. Money puts social power as a thing into the hands of the private person, who as such uses this power.

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[a] W. Petty, *Several Essays in Political Arithmetick*, pp. 178-79 and 196.—*Ed.*

[b] P. Boisguillebert, *Dissertation sur la nature des richesses, de l'argent et des tributs.* In: *Économistes financiers du XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1843, pp. 395, 399, 413 and 422.—*Ed.*

The social nexus, the social exchange of matter, itself appears in money as something entirely external, not having any individual relation at all to its possessor, so that the power he wields appears to be something quite incidental and external to him.

[B′-2] Without any further anticipation, this much is clear: With the development of the credit system there is an extraordinary spread of buying on time. To the extent that the credit system is developed, and hence production based on exchange value, the role of money as means of payment will increase, as compared with its role as means of circulation, as agent of purchase and sale. In countries with a developed modern mode of production, and therefore a developed credit system, money as specie effectively figures almost exclusively in retail trade and in petty trade between producers and consumers, while in the sphere of large-scale trading transactions it appears almost exclusively in the form of the *universal means of payment.* In so far as the payments are in balance, money appears as a transient form, a merely notional, imaginary measure of the exchange magnitudes of value. Its bodily involvement is confined to the settlement of relatively insignificant balances.*

* "To prove how little," says Mr. Slater (of the firm of Morrison, Dillon et Co, whose transactions are amongst the largest of the metropolis) "of real money enters into the operations of trade", he gives an "analysis of a continuous course of commercial transactions, extending over several millions yearly, and which may be considered as a fair example of the general trade of the country. The proportions of receipts and payments are reduced to the scale of £1,000,000 only, during the year 1856, and are as under, viz.:

| *Receipts* | £ | *Payments* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| In bankers' drafts and mercantile bills of exchange, payable after date | 533,596 | Bills of exchange payable after date | 302,674 |
| In cheques of bankers etc. payable on demand | 357,715 | Cheques on London bankers | 663,672 |
| In country banknotes | 9,627 | | |
| Bank of England notes | 68,554 | Bank of England notes | 22,743 |
| Gold | 28,089 | Gold | 9,427 |
| Silver and copper | 1,486 | Silver and copper | 1,484 |
| Post-office orders | 933 | | |
| | £1,000,000 | | £1,000,000." |

p. LXXI (Report from the Select Committee on the Bank Acts etc. 1 July 1858.) [Marx quotes in English.]

The development of money as the universal means of payment goes hand in hand with the development of a higher, mediated form of circulation—that returns upon itself and that has already been taken under social control—in which the exceptional importance that money has on the basis of the simple metallic circulation, as it does, for instance, in hoarding in the strict sense of the term, is transcended. But then, if sudden credit upheavals should interrupt the mutual settlement of payments and upset the payments mechanism, it is money that is suddenly in demand as the real universal means of payment, with the requirement that the whole volume of wealth should have a two-fold existence: once as commodity and again as money, so that these two modes of existence are identical to each other. At such moments of crisis, money appears as exclusive wealth, which is manifested as such not in some merely imaginary depreciation, as it does in, say, the monetary system, but in the active depreciation of all real wealth. With respect to the world of commodities, value then continues to exist only in its adequate exclusive form—as money.

The further elaboration of this point is here irrelevant. What is relevant, however, is that moments of monetary crises proper bring out a contradiction that is immanent to the development of money as the universal means of payment. It is not as a measure that money is demanded in such crises, since as such its corporeal presence is a matter of indifference; nor is it as coin, for it does not figure as such in payments; but it is demanded as exchange value become independent, as a materially present universal equivalent, as the embodiment of abstract wealth; in the form, that is, in which it is the object of hoarding in the strict sense of the term, as money. Its development as the universal means of payment shrouds the contradiction that exchange value has assumed forms independent of its mode of existence as money; and on the other hand, its mode of existence as money is posited precisely as the definitive and solely adequate one.

In consequence of the balancing out of payments and their cancellation of each other as positive and negative amounts, money, as means of payment, can appear as a merely notional form of commodity, as in the case with its being the measure [of value], and in its functioning in the formation of prices. The collision occurs from the fact that—contrary to the arrangement, contrary to the general assumption of modern trade, and whenever the mechanism of these mutual cancellations and the credit system on which it partly rests are disrupted—it must instantly be present and to hand in its real form.

The law that the mass of money in circulation is determined by the aggregate price of the commodities in circulation is now supplemented as follows: by the aggregate price[a] of the payments falling due in the given period and the economy practised in effecting them.

[B′-3] We have seen that the change in the value of gold and silver does not affect their function as measure of value, as money of account. By contrast, this value change becomes crucially important for money in its function as means of payment. What is to be paid is a determined quantity of gold or silver in which a determined value, i.e. a determined labour time, was objectified by the time the contract was concluded. But, like all other commodities, gold and silver change the magnitude of their value with the change in the labour time required for their production, falling or rising in value as it falls or rises. Therefore, in the event that the realisation of the sale on the part of the buyer occurs later in time than the alienation of the sold commodity, the same quantity of gold or silver may contain a different, a greater or lesser, value than at the conclusion of the contract. Gold and silver retain their specific quality of money, that of always being the realised and realisable universal equivalent, of always being exchangeable for all the commodities to the extent of their own value, regardless of any change in the magnitude of their own value. However, the latter is, *potentialiter,* subject to the same fluctuations as is the value of any other commodity. Consequently, whether payment is effected in a real equivalent, i.e. in the initially anticipated value magnitude, depends on whether or not the labour time required for the production of the given quantity of gold or silver has remained the same. The nature of money, as incarnated in a specific commodity, here comes into collision with its function of exchange value become independent. The great revolutions in all economic relationships which, in the 16th and 17th centuries, for instance, were caused by the fall in the value of the precious metals, or a similar but smaller-scale revolution in the ancient Roman Republic in the period between [the first silver *denarius* in 485 *ab urbe condito*][b] and the start of the Second Punic War[39] caused by the rise in the value of copper, in which the plebeians' debts were contracted, are well known. A demonstration

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[a] In the manuscript, "Gesamtpreis" (aggregate price) is written over the word "Gesamtsumme" (sum-total).— *Ed.*

[b] A hiatus in the manuscript. The text in square brackets is based on analogous passages in the 1857-58 manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 28, p. 119, and this volume, p. 212).— *Ed.*

of the influence of a rise or fall in the value of the precious metals, the material of money, on economic relationships implies an analysis of these relationships themselves, and so is not yet feasible at this point.

What is self-evident is that the fall in the value of the precious metals, i. e. of money, always goes to benefit the payer at the expense of the payee, and a rise in their value, the other way round.

The complete reification [Versachlichung], externalisation of the social exchange of matter on the basis of exchange values is strikingly manifested in the dependence of all social relationships on the production costs of metallic objects of natural origin which have no significance at all as instruments of production, as factors in the creation of wealth.

### 3) MONEY AS INTERNATIONAL MEANS OF PAYMENT AND PURCHASE, AS WORLD COIN

Money is the *universal commodity,* if only because it is the universal form which every particular commodity notionally or actually assumes.

As treasure and universal means of payment, money becomes the universal means of exchange on the world market, the universal commodity not only in concept, but also in mode of existence. The particular national form which it acquires in its function as coin is stripped from it in its existence as money. As such it is cosmopolitan.* Since a social exchange of matter can occur through the involvement of gold and silver—which are use values for the needs of enrichment, abstract wealth independent of any particular requirements—even if only one nation [B′-4] is immediately in need of the use values of another, gold and silver tend to become exceptionally effective agents in the creation of the world market, and in the extension of the social exchange of matter across any local, religious, political and racial distinctions. Even among the ancients, the hoarding by the State is significant as a reserve fund mainly for international means of payment, as a battle-ready equivalent in the event of crop-failures, and as a source of subsidies in time of war (Xenophon[a]). The great role of

* The ancients were quick to note this cosmopolitan character of money: "What is his homeland, what is his tribe? He is a *rich man.*"[97]

[a] Xenophon, *De vectigalibus*, IV, 9.—*Ed.*

American silver as a link between America, from which it went to Europe as a commodity, thence to be exported as a means of exchange to Asia, especially India, there mostly to precipitate in the form of treasure, was the fact whose observation marked the start of the scientific struggle over the monetary system, since it led to the East India Company's fight against the prohibition in England of the export of money (see *Misselden*[a]).

In so far as gold and silver merely serve as means of exchange in this international commerce, they in fact perform the function of coin, but a coin stripped of its stamp, and one which, whether it exists in the form of coin or bar, is estimated only according to its metallic weight, and not only represents value, but is simultaneously such. That gold and silver in this determination of *world coin* do not, however, necessarily perform a circular movement, as they do in their capacity as coin proper, but may one-sidedly continue to act in such a way that one of the parties to the exchange always remains the buyer and the other always the seller, is also one of those observations which immediately suggested themselves in the infancy of the bourgeois society. Hence, the exceptionally important role the discovery of new gold- and silver-producing lands has to play in the history of the development of the world market, both in breadth and in depth, since the use value they produce, instantly the universal commodity, on the other hand, also immediately imparts to them together with the possibility, in virtue of the abstract nature of their product, the necessity of commerce based on exchange value.

Just as with the development of productive relations in general, money develops as means of payment within a given national circle of the bourgeois society, so it also develops in its determination as international means of payment. But as in that narrower, so in this wider circle, its importance stands out strikingly only when the mechanism of the mutual settlement of payments is disturbed. The development of money in this determination has increased to such an extent since 1825—an increase which has, naturally, kept in step with the expansion and intensity of international commerce—that even the most outstanding economists of the preceding epoch, Ricardo, for example, still had no inkling at all of the volume in which ready money could be required as international means of payment for a nation such, for instance, as

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[a] [E. Misselden,] *Free Trade. Or, the Meanes to Make Trade Florish*, pp. 12, 13 and 19-24. See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 161 and 164-65.—*Ed.*

England. Whereas specific requirement in the specific use value in which the exchange value is incarnated is the prerequisite for exchange value in the guise of any other commodity, there is no such limitation for gold and silver as abstract wealth. Like the noble man of whom the poet dreams,[a] gold (or silver) pays with what it is, and not with what it does. The possibility of functioning as means of purchase and means of payment is, naturally, always latent in it. Like the inert, assured being of the universal equivalent in which it is treasure, in no country is it limited by the need of it as means of circulation, by the volume in which it is required as means of circulation, or by any other need of its immediate use whatsoever. Its use value, abstract and purely social in itself, which it derives from its function of means of circulation, itself once again appears as some special aspect of its use as the *universal equivalent*, the material of abstract wealth in general. From its specific use value as metal, and hence as raw material for manufacturing, stems the totality of the various functions it can alternately fulfil within the social exchange of matter or in the performance of which it itself assumes the various forms of coin, bar, etc., thereby presenting itself as so many use values all of which reduce themselves to the various forms in which gold and silver as the abstract and therefore adequate being of exchange value as such confronts its being in some particular commodity.

Here we have to consider money only in its abstract determinations of form. The laws regulating the distribution of precious metals on the world market imply economic relationships in their most concrete form, something that still lies ahead of us. The same applies to all the circulation of money which it performs as capital, and not as universal commodity or universal equivalent.

On the world market, money is always *realised value*. What makes it a magnitude of value lies in its immediate materiality, in the weight of the precious metal. When it appears as coin, its use value coincides with its use merely as means of circulation, and so can be replaced by a mere symbol. As world coin, it is effectively demonetised. The externality and the establishment of the independence of the social nexus in money with respect to individuals in their individual relations clearly stand out in gold and silver [B′-5] as *world coin* (still national as coin). (Here money appears in effect as their [the individuals'] community existing as a physical object outside them.) Indeed, what the early forerunners of

[a] An apparent reference to Goethe's "Das Göttliche", which opens with the line: "Let man be noble."—*Ed.*

political economy in Italy[a] celebrated was precisely this excellent invention which made a general exchange of matter in society possible without any individual contacts. As coin, money has a national, local character. If, as gold and silver, it is to serve as international means of exchange, it has to be melted down, and if it exists in the form of coin, this form is irrelevant, and the coin is reduced to its pure weight. In the most developed international system of exchange, gold and silver reappear in exactly the same form in which they already figured in primitive barter. As means of exchange, gold and silver, like the exchange itself, do not initially appear within the confines of some social community but at the point where it ends, on its border, at the few points of its contact with other communities. It appears to be posited, therefore, as the commodity as such, as the universal commodity which everywhere preserves its character of wealth. From the standpoint of this determination of form, its importance is similar in all places. So it is the *material* representative of *universal* wealth. In the mercantile system, for that reason, gold and silver are regarded as measure of the power of different communities.

"So soon as the PRECIOUS METALS become OBJECTS OF COMMERCE, AN UNIVERSAL EQUIVALENT FOR EVERYTHING, they become also the MEASURE OF POWER BETWEEN NATIONS." Hence the mercantile system (Steuart [*An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy*, Vol. I, Dublin, 1770, p. 327]).

The determination of money—that of serving as *international* means of exchange and means of payment—is in effect not some kind of new determination in addition to its determination of being money in general, a universal equivalent and so both treasure and means of payment. The determination of universal equivalent contains the determination of money as universal commodity, in which capacity, it is true, money is realised only as world coin. In general, it is as international means of payment and means of exchange that gold and silver (as has been mentioned) first appear as money, and it is precisely from this appearance of theirs that the concept of them as a universal commodity is abstracted. The national, political limitation formally set on money generally as a measure (through the establishment of a measuring unit and its division into parts) which in coin may extend even to its content whenever the value tokens issued by the State are substituted for the real metal, all of this historically put in a later appearance than that form in which money appears as universal

[a] A reference, among others, to Geminiano Montanari, Antonio Genovesi and Ferdinando Galiani. See this volume, p. 165.—*Ed.*

commodity, as world coin. But why? Because here it generally appears in its concrete form of money.

To be measure and to be means of circulation are functions of money in the performance of which it assumes special forms of being only through these functions later becoming independent. Take, first, *coin*: initially it is nothing but a determinate weight-part of gold; the stamp is added as guarantee, as denominator of weight, so that it does not change anything yet; the stamp, the *façon*, i.e. the indicator of value, becomes an independent sign, a symbol of value and, through the mechanism of circulation itself, becomes substance instead of form; at this point, the State has to intervene because such a token must be guaranteed by society's power become independent, by the State. But in actual fact, money operates in circulation precisely as money, as gold and silver; being coin is merely its function. In this function it is particularised and can be sublimated into a pure token of value which, as such, requires legally established and legally enforced recognition.

Second, take *measure*. Initially, the measuring units of money and their subdivisions are in fact mere weight-parts of money as metal; as money, it has the same measuring unit that it has as weight. The only difference is that as soon as the nominal value of these minted pieces of metal corresponding to the weight subdivisions begins to separate from the real value, the measure-serving subdivisions of gold and silver as gold and silver are separated from their measure-serving subdivisions as money; with the result that determinate weight-parts of the metal, to the extent that they function as measures of value, obtain their own names in this function.

So, in world trade, gold and silver are estimated only according to their weight, without regard to their stamp; in other words, there is an abstraction from them as coins. In international trade, they appear entirely in the form or formlessness in which they initially appeared, and wherever they serve as means of exchange, they also simultaneously serve as equivalent value, as realised price, as real equivalent, as they had initially served in internal circulation. Wherever they serve as coin, as mere means of exchange, therefore, they simultaneously also serve as full-fledged representative of value. Meanwhile, their other functions remain the same in which they serve as money in general, as the form of treasure (be it as materially assured stock of means of subsistence for the future or as wealth in general) or as universal means of payment independent of the immediate wants of the exchangers

and meeting only their general want or even the absence of any. As inert adequate equivalent which can be withheld from circulation, because it is not the object of any definite want, money is [B '-6] stock, assurance of means of subsistence for the future in general: it is the form in which wealth is possessed by the want-free, i.e. in which the surplus, the part of wealth not immediately required as use value, is held, etc., It is assurance of future wants to the same extent as the form of wealth going beyond the bounds of want.

Hence, the form of money as international means of exchange and payment is, in fact, not some *particular* form of it, but only one of its uses as money; the functions in which it most strikingly functions in its simple and simultaneously concrete form as money, as a unity of measure and means of circulation, and simultaneously as neither. This is its most primitive form. It appears as a *particular* form only alongside the *particularisation* which money can assume in the so-called internal circulation as measure and coin.

In this character, gold and silver have an important role to play in creating the world market. Thus, the circulation of American silver from West to East; the metallic bond between America and Europe, on the one hand, and between America and Asia, Europe and Asia, on the other, since the beginning of the modern epoch... As world coin, money is essentially indifferent to its form of means of circulation, while its material is all-important. It does not appear for exchanging the surplus, but for balancing out the surplus in the overall process of international exchange. Here, the form directly coincides with its function of being *commodity*, as commodity that has currency in all places, as *universal commodity*.

It is a matter of indifference whether money here circulates in minted or unminted form. MEXICAN DOLLARS and IMPERIALS OF RUSSIA are merely a form of the product of South American and Russian mines. The English sovereign serves in the same way, since it pays no seignorage (Tooke [*A History of Prices, and of the State of the Circulation, from 1839 to 1847 inclusive*, London, 1848, p. 226]).

What is the relation between gold and silver and their direct producers in the countries where they are an immediate product, the objectification of a particular type of labour? In their hands, gold and silver are produced directly as commodity, i.e. as a use value which has no use value for its producer, but becomes such for him only through its alienation, through its being thrown into circulation. In his hands, it can only be treasure, because it is not the product of circulation, it has not been extracted from it, but

has yet to enter it. It has first to be exchanged directly, in accordance with the labour time it contains, for other commodities alongside of which it exists, however, as a *particular* commodity. But, on the other hand, since it simultaneously has significance as a product of general labour, as its personification, which it is not as immediate product, it puts its producer in the privileged position of instantly appearing as buyer, instead of seller. In order to use the mined gold as money, he has to alienate it as a direct product, without being in need of the mediation required by the producer of any other commodity. He is a seller even in the form of buyer.

The delusion that money as universal wealth satisfying all wants can be pulled up by the ears directly from earth or river-bed is illustrated, for instance, in a naive form in the following anecdote:

"IN THE YEAR 760 THE POOR PEOPLE TURNED OUT IN NUMBERS TO WASH GOLD FROM THE RIVER SANDS SOUTH OF PRAGUE, AND 3 MEN WERE ABLE IN THE DAY TO EXTRACT A MARK (HALF A POUND) OF GOLD; AND SO GREAT WAS THE CONSEQUENT RUSH TO 'THE DIGGINGS', THAT IN THE NEXT YEAR THE COUNTRY WAS VISITED BY FAMINE" (*Abhandlung von dem Alterthume des böhmischen Bergwerks*, by M. G. Körner. Schneeberg, 1758).[98]

Money transmitted as gold [or silver], in the form of [gold or] silver, can always be reconverted into means of circulation.

"MONEY HAS THE QUALITY OF BEING ALWAYS EXCHANGEABLE FOR WHAT IT MEASURES" (Bosanquet [*Metallic, Paper, and Credit Currency*, London, 1842, p. 100]).

"MONEY[a] CAN ALWAYS BUY OTHER COMMODITIES, WHEREAS OTHER COMMODITIES CANNOT ALWAYS BUY GOLD." "THERE MUST BE A VERY CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF THE PRECIOUS METALS APPLICABLE AND APPLIED AS THE MOST CONVENIENT MODE OF ADJUSTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL BALANCES" (Tooke [*An Inquiry into the Currency Principle*, 2nd ed., London, 1844, pp. 10, 13]).

In the 16th century, in the infancy of the bourgeois society, gold and silver attracted the keen interest of States and the emergent political economy mainly as international money. The specific role which gold and silver play in international commerce was once again made perfectly clear and once again recognised by economists after the great gold outflows and crises of 1825, 1839, 1847 and 1857. Here gold is the absolute and exclusive international means of payment, value-for-itself, the universal equivalent. Value must be transmitted IN SPECIE, it cannot be transmitted in any other form of MERCHANDISE.

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[a] Tooke has "Gold".—*Ed.*

"GOLD AND SILVER ... MAY BE COUNTED UPON TO REALISE ON THEIR ARRIVAL [to the creditor] NEARLY THE EXACT SUM REQUIRED TO BE PROVIDED..." "GOLD AND SILVER POSSESS AN INFINITE ADVANTAGE OVER ALL OTHER DESCRIPTIONS OF MERCHANDISE FOR SUCH OCCASIONS, FROM THE CIRCUMSTANCE OF THEIR BEING UNIVERSALLY IN USE AS *MONEY*" [J. Fullarton, *On the Regulation of Currencies*, 2nd ed., London, 1845, pp. 132-33].

(Hence Fullarton is aware that value is transmitted in gold and silver as money, and not as commodities, that [B '-7] it is their specific function as *money*, and therefore he is wrong in saying that they are transmitted as *capital*, and so already introducing irrelevant relations. Capital can also be transmitted in the form of rice, TWIST, etc.)

"IT IS NOT IN TEA, COFFEE, SUGAR, OR INDIGO THAT DEBTS, WHETHER FOREIGN OR DOMESTIC, ARE USUALLY CONTRACTED TO BE PAID, BUT IN *COIN*; AND A REMITTANCE, THEREFORE, EITHER IN THE IDENTICAL COIN DESIGNATED, OR IN BULLION WHICH CAN BE PROMPTLY TURNED INTO THAT COIN THROUGH THE MINT OR MARKET OF THE COUNTRY TO WHICH IT IS SENT, MUST ALWAYS AFFORD TO THE REMITTER THE MOST CERTAIN, IMMEDIATE, AND ACCURATE MEANS OF EFFECTING HIS OBJECT, WITHOUT RISK OF DISAPPOINTMENT FROM THE FAILURE OF DEMAND OR FLUCTUATION OF PRICE" (Fullarton, l.c., pp. 132-33).

"ANY OTHER ARTICLE" (which is of interest as a particular use value that is not money) "MIGHT IN QUANTITY OR KIND BE BEYOND THE USUAL DEMAND IN THE COUNTRY TO WHICH IT IS SENT" (Th. Tooke, *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle etc.*, 2nd ed., London, 1844 [p. 10]).

The economists' reluctance to recognise money in this determination is a survival of the old polemic against the monetary system.

Money as universal international means of purchase and payment is not a new determination at all. Indeed, it is merely the same money in a universality of appearance which corresponds to the universality of its concept; it is, in fact, its most adequate mode of existence in which it manifests itself as *universal commodity*.

Depending on the various functions fulfilled by money, one and the same piece of money can change its place. Today, it can be coin, and tomorrow, money, i.e. inert equivalent, without changing its outward form of being. As the concrete existence of money, gold and silver thereby differ essentially from the token of value by which they can be substituted in the internal circulation: gold and silver coins can be melted down into bars, and thus preserve their indifferent form with respect to their local character as coin, or serve only as metallic weight, if they are transformed into money in the form of coin. They can, therefore, become raw material for articles of luxury, or be hoarded, or wander abroad as international means of payment, where they can again be

converted into the form of the national coin, into any national coin. They retain their value in any of these forms.

That does not happen to a token of value. It is a token only where it is regarded as such, and it is regarded as such only where it is backed by the State power. That is why it is tied down to circulation and cannot revert to the indifferent form in which it is always value itself, with the possibility of assuming any national stamp or, indifferent to the latter, of serving in its immediate form of being as means of exchange and material for hoarding, or even of being converted into a commodity. It is not tied to any of these forms but assumes any one, depending on the want or the trend in circulation. To the extent that, as a particular commodity, it is not fashioned into articles of luxury, it exists above all in relation to circulation, and not only to internal, but also to world circulation, while always existing in an independent form and resisting absorption by it. Coin, isolated as such, i.e. as mere value token, exists only through and in circulation. Even when hoarded, it [value token] can be accumulated only as coin, because its power ceases at the country's borders. Apart from the forms of hoarding which arise from the process of circulation itself, and are, strictly speaking, merely the latter's points of rest, namely, apart from the formation of a stock of coin designated for circulation or a reserve for payments made in the same national coin, there can here be no question at all of any hoarding, i.e. of hoarding in the true sense of the word, because coin as a token of value lacks the essential element of hoarding, which is being not merely a symbolic value, but, apart from its social function, the immediate being of value itself, wealth, irrespective of any definite social nexus. That is why the laws which stipulate the token of value as such do not stipulate metallic money, because it is not tied to the function of coin.

It is clear, furthermore, that hoarding, i.e. the withdrawal of money from circulation and its collection at definite points, is multiform: a temporary piling up stemming from the simple fact of the separation of purchase and sale, i.e. from the immediate mechanism of the simple circulation itself; its piling up stemming from the function of money as means of payment; and finally, hoarding proper seeking to hold on to money and preserve it as abstract wealth or, at any rate, as an excess of the available wealth over the immediate want of it and as a guarantee for the future or as something that can hamper the unwitting blockage of circulation. The latter forms, under which [B '-8] the achievement of independence, the adequate being of exchange value is already

seen only in its immediate reified form of gold, tend increasingly to disappear in the bourgeois society. By contrast, the other forms of hoarding which spring from the mechanism of circulation itself and which are the conditions for money's fulfilling its functions are developed to a greater extent, although they assume a different form which is to be considered in the section on the banking system.

However, the simple metallic circulation shows that as a result of the various determinations in which money functions, or as a result of the process of circulation, the social exchange of matter, the available gold and silver precipitate in various forms as inert hoard, but in such a way that, while a part of the money existing as such hoard keeps changing its elements, with a constant change on the surface of the society in the portions of money which perform this or that function, passing from the hoard to circulation (national or international), being absorbed from circulation by reservoirs of hoard or fashioned into articles of luxury, the functioning of money as means of circulation is, nevertheless, never limited in consequence of these precipitations. The export or import of money alternately depletes or replenishes these various reservoirs, something that also results from the rise or fall in the aggregate price in the internal circulation, without the mass of money required for circulation itself rising above its mass or falling below it, because of the excess of gold and silver. That which is not required as means of circulation is withdrawn as hoard, just as hoard is absorbed by circulation as soon as it is required. That is why, among peoples with a purely metallic circulation, hoarding will be found in various forms, from individual to State, with the latter keeping watch over its State treasury. In the bourgeois society, this process is reduced to meeting the demands of the overall process of production and assumes other forms. It appears as a special business which was engendered by the division of labour in the overall process of production, and which is carried on, at the more naive stages of development, partly as the business of all private persons, and partly as the business of the State. Still, the basis remains the same; there is a constant functioning of money in various developed functions and even in the purely illusory one.

This consideration of the purely metallic circulation is all the more important, since all the speculations of the economists over the higher, more mediated forms of circulation depend on the view of the simple metallic circulation. It goes without saying 1) that when we speak of an increase or decrease of gold and

silver, it is always presupposed that the *value* of the gold and silver remains the same, i.e. the labour time required for their production has not changed. The fall or rise in the magnitude of their value as a result of a fall or rise in the labour time required for their production is not some kind of peculiarity that distinguishes them from other commodities, however much that may harm their function as means of payment. 2) The motives which—apart from the fall and rise of prices and apart from the need to purchase commodities from sellers not requiring any commodities in return (as in time of famine or war)—open up the hoards or fill them up again, i.e. the operation of the interest rate, cannot be considered here where money is still being regarded as money, and not as a form of capital.

So, the mass of gold and silver present in a country must be and always will be, on the basis of the simple metallic circulation, and general trade resting on ready money, greater than the mass of gold and silver circulating as coin, although the relationship between the portion of money functioning as money and that functioning as coin will change in quantity, and the same money can alternately fulfil either function precisely as there is a change in the quantity and a substitution of each other in quality by the portions of money serving for national and international circulation. However, the mass of gold and silver is a constant reservoir for both streams of circulation, an outlet and inlet for them, serving as an inlet precisely because it serves as an outlet.

As exchange value, every commodity, however indivisible its use value, such as the use value of a house may be, can be divided into any number of parts. In its price, it exists as such a divisible exchange value, i.e. as value assessed in money. So it can be alienated in any way, piece by piece, for money. However immovable and indivisible, the commodity can, therefore, be thrown into circulation piece by piece, through the title to property [B '-9] in its several parts. Thus, money has an eroding effect on immovable, indivisible property.

"Money is a means by which property can be split up into innumerable fragments and devoured piecemeal through exchange" (Bray [*Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy*, Leeds, 1839, pp. 140-41]).

Without money there would be a mass of inexchangeable, inalienable objects, because money alone gives these objects an existence that is independent of the nature of their use value and its relations.

"When immovable and immutable things came to be in commerce amongst men, as well as things which were movable and made for change, money came into use as the rule and measure (SQUARE) whereby these things received estimation and value" ([E. Misselden,] *Free Trade*, London, 1622 [p. 21]).

"THE INTRODUCTION OF MONEY WHICH BUYS ALL THINGS ... BRINGS IN THE NECESSITY OF LEGAL ALIENATION" (i.e. OF FEUDAL ESTATES) (John Dalrymple, *An Essay towards a General History of Feudal Property in Great Britain*, 4th ed. London, 1759, p. 124).

Indeed, all the determinations in which money appears—standard of value, means of circulation, and money as such—merely express the different relationships in which individuals take part in overall production or relate to their own production as social production. But these relations of individuals to each other appear as *social relations* of things.

"In 1593 the Cortes sent the following petition to Philip II: 'The Cortes of Valladolid requested Your Majesty in 1586 not to permit the further importation into this kingdom of candles, glassware, jewellery, knives and similar articles coming from abroad, which, though they are of no use to human life, have to be exchanged *for gold, as though the Spaniards were Indians*'" (Sempéré [*Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence de la monarchie espagnole*, Vol. I, pp. 275-76]).[a]

"All hide and secretly bury their money deep in the ground, especially gentiles" (non-Moslems) "who are almost the sole masters of trade and money, being held in thrall to the belief that the gold and silver they hide during their lifetime will serve them after their death" (François Bernier, *Voyages contenant la description des états du Grand Mogol etc.*, Vol. I, Paris, 1830, p. 314). (At the Court of Aurangzeb.)

"These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast... And that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name" (*Apocalypse*.[b] *Vulgate*).

"The great and ultimate effect of trade is not wealth at large, but preferably abundance of silver and gold ... which are not perishable, nor so mutable as other commodities, but are wealth at all times and in all places."

(Their imperishable character consists, therefore, not only in the imperishableness of their material, but in that they always remain *wealth*, i.e. always abide in a definite form of exchange value.)

"Abundance of wine, corn, fowls, flesh, etc., are riches but *hic et nunc*[c]" (depending upon their particular use value), "so as the raising of such commodities, and the following of such trade, which does store the country with gold and silver, is profitable before others" (Petty, *Political Arithmetick*, London, 1699, pp. 178-79).

"Gold and silver alone are not *perishable*" (never cease to be exchange value) "but are esteemed *for wealth* at all times, and everywhere" //the utility of particular use values is temporally and spatially determined, like the very wants which they

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[a] Marx quotes from Sempéré and, further, from Bernier in French.—*Ed.*

[b] Revelation 17:13 and 13:17.—*Ed.*

[c] At a particular place and a particular time.—*Ed.*

satisfy// "whereas all other things are wealth, but *pro hic et nunc*" (l.c., p. 196).

"The wealth of every nation consists chiefly in the share which it has in the foreign trade with THE WHOLE COMMERCIAL WORLD, RATHER THAN IN THE DOMESTIC TRADE of ordinary meat, drink, and clothes, which bring in little gold and silver, *UNIVERSAL WEALTH*..." ([ibid.,] p. 242).

Just as gold and silver are in themselves universal wealth, so the possession of them appears as the product of world circulation, and not of circulation confined to immediate natural-ethnic[a] connections.

It may appear odd that Petty, who says that labour is the father, as lands are the mother of wealth,[b] who teaches the division of labour and who, generally, in a boldly brilliant manner everywhere concentrates on the process of production instead of the individual product, nevertheless here appears to be entirely captive to the language and notions of the monetary system. [B'-10] One should not forget, however, that, in accordance with his premiss, as with the bourgeois premiss in general, gold and silver are only the adequate form of equivalent which always has to be appropriated only through the alienation of commodities and, so, through *labour*. Production for the sake of production, i.e. development of the productive forces of wealth without regard to the limits of immediate want or consumption is expressed by Petty as follows: to produce and to exchange not for the sake of transient acts of consumption in which all commodities are dissolved, but for the sake of gold and silver. It is the English nation's energetic, heedless and universal drive for enrichment in the 17th century that Petty here expresses and simultaneously incites.

*Firstly, the perversion of money*: it turns from means into end, and degrades the other commodities:

"The natural matter of commerce is MERCHANDISE... The artificial matter of commerce is money. Money, though it be in nature and time after merchandise, yet forasmuch as it is now in use" (in its present application) "has become the CHIEF."

Thus, *Misselden*, a London merchant, in his work *Free Trade. Or, the Meanes to Make Trade Florish*, London, 1622, p. 7. He compares the switch of ranks between money and commodity with the lot of the two [grand]sons of the old Jacob, who laid his right hand on the younger, and his left hand on the elder (l.c.).[75]

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[a] The manuscript has "ethische" (ethic).—*Ed.*

[b] [W. Petty,] *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions*, London, 1667, p. 47.—*Ed.*

The contradiction between money as hoard and as commodities, whose exchange value ceases to exist upon the fulfilment of their object as use values, and the theory of renunciation:

"The general remote cause of our want of money is the great excess of this Kingdom, in consuming the commodities of foreign countries, which prove to us DISCOMMODITIES, rather than COMMODITIES, in hindering us of so much *TREASURE*, which otherwise would be brought in, in lieu of these TOYS. We consume amongst us a great abundance of the wines of Spain, of France, of the Rhine, of the Levant; the raisins of Spain, the corinths of the Levant, the lawns" (a sort of fine linen) "and cambrics" (another sort of fine linen) "of Hannault[a] and the Netherlands, the silks of Italy, the sugars and tobacco of the West Indies, the spices of the East Indies; all which are of no necessity unto us, and yet are bought with ready money... Even the old Cato said: *Patrem familias vendacem, non emacem esse oportet*[b]" (l.c., pp. 11-13).

"The more the stock is increased in wares, the more it decreases IN *TREASURE*" ([ibid.,] p. 23).

Concerning the non-refluent circulation on the world market, especially in trade with Asia:

"The other foreign remote causes of the want of money, are the trades maintained out of Christendom to Turkey, Persia and the East Indies, which trades are maintained for the most part with ready money, yet in a different manner from the trades of Christendom within itself. For although the trades within Christendom are driven with ready monies, yet those monies are still contained and continued within the bounds of Christendom. There is indeed a fluxus and refluxus, a flood and ebb of the monies of Christendom traded within itself: for sometimes there is more in one part of Christendom, sometimes there is less in another, as one country wants and another abounds: It comes and goes, and whirls about the circle of Christendom, but is still contained within the compass thereof. But the money that is traded out of Christendom into the parts aforesaid is continually ISSUED out and never returns again" (l.c., pp. 19, 20).

Dr. Martin Luther, the dean of German political economists, complains in a way similar to Misselden's:

"It cannot be denied that buying and selling are necessary practices, which cannot be dispensed with and may surely be used in a Christian manner, especially as regards things that serve necessity and honour; for thus the patriarchs also sold and bought cattle, wool, corn, butter, milk and other goods. These are gifts of God, which He produces from the soil and shares among men. But *foreign trade*, which brings merchandise from Calicut [B'-11] and India and other places—merchandise such as exquisite silks and jewellery and spices, which are only for ostentation and serve no need—and drains money from the country and the people, should not be permitted if we had a government with a prince. But I do not want to write of this now, for I think that, eventually, when we have no more

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[a] A province of the former Spanish Netherlands (i.e. present Belgium).—*Ed.*

[b] The head of the family should be eager to sell, not eager to buy (Cato, *De re rustica*, II, 7).—*Ed.*

money, it will cease of itself, just as finery and gluttony; for all writing and preaching will be in vain until we are compelled by necessity and poverty.

"God has brought it about that we Germans must thrust our gold and silver into foreign countries making all the world rich while we ourselves remain beggars. England would surely have less gold if Germany refused to take her cloth, and the King of Portugal, too, would have less, if we refused to take his spices. If you calculate how much money is extracted, without need or cause, from the German territories during one fair at Frankfurt, you will wonder how it comes about that even a single farthing is still left in Germany. Frankfurt is the silver and gold drain through which everything that arises and grows, that is minted or struck here flows out of the German land; if the hole were plugged, one would not hear the present complaint that there is everywhere sheer debt and no money, that the entire country and all the towns are despoilt by usury. But never mind things will nevertheless continue in this way: we Germans have to remain Germans, we do not desist unless we have to" (*Bücher vom Kaufhandel und Wucher*, 1524).[99]

*Boisguillebert*, who has as significant a place in French political economy as Petty in English political economy, one of the most impassioned opponents of the monetary system, attacks money in the various forms in which it appears as *exclusive value* in contrast to other commodities, as *means of payment* (with Boisguillebert, especially as taxes) and as *hoard*. (The specific being of value in money appears as the relative valuelessness, degradation of other commodities.)

The passages quoted from Boisguillebert's writings[a] are taken from a collection of his works in the Eugène Daire edition: *Économistes financiers du XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1843.

"Since gold and silver are not and have never been wealth in themselves, and since they have only a relative value, and only to the extent that they can procure the necessities of life for which they serve merely as pledge and valuation, having them more or less is a matter of indifference, provided they can produce the same effect" (*Le détail de la France*, 1697, Part I, Ch. VII [Daire edition, p. 178]).

The quantity of money does not affect the national wealth, "*provided there is enough of it to maintain the prices determined* by the commodities necessary for life" (l.c., Part II, Ch. XVIII, p. 209).

(Therefore, Boisguillebert formulates here the law that the mass of the circulating medium is determined by the prices, and not vice versa.)

That money is merely a form of commodity itself is made evident in wholesale trade, where the exchange occurs without the intervention of money, after the "*merchandise is valuated*"; "money is only the *medium* and the *agency*, whereas commodities that benefit life are the *aim and purpose*" (l.c., p. 210).

Money must be only a means of circulation, and always *mobile*; it must never become hoard, something *immobile*; it must be "in continual movement, which is

[a] In the manuscript, the direct quotations from Boisguillebert are given in French, and the exposition of his ideas, in German.—*Ed.*

only the case so long as it is *mobile...*; but as soon as it becomes *immobile* ... all is lost" (l.c., Part II, Ch. XIX, p. 213).

In contrast to the finance for which *money* appears to be the sole object:

"*The science of finance* is nothing but a thorough knowledge of the interests of agriculture and of commerce" (l.c., Part III, Ch. VIII, p. 241).

Boisguillebert, in fact, turns his attention only to the material content of wealth, to enjoyment, to use value:

"True wealth ... [is] the complete enjoyment not only of the necessaries of life but also of all the superfluities and of all that can give pleasure to the senses" (*Dissertation sur la nature des richesses, de l'argent et des tributs* [Daire edition], p. 403).

"These metals" (gold and silver) "have been turned into an *idol*, and disregarding the goal and purpose they were intended to fulfil in commerce, i.e. to serve as pledge in exchange and reciprocal transfer, [B '-12] they were allowed to abandon this service almost entirely in order to be transformed into *divinities* to whom more goods, valuables and even *human beings* were sacrificed and continue to be sacrificed, than were ever sacrificed to the false divinities in blind antiquity which for so long were the whole cult and the whole religion for most peoples" (l.c., p. 395). "The misery of the peoples is due to the fact that the slave has been turned into a master or rather into a tyrant" (l.c.). This "usurpation" needs to be broken and "things restored to their natural state" (l.c.).

With the abstract greed for enrichment, "a great blow was dealt at once at the equivalence in which it" (money) "should be with all the other commodities so as to be ready to effect their exchange at any moment" (p. 399). "Thus the slave of commerce has become its master... This facility which money offers for the commission of any crime makes it redouble its earnings in proportion to the hold corruption takes of hearts; and there is no doubt that almost all the infamies would be banished from a State if one could do likewise with the fatal metal" (p. 399).

The depreciation of commodities for their conversion into money (sale at below their value) is the cause of all poverty (see l.c., Ch. V). In this sense, he says:

"Money ... has become the executioner of all things" (l.c., p. 413).

He compares the financial art of making money with the

"alembic that evaporates a frightful quantity of goods and commodities in order to obtain this fatal extract" (p. 419).

Through a depreciation of the precious metals "the commodities themselves will be restored to their just value" (l.c., p. 422). "Money ... declares war ... on the whole human race" (pp. 417-18).

(Similarly, Pliny, *Historia Naturalis,* Book XXXIII, Ch. III.)

By contrast:

*Money as world coin*:

"Intercourse between nations has spread across the whole globe to such an extent that one could say all the world has virtually become a single city in which a

permanent fair of all the commodities is taking place, so that everyone, without leaving his home, can, by means of money, obtain and enjoy everything produced by the earth, the animals and human industry. A marvellous invention!" (Montanari (Geminiano), *Della Moneta*; written ABOUT 1683. Custodi's collection, *Parte Antica*, Vol. 3, [Milan, 1804,] p. 40).[a]

"What is his country, what is his tribe? He is a rich man" (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, Book IV, 49).[b]

On the digging of gold in mines, Demetrius Phalereus says:

"Greed hopes to extract Pluto himself from the bowels of the earth" (l.c., VI, 23).

"But from money first springs avarice... This grows by stages into a kind of madness, no longer avarice but a positive hunger for gold" (Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, Book XXXIII, Ch. III, 14).[c]

"Money! Nothing worse
in our lives, so current, rampant, so corrupting.
Money—you demolish cities, root men from their homes,
you train and twist good minds and set them on
to the most atrocious schemes. No limit,
you make them adept at every kind of outrage,
every godless crime—money!"

(Sophocles, *Antigone* [295-301]).[d]

Money, as purely abstract wealth—in which every specific use value is extinguished, and hence also every individual relation between possessor and commodity—comes under the power of the individual likewise as an abstract person, relating to his individuality as totally alien and extraneous. At the same time, it gives him universal power as his private power, a contradiction depicted, FOR INSTANCE, by Shakespeare:

[B′-13] "Gold? glittering, precious gold?...
Thus much of this will make black, white;
foul, fair;
Wrong, right; base, noble; old, young; coward, valiant.
Ha, you gods! why this? what this, you gods?
why, this
Will lug your priests and servants from your sides;
Pluck stout men's pillows from below their
heads:
This yellow slave
Will knit and break religions; bless the accurs'd;

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[a] Marx quotes in Italian.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx quotes from Athenaeus in Greek.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx quotes in Latin.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx quotes in Greek. English translation by Robert Fagles (Sophocles, *The Three Theban Plays*, London, 1982, p. 73).—*Ed.*

Make the hoar leprosy ador'd; place thieves,
And give them title, knee, and approbation,
With senators on the bench: this is it
That makes the wappen'd widow wed again;
She whom the spital-house and ulcerous sores
Would cast the gorge at, this embalms and
spices
To the April day again. Come, damned earth,
Thou common whore of mankind"

(Shakespeare, *Timon of Athens* [Act IV, Scene III]).[a]

That which yields itself to all, and for which all is yielded, appears as the universal means of corruption and prostitution. (*Similarly in the comedy of Aristophanes "Plutus".*)

"These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast... And that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name" (*Apocalypse*).[b]

### 4) THE PRECIOUS METALS AS VEHICLES OF THE MONEY RELATIONSHIP

The process of bourgeois production initially takes possession of metallic currency as an existing and ready-made instrument, which, although it has been gradually transformed, always retains its basic construction. The question, therefore, why gold and silver, and not other commodities, serve as the material of money lies outside the confines of the bourgeois system. We shall therefore summarise only the most important aspects. The answer is simply that the specific natural properties of the precious metals, i.e. their properties as use values, correspond to the economic functions which make them more capable than all the other commodities of being the vehicles of money functions.

Like labour time itself, the object to be recognised as its specific embodiment must be able to express purely quantitative differences, thus presupposing identical, homogeneous quality. This is the first condition for the functioning of the commodity as a measure of value. If, for instance, one evaluates all commodities in terms of oxen, hides, corn, etc., one has in fact to measure them in ideal average oxen, average hides, and average corn, since there are qualitative differences between one ox and another, one lot of

[a] Marx quotes in English.— *Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 446.— *Ed.*

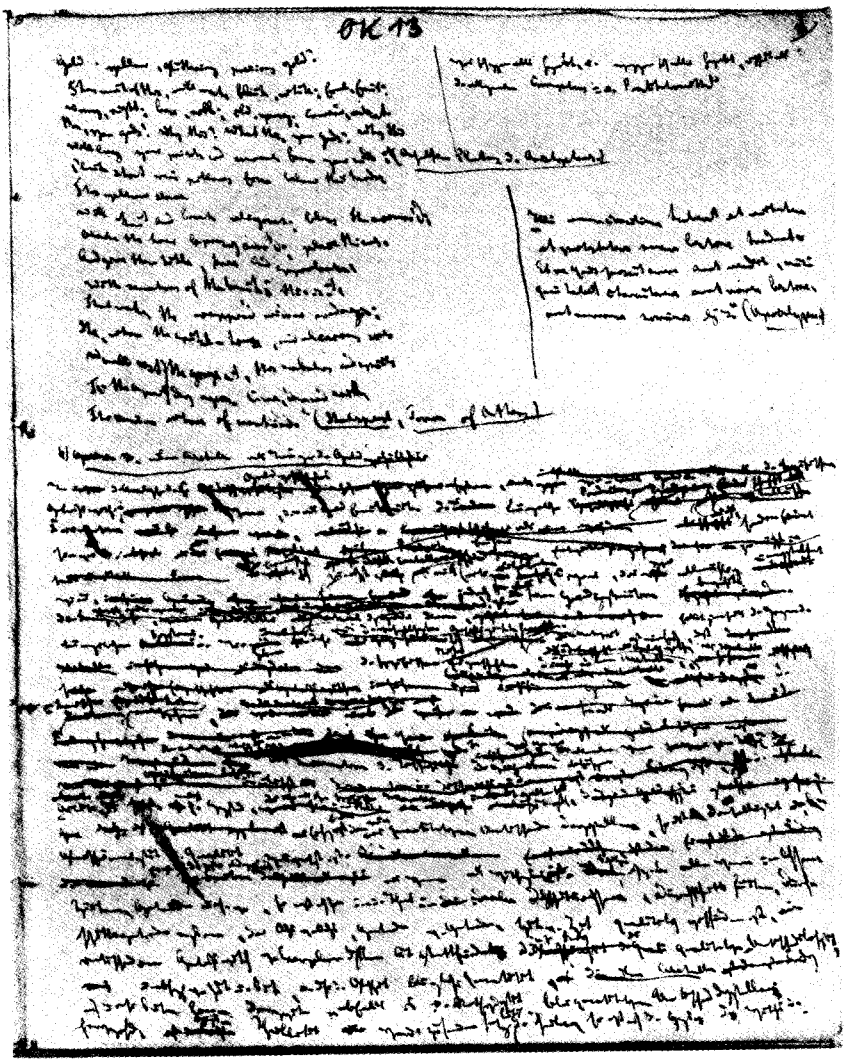

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of the original text of the second chapter
of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

corn and another, one hide and another, there is a difference in the use value of the specimens of one and the same kind. This requirement of absence of qualitative differences regardless of time and place, and hence, the requirement of equality at equal quantity is the first requirement from this aspect.

The second, which also springs from the necessity of presenting a merely quantitative difference, is great divisibility and subsequent combination of the parts so that, depending on the magnitude of the value of the [B'-14] commodity, the universal equivalent can be cut up into parts, without thereby damaging its use value. Gold and silver, as simple bodies, with a purely quantitative division, can be brought to one and the same degree of fineness. Sameness of quality. Similarly divisible and recombinable.

It can even be said of gold that it is the earliest known metal, the *first discovered metal.* In the great gold sluices, the rivers, Nature itself undertakes the work of the art and hence requires on the part of man in finding it no more than very crude work and neither science nor developed instruments of production.

"THE PRECIOUS METALS UNIFORM IN THEIR PHYSICAL QUALITIES, SO THAT EQUAL QUANTITIES OF IT SHOULD BE SO FAR IDENTICAL AS TO PRESENT NO GROUND FOR PREFERRING THE ONE TO THE OTHER. THIS IS NOT THE CASE WITH EQUAL NUMBERS OF CATTLE AND EQUAL QUANTITIES OF GRAIN."[a]

Gold is, besides, found in a purer state than all the other metals: in a native, crystalline form, in separate pieces: "separated from the usually occurring bodies", seldom alloyed with any other, except silver. Gold "isolated, individualised".

"GOLD DIFFERS REMARKABLY FROM THE OTHER METALS, WITH A VERY FEW EXCEPTIONS, IN THE FACT, THAT IT IS FOUND IN NATURE IN ITS *METALLIC STATE*" (the other metals are found in minerals (in their chemical being). "IRON AND COPPER, TIN, LEAD, AND SILVER ARE ORDINARILY DISCOVERED IN CHEMICAL COMBINATIONS WITH OXYGEN, SULPHUR, ARSENIC, OR CARBON; AND THE FEW EXCEPTIONAL OCCURRENCES OF THESE METALS IN AN UNCOMBINED, OR, AS IT WAS FORMERLY CALLED, *VIRGIN* STATE, ARE TO BE CITED RATHER AS MINERALOGICAL CURIOSITIES THAN AS COMMON PRODUCTIONS. GOLD, HOWEVER, IS ALWAYS FOUND NATIVE OR METALLIC... AGAIN GOLD, FROM THE CIRCUMSTANCE OF ITS HAVING BEEN FORMED IN THOSE ROCKS WHICH ARE MOST EXPOSED TO ATMOSPHERIC ACTION IS FOUND IN THE DEBRIS OF THE MOUNTAINS; ...the FRAGMENTS of these ROCKS BROKEN OFF, ... BORNE BY FLOODS INTO THE VALLEYS, AND ROLLED INTO PEBBLES BY THE CONSTANT ACTION OF FLOWING WATER... Gold is deposited because of its specific gravity. So it is found in riverbeds and in alluvial deposits. Alluvial gold was the first gold to be discovered." (River-sluicing learnt before mining)...

"GOLD MOST FREQUENTLY OCCURS PURE, OR, AT ALL EVENTS, SO NEARLY SO THAT ITS METALLIC NATURE CAN BE AT ONCE RECOGNISED, whether in alluvial deposits or in QUARTZ VEINS... RIVERS ARE, INDEED, GREAT NATURAL *CRADLES*, SWEEPING OFF ALL THE

[a] S. Bailey, *Money and Its Vicissitudes in Value*, pp. 5-6. See present edition, Vol. 28, p. 110.—*Ed.*

LIGHTER AND FINER PARTICLES AT ONCE, THE HEAVIER ONES EITHER STICKING AGAINST NATURAL IMPEDIMENTS, OR BEING LEFT WHEREVER THE CURRENT SLACKENS ITS FORCE OR VELOCITY... IN ALMOST ALL, PERHAPS IN ALL THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE, AFRICA, AND ASIA, GREATER OR SMALLER QUANTITIES OF GOLD HAVE FROM EARLY TIMES BEEN WASHED BY SIMPLE CONTRIVANCES FROM THE AURIFEROUS DEPOSITS, ETC." [*Lectures on Gold for the Instruction of Emigrants about to Proceed to Australia.* Delivered at the Museum of Practical Geology. London, 1852, pp. 171-72, 8, 10, 12, 93-94].

The washing and digging of gold are perfectly simple works, while MINING (SO ALSO GOLD-MINING) IS AN ART REQUIRING THE EMPLOYMENT OF CAPITAL and more COLLATERAL SCIENCES and ARTS than any other industry.//The washing of ore taken care of by Nature.//

Exchange value as such implies a common substance and the reduction of all the differences to merely quantitative ones. In the function of money as measure, all values are reduced first of all to merely different quantities of the standard commodity. That is the case with the precious metals, which, therefore, appear as the natural substance of exchange value as such.

"A peculiar feature of metals is that in them alone all relations are reduced to a single one, namely, their quantity, for they have not been endowed by Nature with any difference of quality either in their internal composition or in their external form and structure" (Galiani, l.c. [*Della Moneta*], pp. 126-27).[a]

(*SAMENESS OF QUALITY* IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD; ADMIT OF MINUTE DIVISION AND EXACT APPORTIONMENT.)

This merely quantitative difference is just as important for money as means of circulation (coin) and means of payment, since money, a single piece of money, has no individuality, and the important thing is that what has to be returned is merely an equal quantity of the same material, but not *the same* piece:

"MONEY IS RETURNED IN *KIND ONLY*; WHICH FACT DISTINGUISHES THIS AGENT FROM ALL OTHER MACHINERY ... INDICATES THE NATURE OF ITS SERVICE—CLEARLY PROVES THE SINGLENESS OF ITS OFFICE" (Opdyke, [*A Treatise on Political Economy,* New York, 1851,] [p.] 267).

The differentiation of the functions performed by gold, whether as universal commodity, coin, raw material for luxury articles, material for accumulation, etc., enables them to indicate to the senses the succession of the form determinations of money. To this differentiation corresponds the fact that gold and silver can always be melted down and so again reduced to their purely metallic state, and from that state similarly to any other, i.e. that gold and silver, in contrast to other commodities, are not bound to the definite use form which is imparted to them. They can pass

[a] Marx quotes in Italian.—*Ed.*

from the form of bullion to the form of coin, etc., and back again, without losing their value as raw materials, [B′-15] without damaging the processes of production and consumption.

As *means of circulation* gold and silver have the advantage over other commodities in that their *high* natural specific gravity—representing a relatively large weight in a small space—is matched by an economic specific gravity, the ability to contain (objectify) relatively much labour time, i.e. a large exchange value, in a small space. The latter naturally depends on their relatively rare occurrence as natural objects. Hence, facility of transportation, transfer, etc. In short, the facility of real circulation, which is, naturally, the first condition for their economic function as means of circulation.

Finally, as the inert being of value, as the material of hoarding, they are relatively indestructible, infinitely durable, not liable to be oxidised in the air ("treasures that neither moth nor rust doth corrupt"[a]), are refractory, with gold especially being insoluble in acids, except in free chlorine (*aqua regia,* a mixture of nitric and hydrochloric acids). As a main point, one should finally note the *aesthetic properties* of gold and silver, which make them the direct manifestation of affluence, ornament, luxury, and spontaneous festive moods, of wealth as such. Brightness of colour, malleability, facility of being worked with tools, and fitness for ornamentation and other purposes. Gold and silver are to some extent a native light brought forth from the underworld itself. Apart from the rarity of gold and silver, their greater softness, as compared with iron and even copper (in the hardened form in which it was used by the ancients), makes them unfit for use as instruments of production. But the use value of metals largely depends on their role in the immediate process of production. Gold and silver are also excluded from it, just as they are generally not indispensable objects of consumption.

"Money must have a direct" (use) "value, but one based on a *besoin factice.*[b] Its material must not be indispensable for man's existence, since the entire quantity of money used as coin" //generally as money [which] is also accumulated in the form of hoard// "cannot be individually employed; it must always circulate" (H. Storch, l.c. [*Cours d'économie politique*], Vol. II, pp. 113, 114).

(Equally, that part which is accumulated as hoard cannot be employed "individually" because the whole point of accumulation is to keep it intact.)

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[a] Matthew 6:19, 20.—*Ed.*

[b] Factitious need.—*Ed.*

That, consequently, is one aspect according to which the nature of the use value of gold and silver is reduced to being something *superfluous,* to not entering either in the satisfaction of immediate want as object of consumption, or as agent in the immediate process of production. That is precisely the aspect according to which the use value of money should not come into collision with its function of hoard (money) or means of circulation, in other words, the need for it as an individual use value should not come into collision with the need springing from circulation, from the society itself, the need for it as money in any of its determinations. That is only the negative aspect.

In his polemic against money, Peter MARTYR, who seems to have been very fond of chocolate, says, therefore, of the BAGS OF cacao which, among other things, served as money among the Mexicans:

> "O blessed money which furnishes mankind with a sweet and nutritious beverage and protects its innocent possessors from the infernal disease of avarice, since it cannot be long hoarded, nor hidden underground" (*De orbe novo*).[79]

On the other hand, gold and silver are superfluities not only in the negative sense, i.e. are objects which can be dispensed with, but their aesthetic properties which make them the material of luxury, finery and splendour, make them the positive forms of superabundance, or means of satisfying other than everyday wants and bare necessities. That is why they have use value in themselves apart from their function as money. But just as they are the natural representatives of purely quantitative relations—in virtue of the sameness of their quality—so also in their individual use they are the immediate natural representatives of superabundance and so of wealth as such, both because of their natural aesthetic properties, and also of their expensiveness.

*Malleability* is one of the properties that make gold and silver fit for use as material for jewellery. Dazzling to the eye. Exchange value is above all an overplus of necessary use values designated for exchange. This overplus is exchanged for what is superfluous as such, i.e. for what goes beyond the bounds of immediate necessity; for the festive in contrast to the everyday. Use value as such expresses above all the individual's relation to Nature; exchange value, *alongside* use value, is his command over the use values of others, his social relation; and even initially, moreover, values of festive use going beyond the bounds of immediate necessity.

The *white* colour of silver, which reflects all the rays of light in their original mix; the *red-yellow* colour of gold, which absorbs the

whole mix of colours of a light beam falling on it and reflects red alone.

Add here what was said earlier about the mining countries.[a]

//In his history of the German language, *Grimm* shows the connection between the names of gold and silver and their colour.//[b]

[B′-16] We have seen that gold and silver fail to meet the demand being made on them as exchange value become independent, as immediately present money, that of being an unchanging *value magnitude.* Here, their nature as a particular commodity enters into conflict with their function as money. But as Aristotle already noted,[c] they possess a more permanent value magnitude than do other commodities on average.

For the metallic circulation as such, apart from the general effect of the appreciation or depreciation of the precious metals on all economic relationships, the fluctuations of the value ratio between gold and silver are of particular importance, since they continuously serve alongside each other as the material of money in one and the same country or in different countries. The purely economic causes of these successive changes—conquest and other political upheavals which had a great influence on the relative value of the precious metals in the ancient world lie beyond the bounds of purely economic examination—must be reduced to changes in the labour time required for the production of the same quantities of these metals. It itself depends, on the one hand, on the relative quantities in which gold and silver occur in Nature, and on the other, on the greater or lesser difficulty in procuring them in their purely metallic state. What was said earlier makes it clear that gold, whose extraction from rivers or from alluvial deposits does not require either mining or chemical or mechanical contrivances, was discovered, despite its greater absolute rarity, before silver, and for a long time, despite its greater absolute rarity, remained relatively depreciated as compared to silver. That is why Strabo's assertion[81] that in one Arab tribe 10 pounds of gold was given for 1 pound of iron, and 2 pounds of gold for 1 pound of silver does not appear to be in any way incredible. It is clear, on the other hand, that as the productive power of social labour develops, the technology, and hence simple labour,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 440-42.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Grimm, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1853, Vol. 1, pp. 7 and 9 (cf. this volume, p. 386).—*Ed.*

[c] Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, V, 8.—*Ed.*

becomes dearer, and while the original surface sources of gold are depleted and the Earth's crust increasingly opened up, the relatively rarer or more frequent occurrence of both metals will have a substantial effect on the productivity of labour, and gold will appreciate relative to silver. (However, it is not the absolute quantitative proportion in which the two metals occur in Nature, although an essential moment in the labour time necessary for their production, but the labour time itself that determines their relative value. That is why although, according to the Paris Académie des Sciences (1840), the [quantitative] ratio of silver to gold was estimated at 52 : 1, their value ratio was only 15 : 1.)

Given a definite development of the productive power of social labour—i.e. the less the significance, on the one hand, of the relative mechanical or chemical impediments to be overcome, and, on the other hand, of the relative remoteness of the gold- or silver-producing countries, the alternative discovery of new gold or silver deposits must be of ever more decisive significance, so that gold, as against silver, has the chance of being discovered not only in mines but also in alluvial deposits. It is quite probable, therefore, that there will now again be a reverse movement in the value ratio of the two, i.e. a fall in the value of gold as compared with that of silver. The discovery of silver mines depends on the advance of technology and civilisation in general. Given these, any changes in the discovery of rich silver or gold deposits become crucial. On the whole, we find a repetition of the same movement in the change of the value ratio between gold and silver. The first two movements begin with a relative depreciation of gold and end with its appreciation. The latter begins with its appreciation and seems to be heading towards a re-establishment of its original lower value ratio to silver. In ancient Asia, the ratio of gold to silver was 6 : 1 or 8 : 1 (under Manu[100] it was even lower) (thus in China and Japan, the latter still existed in the early 19th century); 10 : 1, the ratio in Xenophon's time, can be regarded as the average ratio for the middle period of antiquity. In the late Roman period—the opening up of the Spanish silver mines by Carthage had roughly the same role to play in antiquity as the discovery of America had in the new period—the ratio is roughly the same as that after the discovery of America, i.e. 14 or 15 : 1, although in Rome we often find an even greater depreciation of silver.

For the Middle Ages, the average ratio can once again be re-established as in Xenophon's time, as 10 : 1, although that is the period in which local fluctuations are extremely great. The

average ratio in the centuries following upon the discovery of America is 15 : 1 or 18 : 1. The new discoveries of gold make it probable that the ratio will once again be reduced to 10 : 1 or 8 : 1, or that, at any rate, there will be a movement in the value ratio of the two metals in reverse to that since [B′-17] the 16th century. This is not yet the place for an examination of this special question in greater depth.

### 5) THE MANIFESTATION OF THE LAW OF APPROPRIATION IN THE SIMPLE CIRCULATION

The economic relations of individuals who are subjects of exchange are to be considered here in the simple form in which they appear in the process of exchange described above, without recourse to more highly developed relations of production. Indeed, the economic determinations of form constitute the framework within which they enter into intercourse with each other (confront each other).

"The worker has an exclusive right to the value resulting from his labour" (Cherbuliez, *Riche[sse] ou pauvre[té]*, Paris, 1841, p. 48).[a]

The subjects of the process of exchange appear above all as *proprietors* of commodities. Since on the basis of the simple circulation, there is, after all, only one method by means of which anyone *becomes* the proprietor of any commodity, namely, through a new equivalent, the property in the commodity *preceding* the exchange, i.e. the property in the commodity appropriated not through circulation, the property in the commodity which, on the contrary, is still to enter circulation, springs directly from the labour of its possessor, with labour as the original mode of appropriation. The commodity, as exchange value, is only a product [of labour], *objectified labour*. It is thereby above all the objectiveness of him whose labour is represented in it; his own objective being for others produced by himself. It is true that the production of commodities does not fall within the simple process of exchange as it unfolds at the various moments of circulation. Commodities are rather implied as finished use values. They must be to hand before the exchange begins, simultaneously as it happens in buying and selling, or at least as soon as the transaction is completed, as in the form of circulation in which money serves as means of payment. Whether simultaneously or not, they always enter into circulation as being to hand. *The*

[a] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

*origination of commodities, and so also the original process of their appropriation, lies, therefore, beyond circulation.* But since the equivalent of another can be appropriated only through circulation, i.e. through the alienation of one's own equivalent, one's own labour must be implied as the original process of appropriation, with circulation in effect merely as the mutual exchange of labour incarnated in diverse products.

Labour and property in the results of one's own labour appear, therefore, as the basic prerequisite without which the secondary appropriation through circulation would not take place. Within circulation, *property based on one's own labour is the basis for the appropriation of the labour of others.* Indeed, a close look at the process of circulation shows that its premiss is that the exchangers should appear as the proprietors of the exchange values, i.e. of quantities of labour time materialised in use values. *How they became the proprietors of these commodities* is a process running behind the back of the simple circulation and ending before it begins. Private property is a premiss of circulation, but the process of appropriation itself is not revealed, does not appear within circulation; it is rather preposited to it. In circulation itself, in the process of exchange, as it emerges on the surface of the bourgeois society, each gives only while taking, and takes only while giving. In order to do the one or the other, he must *have.* The procedure through which he has placed himself in the position of having does not constitute any of the moments of circulation itself. The subjects are subjects of circulation only as private proprietors of exchange value, be it in the form of commodity or in the form of money. How they became private proprietors, i.e. *how they appropriated objectified labour,* is a circumstance which appears not to fall within the examination of the simple circulation at all. However, the commodity is, on the other hand, the premiss of circulation. And since from its standpoint, alien commodities, i.e. *alien labour,* can be appropriated only through the alienation of one's own labour, the pre-circulation [B′-18] *process of commodity appropriation necessarily* appears from this standpoint *as appropriation through labour.* Since *the commodity as exchange value is merely objectified labour,* and from the standpoint of circulation, itself only the movement of exchange value, alien objectified labour can be appropriated only through an exchange of equivalent, the *commodity can, in fact, be nothing but the objectification of one's own labour,* and just as the latter is, in fact, the actual process of appropriation of the products of Nature, it equally appears as the juridical title to property. *Circulation* merely shows how this

immediate appropriation, through the medium of a *social operation, transforms property in one's own labour into property in social labour.*

That is why all modern economists have proclaimed, in a more economic or more juridical manner, one's own labour to be the original title to property, and *property in the result of one's own labour, the basic premiss of the bourgeois society.* (*Cherbuliez*: see above. See also *A. Smith.*[a]) This premiss itself rests on the *premiss of exchange value as an economic relationship dominating the whole aggregation of relationships of production and commerce,* and so is itself a historical *product* of the bourgeois society, the society of the developed exchange value.

On the other hand, since the examination of the more concrete economic relationships than those represented by the simple circulation seems to bring out laws contradicting [the said law of appropriation], all the classical economists, including Ricardo, may like to allow this *view, springing as it does from the bourgeois society itself,* the right to be called a universal law, but banish its strict reality to the golden age when *no property* existed as yet. That is to say, to an age preceding the economic fall of man, as Boisguillebert, for example, does.

*That would produce the strange result that the truth about the bourgeois society's law of appropriation would have to be transferred to a time* when this *society itself did not as yet exist,* and the basic law of property, to the time of propertylessness. This illusion is transparent. Production initially rests on the primitive communities, within which private exchange appears only as a quite superficial and incidental exception. But with the historical disintegration of these communities, relations of domination and servitude, relations of violence at once set in, and they are in crying contradiction with the mild commodity circulation and its corresponding relations. However that may be, the process of circulation, as it *appears* on *the surface* of the society, knows no other way of appropriation, and if contradictions should arise in the progress of the examination, they must, like *this law of the original appropriation through labour, be derived from the development of exchange value itself.*

*The law of appropriation through one's own labour being assumed,* and it is an assumption that is not arbitrary, but one which springs

* A. Smith.[101]

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[a] A. Smith, *Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations,* Vol. I, pp. 60 and 61.—*Ed.*

from the examination of circulation itself, there becomes apparent of itself, in circulation, a realm of bourgeois liberty and bourgeois equality based on this law.

While the appropriation of commodities through one's own labour presents itself as the first necessity, the social process through which this product must first be posited as an exchange value and as such once again transformed into a use value for individuals, is the second. After the appropriation through labour, or the objectification of labour, the *alienation of the product of labour, or its transformation into a social form*, appears *as the next law.* Circulation is a movement in which one's own product is posited as exchange value (money), i.e. as a social product, and the social product, as one's own (as individual use value, an object of individual consumption).

It is now also clear that:

Another premiss of exchange relating to the movement as a whole is that the subjects of exchange produce while being subsumed under the division of social labour. After all, the commodities exchanged for one another are, in fact, nothing but labour objectified in various use values, i.e. objectified in various ways, being in fact merely the objective being of the division of labour, objectification of qualitatively distinct types of labour corresponding to the different systems of wants. When I produce a *commodity*, the assumption is that though my product has use value, it has none for me, that for me it is not an immediate means of subsistence (in the broadest sense), but an immediate exchange value; it becomes a means of subsistence for me only after it assumes in money the form of universal social product and can then be realised in any form of alien, qualitatively distinct labour. Hence I produce for myself only by producing for the society, each of whose members, for his part, works for me in another circle.

[B′-19] It is clear, furthermore, that the premiss about the exchangers producing exchange values implies not only a division of labour in general, but its specifically developed form. In Peru, for instance, labour was also divided; it was also divided in small SELF-SUPPORTING[a] Indian communities. But it is a division of labour which, far from being based on exchange value, on the contrary, implies a more or less direct communal [gemeinschaftliche] production. The basic premiss about the subjects of circulation

[a] In the manuscript, the English word is given in brackets after the corresponding German ("selbstgenügsamen").— *Ed.*

having produced exchange values, products directly posited in the social determinateness of exchange value, and so also subsumed under a definite historically shaped division of labour, incorporates a mass of other premisses which do not stem from the will of the individual or from his immediate natural character, but from the historical conditions and relations in virtue of which the individual already finds himself to be a *social* individual determined by the society; this premiss also includes the relations manifested in the individuals' relations of production other than the simple ones in which they confront one another in circulation.

The exchanger has produced a commodity, and that for commodity producers. This implies: On the one hand, that he has produced as an independent private individual on his own initiative, only out of his own want and his own capability, out of himself and for himself—neither as a member of a naturally evolved community, nor as an individual taking part in production directly as a social individual—and accordingly he does not regard his product as an immediate source of existence. On the other hand, however, he has produced *exchange value*, a product which becomes a product for himself only through the medium of a determinate social process, a determinate metamorphosis. Consequently, he has produced in such a connection and under such conditions of production and relations of commerce which resulted only from an historical process but which appear for himself to be a natural necessity. The independence of individual production is, accordingly, supplemented with a social dependence that finds a corresponding expression in the division of labour.

The *private character* of the production of the exchange-value-producing individual itself appears as an historical product—*his isolation, his self-establishment as an independent point within the production* is determined by a division of labour which, for its part, rests on a whole range of economic conditions through which the individual is conditioned on every side in his connections with other individuals and in his own mode of existence.

In so far as the commodities an English farmer and a French peasant sell are products of the soil, they stand in the same economic relationship. But the peasant sells only the small surplus of his family's product. He consumes the main part of it himself, and so regards the greater part of his product not as exchange value, but as use value, a direct means of subsistence. By contrast, the English farmer depends entirely on the sale of his product, i.e. on its being a commodity, and so on the social use value of his product. His production is, therefore, completely gripped and

determined by exchange value. It is clear now what a supremely different development of the productive forces of labour and its division, what kind of different relations of individuals within production are required, for instance, to have corn produced as mere exchange value and so going entirely into circulation; what kind of economic processes are required to turn a French peasant into an English farmer.

In his analysis of exchange value, Adam Smith still makes the mistake of accepting the undeveloped form of exchange value in which it still appears merely as a surplus over and above the use value turned out by the producer for his own subsistence, as its adequate form, whereas it is only a form of its historical manifestation within a system of production which it has not yet caught hold of as a universal form. But in the bourgeois society it has to be regarded as the dominant form under which *any direct relationship of the producers to their products* as use values disappears; *all products present themselves as products for trade.* Take a worker at a modern factory, say, a cotton mill. If he has produced no exchange value, he has produced nothing at all, since he cannot put his finger on any single tangible use value, and say: this is my product. The more many-sided the system of social wants, and the more one-sided the individual's production, i.e. the greater the development of the social division of labour, the more *decisive* the importance of the production of the product as exchange value, or the *character of the product as exchange value.*

An analysis of the specific form of the division of labour, the conditions of production on which it is based, and the economic relationships of the members of the society to which these conditions of production are reduced, would show that the whole system of bourgeois production is the premiss for exchange value appearing on its surface as a mere point of departure, and the process of exchange, as it unfolds in the simple circulation, as *a social exchange of matter,* simple but *encompassing both the whole of production and the whole of consumption.* It would transpire, therefore, that already *other,* more complicated relations of production, more or less conflicting with the liberty and independence of individuals, their economic relationships, are the premiss that, as free *private producers in simple relations of purchase and sale,* they should confront each other in the process of circulation and should figure as its independent subjects. *But from the standpoint of the simple circulation, these relationships are obliterated.* When considering it itself, we find that the division of labour in fact appears in it only in the result (its premiss), that the subjects of exchange

produce different commodities meeting different wants, and that while each depends on the production of all, all depend on the production of each, reciprocally supplementing each other, so that the product of each single individual, to the extent of its value magnitude, is a means for participation in the product of social [B'-20] production in general through the medium of the process of circulation.

The product is exchange value, *objectified general labour,* although it is, in the immediate sense, the objectification of the independent private labour of the individual alone.

That the commodity first has to be alienated, the coercion for the individual showing that his immediate product is no product for himself, but *becomes* such only in the social process of production and *must* assume this general and yet external form; that the produce of particular labour must assert itself socially as the objectification of *general* labour, assuming the form of a thing (*money*) which is exclusively assumed as the immediate objectification of general labour, and equally that through this VERY PROCESS this general social labour is posited as an external thing, as money—these determinations constitute the mainspring, the pulse-beat of circulation itself. The consequent social relations present themselves, for that reason, directly from an examination of the simple circulation, and do not lie behind it as economic relations enclosed in the division of labour.

How does the individual certify his private labour as general labour, and its product, as general social product? Through the particular content of his labour, its particular use value, the object of another individual's want, so that the latter gives up his own product for it as equivalent. //That this must assume the form of money is a point to be examined later to show that this transformation of commodity into money is itself an essential moment of the simple circulation.// Consequently, through his labour being a particularity in the totality of social labour, a particular complementary branch of it. As soon as labour possesses a content determined by social connection—and this is the material determinateness and premiss—it counts as general labour. The form of the generality of labour asserts itself through its reality as a member of the totality of labours, as a particular mode of the existence of social labour.

The individuals confront each other only as proprietors of exchange values, as such individuals who have given themselves reified being for each other through their product, the commodity. Without this objective mediation, they have no relation to each

other from the standpoint of the social exchange of matter under way in circulation. They exist for each other only as things, something that is merely further developed in the money relation, in which their community itself appears as an external and hence a casual thing with respect to all. That the social connection resulting from the collision of independent individuals appears with respect to them simultaneously both as objective necessity and as external bond *in effect* expresses *their independence* for *which social being, though a necessity, is* no more than *a means, and therefore appears to the individuals themselves as something external, and in money, even as a tangible thing.* They produce in and for the society as social individuals, but at the same time this appears merely as a means for objectifying their individuality. Since, on the one hand, they are not subsumed under any naturally evolved community and, on the other, are not consciously communal individuals subsuming the community under themselves, this community must also exist as an independent, external, casual thing [ein ... Sachliches] with respect to them as independent subjects. That is precisely the condition for their simultaneously being in some social connection as independent private persons.

Since, consequently, the division of labour //in which the social conditions of production under which the individuals produce exchange values can be summed up// in the simple process of exchange, in circulation, appears only as 1) non-production of immediate means of subsistence by the individual himself, by his direct labour; 2) as the being of general social labour as a naturally evolved totality fragmenting itself into a circle of particularities in such a way that the subjects of circulation possess complementary commodities and that each subject satisfies some aspect of the totality of an individual's social wants, while the economic relationships stemming from this determinate division of labour are themselves obliterated, in our analysis of exchange value we have not gone on to analyse the division of labour, but merely accepted it as a fact identical with exchange value, a fact which, indeed, merely expresses in active form, as a particularisation of labour, that which the different use value of commodities—and without it neither exchange, nor exchange value would have existed—expresses in objective form. In effect, Adam Smith, like other economists before him, Petty, Boisguillebert, the Italians,[a]

[a] Marx left a space here to insert the names of Italian economists later.—*Ed.*

asserting the division of labour as being correlative with exchange value, was saying the same thing. And Steuart grasped, before all the others, the division of labour and the production of exchange values as being something identical and, in commendable distinction from other economists, conceived it as a form of social production and social exchange of matter mediated by a specific historical process.

What Adam Smith says about the productive power of the division of labour is an absolutely extraneous standpoint which has no relevance to the matter either here or in the place where he expressed it, and is, besides, relevant to a definite stage in the development of manufacture, but not at all to the modern factory system in general.

The division of labour with which we are dealing here is a spontaneous and *free* division within the society taken as a whole, and manifesting itself as production of exchange values, and not the division of labour within a factory—its resolution and combination in a single branch of production, but rather a social division of these branches of production themselves, arising, as it were, without the participation of individuals. The division of labour within the society would correspond to the principle of the division of labour [B′-21] within a factory perhaps in the Egyptian rather than in the modern system. The repulsion from each other of the various branches of social labour and their transformation into free ones, independent of each other and bound up in a totality and unity only through internal necessity (and not as in that division, through a conscious resolution and conscious combination of the resolved parts) are totally different things determined by totally different laws of development, however great the correspondence between a given form of the one and a given form of the other may be.

While Adam Smith may have less than adequately comprehended the simple form of the division of labour in which it is only an active form of exchange value, and its other form in which it represents a definite productive power of labour, he was even less clear about the form in which the economic antagonisms of production—the qualitative social determinations subsumed under which the individuals confront each other as capitalist and wage worker, industrial capitalist and rentier, tenant farmer and ground-rent-collecting landlord, etc.—themselves appear as the economic forms of a determinate mode of the division of labour.

If the individual produces his own immediate means of

subsistence, as, for instance, it most often happens in countries where primitive agricultural relationships continue to exist, his production has no social character, and his labour is not social. If the individual produces as a private individual—*so that this position of his is itself not in any sense a product of Nature but a refined result* of a social process—the social character reveals itself in that in the content of his labour the individual is determined by the social connection and works only as its member, i. e. to satisfy the wants of all the others—so that social dependence exists for him—but he himself is engaged only in this or that labour of his choice; his particular relationship to particular [kinds of] labour is not socially determined; his choice is determined in a natural way in virtue of his natural capabilities, inclinations, natural conditions of production in which he finds himself, etc.; so that the particularisation of labour, its social fragmentation into a totality of all the particular branches in fact presents itself from the part of the individual in such a way that his own spiritual and natural particularity simultaneously assumes the form of a social particularity. From his own nature and its particular premisses springs for him the particularity of his labour—above all its objectification—which, however, [he] simultaneously regards as the assertion [Geltendmachung] of a particular system of wants and realisation of a particular branch of social activity.

The division of labour so comprehended as social reproduction of the particular individuality, which thereby simultaneously constitutes an element of mankind's total development and simultaneously enables the individual, by means of his particular activity, to have gratification of the general production, the all-round social gratification, this concept, springing as it does from the standpoint of the simple circulation and so being confirmation instead of suspension of the freedom of the individuals, is still current in bourgeois political economy.

This natural distinction between individuals and their wants is the motivation for their social integration as exchangers. *D'abord* they confront each other in the act of exchange as persons mutually recognising each other as proprietors, as persons whose will permeates their commodities, with the reciprocal appropriation through the reciprocal alienation taking place only according to their common will, i. e. essentially by means of contract. This includes the juridical concept of person and also of the freedom which it contains. That is why in Roman law, *servus* is correctly defined as one who cannot acquire through exchange.

Furthermore, in the consciousness of the exchanging subjects all

of this presents itself in such a way that in the transaction each is only an end to himself; that each is only a means for the other; and finally, that the reciprocity in which each is simultaneously means and end, attaining his own end only by becoming means for the other, and means for the other only in so far as he attains his own end—that this reciprocity is a necessary FACT implied as a natural condition of exchange but that as such it is indifferent to both subjects of the exchange and is of interest to either only in so far as it is *his* interest. This means that the common interest which appears as the content of the exchange act as a whole, while being present as a fact in the consciousness of both parties, is not as such the motivation, but exists, so to say, only behind the backs of the individual interests reflected in themselves. If he so wishes, the subject can, of course, have the uplifting sense that the satisfaction of his unconcerned individual interest is precisely the realisation of the sublated individual interest, of the general interest. From the act of exchange itself, each of the subjects returns upon himself as the ultimate end of the entire process, as the dominant subject. In this way, therefore, the subject's complete freedom is realised. Voluntary transaction; no coercion on any part; becoming means for the other only as means for oneself or end for oneself; finally, the consciousness that the general or common interest is nothing but the all-sidedness of the egoistical interest.

If, therefore, every aspect of circulation is a realisation of individual freedom, the circulation process considered as such, i. e. in the determinations of its economic form, constitutes the full realisation of social equality (for the relations of freedom have no direct bearing on the economic determinations of the form of exchange, but relate only to its juridical form, or to its content, to use values, or wants as such). Subjects of circulation are, as such, above all *exchangers*, and that each of them is posited in this determination, that is, in the same determination, in effect constitutes their social determination. They confront each other in fact only as subjectivised exchange values, i. e. as living equivalents, as having the same value. As such, they are not only equal: there is even no [B″-1] difference between them. They confront each other only as possessors of exchange values and as those in need of exchange, as agents of the same general indifferent social labour. Moreover, they exchange exchange values of equal magnitude, for it is presupposed that there is an exchange of equivalents. The equalness of that which each gives and takes is here an explicit moment of the process itself. In the same way that they confront each other as the subjects of exchange, so they

certify themselves in the act of this exchange. As such it is merely this certification. They are posited as exchangers and so as equals, and their commodities (objects) as equivalents. They exchange their reified being only as equivalents. They themselves are of equal value and in the act of exchange identify themselves as being equivalent and indifferent with respect to each other. The equivalents are the objectification of one subject for the other; which means that they themselves are of equal value and identify themselves in the act of exchange as being equivalent and indifferent to each other. In the exchange, the subjects turn out to be of the same value to each other only through the equivalents and identify themselves as such by exchanging the objectification in which the one exists for the other. Since they exist for each other only as subjects of equivalence, they are simultaneously indifferent to each other as being of the same value. They are not concerned with their other differences. Their individual particularity does not enter into the process. The physical difference in the use value of their commodities is extinguished in the ideal being of commodity as price, and to the extent that this physical difference is the motivation for exchange, they are a reciprocal want for each other (each representing the want of the other), a want that can be satisfied only by the same quantum of labour time. This natural difference is the basis for their social equality and posits them as subjects of the exchange. If subject *A* had the same want as subject *B*, and if his commodity satisfied the same want as the commodity of subject *B*, there would be no relation between them in the sense of economic relations (from the standpoint of their production). The reciprocal satisfaction of their wants by means of the physical difference of their labour and their commodity makes their equality a relation filled with social content, and their particular labour a particular mode of the existence of social labour in general.

Whenever money is involved, it is so remote from abolishing this relation of equality that it is, in fact, its real expression. Above all to the extent that money functions as the price-positing element, as measure, the function of money consists, also in form, in positing commodities as being qualitatively identical, in expressing their identical social substance in which there is only a quantitative difference. In circulation, the commodity of each then, in fact, appears as the same thing [as the commodity of the other] and is given the same social form of means of circulation in which any particularity of the product is extinguished and the proprietor of each commodity becomes the proprietor of the tangibly subjec-

tified generally significant commodity. That money *non olet*[a] applies here in the proper sense. Whether a thaler which one has in one's hand has realised the price of manure or of silk is absolutely unnoticeable, and any individual difference has been extinguished in the hands of its possessor, since the thaler functions as thaler. Indeed, this extinction is all-sided, since all commodities are transformed into coin. At a definite moment, circulation posits each not only as being equal to the other, but also as the same, and its movement consists in each alternately taking the place of the other from the standpoint of the social function. It is true that in circulation the exchangers also confront each other qualitatively as buyer and seller, as commodity and money, but, first, they change places, and the process consists both in the establishment of inequality and in the transcendence of the inequality, so that the latter appears to be merely formal. The buyer becomes the seller, the seller becomes the buyer, and each can become buyer only as seller. The formal difference exists for all the subjects of circulation simultaneously in the form of the social metamorphoses through which they have to pass. Besides, the commodity, notionally as price, is as good money as the money confronting it. In money, when it itself circulates so that it appears now in the hands of the one, now of the other, and is indifferent to the place of its appearance, the equality is expressed materially, and the difference no more than formally. As far as the process of exchange is considered, each confronts the other as possessor of means of circulation, as money itself. The specific natural distinction which lies in the commodities is extinguished and keeps being extinguished through circulation.

When we consider generally the social relation of individuals within their economic process, we simply have to keep to the form determinations of the process itself. But there is no other difference in circulation except that between commodity and money, and circulation is equally its ceaseless disappearance. Equality appears here as social product, just as generally exchange value is social being.

Since money is only realisation of exchange value, and a developed exchange-value system, a money system, the money system can, in fact, be only the realisation of this system of equality and freedom.

The use value of the commodity contains for the exchanger a particular, individual aspect of production (labour); but in his

[a] Does not smell (Vespasian).— *Ed.*

commodity, as exchange value, all commodities similarly present themselves as objectification of the social homogeneous labour pure and simple, and their proprietors as equally estimable and equally worthy functionaries of the social process.

[B″-2] It was earlier shown that as far as money appears in its third function, it sublates, as the general material for contracts, the universal means of payment, all specific differences between the performances and posits them equal. It makes all equal before money, but money is merely its own objectified social nexus. With money figuring as material for accumulation and hoarding, the equality may at first appear to be sublated since the possibility arises for one individual to enrich himself more, to acquire a greater title to general production than another. However, [in the simple circulation] no individual can extract money at the expense of another. He can take in the form of money only that which he gives in the form of commodity. The one enjoys the content of wealth, the other takes possession of its universal form. If one is impoverished and the other enriched, that is a matter of their good will, their thrift, industry, morality, and so on, and does not at all follow from the economic relations themselves, the relations of commerce, in which the individuals confront each other in circulation. Even inheritance and similar juridical relations which may extend the inequality arising in this way have no effect on social equality. If the initial position of individual *A* is not in contradiction with these, the contradiction cannot, of course, arise from individual *A* taking the place of individual *B* and perpetuating the initial position. On the contrary, here the social law acquires force beyond the bounds of the [individual's] natural lifetime: there is a consolidation of this social law in contrast to the accidental working of Nature, whose influence as such would rather be abolition of the freedom of the individual. Besides, since in this relation the individual is merely the individualisation of money, he is as such as immortal as money itself. Finally, hoarding activity is a heroic, religious idiosyncrasy, a fanatical asceticism which is, of course, not inherited as blood is. Since only equivalents are exchanged, the heir must throw the money into circulation once again if he is to realise it as gratification. If he fails to do that, he will simply continue to be a useful member of the society, taking from it no more than he gives. But the nature of things is such, however, that extravagance, the "charming leveller",[a] as Steuart calls it, once again evens out the inequality, so

[a] J. Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy*, Vol. I, Dublin, 1770, p. 367.— *Ed.*

that it itself puts in only a fleeting appearance.

That is why the process of exchange of exchange values developed in circulation not only respects freedom and equality, but is also their real basis, while they are its products. As pure ideas, they are idealised expressions of its various moments; being developed in juridical, political and social relations, they are merely reproduced in other degrees. This has also been historically confirmed. Not only was the trinity of property, freedom and equality first theoretically formulated on that basis by Italian, English and French economists of the 17th and 18th centuries. They were also first realised in the modern bourgeois society. The ancient world, for which exchange value did not serve as the basis of production and which, on the contrary, collapsed in consequence of its development, produced a freedom and equality of a totally opposite and essentially no more than local content. On the other hand, since moments of the simple circulation were developed in the ancient world, among the free, at any rate, it is also clear that the definitions of juridical person, the subject of the process of exchange, were developed in Rome, especially in imperial Rome, whose history is precisely the history of the disintegration of the communal system of antiquity, as also the essential definitions of the law of the bourgeois society which, however, was necessarily above all brought to the fore as the law of the emerging industrial society as against the Middle Ages.

That is the origin of the error of the socialists, especially the French, who strive to prove that socialism is a realisation of bourgeois ideas, not discovered, but given historical currency by the French Revolution, and vainly try to demonstrate that exchange value *originally* (in time) or in its concept (in its adequate form) is a system of universal freedom and equality but perverted by money, capital, etc. Or they assert that up to now history has merely made unsuccessful attempts to put them through in a form corresponding to their true nature, and that now they, Proudhon, for instance, have discovered the panacea through which the true history of these relations is to be substituted for their perverted history. The system of exchange values, and the money system even more so, are, in fact, a system of freedom and equality. But the contradictions which appear in a deeper analysis are immanent contradictions, complications of that very property, freedom and equality which occasionally pass into their opposites. The hope, for instance, that exchange value should not develop from a form of commodity and money into a form of capital, or that labour producing exchange value should not develop into wage labour is

as pious as it is stupid. What distinguishes these socialists from bourgeois apologists is, on the one hand, the sense of the contradictions of the system, and, on the other, the utopianism, the failure to understand the necessary distinction between the real and the ideal shape of the bourgeois society and the consequent desire to undertake the superfluous business of once again realising the ideal expression itself, the clarified and [B"-3] reflected image emitted by reality as such.

Contrasted to this concept, on the other hand, is the trivial argument that the contradictions in this view resting on the examination of the simple circulation which arise as soon as we go on to more concrete stages of the production process, descending from the surface to its depths, are, in fact, a mere semblance. It is, in fact, asserted and argued with the aid of *abstraction* from the specific form of the more developed spheres of the social process of production, of the more developed economic relationships, that all the economic relationships are merely so many more names for the selfsame relationships of the simple exchange, commodity exchange, and the corresponding determinations of property, freedom and equality. From everyday experience, for instance, it is taken that, alongside money and commodities, exchange-value relationships also present themselves in the form of capital, interest, ground rent, wages, etc. Through the process of a very trivial abstraction, arbitrarily discarding now one, now the other aspect of the specific relationship, the latter is reduced to abstract determinations of the simple circulation, thereby *proving* that the economic relations in which individuals find themselves in those more developed spheres of the production process are merely relations of the simple circulation, etc.

That is just how Mr. Bastiat has put together his economic theodicy, the *Harmonies économiques.* In contrast to the classical political economy of Steuart, Smith and Ricardo, who have the strength of mind relentlessly to depict production relationships in their pure form, this feeble high-flown rhetoric claims to be a step forward. However, Bastiat is not the inventor of this harmonious view, but has, on the contrary, borrowed it from the American Carey.

Carey, for whose views the historical background was provided only by the New World, of which he is a member, in the highly voluminous works of his first period argued the existence of the economic "harmony" which is still everywhere a reduction [of all economic relations] to the abstract determinations of the simple process of exchange, by explaining everywhere the distortion of

these simple relationships by the intervention of the State, on the one hand, and England's influence on the world market, on the other. The harmonies *in themselves* are there. But in the non-American countries they are distorted by the State, and in America itself, by the most developed form in which these relationships appear, their world-market reality, in the form of England.* Carey finds no other means of restoring them than ultimately to call for help from his denounced devil, the State, and to stand it as the guardian angel at the gates of the harmonious paradise, namely, protective tariffs. But since he is after all a researcher and not a writer of fiction, like Bastiat, in his latest work[102] he is forced to go farther. America's development over the past 18 years has dealt such a blow at his harmonious view that he now sees the distortion of the "natural" "harmonies", to which he is still firmly attached, no longer in the external influence of the State, but in *trade*! A truly remarkable result this: to extol exchange value as the basis of harmonious production, and then to declare that the developed form of exchange, trade, abolishes this exchange value in its immanent laws! ** That is the desperate form in which Carey expresses his belated conclusion that the development of harmonious exchange value is disharmonic.

* It is harmonious, for instance, if, within a country, patriarchal production gives way to industrial production, and the process of dissolution accompanying this development is conceived only in its positive aspect. But it becomes disharmonious, if England's large-scale industry puts a terrible end to the patriarchal or petty-bourgeois forms of another country's national production. The concentration of capital within a country and the dissolving effect of this concentration present themselves to him only in their positive aspect. But the effect of the concentrated English capital on other national capitals, which he exposes as England's monopoly, is disharmony itself.

** Carey is, in fact, America's only original economist, and what makes his works so important is that the bourgeois society in its freest and broadest reality always provides them with their material foundation. In abstract form, he describes the breadth of American [economic] conditions and contrasts them with those of the Old World. Bastiat's only real background is the pettiness of French economic conditions, whose long ears keep sticking out from his harmonies, and in contrast to these, he formulates the idealised English and American production relationships as "the demands of practical reason".[103] That is why Carey is rich in independent, so to say, *bona fide* studies of specific economic questions. Wherever Bastiat pretends, by way of exception, to descend from his glib and coquettish platitudes to an examination of real categories (for instance, in ground rent) there he simply rewrites Carey. So while the latter combats mainly the objections to his harmonious view, objections in the form in which they have been developed by the English classical economists themselves, Bastiat skirmishes with the socialists. Carey's more profound view finds in political economy itself the contradiction

[B″-4] 6) TRANSITION TO CAPITAL

Let us now take the process of circulation in its totality:

Let us consider first of all the *formal character* of the simple circulation.

Indeed, circulation represents only a formal process mediating both moments—use value and exchange value—which directly coincide and directly fall apart in the commodity, whose direct unity it is. The commodity keeps alternating each of these two determinations. So far as the commodity is posited as price, and while also being exchange value, its being as use value appears to be its reality, while its being as exchange value is merely its relation [to other commodities], its notional being. In money, although it is also use value, it is its being as exchange value that appears as its reality, since use value, when it appears as universal, is merely notional.

In the commodity, the material has price; in money, exchange value possesses material.

Both forms of circulation are to be considered: *C—M—C* and *M—C—M*.

The commodity which is exchanged for another commodity by means of money passes out of circulation in order to be consumed as use value. Its determination as exchange value and hence as commodity is extinguished. It is now *use value* as such. If, however, it is self-established against circulation in the form of money, it then represents only the substance-free universal form of wealth and becomes a useless use value, gold, silver, when it does not re-enter circulation as a means of purchase or means of payment. Indeed, there is a contradiction in that the exchange value become independent, i.e. the absolute existence of exchange value, should be the form in which it is withdrawn from exchange. The only reality, economically, which hoarding has in circulation, is a subsidiary one for the function of money as means of circulation (in the two forms of means of purchase and means of payment)—the formation of reservoirs which make it possible to expand and contract the currency (hence the function of money as universal commodity).

There are two moments in circulation. First, equivalents, i.e. the same value magnitudes, are exchanged for each other; at the same time, however, the determinations of both sides change places.

which, as harmonist, he has to overcome, while the vain and stubborn rhetorician [Bastiat] discerns this contradiction as lying only beyond the bounds of political economy.

The exchange value fixed in money disappears (for the owner of the money) as soon as money realises itself in the commodity as use value; and the use value existing in the commodity disappears (for its owner) as soon as its price is realised in money. Through the simple act of exchange, either of the two can lose its determination in favour of the other only when it realises itself in the other. Neither can retain one determination while passing into the other.

Considered in itself, circulation is *the mediation of preposited extremes.* But it does not posit these extremes. It itself must be mediated as the totality of mediation, as total process. *That is why its immediate being is pure appearance.* It is the *phenomenon of a process running behind its back.* It is now negated in each of its moments: as commodity, as money, and as the relation of the two, as the simple exchange of the two, circulation.

The repetition of the process from both points, money and commodity, does not spring from the conditions of circulation itself. The act cannot again be rekindled of itself. Circulation does not, therefore, carry within itself the principle of self-renewal. It proceeds from preposited moments, and not from those created by itself. Commodities must be thrown into it again and again, and that from outside, as fuel into the fire. Otherwise, it flickers out in indifference. It would flicker out in money as an indifferent result, in so far as money would no longer have any connection with commodities, prices, circulation, cease to be money and express a production relationship; leaving no more than its metallic being, with its economic being annihilated.

Money, as "universal form of wealth", as exchange value become independent, confronts the whole world of real wealth. It is the pure abstraction of the latter, hence, fixed in this way, an imaginary magnitude. Wherever universal wealth appears to exist in an entirely material, tangible form, it has its existence only in my head, and is a pure chimera. As the material representative of universal wealth, money is realised only when it is thrown back into circulation, when it disappears in exchange for the particular species of wealth. In circulation, it is always real only when it is given out. Should I want to hold on to it, it evaporates in my hands as a mere spectre of wealth. Making it disappear is the only possible way of securing it as wealth. The dissolution of the stores in ephemeral gratifications is its realisation. It can now again be stored by other individuals, but then the process starts once again. The independence of money with respect to circulation is mere appearance. So in its determination of consummate exchange value, money sublates itself.

In the simple circulation, exchange value in its form as money appears as a simple thing for which circulation is only an external movement, or which, as subject, is individualised in a particular material. Furthermore, circulation itself appears [B″-5] merely as a formal movement: realisation of the prices of commodities, exchange (eventually) of different use values for each other. Both are preposited as the point of departure of circulation: the exchange value of the commodity, and the commodities of different use value. The withdrawal of the commodity through consumption, i.e. its annihilation as exchange value, and the withdrawal of money, its becoming independent, which is again another form of its annihilation, likewise drop out of circulation. A *definite price* (exchange value measured in money, i.e. exchange value itself, the value magnitude) is preposited to circulation, which in money only gives it a formal being. But it does not *originate* in it.

//The simple circulation, merely the exchange of commodity and money (the exchange of commodities in mediated form), precisely because it is only mediating movement between presupposed points of departure, can (up to the formation of hoards) historically exist without exchange value taking hold of the production of a people, whether on the whole surface or in its depths. At the same time, however, historical development shows how circulation itself leads to bourgeois, i.e. exchange-value-positing, production and creates for itself a basis other than that from which it directly sprang. The exchange of surpluses is commerce creating exchange and exchange value. However, it extends only to the act of exchange itself and runs alongside production itself. But then if the appearance of exchange-seeking intermediaries (Lombards, Normans, etc.) is repeated and regular trade develops under which the producing peoples are engaged only in what could be called passive trade, in so far as the impetus to exchange-creating activity comes from outside and not from the inner structure of production, the surplus of production must no longer be an accidental, occasional one, but a constantly recurring surplus, so that the product itself acquires a tendency towards circulation and creation of new exchange values.

Initially, the influence is rather a material one. The range of wants is enlarged; the aim is to satisfy new wants, and hence the greater regularity and scale of production. The organisation of production within the country has itself already been modified by circulation and exchange value, but has not yet been taken hold of either over its entire surface or throughout its whole depth. That is the so-called civilising influence of foreign trade. The extent to

which the movement positing exchange value seizes upon the whole of production then depends partly on the intensity of the said external influence, partly upon the level of internal development.

For instance, in England in the 16th century, the development of the Dutch industry made English wool production of great commercial importance, and, on the other hand, especially increased the need for Dutch and Italian commodities. In order to have more wool for export as means of exchange, arable land was converted into sheep-walks and the small-tenant system was broken up, producing that rather violent economic upheaval which Thomas More deplored (denounced).[a]

So agriculture lost its character of labour for use value—as the immediate source of subsistence—and the exchange of its surplus ceased to be something indifferent and external for the internal structure of agricultural relationships. In some places, agriculture itself began entirely to be determined by circulation and transformed into production creating solely exchange values. In this way, not only was there a change in the mode of production, but also a disintegration of all the corresponding old, traditional relationships of population and production, economic relationships. So here the prerequisite for circulation was a production involving exchange value only in the form of surplus, a surplus over the use value; but it gave way to a production which can exist only in relation to circulation, with the creation of exchange value as its immediate object. This is an example of the historical retreat of the simple circulation into capital, into the exchange value as a production-dominating form.

The movement, therefore, gets hold only of the surplus of the production aimed at the creation of immediate use value and proceeds only within those limits. The less the whole internal economic structure of the society is still caught up by exchange value, the more they [participants in the exchange] appear as external extremes of circulation—firmly given in advance and taking a passive attitude to it. The whole movement as such appears independent with respect to them as intermediary trade whose carriers, such as the Semites in the interstices of the ancient world, and the Jews, Lombards and Normans in the interstices of the medieval society, alternately represent with respect to them the different moments of circulation—money and commodity. They are the mediators of the social exchange of matter.

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[a] Thomas More, *Utopia*, Book I.—*Ed.*

At this point, however, we have nothing to do with the historical transition of circulation into capital. The simple circulation is, rather, an abstract sphere of the bourgeois process of production as a whole, which through its own determinations shows itself to be a moment, [B″-6] a mere form of appearance of some deeper process lying behind it, even resulting from it and producing it—industrial capital.//

The simple circulation, on the one hand, is an exchange of *present* commodities and merely the mediation of these preposited extremes, which lie beyond it. All activity is limited to exchange and the positing of the *formal determinations* through which the commodity passes as the unity of exchange value and use value. As such a unity, the commodity was preposited or some other determinate product was a *commodity* only as the immediate unity of both these determinations. Indeed, the commodity is such a unity, a commodity not in an inert (fixed) being, but only in the social movement of circulation in which, on the one hand, both determinations of the commodity—use value and exchange value—are allocated between the various parties. For the seller it becomes exchange value, for the buyer, use value. For the seller it is *means of exchange,* i.e. the opposite of direct use value, because it is use value for the other; in other words, it is negated direct, individual use value; on the other hand, however, as *price* its magnitude as means of exchange, its purchasing power is measured. For the buyer, it becomes use value as its price is realised, i.e. as its ideal being is realised as money. Only because the buyer realises the commodity for another in the determination of pure exchange value, the commodity for himself becomes a commodity in the determination of use value. Use value itself appears as two-fold: in the hands of the seller, it is merely a particular materialisation of exchange value, the existence of exchange value, and for the buyer, *use value as such,* i.e. an object satisfying particular wants; for both, the commodity appears as price. One of them, however, wants to realise it as price, as money; the other realises money in it.

It is specific for the being of commodity as means of exchange that the use value appears 1) as sublated direct (individual) use value, i.e. as use value for others, for the society; 2) as materialisation of exchange value for the possessor of the commodity.

The bifurcation and the alternation of the commodity in both determinations—commodity and money—is the main content of circulation. But the commodity does not simply confront money;

its exchange value appears in it notionally as money; as price, it is notional money, and money with respect to it is merely the reality of its own price. In the commodity, the exchange value is also notional determination, notional equation with money. It then acquires in money as coin an abstract, one-sided but fleeting existence as mere value; value then is extinguished in the use value of the purchased commodity. From the moment the commodity becomes simple use value, it ceases to be a commodity. Its being as exchange value is extinguished. But so long as it is in circulation, it is always posited in a two-fold way, not only in that it exists as commodity with respect to money, but also in that it always exists as commodity with a price, exchange value measured in the measuring unit of exchange values.

The movement of the commodity passes through various moments when it is price, becomes coin, and finally is transformed into use value. It *is* presupposed as use value and exchange value, for only then it is a commodity. But it realises these determinations *formally* in circulation and, moreover, so that, firstly, as has been said, it passes through various determinations; and, secondly, so that in the process of exchange its being as use value and exchange value is always distributed between the two sides, between the two extremes of the exchange. In circulation, its two-fold nature is dismembered and it *becomes* in each of the conditions presupposed in it only as a result of this formal process. The unity of both determinations appears as a restless movement passing through definite moments and at the same time always two-sided. Always only in this social relationship so that *the various determinations of the commodity are, in fact, no more than alternating relations in which the subjects of the exchange are in the process of exchange.* This relation appears, however, as an objective relationship in which they are placed by the content of the exchange, by its social determinateness, independently of their will. In price, coin, as money, these social relations appear with respect to these subjects as external and subsuming. The negation of the commodity in one of its determinations is always its realisation in the other. As price it is already notionally negated as use value and posited as exchange value. As realised price, i.e. as money, it is negated use value. As realised money, i.e. as transcended means of purchase, it is negated exchange value, realised use value. It is initially use value and exchange value only δυνάμει[a]; only in circulation does it *become* posited as both, and circulation is the

[a] Potentially.—*Ed.*

alternation of these determinations. While being the alternation and confrontation of these determinations, therefore, circulation is also always their equation to each other.

In so far, however, as we examine the form *C—M—C*, exchange value, whether in its form of price, or in its form of coin, or in the form of the equating movement, in the form of the movement of exchange itself, appears only as a fleeting mediation. Commodity is eventually exchanged for commodity, or more precisely, since the determination of the commodity is extinguished, it is use values of different quality that are exchanged for each other, while circulation itself merely served, on the one hand, to allow them to change hands in accordance with the want, and on the other, to allow them to change hands in accordance with the labour time they contain; [B″-7] to allow them to substitute for each other to the extent to which they are equally weighty moments of the general social labour time. Now, however, the commodities thrown into circulation have reached their goal. In the hands of their new possessor, each of them ceases to be a commodity; each of them becomes an object of want, and as such is consumed in accordance with its nature.

There, therefore, circulation comes to an end. Nothing remains but the means of circulation as a mere residue. But as such a residue it loses its form determination. It sinks into its matter that remains in the form of the inorganic ash of the whole process. As soon as the commodity has become a use value as such, it is thrown out of circulation and has ceased to be a commodity. That is why it is not from this aspect of content (substance) that we should seek further determinations of form. The use value becomes in circulation only that as what it was posited independently of circulation—an object of a definite want. As such an object, it was and remains a physical motive of circulation; but is left by it, as the social form, altogether unaffected. In the *C—M—C* movement, the physical matter appears as the actual content of the movement; the social movement, only as a fleeting mediation for the satisfaction of individual wants. The change of material of the social labour. In this movement, the sublation of the form determination, i.e. those springing from the social process, appears not only as the result but also as the goal; in much the same way as court proceedings appear to the peasant, though not to his lawyer. So in order to examine the further determination of form arising from the movement of circulation itself, we must keep to the side where the formal aspect, exchange value as such, is further developed, and is given a deeper

determination through the process of circulation itself. That means the aspect of the development of money, the *M—C—M* form.

Being objectified in circulation, exchange value, as an objectified quantum of social labour time, proceeds up to its being as money in the form of hoard and universal means of payment. If money is now fixed in this form, its form determination is equally extinguished; it ceases to be money and becomes mere metal, mere use value, which, however, since it does not have to serve as such in its metal quality, is useless, i.e. it does not realise itself as the commodity does in consumption as use value.

We have seen how the commodity realises the moments it contains by continually denying one of them. From the standpoint of the movement of the commodity as such, exchange value exists notionally in it as price; the commodity becomes abstract means of exchange in coin, but in its final realisation in another commodity, its exchange value is extinguished, and it drops out of the process as simple use value, immediate object of consumption (*C—M—C*). That is the movement of the commodity in which its being as use value is the dominant moment, and the movement in fact consists only in that it assumes the want-corresponding form of the use value, instead of that in which it is a commodity.

If, however, we consider the further development of exchange value in money, we shall find that in the first movement [*C—M*] it reaches only its being as notional money, or coin, as unit [of value measurement] and number [of units]. But if we take both movements [*C—M* and *M—C*] together, it will transpire that money, existing in price only as ideal measuring unit, as imagined material of general labour, in coin—only as value token, as abstract and fleeting being of value, as materialised conception, i.e. as symbol—in its form, finally, as money, first, negates both determinations, but also contains both as moments, and simultaneously firmly establishes itself in a materialisation independent of circulation, in a constant, even if negative, relation to it.

*What becomes, emerges, is produced in circulation, when its form itself is considered, is money itself and nothing else.* Commodities are exchanged in circulation, but they do not originate in it. Money, as price and coin, is already an own product of circulation, but only formally. The exchange value of the commodity is the premiss of price, just as the coin itself is nothing but the self-established form of the commodity as similarly premissed means of exchange. Circulation does not create exchange value, just as it does not create its magnitude. For commodity to be measured in money,

both money and commodity must relate to each other as exchange values, that is, as the objectification of labour time. In price, the exchange value of the commodity is given only an expression that is separate from its use value; similarly, the value token springs only from the equivalent, from the commodity as means of exchange. As means of exchange, the commodity must be use value, but it can become such only through alienation, since it is use value not for him in whose hands it is commodity, but for him who acquires it in exchange as use value. Its use value for the possessor of the commodity consists merely in its exchangeability, its alienability to the extent of the exchange value it represents. So, as universal means of exchange, it becomes mere use value in circulation as *stable existence of exchange value*, while its use value as such is extinguished. That the exchange value is posited as price, and the means of exchange as money, appears as a simple formal change [of determinations]. Every commodity as realised exchange value is the money of account for the other commodities, their price-giving element, just as every commodity is means of exchange (but here it comes up against the limits within which it is means of exchange, for it can be such only with respect to him who possesses the commodity which the exchanger wants, and would have to pass through a series of exchanges in order eventually to become means of exchange; apart from the CLUMSINESS of this process, it would once again come into [B″-8] conflict with its own nature as use value, for it would then have to be divisible into portions so as successively to satisfy all the different exchanges in the required proportions), means of circulation, coin. In price and coin, both determinations are transferred only to a single commodity. This appears merely as a simplification [of the process of exchange]. In the relationships in which a commodity appears as the measure of value of all the other commodities, it is a means of exchange, an equivalent alienable against them; it can actually serve as an equivalent, as a *means of exchange*. The process of circulation merely gives these determinations a more abstract form in money as coin and means of exchange.

The form *C—M—C*, this stream of circulation, in which money figures only as measure and coin, appears therefore only as a mediated form of barter in whose basis and content nothing has changed. The reflecting consciousness of the peoples therefore perceives money in its determinations of measure and coin as arbitrary, as inventions conventionally introduced for the sake of convenience; for the transformations undergone by the determinations contained in the commodity as a unity of use value and

exchange value are no more than formal. Price is merely a determinate expression of exchange value, a generally understandable expression [given] to exchange value in the language of circulation itself, just as coin, which can also actually exist as a mere symbol, is no more than a symbolic expression of exchange value, but as means of exchange remains precisely no more than a means for the exchange of the commodity, which is why no new content is brought in. It is true that price and coin originate from commerce: they are, in fact, commerce-created expressions, the commercial expressions of the commodity as exchange value and means of exchange.

But things stand differently with money. It is a product of circulation which has grown out of it, as it were, contrary to initial agreement.

Money is not merely a mediating form of commodity exchange. It is a form of exchange value growing out of the circulation process, a social product which, in virtue of the relations into which individuals enter in circulation, creates itself. As soon as gold and silver (or any other commodity) have developed themselves as measure of value and means of circulation (as the latter, whether in bodily form or as symbol), they become money without the society's aid or desire. Their power appears as a kind of fate, and the consciousness of men, especially in social orders declining because of a deeper development of exchange-value relations, rebels against the power which a physical matter, a thing, acquires with respect to men, against the domination of the accursed metal which appears as sheer insanity. It is in money, and in its most abstract and hence most senseless, incomprehensible form, the form in which all mediation is sublated, that this transformation of social interrelations into a solid, overwhelming, individual-subsuming social relationship first appears. And this appearance is all the harder in that it springs from the premiss of free, untrammelled, atomistic private persons linked with each other in production only by reciprocal wants. Money itself contains within itself the negation of itself as mere measure [of values] and coin.

//Considered in itself, the commodity should, in fact, be merely the being of exchange value for its possessor; for him, its materialisation only has the meaning of being the objectification of general labour time, which is exchangeable for any other objectification of it; is, consequently, immediate *universal equivalent, money.* This aspect, however, is concealed and appears only as one side.//

The old philosophers, and similarly Boisguillebert, regard this as a perversion, a misuse of money, which turns from slave into master, depreciates natural wealth and eliminates the equal measures of equivalents. In his *De Republica*, Plato wants forcibly to keep money as mere means of circulation and measure [of value], but not to allow it to become money as such.[a] For the same reason, Aristotle regards the form of circulation *C—M—C*, in which money functions only as measure and coin—a movement which he calls economic—as natural and reasonable, and brands the form *M—C—M*, the chrematistic[b] one, as unnatural and inappropriate.[c] What is here being attacked is only exchange value which becomes the content and end-in-itself of circulation, i.e. the setting up of exchange value as something independent, and value as such becoming the aim of exchange and acquiring an independent form, at first still in the simple, tangible form of money. Use value is the aim of selling for the sake of buying; and value itself, of buying for the sake of selling.

We have seen, it is true, that money is, in fact, only a means of circulation suspended in its function, whether it will later enter circulation as means of purchase or means of payment. But its independent attitude with respect to circulation, its withdrawal from the latter, robs it of both its values: of its use value, since it does not have to serve as metal; of its exchange value, since it possesses this exchange value only as a moment of circulation, as an abstract symbol of the commodities' own value reciprocally opposed to each other; as a moment of the movement of the form of the commodity itself. So long as money remains withdrawn from circulation, it is as worthless as if it lay buried in the deepest pit. But if it re-enters [B"-9] circulation, its intransience is at an end, the value it contains disappears in the use values of the commodities for which it is exchanged, and it once again becomes a mere means of circulation. That is one moment. *Money comes out of circulation as its result, i.e. as adequate being of exchange value, as universal equivalent for itself and congealed in itself.*

*On the other hand:* As the aim of exchange, i.e. as movement which has for its content exchange value itself, money itself, the only content [of the process] is an increase of exchange value, *accumulation of money.* But this increase is, in fact, purely formal. Here value does not come from value, but value in the form of

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[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 351-52.—*Ed.*

[b] Money-making.—*Ed.*

[c] Aristotle, *De Republica*, Book I, Ch. 8-10.—*Ed.*

the commodity is thrown into circulation in order to extract it from there in the form of useless value as hoard.

"All say that you are rich; I assert that you are poor. For the proof of wealth is *use* of it." [104]

In *content*, therefore, enrichment appears as voluntary impoverishment. Only the absence of wants, the renunciation of wants, the divorce from use value of the value which exists in the form of commodity, makes it possible to pile it up in the form of money. The fact is that the real movement of the form $M—C—M$ exists not in the simple circulation, where equivalents are merely transferred from the form of commodity into that of money and vice versa. If I exchange one thaler for a commodity with a value of one thaler, and this again for one thaler, it is a process which has no content. Only one thing should be examined in the simple circulation: the content of this form itself, i.e. money as an end-in-itself. It is clear that it *occurs* in such a form; apart from the quantity, the predominant form of trade consists in exchanging money for commodity and commodity for money. It may, and does, happen that not as much money as was set out may be the result of this process. In a bad deal, less may return than was given out. Only the principle should be considered here; the further determinateness does not belong in the simple circulation itself. In the simple circulation itself, the increase of the value magnitude, the movement in which the increase of the value itself is the aim, may appear only in the form of accumulation, through the phase $C—M$, a continuously resumed sale of the commodity, when money is not allowed to run its full course and once again to be transformed into commodity after the commodity has been transformed into money. That is why money appears not as the point of departure, as the form $M—C—M$ requires, but always only as the result of the exchange. It is the point of departure only in so far as, for the seller, the commodity has the significance of price *alone*, as still only would-be money, and he throws it into circulation in this transient form in order to withdraw it from there in its everlasting form. The exchange value was, in fact, the premiss of circulation, i.e. money, and the result of circulation, in so far as it ends in the accumulation of money, is once again the exchange value's adequate being and increase.

Money, therefore, even in its concrete determination as money, in which it is already a negation of itself as mere measure [of value] and mere coin, is negated in the movement of circulation in

which it is posited as money. But what is negated here is merely the abstract form in which the exchange value becoming independent appears in money, and also the abstract form of the process of this becoming independent. From the standpoint of exchange value, the whole of circulation is negated, since it does not carry within itself the principle of self-renewal.

Circulation proceeds from both determinations of the commodity, from it as use value, and from it as exchange value. In so far as the first determination prevails, circulation ends with the use value becoming independent; the commodity becomes an object of consumption. In so far as the second determination prevails, circulation ends with the second determination, the exchange value becoming independent. The commodity becomes money. But the commodity passes into this latter determination only through the process of circulation, and it continues to be related to circulation. In this latter determination, the commodity further develops as objectified general labour time—in its social form. It is from this latter aspect, therefore, that there should be a further determination of social labour, which initially appears as the exchange value of the commodity, and then as money. The exchange value is the social form as such; its further analysis, therefore, is a further analysis of, or a deepening into, the social process which throws the commodity onto its surface.

If we now [knowing that] the independence of the exchange value results from the process of circulation, proceed from the exchange value as such, as we earlier proceeded from the commodity, we shall find that:

1) The exchange value exists in a dual form, as commodity and as money; the latter appears as its adequate form; but in the commodity, so long as it remains commodity, money is not lost, but exists as its price. Thus, the existence of the exchange value is doubled so that it exists once in use values, and once in money. Both forms, however, are exchanged for each other, and through this mere exchange as such the value does not perish.

2) If money is to be preserved as money, it must, just as it appears in the form of residue and a result of the process of circulation, [B″-10] be capable of re-entering this process, i.e. of not being converted in circulation into a mere means of circulation disappearing in the form of commodity in exchange for a mere use value. Money, while it is in one determination, should not be lost in the other, i.e. it should remain money also in its being as commodity, and, in its being as money, exist only as a transient form of commodity; in its being as commodity it should not lose

its exchange value, and, in its being as money, its relation to use value. Its entry into circulation must itself be a moment of its stay-by-itself, and its stay-by-itself, entry into circulation. Thus, the exchange value is now determined as a process and not merely as a disappearing form of use value indifferent to this use value itself as physical content, and not merely as a thing in the form of money; it is determined as relation to its own self through the process of circulation. On the other hand, circulation is itself no longer determined as a merely formal process in which the commodity passes through its various determinations, but the exchange value itself, and, to be sure, the exchange value measured in money must be premissed as posited by circulation, and as so posited by it appear as being premissed to it. Circulation itself must appear as a moment of the production of exchange values (as the process of production of exchange values). In the process of exchange value becoming independent in money, only its indifference is in fact posited with respect to the particular use value in which it incorporates itself. The independent universal equivalent is money, whether it exists in the form of commodity or in the form of money. The process of exchange value becoming independent in money must itself appear only as a moment of the movement, as a result of circulation, but as one determined for starting it again, without congealing in this form.

Money, i.e. the independent exchange value arising in the process of circulation as a result of and simultaneously as a living impetus to circulation (only in the limited form of hoarding, it is true), has negated itself merely as coin, i.e. as a merely fleeting form of exchange value, as merely dissolving in circulation; it has also negated itself as independently confronting circulation. If it is not to petrify as a hoard, it must once again enter into circulation in the same way as it left it, and not as simple means of circulation, but so that its being as means of circulation, and so its transition into commodity were themselves only a change of form to reappear in its adequate form as *adequate exchange value,* but simultaneously as *multiplied, increased exchange value, valorised exchange value.* Value *valorising,* i.e. multiplying, itself in circulation is in general exchange-value-for-itself which passes through circulation as an end-in-itself. This *valorisation,* this *quantitative increase of value*—the only process which value can perform as such—appears in the accumulation of money only as the opposite of circulation, i.e. through its own sublation. Moreover, circulation must itself be posited as a process in which value is retained and valorised.

In circulation, however, money becomes coin and, as such, is exchanged for commodity. If this exchange is to be more than formal, if the exchange value is not to be lost in the consumption of the commodity, so that there is not merely a change in the form of the exchange value (once as its universal abstract being in money, and again, its being in a particular use value of the commodity), the exchange value must in fact be exchanged for a use value, and the commodity must be consumed as a use value, but in this consumption it must be retained as an exchange value, in other words, its disappearance must disappear, and must itself be merely a means for the emergence of a greater exchange value, for the reproduction and production of exchange value—*productive consumption*, i.e. consumption through labour in order to objectify labour, to create exchange value. The production of exchange value is in general only the production of a greater exchange value, a multiplication of it. Its simple reproduction modifies the use value in which it exists, just as the simple circulation does it, but without creating, without producing it.

The exchange value become independent implies circulation as a developed moment and appears as an uninterrupted process which posits circulation and from it keeps returning in itself in order to posit it once again. As self-positing movement, the exchange value no longer appears as a merely formal movement of preposited exchange values, but is at the same time a self-producing and self-reproducing movement. Production itself is here no longer present before its results, i.e. it is not preposited but appears as production which at the same time itself produces these results; but it posits the exchange value as no longer merely leading to circulation, but as one which simultaneously implies developed circulation in its [B″-11] process.

In order to establish itself as something independent, the exchange value would not only have to emerge as result from circulation, but would also have to be capable of re-entering circulation, to be retained in it, becoming commodity. In money, the exchange value has received an independent form with respect to the circulation *C—M—C*, i.e. with respect to its final dissolution in simple use value. But this form, when fixed, is only negative, fleeting, or illusory. Money exists only in relation to circulation and as a possibility of entering it. But it loses this determination as soon as it realises itself. It falls back to both its functions as measure and means of circulation. As mere money, it does not go beyond this determination. Simultaneously, however, it is posited in circulation that it remains money, whether it exists

as such or as the price of the commodity. The movement of circulation must not appear as the movement of its disappearance, but, on the contrary, as the movement of its actual self-positing as exchange value, its realisation as exchange value. If commodity is exchanged for money, the form of exchange value, exchange value posited as exchange value, money, is congealed in this determination only so long as money is kept out of the exchange in which it functions as value, so long as it evades it, and is, consequently, a purely illusory realisation of value, its purely ideal realisation in the form in which the independence of the exchange value exists tangibly.

The same exchange value must become money, commodity, commodity, money, as the form *M—C—M* requires. In the simple circulation, the commodity becomes money and then commodity; it is another commodity which once again posits itself as money. *The exchange value is not retained in this change of its form. But in circulation it is already posited that money is both money and commodity, and is retained in the alternation of both determinations.*

In circulation, the exchange value appears two-fold: once as commodity and again as money. If it is in the one determination, it is not in the other. This is true of any particular commodity; and equally of money as a means of circulation. But implicit in circulation as a whole is that the same exchange value, exchange value as subject, once posits itself as commodity, and again as money, and is in fact the movement aimed at positing itself in these two determinations and maintaining itself in each of these as its opposite, in the commodity as money, and in money as commodity. That is what is present in the simple circulation in itself, but is not posited in it.

Where these determinations in the simple circulation are *positively* independent of each other, as in the commodity becoming the object of consumption, circulation ceases being a moment of the economic process; where *negatively*, as in money, it becomes insanity, an insanity stemming from the economic process itself.

It cannot be said that the exchange value realises itself in the simple circulation, because the use value does not confront it as such, as use value determined by itself. Conversely, the use value as such does not itself become exchange value or becomes it only in so far as the determination of use values—that of being objectified general labour—is superimposed on them as an external scale. Their unity still immediately falls asunder, and their difference still immediately forms a unity. That the use value

as such is mediated through the exchange value, and that the exchange value mediates itself through the use value, now has to be posited.

In the simple circulation, we had only two formally distinct determinations of exchange value—money and commodity price; and only two physically distinct use values—*C*—*C*, for which money, the exchange value, is merely a fleeting mediation, a form which these use values temporarily adopt. No real relationship was established between the exchange value and the use value. It is true that in the use value, the exchange value also exists as price (notional determination); it is true that in money, the use value also exists as its reality, its material. In the one case, it is the exchange value that was merely notional, and in the other, the use value. The commodity as such—its particular use value—is, therefore, merely a physical motive for the exchange, but as such it drops out of the economic form determination; or the economic form determination is merely the superficial form, the formal determination which does not penetrate into the sphere of the real substance of wealth and has no relation to that substance as such; that is why if this form determination as such is to be established in the form of hoard it [form determination] is imperceptibly transformed into a natural undifferentiated product, a metal, on which even its last relation to circulation is extinguished. The metal as such does not, of course, express any social relation; in it even the form of coin, the last sign of life of its social significance, has been extinguished.

Having emerged from circulation as its prerequisite and result, the exchange value must similarly enter it once again.

We have already seen in the examination of money, and it clearly appears in hoarding, that the growth of money, its multiplication is the only process of the form of circulation which is the end-in-itself for value, i.e. that value become independent and retaining itself in the form of exchange value (above all money), is simultaneously the process of its increase; that its retention of itself as value is simultaneously its advance beyond its quantitative limits, its expansion as a magnitude of value and that the process of the exchange value becoming independent has no other content. The maintenance of the exchange value as such by means of circulation appears simultaneously as its self-expansion, and this self-expansion is [B″-12] its self-valorisation, its active positing of itself as value-creating value; as value reproducing itself while preserving itself, but simultaneously positing itself as *value*, i.e. as surplus value. In hoarding, this process is still purely

formal. In so far as the individual is concerned, this process appears as a movement without content converting wealth from a useful into a useless and, in terms of determination, unnecessary form. In so far as the economic process as a whole is concerned, hoarding serves merely as a condition of the metallic circulation itself. So long as money remains hoard, it does not function as exchange value, it is merely imaginary. On the other hand, the expansion—the positing of itself as value, value which not only preserves itself through circulation, but originates from it, i.e. posits itself as surplus value—is likewise merely imaginary. The same value magnitude which earlier existed in the form of commodity now exists in the form of money; it is accumulated in the latter form, because it is abandoned in the other. If it is realised, it disappears in consumption. The preservation and expansion of value is, therefore, merely abstract, formal. Only the form of this is posited in the simple circulation.

As a form of universal wealth, as exchange value become independent, money is incapable of any other movement but the quantitative one: to expand itself. By concept it is the essence of all the use values; but its quantitative limits, as the limits of what is always merely a definite magnitude of value, a definite sum of gold and silver, is in contradiction with its quality. That is why rooted in its nature is a constant drive to go beyond its own limits.

(As consuming wealth, for instance in the epoch of the Roman emperors, money for that reason appears as boundless, insane dissipation, which tries to raise even the consumption of food to its imaginary boundlessness, i.e. one which treats money, as such a form of wealth, at the same time directly as a use value. Pearl salad, etc.)

For value, firmly established as value, its expansion, therefore, coincides with its self-preservation, and it preserves itself only by constantly driving beyond its quantitative limits, which contradicts its inner universality. So enrichment is an end-in-itself. The end-determining activity of exchange value become independent can only be enrichment, i.e. its own self-expansion; reproduction and not a merely formal one, but one in which it expands. But as a quantitatively determinate magnitude of value, money is also only a limited representative of universal wealth, or a representative of limited wealth which extends just so far as does the magnitude of its exchange value exactly measured according to it. Consequently, it does not at all have the capability which it should have had according to its general concept, the capability of buying

all the objects of consumption, all the commodities, the totality of material wealth; it is not a "précis de toutes les choses".[74]

So, fixed as wealth, as the universal form of wealth, as value that counts as value, money is a constant drive to go beyond its quantitative limits; an endless process. Its own viability consists exclusively in this; it preserves itself as self-important value distinct from use value only when it *continually multiplies itself* by means of the process of exchange itself. The active value is only a surplus-value-positing value. The only function [of money] as exchange value is exchange itself. In this function, therefore, it must expand itself, but not through its withdrawal [from circulation] as in hoarding. In it money does not function as money. When withdrawn as hoard, it functions neither as exchange value nor as use value, is dead, unproductive hoard. No kind of action originates from it itself. Its expansion is an external addition from circulation, when the commodity is again thrown into circulation and value is converted from the form of commodity into the form of money, and then as the latter is hidden for safe-keeping, i.e. when money in general ceases to be money. Once it again enters circulation, it disappears as exchange value.

Resulting from circulation as adequate exchange value and independent but again entering circulation, in it and through it perpetuating and valorising (multiplying) itself, money is *capital.* In capital money has lost its rigidity and from a tangible thing has become a process. Money and commodity as such, just as the simple circulation itself, exist for capital merely as particular abstract moments of its being in which it just as continually appears, passing from the one into the other, and just as continually disappears. The process of becoming independent appears not only in the form that capital confronts circulation as an independent abstract exchange value—money—but also in that circulation is simultaneously the process of its becoming independent, that it stems from circulation as something become independent.

The form $M—C—M$ clearly expresses that the establishment of the independence of money must appear as a process, equally as a premiss and a result of circulation. This form as such does not, however, receive any content in the simple circulation, and does not even appear as the movement of content—a movement of circulation for which the exchange value is not only a form, but also the content and the end itself, and which, for that reason, is the form of the *exchange-value-in-process* itself.

The exchange value become independent, money as such, always appears in the simple circulation only as the result, *caput mortuum* of the movement. It must equally appear as its premiss; its result, as its premiss; and its premiss [B″-13] as its result.

Money must preserve itself as money both in its form of money and in the form of commodity; the change of these determinations, the process in which it goes through these metamorphoses, must at the same time appear as a process of its production, as creator of itself, i.e. as augmentation of its value magnitude. When money becomes commodity, and commodity as such is necessarily consumed as use value and must disappear, this disappearance must itself disappear, this annihilation must annihilate itself, so that the consumption of the commodity as use value itself appears as a moment of the process of the self-reproducing value.

Money and commodity, like their relation to each other in circulation, now equally appear as mere premisses of capital, as, on the other hand, the form of its being; equally as mere existing elementary premisses for capital, as, on the other hand, forms of its being and its results.

The intransience for which money strives as it negatively sets itself with respect to circulation (by withdrawing itself from it) is acquired by capital in that it preserves itself precisely by giving itself up to circulation. Capital as exchange value implying circulation, preposited to it and preserving itself in it, alternately assumes the form of both these moments contained in the simple circulation, but not as in the simple circulation, in which it merely passes from either form into the other, but so that in each of the determinations it simultaneously preserves the relation to the opposite moment. If it appears as money, it is now merely a one-sided abstract expression of it as universality; shedding this form as well, it sheds only its opposite-based determination (sheds the opposite-based form of universality). If it is posited as money, i.e. as this opposite-based form of the universality of exchange value, it is simultaneously posited within it that it must lose not universality as in the simple circulation, but its opposite-based determination, or that it assumes the form of money no more than fleetingly, i.e. is once again exchanged for the commodity, but a commodity which even in its particularity expresses the universality of the exchange value and so keeps changing its determinate form.

Commodity is not only an exchange value, but also a use value, and as the latter it must be appropriately consumed. When the commodity serves as use value, i.e. during its consumption, the

exchange value must simultaneously preserve itself and appear as the end-determining soul of consumption. The process of the disappearance of the commodity must, therefore, appear at the same time as a process of the disappearance of its disappearance, i.e. as a reproducing process. The consumption of the commodity, therefore, is not aimed at any immediate enjoyment, but itself appears as a moment of the reproduction of its exchange value. The exchange value, therefore, is, as a result, not only the form of the commodity, but appears as the fire in which its very substance is consumed. This determination stems from the very concept of use value. And in the form of money, capital, on the one hand, will appear no more than fleetingly as means of circulation, and, on the other hand, only as a moment, as its fleeting positedness in the determinateness of adequate exchange value.

On the one hand, the simple circulation is an existing premiss for the commodity, and its extremes, money and commodity, appear as elementary premisses, as forms turning into capital according to possibility; or they are merely abstract spheres of the process of production of preposited capital. On the other hand, they return into it as into their abyss or lead to it. (The above historical example to be given here.[a])

In capital, money, the preposited exchange value become independent, appears not only as exchange value, but, being independent exchange value, as a *result* of circulation. Indeed, no formation of capital takes place before the sphere of the simple circulation has developed up to a definite level, even if from altogether different conditions of production than capital itself. On the other hand, money is posited as positing circulation as the movement of its own process, the movement of its own realisation, as a self-perpetuating and self-valorising value. As premiss, it is here simultaneously result of the process of circulation, and as result, simultaneously also premiss of its determinate form, which was determined as the form $M—C—M$ (at first only this stream of it). It is a unity of commodity and money, but their unity-in-process, and to the same extent to which it is neither commodity nor money, it is at the same time both the one and the other.

It preserves and valorises itself in and through circulation. On the other hand, the exchange value is no longer preposited as a simple exchange value, as it exists in the commodity in its simple determination, before it enters circulation, or, more precisely, as a

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[a] See this volume, pp. 480-81.—*Ed.*

merely implied determination, since the commodity becomes a fleeting exchange value only in circulation. It exists in the form of the *objectivity* [*Gegenständlichkeit*], but it is indifferent to whether it is the objectivity of the money or the commodity. It stems from circulation; so presupposes it. But it stems, at the same time, from itself as premiss with respect to circulation.

In the actual exchange of money for commodity, as expressed in the form *M—C—M*, i.e. in so far as the real being of the commodity is its use value, and the real being of the use value is its consumption, from the commodity realising itself as use value must once again emerge the exchange value itself, with money and the consumption of the commodity appearing equally as the form of its preservation and as its self-valorisation. Circulation appears with respect to the exchange value as a moment of the process of its own realisation.

[B″-14] The real being of the commodity, its being as use value, drops out of the simple circulation. So should it also be with the moment in the process of capital in which the consumption of commodity appears as a moment of the self-valorisation of capital.

So long as money, i.e. exchange value become independent, merely fixes itself with respect to its opposite, use value as such, it is, in fact, capable only of an abstract being. In its opposite, in its becoming use value, and in the process of the consumption of the use value, it must simultaneously preserve itself and wax as exchange value, i.e. transform the consumption of the use value itself—its active negation as well as its positing—into the reproduction and production of the exchange value itself.

In the simple circulation, every commodity appears alternately as exchange value or as use value. As soon as it is realised as the latter, it drops out of circulation. In so far as the commodity is fixed as exchange value, in money, it drives towards the same formlessness, but as falling within the economic relation. At any rate, the exchange relationship (simple circulation) is of interest to the commodities only in so far as they have exchange values. On the other hand, their exchange value is merely of transient interest in that it suspends the one-sidedness of the use value—of being use value only *immediately* for the individuals—i.e. carries the use value to its consumer; it changes nothing in the use value except that it posits it as a use value for others (for buyers). But in so far as the exchange value is fixed as such, in money, the use value now confronts it only as abstract chaos; and it is precisely through the separation from its substance that it peters out and drives out

of the sphere of the simple exchange value, whose highest movement is the simple circulation, and whose highest accomplishment is money. Within the sphere itself, however, the difference exists only as a formal, superficial differentiation. Money in its highest fixation is itself once again commodity.[a]

[a] The bottom of page 14 and the whole of page 15 of the manuscript were left blank.— *Ed.*

[B″-16] CHAPTER THREE. CAPITAL

## A) THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION OF CAPITAL

### 1) THE TRANSFORMATION OF MONEY INTO CAPITAL

As a result of the simple circulation, capital exists above all in the simple form of money. However, the reified independence which holds it down in this form as hoard, as opposed to circulation, has disappeared. On the contrary, the being of capital in the form of money, adequate expression of the universal equivalent, merely implies that it is indifferent to the particularity of all the commodities and can assume the form of any commodity whatsoever. It is not this or that commodity, but can be metamorphosed into any commodity and continues to be in each of them the self-same value magnitude and to-itself-related value as its own end. Existing above all in the form of money, capital does not, therefore, remain opposed to circulation; on the contrary, it must enter into it. Nor is it lost within circulation as it passes from the form of money to the form of commodity. Its being as money is rather only its being as adequate exchange value which can pass into any commodity whatsoever. In any of these, it remains self-sufficient exchange value. But the exchange value become independent can be capital only when capital itself is established with respect to a third, in a certain relationship with a third.

//Its being in the form of money is two-fold: it can exchange itself for any commodity whatsoever, and, as universal exchange value, is not tied to the particular substance of any commodity; secondly, it remains money even when it becomes commodity; in other words, the material in which it exists is not an object for individual gratification, but materialisation of the exchange value which assumes this form only so as to preserve and expand itself.//

This third is not commodities. For capital is money which from its form of money passes into any form of commodity whatsoever, without being lost within it as an object of individual consumption. Instead of excluding money, the whole range of commodities, all commodities, appear as so many incarnations of money. As for the natural physical difference between the commodities, none prevents money from taking its place within it and making it a part of its own body, since none of them excludes the determination of money in the commodity. The whole reified world of wealth now appears as the body of money in the same way as gold and silver, and it is merely the formal difference between money in the form of money, and money in the form of commodity that makes it capable of equally assuming the one form or the other, and passing from the form of money into the form of commodity. (The process of becoming independent already consists in that the exchange value firmly maintains itself as exchange value, whether it exists in the form of money or in the form of commodity, and it passes into the form of commodity only in order to valorise itself.)

Money is now *objectified labour*, irrespective of whether it possesses the form of money or of a particular commodity. None of the reified modes of being of labour confronts capital, but each of them appears as a possible mode of its existence which it can assume through a simple change of form, passage from the form of money into the form of commodity. The only opposite of *reified* labour is *unreified* labour, and the opposite of *objectified* labour, *subjective* labour. Or, the opposite of past labour, which exists in space, is living labour, which exists in time. As the presently existing unreified (and so also not yet objectified) labour, it can be present only as the *power*, potentiality, ability, as the *labour capacity* of the living subject. The opposite of capital as the independent, firmly self-sufficient objectified labour is living labour capacity itself, and so the only exchange by means of which money can become capital is the exchange between the possessor of capital and the possessor of the living labour capacity, i.e. the worker.

The exchange value can become independent as exchange value in general only with respect to the use value confronting it as such. Only within the framework of this relationship can exchange value establish itself as such, as such be posited and function. In money, the exchange value should retain this independence through an abstraction from the use value, and this active abstraction—remaining in opposition to use value—would here in effect appear as the sole method for preserving and augmenting

the exchange value as such. Now, however, the exchange value, in its being as use value, in its real, and not only formal being as use value, must preserve itself as exchange value—as exchange value in use value as use value—and create itself out of it. The real being of use values is their real negation, their absorption, their annihilation in consumption. Consequently, it is in this their real negation as use values, in this negation immanent to themselves [B″-17] that the exchange value must certify itself as maintaining itself with respect to the use value, or, rather, make the active being of the use value the confirmation of the exchange value. It is not a negation in which the exchange value as price is merely a formal determination of the use value in which the latter is notionally sublated, while actually the exchange value only appears as a fleeting formal determination of the use value. Nor is it its fixation in gold and silver where a hard-and-fast substance appears as a petrified being of the exchange value. In actual fact, it is posited in money that the use value is mere materialisation, reality of the exchange value. But this is merely an imaginary tangible existence of its abstraction. But in so far as the use value as use value, i.e. the consumption of the commodity itself, is determined as the positing of the exchange value and as a mere means for positing it, the use value of the commodity is, in fact, the actualisation of the exchange-value-in-process. The real negation of the use value which exists not in an abstraction from it (not in a stoppage tensely opposed to it) but in its consumption, this real negation of it, which is at the same time its actualisation as use value, must for that reason become an act of self-assertion, self-actualisation of the exchange value. But this is possible only in so far as the commodity is consumed by labour, in so far as its consumption itself appears as the objectification of labour and so as the creation of value. That is why if it is to preserve and actualise itself, not only formally, as in money, but also in its real existence as commodity, the exchange value objectified in money must appropriate labour itself, exchange itself for it.

For money, use value is now no longer an article of consumption in which it loses itself, but only a use value through which it preserves and increases itself. *No other use value exists for money as capital.* That is precisely the relation of capital as exchange value to use value. *Labour is* the only *use value which can present an opposite and a complement to money as capital,* and it exists in labour capacity, which exists as a subject. Money exists as capital only in connection with non-capital, the negation of capital, in relation to which alone it is capital. *Labour itself is the real non-capital.* The first

step made by money to become capital is its exchange with the labour capacity so as by means of the latter to transform the consumption of the commodities, i.e. their real positing and negation as use values, simultaneously into their actualisation of exchange value.

The exchange through which money becomes capital cannot be its exchange with commodities [in general] but can only be one with its conceptually determined opposite, the commodity which is itself a conceptually determined opposite of it—labour.

The exchange value in the form of money confronts the exchange value in the form of the particular use value. But all particular commodities, as particular modes of the being of objectified labour, are equally expressions of the exchange value into which money can pass without being lost. It is, therefore, not through the exchange with these commodities, since it can now equally be assumed that it exists in the one form or the other, that money can lose its simple character. But through the exchange, first with the only form of use value which it is not immediately itself—namely, unreified labour—and simultaneously with the immediate use value which is exchange-value-in-process for it—labour once again. It is, therefore, only through the exchange of money with labour that its transformation into capital can be effected. *The use value for which money as potential capital can exchange itself can only be the use value out of which the exchange value itself arises, produces itself and multiplies. And this is labour alone.*

The exchange value can realise itself as such only by confronting the use value—not this or that—but the use value correlated to itself. This is labour. Labour capacity itself is the use value whose consumption directly coincides with the objectification of labour, i.e. the creation of the exchange value. For money as capital, labour capacity is the immediate use value for which it has to exchange itself. In the simple circulation, the content of the use value was indifferent, [B″-18] dropped out of the economic determination of form. Here it is its essential economic moment. For the exchange value is determined as firmly established in exchange above all because it is exchanged with a use value confronting it in its own form determination.

The condition for the transformation of money into capital is that the *owner* of the money can exchange money for the alien labour capacity as a commodity. In other words, that within circulation the labour capacity is offered as a commodity for sale, since within the simple circulation the exchangers confront each other only as buyers and sellers. The condition is, therefore, that

the worker offers for sale his labour capacity as a to-be-used commodity and, so, is a free worker. The condition is that the worker, first, disposes of his labour capacity as a free proprietor, and treats it as a commodity; to do so he must be a free proprietor of his labour capacity. And second, that he must exchange his labour no longer in the form of another commodity, of objectified labour, but so that the only commodity he has to offer, to sell, is his own living labour capacity contained in his living corporeality, and that, consequently, the conditions for the objectification of his labour, the reified conditions of his labour exist on the other side of circulation as alien property, as commodities located beyond his own self.

That the possessor of money—or money, since the former is for us so far only its personification in the economic process itself—*finds* the labour capacity on the market, within the limits of circulation, as a commodity, this premiss from which we here proceed and from which the bourgeois society proceeds in its production process is evidently the result of long historical development, the outcome of many economic upheavals, and implies the decline of other modes of production (other social relationships of production) and a determined development of the productive forces of social labour. The determined past historical process contained in that premiss will be formulated even more determinately in the subsequent examination of this relationship. But this historical stage in the development of economic production—whose product itself is already *the free worker*—is the premiss for the emergence and even more so for the being of capital as such. Its existence is the result of a lengthy historical process in the economic formation of the society.

It is made quite definite at this point that the dialectical form of presentation is right only when it knows its own limits. The examination of the simple circulation shows *us* the general concept of capital, because within the bourgeois mode of production the simple circulation itself exists only as preposited by capital and as prepositing it. The exposition of the general concept of capital does not make it an incarnation of some eternal idea, but shows how in actual reality, merely as a *necessary* form, it has yet [B″-19] to flow into the labour creating exchange value, into production resting on exchange value.

It is essentially important to establish the point that the relationship, which here takes place as a simple relationship of circulation (initially still entirely belonging to it and going beyond the limits of the simple circulation only through the specific use

value of the exchanged commodity), is only a relationship of money and commodity, equivalents in the form of both opposite poles as they appear in the simple circulation, within circulation, and that the exchange between capital and labour, once it itself exists as the simple relationship of circulation, is not the exchange between money and labour, but the exchange between *money* and *living labour capacity*.

As use value, the labour capacity is realised only in the activity of labour itself, but in much the same way as with a bottle of wine which is bought and whose use value is realised only in the drinking of the wine. Labour itself falls as little within the simple circulation process as does the drinking. The wine as a capacity, δυνάμει,[a] is something drinkable, and the buying of the wine is appropriation of the drinkable. So is the buying of the labour capacity the appropriation of the ability to dispose over the labour.

Since the labour capacity exists in the vitality of the subject itself and manifests itself only as his own expression of life, the buying of the labour capacity, the appropriation of the title to its use naturally places the buyer and the seller in the act of its use in another relationship to each other than that in the buying of objectified labour existing as an object outside the producer. This does not affect the simple relationship of exchange. It is only the specific nature of the use value bought with the money—namely, that its consumption, the consumption of the labour capacity, is production, labour time which objectifies, consumption which posits exchange value; that its real being as use value is creation of exchange value—that makes the exchange between money and labour the specific exchange *M—C—M* in which the exchange value itself is posited as the aim of the exchange, and *the bought use value is immediate use value for the exchange value, i.e. is value-positing use value.*

It does not matter whether money is considered here as simple means of circulation (means of purchase) or as means of payment. In so far as someone selling me, for instance, the 12-hour use value of his labour capacity, his labour capacity for 12 hours, will in fact sell it to me only when, if I so insist, he has worked off 12 hours, i.e. has delivered his labour capacity sold for 12 hours at the end of the 12 hours, it is in the nature of this relationship that money here appears as means of payment; the buying and selling are not realised at once, simultaneously, by both sides. What is here important is only *that the means of payment is the universal*

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[a] Potentially.—*Ed.*

*means of payment, money*, and that for this reason the worker does not enter with the buyer—as a result of some particular primitive way of payment—into other relationships than those of circulation. He transforms his labour capacity immediately into the universal equivalent, and as its possessor maintains the same relationship—within the scope of its value magnitude—the same relationship in the general circulation as any other; similarly, the aim of his sale is universal wealth, wealth in its universal social form and as a possibility of all gratification.[a]

[a] At this point, the manuscript breaks off. Written on the following page is only this title: "*Productive and Unproductive Labour.*" The final pages of this notebook are taken up by the subsequently written *References to My Own Notebooks.*—*Ed.*

# [ADDITIONAL NOTES][105]

## THE AESTHETIC PROPERTY OF GOLD

"Gold is flaming fire,
Because it sparkles in the night,
Mainly standing out among haughty wealth"

*Pindar*[a]

## INVARIABLE VALUE OF MONEY

"As means of payment, money—money for itself—should represent value as such; in fact, however, it is only an identical quantum [of some homogeneous substance] of variable value."[b]

## MONEY AS MONEY
## (WORLD COIN, ETC.)

Money is the negation of the means of circulation as such, of coin. But it at the same time includes it as its determination: *negatively*, since it can always be reconverted into coin; *positively*, as world coin; but as such it is indifferent to its form determination and is essentially commodity as such, ubiquitous commodity, not locally determined. This indifference expresses itself above all in that money is now money only as gold and silver, and not as a symbol, with the form of coinage. Hence the *façon*[c] put on money as coinage by the State has no value, only its metallic content gives value to the coin. As such a *general commodity*, as world coin, gold and silver do not have to return to their point of departure, the movement of circulation as such is not necessary at all. *Example*: Asia and Europe. Hence the lamentation of the adherents of the mercantile system that gold vanishes among the heathens, and

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[a] Marx quotes a few lines from Pindar's *Olympica*, I, in Greek with a parallel Latin translation in prose.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx renders in his own words an idea from Bailey's *Money and Its Vicissitudes in Value*, pp. 9-11.—*Ed.*

[c] Stamp.—*Ed.*

does not return.[a] (We are not yet concerned here with the fact that, as the world market itself develops, the world coin is itself gradually involved in circulation and rotation.)

Money is the negation of itself as simple realisation of the prices of commodities, where the particular commodity always remains the essential factor. Rather, money becomes price realised in itself, and as such also the material representative of universal wealth.

Money is also negated in the determination in which it is only a measure of exchange values. For it itself is the adequate reality of the exchange value, and it is such in its metallic existence. The determination of measure must here be posited in it itself. It is its own unit, and the measure of its own value, its measure as wealth, as exchange value, is the quantity of itself which it represents. The number of its own measuring unit. As a measure, its amount was of no consequence; as a means of circulation, its substance, the material of which its unit is composed, was of no consequence; as money in this third determination, its own amount as a definite material quantity (for instance, the number of pounds) is essential. Given its quality as general wealth, there is no further distinction in it other than the quantitative one. It represents a greater or lesser amount of general wealth, depending on whether a greater or lesser number of a determinate measure magnitude of itself is possessed. If it is general wealth, one is the richer the more of it one possesses, and the sole right process is its *accumulation*. By its concept, it has withdrawn from circulation. Now this withdrawal from circulation, its *hoarding*, appears as an essential object of the greed for enrichment, and as the essential process of enrichment. In gold and silver I possess general wealth in its pure form; the more of it I hoard up, the more general wealth I appropriate to myself. If gold and silver are general wealth, then, as certain quantities, they represent it only to a certain degree, i.e. inadequately. The whole must keep driving beyond its own limits. This accumulation of gold and silver, which takes on the appearance of their repeated withdrawal from circulation, is simultaneously the safeguarding of general wealth against circulation, in which it continually gets lost in exchange for some particular wealth which eventually disappears in consumption.

"The [Greek] tragedians contrast δίκν and κέρδος".[b]

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, p. 161, and this volume, p. 448.—*Ed.*

[b] "Justice" and "gain"; Marx quotes from an unknown source in Latin (cf. this volume, p. 370).—*Ed.*

## FORM OF PROPERTY

The property in the alien labour is mediated through the property in one's own labour.

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# DRAFT PLAN OF THE CHAPTER ON CAPITAL[106]

[1] I

## THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION OF CAPITAL

### 1) *Transformation of money into capital*

#### α) *Transition*

Nothing is expressed if capital is designated as a mere sum of values (II, 12). HOARDING of money is not capitalisation (ibid.). II (13, 14, 15). VI, 23, 24. VII, 28 (bottom. Capital and money).

Circulation and exchange value originating from circulation—the presupposition of capital (II, 16) (17) (II, 18).

II, 19, 20 (capital as exchange value confronts labour as use value).

II (21) (II, 22).

*Sismondi* VII, 19 (bottom).

*Merchant capital and capital in general.* Merchant and handicraftsman VII, 52 bottom. 53, 54, 55 (*Opdyke*).

[2] β) *Exchange between commodity and labour capacity*

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*The repetition of sale* on the part of the worker (III, 8).

*Wages not productive* (III, 8).

*The circulation of the worker as C—M—C* (III, 9).

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*Exchange value of labour* (II, 14, 15) (III, 22, 27).

*Consumption of the use-value* here falls within the economic process (III, 17). IV, 23, 24 (capital creating wage labour). IV, 48, 49, 50.

*Historical condition of the relationship of wage labour and capital* V, 8. VII, 12, 13.

*Labour capacity* (VI, 7).

*Average wages* (VII, 39. In our examination it is necessary *to assume the minimum*).

*Carey's doctrine of profit* VI, 7, 8.

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*Conditions of exchange.* Worker a virtual pauper (VI, 15) (16).

*Torrens.* Capital, not labour, determines the value of the commodity (VII, 38, 39) (confusion among the Ricardians. Distribution of surplus value among the capitalists).

[3] γ) *The labour process*

(III, 10, 11, 12, 13 ).

PRODUCTIVE CONSUMPTION (VII, 47, top. *Newman*).

[4] δ) *The valorisation process*

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*General concept of surplus value* (III, 21) (22) (23) (24) (25) (26) (27) (28, 29) (30) (IV, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. IV, 13. VI, 12).

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*Simultaneous working days* ibid.

*Population* IV, 14, 15.

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*How capital must grow in order to apply the same number of workers with an increasing productive force* (IV, 9-13).

*Disposable time* (IV, 14).

*Combination of labour* (IV, 50).

*McCulloch* (VII, 50).

[5] 2) *Absolute surplus value*

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*Surplus labour and necessary labour* (VII, 21) (VII, 44, top).
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[6] 3) *Relative surplus value*

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β) *Division of labour*

*Slave labour more productive than free labour,* if the latter is not combined. *Wakefield* VI, 18.

[7] γ) *Machinery*

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*Prices of commodities. Proudhon* (IV, 26-32).

4) *Primitive accumulation*

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[8] 5) *Wage labour and capital*

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[a] Maintenance costs.— *Ed.*

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[14] III

## CAPITAL AND PROFIT

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[a] Costs, advances.— *Ed.*

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# REFERENCES TO MY OWN NOTEBOOKS[108]

[B″-28] *Notebook C*,[109] pp. 37-39. *Aristotle.* *C—M—C*; *M—C—M.*

*Notebook A*[110] (pp. 22, 23, 24) (*world market,* etc.). Social relationships. Personal (ibid.) (23, 24). (See the same, something about bourgeois independence, etc.) (Ideas.)

*Notebook B′*: *Manifestation of the law of appropriation in the simple circulation.* Why does property in one's own labour and its alienation, i.e. *one's own labour*, appear as the basis of property? (p. 17) (18). Attendant contradictions (18). Realm of bourgeois freedom and equality (18 *et seq.*). *First law*: Appropriation through one's own labour. *Second law*: Alienation or transformation of the product into a social form (l.c.). Division of labour (l.c.) (19). English farmer and French peasant (l.c.). (Division of labour. The particularly useful labours, etc.) (20, 21). (Division of labour as realisation of freedom and natural individuality. Ibid.) Freedom of the person (21). (Equality) ibid. (21 bottom). The continuation:

*Notebook B″ (this notebook*[a]*)*: (See *money* in same, 1a[111]) (the equality connected with it). *Equality* (1, 2). (Property. Freedom. Equality.) *The harmonists* (3). The simple circulation, phenomenon of a process going on behind it (4). Historical transition from circulation to capital (5). (*Circulation*) (6, 7). Money as the product

[a] That is, the same notebook at the end of which these *References* are placed.—*Ed.*

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*Notebook* $B''_{II}$.[112] *Transformation of money into capital* (16-19). (Develops from the relationship of exchange value become independent to use value.) p. 19. (Money confronting the worker as *means of payment.*)

*Notebook II.* Simple exchange. *Relationships between the exchangers.* Equality, freedom, etc., harmonies (7-9, 10). (Bastiat. Proudhon) (11-12).

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*Valorisation process* (17) (18). (Production costs. 19.) (SURPLUS VALUE not to be explained through EXCHANGE. *Ramsay. Ricardo.*) Capitalist cannot live off his *wages*, etc. (19: *faux frais de production*[a]). Mere self-preservation, non-multiplication of value contradicts the essence of capital (19, 20). Capital enters the production costs as capital. Interest-bearing capital. Proudhon (20). Surplus value. Surplus labour time (21) (22). Bastiat on wages (22). Value of labour. How determined? (22). Self-valorisation is self-preservation of capital. Capitalist may not live merely from his labour, etc. Conditions for the self-valorisation of capital. Surplus labour time, etc. (22, 23). To what extent capital is productive (as creator of surplus labour, etc.) (p. 23). This only historically transitory (l.c.). The free NIGGERS in Jamaica. Wealth made independent requires slave labour or wage labour (forced labour in both cases) (23).

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[a] Overhead costs of production.—*Ed.*

*Surplus value.* Ricardo (24). Physiocrats (24). A. Smith (24, 25). Ricardo (25, 26).

Surplus value and productive power. Relationship in their rise (26-28) (29-30). Result (30, 31). Productive power of labour is productive power of capital (31). In proportion as necessary labour is already diminished, the valorisation of capital becomes more difficult (30, 31). Concerning the expansion of the value of capital (32-38).

Labour does not *reproduce* the value of the material which, and of the instrument with which, it works. It *preserves* their value, simply by relating to them in the labour process as to its objective conditions. This animating and preserving force costs capital *nothing*; appears rather as its own force, etc. (pp. 38-40).

Absolute surplus time. Relative (40). It is not the *quantity* of living labour, but rather its *quality* as labour that simultaneously preserves the labour time already contained in the material, etc. (40). The change of form and substance in the immediate production process, 40, 41. It lies in the simple production process that the earlier stage of production is preserved through the later, etc. (41). Preservation of the old use value through the new labour, etc. (41).

[B″-30] Process of production and process of valorisation. The *amount* of objectified labour is preserved, because its *quality* as use values for further labour is preserved through contact with living labour (41, 42). In the real production process the separation of labour from the objective moments of its existence transcended. But in this process, labour is already incorporated into capital, etc. Appears as the self-preserving power of capital. Eternalisation of value (42). Capitalist obtains surplus labour gratis and the preservation of the value of material and instrument (42) (43). LABOUR, BY ADDING A NEW VALUE TO THE OLD ONE, AT THE SAME TIME MAINTAINS, ETERNISES THE LATTER (43). The *preservation* of values in the product costs capital nothing (43).

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*Notebook IV.* Confusion of profit and surplus value. Carey's wrong calculation (1).

The capitalist, who *does not pay* the worker for the *preservation* of the old value, further demands remuneration for allowing the

worker to preserve the old capital (2). Surplus value and profit, etc. (2, 3).

Difference between consumption of the instrument and of wages. The former consumed in the production process, the latter, outside it (3).

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Price (*fractional*) (31). Bastiat. Fall in fractional price (31). Price can fall below value without detriment to capital (31, 32). Number and unit (measure) important for price (32).

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The general rate of profit (33).

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*Surplus labour or surplus value* becomes *surplus capital.* All the conditions of capitalist production now appear as result of (wage) labour itself (42, 43). The process of the realisation of labour at the same time the process of its de-realisation (43) (44).

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[B″-33] *The PAUPER is implied in the concept of FREE LABOURER* (15). Population and overpopulation, etc. (15) (16).

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[a] Means of subsistence.— *Ed.*

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*A. Smith.* Labour as sacrifice (Senior's theory of the capitalist's sacrifice) (17) (18). (Proudhon's surplus, 17.)

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[a] [anon.] *The Source and Remedy of the National Difficulties*, p. 4.—*Ed.*

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[a] The value constitutes the product. J. B. Say, *Cours complet d'économie politique pratique*, Vol. I, p. 243.—*Ed.*

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# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] This is the concluding part of Marx's economic manuscript of 1857-1858. Consisting of seven large notebooks, which Marx numbered I-VII, the manuscript is the first rough draft of *Capital*. On the cover of the last, seventh, notebook, Marx wrote *Political Economy, Criticism of* in English and "Fortsetzung [Continuation]" in German. This implies that Notebook VII is a continuation of the preceding six notebooks and that Marx did not consider it to be the concluding one. The words *Political Economy, Criticism of* can be regarded as the author's title for the whole manuscript. The words "rough draft" are taken from Marx's letter to Engels of November 29, 1858 in which Marx calls his economic manuscript of 1857-1858 a *Rohentwurf* (Rough Draft). The manuscript is, indeed, a rough draft, for it is unfinished and breaks off in mid-sentence.

A major part of the manuscript is included in Volume 28 of the present edition and begins with Chapter II—"Chapter on Money", followed by a long third chapter, "Chapter on Capital". Notebook VII contains the conclusion of this chapter, followed by fragments intended as additions to the two chapters—on money and on capital.

The Economic Manuscript of 1857-1858 is being published in the sequence given by Marx. The numbers of the notebooks are indicated in Roman numerals and the pages in Arabic ones, in square brackets. The square brackets in the manuscript are, therefore, replaced by oblique lines. Some passages have been transposed—as indicated by Marx in the manuscript or where there are obvious additions relevant to the preceding text. All such cases are mentioned in the footnotes, which also indicate passages crossed out by Marx and sometimes reproduce them.

Where Marx, in quoting, gives references to pages of his excerpt notebooks, these have been supplemented, in brackets, with references to the pages of the editions Marx used. Where he merely gives the authors' names, the titles of the quoted works have been supplied.

Foreign words and expressions, including Greek and Latin, are preserved when the author used them for stylistic or terminological purposes. English phrases, expressions and separate words are given in small caps. Quotations from English sources are given according to the editions used by the author. In all cases the form in which Marx quoted is respected. The language in which Marx quotes is indicated, unless it is German.

The manuscript was first published in full in the language of the original (German) in Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Oekonomie (Rohentwurf). 1857-1858,* Moscow, 1939-41 and reproduced by Dietz Verlag, Berlin, in 1953.

In English, the manuscript was published in full in Karl Marx, *Grundrisse. Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy (Rough Draft).* Translated with a foreword by Martin Nicolaus. Penguin Books in association with *New Left Review,* London, 1973. Separate extracts had been published previously in *Marx's Grundrisse,* ed. David McLellan, Macmillan Press Ltd., London, 1971.—Title-page

2 Marx dealt with the circuit and turnover of capital in the preceding part of Section Two of the "Chapter on Capital" (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 439-72), but then he interrupted his exposition of these problems and wrote a section about bourgeois theories of surplus value and profit (see Vol. 28, pp. 473-537). He did, however, return to the topic.—7

3 In his manuscript, to denote these categories Marx uses mostly the French terms "capital circulant" and "capital fixe", but sometimes he also uses the German ones "zirkulierendes Kapital" and "fixiertes Kapital", or the English "circulating capital", "floating capital", and "fixed capital".—9, 201, 515, 526

4 This refers to the discovery of rich deposits of gold in Australia in 1851. The development of these deposits, alongside the extraction of gold discovered in California in 1848, spurred industrial and stock-exchange activity in capitalist countries.—11, 265

5 The reference is to the 1845 Brussels Excerpt Notebook. Other quotations from Storch are on pages 26, 34-35 of this notebook.—24, 118

6 When speaking about circulation between dealers, and that between dealers and consumers, Marx has in mind Adam Smith's division of the whole circulation into these two different branches (see Adam Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Vol. II, Book II, Ch. II).—27, 65

7 Marx has in mind Notebook XVI of the 24 notebooks of excerpts on political economy he made in the early 1850s. The notebook contains excerpts from *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon,* Paris, 1850. Proudhon's formula on the surplus added by labour is to be found on p. 200 of this book, as well as in Proudhon's *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère,* Vol. I, Paris, 1846, p. 73. Cf. present edition, Vol. 28, p. 531. For criticism of this formula, see also Marx's work *The Poverty of Philosophy* (present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 152-60).—29

8 In the 1857-1858 manuscript Marx as a rule uses the term "Arbeitsvermögen" (labour capacity), but in some cases "Arbeitskraft" (labour power). In *Capital,* Vol. I, Ch. VI, he treats the two terms as identical: "By labour-power or capacity for labour is to be understood the aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities existing in a human being, which he exercises whenever he produces a use-value of any description" (see present edition, Vol. 35).—29, 63

9 Marx is referring to Excerpt Notebook I (London, September 1850).—30

10 The reference is to Excerpt Notebook X (London, mid-June-July 1851).—30, 102

11 The reference is to Excerpt Notebook IX (London, mid-May-mid-June 1851).—31, 52, 79, 137, 145, 167, 169

12 Marx quotes Ricardo from his Excerpt Notebook VIII (London, April-mid-May 1851).—33, 77

13 The Roman numeral refers to a page in Marx's Excerpt Notebook that has not survived.—36, 78, 143

14 The reference is to the Brussels Excerpt Notebooks VII-VIII of 1845.—36, 78, 80

15 Marx is referring to the Excerpt Notebook compiled in Manchester in 1845.—76

16 The page Marx is referring to is in the Paris Notebook (spring 1844).—78, 127

17 Marx is referring to Notebook VI (London, February 1851).—78, 96, 112

18 Marx gave a detailed analysis of the concept of *coexisting labour* in his Economic Manuscript of 1861-63, when examining Thomas Hodgskin's views (see present edition, Vol. 32). In connection with this, Marx noted, in particular: "*Division of labour* is, in one sense, nothing but *coexisting labour*, that is, the coexistence of *different* kinds of labour which are represented in *different kinds* of products or rather commodities."—86

19 Marx examined Lauderdale's explanation of profit in his Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 31 and this volume, pp. 78-79).—87

20 Thomas Hodgskin's pamphlet *Labour Defended against the Claims of Capital*, London, 1825, p. 16 contains the following: "One easily comprehends why ... the road-maker should receive some of the benefits, accruing only to the road-user; but I do not comprehend why all these benefits should go to the *road* itself, and be appropriated by a set of persons who neither make nor use it, under the name of profit for their capital."—89

21 The author's views on the origin of surplus value, expressed in the anonymously published socialist pamphlet *The Source and Remedy of the National Difficulties* (London, 1821, p. 6), were described by Marx as an "important advance on Ricardo". Marx gave a detailed examination of this pamphlet in his Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 32).—92

22 Marx is referring to Excerpt Notebook XI (London, July 1851).—95

23 Here and elsewhere Marx uses the term "production costs" in the sense of "the immanent production costs of the commodity, which are equal to its value", i.e., "the real production costs of the commodity itself" and not the costs defrayed by the capitalist, who pays only part of the labour time contained in the commodity (see Economic Manuscript of 1861-63, present edition, Vol. 32).—97

24 Marx is referring to this passage from Robert Owen later, in Section Three (see this volume, p. 153).—98

25 This refers to the great economic crisis that reached its peak in the autumn of 1857 and was the first ever, in the history of capitalism, to develop on a worldwide scale. In March 1858, when these lines were written, in many countries the effects of the crisis had not yet been overcome.—107, 314

26 Marx presumably has in mind the passage in Hegel's *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse.* (Th. I, Die Logik, *Werke*, Vol. 6, Berlin, 1840, p. 382,)that he later reproduced in the footnote to Chapter VII of Volume I of *Capital*, i.e.: "Reason is just as cunning as she is powerful. Her cunning consists principally in her mediating activity, which, by causing objects

to act and re-act on each other in accordance with their own nature, in this way, without any direct interference in the process, carries out reason's intentions."—119

27 Marx is quoting F. M. Eden's book according to the synopsis, drawn up by Engels in July-August 1845 in Manchester.—120

28 The promulgation of the 1534 Act of Supremacy, which proclaimed the king head of the church, was followed in England by the confiscation of Catholic Church lands and property in favour of the king and the dissolution of the monasteries, sanctioned by the Parliamentary acts of 1536 and 1539.—122

29 This alludes to the proposal made by Dr. Richard Price, the British economist and writer of the second half of the eighteenth century, that the state should borrow money at simple interest and grant credits at compound interest. On the basis of this proposal, in 1786 the government of William Pitt Jr. tried to form a special sinking fund to defray the growing public debt through credit operations with it. This attempt did not, however, alleviate the financial difficulties, but caused serious complications in the sphere of the state credit. For details, see Chapter XXIV of Volume III of *Capital*, Marx's article "Mr. Disraeli's Budget", written in April 1858 (present edition, Vol. 15), and Vol. 28, p. 298.—140

30 Marx used the term "production costs" in the sense of "the immanent production costs of the commodity, which are equal to its value" (see Note 23). At the same time, however, he gives below another interpretation of the term "production costs of capital", excluding the surplus value embodied in the commodity, appropriated by the capitalist in the production process and realised in circulation.—144

31 The *law of apprenticeship* was adopted in England in 1563. It envisaged a seven-year period of trade or craft instruction. It was consistent with the level of British industry at the time, the mediaeval guild-craft structure being in many ways preserved (manufactory was just beginning to appear), with some division of labour and semi-patriarchal relations between master and apprentices. The laws of apprenticeship declined at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution and the development of the factory system in the second half of the eighteenth century, but were repealed formally in the wool industry only in 1809 and in all other branches of industry in 1814. On these laws and why they were still in force in the period of manufactory see Chapter XIV of Volume I of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 35).—153

32 Marx is referring to Benjamin Thompson (also known as Count von Rumford), author of *Essays, political, economical, and philosophical*, Vol. I (London, 1796) which contained recipes for preparing food from cheap substitutes, instead of the more expensive foodstuffs. These recipes were meant for the workers and the poor. A soup prepared from bones and substitutes was ironically called Rumford broth.

Marx presents the essence of Rumford's recommendations to lower the reproduction costs of labour power in Chapter XXIV of Volume I of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 35).—159

33 Here Marx gives the page of Excerpt Notebook VIII (London, April-mid-May 1851).—162, 164, 166

34 Marx took the information about the first representatives of the quantity theory of money from Steuart's book *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political*

*Oeconomy: being an essay on the science of domestic policy in free nations*, Vol. I, Dublin, 1770, pp. 398-99; J. Locke, *Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest, and Raising the Value of Money. In a letter sent to a Member of Parliament in the year 1691*, London, 1692; "On conquest and population", an article marked with the sign "T" and published in the London magazine *The Spectator*, No. 200, October 19, 1711; Ch. de Montesquieu, *De l'esprit de loix*, Geneva, 1748 and David Hume, *Political Discourses*, Edinburgh, 1752.—164

35 The source of this quotation has not been ascertained.—175

36 Here Marx criticises the views of the so-called "little shilling men", the Birmingham school of bourgeois political economy initiated by the banker Thomas Attwood. These views were set out in *The Currency Question. The Gemini Letters*, a book published anonymously by Thomas Wright and John Harlow, who called themselves Gemini. On this school, see also Volumes I and III of *Capital* (present edition, vols 35 and 37).—185, 319

37 *Assignats*—paper money, issued in France in 1789-90 during the French Revolution by the Constituent Assembly as bonds on the security of property confiscated from landowning aristocrats, counter-revolutionary nobles and the Church, and proclaimed "national property". By 1796 they had depreciated greatly.—188, 318

38 Marx is referring to his Excerpt Notebook XIV (London, August-September 1851).—212

39 The *Punic Wars* (264-241, 218-201 and 149-146 B.C.) were fought by Rome and Carthage, the two biggest slave-owning states of antiquity, for domination in the Western Mediterranean and for the conquest of new territories and slaves. The wars ended in the destruction of Carthage.—212, 434

40 The *Laws of the Twelve Tables (Leges duodecim tabularum)*—the most ancient legislative documents of the Roman slave-owning state. They originated from the plebeians' struggle against the patricians (the plebeians sought to deprive the patricians of their privileges to interpret legal customs) and were recorded in 451-450 B.C. They concerned private property, credit, family relations, prohibited marriages between patricians and plebeians and formed a basis of Roman law.—214

41 *Ripuarian law*—a monument of common law of a Germanic tribe—the Ripuarian Franks, which was created from the 6th to the 8th century; it belongs to the so-called barbarian laws.—214

42 Marx is referring to Excerpt Notebook XVII (December 1851-April 1852).—215, 217

43 The reference is to the special tax-based sinking fund formed by the government of William Pitt Jr. in 1786 (see Note 29).—218

44 $S=C\ (1+i)^n$ is the formula for compound interest, where S is the sum of capital and the interest on it, C—the initial capital, i—the rate of interest, and n—the number of years the process lasts.—219

45 In the book quoted here Arnd devoted a special paragraph to substantiate the lawfulness and expediency of the dog tax (§ 88, pp. 420-21).—226

46 By "producing class" J. St. Mill here means the industrial capitalists.—230

47 The ancient philosopher Epicurus believed in an infinity of worlds, each originating and existing according to its own natural laws. The gods, though he

believed in them, he saw as being outside and between the worlds, and not exerting any influence on either the development of the Universe, or human life.—233

48 A reference to the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707 which led to Scotland's final unification with England. As a result, the autonomous Scottish parliament was abolished, Scots were granted seats in the English parliament and all economic barriers that existed between the two countries were removed.—237, 310

49 A reference to the English law on the resumption of the obligatory convertibility of bank notes into gold. In fact, exchange was fully resumed in 1821. Until that time, the Bank Restriction Act of 1797 remained in force. It established a compulsory exchange rate for bank notes and cancelled their convertibility into gold.—237, 247

50 As Marx points out, he is quoting Mill in German from the French edition of 1823. The double translation led to some divergences from the original. In this volume Mill is quoted according to the English edition of 1821.—240, 410

51 A reference to Napoleon I's decrees on the blockade of the British Isles, signed in Berlin on November 21, 1806 and in Milan on November 23 and December 17, 1807. They initiated the so-called Continental Blockade, which prohibited France and her European allies from trading with England.—247

52 "*Currency principle*" or "*Currency theory*" was advocated by some supporters of the quantity theory of money in the early 1840s in England. Its representatives—Loyd (i.e., Lord Overstone), Norman and others—asserted that the value and the price of commodities were determined by the quantity of money in circulation.—249, 414

53 A reference to J. Maclaren's *A Sketch of the History of the Currency*, London, 1858. Marx quotes, in English, a review of it that appeared in *The Economist* on May 15, 1858. Marx learned from the review that the book had come off the presses and became interested in it (see Marx's letter to Engels of May 31, 1858, present edition, Vol. 40, pp. 317-18). Subsequently Marx used Maclaren's book in his *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Part One (see this volume, pp. 309, 398, 399).—250

54 Marx's manuscript *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy* begins with Chapter II ("Chapter on Money"). Judging from the text on page 63 of Notebook VII, which gives an outline of the beginning of Chapter I, Marx intended to entitle this Chapter "Value". Later on, however, when preparing his economic work for publication, he entitled it "The Commodity".—252

55 A reference to A. Haxthausen's *Studien über die innern Zustände, das Volksleben und insbesondere die ländlichen Einrichtungen Rußlands*, Parts 1-3, Hanover-Berlin, 1847-52. The author was a Prussian official and writer who, in the 1840s, travelled in Russia. Marx criticises the author's attempts to attribute the remnants of communal property he discovered in the Russian agrarian system to the natural specifics of the Slavonic peoples.—253, 275

56 Here the manuscript *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy* breaks off. All the remaining sheets of this rather thick notebook are filled with excerpts from various books and periodicals.—253

57 In February 1858, Marx started seeking an opportunity to have his economic work based on the *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy* published in

Germany. He intended to do this with Lassalle's help. The anticipated structure of this work was based on the plan he had formulated in the "Introduction" (see present edition, Vol. 28, p. 45). As Marx wrote to Lassalle on February 22, 1858, the plan envisaged a work consisting of six books: "1. On Capital (contains a few introductory chapters). 2. On Landed Property. 3. On Wage Labour. 4. On the State. 5. International Trade. 6. World Market" (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 270). In March 1858, it became known that Duncker, a Berlin publisher, had undertaken to bring out this work. By arrangement with the publisher, from May 1858 onwards, at intervals of several months, Marx was to send him completed parts of his work to be printed in separate small instalments. However, for various reasons, among them his liver trouble, only at the end of May did Marx begin to prepare material for the first instalment, having interrupted his work on the rough manuscript, which remained unfinished. This first instalment was to consist of three chapters: "1. Value, 2. Money, 3. Capital in General (the process of production of capital; process of its circulation; the unity of the two, or capital and profit; interest)" (see Marx's letter to Lassalle of March 11, 1858, present edition, Vol. 40, p. 287). It took Marx a long time to examine and systematise the collected material. In the course of this work, he compiled two drafts of the "Index to the 7 Notebooks". His work was greatly hindered by material hardships, which became especially acute in the summer of 1858, and by his wife's illness. From August to October 1858, Marx prepared the preliminary text of the first two chapters of the first part: "The Commodity" (as he decided to entitle the first chapter, instead of the contemplated "Value") and "Money"—and the beginning of the third chapter: "Capital". Only a fragment of this original text, containing the end of the chapter on money and the beginning of that on capital, is extant (in this volume it is included in the section "From the Preparatory Materials"). In subsequent months, after greatly improving his manuscript, Marx prepared the final version of the first part. On January 26, 1859 the manuscript was sent to Berlin; the Preface to it followed in February 1859. The first part grew to 12 printer's sheets instead of the five or six originally contemplated and consisted not of three chapters, as had been planned, but of two: "The Commodity" and "Money or Simple Circulation". Marx did not include here the material of the two sections of the original text of the chapter on money: "The Manifestation of the Law of Appropriation in the Simple Circulation" and "Transition to Capital". He now intended to deal with all these issues, as well as the problem of capital as a whole, in the second part. In June 1859, *A Contribution to the Critique of the Political Economy* came off the presses. The subtitles "Book One. On Capital" and "Section One. Capital in General" indicate that the author considered it as the beginning of the first of the six books planned.

By the publication of his economic work, as he wrote to Joseph Weydemeyer on February 1, 1859, Marx wanted "to win a scientific victory for our party" (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 377). Once the first part had appeared, Marx began to prepare the second part for publication. Soon, however, other party work, such as editing the newspaper *Das Volk* and the polemics with Vogt (see Vol. 17 of the present edition), distracted him from the economic studies he considered necessary in order to clarify all aspects of the problem of capital. Only in 1861 was Marx able to resume his systematic studies of political economy. While preparing the second part, he drew up *References to My Own Notebooks* and *Draft Plan of the Chapter on Capital* (both works have been included in this volume, in the section "From the

Preparatory Materials"). Subsequent work on this part substantially exceeded the set limits, however. Between 1861 and 1863, he wrote a voluminous manuscript representing the first more or less systematised version of the three theoretical volumes of *Capital* and containing the only version of its fourth, historical and critical volume: *The Theories of Surplus Value.* Marx's plans regarding the structure and form of the publication of his economic work changed as he wrote this manuscript. The structure of the second part, devoted to "Capital in General", with its division into three aspects (the process of the production of capital, the process of the circulation of capital and the unity of the two) now formed the basis of the whole work, which Marx correspondingly intended to publish in three books, supplemented by a fourth, historico-critical one. An important landmark in the realisation of this new plan was the publication, in September 1867, of Volume I of *Capital,* in which the main problems of the first part of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* were also presented more profoundly.

Official scientific circles met Marx's book with a prolonged conspiracy of silence. Nevertheless, it attracted the attention of progressive scholars. For example, I. K. Babst, a professor at Moscow University, expounded its contents in detail in his lectures on political economy in the winter of 1860. Engels was the first to popularise Marx's work among proletarian revolutionaries. In August 1859, he published two sections of his review of the book in the newspaper *Das Volk.* The third section was not published because the newspaper closed down.

*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* was not reprinted in Marx's lifetime. Marx made unsuccessful attempts to have the book published in English in Britain or the USA. Only the Preface was published in the newspaper *Das Volk* on June 4, 1859, in a somewhat abridged form. An extract (from Chapter Two), devoted to the critique of Gray's utopian theory of "labour money", was supplied by Engels for the German 1885 and 1892 editions of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy.* Subsequently, the book was published several times, in many languages.

It was published in English for the first time in the USA, in 1904 (K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* translated by N. I. Stone, Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago, 1904). Translated by Salo Ryazanskaya and edited by Maurice Dobb, it was published by Progress Publishers (Moscow), Lawrence & Wishart (London) and the International Publishers (New York) in 1970.

The present publication is based on the text of the first German edition of 1859, prepared for publication by the author himself. The amendments made by Marx in his own copy of the book are reproduced here in footnotes, with appropriate comments. The amendments and notes he made in the copy he presented to Wilhelm Wolff on August 19, 1859 are also taken into account. Engels used some of these amendments and notes in preparing Volume III of *Capital* for publication. Taking certain quotations from *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* Engels cited them as amended and specified by Marx. Photocopies of the above-mentioned books, with Marx's amendments and notes, are kept in the Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee. Some other misprints found in the original have also been corrected. In the 1859 edition, the quotations are, as a rule, given in the German translation, but in the author's notes they are, with certain exceptions, in the language of the quoted source. In the present edition, all quotations are in English, with editorial notes indicating the language, unless it is German in the original.—257

58 Marx is referring to his economic manuscripts of 1857-1858, and to his numerous preparatory materials, outlines and excerpt notebooks.—261

59 Marx used the term *bürgerliche Gesellschaft* (see G.W.F. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, in: *Werke*, Vol. 8, Berlin, 1833, § 182, Addendum) in two senses even in his earlier works: in a broad one, to denote the economic system of society regardless of the historical stage of its development, i.e. the totality of material relations determining the political institutions and ideological life; and in a narrower one, to denote the material relations of bourgeois society (later, bourgeois society as a whole), i.e. capitalism. Depending on the context, the term is translated either as "civil society" or as "bourgeois society".—262

60 The *German Workers' Society* in Brussels was founded by Marx and Engels at the end of August 1847 for the political education of German workers living in Belgium and for the popularisation of the ideas of scientific communism among them. Under the leadership of Marx, Engels and their associates, the Society became the legal centre rallying German revolutionary proletarians in Belgium. The Society's best members belonged to the Communist League. Soon after the February Revolution of 1848 in France, the Society ceased its activities because its members were arrested and deported by the Belgian police.

Marx's work *Wage Labour and Capital* (his lectures to the German Workers' Society) was published as a series of articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, in the spring of 1849, but not in full, because the newspaper ceased publication (see present edition, Vol. 9, Note 183).—264

61 Marx contributed to the *New-York Daily Tribune* from August 1851 to March 1862. Articles by Marx and Engels in the *New-York Daily Tribune* dealt with key issues of foreign and domestic policy, the working-class movement, the economic development of European countries, colonial expansion and the national liberation movement in colonial and dependent countries. Their profundity, political insight and literary merits immediately attracted attention. The *New-York Daily Tribune*'s editors publicly acknowledged their quality. The articles reached Europe, too. For example, in his speech in the House of Commons on July 1, 1853, John Bright, leader of the Free Traders, specially noted Marx's article on Gladstone's budget, published in the *Tribune* (see present edition, Vol. 12, p. 176).

The *Tribune*'s editors sometimes took liberties with articles, printing them unsigned, in the form of editorials, especially from September 1854 onwards. In some cases they tampered with the text, making insertions, some of which were in direct contradiction with the content of the articles. Marx protested repeatedly against these practices. In the autumn of 1857, he was forced to reduce the number of his contributions in view of the *Tribune*'s weak financial position, a result of the economic crisis in the USA. He ceased contributing to the paper altogether after the outbreak of the American Civil War, mainly because the *Tribune* had come under the influence of people advocating a compromise with the slave-owning states.—265

62 This presumably refers to McCulloch's note in his edition of A. Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. 1, Edinburgh, 1828, p. 9.—269

63 The *monetary system*, an early form of mercantilism, a system of economic views and economic measures applied by European states in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Its advocates equated wealth with money and favoured

economic measures that ensured an inflow of money into the country by maintaining an active trade balance and imposing protective tariffs.—276

64 The *glorious revolution*—this is how English historians refer to the coup d'état of 1688-89, as a result of which the Stuart James II was overthrown and William III of Orange was proclaimed King of England. It led to a limitation of the king's powers in the interests of the commercial and financial bourgeoisie and the circles of the landed aristocracy connected with them.—294

65 The *parallelograms of Mr. Owen* are mentioned by Ricardo in his work *On Protection to Agriculture*, 4th ed., London, 1822, p. 21. Developing his utopian project of social reform, Owen maintained that, from the point of view of the economy and arrangement of domestic life, it was most expedient to build a communist settlement in the form of a parallelogram or square. Hence the expression.—300

66 The *Theory of Exchange* is the title of the fourth chapter in H. D. Macleod's work *The Elements of Political Economy*, London, 1858.—301

67 The *Act of 1844 on the Bank of England*, passed by Sir Robert Peel's government, fixed a maximum for the amount of bank notes in circulation. These were guaranteed by a special gold and silver reserve. Bank notes in excess of the fixed amount could be issued only given a proportional increase in the precious metal reserves. The Act was repeatedly infringed by the government itself, particularly during the 1847 and 1857 monetary crises. Marx analysed the content and significance of the 1844 Act in a series of articles written for the *New-York Daily Tribune* in 1857 and 1858 ("The Bank Act of 1844 and the Monetary Crisis in England", "The British Revulsion", "The English Bank Act of 1844" and others (see present edition, vols 15 and 16). Subsequently, Marx made a detailed analysis of the Act in *Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. XXXIV (see present edition, Vol. 37).—303, 404, 414

68 *Leges barbarorum* (barbarian laws)—records of the common law of various Germanic tribes, compiled between the fifth and ninth centuries.—312

69 A reference to the period of wars waged by England against Republican and Napoleonic France, when the Bank Restriction Act of 1797 was in force (see Note 49).—319, 400

70 A reference to the Paris peace treaties concluded in 1814 and 1815 by the countries of the anti-French coalitions—Russia, Britain, Austria and Prussia. on the one side, and France, on the other.—319, 368

71 The *Crédit mobilier* (Société générale du Crédit mobilier)—a big French joint-stock bank founded by the Péreire brothers in 1852. It was notorious for its speculation. The Crédit mobilier took an active part in building railways and setting up industrial enterprises. Though closely linked with and enjoying the protection of Napoleon III's government, it went bankrupt in 1867. In 1856 and 1857, Marx wrote a series of articles about its speculative activities for the Chartist *The People's Paper*, in London, and the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—331

72 A reference to J. Mill's *Commerce Defended. An answer to the arguments by which Mr. Spence, Mr. Cobbett, and others, have attempted to prove that commerce is not a source of national wealth*, London, 1808.—333

73 Marx is referring to Say's treatise *Lettres à M. Malthus, sur différens sujets d'économie politique, notamment sur les causes de la stagnation générale du commerce*, Paris-London, 1820. It contains the proposition (p. 46) that "products are

bought only for products"; elsewhere the author's idea, that products produced must always find demand, is being repeated in a variety of ways.—333

74 Marx is probably quoting P. Boisguillebert's *Dissertation sur la nature des richesses de l'argent et des tributs* from memory. It was published in *Économistes financiers du XVIII^e siècle.* On p. 392 Boisguillebert has: "précis de toutes les denrées" (summary of all commodities).—358, 496

75 A reference to the biblical legend of how Jacob, the father of ancient Hebrews, when blessing his grandchildren, Joseph's sons, contrary to tradition, laid his left hand on the elder, and his right hand on the younger, thus foretelling a more glorious future for the latter (Genesis 48 : 1, 8-20).—359, 447

76 Marx is referring to the war of independence waged by the Spanish colonies in Latin America from 1810 to 1826, as a result of which most of them threw off Spanish domination.—368

77 A reference to the Kyakhta Treaty, signed by Russia and China on October 21, 1727. It envisaged a duty-free border trade in Kyakhta, mainly barter, which considerably expanded the overall trade between the two countries.—382

78 A reference to the so-called Second Opium War, actually started by Britain and France in 1856 but officially waged from 1857 to 1858, the aim being to turn China into a semi-colony. It ended with the China's defeat and the signing of the unequal Tientsin Treaty, which increased China's dependence on the colonial powers (their trade, diplomatic and military privileges were expanded, opium imports legalised, indemnities paid, etc.). In 1859 Britain and France resumed military operations (the Third Opium War), and in 1860 imposed on China the still more onerous Peking Peace Treaty.—382

79 Marx quotes, in Latin, Pietro Martire Anghiera's *De orbe novo* (edition of 1530), according to W. H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico, with a preliminary view of the ancient Mexican civilisation, and the life of the conqueror, Hernando Cortés,* 5th Edition, Vol. I, London, 1850, p. 123.—386, 458

80 This quotation is from *Lectures on Gold for the Instruction of Emigrants about to Proceed to Australia,* London, 1852. Marx took many excerpts from this book for his Economic Manuscript of 1857-1858, "Chapter on Money" (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 113-15).—387

81 Strabo's statement, made in *Rerum geographicarum libri XVII* (XVI, 4, 18) is cited by Marx from Dureau de la Malle, *Économie politique des Romains,* Vol. I, Paris, 1840, p. 52. Marx used extracts from this work in his Economic Manuscript of 1857-1858, "Chapter on Money" (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 109-10 and 116).—388, 459

82 This is an allusion to the mediaeval legend about the Holy Grail, a miraculous cup in which Joseph of Arimathea had received the blood of Christ.—389

83 The *Historical School of Law*—a trend in German historiography and jurisprudence in the late eighteenth century. The representatives of this school, Gustav Hugo, Friedrich Karl Savigny and others, sought to justify the privileges of the nobility and feudal institutions on the basis of the inviolability of historical traditions.—398

84 John Law, the Scottish economist and financier, sought to implement in France his financial projects, based on the erroneous idea that a state can increase the country's wealth by issuing bank notes without security. Backed by French

ruling circles interested in his projects, in 1716 Law founded a private bank that, in 1718, was turned into a state bank. In addition to implementing the unlimited emission of bank notes, Law, who had been appointed Controller General of Finance in 1720, withdrew metallic money from circulation and supported various speculative undertakings, such as the opening of shady trading companies, the issue of fictitious shares, etc. The fuss aroused by Law's activities culminated, at the end of 1720, in the final collapse of the bank and "Law's system".—400

85 *Threadneedle Street*—the street in London on which the Bank of England is situated.—400

86 The *Continental Blockade,* or *Continental System* proclaimed by Napoleon I in 1806 (see Note 51) forbade the countries of the continental Europe to trade with Great Britain. The countries that participated in the Continental Blockade were Spain, the Kingdom of Naples, the Netherlands, Prussia, Denmark, Russia, Austria and others.—408

87 This refers to the British government's measures to counter Napoleon I's Continental Blockade. A number of royal decrees of 1807 ordered neutral countries to cease all trade with France and the states that joined the Continental System. Britain's decrees were aimed at strengthening the naval blockade of France and depriving her of access to colonial goods.—408

88 As can be seen from Marx's letters, once the first part of his work had been published, he intended to proceed immediately with preparing the second part, which was to contain the chapter "Capital in General". As he wrote to Ludwig Kugelmann on December 28, 1862, however (see present edition, Vol. 41, pp. 435-36), a number of circumstances prevented him from carrying out his intention at once. Only in August 1861 did he begin his work on the second part, giving it the general title: *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* The extant covers of the 23 notebooks containing the rough manuscript bear this title. The covers of the first two notebooks have the subtitle: "Chapter Three. Capital in General".—417

89 This manuscript marks the transitional stage in Marx's work on a draft version of his economic work in preparing it for publication in parts, as agreed by contract with the German publisher Duncker (see Note 57). In order to develop the rough manuscript further, Marx drew up a kind of index that would help him select material for the first part. In his letter to Engels on May 31, 1858, Marx wrote that his hefty manuscript (308 densely written pages in seven notebooks) was a real hotchpotch, much of it intended for later sections. "So I shall have to make an index," Marx wrote,"briefly indicating in which notebook and on what page to find the stuff I want to work on first" (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 318).

First of all, Marx had to elaborate the material that was to form the first part of the planned work. By the "first part", Marx then meant that which he soon began to designate as the "first section" of his book "On Capital", consisting of three chapters: "The Commodity", "Money", and "Capital in General". In the Economic Manuscript of 1857-1858, however, there is no special chapter on the commodity; the beginning of it is only outlined, under the title: "Value". Individual digressions in other sections of the manuscript also belonged to it.

The *Index to the 7 Notebooks* (to the first part) consists of two unfinished drafts; in the first one, Marx gathered all the material of his manuscript

belonging to the "first part", up to the section on the circulation of capital, but this section and some other passages preceding it remained without page references; the second draft embraces only the chapter on money and presents a more detailed structure of this chapter.

Marx left big gaps between the main headings of his *Index*, later to be filled in with additional subheadings and page references.

The *Index to the 7 Notebooks* (to the first part) fills the last eleven pages in Notebook M (figures in the editorial square brackets denote pages of this notebook), which contains the outline of Marx's "Introduction" (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 17-48). In this edition Marx's marks in the margins are not reproduced.

In his *Index*, Marx indicates the numbers of notebooks containing the outlines of the *Critique of Political Economy* by Roman numerals, and the pages of those notebooks by Arabic numerals.—421

90 Wilson is not mentioned on p. 55 of Marx's Notebook VII. It was most probably a slip of the pen and instead of Wilson it should be Morrison, who is quoted on this page. Alternatively, Wilson is mentioned here as the editor of *The Economist* and an author of a series of articles for the magazine, which Marx quotes on this page. In this and other cases, Marx gives the title of the magazine in his references rather than the name of its editor.—424

91 This point of the *Index* is made in addition to the manuscript of 1857-1858 and refers to the extract from J. G. Wirth, *Die Geschichte der Deutschen*, 2nd improved edition, Vol. I, Stuttgart, 1846, in one of Marx's excerpt notebooks of 1858. The extract states that among the ancient Germans, up to the fourth or fifth century, the use of money was rather uncommon and all kinds of monetary duty were often paid in such material values as cattle, weapons, or corn. The price of oxen, cows, horses, swords, helmets, shields, spears and other objects accepted in payment instead of guldens was established by law.—424

92 A reference to Macleod's *The Theory and Practice of Banking*, Vol. 1, London, 1855, pertains to the manuscript of 1857-1858. The extracts from this book are in Marx's Excerpt Notebook of 1857. On page 15 of his book, Macleod writes about Josiah Child's treatise *A Discourse upon Trade* (this treatise, Macleod alleged, appeared in 1698), which contained a plan for lowering the rate of interest by law.—424

93 Marx has in mind his Excerpt Notebook V, which he began to compile in January 1851. On pp. 14-17 of this notebook there are excerpts from chapters XXVI-XXX of the second volume of William Jacob's *An Historical Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals*, London, 1831. Further on Marx has in mind his Excerpt Notebook IV, filled in in November-December 1850. It contains excerpts from chapters IV-XIV of the first volume and from chapters XV-XXV of the second volume of Jacob's book.—428

94 There is no page 49 in Excerpt Notebook I (see present edition, Vol. 28, p. 153). The notebook has 48 pages. This problem is elucidated in Excerpt Notebook I on p. 47 and in Excerpt Notebook II on p. 1.—428

95 Marx wrote the original text of the first part of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* between August and October 1858, basing himself on the *Index to the 7 Notebooks*, which he had drawn up in June (see this volume, pp. 421-29). As Marx then planned, this part was to include a chapter on capital, besides the chapters on the commodity and on money. In November 1858, Mrs. Marx began a fair copy of the final text of Part One of *A*

*Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, consisting already only of the chapters on the commodity and on money.

The original text has only partly survived, including the last three quarters of Chapter Two and the beginning of Chapter Three (two concluding passages of Chapter Two and the beginning of Chapter Three were not included in the final version). The surviving text is in two notebooks that Marx marked B′ and B″. Notebook B′ starts with the end of a sentence. It was preceded by Notebook C which has not survived and most probably contained the chapter on the commodity (originally entitled "Value") and the beginning of the chapter on money.

On the cover of Notebook B′ Marx wrote five short notes referring to the chapters on money and on capital. In this volume they are published after the original text, as an addition to it.

The editorial heading, in square brackets, of Section 2 (its beginning was contained in Notebook C) was formulated on the basis of the extant fragment. Given in square brackets are also the letters denoting notebooks, and the page numbers in these notebooks. Footnotes indicate the language in which Marx quotes, unless it is German.

Extremely long passages have been divided into shorter ones for the reader's convenience.—430

96 *Nexus rerum*—"the link between things". In one of his excerpt notebooks of 1851, entitled "The Completed System of Money Relations", Marx describes money (p. 41) as the "nexus rerum et hominum" (the link between things and people) and refers this quotation to p. 34 which has not survived. Unfortunately it has been impossible to establish which work he meant. In calling money the "nexus rerum et hominum", Marx means the state of society that resulted from the disintegration of all the formerly dominant social links: patriarchal, feudal, family, religious, all of which were superseded by the rule of "cash". In the "Chapter on Money" of the 1857-1858 manuscript, Marx applied this expression to exchange value (see present edition, Vol. 28, p. 155). In the final text of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, he designated money as the "social *nervus rerum*", the initial or motive force of all things (see this volume, p. 365).—430

97 Here Marx quotes in German from the Greek writer and compiler Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistarum libri quindecim*, Edidit Schweighaeuser, Tomus II, Argentorati, 1802, p. 121. Below Marx gives this quotation in Greek (see this volume, p. 451).—435

98 Marx quotes Körner's treatise in English from *Lectures on Gold for the Instruction of Emigrants about to Proceed to Australia*, pp. 94-95 (see Note 80). In his note to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, he gives this quotation in German (see this volume, p. 387).—441

99 Marx is quoting Luther's treatise from A. L. Schlözer, *Briefwechsel meist historischen und politischen Inhalts*, Siebender Theil, Heft XXXVII-XLII, Göttingen, 1780, pp. 265-66.—449

100 The *Code of Manu* (Mānava Dharma-Çāstra)—an old Hindu compendium of laws and precepts, the product of an early attempt to codify common law in accordance with the needs of the ancient Hindu state and the dogmas of Brahmanism. It is attributed to Manu ("man" in Sanskrit), the mythical progenitor of human beings. The laws and precepts making up the *Code of Manu* accumulated over the centuries and were given their more or less

definitive formulation at about the beginning of the Christian era. They reflected the specific nature of early class society in India, which retained many survivals of the primitive communal system.—460

101 Marx's footnote made at the bottom of the page, but not marked in the text, presumably refers to the passage where Smith's name is mentioned.—463

102 Here Marx put quotation marks and left space for inserting the title of Carey's book later. Marx most probably had in mind *The Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign*, Philadelphia, 1853, about which he wrote to Engels on June 14, 1853 calling it *Slavery at Home and Abroad*.—477

103 An ironic allusion to Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*.—477

104 Marx is quoting, in Greek, the beginning of Epigram 166 in Book XI of *Greek Anthology* (*Anthologia graeca ad fidem codicis olim Palatini nunc parisini ex apographo Gothano edita*, Curavit F. Jacobs, Tomus secundus, p. 370). The epigram's author is not known.—489

105 Marx wrote these notes on the cover of Notebook B′: the first note is on its right side, the other four on its reverse. The third note largely reproduces the text on page 4 in Notebook II, the "Chapter on Money" of the 1857-1858 manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 161-62).—508

106 The draft plan of Part Two of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, which was to contain Chapter Three ("Chapter on Capital"), is in a separate small notebook (without number or letter designation) and has no general title. (In this edition, the pages of the notebook are given in editorial square brackets and the author's brackets are replaced by oblique lines.) In the draft, the problems treated in notebooks II-VII of the 1857-1858 economic manuscript are divided into three sections: I. The Process of Production of Capital, II. Circulation Process of Capital, III. Capital and Profit. The draft plan ends with the section "Varia", which includes mainly issues of the history of political economy. Many points of the plan are separated from one another by big spaces; on pp. 13 and 15 there is no text at all (the former has drawings of geometrical figures and the latter logarithmic formulae that have nothing to do with this work). In the course of his further economic studies, Marx used the structure of Chapter Three fixed in this plan as a basis for generally dividing his future work into three theoretical parts, though later the contents of each of them, especially the third, were considerably extended.

In references to the 1857-1858 manuscript Marx uses Roman numerals to denote notebooks and Arabic ones to denote the relevant pages.—511

107 According to the original plan Marx intended to divide his economic work in six books. The first, "On Capital", as can be seen from Marx's letter to Engels of April 2, 1858, was to be divided into four sections: 1) Capital *en général*, 2) Competition, or the interaction of many capitals, 3) Credit, 4) Share Capital (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 298). This remained the general plan in 1861, when Marx resumed his work on the planned second part of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (it was changed only in the course of further studies). Here Marx has in mind the second section of his book "On Capital".—514

108 *References to My Own Notebooks* belong to the period when, after an interruption caused by his editorial work on the newspaper *Das Volk* (summer 1859), writing his pamphlet *Herr Vogt* and other circumstances, Marx resumed intensive studies of political economy and returned to his work on the

subsequent parts of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, primarily on its third chapter, devoted to capital. "A week ago I made a serious start on my book," he wrote to Engels on June 10, 1861 (see present edition, Vol. 41, p. 292). Evidently, the first thing Marx did was to systematise the material already collected. For this purpose, he made use of the last, as yet empty, pages of his Notebook B". Pages 1-19 of this notebook contain the end of the fragment of the original text of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, written as far back as the autumn of 1858. Pages 20-27 contain passages from different economic sources, evidently written later on as they include references to editions published in 1860. The *References* published here are to be found on pages 28-36 of Notebook B" (these pages are given here in editorial square brackets, and oblique lines are substituted for the square brackets used by Marx himself).

The *References* constitute a concise review of the contents of the notebooks containing the economic manuscripts of 1857-1858 (Notebook M with "Introduction", notebooks I-VII) and also of notebooks with the original text of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (notebooks C, B' and B"). In this review, Marx included material he had not used in the first part of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, completed in January 1859. He wrote this review in order to facilitate writing the part of his economic work that was to be the continuation of the first part of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. When writing the *References*, Marx worked out a plan for the third chapter of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* and later on implemented it in a large Economic Manuscript of 1861-1863, which was a new, already systematised, though rough version of all the parts of the future *Capital*.

In Marx's *References*, Arabic numerals indicate the pages of the notebooks.—518

109 *Notebook C* is not extant. Judging from the available material, it contained the original text of the first and the beginning of the second chapter of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.—518

110 *Notebook A* is another title of Notebook I of the main 1857-1858 manuscript, which Marx entitled *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy (Rough Draft)*. Both designations are to be found on the cover of the notebook.—518

111 This presumably refers to the missing cover of Notebook B", the reverse side of which Marx marked as page 1a.—518

112 This is Marx's designation of that part of Notebook B" which contains the concluding portion of the original text of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. That portion constitutes the beginning of Chapter Three (pp. 16-19 of this notebook).—521

113 Page 29 (the last page) of Notebook II referred to here and below has not survived.—522

114 The text beginning on page 8 of Notebook III is the continuation of the text of Notebook II. The first seven pages of Notebook III contain the unfinished draft manuscript "Bastiat and Carey" (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 5-16) to which references are given below.—522

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*Anghiera, Pietro Martire d'* (c. 1457-1526)—historian and geographer, born in Italy; for a long time served at the Spanish court as an expert in the New World affairs.—211, 458

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*Bekker, August Immanuel* (1785-1871)—German philologist, prepared for publication a few editions of works by ancient authors (Plato, Aristotle, Aristophanes and others).—269, 291, 307

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*Bosanquet, James Whatman* (1804-1877)—English banker, economist and historian.—164, 248, 333, 441

*Bray, John Francis* (1809-1897)—English economist, utopian socialist, Owen's follower, developed the theory of "labour money".—186, 243, 323, 427, 445

*Brougham and Vaux, Henry Peter, Baron* (1778-1868)—British lawyer and man-of-letters, prominent Whig in the 1820s-30s, Lord Chancellor (1830-34).—222, 300

*Buchanan, David* (1779-1848)—English journalist and economist, follower and commentator of Adam Smith.—191-92, 348, 422, 427

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*Büsch, Johann Georg* (1728-1800)—German economist, mainly mercantilist.—398

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*Carli, Giovanni (Jian) Rinaldo, conte* (1720-1795)—Italian scientist, wrote about money and corn trade, opposed mercantilism.—382

*Carlyle, Thomas* (1795-1881)—British writer, historian and idealist philosopher, Tory; preached views bordering on feudal socialism up to 1848, later ardent opponent of the working-class movement.—431

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*Demetrius Phalereus* (c. 345-c. 283 B.C.)—Greek philosopher, historian and grammarian, Athenian statesman.—451

*De Quincey, Thomas* (1785-1859)—English writer and economist, commentator of Ricardo's works.—30, 102, 526, 528

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*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—97

*Franklin, Benjamin* (1706-1790)—American politician; scholar of the American Enlightenment, was among the first supporters of the labour theory of value.—295, 296-97, 352, 395

*Frederick II* (1194-1250)—King of Sicily, King of Germany since 1212, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1220-50).—214, 216

*Fullarton, John* (c. 1780-1849)—British economist, wrote on money circulation and credit, opponent of the quantity theory of money.—135, 225, 237, 243, 245-50, 416, 422, 424, 426, 428, 442, 532

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*Galba, Servius Sulpicius* (c. 5 B.C.-A.D. 69)—Roman Emperor (68-69).—212

*Galiani, Ferdinando* (1728-1787)—Italian economist, criticised Physiocrats.—222, 223, 276, 297, 310, 326, 340, 385, 423, 426, 438, 456, 532

*Ganilh, Charles* (1758-1836)—French politician, economist, epigone of mercantilism.—230

*Garnier, Germain, marquis* (1754-1821)—French economist and politician, monarchist; follower of the Physiocrats, translator and critic of Adam Smith.—187-89, 248, 312, 344, 422, 424

*Gaskell, Peter*—English physician and liberal journalist of the first half of the 19th century.—209, 532

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*George III (George William Frederick)* (1738-1820)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1760-1820), King of Hanover from 1814.—237, 311

*Gilbart, James William* (1794-1863)—English banker and economist, wrote a number of works on banking.—235-36

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British politician and statesman, Tory, later Peelite, a leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the 19th century, headed several liberal cabinets.—303

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*Gouge, William M.* (1796-1863)—American journalist and economist, wrote a number of works on money circulation and banking in the USA.—166, 422, 424

*Gray, John* (1798-1850)—English economist, utopian socialist.—186, 217, 238, 239, 320-23, 422

*Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl* (1785-1863)—German philologist, professor at Berlin University.—386, 459

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman; virtually directed France's home and foreign policy from 1840 to the February 1848 revolution.—262

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*Harlow, John* (mid-19th cent.)—British economist of the Birmingham school known as the "little shilling men"; he and his fellow-thinker Wright wrote under the pseudonym of Gemini.—185

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ficial and writer, author of works on the agrarian system and the peasant commune in Russia.—253

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*Henry VIII* (1491-1547)—King of England (1509-47) and Ireland (from 1541).—122, 230, 235

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*Hobhouse, John Cam, Baron Broughton de Gyfford* (1786-1869)—British statesman, Whig; proposed the factory law, which was passed by Parliament in 1831.—205

*Hodges, John Frederick* (mid-19th cent.)—English agrochemist and physiologist, author of textbooks on agriculture.—101

*Hodgskin, Thomas* (1787-1869)—English economist and writer, utopian socialist.—89, 95, 96, 197-98, 292, 422, 527, 531

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*Hubbard, John Gellibrand* (1805-1889)—British conservative politician, MP (1859-68 and 1874-87), a director of the Bank of England (1838).—242, 247, 424

*Hüllmann, Karl Dietrich* (1765-1846)—German historian of the Middle Ages.—214-16

*Hume, David* (1711-1776)—Scottish philosopher, historian and economist; opponent of mercantilism, an early adherent of the quantity theory of money.—164, 230, 243, 391-96, 398-400, 402, 411, 412, 415

*Hume, James Deacon* (1774-1842)—English economist, Free Trader.—408, 409

J

*Jacob, William* (c. 1762-1851)—English businessman, author of a number of economic works.—240, 243, 255, 344, 368, 369, 422, 428

*James I* (1566-1625)—King of England (1603-25), King of Scotland since 1567 under the name of James VI.—235

*Jovellanos* (*Jove Llanos*) *y Ramirez, Gaspar Melchor de* (1744-1811)—Spanish statesman, lawyer and economist, follower of the French philosophers of the Enlightenment, mercantilist.—295

*Julius, Gustav* (1810-1851)—German democratic journalist, "true socialist".—398

*Justinian I* (c. 483-565)—Emperor of Byzantium (527-65).—214, 215

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*Laing, Samuel* (1810-1897)—English politician and journalist, Liberal MP.—205

*Lansdowne, Henry Petty Fitzmaurice, 3rd Marquess of* (1780-1863)—English statesman, Whig, member of a number of Whig cabinets.—294

*Lauderdale, James Maitland, 8th Earl of* (1759-1839)—English politician and

economist, criticised Adam Smith's theory.—78, 79, 87-88, 89, 218, 244, 517, 521, 529

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*Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim* (1729-1781)—German writer, critic and philosopher, representative of the early Enlightenment.—398

*List, Friedrich* (1789-1846)—German vulgar economist, protectionist.—278

*Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, 2nd Earl of* (1770-1828)—British statesman, a Tory leader, held several ministerial posts, Prime Minister (1812-27).—237

*Locke, John* (1632-1704)—English dualist philosopher, economist.—78, 164, 173, 183-85, 230, 243, 314, 315, 316, 355, 379, 391, 398, 399, 426

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*Louis XVI* (1754-1793)—King of France (1774-92), executed during the French Revolution.—242

*Lowndes, William* (1652-1724)—English economist and statesman, Secretary of the Exchequer (1695-1724).—183-85, 315, 319, 355

*Loyd, Samuel Jones, 1st Baron Overstone* (1796-1883)—English banker and economist, a theoretician of money circulation.—164, 251, 404, 414, 415

*Lucanus, Marcus Annaeus* (39-65)—Roman poet.—344

*Luther, Martin* (1483-1546)—leader of the Reformation; founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany, ideologist of burghers.—364, 374, 378, 448

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*M(a)cCulloch, John Ramsay* (1789-1864)—British economist who vulgarised Ricardo's theory; developed theories which justified capitalist exploitation.—76, 167, 205, 219, 222, 224, 225, 277, 293, 512, 517, 528, 532

*Mackinnon, William Alexander* (1789-1870)—English politician and historian, at first Tory, later Liberal, MP.—170

*Maclaren, James*—British economist of the 19th century, studied history of money circulation.—250, 309, 398-99

*Macleod, Henry Dunning* (1821-1902)—English lawyer and economist, developed the theory of credit.—301, 376, 424

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English economist, priest, founder of the misanthropic theory of population.—69, 74, 108, 136-37, 203, 209, 221, 278, 333, 421, 517, 526, 527

*Mandeville, Sir John*—alleged author of a book of travels which enjoyed great popularity since late 14th century.—352

*Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* (121-180)—Roman Emperor since 161.—212

*Martin V (Oddone Colonna)* (c. 1368-1431)—Pope (1417-31).—216

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*Mendelssohn, Moses* (1729-1786)—German deist philosopher.—398

*Menenius (Titus Menenius Agrippa Lanatus)* (5th cent. B.C.)—Roman consul (454 B.C.), co-author (together with consul Sestius) of a law on money fines and money security.—187

*Merivale, Herman* (1806-1874)—English economist and statesman, Liberal, wrote works on principles of colonisation.—212, 532

*Mill, James* (1773-1836)—British historian, economist and philosopher, follower of Ricardo's theory, who tried to remove its contradictions by a formal logical method.—240-42, 333, 409-10, 422, 426

*Mill, John Stuart* (1806-1873)—British positivist philosopher and economist, epigone of classical political economy, son of James Mill.—21, 29, 142, 210, 230, 238, 333, 422, 426, 515, 528

*Misselden, Edward* (c. 1608-1654)—English businessman and economist, mercantilist.—244, 359, 362-64, 422, 427, 436, 446, 447, 448

*Montanari, Geminiano* (c. 1633-1687)—Italian mathematician and astronomer, author of works on money.—165, 280, 384, 422, 438, 451

*Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de* (1689-1755)—French sociologist, economist and writer of the Enlightenment, adherent of the quantity theory of money.—164, 243, 391, 396

*More, Sir Thomas* (1478-1535)—English politician, Lord Chancellor (1529-32), humanist writer, one of the earliest utopian communists, author of *Utopia*.—481

*Morrison, William Hampson*—the author of the pamphlet on metallic money circulation opposing Adam Smith's doctrine.—237, 249, 423, 424

*Müller, Adam Heinrich, Ritter von Nitterdorf* (1779-1829)—German journalist and economist, expressed interests of feudal aristocracy, opponent of Adam Smith's theory.—190, 198, 310, 422, 424

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*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—408

*Nero (Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus)* (37-68)—Roman Emperor (54-68).—213

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*Newman, Samuel Phillips* (1797-1842)—American philologist, teacher and economist.—217-18, 423, 512, 532

*Newmarch, William* (1820-1882)—English bourgeois economist and statistician.—416

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*Opdyke, George* (1805-1880)—American businessman, economist.—224, 236, 333-34, 427, 456, 511, 532

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*Parisot, Jacques Théodore* (b. 1783)—French journalist and translator.—240, 410

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*Parmentier, Antoine Augustin* (1737-1813)—French agronomist and pharmaceutist, author of works on agriculture.—213

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*Peel, Sir Robert* (1788-1850)—British statesman, Tory, Home Secretary

(1822-27 and 1828-30), Prime Minister (1834-35 and 1841-46), repealed the Corn Laws in 1846.—185, 303, 312, 319, 404, 414

*Péreire, Isaac* (1806-1880)—French banker, Bonapartist; deputy to the *Corps législatif;* together with his brother Émile Péreire, founded the joint-stock bank Crédit Mobilier.—331

*Perseus of Macedonia* (c. 216-c. 166 B.C.)—the last king of Macedonia (179-168 B.C.).—213

*Peter I (the Great)* (1672-1725)—Tsar of Russia from 1682, Emperor of all Russia from 1721.—225, 351

*Peter Martyr*—see *Anghiera, Pietro Martire d'*

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*Pitt, William* (1759-1806)—British statesman, a Tory leader, Prime Minister (1783-1801 and 1804-06).—218, 219

*Plato* (c. 427-c. 347 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—351, 488

*Pliny the Elder* (*Gaius Plinius Secundus*) (23-79)—Roman statesman and naturalist, author of *Natural History* in 37 books.—187, 365-66, 450-51

*Poppe, Johann Heinrich Moritz von* (1776-1854)—German scientist, author of works on the history of technology.—231

*Prescott, William Hickling* (1796-1859)—American historian, author of works on the history of Spain and Spanish conquests in America.—211, 215

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*Ravenstone, Piercy* (d. 1830)—English Ricardian economist, upheld the workers' interests, opponent of Malthus.—79, 88

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*Rossi, Pellegrino Luigi Edoardo, count* (1787-1848)—Italian economist, lawyer and politician; vulgarised Adam Smith's and David Ricardo's theories.—66, 512, 513, 527

*Rumford*—see *Thompson, Sir Benjamin, Count von Rumford*

S

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French uto-

pian socialist.—331, 388

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*Schaper, Justus Wilhelm Eduard von* (1792-1868)—a representative of Prussian bureaucracy; Oberpräsident of the Rhine Province (1842-45).—262

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*Townsend, Joseph* (1739-1816)—English priest, geologist and sociologist, exponent of the theory of population later borrowed by Malthus.—221, 532

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*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a daily newspaper of the revolutionary proletarian democrats, published in Cologne from June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849 under Marx's editorship, Engels was a member of the editorial board.—264

*New-York Daily Tribune*—a newspaper published from 1841 to 1924; organ of the Left-wing American Whigs until the mid-1850s, and later of the Republican Party. Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862.—265

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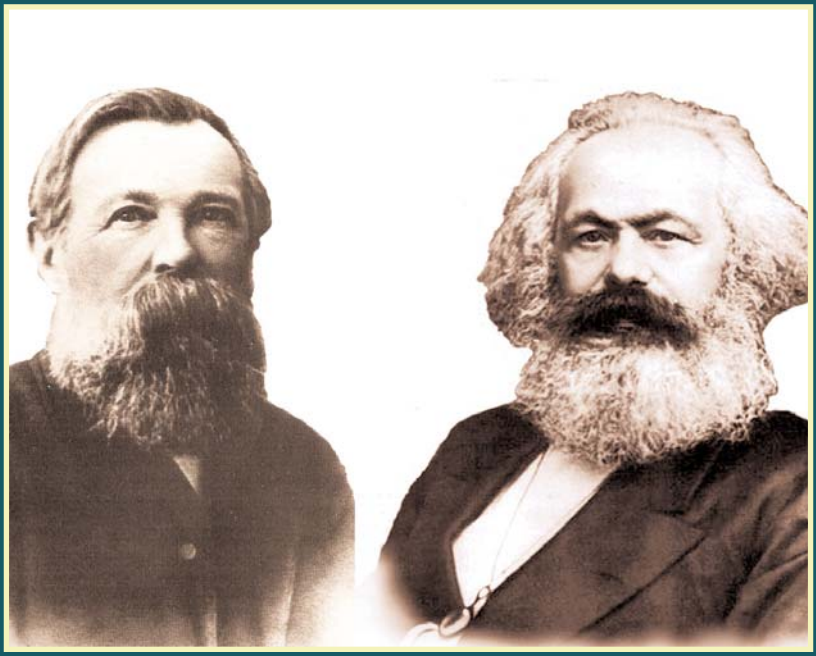

## VOLUME 30

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# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 30

Marx 1861-63

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EMILE BURNS: Notebooks VI, VII

# Preface

Volumes 30 to 34 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contain Marx's manuscript, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, written between August 1861 and July 1863. Consisting of 23 notebooks with on-going pagination (overall volume: about 1,472 large pages), the manuscript represents an important stage in the development of Marx's economic theory. It investigates the economic laws governing the movement of capitalist production and brings out the content of the converted forms in which this movement is manifested on the surface of bourgeois society. It was through the critique of bourgeois political economy that Marx arrived at his discoveries, and this critique is presented in detail in the central section, *Theories of Surplus Value.*

In view of its great bulk the manuscript is published in five volumes. Volume 30 includes notebooks I to VII, comprising three sections of the chapter on the production process of capital and the beginning of the *Theories of Surplus Value* (pp. 1-210 and 220-99 of the manuscript).

Published in Volume 31 are notebooks VII to XII, which contain the continuation of the *Theories of Surplus Value* (pp. 300-636 of the manuscript).

Volume 32, corresponding to notebooks XII-XV, contains the conclusion of the *Theories of Surplus Value* (pp. 636-944 of the manuscript).

Volume 33 includes notebooks XV to XVIII, V (the closing part), XIX and XX (pp. 944-1157, 211-19, 1159-1251).

Volume 34 contains notebooks XX-XXIII (pp. 1251-1472 of the manuscript) and also the draft of the concluding part of Book I of *Capital* (Chapter Six. The Results of the Direct Process of Production).

The fundamentals of proletarian political economy were formulated in the late 1850s. In his economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, vols 28 and 29), which represents the first version of *Capital*, Marx revealed the inner mechanism of bourgeois society and showed that the development of capitalism's contradictions was inevitably leading to its replacement by a more highly organised social system.

This conclusion followed from Marx's theory of surplus value. By working out his economic doctrine he had turned the materialist conception of history, first formulated by him and Engels as early as the 1840s, from a hypothesis into "a scientifically proven proposition" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1986, p. 142).

In 1859, Marx began to publish the results of his research in a work entitled *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One, which contained an exposition of his theory of value and theory of money. In this work, as Marx put it, "the *specifically* social, by no means *absolute*, character of bourgeois production is analysed straight away in its simplest form, that of the *commodity*" (present edition, Vol. 40, p. 473).

Marx originally intended to follow this first part with a second instalment, devoted to the analysis of capital, the dominant relation of production in bourgeois society. He characterised the second instalment as being "of crucial importance. It does, in fact, contain the pith of all the bourgeois stuff" (present edition, Vol. 40, p. 523).

Initially, the manuscript of 1861-63 was written as the direct continuation of Part One, under the same overall title, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, with the subtitle "Third Chapter. Capital in General". Since it was, in effect, the second version of *Capital*, the manuscript of 1861-63 covered practically all the problems which Marx intended to deal with in his principal work. About half of it is taken up by the "Theories of Surplus Value", described by Engels as a detailed critical history of the pith and marrow of political economy. The manuscript also works out the theory of productive and unproductive labour, and of the formal and real subsumption of labour under capital, and also many questions of the theory of crises which he never specifically discussed elsewhere. In the final version of *Capital* Marx confined himself to general conclusions, summing up the research into these problems which he had conducted in the present manuscript.

In the manuscript of 1861-63 Marx used the key propositions of his theory of value and surplus value, evolved in the 1850s, to continue his analysis of the relations between labour and capital, investigating a broad range of questions relating to the antagonistic contradictions of the capitalist mode of production, and the condition and struggle of the working class in bourgeois society.

In his study of the genesis of surplus value Marx demonstrated the correspondence between the process of capitalist exploitation—the production and appropriation of surplus value—and the law of value, of the exchange of equivalents. This constitutes one of his major theoretical achievements. "The economists have never been able to reconcile surplus value with the law of equivalence they themselves have postulated. The socialists have always held onto this contradiction and harped on it, instead of understanding the specific nature of this commodity, labour capacity, whose use value is itself the activity which creates exchange value" (Notebook I, p. 47). In the manuscript of 1857-58 Marx began the analysis of the commodity "labour power" (or, in his terminology of the 1850s and early 1860s, "labour capacity"). In the manuscript of 1861-63 he examines this specific commodity in a more detailed, indeed comprehensive manner.

To begin with, he reveals its distinctive feature—the capacity to create surplus value. Bourgeois economists treated the capitalist relations merely as relations of simple commodity owners confronting each other on the market, and regarded surplus value as deriving, in effect, from commercial fraud, from the violation of the principle of equal exchange between seller and buyer. Marx, in contrast, shows that the capitalist relation of production, far from being reducible to simple commodity-money relations, is their more developed form. "...The formation of the capital-relation demonstrates from the outset that it can only enter the picture at a definite historical stage of the economic development of society—of the social relations of production and the productive forces. The capital-relation appears straight away as a historically determined economic relation, a relation that belongs to a definite historical period of economic development, of social production" (I-19). It is only at a definite stage of the economic development of society that the money owner finds on the market the worker deprived of all means of labour and possessing only one commodity for sale—his labour power. It was impossible to find out the source of surplus value without making a distinction between labour capacity and the labour process proper. Marx

therefore stresses: the commodity offered by the worker is merely the potential possibility of labour, separated both from labour itself and from the conditions for its realisation.

Like any other commodity, it has use value and value. The use value consists in the fact that the consumption of this commodity, the process of its realisation, constitutes the process of labour itself. But since labour as such is a perennial condition of social life, the vulgar economists, seeking to prove that bourgeois society is an eternal, "natural" institution, treat capitalist production in terms of production in general. "...The apologists of capital confuse or identify it with a moment of the simple labour process as such" (I-33).

However, the process of capitalist production is not merely a process of labour, but simultaneously a process of the self-valorisation of value. And here the value of the commodity "labour power", the way it compares with the value newly created in the labour process, moves to the fore.

In substantiating his theory of surplus value, Marx attached extraordinary importance to determining the value magnitude of the commodity "labour power" (labour capacity) and of its monetary expression, wages. Bourgeois economists, beginning with the Physiocrats, had regarded the value of this commodity (they spoke of the "value of labour") as an immutable magnitude independent of the stage of historical development. They put forward the theory of the "minimum wage", maintaining that the magnitude of wages was determined by the value of a set of means of subsistence—given once and for all—that was necessary for the physical existence of the worker. In the manuscript of 1861-63, Marx for the first time demonstrated that this theory was untenable, and he was thereby enabled to justify the struggle of the working class for higher wages and a shorter working day.

Marx shows that "the extent of the so-called primary requirements for life and the manner of their satisfaction depend to a large degree on the level of civilisation of the society, are themselves the product of history" (I-22). Therefore determining the magnitude of wages, as well as of the value of "labour power", is not simply a matter of determining the ultimate limit of physical necessity, although the capitalists do seek to reduce the value and price of labour power to the minimum. Hence the economic necessity for the working class to pursue an unrelenting struggle for higher wages and shorter working hours.

In the 1861-63 manuscript Marx not only demonstrated the need for such a struggle, but also the *possibility* of waging it. The

minimum wage theory was itself a product of historical conditions. At a certain stage of development of bourgeois economic theory, Marx emphasised, it had served a useful purpose, for it made possible the realisation that surplus value was value created by the worker over and above the value of his labour power. It also helped Marx's predecessors to establish that wage increases do not increase the value of commodities, but only reduce the capitalists' rate of profit. The credit for drawing this important conclusion belongs to Ricardo, but it was Marx who provided the definitive proof. Marx also went beyond the inconsistent outlook of classical bourgeois political economy, which did allow that wage rises could cause commodity values to rise, for from Adam Smith on wages had been regarded as a constituent element of the value of commodities (see VI-263, 265). This mistaken premiss led to the mistaken conclusion that the workers' struggle for higher wages was pointless since wage increases inevitably brought higher commodity prices in their wake.

Considerable space in the manuscript is taken up by the analysis of the capitalist mode of production in its historical development. For the first time, Marx examines in detail the essence and stages of the formal and real subsumption of labour under capital, with the production of absolute surplus value playing the dominant part at the first stage and of relative surplus value at the second.

At the first stage capital subjects the actual production process to itself only in form, without changing anything in its technological organisation. The salient feature of this stage is that the labour process and the worker himself are brought under the control, or command, of capital. Compared with the precapitalist modes of production only the nature of coercion changes. Direct, extra-economic coercion is replaced by coercion based on the "free", purely economic, relation between seller and buyer. The real subsumption of labour under capital results from the technological subordination of labour, the worker being unable to function as such outside the production process organised along capitalist lines.

Marx discusses in detail what he calls the *transitional forms*, which develop within the framework of the precapitalist formations and under which capital exploits labour even before it has assumed the form of productive capital, or labour has taken on the form of wage labour. He shows the role played by commercial and usurer's capital in the transition to capitalist production and notes that the transitional forms are constantly reproduced within, and partly

reproduced by, the bourgeois mode of production itself (XXI-1314).

Marx traces the *genesis* of the formal subsumption of labour under capital and describes the historical conditions that made possible the rise of capitalist relations, which supplant either slavery and serfdom, or the independent labour of peasants and artisans. While causing no change in the technical characteristics of the mode of production, the transition to capitalist exploitation within the framework of the formal subsumption of labour under capital increases the continuity and, hence, the intensity and productivity of labour. Moreover, it alters the very substance of relations between the exploiters and the exploited. The transformation of the serf or slave into a wage labourer appears here as a rise to a higher social stage. The changed relations make the activity of the free worker more intensive, more continuous, more agile and more skilful than that of the slave, not to mention the fact that they make him capable of entirely different historical action (XXI-1305).

At the same time, Marx points out that the formal subordination of labour, "the assumption of control over it by capital" (I-49), although historically preceding the actual subordination, which presupposes the establishment of the specifically capitalist mode of production, is fully retained at the stage of developed capitalism, as is its result, absolute surplus value. All the social strata which do not directly take part in material production live on the surplus labour of the workers, obtaining the material means of subsistence and the free time they need for carrying on some non-productive activity or just for idleness. The free time enjoyed by others means excessive labour for the workers. "The whole of civilisation and social development so far has been founded on this antagonism," Marx writes in this manuscript (III-105).

Marx deployed a wealth of statistics, drawn above all from the reports of British factory inspectors, to demonstrate capital's tendency to increase surplus labour beyond every limit. He presents an appalling picture of capitalist exploitation. Excessive labour at the early stages of bourgeois society, within the framework of the production of absolute surplus value, reduces the period of the normal functioning of labour power, accelerates the "destruction" of its value, which is a violation of the normal conditions under which the worker sells his labour capacity. Marx describes the historically conditioned task that is being accomplished by the capitalist mode of production and defines the place capitalism holds in preparing the premisses for the society of the

future. He writes (the text here is in English): "The capitalistic production is ... most economical of *realised labour*.... It is a greater spendthrift than any other mode of production of man, of living labour, spendthrift not only of flesh and blood and muscles, but of brains and nerves. It is, in fact, only at the greatest waste of individual development that the development of general men is secured in those epochs of history which prelude to a socialist constitution of mankind" (II-92).

Capitalist production has a direct stake in extracting excessive labour from the working class, and only the resistance of organised workers can counteract the realisation of capital's boundless claims. The isolated efforts of individual workers can do nothing to curb this exorbitant lust for surplus labour. What is required is resistance from the working class as a whole. Marx stresses that the workers in themselves—unless they act as a class upon the state, and, through the state, upon capital—are unable to save from the predatory claws of capital even what leisure is needed for their physical survival (XX-1283).

He analyses the working-class struggle which led to the legal limitation of the working day in Britain and a number of other European countries. He notes that, although the relevant laws not infrequently became a dead letter, this process as a whole had an extremely beneficial effect in improving the physical, moral and intellectual condition of the working classes in England, as the statistics demonstrate (V-219).

The formal subsumption of labour under capital, and, corresponding to this, the production of absolute surplus value—while of course constituting the basis of the capitalist relation, of capital's command over labour—sets very narrow limits to the development of the capitalist mode of production. In this connection Marx emphasises that "only in the course of its development does capital not only formally subsume the labour process but transform it, give the very mode of production a new shape and thus first create the mode of production peculiar to it" (I-49). This point highlights the importance of Marx's theory of the formal and real subsumption of labour under capital for further developing and concretising the materialist conception of history: the active role played by the capitalist production relation in changing the mode of production is used here as an example demonstrating the powerful retroactive effect of the production relations on the development of the productive forces.

In his analysis of the real subsumption of labour under capital, Marx stresses the growing dominance of things, of material

wealth, over the individual under capitalist conditions. The creation of *great wealth existing in the form of things* appears as the end, to which the labour capacities are merely the means, an end which is only attained by these capacities themselves being turned into *something one-sided and dehumanised* (XXI-1319). At the same time, in describing the formal and real subsumption of labour under capital, the production of absolute and relative surplus value respectively, he notes that it is the tendency of capital to develop surplus value simultaneously in both forms (XX-1283).

But the resistance of the working class sets certain limits to the growth of surplus value obtained through lengthening the working day, in other words to the production of absolute surplus value. Apart from this, there is also a purely physical barrier to this lengthening. The capitalist class seeks to overcome these limits by developing the productive forces, i.e. by raising the productivity of labour, thus ensuring the growth of relative surplus value. The volume of the means of subsistence consumed by the worker may increase in the process, though their value declines. The possible improvement of the worker's living conditions, Marx points out, "in no way alters the *nature* and the *law of relative surplus value*—that a greater part of the working day is appropriated by capital as a result of rises in productivity. Hence the preposterousness of wanting to refute this law by statistical demonstrations that the material condition of the worker has improved here or there, in this or that aspect, as a result of the development of the productive power of labour" (IV-140/141).

In the manuscript of 1861-63 Marx, for the first time ever, analyses in detail three successive stages in the growth of labour productivity within the framework of the capitalist mode of production, stages which he calls "Cooperation", "Division of Labour" and "Machinery. Utilisation of the Forces of Nature and of Science". They represent, simultaneously, three stages in the development of the real subsumption of labour under capital and hence in the intensification of capitalist exploitation.

Cooperation, the joint action of many workers to achieve a common result, while constituting a special historical stage in the development of capitalism, is also "the *general form* on which all social arrangements for increasing the productivity of social labour are based" (IV-143). Cooperation makes labour more efficient. The sphere of its action is expanded, the time required to obtain a certain result is reduced, and such a development of the productive power of labour is achieved as is absolutely beyond the

reach of the isolated worker. To the extent that cooperation reduces necessary labour time, it increases the relative surplus value appropriated by the capitalist for nothing. In this sense, "cooperation, which is a productive power of social labour, appears as a productive power of capital, not of labour" (IV-146). A "displacement" of this kind occurs in respect of all the productive forces of bourgeois society; what takes place here is "a process of divestiture of labour, of alienation, whereby its own social forms are presented as alien powers" (V-184).

Under the conditions of capitalist cooperation, when the interconnection of workers is a relation alien to them, there emerges a specific kind of labour, the labour of supervision. The function of directing labour is an objective necessity where there is concentration of workers, but the form which the direction of the labour process is bound to take "in conditions of association", says Marx, has nothing in common with the command of labour under capitalism.

The division of labour in capitalist manufactories is characterised by Marx as a developed form of cooperation, highly effective in raising productivity and increasing relative surplus value. The manufactory division of labour develops on the basis of the social division of labour, the latter giving rise to commodity exchange, and represents the cooperation of specialised, "partial" kinds of labour to produce a single use value. In the manuscript of 1861-63 Marx investigates in detail the interaction of the two types of division of labour and notes, in this context, that the division of labour "is in a certain respect the category of categories of political economy" (IV-151). The division of labour within society corresponds to commodity relations in general, that within production is a specifically capitalist form. The fact that the two principal types of division of labour condition each other—this was discovered by Marx—implied that "the general laws formulated in respect of the commodity ... first come to be realised with the development of capitalist production, i.e. of capital", and "only on the basis of capital, of capitalist production, does the commodity in fact become the general elementary form of wealth" (V-185).

Historically, the division of labour within the process of capitalist production "presupposes *manufacture*, as a specific *mode of production*" (IV-151). Manufacture, which initially consisted in the bringing together of workers producing one and the same commodity and the concentration of the means of labour in one workshop, under the direction of the capitalist, contained all the prerequisites for the development, within it, of the division of

labour and hence for the growth of labour productivity. This, precisely, gave capital a decisive advantage over patriarchal guild-based production. Marx demonstrates that, contrary to the assertions of bourgeois economists, capitalist manufacture was characterised not by the distribution of the different kinds of labour among the workers, but, conversely, by the distribution of the workers among the different labour processes, "each of which becomes the exclusive life-process of one of them" (IV-158). The obverse of this distribution is the combination of labour in manufacture. The workers are merely "the building blocks" of this combination and they are entirely dependent on the mechanism as a whole.

In discussing the genesis of manufacture, Marx makes an important methodological remark: Just as in the case of the succession of the different geological formations, so also in that of the rise of the different socio-economic formations, one should not think in terms of periods which suddenly occur, or are sharply divided off from each other (XIX-1199). Marx draws attention to the fact that such important inventions as that of gunpowder, the compass, or printing were made in the craft period of bourgeois society. The *general law*, operating at all stages, is that the material prerequisites for the subsequent form are created within the preceding one—both the technological conditions and the corresponding economic structure of the factory (XIX-1199).

Marx discusses the differentiation and specialisation of the instruments of labour as the technological prerequisites of machine production. He regards the dispute about the distinction between tool and machine as purely scholastic and shows that what is required is such a revolution in the means of labour employed as transforms the mode of production and therefore also the relations of production (XIX-1160). The industrial revolution affects first the working parts of the machine, then its motive force. This second process, the employment of the steam engine as a machine producing motion, is described by Marx as the second revolution (XIX-1162).

Characteristic of large-scale machine production is the massive application by capital of the forces of nature and science. Earlier, in his manuscript of 1857-58, Marx noted the tendency to turn science into a direct productive force. Now he concretises this important proposition by pointing out that capitalist production for the first time turns the material process of production into the application of *science to production*—science introduced into practice (XX-1265). This process is manifested in the creation of social

productive forces of labour, above all machinery and automatic factories, which embody the achievements of science, but are appropriated by capital and utilised by it alone. There takes place an *exploitation of science*, of the theoretical progress of mankind (XX-1262). Moreover, capital turns science, as a social productive force, against the workers. Science appears as an *alien* force, *hostile* to labour and *ruling over* it (XX-1262).

The mode of production based on the application of machinery finds its classical expression in the automatic factory. The automatic factory is the perfected mode of production corresponding to machinery, and it is the more perfected the more complete a system of mechanisms it constitutes and the fewer individual processes still need to be mediated by human labour (XIX-1237).

Considerable space in the section on machinery is devoted to the prerequisites for and effects of the capitalist application of machines. As with any advance in the productive forces taking place on the basis of capitalism, the introduction of machinery aims above all at reducing the paid part of the working day and lengthening the unpaid part, i.e. increasing surplus labour time. Therefore, as Marx shows, the introduction of new machines requires, first and foremost, concentration of the conditions of labour and their joint, hence more economical, employment by the associated workers. Only owing to this can they be used in such a way that their higher efficiency in the labour process is accompanied by lower expenses (XIX-1235). Marx discusses the tendency of machine production to combine originally independent branches and turn them into a continuous system of production. His detailed statistical analysis of spinning and weaving, based on factory reports, led him to conclude that combined enterprises are characterised by a higher degree of concentration of production, more intensive use of energy and more economical employment of labour power.

The absolute or relative lengthening of labour time is an objective tendency of machine production. This tendency, the capitalist's striving to speed up the replacement of the fixed capital and ensure its uninterrupted functioning, is manifested in the introduction of night work and the intensification, "condensation", of labour. In the manuscript of 1861-63 Marx brings out the dual impact of the capitalist intensification of labour on the condition of the working class. He points to the link between the legal introduction of the ten-hour working day in Britain and the subsequent technological progress which raised the intensity of labour. The great expansion in industrial production which

resulted was *enforced* by the external limit which legislation set to the exploitation of the workers (V-218). This limit did not cause the profits of the British manufacturers to decline. At the same time, Marx shows that at every given stage of the development of production the intensification of labour comes up against objective limits.

One of the most important effects of technological progress is the replacement of manual labour by machinery and the ousting of workers from production proper. Marx draws attention to the tendency of the industrial proletariat to decline in relative terms, although, as he points out, its absolute numbers grow. "Although the number of workers grows absolutely, it declines relatively, not only in proportion to the constant capital which absorbs their labour, but also in proportion to the part of society not directly involved in material production or indeed engaged in no kind of production whatsoever" (V-179). The capitalist employment of machinery thus objectively results in a new stage in the development of the real subsumption of labour under capital. Only when this stage has been reached, does *the formation of a superfluity of workers* become *a pronounced and deliberate tendency operating on a large scale* (XX-1257). The antagonistic contradiction between labour and capital reaches its highest expression here, because capital now appears not only as a means of depreciating living labour capacity but also of rendering it *superfluous* (XX-1259). At the same time Marx points to the opposite tendency of machine production—the constant enlistment of fresh workers, the expansion of the sphere of exploitation.

The manuscript of 1861-63 deals at considerable length with the problem of productive and unproductive labour in capitalist society. Marx notes that to work out a criterion of productive labour means to develop and concretise the basic propositions of the theory of surplus value. "Productive labour is only a concise term for the whole relationship and the form and manner in which labour capacity figures in the capitalist production process. The distinction from *other* kinds of labour is however of the greatest importance since this distinction expresses precisely the specific form of the labour on which the whole capitalist mode of production and capital itself is based" (XXI-1322). "*Productive labour* is therefore—in the system of capitalist production—labour which produces *surplus value* for its employer, or which transforms the objective conditions of labour into capital and their owner into a capitalist" (XXI-1322).

The concept of productive labour is therefore socially conditioned. Marx points out, with reference to bourgeois society, that one and the same kind of labour may be productive if organised along capitalist lines, and unproductive if it merely serves to satisfy the requirements of the working individual. "A singer who sells her singing for her own account is an *unproductive labourer.* But the same singer commissioned by an entrepreneur to sing in order to make money for him is a *productive labourer*; for she produces capital" (XXI-1324).

Defining productive labour as labour producing surplus value implies recognition of the fact that what matters under the capitalist mode of production is not labour productivity as such, but only the relative growth of labour productivity—growth of the rate and volume of surplus value. From the viewpoint of the capitalist, all of the workers' necessary labour is therefore unproductive labour. Speaking of the class of productive workers itself, "the labour which they perform for themselves appears as 'unproductive labour'" (VII-309).

But as well as defining productive labour in terms of capitalist production, Marx also defines it as labour realised in commodities, in material wealth. This definition proceeds from the material content of the process of social production. Marx considered a twofold definition essential because labour in material production must be distinguished from any other kind of labour. "This difference must be kept in mind and the fact that all other kinds of activity influence material production and vice versa in no way affects the necessity for making this distinction" (XVIII-1145).

The theory of productive labour enables Marx to draw a number of important conclusions about the position of the working class in bourgeois society. Above all, he shows that the growth of labour productivity logically leads to a relative decline in the number of those employed in material production. "A country is the richer the smaller its productive population is *relatively* to the total product..." (IX-377). Here we see a further advance in the theory of scientific socialism. In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 494) Marx and Engels wrote that as bourgeois production develops "the other classes decay and finally disappear". Now Marx, proceeding from his comprehensive analysis of the capitalist mode of production, in particular from his investigation of the production of relative surplus value, demonstrates that there is an objective basis for the "longevity" of the intermediate strata under capitalism. The relative decrease in the number of industrial workers leads to the growth of the

non-productive sphere, the proletarianisation of some sections of the productive classes, an increase in the intermediate strata standing between worker and capitalist. Marx speaks of "the constantly growing number of the middle classes, those who stand between the workman on the one hand and the capitalist and landlord on the other. The middle classes maintain themselves to an ever increasing extent directly out of revenue, they are a burden weighing heavily on the working base and increase the social security and power of the upper ten thousand" (XIII-746).

In analysing productive labour, Marx also draws the important conclusion that the capitalist mode of production artificially divides mental and physical labour. On the other hand, as capitalism develops the material product increasingly becomes the fruit of the efforts of representatives of both kinds of labour. People engaged in either kind now appear as wage labourers in relation to capital (see XXI-1330). Here, therefore, Marx registers an expansion of the scope of wage labour and the sphere of material production. Included among the productive workers are now "all those who contribute in one way or another to the production of the commodity, from the actual operative to the manager or engineer (as distinct from the capitalist)" (VII-303).

In the course of his critical analysis of Ricardo's theory of accumulation in the manuscript of 1861-63, Marx works out his own theory of reproduction and, based on it, his conception of economic crises under capitalism. In contrast to the classical bourgeois political economists, who focussed on the surplus product and failed to give due attention to constant capital, he put the replacement of constant capital in the centre of his theory of reproduction. Marx asserts that there is a portion of the aggregate product which is not reducible to income (Smith and other economists held that all of the product was income) and which can only be consumed productively. In this manuscript Marx put forward, for the first time ever, a proposition of supreme importance for the theory of reproduction: that the product must be replaced in two senses, in line with the two basic aspects of the reproduction process—it must be replaced in value and in its natural form (VI-272). He also considered in detail the division of social production—and, correspondingly, of the social product—into two basic categories according to the natural form of the product: the production of means of production, and the production of objects for consumption (XIV-855/856). His de-

tailed analysis of the theory of reproduction enabled Marx to draw a whole series of important conclusions on the nature of crises under capitalism.

Earlier on, in the economic manuscripts of 1857-58, Marx pointed out that even the simplest economic relation, the act of sale and purchase, contained the abstract possibility of crises. However, the theory of economic crises demonstrating the inevitably cyclical development of capitalism can only be derived, as Marx stressed in the manuscript of 1861-63, "from the real movement of capitalist production, competition and credit" (XIII-715). In considering the problem of capitalist crises one can no longer proceed, e.g., from the assumption that all commodities are sold at their value. A specific analysis of the capitalist economy is required here.

Marx showed that the Ricardians' denial of the possibility of overproduction was to a considerable extent due to a failure to understand "the actual composition of society". In this connection he notes that bourgeois society "by no means consists only of two classes, workers and industrial capitalists", and that "therefore consumers and producers are not identical categories" in it (XIII-704). At the same time, he demonstrates further on that bourgeois political economy seeks to abstract from the contradictions of capitalist production by presenting it as production for the sake of consumption and treating the various moments of capitalist reproduction as forming a unity. It ignores their antagonistic nature and turns a blind eye to the real disproportions of capitalist production. Bourgeois economists identify the capitalist mode of production either with simple commodity production or with the fiction of a harmoniously developing system of production, i.e. they regard capitalism "as *social* production, implying that society, as if according to a plan, distributes its means of production and productive forces in the degree and measure which is required for the fulfilment of the various social needs" (XIII-722). Since they treat capitalism as an eternal, absolute mode of production, bourgeois economists speak of production in general, of consumption in general, of the limitless nature of human needs, etc. In reality, however, it is essential to consider needs backed by money, and their level is artificially kept down. Overproduction "is only concerned with demand that is backed by ability to pay. It is not a question of absolute overproduction" (XIII-712). In the context of capitalist society it is not a matter of overproduction seen in relation to absolute needs, but of relative overproduction—in relation to

effective demand. As far as satisfaction of the vital needs of the working people is concerned, "on the basis of capitalist production, there is constant *underproduction* in this sense" (XIII-721).

Without undertaking to give, at this stage, a comprehensive theory or picture of actual crises, Marx does use his preceding analysis to characterise the general conditions under which overproduction precipitates a crisis. He links them to the objective laws of capitalist reproduction. The general form of the movement of capital, $M—C—M'$, is the form in which reproduction takes place under capitalism. Any disturbance in the conditions of reproduction involves an interruption in the normal functioning of capital. Just as in Marx's theory of reproduction, so also in his views on crises does a special place belong to constant capital, which forms the link between different branches of capitalist production. The close interlinking of the reproduction processes of individual capitals forms the specific "connection between the mutual claims and obligations, the sales and purchases, through which the possibility [of a crisis] can develop into actuality" (XIII-715).

The replacement of the capital advanced, both in its natural form and in value, is one of the principal conditions of reproduction. The fluctuations of market prices—whether upward or downward—upset the hitherto existing ratio between the magnitudes of the money expression of value and use value in the reproduction process of capital, and therefore lead to complications in this process and, as a result, to crises.

In the manuscript of 1861-63 considerable attention is given to the specific forms of manifestation of value and surplus value. An analysis of the inner structure of the capitalist mode of production would be incomplete if it failed to give the derivation of the converted forms in which capitalism's intrinsic categories figure on the surface of capitalist society. At the end of 1861, parallel with his investigation into the production of relative surplus value, Marx began writing the section "Capital and Profit", in which the analysis of the capitalist mode of production was to be completed by stating the form in which the general law of capitalist production, the law of surplus value, is manifested. In this section, too, Marx took an important step forward compared with the manuscripts of 1857-58.

Already in that earlier manuscript, the first version of *Capital*, Marx showed, in general terms, that profit as a converted form of

surplus value appears as the immediate regulator of capitalist production. In the manuscript of 1861-63 he formulates this more closely, stating that the real embodiment of this regulator is average profit and the average rate of profit. Empirical or average profit, therefore, can only be the distribution of the total profit (and the total surplus value, or total surplus labour, represented by it) among the individual capitals in each individual sphere of production at equal rates or, which is the same thing, according to the difference in the magnitude of the capitals rather than in the proportion in which they directly represent the production of this total profit (XVI-992). Although Marx initially did not propose to consider the actual mechanism of calculating average profit, he wrote, even then, that one agency by which this calculation is brought about is the *competition of capitals* among themselves (XVI-992). The effect of competition, he wrote, was also manifest in the fact that the intrinsic laws of capitalist production appeared on the surface in a distorted form. Hence the vulgar economists' tendency to describe capitalist relations in the form in which they appear in competition. Marx makes the trenchant observation that vulgar political economy explains everything it does not understand by competition. In other words, to express a phenomenon in its most superficial form means the same to it as uncovering its laws (XVI-994).

In this part of the manuscript, Marx develops his views, first formulated in the manuscripts of 1857-58, on the factors behind the law that as capitalist production progresses the rate of profit has a tendency to decline, and the way this law operates (XVI-999). Bourgeois political economy was unable to explain the decline in the rate of profit it predicted. Marx provided the solution by pointing to changes in the organic composition of capital, i.e. in the ratio of constant capital to variable, changes brought about by technological progress and the growth of fixed capital.

The analysis of this law, the tendency of the rate of profit to decline, shows that capitalism is conditioned historically and is historically transient. *The development of the productive forces of social labour is the historical* task and justification of capital. It is precisely by doing this that it unconsciously creates the material conditions for a higher mode of production. On the other hand, it is precisely with the development of the productive forces that profit—the stimulus of capitalist production and also the condition for and urge to accumulation—is endangered by the very law which governs the development of production. Displayed in this in

a *purely economic* way, from the standpoint of capitalist production itself, is its limit, its *relativity*, the fact that it is not an *absolute* but merely a historical *mode of production*, one corresponding to a definite limited period in the development of the material conditions of production (XVI-1006).

Originally Marx did not intend to consider the conversion of value into the price of production in detail, but in the course of his polemic against Rodbertus in the *Theories of Surplus Value* on the theoretical basis of the possibility of absolute rent he came to the conclusion that this problem had to be considered already at this stage, along with the problem of rent in general—as an illustration of "the difference between value and price of production" (XVIII-1139). For the very question as to whether absolute rent was at all possible could not be answered without bringing out the general laws of the capitalist mode of production, on the one hand, and demonstrating the untenability of the notions bourgeois political economy held on the matter, on the other.

Marx shows that classical political economy in the persons of Adam Smith and David Ricardo made it appear that the competition among capitals, by evening up the rate of profit, caused commodities to be sold at their value. Proceeding from this Ricardo concluded that absolute rent was impossible. But the differences in the organic composition of capital and other specific factors operating in different spheres of production, on the contrary, ought to have suggested to the bourgeois economists that competition brings about a general rate of profit "by converting the values of the commodities into average prices, in which a part of surplus value is transferred from one commodity to another" (X-451). Marx traces the modification of the law of value into the law of the price of production under the impact of two kinds of competition.

The first kind takes place within a given sphere of production and brings about a uniform market value for the given kind of commodity. "Thus competition, partly among the capitalists themselves, partly between them and the buyers of the commodity and partly among the latter themselves, brings it about here that the value of each individual commodity in a particular sphere of production is determined by the *total mass of social labour time* required by the *total mass of the commodities of this particular sphere of social production* and not by the individual values of the separate commodities or the labour time the individual commodity has cost its *particular* producer and seller" (XI-544).

The second kind of competition takes place between the

different branches of production and leads to the evening up of the different rates of profit in the different branches, resulting in a general or average rate of profit, and to the transformation of the market value into the price of production, according to which the total surplus value is divided. "The capitalists, like hostile brothers, divide among themselves the loot of other people's labour which they have appropriated so that on an average one receives the same amount of unpaid labour as another" (X-451). In this way Marx's critique advances beyond the view held by Smith and Ricardo that value and price of production are identical and shows that they were unable to explain the apparent contradiction between the determination of the value of the commodity by the labour expended, and the reality of capitalism expressed in the fact that equal capitals yield equal profit. Ricardo, says Marx, "did not understand the genesis of the general rate of profit" (XIV-846), hence his erroneous conception. In connection with this analysis Marx emphasises a basic methodological proposition of his theory, the need for introducing the mediating links, which make it possible to resolve the apparent contradiction between the universal and the converted, superficial forms of existence of value and surplus value. In this connection he discusses the difference between surplus value and profit (and, accordingly, the difference between the rate of surplus value and the rate of profit), the determination of the organic composition of capital in different branches of production and, lastly, the mechanism by which the various rates of profit are evened up in the average profit. It was by thus concretising his theoretical investigation that Marx obtained confirmation of the thesis that the price of production "can be comprehended only on the basis of value and its laws, and becomes a meaningless absurdity without that premiss" (XIV-789).

It was, furthermore, this analysis of the conversion of value into the price of production which enabled Marx to discuss more concretely the converted forms of surplus value—rent and interest, and also commercial profit.

His solution of the problem of rent is based on the difference between the organic composition of capital in industry and that in agriculture, and on the monopoly of private property in land as the real relation that sets limits to the freedom of competition. He points out that there existed, in the nineteenth century, a historically evolved difference in the ratio between the component parts of capital in industry and agriculture, so that the surplus value produced in agriculture exceeded the average rate of

surplus value obtained in industry. But owing to the monopoly of private property in land, value here is not converted into the price of production. Landed property fixes the excess surplus value in the form of absolute rent. In contrast to certain bourgeois political economists who sought to explain absolute rent exclusively by the sale of agricultural products above their value, Marx demonstrated that absolute rent was possible on the basis of the law of value. Moreover, he was able, in the context of the problem of market value, to give a more detailed theoretical justification for differential rent and to demonstrate the limitations of Ricardo's theory of rent. He points to Ricardo's one-sided understanding of the formation of market value in agriculture and stresses that the law under which "the market *value* cannot be *above* the individual *value* of that product which is produced under the *worst conditions of production* but provides a part of the necessary supply, Ricardo distorts into the assertion that the market value cannot fall *below* the value of that product and must therefore always be determined by it" (XI-580). Thus the theory of rent, as set forth in the manuscript of 1861-63, further substantiates and concretises the theory of average profit and the price of production.

By way of expanding his theory of the average rate of profit and the price of production Marx, in the manuscript of 1861-63, for the first time considers such converted forms of surplus value as commercial profit and interest, giving a detailed analysis of commercial and loan capital. He examines these two special forms of capital from the historical angle, tracing their rise in the course of development of money circulation and discussing the transformation of merchant's capital into commercial capital, and of usurer's capital into loan capital. He shows the part these "antediluvian" forms played in history and demonstrates that, once the capitalist mode of production has developed, commercial and money capital are merely forms of productive capital which operate in the sphere of circulation, and their specific functions should be explained by the form of the commodity's metamorphosis, hence by the movements of the form which are peculiar to circulation as such (XV-960). But the changes of form accompanying the sale and purchase of commodities, though admittedly involving an expenditure of labour time, create no surplus value for the capital employed in the sphere of circulation. Where, then, does the profit of the commercial and money capitalist come from? The predominant view in bourgeois political economy was that commercial profit derived simply from a surcharge on the value of the commodity. In contrast to this view Marx, in the

manuscript of 1861-63, for the first time explains commercial profit and interest by the law of value and the law of surplus value. Commercial capital as such creates neither value nor surplus value. But it reduces circulation time and thereby helps productive capital in the creation of surplus value. The merchant's participation, alongside productive capital, in the reproduction of the commodity entitles him to share in the total surplus value and to receive the average rate of profit in the form of commercial profit, even though he is not immediately involved in its production.

In the manuscript of 1861-63 Marx also discusses, likewise for the first time, the difference between wage workers in commerce and workers employed directly in the sphere of material production. He takes as his point of departure the distinction between the sphere of direct production and that of reproduction as a whole: The clerk's relation to the direct *reproduction* of alien wealth is the same as the worker's relation to its direct *production.* His labour, like the worker's, is only a means for the reproduction of capital as the power ruling over him, and just as the worker creates surplus value, the clerk helps to realise it, both doing so not for themselves but for capital (XVII-1033).

In his further analysis of the movement of capital, Marx traces the process by which interest becomes established as a special form of surplus value. The separation of interest-bearing capital from industrial capital "is a *necessary* product of the development of industrial capital, of the capitalist mode of production itself" (XV-902). At the same time, the separation of interest is conditioned by the fact that money appears now as a converted form of capital. Money assumes the property of being directly representative of capital and in this form becomes the specific source of interest as the money capitalist's revenue. Parallel with this, wages and rent acquire independent existence as the two other basic forms of revenue. Marx emphasises that this is an objective process. "This assumption of independent forms by the various parts [of surplus value]—and their confrontation as independent forms—is completed as a result of each of these parts being related to a particular element as its measure and its special source..." (XV-912). In this way the connection with the inner processes of capitalist production is completely mystified.

The results of this process—interest, profit, every form of revenue in general—increasingly appear as its conditions, both with respect to the individual capital and capitalist production as a whole. The separation of the specific forms of surplus value turns the antagonism of the worker-capitalist relation into its exact

opposite, the "harmony of interests" proclaimed by the vulgar economists. As a result, the agents of capitalist production appear on the surface of bourgeois society, and also in the notions of bourgeois apologists, as mutually indifferent and neutral persons, and therefore, Marx points out, the impression arises that "they do not stand in any hostile connection to one another because they have no inner connection whatsoever" (XV-922).

This phenomenon of bourgeois thinking exists not merely in theory, it reflects actual processes at work in capitalist production when its results—the various forms of surplus value—become ossified and fixed as its premisses. In the everyday consciousness of the capitalist and in his practical activity they are such in reality, too, since rent and interest appear to him as portions of the production costs which he has advanced. As Marx points out, to the vulgar economist, to whom the mediating links in the analysis of the production and circulation of capital do not exist and who proceeds from these ossified forms of surplus value, it is quite "obvious" that each part of surplus value derives from a different source based on its own material elements.

Marx concludes his theoretical examination of the capitalist mode of production with a discussion of the process of reproduction in the shape of revenues and their sources, thus taking his analysis up to the forms in which the capitalist relations of production appear on the surface, divorced from the concealed and completely mystified inner connection.

The manuscript of 1861-63 is significant in another way, too: in it, for the first time, Marx provides a comprehensive presentation of the history of bourgeois political economy. Above all, he traces the evolution of views on surplus value, the central concept of economic theory. As he critically analyses the reflection of capitalist production relations in the minds and theories of bourgeois economists, he arrives at a complete conception of bourgeois production.

Two features characterise Marx's research into the history of bourgeois views on capitalist production. First, he shows that they are conditioned by the level of development of the society's productive forces and of class antagonisms, and he lays bare the class nature of the various economic concepts, showing the material interests of the ruling classes of capitalist society that underlie them. Second, he shows the methodological roots of these economic theories and consistently demonstrates how the advan-

tages and disadvantages of the method used by individual bourgeois economists affect their arguments.

Marx's conclusions are corroborated by the whole history of bourgeois economic science. He determines the place and role of a given economist in the history of economic thought by the degree of adequacy with which his views reflected the economic realities of his age. From this angle, Marx studies the entire history of bourgeois political economy, from its birth (mercantilism), through its classical period (the Physiocrats, Adam Smith and David Ricardo), and up to its decline (the disintegration of the Ricardian school, and vulgar political economy).

In considering the mercantilists Marx discovers that their views were conditioned by the initial period in the development of the capitalist mode of production, the period of the primitive accumulation of capital. They expressed "the standpoint of emerging capitalist society, to which what matters is exchange value, not use value; wealth, not enjoyment" (IX-400). Not fortuitously, it was in the heyday of merchant's and usurer's capital that mercantilism's principal proposition was put forward: that wealth as such is money. The notion that surplus value derived from circulation was based on a whole series of contemporary economic realities. At the same time, the views of the spokesmen of the nascent bourgeoisie were clearly coloured by their class affiliation. For instance, the polemic waged by some seventeenth-century English economists against interest as an independent form of surplus value "reflects the struggle of the rising industrial bourgeoisie against the old-fashioned usurers, who monopolised the pecuniary resources at that time" (XV-899).

The Physiocrats' view that agricultural labour was the only productive kind of labour stemmed, Marx says, from the preponderance of farming in the French economy. The limitations of their outlook, expressed in their overestimation of agricultural production, led them to proclaim Nature the ultimate source of surplus value.

In contrast to the Physiocrats, Adam Smith's theoretical system reflects the industrial stage in the development of capitalism in Britain, the stage of manufacture proper. The antagonistic contradictions inherent in bourgeois production being as yet undeveloped, he was able to advance, from the position of the revolutionary bourgeoisie, "the view that the capitalist mode of production is the most productive mode (which it absolutely is, in comparison with previous forms)" (VIII-357). On the other hand, it was precisely because the social productive forces were as yet

inadequately developed that Adam Smith held the Physiocratic view of agricultural labour as being the most productive. With him political economy for the first time becomes a comprehensive system. Bourgeois production appears in it in a dual shape—in its concealed inner structure and in its superficial aspect, in which the intrinsic connection of the categories is manifested in the phenomena of competition. This feature of Adam Smith's method, Marx notes, makes it possible to vulgarise his theory—fully to divorce one mode of presentation from the other. To a certain extent, this was indeed the case with Adam Smith himself, for his examination of the inner physiology of bourgeois society and his description of the external phenomena of its life "proceed independently of one another" (XI-524).

David Ricardo was the central figure of the classical school of bourgeois political economy. His theory strikingly displays the furthest point a scientist moving within the scope of the bourgeois outlook is capable of attaining in the study of economic reality. The historical limitations of bourgeois science as the ideology of a particular exploiting class are also plain in Ricardo's theory. As a witness of an increasingly accelerated growth of large-scale industry, Ricardo glorifies the development of the productive forces of his age and regards their capitalist form as most fully corresponding to the needs of this development. "Ricardo's conception," Marx wrote, "is, on the whole, in the interests of the *industrial bourgeoisie,* only *because,* and *in so far as,* its interests coincide with those of production or the productive development of human labour. Where the bourgeoisie comes into conflict with this, he is just as *ruthless* towards it as he is at other times towards the proletariat and the aristocracy" (XI-497). Ricardo considers that this development is expressed in the growth of society's wealth, the rise of its value, and he therefore concerns himself, among other things, with the question of how the value that has been created is distributed among the different classes.

Ricardo's merit, Marx says, is that, in discussing distribution, he analyses the inner structure of capitalist production, that he "exposes and describes the economic antagonism of classes—as shown by the intrinsic nexus—and that consequently political economy perceives, discovers the root of the historical struggle and development" (XI-525). However, Ricardo's class narrowness is immediately revealed at this point: he considers the antagonism of labour and capital in bourgeois society a natural relation. To him the capitalist organisation of production is its only true organisation. "Ricardo regards bourgeois, or more precisely,

capitalist production as the *absolute form* of production, whose specific forms of production relations can therefore never enter into contradiction with ... the aim of production..." (XIV-775). Attempts to overcome this narrowness to a certain extent were made, on the one hand, by Sir George Ramsay, Antoine Cherbuliez and Richard Jones, Ricardo's bourgeois followers, who declared "the *capitalist form* of production, and consequently *capital*, to be not an absolute, but merely an 'accidental', historical condition of production" (XVIII-1087), and, on the other hand, by the Ricardian socialists who concluded from his theory that "the capitalist as functionary of production has become just as superfluous to the workers as the landlord appears to the capitalist with regard to bourgeois production" (XV-919). But both groups remained the prisoners of bourgeois narrow-mindedness. Marx demonstrated this specifically when discussing the views of Ricardo's proletarian opponents, who said, "'We need capital, but not the capitalists'" (XV-878).

In analysing the history of bourgeois political economy Marx attached great importance to characterising its method. The service rendered by classical political economy (above all Adam Smith and David Ricardo) consisted in that it was able "to reduce the various fixed and mutually alien forms of wealth to their inner unity by means of analysis and to strip away the form in which they exist independently alongside one another. It seeks to grasp the inner connection in contrast to the multiplicity of outward forms" (XV-920). Marx notes that on this path, by ultimately reducing all forms of revenue to unpaid labour, the classical school came very close to comprehending the essence of surplus value. But here the limitations of its method were also displayed to the full: classical political economy, Marx writes, "is not interested in elaborating how the various forms come into being, but seeks to reduce them to their unity by means of analysis, because it starts from them as given premisses" (XV-921). Manifest in this are the lack of an historical approach and the class bias of the bourgeois economists, who regarded the material conditions of the capitalist system not only as ready-made, but as the eternal, natural prerequisites of any production. Marx uses the disintegration of the Ricardian school as an example of the way in which the misconceptions of classical political economy increasingly lead it towards an abandonment of its original starting-point—the exclusive determination of value by labour time.

Even in Ricardo, Marx repeatedly noted an absence of interest in the genetic derivation of the more highly developed forms, a

tendency to reduce them one-sidedly and forcibly to simple ones. For all his efforts, Ricardo, for instance, failed to reconcile the equality of profits on equal capitals with the principle of value. In defending his doctrine against Malthus, Ricardo's followers sought to eliminate this and other contradictions in his views. But they retained his method. As Marx points out, "here the contradiction between the general law and further developments in the concrete circumstances is to be resolved not by the discovery of the connecting links but by directly subordinating and immediately adapting the concrete to the abstract. This moreover is to be brought about by a *verbal fiction*" (XIV-793).

While the Ricardian school was disintegrating, vulgar political economy was taking shape as an independent trend within bourgeois political economy. In proportion as the antagonistic inner contradictions of capitalist production developed and the working-class struggle rose to a higher pitch, the vulgar trend became predominant in bourgeois economic science. The Ricardian school, for all its shortcomings, was concerned with the contradictions in Ricardo's doctrine, above all those which reflected the inner contradictions of capitalist production. The vulgar economists were increasingly preoccupied with the superficial forms of capitalist production and with the opinions and motives of individual capitalists. "Vulgar political economy does nothing more than express in doctrinaire fashion this [the individual capitalists'] consciousness, which, in respect of its motives and notions, remains in thrall to the appearance of the capitalist mode of production. And the more it clings to the shallow, superficial appearance, only bringing it into some sort of order, the more it considers that it is acting 'naturally' and avoiding all abstract subtleties" (XV-912).

This incapacity of the bourgeoisie to further develop political economy as a science clearly coincides with that stage of bourgeois society at which the proletariat begins to become conscious of being a class in its own right. Only after this stage had been reached, and the working class had developed its standpoint as the agent of a new type of social progress, did the revolution accomplished in political economy by Marx through applying the method of dialectical materialism to the study of capitalist reality become possible.

Also included in this group of economic volumes in the present edition is the draft of the concluding part of Book I of *Capital*.

Written before the summer of 1864, it is entitled: Chapter Six. The Results of the Direct Process of Production. It was not included in the final text of *Capital*.

According to Marx's original intention, the chapter was to provide an interim summary of the analysis of capitalist production and also, in its closing section, a transition to Book II—the process of capital circulation (p. 441 of the manuscript).

Among other things, Chapter Six examines the formal and real subsumption of labour under capital, and also productive labour, which had been discussed in considerable detail in the manuscript of 1861-63.

The chapter gives a rather extensive analysis of capitalist production as the production and reproduction of the specifically capitalist relation of production. The process of capitalist production reproduces not only the means of production and labour power, but also the capitalist relation and, hence, the social status of the agents of production in relation to each other. Marx notes that the capitalist relation differs only externally from other, more direct forms of enslavement of labour and property in labour by the owners of the conditions of production (p. 493). But in contrast to the previous forms, under which those enslaved could only be kept in subjection by direct non-economic compulsion, capitalism formally creates the free worker, and the capitalist keeps him in subjection by economic compulsion alone. An analysis of the reproduction of capital shows that within the framework of the bourgeois system the worker is not in a position to break out of these fetters.

In Chapter Six Marx comes back to the historical role of capitalist production. He characterises capitalism as a necessary stage in creating the unlimited productive forces of social labour which alone can form the material basis of a free human society (p. 466).

The reproduction of the capitalist relations of production involves the creation of new productive forces which in turn influence the mode of production and thereby bring about a complete economic revolution (p. 494). This revolution will create the conditions for a new mode of production which will supersede the contradictory, capitalist relations. In other words, it will create the material basis of a newly organised social life-process and thereby of a new social formation (ibid.).

* * *

The Economic Manuscript of 1861-63, which makes up volumes 30 to 34 of the present edition, is reproduced here in accordance with its new publication in the languages of the original in *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe* (*MEGA*). Zweite Abteilung. Bd. 3, Teile 1-6. Berlin, 1976-1982. Only the part of the manuscript comprising the *Theories of Surplus Value* was published in English previously. Chapter Six, The Results of the Direct Process of Production, in Volume 34, has been checked against the text in *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe* (*MEGA*), II/4. 1, Berlin, 1988.

In preparing the present publication, a few minor alterations have been made in the text of the manuscript as compared with *MEGA*. In particular, Marx's excerpts from the manuscripts of 1857-58 have been transferred to the relevant passages in the main body of the text.

Obvious slips of the pen in Marx's text have been corrected by the Editors without comment. The proper and geographical names and other words abbreviated by the author are given in full. Defects in the manuscript are indicated in footnotes, places where the text is damaged or illegible are marked by dots. Where possible, editorial reconstructions are given in square brackets.

Foreign words and phrases are given as used by Marx, with the translation supplied in footnotes where necessary. English phrases, expressions and individual words occurring in the original are set in small caps. Longer passages and quotations in English are given in asterisks. The passages from English economists quoted by Marx in French are given according to the English editions used by the author. In all cases the form of quoting used by Marx is respected. The language in which Marx quotes is indicated unless it is German.

The text of and notes to Volume 30 were prepared by Mikhail Ternovsky (notebooks I-V) and Lyubov Zalunina (notebooks VI-VII). The Preface was written by Mikhail Ternovsky. The volume was edited by Larisa Miskievich (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). The name index, the index of quoted and mentioned literature and the index of periodicals were compiled by Vardan Azatian (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

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# KARL MARX

## ECONOMIC WORKS

## 1861-1863

# ECONOMIC MANUSCRIPT OF 1861-63

# A CONTRIBUTION TO THE CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY[1]

## THIRD CHAPTER
## CAPITAL IN GENERAL

[I-A] *August. 1861. Third Chapter. Capital in General*[2]

I. *The Production Process of Capital*

1) *Transformation of Money into Capital*

a) The Most General Form of Capital. b) Difficulties. c) Exchange of Capital with Labour Capacity. d) Value of Labour Capacity. e) Labour Process. f) Valorisation Process. g) *Capitalist Production*

[II-A] I.1) h) *The Two Components of the Transformation Process*[3]

Cover page of Notebook I of the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63

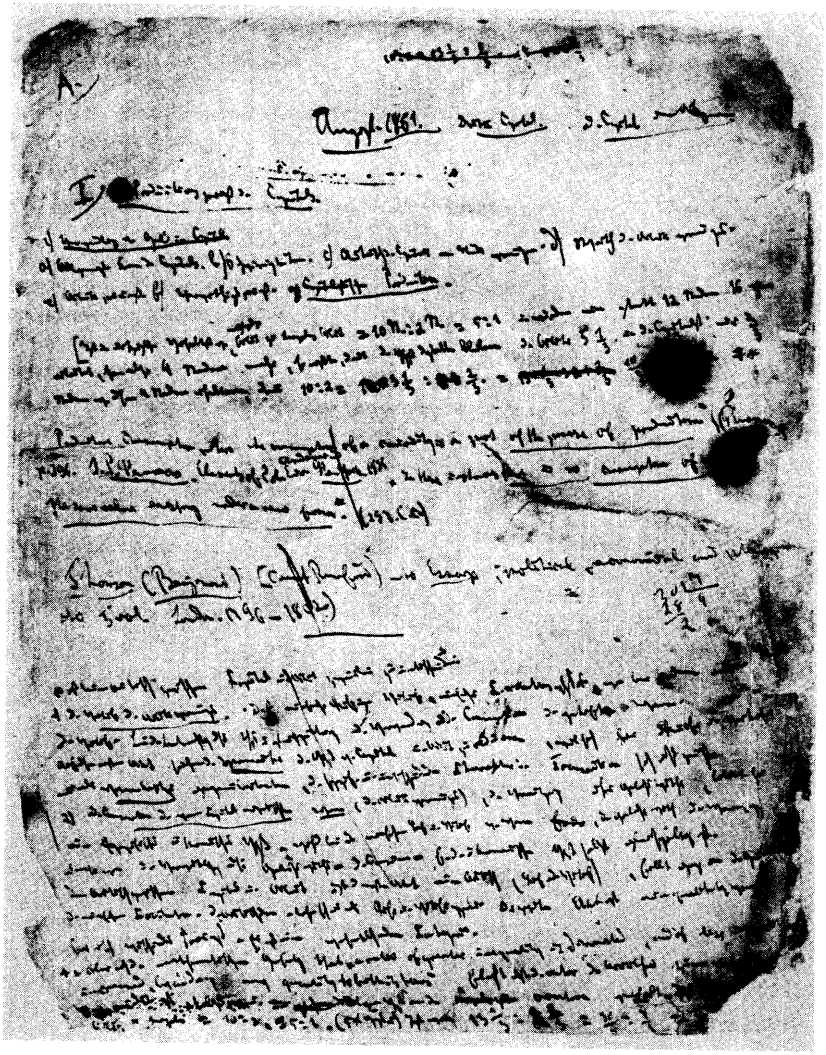

Inside cover page of Notebook I of the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63

# [I-1] I. THE PRODUCTION PROCESS OF CAPITAL

## 1) TRANSFORMATION OF MONEY INTO CAPITAL

### a) *M—C—M. THE MOST GENERAL FORM OF CAPITAL*

How does money become capital? Or how does the owner of money (i.e. *the owner of commodities*) become a capitalist?

Let us look first at the form *M—C—M*: the exchange of money for the commodity, i.e. *buying* in order to exchange the commodity for money again, i.e. in order to *sell*. We have already noted[a] that in the form of circulation *C—M—C* the extremes *C* and *C* are qualitatively distinct, even though they are equal in magnitude of value, hence in this form a real exchange of materials takes place (different use values are exchanged for each other), therefore the result *C—C*—the exchange of commodity for commodity, in fact the exchange of use values for one another—has an obvious purpose. In the form *M—C—M* in contrast (buying in order to sell) the two extremes *M* and *M* are qualitatively *the same*, namely they are money. Indeed, if I exchange *M* (money) for *C* (commodity), in order to exchange the commodity (*C*) in turn for *M* (money), i.e. if I buy in order to sell, the result will be that I have exchanged money for money. In actual fact the circulation *M—C—M* (buying in order to sell) falls into the following acts: first, *M—C*, the exchange of money for the commodity, purchase; second, *C—M*, the exchange of the commodity for money, sale; and the unity of the two acts, or the passage through both stages, *M—C—M*, the exchange of money for the commodity in order to exchange the commodity for money, buying in order to sell. The result of the process, however, is *M—M*, the exchange of money for money. If I buy cotton for

[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 324, 332).— *Ed.*

100 thalers and sell the cotton again for a hundred thalers, I have at the end of the process 100 thalers just as I had at the beginning; the whole movement consists in my expending 100 thalers by the purchase and then taking in 100 thalers again by the sale. The result is thus *M—M*: I have in fact exchanged 100 thalers for 100 thalers. Such an operation appears to be without purpose, however, and therefore absurd.* At the end of the process, as at the beginning, I have money, which is qualitatively the same commodity and quantitatively the same magnitude of value. Money is the starting-point and the finishing-point of the process (of the movement). The same person gives out the money as purchaser to receive it back as seller. The point from which the money departs in this movement is the point to which it returns. Because the extremes *M*, *M*, are *qualitatively* the same in *M—C—M*, the process of buying in order to sell, this process can only receive a content and a purpose if they differ *quantitatively*. If I buy cotton for 100 thalers and sell the same cotton for 110 thalers, I have in fact exchanged 100 thalers for 110 thalers, i.e. I have bought 110 thalers for 100. Thus the form of circulation [I-2] *M—C—M*, buying in order to sell, receives a content as a result of the fact that the extremes *M*, *M*, although qualitatively the same—money—are quantitatively different, since the second *M* represents a higher magnitude of value, a greater sum of value, than the first. The commodity is bought so as to be sold dearer; in other words, it is bought cheaper than it is sold.

Let us look first at the form *M—C—M* (buying in order to sell) and compare it with the circulation form *C—M—C* (selling in order to buy) which we examined earlier.[a] First of all, the circulation *M—C—M*, like the circulation *C—M—C*, splits up into two distinct acts of exchange, of which it is the unity: namely *M—C*, the exchange of money for the commodity, or purchase—in this act of exchange a buyer confronts a seller—and secondly *C—M*, sale, the exchange of the commodity for money—in this act, as in the first, two persons, the buyer and the seller, confront

* This is quite correct. Nevertheless the form does occur (and the purpose is irrelevant here). For example, a purchaser may not be in a position to sell the commodity dearer than he bought it. He may be compelled to sell it cheaper than he bought it. In both cases the result of the operation contradicts its purpose. Even so, this does not prevent it from having the form *M—C—M*, in common with the operation which does correspond to its purpose.

[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 324-34).— *Ed.*

each other. The buyer buys from the one and sells to the other. The buyer, with whom the movement originates, is involved in both acts. First he buys and then he sells. Or his money goes through both stages. It appears as starting-point in the first stage and result in the second. The two persons with whom he exchanges, in contrast, each perform only one act of exchange. The one with whom the buyer makes his first exchange sells the commodity. The other person, with whom he makes the last exchange, buys the commodity. Therefore the commodity sold by the one and the money with which the other buys it do not pass through the two opposed phases of circulation; each rather completes just a single act. Neither of these one-sided acts of sale and purchase performed by these two persons presents us with a new phenomenon. What is new is the whole process which the buyer, who is also its originator, passes through. Let us therefore look instead at the whole movement passed through by the buyer who sells again, or by the money with which he started the operation.

*M—C—M.* The starting-point is money, the converted form of the commodity, in which it is always exchangeable, in which the labour contained in it has the form of general social labour, i.e. in which it is *exchange value become independent.* The starting-point of this form of circulation, this movement, is therefore itself already a product of the circulation of commodities, i.e. it comes from circulation, for only in and through circulation does the commodity obtain the form of money, only in this way is it changed into money or does it develop its exchange value, the particular independent forms which present themselves as various formal determinations of money. Secondly, the value emerging in this way from circulation and assuming an independent existence in the form of money enters again into circulation, becomes a commodity, but returns again from the commodity form to its monetary form, having at the same time increased its magnitude.

The money which passes through this movement is *capital*, i.e. value become independent in money and passing through this process is the form in which capital initially presents itself or appears.

We can translate the form *M—C—M*: value become independent in money (if we employ the word *value* without defining it more closely, it must always be understood as *exchange value*[4]), hence value emerging from circulation, enters again into circulation, maintains itself in it and returns from it multiplied (returns as a greater magnitude of value). In so far as money constantly

describes this circuit afresh, it is value emerging from circulation, entering into it again, perpetuating (maintaining) itself in circulation and multiplied in it.

[I-3] In the first stage of the process money becomes a commodity, in the second stage the commodity again becomes money. The extreme from which the process starts, money—itself already a form of the commodity arisen from circulation, in which it has taken on independence in its determination as exchange value—is at once the point of departure and the point of return. Value is thus preserved in the process it passes through and at the conclusion of the process returns again to its independent form. At the same time, however, the result of the movement, whilst changing nothing in this form (of value), namely its being money, is that the magnitude of the value has grown. The value is thus not only preserved as value, but grows as well, multiplies, increases its magnitude in this movement.

"Capital ... permanent, self-multiplying value" (Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes etc.*, Vol. 1, p. 89).

In *M—C—M* exchange value appears just as much the prerequisite as the result of circulation.

Value (*money*) resulting from circulation as adequate exchange value (money), taking on an independent form, but entering again into circulation, preserving and multiplying (increasing) itself in and through it, is *capital.*

In *M—C—M* exchange value becomes the content and the end in itself of circulation. In selling in order to buy the purpose is use value; in buying to sell it is value itself.

Two points must be stressed here. Firstly, *M—C—M* is *value-in-process*, exchange value as a process that takes its course through various acts of exchange or stages of circulation, and at the same time dominates over them. *Secondly*: In this process value is not only preserved, it increases its magnitude, it is multiplied, increases itself, i.e. it creates in this movement a *surplus value.* It is thus not only self-preserving but self-*valorising* value, *value that posits value.*

*Firstly*: Let us initially look at *M—C—M* from the point of view of its form, disregarding the fact that the second *M* is a value of greater magnitude than the first *M.* The value exists first as money, then as commodity, then again as money. It is preserved in the alternation of these forms and returns out of them to its original form again. It passes through changes of form in which it is, however, preserved, and it therefore appears as the subject of

these changes. The alternation of these forms therefore appears as its own process, or, in other words, value as it presents itself here is value-in-process, the subject of a process. Money and the commodity each appear only as particular forms of existence of the value which is preserved in passing over from one to the other and always returns to itself as money, in the form in which it has become independent. Money and commodity thus appear as the forms of existence of value-in-process or capital. Hence the interpretations of capital. On the one hand, the one above, given by Sismondi. Capital is self-preserving value.

"It is not matter which makes capital, but the value of that matter" (J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique etc.*, 3rd ed., Vol. 2, Paris, 1817, p. 429).[a]

On the other hand, when it is conceived not as the whole movement but in each of its forms of existence—the forms in which it exists each time—: capital is money, capital is commodity.

"CAPITAL *IS* COMMODITIES" (J. Mill, *Elements of Political Economy*, London, 1821, [p.] 74).

"*CURRENCY* EMPLOYED TO PRODUCTIVE PURPOSES IS *CAPITAL*" (McLeod, *The Theory and Practice of Banking etc.*, Vol. I, London, 1855, Ch. 1).[5]

In the form of circulation $C—M—C$ the commodity passes through two metamorphoses, the result of which is that it remains behind as a use value. It is the commodity—as unity of use value and exchange value, or as use value, with the exchange value of the commodity figuring as a mere form, an evanescent form—which passes through this process. But in $M—C—M$ money and the commodity appear only as different forms of existence of exchange value, which is seen on the one occasion in its general form as money, and on the other in its particular form as the commodity, at the same time figuring as the dominant and self-asserting element in both forms. [I-4] Money is in itself the form of existence of exchange value become independent, but the commodity too appears here only as the repository of exchange value's material embodiment.

[I-16][6] It can easily be understood that if there exist classes which do not take part in the production of commodities, and yet possess commodities or money, which is only a form of the commodity, they have a share in the commodities without exchange, through a title gained either by law or force, not to be discussed any further at this point. The commodity owner or producer—for the moment we can only understand the commodity owner as a commodity producer—must give up to those classes

[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

a portion of his commodities or of the money he receives for their sale. By virtue of this money, for which they have given no equivalent, they would then be consumers, buyers, without ever having been sellers. These buyers, however, can only be explained as participants in the commodities of the seller (co-owners), a position they have reached through a process inexplicable here.[a] If therefore they buy commodities, they merely give back to the commodity owners and producers a portion of those commodities in exchange for other commodities, commodities they received from the latter without exchange.

It is entirely explicable that if all the producers of commodities sell them at more than their value they will receive from these buyers more than they gave them, but they will only get back more of a sum of value which belonged to the commodity producers in the first place. If someone steals 100 thalers from me and I sell him a commodity worth only 90 thalers for 100 thalers, I make a profit of 10 thalers from him. This is a method of taking away from this buyer, who is a consumer without being a producer, by way of trade a part of the sum of value of 100 thalers that originally belonged to me. If he takes 100 thalers a year from me and I sell him commodities valued at 90 thalers similarly for 100 every year, I admittedly gain 10 thalers a year from him, but only because I lose 100 thalers a year to him. If his taking away of 100 thalers is an institution, the trading that follows is a means of cancelling out this institution in part, here to the extent of $^1/_{10}$. However, no surplus value arises in this way and the extent to which this buyer can be defrauded by me, i.e. the number of transactions in which I can sell him 90 thalers' worth of commodities for 100, depends precisely on the number of times he takes 100 thalers from me without giving any equivalent whatever. It is therefore not a transaction through which capital, value preserving and increasing itself in circulation, can be explained, still less the surplus value of capital. Not only Torrens, but *Malthus* himself makes leaps of this kind, and is reproached for it with moral indignation by the Ricardians.[7] Thus Malthus thinks—and correctly under the given conditions—that the income of the mere CONSUMERS, mere buyers, must be increased so that the producers can make a profit from them, so as to encourage production.

* "The zeal for 'encouraging consumption', as supposed necessary for trade in general, springs from the real usefulness of it with regard to the venders of a

[a] See this volume, pp. 190-91.—*Ed.*

particular trade" * ([p.] 60). * "'What we want are people who buy our goods'... But they have nothing in the world to give you for your goods, but what you gave them first. No property can originate in their hands; it must have come from yours. Landlords, placemen, stockholders, servants, be they what they may, their whole means of buying your goods was once your means, and you gave it up to them" * ([pp. 61-]62. * "The object of selling your goods is to make a certain amount of money; it never can answer to part with that amount of money for nothing, to another person, that he may bring it back to you, and buy your goods with it: you might as well have just burnt your goods at once, and you would have been in the same situation" * ([p.] 63) (*An Inquiry into those Principles, Respecting the Nature of Demand and the Necessity of Consumption, Lately* [I-17] *Advocated by Mr. Malthus etc.*, London, 1821).

* "Mr. Malthus sometimes talks as if there were two distinct funds, capital and revenue, supply and demand, production and consumption, which must take care to keep pace with each other, and neither outrun the other. As if, besides the whole mass of commodities produced, there was required another mass, fallen from Heaven, I suppose, to purchase them with.... The fund for consumption, such as he requires, can only be had at the expense of production" * (l.c., [pp.] 49, 50). * "When a man is in want of *demand*, does Mr. Malthus recommend him to pay some other person to take off his goods?" * ([p.] 55).

[I-4] In the form of circulation *C—M—C*, viewed as the total metamorphosis of the commodity, the value admittedly exists as well, first as the price of the commodity, then in money as the realised price, and finally in the price of the commodity again (or, in general, in its exchange value); but it only puts in a transitory appearance here. The commodity exchanged by means of the money becomes a use value; the exchange value disappears, as the irrelevant form of the commodity, and it drops out of circulation altogether.

In simple commodity circulation—*C—M—C*—money always appears in all its forms as merely the result of circulation.[a] In *M—C—M* it appears, to an equal extent, as starting-point and as result of circulation, so that exchange value is not, as in the first form of circulation, the merely transitory form of commodity circulation—the form of the commodity itself taking shape within the exchange of commodities and in turn vanishing—but on the contrary the purpose, the content and the propulsive heart of circulation.

The starting-point of this circulation is money, exchange value become independent. Historically the formation of capital also proceeds everywhere from monetary wealth, and the first conception of capital is that it is money, but money that passes through certain processes.

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 372).— *Ed.*

The form of circulation *M—C—M*, or money-in-process, self-valorising value, takes as its starting-point money, the product of the simple circulation *C—M—C*. It therefore presupposes not just the circulation of commodities but a circulation of commodities which has already developed all the forms of money. The formation of capital is therefore only possible where the circulation of commodities—the exchange of products as commodities and the establishment of exchange value's independence in money and the latter's various forms—has already developed. In order to pass through the process in which it appears as starting-point and result, exchange value must have already attained its independent, abstract shape in money.

The first act of the form *M—C—M*, namely *M—C*, or purchase, is the last act of the form *C—M—C*, namely *M—C* once again. In the last act, however, the commodity is bought, money is converted into a commodity, so that the latter may be consumed as a use value. The money is *expended*. By contrast, in *M—C* as the first stage of *M—C—M*, the money is converted into a commodity, exchanged for a commodity, only so that the commodity may be converted back into money, so that the money may be recovered, retrieved from circulation again by means of the commodity. The money therefore appears only to have been given out so that it may return, only thrown into circulation so that it may be withdrawn again through the commodity. Hence it is only *advanced*.

* "When a thing is bought, in order to be sold again, the sum employed is called money *advanced*; when it is bought not to be sold, it may be said to be *expended*" * (James Steuart, *Works etc.*, ed. by General Sir James Steuart, his son etc., Vol. I, London, 1805,[8] [p.] 274).[a]

If we look at the form *C—M—C*, in its first act, *C—M*, the commodity appears as a mere materialisation of exchange value (hence a mere means of exchange) for the seller. Its use value is not as such use value for himself—the seller—but for a third factor, the buyer. He therefore sells it, converts it into money, in order with that money to buy a commodity which is a use value for himself. The price of the commodity he buys has value for him only in so far as it determines the quantity—the quantity of use values—he obtains for his money. *In purchase* therefore the exchange value of the commodity appears here only as a transitory form of the commodity, and similarly the independence of this

[a] J. Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy*. In: J. Steuart, *The Works, Political, Metaphysical, and Chronological.—Ed.*

exchange value in money only puts in a transitory appearance. In *M—C—M*, on the other hand, [I-5] where the purchase forms not the second but rather the first act of circulation or the processes of exchange, the commodity into which the money is converted is equally no more than a materialisation of exchange value for the buyer, just a disguised form of money, so to speak. Here both *M* and *C* appear merely as specific forms, modes of existence of exchange value, between which it alternates; money as the general, the commodity as a particular form of exchange value. The exchange value is not lost in the transition from one mode of existence to the other; it merely changes its form and hence always returns to itself in its general form. It appears as dominating over its two modes of existence, money and the commodity, and precisely for that reason it appears as the subject of the process, in which it presents itself now as the one and now as the other, hence either as *money-in-process* or as *value-in-process.*

*Secondly.* As we have already noted, *M—C—M* would, however, be a movement without content if the extremes *M, M,* which are qualitatively the same, were not quantitatively different. The process would be without content if a certain sum of value were cast into circulation as money, so that the same sum of value could be withdrawn again from circulation in the form of money, thus leaving everything as it was before, at the starting-point of the movement, as a result of two acts of exchange in opposite directions. The characteristic feature of the process is rather that the extremes *M, M,* although qualitatively the same, are quantitatively different, quantitative distinction being altogether the only thing exchange value as such—and in money it exists as such—is capable of by its nature. As a result of the two acts of buying and selling, the conversion of money into a commodity and the reconversion of the commodity into money, at the end of the movement more money, a larger sum of money, hence an enhanced value, emerges from circulation: more money than the amount cast into circulation at the beginning.

If, for example, the money was originally, at the start of the movement, 100 thalers, it is 110 at the end. The value has therefore not only maintained itself but has in the course of circulation posited a new value, or *surplus value,* as we shall call it. Value has produced value. Or value appears to us here for the first time as *self-valorising.* Hence value as it appears in the movement *M—C—M* is value coming out of circulation, entering it, maintaining itself in it, and *valorising itself,* positing surplus value. As such it is *capital.*

In hoarding, which one might recall here, value does not valorise itself.[a] The commodity is converted into money, sold, and in this shape withdrawn from circulation, laid aside. The same magnitude of value as existed previously in the form of the commodity now exists in the form of money. The commodity has not increased its magnitude of value; it has simply taken on the general form of exchange value, the money form. This was a purely qualitative change, not a quantitative one.

In the present case, however, the commodity is already presupposed in the form of money as the starting-point of the process. It gives up this form temporarily in order to reassume it at the end as an increased magnitude of value. Money as hoard, in contrast, remains fixed in its form as exchange value become independent, and, far from being *valorised*, is withdrawn from circulation. Its power of acting as exchange value is retained *in petto*[b] for the future, but suspended for the present. Not only does the magnitude of its value remain unaltered, it loses its function, its quality, of exchange value—as long as it remains a hoard—since it does not function as money, whether means of purchase or means of payment. Apart from this it has no direct use value as money, and has therefore also lost the use value it possessed as a commodity. It can only win this use value back [I-6] by acting again as money, being thrown into circulation and thereby giving up its character as the presence of exchange value. The only thing that takes place in hoarding is that the commodity is given the form of money, the adequate form of exchange value, by the sale of the commodity at its price. In place of valorisation—i.e. an increase of the original value—there occurs no utilisation at all of the money fixed as a hoard; it possesses only a potential value, in actuality it is valueless. Thus this relation of self-valorising value or capital has nothing in common with hoarding, except that both of them are concerned with exchange value, with the hoarder, however, employing an illusory method of increasing it.

In *C—M—C*, selling in order to buy, in which use value and therefore the satisfaction of needs is the ultimate purpose, there is nothing in the form itself that directly requires its repetition once the process has taken place. The commodity is exchanged by means of money for another commodity, which now drops out of circulation as a use value. With this the movement has come to an

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 359-70).—*Ed.*

[b] Literally: "in the breast". In a figurative sense: "in a secret place", "in a concealed form", "in reserve".—*Ed.*

end. In *M—C—M*, by contrast, the very form of the movement implies that no end is at hand: the end of the movement already contains the principle and the driving force of its resumption. For since money, abstract wealth, exchange value is the starting-point of the movement and its multiplication is the purpose; since the result and the starting-point are qualitatively the same, being a sum of money or value, whose quantitative limit appears at the end as much as at the beginning of the process as a barrier to its general concept—for the more the quantity of exchange value or money is increased the more it corresponds to its concept—(money as such can be exchanged for all wealth, all commodities, but the degree to which it is exchangeable depends on its own mass or magnitude of value)—self-valorisation remains as much a necessary activity for the money which emerges from the process as for the money which started it off—consequently the principle of the movement's resumption is already given with the movement's end. Moreover, it emerges at the end as what it was at the beginning, namely the prerequisite of the same movement in the same form. This is what this movement has in common with hoarding: the absolute drive for enrichment, the drive to gain possession of wealth in its general form.

//At this point it will be necessary to go in detail into Aristotle's discussion, *Republic* I, 1, ch. 9.[9]//

It is the money owner (or commodity owner, for money is after all only the converted shape of the commodity) who makes his money, or the value he possesses in the form of money, pass through the process *M—C—M*. This movement is the content of his activity and he therefore appears only as the personification of capital defined in this way, as the *capitalist*. His person (or rather his pocket) is the starting-point of *M*, and it is the point of return. He is the conscious vehicle of this process. Just as the result of the process is the preservation and increase of value, the self-valorisation of value, what forms the content of the movement appears in him as a conscious purpose. *To increase the amount of value he possesses* appears thus as his sole purpose. His purpose is the ever-growing appropriation of wealth in its general form, *exchange value*, and only in so far as it appears as his sole driving motive is he a capitalist or a conscious subject of the movement *M—C—M*. Never use value, only exchange value must therefore be regarded as his direct purpose. The need he satisfies is for enrichment as such. It goes without saying, incidentally, that he continuously increases his control over real wealth, over the world of use values. For whatever the productivity of labour, at a given

stage of production a higher exchange value is always represented by a larger mass of use values than a smaller.[10] [I-6]

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[I-14][11] In order to develop the concept of capital we must begin to not with labour but with *value*, or, more precisely, with the exchange value already developed in the movement of circulation. It is just as impossible to pass directly from labour to capital from the different races of men directly to the banker, or from nature to the steam-engine.[12]

As soon as money is posited as exchange value which not merely makes itself independent of circulation (as in hoarding) but maintains itself inside it, it is no longer money, for money as such does not extend beyond the negative determination; it is *capital.* Hence money is also the first form in which exchange value proceeds to the character of capital, and historically it is the first *form* in which capital *appears*, being as a result historically confused with capital itself. For capital, circulation appears not only, as with money, as a movement in which exchange value vanishes, but also as a movement in which it is preserved and is itself the alternation of the two determinations of money and commodity. In simple circulation, in contrast, exchange value is not realised as such. It is always realised only in the moment of its disappearance. If the commodity becomes money and the money again becomes commodity, the exchange value determination of the commodity disappears, for it only served to obtain a quantity of the second commodity corresponding to the first commodity, the second commodity to the corresponding amount, whereupon the latter commodity as a use value is swallowed up in consumption. The commodity becomes indifferent towards this form and ceases to be more than the direct object of need. If the commodity is exchanged for money, the form of exchange value, money, persists only as long as it stays *outside* exchange, puts itself in a negative relation to circulation. The imperishability money strove for by taking up a negative stance towards circulation is achieved by capital, in that the latter preserves itself precisely by self-abandonment to circulation. [I-14]

### [I-7] b) *DIFFICULTIES ARISING FROM THE NATURE OF VALUE, ETC.*

We first examined the form of capital in which it is directly presented or appears for observation. It can, however, be easily

shown that the form *M—C—M*, value re-entering circulation, preserving and valorising itself within it, seems utterly incompatible with the nature of money, the commodity, value and circulation itself.

Circulation, in which the commodity is now represented as commodity, now as money, involves a change of form for the commodity; the manner in which its exchange value is represented changes but the exchange value itself remains unaltered. The magnitude of its value does not change, it is not affected by this change of form. If we take a commodity, a ton of iron for example, its exchange value, the labour time contained in it, is expressed (represented) in its price, say £3. If it is now sold, it is converted into £3, into the quantity of money indicated by its price, money which contains an identical amount of labour time. Now it exists no longer as a commodity but as money, as independent exchange value. The magnitude of value remains unaltered, being the same in the one form as in the other. Only the form in which the same exchange value exists has altered. The change in the form of the commodity which constitutes circulation, buying and selling, has in itself nothing to do with the magnitude of the commodity's value: this magnitude is rather pre-posited to circulation as a given factor. The money form is merely another form of the commodity itself, in which no change takes place in its exchange value except that it now appears in its independent form.

But in the circulation *C—M—C* (selling in order to buy) there is a simple confrontation of commodity owners, one of whom possesses the commodity in its original shape, the other in its converted shape as money. Like the circulation *C—M—C*, the circulation *M—C—M* contains the two acts of sale and purchase and no more. The one starts with a sale and ends with a purchase; the other starts with a purchase and ends with a sale. Each of the acts of exchange needs only to be considered for itself in order to see that the sequence of these acts cannot change their nature in any way. In the first act, *M—C*, what we have called capital exists only as money; in the second act, *C—M*, it exists only as a commodity. In both acts, therefore, it can only have the effect of money and commodity. In the first it confronts the other commodity owner as the buyer, the money owner, in the second as seller, commodity owner. If we assume that through some inexplicable circumstance the buyers have the opportunity of buying cheaper, i.e. buying the commodity at less than its value and selling it at its value or at more than its value, our man is

admittedly a buyer in the first act ($M—C$) and would therefore buy the commodity at less than its value, but in the second act ($C—M$) he is a seller and another commodity owner confronts him as buyer; the latter would in turn have the privilege of purchasing the commodity from him at less than its value. What he gained with one hand would be lost with the other. If, on the other hand, one assumes that he sells the commodity at more than its value, this being a privilege enjoyed by the seller, then in the first act, before he himself acquired the commodity in order to sell it later, someone else confronted him as the seller and sold him his commodity too dear. If they all sell their commodities e.g. 10% too dear, i.e. at 10% over their value—and we have here only commodity owners confronting each other, whether they possess their commodities in the commodity or the money form; in fact they will possess them alternately in one form and then the other—then it will be exactly the same as if they sold them to each other at their real value. Similarly if they all buy the commodities at, for example, 10% under their value.

It is clear, in so far as one considers the simple use value of the commodities, that both parties can gain by the exchange. [I-8] In this sense it can be said that "exchange is a transaction in which both sides only gain" (Destutt de Tracy, *Élémens d'idéologie. Traité de la volonté et de ses effets* (forms part IV and V), Paris, 1826, p. 68. It says there:

"Exchange is an admirable transaction in which the two contracting parties *always gain*, both of them"[a]).

To the extent that the whole circulation is only a mediating movement to exchange one commodity for another, each person alienates the commodity he does not need as a use value and appropriates the commodity he does need as a use value. They both gain from this process, therefore, and they only enter into it because they both gain. Yet another point: A, who sells iron and buys grain, possibly produces more iron over a given labour time than the grain farmer B could produce in the same time, and B for his part produces more grain in the same labour time than A could produce. By means of the exchange, therefore, whether mediated through money or not, A receives more grain for the same exchange value, and B more iron, than they would if the exchange had not taken place. In so far as it is a matter of the use values iron and grain, then, both sides gain by the exchange. Similarly, if we regard each of the two acts of circulation, buying

[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

and selling, in isolation, and limit our consideration to use value, both parties gain. The seller, who converts his commodity into money, gains because he now has it for the first time in a generally exchangeable form, and only thus does it become general means of exchange for him. The buyer, who converts his money back into a commodity, gains because he has taken it out of this form which is required for circulation, but is otherwise useless, and turned it into a use value for himself. There is not the slightest difficulty in understanding, therefore, that both sides gain by the exchange, in so far as it is a question of use value.

It is entirely different with exchange value. Here the reverse is the case: "Where there is equality there is no gain"

(Galiani, *Della moneta*, Custodi. *Autore etc.*, *Parte Moderna*, Vol. IV, [p.] 244... "Dove è eguaglità, non è lucro").

It is clear that if A and B exchange equivalents, quantities of exchange value or objectified labour time of equal magnitude, whether in the form of money or of commodities, they both bring back from the exchange the same exchange value as they threw into it. If A sells his commodity at its value, he now possesses in the form of money the same quantity of objectified labour time (or a draft on the same quantity, which is for him in practice the same) as he previously possessed in the form of the commodity, i.e. the same exchange value. The same thing holds good, but inversely, for B, who has bought the commodity with his money. He now possesses in the form of the commodity the same exchange value as he previously possessed in the form of money. The sum of the two exchange values remains the same, as also the exchange value possessed by each of them. It is impossible that A should buy the commodity from B under its value and thus receive back in the commodity a higher exchange value than he gave B in money, while B simultaneously sells the commodity above its [value] and thus receives from A in the money form more exchange value than he gave him in the commodity form.

(* "A cannot obtain from B more corn for the same quantity of cloth, at the same time that B obtains from A more cloth for the same quantity of corn" *) (*A Critical Dissertation on the Nature, Measures, and Causes of Value etc.*, London, 1825, [p. 65]).

(The anonymous author is Bailey.) *

* That commodities are exchanged *in accordance with their value*, or, with regard to the particular form of exchange which occurs in the circulation process, are sold and bought, means nothing more than that *equivalents*, equal magnitudes of value, are exchanged, replace each other, i.e. commodities are exchanged in proportion as their use values contain equal magnitudes of worked-up labour time, are *quanta* of labour of equal size.

It is of course possible that one person may lose what the other gains, with the result that the two exchangers are exchanging *non-equivalents*. Hence one person will draw from the exchange a higher exchange value than he threw in, and indeed precisely in the proportion in which the other person draws a lower exchange value from the exchange than he threw into it. Let us suppose that the value of 100 lbs of cotton is 100 shillings. If A now sells 150 pounds of cotton at 100 shillings to B, B has won 50 shillings, but only because A has lost 50 shillings.

[I-9] If 150 lbs of cotton with a price of 150s. (the price is here only its value expressed, measured, in money) are sold at 100s., the sum of the two values is 250s. after the sale as well as before. Hence the total sum of value present in circulation has not increased, has *not valorised* itself, has posited no surplus value. It has, rather, remained unaltered. All that has taken place within the exchange or by means of the sale is a change in the distribution of the value *pre-posited* to it, which existed before it and independently of it. 50s. have passed from one side to the other. It is therefore clear that the fraud which has occurred on one side or the other, whether committed by the buyer or by the seller, does not increase the sum of exchange values present in circulation (whether they exist in the commodity or the money form) but only alters (changes) their distribution among the various commodity owners. Let us assume in the above example that A sells 150 lbs of cotton with a value of 150s. to B for 100s., and B sells it at 150s. to C. In this way B gains 50s., or it appears that his value of 100s. has posited a value of 150. But in fact the same amount is present after the transaction as before it: 100s. in A's possession, 150s. in B's, commodities to the value of 150s. in C's. *Summa summarum*[a]: 400s. Originally there were present: commodities to the value of 150s. in A's possession, 100s. in B's, 150s. in C's. *Summa summarum*: 400s. No further change has taken place except the change in the distribution of the 400s. between A, B and C. 50s. have travelled from A's pocket to B's, and A has become poorer precisely to the extent that B has been enriched. What applies to one sale and one purchase applies equally to the sum total of all sales and purchases, in short to the whole of the circulation of commodities taking place between the whole of the owners of commodities within any period of time. If one commodity owner, or a number of them, take advantage of the rest and thereby draw a surplus value from circulation, its quantity

[a] Grand total.— *Ed.*

can be exactly measured by the reduction in the value drawn from circulation by the other commodity owners. Some of them extract more value from circulation than they threw in because, and to the extent that, the others extract less value, suffer a deduction from, a lessening in, the value they originally laid out. The sum total of existing values is not thereby altered, only their distribution.

"The exchange of two equal values neither increases nor diminishes the amount of the values available in society. Nor does the exchange of two unequal values ... change anything in the sum of social values, although it adds to the wealth of one person what it removes from the wealth of another" (J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique*, 3rd ed., Vol. 2, Paris, 1817, pp. 443-44).[a]

If we take all the capitalists of a country and the sum total of purchases and sales between them in the course of a year, for example, one capitalist may admittedly defraud the other and hence draw from circulation more value than he threw in, but this operation would not increase by one iota the sum total of the circulating value of the capital. In other words: the class of capitalists taken as a whole cannot enrich itself as a class, it cannot increase its total capital, or produce a surplus value, by one capitalist's gaining what another loses. The class as a whole cannot defraud itself. The sum total of capital in circulation cannot be increased by changes in the distribution of its individual components between its owners. Operations of this kind, therefore, however large a number of them one may imagine, will not produce any increase in the sum total of value, any new or surplus value, or any gain on top of the total capital in circulation.

To say that *equivalents* are exchanged is in fact to say nothing more than that commodities are exchanged at their exchange value, that they are bought and sold and bought at their exchange value.

"In fact the exchange value of one commodity expressed in the use value of another commodity represents equivalence" (I-15).[b]

Where exchange has developed into the form of circulation, however, the exchange value of the commodity is expressed, by means of the price, in money (the material of the commodity which serves as the measure of values and hence as money). Its price is its exchange value expressed in money. Therefore, the fact that it is sold in return for an equivalent in money means nothing

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[a] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 279-80).— *Ed.*

more than that it is sold at its price, i.e. its value. Similarly, in the case of a purchase, the money buys the commodity at its price, i.e. here the identical sum of money. [I-10] The *prerequisite* that commodities are exchanged for their *equivalents* is the same as that they are exchanged at their value, bought and sold at their value.

Two things follow from this.

*Firstly.* If the commodities are bought and sold *at their value, equivalents* are exchanged. The value cast by each hand into circulation returns back from circulation into the same hand. It is therefore not increased, it is not affected at all by the act of exchange. Capital, i.e. value which valorises itself in and through circulation, i.e. increasing value, value which posits a surplus value, would thereby be impossible if the commodities were bought and sold at their value.

*Secondly.* If, however, the commodities are not sold or bought at their value, this is only possible—and, altogether, non-equivalents can only be exchanged—if one side takes advantage of the other, i.e. if one person receives through the exchange exactly as much more than the value he laid out as the other receives less than the value he laid out. But the sum total of the values exchanged is not thereby altered and no new value has therefore arisen through the exchange. A possesses 100 lbs of cotton to the value of 100s. B buys it for 50s. B has gained 50s., because A has lost 50s. The total sum of values before the exchange was 150s. It is the same after the exchange. But B owned $^1/_3$ of this sum before the exchange, and afterwards he owns $^2/_3$. A in contrast owned $^2/_3$ before the exchange and only owns $^1/_3$ afterwards. All that has happened, therefore, is a change in the distribution of the sum of values, 150s. The sum itself has remained unchanged.

According to this, capital, self-valorising value, would once again be impossible as a general form of wealth, as in the first case, since an increase of value on the one side would imply a corresponding reduction of value on the other, hence the value as such would not rise. In circulation, one value would only increase because the other value declined, hence was not even maintained.

It is therefore clear that exchange as such, whether in the form of direct barter or in the form of circulation, leaves the values cast into it unchanged, adds no value.

* "Exchange confers no value at all upon products" * (F. Wayland, *The Elements of Political Economy*, Boston, 1843, [p.] 169).

Even so, one still meets with the nonsensical assertion, even from renowned modern economists, that surplus value as such

derives from things being sold dearer than their purchase price. Thus, e.g., Mr. Torrens:

* "Effectual demand consists in the power and inclination, on the part of the consumers, to give for commodities, either by immediate or circuitous barter, some greater portion of all the ingredients of capital than their production costs" * (Torrens, *An Essay on the Production of Wealth etc.*, London, 1821, p. 349).

Here we merely have seller and buyer before us. The question whether the commodity owner (the seller) has produced the commodity by himself, and whether the other, the buyer (whose money, however, must also have originated from the sale of commodities, is only their converted form) wants to buy the commodity for consumption, to buy it as a consumer, does not alter the relation in any way. The seller always represents use value. The [economists'] phrase, reduced to its essential content, and with its incidental accoutrement stripped off, means nothing more than this, that all buyers buy their commodities at more than their value, hence the seller in general sells his commodity at more than its value, and the buyer always buys at less than the value of his money. To bring in the producer and the consumer does not alter things in the least; for they do not confront each other in the act of exchange as consumer and producer but as seller and buyer. Yet where the individuals exchange solely as commodity owners each of them must be both producer and consumer, and each can only be the one in so far as he is the other. Each would lose as buyer what he gains as seller.

On the one hand, then, if a *surplus value,* as we still can call every form of gain here, is to emerge from the exchange, it must already have been present before the exchange, as a result of some act which is, however, invisible, not perceptible, in the formula $M—C—M$.

* "*Profit** (this is a special form of surplus value),* in the usual condition of the market, *is not made by exchanging. Had it not existed before,* neither could it after that transaction" * (G. Ramsay, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth,* Edinburgh, [London,] 1836, p. 184).

Ramsay says in the same place:

* "The idea of profits being paid by the consumers, is, assuredly, very absurd. Who are the consumers?" * etc. (p. 183).

There are only commodity owners facing each other, each of whom is just as much a CONSUMER as a PRODUCER; and each of them can only be the one to the extent that he is the other. But if one thinks, anticipating, of classes which consume without [I-11] producing, even so their wealth can only consist of a share of the

commodities of the producers, and one cannot explain the increase in value by saying that classes which are given values for nothing are defrauded when an exchange is made in return for those values. (See *Malthus.*[13]) The surplus value or the self-valorisation of value cannot arise from exchange, from circulation. On the other hand, value which as such creates value can only be a product of exchange, of circulation, for only in exchange can it function as exchange value. In itself, isolated, it would be a hoard and as such it no more valorises itself than it serves as a use value. Or if, e.g., one were to say: the money owner buys the commodity, but he works on it, applies it productively, and in that way adds value to it, and then in turn sells it, the surplus value would have arisen entirely and exclusively from his labour. Value as such would not have functioned, would not have valorised itself. He does not obtain more value because he has *value*: the increase of value comes instead from the addition of labour.

In any case, if capital is a specific form of wealth, a potentiality of value, it must be developed on the basis that equivalents are exchanged, i.e. that the commodities are sold at their value, i.e. in proportion to the labour time contained in them. This seems impossible, however. If equivalents are exchanged for each other in *M—C—M*, both in the act *M—C* and in the act *C—M*, how can more money emerge from the process than went into it?

The investigation of the origins of surplus value has therefore formed the most important problem of political economy from the Physiocrats to the present day. It is in fact the question of how money (or the commodity, as money is only the converted form of the commodity), a sum of values in general, becomes transformed into capital, how capital originates.

The apparent contradictions which lie in the problem—in the conditions of the task—led Franklin to the following utterance:

* "There are only 3 ways of increasing the riches of a state: the first is by war: that is robbery; the second is by commerce: this is cheating; and the third is by agriculture: this is the only honest way" * ([*The*] *Works of B. Franklin*, Vol. II, ed. Sparks, [p. 373,] "Positions to be examined concerning National Wealth").[14]

Here one can already see why two forms of capital[a] that correspond most closely to the ordinary conception of capital and are, in fact, historically the oldest forms of existence of capital—capital in two functions, for its appearance as a particular sort of capital depends on whether it functions in one form or the other—do not come into consideration here at all, for we are

[a] Merchant's capital and usurer's capital.— *Ed.*

dealing with capital as such, but must rather be developed later as derived, secondary forms of capital.[15]

The movement $M—C—M$ is shown most clearly in merchant's capital proper. It was therefore realised at an early stage that its purpose is to increase the value or the money cast into circulation, and that the form in which this is achieved is through buying in order to sell again.

"All the orders of merchants have in common that they *buy in order to re-sell*" (*Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses*, (appeared in 1766) in *Oeuvres de Turgot*, ed. by Eugène Daire, Vol. 1, Paris, 1844, p. 43).[a]

On the other hand, surplus value appears here to originate purely in circulation, in that the merchant sells dearer than he buys, whether by buying cheaper than he sells (buying the commodity at less than its value and selling it at or above its value) or by buying the commodity at its value but selling it above its value. He buys the commodity from one person, sells it to another, representing money to the one and the commodity to the other; and when he begins the movement all over again, he sells also in order to buy, but the commodity as such is never his goal, the latter movement serving him only as [I-12] a mediation for the first. He alternately represents the different sides (phases) of circulation towards the buyer and the seller, and the whole of his movement falls within circulation, or rather, he appears as its vehicle, as the representative of money, just as in simple commodity circulation the whole movement seems to proceed from the medium of circulation, from money as medium of circulation.[b] He appears only as the intermediary of the different phases the commodity has to pass through in circulation and he therefore mediates only between available extremes, available sellers and buyers, who represent available commodities and available money. Since no other process is added here to the circulation process, the surplus value (profit) the merchant makes by alternately selling and buying—for all his operations can be reduced to sales and purchases—the increase in the money or value brought by him into circulation seems to be explained purely by his taking advantage of the parties with whom he is alternately concerned; the explanation appears to lie in the exchange of non-equivalents, whereby he always draws out of circulation a greater value than he puts into it. His gain—the surplus value

[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 337).—*Ed.*

created for him by the value he has brought into the exchange—thus appears to stem exclusively from circulation and hence only to be made up of the losses of the people trading with him.

Merchant wealth can in fact originate purely in this manner, and the wealth of the trading peoples which conduct a carrying trade between industrially less developed nations originated to a large extent in this manner. Merchant's capital can act between nations standing at very diverse stages of production and of the economic structure of society in general. It can therefore act between nations where the capitalist mode of production does not occur, hence long before capital is developed in its main forms. But if the gain made by the merchant, or the self-valorisation of the merchant's wealth, is not merely to be explained by his taking advantage of the commodity owners; if, therefore, it is to be more than just a different distribution of previously existing sums of value, it must evidently be derived only from prerequisites which do not appear in its movement, in its specific function, and its gain, its self-valorisation, appears as a purely derivative, secondary form, the origin of which must be sought elsewhere. Indeed, if its specific form is viewed independently, for itself, commerce must appear, in Franklin's words, as mere cheating, and if equivalents are exchanged, or commodities are sold and bought at their exchange value, it must appear altogether impossible.

*"Under the rule of invariable equivalents commerce would be impossible"* (G. Opdyke, *A Treatise on Political Economy*, New York, 1851, [p.] 67).

(Hence Engels, in his *Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy*—see *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, Paris, 1844—sought in similar fashion to explain the difference between exchange value and price by saying that commerce was impossible as long as commodities were exchanged at their value.[a])

Another form of capital, similarly age-old, is money lent out at interest, interest-bearing money capital, from which popular opinion has taken its concept of capital. Here we do not see the movement $M—C—M$, the exchange of money for the commodity followed by the exchange of the commodity for more money. All we see is the result of the movement $M—M$: money is exchanged for more money. It returns to its starting-point, but augmented. If it was originally 100 thalers, it is now 110. The money, the value represented by the 100 thalers, has preserved and valorised itself, i.e. it has posited a surplus value of 10 thalers. We find

[a] See present edition, Vol. 3, p. 427.— *Ed.*

interest-bearing money, money that posits money, formally therefore *capital*, in almost all countries and epochs of history, however primitive the mode of production of the society and however undeveloped its economic structure. One side of capital comes still closer here to the [popular] conception than was the case with merchant's wealth. [I-13] (The κεφάλαιον of the Greeks is our capital in its etymological formation as well.[16]) Namely the fact that *value as such valorises itself*, posits surplus value, because it (enters into circulation) already exists previously as value, independent value (money), and that, in general, value is only posited, and the [original] value is only preserved and multiplied, because value—value as value—was pre-posited, because it functions as self-valorising. It is sufficient to remark here (*we shall return to this on another occasion*[17]):

*Firstly*: If money is lent out as capital in the modern sense of the word, it is already assumed that money—a sum of value—is in itself capital; i.e. that the person to whom the money is lent can or will apply it as productive capital, as self-valorising value, and will have to pay a portion of the surplus value thereby created to the person who has lent him the money as capital. Here, then, interest-bearing money capital is manifestly not only a derived form of capital, capital in a particular function, but capital is assumed to be already fully developed, so that now a sum of value—whether in the money or the commodity form—can be lent as capital, not as money and commodity, i.e. *capital* itself can be thrown into circulation as a *commodity* sui generis.[a] Here capital is already presupposed in finished form as a power of money or the commodity, of value in general, so that it can be thrown into circulation as this potentiated value. Interest-bearing money capital in this sense therefore already assumes the development of capital. The capital-relation must already be complete before it can appear in this specific form. The self-valorising nature of value is here already presupposed as rooted in it, so that a sum of value could be sold as self-valorising value, disposed of to a third person on certain conditions. Similarly, interest appears then merely as a particular form and branch of surplus value, just as the latter divides altogether later on into different forms, which constitute different kinds of revenue, such as profit, rent, interest. All questions about the magnitude of the interest, etc., therefore appear as questions of the distribution of the available surplus

[a] Of a special kind.—*Ed.*

value between different sorts of capitalist. The existence of surplus value as such is *presupposed* here.

In order that money or commodities, a sum of value in general, may be lent as *capital*, capital is already so far presupposed as a specific potentiated form of value that, just as money and commodities are presupposed as material elements over against capital in general, the capital form of value is here presupposed as the identical inherent quality of money and commodities, so that money or commodities can be made over as capital to a third person, since commodities or money are not developed as capital during circulation but can instead be cast into circulation as finished capital, as *capital in itself*, as a *particular commodity*, which also has its own particular form of alienation.

On the basis of capitalist production itself, therefore, interest-bearing capital appears as a derived, secondary form.

*Secondly.* Interest-bearing money appears as the first form of interest-bearing capital, just as money in general appears as the starting-point of capital formation, since value first becomes independent in money, hence the increase of money initially appears as an increase in value in itself, and in money the standard is available for the measurement of, first, the value of all commodities, but then the self-valorisation of value. Money can now be lent out to productive purposes, hence formally as *capital*, although capital has not yet taken control of production, there is no capitalist production yet, hence no capital exists yet in the strict sense of the word, whether because production takes place on the basis of slavery, or the surplus product belongs to the LANDLORD (as in Asia and in feudal times), or craft industry or peasant economy and the like is the rule. This form of capital is therefore just as independent of the development of the stages of production as merchant's wealth (the only presupposition being that the circulation of commodities has proceeded far enough to create money), and hence appears historically before the development of capitalist production, on the basis of which it is only a secondary form. Like merchant's wealth it only needs to be *formally* capital, capital in a function in which it can exist before it has taken control of production; the latter capital alone is the basis of an historical mode of social production of its own.[18]

[I-14] *Thirdly.* Money can be borrowed (just like commodities) for *buying*, not for productive employment, but for consumption, to expend it. In this case no surplus value is formed, there is merely a change in distribution, a displacement of the available values.

*Fourthly.* Money can be borrowed for *payment.* Money can be borrowed as a means of payment. If this is done to cover debts arising out of consumption, it is the same case as 3, the only difference being that there money is borrowed to buy use values, here to pay for use values which have been consumed.

But the payment may be required as an act of the circulation process of capital. *Discount.* The examination of this case belongs in the doctrine of credit.[19]

After this digression back to the subject.

In developing capital it is important to keep in mind that the sole prerequisite—the sole material we start out from—is commodity circulation and money circulation, commodities and money, and that individuals only confront each other as commodity owners.[20] The second prerequisite is that the change of form the commodity undergoes in circulation is only formal, i.e. that in all forms the value remains unchanged, that although the commodity exists at one time as a use value and next time as money, there is no alteration in the magnitude of its value, that the commodities are therefore bought and sold at their *value,* in proportion to the labour time contained in them: in other words, that equivalents alone are exchanged.

Of course, if one looks at the form *C—M—C,* one finds that here too the value is preserved. It exists first in the form of the commodity, then in that of money, then in that of the commodity again. E.g. if a ton of iron is sold at a price of £3, the same £3 then exist as money, and after that as wheat at a price of £3. The magnitude of the value, £3, has therefore been preserved in this process, but the grain, as a use value, now drops out of circulation into consumption and with this the value is annihilated. Even though the value is preserved in this case as long as the commodity stays in circulation, this appears a purely formal matter.[a]

### [I-15] γ) *EXCHANGE WITH LABOUR. LABOUR PROCESS. VALORISATION PROCESS*

In the process *M—C—M* the value (a given sum of value) should be maintained and increased while it enters into circulation, i.e. alternately takes on the forms of commodity and money. Circulation should not be a mere change of form but should raise

[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 324). See also this volume, p. 20.—*Ed.*

the magnitude of value, should add to the value already present a new value, or surplus value. As capital the value should be, as it were, raised to the second power, potentiated.

The exchange value of the commodity is the quantity of equal social labour objectified in its use value, or the quantity of labour which has been embodied, worked up in it. The magnitude of this quantity is measured by time: the labour time that is required to produce the use value, and is therefore objectified in it.

Money is distinguished from the commodity solely by the form in which this objectified labour is expressed. In money, the objectified labour is expressed as social labour (in general), which is therefore directly exchangeable with all other commodities in proportion as they contain the same amount of labour. In the commodity, the exchange value it contains, or the labour objectified in it, is only expressed in its *price*, i.e. in an equation with money; it is only expressed notionally in gold (the material of money and the measure of values). Both forms, however, are forms of the same magnitude of value and, viewed in terms of their substance, forms of the same quantity of objectified labour, thus they are objectified labour in general. (As we have seen,[a] money can be replaced in internal circulation both as means of purchase and of payment by tokens of value, tokens of itself. This in no way alters the essence of the matter, as the token represents the same value, the same labour time, as is contained in the money.)

In the movement *M—C—M*, and in the concept of capital in general, money is the starting-point. This means nothing more than that the starting-point is the independent form assumed by the value contained in the commodity, or by the labour contained in it: the form in which labour time is present as labour time in general, regardless of the use value in which it was originally embodied. Value, both in the form of money and of the commodity, is an *objectified* quantity of labour. If money is converted into a commodity, or a commodity into money, the value changes only its form, not its substance, which consists in its being objectified labour, nor its magnitude, whereby it is a definite quantity of objectified labour. All commodities therefore differ only formally from money; money is only a particular form of existence taken on by commodities in and for circulation. As objectified labour they are the same thing, value. The change of

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 348-51).— *Ed.*

form, the fact that this value is present now as money, now as commodity, ought on our assumption to be irrelevant to capital, or it is a prerequisite—assuming that capital in each of these forms is self-maintaining value—without which money, and value in general, does not become capital at all. In general, it should only be a matter of the same content changing its form.

The sole antithesis to objectified labour is non-objectified, *living labour.* The one is present in space, the other in time, the one is in the past, the other in the present, the one is already embodied in a use value, the other, as human activity-in-process, is currently engaged in the process of self-objectification, the one is value, the other is value-creating. If a given value is exchanged for the value-creating activity, if objectified labour is exchanged for living labour, in short if money is exchanged for labour, the possibility seems to be available that by means of this process of exchange the existing value can be preserved or increased. Let us therefore assume that the money-owner buys labour, hence the seller sells not a commodity but labour. This relation cannot be explained on the basis of the relation of the circulation of commodities, considered previously, where the only parties confronting each other are [I-16] the owners of commodities.[20] For the moment we shall not inquire here into the conditions for this relation, and simply assume it as a fact.[21] Our money-owner's sole aim in buying labour is to increase the value he possesses. The particular kind of labour he purchases is therefore a matter of indifference to him. All that is necessary is that it should be useful labour, producing a particular use value, hence a specific kind of labour, e.g. the labour of a linen-weaver. We do not as yet know anything about the value of this labour; nor do we know how the value of labour in general is determined.

[I-17] It is therefore clear that the magnitude of the value of a given quantity of labour cannot be changed, let alone *increased,* by the mere fact of its existing first in the form of money, the commodity in which the value of all other commodities is measured, and then in any other use value; in other words, by its existing first in the form of money and then in the form of the commodity. It is impossible to conceive how a given sum of value, a definite quantity of objectified labour, should even be *preserved* as such via a metamorphosis of this kind. When it is in the form of money, the value of the commodity—or the commodity itself, in so far as it is exchange value, a definite quantity of objectified labour,—exists in its immutable form. The money form is precisely the form in which the value of the commodity is

maintained, conserved as value or as a definite quantity of objectified labour. If I transform money into a commodity, I transform value from a form in which it is preserved into a form in which it is not preserved; and in the movement of buying in order to sell, value would first be transformed from its immutable form into a form in which it does not preserve itself, so that it could then be retransformed into money again, the immutable form. This transformation may or may not be successful in circulation. But the result would be that I possessed the sum of value, the objectified labour in its immutable form, as a definite sum of money, both before and after the process. This is an entirely useless operation, indeed it runs counter to my purpose. If, however, I keep hold of the money as such, it is a hoard, it has a use value again, and it is preserved as an exchange value only because it does not act as such. It is preserved, as it were, as petrified exchange value, by staying out of circulation, relating to it negatively. On the other hand, in the commodity form the value perishes with the use value in which it is contained, since use value is a transitory thing and as such would be dissolved simply by the metabolic process of nature. And if it is really utilised as a use value, i.e. consumed, the exchange value contained in the use value perishes along with it.

An increase in value means nothing other than an increase in objectified labour; but it is only through living labour that objectified labour can be preserved or increased.

[I-18] Value, the *objectified* labour which exists in the form of money, could grow only by exchange with a commodity whose *use value* itself consisted in the ability to increase exchange value, whose consumption would be equivalent to the creation of value or the objectification of labour. (*No* commodity has any direct use value at all for the value which is to be valorised, except in so far as its use itself constitutes the creation of value; in so far as it is useful for increasing value.) But such use value is only possessed by *living labour capacity*. Value, money, can therefore only be transformed into capital through exchange with living labour capacity. Its transformation into capital requires that it be exchanged, on the one hand, for labour capacity and, on the other, for the material conditions prerequisite to the objectification of labour capacity.

Here the basis is the circulation of commodities, in which absolutely no dependency relations between the participants in exchange are presupposed apart from those given by the process of circulation itself; the exchangers are distinguished solely as

buyers and sellers.[20] Accordingly, money can only buy *labour capacity* to the extent that the latter is itself offered for sale as a commodity, sold by its owner, the living possessor of labour capacity. The condition for this is first of all that the possessor of labour capacity should have the disposition of his own labour capacity, that he should be able to dispose of it as a commodity. For this to be possible, he must be its proprietor. Otherwise he could not *sell* it as a commodity. But a second condition, already contained in the first, is that he *himself* must bring his labour capacity as a commodity to the market, and sell it, because he no longer has labour to sell in the form of another commodity, another use value composed of *objectified* labour (labour existing outside his subjectivity). Instead, the sole commodity he has to offer, to sell, is precisely his living labour capacity, present in his own living corporeity.[21] (*Capacity* is here absolutely not to be conceived as *fortuna*, FORTUNE, but as potency, δύναμις.[a])

Instead of selling a commodity in which his labour is objectified, he must be compelled to sell his own labour capacity, that commodity which is specifically distinct from all other commodities, whether they exist in the commodity form or the money form. A prerequisite for this is the absence of the objective conditions for the realisation of his labour capacity, the conditions for the objectification of his labour; these must have been lost to him, becoming instead subject to an alien will, as a world of wealth, of objective wealth confronting him in circulation as the property of the commodity owners, as alien property. Later on we shall be able to be more precise about the kind of conditions required for the realisation of his labour capacity, i.e. the objective conditions for labour, labour *in processu*, conceived as activity realising itself in a use value.[b]

If then the condition for the transformation of money into capital is its exchange with living labour capacity, or the purchase of living labour capacity from its proprietor, money can, in general, be transformed into capital, or the money owner turn into a capitalist, only to the extent that the free worker is *available* on the commodity market, within circulation; free, that is, in so far as he, on the one hand, has at his disposal his own labour capacity as a commodity, and, on the other hand, has no other commodity at his disposal, is free, completely rid of, all the objective conditions for the realisation of his labour capacity; and therefore,

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[a] Ability.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 55-66.— *Ed.*

as a mere subject, a mere personification of his own labour capacity, is a *worker* in the same sense as the money owner is a *capitalist*, as subject and repository of objectified labour, of value sticking fast to itself.

This free worker, however, is evidently himself the product, the result, of a prior historical development, the summation of many economic transformations; and his existence presupposes the fall of other social relations of production and a definite development of the productive forces of social labour. The same is therefore also true of the exchange between the money owner and the owner of labour capacity, between capital and labour, between capitalist and worker. The definite historical conditions [I-19] associated with the relation presupposed here will emerge of themselves from the later analysis of that relation.[22] In any case, capitalist production proceeds from the *presupposition* that free workers, i.e. sellers who have nothing but their own labour capacity to sell, will be *found available* within the sphere of circulation, on the market. Thus the formation of the capital-relation demonstrates from the outset that it can only enter the picture at a definite historical stage of the economic development of society—of the social relations of production and the productive forces. The capital-relation appears straight away as a historically determined economic relation, a relation that belongs to a definite historical period of economic development, of social production.[21]

We started out from the way the commodity appears on the surface of bourgeois society, as the simplest economic relation, the element of bourgeois wealth. The analysis of the commodity showed that definite historical conditions were wrapped up in its existence, too.[a] For example, if the products are only produced by the producers as use values, the use value does not become a commodity. This presupposes that the relations among the members of society are historically determined. If we had pursued the question further, asking under what circumstances the products are generally produced as commodities, or under what conditions the product in its existence as commodity appears as the universal and necessary form of all products, it would have turned out that this only takes place on the basis of one particular historical mode of production, the capitalist one. But this way of looking at things would not have been relevant to the analysis of

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 282-83, 292).— *Ed.*

the commodity as such, for in that analysis we were only concerned with the products, the use values, to the extent that they appeared in the commodity form, and not with the question of the socio-economic basis for the appearance of every product as a commodity. We were proceeding instead from the fact that the commodity is found to be present in bourgeois production as such a universal elementary form of wealth.[20] The production and therefore the circulation of commodities can, however, take place between different communities or between different organs of the same community, even though the major part of what is produced may be produced as use values, for the producers' own direct personal requirements, and therefore may never take on the commodity form. The circulation of money, for its part, and hence the development of the different elementary functions and forms of money, presupposes nothing more than commodity circulation itself, and crudely developed commodity circulation at that.[23] Of course, this is also a historical prerequisite, but owing to the nature of the commodity it may be fulfilled at very different stages of the social production process. A closer analysis of the individual forms of money, e.g. the development of money as a hoard and of money as means of payment, pointed to very different historical stages of the social production process. These are historical differences, arising out of the sheer form of these different functions of money[24]; but the mere existence of money in the form of a hoard or of means of payment was shown to be in equal degree a feature of every halfway developed stage of commodity circulation. Money is therefore not restricted to a particular period of production, being as characteristic of pre-bourgeois stages of the production process as of bourgeois production. Capital, however, steps forth from the outset as a relation which can only be the result of a definite historical process and the basis of a definite epoch in the social mode of production.

Let us now look at labour capacity itself in its antithesis to the commodity, which confronts it in the form of money, or in its antithesis to objectified labour, to value, which is personified in the money owner or capitalist and in this person has become a will in its own right, being-for-itself,[25] a conscious end in itself.

Labour capacity appears on the one hand as *absolute poverty*, in that the whole world of material wealth as well as its general form, exchange value, confronts it as alien commodity and alien money, whereas it is itself merely the possibility of labour, available and confined within the living body of the worker,[a] a possibility which

[a] In the manuscript, "subject" is written above "worker".— *Ed.*

is, however, utterly separated from all the objective conditions of its realisation, hence from its own reality, denuded of them, and existing independently over against them. To the extent that all the objective conditions for labour to come to life, for its actual process, for really setting it in motion—all the conditions for its objectification—mediate between the capacity for labour and actual labour, they can all be described as *means of labour.* In order that labour capacity may as an independent factor come to meet the [I-20] objectified labour represented by the owners of money and commodities, that it may confront the value personified by the capitalist, it must be denuded of its own means of labour and step forth in its independent shape as the worker who is obliged to offer his labour capacity as such for sale as a commodity. Since *actual* labour is the appropriation of nature for the satisfaction of human needs,[26] the activity through which the metabolism between man and nature is mediated, to denude labour capacity of the means of labour, the objective conditions for the appropriation of nature through labour, is to denude it, also, of the *means of life,* for as we saw earlier,[a] the use value of commodities can quite generally be characterised as the *means of life.* Labour capacity denuded of the means of labour and the means of life is therefore absolute poverty as such, and the worker, as the mere personification of the labour capacity, has his needs in actuality, whereas the activity of satisfying them is only possessed by him as a non-objective capacity (a possibility) confined within his own subjectivity. As such, conceptually speaking, he is a PAUPER, he is the personification and repository of this capacity which exists for itself, in isolation from its objectivity.

On the other hand, since material wealth, the world of use values, exclusively consists of natural materials modified by labour, hence appropriated solely through labour, and the social form of this wealth, exchange value, is nothing but a particular social form of the objectified labour contained in the use values; and since the use value, the real use of labour capacity is labour itself, i.e. the activity which mediates use values and creates exchange value, it follows that labour capacity is, just as much, the general possibility of material wealth and the sole source of wealth in the particular social form wealth has as exchange value. Value as objectified labour is after all only the objectified activity of labour capacity. Hence, if in dealing with the capital-relation one starts from the

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 269-70).— *Ed.*

presupposition that objectified labour is preserved and increased, that value is preserved and increased, by the fact that the owners of money or commodities continuously find available in circulation a section of the population who are mere personifications of labour capacity, mere workers, and therefore sell their labour capacity as a commodity, continuously offering it on the market, then the paradox which seems to be the starting-point of modern political economy stems from the nature of the case.[27] While on the one hand political economy proclaims labour to be the source of wealth, in both its material substance and its social form, as regards both use values and exchange values, on the other hand it proclaims, just as much, the necessity for the worker to be in absolute poverty, a poverty which means nothing else than that his labour capacity is the sole remaining commodity he can sell, that he confronts objective, real wealth as mere labour capacity. This contradiction is present in the fact that, whether value appears in the form of the commodity or of money, it confronts labour capacity as such as a special kind of commodity.

A further antithesis is this: in contrast to money (or value in general) as *objectified labour*, labour capacity appears as a capacity of the living subject; the former is past labour, labour already performed, the latter is future labour, whose existence can only be the living activity, the currently present activity of the living subject itself.[28]

Just as on the side of the capitalist there stands value as such, which has its social, universally valid, general existence as objectified labour in money, and for which every particular form of existence, existence in the use value of every particular commodity, only means a particular and in itself indifferent embodiment, value as such being wealth in the abstract, so he is confronted, in the shape of the worker as the mere personification of labour capacity, by labour as such, the general possibility of wealth, value-creating activity (as a capacity) in general. Whatever the particular kind of actual labour the capitalist may wish to buy, this particular kind of labour capacity only retains its validity to the extent that its use value is the objectification of labour in general, hence value-creating activity in general. The capitalist, who represents value as such, is confronted by the worker, as labour capacity pure and simple, as worker in general, so that the antithesis between [I-21] self-valorising value, self-valorising objectified labour, and living value-creating labour capacity forms the point and the actual content of the relation. They confront each other as capital and labour, as capitalist and worker. This abstract

opposition can be found for example in industry under the guild system, where the relation between master and journeyman is of an entirely different nature.[29] //This point, and probably the whole of this passage, should be put in first in the section "Capital and Wage Labour".[30]//

### VALUE OF LABOUR CAPACITY. MINIMUM SALARY OR AVERAGE WAGE OF LABOUR

Labour capacity is specifically distinguished as *use value* from the use values of all other commodities. Firstly, because it exists as a mere ability in the living body of the seller, the worker; and secondly (this is something that imprints on it an entirely characteristic difference from all other use values) because its use value—its actual realisation as a use value, i.e. its consumption—is labour itself, hence the substance of exchange value; because it is the creative substance of exchange value itself. Its actual using-up, its consumption, posits exchange value. Its specific use value is that it creates exchange value.

As a commodity, however, labour capacity itself possesses an *exchange value.* The question is, how to determine this value? In so far as a commodity is considered from the point of view of exchange value, it is always viewed as a result of the productive activity that is required for the creation of its use value. Its exchange value is equal to the quantity of labour used in working on it, objectified in it, and the measure of this is labour time itself. As exchange value, commodities are distinguished from each other only quantitatively, but from the point of view of its substance each commodity is a certain quantity of average social labour, of necessary labour time, which is required to produce, and therefore also to reproduce, this particular use value under the given general conditions of production. Hence the value of labour capacity, like that of every other use value, is equal to the quantity of labour worked up in it, the labour time required to produce labour capacity (under the given general conditions of production). Labour capacity exists only as an ability of the living body of the worker. Once labour capacity is presupposed as given, its production comes down to reproduction, preservation, as does the production of every living thing. The value of labour capacity can therefore be resolved at the outset into the value of the means of subsistence needed to maintain it, i.e. to maintain the worker's life as a worker, so that having worked today he will be able to repeat the same process under the same conditions the next day.

*Secondly*: Before the worker has developed his labour capacity, before he is able to work, he must live. Thus if capital is continuously to find sellers of their own labour capacity available on the market, within circulation—and this is a prerequisite for money to develop into capital, for the capital-relation to occur —it is necessary, the worker being mortal, that he should receive, apart from his own means of subsistence, enough of the means of subsistence to perpetuate the race of workers, to increase their number, or at the very least to maintain it at its given level, so that the labour capacities withdrawn from the market through unsuitability or death are replaced by fresh ones. In other words, he must receive adequate means of subsistence to nourish children until they themselves can live as workers. In order to develop a particular labour capacity, in order to modify his general nature in such a way that he is capable of performing a particular kind of labour, the worker requires practice or training: an education which must itself be paid for, and is more or less expensive according to the particular kind of productive labour he is learning to do. This therefore also forms a part of the cost of production of labour capacity. Important as the latter consideration becomes when it is a matter [I-22] of analysing the differing values of individual branches of labour, here it is irrelevant, for we are only concerned with the general relationship between capital and labour, and therefore have in view ordinary, average labour, seeing all labour as only a multiple of this average labour, the training costs of which are infinitesimally small. In any case, the training costs—the outgoings required to develop the nature of the worker so that he has expertise and dexterity in a particular branch of labour—are always included in the means of subsistence the worker requires to convert his children, his replacements, in turn into labour capacities. These costs form part of the means of subsistence required for the worker to reproduce himself as a worker.

The value of labour capacity can therefore be resolved into the values of the means of subsistence required for the worker to maintain himself as a worker, to live as a worker, and to procreate. These values for their part can be resolved into the particular amount of labour time needed, the quantity of labour expended, in order to create means of subsistence or the use values necessary for the maintenance and propagation of labour capacity.

The means of subsistence needed for the maintenance or reproduction of labour capacity can all be reduced to commodities, which possess more or less value as the productive power of labour varies, i.e. according to whether they require a shorter or

longer labour time for their production, so that the same use values contain more or less objectified labour time. The value of the means of subsistence required for the maintenance of labour capacity therefore varies, but it is always precisely measured by the quantity of labour necessary to produce the means of subsistence needed for the maintenance and reproduction of labour capacity, or to maintain or reproduce labour capacity itself. The magnitude of the labour time required for this purpose is subject to variation, but a definite portion of labour time—larger or smaller—is always available, and must be devoted to the reproduction of labour capacity. The living existence of this capacity itself is to be regarded as the objectification of that labour time.

Naturally, the means of subsistence needed by the worker to live as a worker differ from one country to another and from one level of civilisation to another. Natural needs themselves, e.g. the need for nourishment, clothing, housing, heating, are greater or smaller according to climatic differences. Similarly, since the extent of the so-called primary requirements for life and the manner of their satisfaction depend to a large degree on the level of civilisation of the society, are themselves the product of history, the necessary means of subsistence in one country or epoch include things not included in another. The range of these necessary means of subsistence is, however, given in a particular country and a particular period.

Even the level of the *value* of labour rises or falls when one compares different epochs of the bourgeois period in the same country. Finally, the market price of labour capacity at one time rises above and at another falls below the level of its *value.* This applies to labour capacity as to all other commodities, and is a matter of indifference here, where we are proceeding from the presupposition that commodities are exchanged as equivalents or realise their value in circulation. (This value of commodities in general, just like the value of labour capacity, is represented in reality as their average price, arrived at by the mutual compensation of the alternately falling and rising market prices, with the result that the value of the commodities is realised, made manifest, in these fluctuations of the market price itself.[31]) The problem of these movements in the level of the workers' needs, as also that of the rise and fall of the market price of labour capacity above or below this level, do not belong here, where the general capital-relation is to be developed, but in the doctrine of the wages of labour.[32] It will be seen in the further course of this investigation that whether one assumes the level of workers' needs to be higher

or lower is completely irrelevant to the end result.[33] The only thing of importance is that it should be viewed as given, determinate. All questions relating to it as not a given but a variable magnitude belong to the investigation of [I-23] wage labour in particular and do not touch its general relationship to capital. Incidentally, every capitalist who for example sets up a factory and establishes his business necessarily regards wages as given in the place where and the time when he sets himself up in business.

// "Diminish the cost of subsistence of men, by diminishing the natural price of the food and clothing, BY WHICH LIFE IS SUSTAINED, AND WAGES WILL ULTIMATELY FALL, NOTWITHSTANDING THAT THE DEMAND FOR LABOURERS MAY VERY GREATLY INCREASE" (Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy*, 3rd ed., London, 1821, p. 460). //

// "The *natural price of labour* is that price which is necessary to enable the labourers, ONE WITH ANOTHER, to subsist and to perpetuate their race, without either increase or diminution. The power of the labourer to support himself and his family does not depend on the quantity of money which he may receive for wages, but on the quantity of FOOD, NECESSARIES, and CONVENIENCES which that money can purchase. The natural price of labour, therefore, depends on the PRICE OF the FOOD, NECESSARIES, and CONVENIENCES.... With a rise in the price of FOOD and NECESSARIES, the natural price of labour will rise; with a fall in their price, it will fall" (Ricardo, l.c., p. 86). //

// The English PECK (a measure of corn) = $^1/_4$ BUSHEL. There are 8 BUSHELS to 1 quarter. The STANDARD BUSHEL contains 2,218 AND $^1/_5$ cubic INCHES, AND MEASURES $19^1/_2$ INCHES IN DIAMETER, AND $8^1/_4$ INCHES DEEP. Malthus says:

"From a comparative review of corn prices and wages from the reign of Edward III onwards we may draw the inference that during the course of 500 years, the EARNINGS OF A DAY'S LABOUR IN THIS COUNTRY have been more frequently below than above a PECK of wheat; that 1 PECK of wheat may be considered as something like a MIDDLE POINT, or a point RATHER ABOVE THE MIDDLE, ABOUT WHICH THE CORN WAGES OF LABOUR, VARYING ACCORDING TO THE DEMAND AND SUPPLY, HAVE OSCILLATED" (Malthus, *Principles of Political Economy etc.*, 2nd ed., London, 1836, [pp. 240,] 254). //

If a lower-grade commodity is put in the place of a higher and more valuable one, which formed the worker's main means of subsistence, e.g. if corn, wheat, replaces meat, or potatoes are put in the place of wheat and rye, the level of the *value* of labour capacity naturally falls, because the level of its needs has been pushed down. In our investigation, however, we shall everywhere assume that the amount and quality of the means of subsistence, and therefore also the extent of needs, at a given level of civilisation, is never pushed down, because this investigation of the rise and fall of the level itself (particularly its artificial lowering)

does not alter anything in the consideration of the general relationship.

Among the Scots, for example, there are many families that live for whole months on OAT MEAL and barley meal, mixed with only water and salt, instead of on wheat and rye, "AND THAT VERY COMFORTABLY", says Eden in his *The State of the Poor etc.*, Vol. I, London, 1797, b. II, Ch. II.

That curious philanthropist and ennobled Yankee, Count Rumford, exerted his limited brainpower at the end of the last century in the artificial creation of a low AVERAGE. His *Essays*[a] are a fine cookery book with recipes of all kinds of the cheapest possible grub for replacing the present expensive normal food with surrogates for the workers. The cheapest meal which can be prepared, according to this "philosopher", is a soup of barley, Indian corn, pepper, salt, vinegar, sweet herbs and 4 herrings in 8 gallons of water. In the work cited above Eden heartily recommends this pretty pig-swill to workhouse overseers. 5 lbs of barley, 5 lbs of Indian corn, 3d. worth of herring, 1d. salt, 1d. vinegar, 2d. pepper and herbs, in all $20^3/_4$d., provide a soup for 64 people, and given the average price of corn it should be possible to reduce the cost per portion to $^1/_4$d.

// "The mere workman, who has only his arms and his industry, has nothing unless he succeeds in selling his labour to others.... In every kind of work it cannot fail to happen, and as a matter of fact it does happen, that the wages of the workman are limited to what is necessary to procure him his subsistence" (Turgot, *Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses*, (appeared first in 1766) in *Oeuvres de Turgot*,[34] ed. by Eugène Daire, Vol. 1, Paris, 1844, [p.] 10).[b] //

[I-26] //[35] It is possible, on the one hand, to bring down the level of the value of labour capacity by reducing the value of the means of subsistence or the way needs are satisfied, through replacing better by cheaper and inferior provisions, or in general through reducing the scope, the volume of provisions. But in view of the fact that the nourishment of women and children enters into the determination of the level, the average level, it is also possible, on the other hand, to push down this level by forcing them to work. Children are already made use of for work during the time when they should be developing. But we are leaving this case out of consideration, like all other cases affecting the level of the value of labour.[36] We are therefore giving capital a FAIR CHANCE by assuming precisely its greatest abominations to be non-

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[a] B. [Thompson,] Count of Rumford, *Essays, Political, Economical and Philosophical*, Vol. I, London, 1796, p. 294.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

existent.// //The level can equally be lowered by reducing the period of apprenticeship or its cost as near to zero as possible through simplification of work.//

//The following passage from the Whig sycophant Macaulay can be adduced here, in reference to the early exploitation of children as workers.[a] It is characteristic of the kind of history-writing, and the kind of attitude in the economic sphere too, which, while not being *laudator temporis acti*,[b] limits its audacity to the retrospective, transferring it into the passive. Concerning child labour in factories, similar things in the 17th century. But the passage dealing with the historical process or the machine, etc., is better [suited for it].[37] See FACTORY REPORTS, 1856.// [1-26]

[I-24] It was naturally of the highest importance for grasping the capital-relation to determine the *value of labour capacity*, since the capital-relation rests on the sale of that capacity. What had above all to be established was the way in which the value of this commodity is determined, for the essential feature of the relation is that labour capacity is offered as a commodity; but as a commodity the determination of its exchange value is the decisive factor. Since the exchange value of labour capacity is determined by the values or the prices of the means of subsistence, the use values necessary for labour capacity's preservation and reproduction, the Physiocrats were able to form on the whole a correct conception of its value however little they grasped the nature of value in general. Hence this wage of labour, which is determined by the average necessities of life, plays an important role with these people, who established the first rational conceptions of capital in general.[c]

//In his anonymously published work *A Critical Dissertation on the Nature, Measures, and Causes of Value etc.*, London, 1825, directed against Ricardo's theory of value altogether, Bailey remarks as follows on the former's determination of the *value* of labour capacity:

* "Mr. Ricardo, ingeniously enough, avoids a difficulty, which, on a first view, threatens to encumber his doctrine, that value depends on the quantity of labour employed in production. If this principle is rigidly adhered to, it follows *that the value of labour* depends on the quantity of labour *employed in producing it*—which is evidently absurd. By a dexterous turn, therefore, Mr. Ricardo makes the value of labour depend on the quantity of labour required to produce wages; or, to give

[a] The passage in question—Marx does not quote it here—occurs in Th. B. Macaulay's *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second*, Vol. I, London, 1854.—*Ed.*

[b] A laudator of times gone by (Horace, *Ars poetica*).—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 353-54.—*Ed.*

him the benefit of his own language, he maintains *that the value of labour is to be estimated* by the quantity of labour required to produce wages; by which he means the quantity of labour required to produce the money or commodities given to the labourer. This is similar to saying, that the value of cloth is to be estimated, not by the quantity of labour bestowed upon its production, but by the quantity of labour bestowed on the production of the silver for which the cloth is exchanged" * ([pp.] 50-51).[38]

The only thing right about this polemic is that Ricardo has the capitalist use his money to buy *labour* directly, instead of disposition over labour capacity. Labour as such is not directly a commodity, for this is necessarily objectified labour, worked up in a use value. Ricardo does not distinguish between labour capacity as the commodity the worker sells, use value, which has a definite exchange value, and labour, which is merely the use of this capacity *in actu*. He is therefore incapable, leaving aside the contradiction picked out by Bailey—that living labour cannot be estimated by the quantity of labour EMPLOYED IN ITS PRODUCTION—of demonstrating how surplus value can emerge, namely the inequality between the quantity of labour the capitalist gives to the worker as a wage and the quantity of living labour the capitalist buys for this amount of objectified labour. For the rest Bailey's remark is SILLY. The price of CLOTH does indeed consist also of the price of the cotton yarn consumed in it, just as the price of labour capacity consists of the means of subsistence that enter into it through the metabolic process. Incidentally, the reproduction of living, organic things does not depend on the labour directly applied to them, the labour worked up in them, but on the means of subsistence they consume—and this is the way of reproducing them. Bailey could also have seen this in the determination of animals' value; even in the case of machines, in so far as coal, oil and other *matières instrumentales*[a] consumed by them enter into their cost. To the extent that labour is not restricted merely to the maintaining of life, the need being rather for a special kind of labour which directly modifies labour capacity itself, develops it in such a way that it can practise a particular skill, this too enters into the value of labour—as is the case with more complex labour—and here it is directly incorporated in the worker, is labour expended to produce him. Otherwise Bailey's joke only has the upshot that the labour applied to the reproduction of the organic body is applied to its means of subsistence, not directly to the body itself, since the appropriation of these means of subsistence through consumption is not work but rather enjoyment. //

[a] Instrumental materials.— *Ed.*

[I-25] The necessities of life are renewed daily. If we take for example the mass of necessities of life that are required during a year for the worker to be able to live as a worker and maintain himself as a labour capacity, and the exchange value of this sum—i.e. the quantity of labour time that is worked up, objectified, contained in these means of subsistence—the total quantity of the means of subsistence the worker requires on the average in a day, taking one day with another, and the value of the same needed to live the whole year through, represent the value of his labour capacity on each day, or the quantity of the means of subsistence required on one day so that this labour capacity may continue to exist, be reproduced, as living labour capacity.

Some of the means of subsistence are consumed more quickly, others more slowly. For example, the use values that serve daily as sustenance are also consumed daily, and the same is true of the use values that serve for heating, soap (cleanliness) and lighting. Other necessary means of subsistence, in contrast, such as clothes or housing, are worn out more slowly, although they are used and needed every day. Some means of subsistence must be bought afresh every day, renewed (*replaced*) every day, others, like for example clothes, need replacing or renewing only at longer intervals although they have to be used every day. This is because they continue to serve as use values for longer periods of time and only become worn out, unserviceable, at the end of these periods.

If the total amount of the means of subsistence the worker must consume every day in order to live as a worker=A, in 365 days it=365A. In contrast to this, if the total amount of all the other means of subsistence he needs, which only need replacing, i.e. buying anew, three times a year,=B, he would only need 3B in the whole year. Taking them together, therefore, he would need 365A+3B in a year; and every day $\frac{365A+3B}{365}$. This would be the average amount of the means of subsistence he needed every day, and the value of this amount would be the daily value of his labour capacity, i.e. the value required day by day, counting one day as equivalent to another, to buy the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of his labour capacity.

(If one counts the year as 365 days it will contain 52 Sundays, leaving 313 working days; one can therefore take an average of 310 working days.) If now the value of $\frac{365A+3B}{365}=1$ thaler, the daily value of his labour capacity would=1 thaler. He must earn

this amount every day in order to be able to live through the year day by day, and nothing in this is altered by the fact that the use value of certain commodities is not renewed every day. The annual total of his necessities of life is therefore given; then we take their value or price; then we take the daily average, i.e. we divide the total by 365, and we thus obtain the value of the worker's average necessities of life or the average daily value of his labour capacity. (The price of 365A+3B=365 thalers, hence the price of his daily necessities of life $=\frac{365A+3B}{365}=\frac{365}{365}=1$ thaler.)

### EXCHANGE OF MONEY WITH LABOUR CAPACITY

Labour capacity has a specific character and is therefore a specific commodity—just as money was both a commodity in general and a specific commodity, though with money its specific character was produced by the way all commodities related to any commodity which happened to be chosen as the exclusive commodity,[a] whereas here it is produced by the nature of the commodity's use value—but despite this it is like every other commodity 1) a *use value*, a particular object whose use satisfies particular needs, and 2) it has an *exchange value*, i.e. a definite quantity of labour has been used up, objectified, in it as object, as use value. As objectification of labour time in general it is value. The magnitude of its value is determined by the quantity of labour used up in it. This value, expressed in money, is the price of labour capacity. As we are proceeding here from the presupposition [I-26] that all commodities are sold according to their value,[b] price is in general distinguished from value only by the fact that it is the value estimated or measured or expressed in the material of money. The commodity is therefore sold at its value when it is sold at its price. Similarly, one should understand under the price of labour capacity nothing but its value expressed in money. The value of labour capacity for a day or a week is therefore paid when the price of the means of subsistence required for the maintenance of labour capacity during a day or a week is paid. This price or value, however, is not just determined by the means of subsistence entirely consumed by labour capacity each day, but equally by the means of subsistence it makes use of

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 287-89).— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 33.— *Ed.*

each day, such as clothes, for example, but does not entirely use up each day thereby necessitating their constant renewal; they therefore need to be renewed or replaced only over a certain period of time. Even if all objects relating to clothing were only used up once within one year (vessels for eating and drinking, e.g., do not need to be replaced so quickly as clothing, because they do not wear out so rapidly, and this applies still more to furniture, beds, tables, chairs, etc.), the value of these articles of clothing would still be consumed during the whole year for the maintenance of labour capacity, and the worker would have to be able to replace them after the end of the year. He would therefore have to receive every day on an average an amount such that after deduction of the daily expenditure for daily consumption enough was left over to replace worn-out clothing by new after the year had run its course; hence a daily requirement of, if not the such and such portion of a coat, at least one day's aliquot part of the value of a coat. The maintenance of labour capacity, if it is to be continuous, which is a prerequisite with the capital-relation, is not determined only by the price of the means of subsistence consumed in a day and therefore to be renewed, replaced on the next day: there must also be added the daily average of the price of the means of subsistence which need replacing over a longer period of time but must be used every day. It amounts to a difference in payment. A use value like a coat, for example, must be bought as a whole and used up as a whole. It is paid for by holding in reserve every day $^1/_x$ of the price of labour.

Since labour capacity is available only as an ability, an aptitude, a power enclosed in the living body of the worker, its maintenance means nothing other than the maintenance of the worker himself at the level of strength, health, vitality in general, which is needed for the exercise of his labour capacity.

[I-27] We must therefore state the following:

The commodity the worker offers for sale on the market in the sphere of circulation, the commodity he has to sell, is his *own labour capacity*, which, like every other commodity, has an objective existence so far as it is a use value, even if it is here only an ability, a power in the living body of the individual himself (it is hardly necessary to mention here that the head belongs to the body as well as the hand). Its functioning as a use value, however, the consumption of this commodity, its use as a use value, consists in labour itself, just like wheat, which only really functions as a use value when it is used up in the nutrition process, when it takes effect as an alimentary substance.

The use value of this commodity, like that of every other commodity, is only realised in the process of its consumption, hence only after it has passed from the hand of the seller into that of the buyer, but it has nothing to do with the process of sale itself except that it is a motive for the buyer. This use value, which exists as labour capacity before it is consumed, has in addition an *exchange value*, which, as in the case of every other commodity, is equal to the quantity of labour contained in it and therefore required for its reproduction; and as we have seen it is exactly measured by the labour time required to create the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of the worker. Time is the measure for life itself, just as e.g. weight is the measure for metals; hence the labour time required on an average to keep the worker alive for one day would be the daily value of his labour capacity, by virtue of which it is reproduced from one day to the next, or, what is the same thing here, preserved under the same conditions. As we have already said,[a] the range of these conditions is not prescribed by simple natural need but by natural need historically modified at a certain level of civilisation.

This *value* of labour capacity expressed in money is its *price*, and we presuppose that it is paid, since we in general assume that equivalents are exchanged or that commodities are sold at their value. This price of labour is called the *wage*. The wage which corresponds to the value of labour capacity is its average price, as we have explained it[b]; it is the *average wage*, which is also called the *minimum wage or salary*, whereby we understand by minimum not the extreme limit of physical necessity but the average daily wage over e.g. one year, in which are balanced out the prices of labour capacity during that time, which now stand above their value, and now fall below it.

It lies in the nature of this particular commodity, labour capacity, that its real use value only really passes from one hand to the other, from the hand of the seller to that of the buyer, after it has been consumed. The real use of labour capacity is labour. But it is sold as a capacity, a mere possibility before the labour has been performed, as a mere power, whose real manifestation only takes place after its alienation to the buyer. Since here the formal alienation [by sale] of the use value and its actual handing over are not simultaneous occurrences, the money of the buyer in this exchange mostly functions as *means of payment*. Labour capacity is

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[a] See this volume, p. 44.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 44-45.—*Ed.*

paid for daily, weekly, etc., but not at the moment when it is bought, rather after it has really been consumed in a day, a week, etc. In all countries where the capital-relation is developed the worker's labour capacity is only paid for after it has functioned as such. In this connection it can be said that everywhere the worker gives credit to the capitalist, by the day or by the week; this is due to the special nature of the commodity he is selling. The worker hands over to him the use of the commodity he sells, and only receives its exchange value or price after it has been consumed. // In times of crisis, and even with isolated bankruptcies, it is then revealed that this credit given by the workers is no mere phrase, since they do not get paid. // Nevertheless this does not initially alter the exchange process. The price is laid down by contract, hence the value of labour capacity is estimated in money, although it is only realised, paid, later. The determination of price is therefore related to the value of labour capacity, not the value of the product which accrues to the buyer of labour capacity as a result of its consumption, its actual utilisation. Nor is it related to the value of labour, which is not a commodity as such.

[I-28] We now know in fact what is paid to the worker by the owner of money who wants to transform his money into capital, and therefore buys labour capacity: he in fact pays him e.g. the daily *value* of his labour capacity, a price or daily wage corresponding to its daily value, in that he pays him a sum of money=the value of the means of subsistence necessary to the daily maintenance of labour capacity; a sum of money which represents exactly as much labour time as is required for the production of these means of subsistence, i.e. for the daily reproduction of labour capacity.

We do not yet know what the buyer receives for his part. It is bound up with the specific nature of this commodity, labour capacity, and with the specific purpose of its purchase by the buyer—namely that he may prove himself as representative of self-valorising value—that the operations occurring after the sale are of a specific nature and must therefore be considered separately. In addition—and this is the essential point—the specific use value of the commodity and its realisation as use value concern the economic relationship, the determinate economic form itself, and are therefore relevant to our analysis. It can be pointed out here in passing that use value originally appears as a matter of indifference, as any material prerequisite one cares to choose. In the analysis of the commodity the real use value of the individual commodities is completely irrelevant,[39] and the same

therefore holds for the specific character of the commodities altogether. What is alone important here is the general distinction between use value and exchange value, out of which money develops, etc. (See above.[40]) //What the worker has in fact sold to the money owner is the disposition over his labour capacity, and the latter has to employ it in accordance with its nature, its specific character. Within what limits, will be seen later.[a]// [I-28].

### THE LABOUR PROCESS

[I-A][41] In considering the exchange between capital and labour we have to distinguish two things:

1) *The sale of labour capacity.* This is a simple sale and purchase, a simple relation of circulation, like any other sale and purchase. In investigating this relation the employment or consumption of the commodity purchased is irrelevant.

The *harmonisers* seek to reduce the relation of capital and labour to this first act, because here buyer and seller meet each other only as *commodity owners*, and the specific and distinctive character of the transaction is not apparent.[42]

2) *The consumption of the commodity obtained in this exchange by capital* (of labour capacity), the using up of its use value, forms here a specific economic relation; whereas with the simple sale and purchase of commodities the use value of the commodity, just like the realisation of this use value, consumption, is irrelevant to the economic relation itself.

In the exchange between capital and labour the first act is an exchange (purchase or sale), comes entirely within the sphere of simple circulation. The exchangers only confront each other as buyer and seller. The second act is a process qualitatively distinct from the exchange. It is an essentially different category. [I-A]

[I-28] After the owner of money has bought labour capacity—made the exchange for labour capacity (the purchase is complete once the two sides have reached an agreement, even if payment takes place later)—he applies it as use value, consumes it. But the realisation, the actual use, of labour capacity, is living labour itself. The *consumption process* of this specific commodity sold by the worker therefore coincides with, or rather is, the *labour process* itself. Since labour is the activity of the worker himself, the realisation of his own labour capacity, he enters into this process as a labouring person, a worker, and for the buyer he has in this

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[a] See this volume, pp. 182-85.—*Ed.*

process no other existence than that of labour capacity in action. It is therefore not a person, but active labour capacity personified in the worker, that is working. It is characteristic that in England the name for workers, *HANDS*, is derived from the main organ with which their labour capacity performs its function, namely their own hands.

Real labour is purposeful activity aimed at the creation of a use value, at the appropriation of natural material in a manner which corresponds to particular needs.[43] Whether the muscles or the nerves suffer greater wear through this activity is in this connection irrelevant, as is the degree of idealisation the materials of nature have already undergone.[44]

All real labour is *particular* labour, the exercise of a particular branch of labour distinct from the others. Just as one commodity is distinguished from another by its specific use value, so a specific kind of activity, of labour, is embodied in it. Since the conversion of money into capital or the formation of capital presupposes a developed circulation of commodities, it presupposes a developed division of labour, a division of labour understood here in the manner in which it is manifest (appears) in the multiplicity of commodities in circulation, hence as a division of the totality, of the whole of social labour, into manifold modes of labour, hence a totality of specific modes of labour.[45] The labour performed by the worker will therefore belong exclusively to a specific branch of labour, just as his labour capacity is itself specific. The particular content or purpose, and therefore the particular mode of labour, concern us here just as little as the particular material or use value of the commodity concerns us when we analyse the commodity.[39] Which specific branch of labour the worker works in is irrelevant, although of course the purchaser can only buy labour of a specific kind. The sole point to be kept in view here is the specificity of labour where it appears as a real process. It will be seen below that this indifference towards the specific content of labour is not only an abstraction made by us; it is also made by capital, and it belongs to its essential [I-29] character.[46] //Just as the investigation of the *use values* of commodities as such belongs in *commercial knowledge*, so the investigation of the labour process in its reality belongs in *technology*.[47]//

In looking at the labour process we are only interested in the entirely general moments into which it falls and which belong to it as labour process. These general moments must emerge from the nature of labour itself. Before the worker had sold the disposition over his labour capacity, he could not set the latter in motion as

labour, could not realise it, because it was separated from the *objective conditions* of its activity. This separation is overcome in the actual labour process. Labour capacity now functions, because in accordance with its nature it appropriates its objective conditions. It comes into action because it enters into contact, into process, into association with the objective factors without which it cannot realise itself. These factors can be described in entirely general terms as *means of labour.* But the means of labour themselves fall necessarily into an object which is worked on, and which we want to call the *material of labour,* and the actual *means of labour,* an object which human labour, activity, interposes as a means between itself and the material of labour, and which serves in this way as a conductor of human activity. (This object does not need to be an instrument, it can be e.g. a chemical process.)[48]

A precise analysis will always reveal that all labour involves the employment of a material of labour and a means of labour. It is possible that the material of labour, the object to be appropriated by means of labour for a specific need, is available in nature without the assistance of human labour: the fish caught in water for example, or the wood felled in the primeval forest, or the ore brought up out of the pit. In such a case only the means of labour itself is a product of previous human labour. This characterises everything that can be called extractive industry; it only applies to agriculture to the extent that, say, virgin soil is being cultivated. Here, however, the seed is both means and material of labour, just as everything organic is both at once, the animal in stock-breeding for example. In contrast to this, it can only occur at the most primitive stages of economic development, hence only in conditions where the formation of the capital-relation does not come into question, that the instrument of labour is available in nature without further mediation. It is apparent of itself, and follows from the nature of the case, that the development of human labour capacity is displayed in particular in the development of the *means of labour* or *instrument of production.* It displays, namely, the degree to which man has heightened the impact of his direct labour on the natural world through the interposition for his working purposes of a nature already ordered, regulated and subjected to his will as a conductor.

The *means of labour,* in contrast to the material of labour, comprise not only the *instruments of production,* from the simplest tool or container up to the most highly developed system of machinery, but also the *objective conditions* without which the labour process cannot occur at all, e.g. the house in which the

work is done or the field on which sowing takes place, etc. These do not enter directly into the labour process, but they are conditions without which it cannot occur, and therefore necessary means of labour. They appear as conditions for the occurrence of the whole process, not as factors enclosed within the process. The *means of labour* equally include substances consumed in order to make use of the means of labour as such, like oil, coal, etc., or chemical substances used to call forth a certain modification in the material of labour, as e.g. chlorine for bleaching, etc. There is no point in going into details here.

With the exception of the production of raw materials the material of labour will always have itself already passed through a previous labour process. What appears as material of labour and hence raw material in one branch of labour appears as result in another. The great majority even of things regarded as products of nature, e.g. plants and animals, are the result, in the form in which they are now utilised by human beings and produced anew, of a previous transformation effected by means of human labour over many generations under human control, during which their form and substance have changed. As we have already noted, the means of labour in one labour process is the result of labour in another.

[I-30] Hence in order to consume labour capacity it is not sufficient for the money owner to buy labour capacity //temporary disposition over it//; he must also buy the means of labour, a bigger or smaller quantity of them: the material of labour and the means of labour. We shall come back to this afterwards.[a] Here we only need to remark that for the money owner who has bought labour capacity to be able to proceed to its consumption, i.e. to the actual *labour process*, he must, with another part of his money, have bought the objective conditions of labour, which roll round within circulation as commodities. Only in combination with them can labour capacity make the transition to the actual labour process.

The money owner also buys commodities, but commodities whose use values are to be consumed by living labour, consumed as factors in the labour process: in part as use values which are to constitute the material of labour, and hence the element of a higher use value; and in part as means of labour, which serve as a conductor for the operation of labour on the material of labour. To consume commodities—here initially the use values of commodities—in this way in the labour process is *to consume them*

[a] See this volume, pp. 66-67.—*Ed.*

*productively*, namely to consume them only as the means or object through and in which labour creates a higher use value. It is the industrial consumption of commodities (use values).[49] So much for the money owner, who transforms his money into capital by making the exchange with labour capacity.

Within the actual labour process itself commodities are only available as use values, not exchange values; for they confront real living labour only as its conditions, as means for its realisation, as factors determined by the nature of labour itself, which it requires for its realisation in a particular use value. The linen weaver, for example, is related in the act of weaving to the material of his labour, the linen yarn, only as material of this particular activity, weaving, only as an element in the fabrication of the product, linen. He is not related to it in so far as it has an exchange value, is the result of previous labour, but as a thing in front of him, whose properties he utilises for its rearrangement. In the same way, the fact that the loom is a commodity, the repository of exchange value, is of no concern at all here, it only matters as the means of the weaver's labour. Only as such is it used and consumed in the labour process. The material of labour and the means of labour, although they are themselves commodities and therefore use values which possess an exchange value, confront actual labour only as moments, as factors of its process. This being so, it is obvious that in this process they do not confront labour as capital either. Actual labour appropriates the instrument as its means and the material as the material of its activity. It is the process of appropriation of these objects as of the animated body, the organs of labour itself. Here the material appears as the inorganic nature of labour, and the means of labour as the organ of the appropriating activity itself.[50]

When we speak here of "higher" use values, this should not be understood in a moral sense; we do not even mean that the new use value necessarily occupies a higher rank in the system of needs. Grain distilled into schnapps is a lower use value than schnapps. Every use value that is preposited as an element in the formation of a new one is a lower use value vis-à-vis this new one, because it forms its elementary prerequisite, and the more labour processes have been undergone by the elements out of which a use value has been freshly formed, i.e. the more mediate its existence, the higher that use value is.[51]

The labour process is therefore a process in which the worker performs a particular purposive activity, a movement which is both the exertion of his labour capacity, his mental and physical

powers, and their expenditure and using-up. Through it he gives the material of labour a new shape, in which the movement is materialised. This applies whether the change of form is chemical or mechanical, whether it proceeds of itself, through the control of physiological processes, or merely consists in the removal of the object to a distance (alteration of its spatial location), or only involves separating it from the body of the earth. Whilst labour materialises itself in this manner in the object of labour, it forms it and uses up, consumes the means of labour as its organ.[52] The labour goes over from the form of activity to the form of being, the form of the object. As alteration of the object it alters its own shape. The form-giving activity consumes the object and itself; it forms the object and materialises itself; it consumes itself in its subjective form as activity and consumes the objective character of the object, i.e. it abolishes the object's indifference towards the purpose of the labour. Finally, the labour consumes the means of labour, which likewise made the transition during the process from mere possibility to actuality, by becoming the real conductor of labour, but thereby also got used up, in the form [I-31] in which it had been at rest, through the mechanical or chemical process it had entered.

All 3 moments of the process, whose subject is labour and whose factors are the material on which and the means of labour with which it operates, come together in a neutral result—the *product.* In the product labour has combined with the material of labour through the agency of the means of labour. The product, the neutral result in which the labour process ends, is a new *use value.* A use value in general appears as a product of the labour process. This use value may now either have attained the final form in which it can serve as means of subsistence for individual consumption, or, even in this form, it can again become a factor in a new labour process, as e.g. corn may be consumed not by human beings but by horses, may serve for the production of horses; or it can serve as an element for a higher, more complex use value; or the use value is a finished means of labour which is to serve as such in a fresh labour process; or, finally, the use value is an unfinished, a semi-manufactured product, which has to enter again as material of labour into a longer or shorter series of further labour processes, distinct from the labour process from which it has emerged as product, and also pass through a series of material changes. But with respect to the labour process from which it has emerged as product, it appears as a finished, conclusive result, as a new use value whose fabrication formed the

content of the labour process and the immanent purpose of labour's activity; formed the expenditure of the labour capacity, its consumption.

Therefore in the labour process the products of previous labour processes are employed, consumed by labour, in order to manufacture new products of higher, i.e. more mediated, use value. Within the limits of the particular labour process itself, in which the objective factors of labour only appear as the objective conditions of their realisation, this determination of use values, that they are themselves already products, is entirely irrelevant. It does however demonstrate the mutual material dependence of the different social modes of labour and the way they supplement each other to form a totality of social modes of labour.

To the extent that past labour is considered in its material aspect, i.e. to the extent that in looking at a use value which serves as means or material of labour in a labour process the circumstance is kept in mind that this use value is itself already a combination of natural material and labour, the past concrete labour objectified in use values serves as a means to the realisation of fresh labour, or, and this is the same thing, the formation of fresh use values. But one should certainly keep in mind the sense in which this is the case in the actual labour process. For example, *loom and cotton yarn serve in weaving only in the qualities they possess for this process as material and means of weaving, only through the physical qualities they possess for this particular labour process.* Cotton, wood and iron have taken on the forms in which they perform these services in the labour process, the one as yarn, the others as the loom. The fact that they have acquired this particular employment of their use value through the agency of previous labour, that they themselves already represent a combination of labour and natural material, is, as such, a circumstance which—just like the circumstance that wheat performs the particular services, finds the particular employment of its use value we see in the nourishment process—is irrelevant for *this* particular labour process as such, since they serve in a particular manner as use values, acquire a specific useful application. The process could not however, take place if cotton, iron and wood had not acquired the shape and therefore the specifically applicable qualities they possess as yarn and loom as a result of an earlier, past labour process.

Looked at purely materially, from the point of view of the actual labour process itself, a definite past labour process therefore appears as a preliminary stage and a condition for the entry into

action of the new labour process. But then this labour process itself becomes merely a condition for the manufacture of a particular use value, even viewed from the standpoint of use value. In the consumption of a use value in general the labour contained in it is irrelevant and the use value only functions as use value, in other words it satisfies certain needs according to its qualities in the process of consumption, hence only the qualities it possesses as this object and the services it renders as this object are of interest; equally, in the labour process, which is itself only a definite, specific process of the consumption of use values, a particular, specific manner of using them up, what matters is only the qualities the products of earlier labour have for this process, not their existence as the materialisation of past labour. The qualities acquired by any natural material through earlier labour are now its own physical qualities, with which it functions or serves. The fact that these qualities are mediated by earlier labour, this mediation itself, is cancelled out, extinguished, in the product.

[I-32] What was the specific mode, the driving purpose, the activity of labour, now appears in its result, in the alteration in the object brought about by labour in the product, as an object with particular new qualities which it has for use, for the satisfaction of needs. If we are reminded in the labour process itself that the material and means of labour are the product of earlier labour, this only happens in so far as they fail to develop the necessary qualities, e.g. a saw that does not saw, a knife that does not cut, etc. This recalls to us the imperfection of the labour which has provided a factor for the labour process currently under way. Where products of earlier labour processes enter into a new labour process as factors, as material or means, it is only the quality of the past labour that interests us. We want to know whether its product really possesses the useful qualities it claims to have, whether the work was *good* or *bad*. It is labour in its material effect and reality that interests us here. For the rest, where the means and the material of labour serve as such use values in the actual labour process and possess the appropriate qualities—though whether they possess these qualities as use values at a higher or lower level, whether they serve their purpose more or less perfectly, depends on the past labour whose products they are—it is entirely irrelevant that they are the products of previous labour. If they fell ready-made from the sky they would perform the same service. If they interest us as products, i.e. as the results of past labour, it is only as the results of *specific* labour. We are interested in the quality of this specific labour, on which depends

the quality of the results as use values, the degree to which they really serve [as] use values for this specific consumption process. Similarly, in a given labour process the labour is only of interest to the extent that it functions as this particular purposive activity; but the particular material content, and the degree to which the product is good or bad, to which it really possesses, acquires, the use value it ought to acquire in the labour process, depends on the higher or lower quality of the labour, on its thoroughness and suitability to the purpose.[53]

On the other hand, products which are destined to enter as use values into a fresh labour process, hence are either means of labour or unfinished products, i.e. products which need further treatment in order to become real use values, to serve for individual or productive consumption; products which are therefore either means or materials of labour for a further labour process, are realised as such only by entering into contact with living labour, which overcomes their dead objectivity, consumes them, transforms them from use values which only exist potentially into real and effective use values by consuming and utilising them as the objective factors of its own living movement. A machine that does not serve in the labour process is useless, dead wood and iron. Apart from this it falls victim to consumption by elemental forces, to the universal metabolism [of nature]. Iron rusts, wood rots. Yarn that is not woven or knitted, etc., is only wasted cotton, cotton unfitted for the other useful applications it possessed in its state as cotton, as raw material.

Since every use value can be made use of in various ways, every thing having various qualities in which it can serve to satisfy needs, it loses these qualities by acquiring use value in a particular direction through an earlier labour process, acquiring qualities with which it can only be useful in a particular subsequent labour process; hence products which can only serve as means and material of labour not only lose their quality as products which they acquired through the earlier labour, their quality as these particular use values, but also the raw material of which they consist is spoiled, pointlessly squandered, and along with the useful form it acquired as a result of labour previously carried out it falls victim to the dissolving action of natural forces. In the labour process the products of an earlier labour process, the material and means of labour, are as it were awakened from the dead. They only become *real* use values by entering as factors into the labour process, only in that process do they act as use values and only through it are they withdrawn from the dissolving action

of the universal metabolic process so as to re-appear in the product as a new formation.

The labour process also destroys the machine, but as a machine. It lives and acts as a machine, for it to be consumed is the same thing as to be effective, and in the changed form of the material its movement is realised, fixed, as the quality of a new object. Similarly, it is only in the labour process itself that the material of labour develops the useful qualities it possesses as such. The process of its consumption is a process of refashioning, alteration, from which it emerges as a use value of a higher order.[51]

[I-33] Hence if existing products, the results of earlier labour, mediate the realisation of living labour as its objective conditions, living labour, for its part, mediates the realisation of these products as use values, as products, and preserves them, withdraws them from the universal metabolism of nature, by breathing life into them as the elements of a "new formation".

In so far as actual labour creates use values, is appropriation of the natural world for human needs, whether these needs are needs of production or individual consumption, it is the universal condition for the metabolic interaction between nature and man, and as such a natural condition of human life it is independent of, equally common to, all particular social forms of human life.[43] The same is true of the labour process in its general forms; it is after all nothing but living labour, split up into its specific elements, whose unity is the labour process itself, the impact of labour on the material of labour working through the means of labour. The labour process itself appears in its general form, hence still in *no* specific *economic determinateness.* This form does not express any particular historical (social) *relation of production* entered into by human beings in the production of their social life; it is rather the general form, and the general elements, into which labour must be uniformly divided in all social modes of production in order to function as labour.

The form of the labour process which has been examined here is only its abstract form, a form divorced from all particular historical characteristics and fitting equally well with every kind of labour process, irrespective of the social relations human beings may enter into with each other in its course. Just as little as one can tell from the taste of wheat whether it has been produced by a Russian serf or a French peasant, equally little can one tell from the labour process in its general forms, the general forms of this labour process, whether it is happening under the whip of the slave-driver or the eye of the industrial capitalist, or indeed

whether the process is that of a savage dispatching wild beasts with his bow.[54]

With his money, the money owner has in part bought disposition over labour capacity, in part material and means of labour, so that he can use up, consume, this labour capacity as such, i.e. have it operate as actual labour, in short, so that he can have the worker really work. The universal determinants of this labour, which it has in common with every other manner of working, are not altered by the fact that it is done here for the money owner or appears here as the process of his consumption of labour capacity. He has subsumed the labour process under his dominion, appropriated it, but thereby left its general nature unchanged. To what extent the character of the labour process is itself changed by its subsumption under capital is a question which has nothing to do with the general form of the labour process and will be discussed later on.[55]

The wheat I eat, whether I have bought it or produced it myself, functions in either case in the nourishment process according to its own natural characteristics. Similarly, it does not change anything in the labour process in its general form, i.e. it changes nothing in the conceptual moments of work in general, whether I work for myself with my own material and instrument of labour, or I work for the money owner, to whom I have temporarily sold my labour capacity. The consumption of this labour capacity, i.e. its actual operation as labour power, actual labour, *which in itself is a process wherein an activity enters into certain relations with objects, remains the same as before* and moves within the same general forms. The labour process or actual work implies precisely that the separation in which the worker found himself before the sale of his labour capacity from the objective conditions which alone permit him to activate his labour capacity, to work—that this separation has been overcome, that he now enters into the natural relation as worker to the objective conditions of his labour, that he enters into the labour process. Hence in considering the general moments of this process I am only considering the general moments of actual labour in general.

(The practical application of this is namely that the apologists of capital confuse or identify it with a moment of the simple labour process as such, maintaining that a product intended for the production of another product is capital, that raw material is capital or that the tool of labour, the instrument of production is capital, that therefore capital is—whatever the relations of distribution and forms of social production—a factor of the

labour process as such, a factor of production. It will be better to deal with this point when once the valorisation process has been treated.[56] For money to be transformed into capital (productive capital), it must be transformed into material of labour, instrument of labour and labour capacity, all of them products of past labour, use values provided through the agency of labour and employed for new production. Viewed from its material side capital thus appears now—in so far as it exists as use value—[I-34] as existing, present in the form of products which serve for new production, raw material, tools (but also as labour). The converse, however, by no means follows: these things are not as such capital. They only become capital given certain social pre-conditions. Otherwise it could just as well be said that labour is in and for itself capital, hence the usefulness of labour could be used to demonstrate to the worker the usefulness of capital, since in the labour process the labour belongs to the capitalist just as much as the tool does.)

The moments of the labour process, considered in relation to labour itself, have been specified as material of labour, means of labour and labour itself. If these moments are considered with regard to the purpose of the whole process, the product to be manufactured, they can be described as material of production, means of production and productive labour (perhaps not this last expression).[57]

The product is the result of the labour process. But products appear just as much as its prerequisite, with which it does not end but from whose existence it starts out as a condition. Not only is the labour capacity itself a product; the means of subsistence the worker receives as money from the money owner for the sale of his labour capacity are already finished products for individual consumption. Likewise, his material and means of labour, one or the other, or both, are already products. Products are therefore presupposed to production; products both for individual and for productive consumption. Nature itself is originally the store-house in which the human being, equally presupposed as a natural product, finds available for consumption finished natural products, as well as finding available in part, in the very organs of his own body, the first instruments of production for the appropriation of these products. The means of labour, the means of production, appears as the first product produced by the human being; and the first forms of this product, stones, etc., are also found present in nature by him.[58]

As we have said, the labour process as such has nothing to do with the act of purchasing the labour capacity on the part of the

capitalist.[a] He has bought the labour capacity. Now he must employ it as use value. The use value of labour is work itself, the labour process. We therefore ask what this process consists in, in its general moments, i.e. independently of the future capitalist, in the same way as if we were to say: he buys wheat and now wants to use it as a means of nourishment.[b] In what does the process of nourishment by cereals consist, or rather, what are the general moments of the nourishment process as such?

### THE VALORISATION PROCESS

In so far as the result of the labour process is still viewed in relation to the process itself, as the crystallised labour process, whose different factors have come together in a static object, a combination of subjective activity and its material content, this result is the *product.* But this product viewed for itself, in the independence in which it appears as a result of the labour process, is a particular *use value.* The material of labour has acquired the form, the particular qualities, whose manufacture was the purpose of the entire labour process and which as the driving objective determined the specific way the labour itself was carried on. This product is a *use value* in so far as it is now present as the result, with the labour process lying behind it as past, as the history of its origin. What money has acquired by its exchange with the labour capacity, or what the money owner has acquired by the consumption of the labour capacity he has bought—this consumption being however by the nature of the labour capacity an industrial, productive consumption or a labour process—is a *use value.* This use value belongs to him; he has bought it by giving an equivalent for it, namely he has bought the material of labour and the means of labour. But the *labour itself* likewise belonged to him, for owing to his purchase of the labour capacity—hence *before* any actual work was done—the use value of this commodity belongs to him, and this is labour itself. The product belongs to him just as much as if he had consumed his own labour capacity, i.e. himself worked on the raw material. The whole labour process only takes place after he has provided himself with all its elements on the basis of commodity exchange and in accordance with its laws, namely by purchasing these elements at their price, which is their value expressed, estimated, in money. To the extent that his

[a] See this volume, pp. 54-55.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 52.—*Ed.*

money has been converted into the elements of the labour process and the whole labour process itself appears merely as the consumption of the labour capacity bought by the money, the labour process itself appears as a transformation that money passes through by being exchanged not for an available use value but for a process which is its own process. The labour process is as it were incorporated in it, subsumed under it.

Yet, the purpose of the exchange of money for the labour capacity was by no means use value; it was the transformation of money into capital. Value, become independent in money, was to maintain, increase itself in this exchange, assume a self-sufficient character, and the money owner was to become a capitalist precisely by representing value dominant over circulation and asserting itself [I-35] as subject within it. What was at stake here was exchange value, not use value. Value asserts itself as exchange value only if the use value created in the labour process, the product of actual labour, is itself a repository of exchange value, i.e. a *commodity*. For the money that was being turned into capital, therefore, it was a matter of the production of a commodity, not a mere use value. The use value was important only in so far as it was a necessary condition, a material substratum of exchange value. What was involved, in fact, was the *production* of exchange value, its preservation and its increase. It will now be necessary, therefore, to calculate the exchange value obtained in the product, in the new use value. (It is a matter of the valorisation of value. Hence not only a labour process but a valorisation process.)

Just one more preliminary remark before we proceed to this calculation. All the prerequisites of the labour process, all the things that went into it, were not just use values but commodities, use values with a price expressing their exchange value. Commodities were present in advance as elements of this process, and must emerge from it again. Nothing of this is shown when we look at the simple labour process as material production. The labour process therefore constitutes only one side, the material side of the production process. As the commodity is itself from one aspect use value, from another exchange value, so naturally must the commodity *in actu*,[a] in the process of its origin, be a two-sided process: [on the one hand] its production as use value, as product of useful labour, on the other hand its production as exchange value, and these two processes must only appear as two different

[a] In process.— *Ed.*

forms of the same process, exactly as the commodity is a unity of use value and exchange value. The commodity, from which we proceeded as something already given,[a] is viewed here in the process of its becoming. The production process is not the process of the production of use value, but of the commodity, hence of the unity of use value and exchange value. Even so, this would not yet make the mode of production into a capitalist one. All that is required so far is that the product, the use value, be destined not for personal consumption but for alienation, for sale. Capitalist production, however, requires not only that the commodities thrown into the labour process should be valorised, should acquire a new value by the addition of labour—industrial consumption is nothing but the addition of new labour—but also that the values thrown into industrial consumption—for the use values thrown into it all had value to the extent that they were commodities—should valorise themselves as values, should produce new value owing to the fact that they were values. If it was just a matter of the first requirement we should not have passed beyond the simple commodity.

We assume that the elements of the labour process are not use values to be found in the possession of the money owner himself, but were originally acquired as commodities by purchase and that this forms the prerequisite of the entire labour process. We have seen that it is not necessary for every kind of industry that in addition to the means of labour the material of labour as well should be a commodity, i.e. a product already mediated by labour, that it should be exchange value—a commodity—as objectified labour.[b] Here, however, we proceed from the presupposition that all elements of the process are bought, as is the case in manufacturing. We take the phenomenon in the form in which it appears most completely. This does not detract from the correctness of the analysis, since one only has to set one factor=0 for other cases. Thus in fishing the material of labour is not itself a product, hence does not circulate beforehand like a commodity, and so one factor of the labour process, namely the material of labour, if considered as exchange value, as a commodity, can be set=0.

It is however an *essential* presupposition that the money owner should buy more than just the labour capacity. In other words, not

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 269).—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 56.—*Ed.*

only must money be exchanged for the labour capacity, but equally for the other objective conditions of the labour process, material of labour and means of labour; and under these headings there may lie a great multiplicity of things, of commodities, depending on whether the labour process is of a simpler or a more complex nature. To begin with, this presupposition is methodologically necessary at the stage of development presently being considered. We have to see how money is transformed into capital. But every money owner who wants to transform his money into industrial capital goes through this process every day. He must buy the material and the means of labour in order to be able to consume alien labour.—Necessary for real insight into the nature of the capital-relation. The latter proceeds from the circulation of commodities as its basis.[20] It implies the supersession of the mode of production in which personal consumption is the main purpose of production, and in which only the surplus is sold as a commodity. It is the more completely developed the more the elements that concern it are themselves commodities, hence can only be appropriated through purchase. The more production itself acquires its elements from circulation—i.e. as commodities—so that they enter into it as exchange values already, the more is this production capitalist production. If we here theoretically presuppose the existence of circulation before the formation of capital, and therefore proceed from money, this is also the course followed by history.[59] [I-36] Capital develops out of monetary wealth, and the formation of capital presupposes that commercial relations, formed at a stage of production that precedes it, are already highly developed. Money and the commodity are the presuppositions from which we must proceed in considering the bourgeois economy. Further consideration of capital will demonstrate that it is in fact capitalist production alone whose surface presents the commodity as the elementary form of wealth.[60]

One therefore sees the absurdity of the custom introduced by J. B. Say with his French schematism, but not followed by any of the classical economists. Because he was on the whole merely a vulgariser of Adam Smith, all he could do was provide a pretty or uniform arrangement for material he had by no means assimilated. He examines first production, then exchange, then distribution, and finally consumption, also sometimes distributing these four rubrics somewhat differently.[61] The specific mode of production we are to consider presupposes from the outset as one of its forms a particular mode of exchange, and produces a particular mode of distribution and a particular mode of consumption, in so

far as consideration of the latter falls within the sphere of political economy at all. (This must be returned to later.)[62]

So, NOW *ad rem.*[a]

The exchange value of the product (of the use value) that emerged from the labour process consists of the total amount of labour time materialised in it, of the total quantity of labour worked up, objectified, in it.* It therefore consists firstly of the value of the raw material contained in the product, or the labour time required to produce this, the material of labour. Let us assume it to be 100 working days. This value is however already expressed in the price at which the material of labour was bought, say, e.g. a price of 100 thalers. The value of this part of the product enters into it already determined as price. Secondly, as regards the means of labour, tools, etc., the tool will not necessarily be completely worn out; it can continue to function as a means of labour in fresh labour processes. Hence only that part of the tool can enter into the calculation that has been used up, since it alone has entered into the product. Later on the method of calculating the wear and tear on the means of labour will be shown more precisely,[63] but at this point we shall assume that the whole of it is worn out in the one labour process. This assumption makes the less difference to the case in that actually the tool only enters the calculation in so far as it is consumed in the labour process, hence is transferred to the product; hence only the worn out means of labour enters the calculation. This is equally purchased. Hence the labour time contained in it, say of 16 working days, is expressed in its price of 16 thalers.

Before we now go further we ought to discuss here how the value of the material and means of labour is preserved in the labour process, so that it re-appears as a finished, *presupposed* constituent of the value of the product, or, what is the same thing, how the material and means of labour are consumed, altered in the labour process, either altered or completely destroyed (as with the means of labour), but their value is not destroyed, re-appearing instead in the product as a constituent, a *presupposed* constituent of its value.

//Capital has been regarded from its material side as a simple production process, a labour process. But, from the side of its

* Quesnay, etc., base their proof of the unproductiveness of all labour SAVE AGRICULTURAL LABOUR on this *addition.*[64]

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[a] To the matter in hand.— *Ed.*

formal determination, this process is a *process of self-valorisation.* Self-valorisation includes preservation of the preposited value as well as its multiplication. Labour is purposeful activity and from the material side it is therefore presupposed that the labour has employed its means to the appropriate purpose in the production process so as to give the material of labour the intended new use value.//

//Since the labour process is a process of the consumption of labour capacity by the capitalist—for the labour belongs to the capitalist—he has, in the labour process, consumed his material and means of labour by labour, and has consumed the labour itself by his material, etc.//[65]

[I-37] For the labour process as such, or in the labour process as such, effective labour capacity, the real worker, is concerned with the material and means of labour only as the objective prerequisites of the creative unrest that is labour itself, in fact only as the objective means to the realisation of labour. They are this through their objective qualities alone, through the qualities they possess as material and means of this particular labour. Where they are themselves products of earlier labour, this fact is extinguished in their capacity as things. The table that serves me for writing upon has its own form and its own characteristics; these appeared previously in the form-giving quality or specificity of the joiner's labour. In using the table as a means for further labour I have to do with it to the extent that it serves as a use value, has a particular useful application as a table. The fact that the material out of which it consists has acquired this form through earlier labour, the labour of the joiner, has disappeared, is extinguished in its existence as an object. It serves as a table in the labour process, quite regardless of the labour that turned it into a table.

In exchange value, in contrast, what matters is the quantity of labour materialised in this particular use value, or the quantity of labour time required to produce it. In this labour its own quality, the quality of being, for example, a joiner's labour, is extinguished, for it is reduced to a definite quantity of equal, general, undifferentiated, social, abstract labour.[66] The material specificity of the labour, hence of the use value in which it has been fixed, is thereby extinguished, vanished, irrelevant. It is presupposed that it was useful labour, that is, labour which resulted in a use value. The nature of this use value, hence the particular nature of the labour's usefulness, is extinguished in the existence of the commodity as exchange value, for as exchange value it is an equivalent, expressible in every other use value, hence in every

other form of useful labour which constitutes a quantity of social labour of the same magnitude. In respect of value therefore—i.e. considered as quantities of objectified labour time—the material of labour and the worn out means of labour can always be regarded as if they were moments of the same labour process, so that what is required to manufacture the product, the new use value, is 1) the labour time objectified in the material of labour, and 2) the labour time materialised in the means of labour. The material of labour is admittedly different in its original form, although it also re-appears in substance in the new use value. The means of labour has disappeared entirely, although it re-appears in the form of the new use value as effect, result. The particular material specificity, usefulness, of the acts of labour that were present in the material and means of labour, is just as extinguished as the use values in which they resulted have themselves vanished or changed. But as exchange values, and even before they entered this new labour process, they were merely a materialisation of labour in general, they were nothing but a quantity of labour time as such, absorbed in an object. For this labour time the particular character of the actual work being done, as well as the particular nature of the use value in which it was realised, was a matter of indifference.

After the new labour process the relationship is exactly the same as it was before. The quantity of labour time necessary e.g. to produce the cotton and the spindle is a quantity of labour time necessary to manufacture the yarn, in so far as cotton and spindle are used up in the yarn. That this quantity of labour time now appears as yarn is entirely irrelevant, since it continues to appear in a use value for whose manufacture it is necessary. If I for example exchange cotton and spindle to the value of 100 thalers for a quantity of yarn which is equally worth 100 thalers, in this case too the labour time contained in the cotton and spindle exists as labour time contained in the yarn. The fact that in their actual material transformation into yarn the cotton and the spindle also undergo changes in their material, with the one acquiring another form and the other entirely perishing in its material form, makes no difference, *because* this concerns them only as use values, hence in a shape towards which they are, as exchange values, essentially indifferent. Since as exchange values they are only a particular quantity of materialised social labour time, hence equal magnitudes, equivalents, for every other use value which represents a quantity of materialised social labour time of the same magnitude, it makes no difference to them that they appear now as the factors

of a new use value. The sole conditions are these, that they should 1) appear as labour time necessary for the creation of the new use value, and 2) really result in another use value—hence in use value [I-38] in general.

They are labour time necessary for the creation of the new use value because the use values in which they were originally crystallised were factors necessary for the new labour process. Secondly, however, according to our condition, the use values, as they existed before the labour process—as cotton and spindle—have in fact resulted through the new labour process in a new use value, the product, the yarn.

(That only such quantities of the material and means of labour should enter into the new product as are necessary for its creation, hence that no more labour time should be used than is necessary in these definite quantities; in other words that neither material nor means of production should be squandered, is a condition which has to do not with the material and means of labour as such but with the suitability and productivity of the new labour which uses them up in the labour process as its material and means; it is therefore a point that has to be considered in dealing with this labour itself. Here, however, the assumption is that the means and the material of labour only enter into the new process in quantities in which they are really required as such for the realisation of the new labour, are really objective conditions of the new labour process.)

Two results therefore.

*Firstly*: The labour time required for the manufacture of the material and means of labour used up in the product is labour time required for the manufacture of the product. In so far as exchange value is considered, the labour time materialised in the material and means of labour can be regarded as if the latter were moments of the same labour process. All the labour time contained in the product belongs to the past; hence it is materialised labour. The labour time which perished in the material and means of labour passed away earlier; it belongs to an earlier period than the labour time functioning directly in the last labour process. But this changes nothing. They merely constitute earlier periods during which [part of] the labour time contained in the product was worked up, as against the part which represents the labour entering into it directly. *The values of the material and means of labour therefore appear again in the product as constituents of its value.* This value is *presupposed*, since the labour time contained in the material and means of labour was expressed in their prices

in its general form, as social labour; these are the prices at which the money owner bought them as commodities before he began the labour process. The use values in which they consisted have perished but they themselves have remained unaltered and remain unaltered in the new use value. The only change that has taken place is that they appear as mere constituents, factors of his value, as factors of a new value. To the extent that the commodity is exchange value at all, the particular use value, the particular material determinateness in which it exists is after all only a particular mode of its manifestation; it is in fact a universal equivalent and can therefore exchange this incarnation for any other. Through circulation and first of all through being transformed into money it is indeed capable of giving itself the substance of every other use value.

*Secondly*: The values of the means of labour and the material of labour are therefore preserved in the value of the product, enter as factors into the value of the product. *But they only re-appear in it* because the real alteration the use values have received in them did not affect their substance at all, but only the forms of use value in which they existed before, as after, the process; and the particular form of use value in which the value of the product exists, or indeed the specific usefulness of the labour, which is reduced in that value to abstract labour, does not, in the nature of things, affect the essential character of value at all.

However, it is a *conditio sine qua non*[a] for the re-appearance of the value of the material and means of labour in the product that the labour process really proceed to its end, to the product, that it really result in the product. If, therefore, it is a matter of use values whose production extends over a long period, one sees what an essential moment *the continuity* of the labour process is for the valorisation process in general, even so far as merely the preservation of existing use values is concerned. //This however implies, according to our presupposition, that the labour process proceeds on the basis of the appropriation of labour capacity by purchase on the part of money, by the continuous transformation of money into capital. The assumption is therefore that the *working class* is constantly in existence. This constancy is itself first created by capital. At earlier stages of production too an earlier working class may be present sporadically, not however as [I-39] a *universal* prerequisite of production. The case of *colonies* (see

[a] Necessary condition.—*Ed.*

*Wakefield*,[67] come back to this later) shows how this relation is itself a product of capitalist production.//

As far as the preservation of the values of the material and means of labour is concerned—assuming therefore that the labour process eventuates in a product—this is simply attained by the fact that these use values are consumed as such by living labour in the labour process, that they figure as actual moments of the labour process, but only by their contact with, and incorporation into, living labour as the conditions of its purposeful activity. *Living labour only adds value in the labour process to the value preposited in the material and means of labour* to the extent that it is itself a new quantity of labour as such; it does not do so as actual, useful labour, not as viewed from the angle of its material determinateness. The yarn only has greater value than the sum of the values of the cotton and the spindle consumed in it because a new quantity of labour has been added in the labour process, in order to convert those use values into the new use value, yarn; the reason, therefore, is that the yarn now contains an extra, newly added quantity of labour over and above the quantity contained in the cotton and the spindle. But the exchange values of the cotton and the spindle are *preserved* simply by the fact that the actual labour, spinning, converts them into the new use value, yarn, hence consumes them to the purpose, makes them *vital factors of its own process.* The values entering the labour process are therefore preserved simply by the *quality* of the living labour, the nature of its expression. Those dead objects, in which the preposited values are present as their use values, are now really seized upon as use values by this new useful labour, spinning, and made into moments of new labour. *They are preserved as values by entering as use values into the labour process,* i.e. by playing their conceptually determined roles of material and means of labour towards actual useful labour.

Let us stay with our example. Cotton and spindle are used up as use values because they enter as material and means into the particular labour of spinning; because they are placed in the actual spinning process, one as the object, the other as the organ of this living purposeful activity. They are therefore preserved as values by being preserved as use values for labour. *In general, they are preserved as exchange values because they are consumed as use values by labour.* But the labour which consumes them in this way as use values is actual labour, labour considered in its material determinateness, this particular useful labour which is related exclusively to these specific use values as material and means of labour,

related to them as such in its living manifestation. It is this particular useful labour, spinning, which preserves the use values cotton and spindle as exchange values, and therefore lets them re-appear as an exchange-value component in the product, in the use value yarn, because in the actual process it relates to them as its material and its means, as the organs of its realisation, because it breathes life into them as its own organs and makes them function as such. And thus the values of all commodities which in line with the nature of their use values do not enter into direct individual consumption, but are destined for new production, are only preserved in this way, that as material and means of labour, which they are only potentially, they become really the material and means of labour, and are utilised as such by the particular labour they are as such able to serve. They are only preserved as exchange values by being consumed as use values by living labour in accordance with their conceptual determination. *They are, however, only use values of this kind—material and means of labour—for actual, definite and specific labour.* I can only use up cotton and spindle as use values in the act of spinning, not in the acts of milling or boot-making.—In general, all commodities are only use values potentially. They only become real use values by being actually used, consumed, and their consumption in this case is the specifically determined labour itself, the specific labour process.

[I-40] The material and means of labour are therefore only preserved as exchange values by being consumed in the labour process as use values, i.e. when living labour relates to them *actu*[a] as to its use values, lets them play the role of its material and means, in its living unrest both posits and supersedes them as means and material. But in so far as it does that, labour is *actual* labour, a specific purposeful activity, labour as it appears in the labour process, materially determined, as a specific kind of useful labour. It is, however, not labour in this specific determinateness which adds—or it is not in this specific determinateness that labour adds—*new* exchange value to the product, or to the objects—use values—which enter into the labour process.

Spinning, for example. Spinning preserves in yarn the values of the cotton and spindle consumed in it, because this process really uses up cotton and spindle in spinning, consumes them as material and means for the production of a new use value, the yarn, or lets cotton and spindle really function in the spinning process as

[a] In action.—*Ed.*

material and means of this specific living labour, spinning. If, however, the spinning raises the value of the product, yarn, or adds new value to the values already present beforehand in the yarn, which simply re-appear, the values of the spindle and the cotton, this only occurs to the extent that *new labour time is added to the labour time contained in the cotton and the spindle* by spinning.

Firstly, in accordance with its substance, spinning creates value, not as this concrete, specific, materially determined labour of spinning, but as labour in general, abstract, equal, social labour. Therefore, it does not create value to the extent that it is objectified as spun yarn, but to the extent that it is a materialisation of social labour in general, i.e. is objectified in a universal equivalent.

Secondly, the magnitude of the value added depends exclusively on the quantity of labour added, on the labour time that is added. If, as a result of some invention, the spinner were able to convert into yarn a particular quantity of cotton, using a given number of spindles, in half a day's labour instead of a whole day, only *half the value would have been added* to the yarn compared with the first case. But the *entire value* of the cotton and the spindles would have been preserved in the product, yarn, in one case as much as the other, whether a day or half a day or an hour of labour time is required to convert the cotton into yarn. These values are preserved by the very fact that cotton is converted into yarn, that cotton and spindles have become the material and means of spinning, have entered into the spinning process. The labour time required by this process is here entirely irrelevant.

Let us assume that the spinner adds to the cotton only as much labour time as is necessary to produce his own wages, hence as much labour time as the capitalist expended in the price of the spinner's labour. In this case the value of the product would be exactly equal to the value of the capital advanced; namely equal to the price of the material+the price of the means of labour+the price of labour. No more labour time would be contained in the product than was present in the sum of money before it was transformed into the elements of the production process. No new value would have been added, but after as before the value of the cotton and spindle would be contained in the yarn. Spinning adds value to cotton in so far as it is reduced to equal social labour in general, reduced to this abstract form of labour, and the amount of value it adds depends not on its content as spinning but on its duration. *The spinner therefore does not need two*

*periods of labour, one to preserve the value of cotton and spindle, the other to add new value to them.* It is rather that while he spins the cotton, makes it into an objectification of new labour time, adds new value to it, he is at the same time preserving the value cotton and the worn out spindle had before they entered the labour process. *Merely by adding new value, new labour time, he preserves the old values, the labour time that was already contained in the material and means of labour.* It is as spinning, however, that spinning preserves them; not as labour in general and not as labour time, but in its material determinateness, through its quality as this specific, living, actual labour, which in the labour process, as living activity with a definite purpose, snatches the use values cotton and spindle out of their indifferent objectivity, not abandoning them as indifferent objects to nature's metabolism, but making them into real moments of the labour process.

But whatever the specific character of particular, actual labour may be, what every variety of this labour has in common with every other is that by its process—through the contact, the living interaction it enters into with its objective conditions—it makes them play the roles of means and material of labour appropriate to their nature and purpose, transforms them into conceptually determined moments of the labour process itself and thus *preserves* them as *exchange values by using them up as real use values.* [I-41] It is therefore through its quality as living labour, which converts the products available in the labour process into the material and means of its own activity, its own realisation, that it preserves the exchange values of these products and use values in the new product and use values. It preserves their value because it consumes them as use values. But it only consumes them as use values because, as this specific labour, it awakens them from the dead and makes them into its material and means of labour. In so far as it creates exchange value labour is only a definite social form of labour, actual labour reduced to a definite social formula, and in this form labour time is the sole measure of the magnitude of value.

Because the preservation of the values of the material and means of labour is so to speak the natural gift of living, actual labour, and hence the old values are preserved in the same process as increases value—*since new value cannot be added without the preservation of the old values,* because this effect stems from the essential nature of labour as use value, as useful activity, originates from the use value of labour itself—so the preservation of these values costs nothing either to the worker or to the capitalist. The

latter therefore receives the preservation of the preposited values in the new product gratis.

Although his purpose is not the preservation but the increase of the preposited value, this free gift by labour shows its decisive importance e.g. in industrial crises, during which the actual labour process is interrupted. The machine becomes rusty, the material spoils. They lose their exchange values: these are not preserved, because they are not entering as use values into the labour process, they are not coming into contact with living labour; their values are not being preserved because they are not being increased. They can only be increased, new labour time can only be added to the old, to the extent that a start is made again with the actual labour process.

Hence values are preserved in the labour process by labour as actual living labour, whereas new value is added to the values by labour only as abstract social labour, labour time.

The actual labour process appears as *productive consumption*. The latter can now be defined more closely in the sense that the preposited values of the products are preserved in the labour process by these products being used up, consumed, as use values—material and means of labour—and converted into real use values for the formation of a new use value.

//But the values of the material and means of labour only re-appear in the product of the labour process to the extent that they were preposited to the latter as values, i.e. were values before they entered into the process. Their value is equal to the social labour time materialised in them; it is equal to the labour time necessary to produce them under given general social conditions of production. If later on more or less labour time were to be required to manufacture these particular use values, owing to some alteration in the productivity of the labour of which they are the products, their value would have risen in the first case and fallen in the second; for the labour time contained in their value only determines it to the extent that it is general, social, and necessary labour time. Hence although they entered the labour process with a definite value, they may come out of it with a value that is larger or smaller, because the labour time society needs for their production has undergone a general change, a revolution has occurred in their production costs, i.e. in the magnitude of the labour time necessary for their manufacture. In this case more or less labour time than previously would be required to reproduce them, to manufacture a new sample of the same kind. But this change in the value of the material and means of labour involves

absolutely no alteration in the circumstance that in the labour process into which they enter as material and means they are always preposited as given values, values of a given magnitude. For in this process itself they only emerge as values in so far as they entered as values. A change in their value never results from this labour process itself but rather from the conditions of the labour process of which they are or were the products and to which they therefore are not preposited as products. If their general conditions of production have changed, this reacts back upon them. They are an objectification of more or less labour time, of more or less value than they were originally; but only because a greater or smaller amount of labour time is now required than originally for their production. The reaction is due to the fact that as values they are a materialisation of social labour time but the labour time contained in them only counts to the extent that it is reduced to general [I-42] social labour time, raised to the power of equal social labour time. These changes in their value, however, always arise from changes in the productivity of the labour of which they are the products, and have nothing to do with the labour processes into which they enter as finished products with a given value. If this value changes before the new product of which they are the elements is finished they nevertheless relate to it as independent, given values preposited to it. Their change of value stems from alterations in their own conditions of production, which occur outside and independently of the labour process into which they enter as material and means; not as a result of an operation occurring within the labour process. For it they are always values of a given, preposited magnitude, even though owing to external agencies, acting outside the labour process, they are now preposited as of greater or smaller magnitude than was originally the case.//

We saw that just as the product is the result of the labour process so are its products prerequisites for the same process[a]; but now it must equally be said that if the commodity, i.e. a unity of use value and exchange value, is the result of the labour process, commodities are just as much its prerequisites. The products only emerge from the valorisation process as commodities because they have entered it as commodities, products with a definite exchange value. The difference is this: the products are changed as use values so that a new use value can be formed. Their exchange values are not affected by this change in the material, and they

[a] See this volume, p. 65.— *Ed.*

therefore re-appear unchanged in the new product. If use value is the product of the labour process, exchange value must be regarded as the product of the valorisation process, and thus the commodity, the unity of exchange value and use value, must be regarded as the product of both processes, which are merely two forms of the same process. If one wished to disregard the fact that commodities are preposited to production as its elements, the only matter of concern in the production process would be the use of products for the formation of new products; and this can, indeed, occur in states of society in which the product has not developed into the commodity, still less the commodity into capital.[68]

We now know two components of the value of the product: 1) the value of the material consumed in it; 2) the value of the means of production consumed in it. If these are equal respectively to A and B, the value of the product will initially consist of the sum of the values of A and B, or P (the product). $P=A+B+x$. With $x$ we denote the as yet undetermined portion of value that has been added to the material A by labour in the labour process. Therefore, we now come to consider this third component.

We know what price or value the money owner has paid for disposition over labour capacity or the temporary purchase of labour capacity, but we do not yet know what equivalent he receives in return for this.—We proceed, furthermore, from the assumption that the labour performed by the worker is ordinary average labour, labour of the quality or rather the qualitylessness in which it forms the substance of exchange value.[69] We shall see in the course of our investigation that the power of the labour, the question whether it is more or less potentiated simple labour, is a matter of complete indifference for the relation to be developed here.[a] We proceed therefore from the assumption that whatever the particular material determinateness of the labour, whatever specific branch of labour it belongs to, whatever particular use value it produces, it is only the expression, the activity of average labour capacity, so that whether this manifests itself in spinning or weaving, etc., or farming, concerns only its use value, the manner of its application. It does not concern what it cost to produce the labour capacity itself, hence not its own exchange value. It will also be seen that differences in the wage paid for different working days, higher or lower, the unequal *distribution of wages* between the

[a] See this volume, pp. 90 and 225-26.—*Ed.*

different branches of labour, do not affect the general relation between capital and wage labour.[32]—

What the money owner gets back from the purchase of labour capacity can only become manifest in the actual labour process. The value added by labour in the labour process to the already existing value of the material is exactly equal to its duration. It is naturally presupposed that over a definite period of time, e.g. one day, precisely as much labour is employed on the product of this day as is necessary to produce it at the given general productive level of labour (under the given general conditions of production).[70] That is, it is presupposed that the labour time employed for the manufacture of the product is *necessary labour time,* the labour time required to give a certain quantity of material the form of the new use value. If, under the general conditions of production we have presupposed, 6 lbs of COTTON can be converted into twist in the course of 1 day of 12 hours, only a day in which 6 lbs of COTTON is converted into twist is regarded as a working day of 12 hours. On the one hand, therefore, *necessary* labour time is presupposed; on the other hand, it is presupposed that the particular labour performed in the labour process is ordinary *average labour,* whatever specific form it may have as spinning, weaving, digging, etc. (and the same is true of the labour employed in the production of the precious metals[71]). It follows, accordingly, that the quantity of value or the quantity of objectified general [I-43] labour time which this labour adds to the existing value is exactly equal to its own duration. This, under the given assumptions, simply means that precisely as much labour is objectified as the time taken for the process during which the labour is objectifying itself.

Let us say that 6 lbs of cotton can be spun into twist, say 5 lbs of twist, in a day of 12 hours. During the labour process the labour is continuously passing from the form of unrest and motion into the objective form. (5 lbs=80 ounces.) (Over 12 hours this would make exactly $6\,^2/_3$ ounces an hour.) The spinning constantly results in yarn. If one hour is required to turn 8 ounces of cotton into yarn, say $6\,^2/_3$ ounces of yarn, 12 hours would be required to turn 6 lbs of cotton into 5 lbs of yarn. What interests us here, however, is not that one hour of spinning turns 8 ounces of COTTON into yarn and 12 hours 6 lbs, but that in the first case 1 hour of labour is added to the value of the COTTON, and in the second 12 hours. In other words, we are only interested in the product from this point of view to the extent that it is the materialisation of new labour time and this naturally depends on the labour time itself. We are

interested only in the quantity of labour absorbed in the product. Here we do not look at spinning as spinning, we do not look at it in so far as it gives the COTTON a definite form, a new use value, but only in so far as it is labour in general, labour time and its materialisation, which is present in the yarn, the materialisation of general labour time as such. It is entirely irrelevant whether the same labour time is employed in the form of any other particular labour or to produce any other particular exchange value.

Originally, it is true, we were able to measure *labour capacity* with money, because it was itself already objectified labour, and the capitalist could therefore buy it; but were unable to measure *labour itself* directly, for as bare activity it escaped our standard of measurement. Now, however, in the measure to which, in the labour process, labour capacity proceeds to its real manifestation, to labour, the latter is realised, appears itself in the product as objectified labour time. The possibility is now available for comparing what the capitalist gives in wages with what he gets back in exchange for wages through the consumption of labour capacity. At the end of a certain measure of labour time, e.g. hours, a certain quantity of labour time has been objectified in a use value, say twist, and now exists as the latter's exchange value.

Let us assume that the labour time realised in the spinner's labour capacity amounts to 10 hours. We are speaking here only of the labour time realised *daily* in his labour capacity. In the price the money owner has paid the labour time required to produce or reproduce the labour capacity of the spinner every day is already expressed *in average labour.* We assume on the other hand that his own labour is *the same* quality of labour, i.e. *the same average labour,* as forms the substance of value, and in which his own labour capacity is evaluated.

Let us therefore assume initially that the spinner works 10 hours for the money owner or gives him, has sold him, 10 hours' disposition over his labour capacity. This 10-hour disposition over the spinner's labour capacity is consumed by the money owner in the labour process. This means, in other words, simply that he has the spinner spin for 10 hours, has him work in general, since here the particular form in which he has him do this is irrelevant. The spinner has therefore added to the value of the cotton through the agency of the means of labour 10 hours of labour in the shape of the spun thread, the yarn. If, therefore, the value of the product, the spun thread, the yarn, *disregarding* the newly added labour, was equal to A+B, it now=A+B+10 hours of labour. The capitalist pays for these 10 hours of labour with 10d. Let us call

these 10d. C. The product of the yarn now=A+B+C, i.e. it equals the labour time contained in the cotton, in the spindles (to the extent that they have been consumed) and finally in the newly added labour time.

Let the sum of A+B+C be=D. D is then equal to the sum of money the money owner laid out in material of labour, means of labour, and labour capacity before he began the labour process. That is to say, the value of the product—the yarn—is equal to the value of the elements of which the yarn consists, i.e.=the value of the material of labour and the means of labour (which is entirely consumed in the product on our assumption)+the value of the newly added labour, which has combined with the other two in the labour process to form yarn. Therefore 100 thalers of cotton, 16 thalers of instrument, and 16 thalers of labour capacity=132 thalers. In this case the values advanced would admittedly have been preserved, but not increased. The only alteration that would have taken place before the money was transformed into capital [I-44] would have been a purely formal one. This value was originally=132 thalers, a definite quantity of objectified labour time. The same unity re-appears in the product, as 132 thalers. The magnitude of value is the same, but this is now the sum of the value components 100, 16 and 16, i.e. the values of the factors into which the money originally advanced is divided in the labour process, and each of which has been purchased separately by that money.

In itself this result is not in the least absurd. If I buy yarn for 132 thalers, merely by converting money into yarn—i.e. by way of simple circulation—I pay for the material, means and labour contained in the yarn in order to acquire this particular use value and consume it in one way or the other. If the money owner has a house built in order to live in it, he pays an equivalent for the house. In short, when he goes through the circulation *C—M—C*, he in fact does nothing other than this. The money with which he buys is equal to the value of the commodity originally in his possession. The new commodity he buys is equal to the money in which the value of the commodity originally possessed by him has acquired an independent shape as exchange value.

Yet the purpose of the capitalist in transforming money into the commodity is not the commodity's use value but the *increase* of the money or value laid out in the commodity—*the self-valorisation of value.* He does not buy for his own consumption but in order to draw out of circulation a higher exchange value than he originally threw into it.

If he were to re-sell the yarn, which is worth A+B+C, at, say, A+B+C+$x$, we should come back to the same contradiction. He would not sell his commodity as an equivalent, but above its equivalent. In circulation, however, no surplus value, no value over and above the equivalent, can arise unless one of the parties to the exchange receives a value *below* its equivalent.[a]

The transformation of money into the elements of the labour process—or the actual consumption of the labour capacity that has been purchased, which is the same thing—would therefore be completely purposeless under the assumption that the money owner sets the worker to work for the same period of labour time as that he has paid him as an equivalent for his labour capacity. Whether he buys yarn for 132 thalers, so as to re-sell the yarn at 132 thalers, or converts the 132 thalers into 100 thalers of cotton, 16 thalers of spindles, etc., and 16 thalers of objectified labour, i.e. the consumption of labour capacity for the period of labour time contained in 16 thalers, so as to sell the 132 thalers' worth of yarn thus produced at 132 thalers once again, the process is entirely the same from the point of view of its result, except that the tautological outcome of the process would have been arrived at by a more roundabout route in one case than in the other.

A *surplus value*, i.e. a value which forms an excess over the values that originally entered the labour process, can evidently only originate in that process if the money owner has bought disposition over the employment of labour capacity during a longer period than the amount of labour time required by the labour capacity for its own reproduction, i.e. than the labour time which is incorporated in the labour capacity itself, forms its own value and as such is expressed in its price. Let us apply this to the case mentioned above. If the cotton and the spindle belonged to the spinner himself, he would have to add 10 hours of labour to them in order to live, i.e. in order to reproduce himself as a spinner for the next day. If he were now to set a worker to work for 11 hours instead of 10, a surplus value of 1 hour would be produced, because the labour objectified in the labour process would contain an hour more of labour time than is necessary to reproduce the labour capacity itself, i.e. to keep alive the worker as worker, the spinner day in day out as spinner. Every portion of time worked by the spinner in the labour process over and above the 10 hours, [I-45] all *surplus labour* in excess of the quantity of labour incorporated in his own labour capacity, would form a

[a] See this volume, pp. 23-29.—*Ed.*

surplus value, because it would be surplus labour, hence more spun thread, more labour objectified as yarn.

If the worker must work for 10 hours in order to live for the whole day, which consists of 24 hours (in which are naturally included the hours during which he must as an organism rest from labour, sleep, etc., is unable to work), he can work over the whole day for 12, 14 hours, although he only needs 10 out of these 12, 14 hours for the reproduction of himself as a worker, as living labour capacity.

If we now assume that this process corresponds to the general law of commodity exchange, that equal quantities of labour time are alone being exchanged, i.e. that the exchange value of the commodity is equal to the quantity of any other use value that expresses the same exchange value, i.e. the same quantity of objectified labour, the general form of capital—*M*—*C*—*M*—will have lost its absurdity and acquired content. Since the commodity, here the yarn, for whose elements the money owner exchanged his money before the labour process, would have received an addition to the original quantity of objectified labour, in the shape of the *product* of the labour process, the new use value, the yarn, the product would possess a greater value than the sum of the values preposited in its elements. If it was originally=132 thalers, it would now be=143, if instead of 16 thalers (1 thaler=1 day of labour) *x* more days of labour were contained in it. The value would now be=100+16+16+11, and if the capitalist re-sold the product of the labour process, the yarn, at its value, he would gain 11 thalers from the 132 thalers. The original value would have been not only preserved but increased.

One must ask whether this process does not contradict the law originally presupposed, that commodities are exchanged as equivalents, i.e. at their exchange values; the law, therefore, that governs the exchange of commodities?[a]

It does not, for two reasons. Firstly, because money finds this specific object, living labour capacity, on the market, in circulation, as a commodity. Secondly, owing to the specific nature of this commodity. Its peculiar character consists namely in the fact that, whereas its exchange value, like that of all other commodities=the labour time incorporated in its own actual existence, in its existence as labour capacity, i.e.=the labour time necessary to keep alive this living labour capacity as such, or, what is the same thing,

[a] See this volume, p. 33.—*Ed.*

to keep the worker alive as a worker,—its *use value* is labour itself, i.e. precisely the substance which posits exchange value, the particular fluid activity which fixes itself as exchange value and creates it.[72] With commodities, however, only their exchange value is paid for. One does not pay for oil's quality of being oil on top of paying for the labour contained in it, any more than one pays for the drinking of wine in addition to the labour contained in it, or for the enjoyment when paying for the drinking. Similarly therefore with labour capacity: what is paid for is its own exchange value, the labour time contained in it itself. But since its use value is in turn labour itself, the substance that creates exchange value, it in no way contradicts the law of the exchange of commodities that the actual consumption of labour capacity, its actual use as a use value, posits more labour, manifests itself in more objectified labour, than is present within it itself as exchange value.

The sole condition required for this relationship to come into existence is that [I-46] labour capacity itself should step forth as a commodity to meet money, or value in general. But this confrontation is conditioned by a definite historical process which narrows down the worker to pure labour capacity; this is the same as saying that this process confronts labour capacity with the conditions of its realisation, hence confronts actual labour with its objective elements, as alien powers, separated from it, as commodities in the possession of other keepers of commodities.[21] Under this *historical* presupposition labour capacity is a *commodity*, and under the presupposition that it is a commodity it by no means contradicts the law of the exchange of commodities, it much rather corresponds to it, that the labour time objectified in labour capacity or its exchange value does not determine its *use value*. The latter, however, is in turn itself labour. Hence in the actual consumption of this use value, i.e. in and through the labour process, the money owner can receive back more objectified labour time than he paid out for the exchange value of the labour capacity. *So that although he has paid an equivalent for this specific commodity* he receives back as a consequence of its specific nature—that its use value itself posits exchange value, is the creative substance of exchange value—a greater value by its use than he had advanced by its purchase, in which he paid for its exchange value alone, in line with the law of the exchange of commodities.

Therefore, presupposing a relationship in which labour capacity exists as mere labour capacity, hence as a commodity, and in

which it is accordingly confronted by money as the form of all objective wealth, the money owner, being only concerned with value as such, will only purchase labour capacity on condition that he acquires disposition over it for a longer period, or that the worker binds himself to work for him during the labour process for a longer period, than the labour time the worker would have to put in in order to keep himself alive as a worker, as living labour capacity, if he himself owned the material and means of labour. This difference between the labour time which measures the exchange value of labour capacity itself and the labour time during which it is used as use value, is the labour time worked by labour capacity beyond the labour time contained in its own exchange value, hence beyond the value it cost originally. As such it is surplus labour—*surplus value.*

If the money owner makes this exchange of money with living labour capacity and with the objective conditions for the consumption of this labour capacity—i.e. with the material and means of labour corresponding to its particular material determinateness—he thereby transforms money into capital, i.e. into self-preserving and self-augmenting, self-valorising value. At no time does he contravene the law of simple circulation, of the exchange of commodities, whereby equivalents are exchanged or the commodities—on the average—are sold at their exchange values, i.e. exchange values of equal magnitude, whatever use values they may exist in, replace each other as equal magnitudes. At the same time he fulfils the formula $M—C—M$, i.e. the exchange of money for the commodity so as to exchange the commodity for more money, and accordingly does not contravene the law of equivalence, acting instead entirely in line with it.

*Firstly*: Say, a normal working day=1 thaler, is expressed in the quantity of silver denominated by a thaler. The money owner expends 100 thalers for raw material; 16 thalers for instrument; and 16 thalers for the 16 labour capacities which he employs and whose exchange value=16 thalers. Thus he advances 132 thalers, which *re-appear* in the product (result) of the labour process, [I-47] i.e. in the consumption of the labour capacity he has bought, the labour process, productive consumption. But the commodity he has bought at its exchange value of 15 days of labour provides as a use value, say, 30 days of labour, a day of 6 hours provides 12 hours, objectifies itself in 12 hours of labour; i.e. it posits as a use value twice as great a value as it possesses as exchange value. But the use value of a commodity is independent of its exchange value and has nothing to do with the price at which it is sold—this is

determined by the amount of labour time objectified in it. The product therefore=A+B+C+15 hours of labour time. It is thus greater by 15 hours of labour time than the value preposited to the labour process. If A was=100, B=16, C=16, the product=143, i.e. 11 thalers' more value than the capital advanced. If he re-sells this commodity at its value, he gains 11 thalers, although the law of the exchange of commodities was not infringed at any moment of the whole operation, the commodities having on the contrary been exchanged at every moment at their exchange values and therefore as equivalents.

Simple as this process is, it has so far been very little understood. The economists have never been able to reconcile surplus value with the law of equivalence they themselves have postulated. The socialists have always held onto this contradiction and harped on it, instead of understanding the specific nature of this commodity, labour capacity, whose use value is itself the activity which creates exchange value.[73]

Through this process, therefore, the exchange of money with labour capacity and the subsequent consumption of the latter, money is transformed into *capital*. The economists call this *the transformation of money into productive capital*, on the one hand in reference to other forms of capital, in which this basic process admittedly exists as a prerequisite but is extinguished in the form; and on the other hand in reference to the fact that money, in so far as it is confronted with labour capacity as a commodity, is *the possibility* of this transformation into capital, therefore is *in itself* capital, even if it is only through this process itself that it is transformed into actual capital. It has however the possibility of being transformed into *capital*.

It is clear that if surplus labour is to be realised, more of the material of labour is needed; more of the instrument of labour only in exceptional cases. If in 10 hours 10a pounds of cotton can be converted into twist, 10a+2a will be converted in 12 hours. In this case, therefore, more cotton is needed or it must be assumed from the outset that the capitalist buys an adequate quantity of cotton to *absorb* the surplus labour. But it is also possible, for example, that the same material can only be worked up into a half-finished state in half a day and completely finished in a whole day. Even so, in this case too, more labour has been consumed in the material and if the process is to continue from day to day, to be a continuous production process, more of the material of labour would still be required than if the worker only replaced by his work in the labour process the labour time objectified in his

own wages. Whether more of the means of labour is required and to what extent—and the means of labour is not limited to what are actually tools—depends on the technological nature of the particular labour, hence on the nature of the means consumed by it.

In every case more new labour must have been *absorbed* into the material of labour at the end of the labour process, and therefore objectified, than the amount of labour time objectified in the worker's wage. Let us simply stick to the example of the manufacturer. This *surplus absorption* of labour manifests itself as the working up of more material or the working up of the same material to a higher level than could be attained with less labour time.

[I-48] If we compare the valorisation process with the labour process, the distinction is strikingly apparent between actual labour, which produces use value, and the form of this labour which appears as the element of exchange value, as the activity that creates exchange value.

It is apparent that the particular kind of labour being performed, its material determinateness, does not affect its relation to capital, which is the only issue here. But we started out from the assumption that the labour of the worker was common average labour. Yet the *casus* is not altered if it is assumed that his labour has a higher specific gravity, is potentiated average labour.[69] Simple labour or average labour, the labour of the spinner, the miller, the tiller or the engineer, what the capitalist acquires objectified in the labour process, appropriates for himself through it, is the particular labour of the worker, spinning, milling, tilling the fields, building machines. The surplus value he produces always consists in the surplus quantity of labour, of labour time, during which the worker spins, mills, tills the fields, builds machines for longer than is necessary to produce his own wage. It therefore always consists in a surplus quantity of his own labour, which the capitalist receives for nothing, whatever the character of that labour may be, whether simple or potentiated. The relation, for example, in which potentiated labour stands to average social labour alters nothing in the relation of this potentiated labour to itself, it does not change the fact that an hour of it creates only half as much value as two hours, or that it is realised in proportion to its duration. Hence so far as the relation between labour and surplus labour—or labour which creates surplus value—comes into consideration, it is always a matter of the same kind of labour, and here the following is

correct, although it would not be correct in reference to exchange value positing labour as such:

*"When reference is made to labour as a measure of value, it necessarily implies *labour of one particular kind and a given duration*; the proportion which the other kinds bear to it being easily ascertained by the respective remuneration given to each"* ([J. Cazenove,] *Outlines of Political Economy*, London, 1832, [pp.] 22-23).

The product obtained by the capitalist in this way is a particular use value, whose value is equal to the value of the material, the means of labour, and the quantity of labour added (=the quantity of labour contained in the wage+the surplus labour, which is not paid for)=A+B+S+S". Hence, if he sells the commodity at its value, he gains exactly as much as the amount of surplus labour. He does not gain through selling the new commodity at *over* its value but because he sells it *at* its value, converts the whole of its value into money. He thereby receives payment of a part of the value, a part of the labour contained in the product, which he has not bought and which has cost him nothing. The part of the value of his product which he has not paid for and sells constitutes his gain. In circulation, therefore, he merely realises the surplus value he has received in the labour process. This does not arise from circulation itself, it does not spring from his selling his commodity *at more than its value.*[a]

//The value of the material and means of labour consumed in the labour process—the labour time objectified in them—reappears in the product, the new use value. It is preserved, but it cannot be said in the proper sense of the word that it is reproduced; for it is not affected by the change of form that has taken place in the use value, the fact that it now exists in a different use value from previously. If a day's labour is objectified in a use value, this objectification, the quantity of labour fixed in the use value, is not altered by the fact that e.g. the 12th hour of labour only enters into its composition 11 hours after the first hour of labour. Thus the labour time contained in the material and means of labour can be regarded as if it had only entered into the product at an earlier stage of the production process necessary for the manufacture of the whole product, hence of all its elements.

As against this, the situation is otherwise with labour capacity, in so far as it enters the valorisation process. It replaces the value contained in itself and therefore paid for itself or the objectified labour time paid for in its price, in the wage, by adding an equal

[a] See this volume, p. 21 et seq.—*Ed.*

quantity of new living labour to the material of labour. It therefore reproduces the value present in itself in advance of the labour process, quite apart from the fact that it also adds a surplus, surplus labour, over and above this quantity. The value of the material and means of labour only re-appears in the product because the material and means of labour possess this value *before* the labour process and independently [I-49] of it. But the value, and more than the value, of the labour capacity re-appears in the product[a] because it is replaced, hence reproduced, by a greater quantity of new living labour in the labour process (even so, in *this* distinction the surplus quantity is at first irrelevant). //

### UNITY OF THE LABOUR PROCESS AND THE VALORISATION PROCESS. (THE CAPITALIST PRODUCTION PROCESS)

The actual production process, which occurs as soon as money has been transformed into capital by being exchanged for living labour capacity and ditto for the objective conditions for the realisation of this capacity—the material and means of labour—this production process is a unity of the labour process and the valorisation process, just as its result, the commodity, is a unity of use value and exchange value.

The production process of capital, looked at from its material side, the production of use values, is, first of all, a *labour process* in general, and as such it displays the general factors which pertain to this process as such under the most varied forms of social production. These factors are determined, namely, by the nature of labour as labour. Historically, in fact, at the start of its formation, we see capital take under its control (subsume under itself) not only the labour process in general but the specific actual labour processes as it finds them available in the existing technology, and in the form in which they have developed on the basis of non-capitalist relations of production. It finds in existence the actual production process—the particular mode of production—and at the beginning it only subsumes it *formally*, without making any changes in its specific technological character. Only in the course of its development does capital not only formally subsume the labour process but transform it, give the very mode of production a new shape and thus first create the mode of production peculiar to it.[55] But whatever its changed shape may

[a] Above the word "product" Marx wrote: "(partial product)".—*Ed.*

be, as a labour process in general, i.e. as a labour process viewed in abstraction from its historical determinateness, it always contains the general moments of the labour process as such.

This *formal* subsumption of the labour process, the assumption of control over it by capital, consists in the worker's subjection as worker to the supervision and therefore to the command of capital or the capitalist. Capital becomes command over labour, not in the sense of Adam Smith's statement that wealth is absolutely command over labour,[a] but in the sense that the worker as worker comes under the command of the capitalist. For as soon as he has sold his labour capacity for a definite period of time to the capitalist in return for a wage he must enter into the labour process as a worker, as one of the factors with which capital works.

If the actual labour process is the productive consumption of the use values that enter into it through labour, hence through the activity of the worker himself, it is also just as much the consumption of labour capacity by capital or the capitalist.[74] He employs the worker's labour capacity by having him work. All the factors of the labour process, the material of labour, the means of labour and living labour itself, as the activity, the consumption, of the labour capacity he has bought, belong to him; so the whole labour process belongs to him just as much as if he himself were working with his own material and his own means of labour. But since labour is at the same time the expression of the worker's own life, the manifestation of his own personal skill and capacity—a manifestation which depends on his will and is simultaneously an expression of his will—the capitalist supervises the worker, controls the functioning of labour capacity as an action belonging to him. He will make sure that the material of labour is used for the right purpose: consumed as material of labour. If any material is wasted, it does not enter into the labour process, is not consumed as material of labour. The same is true of the means of labour, when, e.g. the worker wears out their material substance in a manner other than that prescribed by the labour process itself. Lastly, the capitalist will make sure that the worker really works, works the whole time required, and expends *necessary labour time only*, i.e. does the normal quantity of work over a given time. In all these aspects, the labour process and thereby labour and the worker himself come under the control of capital, under its command. I call this the *formal subsumption* of the labour process under capital.[75]

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[a] See this volume, p. 383.—*Ed.*

In the whole of the following investigation the labour the capitalist himself may perhaps perform is never reckoned among the components of the product's value. If it consists of simple labour, it has nothing to do with the relation as such, and the capitalist [I-50] is not operating as capitalist, as mere personification, capital incarnate. If, however, it is a form of labour that arises from the peculiar functions of capital as such, hence from the capitalist mode of production as such, we shall subject it later on to a more specific and precise examination as "*LABOUR OF SUPERINTENDENCE*".[76]

This formal subsumption of the labour process under capital, or the command of the capitalist over the worker, has nothing in common with, e.g., the relation that prevailed in the guild industry of the Middle Ages between the master and the journeymen and apprentices.[29] It emerges instead, purely and simply, from the fact that productive consumption, or the production process, is at the same time a process of the consumption of labour capacity by capital, that the content and determining purpose of this consumption is nothing but the preservation and increase of the value of capital, and that this preservation and increase can only be attained by the most effective, most exact organisation of the actual labour process, which depends on the will, the hard work, etc., of the worker, and which is therefore taken under the control and supervision of the capitalist will.

//One more remark with reference to the production process: Money, *in order to be transformed into capital, must be transformed into the factors of the labour process—i.e. into commodities which can figure as use values in the labour process*; hence it must be transformed into *means of consumption for labour capacity—i.e. the worker's means of subsistence—or into the material and means of labour.* All commodities, therefore, or all products, which cannot be employed in this manner or are not destined to be thus employed, belong to the consumption fund of society, but not to capital (here we understand under capital the objects wherein capital exists). Nevertheless, as long as these products remain *commodities*, they are themselves a mode of existence of capital. If capitalist production is presupposed, capital produces all products without exception, and it is entirely irrelevant whether these products are destined for productive consumption or are unable to enter into it, unable therefore to become the body of capital again. But they then remain capital as long as they remain commodities, i.e. are present in circulation. As soon as they are definitively sold, they cease to be capital in this sense. To the extent that capital is not at

the stage of the labour process, it must absolutely be on hand in the form of commodity or money (if only perhaps a mere claim on money, etc.). But they cannot enter into the labour process or the production process as use values. //

In the same measure as the worker is active as a worker, i.e. *externalises* his labour capacity, he *alienates* it, since it has already been *alienated by sale* as a self-externalising capacity to the money owner before the labour process begins. As labour realises itself—on the one hand, as the form of raw material (as use value and product) and, on the other hand, as exchange value, *objectified* social labour in general—it is transformed into *capital*.

In general, to say that capital is a product, employed as a means for new production, is, as already remarked above, to misconstrue the capital-relation as covering the *objective conditions* of every labour process.[56] On the other hand, the same confusion may arise—and is even to be found in part in Ricardo himself[77]—when capital is described as ACCUMULATED LABOUR[a] employed for the production of more ACCUMULATED LABOUR. The expression is ambiguous, since one needs to understand no more by accumulated labour than products which are employed for the production of new use values. But the expression can also be understood in the sense that the product (as exchange value) is, in general, nothing but a definite quantity of *objectified* labour, expended in order to make this quantity grow—hence the *process of self-valorisation*. Although the second process presupposes the first, the first process, in contrast, does not necessarily imply the second.

To the extent that the *objective conditions* of labour, the material and means of labour, serve directly in the labour process, they are employed by the worker. But IT IS NOT LABOUR WHICH EMPLOYS CAPITAL, IT IS CAPITAL WHICH EMPLOYS LABOUR.[78] It is this specific position taken up by value in general towards labour capacity, by objectified, past labour towards living, present labour, by the conditions of labour towards labour itself, which forms the specific nature of capital. We shall go into this in somewhat more detail at the end of this section I. 1) (Transformation of Money into Capital).[b] Here it suffices to say, for the moment, that in the production process—in so far as this is a valorisation process and hence a process of the self-valorisation of the preposited value or money—value (i.e. objectified general social labour), past labour, [I-51] preserves and increases itself, posits surplus value, through exchange, through

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[a] Marx gives the English term in brackets after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 105-115.—*Ed.*

the relative appropriation of living labour, an exchange mediated by the purchase of labour capacity. It thus appears as value-in-process, and preserving and maintaining itself in the process. It thus appears as a *self*—the incarnation of this self is the capitalist—*the selfhood of value.* Labour (living) appears only as the means, the AGENCY through which capital (value) reproduces and increases itself.

* "Labour is the agency by which capital is made productive of wages, profit, or revenue" * (John Wade, *History of the Middle and Working Classes etc.,* 3rd ed., London, 1835, p. 161).

(In the abstract economic section of his book Wade has some original points for his time, e.g. on commercial crises, etc. The whole of the historical part is, in contrast, a striking example of the shameless plagiarism that predominates among the English economists. It is in fact copied almost word for word from Sir F. Morton Eden, *The State of the Poor etc.*, 3 vols, London, 1797.)[79]

Value, objectified labour, acquires this relation to living labour only to the extent that it is confronted by labour *capacity* as such, i.e. to the extent that, conversely, the *objective conditions* of labour—and hence the conditions for the realisation of labour capacity—confront labour capacity itself in separation and independence, under the control of an alien will. Hence although the means and material of labour are not as such capital, they themselves appear as *capital* because their independence, their existence as entities in their own right vis-à-vis the worker and therefore labour itself, is rooted in their being. Just as gold and silver appear as money, and are, notionally, directly connected with the social relation of production of which they are the vehicles.[80]

Within capitalist production, the relationship between the labour process and the valorisation process is that the latter appears as the purpose, the former only as the means. The former is therefore STOPPED when the latter is no longer possible or not yet possible. On the other hand, it is revealed in times of so-called speculative fashions, of crises of speculation (shares and so forth), that the labour process (actual material production) is only a burdensome requirement, and the capitalist nations are seized by a universal mania for attaining the goal (the valorisation process) without using the means (the labour process). The labour process as such could only provide its own purpose if the capitalist were concerned with the use value of the product. He is, however, *only* concerned with alienating it by sale as a commodity, converting it

back into money, and, since it was money originally, with the increase of this sum of money. In this sense it can be said:

"The value makes the product" (Say, *Cours complet*, p. 510).[a81]

(This is in fact true for all production of *commodities*. On the other hand, it is also correct that only capitalist production is *commodity production* to the broadest extent, i.e. production for the individual's own use entirely disappears and the elements of production, even in agriculture, are to a greater and greater degree already *commodities* when they enter the production process.[60])

Here, in dealing with the transformation of money into capital, we only need to point generally to the form in which money appears (since we shall be returning to this in dealing with circulation[82]). In any case this has already been done for the most part, in I. 1) a) (*The Most General Form of Capital*).

A further remark needs to be made with regard to the valorisation process: It is not merely value, but a sum of value, that is preposited to it. A value of a definite magnitude, a point which will be developed still further later on.[b] It must (even as capitalist *in nuce*[c]) at least be capable of buying 1 worker and the material and instrument needed for him. In short, the sum of value is here determined from the outset by the exchange values of the commodities which enter directly into the labour process.

We therefore call the whole thing the capitalist production process on the basis of capital. It is not a question of producing a product but a commodity—a product destined to be sold. And it is not a question of simply producing commodities in order by selling them to gain possession in this way of the use values available in circulation, but of producing commodities in order to preserve and increase the preposited value.

[I-52] // If the labour process is viewed entirely abstractly, it can be said that originally only two factors come into play—man and nature. (Labour and the natural material of labour.) His first tools are his own limbs, and even these he must first appropriate for himself. Only with the first product that is employed for new production—even if it is just a stone thrown at an animal to kill it—does the labour process proper begin.[83] One of the first tools appropriated by man is the animal (domesticated animal). (See on this point the passage in Turgot.[84]) To this extent, from the point

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[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 186 et seq.—*Ed.*

[c] In embryo.—*Ed.*

of view of labour, Franklin is right to define man as "A TOOL-MAKING ANIMAL" or "ENGINEER".[85] The earth and labour would then be the original factors of production; the products destined for labour, produced material of labour, means of labour, means of subsistence, would only be derivative factors.

"The earth is *necessary*; capital is *useful*. And labour with the earth produces capital" (Colins, *L'économie politique. Source des révolutions et des utopies prétendues socialistes*, Vol. III, Paris, 1857, [p.] 288).[a]

//Colins believes that this achievement of independence by value, see VII-153, 154,[86] which is contained in the concept of capital, was invented by the economists.//

The above-mentioned ambiguity is also present in *James Mill.*

*"All capital"* //here CAPITAL in the merely material sense// *"consists really in commodities.... The first capital must have been the result of pure labour. The first commodities could not be made by any commodities existing before them"* (James Mill, *Elements of Political Economy*, London, 1821, [p.] 72).

However, this separation of production into the factors man, as vehicle of labour, and earth (actually nature) as object of labour, is also totally abstract. For man does not originally confront nature as a worker but as a proprietor, and it is not man as a solitary individual but man as member of a tribe, a clan, a family, etc., as soon as one can at all speak of man leading a human existence.[87]

//In the same Mill:

*"Labour and Capital ... the one, *immediate* labour ... the other, *hoarded labour*, that which has been the result of former labour"* (l.c., [p.] 75).//

If, on the one hand, capital is reduced in the labour process to its merely material mode of existence—if it is separated into its factors—*in order* in general to smuggle it in as a *necessary* element of all production,[56] it is, on the other hand, also conceded that capital is of a purely notional nature, because it is value (*Say, Sismondi*, etc.).[b]

If it is said that capital is *a product as opposed to a commodity* (Proudhon, Wayland, etc.)[c] or that it is the instrument of labour and the material of labour, or that it also consists of the products the worker receives, etc., it is forgotten that in the labour process labour has already been incorporated into capital and belongs to it just as much as the means and material of labour.

*"When the labourers receive wages for their labour ... the capitalist is the *owner*, not of the capital only"* (in this material sense), *"but of *the labour also*. If

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[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 150.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., p. 154.—*Ed.*

what is paid as wages is included, as it commonly is, in the term capital, it is absurd to talk of labour separately from capital. The word capital, as thus employed, includes labour and capital both"* (James Mill, l.c., [pp.] 70, 71).

Just as it is convenient for the apologists of capital to confuse it with the use value in which it exists, and to call use value as such capital, in order to present capital as an eternal factor of production, as a relation independent of all social forms, immanent in every labour process, hence immanent in the labour process in general, so equally does it happen that it suits Messieurs the economists when reasoning away some of the phenomena which belong peculiarly to the capitalist mode of production to forget the essential feature of capital, namely that it is value positing itself as value, hence not only self-preserving but at the same time self-multiplying value. This is convenient e.g. for proving the impossibility of overproduction.[88] The capitalist is here conceived as someone who is only concerned with the consumption of certain products (their appropriation by means of the sale of his commodity), not with the increase of the preposited value, purchasing power as such, abstract wealth as such.

Through the transformation of money into capital (effected by the exchange of money with labour) the general formula for capital, *M—C—M*, has now acquired a content. Money is the independent existence of exchange value. Viewed from the angle of its quality, it is the material representative of abstract wealth, *the material existence of abstract wealth.* But, the degree [I-53] to which it is this, the extent to which it corresponds to its concept, depends on its own quantity or mass. In the increase of money—corresponds to the increase of value as such—this increase is an end in itself. To make money by means of money is the purpose of the capitalist production process—the increase of wealth in its general form, of the quantity of objectified social labour which is, as this labour, expressed in money. Whether the existing values figure merely as money of account in the ledger, or in whatever other form, as tokens of value, etc., is initially a matter of indifference. Money appears here only as the form of independent value which capital assumes at its starting-point as also at its point of return, but constantly abandons again. A more detailed treatment of this belongs in II) *The Circulation Process of Capital.*[82]

Capital is here money-in-process, for which its forms as money and commodity are themselves merely alternating forms. It is continuously estimated in money of account—and is only valid as this money's material existence, even as long as it exists as a commodity; and no sooner does it assume the form of money than

it must, in order to valorise itself, abandon that form again. To say the capitalist is concerned with money is to say nothing but that he is concerned purely with exchange value, with the increase of exchange value, with abstract enrichment. But this is solely expressed as such in money.

"THE GREAT OBJECT OF THE MONIED CAPITALIST, IN FACT, IS TO ADD TO THE *NOMINAL AMOUNT* OF HIS FORTUNE. IT IS THAT, IF EXPRESSED PECUNIARILY THIS YEAR BY £20,000 for example, IT SHOULD BE *EXPRESSED PECUNIARILY* NEXT YEAR BY £24,000. TO ADVANCE HIS CAPITAL, *AS ESTIMATED IN MONEY*, IS THE ONLY WAY IN WHICH HE CAN ADVANCE HIS INTEREST AS A MERCHANT. The IMPORTANCE of this OBJECT to him is not affected by FLUCTUATIONS IN the CURRENCY OT BY A CHANGE IN THE REAL VALUE OF MONEY. For instance, he may have advanced his fortune, by the business of one year, from £20,000 to £24,000; and yet, from a decline in the value of money, he may not HAVE INCREASED HIS COMMAND over the COMFORTS, etc. Still it was as much his interest [to have engaged in the business], as if money had not fallen; for else, HIS MONIED FORTUNE WOULD HAVE REMAINED STATIONARY, and his REAL WEALTH WOULD HAVE DECLINED IN THE PROPORTION OF 24 TO 20.... COMMODITIES are, therefore, not the TERMINATING OBJECT of the TRADING CAPITALIST, save in the spending of his REVENUE, and when he purchases for the SAKE OF CONSUMPTION. *IN THE OUTLAY OF HIS CAPITAL, AND WHEN HE PURCHASES FOR THE SAKE OF PRODUCTION, MONEY IS HIS TERMINATING OBJECT*" (Thomas Chalmers, *On Political Economy in Connexion with the Moral State and Moral Prospects of Society*, 2nd ed., London, 1832, [pp.] 165-66).

// Another point in relation to the formula **M—C—M.** Value as capital, self-valorising value, is *value raised to a second power.* Not only does it have an independent expression, as in money, but it compares itself with itself (or is compared by the capitalist), measures itself at one period (the magnitude of value in which it was preposited to the production process) against itself in another period, namely after its return from circulation—after the commodity has been sold and re-converted into money. Value therefore appears as the same subject in two different periods, and indeed this is its own movement, the movement that characterises capital. Only in this movement does value appear as capital. See in opposition to this "*A Critical Dissertation on the Nature, Measures, and Causes of Value; Chiefly in Reference to the Writings of Mr. Ricardo and His Followers.* By the Author of Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions." // *S. Bailey,* // *London, 1825.* //

Bailey's main argument against the whole determination of value by labour time is this: Value is only the *relation* according to which different commodities are exchanged. Value is only a RELATION between 2 commodities.

*Value* is nothing *"intrinsic or absolute"* (l.c., p. 23). *"It is impossible to designate, or express the value of a commodity, except by a quantity of some other

commodity"* (l.c., [p.] 26). *"Instead of regarding value as a relation between 2 objects, they"* (THE RICARDIANS) (and Ricardo himself) *"consider it as a positive result produced by a definite quantity of labour"* (l.c., [p.] 30). *"Because the values of A and B, according to their doctrine, are to each other as the quantities of producing labour, or ... are determined by the quantities of producing labour, they appear to have concluded, that the value of A alone, without reference to anything else, is as the quantity of its producing labour. There is no meaning certainly in the last proposition"* (pp. 31-32). They speak of *"value as a sort of general and independent property"* (l.c., [p.] 35). *"The value of a commodity must be its value in something"* (l.c.)

As objectification of social labour the commodity is expressed as something relative. For [if the][a] labour contained [in A][a] is equated to all others, this is only as a particular form of existence of social labour. In this, however, the individual is already not viewed in isolation, but if Bailey wishes it, his labour is posited relatively and the commodity is itself posited as the form of existence of this relative thing.

[II-54] The same Bailey says (l.c., p. 72):

*"Value is a relation between *contemporary* commodities, because such only admit of being exchanged for each other; and if we compare the value of a commodity at one time with its value at another, it is only a comparison of the relation in which it stood at these different times to some other commodity."*

He says this as an argument against "COMPARING COMMODITIES AT DIFFERENT PERIODS" as if for example in the turnover of capital the capitalist HAD NOT CONTINUOUSLY TO COMPARE THE VALUE OF ONE PERIOD TO THE VALUE OF ANOTHER PERIOD.[38]

//It could now be asked, what is the relationship in which capital's monetary expression stands to capital itself. Once money exists in the form of money, the constituent elements for which it is exchanged in its transformation into productive capital confront it as commodities. Here, therefore, the laws developed in the metamorphosis of the commodity or in the simple turnover of money are valid.[b] If tokens of value circulate, whether they serve as means of circulation or means of payment, they merely represent the value of the commodities estimated in money or they directly represent money, which is equal in quantity to the amounts of money expressed in the prices of the commodities. As such they have no value. They are therefore not yet capital in the sense that the latter is objectified labour. They represent instead in full the price of the capital, as they previously represented that

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[a] MS damaged.— *Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 324-34).— *Ed.*

of the commodity. If real money circulates, this is itself objectified labour—capital—(because commodity).

If we divide the total sum of money turning over by the number of times it turns over, we get the quantity of money really engaged in the process of turning over, and this is a constituent element of the capital, fixed or circulating according to the view one wishes to take of it. I can buy commodities for 120 thalers with the same 6 thalers if they turn over 20 times in a day: they represent the value of 120 thalers in the course of a day. But the 6 thalers themselves must be added to this. So the whole amount of capital turning over in the course of the day=126 thalers.

If a capital=100 thalers, and it buys commodities with those 100 thalers, then the same 100 thalers now represent a 2nd capital of 100 thalers and so on. If they turn over 6 times in the day, they have successively represented a capital of 600 thalers. How much or how little capital they represent on a given day therefore depends on their velocity of turnover = the speed of the commodity's metamorphosis, which appears here as the metamorphosis of capital, alternately assuming and abandoning its forms of money and commodity. If the money functions as means of payment, 600 thalers of money can pay for any amount of capital, since its negative and positive charges cancel out, leaving a balance of 600 thalers.

Whereas originally, in the simple circulation of commodities, money appears as a point of transition, the metamorphosis of the commodity,[a] the commodity transformed into money appears as the point of departure and conclusion of the movement of capital, and the commodity appears as metamorphosis of capital, as a mere point of transition.

The only distinguishing marks of money in so far as it appears as a form of capital—as real money, not as money of account—are these: 1) It returns to its point of departure, and in increased quantity. Money expended for consumption does not return to its point of departure; capital—money advanced for the purpose of production—returns in increased quantity to its point of departure. 2) Money which has been expended remains in circulation, from which it withdraws the commodity; capital throws back into circulation more commodities than it withdrew and it therefore also constantly withdraws anew from circulation the money it has expended. The more rapid this cyclic movement, i.e. the more

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 332).—*Ed.*

rapid the circulation or metamorphosis of capital, the more rapid the turnover of money, and since this movement of capital is many-sided, the more does money serve as means of payment and the more do debts and assets balance each other. //

Capital transformed into money in the way we have described becomes *productive capital* in so far as it has subsumed the production process, functions as buyer and employer of labour. Only where capital has subjected production itself to its control, hence where the capitalist produces, does capital exist as the dominant, specific form of a period of production. Formally speaking, it may already have emerged previously in other functions, and it appears in these functions in its own period too. But then these are only derivative and secondary forms of capital, such as commercial and interest-bearing capital, etc.[15] So when we speak of productive capital, the whole of this relation is to be understood, not as if one of the forms of use value in which it appears in the labour process were in itself productive, with the machine or the material of labour producing value, etc.[89]

From the valorisation process, whose result is the value advanced and a SURPLUS, a surplus value (in the labour process itself capital appears as a real use value; i.e. as real consumption, for only in consumption is [II-55] use value realised as use value; this process of the consumption of capital itself forms an economic relation, has a definite economic form and is not indifferent, falling outside the form, as in the concept of the mere commodity[39]; these use values of which capital consists are conceptually determined by the activity of labour capacity, which consumes them) it follows that the actual specific product of capital, so far as it produces as capital, is *surplus value* itself and *that in production by capital the specific* product of labour, so far as capital incorporates labour, is not this or that product but *capital.* The labour process itself appears only as the means of the valorisation process, just as, in general, use value appears here as only the repository of exchange value.

### THE 2 COMPONENTS INTO WHICH THE TRANSFORMATION OF MONEY INTO CAPITAL IS DIVIDED

[II-A][90] What the worker sells is disposition over his labour capacity—temporally limited disposition over it. The piece-work system of payment does, admittedly, introduce the semblance that the worker obtains a definite *share in the product.* But this is only another form of measuring labour time. Instead of saying: you

will work for 12 hours, it is said: you will receive such and such an amount per piece, i.e. we measure the number of hours by the product, as the size of the AVERAGE product of an hour has been established by experience. The worker who cannot supply this minimum is dismissed. (See *Ure*.[91])

In accordance with the general relation of purchase and sale, the *exchange value* of the worker's commodity cannot be determined by the way in which the purchaser *uses* the commodity; it is determined solely by the quantity of objectified labour contained in the commodity itself; here, therefore, by the quantity of labour it costs to produce the worker himself, for the commodity he offers exists only as an ability, a capacity, and has no existence outside his bodily form, his person. The labour time necessary both to maintain him physically and to modify him to develop this *special* capacity is the labour time necessary to produce the worker as such.

In this exchange the worker in fact only receives money as *coin*, i.e. merely a transitory form of the means of subsistence for which he exchanges it. Means of subsistence, not wealth, are for him the purpose of the exchange.

*Labour capacity* has been called the capital of the worker in so far as it is the fund he does not consume by an isolated exchange, but is able to repeat the exchange again and again for the *duration of his life as a worker*. On this argument everything that formed a fund for repeated processes by the same subject would be capital; e.g. the eye would be the capital of sight. Phrases.[92] The fact that, as long as he is capable of working, labour is always a source of exchange for the worker, and not exchange absolutely but exchange with capital, is inherent in the definition of the concept, according to which he only sells the *temporary disposition* over his labour capacity, hence can always begin the same act of exchange anew once he has half satisfied his hunger and slept half long enough, taken in the appropriate quantity of substances to be able to reproduce afresh the manifestation of his life.

Instead of wondering at this and presenting to the worker the fact that he lives at all, hence is able to repeat certain life processes every day, as a great service rendered by capital, the whitewashing sycophants of bourgeois political economy should rather have fixed their attention on the fact that after constantly repeated labour he always has *only* his living, direct labour itself to exchange. The repetition itself is, IN FACT, merely an apparent one. *What he exchanges for capital* (even if it is represented in relation to him by different, successive capitalists) is *his entire labour capacity*,

which he expends over 30 years, SAY. It is paid for in doses, just as he sells it in doses. This changes absolutely nothing in the essence of the matter, and in no way justifies the conclusion that, because the worker must sleep for a certain number of hours before he is capable of repeating his labour and his exchange with capital, labour forms *his capital*. Hence what IN FACT is here conceived as his capital is the limit to his labour, its interruption, the fact that he is not a *perpetuum mobile*. The struggle for the normal working day proves that the capitalist would like nothing better than for the worker to *squander his dosages of vital force, as far as possible, without interruption*. [II-A]

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[II-55] The whole movement that money performs to be converted into capital therefore falls into two distinct processes: the first is an act of simple circulation, purchase on one side, sale on the other; the second is the consumption of the purchased article by the buyer, an act which lies outside circulation, takes place behind its back. The consumption of the purchased article, in consequence of the latter's specific nature, here itself constitutes an economic relation.[39] In this consumption process the buyer and the seller enter into a new relation with each other, which is at the same time a *relation of production*.

The two acts may be entirely separate in time; and whether the sale is realised straight away or first concluded nominally and subsequently realised, it must always, at least nominally, as a stipulation made between buyer and seller, precede as a specific act the second act, the process of consumption of the purchased commodities—although their stipulated price is not paid until later.

The first act fully corresponds to the laws of commodity circulation, to which it belongs. Equivalents are exchanged for equivalents. The money owner pays out on the one hand the value of the material and means of labour, on the other hand the *value* of the labour capacity. In this purchase he therefore gives in money exactly as much objectified labour as he withdraws from circulation in the form of commodities—labour capacity, material of labour and means of labour. If this first act did not correspond to the laws of the exchange of commodities, it could not appear at all as the act of a mode of production whose foundation is namely that the most elementary relationship individuals enter with each other is that of commodity owners.[20] A different foundation of production would have to be assumed in order to explain it. But,

inversely, it is precisely the mode of production whose product always has the elementary form of the commodity, and not that of use value, which is based on capital, on the exchange of money for labour capacity.

The second act displays a phenomenon which in its result and its conditions is not only entirely alien to the laws of simple circulation but even appears to be at odds with it. In the first place, the social position of the seller and the buyer changes in the production process itself. The buyer takes command of the seller, to the extent that the latter himself enters into the buyer's consumption process with his person as a worker. There comes into being, outside the simple exchange process, a relation of domination and servitude, which is however distinguished from all other historical relations of this kind by the fact that it only follows from the specific nature of the commodity which is being sold by the seller; by the fact, therefore, that this relation only arises here from purchase and sale, from the position of both parties as commodity owners, therefore in itself once again includes political, etc., relationships. The buyer becomes the chief, lord (MASTER), the seller becomes his worker (MAN, HAND). In the same way as the relation of buyer and seller, as soon as it is inverted to become the relation of creditor and debtor, alters the social position of both parties—but there it is only a temporary change. Here it is permanent.[93]

But if one considers the result itself, it completely contradicts the laws of simple circulation, and this becomes even more striking when, as is usually the case, payment is only made after the labour has been delivered, the purchase being therefore in fact realised only at the end of the production process. For now labour capacity no longer confronts the buyer as such. It has become objectified in the commodity, say for example 12 hours of labour time, or 1 day's labour. The buyer therefore receives a value of 12 hours of labour. But he only pays for a value of say 10 hours of labour. Here equivalents would not really be exchanged for each other; but in fact no exchange is taking place at all now. One could only say: even assuming—and this is a favourite phrase—assuming that Act I has not taken place in the manner described but [II-56] instead the buyer pays not for the labour capacity but rather for the labour itself that has been provided. It can only be imagined. The product is now ready, but its value only exists in the form of its price. It must first be realised as money. If, then, the capitalist immediately realises for the worker his part of the product in money, it is in order that the worker should be content with a

lesser equivalent in money than he has given up in the commodity. From a general point of view this is absurd. For it adds up to the assertion that the seller must always be satisfied with a lesser equivalent in money than he provides in the commodity. Once the buyer transforms his money into a commodity, buys, the value only continues to exist in the commodity he buys as price; it no longer exists as realised value, as money. *He receives no compensation* for the fact that his commodity has lost the form of exchange value, of money. On the other hand, he has gained by the transaction, in that it now exists in the form of the commodity.

But, it is further argued, if I buy a commodity for my own consumption, that is something different; I am interested in its use value. There, it is only a matter of transforming exchange value into means of subsistence. In contrast to this, if I buy a commodity in order to re-sell it, I evidently suffer an initial loss when I exchange my money for it. For I am only concerned with exchange value and by the act of purchase my money loses the form of money. The exchange value exists now only as price, as an equation with money which has yet to be realised. But the intention with which I buy a commodity has nothing to do with its value. The phenomenon that in buying in order to sell a surplus value emerges would here be derived from the *intention* of the buyer that this surplus value should emerge, which is obviously absurd. When I sell a commodity I am completely indifferent to the use the buyer intends to make of it, as also to the misuse. Let us assume that the commodity owner has insufficient money to buy labour, but enough to buy the material and means of labour. The sellers of the material and means of labour would laugh him to scorn if he were to say: the material and means of labour are incomplete products; one is so in the nature of things, the other, likewise, only forms a constituent element of a later product and has no value except in so far as it enters into that product. Let us say that in fact the material of labour costs 100 thalers, the means of labour 20, and the labour I add to them, measured in money, is equal to 30 thalers. The value of the product would then be 150 thalers, and as soon as I am done with my work I have a commodity of 150 thalers, which, however, must first be sold in order to exist in the form of exchange value, as 150 thalers. I have given 100 thalers to the seller of the material, and 20 thalers to the seller of the means of labour; these form constituent elements of my commodity's value; they form 80% of its price. This 80% of my as yet unsold commodity—which I must first turn back into money—has been realised in money by the sellers of the raw

material and the means of labour in that they sold them to me, before the product was finished, and furthermore before it was sold. I am therefore making them an advance by the mere act of buying, and they ought accordingly to sell me their commodities at less than their value. The case is just the. same.

In both cases I have a commodity of 150 thalers in my hands, but it must first be sold, realised in money. In the first case I have myself added the value of the labour, but I have paid in advance the value of the material and means of labour, not only before the product has been sold, but before it is finished. In the second case the worker has added the value and I have paid him before the sale of the commodity. So one would always arrive at the absurd conclusion that the buyer as such has the privilege of buying cheaper, whereby he would lose just as much in his capacity of seller as he would have gained as buyer. At the end of the day for example the worker has added a day's labour to the product and I possess this labour of his in objectified form, as exchange value; I only pay him for this when I give back to him the same exchange value in money. The form of use value in which the value exists changes the magnitude of value just as little as it is changed by existing in the form of the commodity rather than that of money, as realised rather than non-realised value.

What creeps into this conception is the recollection of cash discount. If I have commodities ready, and either have money advanced on them—without selling them (or only making a conditional sale)—or draw out money on a bond of payment for a commodity which is already sold but for which payment first falls due later—for which I therefore have received in payment a bond, a bill of exchange or the like, only to be realised later—in both of these cases I pay discount. I pay for having received money without selling the commodity, or for having received money before the commodity is payable, before the sale is actually realised; in one or the other form I borrow money, and I pay for this. I give up part [II-57] of the price of the commodity, yielding it to the person who advances me money for the commodity as yet unsold or the commodity whose price is not yet payable. Here, therefore, I am paying for the metamorphosis of the commodities.

But if I am the buyer of labour—once it has been objectified in the product—this relation does not fill the bill, to begin with. For whether money is advanced [on unsold commodities] or the payment bond is discounted, in both cases the advancer of the money is not the buyer of the commodity but a third person who interposes himself between buyer and seller. But in our case the

capitalist confronts the worker who has provided him with the commodity—a definite amount of labour time objectified in a particular use value—as buyer, and he pays when he has already received the equivalent in the commodity. Secondly, this whole relation between the industrial capitalist and the capitalist advancing money at interest presumes that the capital-relation already exists. It is assumed that money—value in general—possesses as such the quality of valorising itself within a definite period of time, the ability to create a certain surplus value, and payment is made for its use on this assumption. Here, therefore, a derived form of capital is being presupposed in order to explain its original form—a particular form in order to explain its general form.[94]

In any case, the upshot of the whole thing is always this: The worker cannot wait until the product is sold. In other words, he does not have a *commodity* to sell, only his own labour. If he had *commodities* to sell, this would imply that in order to exist as a seller of commodities—since he does not live off the product and the commodity is not a use value for himself—he would always have to have in stock in the form of money as much of the commodities as he needs to live, to buy provisions, until his new commodity is finished and sold. Once again we have the same presupposition as in the first act, namely that the worker is faced, as mere labour capacity, with the objective conditions of labour, which include both his means of subsistence—the means to living while he works—and the conditions for the realisation of his labour itself.[21] Under the pretext of reasoning out of existence the first relation on which everything depends, and which is decisive, it is thus re-established.

Another form is just as idiotic: By receiving his wages, the worker has already received his share of the product or the value of the product, hence he has no further demands to make. Capitalist and worker are *associés*,[a] joint proprietors of the product or its value, but one PARTNER has his share paid to him by the other and thereby loses his right to the value resulting from the sale of the product and the profit realised therein. Arising from this we have to distinguish between two FALLACIES. If the worker had received an equivalent for the labour added by him to the raw material, he would in fact have no further claim. He would have received his share payment at its full value. This would of course show why he has nothing further to do with either the commodity or its value, but it by no means shows why he receives an equivalent in money

[a] Partners.— *Ed.*

which is *smaller* than he provided in the *labour objectified* in the product.

Thus in the above example the seller of raw material at 100 thalers and the seller of the means of labour at 20, which were bought from them by the producer of the new commodity, have no claim to the new commodity and its value of 150 thalers. It does not, however, follow from this that the one received only 80 thalers instead of 100 and the other only 10 instead of 20. It only proves that if the worker has received his equivalent before the sale of the commodities—he has, however, sold *his* commodity—he has nothing further to demand. But it does not prove that he has to sell his commodity *at less than the equivalent.* Now of course a second illusion creeps in. The capitalist now sells the commodity at a profit. The worker, who has already obtained his equivalent, has already waived his claim to the profit which arises from this subsequent operation. Here then we once again have the old illusion that profit—surplus value—arises from circulation and therefore that the commodity is sold over its value and the buyer is defrauded. The worker would have no share in this fraud carried out by one capitalist on another; but the profit of the one capitalist would be equal to the LOSS of the other, and thus no surplus value would exist in and for itself, for capital as a whole.[a]

There are of course particular forms of wage labour in which it *appears* as if the worker sold not his labour capacity but his *labour* itself, already *objectified* in the commodities. In the *piece wage* for example. However, this is [II-58] only another form of measuring labour time and supervising labour (of only paying for *necessary* labour).[b] If I know, for example, that average labour can deliver 24 units of some article in 12 hours, then 2 units would be equivalent to 1 hour of labour. If the worker receives payment for 10 of the 12 hours he works, hence if he works 2 hours of surplus time, this is the same as if in every hour he provided $^1/_6$ of an hour of surplus labour (labour for nothing). (10 minutes, hence 120 minutes over the whole day=2 hours.)

Assuming that 12 hours of labour, evaluated in money,=6s., then 1 hour=$^6/_{12}$s.=$^1/_2$s.=6d. The 24 units therefore=6s., or a single unit=$^1/_4$s.=3d. It is all the same whether the worker adds 2 hours to 10 or 4 units to 20. Each unit of 3d.=$^1/_2$ hour of labour of 3d. The worker, however, receives not 3d. but 2 $^1/_2$d. And if he delivers 24 units, he receives 48d.+12d.=60d.=5s., while the

[a] See this volume, pp. 25-26.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 103-04.— *Ed.*

capitalist sells the commodity at 6s. It is therefore only another way of measuring labour time (and equally of supervising the quality of the labour). These different forms of wage labour have nothing to do with the general relationship. It is in any case obvious that the same question arises with piece wages: where does the surplus value come from? It is clear that the piece is not completely paid for; that more labour is absorbed in the piece than is paid for in money.

Hence the whole phenomenon can only be explained (all other ways of explaining it ultimately return to presupposing its existence) by the fact that the worker does not sell his labour as a commodity—and it is a commodity as soon as it is objectified, in whatever use value, hence always as a result of the labour process, hence mostly before the labour has been *paid for*—but his labour capacity, before it has been set to work and realised itself as labour.

The result—that the preposited value, or the sum of money the buyer cast into circulation, has not only been reproduced but valorised itself, grown in a definite proportion, that a surplus value has been added to the value—this result is only realised in the direct production process, for only here does labour capacity become actual labour, only here is labour objectified in a commodity. The result is that the buyer gets back more objectified labour in the form of the commodity than he advanced in the form of money. This surplus value—this surplus of objectified labour time—arose first during the labour process itself; later the buyer throws it back into circulation by selling the new commodity.

But this second act, in which surplus value really arises and capital in fact becomes productive capital, can only occur as a result of the first act and is only a consequence of the specific use value of the commodity, which is in the first act exchanged for money at *its value*. The first act, however, only takes place under certain historical conditions.[21] The worker must be free, in order to be able to dispose of his labour capacity as his property, he must therefore be neither slave, nor serf, nor bondsman. Equally, he must on the other hand have forfeited the conditions for the realisation of his labour capacity. He must therefore be neither a peasant farming for his own needs nor a craftsman; he must have altogether ceased to be an owner of property. It is assumed that he *works* as *a non-proprietor* and that *the conditions of his labour* confront *him as alien property*. Thus these conditions also imply that the earth confronts him as alien property; that he is excluded from the use of nature and its products. This is the point at which

landed property appears as a necessary prerequisite for wage labour and therefore for capital. But in any case this does not have to be borne in mind any further in considering capital as such, since the form of landed property corresponding to the capitalist form of production is itself a historical product of the capitalist mode of production.[95] There therefore lies hidden in the existence of labour capacity offered as a commodity by the worker himself a whole range of historical conditions which alone permit labour to become wage labour, hence money to become capital.

Here, of course, it is a matter of production's resting in general on this basis; wage labour and its employment by capital should not occur as sporadic phenomena on the surface of the society, but should constitute the [II-59] dominant relation.

For labour to be wage labour, for the worker to work as a non-proprietor, for him to sell not commodities but disposition over his own labour capacity—to sell his labour capacity itself in the sole manner in which it can be sold—the conditions for the realisation of his labour must confront him as *alienated conditions*, as *alien powers*, conditions under the sway of an alien will, as alien property. *Objectified labour*, value as such, confronts him as an *entity in its own right*, as *capital*, the vehicle of which is the capitalist—hence it also confronts him as the *capitalist*.

What the worker *buys* is a result, a definite value; the quantity of labour time equal to the quantity contained in his own labour capacity, hence an amount of money necessary to keep him alive *qua* worker. For what he buys is money, hence merely another form for the exchange value he himself already possesses as labour capacity, and in the same quantity.

What the capitalist buys, in contrast, and what the worker sells, is the use value of labour capacity, i.e. labour itself, the power which creates and enhances value. This value-creating and value-enhancing power therefore belongs not to the worker but to capital. By incorporating into itself this power, capital comes alive and begins TO WORK "as if its body were by love possessed".[a] Living labour thus becomes a means whereby objectified labour is preserved and increased. To the extent that the worker creates wealth, living labour becomes a power of capital; similarly, all development of the productive forces of labour is development of the productive forces of capital. What the worker himself sells—and this is always replaced with an equivalent—is labour capacity itself, a definite value, whose magnitude may oscillate

[a] Goethe, *Faust*, Der Tragödie erster Teil, "Auerbachs Keller in Leipzig".— *Ed.*

between wider or narrower limits, but which is always reducible conceptually to a definite amount of the means of subsistence required for the maintenance of labour capacity as such, i.e. so that the worker may continue to live as a worker. Objectified, past labour thereby becomes the sovereign of living, present labour. The relation of subject and object is inverted. If already in the presupposition the objective conditions for the realisation of the worker's labour capacity and therefore for actual labour appear to the worker as alien, independent powers, which relate to living labour rather as the conditions of their own preservation and increase—the tool, the material [of labour] and the means of subsistence only giving themselves up to labour in order to absorb more of it—this inversion is still more pronounced in the result. The objective conditions of labour are themselves the products of labour and to the extent that they are viewed from the angle of exchange value they are nothing but labour time in objective form.

In both directions, therefore, the objective conditions of labour are the result of labour itself, they are *its own objectification*, and it is its own objectification, labour itself as its result, that confronts labour as an *alien power*, as an *independent power*; while labour confronts the latter again and again in the same objectlessness, as mere labour capacity.[96]

If the worker needs to work only for half a day in order to live for a whole day, i.e. in order to produce the means of subsistence necessary for his daily maintenance as a worker, the exchange value of his daily labour capacity=half a day's labour. The use value of this capacity, on the other hand, consists not in the labour time needed to preserve and produce, or reproduce, that capacity itself, but in the labour time it can itself work. Its use value therefore consists for example in a day's labour, whereas its exchange value is only half a day's labour. The capitalist buys it at its exchange value, at the labour time required to preserve it; what he receives, in contrast, is the labour time during which it can itself work; hence in the above case a whole day, if he has paid for a half. The size of his profit depends on the length of the period of time for which the worker places his labour capacity at his disposal. But in all circumstances the relation consists in this, that the worker puts it at his disposal for longer than the amount of labour time necessary for his own reproduction. The capitalist only buys it because it has this use value.

Capital and wage labour only express two factors of the same relation. Money cannot become capital without being exchanged

for labour capacity as a commodity sold by the worker himself; therefore without finding this specific commodity available on the market. On the other hand, labour can only appear as wage labour once the specific conditions of its realisation, its *own* objective conditions, confront it as powers in their own right, alien property, value-being-for-itself[25] and holding fast to [II-60] itself, in short as capital. Hence if capital from its material side—or in terms of the use values in which it exists—can only consist of the objective conditions of labour itself, the means of subsistence and means of production (the latter in part material of labour, in part means of labour), from its formal side these objective conditions must confront labour as *alienated*, as *independent* powers, as value—objectified labour—which relates to living labour as the mere means of its own preservation and increase.

Wage labour—or the wage system—(the wage as the price of labour) is therefore a necessary social form of labour for capitalist production, just as capital, potentiated value, is a necessary social form the objective conditions of labour must have for labour to be wage labour. One thus sees what a deep understanding of this social relation of production is possessed by e.g. a Bastiat, who says the form of the wage system is not to blame for the evils the socialists complain of. //More on this subject later.// The fellow thinks that if the workers had enough money to live until the sale of the commodity, they would be able to share with the capitalists on more favourable terms. That is, in other words, if they were not wage labourers, if they could sell the product of their labour instead of their labour capacity. The fact that they cannot do this makes them precisely wage labourers and their buyers capitalists. Thus the essential form of the relation is regarded by Mr. Bastiat as an accidental circumstance.[97]

There are a few more questions attached to this, which will be looked at immediately. First, though, one more remark. We have seen that by adding new labour in the labour process—and this is the only labour he sells to the capitalist—the worker preserves the value of the labour objectified in the material of labour and the means of labour. And indeed he does this for nothing. It happens in virtue of the living quality of labour as labour, not that a fresh quantity of labour would be required for this.

//Where e.g. the instrument of labour has to be improved, etc., requires new labour for its maintenance, it is the same thing as if a new tool or an aliquot part of a new means of labour were to be bought by the capitalist and thrown into the labour process.//

The capitalist receives this for nothing. Just *as the worker advances*

*his labour to him, in that it is only paid for after it is objectified.* (This is a point to be made against those who speak of the price of labour's being advanced.[98] The labour is paid for after it has been provided. The product as such does not concern the worker. The commodity he sells has already passed into the possession of the capitalist before it is paid for.)

But yet a further result comes to pass owing to the whole transaction, and the capitalist also gets this for nothing. After the end of a labour process of, for example, one day the worker has turned the money he receives from the capitalist into means of subsistence and has thereby preserved, reproduced his labour capacity, so that the same exchange between capital and labour capacity can begin again afresh.* But this is a condition for the valorisation of capital, for its further existence in general, which allows it to be a continuous relation of production. This reproduction of labour capacity as such means the reproduction of the sole condition under which commodities can be transformed into capital. The worker's consumption of his wage is productive for the capitalist not only because the latter receives in return labour, and a greater quantity of labour than is represented by the wage, but also because it reproduces for him the condition [for capital's further existence], labour capacity. Hence the result of the capitalist process of production is not just commodities and surplus value; it is the *reproduction of this relation* itself (its reproduction on an ever growing scale, as will be seen later).[100]

In so far as labour is objectified in the production process, it is objectified as *capital*, as not-labour, and in so far as capital yields itself up in the exchange to the worker, it only turns into the means of reproducing his *labour capacity*. At the end of the process, therefore, its original conditions, its original factors and their original [mutual] relation, are again in place. The relation of *capital and wage labour* is therefore reproduced by this mode of production just as much as commodities and surplus value are

* [II-61] "The material undergoes changes.... The instruments, or machinery, employed ... undergo changes. The several instruments, in the course of production, are gradually destroyed or consumed.... The various kinds of food, clothing, and shelter, necessary for the existence and comfort of the human being, are also changed. They are consumed, from [II-62] time to time, and their value reappears, in that new vigor imparted to his body and mind, which forms a fresh capital, to be employed again in the work of production" (F. Wayland, *The Elements of Political Economy*, Boston, 1843, [p.] 32). [II-62][a][99]

[a] Marx quotes in English.— *Ed.*

produced. All that emerges at the end of the process is what entered at the start: on the one hand objectified labour as capital, on the other hand objectless labour as mere labour capacity, so that the same exchange is constantly repeated afresh. In colonies, where the domination of capital—or the basis of capitalist production—is not yet sufficiently developed, so that the worker receives more than [II-61] is required for the reproduction of his labour capacity and very soon becomes a peasant farming independently, etc., the original relation is not constantly reproduced; hence great lamentations by the capitalists and attempts to introduce the relation of capital and wage labour artificially (*Wakefield*[67]).

Linked with this reproduction of the total relationship—with the fact that by and large the wage labourer only emerges from the process to find himself in the same position in which he entered it—is the importance for the workers of the nature of the original conditions under which they reproduce their labour capacity and of the average wage or the limits within which they have traditionally to live in order to live as workers. This is more or less obliterated in the course of capitalist production, but it takes a long time. What means of subsistence are needed to maintain the worker—i.e. what kind of means of subsistence and in what quantity in general they are considered necessary—on this see *Thornton*.[a] But this is a striking demonstration that wages are made up of means of subsistence alone, and that the worker continues to result merely as labour capacity. The difference lies only in the more or the less of a thing that counts as the measure of his requirements. He always works only for consumption; the difference is only in whether his consumption costs (=production costs) are larger or smaller.

Wage labour is therefore a necessary condition for the formation of capital and it remains the constant, necessary prerequisite for capitalist production. Therefore although the first act, the exchange of money for labour capacity or the sale of labour capacity, does not enter as such into the direct production process (labour process), it does enter into the production of the whole relation. Without it, money does not become capital, labour does not become wage labour and therefore the whole labour process is not brought under the control of capital, either, not subsumed under it; hence the production of surplus value in the manner defined earlier does not take place either. This question—

[a] W. Th. Thornton, *Over-population and its Remedy*, London, 1846, p. 19.—*Ed.*

of whether this first act belongs to the production process of capital—is the actual subject of discussion in the dispute between the economists as to whether the part of capital laid out in wages—or, what is the same thing, the means of subsistence for which the worker exchanges his wage—does constitute a part of capital. (See Rossi, Mill, Ramsay.)[101]

The question: are *wages productive* is in fact the same misunderstanding as the question: is capital productive?

In the latter case capital is understood to mean nothing other than the use values of the commodities in which it exists (the physical objects which comprise capital), not the formal determination, the definite social relation of production of which the commodities are the vehicles. In the former case the emphasis is on the fact that the wage as such does not enter into the direct labour process.

It is not the price of a machine which is productive but the machine itself, to the extent that it functions as a use value in the labour process. When the value of the machine reappears in the value of the product, the price of the machine in the price of the commodity, this only occurs because it has a price. This price produces nothing; it does not preserve, still less does it increase itself. From one aspect wages are a deduction from the productivity of labour; for surplus labour is limited by the labour time the worker requires for his own reproduction, preservation. Hence the surplus value is limited. From another aspect they are productive, in so far as they produce labour capacity itself, which is the source of valorisation altogether and the basis of the whole relation.

The portion of capital expended in wages, i.e. the price of labour capacity, does not enter directly into the labour process, although it does indeed in part, since the worker has to consume means of subsistence several times a day in order to continue with his work. Nevertheless, this consumption process falls outside the actual labour process. (Like coal, oil, etc., in the case of the machine, perhaps?[102]) As *matière instrumentale* of labour capacity? The preposited values only enter into the valorisation process at all to the extent that they are available. With the wage it is different, for this is reproduced; replaced by fresh labour. In any case, if wages themselves—split up into means of subsistence—are regarded merely as the coal and oil needed to keep the machine of labour in motion, they only enter into the labour process as use values to the extent to which they are consumed by the worker as means of subsistence and they are productive to the extent to which they keep him in motion as a working machine. But they do

this in so far as they are means of subsistence, not because these means of subsistence [II-62] have a price. The price of these means of subsistence, however, the wage, does not come in here, for the worker must reproduce it. With the consumption of the means of subsistence the value contained in them is annihilated. He replaces this value with a fresh quantity of labour. It is therefore this labour which is productive, not its price.

//We have seen that the value contained in the material and means of labour is simply preserved by their being used up as material and means of labour, hence by their becoming factors of new labour, hence by the addition of new labour to them.[a]

Let us now assume [that this is done] in order to carry on a production process on a particular scale—and this scale is itself determined, for only necessary labour time is to be employed, hence only as much labour time as is necessary at the given social stage of development of the productive forces. This given stage of development is however expressed in a certain quantity of machinery, etc., a certain quantity of products required for fresh production. Hence do not weave with a handloom when the POWERLOOM is predominant, etc. In other words, in order that only necessary labour time be applied, labour must be placed in conditions which correspond to the mode of production. These conditions are themselves expressed as a certain quantity of machinery, etc., in short as means of labour which are prerequisites for ensuring that only as much labour time be employed for the manufacture of the product as is necessary at the given stage of development. Thus to spin yarn at least a minimum size of factory is needed, a steam engine with so and so much horsepower, MULES with so and so many spindles, etc. Hence in order to preserve the value contained in these conditions of production—and spinning with machines in turn implies that a definite quantity of cotton must be consumed every day—it is necessary not only to add fresh labour but to add a *certain quantity* of that labour, so that the quantity of material determined by the stage of production itself should be used up as material, and that the particular time during which the machine must be in motion (must be utilised every day as instrument) should really be available as the machine's period of utilisation.

If I have a machine which is constructed in such a way as to require the spinning of 600 lbs of cotton a day, and if 1 working

[a] See this volume, pp. 70-80.—*Ed.*

day is needed to spin 6 lbs, 100 working days must be absorbed by these means of production, so as to preserve the value of the machinery. It is not that the fresh labour is in any way employed in the preservation of this value; all it does is add new value, while the old value re-appears unchanged in the product. But the old value is only preserved by the addition of new value. To re-appear in the product it must proceed as far as the product. Hence if 600 lbs of cotton must be spun so that the machinery is used as machinery, this 600 lbs must be transformed into product, i.e. there must be added to it the quantity of labour time which is necessary to transform it into product. In the product itself the value of the 600 lbs of cotton and the aliquot part of the machine that has been worn out simply reappears; the freshly added labour changes nothing in this, but it increases the value of the product. One part of it replaces the price of the wage (of labour capacity); another creates surplus value. If, however, the whole of this labour had not been added, the value of the raw material and the machinery would not have been preserved either. This part of the labour, in which the worker reproduces only the value of his own labour capacity, hence only adds this afresh, therefore preserves only the part of the value of material and instrument which has absorbed this quantity of labour. The other part of the labour, which creates the surplus value, preserves a further component of the value of the material and the machinery.

Let us assume that the raw material (the 600 lbs) costs 600d.=50s.=£2 10s. The worn out machinery=£1, but the 12 hours of labour add £1 10s. (replacement of wage, and surplus value), so that the total price of the commodity=£5. Assuming the wage amounts to £1, 10s. expresses the surplus labour. Value preserved in the commodity=£2 10s., or half of it [of the £5]. The total product of the working day (one may imagine that this is a working day×100, i.e. a working day of 100 workers, since each one works for 12 hours)=£5. This makes $8\,^1/_3$s. per hour, or 8s. 4d. In one hour, therefore, 4s. 2d. of raw material and machinery is replaced and 4s. 2d. is added in labour (necessary and surplus labour).

The product of 6 hours of labour is [II-63]=50s.=£2 10s.; preserved in this are raw material and machinery to the value of £1 5s. But in order to use machines so productively, 12 hours must be worked, hence as much raw material must be consumed as 12 hours of labour will absorb. The capitalist can therefore view the matter like this: in the first 6 hours alone the price of the raw material is replaced, amounting to precisely £2 10s. (50s.), the

value of the product of 6 hours of labour. 6 hours of labour can only preserve, through the labour thereby added, the value of the material needed for 6 hours of labour. But the capitalist makes his calculations as if the first 6 hours had merely preserved the value of the cotton and machinery, because he must use his machine as a machine, let 12 hours be worked, hence also consume 600 lbs of cotton, in order to extract a definite surplus value. On our assumption, however, the *value of the cotton was £1 10s.= 30s.*, $^3/_{10}$ of the whole.[103]

To simplify matters—since the figures are here a matter of indifference—let us assume that £2 worth of cotton (hence 80 lbs, each lb. costing 6d.) is spun in 12 hours of labour; that £2 worth of machinery is used up in 12 hours of labour; and finally that £2 of value is added by fresh labour, of which £1 for wages, £1 for surplus value, surplus labour. £2 (40s.) for 12 hours would come to $3^1/_3$s. per hour (3s. 4d.), expressing the value of an hour of labour in money; similarly $3^1/_3$s. worth of cotton is used up each hour, on our assumption $6^2/_3$ lbs; lastly $3^1/_3$s. worth of machinery is worn out each hour. The value of the commodities finished each hour=10s. But of this 10s. $6^2/_3$s. (6s. 8d.) or $66^2/_3$% is merely preposited value, which only re-appears in the commodity because $3\,^1/_3$s. of machinery and $6\,^2/_3$ lbs of cotton are required to absorb 1 hour of labour; because they have entered into the labour process as material and machinery—as material and machinery in these proportions—hence the exchange value contained in this quantity [of material and machinery] has gone over to the new commodity, the twist for example.

The value of the yarn produced in 4 hours=40s. or £2, of which in turn $^1/_3$ (namely $13\,^1/_3$s.) is newly added labour, and $^2/_3$ or $26^2/_3$s. is merely the preservation of the value contained in the worked up material and the machinery. And indeed this is only preserved because the new value of $13^1/_3$s. is added to the material, i.e. 4 hours of labour are absorbed in it; or this is the quantity of material and machinery needed by the 4 hours of spinning labour for its realisation. In these 4 hours no value has been created apart from the 4 hours of labour which, objectified,=$13^1/_3$s. But the value of the commodity, or of the product of these 4 hours, $^2/_3$ of which is preposited value preserved,=£2 (or 40s.), is exactly equal to the value of the cotton which needs to be spun (consumed) in 12 hours of labour by the spinning process. If, therefore, the manufacturer sells the product of the first 4 hours, he has thereby replaced the value of the cotton which he requires over the 12 hours, or which he requires

so as to absorb 12 hours of labour time. But why? Because on our assumption the value of the cotton that enters into the product of 12 hours=$^1/_3$ of the value of the total product. In $^1/_3$ of the labour time he consumes only $^1/_3$ of the cotton and therefore only preserves the value of this one third. If he adds another $^2/_3$ of labour, he thereby consumes $^2/_3$ more cotton and in 12 hours he has preserved in the product the total value of the cotton, because all 80 lbs of cotton have really entered into the product, into the labour process. Now, if he were to sell the product of 4 hours of labour, whose value=$^1/_3$ of the total product, which is also the part of the value of the total product formed by the cotton, he might imagine that he had reproduced the value of the cotton in these first 4 hours, that it had been reproduced in 4 hours of labour. In actual fact, however, only $^1/_3$ of the cotton enters these 4 hours, hence only $^1/_3$ of its value. He assumes that the cotton consumed in the 12 hours was reproduced in the 4 hours. But the calculation only works because he included in the cotton $^1/_3$ for the instrument and $^1/_3$ for labour (objectified), which together form $^2/_3$ of the price of the product of the 4 hours. They=26$^2/_3$s., and in price therefore=53$^1/_3$ lbs of cotton. If he were only to work for 4 hours, he would only have in his commodity $^1/_3$ of the value of the total product of 12 hours. Since the cotton forms $^1/_3$ of the value of the total product, he can reckon that in the product of 4 hours he brings forth the value of the cotton needed for 12 hours of labour.

[II-64] If he works for a further 4 hours, this again=$^1/_3$ of the value of the total product, and since the machinery=$^1/_3$ of the latter, he can imagine that in the 2nd third of the labour time he has replaced the value of the machinery needed for 12 hours. Indeed, if he sells the product of this 2nd third, or of these other 4 hours, the value of the machinery used up in 12 hours has been replaced. On this calculation the product of the last 4 hours contains neither raw material nor machinery, whose value it would include, but simply labour. Newly created value, therefore, so that 2 hours=the reproduced wage (£1) and 2 hours are surplus value, surplus labour (also £1). In reality, the labour added in the last 4 hours only adds 4 hours of value, hence 13$^1/_3$s. But it is presupposed that the value of the raw material and means [of labour], which enter to 66$^2/_3$% into the product of these 4 hours, merely replaces the labour added. The value added by labour in the 12 hours is thus conceived as if it were added by labour in 4 hours. The whole calculation comes out because it is presupposed that $^1/_3$ of the labour time not only creates itself but also the value

of the $^2/_3$ of the preposited values contained in the labour's product.[a]

If it is assumed in this way that the product of a whole third part of the labour time is merely the value added by labour—although this value is only $^1/_3$—the result is naturally the same as if over 3×4 hours the real third part were calculated on labour and the $^2/_3$ on the preposited values. This calculation may be quite practical for the capitalist, but it entirely distorts the real relationship and leads to the greatest absurdity, if it is supposed to have theoretical validity. The *preposited* value of raw material and machinery alone forms 66 $^2/_3$% of the new commodity, whilst the added labour only forms 33 $^1/_3$%. The 66 $^2/_3$% represents 24 hours of objectified labour time; how ridiculous therefore the requirement that the 12 hours of new labour should objectify not only itself but in addition a further 24 hours, hence 36 hours altogether.

The point, then, is this:

The price of the product of 4 hours of labour, i.e. of a third of the total working day of 12 hours, = $^1/_3$ of the price of the total product. According to our assumption, the price of the cotton forms $^1/_3$ of the price of the total product. Hence the price of the product of 4 hours of labour, of $^1/_3$ of the total working day, = the price of the cotton that enters into the total product, or is spun in 12 hours of labour. The manufacturer therefore says that the first 4 hours of labour replace only the price of the cotton that is consumed during the 12 hours of labour. But in fact the price of the product of the first 4 hours of labour = $^1/_3$ of the value added in the labour process, i.e. 13 $^1/_3$s. labour (in our example), 13 $^1/_3$s. cotton, and 13 $^1/_3$s. machinery, the last two components only re-appearing in the price of the product because they have been consumed by the four hours' labour in their shape as use values, hence re-appear in a new use value, and have therefore preserved their old exchange value.

What is added in the 4 hours to the 26 $^2/_3$s. of cotton and machinery (which possessed this value before they entered into the labour process, and only re-appear in the value of the new product because they have entered into the new product through the agency of the four-hour spinning process) is nothing other than 13 $^1/_3$s., i.e. the newly added labour. (The quantity of newly added labour time.) If we therefore deduct the 4 hours from the

[a] This should read: "...but also the value of the preposited values, contained in the labour's product to the amount of $^2/_3$ of that product".— *Ed.*

price of the product, the $26\,^2/_3$s. advanced from the 40s., only $13\,^1/_3$s. remains as value really created in the process, the four hours of labour expressed in money. If now $^2/_3$ of the price of the product, namely the one third or $13\,^1/_3$s. which represents the machinery, and the other third or $13\,^1/_3$s. which represents the labour, is evaluated in cotton, there emerges the price of the cotton that is consumed in the 12 hours.

In other words: In 4 hours of labour time only 4 hours of labour time is in fact added to the values previously present. But these values appear again—the values of the quantities of cotton and machinery—because they have absorbed this 4 hours of labour time or because as factors in the spinning they have become constituents of the yarn. The price of the cotton which re-appears in the value of the product of 4 hours of labour therefore=only the value of the quantity of cotton which has really entered as material into this 4-hour labour process, has been consumed; hence it=$13\,^1/_3$s., according to the [original] assumption. But the *price* of the total product of 4 hours of labour=the *price* of the cotton consumed in 12 hours, because the product of 4 hours of labour time=$^1/_3$ of the total product of 12 hours, and the price of the cotton constitutes $^1/_3$ of the price of the total product of 12 hours.

[II-65] What is true of 12 hours of labour is true of one hour. The proportion between 4 hours and 12 hours is the same as between $^1/_3$ hour and 1 hour. Hence in order to simplify the whole example even more let us reduce it to 1 hour. On the given assumption the value of the product of 1 hour=10s., of which $3\,^1/_3$s. is cotton ($6\,^2/_3$ lbs of cotton), $3\,^1/_3$ machinery, and $3\,^1/_3$ labour time. If an hour of labour time is added, the value of the whole product=10s. or 3 hours of labour time, because the values of the material consumed and the machinery consumed, which re-appear in the new product, the yarn,=$6\,^2/_3$s., which=2 hours of labour on our assumption. The manner in which the values of the cotton and the spindle re-appear in the value of the yarn and the manner in which the freshly added labour enters into it are now to be distinguished.

*Firstly*: The value of the whole product=3 hours of labour time, or 10s. Of this, 2 hours were labour time contained in the cotton and spindle and *in existence prior to* the labour process, i. e. they were values of cotton and spindle before these entered into the labour process. They therefore simply re-appear, are merely preserved, in the value of the total product, of which they form $^2/_3$. The excess of the value of the new product over the values of

its material constituents is only=$^1/_3$,=3 $^1/_3$s. This is the sole new value created in this labour process. The old values, which existed independently of it, have merely been preserved.

But, *secondly*: How have they been preserved? Through being applied by living labour as material and means, through being consumed by it as factors in the formation of a new use value, that of yarn. The labour has only preserved their exchange value because it related to them as use values, i. e. consumed them as the elements in the formation of a new use value, of yarn. The exchange values of the cotton and the spindle therefore re-appear in the exchange value of the yarn, not because labour in general, abstract labour, pure labour time—labour as it forms the element of exchange value—has been added to them, but this particular, real labour, spinning, useful labour which is realised in a particular use value, in yarn, and which as this specific purposeful activity consumes cotton and spindle as its use values, ulilises them as its factors, making them, through its own purposeful activity, into the formative elements of yarn.

If the spinner—therefore the labour of spinning—were able to convert 6 $^2/_3$ lbs of cotton into yarn in half an hour instead of 1 hour with a more ingenious machine, which nevertheless had the same value relation, the value of the product would=3 $^1/_3$s. (for cotton)+3 $^1/_3$s. (for machine)+1 $^2/_3$s. of labour, since half an hour of labour time would be expressed in 1 $^2/_3$s. on our assumption. The value of the product would therefore=8 $^1/_3$s., in which the value of the cotton and the machinery would re-appear entirely, as in the first case, although the labour time added to them would amount to 50% less than in the first case. They would re-appear entirely, because no more than half an hour of spinning was required to convert them into yarn. Hence they re-appear entirely because they entered entirely into the product of half an hour's spinning, into the new use value, yarn. The labour, so far as it preserves them as exchange values, does so only to the extent that it is real labour, a specific purposeful activity aimed at producing a particular use value. It does this as spinning, not as abstract social labour time which is indifferent to its content. Only as *spinning* does the labour preserve here the values of cotton and spindle in the product, the yarn.

On the other hand, in this process in which it preserves the exchange values of cotton and spindle the labour, spinning, relates to them not as exchange values, but as use values, elements of this particular labour, spinning. If by using certain machinery the spinner can convert 6 $^1/_3$ lbs of cotton into yarn, it is for this

process quite irrelevant whether the lb. of cotton costs 6d. or 6s., for he consumes it in the spinning process as cotton, as the material of spinning. There must be as much of this material as is required to absorb 1 hour of spinning labour. The price of the material has nothing to do with this. The same applies to the machinery. If the same machinery cost only half the price and performed the same service, this would not affect the spinning process in any way. The sole condition for the spinner is that he should possess material (cotton) and spindle (machinery) to the extent, in such *quanta*, as are required for spinning over the course of an hour.[a] The values or prices of cotton and spindle do not concern the spinning process as such. They are the result of the labour time objectified in themselves. They therefore only re-appear in the product to the extent that they were preposited to it as given values, and they re-appear only because the commodities cotton and spindle are required as use values, in their material determinateness, for the spinning of yarn, because they enter as factors into the spinning process.

On the other hand, however, spinning adds to the value of cotton and spindle a new value not to the extent that it is this particular labour of spinning but only because it is labour in general, and the labour time of the spinner is general labour time, for which it is a matter of indifference whatever [II-66] use value it is objectified in and whatever specific useful character, specific purpose it has, or whatever the specific kind or mode of existence of the labour as whose time (measure) it is present. An hour of spinning labour is here equated with an hour of labour time as such (whether this=one hour or several has no bearing on the matter). This hour of objectified labour time adds to the combination of cotton and spindle 3 $^1/_3$s., for example, because this sum objectifies the same labour time in money.

If the 5 lbs of yarn (6 lbs of spun COTTON)[104] could be produced in half an hour instead of a whole hour, the same use value would be preserved at the end of half an hour as in the other case at the end of the whole hour. The same quantity of use value of the same quality, 5 lbs of yarn of a given quality. The labour, to the extent that it is concrete labour, spinning, activity directed at producing a use value, would have achieved in the half hour as much as previously in the whole hour, it would have created the same use value. As spinning it achieves the same in both cases, although the duration of the spinning is twice as long in one case

[a] Above the words "an hour" Marx wrote: "a definite time".— *Ed.*

as in the other. To the extent that labour itself is use value, i.e. purposeful activity directed at producing a use value, the necessary time required, the time labour must last, to produce this use value is completely irrelevant; whether labour needs 1 hour or $^1/_2$ hour to spin 5 lbs of yarn. On the contrary. The less time it needs to produce the same use value, the more productive and useful it is. But the value it adds, the value it creates, is measured purely by the labour's duration. In 1 hour, the labour of spinning adds twice as great a value as in $^1/_2$, and in 2 hours twice as great a value as in one, etc. The value it adds is measured by the labour's own duration and, as value, the product is nothing but the materialisation of a definite amount of labour time in general. It is not the product of this specific labour of spinning, or spinning only comes into consideration to the extent that it is labour in general and its duration is labour time in general. The values of cotton and spindle are preserved because the labour of spinning converts them into yarn, hence because they are employed as the material and means of this specific mode of labour; the value of the 6 lbs of cotton is only increased because it has absorbed 1 hour of labour time; in the product, yarn, 1 hour more of labour time is objectified than was contained in the value elements cotton and spindle.

However, labour time can only be added to existing products or, in general, to existing material of labour to the extent that it is the time of a specific labour, which relates to the material and means of labour as to *its own* material and means; hence 1 hour of labour time can only be added to the cotton and the spindle in that an hour of spinning labour is added to them. The fact that their values are preserved derives merely from the specific character of the labour, from its material determinateness, from its being spinning, precisely the particular labour for which cotton and spindle serve as the means for the production of yarn; and further, from its being living labour in general, purposeful activity. The fact that value is added to them derives merely from spinning labour's being labour in general, abstract social labour in general, and from the hour of spinning labour being equivalent to an hour of social labour in general, an hour of social labour time. Hence the values of the material and means of labour are preserved and re-appear as value components in the total value of the product merely through the process of valorisation—which is in fact merely an abstract expression for actual labour—through the process of adding new labour time—since this must be added in a particular useful and purposeful form. But the work is not

done twice, once to add value, the next time to preserve the existing values; instead, since the *labour time can only be added in the form of useful labour, specific labour, like spinning, it automatically preserves the values of material and means* [of labour] *by adding new value to them, i.e. by adding labour time.*

It is now clear, furthermore, that the quantity of existing values preserved by the new labour stands in a definite relation to the quantity of value the new labour adds to them, or that the quantity of already objectified labour that is preserved stands in a definite relation to the quantity of new labour time that is added, is objectified for the first time; that, in a word, a definite relation occurs between the direct labour process and the valorisation process.

If the labour time *necessary* to spin 6 lbs of cotton, using up *x* amount of machinery, is 1 hour under given general conditions of production, only 6 lbs of cotton can be converted into yarn in the one hour and only *x* amount of machinery can be used up, hence only 5 lbs of yarn can be produced; so that for every hour of labour by which the value of the yarn is higher than the value of the cotton and *x* spindles there would be 2 hours of labour (of objectified labour time), 6 lbs of cotton and *x* spindles ($3\,^1/_3$s.) preserved in the yarn. Cotton can only be valorised (i.e. obtain a surplus value) by 1 hour of labour, $3\,^1/_3$s., in so far as 6 lbs of cotton and *x* amount of machinery is used up; on the other hand, these can only be used up, and therefore their values can only re-appear in the yarn, if 1 hour of labour time is added. Thus if the value of 72 lbs[104] of cotton is to re-appear in the product [II-67] as a value component of the yarn, 12 hours of labour must be added. A definite quantity of material only absorbs a definite quantity of labour time. Its value is only preserved in proportion as it absorbs the latter (with a given productivity of labour). Therefore the value of the 72 lbs of cotton cannot be preserved unless it is all spun into yarn. But this requires a labour time of 12 hours, on our assumption.

If the productivity of labour—i.e. the quantity of use value it can provide in a definite time—is given, the quantity of given values it preserves depends purely on its *own duration*; or the amount of value of material [and] means [of labour] that is preserved depends purely on the labour time that is added, hence on the measure in which new value is created. The preservation of values falls and rises in direct proportion to the fall or rise in the addition of value. If on the other hand the material and means of labour are given, their preservation as values depends purely on

the productivity of the labour added, on whether this labour needs more or less time to convert them into a new use value. Here, therefore, the preservation of the given values stands in an inverse relation to the addition of value,[a] i.e. if the labour is more productive, they require less labour time to be preserved; and vice versa.

//But now a peculiar circumstance comes into the picture, through the division of labour, and still more through machinery.

Labour time as the element, substance, of value is *necessary labour time*; hence labour time required under given general social conditions of production. If for example 1 hour is the labour time necessary for the conversion of 6 lbs of COTTON into yarn, it is the duration of a labour of spinning which needs certain conditions for its realisation: e.g. a MULE with so and so many spindles, a steam engine with such and such horse-power, etc. The whole of this apparatus would be necessary to convert 6 lbs of COTTON into yarn over a period of 1 hour. But this CASE belongs to a later discussion.[b]//

Now back to our example. 6 lbs of cotton spun in one hour. Value of the cotton=3 $^1/_3$s., value of the spindle, etc., used up=3 $^1/_3$s., value of the labour added=3 $^1/_3$s. Therefore value of the product=10s. The given values=2 hours of labour, as the cotton and the spindle are each equal to 1 hour of labour. The price of the total product at the end of the hour=the sum of prices;=10s.; or 3 hours of objectified labour time, of which 2 hours, the hours accounted for by the cotton and the spindle, merely re-appear in the product, and 1 hour alone represents the creation of new value or added labour. The price of each of the factors forms $^1/_3$ of the total price of the product of 1 hour of labour. Hence the price of the product of $^1/_3$ of an hour of labour=the price of $^1/_3$ of the total product, hence=the price of the labour, or cotton, or machinery, contained in the total product, as each of these 3 elements of the total product constitutes $^1/_3$ of its price. Therefore, if $^1/_3$ of an hour's work is done, the product=2 lbs of yarn of a value of 3 $^1/_3$s., with which I could buy cotton to the amount of 6 lbs. Or the price of the product of $^1/_3$ of an hour=the price of the cotton consumed in a whole hour of labour. The price of the 2nd third=the price of the machinery used up. The price of the product, e.g. $^1/_3$ of an hour=the price of the whole of the labour added (both the part

[a] Above "the addition of value" Marx wrote "labour productivity".— *Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 318-43.— *Ed.*

which constitutes an equivalent for the wage and the part which constitutes surplus value or profit).

The manufacturer can therefore calculate as follows: I work $^1/_3$ of an hour to pay the price of the cotton, $^1/_3$ of an hour to replace the price of the machinery worn out, and $^1/_3$ of an hour of which $^1/_6$ replaces wages, $^1/_6$ forms the surplus value. Correct as this calculation is in practice, it is completely absurd if it is meant to explain the real formation of value (valorisation process) and therefore the relation between necessary and surplus labour. In particular the preposterous notion creeps in here that $^1/_3$ of an hour of labour creates or replaces the value of the cotton that has been used, $^1/_3$ replaces the value of the worn out machinery, while $^1/_3$ forms the newly added labour or the newly created value, which is the common fund for wages and profit. It is in fact only a trivial method of expressing the relation in which the given values of cotton and means of labour re-appear in the product of the whole of the labour time (the hour's labour), or the relation in which given values, objectified labour, are preserved in the labour process by the addition of an hour of labour time.

If I say: the price of the product of $^1/_3$ of an hour of labour=the price of the cotton spun in a whole hour of labour, let us say=the price of 6 lbs of cotton, 3 $^1/_3$s., I know that the product of 1 hour of labour=3 times the product of $^1/_3$ of an hour of labour. If, then, the price of the product of $^1/_3$ of an hour of labour=the price of the cotton which is spun in $^3/_3$, or 1 hour of labour, this only means that the price of the cotton=$^1/_3$ of the price of the total product, that 6 lbs of cotton enter into the total product, hence its value re-appears and this value forms $^1/_3$ of the value of the total product. Ditto with the value of the machinery. Ditto with the labour.

If I therefore say that the price of the product of $^2/_3$ of the time that labour is [II-68] in general carried on, i. e. for example the price of the product of $^2/_3$ of the hour of labour=the price of the material and the price of the machinery which is worked up in $^3/_3$ or 1 hour of labour, this is only another way of expressing the fact that the prices of the material and means of labour enter to an extent of $^2/_3$ into the price of the total product of the hour, hence the hour of labour added is only $^1/_3$ of the whole value objectified in the product. The fact that the *price of the product* of a part of the hour, $^1/_3$, or $^2/_3$, etc., is equal to the price of the raw material, the machinery, etc., definitely does not mean, therefore, that the price of the raw material, the machinery, is produced or even *reproduced* in the proper sense of the word in the course of $^1/_3$ or

$^2/_3$, etc., of an hour; it means rather that the price of these partial products, or these products of aliquot parts of labour time=the price of the raw material, etc., which re-appears, is preserved, in the total product.

The absurdness of the other conception is best seen if one looks at the final third, which represents the price of the labour added, the quantity of value added, or the quantity of new objectified labour. The *price of the product* of this last third is on our assumption equal to $1\,^1/_9$s. of cotton,=$^1/_3$ of an hour of labour;+$1\,^1/_9$s. of machinery=$^1/_3$ of an hour of labour;+$^1/_3$ of an hour of labour, which is, however, newly added. The sum total therefore=$^3/_3$ of an hour of labour, or 1 hour of labour. This price is therefore, in fact, the monetary expression of the whole of the labour time added to the raw material. But according to the confused notion mentioned earlier $^1/_3$ of an hour of labour would be represented by $3\,^1/_3$s., i.e. by the product of $^3/_3$ of an hour of labour. Similarly in the first third, where the *price of the product* of $^1/_3$ of an hour of labour=the price of the cotton. This price consists of the price of 2 lbs of cotton at $1\,^1/_9$s. ($^1/_3$ of an hour of labour), the price of the machinery at $1\,^1/_9$s. ($^1/_3$ of an hour of labour) and $^1/_3$ of what really is newly added labour, the labour time, indeed, that was required to convert 2 lbs of cotton into yarn. The sum total therefore=1 hour of labour,=$3\,^1/_3$s. But this is also the price of the cotton that is required in $^3/_3$ of an hour of labour. In fact, therefore, the value of $^2/_3$ of an hour of labour (=$2\,^2/_9$s.) is only preserved in this first third, as in every subsequent third, of an hour of labour because $x$ amount of cotton has been spun, and hence the value of the cotton and the machinery used up re-appears. Only the $^1/_3$ of newly objectified labour has been added to this as new value.

But in this way it does look as if the manufacturer is right in saying that the first 4 hours of labour (or $^1/_3$ of an hour of labour) only replace the price of the cotton he needs in 12 hours of labour, the second 4 hours of labour only replace the price of the machinery he uses up in 12 hours of labour, and the last 4 hours of labour alone form the new value, one part of which replaces the wages and the other constitutes the surplus value he gets as the result of the whole production process. He thereby forgets, however, that he is assuming that the product of the last 4 hours objectifies only newly added labour time, hence 12 hours of labour, namely the 4 hours of labour in the material, the 4 hours of labour in the machinery used up, and finally the 4 hours of labour that have really been newly added; and he obtains the

result that the price of the total product consists of 36 hours of labour, 24 of which merely represent the value the cotton and the machinery had before they were worked up into yarn, while 12 hours of labour, $^1/_3$ of the total price, represent the newly added labour, the new value, which is exactly equal to the newly added labour. //

//The fact that the worker, placed face to face with money, offers his labour capacity for sale as a commodity implies[21]:

1) That the conditions of labour, the objective conditions of labour, confront him as *alien powers*, alienated conditions. Alien property. This also implies, among other things, the earth as landed property, it implies that the earth confronts him as alien property. *Mere labour capacity.*

2) That he is related as a person both to the conditions of labour, which have been alienated from him, and to his own labour capacity; that he therefore disposes of the latter as proprietor and does not himself belong among the objective conditions of labour, i. e. is not himself possessed by others as an instrument of labour. *Free worker.*

3) That the objective conditions of his labour themselves confront him as merely *objectified labour*, i. e. as value, as money and commodities; as objectified labour which only exchanges with living labour to preserve and increase itself, to valorise itself, to turn into more money, and for which the worker exchanges his labour capacity in order to gain possession of a part of it, to the extent that it consists of his own means of subsistence. Hence in this relation the objective conditions of labour appear only as *value*, which has become *more independent*, holds onto itself and aims only at increasing itself.

The whole content of the relation, and the mode of appearance of the conditions of the worker's labour alienated from labour, are therefore [II-69] present in their pure economic form, without any political, religious or other trimmings. It is a pure money-relation. Capitalist and worker. Objectified labour and living labour capacity. Not master and servant, priest and layman, feudal lord and vassal, master craftsman and journeyman, etc. In all states of society the class that rules (or the classes) is always the one that has possession of the objective conditions of labour, and the repositories of those conditions, in so far as they do work, do so not as workers but as proprietors, and the serving class is always the one that is either itself, as labour capacity, a possession of the proprietors (slavery), or disposes only over its labour capacity (even if, as e. g. in India, Egypt, etc., it possesses land, the

proprietor of which is however the king, or a caste, etc.). But all these forms are distinguished from capital by this relation being veiled in them, by appearing as a relation of masters to servants, of free men to slaves, of demigods to ordinary mortals, etc., and existing in the consciousness of both sides as a relation of this kind. In capital alone are all political, religious and other ideal trimmings stripped from this relation. It is reduced—in the consciousness of both sides—to a relation of mere purchase and sale. The conditions of labour confront labour nakedly as such, and they confront it as *objectified labour, value, money,* which knows itself as mere form of labour and only exchanges with labour in order to preserve and increase itself as *objectified labour.* The relation therefore emerges in its purity as a mere relation of production—a purely economic relation. And where relations of domination develop again on this basis, it is known that they proceed purely from the relation in which the buyer, the representative of the conditions of labour, confronts the seller, the owner of labour capacity. //[93]

Let us therefore now return to the question of the wage system.

We have seen that in the labour process—hence in the production process, to the extent that it is production of a use value, realisation of labour as purposeful activity—the values of the material and means of labour simply do not exist for labour itself.[a] They exist only as objective conditions for the realisation of labour, as objective factors of labour, and as such they are consumed by it. However, the fact that the exchange values of the material and means of labour do not enter into the labour process as such signifies, in other words, simply that they do not enter into it as commodities. The machine serves as a machine, cotton as cotton, and neither of them because they represent a definite quantity of social labour. Rather, as materialisation of this social labour their use value is extinguished in them, they are money. There are in fact labour processes in which the material costs nothing, e. g. fish in the sea, coal in the mine.

But it would be wrong to conclude from this that their character as a commodity has absolutely nothing to do with the production process; for this process produces not only use value, but exchange value, not only product, but commodity; or its product is no mere use value, but a use value with a definite exchange value, and the latter is in part determined by the exchange values which

[a] See this volume, p. 117.— *Ed.*

the material and means of labour themselves possess as commodities. They enter into the production process as commodities; otherwise they could not emerge from it as commodities. If one were to say, therefore, that the values of the material and means of labour had nothing to do with the production process, their quality as commodities had nothing to do with it, because they figure in the labour process not as commodities, but simply as use values, this would be the same thing as saying that it was irrelevant for the production process that it is not only a labour process, but at the same time a valorisation process; and this in turn amounts to saying that the production process takes place for personal consumption.[68] Which contradicts the presupposition. But with respect to the pure valorisation process too, their values are not productive for they merely re-appear in the product, are merely preserved.

Now let us consider the wage, or price of labour capacity. The price of labour capacity or the wage *is not productive,* i. e. if it is understood by "productive" that it must enter as an element into the labour process as such. It is the worker himself—the human being bringing his labour capacity into action—who produces use value, purposefully employs the material and means of labour, not the price at which he has sold his labour capacity. Or, when he enters into the labour process, he enters as the activation, the energy of his labour capacity—as labour. Now it can be said [II-70] that the wage comes down to the means of subsistence necessary for the worker to live as a worker, for his self-preservation as living labour capacity, in short, for the maintenance of his life during the work. The means of subsistence which keep the worker in motion as a worker enter into the labour process just as much as the coal and oil, etc., which are consumed by the machine.[102] The worker's costs of maintenance during the work are just as much a moment of the labour process as are the *matières instrumentales* consumed by the machine, etc. Even so, here too—in the case of the machine—the coal, oil, etc., in short the *matières instrumentales,* enter into the labour process as use values alone. Their prices have nothing to do with the matter. Is this also true of the price of the worker's means of subsistence, his wage?

Here the question only has importance in the following way:

Are the means of subsistence the worker consumes—and which therefore form his cost of maintenance as a worker—to be viewed as if capital itself consumes them as a moment of its production process (in the way that it consumes the *matières instrumentales*)? This

is of course the case in practice. Nevertheless the first act always remains an act of exchange.

The point at issue among the economists is this: Do the means of subsistence the worker consumes, which are represented by the price of his labour, the wage of labour, constitute a part of capital, just as much as the means of labour?[101] (Material and means of labour.) The means of labour are, *d'abord*,[a] also means of subsistence, as it is assumed that the individuals only confront each other as commodity owners, whether in the form of buyers or sellers[20]; hence he who lacks the means of labour has no commodity to exchange (assuming also that production for one's own consumption is OUT OF THE QUESTION; assuming that the product being considered is, in general, a commodity) and therefore no means of subsistence to get in return. On the other hand, the direct means of subsistence are equally means of labour; for in order to work he must live, and in order to live he must consume such and such an amount of the means of subsistence every day.

Labour capacity, which confronts the material conditions of its realisation, its own reality, as mere labour capacity, deprived of the object, therefore stands in the same position towards the means of subsistence or the means of labour, or both of them confront it uniformly as *capital*. Capital is admittedly money, the independent existence of exchange value, objectified general social labour. But this is only its form. Once it has to realise itself as capital—i. e. as self-preserving and self-increasing value—it must transform itself into the conditions of labour; in other words, these conditions form its material existence, they are the real use values within which it exists as exchange value. But the chief condition for the labour process is the worker himself. What is essential, therefore, is the component of capital which buys labour capacity. If there were no means of subsistence on the market, it would be pointless for capital to pay the worker in money. The money is only a promissory note the worker receives on a definite quantity of the means of subsistence available on the market. The capitalist therefore has these δυνάμει[b] and they form a component part of his power. Moreover, even if there were no capitalist production, the costs of maintenance (originally provided by nature free of charge[58]) would continue to be just as necessary conditions of the labour process as the material and means of labour. All the objective moments, however, which labour needs at all for its

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[a] In the first place.— *Ed.*
[b] Potentially.— *Ed.*

realisation, appear as alienated from it, as standing on the side of capital, the means of subsistence no less than the means of labour.[80]

Rossi,[105] etc., want to say, or say in fact (whether they want to or not) nothing more, actually, than that *wage labour* as such is not a necessary condition of the labour process. They only forget that the same would then be true of *capital.*

//We must go into this further (in the additions[a]) in countering Say's nonsense about the same capital—but here he means value—which is *doubly* consumed, productively for the capitalist, unproductively for the worker. //

// *Property in the instrument of labour* is characteristic of guild industry, or the medieval form of labour.[106] //

The social mode of production in which the production process is subsumed under capital, or which rests on the relation of capital and wage labour, and indeed in such a way that it is the determining, dominant mode of production, we call *capitalist production.*

The worker goes through the form of circulation $C—M—C$. He sells in order to buy. He exchanges his labour capacity for money, in order to swap the money for commodities—to the extent that they are use values, means of subsistence. The purpose is individual consumption. In line with the nature of simple circulation, he can proceed at most to the formation of a hoard, through thrift and extraordinary industry; he cannot create wealth. The capitalist, in contrast, goes through $M—C—M$. He buys in order to sell. The purpose of this [II-71] movement is exchange value, i.e. enrichment.

By wage labour we understand exclusively free labour which is exchanged for capital, is converted into capital and valorises capital. All so-called *services* are excluded from this. Whatever their character otherwise, money is expended for them; it is not advanced. With them, money is always exchange value as evanescent form, a means of getting hold of a use value. There is as little connection between the services the capitalist consumes as a private person—outside the process of the production of commodities—and productive consumption, i.e. productive from the capitalist point of view, as there is between the purchase of commodities in order to consume them (not to consume them through labour) and productive consumption. No matter how

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[a] See this volume, pp. 137-39.— *Ed.*

useful, etc., they are. Their content is here completely irrelevant. Of course, the services themselves are differently valued—in so far as they are estimated in economic terms—on the basis of capitalist production from under other relations of production. But an investigation of this only becomes possible once the fundamental factors of capitalist production have themselves been made clear.[107]

With all services, whether they themselves directly create commodities, e.g. the tailor who sews a pair of trousers for me; or not, e.g. the soldier who protects me, similarly the judge, etc., or the musician whose music-making I buy to provide me with aesthetic enjoyment, or the doctor I buy to set a leg back into position, it is always a matter of the material content of the labour, its usefulness, while the circumstance that it is labour is quite irrelevant to me. With wage labour, which creates capital, the content is in fact irrelevant. The particular mode of labour only counts for me in so far as it is social labour as such and therefore the substance of exchange value; money. The above-mentioned workers, performers of services, from prostitute to pope, are therefore never employed in the direct production process. // As for the rest, it would be better to put closer consideration of "productive labour" into the section "Capital and Labour".[108] // With the purchase of one kind of labour I make money, with that of the other I spend money. The one enriches, the other impoverishes. It is possible that the latter may itself be one of the conditions for making money, as policemen, judges, soldiers, executioners. But as such a condition it is always merely an "aggravating circumstance" and has nothing to do with the direct process.

We started out from circulation in order to come to capitalist production. This is also the course of events *historically*, and the development of capitalist production therefore already presupposes in every country the development of trade on another, earlier production basis. // We shall have to speak of this in more detail.[109] //

What we have to consider more closely in the following is the development of *surplus value*. In doing so we shall see that as the production of surplus value becomes the actual purpose of production or as production becomes capitalist production, the originally merely formal subsumption of the labour process under capital, of living labour under objectified, of present labour under past, considerably modifies the manner in which the labour process is itself carried on: hence the capital-relation—where it

emerges in a developed form—implies a particular mode of production and development of the productive forces.[55]

//With services too I admittedly consume the labour capacity of the person performing the service; but not because the use value of the labour capacity is labour, rather because his labour has a particular use value.//[107]

*ADDITIONS*

It says in *An Inquiry into those Principles, Respecting the Nature of Demand and the Necessity of Consumption, Lately Advocated by Mr. Malthus etc.*, London, 1821, in reference to Say's comments in his *letters to Malthus*, Paris-Londres, 1820 (p. 36):

"THESE AFFECTED WAYS OF TALKING CONSTITUTE, IN GREAT PART, WHAT M. Say CALLS HIS *DOCTRINE*.... 'If all these propositions appear paradoxical to you, look at the *things* they express, and I venture to believe that they will then appear very simple and very rational.' DOUBTLESS; AND, AT THE SAME TIME, THEY WILL VERY PROBABLY APPEAR, BY THE SAME PROCESS, NOT AT ALL ORIGINAL OR IMPORTANT. 'Without this analysis I defy you to explain the whole of the *facts*; to explain for example how *the same* [II-72] *capital is consumed twice*: *productively* by a manufacturer and unproductively by his worker.' IT SEEMS TO BE AGREED 'in most parts of Europe', TO CALL A FANTASTICAL MODE OF EXPRESSION A *FACT*" (l.c., p. 110, Note XI).[a]

The joke is that exchange, in the particular case, purchase, is called by Say *consumption* of money, which is sold.

If the capitalist buys labour for 100 thalers, Say thinks these 100 thalers have been consumed twice, productively by the capitalist, unproductively by the worker. If the capitalist exchanges 100 thalers for labour capacity, he has not consumed the 100 thalers, either productively or unproductively, although he has expended them for a "productive" purpose. He has done nothing but convert them from the money form to the commodity form, and it is this commodity—labour capacity—which he has bought with the money, that he productively consumes. He could also consume it unproductively if he employed the workers to provide him with use values for his own consumption, i.e. if he used them to perform services. The money first becomes capital precisely through this exchange with labour capacity: it is not *consumed as* capital but rather produced, preserved, confirmed.

The worker on the other hand does not consume capital; the money in his hand has just ceased to be capital, and for him it is only means of circulation. (And at the same time, of course, like

[a] Marx quotes partly in English and partly in French.—*Ed.*

every means of circulation for which a commodity is exchanged, it is the existence of his commodity in the form of exchange value, which here is and must be, however, only an evanescent form given up in exchange for the means of subsistence.) Labour capacity, in so far as it is consumed, is converted into capital; the capitalist's money, in so far as it is consumed by the worker, is converted into means of subsistence for him and ceases to be capital or a component of capital (δυνάμει[a]) once it is transferred from the hand of the capitalist to that of the worker.

But what actually underlies Say's nonsense is this: He believes that the same value (with him capital is nothing but a *sum of values*[110]) is consumed twice, once by the capitalist, the second time by the worker. He forgets that here two commodities with the same value are being exchanged, not 1 value but 2 values are involved; money on the one hand, the commodity *(labour capacity)* on the other. What the worker consumes unproductively (i.e. without thereby creating wealth for himself) is his own labour capacity (not the money of the capitalist); what the capitalist consumes productively is not his money but the labour capacity of the worker. On both sides the consumption process is mediated through exchange.

In every purchase or sale where the purpose of the buyer is individual consumption of the commodity and the purpose of the seller is production, *the same* value would according to Say be consumed twice, productively by the seller, who converts his commodity into money (exchange value), and unproductively by the buyer, who dissolves his money into transient enjoyments. However, there are 2 commodities and 2 values involved here. Say's phrase would have a meaning only in the sense in which he does not mean it. Namely that the capitalist productively consumes the same value twice: first by his productive consumption of labour capacity and second by the unproductive consumption of his money by the worker, the result of which is the reproduction of labour capacity, hence the reproduction of the relation on which the functioning of capital as capital depends. Hence Malthus rightly hits on the last point. // Malthus's point is this: in so far as his consumption is, in general, a condition for his working, hence for his producing for the capitalist. //

* "He" (the workman) "is a *productive consumer to the person who employs him* and to the state but not strictly speaking *to himself*" * (Malthus, *Definitions in Political Economy*, ed. John Cazenove, London, 1853, p. 30).

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[a] Potentially.—*Ed.*

Ramsay declares that the part of capital which is converted into the wage is not a *necessary* part of capital, but only forms part of it *accidentally* owing to the "DEPLORABLE" poverty of the workers. By FIXED CAPITAL he understands namely the material and means of labour. By CIRCULATING CAPITAL the worker's means of subsistence. He then says:

* "*Circulating Capital* consists only of subsistence and other necessaries advanced to the workmen, previous to the completion of the produce of their labour" * (George Ramsay, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth*, Edinburgh, 1836, [p.] 23).

* "Fixed capital alone, not circulating, is properly speaking a source of national wealth" * (l.c.).

* "*Were we to suppose* the labourers not to be paid until the completion of the product, there would be no occasion whatever [II-73] for circulating capital." *

(What does that mean except that an objective condition of labour—the means of subsistence—will not assume the form of capital? This already contains the admission that these objective conditions of production are, as such, not capital, but only become capital as the expression of a particular social relation of production.) (The means of subsistence will not cease to be means of subsistence; just as little would they cease to be a necessary condition of production; but they would cease to be—*capital.*)

"Production would be just as great. This proves that * *circulating capital*[111] is not an *immediate agent* in production, *not even essential to it at all*, but *merely a convenience rendered necessary by the deplorable poverty of the mass of the people*" * (l.c., [p.] 24).

I.e., in other words: Wage labour is not an absolute, but rather a historical form of labour. It is not necessary for production that the worker's means of subsistence should confront him in an alienated form as *capital.* But the same is true of the other elements of capital and of capital in general. Conversely. If this one part of capital did not assume the form of capital, the other would not either, for the whole relation whereby money becomes capital, or the conditions of labour confront labour as an independent power, would not come into existence. What constitutes the essential form of capital therefore appears to him as "MERELY A CONVENIENCE RENDERED NECESSARY BY THE DEPLORABLE POVERTY OF THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE" [p. 24]. The means of subsistence become capital by being "*ADVANCED* TO THE WORKMEN" [p. 23]. The wider sense of Ramsay's remarks emerges still more clearly in the proposition:

* "The fixed capital" * (material and means of labour) * "alone constitutes *an element of cost of production* in a national point of view" * (l. c., [p.] 26).

For the capitalist the wage, i.e. the price he pays for labour

capacity, is a cost of production—*money advanced*, advanced to make more money, money that is a mere means to make money. If the worker were not a worker but a working proprietor, the means of subsistence he consumes before the product is finished would not appear to him as *costs of production* in this sense, since the whole production process would appear to him inversely only as a means to create his means of subsistence. Ramsay, on the other hand, thinks that the material and means of labour, products which must be employed, consumed, in order to create new products, are necessary conditions of the production process and must always enter into it, not only from the capitalist's standpoint but from the nation's—i.e., with him, from the point of view of production for society and not for particular classes of society. So here *capital* means nothing to him but the objective conditions of the labour process as such, and, expressing absolutely no social relation, is merely another name for the *objects* that are required in every production process, whatever social form it may have; capital is accordingly only a thing, technologically determined. The precise feature that makes it capital is thereby extinguished.[56] Ramsay might just as well have said: it is merely a "CONVENIENCE" that the means of production appear as value in its own right, as independent powers over against labour. If they were the social property of the workers, there would be no opportunity there for "fixed capital". And production would remain just the same as before.[112]

//The valorisation process is in reality nothing but the labour process in a particular social form—or a particular social form of the labour process. It is not, as it were, two distinct real processes, but *the same* process, viewed at one time in terms of its content, at the other time according to its form. Despite this, we have already seen that in the valorisation process the relation of the different factors of the labour process takes on new determinations. One further aspect should be brought out here (which will be important later on in dealing with circulation, the determination of fixed capital, etc.). The means of production, e.g. the tool, machinery, factory building, etc., is employed as a whole in the labour process; but, with the exception of the so-called *matières instrumentales*, it is only exceptionally *consumed* (all at once) in the same (single, unique) labour process. It serves in repeated processes of the same kind. But it only enters into the [II-74] valorisation process—or, what is the same thing, it only re-appears as an element in the value of the product—in so far as it is used up in the *labour process*.[113]//

Similar to Ramsay is *Rossi*. First, in *leçon* XXVII, he gives a general definition of capital.[a]

"Capital is that portion of the wealth *produced* which is *destined* for reproduction" (p. 364).

However this only applies to capital in so far as it is use value—applies to its *material* content, not to its form. No wonder, then, that the same Rossi proclaims the component of capital explicable solely from its form—the *approvisionnement*,[b] the part that is exchanged for labour capacity—to be no necessary component of capital, in fact not to be part of capital's *concept* at all. Thus he says, on the one hand, that *capital* is a necessary agent of production, and, on the other hand, that *wage labour* is not a necessary agent of production or relation of production. Actually he understands by capital only "*instrument of production*".[105] According to him one could, it is true, distinguish between *capital-instrument* and *capital-matière*, but actually the political economists are wrong to call raw materials capital; for

"Is it" (the raw material) "really an instrument of production there? Is it not rather an object which is acted upon by the instrument of production?" (*leçons. etc.*, p. 367).

Later on he says:

"*Instrument of production*, that is to say a material which operates on itself, which is at once object and subject, thing acted upon and agent" (l.c., p. 372).

He also calls capital simply "*moyen de production*"[c] on p. 372. In reference to Rossi's polemic against the idea that *approvisionnement* forms a part of capital, we must distinguish two things; or, he confuses two things.

*Firstly* he views wage labour in general—the capitalist's advancing of the wage—as not a necessary form of production; or wage labour as not a necessary form of labour; thereby forgetting only that *capital* is not a necessary form (i.e. not an absolute, rather merely a particular historical form) of the conditions of labour or production. In other words: the labour process can take place without being subsumed under capital; this particular social form is not a necessary prerequisite for it; the production process as such is not a necessarily capitalist production process. But here he again makes the mistake of viewing the purchase of labour

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[a] P. Rossi, *Cours d'économie politique. Année 1836-1837*. In: *Cours d'économie politique*, Brussels, 1843. Marx quotes Rossi in French.— *Ed.*

[b] Means of subsistence, provisions.— *Ed.*

[c] Means of production.— *Ed.*

capacity by capital as not *essential* for wage labour but as something accidental. For production the conditions of production are required; but not *capital*, i.e. not the relation which emerges from the appropriation of the conditions of production by a specific class and the existence of labour capacity as a commodity. His stupidity consists in recognising wage labour (or also the independent form of capital) and seeking to argue out of existence the relation of wage labour to capital, which constitutes the former. To say that *capital* is not a necessary form of social production is merely to say that *wage labour* is only a transitory historical form of social labour.

Not only does the rise of capitalist production presuppose a historical process of the separation of the workers from the conditions of labour; capitalist production *reproduces this relation on an ever increasing scale* and gives it a sharper character.[100] This is already evident in considering the general concept of capital, and becomes still clearer later on in the context of competition, which essentially effects this separation (concentration, etc.).[114] In the actual production process the objects of which capital consists do not confront the worker as capital but as the material and means of labour.[a] He is of course conscious that they are alien property, etc., capital. But the same thing is true of his *sold* labour, which belongs not to him but to the capitalist.[b]

[II-75] *Secondly*, however, one further point creeps into the Rossian polemic. (The first point was: exchange of money for labour capacity. Rossi is right in so far as he declares that this operation is not necessary for production as such. He is wrong in so far as he views this relation, without which capitalist production would not exist at all, as an inessential, accidental moment of the latter.)

Namely this: we have seen: First the worker sells his labour capacity, i.e. temporary disposition over it.[c] This includes his bartering it for the means of subsistence that are necessary to preserve him as a worker at all, and more specifically his possession of the means of subsistence "during the work of production" [p. 370]. This is a prerequisite for his entry as a worker into the production process, and for his activation, realisation, of his labour capacity during that process. As we have seen, Rossi understands by capital nothing but the means of

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[a] See this volume, p. 58.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 66-67.— *Ed.*
[c] Ibid., pp. 51, 81 and 103.— *Ed.*

production (*matière, instrument*) required for the manufacture of a new product. The question is: Do the worker's means of subsistence belong there, like, e.g., the coal, oil, etc., consumed by the machine or the fodder eaten by the cattle? In short the *matières instrumentales.*[102] Do the worker's means of subsistence belong to this category as well? With the slave there is no question but that his means of subsistence are to be counted among the *matières instrumentales*; he is a mere instrument of production, hence what he consumes is a mere *matière instrumentale.* (As we have already remarked, this confirms the point that the price of labour (the wage) does not enter into the labour process proper any more than the prices of the material and means of labour do; although all three, even if in different ways, enter into the valorisation process.[a]) To answer the question it is necessary to subdivide it into two questions:

*Firstly*: To consider the labour process as such, independently of capital; since the people who raise the question here call the moments of the labour process as such capital.[56] *Secondly*: To ask how far this is modified once the labour process is subsumed under capital.

*Firstly, then*: If we consider the labour process as such, its objective conditions are the material of labour and the means of labour, they are simply objective conditions of labour itself, as the purposeful activity of a human being directed at producing a use value.[b] The worker relates to them as subject. To be sure, he is presupposed as worker, to allow his labour capacity to function, and the provisions necessary for his subsistence, for the development of labour capacity, are therefore also presupposed. But they do not enter as such into the labour process.

He enters the process as a working proprietor. However, if the different moments of the labour process are viewed with regard to its result, the product, the relation is altered. With regard to the product all 3 moments appear as moments of its mediation, hence as means of production. The material of production, the instrument of production, and productive activity itself, are all means for the manufacture of the product, hence means of production.[c] Here the means of maintaining the machine (oil, coal, etc.), entirely leaving aside their *price*, form part of the means of production, but so equally do the means of maintaining the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 117 and 131-32.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 71.— *Ed.*
[c] Ibid., pp. 55-58.— *Ed.*

worker during the production process itself.[102] For all that, the working proprietor will continue to regard the product as such only as a means of subsistence, not his means of subsistence as prerequisites for the manufacture of the product. However, the way of looking at things does not alter the state of affairs one whit. The proportion of the means of subsistence he must consume as worker, without which his labour capacity cannot function as such at all, is just as indispensable for the production process as the coal and oil consumed by the machine. In that sense the consumption fund of society forms part of its means of production (this disappears again on further consideration, in so far as the whole production process itself appears as simply the reproduction process of society or of the social human being), and the worker's consumption is not economically distinguished within these limits from the consumption of the working horse or the machine.

Thus the part of capital that pays labour capacity or forms the wage enters into the actual production process in so far as the means of subsistence the worker consumes are directly consumed, and have to be consumed, in the production process itself. But the part of the capital given out in this way which does not enter directly into the production process also forms a part of the capital before it is exchanged for labour capacity, and for the formation of the capital-relation this is a necessary prerequisite.

[II-76] The capitalist has paid for labour capacity. The major part of the means of subsistence the workers have thus obtained is expended during the labour process itself, and necessarily so. If the workers were slaves, the capitalist would have to advance this part to them as simple *matières instrumentales.* Here the worker does this for him. For him the worker is a mere agent of production, and the means of subsistence he consumes are the coal and oil necessary to keep this agent of production in motion. This is how the capitalist sees it, and he acts accordingly. If an ox or a machine is a cheaper agent of production, the worker is replaced by one or the other. The opinion is economically incorrect in so far as it is of the essence of wage labour that the 2 processes are distinguished, namely 1) the exchange of money for labour capacity; 2) the consumption process of this labour capacity—the labour process (production process).

Let us now look in some detail at Rossi's criticisms, without coming back to the CASE considered last (under 2).

With regard to this Rossi makes the following statement:

"Those who only regard *economic science from the point of view of the entrepreneur,* and who only consider the net and exchangeable product that each entrepreneur can obtain, such people must in fact see no difference between a man, an ox and a steam-engine: in their eyes there is only one question worthy of serious attention, and that is the question of the cost price, the question of knowing how much it costs the entrepreneur to obtain what he requires from the steam, the ox, the worker" (Rossi, *De la méthode en économie politique etc.*, in *Économie politique. Recueil de monographies etc. Année 1844,* Vol. I, Brussels, 1844, p. 83).[a]

It does appear, then, that the point of view of the entrepreneur, i.e. of the capitalist, is in any case an essential moment in considering capitalist production. But that belongs to the relation of capital and labour.

Our essential concern, however, in considering Mr. Rossi is the way he on the one hand admits that *wage labour,* hence also capitalist production, is not a necessary (absolute) form of labour and production; but then repudiates this admission, being ALTOGETHER miles away from any historical understanding.

Rossi's first objection is this:

"If the worker lives from his income, if he lives from the remuneration of his labour, how can the same thing appear twice in *the phenomenon of production,* in the calculation of *productive forces,* once as the *remuneration of labour* and a second time as capital?" (*leçons,* p. 369).[b]

Here one must remark at the outset: This means, expressed in general terms, that the wage appears twice, once as relation of production, once as relation of distribution. Rossi holds this to be incorrect, and he is right as against the political economists in so far as they view the two different forms in which *the same thing* appears as two mutually independent relations which have nothing to do with each other. We shall return to this subject and demonstrate in general that the relation of production is a relation of distribution and vice versa.[62] But, in addition to this, the wage can enter into the phenomenon of production, i.e. constitute a relation of production, without entering into the *calculation of productive forces,* namely if Mr. Rossi understands by productive force not the development of the productive forces in so far as it is conditioned by the relation of production, but nothing other than the moments that belong to the labour process in general or the production process in general, as such, disregarding all particular social forms.

On the other hand: The means of subsistence form a component of capital as long as they have not yet been *exchanged*

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[a] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes partly in German and partly in French.— *Ed.*

for labour capacity. This exchange would not, however, take place unless they formed a component of capital *before* it happened. If they are exchanged, they cease to be capital and become income. Indeed it is not the wage but only labour capacity that enters into the direct production process itself. If I have produced grain, it forms a part of my capital until I have sold it. It forms the income of a consumer. (At least it can do so, if it is employed in individual consumption, not in production.) But in fact the means of subsistence [II-77] continue to be a *productive force of capital* even after the worker has received it as income and consumed it as income, for the reproduction of the worker is the reproduction of the principal productive force of capital.

"One says the remuneration of the worker is capital, because the capitalist *advances* it to him. If only there were families of workers who had sufficient to subsist for a year, *wages would not exist.* The worker could say to the capitalist: you advance the capital for the common project, I will bring the labour to it; the product will be shared among us in certain proportions. As soon as the product has been realised, each of us will take his share. Then there would be no *advance* for the workers. Even if work were at a standstill, they would still consume. What they would consume belongs to the consumption fund, not to capital. Therefore: the advances for the workers are not *necessary.* Therefore *wages are not a constituent element of production. They are only of an accidental nature, a form arising from our social condition.* Capital, land, labour, on the other hand, are necessary for production. *Secondly*: The word wages is employed in a double sense. One says that wages are a capital, but what do they represent? Labour. He who says wages says labour and vice versa. Hence, if the wages advanced constituted a part of capital, one would have to speak only of 2 instruments of production: capital and land" (l.c., p[p. 369-]370).[115]

In the same way as Rossi says: if the worker possessed the means of subsistence for a year, the capitalist would not need to advance them to him, he could just as well continue: if the worker possessed the material and means of labour for a year, he would not need the interposition of the capitalist for these conditions of labour. Thus the circumstance that "material of labour and means of labour" appear as capital is "*not a constituent element of production*". "*They are only of an accidental nature, a form arising from our social condition*", which makes them into this. They would still belong to the "production fund", by no means to capital. Capital would not exist at all. If the particular form which makes labour into *wage labour* is a social accident, a particular historico-social form of labour, the same can be said of the form which makes the objective conditions of labour into *capital* or the *conditions of production* into capital. And it is the same social accident that makes labour into *wage labour* and the *conditions of production* into *capital.* Indeed, if the workers had in their possession even this one condition of production—a year's means of subsistence—their labour would

not be wage labour, and they would have possession of all the *conditions of production.* They would only need to sell a part of these surplus means of subsistence in order to buy in return the means of production (material and instrument) and produce commodities themselves. What Mr. Rossi is trying to get clear about here, without entirely succeeding, is that a particular social form of production, although it may be a *historical* necessity, is not on that account an *absolute* necessity, and therefore cannot be described as an eternal, unalterable condition of production. The admission we shall accept, but not its incorrect application.

So, in order to produce it is not absolutely necessary for labour to be wage labour and therefore, among other things, for the means of subsistence to have confronted the worker originally as a component of capital. But Rossi continues: "Capital, land, labour by contrast are necessary for production." If he had said: "*Land* (material of labour, working space and in the first instance means of subsistence); *means of labour* (instruments, etc.); and *labour* by contrast are necessary for production", but "rent, capital and wage labour" are not necessarily required, the proposition would have been correct. But his way of speaking strips away from labour and land the particular social form in which they may appear in the bourgeois economy—their forms as wage labour and landed property, and allows the means of labour in contrast to retain their economic character as *capital.* He [II-78] conceives them not only as material conditions of production but in their particular social form of *capital* and therefore arrives at the absurd conclusion that capital is possible without the appropriation of the soil and without wage labour.

*Further*: If the wage advanced forms part of capital, says Rossi, there are only 2 instruments of production, land and capital, and not 3, as the political economists all assume, land, capital and labour. In reality, here it is a question of the simple moments of the labour process as such, and in this there figure only the material of labour (land), the means of labour (which Rossi incorrectly calls capital) and labour. But definitely not capital. Yet in so far as the whole labour process is subsumed under capital, and the 3 elements which appear in it are appropriated by the capitalist, all 3 elements, material, means, labour, appear as material elements of *capital*; they have been subsumed under a particular social relation, which has absolutely nothing to do with the labour process considered *abstractly*—i.e. in so far as it is equally common to all social forms of the labour process. It remains characteristic of Rossi that he regards the relation

between the personified product of labour and living labour capacity, a relation which forms the quintessence of the relation of capital and wage labour, as an *inessential* form, a mere accident of capitalist production itself. (See the wretched *Bastiat*.[97] With Rossi there is at least an inkling that capital and wage labour are not eternal social forms of production.)

We have now already had the argument twice from Rossi that if the wage forms a part of capital (originally), the same thing appears twice. First as a relation of production and second as a relation of distribution. Secondly: that in that case one should not enumerate 3 factors of production (material, means, labour) in the labour process, but only 2, namely material (which he calls here *land*) and means of labour, which he calls here capital.

"What occurs between the entrepreneur and the worker? If all products were started in the morning and finished in the evening, and if there were always buyers present on the market, ready to buy the commodities offered, there would be *properly speaking no wage*. It is not so. Months, years are required to realise a product.... The *worker, who possesses only his arms*, cannot wait for the completion (the end) of the project. He says to the entrepreneur, capitalist, farmer, manufacturer what he could say to a third party, a bystander. He could propose to him (the third party) that he buy his claim on the product. He could say to him: I contribute to the production of so-and-so many lengths of cloth, will you buy the remuneration to which I am entitled? Assuming that the third person, the bystander, accepts the proposal and pays the agreed price, can one say that the money expended by the bystander forms a part of the capital of the entrepreneur? That his contract with the worker is one of the phenomena of production? No, he has made a good or bad speculation, which adds nothing to public wealth and takes nothing away from it. *That is wages*. The worker proposes to the manufacturer what he could have proposed to a third party. *The entrepreneur goes along with this arrangement in so far as it may facilitate production. But this is nothing but a second operation, an operation of a quite different nature grafted on to a productive operation. It is not a fact indispensable to production. It could disappear if labour were organised differently.* Even today there are spheres of production in which it has no place. *Wages are therefore a form of the distribution of wealth, not an element of production.* The part of the fund which the entrepreneur devotes to the payment of wages does not constitute a part of capital, any more than the sums of money a manufacturer might employ to discount bills of exchange, or to speculate on the stock-exchange. It is a *distinct operation*, which undoubtedly may promote the course of production but which cannot be called a *direct instrument of production*" (l.c., p. 370).

[II-79] Here the point emerges clearly. A *relation of production* (however the social relation between individuals within production as a whole is viewed) is "*not a direct instrument of production*". The relation of capital and wage labour, whereby the exchange of labour capacity for money is conditioned, is not a "direct instrument of production". Thus the value of the commodity is not a "direct instrument of production", although the essence of the production process changes according to whether it is only a

question of the production of products as such or of the production of commodities. The "*value*" of the machine, its existence as fixed capital, etc., is not a "direct instrument of production". A machine would also be productive in a society where there were no commodities at all, no exchange value. The question is by no means whether this "relation of production could disappear in another organisation of labour"; it is rather to investigate the significance of this relation in the capitalist organisation of labour. Rossi concedes that there would be "properly speaking no wage" under such conditions (p. 370). And he will permit me to cease describing as a wage what is "not properly a wage". He only forgets that there would then be no longer any "capital proper" either.

"Since everyone could wait for the products of one's labour, the *present form of the wage could disappear.* There would be partnership between the workers and the capitalists, just as today there is partnership between the capitalists properly so called and the capitalists who are simultaneously workers" (p. 371).[a]

Rossi is not clear about what would become of the present form of production in these circumstances. To be sure, he may treat this as completely irrelevant if he views production as a purely technological process, disregarding the social forms of production, and if, on the other hand, he understands by capital nothing but a product used for the fabrication of new products. He has at least in his favour his pronouncement that the form of the wage is not a "fact indispensable to production".

"To conceive the power of labour, while ignoring the workers' means of subsistence during the work of production, is to conceive *an imagined being.* He who says labour or the power of labour says worker and means of subsistence, worker and wage ... The same element re-appears under the name of capital; as if the same thing could simultaneously form part of two distinct instruments of production" (l.c., pp. 370, 371).[a]

Pure labour capacity is indeed "*a phantom*". But this phantom exists. Hence when the worker ceases to be able to sell his labour capacity, he starves. And capitalist production is based on the reduction of the labour capacity to such a phantom.

Sismondi is therefore correct to say:

"*Labour capacity* ... is *nothing* if it is not sold" (Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes etc.*, Vol. 1, p. 114).

What is stupid about Rossi is his attempt to present "wage labour" as "inessential" for capitalist production.

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[a] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

He could also say of the machine: It is the machine that constitutes part of capital, not its value. The *value* of the machine, he could say, is paid to the machine manufacturer, and perhaps consumed by him as income. The value of the machine, therefore, ought not to figure twice in the production process, the first time as the takings of the machine manufacturer, the other time as capital or a constituent of the capital of the COTTON spinner, etc.

Incidentally, it is characteristic that Rossi says wages, i.e. wage labour, would be superfluous if the workers were rich, while Mr. John Stuart Mill says they would be superfluous if labour were to be had for *nothing*:

"Wages have *NO PRODUCTIVE POWER*; they are the price of a PRODUCTIVE POWER. WAGES do not contribute, apart from labour, to the production of commodities //should be: to the production of products, use values//, no more than the *price of machines* contributes ALONG WITH THE MACHINES THEMSELVES. *If labour could be had without purchase,* WAGES MIGHT BE DISPENSED WITH" (John Stuart Mill, *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy,* London, 1844, p[p. 90-]91).

[II-80] Where the purely general form of capital as self-preserving and self-valorising value is being considered, it is declared to be something immaterial, and therefore, from the point of view of the political economist, a mere idea; for he knows of nothing but either tangible objects or ideas—relations do not exist for him. As value, capital is indifferent towards its particular material forms of existence, the use values of which it consists. These material elements do not make capital into capital.

"*Capital is always immaterial by nature, since* it is not matter which makes capital, but the *value* of that matter, value which has nothing corporeal about it" (Say, *Traité d'économie politique,* 3rd ed., Vol. 2, Paris, 1817, p. 429).

Or, Sismondi:

"Capital is a commercial *idea*" (Sismondi, LX, *Études etc.,* Vol. 2, p. 273).[a] 116

While all capitals are values, the values as such are still not capital. And so the political economists take flight once again back to the material shape of capital within the labour process. In so far as the labour process itself appears as the production process of capital and is subsumed under capital, and according to whether some specific aspect of the labour process is fixed upon (as we have seen, the labour process as such by no means presupposes capital but is a feature of all modes of production), it can be said that capital becomes a product, or is a means of production, a raw material, an instrument of labour.[56] Thus Ramsay says that raw

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[a] Marx quotes Say and Sismondi in French.— *Ed.*

material and means of labour form capital.[a] Rossi says that only the instrument is actually capital.[b] The elements of the labour process are viewed here outside any specific economic determinateness. (It will become evident later that also within the labour process this *extinction of the determinateness of form* is only a semblance.[117]) The labour process (production process of capital), reduced to its simple form, does not appear as production process of capital, but as production process in the absolute sense, and capital appears here *in distinction from labour* solely in its material determinateness of raw material and instrument of labour. (But here too *labour* is in fact capital's own existence, is embodied in it.) The political economists fix on this side, which is not only an arbitrary abstraction, but one which itself vanishes in the process, in order to present capital as a necessary element of all production.[118] Of course, they only do this by arbitrarily fixing on a single aspect.

* "Labour and capital ... the one, *immediate* labour ... the other, *hoarded labour*, that which has been the result of former labour" * (James Mill, *Elements of Political Economy*, London, 1821, [p.] 75).

* "*Accumulated* labour ... immediate labour" * (R. Torrens, *An Essay on the Production of Wealth etc.*, London, 1821, Ch. 1).[119]

Ricardo, *Principles*, p. 89: "*Capital* is that part of the wealth of a country which is employed in production, and consists of FOOD, CLOTHING, TOOLS, RAW MATERIAL, MACHINERY, etc., necessary TO GIVE EFFECT TO LABOUR."

"*Capital*... is but A PARTICULAR SPECIES OF WEALTH, namely that which is destined, not TO THE IMMEDIATE SUPPLYING OF OUR WANTS, BUT TO THE OBTAINING OF OTHER ARTICLES OF UTILITY" (Torrens, l.c., p. 5).

"In the first stone which the savage flings at the wild animal he pursues, in the first stick that he seizes to strike down the fruit which hangs ABOVE HIS REACH, we see the appropriation of one article for the purpose OF AIDING IN THE ACQUISITION OF ANOTHER, and THUS DISCOVER THE ORIGIN OF CAPITAL" (Torrens, l.c., pp. 70-71).

*CAPITAL "ALL ARTICLES POSSESSING EXCHANGEABLE VALUE"*, THE ACCUMULATED RESULTS OF PAST LABOUR (H. C. Carey, *Principles of Political Economy*, Part I, Philadelphia, 1837, p. 294).

"When a fund is devoted to material production, it takes the name of *capital*" (H. Storch, *Cours d'économie politique*, ed. Say, Vol. I, Paris, 1823, [p.] 207).[c]

"Wealth is only capital in so far as it serves for production" (l.c., p. 219).[c]

"The elements of the national capital are[d]: 1) improvements of the soil; 2) buildings; 3) tools or instruments of the trade; 4) means of subsistence; 5) materials; 6) completed work" (l.c., pp. 229 sq.).

[II-81] "Every productive force which is neither land nor labour is *capital*. It comprises all the forces, either completely or partially produced, that are applied to reproduction" (Rossi, l.c., p. 271).[c]

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[a] See this volume, p. 139.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 141.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx quotes the rest of the paragraph in French.—*Ed.*

"There is no difference between *capital* and any other part of wealth: a thing only becomes *capital* by the *use* that is made of it, that is to say, when it is employed in a productive operation, as raw material, as instrument, or as means of subsistence" (Cherbuliez, *Richesse ou pauvreté*, 1841, p. 18).[a]

But in capitalist production it is by no means just a matter of producing a product or even a commodity; what is aimed at is a greater value than was thrown into production.[b] Hence these definitions:

Capital is the part of WEALTH which is employed in production and GENERALLY FOR THE PURPOSE OF OBTAINING PROFIT (Th. Chalmers, *On Political Economy etc.*, London, 1832, 2nd ed., [p.] 75).

It is above all Malthus who has introduced this element into the definition of capital. (Sismondi's definition is more precise; since profit is already a more developed form of surplus value.[c])

* "*Capital.* That portion of the stock" (i.e. accumulated wealth) "of a country which is kept or employed with a view to profit in the production and distribution of wealth"* (T. R. Malthus, *Definitions in Political Economy*, New Ed. etc. by John Cazenove, London, 1853, [p.] 10).

* "*Antecedent labour* (capital) ... *present labour*"* (E. G. Wakefield's commentary to A. Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. 1, London, 1835, note to p[p. 230-]31).

Thus we have 1) capital is money; capital is commodity; if the first form in which it emerges is being considered; 2) ACCUMULATED (ANTECEDENT) LABOUR as opposed to IMMEDIATE, PRESENT LABOUR, where it is being considered in contrast to living labour, and value simultaneously as its substance; 3) means of labour, material of labour, in general products used to form new products, where the labour process, the material production process, is being considered. Means of subsistence, where the component of capital which is exchanged for labour capacity is being considered, according to its use value.

In so far as the whole labour process (direct production process) comes together in the product as its result, capital now exists as product. This is, however, simply its presence as use value, except that now the latter is available as the result of the labour process or production process—the process capital has passed through. If this is taken as fixed, and it is forgotten that the labour process is at the same time a process of valorisation, hence its result is not only use value (product) but at the same time exchange value, a unity of use value and exchange value (=the commodity), the absurd notion may arise that capital has been transformed into a

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[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 97.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., p. 12.—*Ed.*

simple product, and will only become capital again by being sold, by becoming a commodity. The same absurd notion can be put forward from another point of view. In the labour process itself it is irrelevant (the fact disappears) that the material and means of labour are already products, hence commodities (since on our assumption every product is a commodity). Hence the commodity, and the product itself, only counts here to the extent that it is a use value, e.g. raw material. It can therefore be said that what was previously capital has now been converted into raw material; this is a form of expressing the fact that what was the result of one production process is the raw material (the prerequisite) of the other (or the instrument of labour). Proudhon, for example, argues in this manner:

"What causes the sudden transformation of the *notion of product* into that of *capital*? It is *the idea of value.* This means that the product, in order to become capital, must have passed through an authentic valuation, must have been bought or sold, its price discussed and fixed by a kind of legal convention." E.g. "hides, coming from the butcher's shop, are the *product of the butcher.* Have these hides been bought by a tanner? At once he adds either them or their value to his working capital. By the work of the tanner this capital becomes a product again" (*Gratuité du crédit* [pp. 178-80]) (see XVI, 29 etc.).[a] [120]

[II-82] Mr. Proudhon altogether has a penchant for appropriating elementary notions, combining them with an incorrect metaphysical apparatus and reproducing this for the public. Does he perhaps believe that the leather does not figure as a value in the butcher's ledger before leaving the butcher's shop? In reality all he is saying is that the commodity=capital, which is wrong, since though every capital exists as commodity or money, this does not yet make commodity or money as such into capital. What is needed is precisely to develop how the "notion" of capital develops out of the "notion" of money and commodity. He sees the labour process, but not the valorisation process; it is a result of the latter that the product of the overall production process is not only a use value, but a use value with a definite exchange value, i.e. a commodity. Whether this commodity is sold above or below its value, its passage through a legal convention gives it no new determination of form, it does not make the product into a commodity, still less does it make the commodity into capital. The production process of capital is here fixed upon one-sidedly as a labour process, with its result use value. Capital is viewed as a thing; a thing pure and simple.

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[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

Equally stupidly—and this is characteristic of the way in which declamatory socialism regards *society* in relation to economic determinations—Proudhon says:

"*For society, the difference between capital and product does not exist.* This difference is entirely *subjective,* and related to individuals" [p. 250].[a]

He calls the specific social form subjective and he calls the subjective abstraction society. The product as such is a feature of every mode of labour, whatever its specific social form may be. The product only becomes *capital* to the extent that it expresses a particular, historically determined, social relation of production. Mr. Proudhon's contemplation from the standpoint of society means overlooking, abstracting from, precisely the *differences* which express the particular *social* relation or the determinateness of the economic form. As if someone were to say: Looking from the point of view of society there are no slaves and CITIZENS, both are human beings. They are much rather this *outside* society. To be a slave, to be a CITIZEN, are particular modes of the social existence of human beings *a* and *b.* Human being *a* is as such not a slave. He is a slave in and through the society he belongs to. To be a slave, to be a CITIZEN, are social determinations, relations between human beings *a* and *b.* What Proudhon says here about capital and product means for him that from the point of view of society there is no difference between capitalists and workers; a difference which exists precisely from the social standpoint alone.[121] It is characteristic of him to conceal his inability to proceed from the category (notion) commodity to the category capital beneath a high-sounding phrase.

Incidentally, one finds other political economists talking the same nonsense about the transformation of the product into capital—in fact this is only a special application of the general narrow-minded conception of capital as a thing—but there it is presented less pretentiously.[56] E.g. Francis Wayland, *The Elements of Political Economy,* Tenth Thousand, Boston, 1843, p. 25.

* "The material which ... we obtain for the purpose of combining it with our own industry, and forming it into a product, is called *capital*; and, after the labour has been exerted, and the value created, it is called a *product.* Thus, the same article may be *product* to one, and *capital* to another. Leather is the product of the currier, and the capital of the shoemaker." *

[II-83] With Mr. J. B. Say nothing would surprise us. He tells us for example:

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[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

"*Work* on the land, that of animals and machines, is also a *value, because a price* is set upon it and it is bought."[a] [122]

He does so after he has told us that "value" is "what a thing is worth", and "price" is the "value of a thing expressed [in money]".[a] Then he declares the wage to be "*le loyer d'une faculté industrielle*"—the rent of labour capacity—and continues, as a sign that he does not understand his own expression, "*ou plus rigoureusement le prix de l'achat d'un service productif industriel*".[b] [123]

Here labour is taken merely as it appears in the labour process: as an activity aimed at producing a *use value.* In this sense *services productifs* are also performed in the labour process by raw material, by the land, using this expression in a general way, and by the means of production (capital). The labour process is precisely the activity of their *use value.* Once all the elements of production have been reduced in this way to mere factors of the use values involved in the labour process, profit and rent then appear as the prices of the *services productifs* of land and products, just as the wage appears as the price of the *services productifs* of labour. The specific forms of exchange value are always explained here by reference to use value, although they are entirely independent of it.

//The whole of the Mercantile System is based on the notion that surplus value arises simply from circulation, i.e. from the altered distribution of already existing values.[c]//

//The extent to which the concept of capital implies not only the preservation and reproduction of value but *its valorisation,* i.e. the multiplication of value, the positing of surplus value, can be seen from, among other examples (as we shall see later, this is most strikingly evident in the case of the Physiocrats[d]), the earlier Italian political economists, who applied the term *reproduction of value* only to this production of surplus value. For example *Verri*:

"The *value reproduced* is that part of the price of an agricultural or industrial product which exceeds the *original value* of the material and the outlay on consumption incurred while it is being produced. In agriculture the seed and the consumption of the peasant must be deducted: equally in manufacture one must deduct the raw material and the worker's consumption; and so every year a *reproduced value* is created, to the amount of the part that remains" (P. Verri,

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[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

[b] "Or, strictly speaking, the purchasing price of a productive labour service."—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 351.—*Ed.*

[d] Ibid., pp. 352-76.—*Ed.*

*Meditazioni sulla economia politica*, Custodi, *Parte Moderna*, Vol. XV, [pp.] 26-27).[a] [124] //

//The same *P. Verri* (although a Mercantilist) admits that if commodities are sold at their value or their average price (*prezzo comune*) it is unimportant who is the buyer and who the seller; or, in other words, that the surplus value cannot originate from the difference between buyer and seller. He says: We must regard it as irrelevant whether someone is buyer or seller in the act of exchange.

"The average price is that in which the buyer can become seller and the seller buyer without perceptible loss or gain. If for example the average price of silk is a *gigliato* per pound, I say that a person who possesses 100 pounds of silk is just as rich as he who possesses 100 *gigliati*, since the first can easily have 100 *gigliati* by handing over the silk, and similarly the second can have 100 pounds of silk by handing over 100 *gigliati.... The average price is that at which none of the contracting parties becomes poorer*" (l.c., [pp.] 34, 35).[a] //

[II-84] Only that which preserves and increases capital has *use value* for capital as such. *Labour*, therefore, or *labour capacity*. (Labour is after all only a function, realisation, activity of labour capacity.) //The conditions for the realisation of labour are *eo ipso*[b] included, since capital cannot employ, consume labour capacity without them. // Labour is therefore not *a* use value for capital. It is *the* use value of the latter.

* "The immediate market for capital, or field for capital, may be said to be *labour*" * (*An Inquiry into those Principles, Respecting the Nature of Demand and the Necessity of Consumption, Lately Advocated by Mr. Malthus*, London, 1821, [p.] 20).

// *On the exchange of capital with labour capacity*:

"WAGES ARE NOTHING MORE THAN THE MARKET PRICE OF LABOUR, and when the labourer has received them, he has received the full value of the commodity he has disposed of. Beyond this he can have no claim" (John Wade, *History of the Middle and Working Classes*, 3rd ed., London, 1835, p. 177). //

// *Productive consumption.*

* "Productive consumption, where the consumption of a commodity is a part of the *process of production....* In these instances there is *no consumption of value*, the same value existing in a new form" * (S. P. Newman, *Elements of Political Economy*, Andover and New York, 1835, [p.] 296). //

("*Capital* is consumed just as much as the consumption *fund*; but in being consumed it is *reproduced*. A capital is a quantity of wealth destined for *industrial consumption*, that is for *reproduction*" (H. Storch, *Cours d'économie politique*, ed. Say, Vol. I, Paris, 1823, p. 209)).[c]

It is labour *capacity*, not *labour*, which is exchanged for capital in the buying process:

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[a] Marx quotes in Italian.— *Ed.*

[b] By that very fact.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

* "If you call labour a *commodity*, it is not like a commodity which is first produced in order to exchange, and then brought to market where it must exchange with other commodities according to the respective quantities of each which there may be in the market at the time; labour is *created* at the moment it is brought to market; nay it is brought to market *before* it is created" * (*Observations on Certain Verbal Disputes in Political Economy etc.*, London, 1821, [pp.] 75-76).

Viewed as a whole, the production process of capital is divided into 2 sections:

1) exchange of capital for labour capacity, which includes as a corollary the exchange of certain components of capital existing as money (value) for the objective conditions of labour, in so far as they themselves are commodities (hence also products of previous labour). This first act includes the conversion of a part of the existing capital into the worker's means of subsistence, hence simultaneously into the means of the preservation and reproduction of labour capacity. //In that a part of these means of subsistence has been consumed *during* the labour process itself, in order to produce labour, the means of subsistence the worker consumes can be counted (as maintenance costs) among the objective conditions of labour into which capital is divided in the production process just as much as can the raw material and the means of production. Or they can be regarded as a moment in reproductive consumption. Or, finally, they can be regarded just as much as means of production of the product, rather like the coal and oil the machine consumes during the production process.[102]// 2) In the actual labour process *labour* is converted into *capital*. I.e. it becomes *objectified labour* (objective labour)—and indeed objectified labour which confronts living labour capacity *independently*, as the property of the capitalist, the economic existence of the capitalist. *On this conversion of labour into capital*:

"They" (the workers) "exchange their labour for grain" //i.e. means of subsistence in general//. "This becomes income *for them*" //consumption fund// "...while *their labour* has become *capital* for their master" (Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes*, Vol. 1, p. 90).

"He" (the worker) "required the *means of subsistence* to *live*, the boss required *labour* to *make a profit*" (Sismondi, l.c., p. 91).[a]

"The workers who, giving their labour for the exchange, convert it into *capital*" (Sismondi, l.c., p. 105).

"Whatever advantages a rapid growth of wealth may provide for the wage workers, it does not heal the causes of their misery.... They remain deprived of any right to capital, consequently obliged to *sell their labour* and to renounce any pretensions to the products of that labour" (Cherbuliez, *Richesse ou pauvreté*, p. 68).

//"In the social order, wealth has *acquired the characteristic* of reproducing itself

[a] Marx quotes this sentence in French.— *Ed.*

by means of *alien labour*, without any assistance from its owner. Wealth, *like labour* and *through labour*, yields an *annual fruit*, which can be destroyed every year without making the rich man poorer thereby. The fruit is the *income* which arises from *capital*" (Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes*, Vol. 1, p. 82). //

[II-85] //The different forms of income (leaving aside wages), such as profit, interest, rent, etc. (taxes too), are only the different elements into which *surplus value* divides, is distributed among different classes. For the moment we shall simply examine them in their general form, surplus value. Of course, whatever subdivision it may subsequently undergo changes nothing, either in its quantity or its quality. Moreover, it is also well known that the industrial capitalist is the person in the middle, who pays interest, rent, etc.

"Labour is the source of wealth; wealth is its product; income, as a part of wealth, must emerge from this common origin; it is customary to derive 3 kinds of income, *rent, profit, wages*, from 3 different sources, land, accumulated capital and labour. These 3 subdivisions of income are only 3 different ways of participating in the fruits of human labour" (Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes*, Vol. 1, p. 85). //

//"The products are appropriated before they are converted into capital; this conversion[a] does not release them from appropriation" (Cherbuliez, [*Richesse ou pauvreté*,] p. 54). //

//"In *selling* his labour for a definite amount of *approvisionnement* the worker completely renounces any right to the other parts of capital. The allocation of these products remains the same as before; it is in no way modified by the above-mentioned contract" (l.c., p. 58). //

In this conversion of labour into capital lies, in fact, the whole secret of the capital-relation.

If one looks at capitalist production as a whole, the conclusion is: We should not regard the *commodity* alone (still less the mere *use value* of the commodity, the *product*) as the actual product of this process; not just the *surplus value* either, although it is a result that is kept in view as the purpose of the whole process, and characterises it. It is not just this single thing that is produced—the commodity, a commodity greater in value than the capital originally advanced—but also capital and wage labour; or, the relation is reproduced and perpetuated. This will in any case be shown in more detail after the production process has been further discussed.[125]

Both the surplus value and the wage appear here in a form we have not yet met, namely the form of *income*, hence a *distribution form*, on the one hand, and therefore a particular mode of the *consumption fund*, on the other. But since this determination is still superfluous (although it will become necessary once we get to I,4,

[a] Marx quotes the rest of the sentence in French.—*Ed.*

primitive accumulation[126]), we shall only investigate the characteristics of this form when we have examined the production process of capital more closely. Here the wage appears to us as a *production form* because it is as wage system the prerequisite for capitalist production; just as we have included *surplus value* and its creation in the concept of *capital* as a relation of production. Only in the SECOND INSTANCE must it be demonstrated how these relations of production appear simultaneously as relations of distribution[62] (in this context we must also throw more light on the stupidity of considering labour capacity to be the capital of the worker[92]). This is necessitated in part by the need to show what nonsense it is to regard bourgeois relations of production and of distribution as different in kind. Thus J. St. Mill and many other political economists conceive the relations of production as natural, eternal laws, but regard relations of distribution as artificial, of historical origin, and subject to the control, etc., of human society.[61] On the other hand, the description of surplus value e.g. as income (hence the category of income in general) is a formula for simplification, as e.g. in examining the accumulation of capital.[127]

The questions of what labour is productive, whether wages or capital are productive, and the use of the formulation "income" for wages and surplus value, are to be dealt with at the end of the examination of relative surplus value (or also in part in the relation of wage labour and capital?). (Similarly the worker as $C—M—C$, the capitalist as $M—C—M$, saving and HOARDING by the former, etc.[128])

// *Additions from my Notebook.*[129] As *use value*, labour exists *only for capital*, and is *the* use value of capital itself, i.e. the mediating activity through which it *valorises* itself. Therefore labour does not exist as a use value for the worker, it is not a *force productive of* wealth for him, in the sense of a means or activity of enrichment. A *use value* for [II-86] capital, labour is a *mere exchange value* for the worker, an available exchange value. It is posited as such in the act of exchange with capital, through its sale for money. The use value of a thing does not concern the seller as such, only its buyer. The labour (capacity) which the worker sells as a *use value* to capital is for the worker his *exchange value*, which he wishes to realise, but which is already *determined* (like the prices of commodities in general) before this act of exchange, and presupposed to it as a condition. The exchange value of labour capacity, the realisation of which occurs in the process of the exchange with capital, is therefore *presupposed*, determined in advance, and only undergoes formal modification (through

conversion into money). It is not determined by the use value of labour. For the worker himself labour only has use value in so far as it *is exchange value,* not in so far as it produces exchange value. For capital it only has exchange value in so far as it is use value. It is a use value, as distinct from its exchange value, not for the worker himself, but only for capital. The worker therefore exchanges labour as a simple, previously determined exchange value, determined by a past process—he exchanges labour as itself *objectified labour,* only in so far as this is a definite quantity of labour; hence only in so far as its equivalent is already measured, given. Capital obtains it through exchange as living labour, as the general productive force of wealth; activity which increases wealth. It is clear, therefore, that the worker cannot *enrich* himself through this exchange, since in exchange for the available value magnitude of his labour capacity he surrenders its *creative power* like Esau his birthright for a mess of pottage.[a] Rather, he has to impoverish himself, because the creative power of his labour becomes established as the power of capital, as an *alien power* confronting him. He *divests* himself of labour as the force productive of wealth; capital appropriates it, as such. The separation of labour from property in the product of labour, of labour from wealth, is thus posited in this very act of exchange. What appears paradoxical as result is already implied by the presupposition itself. Thus the productivity of the worker's labour *comes to confront him as an alien power*; as indeed does his labour in general, in so far as it is *actual* labour, not a *capacity* but motion. Capital, inversely, valorises itself through the *appropriation of alien labour.* At least, the possibility of valorisation is thereby posited, as a result of the exchange between capital and labour. The relation is first *realised* in the act of production itself (where capital really consumes the alien labour). Just as labour capacity, as a *presupposed* exchange value, is exchanged for an equivalent in money, so the latter is again exchanged for an equivalent in commodities, which are consumed. In this process of exchange, labour is not productive; it becomes so only for capital. It can take out of circulation only what it has thrown in, a predetermined quantity of commodities, which are as little its own product as they are its own value. //Thus all advances of civilisation, in other words every increase in the productive forces of society—the productive forces of labour itself—enrich not the worker, but the capitalist. Hence they only magnify the power ruling over labour, only increase the

[a] Genesis 25:27-32.— *Ed.*

productive power of capital—the *objective power* over labour. // The transformation of labour into capital is *in itself* the result of the act of exchange between capital and labour. *This transformation* is *posited* only in the *production process* itself. //

// With *Say* and his associates the instrument, etc., has a claim to REMUNERATION owing to the *service productif* it performs, and this remuneration is handed over to the owner of the instrument. The *independence* of the instrument of labour, its *social* determination, i.e. its determination as capital, is presupposed in this way so as to substantiate the claims of the capitalist. //

// * "Profit is not made by exchanging. Had it not existed before, neither could it after that transaction" * (Ramsay, l.c., p. 184). //

// "Every space of land is the raw material of agriculture" (P. Verri, l.c., [p.] 218).[a] //

[II-87] // Engels gave me this example [130]: 10,000 spindles at 1 lb. per week = 10,000 lbs = £550 of yarn = 1 lb. of yarn for $1\,^1/_{10}$s.

Raw material = 10,000 lbs of yarn.
Waste 15% = 1,500 = 11,500.
at 7d. a lb. = 11,500 £336. Profit 60.
10,000 spindles at £1 per spindle cost £10,000
Annual wear and tear $12\,^1/_2$% = £1,250

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Hence per week | 24 | 84 ($5^5/_6$ of 490) |
| Coal, oil, etc. | 40 | |
| Wear and tear on the steam engine | 20 | |

*Wages* 70; price of lb. of yarn $1^1/_{10}$s.; hence price of the 10,000 lbs £550

£490
£ 60

490. (Wages are $^1/_7$ of 490.)

Therefore *raw material* $^{490}/_{336} = 68^4/_7$%. *Wages.* $14^2/_7$%.

*Machinery*, etc., $17\,^1/_7$%. Therefore raw material and machinery = $85\,^5/_7$; wages $14\,^2/_7$. Wages $^1/_7$ (70), raw material and machinery $^6/_7$ (420). Hence $^1/_7$ wages, $^6/_7$ machinery and raw material. Out of this $^6/_7$, $^4/_7$ comes under raw material + $^4/_5$ of $^1/_7$. $^1/_7$ and $^1/_5$ of $^1/_7$ come under machinery. Thus *raw material* accounts for somewhat less than $^5/_7$, *machinery* for somewhat over $^1/_7$, and *workers* for $^1/_7$. //

[a] Marx quotes in Italian.— *Ed.*

This comment from *The Manchester Guardian*, September 18, 1861, MONEY ARTICLE [131]:

*"In reference to coarse spinning we have received the following statement from a gentleman of high standing:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Sept. 17, 1860* | *Per lb.* | *Margin* | *Cost of Spinning per lb.* |
| His cotton cost | $6\,^1/_4$d. | 4d. | 3d. |
| His 16's warps sold for | $10\,^1/_4$d. | | |
| | *Profit 1d. per lb.* | | |
| *Sept. 17, 1861* | | | |
| His cotton costs | 9d. | 2d. | $3\,^1/_2$d. |
| For his 16's warps to ask | 11d. | | |
| | *Loss* $1\,^1/_2$d. per lb."* | | |

From the *first* example it follows that the value of lb. WARPS is $10^1/_4$d. (1860), of which 1d. is profit. His outlay is $9^1/_4$d. 1d. on this comes to $10\,^{30}/_{37}$%. But if we subtract the raw material ($6^1/_4$) there remain 4d.; of which 3d. must be deducted for COST OF SPINNING. Even if we assume that wages here amount to one half of this, which is wrong, we arrive at a surplus value of 1d. on $1^1/_2$d. Hence 3:2, or $66^2/_3$%. $66^2/_3$% is exactly$=^2/_3$ of the unit. [II-88] Expressing this in hours, the worker works 2 hours for his MASTER for every 3 hours he works for himself. Thus for each hour ...$^2/_3$ of an hour. Hence if he works for 10 hours altogether, 6 hours belong to him, and 4 ($^{12}/_3$) to his MASTER. (3:2=6:4) If he gives 4 hours out of 10 to his MASTER, he gives $^4/_{10}$ of an hour out of 1 hour=24 minutes. In 1 hour he works 36 minutes for himself (36:24=3:2) // for 36×2=72 and 24×3=72 //.

We have seen in the labour process that all its factors can be characterised with reference to the result—the product—as *means of production*. If, in contrast to this, one looks at the *value* of the different factors required for the manufacture of the product—the values *advanced* for its manufacture (values expended)—they are called the *production costs* of the product. The production costs therefore come down to the sum of labour time required for the manufacture of the product (whether this is the labour time contained in the material and means of labour, or the labour time newly added in the labour process)—the total labour time objectified, worked up, in the product. The formula *production costs* is for us a mere name initially; it adds nothing new to the definitions already arrived at. The value of the product=the sum of the values of the material, the means [of labour] and the labour added to the material through the agency of the means of labour.

The proposition is purely analytic. It is in reality only another way of saying that the value of the commodity is determined by the quantity of the labour time objectified in it. Only later on in this investigation shall we find an opportunity to discuss the formula of the production costs. (Namely in dealing with capital and profit; there an antinomy enters because on the one hand the value of the product=the production costs, i.e. the value advanced for the manufacture of the product, while on the other hand (this is of the nature of profit) the value of the product, in that it includes the surplus value, is greater than the value of the production costs. This results from the fact that the production costs for the capitalist are only the sum of the values he has advanced; hence the value of the product=the value of the capital advanced. On the other hand, the real production cost of the product=the sum of the labour time contained in that product. But the sum of the labour time contained in it is greater than the sum of the labour time advanced or paid for by the capitalist. And this surplus value of the product over and above the value *paid for* or *advanced* by the capitalist forms, precisely, the surplus value; in our definition the *absolute magnitude* of which the profit consists.[132])

[II-89][133] *On the Division of Labour.*

Thomas Hodgskin, *Popular Political Economy etc.*, London, 1827.

"INVENTION and KNOWLEDGE necessarily precedes the division of labour. Savages learned TO MAKE BOWS and ARROWS, TO CATCH ANIMALS AND FISH, TO CULTIVATE THE GROUND AND WEAVE CLOTH, BEFORE SOME OF THEM DEDICATED THEMSELVES EXCLUSIVELY TO MAKING THESE INSTRUMENTS, TO HUNTING, FISHING, AGRICULTURE AND WEAVING.... THE ART OF WORKING IN METALS, LEATHER OR WOOD, WAS UNQUESTIONABLY KNOWN TO A CERTAIN EXTENT, BEFORE THERE WERE SMITHS, SHOEMAKERS and CARPENTERS. IN VERY MODERN TIMES, STEAM ENGINES AND SPINNING MULES WERE INVENTED, BEFORE SOME MEN MADE IT THEIR CHIEF OR ONLY BUSINESS TO MANUFACTURE MULES AND STEAM ENGINES" ([pp.] 79-80).

"IMPORTANT INVENTIONS are the RESULT OF THE NECESSITY TO LABOUR AND OF THE NATURAL INCREASE OF POPULATION. If for example the SPONTANEOUS FRUITS are exhausted, man becomes a fisherman, etc." ([p.] 85).

"NECESSITY IS THE MOTHER OF INVENTION; and the CONTINUAL EXISTENCE OF NECESSITY CAN ONLY BE EXPLAINED BY THE CONTINUAL INCREASE OF PEOPLE. E.g. the RISE in the PRICE OF CATTLE is caused by an INCREASE OF PEOPLE AND BY AN INCREASE IN THEIR MANUFACTURING OR OTHER PRODUCE. The RISE in the PRICE of CATTLE LEADS TO CULTIVATING FOOD FOR THEM, AUGMENTING MANURE AND OCCASIONING THAT INCREASED QUANTITY OF PRODUCE, which in this country amounts to nearly $^1/_3$ of the whole" ([pp.] 86-87).

"No one doubts that *RAPID COMMUNICATION* between the different parts of the country CONTRIBUTES BOTH TO THE INCREASE OF KNOWLEDGE AND WEALTH.... *NUMBERS* OF MINDS ARE INSTANTLY SET TO WORK EVEN BY A HINT; and every DISCOVERY IS INSTANTLY APPRECIATED, and almost as instantaneously improved. The CHANCES OF IMPROVEMENT are great in proportion as the *PERSONS ARE MULTIPLIED* WHOSE ATTENTION IS DEVOTED TO ANY PARTICULAR SUBJECT. An INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF

PERSONS PRODUCES THE SAME EFFECT AS *COMMUNICATION*; for the latter only operates BY BRINGING NUMBERS TO THINK ON THE SAME SUBJECT" ([pp.] 93-94).

*Causes of the division of labour.*

"*D'abord*[a] division of labour between the sexes in the family. Then differences of age. Then PECULIARITIES OF CONSTITUTION. THE DIFFERENCE OF SEX, OF AGE, OF BODILY AND MENTAL POWER, OR DIFFERENCE OF ORGANIZATION, IS THE CHIEF SOURCE OF DIVISION OF LABOUR, AND IT IS CONTINUALLY EXTENDED IN THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY BY THE DIFFERENT TASTES, DISPOSITIONS, AND TALENTS OF INDIVIDUALS, AND THEIR DIFFERENT APTITUDES FOR DIFFERENT EMPLOYMENTS" ([pp.] 111 et seq.).

"Apart from the different APTITUDES in those who WORK there are DIFFERENT APTITUDES AND CAPACITIES IN THE NATURAL INSTRUMENTS THEY WORK WITH. DIVERSITIES OF SOIL, CLIMATE, AND SITUATION, AND PECULIARITIES IN THE SPONTANEOUS PRODUCTIONS OF THE EARTH, AND OF THE MINERALS CONTAINED IN ITS BOWELS, ADAPT CERTAIN SPOTS TO CERTAIN ARTS ... *TERRITORIAL DIVISION* OF LABOUR" ([pp.] 127 et seq.).

*Limits to the division of labour.*

1) "*EXTENT OF MARKET*.... THE COMMODITY PRODUCED BY ONE LABOURER ... CONSTITUTES IN REALITY AND ULTIMATELY THE MARKET FOR THE COMMODITIES PRODUCED BY OTHER LABOURERS; AND THEY AND THEIR PRODUCTIONS ARE MUTUALLY THE MARKET FOR ONE ANOTHER ... THE *EXTENT OF THE MARKET* must mean the NUMBER OF LABOURERS and THEIR PRODUCTIVE POWER; and rather the former than the latter.... AS THE NUMBER OF LABOURERS INCREASES, THE PRODUCTIVE POWER OF SOCIETY AUGMENTS IN THE COMPOUND RATIO OF THAT INCREASE, MULTIPLIED BY THE EFFECTS OF THE DIVISION OF LABOUR AND THE INCREASE OF KNOWLEDGE.... *IMPROVED METHODS OF CONVEYANCE*, like RAIL-ROADS, STEAM-VESSELS, CANALS, ALL MEANS OF FACILITATING INTERCOURSE BETWEEN DISTANT COUNTRIES, have, as far as division of labour is concerned, the same effects as AN *ACTUAL INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE*; THEY BRING MORE LABOURERS INTO COMMUNICATION with each other, and MORE PRODUCE TO BE EXCHANGED" ([pp.] 115 et seq.).

*Second limit. THE NATURE OF DIFFERENT EMPLOYMENTS.*

"As science advances, this apparent limit disappears. In particular, machinery moves it farther away. THE APPLICATION OF STEAM ENGINES TO WORKING POWERLOOMS ENABLES ONE MAN TO PERFORM THE OPERATIONS OF SEVERAL; OR TO WEAVE AS MUCH CLOTH AS 3 OR 4 PERSONS CAN WEAVE BY THE HANDLOOM. THIS IS A COMPLICATION OF EMPLOYMENTS ... but then there follows in turn a SUBSEQUENT SIMPLIFICATION ... hence a PERPETUAL RENEWAL OF OCCASIONS FOR THE FARTHER DIVISION OF LABOUR" ([pp.] 127 et seq.).

[II-90] *SURPLUS LABOUR.*

"Owing to the CUPIDITY of the CAPITALISTS, etc., there is a *CONSTANT TENDENCY* TO EXTEND *THE NUMBER OF WORKING HOURS*, AND THUS BY AUGMENTING THE SUPPLY OF LABOUR, TO LESSEN ITS REMUNERATION.... *THE INCREASE OF FIXED CAPITAL* tends to the same result. FOR WHERE SO GREAT A VALUE IS LODGED IN MACHINERY, BUILDINGS, etc., THE MANUFACTURER IS STRONGLY TEMPTED NOT TO LET SO MUCH STOCK LIE IDLE AND, THEREFORE, WILL EMPLOY NO WORKMEN WHO WILL NOT ENGAGE TO REMAIN FOR MANY HOURS DURING THE DAY. HENCE ALSO THE HORRORS OF NIGHT LABOUR

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[a] First of all.— *Ed.*

PRACTISED IN SOME ESTABLISHMENTS, ONE SET OF MEN ARRIVING AS OTHERS DEPART" (G. Ramsay, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth*, Edinburgh, [London,] 1836, [p.] 102).

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In the case of *absolute surplus value*, the capital laid out in labour, the *variable capital*, retains the same magnitude of value while the value of the total product grows; but it grows on account of the increase in the portion of the value of the product which represents the reproduction of the variable capital. In this case (this relates not to the surplus value as such but to it as profit) there is, apart from this, a necessary growth in the part of the constant capital which constitutes raw materials and *matières instrumentales*. It should not be assumed, except to a very slight DEGREE, that the outlay (the *real* wastage, even if it is *written off in advance*) on machinery, buildings, etc., increases thereby.

In the case of *relative surplus value* the portion of the value of the product in which the variable capital is reproduced remains the same; but its distribution CHANGES. A LARGER PART REPRESENTS SURPLUS LABOUR and A SMALLER NECESSARY LABOUR. In this case the given *variable* capital is diminished by the amount of the reduction in wages. The constant capital remains the same, except as far as raw material and *matières instrumentales* are concerned. A part of the capital, previously laid out in wages, is set free, and can be converted into machinery, etc. We have investigated the CHANGES in constant capital elsewhere (in dealing with profit).[134] This can therefore be left out here, and our consideration confined to the CHANGES in variable capital. Let the old capital be=*c* (constant capital)+£1,000. Let this £1,000 represent the variable capital. Say the weekly wages of 1,000 men. Now two situations can be distinguished. The variable capital falls because of falls in the NECESSARIES produced in other branches of industry (e.g. corn, meat, boots, etc.). In this case *c* remains unchanged, and the number of workers employed, the total amount of labour, remains the same. No CHANGE has occurred in the *conditions of production*. Let us assume that owing to falls in the necessaries the variable capital is reduced (i.e. its value is reduced) by $^1/_{10}$; it therefore falls from 1,000 to 900. Assume the surplus value was £500, hence=half the variable capital. Then £1,500 would represent the total value of the labour of 1,000 men (since their working day remains *the same* on our assumption, its magnitude is not altered) no matter how these £1,500 may be divided between capital and labour.

In this case the old capital was:

1) $c+1{,}000\ (v)+500$ (surplus value). Hence surplus labour$={}^{1}/_{3}$ of the working day.

The new capital would be: 2) $c+900$ [v]$+600$. Hence surplus labour$={}^{2}/_{5}$ of the working day. The surplus labour would have risen from ${}^{5}/_{15}$ to ${}^{6}/_{15}$; the working day$=12$ hours, thus ${}^{1}/_{3}=4$ hours and ${}^{2}/_{5}=4{}^{4}/_{5}$ hours of labour. Assume that after an INTERVAL the variable capital (wages) again fell by ${}^{1}/_{10}$ as a result of the cheapening of means of subsistence which were not produced in this sphere. ${}^{1}/_{10}$ of $900=90$. The variable capital would fall to 810. We should therefore have:

New capital: 3) $c+810\ (v)+690$ (surplus). Therefore the surplus labour$={}^{23}/_{50}$ of the working day, or ${}^{3}/_{50}$ more than previously. A capital of 100 is set free in the first case, of 90 in the second; together$=£190$. This release of capital is also a form of accumulation; it is at once the release of *money capital*, in the form in which we shall find it again when we consider profit.

$c+v+s$ is the product. $v+s$ is a constant magnitude. If now under the given circumstances wages fall, the formula will be $c+(v-x)+(s+x)$.

[II-91] If, in contrast, the relative surplus labour is a result of the cheapening of the article itself, therefore of a CHANGE *in the productive conditions* of the article, e.g. the introduction of machinery, let us assume that ${}^{1}/_{2}$ of the variable capital of 1,000 is converted into machinery. There remains a variable capital of 500, or the labour of 500 men instead of 1,000. The value of their labour$=750$, since the value of the 1,000 was £1,500. According to this, then, we should have:

*Old capital.* $c+1{,}000\ (v)+500\ (s)$.

*New capital.* $(c+500)$, or $c+{}^{v}/_{2}$, which we shall call c′,

$$c'+500\ (v)+250.$$

But since it is presumed that the SURPLUS VALUE grows in consequence of the introduction of machinery, the variable capital declines, by say ${}^{1}/_{10}$. We can now either assume that the 500 work up *as much* (raw material) as before or that they are working up more. For the sake of simplification we shall assume that they work up only as much. ${}^{1}/_{10}$ of $500=400$. Therefore:

*Old capital.* $c+1{,}000\ (v)+500\ (s)=(c+1{,}000\ (v)+{}^{v}/_{2})$.

*New capital.* $(c+500),=c'+400\ (v)+350\ (s)=(c'(c+{}^{1}/_{2}v)+400\ (v)+$ $+{}^{7}/_{8}v)$.

£100 would be set free thereby. But this would only occur if no addition of at least that proportion were needed to the supply of raw materials and *matières instrumentales.* Only in this case can

*money capital* which WAS previously EXPENDED IN THE FORM OF WAGES be released by the introduction of machinery.

In the case of absolute *surplus value* the *matières brutes*[a] and *matières instrumentales* must grow in the same proportion as the absolute amount of labour grows.

*Old capital*, $c+1{,}000\ (v)+500\ (s)$. $s$ here$=\frac{1}{3}$ of the working day of 1,000 working days. If the working day$=12$ hours, $s=4$ hours. Assume now that $s$ grows from 500 to 600, hence by $\frac{1}{5}$. Since here the value of 12 hours$\times 1{,}000=£1{,}500$, a value of £100 represents 800 hours of labour for the 1,000 men, or $\frac{4}{5}$ of an hour of surplus labour for each man. The amount of material, etc., 1 man can work up in $\frac{4}{5}$ of an hour depends on how much he can work up in 1 hour, since the working conditions remain the same. We shall denote this by $x$. Thus:

*New capital*: $(c+x,\ or\ c')+1{,}000\ (v)+500\ (s)+100\ (s')$. Here there is an increase in the capital laid out and a double increase in the product: due to the increase in the capital laid out and due to the increase in the surplus value.

The determination of value itself remains the essential matter—the foundation—hence the basis is that the value is determined, regardless of the level of the productivity of labour, by the necessary labour time[10]; hence it is, for example, always expressed in the same sum of money, if money is assumed to be of constant value.

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By the *Urbarium*[b] of Maria Theresia,[135] which abolished serfdom proper in Hungary, the peasants owed the LANDLORDS, in return for the SESSIONS they received //LANDS ON EACH ESTATE, ALLOTTED TO THE MAINTENANCE OF THE SERFS, 35-40 ENGLISH ACRES each//, *unpaid labour* of 104 DAYS per annum, not to mention a series of lesser obligations, [the handing over of] FOWLS, EGGS, etc., [II-92] the spinning of 6 lbs of wool or hemp, provided by the LANDLORD, and besides all this a further $\frac{1}{10}$ of all their products to be paid to the church, and $\frac{1}{2}$ (??) to the LANDLORD.[c] In the year 1771 the LANDLORDS still constituted $\frac{1}{21}$ of a population of 8 MILLIONS in Hungary, and there were only 30,921 ARTISANS: these are the kind of FACTS which give the doctrine of the Physiocrats its historical backing.[64]

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[a] Raw materials.—*Ed.*

[b] Land survey.—*Ed.*

[c] Jones has: "...and one-ninth to the lord".—*Ed.*

15 men are KILLED every week in the English coal mines ON AN AVERAGE.[136] In the course of the 10 years CONCLUDING WITH 1861 ABOUT 10,000 PEOPLE were KILLED. MOSTLY BY THE SORDID AVARICE OF THE OWNERS OF THE COAL MINES. This *generally to be remarked. The capitalistic production is—to a certain degree, when we abstract from the whole process of circulation and the immense complications of commercial and monetary transactions resulting from the basis, the value in exchange—most economical of *realised labour,* labour realised in commodities. It is a greater spendthrift than any other mode of production of man, of living labour, spendthrift not only of flesh and blood and muscles, but of brains and nerves. It is, in fact, only at the greatest waste of individual development that the development of general men is secured in those epochs of history which prelude to a socialist constitution of mankind.*

> "Should this torture then torment us
> Since it brings us greater pleasure?
> Were not through the rule of Timur
> Souls devoured without measure?"[a]

* * *

We have to distinguish between more parts in the *value of the product* than in the *value* of the capital advanced. The latter $= c + v$. The former $= c + a$. (The part of the product which expresses the newly added labour.) But $a = v + s$, = the value of the variable capital + the surplus value.

* * *

If *concentration* of the means of production in the hands of relatively few people—AS COMPARED TO THE MASS OF THE LABOURING MULTITUDE—is in general the condition and prerequisite of capitalist production, because, WITHOUT IT, THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION WOULD NOT SEPARATE THEMSELVES FROM THE PRODUCERS, AND THE LATTER WOULD, THEREFORE, NOT BE CONVERTED INTO WAGES LABOURERS—this concentration is also a technological condition for the development of the capitalist mode of production and, with it, of the productive power of society. It is in short a *material* condition for production on a large scale. [II-93] Labour *in common* is developed through concentration—

[a] Goethe, "An Suleika", from *Westöstlicher Diwan.—Ed.*

association, division of labour, the employment of machinery, science and the forces of nature. BUT THERE IS STILL ANOTHER POINT CONNECTED WITH IT, which must be considered under the *rate of profit*,[137] but not yet in the analysis of *SURPLUS VALUE*. The concentration of workers and of the means of labour in a small area, etc., involves ECONOMY OF POWER, the common USE by many people of means such as buildings, etc., heating, etc., the cost of which does not increase in proportion to the numbers they serve; lastly labour too, economy on the overhead costs of production. This is particularly clear in the case of agriculture.

"With the progress of civilisation ALL, AND PERHAPS MORE THAN ALL THE CAPITAL AND LABOUR WHICH ONCE LOOSELY OCCUPIED 500 ACRES, ARE NOW CONCENTRATED FOR THE MORE COMPLETE TILLAGE OF 100" (R. Jones, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth etc.*, Part I. *On Rent*, London, 1831, p[p. 190-] 91).

"The COST of getting 24 BUSHELS from 1 ACRE is less than was the cost of getting 24 from 2; the *CONCENTRATED SPACE*

// this *CONCENTRATION of space* is also important in manufacture. Yet the employment of a shared MOTOR, etc., is still more important here. In agriculture, although SPACE IS CONCENTRATED RELATIVELY TO THE AMOUNT OF CAPITAL AND LABOUR EMPLOYED, IT IS AN ENLARGED SPHERE OF PRODUCTION, AS COMPARED TO THE SPHERE OF PRODUCTION FORMERLY OCCUPIED OR WORKED UPON BY ONE SINGLE, INDEPENDENT AGENT OF PRODUCTION. The sphere is absolutely greater. HENCE THE POSSIBILITY OF EMPLOYING HORSES, etc. //

"in which the OPERATIONS of HUSBANDRY are carried on, MUST GIVE SOME ADVANTAGES AND SAVE SOME EXPENSE; THE FENCING, DRAINING, SEED, HARVEST WORK, etc., LESS WHEN CONFINED TO ONE ACRE, etc." (l.c., [p.] 199).

*Ten Hours' BILL and OVERWORKING.*

* "Though the *health of a population* is so important a part of the national capital, we are afraid it must be said that the class of employers of labour have not been the most forward to guard and cherish this treasure. 'The men of the West Riding'" * (quotes *The Times* from the Report of the *Registrar General* for October 1861[a]) * "'became the clothiers of mankind, and so intent were they on this work, that the health of the workpeople was sacrificed, and the race in a few generations must have degenerated. But a reaction set in. Lord Shaftesbury's Bill limited the hours of children's labour, etc.' The consideration of the health of the *operatives*" * (adds *The Times*) * "*was forced upon the millowners* by society." *

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In the larger tailoring SHOPS in London a given piece of work, e.g. on trousers, a coat, etc., is called "an hour", "a half hour". (The "hour"=6d.) How much the AVERAGE product of an hour

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[a] "Every government has its traditions. ...", *The Times*, No. 24082, November 5, 1861.— *Ed.*

comes to is naturally determined by practice. If new fashions or particular improvements and methods of mending emerge, a contest arises between EMPLOYER and WORKMEN over whether a particular piece of work=1 hour, etc., until here too experience has decided the question. Similarly in many London furniture workshops, etc.

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(It goes without saying that, apart from certain arrangements for apprenticeship, etc., only those workers are taken on who possess the AVERAGE SKILL and can deliver during the day the AVERAGE amount of product. At times when business is bad, where there is no CONTINUITY OF LABOUR, this latter circumstance is naturally a matter of indifference to the EMPLOYER.)

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[III-95a/A] As one of the main advantages of the FACTORY ACTS:

* "A still greater boon is the distinction at last made *clear between the worker's own* time *and his master's*. The worker knows now *when that which he sells is ended*, and *when his own begins*; and, by possessing sure foreknowledge of this, is enabled to pre-arrange his own minutes for his own purposes" * (*Reports of the Inspectors of Factories for the Half Year Ending 31st October 1859*. Report of Mr. Robert Baker, p. 52).[138]

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For the worker himself, *labour capacity* only has *use value* in so far as it is *exchange value*, not in so far as it *produces* exchange values.[139] As use value labour exists only *for* capital, and it is *the* use value of capital itself, i.e. it is the mediating activity through which capital is *increased*. Capital is autonomous exchange value as *process*, as *valorisation process*.

*The separation of property from labour* appears as a necessary law of the exchange between capital and labour. As *not-capital, not-objectified labour* labour capacity appears: 1) *Negatively*. Not-raw material, not-instrument of labour, not-product, not-means of subsistence, not-money: *labour* separated from all the means of labour and life, from the whole of its objectivity, as a mere possibility. This complete denudation, this *possibility of labour* devoid of all objectivity. Labour capacity as *absolute poverty*, i.e. the complete exclusion of objective wealth. The objectivity possessed by labour capacity is only the bodily existence of the worker himself, his own objectivity.

2) *Positively.* Not-*objectified* labour, the unobjective, subjective existence of labour itself. Labour not as object but as activity, as living source of value. In contrast to capital, which is the reality[a] of general wealth, it is the general possibility of the same, asserting itself in action. *As object,* on the one hand, labour is *absolute poverty*; as subject and activity, [on the other,] it is the general possibility of wealth. This is labour, such as it is *presupposed* by capital as antithesis, as the objective existence of capital, and such as for its part it in turn presupposes capital.

What the capitalist pays the worker, as with the buyer of any other commodity, is the *exchange value* of his commodity, which is therefore determined in advance of this exchange process; what the capitalist receives is the *use value* of the labour capacity—labour itself, the enriching activity of which therefore belongs to *him* and *not* to the worker. Hence the worker is not enriched by this process; he rather creates wealth as a power *alien* to him and ruling over him.

[a] Here the word "Entelechy" is written in Marx's hand above the line.— *Ed.*

## [III-95] 2) ABSOLUTE SURPLUS VALUE

The view presented here is also correct in strictly mathematical terms. Thus in the differential calculus let us take e.g. $y=f(x)+c$, where $c$ is a constant magnitude. THE CHANGE OF $x$ INTO $x+\Delta x$ DOES NOT ALTER THE VALUE OF $c$. $dc$ would$=0$, because the constant magnitude does not alter. HENCE THE DIFFERENTIAL OF A CONSTANT IS ZERO.[140]

### a) *SURPLUS VALUE IS TO BE CONCEIVED AS A SIMPLE RELATION TO A DEFINITE PORTION OF CAPITAL, NAMELY THAT LAID OUT IN WAGES*

At the end of the production process capital has a surplus value, which means, expressed in accordance with the general concept of exchange value: The labour time objectified in the product (or the quantity of labour contained in it) is greater than the labour time contained in the original capital, the capital advanced during the production process. This is only possible (assuming that the commodity is sold at its value) because the labour time objectified in the price of labour (the wage of labour) is less than the living labour time by which it is replaced in the production process. What appears as surplus value on the side of capital, appears as *surplus labour*[a] on the side of the worker. Surplus value *is* nothing but the excess labour provided by the worker over and above the quantity of objectified labour he has received in his own wage as the value of his labour capacity.

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[a] Marx uses two synonymous terms: "*Mehrarbeit* (Surplusarbeit)".— *Ed.*

We have seen that equivalents are exchanged in the exchange between capital and labour capacity.[a] But the result of the transaction, as it appears in the production process and as it forms on the part of the capitalist the whole purpose of the transaction, is this, that the capitalist buys a greater quantity of living labour for a definite quantity of objectified labour, or that the labour time which is objectified in the wage is less than the labour time which the worker works for the capitalist and which is accordingly objectified in the product. The mediatory role of the exchange between capital and labour capacity (or the fact that the labour capacity is sold *at its value*) is a circumstance which is irrelevant in this context, where the question at issue is the analysis of surplus value. What is at stake here is rather the magnitude of the labour time objectified in the wage (the value of labour capacity), on the one hand, and on the other hand the magnitude of the labour time the worker really gives to the capitalist IN RETURN, or *how much* use is made of his labour capacity.

The relation in which objectified labour is exchanged for living labour—hence the difference between the *value of labour capacity* and the *valorisation of that labour capacity* by the capitalist—assumes another form in the production process itself. For there it presents itself as a splitting up of living labour itself into two quantities, both measured by time, and as the ratio between these two quantities. For firstly the worker replaces the value of his labour capacity.

Let us assume the value of his daily means of subsistence to be equal to 10 hours of labour. He reproduces this value by working for 10 hours. Let us call this part of the labour time the *necessary labour time.* Let us assume that the material of labour and the means of labour—the objective conditions of labour—are the property of the worker himself. On our assumption he would have to work 10 hours a day, reproduce a value of 10 hours of labour time a day, in order to be able every following day to appropriate for himself means of subsistence to the amount of 10 hours of labour, to reproduce his own labour capacity, to be able to continue living. The product of his 10 hours of labour would be equal to the labour time contained in the worked up raw material and the tool used up in the process of labour+the 10 hours of new labour he would have added to the raw material. He could only consume the latter portion of the product if he wished to continue producing, i.e. to preserve his conditions of production.

[a] See this volume, pp. 50-54.—*Ed.*

For he must deduct the value of the raw material and the means of labour from the value of his product every day in order to be able to replace constantly the raw material and the means of labour; in order to have afresh at his disposal every day as much raw material and means of labour as is required for the realisation (application) of ten hours of labour. If the value of the worker's average daily necessary means of subsistence is equal to 10 hours of labour, he must work a daily average of 10 hours of labour to be able to replace his daily consumption, and provide himself with the conditions needed for his life as a worker. This labour would be *necessary* for him personally, for his [III-96] own self-preservation, quite irrespective of whether he is or is not himself the owner of the conditions of labour—material of labour and means of labour, whether his labour is or is not subsumed under capital. This labour time is necessary for the preservation of the working class itself, and we can call this part of labour time *necessary labour time.*

But we can also call it this from another point of view.

The labour time which is necessary to reproduce the value of labour capacity itself—i.e. the daily production of the worker which is required so that the worker's consumption can be repeated every day—or the labour time with which the worker adds to the product the value he himself receives every day and destroys every day in the form of wages—is also *necessary labour time* from the standpoint of the capitalist in so far as the whole capital-relation presupposes the continuous existence of the working class, its continuing reproduction, and capitalist production has as its necessary prerequisite the continuous availability, preservation and reproduction of a working class.

Further: Let us suppose that the value of the capital advanced for production has to be simply preserved and reproduced, i.e. the capitalist creates no new value in the production process. It is then clear that the value of the product will only be equal to the value of the capital advanced, if the worker adds to the raw material as much labour time as he has received in the form of wages, i.e. if he reproduces the value of his own wage. The labour time which is necessary for the worker to reproduce the value of his own daily means of subsistence is at the same time the labour time necessary for capital simply to preserve and reproduce its value.

We have assumed that a labour time of 10 hours=the labour time contained in the wage; hence the labour time during which the worker only gives back to the capitalist an equivalent for the value of the wage is at the same time the *necessary labour time,* the

labour time necessary both for the preservation of the working class itself and for the simple preservation and reproduction of the capital advanced, and, finally, for the possibility of the capital-relation altogether.

On our assumption, then, the first 10 hours the worker works are *necessary labour time* and this is at the same time nothing but an equivalent for the objectified labour time he has received in the form of the wage. Let us call *surplus labour* all the labour time the worker works over and above these 10 hours, this necessary labour time. If he works 11 hours, he has provided 1 hour of surplus labour, if 12, two hours of surplus labour, and so on. In the first case the product possesses a surplus value of one hour in excess of the value of the capital advanced, in the second case a surplus value of 2 hours, and so on. But in all circumstances the surplus value of the product is only the objectification of surplus labour. Surplus value is simply *objectified* surplus labour time, just as value in general is merely objectified labour time. Thus surplus value amounts to labour time the worker works for the capitalist in excess of the necessary labour time.

We have seen that the capitalist pays the worker an equivalent for the daily value of his labour capacity; but he receives in return the right to extract from that labour capacity a value greater than its own value. If 10 hours of labour a day are necessary for the daily reproduction of labour capacity, he sets the worker to work for e.g. 12 hours. In reality, therefore, he exchanges 10 hours of objectified labour time (objectified in the wage) for 12 hours of living labour time. The ratio in which he exchanges objectified labour time (objectified in the capital advanced) for living labour time is the same as the ratio of the worker's necessary labour time to his surplus labour, the labour time he works over and above the necessary labour time. It therefore presents itself as a ratio between two portions of the labour time of the worker himself—necessary labour time and surplus labour. The necessary labour time is the same as the labour time necessary to reproduce the wage. It is therefore a simple equivalent given back to the capitalist by the worker. The latter has received a certain labour time in money; he gives it back in the form of living labour time. The necessary labour time is therefore *paid* labour time. On the other hand, no equivalent has been paid for the surplus labour.* It is rather the valorisation of labour [III-97] capacity by the capitalist in excess of that capacity's own value. It is therefore

* Id est, it has not been objectified in an equivalent *for the worker himself.*

*unpaid* labour time. The ratio in which objectified labour is exchanged for living labour can be resolved into the ratio between the necessary labour time of the worker and his surplus labour, and the latter ratio can be resolved into the ratio of *paid* to *unpaid* labour time. Surplus value is equal to surplus labour is equal to unpaid labour time. Surplus value can therefore be resolved into *unpaid labour time,* and the level of surplus value depends on the ratio in which surplus labour stands to necessary labour, or unpaid to paid labour time.

If we look now at capital, we find that it is originally split up into 3 constituent parts (only two in some industries, such as the extractive industries[a]; but we are taking the most complete form, that of manufacturing industry): raw material, instrument of production, and finally the part of capital which is exchanged for labour capacity in the first instance. Here we are concerned only with the exchange value of capital. As regards the part of the capital's value that is contained in the used up raw material and means of production, we have seen that it simply re-appears in the product.[b] This part of capital never adds more to the value of the product than the value it itself possesses independently of the production process. In reference to the value of the product, we can call this part of the capital its *constant* part. As noted under *heading 1,* its value may rise or fall, but this rising or falling has nothing to do with the production process, in which these values enter as values of the material and the instrument of production.[c]

If 12 hours are worked instead of 10, more raw material is of course necessary so as to absorb the two hours of surplus labour. What we call constant capital will therefore enter the production process in an amount, i.e. an amount of value, a magnitude of value, which varies according to the quantity of labour the raw material has to absorb, in general the quantity of labour to be objectified in the production process. But it is *constant* in so far as its magnitude of value, whatever its ratio towards the total amount of capital advanced, re-appears unchanged in the product. We have seen that it is not itself reproduced in the proper sense of the word.[d] It is rather just preserved because the material and means of labour are (in accordance with their use value), made into factors of the new product by labour, as a result of which the

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[a] See this volume, p. 56.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 73-75.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., pp. 79-80.—*Ed.*
[d] Ibid., pp. 74-78.—*Ed.*

constant capital's value re-appears in this product. And this value is determined simply by the labour time required for its own production. They add to the labour time contained in the product only as much labour time as they themselves contained *before* the production process.

It is therefore only the 3rd part of capital, the part exchanged for labour capacity or advanced in wages, which is *variable.* Firstly, it is really reproduced. The value of labour capacity, or the wage of labour, is annihilated (the value and the use value), consumed by the worker. But it is replaced by a new equivalent; an equal quantity of living labour time, added by the worker to the raw material or materialised in the product, steps into the place of the labour time objectified in the wage. And secondly, this part of the value of the capital is not only reproduced, and simply replaced by an equivalent, but also exchanged in the actual production process for a quantity of labour=the labour contained in it+an excess quantity of labour, the surplus labour the worker performs over and above the labour time which is necessary for the reproduction of his own wage, hence is contained in the component of the value of the capital which can be resolved into wages. Therefore, if we call the labour time contained in constant capital $c$, that contained in variable capital $v$, and the time the worker has to work over and above the necessary labour time $s$, the labour time contained in P, or the value of the product,$=c+(v+s)$. The original capital was equal to $c+v$. The excess of its value over its original value therefore$=s$. But the value of $c$ simply re-appears in the product, whereas the value of $v$ is firstly reproduced in $v$ and secondly increased by $s$. It is therefore only the part of the value of the capital denoted by $v$ which has changed, in that $v$ has reproduced itself as $v+s$. $s$ is therefore only a result of an alteration in $v$*; and the ratio in which surplus value is created is expressed as $v:s$, the ratio in which the labour time contained in the $v$ component of the value of the total capital has been exchanged for living labour time, [III-98] or, which is the same thing, the ratio of necessary to surplus labour, of $v:s$. The newly created value results from the alteration in $v$ alone, its transformation into $v+s$. It is only this part of capital which increases its value or posits surplus value. The *ratio,* therefore, in which surplus value is posited, is the ratio in which $s$ stands to $v$, in which the part of the value of capital

* If it is assumed that $c=0$ and that the capitalist has advanced wages alone (variable capital), the magnitude of $s$ remains *the same* although no part of the product replaces $c$.

expressed in $v$ is not only reproduced but magnified. The best demonstration of this is that if $v$ is simply replaced by an amount of labour time equal to that contained in $v$ itself, no surplus value at all is created; on the contrary, the value of the product is equal to the value of the capital advanced.

If, therefore, surplus value is, in general, nothing but the excess of living labour for which the labour objectified in capital is exchanged, or, which is the same thing, nothing but the unpaid labour time worked by the worker over and above the necessary labour time, the magnitude of the surplus value, the ratio in which it stands to the value it replaces, the ratio in which it grows, is simply determined by the ratio $s:v$, surplus labour to necessary labour, or, and this is the same, the ratio of the labour time advanced by the capitalist in wages to the surplus of labour, etc. Thus if the necessary (wage-reproducing) labour time=10 hours, and the worker works for 12, the surplus value is equal to 2 hours, and the ratio in which the value advanced has increased=2:10,=$^1/_5$,=20%, whatever may be the amount of labour time contained in $c$, the constant part of capital, whether it is 50, 60, 100, in short $x$ hours of labour, whatever may be the ratio of the variable to the constant part of capital. As we have seen,[a] the value of this [the constant] part of capital simply re-appears in the product and has absolutely nothing to do with the value-creation that occurs during the production process itself.*

It is very important to keep a strong hold on the idea that surplus value=surplus labour, and that the ratio of surplus value is the ratio of surplus labour to necessary labour. In this connection the customary notion of profit and the rate of profit should initially be entirely forgotten. What kind of relation exists between surplus value and profit will be seen later on.[142]

* [I-A] // If the original ratio of necessary labour to surplus labour= 10 hours: 2 hours=5:1, and if now 16 hours are worked instead of 12, hence 4 more hours, the worker would have to receive $3\,^1/_3$ and the capitalist only $^2/_3$ of an hour from those 4 hours for the ratio to remain the same; for $10:2=3\,^1/_3:^2/_3=$ $^{10}/_3:^2/_3=10:2$. But under the mathematical law that "A RATIO OF GREATER INEQUALITY IS DIMINISHED, AND OF LESS INEQUALITY INCREASED, BY ADDING ANY QUANTITY TO BOTH ITS TERMS", the RATIO of wages to surplus value is unchanged if the OVERTIME is divided in accordance with the above ratio. Previously the ratio of [necessary] labour to surplus was 10:2=5:1 (5 times greater). Now it will be $13\,^1/_3:2\,^2/_3=^{40}/_3:^8/_3=40[:8=5:1]$. // [141]

[a] See this volume, pp. 73-75.— *Ed.*

We shall therefore use a few examples to clarify this conception of surplus value and the rate of surplus value, the ratio in which it grows—the yardstick by which its magnitude is to be measured. These examples are borrowed from statistical sources.[a] Hence labour time always appears here expressed in money. Furthermore, different ITEMS bearing different names appear in the calculations, e.g. side by side with profit there is interest, taxes, rent, etc. These are all different portions of surplus value under different names.[143] How surplus value is distributed among the different classes, i.e. how much of it the industrial capitalist gives up under various headings, and how much he keeps for himself, is completely irrelevant to the conception of surplus value itself. It is, however, entirely clear that all those people—whatever heading they figure under—who do not themselves work, who do not take part in the material process of production themselves as workers, can only participate in the value of the material product in so far as they divide the product's surplus value among themselves, for the value of raw material and machinery, the *constant* part of the value of capital, must be replaced. Similarly with the necessary labour time, for the working class absolutely must first of all work the quantity of labour time necessary to preserve its own life before it can work for others. Only the value $x$, equal to the workers' surplus labour, hence also the use values that can be purchased with this surplus value, is available for distribution among the non-workers.

It is only the variable part of capital, the quantity of objectified labour which is exchanged in the production process for a greater quantity of living labour time, that undergoes any change at all, that changes its value, posits a surplus value, and the magnitude of this newly created value depends entirely on the ratio between the quantity of living surplus labour obtained in exchange for the variable part of capital and the labour contained in it before the production process.

[III-99] Senior must be cited here as a second example illustrating the political economists' failure to understand surplus labour and surplus value.[144]

Now the following points are still to be examined under surplus value:

// 1) Extent of surplus labour. Drive of capital to spin this out to infinity. 2) Surplus value depends not only on the number of hours the individual worker works over and above the necessary

[a] See this volume, pp. 206, 209 and 211.—*Ed.*

labour time, but also on the number of simultaneous working days, or the number of workers the capitalist employs. 3) The relation of capital as producer of surplus labour: working more than is needed. Civilising character of capital, labour time and free time. Opposition. Surplus labour and surplus product. Hence in the last instance relation of population and capital. 4) Mr. Proudhon's thesis that the worker cannot buy back his own product, or the price of the portion of the product, etc.[145] 5) This form of surplus value is the absolute form. Persists in all modes of production which are founded on the opposition between classes one of which is the possessor of the conditions of production and the other of labour.[a] //

### b) *RATIO OF SURPLUS LABOUR TO NECESSARY LABOUR. MEASURE OF SURPLUS LABOUR*

Capital has in common with hoarding the boundless tendency to self-enrichment.[b] Because surplus value is reducible to surplus labour, capital has a boundless drive to increase surplus labour. Capital endeavours, in return for the objectified labour expended in wages, to obtain the greatest possible quantity of living labour time, i.e. the greatest possible excess of labour time over and above the labour time required for the reproduction of the wage, i.e. the reproduction of the value of the daily means of subsistence of the worker himself. The whole of capital's history is a proof of its unrestrained extravagances in this respect. The tendency is evident everywhere without concealment, and it is only held in check in part by physical conditions, and in part by social obstacles, which we shall not go into in any more detail here (and which that tendency itself is the first to create). All we need do here is note the tendency. In this respect it is interesting for example to compare the modern factory system in England with corvée labour, perhaps in the Danubian Principalities. The two forms, of which one is a developed capitalist form and the other is among the crudest forms of serfdom, display with equal clarity the appropriation of alien excess labour, of surplus labour, as the direct source of enrichment.[c] The special circumstances additionally present in the factory system, in the developed capitalist mode of production, which allow labour time to be

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[a] See this volume, pp. 252-53.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 18.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., pp. 212-15.—*Ed.*

lengthened unnaturally, beyond its natural bounds, can only be indicated more closely in the course of this investigation.[a]

In comparing Walachian corvée labour with English wage labour the following point is to be kept in view. If the total daily labour time of a worker consists of 12 or 14 hours, and the necessary labour time in each case amounts to only 10 hours, the worker would provide in the course of 6 days of the week in the first case 6×2 or 12 hours of surplus labour, in the second case 6×4 or 24 hours of surplus labour. In the first case [he] would work one day out of 6 for the capitalist without equivalent, in the second case 2 days. Over the whole year, week in week out, the situation can be resolved into this: he works 1, 2 or $x$ days a week for the capitalist, but the other days of the week he works for himself. This is the form in which the relation appears directly in corvée labour, that of Walachia for example. In essence the general relation is in both cases the same, although the form—the mediation of the relation—is different.

There are, however, natural barriers to the duration of the daily labour time of a particular individual. Leaving aside the time required for the intake of food, the individual needs sleep, relaxation, needs a break during which labour capacity and its organ can enjoy the rest without which they are incapable of continuing the work or starting afresh. The *day* itself can be characterised as the natural measure of labour's duration, and indeed in England the 12 hour day is called the "WORKING DAY". The limits of the working day are however indistinct, and we find it extended from 10 to 17 (18) hours among different nations and in specific branches of industry within the same nation. The periods of work and rest can be displaced, so that for example work can be done during the night, with the daytime for resting, sleeping. Or the working day can be distributed between day and night. In the Russian factories in Moscow, for example, we find that work proceeds for 24 hours, day and night. (This was also the case in large part in the early days of the English cotton industry.) But then two teams (SETS) of workers are employed. The first team works 6 hours during the day and is then replaced by the second team. After that the first team again works for 6 hours during the night and is then again replaced for the following 6 hours by the second team. Or (as in the case of the dressmaker, which is to be cited) (BAKERS TOO) 30 hours can be worked, one after another, and then a break, etc.[146]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 331-36.—*Ed.*

[III-100][a] The examples (to be brought in here) on the extraction of labour time are also useful, because they show strikingly how value, i. e. wealth as such, can simply be reduced to labour time.

We have seen that the capitalist pays labour capacity its equivalent, and that the valorisation of labour capacity beyond its value does not stand in contradiction to this operation, which occurs according to the law of the exchange of commodities[b]—namely the law that commodities exchange in proportion to the labour time contained in them, or in proportion to the labour time required to produce them—on the contrary, that it proceeds from the specific nature of the use value of the commodity which is being sold here. Hence the degree to which labour capacity is valorised by the capitalist, or the extent to which the duration of labour time in the actual production process is increased, appears to be a matter of complete indifference, i. e. it does not appear to be given by the nature of the relation itself. That is to say, in other words: The magnitude of the living surplus labour, hence also of the total living labour time obtained by capital in exchange for a particular quantity of objectified labour, determined by the cost of production of labour capacity itself, appears to be subject to just as little restriction by the nature of this economic relation itself as the manner in which a buyer utilises the use value of a commodity is determined by the relation of sale and purchase as such. It is much rather independent of this. The limits that develop here—e. g., later, economically from the relation of supply and demand or from state intervention and the like—do not, by contrast, appear to be included in the general relation itself.

Nevertheless, the following point must be considered: What on capital's side is the valorisation of labour capacity (or, as we previously called it, the consumption of labour capacity[c]—it is of the nature of labour capacity that its consumption is at the same time a process of valorisation, objectification of labour) is on the worker's side work, hence the expenditure of vital force. If labour is prolonged beyond a certain period—or labour capacity is valorised to more than a certain extent—labour capacity will be temporarily or definitively destroyed, instead of being preserved. If the capitalist sets the worker to work for e. g. 20 hours today, tomorrow he will be incapable of working the normal labour time

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[a] Corrected page number. Marx has [III-160].—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 87-88 and 105.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., pp. 55-56 and 93-94.—*Ed.*

of 12 hours or perhaps any labour time at all. If the overwork extends over a long period, the worker will perhaps only preserve himself and therefore his labour capacity for 7 years instead of the 20 or 30 years for which he might otherwise have preserved it. It is well known, for example, that before the invention of the COTTON GIN the 2 hours of manufacturing labour (domestic labour) the slaves in the southern states of North America had to perform to separate the cotton wool from its seed, after they had worked in the fields for 12 hours, reduced their average life expectancy to 7 years. This is still at this moment the case in Cuba, where after 12 hours in the fields the Negroes have a further two hours of manufacturing labour to perform in connection with the preparation of sugar or tobacco.

But if the worker sells his labour capacity at its *value*—and we are proceeding from this assumption in our investigation, just as we proceed altogether from the presupposition that commodities are sold at their value[a]—all that is assumed thereby is that he receives an average daily wage which enables him to continue living in his customary manner as a worker, hence that he is in the same normal state of health the day afterwards as the day before (leaving aside the degeneration brought about naturally through age or through the kind of work he does); that his labour capacity is reproduced or preserved, hence can be valorised again in the same way as on the previous day, over a definite normal period of time, e. g. 20 years. Thus if surplus labour is stretched out to an extent of overwork which forcibly shortens, temporarily annihilates, i. e. damages or entirely destroys, the normal duration of labour capacity this condition is breached. The worker places the use of his labour capacity at [the capitalist's] disposal[b]—if he sells it at its value—but only to such an extent as to rule out the destruction of the value of the labour capacity itself, or rather, only to an extent sufficient to ensure that the wage enables him to reproduce his labour capacity, to preserve it throughout a certain normal average time. If the capitalist uses the worker for longer than this normal labour time, he destroys the labour capacity and with that its value. He has, after all, only bought the labour capacity's average daily [III-101] value, hence by no means the value it possesses on the next day as well. In other words, he has not bought in 7 years the value it possesses during 20.

Hence, as, on the one hand, the specific use value of this

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[a] See this volume, p. 33.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 104.—*Ed.*

commodity—labour capacity—implies that its consumption is itself valorisation, the creation of value, so on the other hand, the specific nature of this use value implies that the extent to which it can be consumed, valorised, must be kept within certain limits to prevent the destruction of its own exchange value.

Here, where we are making the overall assumption that the worker sells his labour capacity at its value, we also assume that the total period, the sum of the necessary labour time and the surplus labour time, does not exceed the normal working day, whether this is set at 12, 13 or 14 hours, worked by the worker in order to preserve his labour capacity in its customary state of health and ability to work for a certain normal average period, and to reproduce it every day afresh.

It follows from what has been said, however, that there is an antinomy here in the general relation itself. This antinomy arises in the following way: On the one hand, if we disregard the natural limit which absolutely prohibits the extension of labour time beyond a certain duration, the general relation between capital and labour—the sale of labour capacity—posits no limit to surplus labour. But on the other hand, in so far as surplus labour destroys the value of labour capacity itself, whereas labour capacity's use is only sold to the extent to which it preserves and reproduces itself as labour capacity, implying also the preservation of its value throughout a definite normal period of time, surplus labour which goes beyond a certain indeterminate boundary contradicts the very nature of the relation which is given with the worker's sale of his labour capacity.

We know that in practice it depends on the relative power of the buyer and the seller (which is determined each time economically) whether a commodity is sold at less or more than its value. Similarly here. Whether the worker provides surplus labour of more than the normal amount or not will depend on the power of resistance he is able to oppose to the measureless demands of capital. The history of modern industry teaches us, however, that the measureless demands of capital could never be held in check by the isolated efforts of the worker. The struggle had instead to take on the form of a class struggle, and thereby call forth the intervention of the state power, before the overall daily labour time was confined within certain limits (as yet mostly within certain spheres alone).

One might think that, just as the slaveowner, when he has consumed the Negro in 7 years, is compelled to replace him with a fresh purchase of Negroes, so capital must itself pay for the rapid

exhaustion of the workers, since the continuous existence of the working class is capital's fundamental prerequisite. The individual Capitalist A may have enriched himself through this "KILLING NO MURDER",[147] whereas Capitalist B has perhaps to pay the EXPENSES, or Generation B of the capitalists does. Nevertheless, the individual capitalist perpetually rebels against the overall interest of the capitalist class. On the other hand, the history of modern industry has shown that continuous overpopulation is possible, although it consists of a stream of human generations plucked so to speak before they are ripe, quickly wasted and following each other in rapid succession. (See the passage in *Wakefield*.[148])

### c) *ADVANTAGE OF OVERWORK*

Let us assume that the average necessary labour time=10 hours, and that the normal surplus labour=2 hours, hence the total daily labour time of the worker=12 hours. Now assume that the capitalist sets the worker to work for 13 hours a day during 6 days of the week, hence 1 hour over the normal or average surplus labour time. These 6 hours amount to $^1/_2$ working day in the week. Now one has to take into consideration more than this surplus value of 6 hours. In order to appropriate 6 hours of surplus labour, the capitalist would under normal conditions have had to employ 1 worker for 3 days or 3 workers for one day, i. e. he would have had to pay for 30 (3×10) hours of necessary labour time. With this daily extra hour of surplus labour he obtains half a day of surplus labour a week, without having to pay for the 3 days of necessary labour time he would have had to pay for under normal conditions, so as to appropriate the 6 hours of surplus labour. In the first case a surplus value of only 20%; in the second, one of 30%; but the last 10% of surplus value do not cost him any necessary labour time.

### [III-102] d) *SIMULTANEOUS WORKING DAYS*

The *amount of surplus value* evidently depends not only on the surplus labour performed by an individual worker above and beyond the necessary labour time; it depends just as much on the number of workers employed simultaneously by capital, or the number of simultaneous working days it makes use of, each of these=necessary labour time+surplus labour time.[149] If the necessary labour time=10 hours, the surplus labour=2, and the total working day of a worker therefore equals 12 hours, the mag-

nitude of the surplus value will depend on its own magnitude×by the number of workers employed by capital, or by the number of simultaneous working days from which the surplus value has resulted. By simultaneous working days we mean the period during which a certain number of workers work on the same day.

If a capitalist employs e.g. 6 workers, each of whom works for 12 hours, the 6 simultaneous working days, or 72 hours, objectified by him in the production process, are transferred to the objective form of value. If the surplus labour of a worker amounts to 2 hours, on top of 10 hours of necessary labour time, the surplus labour of 6 workers=6×2=12 hours. (That is, the surplus labour of the individual worker multiplied by the number of workers simultaneously employed.) With $n$ workers, then, $n\times2$, and it is clear that the magnitude of the product $n\times2$ depends on the magnitude of $n$, the factor which expresses the number of workers or the number of simultaneous working days. It is equally clear that if the *mass*, the total amount, of surplus value grows with the number of workers and depends on it, the *ratio* of surplus value to necessary labour time, or the ratio in which the capital advanced in the purchase of labour valorises itself, the *proportionate magnitude* of the surplus value, is not thereby altered, hence there is no change in the ratio between the paid and the unpaid labour. 2:10 is 20%, and so is 2×6:10×6, or 12:60. (2:10=12:60.) (Or, expressed more generally, $2:10=n\times2:n\times10$. For $2\times n\times10=10\times n\times2$.) Assuming that the ratio of surplus value to necessary labour time is given, the amount of surplus value can only grow in proportion to the increase in the number of workers (of simultaneous working days). Assuming that the number of workers is given, the amount, the mass, of surplus value can only grow in the measure to which the surplus value itself grows, i.e. as the duration of the surplus labour increases. $2\times n$ ($n$ being the number of workers) is equal to $4\times{}^{n}/_{2}$.

It is therefore clear that if a particular ratio between necessary labour time and surplus labour is given—or if the total time worked by the worker has reached what we shall call the *normal working day*—the amount of the surplus value depends on the number of workers who are simultaneously employed, and it can only grow in so far as this number increases.

We therefore take the normal working day as the *measure* of the consumption and valorisation of labour capacity.

The amount of surplus value therefore depends on the population and other circumstances (size of capital, etc.) which we shall investigate straight away.

This much must be noted before we proceed. For the owner of money or commodities to be able to valorise as capital his money or commodities, in short the value he possesses, and therefore for him to produce as a capitalist, it is necessary in advance that he be capable of employing a certain minimum number of workers simultaneously. From this point of view, too, a certain *minimum magnitude* of value is a prerequisite if it is to be employed as productive capital. The first condition for this magnitude is given from the outset by the fact that, in order to live as a worker, the worker would need merely the amount of raw material (and means of labour) required to absorb the necessary labour time, say 10 hours. The capitalist must be able to buy at least as much more raw material as is required to absorb the surplus labour time (or also as much more of the *matières instrumentales*, etc.). Secondly, however: Suppose the necessary labour time is 10 hours and the surplus labour time is 2 hours. The capitalist, if he does not work himself, would have already to employ 5 workers, so as to take in a value of 10 hours of labour a day in addition to the value of his capital. But what he took in every day in the form of surplus value [III-103] would only enable him to live like one of his workers. And even this only on condition that his purpose was merely the preservation of his life, as with the workers, hence not the increase of his capital, which is the presupposition with capitalist production. If he worked alongside them, so as to earn a wage himself, his mode of life would scarcely differ from that of a worker (it would merely give him the position of a somewhat better paid worker) (and this *boundary* is made hard and fast by the guild regulations). He would in any case still stand very close to the position of a worker, particularly if he were to increase his capital, i.e. capitalise a portion of the surplus value. This is the situation of the guild masters in the Middle Ages, and in part still that of the present master craftsmen. They do not produce as capitalists.

If the necessary labour time is given, and similarly the ratio of surplus labour to it—in a word, the normal *working day*, the overall sum of which=the necessary labour time+the time the surplus labour lasts—the *amount of surplus labour*, hence the *amount of surplus value*, depends on the number of simultaneous working days, or the number of workers who can be set in motion simultaneously by capital. In other words: the amount of surplus value—its total amount—will depend on the number of labour capacities available and present in the market, hence on the magnitude of the working population and the proportion in which this population grows. Hence the natural growth of population,

and therefore the increase of the number of labour capacities present in the market, is a *productive power of capital*, since it provides the basis for the growth in the absolute amount of surplus value (i.e. of surplus labour).

It is clear on the other hand that capital must grow in order to employ a greater quantity of workers. Firstly, its *constant* part must grow, i.e. the part the value of which merely re-appears in the product. More raw material is required to absorb more labour. More of the means of labour is also required, though in a more indeterminate proportion. If we assume that manual labour is the main factor, that production is carried on in a handicraft manner (and here, where we are still only considering the absolute form of surplus value, this assumption is valid; for although this form of surplus value remains the fundamental form even of the mode of production transformed by capital, it is still characteristic of capital's mode of production, and it is its sole form as long as capital has only *formally* subsumed the labour process under itself, i.e. actually a previous mode of production, in which human manual labour was the chief factor of production, has merely been brought under capital's control[75]), then the number of instruments and means of labour must grow fairly uniformly with the number of the workers themselves and the quantity of raw material required for labour by the increased number of workers. Thus the value of the whole *constant* part of capital grows proportionately to the growth in the number of workers employed.

Secondly, however, the *variable* part of capital, which is exchanged for labour capacity, must grow (as constant capital grows) in the same proportion as the number of workers or the number of simultaneous working days. This variable part of capital will experience its greatest growth under the conditions of industry of the handicraft type, where the essential factor of production, the manual labour of the individual, only delivers a small amount of product in a given time, hence the material consumed in the production process is small in proportion to the labour employed; likewise the handicraft instruments, which are simple and themselves only represent insignificant values. Since the variable part of capital forms its largest constituent, it will have to grow most of all when capital grows; or since the variable part of capital forms its greatest part, it is precisely this part which will have to grow most significantly when exchanges are made with more labour capacities. If I employ a capital $^2/_5$ of which is constant, and $^3/_5$ of which is laid out in wages, the calculation will be as follows, if the capital is to employ $2 \times n$ workers instead of $n$

workers: Originally the capital was$=n(^2/_5+^3/_5)$. $2n/5+3n/5$. Now it will be $4n/5+6n/5$. The part of capital laid out in wages, or the variable part, always remains greater than the constant part, in the same proportion as the growth in the number of workers; in the same proportion as it was presupposed to be greater at the outset.

On the one hand, therefore, the population must grow, to allow the amount of surplus value, hence the total capital, to grow under the given conditions; on the other hand, it is presupposed that capital has already grown so that the population may grow. Thus there appears to be a *circulus vitiosus*[a] here //which should be left open as such at this point and not explained. It belongs in Chapter V[150]//.

[III-104] If one assumes that the average wage is sufficient not only for the preservation of the working population but for its constant growth, in whatever proportion, an increasing working population is given in advance for growing capital, while a growth of surplus labour, hence also an increase of capital through the growth in population, is simultaneously given. In analysing capitalist production one must actually proceed from this assumption; for it implies a constant increase in surplus value, i.e. in capital. We do not yet need to investigate how capitalist production itself contributes to the growth of population.[151]

The population numbers working under capital as wage labourers or the number of labour capacities available on the market can grow without any absolute growth in the total population or even in the working population alone. If for example members of working-class families, such as women and children, are pressed into capital's service, and they were not in this position before, the number of wage labourers has increased without any increase in the overall size of the working population. This increase can take place without any increase in the variable part of capital, the part which is exchanged for labour. The family might receive the same wage from which they lived previously. But they would have to provide more labour for the same wage.[152]

On the other hand, the overall working population may grow without any absolute growth in the population as a whole. If sections of the population which were previously in possession of the conditions of labour, and worked with them—such as independent handicraftsmen, allotment-holding peasants, and lastly small capitalists—are robbed of their conditions of labour (of property in them) in consequence of the impact of capitalist

[a] Vicious circle.—*Ed.*

production, they may turn into wage labourers and thus increase the absolute number of the working population, without any increase having occurred in the absolute number of the population. There would merely have been an increase in the numerical size of various classes and in their proportional share in the absolute population. But this is known to be one of the effects of the centralisation brought about by capitalist production.[a] In this case the amount of the working population would have risen absolutely. The amount of wealth available and employed in production would not have increased absolutely. But there would have been an increase in the portion of wealth turned into capital and acting as capital.

In both cases there is growth in the number of wage labourers without any absolute increase, in the one case, in the working population, and in the other case, in the total population; without any increase, in the one case, in the amount of capital laid out for wages, and in the other case, in the absolute amount of wealth devoted to reproduction. This would at the same time produce an increase in surplus labour and surplus value and therefore δυνάμει[b] the increase in capital necessary to support the absolute growth of the population. //This will all be considered under Accumulation.[150]//

### e) *CHARACTER OF SURPLUS LABOUR*

Once there exists a society in which some people live without working (without participating directly in the production of use values), it is clear that the surplus labour of the workers is the condition of existence of the whole superstructure of the society. They [the non-workers] receive two things from this surplus labour. *Firstly*: the material conditions of life, because they share in, and subsist on and from, the product which the workers provide over and above the product required for the reproduction of their own labour capacity. *Secondly*: The free time they have at their disposal, whether for idleness or for the performance of activities which are not directly productive (as e.g. war, affairs of state) or for the development of human abilities and social potentialities (art, etc., science) which have no directly practical purpose, has as its prerequisite the surplus labour of the mass of workers, i.e. the fact that they have to spend more time in material

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[a] See this volume, p. 142.— *Ed.*
[b] Potentially.— *Ed.*

production than is required for the production of their own material life. The *free time* of the non-working parts of society is based on the *surplus labour* or *overwork,* the *surplus labour time,* of the working part. The free development of the former is based on the fact that the workers have to employ the whole of their time, hence the room for their own development,[153] purely in the [III-105] production of particular use values; the development of the human capacities on one side is based on the restriction of development on the other side. The whole of civilisation and social development so far has been founded on this antagonism.[154]

*On the one hand,* therefore, the free time of one section corresponds to the surplus labour time, the time in thrall to labour, of the other section—the time of its existence and functioning as mere labour capacity. *On the other hand*: The surplus labour is realised not only in a surplus of value but in a *surplus product*—an excess of production over and above the quantity the working class requires and consumes for its own subsistence.

The value is present in a use value. The surplus value is therefore present in a surplus product. The surplus labour is present in surplus production, and this forms the basis for the existence of all classes not directly absorbed in material production. Society thus develops in contradictory fashion through the absence of development of the mass of workers, who form its material basis. The surplus product need not express surplus value at all. If 2 quarters of wheat are the product of the same amount of labour time as previously 1 quarter, the 2 QUARTERS will not express any higher value than the 1 quarter did previously. But if we presuppose a definite, given development of the productive forces, surplus value will always be represented by a surplus product, i.e. the product (use value) created over 2 hours is twice as large as that created over 1 hour. To put it more definitely: the surplus labour time worked by the mass of workers over and above the quantity necessary for the reproduction of their own labour capacity, their own existence, over and above the *necessary labour,* this surplus labour time, which presents itself as surplus value, is simultaneously materialised in extra product, surplus product, and this surplus product is the material basis for the existence of all the classes apart from the working classes, of the whole superstructure of society. It *simultaneously provides free time,* gives them DISPOSABLE time for the development of their other capacities. Thus the production of surplus labour time on one side is at once the production of *free* time on the other. The whole of

human development, so far as it extends beyond the development directly necessary for the natural existence of human beings, consists merely in the employment of this free time and presupposes it as its necessary basis. Thus the free time of society is produced through the production of unfree time, the labour time of workers prolonged beyond that required for their own subsistence. Free time on one side corresponds to subjugated time on the other side.

The form of surplus labour we are examining here—labour prolonged beyond the necessary labour time—is common to capital and all forms of society in which development has taken place beyond the purely natural relation; a development which is therefore antagonistic, making the labour of one section into the natural basis of the social development of another section.[154]

Surplus labour time as considered here—absolute surplus labour time—remains the basis in capitalist production too, although we shall become acquainted with yet another form.

In so far as we have here only the opposition between worker and capitalist, all the classes which do not work must share the product of surplus labour with the capitalist, so that this surplus labour time not only creates the basis of their material existence but also their *free time*, the sphere of their development.

Absolute surplus value, i.e. absolute surplus labour, later too always remains the dominant form.

Just as plants live from the earth, and animals live from the plants or plant-eating animals, so does the part of society which possesses free time, DISPOSABLE time not absorbed in the direct production of subsistence, live from the surplus labour of the workers. Wealth is therefore DISPOSABLE time.[155]

We shall see how the political economists, etc., consider this opposition as natural.[a]

Since surplus value is initially represented in the surplus product, but all other work is DISPOSABLE time in comparison with the labour time employed in the production of the means of nourishment, it is clear why the Physiocrats base surplus value on the surplus product of agriculture; they only make the mistake of regarding it as a simple gift of nature.[126]

[III-106] Here the following can already be remarked:

The branches of labour employed in the production of commodities are distinguished from each other according to their degree of necessity, and this in turn depends on the extent to

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[a] See this volume, pp. 204-05.—*Ed.*

which the use value they create is necessary for physical existence. This kind of *necessary* labour is related to use value, not exchange value. That is to say, we are concerned here not with the labour time necessary to create a value reducible to the sum of the products necessary to the worker for his existence; rather with the relative necessity of the needs satisfied by the products of different kinds of labour. In this respect the most necessary of all is agricultural labour (understanding by this all work required to procure the immediate means of nourishment). It is agricultural labour which first provides the DISPOSABLE FREE HANDS for industry, as Steuart says.[156] However, we must make a further distinction. While one person employs the whole of his DISPOSABLE time in agriculture, the other can employ it in manufacture. Division of labour. But the surplus labour in all other branches similarly depends on the surplus labour in agriculture, which provides the raw materials for everything else.

* "It is obvious that the relative numbers of persons who can be maintained without agricultural labour, must be measured wholly by the productive powers of cultivation" * (R. Jones, *On the Distribution of Wealth*, London, 1831, pp. 159-60).[157]

*ADDITIONS*

*To b.* In the struggle in London between the workers in the building industry and the building masters (capitalists), which is still continuing, the workers make the following objections, among others, to the hour system imposed by the masters (according to which the contract between the two sides is only valid for the hour, the hour being in fact fixed as the normal day):

*Firstly*: This system, the workers argue, abolishes any normal day (normal working day), hence any boundary to a total day's labour (necessary and surplus labour taken together). But the establishment of a normal day of this kind is the constant goal of the working class, whose members stand at the lowest point of humiliation in every branch where such a normal day, be it in law or in practice, is not in existence, as e.g. among the jobbing labourers of the Thames docks, etc. They stress how a normal day of this kind not only forms the yardstick for the workers' average life expectancy but rules over the whole of their development.

*Secondly*: They argue that this hour system rules out EXTRA PAY for overwork, i.e. surplus labour performed in excess of its normal and traditional amount. While on the one hand this EXTRA PAY [makes it possible] for the masters to have work done over and

above the normal day in extraordinary cases, on the other hand it imposes golden chains on their drive for an indefinite extension of the working day. This was one reason why the workers demanded the EXTRA PAY. The second reason: they demand EXTRA PAY for overwork because the lengthening of the normal day brings with it not only a quantitative but a qualitative difference, and the daily *value* of labour capacity itself must therefore be subjected to an altered valuation. If, for example, a 13-hour working day replaces one of 12 hours, this must be estimated as the average working day of a labour capacity which is used up over, e.g., 15 years, whereas in the other case the average working day is that of a labour capacity which is used up in 20 years.

*Thirdly*: One group of workers is thereby overworked, a corresponding group becomes unemployed, and the wages of the employed are forced down by the wage at which the unemployed work.

//Taking absolute and relative surplus value together, the following is seen: If the productivity of labour remains the same, and likewise the number of workers, surplus value can only grow to the extent that surplus labour increases, hence the total working day (the yardstick for the use of labour capacity) is extended beyond its given boundary. If the total working day remains the same, and ditto the number of workers, surplus value can only grow if the productivity of labour grows, or, what is the same thing, the part of the working day required for necessary labour is shortened. If the total working day and the productivity of labour remain the same, the rate of surplus value, i.e. its ratio to the necessary labour time, will remain unalterable, but the mass of surplus value can grow in both cases with the increase in the number of simultaneous working days, i.e. with the growth of population. Inversely: The rate of surplus value can fall only if either surplus labour is reduced, hence the total working day is shortened while the productivity of labour remains the same, or if the productivity of labour falls, hence the part of the working day required for necessary labour increases, while the duration of the total working day remains the same. In both cases, the amount of surplus value can fall, while the rate of surplus value remains unchanged, if the number of simultaneous working days falls, that is the population falls (i.e. the working population).

It is presupposed in all these relations that the worker sells his labour capacity at its *value*, i.e. that the *price* of labour, or the wage, corresponds to the *value* of the labour capacity. As we have repeatedly stated, this assumption underlies the whole [III-107]

investigation.[a] The question of how far the wage itself can rise above or fall below its value belongs in the chapter on wages, in exactly the same way as does the presentation of the specific forms in which the relative distribution of necessary and surplus labour can appear (daily wage, weekly wage, piece wage, hourly wage, etc.).[33] In the meantime one can make this general remark: If the minimum wage, the cost of production of labour capacity, were itself permanently depressed to a lower level, surplus value would thereby to an equal extent be constantly kept at a higher level, hence surplus labour would increase as if the productivity of labour had increased. It is evidently the same thing, from the point of view of the result, whether out of 12 hours of labour a worker works for himself for only 8 hours instead of 10 hours as previously, because his labour has become more productive and he can produce *the same* means of subsistence in 8 hours as he required 10 hours to produce previously, or whether he receives in future *inferior* means of subsistence, the production of which requires only 8 hours, whereas the previous, superior ones required 10 hours to produce. In both cases the capitalist would gain 2 hours of surplus labour, would exchange the product of 8 hours of labour for that of 12, whereas he previously exchanged the product of 10 hours for that of 12. Further: If no such fall in the value of labour capacity itself were to take place, or no decline, no constant worsening in the worker's mode of life, a temporary reduction of wages below their normal minimum, or, which is the same thing, a fall in the daily price of labour capacity below its daily value, would temporarily coincide—during its time of occurrence—with the above-mentioned case, only that what was there constant would here be temporary. If a capitalist forces wages down below their minimum, in consequence of competition among workers, etc., this means in other words simply that he deducts a portion of that part of the working day that normally forms the necessary labour time, i.e. the part of the labour time allotted to the worker himself. Every reduction in necessary labour time that is not a consequence of an increase in the productivity of labour is in reality not a reduction in necessary labour time but merely an appropriation of necessary labour time by capital, an encroachment by capital beyond its own domain of surplus labour. If the worker receives a lower wage than normal, that is the same thing as receiving the product of less labour time than is necessary for the reproduction of his labour capacity

[a] See this volume, p. 33.—*Ed.*

under normal conditions, so that if 10 hours of labour time are required for this, he only receives the product of 8 hours, 2 hours out of his necessary labour time of 10 hours being appropriated by capital. As far as the capitalist's surplus value is concerned, it is naturally all the same for this surplus value, i.e. surplus labour, whether he pays the worker the 10 hours he needs for his normal existence and has him perform 2 hours of surplus labour for capital, or whether he has him work only 10 hours and pays him for 8 hours, whereby he is unable to buy the means of subsistence necessary for his normal existence. A reduction of wages while the productivity of labour remains the same is an increase in surplus labour through the forcible curtailment of necessary labour time as a result of encroachments on its domain. It is clear that for the capitalist it is all one whether he pays less for the same labour time or has the worker work longer for the same wage. //

*Addition to e.* In so far as in capitalist production capital compels the worker to work over and above his necessary labour time—i.e. over and above the labour time required for the satisfaction of his own vital needs as a worker—capital, as this relation of domination in which past labour stands to living labour, creates, produces *surplus labour* and therewith *surplus value.* Surplus labour is the labour performed by the worker, the individual worker, beyond the limits of his requirements, it is in fact labour for society, although here this surplus labour is initially pocketed, in the name of society, by the capitalist. As we have said, this surplus labour is on the one hand the basis of society's free time, and on the other hand, by virtue of this, the material basis of its whole development and of civilisation in general.[154] In so far as it is capital's compulsion which enforces on the great mass of society this labour over and above its immediate needs, capital creates civilisation; performs a socio-historical function. With this there is created society's industriousness in general, which extends beyond the period necessitated by the immediate physical requirements of the workers themselves.

It is admittedly clear that this same compulsion is exerted, within certain limits, by all ruling classes—within slavery for example, in a much more direct form than in wage labour—and therefore that here too labour is forced beyond the boundaries set for it by purely natural requirements. This is true wherever society rests on class antagonism, so that there are on one side owners of the conditions of production, who rule, and on the other side propertyless people, excluded from ownership of the conditions of

production, who must work and maintain themselves and their rulers with their labour. But in all situations where *use value* predominates, the labour time is a matter of less consequence, provided only it is sufficiently extended to provide, apart from the means of subsistence of the workers themselves, a certain mass of use values, a kind of patriarchal wealth, for the rulers.[158] However, in proportion as *exchange value* becomes the determining element of production the lengthening of labour time beyond the measure of natural requirements becomes more and more the decisive feature. Where, for example, slavery and serfdom predominate among peoples which engage in little trade, there can be [III-108] no question of overwork. It is therefore among commercial peoples that slavery and serfdom take on their most hateful form, as e.g. among the Carthaginians; this is even more pronounced among peoples which retain slavery and serfdom as basis of their production in an epoch when they are connected with other peoples in a situation of capitalist production; thus e.g. the southern states of the American Union.

Since in capitalist production exchange value, for the first time ever, dominates over the whole of production and the whole articulation of society, the compulsion capital imposes on labour to go beyond the boundaries of its own requirements is at its greatest. Similarly, since in capitalist production *necessary labour time* (socially necessary labour time) for the first time ever completely determines the magnitude of value of all products, the intensity of labour attains a higher level under that system, since it is only there that the workers are in general compelled in producing an object to employ only the *labour time necessary* under the general social conditions of production. The whip of the slaveowner cannot produce this intensity to the same degree as the compulsion of the capital-relation. In the latter, the free worker, in order to satisfy his essential requirements, must 1) convert his labour time into *necessary labour time,* give it the general, socially determined (by competition) level of intensity; 2) provide surplus labour, in order to be allowed (to be able) to work for the labour time necessary for him himself. The slave, in contrast, has his essential requirements satisfied, like an animal, and it now depends on his natural disposition how far the whip, etc., is cause for him, an adequate motive for him, to provide labour in return for these means of subsistence. The worker works in order to create himself his means of subsistence, to gain his own life. The slave is kept alive by another person in order to be compelled by him to work.

The capital-relation is therefore more productive in this way—for one thing because what is at stake here is labour time as such, exchange value, not the product as such or the use value; and secondly because the free worker can only satisfy the requirements of his existence to the extent that he sells his labour; hence is forced into this by his own interest, not by external compulsion.

A division of labour can only exist at all if every producer of a commodity employs more labour time in the production of that commodity than is required by his own need for the commodity in question. But it does not yet follow from this that his labour time in general will be prolonged beyond the extent of his needs. On the contrary, the extent of his needs—which will of course from the outset expand with advances in the division of labour, of employments—will determine the total amount of his labour time. For example an agriculturalist who produced all his means of subsistence himself would not need to work in the fields for the whole day, but he would have to divide e.g. 12 hours between field labour and various kinds of domestic work. If he now employs the whole of his labour time of 12 hours in agriculture, and exchanges the excess product of these 12 hours for the products of other kinds of work, buys them, this is the same as if he himself had devoted a part of his labour time to agriculture and another part to other branches of business. The 12 hours he works continue to be the labour time required for the satisfaction of his *own needs*, and they are labour time within the limits of his natural or rather social needs. But capital drives beyond these natural or traditional boundaries of labour time, by making the intensity of labour at the same time dependent on the level of social production, and thus withdrawing it from the accustomed routine of the independent producer or the slave who works only under external compulsion.

If all branches of production become subject to capitalist production, it follows simply from the general growth of surplus labour—of general labour time—that there will be an increase in the division of the branches of production, the differentiation of work and the variety of the commodities being exchanged. If 100 men in a branch of business work for as long a time as 110 men did previously—with a smaller amount of surplus labour or shorter duration of labour overall—then 10 men can be thrown into another, new branch of business, and similarly the part of the capital that was previously required to employ those 10 men. The departure—transfer—of labour time beyond its

natural or traditional limits will therefore lead in itself to the application of social labour in new branches of production. This due to the fact of *labour time* becoming free, and surplus labour not only creates *free time*, it makes labour capacity which was tied down in one branch of production, labour in general, *free* (this is the point) for new branches of production. But it is a law of the development of human nature that once the satisfaction of a certain sphere of needs [III-109] has been assured *new needs* are set free, created. Therefore when capital pushes labour time beyond the level set for the satisfaction of the worker's natural needs, it impels a greater division of social labour—the labour of society as a whole—a greater diversity of production, an extension of the sphere of social needs and the means for their satisfaction, and therefore also impels the development of human productive capacity and thereby the activation of human dispositions in fresh directions. But just as surplus labour time is a condition for free time, this extension of the sphere of needs and the means for their satisfaction is conditioned by the worker's being chained to the necessary requirements of his life.

*Addition to a)*

*Firstly.* Nassau W. Senior says in his pamphlet *Letters on the Factory Act, as It Affects the Cotton Manufacture etc.*, London, 1837 (pp. 12, 13)[144]:

"Under the present law, no mill in which persons under 18 years of age are employed can be worked more than 11 $^1/_2$ hours a day, that is, 12 hours during the first 5 days and 9 hours on Saturday. Now, the following analysis will show that in a mill so worked, the whole NET PROFIT IS DERIVED from the *last hour.* A manufacturer invests £100,000: £80,000 in factory buildings and machinery, and £20,000 in raw material and wages. The annual return of that mill, supposing the total capital to be turned once a year, and GROSS PROFITS to be 15%, ought to be goods worth £115,000, reproduced by the constant conversion and reconversion of the £20,000 circulating capital, from money into goods and from goods into money, in periods of rather more than two months. Of this £115,000 each of the 23 half hours of work produces $^5/_{115}$ or $^1/_{23}$. Of these $^{23}/_{23}$, CONSTITUTING THE WHOLE £115,000, $^{20}/_{23}$, that is to say, £100,000 out of the £115,000, simply replace the capital; $^1/_{23}$, or £5,000 out of the £15,000 (gain), makes up for the deterioration of the mill and machinery. The remaining $^2/_{23}$, that is, the last two half hours of every day, produce the net profit of 10%. If, therefore (prices remaining the same), the factory could be kept at work 13 hours instead of 11 $^1/_2$, by an addition of about £2,600 to the circulating capital, the net profit would be more than doubled. On the other hand, if the hours of working were reduced by one hour per day (prices remaining the same), net profit would be destroyed; if they were reduced by an hour and a half, even gross profit would be destroyed."

*Firstly*: The correctness or incorrectness of the positive data adduced by Senior is irrelevant to the subject of our investigation. However, it may be remarked in passing that the English Factory

Inspector *Leonard Horner*, a man distinguished as much by his thorough knowledge of the facts as by his incorruptible love of truth, has demonstrated the falsity of these data, presented in 1837 by Mr. Senior, the faithful echo of the Manchester manufacturers. (See Leonard Horner, *A Letter to Mr. Senior etc.*, London, 1837.)

*Secondly*: the quotation from Senior is characteristic of the hopeless intellectual degeneration the interpreters of science fall victim to as soon as they degrade themselves to be sycophants of a ruling class. Senior wrote the above-quoted pamphlet in the interests of the cotton manufacturers, and before writing it he went to Manchester with the express purpose of receiving the material for the pamphlet from the manufacturers themselves.

In the passage we have quoted, Senior, Professor of Political Economy at Oxford and one of the most renowned living English economists, commits crude errors he would find unforgivable in any of his own students. He makes the assertion that a year's work in a cotton mill, or, what is the same thing, the work of $11\,^1/_2$ [hours], day in day out throughout the year, creates, not only the labour time or value that labour itself adds to the raw material, the cotton, by means of the machinery, [III-110] but also, additionally, the value of the raw material contained in the product and the value of the machinery and factory buildings consumed in the course of production. According to this, the workers in a spinning mill, for example, would simultaneously produce during their $11\,^1/_2$ hours' labour time—apart from the labour of spinning (i.e. the value)—the cotton they work on, ditto the machine with which they work the cotton and the factory building in which this process occurs. Only in this case could Mr. Senior say that the $^{23}/_2$ daily hours of labour during the whole year constitute the £115,000, i.e. the value of the total annual product.

Senior calculates in this way: The workers work so and so many hours during the day to "replace", i.e. to create, the value of the cotton, so and so many hours to "replace" the value of the consumed portion of the machinery and the mill, so and so many hours to produce their own wages, and so and so many hours to produce the profit. This childishly silly notion, according to which the worker, as well as working his own labour time, simultaneously works that contained in the raw material he operates on and in the machinery he uses, that he therefore produces raw material and machinery *at the same time* as they form, as finished products, the conditions of his own labour, can be explained in the following way. Senior, being entirely under the sway of the lessons given

him by the manufacturers, introduced a confusion into their practical way of reckoning, which admittedly is itself quite correct theoretically but is for one thing entirely irrelevant to the relation Senior claims to be investigating, namely that of labour time and gain, and for another thing easily gives rise to the absurd notion that the worker produces not only the value he adds to his conditions of labour but also the value of those conditions themselves.

That practical calculation goes like this. Let us assume that the value of the total product of, say, 12 hours of labour time consists, e.g., to $^1/_3$ of the value of the material of labour, e.g. cotton, to $^1/_3$ of the value of the means of labour, e.g. machinery, and to $^1/_3$ of the value of the newly added labour, e.g. spinning. The ratio is not important here. But some particular ratio must always be assumed. Suppose the value of this product is £3 sterling. The manufacturer can calculate like this: The value of the product of $^1/_3$ of the day's labour time, or 4 hours, is equal to the value of the cotton I need over the 12 hours, or the cotton worked up in the total product. The value of the product of the second $^1/_3$ of the day's labour time is equal to the value of the machinery I wear out over 12 hours. Finally the value of the product of the third $^1/_3$ of the day's labour time is equal to wages plus profit. He can therefore say that the first $^1/_3$ of the day's labour time replaces the value of the cotton, the second $^1/_3$ replaces the value of the machinery, and finally the third $^1/_3$ forms the wages and the profit. But in reality this means quite simply that the whole of the day's labour time adds nothing but itself to the value of the cotton and the machinery, which is present independently of it; it adds nothing but the value which forms on the one hand wages, on the other hand profit. That is to say the value of the product of the first third of the day, or the first 4 hours, is equal to $^1/_3$ of the value of the total product of 12 hours of labour.

The value of the product of these first 4 hours is equal to £1, if the value of the total product of 12 hours=£3. But $^2/_3$ of the value of this £1, hence 13 $^1/_3$ shillings, consists of the value of cotton and machinery present in advance (on our assumption). Only $^1/_3$ of new value has been added, or the value of 6 $^2/_3$ shillings, of 4 hours of labour. The value of the *product* of the first $^1/_3$ of the day's labour=£1, because $^2/_3$ or 13 $^1/_3$s. in this product consists of the value of the raw material and used-up machinery, which was present beforehand and merely re-appears in the product. In 4 hours the labour has created no more than 6 $^2/_3$s. of value, hence it creates only 20s. or £1 of value in 12 hours. The value of the

*product* of 4 hours of labour is indeed something quite different from the newly created value, the value of the newly *added labour*, the labour of spinning, which on our assumption increases the existing value by only $^1/_3$. In the first 4 hours the labour of spinning works up the raw material, not of 12 hours, but of 4. If, however, the value of yarn spun in 4 hours is equal to the value of the cotton worked up during 12 hours, this is only due to the fact that on our assumption the value of the cotton forms $^1/_3$ of the value of the yarn spun in each individual hour, hence also $^1/_3$ of the value of the yarn produced in 12 hours, i.e. is equal to the value of the yarn produced in 4 hours.

The manufacturer might also calculate that the product of 12 hours of labour replaces the value of cotton for 3 days, without thereby affecting the relation in question in the least. For the manufacturer, the calculation has a practical value. On the level of production at which he works he must work up as much cotton as is required to absorb a definite quantity of labour time. If the cotton forms $^1/_3$ of the value of the total product of 12 hours, [III-111] the product of $^1/_3$ of the total working day of 12 hours, i.e. the product of 4 hours, forms the value of the cotton worked up during 12 hours. It can be seen how important it is to keep hold of the fact that in a particular process of production, e.g. spinning, the worker does not create any value apart from that measured by his own labour time (here spinning), one part of this labour time replacing the wage, the other part forming the surplus value which falls to the share of the capitalist.

(In reality the workers do not *produce* or *reproduce* one particle either of the value of the raw material or of that of the machinery, etc. They contribute nothing more than their own labour to the value of the raw material and the value of the machinery consumed in production, and this labour is the newly created value, of which one part is equal to their own wages and the other is equal to the surplus value the capitalist receives. It is therefore not the whole of the product—should production continue—that is divisible between the capitalist and the worker, but only the product less the value of the capital advanced in it. There is not a single hour of labour devoted to the "replacement" of the capital in Senior's sense, such that the labour would produce doubly, would produce its own value and the value of its material, etc. The upshot of Senior's assertion is simply this, that of the 11 $^1/_2$ hours the worker works, 10 $^1/_2$ form his wages and only $^2/_2$, or 1 hour, forms his surplus labour time.)

*Thirdly*: The whole of Mr. Senior's treatment is entirely

unscientific, in the sense that he does not separate out what was essential here, namely the capital laid out in wages, but throws it together with the capital laid out for raw material. Moreover, if the ratio he gives were correct, the workers would, out of the $11\,^1/_2$ hours, or 23 half hours, work 21 half hours for themselves and only provide 2 half hours of surplus labour to the capitalist. According to this, surplus labour would be related to necessary in the proportion 2:21,=1:$10\,^1/_2$; hence $9\,^{11}/_{21}$%, and this is supposed to give a profit of 10% on the whole of the capital! The most peculiar feature, which displays his complete ignorance of the nature of surplus value, is this: He assumes that of the 23 half hours, or $11\,^1/_2$ hours, only 1 hour is surplus labour, hence forms surplus value, and is therefore amazed to find that if the workers were to add to this 1 hour of surplus labour a further $1\,^1/_2$ hours of surplus labour, if they were to work 5 half hours instead of 2 half hours (hence 13 hours altogether), the net gain would increase *more than twofold.* Equally naive is the discovery that, on the assumption that the whole of the surplus labour or surplus value is equal to one hour, the whole net profit would disappear as soon as the labour time were reduced by this one hour, i.e. if no surplus labour were performed at all. On the one hand, we see Senior's astonishment at the discovery that the surplus value, hence the gain too, is reduced to mere surplus labour, and on the other hand simultaneously the failure to grasp this relation, which Mr. Senior, influenced as he is by the manufacturers, notes merely as a curiosity of the cotton industry.

*Secondly.* The money the worker receives as wages represents the labour time which is present in the commodities required for the satisfaction of his vital needs. Surplus value originates through the fact that the worker gives more labour time in exchange for these commodities than is contained in them, more living labour for a particular quantity of objectified labour. Therefore he buys these commodities, the range of which constitutes his wages, with more labour than is required to produce them.

*"Whatever quantity of labour may be requisite to produce any commodity, the labourer must always, in the present state of society, give a great deal more labour to acquire and possess it than is requisite to buy it from nature. Natural Price so increased to the labourer is Social Price"* (Th. Hodgskin, *Popular Political Economy,* London, [Edinburgh,] 1827, [p.]220).

"Brotherton, himself a manufacturer, stated in the HOUSE OF COMMONS that the manufacturers would add hundreds of pounds a week to their gain if they could induce their workers" (their MEN, people) "to work but one hour more a day" (Ramsay, l.c.,[a] p. 102).

[a] *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth.—Ed.*

"Where there is no SURPLUS LABOUR, there can be no SURPLUS PRODUCE, hence no capital" (*The Source and Remedy of the National Difficulties etc.*, London, 1821, [p.] 4).

[III-112] * "The amount of capital which can be invested at a given moment, in a given country, or the world, so as to return not less than *a given rate of profits*, seems principally to depend on *the quantity of labour*, which it is possible, by laying out the capital, to induce the then existing number of human beings to perform" * (*An Inquiry into those Principles, Respecting the Nature of Demand etc., Lately Advocated by Mr. Malthus*, London, 1821, [p.] 20).

*For pages 106, 107:*

* "If the labourer can be brought to feed on potatoes, instead of bread, it is indisputably true that then more can be exacted from his labour; i.e., if when fed on bread he was obliged to retain for the maintenance of himself and family the labour of Monday and Tuesday, he will, on potatoes, require only half of Monday; and the remaining half of Monday and the whole of Tuesday are available either for the service of the state or the capitalist" * (*The Source and Remedy of the National Difficulties*, London, 1821, [p.] 26).

* "Whatever may be *due* to the capitalist, he *can only receive* the surplus labour of the labourer; for the labourer *must live*. But it is perfectly true, that if capital does not decrease in value as it increases in amount, the capitalist will exact from the labourers the produce of every hour's labour beyond what it is *possible* for the labourer to subsist on: and however horrid or disgusting it may seem, the capitalist may eventually speculate on the food that requires the least labour to produce it, and eventually say to the labourer: 'You sha'n't eat bread, because barley meal is cheaper. You sha'n't eat meat, because it is possible to subsist on beet root and potatoes'" * (l.c., [pp.] 23-24).[159]

*Addition to e), p. 107.*

* "Wealth is disposable time and nothing more" * (*The Source and Remedy etc.*, p. 6).

In capitalist production the worker's labour is much greater than in the case of the *independent worker*, because the former relation is definitely not determined by the relation between his labour and *his need*, but by capital's unrestricted, boundless need for surplus labour.

"The labour of, for example, the agriculturalist will amount to much more, if only because it is no longer determined by his particular needs" (J. G. Büsch, *Abhandlung von dem Geldumlauf...*, Theil 1, Hamburg and Kiel, 1800, p. 90).[160]

*Addition to e, p. 104.*

The relation which compels the worker to do surplus labour is the fact that the conditions of his labour exist over against him as capital. He is not subjected to any external compulsion, but in order to live in a world where commodities are determined by their value he is compelled to sell his labour capacity as a commodity, whereas the valorisation of this labour capacity over and above its own value is the prerogative of capital. Thus his surplus labour both increases the variety of production and creates

*free time* for others. The political economists like to *conceive* this relation as a *natural relation* or a *divine institution.* As far as industriousness brought about by capital is concerned:

*"Legal constraint"* (to labour) *"is attended with too much trouble, violence and noise; creates ill will etc., whereas *hunger* is not only a peaceable, silent, unremitted pressure, but, as the most natural motive to industry and labour, it calls forth the most powerful exertions"* (*A Dissertation on the Poor Laws.* By a Well-wisher to Mankind (The Rever. Mr. J. Townsend), 1786. Republished, London, 1817, [p.] 15).

Since the capital-relation presupposes that the worker is compelled to sell his labour capacity, hence has essentially only his labour capacity to sell, Townsend says:

*"It seems to be *a law of nature,* that the poor should be to a certain degree improvident, that there always may be some to fulfil the most servile, the most sordid, and the most ignoble affairs in the community. The stock of human happiness is thereby much increased, the more delicate* are relieved from DRUDGERY, and are left at liberty, without interruption, to pursue higher CALLINGS, etc." (l.c., [p.] 39). *"The poor law tends to destroy the harmony and beauty, the symmetry and order of that system, which god and nature [III-113] have established in the world"* (p. 41).

This parson Townsend is admittedly not the actual inventor of the so-called theory of population, but he was the first to give it the form in which Malthus appropriated it and made great literary capital therefrom. It is odd that, with the exception of the Venetian monk Ortes (whose "*Della Economia Nazionale*" *libri sei* of 1774 is much more ingenious than Malthus), it is mainly parsons of the English church who have wrestled with the "URGENT APPETITE" and the, in Townsend's words, "CHECKS WHICH TEND TO BLUNT THE SHAFTS OF CUPID".[161] In opposition to Catholic dogmatism ("SUPERSTITION" says Townsend), they laid claim to the injunction "be fruitful, and multiply"[a] on behalf of the priesthood itself, while preaching celibacy to the working class.

"God ordains that men who carry on trades of primary utility are born in abundance" (Galiani, *Della Moneta,* in Custodi, Vol. III, p. 78).

The progress of the nation's wealth, says *Storch,* "gives birth to this *useful* class of society ... which undertakes the most tedious, sordid and distasteful tasks, which, in a word, by taking upon itself everything that is disagreeable and servile in life procures for the other classes the *time,* the peace of mind and the customary dignity of character they need to embark successfully on work of an elevated kind" (*Cours d'économie politique,* ed. Say, Vol. III, Paris, 1823, p. 223).[b]

"Our zone requires labour for the satisfaction of wants, and *therefore* at least *a portion* of society must *work indefatigably....*" (Sir Morton Eden, *The State of the Poor: or,*

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[a] Genesis 1:28.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes Storch partly in German and partly in French.— *Ed.*

*an History of the Labouring Classes in England, from the Conquest to the Present Period etc.*, Vol. I, London, 1797, Book I, Ch. 1).

*Addition to d), p. 102.* This law[a] only implies that with a constant productivity of labour and a given normal day, the amount of surplus value will grow with the number of workers simultaneously employed. It does not follow from it that in all branches of production (e.g. agriculture) the productivity of labour remains the same in the measure to which a greater quantity of labour is employed. (This is to be put in a note.)

It follows that if other conditions remain the same the wealth of a country, on the basis of capitalist production, depends on the size of the proletariat, of the portion of the population dependent on wage labour.

"The more slaves a master has, the richer he is; it follows, assuming the masses are equally oppressed, that the more proletarians a country has the richer it is" (Colins, *L'économie politique. Sources des révolutions et des utopies prétendues socialistes*, Vol. III, Paris, 1857, [p.] 331).[b]

*Addition to a. Illustration of surplus value.*

According to Jacob,[c] writing in 1815, the wheat price was 80s. per quarter and the average product per ACRE was 22 BUSHELS (now 32), giving an average product of £11 per ACRE. He calculates that the straw pays the expense of harvesting, threshing, and carrying to the place of sale, reckoning up the ITEMS as follows:

| | £ | s. | | £ | s. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Seed* (wheat) | 1 | 9 | *Tithes, RATES and* TAXES | 1 | 1 |
| *Manure* | 2 | 10 | RENT | 1 | 8 |
| | 3 | 19 | | | |
| *Wages* | 3 | 10 | *Farmer's profit and interest* | 1 | 2 |
| | 7 | 9 | | 3 | 11 |

In this table the right hand column, taxes, rates, rent, farmer's profit and interest, represents only the total surplus value[143] the farmer (the capitalist) receives, part of which he however gives up to the state, the LANDLORD, etc., under various names and headings. The total surplus value therefore = £3 11s. The constant capital (seed and manure)=£3 19s. The capital advanced for labour=£3 10[s].

[a] See this volume, p. 185.— *Ed.*
[b] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*
[c] W. Jacob, *A Letter to Samuel Whitbread etc.*, London, 1815, p. 33.— *Ed.*

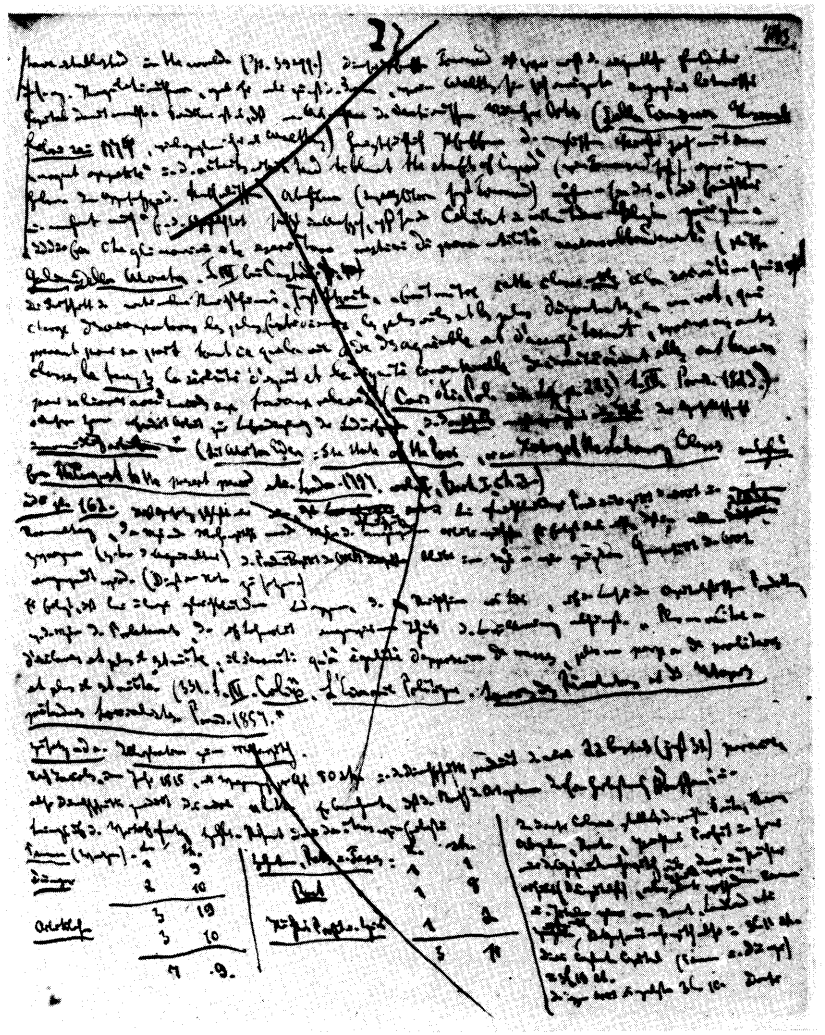

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It is this [III-114] latter portion of capital, variable capital, which is alone to be considered when we are dealing with surplus value and the ratio of surplus value. In the present case, therefore, the ratio between surplus value and the capital expended on wages, or the rate at which the capital expended on wages increases is given by the ratio £3 11s. to £3 10s. The capital of £3 10[s.] expended on labour is reproduced as a capital of £7 1s. Only £3 10[s.] of this represents the replacement of the wages, whereas £3 11s. represents the surplus value, which therefore amounts to more than 100%. The necessary labour time would accordingly be slightly smaller than the surplus labour, roughly equal to it, so that 6 of the 12 hours of the normal working day would belong to the capitalist (including the various people who share in this surplus value). It may admittedly be the case that e.g., at 80s., the price of the quarter of wheat stands above its value, hence that a part of its price derives from the sale of other commodities in return for wheat at less than their value. But, firstly, it is only a matter of making clear how, in general, surplus value and hence the rate of surplus value are to be understood. On the other hand, if the market price of a bushel of wheat stands, say, 10s. above its value, this can only increase the surplus value received by the farmer provided that he does not pay the agricultural worker, whose labour has risen above its normal value, the amount by which his labour now exceeds the normal value.

Let us take another example from modern English agriculture, namely the following REAL BILL from a HIGH FORMED ESTATE:

| *Yearly Expenditure in Production Itself* | | *Farmer's Income and Outgoings* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | | £ |
| *Manure* | 686 | *Rent* | 843 |
| *Seed* | 150 | *Taxes* | 150 |
| *Cattle fodder* | 100 | *Tithes* | none |
| *Losses, tradesmen's bills, etc.* | 453 | *Profit* | 488 |
| | 1,389 | | 1,481 |
| *Wages* | 1,690 | | |
| | 3,079 | | |

(F. W. Newman, *Lectures on Political Economy*, London, 1851, p. 166 [167]).

In this example, therefore, variable capital, or capital exchanged for living labour, amounts to £1,690. It is reproduced as

£1,690 + 1,481 = £3,171. The surplus value is £1,481, and the ratio of the surplus value to the part of the capital from which it arises = 1,481/1,690, or something over 87%.

//"The inextinguishable passion for gain—the *auri sacri fames*[a]—will always lead capitalists" (McCulloch, *The Principles of Political Economy*, London, 1825, p. 163).//

*Addition to e, p. 104.*

"It is because one works that the other can rest" (Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes d'économie politique*, Vol. 1, pp. 76-77).[b]

*Addition to e, p. 107.* Surplus labour and the multiplication of products provides the conditions for the *production of luxuries*, for part of production throwing itself into the production of luxury products, or, what is the same thing, being exchanged for these products (through foreign trade).

"Once there is an overabundance of products, the excess labour must be devoted to luxury objects. The consumption of objects of prime necessity is limited, that of objects of luxury is unlimited" (Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes etc.*, Vol. 1, p. 78). "Luxury is only possible when it is bought with the *labour of others*; assiduous, uninterrupted labour is only possible when it is the sole means of obtaining, not the frivolities, but the necessities of life" (l.c. p. 79).

//The *demand of the workers* for capital is therefore the only thing the capitalist needs, i.e. for him everything turns on the proportion in which living labour offers itself for objectified labour.

*"As to the demand *from* labour, that is, either the giving labour [III-115] in exchange for goods, or, if you choose to consider it in another form, but which comes to the same thing, the giving, in exchange for *complete products*, a future and *accruing addition of value*..., conferred on certain particles of matter entrusted to the labourer. This is the real demand that it is material to the producers to get increased, as far as *any* demand is wanted, extrinsic to that which articles furnish to each other when increased"* (*An Inquiry into those Principles, Respecting the Nature of Demand and the Necessity of Consumption etc.*, London, 1821, [p.] 57).//

When James Mill for example says:

*"To enable a considerable portion of the community to enjoy the advantages of *leisure*, the return to capital must evidently be large"* (James Mill, *Elements of Political Economy*, London, 1821, p. 50),

he means nothing other than this: The wage labourer must slave a good deal so that many people can have leisure, or the free time of one section of society depends on the ratio of the worker's surplus labour time to his necessary labour time.

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[a] "Passion for accursed gold." The original phrase in Virgil's *Aeneid*, III, 57, is *auri sacra fames* ("accursed passion for gold").— *Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx quotes Sismondi in French.— *Ed.*

The capitalist's task is to "obtain from the capital expended" (the capital exchanged for living labour) "*the largest possible amount of labour*" (J. G. Courcelle-Seneuil, *Traité théorique et pratique des entreprises industrielles etc.*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1857, p. 62).[a]

That the valorisation of capital, the surplus value it produces over and above its own value, hence its productive power, consists in the surplus labour it appropriates to itself, is stated by *J. St. Mill* for example.

"*Capital*, strictly speaking, has *no productive power*. The only productive power is that of labour; assisted, no doubt, by TOOLS, and ACTING UPON MATERIALS.... The *productive power of capital* can only mean the quantity of real productive power" (labour) "which the capitalist, by means of his capital, can *command*" (J. St. Mill, *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy*, London, 1844, pp. 90, 91).

*Addition to a.)* It is clear that in the reproduction of capital and its increase the value of the raw material and machinery as such is altogether a matter of indifference for the production process. Take a raw material, e.g. flax. The amount of labour the flax can absorb to be converted into linen for example—if the level of production, a certain degree of technological development, is given—does not depend on its *value* but on its *quantity*, and in the same way the assistance a machine can give to 100 workers depends not on its price but on its use value.

*Addition to p. 114.)* Or let us take another example. J. C. Symons, *Arts and Artisans at Home and Abroad*, Edinburgh, 1839 [p. 233], gives the following calculation for a Glasgow power-loom factory with 500 LOOMS, CALCULATED TO WEAVE A GOOD FABRIC OF CALICO OR SHIRTING, SUCH AS IS GENERALLY MADE IN Glasgow:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Expense of erecting the factory and machinery* | £18,000 |
| *Annual produce*, 150,000 pieces of 24 yards at 6s. | £45,000 |
| *Interest on fixed capital and for* DEPRECIATION OF VALUE *of the machinery*, reckoning 900 (5%) for interest | [£] 1,800 |
| *Steam-power, oil, tallow, keeping up machinery, etc.* | 2,000 |
| *YARNS AND FLAX* | 32,000 |
| *Wages* | 7,500 |
| *Profit* | 1,700 |
| | 45,000 |

In this case interest and profit amount to 900+1,700=2,600.

[a] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

The self-reproducing and self-increasing part of capital laid out for labour is £7,500. Surplus value = 2,600; rate of surplus value therefore: nearly 33%.[162]

[III-116] *Addition to b.) p. 99)*

*Richard Jones*, in his *Essay on the Distribution of Wealth*, London, 1831, rightly regards *corvée* labour, or what he calls LABOUR RENT, as the most primitive form of rent. We have only to consider it here as a particular form of surplus value which falls to the landed proprietor.[163] It is, thus, a form in which the agricultural workers possess a part of the land, and cultivate it to obtain their own subsistence. The labour time they employ for this purpose corresponds to the necessary labour time with which the wage labourer replaces his own wage. However, whereas the modern agricultural day labourer realises the whole of his labour time—both the part that replaces his wages and the part that forms the surplus value—on the same land (which is rented from the farmer)—just as the factory worker employs the same machinery for the realisation of his necessary and his surplus labour—here, in contrast, there takes place not only a division of the time (and much more tangibly than in wage labour) but also a division of the conditions of production (the sphere of production) by means of which this labour time is realised.

For example, the *corvée* labourer cultivates the field assigned to him as his possession on certain days of the week. On other days he works on the seignorial estate, for the landowner. What this form of labour has in common with wage labour is the fact that the worker gives to the owner of the conditions of production not, as in other modes of production, the product, and not money, but *labour itself*. Surplus labour is here more distinctly marked off from necessary labour than in the wage system, because here necessary and surplus labour are performed on two different plots of land. The *corvée* labourer does the labour necessary for the reproduction of his own labour capacity on the field he himself possesses. He performs surplus labour for the landed proprietor on the seignorial estate. This spatial separation makes the division of the total labour time into two parts more clearly apparent, whereas with the wage labourer one may just as well say that he works, e.g., 2 out of 12 hours for the capitalist as that he works for the capitalist for $^1/_6$ of every hour or of any other aliquot part of the 12 hours.

Firstly, then, the division into necessary labour and surplus labour, labour for the reproduction of one's own labour capacity and labour for the owner of the conditions of production, is more

clearly, more distinctly apparent in the form of *corvée* labour than in the form of wage labour. Secondly, however, it follows from its appearing more clearly in the *corvée* form than in wage labour that surplus labour is unpaid labour and that the whole of surplus value can be reduced to surplus labour, i.e. unpaid labour. If the *corvée* labourers work 5 days of the week on their own land, and the 6th day on the landowner's, it is clear that on this 6th day they perform unpaid labour, they work not for themselves but [for] another, and that all the receipts of this other person are the product of their unpaid labour; it is called *corvée* labour precisely for that reason. If factory workers work 2 hours out of 12 every day for the capitalist, it is the same as if they worked 5 days of the week for themselves and 1 for the capitalist, hence in effect the same as if they performed 1 day of *corvée* labour a week for the capitalist.

The form of the wage is absent from the whole *corvée* system, and this makes the relation yet more tangible. The *corvée* labourer receives the conditions of production required for the realisation of his own necessary labour; he is allotted them once and for all. He therefore pays his own wages or directly appropriates the product of his necessary labour. With the wage labourer, in contrast, the whole of his product is first converted into capital, in order to flow back to him subsequently in the form of wages. If the *corvée* labourer, who works 1 day in the week for his lord, had to hand over to him the product of the whole week, so that the lord could convert it into money and pay back $^5/_6$ of this money to the *corvée* labourer, the latter would have been turned into a wage labourer in this respect. Inversely. If the wage labourer, who works 2 hours every day for the capitalist, were himself to pocket the product or the value of the product of 5 days of his labour (deductions from the value for the conditions of production and the material and means of labour take place in both situations, even if in different forms) and work for capital during the 6th day for nothing, he would have turned into a *corvée* labourer. In so far as the nature of necessary labour and surplus labour and their relationship come into consideration, the result is the same.

We find *corvée* labour in larger or smaller quantities combined with all forms of serfdom. But where it appears in its pure form, as the dominant relation of production, which was particularly the case and in part still is the case in the Slav countries and the Danubian provinces occupied by the Romans, we can certainly say [III-117] that it did not arise on the basis of serfdom; instead

serfdom arose, inversely, from *corvée* labour. The latter is based on a community, and the surplus labour the members of the commune performed over and above that required for their subsistence, which served partly as a (communal) reserve fund, and partly to cover the costs of their communal, political and religious requirements, gradually became transformed into *corvée* labour performed for the families which had usurped the reserve fund and the political and religious offices as their private property. In the Danubian Principalities, and similarly in Russia, this process of usurpation can be precisely demonstrated. A comparison between the Wallachian boyars and the English manufacturers from the point of view of their thirst for alien labour time is interesting in that the appropriation of alien labour appears in both cases as the direct source of wealth: surplus value as surplus labour.[a]

//* "The employer will be always on the stretch to *economize* time and labour" * (Dugald Stewart, *Lectures on Political Economy*, Vol. I, Edinburgh, 1855, p. 318, in Vol. VIII of the COLLECTED WORKS, ED. BY Sir W. Hamilton). *For p. 107, to the Addition to e.* //

Surplus labour appears in its most primitive "independent", "free" form in *corvée* labour; free in so far as in slavery the whole of the slaves' day, like the cattle's, belongs to the proprietor, and he must naturally feed them.

Even in Moldavia and Wallachia payment in kind still exists alongside the *corvée*.[164] Let us take here the *Règlement organique*, put into effect in 1831.[165] For our present purpose it is irrelevant, and therefore only needs mentioning in passing, that the land, cattle, etc., in fact *belong* to the Wallachian peasants, that the obligations to the proprietors arose through usurpation, and that the Russian *Règlement* raised this usurpation to the level of a law. The payments in kind consist of $^1/_5$ of the hay; $^1/_{20}$ of the wine; and $^1/_{10}$ of all other products (all this in Wallachia). The peasant possesses: 1) 400 *stagenes* (a *stagene* is about 2 square metres) for house and garden on the plain, 300 in the mountains; 2) 3 *pogones* ($1^1/_2$ hectares) of ploughland; 3) 3 *pogones* of grassland (pasture for 5 horned cattle).

Here we must mention incidentally that this code of serfdom was proclaimed a code of freedom by the Russians (under Kiselev) and recognised as such by Europe. Secondly: the boyars in fact

[a] See this volume, 180-81.— *Ed.*

edited the *Règlement*. Thirdly: it was much worse, relatively speaking, in Moldavia than in Wallachia.

According to the *Règlement* every peasant owes the proprietor annually: 1) 12 days of general labour; 2) 1 day of field labour; 3) 1 day of wood-carrying. However, these days are measured not by time but by the work to be accomplished. The *Règlement organique* therefore itself lays down that the 12 days of [general] labour are to be the equivalent of 36 days of manual labour, the day of field labour = 3 days, and the day of wood-carrying similarly = 3 days. *Summa summarum*[a] 42 days. But there has to be added to this the so-called *jobbagio* (service, SERVITUDE), i.e. labour for the proprietor's extraordinary production requirements. This extraordinary labour involves the provision by the villages of 4 men for each 100 families, 3 men by villages of 63-75 families, 2 men by villages of 38-50 families, and 1 by villages of 13-25 families. This *jobbagio* is estimated at 14 working days for each Wallachian peasant. Thus the *corvée* prescribed by the *Règlement* itself = 42+14=56 working days. Owing to the severe climate the agricultural year in Wallachia consists of only 210 days, of which 40 must be deducted for Sundays and holidays, 30 on an average for bad weather; taken together this is 70 days less. There remain 140 days. Subtract from this the 56 *corvée* days. This leaves 84 days: a proportion which is even so no worse than that for the English agricultural workers, if we compare the time they work for their wages with the time they work for the creation of the surplus value which is divided between the farmer, the church, the state, the landowner, etc.

These are the days of *corvée* legally at the disposal of the proprietor, the legally established surplus labour. Yet the *Règlement* made provision for the further extension of the *corvée* without any infringement of the letter of the law. Namely, each day's task was determined in such a way that a certain amount remained over, so that it could only be completed during the next day's labour time. For example, particularly on the maize plantations, "a day's weeding was estimated at twelve perches, thereby imposing a task twice as large as a man could perform in one day".[b] The day's weeding is in fact determined by the *Règlement* in such a way

"that it begins in the month of May and ends in the month of October".[b] [III-118] "In Moldavia," as one of the grand boyars himself said, "the 12

[a] Grand total.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

working days of the peasant, granted by the *Règlement*, amount in fact to 365 days" [p. 311].[a]

The ingenuity with which the boyars have exploited this law in order to appropriate the peasants' labour time can be explored in further detail in E. Regnault, *Histoire politique et sociale des principautés danubiennes*, Paris, 1855, pp. 305 et seq.

Let us now compare with this the greedy appetite for labour time—surplus labour time—characteristic of capitalist production in England.

It is not my intention here to go into the history of overwork in England since the invention of machinery. The fact is that as a result of these excesses there broke out epidemics whose devastating effects were equally threatening to capitalists and workers; that the state, against tremendous resistance from the capitalists, was compelled to introduce normal [working] days in the factories (later imitated in greater or lesser degree all over the Continent); that, as things are at the moment, this introduction of the normal day has yet to be extended from the factories proper to other branches of labour (bleachworks, printworks, dyeworks); and that this process is still going forward at the present time, the struggle for the normal day continues (e.g. the introduction of the Ten Hours' Bill, the extension of the FACTORY ACTS,[166] e.g., to the LACE MANUFACTURE in Nottingham, etc.). I refer for details on the earlier phases of this process to F. Engels, *Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England*, Leipzig, 1845. Moreover, the practical resistance of the manufacturers was no fiercer than the theoretical resistance offered by their spokesmen and apologists, the professional *economists*. Indeed, Mr. *Newmarch*, the joint editor of Tooke's *History of Prices*, felt himself obliged, as President of the section for economic science, at the last Congress of the *BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR ARTS* etc. (the name of the association to be checked), held at Manchester in September 1861, to stress that the understanding of the necessity for legal regulation and compulsory limitation of the normal working day in factories, etc., was one of the very latest achievements of present-day political economy, in virtue of which it was superior to its predecessors[167]!

My purpose here is simply to illustrate the parallel with the greedy appetite of the boyars by adducing certain quotations from the latest Factory Reports; and similarly to bring forward one or two examples in respect of branches of industry where the FACTORY ACTS have not yet been introduced (LACEmaking) or have only just been introduced (PRINTING WORKS). All we need here is a few

[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

illustrations for a tendency which does not operate any more strongly in Wallachia than in England.

*First illustration. Lace trade in Nottingham. "The Daily Telegraph" of January 17, 1860.*[168]

"It was declared by Mr. Broughton, a county magistrate, who filled the chair at a meeting held in the Nottingham Town Hall on Saturday last (January 14, 1860) that there is an amount of suffering and privation among that portion of the local population connected with the lace trade such as is utterly unknown anywhere else in the civilised world ... children of 9 or 10 years are dragged from their squalid beds at 2, 3, or 4 o'clock in the morning, and compelled to work for a bare subsistance until 10, 11, or 12 at night, their limbs wearing away, their frames dwindling, their faces whitening, and their humanity absolutely sinking into stone—like torpor utterly horrible to contemplate.... We are not surprised that Mr. Mallett or any other manufacturer should stand forward and protest against discussion.... The system, as Rev. Montagu Valpy describes it, is one of unmitigated slavery, socially, physically, morally, and spiritually.... What can be thought of a town which holds a public meeting to petition that the *period of labour for men shall be diminished to 18 hours a day*.... We declaim against the Virginian and Carolinian cottonplanters. Is their black-market, however, their lash, and their barter of human flesh, more detestable than this slow sacrifice of humanity, which takes place in order that veils and collars [III-119] may be fabricated for the benefit of capitalists?" *[a]

[III-119] *Second illustration. Factory Reports.*

"The fraudulent mill-owner begins work a quarter of an hour (sometimes more, sometimes less), before 6 a.m.; and leaves off a quarter of an hour (sometimes more, sometimes less) after 6 p.m. He takes 5 minutes from the beginning and end of the half hour nominally allowed for breakfast, and 10 minutes at the beginning and end of the hour nominally allowed for dinner. He works for a quarter of an hour (sometimes more, sometimes less) after 2 p.m. on Saturdays.[a]

* [III-120] // *To p. 119.* Since there is in existence that incorrect view that the factory system has become completely *different*, I quote here a note from *General Register Office*, 28 October *1857* ("The Quarterly Return of the Marriages, Births and Deaths", etc. published by authority of the Registrar-General, etc., *No. 35*, p. 6), where it says:

"Mr. Leigh, of the Deans gate subdistrict (Manchester), makes the following judicious remarks, which deserve the careful attention of the people at Manchester: Very sad there is the life of a child.... The total number of deaths, exclusive of coroner's cases, is 224, and of this number 156 were children under 5 years of age.... So large a proportion I have *never before* known. It is evident that whilst the ordinary circumstances affecting adult life have been to a considerable extent in abeyance, those militating against the very young have been in great activity.... 87 of the children died under the age of one year. Neglected diarrhoea, close confinement to ill ventilated rooms during hooping cough, *want of proper nutrition, and free administration of laudanum*, producing marasmus and convulsions, as well as hydrocephalus and congestion of brain, these must explain why ... the mortality (of children) is still so high." //[a] [III-120]

[a] Marx quotes in English.— *Ed.*

"THUS HIS *GAIN*" // here directly identified with the surplus labour he has filched // "IS as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| * "Before 6 a.m. | 15 minutes | |
| After 6 p.m. | 15 ditto | |
| At breakfast time | 10 " | Total for 5 days: |
| At dinner time | 20 | 300 minutes |
| | 60 | |
| *On Saturdays* | | |
| Before 6 a.m. | 15 m. | |
| At breakfast time | 10 | |
| After 2 p.m. | 15 | |
| | 40* | |

* "*Total weekly gain*: 340 minutes, or 5 hours and 40 minutes weekly, which multiplied by 50 working weeks in the year, allowing two for holidays and occasional stoppages, are equal *to 27 working days*"* (*Suggestions, etc., by Mr. L. Horner*, in "*Factories Regulation Acts.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, *9 August 1859*", pp. 4-5).

* "The profit to be gained by it (overworking over the legal time) appears to be, to many (millowners) a greater temptation than they can resist; they calculate upon the chance of not being found out; and when they see the small amount of penalty and costs, which those who have been convicted have had to pay, they find that if they should de detected there will still be a considerable *balance of gain*"* (*Report of the Inspectors of Factories for the Half Year ending 31st Oct. 1856*, [p.] 34).

* "Five minutes a day's increased work, multiplied by weeks, are equal to $2^1/_2$ days of production in the year"* (l.c., [p.] 35).

* "In cases where the additional time is gained by *a multiplication of small thefts* in the course of the day, there are insuperable difficulties to the Inspectors making out a case"* (l.c., p. 35).

(Here the OVERTIME appropriated in this way is directly characterised as "*THEFT*" by the official English Factory Inspectors.)

[III-120] These *SMALL THEFTS* are also described as "*PETTY PILFERINGS OF MINUTES*" (l.c., p. 48), later on AS "*SNATCHING A FEW MINUTES*" (l.c.), "OR AS IT IS TERMED, '*NIBBLING*', OR '*CRIBBLING AT MEAL TIMES*'" (l.c.).

* "'If you allow me,' said a highly respectable master to me, "'to work only 10 minutes in the day over time, you put one thousand a year in my pocket'"* (l.c., p. 48).

According to the Factory Inspectors, the working time is in practice still unrestricted in English *PRINTWORKS*, and even as late as 1857 children of 8 years and upwards had to work from 6 o'clock in the morning until 9 o'clock in the evening (15 hours).

* "The hours of labour in *printworks* may practically be considered to be unrestricted, notwithstanding the statutory limitation. The only restriction upon labour is contained in 22 of the Printwork act (8 and 9 Victoria C. 29) which enacts

that no child—that is, no child between the ages of 8 and 13 years—shall be employed *during the night*, which is defined to be between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. of the following morning. *Children, therefore, of the age of 8 years*, may be *lawfully employed* in labour analogous in many respects to factory labour, frequently in rooms in which the temperature is oppressive, *continuously and without any cessation from work for rest or refreshment*, from 6 a.m. to 10 p.m. (16 hours); and a boy, having attained the age of 13, may lawfully be employed day and night for any numbers of hours without any restriction whatever. Children of the age of 8 years and upwards have been employed from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m. during the last half-year in my district" * (*Reports of the Inspectors of Factories, 31st Oct. 1857*, Report of Mr. *A. Redgrave*, [p.] 39).

* "An *additional hour* a day, gained by small instalments before 6 a.m. and after 6 p.m., and at the beginning and end of the times *nominally* fixed for meals, is nearly equivalent *to making 13 months in the year*" * (*Reports of the Inspectors of Factories. 30th April 1858. Report of Mr. L. Horner*, p. 9 [10]).

So concerned are the Factory Inspectors to make it clear that the GAIN is nothing but labour time, surplus labour time, and the extra GAIN is therefore surplus labour time *over and above* the normal working day.

[III-121] A period of crisis therefore does nothing to change the attempt to have the workers work OVERTIME. If only 3 or 4 days in the week are worked, the profit consists only in the surplus time that is worked during these 3 or 4 days. Hence an *EXTRAORDINARY PROFIT* is only to be made during the unpaid SURPLUS TIME, which is worked beyond the normal surplus time, and therefore beyond the legally determined normal working day. If I multiply 2 hours of surplus labour by 3 days of the week, the surplus value is of course only half as great as if I multiplied it by 6 days of the week. There is therefore an even greater temptation during crises to have the workers work *overtime*, i.e. more unpaid labour time than would otherwise be worked, on the days *when work actually takes place*. (Other manufacturers do the same thing in practice by reducing wages, i.e. by lessening necessary labour time during the 3 or 4 days on which work is done.) Hence in 1857-58:

* "It may seem inconsistent that there should be any overworking" *

//it is not in the least inconsistent that the manufacturer should try to SNATCH the largest possible portion of *unpaid* labour time during the crisis//

* "at a time when trade is so bad; but that very badness leads to transgressions by unscrupulous men; they get the *extra-profit of it*" * (*Reports etc. 30th April 1858.* Report of *Mr. L. Horner*, [p. 10]).

//The worse the time and the less business is done, the greater the profit that has to be made on the business done.// Horner therefore remarks, l.c., that at the very time when 122 MILLS in his

district had been given up, 143 stood idle, and all the rest were on SHORT-TIME working, OVERWORK OVER THE LEGAL TIME was continuing (l.c.). Similarly another Factory Inspector, T. J. *Howell*, remarks of the same year:

* "I continue, however," * (ALTHOUGH in most of factories only HALF TIME was WORKED owing to the BAD TIME) * "to receive *the usual number of complaints* that half or 3 quarters on an hour in the day are snatched from the workers by encroaching upon the times allowed for rest and refreshment during the working day, and by starting 5 minutes and more before the proper time in the morning and by stopping 5 minutes or more after the proper time in the evening. These petty pilferings, amounting in the whole to from half to three quarters on an hour daily, are very *difficult of detection*" * (*T. J. Howell's Report*, l.c., p. 25).

* "To prove a systematic course of overworking, made up of minutes taken at 6 different times of the day, could manifestly not be done by the observation of an Inspector" * (*Reports*. L. Horner. 31st Oct. 1856 [p. 35]).

* "It is *this general acquiescence in the practice, if not approbation of the principle*, and the general concurrence that the limitation of labour is expedient, etc." * (*Reports etc.* 31st Oct. 1855, p. 77).

The governments on the Continent (France, Prussia, Austria, etc.) were compelled, in proportion with the development there of capitalist production, hence of the factory system, to follow the English example by limiting the working day *d'une manière ou d'une autre*.[a] They have for the most part, with certain modifications, copied, and inevitably so, the English FACTORY LEGISLATION.

[III-122] In France there existed in practice until 1848 no law for the limitation of the working day in factories. The law of March 22, 1841 for the limitation of the work of children in factories (FACTORIES, WORKS and WORKSHOPS EMPLOYING MOVING POWER, OR A CONTINUOUS FIRE, AND ALL ESTABLISHMENTS GIVING EMPLOYMENT TO MORE THAN 20 WORKMEN), the basis of which was 3 and 4 William IV, C. 103, remained *a dead letter* and has up to this day been implemented in practice in the *Département du Nord* alone.[169] In any case, according to this law *children under 13 years old* can be employed even at night (BETWEEN 9 p.m. and 5 a.m.) "UPON THE OCCASION OF URGENT REPAIRS, OR THE STOPPAGE OF A WATERWHEEL". *Children more than 13 years old* can be employed even *during the night* "IF THEIR LABOUR IS INDISPENSABLE".

On March 2, 1848 the Provisional Government promulgated a law limiting the working time to 10 hours in Paris and 11 in the Departments, not only in factories but in all places of manufacture and craft workshops, not only for children but for adult WORKMEN too. The Provisional Government proceeded from the false assumption that the normal working day was 11 hours in Paris and 12 in the Departments. But:

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[a] In one way or another.— *Ed.*

"In many of the spinning mills the work lasted 14 to 15 hours a day, and even longer, greatly damaging the health and morality of the workers and particularly the children" ([J. A.] Blanqui, *Des classes-ouvrières en France, pendant l'année 1848*).

The National Assembly modified this law, by the law of *September 8, 1848*, as follows:

* "The daily labour of the workman in manufactures and works shall not exceed 12 hours. The government has the power to declare exceptions to the above enactment in those cases where the nature of the work or of the apparatus requires it." *

The government put these *exceptions* into effect by the decree of May 17, 1851. Firstly, it listed the various branches of industry to which the law of September 8, 1848 did not apply. In addition, however, the following limitations were made:

* "*The cleaning of machinery at the end of the day*; work rendered necessary by accident to the moving power, the boiler, the machinery, or the building. Labour may be extended in the following cases: For 1 hour at the end of the day for washing and stretching pieces in dye works, bleach works, and cotton print works. For 2 hours in sugar factories, and refineries, and in chemical works. For 2 hours during *120 days* a year, at the choice of the manufacturer, and with the sanction of the Préfet, in dye works, print works, and finishing establishments." *

// Factory Inspector A. Redgrave remarks in *Reports etc. 31st October 1855*, p. 80, in regard to the implementation of this law in France:

* "I have been assured by several manufacturers that when they have wished to avail themselves of the permission to extend the working day, the workmen have objected upon the ground that an extension of the working day at one moment would be followed by a curtailment of the ordinary number of hours at another ... and they especially objected to work beyond the 12 hours per day, because the law which fixed those hours is the only good which remains to them of the legislation of the Republic."

* "The *prolongation of the working day* is *optional* with the workmen.... When it is mutually agreed ... the rate per hour (beyond 12) is generally higher than their ordinary pay" * (l.c., p. 80).

A. Redgrave remarks on p. 81 that as a result of overwork and the physical enervation and mental demoralisation bound up with this

* "the labouring population of Rouen and Lille ... have succumbed", become "diminutive in growth", and "many are afflicted with that species of lameness which in England has given to its victims the name of 'factory cripples'".*

* "It must be admitted that a daily labour of 12 hours is a sufficient call upon the human frame, and when the requisite intervals for meals, the time required for going to and returning from work, are added to the hours of labour, the balance at the disposal of the workman is *not excessive*" * (A. Redgrave, l.c., p. 81).

Among the hypocritical pretexts (objections) advanced by the English manufacturers against the *Ten Hours' Bill* there is the following:

* "One of the many objections made to the Ten Hours' Bill was the danger of throwing upon the hands of the young persons and females *so much leisure time*, which, from their defective education, they would [III-123] either waste or misuse; and it was urged that *until* education progressed, and means were provided for occupying in profitable mental or social employment the leisure Hours which the Ten Hours' Bill proposed to award to the Factory population, it was more advisable, in the interests of morality, that the *whole of the day should be spent in the factory*" * (A. Redgrave, l.c., [p.] 87). //

// How much Macaulay distorts the economic FACTS so as to be able to act as Whig apologist for the here-and-now—Cato the Censor[a] towards the past alone, a sycophant towards the present—can be seen from the following passage among others:

* "The practice of setting children prematurely to work, a practice which the state, the legitimate protector of those who cannot protect themselves, has, in our time, wisely and humanely interdicted, prevailed in the 17th century to an extent which, when compared with the extent of the manufacturing system, seems almost incredible. At Norwich, the chief seat of the clothing trade, a little creature of six years old was thought fit for labour. Several writers of that time, and among them some who were considered as eminently benevolent, mention, with exultation, the fact, that in that *single city* boys and girls of tender age, created wealth exceeding what was necessary, for their own subsistence by 12,000 pounds a year. The more carefully we examine the history of the past, the more reason shall we find to dissent from those who imagine that our age has been fruitful of new social evils. The truth is, that the evils are, with scarcely an exception, old. That which is new is the intelligence which discerns and humanity which remedies them" * ([Th. B.] Macaulay, [*The History of*] *England*, Vol. I, p. 417).

This passage proves precisely the opposite, namely that at that time child labour was still an exceptional phenomenon, noted with exultation as particularly praiseworthy by political economists. What modern writer would mention it as something particularly noteworthy that children of tender age were being used up in factories? Anyone who reads writers like Child, Culpeper, etc., with common sense would come to the same conclusion. //

The LEGAL TIME OF WORKING is often EXCEEDED

* "by keeping the children, young persons, and women in the mill to clean the machinery during a part of the meal times, and on Saturdays after 2 o'clock, in place of that work being done within the restricted time" * (*Reports etc. 30th April 1856*, L. Horner, p. 12).

This OVERWORKING also takes place with WORKPEOPLE

* "who are not employed on piece-work, but receive weekly wages" * (*Reports of the Inspectors of Factories. 30th April 1859*, L. Horner, p[p. 8-]9).

(* Mr. Horner, besides being one of the Factory Inquiry Commissioners of 1833, was one of the original Inspectors of Factories, and during the early days of factory supervision had to

[a] I.e. implacable guardian of morality.— *Ed.*

contend with serious difficulties.*) This is what Horner says in his last report, dated *30th April 1859*[170]:

* "The education of the children, *professedly* provided for, is, in numerous cases, an utter mockery; the protection of the workpeople against bodily injuries and death from unfenced machinery, also *professedly* provided for, has become, practically, a dead letter; the reporting of accidents is, to a great extent, a mere waste of public money.... Overworking to a very considerable extent, still prevails; and, in most instances, with that security against detection and punishment, which the *law itself affords*" * (l.c., pp. 9, 8).

(* Children above 13 years qualified to be employed for the same number of hours as adult men; half-timers children under 13 years.*)

[III-124] * "The fact is, that prior to the Act of 1833, young persons and children were worked *all night, all day, or both ad libitum*" * (*Reports etc. 30th April 1860*, p[p. 50-]51).

According to the Act of 1833 NIGHT lay BETWEEN 8 1/2 p.m. and 5 1/2 a.m. The MILLOWNERS were PERMITTED

* "to take their legal hours of labour at any period within 5 1/2 a.m. and 8 1/2 p.m.".*

* This signification of "day" and "night" continued through all the subsequent Factory acts, though with restricted hours of work until 1850, when, for the first time, the day hours of permitted labour were fixed at from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., and in winter from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. if so desired by the mill occupier.*[a]

* "*The bulk of the accidents happened in the largest mills*.... The perpetual scramble for every minute of time, where work is going on by an unvarying power, which is indicated at perhaps a thousand horses, necessarily *leads to danger. In such mills, moments are the elements of profit*—the attention of everybody's every instant is demanded. It is here, where ... there may be seen a perpetual struggle between life and inorganic forces; where the mental energies must direct, and the animal energies must move and be kept equivalent to the revolutions of the spindles. They must not lag, notwithstanding the strain upon them either by excessive excitement or by heat; nor be suspended for an instant by any counter attention to the various movements around, for in every lagging there is loss" * (*Reports of the Inspectors of Factories. 30th April 1860*, p. 56).

* "The *Children's Employment Commission*, the reports of which have been published several years, brought to light many enormities, and which still continue,—some of them much greater than any that factories and printworks were ever charged with.... Without an organized system of inspection by paid officers, responsible to Parliament, and kept to their duty by halfyearly reports of their proceedings, the law would soon become inoperative; as was proved by the inefficiency of all the Factory Laws prior to that of 1833, and as is the case at the present day in France: the Factory Law of 1841 containing no provision for systematic inspection" * (*Reports of the Inspectors etc. 31st Oct. 1858*, [p.] 10).

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[a] *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Half Year Ending 30th April 1860*, p. 51.— *Ed.*

*The Factory Acts "have put an end to the premature decrepitude of the former long-hour workers; *by making them masters of their own time* they have given them a moral energy which is directing them to the eventual possession of political power"* (*Reports of the Inspectors of Factories. 31st Oct. 1859,* [p.] 47).

*"A still greater boon is, the *distinction* at last made clear *between the worker's own time and his master's. The worker knows now when that which he sells is ended,* and *when his own begins*; and by possessing a sure foreknowledge of this, is enabled to pre-arrange *his own minutes* for his *own purposes!*"* (l.c., p. 52.)[a]

This is very important with regard to the establishment of a normal working day. Before 1833:

*"The master had no time for anything but money, the servant had no time for anything but labour"* (l.c., p. 48).

*"The cupidity of millowners, whose cruelties in the pursuit of gain have hardly been exceeded by those perpetrated by the Spaniards on the conquest of America, in the pursuit of gold"* (John Wade, *History of the Middle and Working Classes,* 3rd ed., London, 1835, p. 114).

[III-124a][171] *"Certain classes of workers (such as the adult males, and female weavers) have a direct interest in working overtime, and it may be supposed that they exercise some influence over the more juvenile classes, which latter have, besides, a natural dread of dismissal by giving any evidence or information calculated to implicate their employers ... even when detected (the juvenile workers) in working at illegal times, their evidence to prove the facts before a Bench of Magistrates, can seldom be relied on, as it is given at the risk of losing their employments"* (*Reports of the Inspectors of Factories for the Half Year Ending 31st Oct. 1860,* p. 8).

*"A factory employs 400 people, the half of which work by the 'piece' and have ... a direct interest in working longer hours. The other 200 are paid by the day, work equally long with the others, and get no more money for their overtime. A habit has arisen in some localities of starting systematically 5 minutes before and ceasing 5 minutes after the proper hour. There are 3 starting and 3 leaving off times each day; and thus 5 minutes at 6 different times, equal to half an hour are gained daily, not by one person only, but by 200 who work and are paid by the day. The work of these 200 people for half an hour a day is equal to one person's work for 50 hours, or $^5/_6$ of one person's labour in a week, and is *a positive gain to the employer*"* (l.c., p. 9).

If piece-wages are paid, the worker has indeed a share in his OVERTIME, and he himself appropriates a portion of the SURPLUS TIME during which he works. But the capitalist, quite apart from the more rapid valorisation of his fixed capital, enjoys a SURPLUS PROFIT even if he pays an hour of OVERTIME at the same rate as, or even higher than, the hours of the normal working day: 1) Because he does not need to increase the number of machines on which the work is done (e.g. spindles, looms). The same worker works at the same POWER LOOM whether he works for 12 or 15 hours. Thus a part of the capital outlay is subtracted with this production of SURPLUS TIME. 2) If the normal working day is 12 hours, of which 2 hours

[a] See this volume, p. 170.— *Ed.*

are surplus labour, 10 hours must be paid for 2 hours of surplus time.

Here of the 30 minutes ($^1/_2$ hour) $^1/_6$ is gained,=5 minutes, and the worker is paid 25 minutes. The surplus time is otherwise dependent on the worker's having first worked 10 hours for himself. Here it is already assumed in advance that he has earned his necessary wages. He can therefore be fobbed off with 1 aliquot part of the OVERTIME.

If the OVERTIME is *gratis*, capital acquires it without paying necessary labour time; 100 hours of OVERTIME, if 10 hours a day are being worked,=the labour time of 10 workers, whose wages are *completely saved*.

[III-124b] The BLEACHING AND DYEING ACTS WERE TO COME INTO OPERATION ON AUGUST 1, 1861.

The *main* provisions of the *FACTORY ACTS proper* are:

*"All persons under 16 years of age must be examined by the certifying surgeon. Children cannot be employed under the age of 8 years. Children between 8 and 13 years of age can only be employed for half-time, and must attend school daily. Females and young persons under the age of 18 years cannot be employed before 6 o'clock in the morning nor after 6 o'clock in the evening, nor after 2 o'clock in the afternoon of Saturdays. Females and young persons cannot be employed during a meal time, nor be allowed to remain in any room in a factory while any manufacturing process is carried on. Children under 13 years of age cannot be employed both before noon and after 1 o'clock on the same day"* ([*Reports*...,] l.c., pp. 22-23).

*"The hours of work are governed by a public clock; generally the clock of the nearest railway station.... It is sometimes advanced by way of excuse, when persons are found in a factory either during a meal hour or at some other illegal time, that they will not leave the mill at the appointed hour, and that compulsion is necessary to force them to cease work, especially on Saturday afternoons. But, if the hands remain in a factory after the machinery has ceased to revolve, and occupy themselves in cleaning their machines and in other like work, they would not have been so employed if sufficient time had been set apart specially for cleaning, etc., either before 6 p.m. or before 2 p.m. on Saturday afternoons"* (l.c., p. 23).

A further provision of the FACTORY ACTS in regard to MEALTIMES:

*"One hour and a half must be given to all young persons and females, at the same time between 7.30 a.m. and 6 p.m.; of this one hour must be given before 3 p.m., and no person can be employed for more than 5 hours before 1 p.m. without an interval of 30 minutes. The usual mealhours of mechanics throughout the country are, half an hour for breakfast and an hour for dinner"* (l.c., [p.] 24).

A further provision of the FACTORY ACTS:

*"The parent is required to cause his child to attend school for 3 hours daily for 5 days in the week. The occupier is restricted from employing children unless he shall have procured on each Monday morning a schoolmaster's certificate that each child has attended school for 3 hours daily for 5 days in the preceding week"* (p. 26).

In earlier centuries too, in the period preceding capitalist production, we likewise find forcible regulation, i.e. regulation by laws, on the part of governments. But the aim then was to force the workers to work for a *definite* period of time, whereas the present regulations all have the opposite objective, to force the capitalist to have them work for *no more than a definite period of time.* In the face of developed capital it is only government compulsion that can limit labour time. At the stage at which capital is only entering on its development, [III-124c] government compulsion steps in to transform the worker forcibly into a wage labourer.

* "When population is scanty, and land abundant, the free labourer is idle and saucy. Artificial regulation has often been found, not only useful, but absolutely necessary to compel him to work. At this day, according to Mr. Carlyle, the emancipated negroes in our West India Islands, having hot sun for nothing, and plenty of pumpkin for next to nothing, will not work. He seems to think legal regulations compelling work absolutely necessary, even for their own sakes. For they are rapidly relapsing into their original barbarism. So in England 500 years ago, it was found, by experience, that the poor need not, and would not work. A great plague in the 14th century having thinned the population, the difficulty of getting men to work *on reasonable terms* grew to such a height as to be quite intolerable, and to threaten the industry of the kingdom. Accordingly, in the year 1349, the Statute 23rd, Edward III, was passed, compelling the poor to work, and interfering with the wages of labour. It was followed with the same view through several centuries by a long series of statutable enactments. The wages of artisans, as well as of agricultural labourers; the prices of piece-work, as well as of day-work; the periods during which the poor were obliged to work, nay, *the very intervals for meals* (as in the Factory acts of the present day) were defined by law. Acts of Parliament regulating wages, but *against* the labourer, and in favour of the master, lasted for the long period of 464 years. Population grew. These laws were then found, and really became, unnecessary and burdensome. In the year 1813, they were all repealed"* ([J. B. Byles,] *Sophisms of Free-Trade etc.*, 7th ed., London, 1850, pp. 205-06).

"It appears from the Statute of 1496 that the diet was considered equivalent to $^1/_3$ of the income of an artificer and $^1/_2$ the income of a LABOURER, which indicates a greater degree of independence among the working classes than prevails at present; for the board, both of LABOURERS and ARTIFICERS, is now reckoned at a higher proportion of their WAGES. *The hours for MEALS and RELAXATION were more liberal than at this day.* They amounted to e.g. 1 hour for breakfast from March to September, 1 $^1/_2$ hours for dinner, and $^1/_2$ hour for 'NOON-MEATE'." (Thus 3 hours altogether.) "In winter they worked from 5 o'clock in the morning until it went dark. In the COTTON factories of the present time, in contrast, $^1/_2$ hour is allowed for [III-124d] breakfast, 1 hour for DINNER", hence only 1 $^1/_2$ hours, *exactly half as much as in the 15th century* (John Wade, *History of the Middle and Working Classes*, 3rd ed., London, 1835, pp. 24-25 and 577-78).

The *BLEACHING AND DYEING WORKS ACT.* Passed in 1860.

There are different provisions in the *PRINT WORK ACT, BLEACHING AND DYEING WORKS ACT* and the *FACTORY ACT.*

*"The Bleaching etc Works Act limits the hours of work of all females and young persons between *6 a.m. and 8 p.m.*, but does not permit children to work *after 6 p.m.* The Print Works Act limits the hours of females, young persons and children between 6 a.m. and 10 p.m., provided the children have attended some school for 5 hours in any day but Saturday before 6 o'clock p.m."* (*Reports of the Inspectors of Factories for the Half Year Ending 31st Oct. 1861*, pp. 20-21).

*"The Factory Acts require 1 1/2 hours to be allowed during the day, and that they shall be taken between 7.30 a.m. and 6 p.m. and one hour thereof shall be given before 3 o'clock in the afternoon; and that no child, young person, or female shall be employed more than 5 hours before 1 o'clock in the afternoon of any day without an interval for meal time of at least 30 minutes.... In the Print Works Act there is *no* requisition ... *for any meal time at all.* Accordingly, young persons and females may work from 6 o'clock in the morning till 10 o'clock at night without stopping for meals"* (l.c., p. 21).

*"In Print Works a child may work between 6 o'clock in the morning and 10 o'clock at night.... By the Bleach Works Act a child may only work as under the Factories Act, whilst the labour *of the young persons and females*, with whom it has been previously working during the day, may be continued till 8 o'clock in the evening"* (l.c., [p.] 22).

*"*To take the silk manufacture* for example, since *1850*, it has been lawful to employ children above 11 years of age"* (from 11 to 13 years, therefore) *"in the winding and throwing of raw silk for 10 1/2 hours a day. From 1844 to 1850 their daily work, less Saturday, was limited to 10 hours; and before that period to 9 hours. These alterations took place on the ground that labour in silk mills was lighter than in mills for other fabrics, and less likely, in other respects also, to be prejudicial to health"* (l.c., p. 26).

*"The allegation put forth in 1850 about the manufacture of silk being a healthier occupation than that of other textile fabrics, not only entirely [III-124e] fails of proof, but the proof is quite the other way; for the average death rate is exceedingly high in the silk districts, and amongst the female part of the population is higher even than it is in the cotton districts of Lancashire, where, although it is true that the children only work half time, yet from the conditional causes which render cotton manufacture unhealthy, a high rate of pulmonary mortality might be supposed to be inevitable"* (l.c., p. 27).

Lord Ashley said in his speech on the Ten Hours' Bill (March 15, 1844) that hours of labour in Austrian factories at that time were

*"15, not unfrequently 17 hours a day"* (*Ten Hours' Factory Bill*, London, 1844, p. 5).

*In Switzerland the regulations are very strict*:

*"In the canton of Argovia, no children are allowed to work, under 14 years, more than 12 hours and 1/2; and education is compulsory on the millowners."*

*In the canton of Zurich "the hours of labour are limited to 12; and children under 10 years of age are not allowed to be employed.... In Prussia, by the law of 1839, no child who has not completed his or her 16th year, is to be employed more than 10 hours a day; none under 9 years of age to be employed at all"* (p[p. 5-]6).

[V-196][172] *Subinspector Baker reports (*Factory Reports*, 1843), as to "having seen several females, who, he was sure, could only just have completed their 18th year, who had been obliged to work from 6 a.m. to 10 p.m., with only 1 1/2 hours for meals. In other cases, he shows, females are obliged to work all night, in a temperature from 70 to 80 degrees.... I found (says Mr. Horner, *Factory Reports*, 1843) many young women, just 18 years of age, at work from half past 5 in the morning until 8 o'clock at night, with no cessation except a quarter of an hour for breakfast, and 3 quarters of an hour for dinner. They may be fairly said to labour for 15 hours and a half[a] out of 24. There are (says Mr. Saunders, *Factory Reports*, 1843) among them females who have been employed for some weeks, with an interval only of a few days, from 6 o'clock in the morning until 12 o'clock at night, less than 2 hours for meals, thus giving them for 5 nights in the week, 6 hours out of its 24 to go to and from their homes, and to obtain rest in bed"* (l.c., [pp.] 20-21).

The earlier wearing out of labour capacity, in other words premature ageing, in consequence of the forcible lengthening of labour time:

*"In the year 1833, a letter was addressed to me by Mr. Ashworth, a very considerable millowner in Lancashire, which contains the following curious passage: 'You will next naturally inquire about the old men, who are said to die, or become unfit for work, when they attain 40 years of age, or soon after.' Mark the phrase 'old men' at 40 years of age!"* (l.c., p. 12).

* The government commissioner M'Intosh (one of those commissioners, sent expressly to collect evidence against that taken by the committee of 1832), says in his report of 1833: "Although prepared by seeing childhood occupied in such a manner, it is very difficult to *believe the ages* of men advanced in years, as given by themselves, so complete is their premature old age"* (l.c., p. 13).

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[III-124e] In 1816 Sir R. Peel PROCURED A COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS TO EXAMINE INTO THE APPRENTICE ACT OF 1802 (among other things). According to the EVIDENCE OF John Moss, OVERSEER OF a MILL near Preston,[b] the APPRENTICE ACT WAS CONSTANTLY SET AT NOUGHT. THE WITNESS DID NOT EVEN KNOW OF IT. The CHILDREN in the MILL were almost all APPRENTICES of London PARISHES; they WERE WORKED from 5 o'clock in the morning until 8 at night, all the year round, with 1 hour for the 2 MEALS; THEY INVARIABLY WORKED from 6 on the Sunday morning till 12, IN CLEANING THE MACHINERY FOR THE WEEK (15 hours).

Average working day among the London bakers 17 hours. Regularly 17 hours in the earliest stages of the cotton industry. Shortly after this introduction of night work.

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[a] Here Marx reproduces an inaccuracy contained in the *Reports*. It should be "13 hours and a half".— *Ed.*

[b] J. Fielden, *The Curse of the Factory System; or, a Short Account of the Origin of Factory Cruelties*, London, [1836,] p. 15.— *Ed.*

*RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE*

If the worker does 10 hours of NECESSARY LABOUR and 2 hours of SURPLUS LABOUR, the rate=$^2/_{10}$=$^1/_5$=20%. It would result in an incorrect calculation, i.e. the rate of exploitation would be wrongly stated, if one were to consider the whole of the working day of 12 hours, and say, for instance, that the worker receives $^5/_6$ and the capitalist $^1/_6$ of it. The rate would then amount to $^1/_6$ ($^{12}/_6$=2 hours),=16$^2/_3$%. The same error would occur if the product were calculated, and indeed not the ratio of the SURPLUS PRODUCT to the part of the PRODUCT WHICH is equivalent to the wage, but to the SURPLUS PRODUCT AS ALIQUOT PART OF THE AGGREGATE PRODUCT. This point is not only very important for the determination of surplus value but it is later of decisive importance for the correct determination of the rate of profit.[173]

[III-124f] "He" (one of the entrepreneurs in the FIRST period of the development of the COTTON INDUSTRY) "communicated an admirable idea to me, I don't know whether it is his own invention, but it is truly worthy of him: it is the *organisation of night work*. The workers will be divided into two gangs, in such a way that each of them on alternate nights will be awake until the morning: the business will no longer come to a halt. The work, when confined to 17 hours, allowed an enormous capital—the value of the machines, the rent of the buildings, etc.—to lie dormant for 7 whole hours. These 7 whole hours of interest a day will no longer be lost. He explained to me a plan thanks to which he will recover, and more than recover, the expenses of lighting, simply by his way of remunerating night work" (St. Germain Leduc, *Sir Richard Arkwright etc. (1760 à 1792)*, Paris, 1842, [pp.] 145-46).[a]

This is now the norm in the COTTON factories of Moscow. Much more frightful at this moment the system followed in the mirror factories of Manchester, with children being used as well. There are two gangs, which relieve each other every 6 hours, day and night, during the whole of the 24 hours. We read in Babbage (*On the Economy of Machinery etc.*, London, 1832):

"The first machines for manufacturing tulle were very expensive when first purchased, at between £1,000 and £1,200 or £1,300 sterling. Every manufacturer who possessed one of these machines soon found that he was manufacturing more, but because its work was limited to 8 hours a day he could not, in view of its price, compete with the old method of manufacture. This disadvantage stemmed from the considerable sum of money devoted to the initial establishment of the machine. Soon, however, the manufacturers noticed that with the same expenditure of initial capital and a small addition to their circulating capital they could set the same machine to work for 24 hours. The advantages thereby realised induced other people to direct their attention to the means of perfecting the machine; so that its purchase price underwent a considerable reduction simultaneously with increases in the speed and quantity of tulle manufacture" (Ch. XXII).[174]

[a] Marx quotes Leduc and, below, Macnab in French.— *Ed.*

*Dale*, Owen's predecessor in the COTTON mill at New Lanark, and himself a philanthropist, still employed children for 13 hours a day, even those under 10 years old.

"To cover the expense of these so well combined arrangements, and for the general upkeep of the premises, it was absolutely necessary to employ these children in the cotton mills from 6 o'clock in the morning until 7 o'clock in the evening, summer and winter alike.... The directors of the workhouses, through misplaced motives of economy, did not want to send the children entrusted to their care, unless the owner of establishment took charge of them from the ages of 6, 7 or 8 years" (Henry Grey Macnab, *Examen impartial des nouvelles vues de M. Robert Owen, et de ses établissements à New-Lanark en Ecosse.* Traduit par *Laffon de Ladébat*, Paris, 1821, [p.] 64).

"Thus the arrangements of Mr. Dale and his tender solicitude for the well-being of these children were in the last resort almost entirely useless and unsuccessful. He had taken these children into his service, and without their labour he could not feed them" (l.c., [p.] 65).

"The source of this evil was that the children [III-124g] sent by the workhouses were much too young for the work, and ought to have been kept for four more years, and to have received primary schooling.... If this is the true and not exaggerated picture of the situation of our apprentices emerging from the workhouses, *in our present manufacturing system*, even under the best and most humane regulations, how deplorable must the situation of these children be under a bad management?" (l.c., [p.] 66).

As soon as Owen took over the management:

"The system of accepting apprentices drawn from the workhouses was abolished.... They gave up the practice of employing children of six to eight years of age in the factories" ([p.] 74).

"Working hours, which were 16 out of the 24, have been reduced to 10 and a half per day" ([p.] 98).

This was naturally regarded as subversive of society. A great noise was made by the *économistes* and Benthamite "philosophers".

* * *

"But it is still easier to obtain bread in the eastern islands of the Asian archipelago, where sago grows wild in the forests. When the inhabitants have convinced themselves, by boring a hole in the trunk, that the pith is ripe, the tree is cut down and divided into several pieces, the pith is extracted, mixed with water and filtered: it is then quite fit for use as sago meal. One tree commonly yields 300 pounds, and it may yield 500-600. There, then, one goes into the forest and cuts one's own bread, just as with us one cuts firewood" (J. F. Schouw, *Die Erde, die Pflanzen und der Mensch*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1854, [p.] 148).

Suppose that 1 day (of 12 hours) a week is required for this bread-cutter to satisfy all his needs. If capitalist production were introduced, he would have to work 6 days a week in order to appropriate for himself the product of that one day.

Surplus labour naturally consists of the same kind of labour as NECESSARY labour. If the worker is a spinner, his surplus labour consists of spinning, and his SURPLUS PRODUCT of spun yarn. If he is a miner, similarly, etc. It can therefore be seen that the kind of labour it is, its particular quality, the particular branch it belongs to, is entirely irrelevant to the ratio of SURPLUS LABOUR TO NECESSARY LABOUR. Equally irrelevant, therefore, is the ratio between the values of different days of labour, or, which is the same thing, the ratio in which A DAY OF MORE OR LESS SKILLED LABOUR IS EQUATED WITH A DAY OF UNSKILLED AVERAGE LABOUR. This equation has no effect at all on the ratio under investigation here. In order to simplify (the presentation) we can therefore always argue as if the labour of all the workers employed by the capitalist=AVERAGE UNSKILLED LABOUR, simple labour.[69] In any case, in the capitalist's own calculations (in the monetary expression of labour), every kind of labour is reduced, in practice and in fact, *to this expression.*

[III-124h] The qualitative differences between the different kinds of *AVERAGE LABOUR,* whereby one requires more dexterity, the other more strength, etc., cancel each other out in practice. But as regards the *individual differences* between workers who perform *the same* labour, the following must be pointed out: These differences are greatest in handicraft production (and in the higher spheres of so-called unproductive labour). They vanish progressively as time goes on, and in developed capitalist production, where division of labour and machinery prevail, their role is limited to a sphere almost too small for calculation. (If we set aside the short period during which APPRENTICES learn their trade.) The AVERAGE wage must be high enough to preserve the AVERAGE worker's life as a worker; and an AVERAGE performance is here the prerequisite the worker must fulfil to be allowed into the workshop at all. He who stands above or below this AVERAGE is an exception, and, viewing the workshop as a whole, its entire personnel provides the AVERAGE product in the AVERAGE time of the branch in question under the AVERAGE conditions of production. In the daily or weekly wage, etc., no regard is in fact taken of these individual DIFFERENCES. They *are* taken into account in the piece-wage system, though. But this does not change the relation between capitalist and worker at all. If the labour time of *A* is higher than that of *B,* his wages are higher too, but also the SURPLUS VALUE he produces. If his performance falls below the AVERAGE, his wages fall, but also the SURPLUS VALUE. The workshop as a whole, however, must provide the AVERAGE. What is above and below the AVERAGE is mutually complementary, and the AVERAGE, which the GREAT BULK OF LABOURERS perform in any case,

remains what it was. These matters are to be considered under the wages of labour.[33] For the relation being considered here they are irrelevant. For the rest, the piece-wage was introduced very early on into the English factories. Once it was established how much could be performed ON AN AVERAGE in a given period of labour, the wage was determined accordingly (the number of hours in the working day being simultaneously given). And IN FACT the wage (the AGGREGATE) was then lower if 17 hours a day were worked than if 10 were worked. Only with *extraordinary* OVERTIME WORKING would the workers benefit from the distinction, so that they could APPROPRIATE TO THEMSELVES a PART of this EXTRAORDINARY SURPLUS LABOUR. Which, incidentally, is also the case where there is EXTRAORDINARY SURPLUS LABOUR under the daily wage system, etc.

We have seen that the basis of *value* is the fact that human beings relate to each other's labour as equal, and general, and in this form social, labour. This is an abstraction, like all human thought, and social relations only exist among human beings to the extent that they think, and possess this power of abstraction from sensuous individuality and contingency. The kind of political economist who attacks the determination of value by labour time on the ground that the work performed by 2 individuals during the same time is not *absolutely equal* (although in the same trade), doesn't yet even know what distinguishes human social relations from relations between animals. He is a BEAST. As BEASTS, the same fellows then also have no difficulty in overlooking the fact that no 2 use values are absolutely identical (no 2 leaves, *Leibniz*[175]) and even less difficulty in judging use values, which have no common measure whatever, as exchange values *according to their degree of utility.*

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If the MONETARY EXPRESSION (money TO BE SUPPOSED TO KEEP ITS VALUE, AS IT REALLY DOES FOR LONGER PERIODS) of an AVERAGE working day of 12 hours were=10s., it would be clear that the worker who works for 12 hours can never add more than 10s. to the object of labour. If the total amount of the means of subsistence he needs every day is 5s., the capitalist will have to pay 5s. and receive 5s. of SURPLUS VALUE. If it comes to 6 he will only receive 4, if 7 only 3, if 3 in contrast then 7, etc. With a given labour time—length of the working day—it must be firmly grasped that the sum total of the NECESSARY and the SURPLUS LABOUR is represented in a product of constant value and of EQUAL MONETARY EXPRESSION OF THAT VALUE, AS LONG AS THE VALUE OF MONEY REMAINS CONSTANT.

## [III-125] 3) RELATIVE SURPLUS VALUE

We call the form of surplus value considered so far *absolute surplus value* because its very existence, its rate of growth, and its every increase is at the same time an absolute increase of *created* value (of produced value). It arises, as we have seen,[a] from an extension of the necessary working day beyond its limits, and its absolute magnitude is equal to the magnitude of this extension, whereas its relative magnitude—the proportional surplus value, or the rate of surplus value—is given by the ratio of this extension, this fluxion, to its fluent,[176] necessary labour time. If the necessary labour time is 10 hours, the working day will be extended by 2, 3, 4, 5 hours. As a result, a value of 12-15 hours of labour will be created instead of one of 10. The extension of the *normal working day*, i.e. the total of necessary labour time+surplus labour time, is here the process by which surplus value grows, is increased.

Let us assume that the overall working day has reached its normal limits. Now there emerges, in the manner peculiar to and characteristic of it, capital's tendency to posit surplus value, i.e. surplus labour time. Let the normal working day consist of 12 hours, of which 10 are necessary labour time, and 2 surplus labour time. Let an extension beyond this duration, hence a growth in absolute surplus value, be out of the question. It is of course clear that such a barrier—however one may fix it—is bound to assert itself, to be reached. (One may also assume, in order to have the problem present in its purest form, that the *sum total* of absolute surplus value cannot be raised any further, since the working population is given.) In this case, therefore, where the surplus

[a] See this volume, pp. 175-76.— *Ed.*

value cannot be raised any further by lengthening the overall working day, how can it be raised any further at all? By *shortening the necessary labour time.* Given an overall working day of 12 hours (10 hours necessary labour time, 2 hours surplus labour time) the surplus value or the surplus labour time may e.g. grow by 50%, may grow from 2 hours to 3—without any extension of the overall working day—if the necessary labour time is shortened from 10 hours to 9 hours, by $^1/_{10}$. The quantum of surplus labour time, consequently surplus value, may grow not only through a direct increase of surplus labour time achieved by a simultaneous lengthening of the overall working day, but also through the shortening of the necessary labour time, hence the *conversion* of labour time from necessary to surplus labour time. The normal working day would not be lengthened, but necessary labour time would be reduced and there would have been a change in the ratio governing the division of the overall working day into labour which replaces wages and labour which creates surplus value.

As we have seen,[a] necessary labour time (as paid labour time) is nothing but the labour time which replaces the labour time contained in the wage, in the purchasing price of labour capacity (which is in reality the labour time required for the production of the wage). It could be reduced by reducing the wage. If the value of the wage is forcibly cut down, so also is the labour time contained in the wage, hence the labour time paid for the reproduction, the replacement, of the wage. As the value fell, so would the equivalent for the value: the equivalent value corresponding to, or rather equal to, this value. This is exactly what happens in practice, of course. The price of labour capacity, like that of every other commodity, does in practice rise and fall above and below its value. But this is of no concern to us, as we proceed from the assumption that the price of the commodity corresponds to its value, or we consider the phenomena *on this assumption.* The reduction of necessary labour time which is under discussion here has therefore to be analysed under the presupposition that labour capacity is sold at its value, that the worker receives the normal wage, and therefore that no reduction occurs in the amount of the means of subsistence which are required for the normal and traditional reproduction of his labour capacity.

[III-126] //An increase in surplus value achieved by reducing wages below their average level (without increasing the productivity of labour) is an increase in profit achieved by forcing the

[a] See this volume, pp. 173-76.— *Ed.*

worker below the level of his normal conditions of life. On the other hand, an increase in wages over their normal average level is, on the part of the worker, a sharing in, an appropriation of, a part of his own surplus labour (similarly assuming the productive power of labour remains constant). In the first case * the capitalist encroaches upon the vital conditions of the workman, and upon the times of labour necessary for its own sustainance.* In the second case * the workman expropriates part of his own surplus labour. In both cases the one loses what the other gains, but the workman loses in life, what the capitalist gains in money, and in the other case the workman gains in enjoyment of life, what the capitalist loses in the rate of appropriating other people's labour.*//

Any reduction in necessary labour time which takes place on the assumption that the price of labour capacity is equal to its value, hence that wages are not forced down below normal wages, is possible only through *an increase in the productivity of labour*, or through a higher *development of the productive forces of labour*, which is the same thing.

We saw when we were considering the commodity[10] that if the productive power of labour increases, the same use value will be produced in a shorter labour time, or a greater quantity of the same use values will be produced in the same labour time (or a shorter time, but this is included in case 2). The use value of the commodity remains the same although its exchange value has fallen, i.e. a smaller quantity of labour time is objectified in it, less labour is required to produce it. The amount of the means of subsistence required for the normal reproduction of labour capacity is not determined by their exchange value but by their use value—qualitatively and quantitatively. It is therefore not determined by the labour time required to produce them, objectified in them, but by the result of this labour time, by the real labour, to the extent that it is present in the product. Hence if the same amount of the means of subsistence can be produced in a shorter working period owing to an increase in the productivity of real labour, the value of labour capacity will fall, and along with that the labour time required for its reproduction, for the production of its equivalent value, the necessary labour time, although labour capacity will continue to be sold at its value. Just as any other commodity continues to be sold at its value if it costs $^1/_{100}$ less today than before, because $^1/_{100}$ less labour time is contained in it, although it continues to possess the same use value as before. Here the value of labour capacity falls, and therefore

the necessary labour time too, not because the price of labour capacity has fallen below its value but because its value has itself fallen, i.e. because less labour time is objectified in the labour capacity, and therefore less labour time is required for its reproduction. In this case surplus labour time grows because necessary labour time has diminished. A part of the overall working day which was previously reserved for necessary labour is now set free, is annexed to the surplus labour time. A part of the necessary labour time is converted into surplus labour time; hence a portion of the overall value of the product, which previously entered the wage, now enters the surplus value (the capitalist's gain). I call this form of surplus value *relative surplus value.*

It is clear from the outset that an increase in the productive power of labour can only lessen the value of its labour capacity or its necessary labour time to the extent that the products of this labour either directly enter into the worker's consumption, such as means of nourishment and heating, housing, clothing, etc., or go into the constant capital (raw material and instrument of labour) which is required for the manufacture of those products. The value of the constant capital entering into the product re-appears in the value of the product, and therefore the value of the product clearly falls, not only when there is a fall in the labour time required for its own manufacture but also, and just as much, when there is a fall in the labour time required for the manufacture of its conditions of production; that is to say the value of the raw material and instrument of labour required for the manufacture of the products which enter into the consumption of the worker, in short the value of the constant capital (*see Ramsay*[177]).

//The distinction between the re-appearance or simple preservation of the value in the product and the reproduction of that value is as follows: In the latter case a new equivalent replaces the exchange value lost through the consumption of the use value in which it was contained. In the first case no new equivalent is put in the place of the original value. For example, the value of the wood which re-appears in the table is not replaced by a newly created equivalent. The value of the wood only re-appears in the table because the wood previously possessed value and the production of its value is a prerequisite for the production of the table's value.//

But, secondly: Take the worker in the branch of labour in which he himself works. If, owing to a rise in the productive power of labour, a worker in a weaving-mill produces 20 yards of calico in one

hour, whereas he previously produced only 1 yard, the 20 yards, after deduction of the increased amount of constant capital contained in them, therefore in so far as they are, in general, value created by the worker himself, [III-127] possess no more value than the 1 yard, did previously. If the productive power of labour remains the same in all the other branches as it was before this transformation in the weaving trade, the worker would be unable to buy more of the means of subsistence than before with his 1 hour, despite the heightened productive power of his labour—i.e. he could only buy commodities in which 1 hour of labour is objectified, just as before. The growth of productive power in his own branch of labour, the increased productivity of his own labour, would therefore only cheapen the reproduction of his own labour capacity and hence only diminish his necessary labour time, in so far as and to the extent to which calico enters into his own consumption as, say, an element in his clothing. Only in this proportion. But this is true of every specific branch of production, hence of every individual capital, taken for itself, in the sphere of its own industrial functioning.

If we take the total capital of society, hence the whole capitalist class vis-à-vis the working class, it is clear that the capitalist class can only increase surplus value without extending the overall working day and without lessening the normal wage in so far as a greater productivity of labour, a higher development of the productive power of labour, makes it possible to maintain the working class as a whole with less labour, to produce the total amount of its means of subsistence more cheaply, and therefore to reduce the amount of labour time in total that the working class requires for the reproduction of its own wages. But this total amount consists simply of the total amount of individual means of subsistence and the total amount of the specific branches of labour; hence of the total amount of the individual branches of labour which produce these means of subsistence; hence of the total amount of the reductions in labour time on account of the increased productive power of labour in each of these individual branches. For the purpose of generalising the presentation, however, we are justified in viewing the process as if the worker lived from the use values he produces himself—and we can only view the process by picturing a particular individual capital with particular workers in a particular sphere. (It is not assumed here that the worker's need for necessary labour time declines in the same measure as the amount of product he provides in the same period increases, but that his own product, which has now become

cheaper, enters into his own consumption in proportion as his necessary labour time declines. This is valid for the whole of society, hence for the sum total of all the individuals, since the social sum of relative surplus labour is nothing but the sum of all the surplus labours of the individual workers in the individual branches of labour. It is only that compensations and adjustments come into the picture, the consideration of which does not belong here, although they hide the true relation.

A *reduction in necessary labour time* is therefore an *increase in surplus labour time.* The one grows smaller in proportion as the other grows larger, and inversely. This rise and fall does not, however, affect the overall working day and its magnitude.) The worker himself can in fact only create relative surplus value to the extent that he creates it in the sphere of his own activity, i.e. produces products entering into his own consumption in less time than previously. The political economists therefore always take flight to this assumption, in so far as they go into the nature of relative value at all (see *Mill*[178]).

In fact, one looks at the usual course of events. If the working day was=12 hours, surplus labour time=2 hours, and the capitalist, in consequence of increased productivity of labour, produces e.g. twice as much. Then surplus value can grow—his gain can emerge—only from two sources. Either the product of labour enters in a certain proportion into the reproduction of labour capacity, and labour capacity is cheapened in this proportion, so that the wage, i.e. the value of labour capacity falls in this ratio, hence there is also a fall in the part of the total working day required until then for the reproduction of this part of the value of labour capacity. Or the manufacturer sells the commodity above its value, i.e. as if the productivity of labour had remained the same. Only in the proportion to which he sells it above its value, hence buys all other commodities below their value, cheaper than the ratio between the amount of labour time contained in them and that contained in his commodity would require, does he posit a new surplus value. The worker, however, only receives the same normal wage as before. He therefore obtains a smaller part of the total value of the product, or a smaller part of that value is *expended in the purchase of labour capacity than before the increase* in the productivity of labour. A smaller *part of his whole day is therefore expended in reproducing his wages, a larger part for the capitalist.* It is the same thing, in practice, *as if his cost of upkeep were lessened as a result of the increased productivity of his labour, or as if he* could buy all other means of subsistence cheaper as a result of *the greater*

*productivity* of his labour in the same proportion as the capitalist receives new value.

[III-128] In any case, we do not need to repeat here that the general presupposition of a sale of commodities above their value negates itself, and competition in fact compensates for sale above the value by sale below the value. What is involved here is the case where an increase in the productivity of labour has not yet become universal in the same branch of business, where the capitalist therefore sells (in a certain proportion at least, for he will always sell cheaper than the other) as if more labour time had been needed for the manufacture of his product than was really necessary. He sells e.g. the product of $^3/_4$ of an hour as the product of 1 hour, because the majority of his competitors still need 1 hour to manufacture this product. If the total working day was 12 hours, he sells, in the given case, as if it had been 15 hours. ($^{12}/_4=3$, $12+3=15$.) He has not lengthened the working day. If necessary labour time was$=10$, and surplus labour time was$=2$, it is still$=2$. Actually, however, he sells as if necessary labour time were only 7 hours and surplus labour 5 hours ($7+5=12$). In fact, the labour of his own workers relates to that of average workers in such a way that they buy with the value of 7 hours as much as the latter buy with the value of 10 (since value has not fallen in proportion to productivity). With the original ratio, he had to give the workers 10 hours out of the 12, i.e. $\frac{5}{6}\left(\frac{12}{6}=2;\ \frac{5\times 12}{6}=10\right)$. Now, in consequence of the rise in the productivity of labour, he sells 12 at 15. If an hour of labour were paid for as an hour that stands $^1/_4$ above average labour, the workers, instead of 10 hours, would only have to work $10-{}^{10}/_4$. If the necessary working day until then was 10 hours, and 2 hours of surplus labour, the workers would now only need to work $10\times{}^3/_4$ hours instead of $10\times{}^4/_4$ hours (since their labour would count for $^1/_4$ more than the average hour of labour), hence they would need to work $7^1/_2$ hours instead of 10, and the surplus value, just as before, would come to $^1/_5$ of the necessary labour time ($^{10}/_5=2$). It would now be $^1/_5$ of $7\,^1/_2$ hours, or $^{15}/_2$ hours. $^1/_5$ of $^{15}/_2={}^{15}/_{10}=1\,^5/_{10}=1\,^1/_2$, or $^3/_2$, or $^6/_4$. In fact if $^3/_4$ of an hour of this labour$=1$, or $^4/_4$ of an hour of average labour, $^6/_4$ of the same labour$={}^8/_4$, or 2 hours of labour. The working day would thereby be reduced to $7^1/_2+{}^3/_2=9$ hours. The capitalist has the workers work 12 hours, as before, pays for the necessary labour time with $7^1/_2$, and therefore pockets $4^1/_2$ hours.

His gain derives from the fact that the necessary labour time of 10 hours has fallen to $7\,^1/_2$, or the worker can buy all his

necessary means of subsistence with the product of $7^1/_2$ hours. It is exactly the same as if he were to produce the whole of his means of subsistence himself and were to be able to produce as much in $^3/_4$ of an hour as previously in 1 hour, owing to the higher productivity of his labour, hence producing in $7^1/_2$ hours as much as he previously produced in 10. If with the increased productivity of labour the proportion had remained the same, the overall working day would have become shorter, because necessary labour would have been lessened while the proportion between necessary labour and surplus labour would have remained the same. In practice it comes to exactly the same thing: Whether the value of labour capacity and therefore the necessary labour time is *lessened*, because the worker's product enters into his own consumption in a certain proportion and therefore the necessary labour time declines and the surplus labour time, hence also surplus value, increases in this proportion; or whether as a result of the increased productivity of labour this particular branch of labour rises above the level of the socially average worker in the same branch, therefore the value e.g. of the hour of labour rises relative to all other commodities, the capitalist pays this labour as average labour—according to the previous standard—but sells it as labour of a higher than average level. In both cases a smaller number of hours is sufficient to pay the wage, i.e. the [III-129] necessary labour time has been reduced and in both cases the relative surplus value, i.e. surplus value not attained through an absolute prolongation of the working day, results from the decline in the amount of labour time required for the reproduction of the wage consequent on the increased productivity of labour; relative surplus value results in the one case directly, because the worker produces the same quantity of use values in a lesser labour time, although the product continues to be sold at its value. In the other case it results because a smaller quantity of labour time is equated with a greater quantity of average labour time as a result of the rise in productivity, and the worker therefore receives the same quantity of use values with labour time which is smaller but sold at a higher price. In both cases the relative surplus value results from a reduction in the *necessary labour time.*

The following is in any case clear in itself: If the productivity of labour grows, and the ratio remains the same, the worker would either have to work less labour time to reproduce his wages, say $7^1/_2$ instead of 10 hours, thereby shortening the working day as a whole; or he would have to receive a greater quantity of means of subsistence, his wages would rise above the [average] level. If

neither the one thing nor the other takes place, it is clear that the result of the increased productivity of labour has only been to increase the amount of labour he performs for the capitalist, and to reduce the amount of labour he performs for himself.

The whole difficulty arises from this, that when the individual capitalist raises the productivity of labour, he is not thinking directly of a diminution of necessary labour time, but of its sale above its value—of *raising it above average labour time.* Of this raised labour time, however, a smaller proportion is needed for the replacement of wages; i.e. the surplus labour time grows, although this growth presents itself in a roundabout way, through sale above value.

The working day as a whole does not grow along with the growth in relative surplus value, hence relative labour time. It therefore follows that there is only a fall in the *proportion* in which the worker participates in his own working day. There is a fall in relative wages, or the weight of capital rises in relation to labour.

Further: As a result of the growth in the productivity of labour the quantity of products is increased. The same value is present in their total amount (e.g. the total for one working day) as was present previously in a smaller total. The individual product or the individual commodity therefore falls in value, but it is multiplied by a larger factor, which is indicated by the number of products. 6×4 is not more than 12×2. Here, then, we have a growth in the real wealth of use values, without any growth in their exchange value or the labour time contained in them, whereas in the first case—absolute surplus value—the amount of products also grows, but simultaneously with their exchange value, i.e. in proportion to the labour time contained in them.

This is to be understood as follows. If 10 [lbs] of cotton are converted into twist in the same time as previously 1 lb, the 10 lbs have not absorbed more spinning labour than the previous 1 lb. The value added to the 10 lbs is no greater than the value of the 1 lb. Every 1 lb of twist contains ten times less spinning labour in the first case than in the second. And since they both contain the same amount of cotton, every 1 lb of twist, *caeteris paribus,*[a] is $^1/_{10}$ cheaper if the spinning labour amounts to $^1/_{10}$ of the value. [III-130] If the added day of spinning labour=10, and the value of 1 lb of cotton=20 (for the sake of simplicity the instrument is set=0 in both cases), in the first case 1 lb of twist=10+20=30; in the second case 10 lbs of twist=100+10=110, making 1 lb of

[a] Other things being equal.— *Ed.*

twist=11, and 10 lbs=110, whereas in the first case 10 lbs=300.

Relative surplus value is therefore distinguished from absolute as follows. In both, surplus value=surplus labour, or, the ratio of surplus value is equal to the ratio of surplus labour time to necessary labour time. In the first case the working day is extended beyond its limits and the surplus value grows (or the surplus labour time grows) in proportion as the working day is *extended* beyond its limit. In the second case the working day is given. Here, the surplus value, or the surplus labour time, is increased owing to the *reduction* of the portion of the working day that was required, or was necessary, for the reproduction of the wage. In the first case a given level of the productivity of labour is presupposed. In the second case the productivity of labour is raised. In the first case the value of an aliquot part of the total product or a part of the product of the working day remains unchanged; in the second the value of the part of the product changes, but its quantity (number of articles) grows in the same proportion as its value diminishes. The value of the total amount thus remains unchanged, whilst the total amount of products or use values has increased. Further the matter is to be presented simply as follows:

As we saw in our analysis of the commodity,[10] the productivity of labour does not increase the *value* of the product or the commodity in which the labour manifests itself. If we presuppose that the labour time contained in the commodities is, under the given conditions, *necessary* labour time, socially necessary labour time[70]—and this is always the presupposition we start from once the value of a commodity is reduced to the labour time contained in it—what takes place is rather the following: *The value of the product of labour is in an inverse ratio to the productivity of labour.* This is in fact an identical proposition. It means nothing more than this: If labour becomes more productive, it can represent a greater quantity of the same use values in the same period, it can embody itself in a greater amount of use values of the same kind. Accordingly, an aliquot part of these use values, e.g. a yard of linen, contains less labour time than previously, has therefore *less exchange value* and indeed the exchange value of the yard of linen has fallen in the same proportion as the productivity of the labour of weaving has grown. Inversely, if more labour time than previously were required to produce a yard of linen (let us say, because more labour time was required to produce a pound of flax), the yard of linen would now contain more labour time, hence would have a higher exchange value. Its exchange value would

have increased in the same proportion as the labour required to produce it had become less productive.

If we therefore take the whole working day—the average normal working day—the value of the sum total of its products remains unchanged, whether the labour becomes more or less productive. For the sum total of use values produced comes to one working day, just as before, it continues to represent the same quantity of socially necessary labour time. If, on the other hand, we take an aliquot part of the daily overall production, or a part of the product, its value rises and falls in *inverse* ratio to the productivity of the labour contained in it. For example, if 1 quarter or 8 BUSHELS are the product of a month's labour, let agriculture double its productivity in one case, and halve its productivity in another case. We should then have 3 cases: 8 BUSHELS the product of a month's labour; 16 BUSHELS the product of the same labour time; 4 BUSHELS the product of the same labour time. The value of the total amount produced during the month, 8, 16 or 4 BUSHELS, would continue to contain respectively the same quantity of necessary labour time. The value of this total amount would therefore have remained unchanged, although in one case the productivity of labour would have doubled, in the other case declined to half its original level. But in the first case 1 BUSHEL would contain $^1/_8$ of a month$=^2/_{16}$, in the second case $^1/_4$ or $^2/_8=^4/_{16}$, and in the third case only $^1/_{16}$. With the productivity of agriculture doubled, the value of the BUSHELS fell by a half; with productivity declining to half its original level, the value doubled. The *value* of a commodity can therefore never increase as a result of [increases in] the productivity of labour. This would involve a contradiction. Growth in the productivity of labour means that it brings forth the same product (use value) in less time. Growth in the exchange value of the product means that it contains more labour time than previously.

If, therefore, the *value* of the individual commodity stands in an *inverse* ratio to the productivity of labour, whilst the value of the total amount of products in which a *given* labour time is embodied remains untouched, unchanged, by any variation in the productivity of labour, the *surplus value* in contrast depends on the productivity of labour: if, on the one hand, the commodity is sold at its value, and on the other hand the length of the normal working day is given, the *surplus value* can only increase as a result of a rise in the productivity of labour. The surplus value is not related to the commodity; it expresses rather a relation between two parts of the overall working day—a relation namely between

the part during which the worker works to replace his wage (the value of his labour capacity) and the part during which he works for the capitalist over and above this replacement. Since these two parts together make up the whole of the working day, since they are parts of the same whole, their magnitudes clearly stand in *inverse* ratio to each other, and the surplus value, i.e. the surplus labour time, rises or falls according to whether the necessary labour time falls or rises. The growth or diminution of the latter, however, stands in *inverse ratio* to the productivity of labour.

[III-131] But if there were to be a general doubling of the productivity of labour, i.e. in all branches of industry providing directly or indirectly the commodities (use values) required for the reproduction of labour capacity, providing products which enter into the consumption of the workers, the value of labour capacity would fall in proportion as this general productivity of labour uniformly increased, hence the labour time necessary for the replacement of this value would fall, and the part of the day which forms surplus time, which is worked for the capitalist, would increase in the same proportion as the former would decline. However, the development of the productive forces in these different branches of labour is neither uniform nor simultaneous, being subject to uneven, diverse and often mutually opposed motions. If the productivity of labour increases in a branch of industry which enters directly or indirectly into the worker's consumption, e.g. the industry supplying fabrics for clothes, we cannot say that the value of labour capacity falls in the same proportion as the productivity of this particular industry grows. It is only this means of subsistence that is produced more cheaply. The cheapening only affects an aliquot part of the worker's vital requirements. The increased productivity of labour in this one branch does not lessen the necessary labour time (i.e. the labour time required for the production of the means of subsistence needed by the workers) in proportion to the growth in productivity, but only in proportion as the product of this labour enters, on the average, into the worker's consumption. No definite calculation of this can be made for each individual branch of industry (excepting perhaps the products of agriculture).

This does not change the general law in any way. It remains correct, just as before, that relative surplus value can only arise and increase in the proportion to which use values (means of subsistence) directly or indirectly entering into the worker's consumption are cheapened, i.e. not in the proportion to which the productivity of a specific branch of industry has grown, but

rather in the proportion to which this increase in its productivity lessens necessary labour time, i.e. produces more cheaply a product which enters into the worker's consumption. In considering relative surplus value therefore, we not only can but we must always proceed from the presupposition that the development of productive power or the development of the productivity of labour in every particular branch in which capital investment takes place *directly* reduces the necessary labour time in a definite proportion, i.e. that the product produced by the worker forms a part of his means of subsistence and its cheapening therefore reduces the labour time required for the reproduction of his life in a definite proportion. Since relative surplus value arises only on this condition, we can and must always assume the presence of this condition in considering relative surplus value.

It is clear, further, that the presence and the growth of relative surplus value by no means require as a condition that the worker's *life situation* should remain *unchanged*, i.e. that his average wage should always provide the same quantitatively and qualitatively determined amount of means of subsistence and no more. This is not the case, although relative *surplus value* can neither arise nor grow without a corresponding *fall* in the *value of labour capacity* or the *value of wages* (average wages). Indeed, relative surplus value might well rise continuously, and the *value of labour capacity*, hence the value of average wages, fall continuously, yet despite this the range of the worker's means of subsistence and therefore the pleasures of his life could expand continuously. For this is conditioned by the quality and quantity of the *use values* (commodities) he can appropriate, not by their *exchange value*.

Let us assume a doubling of productivity which is universal, covering all branches of production.[179] Assume that before this doubling the normal day was 12 hours, 10 of them necessary labour time, 2 surplus labour time. The total amount of the worker's daily means of subsistence, which previously cost [10] hours of labour, could now be produced in 5 hours. Instead of needing 10 hours of labour to replace the value (price) of his labour capacity every day, i.e. to provide an equivalent for his daily wages, the worker would now need only [5] hours. The *value* of his labour capacity would have fallen by a half, for the means of subsistence required for its reproduction would now be the product of 5 hours; instead of 10 as before. If the worker now—after this revolution in the productivity of labour—received a daily wage equivalent to 6 hours, that is to say, if he had in future to work 6 hours [IV-138][180] a day, his material living

situation would have improved in the same proportion as if, under the previous conditions of production, he had worked the whole day of 12 hours for himself (i.e. for the reproduction of his wages) and a labour time of 0 for the capitalist; as if the whole of the working day necessary labour time had been worked, and no surplus labour time at all. For 5:6=10:12. ($5\times12=6\times10$.) Nevertheless, surplus labour time would have increased in this case from 2 hours to 6 hours, and a relative surplus value of 4 hours would have been added to the absolute surplus value of 2 hours. Instead of working as before 10 hours for himself and 2 for the capitalist, hence $^{10}/_{12}$ ($=^{5}/_{6}$), therefore $^{5}/_{6}$ of the day, for himself and $^{2}/_{12}=^{1}/_{6}$ of the day for the capitalist, the worker now works only $^{6}/_{12}$ or $^{3}/_{6}$ of the day for himself and, instead of $^{1}/_{6}$, he also works $^{3}/_{6}$, half the day, for the capitalist. Necessary labour time would have fallen from 10 to 6, hence the value of the day's labour capacity, instead of being 10 hours, would only be 6 hours: 4 hours less, i.e. it would have fallen by 40% (10:4=100:40). Surplus value would have increased to 300%, from 2 to 6. //Instead of $^{1}/_{6}$ of the day $^{3}/_{6}$. $^{2}/_{6}$ added to $^{1}/_{6}$ gives $^{3}/_{6}$, therefore a 200% *increase.* This for the *surplus value.* On the other hand, from $^{5}/_{6}$ down to $^{3}/_{6}$ is a reduction of $^{2}/_{6}$, i.e. the increase on the surplus labour [time] side or the side of the capitalist is exactly as much, viewed absolutely, as the reduction on the necessary labour time side or the value of labour capacity side. It amounts to $^{2}/_{6}$ of a day, or 4 hours of labour. ($^{2}/_{6}=^{4}/_{12}$.) But if we look at the increase on one side in proportion to the original surplus labour time, and the decrease on the other side in proportion to the original necessary labour time (or the value of labour capacity), the increase on one side and the decrease on the other are expressed in *different proportions,* although the *absolute magnitude* of the time subtracted from one side and added to the other is *the same identical magnitude.*

Thus in the above case: $^{10}/_{12}$ or $^{5}/_{6}$ are related to $^{6}/_{12}$ or $^{3}/_{6}$ or $\frac{5-2}{6}$ as 5:3, as 60% (should be 40%, *see the other page*[181]), for 5:3=100:60 ($5\times60=300$ and $3\times100$ similarly=300), while $^{2}/_{12}$ or $^{1}/_{6}$ is related to $^{6}/_{12}$ or to $\frac{1+2}{6}$ ($^{3}/_{6}$) as 1:3, i.e. 100:300, hence as 300%. Therefore, although the absolute increase in surplus labour [time]=the absolute decrease in necessary labour time, which has occurred as a result of the raised productivity of labour, the proportion in which the value of labour capacity declines or the necessary labour time falls is not identical with the proportion in

which the surplus labour time or the surplus value rises, but depends rather on the *original proportion* in which surplus labour time and necessary labour time *shared* in the normal overall working day, participated in it. //

//It follows from this that in the proportion in which total surplus labour time (both the part of it which arose from the reduction of necessary labour time consequent on the increase in the productivity of labour, and the part which arose from the lengthening of the working day up to its normal limits) already forms a greater part (a more significant portion) of the overall working day, any increase in the productive power of labour and resultant reduction in necessary labour time (or increase in relative surplus value) can only increase *the proportional surplus value* in a smaller ratio. Or that a reduction of necessary labour time causes an increase in surplus labour time in a proportion which is smaller, the greater the already achieved total magnitude of surplus labour time, and greater, the smaller the achieved total magnitude of the surplus labour time. Therefore (and this must be dealt with in more detail under *profit*[182]) the more advanced the industry, the smaller the proportional growth of surplus value, if productive power continues to increase *in the same degree.* Productive power in general, or productive power altogether, to the extent that it influences the reproduction of labour capacity. In other words, the *proportion* in which an increase in the [IV-139] productive power of labour reduces necessary labour time (hence the *value* of labour capacity) and raises surplus labour time, hence surplus value, stands in an *inverse relation* to the *proportion* in which necessary labour time and surplus labour time *originally,* i.e. each time before the coming of the new increase in productive power, shared in, or participated in, the overall working day.

Assume that the working day=12 hours, 10 hours of necessary labour, and 2 hours of surplus labour. Let there be a general doubling of productive power. Now 5 hours would suffice for necessary labour time, surplus labour time would be increased by 5 hours, by the same amount as the decrease in necessary labour time (hence in the *value* of labour capacity)—i.e. 5 hours. Necessary labour time would have declined from 10 to 5, i.e. by half=50%. //(If the necessary labour time were to decline from 10 to 6, this would be a reduction of 4 hours. 10:4=100:40, therefore by 40%. I said 60% before.[181] This is wrong, because I calculated 10:6=100:60, whereas in fact what we are concerned with is the ratio of 10 to the remainder of the 10 when 6 is taken away from it, hence the ratio of 10 to 4. After all, the labour time has not

been reduced by 6 hours, i.e. not by 60%.) On the other hand surplus labour time has risen from 2 to 7 hours (with the addition of 5 hours of surplus labour time), and 2:7=100:350 (2×350=700 and 7×100 also=700); hence a rise to 350%. It would have increased to three and a half times its original magnitude.

Let us now assume that once this proportion has become established, with the overall working day falling into 5 hours of necessary labour, 7 hours of surplus labour, the general productive power of labour is redoubled, i.e. necessary labour time diminishes by $2^1/_2$ hours, surplus labour time therefore rising by the same $2^1/_2$ hours; hence from 7 to $9^1/_2$ hours. Here the necessary labour time has again fallen by 50%, and surplus labour time risen in the ratio $^{14}/_2$ (7) to $^{19}/_2$ ($9^1/_2$), thus 14:19. 14:19=100:$x$; $x={}^{1900}/_{14}$,=$135\,^5/_7$%. (19×100=1,900 and 14×$135\,^5/_7$ (or $135\,^{10}/_{14}$) also=1,900). Therefore, although in both cases the productive power of labour has doubled and the necessary labour time has therefore fallen by a half, by 50%, surplus labour time or surplus value would have risen to 350% in one case and only to $135^5/_7$% in the other. (The proportion in which the productive power *generally increases would always be the same,=the proportion in which the necessary labour time fell as compared with itself, i.e. with its extent before this increase in productive power.*) But in the first case the surplus labour time amounted to only $^1/_6$ of the whole working day, 2 hours,=$^2/_{12}$, before the doubling of the productive power took effect, while in the second case it amounted to 7 hours or $^7/_{12}$. (The same peculiarity holds for the increase of money, as has been demonstrated by Jacob, for example. It grew more in the 18th century than in the 17th. But the proportional increase was smaller.[a])

[IV-140] If we now take an actual CASE, in which productive power is e.g. doubled in one branch, but not in the other branches at the same time, perhaps remaining unaltered in the branches of production which provide constant capital for this one branch, so that the expenditure on raw materials remains the same, i.e. grows along with the increase in productive power, and the expenditure on machinery increases, even if not in the same ratio, it is clear that the *profit*, i.e. the ratio of the surplus value to the total value of the capital expended, does not increase in the same proportion as the necessary labour falls through the increase in productive

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[a] W. Jacob, *An Historical Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals*, Vol. II, London, 1831, pp. 132, 215.— *Ed.*

power. There are two reasons why this does not happen. Firstly because with the more developed productive power of labour, surplus value does not grow in the same proportion as necessary labour diminishes. Secondly because this surplus value, which has grown in a smaller proportion, is calculated on capital which has increased its value approximately in proportion to the heightening of productive power. //

// One can calculate the diminution in necessary labour time in two ways: 1) in proportion to its own magnitude before the increase in the productive power of labour; 2) in proportion to the whole of the working day. It is clear in the first calculation that—presupposing an overall heightening of productive power—necessary labour time (and therefore the value of labour capacity) declines in the same measure as productive power increases; but the proportional growth of surplus labour time or surplus value depends on the proportion in which the overall working day was originally divided between necessary labour time and surplus labour time. Thus if the working day was 12 hours originally, divided into 10 of necessary and 2 of surplus labour, and if the productive power of labour doubled, necessary labour time would fall from 10 to 5, i.e. by 50%, while productive power doubled. (This proportion is expressed in the case of productive power by a 100% growth, in the case of necessary labour time by a 50% fall. That necessary labour time falls from 10 to 5, i.e. by 50%, means that in 1 hour I can produce as much as I did previously in 2, i.e. twice as much, i.e. the productive power of labour has increased by 100%.) Surplus labour, on the other hand, has grown from 2 to 7, i.e. to 350% (a threefold increase, $2\times3$, or [6] hours, and a rise by a half, $={}^{2}/_{2}=1$, thus the whole has gone up from 2 to 7), because it originally only amounted to 2 hours out of 12. If it had originally already amounted to 3 hours, and necessary labour only 9 hours, the latter would have fallen by $4^{1}/_{2}$ hours, again by 50%, while surplus labour would have risen from 3 to $7^{1}/_{2}$; i.e. to 250% (for $3{:}7\,{}^{1}/_{2}$, or ${}^{6}/_{2}{:}{}^{15}/_{2}$, or $6{:}15,=100{:}250$. $15\times100=1500$ and $6\times250=1500$). If we now consider the whole of the working day, the ratio is *not* altered. [Necessary] labour time originally amounted to 10 hours or ${}^{10}/_{12}$ of the working day; now it only amounts to ${}^{5}/_{12}$ in the first case. (In the second it was originally ${}^{9}/_{12}$ of the working day, and afterwards came to no more than $\frac{4\,{}^{1}/_{2}}{12}$.) It is all the same whether I compare necessary labour time with itself or with the working day as a whole. All that is added is the divisor 12. This FIX has therefore been dealt with. //

Now back to page 138 *before* the bracket.[a] The worker's life situation would have improved despite the fall in the *value* of his labour capacity, the reduction by 4 hours in his necessary labour time and the increase of 4 hours in his surplus labour time for the capitalist, because he himself would have received a share of 1 hour in the time now set free. I.e., the labour time he worked for himself, i.e. for the reproduction of his wages, would *not* have been reduced to the *full extent* of the shortening of this necessary labour time resulting from the [increased] product of the labour. He would receive more use values of less value—i.e. containing less labour time than previously. But the degree in which new surplus labour would have been formed in general, in which relative surplus value would have arisen, would correspond completely to the degree in which a part of his necessary labour time had been converted into surplus labour time for the capitalist, or in which the *value* of his *labour capacity* had declined. This is enough here. Later on the proportional elements in the matter must in general be put together[183] (see also above[b]). Thus this in no way alters the *nature* and the *law of relative surplus value*—that a greater part of the working day is appropriated by capital as a result of rises in productivity. Hence the preposterousness of wanting to refute this law by statistical demonstrations that the material condition of the worker has improved here or there, in this or that aspect, [IV-141] as a result of the development of the productive power of labour.

// *Standard.* October 26, 1861. We read here of proceedings taken by the firm of John Bright and Co. against its workers, before the Rochdale MAGISTRATES,

* to prosecute for intimidation the agents of the *Carpets' Weavers' Trades Unions.* Bright's partners had introduced new machinery which would turn out *240* yards of carpet in the time and with the labour previously required to produce *160* yards. The workmen had no claim whatever to share in the profits made by the investment of their employers' capital in mechanical improvement. Accordingly, Messrs. Bright proposed to lower the rate of pay from $1^1/_2$d. per yard to ld., leaving the earnings of the men exactly the same as before for the same labour. But there was a nominal reduction, of which the operatives, it is asserted, had not had fair warning beforehand.*[184] // [IV-141]

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[a] See this volume, p. 246, the bracket before "Instead".— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid.— *Ed.*

[IV-138a][185] 1) The surplus value capital receives through the development of the productive forces does not flow from an increase in the amount of products or use values created by the same amount of labour, but from a *reduction* in *necessary* labour and an *increase* of the same proportion in surplus labour. The surplus value capital receives through the production process consists in nothing more than the excess of surplus labour over necessary labour.

*Surplus value* exactly equals *surplus labour*; an increase in surplus labour is exactly measured by a reduction in necessary labour. With *absolute surplus value* the reduction in necessary labour is *relative*, i.e. necessary labour falls relatively because overtime is increased *directly*. If the necessary labour=10 hours, and the surplus labour=2 hours, and if the latter is now increased by 2 hours, i.e. the total working day is lengthened from 12 hours to 14, the necessary labour remains 10 hours, as it was before. But previously its ratio to the surplus labour was 10:2, i.e. 5:1, and now it is 10:4,=5:2, or, in other words, previously it was equal to $^5/_6$ of the working day, now it is only $^5/_7$. Here, therefore, necessary labour time is reduced *relatively*, because total labour time, and therefore surplus labour time, has grown *absolutely*. In contrast to this, if the normal working day is given, and the increase in *relative* surplus value occurs through an increase in productive forces, the *necessary labour time is lessened* absolutely and the surplus value is thereby increased both absolutely and relatively without any increase in the *value* of the product. In the case of absolute surplus value, therefore, there is a *relative fall in the value* of wages as compared with the absolute growth in surplus value; whereas in the case of relative surplus value there is an *absolute fall in the value* of wages. Nevertheless, the first case is always worse for the worker. In the first case the *price* of labour falls absolutely. In the second case the *price of labour* may rise.

2) The surplus value of the capital is increased not by the multiplier of the productive power but by the fraction of the working day which originally represented the necessary labour time, divided by the multiplier of the productive power.

3) The greater the surplus value *prior to* the new *increase in productive power*, i.e. the greater the part of the day worked for no return already is, and the smaller therefore the paid part of the day, the fraction of the day which forms the worker's equivalent, the less the growth in surplus value which capital obtains from the new increase in productive power. Its surplus value rises, but in an ever smaller proportion to the development of the productive

forces. The barrier remains the ratio between the fraction of the day which expresses *necessary labour* and the whole of the working day. Movement can only take place within these limits. The smaller the fraction allotted to necessary labour, and the greater therefore the surplus labour, the smaller the *ratio* in which an increase in productive power lessens necessary labour time, since the denominator of the fraction is that much larger. The *rate* of capital's self-valorisation therefore grows more slowly in the measure to which it is already valorised. This does not, however, happen because the wage or the worker's share in the product has risen but because the fraction of the working day which represents necessary labour has already fallen very low in proportion to the working day as a whole. [IV-138a]

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[IV-141] A certain development of the productivity of labour is in general presupposed, even for the existence of absolute surplus value, i.e. surplus labour in general, and therefore for the existence of capitalist production, as for all earlier modes of production in which one part of society works not only for itself but also for the other part of society.

* "The very existence of the former (the master-capitalists) as a distinct class is dependent on the productiveness of industry" * (Ramsay, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth etc.*, Edinburgh, [London,] 1836, [p.] 206).

* "If each man's labour were but enough to produce[a] his own food, there could be no property" * (this word is used here for CAPITAL) (Piercy Ravenstone, *Thoughts on the Funding System, and its Effects*, London, 1824, p. 14).

In any case, the capital-relation develops at a historical stage of the economic formation of society which is already the result of a long series of previous developments. The level of the productivity of labour from which it proceeds is not of natural origin but is something created historically; by that time labour has long emerged from its first raw beginnings. It is clear that if a country possesses soil that is naturally fertile, waters teeming with fish, rich coal deposits (combustible materials in general), metal mines, etc., in comparison with other countries, where these natural conditions for the productivity of labour are present to a lesser degree, less time is required in the first country to produce the necessary means of subsistence, hence a greater quantity of excess labour for others over and above labour for oneself is possible from the outset; and therefore absolute surplus labour time, thus absolute

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[a] Ravenstone has: "procure".— *Ed.*

surplus value, is greater here from the outset. Capital (or any other relation of production whereby *surplus labour* is enforced) is therefore more productive here than under less favourable natural conditions.

The ancients were already aware that natural cheapness of labour capacity, i.e. of its cost of production and reproduction, was a great factor in industrial production. For example, it says in Diodorus' *Historical Library*, b. 1, ch. 80,[a] in relation to the Egyptians:

"It is altogether incredible how little trouble and expense the bringing up of their children causes them. They cook for them the first simple food that comes to hand; they also give them the lower part of the papyrus stem to eat, if it can be roasted in the fire, and the roots and stalks of marsh plants, some raw, some boiled, and some roasted. Most of the children go without shoes and unclothed, since the air is so mild. Hence a child, until he is grown up, costs his parents no more than twenty drachmas altogether. *This is the main reason why the population of Egypt* is so numerous, and, therefore, why it has been possible to undertake so many great works."

//Once the ratio of surplus value is given, its amount depends on the size of the population; if the size of the population is given, it depends on the ratio of surplus to necessary labour.//

All that follows from this is that, in places where the capital-relation predominates (or a similar relation of production which *enforces* absolute surplus labour, for this natural fertility only facilitates the prolongation of surplus labour time and its existence; it does not create relative surplus value in our sense), the productivity of capital is at its greatest—i.e. the most surplus labour is available and therefore the most surplus value, or the value of labour capacity is naturally at its lowest, which is the same thing—where the natural conditions of labour, [IV-142] hence in particular the soil, are at their most fruitful. This by no means implies that the most fertile countries are the most well suited to the development, thus also the fruitfulness, of the capital-relation itself. When Ricardo speaks of the fertility of the soil as one of the main conditions for the productivity of labour, he assumes capitalist production, and the proposition is only uttered on this assumption. He is naturally inclined everywhere to presuppose *bourgeois relations of production* as given. This does not interfere with the development of his argument as he deals exclusively with production in this particular form. The following passage is important, both for the concept of surplus labour in general and

[a] Diodor von Sicilien, *Historische Bibliothek*. Übers. von Julius Friedrich Wurm (Abth. 1), Bändchen 1, Stuttgart, 1827, p. 126.—*Ed.*

for the misunderstanding about the point we have just touched on.

"'In different stages of society, the *accumulation of capital*, or of the *means of employing labour** is more or less rapid, and must in *all cases depend on the productive powers of labour*. The productive powers of labour are generally greatest, where there is an *abundance of fertile land*[2] (Ricardo).[a]

"If, in the first sentence, *the productive powers of labour mean the smallness of that aliquot part of any produce that goes to those whose manual labour produced it*, the sentence is nearly identical, because the *remaining aliquot part is the fund whence capital can*, if the owner pleases, *be accumulated*. But then this does not generally happen where there is most fertile land. It does in North America, but that is an artificial state of things. It does not in Mexico. It does not in New Holland.[b] The productive powers of labour are, indeed, in *another* sense, greatest where there is much fertile land, viz. the *power of man*, if he chooses it, to raise *much raw produce* in *proportion to the whole labour he performs*. It is, indeed, a *gift of nature*, that men can *raise more food* than the *lowest quantity* that *they could maintain* and *keep up the existing population on*; but '*surplus produce*' (the term used by Mr. Ricardo p. 93) generally means the *excess of the whole price of a thing above that part of it which goes to the labourers who made it*; a part, which is settled by human arrangement, and not fixed" (*Observations on Certain Verbal Disputes in Political Economy, Particularly Relating to Value, and to Demand and Supply*, London, 1821, pp. 74-75).[c]

This man does not see that in fact "THE SMALLNESS" OR BIGNESS "OF THAT ALIQUOT PART THAT GOES" TO THE LABOURER depends on the PROPORTIONAL QUANTITY OF RAW PRODUCE WHICH "*THE WHOLE LABOUR*" OF A MAN CAN PERFORM DAILY. He is only right against Ricardo to the extent that he says: Natural fertility brings it about that with one day's labour I could produce, IF I CHOSE, much more than what is absolutely necessary for existence (THE LOWEST QUANTITY TO KEEP THE EXISTING POPULATION UPON). It does not mean that I work a lot, hence produce a lot; still less that the work I do over and above what is necessary forms the *fond* of capital. This "IS SETTLED BY HUMAN ARRANGEMENT". For Ricardo the capital-relation is itself a naturally given relation and is therefore presupposed everywhere.

If capitalist production is presupposed, necessary labour time, i.e. the time required for the reproduction of the worker, will differ in different countries according to how favourable the

*It is only in such passages as this that the nature of capital breaks through in Ricardo. So CAPITAL is not the MEANS OF LABOUR FOR PRODUCING A CERTAIN RESULT, BUT IT IS "THE MEANS FOR *EMPLOYING* LABOUR", AND THIS INVOLVES THAT THE POSSESSOR OF THE MEANS, OR THOSE MEANS THEMSELVES, EMPLOYS LABOUR, THE MEANS ARE THE POWER OVER LABOUR.[186]

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[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy etc.*, 3rd ed., London, 1821, p. 92.— *Ed.*

[b] Old name of Australia.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx reproduces the above two paragraphs in English.— *Ed.*

natural conditions of labour are, and therefore according to its natural level of productivity, and it will stand in inverse relation to the productivity of labour, hence it will be possible for surplus labour time or surplus value to be greater in one country than in the other, in direct relation, even if the same number of hours is worked.

All this concerns * the very existence of absolute surplus labour, and its relative quantity in different countries according to their respective natural facilities for production *. We do not have to deal with this here.

[IV-143] Since it is assumed that the normal working day is already divided into necessary labour and absolute surplus labour, the existence, and indeed a definite level, of the latter is presupposed, hence a definite natural basis for it is also presupposed. The question here is rather *the productive power of labour*—hence the shortening of necessary labour time, the prolongation of surplus labour time—in so far as it is itself the product of capitalist (in general, of social) production.

The chief forms are: *Cooperation, Division of Labour,* and *Machinery* or the application of SCIENTIFIC POWER, etc.

### *a) COOPERATION*

This is the *basic form.* Division of labour presupposes cooperation or is only a specific form of cooperation. The same is true of a workshop based on the use of machinery, etc. Cooperation is the *general form* on which all social arrangements for increasing the productivity of social labour are based, and it merely receives further specification in each of these. But cooperation is itself at the same time a *specific* form, existing alongside its more highly developed and closely specified forms (just as it is a form which transcends its hitherto developments).

As a form which is distinct from its own further developments or specifications, and which *exists* in distinction, separately from them, *cooperation* is the most rooted in nature, the crudest and the most abstract of its own varieties; but in any case it continues in its simplicity, in its simple form, to be the basis and prerequisite of all its more highly developed forms.

Cooperation is therefore first of all the direct *collective labour*—unmediated by *exchange*—of many workers in order to produce the same result, the same product and the same use value (or utility). In production under slavery. (Cf. Cairnes.)[187]

It is firstly the *collective labour of many workers.* Hence its initial

prerequisite is the existence of an *agglomeration*, a *heaping up of many workers* in *the same area* (in one place), all working *at the same time*; or this already constitutes the material existence of cooperation. This prerequisite underlies all its more highly developed forms.

The *simplest*, as yet not further specified mode of cooperation is evidently the performing, not of different operations, but of the *same* one by people working simultaneously and in association in the same area; but their activity must be simultaneous in order to bring about a definite result or to achieve this within a definite time. This side of cooperation, too, persists in its more highly developed forms. Many people do the same thing at the same time under the division of labour as well. Even more so in the automatic workshop.

Hunting presents one of the oldest forms of this kind of cooperation. The same can be said of war, which is only a man-hunt, a more highly developed hunt.[188] The effect produced by, for example, the charge of a cavalry regiment could not be produced by the individual members of the regiment, taking each one in isolation, even though during the charge each individual only acts as an individual, in so far as he acts at all. The gigantic structures erected by the Asiatics are another example of this kind of cooperation, indeed the importance of this simple form of cooperation emerges very strikingly in building. An individual may build a hut, but the construction of a house requires that many people should do the same thing at the same time. An individual may row a small boat; a large skiff requires a definite number of oarsmen. In the division of labour this side of cooperation emerges in the principle of the proportion of MULTIPLES,[a] which are to be apportioned to each particular branch. In the automatic workshop the main effect stems not from the division of labour but from the *sameness* of the work performed by many people at once. For example, the SPINNING MULES set in motion simultaneously by the same motor are watched over simultaneously by so and so many spinners.

The merit of *Wakefield*'s new system of colonisation is not that he discovered or [IV-144] promoted the art of colonisation, nor that he made any fresh discoveries whatsoever in the field of political economy, but that he naively laid bare the narrow-mindedness of political economy without being clear himself as to

[a] See this volume, p. 288.—*Ed.*

the importance of these discoveries or being to the slightest degree free from that narrow-mindedness.

The point is that in the colonies, particularly in their earliest stages of development, bourgeois relations are not yet fully formed; not yet presupposed, as they are in old established countries. They are in the process of becoming. The conditions of their origin therefore emerge more clearly. It appears that these *economic relations* are neither present by nature, nor are they *things*, which is the way the political economists are rather inclined to view capital, etc. We shall see later how Mr. Wakefield solves this mystery in the colonies, to his own astonishment.[67] Here we shall confine ourselves, for the time being, to citing a passage which bears on this simple form of cooperation:

* "There are numerous operations of so simple a kind *as not to admit a division into parts*, which cannot be performed *without the cooperation of many pairs of hands*. For instance the lifting of a large tree on a wain, keeping down weeds in a large field of growing crops, shearing a large flock of sheep at the same time, gathering a harvest of corn at a time when it is ripe enough and not too ripe, moving any great weight; everything in short, which cannot be done unless a good many pairs of hands help each other in *the same undivided employment*, and at the same time" * (E. G. Wakefield, *A View of the Art of Colonization etc.*, London, 1849, p. 168).

Catching fish for example. Result when many act at once—as in hunting. Building railways. Digging canals, etc. This kind of cooperation in the public works of the Egyptians and Asiatics. The Romans employed their armies like this in PUBLIC WORKS. (See the passage in *Jones*.[a])

We have already seen, in considering absolute surplus value,[b] that once the rate is given the amount of surplus value depends on the number of workers simultaneously employed; SO FAR, therefore, on their cooperation. However, it is precisely here that the difference between absolute and relative surplus value—in so far as the latter presupposes an increase in and therefore a development of the productive power of labour—emerges in striking fashion. If, in place of 10 workers, each of whom works 2 hours of surplus labour, 20 workers are employed, the result will be 40 surplus hours instead of 20, as in the first case. 1:2=20:40. The ratio is the same for the 20 as for the one. Here we only have the addition or multiplication of the hours worked by the individuals. *Cooperation as such* makes absolutely no difference to the ratio here. Now, in contrast, we are considering cooperation as a natural force of social labour, in so far as the labour of the

[a] See this volume, p. 259.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., 185-90.—*Ed.*

individual attains a productivity by means of cooperation which it would not have attained as the labour of the isolated individual. E.g. if 100 people mow simultaneously, each of them only works as an individual and does the same work. But the result achieved, that in this definite period of time, before the hay has rotted, etc., the mowing has been done—this use value has been produced—is alone the result of the fact that 100 people have *simultaneously* borne a hand in this work. In other cases an actual increase of strength occurs. E.g. in lifting etc. Loading a heavy burden. A power is created here which is not possessed by the individual in isolation, but only when he works together with others *at the same time.* In the first case he could not extend his sphere of action as far afield as would be necessary for the achievement of the result. In the second case he could not develop the necessary power at all, or only with infinite loss of time. The time taken by 10 people to load a tree into a cart is less than one-tenth of the time one individual would take to achieve the same result (if he could do it at all). The result is that through cooperation things can be produced in a shorter time than would be possible for the same individuals when working in the same numbers but scattered about in isolation, or use values can be produced which would otherwise be impossible to produce at all. An individual cannot do in 100 days, indeed often 100 individuals cannot do in 100 days, what 100 can do in one day through cooperation. Here, therefore, the productive power of the individual is increased by the social [IV-145] form of labour. Since this makes it possible to produce more in less time, the necessary means of subsistence or the conditions required for their production can be produced in less time. Necessary labour time diminishes. Relative surplus time is thereby made possible. The latter can be extended, the former reduced.

"The strength of each man is very small, but the union of a number of very small forces produces a collective force which is greater than *the sum of these partial forces,* so that merely by being joined together these forces can reduce the time required, and extend their field of action" (G. R. Carli, note 1, p. 196, to Pietro Verri, *Meditazioni sulla economia politica etc.,* Custodi, *Parte Moderna,* Vol. XV).[a]

//It may perhaps be recalled here that in many branches of industry this simple form of cooperation permits the communal use of the conditions of labour, e.g. fuel, buildings, etc. But this does not concern us here. It should rather be considered under Profit.[189] Here we only need to look at how far the ratio of

[a] Marx quotes in Italian.— *Ed.*

necessary to surplus labour is directly affected, not the ratio of surplus labour to the total amount of capital laid out. This must also be kept in mind in the sections that follow. //

// It is not absolutely necessary for the workers to be united together in the same location. If 10 astronomers make the same observations from the observatories of different countries, etc., that is not a *division of labour* but the performance of the same labour in different places, a form of cooperation. // But also, at the same time, *concentration of the means of labour.*

Extension of the sphere of action; curtailment of the time during which a particular result is attained; and finally, the creation of forces of production the isolated worker is completely incapable of developing: all these are characteristic both of simple cooperation and of its more differentiated forms.

In simple cooperation it is only the amount of human force which produces the effect. The place of the one individual with two eyes, etc., is taken by a many-eyed, many-armed, etc., monster. Hence the gigantic works of the Roman armies. The great public works of Asia and Egypt. Here, where the state spends the revenue of the whole country, it has the power to set in motion great masses of people.

* "It has happened in times past that these Oriental States, after supplying the expenses of their civil and military establishments, have found themselves in possession of a surplus which they could apply to works of magnificence or utility, and in the construction of these *their command over the hands and arms of almost the entire non-agricultural population* [...], and this food, belonging to the monarch and the priesthood, afforded the means of creating the mighty monuments which filled the land ... in moving the colossal statues and vast masses, of which the transport creates wonder, human labour almost alone was prodigally used ... topes and reservoirs of Ceylon, the Wall of China, the numerous works of which the ruins cover the plains of Assyria and Mesopotamia" * (Richard Jones, *Text-book of Lectures on the Political Economy of Nations*, Hertford, 1852, p. 77).

* "*The number of the labourers, and the concentration of their efforts sufficed.*" *

// *The number and concentration of workers* is the basis of simple cooperation. //

* "We see mighty coral reefs rising from the depths of the ocean into islands and firm land, yet each individual depositor is puny, weak and contemptible. The non-agricultural labourers of an Asiatic monarchy have little but their individual bodily exertions to bring [IV-146] to the task; but *their number is their strength*, and the *power of directing these masses* gave rise to the palaces and temples etc. It is *that confinement of the revenues which feed them, to one or a few hands, which makes such undertakings possible*" * (l.c., [p.] 78).

// *Continuity* of labour is, in general, peculiar to capitalist production; but it only develops fully with the development of fixed capital, which we shall discuss later.[190] //

This power of the Egyptian and Asiatic kings and priests or the Etruscan theocrats in the ancient world has in bourgeois society passed to capital and therewith to the capitalists.

Simple cooperation, as also its more developed forms, and altogether any means of heightening the productive power of labour, fall under the labour process, not the process of valorisation. They heighten the EFFICIENCY of LABOUR. The *value* of the product of LABOUR, on the other hand, depends on the necessary labour time required for its manufacture. EFFICIENCY of LABOUR can therefore only reduce the value of a particular product, it cannot raise it. But all the methods which are employed to heighten the EFFICIENCY of the labour process reduce necessary labour time (TO A CERTAIN DEGREE), and thus increase surplus value, the part of the value which accrues to the capitalist, although the value of the total product remains determined as before by the total quantity of labour time employed.

"The mathematical principle that the whole is equal to the sum of its parts becomes false when applied to our subject. REGARDING LABOUR, THE GREAT PILLAR OF HUMAN EXISTENCE, IT MAY BE SAID, that the entire product of combined exertion infinitely EXCEEDS all which individual and DISCONNECTED EFFORTS could possibly accomplish" (Michael Thomas Sadler, *The Law of Population*, Vol. 1, p. 84).

*Cooperation*—i.e. its application by the capitalist, i.e. the owner of money or commodities—naturally requires concentration in his hand of means of labour, and likewise of means of subsistence (the part of capital exchanged for labour). The employment of one man for 360 days during the year requires a capital 360 times smaller than the employment of 360 men on one and the same day.

The social productive power which arises from cooperation is a *free gift*. The individual workers or rather labour capacities are paid, and paid as separate ones. Their cooperation, and the productive power which arises therefrom, is not paid for. The capitalist pays 360 workers; he does not pay for the cooperation of the 360 workers: for the exchange between capital and labour capacity takes place between capital and the individual labour capacity. It is determined by the exchange value of the latter, which is just as independent of the productive power this labour capacity attains under certain social combinations as it is of the fact that the time for which the worker works and can work is longer than the labour time required for his own reproduction.

Cooperation, which is a productive power of social labour, appears as a productive power of capital, not of labour. And this transposition takes place within capitalist production in respect of

all the productive powers of social labour. This refers to real labour. Just as the general, abstractly social character [IV-147] of labour—i.e. the exchange value of the commodity—presents itself as *money,* and all the qualities the product possesses as the representation of this general labour present themselves as qualities of money, in the same way does the concrete social character of labour present itself as the character and quality of capital.

In fact: Once the worker enters into the actual labour process he is already incorporated *qua* labour capacity into capital, he no longer belongs to himself but to capital, and therefore the conditions under which he works are rather the conditions under which capital works. However, before he steps into the labour process he enters into contact with the capitalist as the individual owner or seller of a commodity; this commodity is his own labour capacity. He sells it as an isolated commodity. It becomes social once it has entered into the labour process. The metamorphosis his labour capacity undergoes thereby is something external to it, in which it does not participate; it is rather something which is done to it. The capitalist buys not one but many individual labour capacities at the same time, but he buys them all as isolated commodities, belonging to isolated, mutually independent commodity owners. Once they enter into the labour process, they are already incorporated into capital, and their own cooperation is therefore not a relation into which they put themselves; it is the capitalist who puts them into it. Nor is it a relation which belongs to them; instead, they now belong to it, and the relation itself appears as a relation of capital to them. It is not their reciprocal association, but rather a unity which rules over them, and of which the vehicle and director is capital itself. Their own association in labour—cooperation—is in fact a power alien to them; it is the power of capital which confronts the isolated workers. In so far as they have a relation to the capitalist as independent persons, as sellers, it is the relation of isolated, mutually independent workers, who stand in a relation to the capitalist but not to each other. Where they do stand in a relation to each other as functioning labour capacities, they are incorporated into capital, and this relation therefore confronts them as a relation of capital, not as their own relation. They find that they are agglomerated. The cooperation which arises from this agglomeration is for them just as much an effect of capital as the agglomeration itself. Their *interconnection and their unity* lies not in themselves but in capital, or, the social productive power of their labour arising therefrom is

a productive power of capital. Just as the power of individual labour capacity not only to replace but to increase itself—surplus labour—appears as a capacity of capital, so does the social character of labour and the productive power which arises from that character.

This is the first stage at which the subsumption of labour under capital no longer appears as a merely formal subsumption but changes the mode of production itself, so that the *capitalist* mode of production is a specific mode of production.[55] The subsumption is formal, in so far as the individual worker, instead of working as an independent commodity owner, now works as a labour capacity belonging to the capitalist, [IV-148] and therefore under his command and supervision; also works no longer for himself but for the capitalist; the means of labour, moreover, no longer appear as means to the realisation of his labour: his labour appears instead as the means of valorisation—i.e. absorption of labour—for the means of labour. This distinction is formal in so far as it can exist without causing the slightest alteration of any kind in the mode of production or the social relations within which production takes place.[75] With cooperation a specific distinction already enters the picture. The work takes place under conditions in which the independent labour of the individual cannot be carried on—and indeed these conditions appear as a relation dominating the individual, as a band with which capital fetters the individual workers.

The collaboration of many people, whose association itself is a relation alien to them, whose unity lies outside them, gives rise to the necessity for command, for overall supervision, as itself a condition of production, as a new kind of labour, *LABOUR OF SUPERINTENDENCE*, made necessary and conditioned by the cooperation of the workers, just as in any army there is a need for people with the power of command, a need for command, if it is to function as a unified body, even when all its members belong to the same arm of the service.[76] This command is an attribute of capital, although the individual capitalist can in his turn hand over its implementation to specialised workers, who nevertheless represent capital and the capitalist over against the army of workers. (*Slavery, Cairnes.*[187])

In so far as specialised work of this kind arises out of functions created by capitalist production itself, it is of course absurd to use capital's performance of these functions to prove the necessity of its existence. It is a tautology. It is as if one were to wish to justify slavery to the Negroes by saying that as slaves they needed the

overseer with his whip, who was as necessary to their production as they themselves. But he is necessary only because and in so far as they are slaves—on the basis of slavery. In contrast to this, in so far as cooperation requires a director, as in an orchestra for example, the form this takes under the conditions of capital and the form it might take otherwise, e.g. in the case of association, are completely different things. In the latter case it is a specialised function of labour alongside others, but not as the power that brings about the workers' own unity as something alien to them, and the exploitation of their labour as an act committed upon them by an alien power.

Cooperation may be continuous; it may also be merely temporary, as in agriculture with the harvest, etc.

The essence of simple cooperation remains *simultaneity* of action, a simultaneity whose results can never be attained by the temporal succession of the activities of the individual workers.

What remains most important is: This first transposition of the social character of labour as social character of capital, of the productive power of social labour as productive power of capital; and finally the first transformation of the formal subsumption under capital into a real alteration of the mode of production itself.

[IV-138a][191] *Destutt de Tracy* distinguishes as means for increasing the productivity of labour:

> 1) *Concours de forces.* (SIMPLE COOPERATION.)[a] "Is it a matter of defending oneself? Ten men can easily resist an enemy who would have destroyed all of them by attacking them one after another. Is a heavy object to be moved? The burden heavy enough to oppose an invincible resistance to the efforts of a single individual yields straight away to several people acting together. *Is it a question of undertaking a complex piece of labour?* Many things must be done simultaneously. One person does one thing, while another does something else, and they all contribute to an effect that a single man would be unable to produce. One rows while the other holds the rudder, and a third casts the net or harpoons the fish; in this way fishing enjoys a success that would be impossible without this cooperation" (l.c., p. 78).[b]

In this second form of cooperation there is already a division of labour taking place, because many things must be done *simultaneously*, but this is not a division of labour in the true sense. The 3 people can alternately row, steer and fish, although in the act of cooperation each of them only does the one thing. The real division of labour, in contrast, consists in this, that

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[a] Destutt de Tracy, *Traité de la volonté et de ses effets*, Paris, 1826, p. 80.— *Ed.*
[b] Here and below Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

"when a number of men work for each other, each of them can devote himself *exclusively* to the occupation for which he is most suited, etc." (l.c., p. 79). [IV-138a]

### [IV-149] b) *DIVISION OF LABOUR*[192]

The division of labour is a particular, differentiated, further developed form of cooperation, a powerful means of heightening the productive power of labour, performing the same work in less labour time, hence reducing the labour time necessary for the reproduction of labour capacity and extending surplus labour time.

Simple cooperation involves many people working together to perform the *same* work. In the division of labour many workers cooperate under the command of capital to produce *different* parts of *the same commodities*, each particular part requiring a specific kind of labour, a specific operation, and each worker or definite multiple quantity of workers performing one specific operation only, with the others performing others and so forth; the totality of these operations, however, producing *a single commodity*, a particular specific commodity; the latter therefore representing the totality of these specific forms of labour.

We say *commodity* from a twofold point of view. Firstly, a commodity produced under the division of labour can itself be a semi-manufacture, a raw material, a material of labour for another sphere of production. A product of this kind therefore by no means needs to be a use value which has taken on its final form, the form in which it ultimately enters consumption.

If different production processes are required for the manufacture of a use value, e.g. printed calico—spinning, weaving, printing—the printed calico is the result of these different production processes and of the totality of the specific modes of labour, spinning, weaving, printing. No division of labour in the sense we are now considering has yet taken place on that account. If the spun yarn is a *commodity*, the *woven cloth a commodity*, and the printed calico a specific commodity alongside the other two commodities—those use values which are the product of processes which must precede the printing of calico—no division of labour in the sense we are now considering takes place, although there is a social division of labour, because the yarn is the product of spinners, the cloth is the product of weavers and the calico is the product of printers. The labour necessary for the production of printed calico is divided into spinning, weaving and printing and

each of these branches forms the occupation of a particular section of workers, each of whom performs only the one particular operation of spinning or weaving or printing. Here, then, what is needed is firstly a totality of particular kinds of labour, in order to produce the printed calico; and secondly the subsumption of different workers under each of these particular labour operations. But it cannot be said that they cooperate in producing *the same commodity*. They rather produce commodities independent of each other. The yarn is on our assumption as much a commodity as the printed calico. The existence of a use value as a commodity does not depend on the nature of that use value, hence it does not depend, either, on its distance from or nearness to the shape in which it finally enters consumption, whether as means of labour or means of subsistence. It depends solely on this, that a definite quantity of labour time is represented in the product and that it forms the material for the satisfaction of certain needs, whether these are the needs of a further production process or those of the consumption process. On the other hand, if the printed calico first came onto the market as a *commodity* after having passed through the processes of spinning, weaving and printing, it would have been produced by *division* of labour.

We have seen that the product only becomes a commodity at all, and the exchange of commodities as a condition of production only takes place at all, given a social division of labour, [IV-150] or a division of social labour.[a] The specific commodities are the repositories of specific modes of labour, and the producer or owner of the individual commodity only takes possession of his aliquot part of social production, i.e. of the products of all the other branches of labour, through exchange, namely the sale of his product, through the conversion of his commodity into money. That he produces a commodity at all implies that his labour is one-sided and does not *directly* produce his means of subsistence, that these are rather obtained only by the exchange of his labour for the products of other branches of labour. This social division of labour, which is presupposed in the existence of the product as a commodity and of the exchange of commodities, differs essentially from the division of labour we are investigating here. The latter presupposes the former as its point of departure and basis.

A division of labour occurs in the former case in so far as every

[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 292).— *Ed.*

commodity represents the other commodity, hence every commodity owner or producer represents a specific branch of labour vis-à-vis the other one; and the totality of these specific branches of labour, their existence as the whole gamut of social labour, is mediated through the *exchange of commodities*, or, more closely defined, the *circulation of commodities*, which as we have seen includes the circulation of money.[a] A considerable division of labour in this sense may take place without there being any division of labour in the other sense. But the second type cannot occur without the first under conditions of commodity production, although it can occur where products are not produced as commodities at all, where production does not, in general, take place on the basis of the exchange of commodities. The first division of labour shows itself in the fact that the product of a specific branch of labour confronts as a specific commodity the producers of all other branches of labour as independent commodities differing from it. The second division of labour, in contrast, takes place when a specific use value is produced before it comes onto the market, enters into circulation, as a specific, independent commodity. In the first case the different kinds of labour complement each other through the exchange of commodities. In the second there is direct, cooperative action by the different kinds of labour, not mediated through the exchange of commodities, with the aim of manufacturing the same use value under the command of capital. In the first division of labour the producers meet as independent commodity owners and representatives of specific branches of labour. In the second they appear rather as dependent, since they only produce a complete commodity, indeed only produce a commodity at all, through their cooperation, and each of them represents not a specific piece of work, but rather the individual operations which are combined, which meet, in a specific piece of work, while the commodity owner, the producer of the complete commodity, confronts the dependent workers as capitalist.

Adam Smith constantly confuses these very different senses of the division of labour, which admittedly complement each other, but are also in certain respects mutually opposed. In order to avoid confusion, more recent English writers call the first type DIVISION OF LABOUR and the second SUBDIVISION OF LABOUR, although this fails to bring out the conceptual distinction.[193]

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, Chapter Two, "Money or Simple Circulation").— *Ed.*

Pins and twist are two specific commodities; each of them represent a specific branch of labour and their producers confront each other as commodity owners. They represent a division of social labour, each section of which confronts the other as a specific sphere of production. In contrast to this, the different operations required for the production of a pin constitute a division of labour in the second sense if they represent just as many modes of labour under which particular workers are subsumed—it being presupposed, namely, that the particular parts of the pin do not emerge as specific commodities. Characteristic of this kind of division of labour is the differentiation of the operations within the sphere of production which belongs to a particular *commodity*, and the distribution of each of these operations among particular workers, whose cooperation creates the whole product, the *commodity*, but whose representative is not the worker but the capitalist. [IV-151] Even this form of the division of labour, which we are considering here, by no means exhausts the subject of the division of labour, which is in a certain respect the category of categories of political economy. But here we have only to consider it as a particular productive power of capital.

It is clear, 1) that this division of labour presupposes the social division of labour. First the exchange of commodities develops the differentiation of social labour, and then the branches of labour become so widely separated that each specific branch is traced back to a specialised kind of labour, and the division of labour, its analysis, can take place within this specialised labour. It is equally clear, 2) that the second division of labour must, in its turn, extend the first—reacting back upon it. *Firstly* in so far as it, like all other productive forces, reduces the amount of labour required for a particular use value, therefore sets labour free to take part in a new branch of social labour. Secondly, and this is specific to it, in so far as it is able in its analysis to split up a speciality in such a way that the different *components of the same use value* are now produced as different commodities, independent of each other, or also that the *different varieties of the same use value*, which previously all fell to the share of the same sphere of production, are now allotted to different spheres of production through the analysis of the individual varieties.

The one is division of social labour into different branches of labour, the other is division of labour in the manufacture of a commodity, hence not division of labour in society but social division of labour within one and the same workshop. Division of

labour in the latter sense presupposes *manufacture*, as a specific *mode of production*.

*Adam Smith* does not distinguish these two SENSES of the division of labour. The second division of labour therefore does not appear with him as something specific to capitalist production.

The chapter on the division of labour with which he opens his work (book I, chapter I) (On the Division of Labour) begins like this:

"The effects of the *division of labour*, in the general industry of society, will be more easily understood by considering in what manner these effects operate in some particular manufactures" [Garnier, p. 11] [Vol. I, p. 15].[194]

The division of labour within the *atelier* (which really means workshop, FACTORY, mine, or farm here, the only assumption being that the individuals employed in the production of a particular *commodity cooperate* under the command of capital), the *capitalist* division of labour, is only of interest to him, and he only discusses it in particular, as being a more easily comprehensible, more tangible and clearer example of the effects of the division of labour within society in general and upon the "general industry of society". The following passage proves this:

"It is commonly supposed that this *division* is carried furthest in some manufactures which produce articles of little value; not perhaps that it really is carried further in them than in others of more importance: but in those trifling manufactures which are destined to supply the small wants of but a small number of people, the whole number of workmen must necessarily be small; *and those employed in every different branch of the work can often be collected into the same workhouse*, and placed at once under the view of the spectator. In those great manufactures, on the contrary, which are destined to supply the wants of the great body of the people, *every different branch of the work employs so great a number of workmen that it is impossible to collect them all* [IV-152] *into the same workhouse*. We can seldom see more, at one time, than those employed in one single branch of the work. Though in such manufactures, therefore, the work may really be divided into a much greater number of parts than in those of the first kind, the division is not near so obvious, and has accordingly been much less observed" [l.c., pp. 11-12].

Firstly, this passage demonstrates the small scale on which industrial enterprises still operated in Adam Smith's time.

Secondly, the division of labour in a workshop and the division of a branch of labour within society into distinct, mutually independent branches, are only *subjectively* different matters for him, not *objectively*. In the first case one sees the division at a glance, in the second case one does not. The change is not in the real situation but only in the way the observer sees it. For example, if one looks at the whole of the iron-producing industry, starting from the production of pig iron and going through all the different types of product into which the industry is divided, each

of which forms an independent branch of production, an *independent* commodity, whose connection with its preceding or subsequent stages is mediated by the exchange of commodities, the social division of this branch of industry probably involves more subdivisions than we meet with inside a pin factory.

Hence Adam Smith does not grasp the division of labour as a particular, specifically distinct form characteristic of the *capitalist* mode of production.

The division of labour, as we regard it here, presupposes firstly that the social division of labour has already attained a considerable level of development, that the various spheres of production are separated from each other, and that within each sphere there are further divisions into independent subspecies; indeed, capital can only develop on the basis of a circulation of commodities which is already relatively extensive, and is identical with a relatively extensive development of the division (autonomisation) of branches of business within society as a whole. Once this is presupposed, hence e.g. once the production of cotton yarn exists as an independent, autonomous branch of business (hence is no longer e.g. a subsidiary occupation of the countryside), the second prerequisite for the division of labour, which precedes this one and exists before it, is that many workers in this branch should be associated in a workshop under the command of capital. This association, the agglomeration of workers under the command of capital, which is the condition for *capitalist* cooperation, comes about for two reasons. Firstly, surplus value does not depend only on its rate; its absolute amount, magnitude, depends at the same time on the number of workers who are simultaneously being exploited by the same capital. Capital functions as capital in proportion to the number of workers it simultaneously employs. The independence of the workers in their production is thereby at an end. They work under the supervision and command of capital. In so far as they work together and are interconnected, this interconnection exists in capital, or, this interconnection itself is for them merely external, a mode of capital's existence. Their labour becomes *compulsory labour* because once they enter into the labour process it belongs not to them but already to capital, is already incorporated in capital. The workers are subjected to the *discipline* of capital and placed in completely changed conditions of life. The first manufactories in Holland, and in all countries where they developed independently and were not imported ready-made from abroad, were little more than conglomerations of workers who produced the same commodity, with the means of

labour being concentrated in the same workshop under the command of the same capital. A developed division of labour was not a feature of those places, the development rather took place first within them as its natural basis. In the medieval guilds the master [IV-153] was prevented from becoming a capitalist by the guild regulations, which restricted to a very low maximum the number of workers he was permitted to employ at any one time.

Secondly, the economic advantages which arose from the common utilisation of the buildings, of furnaces, etc., and soon gave these manufactories such an advantage in productivity over the patriarchal or guild-based enterprises—apart from any effect of the division of labour—do not belong to our subject here, as we have only to consider, not the *economy* made on the *conditions of labour*,[189] but the more productive application of variable capital; the extent to which these means *directly* raise the productivity of the labour employed in a particular sphere of production.

Even where a particular branch of business—see e.g. *Blanqui*[a]—is very subdivided, but patriarchal, so that the product of each part exists as a specific commodity independently of the others, or is only mediated by the exchange of commodities, association in a single workshop is by no means merely formal. In these circumstances the work almost always takes the form of domestic-rural subsidiary labour, there thus being no absolute subsumption of the worker under an entirely one-sided and simple operation. It is not his exclusive task. But then the main feature is lacking. These workers work with their own means of labour. The mode of production itself is in fact not capitalist, instead, the capitalist merely steps between these independent workers and the definitive purchaser of their commodities as *middleman*, as *merchant*. This form, in which capital has not yet taken control of production itself, still predominates over much of the Continent; it always constitutes the transition from the subsidiary industries of the countryside to the capitalist mode of production proper. Here the worker himself appears as commodity owner, producer and seller, and the capitalist still confronts him as *buyer of commodities*, not of *labour*. The basis of capitalist production is therefore still absent.

Where, as in Blanqui's example, the division of labour exists in the form of independent branches of production, a multiplicity of time-consuming and unproductive intermediate processes takes place, conditioned by the existence of the different stages of the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 285-86.—*Ed.*

commodity as commodities in their own right, and by the fact that their interconnection in the overall production of the commodity has first to be mediated through the exchange of commodities, through sale and purchase. Working for each other in the different branches is subject to all kinds of accidents, irregularities and so on, for it is the compulsion of the workshop which first introduces simultaneity, regularity and proportionality into the mechanism of these different operations, in fact first combines them together into a uniformly operating mechanism.

If the division of labour—once it proceeds, now on the basis of the existing workshops, to a further subdivision of the operations and subsumption under them of definite multiple numbers of workers—if the division of labour *carries itself further*, it is also its opposite. For in so far as the *disjecta membra poetae*[a] were previously autonomous, existing side by side as an equal number of independent commodities, and hence as the products of an equal number of independent commodity owners, the division of labour is also their *combination* in one mechanism; an aspect entirely overlooked by Adam.

Later on[b] we shall investigate in more detail why the division of labour within society, a division which through the exchange of commodities emerges as the totality of production and only has an impact on its individual representatives through competition, the law of supply and demand, develops further at the same pace as, goes hand in hand with, the division of labour within the workshop, the division of labour characteristic of capitalist production, in which the independence of the workers is completely annihilated and they become parts of a social mechanism standing under the command of capital.[55]

[IV-154] This much is clear. Adam Smith did not grasp the *division of labour* as something peculiar to the capitalist mode of production; something whereby, in addition to machinery and simple cooperation, labour is transformed not only formally, but in its reality—through subsumption under capital. He conceives it in the same way as Petty and others of his predecessors after Petty. (See the *East Indian pamphlet.*[c])

Like his predecessors, Smith in fact still views the division of labour from the standpoint of *antiquity*, in so far as they lump it

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[a] "Scattered limbs of the poet" (Horace, *Satirarum*, I, 4).—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 312-16.—*Ed.*

[c] W. Petty, *An Essay Concerning the Multiplication of Mankind*; [H. Martyn,] *The Advantages of the East-India Trade to England* (see this volume, pp. 286-87.—*Ed.*

together with the division of labour within society. They only differ from the conception held by the classical world in their view of the result and purpose of the division of labour. They conceive it as from the outset a productive force of capital, in so far as they stress and almost exclusively discuss the fact that the division of labour *cheapens commodities*, reduces the amount of necessary labour time required to produce a particular commodity, or increases the quantity of commodities that can be produced in the same necessary labour time, thereby lessening the *exchange value* of the individual commodities. They lay all their emphasis on this aspect—*exchange value*—and the *modernity* of their point of view consists in this. And this is of course the decisive point if the division of labour is conceived as a productive force of capital, for it is such a force only in so far as it cheapens the means of subsistence required for the reproduction of labour capacity, reduces the amount of labour time needed for their reproduction. The ancients, on the other hand, had their eyes fixed exclusively on *use value*, in so far as they made any attempt at all to reflect upon and understand the division of labour. The consequence of the division of labour for them was that the products of the individual branches of production attained a *better quality*, whereas the *quantitative* point of view predominates among the moderns. The ancients, therefore, consider the division of labour not in relation to the *commodity* but in relation to the *product* as such. What interests the commodity owners who have become capitalists is the influence of the division of labour on the *commodity*; its influence on the *product* as such only has a bearing on the commodity in so far as it is a matter of the satisfaction of human needs in general, a matter of use value as such. The historical background of the Greeks' views is always *Egypt*, which they regarded as the model of an industrial country, in just the same way as Holland and later England were regarded by the moderns. The division of labour therefore occurs with them, as we shall see later, in relation to the hereditary division of labour and the caste system deriving from it, as it existed in Egypt.

Adam Smith confuses the two forms of the division of labour later on too. Thus he says further in the same book I, chapter I:

"The division of labour, so far as it can be introduced, occasions, in every art, a proportionable increase of the productive powers of labour. *The separation of different trades and employments from one another seems to have taken place in consequence of this advantage.* This separation, too, is generally carried furthest in those countries which enjoy the highest degree of industry and improvement; what is the work of one man in a rude state of society being generally that of several in an improved one" [Garnier, p. 15] [Vol. I, p. 18].

Adam Smith explicitly picks out the *quantitative* point of view, i.e. the curtailment of the labour time needed for the production of a commodity, as the exclusive consideration, in the passage where he is enumerating the advantages of the division of labour:

"*This great increase in the quantity of work which,* in consequence of the division of labour, *the same number of people are capable of performing,* is owing to three different circumstances" ([Garnier,] Book I, Chapter I [p. 18]) [Vol. I, p. 21].

According to him these advantages consist in 1) the *dexterity* the worker attains in his one-sided branch [IV-155] of labour:

"First, the improvement of the dexterity of the workman necessarily increases the *quantity of the work* he can perform; and the division of labour, by *reducing every man's business to some one simple operation,* and by making *this operation the sole employment of his life,* necessarily increases very much the dexterity of the workman." (Hence rapidity of the operations.)

*Secondly*: *saving of the time* which gets lost in moving from one task to another. In that connection both "change of place" and "different tools" are required.

"When the two trades can be carried on *in the same workhouse,* the loss of time is no doubt much less. It is even in this case, however, very considerable. A man commonly saunters a little in turning his hand from one sort of employment to another" [Garnier, pp. 20, 21] [Vol. I, p. 23].

Finally Smith mentions

"that the invention of all those machines by which labour is so much facilitated and abridged seems to have been originally owing to the division of labour" [Garnier, p. 22] [Vol. I, p. 24]

(invented by the workers themselves, the whole of whose attention is exclusively directed towards a simple object). And even the influence exerted on the invention of machinery by philosophers or men of speculation is due to the social division of labour, for it is through it that

"philosophy or speculation becomes, like every other employment, the principal or sole trade occupation of a particular class of citizens" [Garnier, p. 24] [Vol. I, p. 25].

Adam Smith remarks that if on the one hand the division of labour is the product, the result, of the natural diversity of human talents, the latter are to a much greater degree the result of the development of the division of labour. In this he follows his teacher Ferguson.

"The difference of natural talents in different men is, in reality, much less than we are aware of; and the very different genius which appears to distinguish men of different professions, when grown up to maturity, is *not so much the cause as the effect of* the division of labour.... All must have had the same duties to perform" (without the division of labour and without exchange, which he makes into the *basis* of the

division of labour), "and the same work to do, and there could have been no such difference of employment as could alone give occasion to any great difference of talents". "By nature a philosopher is not in genius and disposition half so different from a street porter, as a mastiff is from a greyhound" [Garnier, pp. 33-35] [Vol. I, pp. 33-35].

Smith explains the very existence of the division of labour by referring to

"*men's inclination to trade and exchange*", without which "every man must have procured to himself every necessary and conveniency of life" ([Garnier,] Book I, Chapter II, [p. 34]) [Vol. I, p. 34].

Thus he assumes exchange in order to explain the division of labour, and assumes the division of labour IN ORDER THAT THERE BE SOMETHING TO EXCHANGE.

*The naturally evolved division of labour precedes exchange,* and the exchange of products as commodities first develops *between different communities, not within the same community.* (The division of labour rests in part not only on the naturally evolved differences between human beings themselves, but on natural elements of production found available by these different communities.[195]) Of course, the development of the product into a commodity and the exchange of commodities react back onto the division of labour, so that exchange and division enter into a relation of interaction.

[IV-156] Smith's main merit in dealing with the division of labour is that he stresses it and puts it in the forefront, indeed views it directly as a productive power of labour (i.e. capital). In his conception of it, however, he is dependent on the contemporary level of development of *manufacture,* which was still far removed from the modern factory. Hence also the relative preponderance conceded to the division of labour over machinery, which still appears merely as its appendage.

In the whole section on the division of labour Adam Smith essentially follows his teacher *Adam Ferguson,* often to the extent of copying from him ([A. Ferguson,] *Essai sur l'histoire de la société civile,* translated by M. Bergier, Paris, 1783). Under conditions of barbarism the human being inclines to sloth:

"He is, perhaps, by the diversity of his wants, discouraged from industry; or, by his divided attention, prevented from acquiring skill in any kind of labour" ([A. Ferguson, l.c.,] Vol. II, p. 128).[a]

Among the different circumstances which gradually lead men "to subdivide their professions without any conscious end in mind", Ferguson similarly indicates "*the prospect of being able to*

[a] Here and below Marx quotes Ferguson in French.— *Ed.*

*exchange one commodity* for another", although he does not imitate Smith's one-sidedness in giving it as the sole reason. He goes on to say:

"The artist finds, that the more he can confine his attention to a particular part of any work, his productions are the more perfect, and *grow under his hands in the greater quantities.* Every undertaker in manufacture finds, that the more he can subdivide the tasks of his workmen, and *the more hands he can employ on separate articles,* the more are his expenses diminished, and his profits increased.... The progress of commerce is but a continued subdivision of the mechanical arts" ([p.] 129).

Adam Smith asserts that originally the workers invented the machine, because, owing to the division of labour,

"when the whole of every man's attention is directed towards some one object", they devised "all those machines by which labour is so much facilitated and abridged" ([Garnier,] Book I, Chapter I [p. 22]) [Vol. I, p. 24].

Adam Ferguson speaks of

"the methods, the means, the devices ... which the artist, attentive to his own affair, has invented, to abridge or to facilitate his separate task" (p. 133).

Adam Smith says:

"In the progress of society, philosophy or speculation becomes, like every employment, the principal or sole occupation of a particular class of citizens" ([Garnier,] Book I, Chapter I [pp. 23-24]) [Vol. I, p. 25].

Adam Ferguson:

"This method, which yields such great advantages in regard of industry, can be applied with equal success to more important things, in the various departments of policy and war ... *in this age of separations,* [thinking] itself may become a peculiar craft" (pp. 131, 136).

Ferguson, like Adam Smith, makes special mention of the application of science to industrial practice (p. 136).

What distinguishes him from Adam Smith is the fact that he brings out more sharply and emphatically the negative aspects of the division of labour (and with Ferguson the *quality* of the commodity still plays a role, while Adam Smith, from the capitalist point of view correctly, leaves it aside as a mere ACCIDENT).

"It may even be doubted, whether the measure of national capacity increases with the advancement of arts. Many mechanical arts require no capacity; they succeed perfectly without recourse to sentiment and reason; and ignorance is the mother of industry as well as of superstition. Reflection and fancy are subject to err; but a habit of moving the hand, or the foot, is independent of either. One might therefore say that perfection, in regard of manufactures, consists in the ability to proceed without consulting the mind" (especially, and this is an important point with regard to the workshop) "*in such a manner that the workshop may* [IV-157], *without any great effort of imagination, be considered as an engine, the parts of which are men*" (pp. 134, 135).

The *concept of manufacture* comes out much more clearly here than in *Adam Smith*. Furthermore, Ferguson emphasises the change in the relationship between manufacturer and worker which occurs as a result of the division of labour.

"Even in manufacture, the genius of the master, perhaps, is cultivated, while that of the inferior workman lies waste.... The general officer may be a great proficient in the knowledge of war, while the soldier is confined to a few motions of the hand and the foot. *The former may have gained, what the latter has lost*" (pp. 135, 136).

What he says of the general in relation to the ordinary soldier is true of the capitalist or his MANAGER in relation to the army of workers. The intelligence and independent development which were applied on a small scale in autonomous work are now applied on a large scale for the whole workshop, and monopolised by the boss; the workers are thereby robbed of these attributes.

"He [the general] may practise on a larger scale all the arts of preservation, of deception and of stratagem, which the savage exerts in leading a small party, or merely in defending himself" (p. 136).

Hence Ferguson also expressly treats of the "*subordination*" consequent on the "separation of arts and professions" (l.c., p. 138). Here the *antagonism of capital*, etc.

With regard to entire nations, Ferguson has this to say:

"Nations of tradesmen come to consist of members who, beyond their own particular trade, are ignorant of all human affairs" (p. 130). "We make a nation of helots, and have no free citizens" (l.c., p. 144).

He contrasts this with classical antiquity, although he points out at the same time that slavery was the foundation for the more complete all-round development of the free citizens. (See the *Frenchman*,[196] who indulges in more speechifying on the whole of this Fergusonian theme, but wittily.)

Thus if one takes Ferguson, who was Smith's teacher directly, and Petty, whose example of watchmaking was replaced by Smith with the one of the pin factory,[197] Smith's originality consists only in his *putting the division of labour in the limelight and his one-sided (hence economically correct) estimation of it as a means for increasing the productive power of labour.*

It says in A. Potter, *Political Economy*, New York, 1841 (Part 2 of which is almost exclusively a REPRINT OF Scrope's *Political Economy*, London, 1833):

* "The first essential towards production is labour. To play its part efficiently in this great business, the labour of individuals must be *combined*; or, in other words, the labour required for producing certain results must be *distributed* among several individuals, and those individuals thus be enabled to cooperate" * (Scrope, p. 76).

Potter remarks on this, in a note on the same page:

* "The principle here referred to is usually called the *division of labour.* The phrase is objectionable, since the fundamental idea is that of *concert* and *cooperation,* not of *division.* The term of division applies only to the *process;* this being *subdivided into several operations,* and these being *distributed* or *parcelled out among a number of operatives.* It is thus a *combination of labourers* effected through *a subdivision of processes.*" * It is: COMBINATION OF LABOUR.

The title of Ferguson's book is: *Essay on the History of Civil Society.*

[IV-158] Dugald Stewart, COLLECTED WORKS, ED. BY Sir W. Hamilton, Edinburgh. I cite from VOL. VIII of the COLLECTED WORKS, WHICH IS VOL. I (published in 1855) of the *Lectures on Political Economy.*

On the way in which the division of labour increases the productivity of labour, he says among other things:

* "The effects of the division of labour, and of the use of machines ... both derive their value from the same circumstance, their tendency, to *enable one man to perform the work of many*" * (p. 317).

* "It produces also an *economy of time,* by separating the work into its different branches, all *of which may be carried into execution at the same moment* ... by *carrying on all the different processes at once,* which an individual must have executed separately, it becomes possible to produce a multitude of pins for instance *completely* finished in the same time as a single pin might have been either cut or pointed" * ([p.] 319).

This goes beyond Adam Smith's second argument above, that the single worker who passes through the whole circuit of the different operations loses time in the transition from one operation to another.[a]

The different operations performed successively by a worker in a patriarchal or craft-based business in order to make his product, which are mutually intertwined as different modes of his activity, and follow each other in chronological sequence; the different phases through which his work passes, and in which it undergoes variation, are separated from each other, isolated, as independent operations or processes. This independence becomes solidified, personified, when each simple and monosyllabic process of this kind becomes the exclusive function of a particular worker or a definite number of workers. They are subsumed under these isolated functions. This work is not divided among them; they are divided among the various processes, each of which becomes the exclusive life-process of one of them—in so far as they function as productive labour capacity. The heightened productivity and complexity of the production process as a whole, its enrichment, is therefore purchased at the cost of the reduction of labour capacity

[a] See this volume, p. 273.—*Ed.*

in each of its specific functions to nothing but a dry abstraction—a simple quality, which appears in the eternal uniformity of an identical function, and for which the whole of the worker's productive capacity, the multiplicity of his capabilities, has been confiscated. The processes separated out in this way, and performed as functions of these living automatons, allow combination precisely through their division and autonomy; allow these different processes to be carried out *simultaneously* in the same workshop. Here division and combination condition each other. The overall production process of a single commodity appears now as a combined operation, a complex of many operations, all of which complement each other independently, and can be carried out *simultaneously* alongside each other. The complementarity of the different processes is here transferred from the future to the present, whereby a commodity which is begun at one side is finished at the other. At the same time, since these different operations are performed with virtuosity, because they have been reduced to simple functions, there is added to this *simultaneity*, which is in general characteristic of cooperation, a *reduction in labour time*, which is attained in each of the simultaneous and mutually complementary functions which are combined together into a single whole; so that within a given time not only more *whole commodities*, more commodities *finished and ready for use* are in general delivered, but also *more* finished commodities. Through this combination the workshop becomes a mechanism of which the individual workers form the different elements.

But the combination—cooperation, as it appears in the division of labour, no longer as the parallel existence of the same functions or their temporary subdivision, but as the separation of a totality of functions into their constituent elements, and the unification of these different components—now has a twofold existence: it exists on the one hand, if we look at the production process itself, in the workshop as a whole, which, as a total mechanism of this kind (although in fact it is nothing other than the manifestation of the workers' cooperation, their social mode of action in the production process) confronts the workers as [IV-159] an external power, dominating and enveloping them, in fact as the power of capital itself and a form of its existence, under which they are individually subsumed, and to which their social relation of production belongs. On the other hand, it exists in the finished product, which is in turn a commodity belonging to the capitalist.

For the worker himself no combination of activities takes place. The combination is rather a combination of the one-sided

functions under which every worker or number of workers is subsumed, group by group. His function is one-sided, abstract, partial. The totality which is formed from this is based precisely on his *merely partial existence* and isolation in his separate function. It is therefore a combination of which he forms a part, but it depends on the fact that his labour is not combined. *The workers form the building blocks of this combination.* However, the combination is not a relation that belongs to them, nor is it subsumed under them as a united group. This point is also directed against Mr. Potter's pretty phrases about combination and concert as opposed to DIVISION.

Here the capitalist mode of production has already seized upon the substance of labour and transformed it. The subsumption of the worker under capital is no longer merely *formal*: the fact that he works for someone else, under alien command and alien supervision. Nor is the situation any longer merely as it was in the case of simple cooperation, where the worker cooperates with many others, performing *the same* work with them at the same time, while his work as such remains unchanged and a merely temporary connection is created, a contiguity, which by the nature of things may easily be dissolved and which in most cases of simple cooperation takes place only for specific, limited periods, to satisfy exceptional requirements, as with harvesting, road-building, etc. Nor is it like manufacture in its simplest form, where the main thing is the simultaneous exploitation of many workers and a saving on fixed capital, etc., and where the worker only formally becomes a part of a whole, whose head is the capitalist, but in which he is not further affected—as a producer—by the fact that many other workers are doing the same thing alongside him, also making boots, etc. With the transformation of his labour capacity into what is merely a function of part of the complete mechanism, the whole of which forms the workshop, he has altogether ceased to be the producer of a commodity. He is only the producer of a one-sided operation, which in general produces something solely in connection with the whole of the mechanism that forms the workshop. He is thus a living constituent of the workshop, and has himself become an accessory to capital through the manner of his work, since his skill can only be exercised in a workshop, only as a link in a mechanism which confronts him as the presence of capital. Originally he had to sell to the capitalist, instead of the commodity, the labour that produced the commodity, because he was not in possession of the objective conditions for the realisation of his labour capacity. Now he has to sell it because his labour

capacity only continues to be labour capacity in so far as it is sold to capital. Thus he is now subsumed under capitalist production, has now fallen under the control of capital, no longer just because he lacks the means of labour, but because of his very labour capacity, the nature and manner of his labour; now capital has in its hands no longer just the objective conditions, but the social conditions of subjective labour, the conditions under which his labour continues to be labour at all.[55]

The increase of productive power which arises from the division of labour, this social mode of existence of labour, is therefore not only capital's, instead of the worker's, productive power. The *social form* of the workers' combined labours is the existence of capital over against the worker; combination confronts him as a paramount destiny to which he has fallen victim through the reduction of his labour capacity to an entirely one-sided function, which is nothing apart from the mechanism as a whole, [IV-160] and therefore depends entirely upon it. He has himself become a mere detail.

Dugald Stewart, l.c., calls the workers subordinated to the division of labour

> * "living automatons ... employed in the details of the work",* while the * "employer will be always on the stretch to economize time and labour" * (p. 318).

Dugald Stewart cites maxims from classical antiquity relating to the division of labour within society.

> "*Cuncta nihilque sumus.*" "*In omnibus aliquid, in toto nihil.*" [a] "πολλ' ἠπίστατο ἔργα, κακῶς δ'ἠπίστατο πάντα." [b] 198

(this from the *Margites*, cited in the SECOND ALCIBIADES, ONE OF THE SPURIOUS DIALOGUES OF Plato).[c]

Thus, in the *Odyssey*, XIV, 228:

> "ἄλλοζ γάρ τ'ἄλλοισιν ἀνήρ ἐπιτέρπεται ἔργοιζ",[d]

and the statement by Archilochus, quoted in Sextus Empiricus

> "αλλοζ ἄλλῳ ἐπ' ἔργῳ καρδίην ἰαίνεται".[e]

Thucydides makes Pericles contrast the agriculturalists of Sparta, where consumption was not mediated through the

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[a] "We are everything and nothing". "We can do something of everything, but nothing as a whole".— *Ed.*

[b] "He knew many crafts, but he knew all of them badly".— *Ed.*

[c] Pseudo-Plato, *Alcibiades II 147b*.— *Ed.*

[d] "For different men take joy in different works".— *Ed.*

[e] "Men differ as to what things cheer their hearts" (Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos*, XI, 44).— *Ed.*

exchange of commodities, hence no division of labour took place either, with the Athenians, describing the Spartans as "αὐτουργοί"[a] (working not for gain but for subsistence).

This is what Pericles says about nautical matters in the same speech (Thucydides, Book I, Chapter 142):

"Seamanship, like any other skill, is a matter of art, and practice in it may not be left to odd times, as a sideline; on the contrary, no other pursuit may be carried on as a subsidiary occupation." [199]

We shall come to Plato directly, although he actually belongs before *Xenophon.* The latter, who possesses a considerable amount of bourgeois instinct, and is therefore often reminiscent of both bourgeois morality and bourgeois political economy, looks more closely than Plato at the division of labour, in so far as it takes place in the individual workshop as well as on a broad scale. The following account by Xenophon is interesting, 1) because he shows the dependence of the division of labour upon the *size of the market*; and 2) because in contrast to Plato he does not confine himself to the division of occupations, but rather stresses the reduction of labour to simple labour brought about by the division of labour, and the skill which can more easily be attained under that system. Although as a result he is much closer to the modern conception, he still retains the attitude which is characteristic of the ancients: he is concerned only with *use value,* with the improvement of *quality.* He is not interested in the curtailment of labour time any more than is Plato, even in the one passage where, exceptionally and in passing, the latter indicates that *more* use values are provided. Even here it is only a matter of an increased quantity of *use values*; not of the effect of the division of labour on the product as *commodity.*

Xenophon relates that it is not only an honour to receive food from the table of the King of Persia, but a joy as well (because the food tastes better).

"But the food that is sent from the king's board really is much superior in the pleasure it gives to the palate as well. That this should be so, however, is no marvel. For just as all other arts are developed to superior excellence in large cities, in the same way the food at the king's palace is also elaborately prepared with superior excellence. For in small towns the same workman makes dining couches and doors and ploughs and tables and often this same artisan builds houses, and even so he is thankful if he can only find [IV-161] enough employers[b] to allow him to make a living. *And it is of course impossible for a man of so many trades to be proficient in all of them.* In large cities, on the other hand, *where every workman finds many customers, one*

[a] "Working for themselves".— *Ed.*

[b] Xenophon uses the word ἐργοδότας. Marx comments in brackets: "ἐργοδότης is an employer who contracts the work out".— *Ed.*

*trade alone, and often even less than a whole trade, is enough to support a man*: one man, for instance, makes shoes for men, another for women. It happens that one man earns a living by only stitching shoes, another by cutting them out, another by cutting the uppers to shape, while there is another who performs none of these operations but only assembles the parts. *It follows therefore that HE who performs the simplest work MUST NEEDS DO THE THING BEST* (he is compelled to provide the best work). Exactly the same thing holds true with the art of cooking. He for whom one and the same man arranges the dining couches, lays the table, bakes the bread, prepares now one sort of dish and now another, he must take things as they come. But where it is all one man can do to stew meats and another to roast them, for one man to boil fish and another to bake them, for another to bake bread, and not every sort at that, but where it suffices if he makes one kind that has a high reputation—everything that is prepared in this manner will, I think, necessarily be worked out with superior excellence. Thus Cyrus by far exceeded everyone when, as a sign of attention, he sent someone food prepared in this way." (With this kind of preparation, the food at Cyrus' table surpassed all others in its excellence.) (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, ed. E. Poppo, Lipsiae, 1821, Book VIII, Ch. II.)[199]

*Plato's* discussion in the *Republic* forms the direct basis and point of departure for a group of English writers who wrote about the division of labour after Petty and before Adam Smith. See e.g. *James Harris* (later Earl of Malmesbury), the 3rd TREATISE of *Three Treatises etc.*, 3rd ed., London, 1772, in which however he presents the DIVISION OF EMPLOYMENTS as the NATURAL foundation of SOCIETY (pp. 148-55). He himself says in a footnote that he drew the WHOLE ARGUMENT from Plato.

In the 2nd book of the *Republic*, which we cite from the *edition by Baiter, Orelli etc., Zurich, 1839*, Plato starts with the origin of the πόλις (city and state coincide here).

"The polis ... comes into existence ... once each of us is *no longer self-sufficient*, but has need of many." [IV-162] "It" [the polis] "is founded by our needs."[199]

Now the most immediate requirements are enumerated: food, a dwelling-place, clothing:

"The first and most important requirement is the procurement of food in order to be able to exist and live.... The second is the construction of a dwelling-place, the third the making of clothes and the like."

How should the πόλις satisfy these different needs? One man becomes a farmer, another a house-builder, others become weavers, cobblers, etc. Should each of them divide his labour time, cultivating the land in one part of it, building in the second, weaving in the third, etc., in order to satisfy his different requirements himself, or should he devote the whole of his labour time exclusively to one single occupation, so that he, e.g., produces corn, weaves, etc., not only for himself but also for the others? The second plan is better. For, in the first place, people differ in their natural aptitudes, which means that their capacity to perform different kinds of work differs. //To the range of different needs

there corresponds a range of different aptitudes, enabling the individuals to perform the different kinds of work necessary for the satisfaction of those needs. // Someone practising one single skilled craft will perform his task better than one who exercises many skills. If something is carried on merely as a subsidiary occupation, the appropriate time for production will often be allowed to slip by. The work cannot wait for the leisure of the person who has to perform it; rather must the person doing the work be guided by the conditions of his production, etc. Therefore he should not do it as a sideline. Hence if one person exclusively does one particular kind of work (in accordance with the nature of the thing, and at the right time) and does not concern himself with other work, everything will be produced in greater quantity, better, and more easily.

The main emphasis lies on the *better*: the quality. The word πλείω[a] only occurs in the passage we are about to quote; otherwise it is always κάλλιον.[b]

"How will our polis be able to supply all these demands? Will one man have to be a farmer, another a builder, and a third a weaver?" etc.... "Is each one of them to *bring the product of his work into a common stock*? Should our one farmer, for example, provide food enough for four people and spend the whole of his time and industry in producing corn, so as to share with the rest; or should he take no notice of them and grow just a quarter of this corn, for himself, in a quarter of the time, and divide the other three quarters between building his house, weaving his clothes, and making his shoes, so as to save the trouble of sharing with others and attend himself to all his own concerns?... The first plan is easier, of course.... Firstly, no two people are born exactly alike. They have different aptitudes, which fit them for different occupations.... And will a man do *better* working at many trades, or keeping to one only? Keeping to one.... Also, work may be ruined, if you let the right time go by.... For the workman must wait upon the work; it will not wait upon his leisure and allow itself to be done in a spare moment.—Yes, he must.—So the conclusion is that *more will be produced of every thing and the work will be more easily and better done, when every man is set free from all other occupations to do, at the right time, the one thing for which he is naturally fitted.*"

Plato goes on to show how a further division [IV-163] of labour or the setting up of different branches of business becomes necessary. E.g.

"If the farmer is to have a *good* plough and hoe and other farming tools, he will not make them himself. Nor will the house-builder, or the weaver" etc. "Now how does the individual gain a share in the excess product of the other producers, and how do the others participate in the excess of the first individual's product? Through exchange, through selling and buying." [199]

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[a] More.— *Ed.*
[b] Better.— *Ed.*

Plato then examines different kinds of trade and therefore different kinds of trader. Wage labourers are also mentioned, as a particular kind of human being owing their existence to the division of labour.

"There are also the services of yet another class, who have the physical strength for heavy work, though on intellectual grounds they are hardly worth including in our society—wage labourers, as we call them, because they sell the use of their strength for wages."

After he has indicated a large number of different occupations made necessary by the further refinement of city life, etc., he comes to the separation of the craft of war from other crafts, and therefore to the formation of a special warrior estate.

"We agreed ... that no one man can practise many trades satisfactorily....—Well, how do things stand now? Is not the conduct of war an art?...—But we would not allow our shoemaker to try to be also a farmer or weaver or builder, because we wanted our shoes well made. We gave each man one trade, *for which he was naturally fitted*; he would do good work, if he *confined himself to that all his life*, free from other occupations and never letting the right moment slip by. Now in no form of work is efficiency so important as in war.... So it is our business ... to select those men who are by nature fitted to be guardians of the polis" (l.c., pp. 439-41 passim).

Different activities are required to satisfy the different needs there are in a community; different gifts enable people of different natures to perform one activity better than another. Hence the division of labour and the different social estates corresponding to it. What Plato always emphasises as the main point of the system is that it allows each piece of work to be done *better*. Quality, use value, is for him, as for all other writers of antiquity, the decisive point, and the exclusive way of looking at things. For the rest, the basis of his whole conception is an Athenian idealisation of the Egyptian caste system.

The writers of antiquity in general ascribed the remarkable level of industrial development attained by the Egyptians to their hereditary division of labour and the caste system which was based on it.

"In Egypt ... the arts, too, have ... reached the requisite degree of perfection. For it is the only country where craftsmen may not in any way interfere in the affairs of other classes of citizens, but must follow that calling alone which by law is hereditary in their clan.... Among other peoples it is found that tradesmen divided their attention between too many objects.... At one time they try agriculture, at another they take to commerce, at another again they busy themselves with 2 or 3 occupations at once. In free countries they mostly frequent the popular assemblies.... In Egypt, on the contrary, a craftsman is severely punished if he meddles with affairs of state, or carries on several trades at once. Thus," says Diodorus, "there is nothing to disturb their application to their calling.... In

addition to having inherited from their forefathers ... numerous rules of their trade, they are [IV-164] eager to discover still more advantageous ways of practising it" (Diodorus, *Historische Bibliothek*, b. I, ch. 74).

With Plato the division of labour is presented as the economic foundation of a community in which each member is dependent on the others, and does not satisfy the whole range of his needs himself, independently, without any connection with other people. The division of labour within the community develops out of the many-sidedness of needs and the one-sidedness of aptitudes, which differ with different people, who therefore perform more successfully in one occupation than in another. The main point for him is that if one person makes a craft into his exclusive vocation, he does it better, and adapts his activity completely to the requirements, the conditions, of the work he has to perform, whereas if he engages in it as a sideline, the work has to wait for the opportunities left to him by his involvement in other matters. This point of view, that the τέχνη[a] cannot be carried on as a πάρεργον, subsidiary occupation, also appears in the passage from Thucydides, cited earlier.

Xenophon goes further, in that he firstly emphasises the reduction of labour to the simplest possible activity, and secondly makes the degree to which the division of labour can be implemented dependent on the extension of the market.

*For comparison.*

Blanqui distinguishes, in the passage we referred to earlier,[b] between the "*regulated* and in some degree *forced labour* of workers under the system of large-scale manufacture"[c] and the industries of the countryside, carried on as handicrafts or as subsidiary domestic work.

"The disadvantage of manufacture ... is that it subjugates the worker, placing him ... and his family, at the *discretion* of the work.... Compare, for example, the industry of Rouen or Mulhouse with that of Lyons or Nîmes. Both have as their aim the spinning and weaving of two yarns: one of cotton, the other of silk; and yet they do not resemble each other at all. The former only takes place in giant establishments, with much expenditure of capital ... and with the aid of veritable armies of workers, confined in their hundreds, nay their thousands, in gigantic barrack-like factories, as high as towers, and studded with windows resembling loopholes. The latter, in contrast, is entirely patriarchal; it employs a large number of women and children, but without exhausting or ruining them; it allows them to stay in their beautiful valleys of the Drôme, the Var, the Isère, the Vaucluse, cultivating their silkworms and unwinding their cocoons; it never becomes a true factory industry. However, although it is applied to as high a degree in this

[a] Skill.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 270.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

industry as in the first one, *the principle of the division of labour* takes on a special character here. There do indeed exist winders, throwsters, dyers, sizers, and finally weavers; *but they are not assembled in the same workshop, nor are they dependent on a single master*; they are all *independent*. Their capital, which is made up of their tools, their looms, and their braziers, is not large, but it is sufficient to put them on a certain footing of equality with their employer. Here there are no factory regulations, no conditions to submit to; everyone makes his own stipulations, in complete freedom" (A. Blanqui aîné, *Cours d'économie industrielle*, ed. etc. by A. Blaise, Paris, 1838-39, pp. 44-80 passim).[a]

On the basis of modern industry an OUT OF DOORS factory system is growing up once again which shares all the disadvantages of the original system without enjoying any of its advantages. But this does not belong here, and will be dealt with later.[200]

[IV-165] "Everyone knows from experience that if the hands and the intelligence are always applied to the same kind of work and the same products, these will be produced more easily, in greater abundance, and in higher quality, than if each individual makes for himself all the things he needs.... In this way, men are divided up into various classes and conditions, to their own advantage and to that of the commodity" (Cesare Beccaria, *Elementi di economia pubblica*, Custodi, *Parte Moderna*, Vol. XI, [p.] 28).[b]

"For in so vast a city" (as London) "manufactures will beget one another, and each manufacture will be divided into as many parts as possible, whereby the work of each worker will be simple and easy. As for example in the making of a watch: if one man shall make the wheels, another the spring, another shall engrave the dialplate, and another shall make the cases, then the watch will be better and *cheaper*, than if the whole work be put upon one man" (W. Petty, *An Essay Concerning the Multiplication of Mankind etc.*, 3rd ed., [London,] 1698, [p. 35]).

He then goes on to explain how the division of labour brings it about that specific manufactures are concentrated in specific towns, or streets of great towns.

Here "the commodity peculiar to those places is made better and *cheaper* than elsewhere" (l.c.).

Lastly he goes into the commercial advantages, such as the saving on unnecessary incidental expenses, like carriage charges, etc., whereby in consequence of this distribution of interrelated manufactures in one place the prices of their products are reduced and the profit from foreign trade is increased (l.c., [p.] 36).

What from the outset distinguishes Petty's conception of the division of labour from that of classical antiquity is his grasp of its influence on the exchange value of the product, on the product as commodity—its cheapening.

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[a] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes in Italian.— *Ed.*

The same point of view is put forward, but expressed more emphatically, as the curtailment of the labour time necessary for the production of a commodity, in *The Advantages of the East-India Trade to England Considered etc.*, London, 1720.[201]

What is important is to make each commodity with "THE LEAST AND EASIEST LABOUR". If a thing is made with "LESS LABOUR", it is made "CONSEQUENTLY WITH LABOUR OF LESS PRICE". Thus the commodity is cheapened, and then competition will make it a universal law to reduce labour time to the minimum necessary for its production.

* "If my neighbour, by doing much with little labour, can sell cheap, I must contrive to sell as cheap as he" * [p. 67].

He lays particular stress on the following aspect of the division of labour:

* "The more variety of artists to every manufacture, the less is left to the skill of single persons" * [p. 68].[a]

Later writers such as Harris (see above[b]) merely develop Plato's arguments. Then *Ferguson.*[c] What distinguishes Adam Smith—who in some respects lags behind his predecessors—is that he employs the phrase "*increase of the productive powers of labour*". Adam Smith's conceptions still remain located in the epoch of large-scale industry's infancy. How much this is the case is shown by his view of machinery as merely the corollary to the division of labour; with him, the workers still make mechanical inventions in order to ease and shorten their labour.

Division of labour through simplification facilitates learning a trade; therefore lessens the overall production costs of labour capacity.

[IV-166] The workshop, which is based on the division of labour, always involves a certain hierarchy of skills, since some operations are more complex than others, some require more physical strength, some a more delicate touch or greater dexterity. In the workshop, as Ure says,

"a workman is assigned to each operation, his wage corresponding to his skill.... It is still *the adaptation of the labours to the different individual capacities* ... the division of labour in manifold gradations ... the division of labour according to different degrees of skill".[d]

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[a] Marx quotes this sentence in English and adds its German translation.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 282.— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 273-76.— *Ed.*

[d] A. Ure, *Philosophie des manufactures etc.*, Vol. I, Brussels, 1836, pp. 28, 30. Marx used this French translation of Ure. He quotes in a mixture of German and French.— *Ed.*

The dexterity of the individual continues to be important.

It is in fact an analysis of the process into operations which can each be performed by an individual worker; each operation is separated from the one that accompanies it, but the fundamental principle remains that of viewing it as a function of the worker, so that in analysis it is distributed among different workers and groups of workers according to their level of skill, physical development, etc. The process is not yet analysed as such, independently of the worker who performs it, whereas in the automatic factory, the system

"decomposes a process into its basic constituents, and embodies each part in the operation of an automatic machine", whereupon one can "entrust a person of ordinary capacity with any of the said elementary parts after a short probation" [p. 32].

"The master manufacturer, by dividing the work to be executed into different operations, each requiring different degrees of skill or of force, can purchase exactly that precise quantity of both which is necessary for each operation; whereas, if the whole work were executed by one worker, that person must possess sufficient skill to perform the most delicate, and sufficient strength to execute the most laborious, of the operations" (Ch. Babbage, *On the Economy of Machinery etc.*, London, 1832, Ch. XIX).

"When—according to the particular nature of the products of each kind of manufacture—the most advantageous method of dividing the manufacturing process into partial operations and the number of workers to be employed in them have been ascertained by experience, then all factories the number of whose workers is not a direct multiple of that number will produce with less economy" (Babbage, l.c., Ch. XXII).

If e.g. 10 workers are needed for various operations, the number of persons employed must be a multiple of 10.

"If that is not the case, the workers cannot each of them constantly be used to perform the same operation in the manufacturing process.... That is one cause of the colossal size of industrial establishments" (l.c.).

Here, as with simple cooperation, we again have the principle of multiples.[a] But now in proportions that are determined in their proportionality by the division of labour itself. In general, it is clear that the larger the scale on which the work is done, the further the division of labour can be carried. In the first place, the correct multiple can be applied in that way. Secondly, the extent to which the operations are subdivided and to which the whole of an individual worker's time can be absorbed by one operation naturally depends on the magnitude of the scale.

If, therefore, the division of labour requires a greater capital, because more raw material is worked up over the same period of

[a] See this volume, p. 256.—*Ed.*

time, whether it is implemented at all depends on the scale on which the work is done, hence on the number of workers who can be simultaneously employed. A greater capital—i.e. its concentration in one hand—is necessary for the development of the division of labour, which in turn uses the productive power attained thereby [IV-167] to work up a greater amount of material, thus increasing the size of this component of capital.

"He who was reduced to doing a very simple operation in a manufactory entered into dependence upon the man who wished to employ him. He no longer produced a complete piece of work, but only part of one, and to do this he had as much need for the assistance of the labour of others as he did for raw materials, machinery, etc.... He was always in a subordinate position over against the head of the workshop ... he confined his demands to what was strictly necessary to make possible the continuation of the labour he offered, while the head of the workshop alone profited from the whole of the increase of the powers of production which was brought about by the division of labour" (Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes etc.*, Vol. 1, pp. 91-92).[a]

*"Division of labour shortens the period required for learning an operation"* (F. Wayland, *The Elements of Political Economy*, Boston, 1843, p. 76).

*In establishing a manufactory, it is important so to adjust the number and kind of workmen, that, when the different operations of a process have been assigned to different persons, these persons may be in such proportions *as exactly and fully to employ each other.* The more perfectly this is accomplished, the greater will be the economy and, this having been once ascertained, it is also evident that the establishment cannot be successfully enlarged, unless it employ multiples of this number of workmen* (l.c., p. 83).

At the end of his section on the division of labour Adam Smith once again slips back into the assumption that the various workers among whom the labour is divided are the owners and producers of commodities (we shall see that he abandons this illusion later).

"Every workman has a great quantity of his own work to dispose of beyond what he himself has occasion for; and every other workman being exactly in the same situation, he is enabled to exchange a great quantity of goods of his own production for a great quantity, or, what comes to the same thing, for the price of a great quantity of theirs" [Garnier, pp. 24-25] [Vol. I, p. 26].

The transmission of skill from generation to generation is always important. This aspect is decisive in the case of the caste system, as later with guilds.

*"Easy labour is only transmitted skill"* (Th. Hodgskin, *Popular Political Economy*, London, [Edinburgh,] 1827, p. 48).

"For dividing labour, and distributing the powers of men and machinery, to the greatest advantage, it is in most cases necessary to operate upon a large scale; in other words, to produce wealth in great masses. It is this advantage which gives

[a] Marx quotes Sismondi partly in German and partly in French.— *Ed.*

existence to the great manufactories" (J. Mill, *Élémens d'économie politique.* Traduit par J. T. Parisot, Paris, 1823 [p. 11]).[a]

The division of labour—or rather the workshop based on the division of labour—merely increases the surplus value received by the capitalist (at least this is its only *direct* effect, and the direct effect is the only thing we are concerned with here). Or, in other words, this increase in the productive power of labour only stands the test as a productive force of capital in so far as it is applied to use values which are consumed by the workers, hence curtails the labour time necessary for the reproduction of labour capacity. From precisely this circumstance, that the division of labour on a large scale is chiefly applied just to OBJECT OF COMMON USE, Parson Wayland draws the opposite conclusion, that it is the poor, and not the rich, who benefit from its advantages. The parson is in one sense correct, with regard to the MIDDLING CLASS. But here we are not concerned at all with the non-conceptual relation between poor [IV-168] and rich, but with the relation of wage labour and capital. The passage from the parson runs as follows:

* "The greater the cost of the product, the smaller will be the number of persons who are able to purchase it. Hence, the less will be the demand; and hence, also, the less opportunity will there be for division of labour. And, besides, the greater the cost of the article, the greater amount of capital is required in order to produce it by division of labour.... Hence it is, that division of labour is but sparingly used in the manufacture of rich jewelry, and in articles of expensive luxury; while it is so universally used in the production of all articles of common use. Hence we see, that the benefits of the use of natural agents and of division of labour, are vastly greater and more important to the middling and lower classes than to the rich. These means of increased production, reduce the cost of the necessaries and of the essential conveniences of life to the lowest rate, and, of course, bring them, as far as possible, within the reach of all" * (F. Wayland, *The Elements of Political Economy,* Boston, 1843, [pp.] 86-87).

In addition to an increase in the amount of capital, the division of labour requires for its application, as a basic prerequisite, the cooperation, agglomeration, of workers, which will in any case only occur where the population has reached a certain density. // It is required at the same time that the population should be taken from its scattered dwellings in the countryside and collected together in the centres of production. On this see Steuart.[156] This to be discussed in more detail in the section on accumulation.[150] //

* "There is a certain *density of population* which is convenient, both for social intercourse, and for that combination of powers by which the produce of labour is increased" * (James Mill, *Elements of Political Economy,* London, 1821, [p.] 50).

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[a] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

The development of the division of labour leads to the disappearance of every individual product of labour—although such a product is still entirely possible when the subsumption of labour under capital is purely formal. The finished commodity is the product of the workshop, which is itself a mode of existence of capital. The fact that the exchange value of labour itself—labour, not its product—becomes the only thing the worker is able to sell, is due not only to the nature of the contract between capital and labour but also to the mode of production itself. Labour becomes in fact the worker's sole commodity, and the commodity altogether becomes the general category under which production is subsumed. Our starting-point was the commodity as the most general category of bourgeois production. It first becomes a general category of this kind through the transformation which the mode of production has itself been subjected to by capital.[60]

* "There is no longer any thing which we can call the natural reward of individual labour. Each labourer produces only some part of a whole, and each part, having no value or utility of itself, there is nothing on which the labourer can seize, and say: it is my product, this I will keep for myself" * ([Th. Hodgskin,] *Labour defended against the claims of Capital etc.*, London, 1825, p. 25).

"The progress of wealth has brought about the division of conditions and that of trades; what is exchanged is no longer each person's *superfluous product* but *subsistence itself*.... In this new situation, the life of each man who works and produces depends not on the completion and success of his labour, but on its *sale*" (Sismondi, *Études*, Vol. 1, p. 82).[a]

* The greater productiveness of human industry, and the diminished price of the necessaries of life, conspire to swell productive capital in modern times * (S. P. Newman, *Elements of Political Economy*, Andover and New York, 1835, [pp. 88-] 89).

In so far as in the division of labour one aspect of the worker's natural individuality, as a natural basis, is further developed, it is put in place of his overall capacity for production and trained up to a specific skill, which can only prove itself useful by being exercised in the context of the workshop as a whole; exercised as a particular function of the workshop.

[IV-169] Storch, like Adam Smith, conflates the two types of division of labour, except that with him one type appears as the most extreme development of the other; one appears as the *point of departure* for the other, which is a step forward.

"The division of labour proceeds from the separation of the most widely different professions to the point where several workers divide between them the preparation of one and the same product, as in manufacture" (This should read not product but commodity. Different people work on the same *product* in the

[a] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

other division of labour too.) (H. Storch, *Cours d'économie politique*, avec des notes etc. par J.-B. Say, Paris, 1823, Vol. 1, p. 173).[a]

"It is not sufficient that the capital required for the subdivision of trades should be in readiness in society; it must also be *accumulated in the hands of the entrepreneurs* in sufficiently large quantities to enable them to work on a large scale.... The more the division of trades increases, the greater an outlay of capital in tools, raw material, etc., is required for the constant employment of a given number of workers. Increase of the number of workers with the division of labour. Increased amount of capital in buildings and means of subsistence" (Storch, l. c., pp. 250, 251).

*"Labour *is united* ... whenever employments are divided.... The greatest *division of labour* takes place amongst those exceedingly barbarous savages who never help each other, who work separately from each other; and division of employment, with all its great results, depends altogether on *combination* of labour, *cooperation*"* (Wakefield, note to his edition of A. Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, London, 1835, Vol. 1, p. 24).

This distinction between the SEPARATION OF EMPLOYMENTS and the "DIVISION OF LABOUR" is Wakefield's hobbyhorse. What he vaguely feels is precisely the distinction, not emphasised by Adam Smith, between the division of labour within society and that within the workshop. Adam Smith has the employments cooperate with one another by means of EXCHANGE, and not only knows—which is a matter of course—but says expressly that the division of labour within the individual manufactory automatically implies its combination. What is a real step forward in Wakefield—and we shall come to this later—is his feeling that the latter division of labour, based on free bourgeois labour, is a form peculiar to the capitalist mode of production and therefore only occurring under definite social conditions.[67]

Adam Smith makes exchange the foundation of the division of labour, whereas it is (but does not have to be) the opposite, its result. Hodgskin remarks correctly that a division of employments, hence of social labour, takes place in all countries and under all political institutions. It exists originally in the family, where it emerges spontaneously from physiological differences, differences of sex and age. Variations in individual organisation, in physical and mental capacities, form a fresh source for the division of employments. But then, owing to the diversity of natural conditions, differences in the soil, in the distribution of water and land, mountain and plain, climate, situation, the presence of minerals in the earth and peculiarities of its own spontaneous creations, there is added the difference in the naturally available instruments of labour, which divides the employments of different

[a] Marx quotes partly in German and partly in French.—*Ed.*

tribes, and it is in the exchange between them that we have, in general, to look for the original transformation of product into commodity[195] (see Th. Hodgskin, *Popular Political Economy etc.*, London, 1827, Chs IV, V and VI).[a] Where the population is stagnant, as in [IV-170] Asia, the division of labour is stagnant too.

*"Improved methods of conveyance, like railroads, steam vessels, canals, all means of facilitating intercourse between distant countries act upon the division of labour in the same way as an actual increase in the number of people; they bring more labourers into communication etc."* [p. 119].

*Population* and the PROGRESS of the same is the chief basis for the DIVISION OF LABOUR.

*"As the number of labourers increases, the productive power of society augments in the compound ratio of that increase, multiplied by the effects of the division of labour and the increase of knowledge"* (l.c., p. 120).

"It is by means of an additional capital only, that the undertaker of any work can ... make a more proper division of labour among his workmen. When the work to be done consists of a number of parts, to keep every man constantly employed in one way, requires a much greater capital than where every man is occasionally employed in every different part of the work" (A. Smith, [Garnier,] Book II, Ch. III [pp. 338-39]) [Vol. II, pp. 115-16].

"The *productive powers of the same number of labourers cannot be increased*, but in consequence either of some addition and improvement to those machines and instruments which facilitate and abridge labour; or of a more proper division and distribution of labour" (l. c.).

"The owner of capital which employs a great number of labourers, necessarily endeavours, for his own advantage, to make such a proper division and distribution of tasks, that the labourers may be enabled to produce the greatest quantity of work possible. For the same reason, he endeavours to supply them with the best machinery which either he or they can think of. *What takes place among the labourers in a particular workhouse, takes place, for the same reason, among those of a great society.* The greater their number, the more they naturally divide themselves into different classes and subdivisions of employment. More heads are occupied in inventing the most proper machinery for executing the work of each, and it is, therefore, more likely to be invented" (A. Smith, [Garnier,] Book I, Ch. VIII [pp. 177-78]) [Vol. I, pp. 145-46].

In the beginning of the present century *Lemontey* (*Œuvres complètes*, Vol. I, Paris, 1840, pp. 245 sq.) wittily reworked Ferguson's discussion of the subject ("Sur l'influence morale de la division du travail").[202]

"Society as a whole has this in common with the interior of a workshop, that it too has its division of labour. If one took as a model the division of labour in a modern workshop, in order to apply it to a whole society, the society best organised for the production of wealth would undoubtedly be that which had a single chief employer, distributing tasks to the different members of the community according to a previously fixed rule. But this is by no means the case. While inside the

[a] See this volume, pp. 163-64.—*Ed.*

modern workshop the division of labour is meticulously regulated by the authority of the employer, modern society has no other rule, no other authority for the distribution of labour than free [IV-171] competition" (*Misère de la philosophie*, Paris, 1847, p. 130).[a]

"Under the patriarchal system, under the caste system, under the feudal and guild system, there was division of labour in the whole of society according to fixed rules.... As for the division of labour in the workshop, it was very little developed in all these forms of society. It can even be laid down as a general rule that the less authority presides over the division of labour inside society, the more the division of labour develops inside the workshop, and the more it is subjected there to the authority of a single person. Thus authority in the workshop and authority in society, in relation to the division of labour, are in *inverse ratio* to each other" (l.c., pp. 130, 131).[b]

"The accumulation and concentration of instruments and workers preceded the development of the division of labour inside the workshop.... The development of the division of labour supposes the assemblage of workers in a workshop.... Once the men and the instruments had been brought together, the division of labour, such as it had existed in the form of the guilds, was reproduced, necessarily reflected inside the workshop" (l.c., [pp.] 132, 133).[c]

"The concentration of the instruments of production and the division of labour are as inseparable one from the other as are, in the political sphere, the concentration of public powers and the division of private interests" (l.c., p. 134).[d]

The prerequisites for adopting the division of labour are therefore:

1) *Conglomeration of workers*, for which a certain density of population is necessary. Means of communication can replace density to a certain degree. *Depopulation of the country* (see the 18th century). In a thinly populated country this conglomeration could only take place at a few points. However, conglomeration is also brought about if agriculture only requires a sparse population, and the mass of the population, separated from the land, can therefore conglomerate around the available means of production, the centres of capital. Relative concentration on the one side can be brought forth by relative rarefaction on the other, even with a *given* population, the existence of which originally remains rooted in the non-capitalist mode of production.

What is needed first, therefore, is not an increase in the population, but an increase in the purely industrial population, or a different distribution of the population. The first condition for this is that the population directly employed in the production of

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[a] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy* (present edition, Vol. 6, p. 184). Here and further on, Marx quotes from this work in the language of the original (French).— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 184-85.— *Ed.*

[c] Ibid., p. 186.— *Ed.*

[d] Ibid., p. 187.— *Ed.*

the means of subsistence, in agriculture, be diminished, that people be separated from the land, from mother earth, and that they be thereby set free (FREE HANDS, as Steuart says[156]), mobilised. The separation from agriculture of the kinds of work bound up with it, and the—progressive—limitation of agriculture to fewer hands, is the main condition for the division of labour and for manufacture in general, if it is to emerge not in individual cases, at isolated points, but playing a predominant role. //All this belongs to *accumulation.*//[150] The same population, distributed differently, does not need a greater supply of the means of life, but only a different apportionment, distribution, of them. The capitalist who applies the division of labour, hence employs a greater number of workers agglomerated at one point, pays larger amounts in wages than the master craftsman, requires more variable capital, which is ultimately reduced to means of subsistence; but for this it is necessary that the same wage that was previously paid to the workers by 100 people [IV-172] should now be paid by one. All we have here, then, is a greater concentration of variable capital in fewer hands, and the same thing goes for the means of subsistence for which these wages are exchanged. What is required here is not an *increase* in this part of capital but only its *concentration*; just as we have, not a bigger population, but a greater agglomeration of the population under the command of one and the same capital.

2) *Concentration of the instruments of labour.*

*The division of labour leads to a differentiation and accordingly a simplification of the instruments which serve as means of labour*; and therefore to their improvement. But under the division of labour the means of labour remains an implement of labour, an instrument which can only be employed thanks to the personal dexterity of the individual worker. It is the conductor of his own skill; in reality it is an artificial organ added on to his natural organs. The same number of workers requires a greater variety of instruments, not more of them. In so far as the workshop is a conglomeration of workers it also presupposes an agglomeration of instruments. And in any case this part of constant capital grows only in the same proportion as does the variable capital, which is laid out in wages, or the number of workers employed simultaneously by the same capital.

The other conditions of labour, particularly accommodation, factory buildings, can be regarded as a new addition to constant capital, since in the days before manufacture the workshop did not yet exist separately from the private house.

With this exception, a greater concentration takes place of the part of capital which consists of the means of labour; not necessarily a growth in capital and by no means a relative growth in capital as compared with the component laid out in wages.

3) *Increase in raw material.* The part of capital laid out in raw material grows *absolutely* against the part laid out in wages, since the same quantity of raw material absorbs a smaller quantity of labour time, or the same quantity of labour time realises itself in a greater quantity of raw material. Nevertheless, this can also have occurred *originally,* without an absolute increase in the raw material in a country. The same amount of raw material available in a country may absorb less labour, i.e. a smaller number of workers over the whole country may be employed in working it up, in transforming it into new product, although this number of workers is now concentrated in larger groups at various points under the command of individual capitalists, instead of being scattered over a wide area, as previously.

In absolute terms, therefore, nothing is required for *manufacture,* i.e. for the workshop based on the division of labour, but a change in the distribution of the different constituents of capital, concentration instead of dispersal. As long as they are dispersed, these conditions of labour do not yet exist as capital, although they do exist as the material constituents of capital, in the same way as the working part of the population exists, although not yet in the quality of wage labourers or proletarians.

*Manufacture* (as distinguished from the mechanical workshop or the FACTORY) is the mode of production or form of industry which specifically corresponds to the division of labour. It emerges independently, as the *most developed* form of the capitalist mode of production, before the invention of machinery proper (although machines and particularly fixed capital are already being employed).

[IV-173] With Petty and the apologist for the EAST INDIA TRADE, cited earlier (with the moderns, therefore)[a] it is from the outset a characteristic feature of their discussion of the division of labour that the cheapening of the commodity—the diminution of the labour socially necessary for the production of a particular commodity—is the main aspect considered. With Petty this is mentioned in connection with foreign trade. With the EAST INDIAN it is presented directly as a means of underselling competitors on the

[a] See this volume, p. 288.—*Ed.*

world market, just as he presents world trade as itself a means for attaining the same result in less labour time.

In Book I, Chapter I, where he treats the division of labour *ex professo,* Adam Smith discusses at the end of the chapter the extraordinary multiplicity of the kinds of work, either derived from different countries or present in their many-sidedness in a single "civilised country", i.e. a country where the product universally assumes the commodity form, which contribute to provide e.g. the furniture, the clothing, the tools of an ordinary day labourer.

"Observe," begins this conclusion, "the accommodation of the most common artificer or day labourer in a civilised and thriving country, and you will perceive that the number of people of whose industry a part, though but a small part, has been employed in procuring him this accommodation, exceeds all computation. The woolen coat, for example, which covers the day labourer, as coarse and rough as it may appear, is the produce of the joint labour of a great multitude of workmen" and so on [Garnier, p. 25] [Vol. I, p. 26].

And Adam Smith concludes his reflections with these words:

"Perhaps the accommodation of an European prince does not always so much exceed that of an industrious and frugal peasant, as the accommodation of the latter exceeds that of some African king, the absolute master of the lives and liberties of ten thousand naked savages" [Garnier, p. 28] [Vol. I, pp. 28-29].

The whole of this passage as well as this way of viewing the matter is copied from de Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees,* first published in 1705 as a POEM, with the 2nd part, WHICH CONSISTS OF A SERIES OF SIX DIALOGUES (prose), having been published in 1729. In 1714 HE ADDED THE PROSE NOTES WHICH MAKE THE BULK OF THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE WORK AS WE HAVE IT NOW. It says there, among other things:

* "If we trace the most flourishing nations in their origin, we shall find, that, in the remote beginnings of every society, the richest and most considerable men among them were a great while destitute of a great many comforts of life that are now enjoyed by the meanest and most humble wretches; so that many things which were once looked upon as the inventions of luxury are now allowed even to those that are so miserably poor as to become the objects of public charity.... A man would be laughed at that should discover luxury in the plain dress of a poor creature that walks along in a thick parish gown, and a coarse shirt underneath it; and yet what a number of people, how many different trades, and what a variety of skill and tools must be employed to have the most ordinary Yorkshire cloth?" * etc. (*Remark* P., Vol. I, pp. 181-83 of 1724 ed.).

"What a bustle is there to be made in several parts of the world before a fine scarlet or crimson cloth can be produced; what multiplicity of trades and artificers must be employed! Not only such as are obvious, as woolcombers, spinners, the weaver, the cloth-worker, the scourer, the dyer, the setter, the drawer, and the packer; but others that are more remote, and might seem foreign to it,—as the mill-wright, the pewterer, and the chemist, which yet all are necessary, as well as a great number of handicrafts, to have the [IV-174] tools, utensils, and other

implements belonging to the trades already named." * He then goes over the contribution to this of shipping, foreign countries, in a word the world market (*Search into the Nature of Society* (APPENDED TO THE SECOND EDITION), pp. 411-13).

The content of all this enumeration is merely this: Once the *commodity* becomes the general form of the product, or production takes place on the basis of exchange value and therefore of the exchange of commodities, the production of each individual, first of all, becomes one-sided, whereas his needs are many-sided. Innumerable independent branches of labour must therefore contribute to satisfy the needs, even the simplest needs, of the individual. Secondly: The whole range of the objective conditions which are required for the production of a single commodity, such as the raw materials, instruments, *matières instrumentales*, enter into the production of that commodity as *commodities*, are conditioned by the sale and purchase of these elementary constituents of the commodity, which have been produced independently of each other.[a] This takes place to the extent that the individual elements which are required for the production of a commodity exist as commodities outside it, hence originally enter into this individual branch of production as commodities from outside, through the agency of circulation. That is to say, this takes place the more the *commodity* becomes the general elementary form of wealth, i.e. the more production ceases to be for the individual the direct creation of his own means of subsistence, and becomes TRADE, as Steuart says,[203] with the *commodity* therefore ceasing to be the form of the part of the individual's production which goes beyond the individual's needs, i.e. the part which is superfluous and therefore saleable for the individual. Here the product as such is still the basis and production is for subsistence. Here the production of commodities still rests on the foundation of a production the main product of which does not become a commodity. It is not yet a situation where subsistence itself depends on sale; where the producer, unless he produces a *commodity*, produces *nothing at all*; where to be a *commodity* is therefore the general, elementary, necessary form of his product, which alone makes it into an element of bourgeois wealth.[60] This distinction is strikingly demonstrated when one compares large-scale modern agriculture with the agriculture in which production for the individual's own subsistence still forms the basis, and which itself creates most of the conditions for its production; so that these conditions do not

[a] See this volume, pp. 80-81.—*Ed.*

enter it as quantities of commodities, through the agency of circulation.

In reality, therefore, the views expressed by de Mandeville and others mean nothing more than that the *commodity* is the general elementary form of bourgeois wealth; that what is decisive for the producer is no longer the use value of the product but its exchange value alone, the use value being only the vehicle of the exchange value for him; that he must in fact produce not merely a particular product, but money. This prerequisite, that the product is universally produced as a commodity, hence is mediated by the conditions of its own production as commodities, by circulation, into which they enter, implies an all-embracing division of social labour, or, in other words, the separation of the various mutually conditioning and complementing labours into independent branches of labour only brought into contact with each other through the circulation of commodities, through sale and purchase. Or, it is identical with this situation, since for products to confront each other generally as commodities presupposes a mutual confronting of the activities producing them [...][a] This way of viewing things is therefore historically important [...][a]

[V-179][204] At this stage of the development of society it is more interesting to examine the contrast with the situation where the individual family itself directly satisfies almost all its needs, as we see in e.g. *Dugald Stewart*, l.c., p. 327[-28]:

*"In some parts of the Highlands of Scotland, not many years ago, every peasant, according to the *Statistical Accounts*, made his own shoes of leather tanned by himself. Many a shepherd and cottar too, with his wife and children, appeared at church in clothes which had been touched by no hands but their own, since they were shorn from their sheep and sown in their flaxfields. In the preparation of these, it is added, scarcely a single article had been purchased, except the awl, needle, thimble, and a very few parts of the iron work employed in the weaving. The dyes, too, were chiefly extracted by the women from trees, shrubs, and herbs"* (*Lectures on Political Economy*, Vol. 1, l.c.). [V-179]

[V-175] In contrast to this, at a more advanced stage of the development of bourgeois society, of the kind that already faced Adam Smith, the simple reproduction of these Mandevillian, Harrisian, etc., reflections does not appear without an admixture of pedantic childishness; and in particular the churning out of such remarks by Smith has the effect that he fails to grasp the division of labour clearly and definitely as a specifically capitalist mode of production; while, on the other hand, the extraordinary importance he attaches to the division of labour in manufacture

[a] The manuscript is damaged here.— *Ed.*

shows that in his time the modern factory system was only in its origins. *Ure* remarks on this, correctly[a]:

"When Adam Smith wrote his immortal work on the elements of political economy, automatic machinery being hardly known, he was properly led to regard the division of labour as the grand principle of manufacturing improvement.... But what was in Dr. Smith's time a topic of useful illustration, cannot now be used without risk of misleading the public as to the real principle of modern industry.... The scholastic dogma of the division of labour into degrees of skill has been exploited[205] by our enlightened manufacturers" (Andrew Ure, *Philosophie des manufactures etc.*, Vol. I, Ch. 1) (first appeared in 1835).

This strikingly demonstrates that the division of labour dealt with here—and, in fact, by Adam Smith too—is not a general category common to most states of society, and the most varied ones, but a particular historical mode of production, corresponding to a particular historical stage of development of capital; indeed a mode of production which belonged, in the all-embracing and predominant form in which one sees it in Adam Smith, to the stage of development of capitalist production reached by his own epoch and since then already overcome and passed.

In the passage we have just cited, Ure says,

1) "He" (Adam Smith) "therefore concludes that to *each of these operations* a workman can naturally be appropriated, with a wage corresponding to his skill. This *appropriation* forms the very essence of the division of labour."

So we have firstly the *appropriation* of the worker to a particular operation, his subsumption under it. From now on he belongs to this operation, which becomes the exclusive function of his labour capacity now reduced to an abstraction.

Firstly, then, labour capacity is *appropriated* to this specific operation. Secondly, however, since the basis of the operation itself remains the human frame, it happens that this appropriation is at the same time, as Ure says,

"a distribution, or rather *adaptation of labour* to the different individual abilities".

That is, the operations themselves are adapted in the course of division to the natural and acquired abilities of the workers. This is not a dissolution of a process into its mechanical components, [V-176] but a dissolution that takes into account the fact that these individual processes have to be performed as functions of human labour capacities.

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[a] Marx quotes Ure in French.— *Ed.*

In the volume of notes he added to his translation of Adam Smith, *Germain Garnier*, in Note 1 to Smith's chapter on the division of labour, pronounced himself opposed to popular education. Garnier says it is contrary to the division of labour, and with it

"our whole social system would be proscribed" (l.c., Vol. V, p. 2).[a]

Some of his comments are worth noting here.

"The labour which feeds, dresses and houses all the inhabitants of a country is a burden which lies on society as a whole, but which it necessarily *transfers* to one part of its members alone" (l.c., p. 2).

And the greater the industrial progress of society, the more do its material demands grow,

"and consequently the more labour will be employed in producing them, preparing them" (the means of subsistence in general) "and bringing them to the consumers. *At the same time*, however, and *as a consequence of the same progress*, the *class* of people released from this manual labour increases in size relatively to the other class. The latter, therefore, has at once more people to provide for and more abundant and elaborate provisions to furnish for each of them. Thus, the more society prospers, i.e. the more its industry, its commerce, its population grows, etc. ... *the less time* does the man destined to a mechanical trade *have to spare*. The richer society becomes, the more valuable" (this should rather be "the greater the value of") "*the time of the worker*".... "Thus, the more society advances towards a state of splendour and power, *the less time the working class will have to give to studying and to intellectual and speculative work*" (pp. 2-4).

That is to say, the free time of society is based on the absorption of the worker's time by compulsory labour[154]; thus he loses room for intellectual development, for that is time.[153]

"From another angle, *the less time the working class has to exploit the domain of knowledge, the more time remains for the other class.* If the men of this latter class can devote themselves consistently and assiduously to philosophical observations or literary compositions, it is because they are free from all concern for the production, manufacture or transportation of the objects of their daily subsistence, and because other people have undertaken the burden of these mechanical operations for them. Like all other divisions of labour, that between mechanical and intellectual labour becomes more pronounced and more clear-cut in proportion as society advances towards a wealthier condition. This division, like every other, is an effect of past and a cause of future progress.... Ought the government then to work to counteract this division of [V-177] labour and hinder its natural course? Ought it to expend a part of the public money in the attempt to confound and blend together two classes of labour which are themselves striving towards separation?" (l.c., pp. 4, 5).

The amount of production grows when the EFFICIENCY of LABOUR and at the same time the extent and intensity of labour time is

[a] Here and below Marx quotes Garnier in French.— *Ed.*

increased, the number of workers remaining the same. On this presupposition, the further growth of production is conditioned by a growth or increase in the number of wage labourers facing capital. This number is in part directly increased by capital, when previously independent craftsmen, etc., are subjected to the capitalist mode of production and thereby converted into wage labourers; and similarly when the introduction of machinery, etc., effects the conversion of women and children into wage labourers. Thus the number of workers undergoes a relative increase even though the total population remains the same. But capital also produces an absolute increase in the number of people, above all of the working class. The population can only grow absolutely, leaving aside the operations we have just mentioned, if not only more children are born but more children grow up, can be nourished until they are old enough to work. The development of the productive forces under the régime of capital increases the quantity of means of subsistence annually produced and cheapens them to such an extent that the *average wage* can be calculated to allow the reproduction of the workers on a larger scale, even though the wage itself falls in value, represents a smaller quantity of materialised labour time. The wage level may even sink, if only the magnitude of the wage's value does not fall in exactly the same proportion as the productive power of labour rises. On the other hand, the life-situation in which capital places the working class, its conglomeration, its deprivation of all the other pleasures of life, the utter impossibility of attaining a higher social standing and maintaining a certain decorum, the vacuity of their lives, the mixing of the sexes in the workshop, the isolation of the worker himself, all these things impel marriage at an early age. The curtailment and practically the abolition of the necessary period of apprenticeship, the early age at which children can themselves step forward as producers, the shortening therefore of the period during which they must be provided for, increases the stimulus to a more rapid production of human beings. If the average age of working-class generations declines, there is always available on the market a superfluous and constantly increasing mass of short-lived generations, and that is all capitalist production needs.

On the one hand, therefore, it can be said (see *Colins*, etc.) that a country is the richer, the more proletarians it has,[a] and that the growth of wealth is displayed in the increase of poverty. On the other hand, *there is a relative growth* in the number of people not

[a] See this volume, p. 206.—*Ed.*

dependent on manual labour, and although the mass of workers grows, the population of the social strata they have to provide for materially through their labour grows in the same proportion. (*Colins, Sismondi,* etc.) The rising productivity of capital is directly expressed in the rising quantity of surplus labour appropriated by capital, or the rising amount of profit, which is an amount of value. Not only is this amount of value growing: the same magnitude of value is represented in an incomparably greater amount of use values. The revenue of society (we disregard wages), the part of the revenue which is not [V-178] re-converted back into capital, therefore grows, and thereby also the substance on which lives the stratum of society not directly involved in material production. This applies, in particular, to the part of society which concerns itself with the sciences; just as to the part concerned with the business of circulation (trade, the money business), and to the idlers, who only consume; as well as to the *serving part* of the population. This section of society amounts e.g. in England to 1 million people, more than all the workers directly employed in weaving and spinning in the FACTORIES.[a] With the separation of bourgeois from feudal society this part of the population is very much reduced. At a more developed stage this VOLUNTARY SERFDOM (see *Quesnay* on servants[206]) undergoes an extraordinary increase along with luxury, wealth and the display of wealth. The working class has to feed, and to work for, this gang—who have become separated from the working class—since they themselves are not directly involved in material production. (The same goes for armies.) [V-178]

[V-179][207] Although the number of workers grows absolutely, it declines relatively, not only in proportion to the constant capital which absorbs their labour, but also in proportion to the part of society not directly involved in material production or indeed engaged in no kind of production whatsoever.

* "In every stage of society, as increased numbers and better contrivances add to each man's power of production, the number of those who labour is gradually diminished.... Property grows from the improvement of the means of production; its sole business is the encouragement of idleness. When each man's labour is barely sufficient for his own subsistence, as there can be no property" //capital//, "there will be no idle men. When one man's labour can maintain five, there will be four idle men for one employed in production: in no other way can the produce be consumed ... the object of society is to magnify the idle at the expense of the industrious, to create power out of plenty.... The industry which produces is the

[a] *Return to an Address of the Honourable. The House of Commons, dated 24 April 1861.—Ed.*

parent of property; that which aids consumption is its child.... It is the *growth of property, this greater ability to maintain idle men,* and *unproductive industry,* that in political economy is called capital"* (Piercy Ravenstone, M.A., *Thoughts on the Funding System, and Its Effects,* London, 1824, pp. 11-13).

"The less numerous the exploiting population, the less of a burden it is to those it exploits" (Colins, *L'économie politique. Source des révolutions et des utopies prétendues socialistes,* Vol. 1, Paris, 1856, [p.] 69).[a]

"If one understands by social progress, in a harmful direction, the increase of poverty resulting from a rise in the numbers of the exploiting class and a fall in the numbers of the exploited class, then there has been, from the 15th to the 19th century, social progress, in a harmful direction" (l.c., [pp.] 70-71). [V-179]

[V-178] The separation of science from labour, in so far as it concerns labour itself—the separation of science from the industrial and agricultural workers to become, in its application, the industries and agriculture, is a subject which belongs to the section on machinery.[208]

(Otherwise all these reflections belong to the concluding chapter on capital and labour.[30])

The mediaeval master is a craftsman as well, and works himself. He is a master of his craft. With manufacture—based as it is on the division of labour—this comes to an end. Apart from the commercial business he conducts as a buyer and seller of commodities, the activity of the capitalist consists in applying all possible methods of exploiting labour, i.e. making it productive, to the maximum.

*"The class of capitalists are from the first partially, and then become ultimately *completely discharged from the necessity of manual labour.* Their interest is that the *productive powers of the labourers they employ* should be the greatest possible. On *promoting that power* their attention is fixed, and almost exclusively fixed. More thought is brought to bear on the best means of effecting all the purposes of human industry; knowledge extends, multiplies its fields of action, and assists industry"* (Richard Jones, *Text-book of Lectures on the Political Economy of Nations,* Hertford, 1852) (Lecture III).

*"The employer will be always on the stretch to economize time and labour"* (Dugald Stewart, l.c., p. 318).

"These speculators, *who are so economical of the labour of workers* they would have to pay" (J. N. Bidaut, *Du Monopole qui s'établit dans les arts industriels et le commerce,* Paris, 1828, p. 13).[a]

*"The *numerical increase of labourers* has been great, through the growing substitution of female for male, and above all childish for adult labour. Three girls at 13, at wages of 6 to 8 sh. a week, have"* (in a large number of cases) *"replaced the one man of mature age, at wages varying from 18 to 45 sh."* (Thomas [de] Quincey, *The Logic of Political Economy,* Edinburgh, 1844, [p.] 147, footnote).

"Economies in the cost of production can only be economies in the quantity of labour employed in production" (Sismondi, *Études etc.,* Vol. I, p. 22).[a]

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[a] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

[V-180] Adam Smith remarks as follows on the growth of capital, which is a prerequisite of the division of labour, since the division of labour simultaneously increases *the number of workers employed*:

"The quantity of materials which the same number of people can work up, increases in a great proportion as labour comes to be more and more subdivided; and as the operations of each workman are gradually reduced to a greater degree of simplicity, a variety of new machines come to be invented for facilitating and abridging these operations."

(This is peculiar logic—because labour is reduced to an ever greater degree of simplicity, machines are invented to facilitate and abridge it. Hence because labour is facilitated and abridged by the division of labour! He ought to have said, the tools which when combined later give rise to the machine are simplified and subdivided.)

"As the division of labour advances, therefore, in order to give constant employment to an equal number of workmen, an equal stock of provisions, and a greater stock of materials and tools than what would have been necessary in a ruder state of things, must be accumulated beforehand. *But the number of workmen* in *every branch of business generally increases* with the division of labour in that branch, *or rather it is the increase of their number which enables them to class and subdivide themselves in this manner*" (A. Smith, [Garnier,] Vol. II, introduction to Book II, pp. 193-94) [Vol. II, pp. 2-3].

In the same place, Adam Smith presents the capitalist to us as always on the watch for ways of raising the productive power of labour. Here the accumulation of capital is a prerequisite for the division of labour and machinery (since this appears as a capitalist mode of production), and, inversely, accumulation is the result of this raising of the productive forces. We read in the same place:

"As the accumulation of stock is previously necessary for bringing about this great increase in the productive powers of labour, so that accumulation naturally leads to this increase. The person who employs his stock in maintaining labour, necessarily wishes to employ it in such a manner as to produce as great a quantity of work as possible. He endeavours, therefore, both to make among his workmen the most proper distribution of employment, and to furnish them with the best machines which he can either invent or afford to purchase. His abilities, in both these respects, are generally in proportion to the extent of his stock, or to the number of people whom it can employ. *The quantity of industry*, therefore, not only increases in every country with the increase of the *stock which employs it*, but, in consequence of that increase, the same quantity of industry produces a much greater quantity of work" ([Garnier,] pp. 194-95) [Vol. II, p. 3].

[V-181] * "Not beyond a fourth part of our whole population provides everything which is consumed by all" * (Th. Hodgskin, *Popular Political Economy*, London, [Edinburgh,] 1827, [p.] 14).

"The base and petty management, which follows him" (the day-labourer) "with wary eyes, overwhelms him with reproaches when he grants himself the slightest relaxation, and claims he is stealing from it when he allows himself an instant of rest" (S. N. Linguet, *Théorie des loix civiles*, Vol. II, London, 1767, p. 466).

In Book I, Chapter 1, where Adam Smith treats the division of labour *ex professo,* he only touches lightly on its (evil) consequences, but in Book V, in contrast, which deals with the revenue of the state, he follows Ferguson in speaking out directly on this subject. We read there Book V (CH. I, ARTICLE II):

"In the progress of *the division of labour,* the employment of the far greater part of those who live by labour, that is, of the great body of the people, comes to be confined to a few very simple operations, frequently to one or two. But the understandings of the greater part of men are necessarily formed by their ordinary employments. The man whose whole life is spent in performing a few simple operations, of which the effects are perhaps always the same, or very nearly the same, has no occasion to exert his understanding or to exercise his invention in finding out expedients for removing difficulties which never occur. He naturally loses, therefore, the habit of developing or exercising these faculties, and generally becomes as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become. The torpor of his moral faculties ... the uniformity of his stationary life naturally corrupts the courage of his mind.... It corrupts even the activity of his body, and renders him incapable of exerting his strength with vigour and perseverance in any other employment than that to which he has been bred. His dexterity at his own particular trade seems, in this manner, to be acquired at the expense of his intellectual, social, and martial virtues. But in every improved and civilised society this is the state into which the labouring poor, that is, the great body of the people, must necessarily fall.... It is otherwise in the *barbarous* societies as they are commonly called, of hunters, of shepherds, and even of husbandmen in that rude state of husbandry which precedes the improvement of manufactures and the extension of foreign commerce. In such societies the varied occupations of every man oblige every man to exert his capacity by continual efforts, etc.... Though [V-182] in a rude society there is a good deal of variety in the occupations of every individual, there is not a great deal in those of the whole society.... In the civilised state, on the contrary, though there is little variety in the occupations of the greater part of individuals, there is an almost infinite variety in those of the whole society" [Garnier, pp. 181-84] [Vol. III, pp. 295-98].

//DIGRESSION: (ON PRODUCTIVE LABOUR)//

A philosopher produces ideas, a poet poems, a clergyman sermons, a professor compendia and so on. A criminal produces crimes. If we take a closer look at the connection between this latter branch of production and society as a whole, we shall rid ourselves of many prejudices. The criminal produces not only crimes but also criminal law, and with this also the professor who gives lectures on criminal law and in addition to this the inevitable compendium in which this same professor throws his lectures onto the general market as "commodities". This brings with it augmentation of national wealth, quite apart from the personal enjoyment which—as a competent witness, Professor Roscher, [tells] us (see )[209]—the manuscript of the compendium

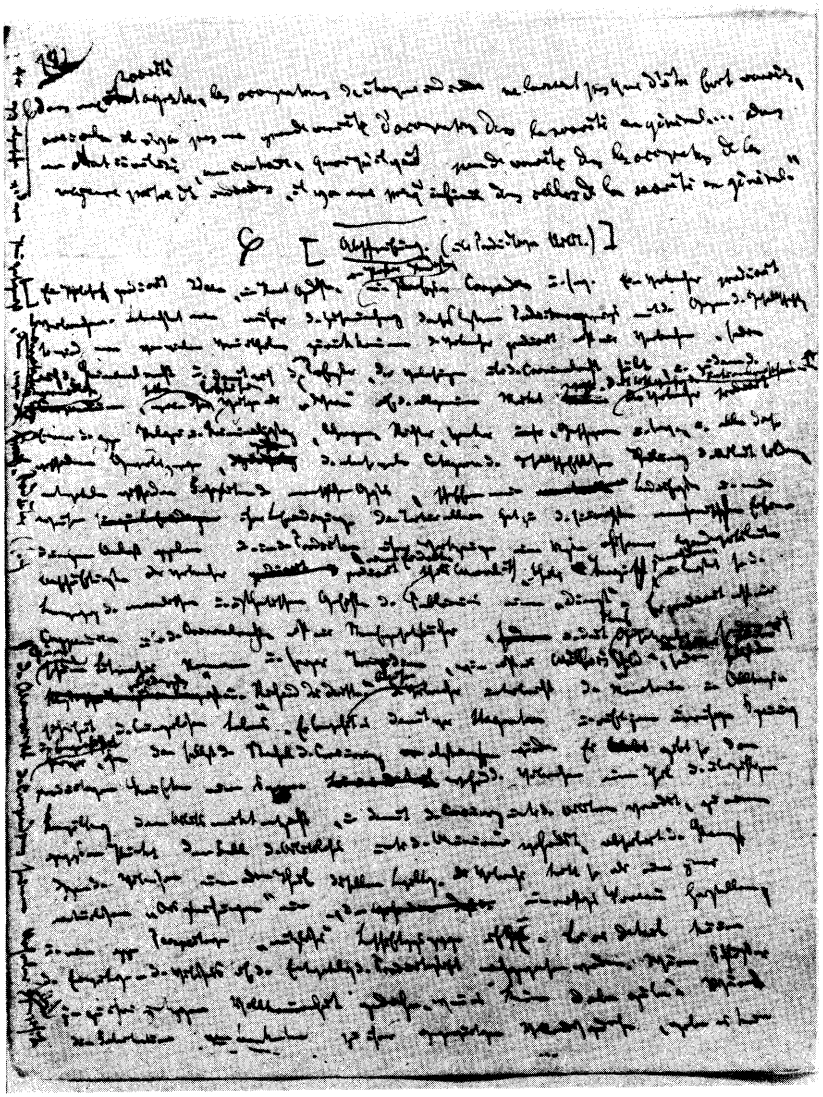

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brings to its originator himself. The criminal moreover produces the whole of the police and of criminal justice, constables, judges, hangmen, juries, etc.; and all these different lines of business, which form just as many categories of the social division of labour, develop different capacities of the human mind, create new needs and new ways of satisfying them. Torture alone has given rise to the most ingenious mechanical inventions, and employed many honourable craftsmen in the production of its instruments. The criminal produces an impression, partly moral and partly tragic, as the case may be, and in this way renders a "service" by arousing the moral and aesthetic feelings of the public. He produces not only compendia on Criminal Law, not only penal codes and along with them legislators in this field, but also art, belles-lettres, novels, and even tragedies, as not only Müllner's *Schuld* and Schiller's *Räuber* show, but *Oedipus* and *Richard the Third.* The criminal breaks the monotony and everyday security of bourgeois life. In this way he keeps it from stagnation, and gives rise to that uneasy tension and agility without which even the spur of competition would get blunted. Thus he gives a stimulus to the productive forces. While crime takes a part of the redundant population off the labour market and thus reduces competition among the labourers—up to a certain point preventing wages from falling below the minimum—the struggle against crime absorbs another part of this population. Thus the criminal comes in as one of those natural "counterweights" which bring about a correct balance and open up a whole perspective of "useful" occupations. The effects of the criminal on the development of productive power can be shown in detail. Would locks ever have reached their present degree of excellence had there been no thieves? Would the making of bank-notes have reached its present perfection had there been no [V-183] forgers? Would the microscope have found its way into the sphere of ordinary commerce (see Babbage[a]) but for trading frauds? Does not practical chemistry owe just as much to the adulteration of commodities and the efforts to show it up as to the honest zeal for production? Crime, through its ever new methods of attack on property, constantly calls into being new methods of defence, and so is as productive as STRIKES for the invention of machines. And if one leaves the sphere of private crime: would the world market ever have come into being but for national crime? Indeed, would even the nations have arisen? And

[a] Ch. Babbage, *Traité sur l'économie...*, Paris, 1833, p. 279.—*Ed.*

has not the Tree of Sin been at the same time the Tree of Knowledge ever since the time of Adam?

In his *Fable of the Bees* (1705) Mandeville had already shown that every possible kind of occupation is productive, and had given expression to the tendency of this whole line of argument:

> * "That what we call Evil in this World, Moral as well as Natural, is the grand Principle that makes us Sociable Creatures, the solid Basis, the *Life and Support of all Trades and Employments* without exception; there we must look for the true origin of all Arts and Sciences; and the moment Evil ceases, the Society must be spoiled if not totally destroyed." *[a]

Only Mandeville was of course infinitely bolder and more honest than the philistine apologists of bourgeois society.

What strikes us in looking at the division of labour, as with all forms of capitalist production, is the character of the antagonism.

[Firstly.] In the division of labour *within* the workshop, the workers are quantitatively distributed, in strict system, between the individual operations according to certain numerical proportions, as required by production as a whole, by the product of their combined labours. If instead we look at the whole of society—the social division of labour—there are now too many producers to be found in one branch of business and now in another. Competition, through which the price of a commodity is now raised above its value and now lowered beneath it, constantly adjusts these inequalities and disproportions, but just as constantly reproduces them. It is the movement of commodity prices, mediated by competition, that regulates the distribution of the mass of producers among the specific branches of production, bringing about a constant efflux from, or influx into, particular spheres of production—the so-called law of supply and demand, which on the one hand determines prices, and on the other hand is determined by them. Even without going into this point more closely, one's eye is immediately struck by the difference between this anarchic distribution of labour within society and the regulated, fixed distribution within the workshop itself.

*Secondly.* There are different branches of business within society which themselves merely represent the different phases of production a product must pass through in order to attain its ultimate, its final form, the form in which its use value is a finished product, as for example flax cultivation, the spinning of flax, and weaving of linen cloth. These different branches are brought into contact with each other through the circulation of commodities, so

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[a] B. Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees*, 3rd ed., London, 1724, p. 428.—*Ed.*

that they ultimately cooperate in the manufacture of a product. The flax confronts the spinner [V-184] as a commodity, the yarn confronts the weaver as a commodity. Here the purchase and sale of commodities mediate the connection which exists internally—as an inner necessity—between these branches of production which operate independently of each other. In contrast to this, the division of labour within manufacture presupposes a *direct* combination of the various operations which provide *a particular* product. This product first becomes a commodity as a result of these combined operations. But the portion of the product created by each of these partial operations is not converted into a commodity. Here cooperation is not mediated through the product of one process entering into the other process as a commodity and thus causing the divided labours to supplement each other. Instead, the *direct* combination of labours is the prerequisite here for the entry of their joint product into the market as a commodity.

*Thirdly:*

// After relative surplus value, absolute and relative surplus value are to be considered in combination.[210] Then their proportional rise and fall. After this, or rather before it, the alteration the mode of production itself undergoes in becoming capitalist. No longer a merely formal subsumption of the labour process under capital.[75] The different means whereby capital creates relative surplus value, raises the productive forces, and increases the mass of products, are all social forms of labour; but they appear, even within production, rather as social forms of capital—modes of capital's existence. So that one not only sees how capital produces, but how capital is itself produced—its own genesis. It then also emerges that this particular form of the social relation of production, the form through which past labour becomes capital, corresponds to a particular stage of development of the material production process, to particular material conditions of production, which are themselves first created historically, conditions of production whose point of departure naturally belongs to a pre-capitalist stage of social production; their formation and development coincides with the genesis of capital itself, until the movement of production starts to take place on the capitalist basis now obtained, from which point there occurs simply an expansion and reproduction of those conditions of production. Moreover, this genesis of capital appears at the same time as a process of divestiture of labour, of alienation, whereby its own social forms are presented as alien powers. Also, in view of the mass of people

required by capitalist production, capital appears as a social form, not as a form of the labour of the independent individual. After this we need to show how far capital is productive, which leads on to questions about productive and unproductive labour.[108] Then wages and surplus value as *revenue,* in general the form of *revenue,* which we need for the transition to the accumulation of capital.[127] //

Within the workshop, the different operations are separated out systematically, according to a plan, and different workers are assigned to them according to a rule which they are faced with as a compelling and alien law imposed on them from outside. The interconnection of the combined labours, their unity, similarly confronts the individual worker as the *will,* personal unity, command and overall supervision of the capitalist; just as their own cooperation itself appears to them not as their deed, their own social existence, but as the presence of the capital that keeps them together, as a form of existence of [V-185] capital in the direct production process, the labour process. Within society, in contrast, the division of labour appears free, i.e. in this case *accidental,* admittedly bound together by an inner connection, which however presents itself as just as much the product of circumstances as of the arbitrary actions of the mutually independent individual commodity producers. Although the division of labour as a specifically capitalist mode of production, the division of labour within the workshop, is essentially different from the division of labour in the whole of society, they condition each other. This means in fact only that large-scale industry and free competition are mutually conditioning forms, creations of capitalist production. Nevertheless, we need to avoid any introduction of competition here, for this is the impact of capitals upon each other, hence already presupposes the development of capital as such.

The commodity, as the most elementary form of wealth, was our point of departure. Commodity and money are both elementary modes of the presence, of the existence, of capital, but they first develop into capital under specific conditions. The formation of capital can only take place on the basis of the production and circulation of commodities, hence at a stage of commerce which is already given, and has already grown to a certain volume, whereas the production and circulation of commodities (which includes the circulation of money) on the contrary by no means require capitalist production for their existence, appearing rather as the necessary, given, historical prerequisite of capitalist production.[20]

On the other hand, it is only on the basis of capitalist production that the commodity first becomes the *general* form of the product, that every product has to assume the form of a commodity, that sale and purchase seize hold of not only surplus production but also subsistence itself, and that the different conditions of production themselves enter extensively into the production process itself as commodities, mediated through sale and purchase. If, therefore, on the one hand the commodity appears as the prerequisite for the formation of capital, on the other hand the *commodity*, as the *general* form of the product, appears just as much as essentially the product and result of capital.[60] Products assume in part the form of the commodity under other modes of production. Capital, in contrast, necessarily produces commodities, produces its product as commodity, or it produces nothing. Therefore the general laws formulated in respect of the commodity, e.g. that the value of the commodity is determined by the socially necessary labour time contained in it, first come to be realised with the development of capitalist production, i.e. of capital.[70] This demonstrates how even categories belonging to earlier epochs of production receive a specifically distinct character—an historical character—on the basis of a different mode of production.[211]

The conversion of money—which is itself only a converted form of the commodity—into capital only takes place once labour capacity (not the worker) has been converted into a commodity, hence the category of the commodity has already from the outset taken possession of a whole sphere which was otherwise excluded from it. Only when the working mass of the population have ceased to enter the market as commodity producers, and begun to sell, instead of the product of labour, labour itself, or RATHER their labour capacity, does production in its entire extent, in its entire breadth and depth become *the* production *of commodities*, with all products being converted into commodities, and the objective conditions of every individual sphere of production entering into it as themselves commodities. Only on the basis of capital, of capitalist production, does the commodity in fact become the general elementary form of wealth. But this already implies [V-186] that the development of the division of labour in society, where it appears in an accidental form, and the capitalist division of labour within the workshop, condition and produce each other. For the producer to produce commodities alone, i.e. for the use value of the product to exist for him exclusively as a means of exchange, it is necessary that his production should be based

entirely on the social division of labour, that he therefore should satisfy only an entirely one-sided need through his production. On the other hand, however, this general production of products as commodities only takes place on the basis of capitalist production and in the measure of its spread. If, for example, capital has not yet taken control of agriculture, a great part of the product will still be produced directly as means of subsistence, not as commodity; a great part of the working population will not yet have been turned into wage labourers, and a great part of the conditions of labour will not yet have been converted into capital.[95]

Capitalist production, hence the division of labour within the workshop according to certain rules, directly increases the free division of labour within society (quite apart from the extension of the sphere of exchange, the world market, conditioned by mass production), by making the labour of a particular number of workers more effective, therefore by constantly setting free a part of the labour force for new kinds of employment and thereby simultaneously developing needs which were so far latent or not present at all, and modes of labour to satisfy those needs. This process is also promoted by the increase of the population, by the cheapening of the means of subsistence required for the reproduction and multiplication of labour capacities; also by the fact that the surplus value, which becomes a part of revenue, now seeks to realise itself in the most diverse use values.

Where the *commodity* appears as the dominant form of the product, and the individuals, in order to produce anything at all, must produce not merely products, use values, means of subsistence, where the use value of a commodity is for them, rather, simply a material repository of exchange value, a means of exchange, money *potentia*, where they therefore have to produce *commodities*, their relation to each other—in so far as the material interchange between their activities, their relation within production generally, comes into consideration—is that of *owners of commodities*.[20] But just as the commodity first develops in the exchange of commodities—i.e. the circulation of commodities—so also does the owner of commodities develop in the characters of seller and buyer. Sale and purchase, first the representation of the product as commodity, then the representation of the commodity as money and the metamorphosis of the commodity, in which it presents itself in successive stages as commodity, money, and commodity once again, these are the movements through which the production of the mutually independent individuals is *socially* mediated. The *social* form of their product and their production,

i.e. the social relation into which the commodity producers as such enter, is constituted precisely by the representation of their product as *commodity* and *money*, and the acts of sale and purchase, the movements in which their product alternately assumes these different functions.

Therefore, whatever the necessary inner connection arising out of the nature of their needs and the manner of the activities themselves that produce them, which binds together the different use values, hence also the different modes of labour producing them, contained within them, so as to form a whole, a totality, a system of activities and riches—in whatever relation the use value of one commodity as a means of consumption or a means of production is a use value for the other owners of commodities—the *social* relation into which the owners of commodities enter is the representation of their product as commodity and money, and the movement in which they confront each other as vehicles for the metamorphosis [V-187] of the commodities. So that if the existence of the products for each other as commodities and therefore the existence of the individuals as owners of commodities, further developed as sellers and buyers, in and for itself presupposes the social division of labour—for without this the individuals would not produce commodities but rather directly use values, means of subsistence for themselves—this presupposes further a particular division of social labour, namely a division which is *formally* absolutely accidental, and is left to the free will and dealings of the commodity producers.

Where this freedom is restricted, the restriction does not come about through the influence of the state or any other external factor, but through the conditions of existence, the characteristics, that make a commodity a commodity. It must possess a use value for society, i.e. the buyers, hence it must satisfy certain real or imagined needs. Here is a basis on which the individual producer of commodities builds, but it is his affair whether he satisfies existing needs or calls forth new ones with his use value, or whether he has miscalculated and produced something useless. His task is to discover a buyer for whom his commodity has a use value. The second condition he has to fulfil is not to utilise more labour in making his commodity than the labour time socially necessary for its production, and this means that he does not need more labour time to produce it than the average producer who is producing the same commodity. The production of the product as a commodity—if the commodity is the necessary form of the product, the general form of production, and hence the satisfac-

tion of the requirements of life is mediated through sale and purchase—therefore necessitates a social division of labour which admittedly rests on a basis of needs, an interconnection of activities, etc., in its content, but in formal terms this interconnection is only *mediated* through the representation of the product as commodity, the confrontation of the producers with each other as owners of commodities, as sellers and buyers. It therefore appears as on the one hand equally the product of a *concealed* natural necessity, which appears in the individuals only as a need, a requirement, a capacity, etc., and on the other hand the result of their independent wills, conditioned only by the essence of the product—namely that it must be both use value and exchange value.

On the other hand: the product only assumes the form of the commodity generally—the relation of the producers to each other as sellers and buyers only becomes the social connection that rules over them—where labour capacity has itself become a commodity for its owner, where the worker has therefore become a wage labourer and money has become capital. The social connection between the owner of money and the worker is also only a connection between owners of commodities.[20] The relation is modified, brings forth new social relations, through the specific nature of the commodity the worker has to sell and the peculiar manner in which the buyer consumes it, and equally the special purpose for which he buys it. Capitalist production brings with it, among other things, the division of labour within the workshop, and it is this, like the other means of production employed by capital, which further develops mass production, hence the irrelevance of the use value of the product for the producer, production merely for sale, production of the product [V-188] merely as a commodity.

This explains, therefore, how the free, apparently accidental, uncontrolled *division of labour within society*, which is left to the commodity producers to deal with at their discretion, corresponds with the systematic, planned, and regulated division of labour within the workshop, which proceeds under the command of capital, and how both develop in step with each other, and produce each other through mutual interaction.

In contrast to this, in forms of society where social division itself appears as a fixed law, an external norm, and is subject to rules, the division of labour, as forming the basis of manufacture, does not take place, or exists only sporadically and in its initial stages.

For example, the guild regulations establish a very low

maximum for the number of journeymen a master can set on. This is precisely what prevents him from becoming a capitalist. The division of labour is thereby of itself excluded from the workshop. (This must be dealt with somewhat more extensively.)

Plato's main argument for the division of labour, that if one person does several different kinds of work, i.e. if he does one or the other of them as a subsidiary occupation, the product must wait until an occasion offers itself to the worker for dealing with it, whereas the work ought to be determined in the opposite way, by the requirements of the product,[a] has recently been put forward by the BLEACHERS and DYERS against their inclusion in the FACTORY ACTS // *the Bleaching and Dyeing Works Act* CAME INTO OPERATION ON 1ST August 1861 //. For according to the FACTORY ACT, whose PROVISIONS in this connection are reproduced for BLEACHING, etc.,

* "during any meal time which shall form any part of the hour and a half allowed for meals no child, young person, or female shall be employed or allowed to remain in any room in which any manufacturing process is then carried on; and all the young persons and females shall have the time for meals *at the same period of the day*" * (*Factory Report for the half year ending 31st Oct. 1861*).

* "The bleachers complain of the required uniformity of meal times for them, on the plea that whilst machinery in factories may be stopped without detriment at any moment, and if stopped the production is all that is lost, yet in the various operations of *singeing*, washing, bleaching, mangling, calendering and dyeing, none of them can be stopped at a given moment without risk of damage ... to enforce the same dinner hour for all the workpeople might occasionally subject valuable goods to the risk of danger from incomplete operations" * (l.c., pp. 21, 22).

(*The same* DINNER HOUR was fixed because otherwise it would have been impossible to check whether the workers had received their MEALTIMES at all.)

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## *Different Kinds of Division of Labour*

"Among peoples which have reached a certain level of civilisation, we meet with three kinds of division of labour: the *first*, which we shall call *general*, brings about the division of the producers into agriculturalists, manufacturers, and traders, it corresponds to the three main branches of the nation's labour; the *second*, which one [V-189] could call *particular*, is the division of each branch of labour into species. It is thus, for example, that in *primitive* industry one needs to distinguish the trade of the ploughman from that of the mineworker, etc. *The third division* of labour, which one should designate as a *division of tasks*, or of *labour* properly so called, is that which *grows up in the individual crafts and trades*, and which consists in the division made by numerous workers between themselves of the tasks which need to be performed to manufacture a single object of use and commerce, each of

[a] See this volume, p. 283.—*Ed.*

them having only one kind of work to perform, not resulting in itself in the production of the whole of the *manufactured object*; the latter result only occurs thanks to *the combination of the labour of all the workers* who are occupied in the manufacture of the product. Such is the division of labour which is established in the *majority of the manufactories* and *workshops*, where one sees a greater or lesser number of workers engaged in producing a single kind of *commodity*, all of them *carrying out different tasks*" (F. Skarbek, *Théorie des richesses sociales*, 2nd ed., Vol. I, Paris, 1839, pp. 84-86).[a]

"The third kind of division of labour is that which occurs *within the workshop itself*.... It arises from the moment when there emerge capitals destined to establish manufactures and *heads of workshops* who make all the *advances necessary to put the workers to work*, and who are able, thanks to their reserves, to wait for the return of the outgoings utilised in the manufacture of the products they provide for exchange" (l.c., pp. [94-]95).

### *Simple Cooperation*

"It should be noted further that this partial division of labour can occur even when the workers are engaged in the same task. Masons, for example, engaged in passing bricks from hand to hand to a higher stage of the building, are all performing the same task, and yet there does exist amongst them a sort of division of labour. This consists in the fact that each of them passes the brick through a given space, and, taken together, they make it arrive much more quickly at the required spot than they would do if each of them carried his brick separately to the upper storey" (Skarbek, l.c., pp. 97-98).

## [*V-190*] γ) *MACHINERY.*
## *UTILISATION OF THE FORCES OF NATURE AND OF SCIENCE*
### (STEAM, ELECTRICITY, MECHANICAL AND CHEMICAL AGENCIES)

*John Stuart Mill* remarks:

*"It is questionable, if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being."*[b]

He should have said, OF ANY TOILING HUMAN BEING. But on the basis of capitalist production the purpose of machinery is by no means TO LIGHTEN OR SHORTEN THE DAY'S TOIL of the worker.

*"Articles are cheap, but they are made of human flesh"* ([J. B. Byles,] *Sophisms of Free-Trade*, 7th edit., London, 1850, p. 202).

The purpose of machinery, speaking quite generally, is to lessen the value, therefore the price, of the commodity, to cheapen it, i.e. to shorten the labour time necessary for the production of a commodity, but by no means to shorten the labour time during which the worker is employed in producing this cheaper

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[a] Here and below Marx quotes Skarbek in French.— *Ed.*

[b] J. St. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, Vol. II, London, 1848, p. 312.— *Ed.*

commodity. In fact it is not a matter of shortening the working day but rather, as in any development of productive power on a capitalist basis, of reducing the labour time the worker needs for the reproduction of his labour capacity, in other words for the production of his wages; it is therefore a matter of shortening the part of the working day during which he works for himself, the *paid* part of his labour time, and thereby lengthening the other part of the day, during which he works for capital for no return, the *unpaid* part of the working day, his *surplus labour time.* Why the mania for devouring alien labour time grows everywhere with the introduction of machinery, and why the working day, instead of being shortened is rather extended beyond its natural limits—until legislation is obliged to take a hand—why therefore not only relative surplus labour time but also total labour time increases, is a *phenomenon* we shall examine in Chapter 3.[212] [V-190]

[V-196][213] * "Simultaneously, however, with the increase of numbers has been the increase of toil. The labour performed by those engaged in the processes of manufacture, *is three times as great* as in the beginning of such operations. Machinery has executed, no doubt, the work that would demand the sinews of millions of men; but it has also *prodigiously multiplied* the labour of those who are governed by its fearful movements" * (*Ten Hours' Factory Bill. Lord Ashley's Speech,* London, 1844, p. 6).

[V-190] Only in isolated cases does the capitalist intend to secure *a direct reduction of wages* by introducing machinery, although this is always the case when he replaces skilled labour with simple labour, and the labour of grown men with that of women and children. The value of the commodity is determined by the *socially necessary* labour time contained in it. With the introduction of new machinery, and as long as the major part of production continues to be based on the old means of production, the capitalist can sell his commodity *at less than* its social value, even though he sells it at more than its individual value, i.e. for more *labour time* than he requires to manufacture it under the new production process. Here, therefore, the surplus value appears to originate for him from selling—from his taking advantage of the other owners of commodities, from the fact that the commodity's price has risen above its value; not from the reduction in necessary labour time and the lengthening of surplus labour time. Yet, this too is merely the way things appear. Through the exceptional productive power attained here by labour in contrast to average labour in the same branch of industry, it becomes higher labour in relation to the average, so that e.g. an hour of this higher labour would be equal

to $^5/_4$ hours of average labour; simple labour raised to a higher power. But the capitalist pays it as average labour. Thus a smaller number of hours of labour becomes equal to a greater number of hours of average labour. He pays for this labour as average labour and sells it as what it is, higher labour, a given quantity of which = a greater quantity of average labour. Here, therefore, the worker needs to work, on our assumption, for a shorter time than the average worker in order to produce [V-191] the same value. He therefore in fact works less labour time—than the average worker—in order to produce an equivalent for his wages, or in other words to produce the means of subsistence necessary for the reproduction of his labour capacity. He therefore gives the capitalist a greater number of hours of labour as surplus labour, and it is only this relative surplus labour which provides the latter, when selling the commodity, with the excess of its price over its value. The capitalist only realises this surplus labour time, or this surplus value, which is the same thing, by selling the commodity; the surplus value therefore originates not in the sale but in the reduction of necessary labour time and the concomitant relative increase of surplus labour time. Even if the capitalist who introduces the new machinery were to pay a higher than average wage, the surplus realised by him over and above the normal surplus value, the surplus value realised by the other capitalists in the same branch of industry, would originate solely from the fact that the wage was not increased *in the same proportion* as this labour rose above the level of average labour, that a relative increase in surplus labour time continued to occur. Therefore this case can also be subsumed under the general law that surplus value = surplus labour.

In its early stages machinery is mostly nothing but a more powerful craftsman's tool; but as soon as it is applied in the capitalist fashion, it presupposes *simple cooperation*, and indeed, as we shall see later,[214] simple cooperation appears as a much more important element in the application of machinery than in the system of manufacture resting on the division of labour, where it only asserts itself in the principle of MULTIPLES, i.e. the principle that the different operations are not only distributed between different workers but according to certain numerical proportions, in which a definite number of workers, organised in groups, is assigned to, subsumed under, each individual operation. In the *mechanical workshop*, the most developed form of the capitalist application of machinery, it is essential that many should do *the same thing*. Indeed, this is its main principle. The application of machinery

further presupposes as the original condition of its existence the system of manufacture based on the division of labour, since the *construction of machines*—hence the existence of the machine—is itself based on a workshop in which the principle of the division of labour has been completely implemented. Only at a further stage of development does the construction of machines itself take place on the basis of machinery, by means of the mechanical workshop.

"In the infancy of mechanical engineering, a machine-factory displayed the division of labour in manifold gradations—the file, the drill, the lathe, having each its different workmen in the order of skill; but the dexterous hands of the filer and driller are now superseded by the planing, the key-groove cutting, and the drilling machines; and those of the iron and brass turners, by the self-acting slide-lathe" (*Ure*, l.c., Vol. I, pp. 30-31).

On the one hand, the division of labour developed under the system of manufacture is repeated within the mechanical workshop, although on a greatly reduced scale; on the other hand, as we shall see later on, the mechanical workshop overturns the most essential principles of the system of manufacture based on the division of labour.[215] And finally, the application of machinery increases the division of labour within society, that is to say it multiplies the number of specialised branches of industry and independent spheres of production.

Its fundamental principle is the replacement of skilled labour by *simple* labour; hence also the reduction of the amount of wages to the average wage, or the reduction of the worker's necessary labour to the average minimum and the reduction of the production cost of labour capacity to the production cost of simple labour capacity.

[V-192] The increase in productive power achieved through simple cooperation and the division of labour costs the capitalist nothing. They are natural forces provided free of charge by social labour in the particular forms it takes on under the rule of capital. The application of machinery does not just bring the productive forces of social labour into play, as opposed to the labour of the isolated individual. It transforms simple natural forces, such as water, wind, steam, electricity, etc., into powers of social labour. This apart from the exploitation of the mechanical laws which operate in the actual working part of the machinery (i.e. the part which directly transforms the raw material, mechanically or chemically). However, this form of increasing the productive forces, *hinc*[a] [of reducing] necessary labour time, is distinguished

[a] Hence.— *Ed.*

as follows: A part of the pure force of nature which is applied is, in this, its applicable form, a product of labour, as for example the conversion of water into steam. Where the motive power is naturally available, e.g. when water is available as a waterfall and the like //it is highly characteristic, by the way, that in the course of the 18th century the French let their water work horizontally, whereas the Germans always made artificial earthworks for it[216]//, the medium through which its motion is transferred to the actual machinery, e.g. the water-wheel, is the product of labour. But this point is even truer for the machinery itself which directly recasts the raw material. Therefore machinery, unlike simple cooperation or the division of labour in manufacture, is a productive force which has been produced; it costs money; when it enters into the sphere of production in which it functions as machinery, functions as a part of the constant capital, it does so as a commodity (directly as machinery, or indirectly as a commodity which must be consumed in order to give the motive power the required form). Like any portion of constant capital, the machinery adds to the product the value contained in it, i.e. it makes it dearer to the extent of the labour time required for its own production. In this chapter we are exclusively examining the ratio of variable capital to the magnitude of the value in which it is reproduced, in other words the ratio of the necessary labour employed in a sphere of production to the surplus labour; we therefore deliberately refrain from investigating the ratio of surplus value to constant capital, and to the total amount of capital advanced. Nevertheless, the analysis of the application of machinery demands that we also investigate the other parts of capital, besides that laid out in wages. For the principle that the employment of means whereby productive power is increased increases relative surplus time and therewith relative surplus value, rests upon the cheapening of the commodities, hence the curtailment of the labour time necessary for the reproduction of labour capacity, in consequence of these CONTRIVANCES through which productive power is increased, i.e. more use values are produced by the same number of workers in the same period of time. In the case of the employment of machinery, however, this result is only attained by an increase in the outlay of capital, by the consumption of already existing values, therefore by the introduction of an element which increases the magnitude of the product's, the commodity's, value to the amount of its own value.

To begin with, as far as the raw material is concerned, its value naturally remains the same, in whatever manner it is treated—it

is, to be precise, the value it has when it enters the process of production. [V-193] Furthermore, the employment of machinery reduces the amount of labour absorbed by a given amount of raw material, or, in other words, increases the amount of raw material transformed into product over a given labour time. Considering both these elements, the commodity produced with the assistance of machinery contains less labour time than the one produced without machinery, it represents a smaller magnitude of value, it is cheaper. But this result is only attained by the industrial consumption of commodities—commodities existing in the machinery—whose value enters into the product.

Therefore, since the value of the raw material remains the same whether machinery is employed or not, and since the amount of labour time which converts a given amount of raw material into product and hence into commodity is reduced by the employment of machinery, it follows that the cheapening of the commodities produced by machines depends on one circumstance alone: the labour time contained in the machinery itself is less than the labour time contained in the labour capacity replaced by it; the value of machinery which enters into the commodity is less than—i.e. = less labour time than—the value of the labour replaced by it. And this value = the value of the number of labour capacities whose employment is made unnecessary by machinery.

As machinery emerges from the stage of infancy, as it diverges in dimensions and character from the craft tool it originally replaced, it becomes more massive and expensive; more labour time is required to produce it, and its absolute value rises, although it becomes cheaper relatively, i.e. although more efficient machinery costs less in proportion to its efficiency than less efficient machinery, i.e. the amount of labour time it costs to produce it grows in a much smaller proportion than the amount of labour time it replaces. But in any case its absolute dearness rises progressively, it therefore adds to the commodity produced by it a value which is greater absolutely, particularly in comparison with the craft tool or even the simple instruments of labour or those based on the division of labour which it replaces in the production process. Why then is the commodity produced by this more expensive instrument of production cheaper than the commodity produced without it? Why is the labour time contained in the machinery itself less than the labour time replaced by it? This is due to the two following circumstances:

1) As the efficiency of the machinery grows, as the productive power of labour is thus raised, the quantity of use values and

therefore of commodities which are produced in the same labour time with the help of machinery grows, in the proportion to which the machinery enables one worker to do the work of many workers. This means an increase in *the number of commodities in which the value of the machinery re-appears.* The total value of the machinery only re-appears in the totality of the commodities in whose production it has assisted as a means of labour; this total value is distributed in aliquot parts among the individual commodities which when added together make up the total amount of the commodities. Therefore, the greater this total amount the smaller the portion of the machinery's value that re-appears in the individual commodity. In spite of the difference in value between the machinery and the tool or simple instrument of labour, a smaller portion of value will enter the commodity from the machinery than from the instrument of labour and from the labour capacity replaced by the machine, in proportion as the value of the machine is spread over a greater total amount of products, of commodities. A spinning machine which absorbs a given labour time in 1,000 pounds of cotton re-appears in the individual pound of yarn as a fraction of value of only $^1/_{1000}$, whereas if it only helped to spin 100 pounds in the same time, $^1/_{100}$ of its value would re-appear in the single pound of yarn, it would therefore contain in this case ten times more labour time, ten times more value, be 10 times dearer, than in the first case. [V-194] Machinery can therefore only be employed (on a capitalist basis) under circumstances in which mass production, production on a large scale, is possible (see p. 201, *quotation from Rossi*).

[V-201][217] "The division of labour and the use of powerful machines are only possible in establishments which offer enough labour to all classes of worker and provide results on a large scale. The more considerable the product the smaller the *proportional expenditure* on tools and machines. If two equally powerful machines produce respectively 100,000 metres and 200,000 metres of the same cloth in the same space of time, you may say that the first machine costs twice as much as the second, that one of these enterprises has employed a capital double that employed in the other" (Rossi, *Cours d'économie politique,* p. 334).[a] [V-201]

[V-194] 2) It is already the case in manufacture resting on the division of labour as in industry on the craft basis, etc., that the instruments of labour (in the same way as other parts of the conditions of labour, like factory buildings) enter into the *labour process* to their *whole extent,* either directly as means of labour or indirectly as conditions (such as buildings) which are necessary for

[a] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

the labour process to take place. But they only enter into the *valorisation process* piece by piece, *partially*—i.e. they enter to the extent to which they are used up in the labour process, to the extent to which their exchange value is consumed in the labour process simultaneously with their use value. Their use value as means of labour enters into the labour process wholly, but it is preserved over a period which comprises a number of labour processes, during which these means of labour serve repeatedly for the production of the same kind of commodity, i.e. serve over and over again as means of labour used by new labour for working up new material. Their use value as means of labour of this kind is only used up at the end of a period, which may be shorter or longer, during which the same labour process has been constantly repeated. Their exchange value therefore only re-appears completely in the total amount of commodities they have helped to produce during such a period—the whole period, from their entry into the labour process to their removal from it. Only a certain aliquot part of the value of the instrument of labour therefore enters into each individual commodity. If the instrument served for 90 days, $^1/_{90}$ of its value would re-appear in the commodities produced on each day. A notional average calculation necessarily enters the picture here, for the value of the instrument only re-appears as a whole in the whole period of labour processes during which it has been completely used up—therefore in the sum total of the commodities it has helped to produce during this period. The calculation is therefore made in this way: on each day on the average an equal aliquot part of the instrument's use value is used up (this is the fiction), and therefore an equal aliquot part of the value of the instrument re-appears in the product of this one day.

With the introduction of machinery, as a result of which the means of labour assumes a very extensive value and is represented in a massive quantity of use values, there is an increase in this difference between the labour process and the valorisation process, which becomes a significant element in the development of productive power and in the character of production. If a workshop is equipped with mechanical looms, and they perform their function, e.g., over 12 years, the wear and tear of the machinery, etc., during the labour process in the course of one day is insignificant, and therefore the portion of the value of the machinery which re-appears in the individual commodity or even in the product of a whole year is relatively insignificant. Past, objectified labour here enters massively into the labour process,

whereas only a relatively insignificant portion of this part of capital, the portion used up in the same labour process, enters into the valorisation process and therefore re-appears in the product as part of the value. Therefore, however considerable the magnitude of the value that is represented by the machinery that enters into the labour process, and the factory buildings, etc., associated with it, the part of this overall value that enters into the daily valorisation [V-195] process, hence into the value of the commodity, is always relatively small; it makes the commodity relatively more expensive, but only insignificantly, to a much smaller extent than the manual labour replaced by the machinery would have done. Therefore, however large the part of the capital laid out in machinery may appear to be in comparison with the part laid out for the living labour which this machinery serves as means of production, this proportion appears to be very small if the part of the value of the machinery which re-appears in the individual commodity is compared with the living labour absorbed in the same commodity, and the part of the value added to the individual product by both of them—machinery and labour—appears to be small in proportion to the value of the raw material itself.

It is with the coming of machinery that social production on a large scale first obtains the power of introducing into the labour process in their entirety, wholly as means of production, products which represent a large amount of past labour, hence large masses of value, whereas only a relatively small aliquot part of those products enters into the valorisation process taking place during the individual labour process. The capital which enters in this form into every individual labour process is large, but the proportion in which its use value is used up, consumed, during this labour process, making necessary the replacement of its value, is relatively small. The machinery functions in its entirety as means of labour, but it only adds value to the product in the proportion to which the labour process diminishes its value, a devaluation which is conditioned by the degree of the reduction of its use value through wear and tear during the labour process.

The conditions enumerated under 1) and 2), on which it depends whether the commodity produced by the dearer instrument is cheaper than the commodity produced by the cheaper one, or whether the value contained in the machinery itself is smaller than the value of the labour capacities it replaces, therefore amount to the following: The first condition is mass production; this depends on the degree to which the amount of

commodities 1 worker can produce *in the same labour time* is large in comparison with the amount he would produce without machinery. In other words, it depends on the degree to which *labour is replaced by machinery*; hence the number of labour capacities which is used in regard to the amount of the product *is reduced* as far as possible, as many labour capacities as possible are replaced by the machinery, and the part of the capital which is laid out in labour appears relatively small in comparison with the part of the capital which is laid out in machinery. And secondly: however large the part of the capital which consists in machinery, the part of the value of the machine which re-appears in the individual commodity, the part of the value, therefore, which is added by the machinery to the individual commodity, is small in comparison with the parts of the value of labour and raw material contained in the same commodity, and indeed small because during a given labour time the machinery enters in its entirety into the labour process but only a relatively insignificant portion of it enters into the valorisation process; the whole of the machinery enters into the labour process, but there always enters merely an aliquot part of the total magnitude of the machinery's value [into the valorisation process].

Accordingly, the following criticism of Ricardo needs itself to be corrected:

"Ricardo speaks of *'a portion of the labour of the engineer in making machines'"* as contained, e.g., in a pair of stockings. *"Yet the *total labour* that produced each single pair of stockings, if it is of a single pair we are speaking, includes the *whole* labour of the engineer, not a portion; for one machine makes many pairs, and none of those pairs could have been done without any part of the machine"* (*Observations on Certain Verbal Disputes in Political Economy*, London, 1821, [p.] 54).

[V-196] The part of the capital laid out in raw material grows disproportionately more rapidly in comparison with the part laid out in wages than where there is a mere division of labour. The new and relatively large amount of capital laid out in means of labour, machinery, etc., comes additionally into consideration. The progress of industry is therefore accompanied by a growth in the AUXILIARY part of capital[218] as against the part laid out in living labour.

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[V-197] One of the first effects of the introduction of new machinery, before it has become dominant in its branch of production, is *to prolong* the labour time of those workers who

continue to work with the old, imperfect means of production. Although the commodity produced with the machinery is sold at *more than* its individual value, i.e. at more than the quantity of labour time contained in it, it is sold *at less than* the previous social, general value of the same species of product. The labour time socially necessary for the production of this particular commodity has therefore *fallen*, but not the labour time necessary for the worker using the old instruments of production. If, therefore, 10 hours of labour time suffice for the reproduction of his labour capacity, the product of his 10 hours is no longer *10 hours of necessary labour time*, that is to say labour time necessary under the new social conditions of production for the manufacture of this product; it is instead perhaps only 6 hours. Therefore, if he works for 14 hours, those 14 hours of his represent only *10 hours of necessary labour time* and only 10 hours of necessary labour time have been realised in them. Hence the value of the product also does not exceed the value of the product of 10 hours of general, necessary, social labour. If he works independently, he will have to prolong his labour time. If he works as a wage labourer, hence necessarily also works surplus time, then however much the absolute labour time is prolonged, average surplus labour for the capitalist will only emerge through a reduction of his wage below the previous AVERAGE, i.e. he works more hours but less of them are appropriated by him personally, not because his labour has become more productive but because it has become less productive, not because he creates the same quantity of product in less labour time but because the quantity falling to his share is reduced.

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The surplus value (= surplus labour, absolute as well as relative) which capital brings into existence through the employment of machinery does not arise from the *labour capacities replaced* by the machinery but from the labour capacities employed by it.

"According to Baines *a first rate cotton-spinning factory cannot be built, filled with machinery, and fitted with the steam engines and gasworks, under £100,000. A steam-engine of 100 horse power will turn 50,000 spindles, which will produce 62,500 miles of fine cotton thread per day. In such a factory 1,000 persons will spin as much thread as 250,000 persons could without machinery" * (S. Laing, *The National Distress*, London, 1844, p. 75).

In this case the surplus value of the capital comes not from the saving made on the labour of 250 persons, but from the 1 person

who replaces them; not from the 250,000 persons replaced, but from the 1,000 employed. It is their surplus labour which is realised in the surplus value. The use value of the machine, and its replacement of human labour is its use value, does not determine its value; this is determined by the labour required to produce the machine itself. And this value, which it possesses before being employed, before entering into the production process, is the sole value it adds to the product *qua* machinery. The capitalist paid for this value when he bought the machine.

On the presupposition that the commodities are sold at their value, the *relative surplus value* created by capital by means of the machinery, as in applying all other ARRANGEMENTS which increase the productive power of labour and thereby reduce the price of the individual product, consists simply in this, that the commodities necessary for the reproduction of labour capacity are cheapened, hence that there is a reduction of the labour time necessary for the reproduction of labour capacity, which is only an equivalent of the labour time contained in wages; and therefore that the surplus labour time is prolonged, with the [V-198] overall length of the working day remaining the same. (There are a number of circumstances modifying this, which will be dealt with later.) This curtailment of necessary labour time is a result which redounds to the benefit of capitalist production as a whole and reduces the production costs of labour capacity altogether, because on our assumption the commodity produced by the machinery in fact contributes to the reproduction of labour capacity. However, this is not a motive for the individual capitalist to introduce machinery—it is a general result which is not particularly advantageous to him.

*Firstly*: Machinery may be introduced, either in replacement of a craft-based industry (as e.g. in the case of spinning), hence in subjecting a branch of industry for the first time to the capitalist mode of production; or in revolutionising a form of manufacture which previously rested merely on the division of labour (as in a factory for making machines); or, lastly, in driving out older by more efficient machinery or in extending the field of application of machinery in a workshop to parts of the operation it had not as yet previously seized hold of. In all these cases, as remarked above, it prolongs *necessary labour time* for the workers still subsumed under the old mode of production, and also prolongs their overall working day. On the other hand, in workshops where it is newly introduced it *curtails* necessary labour time, relatively speaking. If 2 hours of labour by a hand loom weaver are only

equivalent to 1 socially necessary hour of labour after the introduction of the POWER LOOM, 1 hour of labour by the POWER LOOM WEAVER is now, before the POWER LOOM has been introduced generally into this form of weaving, of greater magnitude than one hour of necessary labour. Its product has a higher value than the product of one hour of labour. It is the same as if simple labour were realised in it at a higher power, or a higher sort of weaving labour were realised in it. This concerning the extent to which the capitalist who employs the POWER LOOM, while admittedly selling the product of 1 hour below the level of the old hour of labour, below its previous socially necessary value, even so sells it at more than its individual value, i.e. at more than the labour time he himself has to employ to produce it with the help of the POWER LOOM. The worker therefore needs to work fewer hours for the reproduction of his wage, his necessary labour time is curtailed in the same measure as his labour has become higher labour in the same branch, that is to say the product of an hour of his labour is sold at perhaps more than the product of two hours of labour in the workshops where the old mode of production still prevails. If, therefore, the normal day remains the same—equally long—surplus labour time increases here because necessary labour time has been curtailed. This would occur even in the case of an increase in wages, always on the assumption that in the new circumstances the worker does not employ *as large* an aliquot part of the day as previously in replacing his wage or reproducing his labour capacity. This curtailment of necessary labour time is of course temporary, and it disappears once the general introduction of machinery into this branch has reduced the value of the commodity again to the labour time contained in it. Nevertheless, this is at the same time an incentive to the capitalist to raise the labour time he employs above the general level of the necessary labour time in the same sphere of production, by introducing ever new, small improvements. This is true whatever branch of production the machinery is employed in, and it is independent of whether the commodities produced by the machinery enter into the consumption of the worker himself.

*Secondly.* It is a general experience that as soon as machinery is employed in the capitalist way—i.e. emerges from the infant stage in which it originally appears in many branches, namely as merely a more productive form of the old handicraft tool, which is, however, still employed in the old industrial mode [V-199] by independent workers and their families—once it takes on an independent existence as a form of capital vis-à-vis the worker, the

*absolute labour time*, the overall working day, is not curtailed but prolonged. The investigation of this CASE belongs to Chapter III.[212] But the main points should be presented here. In this context we must distinguish between two things. *Firstly* the new conditions in which the worker finds himself and which enable the capitalist forcibly to prolong labour time. *Secondly* the motives which impel capital to undertake this operation.

In looking at 1) we have firstly to consider the converted form of labour, its apparent ease, which transfers all muscular exertion to the machinery, and similarly all skill. For the first reason, prolongation does not initially come up against physical impracticability; the second change breaks the resistance of the worker, who can no longer dig his heels in because his dexterity, still predominant under the system of manufacture, has now been broken; instead of this capital is able to replace skilled workers by unskilled ones, who therefore are more under its control. Then the new class of workers, who enter the situation as a determining element, alter the character of the whole workshop, and by their nature are more obedient to the despotism of capital. The element, namely, of female and child labour. Once the working day has been prolonged forcibly by tradition, generations are required, as in England, before the workers are capable of bringing it back to its normal limits. Thus the prolongation of the day beyond its natural limits, nightwork, is an offshoot of the factory system.

* "It is evident that the long hours of work were brought about by the circumstance of so great a number of destitute children being supplied from the different parts of the country" * (from the WORKHOUSES) * "that the masters were independent of the hands, and that, having once established the custom by means of the miserable materials which they procured in this way, they could impose it upon their neighbours with the greater facility" * (J. Fielden, *The Curse of the Factory System*, London, 1836, [p. 11]).

* "'Mr. E., a manufacturer, informed me that he employs females exclusively at his power looms; it is so universally; gives a decided preference to married females, especially those who have families at home dependent on them for support; they are attentive, docile, more so than unmarried females, and are compelled to use their utmost exertions to procure the necessaries of life.' Thus are the virtues, the peculiar virtues, of the female character to be perverted to her injury,—thus all that is most dutiful and tender in her nature is to be made the means of her bondage and suffering!" * (*Ten Hours Factory Bill. The Speech of Lord Ashley*, London, 1844, p. 20).

Fielden, already cited above, says:

* "As improvements in machinery have gone on, the *avarice* of masters has prompted many to exact more labour from their hands than they were fitted by nature to perform" * (Fielden, l.c., [p.] 34).

A keen appetite for alien labour (surplus labour) is not a feature specific to the person who employs machinery, it is the driving motive of the whole of capitalist production. Since the FACTORY MASTER is now in a better position to indulge this urge, he quite naturally lets go of the reins. A further remark: As long as the motive force proceeds from human beings (and indeed animals too) [V-200] it can only physically function for a certain portion of the day. A steam engine, etc., needs no rest. It can continue operating for any length of time. [V-200]

[V-199] However, there are yet further circumstances which give this urge a very special impetus in the case of the employment of machinery.

[V-200] Machinery, etc., is valorised over a lengthy period, during which the same labour process is constantly repeated in order to produce new commodities. This period is determined by calculating the average time it takes for the whole value of the machinery to be transferred to the product. The extension of labour time beyond the limits of the normal working day shortens the period over which the capital laid out in the machinery is replaced by the total amount of production. Let us assume the period is 10 years if 12 hours are worked every day. If 15 hours are worked every day, hence if the day is lengthened by $^1/_4$, over one week this makes $1\,^1/_2$ days=18 hours. The whole week comes to 90 hours on our assumption. $^{18}/_{90}=^1/_5$ week. And so $^1/_5$ of the 10 years would be saved; 2 years, therefore. HENCE the capital laid out in machinery would have been replaced in 8 years. Either it has in fact been used up in that time. Then the reproduction process has been hastened. If not—if the machinery is still capable of functioning—the ratio of variable capital to constant capital is raised, because the latter continues to function without however having to enter into the valorisation process any more. This brings about an increase, if not in the surplus value (which has already grown as a result of the prolongation of labour time), at least in the ratio of that surplus value to the total amount of capital laid out—and therefore an increase in profit. And additionally: When new machinery is introduced the improvements come thick and fast. Thus a large part of the old machinery constantly loses part of its value or becomes entirely unusable before it has passed through its circulation period, or its value has re-appeared in the value of the commodities. The more the reproduction period is curtailed, the slighter this danger is, and the more the capitalist is able, the value of the machinery having returned to him in a shorter period, to introduce the new improved machinery and sell

cheaply the old machinery, which can again be profitably employed by another capitalist, since it enters into his production as from the outset the representative of a smaller magnitude of value. (We shall deal with this point in more detail under *fixed capital*, bringing in *Babbage*'s examples as well.[a])

What has been said here is valid not only for machinery but for the whole of the fixed capital which the employment of machinery brings in its train and is the condition for.

Yet, the capitalist is by no means concerned merely to get back the amount of value laid out in the fixed capital as soon as possible, so as to protect it from devaluation and to possess it again in disposable form; he is concerned above all with the profitable employment of this capital—of the great quantity of capital fixed in a form in which it both decays as exchange value and is useless as use value, except to the extent that it is brought into contact with the living kind of labour whose fixed capital it constitutes. Since the part of capital laid out in wages has become much smaller in relation to the total capital—particularly in relation to the fixed capital—and since the magnitude of surplus value depends not only on its rate but on the number of working days simultaneously employed, while profit depends on the ratio of this surplus value to the total capital, the consequence is a fall in the rate of profit. The simplest means to prevent this is of course to prolong the absolute surplus labour as far as possible by prolonging the working day, thereby making the fixed capital the means of appropriating the greatest possible quantity of unpaid labour. If the factory is not in operation, the manufacturer regards this as being robbed by the workers; for his capital has obtained a form in fixed capital in which it is directly a draft entitling him to alien labour. This is all expressed very naively by Mr. Senior, who in the year 1837 still was of the opinion [V-201] that the working day—hence absolute labour time—would necessarily have to become longer with the development of machinery.

Senior says, giving, moreover, the honourable Mr. Ashworth as his authority:

"THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE HOURS OF WORK USUAL OVER THE WHOLE WORLD IN COTTON FACTORIES AND OTHER EMPLOYMENTS derives from two sources. 1) THE GREAT PROPORTION OF FIXED TO CIRCULATING CAPITAL, WHICH MAKES LONG HOURS OF WORK DESIRABLE" (Senior, *Letters on the Factory Act etc.*, London, 1837, p. 11) (XI, 4).[219]

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[a] Ch. Babbage, *Traité sur l'économie...*, pp. 375-78.— *Ed.*

With the constant growth of fixed capital in relation to circulating capital

* "the motives to long hours of work will become greater, as the only means by which a large proportion of fixed capital can be made profitable. 'When a labourer,' said Mr. Ashworth to me, 'lays down his spade, he renders useless, for that period, a capital worth 18d. When one of our people leaves the mill, he renders useless a capital that has cost £100,000[220]'" * (l.c., [p.] 14).

He *RENDERS USELESS*! After all the machinery is there—such a great capital has been invested in it—precisely to squeeze labour out of the worker. In fact he has already committed a great crime against A CAPITAL THAT HAS COST £100,000 BY LEAVING THE MILL AT ALL!

(this was the original reason for nightwork: "later our FACTORIES usually worked 80 hours a WEEK") (XI, 5).

"If a steam engine, or other kind of machine, only works for some hours or some days a week, there is a loss of energy. If it works for the whole day it produces more, and it produces still more if it works night and day" (J. G. Courcelle-Seneuil, *Traité théorique et pratique des entreprises industrielles etc.*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1857, p. 48).[a]

"The first machines for weaving patent net, when first installed, were very expensive, costing from £1,000 to £1,200 [or £1,300]. Though the machines increased the quantity produced, the possessors were nevertheless unable, with the workers' working time being limited to 8 hours, to compete with the old methods in price terms. This disadvantage arose from the large capital the instalment of the machinery cost; but the manufacturers quickly perceived that with the same expense of fixed capital, and a small ADDITION to their circulating capital, they could work the same machines during the whole 24 hours" (Babbage, p. 279).[b]

[V-206] * "It is self-evident, that, amid the ebbings and flowings of the market, and the alternate contractions and expansions of demand, occasions will constantly recur, in which the manufacturer may employ additional floating capital without employing additional fixed capital ... if *additional quantities of raw material can be worked up without incurring an additional expense for buildings and machinery*" * (R. Torrens, *On Wages and Combination*, London, 1834, p. 64).[221]

This is, in general, an advantage associated with the prolongation of labour time—SAVING OF AN ADDITIONAL EXPENSE FOR BUILDINGS AND MACHINERY. [V-206]

[V-201] *Thirdly.* To the extent that the employment of machinery curtails the labour time during which the same commodity can be produced, it lessens the value of the commodity and makes the labour more productive, because it provides more product in the same time. To that extent the machinery only affects the productive power of normal labour. But a definite quantity of labour time continues to be represented in the same magnitude of value. Therefore as soon as competition has reduced

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[a] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

[b] Ch. Babbage, *Traité sur l'économie...*— *Ed.*

the price of the commodity produced by machinery to its value, the employment of machinery can only increase the *surplus value,* the profit [V-202] of the capitalist, in so far as the cheapening of the commodity leads to a reduction in the value of wages or the value of labour capacity or in the time necessary for the reproduction of labour capacity.

There is, however, an additional circumstance here owing to which the employment of machinery increases absolute labour time, and therefore absolute surplus value, even without any prolongation of the working day. This happens through the, so to speak, *condensation of labour time,* in which every part of the time increases its labour content; the intensity of labour grows; there is growth not only in the productivity (hence the quality) of the labour owing to the employment of machinery, but in the *quantity of labour* performed within a given period. The pores of time are so to speak shrunk through the compression of labour. One hour of labour thereby represents the same quantity of labour as perhaps $^6/_4$ hours of the average labour performed without the employment of machinery or with the employment of less efficient machinery.

Where machinery has already been introduced, the improvements which reduce the number of workers in relation to the amount of commodities produced and the machinery employed are accompanied by the circumstance that the labour of the individual worker who replaces 1 or 2 workers grows with the improvements in the machinery, hence that the machinery only enables him to do what 2 or 3 workers did previously by compelling him to increase his labour and fill each period of time more intensively with labour. Thus labour capacity is more rapidly worn out during the same hour of labour.

Let us look first at the way those who have investigated factory labour at different times have spoken about the growth in labour accompanying improvements in machinery. This follows on the one hand from the greater rapidity of the machine, which the worker has to follow; and on the other hand from the greater quantity of machine labour the individual worker has to overlook, as for example when the number of spindles on the MULE is increased, with double rows of spindles (DOUBLE DECKING) as well, or when 1 weaver has to supervise 2 or 3 POWER LOOMS instead of 1.

* "The labour now undergone in the factories is much greater than it used to be, owing to the greater attention and activity required by the greatly increased speed which is given to the machinery that the children have to attend to, when we

compare it with what it was 30 or 40 years ago"* (J. Fielden, *The Curse of the Factory System*, [London, 1836,] p. 32).

This was in the year 1836. John Fielden was himself a manufacturer.

LORD Ashley (now Earl of Shaftesbury) STATED IN HIS SPEECH ON THE TEN HOURS FACTORY BILL ON MARCH 15, 1844:

*"The labour performed by those engaged in the processes of manufacture, is 3 times as great as in the beginning of such operations. Machinery has executed, no doubt, the work that would demand the sinews of millions of men; but it has also prodigiously multiplied the labour of those who are governed by its fearful movements"* (l.c., [p.] 6). *"In 1815, the labour of following a pair of mules spinning cotton yarn of Nos. 40—reckoning 12 hours to the working day—involved a necessity for walking 8 miles. In 1832, the distance travelled in following a pair of mules spinning cotton-yarn on the same numbers, was 20 miles, and frequently more. But the amount of labour performed by those following the mules, is not confined merely to the distance walked. There is far more to be done. In 1835,[a] the spinner put up daily on each of these mules 820 stretches; making a total of 1,640 stretches in the course of the day. In 1832, the spinner put upon each mule 2,200 stretches, making a total of 4,400. In 1844, according to a return furnished by a practised operative spinner, the person working puts up in the same period 2,400 stretches on each mule, making a total of 4,800 stretches in the [V-203] course of the day; and in some cases, the amount of labour required is even greater"* (pp. 6, 7).

*"I have a document here, signed by 22 operative spinners of Manchester, in which they state that 20 miles is the very least distance travelled, and they believe it to be still greater. I have another document sent to me in *1842*, stating that the labour is *progressively increasing*—increasing not only because the distance to be travelled is greater, but because the quantity of goods produced is multiplied, while the hands are, in proportion, fewer than before; and, moreover, because an inferior species of cotton is now often spun, which it is more difficult to work"* (l.c., pp. 8, 9).

*"In the carding room there has been also *a great increase of labour*—one person there does the work formerly divided between two. In the weaving room where a vast number of persons are employed, and principally females ... the labour has increased, within the last few years, fully 10 per cent, owing to the increased speed of the machinery. In 1838, the number of hanks spun per week was 18,000; in 1843 it amounted to 21,000. In 1819, the number of picks in power loom weaving per minute was 60—in 1842 it was 140, showing a vast increase of labour, because more nicety and attention are required to the work in hand"* (p. 9).

//As long as machinery enables a manufacturer to sell the commodity for more than its *individual* value, the following passage applies, showing that even in this case the surplus value derives from a curtailment of necessary labour time, is itself a form of relative surplus value:

*"A man's profit does not depend upon his command of the *produce* of other men's labour, but upon his command of *labour itself*. If he can sell"* (by raising the

[a] This should be 1815 or 1825. See the corresponding passage in Volume I of *Capital*.—*Ed.*

MONEY PRICES of the commodities) *"his goods at a higher price, while his workmen's wages remain unaltered, he is clearly benefited by the rise, whether other goods rise, or not. A smaller proportion of what he produces is sufficient to put that labour into motion, and a larger proportion consequently remains for himself"* (*Outlines of Political Economy* (by a Malthusian), etc., London, 1832, pp. 49-50).[222] //

The FACTORY REPORTS show that in those branches of industry which were covered (until April 1860) by the FACTORY ACT, and in which therefore the working week had been reduced by law to 60 hours, wages did not fall (comparing 1859 with 1839) but RATHER rose, whereas they positively fell during this period in factories where

"THE LABOUR OF CHILDREN, YOUNG PERSONS AND WOMEN" was still "UNRESTRICTED".

The reference here is to

"PRINTING, BLEACHING and DYEING WORKS, in which until 1860 THE HOURS OF WORK REMAIN NOW THE SAME AS THEY WERE 20 YEARS SINCE, IN WHICH THE PROTECTED CLASSES UNDER THE FACTORY ACTS ARE AT TIMES EMPLOYED 14 AND 15 HOURS PER DAY."[a]

[V-204] The following list shows in general that, with the progress of industry in the last 20 years, wages have fallen considerably in a number of branches of industry.

| ** Calico printing, dyeing and bleaching, 60 hours per week.* | *1839* | *1859* | *Fustian dyeing, 61 hours per week.* | *1839* | *1859* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Colour mixer* | 35s. | 32 | *Dressers* | 18 | 22 |
| *Machine printer* | 40 | 38 | *Bleachers* | 21 | 18 |
| *Foreman* | 40 | 40 | *Dyers* | 21 | 16 |
| *Block Cutter* | 35 | 25 | *Finishers* | 21 | 22 |
| *Block printer* | 40 | 28 | | | |
| *Dyer* | 18 | 16 | | | |
| *Washer* and *Labourer* | 16 and 15 | ditto | | | |

(*Factory Reports.* For Half Year ending 30 April 1860, p. 32).* [V-204]

[V-203] In the first kind of factory, production increased more, relatively speaking, than previously, and at the same time the profits of the manufacturers increased, as is demonstrated by the rapid spread of the factories.

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[a] *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories for the Half Year Ending 30th April 1860*, pp. 31-32.— *Ed.*

* "The great improvements that have been made in machinery, of all kinds, have vastly improved their productive powers, improvements to which a stimulus was doubtless given, especially as regards *the greater speed of the machines* in a given time, by the restrictions of the hours of work. These improvements, and the *closer application* which the operatives are enabled to give, have had the effect ... of as much work being turned off in the shortened time as used to be in the longer hours" * (*Factory Reports for the Half Year Ending October 31, 1858,* [p.] 10. Cf. *Reports for the Half Year Ending 30th April 1860,* p. 30 sqq.).

[V-204] The phenomenon that the Ten Hours' Bill has not cut down the profits of the English manufacturers, in spite of the shortening of the working day, is explained by two reasons:

1) The English hour of labour stands above the Continental one, it is related to it as more complex labour to simple labour. (Hence the relation of the English to the foreign manufacturer is the same as the relation of a manufacturer who has introduced new machinery to his competitor.)

* "All things being equal, the English manufacturer can turn out a considerably larger amount of work in a given time than a Foreign manufacturer, so much as to counterbalance the difference of the working days, between 60 hours a week here and 72 or 80 elsewhere; and the means of transport in England enable the manufacturer to deliver his goods upon a railway, almost at his factory, whence they may be almost directly shipped for exportation" * (*Reports of Inspectors of Factories. 31 October 1855,* London, 1856, [p.] 65).

2) What is lost through the reduction of absolute labour time is gained in condensation of labour time, so that in fact 1 hour of labour is now equal to $^6/_5$ or more hours of labour. Just as the absolute extension of the working day beyond certain limits (beyond the natural day) is defeated by natural obstacles, so does the condensed working day have its limits. It is questionable whether the amount of labour which is now provided in the factories under the Ten Hours' Law would be possible at all for 12 hours at e.g. an equal level of intensity.

* "In fact one class of manufacturers, the spinners of woollen yarn,"

(since they do not wish to employ TWO SETS OF HALF-TIMERS, children under 13 years who work for 6 hours)

* "now rarely employ children under 13 years of age, i.e. half-timers. They have introduced improved and new machinery of various kinds, which altogether supersedes the necessity of the employment of children, for instance, as an illustration, by the addition of an apparatus, called a *piecing machine,* to existing machines, the work of 6 or 4 half-timers, according to the peculiarity of each machine, can be performed by one young person ... the half-time system had some share in stimulating the invention of the piecing machine" * (*Factory Reports for the Half Year Ending 31 October 1858,* London, 1858, pp. 42-43).

In any case this effect of the shortening of absolute labour time shows us how the manufacturers look for means of curtailing

necessary labour time in order to prolong relative surplus labour time. It also shows us how machinery not only enables one individual to perform the labour of many, but increases the amount of labour required of that individual, thus giving the hour of labour a higher value, and thereby lessening the proportion of his time the worker himself needs for the reproduction of his wage.

[V-205] As we have said,[a] this occurs as a result of the increase both in the machine's rapidity of action and in the amount of working machinery the individual worker has to supervise. This result is attained partly through changes in the construction of the machine which supplies the motive power, changes enabling a machine of the same weight to set in motion, and in more rapid motion, with a relative, and often an absolute reduction in cost, a greater quantity of machinery than before.

* "The facts thus brought out by the Return appear to be that the Factory system is increasing rapidly; that *although the same number of hands are employed in proportion to the horsepower as at former periods there are fewer hands employed in proportion to the machinery*; that the steam engine is enabled to drive an increased weight of machinery by economy of force, and other methods, and that an increased quantity of work can be turned off by improvements in machinery, and in methods of manufacture, by increased speed of the machinery, and by a variety of other causes" * (*Factory Reports for the Half Year Ending 31st October 1856*, p. 20).

"In the *Report for October 1852, Mr. Horner quotes ... a letter from Mr. Jas. Nasmyth, the eminent civil engineer, of Paticroft, near Manchester, explaining the nature of recent improvements in the steam engine, whereby the same engine is made to perform more work with a diminished consumption of fuel.... 'It would not be very easy to get an exact return as to the increase of performance or work done by the identical engines to which some or all of these improvements have been applied; I am confident, however, that could we obtain an exact return, the result would show, that from the same weight of steam-engine machinery, we are now at least obtaining *50* per cent more duty or work performed on the average, and that ... in many cases, the identical steam engines which, in the days of the restricted speed of 220 feet per minute, yielded 50 horsepower, are now yielding upwards of 100.'"

* "The return of 1838," * says Horner *(*Reports, 31st October 1856*), "gave the number of steam engines and of water wheels, with the amount of horsepower employed. At that time the figures represented a much more accurate estimate of the actual power employed than do the figures in the returns either of *1850* or *1856*. The figures given in the Returns are all of the *nominal* power of the engines and wheels, not of the power actually employed or capable of being employed. The modern steam engine of 100 horsepowers is capable of being driven at a much greater force than formerly, arising from the improvements in its construction, the capacity and construction of the boilers, etc., and thus the nominal power of a modern manufacturing steam engine cannot be considered more than an index from which its real capabilities are to be calculated" * (l.c., pp. 13-14).

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[a] See this volume, pp. 335-36.—*Ed.*

*Fourthly: Replacement of simple cooperation by machinery.*

Just as machinery removes or revolutionises cooperation in its developed form of division of labour, so also in many cases does it do away with or revolutionise simple cooperation. For example, if operations such as mowing corn, sowing seed, etc., require the simultaneous employment of many hands, they can be replaced by mowing or sowing machines. The same with the production of wine, when the wine-press replaces treading by foot. This is equally true of the application of steam engines to raise building materials to the top of a building or to the height at which they [V-206] are required.

"The TURNOUT of the Lancashire WORKMEN IN THE BUILDING TRADE (1833) HAS INTRODUCED A CURIOUS APPLICATION OF THE STEAM-ENGINE. This machine is now employed in some towns, instead of MANUAL LABOUR, IN HOISTING THE VARIOUS BUILDING MATERIALS TO THE TOP OF THE EDIFICES WHERE THEY ARE INTENDED TO BE USED" ([E. C. Tufnell,] *Character, Object and Effects of Trades' Unions etc.*, London, 1834, [p.] 109).

*Fifthly: Invention and employment of machinery against* STRIKES, *etc., and against wage demands.*

STRIKES usually originate from attempts either to prevent a cut in wages or enforce an increase in wages, or to settle the limits of the normal working day. What is at stake in a strike is always the limitation of the positive or relative amount of surplus labour time or the appropriation of part of it by the worker himself. The capitalist counters this with the introduction of machinery. Here the machine appears directly as a means of curtailing necessary labour time; it also appears as a form of capital—an instrument of capital—a power of capital—*over* labour—for the suppression of any claim by labour to autonomy. Here machinery *comes into play as a form of capital inimical to labour in intention* as well. SELFACTORS, WOOL-COMBING MACHINES in the spinning industry, the so-called "CONDENSER" which replaces the hand-turned "SLUBBING MACHINE" (in the woollen industry as well), etc., are all machines invented in order to defeat STRIKES.

[V-207] Likewise

the self-acting apparatus for executing the dyeing and rinsing operations was invented "under the high pressure of the same despotic confederacies" (namely the workers' associations)

(what is being referred to here is the printing of calico, where from 4 to 6 colours can now be printed at once with the application of steam-driven engraved cylinders). Ure comments further, with reference to the invention of a new machine in the weaving industry:

"The combined malcontents, who fancied themselves impregnably intrenched behind the old lines of division of labour, found their flanks turned and their defences rendered useless by the new mechanical tactics, and were obliged to surrender at discretion" (l.c., p. 142). [V-207]

[V-206] The result of these new machines is either to make the previous kind of work completely superfluous (as the SELFACTOR makes the spinner superfluous) or to lessen the number of workers required and make the new kind of work simpler in comparison with the previous kind (as the work of the COMBER with COMBING MACHINES).

"The most frequent cause of STRIKES in the COTTON TRADE has been the introduction of improved machinery, and especially the ENLARGEMENT OF MULES, by means of which the number of SPINDLES A SPINNER IS CAPABLE OF SUPERINTENDING HAS BEEN CONTINUALLY INCREASING.... A MASTER, ON THE INTRODUCTION of such improved machinery into his establishment stipulates with his spinners to pay them LESS PER PIECE, but still at such a rate that, OWING TO THE GREATER POWER OF THE MACHINE, their weekly EARNINGS shall rise rather than fall.... But such a BARGAIN is INJURIOUS TO THE MASTERS AND MEN IN THE MANUFACTORIES WHERE THE IMPROVED MACHINE IS NOT INTRODUCED" ([E. C. Tufnell,] *Character, Object and Effects of Trades' Unions etc.*, London, 1834, [pp.] 17-18).

"1829 A SERIOUS TURNOUT. A LITTLE BEFORE THIS TIME, SEVERAL MASTERS HAD ERECTED MULES, CARRYING FROM 4-500 SPINDLES, WHICH ENABLED THE SPINNERS WHO WORKED AT THEM TO RECEIVE A LESS SUM IN THE PROPORTION OF 3 to 4 FOR A GIVEN QUANTITY OF WORK, AND at the same time TO EARN *AT LEAST* AN EQUAL AMOUNT OF WAGES WITH THOSE WHO WERE EMPLOYED ON THE OLD MACHINERY. 21 MILLS AND 10,000 PERSONS WERE THROWN IDLE FOR 6 MONTHS by this STRIKE" (l.c., p. 19).

"The STRIKE of 1833 at Messrs. Hindes and Derham (WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE) was the cause of the INVENTION OF A WOOL-COMBING MACHINE, WHICH WHOLLY SUPERSEDED THE LABOUR OF THAT CLASS OF MEN, WHO WERE THE CHIEF RINGLEADERS IN THIS AFFAIR; AND WHICH HAS STRUCK A BLOW AT THEIR COMBINATION, THAT IT CAN NEVER RECOVER" (pp. 61-62).

[V-207] Similarly "THE *INTRODUCTION OF STEAM* AS AN *ANTAGONIST TO* HUMAN POWER" (P. Gaskell (Surgeon), *Artisans and Machinery etc.*, London, 1836, p. 23).

"THE SURPLUS HANDS would readily enable the MANUFACTURERS TO LESSEN THE RATE OF WAGES; BUT THE CERTAINTY THAT ANY CONSIDERABLE REDUCTION WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY IMMEDIATE IMMENSE LOSSES FROM TURNOUTS, EXTENDED STOPPAGES, AND VARIOUS OTHER IMPEDIMENTS WHICH WOULD BE THROWN IN THEIR WAY, MAKES THEM PREFER THE SLOWER PROCESS OF MECHANICAL IMPROVEMENT, BY WHICH, THOUGH THEY MAY TRIPLE PRODUCTION, THEY REQUIRE NO NEW MEN" (l.c., p. 314).

* "The factory operatives should keep in wholesome remembrance the fact that theirs is really a low species of skilled labour; and that there is none which is more easily acquired or of its quality more amply remunerated, or which, by a short training of the least expert can be more quickly as well as abundantly supplied." "The master's machinery really plays a far more important part in the business of production than the labour and skill of the operative, which 6 months' education can teach, and a common labourer can learn" * (*The Master Spinners and Manufacturers' Defence Fund. Report of the Committee Appointed for the Receipt and Apportionment of This Fund, to the Central Association of Master Spinners and Manufacturers*, Manchester, 1854, pp. 17, 19).

Ure says with regard to the "Iron Man" (SELF-ACTING MULE[223]):

"When capital enlists science in her service, the refractory hand of labour will always be taught docility" (p. 140).

"The necessity of enlarging the spinning-frames, created by the decrees of the workers' associations, has recently given an extraordinary stimulus to mechanical science.... In *doubling the size of his mule,* the owner is enabled to get rid of indifferent or restive workers, and to become once more the master of his mill, which is no small advantage" (Ure, Vol. II, p. 134).

This expedient tends

"to raise, or uphold at least, the *wages of each spinner,* but to diminish the *numbers of workers necessary* for the same quantity of work, so that those employed would prosper, but the combined body of workers would thereby be impoverished" (l.c., [pp.] 133, 134).

"The Iron Man ... a creation destined to *restore order* among the industrious classes" (p. 138).[a]

"The first MANUFACTURERS, WHO HAD TO TRUST ENTIRELY TO HAND LABOUR, WERE SUBJECTED PERIODICALLY TO SEVERE IMMEDIATE LOSSES through the REFRACTORY SPIRIT OF THEIR HANDS, WHO TIMED THEIR OPPORTUNITY, WHEN THE MARKETS WERE PARTICULARLY PRESSING, TO URGE THEIR CLAIMS.... A CRISIS WAS RAPIDLY APPROACHING, which WOULD HAVE CHECKED THE PROGRESS OF MANUFACTURES, WHEN STEAM AND ITS APPLICATION TO MACHINERY AT ONCE TURNED THE CURRENT AGAINST THE MEN" (Gaskell, l.c., [pp.] 34, 35).

[V-208] *Sixthly. Presumption of the workers in wishing to appropriate part of the productivity of their labour brought about by machinery.*

"TRADES UNIONS IN THEIR DESIRE TO MAINTAIN WAGES *ENDEAVOUR TO SHARE IN THE PROFITS OF IMPROVED MACHINERY....* They demand higher wages because LABOUR IS ABBREVIATED ... in other words: they endeavour TO ESTABLISH *A DUTY ON MANUFACTURING IMPROVEMENTS*" (*On Combinations of Trades,* New Edit., London, 1834, p. 42).

"The principle of adjusting WAGES TO THE SUPPOSED PROFITS OF THE EMPLOYER, which is involved in claiming higher remuneration from improved machinery, is wholly INADMISSIBLE. The application of this principle is not, however, confined to one description of profit. The dyers, on August 7th 1824, TURNED OUT ... setting forth in a placard that their masters had obtained AN INCREASE OF PRICE FOR DYEING, *MORE* THAN ADEQUATE TO THE ADVANCE THEY CLAIM.... WAGES thus change their character completely, and either absorb or become an *ad valorem* tax upon profits" (l.c., pp. 43, 44).

*Seventhly. More* CONTINUITY OF LABOUR. *Utilisation of waste etc. More work can be done at a* FINISHING *stage if more raw materials are provided with the help of machinery.*

Continuity of labour generally increases with the employment of machinery (of fixed capital altogether).

The machine has the further effect that it provides a more plentiful supply of the material of labour for the branches of

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[a] Marx quotes Ure in French.— *Ed.*

industry for which its product serves as raw material. For example in the 18th century the HANDLOOM WEAVERS always suffered from the IMPOSSIBILITY OF SUPPLYING THEMSELVES with MATERIALS (yarn) FOR THEIR LABOUR. CONSIDERABLE VACATIONS were FREQUENTLY OCCURRING IN THIS RESPECT, and at these periods they found themselves suffering "PRIVATIONS".

"What was now gained from the improvement in the spinning machine had arisen *not so much from any INCREASE IN THE RATE OF PAYMENT FOR LABOUR*, as from A MARKET GENERALLY UNDERSTOCKED, AND A *CONSTANTLY INCREASING PRODUCTION OF YARN, WHICH ENABLED THEM TO WORK FULL HOURS*" (Gaskell, l.c., p. 27).

This is one of the main results of machinery,

"this possibility of continuously WORKING FULL HOURS IN THE SAME DEPARTMENT".

This would be the possibility of WORKING FULL HOURS for the small man who works on his own account. For the capitalist it is the possibility of having other people work FULL HOURS.

What the spinning machine does for weaving, by providing the yarn, was done for the spinner by the invention of the COTTON GIN in 1793, by Eli Whitney, of Connecticut. This machine provides the cotton. The plantation owner had enough black slaves to sow a large amount of COTTON, but not enough to separate the fibres from the seed. This therefore considerably reduced the amount of raw production, and increased what it cost to produce e.g. a pound of cotton.

*"It was an average day's work to separate a pound of cotton fibre perfectly from the seed.... Whitney's invention enabled the owner of his gin to separate the seed completely from [100] pounds of fibres per day per hand, [and] the efficiency of the gin [has] since increased."* [224]

[V-209] The same thing in *India.*

*"The next evil in India is one which one would scarcely expect to find in a country which exports more labour than any other in the world, with the exception perhaps of China and England—*the impossibility of procuring a sufficient number of hands to clean the cotton.* The consequence of this is that large quantities of the crop are left unpicked, while another portion is gathered from the ground, where it has fallen, and of course discoloured and partially rotten, so *that for want of labour at the proper season*, the cultivator is actually forced to submit to the loss of a large part of that crop, for which England is so anxiously looking"* (*Bengal Hurkaru.* Bi-Monthly Overland Summary of News, 22nd July 1861).

*"A common *churka* worked by a man and woman turned out 28 lbs daily. Dr. Forbes' churka worked by 2 men and a boy turns out 250 lbs daily"* (*Bombay Chamber of Commerce Report for 1859-60*, p. 171). *"16 of these (last named machines), driven by bullocks, would clean a ton of cotton per day, which was equal to the ordinary day's work of 750 people"* (*Paper Read before the Society of Arts, on the 17th April 1861*).

Machinery can work with materials which are too inferior to be worked by hand.

* "The demand for cheap goods" * (woollen in the West Riding of Yorkshire) * "has given an immense impulse to this kind of manufacture, the economy of which consists not so much in improved machinery and labour-saving processes, as in the employment of an inferior staple and woollen rags, brought again, by powerful machinery, to the original condition of wool, and then either spun into yarn for inferior cloths, or mixed with new wool, spun into yarn for better kinds of cloths. This manufacture prevails nowhere to so great an extent as in England, although it is considerable in Belgium" * (*Reports of Inspectors of Factories for 31st October 1855*, London, 1856, [p.] 64).

* "There is frequently a great saving of materials, as in the change from making boards with the adze, to that of making them with the saw; and again the labour of natural agents is so much cheaper, that many articles which would otherwise have been worthless, are now deserving of attention, as they may now be profitably endowed with some form of value" * (F. Wayland, *The Elements of Political Economy*, Boston, 1843, '[pp.] 72-73).

In production on a large scale, moreover, the waste products are so considerable that they themselves can in turn more readily become simple articles of commerce, whether for agriculture or for other branches of industry.

[V-210] *Eighthly. Replacement of labour.*

"Perfection of the crafts means nothing other than the discovery of new ways of making a product *with fewer people*, or (which is the same thing) in *less time than previously*" (Galiani, *Della Moneta*, Custodi, *Parte Moderna*, p. 158 [159]).[a]

This is true as much for simple cooperation or the division of labour as it is for machinery—*fewer people* and *less time* for the manufacture of a product are identical. If someone can do in 1 hour what he previously did in 2, one person can do in one working day what previously was done by two; and what therefore previously required two simultaneous working days. Therefore every means of reducing the necessary labour time of an individual worker implies at the same time a reduction in the number of workers required to bring about the same effect. If we look now at the employment of machinery, is there only a difference of degree in this reduction, or is there some specific additional feature?

Sir James Steuart says in his *Principles of Political Economy*, Book I, Ch. XIX:

"Machines therefore I consider as a method of augmenting (*virtually*) the number of the industrious, without the expense of feeding an additional number" [p. 123].

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[a] Marx quotes in Italian.— *Ed.*

Indeed, in the same passage he asks:

"Wherein does the effect of a machine differ from that of new inhabitants?" (l. c.).[a]

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//Price *of the* commodity and wages.[225] We [shall] SPEAK [in] ANOTHER PLACE of Proudhon's nonsense. BUT WHAT HE IS REPLIED TO BY MR. *Eugène Forcade,* ONE OF THE BEST ECONOMICAL CRITICS IN FRANCE, IS AS FALSE AND RIDICULOUS AS Proudhon's ASSERTIONS. Forcade SAYS:

"If Proudhon's objection ... that 'the worker cannot buy back his own product'" (on account of the interest which is added to it)[b] "were correct, not only would it apply to the profits of capital; it would *eliminate the very possibility of industry.* If the worker is compelled to pay 100 for something for which he has only received 80, *if his wages can buy back only the value he has put into a product,* this amounts to saying that the worker cannot buy back anything"

//hence even if he gets back the *WHOLE VALUE* he has put into the product, THAT IS TO SAY, IF THERE EXISTS NO PROFIT AND NO OTHER FORM OF SURPLUS VALUE EXPRESSING SURPLUS LABOUR; and holding such notions Forcade claims TO UNDERSTAND ANYTHING WHATEVER OF POLITICAL ECONOMY! Proudhon's nonsense consists in his belief that the worker must buy back with the money he receives (as wages) a higher value in commodities than is contained in the money, or in other words that the commodity is sold *above* its value because profit, etc., is realised in the sale. But now here comes Forcade, declaring that industry becomes *impossible* as soon as the wage is only able to buy back in a product the value that the worker has put into it. The reverse is true. Capitalist industry becomes impossible if the wage is sufficient to buy back in a product the whole of the value the worker has put into it. In that case, there would neither be surplus value, nor profit, nor interest, nor rent, nor capital. IN *FACT*: Forcade's comment has a bearing not only on the "worker" but on the producer in general//,

"that wages cannot *pay* for anything".

(Thus we have IN FACT the general proposition: if the *producer* can only buy back in a product the value he has put into it, the producer cannot pay for anything. Because the commodity contains constant capital apart from the labour added.)

"In fact *the cost price* always contains something more than the wage"

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[a] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

[b] P. J. Proudhon, *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?,* p. 201, and *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon,* pp. 207-08.— *Ed.*

(This is already a very crude way of putting it. He means to say that there is always something more than the last piece of labour added to, and realised in, the commodity.)

"e.g. the *price of the raw material, often paid out abroad....*"

(And even if it were not paid out abroad the situation would not be changed in the least. Forcade's objection, which [V-211] is based on a crude misconception, remains the same. The point is this: the amount of the total product which forms the payment of wages CONTAINS NO PARTICLE OF VALUE DUE TO THE VALUE OF THE RAW MATERIAL, etc., ALTHOUGH EVERY SINGLE COMMODITY, CONSIDERED FOR ITSELF, IS COMPOSED OF THE VALUE DUE TO THE LAST LABOUR ADDED AND TO THE VALUE OF THE RAW MATERIALS, etc., INDEPENDENT OF THAT LABOUR. The same applies to the whole of that part of the PRODUCE which constitutes the SURPLUS VALUE. (Profit, etc.) AS TO THE VALUE OF THE CONSTANT CAPITAL, IT IS REPLACED EITHER BY ITSELF, *in natura*, OR BY EXCHANGE WITH OTHER FORMS OF CONSTANT CAPITAL.)

"Proudhon has forgotten the continual growth of the national capital; he has forgotten that this growth takes effect for all workers, both the entrepreneurs and the labourers" (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, Vol. 24, Paris, 1848, *Eugène Forcade*, [pp.] 998, 999).

And with this meaningless phrase Forcade endeavours to evade solving the problem; and yet he is indisputably one of the "most critical" political economists! [a]

Here we want to bring together immediately the whole of Proudhon's rubbish.[226] //

[a] The passage on Forcade and Proudhon was written by Marx in a mixture of German, French and English.— *Ed.*

VI *Contents of Notebook VI*:

5) *Theories of Surplus Value*[227]

(a) *Sir James Steuart*

(b) *The Physiocrats*

(c) *Adam Smith*

VII

5) *Theories of Surplus Value*

(c) *Adam Smith* (continuation)

(Inquiry into how it is possible for the annual profit and wages to buy the annual commodities, which besides profit and wages also contain constant capital)

## [VI-220] 5) THEORIES OF SURPLUS VALUE[228]

All economists share the error of examining surplus value not as such, in its pure form, but in the particular forms of profit and rent. What theoretical errors must necessarily arise from this will be shown more fully in Chapter III, in the analysis of the greatly changed form which surplus value assumes as profit.[229]

### a) [*SIR JAMES STEUART*]

Before the Physiocrats, surplus value—that is, profit, in the form of profit—was explained purely from *exchange*, the sale of the commodity above its value. Sir James Steuart on the whole did not get beyond this restricted view; he must rather be regarded as the man who reproduced it in scientific form. I say "in scientific form". For Steuart does not share the illusion that the surplus value which accrues to the individual capitalist from selling the commodity above its value is a creation of new wealth. He distinguishes therefore between *positive* profit and *relative* profit.

* "*Positive profit*, implies no loss to anybody; it results from an *augmentation* of labour, industry, or ingenuity, and has the effect of swelling or augmenting the *public good*.... *Relative profit*, is what implies a loss to somebody; it marks a vibration of the balance of wealth between parties, but implies *no addition to the general stock*.... The *compound* is easily understood; it is that species of profit ... which is partly *relative*, and partly *positive* ... both kinds may subsist inseparably in the same transaction" * (*Principles of Political Oeconomy*, Vol. I, *The Works of Sir James Steuart etc.*, ed. by General Sir James Steuart, his son, etc., in 6 vols, London, 1805,[8] pp. 275-76).

*Positive* profit arises from "*augmentation* of labour, industry and ingenuity". *How* it arises from this Steuart makes no attempt to explain. The further statement that the effect of this profit is to

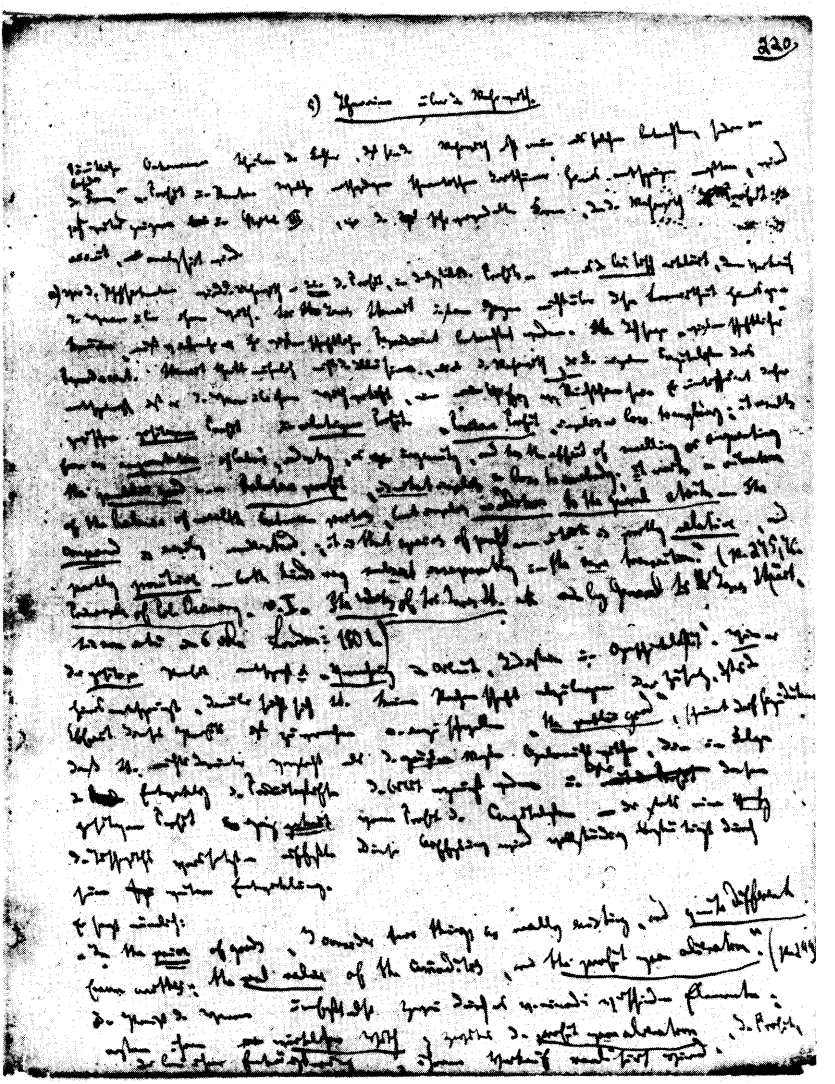

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augment and swell "*THE PUBLIC GOOD*" seems to indicate that Steuart means by it nothing but the greater mass of use values produced in consequence of the development of the productive powers of labour, and that he thinks of this positive profit as quite distinct from the capitalist's profit—which always presupposes an increase of exchange value. This interpretation is fully confirmed by his further exposition.

He says to wit:

*"In the *price* of goods, I consider two things as really existing, and *quite different from* one another; the *real value* of the commodity, and *the profit upon alienation*"* (p. 244).

The price of goods therefore comprises two elements that are completely different from each other: firstly their *real value*, secondly, the *PROFIT UPON ALIENATION*, the profit realised through their transfer to another person, their sale.

[VI-221] This *PROFIT UPON ALIENATION* therefore arises from the price of the goods being greater than their real value, or from the goods being sold *above* their value. Gain on the one side therefore always involves loss on the other. No ADDITION TO THE GENERAL STOCK is created. Profit, i.e., surplus value, is relative and resolves itself INTO "A VIBRATION OF THE BALANCE OF WEALTH BETWEEN PARTIES". Steuart himself rejects the idea that surplus value can be explained in this way. His theory of "VIBRATION OF THE BALANCE OF WEALTH BETWEEN PARTIES", however little it touches the nature and origin of surplus value itself, remains important in considering the distribution of surplus value among different classes and among different categories such as profit, interest and rent.

That Steuart limits all profit of the individual capitalist to this "RELATIVE PROFIT", PROFIT UPON ALIENATION, is shown by the following:

The "REAL VALUE", he says, is determined by the "QUANTITY" of labour, which "UPON AN AVERAGE A WORKMAN OF THE COUNTRY IN GENERAL MAY PERFORM ... IN A DAY, A WEEK, A MONTH etc.". Secondly: "THE VALUE OF THE WORKMAN'S SUBSISTENCE AND NECESSARY EXPENSE, BOTH FOR SUPPLYING HIS PERSONAL WANTS, AND ... THE INSTRUMENTS BELONGING TO HIS PROFESSION, WHICH MUST BE TAKEN UPON AN AVERAGE AS ABOVE." Thirdly: "THE VALUE OF THE MATERIALS" (pp. 244-45). "THESE THREE ARTICLES BEING KNOWN, THE PRICE OF MANUFACTURE IS DETERMINED. IT CANNOT BE LOWER THAN THE AMOUNT OF ALL THE THREE, THAT IS, THAN THE *REAL VALUE*; *WHATEVER IS HIGHER, IS THE MANUFACTURER'S PROFIT*. THIS WILL BE IN PROPORTION TO *DEMAND*, AND THEREFORE WILL FLUCTUATE ACCORDING TO CIRCUMSTANCES" (l. c., p. 245). "HENCE APPEARS THE NECESSITY OF A GREAT DEMAND, IN ORDER TO PROMOTE FLOURISHING MANUFACTURES ... THE INDUSTRIOUS REGULATE THEIR LIVING AND EXPENSE ACCORDING TO THEIR CERTAIN PROFIT" (l. c., [p.] 246).[230]

From this it is clear that: The profit of the "MANUFACTURER", of the individual capitalist, is always RELATIVE PROFIT, always PROFIT UPON

ALIENATION, always derived from the excess of the price of the commodity over its real value, from its sale above its value. If therefore all commodities were sold at their *value*, no profit would exist.

Steuart wrote a special chapter on this; he examines in detail:

"HOW PROFITS CONSOLIDATE INTO PRIME COST" (l.c., Vol. III, p. 11 sq.).

Steuart on the one hand rejects the conception of the Monetary and Mercantile systems, according to which the sale of commodities above their value, and the profit resulting therefrom, creates surplus value, a positive increase of wealth.* On the other hand he holds to their view that the profit of the individual capital is nothing but this excess of the price over the [VI-222] value, the PROFIT UPON ALIENATION. This however according to him is only *relative*, the gain on the one side being compensated by the loss on the other, and consequently this movement is nothing more than "A VIBRATION OF THE BALANCE OF WEALTH BETWEEN PARTIES".

In this respect Steuart is therefore the rational expression of the Monetary and Mercantile systems.

His service to the theory of capital is that he shows how the process of separation takes place between the conditions of production, as the property of a definite class, and labour capacity. He gives a great deal of attention to this *genesis* of capital—without as yet seeing it directly as the genesis of capital, although he sees it as a condition for large-scale industry. He examines the process particularly in agriculture; and he rightly considers that manufacturing industry proper only came into being through this process of separation in agriculture. In Adam Smith's writings this process of separation is assumed to be already completed.

(Steuart's book [appeared in] *1767* (London),[8] *Turgot's* [was written in] *1766*,[34] Adam Smith's [in] *1775*.)[231]

### b) *THE PHYSIOCRATS*

The analysis of *capital*, within the bourgeois horizon, is essentially the work of the Physiocrats. It is this service that makes them the true fathers of modern political economy. In the first place, the analysis of the various *objective components* in which

* Even the Monetary system, however, thinks of this profit as arising not within a country, but only in exchange with other countries. In this it remains stuck in the Mercantile system [which assumed] that this value takes the form of money (gold and silver) and the surplus value is therefore expressed in the balance of trade, which is settled with money.

capital exists and into which it resolves itself in the course of the labour process. It is not a reproach to the Physiocrats that, like all their successors, they thought of these objective forms of existence—such as tools, raw materials, etc.—as capital, in isolation from the social conditions in which they appear in capitalist production; in a word, in the form in which they are elements of the labour process in general, independently of its social form—and thereby made of the capitalist form of production an eternal, natural form of production. For them the bourgeois forms of production necessarily appeared as natural forms. It was their great merit that they conceived these forms as physiological forms of society: as forms arising from the natural necessity of production itself, forms that are independent of anyone's will or of politics, etc. They are material laws, the error is only that the material law of a definite historical social stage is conceived as an abstract law governing equally all forms of society.

In addition to this analysis of the objective elements of which capital consists within the labour process, the Physiocrats established the forms which capital assumes in circulation (fixed capital, circulating capital, even though as yet they give them other names), and in general the connection between the process of circulation and the reproduction process of capital. We shall come back to this in the chapter on circulation.[232]

In these two principal points Adam Smith inherited the legacy of the Physiocrats. His service—in this connection—is limited to fixing the abstract categories, to the greater consistency of the baptismal names which he gave to the distinctions made by the Physiocrats in their analysis.

[VI-223] As we have seen,[a] the basis for the development of capitalist production is, *in general*, that *labour capacity*, as the *commodity* belonging to the workers, confronts the conditions of labour as commodities maintained in the form of capital and existing independently of the workers. The determination of the *value* of labour capacity, as a commodity, is of vital importance. This value is equal to the labour time required to produce the means of subsistence necessary for the reproduction of labour capacity, or to the price of the means of subsistence necessary for the existence of the worker as a worker. It is only on this basis that the difference arises between the *value* of labour capacity and the *valorisation* of labour capacity—a difference which exists with no other commodity, since there is no other commodity

[a] See this volume, pp. 111-17.—*Ed.*

whose use value, and therefore also the use of it, can increase its *exchange value* or the exchange values resulting from it.

Therefore the foundation of modern political economy, whose business is the analysis of capitalist production, is the conception of the *value of labour capacity* as something fixed, as a given magnitude—as indeed it is in practice in each particular case. The *minimum of wages* therefore correctly forms the pivotal point of Physiocratic theory. They were able to establish this although they had not yet recognised the nature of value itself, because this *value of labour capacity* is manifested in the price of the necessary means of subsistence, hence in a sum of definite use values. Consequently, without being in any way clear as to the nature of value, they could conceive the value of labour capacity, so far as it was necessary to their inquiry, as a definite magnitude. If moreover they made the mistake of conceiving this *minimum* as an unchangeable magnitude—which in their view is determined entirely by nature and not by the stage of historical development, which is itself a magnitude subject to fluctuations—this in no way affects the abstract correctness of their conclusions, since the difference between the value of labour capacity and its valorisation does not at all depend on whether the value is assumed to be great or small.

The Physiocrats transferred the inquiry into the origin of surplus value from the sphere of circulation into the sphere of direct production, and thereby laid the foundation for the analysis of capitalist production.

Quite correctly they lay down the fundamental principle that only that labour is *productive* which creates a *surplus value*, in whose product therefore a higher value is contained than the sum of the values consumed during the production of this product. Since the value of raw and other materials is given, while the value of the labour capacity is equal to the minimum of wages, this surplus value can clearly only consist in the excess of labour which the labourer returns to the capitalist over and above the quantity of labour that he receives in his wage. But it does not appear in this form with the Physiocrats, because they have not yet reduced[a] value in general to its *simple substance*—the quantity of labour or labour time.

[VI-224] Their method of exposition is, of course, necessarily governed by their general view of the nature of value, which to

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[a] In the manuscript, the word "reducirt" (reduced) was substituted, presumably by Engels, for "realisirt" (realised).—*Ed.*

them is not a definite social mode of existence of human activity (labour), but consists of material things—land, nature, and the various modifications of these material things.

The difference between the *value* of labour capacity and its *valorisation*—that is, the surplus value which the purchase of labour capacity secures for the user of labour capacity—appears most palpably, most incontrovertibly, of all *branches of production*, in *agriculture*, the primary production. The sum total of the means of subsistence which the labourer consumes from one year to another, or the mass of material substance which he consumes, is smaller than the sum total of the means of subsistence which he produces. In manufacture the workman is not generally seen directly producing either his means of subsistence or the surplus additional to his means of subsistence. The process is mediated through purchase and sale, through the various acts of circulation, and the analysis of value in general is necessary for it to be understood. In agriculture it shows itself directly in the surplus of use values produced over use values consumed by the labourer, and can therefore be grasped without an analysis of value in general, without a clear understanding of the nature of value. Therefore also when value is reduced to use value, and the latter to material substance in general. Hence for the Physiocrats agricultural labour is the only *productive labour*, because it is the only labour that *creates a surplus value*, and *rent* is the *only form of surplus value* which they know. The workman in manufacture does not increase the material substance; he only alters its form. The material—the mass of material substance—is given to him by agriculture. It is true that he adds value to the substance, not through his labour, but through the production costs of his labour: through the total means of subsistence which he consumes during his labour, equivalent to the minimum of wages, which he receives from agriculture. Because agricultural labour is conceived as the only productive labour, the form of surplus value which distinguishes agricultural labour from industrial labour, *rent*, is conceived as the only form of surplus value.

*Profit* on capital in the true sense, of which rent itself is only an offshoot, therefore does not exist for the Physiocrats. Profit is seen by them as only a kind of higher wages paid by the landowners, which the capitalists consume as revenue (and which therefore enters into their production costs in the same way as the minimum wages of the ordinary workmen); this increases the value of the raw material, because it enters into the consumption costs which the capitalist, [the] industrialist, consumes while he is produc-

ing the product, transforming the raw material into a new product.

Surplus value in the form of *interest on money*—another branch of profit—is consequently declared by one section of the Physiocrats, such as Mirabeau the elder, to be usury and contrary to nature. Turgot on the other hand derives his justification of it from the fact that the money capitalist could buy land, that is, rent, and that therefore his money capital must create for him as much surplus value as he would receive if he converted it into landed property. This means therefore that interest on money too is not newly created value, not surplus value; it only explains why a part of the surplus value gained by the landowners finds its way to the money capitalists in the form of interest, just as it is explained on other grounds [VI-225] why a part of this surplus value finds its way to the industrial capitalist in the form of profit. Because *agricultural labour* is the only productive labour, the only labour that creates surplus value, the *form of surplus value* which distinguishes agricultural labour from all other branches of labour, *rent*, is the *general form of surplus value*. Industrial profit and interest on money are merely different categories into which rent is divided and, in certain portions, passes from the hands of the landowners into the hands of other classes. This is the direct opposite to the view held by later economists beginning with Adam Smith, because they rightly consider *industrial profit* to be the *form* in which surplus value is *originally* appropriated by capital, hence as the original general form of surplus value—they present interest and rent as mere offshoots of industrial profit, which is distributed by the industrial capitalists to various classes, who are co-owners of surplus value.

In addition to the reason already stated—that agricultural labour is the labour in which the creation of surplus value appears in material and tangible form, and apart from the process of circulation—there were a number of other considerations which explain the standpoint of the Physiocrats.

*First*, because in agriculture rent appears as a third element, as a form of surplus value which is not found in industry or merely has a transient existence. It was surplus value over and above surplus value (profit), and so the most palpable and most conspicuous form of surplus value, surplus value raised to the second power.

"By means of agriculture," as *Karl Arnd*, the home-bred economist, says in *Die naturgemässe Volkswirthschaft etc.* (Hanau, 1845, pp. 461-62), "a value is created—in the rent of land—which is not to be met with in industry and trade; a value which

remains over when the wages and the rent of the capital employed have been completely replaced."

*Secondly*: leaving foreign trade out of account—as the Physiocrats rightly did and had to do in an abstract study of bourgeois society—it is clear that the number of workmen engaged in manufacture, etc., and completely detached from agriculture (the "free hands", as Steuart calls them[a 156])—is determined by the mass of agricultural products which the farm labourers produce in excess of their own consumption.

* "It is obvious that the relative numbers of persons who can be maintained without agricultural labour, must be measured wholly by the productive powers of the cultivators" * (R. Jones, *On the Distribution of Wealth*, London, 1831, pp. 159-60).

As agricultural labour thus forms the natural basis (on this, see an earlier notebook[b]) not only for surplus labour in its own sphere, but also for the independent existence of all other branches of labour, and therefore also for the surplus value created in them, it is clear that it was bound to be considered the creator of surplus value, so long as the substance of value was regarded as definite, concrete labour, and not abstract labour with its measure, labour time.

[VI-226] *Thirdly*. All surplus value, not only relative but absolute, depends on a given productivity of labour. If the productivity of labour had reached only such a stage of development that a man's labour time no more than sufficed to keep him alive, to produce and reproduce his own means of subsistence, then there would be no surplus labour and no surplus value, and there would be no difference at all between the value of labour capacity and [the result of] its valorisation. The possibility of surplus labour and of surplus value therefore arises from a given productive power of labour, a productive power which enables labour capacity to create more than its own value, to produce more than the needs dictated by its life process. And indeed this productivity, this level of productivity which is presupposed as the starting-point, must first—as we saw in the *second* point above—make its appearance in agricultural labour. It appears therefore as *a gift of nature, a productive power of nature*. Here, in agriculture, from the very beginning there is generally

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[a] J. Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy: being an Essay on the Science of Domestic Policy in Free Nations...*, in three volumes, Vol. I, Dublin, 1770, p. 31.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 192-93.— *Ed.*

co-operation of the forces of nature—the increase of human labour power through the use and exploitation of the forces of nature—working automatically. This utilisation of the forces of nature on a large scale appears in manufacture only with the development of large-scale industry. A definite stage in the development of agriculture, whether in the country concerned or in other countries, forms the basis for the development of capital. Up to this point absolute surplus value coincides with relative. (*Buchanan*—a great adversary of the Physiocrats—makes this point even against Adam Smith, when he tries to show that agricultural development preceded the emergence of modern town industry.[a])

*Fourthly.* Since it is the great and specific contribution of the Physiocrats that they derive value and surplus value not from circulation but from production, they necessarily begin, in contrast to the Monetary and Mercantile systems, with that branch of production which can be thought of in complete separation from and independently of circulation, of exchange; and which presupposes exchange not between man and man but only between man and nature.

Hence the contradictions in the Physiocratic system.

It is in fact the first system which analyses capitalist production, and presents the conditions within which capital is produced, and within which capital produces, as eternal natural laws of production. On the other hand, it has rather the character of a bourgeois reproduction of the feudal system, of the dominion of landed property; and the industrial spheres within which capital first develops independently are presented as "unproductive" branches of labour, mere appendages of agriculture. The first condition for the development of capital is the separation of landed property from labour, the emergence of land, the primary condition of labour, as an independent force, a force in the hands of a separate class, confronting the free labourer. The Physiocrats therefore present the landowner as the true capitalist, that is, the appropriator of surplus labour. Feudalism is thus portrayed and explained *sub specie* of bourgeois production; agriculture is treated as the branch of production in which capitalist production—that is, the production of surplus value—exclusively appears. While feudalism is thus made bourgeois, bourgeois society is given a feudal semblance.

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[a] See D. Buchanan, *Observations on the Subjects Treated of in Dr. Smith's Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Edinburgh, London, 1814, pp. 137-46.— *Ed.*

This semblance deceived Dr. Quesnay's adherents among the nobility, such as the crotchety and patriarchal Mirabeau the elder. Among the later representatives [VI-227] of the Physiocrats, especially *Turgot*, this illusion disappears completely, and the Physiocratic system is presented as the new capitalist society prevailing within the framework of feudal society. This therefore corresponds to bourgeois society in the epoch when the latter breaks its way out of the feudal order. Consequently, the starting-point is in France, in a predominantly agricultural country, and not in England, a predominantly industrial, commercial and seafaring country. In the latter country attention was naturally concentrated on circulation, on the fact that the product acquires value, becomes a commodity only when it becomes the expression of general social labour, money. In so far, therefore, as the question concerned not the form of value, but the magnitude of value and valorisation, *PROFIT UPON EXPROPRIATION*[233]—that is, relative profit as Steuart describes it—is what catches the eye. But if the creation of surplus value in the sphere of production itself is what has to be established, it is necessary first of all to go back to that branch of labour in which surplus value is found independently of circulation—that is, agriculture. The initiative was therefore taken in a predominantly agricultural country. Ideas related to those of the Physiocrats are to be found in fragmentary form in older writers who preceded them, partly in France herself, for example, Boisguillebert. But it is only with the Physiocrats that these ideas develop into an epoch-making system.

The agricultural labourer, depending on the minimum of wages, the *strict nécessaire*,[a] reproduces more than this *strict nécessaire*, and this more is rent, *surplus value*, which is appropriated by the owners of the fundamental condition of labour—nature. So what they say is not: the labourer works more than the labour time required for the reproduction of his labour capacity; the value which he creates is therefore greater than the value of his labour capacity; or the labour which he gives in return is greater than the quantity of labour which he receives in the form of wages. But what they say is: the amount of use values which he consumes during the period of production is smaller than the amount of use values which he creates, and so a surplus of use values is left over.—Were he to work only for the time required to reproduce his own labour capacity, there would be nothing over.

[a] The most indispensable, the absolutely necessary.—*Ed.*

But the Physiocrats only stuck to the point that the productivity of the earth enables the labourer, in his day's labour, which is assumed to be a fixed quantity, to produce more than he needs to consume in order to continue to exist. The surplus value appears therefore as a *gift of nature,* through whose co-operation a definite quantity of organic matter—plant seeds, a number of animals—enables labour to transform more inorganic matter into organic.

On the other hand, it is taken for granted that the landowner confronts the labourer as a capitalist. He pays for the labour capacity, which the labourer offers to him as a commodity, and he receives in return not only an equivalent, but appropriates for himself the valorisation of this labour capacity. The alienation of the objective condition of labour from labour capacity itself is presupposed in this exchange. The starting-point is the feudal landowner, but he comes on to the stage as a capitalist, as a mere owner of commodities, who valorises the goods exchanged by him for labour, getting back not only their equivalent, but a surplus over this equivalent, because he pays for the labour capacity only as a commodity. He confronts the free labourer as an owner of commodities. In other words, this landowner is in essence a capitalist. In this respect too the Physiocratic system hits the mark, inasmuch as the separation of the labourer from the soil and from the ownership of land is a fundamental condition [VI-228] for capitalist production and the production of capital.

Hence the contradictions in this system: it was the first to explain *surplus value* by the appropriation of the labour of others, and in fact to explain this appropriation on the basis of the exchange of commodities; but it did not see that value in general is a form of social labour and that surplus value is surplus labour. On the contrary, it conceived value merely as use value, merely as material substance, and surplus value as a mere gift of nature, which returns to labour, in place of a given quantity of organic material, a greater quantity. On the one hand, it stripped rent—that is, the true economic form of landed property—of its feudal wrapping, and reduced it to mere surplus value in excess of the labourer's wage. On the other hand, this surplus value is explained again in a feudal way, as derived from nature and not from society; from man's relation to the soil, not from his social relations. Value itself is resolved into mere use value, and therefore into material substance. But again what interests [the Physiocrats] in this material substance is its quantity—the excess of the use values produced over those consumed; that is, the purely

quantitative relation of the use values to each other, their mere exchange value, which in the last resort comes down to labour time.

All these are contradictions of capitalist production as it works its way out of feudal society, and interprets feudal society itself only in a bourgeois way, but has not yet discovered its own peculiar form—somewhat as philosophy first builds itself up within the religious form of consciousness, and in so doing on the one hand destroys religion as such, while on the other hand, in its positive content, it still moves only within this religious sphere, idealised and reduced to terms of thought.

Hence also, in the conclusions which the Physiocrats themselves draw, the ostensible veneration of landed property becomes transformed into the economic negation of it and the affirmation of capitalist production. On the one hand, all taxes are put on rent, or in other words, landed property is in part confiscated, which is what the legislation of the French Revolution sought to carry through and which is the final conclusion of the fully developed Ricardian modern political economy.[234] By placing the burden of tax entirely on rent, because it alone is surplus value—and consequently any taxation of other forms of income ultimately falls on landed property, but in a roundabout way, and therefore in an economically harmful way, that hinders production—taxation and along with it all forms of State intervention, are removed from industry itself, and the latter is thus freed from all intervention by the State. This is ostensibly done for the benefit of landed property, not in the interests of industry but in the interests of landed property.

Connected with this is *laissez faire, laissez aller*[235]; unhampered free competition, the removal from industry of all interference by the State, monopolies, etc. Since industry [as the Physiocrats see it] creates nothing, but only transforms values given it by agriculture into another form; since it adds no new value to them, but returns the values supplied to it, though in altered form, as an equivalent; it is naturally desirable that this process of transformation should proceed without interruptions and in the cheapest way; and this is only realised through free competition, by leaving capitalist production to its own devices. The emancipation of bourgeois society from the absolute monarchy set up on the ruins of feudal society thus takes place only in the interests of the feudal landowner transformed into a capitalist [VI-229] and bent solely on enrichment. The capitalists are only capitalists in the interests of the landowner, just as political economy in its later develop-

ment would have them be capitalists only in the interests of the working class.

It can be seen therefore how little the modern economists, [such as] M. Eugène Daire (who published the works of the Physiocrats together with his prize essay on them), have understood the Physiocrats when they treat their specific theories—of the exclusive productivity of agricultural labour, of rent as the only surplus value, and of the landowners' pre-eminent status in the system of production—as if they had no connection and were only fortuitously associated with their proclamation of free competition, the principle of large-scale industry, of capitalist production. At the same time it is understandable how the feudal semblance of this system, in the same way as the aristocratic tone of the Enlightenment, was bound to win a number of feudal lords as enthusiastic supporters and propagandists of a system which, in its essence, proclaimed the rise of the bourgeois system of production on the ruins of the feudal.

We will now examine a number of passages, partly to elucidate and partly in support of theses advanced above.

With *Quesnay* himself, in the *Analyse du tableau économique*, the nation consists of 3 classes of citizens:

> *"the productive class"* (AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS), *"the class of landowners* and *the sterile class"* ("all the citizens occupied with other services and with other labours than those of agriculture") (*Physiocrates etc.*, éd. Eugène Daire, Paris, 1846, Part 1, p. 58).[a]

Only the agricultural labourers, not the landowners, appear as a productive class, as a class which creates surplus value. The importance of this class of landowners, which is not "sterile", because it is the representative of "surplus value", does not rest on its being the creator of surplus value, but exclusively on the fact that it appropriates surplus value.

[With] *Turgot* [the Physiocratic system is] most fully developed. In some passages in his writings the pure gift of nature is presented as *surplus labour*, and on the other hand the necessity for the labourer to yield up what there is in excess of his necessary wage [is explained] by the separation of the labourer from the conditions of labour, and their confronting him as the property of a class which uses them to trade with.

The first reason why agricultural labour alone is productive is that it is the natural basis and pre-condition for the independent pursuit of all other forms of labour.

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[a] Here and below Marx quotes Quesnay in French.— *Ed.*

"His" (the husbandman's) "labour, in the sequence of the labours divided among the different members of the society, retains the same primacy ... as the labour which provided his own food had among the different kinds of labour which, when he worked alone, he was obliged to devote to his different kinds of wants. We have here neither a primacy of honour nor of dignity; it is one of *physical necessity*.... What his labour causes the land to produce beyond his personal wants is the only fund for the wages which all the other members of the society receive in exchange for their labour. The latter, in making use of the price of this exchange to buy in their turn the products of the husbandman, only return to him" (as matter) "exactly what they have received from him. We have here a very essential difference [VI-230] between these two kinds of labour" (*Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses* (1766).[34] Turgot, *Oeuvres*, édit. Daire, Vol. I, Paris, 1844, [pp.] 9-10).

How then does surplus value arise? It does not arise from circulation, but it is realised in circulation. The product is sold at its value, not *above* its value. There is no excess of price over value. But because it is sold at its value, the seller realises a surplus value. This is only possible because he has not himself paid in full for the value which he sells, that is, because the product contains a portion of value which has not been paid for by the seller, which he has not offset by an equivalent. And this is the case with agricultural labour. The seller sells what he has not bought. Turgot at first presents this unbought element as a *pure gift of nature*. We shall see, however, that in his writings this pure gift of nature becomes imperceptibly transformed into the surplus labour of the LABOURERS which the landowner has not bought, but which he sells in the products of agriculture.

"As soon as the labour of the husbandman *produces more than* his wants, he can, with this superfluity *that nature accords him as a pure gift* over and above the wages of his toil, buy the labour of the other members of the society. The latter, in selling it to him, gain only their livelihood; but the husbandman gathers, beyond his subsistence, a wealth which is independent and disposable, *which he has not bought and which he sells*. He is, therefore, the sole source of the riches, which, by their circulation, animate all the labours of the society, *because he is the only one whose labour produces over and above the wages of labour*" (l.c., [p.] 11).

In this first conception we have, to begin with, the essence of surplus value—that it is value realised in sale, without the seller having given an equivalent for it, without his having bought it. *Unpaid value*. But in the second place this is conceived as a pure gift of nature, this excess over the *wage of labour*; because after all it is a gift of nature, it depends on the productivity of nature that the labourer is able to produce in his day's labour more than is necessary for the reproduction of his labour capacity, more than the amount of his wages. In this first conception the total product is still appropriated by the labourer himself. And this total

product is divided into 2 parts. The first forms his wages; he is presented as his own wage labourer, who pays himself the part of the product that is necessary for the reproduction of his labour capacity, for his subsistence. The second part, which is the excess over the first, is *a gift of nature* and forms surplus value. The nature of this surplus value, of this pure gift of nature, will however take clearer shape, when the premiss of the proprietor who cultivates his land is abandoned and the two parts of the product, wages and surplus value, accrue to different classes, the one to the wage labourer, the other to the landowner.

The formation of a class of wage labourers, whether in manufacture or in agriculture itself—at first all MANUFACTURERS appear only as *stipendiés*,[a] wage labourers of the cultivating proprietor—requires the separation of the conditions of labour from labour capacity, and the basis for this separation is that the land itself becomes the private property of one part of society, so that the other part is cut off from this objective condition for valorisation of its labour.

"In the early stages there was no need to distinguish the proprietor from the cultivator.... In this early time, as every industrious man would find as much land as he [VI-231] wished, he could not be tempted *to work for others*.... But in the end all land found its master, and those who could not have properties had at first no other resource than that of *exchanging the labour of their arms*, in the employment of the *stipendiary* class" (i.e., the class of ARTISANS, of all non-agricultural labourers) "for the superfluous portion of the produce of the cultivating proprietor" (p. 12). The cultivating proprietor with the considerable surplus which the land gave to his labour, could "pay men to cultivate his land; and for men who live on wages, it was as good to earn them in this business as in any other. *Thus ownership* [of land] *had to be separated from the labour of cultivation, and soon it was*.... The landowners began to shift the labour of cultivating the soil on to the wage labourers" (p. 13).

In this way, therefore, the relation between capital and wage labour arises in agriculture itself. It first arises when a number of people find themselves cut off from ownership of the conditions of labour—above all from the land—and have nothing to sell but their labour itself.

For the wage labourer, however, who can no longer produce commodities, but must sell his labour itself, the *minimum* of wages, the equivalent of the necessary means of subsistence, necessarily becomes the law which governs his exchange with the owner of the condition of labour.

"The mere workman who has only his arms and his industry, has nothing unless he succeeds in selling his labour to others.... In every kind of work it cannot

[a] Those who are paid (wages or a salary).— *Ed.*

fail to happen, and as a matter of fact it does happen, that the wages of the workman are limited to what is necessary to procure him his subsistence" (l.c., [p.] 10).

Then as soon as wage labour has arisen,

"the produce of land is divided into two parts: the one includes the subsistence and the profits of the husbandman, which are the reward of his labour and the condition upon which he undertakes to cultivate the field of the proprietor. What remains is that independent and disposable part which the *land gives as pure gifts to him who cultivates it*, over and above his advances and the wages of his labour; and this is the portion of the proprietor, or the revenue with which the latter can live without labour and which he uses as he will" ([p.] 14).

This pure gift of the land, however, is now already defined as a gift which it gives "to him who cultivates it", and thus as a gift which it makes to labour; as the productive power of labour applied to the land, a productive power which labour possesses through using the productive power of nature and which it thus derives from the land—but it derives it from the land only as labour. In the hands of the landowner, therefore, the surplus appears no longer as a "gift of nature", but as the appropriation—without an equivalent—of another's labour, which through the productivity of nature is enabled to produce means of subsistence in excess of its own needs, but which, because it is wage labour, is restricted to appropriating for itself, out of the product of the labour, only "what is necessary to procure him" [the workman] "his subsistence".

"The *cultivator* produces *his own wages*, and, in addition, the revenue which serves to pay the whole class of artisans and other stipendiaries.... *The proprietor has nothing except through the labour of the cultivator*" (therefore not through a pure gift of nature); "he receives from him his [VI-232] subsistence and that wherewith he pays the labours of other stipendiaries ... the cultivator has need of the proprietor only by virtue of conventions and laws" (l.c., [p.] 15).

Thus in this passage surplus value is explicitly stated to be the part of the cultivator's labour which the proprietor appropriates to himself without giving any equivalent, and he sells the product of his labour, therefore, without having bought it. Only what Turgot has in mind is not exchange value as such, the labour time itself, but the surplus of products which the cultivator's labour supplies to the proprietor over and above his own wages; which surplus of products, however, is only the embodiment of the amount of time which he works gratis for the proprietor in addition to the time which he works for the reproduction of his wages.

We see thus how, *within the limits of agricultural labour*, the Physiocrats have a correct grasp of surplus value; they see it as a

product of the wage labourer's labour, although they in turn conceive this labour in the concrete form in which it appears in use values.

The capitalist exploitation of agriculture—

"leasing or letting of land"—is, it may be noted in passing, described by Turgot as "the most advantageous method of all, but it presupposes a country that is already rich" (l.c., p. 21).

//In considering surplus value it is necessary to turn from the sphere of circulation to the sphere of production. That is to say, to deduce surplus value not from the exchange of commodity for commodity, but from exchange as it occurs within production, between the owners of the conditions of labour and the labourers themselves. These too confront each other as owners of commodities, and consequently there is no assumption here of production independent of exchange.//

// In the Physiocratic system the proprietors are the salarians,[a] labourers and MANUFACTURERS in all other branches of industry being wage labourers or stipendiaries. Consequently also the governing and the governed.//

Turgot analyses the conditions of labour as follows:

"In every craft, it is necessary that the workman should have tools in advance, that he should have a sufficient quantity of the materials upon which he has to labour; it is necessary that he should subsist while waiting for the sale of his finished goods" ([p.] 34).

All these advances, these conditions in which alone labour can be performed, which are therefore *pre-conditions* of the labour process, are originally provided gratis by the land:

It is the land which "has provided the first fund of advances prior to all cultivation", in fruits, fish, game, etc., in tools such as tree branches, stones, in domestic animals, which multiply through the process of procreation, and moreover each year yield products in milk, fleeces, "hides and other materials, which, with the wood obtained in the forests, have formed the first fund for the works of industry" (p. 34).

Now these conditions of labour, these advances to labour become *capital* as soon as they have to be advanced to the labourer by a third person, and this is the case from the moment when the labourer owns nothing but his labour capacity itself.

"*When* a large part of the society had *only their arms to maintain them*, it was necessary that those who thus lived on wages should begin by having *something in advance*, either to procure the materials upon which to labour or to maintain them while waiting for the payment of their wages" (pp. 37-38).

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[a] The payers of wages.—*Ed.*

[VI-233] Turgot defines "*capitals*" as

"accumulated movable values" (l.c., p. 38). Originally the proprietor or cultivator pays wages directly each day and supplies the material, for example, to the spinner of flax. As industry develops, larger advances and continuity of the process of production are necessary. This is then undertaken by the possessor of capital. In the price of his products he must recover all his *advances* and a profit equal to "what his money would have been worth to him if he had employed it in the purchase of an estate", besides his wages, "for doubtless, if the profit were the same, he would have preferred to live without any exertion on the revenue of the land he could have acquired with the same capital" ([pp.] 38-39).

The "stipendiary industrial class" is itself subdivided "into capitalist entrepreneurs and simple workers", etc. ([p.] 39).

Agricultural entrepreneurs are in the same position as these entrepreneurs. They must similarly get all their advances replaced, along with the profit as shown above.

"All this must first be deducted from the price of the products of the earth; the *surplus* serves the cultivator for paying the proprietor for the permission he has given him to make use of his field for setting his enterprise on foot. This is the price of the lease, the revenue of the proprietor, the *net produce*; for all the land produces, up to the amount that replaces the advances of every kind and the profits of the person who has made the advances, cannot be regarded as a revenue, but only as *the return of the expenses of cultivation*; when one considers that, if the cultivator did not get them back, he would take care not to employ his resources and his toil in cultivating the field of another" (l.c., p. 40).

Finally:

"Although capitals are partly formed by saving from the profits of the working classes, yet, as these profits always come from the earth—inasmuch as they are all paid either from the revenue, or as part of the expenditure which serves to produce the revenue—it is evident the capitals come from the land just as much as the revenue does; or, rather, that they are nothing but the accumulation of the part of the values produced by the land that the proprietors of the revenue, or those who share it with them, can lay by every year without using it for the satisfaction of their wants" ([p.] 66).

It is quite right that, if rent is the only surplus value, accumulation takes place only from rent. What the capitalists accumulate apart from rent, they pinch from their wages (their revenue, destined for their consumption—since this is how profit is defined).

As profit, like wages, is reckoned in with the costs of cultivation, and only the surplus forms the revenue of the proprietor, the latter—in spite of the honourable status given him—is in fact excluded from the costs of cultivation (and thereby from being an agent of production), just as with the Ricardians.

The emergence of the Physiocrats was connected both with the opposition to Colbertism and, in particular, with the hullabaloo over the John Law system.[236]

[VI-234] The confusion of value with material substance, or rather the equating of value with it, and the connection between this view and the whole outlook of the Physiocrats, comes clearly to light in the following extracts from *Ferdinando Paoletti*: *I veri mezzi di render felici le società* (in part directed against Verri, who in his *Meditazioni sulla economia politica* (1771),[a] had attacked the Physiocrats).[b] (Paoletti of Toscana, op. cit., Custodi, *Parte Moderna*, Vol. XX.)

"Such a *multiplication of matter*" as are the products of the earth "has certainly never taken place through industry, nor is it possible. This gives matter only form, it only modifies it; consequently nothing is created by industry. But, the objection may be raised, industry gives matter form, and consequently it is productive; even if this is not a production of matter, it is nevertheless one of form. Very well, then, I won't contest this. But *that is not creation of wealth; on the contrary, it is nothing but an expense....* Political economy presupposes, and takes as the object of its investigation, material and real production, which is found only in agriculture, since this alone multiplies the substances and products which form wealth.... Industry buys raw materials from agriculture, in order to work them up; its labour—as we have already said—gives these raw materials only a form, but it adds nothing to them and does not multiply them" ([pp.] 196-97). "Give the cook a measure of peas, with which he is to prepare your dinner; he will put them on the table for you well cooked and well dished up, but in the same quantity as he was given, but on the other hand give the same quantity to the gardener for him to put into the ground; he will return to you, when the right time has come, at least fourfold the quantity that he had been given. This is the true and only production" [p.] 197). "Things receive value through the needs of men. Therefore the value or the increase of value of commodities is not the result of industrial labour, but of the labourers' outlays" ([p.] 198). "Hardly has a new manufacture of any kind made its appearance, but it immediately spreads within and outside the country; and see! very soon competition from other industrialists and merchants brings the price down to its correct level, which ... is determined by the value of the raw material and the costs of the labourers' maintenance" ([pp.] 204-05).[c]

Agriculture is the first of all branches of industry to use the forces of nature for production on a considerable scale. Their use in manufacturing industry becomes apparent only at a higher stage of industrial development. The following quotation shows how, in this connection, Adam Smith still reflects the prehistory of large-scale industry and for this reason upholds the Physiocratic point of view, and how Ricardo answers him from the standpoint of modern industry.

[VI-235] In Book II, Ch. 5 Adam Smith says with reference to the rent of land:

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[a] In the manuscript Marx presumably by mistake gives the title of another work of Verri, *Pensier sopra l'agricoltura.*—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 375-76.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx quotes in Italian.—*Ed.*

*"It is the work of nature which remains after deducting or compensating everything which can be regarded as the work of man. It is seldom less than a fourth, and frequently more than a third of the whole produce. No equal quantity of productive labour employed in manufactures, can ever occasion so great a reproduction. *In them nature does nothing, man does all*; and the reproduction must always be in proportion to the strength of the agents that occasion it."*[a]

On which Ricardo comments [in his *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*], 2nd ed., 1819, note to pp. 61, 62:

*"Does nature nothing for man in manufactures? Are the powers of wind and water, which move our machinery, and assist navigation, nothing? The pressure of the atmosphere and the elasticity of steam, which enable us to work the most stupendous engines—are they not the gifts of nature? to say nothing of the effects of the matter of heat in softening and melting metals, of the decomposition of the atmosphere in the process of dyeing and fermentation. There is not a manufacture which can be mentioned, in which nature does not give her assistance to man, and give it too, generously and gratuitously."*

That the Physiocrats regarded profit as only a deduction from rent:

*"The Physiocrats say, for instance, of the price of a piece of lace, one part merely replaces what the labourer consumed, and the other part is only transferred from one man's pocket" //i.e., that of the LANDLORD// "to another's"* (*An Inquiry into those Principles, Respecting the Nature of Demand and the Necessity of Consumption, Lately Advocated by Mr. Malthus etc.*, London, 1821,[b] p. 96).

The view of Adam Smith and his followers that the accumulation of capital is due to personal stinting and saving and self-denial of the capitalists also originates from the view of the Physiocrats that profit (including interest) is merely revenue for the consumption of the capitalist. They could say this because they only regarded land rent as the true economic, so to speak legitimate, source of accumulation.

"He," says Turgot, i.e., the husbandman, "is the only one whose labour produces *over and above the wages of labour*" (Turgot, l.c., p. 11).

Here the entire profit is thus reckoned in with the wages of labour.

[VI-236] "The cultivator creates over and above that restitution" (of his own wages) "the revenue of the proprietor; and the artisan creates no revenue, either for himself or for others" (l.c., p. 16). "All the land produces up to the amount that replaces the advances of every kind and the profits of the person who has made the advances, *cannot be regarded as a revenue*, but only as *the return of the expenses of cultivation*" (l.c., [p.] 40).

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[a] Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, in two volumes, Vol. I, London, 1776, p. 442.— *Ed.*

[b] The manuscript has "1829", the change has been made in somebody else's hand.— *Ed.*

Adolphe Blanqui. *Histoire de l'économie politique*, Brussels, 1839, says on p. 139[237]:

[The Physiocrats were of the opinion that] "Labour applied to the cultivation of the soil produced not only the wherewithal to maintain the labourer throughout the entire duration of the task, but also an *excess of value*" (surplus value) "which could be added to the mass of already existing wealth. They called this excess the *net product*." [a]

(Thus they conceive surplus value in the form of the use values in which it appears.)

"The net product had necessarily to belong to the owner of the land and constituted in his hands a revenue fully at his disposal. What then was the net product of the other industries?... Manufacturers, merchants, workmen, all were the employees, the *stipendiaries* of agriculture, sovereign creator and dispenser of all wealth. The products of the labour of these latter represented in the system of the *Economists*[238] only the equivalent of what they had consumed during the task, so that after their work was completed, the sum total of wealth was absolutely the same as before, *unless the workmen or the masters had placed in reserve*, i.e., saved, *what they had the right to consume*. Thus, then, labour applied to the soil was the only labour productive of wealth, and labour in other industries was regarded as sterile, *because no increase in the general capital resulted from it*."

(Thus the Physiocrats saw the production of surplus value as the essence of capitalist production. It was this phenomenon that they had to explain. And it remained the problem, after they had eliminated the profit of expropriation of the Mercantile system.[233]

"In order to acquire money," says *Mercier de la Rivière*, "one must buy it, and, after this purchase, one is no richer than one was before; one has simply received in money the same value that one has given in commodities" (Mercier de la Rivière, *L'ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés politique*, Vol. II, p. 338).[b]

This holds good both for [VI-237] purchase and for sale, as also for the result of the whole metamorphosis of the commodity, or the result of purchase and sale, the exchange of different commodities at their value, hence the exchange of equivalents. Whence, therefore, comes surplus value? That is, whence comes capital? That was the problem for the Physiocrats. Their error was that they confused the *increase of material substance*, which because of the natural processes of vegetation and generation distinguishes agriculture and stockraising from manufacture, with the *increase of exchange value*. Use value was their starting-point. And the use value of all commodities, reduced, as the scholastics say, to a universal, was the material substance of nature as such, whose increase in the same form occurs only in agriculture.)

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[a] Here and below Marx quotes Blanqui in French.— *Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx quotes Mercier de la Rivière in French.— *Ed.*

Germain Garnier, the translator of Adam Smith and himself a Physiocrat, correctly expounds their *theory of savings*, etc. First he says that manufacture, as the Mercantilists maintained of all production, can *only* produce surplus value through the PROFIT OF EXPROPRIATION, by selling commodities above their value, so that only A NEW DISTRIBUTION OF VALUES CREATED takes place, BUT NO NEW ADDITION TO THE CREATED VALUES.

"The labour of artisans and manufacturers, opening no new source of wealth, *can only be profitable through advantageous exchanges*, and has only a purely relative value, a value which will not be repeated if there is no longer the opportunity to *gain on the exchanges*" (his translation *Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations*, Vol. V, Paris, 1802, p. 266[239]).

Or the savings which they make, the VALUES which they secure over and above those which they expend, must be stinted from their own consumption.

"The labour of artisans and manufacturers, though only able to add to the general amount of the wealth of society the savings made by the wage labourers and the capitalists, may well tend by these means to enrich society" (l.c., p. 266).

And in greater detail:

"The labourers in agriculture enrich the State by the very product of their labour; labourers in manufactures and commerce, on the contrary, cannot enrich it otherwise than through *savings on their own consumption*. This assertion of the Economists is a consequence of the distinction which they have established, and appears to be quite incontestable. Indeed, the labour of artisans and manufacturers cannot add anything else to the value of the material than the *value* of their own labour, i.e., the value of the wages and profits which this labour should have earned, at the rates actually current in the country [VI-238] for the one and the other. For these wages, whether they be small or large, are the reward of labour; they are what the labourer has the right to consume and is presumed to consume; because it is only in consuming them that he can enjoy the fruits of his labour, and this enjoyment is all that in reality constitutes his reward. Similarly profits, whether they be high or low, are also regarded as the daily and continuous consumption of the capitalist, who is naturally presumed to proportion his enjoyments to the revenue that his capital gives him. Thus unless the workman curtails a part of the comforts to which he has the right in accordance with the current rate of wages assigned *to his labour*; unless the capitalist resigns himself to saving a part of the revenue which his capital brings him, both the one and the other will consume, in proportion as the piece of work is completed, the whole value resulting from this work. The total quantity of the wealth of society will then be, after their labour is over, the same as it was before, *unless they have saved* a part of what they had the right to consume and what they could consume without being charged with wasting; in which case the total quantity of the wealth of society will have been increased *by the whole value of these savings*. Consequently it is correct to say that the agents of manufacture and commerce can *only add to the total quantity of wealth existing in society by their privations alone*" (l.c., pp. 263-64).

Garnier is also quite correct in noting that Adam Smith's theory of accumulation through savings rests on this Physiocratic founda-

tion (Adam Smith was strongly infected by the Physiocrats, as he nowhere shows more strikingly than in his critique of the Physiocrats).

Garnier says:

"Finally, if the Economists have maintained that manufacturing and commercial industry can only add to the national wealth by privations, Smith has likewise said that industry would be practised in vain, and the capital of a country would never grow larger, unless the economy augmented it by its savings" (Book II, ch. 3 [p. 326]). "Smith is therefore in full agreement with the Economists and so on" (l.c., p. 270).

[VI-239] Among the immediate historical circumstances which facilitated the spread of Physiocratic theory and even its emergence, Adolphe Blanqui, in the work already mentioned, adduces:

"Of all the values which shot up in the feverish atmosphere of the *system*" (Law's), "nothing remained except ruin, desolation and bankruptcy. *Landed property alone* did not go under in the storm."

//For this reason M. Proudhon, in *Philosophie de la misère*, puts landed property only after credit.//

"It even improved its position by changing hands and by being *subdivided on a large scale*, perhaps for *the first time* since feudalism" (l.c., p. 138).

In particular,

"The innumerable changes of ownership which were effected under the influence of the system, began the process of parcelling out property.... Landed property arose for the first time from the condition of torpor in which the feudal system had kept it for so long. This was a real awakening for agriculture.... It" (the land) "passed now from out of a condition of mortmain and came into circulation" (pp. 137-38).

Turgot as well as *Quesnay* and his other adherents also want *capitalist* production in agriculture. Thus Turgot:

"The leasing or letting of land ... this latter method" (large-scale agriculture, based on the modern system of leases) "is the most advantageous of all, but it presupposes a country that is already rich" (see Turgot, l.c., p. 21).

And *Quesnay* in his *Maximes générales du gouvernement économique d'un royaume agricole*:

"The pieces of land which are employed in growing grain should as far as possible be joined together in large-scale farms which can be managed by rich farmers" (i.e., capitalists) "since the expenses for the maintenance and repair of the buildings are smaller and therefore the costs are correspondingly much lower and the net product much greater in the case of large agricultural undertakings than in the case of small" [pp. 96-97].

In the same passage Quesnay admits that the increased productivity of agricultural labour accrues to the "net revenue",

and therefore in the first place to the landowner, i.e., the owner of surplus value, and that the relative increase of the latter arises not from the land but from the social and other ARRANGEMENTS for raising the productivity of labour. [VI-240] For he says in the same place:

"Every advantageous" //i.e., advantageous to the net product// "economy in labour which can be accomplished with the aid of animals, machines, water-power and so on, will be of benefit to the population," etc. [pp. 96-97].

At the same time Mercier de la Rivière (l.c., Vol. II, p. 407) has an inkling that surplus value at least in manufacture has something to do with the manufacturing workers themselves. (Turgot extended this to all production, as already mentioned.) In the passage cited he exclaims:

"Moderate your enthusiasm, ye blind admirers of the false products of industry! Before ye extol its miracles, open your eyes and see how many live in poverty or at least, in need, among those producers who understand the art of converting 20 sous into the value of a thousand écus. *Who then benefits by this enormous increase in value? What do you say! Comforts are unknown to those through whose hands it is accomplished. Take warning then by this contrast!*"

Contradictions in the system of the Economists,[238] taken as a whole. Among others, Quesnay was for the absolute monarchy.

"There must be only one supreme power.... The system of opposing forces in a government is ruinous. It merely indicates discord among the great and the suppression of the small people" (in the above-mentioned *Maximes générales etc.*) [p. 81].

Mercier de la Rivière:

"By the very fact that man is intended to live in a community, he is intended to live under a despotism" ([*L'Ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés politiques*], Vol. I, p. 281).

And to crown all the "Friend of the People",[240] the Marquis de Mirabeau—Mirabeau *le père*! It was precisely this school, with its *laissez faire, laissez aller*, that overthrew Colbertism[236] and all forms of government interference in the activities of civil society. It allowed the State to live on only in the pores of this society, as Epicurus placed his gods in the pores of the world[241]! The glorification of landed property in practice turns into the demand that taxes should be put exclusively on ground rent, [and this implies] the virtual confiscation of landed property by the State, just as with the radical section of the Ricardians.[234] The French Revolution, in spite of the protests of Roederer and others, accepted this taxation theory.

Turgot himself [was] the radical bourgeois minister who prepared the way for the French Revolution. For all their sham

feudal pretences the Physiocrats were working hand in hand with the Encyclopaedists[242]!

[VI-241] We shall come back again later to the great service rendered by the Physiocrats RESPECTING THE ANALYSIS OF CAPITAL.[232]

Meanwhile just this point: surplus value (according to them) is due to the productivity of a special kind of labour, agricultural labour. And on the whole this special productivity is due to nature itself.

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In the Mercantile system, surplus value is only relative—what one wins, the other loses: PROFIT UPON ALIENATION or OSCILLATION OF WEALTH BETWEEN DIFFERENT PARTIES.[a] So that within a country, if we consider the total capital, no creation of surplus value in fact takes place. It can only arise in the relations between one nation and other nations. And the surplus realised by one nation as against the other takes the form of money (the balance of trade), because it is precisely money that is the direct and independent form of exchange value. In opposition to this—for the Mercantile system in fact denies the creation of absolute surplus value—the Physiocrats seek to explain absolute surplus value: the *net product.* And since the net product is fixed in their minds as use value, agriculture [is for them] the sole creator of it.

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Turgot sought to anticipate the measures of the French Revolution. By the edict of *February 1776* he abolished the guilds. (This edict was revoked three months after it was promulgated.) Similarly he annulled the road-making *corvée des paysans.*[b] He tried to introduce the *impôt unique*[c] on rent of land.

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One of the most naïve representatives of Physiocratic theory—how far removed he is from Turgot!—is the old smeller-out of demagogues[243] and royal Prussian Privy Councillor Schmalz. For instance:

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[a] See this volume, p. 348 et seq.—*Ed.*

[b] Compulsory labour exacted of the peasants.—*Ed.*

[c] Single tax.—*Ed.*

"If nature pays him" (the lessor of the land,[a] the landowner) "*even double the legal interests*, on what plausible ground could anyone dare to deprive him of it?" (*Économie politique*, traduit par Henri Jouffroy, etc., Vol. I. Paris, 1826, p. 90[244]).[b]

The minimum of wages is so formulated by the Physiocrats that the consumption (or expenditure) of the labourers is equal to the wage *that they receive*.[c] Or as Mr. Schmalz puts it in a general way:

"The average wage in a trade is equal to the average of what a man in this trade consumes during the time of his labour" (l.c., p. 120).

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"*Rent of land* is the one and only element of the national revenue; [VI-242] and interest on capitals employed and the wages of all kinds of labours only make the product of this rent pass and circulate through everyone's hands" (Schmalz, l.c., Vol. I, [pp.] 309-10).

"The utilisation of the land, its faculty, its capacity for the annual reproduction of rent, is all that constitutes the national wealth" (l.c., p. 310).

"If we go back to the foundations, to the first elements of the *value* of all objects, whatsoever they may be, we are forced to recognise that this value is nothing other than that of the simple products of nature; that is to say, although labour may have given a new value to these objects and raised their price, this new value, or this price, is only made up nevertheless of the total values put together of all the natural products which, because of the new form that labour has given them, have been destroyed, consumed, or used by the labourer in one way or another" (l.c., p. 313).

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"This kind of labour" (agriculture proper) "being the only labour that contributes to the production of *new bodies*, it is therefore the only labour that can, up to a certain point, be considered productive. As for labours in working up material or in industry ... they simply give a new form to bodies which nature has produced" (Schmalz, l.c., pp. 15-16).

Against the superstition of the Physiocrats.

Verri (Pietro): *Meditazioni sulla economia politica*. (First printed 1771), Custodi, *Parte Moderna*, Vol. XV, p. [21,]22:

"All the phenomena of the universe, whether produced by the hand of man or through the universal laws of physics, are not actual *new creations*, but merely a *modification* of matter. *Joining together* and *separating* are the only elements which the human mind always finds on analysing the concept of *reproduction*; and it is just the same with the *reproduction of value* and of *wealth*, when earth, air and water in the fields are transformed into corn, or when the hand of man transforms the

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[a] The words "the lessor of the land" were written in French in the manuscript.— *Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx quotes Schmalz in French.— *Ed.*

[c] In the manuscript part of this sentence was written by Marx in French.— *Ed.*

secretions of an insect into silk, or some pieces of metal are arranged to make the mechanism of a watch."

Further:

The Physiocrats call "the class of manufacturing labourers *sterile,* because in their view *the value of manufactured products is equal to the raw material* plus *the means of subsistence which the labourers consume during the time of manufacture*" (l.c., p. 25).

[VI-243] On the other hand, Verri calls attention to the constant poverty of the *contadini*[a] in contrast to the progressive enrichment of the *artigiani,*[b] and then goes on to say:

"This proves that the artisan, in the price which he receives, gets not only the *replacement of his outlay on consumption, but a certain sum over and above that; and this sum is a new quantity of value created* in the annual production" (l.c., p. 26).

"The value reproduced is that part of the price of an agricultural or industrial product which *exceeds the original value* of the material and the outlay on consumption incurred while it is being produced. In agriculture the seed and the consumption of the peasant must be deducted: equally in manufacture one must deduct the raw material and the worker's consumption; and so every year a *reproduced value* is created, *to the amount of the part that remains*" (l.c., pp. 26-27).

### c) *ADAM SMITH*

Adam Smith, like all economists WORTH SPEAKING OF, takes over from the Physiocrats the conception of the AVERAGE wage, which he calls the *prix naturel du salaire.*

"A man must always live by his work, and his wages must at least be sufficient to maintain him. They must even upon most occasions be somewhat more, otherwise it would be impossible for him to bring up a family, and the race of such workmen could not last beyond the first generation" ([Garnier,] t. I, l. I, ch. VIII, p. 136) [Vol. I, pp. 113-14].[194]

Adam Smith expressly states that the development of the productive powers of labour does not benefit the labourer himself. He says (l. I, ch. VIII [*An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*] edit. McCulloch, London, 1828):

*"The produce of labour constitutes the natural recompense or wages of labour. In that original state of things, which precedes both the *appropriation of land* and the *accumulation of stock,* the whole produce of labour belongs to the labourer. He has neither landlord nor master to share with him. Had this state continued, the wages of labour *would have augmented with all those improvements in its productive powers,* to which the *division of labour* gives occasion. All things would gradually have become cheaper."*[245]

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[a] Agricultural population.— *Ed.*

[b] Artisans.— *Ed.*

//At any rate *all those things requiring a smaller quantity of labour for their reproduction, but they "would" not only have become cheaper; they have, in point of fact, become cheaper.*//

*"They would have been produced by a smaller quantity of labour; and as the commodities produced by equal quantities of labour would naturally in this state of things be exchanged for one another, they would have been purchased likewise with [VI-244] the produce of a smaller quantity. But this original state of things, in which the labourer enjoyed the whole produce of his own labour, could *not last beyond the first introduction of the appropriation of land and the accumulation of stock.* It was at an end, therefore, long before the most considerable improvements were made in the productive powers of labour, and it would be to no purpose to trace further what might have been its effects upon the recompense or wages of labour"* (Vol. I, pp. 107-09).

Here Adam Smith very acutely notes that the really great development of the productive power of labour starts only from the moment when it is transformed into wage labour, and the conditions of labour confront it on the one hand as landed property and on the other as capital. The development of the productive power of labour thus begins only under conditions in which the labourer himself can no longer appropriate its results. It is therefore quite useless to investigate how this growth of productive powers might have influenced or would influence "WAGES", taken here as equal to the product of labour, on the premiss that the product of labour (or the value of this product) belonged to the labourer himself.

Adam Smith is very copiously infected with the conceptions of the Physiocrats, and often whole strata run through his work which belong to the Physiocrats and are in complete contradiction with the views specifically advanced by him. This is so, for example, in the theory of rent, etc. For our present purpose we can completely disregard these passages in his writings, which are not characteristic of himself, but in which he is a mere Physiocrat.[246]

In the first part of this work, when dealing with the analysis of the commodity, I have already pointed out[a] Adam Smith's inconsistency in his treatment of how exchange value is determined. In particular, [I have shown] how he sometimes confuses, and at other times replaces, the determination of the value of *commodities* by the quantity of labour required for their production, with its determination by the quantity of living labour with which commodities can be bought, or, what is the same thing, the

[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 299-300).— *Ed.*

quantity of commodities with which a definite quantity of living labour can be bought. Here he makes the *exchange value* of labour the measure for the value of commodities. In fact, he makes *wages* the measure; for wages are equal to the quantity of commodities bought with a definite quantity of living labour, or to the quantity of labour that can be bought by a definite quantity of commodities. The value of labour, or rather of labour capacity, changes, like that of any other commodity, and is in no way specifically different from the value of other commodities. Here value is made the measuring rod and the basis for the explanation of value—so we have a *cercle vicieux*[a].

From the exposition that follows, however, it will be seen that this vacillation and this jumbling up of completely heterogeneous determinations do not affect Smith's investigations into the nature and origin of surplus value, because in fact, without even being aware of it, everywhere in his analysis, he keeps firmly to the correct determination of the exchange value of commodities—that is, its determination by the quantity of labour or the labour time expended on them.

[VI-245] Secondly, however, this contradiction in Adam Smith and his passing from one kind of explanation to another is based upon something deeper, which Ricardo, in exposing this contradiction, overlooked or did not rightly appreciate, and therefore also did not solve.[247] Let us assume that all labourers are producers of commodities, and not only produce their commodities but also sell them. The value of these commodities is determined by the necessary labour time contained in them. If therefore the commodities are sold at their value, the labourer buys with one commodity, which is the product of 12 hours' labour time, another 12 hours' labour time in the form of another commodity, i. e., 12 hours' labour time which is embodied in another use value. The value of his labour is therefore equal to the value of his commodity, i. e., it is equal to the product of 12 hours' labour time. The selling and buying again, in a word, the whole process of exchange, the metamorphosis of the commodity, alters nothing in this. It alters only the form of the use value in which this 12 hours' labour time appears. The value of labour is therefore equal to the value of the product of labour. In the first place, equal quantities of objectified labour are exchanged in the commodities—in so far as they are exchanged at their value. Secondly, however, a certain quantity of living labour is exchanged

[a] Vicious circle.— *Ed.*

for an equal quantity of objectified labour, because, firstly, the living labour is objectified in a product, a commodity, which belongs to the labourer, and secondly, this commodity is in turn exchanged for another commodity which contains an equally large quantity of labour. In fact, therefore, a certain quantity of living labour is exchanged for an equal amount of objectified labour. Thus it is not only commodity exchanging for commodity in the proportion in which they represent an equal quantity of objectified labour time, but a quantity of living labour exchanging for a commodity which represents the same quantity of labour objectified.

On this assumption the value of labour (the quantity of commodities which can be bought with a given quantity of labour, or the quantity of labour which can be bought with a given quantity of commodities) could serve as the measure of the value of a commodity just as well as the quantity of labour contained in it, since the value of labour always represents the same quantity of objectified labour as the living labour requires for the production of this commodity; in other words, a definite quantity of living labour time would always command a quantity of commodities which represents an equal amount of objectified labour time. But in all modes of production—and particularly in the capitalist mode of production—in which the objectified conditions of labour belong to one or several classes, while on the other hand nothing but labour capacity belongs to another class, the working class, what takes place is the opposite of this. The product or the value of the product of labour does not belong to the labourer. A definite quantity of living labour does not command the same quantity of objectified labour, or a definite quantity of labour objectified in a commodity commands a greater quantity of living labour than is contained in the commodity itself.

But as Adam Smith quite correctly takes as his starting-point the commodity and the exchange of commodities, and thus the producers initially confront each other only as possessors of commodities, sellers of commodities and buyers of commodities, he therefore discovers (so it seems to him) that in the exchange between capital and wage labour, [VI-246] objectified labour and living labour, the general law at once ceases to apply, and commodities (for labour too is a commodity in so far as it is bought and sold) do not exchange in proportion to the quantities of labour which they represent. *Hence* he concludes that labour time is no longer the immanent measure which regulates the exchange value of commodities, from the moment when the

conditions of labour confront the wage labourer in the form of landed property and capital. He should on the contrary, as Ricardo rightly points out,[248] have drawn the opposite conclusion, that the expressions "quantity of labour" and "value of labour" are now no longer identical, and that therefore the relative value of commodities, although determined by the labour time contained in them, is not determined by the value of labour, since that was only correct so long as the latter expression remained identical with the former. Later on, when we deal with Malthus,[249] we can show how wrong and absurd it would be, even when the labourer appropriated his own product, i. e., the value of his own product, to make this value or the value of labour the measure of value, in the same sense in which labour time or labour itself is the measure of value and the value-creating element. For even in that case the labour which can be bought with a commodity cannot serve as a measure in the same sense as the labour contained in it. One would be merely an index to the other.

In any case Adam Smith feels the difficulty of deducing the exchange between capital and labour from the law that determines the exchange of commodities, since the former apparently rests on quite opposite and contradictory principles. And indeed the contradiction could not be solved so long as capital was set directly against labour instead of against labour capacity. Adam Smith was well aware that the labour time expended on the reproduction and maintenance of labour capacity is very different from the labour which it [labour capacity] itself can perform. Thus he himself quotes from Cantillon's *Essai sur la nature du commerce...*:

> "The labour of an able-bodied slave, the same author adds, is computed to be worth double his maintenance; and that of the meanest labourer, he thinks, cannot be worth less than that of an able-bodied slave" (Garnier, t. I, l. I, ch. VIII, p. 137) [Vol. I, p. 114].

On the other hand it is strange that Adam Smith did not grasp how little the objection he raises has to do with the law that determines the exchange of commodities for each other. That commodities A and B exchange in proportion to the labour time contained in them is in no way upset by the proportions in which the producers A or B divide the products A and B, or rather their value, between themselves. If a part of A goes to the landowner, another to the capitalist, and a third part to the labourer, no matter what the share of each may be, this does not alter the fact that A itself exchanges with B according to its value. The relation between the labour time contained in commodities A and B is in

no way affected by how the labour time contained in A and B is appropriated by various persons.

"When the exchange of broadcloth for linen has been accomplished, the producers of broadcloth will share in the linen in a proportion equal to that in which they previously shared in the broadcloth" (*Misère de la philosophie*, p. 29).[a]

It is this, too, that later the Ricardians rightly maintained against [VI-247] Adam Smith. Thus the Malthusian John Cazenove says:

* "Interchange of commodities and distribution must be kept distinct from each other ... the circumstances which affect the one do not always affect the other. For instance, a reduction in the cost of producing any particular commodity will alter its relation to all others: but it will not necessarily alter its own distribution, nor will it in any way affect theirs. Again, a general reduction in the value of commodities affecting them *all alike* will not alter their relation to each other. It might or might not affect their distribution etc." * (John Cazenove: Preface to his edition of Malthus's *Definitions in Political Economy*, London, 1853 [p. VI]).

But since the "distribution" of the value of the product between capitalist and worker is itself based on an EXCHANGE between commodities—commodities and labour capacity—Adam Smith is justifiably STARTLED. The fact that he had also made the value of labour, or the extent to which a commodity (or money) can purchase labour, the measure of value, has a disturbing effect on Smith's argument when he comes to the theory of prices, shows the influence of competition on the rate of profit, etc.; it deprives his work of all unity, and even excludes a number of essential questions from his inquiry. As we shall soon see, however, it did not affect his exposition of *surplus value in general*, because here he keeps consistently to the correct determination of value by the labour time expended in different commodities.

So now to his treatment of the question.

But first we must mention one other circumstance. Adam Smith mixes up different things. First he states in Book I, Ch. V:

"Every man is rich or poor according to the degree in which he can afford to enjoy the necessaries, conveniences and amusements of human life. But after the division of labour has once thoroughly taken place, it is but a very small part of these with which a man's own labour can supply him. The far greater part of them he must derive from the *labour of other people*, and he must be rich or poor *according to the quantity of that labour which he can command, or which he can afford to purchase. The value of any commodity*, therefore, to the person who possesses it, and who means not to use or consume it himself, but *to exchange it for other commodities, is equal to the quantity of labour* which *it enables him to purchase or command*. Labour, therefore, is the *real* measure of the *exchangeable value* of all commodities" ([Garnier,] t. I, pp. 59, 60) [Vol. I, pp. 53-54].

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[a] Marx quotes his book *Misère de la philosophie...*, Paris, Brussels, 1847 (present edition, Vol. 6, p. 126).— *Ed.*

Further:

"*They*" (the goods) "*contain the value of a certain quantity of labour, which we exchange* [VI-248] *for what is supposed at the time to contain the value of an equal quantity of labour....* It was not by gold or by silver, but by labour, that all the wealth of the world was originally purchased; and its value, to those who possess it, and who want to exchange it for some new productions, is precisely equal to the quantity of labour which it can enable them to purchase or command" ([Garnier,] [l.] 1, [ch.] V, pp. 60-61) [Vol. I, p. 54].

Finally:

"*Wealth,* as Mr. Hobbes says, is *power.* But the person who either acquires, or succeeds to a great fortune, does not necessarily acquire or succeed to any political power, either civil or military... The power which that possession immediately and directly conveys to him, is the power of purchasing, the right to command *all the labour of other people* or *all the produce of this labour which is then in the market*" ([Garnier,] l.c., p. 61) [Vol. I, pp. 54-55].

It can be seen that in all these passages Adam Smith confuses *the labour of other people* with the *produce of this labour.* The exchange value of the commodity which anyone possesses consists—after the division of labour—in the commodities belonging to someone else which he can buy, i.e., in the quantity of someone else's labour which is contained in them, the quantity of someone else's materialised labour. And this quantity of the labour of others is equal to the quantity of labour that is contained in his own commodity. As he expressly says:

"The goods contain the value of a certain quantity of labour, which we exchange for what is supposed at the time to contain *the value of an equal quantity of labour.*"

The emphasis here is on the CHANGE brought about by the *division of labour*: that is to say, that wealth no longer consists in the product of one's own labour, but in the quantity of the labour of others which this product commands, the social labour which it can buy, the quantity of which is determined by the quantity of labour it itself contains. In fact, only the concept of exchange value is here involved—that my labour now counts only as social labour, and consequently its product determines my wealth by its command over an equal quantity of social labour. My commodity, which contains a definite quantity of necessary labour time, gives me command over all other commodities of equal value, and therefore over an equal quantity of the labour of others realised in other use values. The emphasis here lies on the equalisation, brought about through the division of labour and exchange value, of *my* labour with the labour of *others,* in other words, with social labour (the fact that *my* labour too, or the labour contained in my commodities, is already *socially* determined, and has fundamental-

ly changed its character, escapes Adam), and not at all on the difference between *objectified* labour and *living* labour, and the specific laws of their exchange. In fact, Adam Smith is here saying nothing more than that the value of commodities is determined by the labour time contained in them, and that the wealth of the owner of commodities consists in the quantity of social labour at his disposal.

However, the equating here of *labour* and *product of labour* [VI-249] in fact provides the first occasion for the confusion between the determination of the value of commodities by the quantity of labour contained in them, and the determination of their value by the quantity of living labour that they can buy, in other words, their determination by the value of labour. When Adam Smith says:

> "His fortune is greater or less precisely in proportion to the extent of this power, or to the quantity of either of other men's labour, or, *what is the same thing*" (here is the false identification) "*of the produce of other men's labour,* which it enables him to purchase or command" ([Garnier,] l.c., p. 61) [Vol. I, p. 55],

he might just as well have said: it is in proportion to the quantity of social labour contained in his own commodity or FORTUNE; as indeed he also says:

> "They" (the goods) "contain the value of a certain quantity of labour, which we exchange for what is supposed at the time to contain the value *of an equal quantity of labour.*"

(The word *value* is here superfluous and meaningless.) The false conclusion emerges already in this Chapter V, when for example he says:

> "Labour, therefore, never varying in its *own value,* is alone the ultimate and real standard by which the value of all commodities can at all times and places be estimated and compared" ([Garnier,] p. 66) [Vol. I, p. 58].

What is true of labour itself and consequently of its measure, labour time—that the value of commodities is always proportionate to the labour time realised in them, no matter how the *value of labour* may change—is here claimed for this changing value of labour itself.

Here Adam Smith is examining only commodity exchange in general: the nature of exchange value, of the division of labour and of money. The parties to the exchange still confront each other only as owners of commodities. They buy the labour of others in the form of a commodity, just as their own labour appears in the form of a commodity. The quantity of social labour which they command is therefore equal to the quantity of labour

contained in the commodity with which they themselves make the purchase. But when in the following chapters he comes to the exchange between objectified labour and living labour, between capitalist and worker, and then *stresses* that the value of the commodity is now no longer determined by the quantity of labour it itself contains, but by the quantity—which is different from this—of living labour of others which it can command, i.e., buy, he is not in fact saying by this that commodities themselves no longer exchange in proportion to the labour time they contain; but that the *increase of wealth,* the increase of the value contained in the commodity, and the extent of this increase, depends upon the greater or less quantity of living labour which the objectified labour sets in motion. And put in this way it is correct. Smith, however, remains unclear on this point.

[VI-250] In Chapter VI of Book I Adam Smith passes on from those relations in which it is assumed that the producers confront one another only as sellers and possessors of commodities to the relations of exchange between those who possess the conditions of labour and those who possess labour capacity alone.

"In that early and rude state of society which *precedes both the accumulation of stock and the appropriation of land, the proportion between the quantities of labour necessary for acquiring different objects of exchange,* seems to be the only circumstance which can afford any rule for exchanging them for one another.... It is natural that what is usually the produce of two days' or two hours' labour, should be worth double of what is usually the produce of one day's or one hour's labour" (Garnier, t. I, l. 1, ch. VI, pp. 94-95) [Vol. I, p. 81].

That is to say, the labour time necessary to produce different commodities determines the proportion in which they exchange for one another, or their *exchange value.*

"In this state of things, the whole produce of labour belongs to the labourer; and the quantity of labour commonly employed in acquiring or producing any commodity, is the only circumstance which can regulate the quantity of labour which it ought commonly to purchase, command, or exchange for" ([Garnier,] l.c., [p.] 96) [Vol. I, p. 82].

Consequently, on this assumption the labourer is a mere seller of commodities, and one commands the labour of another only in so far as he buys the other's commodity with his commodity. He thus commands with his commodity only so much of the other's labour as is contained in his own commodity, since both exchange only commodities against each other, and the exchange value of the commodities is determined by the labour time or quantity of labour they contain.

But, Adam continues:

"As soon as *stock has accumulated in the hands of particular persons*, some of them will naturally employ it in setting to work industrious people, whom they will supply with materials and subsistence, *in order to make a profit by the sale of their work*, or *by what their labour adds to the value of the materials*" ([Garnier,] l.c., p. 96) [Vol. I, pp. 82-83].

STOP, BEFORE we follow the passage further. *D'abord*,[a] whence come the industrious people who possess neither means of subsistence nor materials of labour—people who are hanging in mid air? If we strip Smith's statement of its naïve phrasing, it means nothing more than: capitalist production begins from the moment when the conditions of labour belong to one class, and another class has at its disposal only labour capacity. This separation of labour from the conditions of labour is the pre-condition of capitalist production.

Secondly, however, what does Adam Smith mean when he says that the EMPLOYERS OF LABOUR set labourers to work "in order *to make a profit by the sale of their work*, or by what their labour [VI-251] adds to the value of the materials"? Does he mean by this that the profit comes from the *sale*, that the commodity is sold *above* its value—that is, what Steuart calls PROFIT UPON ALIENATION, which is nothing but A VIBRATION OF WEALTH BETWEEN PARTIES? Let him answer for himself.

"In exchanging *the complete manufacture* either for money, *for labour*" (here again is a source of new error) "or for other goods, over and above what may be sufficient to pay the price of the materials, and the wages of the workmen, *something must be given* for the profits of the undertaker of the work, who hazards his stock in this adventure" ([Garnier,] l.c.) [Vol. I, p. 83].

(We shall return to this "hazarding" later, see Notebook VII, p. 173,[250] in the chapter on the apologetic accounts of profit.) This something given for the *profits* of the undertaker, when the complete manufacture is exchanged, does it come from the sale of the commodity above its value, is it Steuart's PROFIT UPON ALIENATION?

"The *value*," Adam continues immediately, "*which the workmen add to the materials*, therefore, resolves itself *in this case*" (when capitalist production has begun) "*into two parts, of which the one pays their wages, the other the profits of their employer upon the whole stock of materials and wages which he advanced*" ([Garnier,] l.c., pp. 96-97) [Vol. I, p. 83].

Here therefore Adam Smith explicitly states: the profit which is made on the sale of the complete manufacture originates not from *the sale* itself, not from the sale of the commodity *above* its value, is not PROFIT UPON ALIENATION. The value, that is, the quantity of labour

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[a] In the first place.— *Ed.*

which the workmen add to the material, falls rather into 2 parts. One pays their wages or is paid for through their wages. By this transaction the workmen give in return only as much labour as they have received in the form of wages. The other part forms the profit of the capitalist, i.e., it is a quantity of labour which he sells without having paid for it. If therefore he sells the commodity at its value, i.e., for the labour time contained in it, in other words if he exchanges it for other commodities in accordance with the law of value, then his profit originates from the fact that he has not *paid for* a part of the labour contained in the commodity, but has nevertheless *sold* it. Adam Smith has thereby himself refuted the idea that the circumstance that the whole product of his labour no longer belongs to the labourer, that he is obliged to share it or its value with the owner of capital, invalidates the law that the proportion in which commodities exchange for each other, or their exchange value, is determined by the quantity of labour time materialised in them. Indeed, on the contrary, he traces the profit of the capitalist precisely to the fact that he has not paid for a part of the labour added to the commodity, and it is from this that his profit on the sale of the commodity arises. We shall see how further on Adam Smith even more explicitly derives profit from the labour performed by the workman over and above the quantity of labour with which he *pays for* his wages, that is to say, replaces it by an equivalent.[a] Thereby he has recognised the true origin of surplus value. At the same time he has expressly stated that it does not arise from the [VI-252] advanced funds, whose value—however useful they may be in the real labour process—merely reappears in the product; but that it arises exclusively from the new labour which the workmen *add to the materials* in the new process of production, in which those funds figure as means of labour or instruments of labour.

On the other hand, the phrase "in exchanging the complete manufacture either for money, *for labour*, or for other goods" is wrong (and arises from the confusion mentioned earlier).

If he exchanges the commodity for money or for a commodity, his profit arises from his selling more labour than he has paid for, from the fact that he does not exchange an equal quantity of objectified labour for an equal quantity of living labour. Adam Smith therefore must not put the exchange either for money or for other goods on the same footing as the exchange of the complete manufacture for labour. For in the first exchange the

[a] See this volume, pp. 394-98.—*Ed.*

surplus value originates from the fact that the commodities are exchanged at their value, for the labour time contained in them, which however is in part *unpaid for.* Here it is assumed that the capitalist does not exchange an equal quantity of past labour for an equal quantity of living labour; that the quantity of living labour appropriated by him is greater than the quantity of living labour he has paid for. Otherwise the workman's wage would be equal to the value of his product. The profit on the exchange of the complete manufacture for money or commodities, if they are exchanged at their value, arises therefore from the fact that the exchange between the complete manufacture and the living labour is subject to other laws; that no equivalents are exchanged here. These CASES, therefore, must not be lumped together.

Profit is consequently nothing but a deduction from the value which the workmen have added to the material of labour. They add to the material, however, nothing but a new quantity of labour. The workman's labour time therefore resolves itself into two parts: one for which he has received an equivalent, his wages, from the capitalist; the other which he gives to him gratis and which constitutes the *profit.* Adam Smith rightly points out that only the part of the labour (value) which the workman newly adds to the material resolves itself into wages and profit, that is to say, the newly-created surplus value in itself has nothing to do with the part of the capital which has been advanced (as materials and instruments).

Adam Smith, who has thus reduced profit to the appropriation of the unpaid labour of others, at once goes on to say:

"The profits of stock, it may perhaps be thought, are only a different name for the wages of a particular sort of labour, the labour of inspection and direction" ([Garnier,] p. 97) [Vol. I, p. 83].

And he refutes this false view of the LABOUR OF SUPERINTENDENCE. We shall return to this later, in another chapter.[76] Here it is only important to stress that Adam Smith very clearly recognises, brings out and expressly emphasises the contradistinction between his view of the origin of profit and this apologetic view. After pointing out this contradistinction he proceeds:

[VI-253] "In this state of things the whole produce of labour does not always belong to the labourer. He must in most cases share it with the *owner of the stock* which employs him. Neither is the quantity of labour commonly employed in acquiring or producing any commodity, the only circumstance which can regulate the quantity which it ought commonly to purchase, command or exchange for. An *additional quantity,* it is evident, must be due for the profits of the stock which advanced the wages and furnished the materials of that labour" ([Garnier,] l. c., p. 99) [Vol. I, p. 85].

This is quite correct. Given capitalist production, objectified labour—in the form of money or commodity—always purchases, besides the quantity of labour which it itself contains, an "additional quantity" of living labour "for the profits of the stock"; which however in other words means nothing but that it appropriates for nothing, appropriates without paying for it, a part of the living labour. Adam Smith is superior to Ricardo in that he so strongly emphasises how this CHANGE begins with capitalist production. On the other hand, he is inferior to Ricardo in that he is never able to free himself from the viewpoint—though it is one he himself refuted by his own analysis—that through this CHANGED RELATION BETWEEN MATERIALISED LABOUR AND LIVING LABOUR a CHANGE takes place IN THE DETERMINATION OF THE RELATIVE VALUE OF COMMODITIES, which in relation to each other represent nothing but MATERIALISED LABOUR, GIVEN QUANTITIES OF REALISED LABOUR.

After thus presenting surplus value in the one form, the form of profit, as part of the labour which the worker performs over and above the part of the labour WHICH PAYS HIS WAGES, he does the same with the other form of surplus value, *rent of land.* One of the objective conditions of labour alienated from labour and therefore confronting it as other men's property, is *capital*; the other is the *land* itself, the land as *landed property.* Therefore after dealing with the *owner of capital,* Adam Smith continues:

> "As soon as the land of any country has all become private property, the landlords, like *all other men,* love to reap where they never sowed, and demand a *rent* even for its natural produce... He" (the labourer) "must *give up* to the landlord *a portion of what his labour either collects or produces.* This portion, or, what comes to the same thing, the price, of this portion, constitutes the *rent of land*" ([Garnier,] l. c., pp. 99-100) [Vol. I, pp. 85-86].

Like industrial profit proper, rent of land is only a part of the labour which is added by the labourer to the materials and *which he gives up,* hands over to the owner of the land without being paid for it; hence, only a part of the surplus labour performed by him over and above the part of the labour time which he works TO PAY HIS WAGES or to return an equivalent for the labour time contained in his wages.

Thus Adam Smith conceives *surplus value*—that is, surplus labour, the excess of labour performed and realised in the commodity *over and above* the paid labour, the labour which has received its equivalent in the wages—as the *general category,* [VI-254] of which profit proper and rent of land are merely branches. Nevertheless, he does not distinguish surplus value as such as a category on its own, distinct from the specific forms it

assumes in profit and rent. This is the source of much error and inadequacy in his inquiry, and of even more in the work of Ricardo.

Another form in which surplus value appears is *intérêt du capital*,[a] interest on money. But this

"*interest on money is always*" (Adam Smith says in the same chapter) "*a derivative revenue*, which, if it is not paid from the *profit* which is made by the use of the money, must be paid from some other source of revenue"

(therefore either rent or wages. In the latter case, assuming the average wage, it does not originate from surplus value but is a deduction from the wage itself or—and in this form, as we shall later have occasion to see, it appears in undeveloped capitalist production—it is only another form of profit[251])

"unless perhaps the borrower is a spendthrift, who contracts a second debt in order to pay the interest of the first" ([Garnier,] l. c., pp. 105-06) [Vol. I, p. 90].

Interest is therefore either a part of the *profit* made with the capital lent; in this case it is only a secondary form of profit itself, a branch of profit, and thus only a further division between different persons of the surplus value appropriated in the form of profit. Or it is paid out of rent. In which case the same holds good. Or the borrower pays the interest out of his own or someone else's capital. In which case it in no way constitutes surplus value, but is merely a different distribution of existing wealth, VIBRATION OF THE BALANCE OF WEALTH BETWEEN PARTIES, as in PROFIT UPON ALIENATION.[b] Excluding the latter case, when interest is not in any way a form of surplus value and excluding the case where it is a deduction from the wage or itself a form of profit; Adam does not mention this latter case, interest is therefore only a secondary form of surplus value, a mere part of profit or of rent (affecting merely their distribution), and therefore also is nothing but a part of unpaid surplus labour.

* "The stock which is lent at interest is always *considered* as a capital by the lender. He expects that in due time it is to be restored to him, and that in the meantime the borrower is to pay him a certain annual rent for the use of it. The borrower may use it either as a *capital*, or as a *stock reserved for immediate consumption*. If he uses it as a capital, he employs it in the maintenance of productive labourers, *who reproduce the value with a profit*. He can, in this case, both restore the capital and pay the interest, without alienating or encroaching upon any other source of revenue. If he uses it as a stock reserved for immediate consumption, he acts the part of a prodigal, and dissipates in the maintenance of the idle, what was destined for the support of the industrious. He can, in this case,

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[a] Interest on capital.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 348 et seq.—*Ed.*

neither restore the capital nor pay the interest, without either alienating or encroaching upon some other source of revenue, such as the property or rent of land" * (McCulloch edit., Vol. II, b. II, ch. IV, [p.] 127).

[VI-255] Thus whoever borrows money, which here means capital, either uses it himself as capital, and makes a profit with it. In this case the interest which he pays to the lender is nothing but a part of the profit under a *special name.* Or he consumes the borrowed money. Then he increases the wealth of the lender by reducing his own. What takes place is only a different distribution of the wealth that passes from the hand of the spendthrift into that of the lender, but there is no generation of surplus value. In so far therefore as interest in any way represents surplus value, it is nothing but a part of profit, which itself is nothing but a definite form of surplus value, that is, unpaid labour.

Finally, Adam Smith observes that in the same way all incomes of persons who live on the proceeds of taxes are paid either from wages, and are therefore a deduction from wages themselves; or have their source in profit and rent, thus representing only claims whereby various social strata share in the consumption of profit and rent, which themselves are nothing but different forms of surplus value.

"All taxes, and all the revenue which is founded upon them, all salaries, pensions, and annuities of every kind, are ultimately derived from some one or other of those three original sources of revenue, and are paid either immediately or mediately from the wages of labour, the profits of stock, or the rent of land" ([Garnier,] l. c., l. I, ch. VI, p. 106) [Vol. I, p. 90].

Thus interest on money, along with taxes or revenues derived from taxes—in so far as they are not deductions from wages themselves—are merely shares in profit and rent, which are themselves in turn reducible to surplus value, that is, unpaid labour time.

This is Adam Smith's general theory of surplus value.

In yet another passage Adam Smith sums up his views on the whole question, making it all the more clear how far he is from even attempting in any way to prove that the value added by the labourer to the product (after deducting the *frais de production,*[a] the value of raw material and of the instruments of labour) is no longer determined by the labour time contained in the product, because the labourer does not himself appropriate this value in full, but has to share it—the value or the product—with the capitalist and the landowner. The way in which the value of a

[a] Costs of production.— *Ed.*

commodity is distributed among the producers of this commodity naturally alters nothing in the nature of this value or in the relative value of commodities to one another.

* "As soon as land becomes private property, the landlord demands a share of almost all the produce which the labourer can either raise, or collect from it. *His rent makes the first deduction from the produce of the labour which is employed upon land.* It seldom happens that the person who tills the ground has wherewithal to maintain himself till he reaps the harvest. His maintenance is generally advanced to him from the stock of a master, the farmer who employs him, and who would have no interest to employ him, unless he was to share in the produce of his labour, or unless his stock was to be replaced to him with a profit. *This profit makes a second deduction* [VI-256] *from* [*the produce of*] *the labour which is employed upon land.* The produce of almost all other labour is liable to *the like deduction of profit.* In all arts and manufactures the greater part of the workmen stand in need of a master to advance them the materials of their work, and their wages and maintenance till it be completed. *He shares in the produce of their labour, or in the value which it adds to the materials upon which it is bestowed; and in this share consists his profit*" * ([McCulloch edit.,] l.c., Vol. I, b. I, ch. VIII, pp. 109-10).

Here therefore Adam Smith in plain terms describes rent and profit on capital as mere *deductions* from the workman's product or the value of his product, which is equal to the quantity of labour added by him to the material. This deduction however, as Adam Smith has himself previously explained, can only consist of that part of the labour which the workman adds to the materials, over and above the quantity of labour which only pays his wages, or which only provides an equivalent for his wages; that is, the surplus labour, the unpaid part of his labour. (Therefore, incidentally, profit and rent or capital and landed property can never be a *source of value.*)

We see the great advance made by Adam Smith beyond the Physiocrats in the analysis of surplus value and hence of capital. In their view, it is only one definite kind of concrete labour—agricultural labour—that creates surplus value. Therefore what they examine is the use value of labour, not labour time, general social labour, which is the sole source of value. In this special kind of labour, however, it is *nature,* the land, which in fact creates the surplus value, consisting in an increase of (organic) matter—the excess of the matter produced over the matter consumed. They see it, however, still in quite a restricted form and therefore distorted by fantastic ideas. But to Adam Smith, it is general social labour—no matter in what use values it manifests itself—the mere quantity of necessary labour, which creates value. Surplus value, whether it takes the form of profit, rent, or the secondary form of interest, is nothing but a part of this labour, appropriated by the owners of the objective conditions of labour in the exchange with

living labour. For the Physiocrats, therefore, surplus value appears only in the form of rent of land. For Adam Smith, rent, profit and interest are only different forms of surplus value.

When I speak of surplus value, in relation to the total sum of capital advanced, as *profit on capital*, this is because the capitalist directly engaged in production *directly* appropriates the surplus labour, no matter under what categories he has subsequently to share this surplus value with the landowner or with the lender of capital. Thus the farmer pays the landowner directly. And the manufacturer, out of the surplus value he has appropriated, pays rent to the owner of the land on which the factory stands, and interest to the capitalist who has advanced capital to him.

[VI-257] //There are now still to be examined: 1) Adam Smith's confusion of surplus value with profit; 2) his views on productive labour; 3) how he makes rent and profit *sources of value*, and his false analysis of the natural price of commodities, in which the value of raw materials and instruments is not supposed to have a separate existence, and therefore not to be considered, apart from the price of the 3 SOURCES OF REVENUE. //

Wages or the equivalent with which the capitalist buys the temporary disposal of labour capacity are not a commodity in its immediate form, but the commodity metamorphosed, money, the commodity in its independent form as exchange value, as the direct materialisation of social labour, of general labour time. With this money the labourer naturally buys commodities at the same price as any other possessor of money //disregarding here such details as, for example, that he buys on less favourable conditions and in worse circumstances, etc.//. He faces the seller of commodities as does every other possessor of money—as a buyer. He enters commodity circulation itself not as a labourer, but as pole Money facing pole Commodity, as possessor of a commodity in its general, always exchangeable form. His money is once more transformed into commodities, which are to serve him as use values, and in this process he buys commodities at the current market price—generally speaking, at their value. In this transaction he carries through only the act *M—C*, which indicates a change of form, but, as a general rule, by no means a change in magnitude of value. Since however, by his labour materialised in the product, he has added not only as much labour time as was contained in the money he received, he has paid not only an equivalent but has given surplus labour gratis—which is precisely the source of the profit—he has thus *in fact* (the mediating process, the sale of his labour capacity, is not relevant when we are

dealing with the result) given a higher value than the value of the sum of money which forms his wages. IN RETURN, he has bought with more labour time the quantity of labour realised in the money which comes to him as wages. It can therefore be said that in the same way he has indirectly bought all the commodities into which the money (which is only the independent expression of a definite quantity of social labour time) he received is converted with more labour time than they contain, although he buys them at the same price as any other buyer or possessor of a commodity in its first transformation. Conversely, the money with which the capitalist buys labour contains a smaller quantity of labour, less labour time, than the quantity of labour or labour time of the workman contained in the commodity produced by him. Besides the quantity of labour contained in this sum of money which forms the wage, the capitalist buys an additional quantity of labour for which he does not pay, an excess over the quantity of labour contained in the money he pays out. And it is precisely this additional quantity of labour which constitutes the surplus value created by capital.

But as the money [VI-258] with which the capitalist buys labour (in the actual result, even though mediated through EXCHANGE not with labour directly, but with labour capacity) is nothing other than the converted form of *all other commodities*, their independent existence as exchange value, it can equally well be said that all commodities in exchange with living labour buy more labour than they contain. It is precisely this more that constitutes surplus value. It is Adam Smith's great merit that it is just in the chapters of Book I (chapters VI, VII, VIII) where he passes from simple commodity exchange and its law of value to exchange between objectified and living labour, to exchange between capital and wage labour, to the consideration of profit and rent in general—in short, to the origin of surplus value—that he feels some flaw has emerged. He senses that somehow—whatever the cause may be, and he does not grasp what it is—in the actual result the law is suspended: more labour is exchanged for less labour (from the labourer's standpoint), less labour is exchanged for more labour (from the capitalist's standpoint). His merit is that he emphasises—and it obviously perplexes him—that with the *accumulation of capital* and the *appearance of property in land*—that is, when the conditions of labour assume an independent existence over against labour itself—something new occurs, apparently (and actually, in the result) the law of value changes into its opposite. It is his theoretical strength that he feels and stresses this contradiction,

just as it is his theoretical weakness that the contradiction shakes his confidence in the general law, even for simple commodity exchange; that he does not perceive how this contradiction arises, through labour capacity itself becoming a commodity, and that in the case of this specific commodity its use value—which therefore has nothing to do with its exchange value—is precisely the energy which creates exchange value. Ricardo is ahead of Adam Smith in that these apparent contradictions—in their result real contradictions—do not confuse him. But he is behind Adam Smith in that he does not even suspect that this presents a problem, and therefore the *specific* development which the law of value undergoes with the formation of capital does not for a moment puzzle him or even attract his attention. We shall see later how what was a stroke of genius with Adam Smith becomes reactionary with Malthus as against Ricardo's standpoint.[249]

Naturally, however, it is at the same time this deep insight of Adam Smith's that makes him irresolute and uncertain, cuts the firm ground from under his feet, and prevents him—in contrast to Ricardo—from reaching a consistent and comprehensive theoretical view of the abstract general foundations of the bourgeois system.

[VI-259] The above-quoted statement by Adam Smith that the commodity buys more labour than it contains, or that labour pays a higher value for the commodity than the latter contains, is thus formulated by Hodgskin in his *Popular Political Economy*:

* "The *natural price* (or *necessary* price) means the whole *quantity of labour* nature requires from man, that he may produce any commodity.... Labour was the original, is now and ever will be the only purchase money in dealing with nature. Whatever quantity of labour may be requisite to produce any commodity, the labourer must always, in the present state of society, give a great deal more labour to acquire and possess it than is requisite to buy it from nature. Natural Price so increased to the labourer is *Social Price*,* we must always attend to the difference between natural and social price" (Thomas Hodgskin, *Popular Political Economy etc.*, London, 1827, [pp.] 219-20).

In this presentation Hodgskin reproduces both what is correct and what is confused and confusing in Adam Smith's view.

We have seen how Adam Smith explains *surplus value* in general, of which the rent of land and profit are only different forms and component parts. As he presents it, the part of capital which consists of raw material and means of production has nothing directly to do with the creation of surplus value. The latter arises exclusively from the ADDITIONAL QUANTITY OF LABOUR which the labourer gives *over and above* the part of his labour which forms only the equivalent for his wages. Therefore it is only that

part of the capital advanced which consists in wages from which surplus value directly arises, since it is the only part of capital which not only reproduces itself but produces an OVERPLUS. In profit, on the other hand, the surplus value is calculated on the total amount of capital advanced, and besides this modification yet further ones are added through the equalisation of profits in the various spheres of production of capital.

Because Adam makes what is in substance an analysis of surplus value, but does not present it explicitly in the form of a definite category, distinct from its special forms, he subsequently mixes it up directly with the further developed form of profit. This error persists with Ricardo and all his disciples. Hence arise (particularly with Ricardo, all the more strikingly because he works out the fundamental law of value in more systematic unity and consistency, so that the inconsistencies and contradictions stand out more strikingly) a series of inconsistencies, unresolved contradictions and fatuities, which the Ricardians (as we shall see later in the section on profit) attempt to solve with phrases in a scholastic way.[252] Crass empiricism turns into false metaphysics, scholasticism, which toils painfully to deduce undeniable empirical phenomena by simple formal abstraction directly from the general law, or to show by cunning argument that they are in accordance with that law.

At this point where we discuss Adam Smith we will give an example, because the confusion creeps in immediately not when he is dealing *ex professo*[a] with profit or rent—those particular forms of surplus value—but where he is thinking of them only as forms of surplus value in general, as *DEDUCTIONS* FROM THE LABOUR BESTOWED BY THE LABOURERS UPON THE MATERIALS.[b]

[VI-260] After Adam Smith has said, in Book I, Chapter VI:

"The value which the workmen *add* to the materials, therefore, resolves itself in this case into two parts, of which the one pays their wages, the other the profits of their employer upon the whole stock of materials and wages which he advanced",

he continues:

"He" (the entrepreneur) "could have no interest to employ them, unless he expected from the sale of their work something more than what was sufficient to replace his stock to him; and he could have no interest to employ a great stock rather than a small one, unless his profits were to bear some proportion to the extent of his stock" [Garnier, pp. 96-97] [Vol. I, p. 83].

*Remarquons d'abord*[c]: surplus value, the OVERPLUS which the

[a] Specifically.— *Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 391.— *Ed.*
[c] We note first.— *Ed.*

entrepreneur makes over and above the amount of value required to replace his stock, is reduced by Adam Smith to that part of the labour which the workmen add to the materials over and above the quantity that pays their wages—thus making this OVERPLUS arise purely from the part of the capital which is laid out in wages. Then, however, he immediately conceives this OVERPLUS in the form of profit—i.e., he thinks of it not in relation to the part of the capital from which it arises, but as an overplus over the total value of the capital advanced, "upon the whole stock of materials *and* wages which he advanced". (It is oversight that the means of production are here left out of account.)[253] He therefore conceives surplus value directly in the form of profit. Hence the difficulties that soon appear.

The capitalist, Adam Smith says,

> "could have no interest to employ them, unless he expected from the sale of their work *something more* than what was sufficient to replace his stock to him".

Once capitalist relations are assumed, this is quite correct. The capitalist does not produce in order to satisfy his needs with the product; he produces with absolutely no direct regard for consumption. He produces in order to produce surplus value. But this premiss—which amounts to no more than that, capitalist production being assumed, the capitalist produces for the sake of surplus value—is not made use of by Adam Smith to *explain surplus value,* as some of his silly disciples subsequently did; i.e., he does not explain the existence of surplus value by the interests of the capitalist, by his desire for surplus value. On the contrary, he has already derived surplus value from the value which the workmen add to the materials over and above the value which they add in exchange for the wages they have received. But then he goes on at once: the capitalist would have no interest to employ a great stock rather than a small one, unless his profits were to bear some proportion to the extent of the stock advanced. Here profit is no longer explained by the nature of surplus value, but by the "interest" of the capitalist. Which is downright silly.

Adam Smith does not sense that, by thus directly confusing surplus value with profit and profit with surplus value, he is upsetting the law of the origin of surplus value which he has just established. [VI-261] If surplus value is only the part of the value (or of the quantity of labour) a d d e d by the workman *in excess* of the part that he adds to the materials to replace the wages, why should that 2nd part grow as the direct result of the value of the capital advanced being in one case greater than in the other? The

contradiction becomes even clearer in the example which Adam Smith himself gives immediately following on this, in order to refute the view that profit is WAGES for the "SO-CALLED LABOUR OF SUPERINTENDENCE".

For he says:

"They" (the profits of stock) "are, however, altogether different from wages, are regulated by quite different principles, and bear no proportion to the quantity, or the ingenuity of this supposed labour of inspection and direction. *They are regulated altogether by the value of the stock employed,* and are greater or smaller in proportion to the extent of this stock. Let us suppose, for example, that in some particular place, where the *common annual profits of* manufacturing *stock are ten per cent* there are two different manufactures, in each of which twenty workmen are employed, at the rate of 15 pounds a year each, or at the expense of 300 a year in each manufactory. Let us suppose, too, that the coarse materials annually wrought up in the one cost only 700 pounds, while the finer materials in the other cost 7,000. The capital annually employed in the one will, in this case, amount only to 1,000 pounds; whereas that employed in the other will amount to 7,300 pounds. At the rate of ten per cent, therefore, the undertaker of the one will expect a yearly profit of about 100 pounds only; while that of the other will expect about 730 pounds. But though their profits are so very different, their labour of inspection and direction may be either altogether or very nearly the same" [Garnier, pp. 97-98] [Vol. I, pp. 83-84].

From surplus value in its general form we come straight to a general rate of profit, which has nothing directly to do with it. *Mais passon outre!*[a] In both manufactories 20 workmen are employed; in both their wages are the same, £300. Proof therefore that it is not perhaps a case of a higher kind of labour being employed in one as compared with the other, so that one hour's labour and therefore also one hour's surplus labour would in one be equal to several hours' surplus labour in the other. On the contrary, the same average labour is assumed in both, as the equality of their wages shows. How then can the surplus labour which the workers add, beyond the price of their wages, be worth seven times as much in one factory as in the other? Or why should the workers in one factory, because the materials they work up in it are 7 times as costly as in the other, provide 7 times as much surplus labour as in the other, although in both factories they receive the same wages, and therefore work the same time to reproduce [VI-262] their wages?

The seven times greater profit in the one manufactory as compared with the other—or in general the law of profit, that it is in proportion to the magnitude of the capital advanced—thus *prima facie* contradicts the law of surplus value or of profit (since

[a] But let us pass on!—*Ed.*

Adam Smith treats the two as identical) that it consists purely of the unpaid surplus labour of the workmen. Adam Smith puts this down with quite naïve thoughtlessness, without the faintest suspicion of the contradiction it presents. All his disciples—since none of them considers surplus value in general, as distinct from its determinate forms—followed him faithfully in this. With Ricardo, as already noted, it merely comes out even more strikingly.

As Adam Smith resolves surplus value not only into profit but also into the rent of land—two particular kinds of surplus value, whose movement is determined by quite different laws—he should certainly have seen from this that he ought not to treat general abstract form as directly identical with any of its particular forms. With all later bourgeois economists, as with Adam Smith, lack of theoretical understanding needed to distinguish the different forms of the economic relations remains the rule in their coarse grabbing at and interest in the empirically available material. Hence also their inability to form a correct conception of money, in which what is in question is only various changes in the form of exchange value, while the magnitude of value remains unchanged.

*Lauderdale*, in *Recherches sur la nature et l'origine de la richesse publique (traduit par Lagentie de Lavaïsse, Paris, 1808)*, raises the objection to Adam Smith's exposition of surplus value—which he says corresponds with the views already advanced by Locke—that according to it capital is not an original source of wealth, as Smith makes out, but only a derivative source. The relevant passages run:

"Above a century ago, Mr. Locke stated pretty nearly the same opinion" (as Adam Smith).... "'Money,' he said, 'is a barren thing and produces nothing; the only service it renders is that it by compact transfers that profit that was the reward of one man's labour into another man's pocket'" (Lauderdale, p. 116).[a]

"If this, however, was a just and accurate idea of the profit of capital, it would follow that the profit of stock must be a derivative, and not an original source of wealth; and capital could not therefore be considered as a source of wealth, its profit being only a transfer from the pocket of the labourer into that of the proprietor of stock" (l.c., pp. 116-17) [James Maitland Lauderdale, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Public Wealth...*, Edinburgh and London, 1804, pp. 157-58].[a]

In so far as the value of the capital reappears in the product, it cannot be called a "source of wealth". Here it is only as ACCUMULATED LABOUR, as a definite quantity of materialised labour, that it adds its own value to the product.

[a] Marx quotes Lauderdale partly in French and partly in German.— *Ed.*

Capital is productive of value only as a *relation*, in so far as it is a coercive force on wage labour, compelling it to perform surplus labour, or spurring on the productive power of labour to produce relative surplus value. In both cases it only produces value as [VI-263] the power of labour's own objectified conditions over labour when these are alienated from labour; only as one of the forms of wage labour itself, as a condition of wage labour. But in the sense commonly used by economists, as stored up labour existing in money or commodities, capital—like all conditions of labour, even the unpaid natural forces—functions productively in the labour process, in the production of use values, but it is never a source of value. It creates no new value, and only adds exchange value to the product at all in so far as it has exchange value, i.e., only in so far as it itself consists in objectified labour time, so that labour is the source of its value.

Lauderdale is right in this respect—that Adam Smith, after explaining the nature of surplus value and of value, wrongly presents capital and land as independent sources of exchange value. They are sources of revenue for their owners in so far as they are titles to a certain quantity of surplus labour, which the labourer must perform over and above the labour time required to replace his wages. Thus Adam Smith says for example:

"*Wages, profit, and rent*, are the *three original sources* of all revenue, *as well as of all exchangeable value*" ([Garnier,] l. I, ch. VI [p. 105]) [Vol. I, p. 89].

Just as it is true that they are the three original sources of all revenue, so it is false that they also are the three original sources *of all exchangeable value*, since the value of a commodity is exclusively determined by the labour time contained in it. After just presenting rent and profit as mere DEDUCTIONS from the value or from the labour added by the workman to the raw material, how can Adam Smith call them original sources of exchangeable value? (They can only be that in the sense that they set in motion the original source, that is to say, that they compel the workman to perform surplus labour.) In so far as they are titles (conditions) for the appropriation of a part of the value, that is, of the labour objectified in the commodity, they are sources of income for their owners. But the distribution or appropriation of value is certainly not the source of the value that is appropriated. If this appropriation did not take place, and the workman received the whole product of his labour as his wage, the value of the commodities produced would be just the same as before, although it would not be shared with the landowner and the capitalist.

The fact that landed property and capital are sources of income for their owners, i.e., give them the power to appropriate a part of the values created by labour, does not make them sources of the value which they appropriate. But it is equally wrong to say that wages are an original source of exchangeable value, although wages, or rather the continuous sale of labour capacity, is a source of income for the labourer. It is the labour and not the wages of the labourer that creates value. Wages are only already existing value, or if we consider the whole of production, the part of the value created by the labourer which he himself appropriates; but this appropriation does not create value. His wages can therefore rise or fall without this affecting the value of the commodity produced by him.

Here we will leave entirely out of account how far Adam Smith regards rent as a constituent element of the price of commodities. For our present inquiry this question is all the more unimportant because he treats rent just as he treats profit, as a mere part of surplus value, a DEDUCTION FROM THE LABOUR ADDED BY THE LABOURER TO THE RAW MATERIAL,[a] and consequently [VI-264] in fact also as a DEDUCTION FROM PROFIT, inasmuch as the total unpaid surplus labour is *directly* appropriated by the capitalist in his relations with labour; it does not matter under what categories he may later have to share this surplus value with owners of the conditions of production—the landowner or the lender of capital. For the sake of simplicity we shall therefore speak only of wages and profit as the two categories into which newly-created value is divided.

Let us assume that 12 hours of labour time are materialised in a commodity (*leaving out of account* the value of the raw material and instruments of labour consumed in it). We can express its value as such only in *money*. Let us therefore assume that 12 hours of labour time are likewise materialised in 5s. Thus the value of the commodity=5s. By the natural price of commodities Adam Smith understands nothing but their value expressed in money. (The market price of the commodity, of course, stands either above or below its value. Indeed, as I shall show later, even the average price of commodities is *always different* from their value.[254] Adam Smith, however, does not deal with this in his discussion of natural price. Moreover, neither the market price nor still less the fluctuations in the average price of commodities can be comprehended except on the basis of an understanding of the nature of value.)

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[a] See this volume, p. 391.—*Ed.*

If the surplus value contained in the commodity is 20 per cent of its total value, or what amounts to the same thing, 25 per cent of the necessary labour contained in it, then this value of 5s., the natural price of the commodity, can be resolved into 4s. wages and 1s. surplus value (which here we will call profit, following Adam Smith). It would be correct to say that the magnitude of value of the commodity determined independently of wages and profit, or its natural price, can be resolved into 4s. wages (the price of the labour) and 1s. profit (the price of the profit). But it would be wrong to say that the value of the commodity arises from adding together or combining the price of the wages, which is regulated independently of the value of the commodity, and the price of the profit. If this were the case there would be absolutely no reason why the total value of the commodity should not be 8s., 10s., etc., according to whether one assumes the wages=5s. and the profit 3s., and so on.

When Adam Smith is examining the "natural rate" of wages or the "natural price" of wages, what guides his investigation? The natural price of the means of subsistence required for the reproduction of labour capacity. But by what does he determine the natural price of these means of subsistence? In so far as he determines it at all, he comes back to the correct determination of value, namely, the labour time required for the production of these means of subsistence. But when he abandons this correct course, he falls into *cercle vicieux*. By what is the natural price of the means of subsistence determined, which determine the natural price of wages? By the natural price of "wages", of "profit", of "rent", which constitute the natural price of those means of subsistence as of all commodities. And so *in infinitum*. The twaddle about the law of demand and supply of course does not help us out of this *cercle vicieux*. For the "natural price" or the price corresponding to the value of the commodity is supposed to exist just when demand meets supply, i.e., when the price of the commodity does not stand above or below its value as a result of fluctuations in demand and supply; when, in other words, the cost price[255] of the commodity (or the value of the commodity supplied by the seller) is also the price which the demand pays.

[VI-265] But as we have said: In investigating the natural price of wages Adam Smith in fact falls back—at least in certain passages—on the correct determination of the value of the commodity. On the other hand, in the chapter dealing with the natural rate or the natural price of profit he gets bogged down, so far as the real problem is concerned, in meaningless common-

places and tautologies. In fact, at first it was the value of the commodity which he saw as regulating wages and profit and rent. Then however he sets to work the other way round (which was closer to what empirical observation showed and to everyday ideas), and now the natural price of commodities is supposed to be calculated and discovered[a] by adding together the natural prices of wages, profit and rent. It is one of Ricardo's chief merits that he put an end to this confusion. We shall return to this point briefly when we are dealing with him.[256]

Here there is only this further point to be noted: the *given magnitude* of value of the commodity, serving as a fund for the payment of wages and profit, appears empirically to the industrialist in the form that a definite market price of the commodity holds good for a shorter or longer time, in spite of all fluctuations in wages.

It is necessary therefore to call attention to this peculiar train of thought in Adam Smith's book: first the value of the commodity is examined, and in some passages correctly determined—so correctly determined that he traces out in general form the origin of surplus value and of its specific forms, hence deriving wages and profit from this value. But then he takes the opposite course, and seeks on the contrary to deduce the value of commodities (from which he has deduced wages and profit) by adding together the natural prices of wages, profit and rent. It is this latter circumstance that is responsible for the fact that he nowhere correctly explains the influence of oscillations of wages, profit, etc., on the prices of commodities—since he lacks the basis [for such an explanation].

We come to another point, which is linked with the analysis of the price or value of the commodity (since the two are here still assumed to be identical). Let us assume that Adam Smith has calculated correctly—i.e., the value of the commodity being given, he has correctly resolved it into the constituent parts in which this value is distributed among the various agents of production—but has not on the contrary tried to deduce value from the price of these constituent parts. Thus we shall leave this aside and also the one-sided way in which wages and profit are presented only as forms of distribution, and hence both as revenues in the same sense that their owners can consume. Apart from all this, Adam Smith himself raises a question, and this again shows his

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[a] Marx wrote the word "ausgerechnet" (calculated) above the word "aufgefunden" (discovered) without indicating its place in the line.— *Ed.*

superiority over Ricardo—not that he finds the right solution to the question he raises, but that he raises it at all.

//The following quotation should be added to what has been said above in regard to Adam Smith making the categories in which the value of the commodity is appropriated into sources of this value: After he has refuted the view that profit is only another name for the wages of the capitalist, or WAGES OF LABOUR OF SUPERINTENDENCE, he concludes:

"In the *price* of commodities, therefore, the *profits* of stock constitute a *source of value* altogether *different* from the wages [of labour], and regulated by quite different principles" ([Garnier,] l. I, ch. VI, [p. 99]) [Vol. I, p. 85].

Adam Smith has just shown that the value added by the workmen to the materials is divided between them and the capitalists in the form of wages and profit; labour is therefore the only *source of value*, and the price of wages and the price of profits arise out of this source of value. But these prices themselves, whether wages or profit, are not a *source of value.*//

[VI-266] What Adam Smith says is:

"These three parts" (wages, profit and rent of the landowner) "seem either immediately or ultimately to make up the *whole* price of corn."

(Of all commodities. Adam Smith here takes corn, because in some commodities rent does not enter into the price as a constituent part.)

"A *fourth part*, it may be thought, is necessary for replacing the stock of the farmer, or for compensating the wear and tear of his labouring cattle, and other instruments of husbandry. But it must be considered, that the price of an instrument of husbandry, such as a labouring horse, is itself made up of the same three parts: the rent of the land upon which he is reared, the labour of tending and rearing him, and the profits of the farmer, who advances both the rent of this land, and the wages of this labour."

//Here profit appears as the primary form, which also includes rent.//

"Though the price of the corn, therefore, may pay the price as well as the maintenance of the horse, the *whole* price still resolves itself, either immediately or ultimately, into the same three parts of rent, labour and profit" ([Garnier,] l. I, ch. VI, [p. 101]) [Vol. I, pp. 86-87].

(Here it is perfectly preposterous that all of a sudden he says labour instead of wages, while he does not put landed property or capital for rent and profit.)

But was it not equally obviously necessary to consider that just as the farmer included the price of the horse and the plough in the price of the corn, the horse breeder or the plough maker from

whom the farmer bought the horse and the plough, would include in the price of the horse and the plough the price of the instruments of production (in the case of the former, perhaps another horse) and of raw materials such as feeding stuffs and iron, whereas the fund from which the horse breeder and plough maker *paid* wages and profit (and rent) consisted only in the new labour which they *added* in their sphere of production to the amount of value present in their constant capital? Since therefore Adam Smith admits, in relation to the farmer, that the price of his *blé*[a] includes, besides the wages, profit and rent paid by him to himself and others, also a *4th constituent part* which is different from these—the value of the constant capital he has used up, such as horses, agricultural implements, etc.—this must also hold good for the horse breeder and the manufacturer of agricultural implements; and it is of no avail for Adam Smith to send us from pillar to post. Incidentally, the example of the farmer is peculiarly unhappily chosen for sending us from pillar to post, for in this case the ITEMS of constant capital include one that does not at all need to be bought from SOMEBODY ELSE, namely the seed; and does this constituent part of the value resolve itself into wages, profit or rent for ANYBODY?

But for the present let us proceed, and see whether Smith sticks to his view that the value of every commodity is resolvable into one or all of the sources of revenue: wages, profit, rent; and can therefore, being destined for consumption, be devoured or at any rate used up in one way or another for personal use (not industrial consumption). *D'abord* [VI-267] another preliminary point. In the case for example of gathering berries and such like it can be assumed that their value consists entirely of wages, although here also as a rule some appliances, such as baskets and so on, are required as means of labour. But examples of this kind are quite irrelevant here, where we are dealing with capitalist production.

To start with, once more the repetition of the view expressed in Book I, Chapter VI;

*B. II, Ch. II,* (Garnier, Vol. II, p. 212) states:

"It has been shown ... that the price of the greater part of commodities resolves itself into three parts, of which one pays the wages of the labour, another the profits of the stock, and a third the rent of the land" [Vol. II, pp. 17-18].

According to this, the whole value of any commodity resolves itself into revenue, and therefore falls to the share of one or

[a] Corn.— *Ed.*

another of the classes which live on this revenue, as a fund for consumption. Now since the total production of a country, each year for example, consists solely of the total of the values of the commodities produced, and since the value of each single one of these commodities is resolved into revenues, so also must their sum, the annual product of labour, the gross revenue, be consumable annually in this form.[257] And so immediately after this passage Smith himself raises the point:

"Since this is the case, it has been observed, with regard to every particular commodity, taken separately, it must be so with regard to *all* the commodities which compose the whole annual produce of the land and labour of every country, taken complexly. The *whole price* or *exchangeable value* of the annual produce, must resolve itself into the same three parts, and be parcelled out among the different inhabitants of the country, either as the wages of their labour, the profits of their stock, or the rent of their land" ([Garnier,] l.c., p. 213) [Vol. II, p. 18].

This is IN FACT the necessary consequence. What is true of the individual commodity is necessarily true of the total sum of commodities. But *quod non*,[a] says Adam. He goes on:

"But though the whole value of the annual produce of the land and labour of every country is thus divided among, and constitutes a revenue to, its different inhabitants; yet, as in the rent of a private estate, we distinguish between the *gross rent* and the *neat rent*, so may we likewise in the revenue of *all the inhabitants* of a great country" [Garnier, l. c., p. 213] [Vol. II, p. 18].

(*Halt la*![b] Above he told us the direct opposite: in the case of the individual farmer we can distinguish a 4th part into which the value of his wheat for example resolves itself, namely the part which merely replaces the constant capital used up. This is *directly* true for the individual farmer. But when we go further into it, what is constant capital for him resolves itself at an earlier point, in another person's hand before it became capital in his, into wages, profit, etc., in a word into revenue. Therefore if it is true that commodities, considered in the hands of an individual producer, contain one part of the value which does not form revenue, then it is untrue for "all the inhabitants of a great country", because what in one person's hand is constant capital derives its value from the fact that it came from another person's hand as the aggregate price of wages, profit and rent. Now he says the direct opposite.)

Adam Smith continues:

[VI-268] "The *gross* rent of a private estate comprehends whatever is paid by the farmer; the *neat rent*, what remains free *to the landlord*, after deducting the

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[a] Not so.— *Ed.*

[b] But stop.— *Ed.*

expense of management, of repairs, and all other necessary charges; or what, without hurting his estate, he can afford to place in his stock reserved for immediate consumption, or to spend upon his table", etc. "His real wealth is in proportion, not to his *gross*, but to his *neat* rent" [Garnier, pp. 213-14] [Vol. II, pp. 18-19].

(In the first place, Smith brings in here something improper. What the farmer pays as rent to the landowner, just as what he pays as wages to the labourers, is like his own profit, part of the value or price of the commodity, which resolves itself into revenue. The question is however whether the commodity contains yet another constituent part of its value. He admits this here, as he should admit it in the case of the farmer, but that should not prevent the latter's corn (i.e., the price *or* exchange value of his corn) from being resolvable merely into revenue. Secondly, a note in passing. The real wealth of which an individual farmer, considered *as a farmer*, can dispose, depends on his profit. But on the other hand, as owner of commodities he can sell the whole farm, or if the land does not belong to him, he can sell all constant capital there is on it such as draught cattle, agricultural implements, etc. The value which he can realise in this way, therefore the wealth at his disposal, is conditioned by the value, that is the size of the constant capital belonging to him. However, he can only sell this again to another farmer, in whose hands it is not disposable wealth but constant capital.) //So we are still just where we were.//

"The *gross* revenue of all the inhabitants of a great country comprehends the *whole* annual produce of their land and labour"

(previously we were told that this total (its value) resolves itself into wages, profits and rents, nothing but different forms of net revenue);

"the *neat* revenue, what remains free to them, after deducting the expense of maintaining, first, their *fixed*, and, secondly, their *circulating capital*";

(so he now deducts instruments of labour and raw materials);

"or what, without encroaching upon their capital, they can place in their *stock reserved for consumption*".

(So now we learn that the price or exchangeable value of the total stock of commodities, just as in the case of the individual capitalist, so also for the whole country, is resolvable into a fourth part which does not form a revenue for anyone and cannot be resolved into wages, profit or rent.)

"The whole expense of maintaining the *fixed capital* must evidently be excluded from the *neat* revenue of the society. Neither *the materials necessary* for supporting

their useful machines and instruments of trade, their profitable buildings, etc., nor the *produce of the labour necessary* for fashioning those materials into the proper form, can ever make any part of it. The *price of that labour* may indeed make a part of it; as the workmen so employed may place *the whole value* [VI-269] *of their wages* in their *stock reserved for consumption.* But in other sorts of labour, both the price and the produce go to this or that stock; the price to that of the workmen, the produce to that of other people, whose subsistence, conveniences, and amusements, are augmented by the labour of those workmen" ([Garnier,] l.c., pp. 214-15) [Vol. II, pp. 19-20]. All the same, nearer the right view than the others.[a]

Here Adam Smith once more shies away from the question which he has to answer—the question concerning the fourth part of the total price of the commodity, which is not resolved into either wages, profit or rent. First something that is quite wrong: with makers of machinery, as with all other industrial capitalists, the labour which fashions the raw materials of the machine, etc., into the proper form in fact consists of necessary and surplus labour, and therefore resolves itself not only into the wages of the workmen, but also into the profit of the capitalist. But the value of the materials and the value of the instruments with which they are fashioned by the workmen into the proper form, is resolvable into neither the one nor the other. That products which are destined by their nature not for individual consumption but for industrial consumption do not enter into the stock reserved for immediate consumption, has nothing at all to do with it. Seed, for example (that portion of the corn which serves for sowing), by its nature could also enter into the stock for consumption; but by its economic function it must enter into the stock for production. But furthermore it is quite wrong to say with regard to the products destined for individual consumption that both the full price and the product enter into the *stock for consumption.* Linen, for example, when not used for sail-cloth or other productive purposes, all goes as a product into consumption. But not its price, for one part of this price replaces the linen yarn, another part looms and so on, and only a part of the price of the linen is converted into revenue of any kind.

Just now Adam told us that the materials necessary for machines, profitable buildings, etc. "can never make any part of this *neat* revenue", any more than the machines and so on fashioned from them can; presumably, therefore, they form a part of the gross revenue. Shortly afterwards, l.c., Book II, Chapter II, p. 220, he says on the contrary:

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[a] This sentence was added by Marx in pencil.—*Ed.*

"The machines and instruments of trade, etc., which compose the *fixed capital* either of an individual or of a society, make no part *either of the gross or of the neat revenue* of either; so money etc...." [Garnier] [Vol. II, p. 23].

Adam's twistings and turnings, his contradictions and wanderings from the point, prove that, once he had made wages, profit and rent the constituent component parts of exchangeable value or of the total price of the product, he had got himself stuck in the mud and had to get stuck.[a]

Say, who tries to hide his dull superficiality by repeating in absolute general phrases Smith's inconsistencies and blunders, says:

"If we consider a nation as a whole, it has no net product; for since the *products* have only a value equal to the *costs* of their production, when these *costs* are deducted, the whole *value* of the *products* is deducted.... The *annual revenue* is the *gross revenue*" (*Traité d'économie politique...*, 3rd ed., Vol. II, Paris, 1817, p. 469).

The value of the total annual products is equal to the quantity of labour time materialised in them. [VI-270] If this aggregate value is deducted from the annual product, then in fact, so far as value is concerned, there remains no value, and by this deduction both the net revenue and the gross revenue have come to a final end. But Say thinks that the annually produced[b] values are annually consumed. Hence for the whole nation there is no net product, but only a gross product. In the first place, it is not true that the annually produced[b] values are annually consumed. This is not the case for a large part of the fixed capital. A large part of the annually produced values enters into the labour process without entering into the valorisation process, i.e., without their total value being annually consumed. But in the second place: a part of the annual consumption of values consists of values that are used not as the stock for consumption, but as MEANS OF PRODUCTION, and which are returned to production (either in the same form or in the form of an equivalent), just as they originated in production. The second part consists of the values which can enter into individual consumption over and above the first part. These form the net product.[258]

Storch says of this trash of Say's:

"It is evident that the value of the annual product is divided partly into capital and partly into profits, and that each *of these parts of the value of the annual product goes regularly to purchase the product needed by the nation*, as much for the purpose of preserving its capital as for renewing its consumable stock" (Storch, *Cours*

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[a] See this volume, p. 405.— *Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript the word "producirten" (produced) was substituted in pencil, presumably by Engels, for the original "consumirten" (consumed).— *Ed.*

*d'économie politique*, Vol. V: *Considérations sur la nature du revenu national*, Paris, 1824,[259] pp. 134-35).[a] "Let us then imagine a family which through its own labour is self-sufficing in all its needs, such as there are so many examples of in Russia ... is the *revenue* of such a family equal to the gross product coming from its land, its capital and its industry? Can it live in its barns or its stables, eat its seed and forage, clothe itself with its labouring cattle, amuse itself with its agricultural implements? According to Mr. Say's thesis, all these questions would have to be answered in the affirmative" (l.c., pp. 135-36).[b] "Say regards the gross product as the revenue of society; and from this he concludes that society can consume a value equal to this product" (l.c., p. 145).[b] "The (net) revenue of a nation is not the excess of values produced over *the totality of values consumed*, as Say imagines it to be, but only over the *values consumed in order to produce*. Therefore, if a nation consumes all this excess in the year it is produced, it consumes all its (net) revenue" (l.c., p. 146).[b] "If it is admitted that the revenue of a nation is equal to its gross product, so that no *capital* is to be deducted, then it must also be admitted that this nation may consume unproductively the entire value of its annual product, without in the least reducing its future revenue" (l.c., [p.] 147).[a] "*The products which represent the capital of a nation are not consumable*" (*l.c., p. 150*) (constant capital).[c]

*Ramsay (George)—An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth* (Edinburgh, 1836)—remarks on the same subject, namely, Adam Smith's fourth part of the total price, or what I call constant capital as distinct from the capital laid out in wages:

[VI-271] "Ricardo," he says, "overlooks the fact that the whole product is not only divided up between WAGES and PROFIT, but that a part of it is also NECESSARY FOR REPLACING FIXED CAPITAL" (p. 174, note).[260]

By "FIXED CAPITAL" Ramsay in fact means not only instruments of production, etc., but also the raw material—in short, what I call constant capital within each sphere of production. When Ricardo speaks of the division of the product into profit and wages, he always assumes that the capital advanced to production itself and consumed in it has been deducted. Nevertheless, on the main issue Ramsay is right. Because Ricardo does not make any further examination at all of the constant part of capital, and pays no attention to it, he makes gross errors and in particular confuses profit with surplus value, besides errors in investigating oscillations in the rate of profit etc.

Let us hear now what Ramsay himself says:

"In what manner is a comparison to be instituted between the product and the *stock expended upon it?... In regard to a whole nation ... it is evident that all the various elements of the stock expended must be reproduced in some employment or another, otherwise the industry of the country could not go on as formerly. The

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[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes partly in German and partly in French.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx added the words "constant capital", in pencil, thus correcting Storch's inaccuracy. Marx quoted Storch in French.—*Ed.*

raw material of manufactures, the implements used in them, as also in agriculture, the extensive machinery engaged in the former, the buildings necessary for fabricating or storing the produce, must all be parts of the total return of a country, as well as of the advances of all its master-capitalists. Therefore, the quantity of the former may be compared with that of the latter, each article being supposed placed as it were beside that of a similar kind"* (Ramsay, l.c., pp. 137-39). "Now as regards the individual capitalist, since he does not *replace* his outgoings IN KIND, by far the GREATER NUMBER must be obtained by EXCHANGE, A CERTAIN PORTION OF THE PRODUCT BEING NECESSARY FOR THIS PURPOSE. Hence each INDIVIDUAL MASTER-CAPITALIST COMES TO LOOK MUCH MORE TO THE EXCHANGEABLE VALUE OF THE PRODUCT THAN TO ITS QUANTITY" (l.c., [pp.] 145-46).[a] *"The more the *value* of *the product* exceeds the *value of the capital* advanced, the greater will be the profit. Thus, then, will he estimate it, by comparing value with value, not quantity with quantity.... Profit must rise or fall exactly as the proportion of the gross produce, or of its *value*, required to *replace necessary advances*, falls or rises.* The RATE OF PROFIT therefore depends UPON TWO CIRCUMSTANCES; 1) *the proportion of the whole produce which goes to the labourers; secondly, the proportion which must be set apart for replacing, either in kind or by exchange, the fixed capital"* (l.c. [pp.] 146-48, passim).[a]

(What Ramsay here says on the rate of profit has to be considered in Chapter III, on profit.[261] It is important that he rightly lays stress on this element. On the one hand what Ricardo says is correct—that the cheapening of commodities which form constant capital (which Ramsay calls fixed capital) always depreciates a part of the existing capital. This is especially true of fixed capital proper—machinery, etc. It is of no advantage to the individual capitalist that the surplus value rises in relation to the total capital, if the rise in this rate has been due to a fall in the total value of his constant capital (which he already had before the depreciation). But this is true only to a very small extent for that part of the capital which consists of raw materials or finished commodities (which do not form part of the fixed capital). The existing amount of these that can be depreciated in this way is always only an insignificant magnitude compared with the total production. It holds good for each capitalist only to a slight extent for the part of his capital expended as circulating capital. On the other hand—since the profit=the proportion of the surplus value to the total advanced capital, and since the quantity of labour that can be absorbed depends not on the value but on the quantity of raw materials and on the EFFICIENCY of the means of production—not on their exchange value but on their use value—it is clear that the greater the productivity of industry in the branches whose [VI-272] product enters into the formation of constant capital, the smaller the outlay of constant capital required

[a] Marx quotes Ramsay with slight changes and additions.— *Ed.*

to produce a given quantity of surplus value; consequently the greater the proportion of this surplus value to the whole advanced capital, and therefore the higher the rate of profit for a given amount of surplus value.)

(What Ramsay considers doubly—replacement of product by product in the process of reproduction for the whole country, and replacement of value by value for the individual capitalist—are two aspects, both of which, in relation to the individual capital, must be taken into account in the *circulation process of capital, which is at the same time its reproduction process.*)[262]

Ramsay did not solve the real difficulty which occupied Adam Smith's attention and entangled him in all kinds of contradictions. Put plainly, it is this: The whole capital (as value) resolves itself into labour, is nothing but a certain quantity of objectified labour. The paid labour, however, is equal to the wages of the labourers, the unpaid labour is equal to the capitalists' profit. So the whole capital must be resolvable, directly or indirectly, into wages and profit. Or is labour somewhere performed which consists neither of wages nor profit, and merely has the purpose of replacing the values used up in production which are, however, the conditions of reproduction? But who performs this labour, since all labour performed by the labourer is resolved into two quantities, one which maintains his own capacity to produce, and the other which forms the profit of capital?

### [INQUIRY INTO HOW IT IS POSSIBLE FOR THE ANNUAL PROFIT AND WAGES TO BUY THE ANNUAL COMMODITIES, WHICH BESIDES PROFIT AND WAGES ALSO CONTAIN CONSTANT CAPITAL]

To rid the problem of any spurious admixture, there is one more point to mention at the outset. When the capitalist transforms a part of his profit, of his revenue, into capital—into means of labour and materials of labour—both are paid for by that part of the labour which the labourer has performed gratis for the capitalist. Here we have a new quantity of labour forming the equivalent for a new quantity of commodities, commodities which as use values consist of means of labour and materials of labour. This therefore enters into the accumulation of capital and presents no difficulty; we have here the growth of the constant capital beyond its previous limits, or the formation of new constant capital in excess of the amount of constant capital that already exists and must be replaced. The difficulty is the reproduction of the *existing* constant capital, not the formation of new constant

capital in excess of what has to be reproduced. The new constant capital obviously originates in profit, and has existed for a moment in the form of revenue which is later transformed into capital. This part of the profit consists of the surplus labour time, which, even without the existence of capital, must constantly be performed by society, in order to have at its disposal, so to speak, a fund for development, which the very increase of population makes necessary.

(There is a good explanation of constant capital, but only in so far as concerns its use value, in Ramsay, l.c., p. 166, which runs:

*"Be the amount of the gross return"* (of the FARMER, for example) *"small or great, the quantity of it required for replacing what has been consumed in these different forms, can undergo no alteration whatever. This quantity must be considered as *constant*, so long as production is carried on the same scale."*)

So we must first start from the FACT: new formation of constant capital—as distinct from the reproduction of the existing constant capital—flows from profit as its source; that is, assuming on the one hand that the wages only suffice for the reproduction of labour capacity, and on the other that the whole surplus value is embraced under the category "profit", since it is the industrial capitalist who *directly appropriates* the whole surplus value, [irrespective of] to whom and where he has to surrender some of it later.

("THE MASTER-CAPITALIST IS THE GENERAL DISTRIBUTOR OF WEALTH who undertakes to pay to the LABOURERS, the WAGES—to the (MONEYED) CAPITALIST, the interest—to the proprietor, the rent of his land" (Ramsay, [l.c.], p. 218-[19]).[263]

[In calling the whole] surplus value profit, we regard the capitalist: 1) *as the person who immediately appropriates the whole surplus value created; 2) as the distributor of that surplus value between himself, the moneyed capitalist, and the proprietor of the soil.*)

[VII-273] That this new constant capital arises from profit however means nothing but that it is due to a part of the surplus labour of the labourers. Just as the savage, in addition to the time he needs for hunting, must necessarily use some time for making his bow; or just as in patriarchal agriculture, the peasant, in addition to the time spent in tilling the soil, must use a certain quantity of labour time in producing most of his implements.

But the question here is: Who is it that labours in order to replace the equivalent of the constant capital already expended in production? The part of the labour which the labourer performs for himself replaces his wages, or, considered in relation to the

whole of production, creates his wages. On the other hand, his surplus labour which forms the profit is in part a consumption fund for the capitalist, and in part is transformed into additional capital. But the capitalist does not replace the capital already used up in his own production out of this surplus labour or profit. But the necessary labour which forms the wages and the surplus labour which forms the profit make up the whole working day, and no other labour is performed in addition to these. (The contingency of the capitalist's LABOUR OF SUPERINTENDENCE is included in wages. In this aspect he is the wage worker, even though not of another capitalist, yet of his own capital.) What then is the source, the labour, that replaces the constant capital?

The part of the capital expended in wages is replaced (leaving surplus labour out of account) by new production. The labourer consumes the wages, but he adds as much new labour as he has destroyed of old labour; and if we consider the whole working class, without allowing the division of labour to confuse us, he reproduces not only the same value but the same use values, so that, according to the productivity of his labour, the same value, the same quantity of labour, is reproduced in a greater or smaller quantity of these same use values.

If we take society at any one moment, there exists simultaneously in all spheres of production, even though in very different proportions, a definite constant capital—presupposed as a condition of production—that once for all belongs to production and must be given back to it, as seed must be given back to the land. It is true that the *value* of this constant part can fall or rise, depending on whether the commodities of which it is composed have to be reproduced at less or greater cost. This *change in value*, however, never alters the fact that in the process of production, into which it enters as a condition of production, it is a postulated value which must reappear in the value of the product. Therefore this change of value of the constant capital can here be ignored. In all circumstances it is a definite quantity of *past, objectified* labour, which passes into the value of the product as a determining factor. In order to bring out more clearly the nature of the problem, let us therefore assume that the production costs[264] or the value of the constant part of the capital similarly remain unchanged, remain constant. It also makes no difference that for example the whole value of the constant capital may not pass into the products in a single year, but, as is the case with fixed capital, only passes into the aggregate products of a series of years. For the question here centres on that part of the constant

capital which is actually consumed within the year, and therefore also must be replaced within the year.

The question of the reproduction of the constant capital clearly belongs to the section on the reproduction process or circulation process of capital[265]—which however is no reason why the kernel of the matter should not be examined here.

[VII-274] Let us first take the labourer's wages. He receives, then, a certain sum of money in which say 10 hours' labour are materialised, if he works 12 hours for the capitalist. These wages are converted into means of subsistence. These means of subsistence are all commodities. Assume that the price of these commodities is equal to their value. But in the value of these commodities there is one component part which covers the value of the raw materials they contain and the means of production used up in them. All the component parts of the value of these commodities taken together, contain, however, like the wages spent by the labourer, only 10 hours' labour. Let us assume that $^2/_3$ of the value of these commodities consists of the value of the constant capital they contain, and $^1/_3$, on the other hand, of the labour which has finally made the product into a finished article for consumption. Thus the labourer, with his 10 hours of living labour, replaces $^2/_3$ of constant capital and $^1/_3$ of living labour (added to the article in the course of the year). If there were no constant capital in the means of subsistence, the commodities, which he buys, the raw material in them would have cost nothing, and no instrument of labour would have been required to make them. In that case there are two possibilities. Either the commodities, as before, would contain 10 hours' labour; then the labourer replaces 10 hours' living labour by 10 hours' living labour. Or the same quantity of use values into which his wages are converted and which he needed for the reproduction of his labour capacity would have cost only $3\,^1/_3$ hours' labour (with NO instrument of labour and no raw material which is itself a product of labour). In this case the labourer has only to perform $3\,^1/_3$ hours' necessary labour, and his wages would in fact fall to $3\,^1/_3$ [hours'] objectified labour time.

Let us assume that the commodity is linen: 12 yards (the actual price does not matter here)=36s. or £1 16s. Of this, let $^1/_3$ be labour added, $^2/_3$ for raw material (yarn) and wear and tear of machinery. Let the necessary labour time=10 hours; the surplus labour therefore=2. Let one hour's labour, expressed in money=1s. In this case the 12 hours' labour=12s., wages=10s., profit=2s. Let us assume that labourer and capitalist spent the

whole of their wages and profit, that is 12 s. (the total value that has been added to the raw material and machinery, the whole quantity of new labour time materialised in the transformation of yarn into linen), on linen itself as a consumption article. (And it is possible that subsequently more than one labour day will be spent on their own product.) A yard of linen costs 3s. With the 12s. labourer and capitalist together—adding wages and profit together—can only buy 4 yards of linen. These 4 yards of linen contain 12 hours' labour, of which however only 4 are newly-added labour, 8 representing the labour realised in the constant capital. With the 12 hours' labour wages and profit together buy only $^1/_3$ of their total product, because $^2/_3$ of this total product consist of constant capital. The 12 hours' labour are divisible into 4+8, of which 4 replace themselves, while 8—independently of the labour added in the weaving process—replace such labour as entered into the weaving process in already materialised form, as yarn and machinery.

In regard to that part of the product, of the commodity, which exchanges against or is bought by wages and profit as an article of consumption (or for any other purpose, even reproduction, for the purpose for which the commodity is bought makes no difference to the transaction), it is therefore clear that the part of the value of the product which is formed by the constant capital is paid for from the fund of newly-added labour, which is resolved into wages and profit. How much or how little of constant capital and how much or how little of the labour added in the last production process is bought by wages and profit combined, in what proportions the labour most recently added and in what proportions the labour realised in constant capital is paid for, depends on the original proportion in which they entered as component parts of value into the finished commodity. To simplify matters we assume the proportion of $^2/_3$ labour realised in constant capital to $^1/_3$ newly-added labour.

[VII-275] Now two things are clear:

*First.* The proportion we have assumed in the case of the linen—i.e., in the case where labourer and capitalist realise wages and profit in the commodities they have themselves produced, when they buy back a part of their product—this proportion remains the same when they expend the same quantity of value on other products. On the assumption that every commodity contains $^2/_3$ of constant capital and $^1/_3$ most recently added labour, wages and profit together could always only purchase $^1/_3$ of the product. The 12 hours' labour time=4 yards of linen. If these 4 yards of linen are

transformed into money, then they exist as 12s. If these 12s. are retransformed into some commodity other than linen, they buy a commodity of the value of 12 hours' labour, of which 4 are most recently added labour, 8 labour realised in constant capital. Consequently, this proportion holds good generally provided the other commodities contain the same original proportion of labour most recently added and of labour realised in constant capital as linen.

*Secondly.* If the daily most recently added labour=12 hours, of these 12 hours only 4 replace themselves—i.e., the living, most recently added labour; while 8 pay for the labour realised in the constant capital. But who pays for the 8 hours of living labour which are not replaced by living labour? It is precisely the 8 hours of realised labour contained in the constant capital that are exchanged for the 8 hours of living labour.

There is not the slightest doubt, therefore, that the part of the finished commodity which is bought by wages and profit combined—which together however are nothing but the total quantity of labour most recently added to the constant capital—is replaced in all its elements: the most recently added labour contained in this part as well as the quantity of labour contained in the constant capital. Further, there is not the slightest doubt that the labour contained in the constant capital has here received its equivalent from the fund of living labour most recently added to it.

But now comes the difficulty. The *total product* of the 12 hours of weaving labour, and this product is absolutely different from what this weaving labour has itself produced,=12 yards of linen, of the value of 36 hours' labour or 36s. But wages and profit together, or the total labour time of 12 hours can buy back *only* 12 of these 36 hours' labour, or of the total product only 4 yards, not a piece more. What happens to the other 8 yards? (Forcade, Proudhon.[a])

First we note than the 8 yards represent nothing but the constant capital advanced. It has however been given a changed form of use value. It exists as a new product, no longer as yarn, loom, etc., but as linen. These 8 yards of linen, just like the 4 others which have been bought by wages and profit, contain—considered as value—$^1/_3$ labour added in the weaving process, and $^2/_3$ pre-existing labour materialised in the constant capital. In the

[a] The names of Forcade and Proudhon were added by Marx in pencil in the manuscript. The reference is to Notebook V of the 1861-1863 manuscript (see this volume, pp. 345-46).— *Ed.*

case of the 4 yards previously discussed $^1/_3$ of the newly-added labour covered the weaving labour contained in these 4 yards, i.e. covered itself; $^2/_3$ of the weaving labour on the other hand covered the constant capital the 4 yards contained. But now we have it the other way round: in the 8 yards of linen, $^2/_3$ of the constant capital covers the constant capital they contain, and $^1/_3$ of the constant capital covers the newly-added labour.

What then happens to the 8 yards of linen, which have absorbed the value of the whole constant capital which has been maintained during the 12 hours' weaving labour, or which went into the production process, but is now in the form of a product destined for direct, individual (not industrial) consumption?

The 8 yards belong to the capitalist. Were he to consume them himself, besides the $^2/_3$ of a yard representing his profit, [VII-276] then he could not reproduce the constant capital contained in the 12 hours' weaving process; in general—with regard to the capital contained in this 12 hours' process—he is no longer able to function as a capitalist. He therefore sells the 8 yards of linen, transforming them into money to the amount of 24s. or 24 hours' labour. But here we come to the difficulty. To whom does he sell them? Into whose money does he transform them? But we shall return to this in a moment. Let us first have a look at the further process.

When he has transformed into money, sold, converted into the form of exchange value, the 8 yards of linen—i.e., the part of the value of his product which=the constant capital he advanced—he buys again with it commodities of the same kind (with regard to their use value) as those which originally composed his constant capital. He buys yarn and looms and so on. He divides the 24s. between raw materials and means of production, in the proportions in which these are required for the manufacture of new linen.

His constant capital is therefore replaced, in terms of use value, by new products of the same labour as that of which it originally consisted. The capitalist has reproduced the constant capital. This new yarn, looms, etc., however (on the assumption with which we began) likewise consist of $^2/_3$ of constant capital and $^1/_3$ of most recently added labour. While the first 4 yards of linen (most recently added labour and constant capital) have thus been paid for exclusively by newly-added labour, these 8 yards of linen are replaced by their own newly-produced elements of production, which consist partly of newly-added labour and partly of constant capital. Hence it seems that at least a part of the constant capital

exchanges for constant capital in another form. The replacement of the products is real, because at the same time as the yarn is being worked up into linen, flax is being worked up into yarn and flax seed into flax; in the same way, while the loom is wearing out, a new loom is being made; and similarly, while the latter is being manufactured, new wood and iron is being produced. The elements are produced in one sphere of production at the same time as they are being worked up in the others. But in all these *simultaneous* processes of production, although each of them represents a higher stage of the product, constant capital is simultaneously being used up in varying proportions.

*The value of the finished product, the linen, therefore resolves itself into two parts,* of which one repurchases the simultaneously produced elements of constant capital, while the other is expended on articles of consumption. For the sake of simplification no account is here taken of the retransformation of part of the profit into capital; i.e., as throughout this inquiry, it is assumed that wages+profit, or the total of the labour added to the constant capital, are consumed as revenue.

The only question left is: Who buys the part of the total product with whose value the elements of constant capital that have meanwhile been newly produced are again bought? Who buys the 8 yards of linen? We assume, in order to leave no *faux-fuyants*[a] that it is a type of linen specially intended for individual consumption, and is not, like perhaps sail-cloth, for industrial consumption. Here also the purely intermediary operations of commerce—so far as they are only mediatory—must be left completely out of account. For example, if the 8 yards of linen were sold to a merchant, and even if they pass through the hands of not 1 but 20 merchants and are 20 times bought and resold, then at the 20th time they must at last be sold by the merchant to the actual consumer, who therefore actually pays the producer or the *last,* the 20th merchant, who as far as the consumer is concerned represents the *first merchant,* i.e., the actual producer. These intermediary transactions postpone or, if you like, mediate the final transaction, but they do not explain it. The question remains exactly the same whether it is: who buys the 8 yards of linen from the linen manufacturer, or: [VII-277] who buys them from the 20th merchant into whose hand they have come through a series of exchanges?

The 8 yards of linen, just as the first 4 yards, must pass into the

[a] Loopholes.— *Ed.*

fund for consumption. That is to say, they can only be paid for out of wages and profit, for these are the only sources of revenue for the producers, who figure here as the only consumers. The 8 yards of linen contain 24 hours' labour. Let us now assume (taking 12 hours as the generally valid normal working day) that labourer and capitalist in two other branches spend their whole wages and profit on linen, as labourer and capitalist in the weaving industry have done with their whole day's labour (the labourer his 10 hours, the capitalist the 2 hours' surplus value made on his labourer, that is, on 10 hours). Then the linen weaver would have sold the 8 yards, the *value* of his constant capital for 12 yards would be replaced, and this value could again be spent on the particular commodities of which the constant capital consists, *because* these commodities, yarn, loom, etc., available on the market, have been produced at the same time as yarn and loom were being worked up into linen. *The simultaneous production* of yarn and loom as products alongside the production process into which they enter as products but from which they do not emerge as products, explains how it is that the part of the *value* of the linen=the value of the material, loom, etc., worked up into it can be again transformed into yarn, loom, etc. If this production of the elements of linen did not proceed simultaneously with the production of the linen itself, the 8 yards of linen, even when they have been sold and transformed into money, could not be retransformed once more from money into the constant elements of linen. As for example is now the case with the YARN or CLOTH of the cotton manufacturers, as a result of the American Civil War. The mere sale of their product is no guarantee for them that it will be retransformed, since there is no COTTON on the market.

On the other hand, however, although there may be new yarn, new looms, etc., on the market, and therefore production of new yarn and looms had taken place while finished yarn and finished loom were being transformed into linen—in spite of the simultaneous production of yarn and loom alongside the production of the linen—the 8 yards of linen cannot be retransformed into these material elements of constant capital for the weaving industry before they are sold, before they are converted into money. The continuous real production of the elements of linen, running side by side with the production of linen itself, therefore does not yet explain to us the reproduction of the constant capital, before we know whence comes the fund to buy the 8 yards of linen, to give them back the form of money, of independent exchange value.

In order to solve this last difficulty we have assumed that B and C—which can stand for shoemaker and butcher—have spent their total wages and profit, that is, the 24 hours' labour time which they have at their disposal, entirely on linen. And this gets us over our difficulty with A, the linen weaver. His whole product, the 12 yards of linen in which 36 hours' labour is realised, has been replaced by wages and profit alone—i.e. by the whole of the labour time newly added to the constant capital in the spheres of production A, B and C. All the labour time contained in the linen, both that already existing in its constant capital and that newly added in the weaving process, has been exchanged against labour time which did not previously exist as constant capital in any sphere of production, but which was added simultaneously to the constant capital in the 3 production spheres A, B and C, *in the last stage* [*of production*].

Though therefore it is still wrong to say that the original value of the linen was composed of wages and profit alone—since however it was made up of the value=the total of wages and profit=12 hours' weaving, and the 24 hours' labour which, independently of the weaving process, was contained in the yarn, loom, in a word, the constant capital—it would on the other hand be correct to say that the equivalent of the 12 yards of linen, the 36s. for which they have been sold, is composed of wages and profit alone; that is, not only the weaving labour but also the labour contained in yarn and loom are replaced entirely by newly-added labour, namely 12 hours' labour in A, 12 hours in B and 12 hours in C.

The value of the commodity sold is itself divided [VII-278] into newly-added labour (wages and profit) and pre-existing labour (value of the constant capital); that is the value for the seller (IN FACT [the value] of the commodity). On the other hand, the purchasing value, the equivalent given by the buyer to the seller,[a] is made up entirely of newly-added labour, wages and profit. But as every commodity, before it is sold, is a commodity for sale and becomes money through a mere change of form, so every commodity, after it has been sold, would be made up of other component parts of value than it is composed of as a buying commodity (as money), which is absurd. Further: the labour performed by society for example in one year would not only cover itself—so that if the total quantity of commodities is divided

[a] In the manuscript the words "the buyer to the seller" were substituted in pencil, presumably by Engels, for "the seller to the buyer".—*Ed.*

into two equal parts, one half of the year's labour would form an equivalent for the other half—but $^1/_3$ of the labour, which forms the current year's labour in the total labour contained in the annual product, would cover $^3/_3$ of the labour, would be equal to a magnitude 3 times greater than itself. This is still more absurd.

In the above example we have SHIFTED the difficulty, pushed it on from A to B and C. But this has only increased the difficulty, not made it simpler. *In the first place*, in dealing with A we had the way out that 4 yards, containing as much labour time as had been added to the yarn, that is, the total wages and profit in A, were consumed in linen itself, in the product of A's own labour. With B and C this is not the case, since they consume the total labour time added by them, their total wages and profit, in the product of sphere A, in linen, and so not in the product of B or C. They have therefore to sell not only the part of their product representing the 24 hours' labour of constant capital, but also the part of their product which represents the 12 hours' labour newly added to the constant capital. B must sell 36 hours' labour, not only 24 like A. C is in same position as B. *Secondly*, in order to sell A's constant capital, to get it off his hands and transform it into money, we need the whole most recently added labour not only of B but also of C. *Thirdly*, B and C cannot sell any part of their product to A, since the whole part of A which constitutes revenue has already been expended in A itself by the producers of A. Nor can they replace the constant part of A by any part of their own product, since on the assumption we have made their products are not production elements for A but commodities which enter into individual consumption. The difficulty increases at each further step.

In order to exchange the 36 hours contained in A's product (that is, $^2/_3$ or 24 hours in constant capital, $^1/_3$ or 12 hours in newly-added labour) entirely for labour added to constant capital, A's wages and profit—the 12 hours' labour added in A—had to consume $^1/_3$ of the product of A itself. The other $^2/_3$ of the total product=24 hours represented the value contained in the constant capital. This value was exchanged for the total quantity of wages and profit or newly-added labour in B and C. But in order that B and C should be able, with the 24 hours in their products that make up their wages [and profit], to buy linen, they must sell these 24 hours in the form of their own products—and in addition to replace the constant capital they must sell 48 hours of their own products. They have therefore to sell products of B and C to the

amount of 72 hours, in exchange for the total quantity of profit and wages in the other spheres D, E, etc.; and this means (with a normal 12 hours' day) that 12×6 hours (=72) or the labour added in 6 other spheres of production must be realised in the products B and C; [VII-279] that is, the profit and wages or the total labour added to their respective constant capital in D, E, F, G, H, I.

In these circumstances the value of the total product of B+C would be paid for entirely in newly-added labour, that is, the aggregate wages and profit, in production spheres D, E, F, G, H, I. But in these 6 spheres the total produce would then have to be sold (since no part of these products would be consumed by their producers themselves, as they have already put their whole revenue into products B and C), and no part of it could be accounted for within their own spheres; that is, the product of 6×36 hours' labour=216, of which 144 represent constant capital and 72 (6×12) newly-added labour. Now in order in turn to transform the products of D, etc., similarly into wages and profit, i.e., into newly-added labour, all the newly-added labour in the 18 spheres $K^1$—$K^{18}$, i.e., the total sum of wages and profit in these 18 spheres, must be entirely expended on the products of spheres D, E, F, G, H, I. These 18 spheres $K^1$—$K^{18}$ would have to sell—since they consumed none of their products themselves, but had already spent their entire revenue in the 6 spheres D—I—18×36 hours' labour or 648 hours' labour, of which 18×12 or 216 are in most recently added labour, and 432 in labour contained in the constant capital. In order therefore to transform this total product of $K^1$—$K^{18}$ into the labour added or total wages and profit in other spheres, the labour added in the spheres $L^1$—$L^{54}$ would be required; that is to say, 12×54=648 hours' labour. Spheres $L^1$—$L^{54}$, in order to exchange their total product=1,944 hours (of which 648=12×54=newly-added labour and 1,296 hours' labour=the labour contained in the constant capital) for newly-added labour, would have to absorb the newly-added labour of spheres $M^1$—$M^{162}$, for 162×12=1,944; these in their turn must absorb the newly-added labour of spheres $N^1$—$N^{486}$ and so on.

This is the beautiful progression *in infinitum* which we arrive at if all products are resolved into wages and profit, newly-added labour—if not only the labour added in the commodity but also its constant capital have to be paid for by newly-added labour in another sphere of production.

In order to convert the labour time contained in product A, 36 hours ($^1/_3$ newly-added labour, $^2/_3$ constant capital), into

newly-added labour, i.e., to have it paid for by wages and profit, we at first assumed that $^1/_3$ of the product (whose value=the total of wages+profit) was consumed or bought—which is the same thing—by the producers of A themselves. This was the progress[266]:

1) *Production sphere A.* Product=*36* hours' labour. 24 hours' labour, constant capital. 12 hours' labour, newly added. $^1/_3$ of the product consumed by the SHAREHOLDERS of the 12 hours, wages and profit, labourer and capitalist. There remain to be sold $^2/_3$ of the product of A, equivalent to the 24 hours' labour contained in the constant capital.

2) *Production spheres* $B^1$—$B^2$. Product=*72* hours' labour; of which *24* labour added, 48 constant capital. They buy with it the $^2/_3$ of A's product, replacing the value of A's constant capital. But they have now to sell the 72 hours' labour, of which the value of their total product consists.

3) *Production spheres* $C^1$—$C^6$. Product=*216* hours' labour; of which *72* added labour (wages and profit). They buy with it the entire product of $B^1$—$B^2$. But they have now to sell 216, of which 144 are constant capital.

[VII-280] 4) *Production spheres* $D^1$—$D^{18}$. Product=648 hours' labour, 216 labour added, and 432 constant capital. With the labour added they buy the total product of production spheres $C^1$—$C^6$=216. But they have to sell 648.

5) *Production spheres* $E^1$—$E^{54}$. *Product*=1,944 hours' labour; 648 labour added and 1,296 constant capital. They buy the total product of production spheres $D^{1-18}$. But they have to sell 1,944.

6) *Production spheres* $F^1$—$F^{162}$. *Product*=5,832 of which 1,944 added labour and 3,888 constant capital. With the 1,944 they buy the product of $E^1$—$E^{54}$. They have to sell 5,832.

7) *Production spheres* $G^1$—$G^{486}$.

In order to simplify the problem, only one working day of 12 hours is assumed throughout, in every production sphere, divided between capitalist and labourer. It does not solve the problem to increase the number of working days, but complicates it needlessly.

So, to get a clearer picture of the law of this series[267]:

1) *A. Product*=36 hrs. Constant capital=24 hrs. *Total of wages and profit* or *newly-added labour*=12 hrs. The latter is consumed by capital and labour in the form of the product of A itself.

A's product to be sold, equal to its constant capital, =24 hrs.

2) $B^1$—$B^2$. We need here 2 days' labour, that is, 2 production spheres, to pay for A's 24 hrs.

Product=2×36, or 72 hrs, of which 24 hrs labour and 48 constant capital.

Product of $B^1$ and $B^2$ to be sold=72 hours' labour, no part of it consumed in their own spheres.

6) $C^1$—$C^6$. We need here 6 days' labour, because 72=12×6, and the total product of $B^1$—$B^2$ has to be consumed by the labour added in $C^1$—$C^6$. Product=6×36=216 hours' labour, of which 72 newly added, 144 constant capital.

18) $D^1$—$D^{18}$. We need here 18 days' labour, because 216=12×18; so, since there is $^2/_3$ constant capital per day's labour, 18×36 is the total product=648 (432 constant capital).

And so on.

The figures 1, 2, [etc.] placed at the beginning of paragraphs signify the working days or the different kinds of labour in different production spheres, as we assumed 1 working day in each sphere.

Therefore: 1) *A. Product=36* hrs. Added labour *12* hrs. *Product to be sold* (constant capital)=24 hrs.

Or:

1) *A. Product to be sold* or *constant capital*=24 hrs. Total product 36 hrs. *Labour* added *12 hrs. Consumed in A itself.*

2) $B^1$—$B^2$. Buys with added labour=24 hrs A. *Constant capital* 48 hrs. *Total product* 72 hrs.

6) $C^1$—$C^6$. Buys with added labour *72* hrs $B^1$—$B^2$(=12×6). *Constant capital* 144, total product=216, etc.

[VII-281] Therefore:

1) *A*. Product=3 working days (36 hrs). 12 hrs added labour. *24 hrs* constant capital.

2) $B^{1\text{-}2}$. Product=2×3=6 working days (*72 hrs*). Added labour=12×2=*24 hrs. Constant capital*=48=2×24 hrs.

6) $C^{1\text{-}6}$. *Product*=3×6 working days=3×72 hrs=216 hours' labour. *Added labour=6×12*=72 hours' labour. *Constant capital*=2×72=144.

18) $D^{1\text{-}18}$. *Product*=3×3×6 working days=3×18 working days =54 working days=648 hours' labour. Added labour=12×18=*216. Constant capital*=432 hours' labour.

54) $E^{1\text{-}54}$. *Product*=3×54 working days=162 working days=1,944 hours' labour. Added labour=54 working days=648 hours' labour; 1,296 constant capital.

162) $F^1$—$F^{162}$. *Product*=3×162 [=] 486 working days=5,832 hours' labour, of which 162 working days or 1,944 hours' labour are added labour, and 3,888 constant capital.

486) $G^{1\text{-}486}$. *Product=3×486 working days*, of which 486 working

days or 5,832 hours' labour are labour added, and 11,664 constant capital etc.

Here we would already have the goodly total of 1+2+6+18+54+162+486 different working days in different production spheres=729 different production spheres, which already implies a considerably ramified society.

In order to sell the total product of A (where only 12 hours' labour=1 working day is added to the constant capital of 2 working days, and wages and profit consume their own product), that is, only the 24 hours' constant capital—and moreover to sell it again entirely for newly-added labour, for wages and profit—we need 2 working days in $B^1$ and $B^2$; which however require a constant capital of 4 working days, so that the total product of $B^{1-2}$=6 working days. These must be *all* sold, because *from here on* it is assumed that each subsequent sphere does not consume any of its own product, but spends its profit and wages only on the product of the preceding sphere. In order to replace these 6 working days of the product of $B^{1-2}$, 6 working days are necessary, which however presuppose a constant capital of 12 working days. The total product of $C^{1-6}$ therefore=18 working days. In order to replace these by labour, 18 working days $D^{1-18}$ are necessary, which however presuppose a constant capital of 36 working days; so that the product=54 working days. To replace these, 54 working days are needed, $E^{1-54}$, which presuppose a constant capital of 108. Product=162 working days. Finally, to replace these, 162 working days are needed, which however presuppose a constant capital of 324 working days; that is, total product 486 working days, etc. This is $F^1$—$F^{162}$. Finally, to replace this product of $F^{1-162}$, we need 486 working days ($G^{1-486}$), which however presuppose a constant capital of 972 working days. So the total product of $G^{1-486}$=972+486=1,458 working days.

But now let us assume that with sphere G we reach an end to the SHIFTING; and [VII-282] our progression would soon bring us to an end in any society. How would the matter stand then? We have a product comprising 1,458 working days of which 486 newly-added labour and 972 labour realised in constant capital. The 486 working days can then be spent in the previous sphere $F^{1-162}$. But what is to buy the 972 working days contained in the constant capital? Beyond $G^{486}$ there is no new sphere of production and therefore no new sphere of exchange. In the spheres that lie behind it, except for $F^{1-162}$, there is nothing to be exchanged. Moreover, $G^{1-486}$ has expended all its wages and profit up to the last centime in $F^{1-162}$. Therefore the 972 working days realised in

the total product of G[1-486], which are the equivalent of the constant capital it contains, remain unsaleable. It has thus not helped us at all to shift through nearly 800 branches of production the difficulty of the 8 yards of linen of sphere A, or the 24 hours' labour, the 2 working days, representing in its product the value of the constant capital.

It is no use imagining that the reckoning would have a different result if perhaps A did not spend its whole wages and profits in linen, but spent a part of it on the product of B and C. The limit of the outlays, the hours of labour added which are contained in A, B, C, can always only command a labour time equal to themselves. If they buy more of one product, then they buy less of the other. It would only confuse the reckoning, but in no way alter result.

*Que faire donc?*[a]

In the above calculation we find[268]:

| | *Working days* | *Labour added* | *Constant capital* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *A Product* = | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| *B* " = | 6 | 2 | 4 |
| C) " = | 18 | 6 | 12 |
| D) " = | 54 | 18 | 36 |
| E) " = | 162 | 54 | 108 |
| F) " = | 486 | 162 | 324 |
| *Total:* | 729 | 243 | 486 |

($^1/_3$ of A's product consumed by A itself)

If the last 324 working days of constant capital in this account=the constant capital which the farmer replaces for himself, subtracts from his product and returns to the land—and so has not to be paid for by new labour—then the account would balance. The riddle, however, would only be solved because a part of the constant capital replaces itself.

In fact therefore we have had consumed 243 working days, corresponding to the newly-added labour. The value of the final product, 486 working days=the value of the total constant capital contained in A—F, which also =486 working days. In order to account for this, we assume 486 days of new labour in G, from which however the only satisfaction we get is that instead of

[a] What then is to be done?—*Ed.*

having to account for a constant capital of 486 days, [VII-283] we have to account for a constant capital of 972 working days in G's product, which is equal to 1,458 working days (972 constant capital+486 labour). If now we want to get out of our difficulty by supposing that G works without constant capital, so that the product only =486 days of newly-added labour, the account would of course be cleared; but we would have solved the problem of who pays for the part of the value contained in the product which forms the constant capital, by assuming a case in which the constant capital equals nil and hence forms no part of the value of the product.

In order to sell A's total product entirely for newly-added labour, in order to resolve it into profit and wages, *the whole of the labour added in A, B and C*[269] must be spent on the labour realised in product A. Likewise to sell the total product of $B+C$, all labour newly added in $D^{1}-D^{18}$ [is needed].[270] Similarly, to buy the total product of $D^{1}-D^{18}$, all labour added in $E^{1\text{-}54}$. To buy the total product of $E^{1\text{-}54}$, all labour added in $F^{1\text{-}162}$. And finally, to buy the total product of $F^{1\text{-}162}$, the total labour time added in $G^{1\text{-}486}$. At the end, in these 486 production spheres represented by $G^{1\text{-}486}$, the total labour time added=the total product of the 162 spheres F, and this total product which is replaced by labour is as large as the constant capital in A, $B^{1\text{-}2}$, $C^{1\text{-}6}$, $D^{1\text{-}18}$, $E^{1\text{-}54}$, $F^{1\text{-}162}$. But the constant capital of sphere G, twice the size of the constant capital used in $A-F^{162}$, is not replaced and cannot be replaced.

In fact we have found, on our assumption that in all production spheres the proportion of the newly-added to the pre-existing labour=1:2, that always twice as many new production spheres must use all their new labour to buy the product of the preceding spheres—the labour added of A, $B^{1\text{-}2}$ and $C^{1\text{-}6}$, to buy A's total product; the labour added of 18 D or $D^{1\text{-}18(2\times9)}$, to buy the product of A, B, C, and so on.[271] In short, that twice as much newly-added labour as the product itself contains is always needed, so that there must be twice as much newly-added labour in the last production sphere G as there actually is, in order to buy the total product. In a word, we find in the result of G what was already there in our starting-point A, that the newly-added labour cannot buy any greater quantity of its own product than it itself amounts to and that it can*not* buy the labour pre-existing in the constant capital.

It is therefore impossible for the value of the revenue to cover the value of the total product. But since, apart from the revenue, no fund exists from which this product sold by producers to (individual) consumers can be paid for, it is impossible for the

value of the total product, minus the value of the revenue, ever to be sold, paid for or (individually) consumed. On the other hand it is necessary for every product to be sold and paid for at its price (on the assumption that price here=value).

For that matter, it might have been foreseen from the outset that introducing the acts of exchange, sales and purchases between different commodities or the products of different production spheres, would not bring us a step forward. In A, the first commodity, the linen, we had $^1/_3$ or [VII-283a] 12 hours of newly-added labour and 2×12 or 24 hours of pre-existing labour in the capital. Wages and profit could only repurchase that part of the product of commodity A—and therefore also of any equivalent of commodity A in any other product—which is equal to 12 hours' labour. They could not buy back their own constant capital of 24 hours, hence they could not repurchase the equivalent of this constant capital in any other commodity either.

It is possible for the relation of added labour to constant capital to be different in commodity B. But however different the proportion may be of constant capital to newly-added labour in the various spheres of production, we can calculate the average, and so say that in the product of the whole society or of the whole capitalist class, in the total product of capital, the newly-added labour=$a$, the labour pre-existing as constant capital=$b$. In other words, the proportion of 1:2 which we assumed in A, the linen, is only a symbolical expression of $a:b$ and is not intended to imply anything more than that definite and definable relation of some kind or other exists between these two elements—the living labour added in the current year or in any other period selected, and the past labour pre-existing as constant capital. If the 12 hours added to the yarn buy not only linen, but for example linen only to the amount of 4 hours, then they could buy some other product to the amount of 8 hours, but they could never buy more than 12 hours altogether; and if they buy another product to the value of 8 hours, then 32 hours' linen in all must be sold by A. The example A therefore holds good for the total capital of the entire society, and though the problem can be complicated by introducing the exchange of different commodities, the problem itself remains unchanged.

Let us assume that A is the total product of society: then $^1/_3$ of this total product can be bought by the producers for their own consumption, bought and paid for with the total of their wages and their profits,=the total newly-added labour, the amount of their aggregate revenue. They have no fund with which to pay

for, to buy and consume, the other $^2/_3$. Just as the newly-added labour, the $^1/_3$ which consists of profit and wages, is itself covered by its own product, or withdraws only that part of the value of the product which contains $^1/_3$ of the total labour, newly-added labour or its equivalent, so must the $^2/_3$ of pre-existing labour be covered by its own product. That is to say, the constant capital remains equal to itself and replaces itself out of that part of the value which represents the constant capital in the total product. The exchange between various commodities, the series of purchases and sales between different spheres of production, brings about a change in form only in the sense that the constant capitals in the various production spheres mutually replace each other in the proportion in which they were originally contained in them.

We must now examine this more closely.

// Many examples can be given to show how often in the course of his work, when he is explaining actual facts, Adam Smith treats the quantity of labour contained in the product as value and determining value. Some of these are quoted by Ricardo.[a] His whole doctrine of the influence of the division of labour and improved machinery on the price of commodities is based on it. Here one passage will be enough to cite. In Book I, Chapter XI, Adam Smith speaks of the cheapening of many manufactured goods in his time, as compared with earlier centuries, and he concludes with the words:

"It cost a greater quantity of labour [VII-283b] to bring the goods to market. When they were brought thither, therefore, they must have purchased, or exchanged for the price, of a greater quantity" ([Garnier,] t. II, p. 156) [Vol. I, p. 404]. //

This view—that the annual product of the country is divided into wages and profits (rents, interest, etc., included in the latter)—is expressed by Adam Smith, Book II, Chapter II, in examining the circulation of money and the credit system (on this, compare later *Tooke*), where he says:

"The circulation of every country may be considered as divided into two different branches; the circulation of the DEALERS[b] with one another, and the circulation between the dealers and the consumers" (Garnier explains that by DEALERS Adam Smith here means "all traders, manufacturers, artisans, and so on; in a word, the agents of the trade and industry of a country"). "Though the same pieces of money, whether paper or metal, may be employed sometimes in the one circulation and sometimes in the other; yet as both are constantly going on at the same time, each requires a certain stock of money, of one kind or another, to carry it on. *The value of the goods circulated between the different dealers never can exceed the*

[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles...*, London, 1821, Ch. I, Section I.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx gives the English term in brackets after its French equivalent.— *Ed.*

*value of those circulated between the dealers and the consumers; whatever is bought by the dealers being ultimately destined to be sold to the consumers*" ([Garnier,] t. II, l. II, ch. II, pp. 292-93) [Vol. II, pp. 79-80].

To this, as well as Tooke, we must come back later.[272]

Let us return to our example. The day's product of A, a linen weaving factory,=12 yards=36s.=36 hours' labour, of which 12 are newly-added labour divisible into wages and profit, and 24 hours or 2 days=the value of the constant capital, which now however, instead of the old form of yarn and loom, exists in the form of linen, but in a quantity of linen=24 hours=24 s. In this there is the same quantity of labour as in the yarn and loom which it replaces, and with it therefore the same quantity of yarn and loom can be bought again (on the assumption that the value of yarn and loom has remained the same, that the productivity of labour in these branches of industry has not altered). The spinner and the loom maker must sell the whole of their year's or their day's product (which for our purpose here is the same thing) to the weaver, for he is the only person for whom their commodity has use value. He is their only consumer.

But if the weaver's constant capital=2 working days (his daily consumed constant capital), then for one working day of the weaver there are two working days of spinner and machine maker—2 working days which may themselves be divided in very different proportions into labour added and constant capital. But the total daily product of spinner and machine maker together (assuming that the machine maker makes only looms)—constant capital and added labour together—cannot amount to more than 2 days' labour while that of the weaver, because of the 12 hours' labour newly added by him, amounts to 3 working days. It is possible that spinner and machine maker consume as much living labour time as the weaver. Then the labour time contained in their constant capital must be smaller. However that may be, they can in no case use the same quantity of labour (*summa summarum*[a]) objectified and living, as the weaver. It would be possible for the weaver to use proportionately less living labour time than the spinner (the latter for example would certainly use less than the flax-grower); in that case the excess of his constant capital over the variable part of his capital must be so much greater.

[VII-284] The weaver's constant capital thus replaces the entire capital of the spinner and the loom maker, not only their own constant capital but the labour newly added in the spinning

[a] Grand total.— *Ed.*

process and in the manufacture of machines. The new constant capital therefore here replaces other constant capitals completely and, besides that, the total amount of the labour newly added to them. By the sale of their commodities to the weaver, spinner and loom maker have not only replaced their constant capital but have received payment for their newly-added labour. His constant capital replaces for them their own constant capital and realises their revenue (wages and profit together). In so far as the weaver's constant capital replaces for them only their own constant capital, which they have handed over to him in the forms of yarn and loom, constant capital in one form has only been exchanged for constant capital in another form. There has in fact been no change of value in the constant capital.

Let us now go further back. The spinner's produce is divided into two parts, flax, spindles, coal, etc., in a word his constant capital, and the newly-added labour; similarly for the machine maker's total product. When the spinner replaces his constant capital, he pays not only for the total capital of the spindle manufacturer, etc., but also for that of the flax-grower. His constant capital pays for the one part of their constant capital+the labour added. Then as for the flax-grower, his constant capital—after deducting agricultural implements, etc.—consists of seed, manure, etc. We will assume—as in agriculture must always be the case, *plus ou moins*[a] directly—that this part of the farmer's constant capital is an annual deduction from his own product, which he must return each year, out of his own product, to the land—that is, to production itself. Here we find a part of the constant capital which replaces itself and is never sold, and therefore also is never paid for, and is never consumed, never enters into individual consumption. Seed, etc., are the equivalent of so much labour time. The value of the seed, etc., enters into the value of the total product; but the same value, because it is the same amount of products (on the assumption that the productivity of labour has remained the same), is also deducted again from the total product and returned to production, not entering into circulation.

Here we have at least one part of the constant capital—that which can be regarded as the raw material of agriculture—which replaces itself. Here therefore is an important branch—the most important branch in size and in the amount of capital it contains—of the annual production in which an important part of

[a] More or less.—*Ed.*

the constant capital, the part which consists of raw materials (apart from artificial fertilisers, etc.), replaces itself and does not enter into circulation, and is therefore not replaced by any form of revenue. Therefore the spinner is not obliged to repay to the flax-grower this part of the constant capital (the part of the constant capital the flax-grower himself replaces and pays for); nor has the weaver to pay this part to the spinner, nor the buyer of the linen to the weaver.

Let us assume that all those who directly or indirectly participated in the production of the 12 yards of linen (=36 s.=3 working days or 36 hours' labour) were paid in linen itself. It is clear in the first place that the producers of the elements of the linen, of the constant capital of the linen, *could not consume* their *own product*, since these products are produced for production and do not enter into immediate [VII-285] consumption. They must therefore spend their wages and profits on linen—on the product which finally enters into individual consumption. What they do not consume in linen, they must consume in some other consumable product exchanged for linen. As much (in value) linen is therefore consumed by others as they consume in other consumable products instead of linen. It is the same as if they had themselves consumed it in linen, since as much as they consume in another product is consumed in linen by the producers of other products. The whole problem must therefore be cleared up, without any reference to exchange, by considering how the 12 yards of linen are divided up between all the producers who have taken part in its production or in the production of its elements.[273]

$5\,^1/_3$ yards or 16 hours' labour represent the constant capital of the spinner and of the loom maker. Let us assume that of the spinner's constant capital $^2/_3$ is raw material and is spent on flax; then the flax-grower can consume these $^2/_3$ entirely in linen, since his constant capital //but here we take the wear and tear of his implements of labour, etc.=0// is not put into circulation at all; he has already deducted it and reserved it for reproduction. He can therefore buy $^2/_3$ of the $5\,^1/_3$ yards of linen[274] or 16 hours' labour,=$3\,^5/_9$ yards, or $10\,^2/_3$ hours' labour. So there remains to be accounted for only $5\,^1/_3-3\,^5/_9$ yards, or $16-10\,^2/_3$ hours' labour, i.e., $1\,^7/_9$ yards or $5\,^1/_3$ hours' labour. These $1\,^7/_9$ yards or $5\,^1/_3$ hours' labour resolve themselves into the constant capital of the loom maker and the total product of the spinning machinery maker, who are assumed to be one person.

[VII-286] Therefore once again: 1 hr.=1 s. 12 yards=36 s. 1 yard=3 s.

| *Weaver* | *Total product* | *Constant capital* | *Weaving labour added* | *Consumption* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *12 yards linen* (36 s.) (36 hours' labour) | 8 yards (24 hours) (24 s.) | *12 hours* | 12 hours =12s. =4 yards |

Of the weaver's *constant capital* let $^3/_4$=yarn and $^1/_4$=loom (means of production in general). The weaver thus pays 6 yards or 18 hours to the spinner and 2 yards or 6 hours to the machine maker, etc.

| *Spinner* | | | | *Machine maker* | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Total product* | *Constant capital* | *Spinning labour added* | *Consumption* | *Total product* | *Constant capital* | *Labour added* | *Consumption* |
| 6 yards (18s.) (18 hours) | 4 yards (12s.) (12 hours) | 2 yards 6s. 6 hours | 2 yards =6s. | 2 yards 6s. 6 hours | $^4/_3$ yards | $^2/_3$ yard | $^2/_3$ yard |

Of the 8 yards which replace the weaver's constant capital, therefore, 2 yards (=6 s.=6 hours) are consumed by the spinner, and $^2/_3$ of a yard (2 s.=2 hours' labour) by the maker of looms, etc.

What remains for us to account for is thus $8-2\,^2/_3$ yards=$5\,^1/_3$ yards (=16 s.=16 hours' labour). These remaining $5\,^1/_3$ yards (=16 s.=16 hours' labour) are resolved as follows: We assume that in the 4 yards which represent the spinner's constant capital, that is, the elements of his yarn, $^3/_4$ is the equivalent of the flax, and $^1/_4$ of the spinning machine. The elements of the [VII-287] spinning machine will be reckoned in further on with the constant capital of the loom maker. The two are assumed to be the same person.

Of the 4 yards which replace the spinner's constant capital, $^3/_4$=3 yards are therefore resolved into *flax*. A considerable part of the constant capital in the flax, used in its production, has not however to be replaced; for the flax-grower has already returned it to the land in the form of seed, manure, fodder, cattle, etc. Therefore in the part of his product that he sells, only the wear and tear of his instruments of labour, etc., has to be included as constant capital. Here we must rate the labour added at $^2/_3$ at least and the constant capital to be replaced at $^1/_3$ at the most.

*Thus*:

| | *Total product* | *Constant capital* | *Farm labour* | *Consumable* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Flax* | 3 yards<br>9s.<br>9 hours' labour | 1 yard<br>3s.<br>3 hours' labour | 2 yards<br>6s.<br>6 hours' labour | 2 yards<br>6s.<br>6 hours' labour |

Thus what we have still to account for is:

1 yard (3 s., 3 hours' labour), equal to the flax-grower's constant capital:

1 $^1/_3$ yards (4 s., 4 hours' labour), equal to the constant capital for the loom;

finally

1 yard (3 s., 3 hours' labour) for the *total product* contained in the spinning machine.

First what the machine maker can consume for the spinning machine has to be deducted:

| | *Total product* | *Constant capital* | *Engineering labour added* | *Consumable* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Spinning machine* | 1 yard<br>3s.<br>3 hours' labour | $^2/_3$ yard<br>2s.<br>2 hours' labour | $^1/_3$ yard<br>1s.<br>1 hour's labour | $^1/_3$ yard<br>1s.<br>1 hour's labour |

Moreover, the agricultural machinery, the flax-grower's constant capital, has to be divided into its consumable and other parts:

| | *Total product* | *Constant capital* | *Engineering labour* | *Consumable* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Agri-cultural machine* | 1 yard<br>3s.<br>3 hours' labour | $^2/_3$ yard<br>2s.<br>2 hours' labour | $^1/_3$ yard<br>1s.<br>1 hour's labour | $^1/_3$ yard<br>1s.<br>1 hour's labour |

If therefore we put together that part of the total product which represents machinery, it amounts to 2 yards for the loom, 1 yard for the spinning machine, 1 yard for the agricultural machine, 4 yards in all (12 s., 12 hours' labour or $^1/_3$ of the total product, 12 yards of linen). Of these 4 yards, the machine maker can consume $^2/_3$ of a yard for the loom, $^1/_3$ for the spinning machine, ditto $^1/_3$ for the agricultural machinery, in all 1 $^1/_3$ yards. 2 $^2/_3$ yards are left, that is, $^4/_3$ constant capital for the loom, $^2/_3$ for the spinning machine, and $^2/_3$ for the agricultural machine$=^8/_3=2\ ^2/_3$ yards

(=8 s.=8 hours' labour). This therefore forms the machine builder's constant capital which has to be replaced. Of what now does this constant capital consist? On the one hand, of its raw material, iron, wood, leather belting; and so on. But on the other hand, of that part of the machine he works with (which he may have built himself) which he uses in building machines and which gets worn out. Let us assume that the raw material amounts to $^2/_3$ of the constant capital, and the machine-building machine to $^1/_3$. This latter $^1/_3$ is to be examined later. The $^2/_3$ for wood and iron [VII-288] amount to $^2/_3$ of the $2\,^2/_3$ yards$=^8/_3$ yards$=^{24}/_9$ yards. $^1/_3$ of this$=^8/_9$, therefore $^2/_3=^{16}/_9$ yards.

Let us then assume that here in machinery is $^1/_3$ and added labour $^2/_3$ (since there is nothing for raw material); then $^2/_3$ of the $^{16}/_9$ yards replace labour added, and $^1/_3$ machinery. Thus what is left again for machinery is $^{16}/_{27}$ yard. The constant capital of the producers of iron and wood, in short, of the extractive industry, consists only of instruments of production—which we here call machinery in general—and not of raw material.

Therefore $^8/_9$ yard for the machine-building machine, $^{16}/_{27}$ yard for the machinery used by the producers of iron and wood. So $^{24}/_{27}+^{16}/_{27}=^{40}/_{27}=1\,^{13}/_{27}$ yards. This, therefore, has in turn to be put down to the machine builder's account.

*Machinery.* $^{24}/_{27}$ of a yard forms the replacement for the machine-building machine. But this in turn is divided into raw material (iron, wood, etc.), the part of the machinery used up in building the machine-building machine, and labour added. So, if each of the elements is $^1/_3$ of the total, $^8/_{27}$ of a yard would go for the labour added, and $^{16}/_{27}$ of a yard would be left for the *constant capital* to be replaced in the machine-building machine, that is, $^8/_{27}$ of a yard for raw material and $^8/_{27}$ of a yard to replace the part of the value representing the machinery used up in working up this raw material (together $^{16}/_{27}$ of a yard).

On the other hand the $^{16}/_{27}$ of a yard, which replace the iron and wood producers' machinery, likewise consist of raw material, machinery and labour added. This last$=^1/_3$, that is$=\frac{16}{27\times3}=\frac{16}{81}$ of a yard, and the constant capital in this part of the machinery consists of $^{32}/_{81}$ of a yard, of which $^{16}/_{81}$ is for the raw material, $^{16}/_{81}$ to make good the wear and tear of the machinery.

Thus there remains in the machine builder's hands, as constant capital to make good the wear and tear of his machinery, $^8/_{27}$ of a yard, with which he replaces the wear and tear of his machine-building machine, and $^{16}/_{81}$ of a yard for the wear and tear of the

iron and wood producers' machinery that has to be replaced.

Apart from this he had, for the replacement of his constant capital, $^{8}/_{27}$ of a yard for the raw material (contained in the machine-building machine) and $^{16}/_{81}$ for the raw material contained in the iron and wood producers' machines. Of this, however, another $^{2}/_{3}$ consist of labour added and $^{1}/_{3}$ of machinery used up. Therefore $^{2}/_{3}$ of the $^{24}/_{81}+^{16}/_{81}=^{40}/_{81}$ is paid for labour, that is, $\frac{26\,^{2}/_{3}}{81}$. Of this raw material, [VII-289] $\frac{13\,^{1}/_{3}}{81}$ is again left to replace machinery. This $\frac{13\,^{1}/_{3}}{81}$ of a yard therefore comes back to the machinery manufacturer.

Now there would again be in the hands of the latter: $^{8}/_{27}$ of a yard for the replacement of the wear and tear of the machine-building machine, $^{16}/_{81}$ to replace the wear and tear of the iron, etc., producers' machinery, and $\frac{13\,^{1}/_{3}}{81}$ for the part of the value to replace the machinery in the raw material, iron, etc.

And so we might go on calculating to infinity, with ever smaller fractions, but never able to divide the 12 yards of linen without a remainder.

Let us briefly resume the course of our inquiry up to this point.

We said at the start that in the different spheres of production there are different proportions as between the newly-added labour (which partly replaces the variable capital laid out in wages, and partly forms the profit, the unpaid surplus labour) and the constant capital to which this labour is added. We could however assume an average proportion, for example, *a*—labour added, *b*—constant capital; or we could assume that the proportion of the latter to the former is $2:1={}^{2}/_{3} : {}^{1}/_{3}$. If this holds good in each production sphere of capital, we went on, then the labour added (wages and profit together) in one particular sphere of production can always only buy $^{1}/_{3}$ of its own product, since wages and profit together form only $^{1}/_{3}$ of the total labour time realised in the product. But the other $^{2}/_{3}$ of the product, which replace his constant capital, also belong to the capitalist. If he wishes to continue production, however, he must replace his constant capital, that is, retransform $^{2}/_{3}$ of his product into constant capital. To do this, he must sell the $^{2}/_{3}$.

But to whom? We have already deducted $^{1}/_{3}$ of the product that can be bought with the total of wages and profit. If this total represents 1 day's labour or 12 hours, then the part of the

product whose value is equal to the constant capital represents 2 days' labour or 24 hours. So we assume that [the second] $^1/_3$ of the product is bought by profit and wages in another branch of production, and the last $^1/_3$ is bought in turn by profit and wages in a third branch of production. But then we have exchanged the constant capital of Product I for wages and profit exclusively, i.e., for newly-added labour, by making the whole labour added to Products II and III be consumed in the form of Product I. Of 6 working days contained in Products II and III, in both newly-added and pre-existing labour, none has been replaced or bought by the labour contained in either Product I or in Products II and III. So we had in turn to make the producers of other products spend all their labour added on Products II and III, and so on. Finally we had to come to a halt at a Product X, in which the labour added was as much as the constant capital of all the earlier products; but its own constant capital $^2/_3$ larger, would be unsaleable. Thus we have not come one step forward with the problem. In the case of Product X, as in the case of Product I, the question remains: to whom is the part of the product sold which replaces the constant capital? Or is $^1/_3$ new labour added to the product to replace the $^1/_3$ new labour+$^2/_3$ pre-existing labour contained in the product? Is $^1/_3$=$^3/_3$?

So from this it became clear that the SHIFTING of the difficulty from Product I to Product II, etc., in a word, bringing in an intermediate link merely amounting to the exchange of commodities, was of no avail.

[VII-290] So we had to pose the question in a different way.

We assumed that the 12 yards of linen=36 s.=36 hours' labour were a product containing 12 hours' labour or 1 working day of the weaver (necessary labour and surplus labour together, that is, the equivalent of the total of profit and wages), while $^2/_3$ represented the value of the constant capital, yarn and machinery, etc., contained in the linen. We further assumed, in order to eliminate any recourse to quibbles and intermediate transactions, that the linen was of a kind destined only for individual consumption, and therefore could not serve in turn as raw material for some new product. By this we assumed that it was a product that had to be paid for from wages and profit, that it must be exchanged for revenue. And finally to simplify things we assume that no part of the profit is reconverted into capital, but that the whole profit is spent as revenue.

As for the first 4 yards, the first $^1/_3$ of the product, equal to the 12 hours' labour added by the weaver, we soon settled that. They

are resolved into wages and profit; their value is the same as the value of the weaver's total profit and wages. They are therefore consumed by him and his workmen themselves. This solution for the 4 yards is unconditionally valid. For if profit and wages are consumed not in linen but in some other product, this can only happen because the producers of some other product consume the part of it which is consumable by them in linen and not in their own product. If of the 4 yards of linen, for example, only 1 is consumed by the linen weaver himself, and 3 yards in meat, bread, and cloth, then just the same as before, the value of the 4 yards of linen is consumed by the linen weavers themselves; only they have consumed $^3/_4$ of this value in the form of other commodities, while the producers of these other commodities have consumed in the form of linen the meat, bread and cloth consumable by them as wages and profit. // Here, as throughout this inquiry, it is of course always assumed that the commodity is sold and sold at its value. //

But now comes the real problem. The weaver's constant capital exists now in the form of 8 yards of linen (=24 hours' labour=24 s.); if he wants to continue production, he must transform these 8 yards of linen into money, £1 4s., and with this £1 4s. he must buy newly-produced commodities, to be found on the market, of which his constant capital consists. To simplify the problem, let it be assumed that he does not replace his machinery within a period of years, but that every day, out of the proceeds of his product, he has to replace *in natura* the part of the machinery that is equal to the part of the value of the machinery worn out each day. He must replace the part of the product=the value of the constant capital consumed by him with the elements of this constant capital, or the objective conditions of production for his labour. On the other hand, his product, the linen, does not enter any other sphere of production as a condition of production, but passes into individual consumption. He can therefore replace the part of his product which represents his constant capital only by exchanging it for revenue or for the part of the value of the product of other producers which consists of wages and profit, *hinc*[a] of newly-added labour. The problem is thus posed in its correct form. The question is only: in what conditions can it be solved?

A difficulty that arose in our first presentation of it has now been partly overcome. Although in each sphere of production the

[a] Hence.— *Ed.*

labour added=$^1/_3$, the constant capital, on the assumption made, =$^2/_3$, this $^1/_3$ labour added—or the total value of the revenue (of wages and profit; as already noted earlier, no account is here taken of the part of the profit which is again transformed into capital)—is only consumable in the products of the branches of industry which work directly for individual consumption. The products of all other branches of industry can only be consumed as capital, can only enter into industrial consumption.

[VII-291] The constant capital represented by the 8 yards (=24 hours=24s.) consists of yarn (raw material) and machinery. Let us say $^3/_4$ raw material and $^1/_4$ machinery. (Under raw material we can here also reckon all *matériaux instrumentaux* such as oil, coal, etc. But for the sake of simplicity it is better to disregard these.) The yarn would cost 18s. or 18 hours' labour=6 yards; the machinery 6s.=6 hours' labour=2 yards.

If therefore the weaver uses his 8 yards to buy yarn for 6 yards and machinery for 2 yards, with his constant capital of 8 yards he has covered not only the constant capital of the spinner and the loom manufacturer, but also the labour newly added by them. A part of what appears as the weaver's constant capital therefore represents newly-added labour on the part of the spinner and the machinery manufacturer, and consequently is for them not CAPITAL but revenue.

Of the 6 yards of linen, the spinner can himself consume $^1/_3$=2 yards (=the labour newly added, profit and wages). But 4 yards replace for him only flax and machinery. Say 3 yards for flax, 1 yard for machinery. He must pass on the payment for these. Of the 2 yards the machinery manufacturer can himself consume $^2/_3$ of a yard; but $^4/_3$ only replace for him iron and wood, in a word, raw material, and the machinery used for building the machine. Say, of the $^4/_3$ yards, 1 yard for raw material and $^1/_3$ of a yard for machinery.

Of the 12 yards of linen, we have consumed up to this point: 1) 4 for the weaver, 2) [2] for the spinner, and 3) $^2/_3$ for the machine builder; together 6$^2/_3$. So 5$^1/_3$ remain to be accounted for. And these 5$^1/_3$ are distributed as follows:

The spinner has to replace, out of the value of 4 yards, 3 for flax, 1 for machinery.

The machinery manufacturer has to replace, out of the value of $^4/_3$ yards, 1 for iron, etc., $^1/_3$ for machinery (what he has himself used up in building the machines).

The 3 yards for flax are therefore paid by the spinner to the flax-grower. In the case of the latter, however, there is the special

feature that a part of his constant capital (namely, seed, manure, etc., in short all products of the land which he returns to the land) does not enter at all into circulation, and consequently does not need to be deducted from the product that he sells; this product on the contrary expresses only added labour, and consequently consists entirely of wages and profit (except for the part which replaces machinery, artificial fertilisers, etc.). So let us assume as before that $^1/_3$ of the total product is labour added; then 1 yard of the 3 would come under this category. Taking as before for the 2 other yards that $^1/_4$ is for machinery, that would be $^2/_4$ yard. The other $^6/_4$, on the other hand, would also be for labour added, since in this part of the flax-grower's product there is no constant capital, which he has already deducted earlier. So $2\,^2/_4$ yards would go for the flax-grower's wages and profit. What remains is $^2/_4$ yard for replacement of machinery. Thus of the $5\,^1/_3$ yards which we had to consume, $2\,^2/_4$ have gone ($5\,^4/_{12}-2\,^6/_{12}=2\,^{10}/_{12}=2\,^5/_6$ yards). This last $^2/_4$ of a yard would therefore be used by the flax-grower to buy machinery.

The machinery manufacturer's account would now stand like this: of the constant capital for the loom he had laid out 1 yard for iron, etc.; $^1/_3$ of a yard for the wear and tear of the machine-building machine in producing the loom.

In addition, however, the spinner buys from the machinery manufacturer spinning machinery for 1 yard, and the flax-grower buys from him agricultural implements for $^2/_4$ of a yard. Of these $^6/_4$ yards, the machinery manufacturer has to consume $^1/_3$ for labour added, and to expend $^2/_3$ for the constant capital laid out in the spinning machine and the agricultural implements. $^6/_4$ however$=^{18}/_{12}$. So the machine builder would have $^6/_{12}$ of a yard [VII-292] again for consumption, $^{12}/_{12}$ or 1 yard to convert into constant capital. (Of the $2\,^5/_6$ yards not yet consumed, $^1/_2$ yard therefore has gone. $^{14}/_6$ yards are left, or $2\,^2/_6$, or $2\,^1/_3$ yards.)

Of this yard the machinery manufacturer would have to expend $^3/_4$ on raw material, iron and wood, etc., $^1/_4$ to pay to himself for the replacement of the machine-building machine.

So the total account would now stand like this:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Machinery manufacturer's constant capital* | For the loom: *1 yard* for raw material, *$^1/_3$ of a yard* for wear and tear of his own machinery.<br>For spinning machine and agricultural implements: *$^3/_4$ of a yard* for raw material, $^1/_4$ of a yard for wear and tear of his own machinery. |
| | HENCE: $1\,^3/_4$ yards for raw material, $^1/_3+^1/_4$ for wear and tear of his own machinery. |

The $1\,^3/_4$ yards or $^7/_4$ yards therefore buy from the iron and wood manufacturers iron and wood to this value. $^7/_4 = {}^{21}/_{12}$. But here a new question arises. In the case of the flax-grower, the raw material which is part of the constant capital did not enter into the product he sold, because it had already been deducted. In this case we must resolve the total product into labour added and machinery. If we even assumed that here the added labour$=^2/_3$ of the product, the machinery$=^1/_3$, $^{14}/_{12}$ would be consumable. And $^7/_{12}$ would remain as constant capital for machinery. This $^7/_{12}$ would come back to the machinery manufacturer.

What was left of the 12 yards would then amount to $^1/_3 + ^1/_4$ yard, which the machinery manufacturer would have to pay to himself for the wear and tear of his own machinery, and $^7/_{12}$ of a yard, which the iron and wood manufacturers return to him for machinery. Hence $^1/_3 + ^1/_4 = ^4/_{12} + ^3/_{12} = ^7/_{12}$. In addition, the $^7/_{12}$ returned by the iron and wood manufacturers. (Together $^{14}/_{12} = 1\,^2/_{12} = 1\,^1/_6$.)

The iron and wood manufacturers' machinery and instruments of labour must be bought from the machinery manufacturer, just as those of the weaver, the spinner and the flax-grower. Thus of the $^7/_{12}$ of a yard, let $^1/_3 = ^2/_{12}$, be labour added. This $^2/_{12}$ of a yard can therefore also be consumed. The remaining $^5/_{12}$ (actually $^4/_{12}$ and $\frac{2/3}{12}$, but there's no need to be so exact) represents the constant capital contained in the wood-cutter's axe and the iron manufacturer's machinery, $^3/_4$ pig-iron, wood, etc., and $^1/_4$ machinery used up. (Of the $^{14}/_{12}$ yards $^{12}/_{12}$ is left, or 1 yard=3 hours' labour=3s.) Therefore of the 1 yard, $^1/_4$ of a yard for replacement of the machine-building machine and $^3/_4$ of a yard for wood, iron, etc.

Hence for the wear and tear of the machine-building machine $^7/_{12}$ of a yard$+^1/_4$ of a yard$=^7/_{12}+^3/_{12}=^{10}/_{12}$ of a yard. On the other hand it would now be quite pointless again to resolve the $^3/_4$ of a yard for wood and iron into their component parts and to return a part of it once more to the machinery manufacturer, who would return a part of it again to the iron [VII-293] and wood manufacturers. Something would always be left over and a *progressus in infinitum.*

Let us then take the problem as it now stands.

$^{10}/_{12}$ or $^5/_6$ of a yard in value has to be replaced by the machinery manufacturer himself in the worn-out machine.

$^3/_4$ or $^9/_{12}$ of a yard represents an equal amount of value in wood and iron. The machinery manufacturer has given it to the iron

and wood manufacturers, in order to replace his raw material. We have in hand the residuum of $^{19}/_{12}$ or $1\,^{7}/_{12}$ yards.

The balance of $^{5}/_{6}$ of a yard which the machinery manufacturer keeps for making good his wear and tear $=^{15}/_{6}$s. $=^{15}/_{6}$ hours' labour, that is, $2\,^{3}/_{6}$, or $2\,^{1}/_{2}$s., or $2\,^{1}/_{2}$ hours' labour. The machinery manufacturer cannot accept any linen for this value; he would himself have to sell it again, in order with the $2\,^{1}/_{2}$s. to make good the wear and tear of his machinery, in a word, to make new machine-building machines. But to whom is he to sell it? To producers of other products (other than iron and wood)? But these producers have consumed in linen all that they were able to consume in this form. Only the 4 yards which constitute the weaver's wages and profit are exchangeable for other products (apart from those contained in the constant capital or the labour of which this capital consists). And we have already accounted for these 4 yards. Or is he to pay workers with it? But we have already deducted from his products all that labour has added to them, and we have taken it as all consumed in linen.

To put the matter in another way:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The *weaver* has to replace for | | *machinery* | =2 yards | =6s. | =6 | hours' | labour |
| The *spinner* ..... | ditto | ditto | =1 " | =3 " | =3 | " | " |
| The *flax-grower* ..... | ditto | ditto | = $^{2}/_{4}$ " | =$1\,^{1}/_{2}$ " | =$1\,^{1}/_{2}$ | " | " |
| The *iron and wood producers* ..... | ditto | ditto | = $^{7}/_{12}$" | =$1\,^{3}/_{4}$ " | =$1\,^{3}/_{4}$ | " | " |
| *Total yards expended on machinery or the part of the value of the linen which consists of machinery* | | ditto | =$4\,^{1}/_{12}$ yards | =$12\,^{1}/_{4}$s. | =$12\,^{1}/_{4}$ | hours' | labour |

To simplify the calculation, say 4 yards=12s.=12 hours' labour. Of this, for labour (profit and wages) $^{1}/_{3}=^{4}/_{3}$ yards$=1\,^{1}/_{3}$ yards.

$2\,^{2}/_{3}$ remain for constant capital. Of this, $^{3}/_{4}$ for raw material, $^{1}/_{4}$ for wear and tear of machinery. $2\,^{2}/_{3}=^{8}/_{3}=^{32}/_{12}$. Of this $^{1}/_{4}=^{8}/_{12}$.

This $^{8}/_{12}$ of a yard for wear and tear of machinery is all that the machinery manufacturer is still burdened with. For he pays $^{24}/_{12}$ or 2 yards to the iron and wood manufacturers for raw material.

[VII-294] It is wrong, then, to charge the iron and wood manufacturers again for machinery, since all that they have to replace in machinery, namely $^{7}/_{12}$ of a yard, has already been brought into the machinery manufacturer's account. In the latter's

ITEM, the whole of the machinery that they need for the production of iron and wood has already been included, and it therefore cannot come a second time into the reckoning. The last 2 yards for iron and wood (the residuum of $2\,^{8}/_{12}$) consist therefore entirely of labour, since there is no raw material used, and can therefore be consumed in linen.

Thus the whole residuum is $^{8}/_{12}$ of a yard or $^{2}/_{3}$ of a yard for wear and tear of the machinery used by the machinery manufacturer.

The whole problem was partly solved by the fact that the part of the farmer's *constant capital*, which does not itself consist of labour newly added or in machinery, does not circulate at all, but is already deducted, replaces itself in its own production, and therefore also—apart from the machinery—his whole *circulating* product consists of wages and profit and consequently can be consumed in linen. This was one part of the solution.

The other part was that what appears in one sphere of production as constant capital, in other spheres of production appears as new labour added during the same year. What in the weaver's hand appears as constant capital consists in large part of the revenue of the spinner, machinery manufacturer, flax-grower and iron and wood producers (also of the collier, etc.; but for the sake of simplification this is not brought into it). (This is so clear that, for example, when the same manufacturer both spins and weaves, his constant capital seems to be smaller than that of the weaver and the labour added by him greater, i. e., the part of his product which consists of labour added, revenue, profit and wages. Thus in the case of the weaver revenue=4 yards=12s., constant capital=8 yards=24s. If he both spins and weaves, his revenue=6 yards. His constant capital=6 yards ditto; that is, 2 yards=loom, 3 yards flax, and 1 yard spinning machinery.)

Thirdly, however, the solution so far found is that all production processes which supply only raw material or means of production for the product which finally enters into individual consumption, cannot consume their revenue—profit and wages, the [labour] newly added—in their own product, but they can consume the part of the value of this product which represents revenue only in the consumable product, or, what is the same thing, [they have to exchange it] for a consumable product of other producers containing the same amount of value. Their newly-added labour enters into the final product as a component part of the value, but is only consumed in the form of the final

product, while as a use value it is contained in the final product as raw material or machinery used up.

Hence the part of the problem which now remains to be solved is reduced to this: What happens to the $^2/_3$ of a yard for the wear and tear—not of the machines used in production, for these represent new labour, that is, new labour which gives the raw material (which has itself no raw material that costs anything) the form of new machinery but—[what happens] to the depreciation of the machinery manufacturer's machine-building machine? Or to put it another way: Under what conditions can the machinery manufacturer consume the $^2/_3$ of a yard=2s.=2 hours' labour in linen, and at the same time replace his machinery? That is the real question. This takes place in fact. It necessarily takes place. Hence the problem: how is this phenomenon to be explained?

[VII-295] Here we leave entirely out of account the part of the profit which is transformed into new capital (both circulating and fixed, variable and constant capital). It has nothing to do with our problem, for here new variable capital as well as the new constant capital are created and replaced by *new* labour (a part of the surplus labour).

So putting this CASE on one side, the total of labour newly added, in a year e. g.,=the total of profit and wages, i. e.,=the total of the annual *revenue* spent on products which enter into individual consumption, such as food, clothing, heating, dwelling-house, furniture, etc.

The total of these products going into consumption is=in value to the total labour added annually (to the total value of the revenue). This quantity of labour must=total labour contained in these products, both the added and the pre-existing labour. In these products not only the labour newly added, but also the constant capital they contain, must be paid for. Their value therefore=the total of profit and wages. If we take linen as the example, then the linen represents for us the aggregate of the products entering into individual consumption annually. This linen must not only be equal to the value of all its elements of value, but its whole use value must be consumable by the various producers who take their share of it. Its whole value must be resolvable into profit and wages, i. e., labour newly added each year, although it consists of labour added and constant capital.

This is partly explained, as we have said, by:

*First.* A part of the constant capital required for the production of the linen does not enter into it, either as use value or as exchange value. This is the part of the flax which consists of seed,

etc.; the part of the constant capital of the agricultural product which does not enter into circulation, but is directly or indirectly returned to production, to the land. This part replaces itself, so it does not need to be repaid out of the linen. //A peasant may sell his whole harvest, say 120 qrs. But then he must buy from another peasant for example 12 qrs of seed, and the latter has then to use as seed, out of his 120 qrs, 24 qrs instead of 12 qrs, $^1/_5$ instead of $^1/_{10}$ of his product. As before 24 qrs of the 240 qrs are given back to the land as seed. Of course, this makes a difference in the circulation. In the first case, where each deducts $^1/_{10}$, 216 qrs enter circulation. In the second case 120 qrs of the first and 108 qrs of the second enter circulation, that is, 228 qrs. As in the previous case, 216 qrs reach the actual consumers. Here therefore we have an example of the fact that the total of values as between DEALERS and DEALERS is greater than the total of values as between DEALERS and CONSUMERS.[a] //(Moreover there is the same difference in all cases in which a part of the profit is transformed into new capital; moreover, transactions between DEALERS and DEALERS extend over many years, etc.)

This part [required] for the production of the linen, i. e. the consumable products, therefore does not have to replace a considerable part of the constant capital required for its production.

*Secondly.* A large part of the constant capital required for the linen, that is, for the annual consumable product, appears at one level as constant capital, at another level as labour newly added, and consequently in fact consists of profit and wages, revenue, for one, while the same sum of value appears as capital for another. Thus a part of [the weaver's] constant capital is reducible to the labour of the spinner, etc.

[VII-296] *Thirdly.* In all the intermediate processes that are necessary to produce the consumable product, a large part of the products, apart from the raw material and certain *matèriaux instrumentaux*, never passes into the use value, but only enters into the consumable product as a component part of its value—such as machinery, coal, oil, tallow, leather belting, etc. In each of these processes which in fact always only produce the constant capital for the next stage—in so far as, through the division of social labour, they take the form of separate branches of business—the product of each stage is divided into one part representing the newly-added labour (consisting of profit and wages, and, with the

[a] See this volume, pp. 429-30.—*Ed.*

proviso made above,[a] forms revenue), and another part which represents the value of the constant capital consumed. It is therefore clear that in each of these spheres of production only that part of the product can be consumed by its own producers which represents wages and profit—only that part which remains over after deducting the quantity of products equal to the value of the constant capital they contain. But none of these producers consumes any part whatever of the products of the previous stage, or of the products of all the stages, which in fact produce nothing but constant capital for a further stage.

Thus although the final product—the linen, which represents all consumable products—consists of newly-added labour and constant capital, and so the final producers of this consumable product can only consume that part of it which consists of the labour most recently added, of their total wages and profits, their revenue—nevertheless all the producers of constant capital consume or realise their newly-added labour only in the consumable product. Thus although this consists of labour added and constant capital, its purchase price consists—in addition to that part of the product which=the quantity of labour most recently added—of the total quantity of all the labour added in the production of its constant capital. They realise all added labour in the consumable product instead of in their own product—so that in this respect it is the same as if the consumable product consisted entirely of wages and profit, of labour added.

From the consumable product, the linen (the exchange of consumable products for each other and the previous transformation of the commodities into money makes no difference), the producers from whose sphere of production it emerges as a FINISHED product themselves deduct the part of the product equal to their revenue=the labour most recently added by them=the total wages and profit. With the other part of the consumable product they pay the component part of the value due to the producers who have directly supplied them with their constant capital. All of this part of their consumable product therefore covers the value of the revenue and constant capital of the producers of this constant capital in its nearest stage. The latter however keep only the part of the consumable product whose value=their revenue. With the other part they pay in turn the producers of their constant capital=revenue+constant capital. *The account, however, can only be settled* if it is only revenue, newly-added labour, not constant capital,

[a] See this volume, p. 444.— *Ed.*

that has to be replaced by the last part of the linen, the consumable product. For on the assumption we have made the linen enters only into consumption and does not in turn form the constant capital of another phase of production.

This has already been shown to be the case for a part of the product of agriculture.

In general, it is only products that enter as raw materials into the final product of which it can be said that they are consumed as products. Other products enter into the consumable product only as component parts of value. The consumable product is bought by revenue, that is, by wages and profit. Its total value must therefore be resolvable into wages and profit, that is, into the labour added in all its stages. The question now arises: in addition to the part of the product of agriculture which is returned to [VII-297] production by its producers themselves—seed, cattle, manure, etc.—is there yet another part of the constant capital which does not enter into the consumable product as a component part of value, but is replaced *in natura* in the process of production itself?

Fixed capital in all its forms can of course only be considered here to the extent that its value enters into production and is consumed.

Apart from agriculture (including cattle-raising and fish farming, and forestry, in which reproduction is artificially organised, etc.)—and so apart from all raw materials for clothing, actual means of sustenance and a large part of the products entering into fixed capital in industry, such as sails, rope, belting, etc.—in mining there is the partial replacement of constant capital *in natura* out of the product, so that the part which enters into circulation does not have to replace this part of the constant capital. For example, in coal production some of the coal is used to work the steam-engine which pumps out water or raises coal.

The value of the annual product therefore partly=the part of the labour pre-existing in coal and consumed in producing the coal, and partly=the quantity of labour added (leaving out of account wear and tear of machinery, etc.). Of the total product, however, the part of the constant capital which consists in coal itself is directly deducted and returned to production. No one has to replace this part for the producer, because he replaces it himself. If the productivity of labour has neither fallen nor risen, then too the part of the value which this part of the product represents remains unchanged,=a definite aliquot part of the quantity of labour existing in the product—partly pre-existing

[labour], partly the quantity of labour added during the year. In the other mining industries too there is a partial replacement of the constant capital *in natura*.

Waste products—as for example cotton waste and so on—are fed to the fields as fertiliser or become raw material for other branches of industry, as for example linen rags [in the production] of paper. In such cases, as in the former case, part of an industry's constant capital may be directly exchanged for the constant capital of another industry. For example, cotton for cotton waste used as fertiliser.

In general, however, there is a cardinal difference between the production of machines and primary production (of raw materials: iron, wood, coal) and the other phases of production: in the latter, there is no interaction between them. Linen cannot be a part of the spinner's constant capital, nor can yarn (as such) be part of the constant capital of the flax-grower or machinery manufacturer. But the raw material of machinery—apart from such agricultural products as leather belting, rope, etc.—is wood, iron and coal, while on the other hand machinery in its turn enters as a means of production into the constant capital of the producers of wood, iron, coal, etc. In fact, therefore, both replace each other a part of their constant capital *in natura*. Here there is exchange of constant capital for constant capital.

Here it is not merely a question of accounting. The producer of iron debits the machinery manufacturer for the wear and tear of the machinery used up in producing the iron and the machinery manufacturer debits for the wear and tear of his machinery in constructing the machines. Let the producers of iron and coal be the same person. First, he himself replaces the coal, as we have seen. Secondly, the value of his total product of iron and coal=the value of the labour added+the labour pre-existing in the worn-out machinery. After deducting from this total product the quantity of iron that replaces the value of the machinery, the quantity of iron which is left represents the labour added. The latter part forms the raw material of manufacturers of machinery, instruments, etc. The machinery manufacturer pays the iron manufacturer for this latter part in linen. In exchange for the first part, he supplies him with machinery to replace the old.

On the other hand, the part of the machinery manufacturer's constant capital which represents the wear and tear of his machine-building machines, instruments, etc.—and therefore consists neither of raw material (leaving out of account here the machinery used [VII-298] and the part of the coal which replaces

itself) nor of labour added, and so neither of wages nor profit—this wear and tear is in fact made good by the machinery manufacturer appropriating for himself one or two of his own machines to serve as machine-building machines. This part of his product merely comes to an excess consumption of raw material. For it does not represent labour newly added, since in the total product of the labour so many machines=the value of the labour added, so many machines=the value of the raw material, and so many machines=the part of the value that was contained in machine-building machines. It is true that this last part does contain labour added. But in terms of value this=zero, since the labour contained in the raw material and in the machinery used up is not reckoned in the group of machines that represents labour added; and the part which replaces the new labour and machinery is not reckoned in the 2nd group, which replaces the raw material; and consequently in the 3rd part—considered in terms of value—neither labour added nor raw material is contained, but this group of machines represents only the wear and tear of the machinery.

The machinery of the machinery manufacturer himself is not sold. It is replaced *in natura*, deducted from the total product. Consequently the machines which he sells represent only raw material (which consists only of labour, if he has already been charged for the wear and tear of the raw material producer's machinery) and labour added, and therefore are resolvable into linen for himself and for the raw material producer. As for what specially concerns the relations between the machinery manufacturer and the producer of raw materials, the latter has deducted, in respect of the part of his machinery that has been WASTED, a quantity of iron equal to its value. He exchanges this with the machinery manufacturer, so that each of them pays the other *in natura*, and this process has nothing to do with the division of revenue between them.

So much for this question, to which we shall return in connection with the circulation of capital.[265]

In reality, the constant capital is replaced by being constantly produced anew and in part by reproducing itself. The part of the constant capital which enters into the consumable product is however paid for out of the living labour which enters into the non-consumable products. Because the latter labour is not paid for in its own products, it can resolve the whole consumable product into revenue. A part of the constant capital is, seen in terms of the year, only seemingly constant capital. Another part, although it enters into the total product, does not enter into the consumable

product either as a component part of its value or as a use value, but is replaced *in natura*, remaining always incorporated in production.

Here we have considered how the total consumable product is divided up and resolved into all the component parts of value and conditions of production that have entered into it.

But always there are, simultaneously and side by side, the consumable product (which, in so far as it consists of wages=the variable part of capital), the production of the consumable product, and the production of all parts of the constant capital required for its production, whether it enters into it or not. In the same way, each capital is always simultaneously divided into constant and variable capital, and although the constant capital, like the variable, is continuously replaced by new products, it always continues to exist in the same manner, as long as the same kind of production continues.

[VII-299] The relation between the machinery manufacturer and the primary producers—of iron, wood, etc.—is that they in fact exchange with each other a part of their constant capital (which has nothing in common with the transformation of a part of the constant capital of one into revenue for the other[275]), because their products—although one is a previous stage for the other—on both sides enter as means of production into the constant capital of the other. In return for the machinery which the producer of iron, wood, etc., needs, he gives the machine builder iron, wood, etc., to the value of the machine to be replaced. This part of the machine builder's constant capital is for him just the same as seed is for the peasant. It is part of his annual product which he replaces *in natura* for himself and which is not resolved into revenue for him. On the other hand, what is thus replaced for the machine builder in the form of raw material is not only the raw material contained in the iron producer's machine, but also the part of the value of this machine which consists of labour added and wear and tear of his own machinery. Thus it replaces for him not only the wear and tear of his own machinery, but can be regarded as accounting for (replacing) a part of the wear and tear contained in the other machines.

It is true that this [machine sold] to the producer of iron also contains component parts of value=the raw material and the labour added. But on the other hand there is correspondingly less wear and tear to be accounted for in the other machines. This part of their [the iron producers', etc.] constant capital—that is, of the product of their annual labour which replaces only the part of

value of the constant capital representing wear and tear—therefore does not enter into the machines which the machine builder sells to other industrialists. But as regards the wear and tear in these other machines, it is in fact [replaced] for the machine builder by the above-mentioned $^2/_3$ of a yard of linen, the equivalent of 2 hours' labour. With that, he buys pig-iron, wood, etc., to the same value, and replaces the wear and tear in another form of his constant capital—[in the form] of iron. Thus a part of his raw material replaces for him the value of his wear and tear, in addition to the value of the raw material. This raw material, however, as far as the producer of iron, etc., is concerned, consists only of the labour time added, as the machinery of these producers of raw materials (iron, wood, coal, etc.) has already been accounted for.

Thus all the elements of the linen are resolved into a sum of quantities of labour=the amount of labour newly added, but not equal to the amount of the total labour contained in the constant capital and perpetuated by reproduction.

That the quantity of labour consisting partly of living labour, partly of pre-existing labour, which forms the total of commodities which enter each year into individual consumption, and thus are consumed as revenue, cannot be greater than the labour added annually, is for that matter a tautology. For the revenue=the total of profit and wages=the total labour newly added=the total of the commodities which contain an equal quantity of labour.

The case of iron producer and machine builder is only one EXAMPLE. Between different spheres of production, where the products of each enter into the other as means of production, an exchange *in natura* takes place too (even though concealed by a series of money transactions) between the constant capital of the one and that of the other. In so far as this is the case, the consumers of the final product which enters into consumption have not got to replace this constant capital, since it has already been replaced.

Adam Smith's contradictions are of significance because they contain problems which it is true he does not solve, but which he reveals by contradicting himself. His correct instinct in this connection is best shown by the fact that his successors take opposing stands based on one aspect of his teaching or the other.

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] After completing the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, vols 28 and 29), Marx started work to realise his idea of a substantial economic work to encompass all aspects of life in capitalist society. The first step was the publication, in 1859, of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One. In the Preface to this work, Marx sets out the plan of his ambitious project: "I examine the system of bourgeois economy in the following order: *capital, landed property, wage-labour*; *the State, foreign trade, world market*... The first part of the first book, dealing with Capital, comprises the following chapters: 1. The commodity; 2. Money or simple circulation; 3. Capital in general. The present part consists of the first two chapters" (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 261).

From extant correspondence (see present edition, Vol. 40) it is clear that after publishing Part One Marx intended to start immediately on the second part, which was to consist of a chapter on capital in general. However, certain other circumstances, his preoccupation with *Herr Vogt* among them, prevented him from carrying through this intention. Preparatory work continued up to the summer of 1861 (drafting plans, reviewing the 1857-58 manuscript and excerpts dealing with capital, making new excerpts, etc.), and in August 1861 Marx began writing. Viewed as the second part of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, the manuscript of 1861-63 originally bore the same title. But soon its size grew considerably and reached 23 notebooks, 1,472 large pages in all. In addition to the main title, the covers of the first two notebooks were given the subtitle "Third Chapter. Capital in General".—5

[2] This note was made on the inside cover of Notebook I (which Marx marked "A"), presumably once it was complete. Other notes on the cover have been inserted in the relevant passages of the manuscript by the compilers.—6

[3] This note was originally made on the inside cover of Notebook II, which Marx also marked "A".—6

[4] In the economic manuscript of 1857-58, Marx had pointed out that "exchange value expresses the *social form* of value" (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 244), but he still used these concepts interchangeably. Only starting with the

second edition of Volume I of *Capital* in 1872 did he begin to differentiate clearly between them.—11

5 Marx summarised the following passage from MacLeod: "When currency is employed in this method, that is when it is employed in producing articles which are themselves intended to be subservient to the production of other articles, it is usually called CAPITAL, and the use of the word Capital is also extended to apply to the article itself so produced to act as an agent in the production of others" (H. D. MacLeod, *The Theory and Practice of Banking*, Vol. I, London, 1855, p. 55).—13

6 Part of the text from pages 16 and 17 of the manuscript has been transferred here in accordance with Marx's note: "Addition to I 1) a, p. 4, line 2."—13

7 Commenting on Malthus' views on pp. XIII—758-759 of the manuscript of 1861-63, Marx quotes Malthus' *Definitions in Political Economy* and Torrens' *Essay on the Production of Wealth* (see present edition, Vol. 32). On pp. XIV—777-778 of the manuscript Marx deals once more with Ricardo's followers' critique of Malthus' concept of "the mere consumers" (Vol. 32).—14

8 This work by James Steuart was first published in 1767. In his Excerpt Notebook VII, Marx copied out passages from the six-volume edition of this work published in London in 1805. When writing his synopsis, Marx mistakenly put 1801 as the year of publication. This error occurred again in the manuscript of 1861-63 and in all four editions of Volume I of *Capital*.—16, 348, 352

9 As part of his economic studies in the summer of 1858, Marx wrote a synopsis of Aristotle's *Republic*, noting, among other things, that the latter drew a distinction between economics and chrematistics. Both the extant part of the original version of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* and the published version emphasise that Aristotle counterposed the two forms of circulation: *C—M—C* and *M—C—M* (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 370 and 488). In Part II, Ch. IV of Volume I of *Capital* Marx dealt in more detail with Aristotle's views on the subject (see present edition, Vol. 35).—19

10 Marx described the nature of the general connection between the productivity of labour and value—the inverse ratio between the labour time contained in the commodity and the productivity of labour—in Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 279).—20, 167, 235, 242

11 Part of the text from page 14 of the manuscript has been transferred here in conformity with Marx's note: "Addition to a."—20

12 This and the following paragraph reproduce, in places verbatim, a passage from the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 190-92).—20

13 Later, in notebooks XIII and XIV of the manuscript of 1861-63, Marx returns to his analysis of Malthus' views and the critique of his theory of "the mere consumers" (see present edition, Vol. 32).—28

14 This quotation is followed by Marx's German translation.—28

15 In the economic manuscript of 1857-58 Marx already described merchant's capital and usurer's capital as, on the one hand, the historically earliest forms of capital and, on the other, as derived, secondary forms of it in developed bourgeois production (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 184-85 and 430-36;

Vol. 29, pp. 231-32). In notebooks XI and XV of the manuscript of 1861-63 Marx again takes up his analysis of these forms of capital as the historical prerequisites for the emergence of industrial capital (see present edition, vols 31 and 33).—29, 103

16 Initially, the Greek word κεφάλαιον meant "the principal", "the basic", and later, "a sum of money", "capital". Marx borrowed the etymological entry from Ducange's *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, Vol. II, Paris, 1842, pp. 139-41. Cf. also Marx's notes in the Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, p. 437).—31

17 A detailed analysis of interest-bearing capital is contained in Notebook XV of this manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 32).—31

18 Marx takes up this issue in Notebook XXI of the manuscript, in the fragment entitled "Transitional Forms" (see present edition, Vol. 34).—32

19 In his analysis of capital in the manuscript of 1861-63 Marx followed the plan he had evolved when working on the economic manuscript of 1857-58. On April 2, 1858, he wrote to Engels about the structure of the book: "*Capital* falls into 4 sections. a) Capital *en général*... b) *Competition*, or the interaction of many capitals. c) *Credit*, where capital, as against individual capitals, is shown to be a universal element. d) *Share capital* as the most perfected form (turning into communism) together with all its contradictions" (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 298).

During his work on the manuscript of Volume III of *Capital*, Marx decided to discuss some questions on credit in the section devoted to capital (Ch. XXV) (see present edition, Vol. 37).—33

20 While working on the manuscript of 1861-63, Marx repeatedly described the prerequisites for analysing capital proper. He thus pointed out a characteristic feature of the dialectical approach to the subject, the transition from the abstract to the concrete, and continued, as it were, his criticism of the vulgar economists, which he had begun in the manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 180-81, 195-96, 248), for their attempts to reduce the fundamental production relation between the wage labourer and the capitalist to a simple relation between commodity owners, as it appears on the surface of capitalist production in the process of simple commodity circulation.—33, 35, 37, 39, 69, 105, 134, 312, 314, 316

21 Cf. Marx's description of the historical conditions of the existence of the worker as a *free* worker in the original version of the beginning of Chapter Three of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 504-05).—35, 37, 38, 87, 109, 111, 131

22 Marx returned to his analysis of the historical conditions that gave rise to the free worker, i.e. to a discussion of primitive accumulation, in notebooks XXII and XXIII of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 34). The most logical and complete form of his analysis of how the relation between the wage labourer and the capitalist emerged is to be found in Volume I of *Capital*, Part VIII, "The So-Called Primitive Accumulation" (see present edition, Vol. 35).—38

23 In Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* Marx returns several times to the prerequisites for money circulation (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 338-39, 357).—39

[24] Marx presents the correlation between the development of money as a hoard and the historical stages in the development of the social process of production in Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 361-65).—39

[25] *Being-for-itself* ("Fürsichsein", "Fürsichseiendes") is a Hegelian term denoting the condition of an attribute regarded in its fixity or relative self-containment.—39, 114

[26] Cf. Marx's description of production as given in the Introduction to the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 28, p. 25).—40

[27] Marx analysed bourgeois economists' views on the genesis of surplus value in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 251-56).—41

[28] Cf. the beginning of Chapter Three in the original version of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 502).—41

[29] Marx described the relation between master and journeyman on p. XXI—1303 of the manuscript of 1861-63, in the section dealing with the formal and the real subsumption of labour under capital (see present edition, Vol. 34).—42, 94

[30] After the publication of Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx drafted a plan for Chapter Three ("Chapter on Capital"). In this, item 5 is "Wage Labour and Capital" (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 514). While working on the manuscript of 1861-63, Marx became convinced that the material on this issue should be transferred to the end of Section III, "Capital and Profit", as can be seen from the draft plan of this section on p. XVIII—1139 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 33).—42, 304

[31] Cf. a similar definition of value as the law of market prices in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 74-75).—44

[32] According to the plan given in the Preface to Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx intended to consider these issues in a separate book entitled *Wage Labour*, a comprehensive research he was planning to undertake into bourgeois economy (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 261).—44, 82

[33] On pp. XX—1284-1296 of the manuscript of 1861-63, Marx repeatedly turned to the analysis of wages (see present edition, Vol. 34). See also this volume, p. 224.—45, 195, 232

[34] Turgot wrote his chief economic work in 1766. It was first published by Dupond de Nemours in 1769-70.—46, 352, 363

[35] Part of the text from page 26 of the manuscript has been transferred here in conformity with Marx's note: "Addition to p. 23."—46

[36] Marx again touches upon this issue as being a consequence of the factory system on pp. XX—1243-1244 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 33).—46

[37] The passage in question is quoted by Marx in the Additions to the chapter "Absolute Surplus Value" (see this volume, p. 217). Later, he used this quotation in *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. X (see present edition, Vol. 35).—47

38 In the manuscript of 1861-63 Marx comments repeatedly on Bailey's attacks on Ricardo's labour theory of value (see this volume, p. 101). This quotation, coming from *A Critical Dissertation*, occurs again on p. XIV—827, where Marx gives a detailed analysis of Bailey's views on value (see present edition, Vol. 32).—48, 101

39 Cf. the description of use value in Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 269-70). On use value entering into the process of production of capital as the "economic determination of form", see the economic manuscript of 1857-58 and the original text of the beginning of Chapter Three of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 28, p. 237 and Vol. 29, pp. 252, 504).—53, 55, 103, 105

40 Marx gave a detailed analysis of the development of money from the difference between use value and exchange value in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 78-85, 88). Cf. also Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 287-90).—54

41 On the inside cover of Notebook I marked "A" (see Note 2), Marx copied out a fragment from the manuscript of 1857-58 containing a short résumé of the problem of the exchange between labour and capital and the transition to the question of the actual consumption of the commodity labour capacity, i.e. to an analysis of the labour process and of the process of valorisation (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 204-05). This fragment has, therefore, been placed at the beginning of the section "The Labour Process".—54

42 In the economic manuscript of 1857-58, Marx criticised Frédéric Bastiat, one of the preachers of economic harmony between the classes in capitalist society, for reducing all economic relations to a simple relation of circulation (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 244-45).—54

43 In the section "The Labour Process" Marx turns repeatedly to his description of real labour as the source of use value, which he gave in Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 278). Here he examines the subject in greater detail.—55, 63

44 Following Hegel, Marx uses the notion "ideal" in the sense of action mediated by consciousness. Thus, Marx interprets the "idealisation" of the materials of nature, as is clear from the text that follows, as giving a product, through labour, that is, through *man's conscious activity*, a "higher use value".—55

45 Marx gives a description of the interdependence of the division of labour, exchange and exchange value in the original text of Chapter Two of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 464-68).—55

46 Cf. Marx's description of the worker's indifference to the specificity of his labour in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 222-23).—55

47 Cf. this passage with Marx's statement concerning the analysis of the use values of commodities as such in Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 270).—55

48 Cf. Marx's definition of the simple moments of the labour process in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 224-25).—56

49 Cf. the description of productive consumption in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 28, p. 227).—58

50 Cf. the description of the means and instruments of labour as "objectification of living labour" in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 28, p. 285).—58

51 Cf. Marx's definition of a "higher use value" in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 28, p. 237).—58, 63

52 The rest of this paragraph and the beginning of the next one contain passages with minor changes taken from the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 226-27).—59

53 In the economic manuscript of 1857-58 Marx stressed that "for use value, only the *quality* of the labour already objectified is relevant" (present edition, Vol. 28, p. 288).—62

54 Cf. Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 270), in which Marx gives a similar description of use value as a result of the labour process as such.—64

55 Marx had already pointed out the changes in the character of the labour process resulting from its subsumption under capital in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 81-84). In the manuscript of 1861-63, Marx repeatedly noted the varying impact of the capitalist relation on the character of the labour process and the creation by capital of a mode of production corresponding to it.—64, 92, 137, 262, 271, 280

56 In the economic manuscript of 1857-58, Marx had already criticised economists who, as apologists of bourgeois society, confused capital with the material elements of the labour process (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 188-89, 235-36). In the manuscript of 1861-63, Marx took up the issue once more in the section "Unity of the Labour Process and the Valorisation Process" (see this volume, pp. 95 and 98-99) and when considering Thomas Hodgskin's views on p. XV—864 (see present edition, Vol. 32).—65, 95, 98, 140, 143, 150, 154

57 The remark in parenthesis probably means that Marx wanted to give another definition of productive labour as a moment of the labour process as such. Later, in Ch. VII of Volume I of *Capital*, having left this passage virtually unchanged, he supplied a footnote pointing out the specifics of the application of this concept to the capitalist production process (see present edition, Vol. 35).—65

58 In the section "Forms Preceding Capitalist Production" of the economic manuscript of 1857-58, Marx dealt at length with the conditions of human labour already present in nature (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 412, 416).—65, 134

59 At the end of the section "Forms Preceding Capitalist Production" of the economic manuscript of 1857-58, Marx already stated that, just as wealth existing in the form of money constituted an historical prerequisite for the emergence of industrial capital, an analysis of the role of money was a theoretical prerequisite for an analysis of capital (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 427-36).—69

60 In the manuscript of 1861-63, in the course of his further analysis, Marx repeatedly pointed to one of the specific features of his method for analysing capitalist production relations: the transformation of the prerequisite for the analysis into its result (of the commodity as the most elementary form of wealth

into a product of capital) (see this volume, pp. 96-97 and 291 and also Vol. 32, p. XV—899). Marx returns to this issue in the manuscript of Volume I of *Capital*, Chapter Six, "The Results of the Direct Process of Production" (see present edition, Vol. 34).—69, 97, 291, 298, 313

61 In the Introduction to the economic manuscript of 1857-58 Marx exhaustively criticised the way bourgeois economists broke down the subject of research into production, distribution, exchange and consumption (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 17-37). Cf. also Marx's note on p. XIV—793 of the manuscript of 1861-63 on James Mill's "unsatisfactory divisions" (present edition, Vol. 32).—69, 159

62 Marx discusses the question of the relations of distribution being determined by the relations of production in the manuscript of Volume III of *Capital*, Ch. LI (see present edition, Vol. 37). Cf. also the presentation of this problem in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 142).—70, 145, 159

63 Marx returned to this question in Notebook V of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see this volume, p. 325 et seq.). Cf. also Marx's letter to Engels of August 20, 1862, in which he inquires about the method of calculating the wear and tear of machinery (present edition, Vol. 41, pp. 411-12).—70

64 For more detail, see the section on the Physiocrats in Notebook VI of the manuscript of 1861-63 (this volume, pp. 352-76). Cf. also the pertinent passage in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 253-55).—70, 167

65 At the bottom of page 36 of Notebook I of the manuscript of 1861-63, Marx copied out two paragraphs from the economic manuscript of 1857-58 with slight changes (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 236-37).—71

66 Cf. Marx's description of labour as a source of use value and exchange value presented in Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 277).—71

67 Marx is referring to Wakefield's theory of colonisation. He already touched on the views of this English economist in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 208, 484-85). Later, Marx devoted a whole chapter (Ch. XXIII) to this theory in Volume I of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 35).—75, 116, 257, 292

68 When analysing the boundaries of capitalist production in the economic manuscript of 1857-58, Marx cited J. R. McCulloch's views to illustrate how the vulgar economists denied the existence of overproduction. McCulloch reduced production based on capital to production for immediate use value, to all intents and purposes identifying production with consumption under capitalism and reducing the goal of the capitalist production process to the consumption of its products by the producers themselves (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 338-39). On pp. XIII—707, 717 of the manuscript of 1861-63, Marx returns to this question when describing the specifics of the capitalist production process (see present edition, Vol. 32).—81, 133

69 In the economic manuscript of 1857-58, when evolving the concept of value, Marx proceeded from ordinary (simple) average labour, on which he based the determination of exchange value by labour time (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 249, 531). The problem of the definition of simple labour, and the need for further research into the law of the reduction of complex labour to

simple labour was formulated for the first time in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 and then, in more detail, in Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 222, 272-73).—81, 90, 231

70 Cf. the definition of necessary labour time as it is formulated in Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 274).—82, 242, 313

71 Cf. the economic manuscript of 1857-58, where Marx says that "Californian gold is the product of simple labour" (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 222).—82

72 Cf. the definition of the use value of the commodity labour capacity in the original version of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 506).—87

73 Marx discussed the socialists' inability to explain surplus value theoretically in his economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, p. 340) and in Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (Vol. 29, p. 301).—89

74 Cf. Marx's similar statement concerning the consumption of material by labour and capital's consumption of labour by means of the material in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 28, p. 237).—93

75 The formal subsumption of the labour process under capital and the formation by capital of a corresponding mode of production, i.e. the real subsumption of the labour process under capital, are examined in detail in Notebook XXI of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 34).—93, 188, 262, 311

76 Marx repeatedly discussed the various aspects of "labour of superintendence" in the manuscript of 1861-63 (see this volume, pp. 262, 387 and 413, and also vols 32 and 33, pp. XIV—782, XV—919, 924, XVIII—1100). A special analysis of this issue is to be found in *Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. XXIII (see present edition, Vol. 37).—94, 262, 387

77 Marx re-examines the way Ricardo confused capital with the objective conditions of the labour process on p. XII—653 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 32). Cf. also Marx's criticism of Ricardo's views in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 188, 235-36).—95

78 The English bourgeois economists' phrase, "capital employs labour", was also used by Ricardo: "capital, or ... the means of employing labour". Marx returned several times to this problem in the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, vols 32 and 34, pp. XII—663, XIV—808, XV—864, XXI—1317).—95

79 Marx later reproduced this description of John Wade's work in Volume I of *Capital* in a note to the chapter "The Working-Day" (see present edition, Vol. 35).—96

80 In the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 94-95, 171; Vol. 29, pp. 40, 77-78, 431-32, 487) and Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (Vol. 29, pp. 275-76, 289), Marx repeatedly noted the fusion of production relations with their objective being, which is manifested in the fact that social relationships of persons appear in money and capital as social relationships of things.—96, 135

81 Marx takes this quotation from: J. Colins, *L'économie politique. Source des révolutions et des utopies prétendues socialistes*, Vol. 3, Paris, 1857, p. 358.—97

82 The section which is to be found at the end of Notebook XVII and the beginning of Notebook XVIII of the manuscript of 1861-63, deals again with this question (see present edition, Vol. 33). Marx considered this problem in detail in Volume II of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 36).—97, 99

83 Here, Marx develops an earlier idea of the interdependence of the natural conditions of production at the first stage of the development of human society and the product of the labour process as a result of man's social activities (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 188-89, 511). See also Note 58.—97

84 A reference to A. Turgot, *Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses*, pp. 34-35. Marx again stresses this idea on p. XIX—1163 of this manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 33).—97

85 Marx quotes B. Franklin's definition of man from: [Thomas Bentley,] *Letters on the Utility and Policy of Employing Machines to Shorten Labour; Occasioned by the Late Disturbances in Lancashire...*, London, 1780, pp. 2-3. In his Notebook VII of excerpts covering 1859-63, Marx copied out the following passage from that work: "Man has been defined many ways ... a *tool-making animal*, or *engineer* (Franklin), has by some been adopted as the best and most characteristic definition of men."—98

86 Marx refers to pp. 153-54 of his Notebook VII of excerpts, covering 1859-62, where he wrote down passages from Volumes One and Three of Colins' three-volume work *L'économie politique...* (Paris, 1856-57).—98

87 Cf. Marx's description of the individual as a member of a community, given in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 409-10).—98

88 The assertions made by James Mill and J. B. Say on the impossibility of overproduction under capitalism were critically analysed by Marx in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 338-39, 352).—99

89 In the economic manuscript of 1857-58, Marx had proved the bourgeois economists' views on capital as an original source of value existing apart from labour to be unsound (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 470, 473). Marx repeatedly took up this question in the manuscript of 1861-63 (the section "Capital and Profit"), and when analysing the views of Malthus, Torrens and Ramsay (see present edition, vols 32 and 33).—103

90 The passages that follow have been transferred here from the inside cover of Notebook II, marked "A". Marx copied them out, with minor changes, from the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 212, 219-20).—103

91 In the chapter "Piece-Wages" of Volume I of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 35), Marx quotes a pertinent passage from A. Ure's *The Philosophy of Manufactures*, London, 1835.—104

92 Cf. in Marx's economic manuscript of 1857-58: "Such belletristic phrases, which by means of some sort of analogy relate everything to everything else, may even appear profound when are said for the first time, and the more so the more they identify the most disparate things. If repeated, and especially if repeated

complacently, as statements of scientific value, they are *tout bonnement* foolish. Suitable only for belletristic story-tellers and empty chatterboxes who besmear all sciences with their liquorice-sweet rubbish" (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 219-20).—104, 159

93 The relation of superordination and subordination under capitalism viewed as a purely economic relation, as distinct from its forms in pre-bourgeois societies, had previously been discussed, in general terms, in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 96, 100-01, 176, 424-25).—106, 132

94 In the manuscript of Volume III of *Capital*, Ch. XXXVI (see present edition, Vol. 37), Marx, defining interest-bearing capital, in which valorisation appears in its pure form and the production of surplus value is concealed, wrote that "this accounts for the fact that even some political economists, particularly in countries where industrial capital is not yet fully developed, as in France, cling to interest-bearing capital as the fundamental form of capital".—109

95 Marx had written about the formation of bourgeois landed property by capital as a necessary prerequisite for the existence of wage labour in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 206-09).—112, 314

96 In the economic manuscript of 1857-58, Marx repeatedly discussed the inverse relation between object and subject, and the nature of the objective conditions of labour under capitalism that confront labour capacity as an alien, independent power (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 233-34, 381-83, 389-90).—113

97 Similar criticism of Bastiat's attempts to represent the form of wage labour as inessential, merely superficial and having nothing to do with the economic relation of labour and capital, is contained in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, p. 248).—114, 148

98 In examining the views of James Mill on pp. XIV—795-796 of the manuscript of 1861-63, Marx resumes his critique of the views on "the price of labour's being advanced" by capital expounded by a number of bourgeois economists (see present edition, Vol. 32).—115

99 This quotation from F. Wayland's work has been transferred here from pp. II—61-62 of the manuscript. Marx set it off from the main text by a line; it is marked by two crosses and supplied with the note: "To p. 60". On p. 61 of the main text, the same note was made after the word "Wakefield" (see this volume, p. 116). The quotation and Marx's note make it clear, however, that he probably intended to illustrate the passage marked in the main text by another quotation, one from Wakefield's work on the development of capitalist relations in the colonies. That is why the quotation from Wayland is given as a footnote here.—115

100 Marx makes a brief remark about this only on p. XXIII—1461 of the manuscript of 1861-63. He dealt with this question in more detail in Chapter Six of the manuscript of Volume I of *Capital*, "The Results of the Direct Process of Production" (see present edition, Vol. 34).—115, 142

101 Cf. the presentation of this problem in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 511-14). See also this volume, pp. 138-50.—117, 134

102 In the economic manuscript of 1857-58, Marx had already drawn an analogy between coal, oil and means of subsistence, as being instrumental materials in the labour process (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 82).—117, 133, 143, 144, 157

103 These figures differ from the earlier ones. While making the calculations, Marx changed the figures from which he proceeded initially. At first, the value of the product (£5) was composed of the following elements: raw material, £2 10s.; wear and tear of the machinery, £1; the value added by fresh labour, £1 10s. Later, he estimated the raw material at £1 10s., wear and tear of the machinery, at £1, and the value added by fresh labour, at £2 10s. A confusion arose later from the fact that, having switched to new figures in his calculations, in one instance Marx referred to the initial value of raw material, i.e. £2 10s.—120

104 As Marx himself wrote about the value magnitudes in the given example, "the figures are here a matter of indifference" (see this volume, p. 120). In this case, as in the above, he does not stick to the natural indices initially adopted. At first he assumed the amount of cotton spun daily to be 80 lbs ($6\,^2/_3$ lbs per hour), whereas later he cites different figures: the amount of cotton spun per hour is 6 lbs, or 72 lbs for 12 hours.—125, 127

105 Marx critically analysed Rossi's views in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 511-14).—135, 141

106 Cf. Marx's description of pre-bourgeois property in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 428-32). Marx took up this issue once more on pp. XXI—1328-1329 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 34).—135

107 Marx considered the distinction between services and productive wage labour in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 202-03, 393-99). In notebooks VII, IX and XXI of the manuscript of 1861-63, he examined in detail the economic specificity of services in capitalist society (see present edition, vols 31 and 34).—136, 137

108 When discussing the views of bourgeois economists in the manuscript of 1861-63, Marx returned more than once to the nature of productive and non-productive labour under the conditions of bourgeois production (see present edition, vols 31 and 34, pp. VII—300, IX—419, XXI—1317-1331).—136, 312

109 Marx discussed the role of trade in establishing the capitalist mode of production in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 227-36) and reproduced the fragment from it in Notebook XV of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 33).—136

110 Marx had already pointed out in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 that Say's definition of capital as a sum of values was unsound (see present edition, Vol. 28, p. 182).—138

111 In Ramsay this passage reads as follows: "The sources of national wealth would unquestionably be as great in the former case as in the latter. Nothing can prove more strongly that circulating capital...."—139

112 Marx returned to the analysis of Ramsay's views in Notebook XVIII of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 33).—140

113 The problem of the functioning of fixed capital in the process of reproduction and partial valorisation of the product had been exhaustively examined by Marx

in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 8-128). In the manuscript of 1861-63 he made no special study of this question, although he took it up again when analysing the views of certain bourgeois economists in notebooks IX and XVII (see present edition, vols 31 and 33).— 140

114 On pp. XXII—1403-1404 of the manuscript of 1861-63, summing up the material contained in the works of bourgeois economists dealing with the primitive accumulation of capital, Marx noted that the concentration of small farms in few hands and the competition between big farmers had helped turn independent peasants into wage labourers stripped of all property (see present edition, Vol. 34).— 142

115 Marx borrowed this quotation, which he had translated himself, from the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, p. 511).—146

116 Marx probably borrowed the quotations from Say and Sismondi, as well as the phrase immediately preceding them, from the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, p. 235). The figure LX denotes a page in one of Marx's Brussels notebooks of excerpts for 1845, where a synopsis of Sismondi's quoted work is to be found.—150

117 Cf. the relevant passage in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 28, p. 230). Further on Marx copied out some passages from it (see this volume, pp. 159-61).— 151

118 Cf. the relevant passage in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 28, p. 229).—151

119 R. Torrens says: "In that early period of society which precedes the separation of the community into a class of capitalists and a class of labourers, and in which the individual who undertakes any branch of industry, performs his own work, the total quantity of labour, accumulated and immediate, expended on production, is that on which comparison and competition turn, and which, in the transactions of barter or sale, ultimately determines the quantity of one commodity which shall be received for a given quantity of another" (pp. 33-34).— 151

120 Pages 23-30 of the London Notebook XVI of excerpts contain a synopsis of the work *Gratuité du crédit*, from which Marx copied this quotation.—153

121 Cf. the relevant passage in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 195-96).— 154

122 Marx quotes J. B. Say from: J. Colins, *L'économie politique...*, Vol. 3, Paris, 1857, p. 376.— 155

123 Marx renders Say's idea. See J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique*, Vol. II, Paris, 1817, pp. 484, 464, 480. Cf. also Marx's critique of Say's determination of the price of land in Ch. XIX of Volume I of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 35).— 155

124 Marx quotes the same passage from P. Verri at the end of the section dealing with the Physiocrats (see this volume, p. 376).— 156

125 Marx made a detailed analysis of this problem in Chapter Six, "The Results of the Direct Process of Production", of the manuscript of Volume I of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 34). See also Note 100.— 158

126 Marx is referring to item 4 of Section I in the Draft Plan of the Chapter on Capital for *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, which he drew up after Part One had been published (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 513-14). Marx examined questions relating to the primitive accumulation of capital in Notebook XXII of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 34); he made extensive use of the corresponding section of the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 387-99).—159, 192

127 Marx described surplus value as income in notebooks XV and XXII of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, vols 32 and 34).—159, 312

128 Marx examined all these questions in notebooks II and III of the economic manuscript of 1857-58, in the section "Exchange between Capital and Labour" (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 213-21, 231-36).—159

129 This refers to Notebook III of the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 231-34).—159

130 Marx reproduced these data on p. 186 of the first edition of Volume I of *Capital*. As his letter to Engels of May 7, 1868 indicates (see present edition, Vol. 43), these data refer to the factory of which Engels was co-owner. According to Marx (see his letter to Engels of May 16), Engels himself put them down in his notebook.—161

131 In a letter to Engels of September 28, 1861, Marx thanked him for the "*Manchester Guardians* most useful to me" (see present edition, Vol. 41, p. 321).—162

132 Marx deals with this question in notebooks XVI and XVII of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 33).—163

133 Originally Marx left the end of Notebook II (pp. 89-94 of the manuscript) blank and, starting most probably in late 1861, filled it in with additional material as he worked on the subsequent part of this manuscript.—163

134 Marx refers to the analysis of the impact made on profit and the rate of profit by changes in the value of constant capital. This analysis is to be found in Notebook XVI of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 33).—165

135 Marx borrowed the facts pertaining to the economic development of Hungary from a work by Richard Jones, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth...*, London, 1831, a synopsis of which is to be found in Marx's London Notebook IX of excerpts for 1851.—167

136 Marx borrowed the statistics from "Coal mine accidents. Abstract of return to an address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 3 May 1861. Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 6 February 1862".

Marx later used this material in *Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. V (see present edition, Vol. 37).—168

137 Marx touched briefly on this issue on pp. XVI—985-986 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 33). A detailed analysis of the concentration of workers and the economy in the employment of constant capital as factors increasing the rate of profit can be found in *Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. V (see present edition, Vol. 37).—169

138 Marx reproduces this quotation in the Additions to the chapter "Absolute Surplus Value" (see this volume, p. 224).—170

139 The passages on pp. 170-71 of this volume were borrowed by Marx from the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 221-22, 231-32).—170

140 This paragraph, containing a mathematical interpretation of the production of surplus value, was probably inserted by Marx later, between the heading and the text. Marx deals in more detail with the mathematical interpretation of capitalist production as production of surplus value in Chapter Six, "The Results of the Direct Process of Production", of the manuscript of Volume I of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 34).—172

141 Marx made these calculations on the inside cover of Notebook I, without referring specifically to the text. The calculations have been inserted here by the compilers of the volume.—178

142 According to the original plan, Marx considered this problem in the section on capital and profit in Notebook XVI of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 33).—178

143 In the given instance, apart from the "primary" converted forms of surplus value—profit, interest and rent—Marx operates with its "secondary" form—taxes. Here as earlier in the manuscript (see this volume, p. 158), he breaks down surplus value into different kinds of income as industrial capitalists did in everyday practice.—179, 206

144 Cf. this volume, pp. 199-204. See also Marx's criticism of Senior's "last hour" theory in *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. IX (present edition, Vol. 35).—179, 199

145 These points, which Marx had planned to consider in the section dealing with surplus value, were touched upon in the economic manuscript of 1857-58, e.g. the civilising influence of capital (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 336-38, 466); the relation of labour time to free time (Vol. 29, p. 97); and the relation of population and capital (Vol. 28, pp. 325-26). Marx gave a detailed analysis of Proudhon's erroneous thesis in Notebook IV of the manuscript of 1857-58 (Vol. 28, pp. 352-62).—180

146 Marx wrote briefly on the extremely hard work done by the English bakers in the Additions to this chapter (see this volume, p. 228). In notebooks XVIII and XIX of the manuscript of 1861-63 Marx three times cited facts illustrating the merciless exploitation of dressmakers in London which was an additional source of surplus value for the employers (see present edition, vols 33 and 34).—181

147 *Killing No Murder* was the title of a pamphlet that appeared in England in 1657. Its author, Edward Sexby, stated that it was a patriotic duty that Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell, a hated and cruel tyrant, be assassinated.—185

148 A reference to a quotation from Wakefield's work *England and America. A Comparison of the Social and Political State of Both Nations.* In two vols. Vol. I, London, 1833, p. 55. Marx uses it on p. XXIII—1448 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 34).—185

149 The dependence of the amount of surplus value on the surplus labour of an individual worker and the number of simultaneously employed workers was defined by Marx as a law of surplus value (see this volume, p. 206).—185

150 Marx had touched on some aspects of the interdependence of the growth of capital and that of the population in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 147-48). Later, in the manuscript of 1861-63, he

noted repeatedly that this question should be examined specially when analysing accumulation (e.g. see this volume, p. 190). Marx realised his idea in Part VII of Volume I of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 35).—189, 190, 290, 295

151 Marx analysed this problem thoroughly in *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. XXV (see present edition, Vol. 35).—189

152 Marx again took up the question of the drop in the value of labour capacity as a result of women and children being drawn into capitalist exploitation on pp. XX—1243, 1257 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, vols 33 and 34).—189

153 Quite early, in his economic manuscript of 1857-58, Marx gave a description of time as scope for the development of human capacities (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 93). On p. XX—1244 of the manuscript of 1861-63 he repeats this definition (see present edition, Vol. 33).—191, 301

154 Marx's first detailed description of the antagonistic form of free time as free time only for the few in societies based on the appropriating of the surplus labour of the toiling majority is to be found in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 324-25).—191, 192, 196, 301

155 This definition of wealth as disposable time was inserted later and is a translation of a quotation from the work *The Source and Remedy of the National Difficulties*, London, 1821, p. 6: "Wealth is disposable time and nothing more." Marx quoted it in the original language in the Additions to the chapter "Absolute Surplus Value" (see this volume, p. 204), most probably after looking through the economic manuscript of 1857-58, where he first used this quotation (see present edition, Vol. 28, p. 324). He analysed this definition once again in Notebook XIV of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 32).—192

156 In the economic manuscript of 1857-58 Marx gave a description of Steuart's economic views in general and his ideas concerning the historical appearance of "free hands", i.e. the separation of labour capacity from the conditions of production, in particular (see present edition, Vol. 28, p. 395 and Vol. 29, p. 164). When examining Steuart's views in Notebook VI of the manuscript of 1861-63, Marx stressed in particular his contribution to the scientific solution of this problem (see this volume, p. 352).—193, 290, 295, 357

157 Marx uses this quotation from Richard Jones on two other occasions: on p. VI—225 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see this volume, p. 357), and when analysing the views of the English economist on p. XVIII—1122 of this manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 33).—193

158 A similar description is to be found in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 183, 395, 397, 426) and in the original version of Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 481).—197

159 Marx reproduces these two quotations on p. XIV—852 of the manuscript of 1861-63, when examining the views of the author of *The Source and Remedy of the National Difficulties*. By the "value of capital" the author of the pamphlet implies the ratio of the quantity of surplus labour appropriated by the capitalist to the size of the capital he uses (see present edition, Vol. 32).—204

160 Marx erroneously named W. Jacob's *Consideration on the Protection Required by British Agriculture etc.*, London, 1814 as the source of the quotation. The

correction has been made in conformity with the London Notebook IV of excerpts, which contains this quotation from J. G. Büsch among excerpts copied out from Jacob's book.—204

161 Cf. Marx's remarks concerning Joseph Townsend and Giammaria Ortes in *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. XXV (see present edition, Vol. 35). He reproduces there the quoted passage from Townsend's work and the excerpt from H. Fr. Storch quoted further in the text.—205

162 Cf. excerpts from the work by Symons at the end of the Chapter on Capital in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 206-07).—212

163 Marx goes back to examining Richard Jones' views on rent in Notebook XXII of this manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 33).—212

164 Marx borrowed the data on Wallachian and Moldavian peasants cited below from: É. Regnault, *Histoire politique et sociale des principautés danubiennes*, Paris, 1855, pp. 304-11.—214

165 The *Règlement organique*, the first constitution of the Danubian Principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia), was introduced in 1831 by P. D. Kiselev, head of the Russian administration there. The principalities had been occupied by the Russian troops after the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-29. Under the *Règlement*, the legislative power in each of the principalities was granted to the assembly, elected by big landowners, and executive power to the *hospodars*, representatives of the landed gentry, the clergy and the towns, elected for life. The *Règlement* consolidated the dominant position of the top stratum of the boyars and the clergy by perpetuating the feudal order, including the *corvée*.—214

166 A reference to the *Factory Acts* of 1850, which introduced the 10-hour working day. In the chapter "The Working-Day" (Volume I of *Capital*) Marx went into the history of this act (see present edition, Vol. 35).—216

167 Newmarch, "Address". In: *Report of the Thirty-First Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science; held at Manchester in September 1861*, London, 1862, pp. 201-03. Between late August and mid-September 1861, Marx was staying with Engels in Manchester; while there, he attended sittings of the Economic Science and Statistics Section held as part of the Association's 31st annual meeting which took place on September 4-11, 1861.—216

168 Marx first gave a German translation from *The Daily Telegraph* and then quoted the original, preceding it with the words: "The original runs".—217

169 When recounting facts from the history of factory legislation, including the quotation from Blanqui given below, Marx used A. Redgrave's material from the *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Half Year ending 31st October 1855*, London, 1856, pp. 77-81, 87.—220

170 L. Horner wrote on page 9 of his report of April 30, 1859 (which Marx quotes) that it would probably be his last one. He managed, however, to continue his work as Inspector of Factories and published one more report, covering the half year ending October 31, 1859. See Marx's letter to Engels of January 11, 1860 (present edition, Vol. 41, p. 5).—223

171 Marx inserted pages 124a-124h into Notebook III later. He wrote on page 124a: "To p. 124."—224

172 Page 196 of Notebook V of the manuscript of 1861-63 has been inserted here in conformity with Marx's note: "This quotation belongs to Notebook III, p. 'e' after p. 124."—228

173 Marx considered this problem in Notebook XVI of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 33).—229

174 Marx quotes, in his own translation into German, the French edition of Babbage's work *Traité sur l'économie des machines et des manufactures.* Translated from the English by Éd. Biot. Paris, 1833, p. 5.—229

175 Marx is referring to a story about Leibniz which Hegel recounts in his *Science of Logic*: "The tenet that there are no two identical things is difficult to comprehend, and, according to an anecdote, was found puzzling at a certain court, where Leibniz voiced it, thereby prompting the ladies to search among leaves on the trees in the hope of finding two identical ones" (G.W.F. Hegel, "Wissenschaft der Logik", *Werke,* Bd. 4, Berlin, 1834, S. 45).—232

176 *Fluxions* and *fluents* are concepts of the calculus of fluxions, the earliest form of differential and integral calculus, developed by Newton. He used the term fluents to denote the values of a system which (the values) change simultaneously and constantly, depending on time, and the term fluxions to denote the velocities with which the fluents change. Thus, fluxions are time derivatives of fluents.—233

177 Marx returns to this question while analysing Ramsay's views on p. XVIII—1096 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 33).—236

178 Marx is probably referring to John Stuart Mill who, when considering the ratio of the rate of profit to wages in his *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy* (London, 1844), proceeds from the assumption that the "labourer is paid in the very article he produces". Marx cites this tenet when analysing Mill's views on p. VII—322 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 31).—238

179 The following discussion concerning the influence of the increase in labour productivity on the ratio of necessary to surplus labour time largely corresponds to the respective passage in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 259-66).—245

180 Marx began, by mistake, to number the pages of Notebook IV of the manuscript of 1861-63 from 138 (instead of 132).—245

181 In this instance Marx is in error, for the decrease in necessary labour time from $^5/_6$ to $^3/_6$ of the working day means that the value of labour capacity has decreased by 40% and made up 60% of the initial magnitude. Marx pointed out this mistake several pages later.—246, 247

182 Summing up his analysis of the effect increases in the productivity of labour have on the magnitude of surplus value, Marx notes, in the economic manuscript of 1857-58, that all this "*really belongs in the doctrine of profit*" (see present edition, Vol. 28, p. 266). He takes up this problem again in the manuscript of 1861-63, in the section on capital and profit, Notebook XVI (see present edition, Vol. 33).—247

183 Marx returns to this problem on pp. XX—1284-1294 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 34).—250

184 *The Standard*, London, No. 11610, October 26, 1861 and *The Evening Standard*, London, No. 11610, October 26, 1861 do not mention the fact cited by Marx.—250

185 The text that follows was written on the inside cover of Notebook IV (which Marx marked 138a). It is a summary of the corresponding passage from the economic manuscript of 1857-58 dealing with the ratio of the increase in the productivity of labour to the magnitude of relative surplus value (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 264-66).—251

186 Cf. the pertinent passage on pp. XIV—808-809 of the manuscript of 1861-63, where Marx returns to his examination of Ricardo's views on this issue and the critique levelled at him by an anonymous author (see present edition, Vol. 32). Cf. also Note 78.—254

187 The remark about production under slavery and the mention of Cairnes were made later: Cairnes' book *The Slave Power* (London) did not appear before May 1862, when Notebook IV of the manuscript of 1861-63 was already complete. Marx refers to p. 47 of the book, a copy of which he had in his own library. This page contains Marx's markings.—255, 262

188 Marx bases this remark on the work by S. N. H. Linguet, *Théorie des loix civiles, ou principes fondamentaux de la société*, Vol. I, London, 1767.—256

189 Marx takes up this question again on pp. XVI—985-986 and XXI—1318-1320 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, vols 33 and 34). He studied the question most thoroughly in Volume III of *Capital*, in the chapter "Economy in the Employment of Constant Capital" (see present edition, Vol. 37).—258, 270

190 On pp. XIX—1180 and XX—1250 of the manuscript of 1861-63, in the section dealing with machines, Marx merely points to the continuity of labour as a consequence of the introduction of machinery (see present edition, Vol. 33). He dealt with this question at greater length in *Capital*, Vol. II, Ch. XV (see present edition, Vol. 36).—259

191 Part of the text from the inside cover of Notebook IV, marked "138a", has been transferred here in conformity with Marx's note: "To p. 148."—263

192 When writing this section, notably the first part, Marx based himself on the work by D. Stewart, *Lectures on Political Economy*, Vol. 1, Edinburgh, 1855.—264

193 Marx is referring to the terminology D. Stewart used in his work *Lectures on Political Economy*, p. 310 et seq.—266

194 Marx quotes Garnier's translation of the work by Adam Smith: *Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations*, Paris, 1802. Marx made excerpts from this book in the spring of 1844, while living in Paris. In the present volume, all quotations from *Recherches...* are given according to the English original (A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. By J. R. McCulloch. In four volumes. Edinburgh, London, 1828). The page numbers from the latter edition are given in square brackets. The French translation of Smith's work does not always coincide with the English original, which is disregarded here. Marx made extensive use of the 1828 English edition when working on the manuscript of 1861-63.—268, 376

195 Marx repeatedly stressed this idea, both in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 40, 96, 107, 187) and in Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (Vol. 29, pp. 290-91).—274, 293

196 Marx is probably referring to C. F. Bergier, who translated Adam Ferguson's book into French and wrote an introduction to it.—276

197 Cf. *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* Part One (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 293).—276

198 These two Latin proverbs and the quotation from Alcibiades II occur in the note supplied by editor W. Hamilton to p. 311 of Stewart's book.—280

199 Marx provides the German translation of this quotation in ancient Greek.—281, 282, 283

200 Marx returns to this question in connection with a critical analysis of Ure's *The Philosophy of Manufactures,* on pp. XX—1246-1247 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 33).—286

201 Below, Marx quotes passages from pages 67-68 of Henry Martyn's work *The Advantages of the East-India Trade to England...* from MacCulloch, *The Literature of Political Economy...,* London, 1845, p. 101.—287

202 Cf. Marx's assessment of P. E. Lemontey's views on the consequences of the division of labour in *The Poverty of Philosophy* (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 180).—293

203 In the economic manuscript of 1857-58, Marx twice uses the pertinent quotation from page 166 of Steuart's work *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy,* Vol. I, Dublin, 1770 (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 163, 234). He uses it again on p. XV—949 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 33).—298

204 Part of the text from p. 179 has been transferred here in conformity with Marx's note: "To the beginning of p. 175."—299

205 On p. XX—1249 of the manuscript of 1861-63, Marx pointed out the discrepancy between the English original and the French translation of Ure's book (see present edition, Vol. 33); the French text has "*exploité*" and the English original, "exploded".—300

206 This reference to Quesnay was inserted by Marx later, probably on the basis of an excerpt from Quesnay's *Fermiers* (published by Daire in 1846) which he made in Additional Notebook C (May 1863).—303

207 Part of the text from p. 179 has been transferred here in conformity with Marx's note: "To p. 178."—303

208 Marx wrote about this on pp. XX—1262-1263, 1278-1279 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 34).—304

209 Marx left a blank space here for the source. In the summer of 1862, Marx borrowed from Lassalle Wilhelm Roscher's book, *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie,* Stuttgart, Augsburg, 1858 (Roscher: *System der Volkswirtschaft,* Bd. 1). See Marx's letter to Lassalle of June 16, 1862 (present edition, Vol. 41, pp. 377-78). On p. 47 of his book Roscher says about production: "As a rule, the more it [production] is perfected, the greater is—as effect and cause of efficient operation—the producer's satisfaction in his production." The reference is probably made to this particular passage.—306

210 Marx partially realised this plan in Notebook XX of this manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 34).—311

211 Marx wrote about the specifically historical character of economic categories within the framework of the capitalist mode of production in the Introduction to the manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 41-42).—313

212 By Chapter 3 Marx might have meant either the section on relative surplus value (the third chapter of the first part of his investigation of capital), or the third part of the Chapter on Capital, "Capital and Profit" (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 516). The first draft of Chapter 3 is to be found in the manuscript of 1857-58 (Vol. 29, pp. 129-251), where it is marked as Section Three of the Chapter on Capital. In the later sections of the manuscript of 1861-63, Marx refers to Section Three, or Part Three instead of Chapter 3 (see present edition, vols 31 and 33).

The question of a longer working day as a consequence of the introduction of machinery by capitalists was later considered by Marx in Chapter XV of Volume I and in Chapter V of Volume III of *Capital* (see present edition, vols 35 and 37).—319, 331

213 Part of the text from p. 196 has been transferred here in accordance with Marx's note: "To p. 190."—319

214 Marx takes up this issue once more on pp. XIX—1237-1238 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 33).—320

215 See Notebook XIX of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 33).—321

216 Marx cites this fact, drawing on data provided by the German scientist Johann Heinrich Moritz von Poppe. Marx copied relevant passages from the latter's work on p. XIX—1166 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 33).—322

217 The quotation from Rossi's work has been transferred here from p. 201 in accordance with Marx's note: "To the beginning of p. 194."—324

218 To designate constant capital Marx here uses Richard Jones' term "auxiliary capital". Cf. Marx's note concerning Richard Jones' use of the term on p. XVIII—1128 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 33).—327

219 Here and below the figure XI stands for Marx's London Notebook XI of excerpts where the synopsis of Senior's work is to be found (pp. 4-5).—333

220 Senior operates not with the total sum of the capital advanced, equalling £100,000, but with the sum of £100 falling to each individual worker. This correction was made by Marx when making a synopsis of Senior's work in the London Notebook XI of excerpts.—334

221 The quotation from Torrens has been transferred here from p. 206 in conformity with Marx's note: "To p. 201."—334

222 A detailed analysis of this work, published anonymously (its author was John Cazenove, a follower of Malthus) was made by Marx in Notebook XIV of this manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 32).—337

223 A reference to the self-acting mule invented by the British engineer Richard Roberts in 1825. The workers nicknamed this loom the "Iron Man", because it automatically performed many of the operations in the spinning industry which had hitherto been performed manually.—342

224 The source of this English quotation has not been established. The figure "100" before the word "pounds" has been added on the strength of a similar passage in Chapter XV of Volume I of *Capital*, where Marx describes, in his own words, Eli Whitney's cotton gin (see present edition, Vol. 35).—343

225 In the economic manuscript of 1857-58, Marx had discussed Proudhon's thesis concerning the worker's inability to buy back his product (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 352-62). He does the same, in a more concise form, in *Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. XLIX (see present edition, Vol. 37).—345

226 This intention was not realised. In March 1862 Marx abandoned a systematic exposition of the problems pertaining to relative surplus value, and took up a detailed analysis of bourgeois theories of surplus value. Only in late 1862-early 1863 did he return to the problem of the capitalist use of machinery, as his letters to Engels of January 24 and 28, 1863 indicate (see present edition, Vol. 41, pp. 446, 449), filling in the empty pages of Notebook V, as well as notebooks XIX and XX. Accordingly, this part of Notebook V is included in Volume 33.—346

227 These notes were made on the inside covers of notebooks VI and VII respectively.—347

228 *Theories of Surplus Value*, on which Marx embarked in March 1862, is the fifth, concluding section of the first chapter of research into capital, "The Production Process of Capital". Originally, the fourth section was to consider the connection of relative and absolute surplus value. *Theories of Surplus Value* was to be an historical introduction to the chapter on surplus value, similar to the historical notes introducing the chapters on commodity and on money in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

In the course of Marx's work on the manuscript, *Theories of Surplus Value* underwent considerable changes. In both length and content it far surpassed the original plan. As well as considering the views of bourgeois economists, Marx put forward a number of major theoretical propositions in it.

*Theories of Surplus Value* appeared in English for the first time in an abridged form in 1951: K. Marx, *Theories of Surplus Value*. A selection from the volumes published between 1905 and 1910 as *Theorien über den Mehrwert*, edited by Karl Kautsky, taken from Karl Marx's preliminary manuscript for the projected fourth volume of *Capital*. Transl. from the German by G. A. Bonner and Emile Burns, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1951.

The work was first published in full between 1963 and 1971: K. Marx, *Theories of Surplus-Value* (Vol. IV of *Capital*), Part I, Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1963; Part II, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1968; Part III, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1971.—348

229 Marx is referring to part three of his work, "Third Chapter. Capital in General". In the Draft Plan of the Chapter on Capital drawn up in 1860, this part is entitled "III. Capital and Profit" (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 516). The beginning of this work is to be found on pp. XVI—973-1021 and XVII—1022-1028 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 33).—348

230 Marx is paraphrasing Steuart's ideas. Steuart says: "I. The first thing to be known of any manufacture when it comes to be sold, is, how much of it a person can perform in a day, a week, a month, according to the nature of the work, which may require more or less time to bring it to perfection. In making such estimates, regard is to be had only to what, upon an average only, a workman of the country in general may perform,... II. The second thing to be known, is the value of the

workman's subsistence and necessary expense, both for supplying his personal wants, and providing the instruments belonging to his profession, which must be taken upon an average as above;... III. The third and last thing to be known, is the value of the materials..." (James Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy*. In: Steuart, *The Works, Political, Metaphysical, and Chronological...*, Vol. I, London, 1805, p. 246).—351

231 Marx is referring to the work by Adam Smith *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. In two volumes, London, 1776. Garnier's French translation, which Marx owned and used (A. Smith, *Recherches...*, Vol. I, Paris, 1802) indicated, on page 1, that the first edition appeared in late 1775-early 1776. That was probably why a mistake was made over the year of publication of Adam Smith's work.—352

232 Marx is referring to the second part of his work. In the plan for the Chapter on Capital drafted in 1860, this part is entitled "II. Circulation Process of Capital". Some of the notes pertaining to this chapter (concerning Quesnay's economic table) are to be found on pp. X—422-437 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 31). Marx wrote more on the subject on pp. XXIII—1433-1434 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 34). The questions of circulation were not developed further in this manuscript. Marx returned to them only in the manuscript of 1863-65. They are studied in Part III of Volume II of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 36).—353, 374

233 In the manuscript of 1861-63, Marx uses the terms "profit upon alienation" and "profit upon expropriation" interchangeably. Steuart does not use the latter term.—359, 370

234 Marx repeatedly pointed to this "conclusion" of Ricardian political economy, as well as to the practical conclusions drawn from it by the radical Ricardians, in the manuscript of 1861-63. See pp. X—458, XI—496-497, 516-517 (present edition, Vol. 31); pp. XIV—791, XV—902-903 (Vol. 32); pp. XVIII—1120, 1139 (Vol. 33). See also K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy* (present edition, Vol. 6, p. 203).—361, 373

235 "*Laissez-faire, laissez-aller*" (also "*laissez-faire, laissez-passer*"), the formula of economists who advocated Free Trade and non-intervention by the state in economic affairs.—361

236 Colbert, a champion of Mercantilism, was Controller-General of Finances under Louis XIV. The economic policy he pursued objectively promoted the primitive accumulation of capital, even though it served the interests of the absolutist state. Further development of capitalism required fulfilment of the new economic and political tasks, as defined by the Physiocrats in the struggle against Mercantilism.

At the same time, the advance of the Physiocratic doctrine was facilitated by the fiasco of John Law's system. The latter tried to enhance the country's wealth through a series of finance and credit projects and greater state intervention. The issue of paper money not backed by gold and speculation in bonds produced the first paper currency inflation and the bankruptcy of the bank and joint-stock company he had set up. Under those conditions land became the most stable property, which accounted for the Physiocrats' emphasis on agriculture. The nascent French bourgeoisie's rejection of Colbertism and of Law's system, as well as the objective changes under way in material production itself, contributed to the establishment of the Physiocratic doctrine.—367, 373

237 In 1839 and 1843, the Société typographique Belge, Adolfe Wahlen et compagnie published two collections of economic works under the general title *Cours d'économie politique.* Both collections opened with J. A. Blanqui's *Histoire de l'économie politique en Europe.* Marx used the 1843 edition, which he had in his library and from which he quoted Rossi. It is probable that the 1843 edition reproduced the title page of the 1839 collection, which presumably explains Marx's reference to this source.—370

238 The *Economists* was the name given to the French Physiocrats in the second half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century. By the 1850s the name acquired a more general meaning and ceased to denote exponents of a particular economic doctrine.—370, 373

239 Volume V of Adam Smith's *Recherches sur la nature...* (1802 edition) contains translator's (Germain Garnier's) notes, which Marx quotes here and below.—371

240 In his lifetime *Mirabeau le père* was nicknamed "L'Ami des hommes" (the "Friend of the People"), after the title of one of his works.—373

241 Epicurus believed that gods existed in the space between the worlds and were unconcerned with either the development of the Universe or human affairs.—373

242 The *Encyclopaedists* were the authors of the French *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers,* which appeared in 1751-72 and consisted of 28 volumes. Among them were the most prominent people of the Enlightenment. Most of the credit for the publication must go to Diderot, who supervised the work, as well as to D'Alembert, who wrote the famous Introduction to the *Encyclopédie.* Quesnay and Turgot, prominent Physiocrats, wrote a number of entries expounding the basic propositions of their doctrine. This work, reflecting as it did a diversity of views, made a substantial contribution to the ideological preparation for the French Revolution.

The collaboration between the Physiocrats and the Encyclopaedists can be explained by the fact that both trends helped spread bourgeois ideas, thus paving the way for bourgeois society.—374

243 The *demagogues* were members of an opposition movement among German intellectuals. The word gained currency in this sense after the Carlsbad Conference of Ministers of German States in August 1819, which adopted a special resolution against the "intrigues of demagogues".—374

244 Schmalz's book appeared in Berlin in 1818, under the title *Staatswirthschaftslehre in Briefen an einen teutschen Erbprinzen,* Parts One and Two.—375

245 Taken from Notebook VII of excerpts (1859-62), p. 210. On p. 188 this quotation from Adam Smith is in French. On p. 210 Marx wrote: "To p. 188. Here and further, Smith is quoted in English; edit. *McCulloch. London. 1828.*"—376

246 Marx critically examines the Physiocratic part of Smith's doctrine in Notebook VI of the manuscript (see this volume, pp. 368-72), as well as on pp. XII—626-632 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 31).—377

247 See pp. XII—650-651 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 32), as well as D. Ricardo, *On the Principles...,* London, 1819, Chapter I, Section I.—378

248 See Note 247 and also pp. XII—652-654 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 32).—380

249 A detailed analysis of Malthus' theory of value and surplus value is given in Marx's manuscript of 1861-63 on pp. XIII—753-767 (see present edition, Vol. 32).—380, 394

250 Marx is referring to Notebook VII of excerpts (1859-62), p. 173. In connection with the passage from Adam Smith quoted earlier, he ridicules the latter's attempts to derive profit from "the undertaker's hazard".

Marx planned to put the chapter on the apologetic accounts of profit in the third section of his work (see present edition, Vol. 33, p. XVIII—1139), but this chapter was never written. Some of the problems that were to constitute its subject-matter were considered in the manuscript of 1861-63. See, for instance, pp. X—425-427 (present edition, Vol. 31).—385

251 Marx examined the question of the "antediluvian forms" of capital on pp. XV—899-901 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 32). See also *Capital*, Vol. III, Part V, Ch. XXXVI (present edition, Vol. 37).—389

252 See Note 229, and pp. XIV—791-805 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 32).—395

253 Later Marx specified the concept of the means of production. In Section 1, Chapter VII of Volume I of *Capital*, by the means of production he implies "both the instruments and the subject of labour" (see present edition, Vol. 35).—396

254 Here, Marx uses the term "average price" to denote the same concept as "price of production", i.e. the cost of production plus average profit. The correlation between the market price of commodities and their average price is examined in Notebook XII of this manuscript.

The very term "average price" indicates that Marx has in mind "the average market price over a long period, or the central point towards which the market price gravitates" (see p. XII—605 of the manuscript of 1861-63, present edition, Vol. 31).—400

255 Marx uses the term "cost price" ("Kostenpreiss" or "Kostpreiss") in three different meanings: 1) in the sense of the cost of production for the capitalist ($c+v$); 2) in the sense of the "immanent cost of production" of the commodities ($c+v+s$), which is identical to the value of the commodity, and 3) in the sense of the price of production ($c+v$+average profit). In the given passage, the term is used in its second sense. In notebooks X-XIII of the manuscript (see present edition, vols 31 and 32), it is used as the price of production, or the average price. There Marx identifies the two terms. Thus on p. XI—529 he writes about "average prices or, as we shall call them, *cost prices* which are different from the values themselves and are not directly determined by the values of the commodities but by the capital advanced for their production+the average profit" (see present edition, Vol. 31). On p. XII—624 Marx observes: "...The price which is required for the supply of the commodity, the price which is required for it to come into existence at all, to appear as a commodity on the market, is of course its *price of production* or *cost price*" (ibid.).

In notebooks XIV-XV of the manuscript (see present edition, vols 32 and 33), the term "Kostenpreiss" is used now in the sense of the price of production, and now in that of production costs for the capitalist.

The treble usage of the term "Kostenpreiss" is explained by the fact that, in political economy, the word "Kosten" was used in three senses, as Marx noted in particular on pp. XIV—788-790 and XV—928 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 32).

Apart from these usages in the classical works of bourgeois political economy, a fourth one exists: the vulgar meaning of the term "production costs" as used by J. B. Say, who interpreted production costs as something paid for the "productive services" performed by labour, capital or land. Marx opposed this vulgar interpretation (see p. XI—506 of the manuscript of 1861-63, present edition, Vol. 31; pp. XIII—693-694 of the manuscript, present edition, Vol. 32).—401

256 Marx critically analysed Smith's theory of cost prices and its refutation by Ricardo on pp. XI—549-560 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 31).—402

257 Here and up to the end of p. 267 of the manuscript there follows a passage that breaks up the previous narrative, so Marx precedes p. 268 of the manuscript with the words: "Adam Smith continues."—405

258 A critique of Say's views on this issue is also to be found on p. VII—300 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 31).—408

259 Storch's *Considérations*, put out in 1824 as a separate edition, was in 1852 published as Part V of *Cours d'économie politique*. Marx uses the 1824 edition.—409

260 Here Marx sets forth Ramsay's views. The exact quotation runs as follows: "Mr. Ricardo saw very well, that the question of profit was entirely one of proportion; but unfortunately, one seems always to consider the whole produce as divided between wages and profits, forgetting the part necessary for replacing fixed capital" (George Ramsay, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth*, Edinburgh, London, 1836, p. 174, note).—409

261 See pp. XVIII—1091-1098 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 33) and also Note 229.—410

262 Marx repeatedly returned to these two aspects of simple reproduction in this manuscript (e.g. see this volume, pp. 411-51; pp. VIII—350-356 and IX—379 of the manuscript, present edition, Vol. 31). In the later notebooks of this manuscript Marx also discussed simple reproduction, and in Notebook XXII (Vol. 34) outlined the preliminary conclusions of his own theory of reproduction.—411

263 The paragraph that follows was probably added by Marx later, while working on Notebook VII, which is borne out by the use of inner margins.—412

264 The term "*production costs*" ("Produktionskosten") is used here in the sense of the "immanent costs of production", i.e. $c+v+s$. Cf. Note 255.—413

265 Marx is here referring to "II. Circulation Process of Capital" in the Draft Plan of the Chapter on Capital written in 1860 (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 514-16). In Volume II of *Capital* the reproduction of constant capital is considered in Part III, "The Reproduction and Circulation of the Aggregate Social Capital" (present edition, Vol. 36).—414, 449

266 Below, while preserving the numerical values cited here, Marx changed the letters designating the production spheres (with the exception of A). In place of

B and C, he uses $B^{1}$-$B^{2}$ (or $B^{1-2}$); in place of D, E, F, G, H, and I, he uses $C^{1}$-$C^{6}$ (or $C^{1-6}$); in place of $K^{1}$-$K^{18}$, $D^{1}$-$D^{18}$ (or $D^{1-18}$); in place of $L^{1}$-$L^{54}$, $E^{1}$-$E^{54}$ (or $E^{1-54}$); in place of $M^{1}$-$M^{162}$, $F^{1}$-$F^{162}$ (or $F^{1-162}$); in place of $N^{1}$-$N^{486}$, $G^{1}$-$G^{486}$ (or $G^{1-486}$).—423

267 The points from 1) to 486) on pp. 423-24 of this volume designate the number of necessary working days in these production spheres.—423

268 The table that follows is based on the relevant calculations written down on the back cover of Notebook I of this manuscript.—426

269 Letters B and C designate the same production spheres as prior to p. 423 of this volume (see Note 266). Marx refers to two production spheres, in each of which newly-added labour makes up one working day. The sum total of the newly-added labour in spheres A, B and C amounts to three working days, i.e. to the labour objectified in the product of sphere A.—427

270 Here, B and C no longer signify the two production spheres; otherwise their product would have amounted to only 6 working days, whereas Marx refers to 18 working days. Marx does not use them, however, in the sense of $B^{1}$-$B^{2}$ and $C^{1}$-$C^{6}$ either ($B^{1}$-$B^{2}$ means a group of two production spheres; $C^{1}$-$C^{6}$ designates a group of six production spheres; the total product of these eight spheres makes up 24 working days). Here, Marx is referring to a group consisting of six production spheres. Their total product is 18 working days and, consequently, may be exchanged for the newly-added labour in $D^{1}$-$D^{18}$, also equalling 18 working days.—427

271 According to Marx's calculation, each subsequent group includes twice as many production spheres as all the preceding ones put together. Thus, group $D^{1-18}$, which covers 18 production spheres, consists of twice as many spheres as all preceding groups taken together (A—one sphere, $B^{1-2}$—two spheres, $C^{1-6}$—six spheres; nine spheres in all). That is why Marx wrote: $D^{1-18}$ $^{(2\times 9)}$.—427

272 Marx goes back to this question on p. IX—390 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 31).—430

273 Further on, the manuscript originally contained the following passage, which Marx crossed out: "Spinner and loom maker, who we assume also makes spinning machinery, have added $^{1}/_{3}$ in labour, their constant capital amounting to $^{2}/_{3}$ of yarn and loom. Of the 8 yards of linen (or 24 hours) or 24s., which replace their total product, they can consequently consume $^{8}/_{3}$ [yards]$=2^{2}/_{3}$ [yards] of linen or 8 hours' labour or 8s. Therefore $5^{1}/_{3}$ yards or 16 hours' labour remain to be accounted for. Spinner's constant capital consists of flax and the spinning machinery (coal, etc., are not taken into account in this example), $^{1}/_{3}$ in the form of raw material=flax$=^{16}/_{3}$ hours' labour$=5^{1}/_{3}$ hours' labour or $\frac{1\,^{7}/_{3}}{3}$ : $^{17}/_{9}$ yards$=1^{8}/_{9}$ yards. All of them can be purchased by the flax-grower because he compensates his constant capital himself, at least when it comes to the seeds (setting aside, for the time being, the wear and tear of fixed capital, the instruments of labour), by deducting the necessary amount from his product. Thus we have to account only for $5^{2}/_{3}-1^{8}/_{9}$ yards (or $16-5^{1}/_{3}$

hours' labour)$-5^2/_3$ yards$=1^7/_3=5^1/_9$. Thus, $5^1/_9-1^7/_9=3^7/_9$ (or $10^1/_3$ hours' labour)."—432

274 By earlier calculations, $5^1/_3$ yards of linen represent the total constant capital of the spinner and of the loom maker. Therefore, to determine the flax-grower's share, one should proceed not from $5^1/_3$ yards of linen, but from a smaller figure. Marx eventually corrected this error and assumed that the spinner's constant capital was represented by only 4 yards of linen.—432

275 The untenability of the bourgeois doctrine stating that a part of the constant capital of one is transformed into revenue for the other, is demonstrated in *Capital*, Vol. II, chapters XIX-XX and Vol. III, Ch. XLIX (see present edition, vols 36 and 37).—450

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*MacLeod, Henry Dunning* (1821-1902)—British lawyer and vulgar economist; elucidated the theory of capital-bearing credit.—13

*Macnab, Henry Gray (Grey)* (1761-1823)—British journalist, Scottish by birth; follower of Robert Owen and proponent of his ideas.—230

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*Mandeville, Bernard de* (1670-1733)—English democratic writer, philosopher and economist.—297, 299, 310

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*Petty, Sir William* (1623-1687)—English economist and statistician, founder of English classical political economy.—271, 276, 282, 286, 296

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*Ravenstone, Piercy* (d. 1830)—English Ricardian economist; opposed Malthus; upheld the workers' interests.—252, 304

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*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist and philosopher.—309

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*Senior, Nassau William* (1790-1864)—English economist; vulgarised Ricardo's theory.—179, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 333

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*Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de* (1773-1842)—Swiss economist, exponent of economic romanticism.—12, 13, 98, 149, 150, 152, 157, 158, 210, 289, 291, 303, 304

*Skarbek, Frédérick Florian* (1792-1866)—Polish economist and writer, follower of Adam Smith.—318

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*Sparks, Jared*—(1789-1866)—American historian and publisher; founded the

first US chair of history, at Harvard University.—28

*Steuart, Sir James*, later *Denham* (1712-1780)—British economist, one of the last representatives of Mercantilism.—16, 193, 290, 295, 298, 344, 347, 348, 351, 352, 359, 385

*Steuart (Denham), Sir James* (1744-1839)—British general; published works by his father, James Steuart.—16

*Stewart, Dugald* (1753-1828)—Scottish philosopher, exponent of the "philosophy of common sense".—214, 277, 280, 299, 304

*Storch, Heinrich Friedrich von* (1766-1835)—Russian economist, statistician and historian; German by birth.—151, 156, 205, 291, 408, 409

*Symons, Jelinger Cookson* (1809-1860)—English liberal journalist, member of the Children's Employment Commission in 1841.—211

T

*Tamerlane (Timur)* (1336-1405)—Central Asian conqueror, founder of a vast state in Asia with its capital in Samarkand.—168

*Thompson, Benjamin, Count of Rumford* (1753-1814)—English officer of American descent; was for a time in the service of the Bavarian government; organised workhouses for beggars and compiled recipes for paupers' broths made up of cheap substitutes.—46

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*Torrens, Robert* (1780-1864)—English economist; vulgarised Ricardo's theory.—14, 27, 151, 334

*Townsend, Joseph* (1739-1816)—English clergyman, geologist and sociologist, propagated the anti-scientific theory of population later borrowed by Malthus.—205

*Tufnell, Edward Carlton*—member of the Factories Inquiry Commission in England in 1833.—340, 341

*Turgot, Anne Robert Jacques, baron de l'Aulne* (1727-1781)—French economist and statesman; Physiocrat; Controller-General of Finance.—29, 46, 97, 352, 356, 359, 362, 363, 365, 366, 369, 372, 374

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*Wayland, Francis* (1796-1865)—American clergyman, author of popu-

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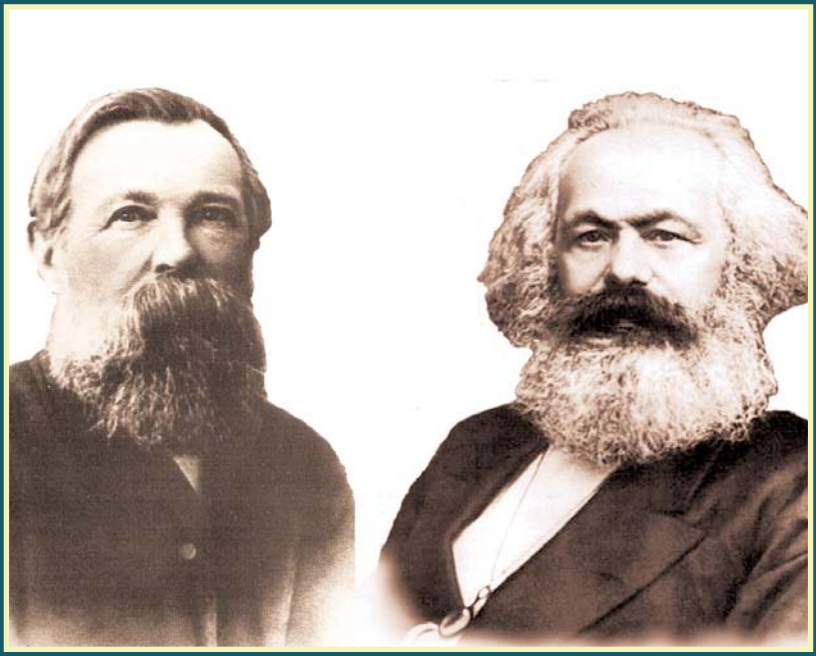

## VOLUME 31

Marx 1861-63

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 31

## Marx 1861-63

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# Preface

Volume 31 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains the continuation of Marx's economic manuscript of 1861-1863, its central part—"Theories of Surplus Value" (Notebooks VII-XII, pp. 299-636 of the manuscript), the beginning of the manuscript being published in Vol. 30 of the present edition.

Marx proceeded here with his historico-critical analysis of the views held by bourgeois political economists—Smith, Ricardo, Rodbertus and others.

The whole manuscript is printed here in accordance with its new publication in the languages of the original in *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe* (*MEGA*), Zweite Abteilung, Bd. 3, (Teile 1-6), Berlin, 1976-82.

Obvious slips of the pen in Marx's text have been corrected by the editors without comment. The proper and geographical names and other words abbreviated by the author are given in full. Defects in the manuscript are indicated in footnotes, places where the text is damaged or illegible are marked by dots. Where possible, editorial reconstructions are given in square brackets.

Foreign words and phrases are given as used by Marx, with the translation supplied in footnotes where necessary. English phrases, expressions and individual words occurring in the original are set in small caps. Longer passages and quotations in English are given in asterisks. Some of the words are now somewhat archaic or have undergone changes in usage. For example, the term "nigger", which has acquired generally—and especially in the USA—a more profane and unacceptable status than it had in Europe during the 19th century. The passages from English economists quoted by Marx in French are given according to the English editions used

by the author. In all cases the form of quoting used by Marx is respected. The language in which Marx quotes is indicated unless it is German.

The text of and notes to Volume 31 were prepared by Lyubov Zalunina with the assistance of Yelena Vashchenko. The volume was edited by Vitaly Vygodsky (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). The name index, the index of quoted and mentioned literature and the index of periodicals were compiled by Vardan Azatian (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The translations included in Volume 31 are based on the three-volume edition of Marx's *Theories of Surplus Value*, published by Progress Publishers, Moscow. They were made by Emile Burns, Renate Simpson and Jack Cohen and edited by Salo Ryazanskaya. These translations have been editorially checked with new MEGA edition by Margarita Lopukhina and Natalia Karmanova. The volume was prepared for the press by Svetlana Gerasimenko, Yelena Krishtof, Margarita Lopukhina, Alla Varavitskaya and Anna Vladimirova (Progress Publishers).

Scientific editor for this volume was Larisa Miskievich (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

# KARL MARX

## ECONOMIC WORKS

## 1861-1863

# ECONOMIC MANUSCRIPT OF 1861-63

(Continuation)

# A CONTRIBUTION TO THE CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

## [I) THE PRODUCTION PROCESS OF CAPITAL]

### [5) THEORIES OF SURPLUS VALUE][1]

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5) *Theories of Surplus Value*

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5) *Theories of Surplus Value*

c) *Adam Smith.* Conclusion

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5) *Theories of Surplus Value*

*Digression. Quesnay's Tableau économique*

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5) *Theories of Surplus Value*

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*Ricardo's and Adam Smith's theory of cost price* (refutation)

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*Tables, with elucidation, of differential rent*

XII

5) *Theories of Surplus Value*

h) *Ricardo*

*Table, with elucidation, of differential rent (Observations on the influence of the* CHANGE *in value of means of subsistence and raw material (therefore also in the value of machinery) on the organic composition of capital)*

*Ricardo's theory of rent*

*Adam Smith's theory of rent*

*Ricardo's theory of surplus value*

*Ricardo's theory of profit*

## [c) ADAM SMITH]

### [THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN PRODUCTIVE AND UNPRODUCTIVE LABOUR][4]

[VII-299] We come now to the last controversial point in Adam Smith's writings which we have to consider: the [VII-300] *distinction between productive and unproductive labour.*

//In addition to the foregoing.[5] The following quotation shows how little the insipid Say even understood what the question was:

"In order fully to understand this subject of revenues, it is necessary to take into account that the entire value of a product is divided into revenues for various persons; for the *total* value of each product is composed of the profits of the landowners, of the capitalists and of the craftsmen who have contributed to bring it into existence. This is why the revenue of society is equal to the *gross value* which has been produced, and not, as the sect of Economists[6] imagines, to the *net product* of the land.... If the only revenues in a nation were the excess of the values produced over the values consumed, this would lead to a truly absurd result: that a nation which had consumed in the year values as great as it had produced would have no revenue" (l.c., Vol. II, pp. 63, 64).[a]

In fact, in the year that was past it would have had a revenue, but it would have none the next year. It is not true that the *annual product of labour,* of which the *product of the annual labour* forms only one part, consists of revenue. On the other hand, it is correct that this is the case with the part of the product which each year enters into individual consumption. The revenue, which consists only of added labour, is able to pay for this product, which consists partly of added and partly of pre-existing labour; that is to say, the labour added in these products can pay not only for itself but also for the pre-existing labour, because another part of the product—which also consists of labour added and pre-existing labour—replaces only pre-existing labour, only constant capital.//

//To the points in Adam Smith's theory just discussed must be added that in his vacillations on the determination of value—

[a] J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique...*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1817. Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

besides the apparent contradiction in regard to wages[7]—there is another confusion: in so far as he confuses the measure of value as the immanent measure which at the same time forms the substance of value, with the measure of value in the sense that money is called a measure of value. With regard to the latter the attempt is then made to square the circle—to find a commodity whose value does not change to serve as a constant measure for others. On the question of the relation of the measure of value as money to the determination of value by labour time, see the first part of my work.[a] This confusion is also to be found in Ricardo in certain passages.//[8]

In Adam Smith's definition of what he calls *productive labour* as distinguished from *unproductive labour*, we find the same two-sided approach as we have found on every question up to now. Jumbled together in his presentation we find two definitions of what he calls productive labour, and to begin with we will examine the first, the correct definition.

Productive labour, in the meaning of capitalist production, is wage labour which, exchanged against the variable part of capital (the part of the capital that is spent on wages), reproduces not only this part of the capital (or the value of its own labour capacity), but in addition produces surplus value for the capitalist. It is only thereby that commodity or money is transformed into capital, is produced as capital. Only that wage labour is productive which produces capital. (This is the same as saying that it reproduces on an enlarged scale the sum of value expended on it, or that it gives in return more labour than it receives in the form of wages. Consequently, only that labour capacity is productive which produces a value greater than its own.)

The MERE EXISTENCE of a class of capitalists, and therefore of capital, depends on the productivity of labour: not however on its absolute, but on its relative productivity. For example: if a day's labour only sufficed to keep the worker alive, that is, to reproduce his labour capacity, [VII-301] then, speaking in an absolute sense, his labour would be productive because it would be reproductive, that is to say, because it constantly replaced the values (equal to the value of its own labour capacity) which it consumed. But in the capitalist sense it would not be productive because it produced no surplus value. (It produced in fact no new value, but only replaced

[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 303-14).—*Ed.*

the old; it would have consumed it—the value—in one form, in order to reproduce it in the other. And in this sense it has been said that a worker is productive whose production=his own consumption, and that a worker is unproductive who consumes more than he reproduces.) This productivity is based on relative productivity—that the worker not only replaces an old value, but creates a new one; that he objectifies more labour time in his product than is objectified in the product that keeps him in existence as a worker. It is this kind of productive wage labour that is the basis for the existence of capital. //Assuming, however, that no capital exists, but that the worker appropriates his surplus labour himself—the excess of values that he has created over the values that he consumes. Then one could say only of this labour that it is truly productive, that is, that it creates new values.//

This conception of productive labour follows naturally from Adam Smith's view of the origin of surplus value, that is, of the nature of capital. In so far as he holds to this conception he is following a course that was taken by the Physiocrats and even by the Mercantilists; he only frees it from misconceptions, and in this way brings out its inner kernel. Though wrong in thinking that only agricultural labour is productive, the Physiocrats put forward the correct view that from the capitalist standpoint only that labour is productive which creates a surplus value, and in fact a surplus value not for itself, but for the owner of the conditions of production; labour which produces a net product not for itself, but for the landowner. For the SURPLUS VALUE or surplus labour time is objectified in a SURPLUS PRODUCE or net product. (But here again they have a wrong conception of this; inasmuch as there is, for example, more wheat than workers and farmers eat; but also in the case of cloth there is more than what the cloth manufacturers—workman and MASTER—need for their own clothing.) SURPLUS VALUE itself is wrongly conceived, because they have a wrong idea of VALUE and reduce it to the use value of labour, not to labour time, social, homogeneous labour. Nevertheless, there remains the correct definition that only the wage labour which creates more value than it costs is productive.[9] Adam Smith frees this definition from the wrong conception with which the Physiocrats linked it.

If we go back from the Physiocrats to the Mercantilists, there too we find one aspect of their theory which contains the same view of productive labour, even though they were not conscious of it. The basis of their theory was the idea that labour is only productive in those branches of production whose products, when sent abroad, bring back more money than they have cost (or than

had to be exported in exchange for them); which therefore enabled a country to participate to a greater degree in the products of newly opened gold and silver mines.[10] They saw that in these countries there was a rapid growth of wealth and of the middle class. What in fact was the source of this influence exerted by gold? Wages did not rise in proportion to the prices of commodities; that is, wages fell, and because of this relative surplus labour increased and the rate of profit rose—not because the worker had become more productive, but because the absolute wage (that is to say, the quantity of means of subsistence which the worker received) was forced down—in a word, because the position of the workers grew worse. In these countries, therefore, labour was in fact more productive for those who employed it. This FACT was linked with the INFLUX of the precious metals; and it was this, though they were only dimly aware of it, which led the Mercantilists to declare that labour employed in such branches of production was alone productive.

[VII-302] "THE REMARKABLE INCREASE [OF POPULATION] which has taken place in almost every European State, during the last fifty or sixty years, has perhaps proceeded chiefly from the INCREASED PRODUCTIVENESS of the AMERICAN MINES. An increased abundance of the PRECIOUS METALS" //OF COURSE as a result of the fall in their real value// "raises the price of commodities in a greater proportion than the price of labour; IT DEPRESSES THE CONDITION OF THE LABOURER, and at the same time INCREASES THE GAINS OF HIS EMPLOYER, who is thus induced to enlarge his CIRCULATING CAPITAL to hire HANDS and this favours the increase of population.... Malthus observes, that the DISCOVERY of the MINES of AMERICA, during the time that it raised the PRICE OF CORN between three and four times, did not nearly so much as double the price of labour.... The price of commodities intended for HOME CONSUMPTION (of corn for instance) does not immediately rise in consequence of an INFLUX of MONEY; but as the RATE OF PROFIT in agricultural employments is thus depressed below the rate of profit in manufactures, CAPITAL will gradually be withdrawn from the former to the latter: THUS ALL CAPITAL COMES TO YIELD HIGHER PROFITS THAN FORMERLY, AND A RISE OF PROFITS IS ALWAYS equivalent to A FALL OF WAGES" (John Barton, *Observations on the Circumstances which Influence the Condition of the Labouring Classes of Society*, London, 1817, pp. 29 sqq.).

So, firstly, according to Barton, in the second half of the eighteenth century there was a repetition of the same phenomenon as that which, from the last third of the sixteenth century and in the seventeenth, has given the impulse to the Mercantile system. Secondly, as only exported goods were measured in gold and silver on the basis of its reduced value, while those for HOME CONSUMPTION continued to be measured in gold and silver according to its former value (until competition among the capitalists put an end to this measuring by two different standards), labour in the former branches of production appeared to be directly productive,

that is, creating surplus value, through the depression of wages below their former level.

The second, wrong conception of productive labour which Smith develops is so interwoven with the correct one that the two follow each other in rapid succession in the same passage. To illustrate the first conception it is therefore necessary to tear the quotations into separate parts.

(B. II, Ch. III) (Vol. II, ed. McCulloch) (p. 93 sq.)[a]:

*"There is one sort of labour which adds to the value of the subject upon which it is bestowed; there is another which has no such effect. The former, as *it produces a value,* may be called *productive,* the latter, *unproductive labour.* Thus the labour of a manufacturer *adds,* generally, to the value of the materials which he works upon, *that of his own maintenance, and of his master's profit.* The labour of a menial servant, on the contrary, adds to the value of nothing. Though the manufacturer has his wages *advanced* to him by his master, *he in reality costs him no expense,* the value of those wages being generally restored, *together with a profit,* in the improved value of the subject upon which his labour is bestowed. But the maintenance of a menial servant never is restored. A man *grows rich* by employing a multitude of manufacturers: he grows poor by maintaining a multitude of menial servants."*

In this passage—and in its continuation to be quoted later, the contradictory definitions jostle each other even more closely—what is in the main and *éminemment*[b] understood by PRODUCTIVE LABOUR is labour which produces a surplus value—ITS "MASTER'S PROFIT"—in addition to the reproduction OF THE VALUE "OF HIS" (THE LABOURER'S) "OWN MAINTENANCE". Also, the MANUFACTURER could not GROW *RICH* "BY EMPLOYING A MULTITUDE OF MANUFACTURERS" (WORKING MEN), unless the latter, in addition to the VALUE which their own MAINTENANCE costs, added also a SURPLUS VALUE.

Secondly, however, in this passage Adam Smith treats as PRODUCTIVE LABOUR, labour which in general "PRODUCES A VALUE". Leaving this [VII-303] latter statement out of account for the moment we will first cite other passages in which the first conception is partly repeated, partly formulated more sharply, but particularly also further developed.

*"If the quantity of food and clothing which were ... consumed by unproductive, had been distributed among productive hands, they would have reproduced, *together with a profit,* the full value of their consumption"* (l.c., B. II, Ch. III, p. 109).

Here the PRODUCTIVE LABOURER is quite explicitly one who not only reproduces for the capitalist the FULL VALUE of the means of

[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.* By J. R. McCulloch. In four volumes, Vol. II, Edinburgh, London, 1828.—*Ed.*

[b] Pre-eminently.—*Ed.*

subsistence contained in his wages, but reproduces it for him "WITH A PROFIT".

Only labour which produces capital is productive labour. Commodities or money become capital, however, through being exchanged directly for labour capacity, and exchanged only in order to be replaced by more labour than they themselves contain. For the use value of labour capacity to the capitalist as a capitalist does not consist in its *actual* use value, in the usefulness of this particular concrete labour—that it is spinning labour, weaving labour, and so on. He is as little concerned with this as with the use value of the product of this labour as such, since for the capitalist the product is a commodity (even before its first metamorphosis), not an article of consumption. What interests him in the commodity is that it has more exchange value than he paid for it; and therefore the use value of the labour is, for him, that he gets back a greater quantity of labour time than he has paid out in the form of wages. Included among these productive workers, of course, are all those who contribute *d'une manière ou d'une autre*[a] to the production of the commodity, from the actual operative to the MANAGER or ENGINEER (as distinct from the capitalist). And so even the latest English official report on the FACTORIES[11] "*explicitly*" includes in the category of employed wage workers all persons employed in the factories and in the offices attached to them, with the exception of the manufacturers themselves (see the wording of the REPORT before the concluding part of this rubbish). Productive labour is here defined from the standpoint of capitalist production, and Adam Smith here got to the very heart of the matter, hit the nail on the head. This is one of his greatest scientific merits (as Malthus rightly observed, this critical differentiation between productive and unproductive labour remains the basis of all bourgeois political economy[12]) that he defines productive labour as labour *which is directly exchanged with capital*; that is, he defines it by the exchange through which the conditions of production of labour, and value in general, whether money or commodity, are first transformed into capital (and labour into wage labour in its scientific meaning). This also establishes absolutely what *unproductive labour* is. It is labour which is not exchanged with capital, but *directly* with revenue, that is, with wages or profit (including of course the various categories of those who share as CO-PARTNERS in the capitalist's profit, such as interest and rent). Where all labour in part still pays itself (like e.g.

[a] In one way or another.—*Ed.*

the agricultural labour of the peasants on *corvée*) and in part is directly exchanged for revenue (like the manufacturing labour in the cities of Asia), no capital and no wage labour exists in the sense of bourgeois political economy. These definitions are therefore not derived from the material characteristics of labour (neither from the nature of its product nor from the particular character of the labour as concrete labour), but from the definite social form, the social relations of production, within which the labour is realised. An actor, for example, or even a CLOWN, according to this definition, is a productive labourer if he works in the service of a capitalist (an ENTREPRENEUR) to whom he returns more labour than he receives from him in the form of wages; while a jobbing tailor who comes to the capitalist's house and patches his trousers for him, producing a mere use value for him, is an unproductive labourer. The former's labour is exchanged with capital, the latter's with revenue. The former's labour produces a surplus value; in the latter's revenue is consumed.

Productive and unproductive labour is here throughout conceived from the *standpoint* of the possessor of money, of the *capitalist*, not from that of the *workman*; hence the nonsense written by Ganilh, etc., who have so little understanding of the matter that they raise the question whether the labour or service or function of the prostitute, flunkey, etc., brings in money.

[VII-304] //*To p. 300.*[13] For example: in the manufacture of locomotives, every day the waste amounts to whole wagon-loads of iron filings. These are collected and resold (or charged in account) to the same iron manufacturer who supplied the locomotive manufacturer with his principal raw material. The iron manufacturer again gives them solid form, adding new labour to them. However in the form in which he sends them back to the locomotive manufacturer, these filings represent the part of the value of the product which replaces raw material. In this way not the same filings but constantly a certain quantity of filings, move hither and thither between the two factories. This part forms in turn the raw material for each of the two branches of industry and, considered as value, only wanders from one SHOP to the other. Consequently it does not enter into the final product, but is a replacement *in natura* of the constant capital. In fact, every machine supplied by the machinery manufacturer, from the standpoint of value, is divided into raw material, labour added, and the wear and tear of machinery. But the whole total that enters into the production of other spheres can only be=in value to the total value of the machinery minus the part of the constant

capital which is continually passing backwards and forwards between the machinery manufacturer and the iron manufacturer. One quarter of wheat sold by a peasant is as dear as another, and a quarter of wheat that is sold is no cheaper than one that is returned to the land in the form of seed. STILL, if the product=6 qrs, and the qr=£3—each qr containing component parts of value for labour added, raw material and machinery—and if he has to use 1 qr as seeds, he would only sell to consumers 5 qrs=£15. They would therefore not pay for the part of the value contained in the 1 qr of seed. And this is the point: how can the value of the product sold be=to all the elements of value contained in it—labour added and constant capital—and how in spite of this does the consumer buy the product and yet not pay for the constant capital?//

A writer is a productive labourer not in so far as he produces ideas, but in so far as he enriches the publisher who publishes his works, or if he is a wage labourer for a capitalist.

The use value of the commodity in which the labour of a productive worker is embodied may be of the most futile kind. Its material determination has no connection at all with this quality it possesses of being so embodied; the latter is on the contrary only the expression of a definite social relation of production. It is a determination of labour which is derived not from its content or its result, but from its particular social form.

On the other hand, on the assumption that capital has conquered the whole of production—and that therefore a *commodity* (as distinct from a mere use value) is no longer produced by any labourer who is himself the owner of the conditions of production for producing this commodity—that therefore only the capitalist is the producer of *commodities* (the sole commodity excepted being labour capacity)—then revenue must be exchanged *aut* against commodities which capital alone produces and sells, *aut*[a] against labour, which just like those commodities is bought in order to be consumed; that is, only for the sake of its particular material determination, its use value—for the sake of the *services* which, through its particular material determination, it renders to its buyer and consumer. For the producer of these services the services rendered are commodities. They have a definite use value (imaginary or real) and a definite exchange value. For the buyer, however, these services are mere use values, objects in which [VII-305] he consumes his revenue.

[a] Either ... or.—*Ed.*

These unproductive labourers do not receive their share of revenue (of wages and profits), their CO-PARTNERSHIP in the commodities produced by productive labour, gratis: they must buy their SHARE in them; but they have nothing to do with their production.

It is, however, in any case clear: the greater the part of the revenue (wages and profit) that is spent on commodities produced by capital, the less the part that can be spent on the services of unproductive labourers, and vice versa.

The material determination of labour, and therefore of its product, in itself has nothing to do with this distinction between productive and unproductive labour. For example, the cooks and WAITERS in a public hotel are productive labourers, in so far as their labour is transformed into capital for the proprietor of the hotel. These same persons are unproductive labourers as MENIAL SERVANTS, inasmuch as I do not make capital out of their services, but spend revenue on them. In fact, however, these same persons are also for me, the consumer, unproductive labourers in the hotel.

* "That part of the annual produce of the land and labour of *any country which replaces a capital*, never is *immediately* employed to maintain any but productive hands. It *pays the wages of productive labour* only. That which is *immediately* destined for constituting a revenue, either as profit or as rent, may maintain indifferently either productive or unproductive hands" * (l.c., p. 98). * "Whatever part of his stock a man employs as a capital, he always expects it to be replaced to him with a profit. He employs it, therefore, in maintaining *productive hands* only; and after having served in the function of [a] capital to him, it constitutes a revenue to them. Whenever he employs any part of it *in maintaining unproductive hands* of any kind, that part is from that moment withdrawn from his capital, and placed in his stock reserved for immediate consumption" * (l.c.).

To the extent that capital conquers the whole of production, and therefore the home and petty form of industry—in short, industry intended for self-consumption, not producing commodities—disappears, it is clear that the unproductive labourers, those whose services are directly exchanged against revenue, will for the most part be performing only *personal* services, and only an inconsiderable part of them (like cooks, seamstresses, jobbing tailors and so on) will produce material use values. That they produce no *commodities* follows from the nature of the case. For the commodity as such is never an immediate object of consumption, but a bearer of exchange value. Consequently only a quite insignificant part of these unproductive labourers can play a direct part in material production once the capitalist mode of production has developed. They participate in it only through the exchange of their services against revenue. This does not prevent, as Adam Smith

remarks, the value of the services of these unproductive labourers being determined and determinable in the same (or an analogous) way as that of the productive labourers: that is, by the production costs involved in maintaining or producing them. Other factors also come into play in this connection, but they are not relevant here.

[VII-306] The labour capacity of the productive labourer is a commodity for the labourer himself. So is that of the unproductive labourer. But the productive labourer produces commodities for the buyer of his labour capacity. The unproductive labourer produces for him a mere use value, not a commodity; an imaginary or a real use value. It is characteristic of the unproductive labourer that he produces no commodities for his buyer, but indeed receives commodities from him.

* "The labour of some of the most respectable orders in the society is, like that of menial servants, unproductive of any value.... The sovereign, for example, with all the officers both of justice and war who serve under him, the whole army and navy, are unproductive labourers. They are the servants of the public, and are maintained by a part of the annual produce of the industry of other people.... In the same class must be ranked ... churchmen, lawyers, physicians, men of letters of all kinds; players, buffoons, musicians, opera-singers, opera-dancers, etc." * (l.c., pp. 94-95).

In itself, as has been said, this distinction between productive and unproductive labour has nothing to do either with the particular speciality of the labour or with the particular use value in which this special labour is incorporated. In the one case the labour is exchanged with capital, in the other with revenue. In the one case the labour is transformed into capital, and creates a profit for the capitalist; in the other case it is an expenditure, one of the articles in which revenue is consumed. For example, the workman employed by a piano maker is a productive labourer. His labour not only replaces the wages that he consumes, but in the product, the piano, the commodity which the piano maker sells, there is a surplus value over and above the value of the wages. But assume on the contrary that I buy all the materials required for a piano (or for all it matters the labourer himself may possess them), and that instead of buying the piano in a shop I have it made for me in my house. The workman who makes the piano is now an unproductive labourer, because his labour is exchanged directly against my revenue.

It is however clear that in the same measure as capital subjugates to itself the whole of production—that is to say, that all commodities are produced for the market and not for immediate consumption, and the productivity of labour rises in this same

measure—there will also develop more and more a material difference between productive and unproductive labourers, inasmuch as the former, apart from minor exceptions, will exclusively produce *commodities*, while the latter, with minor exceptions, will perform only personal services. Hence the former class will produce immediate, material wealth consisting of *commodities*, all commodities except those which consist of labour capacity itself. This is one of the aspects which lead Adam Smith to put forward other points of difference, in addition to the first and in principle determining *differentia specifica*.

Thus, following through various associations of ideas, he says:

> * "The labour of a menial servant" * (as distinct from that of a MANUFACTURER) * "*adds to the value of nothing* ... the maintenance of a menial servant *never is restored*. A man grows rich by employing a multitude of manufacturers: he grows poor by maintaining a multitude of menial servants. The *labour of the latter*, however, *has its value*, and deserves its reward as well as that of the former. But the labour of the manufacturer *fixes and realises itself in some particular subject or vendible commodity, which lasts for some time at least after that labour is past*. It is, as it were, a certain quantity of labour stocked and stored up, to be employed, if necessary, upon some other occasion. That subject, or what is the same thing, the price of that subject, can afterwards, if necessary, put into motion a quantity of labour equal to that which had originally produced it. The labour of the menial [VII-307] servant, on the contrary, does not *fix or realise itself in any particular subject or vendible commodity*. His *services generally perish in the very instant of their performance*, and *seldom leave any trace or value behind them*, for which an equal quantity of service could *afterwards* be procured.... The labour of some of the most respectable orders in the society is, like that of menial servants, *unproductive of value*, and *does not fix or realise itself in any permanent subject*, or *vendible commodity*" * (l.c., pp. 93-94 *passim*).

To define the unproductive labourer we here have the following determinants, which at the same time reveal the links in Adam Smith's train of thought:

> * "It" * (the LABOUR of the UNPRODUCTIVE LABOURER) * "is unproductive of value", "adds to the value of nothing", "the maintenance" (of the unproductive labourer) "never is restored", "[it] does not *fix* or *realise itself in any particular subject or vendible commodity*".* On the contrary, * "his services generally perish in the very instant of their performance, and seldom leave any trace or value behind them, for which an equal quantity of service could *afterwards* be procured".* Finally, * "it does not fix or realise itself in *any permanent subject*, or *vendible commodity*".*

Here "PRODUCTIVE OF VALUE" or "UNPRODUCTIVE OF VALUE" is used in a different sense from that in which these terms were used originally. The reference is no longer to the production of a surplus value, which in itself implies the reproduction of an equivalent for the value consumed. But according to this presentation the labour of a labourer is called productive in so far as he replaces the consumed value by an equivalent, by adding to

any material, through his labour, a quantity of value equal to that which was contained in his wages. Here the definition of form, the determination of productive and unproductive labourers by their relation to capitalist production, is abandoned. From Chapter IX of Book IV (where Adam Smith criticises the doctrine of the Physiocrats), it can be seen that he came to make this aberration as a result partly of his opposition to the Physiocrats and partly under their influence. If a labourer merely replaces each year the equivalent of his wages, then for the capitalist he is not a productive labourer. He does indeed replace his wages, the purchase price of his labour. But the transaction is absolutely the same as if this capitalist had bought the commodity which this labour produces. He pays for the labour contained in his constant capital and in the wages. He possesses the same quantity of labour in the form of the commodity as he had before in the form of money. His money is not thereby transformed into capital. In this case it is the same as if the labourer himself owned his conditions of production. He must each year deduct the value of the conditions of production from the value of his annual product, in order to replace them. What he consumed or could consume annually would be the portion of the value of his product equal to the new labour added to his constant capital during the year. In this case, therefore, it would not be capitalist production.

The first reason why Adam Smith calls this kind of labour "productive" is that the Physiocrats call it "sterile" and "non-productive".

Thus Adam Smith tells us in the chapter referred to:

> "First, this class" (namely the industrial classes, who do not carry on agriculture), "it is acknowledged" [by the Physiocrats], "*reproduces annually* the *value* of its own annual consumption, and continues, at least, the existence of the stock or capital which *maintains and* employs it... Farmers and country labourers, indeed, over and above the stock which maintains and employs them, reproduce annually a *neat produce*, a free rent to the landlord ... the labour of farmers and country labourers is certainly more productive than that of merchants, artificers, and manufacturers. The superior produce of the one class, however, does not render the other *barren* or *unproductive*" ([Garnier,] l.c., t. III, p. 530) [Vol. III, p. 140].[14]

Here, therefore, Adam Smith falls back into the Physiocratic [VII-308] standpoint. The real "productive labour", which produces a surplus value and therefore a "neat produce", is agricultural labour. He abandons his own view of surplus value and accepts that of the Physiocrats. At the same time he asserts, as against the Physiocrats, that manufacturing (and according to him, also commercial) labour is nevertheless also productive, even if not

in this highest sense of the word. He therefore drops the definition of form, the definition of what a "productive labourer" is from the standpoint of capitalist production; and asserts, in opposition to the Physiocrats, that the NON-AGRICULTURAL, INDUSTRIAL CLASS reproduces its own wages, that is, it does after all produce a value equal to the value it consumes, and thereby "continues, at least, the existence of the stock or capital which employs it". Hence arises, under the influence of and in contradiction to the Physiocrats, his second definition of what is "productive labour".

"Secondly," says Adam Smith, "it seems, on this account, altogether improper to consider artificers, manufacturers, and merchants, in the same light as menial servants. *The labour of menial servants does not continue the existence of the fund which maintains and employs them. Their maintenance and employment is altogether at the expense of their masters, and the work which they perform is not of a nature to repay expense.* That work consists in *services* which *generally perish in the very instant of their performance,* and *does not fix or realise itself in any vendible commodity, which can replace the value of their wages and maintenance.* The labour, on the contrary, of artificers, manufacturers, and merchants, *naturally does fix and realise itself in some such vendible and exchangeable commodity.* It is up on this account that, in the chapter in which I treat of *productive* and *unproductive labour,* I have classed artificers, manufacturers, and merchants among the *productive* labourers, and menial servants among the *barren* or *unproductive*" ([Garnier,] l.c., p. 531) [Vol. III, pp. 140-41].

As soon as capital has mastered the whole of production, revenue, in so far as it is at all exchanged against labour, will not be exchanged directly against labour which produces *commodities,* but against *mere services.* It is exchanged partly against *commodities* which are to serve as use values, and partly against *SERVICES,*[a] which as such are consumed as use values.

A *commodity*—as distinguished from labour capacity itself—is a material thing confronting man, a thing of a certain utility for him, in which a definite quantity of labour is fixed or materialised.

So we come to the definition already in essence contained in point I: a productive labourer is one whose labour *produces commodities;* and indeed such a labourer does not consume more commodities than he produces, than his labour costs. His labour fixes and realises itself "*in some such vendible and exchangeable commodity*", "*in any vendible commodity, which can replace the value of their wages and maintenance*"—(that is, of the workers who produced these commodities). By producing commodities the productive worker constantly reproduces the variable capital which he constantly consumes in the form of wages. He constantly produces the fund which pays him, "which maintains and employs him".

*In the first place,* Adam Smith naturally includes in the labour

[a] Marx repeats this word in German after the English word.—*Ed.*

which fixes or realises itself IN A VENDIBLE AND EXCHANGEABLE COMMODITY all intellectual labours which are directly consumed in material production. Not only the labourer working directly with his hands or a machine, but OVERLOOKER, *ingenieur*, MANAGER, *commis*,[a] etc.—in a word, the labour of the whole personnel required in a particular sphere of material production to produce a particular commodity, whose joint labour (co-operation) is required for commodity production. In fact they add their aggregate labour to the constant capital, and increase the value of the product by this amount. (How far is this true of bankers,[15] etc.?)

[VII-309] *Secondly*, Adam Smith says that on the whole, "GENERALLY", this is not the case with the labour of unproductive labourers. Even though capital has conquered material production, and so by and large home industry has disappeared, or the industry of the small craftsman who makes use values directly for the consumer at his home—even then, Adam Smith knows quite well, a seamstress whom I get to come to my house to sew shirts, or workmen who repair furniture, or the servant who scrubs and cleans the house, etc., or the cook who gives meat and other things their palatable form, fix their labour in a thing and in fact increase the value of these things in exactly the same way as the seamstress who sews in a factory, the engineer who repairs the machine, the workers who clean the machine, or the cook who cooks in a hotel as the wage labourer of a capitalist. These use values are also, potentially, commodities; the shirts may be sent to the pawnshop, the house resold, the furniture put up to auction, and so on. Thus these persons have potentially also produced commodities and added value to the objects of their labour. But this is a very small category among unproductive workers, and does not apply either to the mass of MENIAL SERVANTS or to parsons, government officials, soldiers, musicians and so on. But however large or small the number of these "unproductive labourers" may be, this much at any rate is evident—and is ADMITTED by the limitation expressed in the phrase "HIS SERVICES *GENERALLY* PERISH IN THE VERY INSTANT OF THEIR PERFORMANCE", etc.[b]—that neither the special kind of labour nor the form of appearance of its product necessarily make it "productive" or "unproductive". The same labour can be productive when I buy it as a capitalist, as a producer, in order to valorise it, and unproductive when I buy it as a consumer, a spender of revenue, in order to consume its use value, no matter

[a] Clerk.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 17.—*Ed.*

whether this use value perishes with the activity of the labour capacity itself or materialises and fixes itself in an object.

The cook in the hotel produces a commodity for the person who as a capitalist has bought her labour—the hotel proprietor; the consumer of the MUTTON CHOPS has to pay for her labour, and this labour replaces for the hotel proprietor (apart from profit) the fund out of which he continues to pay the cook. On the other hand if I buy the labour of a cook for her to cook meat, etc., for me, not to make use of it as labour in general but to enjoy it, to use it as that particular concrete kind of labour, then her labour is unproductive, in spite of the fact that this labour fixes itself in a material product and could just as well (in its result) be a vendible commodity, as it in fact is for the hotel proprietor. The great difference (the conceptual difference) however remains: the cook does not replace for me (the private person) the fund from which I pay her, because I buy her labour not as a value-creating element but purely for the sake of its use value. Her labour as little replaces for me the fund with which I pay for it, that is, her wages, as, for example, the dinner I eat in the hotel in itself enables me to buy and eat the same dinner again a second time. This distinction however is also to be found between commodities. The commodity which the capitalist buys to replace his constant capital (for example, cotton material, if he is a cotton printer) replaces its value in the printed cotton. But if on the other hand he buys it in order to consume the cotton itself, then the commodity does not replace his outlay. The largest part of society, that is to say the working class, must incidentally perform this kind of labour for itself; but it is only able to perform it when it has laboured "productively". It can only cook meat for itself when it has produced a wage with which to pay for the meat; and it can only keep its furniture and dwellings clean, it can only polish its boots, when it has produced the value of furniture, house rent and boots. To this class of productive labourers itself, therefore, the labour which they perform for themselves appears as "unproductive labour". This unproductive labour never enables them [VII-310] to repeat the same unproductive labour a second time unless they have previously laboured productively.

*Thirdly.* On the other hand: an ENTREPRENEUR of theatres, concerts, brothels, etc., buys the temporary disposal over the labour capacity of the actors, musicians, prostitutes, etc.—IN FACT in a roundabout way that is only of formal economic interest; in its result the process is the same—he buys this so-called "unproductive labour", whose "SERVICES PERISH IN THE VERY INSTANT OF THEIR PERFORMANCE" and do

not fix or realise themselves in "ANY PERMANENT" ("PARTICULAR" is also used) "SUBJECT OR VENDIBLE COMMODITY" (apart from themselves).[a] The sale of these to the public provides him with wages and profit. And these SERVICES which he has thus bought enable him to buy them again; that is to say, they themselves renew the fund from which they are paid for. The same is true for example of the labour of clerks employed by a lawyer in his office—except for the fact that these SERVICES as a rule also embody themselves in very BULKY "PARTICULAR SUBJECTS" in the form of immense bundles of documents.

It is true that these SERVICES are paid for to the ENTREPRENEUR out of the revenue of the public. But it is no less true that this holds good of all products in so far as they enter into individual consumption. It is true that the country cannot export these services as such; but it can export those who perform the services. Thus France exports dancing masters, cooks, etc., and Germany schoolmasters. With the export of the dancing master, or the schoolmaster, however, his revenue is also exported, while the export of dancing shoes and books brings a return to the country.

If therefore on the one hand a part of the so-called unproductive labour embodies itself in material use values which might just as well be commodities (VENDIBLE COMMODITIES),[a] so on the other hand a part of the services in the strict sense which assume no objective form—which do not receive an existence as things separate from those performing the services, and do not enter into a commodity as a component part of its value—may be bought with capital (by the *immediate* purchaser of the labour), may replace their own wages and yield a profit. In short, the production of these services can be in part subsumed under capital, just as a part of the labour which embodies itself in useful things is bought directly by revenue and is not subsumed under capitalist production.

*Fourthly.* The whole world of "commodities" can be divided into 2 great parts. First, labour capacity; second, commodities as distinct from labour capacity itself. As to the purchase of such services as those which train labour capacity, maintain or modify it, etc., in a word, give it a specialised form or even only maintain it—thus for example the schoolmaster's service, in so far as it is "industrially necessary" or useful; the doctor's service, in so far as it maintains health and so conserves the source of all values, labour capacity itself, etc.—these are services which yield in return

[a] See this volume, p. 17.—*Ed.*

"a vendible commodity, etc.",[a] namely labour capacity itself, into whose costs of production or reproduction these services enter. Adam Smith knew however how little "EDUCATION" enters into the production costs of the mass of WORKING MEN. And in any case the doctor's services belong to the *faux frais de production*.[b] They can be counted as the cost of repairs for labour capacity. Let us assume that wages and profit fell simultaneously in total value, from whatever cause (for example, because the nation had grown lazier), and at the same time in use value (because labour had become less productive owing to bad harvests, etc.), in a word, that the part of the product whose value is equal to the revenue declines, because less new labour has been added in the past year and because the labour added has been less productive. If in such conditions capitalist and workman wanted to consume the same amount of value in material things as they did before, they would have to buy less of the services of the doctor, schoolmaster, etc. And if they were compelled to continue the same outlay for both these services, then they would have to restrict their consumption of other things. It is therefore clear that the labour of the doctor and the schoolmaster does not directly create the fund out of which they are paid, although their labours enter into the production costs of the fund which creates all values whatsoever—namely, the production costs of labour capacity.

[VII-311] Adam Smith continues:

"Thirdly, it seems, upon every supposition, improper to say, that the labour of artificers, manufacturers, and merchants, does not increase the *real revenue* of the society. Though we should suppose, for example, as it seems to be supposed in this system, that the value of the daily, monthly, and yearly consumption of this class was exactly equal to that of its daily, monthly, and yearly production; yet it would not from thence follow, that its labour added nothing to the real revenue, to the real value of the annual produce of the land and labour of the society. An artificer, for example, who, in the first six months after harvest, executes 10 pounds worth of work, though he should, in the same time, consume 10 pounds worth of corn, and other necessaries, yet really adds the value of 10 pounds to the annual produce of the land and labour of the society. While he has been consuming a half-yearly revenue of 10 pounds worth of corn and other necessaries, he has produced an equal value of work, capable of purchasing, either to himself, or to some other person, an equal half-yearly revenue. The value, therefore, of what has been consumed and produced during these six months, is equal, not to 10, but to 20 pounds. It is possible, indeed, that no more than 10 pounds worth of this value may ever have existed at any one moment of time. But if the 10 pounds worth of corn and other necessaries which were consumed by the artificer, had been consumed by a soldier, or by a menial servant, the value of that part of the annual

[a] Ibid., p. 19.—*Ed.*

[b] Overhead costs of production.—*Ed.*

produce which existed at the end of the six months, would have been 10 pounds less than it actually is in consequence of the labour of the artificer. Though the value of what the artificer produces, therefore, should not, at any one moment of time, be supposed greater than the value he consumes, yet, at every moment of time, the actually existing value of goods in the market is, in consequence of what he produces, greater than it otherwise would be" ([Garnier,] l.c., pp. 531-33) [Vol. III, pp. 141-42].

Is not the value of the commodities at any time in the market greater as a result of the "unproductive labour" than it would be without this labour? Are there not at every moment of time in the market, alongside wheat and meat, etc., also prostitutes, lawyers, sermons, concerts, theatres, soldiers, politicians, etc.? These lads or wenches do not get the corn and other necessaries or pleasures for nothing. In return they give or pester us with their services, which as such services have a use value and because of their production costs also an exchange value. Reckoned as consumable ARTICLES, there is at every moment of time, alongside the consumable articles existing in the form of goods, a quantity of consumable articles in the form of SERVICES. The total quantity of consumable articles is therefore at every moment of time greater than it would be without the consumable SERVICES. Secondly, however, the value too is greater; for it is equal to the value of the commodities which are given for these SERVICES, and is equal to the value of the SERVICES themselves. Since here, as in every exchange of commodity for commodity, equal value is given for equal value, the same value is therefore present twice over, once on the buyer's side and once on the seller's.

//Adam Smith goes on to say in reference to the Physiocrats:

"When the patrons of this system assert, that the *consumption* of artificers, manufacturers, and merchants, is *equal to the value of what they produce*, they probably mean no more than that their *revenue*, or *the fund destined for their consumption, is equal to it*" (that is, to the value of what they produce) ([Garnier,] l.c., p. 533) [Vol. III, pp. 142-43].

In this the Physiocrats were right in relation to *ouvriers* and *maîtres*[a] taken together, rent forming only a special category of the latter's profit.//

[VII-312] //*Adam Smith* notes on the same occasion—i.e., in his criticism of the Physiocrats—l. IV, ch. IX (edit. Garnier, t. III):

"The annual produce of the land and labour of any society can be augmented only in two ways; either, *first*, by some *improvement in the productive powers of the useful labour* actually maintained within it; or, *secondly, by some increase in the quantity of that labour*. The improvement in the productive powers of useful labour depends *upon the improvement in the ability of the workman*; and *upon that of the machinery with*

[a] Workers and employers.—*Ed.*

*which he works.... The increase in the quantity of useful labour* actually employed within any society must depend altogether upon *the increase of the capital which employs it*; and *the increase of that capital*, again, *must be exactly equal to the amount of the savings* from the revenue, either of the particular persons who manage and direct the employment of that capital, or of some other persons, who lend it to them" ([Garnier,] pp. 534-35) [Vol. III, pp. 143, 144].

Here we have a double *cercle vicieux*.[a] *First*: the annual product is augmented by greater productivity of labour. All means to augment this productivity (in so far as this is not due to accidents of nature such as a specially favourable SEASON, etc.) require an increase of capital. But in order to increase the capital, the annual product of labour must be increased. First circle. *Secondly*: the annual product can be augmented by an increase in the quantity of labour employed. The quantity of labour employed, however, can only be increased if the capital which "employs it" is first increased. Second circle. Adam Smith helps himself out of both vicious circles with "*savings*", by which he means in fact the transformation of revenue into capital.

To think of the whole PROFIT as "revenue" for the capitalist is already in itself wrong. The law of capitalist production requires on the contrary that a part of the surplus labour, of the unpaid labour, performed by the workman should be transformed into CAPITAL. When the individual capitalist functions as a capitalist—that is, as a functionary of capital—he himself may think of this as saving; but it also appears to him as a necessary reserve fund. The increase of the quantity of labour does not however depend only on the number of workmen, but also on the length of the working day. The quantity of labour can therefore be increased without increasing the part of the capital that is converted into wages. Similarly, on this assumption there would be no need to increase the machinery, etc. (although it would wear out more quickly; but this makes no difference). The only thing that would have to be increased is the part of the raw material that resolves itself into seed, etc. And it remains true that, taking a single country (excluding foreign trade), surplus labour must first be applied to agriculture before it becomes possible in the industries which get their *matière brute*[b] from agriculture. A part of this *matière brute*, such as coal, iron, wood, fish, etc. (the last-named for example as manure), in a word, all fertilisers other than animal manures, can be got by merely increasing the labour (the number of labourers remaining the same). There can therefore be no lack of these. On

[a] Vicious circle.—*Ed.*
[b] Raw material.—*Ed.*

the other hand it has been shown above that the increase of productivity in its origin always presupposes merely the concentration of capital, not the accumulation of capital.[16] Later however each process supplements the other.//

//The reason why the Physiocrats preached *laissez-faire, laissez-passer,*[17] in short, free competition, is correctly stated in the following passages from Adam Smith:

"The trade which is carried on between these two different sets of people" (country and town) "consists ultimately in a certain quantity of rude produce exchanged for a certain quantity of manufactured produce. The dearer the latter, therefore, the cheaper the former; and whatever tends in any country to raise the price of manufactured produce, tends to lower that of the rude produce of the land, and thereby to discourage agriculture." But all fetters and restrictions placed on manufactures and foreign trade make manufactured commodities, etc., dearer. Therefore, etc. (Smith, [Garnier,] l.c., pp. *554-55*) [Vol. III, pp. 158, 159].//

[VII-313] Smith's second view of "productive" and "unproductive labour"—or rather the view that is interwoven with his other view—therefore amounts to this: that the former is labour which produces *commodities,* and the latter is labour which does not produce "any commodity". He does not deny that the one kind of labour, equally with the other, is a commodity. See above.[a] * "The labour of the latter ... has its value, and deserves its reward as well as that of the former" * (that is, from the economic standpoint; there is no question of moral or other standpoints in the case of either the one or the other kind of labour). The concept commodity however implies that labour embodies, materialises, realises itself in its product. Labour itself, in its immediate being, in its living existence, cannot be directly conceived as a commodity, but only labour capacity, of which labour itself is the temporary manifestation. Just as it is only in this way that wage labour proper can be explained, so it is with "unproductive labour", which Adam Smith determines throughout by the production costs required to produce the "unproductive labourer". A *commodity* must therefore be conceived as something different from labour itself. Then, however, the world of commodities is divided into two great categories:

On one side, labour capacity.

On the other side, commodities themselves.

The materialisation, etc., of labour is however not to be taken in such a Scottish sense as Adam Smith conceives it. When we speak of the commodity as a materialisation of labour—in the sense of its exchange value—this itself is only an imaginary, that is to say, a

[a] See this volume, p. 17.—*Ed.*

purely social mode of existence of the commodity which has nothing to do with its corporeal reality; it is conceived as a definite quantity of social labour or of money. It may be that the concrete labour whose result it is leaves no trace in it. In manufactured commodities this trace remains in the outward form given to the raw material. In agriculture, etc., although the form given to the commodity, for example wheat or oxen and so on, is also the product of human labour, and indeed of labour transmitted and added to from generation to generation, yet this is not evident in the product. In other forms of industrial labour the purpose of the labour is not at all to alter the form of the thing, but only its position. For example, when a commodity is brought from China to England, etc., no trace of the labour involved can be seen in the thing itself (except for those who call to mind that it is not an English product). Therefore the materialisation of labour in the commodity must not be understood in that way. (The mystification here arises from the fact that a social relation appears in the form of a thing.) It remains true, however, that the commodity appears as past, objectified labour, and that therefore, if it does not appear in the form of a thing, it can only appear in the form of labour capacity itself; but never directly as living labour itself (except only in a roundabout way which in practice seems the same, but this is not so in the determination of different wages). Productive labour would therefore be such labour as produces commodities or directly produces, trains, develops, maintains or reproduces labour capacity itself. Adam Smith excludes the latter from his category of productive labour; arbitrarily, but with a certain correct instinct—that if he included it, this would open the flood-gates for FALSE PRETENSIONS to the title of productive labour.

In so far therefore as we leave labour capacity itself out of account, productive labour is labour which produces commodities, material products, whose production has cost a definite quantity of labour or labour time. These material products include all products of art and science, books, paintings, statues, etc., in so far as they take the form of things. In addition, however, the product of labour must be a *commodity* in the sense of being "A VENDIBLE COMMODITY",[a] that is to say, a commodity in its first form, which has still to pass through its metamorphosis. (A manufacturer may himself construct a machine if he cannot get one built anywhere else, not to sell it but to make use of it as a use value. However, he then wears it out as a part of his constant capital and so sells it

[a] Ibid.—*Ed.*

piecemeal in the form of the product which it has helped to make.)

[VII-314] Certain labours of MENIAL SERVANTS may therefore equally well take the form of *commodities* (*potentia*) and even of the same use values considered as material objects. But they are not productive labour, because in fact they produce not "commodities" but immediate "*use values*". As for labours which are productive for their purchaser or EMPLOYER himself—as for example the actor's labour for the theatrical entrepreneur—the fact that their purchaser cannot sell them to the public in the form of commodities but only in the form of the action itself would show that they are unproductive labours.

Apart from such cases, productive labour is such as produces *commodities*, and *unproductive labour* is such as produces personal services. The former labour is represented in a vendible thing; the latter must be consumed while it is being performed. The former includes (except for that labour which creates labour capacity itself) all material and intellectual wealth—meat as well as books—that exists in the form of things; the latter covers all labours which satisfy any imaginary or real need of the individual—or even those which are forced upon the individual against his will.

The *commodity* is the most elementary form of bourgeois wealth. The explanation of "productive labour" as labour which produces "commodities" also corresponds, therefore, to a much more elementary point of view than that which defines productive labour as labour which produces capital.

Adam Smith's opponents have disregarded his first, pertinent definition, and instead have concentrated on the second, pointing out the contradictions and inconsistencies unavoidable here. And their attacks were made all the easier for them by their insistence on the material content of the labour, and particularly the specific requirement that the labour must fix itself in a more or less *permanent* product. We shall see in a moment what it was that particularly gave rise to the polemics.

But first this further point. Adam Smith says of the Physiocratic system that its great merit is that it REPRESENTED

> "the wealth of nations as consisting not in the unconsumable gold and silver, but in the consumable goods annually reproduced by the labour of the society" ([Garnier,] t. III, l. IV, ch. IX, p. 538) [Vol. III, p. 146].

Here we have a deduction of his second DEFINITION OF PRODUCTIVE LABOUR. The definition of surplus value naturally depended on the form in which value itself was conceived. In the Monetary and

Mercantile systems it is therefore presented as *money*; by the Physiocrats, as the produce of the land, as agricultural product; finally in Adam Smith's writings as mere *commodity*. In so far as the Physiocrats touch on the substance of value, they resolve it entirely into pure use value (matter, corporeal object), just as the Mercantilists resolve it into the pure form of value, the form in which the product *makes itself manifest* as general social labour: money. With Adam Smith, both conditions of the commodity—use value and exchange value—are combined; and so all labour is productive which manifests itself in any use value, any useful product. That the labour that manifests itself in the product is productive already implies that the product at the same time=a definite quantity of general social labour. As against the Physiocrats, Adam Smith re-establishes the value of the product as the essential basis of bourgeois wealth; but on the other hand he divests value of the purely fantastic form—that of gold and silver—in which it appeared to the Mercantilists. Every commodity is *in itself* money. It must be recognised that at the same time Adam Smith also falls back *plus ou moins*[a] into the Mercantilist conception of "permanency"—IN FACT, inconsumability. We can recall the passage in Petty (see my Part I, p. 109,[b] where I quote from Petty's *Political Arithmetick*) where wealth is valued according to the degrees in which it is imperishable, more or less permanent, and finally gold and silver are set above all other things as wealth that is "not perishable".

"In restricting the sphere of *wealth*" (says Adolphe Blanqui, *Histoire de l'économie politique*, Brussels, 1843, p. 152[18]) "exclusively to those values which are embodied in material substances, he [Smith] erased from the book of production the whole boundless mass of immaterial values, daughters of the *moral capital* of civilised nations," etc.[c]

The polemics against Adam Smith's distinction between productive and unproductive labour were for the most part confined to the *dii minorum gentium*[d] (among whom moreover Storch was the most important); they are not to be found in the work of any economist of significance [VII-315]—of anyone of whom it can be said that he made some discovery in political economy. They are, however, the hobby-horse of the SECOND-RATE FELLOWS and especially of the schoolmasterish compilers and writers of compendia, as well

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[a] More or less.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Zur Kritik der politischen Oeconomie*, Erstes Heft, Berlin, 1859 (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 363).—*Ed.*

[c] Marx quotes Blanqui in French.—*Ed.*

[d] Gods of the lesser tribes.—*Ed.*

as of *dilettanti* with facile pens and vulgarisers in this field. What particularly aroused these polemics against Adam Smith was the following circumstance.

The great mass of so-called "higher grade" workers—such as state officials, military people, artists, doctors, priests, judges, lawyers, etc.—some of whom are not only not productive but in essence destructive, but who know how to appropriate to themselves a very great part of the "material" wealth partly through the sale of their "immaterial" commodities and partly by forcibly imposing the latter on other people—found it not at all pleasant to be relegated *economically* to the same class as BUFFOONS and MENIAL SERVANTS and to appear merely as people partaking in the consumption, parasites on the actual producers (or rather agents of production). This was a peculiar profanation precisely of those functions which had hitherto been surrounded with a halo and had enjoyed superstitious veneration. Political economy in its classical period, like the bourgeoisie itself in its parvenu period, adopted a severely critical attitude to the machinery of the State, etc. At a later stage it realised and—as was shown too in practice—learnt from experience that the necessity for the inherited social combination of all these classes, which in part were totally unproductive, arose from its own organisation. In so far as those "unproductive labourers" do not provide pleasure, and therefore whether they are purchased or not depends entirely on the way in which the agent of production chooses to expend his wages or his profit—in so far on the contrary as they are necessary or make themselves necessary partly because of physical infirmities (like doctors), or spiritual weakness (like parsons), or because of the conflict between private interests and national interests (like statesmen, all LAWYERS, police and soldiers)—they are regarded by Adam Smith, as by the industrial capitalists themselves and the working class, as *faux frais de production*, which are therefore to be cut down to the most indispensable minimum and provided as cheaply as possible. Bourgeois society reproduces in its own form everything against which it had fought in feudal or absolutist form. In the first place therefore it becomes a principal task for the sycophants of this society, and especially of the upper classes, to restore in theoretical terms even the purely parasitic section of these "unproductive labourers", or to justify the exaggerated claims of the section which is indispensable. The *dependence* of the ideological, etc., classes on the *capitalists* was in fact proclaimed.

*Secondly*, however, a section of the agents of production (of material production itself) were declared by one group of

economists or another to be "unproductive". For example, the landowner, by those among the economists who represented industrial capital (Ricardo). Others (for example Carey) declared that the *commerçant* proper was an "unproductive" labourer. Then even a third group came along who declared that the "capitalists" themselves were unproductive, or who at least sought to reduce their claims to material wealth to "wages", that is, to the wages of a "productive labourer". Many intellectual workers seemed inclined to share this scepticism. It was therefore time to make a compromise and to recognise the "productivity" of all classes not directly included among the agents of material production. One good turn deserves another; and, as in *The Fable of the Bees*,[a] it had to be established that even from the "productive", economic standpoint, the bourgeois world with all its "unproductive labourers" is the best of all worlds. This was all the more necessary because the "unproductive labourers" on their part were advancing critical observations in regard to the productivity of the classes who in general were "*fruges consumere nati*",[b] or in regard to those agents of production, like landowners, who do nothing at all, etc. Both the *do-nothings* and their *parasites* had to find a place in this best possible order of things.

*Thirdly*: As the dominion of capital extended, and in fact those spheres of production not directly related to the production of material wealth became also more and more dependent on it—especially when the positive sciences (natural sciences) were subordinated to it as serving material production—[VII-316] the sycophantic UNDERLINGS of political economy felt it their duty to glorify and justify every sphere of activity by demonstrating that it was "linked" with the production of material wealth, that it was a means towards it; and they honoured everyone by making him a "productive labourer" in the "primary" sense, namely, a LABOURER who labours in the service of capital, is useful in one way or another to the enrichment of the capitalist, etc.

In this matter even such people as Malthus are to be preferred, who directly defend the necessity and usefulness of "*unproductive* labourers" and pure parasites.

It is not worth the trouble to examine the inanities of Germain Garnier (Smith's translator), the Earl of Lauderdale, Brougham, Say, Storch, and later Senior, Rossi, and so on, in regard to this question. We shall cite only a few characteristic passages.

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[a] See B. Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees*.—*Ed.*

[b] "Born to consume the fruits" (Horace, *Epistolae*, Liber primus, Epistola II, 27).—*Ed.*

But first a passage from *Ricardo*, in which he shows that it is much more advantageous for the "productive labourers" when the owners of surplus value (profit, rent) consume it in "unproductive labourers" (AS MENIAL SERVANTS, for instance) than in luxury products produced by the "productive labourers".

//Sismondi: *Nouveaux principes*, Vol. I, p. 148, accepts the correct statement of Smith's distinction (as also of course does Ricardo): the real distinction between productive and unproductive classes is:

"The one always exchanges its labour against the capital of a nation; the other always exchanges it against a part of the national revenue."

*Sismondi*—likewise following Adam Smith—on surplus value:

"Although the labourer, by his daily labour, may have produced much more than his daily outlay, after sharing with the landowner and the capitalist what remains for him is seldom much beyond what is strictly necessary for his existence" (Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes etc.*, Vol. I, p. 87).[a]//

Ricardo says:

*"If a landlord, or a capitalist, expends his revenue in the manner of an ancient baron, in the support of a great number of retainers, or menial servants, he will give employment to much more labour, than if he expended it on fine clothes, or costly furniture; on carriages, on horses, or in the purchase of any other luxuries. In both cases the net revenue would be the same, and so would be the gross revenue, but the former would be realised in different commodities. If my revenue were 10,000 *l.*, the same quantity nearly of productive labour would be employed, whether I realised it in fine clothes and costly furniture, etc., or in a quantity of food and clothing of the same value. If, however, I realised my revenue in the first set of commodities, no more labour would be *consequently* employed:—I should enjoy my furniture and my clothes, and there would be an end of them; but if I realised my revenue in food and clothing, and my desire was to employ menial servants, all those whom I could so employ with my revenue of 10,000 *l.*, or with the food and clothing which it would purchase, *would be to be added to the former demand for labourers*, and this addition would take place only because I chose this mode of expending my revenue. As the labourers, then, are interested in *the demand for labour*, they must naturally desire that as much of the revenue as possible should be diverted from expenditure on luxuries, to be expended in the support of menial servants"* (Ricardo, *Principles*, 3rd ed., 1821, pp. 475-76).

*D'Avenant* quotes from an old statistician, Gregory King, a list ENTITLED *Scheme of the Income and Expence of the Several Families of England, Calculated for the Year, 1688*.[b] In this, the erudite King divides the whole nation into two main classes: "*INCREASING* THE WEALTH OF THE KINGDOM—2,675,520 HEADS", and "*DECREASING* THE

[a] Marx quotes Sismondi in German using French words.—*Ed.*

[b] G. King, *Natural and Political Observations and Conclusions upon the State and the Condition of England*, London, 1696.—*Ed.*

WEALTH OF THE KINGDOM—2,825,000 HEADS"; thus the former is the "productive" class, the latter the "unproductive". The "*productive*" class consists of LORDS, BARONETS, KNIGHTS, ESQUIRES, GENTLEMEN, PERSONS IN OFFICES and PLACES, merchants in oversea trade, PERSONS IN THE LAW, CLERGYMEN, FREEHOLDERS, FARMERS, PERSONS IN LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCES, SHOPKEEPERS and TRADESMEN, ARTISANS AND HANDICRAFTS, NAVAL OFFICERS, MILITARY OFFICERS. As against these, the "unproductive" class consists of: sailors (COMMON SEAMEN), LABOURING PEOPLE AND OUT SERVANTS (these are agricultural labourers and day wage labourers in manufacture), COTTAGERS (who in D'Avenant's time were still $^1/_5$ of the total English population), [VII-317] COMMON SOLDIERS, PAUPERS, GIPSIES, THIEVES, BEGGARS and VAGRANTS GENERALLY. D'Avenant explains this list of ranks prepared by the learned King as follows:

"By which he means, that the first class of the people, FROM LAND, ARTS AND INDUSTRY, maintain themselves, and add every year something to the nation's general STOCK; and besides this, out of their superfluity, contribute every year SO MUCH TO THE MAINTENANCE OF OTHERS. That of the second class, some partly maintain themselves BY LABOUR but that the rest, as most of the wives and children of these, are nourish'd at the cost of others; and are a yearly burthen to the publick, CONSUMING ANNUALLY SO much AS WOULD BE OTHERWISE ADDED to the NATION'S GENERAL STOCK" (D'Avenant, *An Essay upon the Probable Methods of Making a People Gainers in the Ballance of Trade*, London, 1699, pp. 23 and 50).

In addition to this, the following passage from D'Avenant is rather characteristic of the views of the Mercantilists on surplus value:

It is "the exportation of our own product that must make England rich: to be gainers in the balance of trade, we must carry out of our own product, *what will purchase the things of foreign growth that are needful for our own consumption, with some *overplus* either in bullion or goods to be sold in other countries; *which overplus* is the *profit a nation makes by trade*, and it is more or less according to the natural frugality of the people that export,"* (a frugality which the Dutch have, but not the English—l.c., pp. 46, 47) *"or as from the low price of labour and manufacture they can afford the commodity cheap, and at *a rate not to be undersold in foreign markets*"* (D'Avenant, l.c., pp. [45-]46).

//"BY WHAT IS CONSUM'D AT HOME, ONE LOSETH ONLY WHAT ANOTHER GETS, and the nation in general is not at all the richer; but ALL FOREIGN CONSUMPTION IS A CLEAR AND CERTAIN PROFIT" (*An Essay on the East-India Trade etc.*, London, 1697) [p. 31].//

//This work, *printed in the form of an appendix* to another work of D'Avenant's,[19] which he tries to defend is not the same as the *Considerations on the East-India Trade*, 1701, quoted by McCulloch.//

Incidentally, it must not be thought that these Mercantilists were as stupid as they were made out to be by the later Vulgar-FREETRADERS. In Part II of his *Discourses on the Publick Revenues, and on the Trade of England etc.*, London, 1698, D'Avenant says among other things:

"Gold and silver are indeed the measure of trade, but the spring and ORIGINAL OF IT, IN ALL NATIONS, is the natural, or artificial product of the country, that is to say, what their land, or what their labour and industry produces. And this is so true, that a nation may be suppos'd, by some accident, quite without the species of money, and yet, if the people are numerous, industrious, vers'd in traffick, skill'd in SEA-AFFAIRS, and if they have good ports, and a soil fertile IN VARIETY OF COMMODITIES, such a people will have trade, and, A PLENTY OF SILVER AND GOLD: So that the real and effective riches of a country, is its native product" (l.c., p. 15). "Gold and silver are so far from being the only things that deserve the name of treasure, or the riches of a nation that in truth, money is AT BOTTOM no more than the COUNTERS with which men in their DEALINGS have been accustom'd to reckon" (l.c., p. 16). "We understand that to be wealth which maintains THE PRINCE, AND THE GENERAL BODY of his people, IN PLENTY, EASE and SAFETY. We esteem that to be TREASURE which FOR THE USE OF MAN has been CONVERTED[a] from gold and silver, into buildings and IMPROVEMENTS OF THE COUNTRY. AS ALSO OTHER THINGS *CONVERTIBLE* INTO THOSE METALS, AS THE FRUITS OF THE EARTH, MANUFACTURES, OR FOREIGN COMMODITIES, AND STOCK OF SHIPPING ... even PERISHABLE GOODS, MAY BE HELD THE RICHES OF A NATION, if they are *CONVERTIBLE,* tho' not *CONVERTED* into gold and silver; and this we believe does not only hold between MAN AND MAN, but between one country and another" (l.c., p. 60, etc.). "The COMMON PEOPLE[b] being the stomach of the BODY POLITICK. That stomach in Spain did not take the money as it should have done, [VII-318] and failed to digest it—TRADE AND MANUFACTURES are the only mediums by which such a digestion and distribution of gold and silver can be made, AS WILL BE NUTRITIVE TO THE BODY POLITICK" (l.c., pp. 62-63).[c20]

Moreover, Petty too had the conception of *productive labourers* (though he also includes soldiers):

"Husbandmen, seamen, soldiers, ARTIZANS and merchants, are the very PILLARS OF ANY COMMON-WEALTH; all the other great professions *DO RISE OUT OF THE INFIRMITIES AND MISCARRIAGES OF THESE*; NOW THE SEAMAN IS THREE OF THESE FOUR" (NAVIGATOR, MERCHANT, SOLDIER) (*Political Arithmetick etc.*, London, 1699, p. 177). "The labour of seamen, and freight of ships, is always of the nature OF AN EXPORTED COMMODITY, THE OVERPLUS WHEREOF, ABOVE WHAT IS IMPORTED, BRINGS HOME MONEY, etc." (l.c., p. 179).[d]

In this connection Petty also explains the advantages of the division of labour:

"Those who have the command of the sea-trade, may WORK at easier freight with more profit, than others at greater:" (higher freight charges) "for a cloth must be cheaper made, when one etc., another etc., so those who command the trade of shipping, can build different sorts of vessels for different purposes, one sort of vessels for the turbulent sea, another for inland waters and rivers one sort for war, etc. And this is the chief of several reasons, why the Hollanders can go at less freight than their neighbours, viz., because they CAN AFFORD A PARTICULAR SORT

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[a] In the manuscript the German word is followed by this English equivalent in the parenthesis.—*Ed.*

[b] The expression "common people" means the same as *tres état* (the third estate) prior to the French Revolution, the entire population as distinct from the clergy and nobility.—*Ed.*

[c] Cf. this volume, p. 9-10.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx quotes Petty with some additions and changes.—*Ed.*

OF VESSELS FOR EACH PARTICULAR TRADE" (l.c., pp. 179-80).[a]

Here too Petty strikes quite a Smithian note when he continues:

If taxes are taken from industrialists, etc., in order to give [money] to those who "in general are occupied in ways WHICH PRODUCE *NO MATERIAL THING*, OR THINGS OF REAL USE AND VALUE IN THE *COMMONWEALTH*: In this case, the wealth of the publick will be diminished: OTHERWISE THAN AS SUCH EXERCISES, ARE RECREATIONS AND REFRESHMENTS OF THE MIND; AND WHICH BEING MODERATELY USED, DO QUALIFY AND DISPOSE MEN TO WHAT IN ITSELF IS MORE CONSIDERABLE" (l.c., p. 198).[a] "After computing how many people are needed for industrial work THE REMAINDER may safely and without possible prejudice to the Commonwealth, be employed IN THE ARTS AND EXERCISES OF PLEASURE AND ORNAMENT; THE *GREATEST WHEREOF IS THE IMPROVEMENT OF NATURAL* KNOWLEDGE" (l.c., p. 199).[a] "There is much more to be gained by manufacture than husbandry; and by MERCHANDIZE than MANUFACTURE" (l.c., p. 172). "A seaman is in effect three husbandmen" (p. 178).

Mr. John Stuart Mill, in *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy*, London, 1844, also struggled with the problem of productive and unproductive labour; but in so doing he in fact added nothing to Smith's (second) definition except that labours which produce labour capacity itself are also productive.

"*SOURCES OF ENJOYMENT* may be accumulated and stored up; enjoyment itself cannot. The wealth of a country consists of the sum total of the PERMANENT SOURCES OF ENJOYMENT, whether material or immaterial, CONTAINED IN IT; and labour or expenditure which tends to augment OR KEEP UP THESE PERMANENT SOURCES, should, we conceive, be termed *productive*" (l.c., p. 82). "The mechanic or the SPINNER, when he was learning his trade, CONSUMED PRODUCTIVELY, that is to say, his consumption did not tend to diminish, but to increase THE PERMANENT SOURCES OF ENJOYMENT IN THE COUNTRY, BY EFFECTING A NEW CREATION OF THOSE SOURCES, MORE THAN EQUAL TO THE AMOUNT OF THE CONSUMPTION" (l.c., p. 83).[b]

We will now briefly run over the twaddle written against Adam Smith in connection with productive and unproductive labour.

[VII-319] The fifth volume [contains G. Garnier's] Notes to his translation of Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (Paris, 1802).

On "*travail productif*" in the highest sense Garnier shares the view of the Physiocrats; he only makes it somewhat weaker. He opposes Smith's view that

"productive labour ... is that which realises itself in some particular subject or vendible commodity, which lasts for some time at least after that labour is past" ([Garnier,] l.c., t. V, p. 169).

//Before dealing with Garnier, something (by way of a digression) on the above mentioned *Mill junior*. What is to be said here really belongs later in this section, where Ricardian theory of surplus value is to be discussed; therefore not here, where we are still concerned with Adam Smith.//[21]

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[a] Marx quotes Petty with some additions and changes.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes Mill with some changes.— *Ed.*

In the booklet mentioned above,[22] which, in fact, contains all that is original in Mr. John Stuart Mill's writings about POLITICAL ECONOMY (in contrast to his bulky compendium[a]), he says in *Essay IV*—"On Profits, and Interest":

"Tools and materials, like other things, have originally cost nothing but labour.... The labour employed in making the tools and materials being added to the labour afterwards employed in working up the materials by aid of the tools, the sum total gives the whole of the labour employed in the production of the completed commodity.... *To replace capital, is to replace nothing but the WAGES OF THE LABOUR EMPLOYED*" (l.c., p. 94).[22]

This in itself is quite wrong, because the EMPLOYED LABOUR and the wages paid are by no means identical. On the contrary, the EMPLOYED LABOUR=the sum of wages and profit. To replace capital means to replace the labour for which the capitalist pays (WAGES) and the labour for which he does not pay but which he nevertheless sells (PROFIT). Mr. Mill is here confusing "EMPLOYED LABOUR" AND THAT PORTION OF THE EMPLOYED LABOUR WHICH IS PAID FOR BY THE CAPITALIST WHO EMPLOYS IT. This confusion is itself no recommendation for his understanding of the Ricardian theory, which he claims to teach.

Incidentally, it should be noted in relation to constant capital that though each part of it can be reduced to PREVIOUS LABOUR and therefore one can imagine that at some time it represented PROFIT or wages or both, but once it exists as constant capital, one part of it—for example, seeds, etc.—can no longer be transformed into profit or wages.

Mill does not distinguish surplus value from profit. He therefore declares that the *rate of profit* (and this is correct for the surplus value which has already been transformed into profit) is equal to the ratio of the price of the product to the price of its means of production (labour included). (See pp. 92-93.) At the same time he seeks to deduce the laws governing the *rate of profit* directly from the Ricardian law, in which Ricardo confuses surplus value and profit, [and to prove] that "PROFITS DEPEND UPON WAGES; RISING AS WAGES FALL, AND FALLING AS WAGES RISE" [p. 94].

Mr. Mill himself is not quite clear about the *question* which he seeks to answer. We will therefore formulate *his* question briefly before we hear his answer. The rate of profit is the ratio of surplus value to the *total amount* of the capital advanced (constant and variable capital taken together) while surplus value itself is the excess of the quantity of labour performed by the labourer over

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[a] J. St. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*.... In two volumes, London, 1848.—*Ed.*

the quantity of labour which is advanced him as wages; that is, surplus value is considered only in relation to the variable capital, or to the capital which is laid out in wages, not in relation to the whole capital. Thus the rate of surplus value and the rate of profit are two different rates, although profit is only surplus value considered *sub certa specie*.[a] It is correct to say with regard to the rate of surplus value that it exclusively "DEPENDS UPON WAGES; RISING AS WAGES FALL, AND FALLING AS WAGES RISE". (But it would be wrong with regard to the total amount of surplus value, for this depends not only on the rate at which the surplus labour of the individual worker is appropriated but likewise on the mass (number) of workers exploited at the same time.) Since the rate of profit is the ratio of surplus value to the total value of the capital advanced, it is naturally affected and determined by the fall or rise of surplus value, and hence, by the RISE OR FALL OF WAGES, but in addition to this, the rate of profit includes factors [VII-320] which are independent of it and not directly reducible to it. Mr. John Stuart Mill, who, on the one hand, *directly* identifies profit and surplus value, like Ricardo, and, on the other hand (moved by considerations concerning the polemic against the anti-Ricardians), does not conceive the *rate of profit* in the Ricardian sense, but in its real sense, as the *ratio* of surplus value to the total value of the capital advanced (variable capital+constant capital), goes to great lengths to prove that the rate of profit is determined *directly* by the law which determines surplus value and can be simply reduced to the fact that the smaller the portion of the working day the worker appropriates to himself, the greater the portion which goes to the capitalist, and vice versa. We will now observe his torment, the worst part of which is that he is not sure which problem he really wants to solve. If he had formulated the problem correctly, it would have been impossible for him to solve it wrongly in *this* way.

He says, then:

"Though TOOLS, MATERIALS, and BUILDINGS are themselves the produce of labour, yet the *whole* of their value is not resolvable into the WAGES of the labourers by whom they were produced." //He said above that the replacement of capital is the replacement of WAGES.// "The profits which the capitalists make on these WAGES, need to be added. The last capitalist producer has to replace from his product not only the *WAGES* paid both by himself and by the TOOL-MAKER, but also the PROFIT OF THE TOOL-MAKER, ADVANCED by him himself out of his own capital" (l.c., p. 98).[b] Hence "*PROFITS* do not compose merely the *SURPLUS* after replacing the

[a] From a particular point of view.— *Ed.*

[b] This sentence and the one preceding it are a summary by Marx of Mill's arguments on this page.— *Ed.*

outlay; they also enter into the outlay itself. Capital is expended partly in paying or reimbursing WAGES, and partly in paying the PROFITS of other capitalists, whose concurrence was necessary in order to bring together the means of production" (pp. 98-99). "An article, therefore, may be *the produce of the same quantity of labour as before*, and yet, if any *portion of the profits* which the last producer has to make good to previous producers can be saved (economised), *the cost of production of the article is diminished*.... It is, therefore, strictly true, that the RATE OF PROFITS VARIES INVERSELY AS THE COST OF PRODUCTION OF WAGES" (pp. 102-03).

We are naturally always working on the assumption here that the price of a commodity is equal to its value. It is on this basis that Mr. Mill himself carries on the investigation.

Profit, in the passages quoted, appears *d'abord*[a] to bear a very strong resemblance to PROFIT UPON ALIENATION[10]; but *passons outre*.[b] Nothing is more wrong than to say that (if it is sold at its *value*) an article is "the produce of the same quantity of labour as before" and at the same time that by some circumstance or other "the cost of production of the article" can be "diminished". //Unless it is in the sense I first advanced, i.e., when I distinguished between the production cost of the article and the production cost to the capitalist, since he does not pay a part of the production costs.[23] In this case, it is indeed true that the capitalist makes his profit out of the unpaid surplus labour of his own workers just as he may also make it by *underpaying* the capitalist who supplies him with his constant capital, that is, by not paying this capitalist for a part of the surplus labour embodied in the commodity and not paid for by this capitalist (and which precisely for that reason constitutes his profit). This amounts to the fact that he always pays for the commodity *less* than its value. The rate of profit //that is, the ratio of surplus value to the total value of the capital advanced// can increase either because the same quantity of capital advanced becomes objectively cheaper (due to the increased productivity of labour in those spheres of production which produce constant capital) or because it becomes subjectively cheaper for the buyer, since he pays for it *below* its value. *For him*, it is then always the result of a smaller quantity of labour.//

[VII-321] What Mill says first of all, is that the *constant capital* of the capitalist who manufactures the last commodity resolves not into WAGES alone, but also into PROFITS. His line of reasoning is as follows:

If it were resolvable into WAGES alone, then profit would be the surplus accruing to the last capitalist after he has reimbursed

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[a] First of all.—*Ed.*

[b] Let us proceed.—*Ed.*

himself for all WAGES paid (and the whole //paid// costs of the product could be reduced to WAGES), which would constitute the whole of the capital advanced. The total value of the capital advanced would be=to the total value of the WAGES embodied in the product. Profit would be the surplus over this. And since the rate of profit is=to the ratio of this surplus to the total value of the capital advanced, then the rate of profit would obviously rise and fall in proportion to the total value of the capital advanced, that is, in proportion to the *value of wages*, the aggregate of which constitutes the capital advanced. //This objection is, in fact, silly, if we consider the *general* relation of profits and wages. Mr. Mill needed only to put on one side that part of the whole product which is resolvable into profit (irrespective of whether it is paid to *the last* or to the previous capitalists, the co-functionaries in the production of the commodity) and then put that part which resolves into wages on the other, and the amount of profit would still be equal to the SURPLUS over the total amount of wages, and it could be asserted that the Ricardian "inverse ratio" applied directly to the rate of profit. It is not true, however, that the whole of the capital advanced can be resolved into profit and wages.// But the capital advanced does not resolve itself into wages alone, but also into profits advanced. Profit therefore is a surplus not only over and above the wages advanced, but also over the profits advanced. The *rate of profit* is therefore determined not only by the surplus over wages, but by the last capitalist's surplus over the total sum of wages+profits, the sum of which, according to this assumption, constitutes the whole of the capital advanced. Hence this rate can obviously be altered not only as a result of a rise or fall in wages, but also as a result of a rise or fall in profit. And if we disregarded the changes in the rate of profit arising from the rise or fall in wages, that is, if we assumed—as is done innumerable times in practice—that the value of the wages, in other words, their production costs, the labour time embodied in them, remained the same, remained unchanged, then, following the path outlined by Mr. Mill, we would arrive at the pretty law that the rise or fall in the rate of profit depends on the rise or fall of profit.

"If any portion of the profits which the last producer has to make good to previous producers can be economised, the cost of production of the article is diminished."[a]

This is in fact very true. If we assume that no portion of the previous producers' profit was a mere SURCHARGE—PROFIT UPON

[a] See this volume, p. 38.—*Ed.*

ALIENATION as James Stuart says, then every economy in one "portion of profit" //so long as it is not achieved by the latter producer swindling the previous one, that is, by not paying him for the whole of the value contained in his commodity// is an economy in the quantity of labour required for the production of the commodity. //Here we disregard the profit paid, for instance, for that time during the period of production, etc., when the capital lies idle.// For example, if 2 days were required to bring raw materials—coal, for instance—from the pit to the factory, and now only 1 day is required, then there is an "economy" of 1 day's work, but this applies as much to that part of it which resolves into wages as to that which resolves into profit.

After Mr. Mill has made it clear to himself that the rate of *surplus* of the last capitalist, or the rate of profit in general, depends not only on the direct ratio of WAGES to PROFITS, but on the ratio of the last profit, or the profit on every particular capital, to the total value of the capital advanced, which is=to the variable capital (that laid out in wages)+the constant capital—that, in other words, [VII-322] the rate of profit is determined not only by the ratio of profit to the part of capital laid out in wages, that is, not only by the cost of production or the value of wages, he continues:

"It is, therefore, strictly true, that the RATE OF PROFITS VARIES INVERSELY AS THE COST OF PRODUCTION OF WAGES."[a]

Although it is false, it is nevertheless true.

The illustration which he now gives can serve as a classical example of the way in which economists use illustrations, and it is all the more astonishing since its author has also written a book about the science of logic.[b]

"Suppose, for example, that 60 agricultural labourers, receiving 60 qrs OF CORN FOR THEIR WAGES, CONSUME FIXED CAPITAL AND SEED AMOUNTING to the value of 60 qrs more, and that the result of their operations is a produce of 180 qrs. Assuming profit to be 50%, the SEED and TOOLS must have been the produce of the labour of 40 men: for the WAGES of those 40, together with profit make up 60 qrs. *The produce, therefore, consisting of 180 qrs, is the result of the labour altogether of 100 MEN*" [pp. 99-100].[c]

"Now supposing that the amount of labour required remained the same, but *as a result of some discovery no FIXED CAPITAL and SEED were needed.* A RETURN of 180 qrs could not before be obtained but by an outlay of 120 qrs; it can now be obtained by an outlay of not more than 100" [p. 100].

"The produce (180 qrs) is still the result of the same quantity of labour as

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[a] See this volume, p. 38.—*Ed.*

[b] J. St. Mill, *A System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive....* In two volumes, London, 1843.—*Ed.*

[c] Here and below Marx quotes Mill with slight changes.—*Ed.*

before, the labour of 100 MEN. A quarter of corn, therefore, is still the produce of $^{10}/_{18}$ of a man's labour" [p. 100].

"For *a quarter of corn*, which is the REMUNERATION of a single labourer, is indeed the *produce of the same labour as before*; but its cost of production is nevertheless diminished. It is now the produce of $^{10}/_{18}$ of a man's labour, and nothing else; whereas formerly it required for its production [the conjunction of] that quantity of labour plus AN EXPENDITURE, in the form of REIMBURSEMENT OF PROFIT, AMOUNTING to $^{1}/_{5}$ more. If the cost of production OF WAGES had remained the same as before, PROFITS could not have risen. Each labourer received 1 qr of corn; but 1 qr of corn at that time was the result of the same cost of production, as $1\,^{1}/_{5}$ qr NOW. IN ORDER, therefore, that each labourer should receive the same cost of production, each must now receive one qr of corn,$+\,^{1}/_{5}$" (p[p. 102,] 103).

"Assuming, therefore, that the labourer is paid in the very article he produces, it is EVIDENT that, when any SAVING OF EXPENSE takes place in the production of that article, if the labourer still receives the same COST OF PRODUCTION as before, he must receive an INCREASED QUANTITY, in the very same RATIO in which the productive power of capital has been increased. But, if so, the outlay of the capitalist will bear exactly the same proportion to the return as it did before; and profits will not rise.... The VARIATIONS, therefore, IN THE RATE OF PROFITS, and those IN THE COST OF PRODUCTION OF WAGES, go hand in hand, and are inseparable. Mr. Ricardo's principle is therefore strictly true, if by LOW WAGES be *meant not merely WAGES which are the produce of a smaller quantity of labour*, but WAGES which *are produced at less cost, reckoning LABOUR AND PREVIOUS PROFITS TOGETHER*" (l.c., p. 104).

With regard to this wonderful illustration, we note *d'abord* that, as a result of a discovery, corn is supposed to be produced without seeds (raw materials) and without fixed capital; that is, without raw materials and without instruments of labour, by means of mere manual labour, out of air, water and earth. [VII-323] This absurd presupposition contains nothing but the assumption that a product can be produced *without constant capital*, that is, simply by means of newly added labour. In this case, what he set out to prove has of course been proved, namely, that profit and surplus value are identical, and consequently that the rate of profit depends *solely* on the ratio of surplus labour to necessary labour. The difficulty arose precisely from the fact that the rate of surplus value and the rate of profit are two different things because there exists a ratio of surplus value to the constant part of capital—and this ratio we call the rate of profit. Thus if we assume constant capital to be zero, we solve the difficulty arising from the existence of constant capital by abstracting from the existence of this constant capital. Or we solve the difficulty by *assuming* that it *does not exist. Probatum est.*[a]

Let us now arrange the problem, or Mill's illustration of the problem, correctly.

[a] It is proved.—*Ed.*

According to the first assumption we have:

| Constant capital (FIXED CAPITAL and SEED) | Variable capital (capital laid out in wages) | Total product | Profit |
|---|---|---|---|
| 60 qrs | 60 qrs (60 workmen) | 180 qrs | 60 qrs |

It is assumed in this example that the labour which is added to the constant capital=120 qrs and that, since every qr represents the wages of a working day (or of a year's labour, which is merely a working day of 365 working days), the 180 qrs contain only 60 working days, 30 of which account for the wages of the workers and 30 constitute profit. We thus assume in fact that 1 working day is embodied in 2 qrs and that consequently the 60 working days of the 60 workmen are embodied in 120 qrs, 60 of which constitute their wages and 60 constitute the profit. In other words, the worker works one half of the working day for himself, to make up his wages, and one half for the capitalist, thus producing the capitalist's SURPLUS VALUE. The rate of surplus value is therefore 100% and not 50%. On the other hand, since the VARIABLE CAPITAL constitutes only half of the total capital advanced, the rate of profit is not 60 qrs to 60, that is, not 100%, but 60 qrs to 120 and therefore only 50%. If the constant part of the capital had equalled zero, then the whole of the capital advanced would have consisted of only 60 qrs, i.e., only of the capital advanced in wages=30 working days; profit and surplus value, and therefore also their rates, would be identical. Profit would then amount to 100% and not 50%; 2 qrs of corn would be the product of 1 working day, and 120 qrs the product of 60 working days, even though 1 qr of corn would only be the wages of 1 working day and 60 qrs of corn the wages of 60 working days. In other words, the worker would only receive half, 50%, of his product, while the capitalist would receive twice as much—100% calculated on his outlay.

What is the position with regard to the *constant capital* of 60 qrs? These were likewise the product of 30 working days, and if it is assumed with regard to this constant capital that the elements which went into its production are so made up that $^1/_3$ consists of constant capital and $^2/_3$ of newly added labour, and that the surplus value and the rate of profit are also the same as before, we get the following calculation:

| Constant capital | Variable capital | Total product | Profit |
|---|---|---|---|
| 20 qrs | 20 qrs (wages for 20 workers) | 60 qrs | 20 qrs |

Here again the rate of profit would be 50% and the rate of surplus value 100%. The total product would be [VII-324] the product of 30 working days, 10 of which however (=20 qrs) would represent the pre-existing labour (the constant capital) and 20 working days the newly added labour of 20 workers, each of whom would only receive half his product as wages. Two quarters would be the product of one man's labour as in the previous case, although, again as previously, one quarter would represent the wages of one man's labour and one quarter the capitalist's profit, the capitalist thus appropriating half of the man's labour.

The 60 qrs which the last capitalist producer makes as surplus value mean a rate of profit of 50%, because these 60 qrs of surplus value are calculated not only on the 60 advanced in wages but also on the 60 qrs expended in SEED and FIXED CAPITAL, which together amount to 120 qrs.

If Mill calculates that the capitalist who produces the SEED and the fixed capital—a total of 60 qrs—makes a profit of 50%, if he assumes further that the constant and variable capital enter into the product in the same proportion as in the case of the production of the 180 qrs, then it will be correct to say that the profit=20 qrs, wages=20 qrs and the constant capital=20 qrs. Since wages=1 qr, then 60 qrs contain 30 working days in the same way as 120 [quarters] contain 60 [working days].

But what does Mill say?

"Assuming profit to be 50%, the SEED and TOOLS must have been the produce of the labour of 40 men: for the WAGES of those 40, together with profit make up 60 qrs."[a]

In the case of the first capitalist, who employed 60 workers, each of whom he paid 1 qr per day as wages (so that he paid out 60 qrs in wages), and laid out 60 qrs in constant capital, the 60 working days resulted in 120 qrs, of which, however, the workers only received 60 in wages; in other words, wages=only half the product of the labour of 60 men. Thus the 60 qrs of constant capital were only=to the product of the labour of 30 men; if they consisted only of profit and wages, then wages would amount to 30 qrs and profit to 30 qrs, thus wages would=the labour of 15 men and profit as well. But the profit amounted to only 50%, since it is assumed that of the 30 days embodied in the 60 qrs, 10 represent pre-existing labour (constant capital) and only 10 are allocated to wages. Thus, 10 days are embodied in constant capital, 20 are newly added working days, of

[a] See this volume, p. 40.—*Ed.*

which, however, the workers only work 10 for themselves, the other 10 being for the capitalist. But Mr. Mill asserts that these 60 quarters are the product of 40 men, while just previously he said that 120 [quarters] were the product of 60 [men]. In the latter case, 1 qr contains $^1/_2$ working day (although it is the wages paid for a whole working day); in the former, $^3/_4$ qr would$=^1/_2$ working day, whereas $^1/_3$ of the product (i.e., the 60 qrs) which is laid out in constant capital has just as much value, that is, it contains just as much labour time, as any other $^1/_3$ of the product. If Mr. Mill desired to convert the constant capital of 60 qrs wholly into wages and profit, then this would not make the *slightest* difference as far as the quantity of labour time embodied in it is concerned. It would still be 30 working days as before, but now, since there would be no constant capital to replace, profit and surplus value would coincide. Thus, profit would amount to 100%, not to 50% as previously. Surplus value also amounted to 100% in the previous case, but the profit was only 50% precisely because constant capital entered into the calculation.

We have here, therefore, a doubly false manoeuvre on the part of Mr. Mill.

In the case of the first 180 qrs, the difficulty consisted in the fact that surplus value and profit did not coincide, because the 60 qrs surplus value had to be calculated not only on 60 qrs (that part of the total product which represented wages) but [VII-325] on 120 qrs, i.e., 60 qrs constant capital+60 qrs wages. Surplus value therefore amounted to 100%, and profit only to 50%. With regard to the 60 qrs which constituted constant capital, Mr. Mill disposes of this difficulty by assuming that, in this case, the whole product is divided between capitalist and worker, i.e., that no constant capital is required to produce the constant capital, that is, the 60 qrs consisting of SEED and tools. The circumstance which had to be explained in the case of capital I, *is assumed* to have disappeared in the case of capital II, and in this way the problem ceases to exist.

But secondly, after he has assumed that the value of the 60 qrs which constitute the constant capital of capital I contains only labour, but no *pre-existing labour*, no constant capital, that profit and surplus value therefore coincide, and consequently also the rate of profit and the rate of surplus value, that no difference exists between them, he then assumes, on the contrary, that just as in the case of capital I, *a difference between them does exist*, and that therefore the PROFIT is only 50% as in the case of capital I. If $^1/_3$ of the product of capital I had not consisted of constant capital, then

profit would have been the same as surplus value; the whole product consisted of only 120 qrs=60 working days, 30 of which (=60 qrs) are appropriated by the workers and 30 (=60 qrs) by the capitalist. The rate of profit was the same as the rate of surplus value, 100%. It was 50% because the 60 qrs of surplus value were not calculated on 60 qrs (wages) but on 120 qrs (wages, SEED and fixed capital). In [the case of capital] II, he assumes that it contains no constant capital. He also assumes that wages remain the same in both cases—1 qr. But he nevertheless assumes that profit and surplus value are different, that profit amounts only to 50%, although surplus value amounts to 100%. In actual fact he assumes that the 60 qrs, $^1/_3$ of the total product, contain more labour time than another $^1/_3$ of the total product; he assumes that these 60 qrs are the product of 40 working days while the other 120 qrs were the product of only 60.

In actual fact, however, there PEEPS OUT THE OLD DELUSION OF PROFIT UPON ALIENATION, which has nothing whatever to do with the labour time contained in the product and likewise nothing to do with the Ricardian definition of value. For he [Mill] assumes that the wages a man receives for working for a day are equal to what he produces in a working day, i.e., that they contain as much labour time as he works. If 40 qrs are paid out in wages, and if the profit =20 qrs, then the 40 qrs embody 40 working days. The payment for the 40 working days=the product of the 40 working days. If 50% profit, or 20 qrs, is made on 60 qrs, it follows that 40 qrs=the product of the labour of 40 men, for, according to the assumption, 40 qrs constitute wages and 1 man receives 1 qr per day. But in that case where do the other 20 qrs come from? The 40 men work 40 working days because they receive 40 qrs. A quarter is therefore the product of 1 working day. The product of 40 working days is consequently 40 qrs, and not a BUSHEL more. Where, then, do the 20 qrs which make up the profit come from? The old DELUSION of profit UPON ALIENATION, of a merely nominal price increase on the product over and above its value, is behind all this. But here it is *quite absurd* and impossible, because the value is not represented in money but in a part of the product itself. Nothing is easier than to imagine that—if 40 qrs of grain are the product of 40 workers, each one of whom receives 1 qr per day or per year, they therefore receive *the whole of their product* as wages, and if 1 qr of grain in terms of money is £3, 40 qrs therefore=£120—the capitalist sells these 40 qrs for £180 and makes £60, i.e., 50% profit=20 qrs. But this notion is reduced *ad absurdum* if out of 40 qrs—which have been produced in 40 working days and for which

he pays 40 qrs—the capitalist sells 60 qrs. He has in his possession only 40 qrs, but he *sells* 60, 20 more than he has to sell.

[VII-326] Thus first of all Mill proves the Ricardian law, that is, the false Ricardian law, which confuses surplus value and profit, by means of the following convenient assumptions:

1) he assumes that the capitalist who produces constant capital does not himself IN HIS TURN need constant capital, and thus he *assumes out of existence* the whole difficulty which is posed by constant capital;

2) he assumes that, although the capitalist does not [need] constant capital, the difference between surplus value and profit caused by constant capital nevertheless continues to exist although no constant capital exists:

3) he assumes that a capitalist who produces 40 qrs of wheat can sell 60, because his total product is sold as constant capital to another CAPITALIST, whose constant capital=60 qrs, and because capitalist No. II makes a profit of 50% on these 60 qrs.

This latter absurdity resolves itself into the notion of PROFIT UPON ALIENATION, which appears here so absurd only because the profit is supposed to stem not from the nominal value expressed in money, but from a part of the product which has been sold. Thus, Mr. Mill, in seeking to justify Ricardo, has abandoned his basic concept and fallen far behind Ricardo, Adam Smith and the Physiocrats.

His first justification of Ricardo's teachings therefore consists in his abandoning them *de prime abord*,[a] namely, abandoning the basic principle that profit is only a part of the value of the commodity, i.e., merely that part of the labour time embodied in the commodity which the capitalist sells in his product although he has *not paid* the worker for it. Mill makes the capitalist pay the worker for the whole of his working day and still derive a profit.

Let us see how he proceeds.

He does away with the need for seed and agricultural implements in the production of corn by means of an invention, that is, he does away with the need for constant capital in the case of the last capitalist in the same way as he abandoned SEED and fixed capital in the case of the producer of the first 60 qrs. Now he ought to have argued as follows:

Capitalist I does not now need to lay out 60 qrs in SEED and fixed capital, for we have stated that his constant capital=0. He therefore has to lay out only 60 qrs for the wages of 60 workers

[a] From the outset.—*Ed.*

who work 60 working days. The product of these 60 working days=120 qrs. The workers receive only 60 qrs. The capitalist therefore makes 60 qrs profit, i.e., 100%. His rate of profit is exactly equal to the rate of surplus value, that is, it is exactly equal to that of the labour time the workers worked not for themselves, but for the capitalist. They worked 60 days. They produced 120 qrs, they received 60 qrs in wages. They thus received the product of 30 working days as wages, although they worked 60 days. The quantity of labour time which 2 qrs cost still= 1 working day. The working day for which the capitalist *pays* still=1 qr, i.e., it is equal to half the working day worked. The product has fallen by $^1/_3$, from 180 qrs to 120, but the profit has nevertheless risen by 50%, namely, from 50 to 100. Why? Of the total of 180 qrs, $^1/_3$ merely replaced outlays for constant capital, it did not therefore constitute either profit or wages. On the other hand, the 60 qrs, or the 30 working days during which the workers produced or worked for the capitalist, were *calculated* not on the 60 qrs spent on wages, that is, the 30 days during which they worked for themselves, but on the 120 qrs, i.e., the 60 working days, which were expended on wages, seed and fixed capital. Thus, although out of the total of 60 days they worked 30 days for themselves and 30 for the capitalist, and although a capital outlay of 60 qrs on wages yielded 120 quarters to the capitalist, his rate of profit was not 100%, but only 50%, because it was calculated *differently*, in the one case on 2×60 and in the other on 60. The surplus value [VII-327] was the same, but the rate of profit was different.

But how does Mill tackle the problem?

He does not assume that the capitalist with an outlay of 60 qrs obtains 120 (30 out of 60 working days), but that he now employs 100 men who produce 180 qrs for him, always on the supposition that the wage for 1 working day=1 qr. The calculation is therefore as follows:

| Capital expended (only variable, only on wages) | Total product | Profit |
|---|---|---|
| 100 qrs (wages for 100 working days) | 180 qrs | 80 qrs |

This means that the capitalist makes a profit of 80%. Profit is here equal to surplus value. Therefore the rate of surplus value is likewise only 80%. Previously it was 100%, i.e., 20% higher. Thus we have the phenomenon that the rate of profit has risen by 30% while the rate of surplus value has fallen by 20%.

If the capitalist had only expended 60 qrs on wages as he did previously, we would have the following calculation:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 100 qrs | yield | 80 qrs | surplus | value |
| 10 " | " | 8 " | " | " |
| 60 " | " | 48 " | " | " |

But 60 qrs previously yielded 60 qrs (that means it has fallen by 20%). Or to put it another way, previously:

| | Total product | Surplus value |
|---|---|---|
| 60 qrs | 120 qrs | 60 qrs |
| 10 | 20 | 10 |
| 100 | 200 | 100 |

Thus the surplus value has fallen by 20%, from 100 to 80 (we must take 100 qrs as the basis of the calculation in both [cases]). (60:48=100:80; 60:48=10:8; 60:48=5:4; 4×60=240 and 48×5=240.)

Further, let us consider the labour time or the value of a qr. Previously, 2 qrs=1 working day, or 1 qr=$^1/_2$ working day, or $^9/_{18}$ of a man's labour. As against this, 180 qrs are now the product of 100 working days, 1 qr is therefore the product of $^{100}/_{180}$ or $^{10}/_{18}$ of a working day. That is, the product has become dearer by $^1/_{18}$ of a working day, or the labour has become less productive, since previously a man required $^9/_{18}$ of a working day to produce 1 qr, whereas now he requires $^{10}/_{18}$ of a working day. The rate of profit has risen although the surplus value has fallen and, CONSEQUENTLY, the productivity of labour has fallen or the real value, the COST OF PRODUCTION, OF WAGES has risen by $^1/_{18}$ or by 11 $^1/_9$%. 180 qrs were previously the product of 90 working days (1 qr, $^{90}/_{180}$,=$^1/_2$ working day=$^9/_{18}$ of a working day). Now they are the product of 100 working days (1 qr=$^{100}/_{180}$=$^{10}/_{18}$ of a working day). Let us assume that the working day lasts 12 hours, i.e., 60×12 or 720 minutes. [VII-328] One-eighteenth part of a working day=$^{720}/_{18}$, therefore=40 minutes. In the first case, the worker gives the capitalist $^9/_{18}$ or half of these 720 minutes=360 minutes. 60 workers will therefore give him 360×60 minutes. In the 2nd case, the worker gives the capitalist only $^8/_{18}$, that is, 320 minutes out of the 720. But the first capitalist employs 60 men and therefore obtains 360×60 minutes. The second employs 100 men and therefore obtains 100×320=32,000 minutes. The first gets 360×60, 21,600 minutes. Thus the second capitalist makes a larger profit than the first because 100 workers at 320 minutes a day amounts to more than 60 [workers] at 360 minutes. His profit

is bigger only because he employs 40 more men, but he obtains relatively less from each worker. He has a higher profit, although the rate of surplus value has declined, that is, the productivity of labour has declined, the production costs of REAL WAGES have therefore risen, in other words, the quantity of labour embodied in them has risen. *But Mr. Mill wanted to prove the exact opposite.*[24] Assuming that capitalist No. I, who has not "discovered" how to produce corn without seed or fixed capital, likewise uses 100 working days (like capitalist No. II), whereas he only uses 90 days in the above calculation. He must therefore use 10 more working days, $3\,^1/_3$ of which are accounted for by his constant capital (seed and fixed capital) and $3\,^1/_3$ by wages. The product of these 10 working days on the basis of the old level of production=20 qrs, $6\,^2/_3$ qrs of which, however, would replace constant capital, while $12\,^4/_3$ would be the product of $6\,^2/_3$ working days. Of this, wages would take $6\,^2/_3$ and surplus value $6\,^2/_3$.

We would thus arrive at the following calculation:

| Constant capital qrs | Wages qrs | Total product qrs | Surplus value |
|---|---|---|---|
| $66\,^2/_3$ (=$33\,^1/_3$ working days) | $66\,^2/_3$ (wages for *$66\,^2/_3$ working days*) | 200 (100 working days) | $66\,^2/_3$ (=$33\,^1/_3$ working days) Surplus value=100% |

He makes a profit of $33\,^1/_3$ working days on the total product of 100 working days. Or $66\,^2/_3$ qrs on 200. Or, if we calculate the capital he lays out in qrs, he makes a profit of $66\,^2/_3$ on $133\,^1/_3$ qrs (the product of $66\,^2/_3$ working days), whereas capitalist II makes a profit of 80 qrs on an outlay of 100. Thus the profit of II is greater than that of I. Since I produces 200 qrs in the same labour time that it takes the other to produce 180; 1 qr of I=$^1/_2$ working day and 1 qr of II=$^{10}/_{18}$ or $^5/_9$ of a working day, that is, it contains $^1/_2$ of the ninth part or $^1/_{18}$ more labour time and would consequently be dearer, and I would drive II out of business. The latter would have to give up his discovery and accommodate himself to using seed and fixed capital in corn production, as before.

The profit of I amounted to 60 qrs on 120, or to 50% (the same as $66\,^2/_3$ qrs on $133\,^1/_3$).

The profit of II amounted to 80 qrs on 100, or to 80%.

The profit of II compared to that of I=80:50=8:5=1:$^5/_8$.

As against this, the surplus value of II compared to that of I=80:100=8:10=1:$^{10}/_8$=1:1$\,^2/_8$=1:1$\,^1/_4$.

The rate of profit[a] of II is 30% higher than that of I.

The surplus value of II is 20% smaller than that of I.

II employs $66\,^{2}/_{3}$% more working days, while I appropriates only $^{1}/_{18}$, or $11\,^{1}/_{9}$%, more labour in a single day.

[VII-329] Mr. Mill has therefore proved that capitalist I—who uses a total of 90 working days, $^{1}/_{3}$ of which [is embodied] in constant capital (seed, machinery, etc.), and employs 60 workers whom, however, he pays only [the product of] 30 days—produces one quarter of corn in $^{1}/_{2}$ a day or in $^{9}/_{18}$ of a day; so that in 90 working days he produces 180 qrs, 60 qrs of which represent the 30 working days contained in the constant capital, 60 qrs the wages for 60 working days or the product of 30 working days, and 60 qrs the surplus value (or the product of 30 working days). The surplus value of this capitalist I=100%, his profit=50%, for the 60 qrs of surplus value are not calculated on the 60 qrs, the part of the capital laid out in wages, but on 120 qrs, i.e., capital twice as large (=variable capital+constant capital).

He has proved further that capitalist II, who uses 100 working days and lays out nothing in constant capital (by virtue of his discovery), produces 180 qrs, 1 qr therefore=$^{10}/_{18}$ of a day, or $^{1}/_{18}$ of a day (40 minutes) dearer than that of I. His labour is $^{1}/_{18}$ less productive. Since the worker receives a daily wage of 1 qr, as he did previously, his wages have risen by $^{1}/_{18}$ in REAL VALUE, that is, in the labour time required for their production. Although the production cost OF WAGES has now risen by $^{1}/_{18}$ and his total product is smaller in relation to labour time, and the surplus value produced by him amounts only to 80%, whereas that of I was 100%, his rate of profit is 80%, while that of the first was 50. Why? Because, although the COST OF WAGES has risen for II, he employs more workers, and because the rate of surplus value=the rate of profit in the case of II, since his surplus value is calculated only on the capital laid out in wages, the constant capital amounting to zero. But Mill wanted on the contrary to prove that the rise in the rate of profit was due to a *reduction in the production cost of wages* according to the Ricardian law. We have seen that this rise took place *despite the increase in the production cost of wages*, that, consequently, the Ricardian law is false if profit and surplus value are *directly* identified with one another, and the rate of profit is understood as the ratio of surplus value or gross profit (which=the surplus value) to the total value of the capital advanced.

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[a] In the manuscript "profit" is changed in Marx's hand to "rate of profit".—*Ed.*

Mr. Mill continues:

"A RETURN of 180 qrs could not before be obtained but by an outlay of 120 qrs; it can now be obtained by an outlay of not more than 100."[a]

Mr. Mill forgets that in the first case, the outlay of 120 qrs=an outlay of 60 working days. And that in the 2nd case, the outlay of 100 qrs=an outlay of $55\,^{5}/_{9}$ working days (that is, 1 qr=$^{9}/_{18}$ of a working day in the first case and $^{10}/_{18}$ in the 2nd).

"The produce (180 qrs) is still the result of the [same] quantity of labour as before, the labour of 100 MEN."[a]

Pardon me! The 180 qrs were previously the result of 90 working days. Now they are the result of 100.

"A quarter of corn, therefore, is still the produce of $^{10}/_{18}$ of a man's labour."[a]

(Pardon me! It was previously the produce of $^{9}/_{18}$ of a man's labour.)

"For *a quarter of corn*, which is the *REMUNERATION* of a single labourer, *is indeed the produce of the same labour* as before."[a]

(Pardon me! Firstly, now 1 qr of corn is "indeed the produce" of $^{10}/_{18}$ of a working day, whereas previously it was the produce of $^{9}/_{18}$; it therefore costs $^{1}/_{18}$ of a day more labour; and secondly, whether the qr costs $^{9}/_{18}$ or $^{10}/_{18}$ of his working day, the *REMUNERATION* of an individual worker should never be confused with the *product of his labour*; since it is always only a part of that product.)

"It is now the produce of $^{10}/_{18}$ of a man's labour, and *nothing else*" (this is correct); "whereas formerly it required for its production the CONJUNCTION of that quantity of labour+AN EXPENDITURE, in the form of REIMBURSEMENT OF PROFIT, AMOUNTING TO $^{1}/_{5}$ more."[a]

Stop! First of all [VII-330] it is wrong, as has been emphasised repeatedly, to say that 1 qr previously cost $^{10}/_{18}$ of a working day. It only cost $^{9}/_{18}$. It would be even more wrong (if a gradation in absolute falsehood were possible) if there were added to these $^{9}/_{18}$ of a working day "the conjunction of REIMBURSEMENT OF PROFIT, AMOUNTING TO $^{1}/_{5}$ MORE". In 90 working days (taking constant and variable capital together) 180 qrs are produced. 180 qrs=90 working days. 1 qr=$^{90}/_{180}$=$^{1}/_{2}$ working day=$^{9}/_{18}$. Consequently, no "conjunction" whatsoever is added to these $^{9}/_{18}$ of a working day, or to $^{1}/_{2}$ working day which 1 qr cost in CASE No. I. We here discover the real DELUSION which is the centre around which the whole of this nonsense revolves. Mill first of all made A

[a] See this volume, pp. 40-41.— *Ed.*

FOOL OF HIMSELF BY SUPPOSING THAT, IF 120 qrs ARE THE PRODUCE OF 60 DAYS OF LABOUR, THE PRODUCE OF WHICH WAS DIVIDED TO EQUAL PARTS BETWEEN THE 60 LABOURERS AND THE CAPITALISTS, THE 60 qrs WHICH REPRESENT THE CONSTANT CAPITAL COULD BE THE PRODUCE OF 40 DAYS OF LABOUR. THEY COULD ONLY BE THE PRODUCE OF 30 DAYS, IN WHATEVER PROPORTION THE CAPITALIST AND THE LABOURERS PRODUCING THOSE 60 qrs MIGHT HAPPEN TO SHARE IN THEM.

*Mais, passons outre.*[a] In order to make the DELUSION quite clear, let us assume that not $^1/_3$, i.e., 20 qrs of the 60 qrs of constant capital, would be resolved into profit, but THE WHOLE AMOUNT OF THE 60 qrs. We can make this assumption all the more readily since it is not in our interest, but in Mill's, and simplifies the problem. Moreover it is easier to believe that the CAPITALIST who produces 60 qrs of constant capital, *discovers* that 30 workers, who produce 60 qrs or an equivalent value in 30 days, can be made to work for *nothing*, without being paid any wages at all (as happens in the case of *corvée*), than to believe in the ability of Mill's capitalist to produce 180 qrs of corn without seed or fixed capital, simply by means of a "discovery". Let us therefore assume that the 60 qrs contain only the profit of capitalist II, the producer of constant capital for capitalist I, since capitalist II has the product of 30 working days to sell without having paid a single FARTHING to the 30 workers, each of whom worked one day. Would it then be correct to say that these 60 qrs, which can be entirely resolved into profit, enter into the *production costs of wages* on the part of capitalist I, in "CONJUNCTION" with the labour time worked by these workers?

Of course, the capitalist and the workers in case I could not produce 120 qrs or even one single quarter without the 60 qrs which form their constant capital and can be resolved into profit alone. These are conditions of production necessary for them, and conditions of production, moreover, which have to be paid for. Thus the 60 qrs were necessary to produce 180. 60 of these 180 qrs replace the 60. Their 120 qrs—the product of their 60 working days—are not affected by this. If they had been able to produce the 120 qrs without the 60, then *their* product, the product of the 60 working days, would have been the same, but the total product would have been smaller, precisely because the 60 pre-existing working days would not have been reproduced. The capitalist's rate of profit would have been greater because his production costs would not have included the expenditure on, or the cost of, the conditions of production enabling him to make a

[a] But let us proceed.—*Ed.*

surplus value of 60 qrs. The absolute amount of profit would have been the same=60 qrs. These 60 qrs, however, would have required an outlay of only 60 qrs. Now they require an outlay of 120. This outlay on constant capital therefore enters into the production costs of the capitalist, but not into the production costs of wages.

Let us assume that capitalist III, also without paying his workers, can produce 60 qrs in 15 working days by means of some "discovery", partly because he uses better machines, and so on. This capitalist III would drive capitalist II out of the market and secure the custom of capitalist I. The capitalist's outlay would now have fallen [VII-331] from 60 to 45 working days. The workers would still require 60 working days to transform the 60 qrs into 180. And they would need 30 working days in order to produce their wages. For them 1 qr=$^1/_2$ working day. But the 180 qrs would only cost the capitalist an outlay of 45 working days instead of 60. Since however it would be absurd to suggest that corn under the name of seed costs less labour time than it does under the name of corn pure and simple, we would have to assume that in the case of the first 60 qrs, seed corn costs just as much as it did previously, but that less seed is necessary, or that the fixed capital which forms part of the value of the 60 qrs has become cheaper.

Let us write down first of all the results so far obtained from the analysis of Mill's "illustration".

*First*, it has emerged that:

Supposing that the 120 qrs were produced without any constant capital and were the product of 60 working days as they were previously, whereas formerly, the 180 qrs, 60 qrs of which were constant capital, were the product of 90 working days. In this case, the capital of 60 qrs laid out in wages=30 working days but commanding 60 working days, would produce the same product as formerly, namely, 120 qrs. The value of the product would likewise remain unchanged, that is, 1 qr would=$^1/_2$ working day. Previously the product was=to 180 qrs instead of 120 as at present; but the 60 additional qrs represented only the labour time embodied in the constant capital. The production cost of WAGES has thus remained unchanged, and the WAGES themselves—in terms of both use value and exchange value—have also remained unchanged—1 qr being equal to $^1/_2$ working day. Surplus value would similarly remain unchanged, namely, 60 qrs for 60 qrs, or $^1/_2$ working day for $^1/_2$ working day. The rate of surplus value in both cases=100%. Nevertheless the rate of profit was only 50% in

the first case, while it is now 100%. Simply because 60:60=100%, while 60:120=50%. The increase in the rate of profit, in this case, is not [due] to any change in the production cost of WAGES, but merely to the fact that constant capital has been assumed to be zero. The position is approximately similar when the value of constant capital diminishes, and with it the total value of the capital advanced; that is, the proportion of surplus value to capital increases, and this proportion *is* the rate of profit.

As rate of profit surplus value is not only calculated on that part of capital which really increases and creates surplus value, namely, the part laid out in wages, but also on the value of the raw materials and machinery whose value only reappears in the product. It is calculated moreover on the value of the whole of the machinery, not only on the part which really enters into the valorisation process, i.e., the part whose wear and tear has to be replaced, but also on that part which enters only into the labour process.

*Secondly*, in the second example it was assumed that capital I yields 180 qrs,=90 working days, so that 60 qrs (30 working days)=constant capital; 60 qrs=variable capital (representing 60 working days, for 30 of which the workers are paid); thus wages=60 qrs (30 working days) and surplus value=60 qrs (30 working days); on the other hand, capital II also yields 180 qrs, but these equal 100 working days, so that 100 qrs of the 180= =wages, and 80 surplus value. In this case, the whole of the capital advanced is laid out in wages. Here constant capital=0; the real value of wages has risen although the use value the workers receive has remained the same—1 qr; but 1 qr is now=to $^{10}/_{18}$ of a working day whereas previously it was only=to $^{9}/_{18}$. The surplus value has declined from 100% to 80%, that is, by $^{1}/_{5}$=20%. The rate of profit has increased from 50% to 80%, that is, by $^{3}/_{5}$=60%. In this case, therefore, the real production cost of WAGES has not simply remained unchanged, but has risen. Labour has become less productive and consequently the surplus labour has diminished. And yet the rate of profit has risen. Why? *Firstly*, because in this case there is no constant capital and the rate of profit consequently=the rate of surplus value. In all cases where capital is not exclusively laid out on wages—an almost impossible contingency in capitalist production—the rate of profit must be smaller than the rate of surplus value and it must be smaller in the same proportion as the total value of the capital advanced is greater than the value of the part of the capital laid out in wages. *Secondly*, [the rate of profit has risen because] II employs a considerably

greater number of workers than I, thus more than counterbalancing the difference in the productivity of the labour they respectively employ.

*Thirdly*, from one point of view, the cases outlined under the headings *Firstly* and *Secondly* are a conclusive proof that variations in the rate of profit can take place quite independently of the production cost of WAGES. For under the heading *Firstly* it was demonstrated that the rate of profit can rise although the production costs of labour remain the same. Under *Secondly* it was demonstrated that the rate of profit for capital II compared with that for capital I rises although the productivity of labour declines, in other words, although the production costs of WAGES rise. This case therefore proves [VIII-332] that if, on the other hand, we compare capital I with capital II, the rate of profit falls although the surplus value rises, the productivity of labour increases and consequently the production costs of WAGES fall. They amount to only $^{9}/_{18}$ of a working day for I, whereas for II they amount to $^{10}/_{18}$ of a working day; but despite this, the rate of profit is 60% higher in II than in I. *In all these cases, not only are variations in the rates of profit not determined by variations in the production costs of* WAGES, *but they take place in the same proportions.* Here it must be noted that it does not follow from this that the movement of one is the *cause* of movement of the other (for example, that the rate of profit does not fall because the production costs of WAGES fall, or that it does not rise because the production costs of WAGES rise), but only that different circumstances paralyse the opposite movements. Nevertheless, the Ricardian law that variations in the rate of profit take place in the opposite direction to variations in wages, that one rises because the other falls, and vice versa, is false. This law applies only to the *rate of surplus value.* At the same time, there exists however a necessary connection (although not always) in the fact that the rate of profit and the value of wages rise and fall not in the opposite but in the same direction. More manual labour is employed where the labour is less productive. More constant capital is applied where the labour is more productive. Thus in this context the same circumstances which bring about an increase or a decline in the surplus value, must as a consequence bring about a decline in the rate of profit, and so on, in the opposite direction.[25]

But we shall now outline the case as Mill himself conceived it, although he did not formulate it correctly. This will at the same time clarify the real meaning of his TALK about the profits advanced by the capitalist.

Despite any kind of "discovery" and any possible "CONJUNCTION",[a] the example cannot be left in the form in which Mill puts it forward, because it contains absolute contradictions and absurdities and the various presuppositions he makes cancel one another out.

Of the 180 qrs, 60 qrs (SEED and fixed capital) are supposed to consist of 20 qrs for profit and 40 qrs for 40 working days, so that if the 20 qrs profit are omitted, the 40 working days still remain. According to this presupposition, the workers therefore receive the whole product for their labour, and consequently it is absolutely impossible to see where the 20 qrs profit and their value come from. If it is assumed that they are merely nominal *surcharge de prix*,[b] if they do not constitute labour time appropriated by the capitalist, their omission would be just as profitable as if 20 qrs wages for workers who had not done any work were included in the 60 qrs. Furthermore, the 60 qrs here simply express the value of the constant capital. They are however supposed to be the product of 40 working days. On the other hand, it is assumed that the remaining 120 qrs are the product of 60 working days. But here working days must be understood as equal average labour. The assumption is therefore absurd.

Thus one must assume, firstly, that in the 180 qrs only 90 working days are embodied and in the 60 qrs=the value of the constant capital, only 30 working days. The assumption that the profit=20 qrs or 10 working days can be omitted, is once again absurd. For it must then be assumed that the 30 workers employed in the production of constant capital, although not working for a capitalist, are nevertheless so obliging that they are content to pay themselves wages, $^1/_2$ their labour time, and not to reckon the other half in their commodity. In a word, that they sell their working day 50% below its value. Hence this assumption too is absurd.

But let us assume that capitalist I, instead of buying his constant capital from capitalist II and then working it up, combines both the production and the working up of constant capital in his own undertaking. He thus supplies seed, agricultural implements, etc., to himself. Let us likewise ignore the discovery which makes seed and fixed capital unnecessary. Supposing that he expends 20 qrs (=10 working days) on constant capital (for the production of his constant capital) and 10 qrs on wages for 10 working days, of

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[a] See this volume, p. 41.—*Ed.*

[b] Additions to the price.—*Ed.*

which the workers work 5 days for nothing, the calculation would then be as follows:

[VIII-333]

| Constant capital | Variable capital for 80 workers | Surplus value | Total product |
|---|---|---|---|
| 20 qrs (10 working days) | 60+20=80 qrs (wages for 80 working days) (=40 working days) | 60+20=80 qrs (=40 working days) | 180 qrs (=90 working days) |

The actual production costs of wages have remained the same, and consequently the productivity of labour too. The total product has remained the same,=180 qrs, and the value of the 180 qrs has also remained unchanged. The rate of surplus value has remained the same—80 qrs on 80 qrs. The total AMOUNT or quantity of surplus value has risen from 60 to 80 qrs, that is, by 20 qrs. The capital advanced has fallen from 120 to 100 qrs. Previously, 60 qrs were made on 120 qrs, or a rate of profit of 50%. Now 80 qrs are made on 100 qrs, or a rate of profit of 80%. The total value of the capital advanced has fallen from 120 qrs by 20 qrs and the rate of profit has risen from 50 to 80%. The profit itself, irrespective of its rate, now amounts to 80 qrs, whereas previously it was 60, that is, it has risen by 20 qrs, or as much as the amount (not the rate) of the surplus value.

Thus there has been no change here, no variation in the production costs of REAL WAGES. The rise in the rate of profit is due:

*Firstly*, to the fact that although the rate of surplus value has not risen, the total AMOUNT has increased from 60 qrs to 80, that is, by $^1/_3$; and it has risen by $^1/_3$, by 33 $^1/_3$%, because the capitalist now directly employs 80 workers and not 60 as previously, that is, he exploits $^1/_3$ or 33 $^1/_3$% more living labour; and obtains the same rate of surplus value from the 80 workers he now employs as previously when he employed only 60 workers.

*Secondly*. While the absolute magnitude of surplus value (that is, the GROSS PROFIT) has risen by 33 $^1/_3$%, from 60 qrs to 80 qrs, the rate of profit has risen from 50% to 80%, by 30, that is, by $^3/_5$ (since $^1/_5$ of 50=10, and $^3/_5$=30), i.e., by 60%. That is to say, the value of the capital laid out has fallen from 120 to 100, although the value of the part of capital laid out in wages has risen from 60 to 80 qrs (from 30 to 40 working days). This part of the capital has increased by 10 working days (=20 qrs). On the other hand, the constant portion of capital has decreased from 60 to 20 qrs (from 30 working days to 10), that is, by 20 working days. If we subtract the 10 working days by which the part of capital laid out in wages

has increased, then the total capital expended decreases by 10 working days (=20 qrs). Previously, it amounted to 120 qrs (=60 working days). Now it amounts to only 100 qrs (=50 working days). It has therefore decreased by $^1/_6$, that is, by $16\,^2/_3\%$.

Incidentally, this whole VARIATION in the rate of profit is only an illusion, only a TRANSFER from one account book to another. Capitalist I has 80 qrs profit instead of 60 qrs, that is, an additional profit of 20 qrs. This, however, is the exact amount of profit that the producer of constant capital made previously and which he has now lost because capitalist I, instead of buying his constant capital, now produces it himself, that is, instead of [VIII-334] paying that producer the surplus value of 20 qrs (10 working days) which the latter obtained from the 20 workers employed by him, capitalist I now keeps it for himself.

80 qrs profit is made on 180 qrs as previously, the only difference being that previously it was divided between 2 people. The rate of profit appears to be bigger, because previously capitalist I regarded the 60 qrs as constant capital only, which in fact they were for him; he therefore disregarded the profit accruing to the producer of constant capital. The rate of profit has not altered, any more than the surplus value or any condition of production, including the productivity of labour. Previously, the CAPITAL laid out by the producer=40 qrs (20 working days); that laid out by *capital I*=60 qrs (30 working days), making a total of 100 qrs (50 working days), and the profit of the first came to 20 qrs, that of the other to 60, together 80 qrs (40 working days). The whole product=90 working days (180 qrs) yielded 80 profit on 100 laid out in wages and constant capital. For society, the revenue deriving from the profit has remained the same as before; ditto the ratio of surplus value to wages.

The difference arises from the fact that, when the capitalist enters the commodity market as a buyer, he is simply a commodity owner. He has to pay the full value of a commodity, the whole of the labour time embodied in it, irrespective of the proportions in which the fruits of the labour time were divided or are divided between the capitalist and the worker. If, on the other hand, he enters the labour market as a buyer, he buys in actual fact more labour than he pays for. If, therefore, he produces his raw materials and machinery himself instead of buying them, he himself appropriates the surplus labour he would otherwise have had to pay out to the seller of the raw materials and machinery.

It certainly makes a difference to the individual capitalist although not to the rate of profit, whether he himself derives a

profit or pays it out to someone else. (In calculating the reduction in the rate of profit as a result of the growth of constant capital, the social average is always taken as the basis, that is, the aggregate amount of constant capital employed by society at a particular moment and the proportion of this amount to the amount of capital laid out directly in wages.) But this point of view is seldom decisive and can seldom be decisive even for the individual capitalist in the case of such combinations as occur, for example, when the capitalist is at the same time engaged in spinning and weaving, making his own bricks, etc. What is decisive here is the real saving in production costs, through saving of time on transport, savings on buildings, on heating, on motive power, etc., greater control over the quality of the raw materials, etc. If he himself decided to manufacture the machines he required, he would then produce them on a small scale like a small producer who works to supply his own needs or the individual needs of a few customers, and the machines would cost him more than they would if he bought them from a machine manufacturer who produced them for the market. Or if he wished at the same time to spin and to weave and to make machines not only for himself, but also for the market, he would require a greater amount of capital, which he could probably invest to greater advantage (division of labour) in his own enterprise. This point of view can only apply when he provides for himself a market sufficient to enable him to produce his constant capital himself on an advantageous scale. His own demand must be large enough to achieve this. In this case, even if his work is less productive than that of the proper producers of constant capital, he appropriates a share of the surplus labour for which he would otherwise have to pay another capitalist.

It can be seen that this has nothing to do with the rate of profit. If—as in the example cited by Mill—90 working days and 80 workers were involved previously, then nothing is saved from the production costs by the fact that the surplus labour of 40 days (=80 qrs) contained in the product is now pocketed by one capitalist instead of by 2, as was the case previously. The 20 qrs profit (10 working days) simply disappears from one account book in order to appear again in another.

This saving on previous profit, if it does not coincide with a saving in labour time and thus with a saving in wages, is therefore a pure DELUSION.[a 26]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 114, 282-88.—*Ed.*

[VIII-335] *Thirdly*, there remains, however, the case in which the value of constant capital decreases as a result of the increased productivity of labour, and it remains for us to investigate whether or not, and to what extent, this case is related to the REAL production cost OF WAGES OR [to the] VALUE OF LABOUR. The question is, therefore, to what extent a real change in the value of constant capital causes at the same time a variation in the ratio of profit to wages. The value of constant capital, its production costs, can remain constant, yet more or less of it can be embodied in the product. Even if its value is assumed to be constant, the constant capital will increase in the measure that the productivity of labour and production on a large scale develop. Variations in the *relative amount of constant capital employed while the production costs of the constant capital remain stable*—variations which all affect the rate of profit—are excluded *de prime abord*[a] from this investigation.

Furthermore, all branches of production whose products do not enter directly or indirectly into the consumption of the worker are likewise excluded. But variations in the real rate of profit (that is, the ratio of the surplus value really produced in these branches of industry to the capital expended) in these branches of industry affect the general rate of profit, which arises as a result of the levelling of profits, just as much as variations in the rate of profit in branches of industry whose products enter directly or indirectly into the consumption of the workers.

The question moreover must be reduced to the following: How can a change in the value of constant capital retrospectively affect the surplus value? For once surplus value is assumed as given, the ratio of surplus to necessary labour is given, and therefore also the value of wages, i.e., their production costs. In these circumstances, no change in the value of constant capital can have any effect on the value of wages, any more than on the ratio of surplus labour to necessary labour, although it must always affect the rate of profit, the production costs of the surplus value for the capitalist, and in certain circumstances, namely, when the product enters into the consumption of the worker, it affects the quantity of use values into which wages are resolved, although it does not affect the exchange value of wages.

Let us assume that wages are given, and that, for example, in a cotton factory the wage=10 working hours and SURPLUS VALUE=2 working hours. The price of raw cotton falls by half as a result of a good harvest. The same amount of cotton which previously cost

[a] From the outset.—*Ed.*

the manufacturer £100, now costs him only £50. The same amount of cotton requires just the same amount of spinning and weaving as it did before. With an expenditure of £50 for cotton, the capitalist can now acquire as much surplus labour as he did previously with an expenditure of £100, or, should he continue to spend £100 on cotton, he will now receive, for the same price as before, a quantity of cotton with which he will be able to acquire twice the amount of surplus labour. In both cases, the rate of surplus value, that is, the ratio of surplus value to wages, will be the same, but in the second case the AMOUNT of surplus value will rise, since twice as much labour will be employed at the same rate of surplus labour. The rate of profit will rise in both cases, although there has been no change in the production costs of wages. It will rise because, to obtain the rate of profit, the surplus value is calculated on the *production costs* of the capitalist, that is, on the *total value* of the capital he expends, and these have fallen. He now needs a smaller outlay in order to produce the same amount of surplus value. In the second case, not only the rate but also the AMOUNT of profit will rise, because surplus value itself has risen as a consequence of the increased employment of labour, without this increase resulting in an additional cost for raw material. Here again, increases in the rate and the AMOUNT of profit will take place without any kind of change in the value of labour.

Suppose on the other hand that cotton doubles in value as a result of a bad harvest so that the same amount of cotton [VIII-336] which formerly cost £100 now costs £200. In this case, the rate of profit will fall at all events, but in certain circumstances, the amount or ABSOLUTE MAGNITUDE OF PROFIT may fall as well. If the capitalist employs the same number of workers, who do the same amount of work as they did before, under exactly the same conditions as before, the rate of profit will fall, although the ratio of surplus labour to necessary labour, and therefore the rate and the yield of surplus value, will remain *the same.* The rate of profit falls because the production costs of surplus value have risen, i.e., the capitalist has to spend £100 more on raw material in order to appropriate the same amount of other people's labour time as before. However, if the capitalist is now forced to allocate a part of the money which he formerly spent on wages to buying cotton, e.g., to spend £150 on cotton, of which sum £50 formerly went on wages, then the rate and the AMOUNT of profit fall, the amount decreases because less labour is being employed, even though the rate of surplus value remains the same. The result would be the

same if, owing to a bad harvest, there were not enough cotton available to absorb the same amount of living labour as formerly. In both cases, the AMOUNT and the rate of profit would fall, although the VALUE OF LABOUR would remain the same; in other words, the rate of surplus value or the quantity of unpaid labour which the capitalist receives in relation to the labour for which he pays wages, remains unchanged.

Thus, when the *rate of surplus value*, that is, when the *VALUE OF LABOUR*, remains unchanged, a change in the value of constant capital must produce a change in the rate of profit and may be accompanied by a change in the GROSS AMOUNT of profit.

On the other hand, as far as the worker is concerned:

If the value of cotton, and therefore the value of the product into which it enters, falls, he still receives wages=10 hours of labour. But he can now buy the cotton goods which he himself uses more cheaply, and can therefore spend part of the money he previously spent on cotton goods on other things. It is only in this proportion that the means of subsistence available to him increase in quantity, that is, in the proportion in which he saves money on the price of cotton goods. For apart from this, he now receives no more for a greater quantity of cotton goods than he did previously for a smaller quantity. Other goods have risen in the same proportion as cotton goods have fallen. In short, a greater quantity of cotton goods now has no more value than the smaller quantity had previously. *In this case, therefore, the value of wages would remain the same, but it would represent a greater quantity of other commodities* (use values). *Nevertheless, the rate of profit would rise although, given the same circumstances, the rate of surplus value could not rise.*

The opposite is the case when cotton becomes dearer. If the worker is employed for the same amount of time and still receives a wage=10 hours as he did previously, the value of his labour would remain the same, but its use value would fall in so far as the worker himself is a consumer of cotton goods. In this case, the *use value of wages would fall*, its *value*, however, would remain *unchanged*, although the rate of profit would also fall. Thus, whereas surplus value and (real) wages[27] always fall and rise in inverse ratio (with the exception of the case where the worker participates in the [yield of the] absolute lengthening of his working day; but when this happens, the worker uses up his labour capacity all the more quickly), it is possible for the rate of profit to rise or fall in the first case although the VALUE of wages remains the same and their use value increases, in the 2nd case

although the *VALUE of wages* remains the same, while their use value falls.

Consequently, a rise in the rate of profit resulting from a fall in the *value* of constant capital, has no direct connection whatever with any kind of variation in the real value of wages (that is, in the labour time contained in the wages).

If we assume, as in the above case, that cotton falls in value by 50%, then nothing could be more incorrect than to say either that the production costs of WAGES have fallen or that, if the worker is paid in cotton goods and receives the same value as he did previously, that is, if he receives a greater *amount* of cotton goods than he did previously (since although 10 hours, for example, still=10s., I can buy more cotton goods for 10s. than I could before, because the value of raw cotton has fallen), the rate of profit would remain the same. The rate of surplus value remains the same, but the [VIII-337] rate of profit rises. The *production costs of the product* fall, because an element of the product—its raw material—now costs less labour time than previously. The production costs of wages remain the same as before, since the worker works the same amount of labour time *for himself* and the same *for the capitalist* as he did before. (The production costs of wages do not depend however on the labour time which the means of production used by the worker cost, but on the time he works in order to reproduce his wages. According to Mr. Mill, the production costs of a worker's wages would be greater if, for example, he worked up copper instead of iron, or flax instead of cotton; and they would be greater if he sowed flax seed rather than cotton seed, or if he worked with an expensive machine rather than with no machine at all, but simply with tools.) The *production costs of profit* would fall because the aggregate amount, the sum total of the capital advanced in order to produce the surplus value would fall. The cost of surplus value is never greater than the cost of the part of capital spent on wages. On the other hand, the cost of profit=the total cost of the capital advanced in order to create this surplus value. It is therefore determined not only by the value of the portion of capital which is spent on wages and which creates the surplus value, but also by the value of the elements of capital necessary to bring into action the one part of capital which is exchanged against living labour. Mr. Mill confuses the production costs of profit with the production costs of surplus value, that is, he confuses profit and surplus value.

This analysis shows the importance of the cheapness or dearness of raw materials for the industry which works them up (not to

speak of the relative cheapening of machinery. By *relative* cheapening of machinery, I mean that the absolute value of the amount of machinery employed increases, but that it does not increase in the same proportion as the mass and EFFICIENCY of the machinery), even assuming that the market price=the value of the commodity, i.e., that the market price of the commodity falls in exactly the same ratio as do the raw materials embodied in it.

COLONEL Torrens is therefore correct when he says with regard to England:

* "To a country in the condition of England, the importance of a foreign market must be measured, not by the quantity of finished goods which it receives, but by the quantity of the elements of reproduction which it returns" * (R. Torrens, *A Letter to Sir Robert Peel etc. on the Condition of England etc.*, 2nd ed., London, 1849, p. 275).

//The way Torrens seeks to prove this, however, is bad. The usual talk about SUPPLY AND DEMAND. According to him it would appear that if, for example, English capital which manufactures COTTON goods grows more rapidly than capital WHICH GROWS COTTON, IN THE UNITED STATES FOR INSTANCE, then the price of cotton rises and then, he says:

* "The value of cotton fabrics will decline in relation to the elementary cost of their production" * [p. 240].

That is to say, while the price of the raw material is rising due to the growing demand from England, the price of COTTON FABRICS, raised by the rising price of the raw material, will fall; we can indeed observe at the present time (spring 1862), for instance, that cotton twist is scarcely more expensive than raw cotton and woven cotton hardly any dearer than yarn. Torrens, however, assumes that there is an adequate supply of COTTON, though at a rather high price, available for consumption by English industry. The price of COTTON rises above its value. Consequently, if COTTON FABRICS are sold at their value, this is only possible provided the COTTON-GROWER secures more SURPLUS VALUE from the total product than is his due, by actually taking part of the SURPLUS VALUE due to the COTTON MANUFACTURER. The latter cannot replace this portion by raising the price, because DEMAND would fall if prices rose. On the contrary, [the price of] his product may decline even more as a consequence of falling demand than it does as a consequence of the COTTON-GROWER'S SURCHARGE.

The demand for raw materials—raw cotton, for example—is regulated annually not only by the effective demand existing at a given moment, but by the average demand throughout the year,

that is, not only by the demand from the mills that are working at the time, but by this demand increased by the number of mills which, experience shows, will start operating during the course of the coming year, that is, by the *relative increase in the number of mills taking place during the year,* or by the SURPLUS demand [VIII-338] corresponding to this relative increase.

Conversely, if the price of cotton, etc., should fall, e.g., as a result of an especially good harvest, then in most cases the price falls below its value, again through the law of demand and supply. The rate of profit—and possibly, as we saw above, the GROSS AMOUNT OF PROFIT—increases, consequently, not only in the proportion in which it would have increased had the price of the cotton which has become cheaper been=to its value; but it increases because the finished article has not become cheaper in the *total* proportion in which the COTTON-GROWER sold his raw cotton below its value, that is, because the manufacturer has pocketed part of the SURPLUS VALUE due to the COTTON-GROWER. This does not diminish the demand for his product, since its price falls in any case due to the decrease in the value of cotton. However, its price does not fall as much as the price of raw cotton falls below its own value.

In addition, demand increases at such times because the workers are fully employed and receive full wages, so that they themselves act as consumers on a significant scale, consumers of their own product. In cases in which the price of the raw material declines, not as a result of a permanent or continuous fall in its average production costs but because of either an especially good or an especially bad year (weather conditions), the workers' wages do not fall, the demand for labour, however, grows. The EFFECT produced by *this* demand is not merely proportionate to its growth. On the contrary, when the product suddenly becomes dearer, on the one hand many workers are dismissed, and on the other hand the manufacturer seeks to recoup his loss by reducing wages below their normal level. Thus the normal demand on the part of the workers declines, intensifying the now general decline in demand, and worsening the effect this has on the market price.//

It was mainly his (Ricardian) conception of the division of the product between worker and capitalist which led Mill to the idea that changes in the value of constant capital alter the value of labour or the production costs of labour; for example, that a fall in the value of the constant capital advanced results in a decline in the value of labour, in its production costs, and therefore also in wages. The value of yarn falls as a result of a decrease in the value of the raw material—raw cotton, for example. *Its* production costs

decline; the amount of labour time embodied in it is reduced. If, for example, a pound of cotton twist were the product of one man working a 12-hour day, and if the value of the cotton contained in this twist fell, then the value of a 1b. of twist would fall in the precise degree that the value of the cotton used for spinning fell. For example, 1 1b. of No. 40 MULE YARN 2ND QUALITY was 12d. (1s.) on MAY 22nd, 1861. It was 11d. on May 22nd, 1858 ($11^6/_8$d. in actual fact, since its price did not fall to the same extent as that of raw cotton). But in the first case a 1b. of FAIR raw cotton cost 8d. ($8^1/_8$d. in actual fact) and 7d. ($7^3/_8$d. in actual fact) in the 2nd. In these cases, the value of the yarn fell in exactly the same degree as the value of raw cotton, its raw material. Consequently, says Mill, the amount of labour remains the same as it was previously; if it was 12 hours, the product is the result of the same 12 hours of labour. But there was 1d. less worth of the pre-existing labour in the second case than in the first. The labour is the same, but the production costs of labour have been reduced (by 1d.).

Now although one 1b. of cotton twist as twist, as a use value, remains the product of 12 hours' labour as it was previously, the *value* of the 1b. of twist is neither now, nor was it previously, the product of 12 hours' work by the spinner. The value of the raw cotton, which in the first case amounted to $^2/_3$ of 12d.=8d., was not the product of the spinner; in the 2nd case, $^2/_3$ of 11d., that is, 7d., was not his product. In the first case the remaining 4d. is the product of 12 hours' labour and just the same amount—4d.—is the product in the second. In both cases, his labour adds only $^1/_3$ to the value of the twist. Thus, in the first case, only $^1/_3$ 1b. of twist out of 1 lb. of twist was the product of the spinner (disregarding machinery) and it was the same in the 2nd case. The worker and the capitalist have only 4d.=$^1/_3$ lb. of twist to divide between them, the same as previously. If the worker buys cotton twist with the 4d., he will receive a greater quantity of it in the second case than in the first, now however a bigger quantity of twist is worth the same as a smaller quantity of twist was previously. But the division of the 4d. between worker and capitalist remains the same. If the time worked by the worker to reproduce or produce his wages=10 hours, his surplus labour=2 hours, as it did previously. He receives $^5/_6$ of 4d. or of $^1/_3$ lb. of cotton twist—as he did previously—and the capitalist receives $^1/_6$. Therefore no [VIII-339] CHANGE has taken place in respect of the division of the product, of the cotton twist. None the less, the rate of profit has risen, because the value of the raw material has fallen and, consequently, the ratio of surplus value to the total capital

advanced, or to the production costs of the capitalist, [has increased].

If, for the sake of simplification, we abstract from the machines, etc., then the two CASES stand as follows:

| | Price of 1 lb. of twist | Constant capital | Labour added | Wages | Total expenditure of the capitalist | Surplus gain | Rate of profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st CASE | 12d. | 8d. | 4d. | $13^1/_3$ farthings | 11d. $^4/_3$ farthings | $2^2/_3$ farthings | $5^{15}/_{17}$% |
| 2nd CASE | 11d. | 7d. | 4d. | $13^1/_3$ farthings | 10d. $^4/_3$ farthings | $2^2/_3$ farthings | $6^{14}/_{31}$% |

Thus the rate of profit here has risen although the *value* of labour has remained the same and the use value of the labour as expressed in cotton twist has risen. The rate of profit has risen without any kind of variation in the labour time which the worker appropriates for himself, *solely* because the value of the cotton, and consequently the total value of the production costs of the capitalist, has fallen. $2^2/_3$ farthings on 11d.$^4/_3$ farthings expenditure is naturally less than $2^2/_3$ farthings on 10d. $^4/_3$ farthings expenditure.

In the light of what has been said above, the fallaciousness of the following passages with which Mill concludes his illustration becomes clear.[a]

"If the cost of production OF WAGES had remained the same as before, profits could not have fallen (*risen?*). Each labourer received one qr of corn; but 1 qr of corn at that time was the result of the same cost of production, as $1^1/_5$ qr NOW. IN ORDER, therefore, that each labourer should receive the same cost of production, each must receive 1 qr of corn+$^1/_5$" (l.c., p. 103).

"Assuming, therefore, that the labourer is paid in the very article he produces, it is EVIDENT that, when any SAVING OF EXPENSE takes place in the production of that article, if the labourer still receives the same COST OF PRODUCTION as before, he must receive an INCREASED QUANTITY, in the very same RATIO in which the PRODUCTIVE POWER of capital has been increased. But, if so, the outlay of the capitalist will bear exactly the same proportion to the RETURN as it did before; and PROFITS will not rise..." (this is wrong). "...The VARIATIONS, therefore, in the RATE OF PROFITS, and those in the COST OF PRODUCTION OF WAGES, go hand in hand, and are inseparable. Mr. Ricardo's principle is strictly true, if by LOW WAGES be meant not merely WAGES which are the produce of a smaller quantity of labour, but WAGES which are produced at less cost, reckoning LABOUR and PREVIOUS PROFITS TOGETHER" (l.c., p. 104).

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[a] See this volume, pp. 40-41.—*Ed.*

Thus according to Mill's illustration, Ricardo's view is strictly true if LOW WAGES (or the production cost of WAGES in general) are taken to mean not only the opposite of what he said they mean, but if they are taken to mean absolute nonsense, namely, that the production costs of WAGES are taken to mean not that portion of the working day which the worker works to replace his wages, but also the production costs of the raw material he works up and the machinery he uses, that is, labour time which he has *not* expended at all—neither for himself nor for the capitalist.

*Fourthly.* Now comes the real question: How far can a change in the value of constant capital affect the surplus value?

If we say that the value of the average daily wage is equal to 10 hours or, what amounts to the same thing, that from the whole working day of, let us say, 12 hours which the worker labours, 10 hours are required in order to produce and replace his wages, and that only the time he works over and above this is unpaid labour time in which he produces values which the capitalist [VIII-340] receives without having paid for them; this means nothing more than that 10 hours of labour time are embodied in the total quantity of means of subsistence which the worker consumes. These 10 hours of labour are expressed in a certain sum of money with which he buys the means of subsistence.

The value of commodities however is determined by the labour time embodied in them, irrespective of whether this labour time is embodied in the raw material, the machinery used up, or the labour newly added by the worker to the raw material by means of the machinery. Thus, if there were to be a constant (not temporary) change in the value of the raw material or of the machinery which enter into this commodity—a change brought about by a change in the productivity of labour which produces this raw material and this machinery, in short, the constant capital embodied in this commodity—and if, as a result of this change, more or less labour time were required in order to produce this part of the commodity, the commodity itself would consequently be dearer or cheaper (provided both the productivity of the labour which transforms the raw material into the product and the length of the working day remained unchanged). This would lead either to a rise or to a fall in the production costs, i.e., the value, of labour capacity; in other words, if previously out of the 12 hours the worker worked 10 hours for himself, he must now work 11 hours, or, in the opposite case, only 9 hours for himself. In the first case, his labour for the capitalist, i.e., the surplus value, would have declined by half, from 2 hours to 1; in the second case it

would have risen by half, from 2 hours to 3. In this latter case, the rate of profit and the GROSS profit of the capitalist would rise, the former because the value of constant capital would have fallen, and both because the rate of surplus value (and its AMOUNT in absolute figures) would have increased.

This is the only way in which a change in the value of constant capital can affect the VALUE OF LABOUR, the production cost of wages, or the division of the working day between capitalist and worker, hence also the surplus value.

However, this simply means that for the capitalist who, for example, spins cotton, the necessary labour time of his own workers is determined not only by the productivity of labour in the spinning industry, but ditto by that in the production of cotton, of machinery, etc., just as it is also determined by the productivity in all branches of industry whose products—although they do not enter as constant capital, that is, either as raw material or as machinery, etc., into his product (a product which, it is assumed, enters into the consumption of the worker), into the yarn—constitute a part of the circulating capital which is expended in wages, that is, by the productivity in the industries producing food, etc. What appears as the product in one industry appears as material of labour or means of labour in another; the constant capital of one industry thus consists of the products of another industry; in the latter it does not constitute constant capital, but is the result of the production process within this branch. To the individual capitalist it makes a great deal of difference whether the increased productivity of labour (and therefore also the fall in the value of labour capacity) takes place within his own branch of industry or amongst those which supply his industry with constant capital. For the capitalist class, for capital as a whole, it is all the same.

Thus this CASE //in which a fall (or a rise) in the value of constant capital is not due to the fact that the industry employing this constant capital produces on a large scale, but to the fact that the production costs of constant capital itself have changed// concurs with the laws elaborated for surplus value.[28]

When in general we speak about profit or rate of profit, then *surplus value* is supposed to be *given*. The influences therefore which determine surplus value *have* all operated. This is the presupposition.

*Fifthly*. In addition, one could have set forth how the ratio of constant capital to variable capital and *hence* the rate of profit is altered by a particular form of SURPLUS VALUE. Namely, by the

lengthening of the working day beyond its normal limits. [VIII-341] This results in the diminution of the relative value of the constant capital or of the proportionate part of value which it constitutes in the total value of the product. But we will leave this till Chapter III[29] where the greater part of what has been dealt with here really belongs.

Mr. Mill, basing himself on his brilliant illustration, advances the general (Ricardian) proposition:

*"The *only* expression of the law of profits ... is, that they depend upon the cost of production of wages"* (l.c., pp. 104-05).

On the contrary, one should say: The rate of profit //and this is what Mr. Mill is talking about// depends *exclusively* on the COST OF PRODUCTION OF WAGES only in one *single* case. And this is when the rate of surplus value and the rate of profit are *identical.* But this can only occur if the whole of the capital advanced is laid out directly in wages, so that no constant capital, be it raw material, machinery, factory buildings, etc., enters into the product, or that the raw material, etc., in so far as it does enter, is not the product of labour and costs nothing—a case which is virtually impossible in capitalist production. *Only* in this case are the variations in the rate of profit identical with the variations in the rate of surplus value, or, what amounts to the same thing, with the variations in the production costs of WAGES.

In general however (and this also includes the exceptional case mentioned above) the rate of profit is equal to the ratio of surplus value to the total value of the capital advanced.

If we call the surplus value $S$, and the value of the capital advanced $C$, then profit$=S:C$ or $\frac{S}{C}$. This ratio is determined not only by the size of $S$ //and all the factors which determine the production cost of WAGES enter into the determination of $S$// but also by the size of $C$. But $C$, the total value of the capital advanced, consists of the constant capital, $c$, and the variable capital, $v$ (laid out in wages). The rate of profit therefore$=S:(v+c)=S:C$. But $S$ itself, the surplus value, is determined not only by its own rate, i.e., by the ratio of surplus labour to necessary labour, in other words, by the division of the working day between capital and labour, that is, its division into paid and unpaid labour time. The quantity of surplus value, i.e., the total amount of surplus value, is likewise determined by the number of working days which capital exploits simultaneously. And, for a particular capital, the amount of labour time employed at a definite rate of unpaid labour depends on the time in which

the product remains in the actual *production process* without labour being applied or without the same amount of labour as was required formerly (for example, wine before it has matured, corn once it has been sown, skins and other materials which are subjected to chemical treatment for a certain period, etc.), as well as on the length of time involved in the circulation of the commodity, the length of time required for the metamorphosis of the commodity, that is, the interval between its completion as a product and its reproduction as a commodity. How many days can be worked simultaneously //if the VALUE OF WAGES, and therefore the rate of surplus value, is given// depends in general on the *amount of capital* expended on wages. But on the whole, the factors mentioned above modify the total amount of living labour time which a capital of a given size can employ during a definite *period*—during a year, for example. These circumstances determine the absolute amount of labour time which a given capital can employ. This does not, however, alter the fact that surplus value is determined exclusively by its own rate multiplied by the number of days worked simultaneously. These circumstances only determine the operation of the last factor, the amount of labour time employed.

The rate of surplus value is equal to the ratio of surplus labour in *one* working day, that is, it is equal to the surplus value yielded by a single working day. For example, if the working day=12 hours and the surplus labour=2 hours, then these 2 hours=$^1/_6$ of 12 hours; but we must calculate them on the necessary labour (or on the wages paid for it; they represent *the same* quantity of labour time in objectified form)=$^1/_5$. $^1/_5$ of 10 hours=2 hours ($^1/_5$=20%). In this case the amount of surplus value (yielded in a single day) is determined entirely by the rate. If the capitalist operates on the scale of 100 such [VIII-342] days, then the surplus value (its total amount)=200 working hours. The rate has remained the same—200 hours for 1,000 hours of necessary labour,=$^1/_5$=20%. If the rate of surplus value is given, its amount depends entirely on the number of workers employed, that is, on the total amount of capital expended on wages, variable capital. If the number of workers employed is given, i.e., the *amount* of capital laid out in wages, the variable capital, then the amount of surplus value depends entirely on its rate, i.e., on the ratio of surplus labour to necessary labour, on the production costs of WAGES, on the division of the working day between capitalist and worker. If 100 workers (working 12 hours a day) provide me with 200 working hours, then the total amount of surplus

value=200, the rate=$^1/_5$ of a working day, or 2 hours. And the surplus value=2 hours×100. If 50 workers provide me with 200 working hours, then the total amount of the surplus value is 200 hours; the rate=$^2/_5$ of a (paid) working day,=4 hours. And the surplus value=4 hours×50=200. Since the total amount of surplus value=the product of its rate and the number of working days, it can remain the same although the factors change in an inverse ratio.

The rate of surplus value is always expressed in the ratio of surplus value to variable capital. For variable capital is=to the total amount of the paid labour time; surplus value is equal to the total amount of unpaid labour time. Thus the ratio of surplus value to variable capital always expresses the ratio of the unpaid part of the working day to the paid part. For example, in the case mentioned previously, let the wage for 10 hours=1 thaler, where 1 thaler represents a quantity of silver which contains 10 hours of labour. 100 working days are consequently paid for with 100 thaler. Now if the surplus value=20 thaler, the rate is $^{20}/_{100}$=$^1/_5$=20%. Or what amounts to the same thing, the capitalist receives 2 hours for every 10 working hours (=1 thaler); for 100×10 working hours, that is, 1,000 hours, he receives 200 hours=20 thaler.

Thus, although the rate of surplus value is determined exclusively by the ratio of surplus labour time to necessary time, in other words, by the corresponding part of the working day which the worker requires to produce his wages, by the production costs of wages, the amount of surplus value is moreover determined by the number of working days, by the total quantity of labour time which is employed at this definite rate of surplus value, that is, by the total amount of capital expended on wages (if the rate of surplus value is given). But since profit is the ratio, not of the rate of surplus value, but of the total amount of surplus value to the total value of the capital advanced, then clearly its rate is determined not only by the rate, but also by the total amount of surplus value, an amount which depends on the compound ratio of the rate and the number of working days, on the amount of capital expended on wages and the production costs of wages.

If the rate of surplus value is given, then its amount depends exclusively on the amount of capital advanced (laid out in wages). Now the average wage is the same, i.e. it is assumed that workers in all branches of industry receive a wage of 10 hours, for example. (In those branches of industry where wages are higher than the average, this, from our point of view and for the matter under consideration, would amount to the capitalist employing a

*greater number* of unskilled workers.) Thus, if it is assumed that the surplus labour is equal, and this means that the entire normal working day is equal (the inequalities cancel one another out in part since 1 hour of skilled labour, for example,=2 hours of unskilled labour), [VIII-343] then the amount of the surplus value depends entirely on the amount of capital expended. It can therefore be said that the amounts of surplus value are proportional to the amounts of capital laid out (in wages). This does not, however, apply to profit, since profit [expresses] the ratio of surplus value to the total value of the capital expended, and the portion which capitals of equal size lay out in wages, or the ratio of variable capital to the total capital, can be and is very different. The amount of profit—as regards the different capitals—here depends rather on the ratio between the variable capital and the total capital, that is, on $\frac{v}{c+v}$. Thus, if the rate of surplus value is given, and it is always expressed by $\frac{s}{v}$, by the ratio of surplus value to variable capital, then the rate of profit is determined entirely by the ratio of variable capital to the total capital. The rate of profit is thus *determined, firstly, by the rate of surplus value,* that is, by the ratio of unpaid labour to paid labour; and it changes, rises or falls (in so far as this action is not rendered ineffectual by movements of the other determining factors), with changes in the rate of surplus value. This, however, rises or falls in *direct* proportion to the productivity of labour and in *inverse* proportion to the production costs of WAGES or the quantity of necessary labour, i.e. to the VALUE OF LABOUR.

*Secondly,* however, the rate of profit is determined by the ratio of variable capital to the total capital, by $\frac{v}{c+v}$ The total amount of surplus value, where its rate is given, depends of course only on the size of the variable capital, which, on the assumption made, is determined by, or simply expresses, the number of working days worked simultaneously, that is, the total amount of labour time employed. But the rate of profit depends on the ratio of this absolute magnitude of surplus value, which is determined by the variable capital, to the total capital, that is, on the ratio between variable capital and total capital, on $\frac{v}{c+v}$. Since $S$, surplus value, has been assumed as given in calculating the rate of profit, and therefore $v$ is likewise assumed as given, any VARIATIONS occurring in $\frac{v}{c+v}$ can be due only to VARIATIONS in $c$, i.e. in constant capital.

For if $v$ is given, the sum $c+v=C$ can only change if $c$ changes and the ratio $\frac{v}{c+v}$ or $\frac{v}{C}$ changes with changes in the sum.

If $v=100$, $c=400$, then $v+c=500$ and $\frac{v}{v+c}=\frac{100}{500}=\frac{1}{5}=20\%$.

Therefore, if the rate of surplus value$={}^5/_{10}={}^1/_2$, [surplus value]$=50$. But since the variable capital is only$=$to ${}^1/_5$ the total capital, the profit therefore$={}^1/_2$ of ${}^1/_5={}^1/_{10}$ and, in fact, ${}^1/_{10}$ of $500=50=10\%$. The ratio $\frac{v}{v+c}$ changes with every change in $c$, but naturally not by the same numerical quantity. If we assume that $v$ and $c$ amount originally to 10 each, i.e., that the total capital consists of half variable and half constant capital, then $\frac{v}{v+c}=\frac{10}{10+10}=\frac{10}{20}=\frac{1}{2}$. If the surplus rate$={}^1/_2$ of $v$, then it$={}^1/_4$ of $C$. In other words, if the surplus value$=50\%$, then in this case, where the variable capital$=\frac{C}{2}$, the rate of profit$=25\%$. If we now assume that the constant capital is doubled, i.e., it increases from 10 to 20, then $\frac{v}{c+v}=\frac{10}{20+10}=\frac{10}{30}=\frac{1}{3}$. (The surplus rate, ${}^1/_2$ of 10, would now be ${}^1/_2$ of ${}^1/_3$ of $C$, i.e.$={}^1/_6$ of $30=5$. Thus ${}^1/_2$ of $10=5$, 5 calculated on 10 is $50\%$, 5 calculated on 30 is $16{}^2/_3\%$. On the other hand, 5 calculated on $20={}^1/_4=25\%$.) The constant capital has doubled, i.e. it has increased from 10 to 20. But the sum $c+v$ has only increased by half, namely, from 20 to 30. The constant capital has increased by $100\%$, the sum $c+v$ only by $50\%$. The ratio $\frac{v}{c+v}$, originally ${}^{10}/_{20}$, has fallen only to ${}^{10}/_{30}$, i.e. from ${}^1/_2$ to ${}^1/_3$, i.e. from ${}^3/_6$ to ${}^2/_6$. Thus it has fallen by only ${}^1/_6$, whereas the constant capital has been doubled. How the growth or decline in the constant capital affects the ratio $\frac{v}{c+v}$ depends evidently on the proportion in which $c$ and $v$ originally constitute parts of the whole capital $C$ (consisting of $c+v$).

[VIII-344] The *constant* capital (i.e. its value) can firstly rise (or fall) although the amounts of raw material, machinery, etc., employed, remain the same. In this case therefore, the variations in constant capital are not determined by the conditions of production prevailing in the industrial process into which it enters as constant capital, but are independent of them. Whatever the *causes* bringing about the change in value may be, they always influence the rate of profit. In this case, the same amount of raw

material, machinery, etc., has more or less value than it did previously, because more or less labour time was required to produce them. The variations, then, are determined by the conditions of production of the processes from which the component parts of constant capital emerge as products. We have already[a] examined how this affects the rate of profit.

As far as the rate of profit is concerned, whether in a particular industry constant capital, raw material, for example, rises or falls in value because its own production has become dearer, etc., amounts to the same thing as if in some branch of industry (or even in the same branch) more expensive raw material were used for the production of one type of commodity than for that of another type, while the outlay on wages remained unchanged.

When there is equal expenditure on wage labour, but the raw material worked up by one kind of capital (corn, for example) is dearer than the raw material worked up by another (oats, for example) (or, for that matter, silver and copper, etc., or wool and cotton, etc.), the rate of profit for the two capitals must be in inverse proportion to the dearness of the raw material. Thus, if on the average the same profit is made in both branches of industry, then this is only possible through a communal division of the surplus value among the capitalists, not in accordance with the ratio of surplus value which each capitalist produces in his own particular sphere of production but in relation to the size of the capital they employ. This can happen in two ways. A, who works up the cheaper material, sells his commodity at its real value; he thereby also pockets the surplus value he himself has produced. The price of his commodity is equal to its value. B, who works up dearer material, sells his commodity above its value and charges as much in his price as if he had been working up a cheaper material. If A and B exchange their commodities, then it is the same for A as if he had included a smaller amount of surplus value in the price of his commodity than it actually contains. Or as if both A and B had from the very beginning charged a rate of profit commensurate with the size of the capital invested, i.e., had divided the total surplus value between them on the basis of the amount of the capital they had invested. And this is what the term general rate of profit denotes.[30]

Naturally this equalisation does not take place when the constant capital in a particular capital such as raw materials, for example,

[a] See this volume, pp. 60-67.—*Ed.*

falls or rises temporarily under the influence of the seasons, etc. Although the extraordinary profits made by the COTTON-SPINNERS, for example, in years of especially good cotton crops, undoubtedly lead to an influx of a mass of new capital into this branch of industry and give rise to the building of a large number of new factories and of textile machinery. If a bad year for cotton ensues, then the loss will be all the greater.

Secondly, the production costs of machinery, raw materials, in short of constant capital, remain the same, but larger amounts of them may be required; their value therefore grows in proportion to the growing amount used as a result of the changed conditions of production in the processes into which those elements enter as means of production. In this case, as in the previous example, the increase in the value of constant capital results of course in a fall in the rate of profit. On the other hand, however, these variations in the conditions of production themselves indicate that labour has become more productive and thus that the rate of surplus value has risen. For more raw material is now being consumed by the same amount of living labour only because it can now work up the same amount in less time, and more machinery is now being used only because the cost of machinery is smaller than the cost of the labour it replaces. Thus here the fall in the rate of profit is more or less made up by increase in the rate of surplus value and therefore also the total amount of surplus value.

Finally, the two factors responsible for the change in value can operate together in very different combinations. For example, [VIII-345] the average value of raw cotton has fallen, but simultaneously the value of the amount of cotton which can be worked up in a certain time, has increased even more. The value of cotton has risen, and so has the value of the total amount of it which can be worked up in a given time. More massive machinery has become dearer in absolute terms, but has become cheaper in relation to its EFFICIENCY, etc.

It has been assumed hitherto that the variable capital remains unchanged. Variable capital, however, can also decline not only relatively but absolutely, as for example in agriculture; i.e. it can decline not only relative to the size of the constant capital. Alternatively, variable capital can increase absolutely. In this case, however, it is the same as if it remained unchanged, in so far as the constant capital grows in a greater or in the same ratio for the reasons mentioned above.

If the constant capital remains unchanged, then any rise or fall of it in relation to the variable capital is accounted for only by a

relative rise or fall of the constant capital due to an absolute fall or rise of the amount of variable capital.

If the variable capital remains unchanged, then every rise or fall in the constant capital can be explained only by its own absolute rise or fall.

If variations take place in both [variable and constant capital] simultaneously, then after deducting the variations which are identical in both, the result is the same as if one had remained unchanged while the other had risen or fallen.

Once the *rate of profit* is given, the amount of profit depends on the size of the capital employed. A large capital with a low rate of profit yields a larger profit than a small capital with a high rate of profit.

*So much for this digression.*

Apart from this, only the 2 following passages from John Stuart Mill require comment:

"*CAPITAL*, STRICTLY SPEAKING, HAS *NO PRODUCTIVE POWER*. The only productive power is that of labour; assisted, no doubt, by TOOLS, and ACTING UPON MATERIALS" (l.c., p. 90).

STRICTLY SPEAKING, he here confuses capital with the material elements of which it is constituted. However, the passage is valuable for those who do the same thing and who nevertheless assert that capital has productive power. Of course, here too the matter is only stated correctly in so far as THE PRODUCTION OF VALUE is considered. After all, nature also produces in so far as it is only a question of use value.

"*PRODUCTIVE POWER OF CAPITAL* can only mean the quantity of real productive power which the capitalist, by means of his capital, can command" (l.c., p. 91).

Here capital is conceived correctly as a production relation.

// *Malthus* (in his *Essai sur la population*, 5TH ed., trad. de P. Prévost, Genève, 1836, 3me éd., t. IV, pp. 104-05) makes the following remark, laced with his usual "profound philosophy", against any plan to provide the cottagers[31] of England with cows:

"It has been observed that those *cottagers*, who keep cows, are more industrious and more regular in their conduct, than those who do not.... Most of those who keep cows at present have purchased them with the fruits of their own industry. It is therefore more just to say that their industry has given them a cow, than that a cow has given them their industry."[a]

And it is therefore correct that diligence in labour (together with the exploitation of other people's labour) has given cows to the parvenus amongst the bourgeoisie, while the cows give their

[a] Marx quotes Malthus in French.— *Ed.*

sons the *goût de l'oisiveté.*[a] If one took away from their cows not the ability to give milk, but to command other people's unpaid labour, it would be a very good thing for their *goût du travail.*[b]

The selfsame "profound philosopher" remarks (l.c., p. 112):

"*But it is evident that all cannot be in the middle.* Superior and inferior parts are in the nature of things absolutely necessary; and" (naturally there can be no mean without extremes) "strikingly beneficial. If no man could hope to rise, or fear to fall in society; if industry did not bring with it its reward, and indolence its punishment; we could not expect to see that animated activity in bettering our condition, which now forms the masterspring [VIII-346] of public prosperity."[c]

Thus there must be lower classes in order that the upper ones may fear to fall and there must be upper classes in order that the lower ones may hope to rise. In order that INDOLENCE may carry its own punishment, the worker must be poor and the rentier and the landlord, so beloved of Malthus, must be rich. But what does Malthus mean by the reward of industry? As we shall see later,[32] he means that the worker must perform part of his labour without an equivalent return. A wonderful stimulus, provided the "reward" and not hunger were the stimulus. What it all boils down to is that a worker may hope to exploit other workers some day.

Rousseau says: "The more monopoly spreads, the heavier do the chains become for the exploited."[c 33]

Malthus, "the profound thinker", has different views. His supreme hope, which he himself describes as *plus ou moins*[d] utopian, is that the mass of the *classe moyenne*[e] should grow and that the proletariat (those who work) should constitute a constantly declining proportion (even though it increases absolutely) of the total population. This in fact is the *course* taken by bourgeois society.

"We might even venture," says Malthus, "to indulge a hope that at some future period the processes for abridging human labour, the progress of which has of late years been so rapid, might ultimately supply all the wants of the most wealthy society with less personal effort than at present; and *if they did not diminish the severity of individual exertion*" (he must go on risking just as much as before, and relatively more and more for others and less and less for himself), "might, at least, diminish the *number of those* employed in severe toil" (l.c., p. 113).//[c]

*Petty. Surplus Value.* In one passage of Petty's there can be seen an anticipation of the nature of *surplus value,* although he treats it

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[a] Taste for idleness.— *Ed.*
[b] Taste for labour.— *Ed.*
[c] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*
[d] More or less.— *Ed.*
[e] Middle class.— *Ed.*

only in the form of rent. Especially when it is put alongside the following passage, in which he determines the relative value of silver and corn by the relative quantities of each that can be produced in the same labour time.

*"If a man [can] bring to London an ounce of silver out of the earth in Peru, in the same time that he can produce a bushel of corn, then one is the natural price of the other; now, if, by reason of new and more easier mines, a man can get two ounces of silver as easily as formerly he did one, then corn will be as cheap at 10s, the bushel as it was before at 5s., *caeteris paribus*.[a]"

"Let a hundred men work 10 years upon corn, and the same number of men the same time upon silver; I say that the neat proceed of the silver is the price of the whole neat proceed of the corn, and like parts of the one the price of like parts of the other."

"Corn will be twice as dear when there are 200 husbandmen to do the same work which an hundred could perform"* (*On Taxes and Contributions*, 1667) (in the edit. of 1679, pp. 31, 24, 67).[34]

The passages to which I alluded above are the following:

*"As trades and curious arts increase; so the trade of husbandry will decrease, or else the wages of husbandmen must rise, and *consequently* the rents of land must fall"* (p. 193). *"If trade and manufacture have increased in England ... if a greater part of the people, apply themselves to those faculties, than there did heretofore, and if the price of corn be no greater now, than when husbandmen were more numerous, and the tradesmen fewer; it follows from that single reason ... that the rents of land must fall:* As for example, suppose the price of wheat be 5s. OR 60d. the BUSHEL; now if the rent of the land whereon it grows be the third SHEAF"; (i.e., PART, SHARE) "then of the 60d. 20d. is for the land, and 40d. for the HUSBANDMAN; but if the HUSBANDMAN'S wages should rise $^1/_8$, or from 8d. to 9d. per day, then the HUSBANDMAN'S SHARE IN THE BUSHEL OF WHEAT rises FROM 40d. TO 45 d. AND CONSEQUENTLY THE RENT OF THE LAND MUST FALL FROM 20d. TO 15d. ... FOR WE SUPPOSE *THE PRICE OF THE WHEAT STILL REMAINS THE SAME*: ESPECIALLY *SINCE WE CANNOT RAISE IT*, FOR IF WE DID ATTEMPT IT, CORN WOULD [VIII-347] BE BROUGHT IN TO US (AS INTO HOLLAND) FROM FOREIGN PARTS, WHERE THE STATE OF HUSBANDRY WAS NOT CHANGED" (*Political Arithmetick etc.*, edit. London, 1699, pp. 193, 194.)

We come back to productive and unproductive labour. *Garnier.* See Notebook VII, p. 319.[b]

*Garnier.* (G.) He brings forward various arguments against Adam Smith (which are in part repeated by later authors).[c]

*First.*

"This distinction is false, inasmuch as it is based on a difference which does not exist. *All labour is productive* in the sense in which the author uses this word *productive.* The labour of the one as of the other of these two classes is equally productive of some enjoyment, commodity or utility for the person who pays for it, otherwise this labour would not find wages."[d]

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[a] Other things being equal.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 35.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., p. 35, 166-67.—*Ed.*

[d] Here and below Marx quotes Garnier in French.—*Ed.*

//It is therefore productive because it produces some use value and is sold, has an exchange value, and is thus itself a commodity.//

In developing this point, however, Garnier cites examples by way of illustration, in which the "unproductive labourers" do *the same thing,* produce the same use value or the same kind of use value as the "productive". For example:

"The servant who is in my service, who lights my fire, who dresses my hair, who cleans and keeps in order my clothes and my furniture, who prepares my food, etc., performs *services absolutely of the same kind* as the laundress or the seamstress who cleans and keeps in order her customers' linen; ... as the eating-house keeper, cook-shop proprietor or publican who carries on his trade of preparing food for persons whom it suits better to come and dine with him; as the barber, the hairdresser, etc."

(for Adam Smith, however, most of these fellows are as little reckoned among productive workers as the servants)

"who perform immediate services; finally as the mason, the tiler, the joiner, the glazier, the stove-setter, etc., etc., and the multitude of building labourers who come when they are called to carry out restorations and repairs, and whose annual income depends as much on simple repair and maintenance work as on new construction."

(Adam Smith nowhere says that the labour which fixes itself in a more or less permanent object cannot be equally well repairs as the making of new things.)[a]

"This kind of labour consists less in producing than in maintaining; its aim is less to add to the value of the subjects to which it is applied than to prevent their decay. All these labourers, including the servants, *save the person who pays them the labour of maintaining his own things.*"[b]

(They can therefore be regarded as machines for maintaining value, or rather use values. *Destutt de Tracy* also asserts this view of the "saving" of labour. See further on. The unproductive labour of one does not become productive by saving the other *unproductive labour.* One of the two performs it. A part of Adam Smith's unproductive labour—but only the part which is absolutely necessary in order to consume things, which so to speak belongs to the *costs of consumption* (and then, too, only when it saves this time for a productive worker)—becomes necessary as a result of the division of labour. But Adam Smith does not deny this "division of labour". If everyone had to perform productive and unproductive labour, and through the dividing up of these kinds of labour between 2 persons both were better performed, according to Adam Smith this would in no way alter the circumstance that one of these labours is productive and the other unproductive.)

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[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 17, 19-21.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 164, 193.—*Ed.*

"It is for that and for that alone that they most often labour"

(for one person to save the labour of looking after himself, 10 have to look after him—a curious way of "saving" labour; besides "unproductive labour" of this kind is most often made use of by those who do nothing);

"thus, either they are all *productive*, or none of them is productive" (l.c., pp. 171-72).

[VIII-348] *Secondly.* A Frenchman cannot forget the *ponts et chaussées.*[a] Why, he says, call productive

"the labour of an inspector or director of a private enterprise in trade or manufacture, and *non-productive*, the labour of the government official who, watching over the upkeep of public highways, of navigable canals and ports, of monies and other important instruments destined to enliven commercial activity, watching over the security of transport and communications, the carrying out of conventions, etc., can with justice be regarded as the *inspector of the great social manufacture*? It is labour of absolutely the same nature, though on a vaster scale" (pp. 172-73).

In so far as such a lad takes part in the production (or conservation and reproduction) of material things which *could be sold* were they not in the hands of the State, Smith might call his labour "productive". "Inspectors of the great social manufacture" are purely French creations.

*Thirdly.* Here Garnier falls into "moralising".

Why should the "manufacturer of perfumery, who flatters my sense of smell", be productive and not the musician, who "enchants my ear"? (p. 173).

Smith would reply: because the former supplies a material product and the latter does not. Morals and the "merits" of the two lads have nothing to do with the distinction.

*Fourthly.* Is it not a contradiction that

the "violin maker, the organ builder, the music dealer, the mechanic, etc.", are productive, and the professions for which these labours are only "preparations" are unproductive?

"All of them have, as the final aim of *their labour, a consumption of the same kind.* If the result which some of them have in view does not deserve to be counted among *the products* of the labour of society, why should one treat more favourably what is nothing but a *means for attaining this result*?" (l.c., p. 173).

On this reasoning, a man who eats corn is just as productive as the man who produces it. For with what aim is corn produced? In order to eat it. So if the labour of eating is not productive, why should the labour of cultivating corn be productive, since it is only a means for attaining this result? Besides, the man who eats

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[a] Lit.: bridges and roads—in France this designated the administration of roads and communications.— *Ed.*

produces brain, muscles, etc., and are these not just as worthy products as barley or wheat?—an indignant friend of humanity might ask Adam Smith. In the first place, Adam Smith does not deny that the unproductive labourer produces a product of some sort. Otherwise he would not be a labourer at all. Secondly, it may seem strange that the doctor who prescribes pills is not a productive labourer, but the apothecary who makes them up is. Similarly the instrument maker who makes the fiddle, but not the musician who plays it. But that would only show that "productive labourers" produce products which have no purpose except to serve as means of production for unproductive labourers. Which however is no more surprising than that all productive labourers, when all is said and done, produce *firstly* the means for the payment of unproductive labourers, and secondly, products which are consumed by those who *do not perform any labour.*

Of all these comments, No. II is that of a Frenchman who can't forget his *ponts et chaussées*; No. III amounts only to morals; No. IV either contains the stupidity that consumption is just as productive as production (which is not true in bourgeois society, where one produces and another consumes) or that some productive labour merely produces the material for unproductive labour, which Adam Smith nowhere denies. Only [No.] I contains the correct point that Adam Smith, by his 2nd definition, calls *the same* kinds of labour [VIII-349] productive and unproductive—or rather that according to his own definition he would have to call a relatively small part of his "unproductive" labour *productive*; a point therefore that does not tell against the *distinction*, but against the *subsumption* of certain activities under the distinction or *the way* it is applied.

After making all these comments, the learned Garnier finally comes to the point.

"The only general difference that can, it seems, be observed between the two classes assumed by Smith, is that in the class which he calls *productive*, there is or *may always be some intermediary person between the maker of the object and the person who consumes it*; whereas in the class that he calls *non-productive, there cannot be any intermediary*, and the relation *between the labourer and the consumer is necessarily direct and immediate.* It is evident that there is *necessarily* a direct and immediate relation between the person who uses the experience of the physician, the skill of the surgeon, the knowledge of the lawyer, the talent of the musician or actor, or finally the services of the domestic servant, and each of these different hired workers at the moment of their labour; while in the professions constituting the other class, *the thing to be consumed being material and palpable, it can be the subject of many intermediary exchanges* after leaving the person who makes it before it reaches the one who consumes it" (p. 174).

In these last words Garnier shows, *malgré lui*,[a] the concealed association of ideas that exists between Smith's first distinction (labour which is exchanged against capital, and labour which is exchanged against revenue) and his second (labour which fixes itself in a material, VENDIBLE COMMODITY and labour which does not so fix itself).[b] The latter by its nature *cannot* for the most part be subordinated to the capitalist mode of production; the former can. To say nothing of the fact that *on the basis of capitalist production*, where the great majority of material commodities—material and palpable things—is produced by wage labourers under the domination of capital, [unproductive] labours (or services, whether those of a prostitute or of the Pope) can only be paid for *either out of the wages of the productive labourers, or out of the profits of their employers (and the partners in those profits), quite apart from the circumstances that those productive labourers produce the material basis of the subsistence, and, consequently, the existence, of the unproductive labourers.* It is however characteristic of this shallow French cur that he, who wants to be an expert in political economy and so an explorer of capitalist production, considers *inessential* the feature which makes this production capitalist—the exchange of capital for wage labour instead of the direct exchange of revenue for wage labour or the revenue which the labourer directly pays to himself. By so doing Garnier makes capitalist production itself an inessential form instead of a necessary—though only historically, that is, transiently necessary—form for the development of the social productive powers of labour and the transformation of labour into social labour.

"It would also always be necessary to deduct from his *productive* class all labourers whose labour consists purely of cleaning, conserving or repairing finished articles, and consequently does not put any new product into circulation" (p. 175).

(Smith nowhere says that the labour or its product must enter into the circulating capital. It can enter directly into fixed capital, like the mechanic's labour repairing a machine in a factory. But in this case its *value* enters into the circulation of the product, the commodity. And the repairers, etc., who do this labour as servants, do not exchange [VIII-350] their labour against capital but against revenue.)

"It is in consequence of this difference that the *non-productive* class, as Smith has observed, subsists only on revenues. In fact, since this class allows of no intermediary between itself and the consumer of its products, that is to say, the

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[a] In spite of himself.—*Ed.*
[b] Cf. this volume, pp. 11-29.—*Ed.*

person who enjoys its labour, it is paid immediately by the consumer; and *he pays only from revenues.* As against these, the labourers of the *productive* class, being as a rule paid by an *intermediary who intends to make a profit from their labour, are most often paid by capital.* But this capital is always in the end replaced by the revenue of a consumer, otherwise it would not circulate and therefore would not yield any profit to its possessor" [p. 175].

This last "but" is quite childish. In the first place, a part of the capital is replaced by capital and not by revenue, whether this part of the capital circulates or does not circulate (as in the case of seed).

When a coal-mine supplies coal to an ironworks and gets from the latter iron which enters into the operations of the coal-mine as means of production, the coal is in this way exchanged for capital to the amount of the value of this iron, and reciprocally the iron, to the amount of its own value, is exchanged as capital for coal. Both (considered as use values) are products of new labour, although this labour was produced with means of labour that were already in existence. But the value of the product of the year's labour is not the product of the year's labour. It also replaces the value of the past labour which was objectified in the means of production. Therefore the part of the total product which is=to this value is not a part of the product of the year's labour, but the reproduction of past labour.

Let us take for example the product of the daily labour of a coal-mine, an ironworks, a timber producer and a machine-building factory. Let the constant capital in all these industries be=to $^1/_3$ of all the component parts of capital: i.e. let the proportion of pre-existing labour to living labour be 1:2. Then all these industries produce each a daily product of x, x′, x″, x‴. These products are certain quantities of coal, iron, timber and machinery. As such products, they are products of the day's labour (but also of the daily consumed raw materials, fuel, machinery, etc., which have all contributed to the day's production). Let the values of these be equal to z, z′, z″, z‴. These values are not the product of the day's labour, since $\frac{z}{3}$, $\frac{z'}{3}$, $\frac{z''}{3}$, $\frac{z'''}{3}$ are only equal to the value which the constant elements of z, z′, z″, z‴ had before they entered into the day's labour. Therefore also $\frac{x}{3}$, $\frac{x'}{3}$, $\frac{x''}{3}$, $\frac{x'''}{3}$ or a third part of the use values produced, represent only the value of the pre-existing labour and continually replace it. //The exchange which here takes place between pre-existing labour and the *product* of living labour is of quite a different

nature from the exchange between labour capacity and the conditions of labour existing as capital.//

Z=x; yet x is the value of the total z,[35] but $^1/_3$x=the value of the raw material, etc., contained in the total z. Thus $^2/_3$ is a part of the day's product of the labour //but not at all the product of the day's labour, but on the contrary of the previous pre-existing labour combined with it// in which the pre-existing labour combined with the day's labour reappears and is replaced. Now it is true that each aliquot part of z, which is simply the quantity of actual products (iron, coal, etc.), represents in its value $^1/_3$ pre-existing labour and $^2/_3$ labour performed or added the same day. Pre-existing labour and the day's labour enter into the total product in the same proportion as they enter into each separate product of which the total product is made up. But if I divide the total product into 2 parts, putting $^1/_3$ on one side and $^2/_3$ on the other, it is the same as if the $^1/_3$ represents only pre-existing labour and the other $^2/_3$ only the day's labour. In fact the first $^1/_3$ represents all past labour which entered into the total product, the full value of the means of production consumed. After deducting this $^1/_3$, therefore, the other $^2/_3$ can represent only the product of the day's labour. The $^2/_3$ in fact represent the total amount of the day's labour that was added to the means of production.

The last $^2/_3$ are therefore equal to the producer's revenue (profit and wages). He can consume them, i.e. spend them on articles which enter into his individual consumption. Suppose that these $^2/_3$ of the coal produced daily were bought by the consumers or purchasers not with money, but with the commodities which they have previously transformed into money in order to buy coal with it. A part of these $^2/_3$ of the coal will enter into the individual consumption of the coal producers themselves, for heating, etc. This part therefore does not enter into circulation, or if it does first enter into circulation it will be withdrawn again from it [VIII-351] by its own producers. Minus this part of the $^2/_3$ which the producers of coal themselves consume, they must exchange all the rest of it (if they want to consume it) for articles which enter into individual consumption.

In this exchange it is a matter of complete indifference to them whether the sellers of the consumable articles exchange capital or revenue for the coal; that is to say, whether for example the cloth manufacturer exchanges his cloth for coal in order to heat his private dwelling (in this case the coal itself in turn is an article of consumption for him, and he pays for it with revenue, with a quantity of cloth that represents profit); or whether James, the

cloth manufacturer's footman, exchanges the cloth he has received as wages for the coal (in this case the latter is once more an article of consumption and exchanged for the revenue of the cloth manufacturer, who in turn however has exchanged his revenue for the unproductive labour of the footman); or whether the cloth manufacturer exchanges cloth for coal in order to replace the coal required in his factory that has been used up. (In the latter case the cloth that the cloth manufacturer exchanges represents for him constant capital, the value of one of his means of production; and the coal represents for him not only the value but his means of production *in natura*. But for the coal producer the cloth is an article of consumption, and both cloth and coal represent for him revenue; the coal, revenue in its non-realised form; the cloth, revenue in its realised form.)

But as for the last $^1/_3$ of the coal, the coal producer cannot spend it on articles which enter into his individual consumption; he cannot spend it as revenue. It belongs to the process of production (or reproduction) and must be transformed into iron, timber, machinery—into articles which form the component parts of his constant capital and without which the production of coal cannot be renewed or continued. He could, it is true, exchange also this $^1/_3$ for articles of consumption (or, what is the same thing, for the money of the producers of these articles), but in fact only on the condition that he exchanges these consumption articles in turn for iron, timber, machinery—that they enter neither into his own consumption nor into the outlay of his revenue, but into the consumption and revenue outlays of the producers of timber, iron and machinery; all of whom, however, in turn find themselves in the position of not being able to expend $^1/_3$ of their product on articles for individual consumption.

Now let us assume that coal enters into the constant capital of the producers of iron and timber, and of the machine builder. On the other hand iron, timber, and machinery enter into the constant capital of the producer of coal. In so far as these products of theirs mutually enter to the same amount of value, they replace themselves *in natura*, and one has to pay the other only the balance for the SURPLUS that he has bought from him in excess of what he has sold to him. In fact, money appears here in practice (through the medium of bills of exchange, etc.) only as *means of payment*, not as coin, means of circulation; and only the balance is paid in money. The producer of coal will need a part of this $^1/_3$ of his coal for his own reproduction, just as he deducted from the product a part of the $^2/_3$ for his own consumption. The

whole quantity of coal, iron, timber and machinery which are reciprocally replaced in this way by the exchange of constant capital for constant capital, of constant capital in one natural form for constant capital in another natural form, has absolutely nothing to do either with the exchange of revenue for constant capital or with the exchange of revenue for revenue. It plays exactly the same role as seed in agriculture or the capital stock of cattle in cattle-rearing. It is a part of the yearly product of labour, but it is not a part of the product of the year's labour (on the contrary it is the product of the year's labour+the pre-existing labour), which (conditions of production remaining the same) replaces itself annually as means of production, as constant capital, without entering into any circulation other than that between DEALERS and DEALERS and without affecting the *value* of the part of the product which enters into the circulation between DEALERS and CONSUMERS.[36]

Let us assume that the whole $^1/_3$ of the coal is thus exchanged *in natura* for its own elements of production, iron, timber, machinery. //It might be possible for example to exchange the entire amount direct for machinery; but the machine builder in turn would exchange it as constant capital, not only for his own but for that of the producers of iron and timber.// In fact, each hundredweight of the $^2/_3$ of his product in coal [VIII-352] which he exchanged for articles of consumption, exchanged as revenue, would, from the standpoint of value, consist of 2 parts, as the total product does. $^1/_3$ of a hundredweight would be equal to the value of the means of production used up in the hundredweight, and $^2/_3$ of the hundredweight would be equal to the labour newly added to this $^1/_3$ by the producers of the coal. But if the total product for example=30,000 hundredweight he exchanges only 20,000 hundredweight as revenue. On the assumption made, the other 10,000 hundredweight would be replaced by iron, timber, machinery, etc., etc.; in a word, the whole value of the means of production used up in the 30,000 hundredweight would be replaced *in natura* by means of production of the same sort and of equal value.

The buyers of the 20,000 hundredweight thus do not pay a single FARTHING for the value of the pre-existing labour contained in the 20,000 hundredweight; for the 20,000 represent only $^2/_3$ of the value of the total product in which the newly added labour is realised. It comes to the same thing, therefore, as if the 20,000 hundredweight represented only labour newly added (during the year, for example) and no pre-existing labour. The buyer therefore pays the whole value of each hundredweight, pre-

existing labour+newly added labour, and yet he pays only for the newly added labour, and that is because the quantity he buys is only 20,000 hundredweight, only that quantity of the total product which is equal to the value of all the newly added labour. Just as little does he pay for the farmer's seed in paying for the wheat which he eats. The producers have mutually replaced this part for each other; therefore they do not need to have it replaced a second time. They have replaced it with the part of their own product which it is true is the year's product of their labour, but is not at all the product of their year's labour, but on the contrary is the part of their annual product that represents the pre-existing labour. Without the new labour the product would not be there; but in the same way it would not be there without the labour objectified in the means of production. If it were merely the product of the new labour, then its value would be less than it now is, and there would be no part of the product to be returned to production. But if the other method of labour were not more productive and did [not] yield more product in spite of a part of the product having to be returned to production, it would not be used.

Although no part of the value of the $^1/_3$ of the coal enters into the 20,000 hundredweight of coal sold as revenue, any change in the value of the constant capital which the $^1/_3$ or 10,000 hundredweight represented would nevertheless bring about a change of value in the other $^2/_3$ which are sold as revenue. Let production in iron, timber, machinery and so on, in a word, in the elements of production of which the $^1/_3$ of the product is composed, become more costly. Let the productivity of mining labour remain the same. The 30,000 hundredweight are produced with the same quantity of iron, timber, coal, machinery and labour as before. But since iron, timber and machinery have got dearer, cost more labour time than before, more coal than before must be given for them.

[VIII-353] As previously, the product would be=to 30,000 hundredweight. The coal-mining labour has remained as productive as it was before. With the same quantity of living labour and the same amount of timber, iron, machinery, etc., it produces 30,000 hundredweight as before. The living labour, as before, is represented by the same value, say £20,000 (reckoned in money). On the other hand timber, iron, etc., in a word, the constant capital, now cost £16,000 instead of £10,000; i.e. the labour time contained in them has increased by $^6/_{10}$, or 60%.

The value of the total product now=£36,000; it was £30,000

before; it has therefore risen by $^1/_5$, or 20%. So also every aliquot part of the product costs $^1/_5$, or 20%, more than before. If a hundredweight cost £1 previously, then now it costs £1+$^1/_5$ of £1=£1 4s. Previously, $^1/_3$ or $^3/_9$ of the total product=constant capital, $^2/_3$=labour added. Now the proportion of the constant capital to the value of the total product=16,000:36,000=$^{16}/_{36}$=$^4/_9$. It amounts therefore to $^1/_9$ more than before. The part of the product which is=to the value of the labour added was formerly $^2/_3$ or $^6/_9$ of the product, now it is $^5/_9$.

*So we get*:

| | Constant capital | Labour added |
|---|---|---|
| *Value*=£36,000 | £16,000 ($^4/_9$ of the product) | £20,000 (the same value as before=$^5/_9$ of the product) |
| *Product*=30,000 cwt | 13,333 $^1/_3$ cwt | 16,666 $^2/_3$ cwt |

The coal miners' labour would not have become less productive; but the product of their labour+the pre-existing labour would have become less productive; i.e. $^1/_9$ more of the total product would be required to replace the component part of the value [VIII-354] formed by the constant capital. $^1/_9$ less of the product would be=to the value of the labour added. Now as before the producers of iron, timber, etc., would only pay for 10,000 cwt of coal. Previously these cost them £10,000. They will now cost them £12,000. A part of the costs of the constant capital would therefore be made good, since they would have to pay the increased price for the part of the coal which they get in replacement of iron, etc. But the producer of coal has to buy raw material, etc., from them to the amount of £16,000. There remains therefore a debit balance of £4,000, i.e. 3,333 $^1/_3$ cwt of COAL. He must therefore, as before, supply 16,666 $^2/_3$ cwt +3,333 $^1/_3$ cwt=20,000 cwt of coal=$^2/_3$ of the product to the consumers, who would now have to pay £24,000 for it instead of £20,000. In so doing they would have to replace for him not only labour, but also a part of the constant capital. As regards the consumers, the matter would be very simple. If they wished to consume the same quantity of coal as before, they must pay $^1/_5$ more for it and so must spend $^1/_5$ of their revenue less on other products, if the production costs have remained the same in every branch of production. The difficulty lies only in this: how does the producer of coal pay for the £4,000 of iron, timber, etc., for which their producers do not want coal in exchange? He has sold the 3,333 $^1/_3$ cwt,=to this £4,000, to the consumers of coal, and has received in exchange commodities of all kinds. But these

cannot enter into his consumption or that of his labourers, but must pass into the consumption of the producers of iron, timber, etc., for he must replace in these articles the value of his 3,333 $^1/_3$ cwt. It will be said: it's quite a simple matter. All consumers of coal have to consume $^1/_5$ less of all other commodities, or each of them has to give $^1/_5$ more of his commodities for coal. The producers of timber, iron, etc., consume exactly this $^1/_5$ more. However, it is not *prima facie* evident how the lowered productivity in the ironworks, machine building, timber-felling, etc., is to enable their producers to consume a larger revenue than before, SINCE THE PRICE OF THEIR ARTICLES IS SUPPOSED TO BE EQUAL TO THEIR VALUES, AND, CONSEQUENTLY, TO HAVE RISEN ONLY IN PROPORTION TO THE DIMINISHED PRODUCTIVITY OF THEIR LABOUR.

Now it is assumed that iron, timber, machinery have risen in value by $^3/_5$, by 60%. There are only 2 causes which can give rise to this. Either the iron, timber, etc., production has become less productive, because the living labour used in it has become less productive, that is, a greater quantity of labour must be used to produce the same product. In this case the producers must use $^3/_5$ more labour than before. The rate of labour[a] has remained the same, because the lowered productivity of labour has only a passing effect on individual products. Therefore the rate of surplus value also has remained the same. The producer needs 24 days' labour where he needed 15 before; but he pays the labourers, as before, only 10 hours' labour on each of the 24 [working days], and makes them work 2 [hours] for nothing on each of these days, as previously. If the 15 [labourers] have therefore done 150 hours' labour for themselves and 30 for him; so the 24 work 240 hours for themselves and 48 for him. (Here we don't worry about the rate of profit.) Wages have only fallen in so far as they are spent in iron, timber and machinery, etc., which is not the case. The 24 labourers now consume $^3/_5$ more than the 15 did before. So the coal producers can set aside correspondingly more for them from the value of the 3,333 $^1/_3$ cwt (i.e., for their MASTER, who pays out the wages).

Or the reduced productivity in the production of iron, timber, etc., arises from the fact that parts of their constant capital, of their means of production, have become dearer. Then the same alternative applies, and finally the reduced productivity must result in the use of a greater quantity of living labour; therefore also in increased wages, which the coal producer has partly received from the consumers in the £4,000.

[a] I.e. the rate of wages.— *Ed.*

In the branches of production where more labour is employed, the amount of the surplus value will have risen because the number of workers employed is greater. On the other hand, the rate of profit will have fallen in so far as all component parts of their constant capital into which their own product enters [have risen]; whether they themselves use a part of their own product as means of production, or, as in the case of coal, their product enters as a means of production into their own means of production. However, if their circulating capital laid out in wages has increased more than the part of the constant capital that they have to replace, their rate of profit will also have risen, and they [VIII-355] will participate in the consumption of a part of the £4,000.

An increase in the value of the constant capital (arising from lowered productivity in the branches of labour which supply it) raises the value of the product into which it enters as constant capital, and reduces the part of the product (*in natura*) which replaces the newly added labour, thus making it less productive in so far as this is reckoned in its own product. For the part of the constant capital which is exchanged *in natura*, the position is the same as it was. The same quantity of iron, timber and coal as before will be exchanged *in natura* in order to replace the iron, timber and coal that has been used up, and in this transaction the higher prices will balance each other. But the surplus of coal which now forms a part of the constant capital of the coal producer and does not enter into this exchange in kind is, as before, exchanged for revenue (in the case given above, in part not only for wages but also for profit); this revenue, however, instead of going to the former consumers, accrues to the producers in whose spheres of production a greater quantity of labour is used, that is, the number of labourers has increased.

If a branch of industry produces products which enter only into individual consumption, and neither into other industries as means of production (by means of production constant capital is always meant here) nor into their own reproduction (as for example in agriculture, cattle-raising, or the coal industry, into which coal itself enters as *matière instrumentale*[a]), then the annual product of this branch //any possible surplus over the annual product making no difference in this connection// must always be paid for out of revenue, wages or profit.

Let us take the case of the linen given earlier.[37] Three yards of linen consist of: $^2/_3$ constant capital and $^1/_3$ labour added. One yard

[a] Instrumental material.—*Ed.*

of linen therefore represents labour added. If the surplus value=25%, then $^1/_5$ of the 1 yard represents the profit, the other $^4/_5$ represent the reproduction of the wages. The manufacturer himself consumes the $^1/_5$, or what is the same thing, others consume it and pay him the value, which he consumes in their own or in other commodities. //To simplify matters, here the whole profit is—wrongly—considered as revenue.// But he expends the $^4/_5$ of a yard again in wages; his labourers consume them as their revenue either directly or in exchange for other consumable products, whose owners consume the linen.

This is the total part of the 3 yards of linen—the 1 yard—which the linen producers can themselves consume as revenue. The other 2 yards represent the manufacturer's constant capital; they must be reconverted into the conditions of production for linen—yarn, machinery, etc. From the standpoint of the manufacturer, the exchange of the 2 yards of linen is an exchange of constant capital; but he can only exchange it against the revenue of other people. So he pays for the yarn, say, with $^4/_5$ of the 2 yards or $^8/_5$ yards, and for the machinery with $^2/_5$ of a yard. The spinner and machine builder in turn can each consume $^1/_3$ of what they get, that is, the former, out of $^8/_5$ yards, $^8/_{15}$ of a yard, the latter $^2/_{15}$ out of the $^2/_5$ of a [yard]. Added together, $^{10}/_{15}$ or $^2/_3$ of a yard. But $^{20}/_{15}$ or $^4/_3$ yards must replace for them the raw material, flax, iron, coal, etc., and each of these articles in turn consists of one part which represents revenue (labour newly added), and another part which represents constant capital (raw materials and fixed capital, etc.).

The last $^4/_3$ yards, however, can only be consumed as revenue. What therefore ultimately appears as constant capital in yarn and machinery and is used by the spinner and machine builder to replace the flax, iron and coal (except for the part of the iron, coal, etc., which the machine builder replaces with machines) can only represent the part of the flax, iron and coal which forms the revenue of the flax, iron and coal producers, so that there is no constant capital to be replaced in this; that is to say, it must belong to the part of the product into which, as shown above, no part of the constant capital enters. But these producers consume what is their revenue in iron, coal, flax, etc., in linen or in other consumable products, because their own products as such do not enter, or only to a small extent, into their individual consumption. Thus a part of the iron, flax, etc., can be exchanged for a product which only enters into individual consumption, that is linen, and in exchange for it replace for the spinner all, and for the machine

builder part, of his constant capital; while in turn the spinner and machine builder, with the part of their yarn and machinery that represents revenue, consume linen and thereby replace the weaver's constant capital.

Thus in fact the whole of the linen is resolved into the profits and wages of the weaver, spinner, machine builder, flax-grower and producers of coal and of iron, while at the same time they replace the whole of the constant capital for the linen manufacturer and the spinner. The account would not balance if the final producers of raw materials had to replace their own constant capital by exchange with the linen, since this is an article for individual consumption, which does not enter into any sphere of production as means of production, [VIII-356] as part of the constant capital. The account balances, because the linen bought by the flax-grower, producers of coal and of iron, machine builder, etc., with their own product, replaces for them only the part of their product which consists in revenue for *them*, but in constant capital for those who buy their products. That is only possible because they replace the part of their product which does not consist of revenue and which therefore cannot be exchanged for consumable products, *in natura* or by the exchange of constant capital for constant capital.

In the example given above[a] it is assumed that the productivity of labour in a given branch of industry has remained the same, and yet that it has fallen, if the productivity of the living labour employed in this branch of industry is reckoned in its own product. But this is very simply explained.

Suppose the product of a spinner's labour is=to 5 lbs of yarn. Assume that he needs for this only 5 lbs of cotton (that is, there is no waste); and that an lb. of yarn costs 1 shilling (we leave the machinery out of account; i.e. we suppose that its value has neither fallen nor risen; for the case we are considering, therefore, its value is=to 0). [Let] cotton [cost] 8d. an lb. Of the 5s. which the 5 lbs of yarn costs, 40d. (5×8d.)=3s. 4d. is for the cotton, and 5×4d.=20d.=1s. 8d. is the newly added labour. Of the total product, therefore, constant capital amounts to $3+{}^1/_3$ lbs of yarn (3s. 4d.) and labour to $1\,{}^2/_3$ lbs of yarn. Hence ${}^2/_3$ of the 5 lbs of yarn replace constant capital and ${}^1/_3$ of the 5 lbs of yarn, or $1\,{}^2/_3$ lbs, is the part of the product which pays for the labour.

Assume that the price of an lb. of cotton now rises by 50%, from 8d. to 12d., or 1s. Then we have for 5 lbs of yarn, first, 5s.

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[a] See this volume, p. 88-91.—*Ed.*

for 5 lbs of cotton, and 1s. 8d. for labour added, whose quantity, and therefore whose value expressed in money, remains the same. Thus the 5 lbs of yarn now costs 5s.+1s. 8d.=6s. 8d. Of this 6s. 8d., however, raw material is now 5s. and labour 1s. 8d.

6s. 8d.=80d., of which 60d. is for raw material and 20d. for labour. Labour now only forms 20d. of the value of the 5 lbs, 80d., or $^1/_4$=25%; previously, 33 $^1/_3$%. On the other hand the raw material is 60d.=$^3/_4$=75%, previously it was only 66 $^2/_3$%. As the 5 lbs of yarn now costs 80d., 1 lb. costs $^{80}/_5$d.=16d. For his 20d.—the value of labour—[the spinner] will therefore get 1 $^1/_4$ lbs of the 5 lbs of yarn, and [the other] 3 $^3/_4$ lbs [go for] raw material. Previously, 1 $^2/_3$ lbs were for labour (profit and wages) and 3 $^1/_3$ lbs for constant capital. Reckoned in its own product, therefore, the labour has become less productive, although its productivity has remained the same and only the raw material has got dearer. But it has remained equally productive, because the same labour has transformed 5 lbs of cotton into 5 lbs of yarn in the same time, and the actual product of this labour (considered as use value) is only the *form of yarn* which has been given to the cotton. The 5 lbs of cotton have been given the form of yarn as before, with the same labour. The actual product, however, consists not only of this form of yarn but also of the raw cotton, the material which has been put into this form, and the value of this material now forms a greater part of the total product than it did before, in proportion to the labour which gives it the form. Consequently the same quantity of spinning labour is paid for in less yarn, or the part of the product which replaces it has become smaller.

So much for that.

So in the first place Garnier is wrong when he says that the whole capital is in the end always replaced by consumer's revenue, since a part of the capital can be replaced by capital and not by revenue. Secondly, it is in itself a silly statement, since revenue itself, in so far as it is not wages (or wages paid by wages, revenue derived from wages), is profit on capital (or revenue derived from profit on capital). Finally, it is silly to say[a] that the part of capital which does not circulate (in the sense that it is not replaced by consumer's revenue) "would not yield any profit to its possessor". In fact—conditions of production remaining the same—this part yields no profit (or rather, no surplus value). But without it capital could in no case produce its profit.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 83-84.—*Ed.*

[VIII-357] "All that can be deduced from this difference is that, in order to employ *productive* people, what is required is not only the *revenue of the person who enjoys their labour,* but *also a capital which yields profit to intermediaries,* while *to employ non-productive people* the revenue which pays them is most often sufficient" (l.c., p. 175).

This one sentence is such a bundle of nonsense that it makes it clear that Garnier, the translator of Adam Smith, IN FACT understood nothing of what Adam Smith wrote, and in particular had no conception whatever of the essence of the *Wealth of Nations*—namely, the view that the capitalist mode of production is the most productive mode (which it absolutely is, in comparison with previous forms).

First, it is an extremely silly objection to raise against Smith, who declared that unproductive labour was labour paid directly from revenue, that "to employ *non-productive* people the revenue which pays them is most often sufficient". Now however the antithesis:

"In order to employ *productive* people, what is required is *not only the revenue of the person who enjoys* their labour, but also a *capital* which *yields profit to intermediaries.*"

(How unproductive then must agricultural labour be for Mr. Garnier, which in addition to the revenue which enjoys the product of the land, requires a capital which not only yields profit to intermediaries, but in addition a rent to the landowner.[a])

In order "to employ these productive people", what is necessary is not first capital that employs them, and secondly revenue that enjoys their labour, but nothing other than capital, which produces the revenue, which enjoys the fruit of their labour. If as a capitalist tailor I lay out £100 in wages, this £100 produces for me say £120. It produces for me a revenue of £20, with which I can then, if I want to, also enjoy tailoring labour in the form of a "frockcoat". If on the other hand I buy clothes for £20 in order to wear them, it is obvious that these clothes have not created the £20 with which I buy them. And the case would be the same if I got a jobbing tailor to come to my house and made him sew coats for me for £20. In the first case I received £20 more than I had before, and in the second case, after the transaction, I have £20 less than I had before. Moreover, I would soon realise that the jobbing tailor whom I pay directly from revenue does not make the coat as cheaply as if I bought it from the intermediary.

Garnier imagines that the profit is paid by the consumer. The consumer pays the "value" of the commodity; and although it contains a profit for the capitalist, the commodity is cheaper for

[a] In his comments Marx uses French phrases.—*Ed.*

him, the consumer, than if he had spent his revenue directly on labour causing it to produce on a small scale for his personal requirements. It is obvious here that Garnier has not the slightest idea of what capital is.

He continues:

"Do not many *unproductive* workers, such as actors, musicians, etc., as a rule only receive their wages through the channel of a manager who draws profits from the capital placed in this kind of enterprise?" (l.c., pp. 175-76).

This observation is correct, but it only shows that a part of the labourers whom Adam Smith in his second definition calls unproductive are productive according to his first definition.

"It follows therefore that in a society in which the *productive* class is very numerous, it must be supposed that a large accumulation of capitals exists in the hands of the intermediaries or entrepreneurs of labour" (l.c., p. 176).

In fact, wage labour on a mass scale is only another expression for capital on a mass scale.

"It is therefore not, as Smith maintains, the proportion existing between the mass of capitals and that of revenues which will determine the proportion between the *productive* class and the *non-productive* class. This latter proportion seems to depend much more on the customs and habits of the people; on the more or less advanced degree of its industry" (p. 177).

If productive labourers are such as are paid from capital, and unproductive such as are paid from revenue, the proportion of the productive class to the unproductive is obviously that of capital to revenue. The proportional growth of the two classes, however, will not depend only on the existing proportion of the mass of capitals to the mass of revenues. It will depend on the proportion in which the increasing revenue (profit) is transformed into capital or expended as revenue. Although the bourgeoisie was originally very thrifty, with the growing productivity of capital, i.e., of labour, [VIII-358] it imitates the retainer system of the feudal lords. According to the latest report (1861 or 1862) on the FACTORIES, the total number of persons (MANAGERS included) employed in the FACTORIES properly so called of the UNITED KINGDOM was only 775,534,* while the number of female servants in England alone amounted to 1 million.[38] What a convenient arrangement it is that makes a factory girl sweat 12 hours in a factory, so that the factory proprietor, with a part of her unpaid labour, can take into his personal service her sister as maid, her brother as GROOM and her cousin as soldier or policeman!

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* *Return to an Address of the House of Commons*, DATED 24 APRIL 1861 (PRINTED 11 FEBRUARY 1862).[11]

Garnier's last sentence is trite tautology. He makes the proportion between the productive and the unproductive classes depend, not on the proportion of capital and revenue—or RATHER on the mass of existing commodities which are expended in the form of capital or of revenue—but (?) on the customs and habits of the people, on the degree of development of its industry. In fact, capitalist production first appears at a certain stage of development of industry.

As a Bonapartist senator, Garnier naturally waxes enthusiastic over lackeys and servitors in general:

"No class with an equal number of individuals contributes more than domestic servants to the conversion into *capital* of sums originating from *revenue*" (p. 181).

In fact, no class provides a more worthless section of recruits for the petty bourgeoisie. Garnier does not understand how Smith,

"a man who has observed things with such sagacity", does not value more highly "this intermediary, placed close to the rich, in order to *gather up* the scraps of revenue which the latter so thoughtlessly dissipates", etc. (l.c., p.[p. 182-]83).

He himself says in this sentence that he [the intermediary] merely "gathers up" the scraps of "revenue". But of what does this revenue consist? Of the unpaid labour of the productive labourer.

After all these extremely worthless polemics against Smith, Garnier, relapsing into Physiocracy, declares agricultural labour the only productive labour! And why? Because it

"creates another new value, a value which *did not exist* in society, even as an equivalent, at the moment when this labour began to be performed; and it is this value which provides a rent to the owner of the land" (l.c., p. 184).

So what is productive labour? Labour which produces a surplus value, a new value over and above the equivalent which it receives as wages. Smith is not to blame for Garnier's failing to understand that the *exchange of capital for labour* means nothing but the exchange of a commodity of a given value—equal to a given quantity of labour—for a greater quantity of labour than it itself contains, and thus

"creates a new value which did not exist in society, even as an equivalent, at the moment when this labour began to be performed".

*Ch. Ganilh.* A very inferior and superficial compilation is Charles Ganilh's *Des systèmes d'économie politique.* First edition Paris *1809,* second *1821.* (Quotations from the latter.) His twaddle is directly linked with Garnier, against whom he polemises.

//*Canard* in *Principes d'économie politique* defines

"*wealth*" [as] "*an accumulation of superfluous labour*".[39]

Had he said that it is the labour which is superfluous for keeping the labourer alive as a labourer, the definition would be correct.//

Mr. Ganilh's starting-point is the elementary fact that the commodity is the element of bourgeois wealth, and therefore labour, in order to produce wealth, must produce commodities, must *sell* itself or its product.

"In the present state of civilisation, labour is only known to us through exchange" (l.c., Vol. I, p. 79).[a] "Labour without exchange can produce no wealth" (l.c., p. 81).

From this Mr. Ganilh JUMPS straight into the Mercantile system.

Because labour without exchange creates no bourgeois wealth, "wealth comes exclusively from trade" (l.c., p. 84).

Or, as he says later:

"Exchange or trade alone gives value to things" (l.c., p. 98). On this "principle of the identity of values and wealth ... rests the doctrine of the fruitfulness of general labour" (l.c., [p.] 93).

Ganilh himself declares that

[VIII-359] the "commercial system" which he calls a mere "modification" of the monetary system "derives private and public wealth from the exchangeable values of labour, whether these values are or are not fixed in durable, and permanent material objects" (l.c., [p.] 95).

He thus falls into the Mercantile system, as Garnier fell into the Physiocratic. His trash, IF GOOD FOR NOTHING ELSE, is consequently not bad as a characterisation of this system and of its views on "surplus value", especially as he puts forward these views in opposition to Smith, Ricardo, etc.

Wealth is exchangeable value; all labour which produces an exchangeable value or itself has an exchangeable value consequently produces wealth.[b] The only word in which Ganilh shows himself a more profound Mercantilist, is the word *general* labour. The labour of individuals, or rather its product, must take the form of general labour. Only so is it exchange value, *money*. IN FACT, Ganilh comes back to the view that wealth is equivalent to money; though no longer only gold and silver, but the commodity itself, in so far as it is *money*. He says:

"*Commercial system*, or the exchange of values of *general labour*" (l.c., [p.] 98).

This is nonsense. The product is value as the form of existence, as the incarnation of general labour, but not as "the *value* of

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[a] Here and below Marx quotes Ganilh in French.—*Ed.*

[b] In his comments on Ganilh Marx uses French words and expressions.—*Ed.*

general labour", which would be equivalent to the value of value. But let us assume that the commodity is constituted as value, and has even taken on the form of money, is metamorphosed. It is now exchangeable value. But how great is its value? All commodities are exchangeable value. They are not different from each other in this. But what makes the exchangeable value of a definite commodity? Here Ganilh does not get beyond the crudest superficiality. A is of greater exchange value when it exchanges for more B, C, D, etc.

Ganilh is quite right when he says of Ricardo and most of the economists that they consider labour without exchange, although their system, like the whole bourgeois system, rests on exchange value. This however is only due to the fact that to them the *form* of product as commodity seems self-evident, and consequently they examine only the *magnitude of value.* In exchange the products of individuals only manifest themselves as products of general labour by taking the form of *money.* This relativity, however, originates from the fact that they must present themselves as the form of existence of general labour, and can be reduced to it only as relative, merely quantitatively different expressions of social labour. But the exchange itself does not give them their *magnitude of value.* In exchange they appear as general social labour; and the extent to which they can appear as general social labour depends on the extent to which they can present themselves as social labour, that is, on the extent of the commodities for which they can be exchanged, and therefore on the expansion of the market, of trade; on the range of commodities in which they can be expressed as exchange value. For example, were there only 4 different branches of production in existence, each of the 4 producers would produce a great part of his product for himself. If there are thousands, then he can produce his total product as commodity. It can enter entirely into exchange.

But Ganilh imagines, with the Mercantilists, that the magnitude of value is itself the product of exchange, whereas in fact it is only the form of value or the form of *commodity* which the products receive through exchange.

"Exchange gives *things* a value which they would not have had without it" (p. 102).

If this means that *things*, use values, only become value, receive this form as relative expressions of social labour, it is a tautology. But if it is intended to mean that through exchange they get a greater value than they would have had without it, it is clearly

nonsense, for exchange can only increase A's magnitude of value by reducing that of B. So far as it gives A a greater value than it has before the exchange, it gives B a smaller value. A+B, therefore, has the same value after the exchange as it had before it.

"The most useful products may have no value if exchange does not give any to them",

(*d'abord*, if these things are "products", they are from the start products of labour, not general elemental things provided by nature like air, etc.; if they are "the most useful", they are use values in the highest sense, use values that everyone needs; if exchange gives them *no* value, this is only possible if everyone produces them for himself; this however contradicts [VIII-360] the assumption that they are produced for exchange; therefore the whole proposition is nonsense)

"and the most useless products may have very great value, if exchange is favourable for them" (p. 104).

For Mr. Ganilh, "exchange" is a mystical being. If the "most useless" products are no use for anything, have no use value, who will buy them? They must therefore have at least an imaginary "utility" for the buyer. And if he is not a fool, why should he pay more for them? Their dearness must therefore originate in some circumstance which in any case does not arise from their "uselessness". Their "scarcity", rarity? But Ganilh calls them "the most useless *products*". As therefore they are products, why are they not produced in greater quantities, in spite of their great "exchangeable value"? If before it was the buyer who was a fool, giving a lot of money for something that had neither a real nor an imaginary use value for him, now it is the seller, who does not produce these TRIFLES of great exchange value instead of utilities of small [exchange value]. That their exchange value is great in spite of their small use value (use value determined by the natural needs of man), must therefore be due to some circumstance that originates not from Lord Exchange, but from the product itself. Its high exchange value is therefore not the product of exchange, but only appears in exchange.

"The exchanged value of things and not their exchangeable value establishes the real value, the value which is identical with wealth" (l.c., p. 104).

But exchangeable value is a relation of the thing to other things with which it can be exchanged. //The correct point underlying this statement is: what compels the transformation of the commodity into money is that it has to enter into exchange as an

exchangeable value, but only becomes that as the result of exchange.// On the other hand, the exchanged value of A is a definite quantity of products B, C, D, etc. Therefore (according to Mr. Ganilh) it is no longer a value, but a thing, without exchange. B, C, D, etc., were not "values". A has become a value through these non-values stepping into its place (as exchanged value). By the mere change of place—after they have come out of exchange and find themselves in the same position as before—these things have become values.

"It is therefore neither the real utility of things, nor their intrinsic value, which makes them wealth; it is exchange which fixes and determines their value, and it is this value which identifies them with wealth" (l.c., [p.] 105).

Lord Exchange fixes and determines something which was there or was not there. If only exchange creates the value of things, then this value, this product of exchange, ceases to exist as soon as exchange itself ceases. Thus what it makes, it equally unmakes. I exchange A for B+C+D. In the act of this exchange A gets value. As soon as the act is past, B+C+D stands on the side where A was, and A on the side where B+C+D was. And in fact each stands on its own, outside Lord Exchange, who only consisted of this change of place. B+C+D is now things, not values. So is A. Or exchange "fixes and determines" in the literal meaning of the word. A dynamometer determines and fixes the degree of strength of my muscles, but it does not make it. In this case value is not produced by exchange.

"There is in truth no wealth for individuals and for peoples, except when each labours for all"

(that is to say, when his labour takes the form of *general social labour*, for in any other meaning this would be nonsense; since, except in the form of general social labour, an iron manufacturer does not work for all, but *only* for consumers of iron)

"and all for each"

(which again is nonsense, if we are dealing with use value, for the products of all are without exception special products, and each person needs only special products; what this means is therefore only that each special product takes on a form in which it *exists for everyone*; and it only exists in this form, not because as a special product it is distinct from the product of each other person, but because it is identical with it; that is, once more the form of social labour as it exists on the basis of commodity production) (l.c., p. 108).

[VIII-361] From this definition—exchange value=the expression of the labour of the isolated individual as general social labour—Ganilh falls once more into the crudest conception: that exchange value=the proportion in which commodity A exchanges against commodity B, C, D, etc. A has great exchange value if much B, C, D is given for it; but then little A is given for B, C, D. Wealth consists of exchange value. Exchange value consists of the relative proportion in which products exchange for each other. The total quantity of products has therefore no exchange value, since it is not exchanged for anything. Hence, society, whose wealth consists of exchange values, has no wealth. Consequently it follows not only, as Ganilh himself concludes, that

> the "national wealth, which is composed of the exchangeable values of labour" (p. 108),

can never rise and can never fall in exchange value (therefore there is *no surplus value*), but that it has no exchange value whatever, and so is not wealth, since wealth consists only of exchangeable values.

> "If the abundance of wheat makes *its value fall*, the farmers will be less rich, because they have less exchange values to obtain for themselves things that are necessary, useful or pleasant for life; but the consumers of wheat will profit from all that the farmers have lost: the loss of some will be compensated by the gain of others, and the general wealth will undergo no change" (pp. 108-09).

Pardon me! The consumers of wheat eat the wheat and not the exchangeable value of the wheat. They are richer in means of subsistence, but not in exchangeable value. They have exchanged a small amount of their products—which have a high exchange value because of their relative paucity as compared with the quantity of wheat for which they are exchanged—for the wheat. The farmers have now received the *high exchange value* and the consumers a good deal of wheat of small exchange value, so that now the latter are the poor ones and the farmers the rich.

Moreover, the total (the social total of exchange values) loses its nature of being exchange value in the same degree as it becomes the total of exchange values. A, B, C, D, E, F have exchange value in so far as they are exchanged for each other. When they have been exchanged, they are then all products for their consumers, their purchasers. By exchanging hands they have ceased to be exchange value. And thereby the wealth of society, which is composed of exchangeable values, has disappeared. The value of A is relative; it is its exchange relation to B, C, etc. A+B has less exchange value, because its exchange value now exists only in

relation to C, D, E, F. But the total of A, B, C, D, E, F has no exchange value at all, because it expresses no relation. The total of commodities is not exchanged for other commodities. Therefore the wealth of society, which consists of exchange values, has no exchange value and is consequently not wealth.

"Hence it is that it is difficult, and perhaps impossible, for a country to enrich itself by internal commerce. It is not at all the same for peoples who engage in foreign trade" (l.c., p. 109).

This is the old Mercantile system. Value consists in my getting not an equivalent, but more than the equivalent. At the same time, however, if there is no equivalent, then this would imply that the value of A and the value of B are determined not by the proportion of A in B or of B in A, but by a third thing in which A and B are identical. But if there is no equivalent, there can also be no excess over the equivalent. I get less gold for iron than iron for gold. Now I have more iron, for which I get less gold. If therefore I gain on the original transaction because less gold=more iron, I now lose just as much because more iron=less gold.

"All labour, whatever be its nature, is productive of wealth provided that it has an exchange value" (l.c., p. 119). "Exchange pays no regard either to the quantity or to the material nature or to the durability of the products" (l.c., p. 121). "All" (kinds of labour) "are *equally productive of the sum* for which they have been exchanged" (pp. 121-22).

First they are equally productive of the *sum*, that is, the *price*, which they have been paid (the *value* of their wages). But Ganilh at once goes another step further. Immaterial labour, he says, produces the material product for which it is exchanged, so that it seems that material labour produces the product of immaterial labour.

[VIII-362] "There is no difference between the labour of the workman who makes a chest of drawers for which he gets two bushels of wheat in exchange and the labour of a village fiddler for which he gets two bushels of wheat. In both cases two bushels of wheat are produced: two bushels to pay for the chest of drawers, and two bushels to pay for the pleasure given by the village fiddler. It is true that after the joiner has consumed the two bushels of wheat, a chest of drawers remains, and after the fiddler has consumed the two bushels of wheat, nothing remains; but how many labours reputed productive are in the same case!.. It is not by what remains after consumption that one can judge whether a labour is productive or sterile, it is by *the exchange or by the production to which it has given rise.* But since the joiner's labour, as well as the fiddler's labour, is *the cause of the production of two bushels of wheat, both are equally productive of two bushels of wheat,* although the one, after it is finished, does not fix and realise itself in any durable object, and the other fixes and realises itself in a durable object" (l.c., pp. 122-23).

"Adam Smith would like to reduce the number of labourers who are not usefully occupied, in order to multiply that of the labourers who are usefully occupied; but no consideration has been given to the fact that if this desire could be

realised all wealth would be impossible, because consumers would be lacking for the producers, and the excess that was not consumed would not be reproduced. The productive classes do not give the products of their labours gratuitously *to the classes whose labours do not yield any material products*"

(here he nevertheless himself distinguishes between labours which yield material products and labours which do not);

"they give them to them in exchange for the convenience, the pleasures and the enjoyments that they receive from them, and, *in order to give them to them, they are obliged to produce them.* If the material products of labour were not employed to pay for the labours which do not yield material products, they would not have consumers and their *reproduction* would cease. The labours productive of enjoyment *thus contribute to production as efficaciously* as the labour which is considered to be the most productive" (l.c., [pp.] 123, 124).

"Almost always the convenience, the pleasures or the enjoyments which they" (the peoples) "seek *follow and do not precede the products which are to pay for them*" (l.c., [p.] 125).

(They seem therefore to be much more effect than cause of the products which are to pay for them.)

"The position is different when the labours devoted to pleasure, luxury and ostentation *are not wanted by the productive classes,*"

(thus he himself makes the distinction here)

"and they are nevertheless *forced* to pay for them and to cut down their own requirements by this amount. Then it may come about that this forced payment does not bring about an increase in production" (l.c., p. 125). "Apart from this case ... all labour is necessarily productive, and contributes more or less efficaciously to the formation and growth of the public wealth, because *it necessarily calls forth the products which pay for it*" (l.c., [p.] 126).

//So according to this the "unproductive labours" are productive neither because of their cost, i.e., their exchange value, nor because of the special enjoyment that they produce, i.e., their use value, but because they produce productive labour.//

//If, according to Adam Smith, that labour is productive which is directly exchanged for capital, then we have to consider, apart from the form, also the material components of the capital which is exchanged for labour. It resolves itself into the necessary means of subsistence; that is for the most part into commodities, material things. What the labourer has to pay from these wages to State and Church is a deduction for services which are forced upon him; what he pays out for education is devilishly little, but when he does, his payments are productive, for education produces labour capacity; what he pays out for the services of physicians, lawyers, priests, is his misfortune; there are very few unproductive labours or services left on which the labourer's wages are spent, especially as he himself provides his costs of consumption (cooking, keeping his house clean, generally even repairs).//

The following statement of Ganilh's is extremely characteristic:

"If exchange gives to the servant's labour a value of 1,000 frs, while it gives to that of the husbandman or factory worker only a value of 500 frs, one must conclude from this that the servant's labour contributes to the *production of wealth* twice as much as that of the husbandman and the factory worker; and it cannot be otherwise, as long as the labour of servants receives in payment twice as much in material products as the labour of husbandmen and factory workers. How can it be imagined that wealth results from labour which has less exchange value and which is consequently paid less!" (l. c., pp. 293-94).

[VIII-363] If the wages of the factory or agricultural labourer=500, and the surplus value (profit and rent) created by him=40%, his net product would=200, and 5 such labourers would be required to produce the wages of 1,000 frs for the servant. If instead of the servant Lord Exchange cared to buy a mistress for 10,000 frs annually, the net product of 50 such productive labourers would be required. And because her unproductive labour brings in for the mistress 20 times as much exchange value, wages, as the wages of the productive labourer, this person adds 20 times as much to "the production of wealth", and a country produces the more wealth the higher it pays its servants and mistresses. Mr. Ganilh forgets that only the productivity of manufacturing and agricultural labour, only the surplus created by the productive workers but not paid to them, provides any fund at all for paying the unproductive labourers. But he reckons like this: 1,000 frs wage, and the labour of servant or mistress as equivalent for the wage, make together 2,000 frs. The value of servants and mistresses, i.e., their production costs, depend entirely on the *net product* of the productive labourers. Indeed, their existence as a special breed of people depends on it. Their price and their value have little in common with each other.

But even assuming that the value (the production costs) of a servant is twice as great as that of a productive labourer, it must be observed that the productivity of a labourer (like that of a machine) and his value are entirely different things, which are even in inverse proportion to each other. The value that a machine costs is always a minus in relation to its productivity.

"In vain is the objection raised that if the labour of servants is as productive as that of husbandmen and factory workers, there is no reason why the public economy of a country should not be used to maintain them, not only without being squandered but with a constant increase of value. This objection is only specious because it assumes that the fruitfulness of each labour results from its *co-operation in the production of material objects, that material production is constitutive of wealth and that production and wealth are completely identical.* It is forgotten that *all production only becomes wealth concurrently with its consumption*" //and so the same fellow says one page later "that all labour is *productive* of wealth, in proportion to its exchange

value determined by supply and demand" (it *produces* wealth, not in proportion to the exchange value it produces, but in proportion to its own exchange value, i.e., not on the basis of what it produces but of what it costs), "that its respective value only contributes to the accumulation of capitals by *the saving and nonconsumption* of the products that this value is entitled to take out of total production"// "and that exchange determines up to what point it *contributes to the formation of wealth.* If it is remembered that all labours contribute directly or indirectly to the total production of each country, that exchange, in fixing the value of each labour, determines the part that it has had in this production, that *consumption of the production* realises the value that exchange has given it, and that the surplus or deficit of production over consumption determines the state of wealth or poverty of peoples, it will be realised how inconsistent it is *to isolate* each labour, to fix its fertility and its fruitfulness by its *contribution to material production and without any regard to its* [VIII-364] *consumption, which alone gives it a value,* a value without which wealth cannot exist" (l.c., pp. 294-95 [296]).

On the one hand the fellow makes wealth depend on the excess of production over consumption, on the other hand he says that only consumption gives value. And a servant who consumes 1,000 frs consequently contributes twice as much to the giving of value as a peasant who consumes 500 frs.

In the first place he admits that these unproductive labours do not directly participate in the formation of material wealth. Smith does not claim more than this. On the other hand he tries to prove that on the contrary they create material wealth in the same measure as, according to his own admission, they do not. All those who polemise against Adam Smith on the one hand assume a superior attitude to material production, and on the other hand they attempt to justify immaterial production—or even no production, like that of lackeys—as material production. It makes absolutely no difference whether the owner of the net revenue consumes this revenue in lackeys, mistresses or pasties. But it is ludicrous to imagine that the surplus must be consumed by servants and cannot be consumed by productive labourers themselves without the value of the product going to the devil. With Malthus too we find the same view of the necessity of unproductive consumers—which necessity in fact exists when the surplus comes into the hands of *gens oisifs.*[a] [40]

//*Adam Smith. Value and Its Component Parts.* Smith's erroneous conception, see above, which he [develops] in spite of his originally correct view,[41] is shown also in the following passage:

"Rent ... enters into the composition of the price of commodities in a different way from wages and profit. High or low wages and profit are the *causes* of high or *low price of corn*; *high or low rent is the effect of it*" (*Wealth of Nations,* B. I, Ch. XI).[42]//

[a] Idlers.—*Ed.*

//*Petty.* The following passage, where rent in general is treated as a surplus value, a net product, should be compared with the one quoted above from Petty[a]:

"Suppose a man could with his own hands plant a certain scope of land with corn, that is, could plough, sow, harrow, reap, carry home, and winnow so much as the husbandry of this land required. I say, that when this man hath subducted his seed out of the proceed of his harvest, and also what himself hath both eaten and given to others in exchange for clothes, and other natural necessaries; that the remainder of corn is the natural and true rent of the land for that year; and the *medium* of seven years, or rather of so many years as makes up the cycle, within which dearths and plenties make their revolution, doth give the ordinary rent of the land in corn. But a further, though collateral question may be, how much money this corn or rent is worth; I answer so much as the money, which another single man can save, ... if he employed himself *wholly* to produce and make it; viz. let another man go travel into a countrey where is silver, there dig it, refine it, bring it to the same place where the other man planted his corn: coyne it, etc. the same person, all the while of his working for silver, gathering also food for his necessary livelihood, and procuring himself covering, etc. I say, the silver of the one must be esteemed of equal value with the corn of the other" (*Traité des taxes*,[43] pp. 23 [-24]).//

*Ganilh* claims to have put forward a theory in his *Théorie de l'économie politique* (a book I don't know) which Ricardo later copied from him.[44] This theory is that wealth depends on net product and not on gross product, and thus on the level of PROFIT and RENT. (This is certainly not a discovery of Ganilh's, who distinguishes himself, however, by the way he puts it.)

SURPLUS VALUE presents itself (has its real existence) in a SURPLUS PRODUCE in excess of the quantity of products which only replace its original elements, that is, which enter into its production costs and—taking constant and variable capital together—are equal to the total capital advanced to production. The aim of capitalist production is the surplus, not the product. The labourer's necessary labour time, and therefore also the equivalent in the product with which it is paid for, is only necessary as long as it produces surplus labour. Otherwise it is *unproductive* for the capitalist.

The surplus value is equal to the rate of surplus value $\frac{s}{v}$ multiplied by the number of simultaneous days' labour or the number of employed labourers, that is, by $n$. So $S=\frac{s}{v}\times n$. This surplus value can therefore be increased or reduced in two ways.

[a] See this volume, pp. 78-79.—*Ed.*

For example, $\frac{\frac{s}{v}}{2} \times n$ is equal to $\frac{2s}{v} \times n = 2S$. Here $S$ [VIII-365] has doubled, because the rate has doubled, since $\frac{\frac{s}{v}}{2}$ is $\frac{2s}{v}$, is twice as much as $\frac{s}{v}$. On the other hand, however $\frac{s}{v} \times 2n$ would also be equal to $\frac{2sn}{v}$, that is, also $=2S$. $V$, the variable capital, is equal to the price of the single day's labour multiplied by the number of labourers employed. If 800 labourers are employed, each costing £1, then $V=£800=£1\times800$, where $n=800$. Then if the surplus value is 160, its rate would be $\frac{160}{£1\times800}=\frac{160}{800}=\frac{16}{80}=\frac{1}{5}=20\%$. But the surplus value itself is $\frac{160}{£1\times800}\times800$, that is, $\frac{£S}{£1\times n}\times n$.

With a given length of labour time, this surplus value[a] can only be doubled by a double growth of productivity, or at a given level of productivity, by a lengthening of the labour time.

But what concerns us here is: $2S=\frac{\frac{s}{v}}{2}\times n$; and $2S=\frac{s}{v}\times 2n$.

The surplus value (GROSS AMOUNT of surplus value) remains the same, if the number of labourers is reduced by half—is only $n$ instead of $2n$, but the surplus labour performed by them each day is twice as much as it was before. On this assumption, therefore, two things would remain the same: first, the total quantity of products produced; secondly, the total quantity of SURPLUS PRODUCE or net product. But the following would have changed: first, the variable capital, or the part of the circulating capital expended in wages, would have fallen by half. The part of the constant capital which consists of raw materials would ditto remain unchanged, as the same quantity of raw material as before would be worked up, although this would be done by half the labourers employed before. As against this, the part which consists of fixed capital has increased.

If the capital expended in wages=£300 (£1 per labourer), it would now=£150. If that expended in raw materials=£310, it

[a] The manuscript has "rate of surplus value".—*Ed.*

would now=£310. If the value of the machinery=4 times as much as the rest of the capital, it would now=1,600.[45] Therefore if the machinery is worn out in 10 years, the machinery entering annually into the product would=£160. We will assume that the capital previously expended annually on instruments=£40, thus only $^1/_4$. Then the account would stand:

| | Machinery | Raw material | Wages | Total | Surplus value | Rate of profit | Total product |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Old capital | 40 | 310 | 300 | 650 | 150 or 50% | $23\,^1/_{13}$% | 800 |
| New capital | 160 | 310 | 150 | 620 | 150 or 100% | $24\,^6/_{31}$% | 770 |

In this case the rate of profit has risen, because the total capital has decreased—the capital expended in wages has fallen by [£]150, the total value of the fixed capital has only risen by [£]120, and so in all £30 less than before is expended.

But if the £30 left over is again employed in the same way, $^{31}/_{62}$ (or $^1/_2$) in raw material, $^{16}/_{62}$ in machinery and $^{15}/_{62}$ in wages, the result would be:

| Machinery | Raw material | Wages | Surplus value |
|---|---|---|---|
| £7.14.6 | £15 | £7.5.6 | £7.5.6 |

and taking both together:

| | Machinery | Raw material | Wages | Surplus value | [Rate of] profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| New capital | £167.14.6 | £325 | £157.5.6 | £157.5.6 | $24\,^6/_{31}$% |

*Total amount of capital expended*: *£650* as before. *Total product* £807.5.6.

The total value of the product has risen; the total value of the capital expended has remained the same; and not only the value, but the amount of the total product has risen, since an additional £15 in raw materials has been transformed into the product.

[VIII-366] "When a country is deprived of the aid of machines, and its labour is carried out by hand, the labouring classes consume almost the whole of their production. To the degree that industry makes progress, is improved by the division of labour, the skill of the workmen, and the invention of machines, the costs of production diminish, or in other words, a smaller number of labourers is required to obtain a greater production" ([Ch. Ganilh, *Des systèmes d'économie politique*, Paris, 1821,] Vol. I, pp. 211-12).

That is to say, therefore, in the same degree as industry

becomes more productive, the production costs of wages are reduced. Fewer labourers are employed in relation to the product, and these therefore also consume a smaller part of the product. If a labourer without machinery needs 10 hours to produce his own means of subsistence, and if with machinery, he only needs 6, then (with 12 hours' labour) in the first case he works 10 for himself and 2 for the capitalist, and the capitalist gets $^1/_6$ of the total product of the 12 hours. In the first case 10 labourers will produce a product for 10 labourers (=100 hours) and 20 for the capitalist. Of the value of 120, the capitalist gets $^1/_6$=20. In the second case, 5 labourers will produce a product for 5 labourers (=30 hours), and for the capitalist 30 hours. Of the 60 hours the capitalist now gets 30, that is, $^1/_2$—3 times as much as before. The total surplus value too would have risen, namely from 20 to 30, by $^1/_3$. When I appropriate $^1/_2$ of 60 days, this is $^1/_3$ more than when I appropriate $^1/_6$ of 120 days.

Moreover, the $^1/_2$ of the total product that the capitalist gets is also greater in quantity than before. For 6 hours now produce as much product as 10 did before; 1 as much as $^{10}/_6$, or 1 as much [as] $1\,^4/_6 = 1\,^2/_3$ [before]. So the 30 surplus hours contain as much product [as did previously] 30 $(1+^2/_3)=30+^{60}/_3=50$. 6 hours produce as much product as 10 did previously, that is, 30—or 5×6—produce as much as 5×10 did before.

The capitalist's surplus value would therefore have risen and also his surplus product (if he consumes it himself, or as much of it as he consumes *in natura*). The surplus value can even rise without the quantity of the total product being increased. For the increase of surplus value means that the labourer is able to produce his means of subsistence in less time than before, that therefore the value of the commodities he consumes falls, represents less labour time, and that therefore a certain value=6 hours, for example, represents a greater quantity of the use values than before. The labourer receives the same quantity of product as before, but this quantity forms a smaller part of the total product, as its value expresses a smaller part of the fruits of the day's labour. Although an increase in productive power in the branches of industry whose product NEITHER directly nor indirectly enters into the formation of the labourer's means of consumption could not have this result—since increased or reduced productivity in these branches does not affect the relation between the necessary and the surplus labour—the result for these industries would nevertheless be the same, although it did not originate from a change in their own productivity. The relative value of their

products would rise in exactly the same proportion as that of the other commodities had fallen (if their own productivity had remained the same); consequently, a proportionately smaller aliquot part of these products, or a smaller part of the labour time of the labourer which is materialised in them, would procure for him the same quantity of means of subsistence as before. The surplus value would therefore rise in these branches of labour just as in the others. But what will then become of the 5 displaced labourers? It will be said that capital has also been released, namely, that which paid the 5 dismissed workers, who each received 10 hours (for which they worked 12), that is, 50 hours in all, which could previously have paid the wages of 5 labourers and which [now] that wages have fallen to 6 hours can pay for $^{50}/_{6}=8\,^{1}/_{3}$ days' labour. Therefore now the capital of 50 hours' labour that has been released can employ more labourers than have been dismissed. But a capital equivalent to the whole 50 hours' labour has not been released. For even assuming that the raw material has become cheaper in the same proportion as the increase in the quantity of it that is worked up in the same labour time—that is, assuming that the same increase of productive power has taken place in that branch of production—the outlay for the new machinery nevertheless remains. Assuming that this costs exactly 50 hours' labour, it has certainly in no case employed as many labourers as were put off. For this 50 hours' labour was laid out entirely in wages, for 5 labourers. But in the value of the machine, equivalent to 50 hours' labour, both profit and wages are contained, both paid and unpaid labour time. In addition, constant capital enters into the value of the machine. The number of machine-building labourers is smaller than the number of labourers discharged; nor are they the same individuals [VIII-367] as those discharged. The greater demand for labourers in machine building can at most affect the future distribution of the number of labourers, so that a larger part of the generation entering the labour market—a larger part than before—turns to that branch of industry. It does not affect those who have been discharged. Moreover the increase in the annual demand for these is not equal to the new capital expended on machinery. The machine lasts for example for 10 years. The constant demand which it creates is therefore equal annually to $^{1}/_{10}$ of the wages contained in it. To this $^{1}/_{10}$ must be added labour for repairs during the 10 years, and the daily consumption of coal, oil and other *matériaux instrumentaux* in general; which in all amounts perhaps to another $^{2}/_{10}$.

//If the capital released were equal to 60 hours, these would now represent 10 hours' surplus labour and only 50 necessary labour. Thus if previously the 60 hours had been expended in wages and 6 labourers had been employed, now it would be only 5.//

//The shifting of labour and capital which increased productive power in a particular branch of industry brings about by means of machinery, etc., is always only prospective. That is to say, the *increase, the number of new labourers flowing into industry,* is distributed in a different way; perhaps the children of those who have been thrown out, but not these themselves. They themselves vegetate for a long time in their old TRADE, which they carry on under the most unfavourable conditions, inasmuch as their necessary labour time is greater than the socially necessary labour time; they become paupers, or find employment in branches of industry where a lower grade of labour is employed.//

//A pauper, like a capitalist (*rentier*), lives on the revenue of the country. He does not enter into the production costs of the product, and consequently, according to Mr. Ganilh, is a representative of exchangeable value. Ditto, a criminal who is fed in prison. A large part of the "unproductive labourers", holders of State sinecures, etc., are simply respectable paupers.//

//Assume that the productivity of industry is so advanced that whereas earlier $^2/_3$ of the population were directly engaged in material production, now it is only $^1/_3$. Previously $^2/_3$ produced means of subsistence for $^3/_3$; now $^1/_3$ produce for $^3/_3$. Previously $^1/_3$ was net revenue (as distinct from the revenue of the labourers), now $^2/_3$. Leaving contradictions out of account, the nation would now use $^1/_3$ of its time for direct production, where previously it needed $^2/_3$. Equally distributed, all $^3/_3$ would have more time for unproductive labour and leisure. But in capitalist production everything seems and in fact is contradictory. The assumption does not imply that the population is STAGNANT. For if the $^3/_3$ grow, so also does the $^1/_3$; thus, *measured in quantity,* a larger number of people could be employed in productive labour. But relatively, in proportion to the total population, it would always be 50% less than before. Those $^2/_3$ of the population consist partly of the owners of profit and rent, partly of unproductive labourers (who also, owing to competition, are badly paid). The latter help the former to consume the revenue and give them in return an equivalent in SERVICES—or impose their services on them, like the political unproductive labourers. It can be supposed that—with the exception of the horde of flunkeys, the soldiers, sailors, police,

lower officials and so on, mistresses, grooms, clowns and jugglers—these unproductive labourers will on the whole have a higher level of culture than the unproductive workers had previously, and in particular that ill-paid artists, musicians, lawyers, physicians, scholars, schoolmasters, inventors, etc., will also have increased in number.

Within the productive class itself commercial MIDDLEMEN will have multiplied, but in particular those engaged in machine construction, railway construction, mining and excavation; moreover, in agriculture labourers engaged in stock-raising will have increased in number, and also those employed in producing chemical and mineral materials for fertilisers, etc. Further, the farmers who grow raw materials for industry will have risen in number, in proportion to those producing means of subsistence; and those who provide fodder for cattle, in proportion to those who produce means of subsistence for people. *As the constant capital grows, so also does the proportionate quantity of the total labour which is engaged in its reproduction.* Nevertheless, the part directly producing means of subsistence, although its number declines, [VIII-368] produces more products than before. Its labour is more productive. *While for the individual capital the fall in the variable part of the capital as compared with the constant part* takes the direct form of a reduction in the part of the capital expended in wages, for the total capital—in its *reproduction*—this necessarily takes the form that a relatively greater part of the total labour employed is engaged in the reproduction of means of production than is engaged in the production of products themselves—that is, in the reproduction of machinery (including means of communication and transport and buildings), of *matières instrumentales* (coal, etc., gas, oil, tallow, leather belting, etc.) and of plants which form the raw material for industrial products. Relatively to the manufacturing labourers, agricultural labourers will decline in number. Finally the luxury labourers will increase in number, since the higher revenue will consume more luxury products.//

//The variable capital is resolved into revenue, firstly wages, secondly profit. If therefore capital is conceived as something contrasted with revenue, the constant capital appears to be capital *proper*: the part of the total product that belongs to production and enters into the production costs without being individually consumed by anyone (with the exception of draught cattle). This part may originate entirely from profit and wages. In the last analysis, it can never originate from these alone; it is the product of labour, but of labour which regarded the instrument of

production itself as revenue, as the savage did the bow. But once transformed into constant capital, this part of the product is no longer resolvable into wages and profit, although its reproduction yields wages and profit. A part of the product belongs to this part. Each subsequent product is the product of this past labour and of present labour. The latter can only be continued in so far as it returns a part of the total product to production. It must replace the constant capital *in natura*. If it grows more productive, it replaces the product, but not its value, reducing this value *post festum*.[a] If it grows less productive, it raises its value. In the first case the aliquot part drawn by past labour from the total product falls; in the second case it rises. In the first case the living labour becomes more productive, in the second, less productive.//

//The factors which reduce the costs of the *constant capital*, also include improved raw materials. For example, it is not possible to make the same quantity of twist in the same time both from good and from bad raw cotton, leaving entirely out of account the relative quantity of waste, etc. Hence the importance of the quality of seed, etc.//

//As an example *combination* where a manufacturer himself makes a part of his former constant capital, or where previously the raw material passed as constant capital out of his sphere of production into a second sphere, and he now himself gives it the second form—this always only amounts to a concentration of profits, as was shown earlier.[b 26] An *example* of the first: the linking together of spinning and weaving. *An example of the second*: the mineowners of Birmingham, who took over the *complete* process of making iron, which had formerly been divided between a number of entrepreneurs and owners.//

Ganilh continues:

"So long as the division of labour is not established in all branches, so long as all classes of the labouring and industrious population have not attained their full development, the invention of machines, and their employment in certain industries, only cause the capitals and labourers displaced by the machines to flow into other employments which can usefully emloy them. But it is evident that when all branches of employment have the capital and the labourers they require, every further improvement and every new machine that cuts down labour, necessarily reduces the labouring population; and as this reduction does not diminish production, the part which it leaves available accrues either to the profit of capitals or to the rent of land; and in consequence the natural and necessary effect of machines is to diminish the population of the wage-earning classes who live on the gross product, and to increase the population of the classes which live on the net product" (l.c., p. 212).

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[a] As a result.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 55-59.—*Ed.*

[VIII-369] "*The displacement of the population* of a country, *a necessary consequence of the progress of industry*, is the true cause of the prosperity, the power and the civilisation of modern peoples. The more the lower classes of society decrease in number, the less need it be troubled by the dangers to which the distress, the ignorance, the credulity and the superstition of these unfortunate classes ceaselessly expose it; the more the upper classes multiply, the more subjects the State has at its disposal, the stronger and more powerful it is, the more knowledge, intelligence and civilisation there is in the whole population" (l.c., p. 213).

//*Say* makes the total value of the product resolvable into revenue in the following way: in the Constancio translation of Ricardo's [*Principles*], Ch. 26, he says in a note:

"The net revenue of an individual consists of the value of the *product* to which he has contributed ... less his disbursements; but as the disbursements that he has made are *portions of revenue* which he has paid to others, *the totality of the value of the product has served to pay revenues.* The total revenue of a nation is composed of its gross product, that is to say, of the gross value of all its products which are distributed among the producers."[46]

The last sentence would be correct if expressed in this way: The total revenue of a nation is composed of that part of its gross product, that is to say, of the gross value of all the products which are distributed as revenues among the producers, that is to say, less that portion of all the products which in each branch of industry had replaced the means of production.[a] But so expressed, the sentence would negate itself.

Say continues:

"This value, after many exchanges, would be entirely consumed in the year which saw its birth, but it would nonetheless be still the revenue of the nation; just as an individual who has 20,000 frs annual revenue has nonetheless 20,000 frs annual revenue, although he consumes it entirely each year. His revenue does not consist only of his savings."

His revenue never consists of his savings, although his savings always consist of his revenues. To prove that a nation can annually consume both its capital and its revenue, Say compares it to an individual who leaves his capital intact and only consumes his revenue each year. If this individual consumed in a single year both his capital of 200,000 frs and the revenue of 20,000, he would have nothing to eat the year after. If the entire capital of a nation, and consequently the entire gross value of its products, resolved into revenues, Say would be right. The individual consumes his 20,000 frs revenue. His 200,000 frs capital, which he does not consume, would be composed of the revenues of other individuals, each of whom consumes his share, and thus, at the end of the year, the whole capital would be consumed. But

[a] Marx comments Say's quotations in French.—*Ed.*

perhaps it would be reproduced while it is consumed, and thus replaced? But the individual in question reproduces annually his revenue of 20,000 frs, because he has not consumed his capital of 200,000 frs. The others have consumed this capital. Then they have no capital with which to reproduce revenue.//[a]

"Only the *net product*," says Ganilh, "and those who consume it form its" (the State's) "wealth and its power, and contribute to its prosperity, its glory and its grandeur" (l.c., p. 218).

Ganilh further cites Say's notes to Constancio's translation of Ricardo's [*Principles*], Ch. 26, where Ricardo says that if a country has 12 million [inhabitants], it would be more advantageous for its wealth if 5 million productive labourers labour for the 12 million, than if 7 million productive labourers labour for the 12 million. In the first case the net product consists of the SURPLUS PRODUCE on which the 7 million who are not productive live; in the other, of a surplus produce for 5 million. Say remarks on this:

"This is quite like the doctrine of the Economists of the eighteenth century,[6] who maintained that manufactures in no way helped towards the wealth of the State, because the *wage-earning class*, consuming a [VIII-370] value equal to that which they produce, contribute nothing to their famous net product" [p. 219].

On this, Ganilh observes (pp. 219-20):

"It is not easy to see any connection between the Economists' assertion *that the industrial class consumes a value equal to that which it produces* and the doctrine of Mr. Ricardo, *that the wages of labourers cannot be counted in the revenue of a State.*"

Here too Ganilh misses the point. The Economists go wrong in regarding the manufacturers as only *wage-earning classes*. This distinguishes them from Ricardo. They are further wrong in thinking that the *wage-earners* produce what they consume. The correct view, as Ricardo in contrast to them knew very well, is that it is they who produce the net product, but produce it precisely because their consumption, that is to say their wage, is equal not to the time they labour, but to the labour time that they have put in to produce this wage[b]; that is, that they receive a share of their product only equal to their necessary consumption, or that they receive only as much of their own product as is equivalent to their own necessary consumption. The Economists assumed that the whole industrial class (*maîtres et ouvriers*[c]) was in this position. They considered that only rent bore the character of an excess of production over wages, and consequently that it was the only

[a] Marx comments Say's quotations in French.— *Ed.*

[b] The part of the sentence, from the words "because their consumption", is written by Marx in French.— *Ed.*

[c] Masters and workmen.— *Ed.*

wealth. But when Ricardo says that PROFITS and RENTS form this excess and are consequently the only wealth, in spite of his difference from the Physiocrats, he agrees with them in thinking that only the net product, the product in which the SURPLUS VALUE exists, forms the national wealth; although he has a better understanding of the nature of this SURPLUS. For him, too, it is only the part of the revenue which is in excess of wages. What distinguishes him from the Economists is not his explanation of the net product, but his explanation of wages, under which category the Economists wrongly also include PROFITS.

Say also remarks in opposition to Ricardo:

"From seven million fully employed labourers there would be more savings than from five million."[47]

Ganilh rightly observes, refuting this:

"That is to suppose that *economies from wages* are preferable to the *economy which results from the reduction of wages*.... It would be too absurd to pay 400 millions in wages to labourers who give no net product, in order to provide them with the opportunity and the means for making economies on their wages" (l.c., [p.] 221).[48]

"With every step made by civilisation, labour becomes less burdensome and more productive; the classes condemned to produce and to consume diminish; and the classes which direct labour, which relieve (!), console (!) and enlighten the whole population, multiply, *become more numerous* and appropriate to themselves all the benefits which result from the diminution of the costs of labour, from the abundance of products and the cheapness of consumer goods. In this way, the human race lifts itself up.... Because of this *progressive tendency to the diminution of the lower classes of society* and *the increase of the upper classes* ... civil society becomes more prosperous, more powerful," etc. (l.c., p. 224). "If ... the number of labourers employed is 7 millions, the wages will be 1,400 millions; but if the 1,400 millions do not yield a larger net product than the thousand millions paid to the five million labourers, *the real economy would be in abolishing the 400 millions in wages paid to two million labourers who yield no net product*, and not in the savings that these 2 million labourers could make from the 400 millions of wages" (l.c., p. 221).

In Chapter 26 Ricardo observes[a]:

"*Adam Smith* constantly magnifies the advantages which a country derives from a large gross, rather than a large net income.... What would be the advantage resulting to a country from the employment of a great quantity of productive labour, if, whether it employed that quantity or a smaller, its net rent and profits together would be the same?... Whether a nation employs 5 or 7 million productive labourers [VIII-371] to produce the net revenue on which 5 million others live, ... the food and clothing of these 5 millions would be still the net revenue. The employing of a greater number of men would enable us neither to add a man to our army and navy, nor to contribute one guinea more in taxes" (l.c., p. 215).[b][49]

This reminds us of the ancient Germans, of whom one part in turn took the field and the other cultivated the field. The smaller

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[a] See this volume, p. 116.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes Ricardo partly in French, partly in German.—*Ed.*

the number that was indispensable for cultivating the field, the greater the number who were able to war. It would not have helped them if the number of people had increased by $^1/_3$, so that instead of 1,000 they had 1,500, if 1,000 were then required to cultivate the field while previously it was 500. Their disposable forces would have consisted of only 500 men both before and after. If on the other hand the productive power of their labour had increased, so that 250 sufficed to cultivate the field, 750 of the 1,000 could have taken the field, whereas in the opposite case, it would be only 500 out of the 1,500.

First it should be noted here that Ricardo means by net revenue or net product not the excess of the total product over the part of it that must be returned to production as means of production, raw materials or instruments. On the contrary, he shares the false view that the gross product consists of gross revenue. By net product or net revenue he means the surplus value, the excess of the total revenue over the part of it that consists of wages, of the revenue of the labourers. This revenue of the labourer, however,=the variable capital, the part of the circulating capital which he is constantly consuming and constantly reproducing as the part of his production which he himself consumes.

If Ricardo treats the capitalists as not entirely useless, that is to say, as themselves agents of production, and therefore resolves a part of their profit into wages, he has to deduct a part of their revenue from the net revenue and to declare that all these persons only contribute to wealth in so far as their wages form the smallest possible part of their profit. However that may be, at least a part of their time as agents of production belongs, like a FIXTURE, to production itself. And to this extent they cannot be used for other purposes of society or of the State. The more free time their duties as MANAGERS of production leave them, the more is their profit independent of their wage. In contrast to these, the capitalists who live only on their interest, and also the landlords who live on rent, are in person entirely at the disposal [of society and the State], and no part of their income enters into the production costs—except for that part which is used for the reproduction of their own worthy person. Ricardo should therefore have also desired, in the interests *of the State*, a growth of rent (the pure net revenue) at the cost of profits; but this is not at all his viewpoint. And why not? Because it hinders the accumulation of capitals [or]—what is in part the same thing—because it increases the number of unproductive labourers at the cost of the productive.

Ricardo fully shares Adam Smith's view of the distinction between productive and unproductive labour, that the former exchanges its labour directly for capital, [the latter] directly for revenue. But he no longer shares Smith's tenderness for and illusion about the productive labourer. It is a misfortune to be a productive labourer. A productive labourer is a labourer who produces wealth *for another.* His existence only has meaning as such an instrument of production for the wealth of others. If therefore the same quantity of wealth for others can be created with a smaller number of productive labourers, then the suppression of these productive labourers is in order. *Vos, non vobis.*[50] Ricardo, incidentally, does not think of this *suppression* as Ganilh does—that through mere suppression the revenue increases and that what was *formerly* consumed *as variable capital* (that is, in the form of wages) would then be consumed *as revenue.* With the diminution in the number of productive workers also disappears the amount of product which those who have been discharged themselves consumed and themselves produced—their equivalent. Ricardo does not assume, as Ganilh does, that the same quantity of products as before is produced; but the same quantity of net product. If the labourers consumed 200 and their SURPLUS was 100, the total product was 300, and the surplus was $^1/_3=100$. If the labourers consume 100 and their SURPLUS is 100 as before, the total product=200 and the surplus=$^1/_2=100$. The total product would have fallen by $^1/_3$—by the quantity of products consumed by the 100 workers, and the net [VIII-372] product [would have] remained *the same,* because $^{200}/_2=^{300}/_3$. For Ricardo, therefore, the amount of the gross product does not matter, provided that that portion of the gross product which constitutes the net product remains the same or grows, but in any case does not diminish.[a]

So he says[51]:

"To an individual with a capital of 20,000 *l.*, whose profits were 2,000 *l.* per annum, it would be a matter quite indifferent whether his capital would employ a 100 or a 1,000 men, whether the commodity produced, sold for 10,000 *l.*, or for 20,000 *l.*, provided, in all cases, his profits were not diminished below 2,000 *l.* Is not the real interest of the nation similar?[b]"

First of all,[52] if capital=£20,000 and the annually sold products=£20,000 (whether capital uses 100 OR 1,000 MEN), it is not clear where the annual profit of £2,000 can come from; for this profit=the excess of the value of the total product over the

[a] The part of the sentence, from the words "provided that", is written by Marx in French.—*Ed.*

[b] In the French quotation the last sentence is omitted.—*Ed.*

value of the capital advanced, and the excess of 20,000 over 20,000=0. We must therefore change the assumption, first of all, and let the man who advances 20,000 capital sell the annual product for £22,000, if he is to make an annual profit of £2,000.

Second, as far as the second hypothesis is concerned, that the capital=£20,000, the annually sold commodities=£10,000, and nevertheless a profit of £2,000 is made, that is only possible if the £10,000 worth of commodities represent (1) depreciated machinery, (2) used-up raw materials, (3) wages, (4) a profit of 10% over and above the total sum of capital advanced (and thus not only over and above the wages advanced). In this case, we can no longer assume, as in the first one, that the magnitude of capital advanced and the magnitude of capital consumed in production are identical. As the £10,000 worth of commodities constitute the total annual product, it is clear that £10,000, or half of the capital, was fixed capital, which entered into the labour process but not into the valorisation process. This £10,000 cannot however constitute the whole of the fixed capital advanced, since part of it, say $^1/_{12}$ of the fixed capital, goes into the product as wear and tear, or the reproduction time of the fixed capital=12 years. To work with round figures, assume that the reproduction time=11 years. The total fixed capital advanced then=£11,000, of which $^1/_{11}$,=£1,000, goes into the commodities. Of the £10,000 worth of commodities, 1,000 represent the wear and tear of fixed capital, and 9,000 raw materials and newly added labour (wages and profit). Of these 9,000, let 2,000=profit. 7,000 would thus be left for raw material and wages. Assume that, out of this 7,000, 5,000 are for raw materials and 2,000 for wages. The total sum of added labour then=£4,000, and since 100 workers must be engaged, from whose labour a profit of 100% is made, the workers will receive £20 each (£20×100=2,000). Each worker worked 6 hours for himself and 6 hours for the capitalist. The part of the capital that would equal added labour=100 working days (each working day of the length of a year), of which one half would consist of paid labour and the other of unpaid labour. The calculation would now be as follows:

| Total capital | Fixed capital | Wear and tear of fixed capital | Raw material | Wages | Surplus value | Total product | Profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| £20,000 | 11,000 | £1,000 | £5,000 | £2,000/100 working days | £2,000 | £10,000 | 2,000 or 10% |

Assuming that the working day=£40 (paid and unpaid labour), the total product (10,000) would then consist of *250 working days* (of which 100 would represent newly added labour).

Now, to stay with the first example, Ricardo tells us here that the product=£20,000, and thus=500 working days. We learn further that the capitalist employs 1,000 men instead of 100, hence ten times as many. That would yield £20,000, assuming that the wages for one man=£20. With this, the whole capital would be exhausted, without a centime for raw material and fixed capital. The trick cannot be turned in this way.

[VIII-373] One of the main difficulties here is that Ricardo indicates the values only in the amounts of labour employed and not in proportion to the gross product that is produced in each case. The one sells his product for £20,000, the other for £10,000. If this example is to have general validity, the product in one case must, according to the law of values, contain twice as much labour time as in the other, so that 2 times as many working days are concealed in £20,000 as in £10,000. Now, the one employs 10 times as many workers as the other. Variable capital is in one case 10 times as great as in the other. So in the total product of 20,000 is concealed 10 times as much living labour time as in the total product of 10,000. If the first capital contained, in the same proportion, more constant capital (past working days) as it contains more living labour, it would be 10 times, not 2 times, greater than the second.

The *presuppositions* in the illustrations must not be self-contradictory. They must therefore be formulated in such a way as to be *real* presuppositions, real hypotheses, and not assumed absurdities or hypothetical unrealities and impossibilities.

$P^1$=£20,000=2$P^2$=£10,000. $P^1$ contains 1,000 days of living labour time+a certain amount of past labour time. $P^2$ contains 100 days of living labour time+a certain amount of past labour time.

The whole example, as presented by Ricardo, contradicts itself, it is absurd and impossible (especially if we assume, as we must in any general example, that neither of the two sells his commodities above their value, so that the product sold for 20,000, will contain precisely twice as much labour time as the product sold for 10,000. If we assume that Capital No. II computes the profit from its advanced capital independently from the value of its product, we lose our footing entirely).

[VIII-374] According to one of Ricardo's assumptions, 100 workers produce £2,000 of surplus value. Assuming that the whole of the working day (12 hours)=£20, the *value* of the total labour

of these 100 workers would only=£2,000. But since their wages are paid from this value, while surplus value consists only of the unpaid part of the working day, the value of a working day must therefore be reckoned higher than £20, if surplus value alone=2,000. Let us therefore set it at £30. Assume something entirely fantastic, that the wages only=£10 a year, $^1/_3$ of the total labour time. In this case the value of 100 working days=30×100=3,000, the value of the wages=10×100=1,000, and surplus value (the value of the unpaid labour)=2,000.

In the other CASE, Ricardo assumes 1,000 workers. Setting the value of a whole working day at £30, as in the first example, the objectified labour alone of these 1,000 workers would=£30,000. But Ricardo now assumes that the value of the total product only=£20,000. Under all circumstances his illustration [is] therefore absurd. To make the 2nd CASE possible, the value of the total working day must be *more* than £20. But if it is 1 centime more than £20, the product of 1,000 workers (excluding constant capital contained in it) cannot=£20,000—it must be more.

We must therefore either increase the value of the capital (which is unacceptable, as the illustration rests on the fact that in both cases capitals of *equal* value, i.e., £20,000, are employed) or change the number of workers. Consider the latter operation (otherwise we should even have to increase the capital in CASE II). Assume, for instance, that capital I employs 500 workers instead of 1,000. The value of 500 workers at £30 per working day=15,000. This represents, however, a surplus value of only 2,000=$^2/_{15}$ of 15,000 or $13^1/_3$%. Or, if the wages=11,000, surplus value would=2,000=$^2/_{11}$ or $18^2/_{11}$%.

Or, to operate with round figures and direct relations, assume that capital I employs 400 workers. So, if a working day=£30, 400 working days=400×30=£12,000, of which surplus value= =£2,000. The wages thus=10,000. And surplus value is now $^1/_5$ in relation to wages or $^1/_6$ of the total working day; wages [make up] $^5/_6$ of the whole. In the above, surplus value [was assumed to be] 2 times greater than wages, or $^2/_3$ of the total working day and the total product, whereas the wages [were set at] $^1/_3$ of the total. The latter [was] $^2/_6$ of the whole, surplus value, $^4/_6$ of the whole. A difference in wages conditioned by the difference in the productivity of workers is here assumed arbitrarily, for otherwise the surplus value could not have been 2,000 for £1,000 in the first case, and in the second it could not have been 2,000 for 4 times more workers with the wages of 10,000. It is assumed here that workers are paid in their own product.

The worker of II thus processes as much raw material in 4 hours as the other in 10 (as much in $^1/_3$ or $^2/_6$ of a day as the other in $^5/_6$ of a day). Thus he processes in 2 hours (or in $^2/_{12}$ of a day) as much as the other in 5 hours ($^5/_{12}$), or as much in 1 hour as the other in $2^1/_2$. Assuming that worker II processes 1 lb. of cotton in 4 hours he will process $^1/_4$ lb. in 1 hour and $^{12}/_4$ lb. or 3 lbs in 12 hours.

Then, if worker I processes 1 lb. of cotton in 10 hours, he will process $^1/_{10}$ lb. in 1 hour and $^{12}/_{10}$ lb. in 12 hours,or $1^2/_{10}=1^1/_5$ lbs. Worker II produces 3 lbs in 1 working day, and 100 working days of II produce 300 lbs.

Worker I produces $1^1/_5$ lbs in 1 working day, and 400 workers produce ($400+^{400}/_5$ lbs)=480 lbs.

The raw material which one (I) processes in one working day is in a proportion of $1:2^1/_2$ to what the other (II) processes in 1 day. But there are 4 working days in I where there is 1 working day in II. 100 workers in II produce 300 lbs, while 100 in I produce only 120. $120:300=1:2^1/_2$. However, although the product in I is $2^1/_2$ less, in relation to labour time, than in II, the GROSS AMOUNT is greater, for in I 4 times as many workers are employed as in II. We must therefore distinguish between proportional products (comparable products of a *single working day*) in both classes and absolute quantities (i.e., the amount of products as determined by the products of a single working day×by the number of working days or the number of workers employed). The proportional product in I is to [the proportional product in] II as $1:2^1/_2$. But since there are four times as many working days in I or four times as many [VIII-375] workers employed as in II, the proportion of absolute magnitudes=$4:2^1/_2$, or=$^8/_2:^5/_2=8:5$. The capital employed in I and II for raw materials (in both *cases the same raw material and of the same value*) must therefore be in the relation=8:5. So if I processes £7,000 worth of raw material, II [processes] 4,375 worth of it. Now I expends 10,000 on wages, and 7,000 on raw material; of the capital of 20,000 there now remains only 3,000. But since Ricardo assumes that I sells for £20,000, the capital which he consumes in production must not exceed 18,000, or he would not gain a FARTHING. But his product=his production costs. Or else his product should have been 22,000. But Ricardo states distinctly that it=£20,000. £2,000 of fixed capital must therefore enter into the labour process and not the valorisation process, and out of the total fixed capital of 3,000 $^1/_3$,=£1,000, must enter into the valorisation process.

We now have the following calculation for I:

| Capital | Fixed capital | | Raw material | Wages | Surplus value | Capital consumed | Product | Profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| £20,000 | £3,000 | | £7,000 | £10,000 | £2,000 | £18,000 | £20,000 | £2,000= 10% |
| | 2,000 not consumed | 1,000 consumed | | | | | | |

Assume that the raw material is cotton, and that 1 lb. of cotton is processed into 1 lb. of yarn; 1 lb. of cotton costs 6d., so that 2 lbs cost 1s. and 40 lbs, £1; 280,000 lbs cost £7,000. The product would thus be 280,000 lbs of yarn, which cost £20,000. 1 lb. yarn would cost $1^3/_7$s. Thus, as raw material=6d., the product would cost $11^1/_7$d. more, and nearly 12d. or 200% would be added to the value of the raw material.

Now let us consider CASE II. Wages=£1,000, raw material=£4,375, the total=£5,375. Commodities are sold for £10,000, of which £2,000 is surplus value; so, of the £8,000, yarn (8,000—5,375)=2,625. There therefore remain £2,625 for the wear and tear of fixed capital that is contained in £10,000. As Ricardo further assumes that advanced capital=20,000, it consists of £12,625 fixed capital, of which 10,000 enters into the labour process but not in the valorisation process, while 2,625 enters the product as wear and tear. The machinery is therefore assumed to be damned expensive, as nearly $^1/_4$ goes in wear and tear, so that it must be reproduced nearly every 4 years. Under all these unpleasant circumstances, we have the following calculation:

| Capital | Fixed capital | | Raw material | Wages | Surplus value | Capital consumed | Product | Profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| £20,000 | £12,625 | | £4,375 | £1,000 | 2,000 | 8,000 | 10,000 | 2,000 or 10% |
| | 10,000 not consumed | 2,625 consumed | | | | | | |

Counting 1 lb. [of cotton] at 6d., 2 lbs cost 1s. and 40 lbs=£1. Therefore, the £4,375=40×£4,375=175,000 lbs. The product is therefore 175,000 lbs of yarn, whose value=£10,000. So, 175 lbs cost £10, and $^{175}/_{10}$ lbs=£1=$17^1/_2$ lbs. A pound of yarn costs $1^1/_7$s. or is $^2/_7$s. cheaper than the yarn spun by the other, by No. I.

Now, as far as, first, the *deplacement* of capital and labour is concerned, I expended £10,000 in wages, II only £1,000. That means £9,000 less in spinning labour. Variable capital is $^9/_{10}$

smaller in II than in I. But II expended £12,625 in fixed capital and I only 3,000, thus £9,625 less; I spent £7,000 on raw materials, II only 4,375, and thus £2,625 less. The whole *deplacement* was to begin with merely another division of capital [VIII-376] between the production elements of which the yarn consists. But the matter should not rest there. Since the [capital advanced as fixed] capital will be reproduced in approximately 5 years, only $^1/_5$ is annually required for the reproduction of this part of the capital. The capital which has flown back into machine building can only be employed annually in producing 5 such machines in 5 years, or 1 machine per year; this would therefore depend on the growth of the mode of production in II.[a]

II employed only 100 workers where I employed 400, and he paid them £10 where I paid 25, thus $^2/_5$ of the old wages. If he had not decreased wages in proportion to productivity of labour, the saving of 300 workers would not have gained him a single FARTHING, if he had sold the commodities at their value. The 100 workers would have cost him £2,500, and his total surplus value would only=£500; i.e., his profit would only represent $^1/_4$ of I in proportion to the labour time he employed. *A mere reduction* in the number of workers and in wages does not work if the wage rate does not fall. In the above example, the number [of workers] fell by $^1/_4$=$^5/_{20}$; wages fell by $^2/_5$ or $^8/_{20}$. But since I produces a pound of yarn at $1^3/_7$s., which costs II only $1^1/_7$, he could undercut the other if he sold the yarn at $1^2/_7$+$^1/_{35}$s.=$1^{11}/_{35}$s. The other sells it precisely at $1^3/_7$, or $1^{15}/_{35}$s. In this case, II could pay the same wages as I, since $^1/_7$s. times 175,000 lbs equals 25,000s. or £1,250, and $^1/_{35}$s. times 175,000 equals 5,000s. or £250. These price rises would make a total of £1,500. We have seen that, when II pays workers £25, like I, his surplus value=£500. This surplus value+1,500 for raising the price over the value (since he produces under the conditions of social production costs)=£2,000. If II had to compete with I, he could pay the same wages, if he sold yarn at $1^{11}/_{35}$s. a pound instead of $1^1/_7$s. I would sell at 1s. $5^1/_7$d. a pound, or 1s. 5d. $^4/_7$ FARTHING.

II would sell at 1s. $3^{27}/_{35}$d. a pound, or 1s. 3d. $3^3/_{35}$f. So if II sold at 1s. 4d., he would make a greater profit than I, and still sell $1^1/_7$d. cheaper.

I would produce 280,000 lbs of yarn, II only 175,000 lbs, i.e., 105,000 lbs less. Assuming, though, that the workers consume the product, I supplies them with 140,000; thus only 140,000 enter into

[a] The reference is to case II or capital II.—*Ed.*

circulation; with II, the workers use up only $^1/_{10}$ of £10,000=175,000 lbs, hence 17,500. There is obviously an error here, as 140,000 divided by 400 gives us 350 per person, or 35,000 for 100 men, and thus $^2/_{10}$ and not $^1/_{10}$—and we have assumed that the workers of II receive as much product as those of I.

This calculation must be abandoned. I don't see why time should be wasted on working out Ricardo's nonsense.

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[IX-377] The passage in Ricardo (3rd ed., pp. 415, 416, 417)[a] runs: (Ch. XXVI)[b]

*"Adam Smith constantly magnifies the advantages which a country derives from a large gross, rather than a large net income"* (because, says Adam, *"the greater will be the quantity of productive labour which it puts into motion") ... "what would be the advantage resulting to a country from the employment of a great quantity of productive labour, if, whether it employed that quantity or a smaller, its net rent and profits together would be the same?"*

//This therefore means nothing but: *if the surplus value produced by a greater quantity of labour would be the same as that produced by a smaller quantity.* That however in turn means nothing but that it is the same thing for a country whether it employs a large number of labourers at a lower rate of surplus or a smaller number at a higher rate. $n \times {}^1/_2$ is just as much as $2n \times {}^1/_4$, where $n$ represents the number [of labourers] and $^1/_2$ and $^1/_4$ the surplus labour. The "productive labourer" as such is a mere instrument of production for the production of SURPLUS, and if the result is the same a larger number of these "productive labourers" would be A NUISANCE.//

*"To an individual with a capital of 20,000 *l.*, whose profits were 2,000 *l.* per annum, it would be a matter quite indifferent whether his capital would employ a 100 or a 1,000 men, whether the commodity produced, sold for 10,000 *l.*, or for 20,000 *l.*, provided, in all all cases, his profits were not diminished below 2,000 *l.*"*[c]

//The meaning of this, as is evident from a later passage, is perfectly banal. For example, a WINE-MERCHANT, who makes use of £20,000 and has £12,000 lying in his cellar each year, but sells £8,000 for £10,000, employs few people and makes 10% profit. And then take bankers!//

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[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, 3rd ed., London, 1821.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 117.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., p. 119.—*Ed.*

* "Is not the real interest of the nation similar? *Provided its net real income, its rent and profits be the same, it is of no importance whether the nation consists of 10 or of 12 millions of inhabitants.* Its power of supporting fleets and armies, *and all species of unproductive labour*" *

(this passage shows among other things that Ricardo shared Adam Smith's view of productive and unproductive LABOUR, although he did no longer share Smith's tenderness, based on illusions, for the productive LABOURER)

* "must be in proportion to its net, and not in proportion to its gross, income. If five millions of men could produce as much food and clothing as was necessary for 10 millions, food and clothing for 5 millions would be the net revenue. Would it be of any advantage to the country, that *to produce this same net revenue,* seven millions of men should be required, that is to say, that seven millions should be employed to produce food and clothing sufficient for 12 millions? The food and clothing of 5 millions would be still the net revenue. The employing [of] a greater number of men would enable us neither to add a man to our army and navy, nor to contribute one guinea more in taxes." *[a] 53

A country is the richer the smaller its productive population is *relatively* to the total product; just as for the individual capitalist: the fewer labourers he needs to produce the same SURPLUS, *tant mieux*[b] for him. The country is the richer the smaller the productive population in relation to the unproductive, the quantity of products remaining the same. For the relative smallness of the productive population would be only another way of expressing the relative degree of the productivity of labour.

On the one hand it is the tendency of capital to reduce to a dwindling minimum the labour time necessary for the production of commodities, and therefore also the number of the productive population *in relation to* the amount of the product. On the other hand, however, it has the opposite tendency to accumulate, to transform profit into capital, to appropriate the greatest possible quantity of the labour of others. It strives to reduce the rate of necessary labour, but to employ the greatest possible quantity of productive labour at the given rate.[c] The proportion of the products to the population makes no difference in this. Corn and cotton can be exchanged for wine, diamonds, etc., [IX-378] or labourers can be employed in productive labour which does not directly add anything to the (consumable) products (such as railway construction, etc.).

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[a] Ibid., p. 117.—*Ed.*

[b] So much the better.—*Ed.*

[c] In the manuscript the passage from the beginning of the paragraph is crossed out in pencil.—*Ed.*

If as the result of an invention a capitalist can now only use in his business £10,000 instead of the £20,000 he used previously, because £10,000 is sufficient, and if this sum yields 20% for him instead of 10, that is, as much as the £20,000 brought in before, this would be no reason for him to spend £10,000 as revenue instead of as capital as before. (Actually it is only in the case of State loans that we can speak of a direct transformation of capital into revenue.) He would place it elsewhere—and in addition would capitalise a part of his profit.

Among the economists (including Ricardo in part) we find the same antinomy as there is in reality. Machinery displaces labour and increases the net revenue (particularly always what Ricardo here calls net revenue—the quantity of products in which revenue is consumed); it reduces the number of labourers and increases the products (which then are partly consumed by unproductive labourers, partly exchanged abroad, etc.). So this would be desirable. But no. In that case it must be shown that machinery does not deprive the labourers of bread. And how is this to be shown? By the fact that after a SHOCK (to which perhaps the section of the population which is directly affected cannot offer any resistance) machinery once again employs more people than were employed before it was introduced—and therefore once again increases the number of "productive labourers" and restores the former disproportion.

That is in fact what happens. And so in spite of the growing productivity of labour the labouring population could constantly grow not in proportion to the product, which grows with it and faster than it, but proportionately [to the total population], if, for example, capital simultaneously becomes concentrated, and therefore former component parts of the unproductive classes fall into the ranks of the proletariat. A small part of the latter rises into the middle class. The unproductive classes, however, see to it that there is not too much food available. The constant retransformation of profit into capital always restores the same circuit on a wider basis.

And Ricardo's care for accumulation is even greater than his care for net profit, which he regards with fervent admiration as a means to accumulation. Hence too his contradictory admonitions and consoling remarks to the labourers. They are the people most interested in the accumulation of capital, because it is on this that the demand for them depends. If this demand rises, then the price of labour rises. They must therefore themselves desire the lowering of wages, so that the surplus taken from them, once

more filtered through capital, is returned to them for new labour and their wages rise. This rise in wages however is bad, because it restricts accumulation. On the one hand they must not produce children. This brings a fall in the supply of labour, and so its price rises. But this rise diminishes the rate of accumulation, and so diminishes the demand for them and brings down the price of labour. Even quicker than the supply of them falls, [the accumulation of] capital falls along with it. If they produce children, then they increase their own supply and reduce the price of labour; thus the rate of profit rises, and with it the accumulation of capital. But the labouring population must rise *pari passu* with the accumulation of capital; that is to say, the labouring population must be there exactly in the numbers that the capitalist needs—which it does anyway.

Mr. Ganilh is not altogether consistent in his admiration for the net product. He quotes from Say:

"I do not doubt at all that in slave labour the excess of the products over consumption is larger than in the labour of a free man.... The labour of the slave has no limit but his capacity.... The slave" (and the free worker too) "*labours for an unlimited need: his master's cupidity*" (Ganilh, 2nd ed., [Vol. I,] pp. 231[-32]).[54]

[IX-379] On this Ganilh observes:

"The free labourer cannot consume more and produce less than the slave.... All consumption presumes an equivalent produced to pay for it. If the free labourer consumes more than the slave, the products of his labour must be more considerable than those of the slave's labour" (Ganilh, Vol. I, p. 234).

As if the size of the wage depended *only* on the productivity of the labourer, and not, with a given productivity, on the division of the product between labourer and master.

"I know," he continues, "that it can be said with some reason that the *economies made by the master at the expense of the labourer*[a]" (according to this there are after all economies made on the wages of the slave) "serve to augment his personal expenses," etc.... "But it is more advantageous to the general wealth that there should be well-being in all classes of society rather than an excessive opulence among a small number of individuals" (pp. 234-35).

How does that tally with the net product? And for that matter Mr. Ganilh at once retracts his liberal tirades (l.c., pp. 236-37). He wants NIGGER-slavery[b] for the colonies. He is only liberal in so far as he does not want to reintroduce it into Europe, having grasped

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[a] Ganilh has "*slave*".—*Ed.*

[b] See p. VII of this volume.—*Ed.*

that the free labourers here are slaves, that they only exist to produce net product for capitalists, LANDLORDS and their RETAINERS.

"He" (*Quesnay*) "definitely denies that economies made by the wage-earning classes have the faculty to increase capital; and the reason he gives for this is that these classes should not have any means on which to make economies, and that if they had *a surplus, an excess,* this could only be due to an error or to some disorder in the society's economy" (l.c., p. 274).

Ganilh cites in evidence the following passage from Quesnay:

"If the sterile class saves in order to augment its cash ... its labours and its gains will diminish in the same proportion, and it will fall into decay" (*Physiocratie,* p. 321).[55]

The ass! He does not understand Quesnay.

Mr. Ganilh puts on the keystone in the following paragraph:

"The larger they" (wages) "are, the less is the revenue of the society" (society stands on them, but they do not stand in society), "and all the skill of governments should be applied to reducing the amount [of the wages].... A *task ... worthy of the enlightened century in which we live*" (Vol. II, p. 24).

Then there are still *Lauderdale* (Brougham's insipid jests are not worth examining after him), (Ferrier?), *Tocqueville, Storch, Senior,* and *Rossi* to be considered briefly on productive and unproductive labour.[56]

### EXCHANGE OF REVENUE AND CAPITAL

//To be distinguished: 1) The part of the *revenue which is transformed into new capital*; that is, the part of the profit which is itself again capitalised. Here we leave this entirely out of account—it belongs to the section on accumulation. 2) The revenue which is exchanged with capital consumed in production, so that by means of this exchange not new capital is formed, but old capital replaced—in a word, the old capital is conserved. In this inquiry, therefore, we can put the part of the revenue which is transformed into new capital as equal to nil, and treat the subject as if all revenue covers either revenue or capital consumed.

The whole amount of the annual product is therefore divided into 2 parts: one part is consumed as revenue, the other part replaces *in natura* the constant capital consumed.

Revenue is exchanged for revenue, when for example the producers of linen exchange a portion of that part of their product—the linen—which represents their profits and wages, their revenue, for corn that represents a portion of the profits and [IX-380] wages of farmers. Here therefore there is the exchange of linen for corn, those two commodities which both enter into

individual consumption—exchange of revenue in the form of linen for revenue in the form of corn. There is absolutely no difficulty in this. If consumable products[57] are produced in proportions corresponding to needs, which means also that the proportional amounts of social labour required for their production are proportionately distributed //which of course is never exactly the case, there being constant deviations, disproportions, which as such are adjusted; but in such a way that the continuous movement towards adjustment itself presupposes continuous disproportion//, then revenue, for example in the form of linen, exists in the exact quantity in which it is required as an article of consumption, therefore in which it is replaced by the articles of consumption of other producers. What the producer of linen consumes in corn, etc., the farmers and others consume in linen. The part of his product which represents revenue, which he exchanges for other commodities (articles of consumption), is thus taken in exchange as an article of consumption by the producers of these other commodities. What he consumes in the product of others, these others consume in his product.

It may be noted in passing: that no more necessary labour time is employed on a product than is required by society—that is to say, no more time than on the average is required for the production of this commodity—is the result of capitalist production, which even continuously reduces the minimum of necessary labour time. But in order to do so, it must constantly produce on a rising scale.

If 1 yard of linen costs only 1 hour and this is the necessary labour time that society has to use to satisfy its need for 1 yard of linen, it by no means follows from this that if 12 million yards are produced—that is, 12 million hours' labour, or what is the same thing, 1 million days' labour—1 million labourers being employed as linen weavers, society [needs] to employ such a part of its labour time "necessarily" on the weaving of linen. If the necessary labour time is given, and therefore also that a certain quantity of linen can be produced in one day, the question arises how many such days are to be used in the production of linen? The labour time used on the total of particular products, in a year for example, is equal to a definite quantity of this use value—for example, 1 yard of linen (say=1 day's labour)—multiplied by the number of days' labour used in all. The total quantity of labour time used in a particular branch of production may be under or over the correct proportion to the total available social labour, although each aliquot part of the product contains only the labour

time necessary for its production, or although each aliquot part of the labour time used was necessary to make the corresponding aliquot part of the total product.

From this standpoint, the necessary labour time acquires another meaning. The question is, in what quantities the necessary labour time itself is distributed among the various spheres of production. Competition constantly regulates this distribution, just as it equally constantly disorganises it. If too large a quantity of social labour time is used in one branch, the equivalent can be paid only, as if the corresponding quantity had been used. The total product—i.e., the value of the total product—is in this case not equal to the labour time contained in it, but=the proportional amount of labour time which would have been used had the total product been in proportion to the products in the other spheres. But inasmuch as the price of the total product falls below its value, the price of each aliquot part of it falls. If 6,000 yards of linen instead of 4,000 are produced, and if the value of the 6,000 yards is 12,000s. they are sold for 8,000. The price of each yard is $1\frac{1}{3}$s. instead of $2-\frac{1}{3}$ below its value. It therefore amounts to the same thing as if $\frac{1}{3}$ too much labour time had been used to produce 1 yard. Assuming that the commodity has use value, the fall of its price below its value therefore shows that, although each part of the product has cost only the socially necessary labour time //here it is assumed that the conditions of production remain unchanged//, a superfluous—more than necessary—total quantity of social labour has been employed in this one branch.

The sinking of the relative value of the commodity as a result of altered [IX-381] conditions of production is something entirely different; this piece of linen on the market has cost 2s.,=1 day's labour, for example. But it can be reproduced every day for 1s. Since now the value is determined by the socially necessary labour time, not by the labour time used by the individual producer, the day that the producer has used for the production of the 1 yard now only=$\frac{1}{2}$ the socially determined day. The fall of the price of his yard from 2s. to 1s.—that is, of its price below the value it has *cost* him—shows merely a change in the conditions of production, that is, a change in the necessary labour time itself. On the other hand, if the production costs of the linen remain the same while those of all other articles rise—with the exception of gold, in short, the material of money; or even [if the rise applies to] certain articles such as wheat, copper, etc., in a word, to articles which do not enter into the component parts of the linen—then 1 yard of linen would=2s. as before. Its *price* would not fall, but its relative

value expressed in wheat, copper, etc., would have fallen.

Of the part of the revenue in one branch of production (which produces consumable commodities) which is consumed in the revenue of another branch of production, it can be said that the demand is equal to its own supply (in so far as production is kept in the right *proportion*). It is the same as if each branch itself consumed that part of its revenue. Here there is only a formal metamorphosis of the commodity: *C—M—C*. Linen—money—wheat.

Both commodities which are exchanged here represent only a part of the new labour added in the year. But in the first place it is clear that this exchange—in which two producers mutually consume a part of their product which represents revenue in each other's commodities—only takes place in those branches of production which produce consumable articles, articles which enter directly into individual consumption, in which consequently revenue can be spent as revenue. Secondly, it is just as clear: that only regarding *this part* of the exchange of products it is true that the producer's supply=the demand for other products which he wishes to consume. Here in fact it is only a question of a simple exchange of commodities. Instead of producing his means of subsistence himself, he produces the means of subsistence for another, who produces his. No relation between revenue and capital enters into this. Revenue in one form of consumable articles is exchanged against revenue in another form of consumable articles, and so in fact consumable articles are exchanged for consumable articles. What determines their process of exchange is not that both are revenue, but that both are consumable articles. Their formal determination as revenue does not come into this at all. It shows itself however in the use value of the interchangeable commodities, in that both enter into individual consumption; which in turn however means no more than that one part of consumable products is exchanged for another part of consumable products.

The form of revenue can only intervene or make itself manifest where the form of capital confronts it. But even in this case what Say[58] and other vulgar economists assert is not true—that if A cannot sell his linen or can only sell it under its price—i.e., the part of his linen which he wishes to consume himself as revenue—then this happens because B, C, etc., have produced too little wheat, meat, etc. It may be because they have not produced enough of these. But it may also be because A has produced too much linen. For assuming that B, C, etc., have enough wheat, etc.,

to buy all A's linen, they nevertheless do not buy it, because only a definite quantity of linen is *consumed* by them. Or it may also be because A has produced more linen than the part of their revenue which can be spent on clothing materials altogether—that is, absolutely, because each person can expend as revenue only a definite quantity of his own product, and A's production of linen presupposes a greater amount of revenue than in total there is. It is ridiculous, however, when it is only a matter of the exchange of revenue against revenue, to suppose that what is wanted is not the use value of the product but the quantity of this use value, thus once again forgetting that *this* exchange concerns only the satisfaction of needs, not, as in exchange value, the quantity.

But everyone will prefer to have a large rather than a small quantity of an article. If this is supposed to solve the difficulty, then [IX-382] it is absolutely impossible to understand why the producer of linen, instead of exchanging his linen for other articles of consumption and piling these up *en masse*, does not carry out the simpler process of enjoying a part of his revenue in his superfluous linen. Why does he at all transform his revenue from the form of linen into other forms? Because he has to satisfy other needs than the need for linen. Why does he himself consume only a certain part of the linen? Because only a quantitatively determined part of the linen has use value for him. The same thing, however, holds for B, C, etc. If B sells wine and C books and D mirrors, each may prefer to consume the surplus of his revenue in his own product—wine, books, mirrors—rather than in linen. Thus it cannot be said that, necessarily, too little wine, books and mirrors have been produced because A cannot transform his revenue in the form of linen (or cannot transform it at its value) into wine, books and mirrors. It is still more ridiculous, however, when this exchange of revenue against revenue—this one section of the commodity exchange—is passed off as the whole of commodity exchange.

We have thus disposed of one part of the product. A part of the consumable products changes hands between the producers of these consumable products themselves. Each consumes a part of his revenue (profit and wages) in the other's consumable product instead of in his own consumable product, and in fact he can only do this in so far as there is the reciprocal consumption by the other of someone else's consumable product instead of his own. It is the same as if each had consumed that part of his consumable product which represents his own revenue.

For all the rest of the products, however, complicated relations intervene, and it is only here that the commodities exchanged confront each other as revenue and capital, and not only as revenue.

First a distinction has to be made. In all branches of production a part of the total product represents revenue, labour added (during the year), profit and wages. //Rent, interest, etc., are parts of profit; the income of the State good-for-nothings is part of profit and wages; the income of other unproductive labourers is the part of profit and wages which they buy with their unproductive labours—it therefore does not increase the product existing as profit and wages, but only determines how much of it they consume, and how much is consumed by the labourers and capitalists themselves.// But only in one section of the spheres of production can the part of the product representing revenue enter directly *in natura* into the revenue, or in its *use value* be consumed as revenue. All products which are *only* means of production cannot be consumed *in natura*, in their immediate form, as revenue, but only their *value*. This however must be consumed in the branches of production which produce directly consumable articles. A part of the means of production may be immediate articles of consumption—it may be one or the other according to the use made of it, as for example a horse, a cart, etc. A part of the immediate articles of consumption may be means of production, like corn for spirits, wheat for seed, and so on. Almost all articles of consumption can re-enter the production process as excrements of consumption, as for example worn-out and half-rotten rags of linen in the manufacture of paper. But no one produces linen in order that it should become, as rags, the raw material for paper. It only gets this form after the linen weaver's product as such has entered consumption. Only as excrement of this consumption, as residuum and product of the consumption process, can it then go into a new production sphere as means of production. This CASE, therefore, is not relevant here.

The products therefore—of which the aliquot part that represents revenue can[a] be consumed by their own producers as value, but not as use value (so that they must sell the part for example of their machines which represents wages and profit in order to consume it, [as they] cannot directly satisfy any individual need with it as a machine)—[these products] can just as little be consumed by the producers of other products; they cannot enter

[a] The manuscript has "cannot".—*Ed.*

into their individual consumption, and hence cannot form part of the products on which they spend their revenue, since this would be in contradiction to the use value of these commodities: their use value by the nature of the case *excludes* individual consumption. The producers of these unconsumable products, therefore, can only consume their *exchange value*; that is to say, they must first transform them into money in order to retransform this money into consumable commodities. But to whom are they [IX-383] to sell them? To producers of other individually unconsumable products? Then they would merely have one unconsumable product in the place of the other. It is however presupposed that this part of the products forms their revenue; that they sell these commodities in order to consume their value in consumable products. For that reason they can only sell them to the producers of products that can be consumed individually.

This part of the commodity exchange represents exchange of one man's capital for another man's revenue, and of one man's revenue for another man's capital. Only one part of the total product of the producer of consumable products represents revenue; the other part represents constant capital. He can neither himself consume the latter, nor can he exchange it for the consumable products made by others. He can neither consume *in natura* the use value of this part of the product, nor can he consume its value by exchanging it for other consumable products. He must on the contrary transform it again into the natural elements of his constant capital. He must *consume industrially* this part of his product, that is, use it as means of production. But in its use value his product is only capable of entering individual consumption; he cannot therefore transform it again *in natura* into his own elements of production. Its use value excludes industrial consumption. So he can only industrially consume its *value*. It is otherwise with the producers of the elements of production of his product. He can neither consume *in natura* this part of his product, nor can he consume its value by selling it for other products that can be consumed individually. Just as little as this part of his product can enter into his own revenue, can it be replaced out of the revenue of producers of other individually consumable products; since this would only be possible if he exchanged his product for their product and so *consumed* the value of his product, which cannot happen. But since this part of his product, as well as the other part which he can consume as revenue, by its use value can only be consumed as revenue, must enter into individual consumption and cannot replace constant

capital, it must enter into the revenue of the producers of unconsumable products—it must be exchanged against that part of their products whose value they can consume, or in other words which represents their revenue.

If we look at this exchange from the standpoint of each of the people exchanging, for A, the producer of the consumable product, it represents a transformation of capital into capital. He transforms the part of his total product which is equal to the value of the constant capital it contains back again into the natural form in which it can function as constant capital. Both before and after the exchange it represents, in its value, only constant capital. For B, the producer of the product that cannot be consumed, it is the reverse: the exchange represents merely the transformation of revenue from one form into another. He transforms the part of his total product which forms his revenue,=the part of the total product which represents labour newly added, his own labour (capitalist and labourer)—into the natural form in which only he can consume it as revenue. Both before and after the exchange it represents, in its value, only his revenue.

If we look at the relation from both sides, then A exchanges his constant capital for B's revenue, and B exchanges his revenue for A's constant capital. B's revenue replaces A's constant capital, and A's constant capital replaces B's revenue.

In the exchange itself //irrespective of the purposes of those carrying it out// only commodities confront each other—and a simple exchange of commodities takes place—the relation between which is merely that of commodities, the designations of revenue and capital having no significance here. Only the different *use value* of these commodities shows that one lot can only serve for industrial consumption, and the other only for individual consumption, can only enter into this consumption. The various practical uses of the various use values of various commodities, however, concern their consumption and do not affect the process of their exchange as commodities. It is quite a different thing when the capitalist's capital is transformed into wages, and labour is transformed into capital. Here the commodities do not confront each other as simple commodities, but capital as capital. In the exchange we have just been considering sellers and buyers face each other only as sellers and buyers, only as simple commodity owners.

It is further clear that the whole of the product destined for individual consumption or the whole product entering into individual consumption, in so far as it enters into it, can only be

exchanged for revenue. The fact that it cannot be industrially consumed means precisely that it can only be consumed as revenue, i.e., only individually. //As noted above, we here abstract from the transformation of profit into capital.[a]//

If A is a producer of a product that can only be individually consumed, let his revenue be equal to $^1/_3$ of his total product, his constant capital to $^2/_3$. The assumption implies that he himself consumes the first $^1/_3$, whether he [IX-384] consumes it all himself *in natura* or only partly or not at all, or whether he consumes its value in other articles of consumption; the sellers of these articles of consumption then consume their own revenue in A's product. So the part of the consumable product which represents the revenue of the producers of consumable products is consumed by them either directly, or indirectly, through exchanging among themselves the products to be consumed by them; in regard to this part, therefore, where *revenue is exchanged for revenue*—here it is the same as if A represented the producers of all consumable products. He himself consumes $^1/_3$ of this aggregate amount, the aliquot part which represents his revenue. This part, however, represents exactly the quantity of labour which during the year category A has added to its constant capital, and this quantity is equal to the total sum of wages and profits produced by category A during the year.

The other $^2/_3$ of category A's total product are equal to the value of the constant capital, and must therefore be replaced by the product of the annual labour of category B, which supplies products that ARE INCONSUMABLE and only enter into industrial consumption, as means of production into the production process. But as these $^2/_3$ of A's total product, just the same as the first $^1/_3$, must enter into individual consumption, it is taken by the producers of category B, in exchange for the part of their product which represents their revenue. Category A has therefore exchanged the constant part of its total product for its original natural form, exchanged it retransformed for the newly delivered products of category B; but category B has only paid for it with that part of its product which represents its revenue but which it can only consume in the products of A. It has thus in fact paid with its newly added labour, which is completely represented by the part of B's product that is exchanged for the last $^2/_3$ of A's product. Thus A's total product is exchanged for revenue. or passes entirely into individual consumption. On the other hand (on the

[a] See this volume, p. 130.—*Ed.*

assumption that the transformation of revenue into capital is here left out of account, being taken as=0) the *total revenue* of society is also expended on product A; for the producers of A consume their revenue in A, and so do the producers of category B. And there is no other category besides these two.

The total product A is consumed, although it contains $^2/_3$ constant capital, which cannot be consumed by the producers of A but must be retransformed into the natural form of their elements of production. The total product A is equal to the total revenue of society. The total revenue of society, however, represents the total labour time which it has added during the year to the existing constant capital. Now although the total product A consists of newly added labour only as to $^1/_3$, and as to $^2/_3$ of past labour that has to be replaced, it can be bought in its entirety by newly added labour, because $^2/_3$ of this total annual labour must be consumed not in their own products but in the products of A. A is replaced by $^2/_3$ more newly added labour than it itself contains, because these $^2/_3$ are labour newly added in B, and B can only consume it individually in A, just as A can only consume the same $^2/_3$ industrially in B. Thus the total product of A can in the first place be entirely consumed as revenue, and at the same time its constant capital can be replaced. Or rather it can only be entirely consumed as revenue because $^2/_3$ of it are replaced by the producers of constant capital, who cannot consume *in natura* the part of their product representing revenue, but are obliged to consume it in A, that is, through exchanging it for $^2/_3$ of A.

We have thus disposed of the final $^2/_3$ of A.

It is clear that it makes no difference if a third category C exists, whose products are consumable both industrially and individually; for example, corn, by men or by cattle or as seed or as bread; vehicles, horses, cattle, etc. In so far as these products enter into individual consumption they must be consumed as revenue, direct or indirect, by their own producers, or by the producers (direct or indirect) of the part of the constant capital contained in them. They therefore come under A. In so far as they do not enter into individual consumption, they come under B.

The process of this second kind of exchange, where it is not revenue that is exchanged against revenue but capital against revenue—in which the whole constant capital must in the end be resolved into revenue, that is, into newly added labour—can be thought of in two ways. Let A's product be for example linen. The $^2/_3$ of the linen which are=to the constant capital of A (or its value) pay for yarn, machinery and *matières instrumentales.* But the yarn

manufacturer and the manufacturer of machinery [IX-385] can only consume as much of this product as represents their own revenue. The linen manufacturer pays the whole price of the yarn and machinery with these $^2/_3$ of his product. By so doing he has thus replaced for the spinner and the machinery manufacturer their total product which entered into the linen as constant capital. But this total product is itself=to the constant capital and revenue—one part being equal to the labour added by the spinner and machinery manufacturer, and another part representing the value of their own means of production,that is, for the spinner flax, oil, machinery, coal, etc., and for the machinery manufacturer coal, iron, machinery, etc. A's constant capital,=$^2/_3$, has thus replaced the total product of the spinner and machinery manufacturer, their constant capital+the labour newly added by them—their capital+their revenue. But they can only consume their revenue in A. After deducting the part of the $^2/_3$ of A which=their revenue, with the rest they pay for their raw materials and machinery. According to our assumption, however, the latter need not replace any constant capital. Only so much of their product can enter into product A—and therefore also into the products which are means of production for A—as A can pay for. But A can only pay with his $^2/_3$ for as much as B can buy with his revenue, i.e., as much as the product exchanged by B contains revenue, newly added labour. If the producers of the final elements of production of A had to sell to the spinner a quantity of their product which represented a part of their own constant capital—that is, which represented more than the labour they had added to their constant capital—then they could not accept payment in A, because they cannot consume one part of this product. Consequently what takes place is the opposite.

Let us trace the stages in reverse. Let us assume that the total linen=12 days. The product of the flax-grower, of the iron manufacturer, etc.,=4 days; this product is sold to the spinner and the machinery manufacturer, who in turn add 4 days to it; these sell it to the weaver, who again adds 4 days. The linen weaver can thus himself consume $^1/_3$ of his product; 8 days replace his constant capital for him and pay for the product of the spinner and machinery manufacturer; these can consume 4 of the 8 days, and with the other 4 they pay the flax-grower, etc., and thus replace their constant capital; the last-named have only their labour to replace with the last 4 days in linen.

The revenue, although it is assumed to be of the same size,=4 days, in all 3 cases, is of different proportions in the

products of the 3 classes of producers who participate in producing product A. For the linen weaver, it is $^1/_3$ of his product,$=^1/_3$ of 12; for the spinner and for the machinery manufacturer it is equal to $^1/_2$ of his product,$=^1/_2$ of 8; for the flax-grower it is equal to his product,=4. In relation to the total product it is however exactly the same,$=^1/_3$ of 12,=4. But for the weaver, the labour newly added by spinner, machinery manufacturer and flax-grower takes the form of constant capital. For the spinner and machinery manufacturer, the total product represents the labour newly added by themselves and by the flax-grower, the labour time of the flax-grower appearing as constant capital. For the flax-grower, this phenomenon of constant capital has ceased to exist. Because of this, the spinner for example can use machinery, or constant capital in general, in the same proportions as the weaver. For example, $^1/_3$. But in the first place the amount (the total amount) of the capital employed in spinning must be smaller than that used in weaving, since its total product enters as constant capital into weaving. Secondly, if the spinner also has the proportion of $^1/_3$:$^2/_3$, his constant capital would$=^{16}/_3$, his added labour would be equal to $^8/_3$; the former would be equal to $5^1/_3$ days' labour, the latter to $2^2/_3$. In this case there would be proportionately more days' labour contained in the branch which supplies him with flax, etc. He would then have to pay $5^1/_3$ for newly added labour, instead of 4 days.

It is self-evident that only that part of category A's constant capital has to be replaced by new labour which enters into the valorisation process of A, that is, is consumed by A during the labour process. The whole of the raw material and the *matières instrumentales* enter into it, and the wear and tear of the fixed capital. The other part of the fixed capital does not enter into it, and therefore has not got to be replaced.

A large part of the existing constant capital—large as regards the relation of the fixed capital to the total capital—does not therefore require to be replaced annually by new labour. For that reason the (absolute) amount may be considerable, but nevertheless it is not large in relation to the total (annual) product. This *entire part of the constant capital*, in A and B, which enters into the determination of the rate of profit (with a given surplus value), does not enter as a determining element into the current reproduction of the fixed capital. The larger this part in relation to the total capital—the greater the scale on which present, already existing, fixed capital is employed in production—the greater the *current* volume *of reproduction* will be that is used for

the replacement of the worn-out fixed capital, but the smaller relatively will be the *proportional* amount, in relation to the total capital.

Let the reproduction period (*the average*) for all kinds of fixed capital be 10 years. [IX-386] Let us assume that the different kinds of fixed capital have a turnover of 20, 17, 15, 12, 11, 10, 8, 6, 4, 3, 2, 1, $^4/_6$ and $^2/_6$ years (14 kinds), so that the fixed capital has an *average* turnover of 10 years.[59]

On the average, therefore, the capital would have to be replaced in 10 years. If the total fixed capital amounted to $^1/_{10}$ of the total capital, then only $^1/_{10}$ of the former, hence only $^1/_{100}$ of the total capital, would have to be replaced annually.

If it amounted to $^1/_3$, then $^1/_{30}$ of the total capital would have to be replaced annually.

But let us now compare fixed capitals with different reproduction periods—the capital with a 20-year period, for example, in contrast to the capital with a period of $^1/_3$ of a year.

Only $^1/_{20}$ of the fixed capital which is reproduced in 20 years has to be replaced annually. So that if it amounts to $^1/_2$ of the total capital, only $^1/_{40}$ of the total capital has to be replaced annually, and if it amounts even to $^4/_5$ of the total capital, only $^4/_{100}=^1/_{25}$ of the total capital has to be replaced annually. On the other hand, if the capital which has a reproduction period of $^2/_6$ of a year—that is, turns over 3 times a year—amounts to only $^1/_{10}$ of the capital, then the fixed capital has to be replaced 3 times a year, so that $^3/_{10}$ of the capital has to be replaced annually, nearly $^1/_3$ of the total capital. On the average, the larger the fixed capital in proportion to the total capital, the longer is its *relative* (not absolute) period of reproduction; and the smaller it is, the shorter its *relative* period of reproduction. Implements form a much smaller part of handicraft capital than machinery does of machine-production capital. But handicraft implements wear out much more quickly than machinery.

Although the absolute magnitude of its reproduction—or its wear and tear—grows with the absolute size of the fixed capital, as a rule its proportional magnitude falls, IN SO FAR as its period of turnover, its duration, as a rule increases in proportion to its size. This proves among other things that the quantity of labour reproducing machinery or fixed capital is not at all proportional to the labour which originally produced these machines (conditions of production remaining the same), since only the annual wear and tear has to be replaced. If the productivity of labour rises—as it constantly does in this branch of production—the quantity of

labour required for the reproduction of this part of the constant capital diminishes still more. However, account has to be taken of the means of consumption daily used by the machine (which however have nothing directly to do with the labour employed in the machine-building industry itself). But machinery, which needs merely coal and a little oil or tallow, lives on an infinitely stricter diet than the labourer—not only the labourer whom it replaces, but the labourer who built the machine itself.

We have now disposed of the product of the entire category A and of a part of category B's product. A is completely consumed: $^1/_3$ by its own producers, $^2/_3$ by the producers of B, who cannot consume their own revenue in their own product. The $^2/_3$ of A, in which they consume the part of the value of their product which represents revenue, at the same time replace their constant capital *in natura* for the producers of A, that is, provide them with the commodities which they *consume industrially.* But with the consumption of A's entire product, and with $^2/_3$ of it replaced by B in the form of constant capital, we have also disposed of the *entire* part of the product which represents the labour newly added annually. This labour cannot therefore buy any other part of the total product. In fact, the whole of the labour added annually (leaving out of account the capitalisation of profit)=the *labour contained in* A. For $^1/_3$ of A which is consumed by its own producers represents the labour newly added by them during the year to the $^2/_3$ of A which represent A's constant capital. They have performed no labour apart from this, which they consume in their own product. And the other $^2/_3$ of A, which are replaced by B's product and consumed by the producers of B, represent all the labour time which the producers of B have added to their own constant capital. They have added no more in labour, and there is nothing more for them to [IX-387] consume.

In its *use value,* product A represents the whole part of the annual total product which enters annually into individual consumption. In its *exchange value,* it represents the total quantity of labour newly added by the producers during the year.

Thus, however, we have as *residuum* a third part of the total product whose constituent parts, when exchanged, can represent neither the exchange of revenue against revenue nor of capital against revenue and vice versa. This is the part of product B which represents B's constant capital. This part is not included in B's revenue and therefore cannot be replaced by or exchanged against product A, and therefore also cannot enter as a constituent part into A's constant capital. This part is likewise consumed,

industrially consumed, to the extent that it enters not only into the labour process but also into the valorisation process of B. This part, therefore, like all other parts of the total product, must be replaced *in the proportion in which it forms a component part of the total product*, and indeed it must be replaced *in natura* by *new* products of the same sort. On the other hand, it is not replaced by any new labour. For the total quantity of newly added labour=the labour time contained in A, which is completely replaced only by B consuming his revenue in $^2/_3$ of A and supplying to A in exchange all the means of production which are consumed in A and must be replaced. For the first $^1/_3$ of A, which is consumed by its own producers, consists only—as exchange value—of the labour newly added by themselves, and it contains no constant capital.

Let us now examine this residuum.

It consists of the constant capital which enters into raw materials, secondly of the constant capital which enters into the formation of the fixed capital, and thirdly of the constant capital which enters into *matières instrumentales.*

*First, the raw materials.* Their constant capital consists in the first place of fixed capital, machinery, instruments of labour and buildings, and perhaps *matières instrumentales*, which are means of consumption for the machinery employed. In regard to the directly consumable part of the raw materials—such ,as cattle, corn, grapes, and such like—this difficulty does not arise. In this aspect they belong to class A. This part of the constant capital contained in them enters into the $^2/_3$ of the constant part of A, which is exchanged as capital against the unconsumable products of B or in which B consumes his revenue. This holds good too in general for those raw materials which cannot be consumed directly, in so far as they enter *in natura* into the consumable product itself, however many intermediate stages they may pass through in the processes of production. The part of flax that is transformed into yarn and later into linen enters in its entirety into the consumable product.

But a part of these *vegetative raw materials*, such as timber, flax, hemp, leather and so on, partly enters directly into the components of the fixed capital itself, and partly into the *matières instrumentales* for the fixed capital. For example, in the form of oil, tallow, etc.

*Secondly, however, seed* [belongs to the constant capital expended for the production of raw materials]. Vegetative materials and animals reproduce themselves. Vegetation and generation. By seed

we mean actual seed, and in addition fodder which reverts to the land as dung, pedigree cattle, etc. This large part of the annual product—or of the constant part of the annual product—itself serves directly as material for regeneration, it reproduces itself.

*Non-vegetative raw materials.* Metals, stones, etc. Their value consists of only 2 parts, since here there is no seed—which represents the raw materials of agriculture. Their value consists only of added labour and machinery consumed (including the means of consumption for the machinery). In addition therefore to the part of the product which represents newly added labour and is hence included in the exchange of B for the $^2/_3$ of A, there is nothing to be replaced but the wear and tear of the fixed capital and its means of consumption (such as coal, oil, etc.). But these raw materials form the principal component part of the constant capital, of the fixed capital (machinery, instruments of labour, buildings, etc.). They therefore replace their constant capital *in natura* by exchange.

[IX-388] *Secondly, the fixed capital (machinery, buildings, instruments of labour, containers of all kinds).*

Their constant capital consists of: 1) their raw materials, metals, stones, raw materials such as timber, leather belting, rope, etc. But though these raw materials form the raw material for them, they themselves enter as means of labour into the production of these raw materials. Hence they replace themselves *in natura.* The iron producer has to replace machinery, the machine builder iron. In quarrying there is wear and tear of machinery, but in factory buildings there is wear and tear of building stone, etc. 2) *The wear and tear of machine-building machinery,* which within a certain period has to be replaced by a new product of the same kind. But the product of the same kind can, of course, replace itself. 3) *The means of consumption for the machine* (*matières instrumentales*). Machinery consumes coal, but coal consumes machinery, and so on. In the form of containers, tubes, pipes, etc., machinery of all kinds enters into the production of the means of consumption for machinery, as in the case of tallow, soap, gas (for lighting). Therefore also in these cases the products of these spheres enter reciprocally into each other's constant capital, and consequently replace each other *in natura.*

If beasts of burden are included among machines, what has to be replaced in their case is fodder and in certain conditions stabling (buildings). But if fodder enters into the production of cattle, so do cattle into the production of fodder.

*In the third place, matières instrumentales.* Some of these require raw materials, like oil, soap, tallow, gas, etc. On the other hand, in the form of fertilisers, etc., they in turn enter in part into the production of these raw materials. Coal is required for making gas, but gas lighting is used in producing coal, etc. Other *matières instrumentales* consist only of labour added and fixed capital (machinery, containers, etc.). Coal must replace the wear and tear of the steam-engine used to produce it. But the steam-engine consumes coal. Coal itself enters into the means of production of coal. Thus it replaces itself *in natura.* Transport by rail enters into the production costs of coal, but coal in turn enters into the production costs of the locomotive.

*Later on, there is something special to be added about chemical factories,* all of which *plus ou moins*[a] produce *matières instrumentales,* such as the raw material of containers (for example, glass, porcelain), as well as articles which enter directly into consumption.

All colouring materials are *matières instrumentales.* But they enter into the product not only as to their value, as for example coal consumed enters into COTTON; but they reproduce themselves in the form of the product (its colours).

*Matières instrumentales* are either *means of consumption for machinery*—in this case either fuel for the prime mover, or means of reducing the friction of the operating machinery, such as tallow, soap, oil, etc.—or they are *matières instrumentales* for buildings, like cement, etc. Or they are *matières instrumentales* for carrying on the production process in general, such as lighting, heating, etc. (in this case they are *matières instrumentales* required by the labourers themselves to enable them to work).

Or they *are matières instrumentales* which enter into the formation of the raw materials as do all types of fertilisers and all chemical products consumed by the raw materials.

Or *they are matières instrumentales* which enter into the finished product—colouring matter, polishing materials, and so on.

*The result is therefore:*

A replaces his own constant capital, [equal to] $^2/_3$ [of the product], by exchange with that part of B's unconsumable product which represents B's revenue—that is, the labour added in category B during the year. But A does not replace B's constant capital. B for his part must replace this constant capital *in natura* by new products of the same sort. But B has no labour time over

[a] In a greater or smaller degree.—*Ed.*

to replace them with. For all the new labour time added by him forms his revenue, and is therefore represented by the part of B's product which enters as constant capital into A. How then is B's constant capital replaced?

Partly by his *own reproduction* (vegetative or animal), as in all agriculture and stock-raising; partly by *exchange in natura* of parts of one constant capital for parts of another constant capital, because the product of one sphere enters as raw material or means of production into the other sphere, and vice versa; that is, because the products of the various spheres of production, the [IX-389] various sorts of constant capital, enter reciprocally *in natura* into each other's sphere as conditions of production.[36]

The producers of unconsumable products are the producers of constant capital for the producers of consumable products. But at the same time their products serve them reciprocally as elements or factors of their own constant capital. That is to say, they consume each other's products *industrially.*

The whole product A is consumed. Therefore also the whole of the constant capital it contains. The producers of A consume $^1/_3$ of A, the producers of the unconsumable products B consume $^2/_3$ of A. A's constant capital is replaced by the products of B which form B's revenue. This is in fact the only part of the constant capital that is replaced by *newly added labour*; and it is replaced by it because the quantity of products B that is the newly added labour in B, is not consumed by B, but on the contrary is industrially consumed by A, while B consumes individually the $^2/_3$ of A.

Let A=3 days' labour; his constant capital, on our assumption,=2 days' labour. B replaces the product of $^2/_3$ of A, and so supplies unconsumable products=2 days' labour. Now 3 days' labour have been consumed, and 2 are left. In other words, the 2 days of past labour in A are replaced by 2 days of newly added labour in B, but only because the 2 days of newly added labour in B consume their value in A and not in product B itself.

B's constant capital, in so far as it has entered into the total product B, must likewise be replaced *in natura* by new products of the same sort—that is, by products which are required for *industrial* consumption by B. But it is not replaced by *new* labour time, although it is replaced by the *products* of the labour time newly applied during the year.

Let the constant capital in B's total product be $^2/_3$. Then if the newly added labour (=the sum of wages and profit)=1, the past labour which served it as material and means of labour=2. How

then are these 2 replaced? The proportion of constant and variable capital may vary considerably within the various spheres of production of B. But on our assumption the average is as $^1/_3$:$^2/_3$, or 1:2. Each of the producers of B is now faced by $^2/_3$ of his product, such as coal, iron, flax, machinery, cattle, wheat (i.e., the part of his cattle and wheat that does not enter into consumption), etc., whose elements of production must be replaced, or which must be reconverted into the natural form of their elements of production. But all these products themselves re-enter industrial consumption. The wheat (as seed) is in turn also its own raw material, and a part of the cattle produced replaces what has been consumed, that is, itself. In these spheres of production of B (agriculture and stock-raising) only this part of their product therefore replaces their own constant capital in its natural form. A part of this product, therefore, does not go into circulation (at least need not go into circulation, and can only do so in a formal sense). Others of these products, such as flax, hemp, etc., coal, iron, timber, machinery, in part enter into their own production as means of production, in the same way as seed in agriculture; for example, coal in the production of coal, and machinery in the production of machinery. A part of the product consisting of machinery and coal, and in fact a part of that part of this product which represents its constant capital, thus replaces itself and merely changes its place [in the process of production]. It changes from a product into its own means of production.

Another part of these and of other products reciprocally enter into each other as elements of production—machinery into iron and timber, timber and iron into machinery, oil into machinery and machinery into oil, coal into iron, iron (tram-rails, etc.) into coal, and so on. In so far as the $^2/_3$ of these products of B are not self-replacing in this way—that is, do not come back in their natural form into their own production, so that a part of B is directly consumed industrially by its own producers, just as a part of A is directly consumed individually by its own producers—the products of the producers of B replace each other reciprocally as means of production. The product of a goes into b's industrial consumption and the product of b into a's industrial consumption; or in a roundabout way, a's product into b's industrial consumption, b's product into that of c, and that of c into that of a. What therefore is consumed as constant capital in one of B's spheres of production is newly produced in another; but what is consumed in the latter is produced in the former. What in one sphere passes from the form of machinery and coal into the form of iron, passes

in the other from the form of iron and coal into machinery, and so on.

[IX-390] What has to be done is to replace B's constant capital in its natural form. If we consider B's total product, it represents the entire constant capital in all its natural forms. And where the product of one particular sphere of B cannot replace its own constant capital *in natura* purchase and sale, a change of hands, puts everything here in its proper place again.

Here, therefore, there is replacement of constant capital by constant capital; in so far as this does not occur directly and without exchange, here *therefore* there is *exchange of capital for capital*, that is, of products for products on the basis of their use value; the products enter reciprocally into their respective production processes, so that each of them is industrially consumed by the producers of the other.

This part of the capital resolves neither in profit nor in wages. It contains no newly added labour. It is not exchanged against revenue. It is neither directly nor indirectly paid for by consumers. It makes no difference whether this reciprocal replacement of capitals is carried through with the aid of merchants (that is, by merchant capitals) or not.

But since these products are new (machinery, iron, coal, timber, etc., which reciprocally replace each other), since they are the products of the last year's labour—thus the wheat which serves as seed is just as much a product of new labour as the wheat which passes into consumption, etc.—how can it be said that no newly added labour is contained in these products? And moreover isn't their form striking evidence to the contrary? Even if not in the case of wheat or cattle, surely in the case of a machine, its form bears witness to the labour which has transformed it from iron, etc., into a machine, and so forth.

This problem has been solved earlier.[a5] It is not necessary to go into it here again.

//Adam Smith's statement that the TRADE between DEALERS AND DEALERS must be=to the TRADE between DEALERS and CONSUMERS[36] (by which he means direct, not industrial, consumers, since he himself includes industrial consumers among DEALERS) is therefore wrong. It is based on his false assertion that the whole product consists of revenue, and in fact only means that the part of the commodity exchange which is equal to the EXCHANGE BETWEEN CAPITAL AND REVENUE is

[a] See this volume, pp. 84-94, 113-14.—*Ed.*

equal to the TOTAL EXCHANGE OF COMMODITIES. As the assertion is wrong, the practical applications Tooke made of it for the circulation of money are also wrong (especially the relation between the quantity of money circulating between DEALERS and the quantity of money circulating between DEALERS and CONSUMERS).[60]

Let us take as the final DEALER confronting the CONSUMER the merchant who buys the product of A; this product is bought from him by the revenue of A,=$^1/_3$ of A, and by the revenue of B,=$^2/_3$ of A. These replace his merchant capital for him. The total of their revenues must cover his capital. (The profit which the rascal makes must be accounted for by his retaining a part of A for himself, and selling a smaller part of A for the value of A. Whether the rascal is thought of as a necessary agent of production or as a sybaritic intermediary does not in any way alter the case.) This EXCHANGE between DEALER and CONSUMER of A covers in value the EXCHANGE between the DEALER in A and all the producers of A, and consequently all DEALINGS between these producers among themselves.

The merchant buys the linen. This is the last DEALING between DEALER and DEALER. The linen weaver buys yarn, machinery, coal, etc. This is the last but one DEALING between DEALER and DEALERS. The spinner buys flax, machinery, coal, etc. This is the last DEALING but two between DEALER and DEALERS. The flax-grower and machine builder buy machines, iron, etc., and so on. But the DEALINGS between the producers of flax, machinery, iron, coal, to replace their constant capital, and the value of these DEALINGS, do not enter into the DEALINGS which A's product passes through, whether as the exchange of revenue for revenue, or as the exchange of revenue for constant capital. These DEALINGS—not those between the producers of B and the producers of A, but those between the producers of B—have not to be replaced by the buyer of A to the seller of A, any more than the value of this part of B enters into the value of A. These DEALINGS too require money, and are carried out through merchants. But the part of the circulation of money which exclusively belongs to this sphere is completely separate from that between DEALERS and CONSUMERS.//

[IX-391] Two questions are still to be solved:

1) In our investigation up to now wages have been treated as revenue, without being distinguished from profit. How far in this connection have we to take account of the fact that wages are at the same time part of the circulating capital of the capitalist?

2) Up to now it has been assumed that the total revenue is spent as revenue. The ALTERATION that comes in when a part of the

revenue, of the profit, is capitalised, has therefore to be considered. This in fact coincides with the examination of the process of accumulation—but not in its formal aspect. That a part of the product which represents SURPLUS VALUE is reconverted, partly into wages and partly into constant capital, presents no difficulty. Here we have to examine how this affects the exchange of commodities under the headings previously considered—under which it can be examined in relation for its bearers, that is to say, as exchange of revenue for revenue, exchange of revenue for capital, or finally, exchange of capital for capital.//

//This intermezzo has therefore to be completed in this historico-critical section, as occasion warrants.[61]//

Ferrier (F. L. A.) (*sous inspecteur des douanes*[a]): *Du Gouvernement considéré dans ses rapports avec le commerce*, Paris, 1805. (This was the main source for Friedrich List.[b]) This fellow eulogises the *Bonapartist* system of prohibitions, etc. In fact the Government (therefore also State officials—those unproductive labourers) is in his view important, as a MANAGER directly intervening in production. This customs officer is consequently extremely angry with Adam Smith for calling State officials unproductive.

"The principles which Smith *has laid down in regard to the economy of nations* have as their basis a distinction between productive and unproductive labour...."[c]

//Because in fact he wants the largest possible part to be spent as capital, i.e., in exchange for productive labour, and the smallest possible part as revenue, in exchange for unproductive labour.//

"This distinction is in essence false. *There is no unproductive labour*" (p. 141). "There is therefore economy and prodigality on the part of nations; but a nation is only prodigal or economic in its relations with *other* peoples, and it is from this standpoint that the question should be considered" (l.c., p. 143).

In a moment we shall quote for comparison the context of the passage from Adam Smith which Ferrier regards with such abomination.

"There is an economy on the part of nations, but it is very different from what Smith recommends," Ferrier says. "It consists in not buying foreign products except in so far as a nation can pay for them with its own. It consists sometimes in doing without them altogether" (l.c., pp. [174,] 175).[c]

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[a] Sub-inspector of Customs.—*Ed.*

[b] F. List, *Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie*, Vol. I, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1841.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx quotes Ferrier partly in French, partly in German.—*Ed.*

//B. I, Ch. VI, (ed. Garnier, t. I, pp. 108, 109) [Vol. I, p. 92][14] *Adam Smith* says at the end of this chapter which deals with "*des parties constituantes du prix des marchandises*"[a]:

"As in a civilised country there are *but few commodities of which the exchangeable value arises from labour only, rent and profit contributing largely to that of the far greater part of them, so the annual produce of its labour will always be sufficient to purchase or command a much greater quantity of labour than what was employed in raising, preparing, and bringing that produce to market.* If the *society were annually to employ all the labour which it can annually purchase, as the quantity of labour would increase greatly every year,* so the produce of every succeeding year would be of vastly greater value than that of the foregoing. But there is no country *in which the whole annual produce is* employed in maintaining the industrious. The idle everywhere consume a great part of it; and, according to the different proportions in which it is annually divided between those two different orders of people, its ordinary or average value must either annually increase or diminish, or continue the same from one year to another."

There is confusion of all kinds in this passage, in which Smith is in fact trying to solve the problem of accumulation.

First, once again there is the wrong assumption that the "exchangeable value" of the annual product of labour, and so also "*the annual produce of labour*", resolves itself into wages and profits (including rents).[62] We will not deal again with this nonsense. We only observe: the amount of the annual product—or of the funds, the STOCKS of commodities which are the annual product of labour—consists for the most part [IX-392] of commodities *in natura* which can only enter as elements into constant capital //raw materials, seed, machinery, etc.//, which can *only* be consumed industrially. The very *use value* of these commodities (and they form the larger part of the commodities entering into constant capital) shows that they are not suitable for individual consumption; that therefore revenue cannot be expended on them, whether it is wages, profit or rent. A part of the raw materials (in so far as it is not required for the reproduction of raw materials themselves, or in so far as it does not enter into the fixed capital as *matière instrumentale* or directly as a component part) will, it is true, later on be given a consumable form, but only through the labour of the current year. As a product of the previous year's labour these raw materials themselves form no part of revenue. It is only the consumable part of the product that can be consumed, can enter into individual consumption and thus form revenue. But even a part of the consumable product cannot be consumed without making reproduction impossible. One part even of the consumable part of commodities therefore must be deducted

[a] The component parts of the price of commodities.—*Ed.*

which must be *consumed industrially*, that is, it must serve as material of labour, as seed, etc., not as means of subsistence, whether for labourers or for capitalists. This part of the product therefore has *d'abord* to be deducted from Adam Smith's calculation—or rather has to be added to it. If *the productivity of labour* remains *the same*, then this part of the *product* which does not consist of revenue remains the same from year to year; provided that, with the productivity of labour remaining the same, the same quantity of labour time as before is employed.

On the assumption therefore that a *greater quantity* of labour than before is used each year, we have to see what happens to the constant capital. In short: in order to employ a greater quantity of labour, it is not enough either that a *greater quantity of labour* should be available, or that a *greater quantity should be paid for*, that is, more should be spent in wages; but the means of labour—raw material and fixed capital—must also be there in order to absorb a greater quantity of labour. Hence this point is still to be discussed *after* the points raised by Adam Smith have been cleared up.

So then, once more [we take] his first sentence:

> "As in a civilised country there are but few commodities of which the exchangeable value *arises from labour only, rent and profit contributing largely* to that of the far greater part of them, *so the annual produce of its labour* will always be sufficient *to purchase or command* a much greater *quantity of labour* than *what was employed in raising*, preparing, and bringing *that produce* to market" (in other words, to produce it).

Here different things are obviously mixed up. Not only *living labour*, living labour employed during the current year, enters into the exchangeable value of the total annual product, but also past labour, product of the labour of past years. Not only labour in living form, but labour in objectified form. The exchangeable value of the product=the total labour time which it contains, a part of which consisted of living labour and a part of objectified labour.

Let the proportion of the former to the latter be as $^1/_3$:$^2/_3$, 1:2. Then the value of the total product=3, of which 2 are objectified labour time and 1 living labour time. The *value* of the total product can therefore buy more living labour than is contained in it, on the assumption that objectified labour and living labour are exchanged for each other as equivalents, that a definite quantity of objectified labour commanded only a quantity of living labour equal to itself. For the product=3 days' labour; but the living labour time contained in it=1 day's labour only. 1 day's living

labour sufficed to produce the product (in fact, only to give the final form to its elements). But 3 days' labour is contained in it. Therefore if it was exchanged entirely against living labour time, if it was employed only "to purchase or command" quantities of living labour, it would be able to command, to purchase, 3 days' labour.

This however is evidently not what Adam Smith has in mind, and would be a quite useless premiss for him. What he means is that a large part of the exchangeable value of the product does not resolve itself (or as he *wrongly* expresses it, because of a confusion of ideas noted earlier[63]) into wages, but into profits and rents, or, as we will say to simplify things, into profits. In other words, the part of the value of the product which=the quantity of labour added during the last year—thus IN FACT the part of the product which in the proper meaning of the word is the product of last year's labour—pays first the labourers and secondly enters into the capitalist's revenue, his fund for consumption. This whole part of the total product arises from labour, and indeed exclusively from labour; but it consists of paid and unpaid labour. The wages are equal to the total of the paid labour, the profits [IX-393] to the total of the unpaid labour. If therefore this total product was expended in wages, it could naturally set in motion a greater quantity of labour than that of which it was the product; and in fact the proportion in which the product can set in motion more labour time than it itself contains depends exactly on the proportion in which the working day is divided into paid and unpaid labour time.

Let us assume that the proportion is such that the labourer produces or reproduces his wages in 6 hours, that is, in half a day. Then the other 6 hours or the other half day forms the SURPLUS. Thus for example of a product which contained 100 days' labour,=£50 (when the day's labour=10s., making 100 days' labour=1,000s., or £50), there would be £25 for wages and £25 for profit (rent). With the £25,=50 days' labour, 100 labourers would have been paid, who would have worked precisely half their labour time for nothing or for their MASTERS. If therefore the whole product (of the 100 days' labour) were to be expended in wages, then 200 labourers could be set in motion with the £50, each of whom would receive as wages 5s. or half the product of his labour as before. The product of these labourers would=£100 (that is, 200 days' labour=2,000s.=£100), with which 400 labourers (5s. the labourer, making 2,000s.) could be set in motion, whose product would=£200, and so on.

And this is what Adam Smith means by saying that "the annual produce of labour" will always be sufficient "to purchase or command a much greater quantity of labour" than what was employed to produce the product. (If the labourer were paid the whole product of his labour, that is, £50 for 100 days' labour, then the £50 too could only set in motion 100 days' labour.) And so Smith goes on to say:

"If the society were annually to employ all the labour which it can annually purchase, as the quantity of labour would increase greatly every year, so the produce of every succeeding year would be of vastly greater value than that of the foregoing."[a]

A part of this product however is consumed by the owners of profit and rent; a part by their parasites. The part of the product that can be expended again in (productive) labour is consequently determined by the part of the product which the capitalists, landlords and their parasites (that is the unproductive labourers) do not themselves consume.

But nevertheless there is always a new fund (a new fund of wages) to set in motion, with the previous year's product, a greater quantity of labourers in the current year. And as the value of the annual product is determined by the quantity of labour time employed, the value of the annual product will grow each year.

Of course it would be of no use to have the fund "*to purchase* or *command*" a "much greater quantity of labour" than in the previous year unless a greater quantity of labour was on the market. It is of no use to me to have more money to buy a commodity, unless more of this commodity is on the market. Let us assume that the £50 set in motion, instead of the 100 as before (who received £25), not 200 but only 150 labourers, while the capitalists themselves consumed £12 10s. instead of £25. The 150 labourers (=£37 10s.) would perform 150 days' labour=1,500s.=£75. But if the quantity of labourers available were, as before, only 100, instead of £25 as before, they would receive £37 10s. as wages, though their product [would amount to] only £50 as before. Thus the revenue of the capitalist would have fallen from £25 to £12 10s., because wages had risen by 50%. Adam Smith knows, however, that an increasing quantity of labour will be available. Partly [due to] the annual increase of the population (though this is supposed to be provided for in the old wages), partly unemployed paupers, or half-employed labourers, etc. Then the large numbers of unproductive labourers, part of

[a] See this volume, p. 152.—*Ed.*

whom can be transformed into *productive* labourers by a different way of using the SURPLUS PRODUCE. Finally the same number of labourers can perform a *greater quantity* of labour. And whether I pay 125 labourers instead of 100, or whether the 100 work 15 hours a day instead of 12, WOULD BE QUITE THE SAME THING.

It is incidentally an error of Adam Smith's—directly connected with his analysis of the total product into revenue—to say that with the increase of the productive capital—or with the growth of the part of the annual product which is destined for reproduction—the *labour employed* (the living labour, the part of capital expended in wages) must increase in the same proportion.

[IX-394] Thus first Adam Smith has a fund of consumable means of subsistence, which can "purchase or command" a greater quantity of labour this year than the foregoing year; he has more labour; and at the same time more means of subsistence for this labour. Now we must see how this ADDITIONAL QUANTITY OF LABOUR is to be realised.//

Had Adam Smith adhered with full consciousness to the analysis of SURPLUS VALUE which in substance is to be found in his work—which is created only in the exchange of capital against wage labour—it would have followed that productive labour is only that which is exchanged against capital: never labour which is exchanged with revenue as such. In order for revenue to be exchanged against productive labour, it must first be transformed into capital.

But taking as his starting-point one aspect of the traditional view—that productive labour is labour which directly produces material wealth of any kind—and at the same time combining with this his distinction in so far as it is based on the exchange of either capital for labour or of revenue for labour, with Smith the following became possible: The kind of labour for which capital is exchanged is always productive (it always creates material wealth, etc.). The kind of labour which is exchanged for revenue may be productive or it may not; but the spender of revenue as a rule prefers to set in motion directly unproductive labour RATHER than productive. One can see how Adam Smith, by this compound of his two distinctions, very much weakens and blunts the principal distinction.[a]

The following quotation shows that Adam Smith does not take the fixation of labour in a purely external sense; among the various component parts of the fixed capital is enumerated:

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[a] See this volume, pp. 11-29.—*Ed.*

"4), of the acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitants and members of the society. The acquisition of such talents, by the maintenance of the acquirer during his education, apprenticeship or study, always costs a real expense, which is a capital fixed and realised, as it were, in his person. Those talents, as they make a part of his fortune, so do they likewise that of the society to which he belongs. The improved dexterity of a workman may be considered in the same light as a machine or instrument of trade which facilitates and abridges labour, and which, though it costs a certain expense, repays that expense with a profit" ([Garnier,] l.c., t. II, l.II, ch. I, pp. 204, 205) [Vol. II, p. 12].

*The strange origin of accumulation* and *its necessity*:

"In that rude state of society, in which there is no division of labour, in which exchanges are seldom made, and in which every man provides every thing for himself, *it is not necessary that any stock should be accumulated, or stored up beforehand, in order to carry on the business of the society*"

(that is, after assuming *qu'il n'y pas de société*[a]).

"Every man endeavours to supply, by his own industry, his own occasional wants, as they occur. When he is hungry, he goes to the forest to hunt etc." ([Garnier,] t. II, pp. 191, 192) (l.II, *Introduction*) [Vol. II, p. 1]. "But when the division of labour has once been thoroughly introduced, the produce of a man's own labour can supply but a very small part of his occasional wants. The far greater part of them are supplied by *the produce of other men's labour*, or, what is the same thing, the price of the produce of his own. But this *purchase* cannot be made till such time as *the produce of his own labour* has not only been *completed*, but *sold*."

(Even in the first case he could not eat the hare before he had killed it, and he could not kill it before he had produced for himself the classical "*arc*"[b] or SOMETHING SIMILAR. The only thing that seems to be added in CASE II is therefore not the necessity of a stock OF ANY SORT, but the "time ... as the produce of his own labour has been *sold*".)

"*A stock of goods of different kinds*, therefore, must be *stored up* somewhere, sufficient to maintain him, and to supply him with the materials and tools of his work, till such time at least as both these events can be brought about. A weaver *cannot apply himself entirely* to his peculiar business, unless there is beforehand stored up somewhere, *either in his own possession, or in that of some other person, a stock* sufficient to maintain him, and to supply him with the materials and tools of his work, till he has not only completed, but sold his web. This *accumulation must* evidently *be previous* to his applying his industry for so long a time to such a peculiar business.... *The accumulation of* stock *must*, in the nature of things, *be previous to the division of labour*" ([Garnier,] l.c., pp. 192-93) [Vol. II, p. 2].

(On the other hand, according to what he has stated at the beginning, it appears that no accumulation OF CAPITAL takes place *before* the DIVISION OF LABOUR, just as there is no DIVISION OF LABOUR before the ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL.)

He continues:

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[a] That there is no society.— *Ed.*

[b] Bow.— *Ed.*

"Labour can be more and more subdivided in proportion only as stock is previously more and more accumulated. *The quantity of materials which the same number of people can work up, increases in a great proportion* as labour comes to be more and more subdivided; and as the operations of each workman are gradually reduced to a greater degree of simplicity, a variety of new machines come to be invented for facilitating and [IX-395] abridging these operations. As the division of labour advances, therefore, in order to give constant employment to an equal number of workmen, *an equal stock of provisions*, and *a greater stock of materials and tools* than what would have been necessary in a ruder state of things, must be *accumulated beforehand*" ([Garnier,] l.c., pp. 193-94) [Vol. II, pp. 2-3]. "As *the accumulation of stock is previously necessary* for carrying on this great improvement in the productive powers of labour, so that accumulation naturally leads to this improvement. *The person who employs his stock in maintaining labour*, necessarily wishes to employ it in such a manner as to produce as great a quantity of work as possible. He endeavours, therefore, both to make among his workmen the most proper distribution of employment, and to furnish them with the best machines which he can either invent or afford to purchase. His abilities, in both these respects, are generally in proportion to the extent of his stock, or to the number of people whom it can employ. *The quantity of industry*, therefore, *not only increases in every country with the increase of the stock* which employs it, but, *in consequence of that increase*, the same *quantity of industry produces a much greater quantity of work*" ([Garnier,] pp. 194-95) [Vol. II, p. 3].

Adam Smith treats the objects which are already in the fund for consumption in exactly the same way as PRODUCTIVE and UNPRODUCTIVE LÁBOUR. FOR INSTANCE:

"A dwelling-house, as such, contributes nothing to the revenue of its inhabitant; and though it is, no doubt, extremely useful to him, it is as his clothes and household furniture are useful to him, which, however, make a part of his expense, and not of his revenue" ([Garnier,] l.c., t. II, l. II, ch. I, pp. 201, 202) [Vol. II, p. 9]. On the other hand, fixed capital includes "all those profitable buildings which are the means of procuring a revenue, not only to their proprietor who lets them for a rent, but to the person who possesses them, and pays that rent for them; such as shops, warehouses, workhouses, farm-houses, with all their necessary buildings, stables, granaries, etc. These are very different from mere dwelling-houses. They are a sort of instruments of trade" ([Garnier,] l.c., l. II,[a] ch. I, pp. 203, 204) [Vol. II, p. 11].

"All such improvements in mechanics, as enable the same number of workmen to perform an equal quantity of work with cheaper and simpler machinery than had been usual before, are always regarded as advantageous to every society. A certain quantity of materials, and [the labour] of a certain number of workmen, which had before been employed in supporting a more complex and expensive machinery, can now be applied to augment the quantity of work which that or any other machinery is useful only for performing" ([Garnier,] l.c., t. II, l. II, ch. II, pp. 216, 217) [Vol. II, pp. 20-21].

"The whole expense of maintaining the *fixed capital* is ... necessarily excluded from the neat revenue of the society" ([Garnier,] l.c., t. II, l. II, ch. II, p. 218) [Vol. II, p. 21]. "Every saving, therefore, in the expense of maintaining the *fixed capital*, which does not diminish the productive powers of labour, must increase the fund which puts industry into motion, and consequently the annual produce of

[a] The manuscript has "1. I".—*Ed.*

land and labour, the real revenue of every society" ([Garnier,] l.c., t. II, l. II, ch. II, pp. 226, 227) [Vol. II, p. 28].

Metallic money forced out of the country by bank-notes and by paper money in general—if spent "in purchasing foreign goods for home consumption"—buys either luxury products such as foreign wines, foreign silks, etc., in a word, "goods ... likely to be consumed by *idle people*, who produce nothing ... or ... they may purchase *an additional stock of materials, tools, and provisions, in order to maintain and employ an additional number of industrious people, who reproduce, with a profit, the value of their annual consumption*" ([Garnier,] t. II, l. II, ch. II, pp. 231, 232) [Vol. II, p. 32].[a]

The first manner OF EMPLOYMENT, says Smith, promotes prodigality, "increases expense and consumption, without increasing production, or establishing any permanent fund for supporting that expense, and is in every respect hurtful to the society" ([Garnier,] l.c., t. II, p. 232) [Vol. II, p. 32].[a] On the other hand "employed in the second way, it promotes industry; and though it increases the consumption of the society, it provides a permanent fund for supporting that consumption; *the people who consume reproducing, with a profit, the whole value of their annual consumption*" ([Garnier,] t. II, l. II, ch. II, p. 232) [Vol. II, p. 33].

"The quantity of industry which any capital can employ, must evidently be equal to the number of workmen whom it can supply with materials, tools, and a maintenance suitable to the nature of the work" ([Garnier,] l.c.,l. II, ch. II, p. 235) [Vol. II, p. 34].

[IX-396] In *Book II, Ch. III* ([Garnier,] l.c., t. II, p. 314 sqq.) [Vol. II, p. 96 sqq.] we find:

"Both productive and unproductive labourers, and those who do not labour at all, are all equally maintained by the annual produce of the land and labour of the country. This produce ... must have certain limits. According, therefore, as a smaller or greater proportion of it is in any one year employed in maintaining unproductive hands, the more in the one case, and the less in the other, will remain for the productive, and the next year's produce will be greater or smaller accordingly....

"Though the whole annual produce of the land and labour of every country is ... ultimately destined for supplying the consumption of its inhabitants, and for procuring a revenue to them; *yet when it first* comes either from the ground, or from the hands of the productive labourers, it naturally divides itself into two parts. One of them, and frequently the largest, is, in the first place, destined for *replacing a capital, or for renewing the provisions, materials, and finished work*, which had been withdrawn from a capital; the other for constituting a revenue either to the owner of this capital, as the profit of his stock, or to some other person, as the rent of his land....

"*That part of the annual produce of the land and labour of any country which replaces a capital*, never is immediately employed to maintain any but productive hands. It pays the wages of productive labour only. That which is immediately destined for constituting a revenue ... may maintain indifferently either productive or unproductive hands....

"Unproductive labourers, and those who do not labour at all, are all maintained *by revenue*; either, first, by that part of the annual produce which is originally destined for constituting a revenue to some particular persons, either as the

[a] Marx quotes Smith partly in French, partly in German.—*Ed.*

revenue[a] of land, or as the profits of stock; or, secondly, by that part which, though originally destined for replacing a capital, and for maintaining productive labourers only, yet when it comes into their hands, whatever part of it is over and above their necessary subsistence, may be employed in maintaining indifferently either productive or unproductive hands. Thus even the common workman, if his wages are considerable, may maintain a menial servant; or he may sometimes go to a play or a puppet-show, and so contribute his share towards maintaining one set of unproductive labourers; or finally he may pay some taxes, and thus help to maintain another set ... equally unproductive. No part of the annual produce, however, which had been originally destined to replace a capital, is ever directed towards maintaining unproductive hands, till after it has put into motion its full complement of productive labour.... The workman must have earned his wages by work done, before he can employ any part of them in this manner.... The rent of land and the profits of stock are everywhere ... the principal sources from which unproductive hands derive their subsistence." These two sorts of revenue "might both maintain indifferently, either productive or unproductive hands. They seem, however, to have some predilection for the latter....

"The proportion, therefore, between the productive and unproductive hands, depends very much in every country upon the proportion between that part of the annual produce, which, as soon as it comes either from the ground, or from the hands of the productive labourers, is destined for replacing a capital, and that which is destined for constituting a revenue, either as rent or as profit. This proportion is very different in rich from what it is in poor countries."

Smith then contrasts

the "very large, frequently the largest, portion of the produce of the land" which "in the opulent countries of Europe *is destined for replacing the capital of the rich and independent farmer*" with "the prevalency of the feudal government", when "a very small portion of the produce was sufficient to replace the capital employed in cultivation...".

It is the same with commerce and manufactures. Large capitals are now employed in them, formerly very small capitals, but they "yielded very large profits. The rate of interest was nowhere less than 10 per cent, and their profits must have been sufficient to afford this great interest. At present, the rate of interest, in the improved parts of Europe, is nowhere higher than 6 per cent; and in some of the most improved, it is so low as 4, 3, and 2 per cent. Though that part of the revenue of the inhabitants which is derived from the profits of stock, is always much greater in rich than in poor countries, it is because the stock is much greater; in proportion to the stock, the profits are generally much less.

"That part of the annual produce, therefore, which, as soon as it comes either from the ground, or from the hands of the productive labourers, is destined for replacing a [IX-397] capital, is not only much greater in rich than in poor countries, but bears a much greater proportion to that which is immediately destined for constituting a revenue either as rent or as profit. The funds destined for the maintenance of productive labour are not only much greater in the former than in the latter, but bear a much greater proportion to those which, though they may be employed to maintain either productive or unproductive hands, have generally a predilection for the latter."[b]

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[a] Smith has "rent" here.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes Smith partly in French, partly in German, with some alterations.— *Ed.*

(Smith falls into the error of identifying the size of the productive capital with the *size of that part of it* which is destined to provide subsistence for productive labour. But IN FACT large-scale industry, as he knew it, was as yet only in its beginnings.)

"The proportion between those different funds necessarily determines in every country the general character of the inhabitants as to industry or idleness." Thus he says for example: in English and Dutch manufacturing towns "where the inferior ranks of people are chiefly maintained by the employment of capital, they are in general industrious, sober, and thriving". On the other hand, in "towns which are principally supported by the residence of a court, and in which the inferior ranks of people are chiefly maintained by the spending of revenue, they are in general idle, dissolute, and poor; as at Rome, Versailles",[a] etc.

"The proportion between the sum of capitals and that of revenue, therefore, seems everywhere to regulate the proportion between industry and idleness. Wherever capital predominates, industry prevails: wherever revenue, idleness. *Every increase or diminution of capital*, therefore, naturally tends to increase or diminish the real quantity of industry, the number of productive hands, and consequently the exchangeable value of the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, the real wealth and revenue of all its inhabitants....

"What is annually saved is as regularly consumed as what is annually spent, and nearly in the same time too; but it is consumed by a different set of people. The first portion of revenue by idle guests and menial servants, who leave nothing behind them in return for their consumption. The second [portion] by labourers[b] who reproduce, with a profit, the value of their annual consumption.... The consumption is the same, but the consumers are different...."[c]

Hence Smith's homilies (further on [Garnier,] l.c., l. II, ch. III, pp. 328, 329 sqq.) [Vol. II, pp. 107, 108, 109] on

the frugal man, who by his annual savings provides something like a public workhouse for an additional number of productive hands, and thus "establishes, as it were, a perpetual fund for the maintenance of an equal number of productive hands", while the prodigal diminishes "the funds destined for the employment of productive labour.... If the quantity of food and clothing, which were thus" (as a result of the prodigal's prodigality) "consumed by unproductive, had been distributed among productive hands, they would have *reproduced, together with a profit*, the full value of their consumption...".[d]

The conclusion of this moral tale is that these (frugality and prodigality) average out among private individuals, that IN FACT "*la sagesse*"[e] prevails.

Great nations "are never impoverished by private, though they sometimes are by public prodigality and misconduct. The whole, or almost the whole public

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[a] Marx quotes Smith partly in French, partly in German, with some alterations.— *Ed.*

[b] Smith has "labourers, manufacturers, and artificers".— *Ed.*

[c] Marx quotes Smith partly in French, partly in German, with some alterations.— *Ed.*

[d] Marx quotes Smith partly in French, partly in German.— *Ed.*

[e] Wisdom.— *Ed.*

revenue is, in most countries, employed in maintaining unproductive hands. [These include] the people of the court (p. 336) [Vol. II, p. 113], the church, fleets and armies, who in time of peace produce nothing, and in time of war acquire nothing which can compensate the expense of maintaining them, even while the war lasts. *Such people, as they themselves* produce nothing, *are all maintained by the produce of other men's labour.* When multiplied, therefore, to an unnecessary number, they may in a particular year consume so great a share of this produce, as not to leave a sufficiency for maintaining the productive labourers, who should reproduce it next year..." [Garnier, t. II, pp. 314-36] [Vol. II, pp. 113-14].[14]

*Book II, Ch. IV*:

"The demand for productive labour, by the increase of the funds which are destined for maintaining it, grows every day greater and greater. Labourers easily find [IX-398] employment, but the owners of capitals find it difficult to get labourers to employ. Their competition raises the wages of labour, and sinks the profits of stock" ([Garnier,] l.c., t. II, p. 359) [Vol. II, p. 132].

In Book II, Ch. V ([Garnier,] t. II, p. 369 sqq.) [Vol. II, p. 141 et seq.] "Of the Different Employment of Capitals", Smith classifies them according as they employ more or less productive labour, and, CONSEQUENTLY, raise "the exchangeable value" of the annual product. First *agriculture.* Then *manufacture.* Then *commerce,* and finally *retail trade.* This is the order of precedence in which they *mettent en activité des quantités de travail productif.*[a] Here too we get a completely new definition of productive labourers:

"The persons whose capitals are employed in any of those four ways, are themselves *productive labourers.* Their labour, when properly directed, fixes and realises itself in the subject or vendible commodity upon which it is bestowed, and generally adds to its price the value at least of their own maintenance and consumption" ([Garnier,] l.c., p. 374) [Vol. II, p. 146].

//On the whole he sees their productivity in the fact that they put into motion productive labour.//

He says of *the farmer*:

"No equal capital puts into motion a greater quantity of *productive labour* than that of the farmer. Not only his labouring servants, but *his labouring cattle are productive labourers*" [Garnier, t. II, p. 376] [Vol. II, p. 148].

So in the end the ox too is a productive labourer.

*Lauderdale* (Earl of): *An Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Public Wealth etc.,* London, 1804. (The French translation: *Recherches sur la nature et l'origine de la richesse publique etc.* by *Lagentie de Lavaïsse,* Paris, 1808).

Lauderdale's apologetic justification of profit will be examined only later on, in Section III.[29] It regards profit as arising from capitals themselves, because they "*supplant*" labour. They are paid

[a] Set in motion quantities of productive labour.— *Ed.*

for doing what otherwise, without them, the hand of man would have to do, or could not do at all.

("Now it will be seen that the profit of capital always derives either from its supplanting a portion of labour which would otherwise have to be performed by the hand of man; or from its performing a portion of labour which is beyond the reach of the personal exertion of man to accomplish" (p. 119) [p. 161].)[a]

The "Earl" is a great enemy of Smith's doctrine of accumulation and saving. Also of his distinction between *productive* and *unproductive labourers*; but according to him what Smith calls "productive powers of labour" are only the "productive power of capital". He flatly denies the derivation of SURPLUS VALUE put forward by Smith, on the following grounds:

"If this, however, was a just and accurate idea of the profit of capital, it would follow that the profit of stock must be a derivative, and not an original source of wealth[b]; and capital could not therefore be considered as a source of wealth, its profit being only a transfer from the pocket of the labourer into that of the proprietor of stock" (l.c., pp. 116-17) [pp. 157-58].[c]

It is clear that on these premisses he picks on the most superficial points in his polemic against Smith. Thus he says:

"Thus the same labour may appear either productive or unproductive, according to the use subsequently made of the commodity on which it was bestowed. If my cook, e.g., makes a tart which I immediately consume, he is considered as an unproductive labourer; and the act of making the tart is unproductive labour; because that service has perished at the moment of its performance; but if the same labour is performed in a pastry cook's shop, it becomes productive labour" (l.c., p. 110) [pp. 149-50].

(*Garnier* has the copyright in this argument, as his edition and notes on Smith appeared in 1802, two years before Lauderdale.)

"This extraordinary distinction, founded on the mere durability of the services performed, classes as unproductive labourers some of those who are occupied in rendering the most important services to society. Thus the sovereign, and all who are employed in the maintenance of religion, the justice, or the defence of the State, as well as those whose skill ... are occupied in superintending the health and education of the society, are alike deemed unproductive labourers" (l.c., pp. [110-]111) [p. 151]. (Or, as Adam Smith [Garnier,] t. II, l. II, ch. III, p. 313) [Vol. II, p. 95] presents the elegant sequence: "churchmen, lawyers, physicians, men of letters of all kinds; players, buffoons, musicians, opera-singers, opera-dancers, etc.") "If exchangeable value is to be considered as the basis of wealth,—it is needless to use much argument to explain the errors of this doctrine. [IX-399] The practice of mankind, in estimating these services, if we can judge by what is paid for them, bears sufficient testimony of its inaccuracy" [pp. 151-52].

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[a] The page references in square brackets are to the English edition mentioned by Marx above.—*Ed.*

[b] Lauderdale has "revenue".—*Ed.*

[c] Marx quotes Lauderdale partly in German, partly in French.—*Ed.*

Further:

"The labour of the manufacturer fixes and realises itself in some vendible commodity.... Neither the *labour performed by the menial servant*, nor that of which the necessity is supplanted by circulating capital," //by this he means *money*// "do naturally stock, or store themselves up in such a manner as to be transferred from one to another for a defined value. The profit of the one and the other alike arises from *saving the labour of the owner* or master. The similarity is indeed such, that it is natural to suppose the same circumstances which led the one to be deemed unproductive, would naturally create the same impression with relation to the other" //and thereupon he quotes Smith, l. II, ch. II,[64]// (Lauderdale, l.c., pp. 144-45) [pp. 195-97].

Thus we would have the succession: Ferrier, Garnier, Lauderdale, Ganilh. The latter phrase about the "*saving of labour*"[a] is particularly hard ridden by *Tocqueville.*

After Garnier appeared the inane Jean Baptiste Say's *Traité d'économie politique.* He reproaches Smith in that

"he refuses the name of *products* to the *results* of these activities.[b] He gives the labour spent on them the name *unproductive*" (3rd ed., [Vol. I,] p. 117).

Smith does not at all deny that "these activities" produce a "result", a "product" of some kind. He even expressly mentions

"the protection, security, and defence of the commonwealth" as "the effect of their labour this year" (the labour of the servants of the public) (*Smith*, [Garnier,] t. II, l. II, ch. III, p. 313) [Vol. II, p. 95].

Say for his part sticks to Smith's secondary definition, that

these "services" and their product "generally perish in the very instant of their performance", "in the very instant of their production" (Smith, l.c.).[c]

Mr. Say calls these consumed "services", or their products, results—in a word, their use value—

"immaterial products or values, which are consumed in the instant of their production" [p. 116].

Instead of calling them "unproductive", he calls them "productive of immaterial products". He gives them another name. But then he declares further:

"that they do not serve to augment the national capital" (Vol. I, p. 119). "A nation in which there were a multitude of musicians, priests and officials, might be pleasantly entertained, well educated and governed admirably well, but that would be all. Its capital would not receive any direct increase from all the labour of these industrious men, because their products would be consumed as fast as they were created" (l.c., p. 119).

Thus Mr. Say declares these labours to be *unproductive* in the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 80, 193.—*Ed.*

[b] E.g., those of the physician, actor, etc.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 19.—*Ed.*

most restricted sense used by Smith. But at the same time he wants to appropriate Garnier's "step forward". Hence he invents a new name for unproductive labours. This is his kind of originality, his kind of productivity and way of making discoveries. And with his customary logic, he refutes himself again. He says:

"It is impossible to accept the view of Mr. Garnier, who concludes from the fact that the labour of physicians, lawyers and other similar persons is productive, that it is as advantageous for a nation to increase it as any other labour" (l.c., p. 120).

And why not, if one kind of labour is as productive as the other, and the increase of productive labour is in general "advantageous for a nation"? Why is it not as advantageous to increase this kind of labour as any other? Because, Say replies with his characteristic profundity, because it is not at all advantageous to increase productive labour of any kind above the need for this labour. But then surely Garnier is right. For it is equally advantageous—that is, equally disadvantageous—to increase the one kind of labours as to increase the other kind above a certain quantity.

"The case is the same," Say continues, "as with physical labour expended on a product beyond what is necessary to make it."

(Not more joiner's labour should be employed to make a table than is necessary for the production of the table. Or to patch up a sick body, not more than is necessary to cure it. So LAWYERS and physicians should perform only the necessary labour for the production of their immaterial product.)

"The labour which is productive of immaterial products, *like all other labour*, is only productive up to the point at which it increases the utility, and consequently the value"

(that is, the use value, but Say mistakes the utility for the exchange value)

"of a product: beyond this point, it is a purely unproductive labour" (l.c., p. 120).

Say's logic is therefore this:

It is *not so useful* for a nation to increase the "producers of immaterial products" as to increase the producers of material products. *Proof*: it is absolutely useless to increase the producers of any kind of product, whether material or immaterial, beyond what is necessary. *Therefore* it is more useful to increase the useless producers of material products than those of immaterial products. It does not follow in both cases that it is useless to increase these producers, but only the producers of a particular kind in their corresponding branch of production.

[According to Say,] too many material products cannot [IX-400] be produced, nor can too many immaterial. But *variatio delectat.*[a] So different kinds must be produced in both departments. And moreover Mr. Say teaches:

"Sluggishness in the sale of some products arises from the scarcity of some others" [l.c., p. 438].

Therefore there can never be too many tables produced, but at most perhaps too few dishes to be put on the tables. If physicians increase too much in number, what is wrong is not that their SERVICES are available in superfluity, but perhaps that the SERVICES of other producers of immaterial products are in short supply—for example, prostitutes (see l.c., p. 123, where the industries of street-porters, prostitutes, etc., are grouped together, and where Say ventures to assert that the "apprenticeship" for a prostitute "amounts to nothing").

In the end, the scales come down on the side of the "unproductive labourers". With given conditions of production, it is known exactly how many labourers are needed to make a table, how great the quantity of a particular kind of labour must be in order to make a particular product. With many "immaterial products" this is not the case. The quantity of labour required to achieve a particular result is as CONJECTURAL as the result itself. Twenty priests together perhaps bring about the conversion that one fails to make; 6 physicians consulting together perhaps discover the remedy that one alone cannot find. In a bench of judges perhaps more justice is produced than by a single judge who has no control but himself. The number of soldiers required to protect a country, of police to keep up order in it, of officials "to govern it" well, etc.—all these things are problematical and are very often discussed for example in the English Parliament; although how much spinning labour is needed to spin 1,000 lbs of twist is known very exactly in England. As for other "productive" labourers of this kind, the concept of them includes the fact that the utility which they produce depends only on their number, consists in their number itself. For example, lackeys, who should bear witness to their MASTER's wealth and elegance. The greater the number of them, the greater the effect they are supposed to "produce". Thus Mr. Say sticks to his point: "unproductive labourers" can never be sufficiently increased in numbers.

*Mr. G. Garnier* had published in Paris in 1796 *Abrégé élémentaire des principes de l'économie politique.* Along with the Physiocratic view

[a] A change is diverting.—*Ed.*

that agriculture alone is productive another is to be found (which to a great extent explains his polemic against Adam Smith), namely, that consumption (strongly represented by the "unproductive labourers") is the source of production, and that the volume of the latter is to be measured by the volume of the former. The unproductive labourers satisfy artificial needs and consume material products, and are thus in every way useful. He also polemises, therefore, against economy (thrift). On p. xiii of his preface we find:

"The fortune of an individual is enlarged by saving; the public fortune, *on the contrary*, derives its increase from the increase of consumption."

And on p. 240, in the chapter on public debts:

"The improvement and extension of agriculture and consequently the progress of industry and commerce have *no other cause* than the extension of artificial needs."

From this he concludes that public debts are a good thing, in that they increase these needs.[a]

Le comte Destutt de Tracy: *Élémens d'idéologie, IV^e et V^e parties. Traité de la volonté et de ses effets*, Paris, 1826 ([First edition] 1815).

"All useful labour is really productive, and the whole labouring class of society equally deserves the name *productive*" (p. 87).

But in this productive class he distinguishes

"the labouring class which *directly produces* all our wealth" (p. 88)

—that is, what Smith calls THE PRODUCTIVE LABOURERS.

As against these, the *sterile* class consists of the rich, who consume their rent of land or rent on money. They are the *idle class*.

"The real *sterile* class is the class of idlers, who do nothing but live what is called *nobly* on the products of labours performed before them, whether these products are realised in landed property which they farm out, that is to say, which they *lease* to a labourer, or whether they consist in money or goods that they lend for a return, which also means to *lease* them. Those are the real drones of the hive (*fruges consumere nati*[b])" (p. 87); these idlers "can expend nothing but their *revenue*. If they break into [IX-401] their funds, nothing replaces them; and their consumption, increased for the moment, ceases for ever" (p. 237).

"This *revenue* is ... only a deduction from the products of activity of the industrious citizens" (p. 236).

How then does it stand with the labourers whom these idlers

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[a] Marx wrote this sentence in French. See this volume, pp. 35, 79-84, 94-97.—*Ed.*

[b] Born to consume the fruits (Horace, *Epistolae*, Liber primus, Epistola II, 27).—*Ed.*

directly employ? In so far as they consume commodities, they do not consume actual labour, but the products of the productive labourers. Here therefore we are dealing with labourers for whose labour the idlers directly exchange their revenue, that is, with labourers who draw their wages directly from revenue, not from capital.

"Since the men to whom it" (the revenue) "belongs are idle, it is obvious that they *do not direct any productive labour.* All these labourers whom they pay are intended only to procure some enjoyment for them. No doubt these enjoyments are of different kinds.... The expenditure of all this class of men ... feeds a numerous population whose existence it makes possible, but one whose labour is completely sterile.... Some of it may be more or less fruitful, e.g. the construction of a house, the improvement of a landed estate; but these are particular cases when for the time being they cause productive labour to be performed.[65] Apart from these minor exceptions, the whole consumption of this species of capitalists is absolutely pure loss from the standpoint of reproduction, and an equally great diminution of the wealth that has been acquired" (p. 236).[a]

//Real political economy *à la* Smith treats the CAPITALIST only as personified capital, *M—C—M,* agent of production. But who is to consume the products? The labourers?—*Quod non.*[b] The capitalist himself? Then he is acting as a big idle consumer and not as a capitalist. The owners of land and money rents? They do not reproduce their consumption, and thereby are harmful to wealth. Nevertheless, there are also two correct aspects in this contradictory view, which regards the capitalist only as a real hoarder, not an illusory one like the hoarder proper: 1) capital (and hence the capitalist, its personification) is treated only as an agent for the development of the productive forces and of production; 2) it expresses the standpoint of emerging capitalist society, to which what matters is exchange value, not use value; wealth, not enjoyment. The enjoyment of wealth seems to it a superfluous luxury, until it itself learns to combine exploitation and consumption and to subordinate itself to the enjoyment of wealth.//

"To find how these revenues" (on which the idlers live) "have been formed it is always necessary to go back to the *industrial capitalists*" (p. 237, note).

The *industrial capitalists*—the 2nd sort of capitalists—

"include all the entrepreneurs in any industry whatever, that is to say, all the persons who, *having capitals,* ... employ their talent and their labour in turning them to account themselves instead of hiring them to others, and who consequently live neither on wages nor on revenues but on *profits*" (p. 237).

In Destutt it is quite clear—as with Adam Smith before him—that what on the surface is glorification of the productive

[a] Marx quotes Destutt partly in German, partly in French.—*Ed.*
[b] But they don't.—*Ed.*

labourer is in fact only glorification of the *industrial capitalist* in contrast to LANDLORDS and SUCH MONIED CAPITALISTS as live only on their revenue.

"They have ... in their hands almost all the wealth of society.... It is not only the income from this wealth that they spend annually, but even the fund itself, and sometimes many times in the year, when the course of business is rapid enough to make this possible. For since in their capacity as industrialists they spend only in order that the money shall come back to them with a profit, the more they can do so on this condition, the greater their profits" (pp. 237-38).

As for their personal consumption, it is the same as that of the idle capitalists. But it is

"in total moderate, because industrialists are usually unassuming" (p. 238). But it is different with their industrial consumption, "it is nothing less than final; it returns to them with profits" (l.c.). Their profit must be large enough not only for their "personal consumption, but also" for "the rent of land and the interest on money which they obtain from the idle capitalists" ([p.] 238).

Destutt is right on this. Rents of land and interest on money are only "*deductions*" from industrial profit, portions of the latter given by the industrial capitalist from his gross profit to LANDLORDS and MONEYED CAPITALISTS.

"The revenues of the rich idlers are only rents taken from industry; it is industry alone that creates them" (p. 248). The industrial capitalists "rent their" (that is, the idle capitalists') "land, their houses and their money, and they make use of them in such a way as to *draw profits* from them *higher than this rent*" [p. 237]. That is, the rent which they pay to the idlers, which therefore is only a part of this profit. This rent that they thus pay to the idlers is "the sole revenue of these idlers and the sole fund for their annual expenditures" (p. 238).

Up to here, ALL RIGHT. But how then does it stand with the *wage labourers* (the productive labourers, who are employed by the industrial capitalists)?

"These have no other treasure but their everyday labour. This labour obtains wages for them.... But whence come these wages? It is clear that they come from the properties of those [IX-402] to whom the wage labourers *sell their labour*, that is to say, from the funds which are in their possession beforehand, and which are *nothing but the accumulated products of labours previously performed*. It follows from this that the consumption paid for by this wealth is the consumption of the wage labourers, in the sense that it is they whom it maintains, but at bottom it is *not they who pay it*, or at least they only pay for it *with funds existing beforehand in the hands of those who employ them*. Their consumption should therefore be regarded as having been made by those who hire them. They only receive with one hand and return with the other.... It is therefore necessary to regard not only all that they" (the wage labourers) "spend but even all that they receive as the real expenditure and *consumption of those who buy their* labour. That is so true that in order to see whether this consumption is more or less destructive of wealth that has been acquired, or even if it tends to increase it ... it is necessary to know *what use the capitalists make of the labour that they buy*" (pp. 234-35).

VERY WELL. And whence come the profits of the entrepreneurs which enable them to pay revenue to themselves and to the idle capitalists, etc.?

"I will be asked how these industrial entrepreneurs can make such large profits, and whence they can draw them? I reply that *it is through their selling everything that they produce at a higher price than it has cost them to produce*" (p. 239).

And to whom do they sell everything at a higher price than it costs them?

"They sell it,

"1) to themselves, for the whole part of their consumption destined for the satisfaction of their needs, which they pay for with a portion of their profits;

"2) to the wage labourers, both those whom they pay and those paid by the idle capitalists; in this way *they draw back from these labourers their total wages*, apart from any small economies which these may be able to make;

"3) to the idle capitalists, *who pay them with the part of their revenue* which they have not already given to the labourers directly employed by them, so that all the rent which they annually pay to the idle capitalists comes back to them in one or other of these ways" (l.c., [p.] 239).

Let us now have a look at these 3 categories of sales.

1) The industrial capitalists themselves consume *one part* of their product (or profit). They cannot possibly enrich themselves by swindling themselves and selling their products to themselves *at a dearer price* than they themselves have *paid* for them. Nor can any one of them swindle the others in this way. If A sells his product, which the industrial capitalist B consumes, at too dear a price, then B sells his product, which the industrial capitalist A consumes, at too dear a price. It is the same thing as if A and B had sold their products to each other at their real value. Category 1 shows us how the capitalists spend a part of their profit; it does not show us whence they draw the profit. In any case they make no profit by "*selling to one another* everything that they produce *at a higher price* than it has cost them to produce".

2) They can likewise draw no profit from the part of the product which they sell to their labourers *above the production costs*. It is presupposed that the whole consumption of the labourers is IN FACT "the consumption of those who buy their labour". Moreover Destutt rubs this in by remarking that the capitalists, by selling their products to the wage labourers (their own and those of the idle capitalists), only "draw back their total wages". And in fact not even the total, but after deducting their economies. It is all the same whether they sell the products to them cheap or dear, since they always only get back what they have given them, and, as said above, the wage labourers only "receive with one hand and return with the other". First the capitalist pays *money* to the

labourer as wages. Then he sells him his product "too dear", and by so doing draws the money back again. But as the labourer cannot pay back to the capitalist more money than he has received from him, so the capitalist can *never* sell his products to him *dearer* than he has *paid* him for his labour. He can always only get back from him as much money for the sale of his products as the money he has given him for his labour. Not a farthing more. How then can his money increase through this "circulation"?

[IX-403] In addition to this, there is another absurdity in Destutt. Capitalist C pays the labourer L a weekly wage of £1, and then draws back the £1 for himself again by selling him commodities for £1. By this means, Tracy thinks, he has drawn back to himself the total of the wages paid. But first he gives the labourer £1. And then he gives him commodities for £1. So what in fact he has given him is £2: £1 in commodities and £1 in money. Of this £2, he takes back £1 in the form of money. Therefore in fact he has not drawn back a FARTHING of the £1 wage. And if he intended to enrich himself by this kind of "drawing back" the wages (instead of by the labourer giving him back in labour what he advanced to him in commodities), he would soon come to his senses.

Here, therefore, the noble Destutt confuses the circulation of money with the real circulation of commodities. Because the capitalist, instead of giving the labourer directly commodities to the value of £1, gives him £1, with which the labourer then decides as he likes which commodities he wants to buy, and returns to the capitalist in the form of money the draft he had given him on his merchandise—after he, the labourer, has appropriated his aliquot share of the merchandise—Destutt imagines that the capitalist "draws back" the wages,[a] because the same piece of money flows back to him. And on the same page Mr. Destutt remarks that the phenomenon of circulation is "*mal connu*"[b] (p. 239). Totally unknown to himself, at any rate. If Destutt had not explained "the drawing back of the total wages"[a] in this peculiar way, the nonsense might at least have been conceivable in a way we shall mention now.

(But before that, a further illustration of his sapience. If I go into a shop and the shopkeeper gives me £1 and I then use this £1 to buy commodities to the value of £1 in his shop, he then draws back the £1 again. No one will assert that he has enriched

[a] See this volume, p. 170.—*Ed.*
[b] Little known.—*Ed.*

himself by this operation. Instead of £1 in money and £1 in commodities he now has only £1 in money left. Even if his commodity was only worth 10s. and he sold it to me for £1, in this case too he is 10s. poorer than he was before the sale, even though he has drawn back the whole of one pound sterling.)

If C, the capitalist, gives the labourer £1 wages, and afterwards sells him commodities to the value of 10s. for £1, he would certainly have made a profit of 10s. because he had sold the commodities to the labourer 10s. too dear. But from Mr. Destutt's point of view even so it could not be understood how any profit from this transaction arises for C. (The profit arises from the fact that he has paid him less wages—in fact has given the labourer a smaller aliquot part of the product in exchange for his labour—than he gives him *nominally*.) If he gave the labourer 10s. and sold his commodity for 10s., he would be just as rich as if he gives him £1 and sells him his 10s. commodity for £1. Moreover, Destutt bases his argument on the assumption of necessary wages. In the best case any profit here would only be explained by the labourer having been cheated over his wages.

This CASE 2 therefore shows that Destutt has absolutely forgotten what a productive labourer is, and has not the slightest idea of the source of profit. At most it could be said that the capitalist makes a profit by raising the price of the products above their value, in so far as he sells them not to his own wage labourers but to the wage labourers of idle capitalists. But since the consumption of unproductive labourers is in fact only a part of the consumption of idle capitalists, we come now to case 3.

3) The industrial capitalist sells his products "too dear", above their value, to the

> "idle capitalists, who pay him with the part of their revenue which they have not already given to the labourers directly employed by them, so that all the rent which they annually pay to the idle capitalists comes back to them" (the industrial capitalists) "in one or other of these ways".

Here again there is the childish conception of the rent, etc., coming back, as there was above of the drawing back of the total wages. For example, C pays £100 rent of land or interest on money to I (the idle capitalist). The £100 are means of payment for C. They are means of purchase for I, who with them draws £100 of commodities from C's warehouse. Thus the £100 return to C as the transformed form of his commodity. But he has £100 less in commodities than before. Instead of giving them direct to I, he has given him £100 in money, with which the latter buys £100 of his commodities. But he buys these £100 worth of commodities with C's

money, not with his own funds. And Tracy imagines that in this way the rent which C has paid over to I comes back to C. What imbecility! First absurdity.

Secondly, Destutt himself has told us that rent of land and interest on money are only deductions from the industrial capitalist's profit, and therefore only quotas of profit given away to the idler. On the assumption that C drew back this whole quota [IX-404] to himself by some sort of trick, though not in one or other of the ways DESCRIBED BY TRACY—in other words, that capitalist C paid no rent at all, neither to the LANDLORD nor to the MONIED capitalist—he would retain his *whole* profit, but the question is precisely how to explain *whence* he derived the profit, how he has made it, how it arose. As this cannot be explained by his *having* or *retaining* it without giving a quota of it to LANDLORD and MONIED capitalist, just as little can it be explained by the fact that the quota of profit which he has given away to the idler under one category or another is entirely or partially, in one way or another, dragged back by him from the hand of the idler into his own hand again. Second absurdity![a]

Let us disregard these absurdities. C has to pay I—the idler—rent to the amount of £100 for the land or the capital that he has rented (*loué*) from him. He pays the £100 out of profit (whence the latter arises we do not yet know). Then he sells his products to I, which are consumed either by I directly or through his RETAINERS (the unproductive wage labourers), and he sells them to him *too dear*, for example, 25% above their value. He sells him products worth £80 for £100. In this transaction C undoubtedly makes a profit of £20. He has given I a draft for £100 worth of commodities. When the latter presents the draft, he gives his commodities only to the value of £80, by fixing the nominal price of his goods 25% above their value. Even if I would be satisfied with consuming commodities worth £80 and paying £100 for them, C's profit could never rise above 25%. The prices and the fraud would be repeated every year. But I wants to consume to the value of £100. If he is a landlord, *que faire*[b]? He mortgages property to C for £25, in exchange for which C gives him

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[a] In the manuscript Marx crossed out the following text here: "'Whence come their revenues to these idle men? Put these two absurdities aside. Is it not from the rent which those who set their capitals to work pay to them *out of their profits*?' (p. 246). Mr. Destutt, therefore, explains the origin of these profits from which rent is paid not by the fact that with this rent products are again bought by the industrialist." The quotation is reproduced on p. 176 of this volume.—*Ed.*

[b] What is he to do?—*Ed.*

commodities worth £20—for he sells his commodities at 25% ($^1/_4$) above their value. If he is a money-lender, he hands over to C £25 of his capital, in exchange for which C gives him commodities worth £20.

Let us assume that the capital (or value of the land) was lent at 5%. Then it amounted to £2,000. Now it amounts to only £1,975. His rents are now £98 $^3/_4$. And so it would go on, with I constantly consuming commodities to the real value of £100, but his rents constantly falling, because in order to have commodities to the value of £100 he must always consume an ever greater part of his capital itself. Thus bit by bit C would get the whole of I's capital into his own hands, and the rents of it together with the capital—that is to say, along with the capital itself he would appropriate that portion of the profit which he makes from borrowed capital. Mr. Destutt evidently has this process in view, for he continues:

"But I will be told, if that is so and if industrial entrepreneurs in effect *reap each year more than they have sown*, in a very short time they must have attracted to themselves *the whole public fortune*, and soon there would be nothing left in a State but wage labourers without funds, and capitalist entrepreneurs. *That is true*, and things would in fact be so if the entrepreneurs or their heirs did not take the course of resting as they grow wealthy, and did not thus continually go to recruit the class of idle capitalists; and even in spite of this frequent emigration, it still happens that when industry has been at work in a country for some time without too great disturbances, its capitals are always being augmented not only because of the growth of the total wealth, but also in a much greater proportion.... It might be added this effect would be felt even more strongly but for the immense levies that all governments impose each year on the industrious class by means of taxes" (pp. 240-41).

And Mr. Destutt is quite right up TO A CERTAIN POINT, although not at all in what he wants to explain. In the period of the declining Middle Ages and rising capitalist production the rapid enrichment of the industrial capitalists is in part to be explained by the direct fleecing of the LANDLORDS. With the fall in the value of money resulting from the discoveries in America, the farmers paid the landlords the old rent in nominal, not in real terms, while the MANUFACTURERS sold them commodities above their value—not just at the higher value of the money. Similarly in all countries, as for example the Asiatic, where the principal revenue of the country is in the hands of LANDLORDS, princes, etc., in the form of rent, the MANUFACTURERS, *few in number* and therefore not restricted by competition, sell them their commodities at monopoly prices, and in this way appropriate a part of their revenue; they enrich themselves [IX-405] not only by selling to them "unpaid" labour, but by selling the commodities at over the quantity of labour contained in them. Only Mr. Destutt is again

wrong if he believes that money-lenders let themselves be fleeced in this way. On the contrary, they SHARE, through the high interest they draw, in those high profits, in that fleecing, directly and indirectly.

The following passage shows that this phenomenon was in Mr. Destutt's mind:

> "One has only to see how weak they" (the industrial capitalists) "were throughout all Europe three or four centuries ago, in comparison with the immense wealth of all the powerful men of those days, and how today they have increased and grown in number, while the others have diminished" (l.c., p. 241).

What Mr. Destutt wanted to explain to us was the *profits* and the *high profits* of industrial capital. He has explained it in two ways. First, because the *money* which these capitalists pay out in the form of wages and rents flows back to them again, since these wages and rents buy products from them. In fact, what this explains is only why they do not pay wages and rents *twice*, first in the form of money, and secondly in the form of commodities to the same amount in money. The second explanation is that they sell their commodities above their price, they sell them *too dear*, first *to themselves*, thus cheating themselves; secondly to the labourers, thus again cheating themselves, as Mr. Destutt tells us that

> the consumption of the wage labourers "should be regarded as having been made by those who hire them" (p. 235);

finally, in the third place, to the *gentlemen living on rents*, whom they fleece, and this would in fact explain why the industrial capitalists always keep for themselves a larger part of their profit, instead of giving it away to the idlers. It would show why the *distribution of the total profit* between the industrial and non-industrial capitalists is increasingly to the advantage of the former at the cost of the latter. It would not help one iota to an understanding of *whence* this *total profit* comes. Let us assume that the industrial capitalists had got the whole of it for themselves, the question remains, where does it come from?

Therefore Destutt has not only given no answer, but he has only revealed that he thinks the reflux of the money is a reflux of the commodity itself. This *reflux of money* means only that the capitalists first pay wages and rents in money, instead of paying them in commodities; that their commodities are bought with this money and hence they have paid in commodities in this roundabout way. This money therefore constantly flows back to them, but only to the extent that commodities to the same money value are definitively taken from them and fall to the share of the consumption of the wage labourers and drawers of rent.

Mr. Destutt (in a really French way—similar exclamations of astonishment about himself are to be found in Proudhon) is altogether astonished at

the "clarity" which this "way of looking at the consumption of our wealth ... sheds on the whole progress of society. Whence comes this consistency and this lucidity? From the fact that we have lighted upon the truth. This recalls the effect of those mirrors in which objects are outlined clearly and in their right proportions when one is in the right spot from which to view them, and in which everything appears confused and disjointed when one is too near or too far" (pp. 242-43).

Later, quite incidentally, Mr. Destutt recalls (from Adam Smith) the real course of things, which however in essence he only repeats as a phrase which he has not understood—as otherwise he (this Member of the Institute of France[66]) would have been unable to shed the streams of light referred to above.

"Whence come their revenues to these idle men? Is it not from the rent which those who *set their capitals to work* pay to them out of their *profits*, that is to say, those who use their funds *to pay labour which produces more than it costs*, in a word, the men of industry?"

(Aha! So the rents (and also their own profits) which the industrial capitalists pay to the idle capitalists for the funds borrowed from the latter come from their using these funds to pay wages to labour "which *produces more than it costs*"; that is to say, therefore, whose product has more value than is paid to them [wage labourers]—in other words, profit comes from what the wage labourers produce over and above what they cost; a surplus product which the industrial capitalist appropriates for himself, and of which he gives away only one part to those receiving rent from land and interest on money.)

Mr. Destutt concludes from this: not that we must go back to these productive labourers, but that we must go back to the capitalists who set them in motion.

"It is these who really maintain even the labourers employed by the others" (p. 246).

To be sure; inasmuch as they directly exploit labour, and the idle capitalists only do it THROUGH THEIR AGENCY. And in this sense it is correct [IX-406] to regard industrial capital as the source of wealth.

"We must therefore always go back to these" (the industrial capitalists) "in order to find the source of all wealth" (p. 246).

"In the course of time, *wealth has accumulated in greater or less quantity, because the result of previous labours has not been entirely consumed as soon as produced.* Some of the possessors of this wealth are content to draw a rent from it and consume it. These are those whom we have called idle. The other more active ones set to work both

their own funds and those which they borrow. They employ them *to pay labour which reproduces them with a profit.*"

//Hence, therefore, not only the reproduction of this fund, but [the production] of the SURPLUS, which forms *profit.* //

"With this profit they pay for their own consumption and defray that of others. By these consumptions themselves" (their own and that of the idlers? Here again the same absurdity) "their funds come back to them somewhat increased, and they start again. That is what constitutes circulation" (pp. 246-47).

The inquiry into the "productive labourer", and the result that only one whose buyer is an industrial capitalist is a productive labourer—one whose labour produces profit for its immediate buyer—led Mr. Destutt to the conclusion that in fact the *industrial capitalists* are *the sole productive labourers* in the higher meaning of the word.

"They who live on profits" (the industrial capitalists) "maintain all the others and alone augment the public fortune and create all our means of enjoyment. That must be so, *because labour is the source of all wealth* and because they alone give a *useful direction to current labour,* by making a *useful application of accumulated labour*" (p. 242).

That they give "a useful direction to current labour" in fact means only that they employ useful labour, labour which results in use values. But that they make "useful application of accumulated labour"—if it is not to mean the same thing again, that they make industrial use of accumulated wealth for the production of use values—means that they make "useful application of accumulated labour" by buying with it more current labour than is contained in it. In the passage just cited Destutt naïvely epitomises the contradictions which make up the essence of capitalist production. Because labour is the source of all wealth, capital is the source of all wealth; the actual propagator of wealth is not he who labours, but he who makes a profit out of another's labour. The productive powers of labour are the productive powers of capital.

"Our faculties are our only original wealth; our labour produces all other wealth, and all labour properly directed is productive" (p. 243).

Hence, according to Destutt, it follows as a matter of course that the industrial capitalists

"maintain all the others and alone augment the public fortune and create all our means of enjoyment".

Our faculties (*facultés*) are our only original wealth, therefore the labour capacity is not wealth. Labour produces all other wealth, that means: it produces wealth for all others except for itself, and it itself is not wealth, but only its product is wealth. All

labour properly directed is productive; that means: all productive labour, all labour which yields profit to the capitalist, is properly directed.

The following remarks of Destutt—which refer not to the *different classes of consumers*, but to the *different nature of the articles of consumption*—are a very good paraphrase of Adam Smith's views in Book II, Ch. III, at the end of which he inquires into what kind of (unproductive) expenditure, that is to say, of individual consumption, consumption of revenue, is more or less advantageous. He opens this inquiry (Garnier, t. II, p. 345) [Vol. II, p. 122] with the words:

"As frugality increases, and prodigality diminishes, the public capital, so the conduct of those whose expense just equals their revenue, without either accumulating or encroaching, neither increases nor diminishes it. Some modes of expense, however, seem to contribute more to the growth of public opulence than others."

Destutt summarises Smith's exposition as follows:

"If consumption is very different according to the kind of consumer, it varies also according to the nature of the things consumed. All indeed represent labour, but its value is fixed more securely in some than in others. As much trouble may have been taken in making a firework as in finding and cutting a diamond, and consequently one may have as much value as the other. But when I have bought, paid for and used both, at the end of half an hour I shall have nothing left of the first, and the second can still be a resource for my grandchildren a century later.... It is the same with what [IX-407] are called" (that is, by Say) "immaterial products. *An invention is of eternal utility.* An intellectual work, a picture also have a utility that is more or less durable, while that of a ball, a concert, a play is instantaneous and disappears immediately. The same can be said of the *personal services* of doctors, lawyers, soldiers, domestic servants, and in general of all who are called *employed persons.* Their utility is that of the moment of need.... The most ruinous consumption is the quickest, because it is that which destroys more labour in the same time, or an equal quantity of labour in less time; in comparison with it, consumption which is slower is a kind of *treasuring up,* since it leaves to times to come the enjoyment of part of the present sacrifices ... everyone knows that it is more economical to get, *for the same price,* a coat that will last three years than a similar one which will only last three months" (pp. 243-44).

Most of the writers who contested Smith's view of productive and unproductive labour regard *consumption* as a necessary spur to production. *For this reason* they regard the *wage labourers* who live on revenue—the unproductive labourers whose hire does not produce wealth, but is itself a new consumption of wealth—as equally productive *even of material wealth* as the productive labourers, since they widen the FIELD OF MATERIAL CONSUMPTION and therewith the FIELD OF PRODUCTION. This was therefore for the most part apologetics from the standpoint of bourgeois economy, partly

for the rich idlers and the "unproductive labourers" whose *services* they consume, partly for "strong governments" whose expenditure is heavy, for the increase of the State debts, for holders of church and State benefices, holders of sinecures, etc. For these "unproductive labourers"—whose services figure in the expenses of the idle rich—all have in common the fact that although they *produce "immaterial products"*, they consume "*material products*", that is, products of the productive labourers.

Other economists, like Malthus, admit the distinction between productive labourers and unproductive, but prove to the industrial capitalist that the latter are as necessary to him as the former, even for the production of material wealth.

To say that production and consumption are identical or that consumption is the purpose of all production or that production is the precondition of all consumption, is of no help in this connection. What—apart from the tendentious purpose—is at the bottom of the whole dispute is rather this:

The labourer's consumption on the average is only equal to his production costs, it is not equal to his output. He therefore produces the whole surplus for others, and so this whole part of his *production* is *production for others*. Moreover, the industrial capitalist who drives the labourer to this *overproduction* (i.e., production over and above his own subsistence needs) and makes use of all expedients to increase it to the greatest extent possible—to increase this relative *overproduction* as distinct from the necessary production—directly appropriates the surplus product for himself. But as personified capital he produces for the sake of production, he wants to accumulate wealth for the sake of the accumulation of wealth. In so far as he is a mere functionary of capital, that is, an agent of capitalist production, what matters to him is exchange value and the increase of exchange value, not use value and its increase. What he is concerned with is the increase of abstract wealth, the rising appropriation of the labour of others. He is dominated by the same absolute drive to enrich himself as the hoarder, except that he does not satisfy it in the illusory form of building up a treasure of gold and silver, but in the creation of capital, which is real production. If the labourer's overproduction is *production for others*, the production of the normal capitalist, of the industrial capitalist as he ought to be, is production for the sake of production. It is true that the more his wealth grows, the more he falls behind this ideal, and becomes extravagant, even if only to show off his wealth. But he is always enjoying wealth with a guilty conscience, with frugality and thrift at the back of his mind. In

spite of all his prodigality he remains, like the hoarder, essentially avaricious.

When Sismondi says that the development of the productive powers of labour makes it possible for the labourer to obtain ever-increasing enjoyments, but that these very enjoyments, if put at his disposal, would make him unfit for labour (as a wage labourer) //Sismondi says:

"Because of the progress made by industry and science, each labourer is able to produce each day much more than he needs to consume. But at the same time as his labour produces wealth, this wealth, if he was called upon to enjoy it, would make him little fitted for labour" (*Nouveaux principes...*, Vol. I, p. 85)//,

it is equally true that the industrial capitalist becomes more or less unable to fulfil his function as soon as he personifies the enjoyment of wealth, as soon as he wants the accumulation of pleasures instead of the pleasure of accumulation.

He is therefore also a producer of *overproduction, production for others.* Over against this overproduction on one side must be placed overconsumption on the other, production for the sake of production must be confronted by consumption for the sake of consumption. What the industrial capitalist has to surrender to landlords, the State, creditors of the State, the church, and so forth, who only consume revenue, [IX-408] is an absolute diminution of his wealth, but it keeps his lust for enrichment going and thus preserves his capitalist soul. If the landlords, money-lenders, etc., were to consume their revenue also in productive instead of unproductive labour, the purpose would not be achieved. They themselves would become industrial capitalists, instead of representing the function of consumption as such. With regard to this point we shall examine later an extremely comical dispute between a Ricardian and a Malthusian.[67]

Production and consumption are *in their nature* inseparable. From this it follows that since in the system of capitalist production they are in fact separated, their unity is restored through their opposition—that if A must produce for B, B must consume for A. Just as we find with every individual capitalist that *pour sa part*[a] he favours prodigality on the part of those who are CO-PARTNERS with him in his revenue, so the older Mercantile system as a whole depends on the idea that a nation must be frugal as regards itself, but must produce luxuries for foreign nations to enjoy. The idea here is always: on the one side, production for production, therefore on the other side consumption of foreign

[a] As to him.—*Ed.*

production. This idea of the Mercantile system is expressed for example by Dr. Paley, *Moral Philosophy*, Vol. II, Ch. XI:

"A laborious, frugal people, ministering to the demands of an opulent, luxurious nations."[68]

"They" (our politicians, Garnier, etc.), says Destutt, "put forward as a general principle that consumption is the cause of production, that therefore it is good for it to be very plentiful. They declare that it is this which constitutes a great difference between public economy and the economy of individuals" (l.c., pp. 249-50).

One more fine phrase:

"*The poor nations* are those where the people are comfortably off; and *the rich nations*, those where the people are generally poor" (l.c., p. 231).

Henri Storch, *Cours d'économie politique etc.*, edited by Jean Baptiste Say, Paris, 1823 (lectures read to Grand Duke Nicholas, concluded in 1815), *Vol. III.*

After Garnier, Storch is in fact the first writer to polemise against Adam Smith's distinction between productive and unproductive labour on a new basis.

He distinguishes the "*internal goods* or the elements of civilisation", with the laws of whose production the "theory of civilisation" has to concern itself, from material goods, component parts of material production (l.c., Vol. III, p. 217).

("It is evident that man only attains to the production of wealth in so far as he is endowed with internal goods, that is to say, in so far as he has developed his physical, intellectual and moral faculties, which implies the means for their development such as *social institutions*, etc. Thus the more civilised a people, the more its national wealth can grow." The reverse is also true (l.c., Vol. I, p. 136).

Against Smith:

"Smith ... excludes from *productive labours* all those which do not contribute *directly* to the production of wealth; but also he only considers the national *wealth*.... His error is not to have distinguished *non-material values from wealth*" (Vol. III, p. 218).[a]

And that is really all there is to it. The distinction between productive labours and unproductive labours is of decisive importance for what Smith was considering: the production of material wealth, and in fact one definite form of that production, the capitalist mode of production. In intellectual production another kind of labour appears as productive. But Smith does not take it into consideration. Finally, the interaction and the inner connection between the two kinds of production also do not fall within the field he is considering; moreover, they can only lead to something more than empty phrases when material production is examined *sub sua propria specie*.[b] In so far as he speaks of workers

[a] Marx quotes Storch partly in French, partly in German.—*Ed.*

[b] In its own form.—*Ed.*

who are not directly productive, this is only to the extent that they participate *directly* in the consumption of material wealth but not in its production.

With Storch himself the *Théorie de la civilisation* does not get beyond trivial phrases, although some ingenious observations slip in here and there—for example, that the material division of labour is the precondition for the division of intellectual labour. How much that *must* be the case, how little he had even *formulated* for himself the task, let alone its solution, is apparent from one *single* circumstance. In order to examine the connection between intellectual [IX-409] production and material production it is above all necessary to grasp the latter itself not as a general category but in *definite historical* form. Thus for example different kinds of intellectual production correspond to the capitalist mode of production and to the mode of production of the Middle Ages. If material production itself is not conceived in its *specific historical* form, it is impossible to understand what is specific in the intellectual production corresponding to it and the reciprocal influence of one on the other. Otherwise one cannot get beyond inanities. This because of the talk about "civilisation".

Further: from the specific form of material production arises in the first place a specific structure of society, in the second place a specific relation of men to nature. Their State system and their intellectual outlook is determined by both. Therefore also the kind of their intellectual production.

*Finally,* under intellectual production Storch also includes all kinds of professional activities of the ruling class, who carry out social functions as business. The existence of these strata, like the function they perform, can only be understood from the specific historical structure of their production relations.

Because Storch does not conceive material production itself *historically*—because he conceives it as production of material goods in general, not as a definite historically developed and specific form of this production—he deprives himself of the basis on which alone can be understood partly the ideological component parts of the ruling class, partly the free intellectual production of this particular social formation. He cannot get beyond meaningless general phrases. Consequently, the relation is not so simple as he presupposes. For instance, capitalist production is hostile to certain branches of intellectual production, for example, art and poetry. If this is left out of account, it opens the way to the illusion of the French in the eighteenth century which has been so beautifully satirised by Lessing.[69] Because we are further ahead than

the ancients in mechanics, etc., why shouldn't we be able to make an epic too? And the *Henriade*[70] in place of the *Iliad*!

Storch, however, rightly stresses—with special reference to Garnier, who was actually the father of *this* attack on Smith—that Smith's opponents had set about it the wrong way.

"What do Smith's critics do? Far from establishing this distinction" (between non-material values and wealth), "they succeed in confusing these two kinds of value that are so evidently different."

(They assert that the production of intellectual products or the production of services is *material* production.)

"In regarding non-material labour as *productive*, they assume it is *productive of wealth*" (that is, directly), "that is to say, of material and exchangeable values, while it produces only non-material and immediate values; they assume that the products of non-material labour are subject to the same laws as those of material labour: and yet the former are governed by other principles than the latter" (Vol. III, p. 218).[a]

The following passages from Storch are to be noted as having been copied from him by later authors:

"From the fact that internal goods are in part the product of services, the conclusion has been drawn that they are no more lasting than the services themselves, and that they were necessarily consumed as they were produced" (Vol. III, p. 234). "The original goods, far from being destroyed by the use made of them, expand and grow with use, so that even the *consumption* of them augments their value" (l.c., p. 236). "Internal goods are susceptible of being accumulated like wealth, and of forming capitals that can be used in reproduction", etc.[a] (l.c., p. 236). "Material labour must be divided up and its products must be accumulated before the dividing up of non-material labour can be thought of" (p. 241).

These are nothing but general superficial analogies and relations between intellectual and material wealth. So for example is his observation that undeveloped nations *borrow* their intellectual capitals from abroad, just as materially undeveloped nations borrow their material capitals (l.c., p. 306); and that the division of non-material labour depends on the demand for it, in a word, on the market, etc. (p. 246).

Here are the passages which have actually been copied:

[IX-410] "The *production* of internal goods, far from diminishing the national wealth by the consumption of material products it requires, is on the contrary a powerful means of increasing it; as the production of wealth, in its turn, is an equally powerful means of increasing civilisation" (l.c., p. 517). "It is the equilibrium of the two kinds of production that causes the advance of national prosperity" (l.c., p. 521).

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[a] Marx quotes Storch partly in German, partly in French.—*Ed.*

According to Storch, the physician produces health (but also illness), professors and writers produce *les lumières*[a] (but also obscurantism), poets, painters, etc., produce *goût*[b] (but also bad taste), moralists, etc., produce *moeurs*,[c] preachers religion, the sovereign's labour security, and so on (pp. 247-50). It can just as well be said that illness produces physicians, stupidity produces professors and writers, lack of taste poets and painters, immorality moralists, superstition preachers and general insecurity produces the sovereign. This way of saying in fact that all these activities, these SERVICES, produce a real or imaginary use value is repeated by later writers in order to prove that they are productive workers in Smith's sense, that is to say, that they directly produce not products *sui generis*[d] but products of material labour and consequently immediate wealth. In Storch there is not yet this nonsense, which for that matter can be reduced to the following[e]:

1) that the various functions in bourgeois society mutually presuppose each other;

2) that the contradictions in material production make necessary a superstructure of ideological strata, whose activity—whether good or bad—is good, because it is necessary;

3) that all functions are in the service of the capitalist, and work out to his "benefit";

4) that even the most sublime intellectual productions should merely be granted recognition, and *apologies* for them made to the bourgeoisie, that they are presented as, and falsely proved to be, direct producers of material wealth.

W. Nassau Senior, *Principes fondamentaux de l'économie politique*, translated by *Jean Arrivabene*, Paris, 1836.

Nassau Senior mounts his high horse:

"According to Smith, the lawgiver of the Hebrews was an unproductive labourer" (l.c., p. 198).[f]

Was it Moses of Egypt or Moses Mendelssohn? Moses would have been very grateful to Mr. Senior for calling him a "productive labourer" in the Smithian sense. These people are so dominated by their fixed bourgeois ideas that they would think they were insulting Aristotle or Julius Caesar if they called them

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[a] Enlightenment.—*Ed.*

[b] Good taste.—*Ed.*

[c] Morals.—*Ed.*

[d] Of their own kind.—*Ed.*

[e] The manuscript has "to two things".—*Ed.*

[f] Here and below Marx quotes Senior in French.—*Ed.*

"unproductive labourers". Aristotle and Caesar would have regarded even the title "labourers" as an insult.

"Does not the doctor who, by a prescription, heals a sick child and thus assures him many years of life, *produce* a durable result?" (l.c.)

Rubbish! If the child dies, the result is no less durable. And if the child is no better after treatment, the doctor's SERVICE has to be paid for just the same. According to Nassau doctors should only be paid in so far as they cure, and lawyers in so far as they win lawsuits, and soldiers in so far as they are victorious.

But now he gets really lofty:

"Did the Dutch produce temporary results by fighting against the tyranny of the Spaniards, or the English by revolting against a tyranny that threatened to be even more terrible?" (l.c., p. 198).

Belletristic trash! Dutch and English revolted at their own cost. No one paid them for labouring "in revolution". But with either productive or unproductive labourers there is always a buyer and seller of labour. Hence what rubbish!

These insipid literary flourishes used by these fellows when they polemise against Smith show only that they are representatives of the "educated capitalist", while Smith was the *interpreter* of the frankly brutal bourgeois parvenu. The educated bourgeois and his mouthpiece are both so stupid that they measure the effect of every activity by its [IX-411] effect on the purse. On the other hand, they are so educated that they *grant recognition* even to functions and activities that have nothing to do with the production of wealth; and indeed they grant them recognition because they too "indirectly" increase, etc., their wealth, in a word, fulfil a "useful" function for wealth.

Man himself is the basis of his material production, as of any other production that he carries on. All circumstances, therefore, which affect man, the *subject* of production, *plus ou moins*[a] modify all his functions and activities, and therefore too his functions and activities as the creator of material wealth, of commodities. In this respect it can in fact be shown that *all* human relations and functions, however and in whatever form they may appear, influence material production and have a more or less decisive influence on it.

"There are countries where it is quite impossible for people to work the land unless there are soldiers to protect them. Well, according to Smith's classification, the harvest is not produced by the joint labour of the man who guides the plough and of the man at his side with arms in hand; according to him, the ploughman

[a] More or less.— *Ed.*

alone is a productive labourer, and the soldier's activity is unproductive" (l.c., p. 202).

First, that is not true. Smith would say that the soldier's protective care is productive of defence, but not of the corn. If order was restored in the country, the ploughman would produce the corn just as before, without being compelled to produce the maintenance, and therefore the life, of the SOLDIERS INTO THE BARGAIN. The SOLDIER belongs to the *faux frais de production*,[a] in the same way as a large part of the unproductive labourers who produce nothing themselves, either intellectual or material, but who are useful and necessary only because of the faulty social relations—they owe their existence to SOCIAL EVILS.[b]

However, Nassau might say: if a machine is invented that makes 19 out of 20 labourers superfluous, then these 19 too are *faux frais de production*. But the soldier can drop out although the *material conditions of production*, the conditions of agriculture as such, remain unchanged. The 19 labourers can only drop out if the labour of the 1 remaining LABOURER becomes 20 times more productive, that is to say, only through a revolution in the actual material conditions of production. Moreover, *Buchanan* already observes:

*"If the soldier, for example, be termed a productive labourer because his labour is subservient to production, the productive labourer might, by the same rule, lay claim to military honours; as it is certain that without his assistance no army could ever take the field to fight battles or to gain victories"* (D. Buchanan, *Observations on the Subjects Treated of in Dr. Smith's Inquiry etc.*, Edinburgh, 1814, p. 132).

"The wealth of a nation does not depend on a numerical proportion between those who produce *services* and those who produce *values*, but on the proportion between them that is most fitted to render the labour of each more efficacious" (Senior, l.c., p. 204).

Smith never denied this, as he wants to reduce the "necessary" unproductive labourers like State officials, LAWYERS, priests, etc., to the *extent* in which their services are indispensable. And this is in any case the "proportion" in which they make the labour of productive labourers most efficacious. As for the other "unproductive labourers", whose labours are only bought *voluntarily* by anyone in order to enjoy their SERVICES, that is, as an article of consumption of his own choice, different cases must be distinguished. If the number of these labourers living on revenue is large in proportion to the "productive" labourers, it is, *either*, because the amount of wealth is small in general or it is of a one-sided

[a] Overhead costs of production.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 16.—*Ed.*

character—for example the medieval barons with their RETAINERS. Instead of consuming manufactured goods on any considerable scale, they and their RETAINERS consumed their agricultural products. When instead of these products they began to consume manufactured goods, the RETAINERS had to be set to labour. The number of those living on revenue was only large because a large part of the annual product was not *reproductively* consumed. Along with this, the total population was small. Or, the number of those living on revenue is large, because the productivity of the productive labourers is large, and therefore their SURPLUS PRODUCE WHICH THE RETAINERS FEED UPON. In this case the labour of the productive labourers is not productive because there are so many RETAINERS, but on the contrary—there are so many RETAINERS because the labour of the productive labourers is so productive.

Taking two countries with equal populations and an equal development of the productive powers of labour, it would always be true to say, with Adam Smith, that the wealth of the two countries must be measured according to the proportion of productive and of unproductive labourers. For that means only that in the country which has a relatively greater number of productive labourers, a relatively greater amount of the annual revenue is reproductively consumed, and consequently a greater mass of VALUES is produced annually.[a] Therefore Mr. Senior has only paraphrased a statement of [IX-412] Adam's, instead of counterposing it with A NOVELTY. Moreover, he himself here makes the distinction between the producers of SERVICES and the producers of values, and so it is the same with him as with most of those who polemise against the Smithian distinction—they accept and themselves use this distinction, at the same time as they reject it.

It is characteristic that all "unproductive" economists, who achieve nothing in their own speciality, [come out] against the distinction between productive labour and unproductive labour. However, in relation to the bourgeois, it is on the one hand an expression of their servility that they present all functions as serving the production of wealth for him; then on the other hand, they present the bourgeois world as the best of all possible worlds, in which everything is useful, and the bourgeois himself is so educated that he understands this.

In relation to the labourers, it is quite all right that the unproductive ones consume the great mass [of products], since they contribute just as much as the labourers to the production of wealth even though IN THEIR OWN WAY.

[a] Cf. this volume, p. 127.—*Ed.*

Finally however Nassau blurts out, showing that he has not understood one word of the essential distinction made by Smith:

"It seems, in truth, that in this case Smith's attention was entirely absorbed by the position of the *big owners*, the only ones to whom his observations on the unproductive classes can in general be applied. I do not know how otherwise to account for his supposition that *capital is only employed to maintain productive labourers, while unproductive labourers live from revenue.* The greater number of those whom he calls preeminently unproductive—teachers, and those who govern the State—are maintained *at the expense of capital*, that is to say, *by means of what is spent in advance for reproduction*" (l.c., pp. 204-05).

This, IN FACT, is past all understanding. Mr. Nassau's discovery that State and schoolmasters live at the cost of capital and not at the cost of revenue needs no further commentary. Does Mr. Senior mean by it that they live on profit from capital, and in this sense at the expense of capital? If so, he only forgets that revenue from capital is not capital itself, and that this revenue, the result of capitalist production, is not spent in advance for reproduction, of which on the contrary it is the result.[a] Or does he mean that it is so because certain taxes enter into the production costs of particular commodities? That is, enter into the expenses of certain branches of production? Then he should know that this is only a form of levying taxes on revenue.

With reference to Storch Nassau Senior, the sophist, also remarks:

"Mr. Storch is doubtless in error when he expressly asserts that these *results*" (health, good taste, etc.) "like other things which have value, form part of the *revenue* of those who possess them, and that they are also exchangeable" (that is, in so far as they can be sold by their producers). "If this was so, if good taste, morality, religion, were really *things* which could be *bought*, wealth would have an importance very different from that ... given to it by the economists. What we buy is not health, knowledge or piety. The doctor, the priest, the teacher ... can only produce the instruments by means of which with greater or less certainty and perfection, these ulterior results will be produced.... If in each particular case the most suitable means to obtain success have been employed, the producer of these *means* has a right to a reward, even when he has not succeeded or when he has not produced the results expected. The exchange is completed as soon as the advice or the lesson has been given and the payment for it has been received" (l.c., pp. 288-89).

Finally, the great Nassau himself adopts the Smithian distinction. For in fact he distinguishes between "productive consumption and unproductive consumption" (p. 206) instead of between productive and unproductive labour. But the object of consumption is either a commodity—which is not referred to here—or direct labour.

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[a] Marx comments Senior partly in French.—*Ed.*

Consumption would be productive if it employed labour that either reproduced labour capacity itself (which for example the schoolmaster's or the physician's labour might do) or *reproduced* the value of the commodities with which it was bought. The consumption of labour which accomplished neither the one nor the other of these would be unproductive. And indeed Smith says: the labour which can only be consumed productively (i.e., industrially) I call productive labour, and that which can be consumed unproductively, whose consumption is by its nature not industrial consumption, I call unproductive labour. Mr. Senior has therefore proved his genius by *nova vocabula rerum.*[a]

In general, Nassau copies from Storch.

[IX-413] P. Rossi, *Cours d'économie politique (année 1836-1837),* published in Brussels, 1843.

Here is wisdom!

"*The indirect means*" (of production) "include everything that furthers production, everything which tends to remove an obstacle, to make production more active, more speedy, easier."[b] (Earlier, p. 268, he says: "There are direct and indirect means of production. That is to say, there are means which are a cause *sine qua non* of the effect in question, forces which *make* this production. There are others which contribute to production, but do not make it. The former can act even *by themselves,* the latter can only help the former to produce", p. 268.) "...The whole labour of government is an indirect means of production.... The man who has made this hat must surely recognise that the gendarme who goes by in the street, the judge who sits in his court, the gaoler who takes over a criminal and keeps him in prison, the army which defends the frontier against enemy invasions, contribute to production" (p. 272).

What a pleasure it must be for the hatter, that everyone gets moving so that he can produce and sell this hat[c]! Inasmuch as he makes these gaolers, etc., contribute *indirectly,* not *directly,* to material production, Rossi IN FACT makes the same DISTINCTION as Adam (lecture XII).

In the following lecture XIII, Rossi takes the field *ex professo*[d] against Smith—indeed rather [like] his predecessors.

The erroneous distinction between productive labourers and unproductive labourers, he says, arises for 3 reasons.

1) "Among the *buyers,* some buy products or *labour for their own direct consumption*; others only buy them in order to sell the new products that they obtain by means of the products and the labour that they have acquired. The

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[a] Giving things new names.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes Rossi in French with some alterations.—*Ed.*

[c] Here and below, in his comments on Rossi, Marx uses French words and phrases.—*Ed.*

[d] Avowedly.—*Ed.*

determining factor for the former is the *use value*; for the latter, the exchange value." But in paying attention only to exchange value, one falls into Smith's error. "My servant's labour is unproductive for me: let us admit that for a moment; is it unproductive for him?" (l.c., p[p. 275,] 276).[a]

As all capitalist production rests on the direct purchase of labour in order to appropriate a part of it *without purchase* in the process of production; which part however is *sold* in the product—since this is the basis of existence of capital, its concept—is not the distinction between labour which produces capital and that which does not produce it the basis for an understanding of the process of capitalist production? Smith does not deny that the servant's labour is productive for *him*. Every service is productive for its seller. To swear false oaths is productive for the person who does it for cash. Forging documents is productive for anyone paid to do it. A murder is productive for a man who gets paid for doing it. The trade of sycophant, informer, toady, parasite, lickspittle, is productive for people who do not perform these "SERVICES" gratis. Hence [according to Rossi] they are "productive labourers", producers not only of wealth but of capital. The thief, too, who pays himself—just as the law-courts and the State do—

"employs his energy, uses it in a particular way, produces a result which satisfies a human need" [p. 275],

i.e., the need of the thief and perhaps also that of his wife and children. Consequently [he is a] productive labourer if it is merely a question of producing a "result" which satisfies a "need", or as in the cases mentioned above, if selling his "SERVICES" is enough to make them "productive".

2) "A second error has been not to distinguish between direct production and indirect production. That is why Adam Smith thinks that a magistrate is not productive.[71] But if production is almost impossible" (without the magistrate's labour) "is it not clear that this labour contributes to it, if not by direct and material co-operation, at least by an indirect action which cannot be left out of account?" (l.c., p. 276).

It is precisely this labour which participates indirectly in production (and it forms only a part of unproductive labour) that we call unproductive labour. Otherwise we would have to say that since the magistrate is absolutely unable to live without the peasant, therefore the peasant is an indirect producer of justice! And so on. Utter nonsense! There is yet another point of view bearing on the division of labour, with which we shall deal later.

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[a] Marx quotes Rossi partly in French, partly in German.—*Ed.*

"The three principal facts of the phenomenon of production have not been carefully distinguished: *the force or productive means, the application* of this force, the *result.*"

We buy a clock at a clockmaker's; we are only interested in the *result* of the labour. The same applies when we buy a coat at the tailor's. But:

"There are still people, men of the old school, who do not understand things in this way. They make a workman come to their home and get him to make such-and-such a piece of clothing, giving him the material and everything he needs for this labour. What is it that these people buy? They buy a force" //but also an application of this force//, "a means to produce results of some kind at their peril and risk.... The object of the contract is the purchase of a force."

(The point here is only that these "men of the old school" make use of a mode of production that has nothing in common with the capitalist mode, and in which all development of labour's productive powers, such as capitalist production brings with it, is impossible. It is characteristic that for Rossi *e tutti quanti*[a] such a specific distinction is inessential.)

"In the case of a servant, I buy a force capable of doing a hundred different things. The results it produces depend on the use that I make of the force" (p. 276).[b]

All this has nothing to do with the matter.

[IX-414] 3) "One buys or hires ... a definite application of a force.... You do not buy a product, you do not buy the result that you have in view. Will the lawyer's pleading win your case? Who knows? What is certain, what passes between you and your lawyer, is that, for a certain value, he will go on a certain day to a certain place to speak on your behalf, to apply his intellectual powers in your interests" (p. 276).[b]

//One further point on this. In lecture XII, p. 273, Rossi says:

"I am far from seeing producers only in those who pass their lives in making cotton cloth or shoes. I honour labour, whatever it may be ... but this respect should not be the exclusive privilege of the *manual labourer.*"

Adam Smith does not do this. For him, a person who produces a book, a painting, a musical composition or a statue, is a "productive labourer" in the second sense, although the person who improvises, recites, plays a musical instrument, etc. is not. And Adam Smith treats SERVICES, in so far as they directly enter into production, as materialised in the product, both the labour of the MANUAL LABOURER and that of the MANAGER, clerk, engineer, and even of the scientist in so far as he is an inventor, an INDOOR OR

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[a] And all the rest.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes Rossi partly in French, partly in German, with some alterations.— *Ed.*

OUTDOOR LABOURER for the workshop. In dealing with the division of labour, Smith explains how these operations are distributed among different persons; and that the product, the commodity, is the result of their co-operative labour, not of the labour of any individual among them. But the "intellectual" labourers *à la* Rossi are anxious to justify the large SHARE which they draw out of material production.//

After this discourse, Rossi continues:

"Thus in exchange transactions attention is fixed on one or other of the three principal facts of production. But can *these different forms of exchange* deprive certain *products* of the character of *wealth* and deprive the *exertions of a class of producers of the quality of being productive labours*? Clearly, there is no link between these ideas such as would justify a deduction of this kind. Because instead of buying the result, I buy the force necessary to produce it, why *should the action of the force not be productive* and *the product not be wealth*? Take again the example of the tailor. Whether one buys ready-made clothes from a tailor, or whether one gets them from a jobbing tailor who has been given the material and a wage, as far as the results are concerned the two actions are perfectly similar. No one will say that the former is a *productive labour* and the latter an *unproductive labour*; only in the second case the man *who wants a coat* has been his *own entrepreneur*. Well, from the standpoint of productive forces what difference is there between the jobbing tailor you have brought to your home and your domestic servant? None" (l.c., p. 277).

Here we have the quintessence of the whole superwise and would-be profound windbag! When Adam Smith, in his second and more superficial presentation, distinguishes between productive and unproductive labour, according to whether it is or is not directly realised in a vendible commodity for the buyer, he calls the tailor productive in both cases. But according to his more profound definition the latter is an "unproductive labourer". Rossi only shows that he "evidently" does not understand Adam Smith.

That the "*forms of exchange*" seem to Rossi to be a matter of complete indifference is just as if a physiologist were to say that particular forms of life are a matter of indifference, they are all only forms of organic matter. It is precisely these forms that are alone of importance when the question is the specific character of a social mode of production. A coat is a coat. But have it made in the first form of exchange, and you have capitalist production and modern bourgeois society; in the second, and you have a form of handicraft which is compatible even with Asiatic relations or those of the Middle Ages, etc. And these *forms* are decisive for material wealth itself.

A coat is a coat—that is Rossi's wisdom. But in the first case the jobbing tailor produces not only a coat, he produces capital; therefore also profit; he produces his master as a capitalist and

himself as a wage labourer. When I have a coat made for me at home by a jobbing tailor, for me to wear, that no more makes me my own *entrepreneur* (in the sense of an economic category) than it makes the *entrepreneur tailor* an entrepreneur when [IX-415] he himself wears and consumes a coat made by his workmen. In one case the purchaser of tailoring labour and the jobbing tailor confront each other as mere buyers and sellers. One pays money and the other supplies the commodity into whose use value my money is transformed. In this transaction there is no difference at all from my buying the coat in a shop. Buyer and seller confront each other simply as such. In the other case, on the contrary, they confront each other as capital and wage labour. As for the domestic servant, he has the same determinate form as the jobbing tailor No. II, whom I buy for the sake of the use value of his labour. Both are simply buyers and sellers. But the way in which the use value is enjoyed in this case in addition brings in a patriarchal form of relation, a relation of master and servant, which modifies the relation [between buying and selling] in its content, though not in its economic form, and makes it distasteful.

For that matter Rossi only repeats in other phrases what Garnier said:

"When Smith wrote that nothing remained of the servant's labour, he was mistaken to a greater extent, we must say, than an Adam Smith should be mistaken. A manufacturer manages himself a large manufactory which requires very active and very assiduous supervision.... This man, not wanting to have unproductive labourers around him, has no servants. He is then compelled to *serve himself*.... What becomes of his productive labour during the time that he has to devote to this so-called unproductive labour? Is it not evident that your serving people perform a labour which enables you to apply yourself to a labour more appropriate to your abilities? Then how can it be said that no trace remains of their services? There remains everything that you do and that you could not have done if they had not replaced you in the service of your person and your home" (l.c., p. 277).

This is once more the *labour-saving* idea of Garnier, Lauderdale and Ganilh.[a] According to this, unproductive labours would only be productive in so far as they save labour and leave more time for a person's own labour, whether he is an industrial capitalist or an unproductive labourer, who can perform a more valuable labour through this replacement by a less valuable labour. A large part of the unproductive labourers who would be excluded by this are MENIAL SERVANTS (in so far as they represent only luxuries), and all unproductive labourers who produce merely enjoyment and whose labour I can only enjoy in so far as I *use just as much*

[a] See this volume, pp. 80, 164.— *Ed.*

*time to enjoy it* as its *seller uses to produce it,* to provide it for me. In both cases there can be no talk of "saving" labour. Finally, even really labour-saving personal services would only be productive in so far as their consumer is a producer. If he is an idle capitalist, they only save him the labour of doing anything at all: like a slut having her hair curled or her nails cut instead of doing it herself, or a FOXHUNTER employing a stable-lad instead of being his own stable-lad, or someone who is just a glutton keeping a cook instead of cooking for himself.

Then these labourers would include too those who, according to Storch (l.c. [p. 250]), produce "*leisure*", through which a man gets free time for pleasure, intellectual labour, etc. The policeman saves me the time of being my own gendarme, the soldier of defending myself, the government official of governing myself, the shoe cleaner of cleaning my shoes myself, the priest the time required for thinking, and so on.

What is correct in this matter is—*the division of labour.* Everyone, apart from his productive labour or the exploitation of productive labour, would have a number of functions to fulfil which would not be productive and would in part enter into the costs of consumption. (The real productive labourers have to bear these consumption costs themselves and to perform their unproductive labour themselves.) If these "SERVICES" are pleasant, then sometimes the master performs them for the servant, as the *jus primae noctis*[a] shows, or as is shown by the labour of ruling, etc., which the masters have always taken on themselves. This in no way obliterates the distinction between productive and unproductive labour, but this distinction itself appears as a result of the *division of labour* and thus furthers the general productivity of the labourers by making unproductive labour the *exclusive* function of one section of labourers and productive labour the exclusive function of another section.

But even the *labour* of a number of MENIAL SERVANTS for mere show, to satisfy vanity, "is not unproductive". Why? Because it produces *something,* the satisfaction of vanity, OSTENTATION, the exhibition of wealth (l.c., p. 277). Here once again we meet the nonsense that every kind of SERVICE produces something—the courtesan sensual pleasure, the murderer homicide, etc.[b] Moreover Smith said that every form of this trash has its *value.* All that is missing [IX-416] is that these SERVICES are rendered gratis. That is

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[a] The right of the first night.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 190.—*Ed.*

not the point in question. But even if they are rendered gratis, they will not increase (material) wealth by a single farthing.

Then the belletristic piffle:

"The singer (they claim), when he has finished singing, leaves us nothing.—He leaves us a memory!" (Very fine!) "When you have drunk champagne, what remains?... Whether the consumption does or does not follow closely on the act of production, whether it takes place more or less rapidly, will bring about different economic results, but the fact of consumption, of whatever kind it may be, cannot deprive the product of its character as wealth. There are non-material products which are of greater durability than certain material products. A palace lasts a long time, but the *Iliad* is a source of even more durable pleasures" (pp. 277-78).

What bosh!

In the sense in which he is here speaking of wealth, as use value, it is precisely *consumption*, whether slow or rapid (its length depends on its own nature and on the nature of the object), and only consumption, that makes the product wealth at all. Use value has only value for use, and its existence for use is only its existence as an object for consumption, its existence in consumption. Drinking champagne, although this may produce a "hangover", is as little productive consumption as listening to music, although this may leave behind "a memory". If the music is good and if the listener understands music, the consumption of music is more sublime than the consumption of champagne, although the production of the latter is a "productive labour" and the production of the former is not.

If we consider all the twaddle against Smith's distinction between productive and unproductive labour, we find that Garnier, and perhaps also Lauderdale and Ganilh (though the latter said nothing new), exhausted [these polemics]. Those who came later (apart from Storch's unsuccessful effort) [produced] merely pretentious literary arguments, learned prattle. Garnier is the economist of the Directory and the Consulate, Ferrier and Ganilh are the economists of the Empire. On the other hand Lauderdale, the Earl, was far more concerned *to make apologies for consumers by presenting them as the producers of "unproductive labour". The glorification* of servility and flunkeyism, of TAX GATHERERS and parasites, runs through the lot of them. Compared with these, the rough cynical character of classical political economy stands out as a critique of existing conditions.

One of the most fanatic Malthusians is the *REVEREND Thomas Chalmers*, who thinks that the only means for curing all social ills is the religious education of the labouring class (by which he means ramming down their throats the Malthusian population theory

with edifying Christian priestly trimmings); at the same time he is a great defender of all ABUSES, OF WASTEFUL EXPENDITURE by the State, of fat livings for the clergy and of wild extravagance on the part of the rich. He laments (p. 260 sqq.) the spirit of the time, the "HARD AND HUNGER-BITTEN ECONOMY"; and he wants heavy TAXES, a good deal to eat for the "higher" and unproductive workers, clergymen and so on (l.c.). Naturally, he blusters about the Smithian distinction. He devoted a whole chapter to it (Ch. XI) which contains nothing new except that parsimony, etc., only harms "the productive labourers", but whose tendency is exemplified in the following summing up:

This *"distinction seems to be nugatory, and withal, mischievous in application"* (l.c., p. 344).

And in what does this MISCHIEF consist?

*"We have entered at so much length into this argument, because we think *the political economy of our days* bears *a hard and hostile aspect towards an ecclesiastical establishment*; and we have no doubt, that to this, *the hurtful distinction*[a] *of Smith* has largely contributed"* (Thomas Chalmers, Professor of Divinity, *On Political Economy, in Connexion with the Moral State and Moral Prospects of Society,* 2nd ed., London, 1832, p. 346).

By the "ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENT" the cleric means his own church, the CHURCH OF England AS BY LAW "ESTABLISHED". Moreover he was one of the fellows who HAD FOSTERED this "ESTABLISHMENT" UPON IRELAND. The parson is at least plain spoken.

[IX-417] Before we finish with Adam Smith, we will cite two further passages, the first, in which he gives vent to his hatred of the unproductive GOVERNMENT; the second, in which he aims to explain why the advance of industry, etc., presupposes free labour. Concerning *Smith's hatred of the clergy.*[72]

The first passage runs:

*"It is the highest impertinence and presumption, therefore, in kings and ministers, to pretend to watch over the economy of private people, and to restrain their expense, either by sumptuary laws, or by prohibiting the importation of foreign luxuries. They are themselves always, and without any exception, the greatest spendthrifts in the society. Let them look well after their own expense, and they may safely trust private people with theirs. If their own extravagance does not ruin the State, that of their subjects never will"* (ed. McCulloch, B. II, Ch. III, p. 122).

And once more the following passage[b]:

*"The labour of some of the most respectable orders of society is, like that of *menial servants,* unproductive *of any value,"* //it has VALUE, and therefore costs an equivalent, but it produces no VALUE// *"and does not fix or realise itself in any

[a] Chalmers has "definition".— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 16, 17, 163.— *Ed.*

permanent subject, or vendible commodity.... The sovereign, for example, with all the officers both of justice and war who are under him, the whole army and navy, are *unproductive labourers*. They are the *servants* of the public, and are maintained by a part of the annual produce of the *industry of other people*.... In the *same class* must be ranked ... churchmen, lawyers, physicians, men of letters of all kinds; players, buffoons, musicians, opera-singers, opera-dancers, etc." * (l.c., pp. 94, 95).

This is the language of the still revolutionary bourgeoisie, which has not yet subjected to itself the whole of society, the State, etc. All these illustrious and time-honoured occupations—sovereign, judge, officer, priest, etc.,—with all the old ideological castes to which they give rise, their men of letters, their teachers and priests, are *from an economic standpoint* put on the same level as the swarm of their own lackeys and jesters maintained by the bourgeoisie and by idle wealth—the landed nobility and idle capitalists. They are mere SERVANTS of the public, just as the others are their SERVANTS. They live on the PRODUCE OF OTHER PEOPLE'S INDUSTRY, therefore they must be reduced to the smallest possible number. State, church, etc., are only justified in so far as they are committees to superintend or administer the common interests of the productive bourgeoisie; and their costs—since by their nature these costs belong to the *faux frais de production*—must be reduced to the indispensable minimum. This view is of historical interest in sharp contrast partly to the standpoint of antiquity, when material productive labour bore the stigma of slavery and was regarded merely as a pedestal for the idle citizen, and partly to the standpoint of the absolute or aristocratic-constitutional monarchy which arose from the disintegration of the Middle Ages—as Montesquieu, still captive to these ideas, so naïvely expressed them in the following passage (*Esprit des lois*, B. VII, Ch. IV [p. 171]):

"If the rich do not spend much, the poor will perish of hunger."[a]

When on the other hand the bourgeoisie has won the battle, and has partly itself taken over the State, partly made a compromise with its former possessors, and has likewise given recognition to the ideological castes as flesh of its flesh and everywhere transformed them into its functionaries, of like nature to itself; when it itself no longer confronts these as the representative of productive labour, but when the real productive labourers rise against it and moreover tell it that it lives on OTHER PEOPLE'S INDUSTRY; when it is enlightened enough not to be entirely absorbed in production, but to want also to consume "in an enlightened way"; when the intellectual labours themselves are more and more

[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

performed in its *service* and enter into the service of capitalist production—then things take a new turn, and the bourgeoisie tries to justify "economically", from its own standpoint, what at an earlier stage it had criticised and fought against. Its spokesmen and conscience-salvers in this LINE are the Garniers, etc. In addition to this, these economists, who themselves are priests, professors, etc., are eager to prove their "productive" usefulness, to justify their wages "economically".

[IX-418] The second passage, referring to slavery, runs (ed. Garnier, 1. IV, ch. IX, pp. 549, 550 [551]) [Vol. III, pp. 154-56][14]:

"Such occupations" (as artificer and manufacturer) "were considered" (in several of the ancient states) "as fit only for slaves, and the free citizens of the State were prohibited from exercising them. Even in those States where no such prohibition took place, as in Athens and Rome, the great body of the people were in effect excluded from all the trades which are now commonly exercised by the lower sort of the inhabitants of towns. Such trades were, at Rome and Athens, all occupied by the slaves of the rich, who exercised them for the benefit of their masters, whose wealth, power, and protection, made it almost impossible for a poor freeman to find a market for his work, when it came into competition with that of the slaves of the rich. Slaves, however, are very seldom inventive; and all the most important improvements, either in machinery, or in the arrangement and distribution of work, which facilitate and abridge labour have been the discoveries of freemen. Should a slave propose any improvement of this kind, his master would be very apt to consider the proposal as the suggestion of laziness, and of a desire to save his own labour at the master's expense. The poor slave, instead of reward would probably meet with much abuse, perhaps with some punishment. In the manufactures carried on by slaves, therefore, more labour must generally have been employed to execute the same quantity of work, than in those carried on by freemen. The work of the former must, upon that account, generally have been dearer than that of the latter. The Hungarian mines, it is remarked by Mr. Montesquieu, though not richer, have always been wrought with less expense, and therefore with more profit, than the Turkish mines in their neighbourhood. The Turkish mines are wrought by slaves; and the *arms of those slaves are the only machines which the Turks* have ever thought of employing. The Hungarian mines are wrought by freemen, who employ a great deal of machinery, by which they facilitate and abridge their own labour. From the very little that is known about the price of manufactures in the times of the Greeks and Romans, it would appear that those of the finer sort were excessively dear" (l.c., t. III).

*Adam Smith* himself says, ([Garnier,] l.c., t. III, l. IV, ch. I, p. 5) [Vol. II, pp. 239-40]:

"Mr. Locke remarks a distinction between money and other movable goods. All other movable goods, he says, are of *so consumable a nature*, that the wealth which consists in them cannot be much depended on.... Money, on the contrary, is a steady friend" and so on (l.c., t. III, p. 5).

And again ([Garnier,] l.c., pp. 24-25) [Vol. II, pp. 253-54]:

"Consumable commodities, it is said, are soon destroyed; whereas gold and silver are of a *more durable nature*, and were it not for this continual exportation,

might be accumulated for ages together, to the incredible augmentation of the real wealth of the country."

The man of the Monetary system raves about gold and silver because they are *money*, the independent, tangible [form of] existence of exchange value; and [a form of] its existence that is indestructible, everlasting—in so far as they are not allowed to become means of circulation, the merely transient form of the exchange value of commodities. The ACCUMULATION of gold and silver, piling it up, hoarding it, is therefore his way of growing rich. And as I showed in the quotation from Petty,[73] other commodities are themselves valued according to the degree in which they are more or less durable, that is, remain exchange value.

Now *in the first place* Adam Smith repeats this idea of the relatively greater or less durability of commodities in the section where he speaks of consumption which is more or less advantageous for the formation of wealth, according as it is consumption of less or more durable articles of consumption.[74] Here therefore the Monetary system peeps through; and necessarily so, since even in direct consumption there is the mental reservation that the [IX-419] article of consumption remains *wealth*, a commodity, therefore a unity of use value and exchange value; and the latter depends on the degree to which the use value is durable, that is, on how slowly consumption deprives it of the possibility of being a *commodity* or bearer of exchange value.

*Secondly*, in his second distinction between productive and unproductive LABOUR he completely returns—in a wider form—to the distinction made by the Monetary system.

Productive *labour "fixes and realises itself in some particular subject or vendible commodity, *which lasts for some time at least after that labour is past.* It is, as it were, a certain quantity of labour stocked and stored up, to be employed, if necessary, upon some other occasion."*

On the other hand, the unproductive LABOUR's results or *services "generally perish in the very instant of their performance, and seldom leave any trace or *value* behind them, for which an equal quantity of service could afterwards be procured"* ([ed. McCulloch,] Vol. II, B. II, Ch. III, p. 94).

Thus Smith makes the same difference between commodities and SERVICES as the Monetary system did between gold and silver and the other commodities. With Smith too the distinction is made from the point of view of ACCUMULATION—no longer however in the form of hoarding, but in the real form of reproduction. The commodity perishes in consumption, but then it reproduces in turn a commodity of higher value; or, if it is not so used, it is itself value, with which another commodity can be bought. It is the

nature of the product of labour that it exists in a *plus ou moins* durable, and therefore again salable, use value; in a use value in which it is a VENDIBLE COMMODITY, a bearer of exchange value, a *commodity*, or, in essence, *money*. The SERVICES of unproductive labourers do not again become *money*. I can neither pay debts nor buy commodities nor buy labour which produces surplus value with the services for which I pay the lawyer, doctor, priest, musician, etc., the statesman or the soldier, etc. They have gone, like perishable articles of consumption.

Thus *au fond*[a] Smith says the same thing as the Monetary system. For them, only that labour is productive which produces *money*, gold and silver. For Smith, only that labour is productive which produces *money* for its buyer; although he discerns the money character in all commodities in spite of its mask, while the Monetary system sees it only in the commodity which is the independent existence of exchange value.

This distinction is founded on the nature of bourgeois production itself, since wealth is not the equivalent of use value, but only the *commodity* is wealth, use value as bearer of exchange value, as money. What the Monetary system did not understand is how this money is made and is multiplied through the consumption of commodities, and not through their transformation into gold and silver—in which they are crystallised as independent exchange value, in which however they not only lose their use value, but do not alter the *magnitude of* their *value*.

### d) NECKER

Some quotations from Linguet above have already shown that the nature of capitalist production was clear to him. Nevertheless, Linguet can be brought in here after Necker.[75]

In his two works *Sur la législation et le commerce des grains* (first published 1775) and *De l'administration des finances de la France*, etc., Necker shows how the development of the productive powers of labour merely results in the worker requiring *less time* for the reproduction of his own wage, and therefore working *more time* for his EMPLOYER *unpaid*. In dealing with this, he rightly starts from the basis of the *average wage*, the minimum of wages. What he is mainly concerned with, however, is not the transformation of labour itself into capital and the accumulation of capital through this process, but rather the general development of the antithesis between poverty and wealth, between poverty and luxury, because,

[a] At bottom.—*Ed.*

to the extent that a smaller quantity of labour suffices to produce the necessary means of subsistence, part of the labour becomes more and more superfluous and can therefore be used in the production of luxury articles, in a different sphere of production. Some of these luxury articles are durable; and so they accumulate from century to century in the possession of those who have surplus labour at their disposal, making the contrast ever deeper.

The important thing is that Necker traces the origin of the wealth of the non-labouring estates [IX-420]—profit and rent—entirely to surplus labour. In his treatment of surplus value, however, what he has in mind is relative surplus value, resulting not from the lengthening of the total working day but from the shortening of the *necessary labour time.* The productive power of labour becomes the productive power of the owner of the conditions of labour. And productive power itself=the shortening of the labour time that is necessary to produce a certain result. The chief passages are the following:

*First: De l'administration des finances de la France,* etc. (*Œuvres,* Vol. II, Lausanne and Paris, 1789[76]):

"I see one of the classes of society whose wealth must always be pretty nearly the same; I see another of these classes whose wealth necessarily increases: thus luxury, which arises from a relation and a comparison, has had to follow the growth of this disproportion and become more evident as time went on" (l.c., pp. 285-86).

(The contrast between the *two classes* as *classes* has already been clearly noticed.)

"The class of society whose lot is as it were *fixed* by the effect of social laws is composed of all those who, *living by the labour of their hands,* are subject to the imperative law of the *owners*" (owners of the conditions of production) "and are compelled to content themselves with a *wage proportionate to the simple necessities of life*; competition between them and *the urgency of their needs* bring about their *state of dependence*; these conditions cannot change" (l.c., p. 286).

"*The continual invention of instruments which have simplified all mechanical arts has,* then, *augmented the wealth and the fortunate lot of the owners*; one part of these instruments, *by reducing the costs of working the land, has increased the revenue* of which the owners of such property can dispose; another part of the discoveries of genius has *so greatly facilitated* the labours of industry that the *men who are in the service of the dispensers of the means of subsistence*" (i.e., of the capitalists) "have been able, *in an equal length of time, and for the same reward,* to produce a greater quantity of products of all kinds" (p. 287). "Let us assume that a century ago a hundred thousand workers were required to do what is done today by eighty thousand; the other twenty thousand would have found themselves obliged to take to *other occupations* to obtain wages; and the new products of their manual labour resulting from this would increase the pleasures and the luxuries of the rich" (pp. 287-88).

"For," he continues, "it must not be forgotten that the rewards assigned to all trades which do not require any special talent are always proportionate to the *price of the necessary subsistence for each labourer*; thus the *speed of production,* when

the knowledge required has become common, *does not accrue to the advantage of the labouring men*, and *the result is only an augmentation of the means* for the satisfaction of the tastes and vanities of those who have at their disposal the products of the land" (l.c., p. 288). "Among the various good things of nature which are fashioned and changed by men's industry there are a large number whose durability greatly exceeds the usual span of life: each generation has inherited a part of the labours of the preceding generation"

//he is here only taking into account the accumulation of what Adam Smith calls the consumption fund//

"and in all countries there is a continual *accumulation* of a greater quantity of the products of the arts; and as this quantity is always divided among the owners, the disproportion between their possessions and those of the numerous class of citizens has necessarily grown greater and more noticeable" (p. 289).

Hence

"*the quickening pace of industrial production*, which has multiplied the things of pomp and luxury on earth, *the length of time in which accumulation has grown from this*, and the *laws of property, which have brought these good things into the hands of one class of society alone* ... these great sources of luxury would in any case have existed, whatever had been the quantity of coined money" (p. 291).

(The latter argument is directed against those who held that luxury was the result of the growth in the amount of money.)

*Secondly: Sur la législation et le commerce des grains*, etc. (*Œuvres*, Vol. IV):

"When the artisan or the husbandman *have no reserves left*, they can no longer argue; they must *work today on pain of dying tomorrow*, and in this conflict of interest between [IX-421] the owner and labourer, the one stakes his life and that of his family, and the other a mere delay in the growth of his luxury" (l.c., p. 63).

This contrast between wealth that does not labour and poverty that labours in order to live also gives rise to a contrast of knowledge. Knowledge and labour become separated. The former confronts the latter as capital, or as a luxury article for the rich.

"The faculty of knowing and understanding is a general gift of nature, but it is only developed by education; if properties were equal, everyone *would labour moderately*"

(so once again, the quantity of labour time is the decisive thing),

"and *everyone would know a little*, because everyone would have *a portion of time*" (spare time) "left to give to study and reflection; but with the inequality of fortunes, resulting from the social order, *education is prohibited* for all who are born without property; because all sustenance being in the hands of that part of the nation which possesses *money or land*, and no one giving anything for nothing, the man born without any other resource but his strength is obliged to devote it to the service of the owners from the first moment when his strength develops, and to continue thus all his life, from the moment when the sun rises to the moment when this strength has been worn down and needs to be renewed by sleep" (p. 112). "Lastly, is it not certain that this inequality of knowledge has become necessary for

the maintenance of all the social inequalities *which gave rise to it?*" (l.c., p. 113), (cf. pp. 118, 119).

Necker ridicules the economic confusion—characteristic of the Physiocrats in relation to the land, and of all subsequent economists in relation to the material elements of capital—which glorifies the owners of the conditions of production, not because they themselves, but these conditions, are necessary for labour and the production of wealth.

"They begin by confusing the importance of the owner (a function so easy to perform) with the importance of the land" (p. 126).

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*Schmalz.* In his criticism of Smith's distinction between productive labour and unproductive labour this German afterbirth of the Physiocrats says (German edition, *1818*):

"I observe only ... that Smith's distinction between *productive* and *unproductive* labour should not be considered as essential or very precise, if one has regard to the fact that in general the labour of others never produces anything for us but a saving of time, and that this saving of time is all that forms *its value* and *its price.*"[a]

//There is a confusion here: the value and the price of a thing is not determined by the saving of time effected through the division of labour, but I get more use value for the same value, labour is more productive, because a greater quantity of products is produced in the same time; however, as the echo of the Physiocrats he naturally could not discover value in labour time itself.//

"The joiner for example who makes a table for me, and the servant who takes my letters to the post, who cleans my clothes or gets for me the things I need, both perform a service of absolutely like nature. Both the one and the other save me the time which I myself would have to use up in doing these things, as also the time I would have to devote to acquire the skill and facility needed for them" (Schmalz, *Économie politique,* translated by Henri Jouffroy, etc. Vol. I, 1826, p. 304).

The following remark of this same scribbler Schmalz is also important for the link with Garnier, for instance his consumption system (and the economic utility OF VAST EXPENDITURE) with the Physiocratic system:

"This system" (Quesnay's) "regards the consumption of artisans, and even of *those who merely consume,* as meritorious, because this consumption, even though in an indirect and mediated way, contributes to the growth of the nation's revenue; since *but for this consumption the consumed products would not have been produced from the land and could not have been added to the revenue of the landowner*" (p. 321).[b]

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[a] Here and below Marx quotes Schmalz in French.— *Ed.*

[b] As the manuscript is damaged here, the text of the quotation is restored according to the original source.— *Ed.*

[X-422] *DIGRESSION*
*TABLEAU ÉCONOMIQUE, ACCORDING TO QUESNAY*[77]

*5,000 millions annual gross product* (in pounds of Tours)

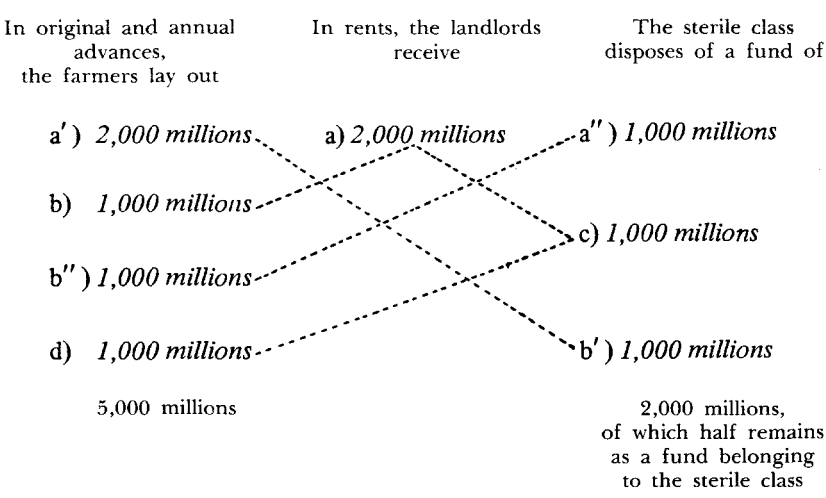


To make the Tableau clearer, I have shown what Quesnay regards each time as the starting-point of a circulation, as a, a′, a″, the following link in the circulation as b, c, d, and as b′, b″ respectively.

The first point to note in this Tableau, and the point which must have impressed his contemporaries, is the way in which the money circulation is shown as determined purely by the circulation and reproduction of commodities, IN FACT by the circulation process of capital.

The farmer first pays 2,000 million frs in money to the LANDLORD, the *propriétaire*. With this, the landlord buys from the farmer 1,000 millions worth of means of subsistence. 1,000 millions therefore flow back to the farmer in money, while $^1/_5$ of the gross product is disposed of, passing definitively out of circulation into consumption.

The LANDLORD next buys, with 1,000 millions in money, manufactured commodities, non-agricultural products, to the value of 1,000 millions. With this purchase, a second $^1/_5$ of the (in this case manufactured) products falls out of circulation into consumption. These 1,000 millions in money are now in the hands of the sterile class, who buys with them from the farmer 1,000 millions worth of means of subsistence. Thus the second 1,000 millions which the

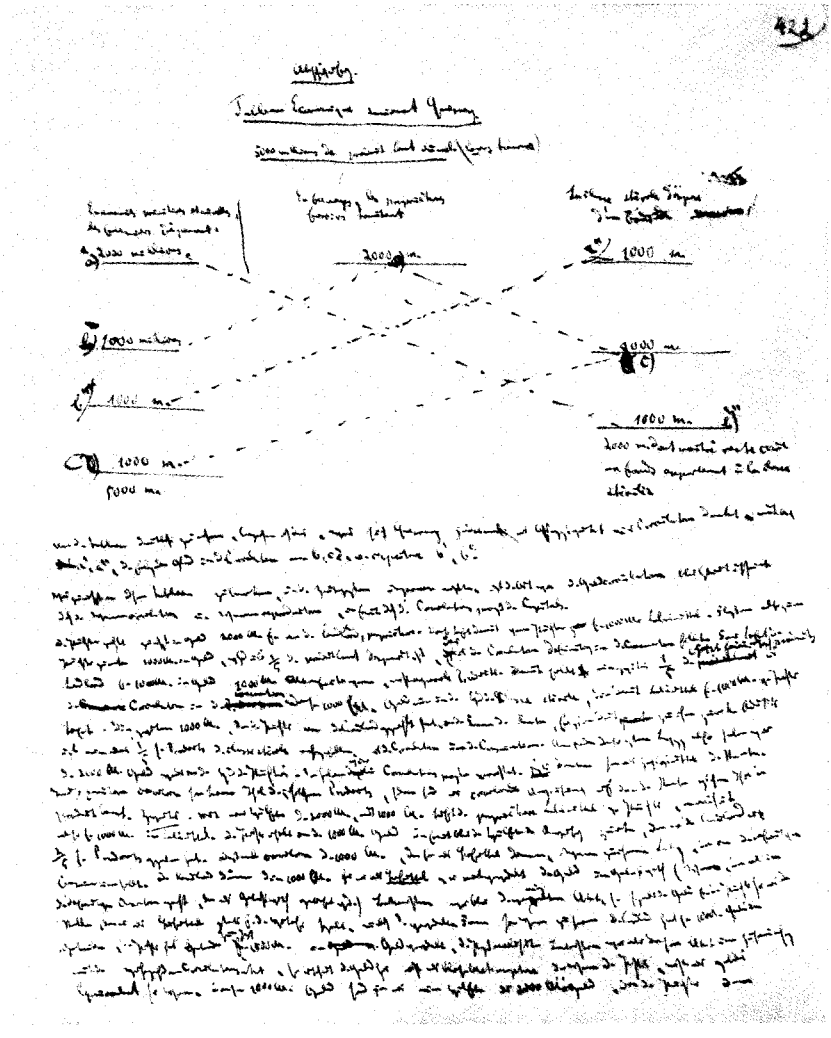

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farmer has paid to the LANDLORD in the form of rent flow back to the farmer. On the other hand, a further $^1/_5$ of the farmer's product has gone to the sterile class, out of circulation into consumption. At the end of this first movement, therefore, we have the 2,000 millions in money back in the hands of the farmer. This money has carried through four different processes of circulation.

*First*, it served as means of payment for rent. In this function it does not circulate any part of the annual product, but is merely a circulating draft on the part of the gross product which is equal to the rent.

*Second*, the landlord buys means of subsistence from the farmer, using half the 2,000 millions, that is, 1,000 millions, thus realising his 1,000 millions in means of subsistence. IN FACT, the farmer merely gets back, in the 1,000 millions in money, half of the draft he has given the LANDLORD for $^2/_5$ of his product. In this transaction the 1,000 millions, since they serve as means of purchase, circulate commodities to that amount, which fall into final consumption. The 1,000 millions here serve the LANDLORD only as *means of purchase*; he reconverts the money into use value (commodities, which however enter into final consumption, and are bought as use value).

If we consider purely the isolated act, the money here plays for the farmer merely the role which, as means of purchase, it always plays for the seller, namely, being the converted form of his commodity. The LANDLORD has converted his 1,000 in money into corn, the farmer has converted into money corn to the price of 1,000 millions, he has realised its price. But if we consider this act in connection with the preceding act of circulation, the money here does not appear as a mere metamorphosis of the farmer's commodity, as a golden equivalent of his commodity. The 1,000 millions are in fact only half the 2,000 millions, in money, which the farmer has paid to the [X-423] LANDLORD in the form of rent. It is true that he gets 1,000 millions in money for 1,000 millions in commodities, but in so doing in fact he only buys back the money with which he paid the LANDLORD the rent; that is to say, the LANDLORD buys, with the 1,000 millions which he has received from the farmer, 1,000 millions worth of commodities from the farmer. He pays the farmer with the money which he has received from the farmer without any equivalent.

This flowing back of the money to the farmer, taken in conjunction with the first act, does not *d'abord* make it appear to him a mere means of circulation. But then it is different in essence

from the flowing back of money to its starting-point when the movement is an expression of a process of reproduction.

For example: the capitalist—or, to leave the characteristics of capitalist reproduction entirely out of account, a producer—lays out £100 for raw material, instruments of labour and means of subsistence for the period of his labour. We will assume that he does not add more labour to the means of production than he had expended on the means of subsistence, the wages that he has paid to himself. If the raw material, etc.,=£80, the means of subsistence consumed=£20, and the labour added ditto=£20, then the product=£100. If he now sells it, the £100 flows back to him in money, and so on. This flowing back of the money to its starting-point here expresses nothing but continuous reproduction. The simple metamorphosis in this case is *M—C—M*, transformation of money into commodity and retransformation of commodity into money—this mere change of form of money and commodity here representing at the same time the process of reproduction. Money is transformed into commodities, *means of production* and means of subsistence; then these commodities enter as elements into the labour process and emerge from it as a product. Thus a commodity appears again as a result of the process, that is, when the finished product re-enters the process of circulation, and by so doing again confronts money as a commodity; and finally it is reconverted into money, since the finished commodity can only be exchanged again for its production elements after it has first been transformed into money.

The constant flowing back of the money to its starting-point expresses here not only the formal conversion of money into commodity and commodity into money—as in the simple process of circulation or the mere exchange of commodities—but at the same time the continuous reproduction of the commodity by the same producer. Exchange value (money) is converted into commodities which enter into consumption, and are consumed as use values; they pass however into reproductive or industrial consumption, therefore reproduce the original value and consequently reappear in *the same* amount of money (in the above example, in which the producer labours only for his own maintenance). *M—C—M* here shows that *M* is not only formally converted into *C*, but *C* is actually consumed as a use value, falling out of circulation into consumption, but into industrial consumption, so that its value is maintained and reproduced in consumption, and *M* therefore reappears at the end of the process, being maintained in the movement *M—C—M*.

In contrast with this, in the case given above, no reproduction process takes place when the money flows back from the LANDLORD to the farmer. It is as if the farmer had given the LANDLORD tokens or TICKETS for products to the value of 1,000 millions. When the LANDLORD cashes these TICKETS, they flow back to the farmer and he redeems them. If the LANDLORD had had half the rent paid directly *in natura*, no circulation of money would have taken place. The whole circulation would have been limited to a simple change of hands, the transfer of the product from the farmer's hand to the LANDLORD'S. First the farmer gives the LANDLORD the money instead of the commodity, and then the LANDLORD returns the money to the farmer in order to take the commodity itself. The money serves the farmer as *means of payment* to the LANDLORD; it serves the LANDLORD as *means of purchase* vis-à-vis the farmer. In the first function it moves away from the farmer, in the second it comes back to him.

This type of return flow of the money to the producer must always take place whenever he pays his creditors, instead of a part of his product, its value in money; and everyone who is a CO-PROPRIETOR of his SURPLUS is in this respect a creditor. For example: all taxes are paid by the producers in money. In this transaction the money is for them means of payment to the State. With this money the State buys commodities from the producers. In the hands of the State it is a means of purchase, and thus returns to the producers in the same measure as they part with their commodities.

This type of return flow—this peculiar flowing back of money that is not determined by reproduction—must take place in all cases where there is exchange of revenue for capital. What makes the money flow back in such cases is not reproduction but consumption. The revenue is paid in money, but it can only be consumed in commodities. The money which is received from the producers as revenue must therefore be paid back to them in order to obtain the same amount of value in commodities, that is, in order to consume the revenue. The money in which revenue is paid—rent for example, or interest or taxes //the [X-424] industrial capitalist pays his revenue to himself in the product, or from the sale of the product that part of it which forms his revenue//—has the general form of means of payment. The person who pays the revenue is supposed to have received from his creditor a part of his own product—for example, in the case of the farmer, the $^2/_5$ of the product which according to Quesnay constitutes the rent. He is only its nominal or *de facto* owner.

The part of the farmer's product, therefore, which constitutes his rent, requires for its circulation between farmer and LANDLORD only an amount of money equal to the value of the product, although this value circulates twice. First the farmer pays the rent in money; then with the same money the LANDLORD buys the product. The first is a simple TRANSFER of money, since the money functions only as *means of payment*; the assumption is therefore that the commodity for which it is paid is already in the hands of the payer and money does not serve him as a means of purchase; he receives no equivalent for the money, but on the contrary has this equivalent in advance. In the second transaction, on the other hand, the money functions as means of purchase, means of commodity circulation. It is as if, with the money in which he pays his rent, the farmer had bought the LANDLORD's share in the product. The LANDLORD, with the same money that he has thus received from the farmer (who however in fact has given it away without any equivalent), buys the product back again from the farmer.

The same sum of money, therefore, which is handed over by the producers to the owners of revenue in the form of means of payment, serves the owners of revenue as means of purchase for the producers' commodities. This twofold change of place of the money—from the hands of the producer into the hands of the owner of revenue, and from the latter's hands back into the hands of the producer—thus expresses only a single change of place on the part of the commodity, that is, from the hands of the producer into the hands of the owner of revenue. Since the producer is supposed to owe a part of his product to the owner of revenue, the money rent that he pays him is in fact only a retrospective payment for the value of the commodity which has already passed into his possession. The commodity is in his hands; but it does not belong to him. With the money that he pays in the form of revenue, he therefore redeems it making it his property. Therefore the commodity does not change hands. When the money changes hands, this represents only a *change in the title of ownership* of the commodity, which remains in the hands of the producer as before. Hence this twofold change of place of the money with only a single change of hands for the commodity. The money circulates twice, in order to make the commodity circulate once. But it too circulates only once as means of circulation (means of purchase), while the other time it circulates as means of payment; in which type of circulation, as I have shown above, no

simultaneous change of place between commodity and money takes place.

In fact, if the farmer has no money in addition to his product, he can only pay for his product after he has first sold his commodity, and it has therefore already passed through its first metamorphosis before he can pay it out as money to the LANDLORD. Even taking this into account, there are more changes of place on the part of the money than on the part of the commodity. First, there is $C—M$; $^2/_5$ of the commodity is sold and transformed into money. Here there is the simultaneous exchange of commodity and money. Then however this same money, without being exchanged for a commodity, passes from the hands of the farmer into those of the LANDLORD. Here there is a change of place of the money, but no change of place of the commodity. It is the same as if the farmer had a CO-PARTNER. He has received the money, but he must share it with his CO-PARTNER. Or rather, for the $^2/_5$ it is more as if a SERVANT of the farmer has received the money. This SERVANT must give it to the farmer, he cannot retain it in his own pocket. In this instance the transfer of the money from one hand to the other does not express any kind of metamorphosis of the commodity, but is a mere TRANSFER of the money from the hand of its immediate possessor into the hand of its owner. This can therefore be the case when the man who first receives the money is merely a *colporteur*[a] for HIS EMPLOYER. Then the money is also not a means of payment—there is a simple transfer of it from the hand of the receiver, to whom it does not belong, into the hand of the owner.

This kind of change of place of money has absolutely nothing to do with the metamorphosis of the commodity, any more than has the change of place arising from the mere conversion of one kind of money into another kind. With a means of payment, however, it is always implied that the payer has received a commodity for which he subsequently pays. In the case of the farmer, etc., he has not *received* this commodity; it is in his hands before it is in the LANDLORD's hands, and it is a part of *his* product. But *in law* he becomes its owner only by handing over to the LANDLORD the money received for it. His legal title to the commodity changes; the commodity itself is in his hands both before and after. But first it was in his hands as something *in his possession* but the owner of which was the LANDLORD. It is now in his hands as his own property. The change in the legal form while the commodity remains in the

[a] Agent.—*Ed.*

same hands has naturally not caused the commodity itself to change hands.

[X-425] //This also makes it clear how absurd it is to "explain" the profit of the capitalist from the fact that he advances money to the labourer before he has converted the commodity into money.[78]

*First*: When I buy a commodity for my own consumption I get no "profit" because I am the buyer and the owner of the commodity is the "seller", because my commodity has the form of money and his must first be transformed into money. The capitalist pays for the labour only after he has consumed it, while other commodities are paid for before they are consumed. This arises from the peculiar nature of the commodity which he buys, and which is in fact only delivered after it is consumed. The money here has the form of means of payment. The capitalist has always appropriated to himself the commodity "labour" *before* he pays for it. The fact however that he only buys it in order to make a profit out of the resale of its product is no *reason* for his making this profit. It is a motive. And it would mean nothing but: he makes a profit by buying wage labour *because* he wants to make a profit out of selling it again.

*Secondly*: But he does nevertheless advance to the labourer in the form of money the part of the product which is his share as wages, and thus saves the latter himself the trouble and risk and time involved in converting into money the part of the commodity which is due to him as wages. Is the labourer not to pay him for this trouble, this risk, and this time, and on this account to accept less of the product than he would otherwise get?

This would upset the whole relationship between wage labour and capital, and destroy the economic justification of SURPLUS VALUE. The result of the process is in fact that the fund from which the capitalist pays the wage labourer is nothing but the latter's own product, and that therefore capitalist and labourer *actually* share the product in aliquot parts. But this actual result has absolutely nothing to do with the transaction between capital and wage [labour] (on which rests the economic justification of SURPLUS, the justification founded on the laws of commodity exchange itself). What the capitalist buys is the temporary right to dispose of labour capacity, he only pays for it when this labour capacity has taken effect, objectified itself in a product. Here, as in all cases where money functions as means of payment, purchase and sale precede the real handing over of the money by the buyer. But the labour *belongs* to the capitalist after that transaction, which has been

completed before the actual process of production begins. The *commodity* which emerges as product from this process belongs entirely to him. He has produced it with means of production belonging to him and with labour which he has bought and which therefore belongs to him, even though it has not yet been paid for. It is the same as if he had not consumed anyone else's labour in the production of the commodity.

The gain that the capitalist makes, the surplus value which he realises, springs precisely from the fact that the labourer has sold to him not labour realised in a commodity, but his labour capacity itself as a commodity. If he had confronted the capitalist in the first form, as a possessor of commodities,[79] the capitalist would not have been able to make any gain, to realise any surplus value, since according to the law of value exchange is between equivalents, an equal quantity of labour for an equal quantity of labour. The capitalist's surplus arises precisely from the fact that he buys from the labourer not a commodity but his labour capacity itself, and this has less value than the product of this labour capacity, or, what is the same thing, realises itself in more objectified labour than is realised in itself. But now, in order to justify profit, its very source is covered up, and the whole transaction from which it springs is repudiated. Because IN FACT—once the process is continuous—the capitalist only pays the labourer out of his own product, the labourer is only paid with a part of his own product, and the advance is therefore a mere pretence, we are now told that the labourer has sold his share in the product to the capitalist *before it has been converted into money.* (Perhaps before it was capable of being converted into money, for although the workman's labour had materialised itself in a product, it may be that only one part of the VENDIBLE COMMODITY[a] has as yet been realised, for example, part of a house.) So the capitalist is no longer owner of the product, and thereby the whole process through which he has appropriated another's labour *gratis* is invalidated. Now therefore owners of commodities confront each other. The capitalist has money, and the labourer sells him not his labour capacity but a commodity, namely, the part of the product in which his own labour is realised.

He [the labourer] will now say to the capitalist: "Of these 5 lbs of yarn, say $^3/_5$ represent constant capital. They belong to you. $^2/_5$, that is, 2 lbs, represent my newly added labour. Therefore you have to pay me the 2 lbs. So pay me the value of 2 lbs." And

[a] See this volume, p. 17.—*Ed.*

thereby he would POCKET not only the wages but also the profit, in short, a sum of money=the quantity of labour newly added by him and materialised in the form of the 2 lbs.

"But," says the capitalist, "have I not advanced the constant capital?"

"WELL," says the labourer, "you deduct the 3 lbs for it, and pay me only 2."

"But," INSISTS THE CAPITALIST, "you couldn't materialise your labour, you couldn't spin, without my cotton and my spindles. You must pay extra for that."

"WELL," says the labourer, "the cotton would have rotted and the spindles rusted if I hadn't used them for spinning. [X-426] The 3 lbs of yarn which you are deducting do represent, it is true, only the value of your cotton and spindles which were used up, and are therefore contained, in the 5 lbs of yarn. But it is only my labour that has maintained the value of cotton and spindles unchanged, by using these means of production as means of production. I'm not charging you anything for this value-maintaining power of my labour, because it didn't cost me any extra labour time beyond the spinning itself, for which I get the 2 lbs. It's natural faculty of my labour which costs me nothing, though it maintains the value of the constant capital. As I don't charge you anything for it, you can't charge me for not being able to spin *without* spindles and cotton. For without spinning, your spindles and cotton wouldn't be worth a brass farthing."

Driven into a corner, the capitalist says: "The 2 lbs of yarn are in fact worth 2s. They represent that much labour time of yours. But am I to pay you for them before I have sold them? Perhaps I may not sell them at all. That is risk No. 1. Secondly, perhaps I may sell them at less than their price. That is risk No. 2. And thirdly, in any case it takes time to sell them. Am I to take on both risks on your behalf *without recompense* and lose my time INTO THE BARGAIN? You can't expect something for nothing."

"WAIT A BIT!" replies the labourer, "what's the relation between us? We face each other as *owners of commodities*, you *as buyer, we as sellers*, for you want to buy our share in the product, the 2 lbs, and it in fact contains nothing but our own objectified labour time. Now you assert that we must sell you our commodity *below* its value, so that as a result you would be getting more value in commodity than you now have in money. The value of our commodity=2s. You want to give only 1s. for it, so that—since 1s. contains as much labour time as 1 lb. of yarn—you would get from the exchange twice as much value as you give in return. We

on the other hand would get, instead of an equivalent, only half an equivalent, an equivalent for only 1 lb. of yarn instead of 2 lbs. And on what do you base this demand, which is contrary to the law of value and the exchange of commodities in proportion to their value? On what? On the fact that you are buyer and we are sellers, that our value is in the form of yarn, of a commodity, and your value is in the form of money—that the same value in the form of yarn confronts the same value in the form of money. But, my good friend, that is in fact a mere change of form, which affects the way in which the value is *expressed* but leaves the *amount of value* unaltered. Or do you hold the childish view that every commodity must be sold *under* its price, i.e., for less than the sum of money which represents its value, because in the form of money it gets an *increased* value? But no, good friend, it does not get any increased value; the magnitude of its value does not change, it merely takes the shape of exchange value in its pure form.

"Besides, my good friend, think of the troubles you are laying up for yourself by taking this line. For what you assert amounts to this—that the seller must always sell his commodity to the *buyer below* its value. Indeed as far as you are concerned, this was the case earlier when we sold you not our commodity but our labour capacity itself. It is true that you bought it at its value, but you bought our actual labour *below* the value in which it is expressed. However that's an unpleasant memory—let's say no more about it. We've got beyond that, thank goodness, since—by your own decision—we are no longer to sell you our labour capacity as a commodity, but the commodity itself which is the product of our labour. Let's look at the troubles you're laying up for yourself. The new law you have set up—that the seller pays for the conversion of his commodity into money not with his commodity, through the exchange of his commodity for money, but that he pays for it by selling the commodity *below* its price—this law by which the buyer always fleeces and defrauds the seller must hold good in like measure for every buyer and seller. Let's suppose that we accept your offer—but on the condition that you yourself submit to the law just created by you, namely the law that the seller must surrender to the buyer a part of his commodity *for nothing*, in return for the buyer changing it into money for him. Then you buy our 2 lbs, which are worth 2s., for 1s. and thus make a profit of 1s. or 100%. But now you have 5 lbs of yarn, of a value of 5s., after you have bought the 2 lbs belonging to us. Now you think you're going to do a good stroke of business. The 5 lbs

cost you only 4s., and you're going to sell them for 5s. 'Wait a minute!' says *the man who buys from you.* 'Your 5 lbs of yarn is a commodity, and you are a seller. I have the same value in money, and I am a buyer. Consequently, by the law which you recognise I must make 100% profit out of you. You must therefore sell me the 5 lbs of yarn at 50% below its value, for 2s. 6d. I'll give you then 2s. 6d. and get in exchange a commodity to the value of 5s., and thus make 100% profit out of you, for what's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.'

"So you see, my good friend, where you get with your new law; you would simply have diddled yourself, since although at one moment you are a buyer, the next you're in turn a seller. In this particular case you would lose more as a seller than you gained as a buyer. And don't forget this too—before the 2 lbs of yarn you want now to buy from us ever existed, didn't you make other purchases in advance, but for which the 5 lbs of yarn would never have been there at all? [X-426a][a] Didn't you buy cotton and spindles in advance, which are now represented by 3 lbs of yarn? At that time the COTTON JOBBER in Liverpool and the THROSTLE maker in Oldham faced you as *sellers*, and you faced them as *buyer*; they represented commodity, you money—exactly the same relationship as we have the honour or the misfortune to stand in to each other at this moment. Wouldn't the SHARP COTTON JOBBER and your jovial *compère*[b] from Oldham have had a good laugh at you, if you had demanded that they hand over to you *for nothing* a part of the cotton and spindles, or what is the same thing, sell you these commodities below their price (and their value), on the ground that you were transforming commodities for them into money but they were transforming money into commodities for you, that they were sellers, you buyer? They risked nothing, for they got ready money, exchange value in the pure, independent form. You, on the other hand, what a risk you were taking! First you had to make spindles and cotton into yarn, run all the risks of the production process, and then finally the risk of reselling the yarn, changing it back again into money! The risk whether it would sell at its value, or over or under its value. The risk of not selling it at all, of not transforming it back into money; and AS TO ITS QUALITY AS yarn, YOU DIDN'T CARE A STRAW FOR IT. YOU DID NOT EAT yarn, NOR DRINK IT, NOR HAVE ANY USE WHATEVER FOR IT EXCEPT SELLING IT! And in any case the loss of time, in transforming the yarn again into money, and that

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[a] Presumably Marx made a mistake in pagination.—*Ed.*
[b] Colleague.—*Ed.*

includes therefore the transformation of spindles and cotton into money. *'Old boy,'* your *compères* will reply, *'don't make a fool of yourself. Don't talk nonsense. What the devil do we care what you propose turning our cotton and our spindles to? What use you destine them for! Burn them, hang them, if you like, throw them to the dogs, but pay for them! The idea! We are to make you a present of our goods because you have set up as a cotton spinner, and seem not to feel quite at ease in that line of business, and magnify to yourself its risks and perilous chances! Give up cotton spinning, or don't come into the market with such preposterous ideas!'"*

The capitalist, with a supercilious smile, replies to this tirade from the labourers: "Evidently you people are a bit out of your depth. You're talking about things you don't understand. Do you imagine I've paid ready money to the Liverpool RUFFIAN and the CHAP in Oldham? THE DEVIL I DID. I've paid them in bills of exchange, and the Liverpool RUFFIAN'S COTTON WAS IN POINT OF FACT SPUN AND SOLD BEFORE HIS BILL FELL DUE. With you it's another affair altogether. You want to get ready money."

"VERY WELL," say the labourers, "and what did the Liverpool RUFFIAN and the Oldham CHAP do WITH YOUR BILLS?"

*"What they were doing therewith?" says the capitalist. "Stupid question! They lodged them with their bankers and got them there discounted."*

"How much did they pay the BANKER?"

*"Let me see! Money is now very cheap. I think they paid something like 3% discount; that is to say, not 3% on the sum, but they paid so much on the sum for the time the bill was running as would have come up to 3% on the whole matter if the bill had run for a whole year."

"Still better," say the working men. "Pay us 2s., the value of our commodity—or say 12s. as we have dealt today per day, but we will deal per week. But take away from that sum 3% per annum for 14 days."

"But this bill is too small," says the capitalist, "to be discounted by any banker."

"Well," reply the working men, "we are 100 men. Thus you have to pay to us 1,200s. Give us a bill for them. This makes £60 and is not too small a sum to be discounted; but besides, as you discount it yourself, the sum must not be too small for you, since it is the identical sum whence you pretend to derive your profit upon us.* The amount deducted wouldn't be worth mentioning. And since we would thus get the major part of our product in its

entirety, we would soon reach the point when we didn't need you to discount it for us. Naturally we will not give you longer credit than the 14 days the STOCK JOBBER gives you."

If—turning the actual relationship upside-down—wages are to be derived from the discount on the part of the value of the total product that belongs to the workmen—that is, from the fact that the capitalist pays them this part in advance in *money*—he would have to give them very short-term bills of exchange, such as for example he pays to the COTTON JOBBER, etc. The workman would get the largest share of his product, and the capitalist would soon cease being a capitalist. From being the owner of the product he would become merely the workmen's banker.

Moreover, just as the capitalist takes the risk of selling the commodity below its [X-427] value, he equally takes the chance of selling it above its value. The workman will be thrown out onto the street if the product is unsaleable; and if it falls for long below the market price, his wages will be brought down below the average and SHORT TIME will be worked. It is he, therefore, that runs the greatest risk.

*Thirdly*: It never enters anyone's head to suggest that the farmer, because he has to pay rent in money, or the industrial capitalist, because he has to pay interest in money—and therefore in order to pay them must first have converted his product into money—is on that account entitled to deduct a part of his rent or his interest.//

In that part of the capital which circulates between industrial capitalist and labourer (that is, the part of the circulating capital which=the variable capital), there is also a return flow of the money to its starting-point. The capitalist pays the labourer his wages in money; with this money the labourer buys commodities from the capitalist, and so the money flows back to the capitalist. (In practice, to the capitalist's banker. But the bankers in fact represent, in relation to the individual capitalist, the aggregate capital in so far as it takes the form of *money*.) This return flow of the money does not in itself indicate any reproduction. The capitalist buys labour from the labourer with money; with the same money, the labourer buys commodities from the capitalist. The same money takes the form first of means of purchase for labour, and later on of means of purchase for commodities. That it comes back to the capitalist is due to the fact that at first he is a buyer, and then in turn, in relation to the same PARTIES, he is a seller. He parts with it as a buyer; it returns to him as a seller. The labourer on the contrary is first seller and then buyer, so first he

gets the money and then he pays it out, while in relation to him the capitalist first pays it out and then takes it in.

For the capitalist, the movement here is $M—C—M$. He buys a commodity (labour capacity) with money; with the product of this labour capacity (a commodity) he buys money; in other words, he sells this product in turn to his former seller, the labourer. For the labourer, on the other hand, the movement of circulation is $C—M—C$. He sells his commodity (labour capacity), and with the money he gets for it he buys back a part of his own product (a commodity). It could indeed be said that the labourer sells a commodity (labour capacity) for money, spends this money on commodities, and then sells his labour capacity again, so that for him too the movement is $M—C—M$; and since the money is constantly fluctuating between him and the capitalist, it could equally be said, depending on whether one considers it from the standpoint of the one or of the other, that for him as well as for the capitalist the movement is $M—C—M$. The capitalist, however, is the buyer. The renewal of the process starts from him, not from the labourer, while the return flow of the money is compulsory, since the labourer must buy means of subsistence. Here, as in all movements where the form of circulation on one side is $M—C—M$ and on the other $C—M—C$, it is made evident that the aim of the process of exchange on one side is exchange value, money—and therefore its increase—and on the other side use value, consumption. This is also the case when the money flows back as in the example first considered, where on the farmer's side the movement is $M—C—M$, $C—M—C$ on the LANDLORD's side; taking into account the fact that the $M$ with which the landlord buys from the farmer is the money form of the rent, and therefore the result of a movement $C—M$, the converted form of the part of the product that *au fond* belongs to the LANDLORD *in natura*.

This $M—C—M$, in so far as it merely expresses, as between labourer and capitalist, the return to the latter of the money laid out by him in wages, in itself does not indicate any reproduction process, but only that the two PARTIES are in turn buyer and seller in relation to each other. Nor does it represent money as capital, in such a way as in $M—C—M'$, where the second $M'$ would be a larger sum of money than the first $M$, so that $M$ represents self-valorising value (capital). On the contrary, it merely expresses the formal return of *the same* amount of money (often even less) to its starting-point. (By capitalist here, OF COURSE, is meant the class of capitalists.) I was therefore wrong in saying in the first Part[80]

that the form $M—C—M$ must always be $M—C—M'$. It may express merely the formal return of the money, as I indicated there already, by showing that the return circuit of the money to the same starting-point arises from the fact that the buyer in turn becomes seller.[81]

It is not *this* return movement of the money that enriches the capitalist. For example, he has paid 10s. for wages. The labourer buys goods from him with this 10s. He has given the labourer goods to the value of 10s. for his labour capacity. If he had given him means of subsistence *in natura* to the price of 10s., there would have been no circulation of money, and therefore no return flow of money. This phenomenon of money returning has therefore nothing to do with the enrichment of the capitalist, which only arises from the fact that in the production process itself the capitalist appropriates more labour than he has expended in wages, and that his product is consequently larger than the costs of producing it; while the money that he pays the labourer can in no case be more than the money with which the labourer buys goods from him. This formal return of the money has nothing to do with enrichment, and therefore $M$ here does not signify capital [X-428] any more than an increase or replacement of value takes place when money spent in rent, interest or taxes flows back to the payer of rent, interest and taxes.

$M—C—M$, in so far as it represents the formal return of money to the capitalist, only means that his promissory note issued in money is realised in his own commodity.

As an example of the wrong explanation of this money circuit—this return of money to its starting-point—see Destutt de Tracy above.[82] As a second example, with special reference to the circulation of money between labourer and capitalist, Bray is to be quoted later.[83] Finally, *Proudhon*, in regard to the money-lending capitalist.[a]

This form of return circuit $M—C—M$ is found wherever the buyer becomes in turn seller, and therefore in the movement of all commercial capital, where all dealers buy from each other in order to sell, and sell in order to buy. It is possible that the buyer—$M$—is unable to sell the commodity, rice for example, at a higher price than he bought it at; he may have to sell it below its price. Thus in such a case a simple return of the money takes place, because the purchase turns into a sale without the $M$ having established itself as valorising value, that is, as capital.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 222, 240.—*Ed.*

It is the same for example in the exchange of constant capital. The machine builder buys iron from the producer of iron and sells him machines. In this case the money flows back. It was paid out as means of purchase for the iron. It then serves the iron producer as means of purchase for machines, and so flows back to the machine builder. The latter has got iron for the money he paid out; he has delivered machines for the money he received. The same money has circulated twice its value. For example, the machine builder buys iron with £1,000; with the same £1,000 the iron producer buys machinery. The value of the iron and the machinery together=£2,000. In this way, however, £3,000 must be in motion: £1,000 money, £1,000 machinery and £1,000 iron. If the capitalists made an exchange *in natura*, the commodities would change hands without a FARTHING circulating.

It is the same when they have reciprocal accounting and the money serves them as means of payment. If paper money or credit money (bank-notes) circulate, then there is one difference in the transaction. £1,000 still exist in bank-notes, but they have no INTRINSIC VALUE. In any case here too there are 3 [times £1,000]: £1,000 iron, £1,000 machinery, £1,000 in bank-notes. But as in the first case these 3 only exist because the machine builder has had 2—machinery £1,000 and money—in gold and silver or bank-notes—£1,000. In both cases the iron producer returns to him only number two (the money); because the only reason why he received it at all was that the machine builder, as buyer, did not immediately become seller; he did not pay for the first commodity, the iron, in commodities, and so he paid for it in money. When he pays for it in commodities, that is, when he sells commodities to the iron producer, the latter returns the money to him because payment has not to be made twice, once in money, and the second time in commodities.

In both cases the gold or the bank-note represents the converted form of a commodity previously bought by the machine builder or a commodity bought by some other person, or perhaps of a commodity that has been converted into money even though it has not yet been bought (as in the case of revenue), such as the LANDLORD (his forebears, etc.)[84] represents. Here the flowing back of the money only indicates that [the person] who has paid out the money for commodities, the person who has thrown the money into circulation, pulls back the money out of circulation by the sale of another commodity that he throws into circulation.

The very same £1,000 we are thinking of could in one day pass through 30 hands, from capitalist to capitalist, and [it would] only

transfer capital from one to the other. Machinery [goes] to the iron producer, iron to the peasant, grain to the maker of starch or spirits, etc. In the end it might again come into the hands of the machine builder, and pass from him to the iron producer, etc., and thus it might circulate a capital of £40,000 or more and might continually flow back to whoever first paid it out. Mr. Proudhon concludes from this that that part of the profit made on this £40,000 which consists of interest on money, and is therefore paid out by the different capitalists—for example, by the machine builder to the man who lent him £1,000, by the iron producer to the man who lent him £1,000 which he spent long ago for coal, etc., or in wages, etc.—that these £1,000 yield the *total interest* that the £40,000 bring in. So that if the rate of interest was 5%, £2,000 in interest. From which he makes the correct calculation that the £1,000 have brought in 200%. And he is a critic of political economy *par excellence*![a]

But although *M—C—M*, representing the money circulation between capitalist and labourer, in itself does not imply any act of reproduction, nevertheless this is implied by the continuous repetition of this act, the continuity of the return circuit. There cannot be a buyer continually becoming a seller without the reproduction of the commodity which he sells. In fact, this holds good for everyone except those who live on rent or interest or taxes. But in some cases the return movement *M—C—M* always takes place if the transaction is to be completed—as in the case of the capitalist in relation to the labourer, or LANDLORD or drawer of rent (with these latter, there is a simple return of the money). In other cases the act is completed when commodities are bought, when the movement *C—M—C* has been concluded, as in the case of the labourer. It is this act which he continually renews. His initiative is always as seller, not as buyer. The same holds good for all money circulation [X-429] which is merely expenditure of revenue. The capitalist himself, for example, consumes a certain amount each year. He has converted his commodity into money, in order to pay out this money for commodities which he wants for his final consumption. Here there is *C—M—C*, and there is no return of the money to him; but the return is to the seller (the SHOPKEEPER for example), whose capital is replaced by the expenditure of revenue.

Now we have seen that an exchange takes place, a circulation of revenue against revenue. The butcher buys bread from the baker;

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[a] See this volume, p. 240.— *Ed.*

the baker meat from the butcher; both consume their revenue. They do not pay for the meat that the butcher himself eats or the bread that the baker himself eats. Each of them consumes this part of his revenue *in natura*. It is however possible that the meat bought by the baker from the butcher replaces not the latter's capital but his revenue—that part of the meat sold by him which not only represents his profit but the part of his profit which he wants to consume himself, as revenue. The bread that the butcher buys from the baker is also an expenditure of his revenue. If the two run accounts with each other, one or the other of them has only to pay the balance. There is no money circulated in respect of the part of their reciprocal purchases and sales which balances out. Let us however assume that the baker has to pay the balance and that this balance represents revenue for the butcher. Then he spends the money from the baker on other articles of consumption. Assuming that this is £10, which he spends with the tailor. If the £10 represents revenue for the tailor, he spends it in a similar way; in turn, he buys bread with it, etc. In this way the money flows back to the baker, no longer however as a replacement of revenue, but as a replacement of capital.

A question that can still be raised is: in *M—C—M*, as carried through by the capitalist, when it represents self-valorising value, the capitalist draws more money out of circulation than he threw into it. (This was what the hoarder actually wanted to do but did not succeed in doing. For he does not draw more value in the form of gold and silver out of circulation than he threw into it in the form of commodities. He possesses more value in the form of money, whereas previously he had more value in the form of commodities.) The total production costs of his commodity=£1,000. He sells it for £1,200, because his commodity now contains 20% or $^1/_5$ unpaid labour—labour that he has not paid for but nevertheless sold. How then is it possible for all capitalists, the class of industrial capitalists, continually to draw more money out of circulation than they put into it? First it can be said that on the other hand the capitalist continually puts in more than he draws out. His fixed capital had to be paid for. But he sells it only in the measure that he consumes it, only bit by bit. It always enters only to a much smaller extent into the *value* of the commodity, while it enters in its entirety into the process of producing the commodity. If its circulation is 10 years, only $^1/_{10}$ of it enters annually into the commodity, and no money circulates in respect of the other $^9/_{10}$, as they do not in any way come into circulation in the form of a commodity. That is the first point.

We will consider this problem later,[85] and meanwhile return to Quesnay.

But first one other point. The return of bank-notes to a BANK which discounts bills or makes ADVANCES in notes is quite a different phenomenon from the return of money which we have been considering up to now. In this case the transformation of the commodity into money is anticipated. It receives the form of money before it is sold, perhaps before it is produced. Or perhaps it has already been sold (for bills of exchange). *In any case* it has not yet been *paid for*, not yet reconverted into money. This transformation is therefore in any case anticipated. As soon as it is sold (or *deemed* to be sold) the money flows back to the bank, either in its own notes, which thus come back out of circulation, or in notes of other banks, which are then exchanged for its own (between the BANKERS)—so that then the notes of both are withdrawn from circulation, return to their starting-point—or in gold and silver. If this gold and silver is demanded for bank-notes which are in some third person's hands, the notes come back. If the notes are not converted, a similar quantity of gold and silver is taken out of circulation, and now lies in the bank's reserves instead of the notes.

In all these cases the process is this:

The existence of the money (transformation of the commodity into money) was anticipated. As soon as it is actually transformed into money, the transformation into money takes place a second time. This second existence of it as money, however, returns to the starting-point—it cancels out, takes the place of its first existence as money, and comes back out of circulation to the bank. It is perhaps the *same identical* quantity of notes that expressed its first existence which now expresses its second. The bill of exchange for example has been discounted by a yarn manufacturer. He has received the bill of exchange from the weaver. With the £1,000 he pays for coal, raw cotton, etc. The various hands through which these notes pass in payment for their commodities finally spend them on linen, and so the notes come to the weaver, who on the day the bill matures pays the spinner the identical notes, and the spinner in turn takes them back to the bank. It is by no means necessary that the second (posthumous) transformation of the commodity into money—after the transformation in anticipation—[X-430] should be carried through in different money from the first. And so it seems as if the spinner has in fact got nothing, since he borrowed notes, and the end of the process is that he gets them back again and returns them to the issuer. In fact however

these identical notes have served as means of circulation and means of payment during this period, and the spinner has used them in part to pay his debts, and in part to buy goods needed for the reproduction of the yarn, and in this way he has realised a SURPLUS (through the exploitation of his workmen), a part of which he can now pay back to the bank. Likewise in money, since more money has flowed back to him than he had expended, advanced, laid out. How? That again brings us to the question we had meanwhile held over.

So back to Quesnay. We come now to the 3rd and 4th acts of circulation.

L (the LANDLORD) buys manufactured commodities from S (sterile class, manufacturer)[86] (line a—c in the Tableau[a]) for 1,000. Here money, £1,000, circulates commodities to the same amount. //Because what takes place is a single act of exchange. If L bought from S in instalments and similarly received his rent from F (the FARMER) in instalments, the £1,000 of manufactured commodities could be bought say with £100. For L buys manufactured commodities from S for £100; S buys means of subsistence from F for 100; F pays 100 of rent to L; and when this had occurred 10 times, 10×£100 of commodities would have passed from S to L, and from F to S, and 10×£100 of rent from F to L. The whole circulation would then have been carried out with £100. If F however pays the rent in a single payment, a part of the £1,000 which is now in the possession of S and of the £1,000 which is again in F's possession might lie in their money-boxes, and the other part be in circulation.// Commodities to the value of £1,000 have now passed from S to L; on the other hand, money to the value of £1,000 has passed from L to S. This is simple circulation. Money and commodities merely change hands in the reverse direction. But in addition to the £1,000 of means of subsistence which the farmer has sold to L and which have thus gone into consumption, the £1,000 of manufactured commodities which S has sold to L have also gone into consumption. It must be noted that these existed before the new harvest. (Otherwise L could not buy them with the product of the new harvest.)

S for his part now buys means of subsistence to the value of £1,000 from F. Now *a second $^1/_5$ of the gross product* has fallen out of circulation and into consumption. As between S and F, the £1,000 functions as means of circulation. But at the same time two things take place here which do not take place in the process

[a] See this volume, p. 204.— *Ed.*

between S and L. In that process S reconverted into money one part of his product—manufactured goods to the amount of 1,000 millions. But in the exchange with F he transforms the money again into means of subsistence (which for Quesnay=wages), and in this way replaces the capital which he had expended in wages and consumed. This retransformation of the £1,000 into means of subsistence expresses, in the case of L, mere consumption, but in the case of S it expresses industrial consumption, reproduction; for he retransforms a part of his commodity into one of the elements in its production—means of subsistence. The one metamorphosis of the commodity, its retransformation from money into commodity, thus in this case expresses at the same time the beginning of its *real*, not merely *formal*, metamorphosis—the beginning of its reproduction, the beginning of its retransformation into its own production elements; in this transaction there is at the same time metamorphosis of the capital. But for L revenue is merely converted from the form of money into the form of commodity. This implies only consumption.

In the second place, however, since S buys means of subsistence from F for £1,000, the second £1,000 which F paid as money-rent to L returns to F. But it only returns to him because he draws it back out of circulation, buys it back, with an equivalent—£1,000 in commodities. It is the same as if the LANDLORD had bought from him £1,000 of means of subsistence (in addition to the £1,000); that is to say, as if the landlord had had the second part of his money-rent delivered by the FARMER in commodities, and had then exchanged these commodities for commodities from S. S ONLY LIFTS FOR L THE SECOND PART OF THE £2,000 IN COMMODITIES WHICH F HAS PAID TO L IN MONEY. If payment had been in kind, F would have given L £2,000 in means of subsistence; L would have consumed £1,000 of these himself, and exchanged the other £1,000 in means of subsistence with S, for the latter's manufactured goods. In this case there would only have been: (1) TRANSFER of the 2,000 millions in means of subsistence from F to L; (2) a barter transaction between L and S, in which the former exchanges £1,000 in means of subsistence against £1,000 in manufactured goods, and vice versa.

But instead of this, 4 acts have taken place: [X-431] (1) TRANSFER of £2,000 in money from F to L; (2) L buys means of subsistence for £1,000 from F; the money flows back to F, serving as means of circulation; (3) L buys manufactured goods from S for £1,000 in money; the money functions as means of circulation, changing

hands in the reverse direction to the goods; (4) with the £1,000 in money, S buys means of subsistence from F; the money functions as means of circulation. For S, it at the same time circulates as capital. It flows back to F because now the second £1,000 in means of subsistence is LIFTED—for which the LANDLORD held a promissory note from him. The money however does not come back to him directly from the LANDLORD, but only after it has served as means of circulation between L and S, and in between, *before it lifts the 1,000 millions of victuals, has on its passage lifted £1,000 in manufactures, and transferred them from the manufacturer to the landlord. The conversion of his commodity into money (in the exchange with the landlord) as well as the following conversion of money into victuals (in the exchange with the farmer) are, on the part of S, the metamorphosis of his capital, first into the form of money, and secondly into the form of the constitutive elements necessary to the reproduction of the capital.*

The result of the 4 acts of circulation up to this point is therefore: the LANDLORD has spent his revenue, half on means of subsistence, half on manufactured goods. By these transactions, the £2,000 he received as rent in the form of money have been spent. Half of it flows back to the farmer from him direct, and half indirect, via S. S however has parted with one part of his finished goods, and has replaced this part with means of subsistence, that is, with an element needed for reproduction. With these processes completed, the circulation is at an end as far as the LANDLORD comes into it. But the following have passed out of circulation into consumption—partly unproductive consumption, partly industrial (the LANDLORD has partially replaced the capital of S by spending his revenue): (1) 1,000 millions of means of subsistence (product of the new harvest); (2) 1,000 millions of manufactured goods (product of the previous year's harvest); (3) 1,000 millions of means of subsistence which enter into reproduction, that is, into the production of the commodities which S next year will have to exchange against half the LANDLORD's rent.

The 2,000 millions in money are now again in the hands of the farmer. He then buys goods for 1,000 millions from S to replace his annual and original advances,[a] in so far as these consist partly of tools, etc., and partly of manufactured goods which he consumes during the process of production. This is a simple process of circulation. It puts 1,000 millions into the hands of S, while the second part of his product existing in the form of a

[a] See this volume, p. 204.— *Ed.*

commodity is converted into money. On both sides there is metamorphosis of capital. The farmer's 1,000 millions are reconverted into elements of production needed for reproduction. The finished goods of S are reconverted into money; they pass through the *formal* metamorphosis from commodity into money, without which the capital cannot be reconverted into its production elements, and therefore also cannot be reproduced. This is the 5th circulation process. *£1,000 of manufactured goods* (product of the previous year's harvest) (a′—b′) fall out of circulation into reproductive consumption.

Finally S reconverts the 1,000 millions in money, in which form half of his commodities now exist, into the other half of his conditions of production—raw materials, etc. (a″—b″). This is simple circulation. For S, it is at the same time the metamorphosis of his capital into the form suitable for its reproduction; for F, it is the reconversion of his product into money. Now the last $^1/_5$ of the gross product falls out of circulation into consumption.

That is to say: $^1/_5$ goes into reproduction for the farmer, and does not come into circulation; the LANDLORD consumes $^1/_5$ (that makes $^2/_5$); S gets $^2/_5$; in all, $^4/_5$.[87]

Here there is an obvious gap in the explanation. Quesnay seems to reckon like this: F gives L (line a—b) 1,000 millions ($^1/_5$) in means of subsistence. With £1,000 of his raw materials he replaces S's fund (a″—b″). And £1,000 in means of subsistence form wages for S, which he adds as value to the commodities and consumes in food while he is doing it (c—d). And 1,000 millions remain in reproduction (a′), not entering into circulation. Finally, 1,000 millions of the product replace advances (a′—b′). Only he overlooks the fact that S buys for the £1,000 in manufactured goods, neither means of subsistence nor raw materials from the farmer, but pays back to him his own money. In fact he sets out from the presupposition that the farmer possesses 2,000 millions in money in addition to his gross product, and that this money is the total fund from which the money in circulation is provided.

He also forgets that in addition to the 5,000 millions in gross product, a further 2,000 millions of gross product exist in manufactured goods produced before the new harvest. For the 5,000 millions represent only the total annual production, [X-432] the total crop produced by the farmers, but not the gross product of manufacture, the reproductive elements for which have to be replaced out of this year's harvest.[a]

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[a] In this and the next paragraphs Marx uses French words and phrases.—*Ed.*

We thus have: (1) 2,000 millions in money in the farmer's hands; (2) 5,000 millions in gross product of the land; (3) 2,000 millions in manufactured goods. That is, 2,000 millions in money, and 7,000 millions in product (agricultural and industrial). The circulation process, put briefly, is as follows: F=farmer, L=LANDLORD, S=manufacturer, sterile.

F pays L 2,000 millions in money for rent; L buys from F means of subsistence for 1,000 millions. So $^1/_5$ of the farmer's gross product is DISPOSED OF. At the same time, 1,000 millions in money flow back to him. L moreover buys goods from S for 1,000 millions. By this transaction, $^1/_2$ of S's gross product is DISPOSED OF. In return for it, he has 1,000 millions in money. With this money he buys 1,000 millions of means of subsistence from F. By this transaction S replaces $^1/_2$ of the reproductive elements of his capital. This disposes of another $^1/_5$ of the farmer's gross product. At the same time the farmer finds himself again in possession of the 2,000 millions in money, the price of the 2,000 millions in means of subsistence which he has sold to L and S. F now buys goods from S for 1,000 millions, which replace for him $^1/_2$ of his advances. So the other half of the manufacturer's gross product is DISPOSED OF. Finally, S buys raw materials from the farmer for the last £1,000 in money; thereby a third $^1/_5$ of the farmer's gross product is DISPOSED OF, and the second half of the reproductive elements of the capital of S is replaced; but also 1,000 millions flow back to the farmer. The latter finds himself therefore again in possession of the 2,000 millions, which is in order, since Quesnay thinks of him as the capitalist, in relation to whom L is merely a RECEIVER of revenue and S merely a wage-earner. If he paid L and S directly in his product, he would not part with any money. If he pays out in money, they buy his product with it, and the money flows back to him. This is the formal return circuit of money to the industrial capitalist, who as buyer opens the whole business and brings it to an end. Moreover, $^1/_5$ of the advances belongs to reproduction. $^1/_5$ of the means of subsistence, however, which has not entered into circulation at all, remains to be disposed of.

S buys from the farmer means of subsistence for 1,000 millions and raw materials for 1,000 millions; and on the other hand F buys from him only 1,000 millions of commodities to replace his advances. So S has to pay a BALANCE of 1,000 millions which in the final instance he pays with the £1,000 he has received from L. Quesnay seems to confuse this *payment* of 1,000 millions to F with the *purchase* of F's product to the amount of 1,000 millions.

Reference must be made to the Abbé Baudeau's OBSERVATIONS on this point.[88]

In fact (on our calculation) the 2,000 millions have only served to: (1) pay rent to the amount of 2,000 millions in money; (2) circulate 3,000 millions of the farmer's gross product (1,000 millions means of subsistence to L, 2,000 millions means of subsistence and raw materials to S) and to circulate 2,000 millions of the gross product of S (1,000 of it to L, who consumes it, and 1,000 to F, who consumes it reproductively).

In the last purchase (a″—b″) in which S buys raw materials from F, he pays him back in money.

[X-433] So once more:

S has received from L 1,000 millions in money. With this 1,000 millions in money he buys means of subsistence from F to that amount. With the same 1,000 millions in money F buys commodities from S. With the same 1,000 millions in money S buys raw products from F.

Or, S buys from F raw materials for 1,000 millions in money, and means of subsistence for 1,000 millions in money. F buys goods from S for 1,000 millions [in money]. In this case 1,000 millions flow back to S, but only because it was assumed that in addition to the 1,000 millions in money he receives from the LANDLORD, and the 1,000 millions in goods that he still has to sell, he had over and above this another 1,000 millions in money which he himself had thrown into circulation. Instead of 1,000 millions circulating the goods between him and the farmer, on this assumption 2,000 would have been used for it. Then 1,000 returns to S. For he makes purchases from the farmer for 2,000 millions in money. The latter buys 1,000 from him, for which he pays him back half the money he had received from him.

In the first case S buys in two stages. First he pays out 1,000 millions; this flows back to him from F; and then he pays it out once more definitively to F, and so nothing comes back.

In the second case, on the other hand, S makes a single purchase for £2,000. If then F makes a return purchase for 1,000 millions, these remain with S. The circulation would have used £2,000 instead of 1,000, because in the first case the 1,000, by rotating twice, realised £2,000 in commodities. In the second case £2,000, in one rotation, also [realised] £2,000 in commodities. If the farmer now pays back 1,000 millions to S, S has not got more than in the first case. For he has thrown into circulation, in addition to £1,000 in commodities, also 1,000 in money from his

own fund which existed prior to the circulation process. He has put it out into circulation, and so it flows back to him.

In the first CASE: S [buys] £1,000 of commodities from F, for 1,000 *M*; F [buys] £1,000 in goods from S, [for] 1,000 *M*; S [buys] 1,000 of commodities from F, [for] 1,000 *M*; so that F keeps 1,000.

In the second CASE: S [buys] 2,000 of commodities from F, for 2,000 *M*; F [buys] £1,000 of goods from S, for 1,000 *M*. The FARMER, as before, keeps £1,000. S however gets back the £1,000 of capital advanced by him to circulation, it is thrown back to him by circulation. S buys commodities from F for 2,000 millions; F buys goods from S for 1,000 millions. Therefore in any event S has to pay a balance of 1,000 millions, but not more than this. Since, by way of paying this balance, he had paid F 2,000 millions as a result of the particular form of circulation, F pays him back these 1,000 millions, while in the first case he does not return any money to him.

In the first case S makes purchases from F for 2,000 millions, and F from S for 1,000 millions. So as before the balance in F's favour=1,000 millions. But this balance is paid to him in such a way that his own money flows back to him, because S first buys 1,000 millions from F, then F 1,000 millions from S, and finally S 1,000 millions from F. In these transactions 1,000 millions have circulated 3,000. But in the aggregate the value in circulation (if the money is real money)=4,000 millions, 3,000 in commodities and 1,000 in money. The amount of money originally thrown into circulation (to pay F) and circulating was never more than 1,000 millions, i.e., never more than the balance which S had to pay to F. Because F bought from him to the amount of 1,000 millions before he buys from F to the amount of 1,000 millions for the second time, S can pay his balance with these 1,000 millions.

In the second case S throws 2,000 millions into circulation. It is true that with it he buys 2,000 millions in commodities from F. These 2,000 millions are here required as means of circulation, and are paid out against an equivalent in commodities. But F buys back goods for 1,000 millions from S. One thousand millions therefore return to S, as the balance which he has to pay to F is only 1,000 millions and not 2,000. He has now replaced for F 1,000 millions in commodities, and so F must pay him back the 1,000 millions, which *now* he would have paid him in money for nothing. This CASE is remarkable enough to spend a moment on it.

There are various possible cases of the circulation assumed above of £3,000 in commodities, of which 2,000 are means of subsistence [and raw material] and 1,000 manufactures; we must however note: *first* that on Quesnay's assumption there are 1,000 millions in money in the hands of S and 1,000 millions of money in the hands of F at the moment when the circulation between the two of them begins; *secondly*, we will assume by way of illustrating the point that in addition to the 1,000 millions which S receives from L, S has in his till another 1,000 millions in money.

[X-434] I. *First*: The case as Quesnay puts it. S buys 1,000 *C* from F, for 1,000 *M*; with the 1,000 *M* thus received from S, F buys 1,000 *C* from S; finally S, with the 1,000 *M* he has got back in this way, buys 1,000 *C* from F. F is therefore left with the 1,000 *M* which to him represents capital (IN FACT, along with the other 1,000 *M* which he has got back from L, it forms the revenue with which again next year he pays the rent in money; that is, 2,000 *M*). 1,000 *M* has here circulated 3 times—from S to F, from F to S, from S to F—and each time in exchange for £1,000 of commodities, that is, for £3,000 in all. If the money itself has value, values to a total of £4,000 are in circulation. Money here functions only as means of circulation; but for F, in whose hands it finally remains, it is transformed into money and possibly into capital.

II. *Secondly*: The money functions merely as means of payment. In this case S, who buys 2,000 *C* from F, and F, who buys 1,000 *C* from S, settle accounts with each other. At the close of the transaction S has to pay a balance of 1,000 millions in money. As in the former case, 1,000 *M* comes into F's money-box, but without having served as means of circulation. The money is a TRANSFER of capital for him, as it only replaces his capital of 1,000 *C*. As before, values amounting to 4,000 are in circulation. But instead of 3 movements of 1,000 *M*, there has only been one, and the money has only paid for an amount of values in commodity form that is equal to itself. In the former case, it paid for 3 times as much. What would be saved as compared with case I would be the two superfluous movements of circulation.

III. *Thirdly*: To start with F comes forward as the buyer with the 1,000 *M* (which he has had from L), and buys commodities from S for 1,000. Instead of lying fallow with him as a hoard for payment of the next rent, now the £1,000 circulates. S has now 2,000 *M* (1,000 *M* from L and 1,000 *M* from F). With these 2,000 *M* he buys 2,000 *C* from F. Now values to the amount of £5,000 have been in circulation (3,000 *C* and 2,000 *M*). There has been a

circulation of 1,000 *M* and 1,000 *C*, and a circulation of 2,000 *M* and 2,000 *C*. Of these 2,000 *M*, the 1,000 originating with the farmer circulates twice, that originating with S only once. Now 2,000 *M* return to F, of which however only 1,000 *M* settles his balance; the other 1,000 *M*, which he himself had thrown into circulation because he took the initiative as buyer, flows back to him through circulation.

IV. *Fourthly*: S buys AT ONCE 2,000 *C* from F, with 2,000 *M* (1,000 from L, and 1,000 which he puts himself into circulation from his till). F buys back from S 1,000 *C*, thus returning to him 1,000 *M*; and F holds, as before, 1,000 *M* to settle the balance between him and S. Values to the amount of £5,000 have circulated. There are two acts of circulation.

Of the 2,000 *M* which S returns to F, 1,000 *M* represents the money which F himself threw into circulation, and only 1,000 *M* the money which S threw into circulation. Here 2,000 *M* instead of 1,000 *M* come back to F, but IN FACT he gets only 1,000, as he himself had thrown the other 1,000 into circulation. That is, in CASE III. In CASE IV 1,000 *M* returns to S, but it is the 1,000 which he got from his money-box, not from selling his commodities to P,[a] and himself threw into circulation.

In CASE I and indeed in CASE II there is never more than £1,000 in money circulating; but in case I it circulates 3 times and in CASE II it only once changes hands; this is merely due to the fact that in CASE II a high development of credit, and consequently economy in payments, is assumed; while in CASE I the movement is rapid; however, each time the money functions as means of circulation, and therefore the value at the two poles must each time appear twice, once in money and once in commodity. In CASE III and IV £2,000 circulate, instead of 1,000 as in I and II. This is because on one occasion in both cases (in CASE III by S as buyer who closes the circulation process, in CASE IV by S as buyer who opens the circulation process) commodity values to the amount of 2,000 *M* are at a single stroke thrown into circulation; that is, 2,000 *C* enter into circulation in a single act; it is assumed, moreover, that the commodities have to be paid for on the spot and not after the balance has been struck.

The most interesting thing about the movement is however the £1,000 which in CASE III is left in the hands of the farmer, in CASE IV in the hands of the MANUFACTURER, although in both cases the balance of £1,000 is paid to the farmer, and he gets not a

[a] Here Marx denotes farmer by "P", presumably from *Pächter*.—*Ed.*

farthing more in CASE III, and not a farthing less in CASE IV. In these transactions, of course, the exchange is always an exchange of equivalents, and when we speak of a balance we mean only the equivalent value which is paid for in money instead of in commodities.

In [case] III F throws 1,000 *M* into circulation, and gets in exchange for it from S the equivalent in commodities, or 1,000 *C*. But then S buys commodities from him for 2,000 *M*. The first 1,000 *M* which he threw in thus comes back to him, because 1,000 *C* has been taken from him in exchange. This 1,000 *C* is paid for with the money which he had paid out. He gets the second 1,000 *M* in payment for the second 1,000 *C*. This balance is owed to him in money, because he had only bought in all 1,000 *C*, and commodities to the value of 2,000 millions had been bought from him.

[X-435] In CASE IV S throws 2,000 *M* into circulation AT ONCE, for which he takes from F commodities for 2,000. With the money which S himself had paid him, F in turn buys from S commodities for 1,000 and so the 1,000 *M* returns to S.

In CASE IV: S in fact gives F 1,000 *C*=1,000 *M* as commodity and 2,000 *M* as money, that is, 3,000 *M*; but S gets from F only 2,000 *C*. F has consequently to return to him 1,000 *M*.

*In CASE III*: F gives S in commodities the equivalent of 2,000 *C*=2,000 *M*, and in money=1,000 *M*. That is, 3,000 *M*. But he gets from S only 1,000 C, the equivalent of 1,000 *M*. S has consequently to return to him 2,000 *M*; he pays back 1,000 in the money which F himself threw into circulation, and he himself throws 1,000 into circulation. He keeps the balance of 1,000 *M*, but cannot keep 2,000 *M*.

In both cases S receives 2,000 *C*, and F 1,000 *C*+1,000 *M*, i.e., the balance in money. In CASE III, in addition to this, another 1,000 *M* comes to F, but this is only the excess of the money which he has thrown into circulation over what he has drawn from circulation in commodities. Similarly with S in CASE IV.

In both cases S has to pay a balance of 1,000 *M* as money, because he takes commodities to the value of 2,000 out of circulation, and puts into it commodities only to the value of 1,000. In both cases F has to receive a balance of 1,000 *M* as money, because he has thrown 2,000 *C* into circulation and only drawn from it 1,000 *C*, the second 1,000 *C* must therefore be paid in money to him. In both cases, it is only this 1,000 *M* that can finally change hands. Since however 2,000 *M* are actually in circulation, this must flow back to the person who put it into

circulation; and this holds good whether F, in addition to receiving a balance of 1,000 *M* out of circulation, has thrown into it another 1,000 *M*; or whether S, who has to pay only a balance of 1,000 *M*, has in addition advanced another 1,000 *M*.

In CASE III 1,000 *M* comes into circulation in excess of the quantity of money that would under different circumstances be needed for the circulation of this quantity of commodities, because F comes forward as the first buyer, and must therefore throw money into circulation, whatever his ultimate position may be. In CASE IV, ditto, 2,000 *M* come into circulation, instead of only 1,000 as in II, because first S comes forward as buyer at the outset, and secondly buys 2,000 *C* all at once. In both cases the money that *circulates* between these buyers and sellers can finally only be equal to the balance which one of them has to pay. For the money which S or F has expended in excess of this amount is paid back to him.

Let us assume that F buys commodities from S to the value of £2,000. This CASE, then, would look like this: F gives S 1,000 *M* for commodities. S buys commodities from F for 2,000 *M*, as a result of which the first 1,000 returns to F and 1,000 INTO THE BARGAIN. F in turn buys commodities from S for 1,000 *M*, which brings this money back to S. At the end of the process F would have commodities to the amount of 2,000 *M* and the £1,000 that he had originally, before the circulation process began; and S commodities for 2,000 and 1,000 in money which he too originally had. The 1,000 *M* of F, and 1,000 *M* of S, would have played their role only as means of circulation and then would have flowed back—as money or in this case also as capital—to both the persons who had advanced them. Had they both used money as means of payment, they would have set off 2,000 *C* against 2,000 *C*; their accounts would have cancelled out and not a FARTHING would have circulated between them.

Thus the money which circulates as means of circulation between two persons who confront each other mutually as buyers and sellers returns to its source; there are 3 cases in which it can circulate.

[*First*:] The commodity values supplied balance each other. In this case the money returns to the person who advanced it to circulation and in this way used his capital to meet the costs of circulation. For example, if F and S each buys commodities for £2,000 from the other, and S opens the dance, he buys commodities from F for 2,000 *M*. F returns to him the 2,000 *M*, buying with it 2,000 in commodities from him. Thus S has both

before and after the transaction 2,000 *C* and 2,000 *M*. Or when, as in the CASE cited previously, both advance the means of circulation to an equal amount, each gets back what he had advanced to circulation—as above, 1,000 *M* to F and 1,000 *M* to S.

*Secondly*: The commodity values exchanged between the two parties are not equal to each other. There is a balance to be paid in money. If, as above in CASE I, the circulation of the commodities has taken place in such a way that no more money has entered *into circulation* than is required for the payment of this balance—it being always only this sum that passes to and fro between the two parties—then it comes finally into the hands of the last seller, in whose favour the balance is.

*Thirdly*: The commodity values exchanged between the two parties are not equal to each other; there is a balance to be paid; but the circulation of the commodities takes place in such a form that more money circulates than is required to settle the balance; in this case the money in excess of this balance returns to the party who has advanced it. In CASE III to the man who receives the balance, in CASE IV to the one who has to pay it.

In the second category listed above the money only *returns* when the receiver of the balance is the first buyer, as for example between worker and capitalist. It changes hands, as [in case] II, when the other party comes forward as the first buyer.

[X-436] //Of course, all this only takes place on the assumption that the definite quantity of commodities is bought and sold between the same persons, so that each of them is alternately buyer and seller in relation to the other one. On the other hand let us assume that the 3,000 *C* are equally distributed among the commodity owners, A, A′, A″, the sellers, and they are confronted by the buyers B, B′, B″. If the 3 purchases take place simultaneously, that is to say, alongside each other, £3,000 must circulate, so that each A is in possession of 1,000 *M* and each B is in possession of 1,000 *C*. If the purchases follow each other, succeeding each other in time, the circulation of the same £1,000 can only effect these if the metamorphoses of the commodities are interwoven, that is to say, when some persons function as buyers and sellers, even if not [in relation] to the same persons as in the CASE above, but as buyer in relation to one person, and as seller in relation to the other. Thus for example: (1) A sells to B for £1,000; (2) A buys with this £1,000 from B′; (3) B′ with the £1,000 buys from A′; (4) A′ with the £1,000 from B′; (5) B′ with the £1,000 from A′. The money would have changed hands

5 times between the 4[a] persons; but also commodities to the value of £5,000 would have circulated. If commodities for 3,000 are to be circulated, it would be like this: (1) A [buys] from B for 1,000; (2) B from A′ for 1,000; [(3)] A′ from B′ for 1,000. 3 changes of place as between 4 persons. It is *M—C.*//

The CASES set out above do not contradict the law explained earlier:

"that, if the speed of circulation of money and the sum total of the commodity prices are given, the amount of the medium of circulation is determined" (I, p. 85).[b]

In example 1 above, £1,000[89] circulates 3 times, and in fact it circulates commodities to the amount of £3,000. The amount of money in circulation is consequently

$$\frac{3{,}000 \text{ (sum of prices)}}{3 \text{ (velocity)}} \text{ or } \frac{3{,}000 \text{ (sum of prices)}}{3 \text{ cycles}} = £1{,}000.$$

In CASE III or IV the total prices of the commodities in circulation are, it is true, the same=£3,000; but the speed of circulation is different. £2,000 circulate once, i.e., £1,000+£1,000. Of these £2,000, however, 1,000 circulates once more. £2,000 circulate $^2/_3$ of the 3,000 in commodities, and half of if, £1,000, circulates another $^1/_3$; one £1,000 circulates twice, but another £1,000 circulates only once. The twofold circulation of £1,000 realises commodities whose prices=£2,000; and the single circulation of £1,000 realises commodities whose prices=£1,000—both together=3,000 in commodities. What then is the speed of circulation of the money in relation to commodities which it circulates in this case? The £2,000 make $1^1/_2$ cycles (this is the same thing as *first* the total sum circulates once, and then half of it again completes one cycle)=$^3/_2$. And in fact:

$$\frac{3{,}000 \text{ (sum of prices)}}{^3/_2 \text{ cycles}} = £2{,}000.$$

What is it then that determines the *different rapidity* of circulation of the money in this case?

Both in III and IV the difference arises from the fact that, in contrast to I—where the total prices of the commodities circulating each time are never greater and never smaller than $^1/_3$ of the total prices of the aggregate quantity of commodities which

[a] The manuscript has "6".—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Zur Kritik der politischen Oeconomie,* Erstes Heft, Berlin, 1859 (see also present edition, Vol. 29, p. 341).—*Ed.*

circulate, commodities only to the amount of £1,000 circulate at any time—in III and IV, however, commodities for 2,000 circulate once, and commodities for 1,000 circulate once, that is, once $^2/_3$ of the existing quantity of commodities, and once $^1/_3$. For the same reason, larger varieties of coin must circulate in wholesale trade than in retail trade.

As I have already observed (I, "[The] Circulation of Money"), the reflux of the money shows in the first place that the *buyer* has *in turn* become *seller*[a]; and in fact it makes no difference whether in so doing he sells to the same person from whom he had bought, or not. If however the buying and selling is between the same persons, then the phenomena appear which have been the occasion of so many errors (Destutt de Tracy[82]). The buyer becoming seller shows that new commodities are to be sold. Continuity in the circulation of commodities—tantamount to its constant renewal (I, p. 78[b])—is, therefore, reproduction. The buyer can become in turn seller—as in the case of the manufacturer in relation to the labourer—without this denoting an act of reproduction. It is only the continuity, the repetition of this reflux, in relation to which it can be said that it denotes reproduction.

The reflux of money, when it represents the reconversion of the capital into its money form, necessarily shows the end of one cycle and the beginning again of new reproduction, if the capital as such continues the process. In this case too he [the capitalist], as in all other cases, was the seller, *C—M*, and then became buyer, *M—C*; but it is only in *M* that his capital again possesses the form in which it can be exchanged for its reproductive elements, and here the *C* represents these reproductive elements. *M—C* here represents the transformation of the money capital into productive or industrial capital.

Furthermore, as we have seen, the reflux of the money to its starting-point may show that the money balance in a series of purchases and sales is in favour of the buyer with whom the series of these processes opened. F buys from S for 1,000 in money. S buys from F for 2,000 in money. Here the £1,000 flows back to F. As for the other 1,000, there is merely a change of place of the money between S and F.

[X-437] Finally, however, a reflux of the money to its starting-point may take place without indicating payment of a

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[a] Ibid., p. 335.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 335-36.—*Ed.*

balance, both (1) when the reciprocal payments cancel each other out, and consequently there is no balance to be paid in money; and (2) when the transactions do *not* cancel out, and therefore a balance has to be paid. See the cases analysed above. In all these cases it makes no difference whether for example the same S confronts F; S representing here in relation to F and F to S the total number of those selling to him and buying from him (exactly as in the example where payment of a balance is indicated by the reflux of the money). In all these cases the money flows back to the person who so to speak has advanced it to circulation. It has done its job in circulation, like bank-notes, and comes *back* to the person who laid it out. *Here it is only means of circulation. The final capitalists settle with each other, and so it comes back to the one who paid it out.*

We have therefore still to deal later on with the question we have held over: the capitalist draws more money out of circulation than he threw into it.[85]

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Back to Quesnay:

Adam Smith cites with some irony the Marquis de Mirabeau's hyperbolical statement:

> "There have been since the world began three great inventions.... The first is the invention of *writing*.... The second is *the invention*" (!) "of *money*.... The third is the *economical table*, the result of the other two, which completes them both" (ed. Garnier, t. III, l. IV, ch. IX, p. 540) [Vol. III, pp. 147-48].[14]

But in fact it was an attempt to portray the whole production process of capital as a *process of reproduction*, with circulation merely as the form of this reproduction process; and the circulation of money only as a phase in the circulation of capital; at the same time to include in this reproduction process the origin of revenue, the exchange between capital and revenue, the relation between reproductive consumption and final consumption; and to include in the circulation of capital the circulation between consumers and producers (IN FACT between capital and revenue); and finally to present the circulation between the two great divisions of productive labour—raw material production and manufacture—as phases of this reproduction process; and all this depicted in one *Tableau* which IN FACT consists of no more than 5 lines which link together 6 points of departure or return—[and this was] in the second third of the eighteenth century, the period when political

economy was in its infancy—this was an extremely brilliant conception, incontestably the most brilliant for which political economy had up to then been responsible.

As regards the circulation of capital—its reproduction process, the various forms which it assumes in this process of reproduction, the connection between the circulation of capital and circulation in general (that is, not only the exchange of capital for capital but of capital for revenue)—Adam Smith in fact only took over the inheritance of the Physiocrats and classified and specified more precisely the separate items in the inventory.[90] But his exposition and interpretation of the movement as a whole was hardly as correct as its presentation in outline in the Tableau économique, in spite of Quesnay's false assumptions.

When moreover Adam Smith says of the Physiocrats:

"Their works have certainly been of some service to their country" ([Garnier,] l. c., p. 538) [Vol. III, p. 146],

this is an immoderately moderate statement of the significance for example of Turgot, one of the immediate fathers of the French Revolution.

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The passage from Proudhon referred to earlier[a] runs:

"The amount of mortgage debts, according to the best-informed writers, is 12 milliards; some put it as high as 16 milliards. The amount of debts on note of hand, at least 6. Limited-liability companies, about 2. The public debt, 8 milliards. Total: 28 milliards. All these debts—note this point—have their source in money lent, or deemed to be lent, at 4, at 5, at 6, at 8, at 12, and up to 15%. I take 6% as the average interest, as far as concerns the first 3 categories: that would be, then, on 20 milliards, 1,200 millions. Add the interest on the public debt, about 400 millions: in all, 1,600 millions annual interest, for a capital of 1 milliard" [p. 152]. That is to say, 160%.[91] For "the amount of ready money, I will not say existing, but circulating in France, including the cash balance of the Bank, does not exceed 1 milliard, according to the most usual estimate" (p. 151). "When the exchange has been completed, the money is once more available, and can therefore give rise to a new loan.... The capital-money, from exchange to exchange, always returns to its source, it follows that the re-lending, always done by the same hand, always profits the same person" (p[p. 153-]54). *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon*, Paris, 1850.[b92]

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[a] See this volume, p. 222.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes from Proudhon partly in French, partly in German, with some alterations.— *Ed.*

## [X-438] d) LINGUET
## *THÉORIE DES LOIX CIVILES ETC.*, LONDON, 1767

In accordance with the plan of my work socialist and communist writers are entirely excluded from the historical reviews.[93] These reviews are only intended to show on the one hand in what form the political economists criticised each other, and on the other hand the historically determining forms in which the laws of political economy were first stated and further developed. In dealing with surplus value I therefore exclude such eighteenth-century writers as Brissot, Godwin and the like, and likewise the nineteenth-century socialists and communists. The few socialist writers whom I shall come to speak of in this survey[94] either themselves adopt the standpoint of bourgeois political economy or contest it from its own standpoint.

Linguet however is not a socialist. His polemics against the bourgeois-liberal ideals of the Enlighteners, his contemporaries, against the dominion of the bourgeoisie that was then beginning, are given—half-seriously, half-ironically—a reactionary appearance. He defends Asiatic despotism against the civilised European forms of despotism; thus he defends slavery against wage labour.

Vol. I. The only statement directed against Montesquieu:

"*l'esprit des lois, c'est la propriété,*"[a] [p. 236][95]

shows the depth of his outlook.

The only economists whom Linguet found to deal with were the Physiocrats.

The rich have taken possession of all the conditions of production; hence the *alienation of the conditions of production*, which in their simplest form are the natural elements themselves.

"In our civilised countries, all the elements [of nature] are slaves" (p. 188).[b]

In order to get hold of some of this treasure appropriated by the rich, it must be purchased with heavy labour, which increases the wealth of these rich persons.

"Thus it is that all captive nature has ceased to offer to these children resources of easy access for the maintenance of their life. Its favours must be paid for by assiduous toil, and its gifts by stubborn labours."

(Here—in the gifts of nature—the Physiocratic view is echoed.)

"The rich man, *who has arrogated to himself the exclusive possession of it*, only at this price consents to restore even the smallest part of it to the community. *In order to be allowed to share in its treasures, it is necessary to labour to increase them*" (p. 189). "One

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[a] The spirit of the laws is property.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below, Marx quotes Linguet in French.—*Ed.*

must, then, renounce this chimera of liberty" (p. 190). Laws exist in order to "sanctify a primary usurpation" (of private property), "to prevent new usurpations" (p. 192). "They are, as it were, a conspiracy against the greater part of the human race" (l.c. [p. 195], that is, against those who own no property). "It is society which has produced the laws, and not the laws which have produced society" (p. 230). "Property existed before the laws" (p. 236).[96]

"Society" itself—the fact that man lives in society and not as an independent, self-supporting individual—is the root of property, of the laws based on it and of the inevitable slavery.

On the one hand, there were peaceful and isolated husbandmen and shepherds. On the other hand—

"hunters accustomed to live by blood, to gather together in bands the more easily to entrap and fell the beasts on which they fed, and to concert together on the division of the spoils" (p. 279). "It is among the hunters that the first signs of society must have appeared" (p. 278). "*Real society came into being at the expense of the shepherds or husbandmen, and was founded on their subjection*" by a band of hunters who had joined hands (p. 289). All duties of society were resolved into commanding and obeying. "This degradation of a part of the human race, after it had produced society, gave birth to laws" (p. 294).[a]

Stripped of the conditions of production, the labourers are compelled by need to labour to increase the wealth of others in order themselves to live.

"It is the impossibility of living by any other means that compels our farm labourers to till the soil whose fruits they will not eat, and our masons to construct buildings in which they will not live. It is want that drags them to those markets where they await masters who will do them the kindness of buying them. *It is want that compels them to go down on their knees to the rich man in order to get from him permission to enrich him*" (p. 274).

"Violence, then, has been the first cause of society, and force the first bond that held it together" (p. 302). "Their" (men's) "first care was doubtless to provide themselves with food ... the second must have been to seek to *provide themselves with it without labour*" (pp. 307-08). "They could only achieve this by *appropriating to themselves the fruit of other men's labour*" (p. 308). "The first conquerors only made themselves despots so that they could be idle with impunity, and kings, in order to have something to live on: and this greatly narrows and simplifies ... the idea of domination" (p. 309). "Society is born of violence, and property of usurpation" (p. 347). "As soon as there were masters and slaves, society was formed" (p. 343). "From the beginning, the two [X-439] pillars of the civil union were on the one hand the slavery of the greater part of the men, and on the other, the slavery of all the women.... It was at the cost of three-fourths of its members that society assured the happiness, the opulence, the ease of the small number of property owners whom alone it had in view" (p. 365).

Vol. II:

"The question, therefore, is not to examine whether slavery is contrary to nature in itself, but whether it is contrary to the nature of society ... it is

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[a] Here Marx quotes Linguet partly in French, partly in German, with some alterations.— *Ed.*

inseparable from it" (p. 256). "Society and civil servitude were born together" (p. 257). "Permanent slavery ... the indestructible foundation of societies" (p. 347).

"Men have only been reduced to depend for their subsistence on the liberality of another man *when the latter by despoiling them has become rich enough* to be able *to return* a small portion to them. His feigned generosity could be no more than a *restitution of some part of the fruits of their labours which he had appropriated*" (p. 242). "*Does not servitude consist* in this obligation to sow without reaping for oneself, to sacrifice one's well-being to that of another, to labour without hope? And did not its real epoch begin from the moment when there were men whom the whip and a few measures of oats when they were brought to the stable could compel to labour? It is only in a fully developed society that food seems to the poor *starveling* a sufficient *equivalent* for his liberty; but in a society in its early stages free men would be struck with horror at this unequal exchange. It could only be proposed for *captives.* Only after they have been deprived of the enjoyment of all their faculties can it" [the exchange] "become a necessity for them" (pp. 244-45).

"*The essence of society* ... consists *in freeing the rich man from labour,* giving him new organs, untiring members, which take upon themselves all the laborious operations *the fruits of which he is to appropriate.* That is the plan which slavery allows him to carry out without embarrassment. He buys men who are to serve him" (p. 461). "In suppressing slavery, no claim was made that either wealth or its advantages were suppressed.... It was therefore necessary that things should remain the same except in name. It has always been necessary for the majority of men to continue to live in the pay of and in dependence on the minority which *has appropriated to itself all wealth.* Slavery has therefore been perpetuated on the earth, but under a sweeter name. Among us now it is adorned with the title of service" (p. 462).

By these servants, Linguet says, he does not mean lackeys, etc.:

"The towns and the countryside are peopled by another kind of servant, more widely spread, more useful, more laborious, and known by the name of *journeymen,*[a] *handicraftsmen,* etc. They are not dishonoured by the brilliant colours of luxury; they groan beneath the loathsome rags which are the *livery* of penury. *They never share in the abundance of which their labour is the source.* Wealth seems to grant them a favour when it kindly accepts the *presents that they make to it.* It is for them to be grateful for *the services which they render to it.* It pours on them the most outrageous contempt while they are clasping its knees imploring *permission to be useful to it.* It has to be pleaded with to grant this, and *in this peculiar exchange of real generosity for an imaginary favour,* arrogance and disdain are on the *side of the receiver,* and servility, anxiety and eagerness *on the side of the giver.* These are the servants who have truly replaced the serfs among us" (pp. 463-64).

"The point that has to be examined is: what effective gain the *suppression of slavery* has brought to them. I say with as much sorrow as frankness: all that they have gained is to be every moment tormented by the fear of death from hunger, a calamity that at least never visited their predecessors in this lowest rank of mankind" (p. 464). "He is free, you say. Ah! That is his misfortune. He is bound to no one; but also no one is bound to him. When he is needed, he is *hired at the cheapest price* possible. The meagre *wage* that he is promised is hardly equal to *the price of his subsistence for the day which he gives in exchange.* He is given *surveillants* (OVERLOOKERS) *to compel him to fulfil his task quickly*; he is hard driven; he is goaded on,

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[a] In the manuscript Marx inserted a German term in parentheses after the French one.— *Ed.*

for fear that a skilfully concealed and only too comprehensible laziness may make him hold back half his strength; for fear that the hope of *remaining employed longer on the same task* may stay his hands and blunt his tools. *The sordid economy that keeps a restless watch on him overwhelms him with reproaches at the slightest respite he seems to allow himself, and claims to have been robbed* if he takes a moment's rest. When he has finished he is dismissed as he was taken on, with the coldest indifference, and without any concern as to whether the twenty or thirty sous that he has just earned for a hard day's labour [X-440] will be enough to keep him *if he finds no work the following day*" (pp. 466-67).

"He is free! That is precisely why I pity him. For that reason, he is much less cared for in the labours in which he is used. His life is much more readily hazarded. The slave was precious to his master because of the money he had cost him. But the handicraftsman costs nothing to the rich voluptuary who employs him. Men's blood had some price in the days of slavery. They were worth at least as much as they could be sold for in the market. Since they have no longer been sold they have no real intrinsic value. A pioneer is much less valued in an army than a pack-horse, because the horse is very costly and a pioneer can be had for nothing. The suppression of slavery brought these military calculations into civil life; *and since that epoch there has been no prosperous bourgeois who does not calculate in this way, as heroes do*" (p. 467).

"The day labourers are born, grow up and are trained for" (are bred for) "the service of wealth without causing it the slightest expense, like the game that it massacres over its estates. It seems as if it really has the secret of which the unfortunate Pompey vainly boasted. Wealth has only to stamp on the ground, and from it emerge legions of hard-working men who contend among themselves for the honour of being at its disposal: if one among this crowd of mercenaries putting up its buildings or keeping its gardens straight disappears, the place that he has left empty is an invisible point which is immediately covered again without any intervention from anyone. A drop of the water of a great river is lost without regret, because new torrents incessantly succeed it. It is the same with labourers; the ease with which they can be replaced fosters the hard-heartedness towards them on the part of the *rich man*"

(this is the form used by Linguet; not yet capitalist) (p. 468).

"These men, it is said, have no master ... pure abuse of the word. What does it mean? they have no master—they have one, and the most terrible, the most imperious of masters, that is, *need*. It is this that reduces them to the most cruel dependence. *It is not one man in particular whose orders they must obey, but the orders of all in general.* It is not a single tyrant whose whims they have to humour and whose benevolence they have to court—which would set a limit to their servitude and make it endurable. *They become the valets of anyone who has money*, which gives their slavery an infinite compass and severity. It is said that if they do not get on well with one master they at least have the consolation that they can tell him so and the power to make a change: but the slaves have neither the one nor the other. They are therefore all the more wretched. What sophistry! For bear in mind that the number of those *who make others work* is very small and the number of labourers on the contrary is immense" (pp. 470-71). "What is this apparent liberty which you have bestowed on them reduced to for them? *They live only by hiring out their arms. They must therefore find someone to hire them, or die of hunger. Is that to be free?*" (p. 472).

"What is most terrible is that the very smallness of this pay is another reason for reducing it. The more the day labourer is driven by want, the cheaper he sells himself. The greater the urgency of his need, the less profitable is his labour. The despots for the moment whom he beseeches with tears to accept his services feel no shame in, as it were, feeling his pulse, to assure themselves that he has enough

strength left; they fix the reward that they offer him by the degree of his weakness. The nearer they think he is to death from starvation, the more they deduct from what could keep him from it; and what the savages that they are give him is less to prolong his life than to delay his death" (pp. 482-83). "The independence" (of the day labourer) "...is one of the most baneful scourges that the refinement of modern times has produced. It augments the wealth of the rich and the poverty of the poor. The one saves everything that the other spends. What the latter is forced to economise is not from his superfluity but from what is indispensable to him" (p. 483).

"If today it is so easy to maintain these prodigious armies which join with luxury in order to bring about the extinction of the human race, it is only due to the suppression of slavery ... it is only since there have no longer been slaves that debauchery and beggary make heroes at five sous a day" (pp. 484-85).

"I find this" (Asiatic slavery) "a hundred times more preferable than any other way of existing for men reduced to having to win their livelihood by daily labour" (p. 496).

"Their" (the slaves' and the day labourers') "chains are made of the same material and only differently coloured. Here they are black, and seem heavy: there they look less gloomy and seem hollower: but weigh them impartially and you will find no difference between them; both are equally forged by necessity. They have precisely the same weight, or rather, if they are a few grains more in one case, it is in the one whose external appearance proclaims that it is lighter" (p. 510).

He calls to the men of the French Enlightenment, in regard to the labourers:

"Do you not see that the subjection, the annihilation—since it must be said—of this large part of the flock creates the wealth of the shepherds?... Believe me, in his interest" (the shepherd's), "in yours and even in theirs, leave them" (the sheep) "with the conviction that they have that this cur who yelps at them is stronger by himself than they are all together. Let them flee with stupid fright at the mere sight of his shadow. Everyone benefits from it. It will make it easier for you to gather them in to fleece them for yourselves. They are more easily guarded from being devoured by wolves. [X-441] It is true, only to be eaten by men. But anyway that is their fate from the moment they have entered a stable. Before talking of releasing them from there, start by overthrowing the stable, that is to say, society" (pp. 512-13).

### f) BRAY (J. F.)
### *LABOUR'S WRONGS AND LABOUR'S REMEDY ETC.*, LEEDS, 1839

Since human existence is determined by labour, and labour presupposes means of labour ... "the great field for all exertion and the *raw material* of all wealth—the earth—must be[a] the common property of all its inhabitants" (p. 28).

"Life is dependent upon food, food upon labour, those dependencies are absolute. Therefore, if labour be evaded by any individual, it can be thus evaded by individuals only on the condition of increased labour by the mass" (p. 31).

"All the wrongs and the woes which man has ever committed or endured, may be traced to the assumption of a right in the soil, by certain individuals and classes, to the exclusion of other individuals and classes.... The next step which man has ever taken, after having claimed property in land, has been to claim property in man..." (p. 34).

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[a] Bray has "is".—*Ed.*

Bray declares that his purpose is:

"fighting them" (the political economists) "upon their own ground, and with their own weapons" (in order to prove that poverty need not be the lot of the workers under every social system). "Before the conclusions arrived at by such a course of proceeding can be overthrown, the economists must unsay or disprove those established truths and principles on which their arguments are founded" (p. 41).

"According to the economists themselves the production of wealth requires: 1) labour, 2) accumulation of previous labour, or capital, and 3) EXCHANGES..." These are, according to the economists themselves, the *universal conditions of production.*[a] "They are applied to society at large, and, from their nature, cannot exempt any individual or any class from their operation" (p. 42).

"The ban—'Thou shalt labour'—rests alike on all created beings.... Man only can escape this law; and, from its nature, it can be evaded by one man only at the expense of another" (p. 43).

"From the very nature of labour and exchange, strict justice not only requires" //in this context, Bray refers to the economic definitions of the exchange value of commodities// "that all exchangers should be *mutually*, but that they should likewise be *equally*, benefited.... If a just system of exchanges were acted upon, the value of all articles would be determined by the entire cost of production; and equal values should always exchange for equal values. ... the workmen have given the capitalist the labour of a whole year, in exchange for the value of only half a year—and from this has arisen the inequality of wealth and power which at present exists around us. It is an inevitable consequence[b] of inequality of exchanges—of buying at one price and selling at another—that capitalists shall continue to be capitalists, and working men be working men—the one a class of tyrants and the other a class of slaves" (pp. 48-49).

"By the present system, exchanges are not only not mutually beneficial to all parties, as the political economists have asserted, but it is plain that there is, in most transactions between the capitalist and the producer, no exchange whatever ... what is it that the capitalist, whether he be manufacturer or landed proprietor, gives for the labour of the WORKING MAN? Labour? No, for he does not work—Capital? No, for his store of wealth is being perpetually augmented. ...the capitalist *cannot* make an exchange with anything that belongs to himself. The whole transaction, therefore, plainly shews that the capitalists and proprietors do no more than give the working man, for his labour of one week, a part of the wealth which they obtained from him the week before!—which just amounts to giving him nothing for something.... The wealth which the capitalist appears to give in exchange for the workman's labour was generated neither by the labour nor the riches of the capitalist, but it was originally obtained by the labour of the workman; and it is still daily taken from him, by a fraudulent system of unequal exchanges" ([p]p. 49[-50]). "The whole transaction between the producer and the capitalist, is a palpable deception, a mere farce" (p. 50).

"The law which says 'THERE SHALL BE ACCUMULATION', is only half fulfilled, and is made to subserve the interests of a particular class, to the detriment of all the rest of the COMMUNITY" (p. 50).

"Under the present social system, the whole of the working class are dependent upon the capitalists or EMPLOYERS OF THE MEANS OF LABOUR; and where one class, by its position in society, is thus dependent upon another class for the *MEANS OF*

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[a] Marx here summarises Bray's ideas.—*Ed.*

[b] Bray has "condition".—*Ed.*

*LABOUR*, it is dependent, likewise, for the *MEANS OF LIFE*; and this is a condition so contrary to the very intention of society—so revolting to reason ... that it cannot for one moment be palliated or defended. It confers on man a power which ought to be vested in nothing mortal" (p. 52).

"Our daily experience teaches us, that if we take a slice from a loaf, the slice never grows on again: the loaf is but an accumulation of slices, and the more we eat of it, the less will there remain to be eaten. Such is the [X-442] case with the loaf of the working man; but that of the capitalist follows not this rule. His loaf continually increases instead of diminishing: with him, it is cut and come again, for ever. ...if EXCHANGES were equal, would the wealth of the present capitalists gradually go from them to the working classes: every shilling that the rich man spent, would leave him a shilling less rich" (p[p. 54-]55).

Bray also shows in his work that

"it is impossible that any capitalist can have derived even 1,000 pounds sterling from the actual hoarded labour of his WORKING-CLASS PROGENITORS" (l.c. [p. 55]).

It follows from the teachings of the political economists themselves that "there can be no EXCHANGES without ACCUMULATIONS—no ACCUMULATIONS without labour"[a] (l.c.).

"Under the present system, every working man gives to an EMPLOYER at least 6 days' labour for an equivalent worth only 4 or 5 days' labour, the gains of the last man are necessarily the losses of the first man" (p. 56).

"Thus, in whatever light" [the genesis of wealth is] "examined—whether as a gift, individual accumulation, exchange, inheritance—there is proof upon proof that there is a flaw in the rich man's title which takes away at once its very show of justice, and its value" (p. 56). "This wealth has all been derived from the bones and sinews of the working classes during successive ages, and it has been taken from them by the fraudulent and slavery-creating system of unequal EXCHANGES" (p. 57).

"If a working man under the present system would become wealthy, he instead of exchanging his own labour, must become a capitalist, or exchanger OF THE LABOUR OF OTHER PEOPLE; and thus, by plundering others in the same manner as he was plundered, through the MEDIUM OF UNEQUAL EXCHANGES, he will be enabled to acquire great gains FROM THE SMALL LOSSES OF OTHER PEOPLE" (p. 57).

"The political economists and capitalists have written and printed many books to impress upon the working man the fallacy that 'the gain of the capitalist is *not* the loss of the producer'. We are told that labour cannot move one step without capital—that capital is as a shovel to the man who digs—that capital is just as necessary to production as labour itself is. ...this mutual dependency between capital and labour has nothing to do with the relative position of the capitalist and the working man; nor does it show that the former should be maintained by the latter.... It is the capital, and not the capitalist, that is essential to the operations of the producer; and there is as much difference between the two, as there is between the actual cargo and the bill of lading" (p. 59).[97]

"From the relation which capital and labour bear to each other, it is evident that the more capital or accumulated produce there is in a country, the greater will be the facilities for production, and the less labour will it require to obtain a given (certain) result. Thus the people of Great Britain, with the aid of their present VAST accumulation of capital—their buildings, machinery, ships, canals and railways—can produce more manufactured wealth in one week, than their ancestors of a thousand years since could have created in half a century. It is not

[a] Marx quotes Bray with some alterations.— *Ed.*

our superior physical FORCES,[a] but our capital, which enables us to do this; for, wherever there is a deficiency of capital, production will progress slowly and laboriously, and vice versa. From these considerations, then, it is apparent, that whatever is gained to capital, is likewise gained to labour—that every increase of the former tends to diminish the toil of the latter—and that, therefore, every loss to capital must also be a loss to labour. This truth, though long since observed by the political economists, has never yet been FAIRLY STATED by them."

//In fact, the fellows argue in the following way:

Accumulated products of labour, i.e., products not consumed, lighten and FRUCTIFY LABOUR. As a consequence, the fruits of this lightening, etc., must go not to labour itself but to accumulation. Consequently, it is not accumulation which must be the property of labour but labour must be the property of accumulation—of its own products. Consequently, the worker must not accumulate for himself but for someone else, and the accumulation must confront him as capital.

For the economists, the material element of capital is so integrated with its social formal determination as capital—with its antagonistic character as the product of labour dominating labour—that they cannot write a single sentence without contradicting themselves.//

"*They have even identified capital with one class of the* COMMUNITY, *and labour with another class*—although the two powers have naturally, and should have artificially, no such connection. The economists always attempt to make the prosperity, if not the very existence, of the working man dependent upon the condition of maintaining the capitalist in luxury and idleness. They would not have the working man to eat a meal until he has produced two—one for himself and the other for his MASTER—the latter receiving his portion indirectly, by unequal exchanges" (p[p. 59-]60).

"When the workman has produced a thing, it is his no longer—it belongs to the capitalist—it has been conveyed from the one to the other by the unseen magic of unequal exchanges" (p. 61).

"Under the present system, capital and labour—the shovel and the digger—are two separate and antagonistic powers" (p. 60).

[X-443] "But even if all the land and the houses and the machinery did belong to the capitalists, and the working class were not in being, the former would not thereby be enabled to evade the great condition 'THAT THERE SHALL BE LABOUR'. Their wealth would leave them in the choice only of dying or working.[b] They cannot eat the land and the houses; and the land will not yield sustenance, nor the machinery make clothing, without the application of human labour. Therefore, when the capitalists and proprietors say that the working class must SUPPORT them, they likewise say, in effect, that the producers belong to them as well as land and water[c] do—that the working man was created only for the rich man's use!" (p. 68).

"The producer receives, in exchange for what he gives to the capitalist—not the

[a] Bray has "powers".—*Ed.*

[b] Bray has "of working or starving".—*Ed.*

[c] Bray has here: "the houses and land".—*Ed.*

labour nor the produce of the labour of the capitalist, but—work! Through the instrumentality of money, the working class are not only compelled to perform the labour which the preservation of existence naturally imposes upon them, but they are likewise saddled with the labour of other classes. It matters not whether the producers now receive gold, or silver, or other commodities from a non-producing class: it all amounts to this—that the working class perform their own labour, and support themselves, and likewise perform the labour of the capitalist, and maintain him INTO THE BARGAIN! Whatever may be the *nominal* RECEIPTS which the producers receive from the capitalists, their actual RECEIPTS are—*the TRANSFER of that labour which ought to be rendered by the capitalists*" (pp. 153-54).

"We will suppose the population of the UNITED KINGDOM to be 25,000,000 of human beings. We assume that their maintenance is,[a] on the average, at least £15 per head annually. This gives £375,000,000 as the yearly value of the maintenance of the whole people of the UNITED KINGDOM. We do not, however, employ ourselves merely in producing articles of subsistence, for our labour creates, likewise, many unconsumable articles. We every year add to our STOCK OF ACCUMULATIONS, OR CAPITAL, by increasing the number of our houses, ships, IMPLEMENTS, machines, roads, and other assistants to further production, beside making good all wear and tear. Thus, although our subsistence may be worth but three hundred and seventy-five millions sterling a year, the total annual value of the wealth created by the people will not be less than five hundred millions sterling" (p. 81).

"We cannot calculate upon having above $^1/_4$ of our population, or about 6 millions of men—that is, those between the ages of 14 and 50—as effective producers. Of this number scarcely 5 millions can be said, under the present arrangements, to assist in production;" (Bray writes later on that only 4 millions are directly employed in actual production) "for thousands of able-bodied men[b] are compelled to stand idle while the work which they ought to do is being performed by women and children; and hundreds of thousands of men in Ireland can obtain no employment whatever. Thus 5 millions[c] of men, assisted by a few thousands of women and children, have to create produce for 25 millions" (pp. 81-82).

"The present number of working men, if unassisted by machinery, could not support themselves and the present number of idlers and unprofitable labourers. The agricultural and manufacturing machinery of every kind which we bring to our aid in the business of productions, has been computed to perform the labour of about one hundred millions of effective men. ... this machinery—and its application under the present system, has generated the hundreds of thousands of idlers and livers on profit who now press the working class into the earth" (p. 82).

"The present constitution of society has been fertilised by machinery, and by machinery will it be destroyed" (p. 82). "The machinery itself is good—is indispensable; it is the application of it—the circumstance of its being possessed by individuals instead of by the nation—that is bad" (p. 83).

"Of the 5 million men who at present assist in production some work only 5 hours a day, others 15;[d] and when to this is added the time lost by the compulsory

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[a] Bray has "We may estimate the entire maintenance of the 25 millions of people to be worth".—*Ed.*

[b] Bray has further: "in Great Britain".—*Ed.*

[c] Bray has "less than 5 millions".—*Ed.*

[d] Bray has "The five millions of men already enumerated as assisting in production will include all who labour little or much. Some [...] do not work five hours a day, while others again toil on fifteen hours."—*Ed.*

idleness of great numbers in times OF DEPRESSION in TRADE, it will be found that our annual production is created and distributed by less than $^1/_5$ of the COMMUNITY, working, on the average, 10 hours a day" (p. 83).

"We suppose that the wealthy non-producers of every description, with their families, and dependents, amount only to 2 millions of persons, yet this number alone would cost the working classes £30,000,000 annually, if their maintenance were averaged, like that of the latter, at £15 per head" (pp. 83, 84). "But upon the most moderate computation their maintenance will cost not less than £50 per head. This gives a total of £100,000,000 as the annual cost of the mere drones of society—the utterly unproductive" (p. 84).

"Add to this[a] the double and quadruple ALLOWANCE received by the various classes of small proprietors, manufacturers, and tradesmen, in the shape of [X-444] profit and interest. Upon the most moderate computation, the share of wealth enjoyed by this extensive portion of the COMMUNITY will amount to not less than £140,000,000 annually, *above* the average of what is received by an equal number of the best paid of the working class. Thus, along with their government, the 2 classes of idlers and livers on profit—comprising perhaps $^1/_4$ of the entire population—absorb about £300,000,000 annually, or above one half of the entire wealth produced" (p[p. 84,] 85). "An average loss of above £50 per head to every working man in the empire! ... This leaves no more than an average of £11 per head per annum, to be divided amongst the remaining $^3/_4$ of the nation. From calculations made in 1815, it appears that the annual income of the whole people of the UNITED KINGDOM amounted to about £430,000,000; of which the working class received £99,742,547, and the rent, pension, and profit class £330,778,825! The whole property of the country was at the same time calculated to be worth nearly three thousand millions of pounds sterling" (p. 85).

Cf. the list of King[98] etc.

*1844*: *ENGLAND. POPULATION*: NOBILITY AND GENTRY=1,181,000. *TRADESMEN, FARMERS, etc.*=4,221,000 (combined total—5,402,000). LABOURERS, PAUPERS, etc.=9,567,000. Banfield (T.C.), *The Organisation of Industry*, 2nd ed., London, 1848 [pp. 22-23].

### [X-445] g) Mr. RODBERTUS
### *DRITTER BRIEF AN V. KIRCHMANN VON RODBERTUS. WIDERLEGUNG DER RICARDOSCHEN LEHRE VON DER GRUNDRENTE UND BEGRÜNDUNG EINER NEUEN RENTENTHEORIE*, BERLIN, 1851[99]

The following remark has to be made beforehand: supposing the necessary wage=10 hours, then this is most easily explained in the following manner. If 10 hours' labour (i.e., a sum of money=10 hours) enabled the agricultural labourer, on an average, to purchase all the necessary means of subsistence, agricultural, industrial products, etc., then this is the average wage for UNSKILLED LABOUR. We are thus concerned here with the *value* of his daily product which must fall to his share. In the first place this value exists in the form of the *commodity* which he produces, i.e., [in] a certain *quantity of this commodity*, in exchange for which, after

[a] Bray has "likewise".— *Ed.*

deducting what he himself consumes of the commodity (IF [he does consume any of it]), he can procure for himself the necessary means of subsistence. Not only the *use value* which he himself produces, but industry, agriculture, etc., thus come into the estimation of his necessary "income". But this is inherent in the concept of *commodity*. He produces a commodity, not merely a product. We need therefore waste no words about this.

Mr. Rodbertus first investigates the situation in a country where there is *no* separation between land ownership and ownership of capital. And here he comes to the right conclusion that rent (by which he means the entire *surplus value*) is simply=to the unpaid labour or the quantity of products which it represents.

In the first instance it is noteworthy that Rodbertus only takes into account the growth of *relative* surplus value, i.e., the growth of surplus value in so far as it arises out of the growing productivity of labour and not the growth of surplus value derived from the prolongation of the working day itself. All absolute surplus value is of course relative in one respect. Labour must be sufficiently productive for the worker not to require all his time to keep himself alive. But from this point the distinction comes into force. Incidentally, if originally labour is but little productive, the needs are also extremely simple (as with slaves) and the masters themselves do not live much better than the servants. The relative productivity of labour necessary before a PROFIT-MONGER, a parasite, can come into being is very small. If we find a high rate of profit though labour is as yet very unproductive, and machinery, division of labour, etc., are not used, then this is the case only under the following circumstances: either as in India, partly because the requirements of the worker are extremely small and he is depressed even below his modest needs, but partly also because low productivity of labour is identical with a relatively small fixed capital in proportion to the share of capital which is spent on wages or, and this comes to the same thing, with a relatively high proportion of capital laid out in labour in relation to the total capital; or finally, because labour time is excessively long. The latter is the case in countries (such as Austria, etc.) where the capitalist mode of production is already in existence but which have to compete with far more developed countries. Wages can be low here partly because the requirements of the worker are less developed, partly because agricultural products are cheaper or—this amounts to the same thing as far as the capitalist is concerned—because they have less value in terms of money. Hence the quantity of the product of, say, 10 hours' labour, which

must go to the worker as necessary wages, is small. If, however, he works 17 hours instead of 12 then this can be made good. In any case because in a given country the relative value of labour falls in proportion to its productivity, it must not be imagined that wages in different countries are inversely proportional to the productivity of labour. In fact exactly the opposite is the case. The more productive one country is relative to another in the world market, the higher will be its wages as compared with the other. In England, not only nominal wages but real wages are higher than on the Continent. The worker eats more meat; he satisfies more needs. This, however, only applies to the industrial worker and not the agricultural labourer. But in proportion to the productivity of the English workers their wages are not higher.

Quite apart from the variation in rent according to the fertility of the land, rent as such—hence the modern form of landed property—would already be possible, it could exist, because the average wage of the agricultural labourer is below that of the industrial worker. Since, to start with, by tradition (as the farmer of the old times turns capitalist before capitalists turn farmers) the capitalist passed on part of his gain to the LANDLORD, he compensated himself by forcing wages down below their level. With the labourers' desertion of the land, wages had to rise and they did rise. But hardly has this pressure become evident, when machinery, etc., is introduced and the land once more boasts a (relative) SURPLUS POPULATION. (Vide England.) Surplus value can be increased, without the extension of labour time or the development of the productive power of labour, by forcing wages below their traditional level. And indeed this is the case wherever agricultural production is carried on by capitalist methods. Where it cannot be achieved by means of machinery, it is done by turning the land over to sheep grazing. Here then we already have a *potential basis* of [X-446] rent since, *in fact*, the agricultural labourer's wage does not=the average wage. This rent would be feasible quite independent of the *price* of the product, which is=to its value.

Ricardo is also aware of the second type of rent increase, which arises from a greater product sold at the same price,[a] but he does not take it into account, since he measures rent per qr and not per ACRE. He would not say that rent has risen (and *in this way* rent can rise with falling prices) because 20 qrs [at] 2s. is more than 10 [quarters at] 2s. or 10 qrs [at] 3s.

Incidentally, however the phenomenon of rent may be ex-

[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy...*—*Ed.*

plained, *the significant difference* between agriculture and industry remains, in that in the latter, excess surplus value[a] is created by cheaper production, in the former, by dearer production. If the average price of 1 lb. of yarn=2s. and I can produce it for 1s., then, in order to gain an increased market for it, I will necessarily sell [it] for 1s. 6d. [or] at any rate below 2s. And what is more, this is absolutely necessary, for cheaper production presupposes production on a larger scale. So, compared with before, I am now glutting the market. I must sell *more* than before. Although 1 lb. of yarn costs only 1s. this is only the case if I now produce, say, 10,000 lbs as against my previous 8,000 lbs. The low cost is only achieved because fixed capital is spread over 10,000 lbs. If I were to sell only 8,000 lbs, the wear and tear of the machines alone would raise the price per lb. by $^1/_5$=20%. So I sell at below 2s. in order to be able to sell 10,000 lbs. In doing so, I am still making an excess profit of 6d., i.e., of 50% on the value of my product which is 1s. and already includes the normal profit. In any case, I am hereby forcing down the market price with the result that in general the consumer gets the product more cheaply. But in agriculture I sell at 2s. since, if I had sufficient fertile land, the less fertile would not be cultivated. If the area of fertile land were enlarged, or the fertility [of the] poorer soil so improved that I could satisfy demand, then this game would end. Not only does Ricardo not deny this, but he expressly calls attention to it.

Thus if we admit that the varying fertility of the land accounts not for rent itself, but only for the differences in rent, there remains the law that while in industry, on an average, excess profit arises from the lowering of the price of the product, in agriculture the relative size of rent is determined not only by the relative raising of the price (raising the price of the product of fertile land above its value) but by selling the cheaper product at the cost of the dearer. This is, however, as I have already demonstrated (Proudhon),[b] merely the law of competition, which does not emanate from the "soil" but from "capitalist production" itself.

Furthermore, Ricardo would be right in another respect, except that, in the manner of the economists, he turns a historical phenomenon into an eternal law. This historical phenomenon is the relatively faster development of manufacture (in fact the truly bourgeois branch of industry) as against agriculture. The latter has

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[a] In the manuscript the German term is followed by its English equivalent.— *Ed.*

[b] See K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy* (present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 197-206).— *Ed.*

become more productive but not in the same ratio as industry. Whereas in manufacture productivity has increased tenfold, in agriculture it has, perhaps, doubled. Agriculture has therefore become *relatively* less productive, although absolutely more productive. This only proves the very QUEER development of bourgeois production and its inherent contradictions. It does not, however, invalidate the proposition that agriculture becomes relatively less productive and hence, compared with [the value of] the industrial product, the value of the agricultural product rises and with it also rent. That in the course of development of capitalist production, agricultural labour has become relatively less productive than industrial labour only means that the productivity of agriculture has not developed with the same speed and to the same degree.

Suppose the relation of industry A to industry B is as 1 : 1. Originally agriculture [was] more productive because not only natural forces but also a machine created by nature play a part in agriculture; right from the start, the individual worker is working with a machine. Hence, in ancient times and in the Middle Ages agricultural products were relatively much cheaper than industrial products, which is obvious (see *Wade*[a]) from the ratio of the two within the average wage.

At the same time let 1 : 1 indicate the fertility of the two [branches of production]. Now if industry A=10, [i.e.] its fertility increases tenfold while industry B merely increases threefold,=3, then whereas the industries were previously as 1 : 1 they are now as 10 : 3 or as $1 : {}^{3}/_{10}$. The fertility of industry B has decreased relatively by ${}^{7}/_{10}$ although absolutely it has increased threefold. For the highest rent [it is] the same—relatively to industry—as if it had risen because the poorest land had become ${}^{7}/_{10}$ less fertile.

Now it does not by any means follow, as Ricardo supposes,[b] that the rate of profit has fallen because wages have risen as a result of the relative increase in the price of agricultural products [X-447]. For the average wage is not determined by the relative but by the absolute value of the products which enter into it. It does however follow that the rate of profit (really the rate of surplus value) has not risen in the same ratio as the productive power of manufacturing industry, and this is due to agriculture (not the land) being relatively less productive. This is absolutely certain. The reduction in the necessary labour time seems small compared with the progress in industry. This is evident from the fact that

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[a] [J. Wade,] *History of the Middle and Working Classes...*, London, 1833, p. 25.—*Ed.*

[b] See D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy...*, pp. 111-12.—*Ed.*

the agricultural products of countries like Russia, etc., can beat those of England. The lower value of money in the wealthier countries (i.e., the low relative production costs of money in the wealthier countries) does not enter into it at all. For the question is, why it does not affect their industrial products in competition with poorer countries when it does affect their agricultural products. (Incidentally, this does not prove that poor countries produce more cheaply, that their agricultural labour is more productive. Even in the UNITED STATES, the volume of corn at a given price has increased, as has recently been proved by statistical information, not however because the yield per ACRE has risen, but because more ACRES have come under cultivation. It cannot be said that the land is more productive where there is a great land mass and where large areas, superficially cultivated, yield a greater absolute product with the same amount of labour than much smaller areas in the more advanced country.)

The fact that *less productive* land is brought under cultivation does not necessarily prove that agriculture has become less productive. On the contrary, it may prove that it has become more productive; that the inferior land is being cultivated, not [only] because the price of the agricultural product has sufficiently risen to compensate for the capital investment, but also the converse, that the means of production have developed to such an extent that the unproductive land has become "productive" and capable of yielding not only the normal profit but also rent. Land which is fertile at a [given] stage of development of productive power may be unfertile for a lower developmental stage.

*In agriculture*, the absolute extension of labour time—i.e., the augmentation of absolute surplus value—is only possible to a limited degree. One cannot work by gaslight on the land, etc. True, one can rise early in spring and summer. But this is offset by the shorter winter days when, in any case, only a relatively small amount of work can be accomplished. So in this respect *absolute surplus value* is *greater in industry* so long as the normal working day is not regulated by force of law. A second reason for a smaller amount of *surplus value* being created in agriculture is the long period during which the product remains in the process of production without any labour being expended on it. With the exception of certain branches of agriculture such as stock raising, sheep farming, etc., where the population is positively ousted from the land, the number of people employed relatively to the constant capital used, is still far greater—even in the most advanced large-scale agriculture—than in industry, or at least in the

dominating branches of industry. Hence in this respect even if, for the above-mentioned reasons, the mass of surplus value is relatively smaller than it [would be] with the employment of *the same* number of people in industry—this latter condition is partly offset again by the wage falling below its average level—the rate of profit can be greater than in industry. But if there are, in agriculture, any causes (we only indicate the above) which raise the rate of profit (not temporarily but on an average as compared with industry) then the mere existence of the LANDLORD would cause this extra profit to consolidate itself and accrue to the LANDLORD rather than enter into the formation of the general rate of profit.

In general terms the question to be answered with regard to Rodbertus is as follows:

The general form of capital advanced is:

| Constant capital | Variable capital |
|---|---|
| *Machinery—Raw materials*[100] | *Labour power*[a] |

In general the two elements of constant capital are the instruments of labour and the object of labour. The latter is not necessarily a commodity, a product of labour. It may therefore not exist as an *element of capital,* although it is invariably an *element in the labour process.* Soil is the husbandman's raw material, the mine that of the miner, the water that of the fisherman and even the forest is that of the hunter. In the most complete form of capital, however, these 3 elements of the labour process also exist as 3 elements of capital, i.e., they are all commodities, use values which have an exchange value and are products of labour. In this case all 3 elements enter into the valorisation process, although machinery [enters into it] not to the extent to which it enters into the labour process but only in so far as it is consumed.

The following question now arises: Can the absence of one of these elements in a particular branch of industry enhance the *rate of profit* (not the rate of surplus value) in that industry? In general terms, the formula itself provides the answer:

The rate of profit equals the ratio of surplus value to the total capital advanced.

Throughout this investigation it is assumed that the *rate of surplus value,* i.e., the division of the value of the product between the capitalist and the wage worker, remains constant.

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[a] In the manuscript "wages"; changed to "labour power" presumably by Engels.—*Ed.*

[X-448] The rate of surplus value$=\frac{S}{V}$; the rate of profit $=\frac{S}{C+V}$. Since $S'$, the rate of surplus value, is given, $V$ is given and $\frac{S}{V}$ is assumed to be a constant magnitude. Therefore the magnitude of $\frac{S}{C+V}$ can only alter when $C+V$ changes and since $V$ is given, this can only increase or decrease because $C$ decreases or increases. And further, $\frac{S}{C+V}$ will increase or decrease not in the ratio of $C:V$ but according to $C$'s relation to the sum of $C+V$. If $C=0$, then $\frac{S}{C+V}=\frac{S}{V}$. The rate of profit [would] in this case equal the rate of surplus value and this is its highest possible amount, since no sort of *calculation* can alter the magnitude of $S$ and $V$. Suppose $V=100$ and $S=50$, then $\frac{S}{V}=\frac{50}{100}=\frac{1}{2}=50\%$. If a constant capital of 100 were added, then the rate of profit$=\frac{50}{100+100}=\frac{50}{200}=\frac{1}{4}=25\%$. The rate of profit would have decreased by half. If 150 were added to 100 then the rate of profit$=\frac{50}{150+100}=\frac{50}{250}=\frac{1}{5}=20\%$. In the first instance, total capital$=V=$variable capital, hence the rate of profit=the rate of surplus value. In the second instance, total capital$=2\times V$, hence the rate of profit is only half the rate of surplus value. In the third instance, total capital$=2\,{}^1/_2\times 100=2\,{}^1/_2\times V={}^5/_2\times V$; $V$ is now only ${}^2/_5$ of total capital. The rate of surplus value$={}^1/_2$ of $V$, i.e., ${}^1/_2$ of 100, hence is only ${}^1/_2$ of ${}^2/_5$ of total capital$={}^2/_{10}$ of total capital. ${}^{250}/_{10}=25$ and ${}^2/_{10}$ of $250=50$. But ${}^2/_{10}=20\%$.

Hence to start with this much has been established. Provided $V$ remains constant and $\frac{S}{V}$ too, then it is of no consequence how $C$ is composed. If $C$ has a certain magnitude, say 100, then it makes no difference whether it consists of 50 raw material and 50 machinery or 10 raw material and 90 machinery, or 0 raw material and 100 machinery or the other way about. For the rate of profit is determined by the relationship $\frac{S}{C+V}$; how the elements of production of which $C$ consists relate, as value components, to $C$ as a whole is irrelevant here. For instance, in the production of coal

the raw materials (after deducting coal itself which again serves as *matière instrumentale*) may be reckoned as nought and the entire constant capital can be assumed to consist of machinery (including buildings and instruments of labour). On the other hand, with a tailor, machinery can be considered as nought and here the whole of constant capital resolves into raw materials (particularly where tailors running a large business do not as yet use sewing-machines and, on the other hand, even save buildings, as sometimes occurs nowadays in London, by employing their workers as OUTDOOR LABOURERS. This is *a new phenomenon*, where the 2nd *division of labour* reappears *in the form* of the first[101]). If the colliery owner employs 1,000 units of machinery and 1,000 units of wage labour and the tailor 1,000 of raw materials and 1,000 of wage labour, then with an equal rate of surplus value, the rate of profit in both instances is the same. If [we] assume that surplus value is 20%, then the rate of profit would in both cases be 10%, namely: $^{200}/_{2,000} = {}^{2}/_{20} = {}^{1}/_{10} = 10\%$. Hence there are only two instances in which the ratio between the component parts of *C*, i.e., raw materials and machinery, can affect the rate of profit: 1) If a change in this ratio modifies the absolute magnitude of *C*. 2) If the ratio between the component parts of *C* modifies the size of *V*. This would imply organic CHANGES in production itself and not merely the tautologous statement that if a particular part of *C* accounts for a smaller portion, then the other must make up a larger portion of the total amount.

In the REAL BILL of an ENGLISH FARMER, *WAGES* amount to £1,690, *MANURE* to £686, *SEED* to £150, *fodder FOR COWS* to £100. Thus "raw material" comes to £936, which is more than half the amount spent on WAGES. (See F. W. Newman, *Lectures on Political Economy*, London, 1851, p. 166.)

*"In *Flanders*"* (in the *Belgian* areas) *"*dung* and hay are in these parts imported from Holland"* (for flax-growing, etc. In turn they export flax, *LINSEED*, etc.). "The *refuse in Dutch towns is[a] a matter of trade, and is regularly sold at high prices to Belgium. At about 20 miles from Antwerp, up the Schelde, the reservoirs may be seen for the manure that is brought from Holland. The trade is managed by a company of capitalists on[b] Dutch boats" etc.* (*Banfield* [The Organisation of Industry..., 2nd ed., London, 1848, pp. 40 and 42]).

And so even manure, plain muck, has become merchandise, not to speak of bone-meal, guano, potash, etc. That the elements of production *are estimated* in terms of money is not merely due to the formal change in production. New materials are introduced

[a] Newman has "The refuse of the towns has therefore become".—*Ed.*
[b] Newman has "and the" instead of "on".—*Ed.*

into the soil and its old ones are sold for reasons relating to *production*. This is not merely a formal difference between the capitalist and the previous mode of production. The seed trade has risen in importance to the extent to which the importance of seed rotation has become recognised. Hence it would be ridiculous to say that no "raw material"—i.e., raw material as a commodity—enters into agriculture whether it be reproduced by agriculture itself or bought as a commodity, acquired from outside. It would be equally absurd to say that the machine employed by the engineer [X-449] who constructs machines does not figure as an element of value in his capital.

A German peasant who year after year produces his own elements of production, seeds, manure, etc., and, with his family, consumes part of his crops needs to spend money (as far as production itself is concerned) only on the purchase of a few tools for cultivating the land, and on wages. Let us assume that the value of all his expenses=100. He consumes half *in natura* (production costs). The other half he sells and he receives, say, 100. His gross income thus=100 and if he relates this to his capital of 50 then it amounts to 100%. If $^1/_3$ of the 50 is deducted for rent and $^1/_3$ for taxes ($33\,^1/_3$ in all) then he retains $16\,^2/_3$, calculated on 50 this is $33\,^1/_3$%. But in fact he has only received $16\,^2/_3$%.[102] The peasant has merely miscalculated and has cheated himself. The capitalist FARMER does not make such errors.

*Mathieu de Dombasle* says in his *Annales agricoles etc.*, Paris, 1829 (4th instalment, 1828) that under the *métairie* contract (in [the province of] Berry, for example),

"the landowner supplies the land, the buildings and usually all or part of the livestock and the tools required for cultivation; the tenant for his part supplies his labour and nothing, or almost nothing else. The products of the land are shared in equal parts" ([p.] 301). "The tenants are as a rule submerged in dire poverty" ([p.] 302). "If the métayer, having laid out 1,000 francs, increases his gross product by 1,500 francs" (i.e., a gross gain of 500 francs) "he must pass half of it on to the landowner, retaining merely 750, and so loses 250 francs of his expenses" ([p.] 304).[a] "Under the previous system of cultivation the expenses or costs of production were almost exclusively drawn in kind, from the products themselves, for the consumption of the animals and of the cultivator of the land and his family; hardly any cash was paid out. Only these particular circumstances could give rise to the belief that landowner and tenant could divide amongst themselves the whole of the harvest which had not been consumed during production. But this process is only applicable to this type of agriculture, namely, *low-level agriculture*. But when it is desired to raise that level, it is realised that this is only possible by making certain advances which have to be deducted from the gross product in order to be able to utilise them again in the following year. Hence this kind of division of the gross

[a] Marx quotes Mathieu de Dombasle partly in French, partly in German.—*Ed.*

product between the landowner and the tenant becomes an insurmountable obstacle to any sort of improvement" (l.c., [p.] 307).

Mr. Rodbertus seems to think that competition brings about a normal profit, or average profit or general rate of profit by reducing the commodities to their *real value*; i.e., that it regulates their price relationships in such a manner that the correlative quantities of labour time realised in the various commodities are expressed in money or whatever else happens to be the measure of value.[a] This is of course not brought about by the price of a commodity at any given moment being equal to its value nor does it have to be equal to its value. For example the price of commodity A rises above its value and for a time remains, moreover, at this high level, or even continues to rise. The profit of [the capitalist who produces] A thus rises above the average profit in that he appropriates not only his own "unpaid" labour time, but also a part of the unpaid labour time which other capitalists have "produced". This has to be compensated by a fall in profit in one or other sphere of production provided the price of the other commodities in terms of money remains constant. If the commodity is a means of subsistence generally consumed by the worker, then it will depress the rate of profit in all other branches; if it enters as a constituent part into the constant capital, then it will force down the rate of profit in all those spheres of production where it forms an element in constant capital.

Finally, the commodity may neither be an element in any constant capital, nor form a *necessary* item in the workers' means of subsistence (for those commodities which the worker can choose to buy or abstain from buying, he consumes as a consumer in general and not as a worker) but it may be one of the consumer goods, an article for individual consumption in general. If, as such, it is consumed by the industrial capitalist himself, then the rise in its price in no way affects the amount of surplus value or the rate of surplus value. Now if the capitalist wanted to maintain his previous STANDARD OF CONSUMPTION, then that part of profit (surplus value) which he uses for individual consumption would rise in relation to that which he sinks into industrial reproduction. The latter would decrease. As a result of the price rise, or the rise in profit above its average rate, in A, the volume of profit in B, C, etc. would diminish within a certain space of time (which is also determined by reproduction). If article A was exclusively con-

[a] [J. K.] Rodbertus, *Sociale Briefe an von Kirchmann*. Dritter Brief, Berlin, 1851, p. 92.—*Ed.*

sumed by non-industrial capitalists, then they would consume more than before of commodity A as compared with commodities B, C, etc. The demand for commodities B, C, etc. would fall; their price would fall and, in this CASE, the price rise in A, or the rise in profit in A above the average rate, would have brought about a fall in the profit in B, C, etc. below the average rate by forcing down the money prices of B, C, etc. (in contrast to the previous instances where the money price of B, C, etc. [X-450] remained constant). Capitals would migrate from B, C, etc., where the rate of profit has sunk below the [average] level, to A's sphere of production. This would apply particularly to a portion of the capital which constantly appears on the market afresh and which would naturally tend to penetrate into the more profitable sphere A. Consequently, after some time, the price of article A would fall below its value and would continue to do so for a longer or shorter period, until the reverse movement set in again. The opposite process would take place in the spheres B, C, etc., partly as a result of the reduced supplies of articles B, C, etc., because of the exodus of capital, i.e., because of the organic CHANGES taking place in these spheres of production themselves, and partly as a result of the changes which have occurred in A and which in turn are affecting B, C, etc. in the opposite direction.

Incidentally, it may well be that in this process—assuming the value of money to be constant—the money prices of B, C, etc., never regain their original level, although they may rise above the value of commodities B, C, etc. and hence the rate of profit in B, C, etc. may also rise above the general rate of profit. Improvements, inventions, greater economy in the means of production, etc. are introduced not at times when prices rise above their average level, but when they fall below it, i.e., when profit falls below its normal rate. Hence during the period of falling prices of B, C, etc., their *real value* may fall, in other words the minimum labour time required for the production of these commodities may decrease. In this case, the commodity can only regain its former money price if the rise in its price over its value=the MARGIN, i.e., the difference between the price which expresses its new value and the price which expressed its higher former value. Here the *price* of the commodity would have changed the value of the commodity by affecting supply, and the production costs.

The result of the above-mentioned movement: If we take the average of the increases and decreases in the price of the commodity above or below its value, or the period of equalisation of rises and falls—periods which are constantly repeated—then

the *average price*[103] is equal to the *value*. The average profit in a particular sphere therefore also=the general rate of profit; for although, in this sphere, profit rose above or fell below its old rate with the rise or fall in prices—or with the increase or decrease in production costs while the price remained constant—on an average, over the period, the commodity was sold at its *value*. *Hence* the profit yielded=the general rate of profit. This is Adam Smith's conception and, even more so, *Ricardo's*, since the latter adheres more firmly to the real concept of value. Mr. Rodbertus acquires it from them. And yet this conception is wrong.

What is the effect of the competition between capitals? The *average price* of the commodities during a period of equalisation is such that these prices yield the same rate of profit to the producers of commodities in every sphere, for instance, 10%. What else does this mean? That the price of each commodity stands at $^1/_{10}$ above the price of the production costs, which the capitalist has incurred, i.e., the amount he has spent in order to produce the commodity. In general terms this just means that capitals of equal size yield equal profits, that the price of each commodity is one-tenth higher than the price of the capital advanced, consumed or represented in the commodity. It is however quite incorrect to say that capitals in the various spheres of production produce the same surplus value in relation to their size, even if we assume that the absolute working day is equally long in all spheres, i.e., if we assume a set rate of surplus value. //We leave aside here the possibility of one capitalist enforcing longer working hours than another, and we assume a fixed *absolute* working day for all spheres. The variation between different days is partly offset in the absolute working days by the varying intensity of labour, etc., and partly these differences only signify arbitrary excess profits, exceptional cases, etc.//

Bearing in mind the above assumption, the amount of surplus value produced by capitals of *equal size* varies *firstly* according to the correlation of their organic components, i.e., of variable and constant capital; *secondly* according to their period of circulation in so far as this is determined by the ratio of fixed capital to circulating capital and also [by] the various periods of reproduction of the different sorts of fixed capital; *thirdly* according to the duration of the actual period of production as distinct from the duration of labour time itself,[104] which again may lead to substantial differences between the length of the production period and circulation period. (The first of these correlations, namely, that between constant and variable capital, can itself

spring from a great divergency of causes; it may, for example, be purely formal so that the raw material worked up in one sphere is dearer than that worked up in another, or it may result from the varying productivity of labour, etc.)

Thus, if the commodities were sold at their values or if the *average prices* of the commodities were equal to their values, then the rate of profit in the various spheres would have to vary a great deal. In one case it would be 50, in others 40, 30, 20, 10, etc. Taking the total volume of commodities for a year in sphere A, for instance, their value would be equal to the capital advanced in them+the unpaid labour they contain. Ditto in spheres B and C. But since A, B and C contain different amounts of unpaid labour, for instance, A more than B and B more than C, the commodities A might perhaps yield $3S$ ($S$=surplus value) to their producers, B=$2S$ and C=$S$. Since the rate of profit is determined by the ratio of surplus value to capital advanced, and as on our assumption this is the same in A, B, C, etc., then [X-451] if $C$ is the capital advanced, the various rates of profit will be $\frac{3S}{C}, \frac{2S}{C}, \frac{S}{C}$. Competition of capitals can therefore only equalise the rates of profit, for instance in our example, by making the rates of profit equal to $\frac{2S}{C}, \frac{2S}{C}, \frac{2S}{C}$ in the spheres A, B, C. A would sell his commodity at $1S$ less and C at $1S$ more than its value. The average price in sphere A would be below, and in sphere C would be above, the value of the commodities A and C.

As the example of B shows, it *can* in fact happen that the average price and the value of a commodity coincide. This occurs when the surplus value created in sphere B itself equals the average profit; in other words, when the relationship of the various components of the capital in sphere B is the same as that which exists when the sum total of capitals, the capital of the capitalist class, is regarded as a single *magnitude* on which the whole of surplus value [is] calculated, irrespective of the particular sphere of the total capital within which it has been created. In this total capital the periods of turnover, etc. are equalised; one can, for instance, consider that the whole of this capital is turned over during one year. In that case every section of the *total capital* would in accordance with its magnitude participate in the total surplus value and draw a corresponding part of it. And since every individual capital is to be regarded as SHAREHOLDER in this total capital, it would be correct to say *first* that its *rate of profit* is the same as that of all the others, capitals of the same size

yield the same amount of profit; *secondly*, and this arises automatically from the first point, that the volume of profit depends on the size of the capital, on the number of SHARES IN THAT GENERAL CAPITAL WHICH ARE OWNED BY THE CAPITALIST. Competition among capitals thus seeks to treat every capital as a share of the total capital and correspondingly to regulate its participation in surplus value and hence also in profit. Competition *plus ou moins*[a] succeeds in this by means of its equalisations (we shall not examine here the reason why it encounters particular obstacles in certain spheres). But in plain language this just means that the capitalists strive (and this striving is competition) to divide among themselves the quantity of unpaid labour—or the products of this quantity of labour—which they squeeze out of the working class, not according to the surplus labour produced directly by a *particular* capital, but corresponding *firstly* to the relative portion of the total capital which a particular capital represents and *secondly* according to the amount of surplus labour produced by the aggregate capital. The capitalists, like hostile brothers, divide among themselves the loot of other people's labour which they have appropriated so that on an average one receives the same amount of unpaid labour as another.[105]

Competition achieves this equalisation by regulating average prices. These average prices themselves, however, are either above or below the value of the commodity so that no commodity yields a higher rate of profit than any other. It is therefore wrong to say that competition among capitals brings about a general rate of profit by equalising the prices of commodities to their values. On the contrary it does so by converting the values of the commodities into average prices, in which a part of surplus value is transferred from one commodity to another, etc. The *value* of a commodity=the quantity of paid+unpaid labour *contained* in it. The *average price* of a commodity=the quantity of paid labour it *contains* (objectified or living)+an average quota of unpaid labour. The latter does not depend on *whether this amount* was contained in the commodity itself or on whether more or less of it was embodied in the value of the commodity.

It is possible—I leave this over for a later inquiry which does not belong to the subject-matter of this book—that certain spheres of production function under circumstances which work against a reduction in their values to average prices in the *above* sense, and do not permit competition to achieve this victory.[106] If this were

[a] More or less.—*Ed.*

the case for instance with agricultural rent or rent from mines (there are rents which are altogether only explicable by monopoly conditions, for instance the water rent in Lombardy, and in parts of Asia, also house rent in so far as it represents rent from landed property) then it would follow that while the product of all industrial capitals is raised or lowered to the average price, the product of agriculture [would] equal its value, which would be above the average price. Might there be obstacles here, which cause more of the *surplus value created* in this sphere of production to be appropriated as property of the sphere itself, than should be the case according to the laws of competition, more than it should receive according to the quota of capital invested in this branch of industry?

Supposing industrial capitals which are producing 10 or 20 or 30% more surplus value [X-452] than industrial capitals of equal size in other spheres of production, not just temporarily, but because of the very nature of *their* spheres of production as opposed to others; supposing I say, they were able to hang on to this excess surplus value in the face of competition and to prevent it from being included in the general accounts (distribution) which determine the GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT, then, in this case, one could distinguish between 2 recipients in the spheres of production of these capitals, THE ONE WHO WOULD GET THE GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT, AND THE OTHER WHO WOULD GET THE SURPLUS EXCLUSIVELY INHERENT in THIS SPHERE. Every capitalist could pay, hand over, this excess to the privileged one, in order to invest his capital here, and he would retain for himself THE GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT, LIKE EVERY OTHER CAPITALIST, DEPENDENT UPON THE SAME CHANCES. If this were the case in agriculture, etc., then the splitting of *surplus value* into *profit* and *rent* would by no means indicate that labour as such is actually "more productive" (OF SURPLUS VALUE) here than in manufacture. Hence [it would not be necessary] to ascribe any magic powers to the soil; this, moreover, is in any case absurd, since value=labour, therefore surplus=value [and] cannot possibly=soil (although relative surplus value may be due to the natural fertility of the soil, but under no circumstances could this result in a *higher price* for the products of the soil. Rather the opposite). Nor would it be necessary to have recourse to Ricardo's theory, which is disagreeably linked with the Malthusian trash, has repulsive consequences and, though in theory it is not especially opposed to my views on relative surplus value, it deprives them of much of their practical significance.

Ricardo's point is this[a]:

[a] See D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy...*, p. 59.—*Ed.*

Rent (for instance, in agriculture) can be nothing other than an *excédent*[a] above GENERAL PROFIT where—as he presupposes—agriculture is run on capitalist lines, where [there] is [a] FARMER. Whether that which the LANDLORD receives is actually equal to this rent in the bourgeois-economic sense is quite irrelevant. It may be purely a deduction from wages (*vide* Ireland) or it may be partly derived from the reduction of the farmer's profit below the average level of profits. Which of these possible factors happens to be operative is of no consequence whatsoever. *Rent*, in the bourgeois system, only exists as a special, characteristic form of surplus value in so far as it is an excess over and above (GENERAL) profit.

But how is this possible? The commodity wheat, like every other commodity, is sold at its *value*, i.e., it is exchanged for other commodities in relation to the labour time embodied in it. //This is the first erroneous assumption which complicates the problem by posing it artificially. Only in exceptional circumstances are commodities exchanged at their value. Their *average prices* are determined in a different way. *Vide supra*.[b]// The farmer who grows wheat makes the same profit as all the other capitalists. This proves that, like all the others, he appropriates that portion of labour time for which he has not paid his workers. Where, on top of this, does the rent come from? It must represent labour time. Why should surplus labour in agriculture resolve into profit and rent while in industry it is just profit? And, how is this possible at all, if the profit in agriculture=the profit in every other sphere of production? //Ricardo's faulty conception of profit and the way in which he confuses it with surplus value have also a detrimental effect here. They make the whole thing more difficult for him.//

Ricardo solves this *difficulty* by assuming that IN PRINCIPLE it is non-existent. //This indeed is in principle the *only possibility* of overcoming any difficulty. But there are two ways of doing this. Either one shows that the contradiction to the PRINCIPLE is an *illusion* which arises from the development of the thing itself, or one *denies* the existence of the difficulty *at one point*, as Ricardo does, and then takes this as a starting-point from which one can proceed to explain its existence at some other stage.//

He assumes a point at which the farmer's capital, like everyone else's, only yields profit. //This capital may be invested in a non-rent paying individual farm, or in a non-rent paying part of

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[a] Excess.—*Ed.*

[b] See above.—*Ed.*

the land of a farm. In fact it can be any capital which is employed in the cultivation of land that does not pay rent.// This, moreover, is the starting-point, and it can also be expressed as follows:

Originally the farmer's capital only pays profit, no rent //although this *pseudo-historical* form is of no consequence and in other "laws" is common to all bourgeois economists//. It is no different from any other industrial capital. Rent only enters into it because the demand for grain rises and now, in contrast to other branches of industry, it becomes necessary to resort to "less" fertile ground. The FARMER (the SUPPOSED original FARMER) suffers, like any other industrial capitalist, in so far as he has to pay his workers more because of the rise in [the price of] food. But he gains because of the rise in price of his commodity above its value, *firstly*, to the extent to which the value of other commodities which enter into his constant capital falls relatively to his commodity and so he buys them more cheaply, and *secondly*, in so far as he owns the surplus value in the form of his dearer commodity. Thus this farmer's profit rises above the average rate of profit, which has, however, fallen. HENCE another capitalist moves onto the less fertile land, No. II, which, with this lower rate of profit, can supply produce at the price of I or perhaps even a little more cheaply. Be that as it may, we now have, once more, [X-453] the normal situation on II, that surplus value merely resolves itself into profit. But we have explained the rent for I by the existence of a twofold price of production: the production price of II is simultaneously the market price of I. A temporary SURPLUS GAIN has been [achieved], just as with the factory-made commodity which is produced under more favourable conditions. The price of corn, which in addition to profit comprises rent, in fact consists only of objectified labour, and is equal to its value; it is however equal not to the value embodied in itself, but to the value of II. It is impossible to have two market prices side by side. //While Ricardo introduces farmer [No.] II because of the fall in the rate of profit, Stirling introduces him because wages [have] *fallen* not risen following upon the price of corn. This fall in wages allows II to cultivate [a piece of land] No. II at the old rate of profit, although the soil is less fertile.[a]// Once the existence of rent has been established in this way, the rest follows easily. The *difference between rents* according to varying fertility, etc., of course remains correct. This does not necessarily imply that less and less fertile land has to come under cultivation.

[a] See P. J. Stirling, *The Philosophy of Trade; or, Outlines of a Theory of Profits and Prices...*, Edinburgh, London, 1846, pp. 209-10.— *Ed.*

So here we have Ricardo's theory. The higher price of corn, which yields an excess profit to I, does not yield even as much as the earlier rate of profit for II. It is thus clear that product No. II contains more value than product No I, i.e., it is the product of more labour time, it embodies a greater quantity of labour. Therefore more labour time must be supplied to manufacture the same product—say, for instance, a quarter of wheat. And the rise in rent will be relative to this decreasing fertility of the land, or the growth in the quantity of labour which must be employed to produce, say, a quarter of wheat. Of course Ricardo would not talk of a "rise" in rent if there were just an increase in the number of quarters from which rent is paid, but only if the price of the *individual* quarter rose from say 30s. to 60s. True, he does sometimes forget that the absolute volume of rent can grow with a reduced rate of rent, just as the ABSOLUTE AMOUNT OF PROFIT can increase WITH A DECREASING RATE OF PROFIT.

Others seek to by-pass this difficulty (*Carey* for instance) by directly denying its existence. Rent [they say] is only interest on the capital which, at an earlier stage, was incorporated in the land. Therefore, again only A FORM OF PROFIT. Here then the very *existence of rent* is denied and so indeed *explained away.*[a]

Others, for instance *Buchanan,* regard it just as a consequence of monopoly. See also *Hopkins.*[107] With them it is merely a *SURCHARGE* above *the value.*

For Mr. *Opdyke,* a typical Yankee, landed property or rent becomes "*THE LEGALISED REFLEXION OF THE VALUE OF CAPITAL*".[b]

With Ricardo the examination is rendered more difficult by the two false assumptions. //Ricardo it is true was not the inventor of the theory of rent. West and Malthus had put it into print before him. The SOURCE, however, is *Anderson.* But what distinguished Ricardo is the way in which he links rent with his theory of value (although West did not entirely miss the real interconnection either). As his later polemic about rent with Ricardo shows, Malthus himself did not understand the theory he had adopted from Anderson.// If we start from the correct principle that the value of commodities is determined by the labour time necessary for their production (and that value in general is nothing other than realised social labour time) then it follows that the *average price* of commodities is determined by the labour time required for their production. This conclusion would be the right

[a] See this volume, pp. 367-68, 371, 388-89.—*Ed.*

[b] G. Opdyke, *A Treatise on Political Economy,* New York, 1851, p. 60. See this volume, p. 328, Marx's footnote.—*Ed.*

one if it had been proved that *average price = value.* But I show that just *because* the value of the commodity is determined by *labour time,* the average price of the commodities (except in the *unique* case in which the so-called individual *rate of profit* in a particular sphere of production, i.e., the profit determined by the surplus value yielded in this sphere of production itself, [is] equal to the average rate of profit on total capital) *can never* be equal to their value although this determination of the average price is only derived from the value which is based on labour time.

*D'abord,*[a] it follows that even commodities whose average price (IF we disregard the value of constant capital) resolves only into wages and profit, in such a way that these stand at their normal rate, i.e., are average wages and average profit, can be sold above or below their own value. The fact that the commodity yields rent on top of profit [X-454] does not prove that the commodity is sold *above* its intrinsic value, any more than the circumstance of the surplus value of a commodity only expressing itself in the category of normal profit proves that the commodity is sold at its value. If a commodity can yield an *average rate of profit or general rate of profit on capital* which is *below* its own rate of profit determined by its real surplus value, then it follows that if on top of this average rate of profit commodities in a *particular sphere of production* yield a second amount of surplus value which carries a separate name, for instance, *rent,* then profit+rent, the sum of profit+rent need not be higher than the *surplus value* contained in the commodity. Since profit can be < than the intrinsic surplus value of the commodity, or the quantity of unpaid labour it embodies, profit+rent need not be > than the intrinsic surplus value of the commodity.

Why this occurs in a *particular* sphere of production as opposed to other spheres has of course still to be explained. But the problem has already been simplified. This commodity differs from the others in the following way: In a number of these other commodities average price is *above* their intrinsic value, but only in order to *raise* their rate of profit to the level of the general rate. In another section of these other commodities the average price stands at a level *below* their intrinsic value, but only to the extent required to *reduce* their rate of profit to concur with the general rate. Finally in a third section of these other commodities, average price=their intrinsic value, but only *because* if sold at their *intrinsic* value they yield the general rate of profit. But the commodity which yields rent differs from all these 3 instances. Whatever the

[a] In the first place.—*Ed.*

circumstances, it is sold at a price which will yield *more than average profit*—as determined by the general rate of profit on capital.

Now the question arises, which, or how many, of these 3 instances can occur. Supposing the *whole of the surplus value the commodity contains is realised* in its price. In that case, it excludes the *3rd instance*, namely, those commodities whose entire surplus value is realised in their average price, because they only yield ordinary profit. We may, therefore, dismiss this one. Similarly, on *this* presupposition, we can exclude the 1st instance, where the surplus value realised in the price of the commodity is *above* its intrinsic surplus value. For it is assumed, that "the surplus value contained in it is realised" in its price. This instance is thus analogous with case 2 of those commodities whose intrinsic surplus value is higher than the surplus value realised in their average price. As with these commodities the profit form of this surplus value—which has been equated by the reduction to the general rate of profit—constitutes in this case profit on the capital invested. The *excess intrinsic surplus value of the commodity over and above* this profit is, *however*, in contrast to *commodity 2*, also realised in these exceptional commodities, but accrues not to the owner of the capital, but to the owner of the land, the NATURAL AGENT, the mine, etc.

Or [what happens if we assume that] the price is forced up to such a degree that it carries more than the *average rate of profit*? This is, for instance, the CASE with actual monopoly prices. *This assumption*—applied to every sphere of production where capital and labour may be FREELY employed [and] whose production, so far as the volume of capital employed is concerned, is subject to the general laws—would not only be a *petitio principii*, but would *directly contradict* the foundations of [economic] science and of capitalist production—the former being merely the theoretical expression of the latter. For such an assumption presupposes the very phenomenon which is to be explained, namely, that in a particular sphere of production, the price of a commodity *must* carry more than the general rate of profit, more than the average profit, and to this end [the commodity] *must be sold above* its value. It presupposes that agricultural products are *excluded* from the general laws of value of commodities and of capitalist production. It, moreover, presupposes this, because the peculiar presence of rent side by side with profit *prima facie* makes it appear so. Hence this is absurd.

So there is nothing left but to assume that special circumstances exist in this particular sphere of production, which influence the

situation and cause the prices of the commodities to realise their intrinsic surplus value. This in contrast to [case] 2 of the other commodities, where only as much of their intrinsic surplus value is realised by their prices as is yielded by the general rate of profit, where their average prices fall so far below their surplus value that they only yield the general rate of profit, or in other words their average profit is no greater than that in all other spheres of production of capital.

In this way the problem has already become much simpler. It is no longer a question of explaining how it comes about that the price of a commodity yields rent as well as profit, thus *apparently* evading the general law of value and by raising its price above its *intrinsic surplus value,* carrying *more than the general rate of profit* for a given capital. The question is why, in the process of equalisation of commodities at average prices, this particular commodity does not have to pass on to other commodities so much of its *intrinsic surplus value* that it only yields the *average profit,* but is able to realise a portion of its own surplus value which forms an excess *over and above* average profit; so that it is possible for a FARMER, who invests capital in this sphere of production, to sell the commodity at prices which yield him the ordinary profit and at the same time enable him to pay the excess in surplus value realised *over and above* this profit to a third PERSON, the LANDLORD.

[X-455] Put in this way, the very formulation of the problem carries its own solution.

It is quite simply the *private ownership* of land, mines, water, etc. by certain people, which enables them to snatch, intercept and seize the *excess surplus value over and above profit* (average profit, the rate of profit determined by the general rate of profit) contained in the commodities of these particular spheres of production, these particular fields of capital investment, and so to prevent it from entering into the general process by which the general rate of profit is formed. Moreover, some of this surplus value is actually collected in every industrial enterprise, since rent for the plot of land used (by factory buildings, workhouses, etc.) figures in every instance, for even where the land is available free, no factories are built, except in the more or less populated areas with good means of communication.

Supposing the commodities produced by the poorest cultivated land belonged to category 3, i.e., those commodities whose average price=their value, in other words, the whole of their intrinsic surplus value is realised in their price because only thus do they yield the ordinary profit; in this case the land would pay no rent

and landownership would be purely nominal. If a *rent* were paid for the use of the land, then it would only prove that small capitalists, as is partly the case in England (see Newman[a]), are satisfied with making a profit *below* the average. The same applies whenever the rate of rent is higher than the difference between the *intrinsic* surplus value of a commodity and the *average profit*. There is even land whose cultivation at most suffices to pay wages, for, although here the labourer works for himself the whole of his working day, his labour time is longer than the socially *necessary* labour time. It is so unproductive—relative to the generally prevailing productivity in *this* branch of work—that, although the man works for himself for 12 hours, he hardly [produces] as much as a worker under more favourable conditions of production does in 8 hours. This is the same relationship as that of the hand-loom weaver who competes with the POWER-LOOM. Although the product of this hand-loom weaver=12 hours of labour, it was only equal to 8 or less hours of socially *necessary* labour and his product therefore only [had] the value of 8 necessary labour hours. If in such an instance the COTTIER pays a rent then this is purely a deduction from his *necessary* wage and does not represent surplus value, let alone an excess over and above average profit.

Assume that in a country like the UNITED STATES, the number of competing FARMERS is as yet so small and the appropriation of land so much just a matter of form that everyone has the opportunity to invest his capital in land and the cultivation of the soil, without the permission of hitherto-existing owner-cultivators or farmers. In these circumstances it is possible over a considerable period—with the exception of that landed property which by its very situation in populated areas carries a monopoly—that the surplus value which the farmer produces on top of average profit is not realised in the price of his product, but that he may have to share it with his brother capitalists in the same way as this is done with the surplus value of all commodities which would give an excess profit, i.e., raise the rate of profit above the general rate, if their surplus value were realised in their price. In this case the general rate of profit would rise, because wheat, etc., like other manufactured commodities, would be sold *below* its value. This selling *below* its value would not constitute an exception, but rather would prevent wheat from forming an exception to other commodities in the same category.

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[a] F. W. Newman, *Lectures on Political Economy*, p. 155.—*Ed.*

Secondly, assume that in a given country the land is all of a particular quality, so that if the whole of the surplus value from the commodity were realised in its price, it would yield the usual profit on capital. In this case no rent would be paid. The absence of rent would in no way affect the general rate of profit, it would neither raise it nor lower it, just as it is not influenced by the fact that other non-agricultural products are to be found in this category. Since the commodities belong to this category just because their *intrinsic surplus value* equals the *average profit* [they] cannot alter the level of this profit, on the contrary they CONFORM with it and do not influence it at all, although it influences them.

Thirdly, assume that all the land consists of a particular type of soil, but this is so poor that the capital employed in it is so unproductive that its product belongs to that kind of commodity whose surplus value [lies] below average profit. Since wages would rise everywhere as a result of the unproductiveness of agriculture, surplus value could in this case of course only be higher where absolute labour time can be prolonged, where the raw material, such as iron, etc., is not the product of agriculture or, further, where it [is],like cotton, silk,etc., an imported article and a product of more fertile soil. In this case, the price of the [agricultural] commodity would include a surplus value higher than that inherent in it, to enable it to yield the usual profit. The general rate of profit would consequently fall, despite the absence of rent.

Or assume in CASE 2, that the soil is very unproductive. Then surplus value of this agricultural product, by its very equality with average profit,would show that the latter is altogether low since in agriculture perhaps 11 of the 12 working hours are required to produce just the wages, and the surplus value only equals 1 hour or less.

[X-456] These various examples illustrate the following:

In the first case, the *absence or lack of rent* is bound up with, or concurs with, an *increased rate of profit*—as compared with other countries where the phenomenon of rent has developed.

In the second case the lack or absence of rent does not affect the rate of profit at all.

In the third case, compared with other countries where rent exists, it is bound up with and indicative of a *low, a relatively low,* general rate of profit.

It follows from this that the development of a particular rent in itself has absolutely nothing to do with the *productivity of agricultural labour,* since the absence or lack of rent can be associated with a rising, falling or constant rate of profit.

The question here is not: Why is the *excess of surplus value over average profit* held fast in agriculture, etc.? On the contrary, we should rather ask: Why should the opposite take place here?

Surplus value is nothing other than unpaid labour; the average or normal profit is nothing other than the quantity of unpaid labour WHICH EACH CAPITAL OF A GIVEN MAGNITUDE OF VALUE IS SUPPOSED TO REALISE. If we say that average profit is 10% then this means nothing other than that a capital of 100 commands 10 units of unpaid labour; or 100 units of objectified labour command $^1/_{10}$ of their amount in *unpaid* labour. Thus *excess of surplus value over average profit* implies that a commodity (its price or that part of its price which consists of surplus value) contains a quantity of unpaid labour [which is] > than the quantity of unpaid labour that forms average profit, which therefore in the average price of the commodities *forms the excess of their price over the price of their production costs.* In each individual commodity the production costs represent the capital advanced, and the excess over these production costs represents the *unpaid labour* which the advanced capital commands; hence the relationship of this excess in price over the price of production costs shows *the rate* at which a given capital—employed in the production process of commodities—commands unpaid labour, irrespective of whether the unpaid labour contained in the commodity of the *particular* sphere of production is equal to this *rate* or not.

Now what forces the individual capitalist, for instance, to sell his commodity at an average price, which yields him only the average profit and makes him realise less unpaid labour than is in fact worked into his own commodity? This average price is *thrust* upon him; it is by no means the result of his own free will; he would prefer to sell the commodity *above* its value. It is forced upon him by the competition of other capitals. For every capital of the same size could also be rushed into A, the branch of production in which the relationship of unpaid labour to the invested capital, for instance, £100, is greater than in production spheres B, C, etc. whose products by their use value also satisfy a social need just as much as the commodities of production sphere A.

When there are spheres of production in which certain natural conditions of production, such as, for example, arable land, coal seams, iron mines, waterfalls, etc.—without which the production process cannot be carried out, without which commodities cannot be produced in this sphere—are in the hands of others than the proprietors or owners of the objectified labour, the capitalists,

then this second type of *proprietor of the conditions of production* will say:

If I let you have this condition of production for your use, then you will make your average profit; you will appropriate the normal quantity of unpaid labour. But your production yields an excess of surplus value, of unpaid labour, above the rate of profit. This excess you will not throw into the common account, as is usual with you capitalists, but I am going to appropriate it myself. It belongs to me. This transaction should suit you, because your capital yields you just the same in this sphere of production as in any other and besides, this is a very solid branch of production. Apart from the 10% unpaid labour which constitutes the average profit, your capital will also provide a further 20% of *additional* unpaid labour here. This you will pay over to me and in order to do so, you add 20% unpaid labour to the price of the commodity, and this you simply do not account for with the other capitalists. Just as your ownership of one condition of labour—capital, objectified labour—enables you to appropriate a certain quantity of unpaid labour from the workers, so my ownership of the other condition of production, the land, etc., enables me to intercept and divert away from you and the entire capitalist class, that part of unpaid labour which is excessive to your average profit. Your law will have it that under normal circumstances, capitals of equal size appropriate equal quantities of unpaid labour and you capitalists can force each other [X-457] into this position by competition among yourselves. WELL, I happen to be applying this law to you. You are not to appropriate any more of the unpaid labour of your workers than you could with the same capital in any other sphere of production. But the law has nothing to do with the excess of unpaid labour which you have "produced" over the normal quota. Who is going to prevent me from appropriating this "excess"? Why should I act according to your custom and throw it into the common POT of capital to be shared out among the capitalist class, so that everyone should draw out a part of it in accordance with his SHARE in the aggregate capital? I am not a capitalist. The condition of production which I allow you to utilise is not objectified labour but a natural phenomenon. Can you manufacture land or water or mines or coal pits? *Quod non.*[a] The means of compulsion which can be applied to you in order to make you release again a part of the surplus labour you have managed to get hold of does not exist for me. So out with it! The

[a] Certainly not.—*Ed.*

only thing your brother capitalists can do is to compete against you, not against me. If you pay me less excess profit than the difference between the *surplus time* you have made and the quota of surplus labour due to you according to the RULE of capital, your brother capitalists will appear on the scene and by their competition will force you to pay me FAIRLY THE FULL AMOUNT I AM EMPOWERED TO SQUEEZE FROM YOU.

The following problems should now be set forth: 1) The transition from feudal landownership to a different form, commercial land rent, regulated by capitalist production, or, on the other hand, the conversion of this feudal landed property into free peasant property; 2) How rent comes into existence in countries such as the UNITED STATES, where originally land has not been appropriated and where, at any rate in a formal sense, the bourgeois mode of production prevails from the beginning; 3) The Asiatic forms of landownership still in existence. But all this does not belong here.

According to this theory then, the private ownership of objects of nature such as the land, water, mines, etc., the ownership of these conditions of production, this essential ingredient of production emanating from nature, is not a source from which flows value, since value is only objectified labour time. Neither is it the source from which [excess] surplus value flows, i.e., an excess of unpaid labour over and above the unpaid labour contained in profit. This ownership is, however, a source of revenue. It is a claim, a means, which in the sphere of production that the property enters as a condition of production enables the owner to appropriate that part of the unpaid labour squeezed out by the capitalist which would otherwise be tossed into the capital fund as excess over normal profit. This ownership is a means of obstructing the process which takes place in the rest of the spheres of capitalist production, and of holding on to the surplus value created in this particular sphere, so that it is divided between the capitalist and the landowner in that sphere of production itself. In this way landed property, like capital, constitutes a promissory note to unpaid labour, gratis labour. And just as with capital, the worker's objectified labour appears as a power over him, so with landed property, the circumstance which enables the landowners to take part of the unpaid labour away from the capitalists, makes landownership appear as a source of value.

This then explains modern rent, its existence. *With a given capital investment,* the variation in the amount of rent is only to be explained by the varying fertility of the land. The variation

in the amount of rent, *given equal fertility*, can only be explained by the varying amount of capital invested. In the first case, rent rises because its rate increases in proportion to the capital employed (also according to the area of the land). In the second case, it rises because with the same or even with a different rate (if the 2nd dose of capital is not equally productive) the amount of rent increases.

For this theory it is immaterial whether the least fertile land yields a rent or not. Further, it is by no means necessary for the fertility of agriculture to decline, although the diversity in productivity, if not artificially overcome (which is possible), is much greater than in similar spheres of industrial production. When we speak of greater or lesser fertility, we are still concerned with *the same* product. The relationship of the various products, one to another, is another question.

Rent as calculated on the land itself is the RENTAL, the AMOUNT OF RENT. It can rise without an increase in the rate of rent. If the value of money remains unchanged, then the relative value of agricultural products can rise, not because agriculture is becoming less productive, but because, although its productivity is rising, it is rising slower than in industry. On the other hand, a rise in the money price of agricultural products, while the value of money remains the same, is only possible if their value rises, i.e., if agriculture becomes less productive (provided it is not caused by temporary PRESSURE OF DEMAND UPON SUPPLY as with other commodities).

In the cotton industry, the price of the raw material fell continuously with the development of the industry itself; the same applies to iron, etc., coal, etc. The growth of rent here was possible, not because its rate rose, but only because more capital was employed.

Ricardo is of the following opinion: The powers of nature, such as air, light, electricity, steam, water are gratis; the land is not, because it is limited. So already for this reason alone, agriculture is less productive than other industries. If the land were just as COMMON, UNAPPROPRIATED, available in any quantities, as the other elements and powers of nature, then it would be much more productive.[a]

[X-458] *D'abord*, if the land were so easily available, at everyone's free disposal, then a principal element *for the formation of capital* would be missing. A most important condition of production and—apart from man himself and his labour—the only original

[a] See D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy...*, p. 56.—*Ed.*

condition of production could not be disposed of, could not be appropriated. It could not thus confront the worker as someone else's property and make him into a wage labourer. The productivity of labour in Ricardo's sense, i.e., in the capitalist sense, the "producing" of someone else's unpaid labour would thus become impossible. And this would put an end to capitalist production altogether.

So far as the powers of nature indicated by Ricardo are concerned, it is true that these are partly to be had for nothing and do not cost the capitalist anything. Coal costs him something, but steam costs him nothing so long as he gets water gratis. But now, for example, let us take steam. The properties of steam always existed. Its industrial usefulness is a new scientific discovery which the capitalist has appropriated. As a consequence of this scientific discovery, the productivity of labour and with it relative surplus value rose. In other words, the quantity of unpaid labour which the capitalist appropriated from a day's labour grew with the aid of steam. The difference between the productive power of steam and that of the soil is thus only that the one yields unpaid labour to the capitalist and the other to the landowner, who does not take it away from the worker, but from the capitalist. The capitalist is therefore so enthusiastic about this element "belonging to no one".

Only this much is correct:

Assuming the capitalist mode of production, the capitalist is not only a necessary functionary, but the dominating functionary in production. The landowner, on the other hand, is quite superfluous in this mode of production. Its only requirement is that land should *not* be COMMON PROPERTY, that it should confront the working class as a condition of production, *not belonging* to it, and the purpose is completely fulfilled if it becomes State property, i.e., if the State draws the rent. The landowner, such an important functionary in production in the ancient world and in the Middle Ages, is A USELESS SUPERFETATION in the industrial world. The radical bourgeois[108] (WITH AN EYE BESIDES TO THE SUPPRESSION OF ALL OTHER TAXES) therefore goes forward theoretically to a refutation of the private ownership of the land, which, in the form of State property, he would like to turn into the COMMON PROPERTY of the bourgeois class, of capital. But in practice he lacks the courage, since an attack on one form of property—a form of the private ownership of a condition of labour—might cast considerable doubts on the other form. Besides, the bourgeois has himself become an owner of land.

Now to Mr. Rodbertus.

According to Rodbertus, no raw material enters into agricultural calculations, because, so Rodbertus assures us, the German peasant does not reckon that seeds, feeding stuffs, etc. cost him anything. He does not count these as production costs; in fact he *mis*calculates. In England, where the FARMER has been doing his accounts correctly for more than 150 years, there should accordingly be *no* ground rent. The conclusion therefore should not be the one drawn by Rodbertus, that the farmer pays a rent because his rate of profit is higher than in manufacture, but that he pays it because, as a result of a miscalculation, he is satisfied with a *lower* rate of profit. Dr. Quesnay, himself the son of a tenant farmer and closely [acquainted] with French farming, would not have received this idea kindly. Quesnay includes the "raw material" which the tenant farmer needs, as one of the items in the annual outlay of 1,000 million, although the farmer reproduces it *in natura*.[a]

Although hardly any fixed capital or machinery is to be found in one section of manufacture, in another section—the entire transport industry, the industry which produces change of location, [using] wagons, railways, ships, etc.—there is no raw material but only tools of production. Do such branches of industry yield a rent apart from profit? How does this branch of industry differ from, say, the mining industry? In both of them only machinery and *matière instrumentale* are used, such as coal for steamships and locomotives and mines, fodder for horses, etc. Why should the rate of profit be calculated differently in one sector than in the other? [Supposing] the advances to production which the peasant makes *in natura* $= {}^1/_5$ of the total capital he advances, to which we would then have to add $^4/_5$ in advances for the purchase of machinery and wages, the expenditure amounting to 150 qrs. If he then makes 10% profit [this would be] equal to 15 qrs, i.e., the gross product would be 165 qrs. If he now deducted $^1/_5 = 30$ qrs and calculated the 15 qrs only on 120, then he would have made a profit of $12\,{}^1/_2$ [%].

Alternatively, we could put it in this way: The value of his product, or his product = 165 qrs (= £330). He reckons his advances to be 120 qrs (£240), 10% on this = 12 qrs (£24). But his gross product = 165 qrs; from which thus 132 qrs are to be deducted, which leaves 33 qrs. But from these, 30 qrs are

[a] [F.] Quesnay, *Analyse du tableau économique*. In: *Physiocrates...*, Part I, Paris, 1846, p. 58 et seq.—*Ed.*

deducted *in natura*. This leaves an EXTRA PROFIT of 3 qrs (=£6). His total profit=15 qrs (£30) instead of 12 qrs (£24). So he can pay a rent of 3 qrs or £6 and *fancy* that he has made a profit of 10% like every other capitalist. But this 10% exists only in his imagination. IN FACT, he has made advances of 150 qrs, not of 120 qrs and on these, 10% amounts to 15 qrs or £30. IN FACT he received 3 qrs too few, $^1/_4$ of the 12 qrs which he actually received [X-459], or $^1/_5$ of the total profit which he should have received, because he did not consider $^1/_5$ of his advances to be advances. Therefore, as soon as he learnt to calculate according to capitalist methods, he would cease to pay rent, which would merely amount to the difference between *his* rate of profit and the normal rate of profit.

In other words, the product of unpaid labour embodied in the 165 qrs=15 qrs=£30=30 labour weeks. Now if these 30 labour weeks or 15 qrs or £30 were calculated on the total advances of 150 qrs, then they would only form 10%; if they were calculated only on 120 qrs, then they would represent a higher percentage, because 10% on 120 qrs would be 12 qrs and 15 qrs are not 10% of 120 qrs but 12$^1/_2$%. In other words: Since the peasant did not include some of his advances in the account as a capitalist would have done, he calculates the surplus labour he has saved on too small a portion of his advances. Hence it represents a higher rate of profit than in other branches of industry and can therefore yield a rent which is based solely on a miscalculation. The game would be over if the peasant realised that it is by no means necessary first to convert his advances into *real money*, i.e., to *sell* them, in order to assess them in money, and hence to regard them as commodities.

*Without this mathematical error* (which may be committed by a large number of German peasants but never by a capitalist FARMER) Rodbertus' rent would be an impossibility. It only becomes possible *where* raw material enters into production costs, but not where it *does not*. It only becomes feasible where the raw material enters [into production] *without* entering into the accounts. But it is not possible *where* it does not enter [into production], although Mr. Rodbertus wants to derive his explanation of the existence of rent *not* from a *miscalculation*, but from the *absence* of a real ITEM of expenditure.

Take the mining industry or the fisheries. Raw material does not figure in these, except as *matière instrumentale*, which we can omit, since the use of machinery always implies (with very few exceptions) the consumption of *matières instrumentales*, the food of

the machine. Assuming that the general rate of profit is 10% and £100 are laid out in machinery and wages; why should the profit on 100 amount to more than 10, because the 100 have not been expended on raw material, machinery and wages, but have been expended on raw material and wages only? If there is to be any sort of difference, this could only arise because in the *various instances*, the ratio of the values of constant capital and variable capital is in fact *different*. This varying ratio would result in varying surplus value, even if the *rate* of surplus value is taken to be constant. And if varying surplus values are related to capitals of *equal size*, they must of course yield unequal profits. But on the other hand the general rate of profit means nothing other than the equalisation of these inequalities, abstraction from the organic components of capital and reduction of surplus value, so that capitals of equal size yield equal profits.

That the amount of surplus value depends on the *size of the capital employed* does not hold good—according to the general laws of surplus value—for capitals in *different* spheres of production, but for *different capitals* in *the same* sphere of production, in which it is assumed that the *organic* component parts of capital are in the same proportion. If one says for example: the volume of profit in *spinning*, for instance, corresponds to the size of the capitals employed (which is also not quite correct, unless one adds that productivity is assumed to be *constant*), this in fact merely means that, given the rate of exploitation of the spinners, the total amount of exploitation depends on the number of exploited spinners. If, on the other hand, one says that the volume of profit in different branches of production corresponds to the size of the capitals employed, then this means that the rate of profit is the same for each capital of a given size, i.e., the volume of profit can only change with the size of this capital. In other words, the rate of profit is independent of the organic relationship of the components of a capital in a particular sphere of production; it is altogether independent of the amount of surplus value which is realised in these particular spheres of production.

Mining production ought to be considered right from the start as belonging to industry and not to agriculture. Why? Because no product of the mine is used, *in natura*, as an element of production; no product of the mine enters in kind, straight from the mine, into the constant capital of the mining industry (the same applies to fishing and hunting, where the outlay consists to a still higher degree of the instruments of labour and wages or labour itself). [X-460] In other words, because every element of

production in the mine—even if its raw material originates in the mine—not only alters its form, but becomes a commodity, i.e., it must be *bought*, before it can re-enter mining as an element of production. Coal forms the only exception to this. But it only appears as a means of production at a stage of development when the exploiter of the mine has graduated as a capitalist, who uses double entry book-keeping, in which he not only owes himself his advances, i.e., is a debtor against his own funds, but his own funds are debtors against themselves. Thus just here, where in fact no raw material figures in expenditure, capitalist accounting must prevail from the outset, making the illusion of the peasant impossible.

Now let us take manufacture itself, and in particular that section where all the elements of the labour process are also elements in the valorisation process; i.e., where all the production elements enter into the production of the new commodity as items of expenditure, as use values that have a value, as *commodities*. There is a considerable difference between the manufacturer who produces the first intermediate product and the second and all those that follow in the process towards the finished product. The raw material of the latter type of manufacturers enters the production process not only as a commodity, but is already a commodity of the 2nd degree; it has already taken on a different form from the first commodity, which was a raw product in its natural form, it has already passed through a second phase of the production process. For example, the spinner: His raw material is cotton, itself a raw product (already a commodity too), but the raw product as commodity. The raw material of the weaver however is the yarn produced by the spinner; that of the printer or dyer is the woven fabric, the product of the weaver; and all these products, which reappear as raw materials in further phases of the process are at the same time commodities.[109]

[X-461] We seem to have returned here to the question with which we have already been concerned on two other occasions, once when discussing John Stuart Mill,[a] and again during the general analysis of the relationship between constant capital and revenue.[b 26] The continual recurrence of this question shows that there is still a hitch somewhere. Really this belongs into Ch. III on profit.[29] But it fits in better here.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 55-59.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 59, 114.—*Ed.*

For example:

4,000 lbs cotton =£100;
4,000 lbs yarn=£200;
4,000 YARDS CALICO=£400.

On the basis of this assumption, 1 lb. cotton=6d., 1 lb. yarn=1s., 1 YARD [calico]=2s.

Given a rate of profit of 10%, then

A in £100, the outlay= $90\,^{10}/_{11}$ and the profit= $9\,^{1}/_{11}$
B in £200, the outlay=$181\,^{9}/_{11}$ and the profit= $18\,^{2}/_{11}$
C in £400, the outlay=$363\,^{7}/_{11}$ and the profit= $36\,^{4}/_{11}$

A=*COTTON* [the product of the] peasant (I); B=*yarn* [the product of the] spinner (II), C=*woven fabric* [the product of the] weaver (III).

Under this assumption it does not matter whether A's $90\,^{10}/_{11}$ itself includes a profit or not. It will not do so if it constitutes self-replacing constant capital. It is equally irrelevant for B, whether the £100 includes profit or not, and ditto with C in relation to B.

The relationship of B (the COTTON-GROWER) or I, of S (spinner) or II and of weaver or III is as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I) | *Outlay*= $90\,^{10}/_{11}$ | *Profit*= $9\,^{1}/_{11}$ | Total=*100* |
| II) | *Outlay*=100 (I)+ $81\,^{9}/_{11}$ | *Profit*=$18\,^{2}/_{11}$ | *Total*=200 |
| III) | *Outlay*=200 (II)+$163\,^{7}/_{11}$ | *Profit*=$36\,^{4}/_{11}$ | *Total*=400 |

The grand total=700.
*Profit*=$9\,^{1}/_{11}+18\,^{2}/_{11}+36\,^{4}/_{11}$

*Capital advanced in all 3 sections:* $90\,^{10}/_{11}+181\,^{9}/_{11}+363\,^{7}/_{11}=636\,^{4}/_{11}$
Excess of 700 over $636\,^{4}/_{11}=63\,^{7}/_{11}$. But $63\,^{7}/_{11}:636\,^{4}/_{11}=10:100$.

Continuing to analyse this rubbish, we obtain the following:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I) | *Outlay*= $90\,^{10}/_{11}$ | *Profit*= $9\,^{1}/_{11}$ | *Total*=100 |
| II) | *Outlay*=100 (I)+ $81\,^{9}/_{11}$ | *Profit*=10+ $8\,^{2}/_{11}$ | *Total*=200 |
| III) | *Outlay*=200 (II)+$163\,^{7}/_{11}$ | Profit=20+$16\,^{4}/_{11}$ | *Total*=400 |

I does not have to repay any profit, because it is assumed that his constant capital of $90\,^{10}/_{11}$ does not include any profit, but represents purely constant capital. The entire product of I figures as constant capital in II's outlay. That part of constant capital which=100 yields a profit of $9\,^{1}/_{11}$ to I. The entire product [of] II=200 enters into III's outlay, and thus yields a profit of $18\,^{2}/_{11}$. However, this does not in any way alter the fact that I's profit is not one iota larger than II's or III's, because the capital which he has to replace is smaller to the same degree and the profit

corresponds to the volume of the capital, irrespective of the composition of the capital.

Now let us assume that III produces everything himself. Then the position *seems* to change, because his outlay now appears as follows:

$90\,^{10}/_{11}$ in the production of COTTON; $181\,^{9}/_{11}$ in the production of yarn and $363\,^{7}/_{11}$ in the production of the woven fabric. He buys all 3 branches of production and must therefore continually employ a definite amount of constant capital in all 3. If we now total this up we get: $90\,^{10}/_{11}+181\,^{9}/_{11}+363\,^{7}/_{11}=636\,^{4}/_{11}$. 10 per cent of this is exactly $63\,^{7}/_{11}$, as above, only that one individual pockets the lot, whereas previously the $63\,^{7}/_{11}$ were shared among I, II and III.

[X-462] How did the wrong impression arise a little while ago?

But first, one other comment.

If from the 400, we deduct the profit of the weaver, which amounts to $36\,^{4}/_{11}$, then we are left with $400-36\,^{4}/_{11}=363\,^{7}/_{11}$, his outlay. This outlay includes 200 paid out for yarn. Of these 200, $18\,^{2}/_{11}$ are the profit of the spinner. If we now deduct these $18\,^{2}/_{11}$ from the outlay of $363\,^{7}/_{11}$, we are left with $345\,^{5}/_{11}$. But the 200 which are returnable to the spinner, also contain $9\,^{1}/_{11}$ profit for the COTTON-GROWER. If we deduct these from the $345\,^{5}/_{11}$, we are left with $336\,^{4}/_{11}$. And if we deduct these $336\,^{4}/_{11}$ from the 400—the total value of the woven fabric—then it becomes evident that it contains a profit of $63\,^{7}/_{11}$.

But a profit of $63\,^{7}/_{11}$ on $336\,^{4}/_{11}$ is=to $18\,^{34}/_{37}$%.

Previously we calculated these $63\,^{7}/_{11}$ on $636\,^{4}/_{11}$, and obtained a profit of 10%. The excess of the total value of 700 over $636\,^{4}/_{11}$ was in fact $63\,^{7}/_{11}$.

According to this calculation, therefore, $18\,^{34}/_{37}$% would be made on 100 of this same capital, whereas according to the previous calculation only 10%.

How does this tally?

Supposing I, II and III are one and the same person, but that this individual does not employ 3 capitals simultaneously, one in COTTON-growing, one in spinning and one in weaving. Rather, as soon as he ceases to grow cotton, he begins to spin it and as soon as he has spun, he finishes with this and begins to weave.

Then his accounting would look like this:

He invests £$90\,^{10}/_{11}$ in COTTON-growing. From this he obtains 4,000 lbs of COTTON. In order to spin these he needs to lay out a further £$81\,^{9}/_{11}$ in machinery, *matière instrumentale* and wages. With this he makes the 4,000 lbs of yarn. Finally he weaves these

into 4,000 YARDS which involves him in a further outlay of £$163\,^{7}/_{11}$. If he now adds up his expenditure, the capital which he has advanced=$90\,^{10}/_{11}+81\,^{9}/_{11}+163\,^{7}/_{11}$, i.e., £$336\,^{4}/_{11}$. 10% on this would be $33\,^{7}/_{11}$, because $336\,^{4}/_{11}:33\,^{7}/_{11}=100:10$. But $336\,^{4}/_{11}+33\,^{7}/_{11}=$£370. He would thus sell the 4,000 YARDS at £370 instead of at £400, i.e., at £30 less, i.e., at $7\,^{1}/_{2}$% lower than before. If the value INDEED were 400, he could thus sell at the USUAL PROFIT of 10% and in addition pay a rent of £30, because his rate of profit would not be $33\,^{7}/_{11}$ but $63\,^{7}/_{11}$ on his advances of $336\,^{4}/_{11}$, i.e., $18\,^{34}/_{37}$%, as we saw earlier. And this IN FACT appears to be the manner in which Mr. Rodbertus makes out his calculation of rent.

What does the FALLACY consist of? First of all it is evident that if spinning and weaving are combined, they should yield a rent, just as if spinning is combined with cultivation or if agriculture is carried on independently.

Evidently two different problems are involved here.

*Firstly* we are calculating the £$63\,^{7}/_{11}$ only on one capital of £$336\,^{4}/_{11}$, whereas we should be calculating it on 3 capitals of a total value of £$636\,^{4}/_{11}$.

*Secondly* in the last capital, that of III, we are reckoning his outlay to be £$336\,^{4}/_{11}$, instead of £$363\,^{7}/_{11}$.

Let us go into these points separately.

*Firstly*: If III, II and I are united in one person, and if he spins up the entire product of his cotton harvest, then he does not use any part of this harvest at all to replace his agricultural capital. He does not employ part of his capital in [X-463] COTTON-growing—in expenditure on COTTON-growing, seeds, wages, machinery—and another part in spinning, but he first puts a part of his capital into COTTON-growing, then this part+a second into spinning, and then the whole of these 2 first parts, now existing in the form of yarn+a 3rd part, into weaving. Now when the fabric of 4,000 YARDS has been woven, how is he to replace its elements? While he was weaving he wasn't spinning, and he had no material from which to spin; while he was spinning he did not grow any COTTON. Therefore his elements of production cannot be *replaced.* To help ourselves along, let us say: Well, the fellow sells the 4,000 YARDS and then "buys" yarn and the elements of COTTON out of the £400. Where does this get us? To a position where we are in fact assuming that 3 capitals are simultaneously employed and engaged and laid out in production. But yarn cannot be bought unless it is available and in order to buy COTTON it must be available as well. And so that they are available to replace the woven yarn and the

spun COTTON, simultaneously with the capital employed in weaving, capitals must be invested which are turned into COTTON and yarn at the same time as the yarn is turned into woven fabric.

Thus, whether III combines all 3 branches of production or whether 3 producers share them, 3 capitals must be available simultaneously. If he wants to produce on *the same* scale, he cannot carry on spinning and COTTON-growing with the same capital which he used for weaving. Every one of these capitals is engaged and their reciprocal replacement does not affect the problem under discussion. The replacement capitals are the constant capital which must be invested and operating in each of the 3 branches simultaneously. If the £400 contain a profit of $63\,^{7}/_{11}$, then this is only because besides his own profit of $36\,^{4}/_{11}$, we allow III to gather in the profit which he has to pay to II and I and which, according to the assumption, is realised in his commodity. But the profit was not made on his £$363\,^{7}/_{11}$. The peasant made it on his additional £$90\,^{10}/_{11}$ and the spinner on his $181\,^{9}/_{11}$. When he pockets the whole amount himself, he likewise has not made it on the £$363\,^{7}/_{11}$ that he invested in weaving, but on this capital+his two other capitals invested in spinning and COTTON-growing.

*Secondly*: If we reckon III's outlay to be £$336\,^{4}/_{11}$ instead of $363\,^{7}/_{11}$, then this arises from the following:

We take his outlay on COTTON-growing to be only $90\,^{10}/_{11}$ instead of 100. But he needs the whole product and this=100 and not $90\,^{10}/_{11}$. It contains the profit of $9\,^{1}/_{11}$. Or else he would be employing a capital of $90\,^{10}/_{11}$ which would bring him *no profit*. His COTTON-growing would yield him no profit but would just replace his expenditure of $90\,^{10}/_{11}$. In the same way, spinning would not bring him any profit, but the whole of the product would only replace his outlay.

In this case, his expenditure would indeed be reduced to $90\,^{10}/_{11} + 81\,^{9}/_{11} + 163\,^{7}/_{11} = 336\,^{4}/_{11}$. This would be the capital he has advanced. 10% on this would be £$33\,^{7}/_{11}$. And the value of the product=£370. The value would not be one farthing higher because, according to the supposition, portions I and II have not brought in any profit. Accordingly III would have done much better to leave I and II well alone and to keep to the old method of production. For instead of the $63\,^{7}/_{11}$ which were previously at the disposal of I, II and III, III now has only £$33\,^{7}/_{11}$ for himself whereas previously, when his fellows were alongside of him, he had £$36\,^{4}/_{11}$. He would indeed be a very bad hand at business. He would only have saved an outlay of £$9\,^{1}/_{11}$ in II because he had made no profit in I, and he would have saved an outlay of $18\,^{2}/_{11}$

in III, by not making a profit in II. The £$90\,^{10}/_{11}$ in COTTON-growing and the $81\,^{9}/_{11}+90\,^{10}/_{11}$ in spinning would both have only replaced themselves. Only the third capital of $90\,^{10}/_{11}+81\,^{9}/_{11}+163\,^{7}/_{11}$ invested in weaving, would have yielded a profit of 10%. This would mean that 100 would yield 10% profit in weaving, but not one farthing in spinning and COTTON-growing. This would be very pleasant for III, so long as I and II are persons other than himself, but by no means so, if, in order *to save these petty profits and pocket them himself*, he has united these 3 branches of business in his worthy self. The saving of advances for profit (or that component part of the [X-464] constant capital of one capitalist which is profit for the others) arose therefore from the fact that [the products of] I and II contained no profits and that I and II performed no surplus labour but regarded themselves merely as wage labourers who only had to replace *their production costs*, i.e., the outlay in constant capital and wages. Thus, in these circumstances—provided I and II did not want to work for III, since if they did, profit would go to *his* account—less labour would have been done in any case, and it would not matter to III whether the work for which he has to pay is only laid out in wages, or in wages and profit. This is all the same to him, in so far as he buys and pays for the product, the *commodity*.

Whether constant capital is wholly or partially replaced *in natura*, in other words, whether it is replaced by the producers of the commodity for which it serves as constant capital, is of no consequence. *D'abord*, all constant capital must in the end be replaced *in natura*: machinery by machinery, raw material by raw material, *matière instrumentale* by *matière instrumentale*. In agriculture, constant capital may also enter as a *commodity*, i.e., be mediated directly by purchase and sale. In so far as organic[a] substances enter into reproduction, the constant capital must of course be replaced by products of the same sphere of production. But it need not be replaced by the individual producers within this sphere of production. The more agriculture develops, the more all its elements enter into it as commodities, not just formally, but in actual fact. In other words, they come from outside, for instance, seeds, fertilisers, cattle, animal substances, etc., are the products of other producers. In industry, for example, the continual movement to and fro of iron into the machine SHOP and machines into the iron mines, is just as constant as is the movement of wheat from the granary to the land and from the land to the granary of

[a] The word "organised" is written above this word in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

the FARMER. The products in agriculture are replaced directly. Iron cannot replace machines. But iron, to the value of the machine, replaces the machine for one [producer], and the iron for the other, in so far as the value of his machine is replaced by iron.

It is difficult to see what difference it is supposed to make to the rate of profit if the peasant, who lays out the $90\,^{10}/_{11}$ on a product of £100, were to compute that, for instance, he spends £20 on seeds etc., 20 on machinery etc., and $50\,^{10}/_{11}$ on wages. What he wants is a profit of 10% on the total sum. The £20 of the product which he sets against seeds do not include any profit. Nevertheless, this is just as much £20 as the £20 in machinery, in which there may be a profit of 10%, although this may be only formal. In actual fact the £20 in machinery, like the £20 in seeds, may not contain a single FARTHING of profit. This is the case if these £20 are merely a replacement for components of the machine builder's constant capital, which he draws from agriculture, for instance.

Just as it would be wrong to say that all machinery goes into agriculture as its constant capital, so it is incorrect to say that all raw material goes into manufacture. A very large part of it remains fixed in agriculture and only represents a reproduction of constant capital. Another part of it goes directly into revenue in the form of means of subsistence and some of it, like fruit, fish, cattle etc., does not undergo a "manufacturing process" at all. It would therefore be incorrect to burden industry with the entire bill for all the raw materials "manufactured" by agriculture. Of course in those branches of manufacture where the raw material features as an advance, alongside wages and machinery, the capital advanced must be greater than in *those* branches of agriculture which supply the raw material used. It could also be assumed that if these branches of manufacture had their *own* rate of profit (different from the general rate) it would be smaller here than in agriculture and precisely because less labour is employed. For, with a given rate of surplus value, more constant capital and less variable capital necessarily bring in a lower rate of profit. This, however, applies equally to certain branches of manufacture as against others and to certain branches of agriculture (in the economic sense) as against others. It is in fact least likely to occur in agriculture proper, because, although it supplies raw material to industry, it differentiates between raw materials, machinery and wages in its own expenditure account, but industry by no means pays agriculture for the *raw material*, i.e., for that part of constant capital which it replaces from within itself and not by exchange with industrial products.

[X-465] Now to a brief resumé of Mr. Rodbertus.

First he describes the situation as he imagines it, where the (self-SUPPORTING) owner of the land is at the same time the capitalist and slave-owner. Then there comes a separation. That part of the "product of labour" which has been taken from the workers—the "one natural rent"—is now split up into "rent of land and capital gain" (pp. 81-82). (Mr. *Hopkins*—see notebook [110]—explains this in even more simple and blunt terms.) Then Mr. Rodbertus divides the "raw product" and "manufactured product" (p. 89) between the landowner and the capitalist—*petitio principii.* One capitalist produces raw products and the other manufactured products. The LANDLORD produces *nothing,* neither is he the "owner of raw products". That is the conception of a German "landed proprietor" such as Mr. Rodbertus is. In England, capitalist production began simultaneously in manufacture and in agriculture.

How a "rate of capital gain" (rate of profit) comes about, is explained by Mr. Rodbertus purely from the fact that money now provides a "measure" of gain, making it possible to "express the relationship of gain to capital" (p. 94) and thus "supplying a standard gauge for the equalisation of capital gains" (p. 94). He has not even a remote idea that this *uniformity of profit is in contradiction* to the equality of rent and unpaid labour in each branch of production, and that therefore the values of commodities and the average prices must differ. This rate of profit also becomes the norm in agriculture because the "*return on property* cannot be calculated upon anything other than capital" (p. 95) and by far the "larger part of the national capital is employed" (p. 95) in manufacture. Not a word about the fact that with the advent of capitalist production, agriculture itself is revolutionised, not only in a formal sense but really, and the landowner is reduced to a mere receptacle, ceasing to fulfil any function in production. According to Rodbertus

> "in manufacture, the *value of the entire product of agriculture*" is included "in the capital *as raw material,* whereas this cannot be the case in primary production" (p. 95).

The entire bit is *incorrect.*

Rodbertus now asks himself whether apart from the industrial profit, the profit on capital, there "remains a rent for the raw product", and "for what reasons" (p. 96).

He even assumes

> "that the raw product like the manufactured product exchanges according to its labour costs, that the value of the raw product is only equal to its labour cost" (p. 96).

True, as Rodbertus says, Ricardo also assumes this.[a] But it is wrong, at least *prima facie*, since commodities do not exchange according to their values, but at average prices, which differ from their values, and this, moreover, is a consequence of the apparently contradictory law, the determination of the value of commodities by "labour time". If the raw product carried a rent apart from and distinct from average profit, this would only be possible if the raw product were *not* sold at the average price and why this happens would then have to be explained. But let us see how Rodbertus operates.

"I have *assumed* that the rent" (the *surplus value*, the unpaid labour time) "*is distributed according to the* value *of the raw product and the manufactured product*, and that this value is determined by *labour costs*" (labour time) (pp. 96-97).

To begin with we must examine this first *assumption*. In fact this just means that the *surplus values* contained in the commodities are in the same proportion as their *values*, or, in other words, the *unpaid* labour *contained* in the commodities is proportionate to the total quantities of *labour* they *contain*. If the quantity of labour contained in the commodities A and B is as 3:1, then the unpaid labour—or surplus values—contained in them is as 3:1. Nothing could be further from the truth. Given the necessary labour time, for instance 10 hours, one commodity may be the product of 30 workers while the other is the product of 10. If the 30 workers only work 12 hours, then the surplus value created by them=60 hours=5 days (5×12), and if 10 work 16 hours a day, then the surplus value created by them also=60 hours. According to this, the value of commodity A=30×12=120×3=360: $\frac{12}{3}$ =30 working days //12 hours=1 working day//. And the value of commodity B=160 working hours: $\begin{array}{r} 160 \\ 12 \\ \hline 40 \\ 36 \\ \hline 4 \end{array} \frac{12}{13} = 13\,{}^{1}/_{3}$ working days. *The values* of commodities A:B=360:160=36:16=6:$^{16}/_{6}$=6:2$^{4}/_{6}$=6:2$^{2}/_{3}$. The surplus values contained in the commodities, however, are as 60:60=1:1. They are equal, although the values are almost as 3:1.

[X-466] Therefore, the surplus values of the commodities are not proportionate to their values, *d'abord* if the absolute surplus values, the extension of labour time beyond the necessary labour, i.e., the *rates of surplus value* [are different].

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[a] See D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy...*, pp. 60-61.—*Ed.*

Secondly, assuming the rates of surplus value to be the same, and leaving aside other factors connected with circulation and the reproduction process, then the surplus values are not dependent on the relative quantities of labour contained in the 2 commodities, but on the proportion of the part of capital laid out in wages to the part which is laid out in constant capital, raw material and machinery. And this proportion can be entirely different with commodities of equal values, whether they be "agricultural products" or "manufactured products", which in any case has nothing to do with this business, at least not *prima facie*.

Mr. Rodbertus' first assumption, that, if the values of commodities are determined by labour time, it follows that the quantities of unpaid labour *contained* in various commodities—or their surplus values—are directly related to their values is therefore fundamentally wrong. It is therefore also incorrect to say that

"*rent* is distributed according to the *value* of the raw product and the manufactured product", if "this value is determined by *labour costs*" (pp. 96-97).

"Of course it follows from this that the size of these portions of rent is not determined by the *size of the capital on which the gain is calculated*, but by the *direct labour*, whether it be agricultural or manufacturing+that amount of labour which must be added on account of the wear and tear of tools and machines" (p. 97).

Wrong again. The volume of surplus value (and in this case surplus value is the *portion of rent*, since rent is here regarded as the general term, as opposed to profit and ground rent) depends only on the immediate labour involved and not on the wear and tear of fixed capital. Just as it does not depend on the value of the raw material or indeed on any part of the constant capital.

The wear and tear does, of course, determine the rate at which fixed capital must be reproduced. (At the same time, its production depends on the formation of new capital, on the accumulation of capital.) But the surplus labour which is performed in the production of fixed capital does not affect the sphere of production into which this fixed capital enters as such, any more than does the surplus labour which goes into the production of, say, the raw materials. It is rather equally valid for all of them, agriculture, production of machines and manufacture, that their surplus value is determined only by the amount of labour employed, if the rate of surplus value is given, and, by the rate of surplus value, if the amount of labour employed is given. Mr. Rodbertus seeks to "drag in" wear and tear in order to chuck out "raw materials".

On the other hand, Mr. Rodbertus maintains that the size of the rent can [never] be influenced by "that part of capital which consists of material value",

since, "for instance, the labour cost of wool as a raw material cannot affect the labour cost of a particular product such as yarn or fabric" (p. 97).

The labour time which is required for spinning and weaving is as much, or rather as little, dependent on the labour time—i.e., the *value* of the machine—as it is on the labour time which the raw material costs. Both machine and raw material enter into the labour process; neither of them enters into the valorisation process.

"On the other hand, the value of the primary product, or the material value, does figure as *capital outlay* in the capital upon which the owner has to calculate his gain, the part of the rent falling on the manufactured product. *But in agricultural capital this part of capital is missing.* Agriculture *does not require any material which is the product of a previous production, in fact it actually begins the production,* and in agriculture, that part of the property which is analogous with material, would be the land itself, which is however assumed to be without cost" (pp. 97-98).

This is the conception of the German peasant. In agriculture (excluding mining, fishing, hunting but *by no means stock-raising*) seeds, feeding stuffs, cattle, mineral fertilisers, etc., form the material [X-467] for manufacturing and this material is the product of *labour.* This "*outlay*" grows proportionately to the development of industrialised agriculture. All production—once we are no longer dealing with mere taking and appropriating—is reproduction and hence requires "the product of a previous production as material". Everything which is the result of production is at the same time a prerequisite of production. And the more large-scale agriculture develops the more it buys products of "a previous production" and sells its own. In agriculture these expenses feature as commodities in a formal sense—converted into commodities by being reckoned in money—as soon as the FARMER becomes at all dependent on the sale of his product; as soon as the prices of various agricultural products (like hay for example) have established themselves, for division of the spheres of production takes place in agriculture as well. Queer things must be happening in the mind of a peasant if he reckons the quarter of wheat which he sells as *income,* but does not reckon the quarter which he puts into the soil as "*expenditure*". Incidentally, Mr. Rodbertus ought to try somewhere to "begin the production", for instance of flax or silk, without "products of a previous production". This is absolute nonsense.

And therefore also the rest of Rodbertus' conclusions:

"The two parts of capital that influence the *size* of the rent are thus common to agriculture and industry. The part of capital, however, that does not influence the size of the rent—but on which gain, i.e., the rent determined by those parts of capital, is also calculated—is to be found in industrial capital alone. According to

the assumption, the value of the raw product like that of the manufactured product is dependent on labour cost and rent accrues to the owners of the primary product and of the manufactured product proportionately to this value. Therefore *the rent yielded in raw material production and industrial production is relative to the quantities of labour which the respective product has cost, but the capitals employed in agriculture and in industry, on which the rent is distributed as gain*—namely in manufacture entirely, in agriculture according to the rate of gain prevailing *in manufacture*—are not in the same proportion as those quantities of labour and the rent determined by them. Although *an equal amount of rent accrues to the primary product and to the industrial product,* industrial capital is larger than agricultural capital by the entire value of the raw material it contains. Since the value of this raw material *augments the industrial capital on which the available rent is calculated as gain, but not the gain itself,* and thus simultaneously helps *to lower the rate of capital gain,* which also prevails in *agriculture,* there must necessarily be left over in agriculture a part of the rent accruing there which is not absorbed by the *calculation of gain based on this rate of gain*" (pp. 98-99).

*First wrong proposition*: *If* industrial products and agricultural products exchange according to their *values* (i.e., in relation to the labour time required for their production), then they yield to their owners equal amounts of *surplus value* or quantities of unpaid labour. Surplus values are *not* proportional to values.

*Second wrong proposition*: Since Rodbertus presupposes *a rate of profit* (which he calls rate of capital gain) the supposition that commodities *exchange in the proportion of* their values is incorrect. One proposition excludes the other. For a (general) *rate of profit* to exist, the *values* of the commodities must have been *transformed into average prices* or must be in the constant process of transformation. The *particular rates of profit* which are formed in every sphere of production on the basis of the ratio of *surplus value to capital advanced,* are equalised in this general rate. Why then not in agriculture? That is the question. But Rodbertus does not even formulate this question correctly, because *firstly* he presupposes that there is a general *rate of profit* and secondly he assumes that the *particular* rates of profit (hence also their differences) are *not* equalised and thus that commodities exchange at their *values.*

*Third wrong proposition*: The *value of the raw material does not enter into agriculture.* Rather here, the advances of seeds, etc., are component parts of constant capital and are calculated *as such* by the FARMER. To the same degree that agriculture becomes a mere branch of industry—i.e., that capitalist production is established on the land—[X-468] to the degree to which agriculture produces for the market, produces *commodities,* articles for sale and not for its own consumption—to the same degree it calculates its outlay and regards each ITEM of expenditure as a commodity, whether it buys it from itself (i.e., from *production*) or from a third person.

The *elements of production* naturally become commodities to the same extent as the *products* do, because after all, these elements are those very same products. Since wheat, hay, cattle, seeds of all kinds, etc., are thus *sold* as commodities—and, since this sale is the essential thing, not their use as a means of subsistence—they also enter into production as *commodities* and the FARMER would have to be A REAL BLOCKHEAD not to be able to use money as the unit of account. *D'abord* this is, however, the formal aspect of the calculation. But simultaneously [the position] *develops* [in such a way] that the FARMER buys his *outlay*, seeds, cattle, fertilisers, mineral substances, etc., while he sells his *receipts*, so that for the individual FARMER these advances are also advances in the formal sense in that they are *bought commodities*. (They have always been commodities for him, component parts of his capital. And when he has returned them, in kind, to production, he has regarded them as *sold* to himself in his capacity as producer.) Moreover, this takes place to the same extent as agriculture develops and the final product is produced increasingly by industrial methods and according to the capitalist mode of production.

It is therefore wrong to say that there is a part of capital which enters into industry but *not* into agriculture.

Suppose then, according to *Rodbertus' (false) proposition*, that the "portions of rent" (i.e., shares of surplus value) yielded by the agricultural product and the industrial product are given, and that they are proportionate to the *values* of the agricultural product and the industrial product. Supposing, in other words, industrial products and agricultural products of *equal values* yield equal *surplus values* to their owners, i.e., contain *equal quantities of unpaid labour*, then no disproportion occurs through the entry into industry (for raw material) of *one single* part of capital which did not enter into agriculture, so that, for instance, the same surplus value in industry would be reduced in proportion to a capital *augmented* by this component. For the same ITEM of capital goes into agriculture. There only remains the question of whether it does so *in the same proportion*. But this brings us to *mere quantitative differences* whereas Mr. Rodbertus wants a "*qualitative*" difference. These same *quantitative differences* occur between different *industrial* spheres of production. They compensate one another in the general rate of profit. Why not as between industry and agriculture (IF THERE ARE SUCH DIFFERENCES)? Since Mr. Rodbertus allows agriculture to participate in the *general rate of profit*, why not in the process of its formation? But of course that would mean the end of his argument.

*Fourth wrong proposition*: It is wrong and arbitrary of Rodbertus to include *wear and tear of machinery*, etc., that is, an element of *constant capital*, in *variable capital*, that is, in the part of capital which creates surplus value and in particular determines the rate of surplus value, and at the same time, *not* to include raw material. He makes this *accounting error* in order to arrive at the *facit*[a] he wanted from the outset.

*Fifth wrong proposition*: If Mr. Rodbertus wants to differentiate between agriculture and industry, then that *element of capital* which consists of fixed capital such as machinery and tools belongs entirely to *industry*. This element of capital, in so far as it becomes part of any capital, can only enter into *constant capital*, and can never increase surplus value by a single farthing. On the other hand, as a *product of industry*, it is the result of a particular sphere of production. Its price, or the part of value which it forms within the whole of social capital, at the same time represents a *certain quantity of surplus value* (just as is the case with raw material). Now it does enter into the agricultural product, but it stems from industry. If Mr. Rodbertus reckons raw material to be an element of capital in industry which comes from outside, then he must reckon machines, tools, vessels, buildings, etc., as an element of capital in agriculture which comes from outside. He [must] therefore say that industry comprises only wages and raw materials (because fixed capital, in so far as it is not raw materials, is a product of industry, its own product) whereas agriculture comprises only wages [X-469] and machinery, etc., i.e., fixed capital, because *raw material*, in so far as it is not embodied in tools, etc., is the product of agriculture. It would then be necessary to examine how the absence of this "ITEM" affects the account in industry.

*Sixthly*: It is quite true that mining, fishing, hunting, forestry (in so far as the trees have not been planted by man), etc., in short, the *extractive industries*—concerned with the extraction of raw material that is not *reproduced* in kind—use *no raw materials*, EXCEPT *matières instrumentales*. This does *not* apply to agriculture.

But it is equally [true] that *the same* does hold good for a very large part of *industry*, namely the *transport industry*, in which *outlays* consist only of machinery, *matières instrumentales*, and wages.

Finally, there are certainly other *branches of industry*, such as tailoring, etc., which, relatively speaking, only absorb raw materials and wages, but no machinery, fixed capital, etc.

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[a] Result.—*Ed.*

In all these instances, the size of the *profit*, i.e., the *ratio of surplus value* to *capital advanced*, would not depend on whether the advanced capital—after deduction of *variable capital, or the part of capital spent on wages*—consists of machinery or raw material or both, but it would depend on the magnitude of the capital advanced relative to the part of the capital spent on wages. Different rates of profit (apart from the modifications brought about by circulation) would thus exist in the different spheres of production, the result of their equalisation being the general rate of profit.

Mr. Rodbertus surmises that there is a difference between surplus value and its special forms, in particular profit. But he misses the point because, right from the beginning, he is concerned with the explanation of *a particular* phenomenon (ground rent) and not [with] the establishment of a general law.

*Reproduction* occurs in all branches of production; but only in agriculture does this industrial reproduction coincide with natural reproduction. It does not do so in *extractive industry*. That is why, in the latter, the product does not in its natural form become an element in its own reproduction //except in the form of *matière instrumentale*//.

What distinguishes agriculture, stock-raising, etc., from other industries is, *firstly, not* the fact that a product becomes a means of production, since that happens to all industrial products which have not the definitive form of individual means of subsistence. And even as such they become means of production of the *producer* who reproduces himself or maintains his labour capacity by consuming them.

*Secondly*, the difference is *not* the fact that agricultural products enter into production as *commodities*, i.e., as component parts of capital; they go into production just as they come out of it. They emerge from it as commodities and they re-enter it as commodities. The commodity is both the prerequisite and the result of capitalist production.

*Hence thirdly*, there *only* [remains] the fact that they enter as their own means of production into the production process whose product they are. This is also the case with machinery. Machine builds machine. Coal helps to raise coal from the shaft. Coal transports coal, etc. In agriculture this appears as a natural process, guided by man, although he also causes it "to some extent". In the other industries it appears to be a direct effect of industry.

But Mr. Rodbertus is on the wrong track altogether if he thinks that he must not allow *agricultural products* to enter into

reproduction as "*commodities*" because of the peculiar way in which they enter it as "use values" (technologically). He is evidently thinking of the time when AGRICULTURE was not as yet a TRADE, when only the *excess* of its production over what was consumed by the producer became a *commodity* and when even those products, in so far as they entered into production, were not regarded as *commodities*. This is a fundamental misunderstanding of the application of the capitalist mode of production to industry. For the latter, every product which has value—and is therefore in itself a *commodity*—also figures as a commodity in the accounts.

Supposing, for example, that in the mining industry, the constant capital, which consists purely of machinery,=£500 and that the capital laid out in wages also=£500. Then, if the surplus value=40%, i.e.,=£200, the profit [would be] 20%. Thus:

| Constant capital Machinery | Variable capital | Surplus value |
|---|---|---|
| 500 | 500 | 200 |

If the same variable capital were laid out in those branches of manufacture (or of agriculture) in which raw materials play a part, and furthermore, if the utilisation of this variable capital (i.e., the employment of this particular number of workers) required machinery, etc., to the value of £500, then indeed a third element, the value of the material, would have to be added, say again, £500. Hence in this case:

| Constant capital Machinery Raw materials | Variable capital | [Surplus value] |
|---|---|---|
| 500+500=£1,000 | 500 | 200 |

The 200 would now have to be reckoned on 1,500 and would only be $13\,^1/_3$%. This example would still apply, if in the first case the transport industry had been quoted as an illustration. On the other hand, the rate of profit would remain the same in the second case if machinery cost 100 and raw materials 400.

[X-470] What, therefore, Mr. Rodbertus imagines is that in industry 100 are laid out in machinery, 100 in wages and $x$ in raw materials, whereas in agriculture 100 are laid out in wages+100 in machinery. The scheme would be like this:

I) *Agriculture*

| Constant capital Machinery | Variable capital | Surplus value | Rate of profit |
|---|---|---|---|
| 100 | 100 | 50 | $^{50}/_{200}=^1/_4$ |

II) *Industry*

| Constant capital Raw materials | Machinery | Variable capital | Surplus value | Rate of profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| $x$ | 100 | 100 | 50 | $\frac{50}{200+x}$ |

must therefore be, at any rate, less than $^1/_4$. Hence the rent in I.

*Firstly* then, this difference between agriculture and manufacture is *imaginary*, NON-EXISTENT; it has *no* BEARING on THAT FORM OF RENT WHICH DETERMINES ALL OTHERS.

*Secondly*, Mr. Rodbertus could find this difference between the rates of profit IN ANY TWO individual BRANCHES OF INDUSTRY. The difference is dependent on the *proportion of constant capital to variable capital* and the proportion in turn may or may not be determined by the addition of raw materials. In those branches of industry which use raw materials as well as machinery, the value of the raw materials, i.e., the relative share which they form of the total capital, is of course very important, as I have shown earlier.[a] This has nothing to do with ground rent.

"Only when the value of the raw product falls *below* the labour cost is it possible that in agriculture too the whole *portion of rent accruing* to *the raw product is absorbed in the gain calculated on capital.* For then this portion of rent may be so reduced that although agricultural capital does not comprise the value of material, the ratio between these two is similar to that existing between the portion of rent accruing to the manufactured product and the manufacturing capital, although the latter contains the value of material. Hence only in those circumstances is it possible that in agriculture too, no rent is left over besides capital gain. But in so far as, in practice, as a rule, conditions gravitate towards the law that value equals labour cost, so, as a rule, ground rent is also present. The absence of rent and the existence of nothing but capital gain, is not the original state of affairs, as Ricardo maintains, but only an exception" (p. 100).

Thus, continuing with the above example; but taking raw materials as £100, to have something tangible, we get:

I) *Agriculture*

| Constant capital Machinery | Variable capital | Surplus value | Value | Price | Profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 100 | 100 | 50 | 250 | $233\,^2/_6$ | $16\,^2/_3\%$ |

II) *Industry*

| Constant capital Raw materials | Machinery | Variable capital | Surplus value | Rate of profit | Profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| £100 | 100 | 100 | 50 | $^{50}/_{300}=^1/_6$ | £50+$16\,^2/_3\%$ |

[a] See this volume, pp. 60-67.—*Ed.*

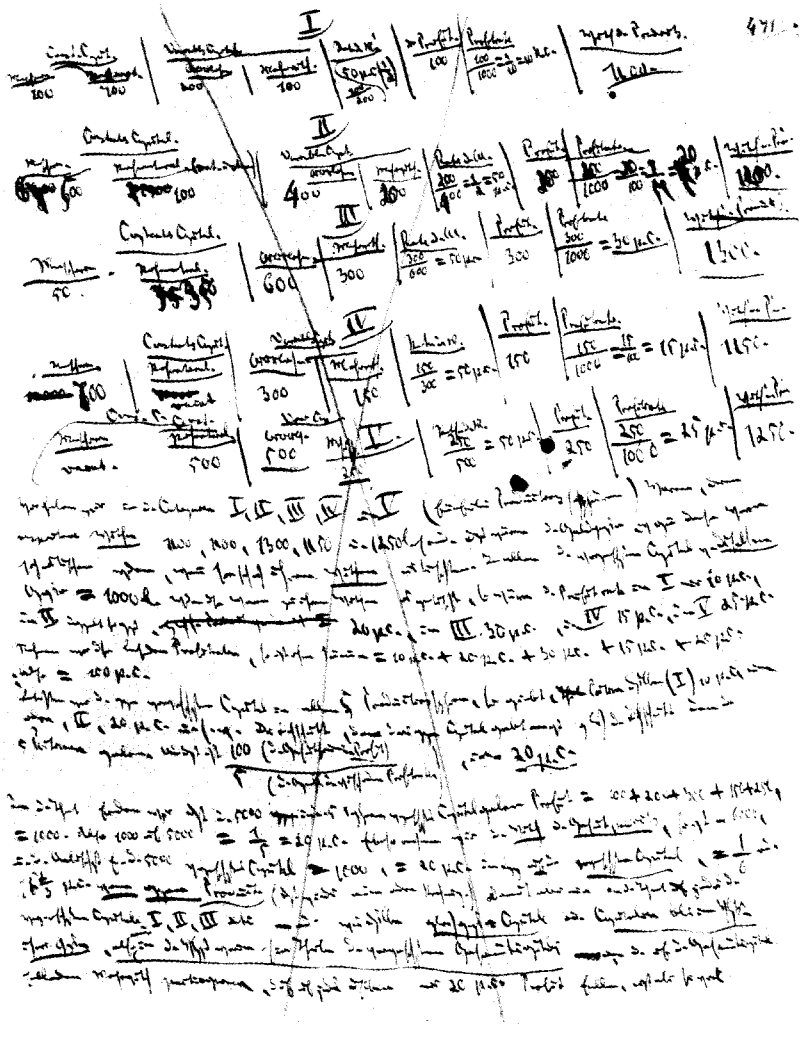

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Here the rate of profit in agriculture and industry would be the same, therefore nothing would be left over for rent, because the agricultural product is sold at £16 4/6 *below* its *value*. Even if the example were as correct as it is false *for agriculture*, then the circumstance that the value of the raw product falls "*below* the cost price"[a] would in any case only correspond to the law of *average prices*. Rather it needs to be explained *why* "*as an exception*" this is to a certain extent *not* the case in agriculture and why here the total surplus value (or at least to a larger extent than in the other branches of industry, a SURPLUS above the average rate of profit) *remains* in the price of the product of this particular branch of production and does not participate in the formation of the GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT. It becomes evident here that Rodbertus does not understand what the (general) rate of profit and the average price are.

In order to make this *law* quite clear, and this is far more important than Rodbertus, we shall take 5 examples. We assume the rate of surplus value to be the same throughout.

I)

| Constant capital | | Variable capital | | Rate of surplus value | Profit | Rate of profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Raw materials | Machinery | Wages | Surplus value | | | |
| 700 | 100 | 200 | 100 | $^{50}/_{100}=^{5}/_{10}=^{1}/_{2}=50\%$ | 100 | $^{100}/_{1,000}=^{1}/_{10}=10\%$ |

The *value of the product*=1,100 (*verte* to the next page).

It is not at all necessary to compare commodities of *equal* value; they are to be compared only at *their value*. To simplify matters, the commodities compared here are taken as produced by capitals of equal size.

[X-471]

| | Constant capital | | Variable capital (wages) | Surplus value | Rate of surplus value | Profit | Rate of profit | Value of product |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Machinery | Raw materials | | | | | | |
| I | 100 | 700 | 200 | 100 | 50% | 100 | 10% | 1,100 |
| II | 500 | 100 | 400 | 200 | 50% | 200 | 20% | 1,200 |
| III | 50 | 350 | 600 | 300 | 50% | 300 | 30% | 1,300 |
| IV | 700 | none | 300 | 150 | 50% | 150 | 15% | 1,150 |
| V | none | 500 | 500 | 250 | 50% | 250 | 25% | 1,250 |

We have here, in the categories I, II, III, IV and V (five different spheres of production), commodities whose respective *values* are £1,100, £1,200, £1,300, £1,150 and £1,250. These are the money prices at which these commodities would exchange if they were exchanged according to their *values*. In all of them the

[a] Rodbertus has "below the labour cost".—*Ed.*

capital advanced is of *the same* size=£1,000. If these commodities were exchanged at their values, then the rate of profit in I would be only 10%; in II, twice as great, 20%; in III, 30%; in IV, 15%; in V, 25%. If we add up these particular rates of profit they come to 10%+20%+30%+15%+25%, which is 100%.

If we consider the total capital advanced in all 5 spheres of production, then one portion of this (I) yields 10%, another (II) 20%, etc. The average yielded by the total capital equals the average yielded by the 5 portions, and this is:

$$\frac{\text{100 (the total sum of [the rates of] profit)}}{\text{5 (the number of different rates of profit)}}\text{, i.e., 20\%.}$$

In fact we find that the [£] 5,000 capital advanced in the 5 spheres yields a profit=100+200+300+150+250=1,000; 1,000 on 5,000=$^1/_5$=20%. Similarly: if we work out the *value of the total product*, it comes to 6,000 and the excess on the 5,000 capital advanced=1,000,=20% in relation to the *capital advanced*,=$^1/_6$ or 16$^2/_3$% *of the total product.* (This again is another calculation.)

However, so that in fact each of the capitals advanced, i.e., I, II, III, etc.—or what comes to the same thing, that *capitals of equal size*—should receive a part of the surplus value yielded by the aggregate capital *only in proportion to their magnitude, i.e., only in proportion to the share they represent in the aggregate capital advanced,* each of them should get only 20% profit and each must get this amount. [X-472] But to make this possible, the products of the various spheres must in some cases be sold *above* their value and in other cases more or less *below* their value. In other words, the total surplus value must be distributed among them not in the proportion in which it is made in the *particular* sphere of production, but in proportion to the *magnitude* of the capitals advanced. All must sell their product at £1,200, so that the excess of the value of the product over the capital advanced=$^1/_5$ of the latter=20%.

According to this apportionment:

| | Value of product | Surplus value | Average price | Excess of average price over value | Excess of profit over surplus value | Calculated profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | *1,100* | *100* | 1,200 | 100<br>Value=price | 100% | *200* |
| II | *1,200* | *200* | 1,200 | 0<br>Decrease in average price below value | 0<br>Decrease in profit below surplus value | *200* |
| III | 1,300 | *300* | 1,200 | 100 | 33$^1/_3$% | *200* |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Excess of price over value | Excess of profit over surplus value | |
| IV 1,150 | *150* | 1,200 | 50 | *25%* (50) | *200* |
| | | | Excess of value over price | Excess of surplus value over profit | |
| V 1,250 | *250* | 1,200 | 50 | [25%] | [200] |
| | | | | Decrease in profit below surplus value | |
| | | | | $^1/_5$=20% | |

This shows that only in one instance II) the average price=the value of the commodity, because by coincidence, the *surplus value* equals the *normal average profit of 200.* In all other instances a greater or a lesser amount of surplus value is taken away from one sphere and given to another, etc.

What Mr. Rodbertus had to explain was, why this is *not* the case in *agriculture,* hence [why] its commodities should be sold at their *value* and not their average price.

Competition brings about the equalisation of profits, i.e., the reduction of the *values* of the commodities to *average prices.* The individual capitalist, according to Mr. Malthus, expects an equal profit from every part of *his* capital[111]—which, in other words, means only that he regards each part of his capital (apart from its organic function) as an independent source of profit, that is how it *seems* to him. Similarly, in relation to the class of capitalists, every capitalist regards his *capital* as a source of profit equal in volume to that which is being made by every other capital *of equal size.* This means that each capital in a particular sphere of production is only regarded as *part of the aggregate capital* which has been *advanced to production as a whole* and demands its SHARE in the total surplus value, in the total amount of unpaid labour or labour products—in proportion to its size, its stock—in accordance to the proportion of the aggregate capital it constitutes. This *illusion* confirms for the capitalist—to whom everything in competition *appears* in reverse—and not only for him, but for some of his most devoted pharisees and scribes, that capital is a source of income *independent* of labour, since in fact the profit on capital in each particular sphere of production is by no means solely determined by the quantity of unpaid labour which it itself "*produces*"; it is thrown into the pot of aggregate profits, from which the individual capitalists draw their quota in proportion to their SHARES in the total capital.

Hence Rodbertus' nonsense. Incidentally, in some branches of agriculture—such as stock-raising—the variable capital, i.e., that

which is laid out in wages, is extraordinarily small compared with the constant part of capital.

"*Rent*, by its very nature, is always *ground rent*" (p. 113).

Wrong. Rent is always paid to the LANDLORD; *voilà tout*.[a] However, if, as so often occurs in practice, it is partially or wholly a deduction from normal profit or a deduction from normal wages //true surplus value, i.e., profit+rent, is never a *deduction from* wages, but is that part of the product of the worker which remains *after deduction* of the wage *from* this product//, then, from an economic point of view, it is not rent of land. In practice this is proved as soon as [X-473] competition restores the normal wage and the normal profit.

*Average prices*, to which competition constantly tends to reduce the *values* of commodities, are thus achieved by constant *additions to* the *value* of the product of one sphere of production and *deductions from* the *value* of the product of another sphere—except in case II in the above table—in order to arrive at the *general rate of profit*. With the commodities of the particular sphere of production where the ratio of variable capital to the total sum of capital advanced //assuming the rate of surplus labour to be given and equal// corresponds to the average ratio of social capital—value=average price; neither an *addition to* nor a *deduction from value* is therefore made. If, however, owing to special circumstances which we will not go into here, in certain spheres of production a *deduction* is not made from the value of the commodities (although it stands *above* the average price, not just temporarily but on an average) then this retention of the *entire surplus value* in a particular sphere of production—although the *value* of the commodity is above the *average price* and therefore yields a rate of profit higher than the average—is to be regarded as a privilege of that sphere of production. What we are concerned with here and have to explain as a *peculiar feature*, as an *exception*, is not that their *average price* is reduced *below* their value—this [would be] a general phenomenon and a necessary prerequisite for equalisation—but why, in contrast to other commodities, certain commodities are sold *at* their value, above the average price.

The average price of a commodity equals its *production costs* (the capital advanced in it, be it in wages, raw material, machinery or whatever else)+average profit. Hence if, as in the above case, average profit=20%=$^1/_5$, then the average price of each

[a] That's all.—*Ed.*

commodity $= C$ (the capital advanced) $\frac{+P}{C}$ (the average rate of profit). If $\frac{C+P}{C}$ equals the *value* of this commodity, i.e., if $S$, the surplus value created in this sphere of production, $= P$, then the value of the commodity equals its average price. If $C + \frac{P}{C}$ is $<$ than the *value* of the commodity, i.e., if the surplus value $S$, created in this sphere, is $>$ than $P$, then the value of the commodity is *reduced* to its average price and part of its surplus value is added on to the value of other commodities. Finally, if $C + \frac{P}{C}$ is $>$ than the *value* of the commodity, i.e., $S$ is $<$ than $P$, then the *value* of the commodity is raised to its average price and surplus value created in other spheres of production is added to it.

Finally, should there be commodities which are sold at their value, although their value is $>$ than $C + \frac{P}{C}$, or whose value is at any rate not reduced to such an extent as to bring it down to the level of the normal average price $C + \frac{P}{C}$, then certain conditions must be operative, which put these commodities into an exceptional position. In this case the profit realised in these spheres of production stands *above* the general rate of profit. If the capitalist receives the general rate of profit here, the LANDLORD can get the excess profit in the form of rent.

What I call rate of profit and rate of interest or rate of rent, Rodbertus calls "*level of capital gain and of interest*" (p. 113).

> This level "depends on its ratio to capital.... In all civilised nations a capital of 100 is taken as a unit, which provides the standard measurement for the level to be calculated. Thus, the larger the figure that expresses the relation between the gain or interest falling to the capital of 100, in other words, the 'more per cent' a capital yields, the *higher* are profit and interest" ([pp.] 113-14).
>
> "The level *of ground rent and of rental* follows from their proportion to a particular piece of land" ([p.] 114).

This is bad. The rate of rent is, in the first place, to be calculated on the capital, i.e., as the *excess of the price of a commodity* over *its production costs* and over that part of the *price* which forms the *profit*. Because it helps him to understand certain phenomena Mr. Rodbertus makes the calculation with an ACRE or a morgen, [X-474] the *apparent* form of the thing, in which the intrinsic connection is lost. The rent yielded by an ACRE is the RENTAL, THE ABSOLUTE AMOUNT OF RENT. IT MAY RISE IF THE RATE OF RENT REMAINS THE SAME OR IS EVEN LOWERED.

"The *level of the value of land* follows from the capitalisation of the rent of a particular piece of land. The greater the amount of capital derived from the capitalisation of the rent of a piece of land of a given area, the *higher* is the value of the land" ([p.] 114).

The word "level" is nonsense here. For to what does it express a relationship? That 10 per cent yields more than 20 is obvious; but the unit of measurement here is 100. Altogether the "*level of the value of land*" is the same general phrase as the *high* or *low level* of commodity prices in general.

Mr. Rodbertus now wants to investigate:

"*What then determines the level of capital gain and of ground rent?*" (p. 115).

First of all he examines: What determines the "*level of rent in general*", i.e., what regulates the *rate of surplus value?*

"1) With a given value of a product, or a product of a given quantity of labour or, which again amounts to the same thing, with a given national product, the level of rent in general bears an inverse relationship to the level of wages and a direct relationship to the level of productivity of labour in general. The lower the wages, the higher the rent; the higher the productivity of labour in general, the lower the wages and the higher the rent" (pp. 115-16).

The "*level*" of rent—the rate of surplus value—says Rodbertus, depends upon the "*size* of this portion left over for rent" ([p.] 117), i.e., after deducting wages from the total product, in which "*that* part of the value of the product which serves as *replacement* of capital ... can be disregarded" ([p.] 117).

This is good (I mean that in this consideration of surplus value the constant part of capital is "disregarded").

The following is a somewhat peculiar notion:

"when wages fall, i.e., from now on form a smaller share of the total value of the product, the *aggregate* capital on which the *other part of rent*" //i.e., the industrial profit// "is to be calculated as profit, becomes smaller. Now it is, however, solely the ratio between the value that becomes capital gain or ground rent, and the capital, or the land area on which it has to be *calculated* as such, which determines their *level*. Thus if wages allow a greater value to be left over for rent, a greater value is to be reckoned as profit and ground rent, even with a *diminished capital* and the same area of land. The resulting ratio of both increases and, therefore, the two together, or rent in general, has risen.... It is assumed that the value of the product in general remains the same.... *Because the wage, which the labour costs, diminishes, the labour, which the product costs, does not necessarily diminish*" ([pp.] 117-18).

The last bit is good. But it is incorrect to say that when the variable capital that is laid out in wages decreases, the *constant capital* must diminish. In other words, it is not true that the *rate of profit* //the quite inappropriate reference to area of land, etc., is omitted here// must rise because the *rate of surplus value rises*. For instance, wages fall because labour becomes more productive and in all cases this expresses itself in more raw material being worked up by the same worker in the same period of time; this part of

constant capital therefore grows, ditto machinery and its value. Hence the rate of profit can fall with the reduction in wages. The *rate of profit* is dependent on the *amount of surplus value,* which is determined not only by the rate of surplus value, but also [by] the number of workers employed.

Rodbertus correctly defines the necessary wage as equal to

"the *amount of necessary subsistence,* that is to a *fairly stable definite quantity of material products* for a particular country and a particular period" (p. 118).

[X-475] Mr. Rodbertus then puts forward in a most *intricately confused,* complicated and clumsy fashion, the propositions set up by Ricardo on the inverse relationship of profit and wages and the determination of this relationship by the productivity of labour. The confusion arises partly because, instead of taking labour time as his measure, he foolishly takes *quantities of product* and makes non-sensical differentiations between "*level of the value of the product*" and "*magnitude of the value of the product*".

By "*level of the value of the product*" this stripling means nothing other than the relation of the product to the labour time. If *the same* amount of labour time yields many products then the *value of the product,* i.e., the value of separate portions of the product is low, if the reverse, then the reverse. If one working day yielded 100 lbs yarn and later 200 lbs then in the 2nd case the value of the yarn would be half what it was in the first. In the first case its value$=^1/_{100}$ of a working day; in the second, the value of the lb. of yarn$=^1/_{200}$ of a working day. Since the worker receives the same amount of product, whether its *value* be *high or low,* i.e., whether it contains more or less labour, wages and profit move inversely, and wages take more or less of the total product, according to the productivity of labour. He expresses this in the following intricate sentences:

"...If the wage, as necessary subsistence, is a definite quantity of material products, then, if the value of the product is high, the wage must have a high value, if it is low, it must constitute a low value and, since the value of the product available for distribution is assumed as constant, the wage will absorb a large part if the value of the product is high, a small part of it, if its value is low and finally, it will therefore leave either a large or a small share of the value of the product for rent. But if one accepts the rule that the value of the product equals the quantity of labour which it cost, then the *level of the value of the product* is again determined *purely by the productivity of labour* or the relationship between the amount of product and the quantity of labour which is used for its production ... if the same quantity of labour brings forth more product, in other words, if productivity increases, then the same quantity of product contains less labour and conversely, if the same quantity of labour brings forth less product, in other words, if productivity decreases, then the same quantity of product contains more labour. But *the quantity of labour* determines *the value of the product* and the *relative value of a particular*

*quantity of product* determines *the level of the value of the product....*" Hence "*the higher the productivity of labour in general, the higher*" must "be rent in general" ([pp.] 119-20).

But this is only correct if the product, for whose production the worker is employed, belongs to that SPECIES which—according to tradition or necessity—figures in his consumption as a means of subsistence. If this is not the case, then the productivity of this labour has no effect on the relative height of wages and of profit, or on the *amount of surplus value* in general. *The same share in the value* of the total product falls to the worker as wages, irrespective of the number of products or the quantity of the product in which this share is expressed. The *division of the value* of the product in this case is not altered by any change in the productivity of labour.

"II) If with a given value of the product, the level of rent in general is given, then the level of ground rent and of capital gain bear an inverse relationship to one another, and also to the productivity of extractive labour and manufacturing labour respectively. The higher or lower the rent, the lower or higher the capital gain and vice versa; the higher or lower the productivity of extractive labour or of manufacturing labour, the lower or higher the rent or capital gain, and alternately also the higher or lower is the capital gain or rent" (l.c., [p.] 116).

First [in thesis] I) we had the Ricardian [law] that wages and profit are related *inversely*.[a]

Now the second Ricardian [law]—differently evolved or, RATHER, "made involved"—that profit and rent have an inverse relation.

It is obvious, that when a *given surplus value* is divided between capitalist and landowner, then the larger the share of one, the smaller will be that of the other and vice versa. But Mr. Rodbertus adds something OF HIS OWN which requires closer examination.

In the first place, Mr. Rodbertus regards it as a new discovery that *surplus value in general* //"the *value* of the product of labour which is in fact available for sharing out as rent"//, the entire *surplus value* filched by the capitalists, "consists of the value of the raw product+the value of the manufactured product" ([p.] 120).

Mr. Rodbertus first reiterates his "discovery" of the absence of "the value of the material" in [X-476] agriculture. This time in the following flood of words:

"That portion of rent which accrues to the manufactured product and determines the rate of capital gain is reckoned as profit not only on the capital which is actually used for the production of this product but also on the whole of the raw product value which figures as *value of the material* in the capital fund of the manufacturer. On the other hand, as regards that portion of rent which accrues to the raw product and from *which the profit on the capital used in raw material production* is calculated *according to the given rate of profit in manufacture*"

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[a] See this volume, p. 306.—*Ed.*

(yes! *given* rate of profit!) "leaving a remainder for ground rent, such a material value is missing" ([p.] 121).

We repeat: *quod non*!

Assume that a *ground rent exists*—which Mr. Rodbertus has *not proved* and cannot prove by his method—that is to say, a certain portion of the surplus value of the raw product falls to the LANDLORD.

Further assume that:

"the level of rent in general" (the *rate of surplus value*) "in a particular value of the product is also given" ([p.] 121).

This amounts to the following: For instance, in a commodity of £100, say half, £50, is unpaid labour; this then forms the fund from which all categories of surplus value, rent, profit, etc., are paid. Then it is quite evident that one SHAREHOLDER in the £50 will draw the more, the less is drawn by the other and vice versa, or that profit and rent are inversely proportional. Now the question is, what determines the apportionment between the two?

In any case it remains true that the revenue of the MANUFACTURER (be he AGRICULTURIST or industrialist)=the surplus value which he draws from the sale of his manufactured product (which he has pilfered from the workers in his sphere of production), and that rent of land (where it does not, as with the *waterfall* which is sold to the industrialist, stem directly from the *manufactured product*, which is also the case with rent for *houses*, etc., since houses can hardly be termed *raw product*) only arises from the excess profit (that part of surplus value which does not enter into the general rate of profit) which is contained in the raw products and which the FARMER pays over to the LANDLORD.

It is quite true that when the value of the raw product rises [or falls], the rate of profit in those branches of industry which use raw material will rise or fall inversely to the value of the raw product. As I showed in a previous example,[a] if the value of cotton doubles, then with a given wage and a given rate of surplus value, the rate of profit will fall. The same applies however to agriculture. If the harvest is poor and production is to be continued on the same scale (we assume here that the commodities are sold at their *value*) then a greater part of the total product or of its value would have to be returned to the soil and after deducting wages, if these remain stationary, the FARMER's surplus value would consist of a smaller quantity of product, hence also a smaller quantity of value would be available for sharing out

[a] See this volume, pp. 60-65.—*Ed.*

between him and the LANDLORD. Although the individual product would have a higher value than before, not only the amount of product but also the remaining *portion of value* would be smaller. It would be a different matter if, as a result of demand, the product rose *above* its value, and to such an extent that a smaller quantity of product had a higher *price* than a larger quantity of product did before. But this would be *contrary* to our stipulation that the products are sold at their value.

Let us assume the opposite. Supposing the cotton harvest is twice as rich[112] and that that part of it which is returned direct to the soil, for instance as fertiliser and seed, costs less than before. In this case the portion of value which is left for the COTTON-grower after deduction of wages is greater than before. The rate of profit would rise here just as in the cotton industry. True, in one yard of CALICO, the proportion of value formed by the raw product would now be smaller than before and that formed by the manufacturing process would be larger than before. Assume that CALICO costs 2s. a yard when the value of the cotton it contains=1s. Now if cotton goes down from 1s. to 6d. (which, on the assumption that its *value*=its price, is only possible because its cultivation has become more productive), then the value of a yard of CALICO=18d. It has decreased by $^1/_4$=25%. But where the COTTON-grower previously sold 100 lbs at 1s., he is now supposed to sell 400 at 6d. Previously the value=100s.; now it is 200s. Although previously cotton formed a greater proportion of the value of the product—and the rate of surplus value in cotton growing itself decreased simultaneously—the COTTON-grower obtained only 50 yds of CALICO for his 100s. cotton at 1s. per lb.; now that the lb. [is sold] at 6d., he receives 133$^1/_3$ yds for his 200s.

On the assumption that the commodities are sold at their *value*, it is wrong to say that the revenue of the producers who take part in the production of the product is *necessarily* dependent on the portion of value [X-477] represented by their products in the *total value* of the product.

Let the value of the total product of all manufactured commodities, including machinery, be £300 in one branch, 900 in another and 1,800 in a third.

If it is true to say that the proportion in which the value of the whole product is divided between the value of the raw product and the value of the manufactured product determines the proportion in which the surplus value—the rent, as Rodbertus says—is divided into profit and ground rent, then this must also be true of different products in different spheres of production

where raw material and manufactured products participate in varying proportions.

Suppose out of a value of £900, manufactured product accounts for £300 and raw material for £600, and that £1=1 working day. Furthermore, the *rate of surplus value* is given as, say, 2 hours on 10, with a normal working day of 12 hours, then the 300 [manufactured product] embody 300 working days, and the 600 [raw product] twice as much, 2×300. The amount of surplus value in the one=600 hours, in the other=1,200. This only means that, given the rate of surplus value, its *volume* depends on the number of workers or the number of workers employed simultaneously. Furthermore, since it has been *assumed* (not proved) that of the surplus value which enters into the value of the agricultural product a portion falls to the LANDLORD as rent, it would follow that in fact the *amount of ground rent* grows in the same proportion as the value of the agricultural product compared with the "manufactured product".

In the above example the ratio of the agricultural product to the manufactured product=2:1,=600:300. Suppose in another case it is as 300:600. Since the rent depends on the surplus value contained in the agricultural product, it is clear that if this [amounts to] 1,200 hours in the first case as against 600 in the 2nd, and if the rent constitutes a *certain* PART of this surplus value, it must be greater in the first case than in the 2nd. Or—the *larger the portion of value* which the agricultural product forms in the value of the total product, the larger will be its share in the *surplus value of the whole product*, for every portion of the value of the product contains a certain portion of surplus value and the larger the *share in the surplus value of the whole product* which falls to the agricultural product, the larger will be the rent, since *rent* represents a definite proportion of the *surplus value* of the agricultural product.

Let the rent be $^1/_{10}$ of the agricultural surplus value, then it is 120 hours if the value of the agricultural product is 600 out of the 900 and only 60 if it is 300. According to this, the *volume* of rent would in fact alter with the amount of the value of the agricultural product, hence also with the relative value of the agricultural product *in relation* to the manufactured product. But the "*level*" of the rent and of the profit—their rates—would have *absolutely nothing to do with it whatsoever.* In the first case the value of the product=900 of which 300 is manufactured product and 600 agricultural product. Of this, 600 hours surplus value accrue to the manufactured product and 1,200 to the agricultural product.

Altogether 1,800 hours. Of these, 120 go to rent and 1,680 to profit. In the second case the value of the product=900, of which 600 is manufactured product and 300 agricultural product. Thus 1,200 [hours] surplus value for manufacture and 600 for agriculture. Altogether 1,800. Of this 60 go to rent and 1,200 to profit for manufacture+540 for agriculture. Altogether 1,740. In the second case, the manufactured product is twice as great as the agricultural product (in terms of value). In the first case the position is reversed. In the second case the rent=60, in the first it=120. It has simply grown in the same proportion as the value of the agricultural product. As the volume of the latter increased so the volume of the rent increased. If we consider the total surplus value, 1,800, then in the first case the rent is $^1/_{15}$ and in the second it is $^1/_{30}$.

If here with the increased *portion of value* that falls to agricultural product the *volume of rent* also rises and with *this, its volume,* increases its *proportional share in the total surplus value*—i.e., the rate at which surplus value accrues to rent also rises compared to that at which it accrues to profit—then this is only so, *because* Rodbertus assumes that rent participates *in the surplus value of the agricultural product* in a definite proportion. Indeed this must be so, if this FACT is *given* or *presupposed.* But the FACT itself by no means follows from the rubbish which Rodbertus pours forth about "the value of the material" and which I have already cited above *at the beginning of page* 476.[a]

But the *level* of the rent does not rise *in proportion* to the [surplus value in the] product in which it participates, because now, as before, this [proportion is] $^1/_{10}$; its *volume* grows because the *product grows,* and because it grows in volume, without a rise in its "level", its "level" rises in comparison with the quantity of profit or the share of profit in the [X-478] value of the total product. Because it is *presupposed* that a greater part of the value of the total product yields *rent,* i.e., a greater part of surplus value is turned into rent, that part of surplus value which is converted into rent is of course greater. This has absolutely nothing to do with the "value of the material". But that a

"*greater* rent" at the same time represents a "*higher* rent", "because the area or number of morgen on which it is calculated remains the same and hence a greater amount of value falls to the individual morgen" ([p.] 122)[b]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 308-09.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes Rodbertus with some alterations.—*Ed.*

is ridiculous. It amounts to measuring the "level" of rent by a "standard of measurement" that obviates the difficulty of the problem itself.

Since we do not know as yet what rent is, had we put the above example differently and had left the same *rate of profit* for the agricultural product as for the manufactured product, only adding on $^1/_{10}$ for rent, which is really necessary since *the same* rate of profit is assumed, then the whole business would look different and become clearer.

I)

| | Manufactured product | Agricultural product | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I | 600 | 300 | 1,200 surplus value for manufacture, 600 for agriculture and 60 for rent. *Altogether* 1,860. *1,800* for profit. |
| II | 300 | 600 | 600 surplus value for manufacture, 1,200 for agriculture and 120 for rent. Altogether 1,920. *1,800* for profit. |

In CASE II the rent is twice that in I because the agricultural product, the share of the value of the product on which it sponges, has grown in proportion to the industrial product. The volume of profit remains the same in both cases, i.e., 1,800. In the first case [the rent is] $^1/_{31}$ of the total surplus value, in the second case it is $^1/_{16}$.

If Rodbertus wants to charge the "value of the material" exclusively to industry, then above all, it should have been his duty to burden agriculture alone with that part of constant capital which consists of machinery, etc. This part of capital enters into agriculture as a product supplied to it by industry—as a "manufactured product", which forms the means of production for the "raw product".

Since we are dealing here with an account between two firms, so far as industry is concerned, that part of the value of the machinery which consists of "raw material" is already *debited* to it under the heading of "raw material" or "value of the material". We cannot therefore book this twice over. The other *portion of the value of the machinery* used in manufacture, consists of added "manufacturing labour" (past and present) and this resolves into

wages and profit (paid and unpaid labour). That part of capital which has been advanced here (apart from that contained in the raw material of the machines) therefore consists *only* of wages. Hence it increases not only the amount of capital advanced, but also the profit, the volume of surplus value to be calculated upon this capital.

(The error usually made in such calculations is that, for instance, the wear and tear of the machinery or of the tools used is embodied in the machine itself, in its value and although, in the last analysis, this wear and tear can be reduced to *labour*—either labour contained in the raw material or that which transformed the raw material into machine, etc.—this *past labour* never again enters into profit or wages, but only acts as a produced condition of production (in so far as the labour time necessary for reproduction does not alter) which, whatever its use value in the labour process, only figures as value of constant capital in the valorisation process. This is of great importance and has already been explained in the course of my examination of the exchange of constant capital and revenue.[a] But apart from this, it needs to be further developed in the section on the accumulation of capital.[b])

So far as agriculture is concerned—i.e., purely the production of raw products or so-called primary production—*in balancing the accounts between the firms "primary production" and "manufacture"* that part of the value of constant capital which represents machinery, tools, etc., can on no account be regarded in any other way than as an item which enters into agricultural capital without increasing its *surplus value.* If, as a result of the employment of machinery, etc., agricultural labour becomes more productive, the higher the price of this machinery, etc., the smaller will be the increase in productivity. It is the use value of the machinery and not its *value* which increases the productivity of agricultural labour or of any other sort of labour. Otherwise one might also say that the productivity of industrial labour is, in the first place, due to the presence of raw material and its properties. But again it is the use value of the raw material, not its value, which constitutes a condition of production for industry. Its value, on the contrary, is A DRAWBACK. Thus what Mr. Rodbertus SAYS about the "value of the material" IN RESPECT TO THE INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL, is literally, [X-479] *mutatis mutandis*, valid for machinery, etc.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 143-49.—*Ed.*

[b] See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Part II, Ch. XXI (present edition, Vol. 37).—*Ed.*

"For instance the *labour costs* of a particular product, such as wheat or cotton, cannot be affected by the labour costs of the plough or GIN as machines" (or the labour costs of a drainage canal or stable buildings). "On the other hand, the value of the machine or the machine value does figure in the amount of capital on which the owner has to calculate his gain, the rent that falls to the raw product" (cf. Rodbertus, p. 97).[113]

In other words: That portion of the value of wheat and cotton representing the value of the wear and tear of the plough or GIN, is not the result of the work of ploughing or of separating the cotton fibre from its seed, but the result of the labour which manufactured the plough and the GIN. This component part of value goes into the agricultural product without being produced in agriculture. It only passes through agriculture, which uses it merely to replace ploughs and GINS by buying new ones from the maker of machines.

The machines, tools, buildings and other manufactured products required in agriculture consist of 2 component parts: 1) the raw materials of these manufactured products. Although these raw materials are the product of agriculture, they are a part of its product which never enters into wages or into profit. Even if there were no capitalist, the farmer still could not chalk up this part of his product as wages for himself. He would IN FACT have to hand it over *gratis* to the machine manufacturer so that the latter would make him a machine from it and besides he would have to pay for the labour which is added to this raw material (=wages+profit). This happens in reality. The machine maker buys the raw material but in purchasing the machine, agricultural producer must buy back the raw material. It is just as if he had not sold it at all, but had lent it to the machine maker to give it the form of the machine. Thus that portion of the value of the machinery employed *in agriculture* which resolves into raw material, although it is the product of agricultural labour and forms part of its value, belongs to production and not to the producer, it therefore figures in his expenses, like seed. The other part, however, represents the manufacturing labour embodied in the machinery and is a "product of manufacture" which enters into agriculture as a means of production, just as raw material enters as a means of production into industry.

Thus, if it is true that the firm "primary production" supplies the firm "manufacturing industry" with the "value of the material" which enters as an ITEM into the capital of the industrialist, then it is no less true that the firm "manufacturing industry" supplies the firm "primary production" with the value of the machine which enters wholly (*INCLUDING that part which consists* of *raw material*) into the FARMER's capital without this

"component part of value" yielding him any surplus value. This circumstance is a reason why the rate of profit *appears to be* smaller in HIGH AGRICULTURE, as the English call it, than in primitive agriculture, although the rate of surplus value is greater.

At the same time this supplies Mr. Rodbertus with striking proof of how irrelevant it is to the nature of a *capital advance,* whether that portion of the product which is laid out in constant capital is replaced *in natura* and therefore only accounted for as a commodity—as money value—or whether it has really been alienated and has gone through the process of purchase and sale. Supposing the producer of raw materials handed over gratis to the machine builder the iron, copper, wood, etc., embodied in his machine, so that the machine builder in selling him the machine would charge him for the added labour and the wear and tear of his own machine, then this machine would cost the agriculturist just as much as it costs him now and the same *component part of value* would figure as constant capital, as an advance, in his production. Just as it amounts to the same thing whether a farmer sells the whole of his harvest and buys seed from elsewhere with that portion of its value which represents seed (raw material) perhaps to effect a desirable CHANGE in the type of seed and to prevent degeneration by inbreeding—or whether he deducts this component part of value directly from his product and returns it to the soil.

But in order to arrive at his results, Mr. Rodbertus misinterprets that part of constant capital which consists of machinery.

A second aspect that has to be examined in connection with [case] II of Mr. Rodbertus is this:

He speaks of the manufactured and agricultural products which make up the *revenue,* which is something quite different from those manufactured and agricultural products which make up the *total annual product.* Now supposing it were correct to say of the latter that after deducting the whole of that part of the agricultural capital which consists of machinery, etc., [X-480] and that part of the agricultural product which is returned direct to agricultural production, the proportion in which the *surplus value* is [distributed] between FARMER and MANUFACTURER—and therefore also the proportion in which the surplus value accruing to the FARMER is distributed between himself and the LANDLORD—must be determined by the share of manufacture and of agriculture in the total value of the products; then it is still highly questionable whether this is correct if we are speaking of those products which form the *common fund of revenue.* Revenue (we exclude here that

part which is reconverted into *new* capital) consists of products which go into individual consumption and the question is, how much do the CAPITALISTS, FARMERS and LANDLORDS draw out of this POT. Is this quota determined by the share of manufacture and raw production in the *value* of the product that constitutes revenue? Or by the quotas in which the value of the total revenue is divisible into agricultural labour and manufacturing labour?

The mass of products which make up revenue, as I have demonstrated earlier,[a] does not contain any products that enter into production as instruments of labour (machinery), *matière instrumentale*, semi-finished goods and the raw material of semi-finished goods, which form a part of the annual product of labour. Not only the *constant capital* of primary production is excluded but also the constant capital of the machine makers and the entire constant capital of the FARMERS and the CAPITALISTS which does *not* enter into the valorisation process though it enters into the labour process. Furthermore, it excludes not only constant capital, but also the part of the unconsumable products that represents the *revenue* of their producers and enters into the capital of the producers of products consumable as revenue, for the replacement of their used up constant capital.

The *mass of products* on which the revenue is spent and which IN FACT represents that part of wealth which constitutes revenue, in terms of both *use value* and *exchange value*—this mass of products can, as I have demonstrated earlier,[b] be regarded as consisting only of *newly added* (during the year) *labour*. Hence it can be resolved *only* into revenue, i.e., wages and profit (which again splits up into profit, rent, taxes, etc.), since not a single particle of it contains any of the value of the raw material which goes into production or of the wear and tear of the machinery which goes into production, in a word, it contains none of the value of the means of labour. Leaving aside the derivative forms of revenue because they merely show that the owner of the revenue relinquishes his proportional share of the said products to another, be it for SERVICES, etc. or debt, etc.—let us consider this revenue and assume that wages form $^1/_3$ of it, profit $^1/_3$ and rent $^1/_3$ and that the value of the product=£90. Then each will be able to draw the equivalent of £30 worth of products from the whole amount.

Since the amount of products which forms the revenue consists

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[a] See this volume, pp. 143-49.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 134-43.—*Ed.*

only of *newly added* (i.e., added during the year) labour, it seems very simple that if the product contains $^2/_3$ agricultural labour and $^1/_3$ manufacturing labour, then MANUFACTURERS and AGRICULTURISTS will share the value in this proportion. $^1/_3$ of the value would fall to the manufacturers and $^2/_3$ to the agriculturists and the proportional amount of the surplus value realised in manufacture and agriculture (the same rate of surplus value is assumed in both) would correspond to these shares of manufacture and agriculture in the value of the total product. But rent again [would] grow in proportion to the farmer's volume of profit since it sponges on it. And yet this is wrong. Because a part of the value which consists of agricultural labour forms the *revenue* of the manufacturers of that fixed capital, etc., which replaces the fixed capital worn out in agriculture. Thus the ratio between agricultural labour and manufacturing labour in the *component parts of value of those products which constitute the revenue,* in no way indicates the *ratio* in which the value of this mass of products or this mass of products itself is distributed between the MANUFACTURERS and the FARMERS, neither does it indicate the *ratio* in which manufacture and agriculture participate in total production.

*Rodbertus* goes on to say:

"But again it is only the productivity of labour in primary production or manufacture, which determines the relative level of the value of the raw product and manufactured product or their respective shares in the value of the total product. The value of the raw product will be the higher, the lower the productivity of labour in primary production and vice versa. In the same way, the value of the manufactured product will be the higher, the lower the productivity in manufacture and vice versa. Since a high value of the raw product effects a high ground rent and low capital gain, and a high value of the manufactured product effects a high capital gain and low ground rent, if the level of rent in general is given, the level of ground rent and of capital gain must not only bear an inverse relationship to one another, but also to the productivity of their respective labour, that in primary production and that in manufacture" ([p.] 123).

If the productivity of two *different* spheres of production is to be compared, this can only be done relatively. In other words, one starts at any arbitrary point, for instance, when the values of hemp and linen, i.e., the correlative quantities of labour time embodied in them, are as 1:3. If this ratio alters, then it is correct to say that the productivity of these different types of labour has altered. But it is wrong to say that because the labour time required for the production of an ounce of gold [X-481]=3 and that for a ton of iron also=3, gold production is "less productive" than iron production.

The relative value of two commodities shows that the one costs more labour time than the other; but one cannot say that because

of this one branch is "more productive" than the other. This would only be correct if the labour time were used for the production of *the same* use values in both instances.

It would be entirely wrong to say that manufacture is 3 times as productive as agriculture if the value of the raw product is to that of the manufactured product as 3:1. Only if the ratio changes say to 4:1 or 3:2 or 2:1, etc., when it rises or falls, could one say that the relative productivity in the two branches has altered.

III) "The *level of capital gain* is solely determined by the *level of the value of the product* in general and by the level of the value of the raw product and the manufactured product in particular; or by the productivity of labour in general and by the productivity of labour employed in the production of raw materials and of manufactured goods in particular. The *level* of ground rent is, apart from this, also dependent on the *magnitude of the value of the product* or the *quantity of labour, or productive power,* which, with *a given state of productivity,* is used for production" ([pp.] 116-17).

In other words: The *rate of profit* depends solely on the *rate of surplus value* and this is determined solely by the *productivity of labour.* On the other hand, given the productivity of labour, the *rate of ground rent* also depends on the *amount* of labour (the number of workers) employed.

This assertion contains almost as many falsehoods as words.

*Firstly* the *rate of profit* is by no means solely determined by the *rate of surplus value.* But more about this shortly. First of all, it is wrong to say that the *rate of surplus value* depends solely on the productivity of labour. *Given the productivity* of labour, the rate of surplus value alters according to the *length of surplus labour time.* Hence the rate of surplus value depends not only on the productivity of labour but also on the *quantity* of labour employed because the quantity of *unpaid* labour can grow (while productivity remains constant) without the quantity of *paid* labour, i.e., that part of capital laid out in wages, growing. Surplus value—absolute or relative (and Rodbertus only knows the latter from Ricardo)—cannot exist unless labour is at least sufficiently productive to leave over some surplus labour time apart from that required for the worker's own reproduction. But assuming this to be the case, *with a given minimum productivity,* then the rate of surplus value alters according to the length of surplus labour time.

*Firstly,* therefore, it is *wrong* to say that because the rate of surplus value, or the "*level* of capital gain", is solely determined by the productivity of the labour exploited by capital, the rate of profit is so determined. *Secondly*: The *rate of surplus value*—which, if the productivity of labour is given, alters with the *length* of the working day and, with a given normal working day,

alters with the *productivity of labour*—is assumed to be *given. Surplus value* itself will then vary according to the *number* of workers from whose every working day a certain quantity of surplus value is extorted, or according to the *volume* of variable capital expended on wages. The *rate of profit*, on the other hand, depends on the *ratio of this surplus value* [to] the variable capital+the constant capital. If the *rate of surplus value* is given, the *amount of surplus value* does indeed depend on the amount of variable capital, but the *level of profit*, the *rate of profit*, depends on the ratio of this surplus value to the total capital advanced. In this case the rate of profit will thus be determined by the price of the raw material (*s'il y en a*[a] in this branch of industry) and the value of machinery of a particular EFFICIENCY.

Hence what Rodbertus says is fundamentally wrong:

"Thus, as the amount of capital gain increases consequent upon the *increase in product value*, so also in the same proportion increases the amount of capital value on which the gain has to be reckoned, and the hitherto existing ratio between gain and capital is not altered at all by this increase in capital gain" ([p.] 125).

This is only valid if it [signifies] the *tautology* that: *given the rate of profit* //very different from the rate of surplus value and surplus value itself//, *the amount of capital employed is immaterial*, precisely because the rate of profit is assumed to be *constant*. But as a rule the rate of profit can increase although the *productivity* of labour remains *constant*, or it can *fall* even though the productivity of labour rises and rises moreover IN EVERY DEPARTMENT.

And now again the silly remark (pp. 125-26) about ground rent, the assertion that the mere increase of rent raises its rate, because in every country it is calculated on the basis of an "unalterable number of morgen" ([p.] 126). If the volume of profit grows (given the rate of profit), then the *amount* of capital from which it is drawn, grows. On the other hand, if rent increases, then [according to Rodbertus] only one FACTOR changes, namely rent itself, while its standard of measurement, "the number of morgen", remains unalterably fixed.

[X-482] "Hence rent can rise for a reason which enters into the economic development of society everywhere, namely the increase in labour used for production, in other words, the *increasing population*. This does not necessarily have to be followed by a *rise* in the raw product value since the drawing of rent from a greater quantity of raw product must already have this effect" ([p.] 127).

*On p. 128*, Rodbertus makes the strange discovery that even if the value of the raw product fell *below* its normal level, causing rent to disappear completely, it would be impossible

[a] If such exists.—*Ed.*

"*for capital gain ever to amount to 100 per cent*" (i.e., if the commodity is sold at its value) "however high it may be, it must always amount to considerably less" ([p.] 128).

AND WHY?

"Because it" (the capital gain) "is merely the result of the division of the value of the product. It must, accordingly, always be a *fraction* of this unit" ([pp.] 127-28).

This, Mr. Rodbertus, depends entirely upon the nature of *your* calculation.

Let the constant capital advanced be 100, the wages advanced 50 and let the product of labour over and above this 50 be 150. We would then have the following calculation:

| Constant capital | Variable capital | Surplus value | Value | Production costs | Profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 100 | 50 | 150 | 300 | *150* | 150=100% |

The only requirement to produce this situation is that the worker should work for his MASTER $^3/_4$ of his working day, it is therefore assumed that $^1/_4$ of his labour time suffices for his own reproduction. Of course, if Mr. Rodbertus takes the total value of the product, which=300, and does not consider the excess it contains over the production costs, but says that this *product* is to be divided between the capitalist and the worker, then IN FACT the capitalist's portion can only amount to a part of this product, even if it came to $^{999}/_{1,000}$. But the calculation is incorrect, or at least useless in almost every respect. If a person lays out 150 and makes 300 he is not in the habit of saying that he has made a profit of 50% on the basis of reckoning the 150 on 300 instead of 150.

Assume, in the above example, that the worker has worked 12 hours, 3 for himself and 9 for the capitalist. Now let him work 15 hours, i.e., 3 for himself and 12 for the capitalist. Then, according to the former production ratio, an outlay of 25 on constant capital would have to be added (less IN FACT, because the outlay on machinery would not grow to the same degree as the quantity of labour). Thus:

| Constant capital | Variable capital | Surplus value | Value | Production costs | Profit | Per cent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 125 | 50 | 200 | 375 | 175 | 200 | $114\,^2/_7$ |

Then Rodbertus comes up again with the growth of "*rent to infinity*", firstly because he interprets its mere increase in volume as a rise, and therefore speaks of its rise when the same rate of

rent is paid on a larger amount of produce. Secondly because he calculates on "a morgen" as his standard of measurement. Two things which have nothing in common.

The following points can be dealt with quite briefly, since they have nothing to do with my purpose.

The "*value of land*" is the "*capitalised ground rent*". Hence this, its expression in terms of money, depends on the level of the prevailing rate of interest. Capitalised at 4%, it would have to be multiplied by 25, since $4\% = {}^{1}/_{25}$ of 100; at 5% by 20, since $5\% = {}^{1}/_{20}$ of 100. This would amount to a difference in land value of 20% ([p.] 131). Even with a fall in the value of money, *ground rent* and hence the *value of land* would rise nominally, since—unlike the increase in interest or profit (expressed in money)—the monetary expression of capital does not rise evenly. The rent, however, which has risen in terms of money has to be related "to the unchanged number of morgen of the piece of land" ([p.] 132).

Mr. Rodbertus sums up his wisdom as applied to Europe in this way:

1) "...with the European nations, the productivity of labour in general—labour employed in primary production and manufacturing—has risen ... as a result of which the part of the national product used for wages has diminished, the part left over for rent has increased ... so *rent in general has risen*" ([pp.] 138-39).

2) "...the increase in productivity is *relatively greater* in manufacture than in primary production ... an equal value of national product will therefore at present yield a larger rent share to the raw product than to the manufactured product. Therefore notwithstanding the rise in rent in general, in fact only *ground rent has risen while capital gain has fallen*" ([p.] 139).

Here Mr. Rodbertus, just like Ricardo, explains the rise of rent and the fall of the rate of profit one by the other; the fall of one=the rise of the other and the rise of the latter[a] is explained by the *relative unproductiveness* [X-483] *of agriculture.* Indeed, Ricardo says somewhere quite expressly that it is not a matter of absolute but of "relative" unproductiveness.[b] But even if he had said the opposite, it would not comply with the principle he establishes since *Anderson*, the original author of the Ricardian concept, expressly declares that every piece of land is capable of absolute improvement.[c]

If "surplus value" (profit and rent) in general has risen then it is not merely possible that the rate of the total rent has fallen in proportion to constant capital, but it will have fallen because

[a] Rent.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 546.— *Ed.*

[c] J. Anderson, *An Inquiry into the Causes that Have Hitherto Retarded the Advancement of Agriculture in Europe...*, Edinburgh, 1779, p. 5.— *Ed.*

productivity has risen. Although the number of workers employed has grown, as has the rate at which they are exploited, the amount of capital expended on wages as a whole has fallen *relatively*, although it has risen absolutely; because the capital which is set in motion by these workers as an advance, a product of the past, entering production as a *prerequisite,* forms an ever growing share of the total capital. Hence the rate of profit+rent taken together has fallen, although not only its volume (its absolute amount) has grown, but also the rate at which labour is being exploited has risen. This Mr. Rodbertus cannot see, because for him constant capital is an invention of industry of which agriculture is ignorant.

But so far as the *relative* magnitude of profit and rent is concerned, it does not by any means follow that, because agriculture is relatively less productive than industry, the *rate of profit* has fallen absolutely. If, for instance, its relationship to rent was as 2:3 and is now as 1:3, then whereas previously it formed $^2/_3$ of rent, it now forms only $^1/_3$, or previously [profit] formed $^2/_5$ of the total surplus value and now only $^1/_4$, [or] previously $^8/_{20}$ and now only $^5/_{20}$; it would have fallen by $^3/_{20}$ or [by] 15%.

Assume that the value of 1 lb. of cotton was 2s. It falls to 1s. 100 workers who previously span 100 lbs in one day, now spin 300. Assume finally that since the product becomes cheaper, the outlay for 300 lbs amounted previously to 600s.; now it is only 300s. Further, assume that in both cases machinery=$^1/_{10}$=60s. Finally, previously 300 lbs cost 300s. as an outlay for 300 workers, now only 100s. for 100 [workers]. Since the productivity of the workers "has increased", and we must suppose that they are paid here in their own product, assume that whereas previously the surplus value=20% of wages, now it=40.

Thus the cost of the 300 lbs is:

in the first case:
600 raw material, 60 machinery, 300 wages, 60 surplus value, altogether=1,020s.
in the second case:
300 raw material, 60 machinery, 100 wages, 40 surplus value, altogether=500s.

The *production costs in the first case 960.* Profit *60. Per cent* $6^1/_4$%.
In *the second case: 460. Profit 40.* $8^{16}/_{23}$%.

Suppose the rent was $^1/_3$ of 1 lb., then in the first case it=200s.=£10; in the second it=100s.=£5. The rent has fallen here because the raw product has become cheaper by 50%. But the whole of the product has become cheaper by more than 50%. The industrial labour added in I [is to the value of the raw material] as 360:600=$^6/_{10}$=1:1$^2/_3$; in II, as 140:300=1:2$^1/_7$. Indus-

trial labour has become relatively more productive than agricultural labour; yet in the first case the rate of profit is lower and the rent higher than in the 2nd. In both cases rent amounts to $^1/_3$ of raw materials.

Assume that the amount of raw materials in II doubles so that 600 lbs are spun and the ratio would be:

II) 600 lbs—600 raw material, 120 machinery, 200 wages, 80 surplus value. Altogether 920 production costs, 80 profit, per cent $8^{16}/_{23}$%.

The rate of profit [has] risen compared with I. Rent would be just the same as in I. The 600 lbs would cost only 1,000, whereas before they cost 2,040.

[X-484] It does not by any means follow from the relative dearness of the agricultural product that it yields a [higher] rent. However, if one assumes—as Rodbertus can be said to assume, since his so-called proof is absurd—that rent clings as a percentage on to every particle of value of the agricultural product, then indeed it follows that rent rises with the increasing dearness of AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE.

"...As a result of the increased population, the value of the total national product has also grown to an extraordinary extent ... today, therefore, the nation draws *more* wages, *more* profit, *more* ground rent ... furthermore, this *increased* amount of ground rent has raised it, whereas the *increased* amount of wages and profit could not have a similar effect" ([p.] 139).

Let us strip Mr. Rodbertus of all nonsense (not to speak of such defective conceptions as I have detailed more fully above, for instance that the rate of surplus value ("*level of the product*") can only rise when *labour* becomes *more productive*, i.e., the *overlooking* of *absolute* surplus value, etc.);

namely the absurd conception that the "*value of the material*" does not form part of the expenditure in (capitalist) agriculture in the strict sense.

The *second* piece of nonsense: that he does not regard the *machinery*, etc., the second part of the constant capital of agriculture and manufacture, as a "component part of value", which—just as the "value of the material"—does not arise from the labour of the sphere of production into which it enters as machinery, and upon which the profit made in each sphere of production is also calculated, even though the *value* of the machinery does not add a farthing to the profit, as little as the "value" of the material although both are means of production and as such enter into the labour process.

The *third* piece of nonsense: that he does not charge to agriculture the *entire* "component part of value" of the "machin-

ery", etc., which enters into it as an item of expenditure and that he does not regard that element of it which does not consist of raw material as a debit of agriculture to industry, which does not therefore belong to the expenditure of industry as a whole and in payment for which, a part of the raw material of agriculture must be supplied *gratis* to industry.

The *fourth* piece of nonsense: his belief that in addition to machinery and its *matière instrumentale* the "value of the material" enters into all branches of industry, whereas this is not the case in the entire transport industry any more than it is in the extractive industry.

The *fifth* piece of nonsense: that he does not see that although, besides variable capital, "raw material" does enter into many branches of manufacture (and this the more they supply FINISHED PRODUCE for consumption), the other component part of constant capital disappears almost completely or is very small, incomparably smaller than in large-scale industry or agriculture.

The *sixth* piece of nonsense: that he confuses the average prices of commodities with their values.

Stripped of all this, which has allowed him to derive *his* explanation of rent from the FARMER's *wrong calculation* and his own wrong calculation, so that rent would have to disappear to the extent to which the FARMER *accurately calculates* the *outlay* he makes, then only the following assertion remains as the real kernel:

When the raw products are sold at their *values*, their value stands above the *average prices* of the other commodities or above their *own average price*, this means their value is greater than the production costs+average profit, thus leaving an *excess profit* which constitutes *rent*. Furthermore, assuming the same *rate* of surplus value, this means that the ratio of variable capital to constant capital is greater in primary production than it is, on an average, in those spheres of production which belong to industry (which does not prevent it from being higher in some branches of industry than it is in agriculture). Or, putting it into even more general terms: agriculture belongs to that class of industries, whose variable capital is greater proportionately to constant capital than in industry, on an average. Hence its surplus value, calculated on its production costs, must be higher than the average in the industrial spheres. Which means again, that its *particular* rate of profit stands above the *average rate of profit* or the *general rate of profit*. Which means again: when the rate of surplus value is the same and the surplus value itself is given, then the particular rate of profit in each sphere of production depends on the

proportion of variable capital to constant capital in that particular sphere.

This would therefore only be an application of the law developed by me in a *general* form to a particular branch of industry.[a]

[X-485] Consequently:

1) One has to prove that agriculture belongs to those particular spheres of production whose *commodity values* are above their *average prices*, whose profit, so long as they appropriate it themselves and do not hand it over for the equalisation of the general rate of profit, thus stands above the *average profit*, yielding them, therefore, in addition to this, an *excess profit*. This point 1) appears certain to apply to agriculture on an average, because manual labour is still relatively dominant in it and it is characteristic of the bourgeois mode of production to develop manufacture more rapidly than agriculture. This is, however, a *historical* difference which can disappear. At the same time this implies that, on the whole, the means of production supplied by industry to agriculture fall in value, while the raw material which agriculture supplies to industry generally rises in value, the constant capital in a large part of manufacture has consequently a proportionately greater value than that in agriculture. In the main, this will probably not apply to the extractive industry.

2) It is wrong to say, as Rodbertus does: If—according to the general law—the agricultural product is sold on an average at its *value* then it must yield an excess profit, *alias* rent; as though this selling of the commodity at its *value, above* its average price, were the general law of capitalist production. *On the contrary*, it must be shown why in primary production—*by way of exception* and *in contrast* to the *class of industrial products whose value similarly* stands above *their* average price—the values are *not* reduced to the average prices and therefore yield an excess profit, *alias* rent. This is to be explained simply by *property in land*. The equalisation takes place only between capitals, because only the action of capitals on one another has the force to assert the inherent laws of capital. In this respect, those who derive rent from *monopoly* are right. Just as it is the *monopoly* of capital alone that enables the capitalist to squeeze surplus labour out of the worker, so the monopoly of landownership enables the landed proprietor to squeeze that part of surplus labour from the capitalist which would form a constant *excess profit*. But those who derive rent from monopoly are

[a] See this volume, pp. 298, 301-05.— *Ed.*

mistaken when they imagine that monopoly enables the landed proprietor to force the *price of the commodity above its value.*[114] On the contrary, it makes it possible to maintain the value *of the commodity above its average price*; to sell the commodity not *above,* but *at* its value.

Modified in this way, the proposition is correct. It explains the *existence of rent,* whereas Ricardo only explains the *existence of different rents* and actually does not credit the *ownership of land* with any *economic* effect. Furthermore, it does AWAY with the SUPERSTRUCTURE, which with Ricardo himself was anyhow only arbitrary and not necessary for his presentation, namely, that the agricultural industry becomes gradually less productive; it admits on the contrary that it becomes more productive. Only on the bourgeois basis agriculture is *relatively less productive,* or slower to develop the productive forces of labour, than industry. Ricardo is right when he derives his "surplus value"[a] not from greater productivity but from smaller productivity.

So far as the *difference in rents* is concerned, provided equal capital is invested in land areas of equal size, it is due to the *difference in natural fertility,* in the first place, specifically with regard to those products which supply bread, the chief nutriment; provided the land is of equal size and fertility, differences in rent arise from *unequal capital investment.* The first, *natural,* difference causes not only the difference in the size but also in the level or rate of rent, relatively to the capital which has been laid out. The second, *industrial, difference* only effects a *greater* rent in proportion to the volume of capital which has been laid out. Successive capital investments on the same land *may* also have different results. The existence of *different excess profits* or *different rents* on land of varying fertility does not distinguish agriculture from industry. What does distinguish it is that those excess profits in agriculture become permanent *fixtures,* because here they rest on a natural basis (which, it is true, *can* be *plus ou moins* levelled out). In industry, on the other hand—given the same average profit—these excess profits can only turn up *fleetingly* and they *only* appear because of a change-over to more productive machines and combinations of labour. In industry it is always the most recently added, *most productive* capital that yields an excess profit by *reducing* average prices. In agriculture excess profit *may* be the result, and *very often must* be the result, not of the absolute increase in fertility of the best fields, but the relative increase in

[a] Marx means "excess surplus value".—*Ed.*

their fertility, because *less productive land* is being cultivated. In industry the higher *relative* productiveness, the excess profit (which disappears), must *always* be due to the absolute increase in productiveness, or productivity, of the newly invested capital compared with the old. No capital can yield an *excess profit* in industry (we are not concerned here with a momentary rise in demand) *because* less productive capitals are *newly* entering into the branch of industry.

[X-486] It *can*, however, also happen in agriculture (and Ricardo admits this) that more fertile land—land which is either naturally more fertile or which becomes more fertile due to advanced farming technidues than the old land under the old [conditions]—comes into use at a later stage and even throws a part of the old land *out of cultivation* (as in the mining industry and with colonial products), or forces it to turn to another SPECIES of agriculture which supplies a *different* product.

The fact that the *differences* in rents (excess profits) become more or less *fixed* distinguishes agriculture from industry. But the fact that the *market price* is determined by the average conditions of production, thus raising the price of the product which is below this average, above its *price* and even above its *value*, this fact by no means arises from the land, but from *competition*, from *capitalist production*. Hence this is not a law of nature, but a social law.

This theory neither demands the payment of *rent* for the worst land, nor the *non*-payment of rent. Similarly, it is possible that a *lease rent* is paid where *no rent* is yielded, where only the ordinary profit is made, or where *not even this* is made. Here the landowner draws *a rent* although *economically none is available.*

*First. Rent (excess profit) is paid only for the better (more fertile) land.* Here rent "as such" does not exist. In such cases *excess profit*—just as the excess profit in industry—rarely becomes fixed in the form of rent (as in the West of the *United States* of North America).*

This is the case where, on the one hand, RELATIVELY great areas OF DISPOSABLE LAND have *not become private property* and, on the other, the natural fertility is so great that the VALUES of the agricultural products are equal to (sometimes *below*) their *average prices*, despite the *scant development* of capitalist production and therefore the high proportion of variable capital to constant capital. If their values were higher, competition would reduce them to this level. It

* //As Opdyke calls landed property "THE *LEGALISED REFLEXION OF THE VALUE OF CAPITAL*", so "*CAPITAL* is *THE LEGALISED REFLEXION OF OTHER PEOPLE'S LABOUR*".//

is however absurd to say, as for example Rodbertus does, that the State levies, for instance, A DOLLAR OR SO PER ACRE, a low, almost NOMINAL PRICE.[a] One could just as well say that the State imposes a "trade tax" on the pursuit of every branch of industry. In *this case* Ricardo's law exists. Rent exists only for relatively fertile land—although mostly not in a fixed but in a fluid state, like the excess profit in industry. The land that pays *no* rent does so, not because of its low fertility, but *because of its high fertility*. The better kinds of land pay rent, because they possess *more* than average fertility, as a result of their *relatively higher* fertility.

But in countries *where landed property exists*, the same situation, namely that the last cultivated land pays *no rent*, may also occur for the *reverse* reasons. Supposing, for instance, that the *value* of the grain crops was so low (and that its low value was in no way connected with the payment of *rent*), that owing to the relatively low[b] fertility of the last cultivated land the value of its crop were only equal to the *average price*, this means that, if the same amount of labour were expended here as on the land which carried a rent, the *number of quarters* would be so small (on the capital laid out), that with the average value of bread products, only the *average price* of wheat would be obtained.

[X-487] Supposing for example, that the last land which carries *rent* (and the land which carries the *smallest* rent represents *pure* rent; the others already differential rent) produces, [with] a capital investment of £100, [a product] equal to £120 or 360 qrs of wheat at £$^1/_3$. In this case 3 qrs=£1. Let £1 equal one week's labour. £100=100 weeks' labour and £120=120 weeks' labour. 1 qr=$^1/_3$ of a week=2 days and of these 2 days or 24 hours (IF THE NORMAL WORKING DAY=12 HOURS) $^1/_5$, or 4$^4/_5$ hours, are unpaid labour=the surplus value embodied in the qr. 1 qr=£$^1/_3$=6$^2/_3$s. or 6$^6/_9$s.[115]

If the qr is sold at its value and the average profit=10% then the *average price* of the 360 qrs=£110 and the average price per qr 6$^1/_9$s. The value would be £10 above the average price. And since the average profit=10% the rent would be equal to half the surplus value,=£10 or $^5/_9$s. per qr. Better types of land, which would yield more qrs for the same outlay of 120 weeks' labour (of which, however, only 100 are paid labour, be it objectified or living), would, at the price of 6$^6/_9$s. per qr, yield a higher rent. But the worst cultivated land would yield a rent of £10 on a capital of £100, or of $^5/_9$s. per qr of wheat.

Assume that a new piece of land is cultivated, which only yields

[a] See this volume, p. 382.—*Ed.*
[b] In the manuscript: "high".—*Ed.*

330 qrs with 120 weeks' labour. If the value of 3 qrs=£1, then that of 330 qrs=£110. But 1 qr would now be=to *2 days, $2^2/_{11}$ hours,* while before it was=to only 2 days. Previously, 1 qr=$6^6/_9$s. or 1 qr=6s. 8d.; now, since £1=6 days,=7s. 3d. $1^1/_{11}$ farthing. To be sold at its *value* the qr would now have to be sold at 7d. $1^1/_{11}$ farthing more, at this price it would also yield the rent of $^5/_9$s. per qr. The *value* of the wheat produced on the better land is here *below* the *value* of that produced on the worst land. If this worst land sells at the price per qr of the next best or rent-yielding land then it sells *below* its value but at the *average price* of the better land, i.e., the price at which it yields the normal profit of 10%. It can therefore be cultivated and yield the normal average profit to the capitalist.

There are two situations in which the worst land would here yield a rent apart from profit.

Firstly if the *value* of the qr of wheat were above $6^6/_9$s. (its *price* could be above $6^6/_9$s., i.e., above its value, as a result of demand; but this does not concern us here. The $6^6/_9$s., the price per qr, which yielded a rent of £10 on the worst land cultivated previously, was equal to the *value* of the wheat grown on *this* land, which yields a non-differential rent), that is [if] the worst land previously cultivated and all others, while yielding *the same* rent, were proportionately less fertile, so that their value were higher *above* their average price and the average price of the other commodities. That the *new* worst land does *not* yield a rent is thus not due to its low fertility but to the *relatively high fertility of the other land.* As against the new type of land with the new capital investment, the worst, [previously] cultivated, rent-yielding land represents *rent in general,* the non-*differential* rent. And that its rent is not higher is due to the [high] *fertility* of the rent-yielding land.

Assume that there are 3 other classes of land besides the last rent-yielding land. Class II (that above I, the last rent-yielding land) carries a rent of $^1/_5$ more because this land is $^1/_5$ more fertile than class I; class III again $^1/_5$ more because it is $^1/_5$ more fertile than class II, and the same again in class IV because it is $^1/_5$ more fertile than class III. Since the rent in class I=£10, it=$10+^1/_5$=£12 in class II, $12+^1/_5$=£$14^2/_5$ in class III and $14^2/_5+^1/_5$=£$17^7/_{25}$ in class IV.

If IV's fertility were less, the rent of III-I inclusive [X-488] would be greater and that of IV also greater absolutely (but would the proportion be the same?). This can be taken in two ways. *If I were more fertile then the rent of II, III, IV would be proportionately smaller.* On the other hand, I is to II, II is to III and III is to IV

as the newly added, non-rent-yielding type of land is to I. The new type of land does not carry a rent because the *value* of the wheat from I is not above the average price [of that] from the new land. It would be above it if I were less fertile. Then the new land would likewise yield a rent. But the same applies to I. If II were more fertile then I would yield no rent or a smaller rent. And it is the same with II and III and with III and IV. Finally we have the reverse: The absolute fertility of IV determines the rent of III. If IV were yet more fertile, III, II, I would yield a smaller rent or no rent at all. Thus the rent yielded by I, the undifferentiated rent, is determined by the fertility of IV, just as the circumstance that the new land yields no rent is determined by the fertility of I. Accordingly, *Storch's law* is valid here, namely, that the rent of the *most fertile* land determines the rent of the last land to yield any rent at all,[116] and therefore also the difference between the land which yields the undifferentiated rent and that which yields no rent at all.

Hence the phenomenon that here the 5th class, the newly cultivated land I′ (as opposed to I) yields *no rent*, is not to be ascribed to its *own lack of fertility*, but to its *relative* lack of fertility compared with I, therefore, to the relative fertility of I as compared with I′.

[Secondly.] The value [of the product] of the rent-yielding types of land I, II, III, IV, that is 6s. 8d. per quarter (to make it more realistic, one could say BUSHEL instead of quarter[117]), equals the *average price* of I′ and is *below* its own value. Now many intermediary stages are in fact possible. Supposing on a capital investment of £100, I′ yielded ANY QUANTITY OF QRS BETWEEN ITS REAL RETURN OF 330 BUSHELS and the RETURN of I which is 360 BUSHELS, say 333, 340, 350 *up to* 360 − x BUSHELS. Then the value of the qr at 6s. 8d. would be above the average price of I′ (per BUSHEL) and the last cultivated land would yield a rent. That it yields the *average profit* at all, it owes to the relatively low fertility of I, and therefore of I-IV. That it yields *no* rent, is due to the relatively high fertility of I and to its own relatively low fertility. The last cultivated land I′ could yield a rent if the value of the BUSHEL were *above* 6s. 8d., that is, if I, II, III, IV were less fertile, for then the value of the wheat would be greater. It could however also yield a rent if the value were given at 6s. 8d., i.e. the fertility of I, II, III and IV were *the same*. This would be the case if it were more fertile itself, yielded more than 330 BUSHELS and if the value of 6s. 8d. per qr were *thus* above its *average price*; in other words, its average price would then be *below* 6s. 8d., and therefore *below* the value of the wheat

grown on I, II, III, IV. If the value is above the average price, then there is an excess profit above the average profit, hence the possibility of a *rent*.

This shows: When comparing *different* spheres of production—for instance industry and agriculture—the fact that value is above average price indicates *lower productivity* in the sphere of production that yields the excess profit, the EXCESS of value over the average price. In *the same* sphere, on the other hand, [it indicates] *greater productivity* of one capital in comparison with other capitals in the same sphere of production. In the above example, I yields a rent in general, only because in agriculture the proportion of variable capital to constant capital is greater than in industry, i.e., more new labour has to be added to the objectified labour—and because of the existence of landed property this excess of value *over* average price is not levelled out by competition between capitals. But that I yields a rent at all is due to the fact that the value of 6s. 8d. per BUSHEL is not *below* its average price, and that its fertility is not so low that its own value rises above 6s. 8d. per BUSHEL. Its *price* moreover is *not* determined by *its own value* but by the value of the wheat grown on II, III, IV or, to be precise, by that grown on II. Whether the *market price* is merely equal to its *own average price* or stands above it, and whether its *value* is *above its average price*, depends on its own productivity.

Hence Rodbertus' view that in agriculture every capital which yields the average profit *must* yield rent is wrong. This false conclusion follows from his [X-489] false basis. He reasons like this: The capital in agriculture, for instance, yields £10. But because, in contrast to industry, *raw materials* do *not* enter into it, the £10 are reckoned on a smaller sum. They represent therefore more than 10%, for instance. But the point is this: It is not the absence of raw materials (on the contrary, they do enter into agriculture proper; it wouldn't matter a straw if they *didn't* enter into it, provided *machinery*, etc., increased proportionally) which raises the value of the agricultural products above the *average price* (their own and that of other commodities). Rather is this due to the higher proportion of variable to constant capital compared with that existing, not in *particular spheres* of industrial *production*, but *on an average* in industry as a whole. The magnitude of this *general* difference determines the amount and the existence of rent on No. I, the absolute, non-differential rent and hence the *smallest* rent. The price of wheat from I′, the newly cultivated land which does not yield a rent, is, however, *not* determined by the *value* of its own product, but by the value of I, and consequently

by the average *market price* of the wheat supplied by I, II, III and IV.

The privilege of agricultural product (resulting from landed property), that it sells its product not at the *average price* but at its *value* if this value is *above* the average price, is by no means valid for products grown on different types of land as against one another, for products of different values produced within *the same* sphere of production. As against industrial products, they can only claim to be sold at their average prices. As against the other products of the same sphere, they are determined by the market price, and it depends on the fertility of I whether the value—which=the average market price here—is sufficiently high or low, i.e., whether the fertility of I is sufficiently high or low, for I′, if it is sold at *this* value, to participate little, much or [not] at all in the general difference between the value and the average price of wheat. But, since Mr. Rodbertus makes no distinction at all between values and average prices, and since he considers it to be a general law for all commodities, and not a privilege of agricultural products, that they are sold at *their* values—he must of course believe that the product of the least fertile land has also to be sold at *its* individual value. But it loses this privilege in competition with products of *the same* type.

Now it is possible for the value of I′ to be below 6s. 8d. per BUSHEL, the average price of I.[118] It can be assumed (although this is not quite correct), that for land I′ to be cultivated at all, demand must increase. The price of wheat from I must therefore rise *above* its *value*, above 6s. 8d., and indeed persistently so. In this case land I′ will be cultivated. If it can make the average profit at 6s. 8d. although its value is *above* 6s. 8d. and if it can satisfy demand, then the price will be reduced to 6s. 8d., since demand now again corresponds to supply, and so I must sell at 6s. 8d. again, ditto II, III, IV; hence also I′. If, on the other hand, the *average price* in I′ amounted to 7s. 8d. so that it could make the usual profit at this price only (which would be far below its individual value) and if the demand could not be otherwise satisfied, then the value of the BUSHEL would have to consolidate itself at 7s. 8d. and the price of wheat of I would rise above its value. That of II, III, IV, which is already above *their* individual value, would rise even higher. If, on the other hand, there were prospects of grain imports which would by no means permit of such a stabilisation, then I′ could nevertheless be cultivated if small FARMERS were prepared to be satisfied with less than the average profit. This is constantly happening in both agriculture and

industry. Rent could be paid in this case just as when I′ yields the average profit, but it would merely be a deduction from the FARMER's profit. If this could not be done either, then the LANDLORD could lease the land to COTTIERS whose main concern, like that of the HAND-LOOM WEAVER, is to get their wages out of it and to pay the SURPLUS, large or small, to the LANDLORD in the form of rent. As in the case of the HAND-LOOM WEAVER, this SURPLUS could even be a mere deduction, not from the product of labour, but from the *wages of labour.* In all these instances rent could be paid. In one case it would be a deduction from the capitalist's profit. In the other case, the LANDLORD would appropriate the surplus labour of the worker which would otherwise be appropriated by the capitalist. And in the final case he would live off the worker's wage as the capitalists are also often wont to do. But large-scale *capitalist production* is only possible where the last cultivated land yields at least the average profit, that is where the value of I enables I′ to realise at least the average price.

One can see how the differentiation between *value* and *average price* surprisingly solves the question and shows that Ricardo and his opponents are right.[119]

[XI-490] If I, the land which yields absolute rent, were the only cultivated land, then it would sell the BUSHEL of wheat at its *value,* at 6s. 8d., or $6\,^{6}/_{9}$s. and not reduce it to the average price of $6\,^{1}/_{9}$s., or 6s. $1\,^{1}/_{3}$d. If all land were of the same type and if the cultivated area increased tenfold, because demand grew, then since I yields a rent of £10 per £100, the rent would grow to £100, although only *a single type of land* existed. But its rate or level would not grow, neither compared with the *capital advanced* nor compared with the area of *land cultivated.* Ten times as many ACRES would be cultivated and ten times as much capital advanced. This would therefore merely be an augmentation of the *RENTAL,* of the volume of rent, not of its level. The rate of profit would not fall; for the value and price of the agricultural products would remain the same. A capital which is ten times as large can naturally hand over a rent which is ten times larger than a capital which is $^{1}/_{10}$ its size. On the other hand, if ten times as much capital were employed on the same area of land with the same result, then the rate of rent compared with the capital laid out would have remained *the same*; it would have risen in proportion to the area of land, but would not have altered the rate of profit in any way.

Now supposing the cultivation of I became more productive, not because the land had altered but because more constant capital and less variable capital is being laid out, that is more capital is

being spent on machinery, horses, mineral fertilisers, etc., and less on wages; then the value of wheat would approach its average price and the average price of the industrial products, because the excess in the ratio of variable to constant capital would have decreased. In this case rent would fall and the rate of profit would remain unaltered. If the mode of production changed in such a way that the ratio of variable to constant capital became the same as the average ratio in industry, then the excess of value over the average price of wheat would disappear and with it rent, excess profit. [Category] I would no longer pay a rent, and landed property would have become nominal (in so far as the altered mode of production is not in fact accompanied by additional capital being embodied in the land, so that, on the termination of the lease, the owner might draw interest on a capital which he himself had not advanced; this is indeed a principal means by which landowners enrich themselves, and the dispute about TENANTRY RIGHT in Ireland revolves around this very point). Now if, besides I, there also existed II, III, IV, in all of which this mode of production were applied, then they would still yield rents because of their greater natural fertility and the rent would be in proportion to the degree of their fertility. [Category] I would in this case have ceased to yield a rent and the rents of II, III, IV would have fallen accordingly, because the general ratio of productivity in agriculture had become equal to that prevailing in industry. The rent of II, III, IV would correspond with the Ricardian law; it would merely be equivalent to, and would *exist* only as an excess profit of more fertile compared to less fertile land, like similar excess profits in industry, except in the latter they lack the natural basis for consolidation.

The Ricardian law would prevail just the same, even if *landed property* were *non*-existent. With the abolition of landed property and the retention of capitalist production, this excess profit arising from the difference in fertility would remain. If the State appropriated the land and capitalist production continued, then rent from II, III, IV would be paid to the State, but rent as such would remain. If landed property became *people's property* then the whole basis of capitalist production would go, the foundation on which the conditions of labour become independent vis-à-vis the worker.

A question which is to be later examined in connection with rent: How is it possible for rent to rise in *value* and in *amount*, with more intensive cultivation, although the rate of rent falls in relation to the capital advanced? This is obviously only possible

because the *amount of capital advanced* rises. If rent is $^1/_5$ and it becomes $^1/_{10}$, then $20\times{}^1/_5=4$ and $50\times{}^1/_{10}=5$. That's all. But if conditions of production in intensive cultivation became the same as those prevailing on an average in industry, instead of only *approximating* to them, then rent for the least fertile land would disappear and for the most fertile it would be reduced merely to the difference in the land. *Absolute* rent would no longer exist.

Now let us assume that, as a result of increasing demand, the movement is from I to II. [Category] I pays the absolute rent, II would pay a differential rent, but the *price* of wheat (value for I, excess value for II) remains the same. The rate of profit, too, [is supposed] not to be affected. And so on till we come to IV. Thus the *level*, the rate of rent is also rising if we take the total capital laid out in I, II, III, IV. But the average rate of profit from II, III, IV would remain the same as that from I, which equals that in industry, the general rate of profit. Thus if [XI-491] we go on to more fertile land, the AMOUNT AND RATE of rent can grow, although the rate of profit remains unchanged and the price of wheat constant. The rise in level and AMOUNT of rent would be due to the growing productivity of the capital in II, III, IV, not to the diminishing productivity in I. But the growing productivity would not cause a rise in profits and a fall both in the price of the commodity and in wages, as happens necessarily in industry.

Supposing, however, the reverse process took place: from IV to III, II, I. Then the price would rise to 6s. 8d. at which it would still yield a rent of £10 on £100 on I. For the rent of wheat on IV [amounts to] £$17\,^7/_{25}$ on £100, of which, however, £$7\,^7/_{25}$ are the excess of its price over the value of I.[a] [Category] I gave 360 qrs at £100 (with a rent of £10 and the value of the BUSHEL *at 6s. 8d.*). II—432 qrs. III—$518\,^2/_5$ qrs and IV—$622\,^2/_{25}$ qrs. But the price per qr of 6s. 8d. yielded IV an excess rent of £$7\,^7/_{25}$ per 100. IV sells 3 qrs for £1 or $622\,^2/_{25}$ qrs at £$207\,^9/_{25}$. But its value is only £120, as in I; whatever is above this amount is excess of its price over its value. IV would sell the qr at its value, or RATHER the BUSHEL, if he sold it at 3s. $10\,^8/_{27}$d. and at this price he would have a rent of £10 on 100. The movement from IV to III, III to II and II to I, causes the price per qr (and with it the rent) to rise until it eventually reaches 6s. 8d. with I, where this price now yields the same rent that it previously yielded with IV. The rate of profit would fall with the rise in price, partly owing to the rise in value of the means of subsistence or raw materials. The transition from

[a] See this volume, p. 330.—*Ed.*

IV to III could happen like this: Due to demand, the price of IV rises above its value, hence it yields not only rent but excess rent. Consequently III is cultivated which, with the normal average profit, is not supposed to yield a rent at this price. If the rate of profit has not fallen as a result of the rise in price of IV, but wages have, then III will yield the average profit. But due to the supply from III, wages should rise to their normal level again; [then] the rate of profit in III falls, etc.

Thus the rate of profit falls with this downward movement on the *assumptions which we have made*, namely, that III cannot yield a rent at the price of IV and that III can only be cultivated at the old rate of profit because wages have momentarily fallen below their level.

Under these conditions [it is again possible for] the Ricardian law [to apply]. But not necessarily, even according to his interpretation. It is merely *possible* in CERTAIN circumstances. In reality the movements are contradictory.

This has disposed of the essence of the theory of rent.

With Mr. Rodbertus, rent arises from eternal nature, at least of capitalist production, because of his "value of the material". In our view rent arises from an *historical difference* in the organic component parts of capital which may be partially ironed out and indeed disappear completely, with the development of agriculture. True, the difference in so far as it is merely due to variation in actual fertility of the land remains even if the *absolute* rent disappeared. But—quite apart from the possible ironing out of natural variations—*differential rent* is linked with the regulation of the market price and therefore disappears along with the price and with capitalist production. There would remain only the fact that *land of varying fertility is cultivated by social labour* and, despite the difference in the labour employed, labour can become more productive on all types of land. But the amount of labour used on the worse land would by no means result in more labour being paid for [the product] of the better land as now with the bourgeois. Rather would the labour saved on IV be used for the improvement of III and that saved from III for the improvement of II and finally that saved on II would be used to improve I. Thus the whole of the capital eaten up by the landowners would serve to equalise the labour used for the cultivation of the soil and to reduce the amount of labour in agriculture as a whole.

[XI-492] //Adam Smith, as we saw above,[a] first correctly

[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 376-91, 398-403.—*Ed.*

interprets value and the relation existing between profit, wages, etc. as component parts of this value, and then he proceeds the other way round, regards the prices of wages, profit and rent as antecedent factors and seeks to determine them independently, in order then to compose the *price of the commodity* out of them. The meaning of this change of approach is that first he grasps the problem in its *inner relationships*, and then in the *reverse form, as it appears in competition*. These two concepts of his run counter to one another in his work, naively, without his being aware of the contradiction. Ricardo, on the other hand, consciously *abstracts* from the form of competition, from the appearance of competition, in order to comprehend the *laws as such*. On the one hand he must be reproached for not going far enough, for not carrying his abstraction to completion, for instance, when he analyses the *value* of the commodity, he at once allows himself to be influenced by consideration of all kinds of concrete conditions. On the other hand one must reproach him for regarding the phenomenal form as *immediate and direct* proof or exposition of the general laws, and for failing to *interpret* it. In regard to the first, his abstraction is too incomplete; in regard to the 2nd, it is formal abstraction which in itself is wrong.//

Now to return briefly to the remainder of Rodbertus.

"The *increase* in wages, capital gain and ground rent respectively, which arises from the *increase* in the value of the national product can *raise* neither the wages nor the capital gain of the nation, since more wages are now distributed among more workers and a greater amount of capital gain accrues to capital increased in the same proportion; ground rent, on the other hand, must *rise* since this always accrues to land *whose area has remained the same*. It is thus possible to explain satisfactorily the great *rise in land value*, which is nothing other than ground rent capitalised at the normal rate of interest, without having to resort to a fall in productivity of agricultural labour, which is diametrically opposed to the idea of the perfectibility of human society and to all agricultural and statistical facts" ([pp.] 160-61).

*D'abord*[a] it should be noted that Ricardo *nowhere* seeks to explain the "*great rise in land value*". This is *no problem* at all for him. He says further, and Ricardo even noted this explicitly (see later in connection with Ricardo), that—given the rate of rent—rent can *increase* with a constant value of corn or AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE.[b] This increase again presents no problem for him. The rise in the RENTAL while the rate of rent remains the same, is no problem for him either. His problem lies in the rise in

[a] First of all.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 529.—*Ed.*

the *rate of rent*, i.e., rent in proportion to the AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL advanced, and hence the rise in value not of the *amount* of AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE, but the rise in the value, for example, of the quarter of wheat, i.e., of the same quantity of AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE; in consequence of this the excess of its value over the average price increases and thereby also the excess of rent over the rate of profit. Mr. Rodbertus here begs the Ricardian problem (to say nothing of his erroneous "value of the material").

The *rate of rent* can indeed rise relatively to the capital advanced, in other words, the relative value of the agricultural product can rise in proportion to the industrial product, even though agriculture is constantly becoming *more productive*. And this can happen for 2 reasons.

Firstly take the *above example*, the transition from I to II, III, IV, i.e., to ever more fertile land (but where the additional supply is not so great as to throw I out of cultivation or to reduce the difference between value and average price to such an extent that IV, III, II pay relatively lower rents and I no rent at all). If I's rent amounts to 10, II's to 20, III's to 30 and IV's to 40 and if £100 are invested in all 4 types of land, then I's rent would be $^1/_{10}$ or 10% on the capital advanced, II's would be $^2/_{10}$ or 20%, III's would be $^3/_{10}$ or 30% and IV's rent would be $^4/_{10}$ or 40%. Altogether 100 on 400 capital advanced, which gives an average rate of rent of $^{100}/_4$=25%. Taking the entire capital invested in agriculture, the rent amounts now to 25%. Had only the cultivation of land I (the least fertile land) been extended, then the rent would be 40 on 400, 10% just as before, and it would not have risen by 15%. But in the first case (if 330 BUSHELS resulted from an outlay of £100 on I) only *1,320* BUSHELS would have been produced at the price of 6s. 8d. per BUSHEL. In the second case, 1,518 BUSHELS have been produced at the same price. The same capital has been advanced in both cases.[120]

But the rise in the *level* of the rent here is only apparent.[121] For if we calculate the capital outlay in relation to the product, then 100 [would have been] needed in I to produce 330 and 400 to produce *1,320* BUSHELS. But now only 100+90+80+70, i.e., £340[122] are needed to produce 1,320 BUSHELS. £90 in II produce as much as 100 in I, 80 in III as much as 90 in II and 70 in IV as much as 80 in III. The rate of rent [has] risen in II, III, IV, compared with I.

If we take society as a whole, it means that a capital of 340 [was] employed to raise *the same* product, instead of a capital of 400, that is 85% [of] capital [advanced].

[XI-493] The 1,320 BUSHELS [would] only be distributed in a different way from those in the first case. The farmer must hand over as much on 90 as previously on 100, as much on 80 as previously on 90 and as much on 70 as previously on 80. But the capital outlay of 90, 80, 70 gives him just the same amount of product as he previously obtained on 100. He hands over more, not because he must employ more capital in order to supply the same product, but because he employs less capital; not because his CAPITAL has become less productive, but because it has become more productive and he is still selling at the price of I, as though he still required the same capital as before in order to produce the same quantity of product.

Apart from this rise in the *rate of rent*—which corresponds to the uneven rise in excess profit in individual branches of industry, though here it does not become fixed—there is only one other possibility of the *rate of rent* rising although the value of the product remains the same, that is, labour does not become less productive. It occurs either when productivity in agriculture remains *the same* as before but productivity in industry rises and this rise expresses itself in a fall in the rate of profit, in other words when the ratio of variable to constant capital diminishes. Or, alternatively, when productivity is rising in agriculture as well though not at the same rate as in industry but at a lower rate. If productivity in agriculture rises as 1:2 and in industry as 1:4, then it is *relatively* the same as if it had remained at one in agriculture and had doubled in industry. In this case the ratio of variable capital to constant capital would be decreasing in industry twice as fast as in agriculture.

In both cases the rate of profit in industry would fall, and because it *fell* the *rate* of rent would rise. In the other instances the rate of profit does not fall absolutely (rather it remains *constant*) but it falls relatively to rent. It does so not because it *itself* is decreasing but because rent, the rate of rent in relation to the capital advanced, is rising.

Ricardo does not differentiate between these cases. Except in these cases (that is where the general ratio of constant to variable capital alters as a result of the increased productivity of industry and *hence* increases the excess of value of agricultural [products] above their average price or where the rate of profit, although constant, falls relatively because of the differential rents of the capital employed on the more fertile types of land) the rate of rent can only rise if the rate of profit falls without industry becoming more productive. This is, however, only possible if wages rise or if

raw material rises in value as a result of the lower productivity of agriculture. In this case both the fall in the rate of profit and the rise in the level of rent are brought about by the same cause—the decrease in the productivity of agriculture and of the capital employed in agriculture. This is how Ricardo sees it. With the value of money *remaining the same,* this must then show itself in a rise in the *prices* of the raw products. If, as above, the rise is *relative,* then no change in the value of money can raise the money prices of agricultural products absolutely as compared with industrial products. If money fell by 50% then 1 qr which was previously worth £3 would now be worth £6, but 1 lb. yarn which was previously worth 1s. would now be worth 2s. The *absolute* rise in the money prices of agricultural [products] compared with industrial products can therefore never be explained by changes in [the value of] money.

On the whole it can be assumed that under the cruder, pre-capitalist mode of production, agriculture is *more productive* than industry, because nature assists here as a machine and an organism, whereas in industry the powers of nature are still almost entirely replaced by human action (as in the craft type of industry, etc.). In the period of the stormy growth of capitalist production, productivity in industry develops rapidly as compared with agriculture, although its development *presupposes* that a significant change as between constant and variable capital *has* already taken place in agriculture, that is, a large number of people have been driven off the land. Later, productivity advances in both, although at an uneven pace. But when industry reaches a certain level the disproportion must diminish, in other words, productivity in agriculture must increase relatively more rapidly than in industry. This requires: 1) The replacement of the easy-going FARMER by the BUSINESSMAN, the FARMING capitalist; transformation of the husbandman into a pure wage labourer; large-scale agriculture, i.e., with concentrated capitals. 2) In particular however: Mechanics, the really scientific basis of large-scale industry, had reached a certain degree of perfection during the eighteenth century. The development of chemistry, geology and physiology, the sciences that *directly* form the specific basis of agriculture rather than of industry, [XI-494] does not take place till the nineteenth century and especially the later decades.[a]

It is nonsense to talk of the greater or lesser productivity of two *different* branches of industry when merely comparing the values

[a] I.e., the 1840s and 1850s.—*Ed.*

of their commodities. If, [in] 1800, the pound of cotton was 2s. and of yarn 4s., and if, in 1830, the value of cotton was 2s. or 18d. and that of yarn 3s. or 1s. 8d. then one might compare the proportion in which the productivity in both branches had grown—but only because the rate of 1800 is taken as the starting-point. On the other hand, because the pound of cotton is 2s. and that of yarn 3, and hence the labour which produces the cotton is as great again as that of spinning, it would be absurd to say that the one is twice as productive as the other. Just as absurd as it would be to say that because canvas can be made more cheaply than the artist's painting on the canvas, the labour of the latter is less productive than that of the former. Only the following is correct, even if it comprises the capitalist meaning of *productive*—productive of surplus value along with the relative amounts of the product:

If, on an average, according to the conditions of production, £500 is needed in the form of raw material and machinery, etc. //at given values// in order to employ 100 workers [whose wages] amount to £100, in the cotton industry, and, on the other hand, £150 is needed for raw materials and machinery in order to employ 100 workers [whose wages] amount to £100, in the cultivation of wheat, then the variable capital in I would form $^1/_6$ of the total capital of £600, and $^1/_5$ of the constant capital; in *II*, the variable capital would constitute $^2/_5$ of the total capital of £250 and $^2/_3$ of constant capital. Thus every £100 which is laid out in I can only contain £16$^2/_3$ variable capital and must contain £83$^1/_3$ constant capital; whereas in II it comprises £40 of variable capital and £60 of constant. In I, variable capital forms $^1/_6$ or 16$^2/_3$% and in II, 40%. Clearly the histories of prices are at present quite wretched. And they can be nothing but wretched until theory shows what needs to be examined. If the rate of surplus value were given at, say, 20% then the surplus value in I would amount to £3$^1/_3$ (hence profit 3$^1/_3$%). In II, however, £8 (hence profit 8%). Labour in I would not be so productive as in II because it would be more productive (in other words, not so productive of SURPLUS VALUE, because it is MORE PRODUCTIVE OF PRODUCE). Incidentally, it is clearly only possible to have a ratio of 1:$^1/_6$, for example, in the cotton industry, if a constant capital (this depends on the machines, etc.) amounting to say £10,000 has been laid out, hence wages amounting to 2,000, making a total capital of 12,000. If only 6,000 were laid out, of which wages would be 1,000, then the machinery would be less productive, etc. At 100 it could not be done at all. On the other hand it is possible that if £23,000 is laid

out, the resulting increase in the EFFICIENCY of the machinery and other economies, etc., are so great that the £19,166 $^2/_3$ is not entirely allocated to constant capital, but that more raw material and the same amount of labour require *less* machinery, etc. ([in terms of] value); on which £1,000 are assumed to have been saved. Then the ratio of variable to constant capital grows again, but only because the absolute [amount of] capital has grown. This is a CHECK against the fall in the rate of profit. Two capitals of 12,000 would produce the same quantity of commodities as the one of 23,000, but firstly the commodities would be dearer since they required an outlay of £1,000 more, and secondly the rate of profit would be smaller because within the capital of 23,000, the variable capital is > than $^1/_6$ of the total capital, i.e., more than in the sum of the two capitals of 12,000.

Already *Petty* tells us that the LANDLORDS of his time feared improvements in agriculture because they would cause the price of agricultural products and *hinc* (the level of) rent to fall; ditto the *extension of the land* and the cultivation of previously unused land which is equivalent to an extension of the land. (In Holland this extension of the land is to be understood in an even more direct way.) He says:

"...that the draining of fens, IMPROVING of WOODS, INCLOSING of COMMONS, SOWING OF ST. FOYNE AND CLOVERGRASS, be grumbled against by LANDLORDS, AS THE WAY TO DEPRESS THE PRICE OF VICTUALS" (*Political Arithmetick*, London, 1699, p. 230). ("The rent of all ENGLAND, WALES, and the LOW-LANDS of Scotland, be about nine millions per annum) (l.c., p. 231).

(On the one hand, with the advance of industry, machinery becomes more effective and cheaper; hence, if only *the same quantity* of machinery were employed as in the past, this part of constant capital in agriculture would diminish; but the quantity of machinery grows faster than the reduction in its price, since this element is as yet little developed in agriculture. On the other hand, with the greater productivity of agriculture, the price of raw material—see cotton—falls, so that raw material does not increase as a component part of the valorisation process to the same degree as it increases as a component part of the labour process.)

Petty fights this view and D'Avenant goes [XI-495] even further and shows how the *level of rent* may decrease while the amount of rent or the RENTAL increases. He says:

"Rents may fall IN SOME PLACES, AND SOME COUNTIES, and yet the land of the nation" (he means value of the land) "IMPROVE ALL THE WHILE: As for example, when PARKS ARE DISPARKED, and forests, and COMMONS ARE TAKEN IN, AND ENCLOSED; WHEN FEN-LANDS ARE DRAINED, and when many parts" (of the country) "are meliorated by industry and MANURING, IT MUST CERTAINLY DEPRECIATE THAT GROUND

WHICH HAS BEEN IMPROVED TO THE FULL BEFORE, and was capable of no farther improvement. The income from rent of private men does thereby sink, yet the GENERAL RENT of the KINGDOM by such IMPROVEMENTS, at the same time rises" ([pp.] 26-27). "Fall in PRIVATE RENTS from 1666 to 1688 but the RISE IN THE KINGDOM'S GENERAL RENTAL was greater IN PROPORTION during that time, than in the preceding years, because THE IMPROVEMENTS UPON LAND WERE GREATER AND MORE UNIVERSAL, BETWEEN THOSE TWO PERIODS, THAN AT ANY TIME BEFORE" (D'Avenant, *Discourses on the Publick Revenues etc.*, PART II, London, 1698, [p.] 28).[a]

It is also evident here, that the Englishman always regards the level of rent as rent related to capital and never to the *total land* in the KINGDOM (or to the ACRE in general, like Mr. Rodbertus).

## NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE SO-CALLED RICARDIAN LAW

*Anderson* was a practical farmer. His first work, in which the nature of rent is discussed *in passing*, appeared in 1777,[b] at a time when, for a large section of the public, Sir James Steuart was still the leading economist, and while everyone's attention was focused on the *Wealth of Nations*, which had appeared a year earlier.[c] As against this, the work of the Scottish FARMER, which had been occasioned by an immediate practical controversy and which did not *ex professo* deal with rent but only incidentally elucidated its nature, could not attract any attention. In this work, Anderson only dealt with rent accidentally, not *ex professo*. This theory of his appears again, in the same incidental fashion, in one or two of his collected essays which he himself published in three volumes under the title of: *Essays Relating to Agriculture and Rural Affairs*, 1775-1796, 3 vols, Edinburgh. Similarly in his *Recreations in Agriculture, Natural-History, Arts etc.*, London, 1797[d] (to be looked up in the British Museum). All these writings are directly intended for FARMERS and AGRICULTURISTS. [It would have been] different if Anderson had had an inkling of the importance of his FIND and had put it before the public separately, as an *INQUIRY INTO THE NATURE OF RENT*, or if he had had the least bit of talent in trading his own ideas, as his fellow countryman, McCulloch, did so successfully with other people's. The reproductions of his theory

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[a] Marx quotes D'Avenant with some alterations.—*Ed.*

[b] [J. Anderson,] *An Enquiry into the Nature of the Corn Laws...*, Edinburgh, 1777.—*Ed.*

[c] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. In two volumes, London, 1776.—*Ed.*

[d] The reference is to the edition of 1799-1802.—*Ed.*

which appeared in 1815 were published forthwith as independent *theoretical* inquiries into the nature of rent, as the very titles of the respective works of West and Malthus show: Malthus: *An Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent*; West: *Essay on the Application of Capital to Land.*

Furthermore, Malthus used the Andersonian theory of rent to give his population law, for the first time, both an economic and a real (natural-historical) basis, while the nonsense about geometrical and arithmetical progression borrowed from earlier writers, was a purely imaginary hypothesis. MR. Malthus AT ONCE "IMPROVED" THE matter. *Ricardo* even made this doctrine of rent, as he himself says in his preface,[a] one of the most important LINKS in the whole system of political economy and—quite apart from the practical aspect—gave it an entirely new theoretical importance.

Ricardo evidently did not know Anderson since, in the preface to his political economy, he treats West and Malthus as the originators. Judging by the original manner in which he presents the law, *West* was possibly as little acquainted with Anderson as Tooke was with Steuart. With Mr. Malthus it is different. A close comparison of his writings shows that he knows and uses Anderson. He was in fact *plagiarist* by [XI-496] profession. One need only compare *the first edition* of his work on POPULATION[b] with the work of the REVEREND Townsend which I have quoted previously,[123] to be convinced that he does not work him over as an independent producer, but copies him and paraphrases him like a slavish plagiarist, although he *does not mention* him *anywhere by name* and *conceals* his existence.

The manner in which Malthus used Anderson is characteristic. Anderson had defended premiums on exports of corn and duties on corn imports, not out of any interest for the LANDLORDS, but because he believed that this type of legislation "would *reduce* the average price of corn" and ensure an even development of the productive forces in agriculture. Malthus accepted this practical application of Anderson's because—being a staunch MEMBER of the ESTABLISHED CHURCH OF England—he was a professional sycophant of the landed aristocracy, whose rents, sinecures, squandering, heartlessness, etc. he justified *economically.* Malthus advocates the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie only in so far as these are identical with the interests of landed property, of the aristocracy, i.e., *against* the mass of the people, the proletariat. But where

[a] To *On the Principles of Political Economy...*, p. VI.—*Ed.*

[b] [T. R. Malthus,] *An Essay on the Principle of Population...*, London, 1798.—*Ed.*

these interests diverge and are antagonistic to each other, he sides with the aristocracy against the bourgeoisie. Hence his defence of the "*unproductive* worker", over-consumption, etc.

Anderson, on the other hand, explained the difference between land which pays rent and that which does not, or between lands which pay varying rents, by the *relatively* low fertility of the land which bears *no* rent or a *smaller* rent compared with that which bears a rent or a greater rent. But he stated expressly that these degrees of relative productivity of *different* types of land, i.e., also the relatively low productivity of the worse types of land compared with the better, had absolutely nothing to do with the *absolute* productivity of agriculture. *On the contrary*, he stressed not only that the absolute productivity of *all* types of land could be constantly improved and must be improved with the progress in population, but he went further and asserted that the *differences* in *productivity* of various types of land can be progressively *reduced*. He said that the present degree of development of agriculture in England gives no indication at all of its *possibilities*. That is why he said that in one country the prices of corn may be high and rent low, while in another country the prices of corn may be low and rent may be high, and this is in accordance with his principle, since the level and the existence of rents is in both countries determined by the *difference* between the fertile and the unfertile land, in neither of them by the absolute fertility; in each only by the degree of difference in fertility of the existing types of land, and not by the average fertility of these types of land. From this he concluded that the absolute fertility of agriculture has nothing to do with rent. Hence later, as we shall see below,[a] he declared himself a decided adversary of the Malthusian theory of population and it never dawned on him that his own theory of rent was to serve as the basis of this monstrosity. Anderson reasoned that the rise in corn prices in England between 1750 and 1801 as compared with the years 1700 to 1750 was by no means due to the cultivation of progressively less fertile types of land, but to the influence of legislation on agriculture during these two periods.

What then did Malthus do?

Instead of his (also plagiarised) chimera of the geometrical and arithmetical progression, which he retained as a "phrase", he made Anderson's theory the confirmation of his population theory. He retained Anderson's practical application of the theory in so far as it was in the interests of the LANDLORDS—this FACT alone

[a] See this volume, p. 372.—*Ed.*

proves that he understood as little of the connection of this theory with the system of bourgeois economy as Anderson himself. Without going into the counter-evidence which the discoverer of the theory put forward, he turned it against the proletariat. The theoretical and practical advance which could have been made from this theory was: theoretical—for the determination of the *value* of the commodity, etc., and gaining an insight into the nature of landownership; practical—against the necessity of private ownership of the land, on the *basis of bourgeois production* and, more immediately, against all State regulations such as CORN LAWS, which enhanced this ownership of land. These advances from Anderson's theory, Malthus left to Ricardo. The only practical use he made of it was a defence of the protective tariffs which the LANDLORDS demanded in 1815—a sycophantic service for the aristocracy—and a new *justification* for the poverty of the producers of wealth, a new apology for the exploiters of labour. In this respect it was a sycophantic service for the industrial capitalists.

*Utter baseness* of mind is a distinctive trait of Malthus—a baseness which can only be indulged in by a parson [XI-497] who sees human suffering as the punishment for sin and who, in any case, needs a "vale of tears on earth", but who, at the same time, in view of the benefice he enjoys, and aided by the dogma of predestination, finds it altogether advantageous to "sweeten" the ruling classes' sojourn in the vale of tears. The "baseness" of this mind is also evident in his scientific work. *Firstly*, in the shameless way he makes *plagiarism* into a profession. *Secondly* in the *cautious*, not *radical*, conclusions which he draws from scientific premisses.

Ricardo, rightly for his time, regards the capitalist mode of production as the most advantageous for production in general, as the most advantageous for the creation of wealth. He wants *production for the sake of production* and this with *good reason*. To assert, as sentimental opponents of Ricardo's did, that production as such is not the object, is to forget that production for its own sake means nothing but the development of human productive forces, in other words the *development of the richness of human nature as an end in itself*. To oppose the welfare of the individual to this end, as Sismondi does, is to assert that the development of the species must be *arrested* in order to safeguard the welfare of the individual, so that, for instance, no war may be waged in which at all events some individuals perish. Sismondi is only right as against the economists who *conceal* or deny this contradiction. Apart from the barrenness of such edifying reflections, they reveal a failure to

understand the fact that, although at first the development of the capacities of the *human* species takes place at the cost of the majority of human individuals and whole human classes, in the end it breaks through this contradiction and coincides with the development of the individual; the higher development of individuality is thus only achieved by a historical process during which individuals are sacrificed, for the interests of the species in the human kingdom, as in the animal and plant kingdoms, always assert themselves at the cost of the interests of individuals, because these interests of the species coincide with the *interests of certain individuals*, and it is this coincidence which constitutes the strength of these privileged individuals.

Thus Ricardo's ruthlessness was not only *scientifically honest* but also a *scientific necessity* from his point of view. But because of this it is also quite immaterial to him whether the advance of the productive forces slays landed property or workers. If this progress devalues the capital of the industrial bourgeoisie it is equally welcome to him. If the development of the productive power of labour halves the value of the *existing* fixed capital, what does it matter, says Ricardo. The productivity of human labour has doubled. Thus here is *scientific honesty*. Ricardo's conception is, on the whole, in the interests of the *industrial bourgeoisie*, only *because*, and *in so far as*, its interests coincide with those of production or the productive development of human labour. Where the bourgeoisie comes into conflict with this, he is just as *ruthless* towards it as he is at other times towards the proletariat and the aristocracy.

But *Malthus*! *Ce misérable*[a] only draws such conclusions from the given scientific premisses (which he invariably *steals*) as will be "*agreeable*" (useful) to the aristocracy against the bourgeoisie and to both *against* the proletariat. Hence he does not want *production for the sake of production*, but only in so far as it maintains or extends the *status quo*, and serves the interests of the ruling classes.

Already his first work,[b] one of the most remarkable literary examples of the success of plagiarism at the cost of the original work, had the *practical* purpose to provide "economic" proof, in the interests of the *existing* English government and the *landed aristocracy*, that the tendency of the French Revolution and *its adherents in England* to perfect matters was utopian. In other words, it was a panegyric pamphlet for the existing conditions,

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[a] This wretch.— *Ed.*

[b] [T. R. Malthus,] *An Essay on the Principle of Population...*— *Ed.*

against historical development and, furthermore, a justification of the war against revolutionary France.

His writings of 1815, on protective tariffs and rent,[a] were partly means to confirm the earlier apology of the poverty of the producers, in particular, however, to defend reactionary landed property against "enlightened", "liberal" and "progressive" capital, and especially to justify an intended *retrogressive step* in English legislation in the interests of the aristocracy against the industrial bourgeoisie.[124] Finally, [XI-498] his "PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY" directed *against* Ricardo had essentially the purpose of reducing the absolute demands of "industrial capital" and the laws under which its productivity develops, to the "desirable limits" "favourable" to the existing interests of the landed aristocracy, the "ESTABLISHED CHURCH" (to which Malthus belonged), government pensioners and consumers of taxes. But when a man seeks to *accommodate* science to a viewpoint which is derived not from science itself (however erroneous it may be) but from *outside*, from *alien, external interests*, then I call him "*base*".

It is not a base action when Ricardo puts the proletariat on the same level as machinery or beasts of burden or commodities, because (from his point of view) their being purely machinery or beasts of burden is conducive to "production" or because they really are mere commodities in bourgeois production. This is stoic, objective, scientific. In so far as it does not involve *sinning* against his science, Ricardo is always a philanthropist, just as he was in *practice* too.

The parson Malthus, on the other hand, reduces the worker to a beast of burden "for the sake of production" and even condemns him to death from starvation and to celibacy. But when these same demands of production curtail the LANDLORD's "rent" or threaten to encroach on the "tithes" of the ESTABLISHED CHURCH, or on the interests of the "consumers of taxes"; and also when that part of the industrial bourgeoisie whose interests stand in the way of progress is being sacrificed to that part which represents the advance of production—and therefore whenever it is a question of the interests of the aristocracy against the bourgeoisie or of the conservative and stagnant bourgeoisie against the progressive—in all these instances "parson" Malthus does not sacrifice the particular interests to production but *seeks*, as far as he can, to

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[a] T. R. Malthus, *The Grounds of an Opinion on the Policy of Restricting the Importation of Foreign Corn...*, London, 1815, and idem, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent...*, London, 1815.—*Ed.*

sacrifice the demands of production to the particular interests of existing ruling classes or sections of classes. And to this end he *falsifies* his scientific conclusions. This is his *scientific* baseness, his sin against science, quite apart from the shameless way he makes plagiarism into a profession. The scientific conclusions of Malthus are "*considerate*" towards the ruling classes IN GENERAL and towards the reactionary elements of the ruling classes IN PARTICULAR; in other words he *falsifies* science for these interests. But his conclusions are *ruthless* as far as they concern the subjugated classes. He is not only *ruthless*; he *affects* ruthlessness; he takes a cynical pleasure in it and *exaggerates* his conclusions in so far as they are directed against the *miserables*, even *beyond* the point which would be scientifically justified from his point of view.

The hatred of the English working classes for Malthus—the "*MOUNTEBANK-PARSON*" as Cobbett *rudely* called him (Cobbett, though England's greatest *political* writer of this century, lacked the Leipzig professorial scholarship[125] and was a pronounced enemy of the "LEARNED LANGUAGE")—was thus fully justified and the people's INSTINCT was correct here, in that they felt he was no *homme de science*, but a bought advocate[a] of their opponents, a shameless sycophant of the ruling classes.

The inventor of an idea may exaggerate it in all honesty; when the plagiarist exaggerates it, he always makes "a business" of such an exaggeration.

Because the first edition of Malthus' work *On Population* contains not a single *new* scientific *word*, it is to be regarded purely as an obtrusive Capuchin's sermon, an Abraham a Santa Clara version of the discoveries of Townsend, Steuart,[126] Wallace, Herbert, etc. Since in fact it only wants to impress by its *popular* form, *popular* hatred rightly turns against it. As compared to the wretched bourgeois economists who preach harmony, Malthus' only merit lies in his pointed emphasis on the disharmonies, which, though none of them were *discovered* by him, were all emphasised, amplified and publicised by him with complacent sacerdotal cynicism.

[XI-499] *Charles Darwin*, in the introduction to his *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, London, 1860 (5TH ED.), says the following:

"In the next chapter the *Struggle for Existence* amongst all organic beings throughout the world, which inevitably follows from the high geometrical ratio of

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[a] In the manuscript a word "plaideur" is written above this word.—*Ed.*

their increase, will be treated of. This is the doctrine of *Malthus*, applied to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms" [pp. 4-5].

In his splendid work, *Darwin* did not realise that by discovering the "geometrical" progression in the animal and plant kingdom, he *overthrew* Malthus' theory. Malthus' theory is based on the fact that he set Wallace's geometrical progression of man against the chimerical "*arithmetical*" progression of animals and plants. In Darwin's work, for instance on the extinction of species, we also find (quite apart from his fundamental principle) the detailed refutation, based on natural history, of the Malthusian theory. But in so far as Malthus' theory rests upon Anderson's theory of rent, it was refuted by *Anderson himself.*

For instance, when Ricardo's theory (see above) convinces him that a rise in wages above their minimum does not raise the *value* of the commodities, he says so in a straightforward manner. Malthus wants to hold DOWN wages so that the bourgeois may profit.

Anderson's first publication, in which he develops the theory of rent incidentally, was a *practical* polemic, not on rent but on protection. It appeared in 1777 and its very title, *An Enquiry into the Nature of the Corn Laws, with a View to the New Corn Bill Proposed for Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1777, shows, firstly, that it pursues a practical purpose, secondly, that it is related to an imminent act of legislation, in which the interests of the MANUFACTURERS and the LANDLORDS are diametrically opposed.

The law of 1773 (in England; to be looked up in McCulloch's *Catalogue*[a]) was due (so it appears) to be introduced into Scotland in 1777 (see in the Museum).

"The law of 1773 was constructed," says Anderson, "with the *AVOWED* INTENTION of lowering the price of corn to our MANUFACTURERS, by ENCOURAGEMENT OF FOREIGN IMPORTATION to place our own people AT A CHEAPER RATE" (*A Calm Investigation of the Circumstances that Have Led to the Present Scarcity of Grain in Britain*, London, 1801, p. 50).

Thus Anderson's publication was a polemic on behalf of the interests of the AGRICULTURISTS (protection) (inclusive of the LANDLORDS) against the interests of the MANUFACTURERS. And he published it "AVOWEDLY" as such a partisan piece of writing. The theory of rent comes in here only incidentally. In his later writings which are to a greater or lesser degree continuously concerned with this *battle of interests* he merely repeats the theory of rent once or twice

[a] J. R. McCulloch, *The Literature of Political Economy...*, London, 1845.—*Ed.*

in passing. He never pretends to a scientific interest in it and it does not even become an *independent* subject in his presentation. Accordingly one may judge the correctness of the following remarks of *Wilhelm Thucydides Roscher*[127] who was evidently *not* acquainted with Anderson's writings:

> "Remarkable, how a doctrine, which in 1777 remained *almost* unnoticed, was immediately defended and attacked with the greatest interest in 1815 and the following years because it touched upon the contradiction between MONIED and LANDED INTEREST which had meanwhile so sharply developed" (*Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie*, 3rd edition, 1858, [pp.] 297-98).

This sentence contains as many falsehoods as words. Firstly, unlike West, Malthus and Ricardo, Anderson did not put forward his opinion as a "*doctrine*". Secondly, it remained not "*almost*", but "*entirely*" unnoticed. Thirdly, it first came in incidentally in a work whose sole *purpose* it was to deal with the contradiction between MANUFACTURERS and LANDLORDS—a contradiction which was considerably developed in 1777—and the work only "touched upon" this practical battle of interests and left "untouched" the general [XI-500] theory of political economy. *Fourthly*, in 1815 one of the reproducers of this theory, Malthus, expounded it just as much in support of the CORN LAWS as Anderson had done. *The same* doctrine was used *in support* of landed property by its discoverer and [by] Malthus, but was turned *against* landed property by Ricardo. Thus, at most, one might say that some of those who put it forward were *defending* the interests of landed property while others who put it forward *fought* those same interests, but one could not say that this theory was attacked by the defenders of landed property in 1815 (for Malthus defended it before *Ricardo*), or that it was *defended* by the attackers of landed property (for Ricardo did not have to "defend" this theory against Malthus, since he himself regarded Malthus as one of its discoverers and as his own forerunner. He only had to "combat" the practical conclusions that were drawn by Malthus). *Fifthly*, the contradiction between "*MONIED*" and "*LANDED INTEREST*", "touched upon" by Wilhelm Thucydides Roscher, had, up to that moment, *absolutely nothing* to do either with Anderson's theory of rent or with its reproduction, defence and attack. As Wilhelm Thucydides could have gathered from John Stuart Mill (*Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy*, London, 1844, pp. 109-10), by "MONIED CLASS" the Englishman understands 1) the money-lenders; and 2) these money-lenders are people who either live altogether on interest or are *money-lenders by profession*, such as bankers,

bill-brokers, etc. Mill also observes that all these people who form the "MONIED CLASS" are opposed to, or at any rate are distinct from, the "*PRODUCING CLASS*" (by which Mill understands "industrial capitalists" BESIDES THE WORKING MEN). Hence Wilhelm Thucydides should see that the interests of the "PRODUCING CLASS", including the MANUFACTURERS, the INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISTS, and the interests of the MONIED CLASS are two very different matters and that these classes are different classes. Furthermore, Wilhelm Thucydides should see that a battle between the INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISTS and the LANDLORDS was thus by no means a battle between the "*MONIED* INTEREST" and the "*LANDED* INTEREST". If Wilhelm Thucydides knew the history of the corn laws of 1815 and the struggle over these, then he would already have known from Cobbett that the BOROUGH-MONGERS (LANDED INTEREST) and the LOAN-MONGERS (MONIED INTEREST) combined against the INDUSTRIAL INTEREST. But Cobbett is "crude". Furthermore, Wilhelm Thucydides should know from the history of 1815 to 1847 that in the battle over the corn laws, the majority of the MONIED INTEREST and some even of the COMMERCIAL INTEREST (Liverpool for instance) were to be found amongst the *allies* of the LANDED INTEREST against the MANUFACTURING INTEREST.[a]

If I were to elucidate in equal detail all similar gross falsifications of history which Wilhelm Thucydides commits in his literary historical notes, then I would have to write as fat a volume as his *Grundlagen*, and indeed, such a work would "NOT be WORTH THE PAPER IT WAS WRITTEN UPON". But the harmful effects which such learned ignorance as that of a Wilhelm Thucydides can have on researchers in other fields of knowledge, can be seen in the example of Mr. *Adolf Bastian*. In his work *Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, Vol. I, 1860, p. 374, note, he quotes the above sentence of Wilhelm Thucydides as documentary proof for a "psychological" assertion. Incidentally, one cannot say of Bastian that "*materiam superabat opus*".[b] Rather, in this case, the "opus" does not master its own raw material. Besides, I have found out through the few sciences which I "know", that Mr. *Bastian* who knows "*all*" sciences, very often relies on such authorities *à la* Wilhelm Thucydides, which is in any case unavoidable in a "pantologist".[128]

[XI-501] I hope I shall not be accused of "unkindness" towards Wilhelm Thucydides. Note the "unkindness" with which this pedant himself treats science! Anyhow, I have the same right to speak of his "total untruths" as he has to speak in his self-satisfied

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[a] See this volume, p. 356.—*Ed.*

[b] "The work surpasses the material" (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II, 5).—*Ed.*

and condescending manner of Ricardo's "half-truths".[a] Furthermore, Wilhelm Thucydides is by no means "honest" in his research and cataloguing. Anyone who is not "RESPECTABLE" does not exist for him historically either. For instance, Rodbertus does not exist for [him as] a theoretician of rent because he is a "communist". Besides, Wilhelm Thucydides is also inaccurate when it comes to "RESPECTABLE WRITERS". For instance, Bailey exists for McCulloch, who even regards his work as epoch-making. For Wilhelm Thucydides he does not exist. If the *science* [XI-502] of political economy is to be furthered and popularised in Germany, people like Rodbertus should found a journal which would be open to all scholars (not pedants, prigs and vulgarisers) and whose main purpose it would be to demonstrate the ignorance of the specialists in the science itself as well as in its history. [XI-502]

[XI-501] Anderson was in no way concerned with any inquiry into the relationship of his theory of rent to the system of political economy. This is not in the least surprising, since his first book appeared a year after Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, i.e., at a moment when the "system of political economy" in general was only first being consolidated, for Steuart's system too had only appeared a few years before. But so far as the material is concerned, which Anderson *examined, within the confines of the specific subject he was considering, this was decidedly more extensive than Ricardo's.* Just as in his theory of money, the reproduction of Hume's theory, Ricardo specifically only took into account the events from 1797 to 1809, so in the theory of rent, the reproduction of Anderson's theory, he considered only the economic phenomena relating to the rise in corn prices between 1800 and 1815.

The following two paragraphs are very important because they clearly reflect Ricardo's character:

* "I shall greatly regret that *considerations for any particular class*, are allowed to check the progress of the wealth and population of the country" * (Ricardo, *An Essay on the Influence of a Low Price of Corn on the Profits of Stock*, 2ND ED., London, 1815, [p.] 49).

With free IMPORT OF CORN, "*LAND IS ABANDONED*" (l.c., [p.] 46). In other words landed property is sacrificed to the development of production.

With the same free import of corn however:

* "That *some capital would be lost* cannot be disputed, but, *is the possession or preservation of capital* the end, or the means? The means, undoubtedly. What we

[a] W. Roscher, *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie: System der Volkswirtschaft*, 3rd ed., Vol. I, Stuttgart and Augsburg, 1858, p. 191.—*Ed.*

want is *an abundance of commodities*"* (wealth in general) *"and if it could be proved that by *the sacrifice of a part of our capital we should augment the annual produce*[a] of those objects which contribute to our enjoyment and happiness, we ought not to repine *at the loss of a part of our capital*"* (*On Protection to Agriculture*, 4TH ED., London, 1822, [p.] 60).

Ricardo terms as "*OUR CAPITAL*" that capital which belongs neither to *us* nor to *him*, but which has been permanently invested in the land *by the capitalists*. But *we* signifies a cross-section of the nation. The increase in "*our*" wealth is the increase in *social* wealth, which is an end as such, irrespective of who are the participants in this wealth!

*"To an individual with a capital of £20,000, whose profits were £2,000 per annum, it would be a matter quite indifferent whether his capital would employ a hundred or a thousand men, whether the commodity produced, sold for £10,000, or for £20,000, provided, in all cases, his profits were not diminished below £2,000. Is not the real interest of the nation similar? Provided its net real income, its rent and profits be the same, it is of no importance whether the nation consists of 10 or of 12 millions of inhabitants"* (*Principles of Political Economy*, 3RD ED., p. 416).

Here the "proletariat" is sacrificed to wealth. In so far as it is a matter of indifference to the existence of wealth, wealth finds its existence a matter of indifference. Here mass—mass of human beings—is WORTN NOTHING.

These 3 instances [XI-502] EXEMPLIFY Ricardo's scientific IMPARTIALITY.

//The element *in which* the capital employed in agriculture is invested, is the *soil* (*nature*), etc. Hence rent is here equal to the excess of the *value* of the product of labour created in this element, *over* its average price. If, on the other hand, an element of nature (or material) which is privately owned by an individual, is employed *in* another sphere of production whose (physical) basis it does not form, then the rent, if it only comes into being through the employment of this element, cannot consist in the excess of the *value* of this product over the average price, but only in the excess of the *general* average price of this product over its own *average price*. For instance, a waterfall may replace the STEAM-ENGINE for a MANUFACTURER and save him consumption of coal. While in possession of this waterfall, he would, for instance, constantly be selling yarn above its *average price* and making an excess profit. If the waterfall belongs to a landowner, this excess profit accrues to him as rent. In his book on rent, Mr. Hopkins observes that in Lancashire the waterfalls not only yield rent but, according to the degree of the natural motive power, they yield

[a] Here Marx gives a German equivalent in parentheses.—*Ed.*

*differential rent.*[a] Here rent is purely the excess of the *average market price* of the product over its *individual average price.*//

(At most Mr. Roscher might have been surprised that *the same* "doctrine" served *in favour* of "LANDED INTEREST" in 1777 and *against* it in 1815 and that it caused a stir only *then.*[129])

//In *competition* there are two distinct movements towards equalisation. Capitals *within* the same sphere of production equalise the prices of the commodities produced *within* this sphere to the same *market price,* irrespective of the relationship of the value of these commodities to this price. The *average market price* should *equal* the *value* of the commodity, [were] it not for the equalisation between *different* spheres of production. As between these different spheres, competition equalises the values to the *average prices,* in so far as the reciprocal interaction of the capitals is not hampered, disrupted by a third element—landownership, etc.//

Rodbertus is altogether mistaken when he thinks that because one commodity is *dearer* than another, thus realising more labour time, it must therefore—given the same *rate of surplus value or the equal exploitation of the workers in the different spheres*—also contain more *unpaid labour time, surplus labour time.*

If *the same* labour yields 1 qr on unfertile land and 3 on fertile (in a good or a bad year alike); if the same labour yields 1 oz of gold in land very rich in gold whereas in less rich or exhausted land it yields only $^1/_3$ oz; if the same labour time which produces 1 lb. of wool spins 3 lbs of wool, then, *d'abord,* the values of the 1 qr and the 3 qrs, of the 1 oz of gold and the $^1/_3$ oz, of the 1 lb. of wool and the 3 lbs of woollen yarn (minus the value of the wool it contains) are of equal magnitude. They contain equal quantities of labour time, therefore, according to the assumption, *equal quantities* of surplus labour time. True, the quantity of surplus labour embodied in the 1 qr is greater, but then it is only 1 qr whereas in the other case it is 3 qrs, or 1 lb. of wool whereas in the other case it is 3 lbs of woollen yarn (minus the value of the material). The *volume* is therefore the same, and the *proportional quantity of surplus value,* comparing the individual commodities one with another, [is] also equal. According to the assumption, the amount of labour contained in the 1 qr or the 1 lb. of wool, is the same as that contained in the 3 qrs or the 3 lbs of yarn. The capital laid out in wages is therefore greater to exactly the same

[a] See Th. Hopkins, *Economical Enquiries Relative to the Laws which Regulate Rent, Profit, Wages, and the Value of Money,* London, 1822, pp. 37, 38, and also this volume, p. 368.— *Ed.*

degree as the surplus value. The 1 lb. of wool contains 3 times as much labour as the 1 lb. of yarn. Though the surplus value is 3 times as great, the capital laid out in wages on which it is based is also 3 times as great. The proportion thus remains *the same.*

Rodbertus calculates quite wrongly here, or wrongly compares the capital laid out in *wages* with the [XI-503] greater or lesser *quantity* of commodities which these wages represent. But this calculation is completely wrong, if, as he *presupposes, wages* or the *rate of surplus value* are *given.* The same *quantity of labour,* say, 12 hours, may result in $x$ or $3x$ commodities. In one case, $1x$ commodities contain as much labour and surplus labour as $3x$ in the other; but in *no* case would more than 1 working day be spent and in no case would the rate of surplus value be more than, say, $^1/_5$. In the first instance $^1/_5$ of the one $x$ would be to $x$ as in the 2nd $^1/_5$ of the $3x$ would be to $3x$. And if we were to call each of the three $x$: $x'$, $x''$, $x'''$, then there would be $^4/_5$ paid and $^1/_5$ unpaid labour in each $x'$, $x''$, $x'''$. It is quite right, on the other hand, that if *just as much commodity* were to be produced under the unproductive conditions as under *more productive,* the commodity would contain more labour and so also more surplus labour. But then, proportionately, a greater capital would also have to be laid out. In order to produce $3x$, three times as much capital would have to be laid out (in wages) as is required to produce $1x$.

Now it is true that manufacture cannot work up more raw material than agriculture supplies. Thus, for instance, it cannot spin more pounds of wool than have been produced. If the productivity in wool spinning is trebled, then, provided the conditions of the production of wool remained *the same,* three times as much time as previously would have to be spent, three times as much capital would have to be expended on labour in wool production, whereas only *the same* amount of the spinners' labour time would be required to spin up this trebled quantity of wool. But the *rate* [of surplus value] would remain the same. The same spinning labour would have the same value as before and contain the same surplus value. The wool-producing labour would have a trebled surplus value but the labour embodied in it, or the capital advanced in wages, would accordingly have *trebled* as well. The 3 times greater surplus value would thus be calculated on a 3 times greater capital. But *this is no reason* for saying that the rate of surplus value is lower in spinning than in wool production. One would only say that the capital laid out in wages is 3 times as great in one as in the other (since it is assumed here that the changes in

the spinning and in the production of wool are not due to any change in their constant capital).

It is necessary to make a distinction here. The same labour +constant capital gives a smaller *output* in an unfavourable than a favourable SEASON, in unproductive than in productive soil, in a poorer than in a richer mine. In the former case the *product* is thus dearer, contains *more* labour and more *surplus labour* in *the same* number of products. But in the latter case, the *number* of these products is the greater. Furthermore, the *ratio* between paid and unpaid labour in each individual product in the two categories is not affected by this, for though the individual product contains less unpaid labour, according to the assumption, it also contains less paid labour in the same proportion. For it has been assumed here that there is no CHANGE in the proportions of the organic component parts of capital—of variable and constant capital. It is assumed that *the same amount of variable and constant capital* supplies *varying, greater or smaller, quantities of product* under varying conditions.

Mr. Rodbertus appears to confuse this all the time, and as a matter of course to conclude from the mere increase in the price of the product that it contains a *greater surplus value.* As to the *rate,* this is wrong even according to the assumption. As to the total, however, it is only right if more capital is advanced in one case than in the other, that means if as much is produced now of the dearer product as previously of the cheaper or if the increased quantity of the cheaper product (as above with spinning) presupposes a correspondingly increased quantity of the dearer product.

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[XI-504] That rent, hence also the value of land, can rise, although the *rate of rent,* hence also the productivity of agriculture, remains the same or even increases, is something Ricardo occasionally forgets, although he is well aware of it. Anyhow, Anderson knows it and Petty and D'Avenant already knew it. That is not the question.

Ricardo abstracts from the *question of absolute* rent which he *denies on theoretical grounds* because he starts out from the *false* assumption that *if* the value of commodities is determined by labour time, the *average prices of commodities must equal their values* (which is why he comes to the wrong practical conclusion, that

competition of more fertile types of land must throw the less fertile out of cultivation, even if they bore rent previously). If *values* of commodities and *average prices* of commodities were identical then absolute rent—i.e., rent on the worst cultivated land or on that *originally* cultivated—would be equally impossible. What is the *average price* of the commodity? The total capital (constant+variable) laid out in its production+the labour time contained in the average profit, say 10%. Supposing that a capital produced a *higher value* than the *average price*, just because it was operating in a *particular* element, an element of nature, say land, then the value of this commodity would be *above* its value and this *excess value* would contradict the concept of value being equal to a certain quantity of labour time. An element of nature, something heterogeneous from social labour time would be *creating* value. But this cannot be. Hence capital invested in land pure and simple *cannot* bear a *rent*. The worst land is land *pure and simple*. If the *better* land bears a rent, then this only shows that the difference between the *individually necessary* labour and that which is *socially necessary* becomes permanently established in agriculture because it has a natural basis, whereas in industry it is constantly disappearing.

*Absolute rent* cannot be permitted to exist, but only *differential rent*. To admit the existence of absolute rent would be to admit that *the same quantity of labour* (objectified, laid out in constant capital and bought with wages) creates *varying values* according to the element in which [the labour is expended] or according to the material which it works up. But if one admits this *diversity in value* although in each sphere of production *the same* amount of labour time materialises itself in the product, then one admits that *value is not determined by labour time* but by something heterogeneous. These different *magnitudes of value* would invalidate the concept of value, they would invalidate the proposition that the substance of value is social labour time, hence its differences can only be quantitative and these quantitative differences can only be equal to the differences in the amounts of social labour time applied.

The maintenance of *value*—the determination not only of the amount of value by the varying amount of labour time, but also of the substance of value by social labour—thus requires the *denial of absolute rent*. The denial of absolute rent can, however, be expressed in two ways.

*Firstly*. The *worst* land cannot bear a rent. The rent from the better types of land can be explained as arising from the market price which is the same for products which have been produced

on more favourable types of land as for those which have been produced on less favourable. But the worst land *is land pure and simple.* It is not differentiated in itself. It differs from industrial capital investment only in that it is a *special* sphere of capital investment. If it bore a rent then this would arise from the fact that *the same quantity of labour* would produce *different values,* if applied in *different spheres of production*; this means that the quantity of labour in itself does not determine the value, and products which contain the same amount of labour are [not] equal.

[XI-505] [Secondly.] Or one might say that *the land which was cultivated originally* must not bear rent. For what is the originally cultivated land? The land which is "originally" cultivated is neither better nor worse land; it is land pure and simple. Undifferentiated land. Originally, capital investment in agriculture can only differ from investment in industry because of the *spheres* in which these capitals are invested. But since equal quantities of labour are represented in *equal values,* there is absolutely no reason why the capital invested in land should yield a rent in addition to profit, unless *the same* quantity of labour applied in this *sphere* produced *a higher* value, so that the excess of this value over the value yielded in manufacture would produce an excess profit, equal to rent. But this would amount to saying that the land as such creates value, thus invalidating the concept of value itself.

The land which is cultivated *originally* therefore cannot *originally* bear a rent, if the whole theory of value is not to be discarded. Furthermore, this ties up very easily (*although not necessarily,* as Anderson shows) with the idea that *originally* people of course chose not the worst but rather the best land for cultivation. With the advance of civilisation and population, the land which originally bears no rent, does so at a later stage, because people are forced to descend to worse types of land and thus in this descent to Avernus, to ever worse land, rent must arise on the *originally cultivated, most fertile land.* And then, step by step, on the land which follows it, while the *worst land* which always represents simply land—the *particular* sphere of capital investment—*never* bears a rent. All this has a more or less logical coherence.

If, on the other hand, one knows that average prices and values are not identical, that the average price of a commodity may be either=to its value or > or <, then the question, the problem itself, disappears and with it also the *hypotheses* for its solution. The only remaining question is why, in agriculture, the *value* of the *commodity,* or at any rate its *price,* is *above its average price* though

not *above* its *value*. But this question no longer bears any relation to the fundamentals of the theory, the determination of value as such.

Ricardo knows of course that the "*relative* values" of commodities are modified according to the varying proportion of fixed capital and capital laid out in wages, which enter into their production. //But these are not opposites; fixed capital and circulating capital are opposites, and circulating capital comprises not only wages but also raw materials and *matières instrumentales*. For example, the same ratio may exist between capital laid out in labour and fixed capital in the mining and fishing industries, as between that laid out in wages and in raw materials in tailoring.// But Ricardo also knows that these relative values are equalised by competition. In fact he only makes the differentiation, so that *the same average profit* should result from these different capital investments. In other words these *relative* values of which he speaks are only the *average prices*. It does not even occur to him that *value* and *average price* are different. He only gets as far as their *identity*. Since however this identity does not *exist* when the ratio of the organic component parts of capital varies, he accepts it as an unexplained FACT brought about by competition. Hence too, he does not come up against the question: Why do the values of agricultural products not equalise in average [XI-506] prices? On the contrary he assumes that *they do so* and poses the problem from that point of view.

It is quite incomprehensible why fellows *à la* Wilhelm Thucydides should be so ardently for Ricardo's theory of rent. From *their* point of view, Ricardo's "half truths", as Thucydides condescendingly calls them, lose their *whole* value.

For Ricardo the problem only exists because value is determined by labour time. With those fellows this is not the case. According to Roscher, nature *as such* has value. See later.[130] In other words, he has absolutely no idea what value is. What prevents him therefore from allowing the *value of land* to enter into production costs from the outset and to form the rent; what prevents him from presupposing the value of land, i.e., rent, as an explanation for rent?

With these fellows, the phrase "production costs" is meaningless. We see this with Say. The value of the commodity is determined by the production costs, capital, land, labour. But these are determined by demand and supply. In other words, no determination is taking place. Since the land performs "productive services", why should not the price of these "services" be

determined by demand and supply, just as the services performed by labour or capital? And since the "land services" are in the possession of certain sellers, why should their article not have a market price, in other words why should not rent exist as an element of price?

One can see how little reason Wilhelm Thucydides had for getting so well-meaningly "vexed" over the Ricardian theory.

But apart from absolute rent, the following question remains for Ricardo:

The population grows and with it the demand for agricultural products. Therewith their price rises, as happens in similar cases in industry. But in industry, this rise in price ceases as soon as demand has become effective and brought about an increased supply of commodities. The product now falls to the old, or rather below the old, LEVEL of value. But in agriculture this *additional product* is thrown on to the market neither at the same price nor at a lower price. *It costs more* and effects a constant rise in market prices and along with that, a raising of rent. How is this to be explained if not by the fact that ever less fertile types of land are being used, that ever more labour is required in order to produce the same product, that agriculture becomes progressively more sterile? Why, apart from the influence of the DEPRECIATION [of money], did agricultural products rise in England from 1797 to 1815 with the rapid development of the population? That they fell again later proves nothing. That supplies from foreign markets were cut off proves nothing. On the contrary. This in fact created the *right* conditions for demonstrating the effect of the law of rent *as such*. For it was the very cutting off of foreign supplies which forced the country to have recourse *to ever less fertile land*. This cannot be explained by an *absolute increase* in rent, because not only did the RENTAL rise but also the rate of rent. The quarter of wheat, etc. rose in price. It cannot be explained by *DEPRECIATION* because although this might well explain why, with greater productivity in industry, industrial products fell, hence why the relative price of agricultural products rose, it would not explain why, *in addition to* this *relative rise*, the prices of agricultural products were continuously rising absolutely.

Similarly, it cannot be explained as a *consequence* of the fall in the rate of profit. This would *never* explain a change in *prices*, but only a *change* in the distribution of value or of *price* between LANDLORD, MANUFACTURER and worker.

So far as *DEPRECIATION* is concerned, assume that £1 now=£2. A qr of wheat which was previously equal to £2 is now equal to

£4. If the industrial product fell to $^1/_{10}$, and previously its value was 20s., then it would be now 2s. But these 2s. are now equal to 4s. True, DEPRECIATION could have something to do with this, the poor harvests as well.

[XI-507] But quite apart from all this it can be assumed that, considering the *state of agriculture at that time, unfertile* land (for wheat) was being cultivated. The same land was later fertile, in that the rate of differential rents decreased, as is proved by the best barometer, namely, wheat prices.

The highest prices [occur in the years] 1800 and 1801 and 1811 and 1812; the first were years of poor growth, the second, [years] of the peak of DEPRECIATION. Similarly 1817 and 1818 were years of DEPRECIATION. But if these years are omitted, probably (to be checked up later) what was left would give the average price.

In comparing wheat prices, etc., in different periods, it is at the same time important to compare the *amounts produced* at so much per qr, because this shows to what extent the additional production of corn influences the PRICE.

I) *AVERAGE WHEAT PRICES*

| | YEARLY AVERAGE PRICE | Highest Price | LOWEST [Price] |
|---|---|---|---|
| *1641-49* | 60s. $5^2/_3$d. | | |
| *1650-59* | 45s. $8^9/_{10}$d. | 68s. 1d. (1650) | 23s. 1d. (*1659*) |
| *1660-69* | 44s. 9d. | 65s. 9d. (*1662*) | *32s.* 0d. (1666 & 1667) |
| *1670-79* | 44s. $8^9/_{10}$d. | *61s.* 0d. (1674) | *33s.* 0d. (1676) |
| *1680-89* | 35s. $7^8/_{10}$d. | *41s. 5d.* (1681) | *22s. 4d.* (1687) |
| *1690-99* | 50s. $^4/_{10}$d. | 63s. 1d. (*1695*) | 30s. 2d. (*1691*) |

If we take the period *1650 to 1699* then the (yearly) average price for these 50 years is *44s. $2^1/_5$d.*

During the period (9 years) from 1641 to 1649, the HIGHEST YEARLY AVERAGE PRICE is 75s. 6d. for 1645, year of the revolution, then 71s. 1d. for 1649, 65s. 5d. for 1647 and the lowest price, 42s. 8d., for 1646.

II) *The HIGHEST and lowest prices in each DECENNIAL PERIOD*

| | | HIGHEST | LOWEST |
|---|---|---|---|
| *1700-1709* | 35s. $^1/_{10}$d. | 69s. 9d. (*1709*) | *25s. 4d.* (1707) |
| *1710-1719* | 43s. $6^7/_{10}$d. | 69s. 4d. (*1710*) | *31s. 1d. (1719)* |
| *1720-1729* | 37s. $3^7/_{10}$d. | 48s. 5d. (1728) | *30s. 10d. (1723)* |
| *1730-1739* | 31s. $5^5/_{10}$d. | 58s. 2d. (*1735*) | 23s. 8d. (*1732*) |
| *1740-1749* | 31s. $7^9/_{10}$d. | 45s. 1d. (*1740*) | 22s. 1d. (1743 & 1744) |

*Average price* (yearly) for the 50 years [from] *1700 to 1749*: *35s. $9^{29}/_{50}$d.*

[XI-508] III) *The* HIGHEST AND LOWEST PRICES *in each* DECENNIAL PERIOD

| | | HIGHEST | LOWEST |
|---|---|---|---|
| *1750-1759* | 36s. $4^5/_{10}$d. | 53s. 4d. (*1757*) | 28s. 10d. (1750) |
| *1760-1769* | 40s. $4^9/_{10}$d. | 53s. 9d. (1768) | 26s. 9d. (1761) |
| *1770-1779* | 45s. $3^2/_{10}$d. | 52s. 8d. (*1774*) | 33s. 8d. (*1779*) |
| *1780-1789* | 46s. $9^2/_{10}$d. | 52s. 8d. (*1783*) | 35s. 8d. (*1780*) |
| *1790-1799* | 57s. $6^5/_{10}$d. | 78s. 7d. (*1796*) | 43s. 0d. (*1792*) |

Yearly AVERAGE *for the 50 years* [*from*] *1750 to 1799: 45s.* $3^{13}/_{50}$*d.*

IV) *The* HIGHEST AND LOWEST YEARLY AVERAGE PRICES *in each* DECENNIAL PERIOD

| | | HIGHEST | LOWEST |
|---|---|---|---|
| *1800-1809* | 84s. $8^5/_{10}$d. | *119s. 6d.* (*1801*)<br>*113s. 10d.* (1800) | *58s. 10d.* (1803) |
| *1810-1819* | 91s. $4^8/_{10}$d. | 126s. 6d. (*1812*)<br>*109s. 9d.* (*1813*)<br>*106s. 5d.* (*1810*) | 65s. 7d. (*1815*)<br>*74s. 4d.* (*1814*)<br>*74s. 6d.* (1819) |
| *1820-1829* | 58s. $9^7/_{10}$d. | 68s. 6d. (*1825*) | 44s. 7d. (*1822*) |
| *1830-1839* | 56s. $8^5/_{10}$d. | 66s. 4d. (*1831*) | 39s. 4d. (*1835*) |
| *1840-1849* | 55s. $11^4/_{10}$d. | 69s. 5d. (1847) | 44s. 6d. (*1849*) |
| *1850-1859* | 53s. $4^7/_{10}$d. | 74s. 9d. (*1855*) | 40s. 4d. (*1850*) |

YEARLY AVERAGE *for the 50 years* [*from*] *1800 to 1849: 69s.* $6^9/_{50}$*d.*
YEARLY AVERAGE *for the 60 years* [*from*] *1800 to 1859: 66s.* $9^{14}/_{15}$*d.*

*Hence* YEARLY AVERAGES:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *1641-1649* | *60s.* | $5^2/_3$d. |
| *1650-1699* | *44s.* | $2^1/_5$d. |
| *1700-1749* | *35s.* | $9^{29}/_{50}$d. |
| *1750-1799* | *45s.* | $3^{13}/_{50}$d. |
| *1800-1849* | 69s. | $6^9/_{50}$d. |
| *1850-1859* | *53s.* | $4^7/_{10}$d. |

*West* says himself:

*"In an improved state of agriculture produce may be raised on the second or third quality of land at as little cost as it could under the old system upon the first quality"* (Sir Edward West, *Price of Corn and Wages of Labour*, London, 1826, p. 98).

*Hopkins* grasps correctly the difference between *absolute* and *differential rent*:

"The PRINCIPLE OF COMPETITION renders impossible 2 RATES OF PROFIT in the same country, and this determines the *RELATIVE RENTS* but not the *GENERAL*

AVERAGE OF RENT" (Thomas Hopkins, *On Rent of Land, and Its Influence on Subsistence and Population*, London, 1828, p. 30).[131]

[XI-508a][a] *Hopkins* makes the following distinction between productive and unproductive labour or, as he says, between primary and secondary:

*"If *all* labourers were employed for the same end, or object, as the diamond cutter and the opera singer, in a short time there would be no *wealth* to subsist them; because *none of the wealth produced would then become capital.* If a considerable proportion were so employed, wages would be low; because but a comparatively small part of what was produced would be used as capital;—but if only a few of the labourers were so employed, and, of course, nearly all were ploughmen, shoemakers, weavers, etc., then much capital would be produced, and wages *could* be proportionally high"* (l.c., pp. 84-85). *"With the diamond cutter and the singer, must be classed all those who labour for the landlords, or annuitants, and who receive a part of their income as wages: all, in fact, whose labours *terminate* merely in producing those things which gratify landlords and annuitants, and who receive in return for their labours, a part of the rent of the landlord, or of the income of the annuitant. These are all productive labourers, but all their labours are for the purpose of converting the wealth which exists, in the shape of rents and annuities, [into some other form,] that shall, in that other form, more gratify the landlord and annuitant, and therefore they are *secondary* producers. All other labourers are *primary* producers"* (l.c., [p.] 85).

Diamonds and song are both realised labour and can—like all commodities—be converted into *money* and *as money* into capital. But in this transformation of money into capital we must distinguish two things. All commodities can be converted into money and as money into capital, because in the form of *money* their use value and its particular natural form become extinct. They are objectified labour in that social form in which it is exchangeable for any real labour, therefore convertible into any form of real labour. On the other hand, whether the commodities which are the product of labour can as such become elements of productive capital once again, depends on whether the nature of their use values permits them to re-enter the process of production—be it as objective conditions of labour (tools and material) or as subjective conditions of labour (means of subsistence of the worker) (in other words [as] elements of constant or of variable capital).

"In Ireland, according to a moderate estimate and the CENSUS of 1821, the WHOLE NET PRODUCE which goes to the LANDLORDS, the GOVERNMENT AND the TITHE-OWNERS, amounts to £20$^3/_4$ million, the WHOLE WAGES, however, only to £14,114,000" (Hopkins, l.c., [p.] 94).[b]

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[a] Marx mistakenly wrote "508" on two pages; later he added "a" on the second page.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes Hopkins with some alterations.—*Ed.*

"The CULTIVATORS IN ITALY generally paying from $^1/_2$ to more than $^1/_2$ of the PRODUCE as rent to the LANDLORD, with MODERATE SKILL IN AGRICULTURE, and A SCANTY SUPPLY OF FIXED CAPITAL. The greater part of the POPULATION is composed of SECONDARY PRODUCERS and LANDLORDS and GENERALLY THE PRIMARY PRODUCERS ARE A POOR AND DEGRADED CLASS" (p[p. 101-]02).

"The same was the CASE in France under Louis XIV. According to Young, rent, TITHES and TAXES amounted to £140,905,304. Cultivation moreover was very poor. The POPULATION of France, at that time, is stated to have been 26,363,074. Now if there had been 6 MILLIONS OF LABOURING POPULATION (which is too high a figure), each FAMILY would have had to furnish annually, either directly or indirectly, AN AVERAGE of ABOUT £23 OF NET WEALTH TO THE LANDLORDS, THE CHURCH AND THE GOVERNMENT. According to Young, and taking into account various other factors, the labouring family produced annually £42 10s.; £23 of which were PAID AWAY TO OTHERS, and £19 10s. REMAINED TO SUBSIST ITSELF" (l.c., [pp.] 102-04).[a]

*The dependence of population on capital.*

*"The error of Mr. Malthus and his followers is to be found in the assumption, that a reduction of the labouring population would *not* be followed *by a correspondent reduction of capital!*"* (l.c., [p.] 118.) "Mr. Malthus forgets that the DEMAND [for labourers IS] LIMITED BY THE *MEANS OF PAYING WAGES* and that these MEANS DO NOT ARISE SPONTANEOUSLY, BUT ARE ALWAYS *PREVIOUSLY CREATED BY LABOUR*" (l.c., [p.] 122).

This conception of the *accumulation of capital* is correct. But the MEANS can grow, i.e., the quantity of surplus PRODUCE or surplus LABOUR can grow, without a proportionate growth in the quantity of labour.

"Strange that [there is] a *strong inclination to represent *net* wealth as *beneficial* to the labouring class, because it gives *employment* though it is evidently [XI-509] not on account of being *net*, that it has that power, but because it is *wealth*,—that *which has been brought into existence by labour*: while, simultaneously, an additional quantity of labour is represented as *injurious* to the labouring classes, though that labour produces 3 times as much as it consumes"* (l.c., [p.] 126).

*"If by the use of superior machinery, the whole primary produce could be raised from 200 to 250 or 300, while *net* wealth and profit took only 140,* it is clear *that there would remain as a fund for the wages of the primary producers 110 or 160 instead of 60"* (l.c., [p.] 128).

*"The condition of labourers is rendered *bad* either by crippling their productive power, or by taking from them what they have produced"* ([p.] 129).

*"No, says Mr. Malthus, the *weight of your burthen* has nothing whatever to do with your distress; that arises solely from there being *too many persons carrying* it"* (l.c., [p.] 134).

*"In the general principle, that *cost of production* regulates the exchangeable value of all commodities, *original materials* are not included; but the claim which the *owners* of these have upon produce, causes *rent* to enter into value"* (Thomas Hopkins, *Economical Enquiries Relative to the Laws which Regulate Rent, Profit, Wages, and the Value of Money*, London, 1822, [p.] 11).

*"*Rent*, or a charge for use, arises naturally out of *ownership*, or the establishment of a right of property"* (l.c., [p.] 13).

*"Any thing may yield a rent if it is possessed of the following qualities:—

[a] Here Marx summarises Hopkins' ideas.—*Ed.*

First,—It must exist in a degree of scarcity; Secondly,—It must have the power to aid labour in the great work of production"* (l.c., [p.] 14).

"Of course one must not take the CASE WHERE LAND SO PLENTIFUL, *COMPARED WITH THE LABOUR AND STOCK TO BE EMPLOYED UPON IT*, //ABUNDANCE OR SCARCITY OF LAND are of course *relative*, and are related to the DISPOSABLE QUANTITY OF LABOUR AND CAPITAL// THAT NO CHARGE FOR RENT COULD BE MADE, BECAUSE IT WAS NOT SCARCE" (l.c., [p.] 21).

"The LORD may obtain in some countries 50%, in others not 10.[a] In the fertile regions of the East, MAN CAN SUBSIST UPON $^1/_3$ of the PRODUCE OF HIS LABOUR EMPLOYED UPON THE LAND; BUT IN PARTS OF SWITZERLAND AND NORWAY, AN EXACTION OF 10% *MIGHT DEPOPULATE THE COUNTRY ... WE SEE NO NATURAL BOUNDS TO THE RENT* THAT MAY BE EXACTED, BUT IN THE LIMITED ABILITIES OF THE PAYERS" ([p.] 31), and "WHERE INFERIOR SOILS EXIST, *THE COMPETITION OF THOSE INFERIOR SOILS AGAINST THE SUPERIOR*" ([pp.] 33-34).

"There is much *common land in England, the natural fertility of which is equal to what a large part *of the land now cultivated was prior to its being taken into cultivation*; and yet the *expense of bringing such common lands into cultivation* is so great, as *to cause them not to yield the ordinary interest for the money expended in improving them*, leaving *nothing as rent for the natural fertility of the soil*: and this with all the advantages of an immediate application of labour, aided by stock skilfully applied, and furnished with manufactures cheaply produced;* in addition *good roads* in the neighbourhood, etc.... *The present land proprietors may be considered *the owners of all the accumulated labour which has for ages been expended, in bringing the country to its present productive state*"* (l.c., [p.] 35).

This is a very important circumstance in relation to rent, especially when the population suddenly grows significantly, as it did from 1780 to 1815, consequent upon the advance in industry, and hence a large portion of hitherto uncultivated land is *suddenly* brought into cultivation. The newly cultivated land may be as fertile as or even more fertile than old land was, *before centuries of cultivation* had accumulated in it. But what is demanded of the new land—if it [this product] is not to be sold at a *dearer* price—is that its fertility must be equal *firstly* to the natural fertility of the cultivated [XI-510] land+*secondly* to the *artificial fertility* which has been engendered by cultivation, but which has now *become* its *natural fertility*. The newly cultivated land would thus have to be much more fertile than the old had been *before* its cultivation.

But it will be said:

The fertility of the cultivated land originates in the first place from its natural fertility. Thus it depends on the natural condition of the newly cultivated land whether or not it possesses this fertility arising from and owing to nature. In either case it costs nothing. The other part of the fertility of cultivated land is an artificial product, owing to cultivation, the investment of capital. But this part of productivity involves production costs which are

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[a] Hopkins has: "in others 10 per cent".—*Ed.*

repaid as interest on the fixed capital which has been sunk into the land. This part of rent is merely interest on the fixed capital tied up in the land. Hence it enters into the production costs of the product of the previously cultivated land. Hence only the same capital needs to be thrown into the uncultivated land for it to obtain this second part of fertility; and as with the first, the interest on the capital which has been employed to bring forth this fertility will enter into the price of the product. Why then should it not be possible to cultivate new land—unless it is more fertile—without the price of the product rising? If the natural fertility is the same, then the difference is brought about only by the capital invested and, in both cases alike, the interest on this capital enters into production costs to the same extent.

However, this reasoning is wrong. A portion of the *costs* of bringing the land into cultivation, etc., is no longer liable to be paid for, because, as *Ricardo* has already observed, the fertility thus created has partly coalesced with the *natural quality* of the soil (this applies to the costs of clearing, draining, levelling, the chemical change of the soil resulting from continued chemical processes, etc.). Thus if [the product of] the newly cultivated land is to sell at the same price as [that of] the last cultivated land—the land must be sufficiently fertile for this *price* to cover that part of the costs of bringing it into cultivation which enters into its own production costs but which has ceased to enter into the *costs* of the previously cultivated land, because it has coalesced with the natural fertility of the land.

* "A *stream*, favourably situated, furnishes an instance of a rent being paid for an appropriated gift of nature, of as exclusive a kind as any that can be named. This is well understood in manufacturing districts, where considerable rents are paid for small streams of water, particularly if the fall is considerable. The power obtained from such streams being equal to that afforded by large steam-engines, it is as advantageous to use them, though subject to the payment of a heavy rent, as it is to expend large sums in the erection and working of steam-engines. Of streams, too, there are some larger, some smaller. Contiguity to the seat of manufacture is also an advantage which commands a higher rent. In the counties of York and Lancaster there is probably a much greater difference between the rents paid for the smallest and the largest streams of water, than there is between the rents paid for 50 of the least and 50 of the most fertile acres that are in common cultivation" * (Hopkins, l.c., [pp.] 37-38).

If we compare the AVERAGE PRICES given earlier[a] and deduct firstly what is due to DEPRECIATION (1809-13) and secondly what is due to particularly bad seasons such as 1800 and 1801, then [we shall find that] a very important element is *the amount of new land*

[a] See this volume, pp. 363-64.—*Ed.*

cultivated AT A GIVEN MOMENT OR DURING A GIVEN PERIOD. A rise in price on the cultivated land here indicates a *growth in population* and hence an excess in price; on the other hand, the same increase in demand brings about THE CULTIVATION OF FRESH SOIL. If *proportionately* the amount [of cultivated land] has greatly increased, then the rising price, and the *higher price* than in the early period merely shows that a large part of the *costs of bringing land into cultivation* enters into the ADDITIONAL QUANTITY OF FOOD CREATED. If the price had not risen, this CREATION would not have taken place. *Its effect*, a fall in price, can only come into evidence later, because the price of the RECENTLY CREATED FOOD comprises *an element of the cost of production or price, that has long become extinct in the older applications of capital to land, or in the older portions of cultivated soil. The difference would be even greater if, consequent upon the increased productivity of labour, the cost of appropriating soil to cultivation, had not greatly fallen, as compared to the costs of cultivation in former, bygone periods.

[XI-511] The transformation of new land, whether more or equally or less fertile than old land, into such a state (and this state is given by the general rate of adaptation to culture prevailing on the existing land under cultivation) *as to enable it* for application of capital and labour—under *the same conditions* under which capital and labour is employed on the average quantity of cultivated soil—this adaptation must be paid for by the costs of converting waste land into cultivated land. This difference of cost must be borne by the newly cultivated land. If it enters not into the price of its produce, there are only two cases possible, under which such a result can be realised. Either the produce of the newly cultivated land is not sold *at its real value*. Its price stands below its value, as is in fact the case with most of the land bearing no rent, because its price is not constituted by *its own value*, but by the value of the produce derived from more fertile soils. *Or* the newly cultivated land must be *so fertile*, that, if it was sold at its immanent, own value, according to the quantity of labour realised in it, it would be sold at a less price than the price of produce grown on the formerly cultivated soil.

If the difference between the *inherent value* of its product and the *market price* settled by the value of the cultivated soil is such, that it *amounted for instance to 5%*, and if on the other hand the *interest*, entering into its costs of production on the part of the capital employed to bring it up to the level of productive ability, common to the old soils, amounted also to 5%, then the newly cultivated land would grow produce able to pay at the old market

price the usual wages, profits and rents. If the interest of the capital employed amounted to 4% only while its degree of fertility exceeded 4%, as compared to the older soils, the market price, after the deduction of the 4% interest for the capital employed to bring the new land into a "cultivable" state would leave a surplus, or it might be sold at a lower price than the *market price settled by the* value *of the* least fruitful soil. Rents consequently would generally be lowered, together with the market price of the produce.

*Absolute rent* is the excess of *value* over the *average price* of raw produce. *Differential rent* is the excess of the *market price* of the produce grown on favoured soils over the *value* of their own produce.

If, therefore, the *price of raw produce* rises or remains constant in periods in which a relatively large part of the additional food, required by the increase of population, is produced on soil which from a state of wasteness has been converted into a state of cultivation, this constancy or rise of prices does not prove that the fertility of the land has decreased, but only that it has not increased to such a degree as to counteract the fresh element of production—formed by the interest of capital applied with a view to bringing the uncultivated land to a level of the common conditions of production, under which the old soils—in a given state of development—are cultivated.*

If the relative quantity of the newly cultivated soil is different in different periods, then even a *constant or rising price* does not prove that the new soil is unfertile or yields *less produce*, but only that an element of cost WHICH HAS BECOME EXTINCT IN THE OLD CULTIVATED SOILS enters into the value of the products of the newly cultivated land. This new element of cost moreover remains, although under the new conditions of production, the costs of bringing new soil into cultivation have fallen considerably, compared with the costs of BRINGING the old soil FROM ITS *ORIGINAL, NATURAL* STATE OF FERTILITY TO ITS PRESENT STATE. It is therefore necessary to establish the *relative proportion* of ENCLOSURES during the different [XI-512] periods.[132]

The above list (pp. 507-08)[a] moreover shows:

That of the *DECENNIAL* PERIODS examined, the *period 1641-49* reaches a *higher* level than any other DECENNIAL PERIOD up to 1860, with the exception of the DECENNIAL PERIODS 1800-1809 and 1810-1819.

So far as the *fifty-year PERIODS* are concerned, that of *1650-1699*

[a] See this volume, pp. 363-64.—*Ed.*

is at a considerably higher level than that of *1700-1749* and that of *1750-1799*. The latter is higher than that of 1700-1749 and lower than that of 1800-1849 (or 1859).

Prices constantly fall in the period from 1810 to 1859, whereas in the period from 1750 to 1799, despite the lower average price over the 50 years, an upward movement [takes place]; the upward movement is just as consistent as the downward movement between 1810 and 1859.

IN FACT, compared with the DECENNIAL PERIOD OF 1641-1649, there is, on the whole, a continuous fall in DECENNIAL AVERAGE PRICES, until this fall reaches its *peak* (*lowest point*) in the last TWO DECENNIAL PERIODS of the first half of the 18th century.

*From the middle of the 18th century onwards*, an upward movement takes place. It commences from a price (36s. $4^{5}/_{10}$d. 1750-1759), which is lower than the 50 years' average price of the second half of the 17th century and approximately corresponds [to or is] a little higher than the average price of the 50 year period 1700-1749 (35s. $9^{29}/_{50}$d.), the *first* half of the 18th century. This upward movement continues at an increasing pace in the 2 DECENNIAL PERIODS 1800-1809 and 1810-1819. In the latter it reaches its ACME. From that point on, the consistent downward movement begins again. If we take the average of the period of rise from 1750 to 1819, then its average price (a little over 57s. per qr) [is] equal to the starting-point of the period of fall from 1820 (namely a little over 58s. for the DECENNIAL PERIOD 1820-1829); just as the starting-point for the 2nd half of the 18th century [equals] the average price of its first half.

Any mathematical example will show how individual circumstances, a poor harvest, depreciation of money, etc. can affect the average figure. For instance, 30, 20, 5, 5, 5=65. Average is 13, although the last 3 numbers here [are] always only equal to 5. As against this, 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, average=10, although, if one struck off the exceptional 30 and 20 in the first series, the average of ANY THREE YEARS in [the] second [series] would be greater.

If one deducts the differential costs for the capital successively employed in bringing new land into cultivation, which FOR A CERTAIN PERIOD ENTERS AS AN ITEM INTO COST, then perhaps the prices of 1820-1859 [would be] lower than ANY of the earlier ones. And this to some extent may well be the notion of those blockheads who explain rent as interest for fixed capital sunk into the soil.[a]

*Anderson* says in:

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[a] Marx has in mind Carey first of all.—*Ed.*

*A Calm Investigation of the Circumstances that Have Led to the Present Scarcity of Grain in Britain*, London, 1801:

"From 1700 to 1750, there has been a regular fall of price from £2 18s. 1d. to £1 12s. 6d. per quarter OF WHEAT; from 1750 to 1800 progressional RISE from £1 12s. 6d. to £5 10s. per quarter of WHEAT" (p. 11).

Thus, unlike West, Malthus, Ricardo, he did not one-sidedly consider the phenomenon of a rising scale of corn prices (from 1750 to 1813), but rather the double phenomenon, a whole century, of which the first half shows a constantly falling and the second half a constantly rising scale of corn prices. He says very definitely:

"The population was on the increase during the first half of the 18th century as well as the second" (l.c., p. 12).

He is a decided enemy of the theory of population[a] and says explicitly that the land is capable of increasing and perennial improvement.

"The soil can be *continuously improved* by chemical influences and cultivation" (l.c., [p.] 38).[133]

[XI-513] "Under a *judicious system of management,* the productivity of the soil may *be made to augment, from year to year, for a succession of time to which no limit can be assigned, till at last it may be made to attain a degree of productiveness, of which we cannot, perhaps, at this time conceive an idea"* (pp. 35-36).

"It may be with certainty said, that the PRESENT POPULATION is such a trifle compared to that which this island can maintain, as to be much BELOW ANY DEGREE OF SERIOUS CONSIDERATION" ([p.] 37).

*"Wherever population increases, the produce of the country must be augmented along with it, unless *some moral influence is permitted to derange the economy of nature"** ([p.] 41).

The "theory of population" represents "the most pernicious prejudice" ([p.] 54).[134] Anderson seeks to prove historically that the "productivity of agriculture" rises with a growing and falls with a declining population (pp. 55, 56, 60, 61 sqq.).

With a correct conception of *rent*, the first point to arise was of course that it does not originate from the land but from the *product of agriculture*, that is, from labour, from the *price of the product of labour*, for instance of wheat; from the *value* of the agricultural product, from the labour applied to the land, not from the land, and Anderson quite correctly emphasises this.

*"It is not the rent of the land that determines the price of its produce, but it is the price of that produce which determines the rent of the land, although the price of that produce is often highest in those countries where the rent of the land is lowest."*

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[a] A reference to the Malthusian theory of population.— *Ed.*

//Rent has thus nothing to do with the *absolute* productivity of agriculture.//

*"This seems to be a paradox that deserves to be explained.

"In every country there is a variety of soils, differing considerably from one another in point of fertility. These we shall at present suppose arranged into different classes, which we shall denote by the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, etc.; the class A comprehending the soils of the greatest fertility, and the other letters expressing different classes of soils, gradually decreasing in fertility as you recede from the first. Now, as *the expense of cultivating the least fertile soil is as great or greater than that of the most fertile field*, it necessarily follows, that *if an equal quantity of corn, the produce of each field, can be sold at the same price*, the profit on cultivating the most fertile soil must be much greater than that of cultivating the others"*

//namely the EXCESS OF PRICE OVER THE EXPENSES OR THE PRICE OF THE CAPITAL ADVANCED//

*"and as this"* //i.e., the PROFIT// *"continues to decrease as the sterility increases, it must at length *happen* that the *expense of cultivating* some of the inferior classes will *equal the value of the whole produce*"* (pp. 45-48).

The last field pays no rent. (This is cited from McCulloch, *The Literature of Political Economy*, London, 1845.) (Does McCulloch quote here from *An Enquiry into the Nature of the Corn Laws* or from *Recreations in Agriculture, Natural-History, Arts etc.*, London, 1797[a]? This to be looked up at the Museum.)[b]

What Anderson calls "*VALUE* OF THE WHOLE PRODUCE" is evidently nothing other than his conception of the *market price* at which the product is sold, whether it grows on better or on worse land. With the more fertile types of land, this "price" (VALUE) leaves a greater or lesser EXCESS over the EXPENSES. This does not apply to the last product. Here the *average price*—i.e., that [formed] by the production costs+the average profit—coincides with the market price of the product. Hence it does not yield an excess profit, which alone can constitute rent. With Anderson, rent=the excess of the *market price* of the product over its *average price*. (The theory of value as yet does not worry Anderson at all.) Thus if, as a result of the particularly low fertility of the land, the *average price* of the product of this land coincides with the *market price* of the product, then there is no excess and therefore no fund FOR THE FORMATION OF RENT. Anderson does not say the last cultivated land *cannot bear a rent*. He only says that if it "HAPPENS" that the EXPENSES (the production costs+the average profit) are so great that the difference between the market price of the product and its average price disappears, then rent also disappears and that this must be the case if one descends ever further down the scale.

[a] The reference is to the edition of 1799-1802.—*Ed.*

[b] McCulloch quotes from *An Enquiry into the Nature of the Corn Laws...*—*Ed.*

Anderson says expressly that a definite *market price equal* for equal quantities of produce that have been produced under more favourable or less favourable conditions of production, is the prerequisite for this formation of rent. He says that a surplus profit or excess of profit from the better types of soil over that from the worse, necessarily follows "*IF AN EQUAL QUANTITY OF CORN*, THE PRODUCE OF *EACH* FIELD, CAN BE SOLD *AT THE SAME PRICE*", i.e., if a general market price is presupposed.

[XI-514] Anderson by no means assumes, as might have appeared from the preceding passage, that different *DEGREES OF FERTILITY* are merely the product of nature. On the contrary the

* "infinite diversity of soils" * arises partly from the fact that these * "soils may be so much altered from their original state by the modes of culture they have been formerly subjected to, by the manures",* etc. (*An Inquiry into the Causes etc.*, Edinburgh, 1779, p. 5).

On the one hand, the progress in the productivity OF GENERAL LABOUR makes it easier to bring land into cultivation; on the other hand, cultivation increases the diversity of SOILS, in that the ORIGINAL FERTILITY of land A which is cultivated and land B which is not, may have been the same if we deduct from A's FERTILITY that part which, though it is now inherent in it, had previously been added *artificially*. Thus cultivation itself increases the DIVERSITY OF NATURAL FERTILITY BETWEEN CULTIVATED AND WASTE LANDS.

Anderson says expressly that that land for whose produce average price and market price coincide, can pay *no* rent:

"WHERE THERE ARE TWO FIELDS, THE PRODUCE OF WHICH IS NEARLY AS ABOVE STATED, namely the one yielding 12 BUSHELS REMUNERATING THE EXPENSE, the other 20, WITHOUT REQUIRING ANY *IMMEDIATE OUTLAY FOR THEIR IMPROVEMENT*, THE FARMER WOULD PAY EVEN MORE RENT THAN 6 BUSHELS FOR INSTANCE FOR THE LATTER while [he would pay] none for the former. If 12 BUSHELS are JUST SUFFICIENT FOR THE EXPENSE OF CULTIVATING, NO RENT WHATEVER CAN BE AFFORDED FOR *CULTIVATED* LAND THAT YIELDS ONLY 12 BUSHELS" (*Essays Relating to Agriculture and Rural Affairs*, VOL. III, Edinburgh and London, 1775-1796, pp. 107-09).[a]

Then he immediately goes on to say:

* "Yet it cannot be expected that, if the superior produce has been *immediately occasioned* by his own outlay of capital, and exertions of industry, he *can* pay nearly the same *proportion* of it as rent; but after the land has been *for some time in a permanent state of fertility to that degree*, though it even *originally derived that fertility* from his own industry, he will be content to pay such a proportion of rent as is here stated" * (l.c., [pp.] 109-10).

Supposing therefore the produce of the best CULTIVATED land is 20 BUSHELS per ACRE. Of this, according to the assumption, 12 BUSHELS

[a] This is Marx's summary of pages 107-09 of Anderson's book; some passages are quoted word for word.—*Ed.*

pay the EXPENSES (ADVANCES+average profit). Then it *can* pay 8 BUSHELS as rent. Assume that the BUSHEL=5s., then 8 BUSHELS or 1 qr=40s. or £2 and 20 BUSHELS=£5 ($2^1/_2$ qrs). Of these £5, 12 BUSHELS or 60s. which=£3, is EXPENSES. Then it pays a rent of £2 or 8 BUSHELS. If the rate of profit=10%, then of the £3 EXPENSES the outlay=$54^6/_{11}$s. and the profit=$5^5/_{11}$s. ($54^6/_{11}$:$5^5/_{11}$=100:10). Now supposing, the FARMER had to carry out various improvements on waste land, which is just as fertile as that yielding 20 BUSHELS had been *originally*, in order TO BRING IT INTO SUCH A STATE OF CULTIVATION AS APPROPRIATE TO THE GENERAL STATE OF AGRICULTURE. Apart from the outlay of $54^6/_{11}$s., or, if we reckon the profit in with the EXPENSES, apart from 60s., this may involve a further outlay of $36^4/_{11}$; then 10% on this would=$3^7/_{11}$, and if the FARMER always sold 20 BUSHELS at 5s. he could pay a rent only after 10 years, only after the reproduction of his capital. From then on the artificially created fertility of the land would be reckoned as original and would fall to the LANDLORD.

Although the newly cultivated land is as fertile as the best cultivated land was originally, the market price and the average price for its product do nevertheless coincide, because it contains an ITEM of costs which is extinct in the best land, whose artificially created fertility and whose natural fertility coincide TO A CERTAIN EXTENT. But with the newly cultivated land, that part of fertility which is created artificially, by the application of capital, is still entirely distinct from the natural fertility of the land. The newly cultivated land can therefore pay *no rent* although its original fertility may be the same as that of the best cultivated land. After 10 years, however, it could pay not only rent, but as much rent as the best type which was *cultivated* earlier. Thus Anderson comprehends both phenomena:

1) That the differential rent of the LANDLORD is partly the result of the FERTILITY which the farmer has given the land artificially.

2) That after a certain LAPSE OF TIME, this artificial FERTILITY appears as the ORIGINAL PRODUCTIVITY of the SOIL itself, in that the SOIL itself has been transformed and the process by which this transformation has been accomplished, has disappeared and is no longer visible.

[XI-515] If today I build a COTTON MILL for £100,000, I get A MORE EFFICIENT MILL than my predecessor who set one up 10 years ago. I do not pay for the difference between productivity in machine-building, building in general, etc., of today and of 10 years ago; on the contrary. It enables me to pay *less* for a MILL of the same EFFICIENCY or only *the same* for a MILL of higher EFFICIENCY. In agriculture it is different. The difference between the ORIGINAL FERTILITIES OF [THE] SOILS IS MAGNIFIED BY THAT PART OF THE SO-CALLED NATURAL

FERTILITY OF THE SOIL WHICH, IN FACT, HAS BEEN ONCE *PRODUCED* BY MEN, BUT HAS NOW BECOME INCORPORATED in THE SOIL AND IS NO LONGER TO BE DISTINGUISHED FROM ITS ORIGINAL FERTILITY. Owing to the development of the productive power OF GENERAL LABOUR, it costs less to raise uncultivated soil of the same original fertility to the *improved* level of fertility, than it COST TO BRING THE ORIGINAL FERTILITY OF THE CULTIVATED SOIL TO ITS NOW APPARENTLY ORIGINAL FERTILITY, BUT some expenditure IS STILL REQUIRED TO BRING THAT EQUALISATION ABOUT. The average price of the new product is consequently higher than that of the old, the difference between market price and average price is thus smaller and may disappear completely. But supposing, in the above case, the newly cultivated soil is so fertile, that after the ADDITIONAL EXPENSE OF 40s. (including profit) it yields 28 BUSHELS instead of 20. In this case the FARMER could pay a rent of 8 BUSHELS OR £2. And why? Because the newly cultivated soil yields 8 BUSHELS more than the old, so that despite the higher average price, with the same market price, it yields just as much in EXCESS OF the PRICE. If it had involved no EXTRA EXPENSE, its fertility would be double that of the old land.[135] With this EXPENSE it is the same as that of the old land.

NOW BACK TO RODBERTUS, DEFINITIVELY AND FOR THE LAST TIME

"It" (Rodbertus' theory of rent) "explains ... all phenomena of wages and rent, etc. ... *by a division of the labour product*, which necessarily occurs if two prerequisites, adequate productivity of labour and property in land and capital, are given. It explains that the adequate productivity of labour alone constitutes the *economic possibility of such a division*, in that this productivity gives to the value of the product so much actual content that in addition other people who do not work, can also live from it. And it explains that landed property and capital property alone constitute the *legal reality of such a division*, in that it forces the workers to *share their product* with the non-working proprietors of land and capital and, what is more, in such a proportion that they, the workers, only get so much of it as to enable them to live" (Rodbertus, l.c., [pp.] 156-57).

Adam Smith sets forth this problem in two ways. *Division of the product of labour* where this is regarded as given and he is in fact concerned with the *distribution of use value*. This is also Mr. Rodbertus' conception. It is also to be found with Ricardo who is all the more to be reproached on this account because he does not merely confine himself to general phrases but seriously tries to *determine the value by labour time*. This conception is *plus ou moins, mutatis mutandis*,[a] applicable to all modes of production where the workers and the owners of the objective conditions of labour form different classes.

[a] More or less, with the necessary alterations.—*Ed.*

Smith's second conception, on the other hand, is characteristic of the capitalist mode of production. Hence it alone is a theoretically fruitful formula. For Smith here conceives of profit and rent as springing from the *surplus labour* which the worker adds to the object of labour, apart from that portion of labour by which he only reproduces his own wage. This is the only correct standpoint where production rests solely on exchange value. This concept comprises the process of development, whereas the first concept presupposes that *labour time* is constant.

With Ricardo the one-sidedness arises also from the fact that in general he wants to show that the various economic categories or relationships do not *contradict the theory of value,* instead of on the contrary *developing* them together with their apparent contradictions out of this basis or presenting the development of this basis itself.

[XI-516] "You[a] know, that *all economists,* already from Adam Smith onwards, *split up the value of the product into wages, ground-rent and capital gain* and that therefore the idea of basing the incomes of the different classes and particularly also portions of rent *on a division of the product* is nothing new." (CERTAINLY NOT!) "Only the economists immediately go astray. All of them—not even excepting the Ricardian School—*first of all* commit the error of not regarding the *whole* product, the *entire* wealth, the *total national product* as the unit in which the workers, the landowners and the capitalists participate. On the contrary they regard the *division of the raw product* as a *particular division* in which *three participants* share, and the division of the manufactured product again as a particular division in which *only two* participants share. So these systems consider that the mere raw product and the mere manufactured product, each in itself, is a special kind of wealth which constitutes income" (p. 162).

First of all, by breaking down the "*whole* value of the product into wages, ground-rent and capital gain" and thus forgetting about constant capital which also forms a part of value, Adam Smith has in fact led "*astray*" *all* the later economists, including Ricardo and including Mr. Rodbertus.[b] As my exposition has shown, the lack of this differentiation made any scientific presentation quite impossible.[c] In this respect the Physiocrats were further advanced.[d] Their "*avances primitives* and *annuelles*"[e] are defined as a part of the value of the annual product or as a part of the annual product itself, which is not resolved into wages, profit or rent, just as little for the nation as for the individual. According to the Physiocrats, the raw material of the AGRICULTURISTS

[a] Julius Hermann von Kirchmann.—*Ed.*
[b] [J. K.] Rodbertus, *Sociale Briefe an von Kirchmann.* Dritter Brief, p. 162.—*Ed.*
[c] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 402-51.—*Ed.*
[d] See this volume, pp. 204-40.—*Ed.*
[e] Original and annual advances.—*Ed.*

replaces the advances of the sterile class (the transformation of this raw material into machines of course devolves on the sterile class), while, on the other hand, the AGRICULTURISTS replace a part of their own advances (seeds, cattle for breeding and draught animals, fertiliser, etc.) from their product and get a part, machinery, etc., replaced by the sterile class in exchange for raw material.

Secondly Mr. Rodbertus errs in that he identifies *division of value* with *division of product.* The "*wealth which constitutes income*" has nothing directly to do with this *division of the value* of the product. That the portions of value which accrue, for instance, to the producers of yarn, and which are represented in certain quantities of gold, *exist* as agricultural and manufactured products of all kinds is equally well known to the economists as to Rodbertus. This is *taken for granted* because *commodities* are produced and not products for the IMMEDIATE CONSUMPTION of the producers themselves. Since the value which becomes available for distribution, i.e., the part of value which forms revenue, is created within each individual sphere of production, independently of the others—although, on account of the division of labour, it presupposes the others—Rodbertus takes a step backward and creates confusion, by not examining this creation of value on its own, but confusing it right from the start by asking what share of the available total product of the nation these component parts secure for their owners. With Rodbertus, division of the *value of the product* immediately becomes *division of use values.* Because he foists this confusion upon the other economists, there arises the need for his corrective, i.e., the consideration of manufactured and raw products *en bloc*—a mode of procedure which is irrelevant to the creation of value, and hence wrong if it is to explain the latter.

The only participants in the *value* of the manufactured product, in so far as it comprises revenue and in so far as the manufacturer does not pay a rent, be it for land on which the buildings stand or for waterfalls, etc., are the *capitalist and the wage labourer. The value of the agricultural produce* is generally divided between three. This Mr. Rodbertus also admits. The manner in which he explains this phenomenon does not in any way alter this FACT. It is entirely in accord with the standpoint of capitalist production that the other economists, especially Ricardo, start from a *division into two,* between capitalist and wage labourer, and only bring in the landowner who draws rent at a later stage, as a special SUPERFETATION. Capitalist production is based on the antithesis of two [XI-517] factors, objectified labour and living labour. Capitalist

and wage labourer are the sole functionaries and factors of production whose relationship and confrontation arise from the nature of the capitalist mode of production.

The circumstances under which the capitalist has in turn to share a part of the SURPLUS labour or SURPLUS VALUE, which he has captured, with a third, non-working person, are only of secondary importance. It is also a FACT of production that, after the part of the value which is equal to constant capital is deducted, *the entire SURPLUS value* passes *straight from the hands of the worker to those of the capitalist*, with the exception of that part of the value of the product which is paid out as wages. The capitalist confronts the worker as the *direct* owner of the entire SURPLUS value, in whatever manner he may later be sharing it with the money-lending capitalist, landowner, etc. As James Mill observes,[a] production could therefore continue undisturbed if the landowner who draws rent disappeared and the State took his place. He—the private landowner—is not a necessary agent for capitalist production, although it does require that the land should belong to someone, so long as it is not the worker, but, for instance, the State. Far from being an error on the part of Ricardo, etc., this reduction of the classes participating directly in production, hence also in the value produced and then in the products in which this value is embodied, to *capitalists and wage labourers*, and the *exclusion of the landowners* (who only enter *post festum*, as a result of conditions of ownership of natural forces that have not *grown out* of the capitalist mode of production but have been *passed on* to it), is rooted in the nature of the *capitalist mode of production*—as distinct from the feudal, ancient, etc. This reduction is an adequate theoretical expression of the capitalist mode of production, and reveals its *differentia specifica*. Mr. Rodbertus is still too much of an old Prussian "landed proprietor" to understand this. Furthermore, it can only be grasped and become self-evident when the capitalist has seized agriculture, and everywhere, as is generally the case in England, has taken charge of agriculture just as he has of industry, and has *excluded* the *landowner* from any direct participation in the production process. What Rodbertus regards as a "deviation", is, therefore, the right path, which however he does not understand because he is still engrossed in views that originated from the pre-capitalist mode of production.

"He too" (Ricardo) "does not divide the *finished* product among the parties concerned, but, like the other economists, regards the agricultural product as well

[a] J. Mill, *Elements of Political Economy*, London, 1821, p. 148.—*Ed.*

as the manufactured product—as a separate product, which has to be divided" (l.c., [p.] 167).

Not the product, Mr. Rodbertus, but the *value* of the product, and this is quite correct. Your "finished" product and its division have absolutely nothing to do with this division of value.

"He" (Ricardo) "regards capital property as given and *that even earlier* than landed property.... Thus he does not begin with the reasons for, but with the *fact* of the division of the product, and his entire theory is limited to the causes which determine and modify the *proportions of the shares*.... The division of the product purely into *wages* and *capital gain* is for him the *original one* and originally also the only one" (l.c., [p.] 167).

This you fail to understand again, Mr. Rodbertus. From the standpoint of capitalist production, *capital property* does in fact appear as the "original" because capitalist production is based on this sort of property and it is a factor of and fulfils a function *in capitalist production*; this does not hold good of landed property. The latter *appears* as derivative, because modern landed property is in fact *feudal* property, but transformed by the action of capital upon it; in its form as modern landed property it is therefore *derived from*, and the result of capitalist production. That Ricardo considers the position as it is and appears in modern society to be also the *historically* original situation (whereas you, instead of keeping to the modern form, cannot rid yourself of your memories of landownership) is a delusion from which the bourgeois economists suffer in respect of all bourgeois economic laws. They appear to them as "natural laws" and hence also as historically "primary".

[XI-518] But Mr. Rodbertus could already see from the very first sentence of his preface, that Ricardo, where it is not a question of the *value* of the product, but of *the product itself*, permits the *whole* of the "finished" product to be shared out.

* "The *produce of the earth*—all that is derived from its surface by the united application of labour, machinery, and capital, is divided among three classes of the community; namely, the proprietor of the land, the owner of the stock or capital necessary for its cultivation, and the labourers by whose industry it is cultivated" * (*Principles of Political Economy*, Preface, 3RD ED., London, 1821).

He continues forthwith:

* "But in different stages of society, the proportions of *the whole produce* of the earth which will be allotted to each of these classes, under the names of rent, profit, and wages, will be essentially different" * (l.c.).

He is concerned here with the distribution of the "*WHOLE PRODUCE*", not the manufactured product or the raw product. If this "WHOLE PRODUCE" is taken as given, these shares in the "WHOLE

PRODUCE" are solely determined within each sphere of production by the share which each SHAREHOLDER has in the "*value*" of his own product. This "value" is convertible into and can be expressed in A CERTAIN ALIQUOT PART OF THE "*WHOLE PRODUCE*". Ricardo only errs here, following Adam Smith, in that he forgets that "THE WHOLE PRODUCE" IS NOT DIVIDED INTO RENT, PROFIT AND WAGES, BUT THAT PART OF IT "WILL BE ALLOTTED" IN THE SHAPE OF CAPITAL TO ONE OR SOME OF THESE 3 CLASSES.

"You might want to assert, that, just as *originally* the law of the equalisation of capital gains would have had to depress raw product prices so far that ground-rent would have to disappear only to be re-created as a result of a rise in prices due to the difference between the yield of more fertile and less fertile land—so, *today* the advantages of drawing rent besides the usual capital gain, would induce the capitalist to spend capital on new cultivation and improvements until, due to the flooding of markets brought forth by this, prices would fall sufficiently in order to make rents on the least favourable capital investments disappear again. *In other words, this would be to assert that, so far as the raw product is concerned,* the law of the equalisation of capital gains invalidates the other law, that the value of the products is governed by labour costs, while it is just *Ricardo,* who, in the 1st chapter of his work, uses the former to prove the latter" ([Rodbertus,] l.c., [p.] 174).

Indeed, Mr. Rodbertus! The law of the "*equalisation of capital gains*" does not invalidate the law that the "*value*" of the products is governed by "labour costs". But it does invalidate Ricardo's assumption that the *average price* of the products=their "*value*". But there again, it is not the "raw product" whose value is reduced to the average price, but *the other way about.* Due to landed property, the "raw product" is distinguished by the privilege that its value is *not* reduced to the average price. If, indeed, its *value* did decrease, which would be possible despite your "value of the material", to the LEVEL of the average price of the commodities, then rent would disappear. The types of land which POSSIBLY pay no rent today, pay none, because the *market price* of raw products is for them equal to their own *average price,* and because the competition of more fertile types of land *deprives* them of the privilege of selling their product at *its* "value".

"Could it be true that *before* any cultivation takes place at all, capitalists already exist who receive a profit and invest their capital according to the law of profit equalisation?" (HOW VERY SILLY!) "...I admit, that if today an expedition from the civilised countries set out to a [XI-519] new, uncultivated land, an expedition in which the wealthier participants were equipped with supplies and tools—capital—from an old established culture and the poorer ones came along with a view to winning a high wage in the service of the former, then the capitalists would regard as their gain that which remains to them over and above the wages of the workers for they bring with them from their mother country things and ideas which have long been in existence there" ([pp.] 174-75).

Well, here you have it, Mr. Rodbertus. Ricardo's whole conception is only appropriate to the presupposition that the capitalist mode of production is the predominant one. How he expresses this *presupposition*, whether he commits a historical *hysteron proteron*,[a] is irrelevant to the theory. The *presupposition* must be made, and it is therefore impossible to introduce, as you are doing, the peasant, who does not understand capitalist bookkeeping and hence does not reckon seeds, etc., as part of the capital advanced! The "absurdity" is introduced not by Ricardo but by Rodbertus, who assumes that capitalists and workers exist "*before* cultivation of the land" ([p.] 176).

"According to the Ricardian concept, cultivation of the land is supposed to begin ... only when ... capital has been created in a society and capital gain is known and paid" ([p.] 178).

What utter nonsense! Only when a capitalist has squeezed himself as FARMER between the husbandman and the landed proprietor—be it that the old TENANT has swindled his way into becoming a capitalist FARMER, or that an industrialist has invested his capital in agriculture rather than in manufacture—only then begins, by no means "the cultivation of the land", but "capitalist" land cultivation which is very different, both in form and content, from the previous forms of cultivation.

"In every country the greater part of the land is already owned by someone long before it is cultivated; and certainly, long before a rate of capital gain has been established in industry" ([p.] 179).

To comprehend Ricardo's conception Rodbertus would have to be an Englishman instead of a Pomeranian landowner and would have to understand the history of the ENCLOSURE OF COMMONS and WASTE LAND. Mr. Rodbertus cites America. There the State sells the land

"in lots, first to the cultivators at a low price, it is true, but one which must *at all events* already represent a rent" ([pp.] 179-80).

By no means. This price does not constitute a ground-rent, any more than, say, a general trade tax constitutes a *trade rent* or in fact any tax constitutes a "rent".

"With regard to the cause of the rise under point b" //the increase in population or the increase *in the quantity of labour employed*// "I maintain, however, that rent has precedence over capital gain. The latter can *never* rise because, as a result of the increased national product—if *productivity remains the same* but productive power increases (increased population)—*more* capital gain accrues to the nation, for this *greater* capital gain always accrues to a *capital* which is *greater* in the same *proportion*, the rate of profit therefore remains the same" ([pp.] 184-85).

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[a] Inversion of natural order.—*Ed.*

This is wrong. The quantity of unpaid surplus labour rises, for instance, if 3, 4, 5 hours surplus labour time are worked instead of 2 hours. The volume of capital advanced does not grow [to the same extent] as the volume of this *unpaid* surplus labour, *d'abord*, because this further excess of surplus labour is *not* paid for and so does not occasion a capital outlay; secondly, because the capital outlay for fixed capital does not grow in the same proportion as its utilisation in this instance. No more spindles, etc., are required. True, they are used up more quickly but not in the same proportion in which their use *increases*. Thus, given the same productivity, profit grows here, because not only the surplus value grows, but also the *rate* of *surplus value*. In agriculture this is impracticable because of the natural conditions. On the other hand, *productivity* is easily altered with the increased outlay of capital. Although an absolutely large amount of capital is laid out, it is relatively not so big, due to economies in the conditions of production, quite apart from the division of labour and machinery. Thus the *rate of profit* could grow even if the surplus value (not only *its rate*) remained the same.

[XI-520] Rodbertus is positively wrong, and typically the Pomeranian landowner when he says:

"It is possible that in the course of these 30 years" (1800-1830) "*more* properties came into being through the parcelling out of land or *even through the cultivation* [of new land] and the increased rent was thus also divided among *more* landowners, but it *was not distributed over more acres in 1830 than in 1800*. Previously *the older properties comprised* the whole of the acreage of those newly separated or newly cultivated properties and the lower rent of 1800 was *assessed* on them as well, and this influenced the level of English rent in general at that time just as much as the higher rent in 1830" ([p.] 186).

Worthy Pomeranian! Why do you always transfer your Prussian situation to England in a disparaging manner? The Englishman does not reckon that, if, as was the case (this to be looked up), 3 to 4 million ACRES were "ENCLOSED" between 1800 and 1830,[136] the rent on these 4 million ACRES was calculated before 1830 as well and also in 1800. Rather they were WASTE LAND OR COMMONS which bore no rent and did not belong to anybody.

It has nothing to do with Ricardo if Rodbertus, like Carey (but in a different way), seeks to prove to Ricardo that for physical and other reasons, the "most fertile" land is usually not the first to be cultivated. The "most fertile" land is always the "most fertile" under the existing conditions of production.

A very large number of the objections which Rodbertus raises against Ricardo arise from the naïve manner in which he identifies the "Pomeranian" conditions of production with the "English".

Ricardo presupposes capitalist production to which, where it is in fact carried out, as in England, corresponds the separation of the FARMING CAPITALIST from the LANDLORD. Rodbertus introduces circumstances which are in themselves alien to the capitalist mode of production, which has merely been built upon them. For instance, what Mr. Rodbertus says about the position of economic CENTRES in economic complexes applies perfectly to Pomerania but not to England, where the capitalist mode of production has become increasingly pre-eminent since the last third of the 16th century, where it has assimilated all the conditions and in different periods has progressively sent historical preconditions, villages, buildings and people, to the devil, in order to secure the "most productive" investment for capital.

What Rodbertus says about "capital investment" is equally wrong.

> "Ricardo limits ground-rent to that which the landowner is paid for the use of the *original, natural and indestructible qualities of the land.* He thus wants to ensure that everything which would have to be ascribed to capital in the land which is already being cultivated, is deducted from rent. But it is clear that out of the yield from a piece of land he must never allot more to capital than the *full interest customary in a country.* For otherwise he would have to assume that there are two different rates of gain in the economic development of a country, one agricultural, which is greater than that prevailing in manufacture, and this latter. This assumption would overthrow his very system, which is based on the equality of the rate of gain" ([pp.] 215-16).

Again the notion of the Pomeranian landowner who gets money on tick in order to improve his property and who, for theoretical and practical reasons, only wants to pay the money-lender the "customary interest". But in England things are different. It is the FARMER, the FARMING CAPITALIST, who lays out capital in order to improve the land. From this capital, just as from that which he lays out directly in production, he does not demand the customary interest but the *customary profit.* He does not lend the landowner any capital on which the latter is to pay the "customary" interest. He may borrow capital himself, or else he uses his own surplus capital so that it yields him the "customary" industrial profit, at least double the customary interest.

Incidentally, Ricardo knows what Anderson already knew and, INTO THE BARGAIN, expressly says that [XI-521] the productive power of the land thus engendered by capital, later coincides with its "natural" productive power, hence swells the rent. Rodbertus knows nothing of all this and therefore babbles away at random.

I have already given a correct explanation of modern landed property:

"Rent, in the Ricardian sense, is property in land in its bourgeois state, that is, feudal property which has become subject to the conditions of bourgeois production" (*Misère de la Philosophie*, Paris, 1847, [p.] 156.)[a]

Similarly I have already correctly observed:

"Ricardo, after postulating bourgeois production as necessary for determining rent, applies the conception of rent, nevertheless, to the landed property of all ages and all countries. This is an error common to all the economists, who represent the bourgeois relations of production as eternal categories" (l.c., [p.] 160).[b]

I also pointed out correctly that "land as capital" could be increased like all other capitals:

"Land as capital can be *increased* just as much as all the other instruments of production. Nothing is added to its matter, to use M. Proudhon's language, but *the lands which serve as instruments of production are multiplied.* The very fact of applying further outlays of capital to land already transformed into means of production increases land as capital without adding anything to land as matter, that is, to the extent of the land" (l.c., [p.] 165).[c]

The difference between manufacture and agriculture which I pointed out at that time still remains correct:

"In the first place, one cannot, as in manufacturing industry, *multiply at will the instruments of production possessing the same degree of productivity*, that is, plots of land with the same degree of fertility. Then, as population increases, land of an inferior quality begins to be exploited, or new outlays of capital, proportionately less productive than before, are made upon the same plot of land" (l.c., [p.] 157).[d]

*Rodbertus* says:

"But I must draw attention to yet another circumstance which, admittedly, much more gradually, but also far more generally, turns worse agricultural machines into better ones. This is the *continued management* of a piece of land merely in accordance with a rational system, without making any special capital investment" ([p.] 222.)

Anderson already said cultivation improves the land.

"You would have to prove that the working population engaged in agriculture had, in the course of time, increased to a greater degree than the production of the means of subsistence or even just compared with the rest of the population of a

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, p. 199. Here and below Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 202.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., p. 205.—*Ed.*

[d] Ibid., p. 199.—*Ed.*

country. Only this could irrefutably show that increasing agricultural production also demands that progressively more labour is expended upon it. But it is just here that statistics contradict you" ([Rodbertus, p.] 274). "Indeed, you will find that, [pretty well] as a rule, the denser the population of a country, the smaller will be the proportion of people engaged in agriculture.... The same phenomenon can be observed when the population of a country increases: that section which is *not* engaged in agriculture will almost everywhere increase to a greater degree" ([p.] 275).

But this is partly because more arable land is turned over to cattle and sheep grazing, partly because with the higher stage of production—large-scale agriculture—labour becomes more productive. *But also,* and this is a circumstance which Mr. Rodbertus overlooks entirely, because a greater part of the *non-agricultural population* assist in agriculture, supplying constant capital—which grows with the advance in cultivation—such as mineral fertilisers, seeds from other countries, machinery of every sort.

According to Mr. Rodbertus (p. 78):

"At present the agriculturist" (in Pomerania) "does not" (regard) "the feeding-stuffs for his draught animals as capital, if he has grown these in his own establishment...."

[XI-522] "Capital in itself, or from an economic point of view, is a product which continues to be used for production.... But in respect of a particular 'gain' which it is to yield, or from the point of view of *today's entrepreneurs,* it must appear as an '*outlay*' in order to be capital" ([p.] 77).

This concept of "outlay" however does not, as Rodbertus thinks, require that it is bought as a commodity. If instead of being *sold* as a commodity, a part of the product re-enters production, it does so as a *commodity.* It has previously been estimated as "money", and this is easily done, since simultaneously all these "outlays", in agriculture too, are available on the market as "commodities": cattle, feeding-stuffs, fertilisers, corn for sowing, seeds of all kinds. But it seems that in "Pomerania" this is not reckoned as "outlay".

"The *value* of the particular results of these different sorts of work" (manufacture and primary production) "is not the income itself which accrues to their owner, but only the measure for its conversion into money. This particular income itself is a part of the social income, which is only produced by the combined labour in agriculture and manufacture, and its *elements* too are thus only produced by this combined effort" (p. 36).

This is quite irrelevant. The realisation of this *value* can only be its realisation in use value. But we are not concerned with that. Furthermore, the *necessary wage* already implies how much value in the shape of agricultural and industrial products is contained in the means of subsistence the worker requires.

DONE WITH.

### h) RICARDO

With Anderson's thesis (partly also in Adam Smith): "IT IS NOT THE RENT OF THE LAND THAT DETERMINES THE *PRICE* OF ITS PRODUCE, BUT IT IS THE *PRICE* OF THAT PRODUCE WHICH DETERMINES THE RENT OF THE LAND"[a] the doctrine of the Physiocrats was overthrown. The *price* of the agricultural produce, and neither this produce itself nor the land, had thus become the source of rent. This finished the notion that rent was the OFFSPRING of the exceptional productivity of agriculture, which again was supposed to be THE OFFSPRING of the special FERTILITY of the SOIL. For, if *the same quantity of labour* was exerted in a particularly productive element and hence was itself exceptionally productive, then the result could only be that this labour manifested itself in a relatively *large* quantity of *products* and that the price of the individual product was therefore relatively low; but it could never have the opposite result, namely, that the *price* of its product was *higher* than that of other products in which the same quantity of labour was realised and that this *price,* as distinct from that of other commodities, thus yielded *a rent, in addition to* profit and wages. (In his treatment of rent, *Adam Smith* to some extent returns to the Physiocratic view, having previously refuted or at least rejected it by his original conception of rent as part of surplus labour.)

Buchanan sums up this discarding of the Physiocratic view in the following words:

> * "The notion of agriculture yielding a produce, and a rent in consequence, because nature concurs with human industry in the process of cultivation, is a mere fancy. It is not from the produce, but from the price at which the produce is sold, that the rent is derived; and this price is got not because nature assists in the production, but because it is the price which suits the consumption to the supply." * [137]

After the rejection of this notion of the Physiocrats—which, however, was fully justified IN ITS DEEPER SENSE, because they regarded rent as the only surplus, and CAPITALISTS and LABOURERS TOGETHER merely as the *salariés*[b] of the LANDLORD—only the following viewpoints were possible.

[XI-523] The view that *rent* arises from the *monopoly price* of agricultural products, the monopoly price being due to the landowners possessing the *monopoly* of the land.[c] According to this

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[a] See this volume, p. 372.—*Ed.*

[b] Paid employees.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 268.—*Ed.*

concept, the *price* of the agricultural product is constantly *above* its *value*. There is a SURCHARGE OF PRICE and the law of the value of commodities is breached by the *monopoly* of landed property.

Rent arises out of the *monopoly price* of agricultural products, because supply is constantly *below* the LEVEL of demand or demand is constantly *above* the LEVEL of supply. But why does supply not rise to the LEVEL of demand? Why does not an ADDITIONAL supply equalise this relationship and thus, according to this theory, abolish *all* rent? In order to explain this, Malthus on the one hand takes refuge in the fiction that agricultural products directly create consumers for themselves (about which more later, in connection with his row with Ricardo); on the other hand, in the Andersonian theory, that agriculture becomes less productive because the ADDITIONAL SUPPLY costs more labour. Hence, in so far as this view is not based on mere fiction, it coincides with the Ricardian theory. Here too, *price* stands above value, SURCHARGE.

The *Ricardian theory*: *Absolute rent does not exist*, only a *differential rent*. Here too, the *price* of the agricultural products that bear rent is *above* their individual value, and in so far as rent exists at all, it does so through the *excess of the price of agricultural products over their value*. Only here this excess of price *over* value does not contradict the general theory of value (although the FACT remains) because within each sphere of production the *value* of the commodities belonging to it is not determined by the individual value of the commodity but by *its value* as modified by the *general* conditions of production of that sphere. Here too, the price of the rent-bearing products is a *monopoly price*, a monopoly however as it occurs in all spheres of industry and only becomes permanent in this one, hence assuming the form of rent as distinct from excess profit. Here too, it is an excess of DEMAND *over* SUPPLY, or, what amounts to the same thing, that the ADDITIONAL DEMAND cannot be satisfied by an ADDITIONAL SUPPLY at *prices* corresponding to those of the ORIGINAL SUPPLY, before its prices were forced up by the excess of demand over supply. Here too, *rent* (differential rent) *comes into being* because of *excess of price over value*, the rise of prices on the better land *above* the value of the product, and this leads to the ADDITIONAL SUPPLY.

*Rent is merely interest on the capital sunk in the land.*[a] This view has the following in common with the Ricardian, namely, that it denies the existence of *absolute rent*. It must admit the existence of *differential rent* when pieces of land in which equal amounts of

[a] See this volume, pp. 268, 367-68, 371.—*Ed.*

capital have been invested, yield rents of varying size. Hence in fact, it amounts to the Ricardian view, that certain land yields no *rent* and that where *actual* rent is yielded, this is differential rent. But it is absolutely incapable of explaining the rent of land in which *no* capital has been invested, of waterfalls, mines, etc. It was, in fact, nothing but an attempt *from a capitalist point of view* to save rent despite Ricardo—under the name of *interest*.

*Finally*: Ricardo assumes that on the land which does not bear a rent, the price of the product=its value because it equals the *average price*, i.e., capital outlay+average profit. He thus wrongly assumes that the value of the commodity=the average price of the commodity. If this wrong assumption is dropped, then absolute rent becomes possible because the *value* of agricultural products, like that of a whole large category of other commodities, stands *above* their average price, but owing to landed property, the value of the agricultural products, unlike that of these other commodities, is not levelled out at the average price. Hence this view assumes, like the monopoly theory, that property in land, as such, has something to do with rent; it assumes differential rent along with Ricardo, and finally it assumes that absolute rent by no means infringes the law of value.

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Ricardo starts out from the determination OF THE RELATIVE VALUES (OR EXCHANGEABLE VALUES) OF COMMODITIES BY "*THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR*". (We can examine later the various senses in which Ricardo uses the term VALUE. This is the basis of Bailey's criticism and, at the same time, of Ricardo's *shortcomings*.[a]) The character of this "LABOUR" is not further examined. If two commodities are equivalents—or bear a *definite proportion* to each other or, which is the same thing, if their *magnitude differs* according to the [XI-524] *quantity of "labour"* which they contain—then it is obvious that regarded as exchange values, their *substance* must be the same. Their substance is labour. That is why they are "values". Their magnitude varies, according to whether they contain more or less of this substance. But *Ricardo* does not *examine* the form—the peculiar characteristic of labour that creates exchange value or manifests itself in exchange values—the *nature* of this labour. Hence he does not grasp the connection of *this labour* with *money* or that it must

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[a] See this volume, pp. 397-99.— *Ed.*

assume the form of *money*. Hence he completely fails to grasp the connection between the determination of the exchange value of the commodity by labour time and the fact that the development of commodities necessarily leads to the formation of money. Hence his erroneous theory of money. Right from the start he is only concerned with the *magnitude of value*, i.e., the fact that the magnitudes of the values of the commodities are proportionate to the quantities of labour which are required for their production. Ricardo proceeds from here and he expressly names Adam Smith as his starting-point (CHAPTER I, SECTION I).

Ricardo's method is as follows: He begins with the determination of the magnitude of the value of the commodity by labour time and then *examines* whether the other economic relations[a] *contradict* this determination of value or to what extent they modify it. The historical justification of this method of procedure, its scientific necessity in the history of political economy, are evident at first sight, but so is, at the same time, its scientific inadequacy. This inadequacy not only shows itself in the method of presentation (in a formal sense) but leads to erroneous results because it omits some essential links and *directly* seeks to prove the congruity of the economic categories with one another.

Historically, this method of investigation was justified and necessary. Political economy had achieved a certain comprehensiveness with Adam Smith; to a certain extent he had covered the whole of its territory, so that Say was able to summarise it all in one textbook, superficially but quite systematically. The only investigations that were made in the period between Smith and Ricardo were ones of detail, on productive and unproductive labour, finance, theory of population, landed property and taxes. Smith himself moves with great naïveté in a perpetual contradiction. On the one hand, he traces the intrinsic connection existing between economic categories or the obscure structure of the bourgeois economic system. On the other, he simultaneously sets forth the connection as it appears in the phenomena of competition and thus as it presents itself to the unscientific observer just as to him who is actually involved and interested in the process of bourgeois production. One of these conceptions fathoms the inner connection, the physiology, so to speak, of the bourgeois system, whereas the other takes the external phenomena of life process as they seem and appear and merely describes, catalogues, recounts and arranges them under formal definitions.

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[a] In the manuscript the word "categories" is written above this word.—*Ed.*

With Smith both these methods of approach not only merrily run alongside one another, but also intermingle and constantly contradict one another. With him this is justifiable (with the exception of a few special investigations, [such as] that into money) since his task was indeed a twofold one. On the one hand he attempted to penetrate the inner physiology of bourgeois society but on the other, he partly tried to describe its externally apparent forms of life for the first time, to show its relations as they appear outwardly and partly he had even to find a nomenclature and corresponding mental concepts for these phenomena, i.e., to reproduce them for the first time in the language and [in the] thought process. The one task interests him as much as the other and since both proceed independently of one another, this results in completely contradictory ways of presentation: the one expresses the intrinsic connections more or less correctly, the other, with the same justification—and without any connection to the other method of approach—expresses the *apparent* connections without any internal relation.

Adam Smith's successors, in so far as they do not represent the reaction against him of older and obsolete methods of approach, can pursue their particular investigations and observations undisturbedly and can always regard Adam Smith as their base, whether they follow the esoteric or the exoteric part of his work or whether, as is almost always the case, they jumble up the two. But at last Ricardo steps in and calls to science: Halt! The basis, the starting-point for the physiology of the bourgeois system—for the understanding of its internal organic coherence and life process—is the determination of *value by labour time.* Ricardo starts with this and forces science to get out of the rut, to render an account of the extent to which the other categories—the relations of production and commerce, forms of this basis—evolved and described by it, correspond to or contradict this basis, this starting-point; to elucidate how far a science which in fact only reflects and reproduces the manifest forms of the process (therefore also these manifestations themselves) corresponds to the basis on which the inner coherence, the actual physiology of bourgeois society rests or the basis which forms its starting-point; and in general, to examine how matters stand with the contradiction between the apparent and the actual movement of the system. This then is Ricardo's great [XI-525] historical significance for science. This is why the inane Say, Ricardo having cut the ground from right under his feet, gave vent to his anger in the phrase that

"under the pretext of expanding it" (science) "it had been pushed into a vacuum".[a]

Closely bound up with this scientific merit is the fact that Ricardo exposes and describes the economic antagonism of classes—as shown by the intrinsic nexus—and that consequently political economy perceives, discovers the root of the historical struggle and development. *Carey* (the passage to be looked up later) therefore denounces him as the father of communism.

* "Mr. Ricardo's system is one of discords ... its whole tends to the production of *hostility among classes* and nations. ... His book is the true manual of the demagogue, who seeks power by means of agrarianism, war, and plunder"* (H. Carey, *The Past, the Present, and the Future*, Philadelphia, 1848, pp. 74-75).

Thus it follows on the one hand that the Ricardian method of investigation is scientifically justified and has great historical value, on the other hand the scientific deficiencies of his procedure are clearly visible and will become more evident in what follows later.

Hence also the very peculiar and necessarily faulty architectonics of his work. The whole consists of 32 chapters (in the 3rd edition). Of this, 14 chapters deal with *taxes*, thus dealing only with the *application* of the theoretical principles.[138] The 20th chapter, "Value and Riches, Their Distinctive Properties", is nothing but an examination of the difference between use value and exchange value, i.e., a supplement to the first chapter, "On Value". The 24th chapter "Doctrine of A. Smith Concerning the Rent of Land", like the 28th chapter "On the Comparative Value of Gold, Corn and Labour etc." and the 32nd chapter "Mr. Malthus's Opinions on Rent", are mere supplements to, and in part a vindication of, Ricardo's rent theory, thus forming mere appendices to chapters II and III which deal with rent. The 30th chapter, "On the Influence of Demand and Supply on Prices", is simply an appendix to the 4th chapter "On Natural and Market Price". The 19th chapter, "On Sudden Changes in the Channels of Trade", forms a second appendix to this chapter. The 31st chapter, "On Machinery", is purely an appendix to the 5th and 6th chapters "On Wages" and "On Profits". The 7th chapter, "On Foreign Trade", and [Chapter] XXV, "On Colonial Trade"—like the chapters on taxes—are mere applications of previously established principles. The 21st chapter, "Effects of Accumulation on Profits and Interest", is an appendix to the

[a] J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique...*, 6th ed., Vol. I, Paris, 1841, p. 41. Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

chapters on rent, profits and wages. The 26th chapter, "On Gross and Net Revenue", is an appendix to the chapters on wages, profits and rent. Finally, the 27th chapter "On Currency and Banks" stands quite apart from the rest of the work and merely consists of further explanations and in part modifications of views put forward in his earlier writings on money.

The Ricardian theory is therefore contained exclusively in the first 6 chapters of the work. It is in respect of this part of the work that I use the term faulty architectonics. The other part (with the exception of the section on money) consists of applications, elucidations and addenda which, by their very nature, are jumbled together and make no claim to being systematically arranged. But the faulty architectonics of the theoretical part (the first 6 chapters) is not accidental, rather it is the result of Ricardo's method of investigation itself and of the definite task which he set himself in his work. It expresses the scientific deficiencies of this method of investigation itself.

CHAPTER I is "On Value". It is subdivided into 7 sections. The first section actually examines whether *wages contradict* the determination of the values of commodities by the labour time they contain. In the third section Ricardo demonstrates that the entry of what I call constant capital into the value of the commodity does *not* contradict the determination of value and that the values of commodities are equally unaffected by the rise or fall in wages. The 4th section examines to what extent the determination of EXCHANGEABLE VALUES by labour time is altered by the application of machinery and other fixed and durable capital, in so far as it enters into the total capital in varying proportions in different spheres of production. The 5th section examines how far a rise or fall in WAGES modifies the determination of values by labour time, if capitals of unequal durability and varying periods of turnover are employed in different spheres of production. Thus one can see that in this first chapter not only are *commodities* assumed to exist—and when considering value as such, nothing further is required—but also wages, capital, profit and even, as we shall see, the general rate of profit, the various forms of capital as they arise from the process of circulation, and also the difference between "NATURAL AND MARKET PRICE". This latter, moreover, plays a decisive role in the following chapters, II and III: "On Rent" and "On the Rent of Mines".

In accordance with his method of investigation, the second chapter, "On Rent" [XI-526]—the 3rd "On the Rent of Mines" is only a supplement to this—again opens with the question: Do

landed property, and rent, *contradict* the determination of the value of commodities by labour time?

This is how he opens the 2nd chapter "On Rent":

*"It remains however to be considered, whether the appropriation of land, and the consequent creation of rent, will occasion any variation in the relative value of commodities, independently of the quantity of labour necessary to production"* (*Principles of Political Economy*, 3rd ed., London, 1821, p. 53).

In order to carry out this investigation, he introduces not only, *en passant*, the relationship of "MARKET PRICE" AND "REAL PRICE" (MONETARY EXPRESSION OF VALUE) but postulates the whole of capitalist production and his entire conception of the relationship between wages and profit. The 4th chapter "On Natural and Market Price", the 5th "On Wages" and the 6th "On Profits" are thus not only taken for granted, but fully developed in the first two chapters "On Value" and "On Rent" (and in Chapter III as an appendix to II). The later 3 chapters, in so far as they bring any new *theoretical* points, fill in gaps here and there, and provide closer definitions, which for the most part should by rights have found their place in I or II.

Thus the entire Ricardian contribution is contained in the first two chapters of his work. In these chapters, the developed relations of bourgeois production, and therefore also the developed categories of political economy, are confronted with their principle—the determination of value—and examined in order to determine the degree to which they directly correspond to this principle and the position regarding the apparent discrepancies which they introduce into the value relations of commodities. They contain the whole of his critique of hitherto existing political economy, the determined break with the contradiction that pervades Adam Smith's work with its esoteric and exoteric method of approach, and, at the same time, because of this critique, they produce some quite new and startling results. Hence the great theoretical satisfaction afforded by these first two chapters; for they provide with concise brevity a critique of the diffuse and meandering old conceptions, present the whole bourgeois system of economy as subject to one fundamental law, and extract the quintessence out of the divergency and diversity of the various phenomena. But this theoretical satisfaction afforded by these first two chapters BECAUSE OF THEIR ORIGINALITY, unity of fundamental approach, SIMPLENESS, concentration, depth, novelty and COMPREHENSIVENESS, is of necessity lost as the work proceeds. Here too, we are at times captivated by the originality of certain arguments. But as a whole, it gives rise to weariness and boredom. As the work

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proceeds, there is no further development. Where it does not consist of monotonous formal application of the same principles to various extraneous matters, or of polemical vindication of these principles, there is only repetition or amplification; at most one can occasionally find a striking chain of reasoning in the final sections.

In the critique of Ricardo, we have to separate what he himself failed to separate. *His theory of surplus value,* which of course exists in his work, although he does not define *surplus value* as distinct from its particular forms, profit, rent, interest. Secondly, his *theory of profit.* We shall begin with the latter, although it does not belong into this section, but into the historical appendix to *Section III.*[29]

Before we go on, just a few comments on how Ricardo confuses the definitions of "VALUE". Bailey's polemic against him is based on this; it is however also important for us.[a]

First of all Ricardo speaks of "*VALUE IN EXCHANGE*" and, like Adam Smith, defines it as "*THE POWER OF PURCHASING OTHER GOODS*" (*Principles,* p. 1). This is exchange value as it *appears* at first. Then, however, he proceeds to the real determination of value:

* "It is the comparative quantity of commodities which labour will produce, that produces their present or past *relative value*" * (l.c., p. 9).

"RELATIVE VALUE" here means nothing other than the EXCHANGEABLE VALUE as determined by labour time. But *RELATIVE VALUE* can also have another meaning, namely, if I express the exchange value of a commodity in terms of the use value of another, for instance the exchange value of sugar in terms of the use value of coffee.

* "Two commodities vary in *relative value,* and we wish to know in which *the variation* has taken place" * (p. 9).

WHICH VARIATION? Ricardo later also calls this "RELATIVE VALUE" "*COMPARATIVE VALUE*" (p. 448 et seq.). We want to know in which commodity "the VARIATION" has taken place. This means the VARIATION of the "value" which was called "RELATIVE VALUE" above. For instance, 1 lb. sugar=2 lbs coffee. Later 1 lb. sugar=4 lbs coffee. The "VARIATION" which we want to know about is: whether the "*necessary labour time*" has altered for sugar or for coffee, whether sugar costs twice as much labour time as before or whether coffee costs half as much labour time as before and which of these "VARIATIONS" in the labour time required for their respective production has called forth this VARIATION in their *exchange relation.* This "RELATIVE OR COMPARATIVE VALUE" of sugar and

[a] See this volume, p. 399.— *Ed.*

coffee—the ratio in which they exchange—is thus different from RELATIVE VALUE in the first sense. In the first sense, the RELATIVE VALUE of sugar is determined by the quantity of sugar which can be produced by a certain amount of labour time [XI-527]. In the second case, the RELATIVE VALUE of sugar [and coffee] expresses the ratio in which they are exchanged for one another and changes in this ratio can be the result of a change in the "RELATIVE VALUE" in the first sense, in coffee or in sugar. The proportion in which they exchange for one another can remain *the same*, although their "RELATIVE VALUES" in the first sense have altered. 1 lb. sugar can=2 lbs coffee, as before, even though the labour time for the production of sugar and of coffee has risen to double or has fallen to a half. *VARIATIONS* in their *COMPARATIVE VALUE*, that is, if the exchange value of sugar is expressed in coffee, and vice versa, will only appear when the VARIATIONS in their *RELATIVE VALUE* in the first sense, i.e., the VALUES determined by the quantity of labour, have *altered to a different extent*, when therefore *COMPARATIVE* CHANGES have occurred. ABSOLUTE CHANGES, when they do not alter the original ratio, but are of equal magnitude and move in the same direction, will not call forth any VARIATION in the COMPARATIVE VALUES—nor in the *money prices* of these commodities, since, if the value of money should change, it would do so equally for both [commodities]. Hence, whether the values of two commodities are expressed in their own reciprocal use values or in their money price—representing both values in the form of the use value of a third commodity—these *RELATIVE* or *COMPARATIVE* VALUES or prices are the same, and the CHANGES in them must be distinguished from their *RELATIVE VALUES* in the first sense of the term, i.e., in so far as they only express the change in the labour time required for their *own* production, and thus *realised in themselves*. The latter *RELATIVE VALUE* thus appears as "*ABSOLUTE VALUE*" compared with RELATIVE VALUES in the second sense, i.e., in the sense of actually representing the exchange value of one commodity in terms of the use value of the other or in money. That is why the term "*ABSOLUTE VALUE*" occurs in Ricardo's work to denote "RELATIVE VALUE" in the first sense.

If, in the above example, 1 lb. sugar costs the same amount of labour time as before, then its "RELATIVE VALUE" in the first sense has not altered. If, however, the labour cost of coffee has halved, then the VALUE of sugar expressed in terms of coffee has altered, because the "RELATIVE VALUE" of coffee, in the first sense, has altered. The RELATIVE VALUES of sugar and coffee thus appear to be different from their "ABSOLUTE VALUES" and this difference becomes evident because the COMPARATIVE VALUE of sugar, for instance, has not

altered in comparison with commodities whose ABSOLUTE VALUES have remained *unchanged*.

*"The inquiry to which I wish to draw the reader's attention, relates to the effect of the *variations in the relative value of commodities*, and not in their *absolute value*"* (p. 15).

At times Ricardo also calls this "ABSOLUTE" VALUE "REAL VALUE" or simply *VALUE* (for instance on p. 16).

(See the whole of Bailey's polemic against Ricardo in:

*A Critical Dissertation on the Nature, Measures, and Causes of Value; chiefly in reference to the Writings of Mr. Ricardo and his Followers.* By the Author of *Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions*, London, 1825.) (See also his *A Letter to a Political Economist; occasioned by an article in the Westminster Review* etc., *London, 1826.* [Bailey's polemic] partially revolves around these different instances of definitions of value, which are not explained by Ricardo but only occur *de facto* and are confused with one another, and Bailey sees in this only "contradictions".) Secondly, [it is directed] against "ABSOLUTE VALUE" or "REAL VALUE" as distinct from *COMPARATIVE VALUE* (or RELATIVE VALUE in the second sense).

In the first of the above-mentioned works, Bailey says:

*"Instead of regarding value as a relation between two objects, they" (Ricardo and his followers) "consider it as a positive result produced by a definite quantity of labour"* (l.c., p. 30).

They regard *"value as something intrinsic and absolute"* (l.c., p. 8).

The latter reproach arises from Ricardo's inadequate presentation, because he does not even examine the form of value—the particular form which labour assumes as the substance of value. He only examines the magnitudes of value, the quantities of this abstract, general and, in this form, social labour which engender differences in the *magnitudes of value* of commodities. Otherwise Bailey would have recognised that the relativity of the concept of value is by no means negated by the fact that all commodities, in so far as they are exchange values, are only *relative* expressions of social labour time and their relativity consists by no means solely of the ratio in which they exchange for one another, but of the ratio of all of them to this social labour which is their substance.

On the contrary, as we shall see, Ricardo is rather to be reproached for very often losing sight of this "REAL" or "ABSOLUTE VALUE" and only retaining "RELATIVE" or "COMPARATIVE VALUES".

[XI-528] Thus:

### 1) RICARDO'S DESCRIPTION OF PROFIT, RATE OF PROFIT, AVERAGE PRICES, ETC.

In SECTION III of the first chapter Ricardo explains that the statement: the value of the commodity is determined by labour time, includes not only the labour directly employed on the commodity in the final labour process but also the labour time contained in the raw material and the means of labour that are required for the production of the commodity. Thus it applies not only to the labour time contained in the newly added labour which has been bought, paid for by wages, but also to the labour time contained in that part of the commodity which is called constant capital. Even the very heading of this SECTION III of CHAPTER I shows the deficiency of his exposition. It runs like that:

* "Not only the labour applied immediately to commodities affect their value, but the labour also which is bestowed on the implements, tools, and buildings, with which such labour is assisted"* (p. 16).

Raw material has been omitted here, yet the labour bestowed on raw material is surely just as different from "LABOUR APPLIED IMMEDIATELY TO COMMODITIES" as the labour bestowed on means of labour, "IMPLEMENTS, TOOLS, AND BUILDINGS". But Ricardo is already thinking of the next SECTION. In SECTION III he assumes that *equal component parts of value* comprised in the means of labour employed enter into the production of the various commodities. In the next SECTION he examines the modifications arising from the *varying proportions* in which fixed capital enters [into the commodities]. Hence Ricardo does not arrive at the concept of *constant capital*, one part of which consists of fixed capital and the other of circulating capital—raw material and *matières instrumentales*—just as *circulating* capital not only includes variable capital but also raw material, etc., and all means of subsistence which enter into *consumption in general* (not only into the consumption of the workers).

The proportion in which constant capital enters into a commodity does not affect the *values* of the commodities, the relative quantities of labour contained in the commodities, but it does directly affect the different quantities of *surplus value* or *surplus labour* contained in commodities embodying equal amounts of labour time. Hence this varying proportion gives rise to *average prices* that differ from values.

With regard to SECTIONS IV and V of CHAPTER I we have to note, first of all, that Ricardo does not examine a highly important matter which affects *the direct production of surplus value*, namely, that in different spheres of production the same volume of capital

contains different proportions of constant and variable capital. Instead, Ricardo concerns himself exclusively with the different forms of capital and the varying proportions in which the same capital assumes these various forms, in other words, [with] *different forms* arising *out of the process of the circulation of capital*, that is, fixed and circulating capital, capital which is fixed to a greater or lesser degree (i.e., fixed capital of varying durability) and unequal velocity of circulation or rates of turnover of capital. And the manner in which Ricardo carries out this investigation is the following: He presupposes *a general rate of profit* or an *average profit of equal magnitude* for different capital investments of equal magnitude, or for different spheres of production in which capitals of equal size are employed—or, which is the same thing, profit in proportion to the *size* of the capitals employed in the various spheres of production. Instead of *postulating* this *general rate of profit*, Ricardo should rather have examined in how far its *existence* is in fact consistent with the determination of value by labour time, and he would have found that instead of being consistent with it, *prima facie*, it *contradicts* it, and that its existence would therefore have to be explained through a number of intermediary stages, a procedure which is very different from merely including it under the law of value. He would then have gained an altogether different insight into the nature of profit and would not have identified it directly with surplus value.

Having made *this presupposition* Ricardo then asks himself how will the rise or fall of wages affect the "RELATIVE VALUES", when fixed and circulating capitals are employed in different proportions? Or rather, *he imagines* that this is how he handles the question. In fact he deals with it quite differently, namely, as follows: He asks himself what effect the rise or fall of wages will have on the *respective profits* on capitals with different periods of turnover and containing different proportions of the various forms of capital. And here of course he finds that depending on the amount of fixed capital, etc., a rise or fall of wages must have a very different effect on capitals, according to whether they contain a greater or lesser proportion of variable capital, i.e., capital which is laid out directly in wages. Thus in order to equalise again the profits in the different [XI-529] spheres of production, *alias*, to re-establish the *general rate of profit*, the prices of the commodities—as distinct from their *values*—must be regulated in a different way. *Therefore*, he further concludes, these differences affect the "RELATIVE VALUES" when wages rise or fall. He should have said on the contrary: Although these differences have nothing to do with the VALUES as

such, they do, through their varying effects on profits in the different spheres, give rise to average prices or, as we shall call them, *cost prices*[139] which are different from the VALUES themselves and are not directly determined by the values of the commodities but by the capital advanced for their production+the average profit. Hence he should have said: These average *cost prices* are different from the *values* of the commodities. Instead, he concludes that they are *identical* and with this *erroneous* premiss he goes on to the consideration of rent.

Ricardo is also mistaken in thinking that it is through the three cases he examines that he first comes upon the "VARIATIONS" in the "RELATIVE VALUES" which occur independently of the labour time contained in the commodities, that is IN FACT the difference between the cost prices and the values of the commodities. He has already *assumed* this *difference* in postulating a *general rate of profit*, thus presupposing that despite the varying ratios of the organic component parts of capitals, these yield a profit proportional to their *size*, whereas the surplus value they yield is determined absolutely by the quantity of unpaid labour time they absorb, and with a given wage this is entirely dependent on the volume of that part of capital which is laid out in wages, and not on the absolute size of the capital.

What he does in fact examine is this: Supposing that cost prices *differ* from the values of commodities—and the assumption of a *general rate of profit* presupposes this difference—how in turn are these cost prices (which are now, for a change, called "RELATIVE VALUES") themselves reciprocally modified, proportionately modified by the rise or fall of wages, taking also into account the varying proportions of the organic component parts of capital? If Ricardo had gone into this more deeply, he would have found that—owing to the diversity in the organic component parts of capital which first manifests itself in the immediate production process as the difference between variable and constant capital and is later enlarged by differences arising from the circulation process—the mere existence of a *general rate of profit* necessitates *cost prices* that differ from *values*. He would have found that, even if *wages* are assumed to *remain constant*, the difference exists and therefore is quite *independent* of the rise or fall in wages, thus he would have arrived at a new definition. He would also have seen how incomparably more important and decisive the understanding of this difference is for the whole theory than his observations on the variation in *cost prices* of commodities brought about by the rise or fall of wages. The result with which he contents

himself—and that he is content accords with the whole manner in which he carries out his investigation—is as follows: Once the *VARIATIONS in the cost prices* (or, as he says, "RELATIVE VALUES") of the commodities—in so far as they are due to CHANGES, rises or falls, in wages when capital of different organic composition is invested in different spheres—are admitted and taken into consideration the law remains valid; this does not *contradict* the law that "RELATIVE VALUES" of the commodities are determined by labour time; for all other VARIATIONS—VARIATIONS that are not merely transitory—in the cost prices of the commodities can only be explained by a change in the necessary labour time required for their respective production.

On the other hand, it must be regarded as a great merit that Ricardo associates the differences in fixed and circulating capital with the varying periods of turnover of capital and that he deduces all these differences from the varying *periods of circulation*, i.e., IN FACT from the *circulation or reproduction period of capital.*

First of all, let us consider these differences themselves, as he presents them in SECTION IV (CHAPTER I) and then examine his views on how they act or bring about VARIATIONS in the "RELATIVE VALUES".

*"In every state of society, the tools, implements, buildings, and machinery employed in different trades may be of *various degrees of durability*, and may require *different portions of labour to produce them*"* (l.c., p. 25).

So far as the "DIFFERENT PORTIONS OF LABOUR TO PRODUCE THEM" are concerned, this can imply—and here it seems to be Ricardo's sole point—that the less durable ones require *more* labour (recurring, directly applied labour), partly for their REPAIR and partly for their reproduction; or it can also mean that machinery, etc., of *the same DEGREE OF DURABILITY* may be more or less expensive, the product of more or less labour. This latter aspect, important for the proportion of variable to constant capital, is not relevant to Ricardo's consideration and therefore he does not take it up anywhere as a separate point.

[XI-530] 2. *"The proportions, too, in which the capital that is to support labour"* (the variable capital), *"and the capital that is invested in tools, machinery and buildings"* (fixed capital), *"may be *variously combined*"* (p. 25). Thus we have a *"difference in the *degree of durability of fixed capital*, and this variety in the proportions in which *the two sorts of capital may be combined*"* (p. 25).

It is at once evident why he is not interested in that part of constant capital which exists as raw material. The latter is itself part of circulating capital. A rise in wages does not cause *increased expenditure* on that part of capital which consists of machinery and

does not need *to be replaced* but remains available; the rise, however, causes an increased outlay for that part which consists of *raw material*, since this has to be constantly replenished, hence also constantly reproduced.

* "The food and clothing consumed by the labourer, the buildings in which he works, the implements with which his labour is assisted, are all of a *perishable nature*. There is however a vast difference in the time for which these different capitals will endure... According as capital is rapidly perishable, and requires to *be frequently reproduced*, or is of slow consumption, it is classed under the heads of circulating, or of fixed capital" * (p. 26).

Thus the difference between FIXED and CIRCULATING CAPITAL is here reduced to the difference in the *time of reproduction* (which coincides with the period of circulation).

3. * "It is also to be observed that the *circulating* capital may *circulate*, or be *returned to its employer*, in *very unequal times*. The *wheat bought by a farmer to sow*" * (Here Mr. Rodbertus can see that in England seeds are "bought".) * "is comparatively a fixed capital to the wheat purchased by a baker to make into loaves. One leaves it in the ground, and can obtain no return for a year; the other can get it ground into flour, sell it as bread to his customers, and have his capital free to renew the same, or commence any other employment in a week" * (pp. 26-27).

On what does *this* difference in the circulation periods of different circulating capitals depend? [On the fact] that in one case, the same capital remains for a longer time in the *actual sphere of production*, though the *labour process* does not continue. This applies, for instance, to wine which lies in the cellar to attain maturity, or to certain chemical processes in tanning, dyeing, etc.

* "Two trades then may employ *the same amount of capital*; but it may be very differently divided with respect to the portion which is fixed, and that which is circulating" (p. 27).

4. "Again two manufacturers may employ the same amount of fixed, and the same amount of circulating capital; but the *durability of their fixed capitals*" * (therefore also their period of reproduction) * "may be very unequal. One may have steam-engines of the value of £10,000, the other, ships of the same value" (pp. 27-28).

"Different degrees of durability of ... capitals, or, which is the same thing, ... *of the time which must elapse* before one set of commodities can be brought to market" (p. 30).

5. "It is hardly necessary to say, that commodities which have *the same quantity of labour bestowed upon their production*, will differ in exchangeable value, if they cannot be brought *to market in the same time*" * (p. 34).

[Thus we have:] 1. A difference in the proportion of fixed to circulating capital. 2. A difference in the period of turnover of *circulating* capital as a result of a break in the labour process while the production process continues. 3. A difference in the DURABILITY of FIXED CAPITAL. 4. A difference in the relative period during which

a commodity is altogether subjected to the labour process (without any break in the period of labour and with no distinction between the period of production and the period of labour[104]) before it can enter the actual circulation process. The last CASE is described by Ricardo as follows:

* "Suppose I employ twenty men at an expense of £1,000 for a year in the production of a commodity, and at the end of the year I employ twenty men again for another year, at a further expense of £1,000 in finishing or perfecting the same commodity, and that I bring it to market at the end of two years, if *profits be 10 per cent*, my commodity must sell for £2,310; for I have employed £1,000 capital for one year, and £2,100 capital for one year more. Another man employs precisely the same quantity of labour, but he employs it all in the first year; he employs forty men at an expense of £2,000, and at the end of the first year he sells it with 10 per cent profit, or for £2,200. Here then are two commodities *having precisely the same quantity of labour bestowed on them*, one of which sells for £2,310—the other for £2,200" * (p. 34).

[XI-531] But how is a DIFFERENCE in the *RELATIVE VALUES* OF THESE COMMODITIES brought about by this DIFFERENCE — whether in the DEGREE OF DURABILITY OF FIXED CAPITAL, OR THE TIME OF REVOLUTION OF CIRCULATING CAPITAL, OR A VARIETY IN THE PROPORTIONS IN WHICH THE TWO SORTS OF CAPITAL MAY BE COMBINED or, finally, THE DIFFERENT TIME, IN WHICH COMMODITIES, UPON WHICH THE SAME QUANTITY OF LABOUR IS BESTOWED [come on to the market]. Ricardo says *d'abord* that

* "*this difference* ...* and * *variety in the proportions*", etc., "*introduce another cause*, besides the greater or less quantity of labour necessary to produce commodities, for the variations in their relative value—*this cause is the rise or fall in the value of labour*" * (pp. 25-26).

And how is this proved?

* "A rise in the wages of labour cannot fail to affect unequally, *commodities* produced under such different circumstances" * (p. 27).

Namely when capitals of *equal size* are employed IN *DIFFERENT* TRADES and one capital consists chiefly of fixed capital and contains only a small amount of capital "EMPLOYED IN THE SUPPORT OF LABOUR", whereas in the other capital the proportions are exactly the reverse. To begin with, it is nonsense to say that the "COMMODITIES" are affected. He means their *VALUES*. But how far are the values affected by these circumstances? NOT AT ALL. In both cases it is the profit which is affected. The man who, for instance, lays out only $^1/_5$ of his capital in variable capital—provided wages and the rate of surplus labour are constant—can only produce [a surplus value of] 4 on 100, if the rate of surplus value=20%. On the other hand, another man, who lays out $^4/_5$ in variable capital, would produce a surplus value of 16. For in the first example the capital laid out in wages=$^{100}/_5$=20 and $^1/_5$ of 20 or 20%=4. And in

the second example, the capital laid out in wages $= {}^{4}/_{5} \times 100 = 80$. And ${}^{1}/_{5}$ of 80 or [20]% = 16. In the first example the profit = 4, in the second = 16. The average profit for both would be $\frac{16+4}{2}$ or ${}^{20}/_{2} = 10\%$. This is actually the CASE to which Ricardo refers. Thus if they both sold at cost prices—and this Ricardo *assumes*—then they would each sell their commodity at 110. Supposing wages rose, for example, by 20%. Where previously a worker cost £1, he now costs £1 4s. or 24s. As before, the first man still has to lay out £80 in constant capital (since Ricardo leaves raw materials out of account here, we can do the same) and for the 20 workers whom he employs, he has to lay out 80s., that is £4 in addition to the £20. His capital therefore now amounts to £104 and, since the workers are producing a smaller surplus value instead of a larger one, he is only left with £6 profit out of his £110. £6 on £104 is $5\,{}^{10}/_{13}\%$. The other man, however, who employs 80 workers, would have to pay out an additional 320s., i.e., £16. Thus he would have to lay out £116. If he were to sell at £110, he would consequently make a loss of £6 instead of a gain. This, however, is only the CASE because the average profit has already modified the relation between the labour he has laid out and the surplus value which he himself produces.

Instead therefore of investigating the important problem: what VARIATIONS have to take place in order that the one who lays out 80 of his capital of £100 in wages does not make 4 times as much profit as the other who only lays out 20 of his £100 in wages, Ricardo examines the subsidiary question of how it is that after this great difference has been levelled out, i.e., with a given rate of profit, ANY ALTERATION OF THAT RATE OF PROFIT, due to rising WAGES FOR INSTANCE, would affect the man who employs many workers with his £100 far more than the man who employs few workers with his £100, and hence—provided the rate of profit is the same—the commodity prices—or the *cost prices*—of the one must rise and of the other must fall, if the rate of profit is to remain the same.

Ricardo's first illustration has absolutely nothing to do with "*ANY RISE IN THE VALUE OF LABOUR*" although he originally stated that the whole of the VARIATION IN "THE RELATIVE VALUES" were to arise from this CAUSE. This is the example:

*"Suppose two men employ one hundred men each for a year in the construction of two machines, and another man employs the same number of men in cultivating corn, each of the machines at the end of the year will be of the same value as the corn, for they will each be produced by the same quantity of labour. Suppose one of the owners of one of the machines to employ it, with the assistance of one hundred men, the following year in making cloth, and the owner of the

other machine to employ his also, with the assistance likewise of one hundred men, in making cotton goods, while the farmer continues to employ one hundred men as before in the cultivation of corn. During the second year they will all have employed the same quantity of labour,"*

//in other words they will have laid out the same capital in wages, but they will by no means have EMPLOYED *THE SAME QUANTITY OF LABOUR*//

*"but the goods and machine together [XI-532] of the clothier, and also of the cotton-manufacturer, will be the result of the labour of two hundred men, employed for a year; or, rather, of the labour of one hundred men for two years; whereas the corn will be produced by the labour of one hundred men for one year, consequently if the corn be of the value of £500 the machine and cloth of the clothier together, ought to be of the value of £1,000 and the machine and cotton goods of the cotton-manufacturer, *ought to be also of twice the value of the corn.* But *they will be of more than twice the value of the corn,* for *the profit on the clothier's and cotton-manufacturer's capital for the first year has been added to their capitals,* while that of the farmer has been expended and enjoyed. On account then *of the different degrees of durability of their capitals,* or, which is the same thing, on *account of the time which must elapse* before one set of commodities can be brought to market, they will be valuable, not exactly in *proportion to the quantity of labour bestowed on them,*—they will not be as two to one, but something more, *to compensate for the greater length of time which must elapse before the most valuable can be brought to market.* Suppose that for the labour of each workman £50 per annum were paid, or that £5,000 capital were employed and *profits were 10 per cent,* the value of each of the machines as well as of the corn, at the end of the first year, would be £5,500. The second year the manufacturers and farmers will again employ £5,000 each in support of labour, and will therefore again sell their goods for £5,500, but the men using the machines, to *be on a par with the farmer,* must not only obtain £5,500 for the equal capitals of £5,000 employed on labour, but they must obtain a further *sum of £550; for the profit on £5,500 which they have invested in machinery,* and *consequently*"* (because actually, *an equal annual rate of profit of 10 per cent* is *assumed* as a necessity and a law) *"their goods must *sell for £6,050.*"*

//That is, *average prices* or *cost prices different* from the values of the commodities come into being as a result of the average profit—the *general rate of profit presupposed* by Ricardo.//

*"Here then are capitalists employing precisely the *same quantity of labour annually* on the production of their commodities, and yet *the goods they produce differ in value on account of the different quantities of fixed capital,* or accumulated labour, employed by each respectively."

//Not on account of that, but on account of both those ragamuffins having the fixed idea that both of them must draw the same spoils from "the support they have given to labour"; or that, whatever the respective *values* of their commodities, those commodities must be sold at *average prices,* giving each of them the same rate of profit.//

"The cloth and cotton goods are of the same value, because they are the

produce of equal quantities of labour, and equal quantities of fixed capital; but corn is not of the *same value*" * //should read COST PRICE// * "as these commodities, *because it is produced, as far as regards fixed capital, under different circumstances*" * (pp. 29-31).

This exceedingly CLUMSY ILLUSTRATION of an exceedingly simple matter is so complicated in order to avoid saying simply: Since capitals of equal size, whatever the ratio of their organic components or their period of circulation, yield *profits of equal size*—which would be impossible if the commodities were sold at *their values*, etc.—there exist *cost prices* which differ from the values of commodities. And this is indeed implied in the concept of a *general rate of profit*.

Let us examine this complicated example and reduce it to its GENUINE DIMENSIONS, which are hardly "complicated". And for this purpose let us begin from the end and note at the outset, in order to reach SIMULTANEOUSLY A CLEARER UNDERSTANDING THAT Ricardo "PRESUPPOSES" that the FARMER and the COTTON fellow spend nothing on raw material, that, furthermore, the FARMER does not lay out any capital for instruments of labour and, finally, that no part of the fixed capital laid out by the COTTON fellow enters into his product as wear and tear. Though all these assumptions are absurd, they do not in themselves affect the illustration.

Having made these assumptions, and starting Ricardo's example from the end, it runs as follows: The FARMER lays out £5,000 in wages; the COTTON fellow lays out 5,000 in wages and 5,500 in machinery. The first therefore spends £5,000 and the 2nd 10,500; the 2nd [XI-533] thus spends as much again as the first. If therefore both are to make a profit of 10%, the FARMER must sell his commodity at 5,500 and the COTTON fellow his at £6,050. (Since it has been assumed that no PART of the 5,500 expended in machinery forms part of the value of the product as wear and tear.) One absolutely cannot conceive what Ricardo intended to elucidate in this example, apart from the fact that the cost prices of commodities—it so far as they are determined by the value of the outlay embodied in the commodities+the same annual per cent of profit—*differ* from the values of the commodities and that this difference arises because the commodities are sold at prices that will yield the same *rate of profit* on the capital advanced; in short, that this difference between *COST PRICES* and *VALUES* is identical with a *general rate of profit*. Even the difference between fixed capital and circulating capital which he introduces here is, in this example, sheer humbug. Since if, for instance, the additional £5,500, which the COTTON SPINNER employs, consisted of raw materials,

while the farmer did not require any seeds, etc., the result would be exactly the same.

Neither does the example show, as Ricardo asserts, THAT

* "the goods they" (the cotton-manufacturer and the farmer) "produce differ in value *on account of the different quantities of fixed capital*, or accumulated labour, employed by each respectively"* (p. 31).

For according to his assumption, the COTTON-MANUFACTURER employs a FIXED CAPITAL of £5,500 and the FARMER nil; the one employs fixed capital, the other does not. By no means do they, therefore, employ it "IN DIFFERENT QUANTITIES", any more than one could say that, if one person eats meat and the other eats no meat, they consume meat "IN DIFFERENT QUANTITIES". On the other hand it is correct (though very wrong to introduce the term surreptitiously with an "OR") that they employ "ACCUMULATED LABOUR", i.e., objectified labour, in "DIFFERENT QUANTITIES", namely, one to the amount of £10,500 and the other only 5,000. However, the fact that they employ "DIFFERENT QUANTITIES OF ACCUMULATED LABOUR" only means that they lay out "DIFFERENT QUANTITIES OF CAPITAL" in their RESPECTIVE TRADES, that the amount of profit is proportionate to this difference in the size of the capitals they employ, because *the same rate of profit* is assumed, and that, finally, this difference in the amount of profit, proportionate to the size of the capitals, is expressed, represented, in the respective COST PRICES of the commodities.

But whence the CLUMSINESS in Ricardo's illustration?

* "Here then are two capitalists employing precisely the *same quantity of labour annually* in the production of their commodities, and yet the goods they produce differ in value"* (pp. 30-31).

This means that they do not employ the SAME QUANTITY OF LABOUR—IMMEDIATE AND ACCUMULATED LABOUR TAKEN TOGETHER—but they do employ the same quantity of variable capital, capital laid out in wages, the same quantity of living labour. And since money exchanges for ACCUMULATED LABOUR, i.e., commodities existing in the form of machines, etc., only according to the law of commodities, since *surplus value* comes into being only as the result of the appropriation without payment of a part of the living labour employed—it is clear (since, according to the assumption, no part of the machinery enters into the commodity as wear and tear) that both can only make the same profit if profit and surplus value are identical. The COTTON-MANUFACTURER would have to sell his commodity for 5,500, like the FARMER, although he lays out more than twice as much capital. And even if the whole of his machinery passed into the commodity, he could only sell his commodity for £11,000; he would make a profit of less than 5%, while the FARMER makes 10.

But with these *unequal* profits, the FARMER and the MANUFACTURER would have sold the commodities at their *values*, provided that the 10% made by the FARMER represented actual unpaid labour embodied in his commodity. If, therefore, they sell their commodities at an equal profit, then this must be due to one of two things: either the MANUFACTURER arbitrarily adds 5% on to his commodities and then the commodities of the MANUFACTURER and the FARMER, taken together, are sold *above* their value; or the actual surplus value which the FARMER makes is about 15% and both add the average of 10% on to their commodity. In this case, although the COST PRICE of the respective commodity is either above or below its value, both commodities *taken together* are *sold at their value* and the equalisation of the profits is itself determined by the total surplus values they contain. Here, in Ricardo's above proposition, when correctly modified, lies the truth, that capitals of equal size, containing [different] proportions of variable to constant capital, must result in commodities of unequal values and thus yield different profit; the levelling out of these profits must therefore result in *cost prices* which *differ* from the values of the commodities.

*"Here then are capitalists employing precisely the same quantity of" (immediate, living) "labour annually on the production of their commodities, and yet the goods they produce differ in value" (i.e., have cost prices different from their values) "on account of the different quantities of ... accumulated labour employed by each respectively"* [p. 31].

But the idea foreshadowed in this passage is never clearly stated by Ricardo. It only explains the meanderings and obvious fallaciousness of the illustration, which up to this point had nothing to do with the "DIFFERENT QUANTITIES OF *FIXED CAPITAL* EMPLOYED".

Let us now go further back in the analysis. In the first year, the MANUFACTURER builds a machine with 100 men; the FARMER, meanwhile, produces corn, also with 100 men. In the second year, the MANUFACTURER uses the machine to manufacture COTTON, for which he again employs 100 MEN. The FARMER, on the other hand, again employs 100 men for the cultivation of corn. Suppose, says Ricardo, the value of corn is £500 per annum. Let us assume that the unpaid labour contained therein=25%, i.e., on 400—100. Then at the end of the first year, the machine would also be worth £500, of which £400 would be paid labour and £100 the value of the unpaid labour. Let us [XI-534] assume that by the end of the 2nd year, the whole of the machine has been used up, has passed into the value of the COTTON. In fact Ricardo assumes this, in that, at the end of the 2nd year, he compares not only the VALUE OF THE

COTTON GOODS, BUT THE "VALUE OF THE COTTON GOODS AND THE MACHINE" with "THE VALUE OF THE CORN".

WELL then. At the end of the second year, the VALUE of the COTTON must be=to £1,000, namely, 500 the value of the machine, and 500 the value of the newly added labour. The VALUE of the CORN, on the other hand, is 500, namely, 400 the value of the wages and 100 unpaid labour. So far, there is nothing in this CASE which *contradicts the law of values.* The COTTON-MANUFACTURER makes a profit of 25% just as the CORN-MANUFACTURER does. But the commodities of the former=1,000 and those of the latter=500,[a] because the former commodity embodies the labour of 200 [men] and the latter the labour of only 100 in each year. Furthermore, the 100 profit (surplus value) which the COTTON-MANUFACTURER has made on the machine in the first year—by absorbing $^1/_5$ of the labour time of the workers who constructed it, without paying for it—is only realised for him in the 2nd year, since it is only then that he realises in the value of the COTTON simultaneously the value of the machine. But now we come to the point. The COTTON-MANUFACTURER sells for more than £1,000, i.e., at a higher value than his commodity has, while the FARMER sells his CORN at 500, thus, according to our assumption, at its value. If, therefore, there were only these two people to exchange with one another, the MANUFACTURER obtaining CORN from the FARMER and the FARMER COTTON from the MANUFACTURER, then it would amount to the same as if the FARMER sold his commodity *below* its value, making less than 25%, and the MANUFACTURER sold his COTTON *above* its value. Let us do without the 2 capitalists (the CLOTH-MAN and the COTTON-MAN) whom Ricardo introduces here quite superfluously, and let us modify his example by only referring to the COTTON-MAN. The DOUBLE calculation is of no value at all to the illustration at this point. Thus:

* "But they" (the cottons) "*will be of more than twice the value of the corn,* for the *profit* ... on the *cotton-manufacturer's capital for the first year* has been added to his capital, while that of the farmer has been expended and enjoyed." *

(This latter bourgeois extenuating phrase is here quite meaningless from a theoretical standpoint. Moral considerations have nothing to do with the matter.)

* "*On account then of the different degrees of durability of their capitals, or,* which is the same thing, on *account of the time which must elapse before one set of commodities can be brought to market,* they will be valuable, not exactly in proportion to the quantity of labour bestowed on them,—they will not be as two to one, but something more, *to compensate for the greater length of time which must elapse before the most valuable can be brought to market*" * (p. 30).

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[a] Marx wrote "100" in the manuscript. Presumably Engels changed it in pencil to "500".—*Ed.*

If the MANUFACTURER sold the commodity at its value, then he would sell it at £1,000, twice the price of CORN, because it embodies twice as much labour, £500 of ACCUMULATED LABOUR in the machinery (£100 of which he has not paid for) and 500 labour employed in the production of COTTON, 100 of which again he has not paid for. But he calculates like this: the first year I laid out 400 and by exploiting the workers, I produced a machine with this, which is worth £500. I thus made a profit of 25%. The second year I laid out £900, namely, 500 in the said machine and again 400 in labour. If I am again [to make] 25% I must sell the COTTON at 1,125, i.e., £125 *above* its value. For this £125 does not represent any labour contained in the COTTON, neither labour accumulated in the first year nor labour added in the second. The aggregate amount of labour contained in the cotton only amounts to £1,000. On the other hand, suppose the two exchange with one another, or that half the capitalists find themselves in the position of the COTTON-MANUFACTURER and the other half in the position of the FARMER. How are the first half to be paid £125? From what fund? Obviously only from the 2nd half. But then it is clear that this second half does not make a profit of 25%. Thus the first half would cheat the second under the pretext of a *general rate of profit*, while, IN FACT, the rate of profit would be 25% for the MANUFACTURER and below 25% for the FARMER. It must, therefore, come about in a different way.

In order to make the illustration clearer and more accurate, let us suppose the FARMER uses £900 in the 2nd year. Then, with a profit of 25%, he has made £100 on the 400 laid out in the *first year*, and 225 in the 2nd, altogether £325. As against this, the MANUFACTURER makes 25% on the £400 in the first year, but in the 2nd only 100 on 900, i.e., only $11\,^{1}/_{9}$% (since only the 400 laid out in wages yield surplus value, whereas the 500 in machinery yield none). Or let us suppose the FARMER lays out 400 again, then he has made 25% in the first year as well as in the 2nd; which taken together is 25% or £200 on an outlay of £800 in two years. As against this, the MANUFACTURER will have made 25[%] in the first year and $11\,^{1}/_{9}$[%] in the second; i.e., £200 on an outlay of 1,300 in 2 years which $=15\,^{5}/_{13}$[%]. If this were levelled out, the MANUFACTURER would receive $20\,^{5}/_{26}$[%] and so would the FARMER.[140] In other words, this would be the average profit. This would result [in the second year] in [a price of] less than £500 for the FARMER's commodity and more than £1,000 for the MANUFACTURER's commodity.

[XI-535] At all events, the MANUFACTURER here lays out £400 in the first year and 900 in the 2nd, while the FARMER lays out only £400

on each occasion. If the MANUFACTURER instead of producing COTTONS had built a house (if he were a builder) then at the end of the 1st year, the unfinished house would embody £500 and he would have to spend a further £400 on labour in order to complete it. The FARMER, however, whose capital turned over within the year, can recapitalise a part, say 50, of his £100 profit and spend it again on labour, which the MANUFACTURER, in the SUPPOSED CASE, cannot do. If the rate of profit is to be *the same* in both cases, then the commodity of one must be sold *above* its value and that of the other *below* its value. Since competition strives to level out values into cost prices, this is what happens.

But it is incorrect to say, as Ricardo does, that here a VARIATION IN THE RELATIVE VALUES takes place "ON ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFERENT DEGREES OF DURABILITY OF CAPITALS" or "ON ACCOUNT OF THE TIME WHICH MUST ELAPSE BEFORE ONE SET OF COMMODITIES CAN BE BROUGHT TO MARKET". It is, rather, the adoption of a *general rate of profit*, which despite the different VALUES brought about by the circulation process, gives rise to equal *cost prices* which are *different* from values, for values are determined only by labour time.

Ricardo's illustration consists of two examples. The *DURABILITY* OF CAPITAL, or the character of capital as fixed capital, does not enter into the second example at all. It only deals with capitals of different size, but of which the same amount is laid out in wages, as variable capital, and where profits are to be equal, although the surplus values and values must be different.

Neither does *DURABILITY* enter into the first example. It is concerned with the *longer labour process*—the longer period during which the commodity has to remain within the sphere of production before it *becomes a finished* commodity and can enter into circulation. In this example of Ricardo the MANUFACTURER also employs more capital in the second year than the FARMER although he employs the same amount of variable capital in both years. The FARMER, however, could employ a greater variable capital in the 2nd year, because his commodity remains within the labour process for a shorter period and is converted more quickly into money. Besides, that part of profit which is consumed as revenue, is already available to the FARMER at the end of the first year, but to the MANUFACTURER only at the end of the 2nd. The latter must therefore spend an additional amount of capital for his keep which he *advances* to himself. Incidentally, whether in CASE II a compensation can take place and profits can be *equalised* depends here entirely on the degree to which the profits of the capitals which are turned over in one year are recapitalised, in other

words, on the actual amount of profits produced. Where there is nothing, there is nothing to equalise. Here the capitals again produce values, hence surplus values, hence profits not in proportion to the size of the capital. If profits are to be proportionate to their size, then there must be *COST PRICES* different from the VALUES.

Ricardo gives a third illustration, which, however, is again *exactly* the same as the first example of the first illustration and contains nothing new at all.

* "Suppose I employ twenty men at an expense of £1,000 for a year in the production of a commodity, and at the end of the year I employ twenty men again for another year, at a further expense of £1,000 in finishing or perfecting the same commodity, and that I bring it to market at the end of two years, if profits be 10 per cent, my commodity must sell for £2,310; *for* I have employed £1,000 capital for one year, and £2,100 capital for one year more. Another man employs precisely the same quantity of labour, but he employs it all in the first year; he employs forty men at an expense of £2,000, and at the end of the first year he sells it with 10 per cent *profit*, or for £2,200. Here then are two commodities having precisely the same quantity of labour bestowed on them, one of which sells for £2,310—the other for £2,200. This case *appears* to differ from the last, but is, *in fact*, the same" * (pp. 34-35).

It IS NOT ONLY THE SAME "IN FACT", BUT "IN APPEARANCE" TOO, except that in the one case the COMMODITY is called "machine" and here simply "COMMODITY". In the first example, the MANUFACTURER laid out 400 in the first year and 900 in the 2nd. This time he lays out 1,000 in the first and 2,100 in the second. The FARMER laid out 400 in the first and 400 in the 2nd. This time, the second man lays out 2,000 in the first year and nothing in the second. That is the whole difference. In both cases, however, *fabula docet*[a] applies to the fact that one of the men lays out in the second year the whole of the product of the first (including surplus value)+AN ADDITIONAL SUM.

The CLUMSINESS of these examples shows that Ricardo is wrestling with a difficulty which he does not understand and succeeds even less in overcoming. The CLUMSINESS consists in this: The first example of the first illustration is meant to bring in the *DURABILITY* OF CAPITAL; it does NOTHING OF THE SORT; Ricardo himself has made this *impossible* because he does not let any part of fixed capital enter into the commodity as wear and tear, thus excluding the very factor through which the *peculiar mode of circulation* of *fixed capital* becomes evident. He merely demonstrates that as a consequence of the longer duration of the labour process, a *greater* capital is employed than where the labour process takes a shorter time. The

[a] Lit. the fable teaches; fig.: maxim of the fable.—*Ed.*

3rd example is supposed to illustrate something different, but in reality illustrates the same thing. The *second example* of the first [XI-536] illustration, however, is intended to show what differences arise as a result of different ratios of fixed capital. Instead it only shows the difference brought about by two capitals of *unequal* size, although the same amount of capital is laid out in wages. And, furthermore, the MANUFACTURER operates without cotton and yarn and the farmer without seeds or implements! The complete inconsistency, even absurdity, of this illustration necessarily arises from the underlying lack of clarity.

Finally he states the practical conclusions to be drawn from all these illustrations:

> * "The difference in value arises in both cases from the *profits* being accumulated as capital, and is only a *just compensation*" * (as though it were a question of JUSTICE here) * "*for the time that the profits were withheld*" * (p. 35).

What does this mean, other than that in *a definite period of circulation, for instance a year,* a capital must yield 10% whatever its specific period of circulation may be and quite independently of the *various surplus values* which, according to the proportion of their organic component parts, *capitals of equal size* must produce IN DIFFERENT TRADES, irrespective of the circulation process.

Ricardo should have drawn the following conclusions:

[*Firstly*:] Capitals of equal size produce commodities of unequal *values* and therefore yield *unequal surplus values* or *profits,* because value is determined by labour time, and the amount of labour time realised by a capital does not depend on its absolute size but on the size of the variable capital, the capital laid out in wages. *Secondly*: Even assuming that capitals of equal size produce *equal values* (although the inequality in the sphere of production usually coincides with that in the sphere of circulation), the *period* within which they can *appropriate equal quantities of unpaid labour* and convert these into money, still varies in accordance with their *circulation period.* Thus arises a second difference in the values, surplus values and profits which capitals of *equal size* must yield IN DIFFERENT TRADES in a given *period of time.*

Hence, if *profits* as a PERCENTAGE of capital are to be equal over a period, say, of a year, so that capitals of equal size yield equal profits in the same period of time, then the *prices* of the commodities must be different from their *values.* The sum total of these *cost prices* of all the commodities taken together will *be equal to their value.* Similarly the total profit will be=to the total surplus value which all these capitals yield, for instance, during one year. If one did not take the definition of value as the basis, the *average*

*profit*, and therefore also the cost prices, would be purely imaginary and untenable. The equalisation of the surplus values IN DIFFERENT TRADES does not affect the absolute size of this total surplus value; but merely alters its *distribution* in the DIFFERENT TRADES. The *determination of this surplus value* itself, however, only arises out of the determination of value by labour time. Without this, the average profit is the average *of nothing*, pure FANCY. And it could then equally well be 1,000% or 10%.

All Ricardo's illustrations only serve him as a means to smuggle in the *presupposition of a general rate of profit*. And this happens in the first chapter "On Value", while WAGES are supposed to be dealt with only in the 5th chapter and profits in the 6th. How from the mere determination of the "*value*" of the commodities their surplus value, the profit and even a *general rate of profit* are derived remains obscure with Ricardo. IN FACT the only thing which he proves in the above illustrations is that the *prices* of the commodities, in so far as they are determined by the general rate of profit, are entirely different from their *values*. And he arrives at this difference by postulating the *rate of profit* to be LAW. One can see that though Ricardo is accused of being too abstract, one would be justified in accusing him of the opposite: lack of the power of abstraction, inability, when dealing with the values of commodities, to forget profits, a FACT which confronts him as a result of competition.

Because Ricardo, instead of deriving the difference between cost prices and values from the determination of value itself, admits that "values" themselves (here it would have been appropriate to define the concept of "ABSOLUTE" OR "REAL VALUE" OR "VALUE" as such) are determined by influences that are independent of labour time and that the law of value is sporadically invalidated by these influences, this was used by his opponents, such as Malthus, in order to attack his whole [XI-537] theory of values. Malthus correctly remarks that the differences between the organic component parts of capital and the turnover periods of capitals in different TRADES develop simultaneously with the progress of production, so that one would arrive at Adam Smith's standpoint, that the determination of value by labour time was no longer applicable to "civilised" times. (See also Torrens.) On the other hand his disciples have resorted to the most pitiful scholastic inventions, to make these phenomena consistent with the fundamental principle (see [James] Mill and the miserable McCulloch).[a]

[a] See present edition, Vol. 32; pp. XIII—759-64, XIV—782-88, 791-93, 840-50 of Marx's manuscript.—*Ed.*

Ricardo does not dwell on the conclusion which follows from his own illustrations, namely, that—*quite apart* from the rise or fall of wages—on the assumption of constant wages, the cost prices of commodities must differ from their values, if cost prices are determined by the same PERCENTAGE OF PROFIT. But he passes on, in this SECTION, to the influence which the rise or fall of wages exerts on *cost prices* to which the values have already been levelled out.

The matter is in itself extraordinarily simple.

The FARMER lays out £5,000 at 10%; his commodity=£5,500. If the profit falls by 1% from 10 to 9, because wages have risen and the rise in wages has brought about this reduction, then he continues to sell at 5,500 (since it is assumed that he lays out the whole of his capital in wages). But of these 5,500 only $454\,^{14}/_{109}$ belong to him and not 500. The capital of the MANUFACTURER consists of £5,500 for machinery and 5,000 for LABOUR. As before, the latter 5,000 results in a product of 5,500, except that now the manufacturer does not lay out 5,000 but $5{,}045\,^{95}/_{109}$ and on this he makes a profit of only $454\,^{14}/_{109}$, like the FARMER. On the other hand he can no longer reckon 10% or 550 on his fixed capital of 5,500 but only 9% or 495. He will therefore sell his commodity at £5,995 instead of at 6,050. Thus, as a result of the rise in wages, the money price of the FARMER's commodity has remained the same, while that of the MANUFACTURER has fallen, the value of the FARMER's commodity COMPARED with that of the MANUFACTURER has therefore risen. The whole point of the matter is that if the MANUFACTURER sold his commodity at the same value as before, he would make a higher profit than the average, because only the part of his capital that has been laid out in wages is directly affected by the rise in wages. This illustration in itself already *assumes* cost prices regulated by an average profit of 10% and *differing from the values of the commodities.* The question is, how are these cost prices affected by the rise or fall in profit, when the capitals employed contain different proportion of fixed and circulating capital? This illustration (Ricardo, pp. 31-32) has nothing to do with the essential question of the *transformation of values into cost prices.* But it is a nice point because Ricardo in fact demonstrates here that, if the composition of the capitals were the same, a rise in wages—contrary to the vulgar view—would only bring about a lowering of profits without affecting the values of the commodities; if the composition of the capitals is unequal, then it will only bring about a *fall* in the price of some commodities instead of—as vulgar opinion maintains—a rise in the *price of all commodities.* Here the fall in the prices of commodities results from

a fall in the rate of profit or, which amounts to the same thing, a rise in wages. In the case of the MANUFACTURER a large part of the *cost price* of the commodity is determined by the average profit which he reckons on his fixed capital. If, therefore, this rate of profit falls or rises as a result of the rise or fall in wages, then the *price of these* commodities will fall or rise correspondingly—that is in accordance with THAT PART OF THE PRICE WHICH RESULTS FROM THE PROFIT CALCULATED UPON THE FIXED CAPITAL. The same applies to "CIRCULATING CAPITALS *RETURNABLE* AT *DISTANT* PERIODS, AND VICE VERSA" (McCulloch).[a] If the capitalists who employ less variable capital were to continue to chalk up their fixed capital at the same rate of profit, and add it to the price of the commodity then their rate of profit would rise and it would rise in the proportion in which they employ more fixed capital than those whose capital consists to a greater extent of variable capital. This would be levelled out by competition.

"Ricardo," says Mac, "was the first who analysed the effects of FLUCTUATIONS in wages on the value of commodities, when the capitals employed in their production were not of the same degree of durability" (pp. 298-99). "Ricardo has not only shown that it is impossible for any RISE OF WAGES to raise the price of *all* commodities; but that in many cases a *RISE OF WAGES* necessarily leads to a *FALL OF PRICES*, and a *FALL OF WAGES* to a *RISE OF PRICES*" (McCulloch, *The Principles of Political Economy*, Edinburgh and London, 1825, p. 299).

Ricardo proves his point by firstly postulating *cost prices regulated by a general rate of profit.*

Secondly: "*THERE CAN BE NO RISE IN THE VALUE OF LABOUR WITHOUT A FALL OF PROFITS*" (p. 31).

Thus already in CHAPTER I *on value*, those laws are presupposed, which in CHAPTERS V and VI "On Wages" and "On Profits" should be deduced from the CHAPTER "On Value". Incidentally, [XI-538] Ricardo concludes quite wrongly, that because "THERE CAN BE NO RISE IN THE VALUE OF LABOUR WITHOUT A FALL OF PROFITS", THERE CAN BE NO RISE OF PROFITS WITHOUT A FALL IN THE VALUE OF LABOUR. The first law refers to surplus value. But since profit=the proportion of surplus value to the total capital advanced, profit can rise though the VALUE OF LABOUR remains the same, if the value of constant capital falls. Altogether Ricardo mixes up surplus value and profit. Hence he arrives at erroneous laws on profit and the rate of profit.

The general *fabula docet* of the last illustration is as follows:

* "The degree of alteration in the relative value of goods on account of a rise or fall of labour" * (or, which amounts to the same thing, rise or fall in the rate of

[a] J. R. McCulloch, *The Principles of Political Economy*..., Edinburgh, London, 1825, p. 300.—*Ed.*

profit), * "would depend on the proportion which the fixed capital bore to the whole capital employed. All commodities which are produced by very valuable machinery, or in very valuable buildings, or which require a great length of time before they can be brought to market, would fall in relative value, while all those which were chiefly produced by labour, or which would be speedily brought to market would rise in relative value" * (p. 32).

Again Ricardo comes to the one point with which he is really concerned in his investigation. These VARIATIONS IN the COST PRICES OF COMMODITIES RESULTING FROM A RISE OR FALL IN WAGES are insignificant compared with those variations in the same COST PRICES which are brought about by VARIATIONS IN THE VALUES OF COMMODITIES // Ricardo IS FAR FROM EXPRESSING THIS TRUTH IN THESE ADEQUATE TERMS//, in the QUANTITY OF LABOUR EMPLOYED IN THEIR PRODUCTION. One can therefore, by and large, "abstract" from this and, accordingly, the law of VALUES remains virtually correct. (He should have added that the COST PRICES themselves remain unintelligible without VALUES, AS DETERMINED BY THE TIME OF LABOUR.) This is the true course of his investigation. In fact it is clear that despite the transformation of the values of commodities into *cost prices*, the latter having been assumed, a *CHANGE* in cost prices //and these cost prices must not be confused with *market prices*: they are the average market prices of the commodities in the DIFFERENT TRADES. *Market price* itself already includes an average in so far as *commodities of the same sphere* are determined by the prices of those commodities which are produced under the mean, AVERAGE conditions of production of this sphere. By no means under the *worst conditions*, as Ricardo assumes with rent, because the average demand is related to a certain price, even with corn. A certain amount of the supply is therefore not sold *above* this price. Otherwise the demand would fall. Those whose conditions of production are not average but *BELOW*[a] average, must therefore often sell their commodity not only below its value but below its *cost price*//, in so far as it does not arise from a permanent fall or rise, A PERMANENT ALTERATION, IN THE RATE OF PROFIT which can only establish itself in the course of many years—can only and solely be caused by a *CHANGE* in the *VALUES* of commodities, in the labour time necessary for their production.

* "The reader, however, should remark, that this cause of the variations of commodities" (this should read variations of COST PRICES or, as he *calls them*, RELATIVE VALUES OF COMMODITIES) "is comparatively slight in its effects. ... Not so with the other great cause of the variation in the value of commodities, namely, the increase or diminution in the quantity of labour necessary to produce them... An alteration in the permanent rate of profits, to any great amount, is the effect of

[a] In the manuscript, this English word is given in parenthesis after its German equivalent.— *Ed.*

causes which do not operate but in the course of years; whereas alterations in the quantity of labour necessary to produce commodities, are of daily occurrence. Every improvement in machinery, in tools, in buildings, in raising the raw material, saves labour, and enables us to produce the commodity to which the improvement is applied with more facility, and consequently its *value* alters. In estimating, then, the causes of the variations in the value of commodities, although it would be wrong wholly to omit the consideration of the effect produced by a rise or fall of labour, it would be equally incorrect to attach much importance to it" * (pp. 32-33).

He therefore takes no further account of this.

The whole of this Section IV of CHAPTER I "On Value" is so extraordinarily confused, that, although Ricardo announces at the start that he intends to *consider the influence of the* VARIATIONS in the VALUES of commodities brought about by the *rise or fall in wages* which results from differences in the composition of capital, he actually does this only occasionally. IN FACT, he fills the major part of SECTION IV with illustrations which prove that, *quite independently* of the *rise or fall* of wages—he himself assumes that wages remain *constant*—the *postulation* [XI-539] of a *general rate of profit* must result in COST PRICES which differ from the VALUES of the commodities and, moreover, that this does not even depend on the DIFFERENCE [in the proportion] OF FIXED and CIRCULATING CAPITAL. He forgets this again at the end of the section.

He announces the subject of his inquiry in SECTION IV with the words:

* "This difference in the degree of *durability* of fixed capital, and this *variety in the proportions* in which the two sorts of capital may be combined, introduce *another cause*, besides the greater or less quantity of labour necessary to produce commodities, for the variations in their relative value—*this cause is the rise or fall in the value of labour*" * (pp. 25-26).

IN FACT, he shows by his illustrations, *d'abord*, that it is only the *general rate of profit* which enables the DIFFERENT COMBINATIONS of SORTS OF CAPITAL (namely variable and constant, etc.) to differentiate the PRICES of COMMODITIES from their VALUES, that therefore the *CAUSE* OF THOSE VARIATIONS is the general rate of profit and not THE VALUE OF LABOUR, which is assumed to be constant. Then—only in the second place—he assumes COST PRICES already differentiated from VALUES as a result of the general rate of profit and he examines how VARIATIONS IN THE VALUE OF LABOUR affect these. Number 1, the main point, he does not investigate; he loses sight of it altogether and closes the SECTION as he began it:

* "it being shown in this section that without any variation in the quantity of labour, *the rise of its value* merely will occasion a fall in the exchangeable value of those goods, in the production of which *fixed capital* is employed; the larger the amount of fixed capital, the greater will be the fall" * (p. 35).

And in the following SECTION V (CHAPTER I) he continues on the same LINES, in other words, he only investigates how the *COST PRICES* of commodities can be altered by A *VARIATION IN THE VALUE OF LABOUR, OR WAGES,* not when the proportion OF FIXED and CIRCULATING CAPITALS is different in TWO EQUAL CAPITALS IN TWO DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS, but when THERE IS "*UNEQUAL DURABILITY* OF FIXED CAPITAL" or "*UNEQUAL RAPIDITY IN THE RETURN OF THE* CAPITALS TO THEIR *OWNERS*". The correct surmise implied in SECTION IV, regarding the difference between COST PRICES and VALUES brought about by the general rate of profit, is here no longer noticeable. Only a secondary question is examined here, namely, the VARIATION in the COST PRICES themselves. This SECTION, therefore, is in fact of hardly any theoretical interest, apart from the occasional mention of differences in the form of capitals arising from the circulation process.

* "In proportion as fixed capital is less durable, it approaches to the nature of circulating capital. It will be consumed and its *value reproduced in a shorter time,* in order to preserve the capital of the manufacturer" * (p. 36).

Thus the LESSER DURABILITY and the difference between FIXED and CIRCULATING capital in general, are reduced to the difference in the *period of reproduction.* This is certainly a determination of decisive importance. But by no means the only one. Fixed capital enters wholly into the labour process and only in SUCCESSIVE stages and by instalments into the valorisation process. This is another major distinction in their form of circulation. Furthermore: fixed capital enters—*necessarily* enters—only as *exchange value* into the process of circulation, while its *use value* is consumed in the labour process and never goes outside it. This is another important distinction in the *form of circulation.* Both distinctions in the form of circulation also concern the period of circulation; but they are not identical with the DEGREES [of durability of capitals] and the DIFFERENCES [in the period of circulation].

Less durable capital *constantly* requires a greater quantity of *labour,*

* "to keep [it] in its original state of efficiency; but the labour so bestowed may be considered as really expended on the commodity manufactured, which must bear a value in proportion to such labour" (pp. 36-37). "If the wear and tear of the machine were great, if the quantity of labour requisite to keep it in an efficient state were that of fifty men annually, I should require an additional price for my goods, equal to that which would be obtained by any other manufacturer who employed fifty men in the production of other goods, and who used no machinery at all. But a rise in the wages of labour would not equally affect commodities produced with machinery quickly consumed, and commodities produced with machinery slowly consumed. In the production of the one, a *great deal of labour would be continually transferred to the commodity* produced" *

//but he is so occupied with his GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT, that he does not see that thereby A relatively *great deal of surplus labour would be continually transferred to the commodity//

"in the other very little would be so transferred"

//hence very little surplus labour, hence much less value, if the commodities exchanged according to their values//.

"Every rise of wages, therefore, or, which is the same thing, [XI-540] every fall of profits, would lower the relative value of those commodities which were produced with a capital of a durable nature, and would proportionally elevate those which were produced with capital more perishable. A fall of wages would have precisely the contrary effect"* (pp. 37-38).

In other words: The MANUFACTURER who employs FIXED CAPITAL OF LESS DURABILITY employs relatively less fixed capital and more capital expended in wages, than the one who EMPLOYS CAPITAL OF GREATER DURABILITY. This case is therefore identical with the previous one, illustrating how a VARIATION in WAGES affects capitals, one of which consists of relatively, proportionately, more fixed capital than the other. THERE IS NOTHING NEW [here].

What Ricardo further says about *MACHINERY* on pp. 38-40 should be held over until we come to CHAPTER XXXI "On Machinery".[a]

It is curious how Ricardo, at the end, almost expresses the correct idea in a passing *phrase* only to let it go again and after touching upon it, returns again to his dominating idea of the effect of an ALTERATION IN THE VALUE OF LABOUR on COST PRICES and finally concludes the investigation with this *secondary consideration.*

The passage containing the allusion is the following:

*"It will be seen, then, that in the early stages of society, before much machinery or durable capital is used, the commodities produced by *equal capitals* will be nearly of *equal value,* and will rise or fall only relatively to each other on account of more or less labour being required for their production;"*

//the final clause is badly worded; it refers moreover not to VALUE but to *COMMODITIES,* and is meaningless, unless it refers to their *PRICES*; for to say that *VALUES* FALL in proportion to labour time means that VALUES FALL OR RISE AS THEY RISE OR FALL//

*"but after the introduction of these expensive and durable instruments, the *commodities produced by the employment of equal capitals will be of very unequal value*; and although they will still be liable to rise or fall relatively to each other, as more or less labour becomes necessary to their production, they will be subject to another, though a minor variation, also, from the rise or fall of wages and profits. Since goods which sell for £5,000 may be the produce of a capital equal in amount to that from which are produced other goods which sell for £10,000, the *profits on*

[a] See present edition, Vol. 32; XIII—734-35 of Marx's manuscript.—*Ed.*

*their manufacture will be the same*; but those *profits would be unequal*, if *the prices of the goods* did not vary with a rise or fall in *the rate of profits*"* (pp. 40-41).

In fact Ricardo says:

*Capitals of equal size* produce commodities of *equal values*, if the ratio of their organic component parts is *the same*; if equally large portions of them are expended on wages and on the conditions of labour. The same quantities of labour, therefore equal values //apart from the difference which might arise through the circulation process// are then embodied in their commodities. On the other hand, capitals of *equal size* produce commodities OF VERY UNEQUAL VALUE, when their organic composition is different, namely, when the proportion between the part existing as fixed capital and the part laid out in wages differs considerably. Firstly, only a part of the fixed capital enters into the commodity as a component part of value, consequently the *magnitude of their values* will greatly vary according to whether much or little fixed capital is employed in the production of the commodity. Secondly, the part laid out in wages—calculated as a percentage on capital of equal size—is much smaller, therefore also the total labour embodied in the commodity, and consequently the surplus labour //given a working day of equal length// which constitutes the surplus value. If, therefore, these capitals of equal size—whose commodities are of *unequal values* and these unequal values *contain unequal surplus values*, and therefore *unequal profits*—if these capitals because of their equal size are to yield equal profits, then the PRICES OF THE GOODS (AS DETERMINED BY THE GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT ON A GIVEN OUTLAY) must be very different from the VALUES OF THE GOODS. Hence it follows, not that the VALUES have altered their nature, but that the PRICES are different from the VALUES. It is all the more surprising that Ricardo did not arrive at this conclusion, for he sees that even if one presupposes COST PRICES determined by the GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT, a change in the RATE OF PROFIT (or RATE OF WAGES) must change these cost prices, so that the RATE OF PROFIT [XI-541] in the different TRADES may remain the same. How much more therefore must the ESTABLISHMENT OF A GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT change UNEQUAL VALUES since this GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT is in fact nothing other than the levelling out of the DIFFERENT RATES OF SURPLUS VALUE in different commodities produced by EQUAL CAPITALS.

Having thus, if not set forth and comprehended, at any rate virtually demonstrated, the difference between COST and VALUE, COST PRICES and VALUES of commodities, Ricardo ends with the following sentence:

* "Mr. Malthus appears to think that it is a part of my doctrine, that *the cost* and

*value* of a thing should be the same;— *it is*, if he means by cost '*cost of production*' *including profits*" * (p. 46, note). (That is, outlay+PROFIT as determined by the GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT.)

With this erroneous confusion of COST PRICES and VALUES, which he has himself refuted, he then proceeds to consider rent.

With regard to the influence of the VARIATIONS IN THE VALUE OF LABOUR UPON THE COST PRICE OF GOLD, Ricardo says the following in SECTION VI, CHAPTER I:

* "May not gold be considered as a commodity produced with such proportions of the two kinds of capital as approach nearest to the average quantity employed in the production of most commodities? May not these proportions be so nearly equally distant from the two extremes, the one where little fixed capital is used, the other where little labour is employed, as to form a just mean between them?" * (l.c., p. 44).

This is far more applicable to those commodities into whose composition the various organic constituents enter in the AVERAGE proportion, and whose period of circulation and reproduction is also of AVERAGE length. For these, COST PRICE and VALUE coincide, because for them, and only for them, average profit coincides with their actual surplus value.

As inadequate as SECTIONS IV and V of CHAPTER I appear in their consideration of the INFLUENCE of the VARIATIONS IN THE VALUE OF LABOUR ON "RELATIVE VALUES", theoretically a secondary matter compared with the transformation of VALUES INTO COST PRICES through the AVERAGE RATE OF PROFIT, so important is the conclusion which Ricardo draws from this, thereby demolishing one of the major errors that had persisted since Adam Smith, namely, that the raising of wages, instead of reducing profits, RAISES THE PRICES OF COMMODITIES. This is indeed already implied in the very concept of *VALUES* and is in no way altered by the transformation of values into COST PRICES, since this, in any case, only affects the *distribution* of *the surplus value made by the total capital* among the various TRADES OF DIFFERENT CAPITALS IN DIFFERENT SPHERES OF PRODUCTION. But it was important that Ricardo stressed this point and even proved the opposite to be the case. He is therefore justified in saying in SECTION VI, CHAPTER I:

* "Before I quit this subject, it may be proper to observe, that Adam Smith, and all the writers who have followed him, have, without one exception that I know of, maintained that a rise in the price of labour would be uniformly followed by a rise in the price of all commodities." *

//This corresponds to Adam Smith's 2nd explanation of VALUE, according to which it is equal to the QUANTITY OF LABOUR A COMMODITY CAN PURCHASE.//[a]

[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 376-84.— *Ed.*

* "I hope I have succeeded in showing, that there are no grounds for such an opinion, and that only those commodities would rise which had less fixed capital employed upon them *than the medium in which price was estimated,*" * (here RELATIVE VALUE is=to the EXPRESSION of the VALUE IN MONEY), * "and that all those which had more, would precisely fall in price when wages rose. On the contrary, if wages fell, those commodities only would fall, which had a less proportion of fixed capital employed on them, than the medium in which price was estimated; all those which had more, would positively rise in price" * (p. 45).

With regard to *money* prices this seems *wrong*. When gold rises or falls IN VALUE, FROM WHATEVER CAUSES, then it does so to the same extent for all commodities which are assessed in it. Since it thus represents a relatively unchangeable medium despite its changeability, it is not at all clear how any RELATIVE COMBINATION of fixed capital and circulating capital in gold, compared with commodities, can bring about a difference. But this is due to Ricardo's *false assumption* that money, in so far as it serves as a medium of circulation, exchanges as a commodity for commodities. Commodities are assessed in money before it circulates them. Supposing WHEAT were the MEDIUM instead of gold. If, for example, consequent upon a rise in wages, WHEAT as a commodity into which enters more than the AVERAGE variable instead of constant capital, were to rise relatively in its price of production, then all commodities would be assessed in wheat of higher "relative value". The commodities into which more fixed capital entered, would be expressed in less wheat than before, not because their specific price had fallen compared with wheat but because their price had fallen in general. A commodity which contained just as much labour—as against ACCUMULATED LABOUR—as wheat, would show its rise [in price] by being expressed in more wheat [XI-542] than a commodity whose price had fallen as compared with wheat. If the same causes which raised the price of wheat, raised, for example, the price of clothes, then although the clothes would not be expressed in more wheat than previously, those [commodities], whose price had fallen compared with wheat, for instance COTTON, would be expressed in less. Wheat would be the medium in which the difference in the price of COTTON and clothes would be expressed.

But what Ricardo means is something different. He means that: because of a rise in wages, wheat would rise as against COTTON but not as against clothes. Thus clothes would exchange for wheat at the old price, whereas COTTONS would exchange against wheat at the higher price. In itself, the assumption that VARIATIONS in the price of wages in England, for instance, would alter the cost price of gold in California where wages have not risen, is utterly absurd.

The levelling out of *values* by labour time and even less the levelling out of *cost prices* by a general rate of profit does not take place in this direct form between different countries. But take even wheat, a home product. Say that the qr of wheat has risen from 40s. to 50s., i.e., by 25%. If the dress has also risen by 25%, then it is worth 1 qr of wheat as before. If the COTTON has fallen by 25%, then the same amount of COTTON which was previously worth 1 qr is now only worth 6 BUSHELS of wheat.[141] And this expression in wheat represents exactly the ratio of the prices of COTTON and clothes, because they are being measured in *the same* medium, in 1 qr of wheat.

Moreover, this notion is absurd in another way too. The *price* of the commodity which serves as a measure of value and hence as money, does not exist at all, because otherwise, apart from the commodity which serves as money I would need a second commodity to serve as money—a DOUBLE MEASURE OF VALUES. The relative value of money is expressed in the innumerable prices of all commodities; for in each of these prices in which the exchange value of the commodity is expressed in money, the exchange value of money is expressed in the use value of the commodity. There can therefore be no talk of a rise or fall in *the* price of money. I can say: the price of money in terms of wheat or of clothes has remained the same; its price in terms of COTTON has risen, or, which is the same, that the money price of COTTON has fallen. But I cannot say that the *price* of money has risen or fallen. But Ricardo actually maintains that, for instance, the price of money in terms of COTTON has risen or the price of COTTON in terms of money has fallen, because the relative value of money has risen as against that of COTTON while it has retained the same value as against clothes or wheat. Thus the two are measured with an *unequal* measure.

This Section VI "On an Invariable Measure of Value" deals with the "*measure of value*" but contains nothing important. The connection between value, its immanent measure—i.e., labour time—and the necessity for an *external* measure of the values of commodities is not understood or even raised as a problem.

The very opening of this section shows the superficial manner in which it is handled.

* "When commodities varied in relative value, it *would be desirable* to have the means of ascertaining which of them fell and which rose in real value, and this could be effected only by comparing them one after another with some invariable standard measure,[a] which should itself be subject to none of the fluctuations to which other commodities are exposed" * (pp. 41-42). But * "there is no commodity

[a] Ricardo has "standard measure of value".—*Ed.*

which is not itself exposed to the same variations ... that is, there is none which is not subject to require more or less labour for its production"* (p. 42).

Even if there were such a commodity, the influence of the RISE OR FALL OF WAGES, the DIFFERENT COMBINATIONS OF FIXED AND CIRCULATING CAPITAL, the different degrees of DURABILITY of the FIXED CAPITAL employed and THE [different] LENGTH OF TIME BEFORE the commodity CAN BE BROUGHT TO MARKET, etc., would prevent it from being:

*"a perfect measure of value, by which we could accurately ascertain the variations in all other things" (p. 43). "It would be a perfect measure of value for all things produced under the same circumstances precisely as itself, but for no others"* (l.c.).

That is to say, if these "OTHER THINGS" varied, we could say (provided the value of money did not rise or fall) that the VARIATION was caused by the rise or fall in their *values*, in the labour time necessary for their production. With regard to the other THINGS, we could not know whether the "VARIATIONS" in their money prices were due to other reasons, etc. Later we shall have to come back to this matter which is quite unsatisfactory. (During a subsequent revision of the theory of money.)[a]

*CHAPTER I, SECTION VII.* Apart from the important doctrine on "*RELATIVE*" WAGES, PROFITS and RENTS, to which we shall return later,[b] this SECTION contains nothing but the theory that a fall or rise in the value of money accompanied by a corresponding rise or fall in wages, etc., does not alter the relations but only their MONETARY EXPRESSION. If the same commodity is expressed in double the number of pounds sterling, so also is that part of it which resolves into profit, WAGES or RENT. But the ratio of these three to one another and the REAL VALUES they represent, remain the same. Ditto when the profit is expressed by double the number of pounds, £100 is then however represented by £200 so that the relation between profit and capital, the rate of profit, remains unaltered. The changes in the monetary expression affect profit and capital simultaneously, ditto profit, WAGES and RENT. This applies to rent as well in so far as it is not calculated on the ACRE but on the capital advanced in agriculture, etc. In short, in this case the VARIATION is not in the COMMODITIES, etc.

*"A rise of wages from this cause will, indeed, be invariably accompanied by a rise in the price of commodities; but in such cases, it will be found that labour and all commodities have not varied in regard to each other, and that the variation has been confined to money"* (p. 47).

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 32; pp. XIV—817-22 of Marx's manuscript.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid.; pp. XII—637-50 and 662-65 of Marx's manuscript.—*Ed.*

[XI-543] AVERAGE OR COST PRICES AND MARKET PRICES

In developing his theory of differential rent, in CHAPTER II, "On Rent", Ricardo puts forward the following thesis:

* "The *exchangeable value of all commodities*, whether they be manufactured, or the produce of the mines, or the produce of the land, is always regulated, not by the less quantity of labour that will suffice for their production under circumstances highly favourable, and exclusively enjoyed by those who have peculiar facilities of production; but by the greater quantity of labour necessarily bestowed on their production by those who have no such facilities; by those who *continue* to produce them under the most unfavourable circumstances; meaning—by the most unfavourable circumstances, *the most unfavourable under which the quantity of produce required, renders it necessary* to carry on the production"* (pp. 60-61).

The last sentence is not entirely correct. The "QUANTITY OF PRODUCE REQUIRED" [is] not a fixed magnitude. [It would be correct to say:] A CERTAIN QUANTITY OF PRODUCE REQUIRED WITHIN CERTAIN LIMITS OF PRICE. If the latter rises above these LIMITS then the "QUANTITY REQUIRED" falls with the demand.

The thesis set out above can be expressed in general terms as follows: The value of the commodity—which is the product of a particular sphere of production—is determined by the labour which is required in order to produce the *whole amount*, the *total sum* of the commodities appertaining to this sphere of production and not by the particular labour time that each individual CAPITALIST or EMPLOYER within this sphere of production requires. The general conditions of production and the general productivity of labour in this particular sphere of production, for example in COTTON MANUFACTURE, are the average conditions of production and the average productivity in this sphere, in COTTON MANUFACTURE. The quantity of labour by which, for example, [the value of] a yard of COTTON is determined is therefore not the quantity of labour it contains, the quantity the MANUFACTURER HAS EXPENDED UPON IT, but the average quantity with which all the COTTON-MANUFACTURERS PRODUCE ONE YARD OF COTTON for the market. Now the particular conditions under which the individual CAPITALISTS produce, for example, in COTTON MANUFACTURE, necessarily fall into 3 categories. Some produce under *medium* conditions, i.e., the individual conditions of production under which they produce coincide with the *general* conditions of production in the sphere. The average conditions are their *actual* conditions. The productivity of their labour is at the average level. The *individual* value of their commodities coincides with the *general* value of these commodities. If, for example, they sell the yard of COTTON at 2s.—the average value—then they sell it at the *value* which the yards they produce represent *in natura*. Another

category produces under *better* than average conditions. The *individual* value of their commodities is *below* their general value. If they sell their commodities at this general value, they sell them *above* their individual value. Finally, a third category produces under conditions of production that are *below* the average.

Now the "QUANTITY OF PRODUCE REQUIRED" from this particular sphere of production is not a fixed magnitude. If the rise of the value of the commodities above the average value exceeds CERTAIN LIMITS, the "QUANTITY OF PRODUCE REQUIRED" falls or this QUANTITY is only REQUIRED AT A GIVEN PRICE—OR AT LEAST WITHIN CERTAIN LIMITS OF PRICE. Hence it is just as possible that the last-mentioned category has to sell *below* the individual value of its commodities as the better placed category always sells its products *above* their individual value. Which of the categories has a decisive effect on the average value, will in particular depend on the numerical ratio or the proportional size of the categories.[142] If numerically the middle category greatly outweighs the others, it will settle [the average value]. If this group is numerically weak and that which works *below the average conditions* is numerically strong and predominant, then the latter settles the GENERAL VALUE OF THE PRODUCE OF THAT SPHERE, although this by no means implies and it is even very unlikely, that the individual capitalist who is the most *unfavourably* placed in the last group, is the determining factor (SEE Corbet).[143]

*Mais laissons ça à part.*[a] The general result is that: The *general* value of the products of this group is *the same* for all, whatever may be its relation to the particular value of each individual commodity. This *common* value is the *market value* of these commodities, the value at which they appear on the market. Expressed in money, this market value is the *market price*, just as in general, value expressed in money is price. The actual market price is now above, now below this market value and coincides with it only by chance. Over a certain period, however, the fluctuations equal each other out and it can be said that the average of the actual market prices *is* the *market price* which represents *the market value.* Whether, at a given moment, the actual market price corresponds to this market value *in magnitude*, i.e., *quantitatively* or not, at any rate it shares the *qualitative* characteristic with it, that all commodities of the same sphere of production available on the market have the *same* price (assuming of course that they are of the same quality), that is, in practice, they represent the *general* value of the commodities of this sphere.

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[a] But let us leave this aside.—*Ed.*

[XI-544] The above thesis put forward by Ricardo for the purpose of his theory of rent has therefore been interpreted by his disciples to mean that *two different market prices* cannot exist simultaneously on the same market or: products *of the same* kind found on the market simultaneously have *the same price* or—since we can leave out of account here the accidental features of this price—*the same market value.*

Thus competition, partly among the capitalists themselves, partly between them and the buyers of the commodity and partly among the latter themselves, brings it about here that the value of each individual commodity in a particular sphere of production is determined by the *total mass of social labour time* required by the *total mass of the commodities of this particular sphere of social production* and not by the individual values of the separate commodities or the labour time the individual commodity has cost its *particular* producer and seller.

It obviously follows from this, however, that, whatever the circumstances, the capitalists belonging to the first group—whose conditions of production are more favourable than the average—make an excess profit, in other words their profit is *above* the general rate of profit of this sphere. Competition, therefore, does not bring about the *market value* or *market price* by the *equalisation of profits within* a particular sphere of production. (For the purpose of this investigation, this distinction is irrelevant since the differences in the conditions of production—HENCE the DIFFERENT RATES OF PROFIT for the individual capitalists—in *the same* sphere, remain, whatever may be the relationship of MARKET PRICE TO MARKET VALUE.) *On the contrary,* competition here equalises the *different individual values* to the same, *equal, undifferentiated market value,* by permitting *differences between individual profits,* profits of individual capitalists, and their *deviations* from *the average rate of profit* in the sphere. It even creates differences by establishing *the same market value* for commodities produced under unequal conditions of production, therefore with unequal productivity of labour, the commodities thus representing individual *unequal quantities of labour time.* The commodity produced under more favourable conditions, *contains* less labour time than that produced under less favourable conditions, but it sells at the same price, and has the same value, as if it contained the same labour time though this is not the case.

For the establishment of his theory of rent, Ricardo needs two propositions which express not only *different* but *contradictory* effects of competition. According to the first, the products of the

same sphere sell at *one and the same market value*, competition therefore enforces *different rates of profit*, deviations from the general rate of profit. According to the second, the *rate of profit* must be *the same* for each capital investment, that is, competition brings about a *general rate of profit*. The first law applies to the various independent capitals invested in *the same sphere of production*. The second applies to capitals in so far as they are invested in *different spheres of production*. By the first action, competition creates the *market value*, that is, *the same value* for commodities of the same sphere of production, although this *identical value* must result in *different profits*; it thus creates *the same* value *despite of, or rather by means of, different* rates of *profit*. The second action (which, incidentally, is brought about in a different way; namely, the competition between capitalists of *different* spheres throws the capital from one sphere into another, while the other competition, in so far as it is not competition between buyers, occurs between capitals of *the same* sphere) enables competition to create the *cost price*, in other words *the same rate of profit* in the various spheres of production, although this *identical rate of profit* is contrary to the inequality of values, and can hence only be enforced by PRICES *which are different* from values.

Since Ricardo needs both these propositions—*equal value* or price *with unequal rate of profit*, and equal *rate of profit* with *unequal values*,—for his theory of rent, it is most remarkable that he does not sense this twofold determination and that even in the section where he deals *ex professo* with *market price*, in CHAPTER IV "On Natural and Market Price", he does not deal with *market price* or *market value* at all, although in the above-quoted passage[a] he uses it as a basis to explain *differential rent*, the excess profit crystallised in the form of rent. [XI-545] But he deals here merely with the reduction of the *prices* in the *different spheres of production* to *cost prices* or *average prices*, i.e., with the relationship between the market values of the different spheres of production and not with the establishment of the market value in each particular sphere, and unless this is established market values do not exist at all.

The *market values* of each particular sphere, therefore the *market prices* of each particular sphere (if the market price corresponds to the "NATURAL PRICE", in other words if it merely represents the value in the form of money) would yield very different rates of profit, for capitals of equal size in *different* spheres—quite apart from the

[a] See this volume, p. 428.—*Ed.*

differences arising from their different processes of circulation—employ very unequal proportions of constant and variable capital and therefore yield very unequal surplus values, hence [very unequal] profits. The levelling out of the various market values, so that *the same* rate of profit is produced in different spheres and capitals of equal size yield equal average profits, is therefore only possible by the transformation of *market values* into *cost prices* which are different from the actual values.

It is possible that the *rate of surplus value* is not equalised in the different spheres of production (for instance because of unequal length of labour time). This is *not necessary* because the surplus values themselves are equalised.

What competition within *the same* sphere of production brings about, is the determination of the *value of the commodity in a given sphere* by the average labour time required in it, i.e., the creation of the *market value.* What competition between the *different* spheres of production brings about, is the *creation of the same general rate of profit* in the *different* spheres through the levelling out of the different market values into market prices, which are *cost prices* that are different from the actual market values. Competition in this 2nd instance by no means tends to assimilate the prices of the commodities to their values, but on the contrary, to reduce their values to cost prices that differ from these values, to abolish the differences between their values and cost prices.

It is only this latter process which Ricardo considers in CHAPTER IV and, oddly enough, he regards it as the reduction of the prices of commodities—through competition—to their values, the reduction of the MARKET PRICE (a price which is different from value) to the NATURAL PRICE (the value expressed in terms of money). This BLUNDER, however, arises from the error he committed already in CHAPTER I "*On Value*", where he identified COST PRICE and VALUE,[a] this in turn was due to the fact that at a point where as yet he was only concerned with explaining "VALUE", where he, therefore, as yet, only had to deal with "*commodity*", he plunged in with the *general rate of profit* and all the conditions arising from the more developed capitalist relations of production.

Ricardo's whole procedure in CHAPTER IV is therefore quite superficial. He starts out from the "ACCIDENTAL AND TEMPORARY VARIATIONS OF [the] PRICE" (p. 80) of commodities resulting from the fluctuating relations between demand and supply.

* "With the rise or fall of price, *profits* are elevated above, or depressed below *their general level,* and capital is either encouraged to enter into, or is warned to

[a] See this volume, 423-24.— *Ed.*

depart from *the particular employment* in which the variation has taken place"* (p. 80).

Here the GENERAL LEVEL OF PROFIT prevailing between the different spheres of production, BETWEEN "THE PARTICULAR EMPLOYMENTS" is already presupposed. But he should have considered first, how the GENERAL LEVEL OF PRICE in the same EMPLOYMENT and the GENERAL LEVEL OF PROFIT between DIFFERENT EMPLOYMENTS is brought about. Ricardo would then have seen that the latter operation already presupposes movements of capital in all directions—or a *distribution*, determined by competition, OF THE WHOLE SOCIAL CAPITAL BETWEEN ITS DIFFERENT SPHERES OF EMPLOYMENT. Once it is assumed that the market values or average market prices in the different spheres are reduced to *cost prices* yielding the same average RATE OF PROFIT //this is however only the case in spheres where landed property does not interfere; where it INTERFERES, competition—within the same sphere—can convert the price to the value and the value to the market value, but it cannot reduce the market value to the cost price//, persistent deviations of the market price from the cost price, when it rises above or falls below it in particular spheres, will bring about new migrations and a new distribution of SOCIAL capital. The first migration occurs in order to establish *cost prices* which differ from *values*. The second migration occurs in order to equalise the *actual market prices* with the cost prices—as soon as they rise above or fall below the latter. The first is a transformation of the values into cost prices. The second is a rotation of the actual [XI-546] market prices of the moment in the various spheres around the cost price, which now appears as the NATURAL PRICE, although it is different from the value and only the result OF SOCIAL ACTION.

It is this latter, more superficial movement which Ricardo examines and at times unconsciously confuses with the other. Both are of course brought about by "THE SAME PRINCIPLE", namely, THE PRINCIPLE THAT while

* "every man [is] free to employ his capital where he pleases ... [he] will naturally seek for it that employment which is most advantageous; he will naturally be dissatisfied with a profit of 10 per cent, if by removing his capital he can obtain a profit of 15 per cent. This *restless desire on the part of all the employers of stock, to quit a less profitable for a more advantageous business, has a strong tendency to equalise the rate of profits of all*, or to fix them *in such proportions*, as may, in the estimation of the parties, compensate for any advantage which one may have, or may appear to have over the other"* (p. 81).

This TENDENCY has the effect of distributing the total mass of social labour time *among the various spheres of production* according to the social need. In this way, the values in the different spheres are at the same time transformed into cost prices, and on the

other hand, the VARIATIONS of the actual prices in particular spheres from the cost prices are levelled out.

All this is [contained in] Adam Smith['s work]. Ricardo himself says:

* "No writer has more satisfactorily and ably shewn than Dr. Smith, the tendency of capital to move from employments in which the goods produced do not repay by *their price the whole expenses, including the ordinary profits,*" * (that is to say, the *cost prices*) * "of producing and bringing them to market" * (p. 342, note).

The achievement of Ricardo, whose BLUNDER is on the whole caused by his *lack of criticism* of Adam Smith in this respect, consists in his more precise exposition of this MIGRATION OF CAPITAL FROM ONE SPHERE TO THE OTHER, or rather of the manner in which this occurs. He was, however, only able to do this because the credit system was more highly developed in his time than in the time of Adam Smith. Ricardo says:

* "It is perhaps very difficult to trace *the steps* by which this change is *effected*: it is probably effected, by a manufacturer *not absolutely changing his employment, but only lessening the quantity of capital he has in that employment.* In all rich countries, there is a number of men forming what is called the *monied class*;" * (Here Roscher could have seen once again what the Englishman understands by the term "MONIED CLASS". The "MONIED CLASS" is here diametrically opposed to the "INDUSTRIOUS PART OF THE COMMUNITY.")[a] * "these men are engaged in *no trade,* but live on the interest of their money, which is employed in discounting bills, or in loans to the more *industrious* part of the community. The bankers too employ a large capital on the same objects. The capital so employed forms a circulating capital of a large amount, and is employed, in larger or smaller proportions, by all the different trades of a country. There is perhaps no manufacturer, however rich, who limits his business to the extent that his own funds alone will allow: he has always some portion of this floating capital, increasing or diminishing according to the activity of the demand for his commodities. When the demand for silks increases, and that for cloth diminishes, the clothier does not remove with his capital to the silk trade, but he dismisses some of his workmen, he discontinues his demand for the loan from bankers and monied men; while the case of the silk manufacturer is the reverse: he *borrows more, and thus capital is transferred from one employment to another, without the necessity of a manufacturer discontinuing his usual occupation.* When we look to the markets of a large town, and observe how regularly they are supplied both with home and foreign commodities, in the quantity in which they are required, under all the circumstances of varying demand, arising from the caprice of taste, or a change in the amount of population, without often producing either the effects of a glut from a too abundant supply, or an enormously high price from the supply being unequal to the demand, we must confess that *the principle which apportions capital to each trade* in the precise amount that is required, is more active than is generally supposed" * (p. [p. 81-] 82).

*Credit* therefore is the means by which the capital of the whole capitalist class is placed at the disposal of each sphere of production, not in proportion to the capital belonging to the

[a] Cf. this volume, p. 352.— *Ed.*

capitalists in a given sphere but in proportion to their production requirements—whereas in competition the individual capitals appear to be independent of each other. Credit is both the result and the condition of capitalist production and this provides us with a convenient transition from the *competition between capitals* to *capital as credit.*

At the beginning of Chapter IV, Ricardo says that by NATURAL PRICE he understands the VALUE of the commodities, that is, the PRICE as determined by their relative labour time, and that by MARKET PRICE he understands the ACCIDENTAL AND TEMPORARY DEVIATIONS from this NATURAL PRICE=VALUE. [XI-547] Throughout the chapter—and he is quite explicit in this—he understands something quite different by NATURAL PRICE, namely, *cost price* which is different from VALUE. Thus, instead of showing how competition transforms VALUES INTO COST PRICES, i.e., creates PERMANENT DEVIATIONS FROM VALUES, he shows, following Adam Smith, how competition reduces the MARKET PRICES IN DIFFERENT TRADES TO COST PRICES.

Thus CHAPTER IV opens like this:

* "In making *labour* the *foundation* of the value of commodities, and the *comparative quantity of labour* which is necessary to their production, the rule which determines the respective quantities of goods which shall be given in exchange for each other, we must not be supposed to deny the *accidental and temporary deviations of the actual* or *market price* of commodities from this, *their primary and natural price*" * (p. 80).

Here therefore NATURAL PRICE= VALUE and MARKET PRICE is nothing but the DEVIATION of ACTUAL PRICE FROM VALUE.

As against this:

* "Let us suppose that all commodities are at their *natural price,* and *consequently* that the *profits of capital* in *all employments* are exactly at the *same rate,* or differ only so much as, in the estimation of the parties, is equivalent to any real or fancied advantage which they possess or forego" * (p. 83).

Here, therefore, NATURAL PRICE=COST PRICE, that is, equals the price at which the relation between the profit and the ADVANCES embodied in the commodity is the same, although *equal values* of commodities produced by capitals in different TRADES contain very *unequal* surplus values, and thus *unequal profits.* If the price is to yield the same profit, it must therefore be different from the VALUE of the commodity. On the other hand, capitals of equal size produce *commodities of very unequal value,* according to whether a larger or a smaller portion of the fixed capital enters into the commodity. But more about this when dealing with the circulation of capitals.

By equalisation through competition, Ricardo therefore understands only the rotation of the ACTUAL PRICES or ACTUAL MARKET PRICES

around the *COST PRICES* or the *NATURAL PRICE* AS distinct FROM the *VALUE*, the levelling out of the MARKET PRICES IN DIFFERENT TRADES TO GENERAL COST PRICES, i.e., precisely to PRICES which are different from the REAL VALUES IN THE DIFFERENT TRADES:

* "It is then the desire, which every capitalist has, of diverting his funds from a less to a more profitable employment, that prevents the *market price* of commodities from continuing for any length of time either much above, or much below their *natural price*. It is this competition which so adjusts the *changeable values*" * //and also the *DIFFERENT REAL* VALUES// * "of commodities, that after paying the wages for the labour necessary to their production, and all other expenses required to put the capital employed in its original state of efficiency, the *remaining value or overplus* will in *each trade* be in proportion to the *value* of *the capital* employed" * (p. 84).

This is EXACTLY the CASE. Competition ADJUSTS THE PRICES in the DIFFERENT TRADES so that THE *REMAINING VALUE OR OVERPLUS*, the profit, corresponds to the *VALUE OF THE CAPITAL EMPLOYED*, but not to the REAL VALUE of the commodity, not to the REAL OVERPLUS OF VALUE WHICH IT CONTAINS AFTER THE DEDUCTION OF EXPENSES. To BRING THIS ADJUSTMENT ABOUT THE PRICE OF ONE COMMODITY MUST BE RAISED ABOVE, AND [that of] THE OTHER [must] BE DEPRESSED BELOW THEIR RESPECTIVE REAL VALUES. It is not the value of the commodities but their cost price, i.e., the EXPENSES they contain+THE GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT, around which competition forces the market prices in the DIFFERENT TRADES to rotate.

Ricardo continues:

* "In the 7th chapter of the *Wealth of Nations*, all that concerns this question is most ably treated" * (p. 84).

IN FACT it is his uncritical belief in the Smithian tradition, which here leads Ricardo astray.

As usual, Ricardo closes the chapter by saying that in the following investigations, he wants to "LEAVE ENTIRELY OUT OF CONSIDERATION" (p. 85) the ACCIDENTAL DEVIATIONS of MARKET PRICES from the COST PRICE; but he overlooks the fact that he has paid no regard at all to the *CONSTANT* DEVIATIONS of MARKET PRICES, in so far as they correspond to COST PRICES, from the REAL VALUES of the commodities and that he has substituted COST PRICE for VALUE.

*CHAPTER* XXX "On the Influence of Demand and Supply on Prices".

Here Ricardo defends the proposition that the permanent price is determined by the *COST PRICE*, and not by *SUPPLY OR DEMAND*; that, therefore, the permanent price is determined by the *value* of the commodities only in so far as this value determines the COST PRICE. Provided that the prices of the commodities are so adjusted that they all yield a profit of 10%, then every lasting CHANGE in these prices will be determined by a CHANGE in their VALUES, in the labour

time required for their production. As this VALUE continues to determine the GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT, so the CHANGES in it continue to determine the VARIATIONS in COST PRICES, although of course *the difference between COST PRICES and VALUES* is thereby *not* superseded. What is superseded is only that the difference between VALUE and ACTUAL PRICE should not [XI-548] be greater *than the DIFFERENCE between COST PRICES and VALUES, a difference that is brought about by the general rate of profit.* With the CHANGES IN THE VALUES OF COMMODITIES, their COST PRICES also change. A "*NEW NATURAL PRICE*" (p. 460) is formed. If, for example, the worker can now produce 20 hats in the same period of time which it previously took him to produce 10 hats, and if wages accounted for $^1/_2$ the EXPENSE of the hat, then the EXPENSES, the COSTS OF PRODUCTION, of the 20 hats, in so far as they consist of wages, have fallen by half. For the same wages are now paid for the production of 20 hats as previously for 10. Thus each hat now contains only $^1/_2$ the expenses incurred in wages. If the hat manufacturer were to sell the hats at the same price he would sell them above the cost price. If the profit had previously been 10% then it would now be $46^2/_3$%, assuming the outlay for the manufacture of a certain quantity of hats was originally 50 for raw material, etc., and 50 for labour. [The outlay] would now be 50 for raw material, etc. and 25 for wages. If the commodity is sold at the old price, then the profit$=^7/_{15}$ or $46^2/_3$%. As a result of the fall in VALUE, the new NATURAL PRICE will therefore fall to such an extent that the price only yields 10% profit. The fall in the value or in the labour time necessary for the production of the commodity reveals itself in the fact that less labour time is used for *the same amount* of commodity, hence also less *paid labour time,* less *wages* and, consequently, the costs, the wages paid (i.e., the *amount* of wages; this does not presuppose a fall *in the rate of wages*) proportionately decline for the production of *each individual* commodity.

This is the case if the CHANGE in value has taken place in the hat making itself. Had it occurred in the production of the raw material or of the instrument of labour, then this would have been similarly expressed as a diminution OF EXPENSE OF WAGES FOR THE PRODUCTION OF A CERTAIN GIVEN QUANTITY OF PRODUCE in these spheres; but to the HAT MANUFACTURER it would denote that his constant capital had cost him less.

The *COST PRICES* or "*NATURAL PRICES*" (which have nothing to do with "NATURE") can fall in two ways as a result of a CHANGE—here a FALL—*IN THE VALUES* OF COMMODITIES:

[*Firstly*] because the wages laid out in the production OF A GIVEN QUANTITY OF COMMODITIES fall, owing to a fall in the aggregate ABSOLUTE

AMOUNT OF LABOUR, PAID LABOUR and UNPAID LABOUR, EXPENDED on this QUANTITY.

*Secondly*: If, as a result of the increased or diminished productivity of labour (both can occur, the one when the proportion of variable capital to constant capital falls, the other when wages rise owing to the means of subsistence becoming dearer), the ratio of surplus value to the value of the commodity or to the value of the labour contained in it changes, then the rate of profit rises or falls, and the AMOUNT OF LABOUR is differently divided up.

In the latter case, the prices of production or cost prices could change only in so far as they are affected by VARIATIONS IN THE VALUE OF LABOUR. In the first case, the VALUE OF LABOUR remains the same. In the second case, however, it is not the *values* of the commodities which alter, but only the division between [necessary] LABOUR and SURPLUS LABOUR. A CHANGE in the productivity and therefore in the VALUE of the *individual* commodity would nevertheless take place in this case. The same CAPITAL will produce more commodities than previously in the one case and less in the other. The aggregate volume of the commodities in which it is materialised would have *the same value*, but the *individual commodity* would have a different value. Although the value of the wage does not determine the value of the commodities, the value of the commodities (which enter into the consumption of the worker) determines the value of the wage.

Once the cost prices of the commodities in the DIFFERENT TRADES are established, they rise or fall relatively to each other with any change in the VALUES of the commodities. If the productivity of labour rises, the labour time required for the production of a *particular commodity* decreases and therefore its *value falls*; whether this CHANGE in PRODUCTIVITY occurs in the labour used in the final process or in the constant capital, the COST PRICE of this commodity must also fall correspondingly. The *ABSOLUTE AMOUNT of LABOUR employed on it* has been reduced, hence also the AMOUNT of PAID LABOUR it contains and the AMOUNT of wages expended on it, even though the rate of wages has remained the same. If the commodity were sold at its former cost price, then it would yield a higher profit than the GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT, since formerly, this profit was=to 10% on the higher outlay. It would therefore be now more than 10% on the diminished outlay. If on the contrary the productivity of labour decreases, the REAL VALUES of the commodities rise. When the rate of profit is given—or, which is the same thing, the cost prices are given—the relative rise or fall

of the cost prices is dependent on the rise or fall, the VARIATION, in the REAL VALUES of the commodities. As a result of this variation, NEW COST PRICES or, as Ricardo says, following Smith, "NEW NATURAL PRICES" take the place of the old.

In CHAPTER XXX, from which we have just been quoting, Ricardo expressly identifies NATURAL PRICE, i.e., cost price, with NATURAL VALUE, i.e., value as determined by labour time.

* "Their price" (of monopolised commodities) "has no necessary connexion with their *natural value*: but the *prices* of commodities, which are subject to competition, ... will ultimately depend ... on [the] ... *cost of their production*" * (p. 465).

Here therefore are COST PRICES or NATURAL PRICES directly [XI-549] identified with "*NATURAL VALUE*", i.e., with "*VALUE*".

This confusion explains why later a whole lot of fellows post Ricardum, like Say himself, could accept "THE COST OF PRODUCTION" as the ultimate regulator of prices, without having the slightest inkling of the determination of value by labour time, indeed they directly deny the latter while maintaining the former.[144]

This whole BLUNDER of Ricardo's and the consequent erroneous exposition of rent, etc., as well as the erroneous laws about the *rate of profit*, etc, spring from his failure to distinguish between *surplus value* and *profit*; and in general his treatment of *definitions of form* is crude and uncomprehending, just as that of the other economists. The following will show how he allowed himself to be ensnared by Smith.

It must first be noted that according to Adam Smith as well,

"there are always a few commodities of which the price resolves itself into *two* parts only, the wages of labour and the profits of stock" ([Garnier,] l. I, ch. VI, v. I, p. 103) [Vol. I, p. 88].[14]

*This* difference between Ricardo's and Smith's views can therefore be ignored here.

Adam Smith first explains that exchange value resolves itself into a certain quantity of labour and that after deducting raw materials, etc., the value contained in exchange value is resolved into that part of labour for which the labourer is paid and that part for which he is not paid, the latter part consists of profit and rent (the profit in turn may be resolved into profit and interest). Having shown this, he suddenly turns about and instead of resolving exchange value into wages, profit and rent, he declares these to be the elements forming exchange value, he makes them into independent exchange values that form the exchange value of the product; he constructs the exchange value of the commodity from the values of wages, profit and rent, which are determined

independently and separately. Instead of having their source in value, they become the source of value.

"*Wages, profit,* and *rent, are the three original sources* of all revenue as well as of *all exchangeable value*" ([Garnier,] t. I, l. I, ch. VI, p. 105) [Vol. I, p. 89].

Having revealed the intrinsic connection, he suddenly again comes under the sway of the mere appearance of the thing, the *connection as it appears in competition,* and in competition everything always appears in inverted form, always standing on its head.

Now it is from this latter inverted starting-point that Smith develops the distinction between the "*natural price* of the commodities" and their "*market price*". Ricardo accepts this from him, but forgets that Adam Smith's "natural price" is, according to Smith's premisses, nothing other than the *cost price* resulting from competition and that for Smith himself, this cost price is only identical with the "VALUE" of the commodity, in so far as he forgets his more profound conception and sticks to the false concept derived from the external *appearance,* namely that the exchange VALUE of COMMODITIES is formed by putting together the independently determined VALUES OF WAGES, PROFIT and RENT. While Ricardo contests this concept throughout, he accepts Smith's confusion or identification of *exchange value* with COST PRICE or NATURAL PRICE, which is based *on that very concept.* In the case of Adam Smith this confusion is legitimate, because his whole examination of *natural price starts out* from his second, false conception of VALUE. But in Ricardo's case, it is wholly unjustifiable, because he nowhere accepts this wrong conception of Adam Smith's, but contests it *ex professo* as an inconsistency. Adam Smith, however, succeeded in ensnaring him again with his *natural price.*

Having *compounded* the value of the commodity from the separate and independently determined *values of wages, profit* and *rent,* Adam Smith now asks himself how these primary values are determined. And here he starts out from the phenomenon as it appears in competition.

[In] CHAPTER *VII, BOOK I,* "Of the Natural and Market Price of Commodities" [he says:]

"There is in every society or neighbourhood an *ordinary* or *average rate* of wages—profit—rent" ([Garnier,] l.c., t. I, p. 110) [Vol. I, p. 93]. These "average rates may be called the *natural rates* of wages, profit, and rent, at the time and place in which they commonly prevail" ([Garnier,] pp. 110, 111) [Vol. I, p. 93]. "When the *price* of any commodity is neither more nor less than what is sufficient to pay the rent, [...] the wages [...] and the profits [...] according to their *natural*

rates, the commodity is then sold for [...] its *NATURAL PRICE*"[a] ([Garnier,] p. 111) [Vol. I, pp. 93-94].

This natural price is then the *cost price* of the commodity and the cost price coincides with the *value* of the commodity, since it is presupposed that the value of the latter is compounded of the values of wages, profit and rent.

"The commodity is [XI-550] then *sold precisely for what it is worth*" (the commodity is then sold at its *value*) "or[b] for what *it* really *costs* the person who brings it to market" (at its value *or* at the cost price for the person who brings it to market) "for though in common language what is called the *prime cost* of any commodity does *not comprehend the profit* of the person who is to sell it again, yet if he sells it at a *price* which *does not allow him the ordinary rate of profit* in his neighbourhood, he is evidently a loser by the trade; since *by employing his stock in some other way* he might have made *that profit*" ([Garnier,] p. 111) [Vol. I, p. 94].

Here we have the whole genesis of natural price and, besides, set out in quite appropriate language and logic, since the value of the commodity is composed of the prices of wages, profit and rent, while the true value of profit and rent is, in turn, constituted by their *natural level*; thus it is clear that the value of the *commodity* is identical with its *cost price* and the latter with the *natural price* of the commodity. The level of profit, i.e., the rate of profit, as of wages, is *presupposed*. They are indeed given for *formation* of the cost price. They are *antecedent* to the cost price. To the individual capitalist therefore they also appear as given. The hows, whys and wherefores do not concern him. Adam Smith here adopts the standpoint of the individual capitalist, the agent of capitalist production, who fixes the cost price of his commodity. So much for wages, etc., so much for the general rate of profit. *Ergo*: This is how this capitalist *sees* the operation by which the *cost price* of the commodity is fixed or, as it further seems to him, the *value* of the commodity, for he also knows that the market price is now above, now below this cost price, which therefore appears to him as the ideal price of the commodity, its absolute price as distinct from its price fluctuations, in short as its *value*, in so far as he has any time at all to reflect on matters of this sort. And since Smith transports himself right into the midst of competition, he immediately reasons and argues with the peculiar logic of the capitalist caught up in this sphere. He interjects: In common language, *costs* do not include the *profit* made by the seller (which necessarily forms a surplus above his EXPENSES). Why then do you

[a] Marx quotes Smith in German. The English term "natural price" is followed by its German equivalent.— *Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript, this French word is followed by the German word in parenthesis.— *Ed.*

include profit in the cost price? Adam Smith answers like the profound capitalist to whom this question is put:

*Profit in general* must enter into cost price, because I would be cheated if *only* a profit of 9 instead of 10% were to enter into cost price.[145]

The naïve way in which Adam Smith on the one hand expresses the thoughts of the agent of capitalist production and presents things boldly and comprehensively, as they appear to and are thought of by the latter, as they influence him in practice, and as, indeed, they appear on the surface, while, on the other hand, he sporadically reveals their more profound relationships, gives his book its great charm.

One can see here too why Adam Smith—despite his considerable scruples on this point—resolves the entire value of the commodity only into rent, profit and wages and omits constant capital, although of course he admits its existence for each "individual" capitalist. For otherwise he would have to say: The value of a commodity consists of wages, profit, rent and that part of the value of the commodity which does not consist of wages, profit, rent. It would therefore be necessary to determine value independently of wages, profit and rent.

If, besides the outlay on average wages, etc., the price of the commodity also covers the average profit and—if rent enters into the commodity—the average rent, then the commodity is sold at its *natural* or *cost price*, and this cost price is equal to its *value*, for its value is nothing but the sum of the natural values of wages, profit and rent.

[XI-551] Having taken his stand in competition and *assumed* the rate of profit, etc., as *given*, Adam Smith for the rest interprets correctly *natural price* or *cost price*, namely, the cost price as distinct from the market price.

"The *natural price* [of the commodity], or the whole *value* of the rent, profit, and wages, which must be paid in order to bring it" (the commodity) "to market" ([Garnier,] l.c., p. 112) [Vol. I, p. 95].

This cost price of the commodity is different from the *actual price* or *market price* of the commodity. ([Garnier,] p. 112) [Vol. I, p. 95]. The latter is dependent on demand and supply.

The *production costs* of the commodity or the *cost price* of the commodity is precisely "the *whole value* of the rent, wages, and profit, *which must be paid in order to bring it" to market* [Garnier, l.c., t. I, p. 113] [Vol. I, p. 95]. If demand corresponds to supply, then the market price is equal to the natural price.

"When the quantity brought to market is just sufficient to supply the effectual demand and no more, the *market price* naturally comes to be exactly ... the same with the *natural price*" ([Garnier,] l.c., t. I, p. 114) [Vol. I, p. 96]. "The *natural* price, therefore, is, as it were, the central point, to which the prices of all commodities are continually gravitating. Different accidents may sometimes keep them suspended a good deal above it, and sometimes force them down even somewhat below it" ([Garnier,] l.c., t. I, p. 116) [Vol. I, p. 98].

Hence Adam Smith concludes that in general, the

"whole quantity of industry annually employed in order to bring any commodity to market" will correspond to the needs of society or the "effectual demand" ([Garnier,] p. 117) [Vol. I, p. 98].

What Ricardo conceives as the distribution of total capital among the DIFFERENT TRADES appears here in the as yet more naïve form of the industry needed in order to produce "a *particular* commodity". The levelling out of prices among the sellers of *the same* commodity to the market price and the levelling out of the market prices of the various commodities to the cost price are here as yet jumbled up in complete confusion.

At this point Smith, only quite incidentally, touches upon the INFLUENCE of the VARIATION IN THE REAL VALUES OF COMMODITIES on the natural prices or cost prices.

Namely in agriculture

"the same quantity of industry will in different years produce very different quantities of commodities; while in others it will produce always the same, or very nearly the same. The same number of labourers in husbandry will, in different years, produce very different quantities of corn, wine, oil, hops, etc. But the same number of spinners and weavers will every year produce the same or very nearly the same quantity of linen and woollen cloth. ... In the other" (the non-AGRICULTURAL) "species of industry, the *produce of equal quantities of labour being always the same,* or very nearly the same" (i.e., so long as the conditions of production remain *the same*), "it can be more exactly suited to the effectual demand" ([Garnier,] pp. 117-18) [Vol. I, pp. 98, 99].

Adam Smith sees here that a mere CHANGE in the PRODUCTIVITY of "equal quantities of labour", therefore, in the actual values of commodities, alters COST PRICES. But he makes this again more shallow by reducing it to the relation between SUPPLY AND DEMAND. According to his own arguments, the proposition as he presents it, is wrong. For, while in agriculture, as a result of varying seasons, etc., "equal quantities of labour" yield different quantities of products, he himself has demonstrated that as a result of machinery, division of labour, etc., "equal quantities of labour" yield very different amounts of product in manufacture, etc. It is therefore not *this* difference which distinguishes agriculture from the other branches of industry; but the fact that in one case the "degree of productive power" applied is "determined be-

forehand", while in the other, it depends on accidents of nature. But the result remains the same: the *value of the commodities* or the QUANTITY OF LABOUR which, depending on its productivity, HAS TO BE EXPENDED ON A GIVEN COMMODITY, affects cost prices.

In the following passage Adam Smith has also [shown] how the MIGRATION OF CAPITALS from one TRADE to another establishes cost prices in the various TRADES. But he is not so clear on this as Ricardo. For if the [XI-552] price of the commodity falls *below* its NATURAL PRICE, then, according to his argument, this is due to one of the elements of this price falling *below* the NATURAL TAX or rate. Thus it is not due to the withdrawal of *capitals alone* or to the migration of capitals, but to the migration of LABOUR, CAPITAL OR LAND from one branch to another. In this respect his view is more consistent than Ricardo's, but it is wrong.

"Whatever part of it" (the natural price) "was paid below the *natural* rate, the persons whose interest it affected would immediately feel the loss, and would immediately *withdraw either so much land, or so much labour, or so much stock, from being employed about it*, that the quantity brought to market would soon be no more than sufficient to supply the effectual demand. Its *market price*, therefore, would soon rise to the *natural price*. This at least would be the case where there was perfect liberty" ([Garnier,] l.c., p. 125) [Vol. I, pp. 104-05].

This represents an essential difference between Smith's and Ricardo's conceptions of the levelling out to the *natural price*. Smith's [conception] is based on his false assumption, that the 3 elements independently determine the value of the commodity, while Ricardo's is based on the correct assumption that it is the *average rate of profit* (at a given level of wages), which alone determines the cost prices.

"The *natural price* itself varies with the *natural rate* of each of its component parts, of wages, profit, and rent" ([Garnier,] l.c., p. 127) [Vol. I, p. 106].

In CHAPTERS VIII, IX, X and XI of BOOK I, Adam Smith then seeks to determine the natural rate of these "component parts", wages, rent and profit, and the VARIATIONS in this rate.

*CHAPTER VIII*: "Of the Wages of Labour".

At the start of the CHAPTER on wages, Smith—forsaking the illusory standpoint of competition—in the first place shows the true nature of surplus value and [regards] profit and rent as mere forms of surplus value.

The basis from which he determines the natural rate of wages is the value of labour capacity itself, the *necessary wage*.

"A man must always live by his work, and his wages must at least be sufficient to maintain him. They must even upon most occasions be somewhat more; otherwise it would be impossible for him to bring up a family, and the race of such workmen could not last beyond the first generation" ([Garnier,] l.c., p. 136) [Vol. I, pp. 113-14].

This, however, becomes meaningless again because he never asks himself how the value of the necessary means of subsistence, i.e., of the *commodity* in general is determined. And here, since he has moved away from his main conception, Adam Smith would have to say: The price of wages is determined by the price of the means of subsistence and the price of the means of subsistence is determined by the price of wages. Having once assumed that the *value* of wages is fixed, he gives an exact description of its fluctuations, as they appear in competition, and the circumstances that cause these fluctuations. This belongs to the exoteric part [of his work] and does not concern us here. (In particular [he deals with] the *accumulation* of capital, but he does not tell us what determines it, since this accumulation can only be rapid either if the rate of wages is relatively low and the productivity of labour high (in this case a rise in wages is always the result of a permanently low level of wages during the preceding period) or if the rate of accumulation is low but the productivity of labour is high. From his standpoint, he would have to deduce the rate of wages in the first case from the rate of profit (I.E., from the rate of wages), and in the second case from the GROSS AMOUNT OF PROFIT, but this would in turn necessitate his investigating the *value* of the commodity.)

He tries to derive the value of the commodity from the value of labour which is one of its CONSTITUTIONAL ELEMENTS. And on the other hand he explains the level of wages by saying that

> "the wages of labour do not ... fluctuate with the price of provisions" ([Garnier,] p. 149) [Vol. I, p. 123] and that "the wages of labour vary more from place to place than the price of provisions" ([Garnier,] l.c., p. 150) [Vol. I, p. 123].

In fact the chapter contains nothing relevant to the question except the definition of the *minimum wage, alias* the value of labour capacity. Here Adam Smith instinctively resumes the thread of his more profound argument, only to lose it again, so that even the above-cited definition [signifies] nothing. For how [does he propose to] determine the *value* of the necessary means of subsistence—and therefore of commodities in general? Partly by the NATURAL PRICE OF LABOUR. And how is this to be determined? By the VALUE OF NECESSARIES, OR COMMODITIES IN GENERAL. A vicious circle. As to the rest, the CHAPTER contains not a word on the issue, the *NATURAL PRICE* OF LABOUR, [XI-553] but only investigations into the rise of WAGES above the LEVEL of the NATURAL rate, demonstrating that the rise of wages is proportionate to the rapidity with which capital accumulates, that is, to the progressive accumulation of capital. Then he examines the various conditions of society in which this takes

place, and finally he gives a slap in the face to the determination of the value of the commodity by wages and of wages by the value of the NECESSARIES, by showing that this does [not] appear to be the case in England. In between comes a piece of Malthusian population theory—because wages are determined by the means of subsistence necessary, not only for maintaining the life [of the worker], but also for the reproduction of the population.

Namely after attempting to prove that wages *rose* during the 18th century, especially in England, Adam Smith raises the question whether this is to be regarded "as an advantage or as an inconveniency to the society" ([Garnier,] l.c., p. 159) [Vol. I, p. 130]. In this connection he returns temporarily to his more profound approach, according to which profit and rent are merely parts *of the product* of the worker. The workmen, he says:

"firstly, make up the far greater part of society. But what improves the circumstances of the greater part can never be regarded as any inconveniency to the whole. No society can surely be flourishing and happy, of which the far greater part of the members are poor and miserable. It is but equity, besides, that they who feed, clothe, and lodge the *whole body of the people*, should have *such a share of the produce of their own labour* as to be themselves tolerably well fed, clothed, and lodged" ([Garnier,] pp. 159-60) [Vol. I, pp. 130-31].[a]

In this connection he touches upon the theory of population:

"Poverty, though it no doubt discourages, does not always prevent marriage. It seems even to be favourable to generation. ... Barrenness, so frequent among women of fashion, is very rare among those of inferior station. ... But poverty, though it does not prevent the generation, is extremely unfavourable to the rearing of children. The tender plant is produced, but in so cold a soil and so severe a climate, soon withers and dies. ... Every species of animals naturally multiplies in proportion to the means of their subsistence, and no species can ever multiply beyond it. But in civilised society it is only among the inferior ranks of people that the scantiness of subsistence can set limits to the further multiplication of the human species. ... *The demand for men*, like that for any other commodity, *necessarily regulates the production of men*; quickens it when it goes on too slowly, and stops it when it advances too fast..." ([Garnier,] l.c., pp. 160-63 *passim*) [Vol. I, pp. 131-33].

The connection between the wages minimum and the varying conditions of society is as follows:

"The wages paid to journeymen and servants of every kind must be such as may enable them, one with another, *to continue the race of journeymen and servants*, according as the increasing, diminishing, or stationary demand of the society may happen to require" ([Garnier,] l.c., p. 164) [Vol. I, p. 134]. (Of the society! That is to say—of capital.)

He then shows that the slave is "dearer" than the free labourer, because the latter *himself looks after his "wear and tear" whereas that of the former* is [controlled] "by a negligent master or careless

[a] Here Marx quotes Smith in German.—*Ed.*

overseer" ([Garnier,] p. 164 et seq.) [Vol. I, p. 134 et seq.]. The "fund" for replacing the "wear and tear" is frugally used by the free labourer whereas for the slave it is wastefully and disorderly administered.

"The fund destined for replacing or repairing, if I may say so, the *wear and tear* of the slave, a result of his long service,[a] is commonly managed by a negligent master or careless overseer. That destined for performing the same office with regard to the free man, is managed by the free man himself. The disorders which generally prevail in the economy of the rich, naturally introduce themselves into the management of the former; the strict frugality and parsimonious attention of the poor as naturally establish themselves in that of the latter" ([Garnier,] p. 164) [Vol. I, p. 134].

It is characteristic in the determination of the minimum wage or the natural price of labour, that it is lower for the free wage labourer than for the slave. This occurs also to Adam Smith:

"The work done by freemen comes cheaper in the end than that performed by slaves" ([Garnier,] p. 165) [Vol. I, p. 134]. "The liberal reward of labour, therefore, as it is the effect of increasing national wealth, so it is the cause of increasing population. To complain of it is [XI-554] to lament over the necessary effect and cause of the greatest public prosperity" ([Garnier,] p. 165) [Vol. I, p. 135].

Adam Smith continues to plead for a high wage.

It not only "encourages the propagation", but also "increases the industry of the common people. The wages of labour are the encouragement of industry, which, like every other human quality, improves in proportion to the encouragement it receives. A plentiful subsistence increases the bodily strength of the labourer, and the comfortable hope of bettering his condition ... animates him to exert that strength to the utmost. Where wages are high, accordingly, we shall always find the workmen more active, diligent, and expeditious, than where they are low" ([Garnier,] l.c., p. 166) [Vol. I, p. 135].

But high wages spur the workmen on to over-exertion and to PRECOCIOUS destruction of their labour capacity.

"Workmen [...] when they are liberally paid by the piece, are very apt to overwork themselves, and to ruin their health and constitution in a few years" ([Garnier,] pp. 166-67) [Vol. I, p. 136]. "If masters would always listen to the dictates of reason and humanity, they have frequently occasion rather to moderate, than to animate the application of many of their workmen" ([Garnier,] p. 168) [Vol. I, p. 137]. He goes on to argue against the view that "a little more plenty than ordinary may render some workmen idle" ([Garnier,] p. 169) [Vol. I, p. 137].

Then he examines whether it is true that the workmen are more idle in years of plenty than in years of scarcity and what is the general relation between wages and the price of the means of subsistence. Here again comes the inconsistency.

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[a] The words "a result of his long service" are inserted by Garnier in the French translation.— *Ed.*

"The *money price of labour* is necessarily regulated by two circumstances; the demand for labour, and *the price* of the necessaries and conveniencies of life. ...the money price of labour is determined by what is requisite for purchasing this quantity" (of the necessaries and conveniencies of life) ([Garnier,] l.c., p. 175) [Vol. I, p. 144].

[He then examines] why—because of the demand for labour—wages can rise in years of plenty and fall in years of scarcity ([Garnier,] p. 176 et seq.) [Vol. I, p. 144 et seq.].

The causes in good and bad years counterbalance one another.

"The scarcity of a dear year, by diminishing the demand for labour, tends to lower its price, as the high price of provisions tends to raise it. The plenty of a cheap year, on the contrary, by increasing the demand, tends to raise the price of labour, as the cheapness of provisions tends to lower it. In the ordinary variations of the price of provisions, those two opposite causes seem to counterbalance one another; which is probably in part the reason why the wages of labour are everywhere so much more steady and permanent than the price of provisions" ([Garnier,] p. 177) [Vol. I, p. 145].

As against the concept of wages as the source of the value of commodities, he finally, after all this zigzagging, again advances his original, more profound view, that the value of commodities is determined by the quantity of labour; and if in good years, or with the growth of capital, the worker receives *more* commodities, then he also produces far more commodities, that is to say the individual commodity contains a smaller quantity of labour. He can therefore receive a greater quantity of commodities of less value and thus—this is the implied conclusion—profit can grow, despite rising absolute wages.

"The increase in the wages of labour necessarily increases the price of many commodities, *by increasing that part of it which resolves itself into wages*, and so far tends to diminish their consumption both at home and abroad. The same cause, however, which raises the wages of labour, the increase of stock, tends to increase its productive powers, and to make a smaller quantity of labour produce a greater quantity of work." [This is due to] the division of labour, the use of machinery, inventions, etc. ... "There are many commodities, therefore, which, in consequence of these improvements, come to be produced *by so much less labour than before*, that *the increase of its price is more than compensated* by *the diminution of its quantity*" ([Garnier,] pp. 177-78) [Vol. I, pp. 145, 146].

The labour is better paid, but less labour is contained in the individual commodity, hence a smaller amount has to be paid out. He thus allows his false theory, according to which the value of the commodity is determined by the wage as a constituent element of the value, to be annulled, or rather paralysed, counterbalanced by his correct theory, according to which the value of the commodity is determined by the quantity of labour it contains.

[XI-555] *Chapter IX*: "Of the Profits of Stock".

Here accordingly the natural rate of the second element that determines and constitutes the NATURAL PRICE *or* value of the commodities is to be ascertained. What Adam Smith says about the cause of the *fall in the rate of profit* ([Garnier,] pp. 179, 189, 190, 193, 196, 197, etc.) [Vol. I, pp. 146, 147, 155, 156, 158, 160, 161] will be considered at a later stage.[a]

Adam Smith is confronted here by considerable difficulties. He says that even the determination of "average rate" of wages amounts merely to ascertaining the "usual rate of wages" ([Garnier,] p. 179) [Vol. I, p. 147], the actually given rate of wages.

"But *even this can seldom be done with regard to the profits* of stock" ([Garnier,] p. 179) [Vol. I, p. 147]. Apart from the good or bad fortune of the entrepreneur, this profit "is affected ... by every variation of price in the commodities" ([Garnier,] p. 180) [Vol. I, p. 147],

although it is precisely through the NATURAL rate OF PROFIT, as one of the constituent elements of "value", that we are supposed to determine the natural price of these commodities. This is already difficult FOR A SINGLE CAPITALIST IN A SINGLE TRADE.

"To ascertain what is the average profit of all the different trades carried on in a great kingdom, must be much more difficult" ([Garnier,] p. 180) [Vol. I, pp. 147-48].

But one may form some notion of the "average profits of stock" "from *the interest of money*. It may be laid down as a maxim, that wherever a great deal can be made by the use of money, a great deal will commonly be given for the use of it; and that wherever little can be made by it, less will commonly be given for it" ([Garnier,] pp. 180-81) [Vol. I, p. 148].

Adam Smith does not say the rate of interest determines the rate of profit. He expressly states the reverse. But there are records of the rate of interest for different epochs, etc.; such records do not exist for the rate of profit. The rates of interest are therefore indices from which the approximate level of the rate of profit can be judged. But the task set was not to compare the levels of given different rates of profit, but to determine the NATURAL *level of the rate of profit*. Adam Smith seeks refuge in a subsidiary investigation into the level of the rate of interest in different periods, which in no way touches upon the problem he has set himself. He makes a cursory examination of various periods in England and then compares these with Scotland, France and Holland and finds that—with the exception of the American colonies—

[a] See present edition, Vol. 32; pp. XIII—673, 693 of Marx's manuscript.—*Ed.*

"*high wages of labour and high profits of stock are naturally things, which scarce ever go together,* except in the peculiar circumstances of new colonies" ([Garnier,] p. 187) [Vol. I, pp. 153-54].

Here Adam Smith tries, like Ricardo—but TO A CERTAIN POINT with more success—to give some approximate explanation of high profits:

"A new colony must always for some time be more under-stocked in proportion to the extent of its territory, and more under-peopled in proportion to the extent of its stock, than the greater part of other countries. They have more land than they have stock to cultivate. What they have, therefore, is applied *to the cultivation only of what is most fertile and most favourably situated,* the land near the sea shore and along the banks of navigable rivers. Such land too is frequently purchased at a price below the value even of its natural produce." (IN FACT, therefore, it costs *nothing.*) "Stock employed in the purchase and improvement of such lands must yield a very large profit, and consequently afford to pay a very large interest. Its rapid accumulation in so profitable an employment enables the planter to increase the number of his hands faster than he can find them in a new settlement. Those whom he can find, therefore, are very liberally rewarded. *As the colony increases, the profits of stock gradually diminish. When the most fertile and best situated lands have been all occupied, less profit can be made by the cultivation of what is inferior both in soil and situation,* and less interest can be afforded for the stock which is so employed. In the greater part of our colonies, accordingly, [...] the ... rate of interest has been considerably reduced during the course of the present century" ([Garnier,] pp. 187-89) [Vol. I, p. 154].

This is one of the foundations of the Ricardian explanation of why profits fall, although it is presented in a different way. On the whole, Smith explains everything here by the competition between capitals; as capitals grow, profit falls and as they diminish, profit grows,[a] and accordingly wages rise or fall conversely.

[XI-556] "The diminution of the capital stock of the society, or of the funds destined for the maintenance of industry, however, as it lowers the wages of labour, so it raises the profits of stock, and consequently the rate of interest.[b] By the wages of labour being lowered, the owners of what stock remains in the society can bring their goods at less expense to market than before, and less stock being employed in supplying the market than before, they can sell them dearer" ([Garnier,] pp. 191-92) [Vol. I, pp. 156-57].

Then he talks about the highest possible and the lowest possible rates [of profit].

The "highest rate" is that which, "in the price of the greater part of commodities, eats up the whole of what should go to the rent of the land, and leaves only what is sufficient to pay the labour of preparing and bringing them to market, according to the lowest rate at which labour can anywhere be paid, the bare subsistence of the labourer" ([Garnier,] pp. 197-98) [Vol. I, p. 161].

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[a] In the manuscript: "as capitals grow, profit grows and as they diminish, profit falls".—*Ed.*

[b] Smith has "the interest of money".—*Ed.*

"The lowest ordinary rate of profit must always be something more than what is sufficient to compensate the occasional losses to which every employment of stock is exposed. It is this surplus only which is neat or clear profit" ([Garnier,] p. 196) [Vol. I, p. 160].

Adam Smith himself IN FACT characterises what he says about the NATURAL *rate* OF PROFIT:

"Double interest is in Great Britain reckoned, what the merchants call a *good, moderate, reasonable profit*; terms which I apprehend mean no more *than a common and usual profit*" ([Garnier,] p. 198) [Vol. I, p. 162].

And indeed, Smith calls this "common and usual profit" neither moderate nor good, but his term for it is "the NATURAL *rate* OF PROFIT". However, he does not tell us at all what it is or how it is determined although we are supposed to determine the "NATURAL PRICE" of the COMMODITY by means of this "NATURAL rate OF PROFIT".

"In countries which are fast advancing to riches, the low rate of profit may, in the price of many commodities, compensate the high wages of labour, and enable those countries to sell as cheap as their less thriving neighbours, among whom the wages of labour may be lower" ([Garnier,] p. 199) [Vol. I, p. 162].

Low profits and high wages are not reciprocally opposed here, but the same cause—the QUICK GROWTH OR ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL—produces both. Both enter into the price; they *constitute* it. If therefore one is high while the other is low, the price remains the same, etc.

Adam Smith here regards profit purely as a SURCHARGE, for at the end of the chapter he says:

"In reality high profits tend much more to raise *the price* of work than high wages" ([Garnier,] p. 199) [Vol. I, p. 162]. If, for example, the wages of all the working people in linen manufacture were to rise by twopence a day, this would only raise the price of the "piece of linen" by the number of twopences equal to the number of people employed, "multiplied by the number of days during which they had been so employed. That part of the price of the commodity which resolved itself into wages would, through all the different stages of the manufacture, rise only in arithmetical proportion to this rise of wages. But if the profits of all the different employers of those working people should be raised 5 per cent, that part of the price of the commodity which resolved itself into profit, would, through all the different stages of the manufacture, rise in *geometrical proportion* to this rise of the rate of profit.[a]... In raising the price of commodities the rise of wages operates in the same manner as simple interest does in the accumulation of debt. The rise of profit operates like compound interest" ([Garnier,] pp. 199-201) [Vol. I, pp. 162-64].

At the end of this CHAPTER Adam Smith also tells us *the source* of the whole notion, that the price of the commodity, or its value, is

[a] Smith has "rise of profit".—*Ed.*

made up out of the values of wages and profits—namely, the *amis du commerce*,[a] the faithful practitioners of competition:

"Our merchants and master-manufacturers complain much of the bad effects of high wages in raising the price, and thereby lessening the sale of their goods both at home and abroad. They say nothing concerning the bad effects of high profits. They are silent [XI-557] with regard to the pernicious effects of their own gains. They complain only of those of other people" ([Garnier,] p. 201) [Vol. I, p. 164].

CHAPTER X [is entitled] "Of Wages and Profit in the Different Employments of Labour and Stock". This is only concerned with detail and therefore belongs into the CHAPTER on competition. In its way, it is very good. It is completely exoteric.

(*Productive and unproductive labour*:

"The lottery of the law [...] is very far from being a perfectly fair lottery; and that, as well as many other liberal and honourable professions, are, in point of pecuniary gain, evidently under-recompensed" ([Garnier,] t. I, l. I, ch. X, pp. 216-17) [Vol. I, p. 175].

Similarly he says of *soldiers*:

"Their pay is less than that of common labourers, and in actual service their fatigues are much greater" ([Garnier,] t. I, l. I, ch. X, p. 223) [Vol. I, p. 180].

And of sailors in the navy:

"Though their skill and dexterity are much superior to that of almost any artificers, and though their whole life is one continual scene of hardship and danger ... their wages are not greater than those of common labourers at the port which regulates the rate of seamen's wages" ([Garnier,] t. I, l. I, ch. X, p. 224) [Vol. I, p. 181].

Ironically:

"It would be indecent, no doubt, to compare either a curate or a chaplain with a journeyman in any common trade. The pay of a curate or chaplain, however, may very properly be considered as of the same nature with the wages of a journeyman" ([Garnier,] t. I, l. I, ch. X, p. 271) [Vol. I, p. 217].

He expressly says of "*men of letters*" that they are UNDERPAID because of their too great numbers and he recalls that before the invention of printing, "*a scholar and a beggar*" ([Garnier,] t. I, l. I, ch. X, [p]p. 275[-277]) [Vol. I, pp. 220-21] were synonymous, and seems to apply this, IN A CERTAIN SENSE, to men of letters.)

The chapter is full of acute observations and important comments.

"In the same society or neighbourhood, the average and ordinary rates of profit in the different employments of stock should be more nearly upon a level than the pecuniary wages of the different sorts of labour" ([Garnier,] l.c., p. 228) [Vol. I, p. 184].

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[a] Friends of commerce (an expression used by Fourier).—*Ed.*

"The *extent of the market*, by giving employment to greater stocks, diminishes *apparent* profit; but by requiring supplies from a greater distance, it increases prime cost. This diminution of the one and increase of the other seem, in most cases, nearly to counterbalance one another" (in the case of such articles as bread, meat, etc.) ([Garnier,] l.c., p. 232) [Vol. I, p. 187].

"In small towns and country villages, on account of the *narrowness of the market*, trade cannot always be extended as stock extends. In such places, therefore, though the rate of a particular person's profits may be very high, the sum or amount of them can never be very great, nor consequently that of his annual accumulation. In great towns, on the contrary, trade can be extended as stock increases, and the credit of a frugal and thriving man increases much faster than his stock. His trade is extended in proportion to the amount of both" ([Garnier,] l.c., p. 233) [Vol. I, pp. 187-88].

Regarding the *false statistical* presentation of wages, for instance in the 16th, 17th, etc., centuries, Adam Smith quite rightly observes that the wages here were only, for example, the wages of COTTIERS,[31] who, when not occupied around their COTTAGES or working for their masters (who gave them a house, "a small garden for pot-herbs, as much grass as will feed a cow, and, perhaps, an acre or two of bad arable land", and, when they employed them, a very poor wage)

"are said to have been willing to give their spare time for a very small recompense to anybody, and to have wrought for less wages than other labourers" ([Garnier,] p. 241) [Vol. I, p. 192]. "*The daily or weekly recompense*, however, seems to have been considered as *the whole of it*, by many writers who have collected the prices of labour and provisions in ancient times, and who have taken pleasure in representing both as wonderfully low" ([Garnier,] p. 242) [Vol. I, pp. 193-94].

He makes the altogether true observation that:

"this equality in the whole of the advantages and disadvantages of the different employments of labour and stock, can take place only in such as are the sole or principal employments of those who occupy them" ([Garnier,] p. 240) [Vol. I, p. 192].

This point, incidentally, has already been quite well set forth by Steuart, particularly in relation to AGRICULTURAL WAGES — as soon as TIME becomes PRECIOUS.[146]

[XI-558] With regard to the *accumulation of capital in the towns during the Middle Ages*, Adam Smith very correctly notes in this chapter that it was principally due to the exploitation of the COUNTRY (by trade as well as by manufacture). (There were in addition the usurers and even *haute finance*; in short, the money merchants.)

"In consequence of such regulations" [i.e., regulations made by the guilds], "indeed, each class" (*within the town corporate*) "was obliged to buy the goods they had occasion for from every other within the town, somewhat dearer than they otherwise might have done. But in recompense, they were enabled to sell their own just as much dearer; so that so far it was as broad as long, as they say; and in the

dealings of the different classes within the town with one another, none of them were losers by these regulations. *But in their dealings with the country they were all great gainers*; and in these latter dealings consists the whole trade which supports and enriches every town. Every town draws its whole subsistence, and all the materials of its industry, from the country. It pays for these chiefly in two ways: first, by sending back to the country a part of those materials wrought up and manufactured; in which case their price is augmented by *the wages of the workmen, and the profits of their masters or immediate employers*; secondly, by sending to it a part both of the rude and manufactured produce, either of other countries, or of distant parts of the same country, imported into the town; in which case too the original price of those goods is augmented by the *wages of the carriers or sailors, and by the profits of the merchants who employ them.* In what is gained upon the first of those two branches of commerce, consists the *advantage which the town makes by its manufactures*; in what is gained upon the second, *the advantage of its inland and foreign trade.* The wages of the workmen, and the profits of their different employers, make up the whole of what is gained upon both. Whatever regulations, therefore, *tend to increase those wages and profits beyond what they otherwise would be,* tend *to enable the town to purchase, with a smaller quantity of its labour,* the *produce of a greater quantity of the labour of the country.*"

//Here, therefore,—[Garnier,] t. I, l. I, ch. X, p[p. 258-]259 [Vol. I, pp. 206-07]—Adam Smith returns to the correct determination of value, the determination of value by the *quantity of labour.* This should be quoted as an example when dealing with his theory of surplus value. If the prices of the commodities which are exchanged between town and country are such that they represent equal quantities of labour, then they are equal to their values. Profit and wages on both sides of the exchange cannot, therefore, determine these values, but the division of these values determines profit and wages. That is why Adam Smith finds that the town, which exchanges a smaller quantity of labour against a greater quantity of labour from the countryside, draws excess profit and excess wages compared with the country. This would not be the case if it did not sell its commodities to the country for *more than* their value. In that case "profits and wages" would not increase "beyond *what they otherwise would be*". If, therefore, profits and wages are at their natural level, then they do not determine the value of the commodity, but are determined by it. Profit and wages can then only arise from a division of the *given value* of the commodity which is posited in advance of them; but this value cannot be posited by, cannot result from, profits and wages which are themselves posited in advance of the value.//

"They give the traders and artificers in the town an advantage over the landlords, farmers, and labourers in the country, and break down that natural equality which would otherwise take place in the commerce which is carried on between them. The *whole annual produce of the labour of the society is* annually *divided* between those two different sets of people. By means of those" (town) "regulations *a greater share* of it is given to the inhabitants of the town than would otherwise fall

to them; and a less to those of the country. The *price* which the town really pays for the provisions and materials annually imported into it, is the quantity of manufactures and other goods annually exported from it. *The dearer the latter are sold*, the cheaper the former are bought. The industry of the town becomes more, and that of the country less advantageous" ([Garnier,] pp. 258-60) [Vol. I, p. 207].

Thus, according to Smith's presentation of the matter, if the commodities of the town and those of the country were sold in proportion to the *quantity of labour* which they each contain, then they would be sold at their *values*, and consequently the profit and wages on both sides of the exchange could not determine *these values*, but would be determined by them. The levelling out of profits—which vary because of the varying organic composition of capitals—does not concern us here, since it does not lead to differences between profits, but equalises them.

[XI-559] "The inhabitants of a town, being *collected into one place*, can easily combine together. The most insignificant trades carried on in towns have accordingly, in some place or other, been incorporated" ([Garnier,] p. 261) [Vol. I, p. 208]. "The inhabitants of the country, dispersed in distant places, cannot easily combine together. They have not only never been incorporated, but the corporation spirit never has prevailed among them. No apprenticeship has ever been thought necessary to qualify for husbandry, the great trade of the country" ([Garnier,] p. 262) [Vol. I, p. 209].

*In this connection* Smith comes to speak of the disadvantages of the "division of labour". The farmer practises a trade requiring more intelligence than the manufacturing worker, who is subject to the division of labour.

"The direction of operations, besides, which must be varied with every change of the weather, as well as with many other accidents, requires much more judgment and discretion than that of those which are always the same or very nearly the same" ([Garnier,] p. 263) [Vol. I, p. 210].

The division of labour develops the *social* productive power of labour or the productive power of *social* labour, but at the expense of the *general productive ability* of the worker. This increase in *social productive power* confronts the worker therefore as an increased productive power, not of *his* labour, but of *capital*, the force that dominates his labour. If the town labourer is more developed than the country labourer, this is only due to the circumstance that his mode of work causes him to live in *society*, whereas that of the agricultural labourer makes him live directly with *nature*.

"The superiority which the industry of the towns has everywhere in Europe over that of the country, is not altogether owing to corporations and corporation laws. It is supported by many other regulations. *The high duties* upon foreign manufactures and upon all goods imported by alien merchants, all tend to the same purpose" ([Garnier,] p. 265) [Vol. I, p. 212]. These "regulations secure

them" (the towns) "against the competition of foreigners" ([Garnier,] *l.c.*) [Vol. I, p. 212].

This is an act, no longer of the town bourgeoisie, but of the bourgeoisie already legislating on a national scale as the *corps de nation* or as the Third Estate of the State Assembly or the Lower House. The specific acts of the town bourgeoisie—directed against the country—are the excise and duties levied at the gates, and, in general, the indirect taxes, which have their origin in the towns (see Hüllmann[a]), while the direct taxes are of country origin. It might appear that the excise, for example, is a tax which the town imposes indirectly upon itself. The countryman must advance it, but reimburses himself in the price of the product. But this was not the case in the Middle Ages. The demand for his products—in so far as he converted these into commodities and money at all—[was, in so far as it came] from the town, mostly compulsorily restricted to the area under the jurisdiction of the town, so that he did not have the power to raise the price of his product by the full amount of the town tax.

"In Great Britain the superiority of the industry of the towns over that of the country, seems to have been greater formerly than in the present times. The wages of country labour approach nearer to those of manufacturing labour, and the profits of stock employed in agriculture to those of trading and manufacturing stock, than they are said to have done in the last century" (the 17th), "or in the beginning of the present" (the 18th). "This change may be regarded as the necessary, though very late consequence of the extraordinary encouragement given to the industry of the towns. The stock accumulated in them comes in time to be so great, that it can no longer be employed with the ancient profit in that species of industry which is peculiar to them. That industry has its limits like every other; and the *increase of stock, by increasing the competition,* necessarily reduces the profit. The *lowering of profit in the town forces out stock to the country,* where, by creating a new demand for country labour, it necessarily raises its wages. *It then spreads itself,* if I may say so, *over the face of the land,* and by being employed in agriculture *is in part restored to the country,* at the expense of which, *in a great measure, it had originally been accumulated in the town*" ([Garnier,] pp. 266-67) [Vol. I, pp. 213-14].

In *Chapter* XI of *Book I,* Smith then seeks to determine the *natural rate of rent,* the 3rd element which constitutes the value of the commodity. We shall postpone consideration of this and first return again to Ricardo.[b]

This much is clear from the foregoing: When Adam Smith identifies the *natural price* or *cost price of the commodity* with *its value,* he does so after first abandoning his correct conception of *value,* and substituting for it the view which is evoked by and arises from

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[a] K. D. Hüllmann, *Staedtewesen des Mittelalters,* Part Two: Grundverfassung. Bonn, 1827, p. 101 et seq.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 551 et seq.—*Ed.*

the phenomena of competition. In competition, the COST PRICE and not the VALUE appears as the regulator of the MARKET PRICES—so to speak, as the *immanent price*, the value of the commodity. But in competition this cost price appears to be represented by the given average rate of wages, profit and rent. Hence Adam Smith tries to establish these separately and independently of the *value* of the commodity—rather as elements of the NATURAL PRICE. Ricardo, whose main concern has been the refutation of this Smithian [XI-560] ABERRATION, accepts the result that *necessarily* follows from it—namely *the identity* OF VALUES AND COST PRICES—although with Ricardo this result is logically *impossible.*

## RICARDO'S THEORY OF RENT

The main points were dealt with when discussing Rodbertus. Just a few more GLEANINGS here.

Firstly, some comments on the historical aspect:

Ricardo was first of all concerned with the period 1770-1815, which came approximately within his own experience, and during which wheat prices were constantly rising. Anderson [on the other hand] was concerned with the 18th century, at the close of which he was writing. During the first half of that century [wheat prices] were falling and during the second half they were rising. Hence for Anderson, the law he discovered was in no way connected with a diminishing PRODUCTIVITY OF AGRICULTURE or a normal //for Anderson an unnatural// rise in the price of the product. For Ricardo however such a connection existed. Anderson believed that the abolition of the corn laws (at that time export premiums) caused the rise in prices during the 2nd half of the 18th century.[147] Ricardo knew that the introduction of corn laws (1815) was intended to prevent the fall in prices, and TO A CERTAIN DEGREE was bound to do so. With regard to the latter [it was] therefore necessary to point out that, if left to itself, the law of rent—within *a definite territory*—was bound to result in recourse to less fertile land, thus leading to dearer agricultural products and increased rent at the cost of industry and the mass of the population. And here Ricardo was right, both historically and in practice. Anderson on the other hand [maintained] that corn laws (and he also favours a DUTY ON IMPORTS) must further the even development of agriculture within a *definite territory* and that for this even development agriculture needs security. Consequently he [maintained] that this *progressive development in itself*—through the law of

rent he discovered—would lead to increased productivity in agriculture and thereby to a fall in the AVERAGE PRICES OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE.

Both of them, however, start out from the viewpoint which, on the Continent, seems so strange: 1. That there is no landed property to shackle any desired investment of capital in land. 2. That expansion takes place from better land to worse (this process is absolute for Ricardo, provided one leaves out of account the interruptions caused by the response of science and industry; for Anderson the worse land is in turn transformed into better land and so it is relative). 3. That a sufficient amount of capital is always available for investment in agriculture.

Now so far as 1. and 2. are concerned, it must seem very odd to the continentals, that in the country in which, according to their conception, feudal landed property has maintained itself most stubbornly, the economists, Anderson as well as Ricardo, start out from the conception that *no* landed property exists. The explanation for this is:

*firstly*: the peculiarity of the English "LAW OF ENCLOSURES", which is in no way analogous with the continental portioning out of common land;

*secondly*: nowhere in the world has capitalist production, since Henry VII, dealt so ruthlessly with the *traditional* relations of agriculture, adapting and subordinating the conditions to its own requirements. In this respect England is the most revolutionary country in the world. Wherever the conditions handed down from history were at variance with, or did not correspond to, the requirements of capitalist production on the land, they were ruthlessly swept away; this applies not only to the position of the village communities but to the village communities themselves, not only to the habitats of the AGRICULTURAL POPULATION but to the agricultural POPULATION itself, not only to the original centres of cultivation, but to cultivation itself. The German, for example, meets with economic relations that are determined by traditional circumstances such as land boundaries, the position of the economic centres, given conglomerations of the population. The Englishman meets with historical conditions of agriculture which have been progressively *created* by capital since the end of the 15th century. "*CLEARING OF ESTATES*", a technical term [well known] in the UNITED KINGDOM, will not be found in any continental country. But what is the meaning of this "CLEARING OF ESTATES"? It means that without any consideration for the local inhabitants, who are driven away, for existing village communities, which are obliterated, for

agricultural buildings, which are torn down, for the type of agriculture, which is transformed in one fell swoop, for instance arable land converted into grazing pasture—none of the conditions of production are accepted as they have traditionally existed but are historically *transformed* in such a way that, under the circumstances, they will provide the most profitable investment for capital. To that extent, therefore, *no landed property* exists; it gives capital—i.e., the FARMER—full scope, since it is only concerned with monetary income. A Pomeranian landowner,[a] therefore, with his head full of ancestral land boundaries, economic centres and boards of agriculture, etc., may well be amazed by Ricardo's "unhistorical" view of the [XI-561] development of conditions in agriculture. This shows merely that he naïvely confuses Pomeranian conditions with those prevailing in England. But it cannot be said that Ricardo, who in this case starts from the conditions in England, is just as narrow-minded as the Pomeranian landowner, who can think only in terms of Pomeranian conditions. English conditions are the only ones in which *modern landownership*, i.e., landownership which has been *modified* by capitalist production, has been adequately developed. For the modern—the capitalist—mode of production, the English view is here the classical view. The Pomeranian, on the other hand, judges the developed relations from a historically lower and as yet inadequate form.

Indeed, most of Ricardo's continental critics[b] even take as their starting-point conditions in which the capitalist mode of production, adequate or inadequate, does not as yet exist at all. It is as if a guild-master wanted, lock, stock and barrel, to apply Adam Smith's laws—which presuppose free competition—to his guild economy.

The presupposition of the movement from better to worse land—relatively to the particular stage in the development of the productive power of labour as with Anderson, and not absolutely as with Ricardo—could only arise in a country such as England, where within a relatively very small territory capital has farmed so ruthlessly and has for centuries mercilessly sought to adapt to its own needs all traditional relationships of agriculture. Thus it [the presupposition] could only arise where, unlike the Continent, capitalist production in agriculture does not date from yesterday and does not have to fight against old traditions.

A second factor influencing the English was the knowledge they

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[a] An allusion to Rodbertus.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx presumably meant Bastiat, Rodbertus, Say, List, Cherbuliez and others.—*Ed.*

gained through their *colonies*. We have seen[a] that Adam Smith's work—with direct reference to the colonies—already contains the basis for the entire Ricardian viewpoint. In these colonies, and especially in those which produced only merchandise such as tobacco, cotton, sugar, etc., and not the usual foodstuffs, where, right from the start, the colonists did not seek subsistence but set up a business, fertility was of course dicisive, *given the situation* [of the land], and given the fertility, *the situation* of the land was decisive. They did not act like the Teutons, who settled in Germany in order to make their home there, but like people who, driven by motives of *bourgeois production*, wanted to produce *commodities*, and their point of view was, from the outset, determined not by the product but by the sale of the product. That *Ricardo* and other English writers[148] transferred this point of view—which emanated from people who were themselves already the product of the capitalist mode of production—from the colonies to the course of world history and that they took the *capitalist mode of production* as a *prius*[b] for agriculture in general, as it was for *their* colonists, is due to the fact that they saw in these colonies, only in a more obvious form, *without the fight against traditional relations*, and therefore *untarnished*, the same domination of capitalist production in agriculture as hits the eye everywhere in their own country. Hence, if a German professor or landowner—belonging to a country which differs from all others in its complete lack of colonies—considers such a view to be "false", then this is quite understandable.

Finally the presupposition of a continuous flow of capital from one TRADE into another, *this basic assumption of Ricardo's*, amounts to nothing more than the assumption that developed capitalist production predominates. Where this domination is not yet established, this presupposition does not exist. For instance, a Pomeranian landowner will find it strange that neither Ricardo nor indeed any English writer ever suspects that agriculture might *lack capital*. The Englishman does, indeed, complain of lack of land in proportion to capital, but *jamais*[c] of a lack of capital in proportion to the land. *Wakefield*, *Chalmers*, etc., try to explain the fall in the rate of profit from the former circumstance. The latter does not exist for any English writer; Corbet notes as a self-explanatory fact that *CAPITAL IS ALWAYS REDUNDANT IN ALL TRADES*. On the other hand, bearing in mind the situation in Germany, the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 449-50.— *Ed.*

[b] Premiss.— *Ed.*

[c] Never.— *Ed.*

landowner's difficulties in borrowing money—because mostly it is the landowner himself who cultivates the land and not a capitalist class which is quite independent of him—it is understandable that Mr. Rodbertus, for example (p. 211), is surprised at "the Ricardian fiction, that the *supply* of capital is regulated by the *desire* to invest it".[a] What the Englishman lacks is a "FIELD OF ACTION", opportunity for investment of the available stock of capital. But a "desire for capital" to "invest", on the part of the only class which has capital to invest—the capitalist class—this does not exist in England.

[XI-562] This "desire for capital" is Pomeranian.

The objection made by English writers against Ricardo was not that capital was not available in any desired quantity for particular investments, but that the return flow of capital from AGRICULTURE encountered specific technical, etc., obstacles.

This kind of critical-continental censoriousness of Ricardo, therefore, only shows the lower stage in the conditions of production from which these "sages" start out.

Now to the matter in hand.

In the first place, in order to isolate the problem, we must leave aside entirely *differential rent*, which *alone* exists for Ricardo. By *differential rent* I understand the *difference in the magnitude* of rent—the greater or smaller rent which is due to the *different fertility of the various types of land.* (Given equal fertility, differential rent can only arise from differences in the amounts of capital invested. This case does not exist for our problem and does not affect it.) This differential rent merely corresponds to the *excess profits* which, given the *market price* or, more correctly, the *market value*, will be made in every branch of industry, for example COTTON SPINNING, by *that* capitalist whose conditions of production are *better* than the average conditions of this particular TRADE. For the *value* of the commodity of a particular sphere of production is determined, not by the *quantity of labour* which the individual commodity costs, but by the quantity which *the* commodity costs that is produced under the *average* conditions of the sphere. Manufacture and agriculture only differ from one another here in that in the one, the excess profits fall into the pocket of the capitalist himself, whereas in the other they are pocketed by the landowner, and furthermore, that in the former they are fluid, they are not lasting, are made by this capitalist or that, and always

[a] [J. K.] Rodbertus, *Soziale Briefe an von Kirchmann.* Dritter Brief, Berlin, 1851.— *Ed.*

disappear again, while in the latter they *become fixed* because of their enduring (at least for a long period) natural basis in the *variations in the land.*

This differential rent must therefore be left out of account, but it should be noted that it may exist not only when a movement from better to inferior land takes place but also from inferior to better land. In both cases the only requirement is that the newly cultivated land is necessary but at the same time only just sufficient to satisfy the ADDITIONAL DEMAND. If the newly cultivated, better land were *more* than sufficient to satisfy the ADDITIONAL DEMAND then, according to the volume of the ADDITIONAL DEMAND, part or all of the inferior land would be thrown *out of cultivation* or, at any rate, out of *cultivation of that product* which forms the basis of the agricultural rent, i.e., in England of wheat and in India of rice. Thus differential rent does not presuppose a *progressive deterioration of agriculture,* but can equally well spring from a *progressive improvement* in it. Even where it presupposes the descent to worse types of land, firstly this *descent* may be due to an improvement in the productive forces of agriculture, in that the cultivation of the worse land, at the *price* which is set by demand, is *only* made possible by greater productive power. Secondly, the *worse land* can be improved; the differences will nevertheless remain, although they will become smaller, so that as a result there is only a *relative, comparative* decrease in productivity—whereas *absolute* productivity *increases.* This was in fact the presupposition made by Anderson, the original AUTHOR of the Ricardian law.

Then, IN THE SECOND INSTANCE, only the *agricultural rent in the strict sense* should be considered here, in other words the rent of the land which supplies the chief vegetable foods. Smith has already explained that the rents of land which supplies the other products, such as stock-raising, etc., are determined by that *rent*; that they are themselves *derived,* determined by the law of rent and not determining it. In themselves therefore these rents do not furnish any useful material for the understanding of the law of rent in its original, pure condition: There is nothing primary about them.

THIS SETTLED, the question is reduced to the following: Does an *absolute rent* exist? That is, a rent which arises from the fact that capital is invested in agriculture rather than manufacture; a rent which is quite independent of *differential rent* or *excess profits* which are yielded by capital invested in better land?

It is clear that Ricardo correctly answers this question in the *negative,* since he starts from *the false* assumption that *values* and *average prices of commodities* are *identical.* If this were the case, it

would be a tautology to say that the price of agricultural products is *above* their *cost price*—when [XI-563] the constant price of agricultural products yields, beyond the average profits, also an *extra rent*, a constant surplus over and above the average profit—for this cost price equals the advances+the average profit AND NOTHING ELSE. Were the prices of agricultural products to stand *above* their cost prices, and always to yield an excess profit, they would consequently stand *above* their value. There would be no alternative but to assume that agricultural products are perpetually sold *above* their value, which, however, equally presupposes that all other products are sold *below* their value, or that value in general is something quite different from that which the theory requires it to be. Taking into account all compensations which take place between the different capitals owing to differences arising from the process of circulation, *the same quantity of labour* (immediate and accumulated) would produce a *higher* value in agriculture than in manufacture. The value of the commodity would therefore *not* be determined by the quantity of labour contained in it. The whole foundation of political economy would thus be thrown overboard. *Ergo*, Ricardo rightly concludes: NO ABSOLUTE RENTS. Only differential rent is possible; in other words the price of the agricultural product grown on the worst land equals the *cost price* of the product, as [with] every other commodity, [this is equal to its] value. The capital invested in the worst land differs from capital invested in manufacture only by *the type of investment*, by its being a particular species of investment. Here therefore the universal validity of the law of value becomes apparent. *Differential rent*—and this is the sole rent—on better land—is nothing but the excess profit yielded by capitals employed in above-average conditions owing to the [establishment of] *one identical market value* in *every* sphere of production. This excess profit consolidates itself only in agriculture because of its *natural basis* and, furthermore, the excess profit flows not into the pocket of the capitalist but into that of the landowner since it is the *landowner* who represents this natural basis.

The entire argument collapses together with Ricardo's assumption, that *cost price=value*. The *theoretical interest* which forces him into a denial of absolute rent disappears. If the value of the commodities differs from their cost price, then they necessarily fall into 3 categories. In the first category, cost price=the value of the commodity, in the second, the value is *below* its cost price and in the 3rd, it is *above* its cost price. The fact, therefore, that the *price* of the agricultural product yields a rent, only shows that the

agricultural product belongs to that group of commodities whose value is *above* their cost price. The only remaining problem requiring solution would be: why, in contrast to other commodities whose value is also *above* their cost price, competition between capitals does not reduce the value of agricultural products to their *cost price.* The question already contains the answer. Because, according to the presupposition, this can only happen in so far as the competition between capitals is able to effect such an equalisation, and this in turn can only occur to the extent that all the conditions of production are either directly created by capital or are equally—elementally—at its disposal as if it had created them. With land this is not the case, because *landed property* exists and capitalist production starts its career on the *presupposition* of *landed property,* which is not its own creation, but which was there *before* it. The mere existence of landed property thus answers the question. All that capital can do is to subject agriculture to the conditions of capitalist production. But the latter cannot deprive *landed property* of its hold on that part of the agricultural product which capital could appropriate—not through its own action—but *only* on the assumption of the *non-existence of landed property.* Since landed property exists, capital must however leave the excess of value over cost price to the landowner. But this difference [between value and cost price] itself only arises from a difference in the composition of the *organic* component parts of capital. All commodities whose value, in accordance with this organic composition, is *above* the cost price, thereby show that [the labour expended on them is] *relatively* less productive than that expended on the commodities whose value=the cost price and even less productive than that expended on the commodities whose value is *below* the cost price; for they require a greater quantity of *immediate* labour in proportion to the *past labour* contained in the constant capital; they require more labour in order to set in motion a definite capital. This is a *historical* difference and can therefore disappear. The same chain of reasoning which demonstrates the possibility of the existence of *absolute rent,* shows its reality, its existence, as a purely historical FACT, which belongs to a *certain* stage of development of agriculture and which may disappear at a higher stage.

Ricardo explained differential rent from an *absolute decrease in productivity* in agriculture. Differential rent does not presuppose this, nor does Anderson make this assumption. On the other hand Ricardo denies the existence of absolute rent because he [XI-564] assumes the *organic composition* of capital to be the same in industry

and agriculture and so denies the purely historical fact of the *lower development* of the productive power of labour in agriculture as compared with manufacture. Hence he falls into a twofold historical error: On the one hand, he assumes that the productivity of labour in agriculture is *absolutely the same* as in industry, thus denying a purely *historical* difference in their actual stage of development. On the other hand, he assumes an *absolute decrease in the productivity of agriculture* and regards this as its law of development. He does the one in order to make *cost price* on the worst land equal value and he does the other in order to explain the differences between the *prices* [of the products] of the better kinds of land and their *values*. The whole BLUNDER originates in the confusion of *cost price* with *value*.

Thus the Ricardian theory is disposed of. The rest was dealt with earlier, in the chapter on Rodbertus.

I have already indicated[a] that Ricardo opens the CHAPTER by stating that it is necessary to examine "WHETHER THE *APPROPRIATION* OF LAND, AND THE CONSEQUENT CREATION OF RENT" (p. 53) do not interfere with the determination of value by labour time. And he says later:

> * "Adam Smith ... cannot be correct in supposing that the *original rule which regulated the exchangeable value of commodities*, namely, the comparative quantity of labour by which they were produced, can *be at all altered by the appropriation of land and the payment of rent*" * ([p.] 67).

This direct and conscious connection which Ricardo's theory of rent has with the determination OF VALUE is its theoretical merit. Apart from that this *CHAPTER II* "ON RENT" is RATHER inferior to West's exposition. It contains much that is QUEER, *petitio principii*[b] and UNFAIR DEALING with the problem.

*Actual agricultural rent*, which Ricardo justifiably here treats as rent χατ'έξοχήν,[c] is that which is paid for the PERMISSION to invest capital, to produce capitalistically, *in the element land*. Here land is the *element of production*. This does not apply, for example, to rent for buildings, waterfalls, etc. The powers of nature which are paid for in these cases enter into production as a *condition*, be it as productive power or as *sine qua non*, but they are not the *element* in which this particular branch of production is carried on. Again, in rents for mines, coal-mines, etc., the earth is the reservoir, from whose BOWELS the use values are to be torn. In this case payment is made for the land, not because it is the *element* in which

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[a] See this volume, p. 394.— *Ed.*

[b] A logical fallacy in which a premiss is assumed to be true without justification.— *Ed.*

[c] Proper.— *Ed.*

production is to take place, as in agriculture, not because it enters *into* production as one of the conditions of production, as in the case of the waterfall or the building site, but because it is a reservoir containing the *use values*, which are to be got hold of through industry.

Ricardo's explanation that:

* "*Rent* is that portion of the produce of the earth, which is paid to the landlord for *the use* of the *original* and *indestructible powers of the soil*" * ([p.] 53)

is poor. Firstly, the soil has no "INDESTRUCTIBLE POWERS". (A note on this is to follow at the end of this chapter.) Secondly, it has no "ORIGINAL" POWERS either, since the land is in no way "original", but rather the product of an historical and natural process. But *passons ça.*[a] By "ORIGINAL" POWERS of the land we understand here those, which it possesses independently of the action of human industry, although, on the other hand, the POWERS given to it by human industry, become just as much its ORIGINAL POWERS as those given to it by the process of nature. Apart from this, it is correct to say that rent is a payment for the "USE" of natural things, irrespective of whether it is for the USE of the "ORIGINAL POWERS" of the SOIL or of the power of the waterfall or of land for building or of the treasures to be found in the water or in the bowels of the earth.

As distinct from the *agricultural rent* proper, Adam Smith (says Ricardo) speaks of the rent PAID for wood from virgin forests, RENT OF COAL-MINES and OF STONE-QUARRIES. The way in which Ricardo disposes of this is RATHER STRANGE.

He begins by saying that the RENT OF LAND must not be confused with THE INTEREST AND PROFIT OF CAPITAL ([p.] 53), that is:

* "capital employed in ameliorating the quality of the land, and in erecting such buildings as were necessary to secure and preserve the produce" * ([p.] 54).

From this he immediately [passes on] to the above-mentioned examples from Adam Smith. With regard to virgin forests:

* "Is it not, however, evident, that the person who paid what he" (Smith) "calls rent, paid it in consideration of the *valuable commodity* which was then standing on the land, and that he actually *repaid himself with a profit*, by *the sale of timber*?" * ([p.] 54.)

Similarly with the STONE-QUARRIES and COAL-MINES.

* "The compensation for the [XI-565] mine or quarry, is paid for the *value* of the coal or stone which can be removed from them, and has no connection with the original and indestructible powers of the land. This is a distinction of great importance, in an enquiry concerning rent and profits; for it is found, that the laws

[a] Let that pass.—*Ed.*

which regulate the progress of rent, are widely different from those which regulate the progress of profits, and seldom operate in the same direction" * ([pp.] 54-55).

This is very STRANGE LOGIC. One must distinguish *RENT* paid to the OWNER of the LAND for the *USE* of the *ORIGINAL and "INDESTRUCTIBLE POWERS OF THE SOIL"* from the *INTEREST and PROFIT* which is paid to him for the capital he has invested in *AMELIORATING* the land, etc. The "*COMPENSATION*" which is paid to the owner of naturally-grown forests for the right TO "REMOVE" wood, or to the owner of STONE-QUARRIES and COAL-MINES for the right TO "REMOVE" stones and coal, is not *RENT*, because it is not a payment for the "USE OF THE ORIGINAL AND INDESTRUCTIBLE POWERS OF THE SOIL". VERY WELL! But Ricardo argues as though this "COMPENSATION" were the same as the profit and interest which are paid for capital invested in AMELIORATIONS of the land. But this is wrong. Has the owner of a "virgin forest" invested "capital" in it so that it may bear "wood" or has the owner of stone-quarries and coal-mines invested "capital" in these, so that they may contain "stones" and "coal"? Whence, therefore, his "COMPENSATION"? It is by no means—as Ricardo tries to make out—PROFIT or INTEREST OF CAPITAL. Therefore it is "*RENT*" and NOTHING ELSE, even if it is not RENT as defined by Ricardo. But this only shows that his definition of rent excludes those forms of it where the "COMPENSATION" is paid for mere *natural things*, in which no human labour is embodied, and where it is paid to the *owner* of these natural things only because he is the "owner", *the owner of land*, whether this consists of soil, forest, fish pond, waterfall, building land or anything else. But, says Ricardo, the man who *paid* for the right to fell trees in the virgin forest, paid "IN CONSIDERATION OF THE *VALUABLE COMMODITY* WHICH WAS THEN *STANDING ON THE LAND*, AND ACTUALLY *REPAID HIMSELF WITH A PROFIT*, BY THE SALE OF THE TIMBER".[a] Stop! When Ricardo here calls the WOOD, i.e., the trees "*STANDING ON THE LAND*" in the virgin forest a "*VALUABLE* COMMODITY", then this means only that it is δυνάμει[b] a *use value*. And this use value is expressed here in the word "VALUABLE". But it is not a "*COMMODITY*". Because for this it would, at the same time, have to be exchange value, in other words, THE REALISATION OF A CERTAIN QUANTITY OF LABOUR EXPENDED UPON IT. It only becomes a COMMODITY by being separated from the virgin forest, by being felled, REMOVED and transported—by being transformed from WOOD into TIMBER. Or does it only become a COMMODITY by the fact it is *sold*? Then arable land too becomes a COMMODITY by the mere act of *selling*?

Then we would have to say: *RENT is the PRICE PAID TO THE OWNER OF*

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[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy...*, third edition, London, 1821, p. 54.—*Ed.*

[b] Potentially.—*Ed.*

*NATURAL FORCES OR MERE PRODUCTS OF NATURE* FOR THE RIGHT OF USING THOSE FORCES OR APPROPRIATING (BY LABOUR) THOSE PRODUCTS. This is in fact the form in which ALL RENT *appears* originally. But then the question remains to be solved, how things which have no *VALUE* can have a *PRICE* and how this is compatible with the general theory *OF VALUES*. The question: for *what purpose* does the man pay "A COMPENSATION" FOR THE RIGHT TO REMOVE WOOD FROM THE LAND UPON WHICH IT STANDS, has nothing to do with the real question. The question is: from what *fund* does he pay? Well, says Ricardo, "*BY THE SALE OF THE TIMBER*". That is, out of the *price* of the TIMBER. And furthermore, this price was such THAT, as Ricardo says, THE MAN "ACTUALLY REPAID HIMSELF *WITH A PROFIT*". Now we know where we are. The price of the timber must at any rate equal the sum of money REPRESENTING THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR NECESSARY TO FELL THE TIMBER, TO REMOVE IT, TO TRANSPORT IT, TO BRING IT TO MARKET. Now is the profit with which the man "REPAYS" HIMSELF, an addition over and above this *value*, this exchange value JUST IMPARTED[a] to the timber through the LABOUR EXPENDED UPON IT? If Ricardo said this then he would fall into the crudest conception, far beneath his own doctrine. No. Given that the man was a capitalist, the profit is part of the labour he employed in the production of the "timber", the part for which he did *not pay*; and the man would have made the same profit, if he had set in motion the same MASS OF LABOUR, shall we say, in COTTON SPINNING. (If the man is not a capitalist, then the profit=that quantity of his labour which he exerts beyond that which is necessary to cover his wages, and which would have constituted the profit of the capitalist, had a capitalist employed him, but which now constitutes his own profit because he is his own wage labourer and his own capitalist in *one and the same* person.) But here we come to the *UGLY WORD* that this timber man "ACTUALLY *REPAID* HIMSELF WITH A PROFIT". This gives the whole transaction a very ordinary look and corresponds to the crude manner of thinking which this capitalist, who REMOVES timber, may himself have of the source of his profit. First he pays the owner of the virgin forest for the use value of wood, which, however, has no "value" (VALUE IN EXCHANGE) and which, so long as it "STANDS UPON THE LAND", has not even a use value. He may pay him £5 per ton. And then he sells the same wood to the public (setting aside his other costs) at £6 and so ACTUALLY pays back to himself the £5 with a profit of 20%. [He] "ACTUALLY REPAID HIMSELF WITH A PROFIT". If the owner of the forest had only demanded "COMPENSATION" of £2 (40s.), then the timber man would have sold the ton at £2 8s.

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[a] In the manuscript this English word is given after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

instead of at £6. [XI-566] Since he always adds the same rate of profit, the price of timber would be high or low here because the rent is high or low. The latter would enter into the price as a constituent part but would in no way be the result of the price. Whether the "RENT"—COMPENSATION—is paid to the OWNER of the land for the USE of the "power" of the land or for the "USE" of the "NATURAL PRODUCTS" of the land, in no way alters the economic relations, in no way alters the fact that money is paid for "A NATURAL THING" (POWER OR PRODUCE OF THE EARTH) UPON WHICH NO PREVIOUS HUMAN LABOUR HAS BEEN SPENT. And thus on the 2nd page of his CHAPTER "*ON RENT*" Ricardo would have overthrown his whole theory in order to avoid a difficulty. It would appear that Adam Smith was a great deal more far-sighted here.

The same CASE with the STONE-QUARRIES and COAL-MINES.

* "The compensation *given* for the mine or quarry, is paid for the *value* of the coal or stone which can be removed from them, and has no connection with the *original* and indestructible *powers* of the land"* ([pp.] 54-55).

No! But there is a very significant CONNECTION WITH THE "*ORIGINAL* AND DESTRUCTIBLE *PRODUCTS* OF THE SOIL". The word "*VALUE*" is just as UGLY here as the phrase "*REPAID* HIMSELF WITH A PROFIT" was above.

Ricardo never uses the word *VALUE* for UTILITY or USEFULNESS or "VALUE IN USE". Does he therefore mean to say that the "COMPENSATION" is paid to the OWNER of the QUARRIES and COAL-MINES for the "*VALUE*" the COAL and STONE have before they ARE REMOVED FROM THE QUARRY AND THE MINE—IN THEIR ORIGINAL STATE? Then he invalidates his entire doctrine of VALUE. Or does *VALUE* mean here, as it must do, the *possible* use value and hence also the *PROSPECTIVE exchange value* of COAL and STONE? Then it means nothing but that their OWNER is paid *RENT* for the permission to use the "ORIGINAL COMPOSITION OF THE SOIL" for the production of coal and stones. And it is absolutely incomprehensible why this should not be called "RENT", in the same way as if the permission were given to use the "POWERS" of the land for the production of wheat. Or we end up again with the annulment of the whole theory of rent, as explained in connection with wood. According to the correct theory, there are no difficulties involved here at all. The labour, or capital, employed in the "production" //not reproduction// of wood, coal or stone (this labour, it is true, does not create these natural products, but separates them from their elementary connection with the earth and so "produces" them as usable wood, coal or stone) evidently belongs to those spheres of production in which the part of capital laid out in wages is greater than that laid out in constant capital, the direct labour is greater than the "past" labour

the result of which serves as a means of production. If, therefore, the commodity is sold at its value here, then this value will be above its *cost price*, i.e., the wear and tear of the instruments of labour, the wages, and the average profit. The *excess can* thus be paid as rent to the OWNER OF FOREST, QUARRY or COAL-MINE.

But why these CLUMSY MANOEUVRES of Ricardo's, such as the wrong use of VALUE, etc.? Why this CLINGING to the explanation of RENT as a payment for the USE of the "ORIGINAL AND INDESTRUCTIBLE POWERS OF THE LAND"? Perhaps the answer will emerge later. In any case, he wants to distinguish, to mention specifically, the agricultural rent in the strict sense and at the same time to open the way for differential rent, by saying that payment for this elementary POWER can only be made in so far as it develops DIFFERENT DEGREES OF POWER.

A further comment on the above: Supposing more productive or better situated coal-mines and stone-quarries were discovered, so that, with the same quantity of labour, they yielded a larger product than the older ones, and indeed *so large a product* that it covered the entire demand.[a] Then the value and therefore the price of coal, stones, timber, would fall and as a result the old coal-mines and stone-quarries would have to be closed. They would yield neither profit, nor wages, nor rent. Nevertheless, the *new* ones would yield rent just as the old ones did previously although *less* (at a lower rate). For every increase in the productivity of labour reduces the amount of capital laid out [in] wages, in proportion to the constant capital which is in this case laid out in tools. Is this correct? Does this also apply here, where the CHANGE in the PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOUR does not arise from a change in the *mode of production* itself, but from the natural fertility of the coal-mine or the stone-quarry, or from their SITUATIONS? One can only say here that in this case *the same* quantity of capital yields more tons of coal or stone and that therefore each individual ton contains less labour; the total tonnage, however, contains as much as, or even more [labour], if the new mines or quarries satisfy not only the old DEMAND SUPPLIED BY THE OLD MINES AND QUARRIES, but also an ADDITIONAL DEMAND, and, moreover, an ADDITIONAL DEMAND which is greater than the difference between the FERTILITY of the OLD and that of the NEW MINES and QUARRIES. But this would not alter the *organic composition* of the capital *employed*. It would be true to say that the price of a ton, an individual ton, contained less rent, but only because altogether it contained less labour, hence also less

[a] Marx crossed out and then restored the part of the sentence from the words "and indeed..." to the end.—*Ed.*

wages and less profit. The *proportion* of the *rate of rent* to profit would, however, not be affected by this. Hence we can [XI-567] only say the following:

If DEMAND remains the same, if, therefore, *the same* quantity of coal and stone is to be produced as before, then *less capital* is employed now in the new richer mines and quarries than before, in the old ones, in order to produce *the same* mass of commodities. The total value of the latter thus falls, hence also the TOTAL AMOUNT OF RENT, PROFIT, wages and constant capital employed. But the proportions of rent and profit change no more than those of profit and wages or of profit and the capital laid out, because there has been no *organic* CHANGE in the capital employed. Only the *size* and not the *composition* of the capital employed has changed, hence neither has the mode of production.

If there is an *ADDITIONAL DEMAND* to be satisfied, an ADDITIONAL DEMAND moreover that equals the difference in fertility between the new and the old MINES and QUARRIES, then *the same amount of capital* will be used now as previously. The value of the individual ton falls. But the total tonnage has the same value as before. As regards the individual ton, the size of the portions of value which resolve into profit and rent decreased together with the value it contained. But since the amount of *capital* has remained the same and with it the total value of its product and no *organic* CHANGE has taken place in its composition, the *ABSOLUTE AMOUNT OF RENT AND PROFIT* has remained the same.

If the *ADDITIONAL DEMAND* is so great that with the same capital investment it is not covered by the difference in FERTILITY between the NEW and the OLD MINES and QUARRIES, then ADDITIONAL CAPITAL will have to be employed in the new mines. In this case—provided the GROWTH of the total capital invested is not accompanied by a CHANGE in the division of labour, the application of machinery, in other words provided there is *no* CHANGE in the *organic* composition of the capital—*the AMOUNT OF rent and profit grows* because the value of the total product grows, the value of the total tonnage, although the value of each individual ton falls and therefore also that part of its value which resolves into rent and profit.

In all these instances, there is *no change* in the rate of rent, because there is no *CHANGE* in the *ORGANIC COMPOSITION* of the capital employed (however much its *magnitude* may *alter*). If, on the other hand, the CHANGE arose out of such a CHANGE—i.e., from a decrease in the amount of capital laid out in wages as compared with that laid out in machinery, etc., so that the mode of production itself is altered—then the *rate of rent* would fall, because the difference

between the cost price and the value of the commodity would have decreased. In the 3 cases considered above, this does not decrease. For though the value falls, the cost price of the individual commodity falls likewise, in that less labour has been EXPENDED UPON IT, LESS PAID + UNPAID LABOUR.

Accordingly, therefore, when the greater productivity of labour, or the lower value of a CERTAIN MEASURE OF COMMODITIES PRODUCED, arises only from a CHANGE in the PRODUCTIVITY of the NATURAL ELEMENTS, from the difference between the NATURAL DEGREE OF FERTILITY OF SOILS, MINES, QUARRIES etc., then the AMOUNT OF RENT may fall because, under the altered conditions, A LESS[ER] QUANTITY OF CAPITAL IS EMPLOYED; it may remain constant if there is an ADDITIONAL DEMAND; it may grow, if the ADDITIONAL DEMAND is greater than the difference in productivity between the previously employed and the newly employed NATURAL AGENCIES. The rate of rent, however, could only grow with a CHANGE IN THE ORGANIC COMPOSITION OF THE CAPITAL EMPLOYED.

Thus the *AMOUNT OF RENT* does not necessarily fall if the worse SOIL, QUARRY, COAL-MINE etc. is abandoned. The *rate of rent*, moreover, can never fall if this abandoning is purely the result of *lesser* natural fertility.

Ricardo distorts the correct idea, that in this case, depending on the STATE OF DEMAND, the *AMOUNT OF RENT* may fall, in other words depending upon whether the *amount of capital employed* decreases, remains the same or grows; he confuses it with the fundamentally wrong idea, that the *RATE OF RENT* must fall, which is an *impossibility* on the assumption made, since it has been assumed that *no CHANGE IN THE ORGANIC COMPOSITION OF CAPITAL* has taken place, therefore no CHANGE affecting the *relationship between value and COST PRICE*, the only relationship that determines the *RATE OF RENT*.

But what happens to *DIFFERENTIAL RENTS* in this case?

Supposing that 3 groups of COAL-MINES were being worked: I, II and III. Of these, I bore the absolute rent, II a rent which was twice that of I, and III a rent which was twice that of II or four times that of I. In this example, I bears the absolute rent R, II 2R and III 4R. Now if No. IV is opened up, and if this is more productive then I, II and III, and if it is so extensive that the capital invested in it can be as great as that in I, [then] in this case—THE FORMER *STATE OF DEMAND REMAINING CONSTANT*—the same amount of capital as was previously invested in I would now be invested in IV. I would thereupon be closed and a part of the capital invested in II would have to be WITHDRAWN. III and IV would suffice to replace I and a part of II, but they would not suffice TO SUPPLY THE WHOLE DEMAND, WITHOUT PART OF II CONTINUING TO BE

WORKED. Let us assume, for the sake of the illustration, that IV—using the same amount of capital as was previously invested in I—is capable of providing the whole of the supply from I and half the supply from II. If, therefore, $^1/_2$ the previous capital were invested in II, the old capital in III and the new in IV, then THE WHOLE MARKET WOULD BE SUPPLIED.

[XI-568] WHAT THEN WERE THE CHANGES THAT HAD TAKEN PLACE, OR HOW WOULD THE CHANGES ACCOMPLISHED AFFECT THE GENERAL RENTAL, THE RENTS OF I, II, III AND IV?

*The *absolute rent*, derived from IV, would, in amount and rate, be absolutely the same as that formerly derived from I; in fact the *absolute rent*, in amount and rate, would also before have been the same on I, II and III, always supposing that the *same amount of capital* was employed in those different classes. The value of the produce of IV would be exactly identical to that formerly employed on I, because it is the produce of a capital *of the same magnitude* and of a capital of the *same organic composition*. Hence the difference between value and cost price must be the same; hence the rate of rent. Besides, the amount [of rent] must be the same, because—at a *given rate* of rent—capitals of the same magnitude would have been employed. But, since the value of the coal is not determined by the value of the coal derived from IV, it would bear an excess rent, or an overplus over its *absolute rent*; a rent derived, not from any difference between cost price and value, but from the difference between the *market value* and the *individual value* of the produce No. IV.*

When we say that the absolute rent or the difference between value and cost price on I, II, III, IV, is *the same*, provided the *magnitude* of the capital invested in them, and therefore the AMOUNT OF RENT WITH A GIVEN RATE OF RENT is the same, then this is to be understood in the following way: The (individual) value of the coal from I is higher than that from II and that from II is higher than that from III, because *one* ton of coal from I contains more labour than one ton from II and one ton from II more than one ton from III. But since the *ORGANIC COMPOSITION* of the capital is in all 3 cases the same, this difference does not affect the *individual ABSOLUTE RENT* yielded by I, II, III. For if the value of a ton from I is greater, so is its cost price; it is only greater in the proportion that *more capital* of the same organic composition is employed for the production of *one* ton in I than in II and of one ton in II than in III. This difference in their values is, therefore, exactly equal to the difference in their *cost prices*, in other words to [the difference in] the relative amount of capital EXPENDED TO PRODUCE ONE TON OF COAL

in I, II and III. The variation in the magnitudes of value in the 3 classes does not, therefore, affect the *difference between value and cost price* in the various classes. If the value is greater, then the *cost price is greater in the same proportion*, for the value is only greater in proportion as more *capital* or LABOUR is EXPENDED; hence the relation between value and cost price remains the same, and hence *ABSOLUTE RENT* is the same.

But now let us go on to see what is the situation regarding *differential rent.*

Firstly, *less* capital is now being employed in the entire production of coal in II, III and IV. For the capital in IV is as great as the capital in I had been. Furthermore, half the capital employed in II is now WITHDRAWN. The AMOUNT OF RENT on II therefore will at all events drop by a half. Only one CHANGE has taken place in capital investment, namely in II, because in IV the same amount of capital is invested as was previously invested in I. We have, moreover, assumed that capitals of the same size were invested in I, II and III, for example 100 in each, altogether 300; now therefore only 250 are invested in II, III and IV, or $^1/_6$ of the capital HAS BEEN WITHDRAWN FROM THE PRODUCTION OF COAL.

Moreover, the *market value* of coal has fallen. We saw that I yielded R, II 2R and III 4R. Let us assume that the product of 100 on I=120, of which R=10 and 10=profit, then the market value of II was 130 (10 profit and 20 rent), and of III 150 (10 profit and 40 rent). If the product of I=60 tons (£2 per ton), then that of II=65 tons and that of III=75 tons and the total production=60+65+75 tons=200 tons. Now 100 will produce as much in IV as the total product of I and half the product of II, namely, 60+32 $^1/_2$ tons=92 $^1/_2$ tons, which, according to the old market value, would have cost £185 and since the profit=10 would thus have yielded a rent of £75, amounting to 7 $^1/_2$ R, for the absolute rent=10.

II, III and IV continue to yield the same number of tons, 200, since 32 $^1/_2$+75+92 $^1/_2$=200 tons.

But what is the position now, with regard to market value and DIFFERENTIAL RENTS?

In order to answer this we must see what is the amount of the *ABSOLUTE INDIVIDUAL RENT* of II. We assume that the absolute difference between *cost price and value* in this sphere of production=10%=the rent yielded by the worst mine, although this is not necessary unless the *market value* was absolutely determined by the *value* of I. [XI-569] If this was, indeed, the case, then the rent on I (if the COAL from I were sold at its value)

in fact represented the excess of value over its own COST PRICE and the GENERAL COST PRICE OF COMMODITIES in this *sphere of production.* II would therefore be selling its products at their value, if it sold its tonnage (the 65 tons) at £120, i.e., the individual ton at £1 $^{11}/_{13}$. That instead it sold them at £2 was only due to the excess of the market value, as determined by I, over its individual value; it was due to the excess, not of its *value,* but of its *market value over its cost price.*

Moreover, on the assumption made, II now sells instead of 65, only 32 $^{1}/_{2}$ tons, because a capital of only 50 instead of a capital of 100 is now invested in the mine.

II therefore now sells 32 $^{1}/_{2}$ tons at £60. 10 on 50 is 20%. Of the £60, 5 are profit and 5 rent.

*Thus we have for II:* Value of the product, £1 $^{11}/_{13}$ per ton; number of tons=32 $^{1}/_{2}$; total value of the product=£60; *rent*=£5. The rent has fallen from 20 to 5. If *the same* AMOUNT of capital were still employed, then it would only have fallen to 10. The rate has therefore only fallen by half. That is, it has fallen by the total difference that existed between the *market value* as determined by I and its own value, the difference therefore that existed over and above the difference between its own value and cost price. Its differential rent was 10; its rent is now 10=to its absolute rent. In II, therefore, with the reduction of the market value to the *value* (of coal from II) differential rent has disappeared and consequently also the increased RATE OF RENT which was doubled by this differential rent. Thus it has been reduced from 20 to 10; with this *given rate of rent,* however, the rent has been further reduced from 10 to 5, because the capital invested in II has fallen by half.

Since the *market value* is now determined by the value of II, i.e., by £1 $^{11}/_{13}$ per ton, the *market value* of the 75 tons produced by III now=£138 $^{6}/_{13}$, of which rent=£28 $^{6}/_{13}$. Previously the rent=£40. It has, therefore, fallen by £11 $^{7}/_{13}$. The difference between this rent and the absolute rent used to be 30; now it only amounts to 18 $^{6}/_{13}$ (for 18 $^{6}/_{13}$+10=28 $^{6}/_{13}$). Previously it=4R, now it is only 2R+£8 $^{6}/_{13}$. As the amount of capital invested in III has remained the same, this fall is entirely due to the fall in the *rate of differential rent,* i.e., the fall in the excess of the market value of III over its individual value. Previously, the whole AMOUNT of the rent in III was equal to the excess of the *higher market value* over the price of production, now it is only=to the excess of the *lower* market value over the cost price[149]; the difference is thus coming closer to the absolute rent of III. With a capital of 100, III produces 75 tons,

whose value=£120; one ton is therefore=to £1 $^{3}/_{5}$. But III sold the ton at £2, the previous market price, therefore, at £ $^{2}/_{5}$ more. On 75 tons, this amounted to $^{2}/_{5}\times 75$=£30, and this was in fact the differential rent of rent [III], for the rent was 40 (10 absolute and 30 differential rent). Now, according to the new market value, the ton is sold at only £1 $^{11}/_{13}$. How much above its value is this? $^{3}/_{5}=^{39}/_{65}$ and $^{11}/_{13}=^{55}/_{65}$. Thus the ton is sold $^{16}/_{65}$ too dear. On 75 tons this amounts to 18 $^{6}/_{13}$, and this is exactly the differential rent, which is thus always equal to the number of tons multiplied by the excess of the market value of the ton over the [individual] value of the ton. It now remains to work out the fall in rent by 11 $^{7}/_{13}$. The excess of the market value over the value of III has fallen from $^{2}/_{5}$ of a £ per ton (when it was sold at £2) to $^{16}/_{65}$ per ton (at £ 1 $^{11}/_{13}$), i.e., from $^{2}/_{5}=^{26}/_{65}$ to $^{16}/_{65}$, [which is by] $^{10}/_{65}$. On 75 tons this amounts to $^{750}/_{65}=^{150}/_{13}$=11 $^{7}/_{13}$, and this is EXACTLY the AMOUNT by which the rent in III has fallen.

[XI-570] The 92 $^{1}/_{2}$ tons from IV, at 1 $^{11}/_{13}$ [per ton],=£170 $^{10}/_{13}$. The rent here=60 $^{10}/_{13}$ and the differential rent=50 $^{10}/_{13}$.

If the 92 $^{1}/_{2}$ tons were sold at their value (£120), then 1 ton would cost £1 $^{11}/_{37}$. Instead it is being sold at 1 $^{11}/_{13}$. But $^{11}/_{13}=^{407}/_{481}$ and $^{11}/_{37}=^{143}/_{481}$. This makes the excess of the market value of IV over its value equal to $^{264}/_{481}$. On 92 $^{1}/_{2}$ tons this amounts to exactly £50 $^{10}/_{13}$, which is the differential rent of IV.

Now let us put these two CASES together, under A and B.

The two tables [below] give rise to some very important considerations.

A

| | Capital | Absolute rent | Number of tons | Market value per ton | Individual value per ton | Total value | Differential rent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ist class | 100 | 10 | 60 | £2 | £2 | 120 | 0 |
| IInd class | 100 | 10 | 65 | £2 | £1 $^{11}/_{13}$ | 130 | 10 |
| IIIrd class | 100 | 10 | 75 | £2 | £1 $^{3}/_{5}$ | 150 | 30 |
| *Total* | 300 | 30 | 200 | | | 400 | 40 |

The total number of tons=200. Total absolute rent=30.
Total *differential rent*=40. Total rent=£70.

B

| | Capital | Absolute rent | Number of tons | Market value per ton | Individual value | Total value | Differential rent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IInd class | 50 | 5 | $32\,^1/_2$ | £$1\,^{11}/_{13}$ | £$1\,^{11}/_{13}$ | £60 | 0 |
| IIIrd | 100 | 10 | 75 | £$1\,^{11}/_{13}$ | £$1\,^3/_5$ | $138\,^6/_{13}$ | $18\,^6/_{13}$ |
| IVth | 100 | 10 | $92\,^1/_2$ | £$1\,^{11}/_{13}$ | £$1\,^{11}/_{37}$ | $170\,^{10}/_{13}$ | $50\,^{10}/_{13}$ |
| *Total* | 250 | 25 | 200 | | | $369\,^3/_{13}$ | $69\,^3/_{13}$ |

Total capital=250. Absolute rent=25. Differential rent=$69\,^3/_{13}$. *Total rent*: $94\,^3/_{13}$. The total value of the 200 tons has fallen from 400 to $369\,^3/_{13}$.

First of all we see that the amount of *absolute rent* rises or falls proportionately to the capital invested in agriculture,[150] that is, to the total amount of capital invested in I, II, III. The *rate of this absolute rent* is quite independent of the size of the capitals invested for it does not depend on the difference in the various types of land but is derived from the difference between value and [cost] price; this latter difference however is itself determined by the *organic composition* of the AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL, by the mode of production and not by the land. In *II B*, the *amount* of the absolute rent falls from 10 to 5, because the capital has fallen from 100 to 50; half [XI-571] the capital has been withdrawn.

Before making any further observations on the two tables, let us construct some other tables. We saw that in B the market value fell to £$1\,^{11}/_{13}$ per ton. But at this *value*, there is no necessity either for I A to disappear completely from the market, or for II B to employ only half the previous capital. Since in I, the rent=10 out of the total value of the commodity of 120, or $^1/_{12}$ of the total value, [this applies] equally to the value of the individual ton which is worth £2. £$^2/_{12}$, however, is £$^1/_6$ or $3\,^1/_3$s. ($3\,^1/_3$s.×60=£10). The *cost price* of a ton from I is thus £1 $16\,^2/_3$s. The [new] market value is £ $1\,^{11}/_{13}$, or £1 $16\,^{12}/_{13}$s. $16\,^2/_3$s., however,=16s. 8d. or $16\,^{26}/_{39}$s. Against this, $16\,^{12}/_{13}$s.=$16\,^{36}/_{39}$s. or $^{10}/_{39}$s. more. This would be the rent per ton, at the new market value [$^{10}/_{39}$s.] and would amount to a total rent of $15\,^5/_{13}$s. for 60 tons. Therefore we put less than 1% rent on the capital of 100. For I A to yield no rent at all, the market value would have to fall to *its* cost price, namely, to £1 $16\,^2/_3$s. or to £$1\,^5/_6$ (or to £$1\,^{10}/_{12}$). In this case the rent on I A would have disappeared. It could, however, continue to be exploited with a profit of 10%. This would only cease if the market value were to fall further, below £$1\,^5/_6$.

So far as *II B* is concerned, it has been assumed in Table *B*

that half of the capital is WITHDRAWN. But since the market value of £1 $^{11}/_{13}$ still yields a rent of 10%, it will do so just as well on 100 as on 50. If, therefore, it is assumed that half the capital has been WITHDRAWN, then only because under these circumstances, II B still yields an absolute rent of 10%. For if [II] B had continued to produce 65 tons instead of 32$^{1}/_{2}$, then the market would be over-supplied and the market value of IV, which dominates the market, would fall to such an extent that the capital investment in II B would have to be reduced in order to yield the absolute rent. It is however clear that, if the whole capital [of] 100 yields rent at 9%, the sum total is greater than that yielded by [a capital of] 50 at 10%. Thus if, according to the state of the market, a capital of only 50 were required in II to satisfy the demand, the rent would have to be forced down to £5. It would, in fact, fall even lower, if it is assumed that the additional 32$^{1}/_{2}$ tons cannot always be disposed of, i.e., if they were thrown out of the market. The market value would fall so low that not only the rent on II B would disappear, but the profit would also be affected. Then capital would be withdrawn in order to diminish supply, until the correct point of 50 had been reached and then the market value would have been re-established at £1 $^{11}/_{13}$, at which II B would again yield the absolute rent, but only on half the capital previously invested in it. In this instance too, the whole process would emanate from IV and III, who dominate the market.

But it does not by any means follow that if the market only absorbs 200 tons at £1 $^{11}/_{13}$ per ton, it will not absorb an additional 32 $^{1}/_{2}$ tons if the market value falls, i.e., if the market value of 232 $^{1}/_{2}$ tons is forced down through the pressure of 32 $^{1}/_{2}$ surplus tons on the market. The cost price in *II B* is [110:65, i.e.] £1 $^{9}/_{13}$ or £1 13 $^{11}/_{13}$s. But the market value is £1 $^{11}/_{13}$ or £1 16 $^{12}/_{13}$s. If the market value fell to such an extent that *I A* no longer yielded a rent, i.e., [if the market value fell] to the cost price of I A, to £1 16 $^{2}/_{3}$s. or £1 $^{5}/_{6}$ or £1 $^{10}/_{12}$, then for *II B* to use its whole capital, demand would have to grow considerably; since I A could continue to be exploited, as it yields the normal profit. The market would have to absorb not 32 $^{1}/_{2}$ but 92 $^{1}/_{2}$ additional tons, 292 $^{1}/_{2}$ tons instead of 200, i.e. [almost] half as much again. This is a very significant increase. If a moderate increase is to take place, the market value would have to fall to such an extent that I A is driven out of the market. That is, the market price would have to fall below the cost price of I A, i.e., below £1 $^{10}/_{12}$, say, to £1 $^{9}/_{12}$ or £1 15s. It would then still be well above the cost price of *II B*.

We shall therefore add a further three tables to the tables A and

B, namely, C and D and E. And we shall assume in C that the demand grows, so that all classes of A and B can continue to produce, but at the market value of B, at which *I A* still yields a rent. In D we assume that [the demand] is sufficient for *I A* to continue to yield the normal profit but no longer a rent. And we shall assume in E that the price falls sufficiently to eliminate I A from the market [XI-572] but that the fall of the price simultaneously leads to the absorption of the $32^1/_2$ surplus tons from *II B*.

The CASE assumed in A and B is possible. It is possible that if the rent is reduced from £10 to barely 16s., I A would withdraw its land from this particular form of exploitation and let it out to another sphere of exploitation, in which it can yield a higher rent. But in this CASE, *II B* would be forced through the process described above, TO WITHDRAW $^1/_2$ OF HIS CAPITAL, if the market did not expand upon the appearance of the new market value.

C

| | Capital | Absolute rent | Number of tons | Market value | Individual value | Total value | Rent | Differential rent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ist class | 100 | £$^{10}/_{13}$ | 60 | £$1^{11}/_{13}$ | £2 | £$110^{10}/_{13}$ | £$^{10}/_{13}$ or $15^5/_{13}$s. | −£$9^3/_{13}$ |
| IInd | 100 | £10 | 65 | $1^{11}/_{13}$ | £$1^{11}/_{13}$ | 120 | | 0 |
| IIIrd | 100 | 10 | 75 | $1^{11}/_{13}$ | $1^3/_5$ | $138^6/_{13}$ | | +£$18^6/_{13}$ |
| IVth | 100 | 10 | $92^1/_2$ | £$1^{11}/_{13}$ | £$1^{11}/_{37}$ | $170^{10}/_{13}$ | | +$50^{10}/_{13}$ |
| *Total*: | 400 | $30^{10}/_{13}$ | $292^1/_2$ | | | 540 | | $69^3/_{13}$ |

D

| | Capital | Absolute rent | Market value | Cost price | Number of tons | Total value | Differential rent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ist class | 100 | 0 | £$1^5/_6$ | £$1^5/_6$ | 60 | £110 | 0 (−) |
| IInd | 100 | $9^1/_6$ | £$1^5/_6$ | | 65 | $119^1/_6$ | − (latent) |
| IIIrd | 100 | 10 | £$1^5/_6$ | | 75 | $137^1/_2$ | +$17^1/_2$ |
| IVth | 100 | 10 | $1^5/_6$ | | $92^1/_2$ | $169^7/_{12}$ | +$49^7/_{12}$ |
| *Total* | 400 | $29^1/_6$ | | | $292^1/_2$ | $536^1/_4$ | $67^1/_{12}$ [a] |

[a] The manuscript has "$66^1/_6$". Marx changed this to "$67^1/_{12}$" later, in a summary table (see the table between pp. 480-81 of this volume).—*Ed.*

E

| | Capital | Absolute rent | Market value | Cost price | Number of tons | Total value | Differential rent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IInd | 100 | £$3^3/_4$ | £$1^9/_{12}$ | £$1^9/_{13}$ | 65 | $113^3/_4$ | –*vacat*[a] |
| IIIrd | 100 | 10 | £$1^9/_{12}$ | | 75 | $131^1/_4$ | $+11^1/_4$ |
| IVth | 100 | 10 | £$1^9/_{12}$ | | 95 | $166^1/_4$ | $+46^1/_4$ |
| *Total*: | 300 | $23^3/_4$ | | | 235 | $411^1/_4$ | $+57^1/_2$ |

[XI-573] Now let us compile the tables, A, B, C, D and E, but in the manner which should have been adopted from the outset. *Capital, Total value, Total product, Market value per ton, Individual value, Differential Value,*[151] *Cost Price, Absolute rent, Absolute rent in tons, Differential rent, Differential rent in tons, Total rent.* And then the totals of all classes in each table.[152]

[XI-575] COMMENT ON THE TABLE (P. [XI-] 574)

It is assumed that a capital of 100 (constant and variable capital) is laid out and that the labour it employs provides surplus labour (unpaid labour) amounting to $^1/_5$ of the total capital advanced, or a surplus value=$^{100}/_5$. If, therefore, the capital advanced=£100, the *value* of the total product must be £120. Supposing furthermore that the average profit=10%, then £110 is the *cost price* of total product, in the above example, of coal. With the given rate of surplus value or surplus labour, the £100 capital transforms itself into a *value* of £120, whether poor or rich mines are being exploited; in a word: The *varying productivity* of labour—whether this variation be due to varying natural conditions of labour or varying social conditions of labour or varying technological conditions—does not alter the fact that the value of the commodities equals the quantity of labour materialised in them.

Thus to say the *value* of the *product* created by the capital of 100=120, simply means that the *product* contains the labour time materialised in the £100 capital+$^1/_6$ of labour time which is unpaid but appropriated by the capitalist. The total value of the product=£120, whether the capital of 100 produces 60 tons in one class of mines or 65, 75 or $92^1/_2$ in another. But clearly, the value of the individual part, be it measured by the ton, as here, the quarter or yard etc., varies greatly according to the productivity. But to stick to our table (the same applies to every other mass of commodities brought about by capitalist production) the value of 1 ton=£2, if the total product of the capital=60 tons, i.e.,

[a] None.—*Ed.*

60 tons are worth £120 or represent labour time=to that which is materialised in £120. If the total product=65 tons, then the value of the individual ton=£1 $16^{12}/_{13}$s. or £$1^{11}/_{13}$; if it amounts to 75 tons, then the value of the individual ton=£$1^{9}/_{15}$ or £1 12s.; finally, if it=$92^{1}/_{2}$ tons, then the value per ton=£$1^{11}/_{37}$ or £1 $5^{35}/_{37}$s. Because the total mass of commodities or tons produced by the capital of 100 always has the same *value*,=£120, since it always represents the same *total quantity of labour* contained in £120, the *value* of the individual ton varies, according to whether *the same* value is represented in 60, 65, 75 or $92^{1}/_{2}$ tons, in other words, it varies with the different productivity of labour. It is this difference in the productivity of labour which causes *the same quantity of labour* to be represented sometimes in a smaller and sometimes in a larger total quantity of commodities, so that the *individual part* of this total contains now more, now less, of the ABSOLUTE AMOUNT OF LABOUR EXPENDED, and, therefore, accordingly has sometimes a larger and sometimes a smaller value. This value of the individual ton, which varies according to whether the capital of £100 is invested in more fertile or less fertile mines and therefore according to the different productivity of labour, figures in the table as the *individual value* of the individual ton.

Hence nothing could be further from the truth than the notion that when the value of the individual commodity falls with the rising productivity of labour, the *total value* of a product produced by a particular capital—for instance, 100—rises because of the increased mass of commodities in which it is represented. For the value of the individual commodity only falls because the *total value*—the total quantity of LABOUR EXPENDED—is represented by a larger quantity of use values, of products. Hence a relatively smaller part of the total value or of the LABOUR EXPENDED falls to the individual product and this only *to the extent* to which a smaller quantity of labour is absorbed in it or a smaller amount of the total value falls to its share.

Originally, we regarded the *individual commodity* as the result and direct product of a particular quantity of labour. Now, that the commodity appears as the *product of capitalist production*, there is a formal change in this respect:

The mass of use values which has been produced represents a *quantity of labour time*, which=the quantity of labour time contained in the capital (constant and variable) consumed in its production+the unpaid labour time appropriated by the capitalist. If the labour time contained in the capital, as expressed in terms of money, amounts to £100 and this capital of £100 comprises

£40 laid out in wages, and if the surplus labour time amounts to 50% on the variable capital, in other words, the rate of surplus value=50%, then the value of the total mass of commodities produced by the capital of 100=£120. As we have seen in the first part of this work,[a] if the commodities are to circulate, their exchange value must first be converted into a *price*, i.e., expressed in terms of money. Thus [XI-576] before the capitalist throws the commodities on to the market, he must first work out the *price* of the individual commodity, unless the total product is a single indivisible object, such as, for example, a house, in which the total capital is represented, *a single commodity*, whose price according to the assumption would then=£120,=the total value as expressed in terms of money. *Price* here=MONETARY EXPRESSION OF VALUE.

According to the varying productivity of labour the total value of £120 will be distributed over more or fewer products. Thus the value of the *individual* product will, accordingly, be proportionally equal to a larger or a smaller part of £120. The whole operation is quite simple. For example, if the total product=60 tons of coal, 60 tons=£120 and 1 ton=£$^{120}/_{60}$=£2; if the product is 65 tons, the value of the individual ton=£$^{120}/_{65}$=£1$^{11}/_{13}$ or £1 16$^{12}/_{13}$s. (=£1 16s. 11$^{1}/_{13}$ d). If the product=75 tons, the value of the individual ton=$^{120}/_{75}$=£1 12s.; if it=92$^{1}/_{2}$ tons, then it=£1 $^{11}/_{37}$=£1 5$^{35}/_{37}$s. The value (price) of the individual commodity thus=the *total value* of the product divided by the total number of products, which are measured according to the standard of measurement—such as tons, quarters, yards, etc.—appropriate to them as use values.

If, therefore, the price of the individual commodity equals the total value of the mass of commodities produced by a capital of 100, divided by the total number of commodities, then the total value=the price of the individual commodity×the total number of individual commodities or it equals the price of a definite quantity of individual commodities×the total amount of commodities, measured by this standard of measurement. Furthermore: The total value consists of the value of the capital advanced to production+the surplus value; that is of labour time contained in the capital advanced+the surplus labour time or unpaid labour time appropriated by the capital. Thus the surplus value contained in each individual part of the commodity is proportional to its value. In the same way as the £120 is distributed among 60, 65, 75 or 92$^{1}/_{2}$ tons, so the £20 surplus value is distributed among them. When the number of tons=60, and therefore the value of the

[a] See K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 303-05).—*Ed.*

individual ton=$^{120}/_{60}$=£2 or 40s., then $^{1}/_{6}$ of this 40s. or £2=6$^{2}/_{3}$s., is the share of the surplus value which falls to the individual ton; the proportion of surplus value in the ton which costs £2 is the same as in the 60 which cost £120. The [ratio of] surplus value to value remains the same in the price of the individual commodity as in the total value of the mass of commodities. In the above example, the total surplus value in each individual ton=$^{20}/_{60}$=$^{2}/_{6}$=$^{1}/_{3}$ of 20,=$^{1}/_{6}$ of 40 as above. Hence the surplus value of the single ton multiplied by 60 is equal to the total surplus value which the capital has produced. If the portion of value which falls to the individual product—the corresponding part of the total value—is smaller because of the larger number of products, i.e., because of the greater productivity of labour, then the portion of surplus value which falls to it, the corresponding part of the total surplus value which adheres to it, is also smaller. But this does not affect the ratio of the surplus value, of the newly created value, to the value advanced and merely reproduced. Although, as we have seen,[a] the productivity of labour does not affect the total value of the product, it may however increase the surplus value, if the product enters into the consumption of the worker; then the falling price of the individual commodities or, which is the same, of a given quantity of commodities, may reduce the *normal wage* or, which is the same, the *value of the labour capacity*. In so far as the greater productivity of labour creates relative surplus value, it increases not the total value of the product, but that part of this total value which represents surplus value, i.e., unpaid labour. Although, therefore, with greater productivity of labour, a smaller portion of value falls to the individual product—because the total mass of commodities which represents this value has grown—and thus the price of the individual product falls, that part of this price which represents *surplus value*, nevertheless, rises under the above-mentioned circumstances, and, therefore, the proportion of surplus value to reproduced value grows //actually here one should still refer to variable capital, for profit has not yet been mentioned//. But this is only the case because, as a result of the increased productivity of labour, the surplus value has grown within the *total value*. The same factor—the increased productivity of labour—which enables a larger mass of products to contain the same quantity of labour thus lowering the value of a given part of this mass or the *price* of the individual commodity, reduces the value of the labour

[a] See this volume, pp. 109-11.—*Ed.*

capacity, therefore increases the surplus or unpaid labour contained in the *value of the total product* and *hinc*[a] in the *price* of the individual commodity. Although thus the *price of the individual commodity* falls, although the *total quantity of labour contained in it,* and therefore its value, falls, the proportion of surplus value, which is a component part of this value, increases. In other words, the smaller total [XI-577] quantity of labour contained in the individual commodity comprises a *greater quantity of unpaid labour* than previously, when labour was less productive, when the price of the individual commodity was therefore higher, and the total quantity of labour contained in the individual commodity greater. Although in the present case 1 ton contains less labour and is therefore cheaper, it contains more surplus labour and therefore yields more surplus value.

Since in competition everything appears in a false form, upside down, the individual capitalist imagines 1. that he [has] reduced his profit on the individual commodity by reducing its price, but that he makes a greater profit *because of the increased* mass [of commodities] (here a further confusion is caused by the greater amount of profit which is derived from the increase in capital employed, even with a lower rate of profit); 2. that he fixes the price of the individual commodity and by multiplication determines the total value of the product whereas the original procedure is division and multiplication is only correct as a derivative method based on that division. The vulgar economist in fact does nothing but translate the QUEER NOTIONS of the capitalists who are caught up in competition into seemingly more theoretical language and seeks to build up a justification of these notions.

Now to return to our table.

The *total value* of the product or of the quantity of commodities created by a capital of 100=£120, however great or small—according to the varying degree of the productivity of labour—the quantity of commodities may be. The *cost price* of this total product, whatever its size,=£110 if, as has been assumed, the average profit=10%. The excess in *value* of the total product, whatever its size,=£10=$^1/_{12}$ of the total value or $^1/_{10}$ of the capital advanced. This £10, the excess of *value* over the *cost price* of the total product, constitutes the *rent.* It is evidently quite independent of the varying productivity of labour resulting from the different DEGREES OF NATURAL FERTILITY of the mines, types of soil, in short, of the NATURAL ELEMENT IN WHICH THE CAPITAL OF 100 HAS BEEN EMPLOYED, FOR THOSE DIFFERENT DEGREES IN THE PRODUCTIVITY OF THE LABOUR EMPLOYED, ARISING FROM THE

[a] Hence.—*Ed.*

DIFFERENT DEGREES OF FERTILITY OF THE NATURAL AGENT, do not prevent the total product from having a value of £120, a cost price of £110, and therefore an excess of value over cost price of £10. All that the *competition between capitals* can bring about, is that the *cost price* of the commodities which a capitalist can produce with £100 in coal-mining, this particular sphere of production,=£110. But competition cannot compel the capitalist to sell the product at £110 which is worth £120—although such compulsion exists in other industries. Because the LANDLORD steps in and lays his hands on the £10. Hence I call this rent the *absolute rent.* Accordingly it always remains *the same* in the table, however the FERTILITY of the COAL-MINES and hence the productivity of labour may change. But, because of the different DEGREES of FERTILITY of the MINES and thus of the PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOUR, it is not always expressed in the *same number of tons.* For, according to the varying productivity of labour, the quantity of labour contained in £10 represents more or less use values, more or less tons. Whether with the variation in DEGREES OF FERTILITY, this *absolute rent* is always paid in full or only in part, will be seen in the further analysis of the table.

There is furthermore on the market coal produced in mines of different productivity. Starting with the lowest degree of productivity, I have called these, I, II, III, IV. Thus, for instance, the first class produces 60 tons with a capital of £100, the second class produces 65 tons etc. Capital of the same size—£100, of the same organic composition, within the same sphere of production—does not have the same productivity here, because the degree of productivity of labour varies according to the degree of productivity of the mine, type of soil, in short of the NATURAL AGENT. But competition establishes *one market value* for these products, which have varying *individual values.* This market value itself can *never* be *greater* than the individual value of the product of the *least fertile* class. If it were higher, then this would only show that the *market price* stood above the *market value.* But the market *value* must represent real *value.* As regards products of separate classes, it is quite possible, that their *value* is above or below the market value. If it is *above* the market value, the difference between the market value and their cost price is *smaller* than the difference between their individual value and their cost price. But as the absolute rent=the difference between their individual [XI-578] value and their cost price, the market value cannot, in this case, yield the *entire absolute rent* for these products. If the market value sank down to *their* cost price, it would yield *no rent* for them *at all.* They could pay no rent, since rent is only the difference between

value and cost price, and for them, individually, this difference would have disappeared, because of the market value. In this case, the difference between their individual value and the market value is *negative*, that is, the market value differs from their individual value by a *negative amount*. The difference between market value and individual value in general I call *differential value*. Commodities belonging to the category described here have a minus sign in front of their differential value.

If, on the other hand, the *individual value* of the products of a class of mines (class of land) is *below* the market value, then the *market value* is above their individual value. The value or market value prevailing in their sphere of production thus yields an *excess above* their individual value. If, for example, the market value of a ton=£2, and the individual value of a ton is £1 12s., then its differential value is 8s. And since in the class in which the individual value of a ton=£1 12s. the capital of 100 produces 75 tons, the total differential value of these 75 tons=8s.×75=£30. This excess of the market value for the total product of this class *over* the individual value of its product, which is due to the relatively greater fertility of the soil or the mine, forms the *differential rent*, since the cost price for the capital remains the same as before. This differential rent is greater or smaller, according to the greater or smaller excess of the *market value* over the *individual value*. This excess in turn is greater or smaller, according to the *relatively greater or smaller fertility* of the class of mine or land to which this product belongs; compared with the less fertile class whose product determines the market value.

Finally, it should be noted that the *individual cost price* of the products is different in the different classes. For instance, for the class in which a capital of £100 yields 75 tons the cost price of the individual commodity=£1 $9^1/_3$s., since the total value=£120 and the [total] *cost price*=£110, and if the market value=the individual value in this class, i.e.,=£1 12s., then the 75 tons sold at £120 would yield a rent of £10, while £110 would represent their cost price.

But of course, the *individual cost price* of a single ton varies according to the number of tons in which the capital of 100 is represented, or according to the *individual value* of the individual products of the various classes. If, for example, the capital of 100 produces 60 tons, then the value per ton=£2 and its cost price=£1 $16^2/_3$s.; 55 tons would be equal to £110 or to the cost price of the total product. If, however, the capital of 100 produces 75 tons, then the value per ton=£1 12s., its cost price=£1 $9^1/_3$s.

and $68^3/_4$ tons of the total product would cost £110 or would replace the cost price. The individual *cost price*, i.e., the *cost price* of *the individual ton*, varies in the different classes in the same proportion as the *individual value*.

It now becomes evident from all the 5 tables, that *absolute rent* always=the excess of the [individual] value of the commodity over its own cost price. The *differential rent*, on the other hand, is equal to the excess of the market value over its individual value. The total rent, if there is a differential rent (apart from the absolute rent), is equal to the excess of the market value over the individual value+the excess of the individual value over the cost price, or=the excess of the market value over the individual cost price.

Because here the purpose is only to set forth the general law of rent as an illustration of my theory of value and cost prices—since I do not intend to give a detailed exposition of rent [XI-579] till dealing with landed property *ex professo*—I have removed all those factors which complicate the matter: namely the *influence of the location* of the mines or types of land; different DEGREE of productivity of different amounts of capital applied to *the same* mine or *the same* type of land; the interrelationship of rents yielded by different lines of production within the same sphere of production, for example, by different branches of agriculture; the interrelationship of rents yielded by different branches of production which are, however, interchangeable, such as, for instance, when land is withdrawn from agriculture in order to be used for building houses, etc. All this does not belong here.[153]

Now for a consideration of the tables. They show how the general law explains a great multiplicity of combinations, while Ricardo, because he had a false conception of the general law of rent, perceived only one side of differential rent and therefore wanted to reduce the great multiplicity of phenomena to ONE SINGLE CASE by means of forcible abstraction. The tables are not intended to show all the combinations but only those which are most important, particularly for our specific purpose.

*Ad Table A.*

In Table A, the market value of a ton of coal is determined by the individual value of a ton in class I, where the mine is least fertile, hence the productivity of labour is the lowest, hence the mass of products yielded by the capital investment of £100 is the smallest and, therefore, the price of the individual product (the price as determined by its value) is the highest.

It is assumed that the market absorbs 200 tons *ni plus, ni moins*.[a]

[a] Neither more nor less.—*Ed.*

The *market value* cannot be *above* the value of a ton in I, i.e., of that commodity which is produced under the least favourable conditions of production. II and III sell the ton above its *individual value* because their conditions of production are more favourable than those of other commodities produced within *the same* sphere (TRADE), this does not, therefore, offend against the law of value. On the other hand, the market value could only be above the value of a ton in I, if the product of I were sold *above* its value, *quite* regardless of market value. A difference between market value and [individual] value arises in general not because products are sold absolutely *above* their value, but only because the value of the individual product may be different from the value of the product of a whole sphere; in other words because the *labour time necessary* to supply the total product—in this case 200 tons—may differ from the labour time which produces some of the tons—in this case those from II and III—in short, because the *total product* supplied has been produced by labour of varying DEGREES OF PRODUCTIVITY. The difference between the market value and the individual value of a product can therefore only be due to the fact that the definite quantities of labour with which different parts of the total product are manufactured have different *DEGREES OF PRODUCTIVITY*. It can never be due to the value being determined *irrespective* of the quantity of labour altogether employed in this sphere. The market value could be above £2 per ton, only if I, on the whole, quite apart from its relation to II and III, were to sell its product *above* its value. In this case the *market price* would be above the *market value* because of the STATE OF THE MARKET, because OF DEMAND AND SUPPLY. But the market value which concerns us here—and which here is assumed to be equal to the market price—cannot rise *above itself*.

The market value here *equals* the value of I, which, moreover, supplies $^3/_{10}$ of the entire product on the market, since II and III only supply sufficient amounts to meet the total DEMAND, to satisfy the ADDITIONAL DEMAND over and above that which is supplied by I. II and III have no cause, therefore, to sell below £2 since the entire product can be sold at £2. They cannot [XI-580] sell *above* £2 because I sells at £2 per ton.

This law, that the market *value* cannot be *above* the individual *value* of that product which is produced under the *worst conditions of production* but provides a part of the necessary SUPPLY, Ricardo distorts into the assertion that the market value cannot fall *below* the value of that product and must therefore always be determined by it. We shall see later how wrong this is.

Because the market value of a ton coincides with the individual value of a ton in I, *the rent* it yields represents the absolute excess of the value over its cost price, the *absolute rent*=£10. II yields a differential rent of £10 and III of £30, because the market value, which is determined by I, yields an excess of £10 for II and of £30 for III, over their *individual value* and therefore over the absolute rent of £10, which represents the excess of the individual value over the cost price. Hence II yields a total rent of £20 and III of £40, because the market value yields an excess over their cost price of 20 and 40 RESPECTIVELY.

We shall assume that the transition is from I, the least fertile mine, to the more fertile II, and from this to the yet more fertile mine III. It is true that II and III are more fertile than I, but they satisfy only $^{7}/_{10}$ of the TOTAL DEMAND and, as we have just explained, can therefore sell their product at £2, although its value is only £1 $16^{12}/_{13}$s. and £1 12s. RESPECTIVELY. It is clear that when the particular quantity required to satisfy demand is supplied, and gradation takes place in the PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOUR which satisfies the various portions of this demand, whether the transition is in one direction or the other, in both cases the market value of the more fertile classes will rise *above their individual value*; in one case because they *find* that the market value is *determined* by the unfertile class and the ADDITIONAL SUPPLY provided by them is not great enough to occasion any change in the market value as determined by class I; in the other case, because the market value originally determined by them—determined by class III or II—is now determined by class I, which provides the ADDITIONAL SUPPLY required by the market and can only meet this at a higher value, which now determines the market value.

In the case under consideration, for example, Ricardo would say: We start out from class III. The ADDITIONAL SUPPLY will, in the first place, come from II. Finally, the last ADDITIONAL SUPPLY—demanded by the market—comes from I, and since I can provide the ADDITIONAL SUPPLY of 60 tons only at £120, that is at £2 per ton, and since this SUPPLY is needed, the market value of a ton which was originally £1 12s. and later £1 $16^{12}/_{13}$s., now rises to £2. But, on the other hand, it is equally true, that if we start out from I, which satisfied the demand for 60 tons at £2, then, however, the ADDITIONAL SUPPLY is provided by II, [the product of] II is sold at the market value of £2 although the INDIVIDUAL VALUE of it is only £1 $16^{12}/_{13}$s., for it is still only possible to supply the 125 tons required if I provides 60 tons at a value of £2 per ton. The same applies, if a new ADDITIONAL SUPPLY of 75 tons is required, but III provides *only*

75 tons, only SUPPLIES THE ADDITIONAL DEMAND, and therefore, as before, 60 tons have to be supplied by I at £2. Had I supplied the whole demand of 200 tons, they would have been sold at £400. And this is what they are [sold] at now, because II and III do not sell at the price at which they can satisfy the ADDITIONAL DEMAND for 140 tons, [XII-581] but at the price at which I, which only supplies $^3/_{10}$ of the product, could satisfy it. The entire product required, 200 tons, is in this case sold at £2 per ton, because $^3/_{10}$ of it can only be supplied at a value of £2 per ton, irrespective of whether the ADDITIONAL PORTIONS OF THE DEMAND were met by proceeding from III via II to I or from I via II to III.

Ricardo says: If III and II are the starting-points, their market value must rise to the value (cost price with him) of I, because the $^3/_{10}$ supplied by I are required to meet the DEMAND and the decisive point here is therefore the *required volume of the product* and not the individual value of particular portions of it. But it is equally true that the $^3/_{10}$ from I are just as essential as before when I is the starting-point and II and III *only* provide the ADDITIONAL SUPPLY. If, therefore, I determined the market value in the DESCENDING LINE, it determines it in the ASCENDING LINE *for the same reasons*. Table A thus shows us the incorrectness of the Ricardian concept that differential rent *depends* on the diminishing productivity of labour, on the movement from the more productive mine or land to the less productive. It is just as compatible with the *reverse* process and hence with the growing productivity of labour. Whether the one or the other takes place has nothing to do with the nature and existence of differential rent but is a *historical* question. In reality, the ASCENDING and DESCENDING LINES will cut across one another, the additional demand will sometimes be supplied by going over to more, sometimes to less fertile types of land, mine or NATURAL AGENT. [In this it is] ALWAYS SUPPOSED that *the* SUPPLY provided by the NATURAL AGENT of a new, different class—be it more fertile or less fertile—only equals the ADDITIONAL DEMAND and does not, therefore, bring about a change in the *relation between demand and supply*. Hence it can only bring about *a change in the market value* itself, if the supply can only be made available at higher cost not however if it can be made available at lower cost.

*Table A* thus reveals to us from the outset the falseness of this fundamental assumption of Ricardo's, which, as Anderson shows,[a] was not required, even on the basis of a wrong conception of absolute rent.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 371-76, 457-61.— *Ed.*

If production proceeds in a DESCENDING LINE, from III to II and from II to I WITH RECOURSE TO NATURAL AGENTS OF A GRADUALLY DECREASING FERTILITY—then III, in which a capital of 100 has been invested, will at first sell its commodities at their value, at *£120*. This, since it produces 75 tons, will amount to £1 12s. per ton. If an ADDITIONAL SUPPLY of 65 is then required, II, which invests a capital of 100, will similarly sell its product at a value of *120*. This amounts to £1 $16^{12}/_{13}$s. per ton. And if, finally, AN ADDITIONAL SUPPLY of 60 tons were required, which can only be provided by I, then it too will sell its product at its value of *£120* which amounts to £2 per ton. In this process III would yield a differential rent of £$18^{6}/_{13}$ as soon as II came on the market, whereas previously it only yielded the absolute rent of £10. II would yield a differential rent of £10 as soon as I came into play and differential rent of III would then rise to £30.

Descending from III to I, Ricardo discovers that I does not yield a rent, because in considering III he started out from the assumption that no absolute rent exists.

There is indeed a difference between the ASCENDING and DESCENDING LINE. If the passage is from I to III, so that II and III only provide the ADDITIONAL SUPPLY, then the market value remains equal to the individual value of I which is £2. And if, as the supposition is here, the average profit is 10%, then it can be assumed that the price of coal (price of wheat—a quarter of wheat etc. can always be substituted for a ton of coal) will have entered into its calculation, since coal enters into the consumption of the worker as a means of subsistence as well as figuring as a *matière instrumentale* of considerable importance in constant capital. It can therefore also be assumed that the rate of surplus value would have been higher and therefore the surplus value itself greater, hence also the *rate of profit* higher than 10%, if I [were] more productive or the value of the ton of coal had been *below* £2. This, however, would be the case if III was the starting-point. The [market] value of the ton of coal was then only £1 12[s]; when [XII-582] II entered, it rose to £1 $16^{12}/_{13}$s. and finally when I appeared, it rose to £2. It can thus be assumed that when only III was being worked—all other circumstances, length of surplus labour [time] and other conditions of production etc. being taken as CONSTANT and UNCHANGED—the rate of profit was higher (the *rate of surplus value* [was higher] because one element of the wage was cheaper; because of the higher rate of surplus value, the surplus value, and therefore also profit, was higher, in addition however—with the surplus value thus modified—the rate of profit was

higher because an element of cost in the constant capital was lower). The [rate of profit] became lower with [the appearance of] II and finally SANK to 10%, as the LOWEST LEVEL, when I appeared. In this case therefore one would have to assume that (regardless of the data) for instance the rate of profit=12% when only III was being worked; that it SANK to 11% when II came into play and finally to 10% when I entered into it. In this CASE the absolute rent would have been £8 with III because the cost price would have been £112; it would have become £9 as soon as II came into play because now the cost price would have been £111 and it would finally have been raised to £10 because the cost price would have fallen to £110. Here then a CHANGE in the rate of *absolute rent* itself would have taken place and this in inverse ratio to the CHANGE in the *rate of profit*. The rate of rent would have progressively grown *because* the rate of profit had progressively fallen. The latter would, however, have fallen because of the decreasing productivity of labour in the mines, in agriculture, etc. and the corresponding increase in the price of the means of subsistence and *matières instrumentales*.

Here the *rate of rent* rose *because* the *rate of profit* fell. Now did it fall because there was a CHANGE in the organic composition of the capital? If the average composition of the capital was $80c+20v$, did this composition remain the same? It is assumed that the normal working day remains the same. Otherwise the influence of the increased price of the means of subsistence could be neutralised. We must differentiate between two factors here. Firstly, an increase may occur in the price of the means of subsistence, hence reduction in surplus labour and surplus value. Secondly, constant capital may become more expensive because, as in the case of coal, the *matière instrumentale*, or in the case of wheat, another element of constant capital, namely seeds, rises in value or also, [because] due to the increased price of wheat, the cost price of other RAW PRODUCE (raw MATERIAL) may rise. Finally, if the product was iron, copper, zinc, etc., the raw material of certain branches of industry and the raw material of machinery (including containers) of all branches of industry would rise.

On the one hand it is assumed that no CHANGE has taken place in the organic composition of capital; in other words that no CHANGE has taken place in the mode of production decreasing or increasing the amount of living labour employed in proportion to the amount of constant capital employed. *The same number of workers* as before is required (the LIMITS OF THE NORMAL WORKING DAY REMAINING THE SAME) in order to work up the same volume of raw

material with the same amount of machinery, etc., or, where there is no raw material, to set into motion the same amount of machinery, tools, etc. Besides this first aspect of the organic composition of capital, however, a second aspect has to be considered, namely, the change in the *value* of the elements of capital although as use values they may be employed in the same portions as before. Here again we must distinguish:

*First*: The *change in value* affects both elements—variable and constant element—*equally*. This may *never* occur in practice. A rise in the price of certain agricultural products such as wheat, etc., raises the (necessary) wage and the raw material (for instance seeds). A rise in coal prices raises the necessary wage and the *matière instrumentale* of most industries. While in the first case the rise in wages occurs in all branches of industry, that in raw materials occurs only in some. With coal, the proportion in which it enters into wages is lower than that in which it enters into production. As regards GENERAL CAPITAL, the change in the value of coal and wheat is thus hardly likely to affect both elements of capital *equally*. But let us suppose this to be the case.

Let the value of the product of a capital $80c+20v=120$. *Considering* GENERAL CAPITAL, the *value* of the product and its *cost price* coincide, for the difference is equalised out for the GENERAL CAPITAL. The rise in value of an article such as coal which, according to the assumption, enters into both component parts of capital in *equal proportions*, brings about a rise in cost by $^1/_{10}$ for both elements. Thus $80c$ would now only buy as many commodities as could previously be bought with $70c$ and with $20v$ only as many workers could be paid as previously with [approximately] $18v$. Or, in order to continue production on the old scale, [approximately] $90c$ and $22v$ would now have to be laid out. The value of the product, as previously, is now 120, of which, however, the outlay=112 (90 constant capital and 22 variable). Thus the profit=8 and on 112 this works out at $^1/_{14}$, which is $7\,^1/_7\%$. Hence the value of the product from 100 capital advanced is now equal to $107\,^1/_7$.

What is the ratio in which $c$ and $v$ now enter into this new capital? Previously the ratio $v:c=20:80=1:4$; now it is as $22:90=11:45$. $^1/_4={}^{45}/_{180}$; $^{11}/_{45}={}^{44}/_{180}$. That means that variable capital has decreased by $^1/_{180}$ [XII-583] as against constant capital. In keeping with the assumption that the increase in price of coal, etc., has *proportionally the same* effect on both parts of the capital, we must put it as $88c+22v$. For the value of the product=120; from this has to be deducted an outlay of $88+22=110$. This leaves

a profit of 10. 22:88=20:80. The *ratio* of $c$ to $v$ would have remained *the same* as in the old capital. As before, the ratio would be $v:c=1:4$. But 10 profit on $110={}^{1}/_{11}=9{}^{1}/_{11}$[%]. If production is to be continued on the same scale, 110 capital will have to be invested instead of 100, and the value of the product [would continue to be] 120.[154] The composition of a capital of 100 however would be $80c+20v$, the value of the product being $109{}^{1}/_{11}$.

[*Second*:] If, in the above case, the value $80c$ had remained constant and only $v$ had varied, i.e., $22v$ instead of $20v$, then the previous ratio having been ${}^{20}/_{80}$ or ${}^{10}/_{40}$, it would now be ${}^{22}/_{80}$ or ${}^{11}/_{40}$. Now if this CHANGE had taken place, then [the capital would amount to] $80c+22v$ [and the] value of the product would be 120; therefore the outlay [would be] 102 and the profit 18, i.e., $17{}^{33}/_{51}$%.

$22:18=21{}^{29}/_{51}:17{}^{33}/_{51}$. If $22v$ capital need to be laid out in wages, in order to set in motion a constant capital of 80 in value, then $21{}^{29}/_{51}$ are required in order to move a constant capital of $78{}^{22}/_{51}$ in value. According to this ratio, only $78{}^{22}/_{51}$ would be laid out in machinery and raw material from a capital of 100; $21{}^{29}/_{51}$ would have to go to wages, whereas previously 80 was spent on raw material, etc., and only 20 on wages. The value of the product now$=117{}^{33}/_{51}$. And the composition of the capital: $78{}^{22}/_{51}c+21{}^{29}/_{51}v$. But $21{}^{29}/_{51}+17{}^{33}/_{51}=39{}^{11}/_{51}$. Under the previous composition [of capital], the total labour put in was equal to 40; now it is $39{}^{11}/_{51}$ or less by ${}^{40}/_{51}$, not *because* the constant capital has altered in value, but *because* there is less constant capital to be worked on, hence a capital of 100 can set in motion a little less labour than before, although more dearly paid for.

If, therefore, a CHANGE in an element of cost, here a rise in price—a rise in value—only alters (the necessary) wage, then the following takes place: Firstly, the rate of surplus value falls; secondly, with a given capital, less constant capital, less raw material and machinery, can be employed. The absolute amount of this part of the capital decreases in proportion to the variable capital, and provided other conditions *remain the same*, this must always bring about a rise in the rate of profit (if the value of constant capital remains the same). The *volume* of the constant capital decreases although its *value* remains *the same*. But the *rate of surplus value* decreases and also the *surplus value* itself, because the falling rate is not accompanied by an increase in the number of workers employed. The rate of surplus value—of surplus labour—falls more than the ratio of variable to constant capital.

For *the same number of workers* as before, that is the same absolute quantity of labour, needs to be employed in order to set in motion *the same amount of constant capital.* Of this absolute quantity of labour more, however, is necessary labour and less of it is surplus labour. Thus the *same quantity of labour* must be paid for more dearly. Of *the same* capital—100 for instance—less can thus be laid out in constant capital, since more has to be laid out in variable capital to set in motion a smaller constant capital. The fall in the rate of surplus value is not connected with an increase in the absolute quantity of labour which a particular capital employs, or with the increase in the number of workers employed by it. The surplus value itself cannot therefore rise here, although the rate of surplus value falls.

Provided, therefore, that the organic composition of the capital remains the same in so far as its physical component parts regarded as use values are concerned; that is, if change in the composition of the capital is not due to a CHANGE in the *mode of production* within the sphere in which the capital is invested, but only to a rise in the *value of the labour capacity* and hence to a rise in the necessary wage, which is equal to a decrease in surplus labour or the rate of surplus value, which in this case can be neither partly nor wholly neutralised by an increase in the number of workers employed by a capital of given size—for instance 100—then the fall in the rate of profit is simply due to the fall in surplus value itself. If the mode of production and the ratio between the amounts of immediate and ACCUMULATED LABOUR used remain constant, this same cause then gives rise to the change in the organic composition of capital—a change which is only due to the fact that the *value* (*the proportional value*) *of the amounts employed* has changed. The same capital employs [XII-584] less immediate labour proportionately as it employs less constant capital, but it pays more for this smaller amount of labour. It can therefore only employ less constant capital because the smaller amount of labour which sets in motion this smaller amount of constant capital, absorbs a greater part of the total capital. In order to set in motion 78 of constant capital, it must lay out, for example, 22 in variable capital, while previously $20v$ sufficed to set in motion $80c$.

This therefore happens when an increase in the price of a product subjected to landed property, only affects wages. The converse would result from the product becoming cheaper.

But now let us take the case assumed above.[a] The increased

[a] See this volume, p. 492-93.— *Ed.*

price of the agricultural product is supposed to affect constant and variable capital *proportionately to the same degree.* According to the assumption, therefore, there is no CHANGE in the *organic composition of the capital.* Firstly, no *CHANGE in the mode of production.* The same absolute amount of IMMEDIATE LABOUR sets in motion the same amount of *ACCUMULATED LABOUR* as before. The ratio of the amounts remains the same. Secondly, no *CHANGE in the proportion of value* as between ACCUMULATED and IMMEDIATE LABOUR. If the value of one rises or falls, so does that of the other in the same *proportion* to its relative size, which thus remains unchanged. But previously [we had]: $80c+20v$; *value of the product=120.* Now $88c+22v$, value of the product=120. This yields 10 on 110 or $9^1/_{11}$% [profit]; for $80c+20v$ therefore the value of $109^1/_{11}$.

Previously we had:

| Constant capital | Variable [capital] | Surplus value | Rate of profit | Rate of surplus value |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 80 | 20 | 20 | 20% | 100% |

Now we have:

| Constant capital | Variable [capital] | Surplus value | Rate of profit | Rate of surplus value |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 80 | 20 | $9^1/_{11}$ | $9^1/_{11}$[%] | $45^5/_{11}$% |

$80c$ represents less raw material, etc., here and $20v$ less absolute labour in the same proportion. The raw material, etc., has become dearer and [a capital of] 80 therefore buys a smaller quantity of raw material, etc.; thus, because the *mode of production* has remained *the same,* it requires less IMMEDIATE LABOUR. But the smaller quantity of IMMEDIATE LABOUR costs as much as the larger quantity of IMMEDIATE LABOUR did before, and it has become dearer exactly to the same extent as the raw material, etc., and has therefore decreased in the same proportion. If, therefore, the surplus value had remained the same, then the rate of profit would have sunk in the same proportion in which the raw material, etc., had become dearer and in which the ratio of the value of the variable to the constant capital had changed. The rate of surplus value however has not remained the same, but has changed in the same proportion as the value of the variable capital has grown.

Let us take an example.

The value of a pound of cotton has gone up from 1s. to 2s. Previously, £80 //we take machinery, etc., here as equal to nil//

could buy 1,600 lbs. Now £80 will only buy 800 lbs. Previously, in order to spin 1,600 lbs, £20 [were] required to pay the wages of, say, 20 workers. In order to spin the 800 lbs only 10 [workers are needed], since the mode of production has remained *the same.* The 10 had previously cost £10, now they cost £20, just as the 800 lbs would previously have cost £40, and now cost £80. Assume now that the profit was previously 20%. This would involve:

| | Constant capital | Variable capital | Rate of surplus value | Rate of profit | Surplus value | Product | Price per lb. of yarn |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | £80=1,600 lbs cotton | [£]20=20 workers | 100[%] | 20[%] | [£]20 | 1,600 lbs yarn | 1s. 6d. |
| II | £80=800 lbs cotton | [£]20=10 workers | 50[%] | 10[%] | [£]10 | 800 lbs yarn | 2s. 9d. |

For if the surplus value created by 20 workers=20, then that created by 10=10; in order to produce it, however, £20 needs to be paid out, as before, whereas according to the earlier relationship, only 10 was paid. The value of the product, of the [XII-585] lb. of yarn, must in this case rise at any rate, because it contains more labour, ACCUMULATED LABOUR (in the cotton which enters into it) and IMMEDIATE LABOUR.

If only cotton had risen and wages had remained the same, then the 800 lbs of cotton would also have been spun by only 10 workers. But these 10 workers would only have cost £10. That is, the surplus value of 10 [would] as before have amounted to 100%. In order to spin 800 lbs of cotton, 10 workers [would be] needed with a capital outlay of 10. Thus total capital outlay would have been 90. Now according to the assumption there would always be 1 worker per 80 lbs of cotton. Hence on 800 lbs 10 [workers] and on 1,600 lbs 20. How many pounds therefore could the total capital of 100 spin now? £$88\,^{8}/_{9}$ could be used to buy cotton and £$11\,^{1}/_{9}$ could be laid out in wages.

The relative proportions would be:

| | Constant capital | Variable capital | Surplus value | Rate of surplus value | Rate of profit | Product | Price per lb. of yarn |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| III | £$88\,^{8}/_{9}$= $888\,^{8}/_{9}$ lbs | £$11\,^{1}/_{9}$= $11\,^{1}/_{9}$ workers | £$11\,^{1}/_{9}$ | 100% | $11\,^{1}/_{9}$% | $888\,^{8}/_{9}$ lb. yarn | 1 lb.= 2s. 6d. |

In this case, where no *change* in the *value* of *variable* capital takes place, the rate of surplus value therefore remains the same.

In I, variable capital is to constant capital as 20:80=1:4. In III, it is as $11\,^{1}/_{9}$:$88\,^{8}/_{9}$=1:8; it has thus fallen proportionally by one half, because the *value* of constant capital has doubled. The same number of workers spin up the same amount of cotton, but £100 now only employ $11\,^{1}/_{9}$ workers, while the remaining £$88\,^{8}/_{9}$ only buy $888\,^{8}/_{9}$ lbs of cotton instead of 1,600 lbs [as] in I. The *rate of surplus value* has remained the same. But owing to the CHANGE in the VALUE of the constant capital, the same number of workers can no longer be employed by a capital of 100; the ratio between variable and constant capital has changed. Consequently the amount of surplus value falls and with it the profit, since this surplus value is calculated on the same amount of capital outlay as before. In the first case, the variable capital was $^{1}/_{4}$ of the constant capital (20:80) and $^{1}/_{5}$ of the total capital (=20). Now it is only $^{1}/_{8}$ of the constant capital ($11\,^{1}/_{9}$:$88\,^{8}/_{9}$) and $^{1}/_{9}$ ($11\,^{1}/_{9}$) of 100, the total capital. But 100% on $^{100}/_{5}$ or 20 is 20 and 100% on $^{100}/_{9}$ or $11\,^{1}/_{9}$ is only $11\,^{1}/_{9}$. If the wage remains the same here, or the value of the variable capital remains the same, its absolute amount falls, because the *value of the constant capital* has risen. Therefore the PERCENTAGE of the variable capital falls and with it surplus value itself, its absolute amount, and hence the rate of profit.

If the *value of the variable capital remains the same* and *the mode of production remains the same,* and therefore the ratio between the amounts of labour, raw material and machinery employed remains the same, a *CHANGE IN THE VALUE of the constant capital* brings about the same VARIATION in the composition of capital as if the *value of constant capital* had remained the same, but a *greater amount* of [constant] capital of unchanged value (*thus* also a *greater capital value*) had been employed, in proportion to the capital laid out in labour. The consequence is necessarily a fall in profit. (The opposite takes place if the value of constant capital falls.)

Conversely, a *CHANGE in the VALUE of the variable capital*—in this case a rise—increases the proportion of *variable* to *constant capital* and therefore also the PERCENTAGE of variable capital, or its proportional share in the total capital. Nevertheless, *the rate of profit falls here,* instead of rising, for the *mode of production* has remained *the same.* The same amount of living labour as before is employed now, in order to convert the same amount of raw materials, machinery, etc., into products. Here, as in the above case, only a smaller total amount of IMMEDIATE and ACCUMULATED LABOUR can be set in motion with the same capital of [£] 100 [XII-586]; but the smaller amount of labour costs more. The

necessary wage has risen. A larger share of this smaller amount of labour replaces necessary labour and therefore a smaller amount forms surplus labour. The rate of surplus value has fallen, while at the same time the number of workers or the total quantity of labour under the command of the same capital has diminished. The variable capital has increased in proportion to constant capital and hence also in proportion to total capital, although the *amount of labour* employed in proportion to the amount of constant capital has decreased. The surplus value consequently falls and with it the rate of profit. Previously the *rate of surplus value remained the same,* while the rate of profit fell, because the variable capital *fell* in proportion to the constant capital and hence in proportion to the total capital, or the surplus value fell because the number of workers decreased, its multiplier decreased, while *the rate remained the same.* This time the rate of profit falls because the variable capital *rises* in proportion to the constant capital, hence also to the total capital; this rise in variable capital is, however, accompanied by a fall in the amount of labour employed (of labour employed by *the same* capital), in other words, the surplus value falls, because its *decreasing rate* is bound up with the decreasing amount of labour employed. The *paid* labour has increased in proportion to the constant capital, but the total quantity of labour employed has decreased.

These variations in the value therefore always affect the surplus value itself, whose ABSOLUTE AMOUNT decreases in both cases because either one or both of its two factors fall. In one case it decreases because the number of workers decreases while the rate of surplus value remains the same, in the other, because both the rate decreases and the number of workers employed by a capital of 100 decreases.

Finally we come to CASE II, where the CHANGE in the VALUE of an agricultural product affects both parts of capital in the *same proportion*; this *CHANGE OF VALUE* is therefore not accompanied by a CHANGE IN THE ORGANIC COMPOSITION OF CAPITAL.

In this case (see p. 584)[a] the pound of yarn rises from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 9d., since it is the product of more labour time than before. It contains *just as much IMMEDIATE* (although more paid and less unpaid) LABOUR as before, but more ACCUMULATED labour. Due to the CHANGE IN THE VALUE OF COTTON from 1s. to 2s., 2s. instead of 1s. is incorporated in the value of the lb. of yarn.

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[a] See this volume, p. 497.— *Ed.*

Example II on page 584 however is incorrect. We had:

| I Constant capital | Variable capital | Surplus value | Rate of surplus value | Rate of profit | Product | Price per lb. of yarn |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| £80=1,600 lbs COTTON | £20=20 workers | £20 | 100[%] | 20% | 1,600 lbs yarn | 1s. 6d. |

The labour of 20 workers is represented by £40. Of this, half is unpaid labour here, hence [£]20 surplus value. According to this ratio, 10 workers will produce £20 and of this 10 [are] wages and 10 surplus value. If, therefore, the value of the labour capacity rose in the same proportion as that of the raw material, i.e., if it doubled, then it would be £20 for 10 workers as compared with £20 for 20 workers before. In this case, there would be no surplus labour left. For the value, in terms of money, which the 10 workers produce=£20, if that which the 20 produce=£40. This is impossible. If this were the case, the basis of capitalist production would have disappeared.

Since, however, the changes in value of constant and variable capital are supposed to be *the same* (proportionally), we must put this CASE differently. Therefore say the value of cotton rose by $^1/_3$; £80 now buy 1,200 lbs COTTON, whereas previously they bought 1,600. Previously £1=20 lbs [cotton] or 1 lb. [cotton]=£$^1/_{20}$=1s. Now £1=15 lbs or 1 lb.=£$^1/_{15}$=1$^1/_3$s. or 1s. 4d. Previously 1 worker cost £1, now £1$^1/_3$=£1 6$^2/_3$s. or £1 6s. 8d. and for 15 men [that] amounts to £20 (£15+£$^{15}/_3$). [XII-587] Since 20 men produce a value of £40, 15 men produce a value of [£]30. Of this value, [£]20 [are] now their wages and [£]10 surplus value or unpaid labour.

Thus we have:

| IV Constant capital | Variable capital | Surplus value | Rate of surplus value | Rate of profit | Product | Price per lb. of yarn |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| £80=1,200 lbs cotton | £20= 15 men | £10 | 50% | 10% | 1,200 lbs yarn | 1s. 10d. |

This 1s. 10d. [contains] cotton worth 1s. 4d. and labour worth 6d.

The product becomes dearer because the COTTON has become dearer by $^1/_3$. But the product is not dearer by $^1/_3$. Previously, in I, it was equal to 18d.; if, therefore, it had become dearer by $^1/_3$, it would now be 18d.+6d.=24d., but it is only equal to 22d. Previously 1,600 lbs yarn contained £40 labour, i.e., 1 lb., £$^1/_{40}$ or $^{20}/_{40}$s. or $^1/_2$s.=6d. labour. Now 1,200 lbs [yarn] contain £30 labour, 1 lb. therefore contains £$^1/_{40}$=$^1/_2$s. or 6d. labour. Although the

labour has become dearer in the same ratio as the raw material, the quantity of IMMEDIATE labour contained in 1 lb. of yarn has remained *the same*, though more of this quantity is now paid and less unpaid labour. This CHANGE in the VALUE of WAGES does not, therefore, in any way affect the value of the lb. of yarn, of the product. Now as before, labour only accounts for 6d., while COTTON now accounts for 1s. 4d., instead of 1s., as previously. Thus, if the commodity is sold *at its value*, the CHANGE in the VALUE of WAGES cannot after all bring about a CHANGE in the price of the product. Previously, however, 3d. of the 6d. were wages and 3d. surplus value; now 4d. are wages and 2d. surplus value. In fact 3d. on wages per lb. of yarn comes to 3×1,600d.=£20 for 1,600 lbs yarn. And 4d. per lb. amounts to 4×1,200=£20 for 1,200 lbs. And 3d. on 15d. (1s. COTTON+3d. wages) in the first example comes to $^1/_5$ profit=20%. On the other hand, 2d. on 20d. (16d. COTTON and 4d. wages) comes to $^1/_{10}$ or 10%.

If, in the above example, the price of COTTON had remained the same [then we would have the following]:1 man spins 80 lbs, since the mode of production has remained *the same* in all the examples, and the pound is again equal to 1s.

Now the capital is made up as follows:

| Constant capital | Variable capital | Surplus value | Rate of surplus value | Rate of profit | Product | Price per lb. of yarn |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| £73 $^1/_3$= 1,466 $^2/_3$ lbs COTTON | £26 $^2/_3$ (20 men) | £13 $^2/_6$ | 50% | 13 $^2/_6$% | 1,466 $^2/_3$ lbs | $^6/_{11}$s. |

This calculation is wrong; for if a man spins 80[lbs], 20 [men] spin 1,600 and not 1,466 $^2/_3$, since it is assumed that the *mode of production* has remained *the same*. This FACT can in no way be altered by the difference in the remuneration of the man. The example must therefore be constructed differently.

| Constant capital | Variable capital | Surplus value | Rate of surplus value | Rate of profit | Product | Price per lb. of yarn |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| II £75=1,500 lbs cotton | £25 (18 $^3/_4$ men) | £12 $^1/_2$ | 50% | 12 $^1/_2$% | 1,500 lbs yarn | 1s. 6d. |

Of this 6d., 4d. wages and 2d. profit. 2 on 16=$^1/_8$=12 $^1/_2$%. Finally, if the value of the variable capital remained the same as before (1 man received £1), whereas the value of the constant capital altered, so that 1 lb. COTTON cost 1s. 4d. or 16d., instead of 1s. then:

| | Constant capital | Variable capital | Surplus value | Rate of surplus value | Rate of profit | Product | Price per lb. [of yarn] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| III | £84 4/19= 1,263 3/19 lbs COTTON | £15 15/19 (=15 15/19 men) | 15 15/19 | 100% | 15 15/19 [%] | 1,263 3/19 lbs [yarn] | 1s. 10d. |

[XII-588] The profit=3d. On 19d. this comes to exactly 15 15/19%.

Now let us put all 4 CASES together, beginning with I, where no CHANGE of value has as yet taken place.

| | Constant capital | Variable capital | Surplus value | Rate of surplus value | Rate of profit | Product | Price per lb. of yarn | Profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | £80=1,600 lbs COTTON | £20=20 workers | £20 | 100% | 20% | 1,600 lbs yarn | 1s. 6d. | =3d. |
| II | £75=1,500 lbs COTTON | £25=18 3/4 workers | £12 1/2 | 50% | 12 1/2% | 1,500 lbs yarn | 1s. 6d. | =2d. |
| III | £84 4/19= 1,263 3/19 lbs [cotton] | £15 15/19= 15 15/19 workers | [£]15 15/19 | 100% | 15 15/19% | 1,263 3/19 lbs yarn | 1s. 10d. | =3d. |
| IV | £80=1,200 lbs [cotton] | £20=15 men | £10 | 50% | 10% | 1,200 lbs yarn | 1s. 10d. | =2d. |

The price of the product has changed in III and IV, because the value of constant capital has changed. On the other hand, a CHANGE of VALUE in the variable capital does not bring about a change in price because the absolute quantity of IMMEDIATE LABOUR remains the same and is only differently apportioned between NECESSARY LABOUR and SURPLUS LABOUR.

Now what happens in CASE IV, where the CHANGE IN VALUE affects constant and variable capital in *equal proportions*, where both rise by 1/3?

If only wages had risen (II), then the profit would have fallen from 20% to 12 1/2%, i.e., by 7 1/2. If constant capital alone had risen (III), profit would have fallen from 20 to 15 15/19, i.e., by 4 4/19%. Since both rise to the same extent, profit falls from 20 to 10, i.e., by 10%. But why not by 7 1/2+4 4/19% or by 11 27/38, which is the *sum* of the differences of II and III? This 1 27/38 must be accounted for; in accordance with that, the profit should have fallen (IV) to 8 11/38, instead of to 10. The amount of profit is determined by the AMOUNT of SURPLUS VALUE and this is determined by

the *number* of workers, when the rate of SURPLUS LABOUR is given. In I there are 20 workers and half their labour time is UNPAID. In II, only $^1/_3$ of the total labour is UNPAID, thus the rate of surplus value falls; moreover, $1\,^1/_4$ less workers are employed and therefore the *number* [of workers] or the total labour decreases. In III the rate of surplus value is again the same as in I, ONE-HALF OF THE WORKING DAY IS UNPAID, but as a result of the rise in VALUE of the constant capital, the number of workers falls from 20 to $15\,^{15}/_{19}$ or by $4\,^4/_{19}$. In IV (the rate of surplus value having fallen again to the level of that in II, namely, $^1/_3$ of the WORKING DAY), the number of workers decreases by 5, namely, from 20 to 15. Compared with I, the number of workers in IV decreases by 5, compared with II by $3\,^3/_4$ and compared with III by $^{15}/_{19}$; but compared with I it does not decrease by $3\,^3/_4 + ^{15}/_{19}$, i.e., by $4\,^{41}/_{76}$. Otherwise the number of workers employed in IV would $= 10\,^{35}/_{76}$.

Hence it follows that *variations in the value* of commodities which enter into constant or variable capital—when the *mode of production*, or the *physical composition of capital, remains the same*, in other words, when the ratio of IMMEDIATE and ACCUMULATED LABOUR employed remains constant—do *not* bring about a CHANGE in the ORGANIC COMPOSITION OF THE CAPITAL if they affect variable and constant capital *in the same proportion*, as in IV (where for instance cotton becomes dearer to the same degree as the wheat which is consumed by the workers). The rate of profit falls here (while the value of constant and variable capital increases), firstly because the rate of surplus value falls due to the rise in wages, and secondly, because the *number* of workers decreases.

The change in value—if it affects only constant capital or only variable capital—acts like a CHANGE in the ORGANIC COMPOSITION of capital and changes the *relative value* of the component parts of capital, although the mode of production remains the same. When only the variable capital is affected, it rises in relation to the constant capital [XII-589] and to the total capital; and not only the rate of surplus value decreases, but also the number of workers employed. Consequently the amount of constant capital (whose value [remains] unchanged) employed is also smaller (II).

If the change in value only affects the constant capital, then the variable capital falls in proportion to the constant capital and to the total capital. Although the rate of surplus value remains the same, its AMOUNT decreases because the *number of* workers employed [falls] (III).

Finally, it would be possible for the change in value to affect both constant and variable capital, but in *uneven* proportions. This

case only requires to be fitted into the above categories. Suppose, for instance, that constant and variable capital were affected in such a way that the value of the former rose by 10% and the latter by 5. Then in so far as they both rose by 5%, one by 5+5 and the other by 5, we would have CASE IV. But in so far as the constant capital changed by a further 5%, we would have CASE III.

In the above, we have only assumed a rise in value. With a fall we have the opposite effect. For example, to return from IV to I would be to consider a fall in value affecting both components *in equal proportions.* To assess the effect of a fall in only [one component part], II and III would have to be modified.

Returning to Table A it thus follows,[a] that the assumption, that the profit of 10% has come about through a decrease (in that the rate of profit, starting from III was higher, in II it was lower than in III, but still higher than 10) may be correct, namely, if the development actually proceeded along the DESCENDING LINE; but this assumption by no means necessarily follows from the gradation of rents, the mere existence of differential rents; on the contrary with the ASCENDING LINE, this [gradation of rents] presupposes that the rate of profit remains the same over a long period.

*Table B.* Here, as has already been explained above,[b] the competition from III and IV forces II to WITHDRAW half his capital. With a DESCENDING LINE, it would on the contrary appear that AN ADDITIONAL SUPPLY OF only $32\,^1/_2$ TONS is required, HENCE only a capital of [£] 50 has to be invested in II.

But the most interesting aspect of the table is this: Previously a capital of £300 was invested, now only £250, i.e., $^1/_6$ less. The amount of product has however remained the same—200 tons. The productivity of labour has thus risen and the value of the individual commodity fallen. The *total value* of the commodities has likewise fallen, from £400 to £$369\,^3/_{13}$. As compared with A, the market value per ton has fallen from £2 to £1 $16\,^{12}/_{13}$s., since the new market value is determined by the *individual value* of II instead of, as previously, by the higher one of I. Despite all these circumstances—decrease in the capital invested, decrease in the total value of the product with the same volume of production, fall in the market value, exploitation of more fertile classes—the rent in *B*, as compared with *A*, has risen absolutely, by £$24\,^3/_{13}$ ($94\,^3/_{13}$ as against 70). If we examine how far the individual classes participate in the increase in total rent, we find that in class II the absolute rent, in so far as its rate is concerned, has remained the

[a] See this volume, pp. 491-92.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 472-73.—*Ed.*

same for 5 on £50=10%; but its AMOUNT has fallen by half, from 10 to 5, because the capital investment in II B has fallen by half, from 100 to 50. *Class II* B, instead of effecting an increase in the RENTAL, effects a decrease by £5. Furthermore, the differential rent for *II B* has completely disappeared, because the market value is now equal to the individual value of II; this results in a second loss of £10. Altogether then the reduction in rent for class II=£15.

*In III* the amount of absolute rent is the same; but as a result of the fall in market value, its differential value has also fallen; HENCE also the DIFFERENTIAL RENT. It amounted to £30, now it amounts only to $18\,^{6}/_{13}$. This is a reduction by $11\,^{7}/_{13}$. The rent for *II and III* taken together has therefore fallen by $26\,^{7}/_{13}$. It remains to account for a rise, not of $24\,^{3}/_{13}$, as at first sight it would seem, but of $50\,^{10}/_{13}$. Furthermore, however, for B as compared with A, the absolute rent of *I A* has disappeared as class I itself has disappeared. This represents a further reduction by £10. Thus, summa summarum,[a] £$60\,^{10}/_{13}$ must be accounted for. But this is the RENTAL of the new class *IV B*. The rise in the RENTAL of B is therefore only to be explained by the rent from IV B. The absolute rent for *IV B*, like that of all other classes, =£10. The differential rent of [£] $50\,^{10}/_{13}$, however, is due to [XII-590] the fact that the differential value of IV=$10\,^{470}/_{481}$s. per ton, and this has to be multiplied by $92\,^{1}/_{2}$ for that is the number of tons. The fertility of II and III has remained the same. The least fertile class has been removed entirely and yet the RENTAL rises because, due to its relatively great fertility, the differential rent of IV alone is greater than the total differential rent of A had been previously. Differential rent does not depend on the absolute fertility of the classes that are cultivated for $^{1}/_{2}$ II, III, IV [B are] more fertile than I, II, III [A], and yet the differential rent for $^{1}/_{2}$ II, III, IV [B] is greater than it was for I, II, III [A] because the greatest portion of the product—$92\,^{1}/_{2}$ tons—is supplied by a class whose differential value is greater than that occurring in general in *I, II, III A*. When the differential value for a class is *given*, the ABSOLUTE AMOUNT of its differential rent naturally depends on the amount of its product. But this *amount* itself is already taken into account in the calculation and formation of the differential value. Because with £100, IV produces $92\,^{1}/_{2}$ tons, *ni plus ni moins*,[b] its differential value in B where the market value =£$1\ 16\,^{12}/_{13}$s. per ton, amounts to 10s. etc. per ton.

The whole RENTAL in A amounts to [£] 70 on [£] 300 capital,

[a] All in all.—*Ed.*
[b] No more and no less.—*Ed.*

which=23 $^{1}/_{3}$%. On the other hand in B, leaving out of account the $^{3}/_{13}$, it is £94 on £250, which is 37 $^{3}/_{5}$%.

*Table C.* Here it is assumed that class IV having come into the picture and class II determining the market value, demand does not remain the same, as in *Table B*, but it increases with the falling price, so that the whole of the 92 $^{1}/_{2}$ tons which have been newly added by IV is absorbed by the market. At £2 per ton only 200 tons would be absorbed; at £1 $^{11}/_{13}$, the demand grows to 292 $^{1}/_{2}$. It is wrong to assume that the limits of the market are necessarily the same at £1 $^{11}/_{13}$ per ton as at £2 per ton. On the contrary, the market expands TO A CERTAIN EXTENT with the falling price—even in the case of a general means of subsistence, such as wheat.

This, *above all*, is the only point to which we want to draw attention in *Table C.*

*Table D.* Here it is assumed that the 292 $^{1}/_{2}$ tons are absorbed by the market only if the market value falls to £1 $^{5}/_{6}$, which is the *cost price* per ton for class I, which therefore bears no rent but only yields the normal profit of 10%. This is the case which Ricardo assumes to be the normal CASE and on which we should therefore dwell at somewhat greater length.

As in the preceding tables, the ASCENDING LINE is here presupposed *de prime abord*[a]; later we shall look at the same process in the DESCENDING LINE.

If II, III and IV only provided an ADDITIONAL SUPPLY of 140, that is, an ADDITIONAL SUPPLY which the market absorbs at £2 per ton, then I would continue to determine the market value.

But this is not the case. There is an OVERPLUS of 92 $^{1}/_{2}$ tons on the market, produced by class IV. If this were, in fact, surplus production, which exceeded the absolute requirements of the market, then I would be completely thrown out of the market and II would have to WITHDRAW half its capital as in B. II would then determine the market value as in B. But it is assumed that if the market value continues to decrease, the market can absorb the 92 $^{1}/_{2}$ tons. How does this occur? IV, III and $^{1}/_{2}$ II dominate the market absolutely. In other words if the market could only absorb 200 tons, they would throw out I.

But to begin with let us take the actual position. There are now 292 $^{1}/_{2}$ tons on the market whereas previously there were only 200. II would sell at its individual value, at £1 $^{11}/_{13}$, in order to make room for itself and to drive I, whose individual value=£2, out of the market. But since, even at this market value, there is no room

[a] At the outset.—*Ed.*

for the 292 $^1/_2$ tons, IV and III exert pressure on II, until the market price falls to £1 $^5/_6$, at which price the classes IV, III, II and I find room for their product on the market, which at *this* [XII-591] market price absorbs the *whole* product. Through this fall in price, supply and demand are balanced. As soon as the ADDITIONAL SUPPLY surpasses the capacity of the market, as determined by the old market value, each class naturally seeks to force the whole of its product *on to* the market to the exclusion of the product of the other classes. This can only be brought about through a fall in price, and moreover a fall to the level where the market can absorb *all* products. If this reduction in price is so great that the classes I, II, etc., have to sell *below* their production costs,[155] they naturally have to WITHDRAW [their capital from production]. If, however, the situation is such that the reduction does not have to be so great in order to bring the output into line with the state of the market, then the total capital can continue to work in this sphere of production at this new market value.

But it is further clear that in these circumstances it is not the worst land, I and II, but the best, III and IV, which determines the market value, and so also the rent on the *best sorts of land* determines those on the worse, as *Storch* correctly grasped in relation to this CASE.[116]

IV sells at the price at which it can force its entire product on to the market overcoming all resistance from the other classes. This price is £1 $^5/_6$. If the price were higher, the limits of the market would contract and the process of mutual exclusion would begin anew.

That I determines the market value [is correct] only on the assumption that the ADDITIONAL SUPPLY from II, etc., is only the ADDITIONAL SUPPLY which the market can absorb at the market value of I. If it is greater, then I is quite passive and by the room it takes up, only compels II, III, IV to react until the price has contracted sufficiently for the market to be large enough for the whole product. Now it happens that at this market value, which is IN FACT determined by IV, IV itself pays a differential rent of £49 $^7/_{12}$ in addition to the absolute rent, III pays a differential rent of £17 $^1/_2$ in addition to the absolute rent, II, on the other hand, pays no differential rent and moreover, only pays a part of the absolute rent, £9 $^1/_6$, instead of £10, i.e., not the full amount of the absolute rent. Why? Although the new market value of £1 $^5/_6$ is above its cost price, it is *below* its individual value. If market value were *equal* to its individual value, it would pay the absolute rent of £10, which is equal to the difference between individual value and

cost price. But since it is below that, it only pays a part of its absolute rent, £9 1/6 instead of £10; the actual rent it pays is equal to the difference between market value and cost price, but this difference is smaller than that between its individual value and its cost price.

//The *actual rent*=the difference between market value and cost price.//

The *absolute rent*=the difference between individual value and cost price.

The *differential rent*=the difference between market value and individual value.

The actual or *total rent*=the absolute rent+the differential rent, in other words, it is equal to the excess of the market value over the individual value+the excess of the individual value over the cost price or=the difference between market value and cost price.

If, therefore, the market value=the individual value, the differential rent=0 and the total rent=the difference between individual value and cost price.

If the market value is > than the individual value, the *differential rent*=the excess of the market value over the individual value; the total rent, however,=this differential rent+the absolute rent.

If the market value is < than the individual value, but greater than the cost price, the differential rent is a negative quantity, hence the total rent=the absolute rent+this negative differential rent, i.e., minus the excess of the individual value over the market value.

If the market value=the cost price, then on the whole rent=0.

In order to put this down in the form of equations, we shall call the absolute rent AR, the differential rent DR, the total rent TR, the market value MV, the individual value IV and the cost price CP. We then have the following equations:

[XII-592] 1. $AR=IV-CP=+y$

2. $DR=MV-IV=x$

3. $TR=AR+DR=MV-IV+IV-CP=y+x=MV-CP$

If MV, > IV, then $MV-IV=+x$. Hence: DR positive and $TR=y+x$.

And $MV-CP=y+x$. Or $MV-y-x=CP$ or $MV=y+x+CP$.

If MV<IV, then $MV-IV=-x$. Hence: DR negative and $TR=y-x$.

And $MV-CP=y-x$. Or $MV+x=IV$. Or $MV+x-y=CP$. Or $MV=y-x+CP$.

IF MV=IV, then DR=0, $x$=0, BECAUSE MV−IV=0.

HENCE TR = AR + DR = AR +0= MV −IV+IV−CP=0+IV−CP= =IV−CP=MV−CP=+$y$.

IF MV=CP, [then] TR or MV−CP=0.

In the CIRCUMSTANCES assumed, I pays no rent. Why not? Because the absolute rent=the difference between the individual value and the cost price. The differential rent, however,=the difference between the market value and the individual value. But the market value here=the cost price of I. The individual value of I=£2 per ton, the market value=£1 $^5/_6$. The differential rent of I therefore=£1 $^5/_6$−£2, which=−£ $^1/_6$. The absolute rent of I, however,=£2−£1 $^5/_6$, in other words,=the difference between its individual value and its cost price=+£ $^1/_6$. Since, therefore, the actual rent of I=the absolute rent (£ $^1/_6$) and the differential rent (−£ $^1/_6$), it=+£ $^1/_6$−£ $^1/_6$=0. Thus category I pays neither differential rent nor absolute rent, but only the cost price. The value of its product=£2; [it is] sold at £1 $^5/_6$, that means $^1/_{12}$ *below* its value,=8 $^1/_3$% *below* its value. I cannot sell at a higher price, because the market is determined not by I but by IV, III, II in opposition to I. I can merely provide AN ADDITIONAL SUPPLY at the price of £1 $^5/_6$.

That I pays no rent, is due to the FACT that the market value=its cost price.

This FACT, however, is the result:

*Firstly of the relatively low productivity of I.* What it has to supply, is 60 ADDITIONAL TONS at £1 $^5/_6$. Suppose instead of supplying only 60 tons for £100, I supplied 64 tons for [£] 100, i.e., 1 ton less than class II. Then only £93 $^3/_4$ capital would have to be invested in I in order to supply 60 tons. The individual value of one ton in I would then be £1 $^7/_8$ or £1 17 $^1/_2$s.; its cost price: £1 14 $^3/_8$s. And since the market value=£1 $^5/_6$=£1 16 $^2/_3$s., the difference between cost price and market value=2 $^7/_{24}$s. And on 60 tons this would amount to [XII-593] a rent of £6 17 $^1/_2$s.

If therefore all the circumstances remained the same and I were more productive than it is by $^1/_{15}$ (since $^{60}/_{15}$=4), it would still pay a part of the absolute rent because there would be a difference between the market value and its cost price, although a smaller difference than between its individual value and its cost price. Here the worst land would therefore still bear a rent if it were more fertile than it is. If I were absolutely more fertile than it is, II, III, IV would be *relatively less fertile* compared with it. The difference between its and their individual values would be

smaller. The fact that I bears *no rent* is therefore just as much due to the circumstance that it is not absolutely more fertile as to the fact that II, III, IV are not *relatively less fertile.*

*Secondly, however*: Given the productivity of I as 60 tons for £100. If II, III, IV, and especially IV, which enters the market as a new competitor, were less fertile, not only relatively as against I, but *absolutely*, then I could yield a rent, even though this would only consist of a fraction of the absolute rent. For since the market absorbs 292 $^1/_2$ tons at £1 $^5/_6$, it would absorb a smaller number of tons, for instance 280 tons at a market value higher than £1 $^5/_6$. Every market value, however, which is higher than £1 $^5/_6$, i.e., higher than the production costs of I, yields a rent for I,=to the market value minus the cost price of I.

It can thus equally well be said that I yields no rent because of the absolute productivity of IV, for as long as II and III were the only competitors on the market, it yielded a rent and would continue to do so even despite the advent of IV, despite the ADDITIONAL SUPPLY—although it would be a lower rent—if for a capital outlay of £100 IV produced 80 tons instead of 92 $^1/_2$ tons.

*Thirdly*: We have assumed that the absolute rent for a capital outlay of £100=£10,=10% on the capital, or $^1/_{11}$ on the cost price, and that therefore the value [of the product yielded by] a capital of £100 in agriculture=£120 of which £10 are profit.

It would be wrong to assume that if we [say]: £100 capital is laid out in agriculture and if one working day=£1, then 100 working days are laid out. In general, if a capital of £100=100 working days then, in whatever branch of production this capital may be laid out, [the value of the product created by this capital] is never [=to 100 working days]. Supposing that one gold sovereign equals one working day of 12 hours, and that this is the normal working day, then the first question is, what is the rate of exploitation of labour? That is, how many of these 12 hours does the worker work for himself, for the reproduction (of the equivalent) of his wage, and how many does he work for the capitalist *gratis*? [How great,] therefore, is the labour time which the capitalist *sells* without having *paid* for it and which is therefore the source of the surplus value and serves to augment the capital? If the rate [of exploitation]=50%, then the worker works 8 hours for himself and 4 gratis for the capitalist. The product=12 hours=£1 (since according to the assumption, 12 hours labour time are contained in one gold sovereign). Of these 12 hours=£1, 8 recoup the capitalist for the wage and 4 form his surplus value. Thus on a wage of 13$^1/_3$s., surplus value=6$^2/_3$s.; or on a capital outlay of £1, it is 10s. and on £100, £50.

Then the value of the commodity produced with the £100 capital would be £150. The profit of the capitalist in fact consists in the sale of the unpaid labour contained in the product. The normal profit is derived from this sale of that which has not been paid for.

[XII-594] But the second question is this: What is the *organic composition* of the capital? That part of the value of the capital which consists of machinery, etc., and raw material is *simply reproduced* in the product, it reappears remaining unaltered. This part of the capital the capitalist must pay for at its *value.* It thus enters into the product as a given *predetermined* value. Only the labour used by the capitalist is merely partly paid for by him, although it enters *wholly* into the value of the product [and] is wholly bought by him. Assuming the above to be the rate of exploitation of labour, the amount of surplus value for capital *of the same* size will, therefore, depend on its organic composition. If the capital a,=$80c+20v$, then the value of the product=110 and the profit=10 (although it contains 50% unpaid labour). If the capital b,=$40c+60v$, then the value of the product=130, and the profit=30 although it too contains only 50% unpaid labour. If the capital c=$60c+40v$, then the value of the product=120 and the profit=20% although, in this case too, it comprises 50% unpaid labour. Thus the 3 capitals=300 yield a total profit=10+30+20=60, and this makes an average of 20% for 100. This average profit is made by each of the capitals if it sells the commodity it produces at £120. The capital a: $80c+20v$, sells at £10 *above* its value; capital b: $40c+60v$, sells at £10 *below* its value; capital c: $60c+40v$ sells *at* its value. All the commodities taken together, are sold at their value: 120+120+120=£360. In fact the value of a+b+c=110+130+120=£360. But the prices of the individual categories are partly *above,* partly *below* and partly *at* their value so that each yields a profit of 20%. The values of the commodities, thus modified, are their *cost prices,* which competition constantly sets as centres of gravitation for market prices.

Now assume that the £100 laid out in agriculture is composed of $60c+40v$ (which, incidentally, is perhaps still too low for $v$), then the value=120. But this would be=to the *cost price* in the industry. Suppose therefore in the above case that the average price for a capital of [£] 100=£110. We now say that if the agricultural product is sold at its value, its value is £10 *above* its cost price. It then yields a rent of 10% and this we assume to be the *normal* thing in capitalist production, that in contrast to other products, the agricultural product is not sold at its *cost price,* but at

its *value*, as a result of *landed property*. The composition of the total capital is $80c+20v$, if the average profit=10%. We assume that that of the agricultural capital=$60c+40v$, that is, in its composition wages—IMMEDIATE LABOUR—have a larger share than in the total capital invested in the other branches of industry. This indicates a *relatively lower* productivity of labour in this branch. It is true, that in some types of agriculture, for instance in stock-raising, the composition may be $90c+10v$, i.e., the ratio of $v:c$ may be smaller than in the total industrial capital. Rent is, however, not determined by this branch, but by agriculture proper, and, furthermore, by that part of it which produces the principal *means of subsistence*, such as wheat, etc. The rent in the other branches is not determined by the composition of [XII-595] the capital invested in these branches themselves, but by the composition of the capital which is used in the production of the principal means of subsistence. The mere existence of capitalist production presupposes that vegetable food, not animal food, is the largest element in the means of subsistence. The interrelationship of the rents in the various branches IS A SECONDARY QUESTION that does not interest us here and is left out of consideration.

In order, therefore, to make the absolute rent=10% it is assumed

that the general average composition
of the NON-AGRICULTURAL capital=$80c+20v$,
that of AGRICULTURAL capital=$60c+40v$.

The question now is whether it would make any difference to case D, where class I pays no rent, if the agricultural capital were differently constituted, for example $50c+50v$ or $70c+30v$? In the first case, the value of the product would=£125, in the second, £115. In the first case, the difference arising from THE DIFFERENT COMPOSITION OF THE NON-AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL would=£15, in the second it would=5. That is, the difference between the value of the agricultural product and cost price would in the first case be 50% higher than has been assumed above, and in the second 50% lower.

If the former were the case, if the value of £100=£125, then the value per ton for I=$2\,^1/_{12}$ in Table A. And this would be the market value for A, for class I determines the market value here. The cost price for *I A*, on the other hand, would be £$1\,^5/_6$, as before. Since, according to the assumption, the $292\,^1/_2$ tons are only saleable at £$1\,^5/_6$, this would therefore make no difference, just as it would make no difference if the agricultural capital=$70c+30v$ or the difference between the value of the

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE and its cost price=only £5, only half the amount assumed. If the *cost price*, and therefore the average organic composition of the NON-AGRICULTURAL capital, were assumed to be constant at $80c+20v$, then it would make no difference to this CASE [I D] whether it were higher or lower, although it would make a considerable difference to Table A and it would make a difference of 50% in the ABSOLUTE RENT.

But let us now assume the opposite, that the composition of the AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL remains $60c+40v$, as before and that of the NON-AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL varies. Instead of being $80c+20v$, let it be either $70c+30v$ or $90c+10v$. In the first case the average profit=[£] 15 or 50% higher than in the SUPPOSED CASE; in the other, £5 or 50% lower. In the first case the absolute rent=£5. This would again make no difference to *I D*. In the second case the absolute rent=£15. This too would make no difference to the CASE *I D*. All this would therefore be of no consequence to *I D*, however important it may continue to be for tables A, B, C, and E, i.e., for the absolute determination of the absolute and differential rent, whenever the new class—be it in the ASCENDING OR THE DESCENDING LINE—only supplies the NECESSARY ADDITIONAL DEMAND at the old market value.

Now the following question arises:

Can this CASE *D* occur in practice? And even before this, we must ask: is it, as Ricardo assumes, the *normal* CASE? It can only be the normal CASE if the AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL=$80c+20v$, equal, that is, to the average composition of the NON-AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL, so that the *value* of the AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE=the *cost price* of the *NON-AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE*. For the time being this is statistically wrong. The assumption of this *relatively* lower productivity of agriculture is at any rate more appropriate than Ricardo's assumption of a *progressive* absolute decrease in its productivity.

[XII-596] In CHAPTER I "On Value"[a] Ricardo assumes that the average composition of capital prevails in gold and silver mines (although he only speaks of fixed and circulating capital here; but we shall "correct" this). According to this assumption, these mines could only yield a differential rent, never an absolute rent. The assumption itself, however, in turn rests on the other assumption, that the ADDITIONAL SUPPLY provided by the richer mines is always greater than the ADDITIONAL SUPPLY required at the old market value.

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[a] See D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy...*, London, 1821, pp. 43-44.— *Ed.*

But it is absolutely incomprehensible why the opposite cannot equally well take place. The mere existence of differential rent already proves that an ADDITIONAL SUPPLY is possible, without altering the *given market value.* For IV or III or II would yield no differential rents if they did not sell at the market value of I, however this may have been determined, that is, if they did not sell at a market value which is determined *independently* of the absolute amount of their SUPPLY.

Or: CASE *D* would always have to be the normal one, if [the conditions] presupposed in it are always the normal ones; in other words, if I is always forced by the competition from IV, III and II, especially from IV, to sell its product *below* its value by the whole amount of the absolute rent, that is, at the *cost price.* The mere existence of differential rent in IV, III, II proves that they sell at a market value which is *above* their individual value. If Ricardo assumes that this cannot be the case with I, then it is only because he *presupposes* the impossibility of absolute rent, and the latter, because he presupposes the *identity of value and cost price.*

Let us take *case C* where the $292\,^{1}/_{2}$ tons find a sale at a market value of £1 $16\,^{12}/_{13}$s. And, like Ricardo, let us start out from IV. So long as only $92\,^{1}/_{2}$ tons are required, IV will sell at £1 $5\,^{35}/_{37}$s. per ton, i.e., it will sell commodities that have been produced with a capital of £100 at their value of £120, which yields the absolute rent of £10. Why should IV sell its commodity *below* its value, at its *cost price*? So long as it alone is there, III, II, I cannot compete with it. The mere *cost price* of III is *above* the value which yields IV a rent of £10, and even more so the cost price of II and I. Therefore III etc. could not compete, even if it sold these tons at the bare cost price.

Let us assume that there is only one class—the best or the worst type of land, IV or I or III or II, this makes no difference whatsoever to the theory—let us assume that an elemental quantity exists, *relatively,* that is, to the amount of the given capital and labour which is in general *disponible*[a] and can be absorbed in this branch of production, so that land forms no barriers and provides a relatively unlimited FIELD OF ACTION for the available amount of labour and capital. Let us assume, therefore, that there is no differential rent because there is no cultivation of land of *varying* NATURAL FERTILITY, hence there is no differential rent (or else only to a negligible extent). Furthermore, let us assume that there is *no landed property*; then clearly there is no absolute

[a] Available.—*Ed.*

rent and, therefore (as, according to our assumption, there is no differential rent), there is *no* rent at all. This is a tautology. For the existence of *absolute rent* not only presupposes landed property, but it is the *posited landed property*, i.e., landed property contingent on and modified by the action of capitalist production. This tautology in *no* way helps to settle the question, since we explain that absolute rent is formed as the result of the *resistance* offered by landed property in agriculture to the capitalist levelling out of the values of commodities to average prices. If we remove this action on the part of landed property—this resistance, the specific resistance which the competition between capitals comes up against in this FIELD OF ACTION—we naturally abolish the precondition on which the existence of rent is based. Incidentally, there is a contradiction in the assumption itself: on the one hand, developed capitalist production (as Mr. Wakefield sees very well in his colonial theory[156]), on the other hand, the non-existence of landed property. Where are the wage labourers to come from in this case?

A somewhat *analogous* development takes place in the colonies, even where, *legally*, landed property exists, in so far as the government gives [land] gratis as happened originally in the colonisation from England; and even where the [XII-597] government actually institutes landed property by selling the land, though at a negligible price, as in the UNITED STATES, at 1 DOLLAR OR SOMETHING OF THE SORT PER ACRE.

Two different aspects must be distinguished here.

*Firstly*: There are the colonies proper, such as in the United States, Australia, etc. Here the mass of the farming colonists, although they bring with them a larger or smaller amount of capital from the motherland, are not a *capitalist class*, nor do they carry on *capitalist* production. They are MORE OR LESS SELF-WORKING PEASANTS whose main object, in the first place, is to produce *their own livelihood*, their MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE. Their main product therefore does not become a *commodity* and is not intended for TRADE. They sell or exchange the excess of their products over their own consumption for imported manufactured commodities, etc. The other, smaller section of the colonists who settle near the sea, navigable rivers, etc., form trading towns. There is no question of capitalist production here either. Even if capitalist production gradually comes into being, so that the sale of his products and the profit he makes from this sale become decisive for the SELF-WORKING AND SELFOWNING FARMER; so long as, compared with capital and labour, land still exists in elemental abundance providing a

practically UNLIMITED FIELD OF ACTION, the first type of colonisation will continue as well and production will therefore *never* be regulated according to the needs of the market—at a given market value. Everything the colonists of the first type produce *over and above* their immediate consumption, they will throw on the market and sell at any price that will bring in more than their wages. They are, and continue for a long time to be, competitors of the FARMERS who are already producing more or less capitalistically, and thus keep the market price of the agricultural product constantly *below* its value. The FARMER who therefore cultivates land of the worst kind, will be quite satisfied if he makes the average profit on the sale of his FARM, i.e., if he gets back the capital invested, this is not the case in very many instances. Here therefore we have two essential conditions competing with one another: [firstly,] capitalist production is not as yet dominant in agriculture; secondly, although landed property exists legally, in practice it only exists as yet sporadically, and strictly speaking there is only possession of land. Or although landed property exists in a legal sense, it is—in view of the *elemental* abundance of land relative to labour and capital—as yet unable to offer resistance to capital, to transform agriculture into a FIELD OF ACTION which, in contrast to NON-AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY, offers specific resistance to the *investment of capital.*

In the second type of colonies—PLANTATIONS—where commercial speculations figure from the start and production is intended for the world market, the capitalist production exists, although only in a formal sense, since the slavery of Negroes precludes free wage labour, which is the basis of capitalist production. But the business in which slaves are used is conducted by *capitalists.* The mode of production which they introduce has not arisen out of slavery but is grafted on to it. In this case the same person is capitalist and landowner. And the *elemental* existence of the land confronting capital and labour does not offer any resistance to capital investment, hence none to the competition between capitals. Neither does a class of FARMERS as distinct from LANDLORDS develop here. So long as these conditions endure, nothing will stand in the way of cost price regulating market value.

All these preconditions have nothing to do with the preconditions in which an *absolute rent* exists: that is, on the one hand, developed capitalist production, and on the other, landed property, not only existing in the legal sense but actually offering resistance and defending the FIELD OF ACTION against capital, only making way for it under certain conditions.

In these circumstances an absolute rent will exist, even if only IV or III or II or I are cultivated. Capital can only win new ground in that solely existing class [of land] by paying rent, that is, by selling the agricultural product at its *value*. It is, moreover, only in these circumstances that there can first be talk of a comparison and a difference between the capital invested in agriculture (i.e., in a natural element as such, in primary production) and that invested in NON-AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY.

But the next question is this:

If one starts out from I, then clearly II, III, IV, if they only provide the ADDITIONAL SUPPLY admissible at the old market value, will sell at the market value determined by I, and therefore, apart from the absolute rent, they will yield a differential rent in proportion to their relative fertility. On the other hand, if IV is the starting-point, then it appears that certain objections [XII-598] could be made.

For we saw that II draws the absolute rent if the product is sold at its value of £1 $^{11}/_{13}$ or at £1 16 $^{12}/_{13}$s.

In Table D the *cost price* of III, the next class (in the DESCENDING LINE), is higher than the *value* of IV, which yields a rent of £10. Thus there cannot be any question of competition or UNDERSELLING here—even if III sold at cost price. If IV, however, no longer satisfies the demand, if more than 92 $^1/_2$ tons are required, then its price will rise. In the above case, it would have to rise by 3 $^{43}/_{111}$s. per ton, before III could enter the field as a competitor, even at its *cost price*. The question is, will it enter into it in these circumstances? Let us put this CASE in another way. For the price of IV to rise to £1 12s., the individual value of III, the demand would not have to rise by 75 tons. This applies especially to the *dominant agricultural product*, where an insufficiency in supply will bring about a much greater rise in *price* than corresponds to the *arithmetical* deficiency in supply. But if IV had risen to £1 12s., then at this market value, which is equal to III's individual value, the latter would pay the absolute rent and IV a differential rent. If there is any ADDITIONAL DEMAND at all, III can sell at its individual value, since it would then dominate the market value and there would be no reason at all for the *landowner* to forgo the rent.

But say the market price of IV only rose to £1 9 $^1/_3$s., the *cost price* of III. Or in order to make the example even more striking: suppose the cost price of III is only £1 5s., i.e., only 1 $^8/_{37}$s. higher than the *cost price* of IV. It must be higher because its fertility is lower than that of IV. Can III be taken in hand now and thus compete with IV, which sells above III's cost price, namely, at £1

5 $^{35}/_{37}$s.? Either there is an ADDITIONAL DEMAND or not. In the first case the market price of IV has risen above its value, above £1 5 $^{35}/_{37}$s. And then, whatever the circumstances, III would sell *above* its cost price, even if not to the full amount of its absolute rent.

Or there is *no* ADDITIONAL DEMAND. Here in turn we have 2 possibilities. Competition from III could only enter into it if the FARMER of III were at the same time its *owner*, if to him as a capitalist landed property would not be an obstacle, would offer no resistance, because he has control of it, not as capitalist but as landowner. His competition would force IV to sell below its hitherto prevailing price of £1 5 $^{35}/_{37}$s. and even below the price of £1 5s. And in this way III would be driven out of the field. And IV would be capable of driving III out every time. It would only have to reduce the price to the level of its own production costs, which are lower than those of III. But if the market expanded as a result of the *reduction in price* engendered by III, what then? Either the market expands to such an extent that IV can dispose of its 92 $^{1}/_{2}$ tons as before, despite the newly-added 75, or it does not expand to this degree, so that a part of the product of IV and III would be surplus. In this case IV, since it dominates the market, would continue to lower [the price] until the capital in III is reduced to the appropriate size, that is until only that amount of capital is invested in it as is just sufficient for the entire product of IV to be absorbed. But at £1 5s. the whole product would be saleable and since III sold a part of the product at this price, IV could not sell above that. This however would be the only possible CASE: temporary over-production not engendered by an ADDITIONAL DEMAND, but leading to an expansion of the market. And this can only be the CASE if capitalist and landowner are identical in III—i.e., if it is assumed once again that landed property does not exist as a power confronting capital, because the capitalist himself is landowner and sacrifices the landowner to the capitalist. But if landed property as such confronts capital in III, then there is no reason at all why the landowner should hand over his ACRES for cultivation without drawing a rent from them, why he should hand over his land before the price of IV has risen to a level which is at least *above* the cost price of III. If this rise is only [XII-599] small, then in any country under capitalist production, III will continue to be withheld from capital as a FIELD OF ACTION, unless there is no other form in which it can yield a rent. But it will never be put under cultivation before it yields a rent, before the price of IV is *above* the cost price of III, i.e., before IV yields a differential rent in addition to its old rent. With the further

growth of demand, the price of III would rise to its value, since the *cost price* of II is *above* the individual value of III. II would be cultivated as soon as the price of III had risen above £1 13 $^{11}/_{13}$s., and so yielded some rent for II.

But it has been assumed in D that I yields *no* rent. But this only because I has been assumed to be already cultivated land which is being forced to sell *below* its value, at its *cost price* because of the CHANGE in market value brought about by the entry of IV. It will only continue to be thus exploited,

if the owner is himself the FARMER, and therefore in this *individual* CASE the landed property which confronted capital has *disappeared*,

or if the FARMER is a small capitalist prepared to accept less than 10% or a worker who only wants to make his wage or a little more and hands over his surplus labour=10 or 9 or < 10, to the landowner instead of the capitalist. Although in the two latter cases *fermage*[a] is paid, yet economically speaking, no rent, and we are concerned only with the latter. In the one case the FARMER is a mere LABOURER, in the other something between LABOURER and capitalist.

Nothing could be more absurd than the assertion that the landowner cannot *withdraw* his ACRES from the market just as easily as the capitalist can withdraw his capital from a branch of production. The best proof of this is the large amount of fertile land that is uncultivated in the most developed countries of Europe, such as England, the land which is taken out of agriculture and put to the building of railways or houses or is reserved for this purpose, or is transformed by the LANDLORD into rifle-ranges or hunting-grounds as in the highlands of Scotland, etc. The best proof of this is the vain struggle of the English workers to lay their hands on the WASTE LAND.

Nota bene: In all cases where the absolute rent, as in *II D*, falls below its normal amount, because, as here, the market value is below the individual value of the class or, as in *II B*, owing to competition from the better piece of land, a part of the capital MUST BE WITHDRAWN FROM THE WORSE one or where, as in *I D*, rent is completely absent, it is presupposed:

1. that where rent is entirely absent, the landowner and capitalist [are] *one and the same* person; here therefore the resistance of landed property against capital and the LIMITATION OF THE FIELD OF ACTION OF THE LATTER BY THE FORMER disappear but only in individual cases and as an exception. The presupposition of

[a] Rental.— *Ed.*

landed property is abolished as in the colonies, but only in separate cases;

2. that the competition of the better lands—or possibly the competition from the worse lands (in the DESCENDING LINE)—leads to over-production and forcibly expands the market, creates AN ADDITIONAL DEMAND by forcing prices down. This however is the very case which Ricardo does not foresee because he always argues on the assumption that the supply is only sufficient to satisfy the necessary ADDITIONAL DEMAND;

3. that II and I in B, C, D either do not pay the full amount of the absolute rent or pay no absolute rent at all, because they are forced by the competition from the better lands to sell their product *below* its value. Ricardo on the other hand presupposes that they sell their product at *its value* and that the *worst land* always determines the market value, whereas in case *I D*, which he regards as the normal case, just the opposite takes place. Furthermore his *raisonnement* is always based on the assumption of a DESCENDING LINE OF PRODUCTION.

If the average composition of the NON-AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL$=80c+20v$, and the rate of surplus value$=50\%$, and if the composition of the AGRICULTURAL capital$=90c+10v$, i.e., higher than that of INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL—which [XII-600] is historically incorrect for capitalist production—[then there is] no *absolute rent*; if it$=80c+20v$, which has not so far been the case, [there is] *no* absolute rent; if it is lower, for instance $60c+40v$, [there is an] *absolute rent.*

On the basis of the theory, the following possibilities can *arise*, according to the relationship of the different classes to the market—i.e., depending on the extent to which one or another class dominates the market:

A. The last class pays absolute rent. It determines the market value because all classes only *provide the* NECESSARY SUPPLY *at this market value.*

B. The last class determines the market value; it pays absolute rent, the full rate of rent, but not the full previous amount because competition from III and IV has forced it TO WITHDRAW PART OF THE CAPITAL FROM PRODUCTION.

C. The *excess* supply which classes I, II, III, IV provide *at the old market value*, forces the latter to fall; this however, being regulated by the higher classes, leads to the expansion of the market. I pays only a part of the ABSOLUTE RENT, II pays *only* the ABSOLUTE RENT.

D. The same domination of *market value* by the better classes or of the inferior classes by OVERSUPPLY destroys rent in I altogether

and reduces it to below its ABSOLUTE AMOUNT in II; finally in

E. The better classes oust I from the market by bringing down the market value below the cost price. II now regulates the market value because *at this new market value* only the necessary SUPPLY [is] forthcoming from all 3 classes.

I would make the following further observation on the influence of the VARIATION OF VALUE UPON THE ORGANIC COMPOSITION OF CAPITAL: With capitals in *different branches of production*—with an otherwise equal physical composition—it is possible that the higher *value* of the machinery or of the material used, may bring about a difference. For instance, if the COTTON, SILK, LINEN and WOOL [industries] had exactly the same physical composition, the mere difference in the cost of the material used would create such a variation.

Now back to Ricardo.

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It goes without saying that when dealing with the composition of the AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL the value or price of the land does not enter into this. The latter is nothing but the capitalised rent. Back to:

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*Ricardo,* CHAPTER II "On Rent":

He begins by presenting the "colonial theory", already known from Smith,[a] and here it is sufficient to state briefly the logical sequence of ideas.

* "On the *first settling of a country*, in which there is an *abundance* of rich and fertile land, a *very small proportion of which is required* to *be cultivated for the support of the actual* population, or indeed *can be cultivated with the capital* which the population can command, there will be *no rent*; for no one would *pay* for the *use of land*, when there *was an abundant quantity not yet appropriated*, and, *therefore*," * (because NOT *APPROPRIATED*, which Ricardo *entirely forgets* later on), * at the *disposal of whosoever might choose* to cultivate it" * (p. 55).

//Here the assumption therefore is: no landed property. Although this description of the process is *approximately* correct for the SETTLINGS OF MODERN PEOPLES, it is, firstly, inapplicable to developed capitalist production; and [secondly] equally false if put forward as the *historical* course of events in the OLD EUROPE.//

* "On the common principles of supply and demand, *no rent could be paid for such land*, for the reason stated why nothing is given for the use of air and water,

[a] See this volume, pp. 449-50, 460.—*Ed.*

or for any other of the gifts of nature which exist in *boundless quantity*... no charge is made for the use of these [XII-601] natural aids, because they are inexhaustible, and at every man's disposal.... If all land had *the same* properties, if it were *unlimited in quantity*, and *uniform in quality*, no charge could be made for its use"* (because it could *not* be converted *into private property* at all), *"unless where it possessed *peculiar advantages of situation*"* (and, he should add, were AT THE DISPOSAL OF A PROPRIETOR). *"It is only, then, because land is *not unlimited in quantity* and uniform in quality, and because in the progress of population, land of an *inferior quality*, or less *advantageously situated*, is called into cultivation, that *rent is ever paid for the use of* it. When in the progress of society, land of the second degree of fertility is taken into cultivation, *rent immediately commences on that of the first quality*, and the amount of that *rent will depend on the difference in the quality of these two portions of land*"* (pp. 56-57).

We shall examine this point more closely. The logical sequence is this:

If land, rich and fertile land],exists IN elemental abundance in practically UNLIMITED quantity compared to the ACTUAL POPULATION and capital—and Ricardo *assumes* this on the *FIRST SETTLING OF A COUNTRY* (*Smith's* colonial theory)—and if, furthermore, an "ABUNDANT QUANTITY" of this land is "*NOT YET APPROPRIATED*" and *therefore*, because it is "*NOT YET APPROPRIATED*", is "*AT THE DISPOSAL OF WHOSOEVER MIGHT CHOOSE TO CULTIVATE IT*", in this case, naturally, nothing is paid for the USE OF LAND, NO RENT. If LAND were [available] "in UNLIMITED QUANTITY"—not only relatively to capital and population, but if it were *in fact* an UNLIMITED ELEMENT (UNLIMITED like AIR and WATER)—then indeed its appropriation by one person could not exclude its appropriation by another. No PRIVATE (also no "PUBLIC" or STATE) PROPERTY IN the soil could exist. In this case—if all LAND is OF *THE SAME* QUALITY—no rent could be paid for it at all. At most, [rent would be paid] to the POSSESSOR OF LAND which "POSSESSED PECULIAR ADVANTAGES OF SITUATION".

Thus, under the circumstances assumed by Ricardo—namely, that LAND is "*NOT APPROPRIATED*" and UNCULTIVATED LAND is "*therefore* AT THE DISPOSAL OF WHOSOEVER MIGHT CHOOSE TO CULTIVATE IT"—if rent is paid, then this is only possible BECAUSE "LAND IS NOT UNLIMITED IN QUANTITY AND UNIFORM IN QUALITY", in other words, because different types of land exist and land of the same type is "LIMITED". We say that, on Ricardo's assumption, only a differential rent can be paid. But instead of confining it to this, HE JUMPS AT ONCE TO THE CONCLUSION that—quite apart from his assumption of the *non-existence of landed property*—ABSOLUTE RENT IS NEVER PAID FOR THE USE OF LAND, only differential rent.

The whole point therefore is: If land confronts capital in *elemental* abundance, then capital operates in agriculture in *the same* way as in every other branch of industry. There is then no *landed property*, no rent. At most, where one piece of land is more

fertile than another, there can be excess profits as in industry. In this case these will consolidate themselves as differential rent, because of their natural basis in the DIFFERENT DEGREES OF FERTILITY OF THE SOIL.

If, on the other hand, land is 1. LIMITED, 2. appropriated, and capital finds *landed property* as a precondition—and this is the case where capitalist production develops: where capital does not find this precondition, as it does in the old Europe, it creates it itself, as in the UNITED STATES—thus land is from the outset not an elementary FIELD OF ACTION for capital. HENCE [there is absolute] rent, in addition to differential rent. But in this case also the transitions from one type of land to another—be it ASCENDING: I, II, III, IV or DESCENDING IV, III, II, I—work out differently than they did under *Ricardo's assumption.* For the employment of capital meets with the resistance of landed property both in category I and in II, III, IV; and similarly, in the reverse process, when the transition is from IV to III, etc. In the transition from IV to III, etc., it is not sufficient for the price of IV to rise high enough to enable the capital to be employed in III with an average profit. The price must rise to such an extent that rent can be paid on III. If the transition is made from I to II, etc., then it is self-evident that the price which paid a rent for I, must not only pay this rent for II, but a differential rent besides. By postulating the *non-existence of landed property,* Ricardo has not, of course, eliminated the law that arises *with the existence* and *from the existence of landed property.*

Having just shown how, *on his assumption,* a differential rent can come into being, Ricardo continues:

* "When land of the third quality is taken into cultivation, rent immediately commences on the second, and it is regulated, as before, by the difference in their productive powers. At the same time, the rent of the first quality will rise, for that must always be above the rent of the second, by the difference between the produce which they yield with a given quantity of capital and labour. With every *step in the progress of population, which shall oblige a country to have recourse to land of a worse quality*"

(which, however, by no means implies *THAT EVERY STEP IN THE PROGRESS OF POPULATION WILL OBLIGE A COUNTRY TO HAVE RECOURSE TO LAND OF WORSE QUALITY*),

* "to enable it to raise its supply [XII-602] of food, rent, on all the more fertile land, will rise" * (p. 57).

This is ALL RIGHT.

Ricardo now passes on to [an] example. But, quite apart from other points to be noted later, this example presupposes the *DESCENDING LINE.* This, however, is mere *presupposition.* In order to smuggle it in, he says:

* "On the first settling of a country, in which there is *an abundance of rich and fertile* soil ... *not yet appropriated*" * (p. 55).

But the CASE would [be] the same, if, relatively to the colonists, THERE WAS AN ABUNDANCE OF POOR AND STERILE SOIL—NOT YET APPROPRIATED". The *non*-payment of *rents* does not depend on the RICHNESS or FERTILITY OF THE SOIL, but on the fact that it is UNLIMITED, UNAPPROPRIATED and UNIFORM in QUALITY, WHATEVER MIGHT BE *THAT* QUALITY IN RESPECT TO THE DEGREE OF ITS FERTILITY. Hence Ricardo himself goes on to formulate his *assumption* thus:

* "If *all land* had *the same* properties, if it were *unlimited in quantity*, and *uniform in quality*, no charge could be made for its use" * (p. 56).

He does not say and cannot say, IF IT "*WERE RICH AND FERTILE*", because this condition would have *absolutely nothing* to do with the law. If, INSTEAD OF being RICH AND FERTILE, the LAND were POOR AND STERILE, then each colonist would have to cultivate A GREATER PROPORTION OF THE WHOLE LAND, and thus, even where the LAND is UNAPPROPRIATED, they would, with the growth of population, more rapidly approach the point where the practical abundance of land, its actual unlimitedness IN PROPORTION TO POPULATION AND CAPITAL, would cease to exist.

It is of course quite certain that the colonists will not pick out the least fertile land, but will choose the most fertile, i.e., the land that will produce most, with the means of cultivation at their disposal. But this is not the sole limiting factor in their choice. The first deciding factor for them is the *situation*, the situation near the sea, large rivers, etc. The land in West America, etc., may be as fertile as any; but the SETTLERS of course established themselves in New England, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Virginia, etc., in short, on the east coast of the Atlantic. If they selected the most fertile land, then they only selected the *most fertile land in this region*. This did not prevent them from cultivating *more fertile* land in the West, at a later stage, as soon as growth of population, formation of capital, development of means of communication, building of towns, made the *more fertile land* in this *more distant* region accessible to them. They do not look for the *most fertile region*, but for the *most favourably situated region*, and within this, of course—given *equal* conditions so far as the situation is concerned—they look for the *most fertile* land. But this certainly does not prove that they progress from the more fertile region to the less fertile region, only that within *the same* region—provided the situation is the same—the more fertile land is naturally cultivated before the unfertile.

Ricardo, however, having rightly *amended* "ABUNDANCE OF RICH AND FERTILE LAND" to read LAND OF THE "*SAME* PROPERTIES, UNLIMITED IN QUANTITY,

UNIFORM IN QUALITY", comes to his example and from there JUMPS back into the first false assumption:

* "The most *fertile*, and *most favorably situated*, land will be *first* cultivated" * (p. 60).

He senses the weakness and spuriousness [in this] and therefore adds the *new* condition to the "MOST FERTILE LAND": "AND the MOST FAVOURABLY SITUATED", which was missing at the outset. "THE MOST FERTILE LAND *WITHIN* THE MOST FAVOURABLE SITUATION" is how it should obviously read, and surely this absurdity cannot be carried so far [as to say] that the region of the country that happens to be the MOST FAVOURABLY SITUATED for the NEWCOMERS, since it enables them to keep IN CONTACT with the mother country and THE OLD FOLKS AT HOME and the outside world, is "THE MOST FERTILE REGION" in the whole of the land, which the colonists have not yet explored and are as yet unable to explore.

The assumption of the DESCENDING LINE, the transition from the more fertile to the less fertile region, is thus surreptitiously brought in. All that can be said is this: In the region that is first cultivated, because it is the MOST FAVOURABLY SITUATED, *no rent* is paid until, *within* this region, there is a transition from the more fertile to the less fertile land. Now if, however, there is a transition to a second, *more fertile* region than the first, then, according to the assumption, this is *WORSE SITUATED*. Hence it is possible THAT THE GREATER FERTILITY OF THE SOIL IS MORE THAN COUNTERBALANCED BY THE GREATER DISADVANTAGE OF THE SITUATION, and in this case the land of region I will continue to pay rent. But the "SITUATION" is a circumstance which changes historically, according to the economic development, and *must* continually *improve* with the installation of means of communication, the building of new towns, etc., and the growth of the population. Hence it is clear that BY AND BY, the product produced in region II will be brought on to the market at a price which will lower the rent in region I again (for the same product), and that in time it will emerge as THE MORE FERTILE SOIL in the measure in which the DISADVANTAGE OF SITUATION disappears. [XII-603] It is therefore clear, that where Ricardo himself states the condition for the formation of differential rent correctly and in general form:

"...ALL LAND... OF THE *SAME PROPERTIES... UNLIMITED IN QUANTITY... UNIFORM IN QUALITY...*" [p. 56],

the circumstance of the transition from more fertile to less fertile land is *not* included,

that this is also historically incorrect for the SETTLEMENT in the UNITED STATES which, in common with Adam Smith, he has in

mind; therefore Carey's objections,[a] which were justified on this point,

that he himself reverses the problem again, by his addendum on "SITUATION"...: "THE MOST FERTILE, AND *MOST FAVOURABLY SITUATED*, LAND WILL BE FIRST CULTIVATED",

that he *proves* his *arbitrary* presupposition by an *example* in which that which is to be proved, is *postulated*, namely, the transition from the best to increasingly worse land,

that, finally //it is true, already WITH AN EYE TO THE EXPLANATION OF THE TENDENCY OF THE GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT TO FALL// he presupposes this, because he could not otherwise account for *differential rent*, although the latter in no way depends on whether there is a transition from I to II, III, IV or from IV to III, II, I.

In the example, 3 sorts of land are postulated, Nos. 1, 2, 3, which, with an equal capital investment, yield 100, 90, 80 qrs of corn. No. 1 is the first to be cultivated

* "in a new country, where there is an abundance of fertile land compared with the population, and where therefore it is only necessary to cultivate No. 1" (p. 57).*

In this case the "WHOLE NET PRODUCE" belongs to the "CULTIVATOR" and "WILL BE THE PROFITS OF THE STOCK WHICH HE ADVANCES" (p. 57). That this "NET PRODUCE" is immediately regarded as PROFIT OF STOCK, although *no capitalist production* has been postulated in this case //we are not speaking of PLANTATIONS// is also unsatisfactory here. But it may be that the colonist, coming from "THE OLD COUNTRY", looks at it in this way himself. If the population grows only to such an extent that No. 2 has to be cultivated, then No. 1 bears a rent of 10 qrs. It is of course assumed here that No. 2 and No. 3 are "*UNAPPROPRIATED*" and that their QUANTITY has remained practically "UNLIMITED" IN PROPORTION TO POPULATION AND CAPITAL. Otherwise there *could* be a different turn to events. Under this assumption, therefore, No. 1 will bear a rent of 10 qrs:

* "For either there must *be two rates of profit on agricultural capital*, or ten quarters, or the value of ten quarters, *must be withdrawn* from the produce of No. 1, for some other purpose. Whether the *proprietor of the land*, or any other person, cultivated No. 1, these ten quarters would equally constitute rent; for the cultivator of No. 2 would get the same result with his capital, whether he cultivated No. 1, paying 10 qrs for rent, or continued to cultivate No. 2, paying no rent" * (p. 58).

IN FACT, THERE WOULD BE TWO RATES OF PROFIT IN AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL, that is, No. 1 supplied an *excess profit* of 10 quarters (which, in this CASE, *can* consolidate itself as rent). But 2 pages later, Ricardo

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[a] See H. Ch. Carey, *The Past, the Present, and the Future*, Philadelphia, 1848, pp. 128-29. Cf. also this volume, p. 579.— *Ed.*

himself says that not only two but many VERY DIFFERENT RATES OF PROFIT ON CAPITAL OF THE SAME DESCRIPTION within *the same sphere of production*, HENCE also on AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL, are not only possible but inevitable:

* "The most fertile, and most favorably situated, land will be first cultivated, and the exchangeable value of its produce will be adjusted in the same manner as the exchangeable value of all other commodities, by the total quantity of labour necessary in various forms, from first to last, to produce it, and bring it to market. When land of an inferior quality is taken into cultivation, the exchangeable value of raw produce will rise, because more labour is required to produce it.

"The *exchangeable value* of *all* commodities, whether they be manufactured, or the produce of the mines, or the produce of land, *is always regulated*, not by *the less quantity of labour that will suffice for their production under circumstances highly favorable*, and *exclusively enjoyed by those who have peculiar facilities of production*; but by the *greater quantity of labour necessarily bestowed on their production* by *those who have no such facilities*; by those who continue to produce them under the most *unfavorable circumstances*; meaning—by the most unfavorable circumstances, the most unfavorable under which the *quantity of produce required*," * (at the old price) * "renders it necessary to carry on the production" * (pp. 60-61).

Thus in each *particular* industry there are not only TWO, BUT *MANY RATES* OF PROFIT, THAT IS TO SAY, DEVIATIONS from THE GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT.

At this point it is not necessary to go into the further details of the example (pp. 58-59), which is concerned with the effect of employing different amounts of capital ON THE SAME LAND. Only these 2 propositions:

* "Rent is always the difference between the produce obtained by the employment of two [XII-604] equal quantities of capital and labour" * (p. 59).

In other words, there is only a differential rent (according to the assumption that there is *no landed property*). For:

* "there cannot be two rates of profit" (p. 59).

"It is true, that on the best land, the same produce would still be obtained with the same labour as before, but its value would be enhanced in consequence of the diminished returns obtained by those who employed fresh labour and stock on the less fertile land. Notwithstanding, then, that the advantages of fertile over inferior lands are in no case lost, but only *transferred* from the cultivator, or consumer, to the landlord, yet, since more labour is required on the inferior lands, and *since it is from such land* only *that we are enabled to furnish ourselves* with the *additional supply* of raw produce, the comparative value of that produce will continue *permanently* above its former level, and make it exchange for more hats, cloth, shoes, etc., in the production of which no such additional quantity of labour is required" (pp. 62, 63).

"The reason then, *why* raw *produce rises in comparative value*, is because more labour is employed in the production of the last portion obtained, and *not because a rent is paid to the landlord*. The *value of corn is regulated* by the quantity of labour bestowed on its production on that quality of land, or with that portion of capital, which pays no rent. *Corn is not high because a rent is paid, but a rent is paid because corn is high*; and it has been *justly* observed, that *no reduction would take place in the price of corn, although landlords should forego the whole of their rent*. Such a measure

would only enable some farmers to live like gentlemen, but would not diminish the quantity of labour necessary to raise raw produce on the least productive land in cultivation" * (p. 63).

My earlier explanations render it unnecessary to expand here on the erroneousness of the proposition THAT "THE VALUE OF CORN IS REGULATED BY THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR BESTOWED ON ITS PRODUCTION ON THAT QUALITY OF LAND ... WHICH PAYS NO RENT". I have shown that whether the last type of land pays rent, [or] pays no rent, [whether it] pays the whole of the absolute rent, [only a] part of it, or it pays besides the absolute rent a differential rent (if the LINE is ASCENDING), partly depends on the DIRECTION OF THE LINE, WHETHER IT IS ASCENDING OR DESCENDING, and at all events, it depends on the relative COMPOSITION OF AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL AS COMPARED WITH THE COMPOSITION OF NON-AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL and, if as a result of the difference in this COMPOSITION absolute rent is presupposed, the above CASES depend on the state of the market. But the Ricardian case in particular can only occur under two circumstances (ALTHOUGH even then *fermage* CAN yet BE PAID, though NO RENT); either when LANDED PROPERTY DOES NOT EXIST, IN LAW OR IN FACT, or when the best land provides an ADDITIONAL SUPPLY which CAN only FIND ITS PLACE WITHIN THE MARKET if there is a fall in market value.

But there is more besides which is wrong or one-sided in the above PASSAGE. The COMPARATIVE VALUE—which here means nothing but market value—of RAW PRODUCE can RISE for reasons other than the above. [Firstly] if, up to now, it was sold below its value, perhaps below its cost price; this is always the case IN A CERTAIN STATE OF SOCIETY, where the production of RAW PRODUCE is as yet largely directed to the subsistence of the cultivator (also in the Middle Ages, when the product of the town secured a monopoly price); secondly, it can also happen when the raw produce—*in contrast* to the other commodities which are sold at their cost price—is not yet sold at its VALUE.

Finally, it is correct to say that it makes no difference to the price of CORN if the LANDLORD FORGOES the differential rent and the FARMER POCKETS IT. But this does not apply to absolute rent. It is wrong to say here that LANDED PROPERTY does *not* ENHANCE THE PRICE OF THE RAW PRODUCE. On the contrary the price goes up because the INTERVENTION of LANDED PROPERTY CAUSES THE RAW PRODUCE TO BE SOLD AT ITS *VALUE* WHICH EXCEEDS ITS *COST PRICE*. Supposing, as above, that the average NON-AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL $=80c+20v$, the surplus value $=50\%$, then the rate of profit $=10[\%]$ and the value of the PRODUCE $=110$. The AGRICULTURAL [XII-605] CAPITAL on the other hand $=60c+40v$, the value [of the produce] $=120$. The RAW PRODUCE is sold at this

value. If landed property did not exist legally—or in practice, because of the RELATIVE ABUNDANCE OF LAND as in the colonies—then it would be sold at 115. For the total profit of the first and the second capital (i.e., on the 200)=30, hence average profit=15. The NON-AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE would be sold at 115 instead of 110; the AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE at 115 instead of 120. The RELATIVE VALUE of the AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE compared with the non-AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE would thus fall by $^1/_{12}$; the *average profit* for both capitals—or the total capital, AGRICULTURAL AS WELL AS INDUSTRIAL—would, however, rise by 50%, from 10 to 15.

* "The rise of rent is *always* the effect of the increasing wealth of the country, *and of the difficulty of providing food for its augmented population*" * (pp. 65-66).

The latter is wrong.

* "Wealth increases most rapidly in those countries where the disposable land is most fertile, where importation is least restricted, and where through agricultural improvements, productions can be multiplied without any increase in the proportional quantity of labour, and where *consequently the progress of rent is slow*" * (pp. 66-67).

The ABSOLUTE AMOUNT OF RENT can also grow when the *rate of rent* remains the same and only the capital invested in AGRICULTURE is growing with the GROWTH OF POPULATION; it can grow when no rent is paid on I and only a part of the absolute rent on II, but the differential rent has risen considerably as a result of their relative fertility, etc. (See the *table.*)[a]

* "If the high price of corn were the effect, and not the cause of rent, price would be proportionally influenced as rents were high or low, and *rent would be a component part of price.* But that corn which is produced by the greatest quantity of labour is the regulator of the price of corn; and rent does not and cannot enter in the least degree as a *component part of its price....* Raw material enters into the composition of most commodities, but the value of that raw material, as well as corn, is regulated by the *productiveness of the portion of capital last employed on the land, and paying no rent*; and *therefore* rent is not a *component part of the* price of commodities" * (p. 67).

There is much CONFUSION here, resulting from the jumbling up of NATURAL "*PRICE*" (for that is the price under discussion here) and VALUE. Ricardo has adopted this CONFUSION from Smith. In the case of the latter it is relatively correct, because, and in so far as, Smith departs from his own correct explanation of VALUE. Neither rent nor profit nor wages form *A COMPONENT PART OF THE VALUE* OF A COMMODITY. On the contrary, the *VALUE OF A COMMODITY BEING GIVEN*, THE DIFFERENT PARTS INTO WHICH THAT VALUE MAY BE *DIVIDED*, BELONG EITHER TO THE

[a] See the insertion between pages 479 and 480.—*Ed.*

CATEGORY OF ACCUMULATED LABOUR (CONSTANT CAPITAL) OR WAGES OR PROFIT OR RENT. On the other hand, when referring to the *NATURAL PRICE* or *cost price*, Smith can speak of its *COMPONENT PARTS* as given preconditions. But by confusing NATURAL PRICE with VALUE, he carries this over to the VALUE of the COMMODITY.

Apart from the fact that the raw material and machinery (in short the constant capital) enter into production with a *fixed* price, which to the capitalist in each particular sphere of production appears as determined from outside, there are two things the capitalist must do when calculating the price of his commodity: he has to add the *price of the wages*, and this also appears to him as given (WITHIN CERTAIN LIMITS). The *NATURAL PRICE* of the commodity is not the *market price* but the average market price over a long period, or the central point towards which the market price gravitates. In this context therefore the *price of wages* is on the whole determined by the VALUE of labour capacity. But the *rate of profit*—the NATURAL RATE OF PROFIT—is determined by the *value* of the aggregate of commodities created by the aggregate of capitals employed in NON-AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY. For it is the excess of this value over the value of the constant capital contained in the commodity+the value of wages. The total surplus value which the total capital creates, forms the ABSOLUTE AMOUNT OF PROFIT. The ratio of this ABSOLUTE AMOUNT TO THE WHOLE CAPITAL ADVANCED DETERMINES THE GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT. Thus this GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT, too, appears—not only to the individual capitalist, but to the capital in each particular sphere of production—to be determined externally. The capitalist must add the GENERAL PROFIT, SAY OF 10% [XII-606] to the price of the ADVANCES IN RAW MATERIAL, ETC., contained in the product, and the NATURAL PRICE OF WAGES THUS—AS IT MUST APPEAR TO HIM—BY WAY OF ADDITION OF COMPONENT PARTS, OR BY COMPOSITION—TO FORM THE NATURAL PRICE OF A given COMMODITY. Whether the NATURAL PRICE is paid, or more, or less, depends on the level of the market price prevailing at the time. Only wages and profit enter into *cost price* as distinguished from *VALUE*; rent enters only in so far as it is already contained in the PRICE of the expended raw material, machinery, etc. That is, it does not enter as rent for the capitalist, to whom, in any case, the PRICE OF RAW PRODUCE, MACHINERY, in short of the constant capital, appears as a predetermined *total*.

Rent does not enter into *cost price* as a COMPONENT PART. If, in special CIRCUMSTANCES, the agricultural product is sold at its cost price, then *no rent exists*. *Economically* landed property does not then exist for capital, that is, when the product of the type of land that sells at the cost price, regulates the market value of the

product of its sphere. (The position in I, Table D is different.[a])

Or (absolute) *rent exists.* In this case the agricultural product is sold *above* its *cost price.* It is sold at its *value,* which is above its *cost price.* Rent, however, enters into the *market value* of the product, or, rather, forms a part of the market value. But to the farmer rent appears as predetermined, in the same way as profit does to the industrialist. It is determined by the excess of the *value* of the agricultural product over its *cost price.* The farmer, however, calculates just like the capitalist: FIRST the outlay, secondly wages, thirdly the average profit, finally the rent, which likewise appears to him as fixed. This is *for him* the NATURAL PRICE OF WHEAT, for instance. Whether he obtains it, depends, in turn, on the prevailing STATE OF THE MARKET.

If the *distinction* between *cost price* and *VALUE* is properly maintained, then rent can *never* enter into cost price as a *CONSTITUENT PART,* and one can talk of CONSTITUENT PARTS only in relation to the cost price as distinguished from the VALUE of the COMMODITY. (Like excess profit, differential rent never enters into *COST PRICE,* because it is nothing but the EXCESS OF THE INDIVIDUAL COST PRICE OVER MARKET COST PRICE,[157] OR THE EXCESS OF THE INDIVIDUAL VALUE OVER MARKET VALUE.)

Accordingly, Ricardo is in substance right when, in opposition to Adam Smith, he declares that rent *never* enters into cost price. But again he is wrong in that he proves this, not by differentiating between COST PRICE and VALUE, but by identifying the two, as Adam Smith did, for neither rent nor profit, nor wages form *CONSTITUENT PARTS OF VALUE,* ALTHOUGH VALUE IS DISSOLVABLE INTO WAGES AND PROFITS AND RENT, and, furthermore, the 3 parts are of equal importance, *if* all 3 exist. Ricardo reasons thus: Rent forms NO CONSTITUENT PART OF THE NATURAL PRICE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE, *because* the price of the product of the worst land, which is=to the *cost price* of this product, and to the *value of this product,* determines the market value of AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE. Thus rent forms no PART OF THE VALUE because it forms no PART OF THE *NATURAL PRICE* and this latter is=to *VALUE.* This however is wrong. The price of the product grown on the worst land=its *cost price,* either because this product is sold *below* its value—therefore not as Ricardo says, because it is sold *at its value*—or because the agricultural product belongs to that type, to that class, of commodities in which, *by way of exception,* VALUE and cost price are *identical.* This is the case when the surplus value which is made in a particular sphere of production on a given capital, of say 100,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 507, 509.—*Ed.*

happens to coincide with the surplus value which on the average falls to *the same* relative portion of the total capital (say 100). This then is Ricardo's CONFUSION.

As TO *Adam Smith*: in so far as he identifies COST PRICE with VALUE, he is justified, on the basis of this false assumption, in saying that RENT, as well as PROFIT and WAGES, form "CONSTITUENT PARTS OF THE NATURAL PRICE". On the contrary, it is rather inconsistent that later in his further exposition he asserts that RENT does not enter into the NATURAL PRICE in the same way as WAGES and PROFITS. He commits this inconsistency because observation and correct analysis compel him nevertheless to recognise that there is a difference in the determination of the NATURAL PRICE OF NON-AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE and the MARKET VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE. But more about this when discussing Smith's theory of rent.[a]

[XII-607] * "We have seen, that with every portion of additional capital which it becomes necessary to employ on the land with a less productive return, rent would rise." *

(But not EVERY PORTION OF ADDITIONAL CAPITAL YIELDS A LESS PRODUCTIVE RETURN.)

* "It follows from the same principles, that any circumstances in the society which should make it unnecessary to employ the same amount of capital on the land, and which should therefore make the portion last employed more productive, would lower rent" * (p. 68).

That is absolute rent, not necessarily differential rent. (See Table B.)[b]

Such circumstances might be the "REDUCTION IN THE CAPITAL OF A COUNTRY" followed by a REDUCTION in the population. But also a higher development of the PRODUCTIVE POWERS OF AGRICULTURAL LABOUR.

* "The same effects may however be produced, when the wealth and population of a country are increased, if that increase is accompanied by such marked improvements in agriculture, as shall have the same effect of diminishing the necessity of cultivating the poorer lands, or of expending the same amount of capital on the cultivation of the more fertile portions" * (pp. 68-69).

(Oddly enough, Ricardo forgets here: IMPROVEMENTS AS SHALL HAVE THE EFFECT OF IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF POORER LANDS AND CONVERTING THESE INTO RICHER ONES, an aspect stressed by Anderson.[c] Ricardo's proposition is entirely wrong:

* "With the same population, and no more, there can be no demand for any additional quantity of corn" * (p. 69).

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[a] See this volume, pp. 551-78.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 476-77.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., pp. 371-76.—*Ed.*

Quite apart from the fact that, WITH A FALL IN THE PRICE OF CORN, AN ADDITIONAL DEMAND FOR OTHER RAW PRODUCE, GREEN VEGETABLES, MEAT, ETC., WILL SPRING UP and that schnaps, etc., can be made from corn, Ricardo assumes here that the entire POPULATION CONSUMES AS MUCH CORN AS IT LIKES. THIS IS FALSE.

//* "Our enormous increase of consumption in 1848, 49, 50, shows that we were previously *underfed*, and that prices were forced up by the deficiency of supply." * (F. W. Newman, *Lectures on Political Economy*, London, 1851, p. 158.)

The same Newman says:

* "The Ricardo argument, that rent cannot enhance price,[a] turns on the assumption that the power of demanding rent can in no case of real life *diminish supply*. But why not? There are very considerable tracts which would immediately have been cultivated if no rent could have been demanded for them, but *which were artificially kept vacant*, either because landlords could let them advantageously as shooting ground, or prefer the romantic wilderness to a petty and nominal rent which alone they could get by allowing them to be cultivated." * (p. 159.)//

(Indeed, [it is] in any case wrong to say that if he * withdraws the land from the production of corn, he may not get a rent by converting it into pasture or building grounds or, as in some counties in the highlands of Scotland, into artificial woods for hunting purposes.*)

Ricardo distinguishes two kinds of IMPROVEMENTS IN AGRICULTURE. The *one* type

* "increases the *productive powers of the land*,... *such as* the *more skilful rotation of crops, or the better choice of manure*. These improvements absolutely enable us to obtain the same produce from a smaller quantity of land." * (p. 70).

In this CASE, according to Ricardo, the rent *must fall*.

* "If, for example, the successive portions of capital yielded 100, 90, 80, 70; whilst I employed these four portions, my rent would be 60, or the difference between

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 70 and 100=30 | | 100 |
| 70 and 90=20 | whilst the produce would be | 90 |
| 70 and 80=10 | | 80 |
| | | 70 |
| 60 | | 340 |

and while I employed these portions, the *rent would remain the same*, although the produce of each should have an *equal* augmentation." *

(If it had AN *UNEQUAL* AUGMENTATION, it would be possible for the rent to rise *despite the increased* fertility.)

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[a] Newman has here: "argument, which J. Stuart Mill adopts".—*Ed.*

* "If, instead of 100, 90, 80, 70, the produce should be increased to 125, 115, 105, 95, the rent would still be 60, or the difference between

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [XII-608] | 95 and 125=30 | | 125 |
| | 95 and 115=20 | whilst the produce | 115 |
| | 95 and 105=10 | would be increased | 105 |
| | | to 440 | 95 |
| | 60 | | 440 |

"But with such an increase of produce, *without an increase of demand*, there could be no motive for employing so much capital on the land; one portion would be withdrawn, and consequently the last portion of capital would yield 105 instead of 95, and rent would fall to 30, or the difference between

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 105 and 125=20 | whilst the produce will be still | 125 |
| 105 and 115=10 | adequate to the wants of the popula- | 115 |
| | tion, for it would be 345 qrs... | 105 |
| 30 | | 345" * |

(pp. 71-72).

Apart from DEMAND being able to rise *without a growth* in population when the price falls (Ricardo himself assumes that it has risen by 5 qrs), there is a constant going over to SOILS OF DECREASING FERTILITY, because the population grows every year, i.e., the part of the population that consumes corn, eats bread, and this part grows more rapidly than the population, because bread is the chief means of subsistence of the majority. It is thus not *necessary* to assume that the DEMAND does not grow with the PRODUCTIVITY OF CAPITAL, and that consequently the rent falls. And the rent can rise, if the DIFFERENCE IN THE DEGREE OF FERTILITY has been unevenly affected by the IMPROVEMENT.

Otherwise it is certain (Tables B and E[a]), that the increase in FERTILITY—while DEMAND remains constant—can not only throw the worst land out of the market but CAN even FORCE a part of the capital on better land (Table B) TO WITHDRAW FROM THE PRODUCTION OF CORN. In this case the *corn rent falls*, if the AUGMENTATION OF THE PRODUCE is *EQUAL* on the different types of land.

Now Ricardo passes on to the 2nd aspect of *AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENTS.*

* "But there are improvements which may lower the relative value of produce without lowering the *corn rent*, though they will lower the *money rent of land*. Such improvements do not increase the productive powers of the land; but they enable us to obtain its produce *with less labour*. They are rather directed to the *formation of*

[a] See this volume, pp. 477, 479.— *Ed.*

*the capital applied to the land*, than to the *cultivation of the land itself. Improvements in agricultural implements*, such as the plough and the thrashing machine, economy in the use of horses employed in husbandry, and a better knowledge of the veterinary art, are of this nature. *Less capital*, which *is the same thing as less labour*, will be employed on the land; but to *obtain the same produce, less land cannot be cultivated.* Whether improvements of this kind, however, affect *corn rent*, must depend on the question, whether the difference between the produce obtained by the employment of different portions of capital be increased, stationary, or diminished".*

//Ricardo should also have adhered to this when dealing with the NATURAL FERTILITY OF THE SOILS. Whether the transition to these reduces the differential rent, leaves it stationary, or increases it, depends on whether the difference in the produce of the capital employed on these DIFFERENT MORE FERTILE SOILS, BE INCREASED, STATIONARY, OR DIMINISHED.//

* "If four portions of capital, 50, 60, 70, 80, be employed on the land, giving each *the same results*, and any improvement in the formation of such capital should enable me to withdraw 5 from each, so that they should be 45, 55, 65 and 75, no alteration would take place in the corn rent; but if the improvements were such as to enable me to make the whole saving on that portion of capital, which is least productively employed, corn rent would immediately fall, because the difference between the capital most productive, and the capital [XII-609] least productive, would be diminished; and *it is this difference which constitutes rent*" * (pp. 73-74).

This is correct for *differential rent*, which alone exists for Ricardo.

On the other hand, Ricardo does not touch upon the real question at all. For the solution of this question it does not matter whether the value of the individual quarter falls or whether the same *quantity of land*, the quantity of the same types of land as previously, needs to be cultivated, but whether as a result of the *reduction in the price of constant capital*—which, according to the assumption, costs LESS LABOUR—the quantity of IMMEDIATE LABOUR EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE is *reduced, increased* or *unaltered.* In short, whether or not the capital undergoes an organic CHANGE.

Let us take our example from Table A (page 574, notebook XI)[a] and let us substitute QRS OF CORN for tons.

It is assumed here that the composition of the NON-AGRICULTURAL capital=$80c+20v$, that of the AGRICULTURAL capital=$60c+40v$, the rate of surplus value in both cases=50%. HENCE THE RENT ON THE LATTER CAPITAL, OR THE EXCESS OF ITS VALUE OVER ITS COST-PRICE,=£10. Thus we have the following:

[a] See the insertion between pages 479 and 480.—*Ed.*

| | Capital £ | Qrs of corn | Total value £ | Market value per qr £ | Individual value per qr |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | 100 | 60 | 120 | 2 | £2[=40s.] |
| II | 100 | 65 | 130 | 2 | £1 $^{11}/_{13}$=£1 16 $^{12}/_{13}$s. |
| III | 100 | 75 | 150 | 2 | £1 $^{9}/_{15}$=£1 12s. |
| Total | 300 | 200 | 400 | | |

| | Differential value per qr | Cost price per qr | Absolute rent £ | Differential rent £ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | 0 | £1 $^{5}/_{6}$=£1 16 $^{2}/_{3}$s. | 10 | 0 |
| II | £ $^{2}/_{13}$=3 $^{1}/_{13}$s. | £1 $^{9}/_{13}$=£1 13 $^{11}/_{13}$s. | 10 | 10 |
| III | £ $^{2}/_{5}$=8s. | £1 $^{7}/_{15}$=£1 9 $^{1}/_{3}$s. | 10 | 30 |
| | | | 30 | 40 |

| | Absolute rent in qrs | Differential rent in qrs | Rental £ | Rental in qrs |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | 5 | 0 | 10 | 5 |
| II | 5 | 5 | 20 | 10 |
| III | 5 | 15 | 40 | 20 |
| | 15 | 20 | 70 | 35 |

In order to examine the problem in its pure form, one must assume that the *magnitude of the capital employed in I, II, III* is in all 3 classes affected *equally* by the reduction in the price of *constant capital* (100). For the *uneven* effect only concerns differential rent, and has nothing to do with the matter in hand. Supposing, therefore, that as a result of IMPROVEMENTS, the same amount of capital, which previously cost £100, now only costs 90, it would thus be reduced by $^{1}/_{10}$, or 10%. The question is then how the IMPROVEMENTS affect the composition of AGRICULTURAL capital.

If the proportion of capital used as wages [to constant capital] remains the same, then, if $100=60c+40v$, $90=54c+36v$, and in this case the value of the 60 qrs on land I=£108. But if the *reduction in price* were such that the same constant capital which previously cost 60, now only cost 54, but that $v$ (or the capital laid out in wages) now only cost 32 $^{2}/_{5}$ instead of 36 (had also fallen by $^{1}/_{10}$), then 86 $^{2}/_{5}$ would be laid out instead of 100. The composition of this capital would be $54c+32\,^{2}/_{5}v$. And reckoned on 100, the composition would be $62\,^{1}/_{2}c+37\,^{1}/_{2}v$. Under these circumstances, the value of the 60 qrs on I would=£102 $^{3}/_{5}$. Finally, let us assume that although the value of the constant capital decreases, the

capital laid out in wages remains *the same* absolutely, it therefore grows in *proportion* to the constant capital; so that the capital of 90 which has been laid out=$50c+40v$, the composition of [a capital of] 100 would=$55\,^{5}/_{9}c+44\,^{4}/_{9}v$.

Now let us see what happens to corn and money rent in these 3 cases. In case B the proportion of $c$ to $v$ remains the same although the value of both decreases. In C the [XII-610] value of $c$ decreases, but proportionately, that of $v$ decreases even more. In D, only the value of $c$ decreases, not that of $v$.

*First let us reproduce the original table contained on the previous page.*[a]

[XII-611] From the accompanying table it is evident that:

*Originally* in A the ratio is $60c+40v$; the capital invested in each class is [£] 100. The rent in money amounts to £70, in corn to 35 qrs.

*In B* the constant capital becomes cheaper so that only £90 [are] invested in each class, the variable capital however becomes cheaper in the same proportion, so that the *ratio* remains the same. Here the *money rent* falls, the corn rent remains the same; [the] *absolute rent* is also *the same.* Money rent decreases because the capital invested decreases. Corn rent remains the same, because less money [produces] more corn the ratio remaining the same.

*In C* cheaper constant capital; but [the value of] $v$ decreases even more, so that the constant capital becomes relatively dearer. *Absolute rent* falls. Corn rent falls and money rent falls. Money rent, because capital in general has decreased significantly, and corn rent, because absolute rent has fallen while the differences [between the classes] have remained the same, therefore all of them [corn rents] fall equally.

*In D,* however, the case is completely the reverse. Only the constant capital falls; the variable capital remains the same. *This was Ricardo's assumption.* In this case, because of the fall in capital, the money rent falls, though the fall is quite insignificant, in absolute figures it is only $^{1}/_{3}$, but in proportion to the capital laid out, it rises considerably. The corn rent, on the other hand, grows absolutely. Why? Because the absolute rent has risen from 10 to $12^{2}/_{9}$%, because $v$ has grown in proportion to $c$. Hence:

[a] See the insertion between pp. 536 and 537.—*Ed.*

| Capital | Absolute rent % | Absolute rent £ | Differential rent £ | Absolute rent qrs | Differential rent qrs | Rental £ | Rental qrs |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A) $60c+40v$ | 10[%] | 30 | 40 | 15 | 20 | 70 | 35 |
| B) $54c+36v$ ($60c+40v$) | 10[%] | 27 | 36 | 15 | 20 | 63 | 35 |
| C) $54c+32^2/_3v$ ($62^1/_2c+37^1/_2v$) | $8^3/_4$% | $22^{17}/_{25}$ | £34 4s. | $13^{45}/_{171}$ | 20 | $56^{22}/_{25}$ | $33^{45}/_{171}$ |
| D) $50c+40v$ ($55^5/_9c+44^4/_9v$) | $12^2/_9$% | 33 | $36^2/_3$ | 18 | 20 | $69^2/_3$ | 38 |

Ricardo continues:

* "Whatever diminishes the *inequality in the produce* obtained from successive portions of capital employed on the same or on new land, tends to lower rent; and whatever *increases that inequality*, necessarily produces an opposite effect, and tends to raise it"* (p. 74).

The *inequality can be increased, while capital is withdrawn and while sterility decreases, or even while the less fertile land is thrown out of the market.*

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(*Landlord and capitalist.* In a LEADER of 15th July, 1862, the *Morning Star* [examines] whose duty it is (voluntarily or compulsorily) to SUPPORT the DISTRESSED (as a result of the COTTON FAMINE and the CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA) WORKMEN IN THE COTTON MANUFACTURE DISTRICTS OF LANCASHIRE, etc. It says:

* "These people have a legal right to maintenance *out of the property they have mostly created by their industry*.... It is said that the men who have made fortunes by the cotton industry are those upon whom it is especially incumbent to come forward with a generous relief. No doubt it is so ... the mercantile and manufacturing sections have done so.... But are these the only class which has made money by the cotton manufacture? Assuredly not. The landed proprietors of Lancashire and North Cheshire have enormously participated in the wealth thus produced. And it is the peculiar advantage of these proprietors to have participated in the wealth without lending a hand or a thought to the industry that created it.... The mill-owner has given his capital, his skill, and his unwinking vigilance to the [XII-612] creation of this great industry, now staggering under so heavy a blow; the mill-hand has given his skill, his time, and his bodily labour; but what have the landed proprietors of Lancashire given? Nothing at all—literally nothing; and yet they have made from it more substantial gains than either of the other classes ... it is certain that the increase of the yearly income of these great landlords, attributable to this single cause, is something enormous, probably not less than threefold."*

The capitalist is the direct exploiter of the workers, NOT ONLY the direct APPROPRIATOR, BUT the direct CREATOR OF *SURPLUS LABOUR*. But since (for the industrial capitalist) this can only take place through and in the process of production, he is himself a functionary of this production, its DIRECTOR. The LANDLORD, on the other hand, has a claim—through landed property (to absolute rent) and because of the physical differences of the various types of land (differential rent)—which enables him to pocket a part of this SURPLUS LABOUR or SURPLUS VALUE, to whose DIRECTION and CREATION he contributes nothing. Where there is a conflict, therefore, the capitalist regards him as a mere superfetation, a Sybarite excrescence, a parasite on capitalist production, the louse that sits upon him.)

CHAPTER III "On the Rent of Mines".

Here again:

*"this rent" (of mines) "as well as the rent of land, is the effect, and never the cause of the *high value* of their produce"* (p. 76).

So far as absolute rent is concerned, it is neither EFFECT nor CAUSE OF THE "HIGH VALUE", but the *effect of the excess of value over cost price. That this excess is paid for the produce of the mine, or the land, and thus absolute rent is formed, is the effect, not of that *excess*, because it exists for a whole class of trades, where it does not enter into the price of the produce of those particular trades, but is the effect of *landed property*.

In regard to *differential rent* it may be said, that it is the effect of "*high value*"; so far as by "high value" is understood the excess of the market value of the produce over its real or individual value, for the relatively more fertile classes of land or mine.

That Ricardo understands by the "exchangeable value" regulating the produce of the poorest land or mine, nothing but *cost price*, by cost price nothing but the advances+the ordinary profit, and that he falsely indentifies this cost price with real value, will also be seen from the following passage:

"The metal produced from the poorest mine that is worked, must al least have an exchangeable value, not only sufficient to procure all the clothes, food, and other necessaries consumed by those employed in working it, and bringing the produce to market, *but also to afford the common and ordinary profits* to him who advances the stock necessary to carry on the undertaking. The return for capital from the poorest mine, paying no rent, would regulate the rent of all the other more productive mines. *This mine is supposed to yield the usual profits of stock. All that the other mines* produce more than this, will necessarily be paid to the owners for rent"* (pp. 76-77).

Here, therefore, [he says] in plain language: RENT=*EXCESS OF THE PRICE (EXCHANGEABLE VALUE* is the same here*) OF THE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE OVER ITS COST PRICE*, THAT IS OVER THE VALUE OF CAPITAL

ADVANCED+THE USUAL (AVERAGE) PROFITS OF STOCK. Hence, if the *value* of the AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE is higher than its COST PRICE, it can pay rent quite irrespectively of differences in land, THE POOREST LAND AND THE POOREST MINE can PAY THE SAME ABSOLUTE RENT AS THE RICHEST. If its *value* were no higher than its cost price, rent could only arise from the EXCESS OF THE MARKET VALUE OVER THE REAL VALUE OF THE PRODUCE DERIVED FROM RELATIVELY MORE FERTILE SOILS, ETC.

* "If *equal quantities of labour,* with *equal quantities of fixed capital,* could at all times obtain, from that mine which paid no rent, *equal quantities of gold... the quantity*" (of gold) "indeed would *enlarge with the demand,* but *its value would be invariable*" * (p. 79).

What applies to gold and mines, applies to corn and LAND. Hence if the same types of land continued to be exploited and continued to yield the same product for the same outlay in labour [XII-613], then the *value* of the pound of gold or the quarter of wheat would remain the same, although its quantity would increase with the *demand.* Thus *its rent* (the AMOUNT, not the RATE OF RENT) would also *grow* without any CHANGE in the PRICE OF PRODUCE. More capital would be employed, ALTHOUGH WITH CONSTANTLY UNIFORM PRODUCTIVITY. This is one of the major causes of the rise in the ABSOLUTE AMOUNT of RENT, QUITE APART FROM ANY RISE IN THE PRICE OF PRODUCE, AND, THEREFORE, WITHOUT ANY PROPORTIONAL CHANGE IN THE RENTS PAID BY PRODUCE OF DIFFERENT SOILS AND MINES.

CHAPTER XXIV "Doctrine of Adam Smith concerning the Rent of Land."

This chapter is of great importance for the difference between Ricardo and Adam Smith. We shall postpone a fuller discussion of this (in so far as it affects Adam Smith), to when we consider *ex professo* Adam Smith's doctrine after that of Ricardo.[a]

Ricardo begins by quoting a passage from Adam Smith showing that he correctly determined when the PRICE of the AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE yields a rent and when it does not. But on the other hand Smith thought that SOME PARTS OF THE PRODUCE OF LAND, such as FOOD, must always yield a rent.

In this context Ricardo says the following, which is significant for *him*:

* "I believe that as yet in every country, from the rudest to the most refined, there is land of such a quality that it cannot *yield a produce more than sufficiently valuable* to replace the stock employed upon it, together with the *profits ordinary and usual* in that country. In *America* we all know that this is the case, and yet no one maintains that the principles which regulate rent, are different in that country and in Europe" * (pp. 389-90).

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[a] See this volume, pp. 551-78.—*Ed.*

Indeed, these PRINCIPLES are substantially "DIFFERENT". Where *no landed property* exists—actual or legal—no absolute rent can exist. It is this rent, not differential rent, which is the adequate expression of landed property. To say that *the same* principles regulate rent, where landed property exists and where it does not exist, means that the *economic form of landed property* is independent of whether landed property exists or not.

Besides, what is the meaning of "THERE IS LAND OF SUCH A QUALITY THAT IT CANNOT YIELD A PRODUCE MORE THAN *SUFFICIENTLY VALUABLE* TO REPLACE THE STOCK ... WITH THE ORDINARY PROFITS"? If the same quantity of labour produces 4 qrs, the product is no more VALUABLE than if it produces two, although the VALUE of the individual quarter is in one case twice as great as in the other. Whether or not it yields a rent, is therefore in no way dependent on the magnitude of this "VALUE" of the PRODUCE as such. It can only yield a rent if its value is higher than its cost price, which is regulated by the cost price of all other products or, in other words, by the quota of unpaid labour which is, ON AN AVERAGE, appropriated by a capital of 100 in each TRADE. But whether its value is higher than its cost price is in no way dependent on its absolute size, but on the composition of the capital employed on it, compared with the AVERAGE COMPOSITION of the capital EMPLOYED IN NON-AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY.

* "But if it were true that England had so far advanced in cultivation, that at this time there were no lands remaining which did not afford a rent, it would be equally true, that there formerly must have been such lands; and that whether there be or not, is of no importance to this question, for it is the same thing if there be any capital employed in Great Britain on land which yields only the return of stock with its ordinary profits, whether it be employed on old or on new land. If a farmer agrees for land on a lease of 7 or 14 years, he may propose to employ on it a capital of £10,000, knowing that at the existing price of grain and raw produce, he can replace that part of his stock which he is obliged to expend, pay his rent, and obtain the general rate of profit. He will not employ £11,000, unless the last £1,000 can be employed so productively as to afford him the usual profits of stock. In *his calculation, whether he shall employ it or not, he considers only whether the price of raw produce is sufficient to replace his expenses and profits, for he knows that he shall have no additional rent to pay.* Even at the expiration of his lease his rent will not be raised; for if his landlord should require rent, because this additional £1,000 was employed, he would withdraw it; since, by employing it, he gets, by the supposition, only the ordinary and usual profits which he may obtain by any other employment of stock; and, therefore, he *cannot afford to pay rent for it,* unless the *price of the raw produce should further rise,* or, *which is the same thing,* unless *the usual and general rate of profits should fall*" * (pp. 390-91).

Ricardo admits here that also the worst land *can* bear a rent. How does he explain this? To provide the ADDITIONAL SUPPLY WHICH HAS BECOME NECESSARY IN CONSEQUENCE OF AN ADDITIONAL DEMAND, a second amount of capital is employed on the worst land [XII-614]. This will

only yield the COST PRICE if the price of grain is rising. Hence the first amount would now yield a SURPLUS— =RENT—over and above this COST PRICE. In FACT therefore *before* the second amount is invested the *first amount* of capital yields a rent *on the worst* land, because the market value is above the cost price. Thus the only question is whether, for this to happen, the market value has to be *above* the value of the worst product, or whether on the contrary its *value* is *above* its *cost price,* and the RISE IN PRICE merely enables it to be sold at *its value.*

Furthermore: Why must the *price* be so high that it=the cost price, ADVANCES+AVERAGE PROFIT? Because of the competition of capitals in the different TRADES and the TRANSFER of capital from one TRADE to another. That is, as a result of the action of capital upon capital. But by what action could capital compel landed property to allow the value of the product to fall to the cost price? WITHDRAWAL OF CAPITAL FROM AGRICULTURE cannot have this EFFECT, unless it is accompanied by a FALL OF THE DEMAND FOR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE. It would achieve the reverse, and cause the market price of AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE to rise above its value. TRANSFER OF NEW CAPITAL to land can have as little effect. For it is precisely the competition of capitals amongst themselves which enables the LANDLORD to demand from the individual capitalist that he should be satisfied with "AN AVERAGE PROFIT" and pay over to him the OVERPLUS OF THE VALUE OVER THE PRICE AFFORDING THIS PROFIT.

But, it may be asked: If landed property gives the power to sell the product *above* its cost price, *at* its value, why does it not equally well give the power to sell the product *above* its value, at an arbitrary monopoly price? On a small island, where there is no foreign trade in corn, the corn, FOOD, like every other product, could unquestionably be sold at a monopoly price, that is, at a price only limited by the state of demand, i.e., of *demand backed by ability to pay,* and according to the price level of the product supplied the magnitude and extent of this effective demand can vary greatly.

Leaving out of account exceptions of this kind—which cannot occur in European countries; even in England a large part of the fertile land is *artificially* withdrawn from agriculture and from the market in general, in order to raise the value of the other part—landed property can only affect and paralyse the action of capitals, their competition, in so far as the competition of capitals modifies the determination of the *values of the commodities.* The conversion of values into cost prices is only the consequence and result of the development of capitalist production. Originally

commodities are (on the average) sold at their values. Deviation from this is in agriculture prevented by landed property.

Ricardo says that when a FARMER takes LAND on a lease of 7 or 14 years, he calculates that with a capital investment of, say, £10,000, the *value of the corn* (average market value) permits him to replace his outlay+average profit+the contracted rent. In so far as he takes a "lease" of a piece of land, therefore, his *prius*[a] is the average market value, which is equivalent to the value of the product; profit and rent are only parts into which this value is *resolved*, but they do not constitute it. The *existing market price* is for the capitalist what the presupposed *value* of the product is for the theory and the inner relationships of production. Now to the conclusion which Ricardo draws from this. If the FARMER adds another £1,000, he only considers whether, at the *given market price*, it yields him the USUAL profit. Ricardo therefore seems to think that the *cost price* is the determining factor and that *profit* enters into this cost price as a regulating element, but *rent* does not.

Firstly, profit too does not enter into it as a CONSTITUTIVE ELEMENT. For, according to the assumption, the FARMER takes the MARKET PRICE as his *prius*, and weighs up whether, at this given market price, the £1,000 will yield him the usual profit. This profit is therefore not the CAUSE, but the EFFECT OF THAT PRICE. But—Ricardo continues his train of thought—the investment of the £1,000 itself is determined by the calculation of whether or not the price yields the [usual] profit. Thus the profit is the decisive factor for the investment of the £1,000 and for the price of production.[159]

Furthermore: If the capitalist found that the £1,000 did not yield the USUAL PROFIT, he would not invest it. The production of the ADDITIONAL FOOD would not take place. If it were necessary for the ADDITIONAL DEMAND, then the demand would have to raise the price, i.e., the market price, until it yielded the profit. Thus profit—in contradistinction to rent—enters as a CONSTITUTIVE ELEMENT, not because it creates the *value* of the product, but because the product [XII-615] itself would not be created if its price[b] did not rise high enough to pay the USUAL RATE OF PROFIT as well as the capital expended. In *this* case, however, it is not necessary for it to rise so high as to pay rent. HENCE, THERE EXISTS AN ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RENT AND PROFIT, and in a certain sense, it can be said that profit is A

[a] First consideration, starting-point.—*Ed.*

[b] The manuscript has: "value".—*Ed.*

CONSTITUTIVE ELEMENT OF PRICE, whereas rent is not. (This thought is evidently also at the back of Adam Smith's mind[a]).

In this case, it is correct.

BUT WHY?

Because in *this* case landed property *cannot* confront capital as landed property, thus the very combination [of circumstances] under which rent, absolute rent, is formed, is *not* present—according to the assumption. The ADDITIONAL CORN produced with the second investment of £1,000, provided *the market value remains the same,* in other words when an ADDITIONAL demand arises only *on* the assumption that the *price* remains *the same,* must be sold *below* its value at the cost price. This ADDITIONAL PRODUCE of the £1,000 thus occurs under the same CIRCUMSTANCES as when new worse land is cultivated, which *does not* determine the market value, but can provide the ADDITIONAL SUPPLY only on the condition that it supplies it at the *previously* existing market value, i.e., at a price *determined independently of this new production.* Under these circumstances it depends entirely on the relative fertility of the ADDITIONAL SOIL whether it yields a rent precisely because it does *not* determine the market value. It is just the same with the ADDITIONAL £1,000 on the old land. And for this very reason, Ricardo concludes *conversely,* that the ADDITIONAL land or the ADDITIONAL amount of CAPITAL *determines the market value*[b] because, with a given, quite *independently determined market value,* the price of its product yields not rent, but only profit, and only covers the cost price but not the value of the product. This is a *contradictio in adjecto.*[c]

Nevertheless, the product is produced *in this case,* without yielding rent! CERTAINLY. Landed property as an independent opposing element does not exist *for the* FARMER, i.e., the capitalist, during the period in which the lease in fact makes him the landowner of the land which he has *rented.* Capital moves unimpeded in this element, and capital is satisfied with the cost price of the product. Even when the lease expires, the farmer will naturally make the amount of rent dependent on how far capital investment in the land will supply a product which can be sold at its *value* thus yielding a rent. Capital investment which, with the given *market value,* yields no excess over the cost price, no more enters into the calculation than would the payment of rent—or

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[a] See A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Vol. 1, Edinburgh, London, 1828, pp. 303-04.—*Ed.*

[b] See D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy...,* London, 1821, p. 390 et seq.—*Ed.*

[c] Contradiction in terms.—*Ed.*

contractual undertaking to pay rent—on land whose relative fertility is so low that the market price is merely equal to the cost price.

In practice matters do not always work out in the Ricardian manner. If the farmer possesses some SPARE CAPITAL or acquires some during the first years of a LEASE of 14 years, he does not demand the *USUAL PROFIT*, unless he has borrowed ADDITIONAL CAPITAL. For what is he to do with the SPARE CAPITAL? Conclude a new lease for additional land? AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION favours to a much higher degree more intensive capital investment, than a more extensive cultivation of land with a larger capital. Moreover, if no land could be leased in the IMMEDIATE VICINITY of the old land, 2 FARMS would split up the farmer's work of SUPERINTENDING them to a much greater extent than 6 factories would split up the work of one capitalist in manufacture. Or should he invest the money with the bank, for interest, in government bonds, railway shares, etc.? Then, from the outset, he forgoes AT LEAST a half or $^1/_3$ of the USUAL PROFIT. Hence if he can invest it as ADDITIONAL CAPITAL on the old farm, even below the AVERAGE [rate of] PROFIT, say at 10%, if his profit=12%, then, he will still be gaining 100%, if the rate of interest is 5%. It is, therefore, still a profitable speculation for him to invest the ADDITIONAL £1,000 [XII-616] in the old FARM.

Hence it is quite wrong for Ricardo to identify this investment of ADDITIONAL CAPITAL with the APPLICATION OF ADDITIONAL CAPITAL TO NEW SOILS.[a] In the first case, the product does not have to yield the USUAL PROFIT, even in capitalist production. It must only yield as much above the USUAL RATE OF INTEREST as will make WORTH WHILE THE TROUBLE AND RISK OF THE FARMER TO PREFER THE INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT OF HIS SPARE CAPITAL TO ITS EMPLOYMENT AS "MONIED" CAPITAL.

But the following conclusion which Ricardo draws from this observation is, as has been shown, quite absurd.

> * "If the comprehensive mind of A. Smith had been directed to this fact, he would not have maintained that rent forms *one of the component parts of the price of raw produce*; for price is everywhere *regulated* by the return of this last portion of capital, for which no rent whatever is paid" * (p. 391).

His illustration proves just the *reverse*: THAT THE APPLICATION TO LAND OF THIS LAST PORTION OF CAPITAL HAS BEEN REGULATED BY A *MARKET PRICE*, INDEPENDENT OF THAT APPLICATION, EXISTING BEFORE IT TOOK PLACE, AND, THEREFORE ALLOWING NO RENT, BUT ONLY PROFIT. That profit is the only regulator for capitalist production is quite true. And it is therefore true that no

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[a] See D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy...*, London, 1821, p. 390 et seq.—*Ed.*

absolute rent would exist if production were regulated *solely* by capital. It arises precisely at the point where the conditions of production enable the landowner to set up barriers against the EXCLUSIVE REGULATION OF PRODUCTION BY CAPITAL.

Secondly, Ricardo reproaches Adam Smith (p. 391, et seq.) for developing the correct principles of rent with regard to COAL MINES; [he] even says:

* "The whole principle of rent is here admirably and perspicuously explained, but every word is as applicable to land as it is to mines; yet he affirms that 'it is otherwise in estates above ground'," * etc. (p. 392).

Adam Smith senses that, under CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES, the LANDLORD has the power to offer effective resistance to capital, to bring landed property into play, and thus to demand absolute rent, though, under different circumstances, he does not possess this power; that in particular however the production of FOOD establishes the law of rent, whereas IN OTHER APPLICATIONS OF CAPITAL TO LAND, the rent is determined by the agricultural rent.

* "The proportion,[a] both of their produce and of their rent, is in proportion" * (says Adam Smith) * "to their *absolute*, and no to their *relative* fertility" * (p. 392).

In his reply, Ricardo comes closest to the real principle of rent. He says:

* "But, suppose that *there were no land which did not afford a rent*; then, *the amount of rent on the worst land would be in proportion to the excess of the* value of the produce *above the expenditure of capital and the ordinary profits of stock*; the same principle would govern the rent of land of a somewhat better quality, or more favourably situated, and, therefore, the rent of this land would exceed the rent of that inferior to it, by the superior advantages which it possessed; the same might be said of that of the third quality, and so on to the very best. Is it not, then, as certain, that it is the *relative fertility of the land*, which determines the portion of the produce, which shall be paid for the rent of land, as it is that the *relative fertility of mines*, determines the portion of their produce, which shall be paid for the rent of mines?" * (pp. 392-93).

Here Ricardo formulates the correct principle of rent. If the worst land pays a rent, if therefore rent is paid independently of the different NATURAL FERTILITY OF THE SOILS—ABSOLUTE RENT—then this rent must="THE EXCESS OF THE *VALUE* OF THE PRODUCE *ABOVE* THE EXPENDITURE OF CAPITAL AND THE ORDINARY PROFITS OF STOCK", THAT IS TO SAY, it must=THE EXCESS OF THE *VALUE* OF THE PRODUCE *ABOVE* ITS COST PRICE. Ricardo presupposes that such an EXCESS cannot exist, because, in contradiction to his own principles, he wrongly accepts the Smithian doctrine [XII-617] that VALUE=COST PRICE OF THE PRODUCE.

As for the rest, he falls again into error.

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[a] Smith has "value".—*Ed.*

Differential rent would of course be determined by the "RELATIVE FERTILITY". Absolute rent would have nothing to do with the "NATURAL FERTILITY".

Smith however would indeed be right when he asserts that the *actual* rent paid by the worst land *may* depend on the ABSOLUTE FERTILITY of the other SOILS and the RELATIVE FERTILITY of the worst soil, or on the ABSOLUTE FERTILITY of the worst soil and the RELATIVE FERTILITY of the other soils.

For the ACTUAL AMOUNT OF RENT paid by the worst land depends not, as Ricardo thinks, on the EXCESS OF THE *VALUE* OF ITS OWN PRODUCE OVER ITS COST PRICE, but on the EXCESS OF THE *MARKET VALUE* OVER ITS COST PRICE. But these are very different things. If the MARKET PRICE were determined by the *product of the worst land*, then the MARKET VALUE would be=to ITS REAL VALUE, HENCE, THE EXCESS OF ITS MARKET VALUE OVER ITS COST PRICE would be=to THE EXCESS OF ITS OWN INDIVIDUAL value, ITS REAL VALUE, OVER ITS COST PRICE. But this is not the case if quite irrespective of this product the market price is determined by the other types of land. Ricardo assumes a DESCENDING LINE. He assumes that the worst land is cultivated *last* and is only cultivated (in the case postulated), when the ADDITIONAL DEMAND HAS NECESSITATED AN ADDITIONAL SUPPLY AT THE VALUE OF THE PRODUCE DERIVED FROM THE WORST AND LAST CULTIVATED SOIL. In this case the value of the worst land regulates the market value. In the ASCENDING LINE (even according to him) this will only occur when the ADDITIONAL SUPPLY of the better sorts of land only=the ADDITIONAL DEMAND at the old market value. If the ADDITIONAL SUPPLY is greater, Ricardo assumes that the old land must be thrown *out of cultivation*, but it only follows from this that it will yield a *lower rent* than before (or no rent at all). The same happens in the DESCENDING LINE. Whether, and to what extent, the worse land yields rent, if the ADDITIONAL SUPPLY can only be provided at the *old market value*, depends on how much this market value stands above or below the value of the product of the new, worse land. In both cases its rent is determined by the *absolute* fertility, not the relative fertility. It depends on the absolute fertility of the new land how far the MARKET VALUE of the PRODUCE of better lands stands *above* its own REAL, INDIVIDUAL VALUE.

Adam Smith makes a correct distinction here between LAND and MINES, because with the latter he presupposes that there is *never* a transition to worse sorts—always to *better* ones—and that [they] always provide more than the necessary ADDITIONAL SUPPLY. The rent of the worst land is then dependent on its ABSOLUTE FERTILITY.

* "After Adam Smith has declared that there are some mines *which can only be worked by the owners*, as they will afford only sufficient to defray the expense of

working, together with the ordinary profits of the capital employed, *we should expect that he would admit that it was these particular mines which regulated the price of the produce from* all *mines.* If the old mines are insufficient to supply the quantity of coal required, the *price of coal will rise,* and will continue rising till the owner of a new and inferior mine finds that he can obtain the usual profits of stock by working the mine.... It appears, then, that *it is always the least fertile mine which regulates the price of coal.* Adam Smith, however, is of a different opinion: he observes that 'the most fertile coal-mine, too, regulates the price of coals at all the other mines in its neighbourhood. Both the proprietor and the undertaker of the work find, the one that he can get a greater rent, the other, that he can get a greater profit, by somewhat underselling all their neighbours. Their neighbours are soon obliged to sell *at the same price,* though they cannot so well afford it, and though it always diminishes, and sometimes takes away altogether, both their rent and their profit. Some works are abandoned altogether; others can afford no rent, *and can be wrought only by the proprietor*'. If the demand for coal should be [XII-617a][160] diminished, or if by new processes the quantity should be increased, the *price would fall,* and some mines would be *abandoned;* but in *every case,* the *price must be sufficient* to *pay the expenses and profit of that mine which is worked without being charged with rent.* It is, *therefore,* the least fertile mine which regulates price. Indeed, it is so stated in another place by Adam Smith himself, for he says:

'*The lowest price* at which coals can be *sold* for any considerable time, is like that of all other commodities, the price which is barely sufficient to replace, together with its ordinary profits, the stock which must be employed in bringing them to market. At a *coal-mine for which the landlord can get no rent,* but which he must either work himself, or let it alone all together, *the price of coals must generally be nearly about this price*'"* (pp. 393-95).

Adam Smith is mistaken when he declares the particular COMBINATION of the market, under which the most fertile mine (or land) dominates the market, to be the *rule.* But provided such a case is assumed his reasoning is correct (on the whole) and Ricardo's wrong. Adam Smith presupposes that as a result of the STATE OF DEMAND and because of its RELATIVE SUPERIOR FERTILITY, the best mine can only force the whole of its product on to the market if it undersells its competitors, if its product is *below* the old market value. This causes the price to fall for the worse mines too. The market price falls. This in any case *lowers the rent* on worse mines and can even make it disappear completely. For the rent is equal to the EXCESS OF MARKET VALUE OVER COST PRICE OF THE PRODUCE, WHETHER THAT MARKET VALUE BE=THE INDIVIDUAL VALUE OF THE PRODUCE OF A CERTAIN CLASS [of land], OR MINES, OR NOT. What Smith fails to notice, is that the profit can only be diminished by this in case WITHDRAWAL OF CAPITAL AND DIMINUTION OF THE AMOUNT OF PRODUCTION BECOMES NECESSARY. If the market price—regulated, as it is UNDER THE GIVEN CIRCUMSTANCES, BY THE PRODUCE OF THE BEST MINES—falls SO LOW AS TO AFFORD NO EXCESS ABOVE COST PRICE FOR THE PRODUCE OF THE WORST MINE, then it can be worked only by its owner. At this market price, no capitalist will pay him a rent. His ownership of land does not, in this case, give him power over capital, but as far as

he is concerned it annuls the resistance which other capitalists meet who wish to APPLY CAPITAL TO LAND. Landed property does not *exist* for him because he himself is the landed proprietor. Hence he can use his LAND as a mine, or in any OTHER TRADE, i.e., he can employ it if the market price, which he *finds* predetermined and does not determine himself—if the market price of the product YIELDS him the AVERAGE PROFIT, that is, his *cost price.*

And from this Ricardo concludes that Smith contradicts himself! Because the old market price determines how far new mines can be opened up by their owners—in other words they can be worked in circumstances where landed property disappears, since at the old market price they yield their cultivators the *cost price*—he concludes that this cost price determines the market price! But again he takes refuge in the DESCENDING LINE and allows the less fertile mine to be cultivated only when the market price of the product rises above the value of the product of the better mines, whereas it is only necessary that it rises *above* the cost price or even that it pays the cost price in the case of the worse mines exploited by their PROPRIETORS themselves.

Incidentally, his assumption that * "if by new processes the quantity" (of coal) "should be increased, the *price would fall,* and *some mines would be abandoned*" * (p. 394), depends only on the DEGREE OF THE FALL IN PRICE and the STATE OF DEMAND. If, with this fall of PRICES, the market can absorb the whole product, then the bad mines will still yield a rent provided the FALL OF MARKET PRICE still leaves AN EXCESS OF MARKET VALUE OVER THE COST PRICE OF the poorer MINES, and [the mines will] be worked by their owners, if the MARKET VALUE ONLY COVERS, or is ADEQUATE TO, THIS COST PRICE. In either case, however, [it is] absurd to say that the COST PRICE of the worst mine REGULATES THE MARKET PRICE. Although THE COST PRICE OF THE WORST MINE determines the relation OF THE PRICE OF ITS PRODUCE TO THE REGULATING MARKET PRICE, AND *THEREFORE* DECIDES THE QUESTION WHETHER OR NOT [XII-618] the mine CAN BE WORKED. But the fact that a piece of land or a mine of a particular DEGREE OF FERTILITY can be exploited at a *given market price,* is obviously not related to or identical with the determination of the market price by the COST PRICE of the PRODUCE of these mines. If an *increased market value* would make an *ADDITIONAL SUPPLY* necessary or possible then the worst land would regulate the market value, but then it would also yield absolute rent. This is the exact *opposite* of the case assumed by Adam Smith.

Thirdly, Ricardo reproaches Smith for believing (p. 395 et seq.) that CHEAPNESS OF RAW PRODUCE, for instance substitution of potatoes for corn, which would lower the wage and DIMINISH the COST OF

PRODUCTION, would cause A LARGER SHARE AS WELL AS A LARGER QUANTITY to fall to the LANDLORD. Ricardo on the other hand [maintains that]:

*"No part of that additional proportion would go to rent, but the whole invariably to profits—while lands of the same quality were cultivated, and there was no alteration in their relative fertility or advantages, *rent would always bear the same proportion to the gross produce*"* (p. 396).

This is POSITIVELY wrong. RENT WOULD FALL IN SHARE, AND, THEREFORE, *RELATIVELY* IN QUANTITY. The introduction of potatoes as the principal means of subsistence, would reduce the value of labour capacity, shorten the necessary labour time, increase the surplus labour time and therefore the *rate* of surplus value, HENCE—other circumstances remaining the same—the composition of the capital would be altered, the value of the variable part would diminish in comparison with that of the constant part, although the *quantity* of living labour employed remained the same. The *rate of profit* would therefore rise. In this case [there would be] a fall in absolute rent and proportionately in differential rent. (See page 610 Table C.)[a] This factor would affect equally AGRICULTURAL and NON-AGRICULTURAL capital. The general rate of profit would rise and the rent would *consequently* fall.

*CHAPTER XXVIII. "On the comparative Value of Gold, Corn, and Labour, in Rich and Poor Countries."

"Dr. Smith's error, throughout his whole work, lies in supposing that the value of corn is constant; that though the value of all other things may, the value of corn never can be raised. Corn, according to him, is always of the same value because it will always feed the same number of people. In the same manner, it might be said, that cloth is always of the same value, because it will always make the same number of coats. What can value have to do with the power of feeding and clothing?" (p. 449-50).

"...Dr. Smith ... has so ably supported the doctrine of the natural price of commodities ultimately regulating their market price" (p. 451).

"...estimated in corn, gold may be of very different value in two countries. I have endeavoured to show that it will be low in rich countries, and high in poor countries; Adam Smith is of a different opinion: he thinks that the value of gold, estimated in corn, is highest in rich countries" (p. 454).

Chapter XXXII. "Mr. Malthus's Opinions on Rent."

"Rent is a creation of value ... but not a creation of wealth"[161] (p. 485).

"In speaking of the high price of corn, Mr. Malthus evidently does not mean the price per quarter or per bushel, but rather the excess of price for which the whole produce will sell, above the cost of its production, including always in the term 'cost of its production', profits as well as wages. One hundred and fifty qrs of corn at £3 10s. per qr, would yield a larger rent to the landlord than 100 qrs at £4, provided the cost of production were in both cases the same" (p. 487). "Whatever the nature of the land may be, high rent must depend on the high price of the

[a] See the insertion between pages 536 and 537.—*Ed.*

produce; but, given the high price, rent must be high in proportion to abundance and not to scarcity" (p. 492).

"As rent is the effect of the high price of corn, the loss of rent is the effect of a low price. Foreign corn never enters into competition with such home corn as affords a rent; the fall of price invariably affects the landlord till the whole of his rent is absorbed;—if it falls still more, the price will not even afford the common profits of stock; capital will then quit the land for some other employment, and the corn, which was before grown upon it, will then, and not till then, be imported. From the loss of rent, there will be a loss of value, of estimated money value, but, there will be a gain of wealth. The amount of the raw produce and other productions together will be increased; from the greater facility with which they are produced, they will, though augmented in quantity, be diminished in value" * (p. 519).

### [XII-619] ADAM SMITH'S THEORY OF RENT

At this stage we shall not examine Smith's interesting account of how the rent of the principal vegetable food dominates all other STRICTLY AGRICULTURAL RENTS (stock raising, timber, industrial crops), because each of these branches of production can be transformed into one another. Adam Smith excludes rice from this, wherever it is the PRINCIPAL VEGETABLE MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE, since rice fields (or bogs) are not CONVERTIBLE into grass land, wheat lands, etc., and vice versa.

Adam Smith correctly defines *rent* as "the price paid for *the use of land*" ([Garnier, t.] I, [p.] 299) [Vol. I, p. 237],[14] the term land is intended to mean every power of nature as such, therefore also water, etc.

In contrast to Rodbertus' peculiar notion,[162] Smith, from the outset, enumerates the ITEMS of AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL:

"The stock from which he furnishes the seed" (the raw material), "pays the labour, and purchases and maintains the cattle and other *instruments* of husbandry" (l.c.).

Now what is this price paid for the use of land?

"Whatever part of the produce or of its price, is over and above this share" //which pays for the capital advanced "together with the ordinary profits"//, "the *landlord* naturally endeavours to reserve to himself as the *rent* of his land" ([Garnier,] l.c., [p.] 300) [Vol. I, pp. 238-39]. This *excess* may "be considered as the *natural rent* of land" ([Garnier, p.] 300) [Vol. I, p. 239].

Smith refuses to confuse rent with the interest on capital invested in the land.

"The landlord demands a rent even for unimproved land" ([Garnier,] pp. 300-01) [Vol. I, p. 239].

and, he adds, even this second form of rent[a] is peculiar in that the interest from the capital used on improvement is interest on a

[a] The rent on the improved land.—*Ed.*

capital which has not been laid out by the landlord, but by the FARMER.

"He" (the landlord) "sometimes demands rent for what is altogether incapable of human improvements" ([Garnier,] p. 301) [Vol. I, p. 240].

Smith stresses very strongly that it is *landed property*, the *landlord*, who as *landlord* "demands the rent".[a] [Regarded] as a mere effluence of *landed property*, rent is *monopoly price*, this is perfectly correct, since it is only the intervention of landed property which enables the product to be sold for more than the cost price, to be sold at its value.

"The rent of land considered as the price paid for the use of the land, is naturally a monopoly price" ([Garnier,] p. 302) [Vol. I, p. 240].

It is in fact a price which is only enforced through the monopoly of landed property, and as a monopoly price, it differs from the price of the INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS.

From the standpoint of capital—and capital dominates production—the *cost price* only requires that the product should pay the AVERAGE PROFIT in addition to the capital advanced. In this case, the product, be it product of the land or any other product, *can "be brought to market"*.

"If the ordinary price is more than this, the *surplus* part of it will naturally go to the rent of the land. If it is not more, though the commodity *may* be brought to market, it can afford no rent to the landlord. Whether the price is, or is not more, depends upon the demand" ([Garnier, t.] I, p [p. 302-]303) [Vol. I, p. 241]).

Why does rent enter into price differently from wages and profit? That is the question. Originally, Smith had resolved value correctly, into wages, profits and rents (apart from constant capital). But almost at once he takes the opposite course and identifies value with natural price (the average price determined by competition or the cost price of the commodities) and builds up the latter from wages, profit and rent.

"These three parts seem either immediately or ultimately to make up the whole price" ([Garnier, t.] I, l. I, ch. VI, p. 101) [Vol. I, p. 86].

"In the most improved societies, however, there are always a few commodities of which the price resolves itself *into two parts only*, the *wages of labour and the profits of stock*; and a still smaller number, in which *it consists altogether in the wages of labour*. In the price of sea-fish, for example, one part pays the labour of the fishermen, and the other the profits of the capital employed in the fishery. *Rent* very seldom makes any part [XII-620] of it.... In some parts of Scotland, a few poor people make a trade of gathering, along the sea-shore, those little variegated stones commonly known by the name of *Scotch pebbles*. The price which is paid to

[a] Here and below Marx uses French words and expressions while commenting on Smith's views.— *Ed.*

them by the *stone-cutter*, is altogether the *wages of their labour; neither rent nor profit makes any part of it.*

"But the *whole price of any commodity* must still finally resolve itself *into some one or other or all of those three parts*" ([Garnier, t.] I, l. I, ch. VI, pp. 103-04) [Vol. I, pp. 88-89].

In these passages, the resolving of value into wages, etc. and the compounding of price from wages, etc., are jumbled together (this applies to Chapter VI in general which deals with "the Component Parts of the Price of Commodities"). (Natural price and market price are for the first time discussed in Chapter VII).

*Book I, Chapters I, II, III* deal with the "division of labour", Chapter IV with money. In these, as in the following chapters, *value* is determined in passing. *Chapter V* deals with the *real* and *nominal price* of commodities, with the transformation of *value into price*; *Chapter VI*, "the Component Parts of the Price of Commodities"; the *natural and market price* in *Chapter VII.* Then *Chapter VIII* deals with the wages, *Chapter IX* with the profits of stock; *Chapter X* with the *Wages and Profit in the Different Employments of Labour and Stock*; finally, *Chapter XI* with the *Rent of Land.*

But in this connection we want first to draw attention to the following: According to the passages cited above, there are commodities whose *price* consists solely of wages, others, whose price consists only of wages and profit, and finally a third group of commodities, whose price consists of wages, profit and rent. Hence:

"The *whole price of any commodity* must still ... resolve itself into *some one or other or all of those three parts.*"

According to this, there would be no grounds for saying that rent enters into price in a different manner from profit and wages, but one could say that rent and profit enter into price in a different way from wages, since the latter always enters [into price], the former not always. *Whence, then, the difference?*

Moreover, Smith should have investigated, whether it is possible that the few commodities which only *comprise wages*, are sold at *their value*, or whether the poor people who gather the Scotch pebbles are not in fact the wage labourers of the *stone-cutters*, who pay them only the usual wages for the commodity, in other words for a *whole working day, which apparently belongs to them.* These people receive only as much as a worker in other TRADES, where *part of the working day* forms profit and belongs not to him but to the capitalist. Smith should have either affirmed this or else asserted that in this case the profit only *seems* to be confounded with wages. He says himself:

"When those three different sorts of revenue belong to different persons, they are readily distinguished; but when they belong to the same, they are sometimes confounded with one another, at least in common language" ([Garnier, t.] I, l. I, ch. VI, p. 106) [Vol. I, p. 90].

He nevertheless works out this problem in the following manner:

If an independent labourer (like those poor people of Scotland) uses only labour (without recourse to capital), if, altogether, he only employs his labour and the elements, then the price resolves itself solely into wages. If he employs a small capital as well, then the same individual receives wages and profit. If, finally, he employs his labour, his capital and his landed property, then he unites in his person the characters of landowner, farmer and worker.

//The whole absurdity of Smith's approach comes to light in one of the final passages of Chapter VI, Book I:

"As in a civilised country there are but few commodities of which the *exchangeable value* arises *from labour only*" (here labour is identified with *wages*) "*rent* and *profit* contributing largely to that of the far greater part of them, so the *annual produce of its labour*" //here, after all, the commodities=the *produce of labour*, although the whole value of this produce does not arise from labour only// "will always be sufficient *to purchase or command a much greater quantity of labour than what was employed in raising, preparing, and bringing that produce to market*" ([Garnier,] l.c., I, pp. 108-09) [Vol. I, p. 92].

The produce of *labour* [is] not=the *value* of this produce. On the contrary (one may gather) this value is *increased* by the addition of profit and rent. The produce of labour can therefore command, purchase, more labour, i.e., pay a greater value in labour than the labour contained in it. This proposition would be correct if it ran like this:

[XII-621] *Smith says*:

"As in a civilised country there are but few commodities of which the *exchangeable value* arises *from labour only*, rent and profit *contributing* largely to that of the far greater part of them, so the annual produce of its labour will always be sufficient to purchase or command a much greater *quantity of labour* than *what was employed in raising, preparing, and bringing that produce to market.*"

*According to him himself, it should read*:

"As in a civilised country there are but few commodities of which the *exchangeable value* resolves itself into *wages* only and since, for a greater part of them, this value largely *resolves* itself into rent and profit, so the annual produce of its labour will always be sufficient to purchase or command a much greater *quantity of labour* than what had to be *paid*" (and therefore employed) "in raising, preparing, and bringing that produce to market".[a]

[a] Quotation from Smith and Marx's comment on it are in French in the manuscript.— *Ed.*

Here Smith returns again to his 2nd conception of value, a concept of which he writes the following in the same chapter:

"The real value of all the different component parts of price, it must be observed, is measured by the *quantity of labour which they can, each of them, purchase or command.* Labour" (in this sense) "measures the value, not only of that part of price which *resolves* itself into *labour*" //should read: into wages// "but of that which *resolves itself* into *rent*, and of that which *resolves itself* into *profit*" ([Garnier,] I, l. I, ch. VI, p. 100) [Vol. I, p. 86].

(In Chapter VI, the "resolution of *value* into wages, profit and rent" is still dominant. It is only in Chapter VII, on the natural price and market price, that the compounding of the price from these constituent elements wins the upper hand.)

Hence: The *exchangeable value of the annual product of labour* consists not only of the wages of the labour employed in order to bring forth this product, but also of profit and rent. This labour however is only *commanded* or *purchased* with that part of the value which resolves into wages. It is thus possible to set into motion a much larger amount of labour, if a part of the profit and rent is used to command or purchase labour, i.e., if it is converted into wages. So it amounts to this: the exchangeable value of the annual product of labour resolves itself into *paid labour* (wages) and *unpaid labour* (profit and rent). If therefore a part of that part of the value which resolves itself into unpaid labour is converted into wages, one can purchase a greater quantity of labour than if one merely assigns that part of the value which consists of wages, to the purchase of new labour.//

Let us go back then:

"An independent labourer,[a] who has *stock enough* both to purchase materials, and to maintain himself till he can carry his work to market, should gain both the *wages of a journeyman* who works under a *master*, and the profit which that master makes by the sale of that journeyman's work. His whole gains, however, are commonly called *profit*, and wages are in this case too, confounded with profit.

"A gardener who cultivates his own garden with his own hands, unites in his own person the *three different characters of landlord, farmer, and labourer.* His produce, therefore, should pay him the rent of the first, the profit of the second, and the wages of the third. The whole, however, is commonly considered as the *earnings of his labour.* Both rent and profit are, in this case, confounded with wages" ([Garnier,] I, l. I, ch. VI, p. 108) [Vol. I, pp. 91-92].

This is indeed confounded. Is not the *whole* "the earnings of his labour"? And are not, on the contrary, the conditions of capitalist production—in which, with the separation of labour from its objective conditions, the worker, capitalist and landowner confront one another as three different characters too—transferred to this

[a] Smith has "manufacturer".—*Ed.*

gardener, so that the product of his labour OR RATHER THE VALUE OF THAT PRODUCE IS REGARDED, PART OF IT AS WAGES, IN PAYMENT OF HIS LABOUR, PART OF IT AS PROFIT, ON ACCOUNT OF THE CAPITAL EMPLOYED, AND PART OF IT AS RENT, AS THE PORTION FALLING DUE TO THE LAND OR RATHER THE PROPRIETOR OF THE LAND? *Within* capitalist production it is quite correct, when considering those working conditions in which these elements are *not* separated (in actual fact), to assume them to be separated and so to regard this gardener as his own [XII-622] journeyman and as his own landowner in *una persona.*[a] The vulgar conception however that wages arise from labour, but profit and rent—independently of the labour of the worker—arise out of capital and LAND as separate sources, not for the appropriation of alien labour, but of wealth itself, evidently creeps into Adam Smith's writing already at this stage. In this fantastic fashion, the profoundest concepts intermingle with the craziest notions, such as the common mind forms in an abstract manner from the phenomena of competition.

Having first *resolved* value into wages, profits, rents, he then on the contrary *compounds* value out of wages, profit and rent, whose magnitudes are determined independently of value. Since Adam Smith has thus forgotten the origin of profit and rent correctly explained by himself, he is able to say:

"Wages, profit, and rent, are the *three original sources of all revenue,* as well as *of all exchangeable value*" ([Garnier,] I. l. I, ch. VI, p. 105) [Vol. I, p. 89].

In accordance with his own explanation, he should have said:

"The *value* of a commodity arises exclusively out of the labour (the amount of labour) which is embodied in this commodity. This value resolves itself into wages, profit and rent. Wages, profit and rent are the original forms in which the worker, the capitalist and the landlord participate in the value created by the labour of the worker. In this sense they are the three original *sources* of all *revenue,* although none of these so-called sources enters into the formation of the value."

From the passages quoted it can be seen how in Chapter VI, on the "*Component Parts of the Price of Commodities*", Adam Smith arrives at the resolution of price into wages, where only (IMMEDIATE) labour enters into the production; into wages and profit, where, instead of the INDEPENDENT WORKMAN, a journeyman is employed by a capitalist (i.e., capital); and finally into wages, profit and rent, where "land" enters into the production besides capital and labour. In this latter case, however, it is assumed that the land is appropriated, that consequently alongside the worker and the capitalist, there is also a landowner (although he notes that it is possible for all 3 or two of these characters to be united in one person).

[a] In one person.—*Ed.*

In *Chapter VII*, on *natural price* and *market price*, rent (where land enters into the production) is presented as a *partie constituante* of the natural price in exactly the same way as wages and profit. The following passages will show this (Book I, *Chapter VII*):

"When the price of any commodity is neither more nor less than what is sufficient to pay the rent of the land, *the wages of the labour*, and the *profits of the stock* employed in raising, preparing, and bringing it to market, according to their *natural* rates, the commodity is then sold for what may be called *its natural price*. The commodity is then sold *precisely* for *what it is worth*" ([Garnier,] I, p. 111) [Vol. I, pp. 93-94]. (At the same time, it is stated here that the natural price is identical with the value of the commodity.)

"The *market price* of every particular commodity is regulated by the proportion between the quantity which is actually brought to market, and the demand of those who are willing to pay the *natural price* of the commodity, or the *whole value of the rent*, profit and wages[a] *which must be paid in order to bring it thither*" ([Garnier,] I, p. 112) [Vol. I, p. 95.]

"When the quantity of any commodity which is brought to market *falls short of* the effectual demand, all those who are willing to pay the *whole value* of the rent, *wages, and profit*, which must be paid in order to bring it thither, cannot be supplied with the quantity which they want ... the *market price* will rise more or less *above* the *natural price*, according as either the *greatness of the deficiency*, or the *wealth* and wanton luxury of the competitors, happen to animate more or less the eagerness of the competition" ([Garnier,] I, p. 113) [Vol. I, p. 95].

"When the quantity brought to market exceeds the effectual demand, it cannot be all sold to those who are willing to pay the whole value of the rent, wages, and profit, which must be paid in order to bring it thither.... The *market price* will sink more or less below the *natural price*, according as the greatness of the excess increases more or less the competition of the sellers, or according as it happens to be more or less important to them to get immediately rid of the commodity" ([Garnier,] I, p. 114) [Vol. I, p. 96].

"When the quantity brought to market is just sufficient to supply the effectual demand, and no more, the *market price* naturally comes to be ... exactly ... the same with the *natural price*.... The competition of the different dealers obliges them all to accept of this price, but does not oblige them to accept of less" ([Garnier,] I, pp. 114-15) [Vol. I, pp. 96-97].

[XII-623] IF, IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE STATE OF THE MARKET, HIS RENT SINKS BELOW, OR RISES ABOVE, ITS NATURAL rate, Adam Smith allows the landowner to *WITHDRAW HIS LAND* OR TRANSFER IT *FROM THE PRODUCTION OF ONE COMMODITY* (such AS WHEAT) TO THAT OF *ANOTHER* (such AS PASTURE FOR INSTANCE).

"If at any time it" (the quantity brought to market) "exceeds the effectual demand, some of the component parts of its price must be paid below their *natural price*.[b] If it is rent, the interest of the landlords will immediately prompt them *to withdraw a part of their land*" ([Garnier,] I, p. 115) [Vol. I, p. 97].

"If, on the contrary, the quantity brought to market should at any time *fall short of the effectual demand* some of the component parts of its price must rise above

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[a] Smith has "the rent, labour, and profit".— *Ed.*

[b] Smith has "rate".— *Ed.*

their *natural* rate. If it is rent, the interest of all other landlords will naturally prompt them to prepare more land for the raising of this commodity" ([Garnier,] I, p. 116) [Vol. I, p. 97].

"The occasional and temporary fluctuations in the *market price* of any commodity fall chiefly upon those parts of its price which resolve themselves into wages and profit. That part which resolves itself into rent is less affected by them" ([Garnier,] I, pp. 118-19) [Vol. I, p. 99].

"The *price of monopoly* is upon every occasion the highest which can be got. The *natural price*, or the price of free competition, on the contrary, is the lowest which can be taken, not upon every occasion indeed, but for any considerable time together" ([Garnier,] I, p. 124) [Vol. I, pp. 103-04].

"The *market price* of any particular commodity, though it may continue long above, can seldom continue long below, its *natural price. Whatever part of it was paid below the natural rate*, the persons whose interest it affected would immediately feel the loss, and would *immediately withdraw* either *so much land*, or so much labour, or so much stock, from being employed about it, that the quantity brought to market would soon be no more than sufficient to supply the effectual demand. Its *market price*, therefore, would soon rise to the *natural price*; this at least would be the case where there was perfect liberty" ([Garnier,] I, p. 125) [Vol. I, pp. 104-05].

After this exposition of the subject in Chapter VII, it is very difficult to see how Adam Smith can justify his proposition in Book I, Chapter XI, "*Of the Rent of Land*", that rent does not always enter into price where appropriated land enters into production; how he can differentiate between the manner in which rent enters into price from that in which profit and wages enter into it, since in chapters VI and VII he has turned rent into a *partie constituante* of the *natural price*, in just the same way as profit and wages. Now let us return to this Chapter XI (Book I).

We have seen that there rent is defined as the SURPLUS which remains from the *price of the product*, after the expenses of the CAPITALIST (FARMER)+THE AVERAGE PROFIT have been paid.

In this Chapter XI, Smith makes a complete turn-about. Rent no longer enters into the *natural price*. Or, rather, Adam Smith takes refuge in an *ordinary price* which is *normaliter*[a] different from the natural price, although we were told in Chapter VII, that the ordinary price can never, for any length of time, *be below* the natural price and that none of the component parts of the natural price can for any length of time, be paid below its natural rate and even less, not paid at all, as he now asserts in relation to rent. Neither does Adam Smith tell us whether the produce is sold *below its value* when it pays no rent, or whether it is sold *above* its value, when it pays rent.

Previously, the *natural price* of the commodity was

"*the whole value of the rent, profit and wages which must be paid in order to bring it thither*" to market [Garnier], I, p. 112) [Vol. I, p. 95].

[a] as a rule.—*Ed.*

Now we are told that:

"Such parts *only* of the produce of land *can commonly be brought to market*, of which the *ordinary price* is sufficient *to replace the stock which must be employed in bringing them thither, together with its ordinary profits*" ([Garnier,] pp. 302-03) [Vol. I, p. 241].

The *ordinary price* is therefore not the *natural price*, and the natural price need not be paid, in order to bring these commodities to market.

[XII-624] Previously we were told that if the *ordinary price* (that time, the *market price*) were not sufficient to pay the *whole rent* (the whole value of the rent, etc.), land will be withdrawn until the market price rises to the level of the natural price and pays the whole rent. Now, on the other hand:

"If the *ordinary price is more than this*" (sufficient to replace the stock together with its ordinary profits), "the *surplus* part of it will naturally go to the rent of the land. If it is not more, though the *commodity may be brought to market*, it can afford no rent to the landlord. Whether the price is, or is not more, depends upon the demand" ([Garnier,] I, l. I, ch. XI, p. 303) [Vol. I, p. 241].

Thus rent, from being a component part of the *natural price*, suddenly turns into a SURPLUS over the *sufficient price*, a surplus whose existence or non-existence depends on the STATE OF DEMAND. But the *sufficient price* is that price which is required for the commodity to appear on the market, and therefore to be produced, thus it is the *price of production* of the commodity. For the price which is required for the SUPPLY of the commodity, the price which is required for it to come into existence at all, to appear as a commodity on the market, IS OF COURSE its *price of production* or *cost price*. That [is] *sine qua non* of the existence of the commodity. On the other hand the demand for certain products of the land must always be such that their *ordinary price* pays a surplus over and above the price of production, that is, a rent. For others it may or may not be so.

"There are some parts of the produce of land for which the demand must always be such as to afford a greater price than what is sufficient to bring them to market; and there are others for which it either may or may not be such as to *afford* this *prix suffisant*.[a] The former must always afford a rent to the landlord. The latter sometimes may, and sometimes may not, according to different circumstances" ([Garnier,] l.c., l. I, p. 303) [Vol. I, p. 241].

So, instead of the *natural price* we have the *sufficient price* here. The *ordinary price*, in turn, is different from this *sufficient price*. The ordinary price, if it *includes* the rent, is *above* the sufficient price. If it does not comprise rent it is *equal* to the sufficient price. It is even characteristic of the *sufficient price that rent is excluded.*

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[a] Sufficient price.— *Ed.*

The ordinary price is *below* the sufficient price, when it does not pay the AVERAGE PROFIT, in addition to replacing the capital. Thus the *sufficient price* is in fact the *price of production* or *cost price* as abstracted by Ricardo from Adam Smith and as it indeed presents itself from the standpoint of capitalist production, in other words the price which, apart from the outlay of the capitalist, pays the ordinary profit; [it is] the average price brought about by the competition of capitalists in the DIFFERENT EMPLOYMENTS OF CAPITAL. It is this abstraction from competition which induces Adam Smith to confront his *natural price* with the *sufficient price,* although in his presentation of the natural price he on the contrary declares that in the long run only the ordinary price which pays rent, profit and wages, the component parts of the natural price, is sufficient. Since the capitalist controls the production of commodities, the sufficient price is that which is sufficient for capitalist production from the standpoint of capital and the PRICE which is SUFFICIENT for capital DOES NOT INCLUDE RENT, BUT, ON THE CONTRARY, EXCLUDES IT.

On the other hand: This *SUFFICIENT PRICE* is not SUFFICIENT for some products of the land. For them the *ORDINARY PRICE* must be high enough to yield a SURPLUS over and above the SUFFICIENT PRICE, a rent for the landowner. For others it depends on the circumstances. The contradiction that the SUFFICIENT PRICE is not SUFFICIENT—that the price which suffices to bring the product to market does not suffice to bring it to market—does not worry Adam Smith.

Although he does not turn back, even for one moment, to glance at chapters V, VI and VII, he admits to himself (not as a contradiction, but as a new discovery which he has suddenly hit upon), that with the SUFFICIENT PRICE, he has overthrown his whole doctrine of NATURAL PRICE.

"*Rent,* it is to be *observed,* therefore" (in this extraordinarily naive fashion Adam Smith progresses from an assertion to its very opposite), "enters into the composition *of the price of commodities* in a different way from wages and profit. *High* or *low wages and profit* are the causes *of high or low price* [XII-625]; high or low rent is the **effect** *of it. It is because high or low wages and profit must be paid, in order to bring a particular commodity to market,* that its price is high or low. But it is because *its price is high or low,* a great deal more, or very little more, or *no more, than what is sufficient to pay those wages and profit,* that it affords a high rent, or a low rent, or no rent at all" ([Garnier,] I, pp. 303-04) [Vol. I, pp. 241-42].

Let us take the final proposition first. The *sufficient price,* the cost price, which only pays wages and profit, *excludes rent.* If the product pays *a great deal more than the sufficient price,* then it pays a high rent. If it pays only a little more, then it pays a low rent. If it pays *only exactly the sufficient price,* then it pays *no* rent. It pays *no*

rent if the actual price of the product coincides with the *sufficient price*, which pays profit and wages. Rent is always a SURPLUS over and above the sufficient price. By its very nature, the sufficient price excludes rent. *This is Ricardo's theory.* He accepts the concept of the *sufficient price*, the cost price, from Adam Smith; but avoids Adam Smith's inconsistency of differentiating it from the natural price, and sets it forth consistently. Having committed all these inconsistencies, Smith is sufficiently inconsistent to demand, for certain products of the land, a price which is *higher* than their *sufficient price.* But this inconsistency itself is in turn the result of *a more correct* "OBSERVATION".

The beginning of the passage is truly amazing in its naiveté. In Chapter VII Smith explained that rent, profit and wages enter equally into the *composition of the natural price*, having first turned the *DISSOLUTION OF VALUE* INTO RENT, PROFIT AND WAGES into the COMPOSITION OF VALUE BY NATURAL PRICES OF RENT, PROFIT AND WAGES. Now he tells us that RENT enters INTO "THE *COMPOSITION OF THE PRICE* OF COMMODITIES" *differently* from PROFIT and WAGES. And in what way does it enter *differently* INTO *THAT COMPOSITION*? By *not* entering into that composition *at all.* And here we are first given a true explanation of the SUFFICIENT PRICE. The *price of the commodities* is dear or cheap, high or low, because wages and profit—their natural rates—are high or low. The commodity will not be brought to market, will not be produced, unless these high or low profits and wages are paid. They form the *price of production* of the commodity, its *cost price*; and are thus in fact the *constituent elements of its value* or *price. Rent*, on the other hand, does not enter into the *cost price*, the *price of production.* It is not a constituent element of the EXCHANGEABLE VALUE of the commodity. It is *only* paid when the *ORDINARY PRICE* of the commodity is *above* its *SUFFICIENT* price. Profit and wages as *constituent elements* of the price are *causes* of the price; rent, on the other hand, is only its *effect*, its *result.* It does not, therefore, enter into the composition of the price as an element, as do profit and wages. And this is what Smith calls entering into this composition in a *different* way from profit and wages. He does not appear to be in the slightest bit aware of the fact that he has thrown over his doctrine of NATURAL PRICE. For what was the NATURAL PRICE? The central point to which the market price gravitated; the *SUFFICIENT PRICE, below* which in the long run the product could not fall, if it were to be produced and brought to market.

Thus rent is now the *SURPLUS over the NATURAL PRICE*, previously [it was] a *component part of the NATURAL PRICE*; now [it is the] effect, previously [it was] the CAUSE, of PRICE.

There is however no contradiction in Adam Smith's assertion that for certain products of the land, the CIRCUMSTANCES of the market are always such that their ORDINARY PRICE must be above their SUFFICIENT PRICE, in other words: that *landed property* has the power to force the price above that LEVEL which would be SUFFICIENT for the capitalist if he were not confronted by a COUNTERACTING INFLUENCE.

[XII-626] Having thus, in Chapter XI, thrown overboard chapters V, VI and VII, he calmly proceeds by saying that: he will now make it his business to consider 1. the produce of the land which always affords rent; 2. the produce of the land which sometimes affords rent and sometimes not; finally 3. the VARIATIONS which take place, in the different periods of development of society, in the relative value, partly of these two sorts of produce compared with one another and partly in their relationship to manufactured commodities.

*Part I. Of the Produce of Land which always affords Rent.*

Adam Smith begins with the theory of population. The *means of subsistence* always create a *demand* for themselves. If the means of subsistence increase, then the people, the consumers of the means of subsistence, also increase. The supply of these commodities thus *creates* the demand for them.

"As men, like all other animals, *naturally multiply in proportion to the means of their subsistence, food is always more or less in demand.* It can always purchase or command a greater or smaller quantity of labour, and somebody can always be found who is willing to do something in order to obtain it" ([Garnier,] I, l. I, ch. XI, p. 305) [Vol. I. p. 242].

"But //WHY?// *land,* in almost any situation, *produces a greater quantity of food* than what is sufficient *to maintain all the labour* necessary for bringing it to market, in the most liberal way in which that labour is ever maintained. The *surplus,* too, is always more than sufficient *to replace the stock which employed that labour, together with its profits.* Something, therefore, always remains for a rent to the landlord" ([Garnier,] l.c., I, pp. 305-06) [Vol. I, p. 243].

This sounds quite *Physiocratic* and contains neither proof nor explanation of why the "*price*" of this particular commodity pays a rent, a surplus *over* and *above* the "sufficient price".

As an example he immediately refers to *pasture* and *uncultivated pasture.* Then follows the proposition on *differential rent*:

"The rent of land not only varies with its fertility, whatever be its produce, but with its situation, whatever be its fertility" ([Garnier,] I, p. 306) [Vol. I, pp. 243-44].

On this occasion rent and profit appear as mere *surplus* of the *product,* after that part of it has been deducted in *natura* which *feeds* the *worker.* (This is really the Physiocratic view, which is based on the FACT that in an agricultural country man lives almost

exclusively on the agricultural product, and industry, manufacture, itself appears as a rural side-line which uses the *local product* of nature.)

"A greater quantity of labour, therefore, must be maintained out of it[a]; and the *surplus, from which are drawn both the profit of the farmer* and *the rent of the landlord,* must be diminished" ([Garnier,] I, p. 307) [Vol. I, p. 244].

The growing of corn must therefore yield a greater profit than *pasture.*

"A *cornfield* of moderate fertility produces a much *greater quantity of food for man* than the best pasture of equal extent."

//Thus it is not a question of price here, but of the absolute quantity of food for man.//

"Though its cultivation requires *much more labour,* yet the *surplus* which remains after replacing the seed and *maintaining all that labour,* is likewise much greater."

//Although corn costs *more labour,* the cornfield yields a larger *surplus* of food, after labour has been paid, than a meadow used for stock raising. And it is *worth more,* not because corn costs more labour, but because the surplus in corn contains more nourishment.//

"If a pound of butcher's meat, therefore, was *never* supposed to be *worth more* than a pound of bread, this *greater surplus* (for corn)" //because the same area of land yields more pounds of corn than meat// "would everywhere be of *greater value,*" (because it is *assumed,* that a pound of bread=a pound of meat (in value), and that, after the workers have been fed, more pounds of bread than pounds of meat are left over from the same area of land) "and constitute a greater fund both for the profit of the farmer and the *rent* of the landlord" ([Garnier,] I, pp. 308-09) [Vol. I, p. 245].

Having replaced the natural price by the sufficient price, and declared rent to be the surplus over and above the sufficient price, Smith forgets altogether, that it is a question of *price,* and derives rent from the ratio between the amount of *food* yielded by agriculture and the amount of *food* consumed by the agricultural worker.

In point of fact—apart from this *Physiocratic* interpretation—he *postulates* that the *price* of the agricultural product which supplies the principal food pays *rent* in addition to profit. This is the starting-point for his further arguments. With the extention of cultivation, the natural pastures become insufficient for stock raising and cannot satisfy the demand for butcher's meat. Cultivated land has to be employed for this purpose. [XII-627]

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[a] I.e., out of the product of the land situated at a greater distance from the market.—*Ed.*

The price of meat therefore has to rise to the point where it pays not only the *labour* which is employed in stock raising, but also:

"*the rent which the landlord, and the profit which the farmer could have drawn from such land employed in tillage.* The cattle bred upon the most uncultivated moors, when brought to the same market, are, in proportion to their weight or goodness, sold at the same price as those which are reared upon the most improved land. The proprietors of those moors profit by it, and raise the rent of their land in *proportion to the price of their cattle.*"

(In this passage Adam Smith correctly derives the differential rent from the surplus of the market value over the individual value. In this case, however, the market value rises, not because there is a transition from better to worse, but from less fertile to more fertile land.)

"...It is thus that, in the progress of improvement, the *rent and profit of unimproved pasture* come to be regulated in some measure by the rent and profit of what is improved, and *these again, by the rent and profit of corn*" ([Garnier,] I, pp. 310-11) [Vol. I, p. 247].

"But where there is no local advantage ..., the rent and profit of corn, or whatever else is the common vegetable food of the people, must naturally regulate, upon the land which is fit for producing it, the rent and profit of pasture." ([Garnier,] (p. 315) [Vol. I, pp. 249-50].

"The use of the artificial grasses, of turnips, carrots, cabbages, and *the other expedients* which have been fallen upon to make an *equal quantity of land feed a greater number of cattle than when in natural grass,* should somewhat reduce, it might be expected, the superiority which, in an improved country, the price of butcher's meat naturally has over that of bread." (l.c.) "It seems accordingly to have done so" etc. (l.c.) [Vol. I, p. 250].

Having thus set forth the *relationship between rent yielded by pasture and by tilled land,* Smith continues:

"In all great countries, the greater part of the cultivated lands are employed in producing either food for men or food for cattle. The rent and profit of these regulate the rent and profit of all other cultivated land. If any particular produce afforded less, the land would soon be turned into corn or pasture; and if any afforded more, some part of the lands in corn or pasture would soon be turned to that produce" ([Garnier,] I, p. 318) [Vol. I, p. 252].

Then he speaks of vineyards, fruit and *potager,*[a] etc.

"The rent and profit of those productions, therefore, which require either a greater original expense of improvement in order to fit the land for them, or a greater annual expense of cultivation, though often much superior to those of corn and pasture, yet when they do no more than compensate such extraordinary expense, are in reality regulated by the rent and profit of those common crops" ([Garnier,] I, pp. 323-24) [Vol. I, p. 256].

Then he passes on to sugar cultivation in the colonies [and] tobacco.

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[a] Vegetable gardens.— *Ed.*

"It is in this manner that the rent of the cultivated land, of which the produce is human food, regulates the rent of the greater part of other cultivated land" ([Garnier,] I, p. 331) [Vol. I, p. 262].

"In Europe, corn is the principal produce of land, which serves immediately for human food. Except in particular situations, therefore, the rent of corn-land regulates in Europe that of all other cultivated land" ([Garnier, I] pp. 331[-32] [Vol. I, p. 262].

Adam Smith then returns to the Physiocratic theory, as interpreted by him, namely that food creates consumers for itself.

If corn were replaced by some other crop, which with the same system yielded a much greater quantity of food on the most common land, then "the *rent* of the landlord, or *the surplus quantity of food* which would remain to him, after paying the labour, and replacing the stock of the farmer, together with its ordinary profits, would necessarily be much greater. Whatever was the rate at which labour was commonly maintained in that country, this *greater surplus could always maintain a greater quantity of it*, and, *consequently*, enable the landlord to purchase or command a greater quantity of it" ([Garnier,] I, p. 332) [Vol. I, pp. 262-63].

Adam Smith cites rice as an *example.*

"In Carolina ... the *planters*, as in other British colonies, *are generally both farmers and landlords*, and *rent*, consequently, *is confounded with profit* ([Garnier,] I, p. 333) [Vol. I, p. 263].

[XII-628] The rice field, however,

"is unfit either for corn, or pasture, or vineyard, or, indeed, for any other vegetable produce that is very useful to men; and the lands which are fit for those purposes are not fit for rice." ([Garnier,] I, 334) [Vol. I, p. 264]. "Even in the rice countries, therefore, the rent of rice lands cannot regulate the rent of the other cultivated land which can never be turned to that produce" ([Garnier,] I, p. 334) [Vol. I, p. 264].

*Second example, potatoes* (Ricardo's criticism of this has been mentioned earlier[a]). If potatoes became the principal food, in place of corn,

"*the same quantity of cultivated land would maintain a much greater number of people*; and the labourers being generally fed with potatoes, a greater *surplus* would remain after replacing all the stock, and maintaining all the labour employed in cultivation. A greater share of this surplus, too, would belong to the landlord. Population would increase, and rents would rise much beyond what they are at present" ([Garnier,] I, p. 335) [Vol. I, p. 265].

A few more comments on wheaten bread, bread made of oatmeal, and on potatoes conclude the first section of Chapter XI.

One can therefore sum up this section, which deals with the product of land *which always pays a rent*, as follows: after *postulating* the rent of the principal vegetable food, it sets forth how this rent

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[a] See this volume, pp. 549-50.— *Ed.*

regulates the rent of cattle-breeding, wine-growing, market gardening, etc. There is *nothing* about the nature of rent itself, except the general thesis that, *provided* rent exists, its amount is determined by FERTILITY and SITUATION. But this only relates to differences in rents, differences in the magnitude of rents. But why does this product always pay a rent? Why is its ORDINARY PRICE always higher than its SUFFICIENT PRICE? Smith leaves price out of account here and reverts to the Physiocratic theory. What runs through it, however, is that the *DEMAND* here is always so great because the product itself creates the *demandeurs*, [since it creates] its own consumers. Even provided that this were so it is incomprehensible why the DEMAND should rise above the SUPPLY and thus force the price *above* the SUFFICIENT PRICE. But there is here a secret recollection of the image of the NATURAL PRICE which includes rent as well as profit and wages and which is paid when SUPPLY corresponds with DEMAND.

"When the quantity brought to market is just sufficient to supply the effectual demand, and no more, the *market price* naturally comes to be exactly ... the same with the *natural price*" ([Garnier,] I, p. 114) [Vol. I, p. 95].

It is however characteristic that Adam Smith nowhere in this section states this clearly. In opening Chapter XI, he had just said that rent does not enter into price as a component part. The contradiction was too conspicuous.

Part II: Of the Produce of Land which sometimes does, and sometimes does not, afford Rent.

It is actually only in this section that the general nature of rent is first discussed.

"Human *food* seems to be the only produce of land, which *always* and *necessarily* affords *some rent to the landlord*." (Why "always" and "necessarily", has not been shown.) "Other sorts of produce sometimes may, and sometimes may not, according to different circumstances" ([Garnier,] l.c., I, p. 337) [Vol. I, p. 267].

"*After food, clothing and lodging* are the two great wants of mankind" ([Garnier, I], l.c., p. 338) [Vol. I, p. 267].

"Land, in its original rude state, can afford the materials of clothing and lodging to a *much greater number of people* than it can *feed*." As a result of this "*superabundance* of those materials" in proportion to the number of people the land can feed, i.e., in proportion to the population, these materials "cost" little or nothing. A large part of these "materials" lies around unused and useless "and the price of what is used is *considered as equal only to the labour and expense of fitting it for use*". This price however affords "no rent to the landlord". On the other hand, where the land is in an improved state, the number of people whom "it can feed", i.e., the population, is greater than the quantity of those materials which it supplies, at least "in the way in which they require them, and are willing to pay for them". There is a relative "scarcity" of these materials "which necessarily augments their value". "*There is frequently a demand for more than can be had.*" More is paid for them

than "the expense of bringing them to market. Their price, therefore, can always *afford some rent* to the landlord" ([Garnier,] I, pp. 338-39) [Vol. I, pp. 267-68].[a]

[XII-629] Here therefore an explanation of rent [is] derived, from the *excess of* DEMAND over the SUPPLY which can be provided at the *sufficient price.*

The original materials of clothing were the furs and skins "of the larger animals". Among nations of hunters and shepherds, whose food consists chiefly in the flesh of animals, "every man, *by providing himself with food, provides himself with the materials of more clothing than he can wear.* If there was no foreign commerce, the greater part of them would be thrown away as useless. Through the additional DEMAND provided by foreign trade, the price of this SURPLUS of materials is raised *above what it costs to send them to be sold.* This price affords, *therefore,* some rent to the landlord. Through its market in Flanders, English wool thus added something to the RENT of the land which produced it" ([Garnier,] I, pp. 339-40) [Vol. I, pp. 268-69].[a]

Foreign trade here raises the *price* of an AGRICULTURAL by-product to such an extent that the land which produces it can yield SOME RENT.

"The *materials of lodging* cannot always be transported to so great a distance as those of clothing, and do not so readily become an object of foreign commerce. When they are *superabundant* in the country which produces them, it frequently happens, even in the present commercial state of the world, that they are of *no value* to the *landlord.*" Thus a stone quarry in the neighbourhood of London may yield a rent, whereas in many parts of Scotland and Wales, it may not. Similarly with timber. "In a populous and well-cultivated country" it will provide a rent, but "in many parts of North America" it will rot on the ground. The landowner WOULD BE GLAD TO GET RID OF IT. "When the materials of lodging are so superabundant, the part made use of is worth only the labour and expense of fitting it for that use. It affords no rent to the landlord, who generally grants the use of it to whoever takes the trouble of asking it. The *demand* of wealthier nations, however, sometimes enables him to get a rent for it" ([Garnier,] I, pp. 340-41) [Vol, I, pp. 269-70].

Countries are populated, not in proportion to the number of people "whom their produce *can clothe and lodge,* but in proportion to that of those whom *it can feed.* When food is provided, it is easy to find the necessary clothing and lodging. But though these are at hand, it may often be difficult to find food. In some parts even of the British dominions what is called a house, may be built by one day's labour of one man...". Among savage and barbarous nations, $^1/_{100}$ of the labour of a whole year will be sufficient to provide them with what they require in clothing and lodging. The other $^{99}/_{100}$ are often necessary to provide them with the food they need. "But when by the improvement and cultivation of land the *labour of one family can provide food for two,* the labour of half the society becomes sufficient to provide food for the whole." The other half can then satisfy the other wants and fancies of mankind. The principal objects of those wants and fancies are *clothing, lodging,* household *furniture,* and what is called *equipage.* The desire for food is limited. Those other desires are unlimited. Those who possess a surplus of food "are always willing to exchange the surplus". "The poor, in order *to obtain food*",

[a] Marx quotes partly in French, partly in German, with some alterations.—*Ed.*

exert themselves to satisfy those "fancies" of the rich, and, moreover, compete with one another in their endeavours. The number of workmen increases with the quantity of food, i.e., in proportion to the progress of agriculture. [The nature of] their "business" admits of "the utmost subdivisions of labour"; the [quantity of] materials which they work up therefore increases even more rapidly than their numbers. "Hence arises a demand for every sort of material which human invention can employ, either usefully or ornamentally, in building, dress, equipage, or household furniture; for the fossils and minerals contained in the bowels of the earth; the precious metals, and the precious stones.

"*Food* is, *in this manner*, not only the original source of *rent*, but every other part of the produce of land which afterwards affords rent, derives *that part of its value from the improvement of the powers of labour in producing food* by means of the improvement and cultivation of land" ([Garnier,] I, pp. 342-45) [Vol. I, pp. 270-72].[a]

What Smith says here, is the true physical basis of Physiocracy, namely, that the creation of surplus value (including rent) always has its basis in the relative productivity of agriculture. The first real form of surplus value is SURPLUS OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE (food), and the first real form of SURPLUS labour arises when one person is able to produce the food for two. Otherwise this has nothing to do with the development of rent, this specific form of SURPLUS VALUE, which presupposes capitalist production.

Adam Smith continues:

The other parts of the produce of the land (apart from food), which later afford rent, do not afford it always. The *demand* for them, even in the most cultivated countries, is not always *great enough* "to afford a greater *price than what is sufficient to pay the labour, and replace, together with its ordinary profits, the stock which must be employed in bringing them to market.* [XII-630] *Whether it is or is not such, depends upon different circumstances*" ([Garnier,] I, p. 345) [Vol. I, p. 272].[a]

Here therefore again: Rent arises from the *demand* being greater than the supply at the *sufficient price* which *only includes wages and profits, but no rent.* What else does this mean, but that the SUPPLY at the sufficient price is so great that *landed property* cannot offer any resistance to the equalisation of capitals or labour? That therefore, even though [landed] property exists legally, it does not exist in practice, or cannot be effective as such in practice? Adam Smith's mistake is that he fails to recognise that [landed] property sells [products] *above* the sufficient price, if it sells [them] at their *value.* His positive point, compared with Ricardo, is that he realises it depends on the circumstances, whether or not [landed] property can assert itself economically. It is therefore essential to follow this part of his argument step by step. He begins with the coal mine, then goes over to timber and then returns to the coal mine, etc. Accordingly we shall let him start with *timber.*

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[a] Marx quotes partly in French, partly in German, with some alterations.— *Ed.*

The *price of wood* varies with the state of agriculture, for the same reasons as does the price of cattle. When agriculture was in its infancy, forests were dominant and a sheer nuisance to the landowner, who would gladly give it to anyone for the cutting. As agriculture advances, there is CLEARANCE OF FORESTS, partly through the expansion of tillage, partly through the increase in herds of cattle, which eat up, gnaw at, roots and young trees. "These [cattle], though they do not increase in the same proportion as corn, *which is altogether the acquisition of human industry*, yet multiply under the care and protection of men." The scarcity of wood, thus created, raises its *price*. Hence it can afford so high a rent that tilled land (or land that could be used for tillage) is converted into woodland. This is the case in GREAT BRITAIN. The rent of wood can never, for any length of time, rise above that of corn or pasture, but it may reach that level ([Garnier,] I, pp. 347-49) [Vol. I, pp. 274-75].

Thus IN FACT, the rent of woodland is by nature identical with that of pasture. It belongs therefore in this category, although wood does not serve for food. The economic category does not depend on the *use value* of the product, but on whether or not it is convertible into arable land and vice versa.

*Coal mines.* Smith observes correctly that the fertility or infertility of mines in general depends on whether the same quantity of labour can extract a larger or a smaller amount of minerals from the mine. *Infertility* can offset the *favourable* situation, so that such mines cannot be exploited at all. On the other hand, an *unfavourable* situation can offset the *fertility*, so that despite its natural fertility, such a mine cannot be exploited. This is in particular the case where there are neither good roads, nor shipping ([Garnier,] I, pp. 346-47) [Vol. I, pp. 273-74].

There are mines whose produce just reaches the *sufficient price*. Hence they pay profit for the entrepreneur but no rent. They can therefore be worked only by the landowner himself. In this way he gets "the ordinary profit of the capital which he employs". There are many mines of this type in Scotland. These could not be exploited in any other way.

"The *landlord will allow nobody else to work them without paying some rent, and nobody can afford to pay any*" ([Garnier,] I, p. 346) [Vol. I, p. 273].

Here Adam Smith has correctly defined under what circumstances land which has been *appropriated* pays no rent, namely where landowner and entrepreneur are *one* person. He has already told us earlier that this is so in the colonies. A farmer cannot cultivate the land there because he cannot pay any rent. But the owner can cultivate it with profit, although it does not pay him a rent. This is the case, for example, in the colonies in Western America, because new land can always be appropriated. The land as such is not an element that offers resistance, and the competition of landowners who cultivate the land themselves is

here IN FACT competition between workers or capitalists. The position of coal mines, or mines in general, is different in the CASE SUPPOSED. The market value, as determined by the mines which provide for the DEMAND at this value, yields a smaller rent, or no rent at all but just covers the cost price in the case of mines that are less fertile or less favourably situated. These mines can only be worked by persons for whom the resistance of landed property and the exclusion from the land effected by this does not exist, because they are landowners and capitalists in one person; [this] only happens where in fact *landed property* disappears as an independent element opposed to capital. The position differs from that of the COLONIES in that: in the latter, the landowner cannot prohibit the EXPLOITATION of *new* land by anyone. In the former he can do so. He only gives himself the permission to exploit the mine. This does not enable him to draw a rent, but it does enable him to exclude others and to invest his capital in the mine, with profit.

What Adam Smith writes about the regulation of rent by the most fertile mine, I have already commented on, when discussing Ricardo and his polemic.[a] Here only one proposition needs to be stressed:

"The *lowest price*" (previously SUFFICIENT PRICE) "at which coals can be sold for any considerable time, is, like that of all other commodities, the *price which is barely sufficient to replace, together with its ordinary profits, the stock which must be employed in bringing them to market*" ([Garnier,] l.c., p. 350) [Vol. I, pp. 276-77].

It is evident that the *sufficient price* has taken the place of the *natural price.* Ricardo regards them as identical, and rightly so.

[XII-631] Smith maintains that

the rent of coal mines is much smaller than that of agricultural products: here $^1/_3$; there [in coal mines] $^1/_5$ is a very great rent, and $^1/_{10}$ the common rent ([Garnier,] I, p. 351) [Vol. I, p. 277]. *Metal mines* are not so dependent on their situation, since their products are more easily transported and the world market is therefore more open to them. Their value, therefore, is more dependent on their fertility than on their situation, while with coal mines, the opposite is the case. The products of the most distant (from one another) metal mines compete with one another. "The price, therefore, of the coarse, and still more that of the precious metals, *at the most fertile mines* in the world, must necessarily more or less affect their price at every other in it" ([Garnier,] I, pp. 351-52) [Vol. I, p. 277].

"The price of every metal at every mine, therefore, being regulated in some measure by its price at the most fertile mine in the world that is actually wrought, *it can* at the greater part of mines *do very little more than pay the expense of working,* and can *seldom* afford a very high rent to the landlord. Rent, accordingly, seems at the greater part of mines to have but a small share in the price of the coarse, and a still

[a] See this volume, pp. 547-49.— *Ed.*

smaller in that of the precious metals. Labour and profit make up the greater part of both[a]" ([Garnier,] I, pp. 353-54) [Vol. I, pp. 278-79].

Adam Smith correctly sets forth here the CASE presented in *Table C*.[b]

When speaking of *rent* in connection with precious metals, Adam Smith again gives his interpretation of the sufficient price, which he puts in the place of the natural price. Where he speaks of non-AGRICULTURAL industry, he has no need for this, since the sufficient and the natural price coincide here, according to his original explanation, namely that it is the price which repays the capital outlay+the AVERAGE PROFIT.

"The lowest price at which the precious metals can be sold ... during any considerable time, is regulated by the same principles which fix the lowest ordinary price of all other goods. The stock which must commonly be employed, the food, clothes, and lodging which must commonly be consumed in bringing them from the mine to the market, determine it. It must at least be sufficient to replace that stock, with the ordinary profits" ([Garnier,] I, p. 359) [Vol. I, p. 283].

With regard to *precious stones*, he observes that:

"The *demand for the precious stones* arises altogether from their beauty. They are of no use, but as ornaments; and the merit of their beauty is *greatly enhanced by their scarcity, or by the difficulty and expense of getting them from the mine.* Wages and profit accordingly make up, upon most occasions, almost the whole of their high price. Rent comes in but for a very small share; frequently no share; and the most fertile mines only afford any considerable rent" ([Garnier,] I, p. 361) [Vol. I, p. 285].

There can only be a differential rent here.

"As the price both of the precious metals and of the precious stones is regulated all over the world by their price at the most fertile mine in it, the rent which a mine of either can afford to its proprietor is in proportion, not to its *absolute*, but to what may be called its *relative* fertility, or to its superiority over other mines of the same kind. If new mines were discovered as much superior to those of Potosi as they were superior to those of Europe, the value of silver might be so much degraded as to render even the mines of Potosi not worth the working" ([Garnier,] I, p. 362) [Vol. I, p. 286].

The products of the less fertile precious metal and precious stone mines carry no rent, because it is *always* the most fertile mine which determines market value and ever more fertile new mines are being opened up—the LINE is always in the ASCENDING direction. Hence they are sold *below* their value, merely at their cost price.

"A produce of which the value is principally derived from its scarcity, is necessarily degraded by its abundance" ([Garnier,] I, p. 363) [Vol. I, p. 286].

Then Adam Smith's argument again goes somewhat wrong.

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[a] Garnier has "of this price".—*Ed.*

[b] See the insertion between pages 479 and 480.—*Ed.*

"It is otherwise in estates above ground. The value both of their produce and of their rent is in proportion to their *absolute*, and not to their *relative* fertility. The land which produces a certain quantity of food, clothes, and lodging, can always feed, clothe, and lodge a certain number of people; and *whatever may be the proportion of the landlord*" (the very question is WHETHER HE TAKES ANY SHARE OF THE PRODUCE, AND IN WHAT PROPORTION) "it [XII-632] will always give him a proportionable command of the labour of those people, and of the commodities with which that labour can supply him" ([Garnier,] I, pp. 363-64) [Vol. I, p. 287].

"The value of the most barren lands is not diminished by the neighbourhood of the most fertile. On the contrary, it is generally increased by it. The great number of people maintained by the fertile lands *afford a market to many parts of the produce of the barren*, which they could never have found among those whom their own produce could maintain."

(But only if they do *not* PRODUCE *the same product* as the fertile lands in their NEIGHBOURHOOD; only if the product of the barren lands *does not compete* with that of the more fertile. In this case Adam Smith is right and indeed, this is of importance to the way in which the TOTAL AMOUNT OF RENT FROM DIFFERENT SORTS OF NATURAL PRODUCTS MAY INCREASE IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE FERTILITY OF THE SOILS WHICH YIELDS FOOD.)

"Whatever increases the fertility of land in producing food, increases not only the value of the lands upon which the improvement is bestowed" //it may reduce this value and even destroy it//, "but contributes likewise to increase that of many other lands, by creating a new demand for their produce" (or, *RATHER*, by creating a demand for *new* products) ([Garnier,] I, p. 364) [Vol. I, p. 287].

But in all this, Adam Smith does not offer any explanation for absolute rent, which he presupposes to exist for land that produces FOOD. He is correct when he observes that it does not necessarily exist for other lands, mines, for instance, because they are always available in such *relatively* UNLIMITED QUANTITIES (in comparison with demand), that landed property cannot offer any resistance to capital [so that] even if it exists in a legal sense, it does not exist in the economic sense.

(See. *p. 641* on *HOUSE RENT.*)[163]

*Part III.* "Of the Variations in the Proportion between the respective Values of that Sort of Produce which always affords Rent, and of that which sometimes does and sometimes does not afford Rent" (Book I, Vol. II, Ch. XI).

"In a country naturally fertile, but of which the far greater part is altogether uncultivated, cattle, poultry, game of all kinds, etc. *as they can be acquired with a very small quantity of labour, so they will purchase or command but a very small quantity*" ([Garnier,] II, p. 25) [Vol. I, p. 306].

The *peculiar* manner in which Adam Smith mixes up the measuring of value by the quantity of labour, with the price of labour or the quantity of labour which a commodity can

command, is evident from the above quotation, and especially from the following passage, which also shows how it has come about that at times he elevates corn to the measure of value.

"In every state of society, in every stage of improvement, *corn is the production of human industry*. But the average produce of every sort of industry is always suited, more or less exactly, to the average consumption; the average supply to the average demand. In *every different stage of improvement*, besides, the raising of equal quantities of corn in the same soil and climate, *will*, at an average, *require nearly equal quantities of labour*; or what comes to the same thing, *the price of nearly equal quantities*; the continual increase of the productive powers of labour in an improving state of cultivation, being more or less counterbalanced by the *continually* increasing *price of cattle*, the *principal instruments* of agriculture. Upon all these accounts, therefore, we may rest assured, that *equal quantities of corn* will, *in every state of society*, in every stage of improvement, more *nearly represent*, or *be equivalent to, equal quantities of labour*, than equal quantities of any other part of the rude produce of land. Corn, accordingly, ... is, in all the different stages of wealth and improvement, a more accurate measure of value than any other commodity or set of commodities... *Corn*, besides, or whatever else is the common and favourite vegetable food of the people, constitutes, in every civilised country, the *principal part of the subsistence of the labourer*... The money price of labour, therefore, depends much more upon the average money price of corn, the subsistence of the labourer, than upon that of butcher's meat, or of any other part of the rude produce of land. The real value of gold and silver, therefore, the real quantity of labour which they can purchase or command, depends much more upon the quantity of corn which they can purchase or command, than upon that of butcher's meat, or any other part of the rude produce of land" ([Garnier,] II, pp. 26-28) [Vol. I, pp. 307-08].

When comparing the value of gold and silver, Adam Smith once more sets forth his views on the SUFFICIENT PRICE and notes [XII-633] expressly that *it excludes rent*:

"A commodity may be said to be *dear* or *cheap*, not only according to the absolute greatness or smallness of its usual price, but according as that price is more or less above the lowest for which it is possible to bring it to market for any considerable time together. *This lowest price is that which barely replaces, with a moderate profit, the stock which must be employed in bringing the commodity thither. It is the price which affords nothing to the landlord, of which rent makes not any component part, but which resolves itself altogether into wages and profit*" ([Garnier,] II, p. 81) [Vol. I, p. 350].

"The price of diamonds and other precious stones may, perhaps, be still nearer to the lowest price at which it is possible to bring them to market, than even the price of gold" ([Garnier,] II, p. 83) [Vol. I, p. 351].

There are 3 sorts of raw products ([Garnier,] II, p. 89) [Vol. I, p. 355]. The *first*, whose increase is almost, or entirely, independent of human industry; the *second*, which can be increased in proportion to the demand; the *third*, upon whose increase human industry only exercises a "limited or uncertain" influence.

*First sort*: Fishes, rare birds, different sorts of game, almost all wild-fowl, in particular the birds of passage, etc. The demand for these increases greatly with wealth and luxury.

"The quantity of such commodities, therefore, remaining the same, or nearly the same, while the competition to purchase them is continually increasing, their price may rise to any degree of extravagance" ([Garnier,] II, p. 91) [Vol. I, pp. 356-57].

*Second sort:* "It consists in those useful plants and animals which, in uncultivated countries, nature produces with such profuse abundance, that they are of little or no value, and which, as cultivation advances, are therefore forced to give place to some more profitable produce. During a long period in the progress of improvement, the quantity of these is continually diminishing, while at the same time the demand for them is continually increasing. Their real value, therefore, the real quantity of labour which they will purchase or command, gradually rises, till at last it gets so high as to render them as profitable a produce as anything else which human industry can raise upon the most fertile and best cultivated land. When it has got so high it cannot well go higher. If it did, more land and more industry would soon be employed to increase their quantity" ([Garnier,] II, pp. 94-95) [Vol. I, p. 359]. So, for instance, with cattle.

"Of all the different substances, however, which compose this second sort of rude produce, cattle is, perhaps, that of which the price, in the progress of improvement, first rises to this height" ([Garnier,] II, pp. 96-97) [Vol. I, p. 361]. "As cattle are among the first, so perhaps *venison* is among the last parts of this sort of rude produce which bring this price" //i.e., that price WHICH MAKES IT WORTH WHILE CULTIVATING the SOIL IN ORDER TO FEED THEM//. "The price of venison in Great Britain, how extravagant soever it may appear, is not near sufficient to compensate the expense of a deer park, as is well known to all those who have had any experience in the feeding of deer" ([Garnier,] II, p. 104) [Vol. I, pp. 366-67].

"Thus in every farm the offals of the barn and stables will maintain a certain number of *poultry*. These, as they are fed with what would otherwise be lost, are a mere save-all; and as they cost the farmer scarce anything, so he can afford to sell them for very little." While this supply is sufficient, poultry [is] as cheap as butcher's meat. With the growth of wealth, the demand grows, and consequently the price of poultry [rises] *above* that of butcher's meat, until "it becomes profitable to cultivate land for the sake of feeding them". Thus in *France*, etc. ([Garnier,] II, [p]p. [105-]106) [Vol. I, pp. 367, 368].

The *hog*, like poultry, is "originally kept as a save-all". It lives on refuse. In the end the price rises until land must be cultivated specifically for its FOOD ([Garnier,] II, pp. 108-09) [Vol. I, p. 369]. *Milk*, dairy farming ([Garnier,] II, p. 110 et seq.) [Vol. I, p. 371 et seq.]. (Butter, cheese ibid.)

According to Adam Smith, the gradual rise in the *price* of these raw products only proves that, little by little, they are becoming *products of human industry*, while previously, they were practically only *products of nature*. Their transformation from products of nature into products of industry is itself the result of the advance of cultivation, which is increasingly limiting the scope of the SPONTANEOUS PRODUCTIONS of nature. On the other hand, under less developed conditions of production, a large part of these products was sold *below its value*. The commodities are sold *at* their value (HENCE THE RISE IN PRICES) as soon as they cease to be a by-product and become an independent product of some branch of agriculture.

"The lands of no country, it is evident, can ever be completely cultivated and improved, till once the *price* of every produce, which human industry is obliged to

raise upon them, has got so high as *to pay for the expense of complete improvement and cultivation.* In order to do this, the price of each particular produce must be sufficient, first, to pay the rent of good corn land, as it is that which regulates the rent of the greater part of other cultivated land; and, secondly, to pay the labour and expense of the farmer as well as they are commonly paid upon good corn land; or, in other words, *to replace with the ordinary profits the stock which he employs about it.* This *rise in the price* of each particular produce must evidently [XII-634] *be previous to* the improvement and cultivation of the land which is destined for raising it. ...those different sorts of rude produce ... *have become worth* not only a greater quantity of silver, but a greater quantity of labour and subsistence than before. As *it costs* a *greater quantity of labour and subsistence to bring them to market,* so *when they are brought thither,* they *represent* or *are equivalent to a greater quantity*" ([Garnier,] II, pp. 113-15) [Vol. I, pp. 373, 374].

Here it is once more evident, how Smith is only able to use value AS DETERMINED BY THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR IT [value] CAN BUY, in so far as he confuses it with VALUE AS DETERMINED BY THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR REQUIRED FOR THEIR PRODUCTION.

*Third sort:* This is the raw product,

"in which the efficacy of human industry, in augmenting the quantity, is either limited or uncertain" ([Garnier,] II, p. 115) [Vol. I, p. 374].

*Wool* and *raw hides* are LIMITED by the number of large and small cattle that are kept. But the first *by-products* already have a *large market,* while the animal itself does not yet have this. The market for butcher's meat is almost always confined to the inland market. Wool and raw hides, even in the rude beginnings [of cultivation], are in most cases already sold in foreign markets. They are easily transported and furnish the raw material of many manufactured goods. They may thus find a market in countries which are more developed industrially when the industry in the country where they are produced does not yet require them. [Garnier, Vol. II, pp. 116-17.] [Vol. I, pp. 375-76].

"In countries ill cultivated, and therefore but thinly inhabited, the price of the wool and the hide bears always a much greater proportion to that of the whole beast, than in countries where, improvement and population being further advanced, there is more demand for butcher's meat." The same applies to "tallow". In the progress of industry and population, the rise in price of cattle affects the *carcass* more than the *wool or hide.* For with the increase in industry and population of a country, the market for meat expands, whereas that for the by-products already previously extended beyond the boundaries of the country. But with the development of industry in the country itself, the price for wool, etc., will nevertheless also rise somewhat. ([Garnier,] II, pp. 115-19) [Vol. I, pp. 376-77].

*Fish.* ([Garnier,] II, pp. 129-30.) If the demand for fish rises, then its SUPPLY requires more labour. "The fish must generally be sought for at a greater distance, larger vessels must be employed, and more expensive machinery of every kind made use of." "it will generally be impossible to supply the extended market without employing a quantity of labour greater than in proportion to what had been requisite for supplying the narrow and confined one." "The *real price* of this commodity, therefore, naturally rises in the progress of improvement" ([Garnier,] II, p. 130) [Vol. I, pp. 385-86].

Here Adam Smith therefore determines the *real price* by the quantity of labour necessary for the production of the commodity.

According to Adam Smith, the *real price* of *vegetable food* (corn, etc.) must *fall* in the course of civilisation.

"The extension of improvement and cultivation, as it *necessarily* raises more or less, in proportion to the price of corn, *that of every sort of animal food*, so it as necessarily *lowers* that of, I believe, every sort of *vegetable food*. It raises the price of animal food; because a great part of the land which produces it, being rendered fit for producing corn, must afford to the landlord and farmer the rent and profit of corn-land. It *lowers the price of vegetable food*; because, *by increasing the fertility of the land*, it increases its abundance. The improvements of agriculture too introduce many sorts of vegetable food, which, requiring less land and not more labour than corn, come much cheaper to market. Such are potatoes and maize... Many sorts of vegetable food, besides, which in the rude state of agriculture are confined to the kitchen garden, and raised only by the spade, come in its improved state to be introduced into common fields, and to be raised by the plough; such as turnips, carrots, cabbages, etc." ([Garnier,] II, l. I, ch. XI, pp. 145-46) [Vol. I, pp. 396-97].

Adam Smith sees that the *price of manufactured commodities* in general has fallen wherever

"the real price of the *rude materials* either does not rise at all, or does not rise very much" ([Garnier,] II, p. 149) [Vol. I, p. 399].

On the other hand, he asserts that the real price of labour, i.e., wages, has risen with the progress in production. Hence also, according to him, the prices of commodities do not necessarily rise because of a rise in wages, or the price of labour, although wages [form] "a component part of the natural price" and EVEN of the "sufficient price" or the "lowest price at which commodities can be brought to market". So how does Adam Smith explain this? By a fall in profits? No. Or of rent? No again. (Although he assumes that the general rate of profit falls in the course of civilisation.) He says:

"In consequence of better machinery, [XII-635] of greater dexterity, and of a more proper division and distribution of work, all of which are the natural effects of improvement, *a much smaller quantity of labour becomes requisite* for executing *any particular piece of work*; and though, in consequence of the *flourishing circumstances* of the society, *the real price of labour should rise* very considerably, yet *the great diminution of the quantity, requisite for each particular article*,[a] will generally much more than compensate the greatest rise which can happen in the price" ([Garnier,] II, p. 148) [Vol. I, pp. 398-99].

Thus the *value* of the commodities falls, because a smaller quantity of labour is required to produce them; the value moreover falls although the *real price* of labour rises. If here the *real price* of labour means the *value* [of labour], then the profit

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[a] The words "requisite for each particular article" are inserted by Garnier in the French translation.— *Ed.*

must fall, if the price of the commodity falls as a result of the fall in its value. If, on the other hand, it means the quantity of the means of subsistence received by the worker, then the Smithian thesis is correct even where profit is rising.

The extent to which Adam Smith uses the correct definition of value, wherever he actually analyses [facts], can be seen at the end of the chapter where he examines why *woollen cloths* were dearer in the 16th century, etc.

"It *cost a greater quantity of labour to bring the goods to market.* When they were brought thither, therefore, they must have been purchased or exchanged for the *price* of a greater quantity" ([Garnier,] II, p. 156) [Vol. I, p. 404].

The mistake here consists only in the use of the word *price.*

*Conclusion of the chapter.* Adam Smith concludes his chapter on rent with the OBSERVATION that

"every improvement in the circumstances of the society tends either directly or indirectly to raise the real rent of land" ([Garnier,] II, pp. 157-58) [Vol. I, p. 406].[a]

"The extension of improvement and cultivation tends to raise it directly. The landlord's share of the produce necessarily increases with the increase of the produce" ([Garnier,] II, p. 158) [Vol. I, p. 406]. The rise "in the real price of those parts of the rude produce of land, which is first the effect of extended improvement and cultivation, and afterwards the cause of their being still further extended", for instance the rise in the price of cattle, raises, firstly, the real value of the landlord's share, but also the proportion of that share, because: "That produce, after the rise in its real price, *requires no more labour to collect it than before. A smaller proportion of it will,* therefore, be sufficient to *replace, with the ordinary profit, the stock which employs that labour.* A greater proportion of it must, consequently, belong to the landlord" ([Garnier,] II, pp. 158-59) [Vol. I, p. 406].

In exactly the same way Ricardo explains the increase in the proportion of rent, as the price of corn rises on the more fertile land. Only this rise in price is not the result of improvement, and therefore leads Ricardo to the opposite conclusion from Adam Smith. Adam Smith says that the landlord moreover benefits from every development of the productive power of labour in manufacture.

"Whatever reduces the real price of the latter,[b] raises that of the former[c]" ([Garnier,] II, p. 159) [Vol. I, p. 407]. Furthermore, with every increase of the real wealth of the society, the population increases; with the population increases the demand for AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE and consequently the CAPITAL EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE; "and the rent increases with the produce" ([Garnier,] l.c. [p. 160]) [Vol. I, p. 407]. On the other hand all circumstances which hinder the growth of general wealth, will have the opposite effect and lead to a fall in rent and hence a decrease in the real wealth of the landowner ([Garnier,] l. c., p. 160) [Vol. I, pp. 407-08].

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[a] Marx quotes this passage in German.—*Ed.*

[b] Manufactured goods.—*Ed.*

[c] Agricultural produce.—*Ed.*

From this Adam Smith concludes that the interests of the LANDLORDS are always in harmony with the "general interest of the society" ([Garnier,] II, p. 161) [Vol. I, p. 408]. This also applies to the *labourers* ([Garnier,] II, pp. 161-62) [Vol. I, p. 409]. But Adam Smith is honest enough to make the following distinction:

"The order of proprietors may, perhaps, gain more by the prosperity of the society than that of labourers; but there is no order that suffers so cruelly from its" [society's] "decline" [as do the labourers] ([Garnier,] l. c., p. 162) [Vol. I, p. 409].

The interests of the capitalists (manufacturers and merchants), on the other hand, are not identical with the

"general interest of society" ([Garnier,] l. c., p. 163) [Vol. I, p. 411]. "The interest of the dealers, however, in any particular branch of trade or manufactures, is *always* in some respects *different* from, and even *opposite* to, that of the public" ([Garnier,] II, pp. 164-65) [Vol. I, p. 411]. [The dealers are] "...an order of men, whose interest [XII-636] is never exactly the same with that of the public; who have generally an interest to deceive and even to oppress the public, and who accordingly have, upon many occasions, both deceived and oppressed it" ([Garnier,] II, p. 165) [Vol. I, p. 412].

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Of his own conception of rent, *Ricardo* says:

* "I always consider it as the result of a *partial monopoly*, never really regulating price" *

(that is, never acting as a *MONOPOLY*, hence also never the *RESULT* of MONOPOLY. For him the only RESULT of MONOPOLY could be that the rent is pocketed by the OWNER of the better types of land rather than by the farmer),

* "but rather as the effect of it. If *all rent were relinquished by landlords*, I am [of] opinion that the commodities produced on the land would be no cheaper, because there is always a portion of the same commodities produced on land, for which *no rent* is or can be paid, as the *surplus produce* is only sufficient to pay the profits of stock" (Ricardo, *Principles*, l. c., pp. 332-33).*

Here SURPLUS PRODUCE=the EXCESS over the product absorbed by the wages. Assuming that CERTAIN LAND NEVER PAYS RENT Ricardo's assertion is only correct if this land, or RATHER its product, regulates the market value. If, on the other hand, its product pays no rent because the market value is regulated by the more fertile land, then this FACT proves nothing. It would, indeed, benefit the farmers if the differential rent were "RELINQUISHED BY LANDLORDS". The relinquishment of absolute rent, on the other hand, would reduce the price of agricultural products and increase that of industrial products to the extent that the average profit grew by this process.[164]

# [ADDENDA]

[XI-490a] * "It will be observed that we consider the owner and farmer always as *one and the same person*... Such it is in the United States" (H. C. Carey, *The Past, the Present, and the Future*, Philadelphia, 1848, p. 97). "Man is always going from a poor soil to a better, and then returning on his footsteps to the original poor one, and turning up the marl or the lime; and so on, in continued succession ... and at each step in this course, he is making a better machine[a]" ([p] p. [128-] 129). "Capital may be invested in agriculture with *more* advantage than in *engines*, because the last are *only of equal* whereas the other is of *superior* power" * (l.c.). "The GAIN from a STEAM-ENGINE" (which transforms the WOOL into CLOTH, etc.) * "is the wages of labour *minus* the loss by deterioration of the machine. Labour applied to fashioning the earth produces wages+the gain by improvement of the machine[a]" (l.c.) * Hence * "a piece of land that yields £100 per annum" * will sell dearer than A STEAM-ENGINE which produces just as much per annum (p. 130). * "The buyer of the first knows that it will pay him wages and interest+the increase of its value by use. The buyer of the other knows that it will give him wages and interest minus the diminution in its vlalue by use. The one buys a machine that improves by use. The other, one that deteriorates with use... The one is a machine upon which new capital and labour may be expended with constantly increasing return, while upon the other no such expenditure can be made" * (p. 131).[165]

Even those improvements in agriculture which bring about reduced production costs and eventually a fall in prices, but which first—so long as prices have not yet fallen—[call forth] a TEMPORARY RISE OF AGRICULTURAL *PROFIT*, almost never fail

* "to *increase rent ultimately*. The increased capital, which is employed in consequence of the opportunity of making great temporary profits, *can seldom or ever be entirely removed from the land, at the expiration of the current leases*; and, *on the renewal of these leases*, the landlord feels the benefit of it *in the increase of his rents*" (Malthus, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent etc.*, London, 1815).

"If, until the prevalence of the late high prices, arable land in general bore but *little rent*, chiefly by reason of the *acknowledged necessity of frequent fallows*; the rents

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[a] The reference is to the land which has been worked and improved.—*Ed.*

must be again reduced, to admit of a return to the same system" (J. D. Hume, *Thoughts on the Corn-Laws etc.*, London, 1815, p. 72).*

[XII-inside cover]* "Mr. Ricardo's system is one of discords. ...its whole tends to the production of hostility among classes and nations. ... His book is the true manual of the demagogue, who seeks power by means of agrarianism, war, and plunder" (H. C. Carey, *The Past, the Present, and the Future*, Philadelphia, 1848, pp. 74-75).* [166]

[XII-580b] The proposition THAT CORN PRODUCES ITS OWN DEMAND, etc.,[a] "casually" advanced by Adam Smith, later repeated by *Malthus* with considerable pomposity in his theory of rent and partly used as the basis of his theory of population, is very *concisely* expressed in the following passage:

* "Corn is scarce or not scarce in proportion to the consumption of it. If there are *more* mouths, there will be *more corn*, because there will be *more hands* to till the earth; and if there is *more corn*, there will be more mouths, because *plenty will* bring *people*" ([John Arbuthnot,] *An Inquiry into the Connection between the Present Price of Provisions, and the Size of Farms etc. By a Farmer*, London 1773, p. 125).*

Hence

* "the culture of the earth cannot be over-done"* (p. 62).

Rodbertus' fantasy that *seeds*, etc., do not enter as an ITEM of capital,[b] [is refuted] by the hundreds of treatises, some written by FARMERS themselves, that appeared in the 18th century (particularly since the 60s of that century). But on the contrary, it would be correct to say that *rent* is an ITEM [of expenditure] for the FARMER. He reckons rent among the *production costs* (and it does belong to his production costs).

* "If ... the *price of corn* is nearly what it ought to be, which can only be determined by the proportion that the *value of land* bears to the *value of money*"* (l.c., p. 132).

As soon as capital takes possession of agriculture, the FARMING CAPITALIST himself regards RENT only as a deduction from profit and the whole of SURPLUS VALUE is for him ESSENTIALLY PROFIT:

* "The *old* method of calculating the *profits* of the farmer [was] by the *three rents*"* (the *métayage* system). * "*In the infancy of agriculture*, it was a conscientious and equal partition of property; such as is now practised in the less enlightened parts of the world ... the one finds land and capital, the other knowledge and labour; but on a well-cultivated and good soil, the rent is now the least object: it is the *sum which a man can sink in stock*, and *in the annual expense of his labour*, on which he is to reckon the interest of his money, or income"* ([l.c.,] p. 34).

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[a] See this volume, p. 562 et seq.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 279-88.— *Ed.*

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] *Theories of Surplus Value,* on which Marx began work in March 1862, constituted the fifth, concluding section of the first chapter of his research into capital, "The Production Process of Capital". The original intention was to examine absolute and relative surplus value in their combination. *Theories of Surplus Value* was to be an historical survey included in the chapter on surplus value, similar to the historical notes introducing the chapters on commodity and on money in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.*

However, during the work, the character of the manuscript of *Theories of Surplus Value* had changed substantially. Both in its length and content, it surpassed the tasks the author had originally set himself. Marx not only considered the views of bourgeois economists but also put forward a number of major theoretical propositions.

*Theories of Surplus Value* were published in English for the first time, in an abridged form, in: K. Marx, *Theories of Surplus Value.* A selection from the volumes published between 1905 and 1910 as *Theorien über den Mehrwert,* edited by Karl Kautsky, taken from Karl Marx's preliminary manuscript for the projected fourth volume of *Capital.* Translated from the German by G. A. Bonner and Emile Burns. Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1951.

The work was first published in full between 1963 and 1971: K. Marx, *Theories of Surplus-Value* (Vol. IV of *Capital*), Part I, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963; Part II, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968; Part III, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.

This volume contains the sequel to Marx's *Theories of Surplus Value.* The first five notebooks of the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 and the beginning of *Theories of Surplus Value* (Notebook VI and part of Notebook VII), in which Marx critically analyses the views of James Steuart, the Physiocrats, and Adam Smith's determinations of value, are to be found in Volume 30 of the present edition.—6

[2] The entries below were made by Marx on the inside covers of notebooks VIII-XII of the manuscript of 1861-63. The table of contents of Notebook VII is published in Volume 30, p. 347, and its text in Volume 30 and in this volume.

The tables of contents had been corrected several times. Marx's original plan was to analyse Adam Smith's doctrine in notebooks VII and VIII and then to pass on to Necker and Ricardo. But later he rejected this scheme. He also proposed to examine Ricardo's views in Notebook X, first after the analysis of Linguet and then of Bray. In the contents of Notebook XI, point "*g) Rodbertus*" was originally followed by point "*h) Ricardo*". Later Marx inserted several other points preceding that on Ricardo, probably after the notebooks had been filled in.

In Notebook XII, next to the line "5) *Theories of Surplus Value*", Marx wrote in pencil without the mark of insertion, "(CIRCULATING AND FIXED CAPITAL p. 643) in Ricardo". The last two points in the contents of this notebook were later crossed out in pencil and replaced with "*Theories of* COST PRICE".

The inside cover of Notebook IX has a note "Mercantilists (408)" made in pencil later.

Written on the inside cover of Notebook XI are a number of quotations (see this volume, pp. 579-80).

Alongside the contents, the inside cover of Notebook XII contains Marx's notes and quotations (see this volume, p. 580).—6

[3] This is in fact not the conclusion but only the continuation of the section on Smith. The conclusion of this section can be found in Notebook IX.—6

[4] Marx gave an in-depth analysis of the problem of productive and unproductive labour on pp. XXI—1317-1331 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 34).—7

[5] Marx is referring to the section of the manuscript of 1861-63 in Notebook VII entitled in the contents "Inquiry into how it is possible for the annual profit and wages..." (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 347, 411 et seq.).—7, 149

[6] The *Economists* was the name given to the Physiocrats in France during the second half of the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries. By the 1850s the name acquired a more general meaning and ceased to designate exponents of a particular economic doctrine.—7, 116

[7] Marx is referring to the vicious circle in Adam Smith's doctrine of the "natural price of wages", which he had discussed in the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30, p. 401).—8

[8] See this volume, pp. 389-400 and pp. XIII—711, XIV—818, 821-822, 840-841 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 32).—8

[9] Marx analyses the Physiocrats' views in Notebook VI of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 354-55 and 358-61).—9

[10] Marx examines the Mercantilists' views in Notebook VI of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 348-52). See also this volume, pp. 33-35.—10, 38

[11] The reference is to *Factories. Return to an Address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 24 April 1861.* Ordered by the House of Commons, to be printed, 11 February 1862. Marx analyses the facts contained in this document

on pp. XIX—1187-1198, 1215-1218 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 33).—12, 96

12 Marx is referring to Malthus' remark that the differentiation between productive and unproductive labour is the cornerstone of Adam Smith's work and the basis on which the main line of his reasoning rests (T. R. Malthus, *Principles of Political Economy...*, 2nd ed., London, 1836, p. 44).—12

13 By its substance the text in double oblique lines belongs not to p. VII—300 but to p. VII—299 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 450-51).—13

14 Here Marx quotes from *Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations*, Paris, 1802, Garnier's translation of Adam Smith's work. Marx made excerpts from it in Paris in the spring of 1844. In the present volume all quotations from Garnier's translation are given according to the English edition (A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, by J. R. MacCulloch. In four volumes. Edinburgh, London, 1828), with the pages indicated in brackets, and Marx's wording respected. Marx widely used the 1828 edition when working on the manuscript of 1861-63.—18, 152, 162, 198, 239, 439

15 On bankers and their parasitical role in capitalist society, see K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, chapters XXX-XXXIII (present edition, Vol. 37).—20

16 Marx discussed concentration of capital as a prerequisite for raising labour productivity in Notebook IV of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 294-96).—26

17 "*Laissez-faire, laissez-passer*" ("*laissez-faire, laissez-aller*")—the formula of economists who advocated Free Trade and non-interference by the state in economic relations.—26

18 In 1839 and 1843, the Société typographique Belge, Adolphe Wahlen et compagnie published two collections of economic works under the general title *Cours d'économie politique*. Both collections opened with J. A. Blanqui's *Histoire de l'économie politique en Europe...* Marx used the 1843 edition, which he had in his library and from which he quoted Rossi.—29

19 Marx is referring to Charles D'Avenant's work *Discourses on the Publick Revenues...*, Part II, London, 1698. Discourse IV deals with the defence of *An Essay on the East-India Trade*.

Marx's note on McCulloch refers to the latter's remark in his Introduction to Adam Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Edinburgh, London, 1828, p. xli. McCulloch confused *An Essay on the East-India Trade* with D'Avenant's later work, *Considerations on the East-India Trade*, published in 1701 —33

20 This quotation is a free rendering of a passage from D'Avenant. What D'Avenant actually wrote was: "The lazy Temper (which is now grown inveterate Nature in the *Spaniards*) came undoubtedly upon them, with that Affluence of Money... And the Common People being the Stomach of the Body

Politick and that Stomach being thus weaken'd and not performing its due Functions, the Food, that had been plentifully thrown in, was not at all digested... Trade and Manufactures are the only Mediums by which such a digestion and distribution of Gold and Silver can be made, as will be Nutritive to the Body Politick."—34

21 It follows from the table of contents compiled by Marx for Notebook XIV of the manuscript of 1861-63 that John Stuart Mill's views were to be examined after those of Stirling (present edition, Vol. 32).—35

22 Further on Marx analyses the views of John Stuart Mill, a disciple of Ricardo. Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, p. XIV—851, where Marx writes that Mill in his work, *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy*, tried to derive "Ricardo's law of the *rate of profit* (in inverse proportion to wages) directly from the law of value without distinguishing between *surplus value* and *profit*".—36

23 Marx formulated this distinction in Notebook II of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 162-63).

He took up this question again on pp. XIV—787-789 and XV—928 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 32).—38

24 It follows from Mill's faulty reasoning quoted above (see pp. 40-41) that capitalist No. I who used constant capital and 60 workers, spent $^6/_9$ qr of corn to produce one qr of corn, the wages of one worker ($^{120}/_{180}=^2/_3=^6/_9$), while capitalist No. II, who did without constant capital and used 100 workers, spent only $^5/_9$ qr ($^{100}/_{180}=^5/_9$) to produce one qr. In the case of capitalist No. II the "cost of production of wages" per worker is reduced by $^1/_9$ qr or, in other words, in the case of capitalist No. I, this "cost of production of wages" is one-fifth (20 per cent) higher than in that of capitalist No. II.—49

25 Marx analyses the impact of various factors on the dynamics of the rate of surplus value in Volume I of *Capital*, parts III and IV (present edition, Vol. 35), and the rate of profit in Volume III of *Capital*, Part I (present edition, Vol. 37).—55

26 See also present edition, Vol. 30, p. 443.—59, 114, 282

27 On Ricardo's concept of *real wages*, see pp. XII—653, 655, 661 and 665 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 32).—62

28 Marx is referring tc the material contained in notebooks I-V of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 30).—69

29 Marx is referring to part three of his work, "Third Chapter. Capital in General". In the Draft Plan of the Chapter on Capital drawn up in 1860, this part is entitled "III. Capital and Profit" (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 516). The beginning of this work is to be found on pp. XVI—973-1021 and XVII—1022-1028 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 33).—70, 162, 282, 397

30 Here Marx formulates for the first time the basic idea of his theory of the *transformation of surplus value into average profit*, which turns the *value* of commodities into the *price of production* differing from it. This passage was

written in the spring of 1862 (see this volume, p. 64). See also present edition, Vol. 30, p. 400, where the term average price appears for the first time to denote the price of production, which differs from value. Marx elaborated the theory of average profit and the price of production in notebooks X and XI of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see this volume, pp. 260-64, 301-05, 400-39).—75

[31] The *cottagers, cottiers*—a category of the rural population consisting of poor or landless peasants. In Ireland, the cottiers rented small plots of land and cottages from the landlords or real estate agents on extremely onerous terms. Their position resembled that of farmhands.—77, 453

[32] See present edition, Vol. 32, pp. XIII—763, 767-769 of the manuscript of 1861-63.—78

[33] This phrase has not been located in Rousseau's works.—78

[34] The passages from W. Petty's book *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions...*, London, 1679, are quoted from A. Smith, *An Inquiry...* By J. R. MacCulloch, Edinburgh, London, 1828. Introductory discourse (p. XXX). Taken from page 213 of Notebook VII of excerpts, which Marx compiled in London in 1859-62.—79

[35] Up to this point, Marx used the letter $x$ to designate the product considered as use value, and the letter $z$, the value of the product. From here onwards he uses $x$ for value, and $z$ for use value.—85

[36] Marx uses the terms contained in a quotation from Adam Smith cited earlier in the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 429-30). On the replacement of the part of constant capital which does not enter into circulation, see also Vol. 30, pp. 431-32, 444-45.—87, 147, 149

[37] Marx is referring to Notebook VII of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30, p. 414 et seq.).—91

[38] Marx cites this kind of data in Notebook V of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 30, p. 303).—96

[39] Marx quotes in French N. F. Canard's definition of wealth from Charles Ganilh's book *Des systèmes d'économie politique...* (Vol. 1, Paris, 1821, p. 75).—97

[40] Marx critically analyses Malthus' views on unproductive consumers on pp. XIV—772-773 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 32). Cf. this volume, p. 179.—106

[41] Marx analyses Smith's various determinations of value in notebooks VI-VII of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 377-78, 381-84, 402-08; cf. also Vol. 29, pp. 299-300).—106

[42] Marx critically analyses Smith's tenet that rent enters into the composition of the price of the commodity in a different way from profit and wages, in Notebook XII of the manuscript of 1861-63 (this volume, pp. 552-61). The quotation from Adam Smith's *An Inquiry...* is in French and is borrowed from Ganilh's *Des systèmes d'économie politique...* (Vol. 2, Paris, 1821, p. 3). In the 1828 English edition of Smith's work it is to be found on p. 241 of Volume 1.—106

[43] Here Marx is quoting Petty in French according to Ganilh's *Des systèmes d'économie politique...* (Vol. 2, Paris, 1821, pp. 36-37). Ganilh's translation of the passage differs somewhat from the English original quoted by Marx in an abridged form on pp. XXII—1348-1349 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 34).—107

[44] This statement by Ganilh is to be found in the first volume of his work *Des systèmes d'économie politique...* (Paris, 1821), p. 213.

Ganilh's work *La théorie de l'économie politique...* was published in 1815, two years before Ricardo's *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation.*—107

[45] Strictly speaking, on the assumption that the value of the machinery is four times as much as the rest of the capital, which amounts to £460 (150+310), it should come to £1,840. But this figure would have greatly complicated the calculations. To simplify them, Marx takes £1,600 as the value of the machinery.—109

[46] Marx quotes in French Say's note to Chapter 26 of Ricardo's *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation* from Ganilh's *Des systèmes d'économie politique...* (Vol. 1, Paris, 1821, p. 216).—115

[47] Marx quotes Say in French according to Ganilh's *Des systèmes d'économie politique...*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1821, p. 220.—117

[48] Here and below Marx, unlike Ganilh, uses figures to designate numbers.—117

[49] Marx quotes Ricardo's *Principles* in French according to Ganilh's *Des systèmes...*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1821, pp. 213-15. Part of the quotation is paraphrased by Marx. Further on, he again quotes the same passage from Ricardo, now in a fuller form, borrowing it from the third English edition (see this volume, pp. 126, 127).—117

[50] *Vos, non vobis* (*sic vos non vobis*)—thus you labour, but not for yourselves—a phrase from Virgil's unsigned verses written in honour of Emperor Augustus: "Thus you, birds, build nests, but not for your own advantage, and also the sheep grow wool, the bees make honey, and the oxen support the ploughs; but none of them gain profit by their toil."—119

[51] Here Marx quotes from Chapter 26 of Ricardo's *Principles* first in F. S. Constancio's French translation (from Ganilh's *Des systèmes...*, Vol. 1, p. 214), and then in the original English, opening the passage with the words: "This passage runs like this (3rd ed., p. 416)".—119

[52] From here onwards, four-and-a-half pages, up to p. IX—377 of the manuscript, were crossed out in pencil (see this volume, pp. 119-26). They contain Marx's detailed analysis of the figures cited by Ricardo in the passage about "an individual with a capital of 20,000 *l.*".—119

[53] Marx reproduces this quotation in a slightly abridged form on pp. XXI—1307-1308 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 34).—127

54 Marx quotes in French Say's work *Traité d'économie politique...* from Ganilh's *Des systèmes...*, Paris, 1821.—129

55 Marx quotes Quesnay in French according to Ganilh's *Des systèmes...*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1821, pp. 274-75.—130

56 Marx examines Lauderdale's views on productive and unproductive labour on pp. 162-64, 193, 195 of this volume; Ferrier's, on pp. 151, 195; Storch's, on pp. 181-84, 194-95; Senior's, on pp. 184-89, and Rossi's, on pp. 189-95.—130

57 Here and below, by "consumable products" Marx means articles of consumption, products that enter into individual (personal) consumption, and by "unconsumable products", those entering into industrial (production) consumption.—131

58 Marx is referring to Say's *Lettres à M. Malthus...* (Paris, 1820, p. 15), in which the author advanced the opinion that the Italian market was flooded with English goods because of the insufficient production of Italian goods exchangeable for English ones. This reasoning is reproduced in an anonymous pamphlet *An Inquiry into those Principles...*, London, 1821, p. 15. See also this volume, pp. 164-66.—133

59 Marx takes the round figure 10 so as to simplify further calculations. From the figures cited in the text (110 years as the total of the turnover periods for 14 different kinds of fixed capital), the average turnover period of fixed capital would work out not at 10 but only at 7.86 years, assuming that all the 14 kinds are of the same magnitude. However, Marx points out below that the turnover period of fixed capital usually grows proportionately to its size.—142

60 Marx again discussed Th. Tooke's views on the issue on pp. XVII—1061-1063 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 33).—150

61 Marx considers the question of the exchange of revenue for capital on pp. XIV—854-857 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 32). Some of the questions relating to this intermezzo are considered by Marx on pp. XIII—694-732 of the manuscript, as well as in Notebook X (this volume, pp. 204-39). Accumulation as extended reproduction is examined on p. XVIII—1102 et seq. (present edition, Vol. 33).—151

62 Marx analyses this question in Notebook VI of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 402-08).—152

63 See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 400-02.—154

64 The reference is to the following passage: "The gold and silver money, which circulates in any country, and by means of which the produce of its land and labour is annually circulated and distributed to the proper consumers, is, in the same manner as the ready money of the dealer, all dead stock. It is a very valuable part of the capital of the country, which produces nothing to the country" (A. Smith, *Recherches...*, Vol. 2, Paris, 1802, p. 290). In McCulloch's edition (see Note 14) it is to be found in Volume II on pp. 77-78.—164

[65] The above two sentences are Marx's rendering of Destutt's: "One can find certain expenses among these that are more or less fruitful, like, for example, the building of a house or the improvement of a landed property; but these are particular cases that put consumers of this kind momentarily back into the class of those who direct profitable enterprises and hire productive labour."—168

[66] The *Institute of France* (l'Institut de France) is the country's most authoritative centre dealing with the arts and sciences. It comprises a number of leading academies, including the Académie Française. Destutt de Tracy was member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques.—176

[67] Having made a detailed analysis of Malthus' views on pp. XIV—777-781 and 810-814 of the manuscript Marx examines two anonymous works, one of which attacked Malthus from the Ricardian stand, while the other defended Malthus' views against the Ricardians. The first is entitled *An Inquiry into those Principles, Respecting the Nature of Demand and the Necessity of Consumption, lately advocated by Mr. Malthus...*, London, 1821. The second (written by John Cazenove) is entitled *Outlines of Political Economy...*, London, 1832 (see present edition, Vol. 32).—180

[68] Marx quotes in French from William Paley's book *The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* according to Malthus' *Essai sur le principe de population...* Translated from the 5th English edition by P. Prévost and G. Prévost. 3rd enlarged French edition. Vol. 4, Paris, Geneva, 1836, p. 109.—181

[69] Marx is referring to the polemic against Voltaire in Lessing's *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* (1767-69).—182

[70] *Henriade*—Voltaire's poem about Henry IV, King of France; the first edition appeared in 1723.—183

[71] In Rossi this sentence reads: "If Smith had reflected, he would not have said that the labour of a magistrate is, in truth, honourable, useful, necessary work, but that it is not productive."—190

[72] On Adam Smith's hatred of the clergy, see *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. XXV (see present edition, Vol. 35).—196

[73] The quotation from Petty is to be found in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 363), in the subsection "Hoarding". Marx also referred to this passage on p. 29 of this volume.—199

[74] See A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Book II, Ch. III, the last six paragraphs. See also this volume, p. 178.—199

[75] As is clear from the contents of notebooks VII and VIII of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see Note 2), Marx originally intended to consider Ricardo's views after those of Necker. But later he decided to proceed from an analysis of Necker's theory to a study of Linguet, a contemporary of the Physiocrats. Marx wrote down the section on Linguet in a separate notebook along with "*Digression. Tableau économique, according to Quesnay*", having interrupted the work on Notebook IX somewhere between pages 407 and 419 of the manuscript. Later this separate notebook was included in the manuscript of 1861-63 and became

Notebook X with the relevant pagination. Therefore, "some quotations from Linguet above" refer to those to be found in the separate notebook (see this volume, pp. 241-45).—200

76 Marx quotes Necker in French. On p. 181 of Notebook VII of excerpts, which Marx compiled in London in 1859-63, he probably wrote a synopsis of Necker's work published in Lausanne in 1786. The 1789 edition has not been found.—201

77 See Note 75. Here Marx uses the Tableau économique as given in Schmalz's book *Économie politique.* Translated from the German by Henri Jouffroy. Vol. 1, Paris, 1826, p. 329. All comments on the table are in French in the manuscript.

Marx uses the Tableau économique as it is presented by Quesnay in his *Analyse du tableau économique* in the supplementary notes on the Physiocrats on pp. XXIII—1433-1434 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 34). He gives it in the same form in a letter to Engels of July 6, 1863 (see present edition, Vol. 41, pp. 485-87).

Marx analyses Quesnay's Tableau in Chapter X (written by him) of Part II of Engels' *Anti-Dühring* (see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 211-43). See also *Capital,* Vol. II, Ch. XIX (present edition, Vol. 36).—204

78 See pp. XIV—795-796, 808 and XVIII—1092, 1136 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, vols 32 and 33).—212

79 Here Marx counterposes the labourer whose sole commodity is his labour capacity and the possessor of commodities in the first form, that is, the possessor of commodities who has for sale "commodities as distinct from labour capacity itself" (cf. pp. 22 and 26-27 of this volume).—213

80 Marx is referring to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* Part One (see present edition, Vol. 29).—219

81 Marx is referring to the following passage in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* Part One: "The money they [commodity owners] have spent as buyers returns to them when they once more become sellers of commodities. The perpetual renewal of commodity circulation is reflected in the fact that over the entire surface of bourgeois society money not only circulates from one person to another but that at the same time it describes a number of distinct small circuits, starting from an infinite variety of points and returning to the same points, in order to repeat the movement afresh" (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 335-36).—220

82 See this volume, pp. 167-78. The notes on Destutt de Tracy predate Marx's work on this passage in a separate notebook (see Note 75), which makes it possible to trace the progress of his work on the manuscript of 1861-63.—220, 238

83 Bray's ideas on the circulation of money between labourers and capitalists were not analysed in the relevant section of the manuscript; for their analysis see this volume, pp. 245-50.—220

84 In all probability, Marx has in mind Quesnay's concept of private property in land according to which the right of landowners to their land rests on the fact that their forebears made virgin lands suitable for cultivation. Marx described these Physiocratic views in Chapter X (written by him) of Part II of Engels' *Anti-Dühring* (see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 236-37).—221

85 Marx made a comprehensive study of this problem in *Capital*, Vol. II, chapters XVII, XX (sections V and XII) and XXI (Section I, Subsection 1) (present edition, Vol. 36).—224, 239

86 Here Marx uses abbreviations for the three classes mentioned in Quesnay's Tableau économique.—225

87 Marx assumes here and below that, according to Quesnay, *only one-fifth* of the gross agricultural product does not enter into circulation but is used by the "productive class" *in natura.*

Marx returns to this point on pp. XXIII—1433-1434 of the manuscript (present edition, Vol. 34), as well as in Chapter X (written by him) of Part II of Engels' *Anti-Dühring* (present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 233-34). There he details his interpretation of Quesnay's views on the replacement of circulating capital in agriculture, whence it follows that, according to Quesnay, *two-fifths* of the farmers' gross product, used *in natura*, goes to replace their circulating capital.—228

88 Marx is referring to N. Baudeau's commentary *Explication du Tableau Économique...* in: *Physiocrates...* By E. Daire. Part II, Paris, 1846, pp. 822-67.—230

89 Instead of the livres of Tours running into the *thousands of millions* that figure in Quesnay's Tableau économique, Marx speaks of *thousands* of units of currency, which in no way alters the gist of the matter.—237

90 See present edition, Vol. 30, p. 353, and *Capital*, Vol. II, Ch. X (present edition, Vol. 36).—240

91 Proudhon writes on pp. 152-53 of his book: "How then does interest stipulated at 6 per cent become an interest of 160 per cent?"—240

92 On pp. XV—935-937 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 32) Marx levels criticism against Proudhon's vulgar economic views on the role of money capital and the nature of interest developed in *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon.* See also *Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. XXI (present edition, Vol. 37).—240

93 Marx proposed to examine the views of socialist and communist authors in a special work devoted to the "critique and history of political economy and socialism" (see his letter to Ferdinand Lassalle of February 22, 1858, present edition, Vol. 40, p. 270).—241

94 Marx is referring to the section "Opposition to the Economists (Based on the Ricardian Theory)", which is to be found on pp. XIV-XV—852-890 and XVIII—1084-1086 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition. Vols 32 and 33). The unfinished section on Bray in Notebook X (this volume, pp. 245-50) and

the end of the section on Hodgskin in Notebook XVIII, pp. 1084-1086 (present edition, Vol. 33), also bear on this subject.—241

95 Marx is rendering the sense of Linguet's statement, which reads: "Their spirit [of the laws] is to sanctify property."—241

96 Marx is conveying the sense of Linguet's statement, which reads: "Property then must be prior to them [the laws]."—242

97 Cf. the manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 28, p. 229), where Marx quoted socialists as saying, "we need capital, but not the capitalist".—247

98 Marx is referring to *A Scheme of the Income and Expence of the Several Families of England, Calculated for the year, 1688* compiled by Gregory King, one of the first English statisticians, and included by Charles D'Avenant into his book *An Essay upon the Probable Methods of Making a People Gainers in the Balance of Trade* (London, 1699). See also this volume, pp. 32-33.—250

99 With an analysis of the theory of rent on p. X—445 of the manuscript of 1861-63, Marx begins the study of a new set of problems associated with the forms of surplus value. The key issue is Ricardo's economic doctrine.

According to the original table of contents drawn up for Notebook X, the unfinished section "*f) Bray*" was to be followed by the section "*g) Ricardo*" (see Note 2). However, Marx digressed from this plan and passed on to the new theory of rent advanced by Rodbertus.

He was prompted to do so by Lassalle's request, made in a letter of June 9, 1862, that he return Rodbertus' book on rent which Lassalle had lent him. A critical analysis of Rodbertus' erroneous views on rent was also a way of passing on to a study of Ricardo's theory, since the latter denied the existence of absolute rent and considered the correlation between value and the price of production basing himself on this assumption.—250

100 In this instance, by *raw materials* Marx understands objects of labour provided by nature.—256

101 In Notebook IV of his manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 30, p. 264 et seq.) Marx describes as *the first division of labour* the division of labour within society between producers of commodities who are independent of one another, and as *the second division of labour* the division of labour within a capitalist enterprise, in particular, within a manufactory's workshop. Cf. *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. XIV, Sect. 4 (present edition, Vol. 35).—258

102 The $16^2/_3$% which the peasant receives are calculated on total production costs.—259

103 The term "*average price*" (Durchschnittspreis) is used here by Marx in the sense of price of production, i.e. the production costs $(c+v)$ plus average profit. The very term "average price" shows that here the reference is to the "average market price over a long period, or the central point towards which the market price gravitates", as Marx goes on to explain (this volume, p. 530). Marx first uses this term in Notebook VI of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30, p. 400).—262

[104] On the difference between period of production and labour time in agriculture, see the manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 58-60). See also *Capital*, Vol. II, Ch. XIII (present edition, Vol. 36).—262, 405

[105] Marx describes capitalists as "hostile brothers" at the end of Chapter X of Volume III of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 37).—264

[106] Examining capital in his manuscript of 1861-63, Marx based himself on the plan he had evolved when preparing the manuscript of 1857-58. A special study of competition was to make up the second section of the book *On Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 298).

Later, when working on the manuscript of the third volume of *Capital* (chapters VIII-XII), Marx decided that some of the questions associated with competition should be considered in the section dealing with average profit and price of production (see present edition, Vol. 37).—264

[107] Marx discusses Buchanan's concept of the monopoly price of agricultural products below (see this volume, p. 387) and on p. XII—644 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 32).

Marx's analysis of Hopkins' views on rent is to be found in this volume, pp. 366-68.—268

[108] By the radical bourgeois Marx meant James Mill, John Stuart Mill, Antoine Cherbuliez and others. See present edition, Vol. 6, p. 203; Vol. 4, pp. 286-87; Vol. 30, pp. 361 and 373; this volume, p. 379.—278

[109] In the manuscript there follows a passage dealing with a cotton-grower, a spinner and a weaver. From the profit which each of them receives individually, Marx passes on to the size of the profit made when the weaver is assumed to be also the cotton-grower and the spinner. However, Marx was not satisfied with what he had written. He broke off the passage, deleted it and proceeded with a clearer exposition of his ideas.—282

[110] Marx is referring to Notebook XII of excerpts compiled in London in 1851. The excerpt from Thomas Hopkins' *Economical Enquiries Relative to the Laws which Regulate Rent, Profit, Wages, and the Value of Money* (London, 1822) is to be found on p. 14 of the notebook. Later, he wrote down the passage again on the cover of Notebook XIII of his manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 32, Addenda).—289

[111] See T. R. Malthus, *Principles of Political Economy...*, 2nd ed., London, 1836, p. 268, and also Marx's manuscript of 1861-63, pp. XIII—765-766 (present edition, Vol. 32).—303

[112] Here Marx speaks about the doubling of the harvest, while the calculations imply that it has quadrupled.—310

[113] This passage from Rodbertus is quoted by Marx with the "necessary changes" arising from the fact, overlooked by Rodbertus, that the value of the machinery and other means of production necessarily enters into the value of the product of agriculture in just the same way as the value of agricultural raw materials enters into the product of manufacturing industry. Earlier in the manuscript, Marx quoted this passage in the way it was worded by Rodbertus (see this

volume, pp. 291, 292). The term "machine value" (Maschinenwert) is coined by Marx, not without irony, by analogy with Rodbertus' "value of the material" (Materialwert). All words belonging to Marx are interspaced.—315

114 Marx is referring here to Buchanan, Sismondi, Hopkins, Jones and others. See p. XVIII—1123 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 33).—327

115 Marx uses the specified method of calculating the total amount of rent later, in the section marked in the contents of Notebook XI as "*Table, with elucidation, of differential rent*". See this volume, p. 470 et seq.—329

116 See H. Storch, *Cours d'économie politique...*, Vol. 2, St. Petersburg, 1815, pp. 78-79. Marx also discusses this view of Storch's in *Capital*, Vol. III, chapters X and XXXIX (present edition, Vol. 37).—331, 507

117 Further on Marx does not always consistently adhere to this statement. This, however, changes nothing in the line of his argument.—331

118 The pages preceding and following this passage show that Marx probably mixed up value and average price, since if newly cultivated land I' is less fertile than land I, its average price is above the value of the product of land I. As land can be brought into cultivation only if it yields at least average profit, the price of the product should be above the value of land I, i.e. higher than 6s. 8d.—333

119 Marx wrote that on the question of the market value of agricultural products Ricardo and Storch were both right and wrong since "both of them have failed to consider the average case". See *Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. X, Note 30 (present edition, Vol. 37).—334

120 Here Marx disregards the profit accruing to the agricultural capital laid out in classes I, II, III and IV. If the £100 capital laid out in I produces 330 bushels at 6s. 8d. per bushel, the value of the total product of I amounts to £110, of this £10 falls to rent and, consequently, there is no profit. The same applies to the value of the total product of the four classes with an outlay of £100 in each, which comes to £500, consisting of £400 to replace the capital outlay, and £100, the total rent of classes I, II, III and IV, that is, £10+£20+£30+£40.—339

121 A rise in the *level* (rate) of rent as a result of the emergence of differential rents paid by capitals used on more fertile soil is "only apparent" in the sense that it is based on "false social value", which Marx discusses in greater detail in *Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. XXXIX (see present edition, Vol. 37). As Marx explains below, a capitalist leasing more fertile land sells his product at the price of the product yielded by less fertile land, "as though he still required the same capital as before in order to produce the same quantity of product" (this volume, p. 340).—339

122 Marx probably uses the figures 90, 80 and 70 as the difference between the capitals invested in classes II, III and IV, on the one hand, and the differential rents yielded by them, on the other (in class II, £100 of the capital yields £10 of differential rent, in class III—£20, and in class IV—£30). If one makes exact calculations proceeding from the fact that the product of class II equals

360 bushels, of class III—390 bushels, and of class IV—420 bushels, the figures will be as follows: £$91^2/_3$, £$84^8/_{13}$, and £$78^4/_7$.—339

123 Marx is referring to the book by Joseph Townsend, *A Dissertation on the Poor Laws* (London, 1786), which he quotes in Notebook III of his manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 30, p. 205) in the section "2) Absolute Surplus Value". The three passages quoted by Marx can also be found in *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. XXV, Sect. 4 (see present edition, Vol. 35).—345

124 An allusion to the Corn Law of 1815 which prohibited the import of corn into Britain for as long as the price of corn in the country remained below 80s. per quarter.—349

125 A reference to the Leipzig University Professor Roscher, a vulgar economist.—350

126 See *A Dissertation on the Poor Laws* (London, 1786), by Joseph Townsend, and also Notebook VII of the manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 221-22) and James Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy...*, in three volumes, Dublin, 1770.—350

127 Marx ironically calls Roscher by the name of the major Greek historian Thucydides since, as he wrote on p. XV—922 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 32), "Professor Roscher ... modestly proclaimed himself to be the Thucydides of political economy". Roscher's presumptuous reference to Thucydides can be found in the preface to the first edition of his *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie...*, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1854.—352

128 In conformity with Marx's instructions, the passage below, on pp. XI—501-02, has been placed at the end of p. 500 of the manuscript.—353

129 By its substance this sentence belongs to pp. 352-53 of this volume.

Marx is referring to Edward West's *Essay on the Application of Capital to Land, with Observations Shewing the Impolicy of Any Great Restriction of the Importation of Corn...* and David Ricardo's *An Essay on the Influence of a Low Price of Corn on the Profits of Stock; Shewing the Inexpediency of Restrictions on Importation...*, both published in London in 1815.—356

130 Marx did not return to the analysis of these views of Roscher's in the manuscript of 1861-63. He touched on Roscher's view of nature as a source of value in *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. VIII, note (see present edition, Vol. 35). See also *Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. XLVIII (present edition, Vol. 37).—361

131 Marx is paraphrasing a passage from Hopkins which reads: "The great source of error in Mr. Ricardo's theory of rent, seems to be the confounding together of the *relative* rents of lands, of different degrees of fertility, with the general average rate of rent.

"The principle of competition, which renders it impossible that there should be two rates of profit in the same country, the very basis upon which his theory of rent is founded; can and does constantly determine all lands to be let, at their proper *relative* rents."—365

132 Marx writes at greater length about enclosures in England in *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. XXVII (see present edition, Vol. 35).—370

133 James Anderson quotes here from *Ricardo d'Agricoltura* by Camillo Tarello da Lonato (16th cent.). Anderson refers to the first edition, which appeared in Mantua in 1567, but quotes from its French translation published by the Société économique in Berne.—372

134 Cf. the corresponding passage in Anderson: "I wish to employ such a diversity of illustrations as may seem best calculated to operate upon the perceptions of men who are under the influence of those multitudinous prejudices which prevail among us at the present day. No one of these prejudices appears to me to be of more pernicious tendency, than that which supposes that an increased population must naturally tend to produce a scarcity of provisions in every country..."—372

135 By *fertility of land* Marx understands the sum total of rent yielded by this land.—376

136 In *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. XXVII, Marx writes that between 1801 and 1831, 3,511,770 acres of common land were stolen from the English agricultural population "and by parliamentary devices presented to the landlords by the landlords" (see present edition, Vol. 35).—383

137 See Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*; with Notes and an Additional Volume by David Buchanan. In three volumes. Vol. II, Edinburgh, London, 1814, p. 55, note.—387

138 In Ricardo's book, Marx classifies as chapters on taxes, apart from the twelve chapters (VIII-XVIII and XXIX) dealing with taxes proper, also chapters XXII ("Bounties on Exportation and Prohibitions of Importation") and XXIII ("On Bounties on Production"), which likewise touch upon taxation; under Ricardo's theory, bounties are paid from a fund which is made up of various taxes on the population.—392

139 The term "*cost price*" (Kostenpreis or Kostpreis) is used by Marx in three different ways, in the sense of 1) the cost of production for the capitalist ($c+v$); 2) the "immanent cost of production" of the commodity ($c+v+s$), which is identical with the value of the commodity, and 3) the price of production ($c+v$+average profit). In this passage as elsewhere in notebooks X-XIII of the manuscript (see this volume and present edition, Vol. 32), the term "cost price" is used in the sense of the price of production or average price. Marx writes in particular: "... the price which is required for the supply of the commodity, the price which is required for it to come into existence at all, to appear as a commodity on the market, is of course its *price of production* or *cost price*" (see this volume, p. 559).

In notebooks XIV-XV of the manuscript (see present edition, vols 32 and 33). Marx uses "Kostenpreis" to mean the price of production or, alternatively, the production costs for the capitalist.

The threefold use of the term stems from the fact that in political economy the term "Kosten" had three meanings, as was noted by Marx on pp. XIV—788-790 and XV—928 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 32).

In addition to the three meanings occurring in the works of classical bourgeois political economists, the term "cost price" has a fourth, vulgar meaning, in which it was used by J. B. Say, who defined the cost price as that which is paid for the productive services of labour, capital and land. Marx rejected this vulgar interpretation (see this volume, pp. 361-62 and pp. XIII—693-694 of the manuscript, present edition, Vol. 32).—402

140 The average profit amounts to $20^5/_{26}$% when the capitals laid out by the farmer and the manufacturer are the same. But if we take into consideration the difference in the size of the capitals laid out (£800 by the farmer and £1,300 by the manufacturer, £2,100 in all), then, since the aggregate profit of both equals £400, the average profit is $\frac{400\times100}{2,100}=19^1/_{21}$%.—412

141 The British *quarter* (a grain measure equalling 290.8 litres) contains 8 *bushels*.—426

142 By the "numerical ratio or the proportional size of the categories" Marx understands here the mass of products which each of these categories of manufacturers brings on to the market.—429

143 "(See Corbet)" was pencilled in by Marx. Here he is referring to Thomas Corbet's book *An Inquiry into the Causes and Modes of the Wealth of Individuals...* published in London in 1841, where Corbet states that in industry prices are regulated by the commodities produced under the most favourable conditions, and, in his opinion, these commodities constitute the bulk of all commodities of any given type (see pp. 42-44 of Corbet's book).—429

144 See J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique...*, 2nd ed., Vol. 2, Paris, 1814, p. 26, and pp. XIII—693-694 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 32).—439

145 Smith assumes here that 10 per cent is the average rate of profit.—442

146 The reference is to James Steuart's book *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy...*, Vol. I, Dublin, 1770. It describes the process of transition from the predominantly natural economy of the English countryside to capitalist commodity production, which was accompanied by the transformation of agriculture into a branch of capitalist enterprise, the intensification of labour in agriculture and the expropriation of the rural population. The phrase "time becomes precious" can be found on p. 171 of Steuart's book. Marx also quotes it, alongside other passages, in his manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 234).—453

147 For the fluctuation of corn prices see the tables between pages 40 and 41 of James Anderson's book *A Calm Investigation of the Circumstances...*, London, 1801.—457

148 Besides Ricardo, Marx means Smith and Wakefield. See also *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. XXXIII (present edition, Vol. 35).—460

149 The idea that the total rent (the absolute rent and the differential rent taken together) equals the difference between the market value and the cost price is examined by Marx in greater detail later (see this volume, p. 508).—475

150 Earlier examples cited by Marx referred not to agriculture but to the exploitation of coal mines of varying productivity. However, what has been said about the mines is applicable to the cultivation of lands of varying fertility.—477

151 *Differential value*, as Marx explains further on (see this volume, p. 486), is the difference between market value and individual value. Differential value is calculated per unit of product, while the differential rent is worked out for the aggregate product in the given class. If the market value of a unit of product is greater than its individual value, the difference is a positive magnitude. If, however, the market value is smaller than the individual value, this difference is a negative magnitude.

In the case of negative magnitudes (Table C, p. 479 of this volume) fertility is so low that, given the existing market value, the lands in this class not only fail to yield any differential rent but even the absolute rent drops substantially below its normal size.

In the summary table placed between pp. 480 and 481 of this volume, Marx expresses the phenomenon of negative differential rent through negative differential value, and in these cases he simply writes nought in the column "Differential rent" thus indicating the absence of *positive* differential rent (where, in a number of cases, *negative* differential rent correspondingly reduces absolute rent, this is shown in the column "Absolute rent"). The transfer of the negative magnitudes into the column representing differential value obviates the difficulty which arose in Table C when it was necessary to add up the differential rents of the different classes. Only the positive differential rents entered into the addition, while the negative magnitude "$-£9^3/_{13}$" was simply regarded as zero to avoid duplication. That is why, to calculate negative differential rents, Marx included in his summary table a special column, "Differential value per ton", which contains the negative differential values as well.—480

152 Further on, on p. XI—573 of the manuscript, Marx sets out tables A, B, C and D, including in each of them all the categories just enumerated. On the next page of the manuscript, all the data of the tables A, B, C and D are set out again in a more orderly fashion, and the corresponding data of Table E are appended. This makes up a uniform summary table to be found between pp. 480 and 481 of this volume. Since the scheme drawn up by Marx on p. XI—573 of the manuscript operates with the data that have been incorporated into the summary table *in toto*, it is not reproduced in the volume.—480

153 When working on the manuscript of 1861-63 Marx drew on the plan of his economic work evolved when preparing the manuscript of 1857-58. It envisaged that the second book was to be totally devoted to a study of landed property (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 261).

Later, when working on Volume III of *Capital*, Marx found it expedient to expound his theory of rent there (see present edition, Vol. 37).—487

154 In the example given by Marx the product whose production depends on landed property enters in equal proportions into both component parts of the capital advanced. Marx assumes that, regardless of the increase in constant capital ($88c$ instead of $80c$ due to the increased price of the raw material) and variable capital ($22v$ instead of $20v$ due to the increased price of the workers' means of consumption), the value of the aggregate product is still 120 (in another example, considered on pp. 496-504 of this volume, Marx proceeds

from a change in value). The maintenance of the former market value of the aggregate product is only possible if the surplus value appropriated by the capitalist has gone down from 20 to 10. Such a reduction is due to an increase of the differential rent by 10 points on the more productive patches of land when the less productive patches began to be exploited. In this way the newly created value, which continues to be 40 (since the same method of production is employed), is redistributed in the following way: 10 points now form the surplus value which falls to the capitalist, 20 points are used to replace variable capital, and 10 points serve to increase the differential rent, an increase caused by the rise in the value of constant capital (by 8 points) and variable capital (by 2 points).

Below, on pp. XIII—684-686 of the manuscript (present edition, Vol. 32), Marx considers a similar case.—494

155 Here Marx uses the term "production costs" (Produktionskosten) in the sense of cost price, price of production. See also Note 139.—507

156 See E. G. Wakefield, *England and America. A Comparison of the Social and Political State of Both Nations*, London, 1833.

Marx makes a thorough analysis of Wakefield's theory of colonisation in *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. XXXIII (present edition, Vol. 35).—515

157 By the *market cost price* Marx understands the general cost price which regulates the market prices of commodities in a particular sphere of production. Cf. pp. 355-56 of this volume, where Marx uses the terms "*general* average price" and "*average market price*" to designate the same concept.—531

158 By *absolute rent* here and on p. 537 Marx means the rate of absolute rent.—Table between pp. 536 and 537

159 Here Marx uses for the first time the term "price of production" (Produktionspreis), which is henceforth identified with the term "cost price" (see Note 139).—543

160 Marx mistakenly marked two successive pages with the same number.—548

161 Ricardo calls rent "a creation of value" in the sense that it enables the landowners to pocket the increment in the value of the total social product which, according to Ricardo, results from the increased difficulty of producing part of the corn. In Chapter XXXII of his *Principles* Ricardo criticises Malthus' proposition that rent is "a clear gain and a new creation of riches", stating that rent does not increase the wealth of society as a whole but merely transfers "a portion of the value of the corn and commodities from their former possessors to the landlords". Cf. also p. XIII—733 of the manuscript (present edition, Vol. 32).—550

162 Marx is referring to the thesis advanced by Rodbertus that the value of raw materials does not enter into the production costs of agricultural products. See this volume, pp. 279-88 and 580.—551

163 The words in brackets were written in by Marx after he had completed the section dealing with Smith's views on house rent (see p. XII—641 of the manuscript, present edition, Vol. 32).—572

164 This passage, which Marx separated with a line from the rest of the text, complements his analysis of Ricardo's theory of rent and, by its substance, belongs to p. XII—605 of the manuscript (this volume, p. 529).—578

165 This passage was written down on the inside cover of Notebook XI of the manuscript. The next three paragraphs were written not earlier than May 1863, since it was at that time that Marx copied out passages from Malthus and Hume in his notebooks of excerpts.—579

166 This quotation can be found verbatim on p. 392 of this volume.

The rest of the text on this page was written not earlier than May 1863, since it was at that time that Marx copied out passages from Arbuthnot's book in his notebooks of excerpts.—580

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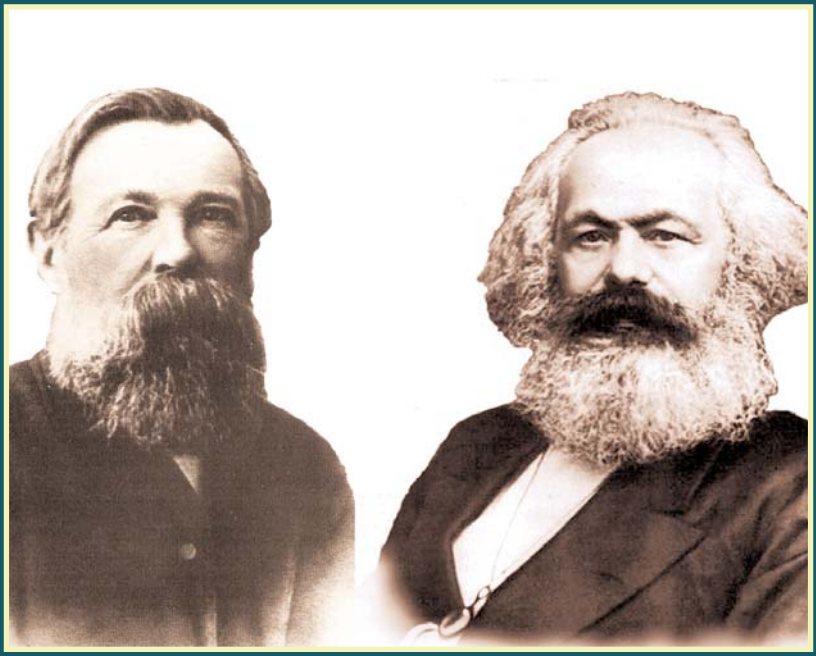

## VOLUME 32

Marx 1861-63

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 32

## Marx 1861-63

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# Preface

Volume 32 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains the continuation of Marx's economic manuscript of 1861-1863, its central part—"Theories of Surplus Value" (notebooks XII-XV, pp. 636-944 of the manuscript), the beginning of the manuscript being published in volumes 30 and 31 of the present edition.

Marx proceeds here with his historico-critical analysis of the views held by bourgeois political economists—Ricardo and Malthus; he traces the disintegration of the Ricardian school and considers the views of socialist Ricardians. In the closing part of the volume, "Revenue and Its Sources", Marx analyses, among other things, the essence of vulgar political economy.

The whole manuscript is printed here in accordance with its new publication in the languages of the original in *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe* (*MEGA*), Zweite Abteilung, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1976-82.

Obvious slips of the pen in Marx's text have been corrected by the Editors without comment. The proper and geographical names and other words abbreviated by the author are given in full. Defects in the manuscript are indicated in footnotes, places where the text is damaged or illegible are marked by dots. Where possible, editorial reconstructions are given in square brackets.

Foreign words and phrases are given as used by Marx, with the translation supplied in footnotes where necessary. English phrases, expressions and individual words occurring in the original are set in small caps. Longer passages and quotations in English are given in asterisks. Some of the words are now somewhat archaic or have undergone changes in usage. For example, the term "nigger", which has acquired generally—and especially in the USA—a more profane and unacceptable status than it had in Europe during the

19th century. The passages from English economists quoted by Marx in French are given according to the English editions used by the author. In all cases the form of quoting used by Marx is respected. The language in which Marx quotes is indicated unless it is German.

The text of and notes to Volume 32 were prepared by Yelena Vashchenko. The volume was edited by Larisa Miskievich (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). The name index was compiled by Vardan Azatian; the index of quoted and mentioned literature and the index of periodicals by Yelena Vashchenko (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The translations included in Volume 32 are based on the three-volume edition of Marx's *Theories of Surplus Value,* published by Progress Publishers, Moscow. They were made by Emile Burns, Renate Simpson and Jack Cohen and edited by Salo Ryazanskaya and Richard Dixon. These translations have been editorially checked with the new *MEGA* edition by Svetlana Gerasimenko, Natalia Karmanova, Mzia Pitskhelauri and Alla Varavitskaya. The volume was prepared for the press by Svetlana Gerasimenko, Mzia Pitskhelauri and Alla Varavitskaya (Progress Publishers).

Scientific editor for this volume was Vitaly Vygodsky (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

# KARL MARX

## ECONOMIC WORKS

## 1861-1863

# ECONOMIC MANUSCRIPT OF 1861-63

(Continuation)

# A CONTRIBUTION TO THE CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

# [I) THE PRODUCTION PROCESS OF CAPITAL]

## [5) THEORIES OF SURPLUS VALUE][1]

XII

*5) Theories of Surplus Value*[2]

*h) Ricardo*

*Table, with elucidation, of differential rent (Observations on the influence of the* CHANGE *in value of means of subsistence and raw material—therefore also in the value of machinery—on the organic composition of capital)*

*Ricardo's theory of rent*

*Adam Smith's theory of rent*

*Ricardo's theory of surplus value*

*Ricardo's theory of profit*[3]

XIII

*5) Theories of Surplus Value, etc.*

*h) Ricardo*

*Ricardo's theory of profit*

*Ricardo's theory of accumulation.* Critique of this (development of crises from the basic form of capital)

*Ricardo's* MISCELLANEA. *Conclusion of Ricardo (John Barton)*

*i) Malthus*

XIV

5) *Theories of Surplus Value*

i) *Malthus*

k) *Disintegration of the Ricardian school* (Torrens, James Mill, Prévost, polemical writings, McCulloch, Wakefield, Stirling, John Stuart Mill)

l) *Adversaries of the economists*

m) *Ramsay.* (Bray as adversary of the economists)

n) *Cherbuliez*
o) *Richard Jones.* (End of this Part 5)
*Episode:* REVENUE AND ITS SOURCES

XV

5) *Theories of Surplus Value*
1) *Proletarian opposition on the basis of Ricardo*
(*Compound interest*; fall in the rate of profit based on this.) So-called amassment as a mere phenomenon of *circulation*. (Stocks, etc.—circulation reservoirs)
2) *Ravenstone.* Conclusion
*3 and 4) Hodgskin*
(Interest-bearing capital. Existing wealth in relation to the movement of production.)
(Interest-bearing capital and commercial capital in relation to industrial capital. Older forms. Derivative forms.) (Development of interest-bearing capital on the basis of capitalist production.) (*Usury.* Luther, etc.)
*Vulgar political economy*[4]

[XII-636 (CONTINUATION)] RICARDO'S THEORY OF SURPLUS VALUE

(Just to add a further comment to what has already been said: Ricardo knows no other difference between *VALUE* and *NATURAL PRICE* than that the latter is the MONETARY EXPRESSION of the VALUE, and that it can therefore change because of a CHANGE in value of the PRECIOUS METALS, without VALUE itself changing. This CHANGE, however, only affects the evaluation or the EXPRESSION of VALUE IN MONEY. Thus, he says, for instance:

* "It" (foreign trade) "can only be regulated by altering the *natural price*, not the *natural value*, at which commodities can be produced in those countries, and that is effected by altering the distribution of the precious metals"* (l.c., [p.] 409).)[5]

Nowhere does Ricardo consider *surplus value* separately and independently from its particular forms—profit (interest) and rent. His observations on the organic composition of capital, which is of such decisive importance, are therefore confined to those differences in the organic composition which he took over from Adam Smith (actually from the Physiocrats), namely, those arising from the process of circulation (fixed and circulating capital). Nowhere does he touch on or perceive the differences in the organic composition within the actual process of production. Hence his confusion of *value* with *cost price*,[6] his wrong theory of rent, his erroneous laws relating to the causes of the rise and fall in the rate of profit, etc.

Profit and surplus value are only identical when the capital advanced is identical with the capital laid out directly in wages. (Rent is not taken into account here since the surplus value is, in the first place, entirely appropriated by the capitalist, [irrespective of] what portion he has subsequently to hand over to his CO-PARTNERS. Furthermore, Ricardo himself presents rent as an item

which is separated, detached from profit.) In his observations on profit and wages, Ricardo also abstracts from the constant part of capital, which is not laid out in wages. He treats the matter as though the entire capital were laid out directly in wages. *To this extent*, therefore, he considers *surplus value* and *not profit*, hence it is possible to speak of his theory of surplus value. On the other hand, however, he thinks that he is dealing with profit as such, and in fact views which are based on the assumption of profit and not of surplus value, constantly creep in. Where he correctly sets forth the laws of surplus value, he distorts them by immediately expressing them as laws of profit. On the other hand, he seeks to present the laws of profit directly, without the intermediate links, as laws of surplus value.

When we speak of his theory of surplus value, we are, therefore, speaking of his theory of profit, in so far as he confuses the latter with surplus value, i.e. in so far as he only considers profit in relation to variable capital, the part of capital laid out in wages. We shall later deal with what he says of profit as distinct from surplus value.[a]

It is so much in the nature of the subject-matter that surplus value can only be considered in relation to the variable capital, capital laid out directly in wages—and without an understanding of surplus value no theory of profit is possible—that Ricardo treats the entire capital as variable capital and *abstracts* from constant capital, although he occasionally mentions it in the form of ADVANCES.

[XII-637] (In Chapter XXVI, "On Gross and Net Revenue") Ricardo speaks of:

> * "trades where *profits* are in *proportion to the capital*, and not in proportion to the *quantity of labour* employed" * (l.c., p. 418).

What does his whole doctrine of AVERAGE PROFIT (on which his theory of rent depends) mean, but that PROFITS "ARE IN PROPORTION TO THE *CAPITAL*, AND *NOT* IN PROPORTION TO THE *QUANTITY OF LABOUR* EMPLOYED"? If they were "IN PROPORTION TO THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR EMPLOYED", then equal capitals would yield very *unequal* profits, since their profit would be equal to the surplus value created in their own TRADE; the surplus value however depends not on the size of the capital as a whole, but on the size of the variable capital, which = THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR EMPLOYED. What then is the meaning of attributing to a specific use of capital, to *specific* TRADES, by way of exception, THAT IN

[a] See this volume, pp. 59-64, 67-68.—*Ed.*

THEM PROFITS ARE PROPORTIONATE TO THE AMOUNT OF CAPITAL and not to THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR EMPLOYED? With a given rate of surplus value, the AMOUNT of surplus value for a particular capital must always depend, not on the absolute size of the capital, but on the QUANTITY OF LABOUR EMPLOYED. On the other hand, if the AVERAGE RATE OF PROFIT is given, the AMOUNT OF PROFIT must always depend on the AMOUNT OF CAPITAL EMPLOYED and not on the QUANTITY OF LABOUR EMPLOYED. Ricardo expressly mentions such TRADES as

*"carrying trade, the distant foreign trade, and trades where expensive machinery is required"* (l.c., [p.] 418).

That is to say, he speaks of TRADES which employ relatively large amounts of constant, and little variable capital. At the same time, they are TRADES in which, compared with others, the *TOTAL AMOUNT* of the capital advanced is large, or which can only be carried on with *large capitals.* If the RATE of profit is given, the AMOUNT OF PROFITS depends altogether on the *size* of the capitals advanced. This, however, by no means distinguishes the TRADES in which large capitals and much constant capital are employed (the two always go together) from those in which small capitals are employed, but is merely an application of the theory that equal capitals yield equal profits, a larger capital therefore yields more profit than a smaller capital. This has nothing to do with the "QUANTITY OF LABOUR EMPLOYED". But whether the rate of profit in general is great or small, depends indeed on the TOTAL QUANTITY OF LABOUR EMPLOYED BY THE CAPITAL OF THE WHOLE CLASS OF CAPITALISTS, AND on THE PROPORTIONAL QUANTITY OF *UNPAID* LABOUR EMPLOYED; AND, LASTLY, on THE PROPORTION BETWEEN THE CAPITAL EMPLOYED IN LABOUR, AND THE CAPITAL MERELY REPRODUCED AS A CONDITION OF PRODUCTION.

Ricardo himself argues against Adam Smith's view,

that a higher rate of profit in *foreign trade ("that the great profits, which are sometimes made by particular merchants in foreign trade") "will elevate the general rate of profits in the country"* (l.c., CH. VII, "On Foreign Trade", [p.] 132).

He says:

*"They contend, that the equality of profits will be brought about by the general rise of profits; and I am of opinion, that the profits of the favoured trade will speedily submit to the general level"* ([pp.] 132-33).

We shall see later,[a] how far his view is correct THAT EXCEPTIONAL PROFITS (when they are not caused by the rise in market price above the value) do not raise the GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT *in spite of the equalisation* [of profits], and also how far his view is correct that

[a] See this volume, pp. 71-72.—*Ed.*

FOREIGN TRADE and the expansion of the market can*not* raise the rate of profit. But granted that he is right, and, on the whole granted the "EQUALITY OF PROFITS", how can he distinguish between TRADES "WHERE PROFITS ARE IN *PROPORTION TO THE CAPITAL*" and OTHERS WHERE THEY ARE "IN PROPORTION TO THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR EMPLOYED"?

In the same CH. XXVI, "On Gross and Net Revenue", Ricardo says:

> * "I admit, that from the nature of rent, a given capital employed in agriculture, on any but the land last cultivated, puts in motion a greater quantity of labour than an equal capital employed in manufactures and trade" * (l.c., [p.] 419).

The whole statement is nonsense. In the first place, according to Ricardo, A GREATER QUANTITY OF LABOUR IS EMPLOYED on the LAND LAST CULTIVATED than on all the other land. That is why, according to him, rent arises on the other land. How, therefore, is a given capital to set in motion a greater quantity of labour than in MANUFACTURES AND TRADE, on all other land *except* the LAND LAST CULTIVATED? That the product of the better land has a *market value* that is *higher* than the *individual* value, which is determined by the QUANTITY OF LABOUR EMPLOYED BY THE CAPITAL THAT CULTIVATES it, is surely not the same thing as that THIS CAPITAL "PUTS IN MOTION A GREATER QUANTITY OF LABOUR THAN AN EQUAL CAPITAL EMPLOYED IN MANUFACTURES AND TRADE"? But it would have been correct, had Ricardo said that, apart from differences in the fertility of the land, altogether rent arises because agricultural capital sets in motion a greater quantity of labour in proportion to the constant part of the capital, than does the average capital in NON-AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY.

[XII-638] Ricardo overlooks the fact that, *with a given surplus value*, various factors may raise or lower and in general influence the profit. Because he identifies surplus value with profit, he quite consistently seeks to demonstrate that the rise and fall in the rate of profit is caused only by circumstances that make the rate of surplus value rise or fall. Apart from the circumstances which, when the amount of surplus value is given, influence the *rate of profit*, although not the *AMOUNT OF PROFIT*, he furthermore overlooks the fact that the rate of profit depends on the AMOUNT of surplus value, and by no means on the *rate of surplus value*. When the rate of surplus value, i.e. of SURPLUS labour, is given, the AMOUNT of surplus value depends on the organic composition of the capital, that is to say, on the number of workers which a capital OF GIVEN VALUE, for instance £100, employs. It depends on the rate of surplus value if the organic composition of the capital is given. It is thus determined by two factors: the number of workers simultaneously employed and the rate of surplus labour. If the

capital increases, then the AMOUNT OF SURPLUS VALUE also increases whatever its organic composition, provided it remains unchanged. But this in no way alters the fact that for a CAPITAL OF GIVEN VALUE, for example 100, it remains the same. If in this case it is 10, then it is 100 for [£]1,000, but this does not alter the proportion.

(*Ricardo*:

* "There cannot be *two rates of profit in the same employment*, and therefore when the value of the produce is in different proportions to capital, it is the rent which will differ, and not the profit" * (CH. XII, "Land-Tax", [pp.] 212-13).

This only applies to the normal rate of profit "IN THE SAME EMPLOYMENT". Otherwise it is in direct contradiction to the statements quoted earlier on[a] (CH. II, "On Rent", [pp.] 60, 61):

* "The exchangeable value of all commodities, whether they be manufactured, or the produce of the mines, or the produce of land, is always regulated, not by the less quantity of labour that will suffice for their production under circumstances highly favorable, and exclusively enjoyed by those who have peculiar facilities of production; but by the greater quantity of labour necessarily bestowed on their production by those who have no such facilities; by those who continue to produce them under the most unfavorable circumstances; meaning—by *the most unfavorable circumstances, the most unfavorable under which the quantity of produce required, renders it necessary to carry on the production.*" *)

In CH. XII, "Land-Tax", Ricardo incidentally makes the following remark directed against Say; it shows that the Englishman is always very conscious of the economic distinctions whereas the Continental constantly forgets them:

* "M. Say supposes, 'A landlord by his *assiduity, economy and skill*, to increase his annual revenue by 5,000 francs'[b]; but a landlord has no means of employing his assiduity, economy and skill on his land, unless he farms it himself; and then it is in quality of capitalist and farmer that he makes the improvement, and not in quality of landlord. It is not conceivable that he could so augment the produce of his farm by any *peculiar* skill" * //the "SKILL" therefore is *plus ou moins*[c] empty talk// * "on his part, without first increasing the quantity of capital employed upon it" * (l.c., [p.] 209).

In *CH. XIII*, "Taxes on Gold" (important for Ricardo's theory of money), Ricardo makes some additional reflections or further definitions relating to *MARKET PRICE* and *NATURAL PRICE*. They amount to this, how long the equalisation of the two prices takes depends on whether the particular TRADE permits a rapid or slow increase or reduction of SUPPLY, which in turn is equivalent to a *rapid or slow*

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 428, 526-27.—*Ed.*

[b] J.-B. Say. *Traité d'économie politique...*, 2nd ed., Vol. 2, Paris, 1814, pp. 353-54.—*Ed.*

[c] More or less.—*Ed.*

*TRANSFER* OR *WITHDRAWAL* of capital TO OR FROM THE TRADE IN QUESTION. Ricardo has been criticised by many writers (Sismondi, etc.) because, in his observations on rent, he disregards the difficulties that the *WITHDRAWAL OF CAPITAL* presents for the farmer who employs a great deal of fixed capital, etc. (The history of England from 1815 to 1830 provides *strong proof* for this.) Although this objection is quite correct, it does *not in any way* affect the theory, it leaves it *quite untouched,* because in this case it is invariably only a question of the *plus ou moins* rapid or slow operation of the economic law. But as regards the *reverse* objection, which refers to the APPLICATION OF NEW CAPITAL TO NEW SOILS, the situation is quite different. Ricardo assumes that this can take place *without the intervention* of the LANDLORD, that in this case capital is operating in a field of action [XII-639], in which it does not meet with any resistance. But this is *fundamentally wrong.* In order to prove this assumption, that this is indeed so, where capitalist production and landed property are developed, Ricardo always presupposes cases in which landed property does *not* exist, either in fact or in law, and where capitalist production too is *not yet* developed, at least not on the land.

The statements just referred to are the following:

*"The rise in the price of commodities, in consequence of taxation or of difficulty of production, will in all cases ultimately ensue; but the *duration of the interval,* before the market price will conform to the natural price, *must depend on the nature of the commodity,* and on *the facility with which it can be reduced in quantity.* If the quantity of the commodity taxed could not be diminished, if the capital of the farmer or [of] the hatter for instance, could not be withdrawn to other employments, it would be of no consequence that their profits were reduced below the general level by means of a tax; unless the demand for their commodities should increase, they would never be able to elevate the market price of corn and of hats up to their increased natural price. Their threats to leave their employments, and remove their capitals to more favoured trades, would be treated as an idle menace which could not be carried into effect; and consequently the price would not be raised by diminished production. *Commodities,* however, of all descriptions can *be reduced in quantity,* and *capital can be removed from trades which are less profitable to those which are more so, but with different degrees of rapidity.* In proportion as the supply of a particular commodity can be more easily reduced, without inconvenience to the producer, the price of it will more quickly rise after the difficulty of its production has been increased by taxation, or by any other means" ([pp.] 214-15). "The agreement of the market and natural prices of all commodities, depends at all times on the facility with which the supply can be increased or diminished. In the case of gold, houses, and labour, as well as many other things, this effect cannot, under some circumstances, be speedily produced. But it is different with those commodities which are consumed and reproduced from year to year, such as hats, shoes, corn, and cloth; they may be reduced, if necessary, and the interval cannot be long before the supply is contracted in proportion to the increased charge of producing them"* (l.c., [pp.] 220-21).

In the same CH. XIII, "Taxes on Gold", Ricardo speaks of

*"*rent being* not *a creation, but merely a transfer of wealth*"* (l.c., [p.] 221).

*Is profit *a creation* of wealth, or is it not rather a *transfer* of the surplus labour, from the workman to the capitalist? As to *wages* too, they are, in fact, not a *creation* of wealth. But they are not a transfer. They are the appropriation of part of the produce of labour to those who produced it.*

In the same chapter Ricardo says:

*"A *tax on raw produce* from the surface of the earth, will ... fall on the *consumer*, and will in no way affect rent; unless, by diminishing the funds for the maintenance of labour, it lowers wages, reduces the population, and diminishes the demand for corn"* ([p.] 221).

Whether Ricardo is right when he says that "A TAX ON *RAW PRODUCE* FROM THE SURFACE OF THE EARTH" falls neither on the LANDLORD nor on the farmer but on the *CONSUMER*, does not concern us here. I maintain, however, that, if he is right, such a tax may *raise the rent*, whereas he thinks that it does not affect it, unless, by increasing the price of the means of subsistence, etc., it diminishes capital, etc., population and the demand for corn. For Ricardo imagines that an increase in the price of RAW PRODUCE only affects the *rate of profit* in so far as it raises the price of the *means of subsistence* of the worker. And it is true that an increase in the price of *RAW PRODUCE* can only in this way affect the *rate of surplus value* and consequently *surplus value* itself, *thereby* affecting the rate of profit. But assuming a given *surplus value*, an increase in the price of the "RAW PRODUCE FROM THE SURFACE OF THE EARTH" would *raise* the value of constant capital in proportion to the variable, would increase the ratio of constant capital to variable and *therefore* reduce the *rate of profit*, thus raising the *rent*. Ricardo starts out from the viewpoint [XII-640] that in so far as the rise or fall in the price of the *raw produce* does not affect wages, it does not affect profit; for, he argues //except in one passage to which we shall return at a later stage[a]// that the rate of profit remains the same, whether the value of the capital advanced falls or rises. If the value of the capital advanced grows, then the value of the product grows and also the part of the product which forms the surplus product, [i.e.] profit. The reverse happens when the value of the capital advanced falls. This is only correct, if the values of variable and constant capital change in the *same proportion*, whether the change is caused by a rise in the price of raw materials or by taxes, etc. In

[a] See this volume, pp. 63-64, 67.—*Ed.*

this case the rate remains unaffected, because [no] CHANGE HAS TAKEN PLACE IN THE ORGANIC COMPOSITION OF THE CAPITAL. And even then it must be *assumed*—as is the case with TEMPORARY CHANGES—that wages remain the same, whether the price of RAW PRODUCE rises or falls (in other words [wages] remain the same, that is, their value remains unchanged irrespective of any rise or fall in the use value of the wages).

The following possibilities exist:

First the two major differences:

*A)* A CHANGE *in the mode of production* brings about a change in the *proportion* between the amounts of constant and variable capital employed. In this case the rate of surplus value remains the same provided wages remain constant (in terms of value). But the surplus value itself is affected if a different number of workers is employed by the same capital, i.e. if there is an alteration in the variable capital. If the CHANGE in the mode of production results in a relative fall in constant capital, the surplus value grows and thus the rate of profit. The reverse case produces the opposite result.

It is here assumed throughout that the value *pro tanto,* per *100* for example, of constant and variable capital remains *the same.*

In this case the CHANGE in the mode of production cannot affect constant and variable capital equally; that is, for instance, constant and variable capital—without a change in value—cannot increase or diminish to the same extent, for the fall or rise is here always the result of a change in the productivity of labour. A CHANGE in the mode of production has not the same but a *different* effect [on constant and variable capital]; and this has nothing to do with whether a large or small amount of capital has to be employed with a given ORGANIC COMPOSITION *of capital.*

*B) The mode of production remains the same.* There is a CHANGE *in the ratio of constant to variable capital,* while their relative volume remains the same (so that each of them forms the same ALIQUOT PART of the total capital as before). This change in their ratio is caused by a *change in the value* of the commodities which enter into constant or variable capital.

The following possibilities exist here:

The value of the constant capital remains the same while that of the variable capital rises or falls. This would always affect the surplus value, and thereby the rate of profit. The value of the variable capital remains the same while that of the constant rises or falls. Then the rate of profit would fall in the first case and rise in the second. If both fall simultaneously, but in different

proportions, then the one has always risen or fallen as compared with the other.

The value of the constant and of the variable capital is *equally* affected, whether both rise or both fall. If both rise, then the rate of profit falls, not because the constant capital rises but because the variable capital *rises* and accordingly the surplus value falls (for only the value [of the variable capital] rises, although it sets in motion the same number of workers as before, or perhaps even a smaller number). If both fall, then the rate of profit rises, not because constant capital falls, but because the variable falls (in terms of value) and therefore the surplus value increases.

*C) CHANGE in the mode of production and CHANGE in the value of the elements that form constant or variable capital.* Here one CHANGE may neutralise the other, for example, when the amount of constant capital grows while its value falls or remains the same (i.e. it falls *pro tanto*, per 100) or when its amount falls but its value rises in the same proportion or remains the same (i.e. it rises *pro tanto*). In this case there would be no change at all in the organic composition. The rate of profit would remain unchanged. But it can never happen—except in the case of agricultural capital—that the amount of the constant capital falls as compared with the variable capital, while its value *rises*.

This type of nullification cannot possibly apply to variable capital (while the real wage remains unchanged).

Except for this one case, it is therefore only possible for the value and amount of the constant capital to fall or rise simultaneously in relation to the variable capital, its value therefore rises or falls absolutely as compared with the variable capital. This CASE has already been considered. Or they may fall or rise simultaneously [XII-641] but in unequal proportion. On the assumption made, this possibility always reduces itself to the case in which the value of the constant capital rises or falls relatively to the variable.

This also includes the other case. For if the amount of the constant capital rises, then the amount of the variable capital falls relatively, and vice versa. Similarly with the value.

It is clear that what has been regarded here as a *variation* within the *organic composition* of one capital, can apply equally to the difference in the *organic composition* between *different capitals*, capitals in DIFFERENT TRADES.

*Firstly*: Instead of a variation in the organic composition of *one* capital—a difference in the *organic composition of different* capitals.

*Secondly*: Alteration in the organic composition through a *change*

*in value* in the two parts of one capital, similarly a difference in the *value* of the *raw materials* and *machinery employed* by different capitals. This does not apply to variable capital, since equal wages in the DIFFERENT TRADES are assumed. The difference in the *VALUE* OF DIFFERENT DAYS OF LABOUR IN DIFFERENT TRADES has nothing to do with it. If the labour of a goldsmith is dearer than that of a LABOURER, then the surplus time of the goldsmith is proportionately dearer than that of the PEASANT.

(See *p. 632.*[a]) On *HOUSE RENT* *Adam Smith* says:

* "Whatever part of the whole rent of a house is *over and above* what is *sufficient* for affording this reasonable *profit*" (to the builder) "naturally goes to the ground rent; and where the owner of the ground, and the owner of the building, are two different persons, it is in most cases completely paid to the former. In country houses, at a distance from any great town, where there is a plentiful choice of ground, the ground rent is scarcely any thing, or no more than what the space upon which the house stands, would pay employed in agriculture" * (BOOK V, CH. II).[7]

In the case of the GROUND RENT OF HOUSES, *SITUATION* constitutes just as decisive a factor for the differential rent, as FERTILITY (and SITUATION) in the case of AGRICULTURAL RENT.

Adam Smith shares with the Physiocrats, not only the partiality for AGRICULTURE and the LANDLORD, but also the view that they are particularly suitable OBJECTS OF TAXATION. He says:

* "Both ground rents, and the ordinary rent of land, are a species of revenue, which the owner in many cases enjoys, without any care or attention of his own. Though a part of this revenue should be taken from him, in order to defray the expenses of the State, no discouragement will thereby be given to any sort of industry. The annual produce of the land and labour of the society, the real wealth and revenue of the great body of the people, might be the same after such a tax as before. Ground rents, and the ordinary rent of land are, therefore, perhaps, the species of revenue, which can best bear to have a peculiar tax imposed upon them" * (BOOK V, CH. II).

The considerations which Ricardo (p. 230)[b] advances are very philistine.

In *CH. XV*, "Taxes on Profits", Ricardo says:

* "Taxes on those commodities, which are generally denominated luxuries, fall on those only who make use of them.... But taxes on necessaries do not affect the consumers of necessaries, in proportion to that quantity that may be consumed by them, but often in a much higher proportion." * For example, *a tax on corn. "It alters the rate of profits of stock. Whatever raises the wages of labour, lowers the

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, p. 572.—*Ed.*

[b] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, 3rd ed., London, 1821.—*Ed.*

profits of stock; therefore every tax on any commodity consumed by the labourer, has a tendency to lower the rate of profits"* ([p.] 231).

TAXES ON CONSUMERS are at the same time TAXES ON PRODUCERS, in so far as the object TAXED enters not only into individual consumption but also into industrial consumption, or only into the latter. This does not, however, apply only to the NECESSARIES CONSUMED BY WORKMEN. It applies to all materials INDUSTRIALLY CONSUMED BY THE CAPITALIST. Every tax of this kind reduces the rate of profit, because it raises the value of the constant capital in relation to the variable. For example, a tax imposed on flax or wool. [XII-642] The flax rises in price. The flax spinner can therefore no longer purchase the same quantity of flax with a capital of 100. Since the mode of production has remained the same, he needs the same number of workers to spin the same quantity of flax. But the flax has a greater value than before, in relation to the capital laid out in wages. The rate of profit therefore falls. It does not help him at all that the price of LINEN YARN rises. The absolute level of this price is in fact immaterial to him. What matters is only the excess of this price over the price of the ADVANCES. If he wanted to raise [the price of] the total product, not only by [the amount necessary to cover the increase in] the price of the flax, but to such an extent that the same quantity of yarn would yield him the same profit as before, then the demand—which is already falling as a result of the rising price of the raw material of the yarn—would fall still further because of the artificial rise which is due to the higher profit. Although, ON AN AVERAGE the rate of profit is given, it is not possible in such cases to raise the price in this way.

*In regard to case C,* [*p.*] *640,* it should also be noted:

It would be possible for the wages to rise but for constant capital to fall *in terms of value,* not in *physical terms.* If the rise and fall were proportional on both sides, the rate of profit could remain unchanged. For instance, if the constant capital were £60, wages 40 and the rate of surplus value 50%, then the product would be 120. The rate of profit would be 20%. If the constant capital fell to 40, although its volume [in physical terms] remained unchanged, and wages rose to 60, while the surplus value fell from 50% to $33^1/_3$%, then the product would be 120 and the rate of profit 20. This is wrong. According to the assumption, the total value of the quantity of labour employed=£60. Hence, if the wage rose to 60, surplus value and therefore the rate of profit would be 0. But if it did not rise to such an extent, then any rise in the wage would bring about a fall in the surplus value. If wages rose to 50, then the surplus value=£10, if [they rose] to £45, then [the

surplus value would be] 15, etc. Under all circumstances, therefore, the surplus value and the rate of profit would fall to the same degree. For we are measuring the unchanged total capital here. While the magnitude of the capital (the total capital) remains the same the rate of profit must always rise and fall, not with the rate of surplus value but with the ABSOLUTE AMOUNT OF SURPLUS VALUE. But if, in the above example, the flax fell so low that the amount which the same number of workers were spinning could be bought for £40, then we would have the following:

| Constant capital | Variable capital | Surplus value | Value of the product | Capital advanced | Rate of profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| £40 | 50 | 10 | 100 | 90 | $11^1/_9$% |

The rate of profit would have fallen below 20%.
But supposing:

| Constant capital | Variable capital | Surplus value | Value of the product | Capital advanced | Rate of profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30 | 50 | 10 | 90 | 80 | $12^1/_2$% |

Supposing:

| Constant capital | Variable capital | Surplus value | Value of the product | Capital advanced | Rate of profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20 | 50 | 10 | 80 | 70 | $14^2/_7$% |

According to the assumption, the fall in the value of the constant capital never completely counterbalances the rise in the value of the variable capital. On the assumption made, it can never entirely cancel it out, since for the rate of profit to be 20, [£]10 would have to be $^1/_5$ of the total capital advanced. But in the case in which the variable capital=50, this would only be possible when the constant capital=0. Assume, on the other hand, that variable capital rose only to 45; in this case the surplus value would be 15. And, say, the constant capital fell to 30, in this case

| Constant capital | Variable capital | Surplus value | Value of the product | Capital advanced | Rate of profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30 | 45 | 15 | 90 | 75 | 20% |

In this case the two movements cancel each other out entirely. [XII-643] Assume further:

| Constant capital | Variable capital | Surplus value | Value of the product | Capital advanced | Rate of profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20 | 45 | 15 | 80 | 65 | $23^1/_{13}$% |

Even with the fall in the surplus value,[a] therefore, the rate of profit could *rise* in this case, because of the proportionately

[a] In comparison with the initial case $60c+40v+20s$.—*Ed.*

greater fall in the value of the constant capital. More workers could be employed with the same capital of 100, despite the rise in wages and the fall in the rate of surplus value. Despite the fall in the rate of surplus value, the amount of surplus value, and hence the profit, would increase, because the number of workers had increased. For the above ratio of $20c+45v$ gives us the following proportions with a capital outlay of 100:

| Constant capital | Variable capital | Surplus value | Value of the product | Capital advanced | Rate of profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| $30^{10}/_{13}$ | $69^{3}/_{13}$ | $23^{1}/_{13}$ | $123^{1}/_{13}$ | 100 | $23^{1}/_{13}$% |

The relation between the rate of surplus value and the number of workers becomes very important here. Ricardo never considers it.

[In] *Ch. XV*, "Taxes on Profits", Ricardo says:

*"In a former part of this work, we discussed the effects of the division of capital into *fixed and circulating*, or rather into *durable and perishable capital*, on the prices of commodities. We shewed that two manufacturers might employ precisely the same amount of capital, and might derive from it precisely the same amount of profits, but that they would sell their commodities for very different sums of money, according as the capitals they employed were rapidly, or slowly, consumed and reproduced. The one might sell his goods for £4,000, the other for £10,000, and they might both employ £10,000 of capital, and obtain 20% profit, or £2,000. The capital of one might consist, for example, of £2,000 circulating capital, to be reproduced, and £8,000 fixed, in buildings and machinery; the capital of the other, on the contrary, might consist of £8,000 of circulating, and of only 2,000 fixed capital in machinery, and buildings. Now, if each of these persons were to be taxed ten per cent on his income, or £200, the one, to make his business yield him the *general rate of profit*, must raise his goods from £10,000 to £10,200; the other would also be obliged to raise the price of his goods from £4,000 to £4,200. Before the tax, the goods sold by one of these manufacturers were $2^{1}/_{2}$ times more valuable than the goods of the other; after the tax they will be 2.42 times more valuable: the one kind will have risen two per cent; the other five per cent: consequently a tax upon income, whilst money continued unaltered in value, would alter the relative prices *and* value of commodities"* ([pp.] 234-35).

The error lies in this final "AND"—"PRICES *AND* VALUE". This CHANGE OF PRICES would only show—just as in the case of capital containing different proportions of fixed and circulating capital—that the establishment of the *GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT* requires that the prices or cost prices which are determined and regulated by that general rate of profit [are] very different from the *values* of the commodities. And this most important aspect of the question does not exist for Ricardo at all.

In the same CHAPTER he says:

*"If a country were not taxed, and money should fall in value, its abundance in every market"* //here [he expresses] the absurd notion that *a fall in the value of

money ought to be accompanied by its abundance in every market// [XII-644] "would produce similar effects in each. If meat rose 20 per cent, bread, beer, shoes, labour, and *every commodity,* would also rise 20 per cent; it is necessary they should do so, to secure to each trade the same rate of profits. But this is no longer true when any of these commodities is taxed; if, in that case they should all rise in proportion to the fall in the value of money, *profits would be rendered unequal*; in the case of the commodities taxed, *profits would be raised above the general level,* and capital *would be removed from one employment to another, till an equilibrium of profits was restored,* which could only be, after *the relative prices were altered*" * ([pp. 236-]37).

And so the EQUILIBRIUM OF PROFITS is altogether brought about by [alterations in] the RELATIVE *VALUES*; the *REAL VALUES* OF the COMMODITIES ARE ALTERED, AND SO ADAPTED THAT THEY CORRESPOND, NOT TO THEIR REAL VALUE, BUT TO THE AVERAGE PROFIT they yield.

In CH. XVII: "Taxes on Other Commodities than Raw Produce", Ricardo says:

* "Mr. Buchanan considers corn and raw produce as at a monopoly price, because they yield a rent: all commodities which yield a rent, he supposes, must be at a monopoly price; and thence he infers, that all taxes on raw produce would fall on the landlord, and not on the consumer.

"'The *price of corn,*' he says, 'which always affords a rent, *being in no respect influenced by the expenses of its production,* those *expenses must be paid out of the rent*; *and when they* rise or fall, therefore, the consequence is not a higher or lower price, but a higher or lower rent. In this view, all taxes on farm servants, horses, or the implements of agriculture, are in reality land taxes; the burden falling on the farmer during the currency of his lease, and on the landlord, when the lease comes to be renewed. In like manner all those improved implements of husbandry which save expense to the farmer, such as machines for threshing and reaping, whatever gives him easier access to the market, such as good roads, canals and bridges, though they lessen the original cost of corn, *do not lessen its market price.* Whatever is saved by those improvements, therefore, belongs to the landlord as part of his rent.'[a]

"It is evident" * (says Ricardo) * "that if we yield to Mr. Buchanan the basis on which his argument is built, namely, that the price of corn always yields a rent, all the consequences which he contends for would follow of course" * ([pp.] 292-93).

THIS IS BY NO MEANS EVIDENT. What Buchanan bases his argument on is not THAT ALL CORN YIEDS A RENT, but THAT ALL CORN WHICH YIELDS A RENT IS SOLD AT A *MONOPOLY PRICE,* and that MONOPOLY PRICE—in the sense in which Adam Smith explains it and it has the same meaning with Ricardo—is "THE VERY HIGHEST PRICE AT WHICH THE CONSUMERS ARE WILLING TO PURCHASE THE COMMODITY".[8]

But this is wrong. CORN WHICH YIELDS A RENT (apart from differential rent) is not SOLD AT A MONOPOLY PRICE in Buchanan's sense. It is sold at a monopoly price, only in so far as it is sold above its *cost price, i.e. at its value.* Its price is determined by the QUANTITY OF LABOUR REALISED

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[a] D. Buchanan, *Observations on the Subjects Treated of in Dr. Smith's Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Edinburgh, 1814, pp. 37-38.—*Ed.*

IN IT, not by the EXPENSES OF ITS PRODUCTION, and the rent is the excess of the VALUE over the cost price, it is therefore determined by the latter. The smaller is the cost price relatively to the VALUE, the greater will be [the rent], and the greater the cost price in relation to the VALUE, the smaller [the rent]. All IMPROVEMENTS lower the value of the corn because [they reduce] the quantity of labour required for its production. Whether they reduce the rent, depends on various circumstances. If the corn becomes cheaper, and if wages are thereby reduced, then the rate of surplus value rises. Furthermore, the FARMER'S EXPENSES in seeds, fodder, etc., would fall. And therewith the rate of profit in all other, NON-AGRICULTURAL TRADES would rise, hence *also* in agriculture. The relative amounts of IMMEDIATE and ACCUMULATED LABOUR would remain unchanged in the NON-AGRICULTURAL TRADES; the number of workers (in relation to constant capital) would remain the same, but the value of the variable capital would fall, the surplus value [XII-645] would therefore rise, and also the rate of profit. *Consequently* [they would] also [rise] in AGRICULTURAL TRADE. Rent falls here because the rate of profit rises. *Corn becomes cheaper, but its cost price rises. Hence the difference between its value and its cost price falls.*

According to our assumption the ratio for the average NON-AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL$=80c+20v$, the rate of surplus value$=50\%$, hence surplus value$=10$ and the rate of profit$=10\%$. The value of the product of the average capital of 100 therefore$=110$.

If one assumes, that as a result of the lowering of the price of grain, wages fell by $^1/_4$, then *the same number of workers* employed on a constant capital of £80, that is on the same amount of raw material and machinery, would now cost only 15. And the same amount of commodities would be worth $80c+15v+15s$, since, according to the assumption, the quantity of labour which they perform=£30. Thus the value of the same amount of commodities$=110$, as before. But the capital advanced would now amount only to 95 and 15 on $95=15\,^{15}/_{19}\%$. If, however, the same amount of capital were laid out, that is 100, then the ratio would be: $84^4/_{19}c+15^{15}/_{19}v$. The profit, however, would be $15^{15}/_{19}$. And the value of the product would amount to £$115^{15}/_{19}$. According to the assumption, however, the AGRICULTURAL capital$=60c+40v$ and the value of its product$=120$. Rent$=10$, while the cost price$=110$. Now the rent=only $4^4/_{19}$. For $115^{15}/_{19}+4^4/_{19}=$£120.

We see here that the average capital of 100 produces commodities at a cost price of $115^{15}/_{19}$ instead of the previous 110. Has this caused the average price of the commodity to rise? Its

value has remained the same, since the same amount of labour is required to transform the same amount of raw material and machinery into product. But the same capital of 100 sets in motion more labour, and while previously it transformed 80, now it transforms $84^4/_{19}$ constant capital into product. A greater proportion of this labour is, however, now unpaid. Hence there is an increase in profit and in the *total value* of the commodities produced by £100. The value of the individual commodity has remained the same, but more commodities *at the same value* are being produced with a capital of 100. What is however the position of the cost price in the individual TRADES?

Let us assume that the NON-AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL consisted of the following capitals:

| | | Product | Difference between value and cost price |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1) $80c+20v$ | In order | $=110$ (*value*$=110$) | $=0$ |
| 2) $60c+40v$ | to sell at | $=110$ (value$=120$) | $=-10$ |
| 3) $85c+15v$ | the same | $=110$ (value$=107^1/_2$) | $=+2^1/_2$ |
| 4) $95c+5v$ | cost prices | $=110$ (value$=102^1/_2$) | $=+7^1/_2$ |

Thus the average capital$=80c+20v$

For 2) the difference$=-10$, for 3)+4)$=+10$. For the whole capital of $400=0-10+10=0$. If the product of the capital of 400 is sold at 440, then the commodities produced by it are sold at *their value.* This yields [a profit of] 10%. But [in case] 2), the commodities are sold at £10 below their value, [in case] 3) at $2^1/_2$ above their value and [in case] 4) at $7^1/_2$ above their value. Only [in case] 1) are they sold at their value if they are sold at their cost price, i.e., 100 capital+10 profit.

[XII-646] But what would be the situation as a result of the fall in wages by $^1/_4$?

*For capital 1).* Instead of $80c+20v$, [the outlay is] now $84^4/_{19}c+15^{15}/_{19}v$, *profit* $15^{15}/_{19}$, *value of the product* $115^{15}/_{19}$.

*For capital 2).* Now only 30 laid out in wages, since $^1/_4$ of $40=10$ and $40-10=30$. The product$=60c+30v$ and the surplus value$=30$. (For the *value of the labour applied*$=$*£60.*) On a capital of 90 [the wages]$=33^1/_3$%. For [a capital of] 100 the ratio is: $66^2/_3c+33^1/_3v$ *and the value*$=133^1/_3$. The rate of profit$=33^1/_3$.

*For capital 3).* Now only $11^1/_4$ [laid out] in wages, for $^1/_4$ of $15=3^3/_4$ and $15-3^3/_4=11^1/_4$. The product would be $85c+11^1/_4v$ and the surplus value equal to $11^1/_4$. (Value of the labour

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applied=$22^2/_4$.) On a capital of $96^1/_4$. But this [the wages]=$11^{53}/_{77}$%. For 100 the *ratio* is $88^{24}/_{77}c + 11^{53}/_{77}v$. The rate of profit=$11^{53}/_{77}$ and [the value of the] product=$111^{53}/_{77}$.

*For capital 4).* Now only $3^3/_4$ laid out in wages, for $^1/_4$ of $5=1^1/_4$ and $5-1^1/_4=3^3/_4$. The product $95c+3^3/_4v$ and the surplus value equal to $3^3/_4$ (for the value of the total labour=$7^2/_4$). On a capital of $98^3/_4$. This [the wages]=$3^{63}/_{79}$%. For 100 the ratio is: $96^{16}/_{79}c+3^{63}/_{79}v$. The rate of profit=$3^{63}/_{79}$. The value [of the product]=$103^{63}/_{79}$.

We would therefore have the following:

| | Rate of profit | | Product | Difference between cost price and value |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) $84^4/_{19}c+15^{15}/_{19}v$ | $15^{15}/_{19}$ | In order to sell at the same cost prices | =116 (value=$115^{15}/_{19}$) | $=+\ ^4/_{19}$ |
| 2) $66^2/_3c+33^1/_3v$ | $33^1/_3$ | | =116 (value=$133^1/_3$) | $=-17^1/_3$ |
| 3) $88^{24}/_{77}c+11^{53}/_{77}v$ | $11^{53}/_{77}$ | | =116 (value=$111^{53}/_{77}$) | $=+\ 4^{24}/_{77}$ |
| 4) $96^{16}/_{79}c+3^{63}/_{79}v$ | $3^{63}/_{79}$ | | =116 (value=$103^{63}/_{79}$) | $=+12^{16}/_{79}$ |
| Total: 400 | 64 (to the nearest whole number) | | | |

This makes 16%. More exactly, a little more than £$16^1/_7$.[9] The calculation is not quite correct because we have disregarded, not taken into account a fraction of the average profit; this makes the negative difference in 2) appear a little too large and [the positive] in 1), 3), 4) a little too small. But it can be seen that otherwise the positive and negative differences would cancel out; further, it can be seen that on the one hand the sale of 2) *below* its value and of 3) and particularly of 4) *above* their value would increase considerably. True, the addition to or reduction of the price would not be so great for the individual product as might appear here, since in all 4 categories more labour is employed and hence more constant capital (raw materials and machinery) is transformed into product. The increase or reduction in price would thus be spread over a larger volume of commodities. Nevertheless it would still be considerable. It is thus evident that a fall in wages would cause a rise in the cost prices of 1), 3), 4), in fact a very considerable rise in the cost price of 4). It is the same law as that developed by Ricardo in relation to the difference between circulating and fixed capital,[10] but he did not by any means prove, nor could he have proved, that this is reconcilable with the law of value and that the value of the products remains the same for the total capital.

[XII-647] The calculation and the adjustment becomes much

more complicated if we take into account those differences in the organic composition of the capital which arise from the circulation process. For in our calculation, above, we assumed that the whole of the *constant capital* which has been advanced, enters into the product, i.e. that it contains only the wear and tear of the fixed capital, for one year, for example (since we have to calculate the profit for the year). The values of the total product would otherwise be very different, whereas here they only change with the variable capital. Secondly, with a constant rate of surplus value but varying periods of circulation, there would be greater differences in the *amount of surplus value created*, relatively to the capital advanced. Leaving out of account any differences in variable capital, the amounts of the surplus values would be proportionate to the amounts of the values created by the same capitals. The rate of profit would be even lower where a relatively large part of the constant capital consisted of fixed capital and considerably higher, where a relatively large part of the capital consisted of circulating capital. It would be highest where the variable capital was relatively large as compared with the constant capital and where the fixed portion of the latter was at the same time relatively small. If the ratio of circulating to fixed capital in the constant capital were *the same* in the different capitals, then the only determining factor would be the difference between variable and constant capital. If the ratio of variable to constant capital were the same, then it would be the difference between fixed and circulating capital, that is, only the difference within the constant capital itself.

As we have seen above, the FARMER'S rate of profit would rise, in any case, if, as a result of the lower price of corn, the general rate of profit of the NON-AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL increased. The question is whether his rate of profit would rise directly, and this appears to depend on the nature of the IMPROVEMENTS. If the IMPROVEMENTS were of such a kind that the capital laid out in wages decreased considerably compared with that laid out in machinery, etc., then his rate of profit need not necessarily rise directly. If, for example, it was such that he required $^1/_4$ less workers, then instead of his original outlay of £40 in wages, he would now pay only 30. Thus his capital would be $60c+30v$, or on 100 it would be $66^2/_3c+33^1/_3v$. And since the labour costing 40 [provides a surplus value of] 20, the labour costing 30 provides 15. And $16^2/_3$ [surplus value is derived] from the labour costing $33^1/_3$. Thus the organic composition [of the agricultural capital] would grow closer to the NON-AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL. And in the above case, with a simultaneous

decrease in wages by $^1/_4$, it would even come within the range of that of the non-agricultural capital.[11] In this case, rent (absolute rent) would disappear.

Following upon the above-quoted passage on Buchanan, Ricardo says:

> * "I hope I have made it sufficiently clear, that until a country is cultivated in every part, and up to the highest degree, there is always *a portion of capital employed on the land* which yields no rent, *and*" (!) "that it is this portion of capital, the result of which, as in manufactures, is divided between profits and wages that *regulates the price of corn.* The price of corn, then, which does not afford a rent, being influenced by the expenses of its production, those expenses cannot be paid out of rent. The consequence therefore of those expenses increasing, is a higher price, and not a lower rent" * (l.c., [p.] 293).

Since absolute rent is equal to the excess of the value of the AGRICULTURAL product over its price of production, it is clear that all factors which reduce the *total quantity* of labour required in the production OF CORN, etc., reduce the rent, because they reduce the value, hence the excess of the value over the price of production. In so far as the price of production consists of EXPENSES, its fall is identical and goes hand in hand with the fall in value. But in so far as the price of production (or the EXPENSES)=THE CAPITAL ADVANCED+the AVERAGE PROFIT, the very reverse is the case. The market value of the product falls, but that part of it, which=the price of production, rises, if the general rate of profit rises as a result of the fall in the market value of corn. The rent, therefore, falls, because the EXPENSES in this sense rise—and this is how Ricardo takes expenses elsewhere, when he speaks of COST OF PRODUCTION. Improvements in agriculture, which bring about an increase in constant capital as compared with variable, would reduce rent considerably, even if the total quantity of labour employed fell only slightly, or so slightly that it did not influence wages (surplus value, directly) at all. Suppose, as a result of such improvements, the composition of the capital altered from $60c+40v$ to $66^2/_3c+33^1/_3v$ (this might occur, for example, as a result of rising wages, caused by emigration, war, discovery of new markets, PROSPERITY IN THE NON-AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY, [or it could occur as a result of the] competition of foreign corn, the farmer might feel impelled to find means of employing more constant capital and less variable; the same circumstances could continue to operate after the introduction of the improvement and wages therefore might not fall despite the improvement). [XII-648] Then the value of the AGRICULTURAL PRODUCT would be reduced from 120 to $116^2/_3$, that is by $3^1/_3$. The rate of profit would continue to be 10%.

The rent would fall from 10 to $6^2/_3$ and, moreover, this reduction would have taken place without any reduction whatsoever in wages.

The absolute rent may rise because the general rate of profit falls, owing to new advances in industry. The rate of profit may fall due to a rise in rent, because of an increase in the value of AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE which is accompanied by an increase in the difference between its value and its cost price. (At the same time, the rate of profit falls because wages rise.)

The absolute rent can fall, because the value of AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE falls and the general rate of profit rises. It can fall, because the value of the AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE falls as a result of a fundamental change in the ORGANIC COMPOSITION OF CAPITAL, without the rate of profit rising. It can disappear completely, as soon as the *value of the AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE* becomes=the *cost price*, in other words when the AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL has the same composition as the NON-AGRICULTURAL AVERAGE CAPITAL.

Ricardo's proposition would only be correct if expressed like this: When the value of AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE=its cost price, then there is no absolute rent. But he is wrong because he says: There is no ABSOLUTE RENT *because* value and cost price are altogether identical, both in industry and in agriculture. On the contrary, agriculture would belong to an exceptional class of industry, if its value and cost price were identical.

Even when admitting that there may be no portion of LAND which does not pay a rent, Ricardo believes that by referring to the fact that at least some portion of the capital EMPLOYED on the LAND pays no rent he substantially improves his case. The one FACT is as irrelevant to the theory as the other. The real question is this: Do the products of these lands or of this capital regulate the market value? Or must they not rather sell their products *below* their value, because their ADDITIONAL SUPPLY is only saleable *at*, not *above*, this market value which is regulated without them. So far as the portion of capital is concerned, the matter is simple, because for the FARMER who invests an *ADDITIONAL amount of capital LANDED PROPERTY does not exist* and as a capitalist he is only concerned with the cost price; if he possesses the ADDITIONAL capital, it is more advantageous for him to invest it on his FARM, even *below* the AVERAGE PROFIT, than to *lend it out* and to receive only interest and no profit. So far as the land is concerned, those portions of land which do not pay a rent form component parts of estates that pay rent and are not separable from the estates with which they are let; they cannot however be let in isolation from the rest to a

CAPITALIST FARMER (but perhaps to a COTTIER or to a SMALL CAPITALIST). In relation to these bits of land, the FARMER is again not confronted by "LANDED PROPERTY". Alternatively, the PROPRIETOR must cultivate the land himself. The FARMER cannot pay a rent for it and the LANDLORD does not let it *for nothing*, unless he wants to have his land made arable in this fashion without incurring any expense.

The situation would be different in a country in which the COMPOSITION of the AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL=the AVERAGE COMPOSITION of the NON-AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL, which presupposes a high level of development in agriculture or a low level of development in industry. In this case the value of the AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE=its cost price. Only differential rent could be paid then. The land which yields no differential rent but *only* an AGRICULTURAL RENT, could then pay no rent. For if the farmer sells the agricultural produce at its value, it only covers its cost price. *He* therefore pays no rent. The PROPRIETOR must then cultivate the land himself, or the so-called *fermage*[a] collected by him is a part of his tenant's profit or even of his wages. That this might be the case in one country does not mean that the opposite might not happen in another country. Where, however, industry—and therefore capitalist production—is at a low level of development, there are no CAPITALIST FARMERS, whose existence would presuppose capitalist production on the land. Thus, quite different circumstances have to be considered here, from those involved in the economic organisation in which landed property as an economic category exists only in the form of rent.

In the same CH. XVII, Ricardo says:

> * "Raw produce is not at a monopoly price, because the market price of barley and wheat is as much regulated by their *cost of production*, as the market price of cloth and linen. The only difference is this, that *one portion of the capital* employed in agriculture regulates the price of corn, namely, that portion which pays no rent; whereas, in the *production of manufactured commodities, every portion of capital is employed with the same results*; and as *no portion pays rent, every portion is equally a regulator of price*" * (l.c., pp. 290-91).

This assertion, THAT EVERY PORTION OF CAPITAL IS EMPLOYED WITH THE SAME RESULTS and that none pays RENT (which is, however, called SURPLUS PROFIT here) is not only wrong, but has been refuted by Ricardo himself [XII-650][12] as we have seen previously.[b]

We now come to the presentation of Ricardo's theory of surplus value.

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[a] Rent.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 428, 526-27 and also this volume, p. 13.—*Ed.*

## 1) Quantity of Labour and Value of Labour

Ricardo opens *Ch. I*, "On Value", with the following heading of *Sect. I*:

* "The value of a commodity, or the quantity of any other commodity for which it will exchange, depends on the *relative quantity of labour* which is necessary for its production, and not on the greater or less compensation which is paid for *that labour.*" *

In the style which runs through the whole of his enquiry, Ricardo begins his book here by stating that the determination of the value of commodities by labour time is *not* incompatible with *wages*, in other words with the varying compensation paid for that labour time or that quantity of labour. From the very outset, he turns against Adam Smith's confusion between the determination of the value of commodities by the PROPORTIONAL *QUANTITY OF LABOUR* REQUIRED FOR THEIR PRODUCTION AND THE *VALUE OF LABOUR* (or the compensation paid for LABOUR).

It is clear that the proportional quantity of labour contained in two commodities A and B, is absolutely unaffected by whether the workers who produce A and B receive much or little of the product of their labour. The value of A and B is determined by the *quantity of labour* which their production costs, and not by the *costs of labour* to the OWNERS of A and B. Quantity of labour and value of labour are two different things. The quantity of labour which is contained in A and B respectively, has nothing to do with how much of the *labour* contained in A and B the owners of A and B have *paid* or even *performed themselves.* A and B are exchanged not in proportion to the *paid* labour contained in them, but in proportion to the total quantity of labour they contain, paid and unpaid.

* "Adam Smith, who so accurately defined the original source of exchangeable value and who was bound in consistency to maintain, that all things became more or less valuable in proportion as more or less labour was bestowed on their production, has himself erected another standard measure of value, and speaks of things being more or less valuable, in proportion as they will *exchange for more or less of this standard measure...* as if *these were two equivalent expressions,* and as if because a man's labour had become doubly efficient, and he could therefore produce twice the quantity of a commodity, he would necessarily receive twice the former quantity in exchange for it" * (that is for his *labour). "If this indeed were true, *if the reward of the labourer were always in proportion to what he produced, the quantity of labour* [bestowed on a commodity, and the quantity of labour] *which that commodity would purchase, would be equal,* and either might accurately measure the variations of other things: *but they are not equal*" * ([p.] 5).

Adam Smith nowhere asserts THAT "THESE WERE TWO EQUIVALENT EXPRESSIONS". On the contrary, he says: Because in capitalist

production, the wage of the worker is *no* longer equal to his product, therefore, the quantity of labour which a commodity costs and the quantity of commodities that the worker can purchase with this labour are two different things—*for this very reason* the relative quantity of labour contained in commodities ceases to determine their value, which is now determined rather by the *VALUE OF LABOUR*, by the quantity of labour that I can purchase, or command with a given amount of commodities. Thus the *VALUE OF LABOUR*, instead of the *RELATIVE QUANTITY* OF LABOUR becomes the measure of value. Ricardo's reply to Adam Smith is correct—that the *relative quantity of labour* which is contained in two commodities is in no way affected by how much of this quantity of labour falls to the workers themselves and by the way this labour is remunerated; if the *RELATIVE QUANTITY OF LABOUR* was the measure of value of commodities *before* the supervention of wages (wages that differ from the value of the products themselves), there is therefore no reason at all, why it should not continue to be so *after* wages have come into being. He argues correctly, that Adam Smith could use both expressions so long as they were EQUIVALENT, but that this is no reason for using the wrong expression instead of the right one when they have ceased to be EQUIVALENT.

But Ricardo has by no means thereby solved the problem which is the real cause of Adam Smith's contradiction. *VALUE OF LABOUR* and *QUANTITY OF LABOUR* remain "EQUIVALENT EXPRESSIONS", so long as it is a question of *objectified labour*! [XII-651] They cease to be equivalents as soon as *objectified labour* is exchanged for *living labour.*

Two *commodities* exchange in proportion to the *labour objectified in them.* Equal quantities of objectified labour are exchanged for one another. Labour time is their STANDARD MEASURE, but precisely for this reason they are "MORE OR LESS VALUABLE, IN PROPORTION AS THEY WILL EXCHANGE FOR MORE OR LESS OF THIS STANDARD MEASURE". If the commodity A contains one working day, then it will exchange against any quantity of commodities which likewise contains one working day and it is "MORE OR LESS VALUABLE" in proportion as it exchanges for more or less objectified labour in other commodities, since this exchange relationship expresses, is identical with, the relative quantity of labour which it itself contains.

Now wage labour, however, is a *commodity.* It is even the basis on which the production of *products* as *commodities* takes place. The *law of value* is not applicable to it. Capitalist production therefore is not governed at all by this law. Therein lies a contradiction. This

is the first of Adam Smith's problems. The second—which we shall find further amplified by Malthus[a]—lies in the fact that the *utilisation* of a commodity (as capital) is proportional not to the amount of labour it contains, but to the extent to which it commands the *labour of others,* gives power over *more* labour of others than it itself contains. This is IN FACT a second latent reason for asserting that since the beginning of capitalist production, the value of commodities is determined not by the labour they contain but by the living labour which they command, in other words, by the *value of labour.*

Ricardo simply answers that this is how matters are in capitalist production. Not only does he fail to solve the problem; he does not even realise its existence in Adam Smith's work. In conformity with the whole arrangement of his investigation, Ricardo is satisfied with demonstrating that the changing value of labour—in short, wages—does not *invalidate* the determination of the value of the *commodities,* which are distinct from labour itself, by the relative quantity of labour contained in them. "*THEY ARE NOT EQUAL*", that is "THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR BESTOWED ON A COMMODITY, AND THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR WHICH THAT COMMODITY WOULD PURCHASE". He contents himself with stating this fact. But how does the commodity labour differ from other commodities? One is *living labour* and the other *objectified* labour. They are, therefore, only two different forms of labour. Since the difference is only a matter of form, why should a law apply to one and not to the other? Ricardo does not answer—he does not even raise this question.

Nor does it help when he says:

> * "Is not the value of labour ... variable; being not only affected, as all other things" * (should read *commodities) "are, by the proportion between the supply and demand, which uniformly varies with every change in the condition of the community, but also by the varying price of food and other necessaries, on which the *wages of labour* are expended?" * ([p.] 7).

That the PRICE OF LABOUR, like that of other commodities, changes with DEMAND and SUPPLY proves nothing in regard to the *VALUE* OF LABOUR, according to Ricardo, just as this change of price with SUPPLY and DEMAND proves nothing in regard to the VALUE OF OTHER COMMODITIES. But that the "WAGES OF LABOUR"—which is only another expression for the VALUE OF LABOUR—are affected by "THE VARYING PRICE OF FOOD AND OTHER NECESSARIES, ON WHICH THE WAGES OF LABOUR ARE EXPENDED", shows just as little why the VALUE OF LABOUR is (or appears to be) determined differently from the VALUE of other COMMODITIES. For

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[a] See this volume, pp. 210-11.—*Ed.*

these too are affected by the VARYING PRICE OF OTHER COMMODITIES WHICH ENTER INTO THEIR PRODUCTION, AGAINST WHICH THEY ARE *EXCHANGED*. And after all, the *EXPENDITURE* OF THE WAGES OF LABOUR UPON FOOD AND NECESSARIES means nothing other than the *EXCHANGE* of the VALUE OF LABOUR AGAINST FOOD AND NECESSARIES. The question is just why *LABOUR* and the *commodities against which it is exchanged*, do not exchange according to the law of value, according to the relative quantities of labour.

Posed in this way, and *presupposing* the *law of value*, the question is intrinsically insoluble, because *LABOUR* as such is counterposed to *commodity*, a definite quantity of immediate labour as such is counterposed to a definite quantity of objectified labour.

This weakness in Ricardo's discourse, as we shall see later,[a] has contributed to the disintegration of his school, and led to the proposition of absurd hypotheses.

[XII-652] *Wakefield* is right when he says:

* "Treating *labour* as a *commodity*, and *capital*, the produce of labour, as another, then, if the *value of these two commodities* were *regulated by equal quantities of labour*, a given amount of labour would, under all circumstances, exchange for that quantity of capital which had been produced by the same amount of labour; *antecedent labour* [...] *would always exchange for the same amount of present labour* [...] But the value of labour, in relation to other commodities, in so far, at least, as wages depend upon share, is determined, *not by equal quantities of labour*, but by the proportion between supply and demand" * (E. G. Wakefield, Note on p. [230], 231 of Vol. I of his edition of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, London, 1835.[13])

This is also one of Bailey's hobby-horses; to be looked up later.[b] Also *Say*, who is very pleased to find that here, all of a sudden, SUPPLY AND DEMAND are said to be the decisive factors.[c]

## 2) Value of Labour Capacity. VALUE OF LABOUR

In order to determine surplus value, Ricardo, like the Physiocrats, Adam Smith, etc., must first determine the *value of labour capacity* or, as he puts it—following Adam Smith and his predecessors—THE *VALUE OF LABOUR*.

*Re I*. Another point to be noted here: *CH. I, SECT. 3*, bears the following heading:

* "Not only *the labour applied immediately* to commodities affects their value, but the *labour also* which *is bestowed* on the implements, tools, and buildings, with which such labour is assisted" * [Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy*..., 3rd ed., London, 1821, p. 16].

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[a] See this volume, pp. 258 et seq.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 334-39.—*Ed.*

[c] Cf. ibid., p. 36.—*Ed.*

Thus the value of a commodity is equally determined by the quantity of *objectified* (*past*) labour and by the quantity of *living* (*immediate*) labour required for its production. In other words: the quantities of labour are in no way affected by the *formal difference* of whether the labour is objectified or living, past or present (immediate). If this difference is of no significance in the determination of the value of commodities, why does it assume such decisive importance when past labour (capital) is exchanged against living labour? Why should it, in this case, invalidate the law of value, since the difference *in itself,* as shown in the case of commodities, has no effect on the determination of value? Ricardo does not answer this question, he does not even raise it.

How then is the *value* or NATURAL PRICE of labour determined? According to *Ricardo,* the NATURAL PRICE is in fact nothing but the MONETARY EXPRESSION OF VALUE.

* "*Labour,* like all other things which are purchased and sold, and which may be increased or diminished [in quantity]" * (i.e. like all other commodities) * "has its natural and its market price. *The natural price of labour* is that price which is necessary to enable the labourers, one with another, to subsist and perpetuate their race, without either increase or diminution." * (Should read: * with that rate of increase required by the average progress of production.) "The power of the labourer to support himself, and the family which may be necessary to keep up the number of labourers, ... depends on *the price of the food, necessaries, and conveniences, required for the support of the labourer and his family.* With a rise in the price of food and necessaries, the natural price of labour will rise; with the fall in their price, the natural price of labour will fall" ([p.] 86).

"It is not to be understood that the natural price of labour, estimated even in food and necessaries, is absolutely fixed and constant. It varies at different times in the same country, and very materially differs in different countries. It essentially depends on the habits and customs of the people" * ([p.] 91).

The VALUE OF LABOUR is therefore determined by the *means of subsistence* which, in a given society, are traditionally *necessary* for the maintenance and reproduction of the labourers.

But why? By what law is the VALUE OF LABOUR determined in this way?

Ricardo has in fact no answer, other than that the law OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND reduced the average price of labour to the means of subsistence that are necessary (physically or socially necessary in a given society) for the maintenance of the labourer. [XII-653] He determines *value* here, in one of the basic propositions of the whole system, by *demand and supply*—as Say notes with malicious pleasure. (See Constancio's translation.[14])

Instead of *labour,* Ricardo should have discussed labour *capacity.* But had he done so, *capital* would also have been revealed as the material conditions of labour, confronting the labourer as power

that had acquired an independent existence. And capital would at once have been revealed as a *definite social relationship*. Ricardo thus only distinguishes capital as "ACCUMULATED LABOUR" from "IMMEDIATE LABOUR". And it is something purely physical, only an element in the *labour process*, from which the relation between the worker and capital, WAGES AND PROFITS, could never be developed.

* "*Capital* is that part of the wealth of a country which is employed in production, and consists of food, clothing, tools, raw materials, machinery, etc., necessary to give effect to labour" ([p.] 89). "*Less capital*, which is the same thing as *less labour*" ([p.] 73). "Labour and *capital*, that is, *accumulated labour*" * (l.c., p. 499).

The jump which Ricardo makes here is correctly sensed by *Bailey*:

* "Mr. Ricardo, ingeniously enough, avoids a difficulty, which, on a first view, threatens to encumber his doctrine, that value depends on the quantity of labour employed in production. If this principle is rigidly adhered to, it follows, that the *value of labour* depends *on the quantity of labour employed in producing it*—which is evidently absurd. By a dexterous turn, therefore, Mr. Ricardo makes the value of labour depend on the quantity of labour required to produce wages, or, to give him the benefit of his own language, he maintains, that *the value of labour is to be estimated* by the quantity of labour required to produce wages; by which he means, the quantity of labour required to produce the money or commodities given to the labourer. This is similar to saying, that the value of cloth is to be estimated, not by the quantity of labour bestowed upon its production, but by the quantity of labour bestowed on the production of silver, for which the cloth is exchanged" * (*A Critical Dissertation on the Nature, Measures, and Causes of Value etc.*, London, 1825, [pp.] 50-51).

*Literally* the objection raised here is correct. Ricardo distinguishes between *NOMINAL* and *REAL WAGES*. NOMINAL WAGES are wages expressed in money, MONEY WAGES.

"*NOMINAL WAGES*" are "THE NUMBER OF POUNDS THAT MAY BE ANNUALLY PAID TO THE LABOURER", but *REAL WAGES* are "THE *NUMBER OF DAY'S WORK*,[a] NECESSARY TO OBTAIN THOSE POUNDS" (Ricardo, l.c. [p.] 152).

As WAGES=the NECESSARIES for the LABOURER, and the value of these WAGES (the REAL WAGES)=the value of these NECESSARIES, it is obvious that the value of these NECESSARIES=the REAL WAGES,=the labour which they can command. If the value of the NECESSARIES changes, then the value of the REAL WAGES changes. Assume that the NECESSARIES of the labourer consist only of corn, and that the quantity of means of subsistence which he requires is 1 qr of corn per month. Then the value of his wages=the value of 1 qr of corn; if the value of the qr

[a] In the manuscript these words are followed by the German equivalent in brackets.— *Ed.*

of corn rises or falls, then the value of the month's labour rises or falls. But however much the value of the qr of corn rises or falls (however much or little labour the qr of corn contains), it is always=to the value of one month's labour. And here we have the *hidden reason* for Adam Smith's assertion, that as soon as capital, and consequently wage labour, intervenes, the value of the product is not regulated by the QUANTITY OF LABOUR BESTOWED UPON it, BUT by THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR IT CAN COMMAND. The value of corn (AND OF OTHER NECESSARIES) determined by labour time, changes; but, so long as the NATURAL PRICE OF LABOUR is paid, the quantity of labour that the qr of corn can command remains the same. Labour has,therefore, a *permanent relative value as compared with corn.* That is why for Smith too, the VALUE OF LABOUR and the VALUE OF CORN (FOR FOOD. See Deacon *Hume*[15]) [are] STANDARD MEASURES OF VALUE. BECAUSE A CERTAIN QUANTITY OF CORN SO LONG AS THE NATURAL PRICE OF LABOUR IS PAID, COMMANDS A CERTAIN QUANTITY OF LABOUR, WHATEVER THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR BESTOWED UPON ONE QR OF CORN. The same quantity of labour always commands the same *use value,* or rather the same use value always commands *the same quantity of labour.* Even Ricardo determines the VALUE OF LABOUR, ITS NATURAL PRICE, in this way. Ricardo says: The qr of CORN may have very different values, although it always commands—or is commanded by—the same [XII-654] quantity of labour. Yes, says Adam Smith: However much the value of the qr of corn, determined by labour time, may change, the worker must always pay (sacrifice) the same quantity of labour in order to buy it. The value of corn therefore alters, but the value of labour does not, since 1 month's labour =1 qr of corn. The value of corn too changes only in so far as we are considering the labour required for its production. If, on the other hand, we examine the quantity of labour against which it exchanges, which it sets into motion, its value does not change. And that is precisely why the QUANTITY OF LABOUR, AGAINST WHICH A QR OF CORN IS EXCHANGED, [is] THE *STANDARD MEASURE OF VALUE.* But the values of the other commodities have the same relation to labour as they have to corn. A given quantity of corn commands *a given quantity of labour. A given quantity of every other commodity commands a certain quantity of corn. Hence every other commodity—or rather the value of every other commodity—is expressed by the quantity of labour it commands, since it is expressed by the quantity of corn it commands, and the latter is expressed by the quantity of labour it commands.*

But how is the value of other commodities in relation to corn (NECESSARIES) determined? By the QUANTITY OF LABOUR THEY COMMAND. And how is the QUANTITY OF LABOUR THEY COMMAND determined? By the

QUANTITY OF CORN THAT LABOUR COMMANDS. Here Adam Smith is inevitably caught up in a *cercle vicieux*.[a] (Although, BY THE BY, he *never* uses this MEASURE OF VALUE when making an actual analysis.) Moreover here he confuses—as Ricardo also often does—labour, the *intrinsic* measure of value, with *money, the external measure,* which presupposes that value is already determined; although he and Ricardo have declared that labour is

"THE *FOUNDATION OF THE VALUE* OF COMMODITIES" while "THE COMPARATIVE QUANTITY OF LABOUR WHICH IS NECESSARY TO THEIR PRODUCTION" is "THE RULE WHICH DETERMINES THE RESPECTIVE QUANTITIES OF GOODS WHICH SHALL BE GIVEN IN EXCHANGE FOR EACH OTHER" (Ricardo, l.c., p. 80).

Adam Smith errs when he concludes from the fact that a definite quantity of labour is EXCHANGEABLE for a definite quantity of use value, that this *definite quantity of labour* is the measure of value and that it always has *the same value,* whereas the same quantity of use value can represent very different exchange values. But Ricardo errs twice over; firstly because he does not understand the problem which causes Adam Smith's errors; secondly because disregarding the law of value of commodities and taking refuge in the LAW OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND, he himself determines the *value of labour,* not by the quantity of labour BESTOWED UPON THE *FORCE OF LABOUR,* BUT UPON THE WAGES ALLOTTED TO THE LABOURER. Thus IN FACT he says: The value of labour is determined by the value of the money which is paid for it! And what determines this? What determines the amount of money that is paid for it? The quantity of use value that a given amount of labour commands or the quantity of labour that a definite quantity of use value commands. And thereby he falls *literally* into the very inconsistency which he himself condemned in Smith.

This, as we have seen, also prevents him from grasping the specific distinction between *commodity* and *capital,* between the exchange of commodity for commodity and the exchange of capital for commodity—in accordance with the law of exchange of commodities.

The above example was this: 1 qr of corn=1 month's labour, say 30 working days. (A working day of 12 hours.) In this case the value of 1 qr corn < 30 working days. IF 1 qr corn were the product of 30 working days, the value of the labour=its product. There would be no surplus value, and therefore no profit. No capital. In actual fact, therefore, if 1 qr corn represents the wages for 30 working days, the value of 1 qr corn always < 30 working days.

[a] Vicious circle.—*Ed.*

The surplus value depends on how much less it is. For example, 1 qr corn=25 working days. Then the surplus value=5 working days=$^1/_6$ of the total labour time. If 1 qr (8 BUSHELS)=25 working days, then 30 working days=1 qr 1 $^3/_5$ BUSHELS. The *value* of the 30 working days (i.e. the wage) is therefore always smaller than the value of the product which contains the labour of 30 working days. The value of the corn is thus determined not by the [XII-655] labour which it commands, for which it exchanges, but by the labour which is contained in it. On the other hand, the *value of the 30 days' labour* is always determined by 1 qr corn, whatever this may be.

### 3) Surplus Value

Apart from the confusion between LABOUR and labour capacity, Ricardo defines the AVERAGE WAGES or the VALUE OF LABOUR correctly. For he says that it is determined neither by the money nor by the means of subsistence which the labourer receives, but by the *labour time which it costs to produce them*, that is, by the *quantity of labour objectified* in the means of subsistence of the labourer. This he calls the *REAL* WAGES. (See later.[a])

This definition, moreover, necessarily follows from his theory. Since the VALUE OF LABOUR is determined by the *VALUE of the necessary means of subsistence* on which this VALUE IS TO BE EXPENDED, and the *VALUE OF NECESSARIES*, LIKE THAT OF ALL OTHER COMMODITIES, IS DETERMINED BY *THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR BESTOWED UPON THEM*, it naturally follows THAT THE VALUE OF LABOUR=THE VALUE OF NECESSARIES=*THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR BESTOWED UPON THESE NECESSARIES.*

However correct this formula is (apart from the direct opposition of LABOUR and CAPITAL), it is, nevertheless, inadequate. Although in replacement of his WAGES the individual labourer does not directly *produce—or reproduce*, taking into account the continuity of this process—products on which he lives // he may produce products which do not enter into his consumption at all, and even if he produces NECESSARIES, he may, due to the division of labour, only produce A SINGLE PART OF the NECESSARIES, for instance CORN—and GIVES IT ONLY ONE FORM (e.g. in that OF CORN, NOT OF BREAD) //, but he *produces* commodities to the *value* of his means of subsistence, that is, he produces the *value* of his means of subsistence. This means, therefore, if we consider his daily average consumption, that the labour time which is contained in his daily NECESSARIES, forms one

[a] See this volume, pp. 52-59.—*Ed.*

part of his *working day*. He works one part of the day in order to reproduce the *value* of his NECESSARIES; the commodities which he produces in this part of the working day have the same value, or represent a *quantity* of labour time equal to that contained in his daily NECESSARIES. *It depends on the value of these NECESSARIES* (in other words on the social productivity of labour and not on the productivity of the individual branch of production in which he works) *how great a part of his working day* is devoted to the reproduction or production of the *value*, i.e. the equivalent, of his means of subsistence. Ricardo of course assumes that the labour time contained in the daily NECESSARIES=the labour time which the labourer must work daily in order to reproduce the value of these NECESSARIES. But by not *directly* showing that one *part* of the labourer's *working day* is assigned to the reproduction of the value of his own labour capacity, he introduces a difficulty and obscures the clear understanding of the relationship. A twofold confusion arises from this. The *origin of surplus value* does not become clear and consequently Ricardo is reproached by his successors for having failed to grasp and expound the nature of surplus value. That is part of the reason for their scholastic attempts at explaining it. But because thus the origin and nature of surplus value is not clearly comprehended, the surplus labour+the necessary labour, in short, the *total working day*, is regarded as a fixed magnitude, the differences in the amount of surplus value are overlooked, and the productivity of capital, the *compulsion to perform surplus labour*—on the one hand [capital's enforcement of] absolute [surplus value], and on the other its innate urge to shorten the necessary labour time—are not recognised, and therefore the *historical* justification for capital is not set forth. Adam Smith, however, had already stated the correct formula. Important as it was, to resolve VALUE into LABOUR, it was equally important to resolve SURPLUS VALUE into SURPLUS LABOUR, and to do so in explicit terms.

Ricardo starts out from the actual fact of capitalist production. The value of labour < the value of the product which it creates. The value of the product therefore > the value of the labour which produces it, or the value of the WAGES. The excess of the value of the product *over* the value of the WAGES=the surplus value. (Ricardo wrongly uses the word *profit*, but, as we noted earlier, he identifies profit with surplus value here and is really speaking of the latter.) For him it is a fact, that the value of the product > the value of the WAGES. How this fact arises, remains unclear. The total working day *is* greater than that part of the working day which is

required for the production of the WAGES. Why? That does not emerge. The *magnitude of the total working day* is therefore wrongly assumed to be *fixed*, and directly entails wrong conclusions. The increase or decrease in surplus value can therefore be explained *only* from the growing or diminishing productivity of social labour which produces the NECESSARIES. That is to say, only relative surplus value is understood.

[XII-656] It is obvious that if the labourer needed his whole day to produce his own means of subsistence (i.e. commodities equal to the value of his own means of subsistence), there could be no surplus value, and therefore no capitalist production and no wage labour. This can only exist when the productivity of social labour is sufficiently developed to make possible some sort of excess of the total working day over the labour time required for the reproduction of the WAGES—i.e. *surplus labour*, whatever its magnitude. But it is equally obvious, that with a given labour time ([a given] length of the working day) the productivity of labour may be very different, on the other hand, with a given productivity of labour, the labour time, the length of the working day, may be very different. Furthermore, it is clear that though the existence of *surplus labour* presupposes that the productivity of labour has reached a certain level, the mere *possibility* of this surplus labour (i.e. the existence of that necessary minimum productivity of labour), does not in itself make it a *reality*. For this to occur, the labourer must first be *compelled* to work beyond the limits [of necessary labour], and this compulsion is exerted by capital. This is missing in Ricardo's work, and therefore also the whole struggle over the regulation of the normal working day.

At a low stage of development of the social productive power of labour, that is to say, where the surplus labour is relatively small, the class of those who live on the labour of others will generally be small in relation to the number of labourers. It can considerably grow (proportionately) in the measure in which productivity and therefore relative surplus value develop.

It is moreover UNDERSTOOD that the *value of labour* varies greatly in the same country at different periods and in different countries during the same period. The temperate zones are however the home of capitalist production. The *social* productive power of labour may be very undeveloped; yet this may be compensated precisely in the production of the NECESSARIES, on the one hand, by the fertility of the natural agents, such as the land; on the other hand, by the limited requirements of the population, due to climate, etc.—this is, for instance, the case in India. Where

conditions are primitive, the minimum wage may be very small (quantitatively in use values) because the social needs are not yet developed though it may cost much labour. But even if an average amount of labour were required to produce this minimum wage, the surplus value created, although it would be high in proportion to the wage (to the necessary labour time), would, even with a high rate of surplus value, be just as meagre (proportionately)—when expressed in terms of use values—as the wage itself.

Let the necessary labour time=10, the surplus labour=2, and the total working day=12 hours. If the necessary labour time=12, the surplus labour=$2^2/_5$ and the total working day=$14^2/_5$ hours, then the values produced would be very different. In the first case [they]=12 hours, in the second=$14^2/_5$ hours. Similarly, the absolute magnitude of the surplus value: In the former case [it]=2 hours, in the latter=$2^2/_5$. And yet the *rate of surplus value* or of *surplus labour* would be the same, because $2:10=2^2/_5:12$. If, in the second case, the variable capital which is laid out were greater, then so also would be the surplus value or surplus labour appropriated by it. If in the latter case, the surplus labour were to rise by $^5/_5$ hours instead of by $^2/_5$ hours, so that it=3 hours and the total working day=15 hours, then, although the *necessary labour time* or the minimum wage had increased, the *rate of surplus value* would have risen, for $2:10={}^1/_5$; but $3:12={}^1/_4$. Both could occur if, as a result of the corn, etc., becoming dearer, the minimum wage had increased from 10 to 12 hours. Even in this case, therefore, not only might the rate of surplus value remain the same, but the AMOUNT and RATE of surplus value might grow. But let us suppose that the necessary wage=10 hours, as previously, the surplus labour=2 hours and all other conditions remained the same (that is, leaving out of account here any lowering in the production costs of constant capital). Now let the labourer work $2^2/_5$ hours longer, and appropriate 2 hours, while the $^2/_5$ forms surplus labour. In this case wages and surplus value would increase in equal proportion, the former, however, representing more than the necessary wage or the necessary labour time.

If one takes a *given* magnitude and divides it into two parts, it is clear that one part can only increase in so far as the other decreases, and vice versa. But this is by no means the case with growing magnitudes (fluxions[16]). And the working day represents such a growing magnitude (as long as no normal working day has been won). With such magnitudes, both parts can grow, either to an equal or unequal extent. An increase in one is not brought about by a decrease in the other and vice versa. This is moreover

the only case in which wages and surplus value, in terms of *exchange value*, can both *increase* and possibly even in *equal proportions*. That they can increase in terms of use value is self-evident; this can increase [XII-657] even if, for example, the value of LABOUR decreases. From 1797 to 1815, when the price of corn and [also] the nominal wage rose considerably in England, the daily hours of labour increased greatly in the principal industries, which were then in a phase of ruthless expansion; and I believe that this arrested the fall in the rate of profit, because it arrested the fall in the rate of surplus value. In this case, however, whatever the circumstances, the normal working day is lengthened and the normal span of life of the labourer, hence the normal duration of his labour capacity, is correspondingly shortened. This applies where a constant lengthening [of the working day] occurs. If it is only temporary, in order to compensate for a temporary rise in wages, it may (except in the case of children and women) have no other result than to prevent a fall in the rate of profit in those enterprises where the nature of the work makes a prolongation of labour time possible. (This is least possible in agriculture.)

Ricardo did not consider this at all since he investigated neither the origin of surplus value nor absolute surplus value and therefore regarded the working day as a given magnitude. For this case, therefore, *his law*—that surplus value and wages (he erroneously says profit and wages) in terms of exchange value can rise or fall only in *inverse* proportion—*is incorrect*.

Firstly let us assume that the necessary labour time and the surplus labour remain constant. That is 10+2; the working day=12 hours, surplus value=2 hours; the rate of surplus value=$^1/_5$.

The necessary labour time remains the same; surplus labour increases from 2 to 4 hours. Hence 10+4=a working day of 14 hours; surplus value=4 hours; rate of surplus value=4:10=$^4/_{10}$=$^2/_5$.

In both cases the necessary labour time is the same; but the surplus value in the one case is twice as great as in the other and the working day in the second case is $^1/_6$ longer than in the first. Furthermore, although the wage is the same, the values produced, corresponding to the quantities of labour, would be very different; in the first case [it]=12 hours, in the second=12+$^{12}/_6$=14. It is therefore wrong to say that, presupposing that the *wage remains the same* (in terms of value, of necessary labour time), the surplus value contained in two commodities is proportionate to the quantities of

labour contained in them. This is only correct where the *normal working day* is the same.

Let us further assume that as a result of the rise in the productive power of labour, the necessary wage (although it remains CONSTANT in terms of EXPENDED use values) falls from 10 to 9 hours and similarly that the surplus labour time falls from 2 to $1\,^4/_5$ hours ($^9/_5$). In this case $10:9=2:1\,^4/_5$. Thus the surplus labour time would fall in the same proportion as the necessary labour time. The rate of surplus value would be the same in both cases, for $2={}^{10}/_5$ and $1\,^4/_5={}^9/_5$. $1\,^4/_5:9=2:10$. The quantity of use values that could be bought with the surplus value, would—according to the assumption—also remain the same. (But this would apply only to those use values which are NECESSARIES.) The working day would decrease from 12 to $10\,^4/_5$. The amount of value produced in the second case would be smaller than that produced in the first. And despite these unequal quantities of labour, the rate of surplus value would be the same in both cases.

In discussing surplus value we have distinguished between surplus value and the rate of surplus value. Considered in relation to one working day, the surplus value=the absolute number of hours which it represents, 2, 3, etc. The rate=the proportion of this number of hours to the number of hours which makes up the necessary labour time. This distinction is very important, because it indicates the varying length of the working day. If the surplus value=2, then [the rate]$={}^1/_5$, if the necessary labour time=10; and $^1/_6$, if the necessary labour time=12. In the first case the working day=12 hours and in the second=14. In the first case the rate of surplus value is greater, while at the same time the labourer works a smaller number of hours per day. In the second case the rate of surplus value is smaller, the value of the labour capacity is greater, while at the same time the labourer works a greater number of hours per day. This shows that, with a constant surplus value (but a working day of unequal length), the rate of surplus value may be different. The earlier case, 10:2 and $9:1\,^4/_5$, shows how with a constant rate of surplus value (but a working day of unequal length), the surplus value itself may be different (in one case 2[hours] and in the other $1\,^4/_5$).

I have shown previously (CH. II), that if the length of the working day and also the necessary labour time, and therefore the rate of surplus value are given, the amount of surplus value depends on the *number* of workers simultaneously employed by the same capital.[a] This was a tautological statement. For if

[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 185-90.—*Ed.*

1 working day gives me 2 surplus hours, then 12 working days give me 24 surplus hours or 2 surplus days. The statement, however, becomes very important in connection with the determination of profit, which is equal to the proportion of surplus value to the capital advanced, thus depending on the absolute amount of surplus value. It becomes important because capitals of equal size but different organic composition employ unequal numbers of labourers; they must thus produce unequal amounts of surplus value, and therefore unequal profits. With a falling rate of surplus value, the profit may rise and with a rising rate of surplus value, the profit may fall; or the profit may remain unchanged, if a rise or fall in the rate of surplus value is compensated by a counter movement affecting the number of workers employed. Here we see immediately, how extremely wrong it is [XII-658] to identify the laws relating to the rise and fall of surplus value with the laws relating to the rise and fall of profit. If one merely considers the simple law of surplus value, then it seems a tautology to say that with a given rate of surplus value (and a given length of the working day), the ABSOLUTE AMOUNT of surplus value depends on the amount of capital employed. For an increase in this amount of capital and an increase in the number of labourers simultaneously employed are, on the assumption made, identical, or merely [different] expressions of the same fact. But when one turns to an examination of profit, where the amount of the total capital employed and the number of workers employed vary greatly for capitals of equal size, then the importance of the law becomes clear.

Ricardo starts by considering *commodities* of a given value, that is to say, commodities which represent a *given* quantity of labour. And from this starting-point, absolute and relative surplus value appear to be always identical. (This at any rate explains the one-sidedness of his mode of procedure and corresponds with his whole method of investigation: to start with the *value* of the commodities as determined by the definite labour time they contain, and then to examine to what extent this is affected by wages, profits, etc.) This appearance is nevertheless false, since it is not a question of commodities here, but of capitalist production, of commodities as products of capital. Assume that a capital employs a certain number of workers, for example 20, and that wages=£20. To simplify matters let us assume that the fixed capital=0, i.e. we leave it out of account. Further, assume that these 20 workers spin £80 of cotton into yarn, if they work 12 hours per day. If 1 lb. of cotton costs 1 s. then 20 lbs cost £1 and

£80=1,600 lbs. If 20 workers spin 1,600 lbs in 12 hours, then [they spin] $^{1,600}/_{12}$ lbs=133 $^{1}/_{3}$ lbs in 1 hour. Thus, if the necessary labour time=10 hours, then the surplus labour time=2 [hours] and this=266 $^{2}/_{3}$ lbs yarn. The value of the 1,600 lbs would=£104. For if 10 hours of work=£20, then 1 hour of work=£2 and 2 hours of work=£4, hence 12=24. (80+24=£104.) But if each of the workers worked 4 hours of surplus labour, then their product=£8 (I mean the surplus value which they create—their product IN FACT=£28 $^{17}$). The total product=£121 $^{1}/_{3}$.[18] And this £121 $^{1}/_{3}$=1,866 $^{2}/_{3}$ lbs of yarn. As before, since the conditions of production remained the same, 1 lb. of yarn would have the same value; it would contain the same amount of labour time. Moreover, according to the assumption, the necessary wages—their value, the labour time they contained—would have remained CONSTANT.

Whether these 1,866 $^{2}/_{3}$ lbs of yarn were being produced under the first set of conditions or under the second, i.e. with 2 or with 4 hours surplus labour, they would have the same value in both cases. The value therefore of the additional 266 $^{2}/_{3}$ lbs of cotton that are spun, is £13 6 $^{2}/_{3}$s. This, added to the £80 for the 1,600 lbs, amounts to £93 6 $^{2}/_{3}$s. and in both cases 4 working hours more for 20 men=£8. Altogether £28 for the labour, that is £121 6 $^{2}/_{3}$s. The wages are, in both cases, the same. The lb. of yarn costs in both cases 1 $^{3}/_{10}$s. Since the value of the lb. of cotton=1s., what remained for the newly added labour in 1 lb. of yarn would in both cases amount to $^{3}/_{10}$s.=3 $^{3}/_{5}$d. (or $^{18}/_{5}$d.). Nevertheless, under the conditions assumed, the relation between value and surplus value in each lb. of yarn would be very different. In the first case, since the necessary labour=£20 and the surplus labour=£4, or since the former=10 hours and the latter=2 hours, the ratio of surplus labour to necessary labour=2:10=$^{2}/_{10}$=$^{1}/_{5}$. (Similarly £4:£20=$^{4}/_{20}$=$^{1}/_{5}$.) The 3 $^{3}/_{5}$d. in a lb. of yarn would in this case contain $^{1}/_{5}$ unpaid labour=$^{18}/_{25}$d. or $^{72}/_{25}$f.=2 $^{22}/_{25}$f. In the second case, on the other hand, the necessary labour=£20 (10 working hours), the surplus labour=£8 (4 working hours). The ratio of surplus labour to necessary labour= =8:20=$^{8}/_{20}$=$^{4}/_{10}$=$^{2}/_{5}$. Thus the 3 $^{3}/_{5}$d. in a lb. of yarn would contain $^{2}/_{5}$ unpaid labour, i.e. 5 $^{19}/_{25}$f. or 1d. 1 $^{19}/_{25}$f. [XII-659] Although the yarn has the same value in both cases and although the same wages are paid in both cases, the surplus value in a lb. of yarn is in one case twice as large as in the other. The ratio of value of labour to surplus value is of course the same in the individual commodity, that is, in a portion of the product, as in

the whole product. In the one case, the capital advanced=£93 $6^2/_3$s. for cotton, and how much for wages? The wages for 1,600 lbs=£20 here, hence for the additional $266^2/_3$ lbs=£$3^1/_3$. This makes £$23^1/_3$. And the total capital outlay is £93 $6^2/_3$s.+£$23^1/_3$=£116 $13^1/_3$s. The product=£121 $6^2/_3$s. (The additional outlay in [variable] capital, of £$3^1/_3$, only yields $13^1/_3$s. surplus value. £20:£4=£$3^1/_3$:£$^2/_3$=$13^1/_3$s. (£$^1/_5$=4s.)

In the other case, however, the capital outlay would amount to only £93 $6^2/_3$[s.]+£20=[£]113 $6^2/_3$[s.] and £4 would have to be added to the £4 surplus value. The same number of lbs of yarn are produced in both cases and both have the same value, that is to say, they represent equal total quantities of labour, but these equal total quantities of labour are set in motion by capitals of unequal size, although the wages are the same; but the working days are of unequal length and, *therefore,* unequal quantities of unpaid labour are produced. Taking the individual lb. of yarn, the wages paid for it, or the amounts of *paid* labour a pound contains, are different. The same wages are spread over a larger volume of commodities here, not because labour is more productive in the one case than in the other, but because the total amount of unpaid surplus labour which is set into motion in the one case is greater than in the other. With the *same* quantity of *paid* labour, therefore, more lbs of yarn are produced in the one case than in the other, although in both cases the same quantities of yarn are produced, representing the same quantity of total labour (paid and unpaid). If, on the other hand, the productivity of labour had increased in the second case, then the value of the lb. of yarn would at all events have fallen (whatever the ratio of surplus value to variable capital).

In such a case, therefore, it would be wrong to say that—because the *value* of the lb. of yarn=1s. $3^3/_5$d., the value of the labour which is added is also fixed and=$3^3/_5$d., and the wages, i.e. the *necessary labour time,* remain, according to the assumption, *unchanged*—the surplus value [must] be the same and the 2 capitals under otherwise equal conditions would have produced the yarn with equal profits. This would be correct if we were concerned with 1 lb. of yarn, but we are in fact concerned here with a capital which has produced $1{,}866^2/_3$ lbs yarn. And in order to know the amount of profit (actually of surplus value) on one lb., we must know the length of the working day, or the quantity of unpaid labour (when the productivity is given) that the capital sets in motion. But this information cannot be gathered by looking at the individual commodity.

Thus Ricardo deals only with what I have called the *relative surplus value.* From the outset he assumes, as Adam Smith and his predecessors seem to have done as well, that the *length of the working day is given.* (At most, Adam Smith mentions differences in the length of the working day in *different* branches of labour, which are levelled out or compensated by the relatively greater intensity of labour, difficulty, unpleasantness, etc.) On the basis of this postulate Ricardo, on the whole, explains relative surplus value correctly. Before we give the principal points of his theory, we shall cite a few more passages to illustrate Ricardo's point of view.

* "The labour of a million of men in manufactures, will allways produce the *same value,* but will not always produce the same riches" * (l.c., [p.] 320).

This means that the product of their daily labour will always be the product of 1 million working days containing *the same* labour time; this is wrong, or is only true where *the same* normal working day—taking into account the DIFFERENT DIFFICULTIES etc. OF DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF LABOUR—has been generally established.

Even then, however, the statement is wrong in the general form in which it is expressed here. If the normal working day is 12 hours, and the annual product of one man is, in terms of money, £50 and the value of money remains unchanged, then, in this case, the product of 1 million men would always=£50 million per year. If the necessary labour=6 hours, then the capital laid out for these million men=£25,000,000 per annum. The surplus value also=£25 million. The product would always be 50 million, whether the workers received 25 or 30 or 40 million. But in the first case the surplus value=25 million, in the second=20 million and in the third=10 million. If the capital advanced consisted only of *variable* capital, i.e. only of the capital which is laid out in the *wages* of these 1 million men, then Ricardo would be right. He is, therefore, only right in the *one* case, where the total capital=the variable capital; a presupposition which pervades all his, and Adam Smith's, [XII-660] observations regarding the capital of society as a whole, but in capitalist production this precondition does not exist in a single TRADE, much less in the production of society as a whole.

That *part of the constant capital* which enters into the labour process without entering into the valorisation process, does not enter into the product (into the *value of the product*), and, therefore, important as it is in the determination of the general rate of profit, it does not concern us here, where we are considering the *value* of the *annual product.* But matters are quite

different with that part of constant capital which enters into the annual product. We have seen that a portion of this part of constant capital, or what appears as constant capital in one sphere of production, appears as a direct product of labour within another sphere of production, during *the same* production period of one year; a large part of the capital laid out annually, which *appears* to be constant capital from the standpoint of the individual capitalist or the particular sphere of production, therefore, resolves itself into *variable* capital from the standpoint of society or of the capitalist class. This part is thus included in the 50 million, in that part of the 50 million which forms variable capital or is laid out in wages. But the position is different with that *part of the constant capital* which is used up in order to replace the constant capital consumed in industry and agriculture—with the consumed part of the constant capital employed *in* those branches of production which produce constant capital, raw material in its primary form, fixed capital and *matières instrumentales*.[a] The value of this part reappears, it is reproduced in the product. In what proportion [it] enters into the value of the whole product depends entirely on its actual magnitude—provided the productivity of labour does not change; but however the productivity may change, the value of this part will always have a *definite* magnitude. (On the average, apart from certain exceptions in agriculture, the amount of the product, i.e. the *wealth*—which Ricardo distinguishes from the VALUE—produced by 1 million men will, indeed, also depend on the magnitude of this constant capital which is antecedent to production.) This part of the value of the product would not exist without the new labour of 1 million men during the year. On the other hand, the labour of 1 million men would not yield the same amount of product without this constant capital which exists independently of their year's labour. It enters into the labour process as a condition of production but not a single additional hour is worked in order to reproduce this part in terms of its value. As value it is, therefore, not the result of the year's labour, although its value would not have been reproduced *without* this year's labour. If the part of the constant capital which enters into the product were 25 million, then the value of the product of the 1 million men would be 75 million; if this part [of the constant capital] were 10 million, then [the value of the product] would only be 60 million, etc. And since the ratio of constant capital to variable capital increases in the course of capitalist development,

[a] Instrumental materials.—*Ed.*

the value of the annual product of 1 million men will tend to rise continuously, in proportion to the growth of the past labour which plays a part in their annual production. This alone shows that Ricardo was unable to understand either the essence of accumulation or the nature of profit. With the growth in the proportion of constant to variable capital, grows also the productivity of labour, the productive forces brought into being, with which social labour operates. As a result of this increasing productivity of labour, however, a part of the existing constant capital is continuously depreciated in value, for its value depends not on the labour time that it cost originally, but on the labour time with which it can be reproduced, and this is continuously diminishing as the productivity of labour grows. Although, therefore, the value of the constant capital does not increase in proportion to its amount, it increases nevertheless, because its amount increases even more rapidly than its value falls. But we shall return later to Ricardo's views on accumulation.[a] It is evident, however, that if the length of the working day is given, the value of the annual product of the labour of 1 million [men] will differ greatly according to the different amount of constant capital that enters into the product; and that, despite the growing productivity of labour, it will be greater where the constant capital forms a large part of the total capital, than under social conditions where it forms a relatively small part of the total capital. With the advance in the productivity of social labour, accompanied as it is by the growth of constant capital, a relatively ever increasing part of the annual product of labour will, therefore, fall to the share of capital as such, and thus property in the form of capital (apart from REVENUE) will be constantly increasing and proportionately that part of value which the individual worker and even the working class creates, will be steadily decreasing, [XII-661] compared with the product of their past labour that confronts them as capital. The alienation and the antagonism between labour capacity and the objective conditions of labour which have become independent in the form of capital, thereby grow continuously. (Not taking into account the variable capital, i.e. that part of the product of the annual labour which is required for the reproduction of the working class; even these means of subsistence, however, confront them as capital.)

Ricardo's view, that the working day *is given, limited, a fixed magnitude,* is also expressed by him elsewhere, for instance:

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[a] See this volume, pp. 103 et seq.—*Ed.*

* "They" (the wages of labour and the profits of stock) *are "together* always *of the same value"* * (l.c., p. 499 (CH. XXXII, "Mr. Malthus' Opinions on Rent")),

in other words this only means that the (daily) labour time whose product is *divided* between the WAGES OF LABOUR and the PROFITS OF STOCK, is always *the same,* is *constant.*

* "Wages and profits together will be of *the same value"* * (l.c., [p.] 491, note).

I hardly need to repeat here that in these passages one should always read SURPLUS VALUE instead of PROFIT.

* "Wages and profits taken together will continue *always* of the same value" * (pp. 490[-91]).

* "Wages are to be estimated by their *real value,* viz., by the *quantity of labour and capital employed in producing them,* and not by their *nominal value* either in coats, hats, money, or corn" * (l.c., CH. I, "On Value", [p.] 50).

The value of the means of subsistence which the worker obtains (buys with his WAGES), corn, clothes, etc., is determined by the total labour time required for their production, the quantity of immediate labour as well as the quantity of objectified labour NECESSARY FOR THEIR PRODUCTION. But Ricardo confuses the issue because he does not state it plainly, he does not say: * "their [the wages'] *real value,* viz., that quantity of the working day required to reproduce the value of their [the workers'] own necessaries, the equivalent of the necessaries paid to them, or exchanged for their labour".* REAL WAGES have to be determined by the AVERAGE TIME which the worker must work each day in order to produce or reproduce his own WAGES.

* "The labourer is only paid a really high price for his labour, when his wages will purchase the produce of a great deal of labour" * (l.c., [p.] 322, [note]).

## 4) Relative Surplus Value

This is IN FACT the only form of surplus value which Ricardo analyses under the name of *profit.*

The quantity of labour required for the production of a commodity, and contained in it, determines its value, which is thus a *given* factor, a *definite amount.* This amount is divided between wage labourer and capitalist. (Ricardo, like Adam Smith, does not take constant capital into account here.) It is obvious that the share of one can only rise or fall in proportion to the fall or rise of the share of the other. Since the value of the commodities is due to the labour of the workers, labour is under all circumstances the prerequisite of value, but there can be no labour unless the worker lives and maintains himself, i.e. receives the necessary

wages (the minimum wages, wages = the value of labour capacity). Wages and surplus value—these two categories into which the value of the commodity or the product itself is divided—are therefore not only in inverse proportion to each other, but the *prius*, the determinant factor is the movement of wages. Their rise or fall causes the opposite movement on the part of profit (surplus value). Wages do not rise or fall because profit (surplus value) falls or rises, but on the contrary, surplus value (profit) falls or rises because wages rise or fall. The *surplus product* (one should really say *surplus value*) which remains after the working class has received its share of its own annual production forms the substance on which the capitalist class lives.

Since the value of the commodities is determined by the quantity of labour contained in them, and since wages and surplus value (profit) are only *shares*, proportions in which two classes of producers divide the value of the commodity between themselves, it is clear that a rise or fall in wages, although it determines the rate of surplus value (profit), does not affect the value of the commodity or the PRICE (AS MONETARY EXPRESSION OF THE VALUE OF A COMMODITY). The proportion in which a whole is divided between two SHAREHOLDERS makes the whole neither larger nor smaller. It is, therefore, an erroneous preconception to assume that a *rise in wages raises the prices of commodities*; it only makes profit (surplus value) fall. Even the exceptions cited by Ricardo, where a rise in wages is supposed to make the exchange values of some commodities fall and those of others rise, are wrong so far as *value* is concerned and only correct for *cost prices*.[6]

[XII-662] Since the rate of surplus value (profit) is determined by the relative height of wages, how is the latter determined? Apart from competition, by the price of the necessary means of subsistence. This, in turn, depends on the productivity of labour, which increases with the fertility of the land (Ricardo assumes capitalist production here). Every "IMPROVEMENT" reduces the prices of commodities, of the means of subsistence. Wages, or the VALUE OF LABOUR, thus rise and fall in inverse proportion to the development of the productive power of labour, in so far as the latter produces NECESSARIES which enter into the AVERAGE consumption of the working class. The rate of surplus value (profit) falls or rises, therefore, in direct proportion to the development of the productive power of labour, because this development reduces or raises wages.

The rate of profit (surplus value) cannot fall unless wages rise, and cannot rise unless wages fall.

The value of wages has to be reckoned not according to the

quantity of the means of subsistence received by the worker, but according to the quantity of labour which these means of subsistence cost (in fact, the proportion of the working day which he appropriates for himself), that is according to the *relative share* of the total product, or rather of the total value of this product, which the worker receives. It is possible that, reckoned in terms of use values (quantity of commodities or money), his wages rise (as productivity increases) and yet the value of the wages may fall and vice versa. It is one of Ricardo's great merits that he examined relative or proportionate wages, and established them as a definite category. Up to this time, wages had always been regarded as something simple and consequently the worker was considered an animal. But here he is considered in his social relationships. The position of the classes to one another depends more on PROPORTIONATE WAGES than on the ABSOLUTE AMOUNT OF WAGES.

Now these propositions have to be substantiated by quotations from Ricardo.

* "The *value* of the deer, the produce of the hunter's *day's labour*, would be exactly equal to the value of the fish, the produce of the fisherman's *day's labour*. The comparative value of the fish and the game, would be entirely regulated by the quantity of labour realised in each; *whatever might be the quantity of production*, or however *high or low general wages or profits might be*. If ... the fisherman ... employed ten men, whose annual labour cost £100 and who *in one day* obtained by *their* labour twenty salmon: If ... the hunter also employed ten men, whose *annual labour* cost £100 and who *in one day* procured him ten deer; then the natural price of a deer would be two salmon, whether *the proportion of the whole produce bestowed on the men who obtained* [it], were large or small. The *proportion* which might be paid for *wages*, is of the utmost importance in the question of *profits*; for it must at once be seen, that profits would be high or low, exactly in proportion as wages were low or high; but it could not in the least affect the relative value of fish and game, as wages would be high or low at the same time in both occupations" * (CH. I, "On Value", pp. 20-21).

It can be seen that Ricardo derives the whole value of the commodity from the *LABOUR* of the MEN EMPLOYED. It is their own labour or the product of that labour or the value of this product, which is divided between them and capital.

* "No alteration in the wages of labour could produce any alteration in the relative value of these commodities; for suppose them to rise, no *greater quantity of labour* would be required in any of these occupations, but it would be *paid* for at a *higher price*.... Wages might rise twenty per cent., and profits consequently fall in a greater or less proportion, without occasioning the least alteration in the relative value of these commodities" * (l.c., [p.] 23).

* "There can be no rise in the *value of labour* without a fall of profits. If the corn is to be *divided* between the farmer and the labourer, the *larger the proportion* that is given to the latter, the less will remain for the former. So if cloth or cotton goods be *divided* between the workman and his employer, the *larger the proportion* given to the former, the less remains for the latter" * (l.c., [p.] 31).

[XII-663] *"Adam Smith, and all the writers who have followed him, have, without one exception that I know of, maintained that *a rise in the price of labour* would be uniformly followed by *a rise in the price of all commodities.* I hope I have succeeded in showing, that there are no grounds for such an opinion"* (l.c. [p.] 45).

*"A rise of wages, from the circumstance of the labourer being more liberally rewarded, or from a difficulty of procuring the necessaries on which wages are expended, does not, except in some instances, produce the effect of raising price, but has a great effect in lowering profits."*

The position is different, however, when the RISE OF WAGES is due to "AN ALTERATION IN THE VALUE OF MONEY". *"In the one case"* //namely, in the last-mentioned case//, *"no *greater proportion of the annual labour of the country* is devoted to the *support of* [*the*] *labourers*; in the other case, a larger portion is so devoted"* (l.c. [p.] 48).

([We see from the following passage] that Ricardo deliberately identifies *VALUE* with *COST OF PRODUCTION*:

*"Mr. Malthus appears to think that it is a part of my doctrine, that the *cost* and *value* of a thing should be the same;—it is, if he means by cost *'cost of production' including profits"** (l.c., [p.] 46 [note]).)

*"With a rise in the price of food and necessaries, the natural price of labour will rise; with a fall in their price, the natural price of labour will fall"* (l.c., [p.] 86).

*"The *surplus produce* remaining, after satisfying the wants of the existing population, must necessarily be in proportion to the *facility of production,* viz., to the *smaller number of persons* employed in production"* ([p.] 93).

*"Neither the farmer who cultivates that quantity of land, which regulates price, nor the manufacturer, who manufactures goods, sacrifice any portion of the produce for rent. The *whole value of their commodities is divided* into *two portions* only: one constitutes the profits of stock, the other the wages of labour"* (l.c., [p.] 107). *"Suppose the price of silks, velvets, furniture, and any other commodities, not required by the labourer, to rise in consequence of more labour being expended on them, would not that affect profits? Certainly not: for nothing can affect profits but a rise in wages; silks and velvets are not consumed by the labourer, and therefore cannot raise wages"* (l.c., [p.] 118).

*"If the labour of ten men will, on land of a certain quality, obtain 180 qrs of wheat, and its value be £4 per qr, or £720..." (p. 110) "...in all cases, the same sum of £720 must be divided between wages and profits.... Whether wages or profits rise or fall, it is this sum of £720 from which they must both be provided. On the one hand, profits can never rise so high as to absorb so much of this £720 that enough will not be left to furnish the labourers with absolute necessaries; on the other hand, wages can never rise so high as to leave no portion of this sum to profits"* (l.c., [p.] 113).

*"Profits *depend on high or low wages,* wages on the price of necessaries, and the price of necessaries chiefly on the price of food, because all other requisites may be increased almost without limit"* (l.c., [p.] 119).

*"Although a greater value is produced"* (with a deterioration of the land) *"a *greater proportion of what remains of that value,* after paying rent, is consumed by the *producers"** // he identifies LABOURERS with PRODUCERS here[19] //, *"and it is this, *and this alone,* which regulates profits"* (l.c., [p.] 127).

*"It is the essential quality of an *improvement* to *diminish the quantity of labour* before required to produce a commodity; and this diminution cannot take place

without a *fall of its price or relative value*"* (l.c., [p.] 70). *"Diminish the cost of production of hats, and their price will ultimately fall to their new natural price, although the demand should be doubled, trebled, or quadrupled. Diminish the cost of subsistence of men, by diminishing the natural price of the food and clothing, by which life is sustained, and wages will ultimately fall, notwithstanding that the demand for labourers may [XII-664] very greatly increase"* (l.c., [p.] 460).

*"In proportion as less is appropriated for wages, more will be appropriated for profits, and vice versa"* (l.c., [p.] 500).

*"It has been one of the objects of this work to shew, that with every fall in the real value of necessaries, the wages of labour would fall, and that the profits of stock would rise—in other words, that of any given *annual value a less portion would be paid to the labouring class*, and a larger portion to those *whose funds employed this class*."*

//It is only in this statement, which has now become a commonplace, that Ricardo expresses the NATURE OF CAPITAL, though he may not be aware of it. It is not *accumulated labour employed by the labouring class, by the labourers themselves, but it is "funds", "accumulated labour", "employing this class", employing present, immediate labour.*//

*"Suppose *the value* of the commodities produced in a particular manufacture to be £1,000, and to *be divided* between *the master* and *his* labourers"* (here again [he expresses] the nature of capital; the capitalist is the *MASTER*, the workers are *HIS* LABOURERS) *"in the proportion of £800 to labourers, and £200 to the master; if the value of these commodities should fall to £900, and £100 be saved from the wages of labour, in consequence of the fall of necessaries, the net income of the masters would be in no degree impaired"* ([pp. 511-]12).

*"If the shoes and clothing of the labourer, could, by improvements in machinery, be produced by one-fourth of the labour now necessary to their production, they would probably fall 75 per cent.; but so far is it from being true, that the labourer would thereby be enabled permanently to consume four coats, or four pair of shoes, instead of one, that it is probable his *wages would in no long time be adjusted* by the effects of competition, and the stimulus to population, to the *new value of the necessaries* on which they were expended. If these improvements extended to all the objects of the labourer's consumption, we should find him probably at the end of a very few years, in possession of only a small, if any, addition to his enjoyments, although the exchangeable value of those commodities, compared with any other commodity, had sustained a very considerable reduction; and though they were the produce of a very considerably diminished quantity of labour"* (l.c., [p.] 8).

*"When wages rise, it is always at the expense of profits, and when they fall, profits always rise"* (l.c., [p.] 491, note).

*"It has been my endeavour to shew throughout this work, that the rate of profits can never be increased but by a fall in wages, and that there can be no permanent fall of wages but in consequence of a fall of the necessaries on which wages are expended. If, therefore, by the *extension of foreign* trade, or by *improvements in machinery*, the food and necessaries of the labourer can be brought to market, at a reduced price, profits will rise. If, instead of growing our own corn, or manufacturing the clothing and other necessaries of the labourer, we discover a new market from which we can supply ourselves with these commodities at a cheaper price, wages will fall and profits rise; but if the commodities obtained at a

cheaper rate, by the extension of foreign commerce, or by the improvement of machinery, be exclusively the commodities consumed by the rich, no alteration will take place in the rate of profits. The rate of wages would not be affected, although wine, velvets, silks, and other expensive commodities should fall 50 per cent., and consequently profits would continue unaltered. Foreign trade, then, though highly beneficial to a country, as it increases the amount and variety of the objects on which revenue may be expended, and affords, by the abundance and cheapness of commodities, incentives to saving"* (and *why not incentives to spending?), "and to the *accumulation of capital*, has no tendency to raise the profits of stock, *unless the commodities imported be of that description on which the wages of labour are expended*. The remarks which have been made respecting foreign trade, apply equally to home trade. The rate of profits is *never increased*"*

//he has just said the very opposite; evidently he means NEVER UNLESS BY THE IMPROVEMENTS MENTIONED THE VALUE OF LABOUR IS DIMINISHED//

*"by a *better distribution of labour*, by the *invention of machinery*, by the *establishment of roads and canals*, or by *any means of abridging labour in the manufacture or in the conveyance of goods*. These are causes which operate on price, and never fail to be highly beneficial to consumers; since they enable them with the same labour, to obtain in exchange a greater quantity of the commodity to *which the improvement* is applied; but they have no effect whatever on profit. On the other hand, every [XII-665] diminution in the wages of labour raises profits, but produces no effect on the price of commodities. One is advantageous to all classes, for all classes are consumers";*

(but how is it ADVANTAGEOUS TO THE LABOURING CLASS? For Ricardo presupposes that if these commodities enter into the consumption of the wage earner they reduce wages, and if these commodities become cheaper without reducing wages they are not commodities on which wages are expended)

*"the other is beneficial only to producers; they gain more, but every thing remains at its former price."*

(Again, how is this possible, since Ricardo presupposes that the DIMINUTION IN WAGES OF LABOUR WHICH RAISES PROFITS, takes place precisely because the price of the NECESSARIES has fallen and therefore by no means "EVERY THING REMAINS AT ITS FORMER PRICE".)

*"In the first case they get the same as before; but *every thing*"* (wrong again; should read EVERY THING, NECESSARIES EXCLUDED) *"on which their gains are expended, is diminished in exchangeable value"* (p[p]. 137-38).

It is evident that this *passus* is rather INCORRECT. But apart from this formal aspect, the statements are only true if one reads "RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE" for RATE OF PROFIT, and this applies to the whole of this investigation into relative surplus value. Even in the case of luxury articles, such IMPROVEMENTS can raise the general rate of profit, since the rate of profit in these spheres of production, as in all others, bears a share in the levelling out of all particular rates of profit into the AVERAGE rate of profit. If in such cases, as a result

of the above-mentioned influences, the value of the constant capital falls proportionately to the variable, or the period of turnover is reduced (i.e. a CHANGE takes place in the circulation process), then the rate of profit rises. Furthermore, the influence of FOREIGN TRADE is expounded in an entirely one-sided way. The development of the product into a commodity is fundamental to capitalist production and this is intrinsically bound up with the expansion of the market, the creation of the world market, and therefore FOREIGN TRADE.

Apart from this, Ricardo is right when he states that all IMPROVEMENTS, be they brought about through the division of labour, improvements in machinery, the perfection of means of communication, foreign trade—in short all measures that reduce the necessary labour time involved in the manufacture or transport of commodities increase the surplus value (HENCE PROFIT) and thus enrich the capitalist class because, and in so far as, these "IMPROVEMENTS" reduce THE VALUE OF LABOUR.

Finally, in this section, we must quote a few passages in which Ricardo analyses the NATURE OF *PROPORTIONAL* WAGES.

* "If I have to hire a labourer for a week, and instead of ten shillings I pay him eight, no variation having taken place in the value of money, the labourer can probably obtain more food and necessaries, with his eight shillings, than he before obtained for ten: but this is owing, not to a rise in the *real value of his wages,* as stated by Adam Smith, and more recently by Mr. Malthus, but to a fall in the value of the things, on which his wages are expended, things perfectly distinct; and yet *for calling this a fall in the real value of wages,* I am told that I adopt new and unusual language, not reconcilable with the true principles of the science" * (l.c., [pp.] 11-12).

* "It is not by the *absolute quantity of produce* obtained by either class, that we can correctly judge of the rate of profit, rent, and wages, but by the quantity of labour required to obtain that produce. By improvements in machinery and agriculture, the whole produce may be doubled; but if wages, rent, and profit be also doubled, these three will bear *the same proportions to one another as before,* and neither could be said to have *relatively varied.* But if wages partook not of the whole of this increase; if they, instead of being doubled, were only increased one-half; ... it would, I apprehend, be correct for me to say, that ... wages had fallen while profits had risen; for if we had an invariable standard by which to measure the *value* of this produce, we should find that a less value had fallen to the class of labourers..., and a greater to the class of capitalists, than had been given before" * (l.c., [p.] 49). * "It will not the less be a real fall, because they" (the wages) "might furnish him with a greater quantity of cheap commodities than his former wages" * (l.c., [p.]51).

*De Quincey* points out the contrast between some of the propositions developed by Ricardo and those of the other economists. By the economists before Ricardo:

*"When it was asked, what determined the value of all commodities: it was answered that this value was chiefly determined by wages. When again it was

asked—what determined wages? it was recollected that wages must be adjusted to the value of the commodities upon which they were spent; and the answer was in effect that wages were determined by the value of commodities"* (*Dialogues of Three Templars on Political Economy, chiefly in Relation to the Principles of Mr. Ricardo*, [XII-666] *The London Magazine*, Vol. IX, 1824, [p.] 560).

The same *Dialogues* contains the following passage about the law governing the measurement OF VALUE BY THE *QUANTITY OF LABOUR* and *BY THE VALUE OF LABOUR*:

*"So far are the two formulae from presenting merely two different expressions of the same law, that the very best way of expressing negatively Mr. Ricardo's law (viz. A is to B in value as the quantities of the producing labour) would be to say—A is not to B in value as the *values* of the producing labour"* [l.c., p. 348].

(If the organic composition of the capital in A and B were the same, then it could in fact be said that their *relation* to one another is proportionate to the *VALUES* OF THE PRODUCING LABOUR. For the ACCUMULATED LABOUR in each would be in the same proportion as the IMMEDIATE LABOUR in each. The quantities of paid labour in each, however, would be proportionate to the total quantities of IMMEDIATE LABOUR in each. Assume the composition to be $80c+20v$ and the rate of surplus value=50%. If one capital=[£]500 and the other=300, then the product in the first case=550 and in the second=330. The products would then be as $5\times20=100$ (wages) to $3\times20=60$; $100:60=10:6=5:3$. $550:330=55:33$ or as $^{55}/_{11}:^{33}/_{11}$ ($5\times11=55$ and $3\times11=33$); i.e. as 5:3. But even then one would only know their relation to one another and not their true values, since many different values correspond to the ratio 5:3.)

"If the price is 10s., then WAGES and PROFITS, TAKEN AS A WHOLE, CANNOT EXCEED TEN SHILLINGS. BUT DO NOT THE WAGES AND PROFITS AS A WHOLE, THEMSELVES, ON THE CONTRARY, PREDETERMINE THE PRICE? NO; THAT IS THE OLD SUPERANNUATED DOCTRINE" (Thomas de Quincey, *The Logic of Political Economy*, Edinburgh, 1844,[a] [p.] 204). "The new political economy has shown THAT ALL PRICE IS GOVERNED BY THE PROPORTIONAL QUANTITY OF THE PRODUCING LABOUR, AND BY THAT ONLY. BEING ITSELF ONCE SETTLED, THEN, *ipso facto*,[b] PRICE SETTLES THE *FUND* OUT OF WHICH BOTH *WAGES AND PROFITS MUST DRAW THEIR SEPARATE DIVIDENDS*" (l.c., [p.] 204). "ANY CHANGE THAT CAN DISTURB THE EXISTING RELATIONS BETWEEN WAGES AND PROFITS, *MUST ORIGINATE IN WAGES*" (l.c., [p.] 205). "Ricardo's doctrine of rent is new in so far as he poses the question whether in fact it sets aside the LAW OF ACTUAL VALUE"[20] (l.c., [p.] 158).

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[a] In the manuscript: "1845".—*Ed.*

[b] By virtue of this.—*Ed.*

## 5) Theory of Profit

It has already been shown in some detail, that the laws of surplus value—or rather of the rate of surplus value—(assuming the working day as given) do not so directly and simply coincide with, nor are they applicable to, the laws of profit, as Ricardo supposes. It has been shown that he wrongly identifies surplus value with profit and that these are only identical in so far as the total capital consists of variable capital or is laid out directly in wages; and that therefore what Ricardo deals with under the name of "profit" is in fact surplus value. Only in this case can the total product simply be resolved into wages and surplus value. Ricardo evidently shares Smith's view, that the *total value* of the annual product resolves itself into revenues. Hence also his confusion of value with cost price.

It is not necessary to repeat here that the rate of profit is not directly governed by the same laws as the rate of surplus value.

*Firstly*: We have seen that the rate of profit can rise or fall as a result of a fall or rise in rent, independently of ANY CHANGE IN THE VALUE OF LABOUR.

*Secondly*: The ABSOLUTE AMOUNT OF PROFIT=the ABSOLUTE AMOUNT OF SURPLUS VALUE. The latter, however, is determined not only by the rate of surplus value but just as much by the number of workers employed. The same AMOUNT OF PROFIT is therefore possible, with a falling rate of surplus value and a rising number of workers and vice versa, etc.

*Thirdly*: With a *given* rate of surplus value, the rate of profit depends on the ORGANIC COMPOSITION OF CAPITAL.

*Fourthly*: With a *given surplus value* (the *ORGANIC COMPOSITION OF* CAPITAL per 100 is also assumed to be given) the rate of profit depends on the *relative value* of the different parts of the capital, which may be differently affected, partly by ECONOMY OF POWER etc. in the use of the means of production, partly by VARIATIONS in VALUE which may affect one part of capital while they leave the rest untouched.

Finally, one has to take into account the differences in the COMPOSITION of capital arising from the process of circulation.

[XII-667] Some of the observations that occur in Ricardo's writing should have led him to the distinction between surplus value and profit. Because he fails to make this distinction, he appears in some passages to descend to the vulgar view—as has already been indicated in the analysis of CH. I, "On Value"—the view that profit is a mere addition over and above the value of the

commodity; for instance when he speaks of the determination of profit on capital in which the fixed capital predominates, etc.[a] This was the source of much nonsense among his successors. This vulgar view is bound to arise, if the proposition (which in practice is correct) that on the average *capitals of equal size yield equal profits* or that profit depends on the size of the capital employed, is not connected by a series of intermediary links with the general laws of value etc.: in short, if profit and surplus value are treated as identical, which is only correct for the aggregate capital. Accordingly Ricardo has no means for determining a *general rate of profit.*

Ricardo realises that the *rate of profit* is *not* modified by those VARIATIONS OF THE VALUE OF COMMODITIES which affect all parts of capital *equally* as, for example, VARIATIONS IN THE VALUE OF MONEY. He should therefore have concluded that *it is affected* by such VARIATIONS IN THE VALUE OF COMMODITIES which do *not* affect all parts of capital *equally*; that therefore VARIATIONS in the rate of profit may occur while the VALUE OF LABOUR remains unchanged, and that even the rate of profit may move in the opposite direction to VARIATIONS IN THE VALUE OF LABOUR. Above all, however, he should have kept in mind that here the *SURPLUS PRODUCE*, or what is for him the same thing, *SURPLUS VALUE*, or again the same thing, *SURPLUS LABOUR*, when he is considering it *sub specie*[b] profit, is not calculated in proportion to the variable capial alone, but in proportion to the *total capital advanced.*

With reference to a CHANGE in the VALUE OF MONEY, he says:

* "The variation in the value of money, however great, makes no difference in the *rate of profits*; for suppose the goods of the manufacturer to rise from £1,000 to £2,000, or 100%, if *his capital*, on which the variations of money have as much effect as on the value of produce, if his machinery, buildings, and stock in trade rise also 100 per cent., his *rate of profits* will be the same.... If, with a capital of a given value, he can, by economy in labour, double the quantity of produce, and it fall to half its former price, it *will bear the same proportion to the capital that produced it* which it did before, and *consequently* profits will still be at the same rate. If, at the same time that he doubles the quantity of produce by the employment of the same capital, the value of money is by any accident lowered one half, the produce will sell for twice the money [value] that it did before; but the capital employed to produce it will also be of twice its former money value; and therefore in this case too, *the value of the produce will bear the same proportion to the value of the capital as it did before*" * (l.c., [pp.] 51-52).

If Ricardo means *SURPLUS PRODUCE* when he writes *PRODUCE* in the last passage then this is correct. For the rate of profit =

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 406-08.— *Ed.*

[b] From the viewpoint of.— *Ed.*

$\frac{\text{SURPLUS PRODUCE (VALUE)}}{\text{capital}}$. Thus if the SURPLUS PRODUCE=10 and the capital=100, the rate of profit=10/100=$^1/_{10}$=10%. If however he means the total product, then the way he puts it is not accurate. In that case by proportion of the VALUE OF THE PRODUCE TO THE VALUE OF CAPITAL, he evidently means nothing but the excess of the value of the commodity over the value of the capital advanced. In any case, it is obvious that *here* he does not identify profit with surplus value or the rate of profit with the rate of surplus value,= $\frac{\text{SURPLUS VALUE}}{\text{VALUE OF LABOUR}}$ or $\frac{\textit{SURPLUS VALUE}}{\text{VARIABLE CAPITAL}}$.

Ricardo says on p. *518* (l.c., CH. XXXII):

* "The *raw produce* of which commodities are made, is supposed to have fallen in price, and, therefore, commodities will fall on that account. True, they will fall, but their fall will not be attended with any diminution in the money income of the producer. If he sell his commodity for less money, it is only because *one of the materials from which it is made has fallen in value.* If the clothier sell his cloth for £900 instead of £1,000, his income will not be less, if the wool from which it is made, has declined £100 in value"* (l.c., [p.] 518).

(The particular point with which Ricardo is actually dealing, the effect in a practical CASE, does not concern us here. But a sudden DEPRECIATION of wool would of course affect (adversely) the MONEY INCOME of those CLOTHIERS who had on their hands a large STOCK of ready-made cloth manufactured at a time when wool was dearer and which has to be sold after the price [XII-668] of wool has dropped.) If, as Ricardo assumes here, the CLOTHIERS set in motion the same amount of labour as before //they could set in motion a much greater amount of labour because a part of the capital which was previously EXPENDED *only* on raw material is now at their disposal and can be EXPENDED on raw material+LABOUR//, it is clear that their "MONEY INCOME" taken in absolute terms, "WILL NOT BE LESS" but their *rate of profit* will be *greater* than previously; for—say it was 10%, i.e. £100—the same amount as before would now have to be reckoned on £900 instead of 1,000. In the first case the rate of profit=10%. In the second=$^1/_9$=11$^1/_9$%. Since Ricardo moreover presupposes that the RAW PRODUCE OF WHICH COMMODITIES ARE MADE has fallen generally, the GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT would rise and not only the RATE OF PROFIT in one TRADE. It is all the more strange that Ricardo does not realise this, because he understands it when the opposite takes place.

For in CH. VI "On Profits" Ricardo deals with the CASE where, as a result of an increase in the price of NECESSARIES owing to the cultivation of worse land and the consequent rise in differential

rent, firstly wages rise and secondly all RAW PRODUCE from the SURFACE OF THE EARTH. (This assumption is by no means necessary; cotton may very well fall in price, so can silk and even wool and linen, although the price of corn may be rising.)

In the first place he says that the *surplus value* (he calls it profit) of the farmer will fall because the value of the product of the 10 men whom he employs, continues to be £720 and from this fund of 720 he has to hand over more in WAGES. And he continues:

* "But the *rate of profits* will fall still more, because the *capital* of the farmer ... consists in a great measure of raw produce, such as his corn and hay-ricks, his unthreshed wheat and barley, his horses and cows, which would all rise in price in consequence of the *rise of produce.* His *absolute profits* would fall from £480 to £445 15s.; but if from the cause which I have just stated, his capital should rise from £3,000 to £3,200, *the rate of his profits* would, when corn was at £5 2s. 10d., be under 14 per cent. If a manufacturer had also employed £3,000 in his business, he would be obliged in consequence of the rise of wages, to increase his capital, in order to be enabled to carry on the same business. If his commodities sold before for £720 they would continue to sell at the same price; but the wages of labour, which were before £240, would rise when corn was at £5 2s. 10d., to £274 5s. In the first case he would have a balance of £480 as profit on £3,000, in the second he would have a profit only of £445 15s., on an increased capital, and therefore his profits would conform to the altered rate of those of the farmer" * (l.c., [pp.] 116-17).

In this passage, therefore, Ricardo distinguishes between *ABSOLUTE PROFITS* (=*SURPLUS VALUE*) and *RATE OF PROFITS* and also shows that the rate of profit falls more as a result of the change in the value of the capital advanced, than the ABSOLUTE PROFITS (SURPLUS VALUE) fall as a result of the RISE IN THE VALUE OF LABOUR. The RATE OF PROFITS would have also fallen, if the VALUE OF LABOUR [had] remained *the same,* because *the same* ABSOLUTE PROFIT would have to be calculated on a greater capital. The reverse result, i.e. a rise in the rate of profit (as distinct from a rise in SURPLUS VALUE or ABSOLUTE PROFIT), would take place in the first instance cited from him, where the value of the RAW PRODUCE falls. It is evident, therefore, that rises and falls in the rate of profit may also be brought about by circumstances other than the rise and fall in the absolute profit and the rise and fall in its rate, reckoned on the capital laid out in wages. In connection with the last quoted passage Ricardo writes:

* "Articles of jewellery, of iron, of plate, and of copper, would not *rise,* because none of the raw produce from the surface of the earth enters into their composition" * (l.c., [p.] 117).

The prices of these commodities would not rise, but the rate of profit in these TRADES would rise above that in the others. For in the latter, a smaller surplus value (because of the rise in wages) would correspond to a capital outlay that had grown in value for

two reasons: firstly, because the outlay in wages had increased; secondly, because the outlay in raw materials had increased. In the second case [XII-669] there is a smaller surplus value on a capital outlay in which only the variable part has grown because of the rise in wages.

In these passages, Ricardo himself throws overboard his whole theory of profit, which is based on the false identification of the rate of surplus value with the rate of profit.

* "In every case, agricultural, as well as manufacturing profits are lowered by a rise in the *price of raw produce,* if it be accompanied by a rise of wages" * (l.c., [pp.] 113-14).

It follows from what Ricardo himself has said, that, even if [the rise in the price of raw produce] is not ACCOMPANIED BY A RISE OF WAGES, the *RATE OF PROFITS* WOULD BE LOWERED BY AN ENHANCEMENT OF THAT PART OF THE ADVANCED CAPITAL CONSISTING OF RAW PRODUCE.

* "Suppose the price of silks, velvets, furniture, and any other commodities, not required by the labourer, to rise in consequence of more labour being *expended on them, would not that affect profits?* Certainly not: for *nothing can affect profits but a rise in wages;* silks and velvets are not consumed by the labourer, and therefore cannot raise wages" * (l.c., [p.] 118).

CERTAINLY, THE *RATE OF PROFITS* IN THOSE particular TRADES WOULD FALL, ALTHOUGH THE VALUE OF LABOUR—WAGES—REMAINED THE SAME. The raw material used by the silk manufacturers, piano manufacturers, furniture manufacturers, etc. would have become dearer, and therefore the proportion borne by the same surplus value to the capital laid out would have fallen and HENCE THE RATE OF PROFIT. And the *general rate of profit* consists of the AVERAGE of the particular rates of profit in all BRANCHES OF BUSINESS. Or, in order to make the same average profit as before, these manufacturers would raise the price of their commodities. Such a nominal rise in prices does not directly affect the rate of profit, but the EXPENDITURE OF PROFIT.

Ricardo returns once more to the case considered above, where the surplus value (ABSOLUTE PROFIT) falls, because the price of the NECESSARIES (and along with these, also rent) rises.

* "I must again observe, that the *rate of profits* would fall much more rapidly than I have estimated in my calculation: for the *value of the produce* being what I have stated it under the circumstances supposed, the value of *the farmer's stock* would be *greatly increased from its necessarily consisting of many of the commodities which had risen in value.* Before corn could rise from £4 to £12, *his capital* would probably be doubled in exchangeable value, and be worth £6,000 instead of £3,000. If then his profit were £180, or 6 per cent. on his *original capital,* profits would not at that time be really at *a higher rate* than 3 per cent.; for £6,000 at 3 per cent. gives £180; and on *those terms only could a new farmer with £6,000 money in his pocket enter into the farming business.* Many trades would derive some advantage, more or less, from the

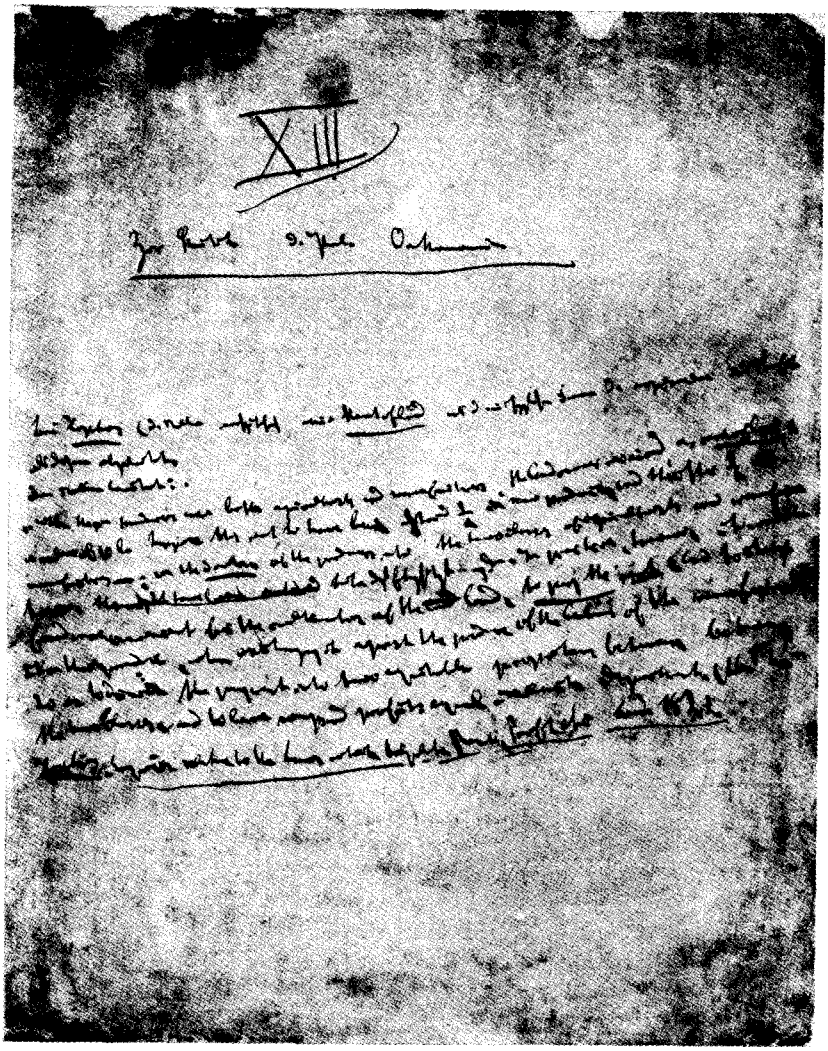

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same source. The brewer, the distiller, the clothier, the linen manufacturer, would be *partly compensated for the diminution of their profits, by the rise in the value of their stock of raw and finished materials*; but a manufacturer of hardware, of jewellery, and of many other commodities, as well as those whose capitals uniformly consisted of money, would be subject to the *whole fall in the rate of profits*, without any compensation whatever"* (l.c., [pp.] 123-24).

What is important here is only something of which Ricardo is not aware, namely, that he throws overboard his identification of profit with surplus value and [admits] that the rate of profit can be affected by a VARIATION IN THE VALUE OF THE CONSTANT CAPITAL independently of the VALUE OF LABOUR. Moreover, his illustration is only partially correct. The gain which the FARMER, CLOTHIER, etc., would derive from the rise in price of the STOCK OF COMMODITIES they have on hand and on the market, would of course cease as soon as they had sold these commodities. The increased value of their capital would similarly no longer represent a gain for them, when this capital was used up and had to be reproduced. They would then all find themselves in the position of the new farmer cited by Ricardo himself, who would have to advance a capital of £6,000 in order to make a profit of 3%. On the other hand, [XIII-670] the JEWELLER, MANUFACTURER OF HARDWARE, MONEY DEALER etc.—although at first they would not [receive] any compensation for their losses—would realise a rate of profit of more than 3%, for only the capital laid out in wages would have risen in value whereas their constant capital remained unchanged.

One further point of importance in connection with this compensation of the falling profit by the rise in value of the capital, mentioned by Ricardo, is that for the capitalist—and generally, as far as the division of the product of annual labour is concerned—it is a question not only of the distribution of the product among the various SHAREHOLDERS in the REVENUE, but also of the division of this product into capital and REVENUE.

### *Formation of the General Rate of Profit.*
### *(AVERAGE PROFITS or "USUAL PROFITS")*

Ricardo is by no means theoretically clear here.

* "I have already remarked, that the *market price* of a commodity may *exceed* its *natural or necessary price*, as it may be produced in less abundance than the new demand for it requires. This, however, is but a *temporary* effect. The high profits on capital employed in producing that commodity, will naturally attract capital to that trade; and as soon as the requisite funds are supplied, and the quantity of the commodity is duly increased, *its price will fall, and the profits of the trade will conform*

*to the general level.* A *fall in the general rate of profits* is by no means incompatible with *a partial rise of profits in particular employments.* It is through the inequality of profits, that capital is moved from one employment to another. Whilst then general profits are falling, and gradually settling at a lower level in consequence of the rise of wages, and the increasing difficulty of supplying the increasing population with necessaries, the profits of the farmer may, for an interval of some little duration, be above the former level. An extraordinary stimulus may be also given for a certain time, to a particular branch of foreign and colonial trade."* (l.c., [pp.] 118-19).

* "It should be recollected that prices always vary in the market, and in the first instance, through the comparative state of demand and supply. Although cloth could be furnished at 40s. per yard, and give the *usual profits of stock,* it may rise to 60 or 80s. from a general change of fashion.... The makers of cloth will for a time have unusual profits, but capital will naturally flow to that manufacture, till the supply and demand are again at their fair level, when the price of cloth will again sink to 40s., its natural or necessary price. In the same manner, with every increased demand for corn, it may rise so high as to afford more than the general profits to the farmer. If there be plenty of fertile land, the price of corn will again fall to its former standard, after the requisite quantity of capital has been employed in producing it, and profits will be as before; but if there be not plenty of fertile land, if, to produce this additional quantity, more than the usual quantity of capital and labour be required, corn will not fall to its former level. Its natural price will be raised, and the farmer, instead of obtaining permanently larger profits, will find himself obliged to be satisfied with the diminished rate which is the inevitable consequence of the rise of wages, produced by the rise of necessaries"* (l.c., [pp.] 119-20).

If the *working day* is given (or if only such DIFFERENCES OCCUR IN THE WORKING DAY IN DIFFERENT TRADES AS ARE COMPENSATED BY THE PECULIARITIES OF DIFFERENT LABOUR) then the *general rate of surplus value,* i.e. OF *SURPLUS LABOUR,* is given since wages are ON AN AVERAGE the same. Ricardo is preoccupied with this idea, and he confuses the *GENERAL RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE* with the *GENERAL RATE OF PROFITS.* I have shown that with the same *GENERAL RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE,* the *rates of profits* IN DIFFERENT TRADES must be very different, if the commodities are to be sold at their respective *values.* The *general rate of profits* is formed through the total surplus value produced being calculated on the total capital of society (of the class of capitalists). Each capital, therefore, in each particular TRADE, represents a *portion* of a total capital of the same [XIII-671] *organic composition,* both as regards constant and variable capital, and circulating and fixed capital. As such a portion, it draws its dividends from the SURPLUS VALUE created by the aggregate capital, in accordance with its size. The surplus value thus distributed, the amount of surplus value which falls to the share of a block of capital of given size, for example 100, during a given period of time, for example one year, constitutes the *AVERAGE PROFIT* or the *GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT,* and as such it enters into the costs of production OF EVERY TRADE. If this share=15, then

the USUAL PROFIT=15% and the cost price=115. It can be less if, for instance, only a part of the capital advanced enters as wear and tear into the valorisation process. But it is always=to the capital consumed+15, the AVERAGE profit on the capital advanced. If in one case 100 entered into the product and in another only 50, then in the first case the cost price=100+15=115 and in the second case it=50+15=65; thus both capitals would have sold their commodities at *the same cost price*, i.e. at a price which yielded the same RATE OF PROFIT to both. It is evident, that the emergence, realisation, creation of the *general rate of profit* necessitates the *transformation of values* into *cost prices* that are *different* from these values. Ricardo on the contrary assumes the identity of values and cost prices, because he confuses the rate of profit with the rate of surplus value. Hence he has not the faintest notion of the GENERAL CHANGE which takes place in the *PRICES* of commodities, in the course of the establishment of a GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT, before there can be any talk of a GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT. He accepts this RATE OF PROFITS as something pre-existent which, therefore, even plays a part in his determination of *value*. (See CH. I, "On Value".) The *GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT having been presupposed*, he only concerns himself with the exceptional modifications in prices which are necessary for the *maintenance*, for the continued existence of this GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT. He does not realise at all that in order to *create* the GENERAL RATE OF PROFITS VALUES must first be transformed into COST PRICES and that therefore, when he presupposes a GENERAL RATE OF PROFITS, he is no longer dealing directly with the *VALUES* OF COMMODITIES.

Moreover, the passage under consideration, *only* [expresses] the Smithian concept and even this in a one-sided way, because Ricardo is preoccupied with his notion of a *GENERAL RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE*. According to him, the rate of profit rises above the [average] *LEVEL* only in particular TRADES, because there the MARKET PRICE rises above the NATURAL PRICE owing to the relation between SUPPLY and DEMAND, underproduction or overproduction. Competition, influx of new capital into one TRADE or withdrawal of old capital from another, will then equalise MARKET PRICE and NATURAL PRICE and *reduce* the profit of the particular TRADE to the GENERAL LEVEL. Here the REAL LEVEL OF PROFITS is assumed as *constant* and presupposed as given, and it is only a question of *reducing* the profit to this level in particular TRADES in which it has risen above or fallen below it, as a result of the action of SUPPLY and DEMAND. Ricardo, moreover, always assumes that the commodities whose prices yield more than the AVERAGE PROFIT stand *above* their value and that those which yield less than the average profit stand *below* their value. If

competition makes their *market value* conform to their *value,* then the LEVEL is established.

According to Ricardo, the *LEVEL* itself can only rise or fall if wages fall or rise (for a relatively long period), that is to say, if the *rate of relative surplus value* falls or rises; and this occurs without any change in prices. (Yet Ricardo himself admits here that there can be very significant variations in prices IN DIFFERENT TRADES, according to the ratio of circulating and fixed capital.)

But even when a *GENERAL RATE OF PROFITS* is established and therefore *cost prices,* the *RATE OF PROFITS* in particular TRADES may rise, because the *hours of work* in them *are longer* and consequently the *RATE OF ABSOLUTE SURPLUS VALUE* rises. That competition between the workers cannot level this out, is proved by the *intervention of the state.* The rate of profit will rise in these particular TRADES without the MARKET PRICE rising above the NATURAL PRICE. Competition between capitals, however, can and in the long run will prevent this excess profit from accruing entirely to the capitalists in these particular TRADES. They will have to reduce the prices of their commodities below their "NATURAL PRICES", or the other TRADES will raise *their prices* a little (or if they do not actually raise them, because a fall in *value* of these commodities may supervene, then [XIII-672] at any rate they will not lower them as much as the development of the productive power of labour in their own TRADES required). The GENERAL LEVEL will rise and the cost prices will change.

Furthermore: if a new TRADE comes into being in which a disproportionate amount of living labour is employed in relation to accumulated labour, in which therefore the composition of capital is far below the AVERAGE COMPOSITION which determines the AVERAGE PROFIT, the relations of SUPPLY and DEMAND in this new TRADE may make it possible to sell its output above its *cost price,* at a price approximating more closely to its *actual value.* Competition can level this out, only through the raising of the *GENERAL LEVEL,* because capital on the whole realises, sets in motion, a greater quantity of *unpaid surplus labour.* The relations of SUPPLY and DEMAND do not, in the first instance as Ricardo maintains, cause the commodity to be sold *above its value,* but merely cause it to be sold above its cost price, at a price approximating *to its value.* The equalisation can therefore bring about not its reduction to the old LEVEL, but the establishment of a *new LEVEL.*

The same applies, for example, to *COLONIAL TRADE,* where as a result of slavery and the bounty of nature, the VALUE OF LABOUR is lower than in the old COUNTRY (or perhaps because, in fact or in law, landed property has not developed there). If capitals from the

mother country are freely TRANSFERABLE TO THIS NEW TRADE, then they will reduce the specific SURPLUS PROFIT in this TRADE, but will raise the GENERAL LEVEL OF PROFIT (as Adam Smith observes quite correctly).

On this point, Ricardo always helps himself out with the phrase: But in the old TRADES the quantity of labour employed has nevertheless remained the same, and so have wages. The GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT is, however, determined by the ratio of unpaid labour to paid labour and to the capital advanced not in this or that TRADE, but in all TRADES to which the CAPITAL MAY BE FREELY TRANSFERRED. The ratio may stay the same in $^{9}/_{10}$; but if it alters in $^{1}/_{10}$, then the GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT in the $^{10}/_{10}$ must change. Whenever there is an increase in the quantity of unpaid labour set in motion by a capital of a given size, the effect of competition can only be that capitals of equal size draw equal dividends, equal shares in this increased surplus labour; but not that the dividend of each individual capital remains the same or is reduced to its former share in surplus labour, despite the increase of surplus labour in proportion to the total capital advanced. If Ricardo makes this assumption he has no grounds whatsoever for contesting Adam Smith's view that the rate of profit is reduced merely by the growing competition between capitals due to their accumulation. For he himself assumes here that the rate of profit is reduced simply by competition, although the RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE is increasing. This is indeed connected with his second false assumption, that (leaving out of account the lowering or raising of wages) the RATE OF PROFITS can never rise or fall, except as a result of temporary deviations of the MARKET PRICE from the NATURAL PRICE. And what is NATURAL PRICE? That price=ADVANCES+AVERAGE PROFIT. Thus one arrives again at the assumption that AVERAGE PROFIT can only fall or rise in the same way as the RELATIVE SURPLUS VALUE.

Ricardo is therefore wrong when, contradicting Adam Smith, he says:

* "Any change from one foreign trade to another, or from home to foreign trade, cannot, in my opinion, affect the rate of profits"* (l.c., [p.] 413).

He is equally wrong in supposing that the RATE OF PROFITS does not affect cost prices because it does not affect VALUES.

Ricardo is wrong in thinking that, IN CONSEQUENCE OF A FAVOURED FOREIGN TRADE, the GENERAL LEVEL [of profits] must always be re-established by reducing [profits in a branch of foreign trade] to the former LEVEL and not by raising the general level of profits.

* "They contend, that the equality of profits will be brought about by the general rise of profits; and I am of opinion, that the profits of the favoured trade will speedily subside to the general level" * ([pp.] 132-33).

Because of his completely wrong conception of the rate of profit, Ricardo misunderstands entirely the influence of FOREIGN TRADE, when it does not directly lower the price of the LABOURERS' FOOD. He does not see how enormously important it is for England, for example, to secure [XIII-673] cheaper raw materials for industry, and that in this case, as I have shown previously,[a] the *rate of profit* rises *although prices fall,* whereas in the reverse case, with *rising prices,* the rate of profit can fall, even if wages remain the same in both cases.

* "It is *not,* therefore, in consequence of the extension of the market that the rate of profit is raised" * (l.c., [p.] 136).

The RATE OF PROFIT does not depend on the price of the individual commodity but on the amount of surplus labour which can be realised with a given capital. Elsewhere Ricardo also fails to recognise the importance of the *market* because he does not understand the nature of money.

### *Law of the Diminishing Rate of Profit*

(In connection with the above it must be noted that Ricardo commits all these BLUNDERS, because he attempts to carry through his identification of the rate of surplus value with the rate of profit by means of forced abstraction. The *vulgus* has therefore concluded that theoretical truths are abstractions which are at variance with reality, instead of seeing, on the contrary, that Ricardo does not carry true abstract thinking far enough and is therefore driven into false abstraction.[21])

This is one of the most important points in the Ricardian system.

The rate of profit has a tendency to fall. Why? Adam Smith says: As a result of the growing ACCUMULATION and the growing competition between capitals which accompanies it. Ricardo retorts: Competition can level out profits in DIFFERENT TRADES (we have seen above that he is not consistent in this); but it cannot lower the general rate of profit. This would only be possible if, as a result of the ACCUMULATION of capital, the capital grew so much

[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 430-37.— *Ed.*

more rapidly than the POPULATION, that the demand for labour were *constantly* greater than its SUPPLY, and therefore wages—both nominal and real wages and in terms of use value—were constantly rising in value and in use value. This is not the case. Ricardo is not an optimist who believes such fairy-tales.

But because for Ricardo the *rate of profit* and the *rate of surplus value*—that is, relative surplus value, since he assumes the length of the working day to be constant—are identical terms, a permanent fall in profit or the tendency of profit to fall can only be explained as the result of the *same causes* that bring about a permanent fall or tendency to fall in the *rate of surplus value,* i.e. in that part of the day during which the worker does not work for himself but for the capitalist. What are these causes? If the length of the working day is assumed to remain constant, then the part of it during which the worker works for nothing for the capitalist can only fall, diminish, if the part during which he works for himself grows. And this is only possible (assuming that LABOUR is paid at its *VALUE*), if the *value* of the NECESSARIES—the means of subsistence on which the worker spends his wages—increases. But as a result of the development of the productive power of labour, the value of industrial commodities is constantly decreasing. The diminishing rate of profit can therefore only be explained by the fact that the value of FOOD, the principal component part of the means of subsistence, is constantly rising. This happens because agriculture is becoming less productive. This is the same presupposition which, according to Ricardo's interpretation, explains the existence and growth of rent. The continuous fall in profits is thus bound up with the continuous rise in the rate of rent. I have already shown that Ricardo's view of rent is wrong. This then cuts out one of the grounds for his explanation of the FALL IN THE RATE OF PROFITS. But secondly, it rests on the false assumption that the *RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE* and the *RATE OF PROFIT* are identical, that therefore a fall in the RATE OF PROFIT is identical with a fall in the RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE, which in fact could only be explained in Ricardo's way. And this puts an end to his theory. The rate of profit falls, although the RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE remains the same or rises, because the proportion of variable capital to constant capital decreases with the development of the productive power of labour. The rate of profit thus falls, not because labour becomes less productive, but because it becomes more productive. Not because the worker is less exploited, but because he is more exploited, whether the ABSOLUTE SURPLUS TIME grows or, when the state prevents this, the RELATIVE SURPLUS TIME grows, for capitalist production is inseparable from

falling RELATIVE VALUE OF LABOUR. Thus Ricardo's theory rests on two false presuppositions:

1) The false supposition that the existence and growth of rent is determined by the diminishing productivity of agriculture;

2) The false assumption that the rate of profit=the rate of relative surplus value and can only rise or fall in inverse proportion to a fall or rise in wages.

[XIII-674] I shall now place together the statements in which Ricardo expounds the view that has just been described.

First, however, some comments on the way in which, given his concept of rent, Ricardo thinks that rent gradually swallows up the rate of profit.

We shall use the tables on page 574,[a] but with the necessary modifications.

In these tables it is assumed that the capital employed=$60c+40v$, the surplus labour=50%, the *value* of the product therefore=£120, whatever the productivity of labour. Of this £10=profit and £10=absolute rent. Say, the £40 represents wages for 20 men (for a week's labour for example or rather because of the rate of profit, say, a year's labour; but this does not matter here at all). According to Table *A*, where land I determines the market value, the number of tons=60, therefore 60 tons=£120, 1 ton=£$^{120}/_{60}$=£2. The wages, £40, thus=20 tons [of coal] or qrs of grain. This then is the necessary wage for the number of workers employed by the capital of 100. Now if it were necessary to descend to an inferior type of soil, where a capital of 110 (60 constant capital and the 20 workers which this sets in motion, that is, 60 constant capital and 50 variable capital) was required, in order to produce 48 tons. In this case the surplus value=£10, and the price per ton=£$2^1/_2$. If we descended to an even worse type of land where £120=40 tons, the price per ton=$^{120}/_{40}$=£3. In this case there would be no surplus value on the worse type of land. What the 20 men produce always=the value of £60 (£3=1 working day of a given length). Thus if wages grow from 40 to 60, the surplus value disappears altogether. It is assumed throughout that 1 qr is the necessary wage FOR ONE MAN. Assume that in both these cases a capital of only 100 is to be laid out. Or, which is the same thing, whatever capital may be laid out, what is the proportion for 100? For instead of calculating that, if the same number of workers and the same constant capital is employed as before, the capital outlay will amount to 110 or 120,

[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 480-81.— *Ed.*

we shall calculate on the basis of the same organic composition (not measured in value but in amount of labour employed and amount of constant capital) how much constant capital and how great a number of workers a capital of 100 contains (in order to keep to the comparison of 100 with the other classes).

The proportion $110:60=100:54^6/_{11}$ and $110:50=100:45^5/_{11}$. 20 men set in motion 60 constant capital; so how many [men] set in motion $54^6/_{11}$?

The situation is as follows: The value obtained from employing a number of workers (say 20) is £60. In this case 20 qrs or tons=£40 will fall to the share of the workers employed, if the value of the ton or qr=£2. If the value of a ton rises to £3, the surplus value disappears. If it rises to $2^1/_2$, then that $^1/_2$ of the surplus value disappears, which constituted the absolute rent.

In the first case, where a capital of £120 (60*c* and 60*v*) is laid out the product=£120=40 tons (40×3).

In the second case, where a capital of 110 (60*c* and 50*v*) is laid out the product=£120=48 tons ($48\times2^1/_2$).

In the first case, if the capital laid out were £100 (50*c* and 50*v*) the product=100=$33^1/_3$ tons (£$3\times33^1/_3$=100).

Moreover, since only the land has deteriorated while the capital has undergone no change, the proportionate number [of workers] who set in motion the constant capital of 50 will be the same as that previously setting in motion the capital of 60. Thus if the latter was set in motion by 20 men (who received £40 while the value of 1 ton=£2) it will now be set in motion by $16^2/_3$ men, who receive £50 since the value of a ton has risen to £3. As before, 1 man receives 1 ton or 1 qr=£3, for $16^2/_3\times3=50$. If the value created by $16^2/_3$ men=50, then that created by 20 men=£60. Thus the assumption that a day's labour of 20 men=£60 remains unchanged.

Now let us take the 2nd case. With a capital outlay of 100, the product=$109^1/_{11}=43^7/_{11}$ tons ($2^1/_2\times43^7/_{11}=109^1/_{11}$). The constant capital=$54^6/_{11}$ and the variable=$45^5/_{11}$. How many men does the £$45^5/_{11}$ represent?

*$18^2/_{11}$ men.* [XIII-675] For if the value of a day's labour of 20 men=£60, then that of $18^2/_{11}$ men=$54^6/_{11}$, hence the value of the product=£$109^1/_{11}$.

It can be seen that in both cases the same capital sets in motion fewer men who, however, cost more. They work for the same length of time, but the surplus [labour] time decreases or disappears altogether, because they produce a smaller amount of product using the same amount of labour (and this product

consists of their NECESSARIES), therefore they use more labour time for the production of 1 ton or 1 qr although they work *the same* length of time as before. In his calculations, Ricardo always presupposes that the capital must set in motion *more labour* and that therefore a *greater* capital, i.e. 120, 110, must be laid out instead of the previous 100. This is only correct if *the same quantity* is to be produced, i.e. 60 tons in the cases cited above, instead of 40 tons being produced IN CASE I, with an outlay of 120, and 48 in case II with an outlay of 110. With an outlay of 100, therefore, $33^1/_3$ tons are produced in case I and $43^7/_{11}$ tons in case II. Ricardo thus departs from the correct view point, which is not that more workers must be employed in order to create the same product, but that a given number of workers create a smaller product, a greater share of which is in turn taken up by wages.

We shall now compile two tables, firstly Table A from page 574 and the new table which follows from the data given above.

A

| | Capital | Tons | TV [Total value] | MV [Market value] per ton | IV [Individual value] per ton | DV [Differential value] per ton | CP [Cost price] per ton | AR [Absolute rent] | DR [Differential rent] | AR [Absolute rent] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | [£] | | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | tons |
| I) | 100 | 60 | 120 | 2 | 2 | 0 | $1^5/_6$ | 10 | 0 | 5 |
| II) | 100 | 65 | 130 | 2 | $1^{11}/_{13}$ | $^2/_{13}$ | $1^9/_{13}$ | 10 | 10 | 5 |
| III) | 100 | 75 | 150 | 2 | $1^9/_{15}$ | $^2/_5$ | $1^7/_{15}$ | 10 | 30 | 5 |
| | 300 | 200 | 400 | | | | | 30 | 40 | 15 |

| | DR [Differential rent] | RENTAL | RENTAL | COMPOSITION OF CAPITAL | Surplus value | Number of workers | Wages | Wages | Rate of profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | tons | £ | tons | | % | | £ | tons | % |
| [I)] | 0 | 10 | 5 | $60c+40v$ | 50 | 20 | 40 | 20 | 10 |
| [II)] | 5 | 20 | 10 | $60c+40v$ | ditto | ditto | | | |
| [III)] | 15 | 40 | 20 | $60c+40v$ | ditto | ditto | | | |
| | 20 | 70 | 35 | | | | | | |

If this table were constructed in the reverse direction, according to Ricardo's DESCENDING LINE: that is beginning from III and if at the same time one assumed that the more fertile land which is cultivated first, pays no rent, then we would, in the first place,

have a capital of 100 in III, [which] produces a value of 120, consisting of 60 constant capital and 60 newly added labour. According to Ricardo, one would further have to assume, that the rate of profit stood at a higher level than entered in Table A, since, when the ton of coal (qr of wheat)=£2, the 20 men received 20 tons=£40; now that, as a result of the fall in the value, the ton=£$1^{9}/_{15}$, or £1 12s., the 20 men receive only £32 (=20 tons). The capital advanced to employ the same number of workers would amount to $60c$ and $32v$=£92 and the produced value=120, since the value of the work carried out by the 20 men=£60 as before. Accordingly, a capital of 100 would produce a value of $130^{10}/_{23}$, for $92:120=100:130^{10}/_{23}$ (or $23:30=100:130^{10}/_{23}$). Moreover this capital of 100 would be composed as follows: $65^{5}/_{23}c$ and $34^{18}/_{23}v$. Thus the capital would be $65^{5}/_{23}c+34^{18}/_{23}v$; the value of the product=$130^{10}/_{23}$. The *number of workers* would be $21^{17}/_{23}$ and the rate of surplus value $87^{1}/_{2}$%.

1) So we would have:

| | Capital | TV [Total value] | Number of tons | MV [Market value per ton] | IV [Individual value] per ton | DV [Differential value per ton] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | [£] | [£] | | £ | £ | |
| III) | 100 | $130^{10}/_{23}$ | $81^{12}/_{23}$ | $1^{9}/_{15}$ | $1^{9}/_{15}$ | 0 |

| | Rent | Profit | Rate of profit | Composition of capital | Surplus value | Number of workers |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | £ | % | | % | |
| [III)] | 0 | $30^{10}/_{23}$ | $30^{10}/_{23}$ | $65^{5}/_{23}c+34^{18}/_{23}v$ | $87^{1}/_{2}$ | $21^{17}/_{23}$ |

Expressed in tons, wages=$21^{17}/_{23}$ tons and profit=$19^{1}/_{46}$ tons. [XIII-676] Continuing on the Ricardian assumption, let us now suppose that as a result of the increasing population, the market price rises so high that class II must be cultivated, where the value per ton=£$1^{11}/_{13}$.

In this case it is impossible to assume as Ricardo wants that the $21^{17}/_{23}$ workers produce always the same value, i.e. £$65^{5}/_{23}$ (wages added to surplus value). For the *number of workers* whom III can employ, and therefore exploit, decreases—according to his own assumption—hence also the total amount of surplus value.

At the same time, the composition of the AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL always remains the same. Whatever their wages may be, 20 workers are always required (with a given length of the working day) in order to set in motion $60c$.

Since these 20 workers receive 20 tons and the ton=£$1^{11}/_{13}$, 20 workers cost £20 $(1+{}^{11}/_{13})$=£20+£$16^{12}/_{13}$=£$36^{12}/_{13}$.

The value which these 20 workers produce, whatever the productivity of their labour, =60; thus the capital advanced=$96^{12}/_{13}$, the value=120, and profit=£$23^{1}/_{13}$. The profit on a capital of 100 will therefore be $23^{17}/_{21}$ and the composition: $61^{19}/_{21}c+38^{2}/_{21}v$. $20^{40}/_{63}$ workers [are] employed. Since the total value $123^{17}/_{21}$, and the individual value per ton in class III=£$1^{9}/_{15}$, of how many tons does the product consist? $77^{8}/_{21}$ tons. The *rate of surplus value* is $62^{1}/_{2}$%. But III sells the ton at £$1^{11}/_{13}$. This results in a differential value of $4^{12}/_{13}$s. or £$^{16}/_{65}$ per ton, and on $77^{8}/_{21}$ tons it amounts to $(77^{8}/_{21})$ $(4^{12}/_{13}$s.)=£$19^{20}/_{21}$s. Instead of selling its product at $123^{17}/_{21}$, III sells at $123^{17}/_{21}$+£$19^{20}/_{21}$s. (or £$19^{1}/_{21}$)=£142 $17^{1}/_{7}$s. The £19 $^{20}/_{21}$s. constitutes the rent.

Thus we would have the following for III:

| | Capital | Tons | Actual total value | Total market value | IV [Individual value per ton] | MV [Market value per ton] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | [£] | | £ | £ | £ | [£] |
| III) | 100 | $77^{8}/_{21}$ | $123^{17}/_{21}$ | £142 $17^{1}/_{7}$s. | $1^{9}/_{15}$ | $1^{11}/_{13}$ |

| | DV [Differential value per ton] | Surplus value | Rate of profit | Number of workers | Composition of capital | Rent | Rent in tons |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | % | % | | | | |
| [III)] | $+4^{12}/_{13}$s. | $62^{1}/_{2}$ | $23^{17}/_{21}$ | $20^{40}/_{63}$ | $61^{19}/_{21}c+38^{2}/_{21}v$ | £$19^{20}/_{21}$ s. | 10 tons and fraction |

The wages measured in tons = $20^{40}/_{63}$ tons. And the profit=$12^{113}/_{126}$ tons.

We now pass on to class II; there is no rent here. Market value and individual value are equal. The number of tons produced by II=$67^{4}/_{63}$.

Thus we have the following *for II*:

| | Capital | Tons | TV [Total value] | MV [Market value per ton] | IV [Individual value per ton] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | [£] | | [£] | [£] | [£] |
| II) | 100 | $67^{4}/_{63}$ | $123^{17}/_{21}$ | $1^{11}/_{13}$ | $1^{11}/_{13}$ |

| | DV [Differential value per ton] | Surplus value % | Rate of profit [%] | Number of workers | Composition of capital | Rent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [II)] | 0 | $62^1/_2$ | $23^{17}/_{21}$ | $20^{40}/_{63}$ | $61\,^{19}/_{21}\,c+38\,^2/_{21}\,v$ | 0 |

Wages measured in tons=$20^{40}/_{63}$ and profit=$12^{113}/_{126}$ tons.

[XIII-677] For the 2nd CASE, in which class II is introduced and rent comes into existence, we have the following:

| 2) | Capital | Tons | ATV [Actual total value] | TMV [Total market value] | MV [Market value per ton] | IV [Individual value per ton] | DV [Differential value per ton] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | [£] | | [£] | [£] | £ | [£] | |
| III) | 100 | $77^8/_{21}$ | $123^{17}/_{21}$ | £142 $17^1/_7$s. | $1^{11}/_{13}$ | $1^9/_{15}$ | $+4^{12}/_{13}$s. |
| II) | 100 | $67^4/_{63}$ | $123^{17}/_{21}$ | $123^{17}/_{21}$ | $1^{11}/_{13}$ | $1^{11}/_{13}$ | 0 |

| | Composition of capital | Number of workers | Surplus value % | Rate of profit [%] | Wages in tons | Profit in tons | Rent £ | Rent in tons |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [III)] | $61\,^{19}/_{21}c+38^2/_{21}v$ | $20^{40}/_{63}$ | $62\,^1/_2$ | $23^{17}/_{21}$ | $20^{40}/_{63}$ | $12^{113}/_{126}$ | £$19\,^{20}/_{21}$s. | $10^{20}/_{63}$ |
| [II)] | $61\,^{19}/_{21}c+38^2/_{21}v$ | $20^{40}/_{63}$ | $62^1/_2$ | $23^{17}/_{21}$ | $20^{40}/_{63}$ | $12^{113}/_{126}$ | 0 | 0 |

Let us now pass on to the 3rd CASE and, like Ricardo, let us assume that mine I, a poorer mine, must and can be worked, because the *market value* has risen to £2. Since 20 workers are required for a constant capital of 60 and their wages are now £40, we have the same composition of capital as in Table *A p. 574*, i.e. $60c+40v$, and as the value produced by the 20 workers always=60, the total value of the product produced by a capital of 100=120, whatever its productivity. The rate of profit in this case=20 and the surplus value=50%. Measured in tons, the profit=10 tons. We must now see what changes occur in III and II as a result of this change in the market value and the introduction of I, which determines the rate of profit.

Although III works the most fertile land he can with 100 only employ 20 workers, costing him £40, for a constant capital of 60 requires 20 workers. The number of workers employed with a capital of 100 therefore falls to 20. And the actual total value of the product now=120. But how many tons have been produced by III when the individual value of one ton=£$1^9/_{15}$? 75 tons, since 120 divided by $^{24}/_{15}$ (£$1^9/_{15}$)=75. The number of tons produced by

III decreases because he can employ *less* labour with the same capital, not *more* (as Ricardo wrongly declares, because he always considers merely how much labour is required in order to create *the same* output; and not *how much living labour* can be employed with the new composition of capital though this is the only important point). But he sells these 75 tons at 150 (instead of at 120, which is their value) and so the rent rises to £30 in III. So far as II is concerned, the value of the product here ditto=120 etc. But, as the individual value per ton=$1^{11}/_{13}$, 65 tons are produced (for 120 divided by $^{24}/_{13}$ ($1^{11}/_{13}$)=65). In short, we arrive here at Table *A from p. 574*. But since for our purpose we need new headings here, now that I is introduced and the market value has risen to £2 we set out the table anew.

| 3) | Capital | Tons | ATV [Actual total value] | TMV [Total market value] | MV [Market value per ton] | IV [Individual value per ton] | DV [Differential value per ton] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | [£] | | [£] | [£] | £ | £ | |
| III) | *100* | 75 | 120 | 150 | 2 | $1^{9}/_{15}$ | 8s. |
| II) | 100 | 65 | 120 | 130 | 2 | $1^{11}/_{13}$ | $3^{1}/_{13}$s. |
| I) | 100 | 60 | 120 | 120 | 2 | 2 | 0 |

| | Composition of capital | Number of workers | Surplus value | Rate of profit | Wages in tons | Profit in tons | Rent | Rent in tons |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | % | % | | | £ | |
| [III)] | $60c+40v$ | 20 | 50 | 20 | 20 | 10 | 30 | 15 |
| [II)] | $60c+40v$ | 20 | 50 | 20 | 20 | 10 | 10 | 5 |
| [I)] | $60c+40c$ | 20 | 50 | 20 | 20 | 10 | 0 | |
| | | | | | | | 40 | 20 |

[XIII-678] In short, this CASE III) corresponds to Table A p. 574 (apart from absolute rent which appears as a part of profit here) only the order is reversed.

Let us now go on to the newly assumed CASES.[a] First of all the class which still yields a profit. Let it be called Ib. With a capital of 100 it only yields $43^{7}/_{11}$ tons.

The value of a ton has risen to £$2^{1}/_{2}$. The composition of the capital=$54^{6}/_{11}c+45^{5}/_{11}v$. The value of the product=£$109^{1}/_{11}$. £$45^{5}/_{11}$ is enough to pay $18^{2}/_{11}$ men. And since the value of a day's

[a] See this volume, pp. 74-77.— *Ed.*

labour of 20 men=£60, that of $18^2/_{11}$ men=$54^6/_{11}$. The value of the product therefore=$109^1/_{11}$. The *rate of profit*=£$9^1/_{11}$=$3^7/_{11}$ tons. The *rate of surplus value* is 20%.

Since the organic composition of the capitals in III, II, I is the same as in Ib and they must pay the same wages, they too can employ only $18^2/_{11}$ men with £100, these men produce a total value of $54^6/_{11}$, and therefore a surplus value of 20% and a rate of profit of $9^1/_{11}$% as in Ib. The total value of the product here, as in Ib,=£$109^1/_{11}$.

But since the individual value of a ton in III=£$1^9/_{15}$, III produces (or its product=) £$109^1/_{11}$ divided by $1^9/_{15}$ or $^{24}/_{15}$=$68^2/_{11}$ tons. Moreover, the difference between the market value of a ton and the individual value amounts to £$2^1/_2$−£$1^9/_{15}$. That is £2 10s.—£1 12s.=18s. And on $68\,^2/_{11}$ tons this=18(68+$^2/_{11}$)s.=1,$227^3/_{11}$s.=£61 $7^3/_{11}$s. Instead of selling at £$109^1/_{11}$, III sells at £170 $9^1/_{11}$s. And this excess=the rent of III. This rent, expressed in tons,=$24^6/_{11}$ tons.

Since the individual value of a ton in II=£$1^{11}/_{13}$, II produces $109^1/_{11}$ divided by $1^{11}/_{13}$ and this=$59^1/_{11}$ tons. The difference between the market value of one ton in II and its [individual] value is £2 10s.−£1 $16^{12}/_{13}$s. or (−£$1^{11}/_{13}$), which=$13^1/_{13}$s. And on $59^1/_{11}$ tons, this=$13^1/_{13}$ (59+$^1/_{11}$)s.=£38 $12^8/_{11}$s. And this is the rent. The total market value=£147 $14^6/_{11}$s. The rent expressed in tons=$15^5/_{11}$ tons.

Finally, since the individual value of a ton in I=£2, £$109^1/_{11}$=$54^6/_{11}$ tons. The difference between the market value and the individual value=£$2^1/_2$−£2=10s. And on $54^6/_{11}$ tons this=(54+$^6/_{11}$) 10s.=540s.+$^{60}/_{11}$s.=£27+$5^5/_{11}$s. The total market value therefore=£136 $7^3/_{11}$s. And the value of the rent expressed in tons=$10^4/_5$ tons,[22] if we omit a fraction ($5^5/_{11}$s.).

Bringing together all the data for CASE 4), one gets the following: [XIII-679]

| 4) Capital | Tons | ATV [Actual total value] | TMV [Total market value] | MV [Market value per ton] | IV [Individual value per ton] | DV [Differential value per ton] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [£] | | £ | £ | £ | £ | |
| III) 100 | $68^2/_{11}$ | $109^1/_{11}$ | £170 $9^1/_{11}$s. | $2^1/_2$ | $1^9/_{15}$ | 18s. |
| II) 100 | $59^1/_{11}$ | $109^1/_{11}$ | £147 $14^6/_{11}$[s.] | $2^1/_2$ | $1^{11}/_{13}$ | $13^1/_{13}$s. |
| I) 100 | $54^6/_{11}$ | $109^1/_{11}$ | £136 $7^3/_{11}$[s.] | $2^1/_2$ | 2 | 10s. |
| Ib) 100 | $43^7/_{11}$ | $109^1/_{11}$ | £$109^1/_{11}$ | $2^1/_2$ | $2^1/_2$ | 0 |

| | Composition of capital | Number of workers | Surplus value | Rate of profit | Wages [in] tons | Profit [in] tons | Rent | Rent [in] tons |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | % | % | | | £ | |
| [III)] | $54^6/_{11}c+45^5/_{11}v$ | $18^2/_{11}$ | 20 | $9^1/_{11}$ | $18^2/_{11}$ | $3^7/_{11}$ | £61 $7^3/_{11}$s. | $24^6/_{11}$ |
| [II)] | $54^6/_{11}c+45^5/_{11}v$ | $18^2/_{11}$ | 20 | $9^1/_{11}$ | $18^2/_{11}$ | $3^7/_{11}$ | £38 $12^8/_{11}$s. | $15^5/_{11}$ |
| [I)] | $54^6/_{11}c+45^5/_{11}v$ | $18^2/_{11}$ | 20 | $9^1/_{11}$ | $18^2/_{11}$ | $3^7/_{11}$ | £27 $5^5/_{11}$s. | $10^4/_5$ |
| [Ib)] | $54^6/_{11}c+45^5/_{11}v$ | $18^2/_{11}$ | 20 | $9^1/_{11}$ | $18^2/_{11}$ | $3^7/_{11}$ | 0 | 0 |

Finally let us look at the last CASE in which, according to Ricardo, the *entire profit* disappears and there is no surplus value.

In this case the value of the product rises to £3, so that if 20 men are employed, their wage=£60=the value produced by them. The composition of the capital=$50c+50v$. Now *$16^2/_3$ men* are employed. If the value produced by 20 men=60, then that produced by $16^2/_3$ men=£50. The wages, therefore, swallow up the whole value. Now, as before, a man receives 1 ton. The value of the product=100 and therefore the number of tons produced=$33^1/_3$ tons, of which $^1/_2$ merely replaces the value of the constant capital and the other half the value of the variable capital.

Since in III, the individual value of a ton=$1^9/_{15}$ or £$^{24}/_{15}$, how many tons does III produce? 100 divided by $^{24}/_{15}$, i.e. $62^1/_2$ tons, whose value=100. The difference, however, between market value and individual value=£3−£$1^9/_{15}$=£$1^6/_{15}$ or £$1^2/_5$. On $62^1/_2$ tons this=£$87^1/_2$. Hence the total market value of the product=£$187^1/_2$. And the rent in tons=$29^1/_6$ tons.

In II the individual value of a ton=£$1^{11}/_{13}$. Hence the differential value=£3−£$1^{11}/_{13}$=£$1^2/_{13}$. Since the individual value of a ton here=£$1^{11}/_{13}$ or £$^{24}/_{13}$, the capital of 100 produces 100 divided by $^{24}/_{13}$=$54^1/_6$ tons. On this number of tons, that difference=£62 10s. And the market value of the product=£162 10s. Expressed in tons, the rent=$20^5/_6$ tons.

In I the individual value of a ton=£2. The differential value therefore=3−2=£1. Since the individual value of a ton=£2 here, a capital of 100 produces 50 tons. This makes a difference of £50. The market value of the product=150 and the rent in tons=$16^2/_3$ tons.

We now come *to Ib*, which until now has not carried a rent. Here the individual value=£$2^1/_2$. Hence differential value=3−£$2^1/_2$=£$^1/_2$ or 10s. And since the individual value of a ton is here=$2^1/_2$ or £$^5/_2$, [£]100 produces 40 tons. The differential value on these=£20, so that the total market value=120. And the rent expressed in tons=$6^2/_3$ tons.

Let us now construct CASE 5) in which, according to Ricardo, profit disappears.
[XIII-680]

| 5) | Capital | Tons | ATV [Actual total value] | MV [Market value per ton] | IV [Individual value per ton] | DV [Differential value per ton] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | [£] | | [£] | £ | [£] | £ |
| III) | 100 | $62^1/_2$ | 100 | 3 | $1^9/_{15}$ | $1^2/_5$ |
| II) | 100 | $54^1/_6$ | 100 | 3 | $1^{11}/_{13}$ | $1^2/_{13}$ |
| I) | 100 | 50 | 100 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Ib) | 100 | 40 | 100 | 3 | $2^1/_2$ | $^1/_2$ |
| Ia) | 100 | $33^1/_3$ | 100 | 3 | 3 | 0 |

| | Composition of capital | Number of workers | Surplus value | Rate of profit | Wages [in tons] | Rent £ | Rent in tons |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [III)] | $50c+50v$ | $16^2/_3$ | 0 | 0 | $16^2/_3$ | $87^1/_2$ | $29^1/_6$ |
| [II)] | $50c+50v$ | $16^2/_3$ | 0 | 0 | $16^2/_3$ | $62^1/_2$ | $20^5/_6$ |
| [I)] | $50c+50v$ | $16^2/_3$ | 0 | 0 | $16^2/_3$ | 50 | $16^2/_3$ |
| [Ib)] | $50c+50v$ | $16^2/_3$ | 0 | 0 | $16^2/_3$ | 20 | $6^2/_3$ |
| [Ia)] | $50c+50v$ | $16^2/_3$ | 0 | 0 | $16^2/_3$ | 0 | 0 |

On the following page I shall now put all five CASES in tabular form [see pp. 84-85].

[XII-683] If in the first place we examine *Table E*) on the previous page, we see that the position in the last class, Ia, is very clear. In this case wages swallow up the whole product and the whole value of the labour. Surplus value is non-existent, hence there is neither profit nor rent. The value of the product=the value of the capital advanced, so that the workers—who are here in possession of their own capital—can invariably reproduce their wages and the conditions of their labour, but no more. In this last class it cannot be said that the rent swallows up the profit. There is no rent and no profit because there is no surplus value. Wages swallow up the surplus value and therefore the profit.

In the 4 other classes the position is *prima facie* by no means clear. If there is no surplus value, how can rent exist? Moreover, the productivity of labour on the types of land Ib, I, II and III has not altered at all. The *non-existence* of surplus value must therefore be sheer illusion.

[XIII-681]

## The Movement of the Rent According to Ricardo (with Certain Corrections)

| | Capital [£] | Tons | Actual total value £ | Total market value £ | Market value per ton £ | Individual value per ton £ | Differential value per ton £ | Composition of capital |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A) (Only the best class, III, is cultivated.) Non-existence of rent. | | | | | | | | |
| III) | 100 | $81^{12}/_{23}$ | $130^{10}/_{23}$ | $130^{10}/_{23}$ | $1^{9}/_{15}$ | $1^{9}/_{15}$ | 0 | $65^{5}/_{23}c+34^{18}/_{23}v$ |
| B) Second class, II, is added. Rent comes into existence on land (mine) III | | | | | | | | |
| III) | 100 | $77^{8}/_{21}$ | $123^{17}/_{21}$ | £142 $17^{1}/_{7}$ s. | $1^{11}/_{13}$ | $1^{9}/_{15}$ | $+4^{12}/_{13}$ s. | $61^{19}/_{21}c+38^{2}/_{21}v$ |
| II) | 100 | $67^{4}/_{63}$ | $123^{17}/_{21}$ | $123^{17}/_{21}$ | $1^{11}/_{13}$ | $1^{11}/_{13}$ | 0 | $61^{19}/_{21}c+38^{2}/_{21}v$ |
| Total | 200 | $144^{4}/_{9}$ | $247^{13}/_{21}$ | £266 $13^{1}/_{3}$ s. | | | | |
| C) Third class, I, is added. Rent comes into existence on land (mine) II | | | | | | | | |
| III) | 100 | 75 | 120 | 150 | 2 | $1^{9}/_{15}$ | 8s. | $60c+40v$ |
| II) | 100 | 65 | 120 | 130 | 2 | $1^{11}/_{13}$ | $3^{1}/_{13}$s. | $60c+40v$ |
| I) | 100 | 60 | 120 | 120 | 2 | 2 | 0 | $60c+40v$ |
| Total | 300 | 200 | 360 | 400 | | | | |
| D) Fourth class, Ib, is added. Rent comes into existence on land (mine) I | | | | | | | | |
| III) | 100 | $68^{2}/_{11}$ | $109^{1}/_{11}$ | £170 $9^{1}/_{11}$s. | $2^{1}/_{2}$ | $1^{9}/_{15}$ | 18s. | $54^{6}/_{11}c+45^{5}/_{11}v$ |
| II) | 100 | $59^{1}/_{11}$ | $109^{1}/_{11}$ | £147 $14^{6}/_{11}$s. | $2^{1}/_{2}$ | $1^{11}/_{13}$ | $13^{1}/_{13}$s. | $54^{6}/_{11}c+45^{5}/_{11}v$ |
| I) | 100 | $54^{6}/_{11}$ | $109^{1}/_{11}$ | £136 $7^{3}/_{11}$s. | $2^{1}/_{2}$ | 2 | 10s. | $54^{6}/_{11}c+45^{5}/_{11}v$ |
| Ib) | 100 | $43^{7}/_{11}$ | $109^{1}/_{11}$ | £109 $^{1}/_{11}$ | $2^{1}/_{2}$ | $2^{1}/_{2}$ | 0 | $54^{6}/_{11}c+45^{5}/_{11}v$ |
| Total | 400 | $225^{5}/_{11}$ | $436^{4}/_{11}$ | £563 $12^{8}/_{11}$s. | | | | |
| E) Fifth class, Ia, is added. Surplus value and profit disappear altogether | | | | | | | | |
| III) | 100 | $62^{1}/_{2}$ | 100 | $187^{1}/_{2}$ | 3 | $1^{9}/_{15}$ | $1^{2}/_{5}$ | $50c+50v$ |
| II) | 100 | $54^{1}/_{6}$ | 100 | $162^{1}/_{2}$ | 3 | $1^{11}/_{13}$ | $1^{2}/_{13}$ | $50c+50v$ |
| I) | 100 | 50 | 100 | 150 | 3 | 2 | 1 | $50c+50v$ |
| Ib) | 100 | 40 | 100 | 120 | 3 | $2^{1}/_{2}$ | $^{1}/_{2}$ | $50c+50v$ |
| Ia) | 100 | $33^{1}/_{3}$ | 100 | 100 | 3 | 3 | 0 | $50c+50v$ |
| Total | 500 | 240 | 500 | 720 | | | | |

| Number of workers | Rate of surplus value % | Profit £ | Profit in tons | Wages in tons | Money rent £ | Rent in tons | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [XIII-682] Only the most fertile land or mine is cultivated | | | | | | | A) |
| $21^{17}/_{23}$ | $87^{1}/_{2}$ | $30^{10}/_{23}$ | $19^{1}/_{46}$ | $21^{17}/_{23}$ | 0 | 0 | |
| | | | | | | | B) |
| $20^{40}/_{63}$ | $62^{1}/_{2}$ | $23^{17}/_{21}$ | $12^{113}/_{126}$ | $20^{40}/_{63}$ | £19 $^{20}/_{21}$s. | $10^{20}/_{63}$ | |
| $20^{40}/_{63}$ | $62^{1}/_{2}$ | $23^{17}/_{21}$ | $12^{113}/_{126}$ | $20^{40}/_{63}$ | 0 | 0 | |
| $41^{17}/_{63}$ | | $47^{13}/_{21}$ | $25^{50}/_{63}$ | $41^{17}/_{63}$ | £19 $^{20}/_{21}$s. | $10^{20}/_{63}$ | |
| | | | | | | | C) |
| 20 | 50 | 20 | 10 | 20 | 30 | 15 | |
| 20 | 50 | 20 | 10 | 20 | 10 | 5 | |
| 20 | 50 | 20 | 10 | 20 | 0 | 0 | |
| 60 | | 60 | 30 | 60 | 40 | 20 | |
| | | | | | | | D) |
| $18^{2}/_{11}$ | 20 | $9^{1}/_{11}$ | $3^{7}/_{11}$ | $18^{2}/_{11}$ | £61 $7^{3}/_{11}$s. | $24^{6}/_{11}$ | |
| $18^{2}/_{11}$ | 20 | $9^{1}/_{11}$ | $3^{7}/_{11}$ | $18^{2}/_{11}$ | £38 $12^{8}/_{11}$s. | $15^{5}/_{11}$ | |
| $18^{2}/_{11}$ | 20 | $9^{1}/_{11}$ | $3^{7}/_{11}$ | $18^{2}/_{11}$ | £27 $5^{5}/_{11}$s. | $10^{4}/_{5}$ | |
| $18^{2}/_{11}$ | 20 | $9^{1}/_{11}$ | $3^{7}/_{11}$ | $18^{2}/_{11}$ | 0 | 0 | |
| $72^{8}/_{11}$ | | $36^{4}/_{11}$ | $14^{6}/_{11}$ | $72^{8}/_{11}$ | £127 $5^{5}/_{11}$s. | $50^{4}/_{5}$ | |
| | | | | | | | E) |
| $16^{2}/_{3}$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | $16^{2}/_{3}$ | $87^{1}/_{2}$ | $29^{1}/_{6}$ | |
| $16^{2}/_{3}$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | $16^{2}/_{3}$ | $62^{1}/_{2}$ | $20^{5}/_{6}$ | |
| $16^{2}/_{3}$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | $16^{2}/_{3}$ | 50 | $16^{2}/_{3}$ | |
| $16^{2}/_{3}$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | $16^{2}/_{3}$ | 20 | $6^{2}/_{3}$ | |
| $16^{2}/_{3}$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | $16^{2}/_{3}$ | 0 | 0 | |
| $83\,^{1}/_{3}$ | | | | $83\,^{1}/_{3}$ | 220 | $73\,^{1}/_{3}$ | |

Furthermore, another phenomenon becomes apparent and this, *prima facie*, is equally inexplicable. The rent in tons [of coal] or [in quarters] of corn for III amounts to $29^1/_6$ tons or qrs, whereas in Table A, where only land III was cultivated, where there was no rent and where, moreover, $21^{17}/_{23}$ men were EMPLOYED whereas now only $16^2/_3$ men are employed, the profit (which absorbed the entire surplus value) only amounted to $19^1/_{46}$ tons.

The same contradiction is apparent in II, where the rent in *Table E*)=$20^5/_6$ tons or qrs while in *Table B*) the profit, which absorbed the entire surplus value ($20^{40}/_{63}$ men being EMPLOYED, instead of $16^2/_3$ men now), amounted to only $12^{113}/_{126}$ tons or qrs.

Similary in I, where the rent in *Table E*)=$16^2/_3$ tons or qrs, while in Table C the profit of I), which absorbs the entire surplus value,=only 10 tons (20 men being EMPLOYED, instead of the present $16^2/_3$).

Finally in Ib, where the rent in *Table E*)=$6^2/_3$ tons or qrs, while the profit of Ib in *Table D*), where the profit absorbed the entire surplus value,=only $3^7/_{11}$ tons or qrs (while $18^2/_{11}$ MEN were EMPLOYED, instead of the $16^2/_3$ now being employed). It is, however, clear, that whereas the rise in market value above the individual value of the products of III, II, I, Ib can alter the distribution of the product, shifting it from one class of SHAREHOLDERS to the other, it can by no means increase the product which represents the surplus value over and above the wages. Since the productivity of the various types of land has remained the same, as has the productivity of capital, how can III to Ib become more productive in tons or qrs through the entry into the market of the less productive type of land or mine Ia?

The riddle is solved in the following manner:

If a day's labour of 20 men=£60, then that of $16^2/_3$ men produces £50. And since in land of class III, the labour time contained in $1^9/_{15}$ or £$^{24}/_{15}$ is represented in 1 ton or 1 qr, £50 will be represented in $31^1/_4$ tons or qrs. $16^2/_3$ tons or qrs have to be deducted from this for wages, thus leaving *$14^7/_{12}$* tons as *surplus value.*

Furthermore, because the market value of a ton has risen from $1^9/_{15}$ or £$^{24}/_{15}$ to £3, $16^2/_3$ tons or qrs out of the product of $62^1/_2$ tons or qrs, will suffice to replace the value of the constant capital [£50]. On the other hand, so long as the ton or qr produced on III itself determined the market value, and the latter was therefore equal to its individual value, $31^1/_4$ tons or qrs were required in order to replace a constant capital of £50. Out of the $31^1/_4$ tons or qrs—the part of the product which was necessary

to replace the capital when the value of a ton was £$^{24}/_{15}$—only $16^2/_3$ are now required. Thus $31^1/_4 - 16^2/_3$ tons or qrs, [XIII-684] i.e. $14^7/_{12}$ tons or qrs, become available and fall to the share of rent.

If one now adds the surplus value produced by $16^2/_3$ workers with a constant capital of £50 on III, which amounts to $14^7/_{12}$ tons or qrs,

to $14^7/_{12}$ tons or qrs, the part of the product which instead of replacing the constant capital now takes on the form of SURPLUS PRODUCE, then the total surplus PRODUCE amounts to $28^{14}/_{12}$ tons or qrs$=29^2/_{12}=29^1/_6$ qrs or tons. And this is EXACTLY the ton or corn rent of III in *Table E*). The apparent contradiction in the amount of ton or corn rent in classes II, I, Ib in *Table E*) is solved in exactly the same way.

Thus it becomes evident that the *differential rent*—which arises on the better types of land owing to the difference between market value and individual value of the products raised on them—in its *material form* as *rent in kind, surplus product, rent in tons* or *corn* in the above example, is made up of *two elements* and due to two *transformations*. [Firstly:] The surplus product which represents the surplus labour of the workers or the surplus value, is changed from the form of profit to the form of rent, and therefore falls to the LANDLORD instead of the capitalist. Secondly: a part of the product which previously—when the product of the better type of land or mine was being sold at its own value—was needed to *replace the value of the constant capital,* is now, when each portion of the product possesses a higher market value, free and appears in the form of SURPLUS PRODUCE, thus falling to the LANDLORD instead of the capitalist.

The *rent in kind* in so far as it is differential rent comes into being as the result of two processes: the transformation of the surplus PRODUCE into rent, and not into profit, and the transformation of a *portion* of the product which was previously allotted for the replacement of the value of the constant capital into surplus PRODUCE, and thus into rent. The latter circumstance, that a part of the product is converted into rent instead of capital, has been overlooked by Ricardo and all his followers. They only see the transformation of surplus PRODUCE into rent, but not the transformation of a part of the product which previously fell to the share of capital (not of profit) into surplus PRODUCE.

The *nominal value* of the *surplus PRODUCE* thus constituted or of the *differential rent,* is determined (according to the presupposition made) by the value of the product produced on the worst land or in

the worst mine. But this market value only instigates the different distribution of this product, it does not bring it about.

These same two elements are [present] in all excess profit, for instance, if as a result of new machinery, etc., a cheaply produced product is sold at a higher market value than its own value. A part of the surplus labour of the workers appears as surplus product (excess profit) instead of as profit. And a part of the product which—if the product were sold at its own lower value—would have to replace the value of the capitalist's constant capital, now becomes free, has not got to replace anything, becomes surplus product and therefore swells the profit.

It was assumed throughout this discussion, that the product whose price (according to market value) had risen did not enter *naturaliter*[a] into the composition of the constant capital, but only into wages, only into the variable capital. If the former were the case, Ricardo says that this would cause the rate of profit to fall even more and the rent to rise. This has to be examined. We have assumed until now, that the *value* of the product has to replace the value of the constant capital, i.e. the £50 in the case cited above. Thus if 1 ton or qr costs £3, it is obvious that not so many tons or qrs are required for the replacement of this value than would be needed if the ton or qr cost only £$1^9/_{15}$, etc. But supposing that the coal or the corn or whatever other product of the earth, the product produced by AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL, itself enters *naturaliter* into the formation of the constant capital. Let us assume for instance that it makes up half of the constant capital. In this case it is clear that whatever the price of the coal or the corn [XIII-685] a constant capital of definite size, in other words, one which is set in motion by a definite number of workers, always requires a definite portion of the total product *in natura* for its replacement—since the composition of agricultural capital has, according to the assumption, remained *unchanged* in its proportionate amounts of accumulated and living labour.

If, for example, half the constant capital consists of coal or corn and half of other commodities, then the constant capital of 50 will consist of £25 of other commodities and £25 (or $15^5/_8$ qrs or tons), when the value of a ton=£$^{24}/_{15}$ or £$1^9/_{15}$. And however the market value of a ton or a qr may change, $16^2/_3$ men require a constant capital of £25+$15^5/_8$ qrs or tons, for the nature of the constant capital remains the same, ditto the proportionate number of workers required to set it in motion.

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[a] In kind.—*Ed.*

Now if, as in *Table E*), the value of a ton or qr rises to £3, then the constant capital required for the $16^2/_3$ men=£25+£3 $(15+^5/_8)$=£25+£45+£$^{15}/_8$=£$71^7/_8$. And since the $16^2/_3$ men cost £50, they would require a total capital outlay of £$71^7/_8$+ +£50=£$121^7/_8$.

The *correlation of values* within the AGRICULTURAL capital would have changed while organic composition remained the same.

It would be $71^7/_8c+50v$ (for $16^2/_3$ workers). For [£]100 the composition would be $58^{38}/_{39}c+41^1/_{39}v$. Slightly more than $13^2/_3$ workers (that is, leaving out of account the fraction $^1/_{117}$). Since $16^2/_3$ workers set in motion $15^5/_8$ qrs or tons constant capital, $13^{79}/_{117}$ workers set in motion $12^{32}/_{39}$ tons or qrs=£$38^6/_{13}$. The remainder of the constant capital=£$20^{20}/_{39}$, would consist of other commodities. Whatever the circumstances, $12^{32}/_{39}$ tons or qrs would always have to be deducted from the product in order to replace that part of constant capital into which they enter *in natura*. Since the value produced by 20 workers=£60, that produced by $13^{79}/_{117}$=£$41^1/_{39}$. Wages in *Table E*), however, ditto amount to $41^1/_{39}$. Therefore no surplus value.

The total number of tons would be 1) [$51^{11}/_{39}$ tons,[23] of which] $12^{32}/_{39}$ tons are again reproduced; a further $13^{79}/_{117}$ are for the workers, altogether $26^{58}/_{117}$. $6^{98}/_{117}$ tons, at £3 a ton, are used to replace the remainder of the constant capital. That is altogether $33^1/_3$ tons. This would leave $17^{37}/_{39}$ tons for the rent.

To shorten the matter, let us take the most extreme case, the one most favourable to Ricardo, i.e. that the constant capital, just as the variable, consists purely of AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE whose value rises to £3 per qr or ton, when class Ia governs the market.

The technological composition of the capital remains the same; that is, the *ratio* between living labour or number of workers (since the normal working day has been assumed to be constant) represented by the variable capital and the *quantity of the means of labour* required, which now, according to our assumption, consist of tons of coal or qrs of corn, remains constant for a given number of workers.

Since with the original composition of the capital, of $60c+40v$, and the price per ton of £2, $40v$ represented 20 workers or 20 qrs, or tons, $60c$ represented 30 tons; and since these 20 workers produced 75 tons on III, $13^1/_3$ workers (and $40v=13^1/_3$ tons or workers if the ton costs £3) produce *50 tons* and set in motion a constant capital [XIII-686] of $^{60}/_3$=20 tons or qrs.

Moreover, since 20 workers produce a value of £60, $13^1/_3$ produce £40.

Since the capitalist must pay £60 for the 20 tons and 40 for the $13^1/_3$ workers, but the latter only produce a value of £40, the value of the product=£100; the outlay=£100. Surplus value and profit=0.

But because the productivity of III has remained the same, as has already been said, $13^1/_3$ men produce 50 tons or qrs. The outlay in kind of tons, or qrs, however, only amounts to 20 tons for constant capital and $13^1/_3$ tons for wages, i.e. $33^1/_3$ tons. The 50 tons thus leave a SURPLUS PRODUCE of $16^2/_3$ and this forms the rent.

But what do the $16^2/_3$ represent?

Since the *value* of the product=100 and the product itself=50 tons, the value of the ton produced here would IN FACT be £2=$^{100}/_{50}$. And so long as the product *in natura* is greater than what is required for the replacement of the capital in kind, the individual value of a ton must remain smaller than its market value according to this criterion.

The FARMER must pay £60 in order to replace the 20 tons, and he reckons the 20 tons at £3, since this is the market value per ton and a ton is sold at this price. Similarly he must pay £40 for the $13^1/_3$ workers, or for the tons or qrs which he pays to the workers. Thus the workers only receive $13^1/_3$ tons in the transaction.

In actual fact, however, so far as class III is concerned, the 20 tons cost £40 and the $13^1/_3$ cost only $26^2/_3$. But the $13^1/_3$ workers produce a value of £40, and therefore a surplus value of £$13^1/_3$. At £2 per ton, this=$6^4/_6$ or $6^2/_3$ tons. And since the 20 tons cost only £40 on III, this leaves an excess of £20=10 tons.

The $16^2/_3$ tons rent are thus=$6^2/_3$ tons surplus value which is converted into rent and 10 tons capital which is converted into rent. But because the market value per ton has risen to £3, the 20 tons cost the farmer £60 and the $13^1/_3$ cost him £40, while the $16^2/_3$ tons, that is the excess of the market value over the [individual] value of his product, appear as rent, and=£50.

How many tons are produced by $13^1/_3$ men in class II? 20 men produce 65 here, $13^1/_3$ therefore—$43^1/_3$ tons. The value of the product=100, as above. Of the $43^1/_3$ tons, however, $33^1/_3$ or $33^4/_{12}$ are required for the replacement of the capital. This leaves $43^1/_3-33^4/_{12}$—10 tons as surplus product or rent.

But this rent of 10 tons can be explained as follows: the value of the product of II=100, the product=$43^1/_3$ [tons], thus the value of a ton= $\frac{100}{43+^1/_3}$ =£2 $6^2/_{13}$[s.]. The $13^1/_3$ workers therefore cost $30^{10}/_{13}$, and this leaves a surplus value of £9 $4^8/_{13}$. Moreover, the

20 tons constant capital cost $46^2/_{13}$ and of the 60 that are paid for this, there remain $13^{11}/_{13}$. Together with the surplus value this comes to £23 $1^7/_{13}$.

Only in class Ia, where $33^1/_3$ tons or qrs, that is the total product, is required *in natura* to replace constant capital and wages, there is IN FACT neither surplus value, nor SURPLUS PRODUCE, nor profit, nor rent. So long as this is not the case, so long as the product is greater than is necessary to replace the capital *in natura,* there will be conversion of profit (surplus VALUE) and capital into rent. Conversion of capital into rent takes place when a part of the product is freed, which, with a lower value, would have had to replace the capital, or [when] a part of the product which would have been converted into capital and surplus value falls to rent.

At the same time it is evident that if constant capital becomes dearer as a result of dearer AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE, the rent is very much reduced, for example, the rent of III and II [in Table E] from 50 tons=£150 with a market value of £3, to $26^2/_3$ tons, i.e. almost to half. Such a reduction is inevitable [XIII-687] since the number of workers employed with the same capital of 100 is reduced for two reasons, firstly, because wages rise, i.e. the value of the variable capital rises, secondly, because the value of the means of production, the constant capital, rises. In itself, the rise in wages necessitates that out of the 100 less can be laid out in labour, hence relatively less (if the value of the commodities that enter into the constant capital remains the same) can be laid out in constant capital; thus £100 represents less accumulated and less living labour TOGETHER. In addition, however, the rise in the value of the commodities which enter into the constant capital, reduces the amount of accumulated labour and for this reason of living labour, which can be employed for the same sum of money, as the technological ratio between accumulated and living labour remains the same. But since, with the same productivity of the land and a given technological composition of the capital, the total product depends on the quantity of labour employed, as the latter decreases, so the rent must also decrease.

This only becomes evident when *profit* disappears. So long as there is a profit, the rent can increase despite the absolute decrease in the product in *all* classes, as shown in the table on *p. 681.*[a] It is after all obvious that as soon as rent alone exists, the decrease in the product, HENCE in the SURPLUS PRODUCE, must hit rent

[a] See this volume, pp. 84-85.— *Ed.*

itself. This would occur more rapidly at the outset, if the value of the constant capital increased with that of variable capital.

But this apart, the table on *p. 681* shows that with declining fertility in agriculture, the growth of differential rent is always accompanied, *even on the better classes of land,* by a diminishing volume of total product in proportion to a capital outlay of a definite size, say 100. Ricardo has no inkling of this. The rate of profit decreases, because the same capital, say 100, sets in motion *less* labour and pays more for this labour, thus yielding an ever smaller surplus. The actual product, however, like the surplus value, depends on the number of workers employed by the capital, when the productivity is given. This is overlooked by Ricardo. He ditto ignores the manner in which the rent is formed: not only by transforming SURPLUS VALUE into rent, but also capital into SURPLUS VALUE. Of course this is only an apparent transformation of capital into SURPLUS VALUE. Each particle of SURPLUS PRODUCE would represent SURPLUS VALUE or SURPLUS labour, if the market value were determined by the value of the product of III etc. Ricardo, moreover, only considers that in order to produce the same volume of product, more labour has to be employed, but disregards the fact that with the same capital, an ever diminishing quantity of living labour is employed, of which an ever greater part is NECESSARY LABOUR and an ever smaller part SURPLUS LABOUR, and this is the decisive factor for the determination of both the rate of profit and the quantity of product produced.

ALL THIS CONSIDERED, it must be said that even if rent is taken to be purely differential rent, Ricardo has not made the slightest advance over his predecessors. His important achievement in this field is, as De Quincey pointed out, the *scientific* formulation of the question. In solving it Ricardo accepts the traditional views. Namely:

"Ricardo's doctrine of rent is new in so far as he poses the question whether in fact it sets aside the LAW OF ACTUAL VALUE"[20] (Thomas de Quincey, *The Logic of Political Economy,* Edinburgh, 1844, [p.] 158).

On p. *163* of the same work, Quincey says further:

* "...Rent is that portion of the produce from the soil (or *from any agency of production*) which is paid to the landlord for the *use of its differential powers,* as measured by comparison with those of similar agencies operating on the same market." *

Furthermore on *p. 176*:

"The objections against Ricardo are that the owners of No. 1 will not give it away for nothing. But in the *period*" //this *mythical* period//, "when only No. 1 is

being cultivated "NO *SEPARATE CLASS OF OCCUPANTS AND TENANTS* DISTINCT FROM THE *CLASS OF OWNERS* [XIII-688] CAN HAVE BEEN FORMED."[a]

So according to De Quincey this law of "landownership" [is valid] so long as there is *no* landownership in the modern sense of the word.

Now to the relevant quotations from Ricardo.

(First the following note on *differential rent*: In reality, the ASCENDING and DESCENDING LINES alternate, run across one another and intertwine.

But it cannot by any means be said that if for individual short periods (such as 1797-1813) the DESCENDING LINE clearly predominates, that *because of this*, the rate of profit must fall (in so far, that is, as the latter is determined by the rate of surplus value). Rather I believe that during that period, the rate of profit in England rose by way of exception, despite the greatly increased prices of wheat and AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE GENERALLY. I do not know of any English statistician who does not share this view on the rise in the rate of profit during that period. Individual economists, such as Chalmers, Blake, etc. have advanced special theories based on this fact.[b] First, I must add that it is foolish to attempt to explain the rise in the price of wheat during that period by the depreciation of money. No one who has studied the history of the prices of commodities during that period, can agree with this. Besides, the rise in prices begins much earlier and reaches a high level before any kind of DEPRECIATION of money occurs. As soon as it appears it must simply be allowed for. If one asks why the rate of profit rose despite the rising corn prices, this is to be explained from the following circumstances: Prolongation of the working day, the direct consequence of the newly introduced machinery; depreciation of the manufactured goods and colonial commodities which enter into the consumption of the workers; reduction of wages (although the nominal wage rose) *below* their traditional average level (this FACT is acknowledged for that period; *P. J. Stirling* in *The Philosophy of Trade etc.*, Edinburgh, 1846, who, on the whole, accepts Ricardo's theory of rent, seeks, however, to prove that the *immediate* consequence of a permanent (that is, not accidental, dependent on the seasons) rise in the price of corn, is

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[a] Marx gives here, in his own words, a brief summary of the idea developed by De Quincey.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. Th. Chalmers, *On Political Economy in Connexion with the Moral State and Moral Prospects of Society*, 2nd ed., Glasgow, 1832 and W. Blake, *Observations on the Effects Produced by the Expenditure of Government during the Restriction of Cash Payments*, London, 1823.—*Ed.*

always reduction in the AVERAGE wage[a]; finally, the rise in the rate of profit was due to rising *nominal* prices of commodities, because loans and government expenditure increased the demand for capital even more rapidly than its supply, and this enabled the manufacturers to retrieve part of the product paid to the landowning rentiers and OTHER MEN on a FIXED INCOME in the form of rent, etc. This transaction is of no concern to us here, where we are considering the basic relationships, and therefore are concerned only with 3 classes: LANDLORDS, CAPITALISTS and WORKMEN. On the other hand it plays a significant part in practice, under appropriate circumstances as *Blake* has shown.[24])

//Incidentally, when speaking of the law of the *falling rate of profit* in the course of the development of capitalist production, we mean by profit, the total sum of surplus value which is seized in the first place by industrial capitalist, [irrespective of] how he may have to share this later with the money-lending capitalist (in the form of interest) and the LANDLORD (in the form of rent). Thus here the rate of profit $= \frac{\text{surplus value}}{\text{capital advanced}}$. The rate of profit in this sense may fall, although, for instance, the industrial profit rises proportionately to interest or vice versa, or although rent rises proportionately to industrial profit or vice versa. If $P$=the profit, $P'$=the industrial profit, $I$ interest and $R$ rent, then $P=P'+I+R$. And it is clear, that whatever the absolute magnitude of $P$, $P'$, $I$, $R$ can increase or decrease as compared with one another, independently of the magnitude of $P$ or the rise and fall of $P$. The reciprocal rise of $P'$, $I$ and $R$ only represents an altered distribution of $P$ among different persons. A further examination of the circumstances on which this distribution of $P$ depends but which does not coincide with a rise or fall of $P$ itself, does not belong here, but into a consideration of the competition between capitals. That, however, $R$ can rise to a level higher even than that of $P$, if it were only divided into $P'$ and $I$, is therefore—as has already been explained—due to an *illusion* which arises from the fact that a part of the product whose [market] value is rising, becomes free and is converted into rent instead of being reconverted into constant capital.//

[XIII-689] //Mr. *Hallett* from Brighton exhibited "PEDIGREE NURSERY WHEAT" at the 1862 EXHIBITION.[25] * "Mr. Hallett insists that ears of corn, like racehorses, must be carefully reared, instead of, as is done ordinarily, grown in higgledy-piggledy

[a] P. J. Stirling, *The Philosophy of Trade; or, Outlines of a Theory of Profits and Prices...*, Edinburgh, London, 1846, pp. 209-10.—*Ed.*

fashion, with no regard to the theory of natural selection. In illustration of what good education may do even with wheat, some remarkable examples are given. In 1857, Mr. Hallett planted an ear of the first quality of the red wheat, exactly $4^3/_8$ inches long, and containing 47 grains. From the produce of the small crops ensuing, he again selected, in 1858, the finest ear, $6^1/_2$ inches long, and with 79 grains; and this was repeated, in 1859, again with the best offspring, this time $7^3/_4$ inches long, and containing 91 grains. The next year, 1860, was a bad season for agricultural education, and the wheat refused to grow any bigger and better; but the year after, 1861, the best ear came to be $8^3/_4$ inches long, with no less than 123 grains on the single stalk. Thus the wheat had increased, in five years, to very nearly double its size, and to a threefold amount of productiveness in number of grains. These results were obtained by what Mr. Hallett calls the '*natural* system' of cultivating wheat; that is, the planting of single grains at such a distance—about 9 inches from each other—every way—as to afford each sufficient space for full development.... He asserts that the corn produce of England may be doubled by adopting 'pedigree wheat' and the 'natural system' of cultivation. He states that from single grains, planted at the proper time, one only on each square foot of ground, he obtained plants consisting of 23 ears on the average, with about 36 grains in each ear. The produce of an acre at this rate was, accurately counted, 1,001,880 ears of wheat; while, when sown in the ordinary fashion, with an expenditure of more than 20 times the amount of seed, the crop amounted to only 934,120 ears of corn, or 67,760 ears less..." //

"With the progress of society the *natural price of labour* has always a *tendency to rise, because one of the principal commodities by which its natural price is regulated, has a tendency to become dearer, from the greater difficulty of producing it.* As, however, the improvements in agriculture, the discovery of new markets, whence provisions may be imported, may for a time counteract the tendency to a rise in the price of necessaries, and may even occasion their natural price to fall, so will the same causes produce the correspondent effects on the natural price of labour" * (l.c., [pp.] 86-87). * "The natural price of all commodities, excepting raw produce and labour, has a tendency to fall, in the progress of wealth and population; for though, on one hand, they are enhanced in real value, from the rise in the natural price of the raw material of which they are made, this is more than counterbalanced by the improvements in machinery, by the better division and distribution of labour, and by *the increasing skill,* both *in science and art,* of the *producers*" * (l.c., [p.] 87).

* "As population increases, these necessaries will be constantly rising in price, because more labour will be necessary to produce them.... Instead, therefore, of the money wages of labour falling, they would rise; but they would not rise sufficiently to enable the labourer to purchase as many comforts and necessaries as he did before the rise in the price of those commodities.... Notwithstanding, then, that the labourer would be really worse paid, yet *this increase in his wages would necessarily diminish the profits of the manufacturer*; for his goods would sell at no higher price, and yet the expense of producing them would be increased.... It appears, then, that *the same cause which raises rent, the increasing difficulty of providing* an *additional quantity of food with the same proportional quantity of labour, will also raise wages*; and therefore if money be of an unvarying value, both rent and wages will have a tendency to rise with the progress of wealth and population" * (l.c., [pp.] 96-97). * "But there is this essential difference between the rise of rent and the rise of wages. The rise in the money value of rent is accompanied by an [XIII-690] increased share of the produce: not only is the landlord's money rent greater, but his corn rent also.... The fate of the labourer will be less happy; he will receive

more money wages, it is true, but his corn wages will be reduced; and not only his command of corn, but his general condition will be deteriorated, by his finding it more difficult to maintain the market rate of wages above their natural rate" * (l.c., [pp.] 97-98).

* "Supposing corn and manufactured goods always to sell at the same price, profits would be high or low in proportion as wages were low or high. But suppose corn to rise in price because more labour is necessary to produce it; that cause will not raise the price of manufactured goods in the production of which no additional quantity of labour is required ... if, as is absolutely certain, wages should rise with the rise of corn, then their [the manufacturers'] profits would necessarily fall" * (l.c., [p.] 108). But it may be asked, * "whether the *farmer at least* would not have the same rate of profits, although he should pay an additional sum for wages? Certainly not: for he will not only have to pay, in common with the manufacturer, an increase of wages to each labourer he employs, but he will be obliged *either to pay rent, or to employ an additional number of labourers to obtain the same produce*; and the rise in the price of the raw produce will be proportioned only to that rent, or that additional number, and will not compensate him for the rise of wages" * (l.c., [p.] 108).

* "We have shewn that in *early stages of society,* both the landlord's and the labourer's share of the *value* of the produce of the earth, would be but small; and that it would increase in proportion to the progress of wealth, and the difficulty of procuring food" * (l.c., [p.] 109).

These "EARLY STAGES OF SOCIETY" are a peculiar bourgeois fantasy. In these EARLY STAGES, the LABOURER is either slave or SELF-SUSTAINING PEASANT, etc. In the first case he belongs to the LANDLORD, together with the land; in the second case he is his own LANDLORD. In neither case does *any capitalist* stand between the LANDLORD and the LABOURER. The subjugation of agriculture to capitalist production, and *hence* the transformation of SLAVES or PEASANTS into WAGE LABOURERS and the intervention of the capitalist between LANDLORD and LABOURER—which is only the final result of capitalist production—is regarded by Ricardo as a phenomenon belonging to the "EARLY STAGES OF SOCIETY".

* "The natural tendency of profits then is to fall; for, in the progress of society and wealth, the additional quantity of food required is obtained by the sacrifice of more and more labour. This tendency, this gravitation as it were of profits, is happily checked at repeated intervals by the improvements of machinery, connected with the production of necessaries, as well as by discoveries in the science of agriculture which enable us to relinquish a portion of labour before required, and therefore to lower the price of the prime necessary of the labourer" * (l.c., [pp. 120-]21).

In the following sentence, Ricardo says in plain terms that by *RATE OF PROFITS* he understands the *RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE*:

* "Although a greater *value* is produced, a *greater proportion of what remains of that value,* after paying rent, is consumed by the producers, and *it is this,* and *this alone, which regulates profits*" * (l.c., [p.] 127).

In other words, apart from rent, the rate of profit=the excess of the value of the commodity over the value of the labour which is paid during its production, or that part of its value which is consumed by the PRODUCERS. Ricardo calls only the workers PRODUCERS.[19] He assumes that the PRODUCED VALUE is produced by them. He thus defines surplus value here, as that part of the value created by the workers which the capitalist retains.

But if Ricardo identifies RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE with RATE OF PROFIT—and at the same time assumes, as he does, that the working day is of given length—then the TENDENCY of the RATE OF PROFIT to fall can only be explained by the same factors which make the RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE fall. But, with a given working day, the rate of surplus value can only fall if the RATE OF WAGES is rising PERMANENTLY. This is only possible if the VALUE of NECESSARIES is rising PERMANENTLY. And this only if agriculture is constantly deteriorating, in other words, if Ricardo's theory of rent is accepted. Since Ricardo identifies RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE with RATE OF PROFIT, [XIII-691] and since the rate OF SURPLUS VALUE can only be reckoned in relation to variable capital, capital laid out in wages, Ricardo, like Adam Smith, assumes that the *value of the whole product*—after deduction of rent—is divided between WORKMEN and CAPITALISTS, into WAGES and PROFITS. This means that he makes the false presupposition that the whole of the capital advanced consists only of variable capital. Thus, for example, after the passage quoted above, he goes on:

* "When poor lands are taken into cultivation, or when more capital and labour are expended on the old land, with a less return of produce, the effect must be permanent. A greater proportion of that part of the produce which remains to be divided after paying rent, between the owners of stock and the labourers, will be apportioned to the latter"* (l.c., [pp.] 127-28).

The passage continues:

* "Each man may, and probably will, have a less absolute quantity; but as more labourers are employed in proportion to the whole produce retained by the farmer, the value of a greater proportion of the whole produce will be absorbed by wages, and consequently the value of a smaller proportion will be devoted to profits"* (l.c., [p.] 128).

And shortly before:

* "The remaining quantity of the produce of the land, after the landlord and labourer are paid, necessarily belongs to the farmer, and *constitutes the profits of his stock*"* (l.c., [p.] 110).

At the end of the section (CH. VI) "On Profits", Ricardo says that his thesis on the FALL OF PROFITS remains true, even if—which is wrong—it were assumed, that the *prices of commodities* rose with a rise in the MONEY WAGES of the LABOURERS.

*"In the Chapter on Wages, we have endeavoured to shew that the *money price of commodities would not be raised by a rise of wages*.... But if it were otherwise, if the prices of commodities were permanently raised by high wages, the proposition would not be less true, which asserts that high wages invariably affect the employers of labour, by depriving them of a portion of their real profits. Supposing the hatter, the hosier, and the shoemaker, each paid £10 more wages in the manufacture of a particular quantity of their commodities, and that the price of hats, stockings, and shoes, rose by a sum sufficient to repay the manufacturer the £10, *their situation would be no better than if no such rise took place.* If the hosier sold his stockings for £110 instead of £100, his profits would be precisely the same money amount as before; but as he would obtain in exchange for this equal sum, one-tenth less of hats, shoes, and every other commodity, and as he *could with his former amount of savings*"* (that is with the same capital) *"*employ fewer labourers at the increased wages,* and purchase fewer raw materials at the increased prices, he would be in no better situation than if his money profits had been really diminished in amount, and every thing had remained at its former price"* (l.c., [p.] 129).

Whereas elsewhere in his argument Ricardo always only stressed that in order to produce *the same quantity of product* on worse land, *more labourers* have to be paid, here at last he stresses what is decisive for the rate of profit, namely, that with the same AMOUNT OF CAPITAL *FEWER LABOURERS ARE EMPLOYED AT INCREASED WAGES*. Apart from this, he is not quite right in what he says. It makes no difference to the capitalist, if the price of HATS etc. rises by 10%, but the LANDLORD would have to give up more of his rent. His rent may have risen for example, from 10 to £20. But he gets proportionately fewer HATS etc. for his £20 than for the 10.

Ricardo says quite rightly:

*"In an improving state of society, the net produce of land is always diminishing in proportion to its gross produce"* (l.c., [p.] 198).

By this he means that the rent initially rises IN AN IMPROVING STATE OF SOCIETY. The real reason is that IN AN IMPROVING STATE OF SOCIETY, the variable capital decreases in proportion to the constant capital.

Regarding the *origin of surplus value*:

*"In the form of money ... capital is productive of no profit; in the form of materials, machinery, and food, for which it might be exchanged, *it would* be *productive of revenue*..."* (l.c., p. 267). *"The capital of the stockholder can [XIII-692] never be made productive—*it is, in fact, no capital.* If he were to sell his stock, and employ the capital he obtained for it, productively, he could only do so by detaching the capital of the buyer of his stock from a productive employment"* (l.c., p. 289, note).

That with the PROGRESS of production, the constant capital grows in proportion to the variable, Ricardo himself admits, but only in the form that the FIXED CAPITAL grows in proportion to the CIRCULATING.

* "In rich and powerful countries, where large capitals are invested in machinery, more distress will be experienced from a revulsion in trade, than in poorer countries *where there is proportionally a much smaller amount of fixed, and a much larger amount of circulating capital,* and where consequently *more work is done by the labour of men.* It is not so difficult to withdraw a circulating as a fixed capital, from any employment in which it may be engaged. It is often impossible to divert the machinery which may have been erected for one manufacture, to the purposes of another; but the clothing, the food, and the lodging of the labourer in one employment may be devoted to the support of the labourer in another;" *

(here, therefore, circulating capital comprises only variable capital, capital laid out in wages)

* "or the same labourer may receive the same food, clothing and lodging, whilst his employment is changed. This, however, is an evil to which a rich nation must submit; and it would not be more reasonable to complain of it, than it would be in a rich merchant to lament that his ship was exposed to the dangers of the sea, whilst his poor neighbour's cottage was safe from all such hazard" * (l.c., [p.] 311).

Ricardo himself mentions one reason for the rise in rent, which is quite independent of the RISE IN THE PRICE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE:

* "Whatever capital becomes fixed on the land, must necessarily be the *landlord's,* and not the tenant's, at the expiration of the lease. Whatever compensation the landlord may receive for this capital, on re-letting his land, *will appear in the form of rent*; but no rent will be paid, if, with a given capital, more corn can be obtained from abroad, than can be grown on this land at home" * (l.c., [p.] 315, note).

On the same subject Ricardo says:

* "In a former part of this work, I have noticed the difference between rent, properly so called, and the remuneration paid to the landlord under that name, for the advantages which the expenditure of his capital has procured to his tenant; but I did not perhaps sufficiently distinguish the difference which would arise from the different modes in which this capital might be applied. As a part of this capital, when once expended in the improvement of a farm, is inseparably amalgamated with the land, and tends to increase its productive powers, the *remuneration paid to the landlord for its use is strictly of the nature of rent,* and is subject to all the laws of rent. Whether the improvement be made at the expense of the landlord or the tenant, it will not be undertaken in the first instance, unless there is a strong probability that the return will at least be equal to the *profit* that can be made by the disposition of any other equal capital; but when once made, the return obtained will *ever after be wholly of the nature of rent,* and will be subject to all the variations of rent. Some of these expenses, however, only give advantages to the land for a limited period, and do not add permanently to its productive powers: being bestowed on buildings, and other perishable improvements, they require to be constantly renewed, and therefore do not obtain for the landlord any permanent addition to his real rent" * (l.c., p. 306, *note*).

Ricardo says:

* "In all countries, and at all times, *profits depend* on the quantity of labour requisite to provide necessaries for the labourers, on that land or with that capital which yields no rent" * (l.c., [p.] 128).

According to this, the profit of the farmer on that land—the worst land, which according to Ricardo pays no rent—regulates THE GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT. The reasoning is this: the product of the worst land is sold at its *value* and pays no rent. We see here exactly, therefore, how much surplus value remains for the capitalist after deduction of the value of that part of the product which is merely an equivalent for the worker. And this surplus value is the profit. This is based on the assumption that *cost price* and *value* are identical, that this product, because it is sold at its cost price, is sold at its value.

This is incorrect, historically and theoretically. I have shown[a] that, where there is capitalist production and where landed property exists, the land or mine of the worst type cannot pay a rent, because its produce is sold *below its value* if it is sold at the market value of corn (which is not regulated by it). For the market value only covers its *cost price.* But what regulates this cost price? The rate of profit of the *NON-AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL,* into whose determination the price of corn naturally enters as well, however far removed the latter may be from being its sole determinant. Ricardo's assertion would only be correct if VALUES and COST PRICES were [XIII-693] identical. Historically too, as the capitalist mode of production appears later in agriculture than in industry, AGRICULTURAL PROFIT is determined by INDUSTRIAL, and not the other way about. The only correct point is that on the land which pays a profit but no rent, which sells its product at the cost price, the AVERAGE RATE OF PROFITS becomes *apparent,* is tangibly presented, but this does not mean at all that the AVERAGE PROFITS are thereby *regulated*; that would be a very different matter.

The *rate of profit* can fall, without any rise in the *rate of interest* and *rate of rent.*

* "From the account which has been given of the profits of stock, it will appear, that *no accumulation of capital will permanently lower profits,*" *

(By PROFITS Ricardo means here that part of surplus value which the capitalist appropriates, but by no means the [entire] surplus value; and wrong as it is to say that accumulation can cause the surplus value to fall, so it is right that accumulation can cause a fall in profit.)

* "*unless there be some permanent cause for the rise of wages....* If the necessaries of the workman could be constantly increased with the same facility, there could be no *permanent alteration* in *the rate of profits or wages,*" * (this should read: IN THE RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE AND THE VALUE OF LABOUR) * "to whatever amount capital might be

[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 509.—*Ed.*

accumulated. *Adam Smith*, however, uniformly *ascribes the fall of profits to the accumulation of capital, and to the competition which will result from it*, without ever adverting to the increasing difficulty of providing food for the additional number of labourers which the additional capital will employ"* (l.c., [pp.] 338-39).

The whole thing would only be right if profit=SURPLUS VALUE. Thus Adam Smith says that the RATE OF PROFIT FALLS with the accumulation of capital, because of the growing competition between the capitalists; Ricardo says that it does so because of the growing DETERIORATION OF AGRICULTURE (increased price of NECESSARIES). We have refuted his view, which would only be correct if RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE and RATE OF PROFIT were identical, and therefore the RATE OF PROFIT could not fall unless the RATE OF WAGES rose (provided the working day remained unchanged). Smith's view rests on his compounding VALUE out of WAGES, PROFITS and RENTS (in accordance with his false view, which he himself refuted). According to him, the accumulation of capitals forces the reduction in *ARBITRARY* PROFITS—for which there is no inherent measure—through the reduction in the prices of commodities; [they,] according to this conception, being merely a nominal addition to the prices of commodities. Ricardo is of course theoretically right when he maintains, in opposition to Adam Smith, that the accumulation of capitals does not alter the determination of the value of commodities; but Ricardo is quite wrong when he seeks to refute Adam Smith by asserting that *overproduction* in one country is impossible. Ricardo denies the PLETHORA OF CAPITAL, which later became an established axiom in English political economy. Firstly he overlooks that in reality, where not only the capitalist confronts the WORKMAN, but CAPITALIST, WORKMAN, LANDLORD, MONEYED INTEREST, [people receiving] FIXED INCOMES from the state etc., confront one another, the fall in the prices of commodities which hits both the industrial capitalists and the WORKMEN, benefits the other classes. Secondly [he overlooks] that the output level is by no means arbitrarily chosen, but the more capitalist production develops, the more it is forced to produce on a scale which has nothing to do with the IMMEDIATE DEMAND but depends on a constant expansion of the world market. He has recourse to Say's absurd assumption that the capitalist produces not for the sake of profit, for exchange value, but directly for consumption, for use value—for his own consumption. He overlooks the fact that the commodity has to be converted into money. The DEMAND of the workers does not suffice, since profit arises precisely from the fact that the DEMAND of the workers is smaller than the value of their product, and that it [profit] is all the greater the smaller, relatively, is this DEMAND. The DEMAND of the

CAPITALISTS among themselves is equally insufficient. Overproduction does not call forth a *lasting* fall in profit, but it is *lastingly periodic.* It is followed by periods of underproduction etc. Overproduction arises precisely from the fact that the mass of the people can never consume more than the AVERAGE QUANTITY OF NECESSARIES, that their consumption therefore does not grow correspondingly with the productivity of labour. But the whole of this section belongs to the *competition of capitals.* All that Ricardo says on this isn't worth a rap. (This is contained in CH. XXI, "Effects of Accumulation on Profits and Interest".)

* "There is only one case, and that will be *temporary,* in which the accumulation of capital with a low price of food may be attended with a fall of profits; and that is, when the funds for the maintenance of labour increase much more rapidly than population;—wages will then be high, and profits low" * (p. 343).

Ricardo directs against *Say* the following ironical remarks on the relation between PROFITS and INTEREST:

* "M. Say allows, that the rate of interest depends on the rate of profits; but it does not therefore follow, that the rate of profits depends on the rate of interest. One is the cause, the other the effect, and it is impossible for any circumstances to make them change places" * (l.c., [p.] 353, *note*).[a]

However, the same causes which bring down profits can make INTEREST rise, and vice versa.[26]

* "M. Say acknowledges that the *cost of production* is the foundation of price, and yet in various parts of his book he maintains that price is regulated by the proportion which demand bears to supply" * (l.c., [p.] 411).

Ricardo should have seen from this that [XIII-694] the *COST OF PRODUCTION*[6] is something very different from the QUANTITY OF LABOUR EMPLOYED FOR THE PRODUCTION OF A COMMODITY. Instead he continues:

* "The real and ultimate regulator of the relative value of any two commodities, is the cost of their production" * (l.c.).

* "And does not Adam Smith agree in this opinion" //that prices are regulated neither by wages nor profits// "when he says, that 'the *prices* of commodities, or the *value* of gold and silver as compared with commodities, depend upon the proportion between the *quantity of labour* which is necessary in order to bring a certain quantity of gold and silver to market, and that which is necessary to bring thither a certain quantity of any other sort of goods?'[b] That quantity will not be affected, whether profits be high or low, or wages low or high. *How then can prices be raised by high profits?*" * (pp. 413-14).

In the passage quoted, Adam Smith means by *PRICES* nothing other than THE MONETARY EXPRESSION OF THE *VALUES* OF COMMODITIES. That

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[a] Cf. also this volume, p. 181.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Book II, Ch. II.—*Ed.*

these and the gold and silver against which they exchange, are determined by the RELATIVE QUANTITIES OF LABOUR REQUIRED FOR PRODUCING THOSE TWO SORTS OF COMMODITIES //COMMODITIES ON THE ONE SIDE, GOLD and SILVER ON THE OTHER//, in no way contradicts the fact that the *actual* prices of commodities, i.e. their COST PRICES "CAN BE RAISED BY HIGH PROFITS". Although not all prices simultaneously, as Smith thinks. But as a result of HIGH PROFITS, some commodities will rise higher above their value, than if the AVERAGE PROFITS were LOW, while another group of commodities will sink to a smaller extent below their value.[27]

### THEORY OF ACCUMULATION

First we shall compare Ricardo's propositions, which are widely scattered over the whole of his work.

* "...All the productions of a country are consumed; but it makes the greatest difference imaginable whether they are consumed by *those who reproduce,* or *by those who do not reproduce another value.* When we say that *revenue is saved,* and *added to capital,* what we mean is, that the *portion of revenue,* so *said to be added to capital,* is *consumed by productive instead of unproductive labourers.*" * (This is the same distinction as Adam Smith makes.) * "There can be no greater error than in supposing that *capital is increased by non-consumption.* If the price of labour should rise so high, that notwithstanding the increase of capital, no more could be employed, I should say that such *increase of capital would be still unproductively consumed*" * (p. 163, note).

Here, therefore—as with Adam Smith and others—[it is] only [a question] of whether [the products] are CONSUMED by workers or not. But it is at the same time also a question of the *INDUSTRIAL CONSUMPTION* of the commodities which form constant capital, and are consumed as instruments of labour or materials of labour, or are consumed in such a way that through this consumption they are transformed into instruments of labour or materials of labour. The conception that accumulation OF CAPITAL=CONVERSION OF REVENUE INTO WAGES, in other words, that it=ACCUMULATION OF VARIABLE CAPITAL—is one-sided, that is, incorrect. This leads to a wrong approach to the whole question of accumulation.

Above all it is necessary to have a clear understanding of the *reproduction of constant capital.* We are considering the *annual* reproduction here, taking the year as the time measure of the process of reproduction.

A large part of the constant capital—the *fixed capital*—enters into the annual process of labour without entering into the annual valorisation process. It is not consumed and, therefore, does not need to be reproduced. Because it enters into the production process and remains in contact with living labour it is *kept* in

existence—and along with its use value, also its exchange value. The greater this part of capital is in a particular country in one year, the greater, relatively, will be its purely formal reproduction (preservation) in the following year, providing that the production process is renewed, continued and kept flowing, even if only on the same scale. Repairs and so on, which are necessary to maintain the fixed capital, are reckoned as part of its original labour costs. This has nothing in common with preservation in the sense used above.

A second part of the constant capital is consumed annually in the production of commodities and must therefore also be reproduced. This includes the whole of that part of fixed capital which enters annually into the valorisation process, as well as the whole of that part of constant capital which consists of circulating capital, raw materials and *matières instrumentales.*[a]

As regards this second part of constant capital, the following distinctions must be made:

[XIII-695] A large part of what *appears* as constant capital—means and materials of labour—in one sphere of production, is *simultaneously* the product of another, parallel sphere of production. For example, yarn which forms part of the constant capital of the weaver, is the product of the spinner, and may still have been in the process of becoming yarn on the previous day. When we use the term *simultaneous* here, we mean produced during *the same* year. The same commodities in different phases pass through various spheres of production in the course of the same year. They emerge as products from one sphere and enter another as commodities constituting constant capital. And as constant capital they are all consumed during the year; whether only their value enters into the commodity, as in the case of fixed capital, or their use value too, as with circulating capital. While the commodity produced in one sphere of production enters into another, to be consumed there as constant capital—in addition to the same commodity entering a *succession* of spheres of production—the various elements or the various phases of this commodity are being produced *simultaneously,* side by side. In the course of the same year, it is continuously consumed as constant capital in one sphere and in another parallel sphere it is produced as a commodity. The same commodities which are thus consumed as constant capital in the course of the year are also, in the same way, continuously being produced during the same year. A machine is

[a] Instrumental materials.—*Ed.*

wearing out in sphere A). It is simultaneously being produced in sphere B). The constant capital that is consumed during a year in those spheres of production which produce the means of subsistence, is *simultaneously* being produced in other spheres of production, so that *during the course* of the year or *by the end of the year* it is renewed *in natura.* Both of them, the means of subsistence as well as this part of the constant capital, are the products of new labour employed during the year. In the spheres producing the means of subsistence, as I have shown earlier,[a] that *portion of the value* of the product which replaces the constant capital in these spheres, forms the REVENUE of the *producers* of this constant capital.

But there is also a further portion of the constant capital which is *consumed annually,* without entering as a component part into the spheres of production which produce the means of subsistence (consumable goods). Therefore, it cannot be replaced [by products] from these spheres. We mean instruments of labour, raw materials and *matières instrumentales,* i.e. that portion of constant capital which is itself consumed industrially in the creation or production of constant capital, that is to say, machinery, raw materials and *matières instrumentales.* This part, as we have seen,[b] is replaced *in natura* either directly out of the product of these spheres of production themselves (as in the case of seeds, livestock and to a certain extent coal) or through the exchange of a portion of the products of the various spheres of production manufacturing constant capital. In this case capital is exchanged for capital. The existence and consumption of this portion of constant capital increases not only the mass of products, but also the *value* of the annual product. The *portion of the value* of the *annual* product which=the value of this section of the consumed constant capital, buys back *in natura* or withdraws from the annual product that part of it, which must replace *in natura* the constant capital that is consumed. For example, the value of the seed sown determined the portion of the value of the harvest (and thus the quantity of corn) which must be returned to the land, to production, as constant capital. This portion would not be reproduced without the labour newly added during the course of the year; but it is in fact *produced* by the labour of the year before, or past labour and—in so far as the productivity of labour remains unchanged—the *value* which it adds to the annual product is not the result of

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 429-41 and Vol. 31, p. 135.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., Vol. 30, pp. 442-51 and Vol. 31, pp. 83-94, 143-51.—*Ed.*

this year's labour, but of that of the previous year. The greater, *proportionately,* is the constant capital employed in a country, the greater will also be the part of the constant capital which is consumed in the production of the constant capital, and which not only expresses itself in a greater quantity of products, but also raises the value of this quantity of products. This *value,* therefore, is the result not only of the current year's labour, but equally the result of the labour of the previous year, of past labour, although *without* the IMMEDIATE ANNUAL LABOUR it would not reappear, any more than would the product of which it forms a part. If this portion [of constant capital] grows, not only does the annual mass of products grow, but also their *value,* even if the ANNUAL LABOUR remains the same. This growth is one form of the *accumulation of capital,* which it is essential to understand. And nothing could be further removed from such an understanding than Ricardo's proposition:

* "The labour of a million of men in manufactures, will always produce the same value, but will not always produce the same riches" * (l.c., [p.] 320).

These million MEN—with a given working day—will not only produce very different quantities of commodities depending on the productivity of labour, but the value of these quantities of commodities will be very different, according to whether they are produced with much or little constant capital, that is, whether much or little value originating in the *past* labour of *previous years* is added to them.

For the sake of simplicity, when we speak of the reproduction of constant capital we shall in the first place assume that the productivity of labour, and consequently the mode of production, remain the same. At a given level of production, the constant capital which has to be replaced is a definite quantity *in natura.* If productivity remains the same, then the value [XIII-696] of this quantity also remains constant. If there are changes in the productivity of labour which make it possible to reproduce the same quantity, at greater or less cost, with more or less labour, then similarly changes will occur in the value of the constant capital, which will affect the SURPLUS PRODUCE after deduction of the constant capital.

For example, supposing 20 qrs [of wheat] at £3=£60 were required for sowing. If $^1/_3$ less labour is used to reproduce a qr it would now cost only £2. 20 qrs have to be deducted from the product, for the sowing, as before; but their share in the value of the whole product only amounts to £40. The replacement of the

same constant capital thus requires a smaller portion of value, a smaller share in kind out of the total product, although, as previously, 20 qrs have to be returned to the land as seed.[28]

If the constant capital consumed annually by one nation were 10 million and that consumed by another were only 1 million and the annual labour of 1 million men=£100 million, then the value of the product of the first nation=110 and of the second only 101 million. It would be, moreover, not only possible, but certain, that the individual commodity of nation I would be cheaper than of nation II, because the latter would produce a much smaller quantity of commodities with the same amount of labour, much smaller than the difference between 10 and 1. It is true that a greater portion of the value of the product goes to the replacement of capital in nation I as compared with nation II, and therefore also a greater portion of the total product. But the total product is also much greater.

In the case of factory-made commodities, it is known that a million [workers] in England produce not only a much greater product but also a product of much greater value than in Russia for example, although the individual commodity is much cheaper. In the case of agriculture, however, the same relation between capitalistically developed and relatively undeveloped nations does not appear to exist. The product of the more backward nation is cheaper than that of the capitalistically developed nation, in terms of its *money price.* And yet the product of the developed nation appears to be produced by much less (annual) labour than that of the backward one. In England, for example, less than $^1/_3$ [of the people] are employed in agriculture, while in Russia it is $^4/_5$; in the former $^5/_{15}$, in the latter $^{12}/_{15}$. These figures are not to be taken *à la lettre.*[a] In England, for instance, a large number of people in NON-AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY—in engineering, trade, transport etc.—are engaged in the production and distribution of elements of AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, but this is not the case in Russia. The proportion of persons engaged in agriculture cannot therefore be directly determined by [the number] of INDIVIDUALS IMMEDIATELY EMPLOYED in AGRICULTURE. In countries with a capitalist mode of production, many people participate *indirectly* in AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, who in less developed countries are directly included in it. The difference therefore appears to be greater than it is. For the civilisation of the country as a whole, however, this difference is very important, even in so far as it only means that a large

[a] Literally.—*Ed.*

section of the workers involved in agriculture do not participate in it directly; they are thus saved from the narrow parochialism of country life and belong to the industrial population.

But *d'abord à part*[a] this point and also the fact that most AGRICULTURAL PEOPLES are forced to sell their product *below* its value whereas in countries with advanced capitalist production the AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE rises to its value. At any rate, a portion of the value of the constant capital enters into the value of the product of the ENGLISH agriculturist, which does not enter into the product of the RUSSIAN AGRICULTURIST. Let us assume that this portion of value=a day's labour of 10 men, and that one English worker sets this constant capital in motion. I am speaking of that part of the constant capital of the AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE, which is not replaced by new labour, such as is the case, for example, with agricultural implements. If 5 Russian workers were required in order to produce the same product which one Englishman produces with the help of the constant capital, and if the constant capital used by the Russian were equal to 1 [day's labour], then the English product=10+1=11 working days, and that of the Russian=5+1=6. If the Russian soil were so much more fertile than the English, that without the application of any constant capital or with a constant capital that was $^1/_{10}$ the size, it could produce as much corn as the Englishman with a constant capital 10 times as great, then the *values* of the same quantities of English and Russian corn would compare as 11:6. If the qr of Russian corn were sold at £2, then the English would be sold at £$3^2/_3$, for $2:3^2/_3=6:11$. The money price and the value of the English corn would thus be much higher than that of the Russian, but nevertheless, the English corn would be produced with less labour, since the *past* labour, which reappears in the quantity as well as in the value of product, costs no additional new labour. This would always be the case, if the Englishman uses less IMMEDIATE LABOUR than the Russian, but the greater constant capital which he uses—and which costs him *nothing,* although it has cost something and must be paid for—does not raise the productivity of labour to such an extent that it compensates for the natural fertility of the Russian soil. The money prices of AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE can, therefore, be higher in countries of capitalist production than in [XIII-697] less developed countries, although in fact it costs less labour. It contains more IMMEDIATE+PAST LABOUR, but this PAST LABOUR costs nothing. The product would be cheaper if the difference in

[a] Let us leave aside for the moment.—*Ed.*

natural fertility did not intervene. This would also explain the higher money price of the labourer's wage.

Up to now we have only spoken of the reproduction of the capital involved. The labourer replaces his wage with a SURPLUS PRODUCE or SURPLUS VALUE, which forms the profit (including rent) of the capitalist. He replaces that part of the annual product which serves him anew as wages. The capitalist has consumed his profit during the course of the year, but the labourer has created a portion of the product which can again be consumed as profit. That part of the constant capital which is consumed in the production of the means of subsistence, is replaced by constant capital which has been produced by new labour, during the course of the year. The producers of this new portion of constant capital realise their revenue (profit and wages) in that part of the means of subsistence which=the part of the value of the constant capital consumed in their production. Finally, the constant capital which is consumed in the production of constant capital, in the production of machinery, raw materials and *matière instrumentale,* is replaced *in natura* or through the exchange of capital, out of the total product of the various spheres of production which produce constant capital.

What then is the position with regard to the *increase* of capital, its *accumulation* as distinct from reproduction, the *transformation of* REVENUE into capital?

In order to simplify the question, it is assumed that the productivity of labour remains the same, that no CHANGES occur in the mode of production, that therefore the same quantity of labour is required to produce the same quantity of commodities, and consequently that the *increase* in capital costs the same amount of labour as the production of capital of the same AMOUNT cost the previous year.

A portion of the surplus value must be transformed into capital, instead of being consumed as revenue. It must be converted partly into constant and partly into variable capital. And the proportion in which it is divided into these two different parts of capital, depends on the given organic composition of the capital, since the mode of production remains unaltered and also the proportional value of both parts. The higher the development of production, the greater will be that part of surplus value which is transformed into constant capital, compared with that part of the surplus value which is transformed into variable capital.

To begin with, a portion of the surplus value (and the corresponding SURPLUS PRODUCE in the form of means of subsistence)

has to be transformed into variable capital, that is to say, new labour has to be bought with it. This is only possible if the number of labourers grows or if the labour time during which they work, is prolonged. The latter takes place, for instance, when a part of the labouring population was only employed for half or $^2/_3$, or also, when for longer or shorter periods, the working day is absolutely prolonged, this however, must be paid for. But that cannot be regarded as a method of accumulation which can be continuously used. The labouring population can increase, when previously unproductive labourers are turned into productive ones, or sections of the population who did not work previously, such as women and children, or PAUPERS, are drawn into the production process. We leave this latter point out of account here. Finally, together with the growth of the population in general, the labouring population can grow absolutely. If accumulation is to be a steady, continuous process, then this absolute growth in population—although it may be decreasing in relation to the capital employed—is a necessary condition. An *increasing population* appears to be the basis of accumulation as a continuous process. But this presupposes an AVERAGE wage which permits not only reproduction of the labouring population but also its constant growth. Capitalist production provides for unexpected contingencies by overworking one section of the labouring population and keeping the other *in petto,* as a reserve army consisting of partially or entirely pauperised people.

What then is the position with regard to the other portion of the surplus value which has to be converted into constant capital? In order to simplify this question, we shall leave out of account foreign trade and consider a self-sufficing nation. Let us take an example. Let us assume that the surplus value produced by a linen weaver=£10,000, and that he wants to convert into capital ONE HALF of it, i.e. £5,000. Let $^1/_5$ of this be laid out in wages in accordance with the organic composition [of capital] in mechanised weaving. In this case we are disregarding the turnover of capital, which may perhaps enable him to carry on with an amount sufficient for 5 weeks, after which he would sell [his product] and so receive back from circulation the capital for the payment of wages. We are assuming that in the course of the year he will gradually lay out IN WAGES (for 20 men) £1,000 which he must hold in reserve with his BANKER. Then £4,000 are to be converted into constant capital. Firstly he must purchase as much yarn as 20 men can weave during the year. (The turnover of the circulating part of capital is disregarded throughout.) Further, he must increase the number of

looms in his factory, ditto perhaps install an additional steam-engine or enlarge the existing one, etc. But in order to purchase all these things, he must find yarn, looms etc. available on the market. He must convert his £4,000 into yarn, looms, coal, etc., [XIII-698] i.e. he must buy them. In order to buy them, they must be available. Since we have assumed that the reproduction of the old capital has taken place under the old conditions, the spinner of yarn has spent the whole of his capital in order to supply the amount of yarn required by the weavers during the previous year. How then is he to satisfy the ADDITIONAL DEMAND BY AN ADDITIONAL SUPPLY OF YARN? The position of the manufacturer of machines, who supplies looms, etc., is just the same. He has produced only sufficient new looms in order to cover the average consumption in weaving. But the weaver who is keen on accumulation, orders yarn for £3,000 and for £1,000 looms, coal (since the position of the coal producer is the same), etc. Or IN FACT, he gives £3,000 to the spinner, and £1,000 to the machinery manufacturer and the coal merchant, etc., so that they will transform this money into yarn, looms and coal for him. He would thus have to wait until this process is completed before he could begin with his accumulation—his production of new linen. This would be interruption number I.

But now the owner of the spinning-mill finds himself in the same position with the £3,000 as the weaver with the 4,000, only he deducts his profit right away. He can find an ADDITIONAL NUMBER OF SPINNERS, but he needs flax, spindles, coal, etc. Similarly the coal producer [needs] new machinery or implements apart from the additional workers. And the owner of the engineering works who is supposed to supply the new looms, spindles, etc. [needs] iron and so forth, apart from ADDITIONAL LABOURERS. But the position of the flax-grower is the worst of all, since he can supply the ADDITIONAL QUANTITY OF FLAX only in the following year.

So that accumulation can be a continuous process and the weaver able to transform a portion of his profit into constant capital every year, without long-winded complications and interruptions, he must find AN ADDITIONAL QUANTITY OF YARN, looms, etc. available on the market. He [the weaver], the spinner, the producer of coal, etc. require additional workers, only if they are able to obtain flax, spindles and machines on the market.

A part of the constant capital which is calculated to be used up annually and enters as wear and tear into the value of the product, is in fact *not* used up. Take, for example, a machine which lasts 12 years and costs £12,000; its AVERAGE wear and tear,

which has to be charged each year,=£1,000. Thus, since £1,000 is incorporated into the product each year, the value of £12,000 will have been reproduced at the end of the 12 years and a new machine of the same kind can be bought for this price. The repairs and patching up which are required during the 12 years are reckoned as part of the production costs of the machine and have nothing to do with the question under discussion. In fact, however, reality differs from this calculation of averages. The machine may perhaps run more smoothly in the 2nd year than in the first. And yet after 12 years it is no longer usable. It is the same as with an animal whose AVERAGE life is 10 years, but this does not mean that it dies by $^1/_{10}$ each year, although at the end of 10 years it must be replaced by a new individual. Naturally, during the course of *a particular year,* a certain quantity of machinery, etc. always reaches the stage when it must actually be replaced by new machines. Each year, therefore, a certain quantity of old machinery, etc. has in fact to be replaced *in natura* by new machines, etc. And the AVERAGE annual PRODUCTION OF MACHINERY, etc., corresponds with this. The value with which they are to be paid for, lies READY; it is derived from the [proceeds of the] commodities, according to the reproduction period (of the machines). But the FACT remains, that although a large part of the value of the annual product, of the value which is paid for it each year, is needed to replace, for example, the old machines after 12 years, it is by no means actually required to replace $^1/_{12}$ *in natura* each year, and IN FACT this would not be feasible. This fund may be used partly for wages or for the purchase of raw material, before the commodity, which is constantly thrown into circulation but does not immediately return from circulation, is sold and paid for. This cannot, however, be the case throughout the whole year, since the commodities which complete their turnover during the year realise their whole value, and must therefore replace the wages, raw material and used up machinery contained in them, as well as pay SURPLUS VALUE. Hence where much constant capital, and therefore also much fixed capital, is employed, that part of the value of the product which replaces the wear and tear of the fixed capital, provides an *accumulation fund,* which can be invested by the person controlling it, as new fixed capital (or also circulating capital), without any deduction whatsoever having to be made from the SURPLUS VALUE for this part of the accumulation. (See MacCulloch.[29]) This accumulation fund does not exist at levels of production and in nations where there is not much fixed capital. This is an important point. It is a fund for the continuous introduction of improvements,

expansions etc. But the point we want to make here is the following: Even if the total capital employed in machine-building were only large enough to replace the annual wear and tear of machinery, it would produce much more machinery each year than required, since in part the wear and tear merely exists nominally, and in reality it only has to be replaced *in natura* after a certain number of years. The capital thus employed, therefore yields annually a mass of machinery which is available for new capital investments and anticipates these new capital investments. For example, the factory of the machine-builder begins production, say, this year. He supplies £12,000 worth of machinery during the year. If he were merely to replace the machinery produced by him, he would only have to produce machinery worth £1,000 in each of the 11 following years and even this annual production would not be annually consumed. An even smaller part [of his production would be used], if he invested the whole of his capital. A continuous expansion of production in the branches of industry which use these machines is required in order to keep his capital employed and merely to reproduce it annually [XIII-699]. (An even greater [expansion is required] if he himself accumulates.) Thus even the mere reproduction of the capital invested in this sphere requires continuous accumulation in the remaining spheres of production. But because of this, one of the elements of continuous accumulation is always available on the market. Here, in one sphere of production—even if only the existing capital is reproduced in this sphere—exists a continuous supply of commodities for accumulation, for new, additional industrial consumption in other spheres.

As regards the £5,000 profit or surplus value which is to be transformed into capital, for instance by the weaver, there are 2 possibilities—always assuming that he *finds available* on the market *the labour* which he must buy with part of the £5,000, i.e. 1,000 in order to transform the £5,000 into capital according to the conditions prevailing in his sphere of production. This part is transformed into variable capital and is laid out IN WAGES. But in order to employ this labour, he requires yarn, additional *matières instrumentales* and ADDITIONAL MACHINERY (unless the working day is prolonged). //In that case the machinery is merely used up faster, its reproduction period is curtailed, but at the same time more SURPLUS VALUE is produced; and though the value of the machinery has to be distributed over the commodities produced during a shorter period far more commodities are being produced, so that despite this more rapid depreciation of the machine, a smaller

portion of machine value enters into the value or price of the individual commodity. In this case, no *new* capital has to be laid out directly in machinery. It is only necessary to replace the value of the machinery a little more rapidly. But in this case *matières instrumentales* require THE ADVANCE OF ADDITIONAL CAPITAL.// Either the weaver finds these, his conditions of production, on the market; then the purchase of these commodities only differs from that of other commodities by the fact that he buys commodities for *industrial consumption* instead of for *individual* consumption. Or he does not find these conditions of production on the market; then he must order them (as for instance machines of a new design), just as he has to order articles for his private consumption which are not readily available on the market. If the raw material (flax) were only produced to order //as, for instance, indigo, jute etc. are produced by the Indian Ryots to orders and with advances from English merchants//, then the linen weaver could not accumulate in his own business during that year. On the other hand, assuming, that the spinner converts the £5,000 into capital and that the weaver does not accumulate, then the spun yarn—although all the conditions for its production were in supply on the market—will be unsaleable and the £5,000 have IN FACT been transformed into yarn but not into capital.

(*Credit*, which does not concern us further here, is the means whereby accumulated capital is not just used in that sphere in which it is created, but wherever it has the best chance of being turned to good account. Every capitalist will however prefer to invest his accumulation as far as possible in his own TRADE. If he invests it in another, then he becomes a MONEYED CAPITALIST and instead of profit he draws only interest—unless he goes in for speculative transactions. We are, however, concerned with AVERAGE ACCUMULATION here and only [assume] for the sake of illustration that [it] is invested in a particular TRADE.)

If, on the other hand, the flax-grower had expanded his production, that is to say, had accumulated, and the spinner and weaver and machine-builder, etc. had not done so, then he would have superfluous flax in store and would probably produce less in the following year.

//At present we are leaving individual consumption completely out of account and are only considering the mutual relations between producers. If these relations exist, then in the first place the producers constitute a market for the capitals which they must replace for one another. The newly employed, or more fully employed workers constitute a market for some of the means of

subsistence; and since the surplus value increases in the following year, the capitalists can consume an increasing part of their revenue, TO A CERTAIN EXTENT therefore they also constitute a market for one another. Even so, a large part of the annual product may still remain unsaleable.//

The question has now to be formulated thus: *assuming general accumulation,* in other words, assuming that capital is accumulated to some extent in all TRADES—this is IN FACT a condition of capitalist production and is just as much the urge of the capitalist as a capitalist, as the urge of the hoarder is the piling up of money (it is also a necessity if capitalist production is to go ahead)—what are the *conditions* of this general accumulation, what does it amount to? Or, since the linen weaver may be taken to represent the capitalist in general, what are the *conditions* in which he can uninterruptedly reconvert the £5,000 surplus value into capital and steadily continue the process of accumulation year in, year out? The accumulation of the £5,000 means nothing but the transformation of this money, this amount of value, into capital. The *conditions for the accumulation of capital are thus the very same as those for its original production or for reproduction in general.*

These conditions, however, were: that labour was bought with one part of the money, and with the other, commodities (raw material, machinery, etc.) which could be *consumed industrially* by this labour. //Some commodities can only be consumed industrially, such as machinery, raw material, semi-finished goods, etc.; others, such as houses, horses, wheat, grain (from which brandy or starch, etc., is made), can be consumed industrially or individually.// These commodities can only be purchased, if they are available on the [XIII-700] *market* as commodities—in the intermediate stage when production is completed and consumption has not as yet begun, in the hands of the seller, in the stage of circulation—or if they can be procured to order (or produced as is the case with the construction of new factories etc.). Commodities were available—this was presupposed in the production and reproduction of capital—as a result of the division of labour carried out in capitalist production on a social scale (DISTRIBUTION OF LABOUR AND CAPITAL BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT TRADES); as a result of *parallel* production and reproduction which takes place *simultaneously* over the whole field. This was the condition of the *market,* of the production and the reproduction of capital. The greater the capital, the more developed the productivity of labour and the scale of capitalist production in general, *the greater is also the volume of commodities found on the market, in circulation, in transition between production and*

*consumption* (individual and industrial), and the greater the certainty that each particular capital will find its conditions for reproduction readily available on the market. This is all the more the case, since it is in the nature of capitalist production that: 1) each particular capital operates on a scale which is not determined by individual demand (orders, etc., private needs), but by the endeavour to realise as much labour and therefore as much surplus labour as possible and to produce the largest possible quantity of commodities with a given capital; 2) each individual capital strives to capture the largest possible share of the market and to supplant its competitors and exclude them from the market—*competition of capitals.* //The greater the development of the means of communication, the more can the stocks on the market be reduced.//

* "There will, indeed, where production and consumption are comparatively great, naturally be, at any given moment, a *comparatively great surplus* in the intermediate state, in the market, on its way from having been produced to the hands of the consumer; unless indeed the quickness with which things are sold off should have increased so as to counteract what would else have been the consequence of the increased production" * (*An Inquiry into those Principles respecting the Nature of Demand and the Necessity of Consumption, lately Advocated by Mr. Malthus etc.*, London, 1821, [pp.] 6-7).

The accumulation of new capital can therefore proceed only under the same conditions as the reproduction of already existing capital. //We disregard here the case in which more capital is accumulated than can be invested in production, and for example lies fallow in the form of money at the bank. This results in loans abroad, etc., in short, speculative investments. Nor do we consider the case in which it is impossible to sell the mass of commodities produced, crises, etc. This belongs into the section on competition.[30] Here we examine only the forms of capital in the various phases of its process, assuming throughout, that the commodities are sold at their value.// The weaver can reconvert the £5,000 surplus value into capital, if besides labour for £1,000 he finds yarn, etc. READY on the market or is able to obtain it to order; this presupposes the production of a SURPLUS PRODUCE consisting of commodities which enter into his constant capital, particularly of those which require a longer period of production and whose volume cannot be increased rapidly, or cannot be increased at all during the course of the year, such as raw material, for example flax. //What comes into play here is the merchants' capital, which keeps warehouses stocked with goods READY to meet growing individual and industrial consumption; but this *is only a form of intermediary agency,* hence does not belong here, but into the

consideration of the competition of capitals.// Just as the production and reproduction of existing capital in one *sphere* presupposes *parallel* production and reproduction in other spheres, so accumulation or the formation OF ADDITIONAL CAPITAL IN ONE TRADE presupposes *simultaneous or parallel* creation OF ADDITIONAL PRODUCTION IN OTHER TRADES. Thus the scale of production in all spheres which supply constant capital must grow simultaneously (in accordance with the AVERAGE participation—determined by the demand—of each particular sphere in the general growth of production) and all spheres which do not produce FINISHED PRODUCE for individual consumption, supply constant capital. Of the greatest importance, is the increase in machinery (tools), *raw material,* and *matières instrumentales,* for, if these preconditions are present, all other industries into which they enter, whether they produce semifinished or finished goods, only need to set in motion more labour.

It seems therefore, that for accumulation to take place, continuous *surplus production* in all spheres is necessary.

This will have to be more closely defined.

Then there is the second essential question:

The *surplus value* [or] in this case the part of *profit* (including rent; if the LANDLORD wants to accumulate, to transform rent into capital, it is always the *industrial capitalist* who gets hold of the surplus value; this applies even when the worker transforms a portion of his revenue into capital), which is reconverted into capital, consists only of *labour newly added* during [XIII-701] the past year. The question is, whether this new capital is entirely expended on wages, i.e. exchanged only against new labour.

The following speaks for this: All value is originally derived from labour. All constant capital is originally just as much the product of labour as is variable capital. And here we seem to encounter again the direct genesis of capital from labour.

An argument against it is: Can one suppose that the formation of additional capital takes place under worse conditions of production than the reproduction of the old capital? Does a reversion to a lower level of production occur? This would have to be the case if the new value [were] spent only on IMMEDIATE LABOUR, which, *without fixed capital,* etc., would thus also first have to produce this fixed capital, just as originally, labour had first to create its constant capital. This is sheer NONSENSE. But this is the *assumption made by Ricardo, etc.* This needs to be examined more closely.

The first question is this:

Can the capitalist transform a part of the surplus value into capital by employing it *directly* as capital instead of *selling* the surplus value, or rather the surplus PRODUCE in which it is expressed? An affirmative answer to this question would already imply that the whole of the surplus value to be transformed into capital is *not* transformed into variable capital, or is not laid out in wages.

With that part of the AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE which consists of corn or livestock, this is clear from the outset. Some of the corn which belongs to that part of the harvest representing the SURPLUS PRODUCE or the SURPLUS VALUE of the FARMER (similarly some of the livestock), instead of being sold, can at once serve again as a condition of production, as seed or draught animals. The same applies to that part of the manure produced on the land itself, which at the same time can circulate in COMMERCE as a commodity, that is to say, can be sold. This part of the SURPLUS PRODUCE which falls to the share of the FARMER as SURPLUS VALUE, as profit, can be at once transformed by him into a condition of production within his own branch of production, it is thus *directly* converted into capital. This part is not expended on WAGES; it is not transformed into variable capital. It is withdrawn from individual consumption without being consumed *productively* in the sense used by Smith and Ricardo. It is consumed *industrially,* but as raw material, not as means of subsistence either of productive or of unproductive workers. Corn, however, serves not only as means of subsistence for productive worker, etc., but also as *matière instrumentale*[a] for livestock, as raw material for spirits, starch, etc. Livestock (for fattening or draught animals) in turn serves not only as means of subsistence, but its fur, hide, fat, bones, horns, etc. supply raw materials for a large number of industries, and it also provides motive power, partly for agriculture itself and partly for the transport industry.

In all industries, in which the *period of reproduction* extends over more than a year, as is the case with a major part of livestock, timber, etc., but whose products at the same time have to be continuously reproduced, thus requiring the application of a certain amount of labour, accumulation and reproduction coincide in so far as the newly *added* labour, which includes not only paid but also unpaid labour, must be accumulated *in natura,* until the product is ready for sale. (We are not speaking here of the accumulation of the profit which according to the general rate of profit is added each year—this is not *real* accumulation, but only a

[a] Here: fodder.—*Ed.*

method of accounting. We are concerned here with the accumulation of the total labour which is repeated in the course of several years, during which not only paid, but also unpaid labour is accumulated *in natura* and at once reconverted into capital. The accumulation of profit is in such cases however independent of the quantity of newly added labour.)

The position is the same with *commercial crops* (whether they provide raw materials or *matières instrumentales*). Their seeds and that part of them which can be used again as manure, etc., represent a portion of the total product. Even if this were *unsaleable,* it would not alter the fact that as soon as it re-enters as a condition of production, it forms a part of the total value and as [XIII-702] such constitutes constant capital for new production.

This settles one major point—the question of raw materials and means of subsistence (FOOD), in so far as they are actually AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE. Here therefore, accumulation coincides *directly* with reproduction on a larger scale, so that a part of the SURPLUS PRODUCE serves again as a means of production in its own sphere, *without being exchanged for wages or other commodities.*

The second important question relates to *machinery.* Not the machines which produce commodities, but the machines which produce machines, the *constant capital* of the machine-producing industry. Given this machinery, the extractive industries require nothing but labour in order to provide the raw material, iron, etc. for the production of containers and machines. And with the latter are produced the machines for working up the raw materials themselves. The difficulty here is not to get entangled in a *cercle vicieux* of presuppositions. For, in order to produce more machinery, more material is required (iron etc., coal etc.) and in order to produce this, more machinery is required. Whether we assume that industrialists who build machine-building machines and industrialists who manufacture machines (with the machine-building machines) are in one and the same category, does not alter the situation. This much is clear: One part of the SURPLUS PRODUCE is embodied in machine-building machines (at least it is up to the manufacturers of machines to see that this happens). These need not be sold but can re-enter the new production *in natura,* as constant capital. This is therefore a second category of SURPLUS PRODUCE which enters directly (or through exchange within the same sphere of production) as constant capital into the new production (accumulation), without having gone through the process of first being transformed into variable capital.

The question whether a part of the *SURPLUS VALUE* can be directly

transformed into constant capital, resolves, in the first place, into the question whether a part of the *SURPLUS PRODUCE*, in which the SURPLUS VALUE is expressed, can directly re-enter its own sphere of production as a condition of production, without first having been alienated.

The general law is as follows:

Where a part of the product, and therefore also of the *SURPLUS PRODUCE* (i.e. the use value in which the SURPLUS VALUE is expressed) can re-enter as a condition of production—as instrument of labour or material of labour—into the sphere of production from which it came, directly, without an intermediary phase, ACCUMULATION within this sphere of production can and must take place in such a way that a part of the SURPLUS PRODUCE, instead of being sold, is as a condition of reproduction re-incorporated into the process directly (or through exchange with other specialists in the same sphere of production who are similarly accumulating), so that accumulation and reproduction on a larger scale coincide here *directly*. They must coincide everywhere, but not in this direct manner.

This also applies to a part of the *matières instrumentales*. For example to the coal produced in a year. A part of the SURPLUS PRODUCE can itself be used to produce more coal and can therefore be used up again directly by its producer, without any intermediary phase, as constant capital for production on a larger scale.

In industrial areas there are machine-builders who build whole factories for the manufacturers. Let us assume $^1/_{10}$ is SURPLUS PRODUCE or unpaid labour. Whether this $^1/_{10}$, the SURPLUS PRODUCE, consists of factory buildings which are built for a third party and are sold to them, or of factory buildings which the producer builds for himself—sells to himself—clearly makes no difference. The only thing that matters here is whether the *kind of use value* in which the SURPLUS labour is expressed, can re-enter as condition of production into the sphere of production [XIII-703] of the capitalist to whom the SURPLUS PRODUCE belongs. This is yet another example of how important is the analysis of *use value for the determination of economic phenomena*.

Here, therefore, we already have a considerable portion of the SURPLUS PRODUCE, and *hinc*[a] of the SURPLUS VALUE, which can and must be transformed directly into constant capital, in order to be *accumulated* as *capital* and without which no ACCUMULATION of capital can take place at all.

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[a] Therefore.—*Ed.*

Secondly, we have seen that where capitalist production is developed, that is, where the productivity of labour, the constant capital and particularly that part of constant capital which consists of fixed capital are developed, the mere reproduction of fixed capital in all spheres and the parallel reproduction of the existing capital which produces fixed capital, forms an accumulation fund, that is to say, provides machinery, i.e. constant capital, for production on an extended scale.

Thirdly: There remains the question: Can a part of the *SURPLUS PRODUCE* be re-transformed into capital (that is constant capital) through an (intermediary) exchange between the producer, for example of machinery, implements of labour, etc. and the producer of raw material, iron, coal, metals, timber, etc., that is, through the exchange of various components of constant capital? If, for example, the manufacturer of iron, coal, timber, etc., buys machinery or tools from the machine-builder and the machine-builder buys metal, timber, coal, etc. from the primary producer, then they replace or form new constant capital through this exchange of the reciprocal component parts of their constant capital. The question here is: to what extent is the *SURPLUS PRODUCE* converted in this way?

We saw earlier,[a] that in the simple reproduction of the capital which has been posited *in advance*, the portion of the constant capital which is used up in the reproduction of *constant capital* is replaced either directly *in natura* or through exchange between the producers of constant capital—an exchange of capital against capital and not of REVENUE against REVENUE or REVENUE against capital. Moreover, the constant capital which is used up or consumed industrially in the production of consumable goods—commodities which enter into individual consumption—is replaced by new products of the same kind, which are the result of *newly added* labour, and therefore resolve into REVENUE (wages and profit). Accordingly, therefore, in the spheres which produce consumable goods, the portion of the mass of products, which=the portion of their value which replaces their constant capital, represents the REVENUE of the producers of constant capital; while, on the other hand, in the spheres which produce constant capital, the part of the mass of products which represents newly added labour and therefore forms the REVENUE of the producers of this constant capital, represents the constant capital (replacement capital) of the producers of the means of subsistence.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 441-51 and Vol. 31, pp. 83-94, 143-51.—*Ed.*

This presupposes, therefore, that the producers of constant capital exchange their surplus PRODUCE (which means here, the excess of their product over that part of it which=*their* constant capital) against means of subsistence, and consume its value individually. This SURPLUS PRODUCE, however, 1)=wages (or the reproduced FUND for wages), and this portion must continue to be allocated (by the capitalist) for paying out WAGES, that is, for individual consumption (and assuming a minimum wage, the worker too can only convert the WAGES he receives, into means of subsistence); 2)=the profit of the capitalist (including rent). If this portion is large enough, it can be consumed partly individually and partly industrially. And in this latter case, an exchange of products takes place between the producers of constant capital; this is, however, no longer an exchange of the portion of their products representing their constant capital which has to be mutually replaced between them, but is an exchange of a part of their SURPLUS PRODUCE, REVENUE (*newly added* labour) which is directly transformed into constant capital, thus increasing the amount of constant capital and expanding the scale of reproduction. In this case, too, therefore, a part of the existing SURPLUS PRODUCE, that is, of the labour which has been newly added during the year, is transformed directly into constant capital, without first having been converted into variable capital. This demonstrates again that the industrial consumption of the SURPLUS PRODUCE—or accumulation—is by no means identical with the conversion of the entire SURPLUS PRODUCE into WAGES paid to productive workers.

It is quite possible that the manufacturer of machines sells (part of) his commodity to the producer, say, of cloth. The latter pays him in money. With this money he purchases iron, coal, etc. instead of means of subsistence. But when one considers the process as a whole, it is evident that the producers of means of subsistence cannot purchase any replacement machinery or replacement raw materials, unless the producers of the replacements of constant capital buy their means of subsistence from them, in other words, unless this circulation is fundamentally an exchange between means of subsistence and constant capital. The separation of the acts of buying and selling can of course cause considerable disturbances and complications in this compensatory process.

[XIII-704] If a country cannot itself produce the amount of machinery required for the accumulation of capital, then it buys it from abroad. Ditto, if it cannot itself produce a sufficient quantity of means of subsistence (for WAGES) and the raw material. As soon as international trade intervenes, it becomes quite obvious that a

part of the SURPLUS PRODUCE of a country—in so far as it is intended for accumulation—is not transformed into wages, but directly into constant capital. But then there may remain the notion that over there, in the foreign country, the money thus laid out is spent entirely on wages. We have seen that, even leaving foreign trade out of account, this is not so and cannot be so. The proportion in which the SURPLUS PRODUCE is divided between variable and constant capital, depends on the average composition of capital, and the more developed capitalist production is, the smaller, *relatively*, will be the part which is directly laid out in wages. The idea that, because the SURPLUS PRODUCE is solely the product of the labour newly added during the year, it can therefore only be converted into variable capital, i.e. only be laid out in wages, corresponds altogether to the false conception that because the product is only the result, or the materialisation, of labour, its value is resolved only into revenue—wages, profit, and rent—the false conception of Smith and Ricardo.

A large part of constant capital, namely, the fixed capital, may enter directly into the process of the production of means of subsistence, raw materials, etc., or it may serve either to shorten the circulation process, like railways, roads, navigation, telegraphs, etc. or to store and accumulate stocks of commodities like docks, warehouses, etc., alternatively it may increase the yield only after a long period of reproduction, as for instance levelling operations, drainage, etc. The direct consequences for the reproduction of the means of subsistence, etc. will be very different according to whether a greater or smaller part of the SURPLUS PRODUCE is converted into one of these types of fixed capital.

If *surplus production* of constant capital is assumed—that is greater production than is required for the replacement of the former capital and therefore also for the production of the former quantity of means of subsistence—surplus production or accumulation in the spheres using the machinery, raw materials, etc. encounters no further difficulties. If sufficient surplus labour is available, they [the manufacturers] will find on the market all the means for the formation of new capital, for the transformation of their surplus money into new capital. But the whole process of accumulation in the first place resolves itself into *surplus production*, which on the one hand corresponds to the natural growth of the population, and on the other hand, forms an inherent basis for the phenomena which appear during *crises*. The criterion of this surplus production is *capital* itself, the scale on which the conditions of production are available and the unlimited desire of

the capitalists to enrich themselves and to enlarge their capital, but by no means *consumption*, which from the outset is inhibited, since the majority of the population, the working people, can only expand their consumption within very narrow limits, whereas the demand for labour, although it grows *absolutely*, decreases *relatively*, to the same extent as capitalism develops. Moreover, all equalisations are *accidental* and although the proportion of capital employed in individual spheres is equalised by a continuous process, the continuity of this process itself equally presupposes the constant disproportion which it has continuously, often violently, to even out.

Here we need only consider the forms which capital passes through in the various stages of its development. The real conditions within which the actual process of production takes place are therefore not analysed. It is assumed throughout, that the commodity is sold at its value. We do not examine the competition of capitals, nor the credit system, nor the actual composition of society, which by no means consists only of two classes, workers and industrial capitalists, and where therefore consumers and producers are not identical categories. The first category, that of the consumers (whose revenues are in part not primary, but secondary, derived from profit and wages), is much broader than the second category, and therefore the way in which they spend their revenue, and the very size of the revenue give rise to very considerable modifications in the economy and particularly in the circulation and reproduction process of capital. Nevertheless, just as the examination of money[a]—both in so far as it represents a form altogether different from the natural form of commodities, and also in its form as means of payment—has shown that it contained the possibility of crises, the examination of the general nature of capital, even without going further into the actual relations which all constitute prerequisites for the real process of production, reveals this still more clearly.

[XIII-705] The conception (which really belongs to Mill), adopted by Ricardo from the tedious Say (and to which we shall return when we discuss that miserable individual), that *overproduction* is not possible or at least that *NO GENERAL GLUT OF THE MARKET* is possible, is based on the proposition that *products* are exchanged *against products*,[b] or as Mill put it, on the "metaphysical equilibrium

[a] See K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 333-34, 373-74, 378-79).—*Ed.*

[b] J.-B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique...*, 2nd ed., Vol. 2, Paris, 1814, p. 382. See also this volume, pp. 130-34, 307.—*Ed.*

of sellers and buyers",[31] and this led to [the conclusion] that demand is determined only by production, or also that DEMAND and OFFER are identical. The same proposition exists also in the form, which Ricardo liked particularly, that ANY AMOUNT OF CAPITAL can BE EMPLOYED PRODUCTIVELY in any country.

*"M. Say,"* writes Ricardo in Ch. XXI (*Effects* of Accumulation on Profits and Interest), *"has ... most satisfactorily shewn, that there is no amount of capital which may not be employed in a country, because *demand is only limited by production.* No man *produces, but with a view to consume* or *sell, and he never sells, but* with an *intention to purchase some other commodity,* which may be immediately useful to him, or which may contribute to future production. By producing, then, he necessarily becomes either the consumer of his own goods, or the purchaser and consumer of the goods of some other person. It is not to be supposed that he should, for any length of time, be ill-informed of the commodities which he can most advantageously produce, to attain the object which he has in view, namely, the *possession of other goods*; and, therefore, it is not probable, that he will *continually*"* (the point in question here is not eternal life) *"produce a commodity for which there is no demand"* ([pp.] 339-40.)

Ricardo, who always strives to be consistent, discovers that his authority, Say, is playing a trick on him here. He makes the following comment in a footnote to this passage:

*"Is the following quite consistent with M. Say's principle? 'The more disposable capitals are abundant in proportion to the extent of employment for them, the more will the rate of interest on loans of capital fall.' (*Say,* Vol. 2, p. 108). If capital to any extent can be employed by a country, how can it be said to be abundant, compared with the extent of employment for it?"* (l.c., [p.] 340, note).

Since Ricardo cites Say, we shall criticise Say's theories later, when we deal with this humbug himself.

Meanwhile we just note here: In reproduction, just as in the accumulation OF CAPITAL, it is not only a question of replacing *the same* quantity of use values of which capital consists, on the former scale or on an enlarged scale (in the case of accumulation), but of replacing the *value* of the capital advanced along with the usual rate of profit (surplus value). If, therefore, through any circumstance or combination of circumstances, the market prices of the commodities (of all or most of them, it makes no difference) fall far below their cost prices, then reproduction of capital is curtailed as far as possible. Accumulation, however, stagnates even more. SURPLUS VALUE amassed in the form of money (gold or notes) could only be transformed into capital at a loss. It therefore lies idle as a hoard in the banks or in the form of credit money, which in essence makes no difference at all. The same hold up could occur for the opposite reasons, if the *real prerequisites* of reproduction were missing (for instance if grain became more

expensive or because not enough constant capital had been accumulated *in natura*). There occurs a stoppage in reproduction, and thus in the flow of circulation. Purchase and sale get bogged down and unemployed capital appears in the form of idle money. The same phenomenon (and this usually precedes crises) can appear when SURPLUS CAPITAL is produced at a very rapid rate and its reconversion into productive capital increases the demand for all the elements of the latter to such an extent, that actual production cannot keep pace with it; this brings about a rise in the prices of all commodities, which enter into the formation of capital. In this case the rate of interest falls sharply, however much the profit may rise and this fall in the rate of interest then leads to the most risky speculative ventures. The interruption of the reproduction process leads to the decrease in variable capital, to a fall in wages and in the quantity of labour employed. This in turn reacts anew on prices and leads to their further fall.

It must never be forgotten, that in capitalist production what matters is not the immediate use value but the exchange value and, in particular, the expansion of surplus value. This is the driving motive of capitalist production, and it is a pretty conception that—in order to reason away the contradictions of capitalist production—abstracts from its very basis and depicts it as a production aiming at the direct satisfaction of the consumption of the producers.

Further: since the circulation process of capital is not completed in one day but extends over a fairly long period until the capital returns to its original form, since this period coincides with the period within which market prices [XIII-706] equalise with cost prices, and great upheavals and CHANGES take place in the *market* in the course of this period, since great CHANGES take place in the productivity of labour and therefore also in the *real value* of commodities, it is quite clear, that between the starting-point, the prerequisite capital, and the time of its return at the end of one of these periods, great catastrophes must occur and elements of crisis must have gathered and develop, and these cannot in any way be dismissed by the pitiful proposition that products exchange for products. The *comparison* of value in one period with the value of the same commodities in a later period is no scholastic illusion, as Mr. Bailey maintains,[a] but rather forms the fundamental principle of the circulation process of capital.

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[a] See [S. Bailey,] *A Critical Dissertation on the Nature, Measures and Causes of Value...*, London, 1825, pp. 71-93.—*Ed.*

When speaking of the *destruction of capital* through crises, one must distinguish between two factors.

In so far as the reproduction process is checked and the labour process is restricted or in some instances is completely stopped, *real* capital is destroyed. Machinery which is not used is not capital. Labour which is not exploited is equivalent to lost production. Raw material which lies unused is no capital. Buildings (also newly built machinery) which are either unused or remain unfinished, commodities which rot in warehouses—all this is destruction of capital. All this means that the process of reproduction is checked and that the *existing* means of production are not really used as means of production, are not put into operation. Thus their use value and their exchange value go to the devil.

Secondly, however, the *destruction of capital* through crises means the DEPRECIATION of *values* which prevents them from later renewing their reproduction process as capital on the same scale. This is the ruinous effect of the fall in the prices of commodities. It does not cause the destruction of any use values. What one loses, the other gains. Values used as capital are prevented from acting again as *capital* in the hands of the same person. The old capitalists go bankrupt. If the value of the commodities from whose sale a capitalist reproduces his capital=£12,000, of which say £2,000 were profit, and their price falls to £6,000, then the capitalist can neither meet his contracted obligations nor, even if he had none, could he, with the £6,000, restart his business on the former scale, for the commodity prices have risen once more to the level of their cost prices. In this way, £6,000 has been destroyed, although the buyer of these commodities, because he has acquired them at half their cost price, can go ahead very well once business livens up again, and may even have made a profit. A large part of the nominal capital of the society, i.e. of the *exchange value* of the existing capital, is once for all destroyed, although this very destruction, since it does not affect the use value, may very much expedite the new reproduction. This is also the period during which MONIED INTEREST enriches itself at the cost of INDUSTRIAL INTEREST. As regards the fall in the purely nominal capital, state bonds, shares, etc.—in so far as it does not lead to the bankruptcy of the state or of the share company, or to the complete stoppage of reproduction through undermining the credit of the industrial capitalists who hold such securities—it amounts only to the transfer of wealth from one hand to another and will, on the whole, act favourably upon reproduction, since the parvenus into

whose hands these stocks or shares fall cheaply, are mostly more enterprising than their former owners.

To the best of his knowledge, Ricardo is always consistent. For him, therefore, the statement that no *overproduction* (of commodities) is possible, is synonymous with the statement that no PLETHORA OF SUPERABUNDANCE OF CAPITAL is possible.*

"There cannot, then, be accumulated in a country any amount of capital which cannot be employed productively, until wages rise so high in consequence of the rise of necessaries, and so little consequently remains for the profits of stock, that the motive for accumulation ceases" (l.c., [p.] 340).

"It follows then ... that there is no limit to demand—no limit to the employment of capital while it yields any profit, and that *however abundant capital may become*, there is no other adequate reason for a *fall of profit* but a rise of wages, and further it may be added, that the only adequate and permanent cause for the rise of wages is the increasing difficulty of providing food and necessaries [XIII-707] for the increasing number of workmen" (l.c., [pp.] 347-48).[a]

What then would Ricardo have said to the stupidity of his successors, who deny overproduction in one form (as a GENERAL GLUT OF COMMODITIES IN THE MARKET) and who, not only admit its existence in another form, as overproduction OF CAPITAL, PLETHORA OF CAPITAL, SUPERABUNDANCE OF CAPITAL, but actually turn it into an essential point in their doctrines?

Not a single responsible economist of the post-Ricardian period denies the PLETHORA OF CAPITAL. On the contrary, all of them regard it as the cause of crises (in so far as they do not explain the latter by factors relating to credit). Therefore, they all admit overproduction in one form but deny its existence in another. The only remaining question thus is: what is the relation between these two forms of overproduction, i.e. between the form in which it is denied and the form in which it is asserted?

Ricardo himself did not actually know anything of crises, of general crises of the world market, arising out of the production process itself. He could explain that the crises which occurred between 1800 and 1815, were caused by the rise in the price of corn due to poor harvests, by the DEPRECIATION of paper money, the DEPRECIATION of colonial products etc., because, in consequence of the continental blockade,[32] the market was forcibly contracted for

*A distinction must be made here. When Adam Smith explains the fall in the rate of profit from a SUPERABUNDANCE OF CAPITAL, an ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL, he is speaking of a *permanent* effect and this is wrong. As against this, the transitory SUPERABUNDANCE OF CAPITAL, overproduction and crises are something different. Permanent crises do not exist.

[a] Marx quotes these two passages in English.—*Ed.*

political and not economic reasons. He was also able to explain the crises after 1815, partly by a bad year and a shortage of corn, and partly by the fall in corn prices, because those causes which, according to his own theory, had forced up the price of corn during the war when England was cut off from the continent, had ceased to operate; partly by the transition from war to peace which brought about "SUDDEN CHANGES IN THE CHANNELS OF TRADE". (See CH. XIX—"On Sudden Changes in the Channels of Trade"—of his *Principles.*) Later historical phenomena, especially the almost regular periodicity of crises on the world market, no longer permitted Ricardo's successors to deny the FACTS or to interpret them as accidental. Instead—apart from those who explain everything by credit, but then have to admit that they themselves are forced to presuppose the SUPERABUNDANCE OF CAPITAL—they invented the nice distinction between *PLETHORA OF CAPITAL* and *OVERPRODUCTION.* Against the latter, they arm themselves with the phrases and good reasons used by Ricardo and Smith, while by means of the first they attempt to explain phenomena that they are otherwise unable to explain. Wilson, for example, explains certain crises by the PLETHORA of fixed capital, while he explains others by the PLETHORA of circulating capital.[a] The PLETHORA of capital itself is affirmed by the best economists (such as Fullarton[b]), and has already become a matter of course to such an extent, that it can even be found in the learned Roscher's compendium[c] as a self-evident fact.

The question is, therefore, what is the PLETHORA OF CAPITAL and how does it differ from OVERPRODUCTION? (In all fairness, however, it must be said, that other economists, such as Ure, Corbet, etc., declare OVERPRODUCTION to be the *usual condition in large-scale industry,* so far as the home country is concerned and that it thus only leads to crises UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES, in which the foreign market also contracts.) According to the same economists, capital=money or commodities. Overproduction of capital thus=overproduction of money or of commodities. And yet these two phenomena are supposed to have nothing in common with each other. Even the overproduction of money [is of] no [avail], since money for them is a commodity, so that the entire phenomenon resolves into one

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[a] See J. Wilson, *Capital, Currency, and Banking...,* London, 1847.—*Ed.*

[b] See J. Fullarton, *On the Regulation of Currencies...,* London, 1844, pp. 161-66, especially p. 165. See also K. Marx, *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy (Rough Draft of 1857-58)* (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 225).—*Ed.*

[c] See W. Roscher, *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie,* Stuttgart and Augsburg, 1858, S. 368-70.—*Ed.*

of overproduction of commodities which they admit under one name and deny under another. Moreover, the statement that there is overproduction of fixed or of circulating capital, is based on the fact that commodities are here no longer considered in this simple form, but in their designation as capital. This, however, is an admission that in capitalist [XIII-708] production and its phenomena—e.g. OVERPRODUCTION—it is a question not only of the simple relationship in which the product appears, is designated, as *commodity,* but of its designation within the social framework; it thereby becomes something *more* than, and also different from, a commodity.

Altogether, the phrase *PLETHORA OF CAPITAL* instead of *overproduction of commodities* in so far as it is not merely a prevaricating expression, or unscrupulous thoughtlessness, which admits the existence and necessity of a particular phenomenon when it is called *a,* but denies it as soon as it is called *b,* in fact therefore showing scruples and doubts only about the *name* of the phenomenon and not the phenomenon itself; or in so far as it is not merely an attempt to avoid the difficulty of explaining the phenomenon, by denying it in one form (under one name) in which it contradicts existing prejudices and admitting it in a form only in which it becomes meaningless—apart from these aspects, the transition from the phrase "*overproduction of commodities*" to the phrase "*PLETHORA OF CAPITAL*" is indeed an *advance.* In what does this consist? In [expressing the fact], that the producers confront one another not purely as owners of commodities, but as capitalists.

A few more passages from Ricardo:

* "One would be led to think ... that Adam Smith concluded we were *under some necessity*" * (this is indeed the case) * *of producing a surplus* of corn, woollen goods, and hardware, and that the capital which produced them could not be otherwise employed. It is, however, always a matter of choice in what way a capital shall be employed, and therefore there can never, *for any length of time,* be a surplus of any commodity; for if there were, it would fall below its natural price, and capital would be removed to some more profitable employment" * ([pp.] 341-42, *note*). * "*Productions are always bought by productions, or by services; money is only the medium by which the exchange is effected.*" *

(That is to say, money is merely a means of circulation, and exchange value itself is merely a fleeting aspect of the exchange of product against product—which is wrong.)

* "Too much of a particular commodity may be produced, of which there may be such a glut in the market, as not to repay the capital expended on it; *but this cannot be the case with all commodities*" * (l.c., [pp.] 341-42).

* "Whether *these increased productions, and the consequent demand which they occasion,* shall or shall not lower profits, depends solely on the rise of wages; and the rise of

wages, excepting for a limited period, on the facility of producing the food and the necessaries of the labourer"* (l.c., [p.] 343).

*"When merchants engage their capitals in foreign trade, or in the carrying trade, it is always from choice, and never from necessity: it is because in that trade their profits will be somewhat greater than in the home trade"* (p. 344).

So far as crises are concerned, all those writers who describe the real movement of prices, or all experts, who write in the actual situation of a crisis, have been right in ignoring the allegedly theoretical twaddle and in contenting themselves with the idea that what may be true in abstract theory—namely, that no GLUTS in the MARKET and so forth are possible—is, nevertheless, wrong in practice. The constant recurrence of crises has in fact reduced the rigmarole of Say and others to a phraseology which IS now only USED IN TIMES OF PROSPERITY BUT IS THROWN TO THE WINDS IN TIMES OF CRISIS.

[XIII-709] In the crises of the world market, the contradictions and antagonisms of bourgeois production are strikingly revealed. Instead of investigating the nature of the conflicting elements which errupt in the catastrophe, the apologists content themselves with denying the catastrophe itself and insisting, in the face of its regular and periodic recurrence, that if production were carried on according to the textbooks, crises would never occur. Thus the apologetics consist in the falsification of the simplest economic relations, and particularly in clinging to the concept of unity in the face of contradiction.

If, for example, purchase and sale—or the metamorphosis of commodities—represent the unity of two processes, or rather the movement of one process through two opposite phases, and thus essentially the unity of the two phases, the movement is essentially just as much the separation of these two phases and their becoming independent of each other. Since, however, they belong together, the independence of the two correlated aspects can only *show itself* forcibly, as a destructive process. It is just the *crisis* in which they assert their unity, the unity of the different aspects. The independence which these two linked and complimentary phases assume in relation to each other is forcibly destroyed. Thus the crisis manifests the unity of the two phases that have become independent of each other. There would be no crisis without this inner unity of factors that are apparently indifferent to each other. But no, says the apologetic economist. Because there is this unity, there can be *no* crises. Which in turn means nothing but that the unity of contradictory factors excludes contradiction.

In order to prove that capitalist production cannot lead to general crises, all its conditions and distinct forms, all its principles

and *differentiae specificae*—in short *capitalist production* itself—are denied. In fact it is demonstrated that if the capitalist mode of production had not developed in a specific way and become a unique form of social production, but were a mode of production dating back to the most rudimentary stages, then its peculiar contradictions and conflicts and hence also their eruption in crises would not exist.

Following Say, Ricardo writes: "Productions are always bought by productions, or by services; money is only the medium by which the exchange is effected" [p. 341].

Here, therefore, firstly *commodity,* in which the contradiction between exchange value and use value exists, becomes mere product (use value) and therefore the exchange of commodities is transformed into mere barter of products, of simple use values. This is a return not only to the time before capitalist production, but even to the time before there was simple commodity production; and the most complicated phenomenon of capitalist production—the world market crisis—is flatly denied, by denying the first condition of capitalist production, namely, that the product must be a commodity and therefore express itself as money and undergo the process of metamorphosis. Instead of speaking of wage labour, the term "SERVICES" is used. This word again omits the specific characteristic of wage labour and of its use—namely, that it increases the value of the commodities against which it is exchanged, that it creates surplus value—and in doing so, it disregards the specific relationship through which money and commodities are transformed into capital. "*SERVICE*" is labour seen only as use value (which is a side issue in capitalist production) just as the word "product" fails to express the essence of *commodity* and its inherent contradiction. It is quite consistent that *money* is then regarded merely as the medium in the exchange of products, and not as an essential and necessary form of existence of the commodity which must manifest itself as exchange value, as general social labour. Since the transformation of the commodity into mere use value (product) obliterates the essence of [XIII-710] exchange value, it is just as easy to deny, or rather it is necessary to deny, that *money* is an essential aspect of the commodity and that in the process of metamorphosis it is *independent* of the original form of the commodity.

Crises are thus reasoned out of existence here by forgetting or denying the first prerequisite of capitalist production: the existence of the product as a commodity, the duplication of the commodity in commodity and money, the consequent separation which takes place

in the exchange of commodities and finally the relation of money or commodities to wage labour.

Incidentally, those economists are no better who (like John Stuart Mill) want to explain the crises by these simple *possibilities* of crisis contained in the metamorphosis of commodities—such as the separation between purchase and sale. These definitions which explain the possibility of crises, by no means explain their actual occurrence. They do not explain *why* the phases of the process come into such conflict that their inner unity can only assert itself through a crisis, through a violent process. This *separation* appears in the crisis; it is the elementary form of the crisis. To *explain* the crisis on the basis of this, its elementary form, is to explain the existence of the crisis by describing its most abstract form, that is to say, to explain the crisis by the crisis.

Ricardo says: "No man produces, but with a view to consume *or sell,* and he never sells, but with an intention to *purchase* some other commodity, which may be immediately useful to him, or which may contribute to *future production.* By producing, then, he necessarily becomes either the consumer of his own goods,[a] or the purchaser and consumer of the goods of some person. It is not to be supposed that he should, *for any length of time,* be ill-informed of the commodities which he can most advantageously produce, to attain the object which he has in view, namely, the *possession of other goods*; and, *therefore,* it is not probable that he will *continually* produce a commodity for which there is no demand" [pp. 339-40].[b]

This is the childish babble of a Say, but it is not worthy of Ricardo. In the first place, no capitalist produces in order to consume his product. And when speaking of capitalist production, it is right to say that: "no man produces with a view to consume his own product", even if he uses portions of his product for industrial consumption. But here the point in question is private consumption. Previously it was forgotten that the product is a commodity. Now even the social division of labour is forgotten. In a situation where men produce for themselves, there are indeed no crises, but neither is there capitalist production. Nor have we ever heard that the ancients, with their slave production ever knew crises, although individual producers among the ancients too, did go bankrupt. The first part of the alternative is nonsense. The second as well. A man who has produced, does not have the choice of selling or not selling. He must *sell.* In the crisis there arises the very situation in which he cannot sell or can only sell below the cost price or must even sell at a positive loss. What difference does it make, therefore, to him or to us that he has

[a] After this word Marx gives in brackets its English equivalent.—*Ed.*
[b] Cf. this volume, p. 125.—*Ed.*

produced in order to sell? The very question we want to solve is what has thwarted this good intention of his? Further:

"he never *sells*, but with an intention to *purchase* some other commodity, which may be immediately useful to him, or which may contribute to future production".[a]

What a cosy description of bourgeois conditions! Ricardo even forgets that a person may *sell* in order to *pay*, and that these forced sales play a very significant role in the crises. The capitalist's immediate object in selling, is to turn his commodity, or rather his commodity capital, back into *money capital*, and thereby to *realise* his profit. Consumption—REVENUE—is by no means the guiding motive in this process, although it is for the person who only sells *commodities* in order to transform them into means of subsistence. But this is not capitalist production, in which revenue appears as the result and not as the determining purpose. Everyone *sells* first of all in order to sell, that is to say, in order to transform commodities into money.

[XIII-711] During the crisis, a man may be very pleased, if he has *sold* his commodities without immediately thinking of a purchase. On the other hand, if the value that has been realised is again to be used as capital, it must go through the process of reproduction, that is, it must be exchanged for labour and commodities. But the crisis is precisely the phase of disturbance and interruption of the process of reproduction. And this disturbance cannot be explained by the fact that it does not occur in those times when there is no crisis. There is no doubt that no one "WILL CONTINUALLY PRODUCE A COMMODITY FOR WHICH THERE IS NO DEMAND" ([pp. 339-]40), but no one is talking about such an absurd hypothesis. Nor has it anything to do with the problem. The immediate purpose of capitalist production is not "THE POSSESSION OF OTHER GOODS", but the APPROPRIATION OF VALUE, OF MONEY, OF ABSTRACT WEALTH.

Ricardo's statements here are also based on James Mill's proposition on the "metaphysical equilibrium of purchases and sales", which I examined previously[31]—an equilibrium which sees *only* the unity, but not the separation in the processes of purchase and sale. Hence also Ricardo's assertion (following James Mill):

* "Too much of a *particular* commodity may be produced, of which there may be such a glut in the market, as not to repay the capital expended on it; but this cannot be the case with respect to *all* commodities" * ([pp.] 341-42).

Money is not only "THE MEDIUM BY WHICH THE EXCHANGE IS EFFECTED" ([p.] 341), but at the same time THE MEDIUM BY WHICH THE EXCHANGE OF PRODUCE WITH PRODUCE BECOMES DISSOLVED INTO TWO ACTS, INDEPENDENT OF EACH

[a] Cf. this volume, p. 125.—*Ed.*

OTHER, AND DISTANT FROM EACH OTHER, IN TIME AND SPACE. With Ricardo, however, this false conception of money is due to the fact that he concentrates exclusively on the *quantitative determination* of exchange value, namely, that it=a definite quantity of labour time, forgetting on the other hand the *qualitative* characteristic, that individual labour must present itself as *abstract general social* labour only through its alienation.*[a]

That only *particular* commodities, and not *all* kinds of commodities, can form "A GLUT IN THE MARKET" and that therefore overproduction can always only be partial, is a poor way out. In the first place, if we consider only the nature of the commodity, there is nothing to prevent *all commodities* from being superabundant on the market, and therefore all falling below their price.[34] We are here only concerned with the factor of crisis. That is all commodities, apart from *money.* [The proposition] *the* commodity must be converted into money, only means that *all* commodities must do so. And just as the difficulty of undergoing this metamorphosis exists for an individual commodity, so it can exist for all commodities. The general nature of the metamorphosis of commodities—which includes the separation of purchase and sale just as it does their unity—instead of excluding the *possibility* of a GENERAL GLUT, on the contrary, contains the possibility of a GENERAL GLUT.

Ricardo's and similar types of *raisonnements*[b] are moreover based not only on the relation of *purchase and sale,* but also on that of *demand* and *supply,* which we have to examine only when considering the competition of capitals. As Mill says purchase is sale, etc., therefore demand is supply and supply demand. But they also fall apart and can become independent of each other. At a given moment, the supply of all commodities can be greater than the demand for all commodities, since the demand for the *general commodity,* money, exchange value, is greater than the demand for all particular commodities, in other words the motive to turn the commodity into money, to realise its exchange value, prevails over the motive to transform the commodity again into use value.

* [XIII-718] (That Ricardo [regards] money merely as *means of circulation* is synonymous with his regarding *exchange value* as a merely transient form, and altogether as something purely formal in bourgeois or capitalist production, which is consequently for him not a specific definite mode of production, but simply *the* mode of production.)[33]

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[a] After this word Marx gives in brackets its English equivalent.—*Ed.*

[b] Reasoning.—*Ed.*

If the relation of demand and supply is taken in a wider and more concrete sense, then it comprises the relation of *production* and *consumption* as well. Here again, the *unity* of these two phases, which does exist and which forcibly asserts itself during the crisis, must be seen as opposed to the *separation* and *antagonism* of these two phases, separation and antagonism which exist just as much, and are moreover typical of bourgeois production.

With regard to the contradiction between partial and universal overproduction, in so far as the existence of the former is affirmed in order to evade the latter, the following observation may be made:

*Firstly*: Crises are usually preceded by a general INFLATION in PRICES of all articles of capitalist production. All of them therefore participate in the subsequent CRASH, and at their prices before the CRASH, OVERBURDENING THE MARKET. The market can absorb a larger volume of commodities at falling prices, at prices which have fallen below their cost prices, than it could absorb at their former prices. The excess of commodities is always relative; in other words it is an excess at particular prices. The prices at which the commodities are then absorbed are ruinous for the producer or merchant.

[XIII-712] *Secondly*:

For a crisis (and therefore also for overproduction) to be general, it suffices for it to affect the principal commercial goods.

Let us take a closer look at how Ricardo seeks to deny the possibility of A GENERAL GLUT in THE MARKET:

* "Too much of a particular commodity may be produced, of which there may be such a glut in the market, as not to repay the capital expended on it; but this cannot be the case with respect to all commodities; the demand for corn is limited by the mouths which are to eat it, for shoes and coats by the persons who are to wear them; but though a community, or a part of a community, may have as much corn, and as many hats and shoes, as it is able or may wish to consume, *the same cannot be said of every commodity produced by nature or by art.* Some would consume more wine, if they had the ability to procure it. Others having enough of wine, would wish to increase the quantity or improve the quality of their furniture. Others might wish to ornament their grounds, or to enlarge their houses. The wish to do all or some of these is implanted in every man's breast; *nothing is required but the means, and nothing can afford the means, but an increase of production*" * (l.c., [pp.] 341-42).

Could there be a more childish *raisonnement*? It runs like this: more of a particular commodity may be produced than can be consumed of it; but this cannot apply to *all* commodities at the same time. Because the needs, which the commodities satisfy, have no limits and all these needs are not satisfied at the same time. On the contrary. The fulfilment of one need makes another, so to

speak, latent. Thus nothing is required, but the means to satisfy these wants, and these means can only be provided through an increase in production. Hence no general overproduction is possible.

What is the purpose of all this? In periods of overproduction, a large part of the nation (especially the working class) is less well provided than ever with corn, shoes, etc., not to speak of wine and FURNITURE. If overproduction could only occur when all the members of a nation had satisfied even their most urgent needs, there could never, in the history of bourgeois society up to now, have been a state of general overproduction or even of partial overproduction. When, for instance, THE MARKET IS GLUTTED BY SHOES OR CALICOES OR WINES OR COLONIAL PRODUCE, does this perhaps mean that $^4/_6$ of the nation have more than satisfied their needs in shoes, CALICOES, etc.? What after all has overproduction to do with absolute needs? It is only concerned with demand that is backed by ability to pay. It is not a question of absolute overproduction—overproduction as such in relation to the absolute need or the desire to possess commodities. In this sense there is neither partial nor general overproduction; and the one is not opposed to the other.

But—Ricardo will say—WHEN THERE are A LOT OF PEOPLE, WHO WANT SHOES AND CALICOES, WHY DO THEY NOT PROCURE THEMSELVES THE MEANS OF OBTAINING THEM BY PRODUCING SOMETHING WHEREWITH TO BUY SHOES AND CALICOES? Would it not be even simpler to say: Why do they not produce shoes and CALICOES for themselves? An even stranger aspect of overproduction is that the workers, the actual producers of the VERY COMMODITIES WHICH GLUT THE MARKET STAND IN WANT OF THEM. It cannot be said here that they should produce things in order to OBTAIN them, for they have produced them and yet they have not got them. Nor can it be said that a particular commodity GLUTS THE MARKET, because no one is in want of it. If, therefore, it is even impossible to explain that *partial* overproduction arises because the demand for the commodities WHICH GLUT THE MARKET has been more than satisfied, it is quite impossible to explain away *universal* overproduction by declaring that needs, unsatisfied needs, exist for many of the commodities which are on the market.

Let us keep to the example of the weaver of CALICO.[a] So long as reproduction continued uninterruptedly—and therefore also the phase of this reproduction in which the product existing as a saleable commodity, the calico, was reconverted into money, at its

[a] See this volume, pp. 109-12. There the reference is to a linen weaver.—*Ed.*

value—so long, shall we say, the workers who produced the CALICO, also consumed a part of it, and with the expansion of reproduction, that is to say, with accumulation, they were consuming more of it, or also more workers were employed in the production of CALICO, who also consumed part of it.

Now before we proceed further, the following must be said:

The *possibility* of crisis, which became apparent in the simple metamorphosis of the commodity, is once more demonstrated, and further developed, by the disjunction between the process of production (direct) and the process of circulation.[a] As soon as these processes do not merge smoothly into one another [XIII-713] but become independent of one another, the crisis is there.

The possibility of crisis is indicated in the metamorphosis of the commodity like this:

Firstly, the commodity which actually exists as use value, and nominally, in its price, as exchange value, must be transformed into money. *C—M*. If this difficulty, the sale, is solved then the purchase, *M—C*, presents no difficulty, since money is directly exchangeable for everything else. The use value of the commodity, the usefulness of the labour contained in it, must be assumed from the start, otherwise it is no commodity at all. It is further assumed that the individual value of the commodity=its social value, that is to say, that the labour time materialised in it=the socially *necessary* labour time for the production of this commodity. The possibility of a crisis, in so far as it shows itself in the simple form of metamorphosis, thus only arises from the fact that the differences in form—the phases—which it passes through in the course of its progress, are in the first place necessarily complimentary and secondly, despite this intrinsic and necessary correlation, they are distinct parts and forms of the process, independent of each other, diverging in time and space, separable and separated from each other. The possibility of crisis therefore lies solely in the separation of sale from purchase. It is thus only in the form of commodity that the commodity has to pass through this difficulty here. As soon as it assumes the form of money it has got over this difficulty. Subsequently however this too resolves into the separation of sale and purchase. If the commodity could not be withdrawn from circulation in the form of money or its retransformation into commodity could not be postponed—as with direct barter—if purchase and sale coincided, then the

[a] See K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 324-34).—*Ed.*

*possibility* of crisis would, under the assumptions made, disappear. For it is assumed that the commodity represents use value for other owners of commodities. In the form of direct barter, the commodity is not exchangeable only if it has no use value or when there are no other use values on the other side which can be exchanged for it; therefore, only under these two conditions: either if one side has produced *useless* things or if the other side has nothing *useful* to exchange as an equivalent for the first use value. In both cases, however, no exchange whatsoever would take place. *But in so far as exchange did take place,* its phases would not be separated. The buyer would be seller and the seller buyer. The *critical* stage, which arises from the form of the exchange—in so far as it is circulation—would therefore cease to exist, and if we say that the simple form of metamorphosis comprises the possibility of crisis, we only say that in this form itself lies the possibility of the rupture and separation of essentially complimentary phases. But this applies also to the content. In direct barter, the bulk of production is intended by the producer to satisfy his own needs, or, where the division of labour is more developed, to satisfy the needs of his fellow producers, needs that are known to him. What is exchanged as a commodity is the surplus and it is unimportant whether this surplus is exchanged or not. In *commodity production* the conversion of the product into money, the sale, is a *conditio sine qua* [*non*]. Direct production for personal needs does not take place. Crisis results from the impossibility to sell. The difficulty of transforming the *commodity*—the particular product of individual labour—into its opposite, *money,* i.e. abstract general social labour, lies in the fact that *money* is not the particular product of individual labour, and that the person who has effected a sale, who therefore has commodities in the form of money, is not compelled to buy again at once, to transform the money again into a particular product of individual labour. In barter this contradiction does not exist: no one can be a seller without being a buyer or a buyer without being a seller. The difficulty of the seller—on the assumption that his commodity has use value—only stems from the ease with which the buyer can defer the retransformation of money into commodity. The difficulty of converting the commodity into money, of selling it, only arises from the fact that the commodity must be turned into money but the money need not be immediately turned into commodity, and therefore *sale* and *purchase* can be separated. We have said that this *form* contains the *possibility* of crisis, that is to say, the possibility that elements which are correlated, which are

inseparable, are separated and consequently are forcibly reunited, their coherence is violently asserted against their mutual independence. [XIII-714] *Crisis* is nothing but the forcible assertion of the unity of phases of the production process which have become independent of each other.

The general, abstract possibility of crisis denotes no more than the *most abstract form* of crisis, without content, without a compelling motivating factor. Sale and purchase may fall apart. They thus represent *crisis* potentia and their coincidence always remains a critical factor for the commodity. The transition from one to the other may, however, proceed smoothly. The *most abstract form of crisis* (and therefore the formal possibility of crisis) is thus the *metamorphosis of the commodity* itself; the contradiction of exchange value and use value, and furthermore of money and commodity, comprised within the unity of the commodity, exists in metamorphosis only as an involved movement. The factors which turn this possibility of crisis into [an actual] crisis are not contained in this form itself; it only implies that *the* framework for a crisis exists.

And in a consideration of the bourgeois economy, that is the important thing. The world trade crises must be regarded as the real concentration and forcible adjustment of all the contradictions of bourgeois economy. The individual factors, which are condensed in these crises, must therefore emerge and must be described in each sphere of the bourgeois economy and the further we advance in our examination of the latter, the more aspects of this conflict must be traced on the one hand, and on the other hand it must be shown that its more abstract forms are recurring and are contained in the more concrete forms.

It can therefore be said that the crisis in its first form is the metamorphosis of the commodity itself, the falling asunder of purchase and sale.

The crisis in its second form is the function of money as a means of payment, in which money has 2 different functions and figures in two different phases, divided from each other in time. Both these forms are as yet quite abstract, although the second is more concrete than the first.

To begin with therefore, in considering the *reproduction process* of capital (which coincides with its circulation) it is necessary to prove that the above forms are simply repeated, or rather, that only here they receive a content, a basis on which to manifest themselves.

Let us look at the movement of capital from the moment in

which it leaves the production process as a commodity in order once again to emerge from it as a commodity. If we abstract here from all the other factors determining its content, then the total commodity capital and each individual commodity of which it is made up, must go through the process *C—M—C*, the metamorphosis of the commodity. The general possibility of crisis, which is contained in this form—the falling apart of purchase and sale—is thus contained in the movement of capital, in so far as the latter is *also* commodity and nothing but commodity. From the interconnection of the metamorphoses of commodities it follows, moreover, that one commodity is transformed into money because another is retransformed from the form of money into commodity. Furthermore, the separation of purchase and sale appears here in such a way that the transformation of one capital from the form of commodity into the form of money, must correspond to the retransformation of the other capital from the form of money into the form of commodity. The first metamorphosis of one capital [must correspond] to the second [metamorphosis] of the other; one capital leaves the production process as the other capital returns into the production process. This intertwining and coalescence of the processes of reproduction or circulation of different capitals is on the one hand necessitated by the division of labour, on the other hand it is accidental; and thus the definition of the content of crisis is already fuller.

Secondly, however, with regard to the possibility of crisis arising from the form of money as *means of payment*, it appears that capital may provide a much more concrete basis for turning this possibility into reality. For example, the weaver must pay for the whole of the constant capital whose elements have been produced by the spinner, the flax-grower, the machine-builder, the iron and timber manufacturer, the producer of coal, etc. In so far as these latter produce constant capital that only enters into the production of constant capital, without entering into the cloth, the final commodity, they replace each other's means of production through the exchange of capital. Supposing the [XIII-715] weaver now sells the cloth for £1,000 to the *merchant* but in return for a bill of exchange so that money figures as *means of payment*. The weaver for his part hands over the bill of exchange to the *banker*, to whom he may thus be repaying a debt or, on the other hand, the banker may negotiate the bill for him. The flax-grower has sold to the spinner in return for a bill of exchange, the spinner to the weaver, the machine manufacturer to the weaver, the iron and timber manufacturer to the machine manufacturer,

the coal producer to the spinner, weaver, machine manufacturer, iron and timber supplier. Besides, the iron, coal, timber and flax producers have paid one another with bills of exchange. Now if the merchant does not pay, then the weaver cannot pay his bill of exchange to the banker. The flax-grower has drawn on the spinner, the machine manufacturer on the weaver and the spinner. The spinner cannot pay because the weaver [can]not pay, neither of them pay the machine manufacturer, and the latter does not pay the iron, timber or coal supplier. And all of these in turn, as they cannot realise the value of their commodities, cannot replace that portion of value which is to replace their constant capital. Thus the general crisis comes into being. This is nothing other than the *possibility of crisis* described when dealing with money as a means of payment; but here—in capitalist production—we can already see the connection between the mutual claims and obligations, the sales and purchases, through which the possibility can develop into actuality.

In any *case*: If purchase and sale do not get bogged down, and therefore do not require forcible adjustment—and, on the other hand, money as means of payment functions in such a way that claims are mutually settled, and thus the contradiction inherent in money as a means of payment is not realised—if therefore neither of these two abstract forms of crisis become real, no crisis exists. No crisis can exist unless sale and purchase are separated from one another and come into conflict, or the contradictions contained in money as a means of payment actually come into play; crisis, therefore, cannot exist without manifesting itself at the same time in its simple form, as the contradiction between sale and purchase and the contradiction of money as a means of payment. But these are merely *forms*, general possibilities of crisis, and hence also forms, abstract forms, of actual crisis. In them, the existence of crisis appears in its simplest forms, and, in so far as this form is itself the simplest content of crisis, in its simplest content. But the content is not yet *substantiated*. Simple circulation of money and even the circulation of money as a means of payment—and both come into being long *before* capitalist production, while there are no crises—are possible and actually take place without crises. These forms alone, therefore, do not explain why their crucial aspect becomes prominent and why the contradiction contained in them potentially becomes a real contradiction.

This shows the economists' enormous *fadaise*,[a] when they are no

[a] Vulgarity, commonness.—*Ed.*

longer able to explain away the phenomenon of overproduction and crises, are content to say that these forms contain the possibility of *crises,* that it is therefore *accidental* whether or not crises occur and consequently their occurrence is itself merely a *matter of chance.*

The contradictions inherent in the circulation of commodities, which are further developed in the circulation of money—and thus, also, the possibilities of crisis—reproduce themselves, automatically, in capital, since developed circulation of commodities and of money, in fact, only takes place on the basis of capital.

But now the further development of the potential CRISIS has to be traced—the real crisis can only be educed from the real movement of capitalist production, competition and credit—in so far as crisis arises out of the special aspects of capital which are *peculiar* to it as capital, and not merely comprised in its existence as commodity and money.

[XIII-716] The mere (direct) *production process* of capital in itself, cannot add anything new in this context. In order to exist at all, its conditions are presupposed. The first section dealing with capital—the *direct* process of production—does not contribute any new element of crisis. Although it *does* contain such an element, because the production process implies appropriation and hence production of surplus value. But this cannot be shown when dealing with the production process itself, for the latter is not concerned with the *realisation* either of the reproduced value or of the surplus value.

This can only emerge in the *circulation process* which is in itself also a *process of reproduction.*

Furthermore it is necessary to describe the circulation or reproduction process *before* dealing with the already existing capital—*capital and profit*—since we have to explain, not only how capital produces, but also how capital is produced. But the actual movement starts from the existing capital—i.e. the actual movement denotes developed capitalist production, which starts from and presupposes its own basis. The process of reproduction and the predisposition to crisis which is further developed in it, are therefore only partially described under this heading and require further elaboration in the chapter on "Capital and Profit".[35]

The circulation process as a whole or the reproduction process of capital as a whole is the unity of its production phase and its circulation phase, so that it comprises both these processes or phases. Therein lies a further developed possibility or abstract form of crisis. The economists who deny crises consequently assert

only the unity of these two phases. If they were only separate, without being a unity, then their unity could not be established by force and there could be no crisis. If they were only a unity without being separate, then no violent separation would be possible implying a crisis. Crisis is the forcible establishment of unity between elements that have become independent and the enforced separation from one another of elements which are essentially one. [XIII-716]

[XIII-770a][36] Therefore:

1) The general *possibility* of crisis is given in the process of *metamorphosis of capital* itself, and in two ways: in so far as money functions as *means of circulation,* there is the separation *of purchase and sale,* and in so far as money functions as *means of payment,* it has two different aspects, it acts as *measure of value* and as *realisation of value.* These two aspects become separated. If in *the interval* between them the value has changed, if the commodity at the moment of its sale is not *worth* what it was *worth* at the moment when money was acting as a measure of value and therefore as a measure of the reciprocal obligations, then the obligation cannot be met from the *proceeds of the sale of the commodity,* and therefore the whole series of transactions which retrogressively depend on this one transaction, cannot be settled. If even for only *a limited period of time* the commodity cannot be sold then, although its value has not altered, *money* cannot function as *means of payment,* since it must function as such in a *definite given period of time.* But as the same sum of money acts for a whole series of reciprocal transactions and obligations here, *inability to pay* occurs not only at one, but at many points, hence a *crisis* arises.

These are the *formal possibilities* of crisis. The form mentioned first is possible without the latter—that is to say, crises are possible without credit, without money functioning as a means of payment. But the second form is not possible without *the first*—that is to say, without the separation between purchase and sale. But in the latter case, the crisis occurs not only because the commodity is unsaleable, but because it is not saleable within a *particular period of time,* and the crisis arises and derives its character not only from the *unsaleability* of the commodity, but from the *non-fulfilment of a whole series of payments* which depend on the sale of this particular commodity within this particular period of time. This is the *actual* form of money crises.

If the *crisis* appears, therefore, because purchase and sale become separated, it becomes a *money crisis,* as soon as money has

developed as *means of payment,* and this *second form* of crisis follows as a matter of course, when the *first occurs.* In investigating why the general *possibility of crisis* becomes a *reality,* in investigating the *conditions* of crisis, it is therefore quite superfluous to concern oneself with the *forms* of crisis which arise out of the development of money as *means of payment.* This is precisely why economists like to suggest that this *obvious* form is the *cause* of crises. (In so far as the development of money as means of payment is linked with the development of credit and of OVERCREDIT the causes of the latter have to be examined, but this is not yet the place to do it.)

2) In so far as crises arise from *changes in prices* and *revolutions in prices,* which do not coincide with *changes in the values* of commodities, they naturally cannot be investigated during the examination of capital in general, in which the prices of commodities are assumed to be *identical* with the *values* of commodities.

3) The *general possibility* of crisis is the formal *metamorphosis* of capital itself, the separation, in time and space, of purchase and sale. But this is never the *cause* of the crisis. For it is nothing but the *most general form of crisis,* i.e. the crisis[37] itself in *its most generalised expression.* But it cannot be said that the *abstract form of crisis* is *the cause of crisis.* If one asks what its cause is, one wants to know why *its abstract form,* the form of its possibility, turns from possibility into *actuality.*

4) The *general conditions* of crises, in so far as they are independent of *price fluctuations* (whether these are linked with the credit system or not) as distinct from fluctuations in value, must be explicable from the general conditions of capitalist production.

*First phase.* The *reconversion of money into capital.* A definite level of *production or reproduction* is assumed. Fixed capital can be regarded here as given, as remaining unchanged and not entering into the *valorisation process.* Since the reproduction of raw material is not dependent solely on the labour employed on it, but on the productivity of this labour which is bound up with *natural conditions,* it is possible for the volume, [XIV-771a][38] the *amount* of the product of *the same* quantity of labour, to fall (as a result of BAD SEASONS). *The value of the raw material therefore rises; its volume decreases,* in other words the *proportions* in which the money has to be reconverted into the *various component parts* of capital in order to continue production on the former scale, are upset. More must be expended on *raw material,* less remains for *labour,* and it is not possible to absorb the same quantity of labour as before. Firstly

this is *physically impossible,* because of the deficiency in raw material. *Secondly,* it is impossible because a greater *portion of the value of the product* has to be converted into raw material, thus leaving less for conversion into *variable capital.* Reproduction cannot be *repeated* on the same scale. A part of *fixed capital* stands idle and a part of the workers is thrown out on the streets. The *rate of profit* falls because the value of constant capital has risen as against that of variable capital and less variable capital is employed. The fixed charges—interest, rent—which were based on the anticipation of a *constant* rate of profit and exploitation of labour, remain the same and in part *cannot be paid.* Hence *crisis.* Crisis of labour and crisis of capital. This is therefore a *disturbance in the reproduction process* due to the increase in the value of that part of constant capital which has to be replaced out of the value of the product. Moreover, although the *rate of profit* is decreasing, there is a *rise in the price of the product.* If this product enters into other spheres of production as a means of production, the *rise in* its *price* will result in the same DERANGEMENT in *reproduction* in these spheres. If it enters into general consumption as a means of subsistence, it either enters also *into the consumption of the workers* or *not.* If it does so, then its effects will be the same as those of a DERANGEMENT in *variable capital,* of which we shall speak later. But in so far as it enters into *general consumption* it *may* result (if its consumption is not reduced) in a diminished *demand* for other products and consequently *prevent their reconversion* into money at their value, thus disturbing the *other aspect* of their reproduction—not the *reconversion of money* into productive capital but the *reconversion* of commodities into money. In any case, the *volume of profits* and the *volume of wages* is reduced in this branch of production thereby reducing a *part of the necessary* RETURNS from the sale of commodities from other branches of production.

Such a *shortage of raw material* may, however, occur not only because of the *influence of* SEASONS or of the *natural productivity* of the labour which supplies the raw material. For if an *excessive portion* of the *surplus value, of the surplus capital,* is laid out in machinery, etc. in a particular branch of production, then, although the [raw] MATERIAL would have been sufficient for the *old level of production,* it will be insufficient for the *new.* This therefore arises from the DISPROPORTIONATE conversion of SURPLUS CAPITAL into its various elements. It is a CASE of *surplus production of fixed capital* and gives rise to exactly the same phenomena as occur in the first case. (See the previous page.)

[XIV-861a][39]

Or they [the crises] are due to an *overproduction of fixed capital* and therefore a relative underproduction of circulating capital.

Since *fixed capital*, like *circulating*, consists of commodities, it is quite ridiculous that the same economists who admit the *overproduction of fixed capital*, deny the *overproduction of commodities*.

5) *Crises arising from disturbances in the first phase of reproduction*; that is to say, interrupted conversion of commodities into money or *interruption of sale*. In the case of crises of the first sort the crisis arises from interruptions in the *flowing back* of the elements of productive capital.

[XIII-716] Before embarking on an investigation of the new forms of crisis,[40] we shall resume our consideration of Ricardo and the above example.[a]

(A *crisis* can arise: 1) in the course of the *reconversion* [of money] *into productive capital*, [2)] through *changes in the value* of the elements of productive capital, particularly of *raw material*, for example when there is a decrease in the quantity of cotton harvested. Its *value* will thus rise. We are not as yet concerned with prices here but with *values*.)

So long as the owner of the weaving-mill reproduces and accumulates, his workers, too, purchase a part of his product, they spend a part of their wages on calico. Because he produces, they have the MEANS to purchase a part of his product and thus to some extent give him the MEANS to sell it. The worker can only buy—he can represent a DEMAND only for—commodities which enter into individual consumption, for he does not himself turn his labour to account nor does he himself possess the means to do so—the instruments of labour and materials of labour. This already, therefore, excludes the majority of producers (the workers themselves, where capitalist production prevails) as consumers, buyers. They buy neither raw material nor means of labour; they buy only means of subsistence (commodities which enter directly into individual consumption). Hence nothing is more ridiculous than to speak of the identity of producers and consumers, since for an extraordinarily large number of TRADES—all those that do not supply articles for direct consumption—the mass of those who participate in production are entirely excluded from the *purchase* of their own products. They are never *direct* consumers or buyers of this large part of their own products,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 110 et seq.—*Ed.*

although they pay a portion of the value of these products in the articles of consumption that they buy. This also shows the ambiguity of the word consumer and how wrong it is to identify it with the word buyer. As regards industrial consumption, it is precisely the workers who consume machinery and raw material, using them up in the labour process. But they do not use them up for themselves and they are therefore not *buyers* of them. Machinery and raw material are for them neither use values nor commodities, but objective conditions of a process of which they themselves are the subjective conditions.

[XIII-717] It may, however, be said that their EMPLOYER represents them in the purchase of the means and materials of labour. But he represents them under different conditions from those in which they would represent themselves. Namely, on the market. He must sell a quantity of commodities which represents surplus value, unpaid labour. They [the workers] would only have to sell the quantity of commodities which would reproduce the value advanced in production—the value of the means of labour, the materials of labour and the wages. He therefore requires a wider market than they would require. It depends, moreover, on him and not on them, whether he considers the conditions of the market sufficiently favourable to begin reproduction.

They are therefore producers without being consumers—even when no interruption of the reproduction process takes place—in relation to all articles which have to be consumed not individually but industrially.

Thus nothing is more absurd as a means of denying crises, than the assertion that the consumers (buyers) and producers (sellers) are identical in capitalist production. They are entirely distinct categories. In so far as the reproduction process takes place, this identity can be asserted only for one out of 3,000 producers, namely, the capitalist. On the other hand, it is equally wrong to say that the consumers are producers. The LANDLORD (rent) does not produce, and yet he consumes. The same applies to the whole of the MONIED INTEREST.

The apologetic phrases used to deny crises are important in so far as they always prove the opposite of what they are meant to prove. In order to deny crises, they assert unity where there is conflict and contradiction. They are therefore important in so far as one can say: they prove that there would be no crises if the contradictions which they have erased in their imagination, did not exist in fact. But in reality crises exist because these contradictions exist. Every reason which they put forward against crisis is an

exorcised contradiction, and, therefore, a real contradiction, which can cause crises. The desire to convince oneself of the non-existence of contradictions, is at the same time the expression of a pious wish that the contradictions, which are really present, *should* not exist.

What the workers in fact produce, is surplus value. So long as they produce it, they are able to consume. As soon as they cease [to produce it], their consumption ceases, because their production ceases. But that they are able to consume is by no means due to their having produced an equivalent for their consumption. On the contrary, as soon as they produce merely such an equivalent, their consumption ceases, they have no equivalent to consume. Their work is either stopped or curtailed, or at all events their wages are reduced. In the latter case—if the level of production remains the same—they do not consume an equivalent of what they produce. But they lack these means not because they do not produce enough, but because they receive too little of their product for themselves.

By reducing these relations simply to those of consumer and producer, one leaves out of account that the wage labourer who produces and the capitalist who produces are two producers of a completely different kind, quite apart from the fact that some consumers do not produce at all. Once again, a *contradiction* is denied, by abstracting from a contradiction which really exists in production. The mere relationship of wage labourer and capitalist implies:

1) that the majority of the producers (the workers) are non-consumers (non-buyers) of a very large part of their product, namely, of the means and materials of labour;

2) that the majority of the producers, the workers, can consume an equivalent for their product only so long as they produce more than this equivalent, that is, so long as they produce SURPLUS VALUE or SURPLUS PRODUCE. They must always be *overproducers*, produce over and above their needs, in order to be able to be consumers or buyers within the [XIII-718] limits of their needs.[41]

As regards this class of producers, the unity between production and consumption is, at any rate *prima facie*, false.

When Ricardo says that the only limit to DEMAND is production itself, and that this is limited by capital,[a] then this means, in fact, when stripped of false assumptions, nothing more than that capitalist production finds its measure only in capital; in this

[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, 3rd ed., London, 1821, pp. 339 and 347 (see this volume, pp. 125 and 128).—*Ed.*

context, however, the term capital also includes the labour capacity which is incorporated in (bought by) capital as one of its conditions of production. The question is whether capital as such is also the limit for consumption. At any rate, it is so in a negative sense, that is, more cannot be consumed than is produced. But the question is, whether this applies in a positive sense too, whether—on the basis of capitalist production—as much can and must be consumed as is produced. Ricardo's proposition, when correctly analysed, says the very opposite of what it is meant to say—namely, that production takes place without regard to the existing limits to consumption, but is limited only by capital itself. And this is indeed characteristic of this mode of production.

Thus according to the assumption, the market is GLUTTED, for instance with COTTONS,[a] so that part of it remains unsold or all of it, or it can only be sold well below its price. (For the time being, we shall call it *value*, because while we are considering circulation or the reproduction process, we are still concerned with value and not yet with cost price, even less with market price.)

It goes without saying that, in the whole of this observation, it is not denied that too much may be produced in individual spheres and *therefore* too little in others; partial crises can thus arise from *DISPROPORTIONATE PRODUCTION* (PROPORTIONATE PRODUCTION is, however, always only the result of DISPROPORTIONATE PRODUCTION on the basis of competition) and a general form of this DISPROPORTIONATE PRODUCTION may be overproduction of fixed capital, or on the other hand, overproduction of circulating capital.* Just as it is a condition for the sale of commodities at their value, that they contain only the socially necessary labour time, so it is for an entire sphere of production of capital, that only the necessary part of the total labour time of society is used in the particular sphere, only the labour time which is required for the satisfaction of social need (DEMAND). If more [is used], then, even if each individual commodity only contains the necessary labour time, the total contains more than the socially necessary labour time; in the same way, although the individual commodity has use value, the total sum of commodities loses some of its use value under the conditions assumed.

* [XIII-720] (When spinning-machines were invented, there was overproduction of yarn in relation to weaving. This disproportions disappeared when mechanical looms were introduced into weaving.)[42]

[a] After this word Marx gives in brackets its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

However, we are not speaking of crisis here in so far as it arises from DISPROPORTIONATE production, that is to say, the disproportion in the distribution of social labour between the individual spheres of production. This can only be dealt with in connection with the competition of capitals. In that context it has already been stated[a] that the rise or fall of market value which is caused by this DISPROPORTION, results in the TRANSFER or WITHDRAWAL OF CAPITAL FROM ONE TRADE TO another, the MIGRATION OF CAPITAL FROM ONE TRADE TO another. This equalisation itself however already implies as a precondition the opposite of equalisation and may therefore comprise *crisis*; the crisis itself may be a form of equalisation. Ricardo, etc., admit this form of crisis.

When considering the production process[43] we saw that the whole aim of capitalist production is appropriation of the greatest possible amount of surplus labour, in other words, the realisation of the greatest possible amount of immediate labour time with the given capital, be it through the prolongation of the labour day or the reduction of the necessary labour time, through the development of the productive power of labour by means of cooperation, division of labour, machinery, etc., in short, large-scale production, i.e. mass production. It is thus in the nature of capitalist production, to produce without regard to the limits of the market. During the examination of reproduction, it is, in the first place, assumed that the mode of production remains the same and it remains the same, moreover, for a period while production expands. The volume of commodities produced is increased in this case, because more capital is employed and not because capital is employed more productively. But the mere quantitative increase in [XIII-719] capital at the same time implies that its productive power grows. If its quantitative increase is the result of the development of productive power, then the latter in turn develops on the assumption of a broader, extended capitalist basis. Reciprocal interaction takes place in this case. Reproduction on an extended basis—accumulation—even if originally it appears only as a quantitative expansion of production—the use of more capital under the same conditions of production—at a certain point, therefore, always represents also a qualitative expansion in the form of greater productivity of the conditions under which reproduction is carried out. Consequently the volume of products increases not only in simple proportion to the growth of capital in

[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 431-35.—*Ed.*

expanded reproduction—accumulation. Now let us return to our example of CALICO.

The stagnation in the market, WHICH IS GLUTTED WITH CALICOES, hampers the reproduction process of the weaver. This disturbance first affects his workers. Thus they are now to a smaller extent, or not at all, consumers of his commodity—COTTONS—and of other commodities which entered into their consumption. It is true, that they need COTTONS, but they cannot buy it because they have not the MEANS, and they have not the MEANS because they cannot continue to produce and they cannot continue to produce because too much has been produced, TOO MANY COTTONS GLUT THE MARKET. Neither Ricardo's advice "TO INCREASE THEIR PRODUCTION", nor his alternative "TO PRODUCE SOMETHING ELSE" can help them.[a] They now form a part of the temporary surplus population, of the SURPLUS PRODUCTION OF LABOURERS, in this CASE of COTTON PRODUCERS, because there is a SURPLUS PRODUCTION OF COTTONS UPON THE MARKET.

But apart from the workers who are directly employed by the capital invested in COTTON weaving, a large number of other producers are hit by this interruption in the reproduction process of COTTON: SPINNERS, COTTON DEALERS (OR COTTON CULTIVATORS), MECHANICS (PRODUCERS OF SPINDLES AND LOOMS, etc.), IRON, COAL PRODUCERS, etc. Reproduction in all these spheres would also be impeded because the reproduction of COTTONS is a condition for their own reproduction. This would happen even if they had not *overproduced* in their own spheres, that is to say, had not produced beyond the limit set and justified by the cotton industry when it was working smoothly. All these industries have this in common, that their REVENUE (wages and profit, in so far as the latter is consumed as REVENUE and not accumulated) is not consumed by them in their own product but in the product of other spheres, which produce articles of consumption, CALICO among others. Thus the consumption of and the demand for CALICO fall just because there is too much of it on the market. But this also applies to all other commodities on which, as articles of consumption, the REVENUE of these *indirect* producers of COTTON is spent. Their MEANS for buying CALICO and other articles of consumption shrink, contract, because there is too much CALICO on the market. This also affects other commodities (articles of consumption). They are now, all of a sudden, *relatively* overproduced, because the means with which to buy them and therefore the demand for them, have contracted. Even if there has

[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, 3rd ed., London, 1821, pp. 342, 339-40 (see this volume, pp. 125, 133, 136).—*Ed.*

been no overproduction in these spheres, now they are overproducing.

If overproduction has taken place not only in CALICOES, but also in LINENS, SILKS, and WOOLLENS, then it can be understood how overproduction in these few, but leading articles, calls forth a more or less general (*relative*) overproduction on the whole market. On the one hand there is a superabundance of all the means of reproduction and a superabundance of all kinds of unsold commodities on the market. On the other hand bankrupt capitalists and destitute, starving workers.

This ARGUMENT, HOWEVER, CUTS TWO WAYS. If it is easily understood how overproduction of some leading articles of consumption must bring in its wake the phenomenon of a more or less general overproduction, it is by no means clear how overproduction of these articles can arise. For the phenomenon of general overproduction is derived from the interdependence not only of the workers directly employed in these industries, but of all branches of industries which produce the elements of their products, the various stages of their constant capital. In the latter branches of industry, overproduction is an effect. But whence does it come in the former? For the latter continue to produce so long as the former go on producing, and along with this continued production, a general growth in REVENUE, and therefore in their own consumption, seems assured.

[XIII-720][a] If one were to answer the question by pointing out that the constantly expanding production //it expands annually for two reasons; firstly because the capital invested in production is continually growing; secondly because the capital is constantly used more productively; in the course of reproduction and accumulation, small improvements are continuously building up, which eventually alter the whole level of production. There is a piling up of improvements, a cumulative development of productive powers// requires a constantly expanding market and that production expands more rapidly than the market, then one would merely have used different terms to express the phenomenon which has to be explained—concrete terms instead of abstract terms. The market expands more slowly than production; or in the cycle through which capital passes during its reproduction—a cycle in which it is not simply reproduced but reproduced on an extended scale, in which it describes not a circle but a spiral—there comes a moment at which the market manifests itself as too

[a] See this volume, p. 150.—*Ed.*

narrow for production. This occurs at the end of the cycle. But it merely means: the market is GLUTTED. Overproduction is MANIFEST. If the expansion of the market had kept pace with the expansion of production THERE WOULD BE NO GLUT in the MARKET, NO OVERPRODUCTION. However, the mere admission that the market must expand with production, is, on the other hand, again an admission of the possibility of overproduction, for the market is limited externally in the geographical sense, the internal market is limited as compared with a market that is both internal and external, the latter in turn is limited as compared with the world market, which however is, in turn, limited at each moment of time, [though] in itself capable of expansion. The admission that the market must expand if there is to be no overproduction, is therefore also an admission that there can be overproduction. For it is then possible—since market and production are two independent factors—that the expansion of one does *not* correspond with the expansion of the other; that the limits of the market are not extended rapidly enough for production, or that new markets—new extensions of the market—may be rapidly outpaced by production, so that the expanded market becomes just as much a barrier as the narrower market was formerly.

Ricardo is therefore consistent in denying the necessity of *an expansion of the market* simultaneously with the expansion of production and growth of capital. All the available capital in a country can also be advantageously employed in that country. Hence he polemises against Adam Smith, who on the one hand put forward *his* (Ricardo's) view and, with his usual rational instinct, contradicted it as well. Adam Smith did not yet know the phenomenon of overproduction, and crises resulting from overproduction. What he knew were only credit and money crises, which automatically appear, along with the credit and banking system. In fact he sees in the accumulation of capital an unqualified increase in the general wealth and well-being of the nation. On the other hand, he regards the mere fact that the internal market develops into an external, colonial and world market, as proof of a so-to-speak relative overproduction (existing in itself) in the internal market. It is worth quoting Ricardo's polemic against him at this point:

* "When merchants engage their capitals in foreign trade, or in the carrying trade, it is always from choice, and never from necessity: it is because in that trade their profits will be somewhat greater than in the home trade. Adam Smith has justly observed 'that the desire of food is limited in every man by the narrow capacity of the human stomach'," *

// Adam Smith is very much mistaken here, for he excludes the luxury products of AGRICULTURE. //

* "'but the desire of the conveniences and ornaments of building, dress, equipage, and household furniture, seems to have no limit or certain boundary.'[a] *Nature* then" * (Ricardo continues) * "has necessarily *limited the amount of capital which can* at any *time be profitably engaged in agriculture*" *

// Is that why there are nations which export AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE? As if it were impossible, despite NATURE, to sink all possible capital into agriculture in order to produce, in England for example, melons, figs, grapes, etc., flowers, and birds and game, etc. And as if the raw materials of industry were not produced by means of AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL. // (See, for example, the capital that the Romans put into artificial fish culture alone.)

* "*but she has placed no limits*" * (as if nature had anything to do with the matter!) * "*to the amount of capital* that may be employed in procuring 'the conveniences and ornaments' of life. To procure these gratifications in *the greatest abundance* is *the object in view,* and it is only because foreign trade, or the carrying trade, will accomplish it better, that men engage in them in preference to manufacturing the commodities required, or a substitute for them, at home. If, however, from peculiar circumstances, we were precluded from engaging capital in foreign trade, or in the carrying trade, we should, though with less advantage, employ it at home; and *while there* is *no limit* to the desire of 'conveniences, ornaments of building, dress, equipage, and [XIII-721] household furniture', *there can be no limit to the capital that may be employed in procuring them,* except that which bounds our power to *maintain the workmen who are to produce them.*

"Adam Smith, however, speaks of the carrying trade as one, not of choice, but of necessity; as if the capital engaged in it would be inert if not so employed, as *if the capital in the home trade could overflow,* if not confined to a limited amount. He says, 'when the capital stock of any country is increased to such a degree, *that it cannot be all employed in supplying the consumption,* and *supporting the productive labour of that particular country*'," * (this passage is printed in italics by Ricardo himself) * "'the *surplus part* of it naturally disgorges itself into the carrying trade, and is employed in performing the same offices to other countries'...[b] But could not this portion of the productive labour of Great Britain be employed in preparing some other sort of goods, with which something more in demand at home might be purchased? And if it could not, might we not employ this productive labour, though with less advantage, in making those goods in demand at home, or at least some substitute for them? If we wanted velvets, might we not attempt to make velvets; and if we could not succeed, might we not make more cloth, or some other object desirable to us?

"We manufacture commodities, and with them buy goods abroad, because we can obtain a *greater quantity*" * // the qualitative difference does not exist! // * "than we could make at home. Deprive us of this trade, and we immediately manufacture again for ourselves. But this opinion of Adam Smith is at variance with all his general doctrines on this subject. 'If'" * (Ricardo now cites Smith) * "'If a foreign

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[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Book I, Ch. XI, Part 2.— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid., Book II, Ch. V.— *Ed.*

country can supply us with a commodity, cheaper than we ourselves can make it, better buy it of them with some part of the produce of our own industry, employed in a way in which we have some advantage. *The general industry of the country being always in proportion to the capital which employs it*'," * //in very different proportion// (this sentence too is emphasised by Ricardo) * " 'will not thereby be diminished, but only left to find out the way in which it can be employed with the greatest advantage.'[a]

// "Again. 'Those, therefore, who have the command of more food than they themselves can consume, are always willing to *exchange the surplus*, or, what is the same thing, the price of it, for gratifications of another kind. What is over and above satisfying the limited desire, is given for the amusement of *those desires which cannot be satisfied, but seem to be altogether endless*. The poor, in order to obtain food, exert themselves to gratify those fancies of the rich; and to obtain it more certainly, they vie with one another in the cheapness and perfection of their work. The number of workmen increases with the increasing quantity of food, or with the growing improvement and cultivation of the lands; and as the nature of their business admits of the utmost subdivisions of labours, the quantity of materials which they can work up increases in a much greater proportion than their numbers. Hence arises a demand for every sort of material which human invention can employ, either usefully or ornamentally, in building, dress, equipage, or household furniture; for the fossils and minerals contained in the bowels of the earth, the precious metals, and the precious stones.'[b]

"It follows then from these admissions that *there is no limit to demand—no limit to the employment of capital while it yields any profit*, and that *however abundant capital may become*, there is no other adequate reason for a fall of profit but a rise of wages, and further it may be added, that the only adequate and permanent cause for the rise of wages is the increasing difficulty of providing food and necessaries for the increasing number of workmen" * (l. c., [pp.] 344-48).

The world *OVERPRODUCTION* in itself leads to error. So long as the most urgent needs of a large part of society are not satisfied, or *only* the most immediate needs are satisfied, there can of course be absolutely no talk of an *overproduction of products*—in the sense that the amount of products is excessive in relation to the need for them. On the contrary, it must be said that on the basis of capitalist production, there is constant *underproduction* in this sense. The limits to production are set by the profit of the capitalist and in no way by the needs of the producers. But overproduction of products and overproduction of *commodities* are two entirely different things. If Ricardo thinks that the *commodity* form makes no difference to the product, and furthermore, that *commodity circulation* differs only formally from barter, that in this context the exchange value is only a fleeting form of the exchange of things, and that money is therefore merely a formal means of circulation—then this in fact is in line with his presupposition that

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[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Book IV, Ch. II.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., Book I, Ch. XI, Part 2.—*Ed.*

the bourgeois mode of production is the absolute mode of production, hence it is a mode of production without any definite specific characteristics, its distinctive traits are merely formal. He cannot therefore admit that the bourgeois mode of production contains within itself a barrier to the free development of the productive forces, a barrier which comes to the surface in crises and, in particular, in *overproduction*—the basic phenomenon in crises.

[XIII-722] Ricardo saw from the passages of Adam Smith, which he quotes, approves, and therefore also repeats, that the limitless "DESIRE" for all kinds of use values is always satisfied on the basis of a state of affairs in which the mass of producers remains more or less restricted to necessities—"FOOD" and other "NECESSARIES"—that consequently this great majority of producers remains more or less excluded from the consumption of wealth—in so far as wealth goes beyond the bounds of the NECESSARIES.

This was indeed also the case, and to an even higher degree, in the ancient mode of production which depended on slavery. But the ancients never thought of transforming the SURPLUS PRODUCE into capital. Or at least only to a very limited extent. (The fact that the hoarding of treasure in the narrow sense was widespread among them shows how much SURPLUS PRODUCE lay completely idle.) They used a large part of the SURPLUS PRODUCE for unproductive expenditure on art, religious works and *travaux publics*.[a] Still less was their production directed to the release and development of the material productive forces—division of labour, machinery, the application of the powers of nature and science to private production. In fact, by and large, they never went beyond handicraft labour. The wealth which they produced for private consumption was therefore relatively small and only appears great because it was amassed in the hands of a few persons, who, incidentally, did not know what to do with it. Although, therefore, there was no *overproduction* among the ancients, there was *overconsumption* by the rich, which in the final periods of Rome and Greece turned into mad extravagance. The few trading peoples among them lived partly at the expense of all these *essentiellement* poor nations. It is the unconditional development of the productive forces and therefore mass production on the basis of a mass of producers who are confined within the bounds of the NECESSARIES on the one hand and, on the other, the barrier set up by

[a] Public works.—*Ed.*

the capitalists' profit, which [forms] the basis of modern overproduction.

All the objections which Ricardo and others raise against overproduction, etc., rest on the fact that they regard bourgeois production either as a mode of production in which no distinction exists between purchase and sale—direct barter—or as *social* production, implying that society, as if according to a plan, distributes its means of production and productive forces in the degree and measure which is required for the fulfilment of the various social needs, so that each sphere of production receives the *quota* of social capital required to satisfy the corresponding need. This fiction arises entirely from the inability to grasp the specific form of bourgeois production and this inability in turn arises from the obsession that bourgeois production is production as such, just like a man who believes in a particular religion and sees it as the religion, and everything outside of it only as *false* religions.

On the contrary, the question that has to be answered is: since, on the basis of capitalist production, everyone works for himself and a particular labour must at the same time appear as its opposite, as abstract general labour and in this form as social labour—how is it possible to achieve the necessary balance and interdependence of the various spheres of production, their dimensions and the proportions between them, except through the constant neutralisation of a constant disharmony? This is admitted by those who speak of adjustments through competition, for these adjustments always presuppose that there is something to adjust, and therefore that harmony is always only a result of the movement which neutralises the existing disharmony.

That is why Ricardo admits that a GLUT of certain commodities is possible. What is supposed to be *impossible* is only A SIMULTANEOUS, GENERAL GLUT IN THE MARKET. The possibility of overproduction in any particular sphere of production is therefore not denied. It is the *simultaneity* of this phenomenon for *all* spheres of production which is said to be impossible and therefore makes impossible [general] overproduction and thus a GENERAL GLUT IN THE MARKET (this expression must always be taken *cum grano salis*,[a] since in times of general overproduction, the overproduction in some spheres is always only the *result*, the *consequence*, of overproduction in the leading articles of commerce; [it is] always only *relative*, i.e. overproduction because overproduction exists in other spheres).

Apologetics turns this into its very opposite. [There is only]

[a] Literally: with a grain of salt; figuratively: with skepticism.—*Ed.*

overproduction in the leading articles of commerce, in which alone, active overproduction shows itself—these are on the whole articles which can only be produced on a mass scale and by factory methods (also in agriculture), because overproduction exists in those articles in which relative or passive overproduction manifests itself. According to this, overproduction only exists because overproduction is not universal. The *relativity* of overproduction—that actual overproduction in a few spheres calls forth overproduction in others—is expressed in this way: There is no *universal* overproduction, because if overproduction were universal, all spheres of production would retain the same relation to one another; therefore *universal* overproduction=PROPORTIONATE PRODUCTION which excludes overproduction. And this is supposed to be an argument against universal overproduction. [XIII-723] For, since *universal overproduction* in the absolute sense would not be overproduction but only a greater than usual development of the productive forces in all spheres of production, it is alleged that *actual overproduction*, which is precisely not this non-existent, self-abrogating overproduction, does *not* exist—although it only exists because it is not this.

If this miserable sophistry is more closely examined, it amounts to this: Suppose, that there is overproduction in iron, cotton goods, LINENS, SILKS, WOOLLENS, etc.; then it cannot be said, for example, that too little coal has been produced and that this is the reason for the above overproduction. For that overproduction of iron, etc. involves an exactly similar overproduction of coal, as, say, the overproduction of woven cloth does of yarn. //Overproduction of yarn as compared with cloth, iron as compared with machinery, etc. could occur. This would always be a relative overproduction of constant capital.// There cannot, therefore, be any question of the underproduction of those articles whose overproduction is implied because they enter as an element, raw material, *matière instrumentale* or means of production, into those articles (the "PARTICULAR COMMODITY OF WHICH TOO MUCH MAY BE PRODUCED, OF WHICH THERE MAY BE SUCH A GLUT IN THE MARKET, AS NOT TO REPAY THE CAPITAL EXPENDED ON IT" [a]), whose positive overproduction is precisely the FACT TO BE EXPLAINED. Rather, it is a question of other articles which belong directly to [other] spheres of production and [can] neither [be] subsumed under the leading articles of commerce which, according to the assumption, have been OVERPRODUCED, nor be attributed to spheres in which, because they supply the *intermediate*

[a] See this volume, pp. 130, 134, 136.—*Ed.*

*product* for the leading articles of commerce, production must have reached at least the same level as in the final phases of the product—although there is nothing to prevent production in those spheres from having gone even further ahead thus causing an overproduction within the overproduction. For example, although sufficient coal must have been produced in order to keep going all those industries into which coal enters as necessary condition of production, and therefore the *overproduction* of coal is implied in the *overproduction* of iron, yarn, etc. (even if coal was produced only in proportion to the production of iron and yarn), it is *also* possible that more coal was produced than was required even for the overproduction of iron, yarn, etc. This is not only possible, but very probable. For the *production of coal and yarn* and of all other spheres of production which produce only the conditions or earlier phases of a product to be completed in another sphere, is governed not by the immediate demand, by the immediate production or reproduction, but by the *degree, measure, proportion*[a] in which these are expanding. And it is SELF-EVIDENT that in this calculation, the target may well be overshot. Thus not enough has been produced of other articles such as, for example, pianos, precious stones, etc., they have been *underproduced.* //There are, however, also cases where the overproduction of non-leading articles is not the result of overproduction, but where, on the contrary, *underproduction* is the cause of overproduction, as for instance when there has been a failure in the grain crop or the cotton crop, etc.//

The absurdity of this statement becomes particularly marked if it is applied to the international scene, as it has been by Say and others after him.[44] For instance, that England has not *overproduced* but Italy has *underproduced.* There would have been no overproduction, if Italy 1) had enough capital to replace the English capital exported to Italy in the form of commodities; 2) if Italy had invested this capital in such a way that it produced those particular articles which are required by English capital—partly in order to replace itself and partly in order to replace the REVENUE yielded by it. Thus the fact of the actually existing *overproduction* in *England*—in relation to the *actual* production in Italy—would not have existed, but only the fact of *imaginary underproduction* in *Italy*; imaginary because it [XIII-724] presupposes a capital in Italy and a development of the productive powers that does not exist there, and secondly because it makes the equally utopian

[a] Marx uses an English word in parenthesis after a German one.—*Ed.*

assumption, that this capital which does *not* exist in Italy, has been employed in exactly the way required to make ENGLISH SUPPLY AND ITALIAN DEMAND, English and Italian production, complementary to each other. In other words, this means nothing but: there would be no overproduction, if demand and supply corresponded to each other, if the capital were distributed in such proportions in all spheres of production, that the production of one article involved the consumption of the other, and thus its own consumption. There would be no overproduction, if there were no overproduction. Since, however, capitalist production can allow itself free rein only in certain spheres, under certain conditions, there could be no capitalist production at all if it had to develop *simultaneously* and *evenly* in all spheres. Because absolute overproduction takes place in certain spheres, relative overproduction occurs also in the spheres where there has been no overproduction.

This explanation of overproduction in one field by underproduction in another field therefore means merely that if production were proportionate, there would be no overproduction. Ditto, if demand and supply corresponded to each other. Ditto, if all spheres provided equal opportunities for capitalist production and its expansion—division of labour, machinery, export to distant markets, etc., including mass production, if all countries which traded with one another possessed the same capacity for production (and indeed for different and complementary production). Thus overproduction takes place because all these pious wishes are not fulfilled. Or, in even more abstract form: There would be no overproduction in one place, if overproduction took place to the same extent everywhere. But there is not enough capital to overproduce so universally, and therefore there is [no] universal overproduction. Let us examine this fantasy more closely:

It is admitted that there can be overproduction in each *particular* TRADE. The only circumstance which could prevent overproduction in *all* [trades] simultaneously is, according to the assertions made, the fact that commodity exchanges against commodity—i.e. RECOURSE [is taken] TO THE SUPPOSED conditions OF BARTER. But this loop-hole is blocked by the very fact that TRADE is not BARTER, and that therefore the seller of a commodity is not necessarily AT THE SAME TIME THE BUYER OF ANOTHER. This whole subterfuge then rests on abstracting from *money* and from the fact that we are not concerned with the exchange of products, but with the circulation of commodities, an essential part of which is the separation of purchase and sale.[45]

//The circulation of capital contains within itself the *possibilities* of interruptions. In the reconversion of money into its conditions of production, for example, it is not only a question of transforming money into the same use values (in kind), but for the repetition of the reproduction process [it is] essential that these use values can again be obtained at their old value (at a lower value would of course be even better). A very significant part of these elements of reproduction, which consists of raw materials, can however rise in price for two reasons: *Firstly,* if the instruments of production increase more rapidly than the amount of raw materials that can be provided at THE GIVEN TIME. *Secondly,* as a result of the variable character of the SEASONS. That is why weather conditions, as Tooke rightly observes, play such an important part in modern industry.[a] (The same applies to the means of subsistence in relation to wages.) The reconversion of money into commodity can thus come up against difficulties and can create the possibilities of crisis, just as well as can the conversion of commodity into money. When one examines simple circulation—not the circulation of capital—these difficulties do not arise.// (There are, besides, a large number of other factors—conditions, possibilities of crises, which can only be examined when considering the concrete conditions, particularly the competition of capitals and credit.[30])

[XIII-725] The *overproduction of commodities* is denied but the *overproduction of capital* is admitted. Capital itself however consists of commodities or, in so far as it consists of money, it must be reconverted, into commodities *d'une manière ou d'une autre,*[b] in order to be able to function as capital. What then does *overproduction of capital* means? Overproduction of amounts of value destined to produce surplus value (or, if one considers the material content, overproduction of commodities destined for reproduction)—that is, *reproduction on too large a scale,* which is the same as overproduction pure and simple.

Defined more closely, this means nothing more than that too much has been produced for the purpose of *enrichment,* or that too great a part of the product is intended not for consumption as REVENUE, but *for making more money* (for accumulation); not to satisfy the personal needs of its owner, but to give him money, abstract social riches and capital, more power over the labour of

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[a] Th. Tooke, *A History of Prices, and of the State of the Circulation, from 1839 to 1847 Inclusive...,* London, 1848, pp. 3-35.—*Ed.*

[b] Of one kind or another.—*Ed.*

others, i.e. to increase this power. This is what one side says. (Ricardo denies it.[a]) And the other side, how does it explain the overproduction of commodities? By saying that production IS NOT DIVERSIFIED ENOUGH, that certain articles of consumption have not been produced in sufficiently large quantities. That it is not a matter of industrial consumption is obvious, for the manufacturer who overproduces linen, thereby necessarily increases his demand for yarn, machinery, labour, etc. It is therefore a question of personal consumption. Too much linen has been produced, but perhaps too few oranges. Previously the existence of money was denied, in order to show [that there was no] separation between sale and purchase. Here the existence of capital is denied, in order to transform the capitalists into people who carry out the simple operation *C—M—C* and who produce for individual consumption and not *as* capitalists with the aim of enrichment, i.e. the reconversion of part of the surplus value into capital. But the statement that there is *too much capital*, after all means merely that too little is consumed as *REVENUE*, and that more cannot be consumed in the given conditions. (*Sismondi.*[46]) Why does the producer of linen demand from the producer of corn, that he should consume more linen, or the latter demand that the linen manufacturer should consume more corn? Why does the man who produces linen not himself convert a larger part of his REVENUE (surplus value) into linen and the FARMER into corn? So far as each individual is concerned, it will be admitted that his desire for capitalisation (apart from the limits of his needs) prevents him from doing this. But for all of them collectively, this is not admitted.

(We are entirely leaving out of account here that element of crises which arises from the fact that commodities are reproduced more cheaply than they were produced. HENCE the depreciation of the commodities on the market.)

In world market crises, all the contradictions of bourgeois production erupt collectively; in particular crises (*particular* in their content and in extent) the eruptions are only sporadical, isolated and one-sided.

*Overproduction* is specifically conditioned by the general law of the production of capital: to produce to the limit set by the productive forces (that is to say, to exploit the maximum amount of labour with the given amount of capital), without any consideration for the actual limits of the market or the needs

[a] See this volume, pp. 127-28.—*Ed.*

backed by the ability to pay; and this is carried out through continuous expansion of reproduction and accumulation, and therefore constant reconversion of REVENUE into capital, while [XIII-726] on the other hand, the mass of the producers remain tied to the AVERAGE level of needs, and must remain tied to it according to the nature of capitalist production.

In CH. VIII, "On Taxes", Ricardo says:

*"When the annual productions of a country more than replace its annual consumption, it is said to increase its capital; when its annual consumption is not at least replaced by its annual production, it is said to diminish its capital. Capital may therefore be increased by an increased production, or by a diminished unproductive consumption"* ([pp.] 162-63).

By "UNPRODUCTIVE CONSUMPTION" Ricardo means here, as he says in the note on p. 163, consumption by unproductive workers, "BY THOSE WHO DO NOT REPRODUCE ANOTHER VALUE". By increase in the annual production, therefore, is meant increase in the annual industrial consumption. This can be increased by the direct expansion of it, while non-industrial consumption remains constant or even grows, or by reducing non-industrial consumption.

*"When we say,"* writes Ricardo in the same note, *"that revenue is saved, and added to capital, what we mean is, that the portion of revenue, so said to be added to capital, is consumed by productive instead of unproductive labourers."*

I have shown that the conversion of REVENUE into capital is by no means synonymous with the conversion of REVENUE into variable capital or with its expenditure on wages.[a] Ricardo however thinks so. In the same note he says:

*"If the price of labour should rise so high, that notwithstanding the increase of capital, no more could be employed, I should say that such increase of capital would be still unproductively consumed."*

It is therefore not the consumption of REVENUE by productive workers, which makes this consumption "productive", but its consumption by workers who produce surplus value. According to this, capital increases only when it commands *more labour.*

CH. *VII.* "On Foreign Trade".

*"*There are two ways in which capital may be accumulated*: it may be saved either *in consequence of increased revenue,* or *of diminished consumption.* If my *profits are raised* from £1,000 to £1,200 *while my expenditure continues the same,* I accumulate annually £200 more than I did before. If *I save £200 out of my expenditure, while my profits continue the same,* the same effect will be produced; £200 per annum will be added to my capital" ([p.] 135).

"If, by the introduction of machinery, the *generality of the commodities on which revenue was expended* fell 20 per cent. in value, I should be enabled to save as

[a] See this volume, pp. 103-23.—*Ed.*

effectually as if my revenue had been raised 20 per cent.; but in one case the *rate of profits* is stationary, in the other it is raised 20 per cent.—If, by the introduction of cheap foreign goods, I can save 20 per cent. from my expenditure, the effect will be precisely the same as if machinery had lowered the expense of their production, but profits would not be raised"* ([p.] 136).

(That is to say, they would NOT BE RAISED IF THE CHEAPER GOODS ENTERED NEITHER INTO THE VARIABLE NOR THE CONSTANT CAPITAL.)

Thus with the *same expenditure of* REVENUE accumulation is the result of the rise in the rate of profit (but accumulation depends not only on the rate of profit but on the amount of profit); with a *constant rate of profit* accumulation is the result of decreasing EXPENDITURE, which is however assumed by Ricardo to occur because of the reduced price (whether this is brought about by machinery or FOREIGN TRADE) of "COMMODITIES ON WHICH REVENUE WAS EXPENDED".

*Ch. XX,* "Value and Riches, their Distinctive Properties".

*"The wealth"* (Ricardo takes this to mean *use values*) *"of a country may be increased in two ways: it may be increased by *employing* a *greater portion of revenue in the maintenance of productive labour,*—which will not only add to the *quantity,* but to the *value* of the mass of commodities; or it may be increased, *without employing any additional quantity of labour,* by *making the same quantity more productive,*—which will add to the abundance, but not to the value of commodities. In the first case, a country would not only become rich, but the value of its riches would increase. It *would become rich by parsimony*; by diminishing its expenditure on objects of luxury and enjoyment; and *employing those savings in reproduction.*

[XIII-727] "In the second case, there will not necessarily be either *any diminished expenditure on luxuries and enjoyments,* or any *increased quantity of productive labour employed, but with the same labour more would be produced*; wealth would increase, but not value. Of these two modes of increasing wealth, the last must be preferred, since it produces the same effect without the privation and diminution of enjoyments, which can never fail to accompany the first mode. *Capital is that part of the wealth of a country which is employed with a view to future production, and may be increased in the same manner as wealth.* An *additional capital* will be equally efficacious in the production of future wealth, whether it *be obtained from improvements in skill and machinery,* or from *using more revenue reproductively*; for wealth always depends on the quantity of commodities produced, without any regard to the facility with which the instruments employed in production may have been procured. A certain quantity of clothes and provisions will maintain and employ the same number of men, and will therefore procure the same quantity of work to be done, whether they be produced by the labour of 100 or 200 men; but they will be of twice the value if 200 have been employed on their production"* ([pp.] 327-28).

Ricardo's first proposition was:

Accumulation grows,

if the rate of profit rises, while EXPENDITURE remains the same; or

when the rate of profit remains the same, if EXPENDITURE (in terms of VALUE) decreases, because the commodities on which the REVENUE is expended become cheaper.

Now he puts forward another antithetical proposition.

Accumulation grows, capital is accumulated in amount and value, if a larger part of the REVENUE is withdrawn from individual consumption and directed to industrial consumption, if more productive labour is set in motion with the portion of REVENUE thus saved. In this case accumulation is brought about by *PARSIMONY*.

Or EXPENDITURE remains the same, and no additional productive labour is employed; but the same labour produces more, its productive power is raised. The elements which make up the productive capital, raw materials, machinery, etc. //previously it was the commodities UPON WHICH REVENUE IS EXPENDED; now it is the commodities EMPLOYED AS INSTRUMENTS IN PRODUCTION// are produced with the same labour in greater quantities, better and therefore cheaper. In this case, accumulation depends neither on a rising rate of profit, nor on a greater portion of REVENUE being converted into capital as a result of PARSIMONY, nor on a smaller portion of the REVENUE being spent unproductively as a result of a reduction in the price of those commodities on which REVENUE is expended. It depends here on labour becoming more productive in the spheres of production which produce the elements of capital itself, thus lowering the price of the commodities which enter into the production process as raw materials, instruments, etc.

If the productive power of labour has been increased through greater production of fixed capital in proportion to variable capital, then not only the amount, but also the *value* of reproduction will rise, since a part of the value of the fixed capital enters into the annual reproduction. This can occur simultaneously with the growth of the population and with an increase in the number of workers employed, although the number of workers steadily declines *relatively*, in proportion to the constant capital which they set in motion. There is therefore a growth, not only OF WEALTH, but OF VALUE, and a larger quantity of living labour is set in motion, although the labour has become more productive and the quantity of labour in proportion to the quantity of commodities produced, has decreased. Finally, variable and constant capital can grow in equal degree with the natural, annual increase in population while the productivity of labour remains the same. In this case, too, capital will accumulate in volume and in value. These last points are all disregarded by Ricardo.

In the same chapter Ricardo says:

*"The labour of a million of men in manufactures, will always produce the same value, but will not always produce the same riches."*

(This is quite wrong. The value of the product of a MILLION OF MEN does not depend solely on their labour but also on the value of the capital with which they work; it will thus vary considerably, according to the amount of the already produced productive powers with which they work.)

* "By the invention of machinery, by improvements in skill, by a better division of labour, or by the discovery of new markets, where more advantageous exchanges may be made, a million of men may produce double, or treble the amount of riches, of 'necessaries, conveniences, and amusements', in one state of society, that they could produce in another, but they will not on that account add any thing to value" *

(they certainly will, since their past [XIII-728] labour enters into the new reproduction to a much greater extent),

* "for every thing rises or falls in value, in proportion to the facility or difficulty of producing it, or, in other words, in proportion to the quantity of labour employed on its production." *

(Each individual commodity may become cheaper but the value of the increased total mass of commodities [will] rise.)

* "Suppose with a given capital, the labour of a certain number of men produced 1,000 pair of stockings, and that by inventions in machinery, the same number of men can produce 2,000 pair, or that they can continue to produce 1,000 pair, and can produce besides 500 hats; then the value of the 2,000 pair of stockings,[a] and 500 hats, will be neither more nor less than that of the 1,000 pair of stockings before the introduction of machinery; for they will be the produce of the same quantity of labour." *

(N.B. provided the NEWLY INTRODUCED MACHINERY costs *nothing*.)

* "But the *value of the general mass of commodities will nevertheless be diminished*; for, although the value of the increased quantity produced, in consequence of the improvement, will be the same exactly as the value would have been of the less quantity that would have been produced, had no improvement taken place, *an effect is also produced on the portion of goods still unconsumed, which were manufactured previously to the improvement*; the value of those goods will be reduced, inasmuch as they must fall to the level, quantity for quantity, of the goods produced under all the advantages of the improvement: and the society will, notwithstanding the increased quantity of commodities, notwithstanding its augmented riches, and its augmented means of enjoyment, *have a less amount of value. By constantly increasing the facility of production, we constantly diminish the value of some of the commodities before produced,* though by the same means we not only add to the national riches, but also to the power of future production" * ([pp.] 320-22).

Ricardo says here that the progressive development of the productive powers causes the DEPRECIATION of the commodities produced under less favourable conditions, whether they are still on the market, or functioning as capital in the production process.

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[a] Further Ricardo has: "or of the 1,000 pair of stockings".—*Ed.*

But, although the value of one part of the commodities will be reduced, it does not by any means follow from this that "THE VALUE OF THE GENERAL MASS OF COMMODITIES WILL BE DIMINISHED". This would be the only effect if, 1) the value of the machinery and commodities that have been newly added as a result of the IMPROVEMENTS, is smaller than the loss in value suffered by previously existing goods of the same kind; 2) if one leaves out of account the fact that with the development of the productive forces, the number of spheres OF PRODUCTION is also steadily increasing, thus creating possibilities for capital investment which previously did not exist at all. Production not only becomes cheaper in the course of the development, but it is also *diversified*.

*CH. IX,* "Taxes on Raw Produce".

* "With respect to the third objection against taxes on raw produce, namely, that the raising wages, and lowering profits, is a discouragement to accumulation, and acts in the same way as a natural poverty of soil; I have endeavoured to shew in another part of this work that *savings may be as effectually made from expenditure as from production; from a reduction in the value of commodities, as from a rise in the rate of profits.* By increasing my profits from [£]1,000 to £1,200, whilst *prices* continue the same, my power of increasing my capital by savings is increased, but it is not increased so much as it would be if *my profits continued as before,* whilst commodities were so lowered in price, that £800 would procure me as much as £1,000 purchased before"* ([pp.] 183-84).

The total value of the product (or rather that part of the product which is divided between capitalist and worker) can decrease, without causing a fall in the NET INCOME, in terms of the amount of value it represents. (It may even rise proportionally.) This in:

*CH. XXXII,* "Mr. Malthus's Opinions on Rent".

* "The whole argument, however, of Mr. Malthus, is built on an infirm basis: it supposes, because the *gross income* of the country is diminished, that, therefore, the net income must also be diminished, in the same proportion. It has been one of the objects of his work to shew, that with every fall in the real value of necessaries, the wages of labour would fall, and that the profits of stock would rise—in other words, that of any given annual value a less portion would be paid to the labouring class, and a larger portion to those whose funds employed this class. Suppose the value of the commodities produced in a particular manufacture to be £1,000 and to be divided between the master and his labourers, in the proportion of £800 to labourers, and £200 to the master; [XIII-729] if the value of these commodities should fall to £900, and £100 be saved from the wages of labour,[a] the net income of the masters would be in no degree impaired, and, therefore, he could with just as much facility pay the same amount of taxes, after, as before the reduction of price"* ([pp.] 511-12).

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[a] Further Ricardo has: "in consequence of the fall of necessaries".—*Ed.*

*Ch. V*, "On Wages".

* "Notwithstanding the tendency of wages to conform to their natural rate, their market rate may, in an improving society, for an indefinite period, be constantly above it; for no sooner may the impulse, which an increased capital gives to a new demand for labour be obeyed, than another increase of capital may produce the same effect; and thus, if the increase of capital be gradual and constant, the demand for labour may give a continued stimulus to an increase of people" * ([p.] 88).

From the capitalist standpoint, everything is seen upside down. The number of the labouring population and the degree of the productivity of labour determine both the reproduction of capital and the reproduction of the population. Here, on the contrary, it appears that *capital* determines the population.

*Ch. IX*, "Taxes on Raw Produce".

* "An accumulation of capital naturally produces an increased competition among the employers of labour, and a consequent rise in its price" * ([p.] 178).

This depends on the proportion in which the various component parts of CAPITAL grow as a result of its ACCUMULATION. Capital can be accumulated and the demand for labour can decrease absolutely or relatively.

According to Ricardo's theory of rent, the rate of profit has a tendency to fall, as a result of the accumulation of capital and the growth of the population, because the NECESSARIES rise in value, or agriculture becomes less productive. Consequently accumulation has the tendency to check accumulation, and the *law of the falling rate of profit*—since agriculture becomes relatively less productive as industry develops—hangs ominously over bourgeois production. On the other hand, Adam Smith regarded the falling rate of profit with satisfaction. Holland is his model. It compels most capitalists, except the largest ones, to employ their capital in industry, instead of living on interest and is thus a spur to production. The dread of this pernicious tendency assumes tragi-comic forms among Ricardo's disciples.

Let us here compare the passages in which Ricardo refers to this subject.

*Ch. V*, "On Wages".

* "In different stages of society, the accumulation of capital, or of the means of employing labour, is more or less rapid, and *must in all cases depend on the productive powers of labour.* The productive powers of labour are generally greatest when there is an abundance of fertile land: at such periods accumulation is often so rapid, that labourers cannot be supplied with the same rapidity as capital" ([p.] 92).

"It has been calculated, that under favourable circumstances population may be doubled in twenty-five years; but under the same favourable circumstances, the whole capital of a country might possibly be doubled in a shorter period. In that

case, wages during the whole period would have a tendency to rise, because the demand for labour would increase still faster than the supply.

"In new settlements, where the arts and knowledge of countries far advanced in refinement are introduced, it is probable that capital has a tendency to increase faster than mankind: and if the deficiency of labourers were not supplied by more populous countries, this tendency would very much raise the price of labour. In proportion as these countries become populous, and land of a worse quality is taken into cultivation, the tendency to an increase of capital diminishes; *for the surplus produce remaining, after satisfying the wants of the existing population, must necessarily be in proportion to the facility of production, viz. to the smaller number of persons employed in production.* Although, then, it is probable, that under the most favourable circumstances, the power of production is still greater than that of population, it will not long continue so; for the land being limited in quantity, and differing in quality, with every increased portion of capital employed on it, there will be a decreased rate of production, whilst *the power of population continues always the same*" * ([pp.] 92-93).

(The latter statement is a parson's fabrication. THE POWER OF POPULATION DECREASES with the POWER OF PRODUCTION). First it should be noted here that Ricardo admits that "THE ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL ... MUST IN ALL CASES DEPEND ON THE PRODUCTIVE POWERS OF LABOUR", LABOUR therefore is *prius*[a] and not capital.

Further, according to Ricardo, it would appear that IN long SETTLED, industrially developed COUNTRIES more people are engaged in agriculture than are in the colonies—while in fact it is the other way about. In proportion to the output [XIII-730], England, for example, uses fewer AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRY, NEW OR OLD, although a larger section of the NON-AGRICULTURAL POPULATION participates indirectly in AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION. But even this is by no means proportionate to the extra numbers of the directly AGRICULTURAL POPULATION in the less developed countries. Supposing even that in England grain is dearer, and the costs of production are higher. More capital is employed. More past labour, even though less living labour is used in AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION. But the reproduction of this capital, although its value is reproduced in the product, costs less labour because of the already existing basis of production.

*CH. VI*, "On Profits".

First, however, a few observations. [The amount of] surplus value, as we saw, depends not only on the rate of surplus value but on the number of workers simultaneously employed, that is to say, on the size of the variable capital.

Accumulation for its part is not determined—directly—by the *rate of surplus value*, but by the ratio of surplus value to the TOTAL

[a] Primary.—*Ed.*

AMOUNT OF THE CAPITAL ADVANCED, that is, by the rate of profit, and not so much by the rate of profit as by the *total* AMOUNT OF PROFIT. This, as we have seen, is for the total capital of society identical with the aggregate AMOUNT OF SURPLUS VALUE, but for individual capitals employed IN THE DIFFERENT TRADES MAY VARIATE VERY MUCH FROM THE AMOUNT OF SURPLUS VALUE PRODUCED BY THEM. If we consider the accumulation of capital *en bloc*,[a] then profit=surplus value and the rate of profit= $\frac{\text{surplus value}}{\text{capital}}$, or rather surplus value reckoned on a capital of 100.

If the rate of profit (per cent) is given, then the total AMOUNT OF PROFIT depends on the size of the capital advanced, and therefore accumulation too in so far as it is determined by profit.

If the total sum of capital is given then the total AMOUNT OF PROFIT depends on the rate of profit.

A small capital with a higher rate of profit may therefore yield more PROFIT than a larger capital with a lower rate of profit.

Let us suppose:

1)

| Capital [£] | | Rate of profit % | Total profit [£] |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 100 | 10 | 10 |
| (100×2) | 200 | $^{10}/_{2}$ or 5 | 10 |
| (100×3) | 300 | $^{10}/_{2}$ or 5 | 15 |
| (100×1$^{1}/_{2}$) | 150 | 5 | 7$^{1}/_{2}$ |

2)

| Capital [£] | | Rate of profit % | Total profit [£] |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 100 | 10 | 10 |
| 2×100 | (200) | $\frac{10}{2^{1}/_{2}}=4$ | 8 |
| 2$^{1}/_{2}$×100 | (250) | 4 | 10 |
| 3×100 | [(300)] | 4 | 12 |

3)

| Capital [£] | Rate of profit [%] | Total profit [£] |
|---|---|---|
| 500 | 10 | 50 |
| 5,000 | 1 | 50 |
| 3,000 | 1 | 30 |
| 10,000 | 1 | 100 |

[a] As a whole.—*Ed.*

If the multiplier of the capital and the divisor of the rate of profit are the same, that is to say, if the size of the capital increases in the same proportion as the rate of profit falls, then the total PROFIT remains unchanged. 100 at 10% amounts to 10, and 2×100 at $^{10}/_{2}$ or 5% also amounts to 10. In other words, the amount of PROFIT remains unchanged if the rate of profit falls in the same proportion in which capital accumulates (grows).

If the rate of profit falls more rapidly than the capital grows, then the amount of PROFIT decreases. 500 at 10% yields a total PROFIT of 50. But six times as much, 6×500 or 3,000 at $^{10}/_{10}$% or 1% yields only 30.

Finally, if capital grows faster than the rate of profit falls, the amount of PROFIT increases in spite of the falling rate of profit. Thus 100 at 10% profit yields a profit of 10. But 300 (3×100) at 4% (i.e. where the rate of profit has fallen by 60 per cent) yields a total profit of 12.

Now to the passages from Ricardo.

*CH. VI*, "On Profits".

* "The *natural tendency of profits then is to fall*; for, in the progress of society and wealth, the additional quantity of food required is obtained by the sacrifice of more and more labour. This tendency, this *gravitation as it were of profits*, is *happily checked* at repeated intervals by the improvements in machinery, connected with the production of necessaries, as well as by discoveries in the science of agriculture which enable us to relinquish a portion of labour before required, and [XIII-731] therefore to lower the price of the prime necessaries of the labourer. The rise in the price of necessaries and in the wages of labour is however limited; for as soon as wages should be equal ... to £720, the whole receipts of the farmer, there *must be an end of accumulation*; *for no capital can then yield any profit whatever*, and no *additional labour can be demanded*, and consequently *population will have reached its highest point*. Long indeed before this period, the *very low rate of profits will have arrested all accumulation*, and almost the whole produce of the country, after paying the labourers, will be the property of the owners of land and the receivers of tithes and taxes" * ([pp.] 120-21).

This, as Ricardo sees it, is the bourgeois "Twilight of the Gods"—the Day of Judgement.

* "Long before this state of prices was become permanent, *there would be no motive for accumulation*; *for no one accumulates but with a view to make his accumulation productive*, and [...] consequently such a state of prices never could take place. The *farmer and manufacturer can no more live without profit, than the labourer without wages. Their motive* for accumulation will *diminish with every diminution of profit*, and will *cease altogether when their profits are so low* as not to afford them *an adequate compensation* for their trouble, and the *risk which* they *must necessarilly encounter in employing their capital productively*" ([p.] 123).

"I must again observe, that the rate of profits would fall much more rapidly ... for the value of the produce being what I have stated it under the circumstances supposed, the value of the farmer's stock would be greatly increased from its necessarily consisting of many of the commodities which had risen in value. Before

corn could rise from £4 to £12, *his capital would probably be doubled in exchangeable value*, and be worth £6,000 instead of £3,000. If then his profit were £180, or 6 per cent. on his original capital, profits would not at that time be really at a higher *rate* than 3 per cent.; for £6,000 at 3 per cent. gives £180; and on *those terms* only could a *new farmer with £6,000 money* in his pocket *enter into the farming business*" ([pp. 123-]24).

"We should also expect that, however *the rate of the profits of stock* might diminish *in consequence of the accumulation of capital on the land*, and the rise of wages, yet that *the aggregate amount of profits would increase*. Thus supposing that, with repeated accumulations of £100,000, the rate of profit should fall from 20 to 19, to 18, to 17 per cent., a constantly diminishing rate, we should expect that the whole amount of profits received by those successive owners of capital would be always progressive; that it would be greater when the capital was £200,000, than when £100,000; still greater when £300,000; and so on, *increasing, though at a diminishing rate, with every increase of capital*. This *progression however is only true for a certain time*: thus 19 per cent. on £200,000 is more than 20 on £100,000; again 18 per cent. on £300,000 is more than 19 per cent. on £200,000; but after capital has accumulated to a large amount, and profits have fallen, the *further accumulation diminishes the aggregate of profits*. Thus suppose the accumulation should be £1,000,000, and the profits 7 per cent. the whole amount of profits will be £70,000; now if an addition of £100,000 capital be made to the million, and profits should fall to 6 per cent., £66,000 or a diminution of £4,000 will be received by the owners of stock, although the whole amount of stock will be increased from £1,000,000 to £1,100,000.

"*There can, however, be no accumulation of capital, so long as stock yields any profit at all, without its yielding not only an increase of produce, but an increase of value*. By employing £100,000 additional capital, no part of the former capital will be rendered less productive. The produce of the land and labour of the country must increase, and its value will be raised, not only by the value of the addition which is made to the former quantity of productions, but by the new value which is given to the whole produce of the land, by the increased difficulty of producing the last portion of it. When the accumulation of capital, however, becomes very great, notwithstanding this increased value, it will be so distributed that a less value than before will be appropriated to profits, while that which is devoted to rent and wages will be increased" ([pp.]124-26).

"Although a greater value is produced, a greater proportion of what remains of that value, after paying rent, is consumed by the producers, and it is this, and this alone, which regulates profits. Whilst the land yields abundantly, wages may temporarily rise, and the producers may consume more than their accustomed proportion; but the stimulus which will thus be given to population, will *speedily reduce the labourers to their usual consumption*. But when poor lands are taken into cultivation, or when more capital and labour are expended on the old land, with a less return of produce, the effect must be permanent" ([p.] 127).

[XIII-732] "The effects then of accumulation will be different in different countries, and will depend chiefly on the fertility of the land. However extensive a country may be where the land is of a poor quality, and where the importation of food is prohibited, the most moderate accumulations of capital will be attended with great reductions in the rate of profit, and a rapid rise in rent; and on the contrary a small but fertile country, particularly if it freely permits the importation of food, may accumulate a large stock of capital without any great diminution in the rate of profits, or any great increase in the rent of land" * ([pp.] 128-29).

[It can] also [happen] as a result of *taxation* that * "*sufficient surplus produce* may

not be left to stimulate the exertions of those who usually augment by their savings the capital of the State"* (CH. XII, "Land-Tax", [p.] 206).

//CH. XXI, "Effects of Accumulation on Profits and Interest// *"There is only one case, and that will be temporary, in which the accumulation of capital with a low price of food may be attended with a fall of profits; and that is, when the *funds for the maintenance of labour increase much more rapidly than population*;—wages will then be high, and profits low. If every man were to forego the use of luxuries, and be intent only on accumulation, a quantity of necessaries might be produced, for which there could not be any immediate consumption. *Of commodities so limited in number, there might undoubtedly be a universal glut,* and consequently there might neither be demand for an additional quantity of such commodities, nor profits on the employment of more capital. If men ceased to consume, they would cease to produce"* ([p.] 343).

Thus Ricardo on accumulation and the law of the falling rate of profit.

RICARDO'S MISCELLANEA

## GROSS and NET Income

*Net income,* as opposed to gross income (which=the total product or the value of the total product), is the form in which the Physiocrats originally conceived surplus value. They consider rent to be its sole form, since they think of industrial profit as merely a kind of wage; later economists who blur the concept of PROFIT by calling it WAGES for the SUPERINTENDENCE OF LABOUR, ought to agree with them.

NET REVENUE is therefore in fact the excess of the product (or the excess of its value) over that part of it which replaces the capital outlay, comprising both constant and variable capital. It thus consists simply of profit and rent, the latter, in turn, is only a separate portion of the profit, a portion accruing to a class other than the capitalist class.

The direct purpose of capitalist production is not the production of commodities, but of surplus value or profit (in its developed form); the aim is not the product, but the SURPLUS PRODUCE. Labour itself, from this standpoint, is only productive in so far as it creates profit or SURPLUS PRODUCE for capital. If the worker does not create profit, his labour is unproductive. The mass of productive labour employed is only of interest to capital in so far as through it—or in proportion to it—the mass of surplus labour grows. Only to this extent is what we called necessary labour time, necessary. In so far as it does not have this result, it is superfluous and to be suppressed.

It is the constant aim of capitalist production to produce a maximum of surplus value or surplus product with the minimum capital outlay; and to the extent that this result is not achieved by overworking the workers, it is a tendency of capital to seek to produce a given product with the least possible expenditure—ECONOMY OF POWER AND EXPENSE. It is therefore the economic tendency of capital which teaches humanity to husband its strength and to achieve its productive aim with the least possible expenditure of means.

In this conception, the workers themselves appear as that which they are in capitalist production—mere means of production, not an end in themselves and not the aim of production.

NET INCOME is not determined by the value of the total product, but by the excess of the value of the total product over the value of the capital outlay, or by the size of the SURPLUS PRODUCE in relation to the total product. Provided this surplus grows the aim of capitalist production has been achieved even if the value decreases [XIII-733] or, if along with the value, the total quantity of the product also decreases.

Ricardo expressed these tendencies consistently and ruthlessly. Hence much howling against him on the part of the philanthropic philistines.

In considering NET INCOME, Ricardo again commits the error of resolving the total product into REVENUE, WAGES, PROFITS and RENT, and disregarding the constant capital which has to be replaced. But we will leave this out of account here.

*CH. XXXII*, "Mr. Malthus's Opinions on Rent".

*"It is of importance to distinguish clearly between gross revenue and net revenue, for it is from the net revenue of a society that all taxes must be paid. Suppose that all the commodities in the country, all the corn, raw produce, manufactured goods, etc. which could be brought to market in the course of the year, were of the value of 20 millions, and that in order to obtain this value, the labour of a certain number of men was necessary, and that the absolute necessaries of these labourers required an expenditure of 10 millions. I should say that the gross revenue of such society was 20 millions, and its net revenue 10 millions. It does not follow from this supposition, that the labourers should receive only 10 millions for their labour; they might receive 12, 14, or 15 millions, and in that case they would have 2, 4, or 5 millions of the net income. The rest would be divided between landlords and capitalists; but the whole net income would not exceed 10 millions. Suppose such a society paid 2 millions in taxes, its net income would be reduced to 8 millions"* ([pp.] 512-13).

[*CH. XXVI*, "Gross and Net Income".]

*"What would be the advantage resulting to a country from a great quantity of productive labour, if, whether it employed that quantity or a smaller, its net rent and profits together would be the same. The *whole produce of the land and labour of*

*every country is divided into three portions: of these, one portion is devoted to wages, another to profits, and the other to rent.*" *

(This is wrong because the portion WHICH IS DEVOTED TO REPLACE THE CAPITAL (WAGES EXCLUDED) EMPLOYED IN PRODUCTION has been forgotten.)

* "It is from the two last portions only, that any deductions can be made for taxes, or for savings; *the former, if moderate, constituting always the necessary expenses of production.*" *

(Ricardo himself makes the following comment on this passage in a note on p. 416:

* "Perhaps this is expressed too strongly, as more is generally allotted to the labourer under the name of wages, than the absolutely necessary expenses of production. In that case a part of the net produce of the country is received by the labourer, and may be saved or expended by him; or it may enable him to contribute to the defence of the country.)

"To an individual with a capital of £20,000, whose profits were £2,000 per annum, it would be a matter quite indifferent whether his capital would employ a hundred or a thousand men, whether the commodity produced, sold for £10,000, or for £20,000, provided, in all cases, his profits were not diminished below £2,000. Is *not the real interest of the nation similar?* Provided *its net real income, its rent and profits be the same, it is of no importance whether the nation consists of ten or 12 millions of inhabitants.* Its power of supporting fleets and armies, and all species of unproductive labour, must be in proportion to its net, and not in proportion to its gross income. If five millions of men could produce as much food and clothing as was necessary for ten millions, food and clothing for five millions would be the net revenue. Would it be of any advantage to the country, that to produce this same net revenue, seven millions of men should be required, that is to say, that seven millions should be employed to produce food and clothing sufficient for 12 millions? The food and clothing of five millions would be still the net revenue. The employing a greater number of men would enable us neither to add a man to our army and navy, nor to contribute one guinea more in taxes" * ([pp.] 416-17).

To gain a better understanding of Ricardo's views, the following passages must also be considered:

* "There is this advantage always resulting from a relatively low price of corn,—that the division of the actual production is more likely to increase the *fund for the maintenance of labour,* inasmuch as more will be allotted, under the name of profit, to the productive class, and less under the name rent, to the *unproductive class*" * ([p.] 317).

PRODUCTIVE CLASS here refers only to the INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISTS.

* "Rent is a creation of value ... but not a creation of wealth. If the price of corn, from the difficulty of producing any portion of it, should rise from £4 to £5 per qr, a million of qrs will be of the value of £5,000,000 instead of £4,000,000, ... the society altogether will be possessed of greater value, and in that sense rent is a creation of value. But this value is so far nominal, that it adds nothing to the wealth, that is to say, the necessaries, conveniences, and enjoyments of the society. We should have precisely the same quantity, and no more of commodities, and the same million quarters of corn as before; but the effect of its being rated at £5 per quarter, instead of £4, *would be to transfer* a *portion of the value of* [*the*] *corn and*

*commodities from their* former possessors to the landlords. Rent then is a creation of value, but not a creation of wealth; *it adds nothing to the resources of a country*"* ([pp.] 485-86).

[XIII-734] Supposing that through the import of foreign corn the price of corn falls so that rent is decreased by 1 million. Ricardo says that as a result the MONEY INCOMES of the CAPITALISTS will increase, and then continues:

* "But it may be said, that the capitalist's income will not be increased; that the million deducted from the landlord's rent, will be paid in additional wages to labourers! Be it so; ... the situation of the society will be improved, and they will be able to bear the same money burthens with greater facility than before; it will only prove what is still more desirable, that the situation of another class, *and by far the most important class in society*, is the one which is chiefly benefited by the new distribution. All that they receive more than 9 millions, *forms part of the net income of the country*, and it cannot be expended without adding to its revenue, its happiness, or its power. Distribute then the net income as you please. Give a little more to one class, and a little less to another, yet you do not thereby diminish it; a greater amount of commodities will be still produced with the same labour, although the amount of the gross money value of such commodities will be diminished; but the net money income of the country, that fund from which taxes are paid and enjoyments procured, would be much more adequate, than before, to maintain the actual population, to afford it enjoyments and luxuries, and to support any given amount of taxation"* ([pp.] 515-16).

## Machinery

*CH. I (SECT. V)*, "On Value".

* "Suppose ... a machine which could in any particular trade be employed to do the work of one hundred men for a year, and that it would last only for one year. Suppose too, the machine to cost £5,000, and the wages annually paid to one hundred men to be £5,000, it is evident that it would be a matter of indifference to the manufacturer whether he bought the machine or employed the men. But suppose labour to rise, and consequently the wages of one hundred men for a year to amount to £5,500, it is obvious that the manufacturer would now no longer hesitate, it would be for his interest to buy the machine and get his work done for £5,000. But will not the machine rise in price, will not that also be worth £5,500 in consequence of the rise of labour? It would rise in price if *there were no stock employed on its construction, and no profits to be paid to the maker of it.* If for example, the machine were the produce of the labour of one hundred men, working one year upon it with wages of £50 each, and its price were consequently £5,000; should those wages rise to £55, its price would be £5,500, but this cannot be the case; less than one hundred men are employed or it could not be sold for £5,000, for out of the £5,000 must be paid the profits of stock which employed the men. Suppose then that only eighty-five men were employed at an expense of £50 each, or £4,250 per annum, and that the £750 which the sale of the machine would produce over and above the wages advanced to the men, constituted the profits of the engineer's stock. When wages rose 10 per cent. he would be obliged to employ an *additional capital* of £425 and would therefore employ £4,675 instead of £4,250,

on which capital he would only get a profit of £325 if he continued to sell his machine for £5,000; but this is precisely the case of all manufacturers and capitalists; the rise of wages affects them all. If therefore the maker of the machine should raise the price of it in consequence of a rise of wages, an unusual quantity of capital would be employed in the construction of such machines, till their price afforded only the common rate of profits. We see then that machines would not rise in price, in consequence of a rise of wages. The manufacturer, however, who in a general rise of wages, can have recourse to a machine which shall not increase the charge of production on his commodity, would enjoy peculiar advantages if he could continue to charge the same price for his goods; but he, as we have already seen, would be obliged to lower the price of his commodities, or capital would flow to his trade till his profits had sunk to the general level. Thus *then is the public benefited by machinery: these mute agents are always the produce of much less labour than that which they displace, even when they are of the same money value*" * ([pp.] 38-40).

This point is quite right. At the same time it provides the answer to those who believe that the workers DISPLACED by machines find employment in machine manufacture itself. This view, incidentally, belongs to an epoch in which the MECHANIC ATELIER was still based entirely on the division of labour, and machines were not as yet employed on the production of machines. Suppose the annual wage of one man=£50, then that of 100=£5,000. If these 100 men are replaced by a machine which costs, similarly, £5,000, then this machine must be the product of the labour of less than 100 men. For besides paid labour it contains unpaid labour which forms the profit of the machine manufacturer. If it were the product of 100 men, then it would contain only paid labour. If the rate of profit were 10%, then approximately 4,545 of the £5,000 would represent the capital advanced and 454 the profit. At [a wage of] £50, 4,545 would only represent $90^9/_{10}$ men.

[XIII-735][47] [But] the capital of 4,545 by no means represents only variable capital (capital laid out directly in wages). It represents [also] raw materials and the wear and tear of the fixed capital employed by the machine manufacturer. The machine costing £5,000, which [replaces] 100 men whose wages=£5,000, thus represents the product of far fewer than 90 men. Moreover, the machine can only be employed profitably, if it //at least that portion of it which enters annually with interest into the product, i.e. into its value// is the (annual) product of far fewer MEN than it replaces.

Every rise in wages increases the variable capital that has to be laid out, although the *value of the product*—since this=the variable capital+the surplus labour—remains the same (for the number of workers which the variable capital sets in motion remains *the same*); the value produced or reproduced by the variable capital remains the same.

*Ch. XX*, "Value and Riches, their Distinctive Properties".

*Natural agents* add nothing to the value of *commodities*, on the contrary, they reduce it. But by doing so they add to the *surplus value*, which alone interests the capitalists.

* "In contradiction to the opinion of Adam Smith, M. Say, in the fourth chapter,[a] speaks of the value which is given to commodities by *natural agents*, such as the sun, the air, the pressure of the atmosphere, etc., which are sometimes substituted for the labour of man, and sometimes concur with him in producing. But these natural agents, though they add greatly to *value in use*, never add exchangeable value, of which M. Say is speaking,[b] to a *commodity*: as soon as by *the aid of machinery*, or *by the knowlegde of natural philosophy*, you oblige natural agents to do the work which was before done by man, the exchangeable value of such work falls accordingly" * ([pp.] 335-36).

The machine costs something. Natural agents as such cost nothing. They cannot, therefore, add any value to the product; rather they diminish its value in so far as they replace capital or labour, immediate or accumulated labour. Inasmuch as natural philosophy teaches how to replace human labour by natural agents, without the aid of machinery or only with the same machinery as before (perhaps even more cheaply, as with the steam boiler, many chemical processes, etc.), it costs the capitalist, and society as well, nothing and cheapens commodities absolutely.

Ricardo continues the above-quoted passage thus:

* "If ten men turned a corn mill, and it be discovered that by the assistance of wind, or of water, the labour of these ten men may be spared, the flour which is the produce partly of the work performed by the mill, would immediately fall in value, in proportion to the quantity of labour saved; and *the society would be richer by the commodities which the labour of the ten men could produce, the funds destined for their maintenance being in no degree impaired*" * ([p.] 336).

Society would in the first place be richer by the diminished price of flour. It would either consume more flour or spend the money formerly *destined for flour* upon some other commodity, either existing, or called into life, because a new fund for consumption had become free.

Of this part of the revenue, formerly spent on flour and now, consequent upon the diminished price of flour, become free for any other application, it may be said that it was "*destined*"—by virtue of the whole economy of the society—for a certain thing, and that it is now freed from that "destiny". It is the same as if new capital had been accumulated. And in this way, the application of machinery and natural agents frees capital and enables previously "latent needs" to be satisfied.

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[a] See J.-B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique...*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1814, p. 31.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. this volume, p. 365.—*Ed.*

On the other hand, it is wrong to speak of "THE FUNDS *DESTINED* FOR THE MAINTENANCE" OF THE TEN MEN THROWN OUT OF EMPLOYMENT BY THE NEW DISCOVERY. For the first FUND which is saved or created through the DISCOVERY is that part of the REVENUE which society previously paid for flour and which it now saves as a result of the diminished price of flour. The second FUND which is saved, however, is that which the miller previously paid for the TEN MEN NOW DISPLACED. This "FUND" indeed, as Ricardo notes, is IN NO WAY IMPAIRED by the DISCOVERY and the DISPLACEMENT of the 10 MEN. But the FUND has no NATURAL *connexus* with the 10 MEN. They may become PAUPERS, starve, etc. One thing only is certain, that 10 MEN of the NEW GENERATION who should take the place of these 10 MEN in order to turn the mill, must now be absorbed in other EMPLOYMENT; and so the relative population has increased (independently of the AVERAGE INCREASE OF POPULATION) in that the mill is now driven and the 10 men who would otherwise have had to turn it ARE EMPLOYED IN PRODUCING SOME OTHER COMMODITY. The invention of machinery and the EMPLOYMENT OF NATURAL AGENTS thus set free capital and men (workers) and create together with freed capital freed hands (FREE HANDS, as Steuart calls them[a]), whether [XIII-736] [for] newly created spheres of production or [for] the old ones which are expanded and operated on a larger scale.

The miller with his freed capital will build new mills or will lend out his capital if he cannot spend it himself as capital.

On no account, however, is there a FUND "*DESTINED*" FOR THE TEN MEN DISPLACED. We shall return[b] to this absurd assumption: namely that, if the introduction of machines (or NATURAL AGENTS) does not (as is partly the case in AGRICULTURE, when horses take the place of men or stock-raising takes the place of corn growing) reduce the quantity of means of subsistence which can be laid out in wages, the FUND which has thus been set free must necessarily be laid out as variable capital (as if there was no possibility of exporting means of subsistence, or spending them on unproductive workers, or [as if] wages in certain spheres could not rise, etc.) and must even be paid out to the DISPLACED LABOURERS. Machinery always creates a relative SURPLUS POPULATION. a reserve army of workers, which greatly increases the power of capital.

In the note on P. 335, Ricardo also makes the following observation directed against Say:

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[a] J. Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy...*, Vol. I, Dublin, 1770, p. 396. Cf. also K. Marx, *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy...* (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 164) and present edition, Vol. 30, p. 357.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 183-90.—*Ed.*

* "Though Adam Smith, who defined riches to consist in the abundance of necessaries, conveniences and enjoyments of human life, would have allowed that *machines* and *natural agents* might very greatly add to the riches of a country, he would not have allowed that they add *any thing to the value of those riches.*" *

NATURAL AGENTS, INDEED, ADD NOTHING TO *VALUE*, so long as there are no CIRCUMSTANCES in which they give occasion for the CREATION OF *RENT*. But machines invariably add *their own value* to the already existing value and 1) in so far as their existence facilitates the further transformation of circulating into fixed capital, and makes it possible to carry on this transformation on an ever growing scale, they increase not only RICHES but also the *value* which is added by past labour to the product of the annual labour; 2) since machines make possible the absolute growth of population and with it the growth of the mass of the annual labour, they increase the value of the annual product in this second way.

//In CH. XXI, "On Profits and Interest" (pp. 352 and 353, note), Ricardo directs against Say the following remarks:

* "M. Say allows, that *the rate of interest depends on the rate of profits*; but it does not therefore follow, *that the rate of profits depends on the rate of interest.* One is the cause, the other the effect, and it is impossible for *any circumstances* to make them change places." *

The last is definitely not correct "UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES".//[a]

*CH. XXXI*, "On Machinery".

This section, which Ricardo added to his THIRD EDITION, bears witness to his *bonne foi*[b] which so essentially distinguishes him from the vulgar economists.

* "It is more incumbent on me to declare my opinions on this question" //viz. "the influence of machinery on the interests of the different classes of society"//, "because they have, on further reflection, undergone a considerable change; and although I am not aware that I have ever published any thing respecting machinery which it is necessary for me to retract, yet I have in other ways" * (as a Member of Parliament?)[48] * "given my support to doctrines which I now think erroneous; it, therefore, becomes a duty in me to submit my present views to examination, with my reasons for entertaining them" ([p.] 466).

"Ever since I first turned my attention to questions of political economy, I have been of opinion, that such an application of machinery to any branch of production, as should have the effect of saving labour, was a general good, accompanied only with that portion of inconvenience which in most cases attends the removal of capital and labour from one employment to another." *

//This INCONVENIENCE is great enough for the worker, if, as in modern production, it is perpetual.//

* "It appeared to me, that provided the landlords had the same money rents, they would be benefited by the reduction in the prices of some of the commodities

[a] Cf. this volume, p. 102.—*Ed.*

[b] Honesty.—*Ed.*

on which those rents were expended, and which reduction of price could not fail to be the consequence of the employment of machinery. The capitalist, I thought, was eventually benefited precisely in the same manner. He, indeed, who made the discovery of the machine, or who first applied it, would enjoy an additional advantage, by making great profits for a time; but, in proportion as the machine came into general use, the price of the commodity produced, would, from the effects of competition, sink to its cost of production, when the capitalist would get the same money profits as before, and he would only participate in the general advantage, [XIII-737] as a consumer, by being enabled, with the same money revenue, to command an additional quantity of comforts and enjoyments. *The class of labourers also,* I thought, *was equally benefited by the use of machinery,* as they would have the means of buying more commodities with the same money wages, and I thought that *no reduction of wages would take place, because the capitalist would have the power of demanding and employing the same quantity of labour as before,* although he might be under the necessity of employing it in the production of a new, or at any rate of a different commodity. If, by improved machinery, with the employment of the same quantity of labour, the quantity of stockings could be quadrupled, and the demand for stockings were only doubled, some labourers would necessarily be discharged from the stocking trade; but *as the capital which employed them was still in being, and as it was the interest of those who had it to employ it productively,* it appeared to me that it would be employed on the production of some other commodities, useful to the society, for which there could not fail to be a demand.... As then, it appeared to me that *there would be the same demand for labour as before,* and that wages would not be lower, I thought that the labouring class would, equally with the other classes, participate in the advantage, from the general cheapness of commodities arising from the use of machinery. These were my opinions, and they continue unaltered, as far as regards the landlord and the capitalist; but I am convinced, that *the substitution of machinery for human labour, is often very injurious to the class of labourers*" * ([pp.] 466-68).

In the first place, Ricardo starts from the false assumption that machinery is always introduced into spheres of production in which the capitalist mode of production already exists. But the mechanised loom originally replaced the hand-loom weaver, the spinning jenny the hand spinner, the mowing, threshing and sowing machines often the SELF-LABOURING PEASANT, etc. In this case, not only is the labourer displaced, but his instrument of production too ceases to be capital (in the Ricardian sense). This entire or complete devaluation of the old capital also takes place when machinery revolutionises manufacture previously based on the simple division of labour. It is ridiculous to say in this case that the "old capital" continues to make THE SAME DEMAND ON LABOUR as before.

THE "CAPITAL" WHICH WAS EMPLOYED BY THE HAND-LOOM WEAVER, HAND SPINNER, ETC., HAS CEASED BEING "IN BEING".

But suppose, for the sake of simplicity, that the machinery is introduced //there is, of course, no question here of the employment of machinery IN *NEW* TRADES// only into spheres where capitalist production (manufacture) is already [dominant] or it

may be introduced into the workshop already based on machinery, thus increasing the mechanisation of the labour processes or bringing into use improved machinery, which makes it possible either to dismiss a section of the workers previously employed or to produce a greater product while employing *the same* number of workers as before. The latter is OF COURSE the most favourable case.

In order to reduce CONFUSION, we must distinguish here between: 1) the FUNDS of the capitalist who employs machinery and dismisses workers; 2) the FUNDS of society, that is, of the consumers of the commodities produced by this capitalist.

*Ad* 1) So far as the capitalist who introduces the machinery is concerned, it is wrong and absurd to say that he can lay out the same amount of capital in wages as before. (Even if he borrows, it is still equally wrong, not for him, but for society.) One part of his capital he will convert into machinery and other forms of fixed capital; another part into *matières instrumentales* which he did not need before, and a larger part into raw materials, if we assume that he produces more commodities with fewer workers, thus requiring more raw material. The proportion of variable capital—that is to say, of capital laid out in wages—to constant capital has decreased in his branch of business. And this *reduction in the proportion will be permanent* (indeed, the decrease in variable capital relatively to constant will even continue at a *faster* rate as a result of the productive power of labour developing along with accumulation), even if his business on the new scale of production expands to such an extent that he can re-employ the total number of dismissed workers, and employ even more workers than before. //The demand for labour in his business will grow with the accumulation of his capital, but to a much smaller degree than his capital accumulates, and his capital will in absolute terms never again require the same amount of labour as before. The immediate result, however, will be that a section of the workers is thrown on to the street.//

But it may be said that indirectly the demand for workers will remain the same, for more workers will be required for the construction of machines. But Ricardo himself has already shown[a] that machinery never costs as much labour as the labour which it displaces. It is possible for the hours of labour in the mechanic ateliers to be lengthened FOR SOME TIME [XIII-738] and that, in the first instance, not a man more may be employed in them. Raw material—cotton for example—can come from America and

[a] See this volume, pp. 177-78.—*Ed.*

China and it makes no difference whatsoever to the Englishmen who have been thrown out of work, whether the demand for NIGGERS[a] or COOLIES grows. But even assuming that the raw materials are supplied within the country, more women and children will be employed in agriculture, more horses, etc., and perhaps more of one product and less of another will be produced. But there will be no demand for the dismissed workers, for in agriculture, too, the same process which creates a constant relative SURPLUS POPULATION is taking place.

*Prima facie* it is not likely that the introduction of machinery will set free any of the capital of the manufacturer when he makes his first investment. It merely provides a new type of investment for his capital, its immediate result, according to the assumption, is the dismissal of workers and the conversion of part of the variable capital into constant capital.

*Ad* 2) So far as the general public is concerned, in the first place, *REVENUE* is set free as a result of the lowering in price of the commodity produced by means of the machine; *capital*—directly—only in so far as the manufactured article enters into constant capital as an element of production. // If it entered into the AVERAGE consumption of the worker, it would, according to Ricardo, bring in its wake a reduction in *REAL WAGES*[b] also in the other branches of industry. // A part of the REVENUE thus set free, will be consumed in the same article, either because the reduction in price makes it accessible to new classes of consumers (in this case, incidentally, it is not the REVENUE which is set free that is EXPENDED ON THE ARTICLE), or because the old consumers consume more of the cheaper article, for instance 4 pairs of cotton stockings instead of one pair. Another part of the REVENUE thus set free may serve to expand the TRADE into which the machinery has been introduced, or it may be used in the formation of a new TRADE producing A DIFFERENT COMMODITY, or it may serve to expand a TRADE which already existed before. For whatever purpose the REVENUE thus set free and reconverted into capital is used, it will in the first place hardly be sufficient to absorb that part of the increased population which each year streams into each TRADE, and which is now debarred from entering the old TRADE. It is, however, also possible for a portion of the freed REVENUE to be exchanged against foreign products or to be consumed by unproductive workers. But *by no*

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[a] See pp. VIII-IX of the Preface.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. this volume, pp. 37, 40, 52, 58-59.—*Ed.*

*means* does a *necessary* CONNEX *exist between the revenue that has been set free and the workers that have been set free of* REVENUE.

3) The absurd fundamental notion, however, which underlies Ricardo's view, is the following:

The capital of the manufacturer who introduces machinery is not SET FREE. It is merely utilised in a *different* manner, namely, in such a manner that it is not, as before, transformed into wages for the DISCHARGED WORKING MEN. A part of the variable capital is converted into constant capital. Even if some of it were set free, it would be absorbed by spheres in which the DISCHARGED LABOURERS could not *work* and where, at the most, their *remplaçants*[a] could find refuge.

By expanding old spheres of production or opening up new ones the REVENUE set free—in so far as it is not offset by greater consumption of the cheaper article or is not exchanged against foreign luxury articles—only gives the necessary VENT (IF IT DOES SO!) for that part of the annual population increase that is for the time being debarred from the old TRADE into which the machinery has been introduced.

But the absurdity which lies concealed at the root of Ricardo's notions, is this:

The means of subsistence which were previously consumed by the workers [now] discharged, remain after all in existence and are still on the market. The workers, on the other hand, are also available on the market. Thus there are, on the one hand, means of subsistence (and therefore means of payment) for workers, δυνάμει[b] variable capital, and on the other, unemployed workers. Hence the FUND is there to set them in motion. Consequently they will find employment.

Is it possible that even such an economist as Ricardo can babble such hair-raising NONSENSE?

According to this, no human being who is capable of work and willing, could ever starve in bourgeois society, when there are means of subsistence on the market, at the disposal of the society, to pay him FOR ANY OCCUPATION WHATEVER. These means of subsistence, in the first place, do not by any means confront those workers as capital.

Assume that 100,000 workers have suddenly been thrown out on the streets by machinery. Then in the first place there is no doubt whatsoever [XIII-739] that the AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS on the

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[a] Substitutes.—*Ed.*

[b] Potential.—*Ed.*

market, which on the average suffice for the whole year and which were previously consumed by these workers, are still on the market as before. If there were no demand for them—and if, at the same time, they were not exportable—what would happen? As the supply relative to the demand would have grown, they would fall in price, and as a result of this fall in price, their consumption would rise, even if the 100,000 [workers] were starving to death. The price need not even fall. Perhaps less of these means of subsistence is imported or more of them exported.

Ricardo imagines quixotically that the entire bourgeois social mechanism is arranged so NICELY that if, for instance, 10 men are discharged from their work, the means of subsistence of these workers—now set free—must definitely be consumed *d'une façon ou d'une autre*[a] by the identical 10 men and that otherwise they could not be sold; as if a mass of semi-employed or completely unemployed were not for ever crawling around at the bottom of this society—and as if the capital existing in the form of means of subsistence were a fixed amount. If the market price of corn fell due to the decreasing demand, then the capital available in the shape of corn would be *diminished* (money capital) and would exchange for a smaller portion of the society's MONEY REVENUE, in so far as it is not exportable. And this applies even more to manufactures. During the many years in which the HAND-LOOM WEAVERS WERE GRADUALLY STARVING, the production and export of English cotton cloth increased enormously. At the same time (1838-41) the prices OF PROVISIONS rose. And the weavers had only rags in which to clothe themselves and not enough food to keep body and soul together. The constant artificial production of a SURPLUS POPULATION, which disappears only in times of feverish PROSPERITY, is one of the necessary conditions of production of modern industry. There is nothing to prevent a part of the money capital lying idle and without employment and the prices of the means of subsistence falling because of relative *surproduction* while at the same time WORKING MEN who have been DISPLACED by machinery, ARE BEING STARVED.

It is true that IN THE LONG RUN the labour that has been released together with the portion of REVENUE or capital that has been released, will FIND its vent in a new trade or by the expansion of the old one, but this is of more benefit to the *remplaçants of the* DISPLACED MEN than to the displaced men themselves. New ramifications of more or less unproductive branches of labour are continually being formed and in these REVENUE is directly

[a] In one way or another.—*Ed.*

expended. Then there is the formation of fixed capital (railways, etc.) and the LABOUR OF SUPERINTENDENCE which this opens up; the manufacture of luxuries, etc.; foreign trade, which increasingly diversifies the articles on which REVENUE is spent.

From his absurd standpoint, Ricardo therefore assumes that the introduction of machinery harms the workers only when it diminishes the GROSS PRODUCE (and therefore GROSS REVENUE), a case which may occur, it is true, in large-scale agriculture, with the introduction of horses which consume corn in place of the workers, with the transition from corn-growing to sheep-raising, etc.; but it is quite preposterous [to extend this case] to industry proper, whose ability to sell its GROSS PRODUCT is by no means restricted by the internal market. (Incidentally, while one section of the workers starves, another section may be better fed and clothed, as may also the unproductive workers and the middle strata between worker and capitalist.)

It is wrong, in itself, to say that the increase (or the quantity) of articles entering into REVENUE as such, forms a FUND for the workers or forms capital for them. A portion of these articles is consumed by unproductive workers or non-workers, another portion may be transformed by means of foreign trade, from its coarse form, the form in which it serves as wages, into a form in which it enters into the REVENUE of the wealthy, or in which it serves as an element of production of constant capital. Finally, a portion will be consumed by the discharged workers themselves in the WORKHOUSE, or in prison, or as alms, or as stolen goods, or as payment for the prostitution of their daughters.

In the following pages I shall briefly compare the passages in which Ricardo develops this nonsense. As he says himself, he received the impetus for it from *Barton's* work,[a] which must therefore be examined, after citing those passages.

[XIII-740] It is self-evident, that in order to employ a certain number of workers each year, a certain quantity of FOOD and NECESSARIES must be produced annually. In large-scale agriculture, stock-raising, etc., it is possible for the NET INCOME (profit and rent) to be increased while the GROSS INCOME is reduced, that is to say, while the quantity of NECESSARIES intended for the maintenance of the workers is reduced. But that is not the question here. The quantity of articles entering into consumption or, to use Ricardo's expression, the quantity of articles of which the GROSS REVENUE

[a] J. Barton, *Observations on the Circumstances which Influence the Condition of the Labouring Classes of Society*, London, 1817. See this volume, pp. 201-08.—*Ed.*

consists, can be increased, without a consequent increase in that portion of this quantity which is transformed into variable capital. This may even decrease. In this case more is consumed as REVENUE by capitalists, LANDLORDS and their RETAINERS, the unproductive classes, the state, the middle strata (merchants), etc. What lies behind the view taken by Ricardo (and Barton) is that he originally set out from the assumption that every accumulation of capital = an increase in variable capital, that the demand for labour therefore increases directly, in the same proportion, as capital is accumulated. But this is wrong, since with the accumulation of capital a change takes place in its organic composition and the constant part of the capital grows at a faster rate than the variable. This does not, however, prevent REVENUE from constantly growing, in value and in quantity. But it does not result in a proportionately larger part of the total product being laid out in wages. Those classes and sub-classes who do not live directly from their labour become more numerous and live better than before, and the number of unproductive workers increases as well.

Since, in the first place, it has nothing to do with the question, we will not concern ourselves with the *REVENUE* of the capitalist who transforms a part of his variable capital into machinery (and therefore also puts more into raw material relatively to the amount of labour employed in all those spheres of production where raw material is an element of the valorisation process). His REVENUE and that part of his capital which has actually gone into the production process exist, at first, in the form of *products* or rather *commodities* which he produces himself, for example yarn if he is a spinner. AFTER THE INTRODUCTION OF MACHINERY he transforms one part of these commodities—or the money for which he sells them—into machinery, *matières instrumentales* and raw materials whereas, previously, he paid it out as wages to the workers, thus transforming it indirectly into means of subsistence for the workers. With some exceptions in agriculture, he will produce more of these commodities than before, although his *discharged* workers have ceased to be consumers, i.e. DEMANDERS, of his own articles, though they were so before. More of these commodities will now be present on the market, although for the workers THROWN ON THE STREET, they have ceased to exist or have ceased to exist in their previous quantity. Thus, so far as his own product is concerned, in the first place, even if it enters into the consumption of the workers, its increased production in no way contradicts the fact that a part of it has ceased to exist as capital for the workers.

A larger part of it (of the total product) on the other hand must now replace that portion of the constant capital which resolves into machinery, *matières instrumentales* and raw materials, that is to say, it must be exchanged against more of these ingredients of reproduction than formerly. If the increase in commodities through machinery and the decrease in a previously existing demand (*namely in the demand of the workers that have been discharged*) for the commodities produced by this machinery were contradictory, then IN MOST CASES, no machinery could in fact be introduced. The mass of commodities produced and the portion of these commodities which is reconverted into wages, therefore, have no definite relationship or necessary connection, when we consider the capital of which a part is transformed into machinery instead of into wage labour.

So far as society in general is concerned, the replacement or rather the extension of the limits of its REVENUE takes place first of all on account of the articles whose price has been lowered by the introduction of machinery. This REVENUE may continue to BE SPENT as REVENUE, and if a considerable part of it is transformed into capital, the increased population—apart from the artificially created SURPLUS POPULATION—is already there to absorb that part of the REVENUE which is transformed into variable capital.

*Prima facie,* therefore, what this comes to is only: the production of all other articles, particularly in the spheres which produce articles entering into the consumption of the workers—despite the DISCHARGING of the 100 MEN, etc.—continues on the same scale as before; quite certainly at the moment when the workers are discharged. In so far, therefore, as the dismissed workers represented a demand for these articles, the demand has decreased, although the supply has remained the same. If the reduced demand is not made good, the price will fall //or instead of a fall in price a larger stock may remain on the market for the following year//. If the article is not produced for export, too, and if the decrease in demand were to persist, then reproduction would decrease, but it does not follow that the capital employed in this sphere [XIII-741] must necessarily decrease. Perhaps more meat or commercial crops or luxury foods are produced [and] less wheat or more oats for horses, etc., or fewer FUSTIAN JACKETS and more bourgeois frock-coats. But none of these consequences need necessarily materialise, if, for instance, as a result of the cheapening of COTTONS, the employed workers are able to spend more on food, etc. The same quantity of commodities and even more of them—including those consumed by the workers—can be

produced, although less capital, a smaller portion of the total product, is transformed into variable capital, that is laid out in wages.

Neither is it the case that part of the capital of the producers of these articles has been set free. At worst the demand for their commodities would have decreased, and the reproduction of their capital impeded by the reduced price of their commodities. Hence their own REVENUE would immediately decrease, as it would with any fall in the prices of commodities. But it cannot be said that any particular part of their commodities had previously confronted the discharged workers as capital and was now "set free" along with the workers. What confronted them as capital, was a part of the commodities now being produced with machinery; this part came to them in the form of money and was exchanged by them for other commodities (means of subsistence), which did not face them as capital, but confronted their money as commodities. This is therefore an entirely different relationship. The FARMER, etc., whose commodity they bought with their wages, did not confront them as capitalist and did not employ them as workers. They *have only ceased to be buyers for him,* which may possibly—IF NOT COUNTERBALANCED BY OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES—bring about a temporary DEPRECIATION in his capital, but does not set free any capital for the discharged workers. The capital that employed them "IS STILL IN BEING", but no longer in a form in which it resolves into wages, or only indirectly and to a smaller extent.

Otherwise anyone who through some bad luck ceased to have money, would inevitably set free sufficient capital FOR HIS OWN EMPLOYMENT.

By *GROSS REVENUE* Ricardo means that part of the product which replaces wages and SURPLUS VALUE (PROFITS and RENT); by NET REVENUE he means the SURPLUS PRODUCE = the SURPLUS VALUE. He forgets here, as throughout his work, that a portion of the GROSS PRODUCE must replace the value of the machinery and raw material, in short, of the constant capital.

Ricardo's subsequent treatment is of interest, partly because of some of the observations he makes in passing, partly because, *mutatis mutandis,* it is of practical importance for large-scale AGRICULTURE, particularly sheep-rearing, and shows the limitations of capitalist production. Not only is its determining purpose not production *for* the producers (WORKMEN), but its exclusive aim is *NET REVENUE* (PROFIT and RENT), even if this is achieved at the cost of the volume of production—at the cost of the volume of commodities produced.

* "My mistake arose from the supposition, that whenever the *net income* of a society increased, its *gross income* would also increase; I now, however, see reason to be satisfied that *the one fund, from which landlords and capitalists derive their revenue, may increase,* while the other, *that upon which the labouring class mainly depend, may diminish,* and therefore it follows, if I am right, that the *same cause* which may increase the net revenue of the country, may at the same time *render the population redundant,* and deteriorate the condition of the labourer" * ([p.] 469).

First it is noteworthy that Ricardo here admits that causes which further the wealth of the capitalists and LANDLORDS, "MAY ... *RENDER THE POPULATION REDUNDANT*" so that the REDUNDANCY of the population or OVERPOPULATION is presented here as the result of the process of enrichment itself, and of the development of productive forces which conditions this process.

So far as the FUND is concerned, out of which the capitalists and LANDLORDS draw their REVENUE and on the other hand the FUND from which the workers draw theirs, to begin with, it is the total product which forms this common FUND. A large part of the products which enter into the consumption of the capitalists and LANDLORDS, does not enter into the consumption of the workers. On the other hand, almost all, IN FACT *plus ou moins* all products which enter into the consumption of the workers also enter into that of the LANDLORDS and CAPITALISTS, their RETAINERS and HANGERS-ON, including dogs and cats. One cannot suppose that there are two essentially distinct fixed FUNDS in existence. The important point is, what aliquot PARTS each of these groups draws from the common FUND. The aim of capitalist production is to obtain as large an amount of SURPLUS PRODUCE or SURPLUS VALUE as possible with a given amount of WEALTH. This aim is achieved by constant capital growing more rapidly in proportion to variable capital or by setting in motion the greatest possible [XIII-742] constant capital with the least possible variable capital. In much more general terms than Ricardo conceives here, the same CAUSE effects an increase in the FUNDS out of which CAPITALISTS and LANDLORDS draw their REVENUE, by a decrease in the FUND out of which the workers draw theirs.

It does not follow from this that the FUND from which the workers draw their REVENUE is diminished *absolutely*; only that it is diminished *relatively,* in proportion to the total result of their production. And that is the only important factor in the determination of the portion which they appropriate out of the wealth they themselves created.

* "A capitalist we will suppose employs a capital of the value of £20,000 and that he carries on the joint business of a farmer, and a manufacturer of necessaries. We will further suppose, that £7,000 of this capital is invested in fixed capital, viz. in buildings, implements, etc., and that the remaining £13,000 is

employed as circulating capital in the support of labour. Let us suppose, too, that profits are 10%, and consequently that the capitalist's capital is every year put into its original state of efficiency, and yields a profit of £2,000. Each year the capitalist begins his operations, by having food and necessaries in his possession of the value of £13,000, all of which he sells in the course of the year to his own workmen for that sum of money, and, during the same period, he pays them the like amount of money for wages: *at the end of the year* they replace in his possession food and necessaries of the value of £15,000, £2,000 of which he consumes himself, or disposes of as may best suit his pleasure and gratification." *

//The *nature of* SURPLUS VALUE is very palpably expressed here. (The passage [is on] pp. 469-70.)//

* "As far as these products are concerned, the *gross produce* for that year is £15,000 and the net produce £2,000. Suppose now, that the following year the capitalist employs half his men in constructing a machine, and the other half in producing food and necessaries as usual. During that year he would pay the sum of £13,000 in wages as usual, and would sell food and necessaries to the same amount to his workmen; but what would be the case the following year? While the machine was being made, only one-half of the usual quantity of food and necessaries would be obtained, and they would be only one-half the value of the quantity which was produced before. The machine would be worth £7,500, and the food and necessaries £7,500, and, therefore, the capital of the capitalist would be as great as before; for he would have besides these two values, his fixed capital worth £7,000, making in the whole £20,000 capital, and £2,000 profit. After deducting this latter sum for his own expenses, he would have a no greater circulating capital than £5,500 with which to carry on his subsequent operations; and, therefore, his means of employing labour, would be reduced in the proportion of £13,000 to £5,500, and, consequently, *all the labour which was before employed by £7,500, would become redundant*." *

(This would, however, also be the case if by means of the machine which costs £7,500, exactly the same quantity of products were produced as previously with a variable capital of £13,000. Suppose the wear and tear of the machine $= {}^1/_{10}$ in one year, = £750, then the value of the product—previously £15,000— = £8,250. (Apart from the wear and tear of the original fixed capital of £7,000, whose replacement Ricardo does not mention at all.) Of these £8,250, £2,000 would be profit, as previously out of the £15,000. The lower price would be advantageous to the FARMER in so far as he himself consumes FOOD and NECESSARIES as REVENUE. It would also be advantageous to him in so far as it enables him to reduce the wages of the workers he employs thus releasing a portion of his variable capital. It is this portion, which TO A CERTAIN DEGREE could employ new labour, but only because the *real wage* of the workers who have been retained had fallen. A small number of those who have been discharged could thus—at the cost of those who had been retained—be re-employed. The fact however that the product would be just as great as before, would not help the dismissed workers. If the wage remained the same, no part of

the variable capital would be [released]. The fact that the product of £8,250 represents the same amount of NECESSARIES and FOOD as previously £15,000 does not cause its value to rise. The farmer would have to sell it for £8,250, partly in order to replace the wear and tear of his machinery and partly in order to replace his variable capital. In so far as this lowering of the price of FOOD and NECESSARIES did not bring about a fall in wages in general, or a fall in the INGREDIENTS ENTERING INTO THE REPRODUCTION OF THE CONSTANT CAPITAL, the REVENUE of society would have expanded only in so far as IT IS EXPENDED ON FOOD AND NECESSARIES. A section of the unproductive and productive workers, etc., would live better. *Voilà tout.*[a] (They could also save, but that is always ACTION IN THE FUTURE.) The discharged workers would remain on the street, although the *physical* possibility of their maintenance existed just as much as before. Moreover, the same capital would be employed in the reproduction process as before. But a *part of the product* (whose value had fallen), which previously existed as *capital* has now become *revenue.*)

* "The reduced quantity of labour which the capitalist can employ, must, indeed, with the assistance of the machine, and after deductions for its repair, produce a value equal to £7,500, it must replace the circulating capital with a profit of £2,000 on the whole capital; but if this be done, [XIII-743] if the net income be not diminished, of what importance is it to the capitalist, whether the gross income be of the value of £3,000, of £10,000, or of £15,000?" *

(This is perfectly correct. The GROSS INCOME is of absolutely no importance to the capitalist. The only thing which is of interest to him is the NET INCOME.)

* "In this case, then, although the net produce will not be diminished in value, although its power of purchasing commodities may be greatly increased, the gross produce will have fallen from a value of £15,000 to a value of £7,500 and as *the power of supporting a population, and employing labour, depends always on the gross produce of a nation, and not on its net produce,*" *

// hence Adam Smith's partiality for GROSS PRODUCE, a partiality to which Ricardo objects. See *CH. XXVI,* "On Gross and Net Revenue", which Ricardo opens with the words:

* "Adam Smith constantly magnifies the advantages which a country derives from a large gross, rather than a large net income" * ([p.] 415). //

* "there will *necessarily be a diminution in the demand for labour, population will become redundant,* and the situation of the labouring classes will be that of distress and poverty." *

(LABOUR therefore *BECOMES REDUNDANT,* because the DEMAND FOR LABOUR DIMINISHES, AND THAT DEMAND DIMINISHES IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE DEVELOPMENT IN THE PRODUCTIVE POWERS OF LABOUR. In Ricardo the passage [is on] *p. 471.*)

[a] That is all.— *Ed.*

* "As, however, the *power of saving from revenue to add to capital, must depend on the efficiency of the net revenue,* to satisfy the wants of the capitalist, it *could not fail to follow from the reduction in the price of commodities consequent on the introduction of machinery,* that with the same wants" //but his wants enlarge// "he would *have increased means of saving,—increased facility of transferring revenue into capital.*" *

// According to this, first one part of capital is transformed into REVENUE, TRANSFERRED TO REVENUE—not in terms of value, but as regards the use value, the material elements of which the capital consists—in order later TO TRANSFER a part of the REVENUE back into CAPITAL. For example, when £13,000 was laid out in variable capital a part of the product amounting to £7,500, entered into the consumption of the workers whom the FARMER employed, and this part of the product formed part of his capital. Following upon the introduction of machinery, for example, according to our supposition, the same amount of product is produced as previously, but its value does not amount to £15,000, as previously, but only to £8,250; and a larger part of this cheaper product enters into the REVENUE of the FARMERS or the REVENUE of the buyers of FOOD and NECESSARIES. They now consume a part of the product as REVENUE which was previously consumed industrially, as capital, by the FARMER, although his LABOURERS (since dismissed) consumed it as REVENUE as well. As a result of this growth in REVENUE—which has come about because a part of the product which was previously consumed as capital is now consumed as REVENUE—new capital is formed and revenue is reconverted into capital. //

* "But with every increase of capital he would employ more labourers;" *

(this *in any case* not in proportion to the INCREASE of capital, not TO THE WHOLE EXTENT OF THAT INCREASE. PERHAPS HE WOULD BUY MORE HORSES, OR GUANO, OR NEW IMPLEMENTS)

* "and, therefore, a *portion of the people thrown out of work in the first instance, would be subsequently employed*; and *if the increased production, in consequence of the employment of the machine, was so great as to afford, in the shape of net produce,* as *great a quantity of food and necessaries as existed before in the form of gross produce,* there would be *the same ability to employ the whole population,* and, therefore, there would not *necessarily*" //but possibly, and probably!// "be *any redundancy of people*" * ([pp.] 469-72).

In the last lines, Ricardo thus says what I observed above. In order that REVENUE is transformed in this way into capital, capital is first transformed into REVENUE. Or, as Ricardo puts it: First the NET PRODUCE is increased at the expense of the GROSS PRODUCE in order then to reconvert a part of the NET PRODUCE into GROSS PRODUCE. PRODUCE IS PRODUCE. NET or GROSS makes no difference //although this antithesis may also mean that the *excess over and above the outlay*

increases, that therefore the NET PRODUCE grows although the total product, i.e. the GROSS PRODUCE, diminishes//. The produce only becomes one or the other, according to the determinate form which it assumes in the process of production.

* "All I wish to prove, is, that the discovery and use of machinery may be attended with a diminution of gross produce; and whenever that is the case, it will be injurious to the labouring class, as some of their number will be thrown out of employment, and *population will become redundant, compared with the funds which are to employ it*" * ([p.] 472).

But THE SAME MAY, AND IN MOST INSTANCES [XIII-744] WILL BE THE CASE, EVEN IF THE GROSS PRODUCE REMAINS THE SAME OR ENLARGES; ONLY THAT PART OF IT, FORMERLY ACTING AS VARIABLE CAPITAL, IS NOW BEING CONSUMED AS REVENUE.

It is superfluous for us to go into Ricardo's absurd example of the CLOTHIER who reduces his production because of the introduction of machinery (pp. 472-74).

* "If these views be correct, it follows,

"1st) That the discovery, and useful application of machinery, *always leads to the increase* of the *net produce of the country,* although it may not, and will not, after an inconsiderable interval, increase the *value of that net* produce" ([p.] 474).

It will always increase that value whenever it diminishes the value of labour.

"2dly) That the increase of the net produce of a country is compatible with a diminution of the gross produce, and that the motives for employing machinery are always sufficient to insure its employment, if it will increase the net produce, although it may, and frequently must, diminish both the quantity of the gross produce, and its value" ([p.] 474).

"3dly) That the opinion entertained by the labouring class, that the employment of machinery is frequently detrimental to their interests, is not founded on prejudice and error, but is conformable to the correct principles of political economy" ([p.] 474).

"*4thly*) That if the improved means of production, in consequence of the use of machinery, should increase the net produce of a country in a degree so great as not to diminish the gross produce, (I mean always quantity of commodities and not value,) then the situation of all classes will be improved. The landlord and capitalist will benefit, not by an increase of rent and profit, but by the advantages resulting from the expenditure of the same rent, and profit, on commodities, very considerably reduced in value," *

(this sentence contradicts the whole of Ricardo's doctrine, according to which the lowering in the price of NECESSARIES, and therefore OF WAGES, RAISES PROFITS, whereas machinery, which permits more to be extracted from the same land with less labour, MUST LOWER RENT),

* "while the situation of the labouring class will also be considerably improved; 1st, *from the increased demand for menial servants*;" *

(this is indeed a fine result of machinery, that a considerable

section of the female and male labouring class is turned into servants)

* "2ndly, from the stimulus to savings from revenue, which such an abundant net produce will afford; and 3dly, from the low price of all articles of consumption on which their wages will be expended" // and in consequence of which their wages will be reduced * // (pp. 474-75).

The entire apologetic bourgeois presentation of machinery does not deny,

1) that machinery—sometimes here, sometimes there, but continually—MAKES A PART OF THE POPULATION REDUNDANT, throws a section of the labouring population on the street. It creates a SURPLUS POPULATION, thus leading to lower wages in certain spheres of production, here or there, not because the population grows more rapidly than the means of subsistence, but because the rapid growth in the means of subsistence, due to machinery, enables more machinery to be introduced and *therefore* reduces the *immediate demand for labour.* This comes about not because the social FUND diminishes, but because of the growth of this fund, the part of it WHICH IS SPENT IN WAGES falls relatively.

2) Even less does this apologetics deny the subjugation of the workers who operate the machines and the *misère* of the manual workers or craftsmen who are displaced by machinery and perish.

What it [asserts]—and PARTLY correctly—is [firstly] that as a result of machinery (of the development of the productive powers of labour in general) the NET REVENUE (PROFIT and RENT) grows to such an extent, that the bourgeois needs more *MENIAL SERVANTS* than before; whereas previously he had to lay out more of his product in PRODUCTIVE LABOUR, he can now lay out more in UNPRODUCTIVE LABOUR, [so that] servants and other workers living on the unproductive class increase in number. This progressive transformation of a section of the workers into servants is a fine prospect. For them it is equally consoling that because of the growth in the NET PRODUCE, more spheres are opened up for UNPRODUCTIVE LABOUR, who live on their product and whose interest in their exploitation coincides *plus ou moins* with that of the directly exploiting classes.

Secondly, that because of the spur given to accumulation, on the new basis requiring less living labour in proportion to past labour, the workers who were dismissed and pauperised, or at least that part of the population increase [XIII-745] which replaces them, are either absorbed in the expanding engineering-works themselves, or in supplementary TRADES which machinery has made necessary and brought into being, or IN NEW FIELDS OF EMPLOYMENT OPENED BY THE NEW CAPITAL, AND SATISFYING NEW WANTS. This then is another wonder-

ful prospect: the LABOURING CLASS has to bear all the "TEMPORARY INCONVENIENCES"—THROWING OUT OF LABOUR, DISPLACEMENT OF LABOUR AND CAPITAL—but wage labour is nevertheless not to be abolished, on the contrary it will be reproduced on an ever growing scale, growing absolutely, even though decreasing relatively to the growing total capital which employs it.

*Thirdly*: that consumption becomes more *refined* due to machinery. The reduced price of the immediate necessities of life allows the scope of luxury production to be extended. Thus the 3rd fine prospect opens before the workers: in order TO WIN THEIR NECESSARIES, THE SAME AMOUNT OF THEM, THE SAME NUMBER OF LABOURERS WILL ENABLE THE HIGHER CLASSES TO EXTEND, REFINE, AND diversify THE CIRCLE OF THEIR ENJOYMENTS, AND THUS TO WIDEN THE ECONOMICAL, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL GULF SEPARATING THEM FROM THEIR BETTERS. FINE PROSPECTS, THESE, AND VERY DESIRABLE RESULTS, FOR THE LABOURER, OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE POWERS OF HIS LABOUR.

Furthermore, Ricardo then shows that it [is in] the interest of the labouring classes,

"THAT AS MUCH OF THE REVENUE AS POSSIBLE SHOULD BE DIVERTED FROM EXPENDITURE ON LUXURIES, TO BE EXPENDED ON MENIAL SERVANTS" ([p.] 476). For whether I [purchase] furniture or keep MENIAL SERVANTS, I thereby present a demand for a definite amount of commodities and set in motion approximately the same amount of PRODUCTIVE LABOUR in one case as in the other; but in the latter case, I ADD [a new demand] "TO THE FORMER DEMAND FOR LABOURERS, AND THIS ADDITION WOULD TAKE PLACE ONLY BECAUSE I CHOSE THIS MODE OF EXPENDING MY REVENUE" ([pp. 475-]76).

The same applies to the maintenance OF LARGE FLEETS AND ARMIES ([p.] 476).

* "Whether it" (the revenue) "was expended in the one way or in the other, there would be *the same quantity of labour employed in production*; for the food and clothing of the soldier and sailor would require the same amount of industry to produce it as the more luxurious commodities; but in the case of the war, there would be the additional demand for men as soldiers and sailors; and, consequently, a war which is supported out of the revenue, and not from the capital of a country, is favourable to the increase of population" ([p.] 477).

"There is one other case that should be noticed of the possibility of an *increase in the amount of the net revenue of a country*, and *even of its gross revenue*, with a diminution of demand for labour, and that is, when the labour of horses is substituted for that of man. If I employed one hundred men on my farm, and if I found that the food bestowed on fifty of those men, could be diverted to the support of horses, and afford me a greater return of raw produce, after allowing for the interest of the capital which the purchase of the horses would absorb, it would be advantageous to me to substitute the horses for the men, and I should accordingly do so; but this would not be for the interest of the men, and unless the income I obtained, was so much increased as to enable me to employ the men as well as the horses, it *is evident that the population would become redundant*, and the labourers' condition would sink in the general scale. It is evident, he could not,

under any circumstances, be employed in agriculture;" (why not? if the field of agriculture were enlarged?) "but if the produce of the land were increased by the substitution of horses for men, he might be employed in manufactures, or as a menial servant"* ([pp.] 477-78).

There are two tendencies which constantly cut across one another; to employ as little labour as possible, in order to produce the same or a greater quantity of commodities, in order to produce the same or a greater NET PRODUCE, SURPLUS VALUE, NET REVENUE; secondly, to employ the largest possible number of workers (although as few as possible in proportion to the quantity of commodities produced by them), because—at a given level of productive power—the mass of SURPLUS VALUE and of SURPLUS PRODUCE grows with the amount of labour employed. The one tendency throws the labourers on to the streets and makes a part of the POPULATION REDUNDANT, the other absorbs them again and extends WAGE SLAVERY absolutely, so that the lot of the worker is always fluctuating but he never escapes from it. The worker, therefore, justifiably regards the development of the productive power of his own labour as hostile to himself; the capitalist, on the other hand, always treats him as an element to be eliminated from production. These are the contradictions with which Ricardo struggles in this chapter. What he forgets to emphasise [XIII-746] is the constantly growing number of the middle classes, those who stand between the WORKMAN on the one hand and the capitalist and LANDLORD on the other. The middle classes maintain themselves to an ever increasing extent directly out of REVENUE, they are a burden weighing heavily on the WORKING base and increase the social security and power of the UPPER TEN THOUSAND.

According to the bourgeoisie the perpetuation of WAGE SLAVERY through the application of machinery is a "vindication" of the latter.

* "I have before observed, too, that *the increase of net incomes, estimated in commodities, which is always the consequence of improved machinery,* will lead to new savings and accumulations. *These savings,* it must be remembered, are *annual,* and must soon create a *fund, much greater than the gross revenue, originally lost by the discovery of the machinery,* when the demand for labour will be as great as before, and the situation of the people will be still further improved by the increased savings which the increased net revenue will still enable them to make"* ([p.] 480).

First GROSS REVENUE declines and NET REVENUE increases. Then a portion of the INCREASED NET REVENUE is transformed into capital again and hence into GROSS REVENUE. Thus the workman must constantly enlarge the power of capital, and then, after VERY SERIOUS DISTURBANCES, obtain permission to repeat the process on a larger scale.

* "With every increase of capital and population, food will generally rise, on account of its being more difficult to produce" * ([pp.] 478-79).

It then goes straight on:

* "The consequence of a rise of food will be a rise of wages, and every rise of wages will have a tendency to determine *the saved capital in a greater proportion than before to the employment of machinery. Machinery and labour are in constant competition, and the former can frequently not be employed until labour rises*" * ([p.] 479).

The machinery is thus a means to prevent a RISE OF LABOUR.

* "To elucidate the principle, I have been supposing that improved machinery is *suddenly* discovered and extensively used; but the truth is, that these discoveries are gradual, and rather operate in *determining the employment of the capital which is saved and accumulated, than in diverting capital from its actual employment*" * ([p.] 478).

THE TRUTH IS, THAT IT IS NOT SO MUCH THE DISPLACED LABOUR AS, RATHER, THE NEW SUPPLY OF LABOUR—THE PART OF THE GROWING POPULATION WHICH WAS TO REPLACE IT—WHICH, BY THE NEW ACCUMULATIONS, GETS FOR ITSELF NEW FIELDS OF EMPLOYMENT OPENED.

* "In America and many other countries, where the food of man is easily provided, there is not nearly such great temptation to employ machinery" * (nowhere is it used on such a massive scale and also, so to speak, for domestic needs as in America) * "as in England, where food is high, and costs much labour for its production." *

// How little the employment of machinery is dependent on the PRICE OF FOOD is shown precisely by America, which employs relatively much more machinery than England, WHERE THERE IS ALWAYS A REDUNDANT POPULATION. The use of machinery *may*, however, depend on the relative scarcity OF LABOUR as, for instance, in America, where a comparatively small population is spread over immense tracts of land. Thus we read in *The Standard* of *September 19, 1862*, in an article on the Exhibition[25]:

* "Man is a machine-making animal.... If we consider the American as a representative man, the definition [...] is perfect. It is one of the cardinal points of an American's system to do nothing with his hands that he can do by a machine. From rocking a cradle to making a coffin, from milking a cow to clearing a forest, from sewing on a button to voting for a President, almost, he has a machine for everything. He has invented a machine for saving the trouble of masticating food.... *The exceeding scarcity of labour* and its consequent high value" // despite the low value of food //, "as well as a certain innate 'cuteness have stimulated this inventive spirit.... The machines produced in America are, generally speaking, inferior in value to those made in England ... they are rather, as a whole, *makeshifts to save labour* than inventions to accomplish former impossibilities" * // And the steam ships? // ... "In the UNITED STATES department of the * Exhibition is *Emery's cotton-gin*. For many a year after the introduction of cotton to America the crop was very small; because not only was the demand rather limited, but the difficulty of cleaning the crop by manual labour rendered it anything but remunerative. When Eli Whitney, however invented the saw [XIII-747] cotton-gin there *was an immediate increase* in *the breadth planted*, and that increase has up to the present time gone on

almost in an arithmetical progression. In fact, it is not too much to say that Whitney made the cotton trade. With modifications more or less important and useful his gin has remained in use ever since; and until the invention of the present improvement and addition Whitney's original gin was quite as good as the most of its would-be supplanters. By the present machine, which bears the name of Messrs. Emery, of Albany, N.Y., we have no doubt that Whitney's gin, on which it is based, will be almost entirely supplanted. It is as simple and more efficacious; it delivers the cotton not only cleaner, but in sheets like wadding, and thus the layers as they leave the machine are at once fit for the cotton press and the bale.... In [the] American Court proper there is little else than machinery: *The cow-milker* ... *a belt-shifter* ... a *hemp carding and spinning machine,* which at one operation reels the sliver direct from the bale.... A *machine for the manufacture of paper-bags,* which it cuts from the sheet, pastes, folds, and perfects at the rate of 300 a minute.... Hawes's *clothes-wringer,* which by two indiarubber rollers presses from clothes the water, leaving them almost dry, saves time, but does not injure the texture ... *bookbinder's machinery.... Machines for making shoes.* It is well known that the uppers have been for a long time made up by machinery in this country, but here are machines for putting on the sole, others for cutting the sole to shape, and others again for trimming the heels.... A *stone-breaking machine* is very powerful and ingenious, and no doubt will come extensively into use for ballasting roads and crushing ores.... A *system of marine signals* by Mr. W. H. Ward of Auburn, New York.... *Reaping and mowing machines* are an American invention coming into very general favour in England. *McCormick's* the best.... Hansbrow's California Prize Medal *Force Pump,* in simplicity and efficiency the best in the Exhibition ... it will throw more water with the same power than any pump in the world.... *Sewing machines...*" * // [a]

* "The same cause that raises labour, does not raise the value of machines, and, therefore, *with every augmentation of capital, a greater proportion of it is employed on machinery. The demand for labour will continue to increase with an increase of capital, but not in proportion to its increase; the ratio will necessarily be a diminishing ratio*" * ([p.] 479).

In the last sentence Ricardo expresses the correct law of growth of capital, although his reasoning is very one-sided. He adds a note to this, from which it is evident that he follows *Barton* here, whose work we will therefore examine briefly. But first one more comment: When Ricardo discussed REVENUE EXPENDED either on MENIAL SERVANTS or LUXURIES, he wrote:

* "In both cases the net revenue would be the same, and so would be the gross revenue, but the *former would be realised in different commodities*" * ([p.] 476).

Similarly the GROSS PRODUCE, in terms of value, may be the same, but it may "BE REALISED"—and this would strongly affect the WORKMEN—"*IN DIFFERENT COMMODITIES*" according to whether it had to replace more variable or constant capital.

Barton's work is called:

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[a] "America in the Exhibition", *The Standard,* No. 11889, September 19, 1862.—*Ed.*

John Barton, *Observations on the Circumstances which Influence the Condition of the Labouring Classes of Society,* London, 1817.

Let us first gather together the small number of theoretical propositions to be found in Barton's work.

* "The demand for labour depends on *the increase of circulating, and not of fixed capital.* Were it true *that the proportion between these two sorts of capital is the same at all times, and in all countries,* then, indeed, it follows that the *number of labourers employed is in proportion to the wealth of the State.* But such a position has not the semblance of probability. As arts are cultivated, and civilization is extended, *fixed capital bears a larger and larger proportion to circulating capital.* The amount of fixed capital employed in the production of a piece of British muslin is at least a hundred, probably a thousand times greater than that employed in the production of a similar piece of Indian muslin. And the [XIII-748] proportion of circulating capital employed is a hundred or a thousand times less. It is easy to conceive that, under certain circumstances, the whole of the annual savings of an industrious people might be added to fixed capital, in which case they would have no effect in increasing the demand for labour" * (l.c. pp. 16-17).

(Ricardo comments on this passage in a note on p. 480:

* "It is not easy, I think, to conceive that under any circumstances, an increase of capital should not be followed by an increased demand for labour; the most that can be said is, that the *demand will be in a diminishing ratio.* Mr. Barton, in the above publication, has, I think, taken *a correct view* of some of the effects of an increasing amount of fixed capital on the condition of the labouring classes. His Essay contains much valuable information." *)

To Barton's above proposition we must add the following:

* "Fixed capital, when once formed, ceases to affect the demand for labour," * (incorrect, since it necessitates reproduction, even if only at intervals and gradually) * "but during its formation it gives employment to just as many hands as an equal amount would employ, either of circulating capital, or of revenue" * (p. 56).

And:

* "The demand for labour absolutely depends on the joint amount of revenue and circulating capital" * ([pp. 34-]35).

Indisputably, Barton has very great merit.

Adam Smith believes that the DEMAND FOR LABOUR grows in direct proportion to capital accumulation. Malthus derives surplus population from capital not being accumulated (that is, reproduced on a growing scale) as rapidly as the population. Barton was the first to point out that the different organic component parts of capital do not grow evenly with accumulation and development of the productive forces, that on the contrary, in the process of this growth, that part of capital which resolves into wages decreases in proportion to that part (he calls it fixed capital) which, in relation to its size, alters the DEMAND FOR LABOUR only to a very small degree. He is therefore the first to put forward the important proposition: "THAT THE NUMBER OF LABOURERS EMPLOYED IS" *NOT* "IN PROPORTION TO THE

WEALTH OF the STATE"; that relatively more workers are employed in an industrially undeveloped country than in one which is industrially developed.

In the 3rd edition of his *Principles*, CH. XXXI, "On Machinery", Ricardo—having followed exactly in Smith's footsteps in his earlier editions—now takes up Barton's correction on this point, and moreover, in the same *one-sided* formulation in which Barton gives it. The only point in which he makes an advance—and this is important—is that, unlike Barton, he not only says that the demand for labour does *not* grow *proportionally* with the development of machinery, but that the machines themselves "*MAKE POPULATION REDUNDANT*",[a] i.e. create surplus population. But he wrongly limits this EFFECT to the case in which the NET PRODUCE is increased at the cost of the GROSS PRODUCE. This only occurs in agriculture, but he also transfers it into industry. *In nuce*,[b] however, the whole of the absurd theory of population was thus overthrown, in particular also the claptrap of the vulgar economists, that the workers must strive TO KEEP THEIR MULTIPLICATION BELOW THE STANDARD OF THE ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL. The opposite follows from Barton's and Ricardo's presentation, namely that to keep down THE LABOURING POPULATION, DIMINISHING THE SUPPLY OF LABOUR, AND, CONSEQUENTLY, RAISING ITS PRICE, WOULD ONLY *ACCELERATE* THE APPLICATION OF MACHINERY, THE CONVERSION OF CIRCULATING INTO FIXED CAPITAL, AND, HENCE, MAKE THE POPULATION ARTIFICIALLY "REDUNDANT"; THAT REDUNDANCY EXISTS, GENERALLY, NOT IN REGARD TO THE QUANTITY OF [the means] OF SUBSISTENCE, BUT THE MEANS OF EMPLOYMENT, THE ACTUAL DEMAND FOR LABOUR.

[XIII-749] Barton's error or deficiency lies in his conceiving the organic differentiation or composition of capital only in the form in which it appears in the *circulation process*—as fixed and circulating capital—a difference which the Physiocrats had already discovered, which Adam Smith had developed further and which became a prepossession among the economists who succeeded him; a prepossession in so far as they see *only* this difference—which was handed down to them—in the organic composition of capital. This difference, which arises out of the process of circulation, has a considerable effect on the reproduction of wealth in general, and therefore also on that part of it which forms the LABOUR FUND. But that is not decisive here. The difference between fixed capital such as machinery, buildings, breeding cattle, etc., and circulating capital, does not *directly* lie in their relation to

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[a] See this volume, pp. 191-93, 195, and 197.—*Ed.*

[b] Literally: in a nutshell; here: essentially.—*Ed.*

wages, but in their mode of circulation and reproduction.

The *direct relation* of the different component parts of capital to living labour is not connected with the phenomena of the circulation process. It does not arise from the latter, but from the *immediate process of production,* and is the relation of *constant* to *variable capital,* whose difference is based *only* on their relationship to living labour.

Thus Barton says for example: The DEMAND FOR LABOUR does not depend on *fixed capital,* but only on *circulating* capital. But a part of circulating capital, *raw material* and *matières instrumentales,* is not exchanged against living labour, any more than is machinery, etc. In all branches of industry in which raw material enters as an element into the valorisation process—in so far as we consider only that portion of the fixed capital which enters into the commodity—it forms the *most important* part of that portion of capital which is not laid out in wages. Another part of the circulating capital, namely of the commodity capital, consists of articles of consumption which enter into the REVENUE of the non-productive class (i.e. [not of] the working class). The growth of these two parts of *circulating* capital therefore does not influence the demand for labour any more than does that of fixed capital. Furthermore, the part of the circulating capital which resolves into *matières brutes*[a] and *matières instrumentales* increases in the same or even greater proportion as that part of capital which is fixed in machinery, etc.

On the basis of the distinction made by Barton, *Ramsay* goes further. He improves on Barton but retains his method of approach. Indeed he reduces the distinction to constant and variable capital, but continues to call constant capital *fixed* capital, although he includes raw materials, etc., and [calls] variable capital circulating capital, although he excludes from it all circulating capital which is not directly laid out in wages. More on this later, when we come to Ramsay.[b] It does, however, show the intrinsic necessity of the process.

Once the distinction between constant capital and variable capital has been grasped, a distinction which arises simply out of the immediate process of production, out of the relationship of the different component parts of capital to living labour, it also becomes evident that in itself it has nothing to do with the absolute amount of the consumption goods produced, although

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[a] Raw materials.—*Ed.*

[b] See pp. XVII—1086-1087 of the manuscript (present edition, Vol. 33).—*Ed.*

plenty with the way in which these are realised—*this way, however, of realising the gross revenue in different commodities is not, as Ricardo has it, and Barton intimates it, *the cause,* but the *effect* of the immanent laws of capitalistic production, leading to a diminishing proportion, if compared with the total amount of produce, of that part of it which forms the fund for the reproduction of the labouring class.* If a large part of the capital consists of machinery, raw materials, *matières instrumentales,* etc., then a smaller portion of the working class as a whole will be employed in the reproduction of the means of subsistence [XIII-750] which enter into the consumption of the workers. This relative DIMINUTION in the reproduction of variable capital, however, is not the reason for the relative DECREASE IN THE DEMAND FOR LABOUR, but on the contrary, its effect. Similarly: A larger section of the workers employed in the production of articles of consumption which enter into REVENUE in general will produce articles which enter into the consumption—the EXPENDITURE OF the REVENUE—of CAPITALISTS, LANDLORDS AND THEIR RETAINERS (STATE, CHURCH, etc.), than that which [will produce] articles destined for the REVENUE of the workers. But this again is effect, not cause. A change in the social relation of workers and capitalists, a revolution in the conditions governing capitalist production, would change this at once. THE REVENUE WOULD BE "REALISED IN DIFFERENT COMMODITIES", TO USE AN EXPRESSION OF RICARDO'S. There is nothing in the, so-to-speak, physical conditions of production which forces the above to take place. *The workmen, if they were dominant, if [they were] allowed to produce for themselves, would very soon, and without any great exertion, bring the capital (to use a phrase of the vulgar economists) up to the standard of their wants.* The very great difference is whether the available means of production confront the workers as capital and can therefore be employed by them *only* in so far as it is necessary for the increased production of SURPLUS VALUE AND SURPLUS PRODUCE FOR THEIR EMPLOYERS, in other words whether the means of production employ *them,* or whether they, as subjects, employ the means of production—in the accusative case—in order to produce wealth for themselves. It is of course assumed here that capitalist production has already developed the productive powers of labour in general to a sufficiently high level for this revolution to take place.

//Take for example 1862 (the present autumn). The plight of the Lancashire LABOURERS OUT OF EMPLOYMENT, on the other hand, "THE DIFFICULTY OF FINDING EMPLOYMENT FOR MONEY" ON THE London MONEY MARKET, this has almost made necessary the formation of fraudulent

companies, since it [is] difficult to obtain 2% for money. According to Ricardo's theory "SOME OTHER EMPLOYMENT OUGHT TO HAVE BEEN OPENED", for on the one hand there is capital in London, and on the other, unemployed workers in Manchester. //

Barton explains further, that the accumulation of capital increases the DEMAND FOR LABOUR only very slowly, unless the population has grown to such an extent *previously*, that the RATE OF WAGES is low.

"The *proportion which the WAGES OF LABOUR AT ANY GIVEN TIME BEAR TO THE WHOLE PRODUCE OF LABOUR*, determine the APPROPRIATION OF CAPITAL IN ONE (FIXED) OR THE OTHER (CIRCULATING) WAY" (l.c., p. 17).

"For if the rate of wages should decline, while the price of goods remained the same, or if goods should rise, while wages remained the same, the PROFIT of the EMPLOYER would increase, and HE would be INDUCED TO HIRE MORE HANDS. If on the other hand, WAGES should rise in proportion to commodities, the MANUFACTURER would keep as few HANDS as possible.—He would aim at performing every thing by machinery" (pp. 17-18).

"WE HAVE GOOD EVIDENCE THAT POPULATION ADVANCED MUCH MORE SLOWLY UNDER A GRADUAL RISE OF WAGES during the EARLIER PART of the last CENTURY, than during the LATTER PART of the same CENTURY WHILE THE REAL PRICE OF LABOUR FELL RAPIDLY" ([p.] 25).

"A RISE OF WAGES, OF ITSELF, THEN, NEVER INCREASES THE LABOURING POPULATION; A FALL OF WAGES may sometimes increase it very rapidly. Suppose that the Englishman's demands should sink to the level of the Irishman's. Then the manufacturer would engage more [workers] IN PROPORTION TO THE DIMINISHED EXPENSE OF MAINTENANCE" (l.c., [p. 26]).

"IT IS *THE DIFFICULTY OF FINDING EMPLOYMENT*, MUCH *MORE THAN THE INSUFFICIENCY OF THE RATE OF WAGES*, WHICH DISCOURAGES MARRIAGE" ([p.] 27).

"IT IS ADMITTED THAT EVERY INCREASE OF WEALTH HAS THE TENDENCY TO CREATE A FRESH DEMAND FOR LABOUR; but as LABOUR, of all commodities, requires the greatest length of time for its production"

// for the same reason, the RATE OF WAGES can remain below the AVERAGE for long periods, because of all commodities, LABOUR is the most difficult TO WITHDRAW FROM THE MARKET AND THUS TO BRING DOWN TO THE LEVEL OF THE ACTUAL DEMAND //

"SO, OF ALL COMMODITIES, [XIII-751] IT IS THE MOST RAISED BY A GIVEN INCREASE OF DEMAND; and as every RISE OF WAGES PRODUCES A TENFOLD REDUCTION OF PROFITS, it is evident that the *accumulation of capital* can operate *only in an inconsiderable degree IN ADDING TO THE EFFECTUAL DEMAND* FOR LABOUR, *UNLESS PRECEDED BY SUCH AN INCREASE OF POPULATION AS SHALL HAVE THE EFFECT OF KEEPING DOWN THE RATE OF WAGES*" ([p.] 28).[a]

Barton puts forward various propositions here:

*First*: It is not the rise of wages in itself which increases the labouring population, but a fall in wages may very easily and rapidly make it rise. Proof: First half of the 18th century, gradual

[a] Marx gives these quotations with some alterations.—*Ed.*

rise in wages, slow movement in population; in the second half of the 18th century, on the other hand, sharp fall in real wages, rapid increase in the labouring population. Reason: It is not the INSUFFICIENT RATE OF WAGES which prevents MARRIAGES, but the DIFFICULTY OF FINDING EMPLOYMENT.

*Secondly*: The FACILITY OF FINDING EMPLOYMENT stands, however, in inverse ratio to the rate of wages. For capital is transformed into circulating or fixed capital, that is to say, capital which EMPLOYS labour or capital which DOES NOT EMPLOY IT, in inverse proportion to the high or low level of wages. If wages are low, then the demand for labour is great because it is then profitable for the EMPLOYER to use much labour, and he can employ *more* with the same circulating capital. If wages are high, then the MANUFACTURER employs as few HANDS as possible and seeks to do everything with the aid of machines.

*Thirdly*: The accumulation of capital by itself raises the demand for labour only slowly, because each increase in this demand, IF [labour is] scarce, causes [the price] of labour to rise rapidly and brings about a fall of profit which is ten times greater than the rise in wages. Accumulation can have a rapid effect on the demand for labour only if *accumulation was preceded by a large increase in the labouring population,* and wages are therefore very low so that even a rise of wages still leaves them low because the demand mainly absorbs unemployed workers rather than competing for those fully employed.

This is all, *cum grano salis,*[a] correct so far as fully developed capitalist production is concerned. But it does not explain this development itself.

And even Barton's historical proof therefore contradicts that which it is supposed to prove.

During the first half of the 18th century, wages rose gradually, the population grew slowly and [there was] no machinery; moreover, compared with the following half of the century, little other fixed capital [was employed].

During the second half of the 18th century, however, wages fell continuously, population grew amazingly—and [so did] machinery. But it was precisely the machinery which on the one hand made the existing population REDUNDANT, thus reducing wages, and on the other hand, as a result of the rapid development of the world market, absorbed the population again, made it REDUNDANT once more and then absorbed it again; while at the same time, it

[a] Literally: with a grain of salt; figuratively: with scepticism.—*Ed.*

speeded up the accumulation of capital to an extraordinary extent, and increased the *amount* of variable capital, although variable capital fell relatively, both compared with the total value of the product and also compared with the number of workers it employed. In the first half of the 18th century, however, large-scale industry did not as yet exist, but only *manufacture based on the division of labour.* The principal component part of capital was still variable capital laid out in wages. The productive powers of labour developed, but slowly, compared with the second half of the century. The demand for labour, and therefore also wages, rose almost proportionately to the accumulation of capital. England was as yet essentially an AGRICULTURAL NATION and a very extensive HOME MANUFACTURE—spinning and weaving—which was carried on by the agricultural population, continued to exist, and even to expand. A numerous proletariat could not as yet come into being, any more than there could exist industrial millionaires at the time. In the first half of the 18th century, variable capital was relatively dominant; in the second, fixed capital; but the latter requires a large mass of human material. Its introduction on a large scale MUST BE PRECEDED BY AN INCREASE OF POPULATION. The whole course of things, however, contradicts Barton's presentation, inasmuch as it is evident that a general CHANGE in the mode of production took place. The laws which correspond to large-scale industry are not identical with those corresponding to manufacture [XIII-752]. The latter constitutes merely a phase of development leading to the former.

But in this context some of Barton's historical data—comparing the development in England during the first half and the second half of the 18th century—are of interest, partly because they show the movement of wages, and partly because they show the movement in corn prices.

"The following STATEMENT will shew" (the "WAGES increased from the middle of the 17th, till near the middle of the 18th century, for the price of corn declined within that space of time not less than 35%"), "WHAT PROPORTION THE *WAGES OF HUSBANDRY* HAVE BORNE TO THE PRICE OF CORN during the last 70 years.

| PERIODS | WEEKLY PAY | WHEAT PER QR | WAGES IN PINTS OF WHEAT |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1742-1752 | 6s. 0d. | 30s. 0d. | 102 |
| 1761-1770 | 7 6 | 42 6 | 90 |
| 1780-1790 | 8 0 | 51 2 | 80 |
| 1795-1799 | 9 0 | 70 8 | 65 |
| 1800-1808 | 11 0 | 86 8 | 60" (pp. [25-]26). |

"From a table of the number of BILLS FOR THE INCLOSING OF LAND PASSED IN EACH SESSION SINCE THE REVOLUTION,[49] given IN THE LORD'S REPORT ON THE POOR LAWS"[50] (1816?), "it appears that in 66 years from 1688 to 1754, that number of BILLS was 123; in the 69 years[a] from 1754 to 1813 it was 3,315.—THE PROGRESS OF CULTIVATION was then about 25 times more rapid during the last period than the former. But during the first 66 years MORE AND MORE CORN WAS GROWN CONTINUALLY FOR EXPORTATION; whereas, during the GREATER PART of the last 69 years, we not only consumed all that we had formerly sent abroad, but likewise imported AN INCREASING, and at last A VERY LARGE QUANTITY, for our own consumption ... the increase of population in the former period, as compared with the latter, was still slower than the PROGRESS OF CULTIVATION MIGHT APPEAR TO INDICATE" ([pp.] 11-12).

"In the year 1688, the population of England and Wales was computed by Gregory King, from the number of houses, at $5^1/_2$ millions."[b] The population in 1780 is put down by Mr. Malthus at 7,700,000.[c] In 92 years then it had increased 2,200,000—in the succeeding 30 years it increased something more than 2,700,000. But of the first increase there is every probability, that the far greater part took place from 1750 to 1780" ([p.] 13).

Barton calculates from good sources that

"the number of inhabitants in 1750 [was] 5,946,000, MAKING AN INCREASE since the revolution of 446,000, or 7,200 per annum" ([pp.] 13-14). "At the LOWEST ESTIMATE then the PROGRESS OF POPULATION OF LATE YEARS has been 10 times more rapid than A CENTURY AGO. Yet it is impossible to believe, that the accumulation of capital has been ten times greater" ([p.] 14).

It is not a question of how great a quantity of means of subsistence is produced annually, but how large a portion of living labour enters into the annual production of fixed and circulating capital. This determines the size of the variable capital in relation to constant.

Barton explains the REMARKABLE INCREASE in population which took place almost all over Europe during the last 50 to 60 YEARS, from the INCREASED PRODUCTIVENESS of the AMERICAN MINES, since this abundance of PRECIOUS METALS raised commodity prices more than wages, thus IN FACT, lowering the latter and causing the rate of profit to rise ([pp.] 29-35).[d]

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[a] Barton has 69, though in fact the period from 1754 to 1813 comprises only 59 years.—*Ed.*

[b] See G. King, *Natural and Political Observations and Conclusions upon the State and Condition of England*, 1696. In: G. Chalmers, *An Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain...*, London, 1804, p. 36.—*Ed.*

[c] See T. R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population...*, 5th ed., Vol. II, London, 1817, p. 92 (Malthus has: "7,721,000").—*Ed.*

[d] See present edition, Vol. 31, p. 10.—*Ed.*

[XIII-753] i) MALTHUS (THOMAS ROBERT)[51]

The writings of Malthus which have to be considered here are:

1) *The Measure of Value Stated and Illustrated etc.*, London, 1823.

2) *Definitions in Political Economy etc.*, London, 1827 (as well as the same work published by *John Cazenove* in London in 1853 with Cazenove's NOTES and SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS).

3) *Principles of Political Economy etc.*, 2nd ED., London, 1836 (first [edition] 1820 or thereabout, to be looked up).

4) Also to be taken into consideration the following work by a Malthusian[a] (i.e. a Malthusian in contrast to the Ricardians): *Outlines of Political Economy etc.*, London, 1832. In his *Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent* (1815)[52] Malthus still says the following about Adam Smith:

> * "Adam Smith was evidently led into this train of argument,[53] from his habit of considering *labour*" * (that is, the *value of labour) "as *the standard measure of value*, and corn as the measure of labour... That neither labour nor any other commodity can be an accurate measure of real value in exchange, is now considered as one of the most incontrovertible doctrines of political economy; and, indeed, follows from the very definition of value in exchange" * [p. 12].

But in his *Principles of Political Economy* (1820), Malthus borrows this "STANDARD MEASURE OF VALUE" from Smith to use it against Ricardo, though Smith himself never used it when he was really analysing his subject matter.[54] Malthus himself, in his book on the *RENT*[52] already referred to, adopted Smith's other definition concerning the determination of value by the QUANTITY OF CAPITAL (ACCUMULATED LABOUR) AND (IMMEDIATE) LABOUR NECESSARY FOR THE PRODUCTION OF AN ARTICLE.

One cannot fail to recognise that both Malthus' *Principles* and the 2 other works mentioned, which were intended to amplify certain aspects of the *Principles*, were largely inspired by envy at the success of Ricardo's book[b] and were an attempt by Malthus to regain the leading position which he had attained by skilful plagiarism before Ricardo's book appeared. In addition, Ricardo's definition of value, though somewhat abstract in its presentation, was directed against the interests of the LANDLORDS and their RETAINERS, which Malthus represented even more directly than those of the industrial bourgeoisie. At the same time, it cannot be denied that Malthus presented a certain theoretical, speculative interest. Nevertheless his opposition to Ricardo—and the form

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[a] John Cazenove.—*Ed.*

[b] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, London, 1817.—*Ed.*

this opposition assumed—was possible only because Ricardo had got entangled in all kinds of inconsistencies.

The points of departure for Malthus' attack are, on the one hand, the origin of SURPLUS value[55] and [on the other] the way in which Ricardo conceives the equalisation of cost prices[6] in different spheres of the employment of capital as a modification of the law of value itself [as well as] his continual confusion of profit with surplus value (direct identification of one with the other). Malthus does not unravel these contradictions and *quid pro quos* but accepts them from Ricardo in order to be able to overthrow the Ricardian fundamental law of value, etc., by using this confusion and to draw conclusions acceptable to his PROTECTORS.

The real contribution made by Malthus in his 3 books is that he places the main emphasis on the unequal exchange between capital and wage labour, whereas Ricardo does not actually explain how the exchange of commodities according to the law of value (according to the labour time embodied in the commodities) gives rise to the unequal exchange between capital and living labour, between a definite amount of accumulated labour and a definite amount of IMMEDIATE LABOUR, and therefore in fact leaves the origin of surplus value obscure (since he makes capital exchange immediately for labour and not for labour capacity). [XIII-754] *Cazenove*, one of the few later disciples of Malthus, realises this and says in his preface to *Definitions etc.* mentioned above:

> * "*Interchange of commodities* and *distribution*" (wages, rent, profits) "must be kept distinct from each other ... the laws of distribution are not altogether dependent upon those relating to interchange" * (*PREFACE*, [pp.] vi and vii).

Here this can only mean that the relation of wages to profit, the exchange of capital and wage labour, of ACCUMULATED LABOUR AND IMMEDIATE LABOUR, does not *directly* coincide with the LAW of the INTERCHANGE OF COMMODITIES.

If one considers the *utilisation* of money or commodities as capital—that is, not their value but their capitalist *utilisation*—it is clear that *surplus value* is nothing but the excess of labour (the unpaid labour) which is commanded by capital, i.e. which the commodity or money commands over and above the quantity of labour it itself contains. In addition to the quantity of labour it itself contains (=the sum of labour contained in the elements of production of which it is made up+the immediate labour which is added to them), it buys an excess of labour which it does not itself embody. This excess constitutes the surplus value; its size determines the rate of valorisation. And this surplus quantity of living labour for which it is exchanged is the source of profit.

Profit (or rather surplus value) does not result from the exchange of an amount of objectified labour for an equivalent amount of living labour, but from the portion of living labour which is appropriated in this exchange without an equivalent payment in return, that is, from unpaid labour which capital appropriates in this pseudo-EXCHANGE. If one disregards how this process is mediated—and Malthus is all the more justified in disregarding it as the intermediate link is not mentioned by Ricardo—if one considers only the factual content and the result of this process, then valorisation, profit, transformation of money or commodities into capital, arises not from the fact that commodities are exchanged according to the law of value, namely, in proportion to the amount of labour time which they cost, but rather conversely, from the fact that commodities or money (objectified labour) are exchanged for *more* living labour than is embodied or worked up in them. Malthus' sole contribution in the books mentioned is the emphasis he places on this point, which emerges all the less sharply in Ricardo as Ricardo always presupposes the finished product which is divided between the capitalist and the worker without considering exchange, the intermediate process which leads to this division. However, this contribution is cancelled out by the fact that he confuses the *utilisation* of money or the commodity as capital, and hence its *value* in the specific function of capital, with the *value* of the *commodity* as such; consequently he falls back in his exposition, as we shall see, on the fatuous conceptions of the Monetary System, on profit UPON EXPROPRIATION,[56] and gets completely entangled in the most hopeless confusion. Thus Malthus, instead of advancing beyond Ricardo, seeks to drag political economy back to where it was before Ricardo, even to where it was before Adam Smith and the Physiocrats.

"In the same country, and at the same time, the exchangeable value of those commodities which can be resolved into LABOUR and PROFITS alone, would be accurately measured by the quantity of labour which would result from adding to the ACCUMULATED and *immediate labour actually worked up in them+the varying amount of the profits on all the advances estimated in labour. But, this must necessarily be the same as the quantity of labour which they will command" (*The Measure of Value Stated and Illustrated*, London, 1823, [pp.] 15-16).

"The labour which a commodity can command is a standard measure of value" (l.c., [p.] 61).

"I had nowhere seen it stated"* (that is, before his own book *The Measure of Value etc.* appeared), *"that the ordinary *quantity of labour* which a commodity will command must represent and measure the *quantity of labour worked up in it*, with the addition of profits"* (*Definitions in Political Economy etc.*, London, 1827, [p.] 196).

Mr. Malthus wants to include "profit" directly in the definition of *value*, so that it follows immediately from this definition, which

is not the case with Ricardo. This shows that he felt where the difficulty lay.

Besides, it is particularly absurd that he declares the *value of the commodity* and its *utilisation* as capital to be identical. When commodities or money (in brief, objectified labour) are exchanged as capital against living labour, they are always exchanged against a [XIII-755] greater quantity of labour than they contain. And if one compares the commodity before this exchange on the one hand, with the product resulting from this exchange with living labour on the other, one finds that the commodity has been exchanged for its own value (equivalent)+a surplus over and above its own value—the surplus value. But it is therefore absurd to say that the value of a commodity=its value+a surplus over and above this value. If the commodity, as a commodity, is exchanged for other commodities and not as capital against living labour, then, in so far as it is exchanged for an equivalent, it is exchanged for the same quantity of objectified labour as is embodied in it.

The only notable thing is therefore that according to Malthus the profit exists already in the value of the commodity, and that it is clear to him that the commodity always commands more labour than it embodies.

* "It is precisely because the labour which a commodity will ordinarily command measures the labour actually worked up in it with the addition of profits, that it is justifiable to consider it" (labour) "as a measure of value. If then the *ordinary value* of *a commodity* be considered as determined by the natural *and necessary conditions of its supply*, it is certain that the labour which it will ordinarily command is alone the measure of these conditions" (*Definitions in Political Economy*, London, 1827, [p.] 214).

"*Elementary costs of production*: an expression exactly equivalent to the conditions of [the] supply" (l.c., ed. by Cazenove, London, 1853, [p.] 14).

"*Measure of the conditions of* [*the*] *supply*: the quantity of labour for which the commodity will exchange, when it is in its natural and ordinary state" (l.c., ed. by Cazenove, [p.] 14).

"The quantity of labour which a commodity commands represents exactly the quantity of labour worked up in it, with the profits upon the advances, and does therefore really represent and measure those natural and necessary conditions of the supply, those elementary costs of production which determine value" (l.c., ed. by Cazenove, [p.] 125).

"The demand for a commodity, though not proportioned to the *quantity* of any other commodity which the purchaser is willing and able to give for it, is really proportioned to the *quantity of labour* which he will give for it; and for this reason: the *quantity of labour which a commodity will ordinarily command*, represents exactly the effectual demand for it; because it represents exactly *that quantity of labour and profits united necessary to effect its supply*; while the *actual* quantity of labour which a commodity will command when it differs from the *ordinary* quantity, represents the excess or defect of demand arising from temporary causes" * (l.c., ED. by Cazenove, [p.] 135).

Malthus is right in this also. The CONDITIONS OF *SUPPLY*, i.e. of the production or rather the reproduction of a commodity on the basis of capitalist production, are that it or its value (the money into which it is transformed) is exchanged in the process of its production or reproduction for more labour than is embodied in it, for it is only produced in order to realise a profit. For example, a cotton manufacturer sells his calico. The condition for the SUPPLY of new calico is that he exchanges the money—the exchange value of the calico—for more labour in the process of the reproduction of the calico than was embodied in it or than is represented by the money. For the cotton manufacturer produces calico as a capitalist. What he wants to produce is not calico, but profit. The production of calico is only a means for the production of profit. But what follows from this? The calico he produces contains more labour time, more labour than was contained in the calico ADVANCED. This surplus labour time, this surplus value, is also represented by a SURPLUS PRODUCE, *more* calico than was exchanged for labour. Therefore one part of the product does not replace the calico exchanged for labour, but constitutes SURPLUS PRODUCE which belongs to the manufacturer. Or, if we consider the whole product, each yard of calico contains an aliquot part, or its value contains an aliquot part, for which no equivalent is paid; this represents *unpaid* labour. If the manufacturer sells a yard of calico at its value, that is, if he exchanges it for money or for commodities which contain an equal amount of labour time, he realises a sum of money, or receives a quantity of commodities which cost him nothing. For he sells the calico not for the labour time for which he has paid, but for the labour time embodied in the calico, and [XIII-756] he did not pay for part of this labour time. He receives, for example, labour time=12s. but he only paid 8s. of this amount. When he sells it at its value, he sells it for 12, and thus gains 4s.

As far as the buyer is concerned, the assumption is that, under all circumstances, he pays *nothing but* the value of the calico. This means that he gives a sum of money which contains as much labour time [as] there is in the calico. Three cases are possible. The buyer is a capitalist. The money (i.e. the value of the commodity) with which he pays, also contains a portion of unpaid labour. Thus, if one person sells unpaid labour, the other person buys with unpaid labour. Both realise unpaid labour—one as seller, the other as buyer. Or, the buyer is an INDEPENDENT PRODUCER. In this case he receives equivalent for equivalent. Whether the labour which the seller sells him in the shape of commodities is

paid for or not, does not concern him. He receives as much objectified labour as he gives. Or, finally, he is a wage worker. In this case also, like every other buyer—provided the commodities are sold at their value—he receives an equivalent for his money in the shape of commodities. He receives as much objectified labour in commodities as he gives in money. But for the money which constitutes his wages he has given more labour than is embodied in the money. He has replaced the labour contained in it+surplus labour which he gives gratis. He paid for the money above its value, and therefore also pays for the equivalent of the money, the calico, etc., above its value. The COST for him as PURCHASER is thus greater than it is for the SELLER of any commodity although he receives an equivalent of the money in the commodity; but in the money he did not receive an equivalent of his labour; on the contrary, he gave more than the equivalent in labour. Thus the worker is the only one who pays for all commodities above their value even when he buys them at their value, because he buys money, the universal equivalent, above its value for labour. Consequently, no gain accrues to those who sell commodities to the worker. The worker does not pay the seller any more than any other buyer, he pays the value of labour. In fact, the capitalist who sells the commodity produced by the worker back to him, realises a profit on this sale, but only the same profit as he realises on every other buyer. His profit—as far as this worker is concerned—arises not from his having sold the worker the commodity *above* its value, but from his having previously bought it from the worker, as a matter of fact in the production process, *below* its value.

Now Mr. Malthus, who transformed the utilisation of commodities as capital into the value of commodities, quite consistently transforms all buyers into wage workers, in other words he makes them all exchange with the capitalist not commodities, but immediate labour, and makes them all give back to the capitalist more labour than the commodities *contain*, while conversely, the capitalist's profit results from *selling all* the labour contained in the commodities when he has *paid* for only a portion of the labour contained in them. Therefore, whereas the difficulty with Ricardo [arises from] the fact that the law of commodity exchange does not directly explain the exchange between capital and wage labour, but rather seems to contradict it, Malthus solves the difficulty by transforming the purchase (exchange) of commodities into an exchange between capital and wage labour. What Malthus does not understand is the difference between the total sum of labour

contained in a particular commodity and the sum of paid labour which is contained in it. It is precisely this difference which constitutes the source of profit. Further, Malthus inevitably arrives at the point of deriving profit from the fact that the seller sells his commodity not only *above* the amount it costs *him* (and the capitalist does this), but above what *it costs*; he thus reverts to the vulgarised conception of profit UPON EXPROPRIATION and derives surplus value from the fact that the seller sells the commodity *above* its value (i.e. for more labour time than is contained in it). What he thus gains as a seller of a commodity, he loses as a buyer of another and it is absolutely impossible to discover what "profit" is to be made in reality from such a general nominal price increase. [XIII-757] It is in particular difficult to understand how society *en masse* can enrich itself in this way, how a real SURPLUS value or SURPLUS PRODUCE can thus arise. An absurd, stupid idea.

Relying on some propositions of Adam Smith—who, as we have seen,[a] naively expresses all sorts of contradictory elements and thus becomes the source, the starting-point, of diametrically opposed conceptions—Mr. Malthus attempts in a confused way, though on the basis of a correct surmise and of the realisation of the existence of an unsolved difficulty, to counterpose a new theory to that of Ricardo and thus to maintain a "FIRST RANK" position. The transition from this attempt to the nonsensical, vulgarised conceptions proceeds in the following way:

If we consider the utilisation of a commodity as capital—that is, in its exchange for living, productive labour—we see that it commands—besides the labour time it itself contains, i.e. besides the equivalent reproduced by the worker—surplus labour time, which is the source of profit. Now if we transfer this *utilisation of the commodity* to its *value*, then each purchaser of a commodity must act as if he were a worker, that is, in buying it, besides the quantity of labour contained in the commodity, he must give for it a surplus quantity of labour. But since other purchasers, *apart from the workers*, are *not* related to commodities as workers // even when the worker appears as a mere purchaser, the old, original difference persists indirectly, as we have seen //, it must be assumed that although they do not directly give more labour than is contained in the commodities, they give a value which contains more labour, and this amounts to the same thing. It is by means of this "surplus labour, or, what amounts to the same thing, the

[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 397-98 and Vol. 31, pp. 7, 439-40.—*Ed.*

value of more labour", that the transition is made. IN FACT, it comes to this: the value of a commodity consists of the value paid for it by the purchaser, and this value=the equivalent (the value) of the commodity+a surplus over and above this value, SURPLUS value. Thus we have the vulgarised view that profit consists in a commodity being *sold more dearly than it was bought.* The purchaser buys it for more labour or for more objectified labour than it costs the seller.

But if the purchaser is himself a capitalist, a seller of commodities, and his money, his means of purchase, represents only goods which have been sold, then it follows that both have sold their goods too dearly and are consequently swindling each other, moreover they are swindling each other to the same extent, provided they both merely realise the general rate of profit. Where are the buyers to come from who will pay the capitalist the QUANTITY of labour equal to that contained in his commodity+his profit? For example, the commodity costs the seller 10s. He sells it for 12s. He thus commands labour not to the value of 10s. only, but of 2s. more. But the buyer also sells his commodity, which costs 10s., for 12s. So that each loses as a buyer what he gained as a seller. The only exception is the working class. For since the price of the product is increased beyond its cost, they can only buy back a part of that product, and thus another part of the product, or the price of another part of the product, constitutes profit for the capitalist. But as profit arises precisely from the fact that the workers can only buy back part of the product, the capitalist (the capitalist class) can never realise his profit as a result of demand from the workers, he cannot realise it by exchanging the whole product against the workers' wage, but rather by exchanging *the whole* of the workers' wage against only part of the product. Additional demand and additional buyers apart from the workers themselves are therefore necessary, otherwise there could not be any profit. Where do they come from? If they themselves are capitalists, sellers, then the mutual swindling within the capitalist class mentioned earlier occurs, since they mutually raise the nominal prices of their commodities and each gains as a seller what he loses as a buyer. What is *required* therefore are *buyers who are not sellers,* so that the capitalist [can] realise his profit and sell his commodities "at their value". Hence the necessity for LANDLORDS, pensioners, sinecurists, priests, etc., not to forget their MENIAL SERVANTS and RETAINERS. How these "purchasers" come into possession [XIII-758] of their means of purchase, how they must first take part of the product from the capitalists without giving any

equivalent in order to buy back less than an equivalent with the means thus obtained, Mr. Malthus does not explain. At any rate, what follows from this is his PLEA for the greatest possible increase in the unproductive classes in order that the sellers may find a market, a DEMAND for their SUPPLY. And so it turns out further that the population pamphleteer[57] preaches continuous overconsumption and the maximum possible appropriation of the annual product by idlers, as a condition of production. In addition to the PLEA arising inevitably out of this theory, comes the argument that capital represents the drive *for abstract wealth,* the *drive for valorisation,* which can only be put into effect by means of a class of buyers representing the *drive to spend, to consume, to squander,* namely, the unproductive classes, who are buyers without being sellers.

There developed on this basis a fine old row between the MALTHUSIANS and the RICARDIANS in the 20s (from 1820 to 1830 was in general the great metaphysical period in English political economy).[a] Like the MALTHUSIANS, the RICARDIANS deem it necessary that the worker should not himself appropriate his product, but that part of it should go to the capitalist, in order that he, the worker, should have an *incentive for production,* and that the development of wealth should thus be ensured. But they rage against the view of the MALTHUSIANS that LANDLORDS, STATE AND CHURCH SINECURISTS, AND A WHOLE LOT OF IDLE RETAINERS, MUST FIRST LAY HOLD—WITHOUT ANY EQUIVALENT—OF A PART OF THE CAPITALIST'S PRODUCE (just as the capitalist does in respect of the workers) therewith to buy their own goods from the capitalist with a profit for the latter, although this is exactly what the RICARDIANS affirm with regard to the workers. In order that accumulation may increase and with it the demand for labour, the worker must relinquish as much of his product as possible gratis to the capitalist, so that the latter can transform the NET REVENUE, which has been increased in this way, back again into capital. The same sort [of argument is used by] the MALTHUSIAN. As much as possible should be taken away gratis from the industrial capitalists in the form of rent, taxes, etc., to enable them to sell what remains to their involuntary "SHAREHOLDERS" at a profit. The worker must not be allowed to appropriate his own product, otherwise he would lose the incentive to work, say the RICARDIANS along with the MALTHUSIANS. The industrial capitalist must relinquish a portion of his product to the classes which only

[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 31, p. 388.—*Ed.*

consume—*fruges consumere nati*[a]—in order that these in turn may exchange it again, on unfavourable terms, with the capitalist. Otherwise the capitalist would lose the incentive for production, which consists precisely in the fact that he makes a big profit, that he sells his commodities far above their value. We shall return to this comic struggle later.[b]

First of all, some evidence showing that Malthus arrives at a very common conception:

* "Whatever may be the number of intermediate acts of barter which may take place in regard to commodities—whether the producers send them to China, or sell them in the place where they are produced: the question as to an adequate market for them, depends exclusively upon *whether the producers can replace their capitals with ordinary profits*, so as to enable them successfully to go on with their business. *But what are their capitals*? They are, as Adam Smith states, the tools to work with, the materials to work upon, and the means of commanding the necessary quantity of labour." *

(And this, he affirms, is ALL THE LABOUR WORKED UP IN THE COMMODITY. Profit is a *surplus* over and above the LABOUR EXPENDED in the production of the commodity. IN FACT, therefore, a NOMINAL SURCHARGE OVER and above THE COST OF THE COMMODITY.) And in order that there may remain no doubt about his meaning, he quotes Colonel Torrens' [*An Essay*] *on the Production of Wealth* (CH. VI, p. 349) approvingly as confirming his own views:

* "Effectual demand consists in the power and inclination, on *the part of consumers*" * //the antithesis of buyers and sellers becomes that of CONSUMERS and PRODUCERS//, [XIII-759] * "to give for commodities, either by immediate or circuitous barter, some greater proportion of all the ingredients of capital than their production costs" * (*Definitions* [*in Political Economy*], ED. by Cazenove, pp. 70-71).

And Mr. Cazenove himself, the publisher of, apologist for and commentator on the Malthusian *Definitions*, says:

* "Profit does not depend upon the *proportion in which commodities are exchanged with each other*," *

(for if commodity exchange between capitalists alone were taken into account, the Malthusian theory, in so far as it does not speak of exchange with workers, who have *no* other COMMODITY apart from their LABOUR to exchange with the capitalists, would appear nonsensical [since profit would be] merely a reciprocal SURCHARGE, a nominal SURCHARGE ON THE PRICES OF THEIR COMMODITIES. Commodity exchange must therefore be disregarded and people who produce *no* commodities must exchange money)

[a] Born to consume the fruits (Horace, *Epistolae*, Liber primus, Epistola II, 27).— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 233-41.— *Ed.*

* "seeing that the same proportion may be maintained under every variety of profit, *but upon the proportion which goes to wages,* or is required to cover the prime cost, and which is in all cases determined by the degree in which the *sacrifice made by the purchaser,* or the *labour's worth which he gives,* in order to acquire a commodity, *exceeds that made by the producer, in order to bring it to market*" * (Cazenove, l.c., p. 46).

In order to achieve these wonderful results, Malthus has to make some very great theoretical preparations. *D'abord,*[a] seizing on that side of Adam Smith's theory according to which the value of a commodity=the QUANTITY OF LABOUR WHICH IT COMMANDS, OR BY WHICH IT IS COMMANDED, OR AGAINST WHICH IT EXCHANGES, he must cast all the objections raised by Adam Smith himself, by his followers and also by Malthus, to the effect that the *value* of a commodity—value—can be the measure of value.

*The Measure of Value Stated and Illustrated,* London, 1823, is a real example of feeble-minded thought, which winds its way in a casuistical and self-stupefying manner through its own inner confusion, and whose difficult, clumsy style leaves the unprejudiced and incompetent reader with the impression that the difficulty of making sense out of the confusion does not lie in the contradiction between confusion and clarity, but in a lack of understanding on the part of the reader.

Malthus has first of all to obliterate Ricardo's differentiation between "VALUE OF LABOUR" and "QUANTITY OF LABOUR"[b] and to reduce Smith's juxtaposition of the two to the one false aspect.

* "Any given *quantity of labour* must be *of the same value* as the *wages* which command it, or for which it actually exchanges" * (*The Measure of Value Stated and Illustrated,* London, 1823, [p.] 5).

The purpose of this phrase is to equate the expressions "*QUANTITY OF LABOUR*" and "*VALUE OF LABOUR*".

This phrase itself is a mere tautology, AN ABSURD TRUISM. Since *WAGES* or that "FOR WHICH IT" (A QUANTITY OF LABOUR) "EXCHANGES" constitute the *value* of this quantity of labour, it is tautologous to say: the *value* of a certain quantity of labour is equal to the *wages* or to the amount of money or commodities for which this labour exchanges. In other words, this means nothing more than: the exchange value of a definite quantity of labour=its exchange value—otherwise CALLED WAGES. But //apart from the fact that it is not labour, but labour capacity, which exchanges directly for WAGES; it is this confusion that makes the nonsense possible// it by no means follows from this that a definite quantity of labour=the

[a] First of all.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 32-35.—*Ed.*

quantity of labour embodied in the WAGES, or in the money or the commodities which represent the WAGES. If a labourer works for 12 hours and receives the product of 6 hours as wages, then the product of the 6 hours constitutes the *VALUE* of 12 hours labour (because the WAGES [represent] THE EXCHANGEABLE COMMODITY FOR [12 hours labour]). It does not follow from this that 6 hours of labour=12 hours, or that the commodities in which 6 hours of labour are embodied [are] equal to the commodities in which 12 hours of labour are embodied. It does not follow that the value of WAGES=the value of the product in which the labour is embodied. It follows only that the VALUE OF LABOUR (because it is measured by the VALUE of the labour capacity, not by the labour carried out), the [XIII-760] VALUE OF A GIVEN QUANTITY OF LABOUR contains less labour than it buys; that, consequently, the *value of the commodities* in which this purchased labour is embodied, is very different from the value of the commodities with which this GIVEN QUANTITY OF LABOUR WAS PURCHASED, OR BY WHICH IT WAS COMMANDED. Mr. Malthus draws the opposite conclusion. Since the *value* of a given quantity of labour=its value, it follows, according to him, that the value in which this quantity of labour is embodied=the value of the WAGES. It follows further from this that the immediate labour (that is, after deducting the means of production) which is absorbed by and contained in a commodity, creates no greater value than that which is paid for it; [that it] only reproduces the VALUE OF the WAGES. The necessary consequence ensuing from this is that profit cannot be explained if the value of commodities is determined by the amount of labour embodied in them, but must rather be explained in some other way; provided the profit a commodity realises is to be included in the value of that commodity. For the labour worked up in a commodity consists 1) of the labour contained in the machinery, etc., used, which consequently reappears in the value of the product; 2) of the labour contained in the RAW material used up. The amount of labour contained in these two elements before the new commodity is produced is obviously not increased merely because they become production elements of a new commodity. There remains therefore 3) the labour embodied in the WAGES which is exchanged for living labour. However, according to Malthus, this latter is not greater than the objectified labour AGAINST WHICH IT IS EXCHANGED. HENCE, a commodity contains no portion of unpaid labour but only labour which replaces an equivalent. HENCE it follows that if the value of a commodity were determined by the labour embodied in it, it would yield no profit. If it does yield a profit, then this profit is a *surplus* in the price

over and above the labour embodied in the commodity. Therefore, in order to be sold at its value (which includes the profit), a commodity must command A QUANTITY OF LABOUR=THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR WORKED UP IN ITSELF+A SURPLUS OF LABOUR, REPRESENTING THE PROFIT REALISED IN THE PURCHASE OF THE COMMODITY.

Moreover, in order to make LABOUR, not the QUANTITY of LABOUR required for production, but LABOUR as a commodity, serve as a measure of value, Malthus asserts that "*THE VALUE OF LABOUR IS CONSTANT*" (*The Measure of Value etc.*, [p.] 29, note). //There is nothing original in this; it is a mere paraphrase and further elaboration of a passage of *Adam Smith,* Book I, CH. V (ed. by Garnier, t. I, [pp.] 65[-66]) [Vol. I, p. 58].[58]

"Equal quantities of labour, at all times and places, may be said to be of equal value to the labourer. In his ordinary state of health, strength and spirits, in the ordinary degree of his skill and dexterity, he must always lay down the same portion of his ease, his liberty, and his happiness. The price which he pays must always be the same, whatever may be the quantity of goods which he receives in return for it. Of these, indeed, it may sometimes purchase a greater and sometimes a smaller quantity; but it is their value which varies, not that of the labour which purchases them. At all times and places that is *dear* which it is difficult to come at, or which it costs much labour to acquire; and that *cheap* which is to be had easily, or with very little labour. Labour alone, therefore, never varying in its own value, is alone the ultimate and real standard by which the value of all commodities can at all times and places be estimated and compared."[a]//

//Further, Malthus' discovery—of which he is very proud and which he claims he was the first to make—namely, that value=the quantity of labour embodied in a commodity+a QUANTITY OF LABOUR which represents the profit; [this discovery] seems likewise to be quite simply a combination of two sentences from Smith. (Malthus never escapes plagiarism.)

"The real value of all the different component parts of price is measured by the quantity of labour which they can, each of them, purchase or command. Labour measures the value, not only of that part of price which resolves itself into *labour,* but of that which resolves itself into *rent,* and of that which resolves itself into *profit*" (ed. by Garnier, t. I, l. I, ch. VI, p. 100) [Vol. I, p. 86].

[XIII-761] Malthus writes in this context:

"If the demand for labour rises, [it appeared that] the GREATER EARNINGS OF THE LABOURER were CAUSED, NOT BY A RISE IN THE VALUE OF LABOUR, BUT BY A FALL IN THE VALUE OF THE PRODUCE FOR WHICH THE LABOUR WAS EXCHANGED. And in the CASE of an ABUNDANCE of labour, THE SMALL EARNINGS OF THE LABOURER were CAUSED BY A RISE IN THE VALUE OF THE PRODUCE AND NOT BY A FALL IN THE VALUE OF LABOUR"[b] (*The Measure of Value etc.*, [p.] 35) (cf. ibid., pp. 33-34).

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 28, p. 529, and Vol. 30, p. 383.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes Malthus with some alterations.—*Ed.*

Bailey ridicules most excellently Malthus' *proof* that the *VALUE OF LABOUR* IS CONSTANT (Malthus' further demonstration, not that of Smith; nor is the sentence [about] the INVARIABLE VALUE OF LABOUR):

*"In the same way any article might be proved to be of invariable value; for instance, 10 yards of cloth. For whether we gave £5 or £10 for the 10 yards, the sum given would always be equal in value to the cloth for which it was paid, or, in other words, of invariable value in relation to cloth. But that which is given for a thing of invariable value, must itself be invariable, whence the 10 yards of cloth must be of invariable value... It is just the same kind of futility to call wages invariable in value, because though variable in quantity they command the same portion of labour, as to call the *sum* given for a hat, of invariable value, because, although sometimes more and sometimes less, it always purchases the hat"* (*A Critical Dissertation on the Nature, Measures, and Causes of Value etc.*, London, 1825, [pp. 145,] 146-47).

In the same work, Bailey bitingly derides the insipid, impressive-sounding tables with which Malthus "illustrates" his MEASURE OF VALUE. In his *Definitions in Political Economy* (London, 1827), in which Malthus gives FULL VENT to his annoyance over Bailey's sarcasm, he seeks, amongst other things, to prove the *INVARIABLE VALUE OF LABOUR,* as follows:

"A LARGE CLASS OF COMMODITIES, such as RAW PRODUCTS, rises in the PROGRESS of SOCIETY as compared with labour, while MANUFACTURED ARTICLES FALL. So it is not FAR FROM the TRUTH TO SAY, that the AVERAGE MASS OF COMMODITIES WHICH A GIVEN QUANTITY OF LABOUR WILL COMMAND IN THE SAME COUNTRY, DURING THE COURSE OF SOME CENTURIES, MAY NOT VERY ESSENTIALLY VARY" (*Definitions etc.*, London, 1827, [p.] 206).

Malthus' proof that a rise in the MONEY PRICE OF WAGES must lead to an all-round rise in the money price of commodities is of just the same quality as his proof of the "INVARIABLE VALUE OF LABOUR":

*"If the money wages of labour universally rise, the value of money proportionally falls; and when the value of money falls ... the prices of goods always rise"* (*Definitions*, l.c., [p.] 34).

It has to be proved that, when the VALUE OF MONEY COMPARED WITH LABOUR falls, then the VALUE OF ALL COMMODITIES COMPARED WITH MONEY rises, or that the VALUE OF MONEY, NOT ESTIMATED IN LABOUR, BUT IN THE OTHER COMMODITIES, FALLS. And Malthus proves this by presupposing it.

*Malthus* bases his polemic against Ricardo's definition of value entirely on the principles first advanced by Ricardo himself, to the effect that VARIATIONS in the *exchangeable values of commodities, independent of the labour worked up in them, are produced by the different composition of capital as resulting from the process of circulation—different proportions of circulating and fixed capital, different degrees of durability in the fixed capitals employed, different returns of circulating capitals.* In short,

Ricardo's confusion of cost price with VALUE[a] and, by regarding the equalisation of cost prices, which are independent of the MASS OF LABOUR EMPLOYED IN THE PARTICULAR SPHERES OF PRODUCTION, as modifications of VALUE itself, he throws the whole principle overboard. Malthus seizes on these contradictions in the determination of value by labour time—contradictions that were first discovered and emphasised by Ricardo himself—not in order to solve them but in order to relapse into quite meaningless conceptions and to pass off the mere *formulation* of contradictory phenomena, their expression in speech, as their solution. We shall see the same method employed during the dissolution of the Ricardian school, i.e. by Mill and McCulloch,[b] who, in order to reason the contradictory phenomena out of existence, seek to bring them into direct conformity with the general law by gabble, by scholastic and absurd definitions and distinctions, with the result, by the way, that the foundation itself vanishes.

The passages in which Malthus uses the material provided by Ricardo against the law of value, and turns it against him, are the following:

* "It is observed by Adam Smith that corn is an annual crop, butchers' meat a crop which requires 4 or 5 years to grow; and consequently, if we compare two quantities of corn and beef which are of equal exchangeable value, it is certain that a difference of 3 or 4 additional years profit at 15% upon the capital employed in the production of the beef would, exclusively of any other considerations, make up in value for a much smaller quantity [XIII-762] of labour, and thus we might have 2 commodities of the same exchangeable value, while the accumulated and immediate labour of the one was 40 or 50% less than that of the other. This is an event of daily occurrence in reference to a vast mass of the most important commodities in the country; and if profits were to fall from 15% to 8%, the value of beef compared with corn would fall above 20%" * (*The Measure of Value Stated etc.*, [pp.] 10[-11]).

Since capital consists of commodities, and a large proportion of the commodities which enter into it or constitute it have a price (or EXCHANGEABLE VALUE in the ordinary sense) which consists neither of ACCUMULATED nor of IMMEDIATE LABOUR, but—in so far as we are discussing only this particular commodity—of a purely nominal increase in the value CAUSED BY THE ADDITION OF THE AVERAGE PROFITS, Malthus says:

* "Labour is not the only element worked up in capital" (*Definitions*, ed. by Cazenove, [p.] 29).

"What are the *costs of production*? ... the quantity of *labour in kind required to be worked up in the commodity*, and in the tools and materials consumed in its

[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 415-23.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 274-93, 353-70.—*Ed.*

production *with such an additional quantity* as is equivalent to the ordinary profits upon the advances for the time that they have been advanced" (l.c., [pp.] 74-75).

"On the same grounds Mr. Mill is quite incorrect, in calling capital hoarded labour. It may, perhaps, be called *hoarded labour and profits,* but certainly not hoarded labour alone, unless we determine to call profits labour" (l.c., [pp. 60-]61).

"To say that the values of commodities are regulated or determined by the quantity of labour and capital necessary to produce them, is essentially false. To say that they are regulated *by the quantity of labour and profits* necessary to produce them, is essentially true"* (l.c., [p.] 129).

In this connection *Cazenove* adds a note on p. 130:

* "The expression Labour and Profits is liable to this objection, that the two are not correlative terms, labour being an agent and profits a result; the one a cause, the other a consequence. On this account *Mr. Senior* has substituted for it the expression: '*Labour and Abstinence*'... It must be acknowledged, indeed, that it is not the abstinence, but the *use* of the capital productively, which is the cause of profits."*

(According to Senior:

* "He who converts his revenue into capital, *abstains from the enjoyment* which its expenditure would afford him."*[a])

Marvellous explanation. The value of the commodity consists of the labour contained in it+profit; of the labour contained in it and the labour not contained in it, but which must be paid for.

Malthus continues his polemic against Ricardo:

"Ricardo's assertion, that as the VALUE OF WAGES RISES PROFITS PROPORTIONALLY FALL AND vice versa, can be true only on the assumption that commodities in which the same quantity of labour has been worked up are always of the same value, and this will be found to be true in one case out of 500; and necessarily so because the progress of civilisation and IMPROVEMENT continually increases the QUANTITY OF FIXED CAPITAL EMPLOYED and renders more VARIOUS and UNEQUAL the TIMES OF THE RETURNS OF THE CIRCULATING CAPITAL" (*Definitions,* London, 1827, [pp.] 31-32).

(The same point is made on pp. [53-]*54* in Cazenove's EDITION where Malthus actually says:

The NATURAL STATE OF THINGS falsifies Ricardo's measure of value because this *state "in the progress of civilisation and improvement tends continually to increase the quantity of fixed capital employed, and to render more various and unequal the times of the returns of the circulating capital".)

"Mr. Ricardo himself admits of considerable exceptions to his rule; but if we examine the classes which come under his exceptions, that is, where the quantities of fixed capital employed are different and of different degrees of duration, and where the periods of the returns of the circulating capital employed are not the same, we shall find that they are so numerous, that the rule may be considered as the exception, and the exceptions the rule"* ([p.] 50).

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[a] See N. W. Senior, *Political Economy.* In: *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana...,* London, 1850, p. 60. Here Marx quotes Senior from Cazenove.— *Ed.*

In accordance with what has been said above, Malthus also declares VALUE to be[59]:

*"The estimation in which a commodity is held, founded upon its *cost to the purchaser* or the *sacrifice* which he must make in order to acquire it, which sacrifice is measured by the *quantity of labour that he gives in exchange for* it, or what *comes to the same thing*, by the *labour* which it will command"* (*Definitions*, ED. by Cazenove, [pp. 8-]9).

Cazenove also emphasises as a difference between Malthus and Ricardo:

[XIII-763] *"Mr. Ricardo has, with Adam Smith, adopted labour as the true standard of cost; but he has applied it to the *producing* cost only; ...it is equally applicable as a measure of *cost to the purchaser*"* (l.c., [pp.] 56-57).

In other words: the value of a commodity is equal to the sum of money which the purchaser must pay, and this sum is best estimated in terms of the amount of COMMON LABOUR which can be bought with it.

Malthus *presupposes* the *existence of profit* in order to be able to measure its value by an external standard. He does not deal with the question of the origin and intrinsic possibility of profit. But what determines the sum of money is, naturally, not explained. It is the quite ordinary idea of the matter that is prevalent in everyday LIFE. A mere triviality expressed in high-flown language. In other words, it means nothing more than that *cost price* and *value* are identical, a confusion which, in the case of Adam Smith, and still more in the case of Ricardo, contradicts their real analysis, but which Malthus elevates into a law. It is the conception of value held by the philistine who, being a captive of competition, only knows the outward appearance of value. What then determines the cost price? The ADVANCES+profit. And what determines profit? Where do the FUNDS for the profit come from, where does the SURPLUS PRODUCE in which the SURPLUS VALUE manifests itself come from? If it is simply a matter of a nominal increase of the money price, then nothing is easier than to increase the value of commodities. And what determines the value of the ADVANCES? The *value* of the labour contained in it, says Malthus. And what determines this? The *value* of the commodities on which the wages are spent! And the value of these commodities? The value of the labour+profit. And so we keep going round and round in a circle. Granting that the worker is in fact paid the value of his labour, that is, that the commodities (or sum of money) which constitute his WAGES=the value of the commodities (or sum of money) in which his labour is realised, so that if he receives 100 thaler in

wages he also adds only 100 thaler [of value] to the raw material, etc.—in short, to the ADVANCES—then profit can only arise from a surcharge added by the seller over and above the *real* value of the commodity. All sellers do this. Thus, in so far as capitalists engage in exchange amongst themselves, nobody gains from this surcharge, and least of all is a surplus fund thus produced from which they can draw their REVENUE. Only the capitalists whose commodities are consumed by the working class will make a real and not an imaginary profit, by selling commodities back again to the workers at a higher price than they paid the workers for them. The commodities for which they paid the workers 100 thaler will be sold back again to them for 110. That means that they will only sell $^{10}/_{11}$ of the product back to the workers and retain $^{1}/_{11}$ for themselves. But what else does that mean but that the worker who, for example, works for 11 hours, gets paid for only 10; that he is given the product of only 10 hours, while the capitalist receives one hour or the product of one hour without giving any equivalent. And what does it mean but that profit—as far as the working class is concerned—is made by their working for the capitalists *for nothing* part of the time, that therefore "the *quantity* of labour" DOES NOT COME TO THE SAME THING AS the "VALUE OF LABOUR". The other capitalists however would only be making an imaginary profit, since they would not have this expedient. How little Malthus understood Ricardo's first propositions, how completely he failed to comprehend that a profit is possible in other ways than by means of a SURCHARGE is shown conclusively by the following passage:

* "Allowing that the first commodities, if completed and brought into use immediately, might be the result of pure labour, and that their value would therefore be determined by the quantity of that labour; yet it is quite impossible that such commodities should be *employed as capital* to assist in the production of other commodities, *without the capitalist being deprived of the use of his advances for a certain period, and requiring a remuneration in the shape of profits.* In the early periods of society, on account of the comparative scarcity of these advances of labour, this remuneration would be high, and would affect the value of such commodities to a considerable degree, owing to the high rate of profits. In the more advanced stages of society, the value of capital and commodities is largely affected by profits, on account of the greatly increased quantity of fixed capital employed, and the greater length of time for which much of the circulating capital is advanced before the capitalist is repaid by the returns. In *both cases,* the *rate at which commodities exchange with each other,* is *affected by the varying amount of profits...*" * (*Definitions,* ED. by Cazenove, [p.] 60).

The concept of *relative* wages is one of Ricardo's greatest contributions. It consists in this—that the *value of the wages* (and consequently of the *profit*) depends absolutely on the proportion

of that part of the working day during which the *worker works for himself* (producing or reproducing his wage) to that part of his time which belongs to the capitalist. This is important economically, IN FACT it is only another way of expressing the real theory of surplus value.[a] It is important further in regard to the social relationship between the two [XIII-764] classes. Malthus smells a rat and is therefore constrained to protest.

* "No writer that I have met with, anterior to Mr. Ricardo, ever used the term *wages*, or real wages, as implying *proportions*." *

(Ricardo speaks of the *value* of WAGES, which is indeed also presented as the part of the product accruing to the worker.)[b]

* "*Profits*, indeed, imply proportions; and the *rate of profits had always justly been estimated by a percentage upon the value of the advances*." *

//What Malthus understands by *VALUE OF ADVANCES* is very hard, and for him even impossible, to say. According to him, the VALUE of a commodity=the ADVANCES contained in it+PROFIT. Since the ADVANCES, apart from the IMMEDIATE LABOUR, also consist of COMMODITIES, the VALUE of the ADVANCES=the ADVANCES IN THEM+PROFIT. Profit thus =profit UPON THE ADVANCES+PROFIT. And so on, *ad infinitum.*//

* "But wages had uniformly been considered as rising or falling, not according to any *proportion* which they might bear to the whole produce obtained by a certain quantity of labour, but by the greater or smaller quantity of any particular produce received by the labourer, or by the greater or smaller power which such produce would convey, of commanding the necessaries and conveniencies of life" * (*Definitions*, London, 1827, [pp.] 29-30).

Since the production of *exchange value*—its valorisation—is the immediate aim of capitalist production, [it is important to know] how to measure it. Since the value of the CAPITAL ADVANCED is expressed in money (real money of account), the rate of increase is measured by the amount of capital itself, and a capital (a sum of money) of a certain size—100—is taken as a standard.

* "Profit of capital," * says Malthus, * "consists of the difference between the value of the capital advanced, and the value of the commodity when sold and used" * (*Definitions in Political Economy*, London, 1827, pp. 240-41).

*Productive and unproductive labour.*

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[a] See this volume, pp. 52-59.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 37, 40, 52-53, 184.—*Ed.*

* "Revenue is expended with a view to immediate support and enjoyment, and capital is expended with a view to profit" (*Definitions,* London, 1827, [p.] 86).

"A labourer and a menial servant are two instruments used for purposes distinctly different, one to assist in obtaining wealth, the other to assist in consuming it" * (l.c., [p.] 94).[60]

The following is a good definition of the PRODUCTIVE LABOURER:

The PRODUCTIVE LABOURER he that *DIRECTLY AUGMENTS "HIS MASTER'S WEALTH"* (*Principles of Political Economy,* [2nd ed., p.] 47 [note]).

//In addition the following passage should be noted:

* "The only productive consumption, properly so called, is the consumption and destruction of wealth by capitalists with a view to reproduction... The workman whom the capitalist employs certainly consumes that part of his wages which he does not save, as revenue, with a view to subsistence and enjoyment; and not as capital, with a view to production. *He is a productive consumer to the person who employs him,* and to the state, *but not, strictly speaking, to himself*" * (*Definitions,* ED. by Cazenove, [p.] 30).//

*Accumulation.*

* "No political economist of the present day can by *saving* mean mere hoarding; and beyond this contracted and inefficient proceeding, no use of the term in reference to the national wealth can well be imagined, but that which must arise from a different application of what is saved, founded upon a real distinction between the different kinds of labour maintained by it" (*Principles of Political Economy,* [2nd ed., pp.] 38-39).

"*Accumulation of Capital*: the employment of a portion of revenue as capital. *Capital may therefore increase without an increase of stock or wealth* (*Definitions,* ED. by Cazenove, [p.] 11).

"Prudential habits with regard to marriage carried to a considerable extent, among the labouring classes of a country mainly depending upon manufactures and commerce, *might injure it*" * (*Principles of Political Economy,* [2nd ed., p.] 215).

This from the preacher of CHECKS against overpopulation.

* "It is the *want of necessaries* which mainly stimulates the working classes to produce luxuries; and were this stimulus removed or greatly weakened, so that the necessaries of life could be obtained with very little labour, instead of more time being devoted to the production of conveniences, there is every reason to think that less time would be so devoted" * (*Principles of Political Economy,* [2nd ed., p.] 334).

Most important for the exponent of overpopulation, however, is this passage:

* "From the nature of a population, an increase of labourers cannot be brought into the market, in consequence of a particular demand, till after the lapse of 16 or 18 years, and the conversion of revenue into capital by saving, may take place much more rapidly: a *country is always liable* to *an increase in the quantity of the funds* for the maintenance of labour faster than the increase of population" * (l.c., [pp.] 319-20).

[XIII-765] *Cazenove* rightly remarks:

* "When capital is employed in *advancing to the workman his wages, it adds nothing to the funds for the maintenance of labour,* but simply consists in the application of a certain proportion of those funds already in existence, for the purposes of production" * (*Definitions in Political Economy,* [ed. by Cazenove, p.] 22, note).

CONSTANT AND VARIABLE CAPITAL

"*ACCUMULATED LABOUR*" (it should really be called MATERIALISED LABOUR, objectified labour): * "the labour worked up in the raw materials and tools applied to the production of other commodities" (*Definitions in Political Economy,* ed. by Cazenove, [p.] 13).

"The labour worked up in commodities, the labour worked up in the capital necessary to their production should be designated by the term *accumulated labour,* as contradistinguished from the *immediate labour employed by the last capitalist*" * (l.c., [pp.] 28[-29]).

It is indeed very important to make this distinction. In Malthus, however, it leads to nothing.

He does make an attempt to reduce the SURPLUS VALUE or AT LEAST ITS RATE (which, by the way, he always confuses with PROFIT and RATE OF PROFIT) to its relation to variable capital, that part of capital which is expended on *IMMEDIATE LABOUR.* This attempt, however, is childish and could not be otherwise in view of his conception of VALUE. In his *Principles of Political Economy,* he says:

"Suppose that capital is wholly expended in wages. £100 EXPENDED IN IMMEDIATE LABOUR. The RETURNS at the end of the year 110, 120, or 130; IT IS EVIDENT THAT IN EACH CASE THE PROFITS WILL BE *DETERMINATED BY THE PROPORTION OF THE VALUE OF THE WHOLE PRODUCE WHICH IS REQUIRED TO PAY THE LABOUR EMPLOYED.* IF THE VALUE OF THE PRODUCE IN [the] MARKET=110, the PROPORTION REQUIRED TO PAY THE LABOURERS=$^{10}/_{11}$ of the VALUE of the PRODUCE, and PROFITS=10%. If the value of the produce be 120, the proportion for LABOUR=$^{10}/_{12}$, and profits 20%; if 130, the PROPORTION REQUIRED TO PAY THE LABOUR ADVANCED=$^{10}/_{13}$, and PROFITS=30%. Now suppose that the ADVANCES of the CAPITALIST do not consist of LABOUR alone. *The capitalist expects an equal profit upon all the parts of the capital which he advances.* Assume that $^{1}/_{4}$ of his ADVANCES [are] for (IMMEDIATE) LABOUR, [and] $^{3}/_{4}$ consist of ACCUMULATED LABOUR and PROFITS, with ANY ADDITIONS WHICH MAY ARISE from RENTS, TAXES and other OUTGOINGS. Then [it will be] STRICTLY TRUE THAT *THE PROFITS OF THE CAPITALIST WILL VARY WITH THE VARYING VALUE of this $^{1}/_{4}$ of his PRODUCE COMPARED WITH THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR EMPLOYED.* As an instance let us suppose that a FARMER employs in the CULTIVATION £2,000, 1,500 of which [he expends] IN SEED, KEEP OF HORSES, WEAR AND TEAR OF HIS FIXED CAPITAL, INTEREST UPON HIS FIXED AND CIRCULATING CAPITALS, RENTS, TITHES, TAXES, etc., and £500 on IMMEDIATE LABOUR; and [that] the RETURNS [obtained] at the end of the year are worth 2,400. His profits [will be] 400 on 2,000=20%. It is straight away OBVIOUS *THAT IF WE TOOK $^{1}/_{4}$ OF THE VALUE OF THE PRODUCE, namely £600, and COMPARED IT WITH*

*THE AMOUNT PAID IN THE WAGES OF IMMEDIATE LABOUR, THE RESULT WOULD SHOW EXACTLY THE SAME RATE OF PROFITS*" ([2nd ed., pp.] 267-68).[a]

Here Malthus lapses into LORD DUNDREARYISM.[61] What he wants to do (he has an inkling that SURPLUS VALUE, HENCE profit, has a definite relation to variable capital, the portion of capital expended on wages) is to show THAT "PROFITS ARE DETERMINATED BY THE PROPORTION OF THE VALUE OF THE WHOLE PRODUCE WHICH IS REQUIRED TO PAY THE LABOUR EMPLOYED". He begins correctly in so far as he assumes that the whole of the capital consists of variable capital, capital expended on wages. In this case, profit and SURPLUS VALUE are in fact identical. But even in this case he confines himself to a very SILLY REFLECTION. If the capital expended equals 100 and the profit is 10%, the value of the product is, accordingly, 110 and the profit is $^1/_{10}$ of the capital expended (HENCE 10% if calculated on the capital), and $^1/_{11}$ of the value of the total product, in the value of which its own value is included. Thus profit constitutes $^1/_{11}$ of the value of the total product and the capital expended forms $^{10}/_{11}$ of this value. In relation to the total, 10% profit can be so expressed that the part of the value of the total product which is not made up of profit=$^{10}/_{11}$ of the total product; or, a product of 110 which includes 10% profit consists of $^{10}/_{11}$ outlay, on which the profit is made. This brilliant mathematical effort amuses him so much that he repeats the same calculation using a profit of 20%, 30%, etc. But so far we have merely a tautology. The profit is a PERCENTAGE on the capital expended, the value of the total product includes the value of the profit and the capital expended [XIII-766] is the value of the total product—the value of the profit. Thus 110−10=100. And 100 is $^{10}/_{11}$ of 110. But let us proceed.

Let us assume a capital consisting not merely of variable but also of constant capital. "The capitalist expects an equal profit upon all the parts of the capital which he advances." This however contradicts the proposition advanced above that profit (it should be called SURPLUS VALUE) is determined by the proportion of the capital expended on wages. BUT NEVER MIND. Malthus is not the man to contradict either the "expectations" or the notions of "the capitalist". But now comes his *tour de force*. Assume a capital of [£]2,000, $^3/_4$ of which or 1,500 is constant capital, $^1/_4$, or 500, is variable capital. The profit=20%. Thus the profit=400 and the value of the product=2,000+400=2,400. But 600:400=$66^2/_3$. The value of the total product=1,000 and the part laid out in wages=$^6/_{10}$ of this. But what about Mr. Malthus' calculation? If one takes $^1/_4$ of the total product, it=600; $^1/_4$ of the capital

[a] Marx quotes Malthus with alterations.—*Ed.*

expended=500=the portion expended on wages; and 100=$^1/_4$ of the profit=that part of the profit falling to this amount of wages. And this is supposed to prove "THAT THE PROFITS OF THE CAPITALIST WILL VARY WITH THE VARYING VALUE of this $^1/_4$ of his produce COMPARED WITH THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR EMPLOYED".[62] It proves nothing more than that a profit of a given PERCENTAGE, e.g. of 20%, on a given capital—say of 4,000—yields a profit of 20% on each aliquot part of the capital; that is a tautology. But it proves absolutely nothing about a definite, *special,* distinguishing relationship of this profit to the part of the capital expended on wages. If, instead of [$^1/_4$] taken by Mr. Malthus, I take $^1/_{24}$ of the total product, i.e. 100 (out of 2,400), then this 100 contains 20% profit, or $^1/_6$ of it is profit. The capital would be [£]83$^1/_3$ and the profit [£]16$^2/_3$. If the 83$^1/_3$ were equal, for instance, to a horse which was employed in production, then it could be demonstrated according to Malthus' recipe that the profit would VARY WITH THE VARYING VALUE of the horse or the 28$^4/_5$ part of the total product.

Such are the *misères*[a] Mr. Malthus comes out with when he stands on his own feet and cannot plagiarise Townsend, Anderson or anyone else. What is really remarkable and pertinent (apart from what is characteristic of the man) is the inkling that SURPLUS VALUE must be calculated on the part of capital expended on wages.

//Given a definite rate of profit, the *GROSS PROFIT,* the amount of profit, always depends on the size of the capital advanced. Accumulation, however, is then determined by the part of this amount which is reconverted into capital. But this part, since it=the gross profit−the REVENUE consumed by the capitalist, will depend not only on the value of this amount, but on the cheapness of the commodities which the capitalist can buy with it; partly on the cheapness of the commodities which he consumes and which he pays for out of his REVENUE, partly on the cheapness of the commodities which enter into his constant capital. Wages here are assumed as given—since the rate of profit is likewise assumed as given.//

### MALTHUS' THEORY OF VALUE

The value of labour is supposed not to vary (derived from Adam Smith[b]) but only the value of the commodities I acquire for it. Wages are, say, 2s. a day in one case, 1s. in another. In the first

[a] Wretched things.—*Ed.*

[b] See A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Vol. I, Edinburgh, 1814, pp. 48-50, and this volume, pp. 221-22.—*Ed.*

case, the capitalist pays out twice as many shillings for the same labour time as in the second. But in the 2nd case, the worker performs twice as much labour for the same product as in the first, since in the 2nd [case] he works a whole day for 1s. and in the first case only half a day. Mr. Malthus believes that the capitalist pays sometimes more shillings, sometimes less, for the same labour. He does not see that the worker, correspondingly, performs either less or more labour for a given amount of produce.

* "Giving more produce for a given quantity of labour, or getting more labour for a given quantity of produce, are one and the same thing in his" (Malthus') "'view'; instead of being, as one would have supposed, just the contrary" * (*Observations on Certain Verbal Disputes in Political Economy, Particularly Relating to Value, and to Demand and Supply,* London, 1821, [p.] 52).

It is stated very correctly, in the same work (*Observations on Certain Verbal Disputes etc.*, London, 1821) that labour as a measure of value, in the sense in which Malthus borrows it from Adam Smith, would be just as good a measure of value as any other commodity and that it would not be so good a measure as money in fact is. Here it would be in general a question only of a measure of value in the sense in which money is a measure of value.

[XIII-767] In general, it is never the *measure of value* (in the sense of money) which makes commodities commensurable (see Part I of my book, p. 45[a]):

"On the contrary, it is only the commensurability of commodities as objectified labour time which converts gold into money."

Commodities as values constitute one *substance,* they are mere representations of the same substance—social labour. The *measure of value* (money) presupposes them as values and refers solely to the expression and size of this value. The *measure of value* of commodities always refers to the transformation of value into price and already presumes the value. The passage in the *Observations* ALLUDED to reads as follows:

* "Mr. Malthus says: 'In the *same* place, and at the *same* time, the different quantities of day-labour, which different commodities can command, will be exactly in proportion to their relative values in exchange',[b] and vice versa. If this is true of labour, it is just as true of any thing else" (l.c., [p.] 49). "Money does very well as a measure at the same time and place... But it" (Malthus' proposition) "seems *not* to be true of labour. Labour is not a measure even at the same time and place. Take a

[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 306-07).—*Ed.*

[b] T. R. Malthus, *Principles of Political Economy...*, London, 1820, p. 121.—*Ed.*

portion of corn, such as is at the same time and place said to be of equal value with a given diamond; will the corn and the diamond, paid in specie, command equal portions of labour? It may be said, No; but the diamond will buy *money*, which will command an equal portion of labour ... the test is of no use, for it cannot be applied without being *rectified* by the application of the other test, which it professed to supersede. We can only infer, that the corn and the diamond will command equal quantities of labour, *because* they are of equal value, in money. But we were told to infer, that two things were of equal value, because they would command equal quantities of labour"* (l.c., [pp. 49-]50).

OVERPRODUCTION. *"UNPRODUCTIVE CONSUMERS"*, ETC.

Malthus' theory of value gives rise to the whole doctrine of the necessity for continually rising unproductive consumption which this exponent of overpopulation (because of shortage of means of subsistence) preaches so energetically. The value of a commodity=the value of the materials, machinery, etc., advanced+the quantity of direct labour which the commodity contains; this, according to Malthus, =the *value* of the WAGES contained in the commodity+a price increment on these advances according to the GENERAL RATE OF PROFITS. This nominal price increment represents the profit and is a condition of SUPPLY, that is, the reproduction of the commodity. These elements constitute the *PRICE FOR THE PURCHASER* as distinct from the *PRICE FOR THE PRODUCER*, and the PRICE FOR THE PURCHASER is the real value of the commodity. The question now arises—how is this price to be realised? Who is to pay it? And from what funds is it to be paid?

In dealing with Malthus we must make a distinction (which he has neglected to make). One section of capitalists produce goods which are *directly* consumed by the workers; another section produce either goods which are *only indirectly* consumed by them, in so far, for example, as they are part of the capital required for the production of NECESSARIES, as raw materials, machinery, etc., or commodities which *are not consumed* by the workers *at all*, entering only into the REVENUE of the non-workers.

Let us first of all consider the capitalists who produce the articles which are consumed by the workers. These capitalists are not only buyers of labour, but also sellers of their own products to the workers. If the quantity of labour contributed by the worker is valued at 100 thaler the capitalist pays him 100 thaler. And this is the only value added to the raw material, etc., by the labour which the capitalist has bought. Thus the worker receives the value of his labour and only gives the capitalist an equivalent of that value IN RETURN. But although the worker nominally receives the value, he actually receives a smaller quantity of commodities than he has

produced. In fact, he receives back only a part of his labour objectified in the product. Let us assume for the sake of simplicity—as Malthus does quite frequently—that capital consists only of capital laid out in wages. If 100 thaler are advanced to the worker in order to produce commodities, and these 100 thaler are the *value* of the labour purchased and the sole value which it adds to the product—then the capitalist sells these commodities for 110 thaler, and the worker, with his 100 thaler, can buy back only $^{10}/_{11}$ of the product; $^{1}/_{11}$ remains in the hands of the capitalist, to the value of 10 thaler, or the amount of SURPLUS PRODUCE in which this SURPLUS VALUE of 10 thaler is embodied. If the capitalist sells the product for 120, then the worker receives only $^{10}/_{12}$ and the capitalist $^{2}/_{12}$ of the product and its value. If he sells it for 130 (30%), then the worker [receives] only $^{10}/_{13}$ and the capitalist $^{3}/_{13}$ of the product. If he sells it at 50% profit, i.e. for 150, the worker receives $^{2}/_{3}$ and the [XIII-768] capitalist $^{1}/_{3}$ of the product. The higher the price at which the capitalist sells, the lower the share of the worker, and the higher his own share in the value of the product and therefore also in the quantity of the product. And the less the worker can buy back of the value or of the product with the value of his labour. It makes no difference to the situation if, in addition to variable capital, constant capital is also advanced, for example, if, in addition to the 100 thaler wages, there is another 100 for raw materials, etc. In this case, if the rate of profit is 10, then the capitalist sells the goods for 220 instead of for 210 (namely, 100 constant capital and 120 the product of labour).

//Sismondi's *Nouveaux principes etc.* first published in 1819.[a]// Here, as regards the *class of capitalists A,* who produce articles which are directly consumed by the workers—NECESSARIES, we have a CASE where as a result of the nominal SURCHARGE—the normal profit increment added to the price of the advances—a SURPLUS fund is in fact created for the capitalist, since, in this roundabout way, he gives back to the worker only a part of his product while appropriating a part for himself. But this result follows not because he sells the entire product to the worker at the increased value, but precisely because the increase in the value of the product makes the worker unable to buy back the whole product with his WAGES, and allows him to buy back only part of it. Consequently, it is clear that DEMAND by the workers can never suffice for the realisation of the surplus of the PURCHASE PRICE over and above the COST PRICE,[63] i.e. the realisation of the profit and the

[a] See this volume, p. 245.—*Ed.*

"value" of the commodity. On the contrary, a profit fund only exists because the worker is unable to buy back his whole product with his WAGES, and his DEMAND, therefore, does not correspond to the SUPPLY. Thus capitalist A has in hand a certain quantity of products of a certain value, 20 thaler in the present case, which he does not require for the replacement of the capital, and which he can now partly spend as REVENUE, and partly use for accumulation. N.B. The extent to which he has such a fund in hand depends on the value of the surcharge he adds over and above the COST PRICE and which determines the proportions in which he and the worker share the total product.

Let us now turn to the class of capitalists B, who supply raw materials, machinery, etc., in short constant capital, to class A. The class B can sell *only* to class A, for they cannot sell their products back to the workers WHO HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH capital (RAW MATERIAL, MACHINERY, etc.), or to the capitalists who produce luxury goods (all goods which are not NECESSARIES and which are not IN THE COMMON USE OF THE LABOURING CLASS), or to the capitalists who produce the constant capital required for the production of luxury goods.

Now we have seen that, in the capital advanced by A, 100 is included as constant capital. If the rate of profit=10%, the manufacturer of this constant capital has produced it at a cost price of $90^{10}/_{11}$, but sells it for 100 ($90^{10}/_{11}$:$9^{1}/_{11}$=100:10). Thus he makes his profit by imposing a SURCHARGE on class A. And thereby he receives from their product of 220 his 100 instead of only $90^{10}/_{11}$, with which, we will assume, he buys IMMEDIATE LABOUR. B does not by any means make his profit from his workers whose product, valued at $90^{10}/_{11}$, he cannot sell back to them for 100, because they do not buy his goods at all. Nevertheless, they are in the same position as the workers of A. For $90^{10}/_{11}$ they receive a quantity of goods which has only nominally a value of $90^{10}/_{11}$, for every part of A's product is made uniformly dearer, or each part of its value represents a smaller part of the product because of the profit surcharge. (This surcharging can only be carried out up to a certain point, for the worker must receive enough goods to be able to live and to reproduce his labour capacity. If capitalist A were to add a surcharge of 100% and to sell commodity which costs 200 for 400, the worker would be able to buy back only $^{1}/_{4}$ of the product (if he receives 100). And if he needed half of the product in order to live, the capitalist would have to pay him 200. Thus he would retain only 100 (100 go to constant capital and 200 to wages). It would therefore be the same as if he sold [the commodity] for 300, etc.)

B makes his profit fund not (directly) through his workers, but through his sales to A. A's product not only serves to realise his profit, but constitutes his own profit fund. It is clear that A cannot realise the profit he makes on his workers by selling to B, and that B cannot provide SUFFICIENT DEMAND for his product (enabling him to sell it at its value) any more than his own workers can. On the contrary, a retroaction takes place here. [XIII-769] The more he raises the profit surcharge, the greater, in relation to his workers, is the portion of the total product which he appropriates and of which he deprives B.

B adds a surcharge of the same size as A. B pays his workers $90^{10}/_{11}$ thaler as he did before, although they get less goods for this sum. But if A takes 20% instead of 10, he [B] likewise takes 20% instead of 10 and sells for $109^{1}/_{11}$ instead of 100. As a result, this part of the outlay increases for A.

A and B may even be considered as a single class. (B belongs to A's expenditure and the more A has to pay to B from the total product, the less remains for him.) Out of the capital of 200, *B* owns $90^{10}/_{11}$ and *A 100.* Between them they expend $190^{10}/_{11}$ and make a profit of $19^{1}/_{11}$. B can never buy back from A to the tune of more than 100 and this includes his profit of $9^{1}/_{11}$. As stated, both of them together have a REVENUE of $19^{1}/_{11}$.

As far as *classes C and D* are concerned, C being the capitalists who produce the constant capital necessary for the production of LUXURIES, and D being those who directly produce the LUXURIES, in the first place it is clear that the IMMEDIATE DEMAND for C is ONLY FORMED by D. D is the PURCHASER of C. And C can only realise profit if he sells his goods to D too dearly by means of a nominal surcharge over and above the cost price. D must pay C more than is necessary for C to REPLACE ALL THE INGREDIENTS OF his COMMODITIES. D for his part makes a profit surcharge partly on the advances made by C and partly on the capital expended directly on wages by D. From the profits which C makes out of D, he can buy some of the commodities made by D, although he cannot expend all his profit in this way, for he also needs NECESSARIES for himself, and not only for workers for whom he exchanges the capital realised from D. In the first place, the realisation of the commodities by C depends directly on their SALE to D; secondly, after THAT SALE is EFFECTED, the value of the commodities sold by D cannot be realised as a result of the DEMAND arising from C's profit, any more than [the total value of A's commodities can be realised] as a result of the DEMAND coming from B. For the profit made by C is made out of D, and if C spends it again on commodities made by D instead of on others,

his demand can still never be greater than the profit he makes out of D. It must always be much smaller than C's capital, than his total DEMAND, and it never constitutes a SOURCE of profit for D (the most he can do is a little swindling of C by means of the surcharge on the commodities he sells back to him) for C's profit comes straight out of D's pocket.

Further it is clear that, in so far as the capitalists—whether of class C or of D—mutually sell each other commodities within each class, nobody gains anything or realises a profit thereby. A certain capitalist, *m*, sells to *n* for 110 [thaler] commodities which cost only 100, but *n* does the same to *m*. After the exchange as before, each of them owns a quantity of goods the cost price of which is 100. For 110 each receives goods which cost only 100. The surcharge gives him no greater command over the commodities of the other seller than it gives the other over his. And as far as value is concerned, it would be the same as if every *m* and *n* were to give himself the pleasure of baptising his commodities 110 instead of 100 without exchanging them at all.

It is clear further that the nominal SURPLUS VALUE in D (for C is included in it) does not constitute real SURPLUS PRODUCE. The fact that the worker receives less NECESSARIES for 100 thaler because of the surcharge imposed by A can, at first, be a matter of indifference to D. He has to expend 100 as he did before in order to employ a certain number of workers. He pays the workers the value of their labour and they add nothing more to the product, they only give him an equivalent. He can obtain a surplus over and above this equivalent only by selling to a third person and by selling his commodity above the COST PRICE. In reality, the product of a mirror manufacturer contains both SURPLUS VALUE and SURPLUS PRODUCE just as that of the FARMER. For the product contains unpaid labour (SURPLUS VALUE) and this unpaid labour is embodied in the product just as much as is the paid [labour]. It is embodied in SURPLUS PRODUCE. One part of the mirrors costs him nothing although it has value, because labour is embodied in it in exactly the same way as in that part of the mirrors which replaces the capital advanced. This SURPLUS VALUE exists as SURPLUS PRODUCE *before* the sale of the mirrors and is not [brought into being] only through this sale. If, on the contrary, the worker by his IMMEDIATE labour had only provided an equivalent for the ACCUMULATED LABOUR which he received in the form of WAGES, then neither [XIII-770][64] the [surplus] PRODUCE nor the SURPLUS VALUE corresponding to it would exist. But according to Malthus, who declares that the worker only gives back an equivalent, things [are] different.

[It is clear] that class D (including C) cannot artificially create for itself a SURPLUS fund in the same way as class A, namely, [by] selling its commodities back to the workers at a higher price than the workers were paid for producing them, thus appropriating part of the total product after replacing the capital expended. For the workers are not buyers of the commodities made by D. No more can the SURPLUS fund of this class [arise] from the sale of commodities or their mutual exchanges. It can be achieved only by the sale of its product to class A and to class B. [Because] the capitalists of class D sell commodities worth 100 for 110, capitalist A can buy only $^{10}/_{11}$ of their product for 100 and they retain $^{1}/_{11}$ of their output, which they can either consume themselves or exchange for commodities produced by [other members of] their own class D.

[According to Malthus] things happen in the following way to all capitalists who do not themselves directly produce NECESSARIES and therefore [do not] sell back to the workers the major, or at least a significant, portion of their products.

Let us say that their (constant) capital=100. If the capitalist pays another 100 in wages, he is paying the workers the value of their labour. To this 100 the workers add a value of 100, and the total value (the COST PRICE) of the product is therefore 200. Where then does the profit come from? If the AVERAGE RATE OF PROFIT=10%, then the capitalist sells commodities worth 200 for 220. If he really sells them for 220, then it is clear that 200 is sufficient for their reproduction—100 for raw materials, etc., 100 for wages, and he pockets 20, which he can dispose of as REVENUE or use to accumulate capital.

But to whom does he sell the commodities at 10% above their "production value", which, according to Malthus, is different from the "sale value" or real value, so that profit, in fact, is equal to the difference between production value and sale value, is equal to sale value−production value? These capitalists cannot realise any profit through exchange or sale amongst themselves. If A sells B for 220 commodities worth 200, then B plays the same trick on A. The fact that these commodities change hands does not alter either their value or their quantity. The quantity of commodities which belonged formerly to A is now in the possession of B, and vice versa. The fact that what was previously 100 is now called 110, makes no difference. The PURCHASING POWER EITHER OF A OR OF B has in no way altered.

But, according to the hypothesis, these capitalists cannot sell their commodities to the workers.

They must, therefore, sell them to the capitalists who produce NECESSARIES. These, indeed, have a real SURPLUS fund at their disposal resulting from their exchange with the workers. The creation of a nominal SURPLUS VALUE has, in fact, placed SURPLUS PRODUCE in their possession. And this is the only SURPLUS fund which has existed up to now. The other capitalists can only acquire a SURPLUS fund by selling their commodities above their production value to those capitalists who possess a SURPLUS fund.

As for the capitalists who produce the constant capital required for the production of NECESSARIES, we have already seen that the producer of NECESSARIES must perforce buy from them. These PURCHASES enter into his production costs. The higher his profit, the dearer are the advances to which the same rate of profit is added. If he sells at 20% instead of at 10, then the producer of his constant capital likewise adds 20% instead of 10. And instead of demanding 100 for $90^{10}/_{11}$, he demands $109^{1}/_{11}$ or, in round figures, 110, so that the value of the product is now 210, 20% of which=42, so that the value of the whole product=252. Out of this the worker receives 100. The capitalist now receives more than $^{1}/_{11}$ of the total product as profit, whereas previously he received only $^{1}/_{11}$ when he sold the product for 220. The total amount of the product has remained the same, but the portion at the disposal of the capitalist has increased both in value and in quantity.

As for those capitalists who produce neither NECESSARIES nor the capital required for their production, their profit [can] only be made by sales to the first two classes of capitalists. If the latter take 20%, then the other capitalists will take [the same].

[Exchange by] the first class of capitalists and exchange between the two classes of capitalists are, however, two very different things. [As a result of exchange] with the workers, the first class has established a real SURPLUS fund of NECESSARIES, SURPLUS PRODUCE, [which as an increment] of capital is in their hands to dispose of, so that they can accumulate part of it and [spend] part of it [as revenue] either on NECESSARIES or on LUXURIES. SURPLUS VALUE here, in fact, [represents] [XIV-771][65] SURPLUS labour and SURPLUS PRODUCE, although this is achieved by the CLUMSY, roundabout method of a SURCHARGE on prices. Let us assume that the value of the product of the workers producing NECESSARIES, in fact, only=100. Since, however, $^{10}/_{11}$ of this is sufficient to pay the wages, it follows that the capitalist only needs to spend $90^{10}/_{11}$, upon which he makes a profit of $9^{1}/_{11}$. But if he pays the workers £100 and sells them the product for 110, under the illusion that value of labour and

quantity of labour are identical, he still retains $^{1}/_{11}$ of the product as he did previously. The fact that this is now worth £10 instead of $9^{1}/_{11}$ represents no gain for him, for he has now advanced 100 as capital, not $90^{10}/_{11}$.

But as far as the other classes of capitalists are concerned, they have no real SURPLUS PRODUCE, nothing in which surplus labour time is embodied. They sell the product of labour worth 100 for 110 and merely by the addition of a surcharge this capital is supposed to be transformed into capital+REVENUE.

BUT HOW STANDS THE CASE NOW, AS LORD DUNDREARY[61] WOULD SAY, BETWEEN THESE TWO CLASSES OF CAPITALISTS?

The producers of NECESSARIES sell SURPLUS PRODUCT[66] valued at 100 for 110 (because they paid 100 in wages instead of $90^{10}/_{11}$). But they are the only ones who have SURPLUS PRODUCE in their possession. If the other capitalists likewise sell them products valued at 100 for 110, then they do in fact replace their capital and make a profit. Why? Because NECESSARIES to the value of 100 suffice for them to pay their workers, they can therefore keep 10 for themselves. Or rather because they in fact receive NECESSARIES to the value of 100, but $^{10}/_{11}$ of this is sufficient to pay their workers, since they are in the same position as capitalists in classes A and B. These, on the other hand, receive IN RETURN only an amount of produce representing a value of 100. The fact that its nominal cost is 110 is of no significance to them, for it neither embodies a greater amount quantitatively, as use value, than was produced by the labour time contained in the £100, nor can it add 10 to a capital of 100. This would be only possible if the commodities were resold. Although the capitalists of both classes sell to one another for 110 [commodities] worth 100, only in the hands of the second class has 100 really the significance of 110. In actual fact, the capitalists of the other class only receive the value of 100 for 110. And they only sell their SURPLUS PRODUCE for a higher price because for the articles on which they spend their REVENUE they have to pay *more* than they are worth. In fact, however, the SURPLUS VALUE realised by the capitalists of the 2nd class is limited only to a share in the SURPLUS PRODUCE realised by the first class, for they themselves do not create any SURPLUS PRODUCE.

In connection with this increased cost of LUXURIES, it occurs just in time to Malthus that ACCUMULATION and not EXPENDITURE is the immediate object of capitalist production. As a result of this unprofitable trade, in the course of which the capitalists of class A lose a portion of the fruits wrung out of the workers, they are compelled to moderate their demand for LUXURIES. But if they do

so, and increase their accumulation, then effective demand falls, the market for the NECESSARIES they produce shrinks, and this market cannot expand to its full extent on the basis of the demand on the part of the workers and the producers of constant capital. This leads to a fall in the price of NECESSARIES, but it is only through a rise of these prices, through the nominal surcharge on them—and in proportion to this surcharge—that the capitalists of class A are able to extract SURPLUS PRODUCE from the workers. If the price were to fall from 120 to 110, then their SURPLUS PRODUCE (and their SURPLUS VALUE) would fall from $^2/_{12}$ to $^1/_{11}$, and consequently the market, the demand for [the commodities offered by] the producers of LUXURIES, would decline as well, and by a still greater proportion.

In the course of exchange with the second class, the first class sells real SURPLUS PRODUCE after having replaced its capital. The second [class], on the other hand, merely sells its capital in order to turn its capital into capital+REVENUE by this trade. The whole of production is thus only kept going (and this is especially the case with regard to its expansion) by means of *increasing the prices of NECESSARIES*; to this, however, would correspond a price for LUXURIES in inverse proportion to the amount of luxuries actually produced. Class II, which sells for 110 commodities of the value of 100, likewise does not gain by this exchange. For in actual fact, the 110 which it gets back is also only worth 100. But this 100 (in NECESSARIES) replaces capital+profit, while the other 100 [in luxuries] is merely called 110. Thus [it would] amount to class I receiving LUXURIES to the value of 100. It buys for 110 LUXURIES to the value of 100. For the other class, however, 110 is worth 110, because it pays 100 for the labour (thus replacing its capital) and therefore retains a surplus of 10.

[XIV-772] It is difficult to understand how any profit at all can be derived if those who engage in mutual exchange sell their commodities by overcharging one another at the same rate and cheating one another in the same proportion.

This incongruity would be remedied if, in addition to exchange by one class of capitalists with its workers and the mutual exchange between the capitalists of the different classes, there also existed a *third class of purchasers*—a *deus ex machina*[a]—a class which

[a] Literally: a god from a machine (in the classical theatre the actors playing gods appeared on the stage with the help of some special gear); figuratively speaking: a person that appears suddenly and unexpectedly and provides a solution to an apparently insoluble difficulty.—*Ed.*

paid the nominal value of commodities without itself selling any commodities, without itself playing the same trick in return; that is, a class which transacted *M—C,* but not *M—C—M*; [a class] which bought not in order to get its capital back plus a profit, but in order to consume the commodities; a class which bought without selling. In this case the capitalists would realise a profit not by exchange amongst themselves but 1) by exchange between them and the workers, by selling back to them a portion of the total product for the same amount of money as they paid the workers for the total product (after deducting the constant capital) and 2) from the portion of NECESSARIES as well as LUXURIES sold to the 3rd sort of purchaser. Since these pay 110 for 100 without selling 100 for 110 in their turn, a profit of 10% would be made in actual fact and not simply nominally. The profit would be made in dual fashion by selling as little as possible of the total product back to the workers and as much as possible to the 3rd class, who pay ready money, who, without themselves selling, buy in order to consume. But buyers who are not at the same time sellers, must be consumers who are not at the same time producers, that is *unproductive consumers,* and it is this class of unproductive consumers which, according to Malthus, solves the problem. But these unproductive consumers must, at the same time, be consumers able to pay, constituting REAL DEMAND, and the money they possess and spend annually must, moreover, suffice to pay not only the production value of the commodities they buy and consume, but also the nominal profit surcharge, the surplus value, the difference between the sale value and the production value. This class will represent consumption for consumption's sake in society, in the same way as the capitalist class represents production for production's sake, the one representing "the PASSION FOR EXPENDITURE", the other "the PASSION FOR ACCUMULATION" (*Principles of Political Economy,* [2nd ed., p.] 326). The urge for accumulation is kept alive in the capitalist class by the fact that their RETURNS are constantly larger than their outlays, and profit is indeed the stimulus to accumulation. In spite of this enthusiasm for accumulation, they are not driven to overproduction, or at least, not at all easily, since the *UNPRODUCTIVE CONSUMERS* not only constitute a gigantic outlet for the products thrown on to the market, but do not themselves throw any commodities on to the market, and therefore, no matter how numerous they may be, they constitute no competition for the capitalists, but, on the contrary, all represent demand without supply and thus help to make up for the preponderance of supply over demand on the part of the

capitalists. But where do the annual financial resources of this class come from? There are, in the first place, the *landed proprietors,* who collect a great part of the value of the annual product under the title of rent and spend the money thus taken from the capitalists in consuming the commodities produced by the capitalists, in the purchase of which they are cheated. These landed proprietors do not have to engage in production and do not ON AN AVERAGE do so. It is significant, that in so far as they spend money on labour, they do not employ productive workers but *MENIAL SERVANTS,* mere fellow-consumers of their FORTUNE, who help to keep the prices of NECESSARIES up, since they buy without helping to increase their SUPPLY or the supply of any other kind of commodity. But these landed proprietors do not suffice to create "AN ADEQUATE DEMAND". Artificial means must be resorted to. These consist of heavy *taxation,* of a mass of sinecurists in State and Church, of large armies, pensions, tithes for the priests, an impressive national debt, and from time to time, expensive wars. These are the "remedies" (*Principles of Political Economy,* [2nd ed., p.] 408 et seq.).

The 3rd class, proposed by Malthus as a "remedy", the class which buys without selling and consumes without producing, thus receives first of all an important part of the value of the annual product without *paying for it* and enriches the producers by the fact that the latter must first of all advance the third class money gratis for the purchase of their commodities, in order [XIV-773] to draw it back again by selling the third class commodities above their value, or by receiving more value in money than is embodied in the commodities they supply to this class. And this transaction is repeated every year.

Malthus correctly draws the conclusions from his basic theory of value. But this theory, for its part, suits his purpose remarkably well—an apologia for the existing state of affairs in England, for LANDLORDISM, "STATE AND CHURCH", PENSIONERS, TAX-GATHERERS, TENTHS, NATIONAL DEBT, STOCK-JOBBERS, BEADLES, PARSONS AND MENIAL SERVANTS ("NATIONAL EXPENDITURE") assailed by the RICARDIANS as so many useless and SUPERANNUATED DRAWBACKS of bourgeois production and as NUISANCES. *Quand même,*[a] Ricardo championed bourgeois production in so far as it [signified] the most unrestricted development of the social productive forces, unconcerned for the fate of those who participate in production, be they capitalists or workers. He insisted upon the *historical* justification and necessity of this stage

[a] For all that.—*Ed.*

of development. His very lack of a historical sense of the past meant that he regarded everything from the historical standpoint of his time. Malthus also wishes to see the freest possible development of capitalist production, however only in so far as the condition of this development is the poverty of its main basis, the working classes, but at the same time he wants it to adapt itself to the "consumption needs" of the aristocracy and its branches in State and Church, to serve as the material basis for the antiquated claims of the representatives of interests inherited from feudalism and the absolute monarchy. Malthus wants bourgeois production as long as it is not revolutionary, constitutes no historical factor of development but merely creates a broader and more comfortable material basis for the "old" society.

On the one hand, therefore, [there is] the working class, which, according to the population principle, is always REDUNDANT in relation to the means of subsistence available to it, over-population arising from underproduction; then [there is] the capitalist class, which, as a result of this population principle, is always able to sell the workers' own product back to them at such prices that they can only obtain enough to keep body and soul together; then [there is] an enormous section of society consisting of parasites and gluttonous drones, some of them masters and some servants, who appropriate, partly under the title of rent and partly under political titles, a considerable mass of wealth gratis from the capitalists, whose commodities they pay for above their value with money extracted from these same capitalists; the capitalist class, driven into production by the urge for accumulation, the economically unproductive sections representing prodigality, the mere urge for consumption. This is moreover [advanced as] the only way to avoid overproduction, which exists alongside over-population in relation to production. The [best][a] remedy for both [is declared to be] overconsumption by the classes standing outside production. The disproportion between the labouring population and production is eliminated by part of the product being devoured by non-producers and idlers. The disproportion arising from overproduction by the capitalists [is eliminated] by means of overconsumption by those who enjoy wealth.

We have seen how childishly weak, trivial and meaningless Malthus is when, basing himself on the weak side of Adam Smith, he seeks to construct a counter-theory to Ricardo's theory, which is

[a] The word is illegible in the manuscript. It may also read "ultimate" ("letztes").—*Ed.*

based on Adam Smith's stronger sides.[a] One can hardly find a more comical exertion of impotence than Malthus' book on value.[b] However, as soon as he comes to practical conclusions and thereby once again enters the field which he occupies as a kind of economic Abraham a Santa Clara, he is QUITE AT HIS EASE. For all that, he does not abandon his innate plagiarism even here. Who at first glance would believe that Malthus' *Principles of Political Economy* is simply the Malthusianised translation of Sismondi's *Nouveaux principes d'économie politique*? But this is the case. Sismondi's book appeared in 1819. A year later, Malthus' English caricature of it saw the light of day. Once again, with Sismondi, as previously with Townsend and Anderson,[c] he found a theoretical basis for one of his stout economic pamphlets, in the production of which, incidentally, he also turned to advantage the new theories learned from Ricardo's *Principles*.

[XIV-774] While Malthus assailed in Ricardo that tendency of capitalist production which is revolutionary in relation to the old society, he took, with unerring parsonical instinct, only that out of Sismondi which is reactionary in relation to capitalist production and modern bourgeois society.

I exclude Sismondi from my historical survey here because a critique of his views belongs to a part of my work dealing with the real movement of capital (competition and credit)[67] which I can only tackle after I have finished this book.

Malthus' adaptation of Sismondi's views can easily be seen from the heading of one of the CHAPTERS in the *Principles of Political Economy*:

"[Of the] *Necessity of a Union of the Powers of Production with the Means of Distribution, in order to ensure a continued Increase of Wealth"* ([2nd ed.,] p. 361).

"THE POWERS OF PRODUCTION ALONE do not secure THE CREATION OF A PROPORTIONATE DEGREE OF WEALTH. SOMETHING ELSE seems to be necessary *in order to call these powers fully into action. This is an effectual and unchecked demand for all that is produced. And what appears to contribute most to the attainment of this object, is such a *distribution of produce,* and such an adaptation of this produce to the wants of those who are to consume it, as constantly to increase the exchangeable value of the whole mass"* (*Principles of Political Economy*, [2nd ed., p.] 361).

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[a] See this volume, pp. 231-33.— *Ed.*

[b] T. R. Malthus, *The Measure of Value Stated and Illustrated...*, London, 1823.— *Ed.*

[c] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 231-33 and Vol. 31, pp. 204-05, 268-69, 344-47.— *Ed.*

Furthermore, in the same Sismondian manner and directed against Ricardo:

* "The *wealth* of a country depends partly upon the *quantity of produce* obtained by its labour, and partly upon such an adaptation of this quantity to the wants and powers of the existing population as is calculated to give it *value*. Nothing can be more certain than that it is not determined by either of them alone" (l.c., [p.] 301).

"But where wealth and value are perhaps the most nearly connected, is in the *necessity of the latter to the production of the former*" * (l.c.).

This is aimed especially against Ricardo: CH. XX, "Value and Riches, Their Distinctive Properties". There Ricardo says, among other things:

* "Value, then, essentially differs from riches, for value depends not on abundance, but on the difficulty or facility of production" * (l.c., [p.] 320).[a]

// Value, incidentally, can also increase with the "FACILITY OF PRODUCTION". Let us suppose that the number of MEN in a country rises from 1 MILLION to 6 MILLION. The million men worked 12 hours. The 6 million have so developed the PRODUCTIVE POWERS that each of them produces as much again in 6 hours. In these circumstances, according to Ricardo's own views, wealth would have been increased sixfold and VALUE threefold. //

* "Riches do not depend on value. A man is rich or poor, according to the abundance of necessaries and luxuries which he can command" ([p.] 323). "It is through confounding the ideas of value and wealth, or riches that it has been asserted, that by diminishing the quantity of commodities, that is to say of the necessaries, conveniences, and enjoyments of human life, riches may be increased. If value were the measure of riches, this could not be denied, because by scarcity the value of commodities is raised; but ... if riches consist in necessaries and enjoyments, then they cannot be increased by a diminution of quantity" * (l.c., [pp.] 323-24).

In other words, Ricardo says here: wealth consists of *use values* only. He transforms bourgeois production into mere production of use value, a very pretty view of a mode of production which is dominated by *exchange value*. He regards the specific form of bourgeois wealth as something merely formal which does not affect its content. He therefore also denies the contradictions of bourgeois production which break out in crises. Hence his quite false conception of money. Hence, in considering the production process of capital, he ignores completely the circulation process, in so far as it includes the metamorphosis of commodities, the necessity of the transformation of capital into money. At any rate nobody has better and more precisely than Ricardo elaborated the

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[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, 3rd ed., London, 1821.— *Ed.*

point that bourgeois production is not production of wealth for the PRODUCERS (as he repeatedly calls the workers)[19] and that therefore the production of bourgeois wealth is something quite different from the production of "ABUNDANCE", "OF NECESSARIES AND LUXURIES" FOR THE MAN WHO PRODUCES THEM, as this would have to be the case if production were only a means for satisfying the needs of the producers through production dominated by use value alone. Nevertheless, the same *Ricardo* says:

* "If we lived in one of Mr. Owen's parallelograms,[68] and enjoyed all our productions in common, then no one could suffer in consequence of abundance, but *as long as society is constituted as it now is,* abundance will often be injurious to producers, and scarcity beneficial to them" * (*On Protection to Agriculture,* 4th ed., London, 1822, [p.] 21).

[XIV-775] Ricardo regards bourgeois, or more precisely, capitalist production as the *absolute form* of production, whose specific forms of production relations can therefore never enter into contradiction with, or enfetter, the aim of production—ABUNDANCY—which includes both mass and variety of use values, and which in turn implies a profuse development of man as producer, an all-round development of his productive capacities. And this is where he lands in an amusing contradiction: when we are speaking of VALUE and RICHES, we should have only society as a whole in mind. But when we speak of CAPITAL and LABOUR, then it is self-evident that "GROSS REVENUE" only exists in order to create "NET REVENUE". In actual fact, what he admires most about bourgeois production is that its definite forms—compared with previous forms of production—provide scope for the boundless development of the productive forces. When they cease to do this, or when contradictions appear within which they do this, he denies the contradictions, or rather, expresses the contradiction in another form by representing *wealth as such*—the mass of use values in itself—without regard to the producers, as the *ultima Thule.*[a]

*Sismondi* is profoundly conscious of the contradictions in capitalist production[b]; he is aware that, on the one hand, its forms—its production relations—stimulate unrestrained development of the productive power and of wealth; and that, on the

[a] A remote goal or end (literally: the farthest Thule, a land considered by the ancients to be the northernmost part of the habitable world).— *Ed.*

[b] See J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes d'économie politique...,* 2nd. ed., Vol. 1, Paris, 1827, p. 371, and also K. Marx, *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy...* (present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 337-38).— *Ed.*

other hand, these relations are conditional, that their contradictions of use value and exchange value, commodity and money, purchase and sale, production and consumption, capital and wage labour, etc., assume ever greater dimensions as productive power develops. He is particularly aware of the fundamental contradiction: on the one hand, unrestricted development of the productive power and increase of wealth which, at the same time, consists of commodities and must be turned into cash; on the other hand, the system is based on the fact that the mass of producers is restricted to the NECESSARIES. HENCE, according to Sismondi, crises are not accidental, as Ricardo maintains, but essential outbreaks—occurring on a large scale and at definite periods—of the immanent contradictions. He wavers constantly: should the State curb the productive forces to make them adequate to the production relations, or should the production relations be made adequate to the productive forces? He often retreats into the past, becomes a *laudator temporis acti*,[a] or he seeks to exorcise the contradictions by a different adjustment of REVENUE in relation to capital, or of distribution in relation to production, not realising that the relations of distribution are only the relations of production seen *sub alia specie*.[b] He forcefully *criticises* the contradictions of bourgeois production but does not *understand* them, and consequently does not understand the process whereby they can be resolved. However, at the bottom of his argument is indeed the inkling that *new* forms of the appropriation of wealth must correspond to productive forces and the material and social conditions for the production of wealth which have developed within capitalist society; that the bourgeois forms are only transitory and contradictory forms, in which wealth attains only an antithetical existence and appears everywhere simultaneously as its opposite. It is wealth which always has poverty as its prerequisite and only develops by developing poverty as well.

We have now seen how nicely Malthus appropriates Sismondi. Malthus' theory is expressed in an exaggerated and even more nauseating form in *On Political Economy in Connexion with the Moral State and Moral Prospects of Society*, 2ND ED., London, 1832, by *Thomas Chalmers* (PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY). Here the parsonic element is more in evidence not only theoretically but also practically, since this MEMBER of the "ESTABLISHED CHURCH"[69] defends

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[a] Eulogiser of the past (Horace, *Ars poetica*, 173).—*Ed.*

[b] From a different aspect.—*Ed.*

it "economically" with its "LOAVES AND FISHES" and the whole complex of institutions with which this CHURCH stands or falls.[a]

The passages in Malthus (referred to above) having reference to the workers are the following:

* "The consumption and demand occasioned by the workmen employed in productive labour can never *alone* furnish a motive to the accumulation and employment of capital" (*Principles of Political Economy,* [2nd ed., p.] 315).

"No farmer will take the trouble of superintending the labour of ten additional men merely because his whole produce will then sell in the market at an advanced price just equal to what he had paid his additional labourers. There must be something in the previous state of the demand and supply of the commodity in question, or in its price, antecedent to and independent of the demand occasioned by the new labourers, in order to warrant the employment of an additional number of people in its production" (l.c., [p.] 312).

"The demand created by the productive labourer himself can never be an *adequate* demand, [XIV-776] because it does not go to the *full extent of what he produces.* If *it did, there would be no profit,* consequently no motive to employ him. The very *existence of a profit upon any commodity* presupposes a demand *exterior* to that of the labour which has produced it" ([p.] 405, note).

"As a great increase of consumption among the working classes must greatly increase the cost of production, it must lower profits, and diminish or destroy the motive to accumulate" (l.c., [p.] 405).

"It is the *want of necessaries* which mainly stimulates the working classes to produce luxuries; and were this stimulus removed or greatly weakened, so that the necessaries of life could be obtained with very little labour, instead of more time being devoted to the production of conveniences, there is every reason to think that less [time] would be so devoted" * (l.c., [p.] 334).

Malthus is interested not in concealing the contradictions of bourgeois production, but on the contrary, in emphasising them, on the one hand, in order to prove that the poverty of the working classes is necessary (as it is, indeed, for this mode of production) and, on the other hand, to demonstrate to the capitalists the necessity for a well-fed Church and State hierarchy in order to create an ADEQUATE DEMAND. He thus shows that for "CONTINUED PROGRESS OF WEALTH" [p. 314] neither increase of population nor accumulation of capital suffices (l.c., [pp.] 319-20), nor FERTILITY OF the SOIL ([p.] 331 et seq.), nor "INVENTIONS TO SAVE LABOUR", nor the extension of the "FOREIGN MARKETS" (l.c., [pp. 351-]52 and 359).

* "Both labourers and capital may be redundant, compared with the means of employing them profitably" * (l.c., [p.] 414).

Thus he emphasises the possibility of general overproduction in opposition to the view of the RICARDIANS (inter alia l.c., p. 326).

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[a] See K. Marx, *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy...* (present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 519-21).—*Ed.*

The principal propositions dealing with this matter are the following:

*"The demand is always determined by *value,* and supply by *quantity*"* (*Principles of Political Economy,* [2nd ed., p.] 316).

"Commodities are exchanged not only for commodities but also for PRODUCTIVE LABOUR and PERSONAL SERVICES and in relation to them, and also to money, there can be a general GLUT of commodities" (l.c.).[a]

*"Supply must always be proportioned to *quantity,* and demand to value" (*Definitions in Political Economy,* ed. by Cazenove, [p.] 65).

"'It is evident,' says James Mill, 'that whatever a man has produced, and does not wish to keep for his own consumption, is a stock which he may give in exchange for other commodities. His will, therefore, to purchase, and his means of purchasing, in other words, his demand, is exactly equal to the amount of what he has produced, and does not mean to consume.'[b] It is quite obvious that his means of purchasing other commodities are not proportioned to the *quantity* of his own commodity which he has produced, and wishes to part with; but to its *value in exchange*; and unless the value of a commodity in exchange be proportioned to its quantity, it cannot be true that the demand and supply of every individual are always equal to one another" (l.c., [pp. 64-]65).

"If the demand of every individual were equal to his supply, in the correct sense of the expression, it would be a proof that he could always sell his commodity for the costs of production, including fair profits; and then even a *partial* glut would be impossible. The argument proves too much ... supply must always be proportioned to *quantity,* and demand to *value*"* (*Definitions in Political Economy,* London, 1827, [p.] 48, note).

"Here, by DEMAND Mill understands HIS (the DEMANDER'S) *means of purchasing. But these means of purchasing other commodities are not proportioned to the *quantity* of his own commodity which he has produced and wishes to part with; but to its *value in exchange*; and unless the value of a commodity in exchange be proportioned to its quantity, it cannot be true that the demand and supply of every individual are always equal to one another"* (l.c., [pp.] 48-49).

"It is wrong for Torrens to say THAT 'INCREASED SUPPLY IS THE ONE AND ONLY CAUSE OF INCREASED EFFECTUAL DEMAND'.[c] If it were, how difficult would it be for MANKIND TO RECOVER ITSELF, UNDER A TEMPORARY DIMINUTION OF FOOD AND CLOTHING. But FOOD AND CLOTHING diminished IN QUANTITY will rise in value; *the money price of the remaining food and clothing will for a time rise in a greater degree than in [proportion to] the diminution of its quantity, while the money price of labour may remain the same. The necessary consequence [will be] the power of setting in motion a greater quantity of productive industry than before"* ([pp.] 59-60).

"All commodities of a nation may fall together compared with money or labour" (l.c., [p.] 64 et seq.). "Thus a general GLUT is possible" (l.c.). "Their prices can all fall below their costs of production" (l.c.).[d]

[XIV-777] For the rest, only the following passage from Malthus, which deals with the circulation process, need be noted.

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[a] Marx quotes Malthus with some alterations.— *Ed.*

[b] Cf. this volume, p. 290.— *Ed.*

[c] Cf. ibid., p. 268.— *Ed.*

[d] In this paragraph Marx paraphrases some of the ideas expressed by Malthus.— *Ed.*

*"If we reckon the value of the fixed capital employed as a part of the advances, we must reckon the remaining value of such capital at the end of the year as a part of the annual returns ... in reality his"* (the capitalist's) *"*annual advances consist only* of his circulating capital, the wear and tear of his fixed capital with the interest upon it, and the interest of that part of his circulating capital which consists of the money employed in making his annual payments as they are called for"* (*Principles of Political Economy,* [2nd ed., p.] 269).

The *SINKING FUND*, i.e. the FUND FOR WEAR AND TEAR OF THE FIXED CAPITAL, is, in my opinion, at the same time A fund FOR ACCUMULATION.[a]

I wish to quote yet a few passages from a Ricardian book directed against Malthus' theory. As regards the attacks from the capitalist point of view which are made in the book against Malthus' UNPRODUCTIVE CONSUMERS IN GENERAL AND LANDLORDS IN PARTICULAR I shall demonstrate elsewhere that they can be used word for word against the capitalists from the workers' standpoint. (This is to be included in the section "The Relationship Between Capital and Wage Labour Presented from an Apologetic Standpoint".[70])

*"Considering, that an increased employment of capital will not take place unless a rate of profits equal to the former rate, or greater than it, can be ensured, and considering, that the mere addition to capital does not of itself tend to ensure such a rate of profits, but the reverse, Mr. Malthus, and those who reason in the same manner as he does, proceed to look out for some source, independent [of] and extrinsic to production itself, whose progressive increase may keep pace with the progressive increase of capital, and from which continual additional supplies of the requisite rate of profits may be derived"* (*An Inquiry into those Principles, Respecting the Nature of Demand and the Necessity of Consumption, lately Advocated by Mr. Malthus etc.,* London, 1821, [pp.] 33-34).

According to Malthus, the "UNPRODUCTIVE CONSUMERS" are such a source (l.c., [p.] 35).

*"Mr. Malthus sometimes talks as if there were two *distinct funds,* capital and revenue, supply and demand, production and consumption, which must take care to keep pace with each other, and neither outrun the other. As if, *besides the whole mass of commodities produced,* there was required another mass, fallen from Heaven, I suppose, to purchase them with... The fund for consumption, such as he requires, can only be had at the expense of production" (l.c., [pp.] 49-50).

"We are continually puzzled, in his" (Malthus') "speculations, between the object of increasing production and that of checking it. When a man is in want of a *demand,* does Mr. Malthus recommend him to pay some other person to take off his goods? Probably not" (l.c., [p.] 55. Certainly yes).

"The object of selling your goods is to make a certain amount of money; it never can answer to part with that amount of money for nothing, to another person, that he may bring it back to you, and buy your goods with it: you might as well have just burnt your goods at once, and you would have been in the same situation"* (l.c., [p.] 63).

[It is] right in regard to Malthus. But because it is one and the same fund—"THE WHOLE MASS OF COMMODITIES PRODUCED"—which consti-

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[a] See this volume, p. 112.—*Ed.*

tutes the production fund and the consumption fund, the fund of supply and the fund of demand, the fund of capital and the fund of REVENUE, it does not by any means follow that it is irrelevant how the total fund is divided between these various categories.

The anonymous author does not understand what Malthus means when he speaks of the "DEMAND" of the workers being "INADEQUATE" for the capitalist.

* "As to the *demand* from labour, that is, either the giving labour in exchange for goods, or ... the giving, in exchange for present, complete products, a future and accruing addition of value... This is the real demand that it is material to the producers to get increased, etc." * (l.c., [p.] 57).

What Malthus means is not the *OFFER OF LABOUR* (which our author calls *DEMAND FROM LABOUR*) but the DEMAND for commodities which the WAGES the worker receives enable him to make, the money with which the worker enters the commodity market as a purchaser. And Malthus rightly says of this DEMAND that IT CAN NEVER BE ADEQUATE TO THE SUPPLY OF THE CAPITALIST. *Alias* the worker would be able to buy back the whole of his product with his WAGES.

[XIV-778] The same writer says:

* "The very meaning of an increased demand by them" (the labourers) "is a disposition to take less themselves, and leave a larger share for their employers; and if it is said that this, by diminishing consumption, increases glut, I can only answer, that glut is synonymous with high profits" * (l.c., [p.] 59).

This is meant to be witty, but in fact it contains the essential secret of "GLUT".

In connection with Malthus' *Essay on Rent,*[a] our author says:

* "When Mr. Malthus published his *Essay on Rent,* it seems to have been partly with a view to answer the cry of 'No Landlords', which then 'stood rubric on the walls', to stand up in defence of that class, and to prove that they were not like *monopolists.* That rent cannot be abolished, that its increase is a natural concomitant, in general, of increasing wealth and numbers, he shewed; but neither did the vulgar cry of 'No Landlords' necessarily mean, that there ought to be *no such thing* as rent, but rather that it ought to be equally divided among the people, according to what was called 'Spence's plan'.[71] But when he proceeds to vindicate landlords from the odious name of monopolists, from the observation of Smith, 'that they love to reap where they never sowed',[b] he seems to be fighting for a *name*... There is too much air of an *advocate* in all these arguments of his" * (l.c., [pp.108-]09).

*Malthus'* book *On Population* was a lampoon directed against the French Revolution and the contemporary ideas of reform in

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[a] T. R. Malthus, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent, and the Principles by Which It Is Regulated,* London, 1815.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Book I, Chapter VI. See also Matthew 25:24, 26.—*Ed.*

England (Godwin,[a] etc.). It was an apologia for the poverty of the working classes. The *theory* was plagiarised from Townsend[b] and others.

His *Essay on Rent* was a piece of polemic writing in support of the LANDLORDS against INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL. The theory [was taken from] Anderson.[c] His *Principles of Political Economy* was a polemic work written in the interests of the capitalists against the workers and in the interests of the aristocracy, CHURCH, TAX-EATERS, toadies, etc., against the capitalists. The *theory* [was taken from] Adam Smith. Where [he inserts] his own inventions, [it is] pitiable. It is on Sismondi that he bases himself in further elaborating the theory.

A book in which Malthus' principles are elaborated:

*Outlines of Political Economy (being a plain and short view of the laws relating to the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth etc.)*, London, 1832.

*D'abord* the author[d] explains the practical reasons governing the opposition of the Malthusians to the determination of value by labour time.

* "That labour is the sole source of wealth, seems to be a doctrine as dangerous as it is false, as it unhappily affords a handle to those who would represent all property as belonging to the working classes, and the share which is received by others as a robbery or fraud upon them"* (l.c., [p.] 22, note).

In the following sentence it emerges more clearly than in Malthus that the author confuses the *value* of commodities with the *utilisation* of commodities, or of money as capital. In the latter sense it correctly expresses the origin of SURPLUS VALUE.

* "The *value of capital*, the quantity of labour which it is worth or will command, is always greater than [that] which it has cost, and the difference constitutes the profit or remuneration to its owner"* (l.c., [p.] 32).

The following, too, which is taken from Malthus, is correct as an explanation of why profit is to be reckoned as part of the *production costs* of capitalist production:

* "Profit upon the capital employed" // "unless this profit were obtained, there would be no adequate motive to produce the commodity" // "is an essential condition of the supply, and, as such, constitutes a component part of the *costs of production*"* (l.c., [p.] 33).

In the following passage we have, on the one hand, the correct statement that profit upon capital directly arises out of the

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[a] See W. Godwin, *An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice.*, London, 1793.—*Ed.*
[b] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 204-05.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., Vol. 31, pp. 344-47, 351-52.—*Ed.*
[d] John Cazenove.—*Ed.*

exchange of capital for labour, and on the other hand, the Malthusian thesis that profit is made in *selling*.

* "A man's profit does not depend upon his command of the *produce* of other men's labour, but upon his command of *labour itself*." * (Here the correct distinction is made between the exchange of one commodity for another and the exchange of the commodity as capital for labour.) "IF" (when THE *VALUE OF MONEY* falls[a]) * "he can sell [XIV-779] his goods at a higher price, *while his workmen's wages remain unaltered*, he is clearly benefited by the rise, whether other goods rise or not. A smaller proportion of what he produces is sufficient to put that labour into motion, and a larger proportion consequently remains for himself" * ([pp.] 49-50).

The same thing happens when, for example, as a result of the introduction of new machinery, chemical processes, etc., the capitalist produces commodities below their old value and either sells them at their old value or, at any rate, above the individual value to which they have fallen. It is true that when this happens, the worker does not directly work a shorter period for himself and a longer one for the capitalist, but in the reproduction process, A SMALLER PROPORTION OF WHAT HE PRODUCES IS SUFFICIENT TO PUT THAT LABOUR INTO MOTION. In actual fact, the worker therefore exchanges a greater part of his IMMEDIATE LABOUR than previously for his own REALISED LABOUR. For example, he continues to receive what he received previously, £10. But this £10, although it represents the same amount of labour to society, is no longer the product *of the same amount of labour time* as previously, but may represent one hour less. So that, IN FACT the worker works longer for the capitalist and a shorter period for himself. It is as if he received only £8, which, however, represented the same mass of use values as a result of the increased productivity of his labour.

The author remarks in connection with Mill's arguments regarding the IDENTITY OF DEMAND AND SUPPLY, discussed earlier[b]:

* "The supply of each man depends upon the *quantity* which he brings to market: his demand for other things depends upon the *value* of his supply. The former is certain; it depends upon himself: the latter is uncertain; it depends upon others. The former may remain the same, while the latter may vary. A 100 qrs of corn, which a man brings to market, may at one time be worth 30sh., and [at] another time 60sh., the qr. The *quantity of supply* is in both instances the same; but the man's demand or power of purchasing other things is twice as great in the latter as in the former case" * (l.c., [pp.] 111-12).

About the relationship of labour and machinery, the author writes the following:

* "When commodities are multiplied by a more judicious distribution of labour,

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[a] In the manuscript: "rises".—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 124-25, 134, 135, 250, 290-93.—*Ed.*

no greater amount of demand than before is required in order to maintain all the labour which was previously employed,"*

(HOW SO? IF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LABOUR IS MORE JUDICIOUS, MORE COMMODITIES WILL BE PRODUCED BY THE SAME LABOUR; HENCE [the] SUPPLY WILL GROW, AND DOES ITS ABSORPTION NOT REQUIRE AN INCREASED AMOUNT OF DEMAND? DOES ADAM SMITH NOT RIGHTLY SAY THAT DIVISION OF LABOUR DEPENDS UPON THE EXTENT OF THE MARKET?[a] In actual fact, the difference as regards DEMAND from outside is the same except [that demand] on a larger scale [is required] when machinery is used. But *"a more judicious distribution of labour" may require the same or even a greater number of labourers than before, while the introduction of machinery must under all circumstances diminish the proportion of the capital laid out in immediate labour)

"whereas, when machinery is introduced, if there be not an increased amount of demand, or a fall in wages or profits, *some of the labour will undoubtedly be thrown out of employment.* Let the case be supposed of a commodity worth £1,200, of which £1,000 consists of the wages of 100 men, at £10 each, and £200 [of] profits, at the rate of 20%. Now, let it be imagined that the same commodity can be produced by the labour of 50 men, and a machine which has cost the labour of 50 more, and which requires the labour of 10 men to keep it in constant repair; the producer will then be able to reduce the price of the article to £800, and still continue to obtain the same remuneration for the use of his capital.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The wages of 50 men at £ ..... | 500 | |
| of 10 men to keep it in repair ..... | 100 | |
| Profit 20% on circulating capital ..... | 500 | 200 |
| On fixed ..... | 500 | |
| | 800"* | |

(The "10 MEN TO KEEP IT IN REPAIR" represent here the annual wear and tear. Otherwise the calculation would be wrong, since the LABOUR OF REPAIRING would then have to be added to the original production costs of the machinery.) (Previously the manufacturer had to lay out £1,000 annually, but the product was [worth] £1,200. Now he has laid out £500 on machinery once and for all; he has not therefore to lay out this sum again IN ANY OTHER WAY. What he has to lay out is £100 annually for REPAIR and 500 in wages (since there are no RAW MATERIALS in this example). He has to lay out only 600 per annum, but he makes a profit of 200 on his total capital just as he did previously. The amount and rate of

[a] See A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Book I, Chapter III.—*Ed.*

profit remain the same. But his annual product amounts to only £800.)

* "Those who used to pay £1,200 for the commodity will now have £400 to spare, which they can lay out either on something else, or in purchasing more of the same commodity. If it be laid out in the [XIV-780] *produce* of immediate labour, it will give employment to no more than 33.4 men, whereas the number thrown out of employment by this introduction of the machine will have been 40, for

| | |
|---|---|
| The wages of 33.4 men at [£] 10, are ..... | £334 |
| *Profits* 20% ..... | 66 |
| | £400." * |

(In other words this means: If the £400 is expended on commodities which are the product OF IMMEDIATE LABOUR and if the wages per man=£10, then the commodities which cost £400 must be the product of less than 40 men. If they were the product of 40 men, then they would contain only *PAID LABOUR*. The value of labour (or the QUANTITY OF LABOUR REALISED in the WAGES)=the value of the product (THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR REALISED IN THE COMMODITY). But the commodities worth £400 contain *unpaid* labour, which is precisely what constitutes the profit. They must therefore be the product of less than 40 men. If the profit=20%, then only $^5/_6$ of the product can consist of paid labour, that is, approximately £334=33.4 MEN at 10 per MAN. The other 6th, roughly 66, represents the unpaid labour. Ricardo has shown in exactly the same way that machinery itself, when its money price is as high as the price of the IMMEDIATE LABOUR it displaces, can never be the product of so much LABOUR.[a])

* "If it" (viz. the £400) "be laid out in the purchase of more of the same commodity, or of any other, where the same species and quantity of fixed capital were used, it would employ only 30 men, for—

| | |
|---|---|
| The wages of 25 men at £10 each, are ..... | 250 |
| 5 men to keep [it] in repair ..... | 50 |
| Profits on £250 circulated and 250 fixed capital ..... | 100 |
| | £400." * |

(That is to say, in the CASE where machinery is introduced, the production of commodities costing £800 involves an outlay of 500

[a] See this volume, pp. 177-78.— *Ed.*

on machinery. Thus for the production of 400 [worth of commodities] only 250 [is spent on machinery]. Furthermore, 50 workers are needed to operate machinery worth 500, therefore 25 workers ([their wages]=£250) for machinery worth 250; further for REPAIR (the maintenance of the machine) 10 men are needed if the machinery costs 500, consequently 5 men ([whose wages come to] £50) are needed for machinery costing 250. Thus [we have] 250 fixed capital and 250 circulating capital—a total of 500, on which there is a profit of 20%=100. The product is therefore=300 WAGES and 100 PROFIT=£400. Thirty workers are employed in producing the commodities. Here it has been assumed all along that the capitalist (who manufactures the commodities) either borrows capital out of the (£400) savings which the consumers have deposited at the bank, or that—apart from the £400 which have been saved from the REVENUE of the consumers—he himself possesses capital. For clearly with a capital of 400 he cannot lay out 250 on machinery and 300 on wages.)

* "When the total sum of £1,200 was spent on the produce of immediate labour, the division was £1,000 wages, £200 profits"* (100 workers [whose] wages=£1,000). * "When it was spent partly in [the] one way and partly in the other ... the division was £934 wages and £266 profits"* (i.e. 60 workers in the machine shop and 33.4 IMMEDIATE LABOUR making a total of 93.4 workers [whose wages]=£934); * "and, as in the third supposition, when the whole sum was spent on the joint produce of [the] machine and labour, the division was £900 wages"* (i.e. 90 workers) * "and £300 profits" (l.c., [pp.] 114-17).

[XIV-781] "The capitalist cannot, after the introduction [of the machine], employ as much labour as he did before, without accumulating further capital" (l.c., [p.] 119); "but the revenue which is saved by the consumers of the article after its price has fallen, will, by increasing their consumption of that or something else, create a demand for *some* though not for *all* the labour which has been displaced by the machine" (l.c., [p.] 119).

"Mr. McCulloch conceives that the introduction of machines into any employment *necessarily occasions an equal* or *greater demand for the disengaged labourers in some other employment.* In order to prove this, he supposes that the annuity necessary to replace the value of the machine by the time it is worn out, will every year occasion an increasing demand for labour.[a] But as the successive annuities added together up to the end of the term, can only equal the original cost of the machine, and the interest upon it during the time it is in operation, in what way it can ever create a demand for labour, beyond what it would have done had no machine been employed, it is not easy to understand"* (l.c. [pp. 119-20]).

The SINKING FUND itself can, indeed, be used for accumulation in the interval when the wear and tear of the machine is shown in the books, but does not actually affect its work. But in any case, the DEMAND FOR LABOUR created in this way is much smaller than if the

[a] See J. R. MacCulloch, *The Principles of Political Economy...*, Edinburgh, London, 1825, pp. 181-82. Cf. also this volume, p. 353.—*Ed.*

whole capital (invested in machinery) were laid out in wages, instead of merely the ANNUITY. MacPeter[a] is an ass—as always. This passage is only noteworthy, because it contains the idea that the SINKING FUND is itself a fund for accumulation.[b]

### [XIV-782] k) DISINTEGRATION OF THE RICARDIAN SCHOOL

#### 1) ROBERT TORRENS, *AN ESSAY ON THE PRODUCTION OF WEALTH ETC.*, LONDON, 1821

Observation of competition—the phenomena of production—shows that capitals of equal size yield an equal amount of profit ON AN AVERAGE, or that, given the AVERAGE RATE OF PROFIT (and the term, AVERAGE RATE OF PROFIT, has no other meaning), the amount of profit depends on the amount of capital advanced.

*Adam Smith* has noted this FACT. Its connection with the theory of value which he put forward caused him no pangs of conscience—especially since in addition to what one might call his esoteric theory,[72] he advanced many others, and could recall one or another at his pleasure. The sole reflection to which this question gives rise is his polemic against the view which seeks to resolve profit into WAGES OF SUPERINTENDENCE, SINCE, APART FROM ANY OTHER CIRCUMSTANCE, the labour OF SUPERINTENDENCE does not increase in the same measure as the scale of production and, moreover, the value of the capital advanced can increase, for instance, as a result of the dearness of raw materials, without a corresponding growth in the scale of production.[c] He has no immanent law to determine the AVERAGE PROFIT or its amount. He merely says that competition reduces this *x*.

*Ricardo* (apart from a few merely chance remarks) directly identifies profit with SURPLUS VALUE everywhere. Hence with him, commodities sell at a *profit* not because they are sold *above* their value, but because they are sold *at their value.* Nevertheless, in considering *VALUE* (in CHAPTER I of the *Principles*) he is the first to reflect at all on the relationship between the *determination of the value* of commodities and the phenomenon that capitals of equal size yield equal profits. They can only do this inasmuch as the commodities they produce—although they *are* not *sold* at *equal prices* (one can, however, say that their output has equal prices

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[a] Marx writes about McCulloch in a mocking manner (German "dummer Peter" means an ass).—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 112.—*Ed.*

[c] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 397-98.—*Ed.*

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provided the value of that part of constant capital which is not consumed is added to the product)—yield the *same* SURPLUS VALUE, the same surplus of price over the price of the capital outlay. Ricardo moreover is the first to draw attention to the fact that capitals of equal size are by no means of equal organic composition. The difference in this composition he defined in the way traditional since Adam Smith, namely as CIRCULATING and FIXED CAPITAL, that is, only the differences arising from the process of circulation. He certainly does not directly say that it is a *prima facie* contradiction of the law of value that capitals of unequal organic composition, which consequently set unequal amounts OF IMMEDIATE LABOUR in motion, produce commodities of the same value and yield the same SURPLUS VALUE (which he identifies with profit). On the contrary he begins his investigation of value by assuming capital and a general rate of profit. He identifies *cost price*[6] with *value* from the very outset, and does not see that from the very start this assumption is a *prima facie* contradiction of the law of value. It is only on the basis of this assumption—which contains the main contradiction and the real difficulty—that he comes to a particular case, *changes in the level of wages,* their rise or fall. For the rate of profit to remain uniform the rise or fall in wages, to which corresponds a fall or rise in profit, must have unequal effects on capitals of different organic composition. If wages rise, then profits fall, and also the prices of commodities in whose production a relatively large amount of fixed capital is employed. Where the opposite is the case, the results are likewise opposite. Under these circumstances, therefore, the "EXCHANGEABLE VALUES" of the commodities are not determined by the labour time required for their respective production. In other words, this definition of an equal rate of profit (and Ricardo arrives at it only in individual cases and in this roundabout way) yielded by capitals of different organic composition *contradicts* the law of value or, as Ricardo says, constitutes an *exception* to it, whereupon Malthus rightly remarks that in the PROGRESS OF [XIV-783] INDUSTRY, the rule becomes the exception and the exception the rule.[a] The contradiction itself is not clearly expressed by Ricardo, namely, not in the form: although one of the commodities contains more unpaid labour than the other—for the amount of unpaid labour depends on the amount of paid labour, that is, the amount of IMMEDIATE LABOUR employed provided the rate of exploitation of the workers is equal—they nevertheless yield equal values, or the same surplus

[a] See this volume, pp. 224-25.—*Ed.*

of unpaid over paid labour. The contradiction however occurs with him in a particular form: in certain cases, *wages,* variations in wages, affect the cost price (he says, the EXCHANGEABLE VALUES) of commodities.

Equally, differences in the time of turnover of capital—whether the capital remains in the process of production (even if not in the labour process)[73] or in circulation for a longer period, requiring not more work, but more time for its RETURN—these differences have just as little effect on the equality of profit, and this again contradicts (is, according to Ricardo, an *exception* to) the law of value.

He has therefore presented the problem very one-sidedly. Had he expressed it in a general way, he would also have had a general solution.

But his great contribution remains: Ricardo has a notion that there is a difference between value and cost price, and, in certain cases, even though he calls them *exceptions* to the law, he formulates the contradiction that capitals of unequal organic composition (that is, in the last analysis, capitals which do not exploit the same amount of living labour) yield equal SURPLUS VALUE (profit) and—if one disregards the fact that a portion of the fixed capital enters into the labour process without entering into the valorisation process—equal values, commodities of equal value (or rather [of equal] *cost price,* but he confuses this).[a]

As we have seen,[b] *Malthus* uses this in order to deny the validity of the Ricardian law of value.

At the very beginning of his book, *Torrens* takes this discovery of Ricardo as his point of departure, not, however, to solve the problem, but to present the "phenomenon" as the law of the phenomenon.

"Supposing that capitals of DIFFERENT DEGREES OF DURABILITY are employed. If a WOOLLEN and a SILK MANUFACTURER were each to employ a capital of £2,000 and if the former were to employ £1,500 IN DURABLE MACHINES, and £500 IN WAGES and MATERIALS; while the latter employed only £500 IN DURABLE MACHINES, and £1,500 IN WAGES and MATERIALS. Supposing that $^1/_{10}$ of these fixed capitals is annually consumed, and that the rate of profit is 10%; then, as THE RESULTS OF THE WOOLLEN MANUFACTURER'S CAPITAL OF £2,000, must, TO GIVE HIM THIS PROFIT, be £2,200, and as the value of his fixed capital has been reduced by the process of production from £1,500 to £1,350, THE GOODS PRODUCED must SELL FOR £850. And, IN LIKE MANNER, as the fixed capital of the SILK MANUFACTURER is by the PROCESS OF PRODUCTION reduced $^1/_{10}$, or from £500 to £450, *the silks produced must, in order to yield him the *customary rate of profit* upon his whole capital of £2,000, sell

[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 415-23.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 210, 222-25.—*Ed.*

for £1,750 ... when capitals equal in amount, but of different degrees of durability, are employed, the articles produced, *together with the residue of capital,* in *one occupation,* will be equal in exchangeable value to the things produced, and the residue of capital, in *another occupation*"* (p[p. 28-]29).

Here the phenomenon manifested in competition is merely mentioned, registered. Ditto A "*CUSTOMARY RATE OF PROFIT*" *is presupposed* without explaining how it comes about, or even the feeling that this ought to be explained.

"*EQUAL CAPITALS,* or, in other words, *EQUAL QUANTITIES OF ACCUMULATED LABOUR, WILL OFTEN PUT IN MOTION DIFFERENT QUANTITIES OF IMMEDIATE LABOUR*; but this changes nothing in substance" (p[p. 29-]31),[a]

namely, in the fact that the value of the product+the *RESIDUE* OF THE CAPITAL NOT CONSUMED, yield equal values, or, what is the same thing, equal profits.

The merit of this passage does not consist in the fact that Torrens here merely registers the phenomenon once again without explaining it, but in the fact that he defines the difference by stating that equal capitals set in motion unequal quantities of living labour, though he immediately SPOILS it by declaring it to be a "special" case. If the value=the labour worked up, realised in a commodity, then it is clear that—if the commodities are sold at their value—the SURPLUS VALUE contained in them can only=the unpaid, or SURPLUS LABOUR, which they contain. But this SURPLUS LABOUR—given the same rate of exploitation of the worker—cannot be equal in the case of capitals WHICH PUT IN MOTION DIFFERENT QUANTITIES OF IMMEDIATE LABOUR, whether it is the immediate production process or the period of circulation which is the cause of this difference. It is therefore to Torrens' credit that he expresses this. What does he conclude from it? That here [XIV-784] within capitalist production the law of value suddenly changes. That is, that the law of value, which is abstracted from capitalist production, contradicts capitalist phenomena. And what does he put in its place? Absolutely nothing but the crude, thoughtless, verbal expression of the phenomenon which has to be explained.

*"In the early period of society"*

(that is, precisely when exchange value in general, the product as commodity, is hardly developed at all, and consequently when there is no law of value either)

"it is *the TOTAL QUANTITY OF LABOUR, ACCUMULATED AND IMMEDIATE, EXPENDED ON PRODUCTION,* that determines the relative value of commodities. But as soon as *STOCK* has *ACCUMULATED,* and there emerges a *class of capitalists* distinct from *that*

[a] Here and below cf. present edition, Vol. 29, p. 196.—*Ed.*

*of labourers,* WHEN THE PERSON, WHO UNDERTAKES ANY BRANCH OF INDUSTRY, DOES NOT PERFORM HIS OWN WORK, BUT ADVANCES SUBSISTENCE AND MATERIALS TO OTHERS, THEN IT IS THE *AMOUNT OF CAPITAL,* OR THE *QUANTITY OF ACCUMULATED LABOUR* EXPENDED IN PRODUCTION, that determines the EXCHANGEABLE POWER OF COMMODITIES" (l.c., [pp.] 33-34).

"As long as two capitals [are] equal, their products are of equal value, *HOWEVER WE MAY VARY THE QUANTITY OF IMMEDIATE LABOUR WHICH THEY PUT IN MOTION,* OR WHICH *THEIR PRODUCTS MAY REQUIRE.* If they are unequal, their PRODUCTS are OF UNEQUAL VALUE, THOUGH THE TOTAL QUANTITY OF LABOUR EXPENDED UPON EACH SHOULD BE PRECISELY EQUAL" ([p.] 39). "Therefore after the *SEPARATION OF CAPITALISTS AND LABOUR[ERS],* it is the *AMOUNT OF CAPITAL,* THE QUANTITY OF ACCUMULATED LABOUR, and not, *as before this separation,* THE SUM OF ACCUMULATED AND IMMEDIATE LABOUR, EXPENDED ON PRODUCTION, which determines the exchange value" (l.c., [pp. 39-40]).[a]

Here again, he merely states the phenomenon that capitals of equal size yield equal profits or that the cost price of commodities is equal to the price of the capital advanced + the AVERAGE profit; there is at the same time a HINT that—SINCE EQUAL CAPITALS PUT IN MOTION DIFFERENT QUANTITIES OF LABOUR—this *phenomenon* is, *prima facie,* inconsistent with the determination of the value of commodities by the amount of labour time embodied in them. The remark that this phenomenon of capitalist production only manifests itself when capital comes into existence—[when] the classes of capitalists and workers [arise, and] the objective conditions of labour acquire an independent existence as capital—is tautology.

But *how* the separation of the [factors necessary] for the production of commodities—into capitalists and workers, capital and wage labour—upsets the law of value of commodities, is merely "inferred" from the uncomprehended phenomenon.

Ricardo sought to prove that, apart from certain exceptions, the separation between capital and wage labour does not change anything in the determination of the value of commodities. Basing himself on the exceptions noted by Ricardo, Torrens rejects the law. He reverts to Adam Smith (against whom the Ricardian demonstration is directed) according to whom the value of commodities was determined by the labour time embodied in them "IN THE EARLY PERIOD" when men confronted one another simply as owners and exchangers of goods, but not when capital and property in land have been evolved. This means (as I observed in Part One[b]) that the law which applies to commodities *qua* commodities, no longer applies to them once they are regarded as

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[a] Marx quotes Torrens with some alterations.—*Ed.*

[b] See K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 299-300).—*Ed.*

capital or as products of capital, or as soon as there is, in general, an advance from the commodity to capital. On the other hand, the product wholly assumes the form of a commodity only—as a result of the fact that the entire product has to be transformed into exchange value and that also all the ingredients necessary for its production enter it as commodities—in other words it wholly becomes a commodity only with the development and on the basis of capitalist production. Thus the law of the commodity is supposed to be valid for a type of production which produces no commodities (or only to a limited extent) and not to be valid for a type of production which is based on the product as a commodity. The law itself, as well as the commodity as the general form of the product, is abstracted from capitalist production and yet it is precisely in respect of capitalist production that the law is held to be invalid.

The proposition regarding the influence of the separation of "CAPITAL and LABOUR" on the determination of value—apart from the tautology that capital cannot determine prices so long as it does not as yet exist—is moreover a quite superficial translation of a fact manifesting itself on the surface of capitalist production. So long as each person works himself with his own tools and sells his product himself //but in reality, the necessity to sell products on a [XIV-785] social scale never coincides with production carried on with the producer's own conditions of labour //, *his* costs comprise the cost of both the tools and the *labour* he performs. The cost to the capitalist consists in the capital he advances—in the sum of values he EXPENDS on production—not in labour, which he does not perform, and which only costs *him* what he pays for it. This is a very good reason for the capitalists to calculate and distribute the (social) SURPLUS VALUE amongst themselves according to the size of their capital outlay and not according to the quanitity OF IMMEDIATE LABOUR WHICH A GIVEN CAPITAL PUTS IN MOTION. But it does not explain where the SURPLUS VALUE—which has to be distributed and is distributed in this way—comes from.

Torrens adheres to Ricardo in so far as he maintains that the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labour, but he declares [that it is] only "*THE QUANTITY OF ACCUMULATED LABOUR*" EXPENDED UPON THE PRODUCTION OF COMMODITIES which determines their value. Here, however, Torrens lands himself in a fine mess.

For example, the value of woollen cloth is determined by the *ACCUMULATED LABOUR* contained in the loom, the wool, etc., and the WAGES, which constitute the ingredients of its production, *accumulated labour,* which, in this context, means nothing else but *REALISED*

*LABOUR,* objectified labour time. However, once the woollen cloth is ready and production is over, the IMMEDIATE LABOUR EXPENDED on the woollen cloth has likewise been transformed into ACCUMULATED or REALISED LABOUR. Then why should the value of the loom and of the wool be determined by the REALISED LABOUR (which is nothing but IMMEDIATE LABOUR REALISED IN AN OBJECT, IN A RESULT, IN A USEFUL THING) they contain, and the value of the woollen cloth not be so determined? If the woollen cloth in turn becomes a component part OF PRODUCTION in say dyeing or tailoring, then it is "ACCUMULATED LABOUR", and the value of the coat is determined by the value of the WAGES of the workers, their tools and the woollen cloth, the value of which is determined by the "ACCUMULATED LABOUR" contained in it. If I regard a commodity as *capital,* that means in this context as a condition of production, then its value resolves itself into IMMEDIATE LABOUR, which is called "ACCUMULATED LABOUR" because it exists in an objectified form. On the other hand, if I regard the same commodity as a commodity, as a product and result of the [production] process, then it is definitely not determined by the LABOUR which is accumulated in it, but by the LABOUR accumulated in its conditions of production.

It is indeed a fine *cercle vicieux*[a] to seek to determine the value of a commodity by the value of the capital, since the value of the capital = the value of the commodities of which it is made up. *James Mill* is right as against this fellow when he says:

"*CAPITAL IS COMMODITIES.* If the value of commodities, then, depends upon the value of capital, it depends upon the value of commodities." [74]

One thing more is to be noted here. Since [according to Torrens] the value of a commodity is determined by the value of the capital which produces it, or, in other words, by the quantity of LABOUR, the LABOUR ACCUMULATED and REALISED in this capital, then only two possibilities ensue.

The commodity contains: first, the value of the fixed capital used up; second, the value of the raw material or the quantity of labour contained in the fixed capital and raw material; third, the quantity of labour which is objectified in the money or in the commodities which function as WAGES.[b]

Now there are two [possibilities].

The "accumulated" labour contained in the fixed capital and raw material remains the same after the process of production as it was before. As far as the 3rd part of the "ACCUMULATED LABOUR"

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[a] Vicious circle.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 263-64.— *Ed.*

ADVANCED is concerned, the worker replaces it by his IMMEDIATE LABOUR, that is, the "IMMEDIATE LABOUR" added to the raw material, etc., represents just as much ACCUMULATED LABOUR in the commodity as was contained in the WAGES. Or it represents more. If it represents more, the commodity contains more ACCUMULATED LABOUR than the capital advanced did. Then profit arises precisely out of the surplus of ACCUMULATED LABOUR contained in the commodity over that contained in the CAPITAL ADVANCED. And the *value* of [XIV-786] the commodity is determined, as previously, by the quantity of labour (ACCUMULATED+IMMEDIATE) contained in it (in the commodity the latter type of labour likewise constitutes ACCUMULATED, and no longer IMMEDIATE [labour]. It is IMMEDIATE [labour] in the production process, and ACCUMULATED [labour] in the product).

Or immediate labour only represents the quantity embodied in the WAGES, is only an equivalent of it. (If it were less than this, the point to be explained would not be why the capitalist makes a profit but how it comes about that he makes no loss.) Where does the profit come from in this case? Where does the SURPLUS VALUE, i.e. the excess of the value of the commodity over the value of the component parts of production, or over that of the capital outlay, arise? Not in the production process itself—so that merely its realisation takes place in the process of EXCHANGE, or in the circulation process—but in the EXCHANGE process, in the circulation process. We thus come back to Malthus and the crude mercantilist conception of "PROFIT UPON EXPROPRIATION".[75] And it is this conception at which Mr. Torrens consistently arrives, although he is, on the other hand, sufficiently inconsistent to explain this *payable value* not by means of an inexplicable fund dropped down from the skies, namely, a fund which provides not only an equivalent for the commodity, but a surplus over and above this equivalent, and is derived from the MEANS of the purchaser, who is always able to pay for the commodity above its value without selling it above its value—thus reducing the whole thing to thin air. Torrens, who is not as consistent as Malthus, does not have recourse to such a fiction, but, on the contrary, asserts that "EFFECTUAL DEMAND"—the sum of values paid for the product—arises from *SUPPLY* alone, and is therefore likewise a commodity; and thus, since the two sides are both buyers and sellers, it is impossible to see how they can mutually cheat one another AT THE SAME RATE.

* "The effectual demand for any commodity is always determined, and under any given rate of profit, is constantly commensurate with the quantity of the ingredients of capital, or of the things required in its production, which consumers may be able and willing to offer in exchange for it" (l.c., p. 344).

"*Increased supply* is the *one and only cause of increased effectual demand*"* ([p.] 348).

Malthus, who quotes this passage from Torrens, is quite justified in protesting against it (*Definitions in Political Economy,* London, 1827, p. 59).[a]

But the following passages about *production costs,* etc., demonstrate that Torrens does indeed arrive at such absurd conclusions:

*"*Market price*"* (Malthus calls it PURCHASING VALUE) "always includes the *customary rate of profit for the time being. *Natural price,* consisting of the *cost of production,* or, in other words, *of the capital expended* in raising or fabricating commodities, cannot include the rate of profit"* (l.c., [p.] 51).

"The farmer expends 100 qrs OF CORN and obtains IN RETURN 120 qrs. In this case, 20 qrs constitute the profit; [but] it would be absurd to call this EXCESS, or profit, A PART OF THE EXPENDITURE... Likewise the MANUFACTURER obtains IN RETURN A QUANTITY OF FINISHED WORK OF A HIGHER *EXCHANGEABLE VALUE* than the MATERIALS, etc." ([pp.] 51-53).

*"Effectual demand consists in the power and inclination, *on the part of the consumers,* to give for commodities, either by immediate or circuitous barter, *some greater proportion* of all the ingredients of capital than their production costs"* (l.c., [p.] 349).

120 qrs of corn are most certainly more than 100 qrs. But—if one merely considers the use value and the process it goes through, that is, in reality, the vegetative or physiological [XIV-787] process, as is the case here—it would be wrong to say, not indeed, with regard to the 20 qrs, but with regard to the elements which go to make them up, that they do [not] enter into the *production process.* If this were so, they could never emerge from it. In addition to the 100 qrs of corn—the seeds[76]—various chemical ingredients supplied by the manure, salts contained in the soil, water, air, light, are all involved in the process which transforms 100 qrs of corn into 120. The transformation and absorption of the elements, the ingredients, the conditions—the EXPENDITURE OF NATURE, which transforms 100 qrs into 120—takes place in the *production process* itself and the elements of these 20 qrs enter into this process itself as physiological "EXPENDITURE", the result of which is the transformation of 100 qrs into 120 qrs.

Regarded merely from the standpoint of use value, these 20 qrs are not mere profit. The inorganic components have been merely assimilated by the organic components and transformed into organic material. Without the addition of matter—and this is the physiological EXPENDITURE—the 100 qrs would never become 120. Thus it can in fact be said even from the point of view of mere use value, that is, regarding corn as corn—what enters into corn

[a] See this volume, p. 250.—*Ed.*

in inorganic form, as EXPENDITURE, appears in *organic* form, as the actual result, the 20 qrs, i.e. as the surplus of the corn harvested over the corn sown.

But these considerations, in themselves, have as little to do with the question of profit, as if one were to say that lengths of wire which, in the labour process, are stretched to a thousand times the length of the metal from which they are fabricated, yield a thousandfold *profit* since their length has been increased a thousandfold. In the CASE of the wire, the length has been increased, in the CASE of CORN, the quantity. But neither increase in length nor increase in quantity constitutes *profit,* which is applicable solely to exchange value, although exchange value manifests itself in a SURPLUS PRODUCE.

As far as exchange value is concerned, there is no need to explain further that the value of 90 qrs of corn can be equal to (or greater than) the value of 100, that the value of 100 can be greater than that of 120, and that of 120 greater than that of 500.

Thus, on the basis of one example which has *nothing* to do with profit, with the surplus in the *value* of the product over the *value* of the capital outlay, Torrens draws conclusions about profit. And even considered physiologically, as use value, his example is wrong since, in actual fact, the 20 qrs of corn which form the SURPLUS PRODUCE already exist *d'une manière ou d'une autre*[a] in the production process, although in a different form.

Finally, Torrens blurts out the brilliant old conception that profit is profit UPON EXPROPRIATION. One of Torrens' merits is that he has at all raised the controversial question: what are *production costs.* Ricardo continually confuses the *values* of commodities with their *production costs* (in so far as they = the cost price) and is consequently astonished that *Say,* although he believes that prices are determined by production costs, draws different conclusions.[b] Malthus, like Ricardo, asserts that the price of a commodity is determined by the production costs, and, like Ricardo, he includes the profit in the production costs. Nevertheless, he defines value in a different way, not by the quantity of labour contained in the commodity, but by the quantity of labour it can command.

The ambiguities surrounding the concept of *production costs* arise from the very nature of capitalist production.

*Firstly*: The *cost to the capitalist* of the commodity (he produces) is, naturally, what it *costs him.* It costs him nothing—that is, he

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[a] In one way or another.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 102.—*Ed.*

EXPENDS NO VALUE UPON IT—apart from the value of the *capital* ADVANCED. If he lays out £100 on raw materials, machinery, WAGES, etc., in order to produce the commodity, it costs him £100, *ni plus ni moins*.[a] Apart from the labour embodied in these ADVANCES, apart from the *accumulated labour* that is contained in the capital expended and determines the value of the commodities expended, it costs him no labour. What the *IMMEDIATE LABOUR* costs him is the WAGES he pays for it. Apart from these WAGES, the IMMEDIATE LABOUR costs him nothing, and apart from IMMEDIATE LABOUR he advances nothing EXCEPT THE VALUE OF THE CONSTANT CAPITAL.

[XIV-788] It is in this sense that Torrens understands production costs, and this is the sense in which every capitalist understands them when he calculates his profit, WHATEVER ITS RATE MAY BE.

Production costs are here = the *ADVANCES* OF THE CAPITALIST = THE VALUE OF THE CAPITAL ADVANCED = THE QUANTITY OF the LABOUR CONTAINED IN THE ADVANCED COMMODITIES. Every economist, including Ricardo, uses *this* definition of production costs, whether they are called *ADVANCES* or *EXPENSES*, etc. This is what Malthus calls THE *PRODUCING PRICE* as opposed to the PURCHASER'S price. The transformation of SURPLUS VALUE into *profit* corresponds to this definition of *ADVANCES*.

*Secondly*: According to the first definition, the production costs are the price which the capitalist *pays* for the manufacture of the commodity DURING THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION, therefore they are what the commodity costs *him*. But what the production of a commodity *costs* the capitalist and what the *production of the commodity itself costs*, are two entirely different things. The labour (REALISED and IMMEDIATE) which the capitalist *pays* for the production of the commodity and the labour which is necessary in order to *produce* the commodity are entirely different. Their difference constitutes the difference between the VALUE ADVANCED and the VALUE EARNED; between the purchase price of the commodity for the capitalist and its sale price (that is, if it is sold at its value). If this difference did not exist, then neither money nor commodities would ever be transformed into capital. The source of profit would disappear together with the SURPLUS VALUE. The *production costs of the commodity itself* consist of the value of the capital consumed in the process of its production, that is, the quantity of objectified labour embodied in the commodity + the *quantity OF IMMEDIATE LABOUR* WHICH IS EXPENDED UPON IT. The total *amount* of "REALISED" + "IMMEDIATE LABOUR" consumed in it constitutes the *production costs of the*

[a] Neither more nor less.—*Ed.*

*commodity itself.* The commodity can only be produced by means of the industrial consumption of this quantity OF REALISED AND IMMEDIATE LABOUR. This is the precondition for its emergence out of the process of production as a *product,* as a *commodity* and as a use value. And no matter how profit and wages may vary, these immanent production costs of the commodity remain the same so long as the technological conditions of the real labour process remain the same, or, what amounts to the same thing, as long as there is no variation in the existing development of the productive powers of labour. In this sense, the *production costs of a commodity* = its *value.* The living labour EXPENDED UPON THE COMMODITY and the living labour PAID BY THE CAPITALIST are two different things. HENCE *de prime abord* the production costs of a commodity to the capitalist (HIS ADVANCES) differ from the *production costs of the commodity* itself, its value. THE EXCESS OF ITS VALUE (that is, what the commodity itself costs) OVER AND BEYOND THE VALUE OF THE ADVANCES (that is, what it costs the capitalist) constitutes the profit WHICH, THEREFORE, RESULTS NOT FROM SELLING THE COMMODITY BEYOND ITS VALUE, BUT BEYOND THE VALUE OF THE ADVANCES PAID BY THE CAPITALIST.

The production costs thus defined, the immanent production costs of the commodity, which are equal to its value, i.e. to the total amount of labour time (REALISED AND IMMEDIATE) required for its production, remain the fundamental condition for its production and remain unchangeable so long as the productive powers of labour remain unchanged.

*Thirdly*: I have however previously shown[a] that, in each separate TRADE OR PARTICULAR OCCUPATION, the capitalist does not by any means sell his commodities—which are also the product of a particular TRADE, OCCUPATION or SPHERE OF PRODUCTION—at the value contained in them, and that, therefore, the AMOUNT OF ITS PROFIT IS NOT IDENTICAL WITH THE AMOUNT OF SURPLUS VALUE, OF SURPLUS LABOUR or UNPAID LABOUR REALISED IN THE COMMODITIES HE SELLS. On the contrary, he can, ON THE AVERAGE, only realise as much SURPLUS VALUE in the commodity as devolves on it as the product of an aliquot part of the social capital. If the social capital = 1,000 and the capital in a particular [XIV-789] OCCUPATION amounts to 100, and if the TOTAL AMOUNT OF SURPLUS VALUE (HENCE OF THE SURPLUS PRODUCE IN WHICH THAT SURPLUS VALUE IS REALISED) = 200, that is, 20%, then the capital of 100 in this particular OCCUPATION would sell its commodity for 120, *whatever might be the value of that commodity, whether 120, less, or more; whether, therefore, the unpaid labour contained in his commodity

[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 262-65, 269, 301-06.—*Ed.*

forms $^1/_5$ of the labour advanced upon it, or whether it do[es] not.*

This is the *cost price,* and when one speaks of *production costs* in the proper sense (in the economic, capitalist sense), then the term denotes THE VALUE OF THE ADVANCES + THE VALUE OF THE AVERAGE PROFITS.[6]

It is clear that, however much the cost price of an individual commodity may diverge from its value, it is determined by the *value* of the total product of the social capital. It is through the equalisation of the profits of the different capitals that they are connected with one another as aliquot parts of the aggregate social capital, and as such aliquot parts they draw dividends out of the COMMON FUNDS OF SURPLUS VALUE (SURPLUS PRODUCE), OF SURPLUS LABOUR, OR UNPAID LABOUR. This does not alter in any way the value of the commodity; it does not alter the fact *that, whether its cost price is equal to, greater or smaller than its value, it can never be produced *without its value* being produced, that is to say, without the total amount of realised and immediate labour required for its production being expended upon it.* This quantity of labour, NOT ONLY OF PAID, BUT OF UNPAID LABOUR, must be expended on it, and nothing in the general relationship between capital and LABOUR is altered by the fact THAT IN SOME OCCUPATIONS PART OF THE UNPAID LABOUR IS APPROPRIATED BY "BROTHER CAPITALISTS"[77] INSTEAD OF BY THE CAPITALIST WHO PUTS THE LABOUR IN MOTION IN THAT PECULIAR DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY. Further, it is clear *that whatever the relation between the value and the cost price of a commodity, the latter will always change, rise or fall, according with the changes of value, that is to say, the quantity of labour required for the production of the commodity*. It is furthermore clear that *part of the profit must always represent surplus value, unpaid labour, realised in the commodity itself, because, on the basis of capitalistic production, in all commodities there is more labour worked up than has been paid by the capitalist putting that labour in motion. Some part of the profit may consist of labour not worked up in the commodity yielded by a definite trade, or resulting from a given sphere of production; but, then, there is some other commodity, resulting from some other sphere of production, whose cost price falls below its value, or in whose cost price less unpaid labour is accounted for, paid for, than is contained in it.*

It is clear, therefore, that although the *cost prices of most commodities must differ from their values, and hence the "costs of production" [of these commodities must differ] from the total quantity of labour contained in them, nevertheless, those costs of production and those cost prices are not only determined by the

values of [the] commodities [and] confirm the law of value instead of contradicting it, but, moreover, that the very existence of costs of production and cost prices can be conceived only on the foundation of value and its law, and becomes a meaningless absurdity without that premiss.*

At the same time one perceives how economists who, on the one hand, observe the actual phenomena of competition and, on the other hand, do not understand the relationship BETWEEN THE LAW OF VALUE AND THE LAW OF COST PRICE, resort to the fiction that capital, not labour, determines the value of commodities or RATHER that there is no such thing as value.[a]

[XIV-790] Profit enters into the *production costs of commodities*; it is rightly included in the "natural price" of commodities by Adam Smith, because, in conditions of capitalist production, the commodity—*in the long run, on the average—is not brought to market if it does not yield the cost price=the value of the advances + the average profit.*[b] Or, as Malthus puts it—although he does not understand the origin of profit, ITS REAL CAUSE[c]—because the profit, and therefore the cost price WHICH includes IT, IS (on the basis of capitalist production) *a condition of the *supply* of the commodity. To be produced, to be brought to the market, the commodity must at least fetch that market price, that cost price to the seller, whether its own value be greater or smaller than that cost price.* It is a matter of indifference to the capitalist whether his commodity contains more or less UNPAID LABOUR than other commodities, *if into its price enters so much of the general stock of unpaid labour, or the surplus produce in which it is fixed, as every other equal quantity of capital will draw from that common stock.* In this respect, the capitalists are "communists". In competition, each naturally tries to secure more than the AVERAGE PROFIT, which is only possible if others secure less. It is precisely as a result of this struggle that the AVERAGE PROFIT is established.

A part of the SURPLUS VALUE realised in profit, i.e. that part which assumes the form of interest on capital laid out (whether borrowed or not), appears to the capitalist as *outlay*, as *production cost* which he has as a *capitalist*, just as profit in general is the immediate aim of capitalist production. But in interest (especially on borrowed

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[a] See K. Marx, *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy*... (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 143-45, 196-98); Vol. 30, p. 101, and also this volume, pp. 264-67, 393-94.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 440-43.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 210-12, 218, 225-26.—*Ed.*

capital), this appears also as the actual precondition of his production.

At the same time, this reveals the significance of the distinction between the forms of production and of distribution. Profit, a form of distribution, is here simultaneously a form of production, a condition of production, A NECESSARY INGREDIENCY OF THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION. How absurd it is, therefore, for John Stuart Mill and others to conceive bourgeois forms of production as absolute, but the bourgeois forms of distribution as historically relative, HENCE TRANSITORY. I shall return to this later.[a] The form of distribution is simply the form of production seen *sub alia specie*.[b] The *differentia specifica*—and therefore also the specific limitation—which sets bounds to bourgeois distribution, enters into production itself, as a determining factor, which overlaps and dominates production. The fact that bourgeois production is compelled by its own immanent laws, on the one hand, to develop the productive forces as if production did not take place on a narrow restricted social foundation, while, on the other hand, it can develop these forces only within these narrow limits, is the deepest and most hidden cause of crises, of the crying contradictions within which bourgeois production is carried on and which, even at a cursory glance, reveal it as only a transitional, historical form. This is grasped rather crudely but nonetheless correctly by Sismondi, for example, as a contradiction between production for the sake of production and distribution which *eo ipso*[c] makes absolute development of productivity impossible.[d]

[XIV-791] 2) JAMES MILL, *ELEMENTS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY*, LONDON, 1821 (2ND ED., LONDON, 1824)

Mill was the first to present Ricardo's theory in systematic form, even though he did it only in rather abstract outlines. What he tries to achieve is formal logical consistency. The *disintegration* of the Ricardian school therefore begins with him. With the master what is new and significant develops vigorously amid the "manure" of contradictions out of the contradictory phenomena. The underlying contradictions themselves testify to the richness of the living foundation from which the theory itself developed. It is

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[a] See this volume, pp. 498-99.—*Ed.*
[b] From a different aspect.—*Ed.*
[c] By the very fact.—*Ed.*
[d] See this volume, pp. 247-48.—*Ed.*

different with the disciple. His raw material is no longer reality, but the new theoretical form in which the master had sublimated it. It is in part the theoretical disagreement of opponents of the new theory and in part the often paradoxical relationship of this theory to reality which drive him to seek to refute his opponents and explain away reality. In doing so, he entangles himself in contradictions and with his attempt to solve these he demonstrates the beginning disintegration of the theory which he dogmatically espouses. On the one hand, Mill wants to present bourgeois production as the absolute form of production and seeks therefore to prove that its real contradictions are only apparent ones. On the other hand, [he seeks] to present the Ricardian theory as the absolute theoretical form of this mode of production and ditto to disprove the theoretical contradictions, both the ones pointed out by others and the ones he himself cannot help seeing. Nevertheless in a way Mill advances the Ricardian view beyond the bounds reached by Ricardo. He supports the same historical interests as Ricardo—those of industrial capital against landed property—and he draws the practical conclusions from the theory—that of rent for example—more ruthlessly, against the institution of landed property which he would like to see more or less directly transformed into state property.[a] This conclusion and this side of Mill do not concern us here.

Ricardo's disciples, just as Ricardo himself, fail to make a distinction between *surplus value* and *profit*. Ricardo only becomes aware of the problem as a result of the different influence which the variation of wages can exercise on capitals of different organic composition (and [he considers] different organic composition only with regard to the circulation process). It does not occur to them that, even if one considers not capitals in DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS but *each* capital separately, in so far as it does not consist exclusively of variable capital, of capital laid out in wages only, rate of profit and rate of surplus value are different things, that therefore profit must be a more developed, specifically modified form of surplus value. They perceive the difference only in so far as it concerns equal profits—AVERAGE RATE OF PROFIT—for capitals in DIFFERENT SPHERES OF PRODUCTION AND DIFFERENTLY COMPOSED OF FIXED AND CIRCULATING INGREDIENCES. In this connection Mill only repeats in a vulgarised form what Ricardo says in CHAPTER I, "On Value". The only new consideration which occurs to him in relation to this question is this:

[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, p. 379, and also K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon* (present edition, Vol. 6, p. 203).—*Ed.*

Mill remarks that "*TIME AS SUCH*" (i.e. not labour time, but simply *time*) produces nothing, consequently it does not produce "VALUE". How does this fit in with the law of value according to which capital, because it requires a longer time for its RETURNS, yields, as Ricardo says, the same profit as capital which employs more immediate labour but returns more rapidly? One perceives that Mill deals here only with a quite individual case which, expressed in general terms, would read as follows: How does the cost price, and the [XIV-792] AVERAGE RATE OF PROFIT which it presupposes (HENCE equal value of commodities containing very UNEQUAL quantities of labour), fit in with the fact that profit is nothing but a part of the labour time contained in the commodity, the part which is appropriated by the capitalist without an equivalent? On the other hand, in the case of the AVERAGE RATE OF PROFIT and cost price, criteria which are quite extrinsic and external to the determination of value are advanced, for example, that the capitalist whose capital takes longer to bring in a RETURN because, as in the case of WINE, it must remain longer in the production process (or, in other cases, longer in the circulation process) must be compensated for the time in which he cannot valorise his capital. But how can the time in which no valorisation takes place create value?

Mill's passage concerning "*time*" reads:

> * "Time can do nothing ... how then can it add to value? Time is a mere abstract term. It is a word, a sound. And it is the very same logical absurdity to talk of an abstract unit measuring value, and of time creating it" * (*Elements etc.*, 2ND ED., p. 99).[a78]

In reality, what is involved in the grounds for compensation between CAPITALS IN DIFFERENT SPHERES OF PRODUCTION is not the production of surplus value, but *its division between different categories of capitalists.* Viewpoints are here advanced which have nothing whatever to do with the determination of value as such. Everything which compels capital in A particular SPHERE OF PRODUCTION to renounce conditions which would produce a *greater amount of surplus value* in other spheres, is regarded here as *grounds for compensation.* Thus, if more fixed and less circulating capital is employed, if more constant than variable capital is employed, if it must remain longer in the circulation process, and finally, if it must remain longer in the production process without being subjected to the labour process—a thing which always happens when breaks of a technological character occur in the production

[a] Quoted from [S. Bailey,] *A Critical Dissertation...*, p. 217.—*Ed.*

process in order to expose the developing product to the working of natural forces, for example, wine in the cellar. Compensation ensues in all these cases and the last mentioned is the one which Mill seizes on, thus tackling the difficulty in a very circumscribed and isolated way. A part of the surplus value produced in other spheres is transferred to the capitals more unfavourably placed with regard to the direct exploitation of labour, simply in accordance with their size (competition brings about this equalisation so that each separate capital appears only as an aliquot part of social capital).[a] The phenomenon is very simple as soon as the relationship of surplus value and profit as well as the equalisation of profits in a general rate of profit is understood. If, however, it is to be explained directly from the law of value without any intermediate link, that is, if the profit which a particular capital yields in a particular TRADE is to be explained on the basis of the surplus value contained in the commodities it produces, [in other words on the basis of] the *unpaid labour* (consequently also on the basis of the LABOUR directly WORKED UP in the commodities themselves), this is a much more difficult problem to solve than that of squaring the circle, which can be solved algebraically.[79] It is simply an attempt to present that which does not exist as in fact existing. But it is in this *direct* form that Mill seeks to solve the problem. Thus no solution of the matter is possible here, only a sophistic explaining away of the difficulty, that is, only scholasticism. Mill begins this process. In the case of an unscrupulous blockhead like *McCulloch*, this manner assumes a swaggering shamelessness.[b] Mill's solution cannot be better summed up than it is in the words of *Bailey*:

*"Mr Mill has made a curious attempt to resolve the *effects of time* into *expenditure of labour*. 'If,' says he,"* (p. 97 of the *Elements*, 2ND ED., 1824) *"'the wine which is put in the cellar is increased in value $^1/_{10}$ by being kept a year, $^1/_{10}$ more of labour may be correctly *considered* as having been expended upon it.' ...a fact can be correctly considered as having taken [XIV-793] place only when it really has taken place. In the instance adduced, no human being, by the terms of the supposition, has approached the wine, or spent upon it a moment or a single motion of his muscles"* (*A Critical Dissertation on the Nature, Measures, and Causes of Value etc.*, London, 1825, [pp.] 219-20).

Here the contradiction between the general law and further developments in the concrete circumstances is to be resolved not by the discovery of the connecting links but by directly subordinat-

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 259-65, 302-05, 430-39; this volume, pp. 67-71, and the manuscript, Notebook XVIII, p. 1190 (Vol. 33).—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 361-64, and also Vol. 31, p. 416.—*Ed.*

ing and immediately adapting the concrete to the abstract. This moreover is to be brought about by a verbal fiction, BY CHANGING *vera rerum vocabula*.[a] (These are indeed "VERBAL DISPUTES",[b] they are "VERBAL", however, because real contradictions which are not resolved in a real way, are to be solved by phrases.) When we come to deal with McCulloch, it will be seen that this manner, which appears in Mill only in embryo, did more to undermine the whole foundation of the Ricardian theory than all the attacks of its opponents.[c]

Mill resorts to this type of argument only when he is quite unable to find any other expedient. But as a rule his method is quite different. Where the economic relation—and therefore also the categories expressing it—includes opposites, contradictions, and even the unity of the opposites, he emphasises the aspect of the *unity* of the contradictions and denies the *contradictions*. He transforms the unity of opposites into the direct identity of opposites.

For example, a commodity conceals the contradiction of use value and exchange value. This contradiction develops further, presents itself and manifests itself in the duplication of the commodity into commodity and money. This duplication appears as a process in the metamorphosis of commodities in which selling and buying are different aspects of a single process and each act of this process simultaneously includes its opposite. In the first part of this work, I mentioned that Mill disposes of the contradiction by concentrating only on the *unity* of buying and selling; consequently he reduces circulation to barter, then, however, smuggles categories borrowed from circulation into barter.[d] See also what I wrote there about Mill's *theory of money*, in which he employs similar methods.[e]

In James Mill we find the unsatisfactory divisions—"Production", "Distribution", "Interchange", "Consumption".[f] 80

*Wages*:

"Instead, however, of waiting till the commodity is produced, and the value of it is realised, it has been found to suit *much better* the convenience of the labourers to

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[a] The correct names of things.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 298-305.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., pp. 360-62.—*Ed.*

[d] See K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 333).—*Ed.*

[e] Ibid., pp. 409-12.—*Ed.*

[f] See J. Mill, *Élémens d'économie politique*, Paris, 1823, pp. 7, 13, 85, 237.—*Ed.*

receive their share *in advance.* The shape under which it has been found most convenient [for all parties] that they should receive it, is that of wages. When the share of the commodity which belongs to the labourer has been all received in the shape of wages, the commodity itself belongs to the capitalist, he having, in reality, *bought the share of the labourer* and paid for it in advance" (*Élémens d'économie politique,* French translation by [J. T.] Parisot, Paris, 1823, p[p. 33-]34).

It is highly characteristic of Mill that, just as *money* for him is an expedient invented for convenience's sake, *capitalist relations* are likewise invented for the same reason. These specific social relations of production are invented for "convenience's" sake. Commodities and money are transformed into capital because the worker has ceased to engage in exchange as a commodity producer and commodity owner; instead of selling commodities he is compelled to sell his labour itself ([to sell] directly his labour capacity) as a commodity to the owner of the objective conditions of labour. This separation is the prerequisite for the relationship of capital and wage labour in the same way as it is the prerequisite for the transformation of money (or of the commodities by which it is represented) into capital. Mill presupposes the *separation,* the *division*; he presupposes the relationship of capitalist and wage worker, in order to present as a matter of convenience the situation in which the worker sells *no product,* no commodity, but his share of the product (in the production of which he has no say whatsoever and which proceeds *independently* of him) before he has produced it. [XIV-794] Or, more precisely, the worker's share of the product is paid for—transformed into money—by the capitalist before the capitalist HAS DISPOSED OF, or realised, the product in which the worker has a share.

This view is aimed at circumventing the specific difficulty, along with the specific form of the relationship. Namely, the difficulty of the Ricardian system according to which the worker sells his *labour* directly (not his labour capacity). For: the value of a commodity is determined by the labour time required for its production; how does it happen that this law of value does not hold good in the greatest of all exchanges, which forms the foundation of capitalist production, the exchange between capitalist and wage worker? Why is the quantity OF REALISED LABOUR received by the worker as WAGES not equal to the quantity of IMMEDIATE LABOUR which he gives in exchange for his WAGES? TO SHIFT THIS DIFFICULTY, Mill transforms the wage worker into a commodity owner who sells the capitalist his *product, his commodity*—since his *share* of the product, of the commodity, is *his* product, his *commodity,* a value produced by him in the form of a particular commodity. He resolves the difficulty by transforming the transaction between capitalist and wage

worker, which includes the contradiction between REALISED and IMMEDIATE LABOUR, into a COMMON transaction between commodity owners, owners of REALISED LABOUR. Although by resorting to this artifice Mill has indeed made it impossible for himself to grasp the specific nature, the *differentia specifica* of the proceedings which take place between capitalist and wage worker, he has not reduced the difficulty in any way, but has increased it, because the peculiarity of the result is now no longer comprehensible in terms of the peculiarity of the commodity which the worker sells (and the specific feature of this commodity is that its use value is itself a factor of exchange value, its use therefore creates a greater exchange value then it itself contained).

According to Mill, the worker is a seller of commodities like any other. For example, he produces 6 yards of linen. Of these 6, 2 yards are assumed to be equal to the value of the labour which he has added. He thus sells 2 yards of linen to the capitalist. Why then should he not receive the full value of the 2 yards, like any other seller of 2 yards of linen, since he is now a seller of linen like any other? Rather the contradiction with the law of value now expresses itself much more crassly than before. He does not sell a particular commodity differing from all other commodities. He sells labour embodied in a product, that is, a commodity which as such is not specifically different from any other commodity. If now the price of a yard [of linen]—that is, the quantity of money containing the same amount of labour time as the yard [of linen]—is 2s., why then does the worker receive 1s. instead of 2? But if the worker received 2s., the capitalist would not secure any SURPLUS VALUE and the whole Ricardian system would collapse. We would have to return to PROFIT UPON EXPROPRIATION.[75] The 6 yards would cost the capitalist 12s., i.e. their value, but he would sell them for 13s.

Or linen, and any other commodity, is sold at its value when the capitalist sells it, but *below* its value when the worker sells it. Thus the law of value would be destroyed by the transaction between worker and capitalist. And it is precisely in order to avoid this that Mill resorts to his fictitious argument. He wants to transform the relationship between worker and capitalist into the ordinary one between sellers and buyers of commodities. But why should not the ordinary law of value of commodities apply to this transaction? [It may be said however that] the worker is paid "in advance". Consequently this is not after all the ordinary relationship of buying and selling commodities. What does this "payment in advance" mean in this context? The worker who, for example, is

paid weekly, "*advances*" his labour and produces the share of the weekly product which belongs to him—his weekly labour embodied in a product—(both according to Mill's assumption and in practice) before he receives "payment" for this share from the capitalist. The capitalist "advances" raw materials and instruments, the worker the "labour", and as soon as the wages are paid at the end of the week, he *sells* a commodity, his commodity, his share of the total commodity, to the capitalist. But, Mill will say, the capitalist pays the 2 [XIV-795] yards of linen due to the worker, i.e. turns them into cash, transforms them into money, before he himself sells the 6 yards of linen and transforms them into money. But what if the capitalist is working on orders, if he sells the goods before he produces them? Or to express it more generally, what difference does it make to the worker—in this case the seller of 2 yards of linen—if the capitalist buys these 2 yards from him in order to sell them again, and not to consume them? Of what concern are the buyer's motives to the seller? And how can motives, moreover, modify the law of value? To be consistent, each seller would have to dispose of his commodities below their value, for he is disposing of his products to the buyer in the form of a use value, whereas the buyer hands over value in the form of money, the cash form of the product. In this case, the linen manufacturer would also have to *underpay* the yarn merchant and the machine manufacturer and the colliery owner and so on. For they sell him commodities which he only intends to transform into money, whereas he pays them "in advance" the *value* of the component parts entering into his commodity not only before the commodity is sold, but before it is even produced. The worker provides him with linen, a commodity in a marketable form, in contrast to other sellers whose commodities, machinery, raw materials, etc., have to go through a process before they acquire a saleable form. It is a pretty kettle of fish for such an inveterate Ricardian as Mill, according to whom purchase and sale, supply and DEMAND are identical terms, and money a mere formality, if the transformation of the commodity into money—and nothing else takes place when the 2 yards of linen are sold to the capitalist—includes the fact that the seller has to sell the commodity below its value, and the buyer, with his money, has to buy it above its value.

[Mill's argument] therefore amounts to the absurdity that, in this transaction, the buyer buys the commodity in order to resell it at a profit and that, consequently, the seller must sell the commodity *below* its value—and with this the whole theory of value falls to the ground. This second attempt by Mill to resolve a Ricardian

contradiction, in fact destroys the whole basis of the system, especially its great merit that it defines the relationship between capital and wage labour as a direct exchange between HOARDED and IMMEDIATE LABOUR, that is, that it grasps its specific features.

In order to extricate himself, Mill would have to go further and to say that it is not merely a question of the simple transaction of the purchase and sale of commodities; that, on the contrary, in so far as it involves payment or the turning into money of the worker's product, which is equal to his share of the total product, the relationship between worker and capitalist is similar to that prevailing between the LENDING CAPITALIST OR DISCOUNTING CAPITALIST (the MONIED CAPITALIST) and the INDUSTRIAL CAPITALIST. It would be a pretty state of affairs to presuppose interest-bearing capital—a special form of capital—in order to deduce the general form of capital, capital which produces profit; that is, to present a derived form of surplus value (which already presupposes capital) as the cause of the appearance of surplus value. In that case, moreover, Mill would have to be consistent and in place of all the definite laws concerning wages and the RATE OF WAGES elaborated by Ricardo, he would have to derive them from the RATE OF INTEREST, and if he did that it would indeed be impossible to explain what determines the RATE OF INTEREST, since, according to the RICARDIANS AND ALL OTHER ECONOMISTS WORTH NAMING, the rate of interest IS DETERMINED BY THE RATE OF PROFIT.

The proposition concerning the "*share*" of the worker in his own product is in fact based on this: If one considers not simply the isolated transaction between capitalist and worker, but the EXCHANGE which takes place between both in the COURSE OF REPRODUCTION, and if one considers the real content of this process instead of the form in which it appears, then it is in fact evident that what the capitalist pays the worker (as well as the part of capital which confronts the worker as constant capital) is nothing but a part of the worker's product itself and, indeed, a part which does not have to be transformed into money, but which has already been sold, has already been transformed into money, since WAGES are paid in money, not *in naturalibus*. Under slavery, etc., the false appearance brought about by the previous transformation of the product into money—in so far as it is expended on WAGES—does not arise; it is therefore obvious that what the slave receives as wages is not, in fact, something that the SLAVE-OWNER "ADVANCES" him, but simply the portion of the realised labour of the SLAVE that returns to him in the form of means of subsistence. The same applies to the capitalist. He "advances" something only in

appearance. Since he pays for the work only after it has been done, he advances or rather [XIV-796] *pays* the worker as WAGES a part of the product produced by the worker and already transformed into money. A part of the worker's product which the capitalist appropriates, which is *deducted beforehand*, returns to the worker in the form of WAGES—as an advance on the new product, if you like. It is quite unworthy of Mill to cling to this *appearance* of the transaction in order to explain the transaction itself (this sort of thing might suit McCulloch, Say or Bastiat). The capitalist can ADVANCE the worker NOTHING EXCEPT WHAT HE HAS TAKEN previously FROM THE worker, i.e. what HAS BEEN ADVANCED TO HIM BY OTHER PEOPLE'S LABOUR. Malthus himself says that what the capitalist advances CONSISTS not "OF CLOTH" and "OTHER COMMODITIES", but "*OF LABOUR*",[a] that is, precisely of that which he himself does not perform. He advances the worker's own labour to the worker.

However, the whole paraphrase is of no use to Mill, for it does not help him to avoid resolving the question: how can the exchange between HOARDED and IMMEDIATE LABOUR (and this is the way the exchange process between capital and labour is perceived by Ricardo and by Mill and others after him) correspond to the law of value, which it contradicts directly? One can see from the following passage that it is of no help to Mill:

> "In *what proportion* are the products divided between the labourer and the capitalist, or what share [of the labourer] determines the rate of wages? ([Mill, *Élémens d'économie politique*,] ED. by Parisot, p. 34). The determination of the shares of the labourer and the CAPITALIST is the subject of a *bargain* between them. All bargains, when left in freedom, are determined by competition, and the terms alter according to the *state of supply and demand*" (l.c., [pp.] 34-35).[b]

The worker is paid for his "share" of the product. This is said in order to transform him into an ordinary seller of a *commodity* (a product) vis-à-vis capital and to eliminate the specific feature of this relationship. The worker's share of the product is *his* product, that is, the share of the product in which his newly added labour is realised. *Quod non.*[c] On the contrary, we now ask which is his "share" of the product, that is, *which* is *his* product? For the part of the product which belongs to him is *his* product, which he sells. We are now told that *his* product and his *product* are two quite different things. We must establish, first of all, what his product (in other words, his share of the product, that is, the part

[a] T. R. Malthus, *The Measure of Value Stated and Illustrated...*, pp. 17-18.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes Mill with some alterations.—*Ed.*

[c] But this is not the case.—*Ed.*

of the product that belongs to him) is. His product is thus a mere phrase, since the [quantity of] value which he receives from the capitalist is not determined by his own production. Mill has thus merely removed the difficulty one step. He has got no farther than he was at the beginning.

There is a *quid pro quo* here. Supposing that the exchange between capital and wage labour is a continuous activity—as it is if one does not isolate and consider one individual act or element of capitalist production—then the worker receives a part of the value of his product which he has replaced+that part of the value which he has given the capitalist for nothing. This is repeated continuously. Thus he receives in fact continuously a portion of the value of his own product, a part of, or a share in, the value he has produced. Whether his WAGES are high or low is not determined by his share of the product but, on the contrary, his share of the product is determined by the amount of his WAGES. He actually receives a share of the value of the product. But the share he receives is determined by the VALUE OF LABOUR, not conversely, the VALUE OF LABOUR—by his share in the product. The VALUE OF LABOUR is determined by the labour time required by the worker for his own reproduction; it is determined by the sale of his labour capacity to the capitalist. This virtually determines his share of the product as well. It does not happen the other way round, that his share of the product is determined first, and as a result, the amount or VALUE of his WAGES. This is precisely one of Ricardo's most important and most emphasised propositions, for otherwise the price of labour would be determined by the price of the commodity it produces, whereas, according to Ricardo, the price of labour determines nothing but the *rate of profit*.

And how does Mill determine the "share" of the product which the worker receives? By demand and supply, competition between workers and capitalists. What Mill says applies to all commodities:

> "The determination of the shares" (read: in the value of commodities) "of the labourer and the capitalist" (seller and buyer) "is the subject of a bargain between [XIV-797] them. All bargains, when left in freedom, are determined by competition, and the terms alter according to the state of supply and demand."[a]

Here we have the gist of the matter.[b] [This is said by] Mill who, as a zealous Ricardian, proves that although demand and supply can, to be sure, determine the vacillations of the market price

[a] Marx quotes Mill with some alterations. Cf. this volume, p. 283.—*Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript: Also das des Pudels Kern! (Goethe, *Faust*, Act I, Scene 4, "Faust's Study").—*Ed.*

either above or below the *value* of the commodity, they cannot determine that value itself, that these are meaningless words when applied to the determination of value, for the determination of demand and supply presupposes the determination of value! In order to determine the VALUE OF LABOUR, the *value* of a commodity, Mill now resorts to something for which Say had already reproached Ricardo[14]: determination by demand and supply.[a]

But even more.

Mill does not say which of the two parties represents supply and which DEMAND—which is of no importance to the matter here. Still, since the capitalist offers money and the worker offers something for the money, we will assume that DEMAND is on the side of the capitalist and supply on that of the worker. But what then does the worker "sell"? What does he supply? His "share" of the product which does not [yet] exist? But it is just his share in the future product which has to be determined by competition between him and the capitalist, by the "demand and supply" relationship. One of the sides of this relationship—supply—cannot be something which is itself the result of the struggle between demand and supply. What then does the worker offer for sale? His *labour*? If this is so, then Mill is back again at the original difficulty he sought to evade, the *EXCHANGE between HOARDED and IMMEDIATE LABOUR*. And when he says that what is happening here is not the exchange of equivalents, or that the value of LABOUR, the commodity sold, is not measured by "the labour time" itself, but by competition, by demand and supply, then he admits that Ricardo's theory breaks down, that his opponents are right, that the determination of the value of commodities by labour time is false, because the value of the most important commodity, labour itself, contradicts this law of value of commodities. As we shall see later, *Wakefield* says this quite explicitly.[b] Mill can turn and twist as he will, he cannot extricate himself from the dilemma. At best, to use his own mode of expression, competition causes the workers to offer a *definite quantity of labour* for a price which, according to the relation of demand and supply, is equal to a larger or smaller part of the product which they will produce with this quantity of labour. That this *price*, this *sum of money*, which they receive in this way, is equal to a larger or smaller part of the value of the product to be manufactured, does not, however, *de prime abord*,[c] in

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[a] See this volume, pp. 290-93.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 371.—*Ed.*

[c] Here: as a matter of course.—*Ed.*

any way prevent a *definite amount of living labour* (IMMEDIATE LABOUR) from being exchanged for a greater or lesser amount of *money* (ACCUMULATED LABOUR, existing moreover in the form of exchange value). It does not therefore prevent the exchange of unequal quantities of labour, that is, of less HOARDED LABOUR for more IMMEDIATE LABOUR. This was precisely the phenomenon that Mill had to explain and he wished to clear the problem up without violating the law of value. The phenomenon is not changed in the slightest, much less explained, by declaring that the proportion in which the worker exchanges his IMMEDIATE LABOUR for money *is expressed* at the end of the production process in the ratio of the value paid him to the value of the product he has produced. The original *unequal* exchange between capital and LABOUR thus only *appears* in a different form.

How Mill boggles at direct EXCHANGE between LABOUR and capital—which Ricardo takes as his point of departure without any embarrassment at all—is also shown by the way he proceeds. Thus he says:

> [XIV-798] "Let us begin by supposing that there is a certain number of capitalists and a certain number of labourers. The *proportion, in which the commodities produced are divided between them, has fixed itself at some particular point.* Let us next suppose that the labourers have increased in number without any increase in the *quantity of capital.* The additional labourers must endeavour to supplant those who have forestalled the employment. They must *offer to work for a smaller reward.* Wages, therefore, decline ... and vice versa... If the ratio which capital and population bear to one another remains the same, the wage rate will remain the same" (l.c., p. 35 et seq. passim).

What has to be determined is "the proportion in which they" (capitalists and workers) "divide the product". In order to establish this by competition, Mill *assumes* that this proportion "*has fixed itself* at some particular *point*". In order to establish the "share" of the worker by means of competition, he *assumes* that it is determined *before* competition "at some particular point". Moreover, in order to demonstrate how competition alters the division of the product which is *determined* "at some particular point", he assumes that workers "*offer to work for a smaller reward*" when their number grows more rapidly than the quantity of capital. Thus he says here outright that what the workers supply consists of "labour" and that they offer this labour for a "*reward*", i.e. money, a definite quantity of "HOARDED LABOUR". In order to avoid direct exchange between labour and capital, direct *sale of labour*, he has recourse to the theory of the "division of the product". And in order to explain the proportion in which the product is divided, he presupposes *direct sale* of labour for money,

so that this original EXCHANGE between CAPITAL and LABOUR is later *expressed* in the proportion of [the share] the worker receives of his product, and not that the original EXCHANGE is determined by his share of the product. And finally, if the number of workers and the amount of capital remain the same, then the "wage rate" will remain *the same.* But what is the wage rate when demand and supply balance? That is the point which has to be explained. It is not explained by declaring that this rate *is altered* when the equilibrium between demand and supply is upset. Mill's tautological circumlocutions only demonstrate that he feels there is a snag here in the Ricardian theory which he can only overcome by abandoning the theory altogether.

*Against Malthus, Torrens, and others.* Against the determination of the value of commodities by the value of capital, Mill remarks correctly:

*"Capital *is* commodities. If the value of commodities, then, depends upon the value of capital, it depends upon the value of commodities; the value of commodities depends upon itself"* (*Elements etc.*, IST ED. London, 1821, [p.] 74).

*Demand, supply, overproduction.*[81] // Mill does not gloss over the contradiction between capital and labour. The *rate of profit* must be high so that the social class which is free from immediate labour may be important; and for that purpose wages must be relatively low. It is necessary that the mass of the labourers should not be masters of their own time and should be slaves of their own needs, so that human (social) capacities can develop freely in the classes for which the working class serves merely as a basis. The working class represents lack of development in order that other classes can represent human development. This IN FACT is the contradiction in which bourgeois [XIV-799] society develops, as has every hitherto existing society, and this is declared to be a *necessary law,* i.e. the existing state of affairs is declared to be absolutely reasonable.

"*Man's perfectibilité,* or the power of advancing continually from one degree of knowledge, and of happiness, to another, seem, in a great measure, to depend upon the existence of a class of men which have *their time at their command*; that is, who are rich enough to be freed from all solicitude with respect to the means of living in a certain state of enjoyment. It is by this class of men that knowledge is cultivated and enlarged; it is also by this class that it is diffused; it is this class of men whose children receive the best education, and are prepared for all the higher and more delicate functions of society, as legislators, judges, administrators, teachers, inventors in all the arts, and superintendents in all the more important works, by which the dominion of the human species is extended over the powers of nature" (l.c., [*Élémens d'économie politique,* tr. by Parisot, Paris, 1823, p.] 65).

"To enable a considerable proportion of the community to enjoy the advantages of *leisure,* the *return to capital* must *evidently* be *large*" (l.c., [p.] 67).

In addition to the above. Mill, as a RICARDIAN, defines LABOUR and CAPITAL simply as *different forms* of labour.

* "Labour and Capital—the one, *immediate labour*... the other, *hoarded* labour" * ([*Elements of Political Economy,*] 1ST ENGL. ED., London, 1821, p. 75).

In another passage he says:

"Of these two *species of labour,* [two things] are to be observed. They are *not always paid according to the same rate*" ([*Élémens d'économie politique,*] ED. by Parisot, [p.] 100).

Here he comes to the point. Since what pays for IMMEDIATE labour is always HOARDED LABOUR, CAPITAL, the fact that it is not paid at *the same rate* means nothing more than that more IMMEDIATE LABOUR is exchanged for less HOARDED LABOUR, and that this is "*always*" the case, since otherwise HOARDED LABOUR would not be exchanged as "capital" for IMMEDIATE LABOUR and would not only fail to yield the *very high return* desired by Mill, but would yield none at all. The passage quoted thus contains the admission (since Mill along with Ricardo regards the exchange between CAPITAL and LABOUR as a direct exchange of HOARDED and IMMEDIATE LABOUR), that they are exchanged in *unequal proportions,* and that in respect of them the law of value—according to which equal quantities of labour are exchanged for one another—breaks down.

Mill advances as a basic law what Ricardo actually assumes in order to develop his theory of rent[a]:

"The rate of agricultural profits determines the rate of all other profits" ([*Elements of Political Economy,*] 2ND ED., London, 1824, [p.] 78).[b]

This is fundamentally wrong, since capitalist production develops first of all in industry, not in agriculture, and only embraces the latter by degrees, so that it is only as a result of the advance of capitalist production that THE AGRICULTURAL PROFITS BECOME EQUALISED TO THE INDUSTRIAL profits and only as a result of this equalisation do the former [influence] the latter. Hence it is in the first place wrong historically. But secondly, once this EQUALISATION is an accomplished fact—that is, presupposing a level of development of agriculture in which capital, in accordance with the rate of profit, flows from industry to agriculture and vice versa—it is equally wrong to state that from this point on *AGRICULTURAL PROFITS* become the determining force, instead of the influence being reciprocal. Incidentally, in order to develop the concept of rent, Ricardo himself assumes the opposite. The price of corn rises; as a

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[a] See this volume, pp. 99-101.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes Mill with some alterations.—*Ed.*

result agricultural *profits* do not *fall* (as long as there are no new supplies either from inferior lands or from additional, less productive investments of capital)—for the rise in the price of corn more than compensates the farmer for the loss he incurs by the rise in wages following on the rise in the price of corn—but *profits fall* in industry, where no such compensation or over-compensation takes place. Consequently the *industrial profit rate* falls and HENCE capital which yields this lower rate of profit can therefore BE EMPLOYED on inferior lands. This would not be the case if the old profit rate prevailed. Only because the decline of industrial profits thus reacts on the agricultural profit yielded by THE WORSE LANDS, does AGRICULTURAL PROFIT GENERALLY fall, [XIV-800] and a part of it is detached in the form of rent from the profit THE BETTER SOILS yield. This is the way Ricardo describes the process, according to which, therefore, INDUSTRIAL PROFIT determines AGRICULTURAL profit. If AGRICULTURAL PROFIT were to rise again as a result of improvements in agriculture, then industrial profit would also rise. But this does not by any means exclude the fact that—as originally the *decline in industrial profit* causes a decline in AGRICULTURAL profit—*a rise* in industrial profit may bring about a rise in AGRICULTURAL PROFIT. This is always the case when INDUSTRIAL PROFIT rises *independently of the price of corn* and of other AGRICULTURAL NECESSARIES which enter into the wages of the workers, that is, [when it rises] as a result of the fall in the value of commodities which constitute constant capital, etc. Rent moreover cannot possibly be explained if industrial profit does *not* regulate AGRICULTURAL profit. THE *AVERAGE RATE* OF PROFIT in industry is established as a result of equalisation of the profits of capitals and the consequent transformation of the values into *cost prices*.[6] These cost prices—the value of the capital advanced+AVERAGE PROFIT—are the *prerequisite* received by agriculture from industry, since the equalisation of profits cannot take place in agriculture owing to landownership. If then the value of AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE is higher than the cost price determined by the *INDUSTRIAL AVERAGE PROFIT* would be, the excess of this value over the cost price constitutes the absolute rent. But in order that this excess of value over cost price can be measured, the *cost price* must be the *prius*; it must therefore be imposed on agriculture as a law by industry.

A passage from Mill must be noted:

"That which is *productively* consumed is always capital. This is a particularly strange property of productive consumption. Whatever is consumed productively *is* capital, and it *becomes* capital because of the consumption" (l.c., [*Élémens d'économie politique,*] ED. by Parisot, [pp. 241-]242).

"A demand means the *will to purchase* and *means of purchasing*... The *equivalent object*" (means of purchasing) "which a man brings is the *instrument* of demand. The extent of his demand is measured by the value of this object. The demand and the equivalent are convertible terms, and one may be substituted for the other... His" (a man's) "will, therefore, to *purchase*, and his *means of purchasing*, in other words, his demand, is exactly equal to the [value] of what he has produced, and does not mean to consume" (l.c., ED. by Parisot, [pp.] 252-53).[a]

One sees here how the direct identity of demand and supply (HENCE the impossibility of a GENERAL GLUT) is proved. The product constitutes demand and the extent of this demand, moreover, is measured by the value of the product. The same abstract "reasoning" with which Mill demonstrates that buying and selling are but identical and do not differ; the same tautological phrases with which he shows that prices depend on the amount of money in circulation; the same methods used to prove that supply and demand (which are only more developed forms of buyer and seller) must balance each other. The logic is always the same. If a relationship includes opposites, it comprises not only opposites but also the *unity* of opposites. It is therefore a *unity without opposites.* This is Mill's logic, by which he eliminates the "contradictions".

Let us begin with *supply.* What I supply is *commodities,* a unity of use value and exchange value, for example, a definite quantity of iron=£3 (which=a definite quantity of labour time). According to the assumption I am a manufacturer of iron. I supply a use value—iron—and I supply a value, namely, the value expressed in the price of the iron, that is, in £3. But there is the following little difference. A definite quantity of iron is *in reality* placed on the market by me. The *value* of the iron, on the other hand, exists only as its *price* which must first be realised by the buyer of the iron, who represents, as far as I am concerned, the *demand* for iron. The demand of the seller of iron consists in the demand for the *exchange value* of the iron, which, although it is embodied in the iron, is not realised. It is possible for the same *exchange value* to be represented by very different quantities of iron. The supply of use value and the supply of value to be realised are thus by no means identical, since quite different quantities of use value [XIV-801] can represent the same quantity of exchange value.

The same value—£3—can be represented by 1, 3 or 10 tons [of iron]. The quantity of iron (use value) which I supply and the quantity of value I supply, are by no means proportionate to one another, since the latter quantity can remain unchanged no matter how much the former changes. No matter how large or small the

[a] Marx quotes Mill with some alterations.—*Ed.*

quantity of iron I supply may be, it is assumed that I always want to realise the value of the iron, which is independent of the actual quantity of iron and in general of its existence as a use value. The value supplied (but not yet realised) and the quantity of iron which is realised, do not correspond to each other. No grounds exist therefore for assuming that the possibility of selling a commodity at its value corresponds in any way to the quantity of the commodity I bring to market. For the buyer, my commodity exists, above all, as use value. He buys it as such. But what he needs is a definite quantity of iron. His need for iron is just as little determined by the quantity produced by me as the value of my iron is commensurate with this quantity.

It is true that the man who buys has in his possession merely the *converted form* of a commodity—money—the commodity in the form of exchange value, and he can act as a buyer only because he or others have earlier acted as sellers of commodities which now exist in the form of money. This, however, is no reason why he should reconvert his money into my commodity or why his need for my commodity should be determined by the quantity of it that I have produced. In so far as he demands my commodity, he may want either a smaller quantity than I supply, or the entire quantity, but *below* its value. His DEMAND does not have to correspond to my supply any more than the quantity I supply and the value at which I supply it are identical.

However, the inquiry into demand and supply does not belong here.

In so far as I supply iron, I do not demand iron, but money. I supply a particular use value and demand its value. My supply and demand are therefore as different as use value and exchange value. In so far as I supply a *value* in the iron itself, I demand the *realisation of this value.* My supply and demand are thus as different as something conceptual is from something real. Further, the quantity I supply and its value stand in no proportion to each other. The demand for the quantity of use value I supply is however measured not by the value I wish to realise, but by the quantity which the buyer requires at a definite price.

Yet another passage from Mill:

"It is evident, that each man contributes to the general supply the whole of what he has produced and does not mean to consume. In whatever shape any part of the annual produce has come into his hands, if he proposes to consume no part of it himself, he wishes to dispose of the whole; and the whole, therefore, becomes matter of supply: if he consumes a part, he wishes to dispose of all the rest, and all the rest becomes matter of supply" (l.c., p. 253).

In other words, this means nothing else but that all commodities placed on the market constitute supply.

"As every man's demand, therefore,=that part of the annual produce, or, in other words,=that part of the wealth, which he has to dispose of"[a]

// *Halte là!*[b] His demand is equal to the *value* (when it is realised) of the portion of products which he wants to dispose of. What he wants to dispose of is a certain quantity of use value; what he wishes to have is the *value* of this use value. Both things are ANYTHING BUT IDENTICAL //

"and each man's supply is exactly the same thing",

//by no means; his demand does not consist in what he wishes to dispose of, i.e. the product, but in the demand for the value of this product; on the other hand, his supply really consists of this product, whereas the value is only conceptually supplied//

"the supply and demand of every individual are of necessity equal" [pp. 253-54].

(That is, the *value* of the commodity supplied by him and the *value* which he asks for it but does not possess are equal; *provided* he sells the commodity at its value, the value supplied (in the form of commodity) and the value received (in the form of money) are equal. But it does not follow that, because he wants to sell the commodity at its value, he actually does so. A quantity of commodities is supplied by him, and is on the market. He tries to get the value for it.)

"Demand and supply are terms [XIV-802] related in a peculiar manner. A commodity which is supplied, is always, at the same time, a commodity which is the *instrument* of demand. A commodity which is the instrument of demand, is always, at the same time, a commodity added to the stock of supply. Every commodity is always *at one and the same time* matter of demand and matter of supply. Of two men who perform an exchange, the one does not come with only a supply, the other with only a demand; the *supply which he brings* is the instrument of his demand; and his demand and supply are of course exactly equal to one another. But if the demand and supply of every individual are always equal to one another, then the demand and supply of all the individuals in the nation, taken aggregately, must be equal. Whatever, therefore, be the amount of the annual produce, it never can exceed the amount of the annual demand. The whole of the annual produce is divided into a number of shares equal to that of the people to whom it is distributed. The whole of the demand is equal to as much of the whole of the shares as the owners do not keep for their own consumption. But the whole of the shares is equal to the whole of the annual produce" (l.c., [pp.] 254-55).

Once Mill has *assumed* that supply and demand are equal for each individual, then the whole long-winded excursus to the effect

[a] Marx quotes Mill with some alterations.— *Ed.*
[b] Stop! — *Ed.*

that supply and demand are also equal for *all* individuals, is quite superfluous.

How Mill was regarded by contemporary RICARDIANS can be seen, for instance, from the following:

"There is thus at least one case" //they say with regard to Mill's definition of the value of labour// "in which the price" (the price of labour) "is permanently determined by supply and demand relations" (Prévost, *Reflexions* [*du traducteur*] *sur le système de Ricardo*, appended to *Discours sur* [*l'origine, les progrès, les objets particuliers, et l'importance de*] *l'économie politique*, by McCulloch, translated by G-me Prévost, Geneva, [Paris,] 1825, [p.] 187).[a]

In the work cited, *McCulloch* says that Mill's object is

"to give a strictly *logical deduction* of the principles of political economy" (p. 88). Mill "touches on almost every topic of discussion. He has disentangled and simplified the most complex and difficult questions, has placed the various principles which compose the science in their natural order" (l.c.).

One can conclude from his logic that he takes over the quite illogical Ricardian structure, which we analysed earlier,[b] and naïvely regards it on the whole as a "natural order".

As far as the above-mentioned *Prévost* is concerned, who made Mill's EXPOSITION of the Ricardian system the basis of his *Réflexions etc.*, a number of his objections are founded on sheer, callow misunderstanding of Ricardo.

But the following remark about rent is noteworthy:

"One may entertain a doubt about the influence of *inferior land* on the determination of prices, if one bears in mind, as one should, its *relative area*" (Prévost, l.c., p. 177).

Prévost cites the following from *Mill*, which is also important for my argument,[c] since Mill himself here thinks of one example where *differential rent* arises because the NEW DEMAND, the ADDITIONAL DEMAND, IS SUPPLIED BY A BETTER, NOT BY A WORSE SOIL, consequently, the ASCENDING LINE.

"MR. *Mill* USES this comparison: 'Suppose that all the land cultivated in the country were of one uniform quality, and yielded the same return to every portion of the capital employed upon it, with the exception of one acre; that acre, we shall suppose, yields six times as much as any other acre'" (Mill, *Elements etc.*, 2ND ED., p. 71). "It is certain—as MR. Mill demonstrates—that the farmer who rents this last acre, cannot increase his rent"[82] (that is, cannot make a higher profit than the other farmers; it is very badly expressed) "and that five-sixths of the product will go to the landowner."

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[a] This and the following passages from Prévost and McCulloch's *Discours...* are quoted in French in the manuscript. Below, in analysing Prévost's views, Marx uses quite a few French expressions.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 389-94, 397.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., pp. 461-62, 489, 522-25.—*Ed.*

(Thus there is here differential rent without the lowering of the rate of profit and without any increase in the price of agricultural products.) (This must happen all the more frequently, since the *situation* [XIV-803] must *improve* continuously with the industrial development of the country, the growth of its means of communication and the increase in population, irrespective of the natural fertility, and the relatively better location has the same effect as [greater] natural fertility.)

"But had the ingenious author thought of making a similar supposition in the opposite case, he would have realised that the result would be different. Let us suppose that all the land was of equal quality with the exception of one acre of inferior land. The profit on the capital on this single acre amounted to one-sixth of the profit yielded by every other acre. Does he believe that the profit on several million acres would be reduced to one-sixth of their accustomed level? It is probable that this solitary acre would have no effect at all, because the various products (particularly corn), when they come onto the market, would not be markedly affected by such a *minute* amount. That is why we say that the assertions of Ricardo's supporters about the effect of inferior soil should be modified by taking the *relative areas* of land of different quality into account" (Prévost, l.c., [pp.] 177-78).

//*Say,* in his notes to Ricardo's book translated by Constancio, makes only *one* correct remark about *foreign trade.*[83] Profit can also be made by cheating, one person gaining what the other loses. Loss and gain within a *single* country cancel each other out. But not so with trade between different countries. And even according to Ricardo's theory, 3 days of labour of one country can be exchanged against one of another country—a point *not* noted by Say. Here the law of value undergoes essential modification. The relationship between working days of different countries may be similar to that existing between SKILLED, COMPOSED LABOUR and UNSKILLED, SIMPLE [labour] within a country. In this case, the richer country exploits the poorer one, even where the latter gains by the exchange, as John Stuart Mill explains in his *Some Unsettled Questions etc.*[84]//

"We admit that, in general, the rate of agricultural profit determines that of industrial profit. But at the same time we must point out that the latter also reacts of necessity on the former. If the price of corn rises to a certain point, industrial capitals turn to agriculture, and necessarily depress agricultural profits" (Prévost, l.c., [p.] 179).

The point is correct, but is conceived in a much too limited sense. See above.[a]

The RICARDIANS insist that profit can fall only as a result of a rise in wages, because NECESSARIES rise in price with [the growth of]

[a] See this volume, pp. 288-89.—*Ed.*

population; this, however, is a consequence of the accumulation of capital, since inferior soils are cultivated as a result of this accumulation. But Ricardo himself admits that profits can also fall when capitals increase faster than population, when the competition of capitals causes wages to rise. This [corresponds to] Adam Smith's theory.[a] Prévost says:

"When the growing demand of the capitals increases the price of the labourer, that is, *wages*, does it not then appear that there are no grounds for asserting that the growing supply of these selfsame capitals never causes the price of capitals, in other words, *profit*, to fall?" (l.c., [p.] 188).

*Prévost* builds on the false Ricardian foundation—which can only explain falling profits as a result of decreasing SURPLUS VALUE, and therefore decreasing SURPLUS LABOUR, and consequently as a result of greater value or *rising cost of the* NECESSARIES *consumed by the labourer,* that is, increasing VALUE OF LABOUR, ALTHOUGH THE REAL RETRIBUTION OF THE LABOURER, INSTEAD OF BEING ASCENDING, DECLINES—on this basis he seeks to prove that a CONTINUAL decline in profits is not inevitable.

He says *first*:

"To begin with, the state of prosperity increases profits"

(namely, agricultural profits, for the population increases with the state of prosperity, HENCE the demand for AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE, HENCE SURPLUS PROFITS of the FARMER)

"and this happens long before new land is taken into cultivation. The increased area under cultivation does indeed affect rent and decreases profits. But although profit is thus directly decreased, it still remains as high as before the advance... Why is the cultivation of land of inferior quality undertaken at certain times? It is undertaken in the expectation of a profit which is *at least equal to the customary profit.* And what circumstance can lead to the realisation of such a profit on this kind of land? Increase [XIV-804] of population. It presses on ... the existing means of subsistence, thereby raising the prices of food (especially of corn) so that agricultural capitals obtain high profits. The other capitals pour into agriculture, but since the soil is limited in area, this competition has its limits and the point is reached when *even higher profits can be made than in trade or manufacture* through the cultivation of inferior soils. If there is a sufficient area of inferior land available, then agricultural profit must be adjusted to the last capitals applied to the land. If one proceeds from the rate of profit prevailing at the beginning of the increasing prosperity" (division of profit into profit and rent), "then it will be found that profit has no tendency to decline. It rises with the increase in the population until agricultural profit rises to such a degree that it can suffer a considerable reduction (as a result of the cultivation of new land) without ever sinking below its original rate, or, to be more precise, below the average rate determined by various circumstances" ([pp.] 190-92).

Prévost obviously misunderstands the Ricardian view. As a result of prosperity, the population increases, HENCE THE PRICES OF AGRICULTUR-

[a] Ibid., pp. 72-73, 100-02.—*Ed.*

AL PRODUCTS, HENCE AGRICULTURAL PROFITS. (Although it is not easy to see why, if this rise is constant, rents should not be increased after the leases run out and [why] these AGRICULTURAL SURPLUS PROFITS should not be collected in the form of rent even before the inferior land is cultivated.) But the same rise in [the price of] AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE which causes AGRICULTURAL PROFITS to go up, increases wages IN ALL INDUSTRIES and consequently brings about a fall in INDUSTRIAL PROFITS. Thus A NEW RATE OF PROFIT arises in industry. If at the existing market prices the inferior lands even pay only this *LOWER RATE OF PROFIT*, capitals can be transferred to the inferior land. They will be attracted to it by the high AGRICULTURAL PROFITS and the high market price of corn. As Prévost says, they may, before a sufficient amount of capital has been transferred, even yield higher profits than the INDUSTRIAL PROFIT, which has declined. But as soon as the ADDITIONAL SUPPLY is adequate, the market price falls, so that the inferior soils only yield THE ORDINARY INDUSTRIAL PROFIT. The additional amount yielded by the product of the better [soils] is converted into rent. This is the Ricardian conception, whose basic premisses are accepted by *Prévost* and from which he reasons. Corn is now dearer than it was before the rise in AGRICULTURAL PROFIT. But the SURPLUS PROFIT which it brought the farmer is transformed into rent. In this way, therefore, profit also declines on the better land to the LOWER RATE OF INDUSTRIAL PROFIT brought about by the RISE in [the price of] AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE. There is no reason for assuming that as a consequence profits do not have to fall below their "original rate" if no other modifying circumstances intervene. Other circumstances *may*, of course, intervene. According to the assumption, after the RISE in [the price of] NECESSARIES, AGRICULTURAL PROFIT is in any case higher than INDUSTRIAL profit. If, however, as a result of the development of productive power, the part of the workers' NECESSARIES supplied by industry has fallen to such a degree that wages (even though they are paid at their AVERAGE VALUE) do not rise as much as they would have done without the intervention of these paralysing circumstances, proportionally to the increased [price of] AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE; if, furthermore, the same development of productive power has reduced the price of the products of the extractive industries, ditto of AGRICULTURAL RAW MATERIALS which are not used as food (although the supposition is not very likely), INDUSTRIAL PROFIT need not fall, though it would be lower than AGRICULTURAL PROFIT. A decline of the latter as a result of a TRANSFER OF CAPITAL TO AGRICULTURE and the building-up of rent, [XIV-805] would only restore the old rate OF PROFIT.

Prévost tries a different approach.

"Soils of inferior quality ... are only put into cultivation if they yield profits as high as—or even higher than—the profit yielded by industrial capitals. Under these conditions, the price of corn or of other agricultural products often remains very high despite the newly cultivated land. These high prices press on the working population, since rises in wages do not correspond exactly to rises in the prices of the goods used by wage workers. They are more or less a burden to the whole population, since nearly all commodities are affected by the rise in wages and in the prices of essential goods. This general pressure, linked with the increasing mortality brought about by too large a population, results in a decline in the number of wage workers and, consequently, in a rise in wages and a decline in agricultural profits. Further development now proceeds in the opposite direction to that taken previously. Capitals are withdrawn from the inferior soils and reinvested in industry. But the population principle soon begins to operate once again. As soon as poverty has been ended, the number of workers increases, their wages decline, and profits rise as a consequence. Such fluctuations follow one another repeatedly without bringing about a change in the average of profit. Profit may decline or rise for other reasons or as a result of these causes; it may alternately go up and down, and yet it may not be possible to attribute the average rise or fall to the necessity for cultivating new soils. The population is the regulator which establishes the natural order and keeps profit within certain limits" (l.c., [pp.] 194-96).

Although confused, this is correct according to the "population principle". It is however not in line with the assumption that agricultural profits rise until the ADDITIONAL SUPPLY required by the population has been produced. If this presupposes a constant increase in the prices of AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE, then it leads not to a decrease in population, but to a GENERAL LOWERING OF THE RATE OF PROFIT, HENCE OF ACCUMULATION, and, consequently, to a decrease OF POPULATION. According to the Ricardian-Malthusian view, the population would grow more slowly. But Prévost's basis is: that the process would depress wages below their AVERAGE level, this fall in wages and the poverty of the workers causes the price of corn to fall and HENCE profits to rise again.

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This latter argument, however, does not belong here, for here it is assumed that the VALUE OF LABOUR is always paid; that is, that the workers receive the means of subsistence necessary for their reproduction.

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This [exposition] of Prévost is important, because it demonstrates that the Ricardian view—along with the view he adopted from Malthus—can indeed explain fluctuations in the rate of profit, but cannot explain (constant) falls in the same without repercussions, for upon reaching a certain level the rise in corn prices and the drop in profit would force wages below their level,

bringing about a violent decrease in the population, and therefore a fall in the prices of corn and other NECESSARIES, and this would lead again to a rise in profits.

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[XIV-806] 3) POLEMICAL WRITINGS

The period between 1820 and 1830 is metaphysically speaking the most important period in the history of English political economy—theoretical tilting for and against the Ricardian theory, a whole series of anonymous polemical works, the most important of which are quoted here, especially in relation to those matters which concern our subject. At the same time, however, it is a characteristic of these polemical writings that all of them, in actual fact, merely revolve around the definition of the concept of value and its relation to capital.

### a) *Observations on Certain Verbal Disputes in Political Economy, Particularly Relating to Value, and to Demand and Supply*, London, 1821

This is not without a certain acuteness. The title *Verbal Disputes* is characteristic.

Directed in part against Smith and Malthus, but also against Ricardo.

The real SENSE of this work is that

* "disputes ... are entirely owing to the use of words in different senses by different persons; to the disputants looking, like the knights in the story, at different sides of the shield" * ([pp.] 59-60).

This kind of scepticism always heralds the dissolution of a theory, it is the harbinger of a frivolous and unprincipled eclecticism designed for domestic use.

First of all in relation to Ricardo's theory of value:

* "There is an obvious difficulty in supposing that *labour* is what we mentally allude to, when we talk of value or [of] real price, as opposed to nominal price; for we often want to speak of the *value or price of labour itself.* Where by labour, as the real price of a thing, we mean the labour which *produced* the thing, there is another difficulty besides; for we often want to speak of *the value or price of land,* but land is not produced by labour. This definition, then, will only apply to *commodities*" * (l.c., [p.] 8).

As far as labour is concerned, the objection to Ricardo is correct in so far as he presents capital as the immediate purchaser of

labour and consequently speaks directly of the VALUE OF LABOUR, while what is bought and sold is the temporary use of labour capacity, itself a product. Instead of the problem being resolved, it is only emphasised here that a problem remains unsolved.

It is also quite correct that "THE *VALUE* OR *PRICE OF LAND*", which is not produced by labour, appears directly to contradict the concept of value and cannot be derived directly from it. This proposition is [all the more] insignificant when used against Ricardo, since its author does not attack Ricardo's theory of rent in which precisely Ricardo sets forth how the nominal value of land is evolved on the basis of capitalist production and does not contradict the definition of value. The value of land is nothing but the price which is paid for capitalised rent. Much more far-reaching developments have therefore to be presumed here than can be deduced *prima facie* from the simple consideration of the commodity and its value, just as from the simple concept of productive capital one cannot evolve fictitious capital,[85] the object of gambling on the stock exchange, which is actually nothing but the selling and buying of entitlement to a certain part of the annual tax revenue.

The second objection—that Ricardo transforms value, which is a *relative* concept, into an *absolute* concept—is made the chief point of the attack on the whole Ricardian system in another polemical work (written by Bailey), which appeared later. In considering this latter work, we will also cite relevant passages from the *Observations*.[a]

A very pertinent observation about the source from which capital, which pays labour, arises, is contained in an incidental remark unconsciously made by the author, who on the contrary wants to use it to prove what is said in the following sentence not underlined [by me], namely, that the SUPPLY OF LABOUR itself constitutes a CHECK on the tendency OF LABOUR TO SINK TO ITS NATURAL PRICE.

* "*An increased supply of labour is an increased supply of that which is to purchase labour.* If we say, then, with Mr. Ricardo, that labour is at every moment *tending* to what he calls its natural price,[b] we must only recollect, that the increase made in its supply, in order to *tend* to that, is itself one of the causes of [the] counteracting power, which prevents the tendency from being *effectual*" * (l.c., [pp.] 72-73).

No analysis is possible unless the AVERAGE PRICE OF LABOUR, i.e., the VALUE OF LABOUR, is made the point of departure; just as little would it be possible if one failed to take the *VALUE* OF COMMODITIES in general

[a] See this volume, pp. 312-20, 324.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 35-40.—*Ed.*

as the point of departure. Only on this basis is it possible to understand the real phenomena of price fluctuations.

[XIV-807] *"It is not meant to be asserted by him" (Ricardo), "that two particular lots of two different articles, as a hat and a pair of shoes, exchange with one another when *those two particular lots* were produced by equal quantities of labour. By '*commodity*' we must here understand '*description of commodity*', not a particular individual hat, pair of shoes, etc. The whole labour which produces all the hats in England is to be considered, to this purpose, as divided among all the hats. This seems to me not to have been expressed at first, and in the general statements of this doctrine"* (l.c., [pp.] 53-54). For example, Ricardo speaks of "A PORTION OF [the] LABOUR OF THE ENGINEER IN MAKING MACHINES" contained, for instance, in a pair of stockings.[a] *"Yet the 'total labour' that produced each single pair of stockings, if it is of a single pair we are speaking, includes the *whole* labour of the engineer, not a 'portion'; for one machine makes many pairs, and none of those pairs could have been done without any part of the machine"* (l.c., [p.] 54).

The last *passus* is based on a misunderstanding. The whole machine enters into the labour process, but only a part of it enters the valorisation process.

Apart from this, some things in the remark are correct.

We start with the *commodity*, this specific social form of the product, as the foundation and prerequisite of capitalist production. We take individual products and analyse those distinctions of form which they have as commodities, which stamp them as commodities. In earlier modes of production—*preceding* capitalist production—a large part of the output never enters into circulation, is never placed on the market, is not produced as commodities, and does not become commodities. On the other hand, at that time a large part of the products which enter into production are not commodities and do not enter into the process as commodities. The transformation of products into commodities only occurs in individual cases, is limited only to the surplus of production, etc., or only to individual spheres of production (manufactured products), etc. A whole range of products neither enter into the process as articles to be sold, nor arise from it as such. Nevertheless, the *prerequisite,* the *starting-point,* of the formation of capital and of capitalist production is the development of the product into a commodity, commodity circulation and consequently money circulation within certain limits, and consequently trade developed to a certain degree. It is as such a prerequisite that we treat the commodity, since we proceed from it as the simplest element in capitalist production. On the other hand, the product, the result of capitalist production, is the

[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* 3rd ed., London, 1821, p. 18.—*Ed.*

commodity. What appears as its element is later revealed to be its own product. Only on the basis of capitalist production does the commodity become the general form of the product and the more this production develops, the more do the products in the form of commodities enter into the process as ingredients. The commodity, as it emerges in capitalist production, is different from the commodity taken as the element, the starting-point of capitalist production. We are no longer faced with the individual commodity, the individual product. The individual commodity, the individual product, manifests itself not only as a real product but also as a commodity, as a *part* both really and conceptually of production as a whole. Each individual commodity [represents] a definite portion of capital and of the surplus value created by it.

The value of the capital advanced+the surplus labour appropriated, for example, a value of £120 (if £100 is the capital and the surplus labour=£20), is, as far as its value is concerned, contained in the total product, let us say, in 1,200 yards of cotton. Each yard=£$^{120}/_{1,200}$=$^{1}/_{10}$ of £1=2s. It is not the individual commodity which appears as the result of the process, but the mass of the commodities in which the value of the total capital has been reproduced+a surplus value. The total value produced divided by the number of products determines the value of the individual product and it becomes a commodity only as such an aliquot part. It is no longer the labour expended on the individual particular commodity (in most cases, it can no longer be calculated, and may be greater in the case of one commodity than in that of another) but a proportional part of the total labour—the average of the total value [divided] by the number of products—determines the value of the individual product and establishes it as a commodity. Consequently, the total mass of commodities must also be sold, each commodity at its value, determined in this way, in order to replace the total capital together with a surplus value. If only 800 out of the 1,200 yards were sold, then the capital would not be replaced, still less would there be a profit. But each yard would *also* have been sold below its value, for its value is determined not in isolation but as an aliquot part of the total product.

[XIV-808] * "If you call labour a commodity, it is not like a commodity which is first produced in order to exchange, and then brought to market where it must exchange with other commodities according to the respective quantities of each which there may be in the market at the time; labour is *created* at the moment it is brought to market; nay, it is brought to market before it is created" * (l.c., [pp.] 75-76).

What is in fact brought to market is not LABOUR, but the LABOURER. What he sells to the capitalist is not his labour but the TEMPORARY USE OF HIMSELF AS A WORKING POWER. This is the immediate object of the contract which the capitalist and the worker conclude, the purchase and sale which they transact.

Where payment is for piece-work, TASK-WORK, instead of according to the time for which the labour capacity is placed at the disposal of the employer, this is only another method of determining the time. It is measured by the product, a definite quantity of products being considered as a standard representing the socially necessary labour time. In many branches of industry in London where TASK-WORK is the rule, payment is thus made by the hour, but disputes often arise as to whether this or that piece of work constitutes "an hour" or not.

Irrespective of the individual form, it is the case not only with regard to TASK-WORK, but GENERALLY, that, although labour capacity is sold on definite TERMS before its USE, it is only *paid for* after the work is completed, whether it is paid daily, weekly, etc. Here money becomes the *means of payment* after it has served previously as an abstract means of purchase, because the nominal transfer of the commodity to the buyer is distinct from the actual transfer. The sale of the commodity—labour capacity—the legal transfer of the use value and its actual alienation, do not occur at the same time. The realisation of the price therefore takes place later than the sale of the commodity (see *the first part* of my book, p. 122).[a] It can also be seen that here it is the worker, not the capitalist, who does the advancing, just as in the case of the renting of a house, it is not the tenant but the landlord who advances use value. The worker will indeed be paid (or at least he may be, if the goods have not been ordered beforehand and so on) before the commodities produced by him have been sold. But *his* commodity, his labour capacity, has been consumed industrially, has been transferred into the hands of the buyer, the capitalist, before he, the worker, has been paid. And it is not a question of what the buyer of a commodity wants to do with it, whether he buys it in order to retain it as a use value or in order to sell it again. It is a question of the *direct* transaction between the first buyer and seller.

* "In different stages of society, the accumulation of *capital*, or [of] the *means of employing labour*, is more or less rapid, and must in all cases depend on the

[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 374-76).—*Ed.*

productive powers of labour. The productive powers of labour are generally greatest where there is an abundance of fertile land"* (Ricardo, [*On the Principles of Political Economy,*] 3RD ED., [London,] 1821, [p.] 92).[a]

The following remark on this passage of Ricardo's:

*"If, in the first sentence, *the productive powers of labour mean the smallness of that aliquot part of any produce that goes to those whose manual labour produced it,* the sentence is nearly identical, because the *remaining aliquot part is the fund whence capital can,* if the owner pleases, *be accumulated*"* [l.c.].

(This is a tacit admission that from the standpoint of the capitalist *"*productive powers of labour* mean the smallness of that aliquot part of any produce that goes to those whose manual labour produced it".* This sentence is very nice.)

*"But then this does not generally happen where there is most fertile land."*

(This is SILLY. Ricardo presupposes capitalist production. He does not investigate whether it develops more freely with FERTILE OR RELATIVELY UNFERTILE LAND. Where it exists, it is most productive where land is most fertile. Just as the social productive forces, the natural productive powers of labour, that is, those labour finds in inorganic nature, appear as the productive POWER of capital. Ricardo himself, in the passage cited above, rightly identifies PRODUCTIVE POWERS OF LABOUR with LABOUR PRODUCTIVE OF CAPITAL, PRODUCTIVE OF THE WEALTH THAT COMMANDS LABOUR, NOT OF THE WEALTH THAT BELONGS TO LABOUR. *His expression,* "CAPITAL, OR THE MEANS OF EMPLOYING LABOUR", is, in fact, the only one in which he grasps the real nature of capital.[86] He himself is so much the prisoner of a [XIV-809] capitalist standpoint that this conversion, this *quid pro quo,* is for him a matter of course. The objective conditions of labour—created, moreover, by labour itself—RAW MATERIALS AND WORKING INSTRUMENTS, ARE NOT *MEANS EMPLOYED BY LABOUR AS ITS MEANS,* BUT, ON THE CONTRARY, THEY ARE *THE MEANS OF EMPLOYING LABOUR.* They are not employed by labour; they employ labour. For them labour is a MEANS by which they are accumulated as capital, not a means to provide products, WEALTH for the worker.)

*"It does in North America, but that is an artificial state of things"* (that is, A CAPITALISTIC STATE OF THINGS). *"It does not in Mexico. It does not in New Holland.[b] The productive powers of labour are indeed, in *another* sense, greatest where there is much fertile land, viz. the power of man, if he chooses it, to raise much *raw produce* in proportion to the whole labour he performs. It is, indeed, a *gift of nature, that men can raise more food than the lowest quantity that they could maintain and keep up the population on*"*;

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[a] Here and below (pp. 303, 304) cf. present edition, Vol. 30, p. 254.— *Ed.*

[b] Old name of Australia.— *Ed.*

(This is the basis of the doctrine of the *Physiocrats.* The physical basis of SURPLUS VALUE is this "GIFT OF NATURE", most obvious in agricultural labour, which originally satisfied nearly all human needs.[a] It is not so in manufacturing labour, because the product must first be sold as a commodity. The Physiocrats, the first to analyse SURPLUS VALUE, understand it in its natural form.)

* "but '*surplus produce*' (the term used by Mr. Ricardo, p. 93), generally means the excess of the whole price of a thing above that part of it which goes to the labourers who made it;" *

(the fool does not see that where the LAND is FERTILE, the PART OF THE PRICE OF THE PRODUCE THAT GOES TO THE LABOURER, ALTHOUGH THAT PART [may] BE SMALL, BUYS A SUFFICIENT QUANTITY OF NECESSARIES; THE PART THAT GOES TO THE CAPITALIST IS GREATEST):

* "a point which is settled by human arrangement, and not fixed" * (l.c., [*Observations on Certain Verbal Disputes...*, pp.] 74-75).

If the last, concluding *passus* has any meaning at all, it is that "SURPLUS PRODUCE" in the capitalist sense must be strictly distinguished from the productivity of industry as such. The latter is of interest to the capitalist only in so far as it realises profit for him. Therein lies the narrowness and limitation of capitalist production.

* "When the demand for an article exceeds that which is, with reference to the present rate of supply, the effectual demand; and when, consequently, the price has risen, either additions can be made to the rate of supply at the same rate of cost of production as before; in which case they will be made till the article is brought to exchange at the same rate as before with other articles: or, secondly, *no* possible additions can be made to the former rate of supply: and then the price, which has risen, will not be brought down, but continue to afford, as Smith says,[b] a greater rent, or profits, or wages (or all three), to the particular land, capital, or labour, employed in producing the article, or, thirdly, the additions which can be made will require proportionally *more* land, or capital, or labour, or all three, than were required *for the periodical production*" * (*note these words*) * "of the amount previously supplied. Then the addition will not be made till the demand is strong enough, 1) to pay this increased price for the addition; 2) to pay the same increased price upon the old amount of supply. For the person who has produced the additional quantity will be no more able to get a high price for it than those who produced the former quantity... There will then be *surplus profits* in this trade... The *surplus profits* will be either in the hands of some particular producers only ... or, if the *additional* produce cannot be *distinguished* from the rest, will be a surplus shared by all... People will give something to belong to a trade in which such *surplus profits* can be made... What they so give, is rent" * (p. 79 et seq.).

Here, one need only say that in this book RENT is for the first time regarded as the general FORM of consolidated *surplus profit.*

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 355-61, 368-71.— *Ed.*

[b] See A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Book I, Ch. VII.— *Ed.*

[XIV-810] *"'Conversion of revenue into capital' is another of these *verbal* sources of controversy. One man means by it, that the capitalist lays out part of the profits he has made by his capital, in making additions to his capital, instead of spending it for [his] private use, as he might else have done: another man means by it, that a person lays out as capital something which he never got as profits, or any capital of his own, but received as rent, wages, salary"* (l.c., [pp.] 83-84).

This last passage—"ANOTHER OF THESE *VERBAL SOURCES* OF CONTROVERSY. ONE MAN MEANS BY IT ... ANOTHER MAN MEANS BY IT..."—testifies to the method used by this smart-alec.

### b) *An Inquiry into those Principles, Respecting the Nature of Demand and the Necessity of Consumption, lately Advocated by Mr. Malthus etc.*, London, 1821

[A] RICARDIAN [work]. Good against Malthus. Demonstrates the infinite narrow-mindedness to which the clairvoyance of these fellows is reduced as soon as they examine not LANDED PROPERTY, but capital. NEVERTHELESS, it is one of the best of the polemical works of the decennium mentioned.

*"If the capital employed in cutlery is increased as 100:101, and can only produce an increase of cutlery in the same proportion, the degree in which it will increase the command which its producers have over things in general, no increased production of *them* having by the supposition taken place, will *be in a less proportion*; and this, and not the increase of the quantity of cutlery, constitutes the employers' profits or the increase of their wealth. But if the like addition of 1% had been *making at the same time to the capitals of all other trades,* and *with the like result as to produce,* this [conclusion] would not follow: for the rate at which each article would exchange with the rest would remain unaltered, and therefore a given portion of each would give the same command as before over the rest"* (l.c., [p.] 9).

*D'abord,*[a] if there has been no increase of production (and of the capital devoted to production) except in the CUTLERY TRADE, as is assumed, then the RETURN will not be "*IN A LESS PROPORTION*", but *an absolute loss. There are then only three courses open to the cutlery monger. Either he must exchange his increased produce as he would have done his less produce, and so his increased production would result in a positive loss. Or he must try to get new consumers; if amongst the old circle, this could only be done by withdrawing customers from another trade and shifting his loss upon other shoulders; or he must enlarge his market beyond his former limits; but neither the one nor the other operation depends on his good will, nor on the mere existence of an

[a] First of all.—*Ed.*

increased quantity of knives. Or, in the last instance, he must carry over his production to another year and diminish his new supply for that year, which, if his addition of capital did exist not only in additional wages, but in additional fixed capital, will equally result in a loss.

Furthermore: If all other capitals have accumulated at the same rate, it does not follow at all that their production has increased at the same rate. But if it has, it does not follow that they want one per cent more of cutlery, as their demand for cutlery is not at all connected, either with the increase of their own produce, or with their increased power of buying cutlery.* What follows is merely the tautology: If the INCREASED CAPITAL used in each particular TRADE is *proportionate to the rate in which the wants of society increase the demand for each particular commodity, then the increase of one commodity secures a market for the increased supply of other commodities.*

Here, therefore, is presupposed: 1) *capitalist production*, in which the production OF each particular TRADE and ITS INCREASE are NOT *IMMEDIATELY* REGULATED, BY THE WANTS OF SOCIETY, AND [XIV-811] *CONTROLLED BY* IT, BUT BY THE productive forces at the disposal of each individual CAPITALIST, INDEPENDENT OF THE WANTS OF SOCIETY;

2) It is assumed that nevertheless production is *proportional* [to the requirements] as though capital were EMPLOYED IN THE DIFFERENT TRADES directly by society in accordance with its needs.

On this assumption—if capitalist production were entirely socialist production—a *contradictio in adjecto*[a]—no overproduction could, in fact, occur.

By the way, in the various TRADES in which *the same accumulation* of capital takes place //and this too is an unfortunate assumption that capital ACCUMULATES AT AN *EQUAL RATE* IN DIFFERENT TRADES//, the amount of products corresponding to the increased capital employed may vary greatly, since the productive powers in the DIFFERENT TRADES or the total use values produced in relation to the labour employed differ considerably. The same value is produced in both cases, but the quantity of commodities in which it is represented is very different. It is quite incomprehensible, therefore, why TRADE A, because the value of its output has increased by 1% while the mass of its products has grown by 20%, must find a market in TRADE B where the value has likewise increased by 1%, but the quantity of its output only by 5%. Here,

[a] Literally: a contradiction in terms; here: logical absurdity, nonsense.—*Ed.*

the author has failed to take into consideration the difference between use value and exchange value.

Say's earth-shaking discovery that "commodities can only be bought with commodities"[a] simply means that money is itself the converted form of the commodity. It does not prove by any means that because I can buy only with commodities, I can buy with *my* commodity, or that my purchasing power is related to the *quantity* of commodities I produce. The same *value* can be embodied in very different quantities [of commodities]. But the use value—consumption—depends not on value, but on the quantity. It is quite unintelligible why I should buy 6 knives because I can get them for the same price that I previously paid for 1. Apart from the fact that the workers do not sell commodities, but labour, a great number of people who do not produce commodities at all buy things with money. Buyers and sellers of commodities are not identical. The LANDLORD, the MONEYED CAPITALIST and others obtain in the form of *money* commodities produced by other people. They are buyers without being sellers of "commodities". Buying and selling occurs not only between industrial capitalists, but they also sell to workers; and likewise to owners of REVENUE who are not commodity producers. Finally, the purchases and sales transacted by them as capitalists are very different from the purchases they make as REVENUE-SPENDERS.

* "Mr. Ricardo (2nd ed., p. 359),[b] after quoting the doctrine of Smith about the cause of the fall of profits, adds: 'Mr. Say has, however, most satisfactorily shown, that there is no capital which may not be employed in a country, because demand is only *limited* by production.'" *

(This is very wise. *LIMITED,* indeed. *Nothing can be demanded which *cannot* be produced upon demand, or which the demand finds not ready made in the market. Hence, because demand is *limited* by production, it does by no means follow that *production is, or was, limited by demand,* and can never overstep the demand, particularly the demand at the market price.* This is Say-like acumen.)

* "'There cannot be accumulated' (p. 360) 'in a country any amount of capital which cannot be employed *productively*' (meaning, I assume,"*—says the author in brackets—* "with profit to the owner) 'until wages rise so high *in consequence* of the rise of necessaries, and so little consequently remains for the profits of stock, that the motive for accumulation ceases.'" *

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[a] J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique...*, 2nd ed., Vol. 2, Paris, 1814, p. 382. See also this volume, pp. 124-26, 130-31.— *Ed.*

[b] *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* London, 1819.— *Ed.*

(Ricardo here equates "PRODUCTIVELY" and "PROFITABLY", whereas it is precisely the fact that in capitalist production "PROFITABLY" alone is "PRODUCTIVELY", that constitutes the difference between it and absolute production, as well as its limitations. In order to produce "productively", production must be carried on in such a way that the mass of PRODUCERS are excluded from the DEMAND for a part of the PRODUCE. Production has to be carried on in opposition to a class [XIV-812] whose consumption stands in no relation to its production—since it is precisely in the excess of its production over its consumption that the profit of capital consists. On the other hand, production must be carried on for classes which consume without producing. It is not enough merely to give the SURPLUS PRODUCE a form in which it becomes an object of demand for these classes. On the other hand, the capitalist himself, if he wishes to accumulate, must not [be] a DEMANDER of his own products, in so far as they make up the REVENUE to the extent that he is their PRODUCER. Otherwise he cannot accumulate. That is why Malthus opposes to the capitalist classes whose task is not ACCUMULATION but EXPENDITURE. And while on the one hand all these contradictions are assumed, it is assumed on the other that production proceeds without any friction just as if these contradictions did not exist at all. Purchase is divorced from sale, commodity from money, use value from exchange value. It is assumed however that this separation does not exist, but that there is barter. Consumption and production are separated; [there are] producers who do not consume and consumers who do not produce. It is assumed that consumption and production are identical. The capitalist directly produces exchange value in order to increase his profit, and not for the sake of consumption. It is assumed that he produces directly for the sake of consumption and only for it. [If] it is assumed that the contradictions existing in bourgeois production—which, in fact, are reconciled by a process of adjustment which, at the same time, however, manifests itself as a crisis, violent fusion of disconnected factors operating independently of one another and yet correlated—if it is assumed that they do not exist, then these contradictions obviously cannot come into play. In every TRADE each individual capitalist produces IN PROPORTION TO *HIS* CAPITAL irrespective of the WANTS OF SOCIETY and especially irrespective of the COMPETITIVE SUPPLY of capitals in the same TRADE. It is assumed that he produces as if he were fulfilling orders placed by society. If there were no foreign trade, then LUXURIES could be produced AT HOME, WHATEVER their COST. In that case, labour, with the exception of [the branches producing] NECESSARIES, would, in actual fact, be very

unproductive. HENCE accumulation of capital [would proceed at a low rate]. Thus every country would be able to employ all the capital accumulated there, since according to the assumption very little capital would have been accumulated.)

* "The latter sentence limits (not to say contradicts) the former, if 'which may not be employed', in the former, means 'employed productively', or rather, 'profitably'. And if it means simply 'employed', the proposition is useless; because neither Adam Smith nor any body else, I presume, denied that it might be 'employed', if you did not care what profits it brought"* (l.c., [pp.] 18-19).

Ricardo says indeed that all capital in a given LAND, AT WHAT[ever] RATE ACCUMULATED, MAY BE EMPLOYED PROFITABLY; on the other hand he says THAT THE VERY FACT OF THE ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL CHECKS ITS "PROFITABLE" EMPLOYMENT, BECAUSE IT MUST RESULT IN LESSENING PROFITS, THAT IS, THE RATE OF ACCUMULATION.

* "The very meaning of an increased demand by them" (the labourers) "is a disposition to take less themselves, and leave a larger share for their employers; and if it is said that this, by diminishing consumption, increases glut, I can only answer, that glut is synonymous with high profits"* (l.c., [p.] 59).[a]

This is indeed the secret basis of GLUT.

* "The labourers do not, considered as consumers, derive any benefit from machines, while flourishing (as Mr. Say says [in his] *Letters to Malthus*, 4[th] ed., p. 60)[87] unless the article, which the machines cheapen, is one that can be brought, by cheapening, within their use. Threshing-machines, windmills, may be a great thing for them in this view; but the invention of a veneering machine, [or] a block machine, or a lace frame, does not mend *their* condition much" (l.c., [pp.] 74-75).

"The habits of [the] labourers, where division of labour has been carried very far, are applicable only to the particular line they have been used to; *they are a sort of machines*. Then, there is a long period of idleness, that is, of labour lost; of wealth cut off at its root. It is quite useless to repeat, like a parrot, that things have a tendency to find their level. We must look about us, and see that they [XIV-813] *cannot* for a long time find a level; that when they do, it will be a far lower level than they set out from"* (l.c., [p.] 72).

This RICARDIAN, following Ricardo's example, recognises correctly crises resulting FROM A SUDDEN CHANGE IN THE CHANNELS OF TRADE.[88] This was the case in England after the war of 1815. And consequently, whenever a crisis occurred, all later economists declared that the *most obvious cause* of the particular crisis was the only possible cause of all crises.

The author also admits that the credit system may be a cause of crises (p. 81 et seq.) (As if the credit system itself did not arise out of the DIFFICULTY OF EMPLOYING CAPITAL "PRODUCTIVELY", i.e. "PROFITABLY".) The English, for example, are forced to lend their capital to other countries in order to create a market for their commodities.

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[a] Cf. this volume, p. 252.— *Ed.*

Overproduction, the credit system, etc., are means by which capitalist production seeks to break through its own barriers and to produce over and above its own *limits*. Capitalist production, on the one hand, has this driving force; on the other hand, it only tolerates production commensurate with the profitable employment of existing capital. HENCE crises arise, which simultaneously drive it onward and beyond [its own limits] and force it to put on seven-league boots, in order to reach a development of the productive forces which could only be achieved very slowly within its own *bornes*.[a]

What the author writes about Say is very true. This should be dealt with in connection with Say (see p. 134, *Notebook VII*[89]).

*"He"* (the worker) *"will agree *to work part of his time for the capitalist*, or, what comes to the same thing, to consider part of the whole produce, when raised and exchanged, as belonging to the capitalist. He must do so, or the capitalist would not have afforded him this assistance."*

(Namely capital. Very fine that it *comes to the same thing whether the capitalist owns the whole produce and pays part of it as wages to the labourer, or whether the labourer leaves, makes over to the capitalist part of his (the labourer's) produce.)

"But as the capitalist's *motive was gain*, and as these advantages always depend, in a certain degree, on the *will* to save, as well as on the *power*, the capitalist will be disposed to afford an additional portion of these assistances; and as he will find fewer people in want of this additional portion, than were in want of the original portion, he must expect to have a less share of the benefit to himself; he must be content to make a *present*" (!!!) "(as it were) to the labourer, of part of the benefit his assistance occasions, or else he would not get the other part; the profit is reduced, then, by competition"* (l.c., [pp.] 102-03).

This is very fine. If, as a consequence of the development of the productive powers of labour, capital accumulates so quickly that the demand for labour increases WAGES and the worker works for LESS TIME gratis for the capitalist and SHARES TO SOME DEGREE IN THE BENEFITS OF HIS MORE PRODUCTIVE LABOUR—THE CAPITALIST MAKES HIM A "*PRESENT*"!

The same author demonstrates in great detail that high wages are a poor ENCOURAGEMENT for workers, although, speaking of the LANDLORDS, he CONSIDERS that LOW PROFIT IS A DISCOURAGEMENT for the CAPITALISTS (see p. 13, Notebook XII[90]).

"Adam Smith thought that *accumulation or increase of stock in general lowered the rate of profits in general, on the same principle which makes the increase of stock in any particular trade lower the profits of that trade. But such increase of stock in a particular trade *means* an increase more *in proportion* than stock is at the same time increased in other trades"* (l.c., [p.] 9).

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[a] Limits.—*Ed.*

*Against Say.* (Notebook XII, p. 12.[44])

* "The immediate market for capital, or *field* for capital, may be said to be labour. The amount of capital which can be invested at a given moment, in a given country, or the world, so as to return not less than a given rate of profits, seems principally to depend on the *quantity of labour,* which it is possible, by laying out that capital, to induce the then existing number of human beings to perform" (l.c., [p.] 20).

[XIV-814] "*Profits* do not depend on *price,* they depend on price compared with outgoings" (l.c., [p.] 28).

"The proposition of M. Say[91] does not at all prove that *capital* opens a market for itself, but only that capital and labour open a market for one another" * (l.c., [p.] 111).

### c) *Dialogues of Three Templars on Political Economy, chiefly in Relation to the Principles of Mr. Ricardo* ([*The*] *London Magazine,* Vol. IX, 1824) (author: Thomas De Quincey)

Attempt at a refutation of all the attacks made on Ricardo. That he is aware of what is at issue is to be seen from this sentence:

"All difficulties of political economy will be found reducible to this: * What is the ground of exchangeable value?" * (l.c., [*Dialogues of Three Templars...,* p.] 347).[a]

In this work, the inadequacies of the Ricardian view are often pointedly set forth, although the dialectical depth is more affected than real. The real difficulties, which arise not out of the determination of VALUE, but from Ricardo's inadequate elaboration of his ideas on this basis, and from his arbitrary attempt to make concrete relations directly fit the simple relation of value, are in no way resolved or even grasped. But the work is characteristic of the period in which it appeared. It shows that in political economy consistency and thinking were still taken seriously at that time.

(A later work by the same author: *The Logic of Political Economy,* Edinburgh, 1845,[92] is weaker.)

De Quincey very clearly outlines the differences between the Ricardian view and those which preceded it, and does not seek to mitigate them by re-interpretation or to abandon the essential features of the problems in actual fact while retaining them in a purely formal, verbal way as happened later on, thus opening the door wide to easy-going, unprincipled eclecticism.

One more point in the Ricardian doctrine which is especially emphasised by De Quincey and which should be mentioned here

[a] Marx quotes De Quincey with some alterations.—*Ed.*

because it plays a role in the polemic against Ricardo to which we shall refer below, is that the command which one commodity has over other commodities (its purchasing power; in fact, its value expressed in terms of another commodity) is altogether different from its *real value.*

"It is quite wrong to conclude * that the real value is great because the quantity it buys is great, or small because the quantity it buys is small... If A doubles its value, it will not therefore command double the former quantity of B. It may do so: and it may also command 500 times more or 500 times less...* No man has ever denied that A * by doubling its own value will command a double quantity of all things which have been stationary in value. But the question is whether universally, [by] doubling its value, A will command a double quantity" * (l.c., [p.] 552 et seq. *passim*).

### d) *A Critical Dissertation on the Nature, Measures, and Causes of Value; Chiefly in Reference to the Writings of Mr. Ricardo and His Followers.* By the Author of Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions (Samuel Bailey), London, 1825

This is the main work directed against Ricardo. (Also aimed against Malthus.) It seeks to overturn the foundation of the doctrine—VALUE.[a] It is definitely worthless except for the definition of the "MEASURE OF VALUE", or RATHER, of money in this function.[b] Compare also the same author's: *A Letter to a Political Economist; Occasioned by an Article in the Westminster Review on the Subject of Value etc.*, London, 1826.

Since, as has been mentioned,[c] this work basically agrees with *Observations on Certain Verbal Disputes in Political Economy,* it is here necessary to add the relevant passages from these *Observations.*

The author of the *Observations* accuses Ricardo of having transformed VALUE from a relative attribute of commodities in their relationship to one another, into something absolute.

The only thing that Ricardo can be accused of in this context is that, in elaborating the concept of value, he does not clearly distinguish between the various aspects, between the exchange value of the commodity, as it *manifests itself, appears* in the process of commodity exchange, and the existence of the commodity as

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 469-80.— *Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 319-25.— *Ed.*
[c] Ibid., p. 299.— *Ed.*

*value* as distinct from its existence as an object, product, use value.

[XIV-815] It is said in the *Observations*:

* "If the absolute quantity of labour, which produces the greater part of commodities, or all except one, is increased, would you say that the value of that one is unaltered? since it will exchange for less of every commodity besides. If, indeed, it is meant to be asserted that the *meaning* of increase or diminution of value, is increase or diminution in the quantity of labour that produced the commodity spoken of, the conclusions I have just been objecting to might be true enough. But to say, as Mr. Ricardo does, that the comparative quantities of labour that produce two commodities are the cause of the rate at which the two commodities will exchange with each other, i.e. of the exchangeable value of each,—is very different from saying that the *exchangeable value of either means* the quantity of labour which produced it, understood without any reference to the other, or to the existence of the other" (*Observations etc.*, p. 13).

"Mr. Ricardo tells us indeed that 'the inquiry to which he wishes to draw the reader's attention relates to the effects of the variations in the *relative* value of commodities, and not in their *absolute* value'[a]; as if he there considered that there *is* such a thing as exchangeable value which is not relative" (l.c., [pp. 9-]10).

"That Mr. Ricardo has departed from his original use of the term value, and *has made of it something absolute, instead of relative,* is still more evident in his chapter entitled: 'Value and Riches, their distinctive Properties'. The question there discussed has been discussed also by others, and is simply verbal and useless" * (l.c., [p.] 15 et seq.).

Before dealing with this author, we shall add the following about Ricardo. In his CHAPTER ON "Value and Riches", he argues that social wealth does not depend on the value of the commodities produced, although this latter point is decisive for EVERY INDIVIDUAL PRODUCER. It should have been all the more clear to him that a form of production whose exclusive aim is SURPLUS VALUE, in other words, which is based on the relative poverty of the mass of the PRODUCERS, cannot possibly be the absolute form of the production of wealth, as he constantly asserts.

Now to the "OBSERVATIONS"[b] of the "VERBAL" wiseacre.

If all commodities except one increase in value because they cost more labour time than they did before, smaller amounts of these commodities will be exchanged for the single commodity whose labour time remains unchanged. Its *exchange value,* in so far as it is realised in other commodities—that is, its exchange value expressed in the *use values* of all other commodities—has been reduced. "Would you then say that the exchange value of that one is *unaltered*?" This is merely a formulation of the point at issue, and it calls neither for a positive nor for a negative reply. The same result would occur if the labour time required for the production

[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* 3rd ed., London, 1821, p. 15. See also present edition, Vol. 31, p. 399.—*Ed.*

[b] *Observations on Certain Verbal Disputes...*—*Ed.*

of the one commodity were reduced and that of all the others remained unchanged. A given quantity of this particular commodity would exchange for a reduced quantity of all the other commodities. The same phenomenon occurs in both cases although from directly opposite causes. Conversely, if the labour time required for the production of commodity A remained unchanged, while that of all others were reduced, then it would exchange for larger amounts of all the other commodities. The same would happen for the opposite reason, if the labour time required for the production of A increased and that required for all other commodities remained unchanged. Thus, sometimes commodity A exchanges for smaller quantities of all the other commodities, and this for either of two different and opposite reasons. At other times it exchanges for larger quantities of all the other commodities, again for two different and opposite reasons. But, *nota bene,* it is assumed that it always exchanges at *its value,* consequently for an *equivalent.* It always realises its value in the quantity of use values of the other commodities for which it exchanges, no matter how much the quantity of these use values varies. From this it obviously follows: that the rate at which commodities exchange for one another as use values, although it is an *expression* of their value, their *realised* value, is not their value itself, since the same proportion of value can be represented by quite different quantities of use values. Value as an aspect of the commodity is not expressed in its own use value, or in its existence as use value. Value *manifests itself* when commodities are expressed in other use values, that is, [it manifests itself] in the rate at which these other use values are exchanged for them. If 1 ounce of gold = 1 ton of iron, that is, if a small quantity of gold exchanges for a large quantity of iron, is therefore the value of the ounce of gold expressed in iron greater than the value of the iron expressed in gold? That commodities exchange for one another in proportion to the labour embodied in them, means that they are equal, alike, in so far as they represent the same quantity of labour. Consequently it means likewise that every commodity, considered in itself, is something *different* from its [XIV-816] own use value, from its own existence as use value.

The *value* of the same commodity can, without changing, be expressed in infinitely *different* quantities of use values, always according to whether I express it in the use value of this or of that commodity. This does not alter the value, although it does alter the way it is expressed. In the same way, all the various quantities of different use values in which the value of commodity A can be

expressed, are equivalents and are related to one another not only as values, but as equal values, so that when these very unequal quantities of use value replace one another, the value remains completely unchanged, as if it had not found expression in quite different use values.

When commodities are exchanged in the proportion in which they represent equal amounts of labour time, then it is their existence as objectified labour time, as embodied labour time, which manifests their *substance,* the *identical element* they contain. As such, they are *qualitatively* the same, and differ only *quantitatively,* according to whether they represent smaller or larger quantities of *the same* substance, i.e. labour time. They are *values* as expressions of the same element; and [they are] equal values, *equivalents,* in so far as they represent an equal amount of labour time. They can only be compared as magnitudes, because they are already homogeneous magnitudes, qualitatively identical.

It is as manifestations of this substance that these different things constitute *values* and are related to one another as values; their different *magnitudes of value,* their immanent measure of value are thus also given. And only *because of this* can the value of a commodity be represented, expressed, in the use values of other commodities as its equivalents. Hence the *individual commodity* as *value,* as the *embodiment of this substance,* is different from itself as use value, as an object, quite apart from the expression of its value in other commodities. As the embodiment of labour time, it is *value* in general, as the embodiment of a definite quantity of labour time, it is a definite *magnitude of value.*

It is therefore typical of our wiseacre when he says: * If we *mean* that, we do not *mean* that and vice versa. Our "meaning" has nothing at all to do with the essential characters of the thing we consider. If we speak of the *value in exchange* of a thing, we *mean* in the first instance of course the *relative quantities* of all other commodities that can be exchanged with the first commodity. But, on further consideration, we shall find that for the proportion, in which one thing exchanges with an infinite mass of other things, which have nothing at all in common with it—and even if there are natural or other similarities between those things, they are not considered in the exchange—[for the proportion] to be a *fixed proportion,* all those various heterogeneous things must be considered as proportionate representations, expressions of the *same* common *unity,* [of] an element quite different from their natural existence or appearances. We shall then furthermore find, that if our view has any sense, the value of a commodity is something by

which it not only differs from or is related to other commodities, but is a quality by which it differs from its own existence as a thing, a value in use.

"The rise of value of article A, only meant *value estimated* in articles B, C, etc., i.e. value in exchange for articles B, C, etc." (l.c., p. 16).

To *estimate* the value of A, a book for instance, in B, coals, and C, wine, A, B, C must be as *value* something different from their existences as books, coals or wine. To estimate a value of A in B, A must have a value independent of the estimation of that value in B, and both must be equal to a third thing, expressed in both of them.*

It is quite wrong to say that the value of a commodity is thereby transformed from something *relative* into something *absolute.* On the contrary, as a use value, the commodity appears as something independent. On the other hand, as value it appears as something merely *posited,*[93] something merely determined by its relation to socially necessary, equal, simple labour time. It is to such an extent relative that when the labour time required for its reproduction changes, its value changes, although the labour time really contained in the commodity has remained unaltered.

[XIV-817] How deeply our wiseacre has sunk into *fetishism* and how he transforms what is relative into something positive, is demonstrated most strikingly in the following passage:

* "*Value* is a *property of things, riches* of *men.* Value, in this sense, necessarily implies exchange, riches do not"* (l.c., [p.] 16).

RICHES here are use values. These, as far as men are concerned, are, of course, RICHES, but it is through its *own PROPERTY,* its own qualities, that a thing is a use value and therefore an element of wealth for men. Take away from grapes the qualities that make them grapes, and their use value as grapes disappears for men and they cease to be an element of wealth for men. RICHES which are identical with use values are *PROPERTIES OF THINGS* THAT ARE MADE USE OF BY MEN AND WHICH EXPRESS A RELATION TO THEIR WANTS. But "VALUE" is supposed to be a "*PROPERTY OF THINGS*".

As values, commodities are *social* magnitudes, that is to say, something absolutely different from their "PROPERTIES" AS "THINGS". As VALUES, they constitute only relations of men in their PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY. VALUE indeed "IMPLIES EXCHANGES", but EXCHANGES are EXCHANGES OF THINGS BETWEEN MEN; EXCHANGES which in no way affect the things as such. A thing retains the same "PROPERTIES" whether it be owned by A or by B. In actual fact, the concept "VALUE" presupposes "EXCHANGES" of the products. Where labour is communal, the

relations of men in their social production do not manifest themselves as * "values" of "things". Exchange of products as commodities is a certain method of exchanging labour, and [the form] of the dependence of the labour of each upon the labour of the others, a certain mode of social labour or social production.*

In the first part of my book,[a] I mentioned that it is characteristic of labour based on private exchange that the social character of labour "manifests itself" in a perverted form—as the "PROPERTY" of things; that a social relation appears as a relation between things (between PRODUCTS, VALUES IN USE, COMMODITIES). This *appearance* is accepted as something real by our fetish-worshipper, and he actually believes that the exchange value of things is determined by their PROPERTIES AS THINGS, and is altogether A NATURAL PROPERTY of things. No scientist to date has yet discovered what natural qualities make definite proportions of snuff tobacco and paintings "equivalents" for one another. Thus he, the WISEACRE, transforms value into something absolute, "A PROPERTY OF THINGS", instead of seeing in it only something relative, the relation of things to social labour, social labour based on private exchange, a relation in which things are defined not as independent entities, but as mere expressions of social production.

But to say that "VALUE" is not an absolute, is not conceived as AN ENTITY, is quite different from saying that commodities must impart to their VALUE OF EXCHANGE a *separate* expression which is *different* from and *independent* of their use VALUE and of their existence as real products, in other words, that commodity circulation is bound to evolve money. Commodities express their exchange value in money, first of all in the *price,* in which they all present themselves as materialised forms of *the same* labour, as only quantitatively different expressions of *the same* substance. The fact that the *exchange value* of the commodity *assumes an independent existence* in money is itself the result of the process of exchange, the development of the contradiction of use value and exchange value embodied in the commodity, and of another no less important contradiction embodied in it, namely, that the definite, particular labour of the private individual must manifest itself as its opposite, as equal, necessary, general labour and, in this form, social labour. The representation of the commodity as money implies not only that the different magnitudes of commodity values are measured by expressing the values in the use value of one exclusive

[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* Part One (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 275-76, 289-90).—*Ed.*

commodity, but at the same time that they are all expressed in a form in which they exist as the embodiment of *social labour* and are therefore exchangeable for every other commodity, that they are translatable at will into any use value desired. Their representation as money—in the price—therefore appears first only as something nominal, a representation which is realised only through actual sale.

*Ricardo*'s mistake is that he is concerned only with the *magnitude of value.* Consequently his attention is concentrated on [XIV-818] the *relative quantities of labour* which the different commodities represent, or which the commodities as values embody. But the labour embodied in them must be represented as *social* labour, as alienated individual labour. In the price this representation is nominal; it becomes reality only in the sale. This transformation of the labour of private individuals contained in the commodities into *uniform social labour,* consequently into labour which can be expressed in all use values and can be exchanged for them, this *qualitative* aspect of the matter which is contained in the representation of exchange value as money, is not elaborated by Ricardo. This circumstance—the necessity of *presenting* labour contained in commodities as *uniform social labour,* i.e. as money—is overlooked by Ricardo.

For its part, the development of capital already *presupposes* the full development of the exchange value of commodities and consequently its independent existence as money. The point of departure in the process of the production and circulation of capital, is the independent form of value which maintains itself, increases, measures the increase against its original amount, whatever CHANGES the commodities in which it manifests itself may undergo, and quite irrespective of whether it presents itself in the most varied use values and changes the commodities which serve as its embodiment. The relation between the value preposited to production and the value which results from it—capital as preposited value is capital in contrast to profit—constitutes the all-embracing and decisive factor in the whole process of capitalist production. It is not only an independent expression of value as in money, but dynamic value, value which maintains itself in a process in which use values pass through the most varied forms. Thus in capital the independent existence of value is raised to a higher power than in money.

From this we can judge the wisdom of our "VERBAL" WISEACRE, who treats the independent existence of exchange value as a figure of speech, a MANNER OF TALKING, a SCHOLASTIC INVENTION.

* "Value, or *valeur* in French, is not only used absolutely instead of relatively as a quality of things, but is even used by some as a measurable commodity, 'Possessing a value', 'Transferring a portion of value'" * (a very important factor with regard to fixed capital), * "'the sum, or totality of values', etc. I do not know what this means" * (l.c., [p.] 57).

The fact that the value which has become independent acquires only a relative expression in money, because money itself is a commodity, and HENCE OF A CHANGEABLE VALUE, makes no difference but is a shortcoming which arises from the nature of the commodity and the necessity of expressing its exchange value, as distinct from its use value. OUR MAN has made it abundantly clear that he DOES "NOT KNOW" this. This is shown by the kind of criticism which would like to talk out of existence the difficulties innate in the contradictory functions of things themselves, by declaring them to be the result of reflexions or of conflicting DEFINITIONS.

* "'The *relative* value of two things' is open to two meanings: the rate at which two things exchange or would exchange with *each other*, or the comparative portions of a *third* for which each exchanges or would exchange" * (l.c., [p.] 53).

*D'abord*,[a] this is a fine definition. If 3 lbs of coffee EXCHANGE for 1 lb. of tea TODAY OR WOULD EXCHANGE TOMORROW, it does not at all mean that equivalents HAVE BEEN EXCHANGED FOR EACH OTHER. According to this, a commodity could always be EXCHANGED only at its value, for its value would constitute any quantity of some other commodity for which it had been accidentally exchanged. *This, however, is not what people generally *mean*, when they say that 3 lbs of coffee have been exchanged for their equivalent in tea.[b] They suppose that after, as before, the exchange, a *commodity of the same value* is in the hands of either of the exchangers. The rate at which two commodities exchange does not determine their value, but their value determines the rate at which they exchange.* If value were nothing more than the quantity of commodities for which commodity A is accidentally exchanged, how is it possible *to express the value of A in the commodity B, C, etc.? Because [XIV-819] then, as there is no *immanent* measure common to the two, the value of A could not be expressed in B before it had been exchanged against B.*

*Relative value* means first of all *magnitude of value* in contradistinction to the quality of being *value* at all. For this reason, the latter is not something absolute. It means, secondly, the value of one commodity expressed in the use value of another commodity.

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[a] To begin with.—*Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript: "sugar".—*Ed.*

This is *only a relative* expression of its value, namely, *in relation to the commodity in which it is expressed. The value of a pound of coffee is only relatively expressed in tea[a]; to express it absolutely—even in a relative way, that is to say, not in regard to the time of labour, but to other commodities—it ought to be expressed in an infinite series of equations *with all other commodities.* This would be an *absolute* expression of its *relative value*; its absolute expression would be its expression *in* [the] *time of labour,* and by this absolute expression it would be expressed as something relative, but in the absolute relation, by which it *is* value.*

Let us now turn to Bailey.[94]

His book has only one positive merit—that he was the first to give a more accurate definition of the MEASURE OF VALUE, that is, in fact, of one of the functions of money, or money in a particular, determinate form. In order to measure the *value* of commodities—to establish an *external* measure of value—it is not necessary that the value of the commodity in terms of which the other commodities are measured, should be invariable. (It must on the contrary be variable, as I have shown in the first part,[b] because the measure of value is, and must be, a commodity since otherwise it would have no *immanent* measure in common with other commodities.) If, for example, the value of money changes, it changes to an equal degree in relation to all other commodities. Their relative values are therefore expressed in it just as correctly as if the value of money had remained unchanged. The problem of finding an "invariable measure of value" is thereby eliminated.[c] But this problem itself (the interest in comparing the value of commodities in different historical periods, is, indeed, not an *economic* interest as such, [but] an academic interest[d]) arose out of a misunderstanding and conceals a much more profound and important question. "Invariable measure of value" signifies *de prime abord*[e] a measure of value which is itself of invariable value, and consequently, since value itself is a predicate of the commodity, a commodity of invariable value. For example, if gold and silver or corn, or labour, were such commodities, then it would be possible to establish, by comparison with them, the rate

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[a] In the manuscript: "sugar".—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* Part One (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 304-07).—*Ed.*

[c] See present edition, Vol. 31, p. 426.—*Ed.*

[d] Cf. this volume, pp. 340-41.—*Ed.*

[e] Primarily.—*Ed.*

at which other commodities are exchanged for them, that is, to measure exactly the variations in the values of these other commodities by their prices in gold, silver, or corn, or their relation to wages. Stated in this way, the problem therefore presupposes from the outset that in the "measure of value" we are dealing simply with the commodity in which the values of all other commodities are expressed, whether it be the commodity by which they are really represented—money, the commodity which functions as money—or a commodity which, because its value remains invariable, would function as the money in terms of which the theoretician makes his calculations. It thus becomes evident that in this context it is in any case a question only of a kind of money which as the measure of value—either theoretically or practically—would itself not be subject to changes in value.

But for commodities to express their exchange value independently in money, in a third commodity, the exclusive commodity, the *values of commodities* must already be presupposed. Now the point is merely to compare them quantitatively. A *homogeneity* which makes them the same—makes them values—which as values makes them qualitatively equal, is already presupposed in order that their value and their differences in value can be represented in this way. For example, if all commodities express their value in gold, then this expression in gold, their gold price, their equation with gold, is an equation on the basis of which it is possible to elucidate and compute their value relation to one another, for they are now expressed as *different quantities of gold* and in this way the commodities are represented in their *prices*, as [XIV-820] comparable magnitudes of the same common denominator.

But in order to be represented in this way, the commodities must *already* be *identical* as *values.* Otherwise it would be impossible to solve the problem of expressing the value of each commodity in gold, if commodity and gold or any two commodities as values were not representations of the same substance, capable of being expressed in one another. In other words, this presupposition is already implicit in the problem itself. Commodities are already presumed as values, as *values* distinct from their use values, before the question of representing this value in a special commodity can arise. In order that two quantities of different use values can be equated as equivalents, it is already presumed that they are *equal* to a third, that they are *qualitatively* equal and only constitute different quantitative expressions of this qualitative equality.

The problem of an "invariable measure of value" was in fact simply a spurious name for the quest for the concept, the nature, *of value* itself, the definition of which could not be another value, and consequently could not be subject to variations as value. This was *labour time, social labour,* as it presents itself specifically in commodity production. A quantity of labour has no value, is not a commodity, but is that which transforms commodities into values, it is their *common substance*; as manifestations of it commodities are *qualitatively equal* and only *quantitatively different.* They [appear] as expressions of definite quantities of social labour time.

Let us assume that gold has an invariable value. If the value of all commodities were then expressed in gold one could measure variations in the values of commodities by their gold prices. But in order to express the value of commodities in gold, commodities and gold must be identical as *values.* Gold and commodities can only be considered to be identical as definite quantitative expressions of this value, as definite magnitudes of value. The invariable value of gold and the variable value of the other commodities would not prevent them, as *value,* from being the same, [consisting of] the same substance. Before the invariable value of gold can help us to make a step forward, the value of commodities must first be expressed, assessed, in gold—that is, gold and commodities must be represented as equivalents, as expressions *of the same substance.*

//In order that the commodities may be measured according to the quantity of labour embodied in them—and the measure of the quantity of labour is time—the different kinds of labour contained in the commodities must be reduced to uniform, simple labour, average labour, ordinary, UNSKILLED LABOUR. Only then can the amount of labour embodied [in] them be measured according to a common measure, according to time. The labour must be qualitatively equal so that its differences become merely quantitative, merely differences of magnitude. This reduction to simple, average labour is not, however, the only determinant of the *quality* of this labour to which as a unity the values of the commodities are reduced. That the quantity of labour embodied in a commodity is the quantity *socially necessary* for its production—the labour time being thus *necessary labour time*—is a definition which concerns only the *magnitude of value.* But the labour which constitutes the substance of value is not only uniform, simple, average labour; it is the labour of a private individual represented in a definite product. However, the product as value must be the embodiment of *social* labour and, as such, be directly convertible

from one use value into any other. (The particular use value in which labour is directly represented is irrelevant so that it can be converted from one form into another.) Thus the *labour of individuals* has to be directly represented as its opposite, *social* labour; this transformed labour is, as its immediate opposite, *abstract, general labour,* which is therefore represented in a general equivalent. Only by its alienation does individual labour manifest itself as its opposite. The commodity, however, must have this general expression before it is alienated. This necessity to express individual labour as general labour is equivalent to the necessity of expressing a commodity as money. The commodity receives this expression in so far as the money serves as a measure and expresses the value of the commodity in its *price.* It is only through sale, through its real transformation into money, that the commodity acquires its adequate expression as exchange value. The first transformation is merely a theoretical process, the second is a real one.

[XIV-821] Thus, in considering the existence of the commodity as *money,* it is not only necessary to emphasise that in money commodities acquire a definite *measure* of the magnitude of their value—since all commodities express their value in the use value of *the same* commodity—but that they all become manifestations of social, abstract, general labour; and as such they all possess the same form, they all appear as the direct incarnation of social labour; and as such they all act as social labour, they can be *directly exchanged* for all other commodities in proportion to the magnitude of their value; whereas in the hands of the people whose commodities have been transformed into money, they exist not as exchange value in the form of a particular use value, but as use value (gold, for example) which is merely a bearer of exchange value. A commodity may be sold either below or above its value. This is purely a matter of the *magnitude of its value.* But whenever a commodity is sold, transformed into money, its exchange value acquires an independent existence, separate from its use value. The commodity now exists only as a certain quantity of social labour time, and it proves that it is such by being *directly* exchangeable for any commodity whatsoever and convertible (in proportion to its quantity) into any use value whatsoever. This point must not be overlooked in relation to money any more than the formal transformation undergone by the labour a commodity contains as its element of value. But an examination of money—of that absolute exchangeability which the commodity possesses as money, of its absolute effectiveness as *exchange value* which has

nothing to do with magnitude of value—shows that it is not quantitatively, but qualitatively determined and that as a result of the very process through which the commodity itself passes, its *exchange value* becomes independent, and is really represented as a separate aspect alongside its use value as it is already nominally in its price.

This shows, therefore, that the "VERBAL OBSERVER" [95] understands as little of the value and the nature of money as Bailey, since both regard the independent existence of value as a scholastic invention of economists. This independent existence becomes even more evident in capital, which, in one of its aspects, can be called *value in process*—and since value only exists independently in money, [it can accordingly be called] *money in process*, as it goes through a series of processes in which it preserves itself, departs from itself, and returns to itself increased in volume. It goes without saying that the paradox of reality is also reflected in paradoxes of speech which are at variance with COMMON SENSE and with WHAT VULGARIANS MEAN AND BELIEVE they are TALKING OF. The contradictions which arise from the fact that on the basis of commodity production the labour of the individual presents itself as general social labour, and the relations of people as relations between things and as things—these contradictions are innate in the subject-matter, not in its verbal expressions.//

Ricardo often gives the impression, and sometimes indeed writes, as if the QUANTITY OF LABOUR is the solution to the false, or falsely conceived problem of an "INVARIABLE MEASURE OF VALUE" in the same way as corn, money, wages, etc., were previously considered and advanced as *nostra*[a] of this kind. In Ricardo's work this false impression arises because for him the decisive task is the definition of the magnitude of value. Because of this he does not understand the specific form in which labour is an element of value, and fails in particular to grasp that the labour of the individual must present itself as abstract general labour and, in this form, as *social* labour. Therefore he has not understood that the development of money is connected with the nature of value and with the determination of this value by labour time. Bailey's book has rendered a good service in so far as the objections he raises help to clear up the confusion between "MEASURE OF VALUE" expressed in money as a commodity along with other commodities, and the immanent measure and substance of value. But if he had analysed money as a "MEASURE OF VALUE", not only as a quantitative measure

[a] Here: secret remedy. See this volume, p. 322.— *Ed.*

but as a qualitative transformation of commodities, he would have arrived at a correct analysis of value. Instead of this, he contents himself with a mere superficial consideration of the external "MEASURE OF VALUE"—which already presupposes VALUE—and remains rooted in a purely frivolous approach to the question.

[XIV-822] There are, however, occasional passages in Ricardo in which he directly emphasises that the quantity of labour embodied in a commodity constitutes the immanent measure of the *magnitude* of its value, of the *differences in the amount* of its value, only because labour is the factor the different commodities have in *common*, which constitutes their uniformity, their substance, the intrinsic foundation of their value. The thing however he failed to investigate is the specific form in which labour plays that role.

* "In making *labour* the *foundation of the value* of commodities, *and* the *comparative quantity of labour* which is necessary to their production, *the rule which determines the respective quantities of goods* which shall be given in exchange for each other, we must not be supposed to deny the accidental and temporary deviations of the actual or market price of commodities from this, their primary and natural price" ([Ricardo, *On the Principles...*,] 3rd ed., [London,] 1821, [p.] 80).

"'To measure ... is to find how many times they'" (the things measured) "'contain ... *unities of the same description.*'[a] A franc is not a measure of value for any thing, but for a quantity of the *same metal* of which francs are made, unless francs, and the thing to be measured, can be referred to *some other measure which is common to both.* This, I think, they can be, for they are both the *result of labour*; and, therefore"* (because LABOUR is their *causa efficiens*[b]) *"labour is a *common measure,* by which their *real* as well as their *relative value* may be estimated"* (l.c., [pp.] 333-34).

All commodities can be reduced to LABOUR as their common element. What Ricardo does not investigate is the *specific* form in which LABOUR manifests itself as the common element of commodities. That is why he does not understand money. That is why in his work the transformation of commodities into money appears to be something merely formal, which does not penetrate deeply into the very essence of capitalist production. He says however: only because LABOUR is the common factor of commodities, only because they are all mere manifestations of the same common element, of LABOUR, is LABOUR their MEASURE. It is their measure only because it forms their *substance* as values. Ricardo does not sufficiently differentiate between LABOUR in so far as it is represented in use values or in exchange value. LABOUR as the

[a] A. L. C. Destutt-Tracy, *Élémens d'idéologie.* Part I, *Idéologie proprement dite,* 2nd ed., Paris, 1804, p. 187.—*Ed.*

[b] Effective cause.—*Ed.*

foundation of value is not any particular LABOUR, with particular qualities. Ricardo continuously confuses the LABOUR which is represented in use value and that which is represented in exchange value. It is true that the latter species of LABOUR is only the former species expressed in an abstract form.

By *REAL VALUE*, Ricardo, in the *passus* cited above, understands the commodity as the embodiment of a definite amount of labour time. By *RELATIVE VALUE*, he understands the labour time the commodity contains expressed in the use values of other commodities.

Now to *Bailey*.

Bailey clings to the form in which the exchange value of the commodity—as commodity—appears, manifests itself. It manifests itself in a *general form* when it is expressed in the use value of a third commodity, in which all other commodities likewise express their value—a commodity which serves as money—that is, in the *money price* of the commodity. It manifests itself in a *particular form* when the exchange value of any particular commodity is expressed in the use value of any other, that is, as the *corn price, linen price,* etc. In actual fact, the exchange value of the commodity always appears, manifests itself with regard to other commodities, only in the *quantitative relationship* in which they exchange. The individual commodity as such cannot express general labour time, or it can only express it in its equation with the commodity which constitutes money, in its *money price.* But then the value of commodity A is always expressed in a certain quantity of the use value of M, the commodity which functions as money. This is how matters *appear directly.* And Bailey clings to this. The most superficial form of exchange value, that is, the *quantitative relationship* in which commodities exchange with one another, *constitutes,* according to Bailey, their value. The advance from the surface to the core of the problem is not permitted. He even forgets the simple consideration that if $y$ yards of linen$=x$ lbs of straw, this [implies] a parity between two unequal things—linen and straw—making them equal magnitudes. This existence of theirs as things that are equal must surely be different [XIV-823] from their existence as straw and linen. It is not straw and linen that they are equated, but as equivalents. The one side of the equation must, therefore, express the same value as the other. The value of straw and linen must, therefore, be neither straw nor linen, but something common to both and different from both commodities considered as straw and linen. What is it? He does not answer this question. Instead, he wanders off into all

the categories of political economy in order to repeat the same monotonous litany over and over again, [namely,] that value is the exchange relation of commodities and consequently is not anything different from this relation.

* "*If* the *value* of an object *is its power of purchasing,* there must be something to purchase. Value denotes, *consequently,* nothing positive or intrinsic, but merely the *relation* in which two objects stand to each other as *exchangeable commodities*" * ([*A Critical Dissertation*..., pp.] 4-5).

His entire wisdom is, in fact, contained in this passage. * "If *value* is *nothing* but *power of purchasing*" (a very fine definition since "purchasing" [pre]supposes not only value, but the representation of value as "money"), "it denotes",* etc. However let us first clear away from Bailey's proposition the absurdities which have been smuggled in. "PURCHASING" means transforming money into commodities. Money already presupposes VALUE and the development OF VALUE. Consequently, out with the expression "PURCHASING" first of all. Otherwise we are explaining VALUE by VALUE. Instead of PURCHASING we must say "EXCHANGING AGAINST OTHER OBJECTS". It is quite superfluous to say that "THERE MUST BE SOMETHING TO PURCHASE". If the "OBJECT" was to be consumed by its producers as a use value, if it was not merely a means of appropriating other objects, not a "*commodity*", then obviously there could be no question of VALUE. First, it is a matter of an OBJECT. But then the relation "IN WHICH TWO OBJECTS STAND TO EACH OTHER" is transformed into "THE RELATION ... THEY STAND TO EACH OTHER ... AS *EXCHANGEABLE COMMODITIES*". After all, the OBJECTS STAND only in relation OF EXCHANGE or AS EXCHANGEABLE OBJECTS TO EACH OTHER. That is why they are "*COMMODITIES*", which is SOMETHING other THAN "OBJECTS". On the other hand, the "relation OF EXCHANGEABLE COMMODITIES" is either nonsense, since "NOT EXCHANGEABLE OBJECTS" are not COMMODITIES, or Mr. Bailey has beaten himself. The OBJECTS SHALL NOT BE EXCHANGED IN ANY PROPORTION WHATEVER, but are to be EXCHANGED as COMMODITIES, that is, they are to stand to one another as EXCHANGEABLE COMMODITIES, that is, as objects each of which has a value, and which are to be exchanged with one another in *proportion to their equivalence.* Bailey thereby admits that the RATE at which they are exchanged, that is, the POWER of each of the commodities to purchase the other, is determined by its *value,* but this value however is not determined by this POWER, which is merely a corollary.

If we strip the passage of everything that is wrong, nonsensical or smuggled in, then it will read like this.

But wait: we must dispose of yet another snare and piece of

nonsense. We have two sorts of expression. AN OBJECT'S "POWER" OF EXCHANGING, etc. (since the term "PURCHASING" is unjustified and makes no sense without the concept of money), and the *RELATION IN WHICH* AN OBJECT EXCHANGES WITH OTHERS. If "POWER" is to be regarded as something different from "RELATION", then one ought not to say that "POWER OF EXCHANGING" IS "*MERELY THE RELATION*", etc. If it is meant to be *the same thing*, then it is confusing to describe the same thing with two different expressions which have nothing in common with each other. The * *relation* of a thing to another is a relation of the two things and cannot be said to belong to either. *Power of a thing*, on the contrary, is something intrinsic to the thing, although this, its intrinsic quality, may only [XIV-824] manifest itself in its relation to other things. For instance, power of attraction is a power of the thing itself, although that power is "latent" as long as there are no things to attract.* Here an attempt is made to represent the value of the "OBJECT" as something intrinsic to it, and yet as something merely existing as a "RELATION". That is why [Bailey uses] first the word POWER and then the word RELATION.

Accurately expressed it would read as follows:

*"*If* the value of an object is the relation in which it exchanges with other objects, value denotes, *consequently*" (viz., in consequence of the "if"), "nothing, but merely the relation in which two objects stand to each other as exchangeable objects"* (l.c., [pp.] 4-5).

Nobody will contest this tautology. What follows from it, by the way, is that the "VALUE" OF AN OBJECT "DENOTES *NOTHING*". For example, 1 lb. of COFFEE=4 lbs of COTTON. What then is the value of 1 lb. of COFFEE? 4 lbs of COTTON. And of 4 lbs of COTTON? 1 lb. of COFFEE. Since the value of 1 lb. of coffee is 4 lbs of COTTON, and, on the other hand, the value of 4 lbs of COTTON=1 lb. of COFFEE, then it is clear that the value of 1 lb. of COFFEE=1 lb. of COFFEE (since 4 lbs of COTTON=1 lb. of COFFEE), $a=b$, $b=a$, HENCE $a=a$. What arises from this explanation is, therefore, that the value of a use value=a [certain] quantity of the same use value. Consequently, the value of 1 lb. of COFFEE is nothing else than 1 lb. of coffee. If 1 lb. of COFFEE=4 lbs of cotton, then it is clear that 1 lb. of COFFEE>3 lbs of COTTON and 1 lb. of COFFEE<5 lbs of COTTON. To say that 1 lb. of COFFEE>3 lbs of COTTON and<5 lbs of COTTON, expresses a *RELATION* between COFFEE and COTTON just as well as saying that 1 lb. of COFFEE=4 lbs of COTTON. The symbol = does not express any more of a relation than does the symbol < or the symbol >, but simply a *different* relation. Why is it then precisely the relation represented

by the sign of equality, by =, which expresses the value of the COFFEE in COTTON and that of the COTTON in COTTON? Or is this sign of equality the result of the fact that these two amounts exchange for one another at all? Does this sign = merely express the fact of exchange? It cannot be denied that if COFFEE exchanges for COTTON in any RATIO whatever, they are exchanged for one another, and if the mere FACT of their exchange constitutes the *RELATION* between the commodities, then the value of the COFFEE is equally well expressed in cotton whether it exchanges for 2, 3, 4 or 5 lbs of cotton. But what is then the word *RELATION* supposed to mean? COFFEE in itself has no "INTRINSIC, POSITIVE" quality which determines the *rate at which* it exchanges for COTTON. It is not a relation which is determined by any kind of determinant INTRINSIC to coffee and separate from real exchange. What is then the purpose of the word "relation"? What is the relation? THE QUANTITY OF COTTON AGAINST WHICH A QUANTITY OF COFFEE IS EXCHANGED. Then one could not speak of a relation IN WHICH IT EXCHANGES but only of a RELATION IN WHICH IT *IS* OR *HAS BEEN* EXCHANGED. For if the RELATION were determined before the exchange, then the exchange would be determined by the "RELATION" and not the RELATION by the exchange. We must therefore DROP the *relation* as signifying something which *stands over and above* the coffee and the cotton and is distinct from them.

* "*If* the value of an object is the quantity of another object exchanged with it, value denotes, consequently, nothing, but merely the quantity of the other object exchanged with it." *

As a commodity, a commodity can only express its value in other commodities, since general labour time does not exist for it as a commodity. If the value of one commodity is expressed in another commodity, the value of one commodity is nothing apart from this EQUATION with another commodity. Bailey flaunts this piece of wisdom tirelessly—and all the more tiresomely. As he conceives it, it is a *tautology,* for he says: If the value of any commodity is nothing but its exchange relation with another commodity, it is nothing apart from this relation. He reveals his philosophical profundity in the following passage:

* "As we cannot speak of *the distance of any object* without implying some other object, *between which and the former this relation exists,* so we cannot speak of the value of a commodity but in reference to *another commodity* [XIV-825] *compared with it.* A thing cannot be valuable in itself without reference to another thing" * (Is * social labour, to which the value of a commodity is related, not another thing?) "any more than a thing can be *distant in itself* without reference to another thing" * (l.c., [p.] 5).

If a thing is distant from another, the distance is in fact a relation between the one thing and the other; but at the same time, the distance is something different from this relation between the two things. It is a dimension of space, it is some length which may as well express the distance of two other things besides those compared. But this is not all. If we speak of the distance as a relation between two things, we suppose something "intrinsic", some "property" of the things themselves, which enables them to be distant from each other. What is the distance between the syllable A and a table? The question would be nonsensical. In speaking of the distance of two things, we speak of their difference in space. Thus we suppose both of them to be contained in space, to be points of space. Thus we equalise them as being both existences of space, and only after having them equalised *sub specie spatii*[a] we distinguish them as different points of space. To belong to space is their unity.*[b]

But what is this UNITY of OBJECTS EXCHANGED AGAINST EACH OTHER? This EXCHANGE is not a relation which exists between them as natural things. It is likewise not a relation which they bear as natural things to human needs, for it is not THE DEGREE OF THEIR UTILITY THAT DETERMINES THE QUANTITIES IN WHICH THEY EXCHANGE. What is therefore their identity, which enables them TO BE EXCHANGED IN A CERTAIN MEASURE AGAINST EACH OTHER? As what DO THEY BECOME *EXCHANGEABLE*?

* [XV-887] // The following has to be added with regard to Bailey's insipidity: When he says that A IS DISTANT from B, he does not thereby compare them with one another, equalise them, but *separates* them in space. They do *not* occupy *the same* space. Nevertheless he still declares that both are *spatial* things and are differentiated in virtue of being things which belong in space. He therefore makes them equal in advance, gives them the same unity. However, here it is a question of equation. If I say that the area of the △ A is equal to that of the ▱ B, this means not only that the area of the △ is expressed in the ▱ and that of the ▱ in the △, but it means that if the height of the △=h and the base=b, then $A=\frac{h\times b}{2}$ a property which belongs to it itself just as it is a property of the ▱ that it is likewise $=\frac{h\times b}{2}$.[96] As areas, the △ and the ▱ are here declared to be equal, to be equivalents, although as a triangle and a parallelogram they are different. In order to equate these different things with one another, each must represent *the same common element* regardless of the other. If geometry, like the political economy of Mr. Bailey, contented itself with saying that the equality of the △ and of the ▱ means that the △ is expressed in the parallelogram, and the parallelogram in the triangle, it would be of little value.// [XV-887]

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[a] Under the aspect of space.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx wrote this paragraph in English.— *Ed.*

In fact, in all this Bailey is merely a *pedisequus*[a] of the author OF THE "VERBAL OBSERVATIONS".[b]

* "It" (value) "cannot alter as to one of the objects compared, without altering as to the other" * (l.c., [p.] 5).

This again simply means that the expression of the value of one commodity in another commodity can only change as such an *expression.* And the expression as such presupposes not one but two commodities.

Mr. Bailey is of the opinion that if one were to consider *only two commodities*—in exchange with one another—one would automatically discover the mere relativity of *value,* in his sense.[c] The fool. As if it were not just as necessary to say, in connection with [two] commodities which exchange with one another—two products which are related to one another as *commodities—in what* they are identical, as it would be in the case of a thousand. For that matter, if only two products existed, the products would never become commodities, and consequently the exchange value of commodities would never evolve either. The necessity for the labour in product I to manifest itself as social labour would not arise. Because the product is not produced as an immediate object of consumption for the producers, but only as a *bearer of value,* as a claim, so to speak, to a certain quantity of all materialised social labour, all products as *values* are compelled to assume a form of existence distinct from their existence as use values. And it is this development of the labour embodied in them as social labour, it is the development of their *value,* which determines the formation of money, the necessity for commodities to represent themselves in respect of one another as *money*—which means merely as independent forms of existence of exchange value—and they can only do this by setting apart one commodity from the mass of commodities, and all of them measuring their values in the use value of this excluded commodity, thereby directly transforming the labour embodied in this exclusive commodity into *general, social* labour. Mr. Bailey, with his QUEER way of thinking which only grasps the surface appearance of things, concludes on the contrary: Only *because,* besides commodities, *money* exists, and we are so used [to regarding] the value of commodities not in their relation to one another but as a relation to a *third,* as a [XIV-826] third relation distinct from the *direct* relation, is the *concept of*

[a] A servile follower.—*Ed.*
[b] *Observations on Certain Verbal Disputes in Political Economy...*—*Ed.*
[c] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 399-403.—*Ed.*

*value* evolved—and consequently value is transformed from the merely quantitative relation in which commodities are exchanged for one another into something independent of this relation (and this, he thinks, transforms the value of commodities into something absolute, into a scholastic ENTITY existing in isolation from the commodities). According to Bailey, it is not the determination of the product as value which leads to the establishment of money and which expresses itself in *money,* but it is the existence of money which leads to the fiction of the concept of value. Historically it is quite correct that the search for value is at first based on money, the *visible* expression of commodities as value, and that consequently the search for the definition of value is (wrongly) represented as a search for a commodity of "invariable value", or for a commodity which is an "invariable measure of value". Since Mr. Bailey now demonstrates that money as an external measure of value—and expression of value—has fulfilled its purpose, even though it has a *variable* value, he thinks he has done away with the question of the concept of value—which is not affected by the variability of the magnitudes of the value of commodities—and that in fact it is no longer necessary to attribute any meaning at all to value. Because the representation of the value of a commodity in money—in a third, exclusive commodity—does not exclude variation in the value of this third commodity, because the problem of an "invariable measure of value" disappears, the problem of the determination of value itself disappears. Bailey carries on this insipid rigmarole for hundreds of pages, with great self-satisfaction.

The following passages, in which he constantly repeats the same thing, are, in part, *verbotenus*[a] copied from the *VERBAL* ONE.[b]

"Suppose that only two commodities are IN EXISTENCE, both EXCHANGEABLE in proportion to the *quantity of labour. If A ... should, at a subsequent period, require double the quantity of labour for its production, while B continued to require only the same, A would become of double value to B... But although B continued to be produced by the same labour, it would not continue of the same value, for it would exchange for only half the quantity of A, the only *commodity,* by the supposition, with which it could be compared" (l.c., [p.] 6).

"*It is from this circumstance of constant reference to other commodities*" * (instead of regarding value *merely as a RELATION between two commodities*) * "or to *money,* when we *are speaking of the relation between any two commodities,* that the *notion of value,* as *something intrinsic* and *absolute,* has arisen" (l.c., [p.] 8).

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[a] Verbatim.—*Ed.*

[b] *Observations on Certain Verbal Disputes in Political Economy...*—*Ed.*

"What I assert is, that if all commodities were produced under exactly the same circumstances, as for instance, by labour alone, any commodity, which always required the same quantity of labour, could not be *invariable in value*" * // that is, INVARIABLE IN THE *EXPRESSION* OF ITS VALUE IN OTHER COMMODITIES—a tautology //, * "while every other commodity underwent alteration" (l.c., [pp.] 20-21).

"Value is nothing intrinsic and absolute" (l.c., [p.] 23).[a]

"It is impossible to designate, *or* express *the value* of a commodity, except by *a quantity of some other commodity*" (l.c., [p.] 26).

(As impossible as it is to "*designate*" or "*express*" a thought except by a quantity of syllables. Hence Bailey concludes that a thought is—syllables.)

"Instead of regarding value as a *relation between two objects,* they" (Ricardo and his followers) "consider it as a positive result produced by a definite quantity of labour" (l.c., [p.] 30).

"Because the values of A and B, according to their doctrine, are to each other as the quantities of producing labour, or ... are determined by the quantities of producing labour, they appear to have concluded, that the value of A alone, without reference to anything else, is as the quantity of its producing labour. There is no meaning certainly in this last proposition" * (l.c., [pp.] 31-32).

They speak of * "value as a sort of general and independent property" ([p.] 35).

"The value of a commodity must be its value in something" * (l.c.).

We can see why it is so important for Bailey to limit value to *two commodities,* to understand it as the relation between *two commodities.* But a difficulty now arises:

* "The *value of any commodity* denoting *its relation in exchange* to some other commodity" *

(what is in this context the purpose of the "RELATION [XIV-827] IN EXCHANGE"? WHY NOT, ITS "*EXCHANGE*"? But at the same time EXCHANGE is intended to express a *definite* relation, not *merely the* FACT *of* EXCHANGE. HENCE VALUE=RELATION IN EXCHANGE)

* "we may speak of it as money-value, corn-value, cloth-value, according to the commodity with which it is compared; and then there are *a thousand different kinds of value,* as *many kinds of value as there are commodities in existence,* and all are equally *real* and equally *nominal*" * ([p.] 39).

Here we have it. *VALUE=PRICE.* THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THEM. And THERE IS NO "INTRINSIC" DIFFERENCE BETWEEN *MONEY PRICE* AND ANY OTHER EXPRESSION OF PRICE, ALTHOUGH IT IS THE *MONEY PRICE* AND NOT THE CLOTH PRICE, ETC., WHICH EXPRESSES THE *NOMINAL VALUE,* THE GENERAL VALUE OF THE COMMODITY.

But although the commodity has a THOUSAND DIFFERENT KINDS OF VALUE, or a THOUSAND DIFFERENT PRICES, AS MANY KINDS OF VALUE AS THERE ARE COMMODITIES IN EXISTENCE, ALL THESE THOUSAND EXPRESSIONS ALWAYS EXPRESS *THE*

[a] Marx here sums up Bailey's argument in his own words.—*Ed.*

*SAME VALUE.* This proves that all these DIFFERENT EXPRESSIONS ARE *EQUIVALENTS* which not only can replace one another in this expression, but do replace one another in EXCHANGE itself. This *relation* of the commodity, with the price of which we are concerned, is expressed in a thousand DIFFERENT "RELATIONS IN EXCHANGE" to ALL the DIFFERENT commodities and yet always expresses *the same* relation. Thus this RELATION, which remains the same, is distinct from its thousand DIFFERENT EXPRESSIONS, or VALUE IS DIFFERENT from PRICE, and the *PRICES* ARE ONLY EXPRESSIONS OF VALUE; MONEY PRICE [is] ITS *GENERAL* EXPRESSION, OTHER PRICES [are] *PARTICULAR* EXPRESSIONS. It is not even this simple conclusion that Bailey arrives at. In this context Ricardo is not a fictionist but Bailey is a fetishist in that he conceives value, though not as a property of the individual object (considered in isolation), but as a *relation of objects to one another,* while it is only a representation in objects, an objective expression, of a relation between men, a social relation, the relationship of men to their reciprocal productive activity.

* "Mr. Ricardo, ingeniously enough, avoids a difficulty, which, on a first view, threatens to encumber his doctrine, that value depends on the quantity of labour employed in production. If this principle is rigidly adhered to, it follows that the *value of labour depends on the quantity of labour employed in producing it*—which is evidently absurd. By a dexterous turn, therefore, Mr. Ricardo makes the *value of labour* depend on *the quantity of labour required to produce wages,* or, to give him the benefit of his own language, he maintains that the value of labour *is to be estimated* by the quantity of labour required to produce wages; by which he means the quantity of labour required to produce the money or commodities given to the labourer. This is similar to saying, that the value of cloth is to be estimated, not by the quantity of labour bestowed on its production, but by the quantity of labour bestowed on the production of the silver, for which the cloth is exchanged" * (l.c., [pp.] 50-51).[a]

This is a justified criticism of Ricardo's mistake of making capital exchange directly with labour instead of with labour capacity. It is the same objection which we have already come across in another form.[b] Nothing else. Bailey's comparison cannot be applied to labour capacity. It is not CLOTH, but an organic product such as MUTTON, that he ought to compare with living labour capacity. Apart from the labour involved in tending livestock and that required for the production of their means of subsistence, the labour required for their production is not to be understood as meaning the labour which they themselves perform in the act of consumption, the act of eating, drinking, in short, the

[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 34-35, and also present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 47-48.— *Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 298-99.— *Ed.*

appropriation of those products or means of subsistence. It is just the same with labour capacity. The labour required for its production, or reproduction, consists solely of the labour involved in the reproduction of the means of subsistence which the labourer consumes—apart from the labour involved in developing his labour capacity, his *education,* his APPRENTICESHIP, which hardly arises in relation to UNSKILLED LABOUR. The appropriation of these means of subsistence is not "*labour*". [XIV-828] Any more than the labour contained in the CLOTH, in addition to the labour of the weaver and the labour which is contained in the wool, the dye-stuff, etc., comprises the chemical or physical action of the wool in absorbing the dye-stuff, etc., an action which corresponds to the appropriation of the means of subsistence by the worker or the cattle.

Bailey then seeks to invalidate Ricardo's law that the value of labour and profit stand in *inverse* proportion to one another. He seeks, moreover, to invalidate that part of it which is correct. Like Ricardo, he identifies SURPLUS VALUE with PROFIT. He does not mention the one possible exception to this law, namely, when the working day is lengthened and workers and capitalists *share equally in that prolongation, but even then, since the value of the working power will be consumed more quickly—in fewer years—the surplus value rises at the expense of the working man's life, and his working power is depreciated as compared with the surplus value it yields to the capitalist.*

Bailey's REASONING IS OF THE MOST SUPERFICIAL DESCRIPTION. Its starting-point is his concept of value. The value of the commodity is the expression of its value IN A CERTAIN QUANTITY OF OTHER VALUES IN USE (the use value of other commodities). Thus the value of labour=the quantity of other commodities (use values) for which it is exchanged. //THE REAL PROBLEM, HOW IT IS POSSIBLE TO EXPRESS THE VALUE IN EXCHANGE OF A IN THE VALUE IN USE OF B—does not even occur to him.// So long, therefore, as the worker receives the same quantity of commodities, the VALUE OF LABOUR remains unchanged, BECAUSE, AS BEFORE, IT IS EXPRESSED IN THE SAME QUANTITY OF OTHER USEFUL THINGS. Profit, on the other hand, expresses a relation to capital, or else to the total product. The *portion* received by the worker can, however, remain the same although the *proportion* received by the capitalist rises if the productivity of labour increases.[97] It is not clear why, in dealing with capital, we suddenly come to a proportion and of what use this *proportion* is supposed to be to the capitalist, since the value of what he receives is determined not by the proportion, but by ITS "EXPRESSION IN OTHER COMMODITIES".

The point he makes here has, in fact, already been mentioned

by Malthus.[a] Wages=A QUANTITY OF *use values*. Profit, on the other hand, is (but Bailey must avoid saying so) A RELATION OF *VALUE*. If I measure wages according to use value and profit according to exchange value, it is quite EVIDENT that neither an inverse nor any other kind of relation exists between them, BECAUSE I SHOULD THEN COMPARE INCOMMENSURABLE MAGNITUDES, THINGS WHICH HAVE NO COMMON UNITY.

But what Bailey says here about the *VALUE OF LABOUR* applies—according to his principle—to the *VALUE OF EVERY OTHER COMMODITY* as well. IT IS NOTHING ELSE BUT A CERTAIN QUANTITY OF OTHER THINGS EXCHANGED AGAINST IT. If I receive 20 lbs of twist for £1, then the value of the £1 always remains the same, and will therefore be always paid, although the labour required to produce 1 lb. of twist can on one occasion be double that required on another. The most ordinary merchant does not believe that he is getting the same value for his £1 when he receives 1 qr of wheat for it in a period of famine and in a period of glut. But the concept of value ends here. And there remains only the unexplained and inexplicable fact that a quantity of A is exchanged against a quantity of B IN ANY PROPORTION WHATEVER. AND WHATEVER THAT PROPORTION MAY BE IT IS AN EQUIVALENT. Even Bailey's formula, *the value of A expressed in B loses thus every sense. If the value of A is expressed in B, it is supposed that the same value is, if expressed once in A, and at another time in B, so that, if [it is] expressed in B, the value of A remains the same as it was before. But with Bailey there is no value of A [that could] be expressed in B, because neither A nor B have a value besides that expression. The value of A [expressed] in B must be something quite different from the value of A in C, as different as B and C are. And it is not the same value, identical in both expressions, but there are two relations of A which have nothing in common with each other, and of which it would be nonsense to say that they are equivalent expressions.

[XIV-829] "A rise or fall in the value of labour implies an increase or decrease in the quantity of the commodity given in exchange for it" (l.c., [p.] 62).

Nonsense! [From Bailey's standpoint] there can be no rise or fall in the value of labour, nor of any other thing. I get today 3 Bs for one A, tomorrow 6 Bs and [the day] after tomorrow 2 Bs. But [according to Bailey] in all these cases the value of A is nothing but the quantity of B for which it has [been] exchanged. It was 3 Bs, it is now 6 Bs. How can its value be said to have risen or fallen? The A expressed in 3 Bs had another value from that expressed in 6 or 2 Bs. But then it is not the identical A which at

[a] See this volume, p. 227.—*Ed.*

the identical time has been exchanged for 3 or 2 or 6 Bs. The identical A at the identical time has always been expressed in the same quantity of B. It is only with regard to different times that it could be said the value of A had changed. But it is only with "contemporaneous" commodities that A can be exchanged, and it is only the fact (not even the mere possibility of exchange) of exchange with other commodities which constitutes [according to Bailey] A to be a value. It is only the actual "relation in exchange" which constitutes its value; and the actual "relation in exchange" can of course only take place for the same A at the identical time.* Bailey therefore declares the comparison of commodity values at different periods to be nonsense.[a] But at the same time he should also have declared the *rise or fall of value—[which is] impossible if there is no comparison between its [a commodity's] value at one time and its value at another time*—to be nonsense and consequently, also, the *"*rise or fall in the value of labour*".

"Labour is an exchangeable thing, or one which commands other things in exchange; but the term profits denotes only a share or *proportion of commodities, not an article which can be exchanged against other articles.* When we ask whether wages have risen, we mean, whether a definite portion of labour exchanges for a greater quantity of other things than before"*

(thus when corn becomes dearer, the value of labour falls because less corn is EXCHANGED for it. On the other hand, if CLOTH becomes cheaper at the same time, the value of labour *rises* simultaneously, because more CLOTH can be EXCHANGED for it. Thus the value of labour both rises and falls at the same time and the TWO EXPRESSIONS OF ITS VALUE—IN CORN AND [in] CLOTH—ARE NOT IDENTICAL, NOT EQUIVALENT, because its *increased* value CANNOT BE EQUAL to its *reduced value*);

*"but when we ask whether profits have risen, we ... mean ... whether the gain of the capitalist bears a higher ratio to the capital employed" ([pp.] 62-63).

"The value of labour does not entirely depend on the proportion of the whole produce, which is given to the labourers in exchange for their labour, but also on the productiveness of labour" ([pp.] 63-64).

"The proposition, that when labour rises profits must fall, is true only when its rise is not owing to an increase in its productive powers" ([p.] 64).

"If this productive power be augmented, that is, if the same labour produce more commodities in the same time, labour may rise in value without a fall, nay even with a rise of profits"* ([p.] 66).

(Accordingly it can also be said of every other commodity that *a rise in its value does not imply a fall in the value of the other

[a] See [S. Bailey,] *A Critical Dissertation on the Nature, Measures, and Causes of Value...*, pp. 71-93. Cf. this volume, pp. 126, 340-41, 347.— *Ed.*

commodity with which it exchanges, nay, may even imply a rise in value on the other side.* For instance, supposing the same labour which produced 1 qr of corn, now produces 3 qrs. The 3 qrs COST £1, as *the one qr did before. If 2 qrs be now exchanged against £1, the value of money has risen, because it is expressed in 2 qrs instead of one. Thus the purchaser of corn gets a greater value for his money. But the seller who sells for £1 what has cost him only $^2/_3$ gains $^1/_3$. And thus the value of his corn has risen at the same time that the money price of corn has fallen.)

[XIV-830] "Whatever the produce of the labour of 6 men might be, whether 100 or 200 or 300 qrs of corn, yet so long as the proportion of the capitalist was one-fourth of the produce, that fourth part estimated in labour would be invariably the same."

// And so would the $^3/_4$ of the produce accruing to the labourer, if estimated in labour.//

"Were the produce 100 qrs, then, as 75 qrs would be given to 6 men, the 25 accruing to the capitalist would command the labour of two men;"

(and that given to the labourers would command the labour of 6 men)

"if the produce were 300 qrs, the 6 men would obtain 225 qrs, and the 75 falling to the capitalist would still command 2 men and no more."

(Thus the 225 qrs falling to the 6 men would still command 4[a] men and no more.) (Why does the almighty Bailey then forbid Ricardo to estimate the portion of the men, as well as that of the capitalist, in labour, and compare their mutual value as expressed in labour?)

"Thus a rise in the proportion which went to the capitalist would be the same as an increase of *the value of profits estimated in labour,*"

(how can he speak of the *value of profits,* and an increase in their value, if "[the term] profits denotes ... not an article which can be exchanged against other articles" (see above) and, consequently, denotes no "value"? And, on the other hand, is a rise in the *proportion* which went to the capitalist possible without a fall *in the proportion* that goes to the labourer?)

"or, in other words, an increase in their power of commanding labour" ([p.] 69).

(And is this *increase* in the power of the capitalist to appropriate the labour of others not exactly identical with the *decrease* in the power of the labourer to appropriate his own labour?)

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[a] This is apparently a slip of the pen: it should definitely be "6".— *Ed.*

"Should it be objected to the doctrine of profits and the value of labour rising at the same time, that as *the commodity produced is the only source whence the capitalist and the labourer can obtain their remuneration*, it necessarily follows that [what] one gains the other loses, the reply is obvious. So long as the product continues the same, this is undeniably true; but it is equally undeniable, that if the product be doubled *the portion of both may be increased*, although the *proportion of one is lessened and that of the other is augmented*." *

(This is just what Ricardo says. The **proportion* of both cannot increase, and if the *portion* of both increases, it cannot increase in the same proportion, as otherwise portion and proportion would be identical. The proportion of the one cannot increase but by that of the other decreasing.*[a] [97] However, that Mr. Bailey calls the PORTION OF THE LABOUR "*VALUE*" OF "WAGES", and the **proportion* [of the capitalist] value of "profits", that the same commodity has 2 values for him, one in the hands of the labourer, and the other in the hands of the capitalist, is nonsense of his own.)

"So long as the produce continues the same, this is undeniably true; but it [is] equally undeniable, that if the product be doubled the *portion* of both may be increased, although the *proportion* of one is lessened and that of the other augmented. Now it is an increase in the *portion* of the product assigned to [the] labourer which constitutes a rise in the *value* of his labour"

(because here we understand by *value* a certain quantity of articles);

"but it is an increase in the *proportion* assigned to the capitalist which constitutes a rise in [his] profits"

(because here we understand by *value* the same articles not estimated by their quantity, but by the labour worked up in them).

"*Whence*" *

(that is, because of the absurd use of two measures, in the one case ARTICLES, in the other case *the value of the same articles)

"it clearly follows, that there is nothing inconsistent in the supposition of a *simultaneous rise in both*" * ([p.] 70).

This absurd argument against Ricardo is quite [XIV-831] futile since he merely declares that the *VALUE* of the two portions must RISE and FALL in inverse proportion to one another.[b] It merely amounts to a repetition by Bailey of his proposition that *VALUE* IS THE QUANTITY OF ARTICLES EXCHANGED FOR AN ARTICLE. In dealing with *profit* he was bound to find himself in an embarrassing position. For here, the value of capital is compared with the value of the

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[a] See D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, 3rd ed., London, 1821, pp. 48 and 107.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 52-56.— *Ed.*

product. Here he seeks refuge in taking *value* to mean the VALUE OF AN ARTICLE ESTIMATED IN LABOUR (in the Malthusian manner[a]).

* "Value is a relation between *contemporary* commodities, because such only admit of being exchanged for each other; and if we compare the value of a commodity at one time with its value at another, it is only a comparison of the relation in which it stood at these different times to some other commodity" * (l.c., [p.] 72).

Consequently, as has been stated, there can be NEITHER [a] RISE NOR [a] FALL [in] VALUE for this ALWAYS involves COMPARING THE VALUE OF A COMMODITY AT ONE TIME WITH ITS VALUE AT ANOTHER. A commodity cannot be sold below its value any more than [above] it, for its value is what it is sold for. VALUE and market price are identical. In fact one cannot speak either of "*CONTEMPORARY*" COMMODITIES, or of *PRESENT* VALUES, but ONLY of *PAST* ONES. What is the value of 1 qr OF WHEAT? The £1 for which it was sold yesterday. For ITS VALUE IS ONLY WHAT IS GOT IN EXCHANGE FOR IT, AND AS LONG AS IT IS NOT EXCHANGED, ITS "RELATION TO MONEY" IS ONLY IMAGINARY. But as soon as the EXCHANGE has been transacted, we have £1 instead of 1 qr [of wheat] and we can no longer speak of the value of 1 qr [of wheat]. In comparing values at different periods, Bailey has in mind merely academic researches into the different values of commodities, for example in the 18th and the 16th centuries. There the difficulty arises from the fact THAT THE SAME MONETARY EXPRESSION OF VALUE—OWING TO THE VICISSITUDES IN THE VALUE OF MONEY ITSELF—DENOTES DIFFERENT VALUES. The difficulty here lies in reducing the MONEY PRICES to VALUES. But what a fool he is! Is it not a fact that, in the process of circulation or the process of reproduction of capital, COMPARING THE VALUE OF ONE PERIOD TO THAT OF ANOTHER is always AN OPERATION UPON WHICH PRODUCTION ITSELF IS BASED?

Mr. Bailey does not understand at all what the expressions—to determine the value of commodities by labour time or by the VALUE OF LABOUR—mean. He simply does not understand the difference.

* "I beg not to be understood as contending, either that the values of commodities are to each other as the *quantities of labour* necessary for their production, or that the values of commodities are to each other as the *values of the labour*: all that I intend to insist upon is, that if the former is true, the latter cannot be false" * (l.c., [p.] 92).

The determination of the value of commodities by the value of another commodity (and in so far as they are determined by the "VALUE OF LABOUR", they are determined by another commodity; for *VALUE OF LABOUR* presupposes labour as a commodity) or its determination by a third entity, which has neither value nor is itself a commodity, but is the substance of value, and that which

[a] See this volume, pp. 211-12, 225-26.— *Ed.*

first turns products into commodities, are for Bailey identical. In the first case, it is a question of a *measure* of the *value* of *commodities*, that is, IN FACT, of *money*, of a commodity in which the other commodities *express* their value. In order that this can happen, the *values* of the commodities must already be *preposited*. The commodity which measures as well as that to be measured must have a *third* element in common. In the second case, this *identity* itself is first posited; later it is EXPRESSED in the PRICE, either MONEY PRICE OR any OTHER PRICE.

Bailey identifies the "invariable measure of value" with the search for an immanent measure of value, that is, the concept of value itself. So long as the two are confused it is even a reasonable instinct which leads to the search for an "invariable measure of value". Variability is precisely the characteristic of value. The term "invariable" expresses the fact that the immanent measure of value must not itself be a commodity, a value, but rather something which constitutes value and which is *therefore* also the immanent *measure* of its [the commodity's] value. Bailey demonstrates [XIV-832] that commodity values can find A MONETARY EXPRESSION and that, if the *value relation of commodities is given*, all commodities can express their value in *one* commodity, although the value of this commodity may change. But it nevertheless always remains the same for the other commodities at a given time, since it changes SIMULTANEOUSLY in relation to all of them. From this *he* concludes that no value relation between commodities is necessary nor is there any need to look for one. Because he finds it reflected in the *MONETARY EXPRESSION*, he does not need to "understand" how this expression becomes possible, how it is determined, and *what* in fact it expresses.

These remarks, in general, apply to Bailey as they do to Malthus, since he believes that one is concerned with *the same* question, on the same plane, whether one makes QUANTITY OF LABOUR OR VALUE OF LABOUR the measure of value. In the latter case, one presupposes the *values* whose measure is being sought, [their] external measure, [their] representation as value. In the first case one investigates the genesis and immanent nature of value itself. In the second, the development of the commodity into money or the form which exchange value acquires in the process of the exchange of commodities. In the first, we are concerned with *value*, independent of this representation, or rather *antecedent* to this representation. Bailey has this in common with the other fools: to determine the value of commodities means to find their *monetary expression*, AN EXTERNAL MEASURE OF THEIR VALUES. They say,

however, impelled by a reasonable instinct, that this measure then must have invariable value, and must itself IN FACT stand *outside the category* of value, whereas Bailey says that one does not need to understand it, since one does find the *expression of value* in practice, and this expression itself has and can have variable value without prejudice to its function.

In particular, he himself has informed us that 100, 200 or 300 qrs can be the product of the labour of 6 men, that is, of the same quantity of labour, whereas "VALUE OF LABOUR" ONLY MEANS for him the ALIQUOT PART of the 100, 200 or 300 qrs which the 6 men receive. This could be 50, 60 or 70 qrs per man.[98] The QUANTITY OF LABOUR and the VALUE OF THE SAME QUANTITY OF LABOUR are therefore, according to Bailey himself, very different expressions. And how can it be the same if the value is expressed first in one thing and then in something essentially different? If the same labour which formerly produced 3 qrs of corn now produces 1 qr, while the same labour which formerly produced 20 yards of CLOTH (or 3 qrs of corn) still produces 20 yards, then, reckoned according to labour time, 1 qr of corn is now equal to 20 yards of CLOTH, or 20 yards of CLOTH to 1 qr of corn, and 3 qrs of CORN=60 yards instead of 20. Thus the values of the quarter of corn and the yard of linen have been altered RELATIVELY. But they have by no means been altered according to the "VALUE OF LABOUR", for 1 qr of corn and 20 yards of CLOTH remain the same use values as before. And it is possible that 1 qr of corn does not command a larger quantity of labour than before.

If we take a single commodity, then Bailey's assertion makes no sense whatever. If the labour time required for the production of shoes decreases and now only one-tenth of the labour time formerly required is necessary, then the value of shoes drops to one-tenth of the former value; and this also holds true when the shoes are *compared* with, or EXPRESSED IN, ALL OTHER COMMODITIES, WHEN THE LABOUR REQUIRED FOR THEIR PRODUCTION HAS REMAINED THE SAME OR HAS NOT DECREASED AT THE SAME RATE. Nevertheless, the value of labour—for example the daily wage in shoemaking as well as in all other INDUSTRIES—may have remained the same; or it may even have increased. Less labour is contained in the individual shoe, hence also less paid labour. But when one speaks of the *value of labour*, one does not mean that for one hour's labour, for a smaller quantity of labour, less is paid than for a greater quantity. Bailey's proposition could have meaning only in relation to the total product of capital. Suppose 200 pairs of shoes are the product of the same capital (and the same labour) which formerly produced

100 pairs. In this case, the value of the 200 pairs is the same as [previously] that of 100 pairs. And it could be said that the 200 pairs of shoes are to 1,000 yards of linen (say the product of £200 of capital) as the *value* of the labour set in motion by the two amounts of capital. In what sense? In the sense in which it would *also* apply [XIV-833] to the relation of the individual pair of shoes to the single yard of linen?

The *value* of labour is the part of the labour time contained in a commodity which the worker himself appropriates; it is the part of the product in which the *labour time which belongs* to the worker *himself is embodied.* If the entire value of a commodity is reduced to paid and unpaid labour time—and if the rate of unpaid to paid labour is the same, that is, if surplus value constitutes the same proportion of total value in all commodities—then it is clear that if the ratio of one commodity to another is proportional to the total quantity of labour they contain, they must also represent *equal* aliquot *parts* of these total quantities of labour, and their ratio must therefore also be as that of the paid labour time in one commodity to the paid labour time in the other.

C:C′=TLT (total labour time) to TLT′ (total labour time).

$\frac{TLT}{x}$=the paid labour time in C, and $\frac{TLT'}{x}$=the paid labour time in C′, since it is presupposed that the paid labour time in both commodities constitutes the same *aliquot part* of the total labour time.

$$C:C' = TLT:TLT'$$

$$TLT:TLT' = \frac{TLT}{x}:\frac{TLT'}{x}$$

$$\text{and } C:C' = \frac{TLT}{x}:\frac{TLT'}{x}$$

or the commodities are to one another as *the quantities of paid labour time contained in them,* that is, as the VALUES OF the LABOUR CONTAINED IN THEM.

The *VALUE OF LABOUR* is then, however, not determined in the way Bailey would like, but by the labour time [contained in the commodity].

Further, disregarding the conversion of values into prices of production and considering only the values themselves, capitals consist of different ALIQUOT PARTS OF VARIABLE AND CONSTANT CAPITAL. HENCE, AS FAR AS VALUES ARE CONSIDERED, THE SURPLUS VALUES ARE NOT EQUAL, OR THE PAID LABOUR IS NOT AN EQUAL ALIQUOT PART OF THE TOTAL LABOUR ADVANCED.

In general, WAGES—or VALUES OF LABOUR—would here be INDICES of

the VALUES OF COMMODITIES, not as VALUES, not in so far as WAGES rise or fall, but in so far as the *quantity of paid labour*—represented by WAGES—contained in a commodity would be an INDEX of the *total quantity* of the labour contained in the corresponding commodities.

In a word, the point is that, if the values of commodities are to one another as LT to LT′ (the amounts of labour time contained in them), then their ratio is likewise as $\frac{LT}{x}$ to $\frac{LT'}{x}$, i.e. the amounts of paid labour time embodied in them, *if* the proportion of the paid labour time to the unpaid is the same in all commodities, that is, *if* the paid labour time always=the total labour time, whatever this may be, divided by $x$. But the "if" does not correspond to the real state of affairs. Supposing that the workers in different industries work the same amount of surplus labour time, the relation of paid to actually employed labour time is nevertheless different in different industries, because the ratio of *IMMEDIATE LABOUR* EMPLOYED TO *ACCUMULATED LABOUR* EMPLOYED is different. [Let us take two capitals consisting,] for example, [the one of] $50v$ [variable] and $50c$ [constant] and [the other of] $10v$ and $90c$. In both cases, let the unpaid labour=$^1/_{10}$. [The value of] the first commodity would accordingly be 105, [of] the second 101. The paid labour time would=$^1/_2$ of the labour advanced in the first case, and only $^1/_{10}$ in the second.

[XIV-834] Bailey says:

* "If the commodities are to each other as the quantities, they must also be to each other as the values of the producing labour; for the contrary would necessarily imply, that the two commodities A and B might be equal in value, although the value of the labour employed in one was greater or less than the value of the labour employed in the other; or that A and B might be unequal in value, if the labour employed in each was equal in value. But this *difference in the value of two commodities,* which were *produced by labour of equal value,* would be inconsistent with *the acknowledged equality of profits,* which Mr. *Ricardo maintains in common with other writers*" * (l.c., [pp.] 79-80).

In this last phrase, he stumbles unconsciously on a real objection to Ricardo, who directly identifies profit with SURPLUS VALUE and VALUES with COST PRICES.[6] Correctly stated, it is—if the commodities are sold at their *value,* they yield *unequal profits,* for then profit=the surplus value embodied in them. And this is correct. But this objection does not refer to the theory of value, but to A BLUNDER OF Ricardo's in applying this theory.

How little Bailey himself, in the above passage, can have correctly understood the problem, is shown in the following statement:

"Ricardo on the other hand maintains * 'that labour may rise and fall in value without affecting the value of the commodity'. This is obviously a very different proposition from the other, and depends in fact on the falsity of the other, or on the contrary proposition" * etc. (l.c., [p.] 81).

The fool himself previously asserted that the result of the same labour may be 100, 300 or 200 qrs [of corn]. This determines the relation of a quarter to other commodities irrespective of the changing value of labour, that is, irrespective of how much of the 100, 200 or 300 qrs falls to the labourer himself. The fool would have shown some consistency if he had said: the VALUES OF LABOUR may rise or fall, nevertheless the VALUES OF COMMODITIES are as the VALUES OF LABOUR, because—according to a false assumption—the rise or fall * of wages being general, and the value of wages being always the same *proportionate part* of the whole quantity of labour employed.

"The capability of *expressing* the values of commodities has nothing to do with the *constancy of their values*"

//indeed not! but it has much to do with first finding the value, before expressing it; finding in what way the values in use, so different from each other, fall under the common category and denomination of *values,* so that the value of the one may be expressed in the other//

"either to each other or to the medium employed; neither has the capability of comparing these *expressions of value* anything to do with it".

//If the values of different commodities are expressed in the same third commodity, however variable its value may be, it is of course very easy to compare these *expressions,* already possessed of a common denomination.//

"Whether A is worth 4B or 6B"

(the difficulty consists in equalising A with any portion of B; and this is only possible if there exists a common entity for A and B, or if A and B are different representations of the same entity. If all commodities are to be expressed in gold, [or] money, the difficulty remains the same. There must be a common entity to gold and each of the other commodities)

"and whether C is worth 8B or 12B, are circumstances which make no difference *in the power of expressing* the value of A and C in B, and certainly no difference in the power of comparing the value of A and C when expressed" ([pp.] 104-05).

But how to *express* A in B or in C? To *express* "them" in each other, or, what comes to the same thing, to treat them as equivalent expressions of the same unity, A, B, C must all be

considered as something different from what they are as things, products, values in use. A=4B. Then the value of A is *expressed* in 4B, and the value of 4B in A, so that both sides express the same. They are equivalents. They are both *equal* expressions of value. It would be the same if they were unequal ones or A>4B, A<4B. In all these cases they are, as far [XIV-835] as they are values, only different or equal in quantity, but [they are] always quantities of the same quality. The difficulty is to find this quality.

"The requisite condition in the process is, that the commodities to be measured should be reduced to a *common denomination*" *

//for example, in order to compare a △ with any of the other polygons it is only necessary to transform the latter into △, *to express them in triangles. But to do this the △ and the polygon are in fact supposed [to be] *identities,* different figurations of the same [thing]—space//

"which may be done at all times with equal facility; or rather it *is* ready done to our hands, since it is the *prices* of commodities which are recorded, or their relations in value to money" (l.c., [p.] 112).

"*Estimating* value is the same thing as *expressing* it"* (l.c., [p.] 152).

We have the fellow here. We find the VALUES measured, expressed in the PRICES. We can therefore content ourselves with *not* knowing what value is. He confuses the development of the measure of value into money and further the development of money as the standard of price with the discovery of the *concept of value* itself in its development as the immanent measure of commodities in EXCHANGE. He is right in thinking that this money need not be a commodity of invariable value; from this he concludes that no separate determination of value independent of the commodity itself is necessary.

As soon as the value of commodities, as the element they have in common, is given, the measurement of their relative value and the expression of this value coincide. But we can never arrive at the *expression* so long as we do not find the common factor, which is different from the immediate existence of the commodities.

This is shown by the very example he gives, the DISTANCE BETWEEN A and B.[a] When one SPEAKS OF THEIR DISTANCE one ALREADY presupposes that they are POINTS (OR LINES) in SPACE. Having been reduced to POINTS, AND POINTS OF THE SAME LINE, THEIR DISTANCE MAY BE EXPRESSED IN INCHES, OR FEET, etc. THE identity OF THE TWO COMMODITIES A AND B IS, AT FIRST sight, THEIR EXCHANGEABILITY. THEY ARE "EXCHANGEABLE" OBJECTS. AS "EXCHANGEABLE" OBJECTS THEY ARE MAGNITUDES OF THE SAME DENOMINATION. BUT

[a] See this volume, p. 330.—*Ed.*

THIS "THEIR" EXISTENCE AS "EXCHANGEABLE" OBJECTS MUST BE DIFFERENT FROM THEIR EXISTENCE AS VALUES IN USE. WHAT IS IT?

Money is already a *representation* of value, and presupposes it. As the *standard* of price money, for its part, already presupposes the (hypothetical) transformation of the commodity into money. If the values of all commodities are represented in money prices, then one can compare them, they are IN FACT already compared. But for the value to be represented as price, the value of commodities must have been expressed previously as money. Money is merely the form in which the value of commodities appears in the process of circulation. But how can one express *x* COTTON in *x* money? This question resolves itself into this—how is it at all possible to express one commodity in another, or how to present commodities as equivalents? Only the elaboration of value, independent of the representation of one commodity in another, provides the answer.

* "Mistake ... that the relation of value can exist between commodities at different periods, which is in the nature of the case impossible; and if no relation exists there can be no measurement" * ([p.] 113).

We have already had the same nonsense before.[a] "THE RELATION OF VALUE BETWEEN COMMODITIES AT DIFFERENT PERIODS" already exists when money acts as means of payment. The whole circulation process is a perpetual comparison of VALUES OF COMMODITIES AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

* "If it" (money) "is not a good medium of comparison between commodities at different periods,*... [it asserts] its *incapability of performing a function in a case where there is no function for it to perform" * ([p.] 118).

Money has this FUNCTION TO PERFORM as means of payment and as treasure.

*All this is simply copied from the* "*VERBAL OBSERVER*"[b] and in fact the secret of the whole nonsense OOZES OUT IN THE FOLLOWING PHRASE which has also convinced me that the "VERBAL OBSERVATIONS" which were very carefully concealed by Bailey, were used by him in the manner of a plagiarist.

[XIV-836] * "Riches are the attribute of men, value is the attribute of commodities. A man or [a] community is rich; a pearl or a diamond is valuable" ([p.] 165).[c]

A pearl or a diamond is valuable *as* a pearl or a diamond, that is, by their qualities, as values in use for men, that is, as *riches*. But there is nothing in a pearl or a diamond by which a relation of

[a] See ibid., pp. 337, 339-40.— *Ed.*

[b] The anonymous author of *Observations on Certain Verbal Disputes in Political Economy...*— *Ed.*

[c] Cf. this volume, p. 316.— *Ed.*

exchange between them is given,* etc.

Bailey now becomes a profound philosopher:

"Difference between LABOUR AS *CAUSE* AND *MEASURE*, and in general between *CAUSE* AND *MEASURE* OF VALUE" ([p.] 170 et seq.).

There is, in actual fact, a very significant difference (which Bailey does not notice) between "MEASURE" (in the sense of money) and "CAUSE OF VALUE". The "CAUSE" of value transforms use values into *VALUE*. The external MEASURE OF VALUE already presupposes the existence of *VALUE*. For example, gold can only MEASURE the VALUE OF COTTON if gold and COTTON—as VALUES—possess a *common factor* which is different from both. The "CAUSE" OF VALUE is the substance of VALUE and hence also its immanent measure.

* "Whatever circumstances ... act with assignable influence, whether mediately or immediately, on the *mind* in the interchange of commodities, may be considered as causes of value"* ([pp.] 182-83).

This in fact means nothing more than: the *cause* of the value of a commodity or of the fact that two commodities are equivalent are the circumstances which cause the seller, or perhaps both the buyer and the seller, to consider something to be the value or the equivalent of a commodity. The "circumstances" which determine the value of a commodity are by no means further elucidated by being described as circumstances which influence the "MIND" of those engaging in exchange.

(These same circumstances (independent of the MIND, but influencing it), which compel the producers to sell their products as *commodities*—circumstances which differentiate one form of social production from another—provide their products with an exchange value which (also in their MIND) is independent of their use value. Their "MIND", their consciousness, may be completely ignorant of, unaware of the existence of, what IN FACT determines the value of their commodities or their products as values. They are placed in conditions which determine their reasoning but they may not know it. Anyone can use money as money without necessarily understanding what money is. Economic categories are reflected in the mind in a very distorted fashion.) He [Bailey] transfers the problem into the mental sphere, because his theory has nothing further to offer. The circumstances which, as such, likewise exist (or perhaps they do not, or perhaps they are incorrectly conceived) in the consciousness of those engaging in exchange.

Instead of explaining what he himself understands by "value" (or "CAUSE OF VALUE") Bailey tells us that it is something which buyers

and sellers imagine in the act of exchange.

In fact, however, the following considerations are the basis of the would-be philosophical proposition.

1) The market price is determined by various circumstances which express themselves in the relation of demand and supply and which, as such, INFLUENCE "THE MIND" OF THE OPERATORS ON THE MARKET. This is a very important discovery!

2) In connection with the *conversion of commodity values into cost prices,* "various CIRCUMSTANCES" are taken into account which as "reasons for compensation" influence THE MIND or are reflected in it. All these reasons for compensation, however, affect only the MIND of the CAPITALIST as CAPITALIST and stem from the nature of capitalist production itself, and not from the subjective notions of buyers and sellers. In their mind they exist rather as self-evident "eternal truths".

Like his predecessors, Bailey CATCHES hold of Ricardo's confusion of VALUES and COST PRICES IN ORDER TO PROVE THAT VALUE IS NOT DETERMINED BY LABOUR, BECAUSE COST PRICES ARE DEVIATIONS FROM VALUES. Although this is quite correct in relation to Ricardo's identification, it is incorrect as far as the question itself is concerned.

In this context, Bailey quotes first from Ricardo himself about the CHANGE IN THE RELATIVE VALUES OF [XIV-837] COMMODITIES IN CONSEQUENCE OF A RISE IN THE VALUE OF LABOUR.[a] He quotes further the "effect of time" (different times of production though the labour time remains unchanged), the same CASE which aroused scruples in Mill.[b] He does not notice the real *general* contradiction—THE VERY EXISTENCE OF *AN AVERAGE RATE* OF PROFIT, DESPITE THE DIFFERENT COMPOSITION OF CAPITAL, ITS DIFFERENT TIMES OF CIRCULATION, etc. He simply repeats the particular forms in which the contradiction appears, and which Ricardo himself—and his followers—had *already* noticed. Here he merely echoes what has been previously said but does not advance criticism a step forward.

He emphasises further that the costs of production are the main CAUSE OF "VALUE", and therefore the main element in value. However, he stresses correctly—as was done [by other writers] after Ricardo—that the concept of *production costs* itself varies. He himself in the last analysis expresses his agreement with Torrens that value is determined by the capital advanced,[c] which is correct

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 405-25.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 276-77, and also K. Marx, *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy...* (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 58-60).— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 265-66, 270-71, and also K. Marx, *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy...* (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 196).— *Ed.*

in relation to COST PRICES but meaningless if it is not evolved on the basis of value itself, that is, if the *value* of a commodity is to be derived from a more developed relationship, the *value of capital,* and not the other way round.

His last objection is this: The value of commodities cannot be measured by labour time if the labour time in one TRADE is not the same as in the others, so that the commodity in which, for example, 12 hours of an engineer's labour is embodied has perhaps twice the value of the commodity in which 12 hours of the labour of a FIELD LABOURER is embodied. What this amounts to is the following: A simple working day, for example, is not a measure of value if there are other working days which, compared with DAYS OF SIMPLE LABOUR, have the effect of COMPOSITE [working] DAYS. Ricardo showed that this FACT does not prevent the measurement of commodities by labour time if the relation between SIMPLE and COMPOSITE LABOUR is given.[a] He has indeed not described how this relation develops and is determined. This belongs to the definition of *wages,* and, in the last analysis, can be reduced to the *different values of labour capacity itself,* that is, its varying production costs (determined by labour time).

The passages in which Bailey expresses what has been summarised above are:

* "It is not, indeed, disputed, that the main circumstance, which determines the quantities in which articles of this class" * (where no MONOPOLY exists and where it is possible to INCREASE [output] by expanding INDUSTRY) * "are exchanged, is the *cost of production*; but our best economists do not exactly agree on the meaning to be attached to this term; some contending that the *quantity of labour* expended on the production of an article constitutes its cost; others, that the *capital employed upon it* is entitled to that appellation" (l.c., [p.] 200).

"What the labourer produces without capital, costs him his labour; what the capitalist produces costs him his capital" * ([p.] 201).

(This is the factor which determines Torrens' views. The labour which the capitalist employs, costs him nothing apart from the capital he lays out in wages.)

* "The mass of commodities are determined in value by the capital expended upon them" * ([p.] 206).

Against the determination of the value of commodities simply by the QUANTITY OF LABOUR CONTAINED IN THEM:

* "Now this cannot be true if we can find any instances of the following nature: 1) Cases in which two commodities have been produced by an equal quantity of labour, and yet sell for different quantities of money; 2) Cases in which two

[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* 3rd ed., London, 1821, pp. 13-15.—*Ed.*

commodities, once equal in value, have become unequal in value, without any change in the quantity of labour respectively employed in each" ([p.] 209).

"It is no answer"* (with regard to CASES of the first kind) *"to say, with Mr. Ricardo, that 'the estimation in which different qualities of labour are held, comes soon to be adjusted in the market with sufficient precision for all practical purposes'[a]; or with Mr. Mill, that 'in estimating equal quantities of labour, an allowance would, of course, be included for different degrees of hardness and skill'.[b] Instances of this kind entirely destroy the integrity of the rule" ([p.] 210).

"There are only two possible methods of comparing one quantity of labour with another; one is to compare *them by the time expended,* the *other by the result produced*"* (the latter is done in the TASK-WORK system). *"The former is applicable to all kinds of labour; the latter can be used only in comparing labour bestowed on similar articles. If, therefore, in estimating two different sorts of work, the time spent will not determine the proportion between the [XIV-839][99] quantities of labour, it must remain undetermined and undeterminable"* ([p.] 215).

With reference to 2: *"Take any two commodities of equal value, A and B, one produced by fixed capital and the other by labour, without the intervention of machinery; and suppose, that without any change whatever in the fixed capital or the quantity of labour, there should happen to be a rise in the value of labour; according to Mr. Ricardo's own showing, A and B would be instantly altered in their relation to each other; that is, they would become unequal in value" ([pp.] 215-16).

"To these cases we may add *the effect of time* on value. If a commodity take more time than another for its production, *although no more capital and labour,* its value will be greater. The influence of this cause is admitted by Mr. Ricardo, but Mr. Mill contends",* etc. (l.c. [p. 217]).

Finally Bailey remarks, and this is the only new contribution he makes in this respect:

"The 3 types of commodities" //this is again taken from the author of the *VERBAL OBSERVATIONS,* I mean the 3 types// (namely, [the commodities produced] under absolute monopoly, or limited monopoly, as is the case with corn, or completely free competition) "cannot be entirely distinguished from one another. *They are all not only promiscuously exchanged for each other, but *blended in production.* A commodity, therefore, may owe part of its value to monopoly, and part to those causes which determine the value of unmonopolised products. An article, for instance, may be manufactured amidst the freest competition out of a raw material, which a complete monopoly enables its producer to sell at 6 times the actual cost" ([p.] 223).[c] "In this case it is obvious, that although the value of the article might be correctly said to be determined by the quantity of capital expended upon it by the manufacturer, yet no analysis could possibly resolve the value of the capital into quantity of labour"* ([pp.] 223-24).

This remark is correct. But monopoly does not concern us here, where we are dealing with two things only, *value* and *cost price.* It is clear that the conversion of value into cost price works in two ways. First, the profit which is added to the capital advanced may

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[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* 3rd ed., London, 1821, p. 13.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Mill, *Elements of Political Economy,* 2nd ed., London, 1824, pp. 91-92.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx quotes Bailey with some alterations.—*Ed.*

be either above or below the *surplus value* which is contained in the commodity itself, that is, it may represent more or less *unpaid* labour than the commodity itself contains. This applies to the variable part of capital and its reproduction in the commodity. But apart from this, the cost price of constant capital—or of the commodities which enter into the value of the newly produced commodity as raw materials, *matières instrumentales*[a] and instruments and conditions of—may likewise be either above or below its value. Thus the commodity comprises a portion of the price which differs from value, and this portion is independent of the quantity of labour newly added, or of the labour whereby these conditions of production with given cost prices are transformed into a new product. It is clear that what applies to the difference between the cost price and the value of the *commodity* as such—as a result of the production process—likewise applies to the *commodity* in so far as, in the form of constant capital, it becomes an ingredient, a precondition, of the production process. Variable capital, whatever difference between value and cost price it may contain, is replaced by a certain quantity of labour which forms a constituent part of the value of the new commodity, irrespective of whether its price expresses its value correctly or stands above or below the value. On the other hand, the difference between cost price and value, in so far as it enters into the price of the new commodity independently of its own production process, is incorporated into the value of the new commodity as a presupposed element. The difference between the cost price and the value of the commodity is thus brought about in two ways: by the difference between the cost price and the value of commodities which constitute the preconditions of the process of production of the new commodity; by the difference between the surplus value which is really added to the conditions of production and the profit which is calculated. But every commodity which enters into another commodity as constant capital, itself emerges as the result, the product, of another production process. And so the commodity appears alternately as a precondition for the production of other commodities and as the result of a process in which the existence of other commodities is the precondition for its own production. In agriculture (cattle-breeding), the same commodity appears at one point of time as a product and at another as a condition of production.

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[a] Instrumental materials.—*Ed.*

This important deviation of cost prices from values brought about by capitalist production does not alter the fact that cost prices continue to be determined by values.

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[XIV-840] 4) McCULLOCH

The vulgariser of Ricardian political economy and simultaneously the most pitiful embodiment of its decline.

He vulgarises not only Ricardo but also James Mill.

He is moreover a vulgar economist in everything and an apologist for the existing state of affairs. His only fear, driven to ridiculous extremes, is the tendency of profit to fall; he is perfectly contented with the position of the workers, and in general, with all the contradictions of bourgeois economy which weigh heavily upon the working class. Here everything is green. He even knows that

* "the introduction of machines into any employment necessarily occasions an equal or greater demand *for the disengaged labourers* in some other employment".*[a]

Here HE DEVIATES FROM Ricardo, and in his later writings, he also becomes very MEALY-MOUTHED about the landowners. But HIS WHOLE TENDER ANXIETY is reserved FOR THE POOR CAPITALISTS, CONSIDERING THE TENDENCY OF THE RATE OF PROFIT TO FALL!

"Mr. McCulloch, unlike other exponents of science, SEEMS TO LOOK not *for *characteristic differences,* but only for *resemblances*: and proceeding upon this principle, he is led to confound material with immaterial objects; productive with unproductive labour; capital with revenue; the food of the labourer with the labourer himself; production with consumption; and labour with profits" (Malthus, *Definitions in Political Economy etc.*, London, 1827, [pp.] 69-70).

"Mr. McCulloch, in his *Principles of Political Economy,* London, 1825,[100] divides *value* into *real* and *relative or exchangeable value*; the former, he says, (p. 225) is dependent on the quantity of labour expended in its appropriation or production, and the latter on the *quantity of labour,* or *of any other commodity* for which it will *exchange*; and these two values are, he says (p. 215), *identical* in the ordinary state of things, that is, when the supply of commodities in the market is exactly proportioned to the effectual demand for them. Now, if they be identical, the two quantities of labour which he refers to must be identical also; but, at page 221, he tells us that they are not, for that the one includes profits, while the other excludes them"* ([J. Cazenove,] *Outlines of Political Economy etc.*, London, 1832, [p.] 25).

Namely McCulloch says on page 221 of his *Principles of Political Economy*:

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[a] J. R. MacCulloch, *The Principles of Political Economy...*, Edinburgh, London, 1825, pp. 181-82. Marx quotes from [J. Cazenove,] *Outlines of Political Economy*, London, 1832, pp. 119-20. Cf. also this volume, p. 257.—*Ed.*

*"In point of fact, it"* (the commodity) *"will always exchange for more" //labour than that by which it has been produced//; "*and it is this excess that constitutes profits.*"*

This is a brilliant example of the methods used by this archhumbug of a Scotsman.

The arguments of Malthus, Bailey, etc., compel him to differentiate between *REAL VALUE* and *EXCHANGEABLE* or *RELATIVE VALUE.* But he does so, basically, in the way he finds the difference dealt with by Ricardo. *REAL* VALUE means the commodity examined with regard to the labour required for *its* production; RELATIVE VALUE implies the consideration of the proportions of *different commodities* which can be produced in the same amount of time, which are *consequently* equivalents, and the value of one of which can therefore be *expressed* in the quantity of use value of the other which costs the same amount of labour time. The *RELATIVE VALUE* of commodities, in this Ricardian sense, is only another expression for their *REAL VALUE* and means nothing more than that the commodities exchange with one another in proportion to the labour time embodied in them, in other words, that the *labour time embodied in both is equal.* If, therefore, the market price of a commodity is equal to its EXCHANGEABLE VALUE (as is the case when DEMAND and SUPPLY are in equilibrium), then the commodity bought contains as much labour as that which is sold. It merely realises its EXCHANGEABLE VALUE, or it is only sold at its *EXCHANGEABLE VALUE* when one receives *the same amount of labour* in exchange for it as one hands over.

McCulloch relates all this, correctly repeating what has already been said.[a] But he goes too far here since the Malthusian definition of EXCHANGEABLE VALUE—the quantity of wage labour which a commodity commands—already sticks in his throat. He therefore defines RELATIVE VALUE as the "QUANTITY OF LABOUR, OR OF ANY OTHER COMMODITY FOR WHICH A COMMODITY WILL EXCHANGE". Ricardo, in dealing with RELATIVE VALUE, always speaks only of COMMODITIES EXCLUSIVE OF LABOUR, BECAUSE IN THE EXCHANGE OF COMMODITIES ONLY A PROFIT IS REALISED, BECAUSE IN THE EXCHANGE BETWEEN COMMODITY AND LABOUR EQUAL QUANTITIES OF LABOUR ARE *NOT* EXCHANGED. By putting the main emphasis right at the beginning of his book on the fact that the determination of the value [XIV-841] of a commodity by the labour time embodied in it differs *toto coelo*[b] from the determination of this value by the

[a] See J. R. MacCulloch, *Principles of Political Economy...*, Edinburgh, London, 1825, p. 211.—*Ed.*

[b] Immensely.—*Ed.*

quantity of labour which it can buy,[a] Ricardo, on the one hand, posits the difference between the quantity of labour contained in a commodity and the quantity of labour which it commands. On the other hand, he excludes the exchange of commodity and labour from the RELATIVE VALUE OF A COMMODITY. BECAUSE, IF A COMMODITY EXCHANGES WITH A COMMODITY, EQUAL QUANTITIES OF LABOUR ARE EXCHANGED. IF IT EXCHANGES WITH LABOUR ITSELF, UNEQUAL QUANTITIES OF LABOUR ARE EXCHANGED, AND CAPITALISTIC PRODUCTION RESTS ON THE INEQUALITY OF THIS EXCHANGE. Ricardo does not explain how this *exception* fits in with the concept of value. This is the reason for the arguments amongst his followers. But his instinct is sound when he makes the *exception*. (In actual fact, there is no exception; it exists only in *his* formulation.) Thus McCulloch goes farther than Ricardo and is apparently more consistent than he.

There is no flaw in his system; it is all of a piece. Whether a commodity is exchanged for a commodity or for labour, this ratio of exchange is in both cases THE *RELATIVE VALUE* OF A COMMODITY. And if the commodities exchanged are sold at their value (i.e. if demand and supply are in equilibrium), this RELATIVE VALUE is always the expression of the *REAL VALUE*. That is, there are equal quantities of labour at both poles of the exchange. Thus "IN THE ORDINARY STATE OF THINGS" a commodity only exchanges for a quantity of wage labour equal to the quantity of labour contained in it. The workman receives in WAGES just as much MATERIALISED LABOUR as he gives back to capital in the form of IMMEDIATE LABOUR. With this the source of SURPLUS VALUE disappears and the whole Ricardian theory collapses. Thus Mr. McCulloch first destroys it under the appearance of making it more consistent.

And what next? He then flits shamelessly from Ricardo to Malthus, according to whom the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labour which it buys and which must always be greater than that which the commodity itself contains. The only difference is that in Malthus this is plainly stated to be what it is, *opposition* to Ricardo, and Mr. McCulloch adopts this opposite viewpoint after he has adopted the Ricardian formula with an apparent consistency (that is, with the consistency of incogitancy) which destroys the whole sense of the Ricardian theory. McCulloch therefore does not understand the essential kernel of Ricardo's teaching—how profit is realised because commodities exchange *at their value*—and abandons it. Since

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[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, 3rd ed., London, 1821, pp. 1-12.—*Ed.*

EXCHANGEABLE VALUE—which IN "THE ORDINARY STATE OF THE MARKET" is, according to McCulloch, equal to the REAL VALUE but "IN POINT OF FACT" is always greater, since profit is based on this surplus (a fine contradiction and a fine discourse based on a "POINT OF FACT")—is "THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR, OR OF ANY OTHER COMMODITY", for which the commodity is exchanged, hence what applies to "LABOUR" applies to "ANY OTHER COMMODITY". This means that the commodity is not only exchanged for a greater amount of IMMEDIATE LABOUR than it itself contains, but for more MATERIALISED LABOUR IN THE OTHER COMMODITIES than it itself contains; in other words, profit is "profit UPON EXPROPRIATION" and with this we are back again amongst the Mercantilists. Malthus draws this conclusion.[a] With McCulloch this conclusion follows naturally but with the pretence that this constitutes an elaboration of the Ricardian system.

And this total decline of the Ricardian system into twaddle—a decline which prides itself on being its most consistent exposition—has been accepted by the MOB, especially by the CONTINENTAL MOB (with Mr. Roscher naturally amongst them), as the conclusion of the Ricardian system *carried too far,* to its extreme limit; they thus believe Mr. McCulloch that the Ricardian mode of "coughing and spitting",[101] which he uses to conceal his helpless, thoughtless and unprincipled eclecticism, is in fact a scientific attempt to set forth this system consistently.

McCulloch is simply a man who wanted to turn Ricardian economics to his own advantage—an aim in which he succeeded in a most remarkable degree. In the same way *Say* used Smith, but Say at least made a contribution by bringing Smith's theories into a certain formal order and, apart from misconceptions, he occasionally also ventured to advance theoretical objections. Since McCulloch first obtained a professorial chair in London on account of Ricardian economics,[102] in the beginning he had to come forward as a Ricardian and especially to participate in the struggle against the landlords. As soon as he had obtained a foothold and climbed to a position on Ricardo's [XIV-842] shoulders, his main effort was directed to expounding political economy, especially Ricardian economics, within the framework of Whiggism[103] and to eliminate all conclusions which were distasteful to the Whigs. His last works on money, taxes, etc.,[b] are mere PLAIDOYERS on behalf of the Whig Cabinet of the day. In this way

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[a] See this volume, p. 212, and also present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 405-25.—*Ed.*

[b] See J. R. MacCulloch, *A Treatise on Metallic and Paper Money and Banks,* Edinburgh, London, 1858.—*Ed.*

the man secured a lucrative job. His statistical writings[a] are merely CATCHPENNIES. The incogitant decline and vulgarisation of the theory likewise reveal the fellow himself as "A VULGARIAN", a matter to which we shall have to return BEFORE WE HAVE DONE WITH THAT SPECULATING SCOTSMAN.[b]

In *1828* McCulloch published Smith's *Wealth of Nations,*[c] and the 4th volume of this edition contains his own NOTES and DISSERTATIONS in which, to pad out the volume, he reprints in part some mediocre essays which he had published previously, e.g., on "ENTAIL", etc., and which have absolutely nothing to do with the matter, and in part, his lectures on the history of political economy repeated almost *verbotenus*[d]; he himself says that he "LARGELY DRAWS UPON THEM"; in part, however, he tries in his own way to assimilate the new ideas advanced in the interim by Mill and by Ricardo's opponents.

In his *Principles of Political Economy,*[104] Mr. McCulloch presents us with nothing more than a copy of his "NOTES" and "DISSERTATIONS" which he had already copied from his earlier "scattered manuscripts". But things turned out slightly worse in the *Principles,* for inconsistencies are of less importance in "NOTES" than in an allegedly methodical treatment. Thus the passages quoted above, though they are, in part, taken verbatim from the "NOTES", etc., look rather less inconsistent in these "NOTES" than they do in the *Principles.* //In addition the *Principles* contain plagiarisms of Mill amplified by absurd ILLUSTRATIONS, and REPRINTS of articles on CORN TRADE, etc., which he has repeatedly published, maybe *verbotenus,* under 20 different titles in different periodicals, often even in *the same* periodical AT DIFFERENT PERIODS. //

In the above-mentioned *VOLUME IV* of his EDITION of Adam Smith (London, 1828), Mac says (he repeats the same thing word for word in his *Principles of Political Economy* but without making the distinctions which he still felt to be necessary in the "NOTES"):

* "It is necessary to distinguish between the *exchangeable value*... and the *real* or *cost value* of commodities or products. By the *first,* or the exchangeable value of a commodity or product, is meant its power or capacity of exchanging either for other commodities *or* for labour; and by the *second,* or its real or cost value, is meant the quantity of labour which it required for its production or appropriation,

[a] See J. R. MacCulloch, *A Descriptive and Statistical Account of the British Empire...,* Vols I-II, London, 1854; *A Dictionary, Practical, Theoretical, and Historical, of Commerce and Commercial Navigation,* London, 1847.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 366-70.—*Ed.*

[c] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.* In four volumes, Edinburgh, 1828.—*Ed.*

[d] Verbatim.—*Ed.*

or rather the quantity which would be required for the production or appropriation of a similar commodity at the time when the investigation is made" (l.c., [pp.] 85-86).

"*A commodity* produced by a certain quantity of labour will" //when the supply of commodities is equal to the effectual demand// "uniformly exchange for, or buy any other commodity produced by the same quantity of labour. It will never, however, exchange for, or buy exactly the same quantity of labour that produced it; but though it will not do this, it will *always* exchange for, or buy the same quantity of labour as any other commodity produced under the same circumstances, or by means of the same quantity of labour, as itself" (l.c., [pp.] 96-97).

"*In point of fact*"* (this phrase is repeated literally in the *Principles*, since, IN POINT OF FACT, this "IN POINT OF FACT" constitutes the whole of his deduction,[a]) *"it" (the commodity) "will always exchange for more" //viz., [for] more labour than that by which it was produced//; "and *it is this excess that constitutes profits*. No capitalist would have *any motive*"* (as if the "MOTIVES" of the buyer was the point in question when dealing with the exchange of commodities and the investigation of their value) *"to exchange the produce of a given quantity of labour already performed [XIV-843] for the produce of the same *quantity of labour to be performed*. This would be to *lend*" //"to exchange" would be to "lend"// "without receiving any interest on the loan"* (l.c., p. 96).

Let us start at the end.

If the capitalist did not get back more labour than the amount he advances in WAGES, HE WOULD "LEND" WITHOUT "PROFIT". What has to be explained is how profit is possible if commodities (LABOUR OR OTHER COMMODITIES) are exchanged at their value. And the answer is that no profit would be possible if equivalents were exchanged. It is assumed, first of all, that capitalist and worker "exchange". And then, in order to explain profit, it is assumed that they do "not" exchange, but that one of the parties lends (i.e. gives commodities) and the other borrows, that is, pays only after he has received the commodities. In other words, in order to explain profit, it is said that the capitalist secures "no interest" if he makes no profit. This is putting the thing wrongly. The commodities in which the capitalist pays WAGES and the commodities which he gets back as a result of the labour, are different *use values*. He does not therefore receive back what he advanced, any more than he does when he exchanges one commodity for another. Whether he buys another commodity, or whether he buys the specific labour which produces the other commodity for him, amounts to the same. For the use value he advances he receives back another use value, as happens in all exchanges of commodities. If, on the other hand, one pays attention only to the value of the commodity, then it is no longer a contradiction TO EXCHANGE "A GIVEN QUANTITY OF LABOUR ALREADY PERFORMED" AGAINST "THE SAME QUANTITY TO BE PERFORMED" (although the capitalist IN

[a] See this volume, p. 354.—*Ed.*

FACT pays only after the LABOUR *has been* PERFORMED), NOR [is it a contradiction] TO EXCHANGE A QUANTITY OF LABOUR PERFORMED AGAINST THE SAME QUANTITY OF LABOUR PERFORMED. This latter is an insipid tautology. The first part of the passage implies that "THE LABOUR TO BE PERFORMED" IS MATERIALISED IN ANOTHER VALUE OF USE AS THE LABOUR PERFORMED. In this case there is thus a difference [between the objects to be exchanged] and, consequently, a motive for exchange arising out of the relationship itself, but this is not so in the other case, since A only exchanges for A in so far as in this EXCHANGE it is a matter of the QUANTITY OF LABOUR. This is why Mr. Mac has recourse to the *motive*. The motive of the capitalist is to receive back a greater "QUANTITY OF LABOUR" than he advances. Profit is here explained by the fact that the capitalist has the *motive* to make "profit". But the same thing can be said about the sale of goods by the merchant and about every sale of commodities not for consumption but for gain: *He has no motive to exchange the same quantity of performed labour against the same quantity of performed labour. His motive is to get in return more performed labour than he gives away. Hence he *must* get more performed labour in the form of money or commodities than he gives away in the form of a commodity or of money. He must, therefore, buy cheaper than he sells, and sell dearer than he has bought.* Profit *UPON ALIENATION* is thus explained, not by the fact that it corresponds to the law of value, but by declaring that buyers and sellers have no "motive" for buying and selling in accordance with the law of value. This is Mac's first "sublime" discovery, it fits beautifully into the Ricardian system, which seeks to show how THE LAW OF VALUE asserts itself DESPITE THE "MOTIVES" OF SELLER AND BUYER. [XIV-844] For the rest, Mac's presentation in the "NOTES" differs from the one in the *Principles* only in the following:

In the *Principles* he makes a distinction between "REAL VALUE" and "RELATIVE VALUE" and says that both are equal "UNDER ORDINARY CIRCUMSTANCES" but "IN POINT OF FACT" they cannot be equal if there is to be a profit. He therefore says merely that the "FACT" contradicts the "principle".

In the "NOTES" he distinguishes three sorts of VALUE: "REAL VALUE", the "RELATIVE VALUE" OF A COMMODITY IN ITS EXCHANGE with OTHER COMMODITIES, and the RELATIVE VALUE OF A COMMODITY EXCHANGED WITH LABOUR. The "RELATIVE VALUE" OF A COMMODITY IN ITS EXCHANGE WITH ANOTHER COMMODITY IS ITS *REAL* VALUE *EXPRESSED* IN ANOTHER COMMODITY, OR IN AN "EQUIVALENT". On the other hand, ITS RELATIVE VALUE IN EXCHANGE WITH LABOUR IS ITS REAL VALUE EXPRESSED IN ANOTHER REAL VALUE THAT IS GREATER THAN ITSELF. That means, its value is the exchange with a greater value, with a non-

equivalent. If it were exchanged for an EQUIVALENT IN LABOUR, then there would be no profit. The value of a commodity IN ITS EXCHANGE WITH LABOUR is a greater value.

*Problem*: The Ricardian definition of value conflicts with the EXCHANGE OF A COMMODITY WITH LABOUR.

*Mac's solution*: IN THE EXCHANGE OF A COMMODITY WITH LABOUR THE LAW OF VALUE DOES NOT EXIST, BUT ITS CONTRARY. Otherwise profit could not be explained. Profit for him, the RICARDIAN, is to be explained by the law of value.

*Solution*: The law of value (IN THIS CASE) is profit. "IN POINT OF FACT" Mac only reiterates what the opponents of the Ricardian theory say, namely, that there would be *no profit* if the law of value applied to exchange between capital and LABOUR. Consequently, they say, the Ricardian law of value is invalid. He says that *in this case*, which he must explain by the Ricardian law, the law does not exist and that in this case "VALUE" "MEANS" SOMETHING ELSE.

From this it is obvious how little he understands of the Ricardian law. Otherwise he would have had to say that profit arising in exchange between commodities which are exchanged in proportion to the labour time, is due to the fact that "unpaid" labour is contained in the commodities. In other words, the unequal exchange between capital and labour explains the exchange of commodities at their value and the profit which is realised in the course of this exchange. Instead of this he says: Commodities which contain the same amount of labour time command the same amount OF SURPLUS labour, which is not contained in them. He believes that in this way he has reconciled Ricardo's propositions with those of Malthus, by establishing an identity between the determination of the value of commodities by labour time and the determination of the value of commodities by the LABOUR they COMMAND. But what does it mean when he says that commodities which contain the same amount of labour time command the same amount of *surplus* labour in addition to the labour contained in them? It means nothing more than that a commodity in which a *definite* amount of labour time is embodied commands a definite quantity of surplus labour [that is, more labour] than it itself contains. That this applies not only to commodity A, in which $x$ hours of labour time are embodied, but also to commodity B, in which $x$ hours of labour time are also embodied, follows by definition from the Malthusian formula itself.

The contradiction is therefore solved by Mac in this way: If the Ricardian law of value were really a valid one, then profit, and

hence capital and capitalist production, would be impossible. This is exactly what Ricardo's opponents assert. And this is what Mac answers them, how he refutes them. And in so doing, he does not notice the beauty of an explanation of EXCHANGEABLE VALUE IN [exchange with] LABOUR which amounts to saying that *value is exchange for something which has no value.*

[XIV-845] After Mr. Mac has thus abandoned the basis of Ricardian political economy, he proceeds even further and destroys the basis of this basis.

The first difficulty in the Ricardian system was the EXCHANGE OF CAPITAL AND LABOUR—SO AS TO BE CORRESPONDING TO THE "*LAW OF VALUE*".

The second difficulty was that *capitals of equal magnitude,* no matter what their organic composition, yield *equal profits* or the *GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT.* This is indeed the unrecognised problem of how VALUES are converted into COST PRICES.

The difficulty arose because *capitals of equal magnitude,* but of unequal composition—WHETHER UNEQUAL PROPORTIONS OF CONSTANT AND VARIABLE CAPITAL, WHETHER OF FIXED AND CIRCULATED CAPITAL, WHETHER OF UNEQUAL TIMES OF CIRCULATION—set in motion *unequal* quantities of immediate labour, and therefore unequal quantities of unpaid labour; consequently they cannot appropriate equal quantities of SURPLUS VALUE or SURPLUS PRODUCE in the process of production. Hence they cannot yield equal profit if profit is nothing but the SURPLUS VALUE CALCULATED IN REGARD TO THE VALUE OF THE WHOLE CAPITAL ADVANCED. If, however, the SURPLUS VALUE were something different from (unpaid) labour, then labour could after all not be the "FOUNDATION AND MEASURE" OF THE VALUE OF COMMODITIES.[a]

The difficulties arising in this context were discovered by Ricardo himself (although not in their general form) and set forth by him as *exceptions* to the RULE OF VALUE.[b] Malthus used these exceptions to throw the whole rule overboard on the grounds that the exceptions constituted the rule.[c] Torrens, who also criticised Ricardo, indicated the problem at any rate when he said that capitals of equal size set unequal quantities of labour in motion, and nevertheless produce commodities of equal "values", HENCE value cannot be determined by labour.[d] Ditto Bailey,[e] etc. *Mill* for his part accepted the exceptions noted by Ricardo as exceptions,

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[a] See this volume, p. 325.—*Ed.*
[b] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 401-03, and also this volume, pp. 261-62.—*Ed.*
[c] See present edition, Vol. 31, p. 416, and also this volume, pp. 225, 261-62.—*Ed.*
[d] See this volume, pp. 262-64.—*Ed.*
[e] Ibid., pp. 349-50.—*Ed.*

and he had no scruples about them except with regard to one single form.[a] One particular *cause of the equalisation* of the profits of the capitalists he found *incompatible* with the RULE. It was the following. Certain commodities remain in the process of production (for example, wine in the cellar) without any labour being applied to them; there is a period during which they are subject to certain natural processes (for example, prolonged breaks in labour occur in agriculture and in tanning before certain new chemicals are applied—these cases are not mentioned by Mill). These periods are nevertheless considered as profit-yielding. The period of time during which the commodity is not being worked on by labour [is regarded] as labour time (the same thing in general applies where a *longer period of circulation time* is involved). Mill "lied" his way—so to speak—out of the difficulty by saying that one can consider the time in which the wine, for example, is in the cellar as a period when it is soaking up labour, *although* according to the assumption this is, IN POINT OF FACT, not the case.[b] Otherwise one would have to say that "time" creates profit and time as such is "sound and fury".[c] McCulloch uses this balderdash of Mill as a starting-point, or rather he reproduces it in his customary affected, plagiarist manner in a general form in which the latent nonsense becomes apparent and the last vestiges of the Ricardian system, as of all economic thinking whatsoever, are happily discarded.

On closer consideration, all the difficulties mentioned above resolve themselves into the following difficulty.

That part of capital which enters into the production process in the form of commodities, as raw materials or tools, does not add more value to the product than it possessed before production. For it only has value in so far as it is embodied labour and the labour contained in it IS IN NO WAY ALTERED by its entry into the production process. It is to such an extent independent of the production process into which it enters and dependent on the socially determined labour REQUIRED FOR ITS OWN PRODUCTION that its own value changes when more labour time or less labour time than it itself contains is required for its reproduction. As value, this part of capital therefore enters unchanged into the production process and emerges from it unchanged. In so far as it really enters into the production process and is changed, this change affects only its

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[a] See this volume, p. 276.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid.—*Ed.*

[c] Goethe, *Faust*. Der Tragödie erster Teil. "Marthens Garten".—*Ed.*

*use value,* i.e. it undergoes a change as *use value.* And all operations undergone by the raw material or carried out by the instrument of labour are merely processes to which they are submitted as specific kinds of raw material, etc., and particular tools (spindles, etc.), processes which affect their use value, but which, as processes, have nothing to do with their exchange value. Exchange value is maintained in this [XIV-846] CHANGE. *Voilà tout.*[a]

It is different with that part of capital which is exchanged against labour capacity. The use value of labour capacity is *labour,* the element which produces exchange value. Since the labour provided by labour capacity in industrial consumption is greater than the labour which is required for its own reproduction, which provides an equivalent of its wages, the value which the capitalist receives from the worker in exchange is greater than the price he pays for this labour. It follows from this that, if equal rates of exploitation are assumed, of 2 capitals of equal size, that which sets less living labour in motion—whether this is due to the fact that the proportion of variable to constant capital is less from the start, or to the fact that it has a [longer] period of circulation or period of production during which it is not exchanged against labour, does not come into contact with it, does not absorb it—will produce less surplus value, and, in general, commodities of less value. How then can the *values* created be *equal* and the surplus values proportional to the capital advanced? Ricardo was unable to answer this question because, put in this way, it is *absurd* since, in fact, neither equal values nor [equal] surplus values are produced. Ricardo, however, did not understand the genesis of the general rate of profit nor, consequently, the transformation of VALUES into COST PRICES which differ specifically from them.

Mac, however, eliminates the difficulty by basing himself on Mill's insipid "evasion". One gets round the inconvenience by talking out of existence by means of a phrase the characteristic difference out of which it arose. This is the characteristic difference: The use value of labour capacity is labour; it consequently produces exchange value. The use value of the other commodities is use value as distinct from exchange value, therefore no CHANGE which this use value undergoes can change the predetermined exchange value. One gets round the inconvenience by calling the use values of commodities—exchange value, and the operations in which they are involved as use values, the services they render as use values in production—*labour.* For after all, in

[a] That is all.—*Ed.*

ordinary life we speak of working animals, working machines, and even say poetically that the iron works in the furnace, or works under the blows of the hammer. It even screams. And nothing is easier than to prove that every "operation" is labour, for labour is—an operation. In the same way one can prove that everything material experiences sensation, for everything which experiences sensation is—material.

* "*Labour* may *properly* be defined to be any sort of action or operation, whether performed by man, the lower animals, machinery, or natural agents, that tends to bring about a desirable result"* (l.c., [MacCulloch, *Supplemental Notes and Dissertations to Smith's "Wealth of Nations"*, Vol. IV,] p. 75).

And this does not by any means apply [solely] to instruments of labour. It is in the nature of things that this applies equally to raw materials. Wool undergoes A PHYSICAL ACTION OR OPERATION when it is dyed. In general, nothing can be acted upon physically, mechanically, chemically, etc., in order "TO BRING ABOUT A DESIRABLE RESULT" without the thing itself reacting. It cannot therefore be worked upon without itself working. Thus all commodities which enter into the production process bring about an increase in value not only by retaining their own value, but by creating new value, because they "work" and are not merely objectified labour. In this way, all the difficulties are naturally eliminated. In reality, this is merely a paraphrase, a new name for Say's "productive services of capital", "productive services of land", etc., which Ricardo attacked continuously[a] and against which Mac—*mirabile dictu*[b]—himself polemicises in the same "dissertation" or "note" where he pompously presents his discovery, borrowed from Mill and embellished still further.[c] In criticising Say, McCulloch makes lavish use of recollected passages from Ricardo and remembers that these "productive services" are in fact only the attributes displayed by things as *use values* in the production process. But naturally, all this is changed when he calls these "productive services" by the sacramental name of "*labour*".

[XIV-847] After Mac has happily transformed commodities into workers, it goes without saying that these workers also draw wages and that, in addition to the value they possess as "ACCUMULATED LABOUR", they must be paid wages for their "operations" or "action". These WAGES of the commodities are pocketed by the

[a] See K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 278); D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, 3rd ed., London, 1821, pp. 329-37.—*Ed.*

[b] Wonderful to tell.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 277, 357-58.—*Ed.*

capitalists [*per*] *procurationem*; they are "WAGES OF ACCUMULATED LABOUR"—alias *profit*.[a] And this is proof that equal profit on equal capitals, whether they set large or small amounts of labour in motion, follows directly from the determination of value by *labour time*.

The most extraordinary thing about all this, as we have already noted, is the way Mac, at the very moment when he is basing himself on Mill and appropriating Say, hurls Ricardian phrases against Say. How literally he copies Say—except that where Say speaks of ACTION, he calls this ACTION *LABOUR*[b]—can best be seen from the following passages from Ricardo where the latter polemicises against Say:

* "M. Say ... imputes to him" (Adam Smith), "as an error, that 'he attributes to the *labour of man alone*, the power of producing value. A more correct analysis shows us that value is owing to the action of labour, or rather the industry of man, combined with *the action of those agents* which nature supplies, and *with that of capital*. His ignorance of this principle prevented him from establishing the true theory of the influence of machinery in the production of wealth.'[c] In contradiction to the opinion of Adam Smith, M. Say ... speaks of the value which is given to commodities by natural agents, etc. But these natural agents, though they add greatly to *value in use*, never add *exchangeable value*, of which M. Say is speaking" (*Principles*, 3rd ed., [pp.] 334-36).[d] "*Machines* and natural agents might very greatly add to the riches of a country, ... not ... any thing to the value of those riches" ([p.] 335, note).*

Like all economists WORTH NAMING, [including] Adam Smith (although in a fit of humour he once called the ox A PRODUCTIVE LABOURER[e]), Ricardo emphasises that labour as *human activity*, even more, as socially determined *human activity*, is the sole source of value. It is precisely through the consistency with which he treats the value of commodities as a mere "REPRESENTATION" of socially determined labour, that Ricardo differs from the other economists. All these economists understand more or less clearly, but Ricardo more clearly than the others, that the exchange value of *things* is a mere expression, a specific social form, of the productive activity of men, something *toto genere*[f] different from things and their USE as things, whether in industrial or in non-industrial consumption. For them, value is, in fact, simply an

[a] Ibid., p. 369.—*Ed.*

[b] See J. R. MacCulloch, *The Principles of Political Economy...*, Edinburgh, London, 1825, p. 211 ff.—*Ed.*

[c] J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique...*, Vol. I, 2nd ed., Paris, 1814, pp. LI-LII.—*Ed.*

[d] Cf. this volume, p. 179.—*Ed.*

[e] See present edition, Vol. 31, p. 162.—*Ed.*

[f] Entirely.—*Ed.*

objectively expressed relation of the productive activity of men, of the different types of labour to one another. When he argues against Say, Ricardo explicitly quotes the words of Destutt de Tracy,[a] as expressing his own views:

> * "As it is certain that our physical and moral faculties are alone our original riches, the *employment of those faculties*" * (the faculties of men), * "*labour of some kind*" * (that is, LABOUR as the realisation of the faculties of *men*), * "is our only original treasure, and it is always from this employment, that all those things are created which we call riches... It is certain too, that all *those* things *only represent the labour which has created them,* and if they have *a value,* or even two distinct values, they can only derive them from ... the labour from which they emanate" * (Ricardo, l.c., [p.] 334).

Thus commodities, things in general, have value only because they *represent* human [XIV-848] labour, not in so far as they are things in themselves, but in so far as they are incarnations of social labour.

And yet some persons have had the temerity to say that the miserable Mac has taken Ricardo to extremes, he who, in his incogitant efforts to "utilise" the Ricardian theory eclectically along with those opposed to it, *identifies* its *principle* and that of all political economy—*labour itself* as human activity and as socially determined human activity—with the physical, etc., action, which commodities possess as *use values,* as things. He who abandons the very concept of labour itself!

Rendered insolent by Mill's "evasion", he plagiarises Say while arguing against him, and copies precisely those phrases of Say which Ricardo in Chapter 20 [of his book], entitled "Value and Riches", attacks as being fundamentally opposed to his own ideas and those of Smith. (Roscher naturally repeats that Mac has carried Ricardo to extremes.[b]) Mac, however, is sillier than Say, who does not call the "action" of fire, machinery, etc., *labour.* And more inconsistent. While Say attributes the creation of "value" to wind, fire, etc., Mac considers that only those use values, things, which can be monopolised create value, as if it were possible to utilise the wind, or steam, or water as motive power without the possession of windmills, steam-driven machinery or waterwheels! As if those who own, monopolise, the things whose possession alone enables them to employ the natural AGENTS did not also monopolise the NATURAL AGENTS. I can have as much air, water, etc., as I like. But I possess them as productive agents only if I have the commodities, the things, by the

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[a] [A. L. C.] Destutt de Tracy, *Élémens d'idéologie,* Part IV, Paris, 1815, pp. 99-100.—*Ed.*

[b] W. Roscher, *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie...,* pp. 82 and 191.—*Ed.*

use of which these agents will operate as such. Thus Mac is even lower than Say.

This vulgarisation of Ricardo represents the most complete and most frivolous decline of Ricardo's theory.

* "In so far, however, as that result" (the result produced by the action or operation of any thing) "is effected by the labour *or* operation of natural agents, that can neither be monopolised nor appropriated by a greater or smaller number of individuals to the exclusion of others, it has *no value*. What is done by these agents is done *gratuitously*" * (Mac[Culloch, *Supplemental Notes and Dissertations to Smith's "Wealth of Nations"*, Vol. IV], l.c., p. 75).

As if WHAT IS DONE BY COTTON, WOOL, IRON OR MACHINERY, WERE NOT ALSO DONE "GRATUITOUSLY". The machine costs money, but the operation of the machine is not paid for. No use value of any kind of commodity costs anything after its exchange value has been paid.

* "The man who sells oil makes no charge for its natural qualities. In estimating its cost he puts down the value of the labour employed in its pursuit, and such is its value" * (Carey, *Principles of Political Economy*, PART I, Philadelphia, 1837, [p.] 47).

In arguing against Say, Ricardo emphasises precisely that the action of the machine, for example, costs just as little as that of wind and water.

* "The services which ... natural agents *and* machinery perform for us ... are serviceable to us ... by adding to value in use; but as *they* perform their work *gratuitously* ... the assistance which they afford us, adds nothing to *value in exchange*" * (Ricardo, [l.c.,] pp. 336-37).

Thus Mac has not understood the most elementary propositions of Ricardo. But the sly dog thinks: if the use value of cotton, machinery, etc., costs *nothing*, is not paid for apart from its exchange value, then, on the other hand, this use value is *sold* by those who use cotton, machinery, etc. They sell what costs them nothing.

[XIV-849] The brutal thoughtlessness of this fellow is evident, for after accepting Say's "principle", he sets forth rent with great emphasis, plagiarising extensively from Ricardo.

Land is A

* "natural agent ... monopolised or appropriated by a greater or smaller number of individuals to the exclusion of others" *[a]

and its NATURAL, VEGETATIVE ACTION *OR* "LABOUR", its productive power, consequently has *value*, and rent is thus ascribed to the PRODUCTIVE POWER of land, as is done by the Physiocrats.[b] This is an outstanding

[a] Cf. above on this page.— *Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 356-61, 363-70.— *Ed.*

example of Mac's way of vulgarising Ricardo. On the one hand, he copies Ricardo's arguments, which only make sense if they are based on the Ricardian assumptions, and on the other hand, he takes from others the direct negation of these assumptions (with the reservation that he uses his "nomenclature" or makes some small changes in the propositions). He should have said: "RENT IS THE WAGES OF LAND" POCKETED BY THE LANDOWNER.

*"If a capitalist expends the same sum in paying the wages of labourers, in maintaining horses, or in hiring a machine, and if the men, the horses, and the machine can all perform *the same piece of work, its* value will *obviously* be the same by whichever of them it may be performed"* ([MacCulloch,] l.c., p. 77).

In other words: the value of the product depends on the value of the capital laid out. This is the problem to be solved. The formulation of the problem is, according to Mac, "OBVIOUSLY" the solution of it. But since the machine, for example, performs A GREATER PIECE OF WORK than THE MEN DISPLACED BY IT, it is even more "OBVIOUS" that the product of the machine will not fall but rise in value compared with [the value of the product of] the MEN WHO "PERFORM THE SAME WORK". Since the machine can produce 10,000 PIECES OF WORK where a MAN can only produce 1, and every PIECE has *the same value,* the product of the machine should be 10,000 times as dear as that "OF MAN".

Moreover, in his anxiety to distinguish himself from Say by stating that *value* is produced not by the action of NATURAL AGENTS but only by the action of MONOPOLISED agents, or AGENTS produced by labour, Mac gets into difficulties and falls back on Ricardian phrases. For example,

The * *labour* of [the] wind produces the desired effect* on the *ship (produces a change in it). "But the *value* of that change is not increased by, and is in no degree dependent on, the operation or labour of the natural agents concerned, but on the *amount of capital,* or the *produce of previous labour,* that co-operated in the production of the effect; just as *the cost of grinding* corn does not depend on the action of the wind or water that turns the mill, but on the amount of capital *wasted* in that operation"* ([p.] 79).

Here, all of a sudden, grinding is viewed as adding value to the corn in so far only as capital—"THE PRODUCE OF PREVIOUS LABOUR"—IS "WASTED" IN THE ACT OF GRINDING. That is, it is not due to the millstone "working", but to the fact that along with the "WASTE" of the millstone, the value contained in it, the labour embodied in it, is also "*WASTED*".

After these pretty arguments, Mac sums up the wisdom (borrowed from Mill and Say) in which he brings the concept of value into harmony with all kinds of contradictory phenomena, in the following way:

* "The word *labour* means ... in all discussions respecting *value* ... either the immediate labour of man, or the labour of the capital produced by man, or both" * (l.c., [p.] 84).

Hence LABOUR [XIV-850] is to be understood as meaning the labour of man, then his ACCUMULATED LABOUR, and finally, the *practical application,* that is, the physical, etc., properties of use values evolved in (industrial) consumption. Apart from these properties, use value means nothing at all. Use value operates only in consumption. Consequently, by the exchange value of the products of labour, we understand the use value of these products, for this use value consists only in its *action,* or, as Mac calls it, "*labour*", in consumption, regardless of whether this is industrial consumption or not. However, the types of "operation", "action", or "labour" of use values, as well as their physical measures, are as varied as the use values themselves. But what is the unity, the measure by means of which we compare them? This is established by the general word "labour" which is substituted for these quite different applications of use values, after labour itself has been reduced to the words "operation" or "action". Thus, with the identification of use value and exchange value ends this vulgarisation of Ricardo, which we must therefore consider as the last and most sordid expression of the disintegration of the Ricardian school as such.

* "The *profits of capital* are only another name for the *wages of accumulated labour*" * (Mac[Culloch], *Principles etc.,* 1825,[100] p. 291),

that is, for the wages paid to commodities for the services they render as *use values* in production.

In addition, these WAGES OF ACCUMULATED LABOUR have their own mysterious connotation as far as Mr. McCulloch is concerned. We have already mentioned[a] that, apart from his plagiarism of Ricardo, Mill, Malthus and Say, which constitutes the real basis of his writings, he himself continually REPRINTS and sells his "ACCUMULATED LABOUR" under various titles, always "LARGELY DRAWING" UPON WHAT HE HAD GOT PAID BEFORE. This method of drawing the "WAGES OF ACCUMULATED LABOUR" was discussed at great length as early as *1826* in a special work, and what has not McCulloch done since then—from 1826 to 1862—with regard to DRAWING WAGES FOR ACCUMULATED LABOUR! (This miserable phrase has also been adopted by Roscher in his role of Thucydides.[b 105])

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[a] See this volume, pp. 357-58.—*Ed.*

[b] See W. Roscher, *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie...,* p. 353.—*Ed.*

The book referred to is called: *Some Illustrations of Mr. McCulloch's Principles of Political Economy,* Edinburgh, 1826, by Mordecai Mullion.[a] It traces how our *chevalier d'industrie*[b] made a name for himself. Nine-tenths of his work is copied from Adam Smith, Ricardo and others, the remaining tenth being culled repeatedly from his own ACCUMULATED LABOUR "MOST SHAMELESSLY AND DAMNABLY REITERATED" [p. 4]. Mullion shows, for example, not only that McCulloch sold *the same articles* to *The Edinburgh Review* and *The Scotsman* and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* as his own "DISSERTATIONS" and as new works, but also that he published *the same* articles *word for word* and with only a few transpositions and under new titles in different issues of *The Edinburgh Review* over the years. In this respect Mullion says the following about "THIS MOST INCREDIBLE COBBLER" [p. 31], "THIS MOST ECONOMICAL OF ALL THE ECONOMISTS" [p. 66]:

* "Mr. McCulloch's articles are as unlike as may be to the heavenly bodies—but, in one respect, they resemble such luminaries—they have stated times of return" * ([p.] 21).

No wonder he believes in the "WAGES OF ACCUMULATED LABOUR".

Mr. Mac's fame illustrates the power of fraudulent baseness.

[XIV-850a] In order to perceive how McCulloch exploits some of Ricardo's propositions to give himself airs, see, *inter alia, The Edinburgh Review* for *March 1824,* where this friend of the WAGES OF ACCUMULATED LABOUR gives vent to a veritable jeremiad about the fall in the rate of profit. (This claptrap is called "Considerations on the Accumulation of Capital".)

"The author ... expresses the fears inspired in him by *the decline in profit* as follows: 'The condition of England however prosperous in appearance, is bad and unsound at bottom; the plague of poverty is secretly creeping on the mass of her citizens, and the foundations of her power and greatness have been shaken... Where the rate of interest is low, as in England, the rate of profit is also low, and the prosperity of the nation has passed its culminating point.' These observations must surprise everybody acquainted with England's splendid situation" (Prévost, l.c., [*Réflexions du traducteur sur le système de Ricardo,*] p. 197).

There was no need for Mr. Mac to distress himself over the fact that "LAND" GETS BETTER "WAGES" THAN "IRON, BRICKS, etc." THE CAUSE MUST BE THAT IT "LABOURS" HARDER.

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[a] Pseudonym of John Wilson.—*Ed.*

[b] Swindler, crook.—*Ed.*

### 5) WAKEFIELD

Wakefield's real contribution to the understanding of capital has already been dealt with in the previous section on the *Conversion of Surplus Value into Capital.*[106] Here we shall only deal with what is directly relevant to the "TOPIC".

* "Treating labour as a commodity, and capital, the produce of labour, as another, then, if the value of these two commodities were regulated by equal quantities of labour, a given amount of labour would, under all circumstances, exchange for that quantity of capital which had been produced by the same amount of labour; *antecedent labour* would always exchange for the same amount of *present labour.* But the value of labour, in relation to other commodities, in so far, at least, as wages depend upon share, is determined, not by equal quantities of labour, but by the proportion between supply and demand" * (Wakefield's edition of Smith's *Wealth of Nations,* VOL. I, London, 1835,[13] p[p. 230-]231, note).

Thus, according to Wakefield, profit would be inexplicable if wages corresponded to the *value* of labour.

In VOLUME II of his edition of Adam Smith's work Wakefield remarks:

* "Surplus produce[107] always constitutes rent: still rent may be paid, which does not consist of surplus produce" * (l.c., [p.] 216).

"If, as in Ireland, * the bulk of a people be brought to live upon potatoes, and in hovels and rags, and to pay, for permission so to live, all [that] they can produce beyond hovels, rags, and potatoes, then, in proportion as they put up with less, the owner of the land on which they live, obtains more, even though the return to capital or labour should remain unaltered. What the miserable tenants give up, the landlord gathers. So a fall in the standard of living amongst the cultivators of the earth is another cause of surplus produce... When wages fall, the effect upon surplus produce is the same as a fall in the standard of living; the whole produce remaining the same, the surplus part is greater; the producers have less, and the landlord more" * ([pp.] 220-21).

In this case, profit is called *rent,* just as it is called *interest* when, for example, as in India, the worker (although nominally independent) works with advances he receives from the capitalist and has to hand over all the SURPLUS PRODUCE to the capitalist.

### 6) STIRLING (PATRICK JAMES), *THE PHILOSOPHY OF TRADE ETC.*, EDINBURGH, 1846

"The QUANTITY of every commodity must be so regulated that the supply of each commodity shall bear a less proportion to the demand for it than the supply of labour bears to the demand for labour. The difference between the price or value of the commodity, and the price or value of the LABOUR WORKED UP IN IT constitutes the *profit* OR *surplus* which Ricardo cannot explain on the basis of his theory" ([pp.] 72-73).[a]

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[a] Marx quotes Stirling with some alterations.— *Ed.*

[XIV-851] The same author informs us:

"When the values of commodities relate to each other according to their production costs, this may be called *PAR OF VALUE*" (p[p. 16-]18).[a]

Thus if demand and supply of labour correspond with one another, then labour would be sold at its *value* (whatever Stirling may understand by value). And if demand and supply of the commodities IN WHICH THE LABOUR IS WORKED UP do correspond, then the commodities would be sold at their *production costs,* by which Stirling understands THE *VALUE OF LABOUR.* The price of the commodity would then be equal to the VALUE OF the LABOUR WORKED UP IN IT. And the price of labour would be ON A PAR with its own *VALUE.* HENCE THE PRICE OF THE COMMODITY=THE PRICE OF THE LABOUR WORKED UP IN IT. HENCE, THERE WOULD BE NO PROFIT OR SURPLUS. Stirling explains profit, or the SURPLUS, in this way:

The supply of labour in relation to the demand for it must be greater than the supply of commodities in which THE LABOUR IS WORKED UP in relation to the demand for them. The matter must be so arranged that the commodity is sold at a higher price than that paid for the labour contained in it. This is what Mr. Stirling calls explaining the phenomenon of the surplus, whereas it is, in fact, nothing but a paraphrase of what is supposed to be explained. If we go into it further, then there are only 3 possibilities. [1)] The price of labour is ON "a PAR with VALUE", that is, the demand for and supply of labour balance in such a way that the price of labour=the value of labour. In these circumstances, the commodities must be sold *above* their value, or things must be arranged in such a way that the supply is *below* the demand. This is *tout pur*[b] "*profit UPON ALIENATION*",[56] except that the condition is stated under which it is possible. [2)] Or the demand for labour is greater than the supply and the price is higher than its value. In these circumstances, the capitalist has paid the worker more than the value of the commodity, and the buyer must then pay the capitalist a twofold surplus—first to replace the amount he [the capitalist] has *d'abord* paid to the worker and then his profit. [3)] Or the price of labour is *below* its value and the supply of labour above the demand for it. The SURPLUS would then arise from the fact that labour is paid *below its* value and is sold at its *value* or, at least, above its *price.*

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[a] Here Marx is summarising pages 16-18 of Stirling's book.—*Ed.*

[b] Pure.—*Ed.*

If one strips this of all NONSENSE, then Stirling's SURPLUS is [here] due to the fact that labour is bought by the capitalist *below* its value and is sold again *above* its price in the form of commodities.

The other cases, divested of their ridiculous form—according to which the producer has to "arrange" matters in such a way that he is able to sell his commodity above its value, or above "THE PAR OF VALUE"—mean nothing but that the *market price* of a commodity rises above its value, if the demand for it is greater than the supply. This is certainly not a new discovery and explains one sort of "SURPLUS" which never caused Ricardo or anyone else the slightest difficulty.

### 7) JOHN STUART MILL, *SOME UNSETTLED QUESTIONS ETC.*, LONDON, 1844

In a previous notebook[a] I have traced in detail how Mill violently attempts to derive Ricardo's law of the *rate of profit* (in inverse proportion to wages) directly from the theory of value without distinguishing between *surplus value* and *profit.*

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This whole account of the Ricardian school shows that it declines at 2 points.

1) Exchange between capital and labour corresponding to the law of value.

2) Elaboration of the general rate of profit. Identification of surplus value and profit. Failure to understand the relation between VALUES and COST PRICES.[6]

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### [XIV-852] I) OPPOSITION TO THE ECONOMISTS (BASED ON THE RICARDIAN THEORY)

During the Ricardian period of political economy its antithesis, communism (Owen) and socialism (Fourier, St. Simon, the latter only IN HIS FIRST BEGINNINGS), [comes] also [into being]. According to our plan,[b] however, we are here concerned only with that opposition which takes as its starting-point the premisses of the economists.[108]

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 35-60.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 7-8.—*Ed.*

It will be seen from the works which we quote that in fact they all derive from the Ricardian form.

### 1) *THE SOURCE AND REMEDY OF THE NATIONAL DIFFICULTIES ETC. A LETTER TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL*, LONDON, 1821 (ANONYMOUS)

This scarcely known pamphlet (ABOUT 40 PAGES) [which appeared] at a time when MacCulloch, "THIS INCREDIBLE COBBLER",[109] began to make a stir, contains an important advance on Ricardo. It bluntly describes SURPLUS VALUE—or "profit", as Ricardo calls it (often also "SURPLUS PRODUCE"), or "*INTEREST*", as the author of the pamphlet terms it—as "*SURPLUS LABOUR*", the labour which the worker performs gratis, the labour he performs over and above the quantity of labour by which the value of his labour capacity is replaced, i.e. by which he produces an equivalent for his WAGES. Important as it was to reduce *VALUE* to LABOUR, it was equally important to present *SURPLUS VALUE*, which manifests itself in *SURPLUS PRODUCE*, as *SURPLUS LABOUR*. This was in fact already stated by Adam Smith[a] and constitutes one of the main elements in Ricardo's argumentation. But nowhere did he clearly express it and record it in an *absolute form*.

Whereas the only concern of Ricardo and others is to understand the conditions of capitalist production, and to assert them as the absolute forms of production, the pamphlet and the other works of this kind to be mentioned seize on the mysteries of capitalist production which have been brought to light in order to combat the latter from the standpoint of the industrial proletariat.

* "Whatever may be *due* to the capitalist" * (from the viewpoint of capital) * "he *can only receive* the *surplus labour* of the labourer; for the labourer must *live*" * (l.c., [p.] 23).

To be sure, these conditions of life, the minimum on which the worker can live, and consequently also the quantity of surplus labour which can be squeezed out of him, are relative magnitudes.

* "If capital does not decrease in value as it increases in amount, the capitalists will exact from the labourers the produce of every hour's labour beyond what it is *possible* for the labourer to subsist on: and however horrid and disgusting it may seem, the capitalist may eventually speculate on the food that requires the least labour to produce it, and eventually say to the labourer: 'You sha'n't eat bread, because barley meal is cheaper; you sha'n't eat meat, because it is possible to subsist on beet root and potatoes.' And to this point have we come" ([pp. 23-]24).

"If the labourer can be brought to feed on potatoes instead of bread, it is indisputably true that more can be exacted from his labour; i.e. if when he fed on

[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 385-91, and this volume, p. 41.—*Ed.*

bread he was obliged to *retain for the maintenance of himself and family the labour of Monday and Tuesday,* he will, on potatoes, receive only the half of Monday; and the *remaining half of Monday and the whole of Tuesday* are available either *for the service of the state or the capitalist*" * ([p.] 26).[a]

Here profit, etc., is reduced directly to appropriation of the labour time for which the worker receives no equivalent.

* "It is admitted that the interest paid to the capitalists, whether in the nature of rents, interests of money, or profits of trade, is paid out of the *labour of others*" * ([p.] 23).

RENT, money interest, industrial profit, are thus merely different forms of "*INTEREST* OF CAPITAL", which again is reduced to the "*SURPLUS LABOUR OF* THE LABOURER". This SURPLUS LABOUR takes the form of SURPLUS PRODUCE. The capitalist is the possessor[b] of the SURPLUS LABOUR or of the SURPLUS PRODUCE.

The SURPLUS PRODUCE is capital.

* "Suppose ... there is *no surplus labour,* consequently, nothing that can be allowed to accumulate as capital" * ([p.] 4).

And immediately after this he says:

* "the possessors of [the] surplus produce *or* capital" * (l.c.).

The author says, in a quite different sense from the whining Ricardians:

* "The natural and necessary consequence of an increased capital, is its decreasing value" * ([pp. 21-]22).

And in reference to Ricardo:

* "Why set out by telling us that no accumulation of capital will lower profits, because nothing will lower profits but increased wages, when it appears that if population does not increase with capital, wages would increase from the [dis]proportion between capital and labour; and if population does increase, wages would increase from the difficulty of procuring food" * ([p.] 23).

[XIV-853] If the value of capital, that is, the interest of capital, i.e. the SURPLUS LABOUR which it commands, which it appropriates, did not decrease when the AMOUNT of capital increases, the [accumulation of] interest from interest would follow in geometrical progression,[c] and just as, calculated in money (see *Price*[d]), this presupposes an *impossible* accumulation (RATE OF ACCUMULATION), so, reduced to its real element—labour, it would swallow up not only the SURPLUS LABOUR, but also the NECESSARY LABOUR as "being due" to

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 30, p. 204.—*Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript: "Professor".—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 543.—*Ed.*

[d] R. Price, *An Appeal to the Public on the Subject of the National Debt,* London, 1772, p. 19.—*Ed.*

capital. (We shall return to Price's fantasy in the section on REVENUE AND ITS SOURCES.[110])

* "If it were possible to continue to increase capital and keep up the value of capital, which is proved by the interest of money continuing the same, the interest to be paid for capital would soon exceed the whole produce of labour. ...capital tends in more than arithmetical progression to increase capital. It is admitted that the *interest* paid to the capitalists, whether in the nature of rents, *interests* of money, or *profits* of trade, is paid out of the labour of others. Consequently, if capital go on accumulating, the labour to be given for the use of the capital must go on increasing, interest paid for capital continuing the same, till all the labour of all the labourers of the society is engrossed by the capitalist. But this is impossible to happen: for whatever may be *due* to the capitalist, he can *only receive* the *surplus labour* of the labourer; for the labourer must live" * ([p.] 23).

But it is not clear to him how the VALUE OF CAPITAL DECREASES. He himself says, when dealing with Ricardo, that this recurs because wages rise when capital accumulates more rapidly than the POPULATION grows, or because the *value* of WAGES (not their QUANTITY) increases when the population grows more rapidly than capital accumulates (or even if population *increases simultaneously*) as a result of decreasing productivity of agriculture. But how does he explain it? He does not accept the latter alternative; he assumes that WAGES are reduced more and more to the minimum possible. [A reduction of interest on capital] can only take place, [he] says, because the portion of capital which is exchanged for living labour declines relatively, although the worker is exploited more than, or just as much as, before.

In any case, it is a step forward that the nonsense about the geometrical progression of interest is reduced to its true sense, that is, nonsense.[a]

There are, incidentally, according to the pamphleteer, two ways in which the growth of SURPLUS PRODUCE or SURPLUS LABOUR prevents capital from being forced to give a steadily growing share of its plunder back to the workers.

The first is the conversion of SURPLUS PRODUCE into fixed capital, which prevents the LABOUR fund—or the part of the product consumed by the worker—from necessarily increasing with the accumulation OF CAPITAL.

The second is foreign trade, which enables the capitalist to exchange the SURPLUS PRODUCE for foreign luxury articles and thus to consume it himself. In this way, even that part of the product which exists as *NECESSARIES* may quite well increase without the need for it to be returned to the workers in the form of a proportionate increase in WAGES.

[a] See this volume, p. 543.—*Ed.*

It should be noted that the first way—which is only effective for a time and then neutralises its own effect (at least as regards the fixed capital consisting of machinery, etc., itself used in the production of NECESSARIES)—implies the transformation of SURPLUS PRODUCE into capital, whereas the 2nd way implies consumption of an ever increasing portion of the surplus PRODUCE by the capitalists—increasing consumption on the part of the capitalists, and *not the reconversion* of SURPLUS PRODUCE into capital. If the same SURPLUS PRODUCE were to remain in the form in which it immediately exists, a larger part of it would have to be exchanged with the workers as variable capital. The result would be an increase in wages and a reduction in the amount of absolute or relative SURPLUS VALUE. Here is the real secret of the necessity for increasing consumption by "the rich", advocated by Malthus, in order that the part of the product which is exchanged for labour and converted into capital, should have great value, yield large profits, absorb a large amount of surplus labour.[a] He does not however propose that the industrial capitalists themselves should increase their consumption, but [allots] this FUNCTION TO LANDLORDS, SINECURISTS, etc., because the urge for accumulation and the urge for EXPENDITURE, if united in the same person, would play tricks on each other. It is here also that the erroneousness of the view of Barton, Ricardo,[b] and others stands out. Wages are not determined by that portion of the total product that is either consumed as, or can be converted into, *variable* capital, but by that part of it which is actually converted into variable capital. A part can be consumed by RETAINERS even in its natural form, another can be consumed in the shape of luxury products by means of foreign trade, etc.

Our pamphleteer overlooks two things:

As a result of the introduction of machinery, a mass of workers is constantly being thrown out of employment, [a section of] the POPULATION is thus MADE REDUNDANT; the SURPLUS PRODUCE therefore finds fresh labour for which it can be exchanged without any increase in population and without any need to extend the absolute labour time. Let us assume that 500 workers were employed previously, whereas now there are 300 workers, who perform relatively more surplus labour. The 200 can be employed by the surplus PRODUCE as soon as it has increased sufficiently. One portion of the old [variable] capital is converted into fixed capital, the other gives employment to fewer workers but extracts from them more SURPLUS

[a] In the manuscript, Marx wrote "Malthus" in the margin.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 177-208.—*Ed.*

VALUE in relation to their number and in particular also more SURPLUS PRODUCE. The remaining 200 are material created for the purpose of capitalising additional SURPLUS PRODUCE.

[XIV-853a] The transformation of *NECESSARIES* into *LUXURIES* by means of foreign trade, as interpreted in the pamphlet, is correct in itself:

1) because it puts an end to the nonsensical idea that wages depend on the amount of NECESSARIES produced, as if these NECESSARIES had to be consumed in this form by the producers or even by the whole body of people engaged in production, in other words as if they must be turned back into variable capital or "circulating capital", as it is termed by Barton and Ricardo;

2) because it determines the whole social pattern of backward nations—for example, the SLAVE-HOLDING STATES in the United States of North America (see *Cairnes*[a]) or *Poland,* etc. (as was already understood by old *Büsch,*[b] unless he stole the idea from Steuart)—which are associated with a world market based on capitalist production. No matter how large the SURPLUS PRODUCE they extract from the SURPLUS LABOUR of their SLAVES in the simple form of COTTON or CORN, they can adhere to this simple, undifferentiated LABOUR because foreign trade enables them [to convert] these simple products into any kind of use value.

The assertion that the portion of the annual product which MUST BE EXPENDED as WAGES depends on the size of the "CIRCULATING CAPITAL", would be *al pari*[c] to the assertion that, when a large part of the product consists of "buildings", and houses for workers are built in large numbers relative to the size of the working population, the workers must consequently live in cheap and well-built houses because the supply of houses increases more quickly than the demand for them.

It is correct, on the other hand, that, if the SURPLUS PRODUCE is large and the large part of it is to be employed as capital, then there must be an increase in the demand for labour and therefore also in that part of the SURPLUS PRODUCE which is exchanged for WAGES (provided large numbers of workers did not have to be thrown out of work in order to obtain a SURPLUS PRODUCE of this size). At all events, it is not the *absolute size* of the SURPLUS PRODUCE (in whatever

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[a] J. E. Cairnes, *The Slave Power: Its Character, Career, & Probable Designs...*, London, 1862.—*Ed.*

[b] J. G. Büsch, *Theoretisch-praktische Darstellung der Handlung in ihren mannichfaltigen Geschäften*, Hamburg, 1808, Book 5, Ch. 2.—*Ed.*

[c] Equal.—*Ed.*

form it may exist, even that OF NECESSARIES) which necessarily requires it TO be EXPENDED as variable capital and which consequently causes an increase in wages, but it is the desire to capitalise which results in a large part of the surplus PRODUCE being laid out in variable capital, and this would *consequently* make wages grow with the accumulation of capital if machinery did not constantly make [a section of] the population REDUNDANT and if an ever greater portion of capital (in particular as a result of foreign trade) were not exchanged for capital, not for labour. The portion of SURPLUS PRODUCE which is already produced directly in a form in which it can only serve as capital, and that portion of it which acquires this form as a result of foreign trade, grow more rapidly than the portion which must be exchanged against IMMEDIATE LABOUR.

The proposition that wages depend on EXISTING CAPITAL and that therefore a rapid accumulation of capital is the sole means by which wages are made to rise, amounts to this:

On the one hand, to a *tautology,* if we disregard the form in which the conditions of labour exist as capital. How rapidly the number of workers can be increased without worsening their living conditions depends on the *productivity of labour* which a given number of workers perform. The more raw materials, tools and means of subsistence they produce, the greater the means at their disposal not only to bring up their children so long as these cannot work themselves, but to realise the labour of the new, growing generation, and consequently to make the growth of population keep up with, and even OUTDO, the growth of production, since with the growth of the population, the [workers'] skill increases, division of labour grows, the possibility [for using] machinery grows, constant capital grows, in short, the productivity of labour grows.

While the growth of population depends on the productivity of labour, the productivity of labour depends on the growth of population. It is a case of reciprocity. But this, expressed in capitalist terms, signifies that the means of subsistence of the working population depend on the productivity of capital, on the largest possible portion of their product confronting them as a force which commands their labour. Ricardo himself expresses the matter *correctly*—I mean the tautology—when he makes WAGES depend on the productivity of capital, and the latter dependent on the productivity of labour.[a] That labour depends on the growth of capital signifies nothing more than, on the one hand, the tautology

[a] See this volume, pp. 169-70, 303.—*Ed.*

[XIV-854] that the increase in the means of subsistence and the means of employment of the population depends on the productivity of the population's own labour and, secondly, expressed in capitalist terms, that it *depends on the fact* that the population's own product confronts them as *alien property* and that as a consequence, their own productivity confronts them as the *productivity* of the things which they create.

In practice this means that the worker must appropriate the smallest possible part of his product in order that the largest possible part of it may confront him as *capital*; he must surrender as much as possible to the capitalist *gratis,* in order that the latter's means for purchasing his labour anew—with what has been taken away from the worker without compensation—may increase as much as possible. In this case it can happen that, if the capitalist has made the worker work a great deal for nothing, he may then, in exchange for what he has received for nothing, allow the worker to do a little less work for nothing. However, since this prevents the achievement of what is aimed at, namely, *accumulation of capital as rapidly as possible,* the worker must live in such CIRCUMSTANCES that this reduction in the amount of labour he performs for nothing is in turn counteracted by a growth of the working population, either relatively as a result of the use of machinery, or absolutely as a result of early marriage. (It is the same relationship which is derided by the RICARDIANS when the MALTHUSIANS preach it between LANDLORDS and capitalists.) The workers must relinquish the largest possible part of their product to capital without receiving anything in return, so as, when conditions are *more favourable,* to buy back with new labour a part of the product so relinquished. However, since the conditions for the favourable change are at the same time counteracted by this favourable change, it can only be temporary and must turn again into its own opposite.

3) What applies to the transformation of NECESSARIES into LUXURIES by means of foreign trade, applies in general to luxury production, whose unlimited diversification and expansion depends, however, on foreign trade. Although the workers engaged in luxury production produce capital for their EMPLOYERS, their product, *in natura,* cannot be turned back into capital, either constant or variable capital.

Luxury products, apart from those which are sent abroad to be exchanged for NECESSARIES which enter into variable capital either in whole or in part, simply constitute *surplus labour* and moreover surplus labour which is immediately *IN THAT SHAPE OF SURPLUS PRODUCE*

which the rich consume as REVENUE. But they do not represent only the surplus labour of the workers who produce them. On the average, these perform the same surplus labour as the workers in other branches of industry. But in the same way as $^1/_3$ of the product, which contains $^1/_3$ of the surplus labour, can be considered as the embodiment of this surplus labour, and the remaining $^2/_3$ as reproduction of the capital advanced, so the surplus labour of the producers of the NECESSARIES which constitutes the WAGES of the producers of LUXURIES can also be considered as the necessary labour of the working class as a whole. Their surplus labour consists 1) of that part of the NECESSARIES which is consumed by the capitalists and their RETAINERS; and 2) of the total amount of LUXURIES. With regard to the individual capitalist or DIFFERENT TRADES the matter appears quite different. For the capitalist, one part of the LUXURIES CREATED by him represents merely an equivalent for the capital laid out.

If too large a part of surplus labour is embodied directly in LUXURIES, then clearly, accumulation and the DEGREE OF reproduction will stagnate, because too small a part is reconverted into capital. If too small a part is embodied in luxuries, then the accumulation of capital (that is, of that part of the SURPLUS PRODUCE which can *in natura* serve as capital again) will proceed more rapidly than increase in population, and the rate of profit will fall, unless a foreign market for NECESSARIES exists.

In the exchange between capital and REVENUE[a] I have regarded wages, too, as REVENUE and in general have merely examined the relationship of constant capital to REVENUE. The fact that the REVENUE of the worker appears at the same time as variable capital is important only in so far as in the accumulation of capital—the formation of new capital—the surplus consisting of means of subsistence (NECESSARIES) in the possession of the capitalist producing them can be exchanged directly for the surplus consisting of raw materials or machinery in the possession of the capitalist producing constant capital. Here one form of REVENUE is exchanged for the other, [XIV-855] and, once the exchange is EFFECTED, the REVENUE of A is converted into the constant capital of B and the REVENUE of B into the variable capital of A.

In considering this circulation, reproduction and manner of replacement of the different capitals, etc., one must *d'abord*[b] disregard foreign trade.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 130-51.—*Ed.*

[b] First of all.—*Ed.*

Secondly, it is necessary to distinguish between the two aspects of the phenomenon:

1) Reproduction on the existing scale,

2) reproduction on an extended scale, or accumulation; transformation of REVENUE into capital.

*Ad* 1) I have shown:

That what the *producers of the means of subsistence* have to replace is 1) their constant capital, 2) their variable capital. The part of the value of their product in excess of these two constitutes the *SURPLUS PRODUCE*, the MATERIAL EXISTENCE OF *SURPLUS VALUE*, WHICH IN ITS TURN IS ONLY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF *SURPLUS LABOUR*.

Variable capital, that part of their product which represents it, is made up of WAGES, the REVENUE of the worker. This part already exists here in the *natural form* in which it serves as variable capital once again. With this part, the equivalent reproduced by the worker, the labour of the worker is bought once again. This is the exchange of capital for IMMEDIATE LABOUR. The worker receives this part in the form of money with which he buys back his own product, or other products of the same category. This is the exchange of the *different portions of the variable part of capital for one another* after the worker has in the form of money received an assignment to his quota. This is exchange of one part of newly added labour for another part within the same category (means of subsistence).

The part of the SURPLUS PRODUCE (newly added labour) consumed by the capitalists (who produce means of subsistence) themselves, is either consumed by them *in natura* or they exchange one type of SURPLUS PRODUCE existing in consumable form against another type. This is the exchange of REVENUE for REVENUE, both of them consisting of newly added labour.

We cannot really speak of exchange between REVENUE and capital in the above transaction. Capital (NECESSARIES) is exchanged against labour (labour capacity). This is therefore not an exchange of REVENUE for capital. It is true that as soon as the worker receives his WAGES, he consumes them. But what he exchanges for capital is not his REVENUE, but his labour.

The 3rd part, constant capital, is exchanged for a part of the product of those manufacturers who produce constant capital; namely, for that part which represents newly added labour. This consists of an equivalent for the WAGES (that is, of variable capital) and of the SURPLUS PRODUCE, the SURPLUS VALUE, the REVENUE of the capitalists which exists in a form in which it can only be consumed industrially and not individually. On the one hand, this is

therefore exchange of the *variable capital of these producers* for a part of the means of subsistence which constitute constant capital. In fact they exchange a part of their product which constitutes variable capital but exists in the form of constant capital, for a part of the product of those manufacturers who produce the means of subsistence, a part which constitutes constant capital but exists in the form of variable capital. Here newly added labour is exchanged for constant capital.

On the other hand, that part of the product which represents SURPLUS PRODUCE but exists in the form of constant capital is exchanged for a portion of the means of subsistence which represents constant capital for its producers. Here REVENUE is exchanged for capital. The REVENUE of the capitalists who produce constant capital is exchanged for the means of subsistence and replaces the constant capital of the capitalists who produce the means of subsistence.

Finally, a part of the product of the capitalists who produce constant capital, namely, that part which itself represents constant capital, is replaced partly *in natura*, partly through barter (concealed by money) between the producers of constant capital.

It is assumed in all this that the scale of reproduction=the original scale of production.

If we enquire now what part of the total annual product is made up of newly added labour, then the calculation is quite simple.

A) *Consumable articles*, which consist of 3 parts. [Firstly,] the REVENUE of the capitalists=the SURPLUS LABOUR added during the year.

Secondly, wages, i.e. variable capital which is equal to the newly added labour by which the workers have reproduced their WAGES.

Finally, the third part, raw materials, machinery, etc. This is constant capital, that part of the value of the product which is only retained, not produced. That is, it is not labour newly added during the course of the year.

[XIV-856] If we call constant capital $c$, variable capital $v$, and SURPLUS PRODUCE, the REVENUE $r$, then this category consists of:

$c$ (which constitutes a part of the product) is merely retained value and does not consist of newly added labour; on the other hand, $v+r$ consist of labour newly added during the course of the year.

The total product (or its value) $P^a$ after deduction of $c$, therefore, consists of newly added labour.

Thus the product of category A,

$P^a - c^1$ =the labour newly added during the course of the year.

B) *Articles for industrial consumption.*

Here also $v^{II}+r^{II}$ are made up of newly added labour. But not $c^{II}$, the constant capital which operates in this sphere. But $v^{II}+r^{II}=c^{I}$ for which they are exchanged. $c^{I}$ is transformed into variable capital and REVENUE for B. On the other hand, $v^{II}$ and $r^{II}$ are transformed into $c^{I}$, into constant capital for A.

The product of category $P^{b}$,

$P^{b}-c^{II}$=the labour newly added during the course of the year.

But $P^{b}-c^{II}=c^{I}$, for the whole product of $P^{b}$ after deduction of $c^{II}$, the constant capital employed in this category, is exchanged for $c^{I}$.

After $v^{II}+r^{II}$ have been exchanged for $c^{I}$, the matter can be presented as follows:

$P^{a}$ consists solely of newly added labour, the product of which is divided between profits and WAGES, that is, it constitutes the EQUIVALENT OF NECESSARY LABOUR and the EQUIVALENT OF SURPLUS LABOUR. For the $v^{II}+r^{II}$ which now replace $c^{I}$ are equal to the newly added labour in category B.

Thus the whole product of $P^{a}$—not only its SURPLUS PRODUCE, but also its variable capital and its constant capital—consists of the products of labour newly added during the course of the year.

On the other hand, $P^{b}$ can be regarded in such a way that it does not represent any part of the newly added labour, but merely old labour which is retained. For its part $c^{II}$ does not represent newly added labour. Neither does the part $c^{I}$ which it has received in exchange for $v^{II}+r^{II}$, for this $c^{I}$ represents the constant capital laid out in A, and not newly added labour.

The whole part of the annual product which, as variable capital, constitutes the REVENUE of the workers and as SURPLUS PRODUCE constitutes the consumption fund of the capitalists, therefore can be resolved into newly added labour, whereas the remaining part of the product, which represents constant capital, can be resolved into nothing but old labour which has been retained and simply replaces constant capital.

Consequently, just as it is correct to say that the whole portion of the annual product which is consumed as REVENUE WAGES and PROFITS (together with the BRANCHES OF PROFIT, RENT, INTEREST, etc., as well as the WAGES of the UNPRODUCTIVE LABOURERS) consists of newly added labour, so it is false to assert that the total annual product can be resolved into REVENUE, WAGES and PROFITS and thus merely into portions of newly added labour. A part of the annual product can be resolved into constant capital, which regarded as value does *not* constitute newly added labour and, as regards USE, does not form part of either WAGES or PROFITS. Regarded as value it represents ACCUMULATED LABOUR in

the real sense of the word, and its use value is the USE of this ACCUMULATED PREVIOUS LABOUR. On the other hand, it is equally correct that the *labour added during the year* is not represented entirely by that part of the product which can be resolved into WAGES and PROFITS. For these WAGES and PROFITS buy SERVICES, that is, labour which does not enter into the product of which WAGES and PROFITS form [a part]. These SERVICES are labour which is used up in the consumption of the product and does not enter into its immediate production.

[XIV-857] *Ad* 2). It is a different matter with regard to accumulation, transformation of REVENUE into capital, *reproduction on an extended scale,* in so far as this latter does not simply result from *more productive employment* of the old capital. Here the whole new capital consists of newly added labour, that is, of SURPLUS labour in the form of profit, etc. But although it is correct that here the entire element in new production arises from and consists of newly added labour—which is a part of the SURPLUS LABOUR of the LABOURERS—it is wrong to assume, as the economists do, that, when it is converted into capital, it can be resolved into variable capital alone, that is, WAGES. Let us suppose for example that a part of the SURPLUS PRODUCE of the FARMER is exchanged for a part of the SURPLUS PRODUCE of the machine manufacturer. It is then possible that the latter will convert the corn into variable capital and employ more workers, directly or indirectly. On the other hand, the FARMER has converted a part of his SURPLUS PRODUCE into constant capital, and it is possible that, as a result of this conversion, he will discharge some of his old workers instead of taking on new ones. The FARMER may cultivate more land. In this case, a part of his corn will be converted not into WAGES, but into constant capital, etc.

It is precisely accumulation which reveals clearly that everything—i.e. REVENUE, variable capital and constant capital—is nothing but *appropriated alien* labour; and that both the conditions of labour with which the worker works, and the equivalent he receives for his labour, consist of labour performed by the worker and appropriated by the capitalist, who has *not given any equivalent for it.*

[The same applies] even to original accumulation. Let us assume that I have saved £500 from my WAGES. In fact, therefore, this sum represents not only *accumulated labour* but, in contrast to the "accumulated labour" of the capitalist, *my* own labour accumulated by me and for me. I convert the £500 into capital, buy raw material, etc., and take on workers. Profit is, say, 20%, that is, £100 a year. In 5 years I shall have "eaten up" my capital in the form of REVENUE (provided new accumulation does not continuously

take place and the £100 is consumed). In the 6th year, my capital of £500 itself consists of other people's labour appropriated without any equivalent. If, on the other hand, I had always accumulated $^1/_2$ of the profit made, the process would have been slower, for I would not have consumed so much and would have accumulated more rapidly.

| | Capital | Profit | Consumed |
|---|---|---|---|
| *First year* | 500 | 100 | 50 |
| *Second year* | 550 | 110 | 55 |
| *Third year* | 605 | 121 | 60 |
| *Fourth year* | 665 | 133 | 66 |
| *Fifth year* | 731 | 146 | 73 |
| *Sixth year* | 804 | 160 | 80 |
| | | | 384 |
| *Seventh year* | 884 | 176 | 88 |
| | | | 472 |
| *Eighth year* | 972 | 194 | 97 |
| | | | 569 |

My capital will have been almost doubled by the 8th year although I have consumed more than my original capital. The capital of 972 does not contain a single FARTHING of paid labour or of labour for which I have returned any kind of equivalent. I have consumed my entire original capital in the form of REVENUE, that is, I have received an equivalent for it, which I have consumed. The new capital consists solely of the appropriated labour of other people.

In considering surplus value as such, the original form of the product, HENCE of the SURPLUS PRODUCE, is of no consequence. It becomes important when considering the actual process of reproduction, partly in order to understand its forms, and partly in order to grasp the influence of luxury production, etc., on reproduction. Here is another example of how *use value* as such acquires economic significance.

[XIV-858] Now to return to our pamphlet.

* "Suppose the whole labour of the country to raise just sufficient for the support of the whole population; it is evident there is no surplus labour, consequently, nothing that can be allowed to accumulate as capital. Suppose the whole labour of the country to raise as much in *one* year as could maintain it two years, it is evident one year's consumption must perish, or for one year men must

cease from productive labour. But the *possessors of the surplus produce, or capital,* will neither maintain the population the following year in idleness, nor allow the produce to perish; they will employ them upon something not directly and immediately productive, for instance, in the erection of machinery, etc. But the third year, the whole population may again return to productive labour, and the machinery erected in the last year coming now into operation,* it is evident the produce will be greater than the first year's produce for the PRODUCE of the MACHINERY IN ADDITION. This SURPLUS PRODUCE,[a] that is an even larger amount, MUST PERISH OR BE PUT TO USE AS BEFORE; and this USANCE again adds to the PRODUCTIVE POWER of the society till MEN *MUST* CEASE FROM PRODUCTIVE LABOUR FOR A TIME, OR THE PRODUCE OF THEIR LABOUR MUST PERISH. This is the PALPABLE CONSEQUENCE IN THE SIMPLEST STATE OF SOCIETY" ([pp.] 4-5).[b]

* "The demand of other countries is limited, not only by *our* power to produce, but by *their* power to produce,"*

//This is the answer to Say's assertion that we do not produce too much, but they produce too little.[44] THEIR POWER TO PRODUCE IS NOT NECESSARILY EQUAL TO OUR POWER TO PRODUCE.//

* "for do what you will, in a series of years the whole world can take little more of us, than we take of the world, so that all your foreign trade, of which there is so much talking, never did, never could, nor ever can, add one shilling, or one doit to the wealth of the country, as for every bale of silk, chest of tea, pipe of wine that ever was imported, something of equal value was exported; and even the profits made by our merchants in their foreign trade are paid by the consumer of the return goods here" ([pp.] 17-18).

"Foreign trade is mere barter and exchange for the convenience and enjoyment of the capitalist: he has not a hundred bodies, nor a hundred legs: he cannot consume, in cloth and cotton stockings, all the cloth and cotton stockings that are manufactured; therefore they are exchanged for wines and silks; but those *wines and silks represent the surplus labour of our own population,* as much as the cloths and cottons, and in this way the *destructive power of the capitalist is increased beyond all bounds*: by foreign trade the capitalists contrive to outwit nature, who had put a 1,000 natural limits to their exactions, and to their wishes to exact; there is no limit now, either to their power, or desires"* (l.c., [p.] 18).

One sees that he accepts Ricardo's teaching on FOREIGN TRADE. In Ricardo's work its only purpose is to support his *theory of value* or to demonstrate that his views on foreign trade are not at variance with it. But the pamphlet stresses that it is not only NATIONAL LABOUR, but also NATIONAL SURPLUS LABOUR which is embodied in the outcome of FOREIGN TRADE.

If SURPLUS LABOUR or surplus VALUE were represented only in the national SURPLUS PRODUCE, then the increase of value for the sake of value and therefore the EXACTION OF SURPLUS LABOUR would be restricted by the limited, narrow circle of use values in which the value of labour would be represented. But it is foreign TRADE which develops its [the surplus value's] real nature as value by

[a] In the pamphlet: "surplus labour".—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes with some abridgements.—*Ed.*

developing the labour embodied in it as social labour which manifests itself in an unlimited range of different use values, and this in fact gives meaning to abstract wealth.

*"It is *the infinite variety of wants,* and of the *kinds* of commodities"* //and therefore also the *infinite variety of real labour, which produces those different kinds of commodities// "*necessary to their gratification,* which alone renders the passion for wealth" //and hence the passion for appropriating other people's labour// "indefinite and insatiable" (*Wakefield*'s edition* of Adam Smith, [*An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,*] Vol. I, London, 1835,[13] p. 64, note).

But it is only FOREIGN TRADE, the development of the market to a world market, which causes money to develop into world money and *abstract labour* into social labour. Abstract wealth, value, money, HENCE *abstract labour,* develop in the measure that concrete labour becomes a totality of different modes of labour embracing the world market. Capitalist production rests on the *value* or the development of the labour embodied in the product as social labour. But this is only [possible] on the basis of FOREIGN TRADE and of the world market. This is at once the precondition and the result of capitalist production.

[XIV-859] The pamphlet is no theoretical treatise. [It is a] protest against the false reasons given by the economists for the DISTRESS and the "NATIONAL DIFFICULTIES" of the times. It does not, consequently, make the claim that its conception of SURPLUS VALUE as *SURPLUS LABOUR* carries with it a general criticism of the entire system of economic categories, nor can this be expected of it. The author stands rather on Ricardian ground and is only consistent in stating one of the consequences inherent in the system itself and he advances it in the interests of the working class against capital.

For the rest, the author remains a captive of the economic categories as he finds them. Just as in the case of Ricardo the confusion of SURPLUS VALUE with profit leads to undesirable contradictions, so in his case the fact that he christens SURPLUS VALUE the *INTEREST OF CAPITAL.*

To be sure, he is in advance of Ricardo in that he first of all reduces all SURPLUS VALUE to SURPLUS LABOUR, and when he calls SURPLUS VALUE *INTEREST OF CAPITAL,* he at the same time emphasises that by this he understands the general form of SURPLUS LABOUR in contrast to its particular forms—rent, interest of money and industrial profit.

*"*Interest* paid to the capitalists, whether in the *nature*"* (it should be *shape, form) "*of rents, interests of money,* or *profits of trade*"* ([*The Source and Remedy...*, p.] 23).

He thus distinguishes the general form of SURPLUS LABOUR or SURPLUS VALUE from their particular forms, something which neither Ricardo nor Adam Smith [does], at least not consciously or consistently. But on the other hand, he applies the name of one of these particular forms—INTEREST—to the general form. And this suffices to make him relapse into economic SLANG.

* "The progress of increasing capital would, in established societies, be marked by the decreasing interest of money, or, what comes to the same, the decreasing quantity of the labour of others that would be given for its use" * ([p.] 6).

This passage reminds one of Carey.[a] But with him it is not THE LABOURER WHO USES CAPITAL, BUT CAPITAL WHICH USES LABOUR. Since by *INTEREST* he understands SURPLUS LABOUR IN ANY FORM, the matter of the REMEDY OF OUR "NATIONAL DIFFICULTIES" amounts to an increase in *wages*; for the reduction OF INTEREST means a reduction of SURPLUS LABOUR. However, what he really means is that in the exchange of capital for labour the appropriation of alien labour should be reduced or that the worker should appropriate more of his own labour and capital less.

Reduction of SURPLUS LABOUR can mean two things:

Less work should be performed over and above the time which is necessary to reproduce the labour capacity, that is, to create an equivalent for WAGES;

or, less *of the total quantity of labour* should assume the *form of SURPLUS LABOUR*, that is, the form of time worked gratis for the capitalist; therefore less of the product in which labour manifests itself should take the form of *SURPLUS PRODUCE*; in other words, the worker should receive more of his own product and less of it should go to the capitalist.

The author is not quite clear about this himself, as can be seen from the following passage which is really the last word in this matter as far as the pamphlet is concerned:

A nation is really rich only if no interest is paid for the use of capital; if the working day is only 6 hours rather than twelve.[b] WEALTH IS *DISPOSABLE TIME* AND NOTHING MORE ([p.] 6).

Since what is understood by interest here is profit, rent, interest on money—in short, all the forms of surplus value—and since, according to the author himself, capital is nothing but the PRODUCE OF LABOUR, ACCUMULATED LABOUR WHICH IS ABLE TO EXACT IN EXCHANGE FOR ITSELF NOT ONLY AN EQUAL QUANTITY OF LABOUR, BUT SURPLUS LABOUR, according to

[a] See K. Marx, *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy*... (present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 499-502).—*Ed.*

[b] This is a summary of the ideas set forth in the pamphlet. Cf. present edition, Vol. 30, p. 204.—*Ed.*

him the phrase: capital bears no interest, therefore means that capital [XIV-860] does not exist. The product is not transformed into capital. No *SURPLUS PRODUCE* and no *SURPLUS LABOUR* exist. Only then is a nation really rich.

This can mean however: There is no PRODUCE and no LABOUR *over and above* the product and the LABOUR required for the reproduction of the workers. Or, they [the workers] *themselves* appropriate this surplus either of the product or of the LABOUR.

That the author does *not simply* mean the latter is, however, clear from the fact that the words "no interest [is paid] for the use of capital" are juxtaposed to [the proposition that] "A nation is really rich if the working day is 6 hours rather than twelve"; "*WEALTH IS DISPOSABLE TIME, AND NOTHING MORE*".

This can now mean:

If everybody has to work, if the contradiction between those who have to work too much and those who are idlers disappears—and this would in any case be the result of capital ceasing to exist, of the product ceasing to provide a title to alien *SURPLUS LABOUR*—and if, in addition, the development of the productive forces brought about by capital is taken into account, society will produce the necessary ABUNDANCE in 6 hours, [producing] more than it does now in 12, and, moreover, all will have 6 hours of "DISPOSABLE TIME", that is, real wealth; time which will not be absorbed in direct productive labour, but will be available for ENJOYMENT, for leisure, thus giving scope for free activity and development. Time is *scope* for the development of man's FACULTIES, etc. It will be recalled that the economists themselves justify the SLAVE LABOUR of the WAGE LABOURERS by saying that it creates leisure, free time for *others,* for another section of society—and thereby also for the society of WAGE LABOURERS.

Or it can also mean: The workers now work 6 hours more than the time (*now*) required for their own reproduction. (This can hardly be the author's view, since he describes what they use *now* as an inhuman minimum.) If capital ceases to exist, then the workers will work for 6 hours only and the idlers will have to work the same amount of time. The material wealth of all would thus be depressed to the level of the workers. But all would have *DISPOSABLE TIME,* that is, free time for their development.

The author himself is obviously not clear about this. NEVERTHELESS, there remains the fine statement:

A nation is really rich if the working day is 6 hours rather than twelve. *WEALTH IS DISPOSABLE TIME, AND NOTHING MORE.*

Ricardo himself, in the CHAPTER entitled "Value and Riches, Their Distinctive Properties",[a] also says that real wealth consists in producing the greatest possible amount of VALUES IN USE having the least possible VALUE. This means, in other words, that the greatest possible ABUNDANCE OF MATERIAL WEALTH is created in the shortest possible labour time. Here also, the "DISPOSABLE TIME" and the enjoyment of that which is produced in the labour time of others, [appear] as the true WEALTH, but like everything in capitalist production—and consequently in its interpreters—[it appears] in the form of a contradiction. In Ricardo's work the contradiction between RICHES and VALUE later [appears] in the form that the net product should be as large as possible in relation to the gross product, which again, in this contradictory form, amounts to saying that those classes in society whose time is only partly or not at all absorbed in material production although they enjoy its fruits, should be as numerous as possible in comparison with those classes whose time is totally absorbed in material production and whose consumption is, as a consequence, a mere ITEM in production costs, a mere condition for their existence as beasts of burden. There is always the wish that the smallest possible portion of society should be doomed to the slavery of labour, to forced labour. This is the utmost that can be accomplished from the capitalist standpoint.

The author puts an end to this. *TIME OF LABOUR,* even if exchange value is eliminated, always remains the creative substance of wealth and the measure of the *cost* of its production. But FREE TIME, *DISPOSABLE TIME,* is wealth itself, partly for the enjoyment of the product, partly for FREE ACTIVITY which—unlike LABOUR—is not determined by a compelling extraneous purpose which must be fulfilled, and the fulfilment of which is regarded as a natural necessity or a social duty, according to one's inclination.

It is self-evident that if TIME OF LABOUR is reduced to a normal length and, furthermore, labour is no longer performed for someone else, but for myself, and, at the same time, the social contradictions between MASTER AND MEN, etc., being abolished, it acquires a quite different, a free character, it becomes real social labour, and finally the basis of *DISPOSABLE TIME*—the *TIME OF LABOUR* of a MAN who has also DISPOSABLE TIME, must be of a much higher quality than that of the beast of burden.

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[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* 3rd ed., London, 1821, Ch. XX.—*Ed.*

[XIV-861] 2) PIERCY RAVENSTONE, M.A.,
*THOUGHTS ON THE FUNDING SYSTEM, AND ITS EFFECTS,*
LONDON, 1824

A most remarkable work.

The author of the pamphlet discussed above understands SURPLUS VALUE in its original form, i.e. that of *SURPLUS LABOUR*. Consequently his attention is mainly centred on the extent of labour time. In particular, the conception of *SURPLUS LABOUR* or VALUE in its absolute form; the extension of labour time beyond that required for the reproduction of the labourer himself, not the reduction of NECESSARY LABOUR as a result of the development of the productive powers of labour.

The reduction of this NECESSARY LABOUR is the principal aspect examined by Ricardo, but in the way it is carried out in capitalist production, namely, as a means for extending the amount of labour time accruing to capital. This pamphlet, on the contrary, declares that the final aim is the *reduction of* the producers' *labour time* and the cessation of labour for the *POSSESSOR OF SURPLUS PRODUCE.*

Ravenstone seems to assume the working day as given. Hence, what he is particularly interested in—just as was also the author of the pamphlet previously discussed, so that the theoretical questions only crop up incidentally—is RELATIVE SURPLUS VALUE or the SURPLUS PRODUCE (which accrues to capital) as a result of the development of the productive power of labour. As is usual with those who adopt this standpoint, SURPLUS LABOUR is conceived here more in the form of SURPLUS PRODUCE, whereas in the previous pamphlet, SURPLUS PRODUCE is conceived more in the form of SURPLUS LABOUR.

* "To teach that the wealth and power of a nation depend on its *capital,* is to make industry ancillary to riches, to make men subservient to property" * ([p.] 7).

The opposition evoked by the Ricardian theory—on [the basis of] its own assumptions—has the following characteristic feature.

To the same extent as political economy developed—and this development finds its most trenchant expression in Ricardo, as far as fundamental principles are concerned—it presented labour as the sole element of value and the only creator of use value, and the development of the productive forces as the only real means for increasing wealth; the greatest possible development of the productive powers of labour as the economic basis of society. This is, in fact, the foundation of *capitalist production.* Ricardo's work,[a] in particular, since it demonstrates that the law of value is not

[a] *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation.—Ed.*

invalidated either by landed property or by capitalist accumulation, etc., is, in reality, only concerned with eliminating all contradictions or phenomena which appear to run counter to this conception. But in the same measure as it is understood that labour is the *sole* source of exchange value and the active source of use value, "*capital*" is likewise conceived by the same economists, in particular by Ricardo (and even more by Torrens, Malthus, Bailey, and others after him), as the regulator of production, the source of wealth and the aim of production, whereas labour is regarded as wage labour, whose representative and real instrument is inevitably a pauper (to which Malthus' theory of population contributed), a mere production cost and instrument of production dependent on a minimum wage and forced to drop even below this minimum as soon as the existing quantity of labour is "superfluous" for capital. In this contradiction, political economy merely expressed the essence of capitalist production or, if you like, of wage labour, of labour alienated from itself, which stands confronted by the wealth it has created as alien wealth, by its own productive power as the productive power of its product, by its enrichment as its own impoverishment and by its social power as the power of society. But this definite, *specific*, historical form of social labour, as it appears in capitalist production, is proclaimed by these economists as the general, eternal form, as something determined by nature and *these* relations of production as the absolutely (not historically) necessary, natural and reasonable relations of social labour. Their thoughts being entirely confined within the bounds of capitalist production, they assert that the *contradictory* form in which social labour manifests itself there, is just as necessary as the form itself freed from this contradiction. Since in the selfsame breath they proclaim, on the one hand, *labour* as such (for them, labour is synonymous with wage labour) and on the other, *capital* as such—that is, the poverty of the workers and the wealth of the non-workers—to be the sole source of wealth, they are perpetually involved in absolute contradictions without being in the slightest degree aware of them. (*Sismondi* was epoch-making in political economy because he had an inkling of this contradiction.[a]) Ricardo's phrase "LABOUR *OR* CAPITAL"[b] reveals in a most striking fashion both the contradiction inherent in the terms and the naïvety with which they are stated to be identical.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 247-48.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 407-11, and this volume, pp. 247-48.—*Ed.*

Since the same real development which provided bourgeois political economy with this striking theoretical expression, unfolded the real contradictions contained in it, especially the contradiction between the growing wealth of the English "nation" and the growing misery of the workers, and since moreover these contradictions are given a *theoretically* compelling if unconscious expression in the Ricardian theory, etc., it was natural for those [XV-862] thinkers who rallied to the side of the proletariat to seize on this contradiction, for which they found the theoretical ground already prepared. Labour is the sole source of exchange value and the only active creator of use value. This is what you say. On the other hand, you say that *capital* is everything, and the worker is nothing or a mere production cost of capital. You have refuted yourselves. Capital is *nothing* but defrauding of the worker. *Labour* is *everything.*

This, in fact, is the ultimate meaning of all the writings which defend the interests of the proletariat from the Ricardian standpoint basing themselves on his assumptions. Just as little as he [Ricardo] understands the identity of *capital* and *labour* in his own system, do they *understand* the contradiction they describe. That is why the most important among them—Hodgskin, for example—accept all the economic preconditions of capitalist production as eternal forms and only desire to eliminate capital, which is both the basis and necessary consequence [of these preconditions].[a]

*Ravenstone*'s main idea is as follows: The development of the productive powers of labour creates *capital* or PROPERTY, in other words a SURPLUS PRODUCE FOR "IDLERS",[b] non-workers[c]; and indeed the more the productive power of labour develops, the more it produces this, its parasitical excrescence which sucks it dry. Whether the title to this SURPLUS PRODUCE accrues to the non-worker because he already possesses wealth, or because he possesses land, landed property, does not affect the case. Both are *capital,* that is, mastery over the product of other people's labour. For Ravenstone PROPERTY[c] is merely *appropriation* of the products of other people's labour and this is only possible in so far as and in the degree that *productive industry* develops. By productive industry Ravenstone understands industry which produces NECESSARIES. UNPRODUCTIVE INDUSTRY, the *INDUSTRY OF CONSUMPTION,*[111] is a consequence of the development of capital, or PROPERTY. Ravenstone appears ascetic like the author of

[a] See this volume, pp. 401-10, 445-46.—*Ed.*
[b] In the manuscript, this word is followed by its German equivalent.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, p. 396.—*Ed.*

the pamphlet discussed above.[a] In this respect he himself remains a captive of the notions set forth by the economists. Without *capital,* without PROPERTY, the NECESSARIES of the workers would be produced in abundance, but there would be no luxury industry. Or it can also be said that Ravenstone, like the author of the pamphlet discussed above, understands or at least in fact admits the *historical necessity* of capital; since capital, according to the author of the pamphlet, produces *surplus labour* over and above the labour strictly necessary for the maintenance [of the worker] and at the same time leads to the creation of machinery (what he calls fixed capital) and gives rise to foreign trade, the world market, in order to utilise the SURPLUS PRODUCE filched from the workers partly to increase productive power, partly to give this SURPLUS PRODUCE the most diverse forms of use value far removed from those required by necessity. Similarly, according to Ravenstone, no "CONVENIENCES", no machinery, no luxury products would be produced without CAPITAL *and* PROPERTY, neither would the development of the natural sciences have taken place, nor the literary and artistic productions which owe their existence to leisure or the urge of the wealthy to receive an equivalent for their "SURPLUS PRODUCE" from the non-workers.

Ravenstone and the pamphleteer do not say this in justification of capital, but simply seize on it as a point of attack because all this is done in *opposition* to the workers and not *for* them. But in fact they thus admit that this is a result of capitalist production, which is therefore a historical form of social development, even though it stands in contradiction to that part of the population which constitutes the basis of that whole development. In this respect they share the narrow-mindedness of the economists (although from a diametrically opposite position) for they confuse the *contradictory form* of this development with its content. The latter wish to perpetuate the contradiction on account of its results. The former are determined to sacrifice the fruits which have developed within this antagonistic form, in order to get rid of the contradiction. This distinguishes their opposition to political economy from that of contemporary people like Owen[b]; likewise from that of Sismondi, who harks back to antiquated forms of the contradiction in order to be rid of it in its acute form.[c]

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[a] *The Source and Remedy of the National Difficulties...*— *Ed.*

[b] See R. Owen, *The Book of the New Moral World...*, London, 1836.— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 247-48, and also K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon* (present edition, Vol. 6, p. 137).— *Ed.*

It is the "WANTS" of the poor which "CONSTITUTE HIS" (the rich man's) "WEALTH.... When all were equal, none would labour for another. *The necessaries of life would be overabundant whilst its comforts were entirely wanting" ([p.] 10).

"The industry which produces is the parent of property; that which aids consumption is its child" ([p.] 12).

"The growth of property, this greater ability to maintain idle men, and unproductive industry, that in political economy is called capital" ([p.] 13).

"As the destination of property is expense, as without that it is wholly useless to its owner, its existence is intimately connected with that [XV-863] of the industry of consumption" (l.c.).

"If each man's *labour were but enough to procure his own* food, there *could be no property,* and no part of a people's industry could be turned away to work for the wants of the imagination" ([pp.] 14-15).

"In every stage of society, as increased numbers and better contrivances add to each man's power of production, the *number of those who labour is gradually diminished*.... Property grows from the improvement of the means of production; its sole business is [the] encouragement of idleness. When each man's labour is barely sufficient for his own subsistence, as there can be no property, there will be no idle men. When one man's labour can maintain five, there will be four idle men for one employed in production: in no other way can the produce be consumed. ...the object of society is to magnify the idle at the expense of the industrious, to create power out of plenty"* ([p.] 11).

(With regard to RENT he says (not quite correctly, for it is precisely here that it is necessary to explain why [rent] accrues TO THE LANDLORD and not TO THE FARMER, THE INDUSTRIAL CAPITALIST) what applies to SURPLUS VALUE in general, in so far as it develops as a result of the increase in the productive power of labour.

*"In the early stages of society, when men have no artificial assistance to their powers of industry, the proportion of their earnings which can be afforded to rent is exceedingly small; for land has no natural value, it owes all its produce to industry. But every increase of skill adds to the proportion which can be reserved for rent.* Where the labour of 9 is required for the maintenance of 10, only $^1/_{10}$ of the GROSS PRODUCE can go TO RENT. Where one man's labour is sufficient for 5, $^4/_5$ WILL GO TO RENT, or the other CHARGES of the STATE, WHICH CAN ONLY BE PROVIDED FOR OUT OF THE SURPLUS PRODUCE OF INDUSTRY. The first proportion seems to have prevailed in England at the time of the CONQUEST,[112] the last is that which actually takes place now since only $^1/_5$ part of the people are [...] employed in the cultivation of the land" ([pp. 45-]46).

*"So true it is that society turns every improvement but to the increase of idleness"* ([p.] 48).)

*Note.* An original piece of work. Its real subject is the modern system of national debt, as its title indicates.

Amongst other things he says:

"The entire war against the French Revolution *has achieved no higher adventure than the turning of a few Jews into gentlemen, and a few blockheads into political economists"* ([pp.] 66[-67]).

"The funding system has one beneficial consequence although *the ancient gentry of the land* are robbed *of a large portion of their property to transfer it to these new fangled hidalgos as a reward for their skill in the arts of fraud and

peculation ... if it encourage fraud and meanness; if it clothe quackery and pretension in the garb of wisdom; if it turn a whole people in[to] a nation of jobbers ... if it break down all the prejudices of rank and birth to render money the only distinction among men ... it destroys the perpetuity of property"* ([pp.] 51-52).

3) *LABOUR DEFENDED AGAINST THE CLAIMS OF CAPITAL; OR, THE UNPRODUCTIVENESS OF CAPITAL PROVED. BY A LABOURER,* LONDON, 1825. (*WITH REFERENCE TO THE PRESENT COMBINATIONS AMONGST JOURNEYMEN*)

4) THOMAS HODGSKIN, *POPULAR POLITICAL ECONOMY. FOUR LECTURES DELIVERED AT THE LONDON MECHANICS' INSTITUTION,* LONDON, 1827

The anonymous first work is also by Hodgskin. Whereas the PAMPHLETS mentioned previously and a series of similar ones have disappeared without trace, these writings, especially the first one, made a considerable stir and are still regarded as belonging to the major works of English political economy (cf. John Lalor, *Money and Morals,* London, 1852 [pp. XXIV and 319-22]). We shall consider each of these works in turn.

*Labour Defended etc.* As the title indicates, the author wishes to prove the "*UNPRODUCTIVENESS OF CAPITAL*". Ricardo does not assert that capital is *PRODUCTIVE OF VALUE.* It only adds its own value to the product, and its own value depends on the labour time required for its reproduction. It only has value as ACCUMULATED LABOUR (or rather [XV-864], REALISED LABOUR) and it only adds this—its value—to the product in which it is embodied. It is true that he is inconsistent when discussing the general rate of profit. But this is precisely the contradiction which his opponents attacked.

As far as the productivity of capital in relation to *use value* is concerned, this is construed by Smith, Ricardo and others, and by political economists in general, as meaning nothing else than that products of previous useful work serve anew as means of production, as objects of labour, instruments of labour and means of subsistence for the worker. The objective conditions of labour do not face the worker, as in the primitive stages, as mere natural objects (as such, they are never capital), but as natural objects already transformed by human activity. But in this sense the word "capital" is quite superfluous and meaningless. Wheat is nourishing not because it is capital but because it is wheat. The use value of wool derives from the fact that it is wool, not capital. In the same way, the action of the steam engine has nothing in common with its existence as capital. It would do exactly the same work if it

were not "capital" and if it belonged, not to the factory owner, but to the workers. All these things serve in the real labour process because of the relationship which exists between them as *use values*—not as exchange values and still less as capital—and the labour which is embodied in them. Their productivity in the real labour process, or rather the productivity of the labour materialised in them, is due to their nature as objective conditions of real labour and not to their *social existence* as *alienated, independent conditions* which *confront* the worker and are embodied in the capitalist, the MASTER over living labour. It is as WEALTH, as *Hopkins* (not our Hodgskin) rightly says,[a] and not as "NET" WEALTH, as PRODUCE and not as "NET" PRODUCE, that they are here consumed and used. It is true that the particular social form of these things in relation to labour and their real determinateness as factors of the labour process are as confused and inseparably interwoven with one another in the minds of the economists as they are in the mind of the capitalist. Nevertheless, as soon as they analyse the labour process, they are compelled to abandon the term capital completely and to speak of *material of labour, means of labour, and means of subsistence.*[113] But the determinate form of the product as material, instrument and means of subsistence of the worker expresses nothing but the relationship of these *objective* conditions to labour; labour itself appears as the activity which dominates them. It says however nothing at all about [the relationship of] labour and capital, only about the relationship of the purposeful activity of men to their own products in the process of reproduction. They neither cease to be products of labour nor mere objects which are at the disposal of labour. They merely express the relationship in which labour appropriates the objective world which it has created itself, at any rate in this form; but they do not by any means express *any other domination of these things over labour,* apart from the fact that activity must be appropriate to the material, OTHERWISE IT WOULD NOT BE purposeful activity, labour.

One can only speak of the *productivity* of capital if one regards capital as the embodiment of definite social relations of production. But if it is conceived in this way, then the historically transitory character of these relations becomes at once evident, and the general recognition of this fact is incompatible with the continued existence of this relationship, which itself creates the means for its abolition.

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[a] See Th. Hopkins, *On Rent of Land...,* London, 1828, p. 126, and also present edition, Vol. 31, p. 366.—*Ed.*

But the economists do not regard capital as such a relationship because they cannot admit its *relative* character, and do not understand it either. They simply express in theoretical terms the notions of the practical men who are engrossed in capitalist production, dominated by it and interested in it.

In his polemic, Hodgskin himself starts out from a standpoint which is economically narrow-minded.[a] In so far as they [the economists] define capital as an eternal production relation, they reduce it to the general relations of labour, to its material conditions, relations which are common to all modes of production and do not express the specific nature of capital. In so far as they hold that capital produces "value", the best of them and Ricardo included, admit that it does not produce any value which it has not previously received and constantly continues to receive from labour, since the value of a product is determined by the labour time necessary to reproduce it, that is, its value is the result of living, present labour and not of past labour. And as Ricardo emphasises, increase in the productivity of labour is marked by the continuous devaluation of the products of past labour. On the other hand, the economists continually mix up the definite, specific form in which these things constitute capital with their nature as things and as simple elements of every labour process. The mystification contained in capital—as EMPLOYER OF LABOUR[b]—is not explained by them, but it is constantly expressed by them unconsciously, for it is inseparable from the material aspect of capital.

[XV-867][114] The first pamphlet[c] draws the correct conclusions from Ricardo and reduces SURPLUS VALUE to *SURPLUS LABOUR*. This is in contrast to Ricardo's opponents and followers who continue to adhere to his confusion of SURPLUS VALUE with profit.

In opposition to them, the second pamphlet[d] defines relative SURPLUS VALUE more exactly as being dependent on the level of development of the productive power of labour. Ricardo says the same thing, but he avoids the conclusion drawn by the second pamphlet, namely, that the increase in the productive power of labour only increases capital, the wealth of others which dominates labour.

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[a] See this volume, p. 394.—*Ed.*

[b] See p. XXI—1317 of Marx's manuscript (present edition, Vol. 34); cf. also this volume, pp. 302-03.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Source and Remedy of the National Difficulties...*—*Ed.*

[d] P. Ravenstone, *Thoughts on the Funding System, and Its Effects.*—*Ed.*

Finally, the third pamphlet[a] bursts forth with the general statement, which is the inevitable consequence of Ricardo's presentation—that *capital is unproductive.* This is in contrast to Torrens, Malthus and others who, taking one aspect of the Ricardian theory as their point of departure, turn Ricardo's statement that labour is the creator of value into the opposite—that capital is the creator of value. The pamphlet, moreover, disputes [the statement]—which recurs in all of them, from Smith to Malthus, especially in the latter where it is elevated into an absolute dogma (ditto in the case of James Mill)—that labour is absolutely dependent on the *amount of capital available,* as this is the condition of its existence.

Pamphlet No. 1 ends with the statement:

* "Wealth is nothing but disposable time." *[b]

According to Hodgskin, CIRCULATING CAPITAL is nothing but the *juxtaposition* of the different kinds of social labour (COEXISTING LABOUR) and accumulation is nothing but the amassing of the productive powers of social labour, so that the accumulation of the skill and knowledge (SCIENTIFIC POWER) of the workers themselves is the chief [form of] accumulation, and infinitely more important than the accumulation—which goes hand in hand with it and merely represents it—of the *existing objective* conditions of this accumulated activity. These objective conditions are only nominally accumulated and must be constantly produced anew and consumed anew.

* "Productive capital and skilled labour are one." "Capital and a labouring population are precisely synonymous" * [*Labour Defended against the Claims of Capital...*, p. 33].

These are simply further elaborations of Galiani's [thesis]:

"The real wealth ... is man" (*Della Moneta,* Custodi, Parte Moderna, t. III, [p.] 229).[c]

The whole objective world, the "world of commodities", vanishes here as a mere aspect, as the merely passing activity, constantly performed anew, of socially producing men. Compare this "idealism" with the crude, material fetishism into which the Ricardian theory develops "IN [the writings of] THIS INCREDIBLE COBBLER",[109] McCulloch, where not only the difference between man

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[a] [Th. Hodgskin,] *Labour Defended against the Claims of Capital; or, the Unproductiveness of Capital Proved...*, London, 1825.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 389-90.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx quotes in Italian.—*Ed.*

and animal disappears but even the difference between a living organism and an inanimate object. And then let them say that as against the lofty idealism of bourgeois political economy, the proletarian opposition has been preaching a crude materialism directed exclusively towards the satisfaction of coarse appetites.

In his investigations into the productivity of capital, Hodgskin is remiss in that he does not distinguish between how far it is a question of producing use values or exchange values.

Further—but this has historical justification—he takes capital as it is defined by the economists. On the one hand (in so far as it operates in the real process of labour) as a merely physical condition of labour, and therefore of importance only as a material element of labour, and (in the process of valorisation) nothing more than the quantity of labour measured by time, that is, nothing different from this quantity of labour itself. On the other hand, although in fact, in so far as it appears in the real process of production, it is a mere *name* for, and *rechristening* of, labour itself, it is represented as the power dominating and engendering labour, as the basis of the productivity of labour and as wealth alien to labour. And this without any intermediate links. This is how he found it. And he counterposes the real aspect of economic development to its bourgeois humbug.

*"Capital is a sort of *cabalistic word,* like church or state, or any other of those *general terms* which are invented by those who fleece the rest of mankind to conceal the hand that shears them"* (*Labour Defended...*, [p.] 17).

In accordance with the tradition he found prevailing among the economists, he distinguishes between circulating and fixed capital; circulating capital moreover is described as mainly that part which consists of, or is used as, means of subsistence for the workers.

It is maintained that "*division of labour* is impossible without *previous accumulation of capital*" [p. 8].[a] But *"the effects attributed to *a stock of commodities,* under the *name of circulating capital,* are caused by *co-existing labour*"* ([p.] 9).

Faced with the crude conception of the economists, it is quite correct to say that "CIRCULATING CAPITAL" is only THE "NAME" for a "STOCK OF" PECULIAR "COMMODITIES". Since the economists have not analysed the specific social relationship which is represented in the *metamorphosis of commodities,* they can understand *only* the material aspect of "CIRCULATING" capital. All the differentiations in capital arising from the circulation process [XV-868]—in fact the

[a] Hodgskin quotes McCulloch here.—*Ed.*

circulation process itself—are actually nothing but the metamorphosis of commodities[a] (determined by their relationship to wage labour as capital) as an aspect of the reproduction process.

*DIVISION OF LABOUR* is, in one sense, nothing but *CO-EXISTING LABOUR*, that is, the CO-EXISTENCE of *different* kinds of labour which are represented in *DIFFERENT KINDS* OF PRODUCE OR RATHER COMMODITIES. The *DIVISION OF LABOUR* in the capitalist sense, as the breaking down of the particular labour which produces a definite commodity into a series of simple and co-ordinated operations divided up amongst different workers, presupposes the division of labour within society outside the workshop, as *SEPARATION OF OCCUPATIONS*. On the other hand, it [division of labour] increases it [separation of occupations]. The product is increasingly produced as a commodity in the strict sense of the word, its exchange value becomes the more independent of its immediate existence as use value, and its production becomes more and more independent of its consumption by the producers and of its existence as use value for the producers, the more one-sided it itself becomes, and the greater the variety of commodities for which it is exchanged, the greater the kinds of use values in which its exchange value is expressed, and the larger the market for it becomes. The more this happens, the more the product can be produced as a commodity; therefore also on an increasingly *large scale*. The producer's indifference to the use value of his product is expressed *quantitatively* in the amounts in which he produces it, which bear no relation to his own consumption needs, even when he is at the same time a consumer of his own product. The *division of labour* within the workshop is one of the methods used in this *production en masse* and consequently in the production of the product. Thus the division of labour within the workshop is based on the division of OCCUPATIONS in society.

The size of the market has two aspects. First, the mass of consumers, their numbers. But secondly, also, the number of OCCUPATIONS which are independent of one another. The latter is possible without the former. For example, when spinning and weaving become divorced from domestic industry and agriculture, all those engaged in agriculture become a market for spinners and weavers. They likewise [form markets] for one another as a consequence of the separation of their occupations. What the division of labour in society presupposes above all, is that the

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[a] See K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 324-34).—*Ed.*

different kinds of labour have become independent of one another in such a way that their products confront one another as commodities and must be EXCHANGED, that is, undergo the metamorphosis of commodities and stand in relation to one another as *commodities*. (This is why in the Middle Ages, the towns prohibited the spread of as many professions as possible to the countryside, not merely for the purpose of preventing competition—the only aspect seen by Adam Smith[a]—but in order to create markets for themselves.) On the other hand, the proper development of the division of labour presupposes a certain density of population. The development of the DIVISION OF LABOUR in the workshop depends even more on this density of population. This latter DIVISION is, to a certain extent, a precondition for the former and in turn intensifies it still further. It does this by splitting formerly correlated occupations into separate and independent ones, also by increasing and differentiating the indirect preliminary work they require; and as a result of the increase in both production and the population and the freeing of capital and labour it creates NEW WANTS and NEW MODES OF THEIR SATISFACTION.

Therefore when Hodgskin says "DIVISION OF LABOUR" is the effect not OF A *STOCK OF COMMODITIES* CALLED CIRCULATING CAPITAL but OF "*CO-EXISTING LABOUR*", it would be tautologous if in this context he understood by DIVISION OF LABOUR the SEPARATION OF TRADES. It would only mean that DIVISION OF LABOUR is the cause or the EFFECT of the DIVISION OF LABOUR. He can therefore only mean that DIVISION OF LABOUR within the workshop depends on the SEPARATION OF OCCUPATIONS, the SOCIAL DIVISION OF LABOUR, and is, IN A CERTAIN SENSE, ITS EFFECT.

It is not A "STOCK OF COMMODITIES" which gives rise to this SEPARATION OF OCCUPATIONS and with it the DIVISION OF LABOUR in the workshop, but it is the *SEPARATION OF OCCUPATIONS* (and DIVISION OF LABOUR) that is manifested in the STOCK OF COMMODITIES, or rather in the fact that A STOCK OF *PRODUCTS* becomes a *STOCK OF COMMODITIES*. // The PROPERTY, the characteristic feature of the *capitalist mode of production* and therefore of capital itself in so far as it expresses a definite relation of the producers to one another and to their product, is inevitably always described by the economists as the PROPERTY of the THING. //

[XV-869] If, however, "*PREVIOUS ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL*" is being discussed from an economic standpoint (see Turgot, Smith,[b] etc.)

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[a] A.Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations...*, Book I, Ch. X, Part 2.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations...*, Vol. II, London, 1843, pp. 250-51; see also present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 366-67.—*Ed.*

as a condition for the DIVISION OF LABOUR, then what is understood by this is the previous CONCENTRATION OF A *STOCK OF COMMODITIES* as *capital* in the possession of the buyer of labour, since the kind of cooperation characteristic of the division of labour presupposes a *CONGLOMERATION of workers*—consequently, accumulation of the means of subsistence necessary for them while they are working—increased productivity of labour—consequently, increase in the amount of raw materials, instruments and *matières instrumentales* which must be available in order that labour proceeds continuously, since it constantly requires large amounts of these things—in short, the objective conditions of production on a large scale.

Here, *accumulation of capital* cannot mean increase in the amount of means of subsistence, raw materials and instruments of labour as a *condition for the division of labour*, for in so far as the accumulation of capital is taken to mean this, it is a consequence of the division of labour, not its precondition.

Similarly, *accumulation of capital* cannot here mean that means of subsistence for the workers must be available in general before new necessaries are reproduced, or that products of their labour must constitute the raw material and means of labour for the new production which they carry out. For this is the condition of labour in general and was just as true *before the development* of the division of labour as it is after it.

On the one hand: if we consider the material element of *accumulation*, it means nothing more than that the division of labour requires the concentration of means of subsistence and means of labour at particular points, whereas formerly these were scattered and dispersed as long as the workers in individual TRADES—which could not have been very numerous under these conditions—themselves carried out all the manifold and consecutive operations required for the production of one or more products. Not an increase in *absolute* terms is presupposed, but *CONCENTRATION*, the gathering together of more at a given point, and of *relatively* more [means of labour] compared with the numbers of workers brought together there. More flax, for example, [is used] by the workers in manufacture (in proportion to their numbers) than the relative amount of flax required in proportion to all the peasants—both men and women—who used to spin flax as a sideline. Hence, *CONGLOMERATION* of workers, *CONCENTRATION* of raw materials, instruments, and means of subsistence.

*On the other hand*: if we consider the historical foundation on which this process develops, from which manufacture arises, the

industrial mode of production whose characteristic feature is the division of labour, then this CONCENTRATION can only take place in the form that these workers are assembled together as wage workers, that is, as workers who must sell their labour capacity because their conditions of labour confront them as alien property, as an independent, alien force. This implies that these conditions of labour confront them as *capital*; in other words, these means of subsistence and means of labour (or, what amounts to the same thing, the disposal of them through the intermediary of money) are in the hands of individual owners of money or of commodities, who, as a result, become *capitalists*. The loss of the conditions of labour by the workers is expressed in the fact that these conditions become independent as capital or as things at the disposal of the capitalists.

Thus primitive accumulation, as I have already shown,[a] means nothing but the separation of labour and the worker from the conditions of labour, which confront him as independent forces. The course of history shows that this separation is a factor in social development. Once capital exists, the capitalist mode of production itself evolves in such a way that it maintains and reproduces this separation on a constantly increasing scale until the historical reversal takes place.

It is not the ownership of money which makes the capitalist a capitalist. For money to be transformed into capital, the prerequisites for capitalist production must exist, whose first historical presupposition is that separation. The separation, and therefore the existence of the conditions of labour as capital, is given in capitalist production; this separation which constantly reproduces itself and expands, is the foundation of production.

Accumulation by means of the reconversion of profit, or SURPLUS PRODUCE, into capital now becomes a continuous process as a result of which the increased products of labour which are at the same time its objective conditions, conditions of reproduction, continuously confront labour as *capital*, i.e. as forces—personified in the capitalist—which are alienated from labour and dominate it. Consequently, it becomes a specific function of the capitalist to accumulate, that is, to reconvert a part of the SURPLUS PRODUCE into conditions of labour. And the stupid economist concludes from this that if this operation did not proceed in this contradictory, specific way, it could not take place at all. Reproduction on an

[a] See K. Marx, *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy*... (present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 387-99).—*Ed.*

extended scale is inseparably connected in his mind with *accumulation,* the capitalist form of this reproduction.

[XV-870] Accumulation merely presents as a *continuous process* what in *primitive accumulation* appears as a distinct historical process, as the process of the emergence of capital and as a transition from one mode of production to another.

The economists, caught as they are in the toils of the notions proper to the agents of the capitalist mode of production, advance a double *quid pro quo,* each side of which depends on the other.

On the one hand, they transform capital from a relationship into a thing, A STOCK OF COMMODITIES (already forgetting that commodities themselves are *not* things) which, in so far as they serve as conditions of production for new labour, are called capital and, with regard to their mode of reproduction, are called circulating capital.

On the other hand, they transform things into capital, that is, they consider the social relationship which is represented in them and through them as an attribute which belongs to the thing as such as soon as it enters as an element into the labour process or the technological process.

*The concentration* in the hands of non-workers *of raw materials and of the disposition over the means of subsistence* as powers dominating labour, the *preliminary* condition for the division of labour (later on, the division of labour increases not only concentration, but also the amount [available for] concentration by increasing the productive power of labour), in other words the *preliminary accumulation of capital* as the condition for the division of labour therefore means for them the augmentation or concentration (they do not differentiate between the two) of means of subsistence and means of labour.

*On the other hand,* these necessaries and means of labour would not operate as objective conditions of production if these things did not possess the attribute of being capital, if the product of labour, the condition of labour, did not absorb labour itself, if past labour did not absorb living labour, and if these things did not belong to themselves or *per procurationem*[a] to the capitalist instead of to the worker.

As if the division of labour was not just as possible if its conditions belonged to the associated workers (although historically it could not AT FIRST appear in this form, but can only achieve it as a result of capitalist production) and were regarded by the

[a] By proxy.—*Ed.*

latter as their own products and the material elements of their own activity, which they are by their very nature.

Furthermore, because in capitalist production capital appropriates the SURPLUS PRODUCE of the worker, consequently, because it has *appropriated* the products of labour and these now confront the worker in the form of capital, it is clear that the conversion of the SURPLUS PRODUCE into conditions of labour can only be initiated by the capitalist and only in the form that he turns the product of labour—which he has appropriated without any equivalent—into a means of production of new labour performed without receiving an equivalent. Consequently, the extension of reproduction appears as the transformation of profit into capital and as a *saving* by the capitalist who, instead of consuming the SURPLUS PRODUCE which he has acquired gratis, converts it anew into a means of exploitation of labour but is able to do this only in so far as he converts it again into productive capital; this entails the conversion of SURPLUS PRODUCE into means of labour. As a result, the economists conclude that the SURPLUS PRODUCE cannot serve as an element of new production if it has not been transformed previously from the product of the worker into the property of his EMPLOYER in order to serve as capital once again and to repeat the old process of exploitation. The more inferior economists add to this the idea of HOARDING and the accumulation of treasure. Even the better ones—Ricardo, for example—transfer the notion of renunciation from the hoarder to the capitalist.

The economists do not conceive capital as a relation. They cannot do so without at the same time conceiving it as a historically transitory, i.e. a relative—not an absolute—form of production. Hodgskin himself does not share this concept. In so far as it justifies capital it does not justify its justification by the economists, but on the contrary refutes it. Thus Hodgskin is not concerned in all this.

As far as matters stood between him and the economists, the kind of polemic he had to wage seemed to be mapped out beforehand and quite simple. To put it simply, he had to vindicate the one aspect which the economists elaborate "scientifically" against the fetishistic conception they accept *sans raison*,[a] naïvely and unconsciously from the capitalist way of looking at things. The utilisation of the products of previous labour, of labour in general, as materials, tools and means of subsistence, is necessary if the worker wants to use his products for new production. This

[a] Without thinking.—*Ed.*

particular mode of consumption of his product is productive. But what on earth has this kind of utilisation, this mode of consumption of his product, to do with the domination of this product over him, with its existence as capital, with the concentration [XV-870a] in the hands of individual capitalists of the right to dispose of raw materials and means of subsistence and the exclusion of the workers from ownership of their product? What has it to do with the fact that first of all they have to hand over their product gratis to a third party in order to buy it back again with their own labour and, what is more, they have to give him more labour in exchange than is contained in the product and thus have to create more SURPLUS PRODUCE for him?

*Past labour* exists here in two forms. As *product, use value.* The process of production requires that the workers consume one portion of this product [and use] another portion as raw materials and instruments of labour. This applies to the technological process and merely demonstrates the relations that have to exist in *industrial production* between the workers and the products of their own labour, their own products, in order to turn them into means of production.

Or, [as] *value.* This only shows that the value of their new product represents not only their present, but also their past labour, and that by increasing it they retain the old value, because they increase it.

The claim put forward by the capitalist has nothing to do with this process as such. It is true that he has appropriated the products of labour, of past labour, and that he therefore possesses a means for appropriating new products and living labour. This, however, is precisely the kind of procedure against which protests are made. The preliminary concentration and accumulation necessary for the "division of labour" must not take the form of *accumulation of capital.* It does not follow that because they are necessary, the capitalist must inevitably have the disposal of the conditions of labour of today created by the labour of yesterday. If accumulation of capital is supposed to be nothing but ACCUMULATED LABOUR, it by no means implies that accumulation OF OTHER PEOPLE'S LABOUR has to take place.

Hodgskin however does not follow this simple path, and at first this seems strange. In his polemic against the productivity of capital, to begin with, against circulating and then even more, against fixed capital, he seems to oppose or to reject the importance of *past labour,* or of its *product* for reproduction as a condition of new labour. From this follows the importance of past

labour embodied in products for labour as present ἐνέργεια.[a] Why this change?

Since the economists identify past labour with *capital*—past labour being understood in this case not only in the sense of concrete labour embodied in the product, but also in the sense of social labour, materialised labour time—it is understandable that they, the Pindars of capital, emphasise the *objective* elements of production and overestimate their importance as against the *subjective element,* living, immediate labour. For them, labour only becomes efficacious when it becomes *capital* and confronts itself, the passive element confronting its active counterpart. The producer is therefore controlled by the product, the subject by the object, labour which is being embodied by labour embodied in an object, etc. In all these conceptions, past labour appears not merely as an objective factor of living labour, subsumed by it, but vice versa; not as an element of the power of living labour, but as a power over this labour. The economists ascribe a false importance to the objective factor of labour compared with labour itself in order to have also a *technological* justification for the *specific social form,* i.e. the *capitalist form,* in which the relationship of labour to the conditions of labour is turned upside-down, so that it is not the worker who makes use of the conditions of labour, but the conditions of labour which make use of the worker. It is *for this reason* that Hodgskin asserts on the contrary that this objective factor, that is, the entire material wealth, is quite unimportant compared with the living process of production and that, in fact, this wealth has no value in itself, but only in so far as it is a factor in the living production process. In doing so, he underestimates somewhat the value which the labour of the past has for the labour of the present, but in opposing economic fetishism this is quite all right. If in capitalist production—HENCE in political economy, ITS THEORETICAL EXPRESSION—past labour were met with only as a pedestal, etc., created for labour by labour itself, then such a controversial issue would not have arisen. It only exists because in the real life of capitalist production, as well as in its theory, *materialised labour* appears as a contradiction to itself, to *living labour.* In exactly the same way in religiously constrained reasoning, the product of thought not only claims but exercises domination over thought itself.

[a] Activity.—*Ed.*

[XV-865][114] The proposition

*"The effects attributed to a *stock of commodities*, under the name of circulating capital, are caused by *co-existing labour*"* ([p.] 9),[a]

means first of all: -

The simultaneous co-existence of living labour brings about a large part of the effects which are attributed to the product of previous labour UNDER THE NAME OF CIRCULATING CAPITAL.

For example, a part of CIRCULATING CAPITAL consists of the stock of means of subsistence WHICH THE CAPITALIST IS SAID TO HAVE STORED UP TO SUPPORT THE LABOURER WHILE WORKING.

The *formation of a reserve stock* is by no means a feature peculiar to capitalist production although, since under it production and consumption are greater than ever before, the amount of commodities on the market—the amount of commodities in the sphere of circulation—is likewise greater than ever before. Here memories of HOARDING, of *accumulation of treasure* by *hoarders* are still discernible.

The consumption fund must be disregarded first of all because we are speaking here of capital and of industrial production. What has reached the sphere of individual consumption, whether it is consumed more quickly or more slowly, has ceased to be capital. // Although it can be partly reconverted into capital, for instance, houses, parks, crockery, etc. //

*"Do all the capitalists of Europe possess at this moment one week's food and clothing for all the labourers they employ? Let us first examine the question as to food. One portion of the food of the people is *Bread*, which is never prepared till within a few hours of the time when it is eaten... The produce of the baker cannot be stored up. In no case can the material of bread, whether it exist as corn or flour, be *preserved without continual labour*.* The CONVICTION of the worker employed by the *cotton spinner, that he will obtain bread when he requires it, and his master's conviction that the money he pays him will enable him to obtain it, arise simply from the fact that the bread has always been obtained when required" (l.c., [p.] 10).

"Another article of the labourer's food is milk, and milk is manufactured ... twice a day. If it be said that the cattle to supply it are already there, why, the answer is, they require *constant attention and constant labour, and their food, through the greater part of the year, is of daily growth*. The fields in which they pasture, require the hand of man.* The same applies to *meat; it cannot be stored up, for it begins instantly to deteriorate after it is brought to market"* ([p.] 10).

Because of moths, even of clothing *"only a *very small stock is ever prepared*, compared to the general consumption"* ([p.] 11).

"Mill says, and says justly, *what is annually produced is annually consumed,[b] so

[a] Cf. this volume, p. 401.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Mill, *Elements of Political Economy*, 2nd ed., London, 1824, p. 220.—*Ed.*

that, in fact, *to enable men to carry on all those operations which extend beyond a year,* there cannot be *any stock of commodities stored up.* Those who undertake them must rely, therefore, not *on any commodities already created,* but that other men will labour and produce what they are to subsist on till their own products are completed. Thus, should the labourer admit that some accumulation of circulating capital is necessary for operations terminated within the year ... it is plain, that in all operations which extend beyond a year, the labourer does not, and cannot, rely on *accumulated* capital" ([p.] 12).

"If we duly consider the number and importance of those wealth producing operations which are not completed within the year, and the numberless products of daily labour, necessary to subsistence, which are consumed as soon as produced, we shall be sensible that *the success and productive power of every different species of labour is at all times* more *dependent on the co-existing productive labour of other men than on any* accumulation of circulating capital" ([p.] 13).

"It is by the *command* the capitalist possesses *over the labour of some men,* not by his possessing *a stock of commodities,* that he is *enabled* to support and consequently employ *other labourers*" ([p.] 14).

"The only thing which can be said to be stored up or previously prepared, is the *skill of the labourer*" ([p.] 12).

"All the effects usually attributed to accumulation of circulating capital are derived from *the accumulation and storing up of skilled labour,* and this most important operation is performed, as far as the great mass of the labourers is concerned, without *any circulating capital* whatever" ([p.] 13).

"The number of labourers must at all times depend on the *quantity of circulating capital,* or, as I should say, on the quantity of the *products of co-existing labour,* which labourers are allowed to consume" ([p.] 20).

[XV-866] "Circulating capital ... is created only for consumption; while fixed capital ... is made, not to be consumed, but to aid the labourer in producing those things which are to be consumed" * ([p.] 19).

Thus first of all:

"The success and productive power of every different species of labour is at all times more dependent on the *co-existing* productive labour of other men than on any accumulation of circulating capital",[a] that is, of "COMMODITIES ALREADY CREATED". These "ALREADY CREATED COMMODITIES" confront "THE PRODUCTS OF CO-EXISTING LABOUR".

//The part of capital which consists of instruments and materials of labour is as "COMMODITIES ALREADY CREATED" always a precondition in each *particular* TRADE. It is impossible to spin cotton which has not yet been "CREATED", to operate spindles which have yet to be manufactured, or to burn coal which has not yet been brought up from the mine. These always enter the process as forms of existence of *PREVIOUS LABOUR.* EXISTING LABOUR thus DEPENDS ON ANTECEDENT LABOUR and not ONLY ON CO-EXISTING LABOUR, although this ANTECEDENT LABOUR, whether in the form of means of labour or materials of labour, can only be OF ANY USE (PRODUCTIVE USE) when it is in contact

[a] Cf. above on this page.—*Ed.*

with living labour as a material element of it. Only as an element of industrial consumption, i.e. consumption by labour.

But when considering circulation and the reproduction process, we have seen that it is only possible to reproduce the commodity after it is finished and converted into money, because *simultaneously* all its elements have been produced and reproduced by means of CO-EXISTING LABOUR.[a]

A twofold progression takes place in production. Cotton, for example, advances from one phase of production to another. It is produced first of all as raw material, then it is subjected to a number of operations until it is fit to be exported or, if it is further worked up in the same country, it is handed over to a spinner. It then goes on from the spinner to the weaver and from the weaver to the bleacher, dyer, FINISHER, and thence to various workshops where it is worked up for definite USES, i.e. articles of clothing, bed-linen, etc. Finally it leaves the last producer for the consumer and enters into individual consumption if it does not enter into industrial consumption as means (not material) of labour. But whether it is to be consumed industrially or individually, it has acquired its final form as use value. What emerges from one sphere of production as a product enters another as a condition of production, and in this way, goes through many SUCCESSIVE phases until it receives its last FINISH as use value. Here PREVIOUS LABOUR appears continually as the condition for CO-EXISTING LABOUR.

*Simultaneously,* however, while the product is advancing in this way from one phase to another, while it is undergoing this real metamorphosis, production is being carried on in every phase. While the weaver spins the yarn, the spinner is simultaneously spinning cotton, and fresh quantities of [raw] cotton are in the process of production.

Since the continuous, constantly repeated process of production is, at the same time, a process of reproduction, it is therefore equally dependent on the *CO-EXISTING LABOUR* which produces the various phases of the product simultaneously, while the product is passing through metamorphoses from one phase to another. Cotton, yarn, fabric, are not only produced one after the other and from one another, but they are produced and reproduced *simultaneously,* alongside one another. What appears as the EFFECT of ANTECEDENT LABOUR, if one considers the production process of the

[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 449-51 and this volume, pp. 104-05, and 116-17.— *Ed.*

individual commodity, presents itself at the same time as the effect of CO-EXISTING LABOUR, if one considers the *reproduction process* of the commodity, that is, if one considers this production process in its continuous motion and in the entirety of its conditions, and not merely an isolated action or limited in its scope. There exists not only a cycle comprising various phases, but all the phases of the commodity are simultaneously produced in the various spheres and branches of production. If the same peasant first plants flax, then spins it, then weaves it, these operations are performed in SUCCESSION, but not simultaneously as the mode of production based on the division of labour within society presupposes.

No matter what phase of the production process of an individual commodity is considered, the ANTECEDENT LABOUR only acquires significance as a result of the LIVING LABOUR which it provides with the necessary conditions of production. On the other hand, however, these conditions of production without which LIVING LABOUR cannot realise itself always appear in the process as the result of ANTECEDENT LABOUR. Thus the COOPERATING LABOUR of the contributing branches of labour always appears as a passive factor and, as such a passive factor, it is a precondition. The economists emphasise this aspect. In reproduction and circulation, on the other hand, the mediating social labour on which the [production] process of the commodity in each particular phase depends and by which it is determined, appears as present, CO-EXISTING, CONTEMPORANEOUS LABOUR. The INCIPIENT FORMS of the commodity and its SUCCESSIVE or completed forms are produced simultaneously. Unless this happened it would not be possible, after it has undergone its real metamorphosis, to reconvert it from money into its conditions of existence. [XV-870b] A commodity is thus the product of ANTECEDENT LABOUR only in so far as it is the product of CONTEMPORANEOUS LIVING LABOUR. From the capitalist point of view, therefore, all material wealth appears only as a fleeting aspect of the flow of production as a whole, which includes the process of circulation. //

Hodgskin examines only one of the constituent parts of circulating capital. One part of circulating capital is however continuously converted into fixed capital and *matière instrumentale* and only the other part is converted into articles of consumption. Moreover, even that part of circulating capital which is ultimately transformed into commodities intended for individual consumption always exists, alongside the final form in which it emerges from the FINISHING PHASE as end product, simultaneously in the earlier phases in its INCIPIENT FORMS—[as] raw material or semi-manufactured goods, removed in various degrees from the final

form of the product—in which it cannot as yet enter into consumption.[a]

The problem Hodgskin is concerned with is: what is the relation of the present labour performed by the worker for the capitalist to the labour contained in those articles on which his WAGES are spent, which, in actual fact, are the use values of which variable capital consists? It is admitted that the worker cannot work without finding these articles ready for consumption. And that is why the economists say that circulating capital—the PREVIOUS LABOUR, COMMODITIES ALREADY CREATED which the capitalist has stored up—is the condition for labour and, amongst other things, also the condition for the division of labour.

When the conditions of production, and especially circulating capital are being discussed in the sense Hodgskin views them, it is usual to declare that the capitalist must have accumulated the means of subsistence which the worker has to consume before HIS NEW COMMODITY IS FINISHED, that is, while he works, while the commodity he produces is only *in statu nascendi*.[b] This is shot through with the notion that the capitalist either gathers things like a hoarder or that *he* stores up a supply of means of subsistence like the bees their honey.

This however is merely a *modus loquendi*.[c]

First of all, we are not speaking here of the SHOPKEEPERS who sell means of subsistence. These must naturally always have a full STOCK IN TRADE. Their stores, SHOPS, etc., are simply reservoirs in which the various commodities are stored once they are ready for circulation. This kind of storing is merely an *interim period* in which the commodity remains until it leaves the sphere of circulation and enters that of consumption. It is its mode of existence as a *commodity* on the market. Strictly speaking, as a commodity it exists only in this form. It does not affect the matter whether, instead of being in the possession of the first seller (the producer), the commodity is in the possession of the 3rd or 4th and finally passes into the possession of the seller who sells it to the real consumer. (It merely means that, in the intermediate stages, exchange of capital (really of capital+profit, for the producer sells not only the capital in the commodity but also the profit made on the capital), for capital is taking place, and in the last stage

[a] In the manuscript, Marx wrote "Circulating capital" in the margin near the paragraph.—*Ed.*

[b] In the nascent state.—*Ed.*

[c] A mode of expression, a figure of speech.—*Ed.*

exchange of capital for REVENUE (provided the commodity is intended not for industrial but for individual consumption, as is assumed here). The commodity which is a finished use value and marketable, enters the market as a commodity, in the phase of circulation; all commodities enter this phase when they undergo their first metamorphosis, the transformation into money. If this is called "storing up" then it means nothing more than "circulation" or the existence of commodities as commodities.) This kind of "storing" is exactly the opposite of treasure-hoarding, the aim of which is to retain commodities permanently in the form in which they are capable of entering into circulation, and it achieves this only by withdrawing commodities in the form of money from circulation. If production, and therefore also consumption, is varied and on a mass scale, then a great quantity of the most diverse commodities will be found continually at this *stopping place*, at this *intermediate station*, in a word, in circulation or on the market. Regarded from the standpoint of *quantity*, storing on a large scale in this context means nothing more than production and consumption on a large scale.

The STOP *made by the commodities*, their sojourn at this stage of the process, their presence on the market instead of in the MILL or in a private house (as articles of consumption) or in the SHOP or the store of the SHOPKEEPER, is only a [XV-871] tiny fraction of time in their life-process. The immobile, independent existence of this "world of commodities", "of things", is only illusory. The station is always full, but always full of different travellers. The same commodities (commodities of the same kind) are constantly produced anew in the sphere of production, available on the market and absorbed in consumption. Not the identical commodities, but commodities of the same type, can always be found in these 3 stages *simultaneously*. If the INTERVAL is prolonged so that the commodities which emerge anew from the sphere of production find the market still occupied by the old ones, then it becomes overcrowded, a STOPPAGE occurs, the market is SURCHARGED, the commodities decline in value, there is *overproduction*. Where, therefore, the intermediate stage of circulation acquires independent existence so that the flow of the stream is not merely held up, where the existence of the commodities in the circulation phase appears as *storing up*, then this is not brought about by a free act on the part of the producer, it is not an aim or an immanent aspect of production, any more than the flow of blood to the head leading to apoplexy is an immanent aspect of the circulation of the blood. Capital as *commodity capital* (and this is

the form in which it appears in the circulation phase, on the market) must not become stationary, it must only constitute a pause in the movement. Otherwise the reproduction process is interrupted and the whole mechanism is thrown into confusion. This objectified wealth which is concentrated at a few points is—and can only be—very small in comparison to the continuous stream of production and consumption. Wealth, therefore, according to Smith, is "the *annual*" reproduction.[a] It is not, that is to say, something out of the dim past. It is always something which emerges from yesterday. If, on the other hand, reproduction were to stagnate due to some disturbances or others, then the stores, etc., would soon empty, there would be shortages and it would soon be evident that the permanency which the existing wealth appears to possess, is only the permanency of its being replaced, of its reproduction, that it is a continuous objectification of social labour.

The movement $C—M—C$ also takes place in the transactions of the SHOPKEEPER. In so far as he makes a "profit", it is a matter which does not concern us here. He sells a commodity and buys the same commodity (the same type of commodities) over again. He sells them to the consumer and buys them again from the producer. Here the same (type of) commodity is converted perpetually into money and money back again continuously into the same commodity. This movement, however, simply represents continuous reproduction, continuous production and consumption, for reproduction includes consumption. (The commodity must be sold, must reach the sphere of consumption in order that it can be reproduced.) It must be accepted as a use value. (For $C—M$ for the seller is $M—C$ for the buyer, that is, the conversion of money into a commodity as a use value.) The reproduction process, since it is a unity of circulation and production, includes consumption, which is itself an aspect of circulation. Consumption is itself both an aspect and a condition of the reproduction process. If one considers the process in its entirety, the SHOPKEEPER, in fact, pays the producer of the commodities with the same sum of money as the consumer pays him when he buys from him. He represents the consumer in his dealings with the producer and the producer in his dealings with the consumer. He is both seller and buyer of the same commodity. The money with which he buys is, in fact, considered from a purely formal standpoint, the final metamor-

[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations...*, Vol. II, London, 1843, pp. 250-52 and 355 ff.—*Ed.*

phosis of the consumer's commodity. The latter transforms his money into the commodity as a use value. The passing of the money into the SHOPKEEPER's hands thus signifies the consumption of the commodity or, considered formally, the transition of the commodity from circulation into consumption. In so far as he buys again from the producer with the money, this constitutes the first metamorphosis of the producer's commodity and signifies the transition of the commodity into the *INTERVAL*, where it remains as a *commodity* in the sphere of circulation. *C—M—C*, in so far as it represents the transformation of the commodity into the consumer's money and the transformation back again of the money, whose owner is now the SHOPKEEPER, into the same commodity (a commodity of the same kind), expresses merely the *constant* passing over of commodities into consumption, for the vacuum left by the commodity reaching the sphere of consumption must be filled by the commodity emerging from the production process and now entering this stage.

[XV-872] The *period during which the commodity stays* in circulation and is replaced by a new commodity naturally depends also on the length of time in which the commodities remain in the production sphere, that is, on the duration of their reproduction time, and varies in accordance with their different length. For example, the reproduction of corn requires a year. The corn harvested in the autumn, for example, of 1862 (in so far as it is not used again for seed) must suffice for the whole coming year—until autumn 1863. It is thrown all at once into circulation (it is already in circulation when it is placed in the farmers' granaries) and absorbed in the various reservoirs of circulation—storehouses, corn merchants, millers, etc. These reservoirs serve as channels both for the commodities issuing from production and those going to the consumer. As long as the commodities remain in them, they are *commodities* and are therefore on the market, in circulation. They are withdrawn only piecemeal, in small quantities, by the annual consumption. The replacement, the stream of new commodities which are to displace them, arrives only in the following year. Thus these reservoirs are only depleted gradually, in the measure that their replacements move forward. If there is a surplus and if the new harvest is above the AVERAGE, then a STOPPAGE takes place. The space which these particular commodities were to have occupied in the market is overstocked. In order to permit the whole quantity to find a place on the market, the price of the commodities is reduced, and this causes them to move again. If the total quantity of use values is too large, they accommodate

themselves to the space they occupy by a CONTRACTION of their *prices*. If the quantity is too small, it is expanded by an increase of their *prices*.

On the other hand, commodities which quickly deteriorate as use values remain only for a very short time in the reservoirs of circulation. The period of time during which they have to be converted into money and reproduced, is prescribed by the nature of their use value which, if it is not consumed daily or almost daily, is spoilt and consequently ceases to be a commodity. For exchange value along with its basis, use value, disappears provided the disappearance of use value is not itself an act of production.

In general, it is clear that although in *absolute* terms the *quantity* of the commodities which have been stored up in the reservoirs of circulation increases as a result of the development of industry, because production and consumption increase, this same quantity represents a decrease in comparison with the total annual production and consumption. The *transition* of commodities from circulation to consumption takes place more rapidly. And for the following reasons. The speed of reproduction increases:

1) When the commodity passes rapidly through its various production phases, that is, when each production phase of the production process is reduced in length; this is due to the fact that the labour time necessary to produce the commodity in each one of its forms is reduced; this is a result, therefore, of the development of the division of labour, use of machinery, application of chemical processes, etc. (The development of chemistry makes it possible to artificially speed up the transition of commodities from one state of aggregation to another, their combination with other material which, for instance, occurs in dyeing, their separation from [other] substances as in bleaching; in short, both [modifications in] the form of the same substance (its state of aggregation) as well as changes to be brought about in the substance, are artificially accelerated quite apart from the fact, that for vegetative and organic reproduction, plants, animals, etc., are supplied with cheaper substances, that is, substances which cost less labour time.)

2) Partly as a result of the combination of various branches of industry, that is, the establishment of centres of production for particular industrial branches, [partly] through the *development of means of communication*, the commodity proceeds rapidly from one phase to another; in other words, the interim period, the interval during which the commodity remains in the intermediate station between one production phase and another is reduced, that is, the

*transition* from one phase of production to another is shortened.

3) This whole development—the shortening both of production phases and of the transition from one phase to another—presupposes production on a large scale, mass production and, at the same time, production based on a large amount of constant capital, especially fixed capital; [it requires] therefore a continuous flow of production. But not in the sense in which we have earlier considered the flow, that is, not as the closing and overlapping of the separate production phases, but in the sense that there are no *deliberate* breaks in production. These occur as long as work is done to order, as in [XV-873] the handicrafts, and continue even in manufacture properly so called (in so far as this has not been reshaped by large-scale industry). But now, however, work is carried out on the scale allowed by the capital. This process does not wait on demand, but is a function of capital. Capital works on the same scale continuously (if one disregards accumulation or expansion) and constantly develops and extends the productive forces. Production is therefore not only *rapid,* so that the commodity quickly acquires the form in which it is suitable for circulation, but it is continuous. Production here appears only as constant reproduction and at the same time it takes place on a mass scale.

Thus if the commodities remain in the circulation reservoirs for a long time—if they accumulate there—then they will soon glut them as a result of the speed with which the waves of production follow one another and the huge amount of goods which they deposit continuously in the reservoirs. It is in this sense that *Corbet,* for example, says THE MARKET IS *ALWAYS* overstocked.[a] But the same circumstances which produce this speed and mass scale of reproduction likewise reduce the necessity for the accumulation of commodities in these reservoirs. In part—in so far as it is concerned with *industrial consumption*—this is already implied by the close succession of the production phases which the commodity itself or its ingredients have to undergo. If coal is produced daily on a mass scale and brought to the manufacturer's door by railways, steamships,. etc., he does not need to keep a STOCK of coal, or at most only a very small one; or, what amounts to the same thing, if a SHOPKEEPER acts as an intermediary, he only needs to keep a small amount of stock over and above the amount he sells daily

[a] Th. Corbet, *An Inquiry into the Causes and Modes of the Wealth of Individuals; or the Principles of Trade and Speculation Explained,* Part I, London, 1841, pp. 115-17; cf. also this volume, p. 130.—*Ed.*

and which is daily delivered to him. The same applies to yarn, iron, etc. But apart from *industrial consumption*, in which the stock of commodities (that is, the stock of the ingredients of commodities) must decline in this way, the SHOPKEEPER likewise enjoys the benefits of the speed of communications first of all, and secondly, the certainty of a continuous and rapid renewal and delivery. Although his STOCK of commodities may grow in size, each element of it will remain in his reservoir, in a state of transition, for a shorter period of time. In relation to the total amount of commodities which he sells, that is, in relation to the scale of both production and consumption, the STOCK of commodities which he *accumulates* and *keeps* in store, will be small. It is different in the less developed stages of production where reproduction proceeds slowly—where therefore more commodities must remain in the circulation reservoirs—, the means of transport are slow, the communications difficult and, as a consequence, the *renewal of* STOCK can be interrupted and a great deal of time elapses as a result between the emptying and the refilling of the reservoir—that is, the *renewal* of the STOCK IN hand. The position is then similar to that of products whose reproduction takes place yearly or half-yearly, that is, in more or less prolonged periods of time, owing to the nature of their use values.

(For example, cotton is an illustration of how transport and communications affect the emptying of the reservoirs. Since ships continually ply between Liverpool and the UNITED STATES—speed of communications is one factor, continuity another—all the cotton supply is not shipped at once. It comes on to the market gradually (the producer likewise does not want to flood the market all AT ONCE). It lies at the docks in Liverpool, that is, already in a kind of circulation reservoir, but not in such quantities—in relation to the total consumption of the article—as would be required if the ship from America arrived only once or twice [a year,] after a journey of six months. The cotton manufacturer in Manchester and other places stocks his warehouse roughly in accordance with his immediate consumption needs, since the electric telegraph and the railway make the TRANSFER from Liverpool to Manchester possible at a moment's notice.)

Special filling of the reservoirs—in so far as this is not due to the overstocking OF THE MARKET, which can happen much more easily in these circumstances than under archaically slow conditions—occurs only for speculative reasons and merely in exceptional cases because of A REAL OR SUSPECTED FALL OR RISE OF PRICES. Regarding this *relative decline* in stock, that is, the commodities which are in

circulation, compared with the amount of production and consumption, see *Lalor,*[a] [*The*] *Economist, Corbet*[b] (give the corresponding quotations [XV-874] after Hodgskin). *Sismondi* wrongly saw something lamentable in all this (his writings to be looked up as well).[c]

(On the other hand, there is indeed a continuous *extension of the market* and in the degree that the *interval of time* decreases in which the commodity remains on the market, its *flow in space* increases, that is, the market expands spatially, and the periphery in relation to the centre, the production sphere of the commodity, is circumscribed by a constantly extending radius.)

The fact that consumption lives from hand to mouth, changes its linen and its coat as rapidly as it does its opinions, and does not wear the same coat ten years running, etc., is connected with the speed of reproduction, or is another expression of it. To an increasing extent consumption—even of articles where this is not demanded by the nature of their use value—takes place almost simultaneously with production and becomes therefore more and more dependent on the PRESENT, CO-EXISTING LABOUR (since it is, IN FACT, exchange of CO-EXISTING LABOUR). This takes place in the same degree in which past labour becomes an ever more important factor of production, even though this past itself is after all a very recent and only relative one.

(The following example demonstrates how closely the keeping of a stock is linked with deficiencies of production. As long as it is difficult to keep cattle throughout the winter, there is no fresh meat in winter. As soon as stock-farming is able to overcome this difficulty, the *stock* previously made up of substitutes for fresh meat—pickled or smoked varieties—ceases of itself.)

(The product only becomes a commodity where it enters into circulation. The production of goods as commodities, hence circulation, expands enormously as a result of capitalist production for the following reasons:

1. *Production* takes place on a large scale; the *quantity*, the *huge amounts produced*, therefore, do not stand in any kind of quantitative relationship to the producer's needs; IN FACT it is *pure chance* whether he consumes any, even a small part of his own

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[a] J. Lalor, *Money and Morals: a Book for the Times*, London, 1852, pp. 43-44.—*Ed.*

[b] Th. Corbet, *An Inquiry into the Causes and Modes of the Wealth of Individuals...*—*Ed.*

[c] J. Ch. L. Simonde de Sismondi, *Études sur l'économie politique*, Vol. 1, Brussels, 1837, p. 49 ff.—*Ed.*

product. He only consumes his own product on a mass scale where he produces PART OF THE INGREDIENTS OF HIS OWN CAPITAL. On the other hand, in the earlier stages only those products which exceed the amount required by the producer himself become commodities or, at any rate, this is mainly the case.

2. The *narrow range* of goods produced [stands] in inverse ratio to the increased variety of needs. This leads to previously combined branches of production becoming increasingly separated and independent—in short, to increasing division of labour within society—a contributing factor is the establishment of new branches of production and the multiplication of KINDS OF COMMODITIES produced. ([To be inserted] at the end, after Hodgskin, also *Wakefield* about this.) This VARIEGATION and DIFFERENTIATION OF COMMODITIES arises in two ways. The different *phases of one and the same product,* as well as the auxiliary operations (that is, the labour connected with various constituent parts, etc.) are separated and become different branches of labour, independent of one another; or various phases *of one* product become *DIFFERENT KINDS OF COMMODITIES.* But secondly, owing to labour and capital (or labour and SURPLUS PRODUCT) becoming free; on the other hand, to the discovery of new practical applications of the same use value, either because new needs arise as a result of the modification of No. 1 (for example, the need for more rapid and universal means of transport and communication arising with the application of steam in industry) and therefore new means of satisfying them, or new possibilities of utilising the same use value are discovered, or new substances or new methods (plastic-galvanisation, for instance) for treating well-known substance in different ways, etc. All this amounts to the following: **One produce* in its successive phases or *conditions* converted into *different commodities.* Creation of *new products* or new *values in use* as commodities.*

3. *Transformation of the majority of the population* who formerly consumed a mass of products *in naturalibus*[a] into *wage workers.*

4. *Transformation of the tenant farmer into an industrial capitalist* (and with it the conversion of rent into money rent) and generally of all payments in kind (taxes, etc., rent) into money payments). In general—industrial exploitation of the land with the result that it is no longer confined to its own muck-heap as previously, but that both its chemical and mechanical conditions of production—even seeds, fertilisers, cattle, etc.—are subjected to the process of exchange of matter.

[a] In kind, in this context it means: within the framework of a natural economy.—*Ed.*

5. *Mobilisation of a mass of previously "inalienable" possessions* [*by conversion*] *into commodities* and the creation of forms of property which only exist in negotiable papers. On the one hand, alienation of landed property. //The lack of property of the masses causes them, for example, to regard the dwelling in which they live as a commodity.// [On the other hand,] railway shares, in short, all kinds of shares.

[XV-875] Back again to Hodgskin now.

It is obvious that by "*storing up*" [means of subsistence] *for* the workers by the capitalists one cannot understand that commodities which are passing from production into consumption are in the circulation reservoirs, in the circulation system, on the market. This would mean that the products circulate for the benefit of the worker and become *commodities* for his sake; and that in general, the production of products as commodities is undertaken for his sake. The worker shares with every other [commodity owner] the need to transform the commodity he sells—which in actual fact, though not in form, is his labour—at first into money in order to convert the money back again into commodities which he can consume. It is perfectly obvious that [no] division of labour (in so far as it is based on commodity production), [no] wage labour and, in general, no capitalist production can take place without *commodities*—whether they be means of consumption or means of production—being available on the market; that this kind of production is impossible *without* commodity circulation, [without] the commodities spending a period of time in the circulation reservoirs. For the product is a commodity κατ' ἐξοχήν[a] only within the framework of circulation. It is as true for the worker as for anybody else that he must find his means of subsistence in the form of *commodities*.

The worker, moreover, does not confront the SHOPKEEPER as a worker confronts a capitalist, but as money confronts the commodity, as a buyer faces the seller. There is no relationship of wage labour to capital here, except, of course, where the SHOPKEEPER is dealing with his *own* workers. But even they, in so far as they buy things from him, do not confront him as workers. They confront him as workers only in so far as he buys from them. Let us therefore leave this *circulation agent*.

But as far as the industrial capitalist is concerned, his *stock*, his accumulation, consists of:

[a] In the strict sense of the word.—*Ed.*

[First,] his fixed capital, i.e. buildings, machinery, etc., which the worker does not consume or, in so far as he does consume them, does so through labour, and thus consumes them industrially *for* the capitalist, and although they are means of labour they are not means of subsistence for him.

Secondly, his raw materials and *matières instrumentales,*[a] the STOCK of which, in so far as it does not enter directly into production, declines, as we have seen. This likewise does not consist of means of subsistence for the workers. This "*accumulation*" by the capitalist for the worker means nothing more than that he does the worker the favour of depriving the latter of his conditions of labour as property and converting the means of his labour (which are themselves merely the transformed product of his labour) into means for the exploitation of labour. In any case, the worker, while he uses the machines and the raw materials as means of labour, does not live on them.

*Thirdly,* the commodities, which he keeps in the storehouse or warehouse before they enter into circulation. These are products of labour, not means of subsistence stored in order to maintain it, labour, during the course of production.

Thus the "accumulation" of means of subsistence by the capitalist for the worker means merely that he must possess enough money in order to pay wages with which the worker withdraws the articles of consumption he needs from the circulation reservoirs (and, if we consider the class as a whole, with which he buys back part of his own product). This money, however, is simply the transformed form of the commodity which the worker has sold and handed over. In this sense, the means of subsistence are "stored up" for him in the same way as they are stored up for his capitalist, who likewise buys consumption goods, etc., with money (the transformed form of the same commodity). This money may be a mere token of value, it therefore does not have to be a representation "OF PREVIOUS LABOUR" but, in the hands of whoever possesses it, simply expresses the realised price not of past labour (or previously [sold] commodities) but of the CONTEMPORANEOUS LABOUR or commodities which he sells. [Money has] merely a formal existence.[b] Or—since in previous modes of production the worker also had to eat and consume during the course of production irrespective of the period of time required for the

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[a] Instrumental materials.—*Ed.*

[b] See K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 289).—*Ed.*

production of his product—"storing up" may mean that the worker must first of all transform the product of his labour into the product of the capitalist, into capital, [XV-876] in order to receive back a portion of it in the form of money, in lieu of payment.

What interests Hodgskin about this whole process (with regard to the process as such it is indeed a matter of indifference whether the worker receives the product of CONTEMPORANEOUS OR PREVIOUS LABOUR, just as it does not matter whether he receives the product of his own previous labour or the product of labour performed simultaneously in a different branch) is this:

A great part, [or] the greatest part of the products consumed daily by the worker—which he must consume whether his own product is finished or not—represents by no means *STORED UP LABOUR* OF BYGONE TIMES. On the contrary they are TO A GREAT DEGREE products of labour performed the same day or during the same week in which the worker produces his own commodity. For example, bread, meat, beer, milk, newspapers, etc. Hodgskin could also have added that they are partly the products of *future* labour, for the worker who buys an overcoat with what he has saved out of 6 months' WAGES buys one which has only been made at the end of the 6 months, etc. (We have seen that the whole of production presupposes *simultaneous* reproduction of the required constituent parts and products in their different forms as raw materials, semi-manufactured goods, etc. But all fixed capital presupposes *future* labour for its reproduction and for the reproduction of its equivalent, without which it cannot be reproduced.) Hodgskin says that during the course of the year the worker must RELY TO SOME DEGREE ON PREVIOUS LABOUR (because of the nature of the production of corn, vegetable raw materials, etc.). (This does not apply to a house, for example. As regards use values which, by their nature, only wear out slowly, are not consumed at once, but gradually used up, it is not due to any action specially devised for the benefit of the workers that these products of previous labour are available on the "market". The worker also used to have a "dwelling" before the capitalist "piled up" deadly stinkholes for him. (See *Laing* on this.[a])) (Apart from the enormous mass of day-to-day needs which are of decisive importance especially to the *worker*, who, at best, can only satisfy his everyday needs, we have seen that, in general, *consumption* becomes more and more

[a] S. Laing, *National Distress; its Causes and Remedies*, London, 1844, pp. 149-54.—*Ed.*

CONTEMPORANEOUS with *production,* and therefore, if one considers society as a whole, consumption depends more and more on *simultaneous* production, or rather on the products of *simultaneous* production.) But when operations extend over several years, the worker must "depend" on his own production, on the simultaneous and future producers of other commodities.

The worker always has to find his means of subsistence in the form of *commodities* on the market (the "SERVICES" he buys are *eo ipso*[a] only brought into being at the moment they are bought); they are relative, the PRODUCE OF ANTECEDENT LABOUR, that is of LABOUR which is ANTECEDENT to their existence as produce but which is by no means ANTECEDENT TO HIS OWN LABOUR WITH WHOSE PRICE HE BUYS THIS PRODUCE. They can be CONTEMPORANEOUS PRODUCTS, and are so most of all for those who live from hand to mouth.

TAKING IT ALL IN ALL the "storing up" of means of subsistence for the worker by the capitalist comes to this:

1) Commodity production presupposes that articles of consumption which one does not produce oneself are available on the market as commodities, or that *in general, commodities* are produced *as commodities.*

2) The majority of the commodities consumed by the worker in the final form in which they confront him as commodities, are IN FACT products of *simultaneous* labour (they are therefore by no means stored up by the capitalist).

3) In capitalist production, the means of labour and the means of subsistence produced by the worker himself confront him as capital, the one as constant, the other as variable capital; these, the worker's conditions of production, appear as the property of the capitalist; their transfer from the worker to the capitalist and the partial return of the worker's product to the worker, or of the value of his product to the worker, is called the "storing up" of circulating capital for the worker. These means of subsistence which the worker must always consume before his product is finished, become "circulating capital" because he, instead of *buying* them direct or *paying* for them with the value either of his past or of his future [XV-877] product, must first of all receive a *draft* (money) on it; a draft moreover which the capitalist is entitled to issue only thanks to the worker's past, present or future product.

Hodgskin is concerned here with demonstrating the dependence of the worker on the CO-EXISTING LABOUR of other workers as against his dependence on PREVIOUS LABOUR,

[a] By that fact.—*Ed.*

1) in order to do away with the phrase about "storing up";

2) because "PRESENT LABOUR" confronts capital, whereas the economists always consider "PREVIOUS LABOUR" to be capital *eo ipso,* that is, an *alienated* and independent form of labour which is hostile to labour itself.

To grasp the all-round significance of *CONTEMPORANEOUS LABOUR* as against PREVIOUS labour is however in itself a very important achievement.

Hodgskin thus arrives at the following:

Capital is either a mere name and pretext or it does not express a *thing*; the social relation of the labour of one person to the *CO-EXISTING LABOUR* of another, and the consequences, the *EFFECTS* of this relationship, are ascribed to the things which make up so-called circulating capital. Despite the fact that the commodity exists as money, its realisation in use values depends on CONTEMPORANEOUS LABOUR. ([The labour performed in] the course of a year is itself CONTEMPORANEOUS.) Only a small portion of the commodities entering into direct consumption are the product of more than one year's labour and when they are—such as cattle, etc., they require renewed labour every year. All operations requiring more than a year depend on continuous annual production.

* "It is by the command the capitalist possesses over *the labour of some men,* not by his possessing a stock of commodities, that he is enabled to *support* and consequently employ *other* labourers" * ([p.] 14).

Money however gives everyone "COMMAND" over "THE LABOUR OF SOME MEN", over the labour embodied in their commodities as well as over the reproduction of this labour, and to that extent therefore over labour itself.

What is really "stored up", not however as a dead mass but as something living, is the *skill* of the worker, the level of development of labour. (It is true, however, that the stage of the development of the productive power of labour which exists at any particular time and serves as the starting-point, comprises not only the skill and capacity of the worker, but likewise the material means which this labour has created for itself and which it daily renews. (Hodgskin does not emphasise this because, in opposing the crude views of the economists, it is important for him to lay the stress on the *subject*—so to speak, on the subjective in the subject—in contrast to the object.)) This is really the primary factor, the point of departure and it is the result of a process of development. *Accumulation* in this context means *assimilation,* continual preservation and at the same time transformation of what has already been

handed over and realised. In this way Darwin makes "accumulation" through inheritance the driving principle in the formation of all organic things, of plants and animals; thus the various organisms themselves are formed as a result of "accumulation" and are only "inventions", gradually accumulated inventions of living beings.[a] But this is not the only prerequisite of production. Such a prerequisite in the case of animals and plants is external nature, that is both inorganic nature and their relationship with other animals and plants. Man, who produces in society, likewise faces an already modified nature (and in particular natural factors which have been transformed into means of his own activity) and definite relations existing between the producers. This accumulation is in part the result of the historical process, in part, as far as the individual worker is concerned, TRANSMISSION OF SKILL. Hodgskin says that as far as the majority of the workers are concerned, circulating capital plays no part in this accumulation.

He has demonstrated that "THE STOCK OF COMMODITIES" (means of subsistence) "PREPARED" is always small in comparison with the total amount of consumption and production. On the other hand, the DEGREE OF SKILL of the existing population is always the precondition of production as a whole; it is therefore the principal accumulation of wealth and the most important result of ANTECEDENT LABOUR; its form of existence, however, is living labour itself.

[XV-878] * "All the effects usually attributed to accumulation of circulating capital are derived from the *accumulation and storing up of skilled labour,* and this most important operation is performed, as far as the great mass of the labourers is concerned, without any circulating capital whatever" * ([p.] 13).

With regard to the assertion of the economists that the number of workers (and therefore the well-being or poverty of the existing working population) depends on the amount of circulating capital available, Hodgskin comments correctly, as follows:

* "The number of labourers must at all times depend on the *quantity* of *circulating capital,* or, as I should say, on the *quantity of the products of co-existing labour,* which labourers are *allowed* to consume" * ([p.] 20).

What is attributed to *CIRCULATING CAPITAL,* to a STOCK OF COMMODITIES, is the effect of "CO-EXISTING LABOUR". In other words, Hodgskin says that the effects of a certain social form of labour are ascribed to objects, to the products of this labour; the relationship itself is imagined to exist in *material* form. We have already seen that this is a characteristic of labour based on commodity production, on

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[a] See Ch. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life.—Ed.*

exchange value, and this *quid pro quo* is revealed in the commodity, in money (Hodgskin does not see this), and to a still higher degree in capital.[a] The effects of things as materialised aspects of the labour process are attributed to them in capital, in their personification, their independence in respect of labour. They would cease to have these effects if they were to cease to confront labour in this *alienated form.* The *capitalist,* as capitalist, is simply the personification of capital, that creation of labour endowed with its own will and personality which stands in opposition to labour. Hodgskin regards this as a pure subjective illusion which conceals the deceit and the interests of the exploiting classes. He does not see that the way of looking at things arises out of the actual relationship itself; the latter is not an expression of the former, but vice versa. In the same way, English socialists say: "We need capital, but not the capitalist."[b] But if one eliminates the capitalist, the means of production cease to be *capital.*

//The "VERBAL OBSERVER", Bailey, and others remark[c] that "VALUE", "valeur" express a property of things. In fact the terms originally express nothing but the use value of things for people, those qualities which make them useful or agreeable, etc., to people. It is in the nature of things that "VALUE", "valeur", "Werth" can have no other etymological origin. Use value expresses the natural relationship between things and men, in fact the existence of things for men. *Exchange value,* as the result of the social development which created it, was later superimposed on the word value=use value. It [exchange-value] is the *social* existence of things.

*Sanskrit Wer* [means] cover, protect, consequently respect, honour and love, cherish. From these the adjective *Wertas* (EXCELLENT, RESPECTABLE) is derived; *Gothic,* wairths; *Teutonic,* wert; ANGLO-SAXON, weorth, vordh, wurth; *English,* WORTH, WORTHY; *Dutch,* waard, waardig; *Alemannic,* werth; *Lithuanian,* werthas (respectable, precious, dear, estimable). *Sanskrit,* Wertis; *Latin,* virtus; *Gothic,* wairthi; *Teutonic,* Werth.[d]

The value of a thing is, in fact, its own *virtus,*[e] while its exchange value is quite independent of its material QUALITIES.

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* Part One (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 275-78, 289 and 387).— *Ed.*

[b] See J. F. Bray, *Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy; or, the Age of Might and the Age of Right,* Leeds, 1839, p. 59; also present edition, Vol. 31, p. 247.— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 316 and 347.— *Ed.*

[d] See [H. J.] Chavée, *Essai d'étymologie philosophique ou recherches...,* Brussels, 1844, p. 176. Here and below, Marx quotes from Chavée partly in French.— *Ed.*

[e] Virtue.— *Ed.*

*Sanskrit Wal* [means] cover, fortify; [*Latin*] *vallo,*[a] *valeo,*[b] *vallus*[c]: *valor* is the power itself. HENCE *valeur, VALUE.* Compare Wal with the Teutonic *walle, walte*[d] and English *WALL, WIELD.*[e] 115//

Hodgskin now turns to *fixed capital.* It is productive power which has been produced and, in its development in large-scale industry, it is an instrument which *social* labour has created for itself.

As far as fixed capital is concerned:

*"... all instruments and machines are the produce of labour" ([p.] 14).[f] "As long as they are merely the result of *previous* labour, and are not applied to their respective uses by labourers, they do not repay the expense of making them. ... most of them diminish in value from being kept... *Fixed capital does not derive its utility from previous, but present labour;* and does not *bring its owner a profit* because it has been stored up, but because it is a *means of obtaining command over labour*" * ([pp. 14-]15).

Here at last, the nature of capital is understood correctly.

[XV-879] *"After any instruments have been made, what do *they* effect? Nothing. On the contrary they begin to rust or decay unless used or applied by labour" ([p.] 15). "Whether an instrument shall be regarded as productive capital or not, depends entirely on its *being used,* or not, by some productive labourer" ([pp.] 15-16).

"One easily comprehends why ... the road-maker should receive some of the benefits, accruing only to the road-user; but I do not comprehend *why all these benefits should go to the road itself,* and be *appropriated* by a set of persons who neither make nor use it, under the name of profit for their capital" ([p.] 16).

"The vast utility of the steam-engine does not depend on stored up iron and wood, but on that *practical and living knowledge of the powers of nature* which enables some men to construct it, and others to guide it" ([p.] 17).

"Without knowledge they" (the machines) "could not be invented; without manual skill and dexterity they could not be made, and without skill and labour they could not be productively used. But there is nothing more than the knowledge, skill, and labour required, on which the capitalist can found a claim to any share of the produce" ([p.] 18).

"After he" (man) "has *inherited the knowledge of several generations,* and *when he lives congregated into great masses,* he is enabled by his mental faculties to complete the work of nature" (l.c.).

"It is not the *quantity* but the *quality* of the fixed capital on which the productive industry of a country depends. ... fixed capital as a means of nourishing and supporting men, depends for its efficiency, altogether on the skill of the labourer, and consequently the productive industry of a country, as far as fixed capital is concerned, is in *proportion* to *the knowledge and skill of the people*" ([pp.] 19-20).

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[a] To surround with a wall, to fortify, to defend.—*Ed.*

[b] To be strong, vigorous.—*Ed.*

[c] Wall.—*Ed.*

[d] Rule, govern, control.—*Ed.*

[e] See [H. J.] Chavée, op. cit., p. 70.—*Ed.*

[f] Here and below, Marx quotes from [Th. Hodgskin,] *Labour Defended...*—*Ed.*

*Compound interest.*

"A mere glance must satisfy every mind that *simple profit* does not decrease but increase in the progress of society, i.e. the same quantity of labour which at any former period produced 100 qrs of wheat, and 100 steam-engines, will now produce somewhat more.... In fact, also, we find that a much greater number of persons now live in opulence on profit in this country than formerly. It is clear, however, that *no labour, no productive power,* no ingenuity, and no art, *can answer the overwhelming demands of compound interest.* But all saving *is made from the revenue of the capitalist*"* (that is from *simple profit), so that actually these demands are constantly made, and as constantly the productive power of labour refuses to satisfy them. A sort of balance is, therefore, constantly struck"*[116] ([p.] 23).

For example, if the profit were always accumulated, a capital of 100 at 10% would amount to something like 673, or—since a little *plus ou moins*[a] makes no difference here—say 700, in 20 years. Thus the capital will have multiplied itself sevenfold over a period of 20 years. According to this yardstick, if only simple interest were paid, it would have to be 30% per annum instead of 10, that is, three times as much profit, and the more we increase the number of years that elapse, the more the rate of interest or the rate of profit calculated at simple interest per annum will increase, and this increase is the more rapid, the larger the capital becomes.

In fact, however, capitalist accumulation is nothing but the reconversion of interest into capital (since interest and profit for our purpose, i.e. for the purpose of our calculation, are identical). Thus it is compound interest. First there is a capital of 100; it yields 10[%] profit (or interest). This is added to the capital which is now 110. This now becomes the capital. The interest on this amount is therefore not simply interest on a capital of 100 but interest on 100C+10I. That is compound interest. Thus, at the end of the 2nd year, we have (100C+10I)+10I+1I=(100+10I)+11I=121. This is the *capital* at the beginning of the 3rd year. In the 3rd year we get (100C+10I)+11I+$12^1/_{10}$I, so that at the end of it the capital is $133^1/_{10}$.

[XV-880] We have:

| | Capital | Interest | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| First year | 100 | 10 | 110 |
| Second year | (100+10) | 10+1'* | 121 |
| Third year | (100+20I+1I')=121 | 10+2'+$^1/_{10'}$ | $133^1/_{10}$ |
| Fourth year | (100+30I+1I'+ +[2]I'+$^1/_{10''}$)=$133^1/_{10}$ | (10+3'+$^1/_{10''}$+$^2/_{10''}$+ +$^1/_{100'''}$)= | $146^{41}/_{100}$ |

[a] More or less.—*Ed.*

| [Capital] | [Interest] | [Total] |
|---|---|---|
| Fifth year $(100+40I+1I'+2I'+ +{}^{1}/_{10}I''+3I'+{}^{1}/_{10}I''+{}^{2}/_{10}I''+ +{}^{1}/_{100}I''')=146{}^{41}/_{100}$ etc. | $[10+4{}^{641}/_{1,000'}=$ | $161{}^{51}/_{1,000}]$ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In the 2nd *year* the capital | comprises | *10 interest* (simple) |
| In *the 3rd year* the capital | comprises | 21 interest |
| *In the 4th year* the capital | comprises | $33{}^{1}/_{10}$ interest |
| *In the 5th year* the capital | comprises | $46{}^{41}/_{100}$ interest |
| *In the 6th year* the capital | = | $161{}^{51}/_{1,000}$, consequently $61{}^{51}/_{1,000}$ [interest] |
| In *the 7th year* the capital | = | $177{}^{1,561}/_{10,000}$ [$77{}^{1,561}/_{10,000}$ interest] |
| In *the 8th year* [the capital] | = | $194{}^{87,171}/_{100,000}$ [$94{}^{87,171}/_{100,000}$ interest] |
| [In the 9th year the capital | = | $214{}^{358,881}/_{1,000,000}$, which comprises $114{}^{358,881}/_{1,000,000}$ interest] |

* The sign ' indicates interest on interest.

In other words, more than half the capital is made up of interest in the 9th year and the portion of capital consisting of interest thus increases in geometrical progression.

We have seen that over 20 years, capital increased sevenfold, whereas, even according to the "most extreme" assumption of Malthus, the population can only double itself every 25 years. But let us assume that it doubles itself in 20 years, and therefore the working population as well. Taking one year with another, the interest would have to be 30%—three times greater than it is. If one assumes, however, that the rate of exploitation remained unchanged, in 20 years the doubled population (and it would be unfit for work during a considerable part of these 20 years, scarcely during half this period would it be able to work, in spite of the employment of children) would only be able to produce twice as much labour as it did previously, and therefore only twice as much surplus labour, but not three times as much.

The rate of profit (and consequently the rate of interest) is determined:

1) If the rate of exploitation is assumed to be constant—by the number of workers in employment, by the absolute mass of workers employed, that is, by the growth of the population. Although this number increases, its ratio to the total amount of capital employed declines with the accumulation of capital and with industrial development (consequently the rate of profit [declines] if the rate of exploitation remains the same). Likewise

the population does not by any means [increase] in the same geometrical progression as the computed compound interest. The growth of the population at a given stage of industrial development is the explanation for the increase in the amount of surplus value and of profit, but also for the fall in the rate of profit.

2) [By] the absolute length of the normal working day, that is, by increasing the rate of surplus value. Thus the rate of profit can increase as a result of the extension of labour time beyond the normal working day. However, this has its *physical* and—BY AND LARGE—its social LIMITS. That in the same measure as workers set more capital in motion, the same capital commands more absolute labour time [XV-881] IS OUT OF THE QUESTION.

3) If the normal working day remains the same, SURPLUS LABOUR can be increased relatively by reducing the necessary labour time and reducing the prices of the necessaries which the worker consumes, in comparison with the development of the productive power of labour. But this very development of productive power reduces variable capital relative to constant. It is physically impossible that the surplus labour time of, say, 2 men who displace 20, can, by any conceivable increase of the absolute or relative labour time, equal that of the 20. If each of the 20 men only work 2 hours of surplus labour a day, the total will be 40 hours of surplus labour, whereas the total life span of the 2 men amounts only to 48 hours in one day.

The value of labour capacity does not fall in the same degree as the productive power of the workers or of capital increases. This increase in productive power likewise increases the ratio between constant and variable capital in all branches of industry which do not produce NECESSARIES (either directly or indirectly) without giving rise to any kind of alteration in the VALUE OF LABOUR. The development of productive power is not even. It is in the nature of capitalist production that it develops industry more rapidly than agriculture. This is not due to the nature of the land, but to the fact that, in order to be exploited really in accordance with its nature, land requires different social relations. Capitalist production turns towards the land only after its influence has exhausted it and after it has devastated its natural qualities. An additional factor is that, as a consequence of landownership, agricultural products are more expensive compared with other commodities, because they are sold at *their* value and are not reduced to their cost price. They form, however, the principal constituent of the NECESSARIES. Furthermore, if $^1/_{10}$ of the land is dearer to exploit than

the other $^{9}/_{10}$, these latter are likewise hit "artificially" by this relative infertility, as a result of the law of competition.[a]

The rate of profit would in fact have to grow if it is to remain constant while accumulation of capital is taking place. As long as capital yields 10% of surplus labour, the same worker must, as soon as interest accumulates on interest and thus increases the capital employed, produce threefold, fourfold, fivefold IN PROGRESSION OF COMPOUND INTEREST, WHICH IS NONSENSE.

The *amount of capital* which the worker sets in motion, and whose value is maintained and reproduced by his labour, is something quite different from the *value* which he adds, and therefore from the surplus value. If the amount of capital=1,000 and the labour added=100, then the capital reproduced=1,100. If the amount=100 and the labour added=20, then the capital reproduced=120. The rate of profit in the first case=10% and in the second=20%. Nevertheless, more can be accumulated from 100 than from 20. Thus the flow of capital or its "accumulation" continues //apart from depreciation as a result of the increase in productive power// in proportion to the force it already possesses, but not in proportion to the size of the rate of profit. This explains that accumulation—its amount—may increase in spite of a falling rate of profit, apart from the fact that, while productivity rises, a larger portion of the REVENUE can be accumulated, even when the rate of profit declines, than when there is a high rate of profit together with lower productivity. A high rate of profit—in so far as it is based on a high rate of surplus value—is possible if very long hours are worked, although the labour is unproductive. It is possible because the workers' needs, and *therefore* the minimum wage, are very small, although the labour is unproductive. The lack of energy with which the labour is performed will correspond to the low level of the minimum [wage]. Capital is accumulated slowly in both cases despite the high rate of profit. The population is STAGNANT and the labour time which the product costs is high, although the wages received by the workers are small.

[XV-882] I have explained the decline in the rate of profit in spite of the fact that the rate of surplus value remains the same or even rises, by the decrease of the variable capital in relation to the constant, that is, of the living PRESENT LABOUR in relation to the PAST LABOUR which is EMPLOYED AND REPRODUCED.[b] Hodgskin and the man who

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 427-32, 484-87, 519-21.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 73-74, 543.—*Ed.*

wrote *The Causes and Remedy of Distress*[a] explain it by the fact that it is impossible for the worker to fulfil the demands of CAPITAL which ACCUMULATES like *COMPOUND INTEREST.*

* "No labour, no productive power, no ingenuity, and no art, can answer the overwhelming demands of compound interest. But all saving is made from the revenue of the capitalist"* (that is from *simple profit) "so that actually these demands are constantly made, and as constantly the productive power of labour refuses to satisfy them. A sort of balance is, therefore, constantly struck"*[116] (l.c., [p.] 23).[b]

In its general sense, this amounts to the same thing. If I say that, as capital accumulates, the rate of profit declines because constant capital increases in relation to variable capital, it means that, disregarding the specific form of the different portions of capital, the capital employed increases in relation to the LABOUR EMPLOYED. The profit falls not because the worker is exploited less, but because altogether less labour is employed in relation to the capital employed. For example, let us assume that the ratio of variable to constant capital=1:1. Then, if the total capital=1,000, $c$=500 and $v$=500. If the rate of surplus value=50%, then 50% of 500=50×5=250. Thus the rate of profit on 1,000 yields a profit of 250,=$^{250}/_{1,000}$=$^{25}/_{100}$=$^{1}/_{4}$=25%.

If the total capital=1,000 and if $c$=750 and $v$=250, then at 50% [the rate of surplus value] 250 will yield 125. But $^{125}/_{1,000}$=$^{25}/_{200}$=$^{5}/_{40}$=$^{1}/_{8}$=12$^{1}/_{2}$%.

But in comparison with the first case [less] living labour is employed in the second case. If we assume that the annual wage of the worker=£25, then in the first case £500 employed=20 workers; in the second case wages=£250=10 workers. The same capital employs 20 workers in one case and only 10 in the other. In the first case, the ratio of total capital to the number of working days=1,000:20; in the second, 1,000:10. In the first case, for each of the 20 workers £50 capital (constant and variable) is used (for 20×50=500×2=1,000). In the second case, the capital employed per individual worker is £100 (for 100×10=1,000). Consequently, in both cases, the capital which is allocated to WAGES is, *pro rata,* the same.

The formula I have given provides a new ground for explaining why, with accumulation, less workers are employed by the same amount of capital or, what amounts to the same thing, why a greater amount of capital has to be used for *the same amount* of

[a] A reference to *The Source and Remedy of the National Difficulties...*—*Ed.*
[b] [Th. Hodgskin,] *Labour Defended...*; cf. also this volume, p. 431.—*Ed.*

labour. It comes to the same thing if I say that 1 worker is employed for a capital outlay of 50 in one case, and 1 worker for a capital outlay of 100 in the other, that therefore only half a worker is employed by a capital of 50; in other words, if I say that in one case there is 1 worker for 50 capital and only half a worker for 50 capital in the other, or if I say that in one case 50 capital is used by 1 worker and in the other case 50×2 capital is used by 1 worker.

This latter formula is the one used by Hodgskin and others. According to them, accumulation means in general the demand for compound interest; in other words, that more capital is expended on *one* worker and that he has therefore to produce more surplus labour proportionally to the amount of capital expended on him. Since the capital expended on him increases at the same rate as COMPOUND INTEREST, but on the other hand, his labour time has very definite limits which even relatively "NO PRODUCTIVE POWERS" can reduce in accordance with the DEMANDS of this COMPOUND INTEREST, "A SORT OF BALANCE IS CONSTANTLY STRUCK".[116] "SIMPLE profit" remains the same, or rather it grows. (This is IN FACT the SURPLUS LABOUR OF SURPLUS VALUE.) But as the result of the accumulation of capital it is COMPOUND INTEREST which is disguised in the form of SIMPLE INTEREST.

[XV-883] It is clear furthermore that if COMPOUND INTEREST=accumulation, then, apart from the absolute limits of accumulation, the growth of this interest depends on the extent, the intensity, etc., of the accumulation process itself, that is, on the *mode of production*. OTHERWISE compound interest is nothing but appropriation of the *capital* (property) of *others* in the form of interest as was the case in Rome and in general with usurers.

Hodgskin's view is as follows: Originally £50 capital, for example, falls *pro rata* to one worker, on which he produces, let us say, a profit of [£]25.[117] Later, as a result of the conversion of a part of the interest into capital and of the fact that this process repeats itself again and again, a capital of £200 is allocated to the worker. If the entire interest of 50% received per annum were always capitalised, the process would be complete in less than 4 years. Just as the worker produced [a profit of] 25 on [a capital of] 50, he is now expected to produce 100 on a capital of 200, or 4 times as much. But that is impossible. To do that either the worker would have to work 4 times as long, that is, 48 hours a day if he worked 12 hours previously, or the VALUE OF LABOUR would have to fall by 75 per cent as a result of increased productive power of labour.

If the working day=12 hours, £25 the [annual] wage, and the worker produces £25 profit [per annum], then he has to work as much for the capitalist as he does for himself. That is for 6 hours or half the working day. In order to produce 100, he would have to work 4×6 hours for the capitalist in a 12-hour working day—which is NONSENSE. Let us assume that the working day is lengthened to 15 hours, then the worker still cannot produce 24 hours work in 15 hours. And still less can he work for 30 hours, which is what would be necessary, since [he would have to work] 24 hours for the capitalist and 6 for himself. If he worked the whole of his labour time for the capitalist, he would be able to produce only 50; he would only double the amount of interest, that is, he would produce 50 [profit] on a capital of 200, whereas he produced 25 for 50 capital. The rate of profit=50% in the second case and 25% in the first. But even this is impossible, since the worker must live. No matter how much productive power increases, if, as in the above example, the value of 12 hours=75, then that of 24 hours=2×75=150. And since the worker must live, he can never produce 150 profit, still less 200. His surplus labour is always a *part* of his working day, from which it does not at all follow, as Mr. Rodbertus thinks,[a] that profit can never=100%. It can never=100% if it is calculated on the working day as a whole (for it is *itself* included in it). But it can most certainly be 100% in relation to that part of the working day which is paid for.

Let us take the above example of 50%.

| Capital | | Surplus value | Rate of surplus value | Rate of profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Constant | Variable | | | |
| 25 | 25 | 25 | 100% | 50% |

Here the profit, half a working day=$^1/_3$ of the whole [product]. [XV-884] Then the surplus value=100%.

If the worker worked $^3/_4$ of the working day for the capitalist, then:

| Capital | | Surplus value | [Rate of] profit | Rate of surplus value |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Constant | Variable | | | |
| 25 | $12^1/_2$ | $37^1/_2$ | | 300% |
| Total capital $37^1/_2$ | | $37^1/_2$ | 100% | |

[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 319-21.—*Ed.*

For 100:

| Capital | | Surplus value | Rate of surplus value |
|---|---|---|---|
| Constant | Variable | | |
| $66^2/_3$ | $33^1/_3$ | 100 | 300% |
| [Total capital] 100 | | | Rate of profit 100% |

Let us examine this a little more closely and see what is implied by the view that [the rate of] *profit falls* because, in consequence of progressive accumulation, it does not constitute SIMPLE *profit* (consequently the rate of exploitation of the worker does not decline but, as Hodgskin says, increases[a]) but COMPOUND *profit* and it is impossible for labour to keep pace with the demands of COMPOUND INTEREST.

It has to be noted first of all that this has to be defined in more detail if it is to make any sense at all. Regarded as a product of accumulation (that is, of the appropriation of surplus labour)—and this approach is necessary if one considers reproduction as a whole—all capital is made up of profit (or of interest, if this word is considered to be synonymous with profit and not with INTEREST in the strict sense). If the rate of profit=10%, then this is "compound interest", compound profit. And it would be impossible to see how 10 to 100 could—in economic terms—differ from 11 to 110. So what emerges is that "SIMPLE PROFIT" too is impossible, or at least that SIMPLE PROFIT must also decline, because, in fact, SIMPLE PROFIT is made up in exactly the same way as compound profit. If one narrows the problem, that is, considers solely interest-bearing capital, then compound interest would swallow up profit and more than profit; and the fact that the producer (capitalist or not) has to pay the lender compound interest means that sooner or later, in addition to profit, he has to pay him part of his capital as well.

Thus it should be noted first of all that Hodgskin's view only has meaning if it is assumed that capital grows more rapidly than population, that is, than the working population. (Even this latter is a relative growth. It is in the nature of capital to overwork one section of the working population while it turns another into paupers.) If the population grows at the same rate as capital, then there is no reason whatsoever why I should [not] be able to extract from 8 $x$ workers with £800 the same surplus labour that I can extract from $x$ workers with £100. [XV-885] Eight times 100

[a] See this volume, pp. 431-32.—*Ed.*

capital makes no greater demand on 8 times $x$ workers than 100 capital on $x$ workers. Thus "Hodgskin's" *argument* becomes groundless. (In reality, things turn out differently. Even if the population grows at the same rate as capital, capitalist development nevertheless results in one part of the population being made REDUNDANT, because constant capital develops at the expense of variable capital.)

//* "It is very material, with reference to *labour*, whether you distribute them" (*goods*[a]) "so as to induce a *greater supply of labour* or a less: whether you distribute them where they will be conditions for labour, or where they will be opportunities for idleness" (*An Inquiry into those Principles respecting the Nature of Demand etc.*, London, 1821, [p.] 57).

"That increased supply (of labour) is promoted by the increased *numbers* of mankind" (l.c., [p.] 58).

"The not being able to *command so much labour* as before, too, is only important where the labour would produce no more than before. If labour has been rendered more productive, production will not be checked, though the *existing mass of commodities should command less labour than before*" * (l.c., [p.] 60).

This is directed against Malthus. TRUE, PRODUCTION WOULD NOT BE CHECKED, BUT THE RATE OF PROFIT WOULD. These cynical propositions stating that A "MASS OF COMMODITIES *COMMANDS* LABOUR", reflect the same cynicism which finds expression in Malthus' explanation of value[b]; *command of the commodity over labour* is very good and is absolutely characteristic of the nature of capital.

The same author makes the following correct observation directed against West:

* "The author of *An Essay on the Application of Capital to Land* says [p. 24] that more will be given for labour when there is most increase of stock, and *that* ... will be when the profits on stock are highest. 'The greater the profits of stock,' he adds, 'the higher will be the wages of labour.' The fault of this is, that a word or two is left out: 'The greater *have been* the profits of stock, ... The higher *will be* the wages of labour'... The high profits and the high wages are not *simultaneous*; they do not occur in the same *bargain*; the one counteracts the other, and reduces it to a level. It might as well be argued, 'the supply of a commodity is most rapid when the price is highest; therefore, large supply and high price go together.' It is a mixing up of cause and effect" * (l.c., [pp.] 100-01).//

Hodgskin's proposition, therefore, has meaning only if, as a result of the process of accumulation, more *capital* is set in motion by the same worker, or if the capital grows *pro rata* to labour. That is, if, for example, the capital was 100 and becomes 110 by accumulation, and if the same worker who produced a surplus

[a] In the manuscript, this word is followed by its German equivalent.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 211-12 and 225.—*Ed.*

value of 10, is to produce a surplus value of 11, corresponding to the growth of capital, i.e. compound interest. So that it is not simply the same capital he set in motion previously which, after its reproduction, is to yield the same profit (SIMPLE PROFIT) but this capital has been increased by his surplus labour [so that] he has to provide surplus labour for the original capital (or its value)+his own accumulated (i.e. capitalised) surplus labour. And since this capital increases every year, the same worker would constantly have to furnish more labour.

It is however only possible for more capital to be applied per worker:

*First.* If the productive power of labour remains the same, then this is only possible if the worker prolongs his labour time absolutely, i.e., for example, if he works 15 hours instead of 12 hours, or if he works more intensively and performs 15 hours' labour in 12 hours, does 5 hours' labour in 4 hours or $^5/_5$ hour's labour in $^4/_5$ of an hour. Since he reproduces his means of subsistence in a definite number of hours, then, in this case, 3 hours of labour are won for the capitalist in the same way as if the productive power of labour had been increased, while, in fact, it is labour which has been increased, not its productive power. If the intensification of labour were to become general, then the value of commodities would fall in proportion to the reduced labour time which they cost. The degree of intensity would become the average intensity of labour, its natural quality. If, however [XV-886], this only occurs in particular spheres, then it amounts to more complex labour, simple labour raised to a higher power. [Less than] an hour of more intensive labour then counts as much—and creates as much value—as an hour of the more extensive labour. For example, in the above case, $^4/_5$ of an hour [produces] as much as $^5/_5$, or an hour.

Both the extension of labour time and the increase of labour through its greater intensification by means of the compression of the pores of labour as it were, have their limits (although the London bakers, for example, regularly work 17 hours [a day] if not more), very definite, physical, limitations, and it is when encountering these that compound interest—COMPOSITE profit—ceases.

*Within these limitations* the following applies:

If the capitalist pays nothing for the extension or INTENSIFICATION of labour, then his *SURPLUS VALUE* (his profit as well, provided there is no CHANGE in the *VALUE* of the constant capital, for we assume that the mode of production remains the same)—and, in accordance

with the proviso, his profit—increases more rapidly than his capital. He pays NO NECESSARY LABOUR for the capital which has been added.

If he pays for the surplus labour at the same rate as previously, then the growth of the SURPLUS VALUE is proportionate to the increase in capital. The profit grows more rapidly. For there is a more rapid turnover of fixed capital, while the more intensive use of the machinery does not cause the wear and tear to increase at the same rate. There is a reduction of expenditure on fixed capital, for less machinery, workshops, etc., are required for 100 workers who work longer hours than for 200 workers employed simultaneously. Likewise fewer OVERLOOKERS, etc. (This gives rise to a most satisfactory situation for the capitalist, who is able to expand or contract his production without hindrance, in accordance with the market conditions. In addition, his power grows, since that portion of labour which is over-employed, has its counterpart in an unemployed or semi-employed reserve army, so that competition amongst the workers increases.)

Although there is in this case no change in the purely numerical ratio between NECESSARY LABOUR and SURPLUS LABOUR—this is however the only case where both can simultaneously increase in the same proportion—the exploitation of labour has NEVERTHELESS grown, both by means of an extension of the working day and by its INTENSIFICATION (condensation) provided the working day is not shortened at the same time (as with the Ten Hours Bill[118]). The period for which the worker is fit to work is reduced and his labour capacity is exhausted in a much greater measure than his wages increase and he becomes even more of a work machine. But disregarding the latter aspect, if he lives for 20 years working a normal working day and only 15 years when his working day is extended or intensified, then he sells the value of his labour capacity in 15 years in the latter case and in 20 years in the former. In one case it has to be replaced in 15 years, in the other, in 20 years. A value of 100 which lasts for 20 years is replaced if 5% is paid on it annually, for $5 \times 20 = 100$. A value of 100 which lasts 15 years is replaced if $6^{10}/_{15}$ or $6^{2}/_{3}\%$ is paid on it annually. But in the given case, the worker receives for 3 hours of additional labour only an amount equivalent to the daily value of his labour capacity calculated over 20 years. Assuming that he works 8 hours NECESSARY LABOUR and 4 hours SURPLUS LABOUR, then he receives $^{2}/_{3}$ of each hour, for $\frac{12 \times 2}{3} = 8$. And in the same way he receives 2 out of the 3 hours OVERTIME that he works. Or $^{2}/_{3}$ of each

hour. But this is only the value of his hourly labour capacity on the assumption that it will last for 20 years. If he uses it up in 15 years, its value [per hour] increases.

*ANTICIPATION* of the future—real ANTICIPATION—occurs in the production of wealth only in relation to the worker and to the land. The future can indeed be anticipated and ruined in both cases by premature over-exertion and exhaustion, and by the disturbance of the balance between expenditure and income. In capitalist production this happens to both the worker and the land. As far as so-called ANTICIPATION is concerned, in relation to the national debt, for example, Ravenstone remarks with justice:

[XV-887] *"In pretending to stave off the expenses of the present hour to a future day, in contending that you can burthen posterity to supply the wants of the existing generation,* they assert the absurd proposition *that you can consume what does not yet exist, that you can feed on provisions before their seeds have been sown in the earth" (Ravenstone, l.c., [*Thoughts on the Funding System, and Its Effects,* p.] 8).

"All the wisdom of our statesmen will have ended in a great transfer of property from one class of persons to another, in creating an enormous fund for the reward of jobs and peculation"* (l.c., [p.] 9).

It is different in the case of the worker and the land. What is EXPENDED here EXISTS as δύναμις[a] and the life span of this δύναμις is shortened as a result of accelerated EXPENDITURE.

Finally, if the capitalist is forced to pay more for OVER-TIME than for normal labour time, then, according to the facts outlined above, this is by no means an increase in wages, but only compensation for the increased value of OVERTIME—and in reality overtime pay is rarely sufficient to cover this. In fact, in order to pay for the increased wear and tear of the labour capacity, when OVERTIME is worked, a higher rate ought to be paid for every working hour not merely for OVERTIME. Thus there is UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES an increased exploitation of labour. At the same time, as a result of the accumulation of capital, a [relative] reduction in SURPLUS VALUE takes place at all events and also a decline in the rate of profit, in so far as this is not counteracted by saving on constant capital.[119]

This is therefore a situation where, in consequence of the accumulation of capital—of the appearance of COMPOSITE profit—the rate of profit must decline. If on a capital of 300 (the original amount) the rate of profit was 10[%] (that is [profit came to] 30), and if for an additional 100 it is 6[%], then profit is 36 for 400.

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[a] Power, capacity.—*Ed.*

Thus on the whole it is 9 for 100. And the rate of profit has fallen from 10[%] to 9.

But, as has been stated, on this basis (if the productivity of labour remains the same) not only must the profit on ADDITIONAL CAPITAL fall, but at a certain point it must cease altogether, thus the whole accumulation based on this COMPOSITE PROFIT would BE STOPPED. In this case, the decline in profit is linked with increased exploitation of labour and the STOPPAGE of profit AT A CERTAIN POINT is not due to the worker or SOMEBODY ELSE receiving the whole product of his labour, but to the fact that it is physically impossible to work over and above a certain amount of labour time or to increase the intensity of labour beyond a certain degree.

*Second.* The only other case, where, with the number of workers remaining constant, more capital is applied per worker, and therefore the surplus capital can be laid out and used for the increased exploitation of the same number [XV-888] [of workers] occurs when *the productivity of labour increases, i.e. the method of production is changed.* This presupposes a CHANGE in the organic ratio between constant and variable capital. In other words, the increase in the capital in relation to labour is here identical with the increase of constant capital as compared with variable capital and, in general, with the amount of living labour employed.

This is where Hodgskin's view merges with the general law which I have outlined. The SURPLUS VALUE, i.e. the exploitation of the worker, increases, but, at the same time, the rate of profit falls because the variable capital declines as against the constant capital, because in general, the amount of living labour falls relatively in comparison with the amount of capital which sets it in motion. A larger portion of the annual product of labour is appropriated by the capitalist under the signboard of capital, and a smaller portion under the signboard of profit.

(Hence the phantasy of the *Rev. Thomas Chalmers* to the effect that the smaller the amount of the annual product laid out by the capitalists as capital, the larger the profit they pocket.[a] The ESTABLISHED CHURCH[69] then comes to their assistance and sees to it that a large part of the SURPLUS PRODUCE is consumed instead of being capitalised. The miserable priest confuses cause with effect. Moreover, with a smaller rate the amount of profit increases as the size of the capital laid out grows. In addition, the quantity of use values which this smaller proportion represents,

[a] See Th. Chalmers, *On Political Economy in Connexion with the Moral Prospects of Society*, 2nd ed., Glasgow, 1832, pp. 88-89.—*Ed.*

increases. At the same time, however, this leads to the centralisation of capital, since the conditions of production now demand the application of capital on a mass scale. It brings about the swallowing up of the smaller capitalists by the bigger ones and the "decapitalisation" of the former. This is once again, only in a different form, the separation of the conditions of labour from labour // for there is still a great deal of self-employment amongst the smaller capitalists; in general the labour done by the capitalist stands in inverse proportion to the size of his capital, that is, to the degree in which he is a capitalist. This process would soon bring capitalist production to a head if it were not for the fact that, alongside the centripetal forces, counteracting tendencies exist, which continuously exert a decentralising influence; this need not be described here, for it belongs to the chapter dealing with the competition of capitals //.[30] It is this separation which constitutes the concept of capital and of *primitive* accumulation, which then appears as a continual process in the accumulation of capital and here finally takes the form of the centralisation of already existing capitals in a few hands and of many being divested of capital.)

The fact that the (proportionally) declining quantity of labour is not fully offset by increased productivity, or that the ratio of surplus labour to the capital expended does not increase at *the same* rate as the *amount of labour employed* declines, is due partly to the fact that the development of the productivity of labour reduces the VALUE OF LABOUR, the NECESSARY LABOUR, only in certain capital investment spheres, and that, even in these spheres, it does not develop uniformly, and that factors exist which nullify this effect; for example, the workers themselves, although they cannot prevent reductions in (the value of) wages, will not permit them to be reduced to the absolute minimum; on the contrary, they can compel a certain quantitative participation in the general growth of wealth.

But this growth of surplus labour too is relative, [and is only possible] within certain limits. In order to make this growth correspond to the demands of COMPOSITE INTEREST, the necessary labour time in this case would have to be reduced to zero in the same way as [the surplus labour time] had to be extended endlessly in the case considered previously.

The rise and fall in the rate of profit—in so far as it is determined by the rise or fall of wages resulting from the conditions of demand and supply [in the labour market], or caused by the temporary rise or fall in the prices of NECESSARIES compared with those of LUXURIES, as a result of the changes in

demand and supply and the rise or fall in wages to which this leads—has as little to do with the general law of [XV-889] the rise or fall in the profit rate as the rise or fall in the market prices of commodities has to do with the determination of value in general. This has to be analysed in the chapter on the real movement of wages.[120] If the balance of demand and supply is favourable to the workers, then wages rise, then it is *possible* (but by no means certain) that the prices of certain NECESSARIES, especially food, will rise correspondingly for a time. The author of the *Inquiry into Those Principles etc.* rightly remarks in this connection:

In this case * there will be "an increase of demand for necessaries, in proportion to that for superfluities, as compared with what would have been the proportion between those two sorts of demand, if he had exerted that command" * (i.e. the capitalist, his COMMAND over commodities) * "to procure things for his own consumption. Necessaries will thereby exchange for more of things in general... And, in part, at least, these necessaries will be food" * (l.c., [pp. 21-]22).

He then correctly expresses the Ricardian view as follows:

* "At all events, then, the increased price of corn was not the *original* cause of that rise of wages which made profits fall, but, on the contrary, the rise of wages was the cause of the increased price of corn at first, and the nature of land, yielding less and less proportional returns to increased tillage, made part of that increase of price *permanent*, prevented a complete *reaction* from taking place through the principle of population" * (l.c., [p.] 23).

Hodgskin and the author of *The Cause and Remedy,*[a] since they explain the fall OF PROFITS by the impossibility of LIVING LABOUR TO COME UP TO THE DEMANDS OF "COMPOUND INTEREST", and although they do not go into detail, are much nearer the truth than Smith and Ricardo, who explain the FALL OF PROFITS by the RISE in WAGES, one of them, in REAL and NOMINAL WAGES, the other, in NOMINAL WAGES, WITH RATHER A DECREASE OF REAL WAGES. Hodgskin and all the other proletarian opponents have enough common sense to emphasise the FACT that the proportional number of those who live on profit has increased with the development of capital.

Now a few concluding passages from Hodgskin's *Labour Defended etc.*

*The treatment of the exchange value of the product,* HENCE *of the labour embodied in the commodity, as social labour:*

* "Almost every product of art and skill is the *result of joint and combined labour.*" *

(This is the result of capitalist production.)

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[a] *The Source and Remedy of the National Difficulties...*—*Ed.*

* "So dependent is man on man, and so much does this dependence *increase* as society advances, that hardly any labour of any single individual ... is of the least value but as forming a part of the great social task." *

// This passage has to be quoted, and in doing so [it is necessary to emphasise] that it is only on the basis of capital that *commodity* production or the production of products as commodities becomes all-embracing and affects the nature of the products themselves. //

* "... Wherever the division of labour is introduced, the judgement of other men intervenes before the labourer can realise his earnings, and there is no longer any thing which we can call the material[a] reward of individual labour. Each labourer produces only some part of a whole, and each part, having no value or utility of itself, there is nothing on which the labourer can seize and say: 'this is my product, this I will keep to myself'. Between the commencement of any joint operation, such as that of making cloth, and the division of its product among the different persons whose combined exertions have produced it, the judgement of men must intervene several times, and the question is how much of this joint product should go to each of the individuals whose united labour produced it?" ([p.] 25).

"I know no way of deciding this [XV-890] but by leaving it to be settled by the unfettered judgements of the labourers themselves" (l.c.).

"I must add that it is doubtful whether one species of labour is more valuable than another; certainly it is not more necessary" * ([p.] 26).

Finally Hodgskin writes about the *relation of capital* [and labour]:

* "Masters are *labourers* as well as their journeymen. In this character their interest is precisely the same as that of their men. But they are also either capitalists or the agents of the capitalist, and in this respect their interest is decidedly opposed to the interest of the workmen" (l.c., [p.] 27).

"The wide spread of education among the journeyman mechanics of this country, diminishes daily the value of the labour and skill of almost all masters and employers, by increasing the numbers of persons who possess their peculiar knowledge" ([p.] 30).

"The *capitalist* is the *oppressive middleman*" between the different labourers.* If he is put out of view, * "it is plain that *capital* or the *power to employ labour* and *co-existing labour* are one; and *productive capital* and *skilled labour* are also *one*; consequently capital and a labouring population are precisely synonymous. In the system of nature, mouths are united with hands and with intelligence" * ([p.] 33).

The capitalist mode of production disappears with the form of alienation which the various aspects of social labour bear to one another and which is represented in *capital*. This is the conclusion arrived at by Hodgskin.

*The primitive accumulation of capital.*[b] Includes the CENTRALISATION

[a] Hodgskin has "the natural".—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 385-86, 405-06 and pp. XXII—1395-97, 1402-07, 1438-40, 1461-63 of the manuscript (present edition, Vol. 34), and also Marx's *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy...* (present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 387-99).—*Ed.*

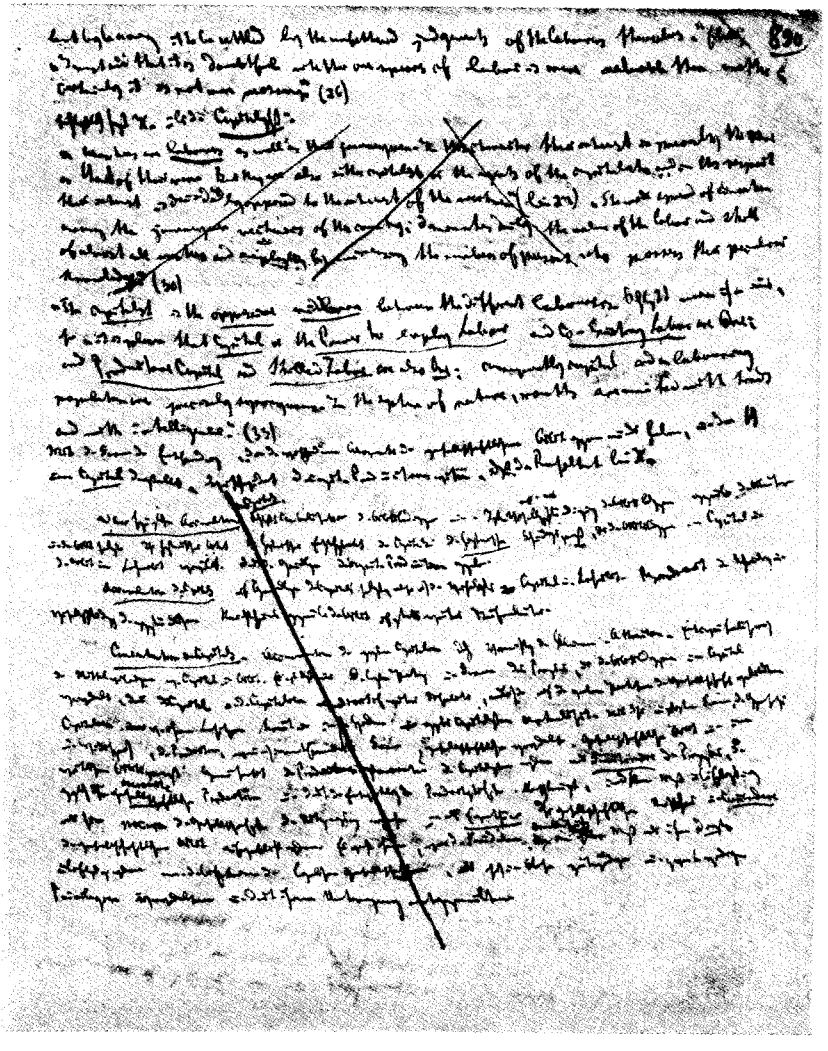

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of the conditions of labour. It means that the conditions of labour acquire an independent existence in relation to the worker and to labour itself. This historical act is the historical genesis of capital, the *historical* process of separation which transforms the conditions of labour into capital and labour into wage labour. This provides the basis for capitalist production.

*Accumulation of capital* on the basis of capital itself, and therefore also on the basis of the relationship of capital and wage labour, reproduces the separation and the independent existence of material wealth as against labour on an ever increasing scale.

*Concentration of capital.* Accumulation of large amounts of capital by the destruction of the smaller capitals. Attraction. Decapitalisation of the intermediate links between capital and labour. This is only the last degree and the final form of the process which transforms the conditions of labour into capital, then reproduces capital and the separate capitals on a larger scale and finally separates from their owners the various capitals which have come into existence at many points of society, and centralises them in the hands of big capitalists. It is in this extreme form of the contradiction and conflict that production—even though in alienated form—is transformed into social production. There is social labour, and in the real labour process the instruments of production are used in common. As *functionaries* of the process which at the same time accelerates this *social* production and thereby also the development of the productive forces, the capitalists become superfluous in the measure that they, on behalf of society, enjoy the usufruct and that they become overbearing as *owners* of this social wealth and *commanders* of social labour. Their position is similar to that of the feudal lords whose exactions in the measure that their *services* became superfluous with the rise of bourgeois society, became mere outdated and inappropriate privileges and who therefore rushed headlong to destruction.

## [* *REVENUE AND ITS SOURCES** ] [121]

[XV-891] The form of REVENUE and the sources of REVENUE are the *most fetishistic* expression of the relations of capitalist production. It is their form of existence as it appears on the surface, divorced from the hidden connections and the intermediate connecting links. Thus the *land* becomes the source of *rent, capital* the source of *profit,* and labour the source of *wages.* The distorted form in which the real inversion is expressed is naturally reproduced in

the views of the agents of this mode of production. It is a kind of fiction without fantasy, a religion of the vulgar. In fact, the vulgar economists—by no means to be confused with the economic investigators we have been criticising—translate the concepts, motives, etc., of the representatives of capitalist production who are held in thrall to this system of production and in whose consciousness only its superficial appearance is reflected. They translate them into a doctrinaire language, but they do so from the standpoint of the ruling section, i.e. the capitalists, and their treatment is therefore not naïve and objective, but apologetic. The narrow and pedantic expression of vulgar conceptions which are bound to arise among the representatives of this mode of production is very different from the urge of political economists like the Physiocrats, Adam Smith and Ricardo to grasp the inner connection of the phenomena.

However, of all these forms, the most complete fetish is *interest-bearing capital*.[a] This is the original starting-point of capital—money—and the formula $M—C—M$ is reduced to its two extremes—$M—M$—money which creates more money. It is the original and general formula of capital reduced to a meaningless résumé.

The *land* or *nature* as the source of *rent*, i.e. of landed property, is fetishistic enough. But as a result of a convenient confusion of use value with exchange value, the common imagination is still able to have recourse to the productive power of nature itself, which, by some kind of hocus-pocus, is personified in the LANDLORD.

*Labour* as the source of *wages*, that is, of the worker's share in his product, which is determined by the specific social form of labour; labour as the cause of the fact that the worker by means of his labour buys the permission to produce from the product (i.e. from capital considered in its material aspect) and has in labour the source by which a part of his product is returned to him in the form of payment made by this product as his employer—this is pretty enough. But the common conception is in so far in accord with the facts that, even though labour is confused with wage labour and, consequently, wages, the product of wage labour, with the product of labour, it is nevertheless obvious to anybody who has common sense that labour itself produces its own wages.

*Capital*, in so far as it is considered in the *production process*, still continues to a certain extent to be regarded as an instrument for

[a] See also this volume, pp. 456-58, 488-90 and 494-95.—*Ed.*

acquiring the labour of others. This may be treated as "right" or "wrong", as justified or not justified, but here the relation of the capitalist to the worker is always presupposed and assumed.

*Capital,* in so far as it appears in the *circulation process,* confronts the ordinary observer mainly in the form of *merchant capital,* that is, a kind of capital which is engaged only in this operation, hence profit in this field is in part linked with a vague notion of general swindling, or more specifically, with the idea that the merchant swindles the industrial capitalist or the consumer in the same way as the industrial capitalist swindles the worker, or as the producers swindle one another. In any case, profit here is explained as a result of EXCHANGE, that is, as arising from a social relation and not from a thing.

On the other hand, *interest-bearing capital* is the perfect fetish. It is capital in its finished form—as such representing the unity of the production process and the circulation process—and therefore yields a definite profit in a definite period of time. In the form of interest-bearing capital only this function remains, without the mediation of either production process or circulation process. Memories of the past still remain in capital and profit, although because of the divergence of profit from surplus value and the uniform profit yielded by all capitals—that is, the general rate of profit—capital becomes [XV-892] very much obscured, something dark and mysterious.

Interest-bearing capital is the consummate *automatic fetish,* the self-valorising value the money-making money, and in this form it no longer bears any trace of its origin. The social relation is consummated as a relation of things (money, commodities) to themselves.

This is not the place for a more detailed examination of interest and its relation to profit; nor is it the place for an examination of the ratio in which profit is divided into industrial profit and interest. It is clear that capital, as the mysterious and self-generating source of interest, that is, source of its [own] increase, finds its consummation in capital and interest. It is therefore especially in this form that capital is imagined. It is capital *par excellence.*

Since, on the basis of capitalist production, a certain sum of values represented in money or commodities—actually in money, the converted form of the commodity—makes it possible to extract a certain amount of labour gratis from the workers and to appropriate a certain amount of SURPLUS VALUE, SURPLUS LABOUR, SURPLUS PRODUCE, it is obvious that money itself can be sold as capital, that is,

as a commodity *sui generis,* or that capital can be bought in the form of commodities or of money.

It can be sold as the source of profit. I enable someone else by means of money, etc., to appropriate SURPLUS VALUE. Thus it is quite in order for me to receive part of this SURPLUS VALUE. Just as land has value because it enables me to intercept a portion of SURPLUS VALUE, and I therefore pay for this land only the SURPLUS VALUE which can be intercepted thanks to it, so I pay for capital the SURPLUS VALUE which is created by means of it. Since, in the capitalist production process, the value of capital is perpetuated and reproduced in addition to its surplus value, it is therefore quite in order that, when money or commodities are sold as capital, they return to the seller after a period of time and he does not alienate it [money] in the same way as he would a commodity but retains ownership of it. In this way, money or commodities are not sold as money or commodities, but in their second power, as *capital,* as self-increasing money, or commodity value. Money is not only increased, but is preserved in the total process of production. It therefore remains capital for the seller, and comes back to him. The sale consists in the fact that another person, who uses it as productive capital, has to pay its owner a certain part of his profit, which he only makes through this capital. Like land, it is rented out as a value-creating thing which in this process of generating value is preserved and continually returned, and therefore can also be returned to the original seller. It is only capital in virtue of its RETURN to him. Otherwise he would sell it as a commodity or buy with it as money.

In any case, the form considered in itself (in fact, it [money] is alienated periodically as a means for exploiting labour, for making surplus value) is this, that the thing now appears as capital and capital appears as a mere thing; the whole result of the capitalist production and circulation process appears as a property inherent in a thing, and it depends on the owner of money, i.e. of the commodity in its constantly exchangeable form, whether he expends it as money or rents it out as capital.

We have here the relation of capital as PRINCIPAL to itself as *fructus,*[a] and the profit which it yields is measured against its own value, which (in accordance with the nature of capital) is not diminished in this process. It is thus clear why superficial criticism—in exactly the same way as it wants [to maintain] commodities and combats money—now turns its wisdom and

[a] Yield.—*Ed.*

reforming zeal against interest-bearing capital without touching upon real capitalist production, but merely attacking one of its consequences. This polemic against interest-bearing capital, undertaken from the standpoint of capitalist production, a polemic which today parades as "socialism", occurs, incidentally, as a phase in the development of capital itself, for example, in the 17th century, when the industrial capitalist had to assert himself against the old-fashioned usurer who, at that time, still [confronted] him as a superior power.[a]

[XV-893] The complete *objectification, inversion* and *derangement* of capital as interest-bearing capital—in which, however, the inner nature of capitalist production, [its] derangement, merely appears in its most palpable form—is capital which yields "COMPOUND INTEREST". It appears as a Moloch demanding the whole world as a sacrifice belonging to it of right, whose legitimate demands, arising from its very nature, are however never met and are always frustrated by a mysterious fate.

The characteristic movement of capital, both in the production and in the circulation processes, is the return of the money or commodity to its starting-point—to the capitalist. This expresses, on the one hand, the real metamorphosis, the conversion of the commodity into its conditions of production, and the conversion of the conditions of production back into the form of the commodity—i.e. reproduction, and, on the other hand, the formal metamorphosis, the conversion of the commodity into money and of the money back into the commodity. Finally, the multiplication of value: $M—C—M'$. The original value, which is however increased during the process, always remains in the possession of the same capitalist. Only the forms change in which he possesses it: money, commodity, or the form of the production process itself. In the case of interest-bearing capital, this *return* of capital to its starting-point acquires a quite *external* aspect, divorced from the real movement whose form it is. *A* spends his money not as money but as capital. No CHANGE takes place here in the money. It only changes hands. Its real conversion into capital takes place only while it is in the hands of *B*. But it has become capital for *A* as a result of the transfer of the money from *A*'s hands into those of *B*. The real RETURN of capital from the production and circulation process takes place for *B*. But for *A*, the return takes place in the same way as the alienation did. The money passes

[a] See K. Marx, *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy*... (present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 244-45 and Vol. 29, pp. 218-21).—*Ed.*

from *B* back again to *A*. He *lends* the money instead of spending it.

In the real production process of capital, each particular movement of money expresses an aspect of reproduction, whether it be the conversion of money into labour, the conversion of the finished commodity into money (the end of the act of production) or the reconversion of the money into commodities (renewal of the production process, recommencement of reproduction). The movement of money when it is *lent* as *capital,* that is, when it is not converted into capital but enters into circulation as capital, expresses nothing more than the TRANSFER of the same money from one person to another. The property rights remain with the lender, but the possession is transferred to the industrial capitalist. For the lender, however, the conversion of the money into capital begins at the moment when he spends it as capital instead of spending it as money, i.e. when he hands it over to the industrial capitalist. (It remains capital for him even if he does not lend it to the industrial capitalist but to a spendthrift, or to a worker who cannot pay his rent. The whole pawnshop business [is based on this].[a]) True, the other person converts it into capital, but this is an operation beyond that in which the lender and the borrower are involved. *This mediation is effaced,* is not visible, is not directly included in it. Instead of the real conversion of money into capital, there appears only the empty form of this process. Just as in the case of labour capacity, *the use value of money here becomes that* of creating exchange value, more *exchange value than it itself contains.* It is *lent as self-valorising value,* as a commodity, but a commodity which, precisely because of this quality, differs from commodities as such and therefore also *possesses a specific form of alienation.*

The starting-point of capital is the commodity owner, the owner of money, in short, the capitalist. Since in the case of capital both starting-point and point of return coincide, it returns to the capitalist. But the capitalist exists here in a dual form, as the owner of capital and as the industrial capitalist who really converts money into capital. The capital actually issues [XV-894] from him [the industrial capitalist] and returns again to him. But only as possessor. The capitalist exists in a dual form—juridically and economically. The capital as property consequently returns to the juridical capitalist, the LEFT-HANDED SAM. But the return of the

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[a] See J. D. Tuckett, *History of the Past and Present State of the Labouring Population...*, Vol. I, London, 1846, Ch. IX, especially p. 114; see also K. Marx, *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy...* (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 230).—*Ed.*

capital, which includes the maintenance of its value and posits it as a self-maintaining and self-perpetuating value, is indeed brought about by intermediate steps for capitalist II but not for capitalist I. In this case therefore, the return is not the consequence and result of a series of economic processes but is effected by a particular juridical transaction between buyer and seller, by the fact that it is *lent instead of being sold, and therefore it is posited only temporarily.* What *is sold is,* in fact, *its use value,* whose *function in this case* is to produce *exchange value,* to yield profit, to produce more value than it itself contains. As money it does not change through being used. It is however expended as money and it flows back as money.

The form in which it returns depends on the mode of reproduction of the capital. If it is loaned as money, then it comes back in the form of circulating capital, that is, its whole value is returned+surplus value, in this case, that part of surplus value or of profit which consists of interest; the sum of money loaned+the additional amount which has arisen from it.

If it is loaned out in the form of machinery, buildings, etc., in short, in a material form in which it functions as fixed capital in the process of production, then it returns in the form of fixed capital, as an annuity, that is, for example, as an annual amount=to the replacement of the wear and tear=to that part of the value which has entered the circulation process+that part of the SURPLUS VALUE which is calculated as profit (in this case a part of the profit), interest on the fixed capital (not in so far as it is fixed capital, but in so far as in general it is capital of a definite amount).

In profit as such, SURPLUS VALUE, and consequently its real source, is already obscured and mystified:

1) Because, considered from the formal standpoint, profit is *SURPLUS VALUE* calculated on the whole of the capital advanced, so that each part of capital—fixed and circulating—laid out on raw materials, machinery or labour, yields an equal amount of profit.

2) Because, just as in the case of a single given capital of 500, for example, every fifth part yields 10%, if the SURPLUS VALUE=50, *so* now, as a result of the establishment of the *general rate of profit,* every capital of 500 or 100, no matter which sphere it operates in, irrespective of the relative proportions of variable and constant capital, no matter how varied the periods of turnover, etc., will yield the same average profit—say 10%—in the same period of time as any other capital under quite different organic conditions. Because, therefore, the *profit* of individual capitals regarded in

isolation and the *surplus value* which is produced by them in their own sphere of production become in fact different magnitudes.

It is true that point 2 merely develops further what has already been implied in point 1.

The basis of interest however is this already externalised form of surplus value, i.e. its existence as *profit*. This form differs from its first simple appearance, in which it still reveals the umbilical cord of its birth, and is, at first sight, by no means recognisable as a form of surplus value. Interest directly presupposes not surplus value, but *profit*, of which it is merely a part placed in a special category or division. It is therefore much more difficult to recognise surplus value in interest than in profit, since interest is directly connected with surplus value only in the form of profit.

The time needed for the RETURN [of capital] depends on the real production process; in the case of interest-bearing capital, its return as capital *appears* to depend merely on the agreement between lender and borrower. So that the RETURN of the capital in this transaction no longer appears to be a result determined by the production process, but it seems that the capital never loses the form of money for a single instant. These transactions are nevertheless determined by the REAL RETURNS. But this is not *evident* in the transaction itself.

[XV-895] Interest, as distinct from profit, represents the *value* of *mere ownership* of *capital*—i.e. it transforms the ownership of *money* (of a sum of values, commodities, whatever the form may be) in itself, into ownership of capital, and consequently commodities or money as such into self-valorising value. The conditions of labour are of course capital only in so far as they confront the worker as his non-property and consequently function as someone else's property. But they can function in this way only in contradiction to labour. The *antagonistic existence of these conditions in relation to labour makes their owners capitalists,* and turns these conditions owned by them into capital. But capital in the hands of MONEYED capitalist *A* does not have this contradictory character which turns it into capital and which therefore makes ownership of money appear as ownership of capital. *The actual formal determinant by means of which money or a commodity is converted into capital is obliterated.* MONEYED capitalist *A* does not confront the worker at all, but only another capitalist—capitalist *B*. What he sells him is actually the "use" of the money, the results it will produce WHEN CONVERTED INTO PRODUCTIVE CAPITAL. But in fact it is not the use which he sells directly. If I sell a commodity, then I sell a specific use value. If I buy money with commodities, then I buy

the functional use value which money, as the converted form of commodities, possesses. I do not sell the use value of the commodity along with its exchange value, nor do I buy the particular use value of the money along with the money itself. But money as money—before its conversion into and its function as capital, a function which it does not perform while it is in the hands of the MONEY-LENDER—has no other use value than that which it possesses as a commodity (gold, silver, its material substance) or as money which is the converted form of a commodity. What the MONEY-LENDER sells in actual fact to the industrial capitalist, what really happens in the transaction, is simply this: he transfers the ownership of the money to the industrial capitalist for a certain period of time. He disposes of his ownership title for A CERTAIN TERM, and as a result the industrial capitalist has bought the ownership for A CERTAIN TERM. Thus his money appears to be capital before it is alienated and the mere ownership of money or a commodity—separated from the capitalist production process—[is regarded] as capital.

The fact that it becomes capital only after it has been alienated makes no difference, any more than the use value of cotton is altered by the fact that its use value only emerges after it has been alienated to the spinner or that the use value of meat only becomes apparent after it has been transferred from the butcher's shop to the consumer's table. Hence money, once it is not spent on consumption, and commodities, once they are not used as means of consumption by their owners, transform those who possess them into capitalists and are in themselves—separated from the capitalist production process and even *before* their conversion into "productive" capital—capital, that is, they are self-valorising, self-preserving and self-increasing value. It is their immanent attribute to create value, to yield interest, just as the attribute of the pear tree is to produce pears. And it is as such an interest-bearing thing that the MONEY-LENDER sells his money to the industrial capitalist. Because money preserves itself, i.e. is value which preserves itself, the industrial capitalist can return it at any time fixed by contract. Since it produces a definite amount of surplus value, interest, annually, or rather since value accrues to it over any period of time, he can also pay back this surplus value to the lender annually or in any other conventionally established period of time. Money as capital yields surplus value daily in exactly the same way as wage labour. While interest is simply a *part* of the profit *established under a special name,* it *appears here* as [the surplus value specifically created by] capital as such, separated

from the production process, and consequently deriving only from the mere ownership of capital, the ownership of money and commodities, separated from the relations which give rise to the contradiction between this property and labour, thus turning it into capitalist property. [Interest seems to be] a specific kind of *surplus value* the *generation* of which is due to the mere ownership of capital and therefore to an intrinsic characteristic of capital; whereas on the contrary, *industrial profit* appears to be a mere addition which the borrower obtains by employing capital productively, that is, by exploiting the workers with the help of the capital borrowed (or, as people also say, by his work as a capitalist, the function of the capitalist being equated here with labour, and even identified with wage labour, since the [XV-896] industrial capitalist, by really taking part in the production process, appears in fact as an active agent in production, as a worker, in contrast to the idle, inactive money-lender whose function of property owner is separate from and outside the production process).

Thus it is *interest*, not *profit*, which appears to be the *creation of value* arising from capital as such and therefore from the mere ownership of capital; consequently it is regarded as the specific REVENUE created by capital. This is also the form in which it is conceived by the vulgar economists. In this form all intermediate links are obliterated, and the *fetishistic face* of capital, as also the concept of the *capital-fetish*, is complete. This form arises necessarily, because the juridical aspect of property is separated from its economic aspect and one part of the profit under the name of interest accrues to *capital in itself*[122] which is completely separated from the production process, or to the *owner of this capital*.

To the vulgar economist who desires to represent capital as an independent source of value, a source which creates value, this form is of course a godsend, a form in which the source of profit is no longer recognisable and the result of the capitalist process—separated from the process itself—acquires an independent existence. In $M—C—M'$ an intermediate link is still retained. In $M—M'$ we have the incomprehensible form of capital, the most extreme inversion and materialisation of production relations.

A general *rate of interest* corresponds naturally to the *general rate of profit*. It is not our intention to discuss this further here, since the analysis of interest-bearing capital does not belong to this general section but to that dealing with *credit*.[123] However, the observation that the general rate of profit appears much less as a

palpable, solid fact than does the *rate of interest* is important to fully work out these manifestations of capital. True, the rate of interest fluctuates continuously. [It may be] 2% today (on the money market for the industrial capitalist—and this is all we are discussing), 3% tomorrow, and 5% the day after. But it is 2 per cent, 3 per cent, 5 per cent for all borrowers. It is a general condition that every sum of money of £100 yields 2%, 3% or 5%, while the same value in its real function as capital yields very different amounts of real profit in the different spheres of production. The real profit deviates from the ideal average level, which is established only by a continuous process, a reaction, and this only takes place during long periods of circulation of capital. The rate of profit is in certain spheres higher for some years, while it is lower in succeeding years. Taking the years together, or taking a SERIES of such EVOLUTIONS, one will *in general* obtain the AVERAGE PROFIT. Thus it never appears as something directly given, but only as the average result of contradictory oscillations. It is different with the rate of interest. In its *generality,* it is a fact which is established daily, a fact which the industrial capitalist even regards as a precondition and an ITEM of calculation in his operations. The general rate of profit exists indeed only as an ideal *average figure,* in so far as it serves to estimate the real profit; it exists only as an average figure, as an abstraction, in so far as it is established as something which is in itself complete, definite, given. In reality, however, it exists only as the determining tendency in the movement of equalisation of the real different rates of profit, whether of individual capitals in the same sphere or of different capitals in the different spheres of production.[a]

[XV-897] What the lender demands of the capitalist is calculated on the *general* (AVERAGE) *rate of profit,* not on individual deviations from it. Here the *AVERAGE* becomes the *precondition.* The rate of interest itself *varies,* but does so for all *borrowers.*

A definite, equal rate of interest, on the other hand, exists not only on the average but in actual fact (even though it is accompanied by variations between minimum and maximum rates according to whether or not the borrower is FIRST-RATE) and the deviations appear rather as exceptions brought about by special circumstances. The meteorological bulletins do not indicate the state of the barometer more exactly than stock-exchange bulletins do the state of interest rates, not for this or that capital, but for

[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 260-65, 274-76, 280-81, 302-04, 407-10, 423, 430-33, and this volume, pp. 258, 261 and 273-74.—*Ed.*

the *capital available on the money market, that is, capital available for lending.*

This is not the place to go into the reasons for this greater stability and equality of the rate of interest on loan capital in contradistinction to the less tangible form of the general rate of profit. Such a discussion belongs to the section on credit.[30] But this much is obvious: the fluctuations in the *rate of profit* in every sphere—quite apart from the special advantages which individual capitalists in the same sphere of production may enjoy—depend on the existing level of market prices and their fluctuations around cost prices. The difference in the *rates of profit* in the *various* spheres can only be discerned by comparison of the market prices in the different spheres, that is, the market prices of the *different* commodities, with the cost prices of these different commodities. A decline in the rate of profit below the ideal average in any particular sphere, if prolonged, suffices to bring about a withdrawal of capital from this sphere, or to prevent the entry of the AVERAGE amount of new capital into it. For it is the inflow of new, ADDITIONAL capital, even more than the redistribution of capital already invested, that equalises the distribution of capital in the different spheres. The *SURPLUS PROFIT* in the different spheres, on the other hand, is discernible only by comparison of the market prices with cost prices. As soon as any difference becomes apparent in one way or another, then an outflow or inflow of capital from or to the particular spheres [begins]. Apart from the fact that this act of equalisation requires time, the average profit in each sphere becomes evident only in the average profit rates obtained, for example, over a cycle of 7 years, etc., according to the nature of the capital. Mere fluctuations—*below* and *above*—if they do not exceed the average extent and do not assume extraordinary forms, are therefore not sufficient to bring about a TRANSFER OF CAPITAL, and in addition the TRANSFER of fixed capital presents certain difficulties. Momentary booms can only have a limited effect, and are more likely to attract or repel ADDITIONAL CAPITAL than to bring about a REDISTRIBUTION of the capital invested in the different spheres. One can see that all this involves a very complex movement in which, on the one hand, the market prices in each particular sphere, the relative cost prices of the different commodities, the position with regard to demand and supply within each individual sphere, and, on the other hand, competition among the capitalists in the different spheres, play a part, and, in addition, the speed of the equalisation process, whether it is quicker or slower, depends on the particular organic composi-

tion of the different capitals (more fixed or circulating capital, for example) and on the particular nature of their commodities, that is, whether their nature as use values facilitates rapid withdrawal from the market and the diminution or increase of supply, in accordance with the level of the market prices.

In the case of money capital on the other hand, only two sorts of buyers and sellers, only two types of demand and supply, confront each other on the money market. On the one side, the borrowing class of capitalists—on the other, the money-lenders. The commodity has only one form—money. All the different forms assumed by capital according to the different spheres of production or circulation in which it is invested, are obliterated here. It exists here in the undifferentiated, always identical form, that of independent exchange value, i.e. of money. Here competition between the different spheres ceases; they are all lumped together as borrowers of money, and capital too confronts them all in a form in which it is still indifferent to the way it is utilised. Whereas productive capital [XV-898] *emerges only in movement and competition between the different spheres as the joint capital of the whole class, capital here actually—as regards the pressure exerted—acts as such in the demand for capital.* On the other hand, money capital (the capital on the money market) really possesses the form which enables it as a common element, irrespective of its particular employment, to be distributed amongst the different spheres, amongst the capitalist class, according to the production needs of each separate sphere. With the development of large-scale industry, moreover, money capital, in so far as it appears on the market, is represented less and less by the individual capitalist, the owner of this or that PARCEL of capital available on the market, but is concentrated, organised and is [subject] in quite a different way from real production to the control of the bankers who represent the capital. So that in so far as the form of the demand is concerned, the weight of a class confronts it [this capital]; and as far as supply is concerned, it appears as loan capital *en masse,* the loan capital of society, concentrated in a few reservoirs.

These are some of the reasons why the *general rate of profit* appears as a hazy mirage in contrast to the *fixed rate of interest* which, although it fluctuates in magnitude, nevertheless fluctuates in the same measure for all borrowers and therefore always confronts them as something fixed, given; just as money despite the changes in its value has the same value for all commodities. Just as the market prices of commodities fluctuate daily, which does not prevent them from being *quoted* daily, so it is with the

rate of interest, which is likewise quoted regularly as the *price* of money. This is the established price of capital, for capital is here offered as a special kind of commodity—*money*—and consequently its *market price* is established in the same way as that of all other commodities. The rate of interest is therefore always expressed as the *general rate of interest,* as a fixed amount [to be paid] for a certain amount of money; whereas the rate of profit within a *particular* sphere may vary although the market prices of commodities are the same (depending on the conditions under which individual capitals produce the same commodities; since the individual rate of profit does not depend on the market price of the commodity but on the difference between the market price and the cost price[6]) and it is equalised in the different spheres in the course of operations only as a result of constant fluctuations. In short, only in MONEYED CAPITAL, the money capital which can be lent, does capital become a *commodity,* whose quality of self-valorisation has a *fixed price,* which is quoted as the prevailing rate of interest.

Thus capital acquires its pure fetish form in *interest-bearing* capital, and indeed in its direct form of *interest-bearing money capital* (the other forms of interest-bearing capital, which do not concern us here, are in turn derived from this form and presuppose it). Firstly, as a result of its continuous existence as *money,* a form in which all its determining features are obliterated and its real elements invisible; in this form it represents merely independent exchange value, value which has become independent. The money form is a transient form in the real process of capital. On the money market capital always exists in this form. *Secondly,* the surplus value it produces, which again assumes the form of money, seems to accrue to capital as such, consequently to the mere owner of money capital, i.e. of capital separated from its process. Here $M—C—M$ becomes $M—M$, and just as its form here is the undifferentiated money form (for money is precisely the form in which the differences between commodities as use values are obliterated, consequently also the *differences between productive capitals, which are made up of the conditions of existence of these commodities, the particular forms of the productive capitals themselves are obliterated*) so the surplus value it produces, the surplus money which it is or which it becomes, appears as a definite rate measured by the amount of the money. If the rate of interest is 5%, then 100 used as capital becomes 105. This is the quite tangible form of self-valorising value or of money-making money, and at the same time the quite irrational form, the

incomprehensible, mystified form. In the discussion of capital we started from *M—C—M*, of which *M—M'* was only the result.[a] We now find *M—M' as the subject.* Just as growth is characteristic of trees, so money-bearing (τόκος[b]) is characteristic of capital in this, its pure form as money. The incomprehensible superficial form we encounter and which has therefore constituted the starting-point of our analysis, is found again as the result of the process in which the form of capital is gradually more and more alienated and rendered independent of its inner substance.

[XV-899] We started with money as the converted form of the commodity. What we arrive at is *money as the converted form of capital,* just as we have perceived that the commodity is the precondition and the result of the production process of capital.

This aspect of capital, which is the most fantastic and at the same time comes nearest to the popular notion of it, is both regarded as the "basic form" by the vulgar economists and made the first point of attack by superficial critics; the former, partly because the inner connections are least apparent here and capital emerges in a form in which it *appears* to be an independent source of value, partly because its *contradictory* character is totally concealed and effaced in this form and no contradiction to labour [is evident]. On the other hand, [capital is subjected to] attack because it is the form in which it is at its most irrational and provides the easiest point of attack for the vulgar socialists.[124]

The polemic waged by the bourgeois economists of the 17th century (Child, Culpeper[c][125] and others) against interest as an independent form of surplus value merely reflects the struggle of the rising industrial bourgeoisie against the old-fashioned usurers, who monopolised the pecuniary resources at that time. Interest-bearing capital in this case is still AN ANTEDILUVIAN FORM OF capital which has yet to be subordinated to industrial capital and to acquire the dependent position which it must assume—theoretically and practically—on the basis of capitalist production. The bourgeoisie did not hesitate to accept State aid in this as in other cases, where it was a question of making the traditional production relations which it found, adequate to its own.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 9-20.—*Ed.*

[b] *Tokos*—to bear, produce, the product; figuratively: interest on money lent.—*Ed.*

[c] See J. Child, *Traités sur le commerce et sur les avantages qui résultent de la réduction de l'interest de l'argent; avec un petit traité contre l'usure*; par Thomas Culpeper. Amsterdam and Berlin, 1754. See also this volume, p. 540, and Marx's *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy...* (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 225 and 230).—*Ed.*

It is clear that any other kind of division of profit between various kinds of capitalists, that is, increasing the industrial profit by reducing the rate of interest and vice versa, does not affect the essence of capitalist production in any way. The kind of socialism which attacks interest-bearing capital as the "basic form" of capital not only remains completely within the bounds of the bourgeois horizon. In so far as its polemic is not a misconceived attack and criticism prompted by a vague notion and directed against capital itself, though identifying it with one of its derived forms, it is nothing but a drive, disguised as socialism, for the development of bourgeois credit and consequently only expresses the low level of development of the existing conditions in a country where such a polemic can masquerade as socialist, and is itself only a theoretical symptom of capitalist development although this bourgeois striving can assume quite startling forms such as that of "*crédit gratuit*"[a] for example. The same applies to Saint-Simonism with its glorification of banking[126] (*Crédit mobilier*[127] later).

The commercial and interest-bearing forms of capital are older than industrial capital,[b] which, in capitalist production, is the *basic form* of the capital relation, as it dominates bourgeois society—and all other forms are only derived from it or secondary: derived as is the case with interest-bearing capital; secondary means that the capital fulfils a special function (which belongs to the circulation process) as for instance commercial capital. In the course of its evolution, industrial capital must therefore subjugate these forms and transform them into derived or special functions of itself. It encounters these older forms in the epoch of its formation and development. It encounters them as *antecedents,* but not as antecedents established by itself, not as forms of its own life-process. In the same way as it originally finds the commodity already in existence, but not as its own product, and likewise finds money circulation, but not as an element in its own reproduction. Where capitalist production has developed all its manifold forms and has become the dominant mode of production, interest-bearing capital is dominated by industrial capital, and commercial capital becomes merely a form of industrial capital, derived from the circulation process. But both of them must first be destroyed as independent forms [XV-900] and subordinated to industrial

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[a] Free credit. A reference to P. J. Proudhon, *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon,* Paris, 1850. See this volume, pp. 518-30.—*Ed.*

[b] See K. Marx, *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy...* (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 226-30).—*Ed.*

capital. Violence (the State) is used against interest-bearing capital by means of compulsory reduction of interest rates, so that it is no longer able to dictate TERMS to industrial capital. But this is a method characteristic of the least developed stages of capitalist production. The real way in which industrial capital subjugates interest-bearing capital is the creation of a procedure specific to itself—the *credit system*. The compulsory reduction of interest rates is a measure which industrial capital itself borrows from the methods of an earlier mode of production and which it rejects as useless and inexpedient as soon as it becomes strong and conquers its territory. The *credit system* is its own creation, and is itself a form of industrial capital which begins with manufacture and develops further with large-scale industry. The credit system originally is a *polemical form* directed against the old-fashioned usurers (GOLDSMITHS in England, Jews, Lombards, and others). The 17th-century writings in which its first mysteries are discussed are all produced in this polemical form.[a]

*Commercial capital* is subordinated to industrial capital in various ways or, what amounts to the same thing, it becomes a function of the latter, it is industrial capital engaged in a special function.[b] The *merchant*, instead of buying commodities, buys wage labour with which he produces the commodities which he intends to sell on the market. But commercial capital thereby loses the fixed form which it previously possessed in contrast to production. This was the way the medieval guilds were undermined by manufacture and the handicrafts confined to a narrower sphere. The *merchant* in the Middle Ages was simply a *dealer in commodities* produced either by the town guilds or by the peasants (apart from sporadic areas where manufacture developed, for instance in Italy and Spain).[c]

This transformation of the merchant into an industrial capitalist is at the same time the transformation of commercial capital into a mere form of industrial capital. The *producer*, conversely, becomes a merchant. For example, the CLOTHIER himself buys material in accordance with the size of his capital, etc., instead of gradually obtaining his material in small amounts from the merchant and

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[a] See, for instance, J. Child, *Traités sur le commerce et sur les avantages...*, and also this volume, p. 537 and pp. XV—950a-950b of the manuscript (present edition, Vol. 33).—*Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript, this sentence is crossed out with a pencil.—*Ed.*

[c] See J. H. M. Poppe, *Geschichte der Technologie seit der Wiederherstellung der Wissenschaften bis an Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Vol. I, Göttingen, 1807, p. 70.—*Ed.*

working for him. The conditions of production enter into the process [of production] as commodities which he himself has bought. And instead of producing for individual merchants or for particular customers, he now produces for the world of commerce.

In the first form, the merchant dominates production and commercial capital dominates the handicrafts or rural domestic industry which it sets in motion. The crafts are subordinated to him. In the second form, production becomes capitalist production. The producer is himself a merchant, merchant capital now acts as an intermediary only in the circulation process, thus fulfilling a definite function in the reproduction process of capital. These are the 2 forms. The merchant as such becomes a producer, an industrialist. The industrialist, the producer, becomes a merchant. Industrial capital only emerges with commodity circulation as its precondition, and moreover the commodity circulation that has developed into trade.[a] Originally, *trade* is the precondition for the transformation of guild, rural domestic and feudal agricultural production into capitalist production. It develops the product into a commodity, partly by creating a market for it, partly by giving rise to new commodity equivalents and partly by supplying production with new materials and thereby initiating new kinds of production which are based on trade from the very beginning because they depend both on production for the market and on elements of production derived from the world market. In the 16th century, it was the discoveries and MERCANTILE ADVENTURERS that called forth manufacture.[b] As soon as it gains strength (and this applies to an even greater extent to large-scale industry), it in turn creates the market, conquers it, opens up, partly by force, markets which it conquers, however, by means of its *commodities*. From now on, trade is merely a servant of industrial production for which a constantly expanding market has become a very condition of existence, since constantly expanding mass production, circumscribed not by the existing limits of trade (in so far as trade is only an expression of the existing level of demand), but solely by the amount of capital available and the level of productive power of labour, always floods the existing market and consequently seeks constantly to expand and remove its boundaries. Trade is now the servant of industrial capital, and carries out one of the functions emanating from the conditions of production of industrial capital.

[a] In the manuscript, this sentence is crossed out with a pencil.—*Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript, this sentence is crossed out with a pencil. "It" in the next sentence is replaced with "manufacture".—*Ed.*

During its first stages of development, industrial capital seeks to secure a market and markets by force, by the *colonial system* (together with the prohibition system). The industrial capitalist faces the world market; [he] therefore compares [XV-901] and must constantly compare his own cost prices with market prices not only AT HOME, but also ON THE WHOLE MARKET OF THE WORLD. He always produces taking this into account. In the earlier period this comparison is carried out only by the merchant estate, thus enabling merchant capital to dominate over productive capital.

//DIFFERENT FORMS OF CAPITAL[128]

I) *The Abstract Form.* $M—C—M$. And $M—M'$. But the latter only as the result. This abstract form corresponds to *all* the forms of capital, including the pre-industrial ones. Directly, $M—C—M$ even appears only as the expression of *commercial capital,* and $M—M'$, in so far as it is not perceived as a result of the latter, appears as *interest-bearing capital.* As an independent form of capital, commercial capital does not presuppose the capitalist mode of production and contradicts the production of products as *commodities,* determined in view of this by their value, by labour time, not only in the sale but also in the production itself.[a] It conditions *modes of production* other than the capitalist one if it is the dominant form of capital. Still more so $M—M'$ as *interest-bearing capital.* It presupposes commodity production, money, money and commodity circulation; as the dominant form of capital, it completely excludes capital from production itself.

II) *The Principal Form of Modern Capital,* or of *Capital Dominating the Mode of Production.* As such, this can only be a form of capital dominating the production process itself, and thus is "*productive capital*". (It must be a form which, while it presupposes circulation as a premiss, manifests its specificity, or the conditions of the production process, in the production process itself.) *The conditions of labour as capital become independent* over against labour as *wage labour.* The conditions of labour as master of labour itself, but a mastery mediated through simple commodity exchange, circulation, sale and purchase. *Increase of exchange value*—the goal of production.

[a] In the manuscript, this sentence is crossed out with a pencil. "It" in the next sentence is replaced with "Commercial capital".—*Ed.*

III) *Special Forms of Capital in the Production Process Itself*: Constant capital and variable capital; the part of capital which is exchanged for *commodities as its elements* and the part which *is exchanged* for *living labour as a commodity.*

IV) 1) *Productive Capital* or *Circulating Capital. First Form*: Capital in the production process; *Second Form*: Capital in the process of circulation.

2) From the *form of circulation* of productive capital follow the differences: *Fixed capital, circulating capital.* Or, in relation to the *reproduction process* of capital, one part appears only as circulating, the other as fixed.

V) *Circulating Capital. Capital in the Circulation Process.*

*First distinction*: According to the forms which it assumes in the circulation process. *Commodity capital, money capital* and *productive capital.* In this last form, it is again dissolved into its production elements and constantly appears here as commodity and labour. But with the transformation into productive capital it again returns from the sphere of circulation into the sphere of production, appearing now as reproduction.

*Second distinction*: The return to the sphere of production becomes real only when labour is bought and the commodity is posited as raw material, etc., in short, as elements of the labour process.

There are, however, intervals in the circulation process. 1) Commodity capital in the interval before it is converted into money. Thus, it is a process. *Conversion of commodity into money* or the sale of commodity. 2) Conversion *of money into commodity.* Second interval. Second process: *purchase. Thus selling in order to buy, and to that extent in order to sell*—for money is only converted into conditions of production in order to convert the latter again into commodity and this again into money—appears here as [XV-902] capital in the circulation process and the *reproduction process*; the production process itself as a moment of the circulation process, and the circulation process as a moment of the production process, contains—as a function of capital—capital determined by this particular function.

In the movement of capital, the transition of commodity capital into money capital and vice versa appears only as *transition,* as forms through which it constantly runs but which merely constitute a moment of its reproduction process. There is always, constantly, a part of capital (though not of *the same* capital) which is present in the market as commodity, in order to become money, and present in the market as money in order to become

commodity. And this part is constantly in the *movement* of conversion from commodity to money, from money to commodity, from commodity to money. In so far as this function of circulating capital becomes the *distinct function* of a particular capital, establishes itself as a distinct function, this capital is COMMERCIAL CAPITAL, *merchant capital*, etc. //

*Interest* is therefore nothing but a part of the profit (which, in its turn, is itself nothing but SURPLUS VALUE, unpaid labour), which the industrial capitalist pays to the owner of the borrowed capital with which he "works", either exclusively or partially. Interest is a part of profit—of SURPLUS VALUE—which, established as a special category, is separated from the total profit under its own name, a separation which is by no means based on its origin, but only on the manner in which it is *paid out* or appropriated. Instead of being appropriated by the industrial capitalist himself—although he is the person who at first holds the whole surplus value in his hands no matter how it may be distributed between himself and other people under the names of rent, industrial profit and interest—this part of the profit is deducted by the industrial capitalist from his own REVENUE and paid to the owner of capital.

If the rate of profit is given, then the relative level of the rate of interest depends on the ratio in which profit is divided between interest and industrial profit. If the ratio of this division is given, then the absolute level of the rate of interest (that is, the ratio of interest to capital) depends on the rate of profit. It is not intended to investigate here how this ratio is determined. This belongs to the analysis of the real movement of capital, i.e. of capitals, while we are concerned here with the general forms of capital.

The formation of interest-bearing capital, its separation from industrial capital, is a *necessary* product of the development of industrial capital, of the capitalist mode of production itself. Money (a sum of value, which is always convertible into the conditions of production) or the conditions of production into which it can be converted at any time and of which it is only the converted form—money employed as capital, commands a definite quantity of other people's labour, more labour than it itself contains. It not only preserves its value in exchange with labour, but increases it, posits SURPLUS VALUE. The value of money or of commodities as *capital* is not determined by the value they possess as money or as commodities, but by the amount of surplus value which they "produce" for their owners. The product of capital is profit. On the basis of capitalist production, whether money is

spent as money or as capital depends only on the different ways in which money is *employed*. Money (a commodity) *in itself* is capital on the basis of capitalist production (just as *labour capacity in itself* is labour) since, 1) it can be converted into the conditions of production and is, as it exists, only an abstract expression of them, their existence as *value*; and 2) the material elements of wealth in themselves possess the property of being capital because their opposite—wage labour, which turns them into capital—is present as the basis for social production.

*Rent* is likewise simply a name for a part of the surplus value which the industrialist has to pay out, in the same way as *interest* is another part of surplus value which, although it accrues to him (like rent), has to be handed over to someone else. But the great difference here is the following: through landed property, the landowner *prevents* capital from making the value of agricultural products equal to their cost prices. Monopoly of landed property enables the landowner to do this. It enables him to pocket the difference between value and cost price. On the other hand—as far as differential rent is concerned—this monopoly enables the landowner to pocket the excess of the market value over the individual value of the product of a particular piece of land, in contrast to the other TRADES, where this difference in the form of SURPLUS PROFIT flows into the pockets of the capitalists who operate under more favourable conditions than the AVERAGE conditions which satisfy the greater part of demand, thus determining the bulk of production and consequently regulating the market value of each particular sphere of production. Landed property is a *means* for grabbing a part of the surplus value produced by industrial capital. On the other hand, loan *capital—pro tanto*[a] that the capitalist operates with borrowed capital—is a *means* for producing the *whole* of the [XV-903] surplus value. That money (commodities) can be loaned out as capital means nothing more than that it is *in itself* capital. The abolition of landed property in the Ricardian sense, that is, its conversion into State property so that rent is paid to the State instead of to the landowner,[b] is the ideal, the heart's desire, which springs from the deepest, inmost essence of capital. Capital cannot abolish landed property. But by converting it into rent the capitalists as a *class* appropriate it and use it to defray their State expenses, thus appropriating in a roundabout way what cannot be retained directly. Abolition of

[a] To the extent.—*Ed.*
[b] In the manuscript: "FARMER".—*Ed.*

interest and of interest-bearing capital, on the other hand, means the abolition of capital and of capitalist production itself. As long as money (commodities) can serve as capital, it can be sold as capital. It is therefore quite in keeping with the views of the petty-bourgeois Utopians that they want to keep commodities but not money, industrial capital but not interest-bearing capital, profit but not interest.

There are not two different kinds of capital—interest-bearing and profit-yielding—but *the selfsame* capital which operates in the process as capital, produces a profit which is divided between two different capitalists—one standing outside the process, and, as owner, representing capital *in itself* //but it is an essential condition of this capital that it is represented by a *private owner*; without this it does not become capital as opposed to wage labour//, and the other representing operating capital, capital which takes part in the process.[129]

The further "ossification" or transformation of the *division* of profit into something independent appears in such a way that the *profit on* every single capital—and therefore also the *average profit* based on the equalisation of capitals—is split or divided into two component parts separated from, or independent of, each other, namely, interest and industrial profit, which is now sometimes called simply *profit* or acquires new names such as *WAGES OF LABOUR OF SUPERINTENDENCE*, etc. If the rate of profit (average profit)=15% and the *rate of interest* (which, as we have seen, is always established in the *general* form)=5% (the general rate being always quoted in the money market as the "value" or "price" of money), then the capitalist—even when he is the owner of the capital and has not *borrowed* any part of it, so that the profit does not have to be divided between two capitalists—considers that 5% of these 15% represents *interest* on his capital, and only 10% represents the profit he makes by the productive employment of the capital. This 5 per cent interest, which he as an "industrial capitalist" owes to himself as "owner" of the capital, is due to his *capital in itself*, and consequently it is due to him as owner of the *capital in itself* (which is at one and the same time the existence of capital for itself, or the existence of capital as the capitalist, as property which debars other people from [owning] it), capital abstracted from the production process as opposed to operating capital, capital involved in the production process, and to the "industrial capitalist" as representative of this operating, "working" capital. "Interest" is the fruit of capital in so far as it does

not "work" or operate, and profit is the fruit of "working", operating capital. This is similar to the way in which the FARMING capitalist—who is at the same time also a landowner, the owner of the soil which he exploits in capitalist fashion—assigns that part of his profit which constitutes *rent,* this surplus profit, to himself not as capitalist but as landowner, attributing it not to capital but to landed property so that he, the capitalist, owes himself "rent" as a landowner. Thus one aspect of capital confronts another aspect of the same capital just as rigidly as do landed property and capital which, in fact, constitute the separate claims to appropriation of other people's labour which are based on two essentially different means of production.

If, on the one hand, 5 PARTNERS own a COTTON MILL which represents a capital of £100,000 and yields a profit of 10%, that is, £10,000, then each of them gets $^1/_5$ of the profit=£2,000. On the other hand, if a single capitalist invested the same amount of capital in a MILL and made the same amount of profit—£10,000—he would not consider that he received £2,000 profit as a PARTNER and the other £8,000 *compagnie* PROFIT for the non-existent 4 PARTNERS. Consequently, in itself the *mere division of profit* between different [XV-904] capitalists who have different legal claims on the same capital and who are in one way or another joint owners of *the same* capital, does not by any means establish different categories for the separate portions. Why then [should] the accidental division between lender and borrower of capital [do so]?

*Prima facie* it is simply a question of the division of profit when there are two owners of the capital with different titles—a *prima facie* legal, but not economic aspect. In itself it makes no difference at all whether a capitalist produces with his own or with other people's capital or in what proportion he uses his own capital to that of other people. How does it happen that this division of profit into [industrial] profit and interest does not appear as an accidental division, dependent on the accident whether or not the capitalist really has a share with *someone else,* or on whether he by chance is operating with his own or with someone else's capital, but that, on the contrary, even when he operates exclusively with his own capital, he in any case splits himself into two—into a mere owner of capital and into a user of capital, into capital which is outside the production process and capital which takes part in the production process, into capital which *in itself* yields interest and capital which yields profit because it is *used in the production process*?

There is a real reason at the root of this. Money (as an expression of the value of commodities in general) in the [production] process appropriates surplus value, no matter what name it bears or whatever parts it is split into, only because it is already presupposed as *capital before* the production process. It maintains, produces and reproduces itself as capital *in* the process and moreover on a continually expanding scale. Once the capitalist mode of production is given and work is undertaken on this basis and within the social relations which correspond to it, that is, when it is not a question of the process of formation of capital, then even *before* the [production] process begins money as such is *capital* by its very nature, which, however, is only realised in the process and indeed only becomes a reality in the process itself. If it did not enter into the process as capital it would not emerge from it as capital, that is, as profit-yielding money, as self-valorising value, as value which produces surplus value. It is the same as with money. For example, this coin is nothing but a piece of metal. It is only money in virtue of its function in the circulation process. But if the existence of the circulation process of commodities is presupposed, the coin not only functions as money, but as such it is in every single case a precondition for the circulation process before it enters into it.

Capital is not only the result of, but the precondition for, capitalist production. Money and commodities as such are therefore latent capital, potential capital; this applies to all commodities in so far as they are convertible into money, and to money in so far as it is convertible into those commodities which constitute the elements of the capitalist process of production. Thus money—as the pure expression of the value of commodities and of the conditions of labour—is in itself as capital preposited to capitalist production. What is capital regarded not as the result of, but as the prerequisite for, the process [of production]? What makes it capital before it enters the process so that the latter merely develops its immanent character? The social framework in which it exists. The fact that living labour is confronted by past labour, activity is confronted by the product, man is confronted by things, labour is confronted by its own materialised conditions as alien, independent, self-contained subjects, personifications, in short, as *someone else's property* and, in this form, as "EMPLOYERS" and "COMMANDERS" of labour itself, which they appropriate instead of being appropriated by it. The fact that value—whether it exists as money or as commodities—and in the further development the conditions of labour confront the worker as the *property of other*

*people*, as independent properties, means simply that they confront him as the *property* of the non-worker or, at any rate, that, as a capitalist, he confronts them not as a worker but as the *owner* of value, etc., as the *subject* in which these things possess their own will, belong to themselves and are personified as independent forces. *Capital* as the prerequisite of production, capital, not in the form in which it emerges from the production process, but as it is before it enters it, is the contradiction in which it is confronted by labour as the labour of other people and in which capital itself, as the property of other people, confronts labour. It is the contradictory social framework which is expressed in it and which, separated from the process itself, [XV-905] expresses itself in *capitalist property as such.*

This aspect—separated from the capitalist production process itself of which it is the constant result, and as its constant result it is also its constant prerequisite—manifests itself in the fact that money, commodities are as such, *latently*, capital, that they can be *sold as capital*, and that in this form they represent the *mere ownership of capital*, and the *capitalist as the mere owner*, apart from his capitalist functions. Money and commodities considered as such constitute command over other people's labour and therefore self-valorising value and a claim to the appropriation of other people's labour.

It is thus quite obvious that the title to and the means for the appropriation of other people's labour is this *relationship* and not some kind of labour or equivalent supplied by the capitalist.

*Interest* therefore appears as the *surplus value* due to capital as capital, to the mere ownership of capital, as the surplus value derived by capital from the production process because it enters it as capital, and therefore due to capital *as such* independently of the production process, although it is only realised *in* the production process; capital thus already contains the surplus value in a latent form. On the other hand, *industrial profit* [appears] as the portion of surplus value accruing to the capitalist not as the owner of capital, but as the operating owner representing the operating capital. In the same way as everything in this mode of production appears to be upside down, so ultimately does the final reversal in the relation of interest to profit, so that the portion of profit separated under a special heading appears as the product intrinsically belonging to capital, and industrial profit appears as a mere addition appended to it.

Since the MONEYED CAPITALIST in fact receives his part of the surplus value only as *owner of capital*, while he himself remains outside the

production process; since the price of capital—that is, of the mere title to ownership of capital—is quoted on the money market as the rate of interest in the same way as the market price of any other commodity; since the share of surplus value which *capital in itself*, the *mere ownership* of capital, secures is thus of a *stable* magnitude, whereas the rate of profit fluctuates, at any given moment it varies in the different spheres and within each sphere it is different for the individual capitalists, partly because the conditions under which they produce are more or less favourable, partly because they exploit labour in capitalist fashion with different degrees of circumspection and energy, and partly because they cheat buyers or sellers of commodities with different degrees of luck and cunning (PROFIT UPON EXPROPRIATION, ALIENATION)—it therefore appears natural to them, whether they are or are not owners of the capital involved in the production process, that *interest* is something due to capital as such, to the ownership of capital, to the owner of capital, whether they themselves own the capital or someone else; industrial profit, on the other hand, appears to be the result of *their* labour. As operating capitalists—as real agents of capitalist production—they therefore confront themselves or others representing merely idle capital, as *workers* they consequently confront themselves or others as *property owners*. And since they are, as matters stand, workers, they are in fact wage workers, and because of their superiority they are simply better-paid wage workers, which they owe partly also to the fact that they pay themselves their wages. Whereas, therefore, *interest* and *interest-bearing capital* merely express the contradiction of materialised wealth as against labour, and thereby its existence as *capital*, this position is turned upside down in the consciousness of men because, *prima facie*, the *MONEYED CAPITALIST* does not appear to have any relations with the wage worker, but only with other capitalists, while these other capitalists, instead of appearing to be in opposition to wage labour, appear rather as *workers*, in opposition to themselves or to other capitalists considered as mere owners of capital, representing the mere existence of capital. The individual capitalist, moreover, can either lend his money *as capital* or employ it *himself* as capital. In so far as he obtains *interest* on it, he only receives for it the price which he would receive if he did not "operate" as a capitalist, if he did not "work". It is clear, therefore, that what he really gets from the production process—in so far as it is only interest—is due to capital alone, not to the production process itself and [XV-906] not to himself as a representative of operating capital.

Hence also the pretty phrases used by some vulgar economists to the effect that, if the industrial capitalist did not get any profit in addition to interest, he would lend his capital out for interest and become a rentier, so that all capitalists would stop producing and all capital would cease operating as capital, but nevertheless it would still be possible to live *on the interest.* In similar vein, Turgot has already said that if the capitalist received no interest, he would buy land (capitalised rent) and live off rent.[a] But in this case the interest would still be derived from surplus value, since for the Physiocrats rent represents the real surplus value. Whereas in that vulgarised concept things are turned upside down.

Another fact should be noted. Interest is part of the *costs* for the industrial capitalist who has borrowed money, the term costs is here used in the sense that it represents the value advanced. For example, a capital of £1,000 does not enter the capitalist production process as a commodity worth £1,000 but as *capital*; this means that if a capital of £1,000 yields 10% interest per annum, then it enters into the annual product as a value of 1,100. This shows clearly that the *sum of values* (and the commodities in which it is embodied) becomes capital not only in the production process but that, as capital, it is preposited to the production process and therefore already contains within itself the surplus value due to it as mere capital. For the industrial capitalist who operates with borrowed capital, interest, in other words capital as capital—and it is this only in so far as it yields surplus value (so that if it is worth 1,000 as a commodity, for example, it is worth 1,100 as capital, i.e. $=1{,}000+\frac{1{,}000}{10}$, $C+\frac{C}{x}$)—enters into his costs. If the product only yielded interest, this, though it would be a surplus over and above the *value* of the capital advanced, regarded as a mere commodity, would not be a surplus over and above the value of the commodity considered as capital, for the industrialist has to pay out this surplus value; it is part of his outlay, part of the expenses he has incurred in order to produce the commodities.

As far as the industrialist who operates with his own capital is concerned, he pays the interest on his capital to himself and regards the interest as [part of] his outlay. In fact, what he has advanced is not simply a capital of £1,000 for example, but the value of £1,000 as capital, and this value would be £1,050 if the

[a] [A. R. J.] Turgot, "Réflexions sur la formation...", in: *Oeuvres...*, new ed., Vol. 1, Paris, 1844. §§ 73, 85. Cf. also present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 356 and 367.—*Ed.*

rate of interest=5%. This is moreover no idle consideration as far as he is concerned. For the £1,000 used as *capital* would yield him £1,050 if he lent it out instead of employing it productively. Thus, in so far as he advances the £1,000 to himself as capital, he is advancing himself £1,050. *Il faut bien se rattraper sur quelqu'un et fusse-t-il sur lui même!*[a]

The value of commodities worth £1,000 is £1,050 as capital. This means that capital is not a simple quantity. It is not a simple commodity, but a commodity raised to a higher power; not a simple magnitude, but a proportion. It is a proportion of the principal sum, a given value, to itself as surplus value. The value of $C$ is $C\ (1+\frac{1}{n})^1$ (for one year) or $C+\frac{C}{x}$. It is no more possible by means of the elementary rules of calculation to understand capital, that is, the commodity raised to a higher power, or money raised to a higher power, than it is to understand or to calculate the value of $x$ in the equation $a^x=n$.

Just as in the case of *interest,* part of the profit, of the surplus value produced by capital, appears to have been *advanced* by the capitalist, so also in AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION another part—*rent* [appears to have been advanced]. This seems to be less obviously irrational because in this case rent appears to be the annual price of the land which thus enters into production as a commodity. A "price of land" is indeed even more irrational than a price of capital, but this is not apparent in the form as such. Because in this case the land appears to be the use value of a commodity and the rent its price. (The irrationality consists in this, that land, i.e. something which is not the product of human labour, has a price, that is, a value expressed in money and consequently a value, and is therefore to be regarded as objectified social labour.) Considered purely formally, land, just as any other commodity, is expressed in two ways, as use value and as exchange value, and the exchange value is expressed nominally as price, that is, as something which the commodity as use value is absolutely not. On the other hand, in the statement: [a capital of] £1,000 equals £1,050, or £50 is the annual price of £1,000, something is compared with itself, exchange value with exchange value, and the exchange value as something different from itself is supposed to be its own price, that is, the exchange value expressed in money.

[XV-907] Thus two forms of surplus value—interest and rent,

[a] One must, after all, recover what is due to oneself, even if one takes it out of one's own pocket!—*Ed.*

the results of capitalist production—enter into it as prerequisites, as *advances* which the capitalist himself makes; for him, therefore, they do not represent any surplus value, i.e. any surplus over and above the advances made. As far as these forms of surplus value are concerned, it *appears* to the individual capitalist that the production of surplus value is a part of the *production costs* of capitalist production, and that the appropriation of other people's labour and of the surplus over and above the value of the commodities consumed in the process (whether these enter into the constant or into the variable capital) is a dominating condition of this mode of production. To a certain extent this applies also to average profit, in so far as it constitutes an element of cost price, and *hence a condition of supply, of the very creation of the commodity*. Nevertheless, the industrial capitalist rightly regards this surplus, this part of surplus value—although it constitutes an element of production—as a surplus over *his* costs; he does not regard it as belonging to *his* advances in the same way as interest and rent. In critical moments, profit too confronts the capitalist in fact as a condition of production, since he curtails or stops production when profit disappears or is reduced to a marked degree as a result of a fall in prices. Hence the nonsensical pronouncements of those who consider the different forms of surplus value to be merely forms of distribution; they are just as much forms of production.[a] [130]

We have seen that capital in the circulation process establishes itself as commodity capital and as money capital, according to the stages of the circulation process in which it happens to be; we could also speak of phases of the reproduction process.[b] If I start from *M*, from money, the value with which the process opens, this money must *d'abord*[c] be thrown into circulation in order to be converted into capital. The money buys material for labour, means of labour and labour capacity. This is merely transformation of money into commodity, an act of circulation. In fact, the act of circulation which constitutes the final stage in the circulation of the simple commodity is the first phase in the circulation of capital, *M—C,* precisely because it begins with money, the converted image of the commodity, a mere form of it which is itself a product of the circulation of commodities. This first act is followed by the production process proper, in which the means of

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[a] See this volume, p. 531.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 468-69.—*Ed.*
[c] To begin with.—*Ed.*

labour, the material of labour and the active labour capacity, thrown together in one crucible, disappear. It is in fact a *process of the consumption* of the commodities bought; but, in accordance with its specific character, this consumption is *industrial consumption,* in so far as it produces anything at all; *capitalist production* by virtue of the special manner in which labour capacity is consumed. As a result of this production process, which constitutes a pause in the circulation, and which takes up consumption itself into the economic process, the *commodity* or, since the separate commodity is here nothing, the totality of commodities appears as equal to the original value+the absorbed surplus value, to the *mass of commodities* of which capital now consists. Next follows the second act of circulation interrupted by the production process or industrial consumption, namely the throwing of the commodity on the market, into circulation, and its conversion into money, i.e. its sale. This money No. 2 is different from money No. 1. It was a premiss, it is now a result. It was money that had to be converted into capital; it is capital converted into money. It was the starting-point, it is now a return to itself. It is value that has not only been preserved but has increased itself. It was 100. And it is 110; that is, 100+10. Its value and an aliquot part of the original sum as SURPLUS. Here the two circulation acts appear as separated by the production process and both of them as standing outside it. The process lies between them. The one starts it, the other follows it. But reproduction also occurs. The value contained in the commodity that served as the means is preserved and increased in the commodity that is the result of the production process. On the other hand, the money that forms the starting-point is preserved and increased in the money that forms the end point. In this way the entire process appears as the unity of the production process and the circulation process and to this extent as the reproduction process. However, this unity of a *single* process is in fact production, not reproduction.

Let us consider the pure form first; let us designate the commodities into which money is converted—that is to say, the *ingredients* of the commodity which is to be produced—as $C'$ as distinct from the commodity which emerges from the production process.

[XV-908] (I) *Single Cycle of Production*

| 1) | 2) | 3) |
|---|---|---|
| $M—C'$ ---------- | $C'$ *in process.* Result, $C$ ---------- | $C—M'$ |
| 1st *act of circulation* --- | *consumption of* $C'$, *process of production of* $C$ | 2nd *act of circulation* |

What is called reproduction here is merely *maintenance* of the preposited value. The value of $M$ is maintained in $C'$, in $C$ and in the second $M'$, where it reappears. What is produced is surplus value, and this takes place in the production process, WHENCE THE VALUE OF $C > C'$. That the greater value of $C$ is expressed in more money than $C'$ in $M$ or $M$ in $C'$ signifies nothing but that realised in $M'$ is the value of $M$ and $C'$, which has not only been maintained but also increased in the production process. $M'$ instead of $M$ is in fact the *product* of the whole process; but it is merely the altered form of $C$ instead of $C'$. The same $C'$ does not appear again as reproduced, and $M'$ appears merely as a result of the process of which it was the starting-point. It does not appear itself as a moment in the flow of the process but only as a crystal of it.

On the other hand, the continuity of production and circulation—a continuity conditioned by the nature of capitalist production—shows the two circulation acts in a different sense and in a different position than in the single production process, in which $M—C'$ is only a circulation act which expresses the *beginning* (not the repetition) of the production process, and $C—M$, only a circulation process which expresses its *end* and thus in no way its resumption. Viewing the process in its continuity, and thus as a flowing unity of the circulation and production process, we can start from each of the points, whether they seem to be intermediate or end points, as from our point of departure. Thus, first, from *money* as the starting-point of a single production process; *second,* from the *commodity* (product) as the immediate result of the production process; finally from the production process itself, $C'$ as process.

(II) *Continuity of the Production Process. Reproduction*

| 1) | 2) | 3) | 4) | 5) | 6) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (a) $M—C'$ ---- 1st act of circulation | $C'$ *in process* process of production of $C$ | $C—M'$--------- 2nd act of circulation | $M'—C'$ ------- 3rd act of circulation | $C'$ *in process*--- process of production of $C$ | $C—M''$ etc. 4th and last act of circulation, etc. |
| 1) | 2) | 3) | 4) | | |
| (b) $C—M$------ 1st act of circulation | $M—C'$--------- Second act of circulation | $C'$ *in process*--- process of production of $C$ | $C$ (Result of process, reproduction of $C$) | | |
| 1) | 2) | 3) | | | |
| (c) $C'$ *in process*---------- (process of production of C) | $C—M$ --------- First act of circulation | $M—C'$--------- Second act of circulation | $C'$ in process (resumption of the production process, which thus appears as a reproduction process) | | |

Only when one starts from money as in (a) does the reproduction process appear *prima facie* as mere repetition. It can always begin again with *M*, but it can also end with it.

When, however, one starts out from *C* or the process of production itself, and also ends with it—since the movement is circular—it is clear that at some moment the reproduction process, which must continue, is interrupted. The result of the production process must enter into circulation in (c) and the *commodity* must be converted into money in (b). What distinguishes all 3 forms of II from form I is this: In I), in the single production process, the real production process lies in the middle, and at the two separated extremes, *M—C′* lies before it and *C—M* after.

[XV-910][131] By contrast, in all the 3 forms of the reproduction process the mutually opposed phases of the commodity metamorphosis or the total circulation *C—M—C′* (*C—M* and *M—C′*) appear as a movement preceding the renewal of the production process. *C—M—C′* appears as the circulation phase proper of the reproduction process, or else the metamorphosis of the commodity appears as a moment of the reproduction process. True, (b) and (c) show—the one, that the commodity *C* has renewed itself, that it has been reproduced; the other, that the production process itself is renewed, but both indicate that their end is only a link of a further process. By contrast, in (a), where one begins with *M*, the reflux of money, the reappearance of the commodity in the form of money, is the only form which can both constitute the beginning of reproduction and end the production process. In the simple metamorphosis *C—M—C′*, which we considered in money circulation,[a] the consumption of the commodity falls outside the economic form. As industrial consumption, as a production process, it constitutes a link in the real metamorphosis of commodities. Leaving out money, we have (1) *C—C′*. A commodity is exchanged for the elements of its being. (2) *C′ in process.* Consumption of these elements through labour. The production process. Finally, the third *C*. Thus *C—C′—C′* (in process)—*C*. Each act of circulation, just as the total metamorphosis, the unity of the reversed phases *C—M—C′*, appear as mere moments of the reproduction process. On the other hand, the production process itself appears as a moment in the whole of the cycle, is itself incorporated in circulation.

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[a] See K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 324-34).—*Ed.*

The 3rd figure of (II) shows only the production process as distinct from the entire circulation process. In order that it may resume itself, $C—M—C'$ must be gone through, and the rate of its renewal depends on the rate of this metamorphosis.

In the 2nd figure of (II) we start from the commodity. The rate at which it is renewed essentially depends on the rate at which it goes through the production process.

Finally in figure 1′ of (II) the conditions are presented together. The rate at which $M$ is produced as $M'$ depends, first, on the rate of the conversion of $M$ into $C'$, $M^{(1)}—C'$, second, on the duration of the production process, $C'^{(2)}$ in process, third, on the speed of the metamorphosis $C—M—C'$.[132]

Let us consider the road travelled by capital before it appears in the form of interest-bearing capital.

In the immediate process of production, the matter is fairly simple. SURPLUS VALUE has not as yet assumed a *separate* form, apart from the fact that it is SURPLUS VALUE as distinct from the VALUE which is equivalent to the VALUE reproduced in the product. In the same way as VALUE in general resolves into LABOUR, SO SURPLUS VALUE consists of SURPLUS LABOUR, unpaid labour. Hence SURPLUS VALUE is only measured by that part of capital which really changes its value—the variable capital, i.e. the capital which is laid out in wages. Constant capital appears only as the condition enabling the variable part of capital to operate. It is quite simple: if with £100, i.e. the labour of 10 [men], one buys the labour of 20 [men] (that is, commodities in which the labour of 20 [men] is embodied), the value of the product will be £200 and the surplus value will amount to £100, equal to the unpaid labour of 10 [men]. Or, supposing 20 men worked half a day each for themselves and half for capital—20 half-days equal 10 whole ones—the result would be the same as if only 10 men were paid and the others worked for the capitalist gratis.

Here, in this embryonic state, the relationship is still very obvious, or rather it cannot be misunderstood. The difficulty is simply to discover how this appropriation of labour without any equivalent arises from the law of commodity exchange—out of the fact that commodities exchange for one another in proportion to the amount of labour time embodied in them—and, to start with, does not contradict this law.

[XV-911] The circulation process obliterates and obscures the connection. Since here the mass of surplus value is also

determined by the *circulation time of capital,* an element foreign to labour time seems to have entered.

Finally, in capital as the finished phenomenon, as it appears as a whole, [as] the unity of the circulation and the production processes, as the expression of the reproduction process—as a definite sum of values which produces a definite amount of profit (surplus value) in a definite time, a definite period of circulation—in capital in this form the production and circulation processes exist only as a reminiscence and as aspects which determine the surplus value *equally,* thereby disguising its simple nature. Surplus value now appears as profit. This profit is, first, received for a definite period of circulation of capital, and this period is distinct from the labour time; it is, secondly, surplus value calculated and drawn not on that part of capital from which it originates directly, but quite indiscriminately on the total capital. In this way its source is completely concealed. Thirdly, although the mass of profit is still quantitatively identical in this first form of profit with the mass of surplus value produced by the individual capital, the rate of profit is, from the very beginning, different from the rate of surplus value; since the rate of surplus value is $\frac{s}{v}$ and the rate of profit is $\frac{s}{c+v}$. Fourthly, if the rate of surplus value is presumed given, it is possible for the rate of profit to rise or to fall and even to move in the opposite direction to the rate of surplus value.

Thus, surplus value in the first form of profit already assumes a form which not only makes it difficult to perceive that it is identical with surplus value, i.e. surplus labour, but appears directly to contradict this view.

Furthermore, as a result of the conversion of profit into *average profit,* the establishment of the general rate of profit and, in connection with it or posited by it, the conversion of values into cost prices, the profit of the individual capital becomes *different* from the actual surplus value produced by the individual capital in its particular sphere of production, and different, moreover, not only in the way it is expressed—i.e. rate of profit as distinct from rate of surplus value—but it becomes substantially different, that is, in this context, quantitatively different. Profit does not merely *seem* to be different, but *is* now in fact different from surplus value not only with regard to the individual capital but also with regard to the total capital in a particular sphere of production. Capitals of equal magnitude yield equal profits; in other words, profit is proportional to the size of the capital. Or

profit is determined by the value of capital advanced. The relation of profit to the organic composition of capital is completely obliterated and no longer recognisable in all these formulae. On the other hand, it is quite obvious that capitals of the same magnitude which set in motion very different amounts of labour, thus commanding very different amounts of surplus labour and consequently producing very different amounts of SURPLUS VALUE, yield the same amount of profit. Indeed, the basis itself—the determination of the value of commodities by the labour time embodied in them—appears to be invalidated as a result of the conversion of values into cost prices.

In this quite alienated form of profit and in the same measure as the form of profit hides its inner core, capital more and more acquires a material form, is transformed more and more from a relationship into a thing, but a thing which embodies, which has absorbed, the social relationship, a thing which has acquired a fictitious life and independent existence in relation to itself, a natural-supernatural entity; in this form of *capital and profit* it appears superficially as a ready-made precondition. It is the form of its reality, or rather its real form of existence. And it is the form in which it exists in the consciousness and is reflected in the imagination of its representatives, the capitalists.

This fixed and ossified (metamorphosed) form of profit (and thereby of capital as its producer, for capital is the cause and profit is the result; capital is the reason, profit is the effect; capital is the substance, profit is the adjunct; capital is capital only in so far as it yields profit, only in so far as it is a value which produces profit, an additional value)—and therefore also of capital as its cause, capital which maintains itself and expands by means of profit—the external aspect of this ossified form is strengthened even more by the fact that the same process of the equalisation of capital, which gives profit the form of average profit, separates part of it in the form of *rent* as something independent of it and arising from a different foundation, the land. It is true that rent originally emerges as a part of profit which the FARMER pays to the LANDLORD. But since this SURPLUS PROFIT is not pocketed by the FARMER, and the capital he employs does not differ in any way as capital from other capitals (it is precisely because SURPLUS PROFIT is not derived from capital as such that the farmer pays it to the LANDLORD), the land itself appears to be the source of this part of the value of the commodity (its surplus value) and the LANDLORD [appears to represent] the land only [XV-912] as a juridical person.

If the rent is calculated on the capital advanced, then a thread still remains which indicates its origin as a distinct part of profit, that is, of surplus value in general. (The position is, of course, quite different in a social order where landed property exploits labour directly. In that case, it is not difficult to recognise the origin of SURPLUS WEALTH.) But the rent is paid on a definite area of land; it is capitalised in the value of the land; this value rises and falls in accordance with the rise or fall of rent. The rise or fall of rent is calculated with regard to a piece of land which remains unchanged (whereas the amount of capital operating on it changes); the difference in the types of land is reflected in the amount of rent which has to be paid for a given yardage, the total RENTAL is calculated on the total area of the land in order to determine the average RENTAL, for example, of a square yard. Rent, like every phenomenon created by capitalist production, appears at the same time as a stable, given precondition existing at any particular moment, and thus, it is for each individual an independently existing magnitude. The FARMER has to pay rent, so much per acre of land, according to the quality of the land. If its quality improves or deteriorates, then the rent he has to pay on so many ACRES rises or falls. He has to pay rent for the land quite irrespective of the capital he employs on it, just as he has to pay interest irrespective of the profit he makes.

The calculation of rent on industrial capital is another critical formula of political economy which demonstrates the inner connection between rent and profit, its basis. But this connection does not *appear* in reality; rather the calculation of rent is based on the real area of land, the intermediate links are thereby eliminated and rent acquires its externalised independent aspect. It is an independent form only in this externalisation, in its complete separation from its antecedents. So many square yards of land bring in so much rent. In this formula, in which rent, a part of surplus value, *is represented in relation to a particular natural element, independent of human labour,* not only the nature of surplus value is completely obliterated, because the nature of value itself is obliterated; but, just as the source of rent appears to be land, so now *profit* itself appears to be due to *capital as a particular material instrument of production.* Land is part of nature and brings in rent. Capital consists of products and these bring in profit. That one use value which is produced brings in profit, while another which is not produced brings in rent are simply two different forms in which things *produce value,* and the one form is just as comprehensible and as incomprehensible as the other.

It is clear that, as soon as surplus value [is split up] into different, *separate* parts, related to various production elements—such as nature, products, labour—which only differ *physically*, that is, as soon as in general surplus value acquires *special* forms, separate from one another, independent of one another and regulated by different laws, the common unit—surplus value—and consequently the nature of this common unit, becomes more and more unrecognisable and does not manifest itself in the *appearance* but has to be discovered as a hidden mystery. This assumption of independent forms by the various parts—and their confrontation as independent forms—is completed as a result of each of these parts being reduced to a particular element as its measure and its special source; in other words, each part of surplus value is conceived as the effect of a special cause, as an adjunct of a particular substance. Thus profit is related to capital, rent to land, wages to labour. These ready-made relations and forms, which appear as preconditions in real production because the capitalist mode of production moves within the forms it has created itself and which are its results, confront it equally as ready-made preconditions in the process of reproduction. As such, they in fact determine the actions of individual capitalists, etc., and provide the motives, which are reflected in their consciousness. Vulgar political economy does nothing more than express in doctrinaire fashion this consciousness, which, in respect of its motives and notions, remains in thrall to the appearance of the capitalist mode of production. And the more it clings to the shallow, superficial appearance, only bringing it into some sort of order, the more it considers that it is acting "naturally" and avoiding all abstract subtleties.

[XV-913] In connection with the circulation process dealt with above[a] it has to be added that the categories arising out of the circulation process crystallise as attributes of particular sorts of capital, fixed, circulating and so on, and thus appear as definite material attributes of certain commodities.

In the final state in which profit, assumed as something given, appears in capitalist production, the innumerable transformations and intervening stages through which it passes are obliterated and unrecognisable, and consequently the nature of capital is also obliterated and unrecognisable. This state becomes even more rigid owing to the fact that the same process which gives it its final FINISH causes part of the profit to confront it as *rent*, thus

[a] See this volume, p. 482.—*Ed.*

transforming profit into a *particular* aspect of surplus value, an aspect based on capital as a special material instrument of production, in exactly the same way as rent is based on land; thus this state, separated from its inner essence by a mass of invisible intermediate links, reaches an even more *externalised* form, or rather the form of absolute *externalisation,* in interest-bearing capital, in the separation of interest from profit,in interest-bearing capital as the simple form of capital, the form in which capital is antecedent to its own reproduction process. On the one hand, this expresses the absolute form of capital $M—M'$, self-valorising value. On the other hand, the intermediate link $C$, which still exists in genuine merchant capital whose formula is $M—C—M'$, has disappeared. Only the relation of $M$ to itself and measured by itself remains. It is capital expressly removed, separated from the process, as an antecedent it stands outside the process whose result it is and through which alone it is capital.

//[Here] the fact is disregarded that interest may be a mere TRANSFER and need not represent real surplus value, as, for example, when money is lent to a "spendthrift", i.e. for consumption. The position may be similar when money is borrowed in order to make *payments.* In both cases it is loaned as money, not as capital, but it becomes *capital* to its owner through the mere act of lending it out. In the second case, [if it is used to] DISCOUNT [bills] or as a LOAN ON temporarily NOT VENDIBLE COMMODITIES, it can be associated with the circulation process of capital, the necessary conversion of commodity capital into money capital. In so far as the acceleration of this conversion process—such acceleration is a general feature of credit—speeds up reproduction, and therefore the production of surplus value, the money lent is capital. On the other hand, in so far as it only serves to pay *debts* without accelerating the reproduction process, perhaps even limiting it or making it impossible, it is a mere *means of payment,* only money for the borrower, and for the *lender it is, in fact, capital independent of the process of capital.* In this case interest, like PROFIT UPON EXPROPRIATION, is a FACT independent of capitalist production—the production of surplus value. It is in these two forms of money—money as means of purchase of commodities intended for consumption and as means of payment of debts—that interest, like PROFIT UPON EXPROPRIATION, constitutes a form which, although it is reproduced in capitalist production, is nevertheless independent of it and [represents] a form of interest which belongs to earlier modes of production. It is in the nature of capitalist production, however, that money (or commodities) can exist as capital and can

be sold as capital outside the production process, and that this can also be the case with the older forms, in which it is not converted into capital but only serves as money. The third of the older forms of interest-bearing capital is based on the fact that capitalist production does *not as yet* exist, but that profit is still acquired in the form of interest and the capitalist appears as a mere usurer. This implies: 1) that the producer still works independently with his own means of production, and that the means of production do not yet work with him (even if slaves form a part of these means of production, for in these circumstances slaves do not constitute a separate economic category any more than draught animals do; there is at best a physical difference between them, i.e. dumb instruments, and speaking and feeling instruments[133]); 2) that the means of production belong only nominally to the producer; in other words, that because of some incidental circumstances he is unable to reproduce them from [the proceeds of] the sale of his commodities. These forms of interest-bearing capital occur, consequently, in all forms of society which include commodity and money circulation, whether slave labour, serf labour or free labour is predominant in them. In the last-mentioned form, the producer pays the capitalist his surplus labour in the form of interest, which therefore includes profit. We have here the whole of [XV-914] capitalist production without its advantages, the development of the social forms of labour and of the productive powers of labour to which they give rise. This form is very prevalent among peasant nations who already have to buy a portion of the necessaries of life and instruments of production as commodities (alongside whom, therefore, separate urban industries already exist) and who, in addition, have to pay taxes, rent, etc., in money. //

Interest-bearing capital functions as such only in so far as the money lent is really converted into capital and produces a SURPLUS of which interest constitutes a part. This does not however invalidate the fact that interest and interest-bearing have become attributes of it independently of the process. Any more than the use value of cotton as cotton is nullified by the fact that it has to be spun or used in some other way, in order to demonstrate its useful properties. And thus capital [demonstrates] its capacity to yield interest only by becoming part of the production process. But labour capacity likewise demonstrates its ability to produce value only when it functions as labour, is realised as labour in this process. This does not rule out that, in itself, as an ability, it is a value-creating activity and does not merely become such as a result

of the process, but rather is antecedent to the process. It is bought as such. A person can buy it without setting it to work (as, for example, when a theatre manager hires an actor not in order to give him a role in a play, but to prevent him from performing in a rival theatre). Whether or not a man who buys labour capacity uses its faculty for which he pays, i.e. its faculty to create value, is of no concern to the man who sells it, and makes no difference to the commodity sold, just as it makes no difference whether the man who buys capital uses it as such, that is, employs the quality of creating value which is inherent in it, in the process. What he pays for in these two cases is the surplus value and the capacity of maintaining its own value *in itself*—potentially, by the nature of the commodity which has been bought—contained in the capital in the one case and in the labour capacity in the other. This is why the capitalist who operates with his own capital regards part of the surplus value as interest, that is, as surplus value which is yielded by the production process, because it has been brought into the production process by the capital independently of the process.

Rent and the relationship land—rent may appear as a much more mysterious form than that of interest [and the relationship] capital—interest. But the irrational element in rent is not formulated or shaped in such a way that it expresses a *relation of capital itself.* Since land itself is productive (of use value) and is itself a living productive force (of use value or for the creation of use values), it is possible either SUPERSTITIOUSLY to confuse use value with exchange value, i.e. to confuse it with a specific social form of the labour contained in the product. In this case, the reason for the irrationality lies in itself, since rent as a category *sui generis* is independent of the capitalist process as such. Or "enlightened" political economy may deny altogether that rent is a form of SURPLUS VALUE, because it is not connected with either labour or capital, and declare that it is merely a SURCHARGE which the landowner is able to make as a result of his monopoly of landownership.

The position is different in the case of interest-bearing capital. Here it is a question not of a relation which is alien to capital, but of the capital relation itself; of a relation which arises out of capitalist production, is specific to it, and expresses the essence of capital itself; of an aspect of capital in which it appears *as capital. Profit* is still related to operating capital, to the process in which surplus value (and profit itself) is produced. Whereas in *profit* the form of surplus value has become alienated, strange, so that its simple

form and therefore its substance and source of origin are not immediately discernible, this is not the case in *interest-bearing capital*; on the contrary it is *precisely* this alienated form which is presupposed and declared to be the *essential* feature of *interest*. The alienated form has assumed an independent and rigid existence as something *antagonistic* to the real nature of surplus value. The relationship of capital to labour is obliterated in interest-bearing capital. In fact, interest presupposes profit, of which it is only a part. The way in which surplus value [XV-915] is divided into interest and profit and distributed between different sorts of capitalists is actually a matter of complete indifference to the wage worker. *Interest* is definitely regarded as the OFFSPRING OF CAPITAL, separate, independent and outside the capitalist process. It is due to *capital as capital*. It enters into the production process and therefore proceeds from it. Capital is impregnated with interest. It does not derive interest from the production process, but brings it into it. The surplus of profit over interest, the amount of surplus value which capital derives solely from the production process, i.e. the surplus value it produces as operating capital, acquires a separate form, namely, that of *industrial profit* (employer's profit, industrial or commercial, depending on whether the stress is laid on the production process or the circulation process), in contrast to interest, a value created by *capital as such, capital for itself*, and *capital as capital*. Thus even the last form of surplus value, which to some extent recalls its origin, is separated and conceived not only as an alienated form, but as one which is in direct contradiction to its origin; consequently the nature of capital and of surplus value as well as that of capitalist production in general is, finally, completely mystified.

*Industrial profit*, in contradistinction to *interest*, represents capital in the process in contradistinction to capital outside the process, capital as a process in contradistinction to capital as property; it therefore represents the capitalist as functioning capitalist, as representative of *working capital* as opposed to the capitalist as mere personification of capital, as mere owner of capital. He thus appears as *working capitalist* in contrast to himself as *capitalist*, and further, as *worker* in contrast to himself as mere *owner*. Consequently, in so far as any relation between surplus value and the process is still preserved, or apparent, this is done precisely in the form in which THE VERY NOTION OF SURPLUS VALUE IS NEGATED. *Industrial profit* is resolved into labour, not into *unpaid* labour of other people but into *wage labour*, into wages for the capitalist, who in this case is placed into the same category as the wage worker and

is merely a more highly paid worker, just as in general wages vary greatly.

Money is indeed not converted into capital as a result of the fact that it is exchanged against the material conditions required for the production of the commodity, and that in the labour process these conditions—materials of labour, means of labour and labour—begin to ferment, act on one another, combine with one another, undergo a chemical process and form the commodity like a crystal as a result of this process. The outcome of this would be no capital, no surplus value. This abstract form of the labour process is common to all modes of production whatever their social form or their particular historical character. The process only becomes a capitalist process, and money is converted into capital only: 1) if *commodity production,* i.e. the production of products in the form of commodities, becomes the general form of production; 2) if the commodity (money) is exchanged against labour capacity (that is, actually against labour) as a commodity, and consequently if labour is wage labour; 3) this is the case however only when the objective conditions, that is (considering the production process as a whole), the products, confront labour as independent forces, not as the property of labour but as the property of someone else, and thus in the form of *capital.* Labour as wage labour and the conditions of labour as capital (that is, consequently, as the property of the capitalist; they are themselves properties personified in the capitalist and whose property in them, their property in themselves, they represent as against labour) are expressions of the same relationship, only seen from opposite poles. This condition of capitalist production is its invariable result. It is its *antecedent* posited by itself. Capitalist production is antecedent to itself and is therefore posited with its conditions as soon as it has evolved and functions in circumstances appropriate to it. However, the *capitalist production process* is not just a production process pure and simple. The contradictory, socially determined feature of its elements evolves, becomes reality only in the process itself, and this feature is the predominant characteristic of the process, which it turns precisely into that socially determined mode of production, the *capitalist process of production.*

[XV-916] The *formation process* of capital—when capital, i.e. not any particular capital, but capital in general, only evolves—is the *dissolution process,* the *parting product* of the social mode of production preceding it. It is thus an *historical process,* a process which belongs to a definite historical period. This is the period of

its *historical genesis.* (In the same way the existence of the human race is the result of an earlier process which organic life passed through. Man comes into existence only when a certain point is reached. But once man has emerged, he becomes the permanent presupposition of human history, likewise its permanent product and result, and he is *presupposition* only as his own product and result.) It is here that labour must separate itself from the conditions of labour in their previous form, in which it was identical with them. It becomes *free* labour only in this way and only thus are its conditions converted into *capital* and confront it as such. The process of capital becoming capital or its development *before* the capitalist production process exists, and its realisation in this process itself belong to two historically different periods. In the second, capital is *taken for granted,* and its existence and automatic functioning is presupposed. In the first period, capital is the sediment resulting from the process of dissolution of a different form of society. It is the *product* of a different [form of society], not the product of its own reproduction, as is the case later. The existing basis on which capitalist production works is wage labour, which is however at the same time reproduced continuously by it. It is therefore based also on *capital,* the form assumed by the conditions of labour, as its given presupposition, a presupposition however which, like wage labour, is its continuous presupposition and its continuous product.

On this basis, *money,* for example, is, as such, capital because the conditions of production in themselves confront labour in an alienated form, they confront it as someone else's property and thus dominate it. Then capital can also be sold as a *commodity* which has this attribute, that is, it can be sold as capital, as is the case when capital is loaned at interest.

But while thus the aspect of the specific social determination of capital and of capitalist production—a specific social determination which is expressed juridically in capital as property, in capital property as a special form of property—*is established,* and *interest,* therefore, appears as that *part of surplus value* which is produced by capital in this determinate form, independent of this determination considered as the determination of the process as a whole, then the other part of surplus value, the SURPLUS of profit over interest, *industrial profit,* must obviously represent value which does not arise from capital as such, but from the production process separated from its social determination, which has indeed already found its special mode of existence in the formula, capital—interest. Separated from capital, however, the production

process becomes *labour process* in general. Consequently, the industrial capitalist as distinct from himself as capitalist, that is, the industrialist in contradistinction to himself as capitalist, i.e. owner of capital, is merely a simple functionary in the labour process; he does not represent functioning capital, but is a functionary irrespective of capital, and therefore a particular representative of the labour process in general, a *worker.* In this way, industrial profit is happily converted into *wages* and is equated with ordinary wages, differing from them only quantitatively and in the special form in which they are paid, i.e. that the capitalist pays wages to himself instead of someone else paying them to him.

The nature of surplus value (and therefore of capital) is not only obliterated in this final division of profit into *interest* and *industrial profit,* but it is definitely presented as something quite different.

*Interest* represents part of surplus value; it is merely a portion of profit which is separated and classified under a special name, the portion which accrues to the person who merely owns the capital, the portion he intercepts. But this merely *quantitative* division is turned into a *qualitative division* which transforms both parts in such a way that not even a trace of their original essence seems to remain. [XV-917] This is first of all confirmed by the fact that *interest* does not appear as a division which makes no difference to production, and takes place only "occasionally" when the industrialist operates with someone else's capital. Even when he operates with his own capital his profit is split into *interest* and *industrial profit,* thereby transforming the mere quantitative division into a *qualitative* one which does not depend on the accidental circumstance whether the industrialist owns or does not own his capital; the *qualitative* division arises out of the nature of capital and of capitalist production itself. There exist not simply two portions of profit distributed to two different persons, but two separate *categories* of profit which are related in different ways to capital and consequently to different determinate aspects of capital. Apart from the reasons mentioned earlier, this assumption of an independent existence is established all the more easily since *interest-bearing capital* appears on the scene as a historic form before industrial capital and continues to exist alongside it in its old form and it is only in the course of the development of industrial capital that the latter subordinates it to capitalist production by turning it into a *special form* of industrial capital.

The mere quantitative division thus becomes a qualitative one. Capital is itself divided. In so far as it is a *prerequisite* of capitalist

production, in so far, therefore, as it *expresses* a *specific social relation,* the *alienated form of the conditions of labour,* it is realised in *interest.* It realises its character as capital in interest. On the other hand, in so far as it operates in the process, this process appears as something separate from its specific capitalist character, from its specific social determination—as mere *labour process* in general. Therefore, in so far as the capitalist plays any part in it, he does so not as a capitalist—for this aspect of his character is allowed for in interest—but as a functionary of the labour process in general, as a *worker,* and his wages take the form of *industrial profit.* It is a special type of labour—LABOUR OF DIRECTION—but after all types of labour in general differ from one another.

Thus the nature of surplus value, the essence of capital and the character of capitalist production are not only completely obliterated in these two forms of surplus value, they are turned into their opposites. But even in so far as the character and form of capital are complete [it is] nonsensical [if] presented without any intermediate links and expressed as the subjectification of objects, the objectification of subjects, as the reversal of cause and effect, the religious *quid pro quo,* the pure form of capital expressed in the formula $M—M'$. The ossification of relations, their presentation as the relation of men to things having a definite social character is here likewise brought out in quite a different manner from that of the simple mystification of commodities and the more complicated mystification of money. The transubstantiation, the fetishism, is complete.

Thus *interest* in itself expresses precisely the existence of the conditions of labour as *capital* in their social contradiction and in their transformation into personal forces which confront labour and dominate labour. It sums up the *alienated* character of the conditions of labour in relation to the activity of the subject. It represents the ownership of capital or mere capital property as the means for appropriating the products of other people's labour, as the control over other people's labour. But it presents this character of capital as something belonging to it [capital] apart from the production process itself and by no means as resulting from the specific determinate form of the production process itself. Interest presents capital not in opposition to labour, but, on the contrary, as having no relation to labour, and merely as a relation of one capitalist to another; consequently, as a category which is quite extrinsic to, and independent of, the relation of capital to labour. The division of the profit amongst the capitalists does not affect the worker. Thus *interest,* the form of profit which

is the special expression of the *contradictory character* of capital, is an expression in which this contradiction is completely obliterated and explicitly left out of account. Apart from expressing the capacity of money, commodities, etc., to valorise their own value, interest, in so far as it presents surplus value as something deriving from money, commodities, etc., as their natural fruit, is therefore merely a manifestation of the mystification of capital in its most extreme form; in so far as it at all represents a social relation *as such*, it expresses [XV-918] merely relations between capitalists, and by no means relations between capital and labour.

On the other hand, the existence of this form of *interest* gives the other part of profit the *qualitative form* of *industrial profit*, of wages for the labour of the industrial capitalist not in his capacity as capitalist, but as a *worker* (industrialist). The particular functions which the capitalist as such has to perform in the labour process and which are incumbent precisely on him as distinct from the workers, are represented as mere labour functions. He produces surplus value not because he works *as a capitalist*, but because he, the capitalist, also *works*. It is just as if a king, who, as king, has nominal command of the army, were to be assumed to command the army not because he, as the owner of the kingship, *commands*, plays the role of commander-in-chief, but on the contrary that he is king because he *commands*, exercises the function of commander-in-chief. If thus one part of surplus value, i.e. interest, is completely separated from the process of exploitation, then the other part, that is, industrial profit, emerges as its direct opposite, not as appropriation of other people's labour, but as the creation of value by one's own labour. This part of surplus value is therefore no longer surplus value, but its opposite, an equivalent given for labour performed. Since the *alienated character* of capital, its opposition to labour, is displayed outside the exploitation process, that is, outside the sphere where the *real action of this alienation* takes place, all the contradictory features are eliminated from this process itself. Consequently, *real* exploitation, the sphere where these contradictory features are put into practice and where they manifest themselves in reality, appears as its exact opposite, as a substantially different kind of labour, which belongs however to the same socially determined form of labour—wage labour—to the same *category* of labour. The work of the exploiter is identified here with the labour which is exploited.

This conversion of one part of profit into *industrial profit* arises, as we have seen, from the conversion of the other part into

*interest.* The social form of capital—that it is property—devolves on the latter part; on the former part devolves the economic function of capital, its function in the labour process, but detached, abstracted from the social form, the contradictory form in which it exercises this function. How this is further justified by learned reasoning is to be examined in greater detail in connection with the apologetic interpretation of profit as [remuneration for] LABOUR OF SUPERINTENDENCE.[a] Here the capitalist is equated with his MANAGER, as Adam Smith already noted.[b] Industrial profit does indeed include some part of WAGES—in those cases where the MANAGER does not draw them. Capital appears in the production process as the director of labour, as its commander (CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY) and thus plays an active role in the actual labour process. But in so far as these functions arise out of the specific form of capitalist production—that is, out of the domination of capital over labour as *its* labour and, therefore, over the workers as its instruments, out of the nature of capital, which appears as the *social entity*, the subject of the social form of labour personified in it [capital] as power over labour—this work (it may be entrusted to a MANAGER) which is linked with exploitation is, of course, labour which, in the same way as that of the wage worker, enters into the value of the product; just *as in the case of slavery, the labour of the overseer* has to be paid for like that of a worker. If man attributes an independent existence, clothed in a *religious form*, to his relationship to his own nature, to external nature and to other men so that he is dominated by these notions, then he requires *priests* and *their* labour. With the disappearance of the religious form of consciousness and of these relationships, the labour of the priests will likewise cease to enter into the social process of production. The labour of priests will end with the existence of the *priests* themselves and, in the same way, the labour which the capitalist performs *qua* capitalist, or causes to be performed by someone else, will end together with the existence of the capitalists. (The example of slavery has to be amplified by quotations.)[134]

Incidentally, these apologetics aimed at reducing profit to wages, i.e. the WAGES OF LABOUR OF SUPERINTENDENCE, boomerang on the apologists themselves, for English [XV-919] socialists have rightly declared: Well, in future, you shall only draw the WAGES usually paid to MANAGERS. Your INDUSTRIAL PROFIT should be reduced to WAGES

[a] See pp. XVIII—1100-01 of the manuscript (present edition, Vol. 33).—*Ed.*

[b] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Book I, Ch. VI.—*Ed.*

OF SUPERINTENDENCE or DIRECTION OF LABOUR not merely in words, but in practice.

(It is of course impossible to examine in detail this nonsense and twaddle with all its contradictions. For example, INDUSTRIAL PROFIT rises and falls in inverse [proportion] to interest or rent. The *SUPERINTENDENCE OF LABOUR*, the particular amount of labour really performed by the capitalist, has however nothing whatever to do with it, any more than with the *decline in wages*. This kind of wages has the peculiarity that it falls and rises in inverse proportion to real wages (in so far as the rate of profit is determined by the rate of surplus value, and in so far as all the *conditions of production* remain unchanged, it is determined *exclusively* by this). But "little contradictions" of this kind do not prevent the apologetic VULGARIAN from regarding them as identical. The labour performed by the capitalist remains absolutely the same whether he pays low or high wages, whether the worker receives high or low wages. Just as the wages paid for a working day do not affect the amount of labour involved. Moreover, the worker works more intensively when he gets better wages. The labour of the capitalist, on the other hand, is something strictly determined, it is determined both qualitatively and quantitatively by the amount of labour he has to direct, not by the wages paid for this labour. He can no more intensify his labour than the cotton operative can work up more cotton than is available in the mill.)

And they [the English socialists] add: the office of manager, the LABOUR OF SUPERINTENDENCE, can now be bought on the market in the same way as any other kind of labour capacity, and is relatively just as cheap to produce and therefore to buy. Capitalist production itself has brought about that the LABOUR OF DIRECTION walks the streets, separated completely from the ownership of capital, whether one's own or other people's. It has become quite unnecessary for *capitalists* to perform this LABOUR OF DIRECTION. It is actually available, separate from capital, not in the SHAM SEPARATION which exists between the INDUSTRIAL CAPITALIST and the MONEYED CAPITALIST, but that between INDUSTRIAL MANAGERS, etc., and capitalists of every sort. The best demonstration of this are the cooperative factories built by the workers themselves.[135] They are proof that the capitalist as functionary of production has become just as superfluous to the workers as the LANDLORD appears to the capitalist with regard to bourgeois production. *Secondly*: In so far as the labour of the capitalist does not arise from the process as a capitalist [production] process, and therefore disappears automatically with the disappearance of capital, i.e. in so far as it is not

simply a name for the function of exploiting other people's labour, but in so far as it arises from the social form of labour—cooperation, division of labour, etc.—it is just as independent of capital as is this form itself once it has stripped off its capitalist integument. To assert that this labour, as *capitalist labour*, as the function of the capitalist, is necessary, only shows that the VULGARIAN cannot *conceive* the social productive power and the social character of labour developed within the framework of capital as something separate from the capitalist form, from the form of alienation, from the antagonism and contradiction of its aspects, from its inversion and *quid pro quo. Et c'est justement ce que nous affirmons.*[a]

It is in *interest-bearing capital*—in the division of profit into interest and profit—that capital finds its most objectified form, its pure fetish form, and the nature of surplus value is presented as something which has altogether lost its identity. Capital—as an entity—appears here as an independent source of value; as something which creates value in the same way as land [produces] rent, and labour wages (partly wages in the proper sense, and partly industrial profit). Although it is still the price of the commodity which has to pay for wages, interest and rent, it pays for them because the land which enters into the commodity produces the rent, the capital which enters into it produces the interest, and the labour which enters into it produces the wages, [in other words these elements] produce the portions of value which accrue to their respective owners or representatives—[XV-920] the landowner, the capitalist, and the worker (wage worker and industrialist). From this standpoint therefore, the fact that, on the one hand, the price of commodities determines wages, rent and interest and, on the other hand, the price of interest, rent and wages determines the price of commodities, is by no means a contradiction contained in the theory, or if it is, it is a contradiction, a *cercle vicieux*, which exists in the real movement.

True, the rate of interest fluctuates, but only like the market price of any other commodity in accordance with the ratio of demand and supply. This by no means invalidates the notion of interest being inherent in capital just as the fluctuations in the prices of commodities do not invalidate prices as designations appropriate to commodities.

Thus land, capital and labour on the one hand—in so far as they are the sources of rent, interest and wages and these are the

[a] And it is precisely what we say.—*Ed.*

constituent elements of commodity prices—appear as the elements which create value, and on the other hand, in so far as they accrue to the owner of each of these means for the production of value, i.e. in so far as he derives the portion of the value created by them, they appear as sources of REVENUE, and rent, interest and wages appear as forms of *distribution*. (As we shall see later, it is the result of stupidity that the VULGARIANS, as opposed to critical economy, in fact regard forms of distribution simply as forms of production *sub alia specie*[a] whereas the critical economists separate them and fail to recognise their identity.)

In interest-bearing capital, capital appears to be the *independent source of value* or surplus value it possesses as money or as commodities. And it is indeed this source in itself, in its material aspect. It must of course enter into the production process in order to realise this faculty; but so must land and labour.

One can therefore understand why the vulgar economists prefer [the formula]: land—rent; capital—interest; labour—wages, to that used by Smith[b] and others for the elements of price (or RATHER for its *decomposita*[c]) and where [the relation] *capital—profit* figures, just as on the whole the capital relation as such is expressed in this form by all the classical economists. The concept of profit still contains the inconvenient connection with the process, and the real nature of surplus value and of capitalist production, in contradistinction to their *appearance*, is still more or less recognisable. This connection is severed when interest is presented as the intrinsic product of capital and the other part of surplus value, industrial profit, consequently disappears entirely and is relegated to the category of wages.

Classical political economy seeks to reduce the various fixed and mutually alien forms of wealth to their inner unity by means of analysis and to strip away the form in which they exist independently alongside one another. It seeks to grasp the inner connection in contrast to the multiplicity of outward forms. It therefore reduces rent to surplus profit, so that it ceases to be a specific, *separate* form and is divorced from its apparent source, the land. It likewise divests interest of its independent form and shows that it is a part of profit. In this way it reduces all types of REVENUE and all independent forms and titles under cover of which the non-workers receive a portion of the value of commodities, to

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[a] Under a different aspect.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 400-04, and Vol. 31, pp. 439-42, 456-57.—*Ed.*

[c] Here: the parts into which it can be broken down.—*Ed.*

the single form of profit. Profit, however, is reduced to surplus value since the value of the whole commodity is reduced to labour; the amount of paid labour embodied in the commodity constitutes wages, consequently the surplus over and above it constitutes unpaid labour, surplus labour called forth by capital and appropriated gratis under various titles. Classical political economy occasionally contradicts itself in this analysis. It often attempts directly, leaving out the intermediate links, to carry through the reduction and to prove that the various forms are derived from one and the same source. This is however a necessary consequence of its analytical method, [XV-921] with which criticism and understanding must begin. Classical economy is not interested in elaborating how the various forms come into being, but seeks to reduce them to their unity by means of analysis, because it starts from them as given premisses. But analysis is the necessary prerequisite of genetical presentation, and of the understanding of the real, formative process in its different phases. Finally a failure, a deficiency of classical political economy is the fact that it does not conceive the *basic form of capital*, i.e. production designed to appropriate other people's labour, as an *historical* form but as a *natural form* of social production; the analysis carried out by the classical economists themselves nevertheless paves the way for the refutation of this conception.

The position is quite different as regards *vulgar political economy*, which only becomes widespread when political economy itself has, as a result of its analysis, undermined and impaired its own premisses and consequently the opposition to political economy has come into being in more or less economic, utopian, critical and revolutionary forms. For the development of political economy and of the opposition to which it gives rise keeps pace with the *real* development of the social contradictions and class conflicts inherent in capitalist production. Only when political economy has reached a certain stage of development and has assumed well-established forms—that is, after Adam Smith—does the separation of the element whose notion of the phenomena consists of a mere reflection of them take place, i.e. its vulgar element becomes a special aspect of political economy. Thus *Say* separates the vulgar notions occurring in *Adam Smith's* work and puts them forward in a distinct crystallised form. *Ricardo* and the further advance of political economy caused by him provide new nourishment for the vulgar economist (who does not produce anything himself): the more economic theory is perfected, that is, the deeper it penetrates its subject-matter and the more it

develops as a contradictory system, the more is it confronted by its own, increasingly independent, vulgar element, enriched with material which it dresses up in its own way until finally it finds its most apt expression in academically syncretic and unprincipled eclectic compilations.

To the degree that economic analysis becomes more profound it not only describes contradictions, but it is confronted by its own contradiction simultaneously with the development of the actual contradictions in the economic life of society. Accordingly, vulgar political economy deliberately becomes increasingly *apologetic* and makes strenuous attempts to talk out of existence the ideas which contain the contradictions. Because he finds the contradictions in Smith relatively undeveloped, *Say*'s attitude still seems to be critical and impartial compared, for example, with that of *Bastiat*, the professional conciliator and apologist, who, however, found the contradictions existing in the economic life worked out in Ricardian economics and in the process of being worked out in socialism and in the struggles of the time. Moreover, vulgar economy in its early stages does not find the material fully elaborated and therefore assists to a certain extent in solving economic problems from the standpoint of political economy, as, for example, *Say*, whereas a Bastiat needs merely to busy himself with plagiarism and attempts to argue away the *unpleasant* side of classical political economy.

But Bastiat does not represent the last stage. He is still marked by a lack of erudition and a quite superficial acquaintance with the branch of learning which he prettifies in the interests of the ruling class. His apologetics are still written with enthusiasm and constitute his real work, for he borrows the economic content from others just as it suits his purpose. The last form is the *academic form*, which proceeds "historically"[136] and, with wise moderation, collects the "best" from all sources, and in doing this contradictions do not matter; on the contrary, what matters is comprehensiveness. All systems are thus made insipid, [XV-922] their edge is taken off and they are peacefully gathered together in a miscellany. The heat of apologetics is moderated here by erudition, which looks down benignly on the exaggerations of economic thinkers, and merely allows them to float as oddities in its mediocre pap. (That they look down in an equally superior manner on the phantasies of the socialists need hardly be stressed.) Since such works only appear when political economy has reached the end of its scope as a science, they are at the same time the *graveyard* of this science. Even the genuine thought of a

Smith or a Ricardo, and others—the vulgar elements not just peculiar to them—is made to appear insipid in these works and becomes a VULGARISM. Professor *Roscher* is a master of this sort of thing and has modestly proclaimed himself to be the Thucydides of political economy.[105] His identification of himself with Thucydides may perhaps be based on his conception of Thucydides as a man who constantly confuses cause with effect.

In the form of *interest-bearing capital* it becomes quite obvious that capital *without* expending any labour appropriates the fruits of other people's labour. For it appears here in a form in which it is separated from the production process as such. But it can do this only because, in this form, it indeed enters by itself, *without* labour, into the labour process, as an element which in itself creates *value,* i.e. is a source of value. While it appropriates part of the value of the product without labour, it has also created it without labour, *ex proprio sinu,* out of itself.

Whereas the classical, and consequently the critical, economists are exercised by the form of alienation and seek to eliminate it by analysis, the vulgar economists, on the other hand, feel completely at home precisely with the *alienated form* in which the different parts of value confront one another; just as a scholastic is familiar with God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, so are the vulgar economists with land—rent, capital—interest, and labour—wages. For this is the form in which these relationships appear to be directly connected with one another in the world of phenomena, and therefore they exist in this form in the thoughts and the consciousness of those agents of capitalist production who remain captive to it. The more the vulgar economists in fact content themselves with translating common notions into doctrinaire language, the more they imagine that their writings are plain, *in accordance with nature* and the public interest, and free from all theoretical hair-splitting. Therefore, the more alienated the way in which they conceive the formations of capitalist production, the closer they approach the nature of common notions, and the more they are, as a consequence, in their natural element.

This, moreover, renders a substantial service to apologetics. For [in the formula:] land—rent, capital—interest, labour—wages, for example, the different forms of surplus value and configurations of capitalist production do not confront one another as alienated forms, but as extraneous and independent forms, merely different from one another but *not antagonistic.* The different REVENUES are derived from quite different sources, one from land, the second

from capital and the third from labour. Thus they do not stand in any hostile connection to one another because they have no inner connection whatsoever. If they nevertheless work together in production, then it is a harmonious action, an expression of harmony, as, for example, the peasant, the ox, the plough and the land in agriculture, in the real labour process, work together *harmoniously* despite their dissimilarities. In so far as there is any contradiction between them, it arises merely from competition as to which of the agents shall get more of the product, of the value they have jointly created. Even if this occasionally brings them to blows, nevertheless the outcome of this competition between land, capital and labour finally shows that, although they [XV-923] quarrel with one another over the division, their rivalry tends to increase the value of the product to such an extent that each receives a larger piece, so that their competition, which spurs them on, is merely the expression of their harmony.

Mr. Arnd, for example, says in criticism of *Rau*:

"Similarly, the author allows himself to be led by some of his predecessors to adding to the three elements of national wealth (wages, capital rent, land rent) a fourth, that of employers' profit.[a] This entirely destroys the basis—constructed with such circumspection by Adam Smith—for any further development of *our science*" (!); "such a development is consequently quite out of the question in the work under consideration" (Karl Arnd, *Die naturgemässe Volkswirthschaft, gegenüber dem Monopoliengeiste und dem Communismus, mit einem Rückblicke auf die einschlagende Literatur*, Hanau, 1845, p. 477).

By "capital rent" Mr. Arnd means *interest* (l.c., p. 123). According to this one might think that Adam Smith reduces national wealth to *interest on capital*, rent and wages, whereas on the contrary he quite expressly declares that *profit* results from the valorisation of capital and repeatedly and expressly states that *interest*—in so far as it constitutes surplus value at all—is only a form *derived* from profit. Thus the vulgar economist reads into his sources the direct opposite of what they contain. Where Smith writes "PROFIT" Arnd reads "INTEREST". It would be interesting to know what he supposes Adam Smith's "INTEREST" to mean.

This same "circumspect" developer of "*our science*" makes the following interesting discovery:

"In the natural course of goods production there is just *one* phenomenon which, in countries where all available land is under cultivation, seems in some measure to regulate the rate of interest; this is the proportion in which the timber in European forests is augmented through their annual growth. This new growth occurs quite *independently of the exchange value of the timber*" (how strange that the

[a] K. H. Rau, *Lehrbuch der politischen Oeconomie*, Heidelberg, 1837, pp. 139-40.—*Ed.*

trees arrange their new growth "independently of exchange value"!) "at the rate of 3 or 4 to 100. Accordingly *therefore*" //since this additional increase in the number of trees is "independent of their exchange value", no matter how much their exchange value may depend on their new growth//, "a decline" (in the rate of interest) "below the level at present prevailing in the richest countries is not likely" (l.c., [pp.] 124-25).

This deserves to be called the "forest-grown rate of interest", and in the same work its inventor has rendered another service to "our science" as the philosopher of the "dog tax".[137]

//Profit (including INDUSTRIAL profit) is proportionate to the amount of the capital advanced; on the other hand, the *WAGES* drawn by the industrial capitalist [stand] in inverse ratio to the amount of capital. [They are] considerable where the capital is small (because, in this case, the capitalist is something between an exploiter of other people's labour and a person who lives off his own labour), and insignificant where the capital is large, or they are quite independent of it in the case where a MANAGER [is employed]. One part of the LABOUR of direction merely arises from the antagonistic contradiction between capital and labour, from the antagonistic character of capitalist production, and belongs to the *faux frais de production*[a] in the same way as $^{9}/_{10}$ of the "labour" occasioned by the circulation process. A conductor does not have to be the owner of the instruments used by the orchestra, nor is it one of his functions as a conductor to speculate on the subsistence costs of the members of the orchestra, or, in general, to have ANYTHING to do with their "wages". It is very remarkable that economists like John Stuart Mill, who cling to the forms of "INTEREST" and "INDUSTRIAL PROFIT"[b] in order to convert "INDUSTRIAL PROFIT" into WAGES FOR SUPERINTENDENCE OF LABOUR, admit along with Smith, Ricardo and all other economists worth mentioning, that the AVERAGE RATE OF INTEREST[c] is determined by the AVERAGE RATE OF PROFIT, which according to Mill stands in inverse ratio to the RATE OF WAGES, and it is therefore nothing but unpaid labour, surplus labour.

Two FACTS provide the best proof that the WAGES OF SUPERINTENDENCE do not enter into the AVERAGE RATE OF PROFIT at all.

[XV-924] 1) That in cooperative factories,[135] where the GENERAL MANAGER receives a salary as in all other factories, and is responsible for the whole LABOUR OF DIRECTION—the overseers themselves are simply workers—the rate of profit is not below, but above, the AVERAGE RATE OF PROFIT.

[a] Overhead costs of production.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 35-37.—*Ed.*

[c] In the manuscript, this expression is preceded by its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

2) That where profit is continuously substantially above the AVERAGE RATE, as in individual, non-monopolised branches of business such as those of small SHOPKEEPERS, FARMERS, etc., this is correctly explained by the economists as being due to the fact that these people pay themselves their own WAGES. Where only the proprietor himself works, his profit consists of—1) the interest on his small capital; 2) his WAGES; 3) that part of the surplus time which, because of his capital, he is able to work for himself instead of for someone else; i.e. the part not already represented by interest. If, however, he employs workers, then their surplus time has to be added.

Of course the worthy *Senior* (Nassau) also converts *INDUSTRIAL PROFIT* into WAGES OF SUPERINTENDENCE.[a] But he forgets this humbug as soon as it is a question, not of doctrinaire phrases, but of practical struggles between workers and factory owners. Thus, he opposes the *shortening of the working day*, because in a working day of say $11^1/_2$ hours, the workers allegedly work only 1 hour for the capitalist, and the product of this 1 hour constitutes the capitalist's profit[b] (apart from the *interest* for which they also work 1 hour according to his own calculation). Suddenly here industrial profit is equal to the value added by the unpaid labour time of the worker and not to the value added by the labour which the capitalist performs in the production process of commodities. If industrial profit were the product of the capitalist's own labour, then Senior should not have deplored that the workers work only 1 hour for the capitalist for nothing instead of two, and even less should he have said that, if the workers worked only $10^1/_2$ hours instead of $11^1/_2$, there [would be] *no* profit *at all*. He should have said that if the workers worked only $10^1/_2$ hours instead of $11^1/_2$, the capitalist would not receive WAGES OF SUPERINTENDENCE for $11^1/_2$ hours but only for $10^1/_2$ hours, he would thus lose 1 hour's WAGES OF SUPERINTENDENCE. In which case the workers would answer that if ordinary WAGES for $10^1/_2$ hours have to suffice for them, then the *HIGHER WAGES* the capitalist receives for $10^1/_2$ hours should suffice for him.

It is incomprehensible how economists like John Stuart Mill, who are RICARDIANS and even express the principle that profit

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[a] See N. W. Senior, *An Outline of the Science of Political Economy*, London, 1836, Ch. IV, and also p. XVIII—1130 of the manuscript (present edition, Vol. 33).—*Ed.*

[b] See K. Marx, *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy*... (present edition, Vol., 29, pp. 203-04).—*Ed.*

merely=SURPLUS VALUE, SURPLUS LABOUR, in the form that the rate of profit and wages stand in inverse ratio to one another and that the rate of wages determines the rate of profit (which is incorrect when put in this form), suddenly convert INDUSTRIAL PROFIT into the individual LABOUR of the capitalist instead of into the SURPLUS LABOUR of the worker, unless the function of exploitation OF FOREIGN LABOUR is called LABOUR by them, the result of this is indeed that the WAGES of this LABOUR are exactly equal to the amount OF FOREIGN LABOUR APPROPRIATED, in other words, they depend directly on the DEGREE OF EXPLOITATION, not on the DEGREE OF EXERTION THAT THIS EXPLOITATION COSTS THE CAPITALIST. (In so far as this function of exploitation OF LABOUR really requires labour in the process of capitalist production, it is represented by the WAGES of GENERAL MANAGERS.) I say that it is incomprehensible that, after they as RICARDIANS have reduced profit to its real element, they allow themselves to be misled by the antithesis of INTEREST and INDUSTRIAL PROFIT which is simply a *disguised form* of profit and is regarded as this independent form due to ignorance of the nature of profit. Only because one part of profit, *interest*, appears to be due to capital as a thing, an automatically functioning, automatically creating thing, apart from the process, the other part appears as *INDUSTRIAL* PROFIT, as arising from the activity taking place in the process (really the active process, this however also includes the activity of the operating capitalist) and *therefore* as due to the labour of the capitalist. Consequently, because capital and the surplus value which arises from it and is called interest are considered *mysteries*. This view, which arises entirely from notions reflecting the most superficial aspects of the external form of capital, is the exact opposite of Ricardo's view and ALTOGETHER inconsistent with his conception of value. In so far as capital is value, its value is determined by the labour contained in it before it enters into the process. In so far as it enters the process as a thing, it does so as use value, and as such, it can never create exchange value, WHATEVER ITS USE. One can see how splendidly the RICARDIANS understand their own master. In relation to the MONEYED CAPITALIST, the INDUSTRIAL [capitalist], who embodies functioning capital and therefore actually squeezes out surplus labour, is of course quite justified in pocketing a part of this surplus. In relation to the MONEYED CAPITALIST, he is a worker, but a *worker who is a capitalist, in other words, an exploiter of other people's labour.* [XV-925] But in relation to the workers it is *strange* to plead that the exploitation of their labour costs the capitalist labour and that, therefore, they have to pay him for this exploitation; it is the PLEA of the SLAVE-DRIVER addressed to the SLAVE.//

Every precondition of the social production process is at the same time its result, and every one of its results appears simultaneously as its precondition. All the *production relations* within which the process moves are therefore just as much its products as they are its conditions. The more one examines its nature as it really is, [the more one sees that] in the last form it becomes increasingly consolidated, so that independently of the process these conditions appear to determine it, and their own relations appear to those competing in the process as objective conditions, objective forces, forms of things, the more so as, in the capitalist process, every element, even the simplest, the commodity for example, is already an inversion and causes relations between people to appear as attributes of things and as relations of people to the social attributes of these things.

//* "Profit[a] = remuneration for the productive employment of savings; profit properly so called is the remuneration for the *agency for superintendence during this productive employment*" * ([*The*] *Westminster Review,* January 1826, p. 107 et seq.).[b]

Thus interest here is declared to be remuneration for the fact that money, etc., is employed as capital; it therefore arises from capital as such, which is remunerated for its QUALITY *qua* capital. INDUSTRIAL PROFIT, on the other hand, [is remuneration] for the function of the capital or capitalist "DURING THIS PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT", i.e. in the production process itself.//

//Even a blind sow sometimes finds an acorn and so does McCulloch in the following passages. But even this, as he presents it, is only an inconsistency, since he does not distinguish SURPLUS VALUE from profit. Secondly, it is again one of his thoughtless, eclectic acts of plagiarism. According to fellows like Torrens, etc., for whom VALUE is determined by capital—and the same applies to Bailey—profit is proportionate to the capital (advanced). Unlike Ricardo, they do not consider that profit and surplus value are identical concepts, but only because they have no need whatsoever to explain profit on the basis of value, since they regard the visible form of surplus value—*profit* as the relation of SURPLUS VALUE to the capital advanced—as the original form and, in fact, they merely translate the apparent form into words. The passages in Mac's work, who (1) is a RICARDIAN and (2) plagiarises Ricardo's opponents—without attempting to reconcile [the conflicting ideas]—read:

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[a] In *The Westminster Review*: "Interest".—*Ed.*

[b] Marx gives a free rendering of the passage. Cf. present edition, Vol. 29, p. 170.—*Ed.*

Ricardo's law[138] is true only "IN THOSE CASES IN WHICH THE *PRODUCTIVENESS OF INDUSTRY REMAINS CONSTANT*" ([J.R.] McCulloch, [*The*] *Principles of Political Economy*, London, 1825,[100] p. 373), that is, the productiveness of the industry which produces constant capital.

"PROFITS DEPEND ON THE PROPORTION which they bear to the capital by which they are produced, and not on the PROPORTION TO WAGES. If the productiveness of industry is *universally* doubled and the additional product thus obtained is divided between capitalists and workers, then the proportion of the share of the capitalists to that of the workers remains unchanged, although the *rate of profit* calculated on the capital advanced has risen" (l.c., [pp.] 373-74).[a]

Even in this case, as Mac also notes, one can say that *WAGES* have fallen relatively as compared with the product, because *profits* have risen. (But in this case it is the rise in PROFITS which is the cause of the fall in WAGES.) This calculation, however, rests on the incorrect method of calculating WAGES as a share in the product, and, as we saw previously, Mr. John Stuart Mill seeks to generalise the Ricardian law in this sophistical manner.[b]//[139]

*Interest* is only a part of profit, the part which is paid to the owner of capital by the industrial, operating capitalist. Since he can appropriate surplus labour only by means of capital (money, commodities), etc., he has to hand over a portion of it to the man who makes capital available to him. And the lender, who wants to enjoy the advantages of money as capital without letting it function as capital, can do this only by being content with a part of the profit. They are IN FACT CO-PARTNERS, one of them being the juridical owner of the capital, and the other, while he employs it, the economic owner. But since the profit only arises from the production process, is only its result and has first to be produced, *interest* is in fact merely a claim on part of the surplus labour which has yet to be performed, a title to future labour, a claim on a *portion of the value* of commodities which do not as yet exist, it is therefore only the result of a production process which takes place during the period at the end of which the interest only falls due.

[XV-926] Capital is bought (that is, it is lent at interest) before it is paid for. Money functions here as means of payment as it does in relation to labour capacity, etc. The price of capital—i.e. interest—enters therefore just as much into the advances made by the industrialist (and into the advances made to himself where a man is operating with his own capital) as the price of COTTON which, for example, is bought today, but for which he has to pay perhaps in 6 weeks' time. This fact is in no way altered either by the

[a] Marx quotes McCulloch with some alterations.—*Ed.*
[b] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 65-68.—*Ed.*

fluctuations in the rate of interest—the market price of money—or the fluctuations in the market prices of other commodities. On the contrary. The market price of money—the name for interest-bearing capital as money capital—is fixed on the money market by competition between buyer and seller, by demand and supply, like the price of any other commodity. The struggle between the MONEYED and INDUSTRIAL capitalists is simply a struggle over the division of the profit, over the share which is to accrue to each of the two sections when the division is made. The relationship (demand and supply), like each of its two extremes, is itself a result of the production process or, in common parlance, [is determined] by the business situation existing at the time, the actual position in which the reproduction process and its elements find themselves. But, formally and apparently, it is this struggle which determines the *price* of capital (i.e. interest) before capital enters into the reproduction process. This determination, moreover, occurs outside the real production process, and depends on factors independent of the process; this price determination appears rather as one of the conditions within which the process has to take place. Thus the struggle appears not only to establish the property title to a definite part of the future profit, but to cause this part not to emerge as a result of the production process, but on the contrary to enter into it as a precondition, as the price of capital, just as the prices of commodities or wages enter into it as preconditions, although in the course of the reproduction process they in fact continuously emerge from it. Each component of the price of a commodity, in so far as it appears as an advance—as an already existing commodity price which enters into the production price—ceases to represent SURPLUS VALUE[a] as far as the industrial capitalist is concerned. That part of the profit which thus enters into the process as the price of capital is reckoned as part of the cost of the outlay; it therefore no longer appears to be SURPLUS and is converted from a *product* of the process into one of its given presuppositions—a *condition of production*—which as such enters into the process in an independent form and determines its result.

(If, for example, the rate of interest falls, and the situation obtaining on the market requires a reduction in the price of commodities below cost price, the industrialist can lower the commodity price without reducing the rate of industrial profit; he

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[a] In the manuscript, this English term is given after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

can indeed lower the price and secure a higher INDUSTRIAL profit, which, however, will be regarded by the man operating only with his own capital as a fall in the rate of profit, a reduction in the GROSS PROFIT. Everything which appears as a *given condition of production*, such as the prices of commodities, wages, capital—the market prices of these elements—affects the determination of the *market price* of the commodity at any particular time; the real *cost price* of a particular commodity is established only within the fluctuations of the market prices, and is only the self-equalisation of these market prices, just as the *value* of commodities is only established as a result of the equalisation of the cost prices of all the different commodities. Thus, the *cercle vicieux* of the VULGARIAN, whether he is a theoretician regarding matters from the capitalist standpoint or is in fact a capitalist—namely, that the prices of commodities determine wages, interest, profit and rent [and] that, on the other hand, the prices of labour, interest, profit and rent determine the prices of commodities—[is] merely an *expression of the circular movement* in which the general laws assert themselves in contradictory fashion in the real movement and in appearance.)

A part of the surplus value—*interest*—thus appears as the *market price* of capital, which enters into the process, and is therefore regarded not as surplus value but as a condition of production. Thus, the fact that two sets of capitalists share the surplus value, one set remaining outside the process and the other participating in it, is presented in such a way that one part of surplus value is due to capital outside the process and the other part to capital within the process. The fact that the division is established beforehand is presented as the independence of one part from the other, as the independence of one part from the process itself; and finally as the immanent attribute of things, *money, commodities*, but of these things as *capital*; this again appears not as the expression of a relationship, but in such a way that this money, these commodities are *technologically* intended for the labour process and because of this they become capital. Defined in this way, they are the simple elements of the labour process itself [XV-927] and *as such* they are *capital.*

There is nothing mysterious at all in the fact that the value of the commodity is made up partly of the value of the commodities contained in it, partly of the value of the labour—that is to say, the paid labour—partly of the unpaid but nonetheless salable labour, and that the part of its value which consists of unpaid labour—i.e. its surplus value—is in turn divided into interest, INDUSTRIAL profit and rent; in other words, the immediate *accapa-*

*reur*[a] and "producer" of the whole of this surplus value has to hand over portions of it to others, one portion to the LANDLORD, another to the owner of the capital, and he keeps the third for himself; he does so however under a name—INDUSTRIAL profit—which distinguishes it from interest and rent, and from surplus value and profit. The breakdown of surplus value, that is, of part of the value of commodities, into these special headings or categories, is very understandable and does not conflict in the least with the law of value. But the whole matter is mystified because these different parts of surplus value acquire an independent form, because they accrue to different people, because the titles to them are based on different elements, and finally because of the autonomy with which certain of these parts [of surplus value] confront the process as its conditions. From parts into which value can be divided, they become independent elements which *constitute* value, they become *constituent elements.* This is what they are as far as market prices are concerned. They really become the constituent elements of the market price. How their apparent independence as conditions of the process is regulated by the inherent law so that they are only *apparently* independent, does not become evident at any moment in the course of the production process, nor does it operate as a determining conscious motive. Exactly the opposite. The highest consistency which can be assumed by this semblance of results taking the form of independent conditions becomes firmly established when *parts of surplus value*—in the form of prices of the conditions of production—are included in the price.

And this is the case with regard to both interest and rent. They are part of the outlay of the INDUSTRIAL capitalist and the FARMER. They seem here no longer to represent unpaid surplus labour, but paid surplus labour, that is, surplus labour for which an equivalent is paid during the production process, although not to the worker whose surplus labour it is, but to other people, i.e. the owners of capital and of land. They constitute surplus labour *quoad* the worker, but they are equivalents *quoad* the capitalist and the landowner to whom they have to be paid. Interest and rent therefore appear not as SURPLUS, and still less as surplus labour, but as *prices* of the commodities "capital" and "land", for they are paid to the capitalist and the landowner only in their capacities as owners of commodities, only as owners and sellers of these commodities. That part of the value of the commodity which represents interest, therefore, appears as *reproduction* of the *price*

[a] Monopoliser.—*Ed.*

paid for capital, and that part which represents rent appears as *reproduction* of the price paid for the land. These prices therefore become *constituent* parts of the total price. This does not merely *appear* to be the case to the industrial capitalist; for him interest and rent really constitute part of his outlay, and whereas, on the one hand, they are determined by the *market price* of his commodity—as the market price it is a determination of a commodity in which a social process or the result of a social process appears as a particular aspect belonging to the commodity, and the UP AND DOWN of this process, its movement, appears as the fluctuations of the commodity price—on the other hand, the *market price* is determined by them, in just the same way as the market price of COTTON determines the market price of yarn and, on the other hand, the market price of yarn determines the demand for COTTON, hence the market price of COTTON. Since parts of surplus value, i.e. interest and rent, enter into the production process as the *prices* of commodities—of the commodity land and the commodity capital—they exist in forms which not only conceal, but which disavow their real origin.

That surplus labour, *unpaid* labour, constitutes just as essential an element of the capitalist production process as *paid* labour, is expressed here by the fact that factors of production—land and capital—distinct from labour have to be paid for, in other words, that *costs* besides the price of the commodities advanced and wages enter into the price. Parts of surplus value—interest and rent—appear here as costs, as advances made by the exploiting capitalist.

*AVERAGE profit* enters into the production price of commodities as a determining factor and thus already here surplus value [appears to be] not a result, but a condition, not one of the parts into which the value of the commodity is divided, but a constituent part of its *price*. But *AVERAGE profit*, like the *production price* itself, acts rather as a determining IDEAL and at the same time appears as *surplus* over and above the advances made [XV-928] and as a price which is different from the cost price properly speaking. Whether or not [average profit is obtained] and whether it is higher or lower than the profit corresponding *to the market price*—that is, corresponding to the direct result of the process—determines the reproduction process, or RATHER the scale of reproduction; it determines whether more or less of the capital existing in this or that sphere [of production] is withdrawn or invested; it also determines the ratio in which newly accumulated capitals flow into these particular spheres, and finally, to what extent these particular spheres act as

buyers in the money market. On the other hand, as *interest* and *rent*, the separate portions of surplus value in a quite definite form become preconditions for the individual production prices and are anticipated in the form of advances.

//*Advances*, that is, what is paid out by the capitalist, may be defined as *costs*. Profit accordingly appears as a surplus over these costs. This applies to the individual prices of production. And consequently, one can call the prices determined by the advances cost prices.[6]

*Production costs* can be defined as prices determined by the AVERAGE PROFIT—that is, the price of the capital advanced+the AVERAGE PROFIT—since this profit is the condition for reproduction, a condition which regulates the SUPPLY and the distribution of capital amongst the various spheres [of production]. These prices are *production prices*.

Finally, the real amount of labour (objectified and immediate labour) it costs to produce a commodity, is its *value*. It constitutes the real production cost of the commodity itself. The price which corresponds to it is simply the value expressed in money. The term "production costs" is used alternately in all 3 senses.//

If no surplus value were produced, then of course together with surplus value the part of it which is called interest would also cease to exist, and so would the part which is called rent; the *anticipation* of surplus value would likewise come to an end, in other words, it would no longer constitute a part of the production costs in the shape of the *price* of commodities. The existing value entering into production would not emerge from it as *capital* at all, and accordingly, could not enter into the reproduction process as *capital*, nor be lent out as *capital*. It is thus the continuous reproduction of the same relations—the relations which postulate capitalist production—that causes them to appear not only as the social forms and results of this process, but at the same time as its continual *prerequisites*. But they are these only as prerequisites continually *posited*, created, *produced* by the process itself. This reproduction is, however, not conscious reproduction; on the contrary, it only manifests itself in the continuous existence of these relations as *prerequisites* and as *conditions* dominating the production process. The parts, for example, into which the commodity value can be resolved are turned into its *constituent* parts which confront one another as independent parts, and they are consequently also independent in relation to their *unity*, which on the contrary appears to be a *compound* of these parts. The bourgeois sees that the product continually becomes the condition

of production. But he does not perceive that the production relations themselves, the social forms in which he produces and which he regards as given, natural relations, are the continuous product—and only for that reason the continuous prerequisite—of this specific social mode of production. The different relations and aspects not only become independent and assume a strange mode of existence, apparently independent of one another, but they seem to be the direct properties of things; they assume a material shape.

Thus the participants in capitalist production live in a bewitched world and their own relationships appear to them as properties of things, as properties of the material elements of production. It is however in the last, most derivative forms—forms in which the intermediate stage has not only become invisible but has been turned into its direct opposite—that the various aspects of capital appear as the real agencies and direct representatives of production. Interest-bearing capital is personified in the MONEYED CAPITALIST, industrial capital in the INDUSTRIAL CAPITALIST, rent-bearing capital in the LANDLORD as the owner of the land, and lastly, labour in the wage worker. They enter into the competitive struggle and into the real process of production as these rigid forms, personified in independent personalities that appear at the same time to be mere representatives of personified things. Competition presupposes this externalisation. These forms conform to its nature and have come into being in the natural evolution of competition, and on the surface competition appears to be [XV-929] simply the movement of this inverted world. In so far as the inner connection asserts itself in this movement, it appears as a mysterious law. The best proof is political economy itself, a science which seeks to rediscover the hidden connection. Everything enters into competition in this last, most externalised form. The market price, for example, appears to be the dominant factor here, just as the rate of interest, rent, wages, industrial profit appear to be the constituents of value, and the price of land and the price of capital appear as given ITEMS with which one operates.

We have seen how Adam Smith first reduces value to wages, profit (interest) and rent, and then, conversely, presents these as independent constituent elements of commodity prices.[a] He expresses the secret connection in the first version and the outward appearance in the second.

If one comes still closer to the surface of the phenomenon, then,

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 399-403.—*Ed.*

in addition to the AVERAGE rate of profit, interest and even rent can be represented as constituent parts of commodity prices (that is, of *market prices*). Interest [can be so represented] quite directly, since it enters into the cost price. Rent—as the price of land—may not determine the price of the product directly, but it determines the mode of production, whether a large amount of capital is concentrated on a small area of land, or a small amount of capital is spread over a large area of land, and whether this or that type of product is produced—e.g., cattle or corn—the market price of which covers the rent most effectively, for the rent must be paid before the TERM stipulated by contract expires. In order that rent should not bring about a reduction in INDUSTRIAL profit, pasture is turned into arable land and arable land into pasture, etc. Rent therefore determines the market prices of individual commodities not directly, but only indirectly, by influencing the proportions in which the various types of commodities are produced in such a way that demand and supply will secure the best price for each so that rent can be paid. Even though rent does not directly determine the market price of corn, for example, it determines directly the market price of cattle, etc., in short, of commodities produced in the spheres where rent is not regulated by the market prices of their products but where the market prices of products are regulated by the rate of rent borne by the grain-producing land. The price of meat, for example, is always too high in industrially developed countries, that is, it is not only far above its production price, but above its value. For the price must cover not only the cost of production, but also the rent which the land would carry if corn were grown on it. Otherwise, meat produced by large-scale stock-breeding—where the organic composition of capital approximates far more closely [to the composition of capital in industry] or may have an even greater preponderance of constant capital over variable capital—could only pay a very small amount of *absolute rent,* or even none at all. The rent which it pays, and which enters directly into its price, is, however, determined by the absolute+the differential rent which the land would pay as arable land. This differential rent, moreover, does not exist here in most cases. The best proof is that meat pays rent on the kind of land where corn does not.

If, therefore, *profit* enters into the production price as a determining factor, it can be said that wages, interest and, TO A CERTAIN DEGREE, rent constitute determining elements of the market price and CERTAINLY of the production price. Of course, ultimately everything can be reduced to value which is determined by labour

time, for on the whole the movement of interest is determined by profit, while corn rent on the other hand is determined partly by the rate of profit, partly by the value of the product and the equalisation of the different values produced on different kinds of land to the market value; the rate of profit, however, is determined partly by wages, partly by the productivity of labour in those spheres of production which produce constant capital—in the last analysis therefore by the level of wages and the productivity of labour; wages, however, are the equivalent of a part of the commodity (that is, [they are] equal to the paid portion of labour contained in the commodity, and profit is equal to the unpaid portion of labour contained in the commodity). Finally, the productivity of labour can affect the price of commodities only in two ways, either it affects their value, i.e. reduces it, or it affects their surplus value, that is, increases it. Cost price is nothing but the value of the capitals advanced+the surplus value they produce distributed amongst the different spheres according to the quota of the total capital which each sphere represents. Thus, cost price resolves into value if one considers the total capital and not the individual spheres. On the other hand, the market prices in each sphere are continually reduced to the cost price as a result of the competition between the capitals of the different spheres. Competition amongst the capitalists in each individual sphere seeks to reduce the market price of commodities to their market value. Competition between capitalists of different spheres reduces market values to common cost prices.[a]

*Ricardo* opposes Smith's establishment of value out of the parts of value which are determined by itself.[b] But he is not consistent. Otherwise it would have been impossible for him to argue with Smith whether profit, wages and rent or, as he says, merely profit and wages, enter into price, that is, enter as *constituent* parts.[c] Regarded analytically, they enter into it as soon as they are paid. He ought to have put it in this way: The price of every commodity is reducible to profit and wages, the prices of some commodities (and of very many, *indirectly*) are reducible to profit, rent and wages. But *no* commodity price is constituted by them [XV-930] for they are not independent factors acting *de propriis fontibus*,[d] having a definite magnitude, and *making up* the value of

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 427-33.—*Ed.*
[b] See D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, Ch. 1.—*Ed.*
[c] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 545-46.—*Ed.*
[d] Of their own accord.—*Ed.*

commodities; on the contrary, when the value is given, it can be divided into those parts in many different proportions. The magnitude of *value* is not determined by the addition or combination of given factors—i.e. profit, wages and rent—but one and the same *magnitude of value,* a given *amount of value,* is broken down into wages, profit and rent, and according to different circumstances it is distributed between these 3 categories in very different ways.

Assuming that the production process repeats itself continuously under the same conditions, in other words, that reproduction takes place under the same conditions as production, which presupposes that productivity of labour remains unchanged, or at least that variations in productivity do not alter the relationships of the different agents of production; thus, even if the value of commodities were to rise or fall as a result of changes in productive power, the distribution of the value of commodities amongst the different factors of production would remain the same. In that case, although it would not be theoretically accurate to say that the different parts of value determine the value or price of the whole, it would be useful and correct to say that they constitute it in so far as one understands by constituting the formation of the whole by adding up the parts. The value would be divided at a steady and constant rate into value and surplus value, and the value would be resolved at a constant rate into wages and profit, the profit again being broken down at a constant rate into interest, INDUSTRIAL PROFIT and RENT. It can therefore be said that P—the price of the commodity—is resolved into wages, profit (interest) and rent, and, on the other hand, wages, profit (interest) and rent are the constituents of the value or rather of the price. This uniformity or similarity of reproduction—the repetition of production under the same conditions—does not exist. Productivity itself changes and changes the conditions. The conditions, on their part, change productivity. But the divergences are reflected partly in superficial oscillations which even themselves out in a short time, partly in a gradual accumulation of DIVERGENCES[a] which either lead to a crisis, to a violent, seeming restoration of the old relationships, or very gradually assert themselves and are recognised as a change in the conditions. Interest and rent, which anticipate surplus value, presuppose that the general character of reproduction will remain the same. And this is the case as long

[a] In the manuscript, the English term is given in brackets after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

as the capitalist mode of production continues. Secondly, it is presupposed moreover that the *specific relations* of this mode of production remain the same during a certain period, and this is in fact also *plus ou moins*[a] the case. Thus the result of production *crystallises* into a *permanent and therefore prerequisite condition of production,* that is, it becomes a permanent *attribute of the material conditions of production.* It is *crises* that put an end to this apparent *independence* of the various elements of which the production process continually consists and which it continually reproduces.

// What *value* is for the genuine economist the *market price* is for the practical capitalist, that is, in each case the primary factor of the whole movement. //

The form of interest-bearing capital characteristic of and in accordance with capitalist production is *credit.* It is a form created by the capitalist mode of production itself. (The subordination of *commercial capital* does not IN FACT require such a new creation since commodity and money, and the circulation of commodities and money, remain the elementary prerequisites of capitalist production and are only turned into absolute prerequisites; commercial capital, on the one hand, is therefore the general form of capital and, on the other hand, in so far as it represents capital in a specific function—capital which operates exclusively in the circulation process—its determination by productive capital does not in any way alter its form.) The equalisation of values to cost prices occurs only because the individual capital functions as an aliquot part of the total capital of the whole class and, on the other hand, because the total capital of the class is distributed amongst the various individual spheres according to the needs of production. This is brought about by means of credit. Credit not only makes this equalisation possible and facilitates it, but one part of capital—in the form of MONEYED capital—appears in fact to be the material common to the whole class and employed by it. This is one purport of credit. The other is the continual attempt made by capital to shorten the metamorphoses which it has to undergo in the circulation process, to anticipate the circulation time, its transformation into money, etc., and in this way to counteract its own [XV-931] limitations. Finally, the function of *accumulating,* in so far as it is not conversion into capital but the supply of surplus value in the form of capital, becomes, in part, the responsibility of a special class, in part everything *accumulated* by society in this

[a] More or less.—*Ed.*

sense becomes accumulation of capital and is placed at the disposal of the industrial capitalists. Operations of this kind take place at a very large number of isolated points in society, [their results] are concentrated and collected in certain reservoirs. Money which lies idle due to freezing of the commodities in the metamorphosis, is thus converted into capital.

Land—rent and capital—interest are irrational expressions in so far as rent is defined as the *price* of land and interest as the *price* of capital. The common origin is still recognisable in the forms of interest-bearing capital, rent-bearing capital, profit-bearing capital, since, in general, *capital* involves appropriation of surplus labour; so that these different forms merely express the fact that the surplus labour produced by capital is, as concerns capital in general, divided between two types of capitalists, and in the case of AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL, it is divided between CAPITALIST and LANDLORD.

Rent as the (annual) *price* of land and interest as the *price* of capital are just as irrational as $\sqrt{-3}$. The latter form contradicts the number in its simple, elementary forms just as those do in the case of capital in its simple form of commodities and money. They [rent and interest] are in the converse sense irrational. Land—rent, i.e. rent as the price of land, defines land as a commodity, a use value which has a value WHOSE MONETARY EXPRESSION = ITS PRICE. But a use value which is not the product of labour cannot have a value; in other words, it cannot be defined as the objectification of a definite quantity of social labour, as the social expression of a certain quantity of labour. It is nothing of the kind. Only if it is the product of concrete labour can use value take the form of exchange value—become a commodity. Only under this condition can this concrete labour, for its part, be expressed as *social labour,* value. Land and price are INCOMMENSURABLE magnitudes, nevertheless they are supposed to bear a certain relation to each other. Here a thing which has no value has a price.

Interest as the price of capital, on the other hand, expresses the converse irrationality. Here a commodity which has no *use value* has a dual value, it has a value in the first place and in addition a price, which is different from this value. For capital *is,* to begin with, nothing but a *sum of money* or a *quantity of commodities* = a certain sum of money. If the commodity is lent out as capital, then it is nothing but a *sum of money* in camouflaged form. For what is lent *as capital* is not so many pounds of cotton, but so much *money* whose value exists in the form of cotton. The *price* of the

capital is therefore related to it only as the existence of a *sum of money*, i.e., a certain amount of value expressed in money and existing in the form of exchange value. How is it possible for an amount of value to have a price apart from the price which is expressed in its own money form? Price after all is the value of the commodity as *distinct* from its use value. Price in contradistinction to the value of the commodity, price as the value of a sum of money (for price is simply the expression of value in money) is therefore a *contradictio in terminis*.[a]

This irrationality of expression (the irrationality of the thing itself arises from the fact that, as regards interest, capital as the prerequisite appears divorced from its own process, in which it becomes capital and consequently self-valorising value, and that, on the other hand, rent-bearing capital exists only as AGRICULTURAL capital, as capital which only yields rent in a particular sphere, and this form in which it appears is *transmitted to the element that differentiates it in general from* INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL)—this irrationality of expression is so much felt by the VULGARIAN that he falsifies both expressions in order to make them appear rational. He asserts that interest is paid on capital in so far as it is use value, and therefore talks about the utility which the products or means of production have for reproduction and of the utility which capital has as a material element of the labour process. But, after all, its utility, its use value, already exists in its form as a commodity and without this it would not be a commodity and would have no value. As money, it is the expression of the value of commodities and is [XV-932] convertible into them in proportion to their own value. But if I convert money into a machine, into cotton, etc., then I convert it into use values of *the same* value. The conversion is concerned only with the *value form*. As money, it has the use value of being convertible into any other commodity, a commodity, however, of the same value. As a result of this transformation, the value of money changes no more than that of the commodity when it is converted into money. The use value of the commodities into which I can convert money does not give the money, in addition to its value, a price which is different from its value. If, however, I presuppose the conversion and assert that the price is paid for the use value of the commodities, then the use value of the commodities is not paid for at all or is only paid in so far as their exchange value is paid for. How the use value of any commodity is utilised, whether it enters into individual or

[a] Contradiction in terms.—*Ed.*

industrial consumption, has absolutely no bearing on its exchange value. It only determines who will buy it—the industrial capitalist or the immediate consumer. The productive usefulness of a commodity can therefore account for the fact that the commodity has exchange value at all, for the labour embodied in the commodity is paid for only if it has use value. Otherwise it is not a commodity—it is a commodity only as the unity of use value and exchange value. But this use value can by no means account for the fact that as exchange value or as price, it has in addition another and different price as well.

One can see how the VULGARIAN wants to get over the difficulty here by seeking to convert *capital*—that is, the money or the commodity in so far as these have a *specifically different* determinateness from themselves as money or commodity—into a mere *commodity*, in other words, by disregarding precisely the specific difference which has to be explained. He does not wish to say that this means for the exploitation of surplus labour and therefore of more value than the value contained in it. Instead he says: It has more value than its own value because it is an ordinary commodity like any other, that is, it possesses a use value. Here capital is identified with commodity, whereas the point to be explained is how the commodity can function as capital.

The VULGARIAN, in so far as he does not echo the Physiocrats, deals with land in the opposite way. In the previous case, he converted capital into a commodity in order to explain the *difference* between capital and commodity and the conversion of the commodity into capital. Now he converts land into capital because the capital-relation as such is more in tune with his ideas than the price of land. Rent can be regarded as interest on capital. For example, if the rent is 20 and the rate of interest is 5, then it can be said that this 20 is interest on a capital of 400. And in fact the land then sells at 400, which simply amounts to the sale of the rent for a period of 20 years. This payment of the anticipated 20 years' rent is thus the price of the land. The land is thereby converted into capital. The annual payment of 20 merely represents 5% interest on the capital which was paid for the land. And in this way, the formula land—rent is converted into capital—interest, which, for its part, is transmogrified into payment for the use value of commodities, that is, into the relationship of use value to exchange value.

The more analytical VULGARIANS understand that the price of land is nothing more than an expression for the capitalisation of rent; [that] in fact [it is] the purchase price of rent for a number of

years and that it is determined by the prevailing rate of interest. They understand that rent presupposes this capitalisation of rent and that, on the other hand, it is therefore impossible to explain rent by its own capitalisation. They therefore deny the existence of rent itself by asserting that it is interest on the capital invested in the land.[a] This does not prevent them from admitting that land in which no capital is invested yields rent, any more than it prevents them from admitting that *equal amounts* of capital invested in land of different fertility yield *different* amounts of rent, or that *unequal amounts* of capital invested in land of unequal fertility may yield *the same* amounts of rent. [They admit] that likewise the capital invested in land—if indeed it is TO ACCOUNT FOR THE RENT PAID for the land—may yield perhaps five times as much interest, that is, five times as much rent, as is yielded by the same amount of capital invested as fixed capital in industry.

One perceives that here the difficulty is always eliminated by *disregarding* it and substituting a relationship expressing the opposite of the *specific difference* which has to be explained, and therefore, in any case, *not* expressing the difference at all.

[XV-933] Since the commodity (money) is lent as *capital*, it can be lent as *circulating* or *fixed capital*. Money can be lent in both forms, for instance as fixed capital, when it is paid back in the form of an annuity, so that, along with the interest, part of the capital is always returned. Other commodities, such as houses, machines, etc., can often be lent only as fixed capital, by nature of their use value. But all loan capital, whatever its form, and however the form of its *repayment* may be modified by the specific nature of the use value in which it exists, is always only a particular form of money capital. For what is lent here is a definite sum of money, in whatever use value it might exist, and interest is computed with reference to this sum. If that which is lent is not money or circulating capital but fixed capital, it is paid back also in the manner of fixed capital. The lender periodically gets interest and a part of the consumed value of the fixed capital itself, an equivalent for the periodic wear and tear. In the end, the unconsumed part of the loan fixed capital comes back *in natura*.

The form in which loan capital circulates is as follows:

1) Money functions as a *means of payment*, that is to say, capital is alienated or sold, but paid back only after a certain period. The function of money as a means of payment originates, as we have

[a] See also present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 268, 367-68, 371, 388-89.—*Ed.*

seen,[a] in the simple exchange of commodities. Therefore there is nothing characteristic of money capital here.

2) After a certain period capital returns to the lender, whether piecemeal along with interest, or as a whole with interest, or during a part of the period only interest is paid, and only at the end of different periods capital returns along with the interest of the last period.

Clearly, these modes of *repayment* or RETURN *of capital to the lender* are nothing but the movement which capital generally follows in its circuit, a return to its starting-point. If, for instance, capital is repaid annually piecemeal along with interest, then this is the manner in which fixed capital returns, coming back to its starting-point in the circulation. If, on the other hand, it is returned as a whole at the end of the year or some other period along with the interest, then this is the manner in which circulating capital flows back. Loan capital returns twice; in the actual process it returns to the INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL, and then the RETURN is repeated once again as a TRANSFER to the MONEYED CAPITALIST, as *repayment* of the same to its real owner, its legal starting-point.

In the actual process of circulation capital always appears as commodity or money. It is converted, through sale and purchase, from one form to the other. What is exchanged here are always equivalents. For a commodity to become money, the capitalist must sell the commodity; for money to become a commodity, he must buy that commodity. In the first case he gives away the commodity and receives money for it, in the second, he gives away money and receives a commodity for it. In short, the circulation process resolves itself into the metamorphosis of the commodity and thus into a series of EXCHANGES. This is so if we regard each phase of circulation as a moment of the whole process; in general, if we regard capital in so far as it functions as commodity or money, and its movement must therefore present itself as selling or buying. It is different if we consider the whole of the process. If we start with money, a certain sum of money is laid out and returns after a certain period—both this sum and a surplus of money over and above the originally expended sum of money. An increased sum of money returns. If we start with the commodity, it appears as the starting-point—before the production process, in the form of conditions of production which are themselves a commodity and whose sum therefore represents, as a sum of

[a] See K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 370-80, especially p. 374).—*Ed.*

values, in its total price, a certain sum of money. If we consider the commodity as it re-emerges, having gone through the production process, we see that the form of its use value has changed. But that is beside the point here. The commodity represents now a mass of commodities of a higher price than before, a greater sum of money, THE REPLACEMENT OF THE ORIGINAL VALUE+A SURPLUS VALUE. It is preserved and multiplied after it has gone through a certain cycle.

But money, in so far as it is lent as capital, is lent precisely as this self-preserving and self-increasing sum of money which returns after a certain period with a profit, and which can go through the same process over and over again. It is not laid out either as money or as commodity, and thus is neither exchanged for a commodity nor sold (as a commodity) for money. It is not laid out as a commodity or as money, *but as capital.* The relation to itself, as it appears in the context of the whole of the process, is here incorporated in it simply as its character, its determinateness, without the mediating intermediate movement. And in this determinateness it is sold. This determinateness itself, though, is only the result of the process and the conditions in which the capitalist production process [XV-934] moves. Therefore, to join battle against this result, this mere crystallisation of the process, while leaving it be at its very core—and its core is wage labour; to want to leave alone the process and to babble away the result of this process, that is really Proudhonic wisdom.[a]

//The *price of the production* of a commodity can only change for two reasons: the *profit rate changes*, the AVERAGE RATE OF PROFIT. This is only made possible by the fact that the AVERAGE *rate of surplus value* itself changes or the AVERAGE *relation* of this rate to the capital outlay does. In so far as the rate of surplus value does not rest on wages being pressed below their minimum or rising above their minimum, and movements of this kind are to be regarded as merely oscillatory, this can only occur either because the value of labour capacity goes down or up, the former when the means of subsistence are reproduced at less expense, and the latter when they are reproduced at more. Both impossible without a change in the productivity of the labour which produces the means of subsistence, i.e. without a change in the *value* of the commodities forming part of the worker's consumption. Or the *relation* of this AVERAGE rate of SURPLUS VALUE to society's constant capital changes.

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[a] Cf. K. Marx, *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy...* (present edition, Vol. 28, p. 61).—*Ed.*

Since the change here does not originate in the rate, it must originate in a change in constant capital. Its mass, technologically considered, grows or decreases in relation to variable capital, and the mass of its value goes up or down with the growth or decrease of its mass itself. In this case, therefore, a change occurs in the mode of production. If the same labour is required to set more constant capital in motion, then labour has become more productive. If contrariwise, contrariwise. A change has thus occurred in labour productivity, and a change must have taken place in the value of certain commodities. If the *price of the production* of a *commodity* changes in the wake of a CHANGE IN THE GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT, its own value may remain unchanged. But there must have been a change in the value of other commodities.

*Second*: The overall profit rate remains *unchanged.* Then the price of the production of a commodity can only change because its own value has changed. Because less or more labour is required to produce the commodity itself, whether through a change in the productivity of labour which produces it in its ultimate form (for instance, the less the labour expended on 1 lb. of yarn, the less the necessary labour and the less the wages, and thus the costs decrease) or in that which produces the commodities that go into it as its ingredients. If one considers as the price of production not a fixed sum but the value of the advanced capital, the costs+the AVERAGE profit, thus C+A.P.,[140] it is clear that the price of production may remain the same however great the changes in the value of the commodity. No matter how the value of C changes, A.P. retains the same rate. If C equals 100, then, if profit=10%, C+A.P.=110,=C+$^1/_{10}$C. If the value of C falls to 50, then the production price=50+A.P.=55=C+$^1/_{10}$C.

All changes in the production price of commodities are reducible to changes in value; but not all changes in the value of commodities necessarily express themselves in the CHANGE of the production price, for the latter is determined not only by the value of the particular commodity but also by the value of all commodities, so that a change in commodity A can be levelled out by an opposite one in commodity B, the overall relation therefore remaining the same. Assume that with a capital of 100 I can produce 2,000 lbs of yarn instead of the previous 1,000 lbs only. If profit=10%, 1,000 lbs of yarn cost £110 in the first case; in the second case, 2,000 lbs of yarn cost £110. In the first case, 1 lb. of yarn costs $2^1/_5$ s. In the second case, 1 lb. of yarn costs only $1^1/_{10}$ s. In both cases the production price is the same. For in the first case the production price for 1 lb. of yarn=2s. (costs)+$^1/_5$ s.,=10%=$^1/_{10}$

of the costs. Production price therefore=C (2s.)+10% ($^1/_5$s.). In the second case C=1s.+$^1/_{10}$s., or 10%. Production price therefore, ditto,=C+10%. Here, the value of the commodity has changed, but not the production price. True, the change in value is expressed in the change of the price of the commodity, $1^1/_{10}$s. instead of $2^2/_5$, but these different prices contain the same relation of costs and profit and therefore the same production price.//

In interest-bearing capital, the movement of capital is made shorter; the mediating process is omitted, and so for instance the capital of 1,000 is fixed as a thing that is in itself 1,000 and, after a certain period, transforms itself into 1,100, in the same way as wine in the cellar improves its use value after a certain period of time. Capital is now a thing, but as a thing it is capital. It can for this reason be sold as a particular commodity along with other commodities, or RATHER money, commodity can now be sold as *capital*. That is the manifestation of capital in its [XV-935] most independent form. Money now has love in its body.[a] Once it is lent—or present in the production process (in so far as it yields industrial interest as separate from profit), it may sleep or be awake, by day and by night, interest grows on it.

Directly after this, Luther's naive polemic against interest's ingrown being in capital.[b]

The general profit rate in *Ricardo*.

* "The *remaining value* or *overplus* will in each trade be in proportion to the *value of the capital employed*." * (Ricardo, [*On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, 3rd ed., London, 1821, p. 84]).

Realised in interest-bearing money capital is the devout wish of the hoarder.

Proudhon's polemic against Bastiat on the question of interest[c] is characteristic both of the manner in which the VULGARIAN defends the categories of political economy and of the way in which superficial socialism (Proudhon's polemic hardly deserves the name) attacks them. We shall return to this in the section on the VULGARIANS.[141] Here only a few preliminary remarks.

The return movement [of money] should not have shocked Proudhon as being something peculiar if he understood anything at all about the movement of capital. Neither should the SURPLUS VALUE contained in the returning amount. This is a characteristic

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[a] Allusion to a passage in Goethe's *Faust*, Part I, "Auerbach's Cellar in Leipzig". Cf. present edition, Vol. 29, p. 90 and Vol. 30, p. 112.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 531-40.—*Ed.*

[c] Fr. Bastiat, [P. J.] Proudhon, *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon*, Paris, 1850.—*Ed.*

feature of capitalist production. (For Proudhon however, as we shall see, the SURPLUS is a SURCHARGE. Altogether his criticism is that of a novice, he has not mastered the first elements of the science he intends to criticise. Thus, he has never understood that money is a necessary form of the commodity. (See Part One.[a]) Here he even confuses money and capital because loan capital appears as money capital in the form of money.) What might have struck him was not the SURPLUS for which no equivalent was paid, since SURPLUS VALUE—and capitalist production is based on it—is VALUE which has cost no equivalent. This is not a specific feature of interest-bearing capital. The specific feature—in so far as we are considering the form of the movement—is only the first phase, that is, precisely the opposite of what Proudhon has in mind, namely, that the lender hands over the money without receiving an equivalent for it *de prime abord*[b] and that, therefore, the RETURN of the capital with interest, as regards the transaction between borrower and lender, [is not related to] the metamorphoses which capital undergoes and which, in so far as they are mere metamorphoses of economic form, consist of a series of EXCHANGES, conversion of commodities into money and conversion of money into commodities; in so far as they are real metamorphoses, that is, [elements of] the production process, they coincide with industrial consumption. Here consumption itself constitutes a phase of the movement of economic forms.

But what money in the hands of the lender does not do, it does in the hands of the borrower who really employs it as capital. It performs its real movement as capital in the hands of the borrower. It returns to him as money+profit, money+$\frac{1}{x}$ money. The movement between lender and borrower only expresses the source and the starting-point of capital. It is money when it passes from the hands of A into those of B. It becomes capital in B's hands, and as such, AFTER undergoing A CERTAIN REVOLUTION, IT RETURNS WITH PROFIT. This interlude, the real process, which comprises both the circulation process and the production process, is not connected with the transaction between borrower and lender. It [the transaction] recommences only after the money *has been* realised as capital. The money now passes back into the hands of the lender along with a SURPLUS, which, however, comprises only

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 294-95).—*Ed.*

[b] At the outset.—*Ed.*

part of the surplus realised by the borrower. The equivalent which the borrower receives is industrial profit, that is, the part of the SURPLUS which he retains and which he appropriates only by means of the money borrowed. All this is not visible in the transaction between him and the lender. This is limited to two acts. Transfer from A's hands into those of B. Interval during which the money remains in B's hands. After this interval the money along with interest returns into A's hands. If one examines merely this form—the transaction between A and B—then one regards the mere form of capital without the intervening stage: a certain amount of money $a$ is handed over and after A CERTAIN PERIOD returns as $a+\frac{1}{x}a$ without the assistance of any intermediate link apart from the period of time which elapses between the departure of the sum of money $a$ and its return as $a+\frac{1}{x}a$.

And it is in this abstract form, which, indeed, exists as an independent movement alongside the real movement of capital, opens it and closes it, that Mr. Proudhon considers the matter in hand, so that everything inevitably remains incomprehensible to him. If instead of buying and selling, lending in this form were to be abolished, then, according to Proudhon, the SURPLUS would disappear. In fact only the division of the SURPLUS between two sets of capitalists would disappear. But this division can and must be constantly generated anew whenever it is possible to convert commodities or money into capital, and, on the basis of wage labour, this is always possible. Should it be impossible for commodities and money to become capital and therefore be lent as capital *in posse*, they must not confront wage labour. If they are thus not to confront it as *commodities* and *money* and consequently labour itself is not to become a commodity, then that amounts [XV-936] to a return to pre-capitalist modes of production in which it [labour] does not become a commodity, and for the greater part still exists in the form of serf or slave labour. On the basis of free labour, this is only possible where the workers are the owners of their conditions of production. Free labour develops within the framework of capitalist production as *social* labour. To say that they are the owners of the conditions of production amounts to saying that these belong to the united workers and that they produce as such, and that their own output is controlled jointly by them. But wanting to preserve wage labour and thus the basis of capital, as Proudhon does, and at the same time to eliminate the "drawbacks" by abolishing a secondary form of capital, reveals the novice.

*Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon,* Paris, 1850.[142]

He regards lending as something evil because it is not a sale.

The lending of money at interest "is the ability of *selling* the same *object* over and over again, and receiving the *price* of it, over and over again, without ever giving up the ownership of what is sold" ([*Gratuité du crédit*, p.] 9, *First Letter* of Chevé, one of the editors of *La Voix du Peuple*).[a]

He is led astray by the fact that the "object" (money or a house, for example) does not change owners, as in purchase and sale. But he does not see that when money is handed over, no equivalent is received in return; that, on the contrary, in the real process, in the form and on the basis of exchange, not only an equivalent, but a SURPLUS which is not paid for, is received; in so far as exchange of objects takes place, no CHANGE OF VALUES occurs, the same person remains the "owner" of the same VALUE, and in so far as there is a SURPLUS, there is no exchange. When the exchange of commodity and money begins again, the SURPLUS is already absorbed in the commodity. Proudhon does not understand how profit, and therefore interest as well, originates from the law of exchange of values. Hence he argues that "house", "money", etc., should not be exchanged as "capital" but as "commodities ... at cost price" ([pp. 43-]44).

"Actually, the hatter who sells hats ... obtains the value of them, neither more nor less. But the capitalist who loans out his capital ... not merely gets his capital back in full; he gets back more than his capital, more than he brought to the exchange; over and above his capital, he gets an interest" ([p.] 69).[b]

Mr. Proudhon's hatters do not appear to be *capitalists* but louts journeymen.

"It is impossible, with *interest on capital* being added in commerce to the worker's *wages* to *make up the price of the commodity*, for the worker to be able to buy back what he himself has produced. Living by working is a principle which, under the rule of interest, is implicitly self-contradictory" ([p.] 105).[c]

In letter IX (pp. 144-52), the worthy Proudhon confuses money as means of circulation with money as capital, and on this basis concludes that the "capital" existing in France yields 160% (viz. 1,600 million in annual interest on the national debt, mortgages, etc., for a capital of 1,000 million ... "the sum of money ... circulating in France").

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[a] Marx quotes in French. Below, in analysing Proudhon's views, he uses quite a few French expressions.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes partly in French and partly in German.—*Ed.*

[c] Here and below, Marx quotes Proudhon in French.—*Ed.*

Further:

"As, by the accumulation of interest, *capital-money*, from exchange to exchange, always returns to its source, it follows that the re-lending, always done by the same hand, always profits the same person" ([p.] 154).

Because capital is lent out in the form of money, Proudhon believes that capital-money, that is, *currency*, possesses this specific attribute. Everything should be *sold* but nothing *lent*. In other words: In the same way as he wanted commodities to exist but did not want them to become "money", so here he wants commodities, money, to exist but they must not develop into capital. When all phantastic forms have been stripped away, this means nothing more than that there should be no advance from small, petty-bourgeois peasant and artisan production to large-scale industry.

"Since value is *only a proportion*, and all products necessarily bear a certain *proportion to one another*, it follows that from the social point of view products are always values and realised values; for society, the distinction between capital and product does not exist. The distinction is completely subjective to the individuals" (l.c., [p.] 250).

What mischief is caused when such philosophical German terms as "subjective" fall into the hands of a Proudhon. The bourgeois social forms are "subjective" for him. And the subjective, and moreover erroneous, abstraction that, because the exchange value of commodities expresses a *proportion*, it expresses every possible proportion between commodities and does not express a third thing to which the commodities are proportional—this false "subjective" abstraction is the social point of view [XV-937] according to which not only commodity and money, but commodity, money and capital are identical. Thus, from this "social point of view", all cats are indeed grey. Finally there is also the SURPLUS in the form of morality:

"All labour *must* yield a *surplus*" ([p.] 200).

With which moral precept the SURPLUS is naturally defined very nicely.

It might appear that in the trinity land—rent, capital—profit (interest), labour—wages, the last group is the most rational. At least it states the SOURCE from which wages flow. But it is on the contrary the most irrational of them all, and the basis for the other two, in the same way as *wage labour* in general presupposes land in the form of *landed property* and the product in the form of *capital*. Only when labour confronts its conditions in this form, is it

wage labour. As wage labour it is defined by the formula labour—wages. Since wages here appear to be the specific product of labour, its sole product (and they are indeed the sole product of labour *for* the wage worker), the other parts of value—*rent* and *profit* (*interest*)—appear to flow just as necessarily from other specific sources. And just as that part of the value of the product which resolves in wages [is conceived] as the *specific* product of labour, so those parts of value which are made up of rent and profit must be regarded as specific results of agencies *for* which they exist and to which they accrue, that is, as OFFSPRING OF THE EARTH AND OF CAPITAL, RESPECTIVELY.[143]

Luther, who lived in the period of the dissolution of medieval civil society into the elements of modern society—a process which was accelerated by world trade and the discovery of new gold deposits—naturally knew capital only in its 2 antediluvian [forms] of interest-bearing capital and merchant capital. Whereas in its early phase capitalist production, having gained strength, seeks to subordinate interest-bearing capital to industrial capital by force—this was in fact done first of all in Holland, where capitalist production in the form of manufacture and large-scale trade first blossomed, and in England in the 17th century it was, partly in very naïve terms, declared to be the primary requisite of capitalist production—on the other hand, during the transition to capitalist production, the first step is the recognition that "usury", the old-fashioned form of interest-bearing capital, is a condition of production, a necessary production relation; in the same way as later on its justification is recognised by industrial capital, which regards it as flesh of its own flesh, as soon as industrial capital subordinates interest-bearing capital to itself (18th century, *Bentham*[a]). Luther is *superior* to Proudhon. The difference between *lending* and *buying* does not confuse him, for he perceives that usury exists equally in both. The most striking feature of his polemic is that he makes his main point of attack the fact that *interest is an innate element of capital.*

I) Books *Vom Kaufhandel und Wucher*[b] written in 1524. Part VI of Luther's *Works*, Wittenberg, 1589. (This was written on the eve of the Peasant War.)

*Trade* (*merchant capital*):

"There is now great outcry against the nobles or robbers amongst the merchants" //one can see why the merchants are for the princes and against the

[a] J. Bentham, *Defence of Usury*, London, 1787.—*Ed.*

[b] M. Luther, *Von Kauffshandlung und Wucher.*—*Ed.*

peasants and knights//, "that they have to conduct their trade in great danger and that they are arrested, beaten, despoiled and robbed, etc., in consequence of trading. But if they suffered these things for the sake of righteousness, then, in truth, all merchants would be holy men.... But since such great unrighteousness and un-Christian thieving and robbery is rife throughout the whole world because of the merchants, and often enough amongst them themselves, why should we wonder if God wills it that such great wealth, gained by unrighteous means, is lost or stolen in its turn, and that because of it, the merchants are knocked on the head or arrested?... And it is the duty of the princes to punish such unrighteous commerce with due force and to see to it that their subjects are not fleeced so shamefully by the merchants. But because they do not do this, God uses the knights and the robbers and punishes the wickedness of the merchants through them; they must be His devils. Just as He plagues with devils or destroys with enemies the Land of Egypt and the whole world. Thus He causes one scoundrel to be flogged by another, but He does not indicate thereby that knights are lesser robbers than merchants, since the merchants rob the whole world every day while a knight only robs one or two people once or twice a year" ([p.] 296).

"...Follow the words of Isaiah: Thy princes have become the companions of thieves.[a] While they hang thieves who have stolen a guilder or half a guilder, they consort with those who rob the whole world and who steal more safely than any others; truly, the proverb—big thieves hang [XV-938] little thieves—still holds good, and, as Cato, the Roman senator, said: Little thieves are put into dungeons and in the stocks, but great thieves parade in gold and silk. But what will God have to say in the end? He will do as He said when He spoke through the mouth of Ezekiel: He will crush and melt prince and merchant, one thief and another, into one another like lead and brass,[b] just as happens when a town is burned down, so that there will be princes and merchants no longer, and I fear that this is not so far off" ([p.] 296a).

*Usury. Interest-bearing capital*:

"I am told that nowadays 10 guilders, i.e. 30 [per cent], are charged annually in any Leipzig market[144]; some add also the Neunburg market so that it comes to 40 [per cent]. I don't know whether it is even higher. Shame on you, where the devil will it end?... Whoever in Leipzig now has 100 florins, takes 40 in a year, this means that he has eaten up a peasant or a burgher in a year. If he has 1,000 florins, then he takes 400 in a year, that is, he eats up a squire or a rich gentleman in a year. If he has 10,000, he takes 4,000 in a year, that is, he eats up a rich count in a year. If he has 100,000, as must happen in the case of the great merchants, then he takes 40,000 in a year, that is, he eats up a great, rich prince in a year. If he has 1,000,000 then he takes 400,000 in a year, that is, he eats up some great king in a year. And he suffers not any danger in so doing, neither to his body nor to his treasure, labours not, sits by the fire and roasts apples; thus a chair thief may sit at home and eat up a whole world in 10 years" ([pp.] 312-13).[c]

//II) *Eyn Sermon auf das Evangelion von dem reichen Mann und armen Lazaro etc.*, Wittenberg, 1555.

"We must not regard the rich man according to his outer bearing, for he wears sheep's clothing and his life shines and seems pretty and covers up the wolf most

[a] Isaiah 1:23.—*Ed.*

[b] Ezekiel 22:18-22.—*Ed.*

[c] This quotation is taken from Luther's *An die Pfarrherrn wider den Wucher zu predigen*, Wittenberg, 1540.—*Ed.*

perfectly. For the Gospel does not charge him that he committed adultery, murder, robbery, sacrilege or anything that the world or reason would censure. Indeed he is as honest in his life as that Pharisee who fasts twice a week and is not as other men." [a]//

Here Luther tells us how usurer's capital arises, [through] the ruination of the citizens (petty bourgeois and peasants), the knights, the nobility and the princes. On the one hand, the usurer comes into possession of the SURPLUS labour and, *in addition, the conditions of labour* of bourgeois, peasants, members of craft guilds, in short, of the small commodity producers who need money in order, for example, to make payments before they convert their commodities into money, and who have to buy certain of their conditions of labour, etc. On the other hand, the usurer appropriates rent from the owners of rent, that is, from the prodigal, pleasure-seeking *richesse*. Usury is a powerful means for establishing the preconditions for industrial capital—a mighty agency for separating the conditions of production from the producers, in so far as it has the twofold result, firstly, of establishing independent fortunes in the form of money, secondly, of appropriating the conditions of labour to itself, that is, ruining the owners of the old conditions of labour, just like the merchant. And both have the common feature that they acquire an independent fortune, that is, they accumulate in their hands in the form of money claims part of the annual surplus labour, part of the conditions of labour and also part of the accumulated annual labour. The money actually in their hands constitutes only a small portion of both the annual and the annually accumulated wealth and circulating capital. That they acquire *fortunes* means that a significant portion of both the annual production and the annual REVENUE accrues to them, and this is payable not *in natura*, but in the converted form, in money. Consequently, in so far as money does not circulate actively as CURRENCY, is not in movement, it is accumulated in their hands. They also hold some of the reservoirs of circulating money and to an even larger extent they hold and accumulate titles to production, but in the form of money titles, titles to commodities converted into money. [XV-939] On the one hand, usury leads to the ruin of feudal wealth and property; on the other hand, it brings about the ruin of petty-bourgeois, small-peasant production, in short, of all forms in which the producer still appears as the owner of his means of production.

The worker in capitalist production *does not own* the conditions of production, [he owns] neither the land he cultivates nor the

[a] Luke 18:11-12.—*Ed.*

tools with which he works. This alienation of the conditions of production corresponds here, however, to a REAL CHANGE in the mode of production itself. The tool becomes a machine, and the worker works in the workshop, etc. The mode of production no longer tolerates the dispersal of the instruments of production connected with small property, just as it does not tolerate the dispersal of the workers themselves. In capitalist production, usury can no longer *separate* the conditions of production from the workers, from the producers, because they have already been separated from them.

Usury *centralises* property, especially in the form of money, only where the means of production are scattered, that is, where the worker produces more or less independently as a small peasant, a member of a craft guild (small trader), etc. As peasant or artisan, whether the peasant is or is not a serf, or the artisan is or is not a member of a craft guild. The usurer here not only appropriates the part of the SURPLUS LABOUR belonging to the bondsman himself, or in the case of the free peasant, etc., the whole SURPLUS LABOUR, but he also appropriates the instruments of production, though the peasant, etc., remains their nominal owner and treats them as his property in the process of production. This kind of usury rests on this particular basis, on this *mode of production,* which it does not change, to which it attaches itself as a parasite and which it impoverishes. It sucks it dry, enervates it and compels reproduction to be undertaken under constantly more atrocious conditions. Thus the popular hatred of usury, especially under the conditions prevailing in antiquity, where this determination of production—in which the conditions of production are the property of the producer—was at the same time the basis of the political relationships, of the independence of the *citoyen.* This comes to an end as soon as the worker no longer possesses any conditions of production. And with it the power of the usurer likewise comes to an end. On the other hand, in so far as slavery predominates or the surplus labour is consumed by the feudal LORD and his RETAINERS and they fall prey to the usurer, the mode of production also remains the same, only it becomes more oppressive. The debt-ridden SLAVEHOLDER or feudal LORD squeezes more out because he himself is being squeezed dry. Or, finally, he makes way for the usurer, who becomes a landowner, etc., like the *eques,*[a] [145] etc., in Ancient Rome. In place of the old exploiter, whose exploitation was to some extent a means of political power, there appears A COARSE,

[a] Knight.— *Ed.*

MONEY-HUNTING PARVENU. But the mode of production itself remains unchanged.

The usurer in all pre-capitalist modes of production has a revolutionary impact only in the *political* sense, in that he destroys and wrecks the forms of property whose constant reproduction in the same form constitutes the stable basis of the political structure. [Usury] has a centralising effect as well, but only on the basis of the old mode of production, thus leading to the disintegration of society—apart from the slaves, serfs, etc., and their new masters—into a mob. Usury can continue to exist for a long time in Asiatic forms [of society] without bringing about real disintegration, but merely giving rise to economic decay and political corruption. It is only in an epoch where the other conditions for capitalist production exist—free labour, a world market, dissolution of the old social connections, a certain level of the development of labour, development of science, etc.—that usury appears as one of the factors contributing to the establishment of the new mode of production; and at the same time causing the ruin of the feudal LORDS, the pillars of the anti-bourgeois elements, and the ruin of small-scale industry and agriculture, etc., in short, as a factor leading to the centralisation of the conditions of labour in the form of capital.

The fact that the usurers, merchants, etc., possess "fortunes" simply means that the wealth of the nation, in so far as it takes the form of commodities or money, is concentrated in their hands.

At the outset capitalist production has to fight against usury to the extent that the usurer himself does not become a producer. With the establishment of capitalist production the domination of the usurer over surplus labour, a domination which depends on the continued existence of the old mode of production, ceases. The industrial capitalist collects the surplus directly in the form of profit; he has also already seized part of the conditions of production and he appropriates part of the annual accumulation directly. From this moment, and especially as soon as industrial and commercial wealth develops, the usurer—that is, the lender at interest—is merely a person who is differentiated from the industrial capitalist in result of the division of labour, but is subordinated to industrial capital.

[XV-940] III) *An die Pfarrherrn wider den Wucher zu predigen, etc.* Wittenberg, 1540 (*without* PAGINATION).

*Trading (buying, selling) and lending.* (Unlike Proudhon, Luther is not deceived by these differences of form!)

"Fifteen years ago I wrote against usury since it had already become so widespread that I could hope for no improvement. Since that time, it has exalted itself to such a degree that *it no longer wishes to be a vice, sin or infamy but* extols itself as downright virtue and honour as if it conferred a great favour on and did a Christian service to the people. What will help and counsel us now that infamy has become honour and vice virtue? Seneca says with good reason: *Deest remedii locus, ubi, quae vitia fuerunt, mores fiunt.*[a] Germany has become what it had to become, accursed avarice and usury have corrupted it completely....

"First concerning *lending* and *borrowing*: Where money is lent and more or better is demanded and taken in return, that is usury, anathemised in all laws. Therefore all those who take five, six or more on a hundred on money lent are usurers, and they know they are acting as such and are called the idolatrous servants of covetousness and of Mammon.... And one should say the same in respect of corn, barley and other goods, where more or better is demanded in return, that it is usury, goods stolen and extorted. For lending means my handing over my money, goods or chattels to somebody for as long as he needs them, or for as long as I can and wish to, and he returns the same things to me in his own good time, in as good a condition as that in which I lent him them.

"Thus they *also* make *a usury out of buying and selling*. But this is too much to deal with in one single bite. We must deal with one thing now, with usury as regards loans; when we have put a stop to this (as on the Day of Judgment), then we will surely read the lesson with regard to *usurious trade*.

"Thus Squire Usurer says: Friend, as things are at present, I do my neighbour a great *service* in that I lend him a hundred at five, six, ten. And he thanks me for such a loan as a very special favour. He does, in truth, entreat me for it and pledges himself freely and willingly to give me five, six, ten guilders in a hundred. Should I not be able without extortion to take this interest with a good conscience?...

"Extol thyself, put on finery and adorn thyself ... but whoever takes more or better than he gives, that is usury, and is *not service, but wrong* done to his neighbour, as when one steals and robs. All is not service and benefit to a neighbour that is called service and benefit. For an adulteress and adulterer do one another great service and pleasure. A horseman does an incendiary a great service, by helping him to rob on the highway, and attack the people and the land. The papists do ours a great service, in that they don't drown, burn, murder all of them, or let them all rot in prison; but let some live, and only drive them out, or take from them what they have. The devil himself does his servants a great, inestimable service.... To sum up, the world is full of great, excellent, and daily service and benefit.... The poets write about the Cyclops Polyphemus, who said he would do Ulysses an act of friendship, namely, that he would eat his companions first and then Ulysses last.[b] In sooth, this would have been a service and a fine favour. Such services and good deeds are performed nowadays most diligently by the high-born and the low-born, by peasants and burgesses, who buy goods up, pile up stocks, bring dear times, [XV-941] increase the price of corn, barley and of everything people need; they then wipe their mouths and say: Yes—one must have what one must have; I let my things out to help people although I might—and could—keep them for myself; and God is thus fooled and deceived.... The sons of men have become very holy.... So that now nobody can profiteer, be covetous or wicked; the

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[a] There is no remedy where that which was regarded as unvirtuous becomes the habit.—*Ed.*

[b] Homer, *Odyssey*, IX, 369-370.—*Ed.*

world has really become holy, *everyone serves his fellows,* nobody harms anybody else...

"But if this is the kind of service he does, then he does it for Satan himself; although a poor needy man requires such service and must accept it as a service or favour that he is not eaten up completely...

"He does and must do thee such a favour" //pay interest to the usurer// "if he wants to get *money.*"

//One can see from the above that usury increased greatly in Luther's time and was already justified as a "*service*" (Say, Bastiat[a]). Even the formulation of competition or harmony existed: "Everyone serves his fellows."

In the world of *antiquity,* during the better period, usury was forbidden (i.e. interest was not allowed). Later it was lawful, and very prevalent. Theoretically the view always [predominated] that interest is actually wicked (as was stated by *Aristotle*[b]).

In the *Christian Middle Ages,* it was a "sin" and prohibited by "the canon".

*Modern times. Luther.* The Catholic-pagan view still prevailed. [Usury] became very widespread (as a result partly of the monetary needs of the government, [partly] of the development of trade and manufacture, and the necessity to convert the products into money). But its civic justification is already asserted.

*Holland.* The first apologia for usury. It is also here that it is first modernised and subordinated to industrial or commercial capital.

*England.* 17th century. The polemics are no longer directed against usury as such, but against the amount of interest, and the fact that it dominates credit. The desire to establish the form of credit. Regulations are imposed.

*18th century. Bentham.*[c] Unrestricted usury is recognised as an element of capitalist production.//

Interest as compensation for loss[d]:

"Well then, speaking in worldly and juridical fashion (we shall have to wait until later to speak about it theologically), you, Baltzer, are due to give me the hundred guilders along with all the losses and charges which have been added." //By charges, he means legal charges, etc., which the lender has incurred because he himself could not pay his debts.// "...It is therefore right and proper and likewise according to reason and natural law that you make restitution to me of

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[a] See p. XXI—1326 of the manuscript (present edition, Vol. 34).—*Ed.*

[b] Aristoteles, *De republica libri VIII et oeconomica,* Book I, Ch. 10, in: *Aristotelis opera,* Vol. X, Oxford, 1837, p. 17. See also K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, Ch. IV (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

[c] J. Bentham, *Defence of Usury.*—*Ed.*

[d] Below, Marx quotes from Luther's *An die Pfarrherrn...*—*Ed.*

everything—both the *capital sum and the loss*... In legal books, the Latin word for this indemnification is *interesse*...[a]

"Something else can happen in the way of loss. If you, Baltzer, do not give me back my hundred guilders by Michaelmas and I have to make a purchase, say to buy a garden, a plot of land or a house, or anything from which I and my children could derive great use or sustenance, then I must forego it and you do me damage and are a hindrance to me so that I can never get such a bargain again because of your delay and inactivity, etc. But since I lent you the hundred guilders, you have caused me to suffer twofold damage because *I cannot pay on the one hand and cannot buy on the other* and thus must suffer loss on both sides. This is called *duplex interesse, damni emergentis et lucri cessantis*...[b]

"Having heard that Hans has suffered loss on the hundred guilders which he lent and demands just recompense for this loss, they rush in and charge *such double compensation on every 100 guilders,* namely, for expenses incurred and for the inability to buy the garden, *just as though every hundred guilders could grow double interest naturally, so that whenever they have a hundred guilders, they loan them out and charge for two such losses which however they have not incurred at all*....

"Therefore thou art a usurer, *who makes good thine own imagined losses with your neighbour's money,* losses which no one has caused thee and which thou canst neither prove nor *calculate.* The lawyers call such losses *non verum, sed phantasticum interesse.*[c] *A loss which each man dreams up for himself*....

"It will not do [XV-942] to say I might incur a loss because I might not have been able to *pay or buy.* That would mean *ex contingente necessarium,*[d] making something that must be out of something which is not, to turn a thing which is uncertain into a thing which is absolutely sure. Would such usury not eat up the world in a few years?...

"If the lender *accidentally* incurs a loss through no fault of his own, he must be recompensed, but it is different in such deals and just the reverse. There he seeks and *invents* losses to the detriment of his needy neighbours; thus he wants to maintain himself and get rich, to be lazy and idle and to live in *luxury and splendour on other people's labour* and worry, danger and loss. So that I sit behind the stove and let *my hundred guilders gather wealth for me throughout the land,* and, because they *are only loaned, I keep them safely in my purse* without any risk or worry; my friend, who would not like that?

"And what has been said about money which is loaned applies also to corn, wine and such like goods which are lent, for they also may occasion such double damage. But *such double damage is not something naturally accruing to the goods,* but may arise *by accident* only and cannot therefore be reckoned as damage unless it has actually occurred and been proved, etc....

"Usury there must be, but woe to the usurers....

"All wise, reasonable heathen have also inveighed against usury as something exceedingly evil. Thus Aristotle, in his *Politics,* says that usury is against nature and for this reason: it always takes more than it gives.[e] Thereby it abolishes the means and measure of all virtue, which we call like for like, *aequalitas arithmetica,*[f] etc....

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[a] Literally: to be between, to make difference (in the property status of a person before he suffered a loss and after it).—*Ed.*

[b] Twofold compensation, for the loss incurred and for the gain missed.—*Ed.*

[c] Not real but imagined losses.—*Ed.*

[d] Making a necessity out of accident.—*Ed.*

[e] Cf. this volume, p. 537.—*Ed.*

[f] Arithmetical equality.—*Ed.*

"But taking from other people, stealing or robbing, is called a shameful way of maintaining oneself, and those who do so are called, by your leave, thieves and robbers, whom we are accustomed to hang on the gallows; a usurer however is a nice thief and robber and sits on a chair, therefore we call him a *chair thief*....

"The heathen were able, by the light of reason, to conclude that a usurer is a double-dyed thief and murderer. We Christians, however, hold them in such honour, that we fairly worship them for the sake of their money.... Whoever eats up, robs, and steals the nourishment of another, that man commits as great a murder (so far as in him lies) as he who starves a man or utterly undoes him. Such does a usurer, and sits the while safe on his chair, when he ought rather to be hanging on the gallows, and be eaten by as many ravens as he has stolen guilders, if only there were so much flesh on him, that so many ravens could stick their beaks in and share it....

"But the dealers and usurers will cry out that what is written under hand and seal must be honoured. To this the jurists have given a prompt and sufficient answer. *In malis promissis.*[a] Thus the theologians say that some people give the devil something under hand and seal signifies nothing, even if it is written and sealed in blood. For what is against God, Right and Nature is null and void. Therefore let a Prince who can do so, take action, tear up bond and seal, take no notice of it, etc....

"Therefore is there, on this earth, no greater *enemy of man* (after the devil) than a gripe-money, and usurer, for *he wants to be God over all men.* Turks, soldiers, and tyrants are also bad men, yet must they let the people live, and confess that they are bad, and enemies, and do, nay, must, now and then show pity to some. But a usurer and money-glutton, such a one would have the whole world perish of hunger and thirst, misery and want, so far as in him lies, so that he may have all to himself, and every one *may receive from him as from a God and* [XV-943] *be his serf for ever.* This is what gladdens his heart, refreshes his blood. And, at the same time, he can wear sable cloaks, golden chains, rings, gowns, wipe his mouth, be deemed and taken for a worthy, pious man, who is more merciful than God Himself, more loving than the Mother of God, and all the holy Saints....

"And they write of the great deeds of Heracles, how he overcame so many monsters and frightful horrors in order to save his country and his people. For usury is a great huge monster, like a werewolf, who lays waste all, more than any Cacus, Geryon or Antaeus, etc. And yet decks himself out, and would be thought pious, so that people may not see where the oxen have gone (that he *drags backwards into his den*)."[b]

//An excellent picture, it fits the capitalist in general, who pretends that what he has taken from others and brought into his den, *emanates from him*, and by causing it to go *backwards* he gives it the semblance of having *come from his den.*//

"But Heracles shall hear the cry of the oxen and of the prisoners and shall seek Cacus even in cliffs and among rocks, and shall set the oxen loose again from the villain. For Cacus means the villain that is a *pious usurer*, and steals, robs, eats everything. And will not own that he has done it, and thinks no one will find him out, because the oxen, drawn backwards into his den, make it seem, from their foot-prints, that they have been *let out.* So the usurer would deceive the world, as though he were of use and *gave the world oxen, which he, however, rends, and eats all alone....*

[a] In evil promises.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below see Virgil, *Aeneid,* VIII, 185 et seq.—*Ed.*

"Therefore, a usurer and miser is, indeed, not truly a human being, sins not in a human way and must be looked upon as a werewolf, more than all the tyrants, murderers and robbers, nearly as evil as the devil himself, but one who sits in peace and safety, not like an enemy, but like a friend and citizen, yet robs and murders more horribly than any enemy or incendiary. And since we break on the wheel, and behead highwaymen, murderers and house-breakers, how much more ought we to break on the wheel and kill all usurers, and hunt down, curse and behead all misers...."

A highly picturesque and striking description of both the character of old-fashioned usury, on the one hand, and of capital in general, on the other, with the "*interesse phantasticum*",[a] the "indemnification which naturally accrues" to money and commodities, the general phrases about usefulness, the "pious" air of the usurer who is not "as other men", the appearance of giving when one is taking, and of letting out when one is pulling in, etc.

* "The great premium attached to the possession of Gold and Silver, by the power it gives of selecting advantageous moments of purchasing, gradually gave rise to the trade of the *Banker*.... [The banker] differs from the old *Usurer* ... that he lends to the rich and *seldom or never to the poor.* Hence he lends with less risk, and can afford to do it on cheaper terms, and for both reasons, he avoids the popular odium which attended the Usurer"* (F. W. Newman, *Lectures on Political Economy,* London, 1851, [p.] 44).

The INVOLUNTARY ALIENATION of feudal landed property develops with usury and money.

"THE INTRODUCTION OF MONEY WHICH BUYS ALL THINGS, and hence the FAVOUR for the CREDITOR who loans MONEY to the landowner, BRINGS IN THE NECESSITY OF LEGAL ALIENATION for the advance" (John Dalrymple, *An Essay towards a General History of Feudal Property in Great Britain,* 4th ed., London, 1759, [p.] 124).

[XV-944] "According to Thomas Culpeper (1641), Josiah Child (1670) and Paterson (1694), wealth depends upon the reduction, even if a forced one, of the interest rate of gold and silver. Abided by in England for almost 2 centuries" (Ganilh [*Des systèmes d'économie politique*..., 2nd ed., Vol. I, Paris, 1821, pp. 58-59]).[b]

When *Hume*—in opposition to Locke—declared that the rate of interest is regulated by the rate of profit,[c] he had a much higher development of capital in mind. This was even more true of Bentham when he wrote his defence of usury[d] towards the end of the 18th century. A reduction in the rate of interest [was imposed] by law from the time of Henry VIII to that of Queen Anne.

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[a] Imagined loss.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx gives a free rendering of Ganilh's text (in German). See also this volume, p. 463.—*Ed.*

[c] See pp. XX—1293a-1294a and XXII—1397 of the manuscript (present edition, Vol. 34).—*Ed.*

[d] J. Bentham, *Defence of Usury.*—*Ed.*

"In the Middle Ages, no country had *a general rate of interest.* First, the strictness of the clergy. Insecurity of the legal provisions for protecting loans. The interest rate was so much the higher in individual cases. The limited *circulation of money,* the *need to make most payments in cash,* for the bill business was not yet developed. Therefore wide divergences in interest rates and in the concept of usury. In Charlemagne's time, it was considered usurious to charge 100%. In Lindau on Lake Constance, in 1348,[a] local burghers took $216^2/_3$%. In Zurich, the City Council fixed the legal interest rate at $43^1/_2$%.[b] In Italy, 40% had sometimes to be paid, although the usual rate from the 12th to the 14th century did not exceed 20%. Verona decreed that $12^1/_2$% should be the legal rate. Frederick II fixed the rate at 10%, but only for Jews. He did not wish to speak for Christians. In Rhenish Germany, 10% was the usual rate as early as the 13th century" (Hüllmann, *Geschichte des Städtewesens etc.*, Part II, [Bonn, 1827, pp.] 55-57).[c]

The enormous rates of interest in the Middle Ages (in so far as they were not paid by the feudal aristocracy, etc.) were based in the towns, in very large measure, on the gigantic profits UPON ALIENATION which the merchants and urban craftsmen made out of country people, whom they cheated.

In Rome, as in the entire ancient world—apart from merchant cities, like Athens and others, which were particularly developed industrially and commercially—[high interest was] a means used by the big landowners not only for expropriating the small proprietors, the plebeians, but for appropriating their persons.

"Usury was initially free in Rome. The law of the Twelve Tables[146] (303 A.U.C.[d]) fixed interest on money at 1% per annum (Niebuhr says 10%[e]). These laws were promptly violated. Duilius (398 A.U.C.) once again reduced the interest on money to 1%, *unciarium foenus.*[f] Reduced to $^1/_2$% in 408; in 413, lending at interest was absolutely forbidden by a referendum held by the tribune Genucius. It is not surprising that in a republic in which industry and wholesale and retail trade were forbidden to citizens, *trading in money* was *likewise forbidden*" (Dureau de la Malle, l.c., [*Economie politique des Romains,*] Vol. II, [Paris, 1840, pp.] 259-61). "This state of affairs lasted for 300 years, till the capture of Carthage. Then [the maximum chargeable] 12%; the usual rate 6% per annum (l.c., p. 261). Justinian fixed the interest rate at 4%. In Trajan's time, the *usura quincunx*[g] was the legal interest of 5%. In Egypt in 146 B.C., the commercial rate of interest was 12%" ([pp. 262-]63).[h] [147]

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[a] Hüllmann has "1344".—*Ed.*

[b] Hüllmann has "$45^1/_3$%".—*Ed.*

[c] The quotation is slightly abridged and modified.—*Ed.*

[d] A.U.C.—*anno urbis conditae*—in the year of the founding of the city (Rome),753 B.C.—*Ed.*

[e] B. Niebuhr, *Römische Geschichte,* Part 3, Berlin, 1832, pp. 66-67.—*Ed.*

[f] An increase of one ounce.—*Ed.*

[g] An interest of 5 ounces.—*Ed.*

[h] Marx quotes partly in French, partly in German, and slightly abridges the quotation.—*Ed.*

[ADDENDA]

[XIII-front cover][148] *Hopkins* (passage to be looked up)[149] naïvely (describes) *RENT OF LAND* as the original form of SURPLUS VALUE, and profit as derived from this.

He writes:

*"When the ... producers were both agriculturists and manufacturers, the landowner received, as *rent of land,* a value of £10. Suppose this rent to have been paid 1/2 in raw produce, and the other 1/2 in manufactures;—on the *division* of the producers into the two classes of agriculturists and manufacturers* this could be continued. *In practice, however, it would be found more convenient for the cultivators of the land, *to pay the rent,* and to charge it on their produce, when exchanging it against the produce of the labour of the manufacturers; so as to divide the payment into two equitable proportions between the two classes, and to leave wages and profits equal in each department"* (Th. Hopkins, [*Economical*] *Enquiries relative to the Laws which Regulate Rent, Profit, etc.,* London, 1822, [p.] 26).

[XIII-670a][150] *Decrease in the Rate of Profit.*

Calculated on the total capital the [rate of] profit of the larger capital, which employs more constant capital (machinery, raw material) and relatively less living labour, will be lower than that of the smaller [amount of] profit yielded by the smaller capital employing more living labour in proportion to the total capital. The [relative] decrease in variable capital and the relative increase in constant capital, although both parts are growing, is only another *expression for the increased productivity of labour.*

*"*The landed* and *trading interests* are eternally jarring and jealous of each other's advantages" ([N. Forster,] *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Present* [*High*] *Price of Provisions etc.,* London, 1767, [p.] 22, note).

"...whether it were not wrong to suppose *Land itself* to be *Wealth*? And whether the Industry of the people is not first to be considered, as that which

constitutes Wealth, which makes even Land and silver to be Wealth, neither of which would have any value, but as *means and motives* to Industry?" (*The Querist. By Dr. George Berkeley*, London, 1750, Query 38).

"A diminishing surface suffices to supply man with food as population multiplies" (*The Natural and Artificial Right of Property Contrasted etc.* By Hodgskin, anonymously. London, 1832, [p.] 69).*

(Similar ideas were expressed by *Anderson* even earlier).[a]

* "At present, all the wealth of society goes first into the possession of the *capitalist,* and even most of the land has been purchased by him; *he pays* the landowner his rent, the labourer his wages, the tax and the tithe gatherer their claims, and *keeps a large, indeed the largest* and *a continually increasing share of the annual produce of labour for himself.* The capitalist may now be said to be the *first owner* of all the wealth of the community; though no law has conferred on him the right to this property"* (l.c., [p.] 98).

* "This change has been effected *by the taking of interest on capital,* and by the process of compound interest; and it is not a little curious, that all the lawgivers of Europe endeavoured *to prevent this by statutes,* viz., statutes against usury"* (l.c., [p.] 98, note).

* "The power of the capitalist over all the wealth of the country, *is a complete change in the right of property,* and by what law, or series of laws, was it effected?"* (l.c., [p.] 99).

[XV-862a][151] Because SURPLUS VALUE and surplus labour are identical, a *qualitative* limit is set to the accumulation of capital, the *total working day* (the period in the 24 hours during which labour capacity can be active), the given stage of development of the productive forces and the *population,* which limits the *number* of working days that can be utilised simultaneously. If, on the contrary, surplus profit is understood in the abstract form of *interest,* that is, as the proportion in which capital increases by means of a mystical SLEIGHT OF HAND, then the limit is purely *quantitative* and there is absolutely no reason why capital cannot add to itself interest as capital every morning, thus creating interest on interest in infinite progression.

[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 371-73.—*Ed.*

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] The *Theories of Surplus Value* on which Marx began work in March 1862 constitutes the fifth and final section of the first chapter of his study of capital, "The Production Process of Capital". His original intention was to examine absolute and relative surplus value in their combination. *The Theories of Surplus Value* was to form an historical survey pursuant to the chapter on surplus value, similar to that introducing the chapters on commodity and on money in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

However, substantial changes occurred in the character of the *Theories of Surplus Value* during the course of Marx's work on the manuscript. It considerably exceeded the scope of the tasks set by the author, both in terms of volume (approx. 100 printed sheets) and content. The manuscript not only examined the views of bourgeois economists but also elaborated a number of important theoretical propositions of Marx's economic doctrine.

The *Theories of Surplus Value* were first published in English in 1951 in an abridged form as: K. Marx, *Theories of Surplus Value*. A selection from the volumes published between 1905 and 1910 as *Theorien über den Mehrwert*, edited by K. Kautsky, taken from Marx's preliminary manuscript for the projected fourth volume of *Capital*. Translated from the German by G. A. Bonner and Emile Burns, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1951.

The work was published in full in 1963-71 as: K. Marx, *Theories of Surplus Value* (Vol. IV of *Capital*). Part I, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963; Part II, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968; Part III, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.

The present volume contains the concluding part of Marx's *Theories of Surplus Value*. Volume 30 is given over to the first five notebooks of the Economic Manuscripts of 1861-63 and the beginning of the *Theories of Surplus Value* (notebook VI and part of notebook VII), whilst Volume 31 contains the continuation of the *Theories of Surplus Value* (the remainder of notebook VII, notebooks VIII to XI and part of notebook XII).—7

[2] At the side of this line in the manuscript there is written in pencil, without any indication as to where it should be inserted: "(circulating and fixed capital, p. 643) in Ricardo".—7

[3] The two final points were subsequently crossed out in pencil and instead of them Marx inserted the point "Theory of Cost Price".—7

[4] The actual location of the materials in notebooks XIV and XV does not always accord with that given by Marx in the table of contents. Notebook XIV, for example, contains only the beginning of the section on the adversaries of the economists. The continuation of this section is to be found in the first half of notebook XV.

The section on Bray is located in notebook X of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 245-50). This section was not completed.

The sections on Ramsay, Cherbuliez and Richard Jones are to be found on pp. XVIII—1086-1157 (present edition, Vol. 33). Marx did not follow up his original intention to complete the fifth section in notebook XIV.

The survey of revenue and its sources is located in the second half of notebook XV (this volume, pp. 449-541).

The section on Ravenstone begins on p. XIV—861 (this volume, p. 392). This section is preceded by that numbered 1) and devoted to the anonymous pamphlet *The Source and Remedy of the National Difficulties.*

The end of the section on Hodgskin is contained on pp. XVIII—1084-1086 (see present edition, Vol. 33).

Marx did not write any section specifically devoted to vulgar political economy. He dealt with this subject in the section entitled "Revenue and Its Sources".—8

[5] This excerpt enclosed in brackets is a supplement to the Marxian analysis of Ricardo's theory of cost price and, in terms of content, belongs to p. XI—549 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 31, p. 439).—9

[6] The term "*cost price*" (*Kostpreis, Kostenpreis*) was used by Marx in three different senses: 1) in the sense of the costs of production for the capitalist ($c+v$), 2) in the sense of the "immanent costs of production" of a commodity ($c+v+s$) which coincide with the value of the commodity, and 3) in the sense of the price of production ($c+v+$average profit). Here the term is used in the third sense.

In notebooks X-XIII of the manuscript Marx used the term "cost price" to mean the price of production, or the average price. He thus treats the two terms as identical (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 402-03, 559).

In notebooks XIV-XV of the manuscript this term is used now in the sense of the price of production, and now in that of the costs of production for the capitalist (see this volume, pp. 261, 271, 462).

The use of the term "Kostenpreis" in three different senses is due to the fact that "Kosten" has three different meanings in political economy, as specifically pointed out by Marx (see this volume, pp. 269-73, 513): 1) in the sense of what is advanced by the capitalist, 2) in the sense of the price of the capital advanced plus average profit, 3) in the sense of the actual (or immanent) production costs of the commodity itself.

Apart from these three meanings which we encounter in the classics of bourgeois political economy, there exists a fourth, vulgar meaning of the term "costs of production" as used by J. B. Say. He defined the "costs of production" as something paid for the "productive services" performed by labour, capital or land (J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique.* Seconde édition, Tome II, Paris, 1814, p. 453). Marx resolutely rejects this vulgar interpretation of "costs of production" (see, for example, present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 361, 439 and this volume, p. 102).—9, 102, 210

[7] Here and below Marx quotes Adam Smith as cited by David Ricardo in *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* third edition, London, 1821, pp. 227, 229 and 230.—18

[8] This definition of monopoly price is given by Ricardo in Chapter XVII of *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* third edition, London, 1821, pp. 289-90. A similar definition of monopoly price given by Adam Smith is quoted by Marx on p. XII—623 of the manuscript (present edition, Vol. 31, p. 558).—22

[9] In the original: "More exactly, £16 $12^1/_2$s. disregarding a few fractions not even=2d."

The total profit equals £64 $\frac{211016}{346731}$, and the average profit on capital £16 $\frac{52754}{346731}$, or £16.1521. $16^1/_7$=16.1429.—27

[10] Marx is referring to sections IV and V of the first chapter of Ricardo's book *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation* in which the author analyses the impact of a rise or fall of wages on the "relative value" of commodities produced by capitals of different organic composition. In his manuscript Marx gave a detailed critique of these two sections (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 400-25).—27

[11] Here Marx illustrates by way of an example one of the ways in which the organic composition of agricultural capital can come closer to that of industrial capital. As the starting point he takes

$60c+40v$—for agricultural capital,

$80c+20v$—for non-agricultural capital.

Marx assumes that, with increased productivity of agricultural labour, the number of workers employed in this sector falls by a quarter. There is a corresponding change in the organic composition of agricultural capital: the same product as previously called for the expenditure of 100 units of capital ($60c+40v$) now only calls for 90 units of capital ($60c+30v$) which, in percentage terms, represents $66^2/_3c+33^1/_3v$. The organic composition of capital in agriculture has thus drawn closer to the organic composition of capital in industry.

Marx further assumes that the fall in the number of agricultural workers is accompanied by a fall in wages by one quarter as a result of the decline in the price of corn. In this case, it must be assumed that wages in industry will fall by the same proportion. However, since agricultural capital has a lower composition, a fall in wages will be reflected to a greater extent here than in the case of non-agricultural capital. This would lead to a further reduction of the difference in the composition of capital in agriculture and that in industry.

Given a fall in wages of one quarter, agricultural capital of $66^2/_3c+33^1/_3v$ will be transformed into capital of $66^2/_3c+25v$ or, in percentage terms, $72^8/_{11}c+27^3/_{11}v$.

Given a fall in wages of one quarter, non-agricultural capital composed of $80c+20v$ will be transformed into capital composed of $80c+15v$ or, in percentage terms, $84^4/_{19}c+15^{15}/_{19}v$.

In the case of further reduction in the number of agricultural workers and further falls in wages, the organic composition of agricultural capital would grow increasingly close to the organic composition of non-agricultural capital.

In examining this hypothetical case, and in order to illustrate the influence a rise in the productivity of agricultural labour has on the organic composition

of agricultural capital, Marx refrains from considering the effect of a simultaneous, and frequently more rapid, increase in the productivity of industrial labour, which would be expressed in a further rise of the organic composition of industrial capital as compared with agricultural. On the correlation between the organic composition of capital in industry and in agriculture, see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 254-56, 325-26, 334-35, 337, 341-43, 464-65.—29

12 When numbering the pages, Marx left out "649".—31

13 Marx has 1836. It is still not known whether an 1836 edition actually existed. The quotation has been checked with the 1835 edition. Cf. this volume, p. 371.—35, 371, 388

14 Marx is referring to the book: D. Ricardo, *Des principes de l'économie politique et de l'impôt.* Traduit de l'anglais par F. S. Constancio, avec des notes explicatives et critiques par J. B. Say. Seconde édition, Tome II, Paris, 1835, pp. 206-07. Marx is not quite correct here. In his notes on Ricardo's text Say "gloats" over the fact that Ricardo uses supply and demand to determine the value of *money* and not the "value of labour". Marx quotes the relevant passage from Say's notes in *The Poverty of Philosophy* (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 151).—36, 285

15 The reference is to the pamphlet by James Deacon Hume *Thoughts on the Corn-Laws...*, London, 1815. Commenting on Adam Smith's proposition "that the price of labour is governed by the price of corn", Hume writes: "Dr. Smith in speaking of corn must be understood to be speaking of food, because the value of all agricultural produce ... has a natural tendency to equalize itself" (p. 59).—38

16 *Fluxion*—a term in an early system of differential and integral calculus worked out by Isaac Newton. Newton gave the name *fluents* (from the Latin *fluens*—flowing) to denote magnitudes of a system which (the magnitudes) change simultaneously and incessantly depending on time, and *fluxions* (from the Latin *fluxio*—flow) to the speed at which the fluents change. Thus fluxions are time derivatives of fluents.—43

17 Marx is referring to the value newly created by twenty workers: each hour of work by these twenty labourers creates a value of £2, and a working day of 14 hours creates a value of £28.—47

18 The value of the total product is made up of the value transferred to the product ($c$) and the newly created value ($v+s$). Since Marx ignores fixed capital in this case, the value transferred amounts to that of the raw materials. In the example given, the value of the raw materials is £$93^1/_3$ (the amount of cotton turned into yarn in one hour equals $133^1/_3$ pounds, and in 14 hours $1{,}866^2/_3$ pounds; each pound of cotton costs one shilling). Together with the newly created value (£28) this makes £$121^1/_3$.—47

19 Here and on pp. XIII—690 and XIV—774 of his manuscript (this volume, pp. 97, 247) Marx points out the place in Ricardo's *Principles...* where the word "producer" is used in the sense of "labourer". Elsewhere in the book Ricardo uses the word "producer" in the sense of "industrial capitalist" (see, for example, the quotations from Ricardo given on pp. 57, 62 and 176 of this volume).—55, 97, 247

20 See Thomas de Quincey, *The Logic of Political Economy*, Edinburgh, London, 1844, p. 158: "Now, then, is rent a disturbance of value simply in the sense of

being a modification, (as here explained,) or does it suspend and defeat the law? Ricardo has not pushed the question to that formal issue; but, generally, he has endeavoured to bring the question of rent into immediate relation with value, by putting the question upon it in this shape—'Whether the appropriation of land, and the consequent creation of rent, will occasion any variation in the relative value of commodities, independently of the quantity of labour necessary to production?' Whether, in short, the proportions between the two labours producing A and B will continue, in spite of rent, to determine the prices of A and B; or whether this law will be limited by the law of rent; or whether, in any case, this law will be actually set aside by rent?"—59, 92

21 Marx is referring here to such critics of Ricardo as Say who reproached Ricardo that he "sometimes reasons on abstract principles to which he gives too general validity" and thus allegedly arrives at conclusions which do not accord with reality (J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique...*, 5 éd., Paris, 1826, p. LXXXI).—72

22 Marx has "$13^1/_2$ tons", which is the amount of the rent calculated for the individual value of a ton. However, since previous calculations were based on the market value of a ton, an appropriate correction has been made here.—81

23 The figure $51^{11}/_{39}$ tons results from the following calculation: if $16^2/_3$ workers in III) of Table E) produce $62^1/_2$ tons, then, provided labour productivity remains the same, $13^{79}/_{117}$ workers will produce $\frac{13^{79}/_{117} \times 62^1/_2}{16^2/_3} = 51^{11}/_{39}$ tons. (See table on pp. 84-85).—89

24 Marx is referring to the book: W. Blake. *Observations on the Effects Produced by the Expenditure of Government during the Restriction of Cash Payments*, London, 1823. Excerpts from this book on the question dealt with in the text are to be found together with Marx's remarks in the *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy* (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 168-70).—94

25 The reference is to the world exhibition, opened in London on May 1, 1862, displaying the latest achievements of science, agricultural and industrial products and works of art.

The source of this quotation is unknown.—94, 199

26 In Volume Three of *Capital* (Chapter XXII) Marx shows that it is possible for the rate of profit and the rate of interest to move in opposite directions at various phases in the capitalist cycle (see present edition, Vol. 37).—102

27 Here Marx returns to the question as to what is the influence on the average rate of profit, and thus on cost prices, of profits obtained from colonial and foreign trade in general which exceed those in the metropolis. Marx shows that Smith's views on this question accorded more closely with the truth than those of Ricardo (see this volume, pp. 11-12, 70-72). Cf. also *Capital*, Volume Three, Chapter XIV (present edition, Vol. 37).—103

28 This example is based on the supposition that, given higher labour productivity, 20 quarters of wheat expended as seed will yield a harvest 50 per cent greater than before. If the previous harvest, for example, amounted to 100 quarters, it will now amount to 150 quarters given the expenditure of the same amount of labour, but these 150 quarters will cost the same as 100 quarters did previously, i.e. £300. Whilst the seed previously constituted 20 per cent of the harvest (in terms of volume and value alike), it now represents just $13^1/_3$ per cent.—107

29 The words "See MacCulloch" in brackets were later inserted by Marx in pencil. Marx first expressed the idea of using the sinking fund as a means of accumulation in his letter to Engels of August 20, 1862 (see present edition, Vol. 41, pp. 411-12). Marx returned to this problem when he was already working on Book II of *Capital*. He dealt with it in the letter to Engels of August 24, 1867, referring to letters dating back to 1862. He stated that he had found some clues in MacCulloch (see present edition, Vol. 42, p. 408). What he meant was J. R. MacCulloch, *The Principles of Political Economy...*, Edinburgh, London, 1825, pp. 181-82. Marx returns to this subject on pages XIV—777 and 781 of his manuscript (see this volume, pp. 251-52, 257).—112

30 Working on his manuscript of 1861-63 devoted to the study of capital, Marx based himself on the plan he had drawn up when preparing to compile the manuscript of 1857-58. He had intended to include in the book on capital special sections devoted to competition and credit (see Marx's letter to Engels of April 2, 1858, present edition, Vol. 40, p. 298).

When subsequently preparing the manuscript of Volume Three of *Capital*, Marx considered it expedient to deal here with a number of questions related to competition and credit (see present edition, Vol. 37).—116, 162, 444, 460

31 Marx is referring to James Mill's idea that there will always and necessarily be an equilibrium between production and consumption, supply and demand, the sum of purchases and the sum of sales. See J. Mill, *Elements of Political Economy*, London, 1821, pp. 186-95. Marx deals in greater detail with this view of Mill's (which he first expressed in the pamphlet *Commerce Defended...*, London, 1808) in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Part One (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 333).—125, 134

32 The *continental blockade* announced by Napoleon I in November 1806 prohibited the continental European countries from trading with England, greatly hindering the import of some commodities, including sugar and coffee, to Europe. Following Napoleon's defeat in Russia in 1812, the continental blockade was virtually ignored, and in 1814 it was removed altogether.—128

33 The passage from p. XIII—718 of the manuscript has been placed here in accordance with its substance.—135

34 On p. X—426 of the manuscript Marx specifies this as follows: "sold *under* its price, i.e., for less than the sum of money which represents its [the commodity's] value" (see present edition, Vol. 31, p. 215).—135

35 Marx is referring to that part of his study which subsequently grew to become Volume Three of *Capital*. Cf. also present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 282 and 397.—143

36 The pages have been rearranged according to Marx's direct instructions. Pages 770a, 771a and 861a of the manuscript are the outside back cover of notebook XIII, the inside front cover and inside back cover of notebook XIV respectively.—144

37 This page of the manuscript is damaged, and for this reason it was impossible to decipher the word "crisis" with certainty.—145

38 This page of the manuscript, which is the inside front cover of notebook XIV, carries the table of contents of the notebook (see this volume, pp. 7-8) and the remark "Continuation of cover page (last) of notebook XIII". See also Note 36.—145

[39] The top left-hand corner of this page has been torn off in the manuscript so that only the right-hand side of the first seven lines has been preserved, making it impossible to reproduce the text in full. From what has survived it can be assumed that this passage deals with crises occurring as a result of changes in the value of variable capital. The passage in question has been omitted from the present volume.—146

[40] Marx made short remarks on the forms of crisis on the covers of notebook XIII (page 770a of the manuscript) and notebook XIV (pp. 771a and 861a). In accordance with Marx's remark "To page 716", these pages have been inserted above.

The insertion in brackets was made by Marx at a later date and it is here that he describes these new forms.—147

[41] The manuscript continues with a brief insertion in brackets on Ricardo's views of money and exchange value. In line with its substance, this insertion has been placed on p. 135 of this volume as a note at the bottom of the page.—149

[42] This insertion, which opens p. 720 of the manuscript, has been placed here in accordance with its substance.—150

[43] Marx is referring to notebooks I-V of his manuscript, and in particular to the sections on the production of absolute and relative surplus value (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 172-346).—151

[44] Marx is referring to Say's argument stated in *Lettres à M. Malthus...*, Paris, Londres, 1820, p. 15, that the cause of the flooding of the Italian market with English goods was the underproduction of Italian goods which might be exchanged for English ones. This argument by Say is quoted in the anonymous discourse *An Inquiry into Those Principles...*, London, 1821, p. 15, from which Marx made excerpts. Cf. also present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 133, 166.—160, 311

[45] Compare with the critique by Marx of James Mill's and Say's theses on the impossibility of general overproduction which he presented in his economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 338-39, 351-52).—161

[46] Sismondi's explanation for crises was "the growing disproportion between production and consumption" (J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes d'économie politique, ou de la richesse dans ses rapports avec la population.* Seconde édition, T. 1, Paris, 1827, p. 371). Cf. also this volume, pp. 247-48.—163

[47] The top left-hand corner of this page in the manuscript is missing. The words reinstated are given in square brackets.—178

[48] Marx apparently believed that here Ricardo was referring to the speech he had made in the House of Commons on December 16, 1819 with regard to William de Crespigny's proposal that a commission be set up to discuss Robert Owen's plan for the elimination of unemployment and an improvement in the situation of the lower classes.

In this speech Ricardo stated that "machinery did not lessen the demand for labour" (*The Times,* No. 10804, December 17, 1819).—181

[49] The reference is to the revolution of 1688 (the overthrow of the Stuart dynasty and the enthronement of William III of Orange), after which the constitutional

monarchy was consolidated in England on the basis of a compromise between the landed aristocracy and the bourgeoisie.

The *enclosures*—the forced eviction of peasants from their land by the feudal lords (the land was then surrounded with fences, ditches, etc.). This practice took its classical form in England between the late 15th and early 19th centuries. It led to the abolition of communal land and the demise of the class of small landowners.—208

50 According to the *Poor Laws* which existed in England from the 16th century, a special tax was levied in each parish to benefit the poor. Those parishioners who were unable to provide for themselves and their families received assistance through the poor relief fund.—208

51 In this section, Marx analyses works written by Malthus following the appearance of Ricardo's *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation* (1817). In his works, Malthus attempted to oppose Ricardo's labour theory of value and his call for the all-out development of the productive forces to the detriment of individuals and even whole classes (see this volume, pp. 243-44) with a vulgar apologetic theory aimed at defending the interests of the most reactionary strata of the dominant classes.

Malthus as an exponent of the "theory of population" is mentioned only in passing in this chapter. Marx provides a general description of Malthus' work *An Essay on the Principle of Population* in the section "Notes on the History of the Discovery of the So-Called Ricardian Law" (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 344-51).—209

52 The quotation given here is not from *Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent...* but from *Observations on the Effects of the Corn Laws...*, London, 1815. Marx had evidently confused the two.—209

53 Above, on p. 4 of his book, Malthus comments on Smith's views as follows: "The substance of his argument is, that corn is of so peculiar a nature, that its real price cannot be raised by an increase of its money-price", and so Smith supposes that "the real price of corn is unchangeable".—209

54 A critique of Smith's view of the value of labour as the "standard measure of value" and proof that this view contradicts other, more profound views of value on Smith's part, was presented by Marx on pp. VI—248-249 and XII—653-655 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 382-83 and this volume, pp. 38-40).—209

55 Ricardo's failure to analyse the origin of surplus value and his inability to solve the exchange of labour for capital were shown by Marx on pp. XII—650-652 and XII—655-656 of the manuscript (see this volume, pp. 32-36, 40-43).—210

56 "*Profit upon expropriation*", or "*profit upon alienation*" is a concept formulated by James Steuart which Marx cites and analyses at the beginning of his *Theories of Surplus Value* (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 351-52).—211, 371

57 Marx describes Malthus as such since, in a number of his works, the latter claimed that the destitution of the working masses resulted from the population's ability to multiply at a far greater rate than the ability of the soil to produce foodstuffs for human consumption; the population grows in geometrical progression whilst the volume of means of subsistence increases only in arithmetical terms.—217

58 Marx is quoting from the French translation of Smith's book made by Garnier: A. Smith, *Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations*, Paris, 1802. Marx made excerpts from this book whilst in Paris in the spring of 1844. In the present edition, all quotations from the French edition of Smith's book are reproduced in English in accordance with: A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. With a Life of the Author, an Introductory Discourse, Notes, and Supplemental Dissertations. By J. C. McCulloch. In four volumes. Edinburgh, London, 1828. The page references are given in square brackets. Marx made extensive use of the 1828 edition when working on the manuscript of 1861-63.—221

59 This definition of value was drawn up by Cazenove on the basis of statements by Malthus and Adam Smith, Malthus having borrowed from the latter the determination of a commodity value by the amount of living labour purchased in exchange for this commodity.—225

60 This quotation from Malthus reproduces Adam Smith's reasoning as illustrated on p. VII—302 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 31, p. 11): "...The labour of a manufacturer *adds*, generally, to the value of the materials which he works upon, *that of his own maintenance, and of his master's profit*. The labour of a menial servant, on the contrary, adds to the value of nothing. ... A man *grows rich* by employing a multitude of manufacturers: he grows poor by maintaining a multitude of menial servants" (A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. With a Life of the Author, an Introductory Discourse, Notes, and Supplemental Dissertations. By McCulloch. Vol. II, Edinburgh, London, 1828, pp. 93-94). By giving the title to the relevant section ("The Distinction Between Productive and Unproductive Labour") in terms typical of Smith, Marx is hinting that this view of Malthus' was borrowed from Smith.

Marx gives a detailed analysis of Smith's interpretation of productive labour as labour objectified in a commodity on pp. VII—316-316 of the manuscript (present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 16-31).—228

61 *Lord Dundrearyism* (or *Dundrearyism*)—pompous foppishness. Lord Dundreary is a character from the comedy *Our American Cousin* by the English writer Tom Taylor which was first performed in 1858.—230, 240

62 The calculations given here disprove the arguments of Malthus which Marx cited above (see p. 229). In one of his notebooks of excerpts, Marx called this reasoning "ridiculous".—231

63 Here, and in some places below, Marx uses the term "*cost price*" ("*Kostpreis*", "*Kostenpreis*") to mean the costs of production for the capitalist ($c+v$). See Note 6.—234

64 Since p. XIII—770 of the manuscript is damaged, the text reinstated in substance by the editors has been given in square brackets.—237

65 The last page of notebook XIII, numbered 770a, has been transferred to p. 716 of the manuscript as indicated by Marx (see this volume, pp. 144-45).

The text on the inside front cover of notebook XIV, p. 771a, is the continuation of p. 770a (see this volume, pp. 145-46).

Above the text on the first page of notebook XIV, p. 771, Marx wrote: "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy. XIV."—239

66 Here, this term is used in the special sense illustrated by Marx on p. 703 of his manuscript: "their surplus produce (which means here, the excess of their

product over that part of it which=their constant capital" (see this volume, p. 122), i.e., (v+s).

In the example under consideration, Marx assumes constant capital to be zero, so that the "surplus produce" coincides with the value of the product.—240

67 See Note 30.

In his plan for the third section of *Capital* written at a later date, in January 1863, Marx remarks: "Query: whether Sismondi and Malthus should also be included in the *Theories of Surplus Value*" (see p. XVIII—1139 of the manuscript, present edition, Vol. 33), though there he makes only isolated comments on the views of Sismondi.—245

68 When developing his utopian plan for social transformations, Owen proved that, both economically and from the viewpoint of everyday domestic life, the most expedient structure for a settlement of a community is a parallelogram or a square.—247

69 The *Established Church* is the name given in England to the Anglican Church, or Church of England.—248, 443

70 Marx failed to write the section "The Relationship Between Capital and Wage Labour Presented from an Apologetic Standpoint".—251

71 The reference is to the plan for the nationalisation of land as advocated from 1775 by the English Utopian Socialist Thomas Spence. He called for the abolition of private property in land, its transfer to the parishes and the distribution of land rent (following the payment of all taxes and communal expenses on the part of the parish) among the parishioners in equal portions for all (cf. Th. Spence, *The Meridian Sun of Liberty...*, London, 1793).—252

72 Marx considered it a peculiar characteristic of Smith's economic theory that he combined two lines of study—esoteric, i.e., the study of economic relations in their internal, concealed nexus, and exoteric, i.e., the investigation of these relations in the forms in which they manifest themselves on the surface. This brought with it contradictory interpretations of the self-same categories. See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 390-91, 394.—258

73 On the difference between *production time* and *labour time* which occurs particularly in agriculture, and on the peculiarities in the development of capitalism in agriculture connected with it, see K. Marx, *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 521-22, Vol. 29, pp. 58-60).—262

74 See J. Mill, *Elements of Political Economy*, London, 1821, p. 74. Here, Marx is probably quoting this passage from the book by Samuel Bailey, *A Critical Dissertation on the Nature, Measures, and Causes of Value*, London, 1825, p. 202 where it is likewise regarded as being directed against Torrens. Cf. this volume, p. 287.—266

75 Malthus rejected the labour theory of value, reducing the value of commodities to the costs of production and regarding profit as a nominal increase in the value of a commodity and circulation as the sphere where this surplus came into being. Malthus was thus returning to the mercantilists' ideas on profit obtained as a result of the alienation of commodities. See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 348, 351-52, 374 and this volume, pp. 214-16, 220-22, 225-28.—267, 280

[76] Here, Marx assumes that all costs of corn production which occur in Torrens for a volume of 100 quarters amount to expenditure on seed. In fact, a considerably smaller volume of seed is required to produce 120 quarters of corn, say, 20 or 30 quarters. The remaining 70 or 80 quarters go to pay for the instruments of labour, fertiliser, wages for the workers, etc. However, this fact is of no significance to Marx's argument.—268

[77] Marx describes capitalists as competitors—"hostile brothers"—at the end of Chapter X of Volume Three of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 37). Cf. also present edition, Vol. 31, p. 264.—272

[78] The piece from the words "Mill's passage..." to "p. 99" was written by Marx on the left margin of p. XIV—792 of the manuscript and placed here in accordance with the insertion mark.—276

[79] In 1882 the German mathematician Ferdinand Lindemann proved that the value of $\pi$ is transcendental and that it is therefore impossible to square the circle algebraically.—277

[80] A detailed critique of the practice of bourgeois economists of splitting up the object under study into production, distribution, exchange and consumption is given by Marx in the "Introduction" to the Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 17-48).—278

[81] The treatment of these problems begins on p. 290 of this volume.—287

[82] In the list of printer's errors appended to MacCulloch's book *Discours sur l'origine...*, "élever (to raise)" is corrected to "eluder", so that the phrase should be translated as: "the farmer who rents this last acre, cannot evade paying the corresponding rent".—293

[83] Marx is referring to Say's note on Chapter 7 "On Foreign Trade" of Ricardo's book *Des principes de l'économie politique, et de l'impôt.* Traduit de l'anglais par F. S. Constancio, avec des notes explicatives et critiques, par Jean-Baptiste Say, T. 1, Paris, 1819, p. 209, in which Say gives the example of sugar imported by France from the Antilles and costing less than would sugar produced in France itself.—294

[84] In the first of his *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy* (London, 1844), "Of the Laws of Interchange between Nations; and the Distribution of the Gains of Commerce among the Countries of the Commercial World", John Stuart Mill remarks: "We may often, by trading with foreigners, obtain their commodities at a smaller expense of labour and capital than they cost to the foreigners themselves. The bargain is still advantageous to the foreigner, because the commodity which he receives in exchange, though it has cost us less, would have cost him more" (pp. 2-3).—294

[85] What Marx means here by *fictitious capital* is the capital of the debt owed by the state, since the state (be it bourgeois or bourgeois-landowner) spends the loans it has received not as capital and pays interest on them from the taxes it has collected from the population. See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. XXIX (present edition, Vol. 37).—299

[86] In his manuscript of 1861-63 Marx repeatedly returns to the proposition of the English bourgeois economists that "capital employs labour" (see this volume and present edition, Vol. 34).—303

[87] The anonymous author is mistaken. The statement in question by Say is to be found in his *Traité d'économie politique...*, 4 éd. T. 2, Paris, 1819, p. 60.—309

88 Chapter 19 in Ricardo's *Principles...* is called "On Sudden Changes in the Channels of Trade", with trade being taken to mean not only trade as such but also productive activity in a given country. Cf. this volume, p. 129.—309

89 Marx is referring to one of the notebooks in which he made notes on political economy. The first 63 pages of notebook VII, which Marx mentions here, contain the end of the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 85-253). Starting from page 63a (on which Marx wrote "Begun on February 28, 1859") notebook VII contains excerpts from works by Luther, Linguet, Galiani, Verri, Paoletti, Malthus, Richard Jones and others. On page 134 of notebook VII, Marx copied from *An Inquiry into Those Principles...* (pages 110 and 112) a number of passages in which an anonymous author criticises and makes fun of Say.—310

90 Marx is referring to notebook XII of his excerpts on the cover of which he wrote "London, 1851, July". Page 13 of this notebook carries excerpts from pages 97, 99, 103-04, 106-08 and 111 of the anonymous *Inquiry into Those Principles...*

A reference to landowners whose rent lowers capitalist profit is to be found in the excerpt from pp. 54-55 of *An Inquiry...*, which is located on p. 12 of Marx's notebook XII.—310

91 Prior to this, on p. 110, the anonymous author gave a quotation from Say's book *Lettres à M. Malthus*, Paris, 1820 (p. 46) containing the proposition that "products are bought only for products". This proposition had previously figured in Say's book *Traité d'économie politique*, 2 éd., T. 2, Paris, 1814 (p. 382). See also this volume, pp. 124-25, 132, 307.—311

92 The first edition of this book appeared in 1844. The pages indicated by Marx for the quotations in this volume accord with this edition.—311

93 *Posited* (Marx has "*Gesetztes*")—a term in Hegelian philosophy used to describe something which is caused as opposed to something without cause, original or primary—something having its foundation not in itself but in something else.—316

94 Here Marx continues the analysis of Bailey's views which he began earlier (see this volume, p. 312).—320

95 This is the way in which Marx ironically refers to the anonymous author of *Observations on Certain Verbal Disputes in Political Economy...*—324

96 In the example discussed by Marx, the area of a parallelogram and that of a triangle will be equal if the height of the parallelogram equals $\frac{h}{2}$ or if its base equals $\frac{b}{2}$ .—330

97 The "*portion*" of a product accruing to the workers (and, consequently, to the capitalist) means the number of natural units of the product in which the newly added labour is objectified, whilst "*proportion*" refers to the percentage of this product accruing to one or other of the parties.—335, 339

98 If, instead of the random figures "50, 60 or 70 qrs per man", we take the figures which correspond to Bailey's example given above (this volume, p. 338) we will obtain $12\frac{1}{2}$, 25 or $37\frac{1}{2}$ qrs per man.—342

99 When numbering the pages, Marx missed out "838".—351

100 Marx has "1830", i.e. the year when the second edition of MacCulloch's book appeared. Since the pages given accord with the first edition, an appropriate correction has been made here.—353, 369, 508

101 A hint at the words of one of Wallenstein's soldiers in Schiller's drama of the same name (Part I, Scene VI).—356

102 From 1824 on MacCulloch gave lectures on political economy dedicated to the memory of Ricardo. When the University of London was founded, MacCulloch took the chair of political economy (1828-32).—356

103 The reference is to the policy of the *Whigs*—an English political party in the 17-19th centuries which represented the interests of the gentry who had become bourgeois and the big trading and financial bourgeoisie. Following the parliamentary reform of 1832, the Whigs held office alternately with the Tories, pursuing an anti-working class policy and attempting to suppress the Chartist movement. In the mid-19th century, they merged with other political groupings to form the Liberal Party.—356

104 Marx is evidently referring to the second edition of MacCulloch's book *The Principles of Political Economy,* which appeared in 1830, since the first edition of the book which Marx usually cites was published in 1825, i.e. before Smith's *Wealth of Nations* with "notes and dissertations" by MacCulloch.—357

105 Marx ironically gives Roscher the name of the great Ancient Greek historian Thucydides because "Professor Roscher ... has modestly proclaimed himself to be the Thucydides of political economy" (see this volume, p. 502). Roscher's immodest reference to Thucydides can be found in the preface to the first edition of his *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie* (1854).

At a number of points Marx shows that Roscher grossly distorted both the history of economic relations and the history of economic theories. Cf. present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 352-54.—369, 502

106 In October 1862, when notebook XIV of the manuscript was written, the section on the "Conversion of Surplus Value into Capital" had not yet materialised.

On Wakefield's merits, see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 256-57.—371

107 By "*surplus produce*" Wakefield means that part of the produce which exceeds what is necessary to "replace capital with ordinary profits" (Wakefield's commentary to Volume II of his edition of *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* by Adam Smith, London, 1835, pp. 215 and 217).—371

108 Among the opponents of the economists Marx also included J. F. Bray whose statements he examined in notebook X of his manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 245-50).—373

109 "*This most incredible cobbler*" was the way the author of the pamphlet *Some Illustrations of Mr. M'Culloch's Principles of Political Economy* described MacCulloch. See p. 370 above.—374, 400

110 The section "*Revenue and Its Sources*" features as an "episode" on the cover of notebook XIV (see this volume, p. 8). But Marx deals with this issue in notebook XV of the manuscript, in connection with his critique of vulgar political economy (see this volume, p. 499 et seq.). Marx wrote about "Price's fantasy" at a later stage, on p. XVIII—1066 of the manuscript (present edition, Vol. 33).—376

111 By "*industry of consumption*" Ravenstone means the production of luxury goods and the performance of all kinds of services for the owners of capital or property. See this volume, p. 396.—394

112 The reference is to the conquest of England in 1066 by William, Duke of Normandy, who became known as William the Conqueror and was enthroned as William I of England, thus founding a new Norman dynasty. Although the process of feudalisation had made considerable progress in England by this time, a major part of the peasantry remained free and the feudally dependent landholders had not yet merged to form a single stratum of serfs, and the feudal estate did not yet exist everywhere, nor had it taken on its classic form. The Norman Conquest played a crucial role in completing this process.—396

113 A critique of bourgeois economists who as apologists of bourgeois society confused capital with material elements of the labour process was given by Marx in his economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 188-89, 235-36). In his manuscript of 1861-63, Marx returns to this question in the section "Unity of the Labour Process and the Valorisation Process" (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 95, 98-99).—398

114 When writing notebook XV, Marx skipped over pages 865 and 866. Having filled in p. 870a, he continued writing on the empty pages. Following p. 870a, the text continues on pp. 865 and 866, and then on p. 870b. The progression from one non-adjacent page to another was indicated by Marx himself.—399, 410

115 Later, in a letter to Engels of June 16, 1864, Marx gave these quotations which he had found in Chavée (see present edition, Vol. 41, pp. 540-41).—430

116 The passage immediately following this in Hodgskin's pamphlet makes it clear that what the author means by "striking a sort of balance" is: "The capitalists permit the labourers to have the means of subsistence, because they cannot do without labour, contenting themselves very generously with taking every particle of produce not necessary to this purpose".—431, 435, 436

117 The figures indicate that they refer to a period of one year.—436

118 A reference to the *Ten Hours Bill,* passed by the British Parliament on June 8, 1847, which applied only to adolescents and women and was ignored by many manufacturers.—441

119 The manuscript continues with a passage in square brackets which, in accordance with its content, has been placed on p. 330 of this volume as a note at the bottom of the page.—442

120 The chapter on the real movement of wages was not written by Marx. He deals with this question in Volume One of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 35).—445

121 On p. XV—890 of the manuscript, Marx interrupts his analysis of Hodgskin's views and embarks on a survey of revenue and its sources and of vulgar political economy. A considerable part of notebook XV of the manuscript is devoted to these two subjects which are analysed in close interconnection. Judging by the plan for notebooks XIV and XV, he originally intended to write two separate sections, "Episode: Revenue and Its Sources" and "Vulgar Political Economy", respectively (see this volume, p. 8). Subsequently, Marx intended to incorporate this survey into the third part of *Capital,* as can be seen from the plan for this part which he drew up in January 1863 and according to which Chapter IX was to be headed "Revenue and Its Sources" (see p. XVIII—1139 of the

manuscript, present edition, Vol. 33). Later some of the material contained in this section was used almost word for word by Marx when preparing the manuscript of Volume Three of *Capital*. Marx returned to his interrupted section on Hodgskin on p. XVIII—1084 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 33).—449

122 Here Marx uses the term "capital in itself" ("*Capital an sich*") for the first time. However, he had already examined questions related to this concept in the *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy* (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 171-204).—458

123 By "*this general section*" Marx means the section on "capital in general" which, according to the plan Marx had worked out when preparing the economic manuscript of 1857-58, was to begin the book on capital. See also Note 30.—458

124 Marx is referring here to Proudhon and his supporters.—463

125 The first edition of Child's book appeared in London in 1668 as a small pamphlet. In 1669-70 ten additional chapters were written following which the book was republished on several occasions. The first edition of Culpeper's discourse appeared in London in 1621; from 1668 it was printed as an appendix to Child's book.—463

126 Marx is referring to such followers of Saint-Simon as S. A. Bazard and B. P. Enfantin who accorded a special role to the banking system in the future organisation of the economy, the so-called industrial system.—464

127 The reference is to the *Société générale du Crédit mobilier*, a big French joint-stock bank founded by the Péreire brothers in 1852. The bank was closely associated with the government of Napoleon III and under its protection engaged in large-scale speculation. It went bankrupt in 1867 and was liquidated in 1871.

In 1856-57 Marx wrote five articles on the speculative activities of this bank for *The People's Paper* and the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see present edition, Vol. 15, pp. 8-24, 270-77, 357-60).—464

128 Marx digresses here to the analysis of different forms of capital. He dealt with this subject in more detail in *Capital*, Volume Three.

The interrupted passage is continued on p. XV—902 of the manuscript (see this volume, p. 469).—467

129 Below Marx examines the separation of certain parts of surplus value into different forms of revenue.—471

130 Here Marx interrupts his discussion of the separation of certain parts of surplus value and turns to various issues concerning the process of reproduction. He examined this question in greater detail at a later stage, on pp. XXII—1371-1394 of his manuscript in the section "Reproduction", which he wrote in the framework of his discussion of "The Production Process of Capital" (see present edition, Vol. 34).—478

131 When numbering the pages, Marx missed out "909".—481

132 Below Marx continues his interrupted discussion on the separation of certain parts of surplus value (see this volume, p. 478).—482

133 Marx devoted his attention to "dumb instruments, and speaking and feeling

instruments" at a later stage, in Volume One of *Capital* (Part III, Ch. VII, Sect. 2, Note, present edition, Vol. 35).—488

134 The quotations on the "labour of the overseer" were given by Marx in Chapter XXIII of Volume Three of *Capital* which he wrote two to three years later (see present edition, Vol. 37).—496

135 In 1844, workers in the town of Rochdale (Manchester industrial region) who had been influenced by Owen's ideas took the initiative in organising a consumers' cooperative, the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers' Society, which became the prototype for workers' cooperatives in England and other countries. Workers' cooperatives often combined productive functions with their activities as consumers' societies. See also p. XVIII—1100 of the manuscript (present edition, Vol. 33) and *Capital*, Volume Three, Part V, chapters XXIII and XXVII (ibid., Vol. 37).—497, 504

136 Marx is referring to the so-called old *historical school*, a trend which emerged in German vulgar political economy in the mid-19th century and owed its origins to W. Roscher.—501

137 Arnd devoted a separate paragraph in his book to justifying and describing the expedience of a dog tax. See K. Arnd, *Die naturgemässe Volkswirtschaft...*, S. 420-21. See also present edition, Vol. 29, p. 226.—504

138 The reference is to Ricardo's proposition that a rise of profits can never be brought about otherwise than by a fall of wages, nor a fall of profits otherwise than by a rise of wages.—508

139 In terms of substance, the passage enclosed by Marx in oblique lines belongs to p. XIV—850a of the manuscript (this volume, p. 370).—508

140 In the formula for the price of production, the letters C and A.P. are used to denote costs and average profit respectively.—525

141 When drawing up the table of contents for notebook XV, Marx intended to devote a section to "*Vulgar Political Economy*" (see this volume, p. 8). In the plan for the third section, "Capital and Profit", which he compiled in January 1863, the penultimate, eleventh point is headed "*Vulgar Economy*" (see p. XVIII—1139 of the manuscript, present edition, Vol. 33). This plan was compiled about two months after he had written the section "Revenue and Its Sources" (November 1862), but Marx did not write a chapter specifically devoted to vulgar political economy.—526

142 The text which follows below (pp. 529-30) is a reproduction in parts almost verbatim, of a fragment of the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 219-21). Marx used this passage when writing Volume Three of *Capital*, Part V, Ch. XXI (present edition, Vol. 37).—529

143 In terms of substance, this paragraph belongs to p. XV—907 of the manuscript (this volume, p. 478).—531

144 The reference is to the 100-guilder bond which paid interest three times a year at the Leipzig Fair. Three trade fairs were held annually in Leipzig at the New Year, Easter (spring) and Michaelmas (September 29, Harvest Festival).—532

145 *Knights*—in early Roman history—equites, or rich citizens constituting a privileged class liable for service in the cavalry. Subsequently this name was given to Roman slave-owning merchants and usurers belonging to the class of equites.—534

146 *Laws of the Twelve Tables*—an ancient memorandum on Roman law. They were compiled in the mid-5th century B.C. as the result of the battle between the plebs and the patricians and were a record of the common law valid in Rome; these laws reflected the social relations in Roman society during the period when the slave-owning system was being consolidated. On the one hand, they protected private property and, on the other, they retained vestiges of the gentile system. The laws set out the stipulations on debts in great detail.—541

147 In this same notebook XV, Marx first gives an analysis of loan capital and a critique of vulgar political economy, which bases its apologetics on making a fetish of revenue and its sources as they appear on the surface; and then he goes on to analyse commercial capital.

Marx does not return to the critical historical part of his work until pp. XVIII—1086-1157 of the manuscript (present edition, Vol. 33).—541

148 The outside front cover (unnumbered) of the notebook is labelled "XIII" and carries the inscription "*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*" together with a remark on Hopkins which was written at a later date and appears below.—542

149 Marx is referring to notebook XII of his excerpts which he compiled in London in 1851. The excerpt from T. Hopkins' book which Marx gives below is to be found on p. 14 of this notebook. See also present edition, Vol. 31, p. 289.—542

150 The page numbered by Marx as 670a is the inside front cover of notebook XIII which was written in the autumn of 1862. This page carries the heading "5) *Theories of Surplus Value etc.*", beside it the note "*Roscher: Interest, Profit. p. 693*" and the table of contents of notebook XIII (see this volume, p. 7). The passage headed "Decrease in the Rate of Profit" was written later. The quotations given on this page were written down not earlier than May 1863 since they are taken from the additional notebooks of excerpts A and B which were not compiled until this time.—542

151 Page 862a is the inside front cover of notebook XV and was numbered by Marx after he had filled in the notebook in question. This page carries the table of contents of notebook XV (see this volume, p. 8). The passage given below is separated from the table of contents by a line.—543

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*Cacus* (Rom. Myth.)—a giant and son of Vulcan; he stole from Heracles some of the cattle of Geryon, dragging them backward into his cave under the Aventine, so that their footprints would not show the direction in which they had gone.—539

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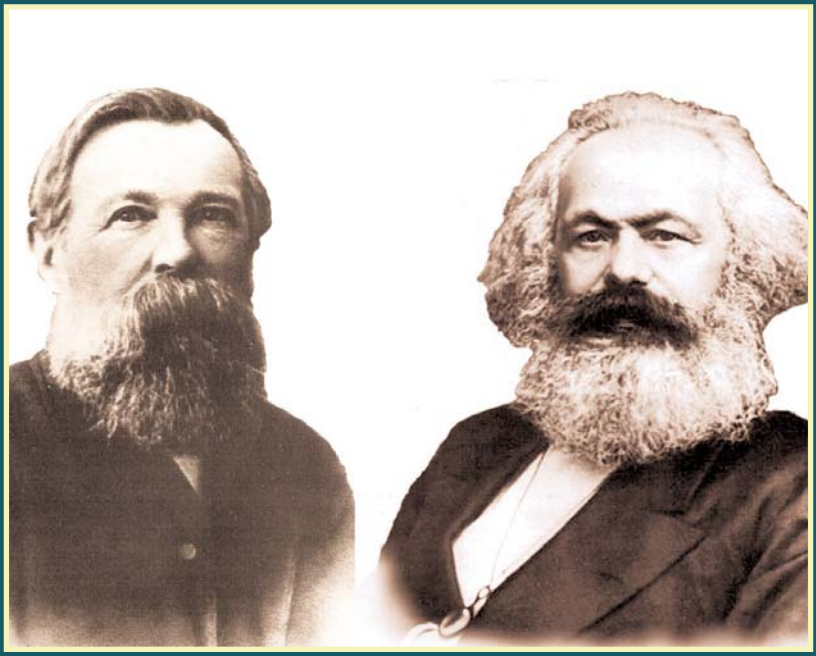

## VOLUME 33

Marx 1861-63

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

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## 33

## Marx 1861-63

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Translated by

BEN FOWKES

(For the translators of the section from the *Theories of Surplus Value* see Preface, p. XII)

# Preface

Volume 33 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains the continuation of Marx's Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (Notebooks XV to XX, pp. 944-1251 of the manuscript, and the continuation of Notebook V, pp. 211-19). The preceding part of the manuscript will be found in volumes 30 to 32. The whole manuscript is presented here in accordance with its new publication in the languages of the original in *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe* (*MEGA*), Zweite Abteilung, Bd. 3 (Teile 1-6), Berlin, 1976-1982.

In the text contained in this volume Marx continues his analysis of the capitalist economy, concentrating, in particular, on the theory of surplus value and its relation to profit, and proceeds with his critique of earlier political economists (Thomas Hodgskin, Sir George Ramsay, Antoine Elisée Cherbuliez, Richard Jones).

Obvious slips of the pen in Marx's text have been corrected by the editors without comment. The proper and geographical names and other words abbreviated by the author are given in full. Defects in the manuscript are indicated in footnotes, places where the text is damaged or illegible are marked by dots. Where possible, editorial reconstructions are given in square brackets.

Foreign words and phrases are given as used by Marx, with the translation supplied in footnotes where necessary. English phrases and individual words occurring in the original are set in small caps. Longer passages and quotations in English are given in asterisks. Some of the words are now somewhat archaic or have undergone changes in usage. For example, the term "nigger", which has acquired generally—and especially in the USA—a more profane and unacceptable status than it had in Europe during the 19th century. The passages from English economists quoted by

Marx in French or German are given according to contemporary English editions. In all cases the form of quoting used by Marx is respected. The language in which Marx quotes is indicated unless it is German.

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# KARL MARX

## ECONOMIC WORKS

## 1861-1863

# ECONOMIC MANUSCRIPT OF 1861-63

(Continuation)

# A CONTRIBUTION TO THE CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY[1]

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[XV-944][13] It appears entirely correct to say:

The division of profit into interest and industrial profit becomes evident as soon as there exist 2 classes of CAPITALISTS, MONIED and INDUSTRIAL. The existence of these 2 classes is an expression of that division; but the split must be there (must be possible) for it to appear in the separation of the 2 classes. The profit may, however, be so low, e.g. 2%, that small capitalists are unable to live from it as MONIED CAPITALISTS; but this would not prevent big capitalists from doing so, since the sum total, THE ABSOLUTE AMOUNT, of interest, depends not only on its rate but on the size of the interest-bearing capital.

The level of interest for COMMON AGRICULTURISTS in India, for example, by no means indicates a profit of an extraordinary size. *Firstly*, the profit as well as the interest is appropriated in the form of interest, and so is part of wages. (Indirectly also *property* in capital itself, i.e. here in the conditions of labour.) *Secondly*: the rate of profit is the higher the lower the mode of production, i.e. the more variable capital is expended in proportion to the total capital; [or] the [XV-945] smaller the amount of AUXILIARY capital in proportion to the capital paid out on labour.[14] Thirdly, to be sure, there is the paucity of the Indian's needs, determined by particular (physical) circumstances. HENCE THE LOW VALUE of his labour capacity.

With the development of monetary wealth (it is this development itself) as opposed to the more restricted forms of AGRICULTURAL and artisan wealth, the relation in which on the one hand the worker still appears as independent, hence not as a wage labourer, but on the other hand the objective conditions of his labour or the

product already possess an independent existence alongside him—form the joint property of a special class, the usurers—necessarily develops in all modes of production resting more or less on exchange. This relation shows itself as a detachment of the conditions of labour, which increasingly derive from circulation and depend on it, from the economic existence of the worker, their attainment of autonomy. On the other hand, the worker has not yet been subsumed under the process of capital. Therefore the mode of production, too, is not essentially changed. Where this relation reoccurs within the bourgeois economy, it is in backward branches of industry, or those which are still resisting the transition to the modern mode of production. And it is in those branches that the most odious exploitation of labour takes place. Moreover, the relation between labour and capital does not here bear within itself any kind of basis for the development of new productive power, or the germs of new historical forms. In the mode of production itself, capital still appears here as materially subsumed under the individual worker or the worker's family, whether in handicraft production or in small-scale agriculture. Exploitation of capital takes place, without the mode of production of capital. The rate of interest is very high, because 1) the rate of profit is high, since the proportion of AUXILIARY CAPITAL is small; 2) the interest includes profit; 3) it even includes part of the wage; and 4) it is not only surplus value and wages but the appropriation of the conditions of labour themselves. A part of the interest cannot be paid; the conditions of labour are themselves mortgaged (as in India). With industrial capital it goes without saying that the part of the product which represents the conditions of labour falls to the share of the capitalist. This form of usury, in which capital does not take control of the mode of production, hence is capital only formally, presupposes pre-bourgeois modes of production as dominant; but it is reproduced again in bourgeois society in subordinate spheres. In so far as the effect of this capital is not political—dissolution of existing conditions, as in antiquity, etc.—in so far as it has an historical meaning, it is the separation of the conditions of labour from the worker on the one hand; which is the same thing in other words as the formation thereby of monetary wealth which later buys the conditions of production as commodities.[15]

*Another historical form of interest* (wherever there is slavery, serfdom, and wealth and income founded thereon): lending of capital to wealth engaged in consumption. This *appears historically important here as itself a process by which capital originates*, in that the

income, rent and often the LAND TOO OF THE LANDED PROPRIETORS ACCUMULATES AND BECOMES CAPITALISED IN THE HANDS OF THE USURERS. This is one of the forms in which money, circulating capital, accumulates in the hands of a class independent of landed property.

Trade develops with the development of capitalist production, and at the same time the necessity arises for the producer to produce commodities, partly to buy the elements of these, partly to sell the product, to pay within certain due dates, etc. In short, the money form of the commodity becomes essential to him. This leads to an extension of usury, which now already begins to perform increasingly the function of interest-bearing capital in the modern sense. But the money still lies in part in the hands of old-fashioned usurers, a few money-dealers, monopolists, who thus hold sway over the emerging industries. Hence the struggle, in the 17th century for example.[16]

It is clear that where trade and industry develop in towns, money-dealing also develops. Here usury is already more subsumed in relation to *this form of capital* (merchants' capital). It first becomes subordinated with the development of forms of credit in which payment in cash or payment in gold, silver, loses its significance. But a new class of parasites develops on this basis.

For the development of usury nothing is needed except a certain development of commodity production and of the necessity of making payments in money. There exists on the one hand, in the SLAVEHOLDER, FEUDAL LORD, a person who possesses SURPLUS labour and who turns it over to or shares it with the usurer. Similarly a class of merchants, alongside whom the *hoard-builder who has developed into a usurer* settles down, sharing with them their profits, which are for the most part PROFIT UPON EXPROPRIATION.[17] In relation to the small-scale producers, finally, it is a manner of reducing their income to a mere wage and appropriating the conditions of labour.

[XV-946] Thus as long as money capital retains its old-fashioned structure of usury, the rate of interest is compulsorily forced DOWN by law. As soon as the form of credit has been created—in which all the latent money capital of society is placed at the disposal of industrial production—as soon as money capital has become a commodity, subjected to competition, there is an end to the forcible methods of subjecting it to industrial capital and reducing it to a mere form, a moment of the latter.

We have seen[a]: The less developed the character of the product

[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 367).—*Ed.*

as commodity, the less exchange value takes control of production over the whole of its breadth and depth, the more does *money* appear as actual wealth, as abstract wealth, vis-à-vis the restricted modes of representation it has in use values. *Hoard formation* is based on this. Leaving aside its functions of world money and hoard, it is precisely in the form of the *means of payment* that money appears as the absolute form of the commodity. And it is its development as means of payment which chiefly gives rise to *interest,* and develops money as money capital.[18] What spendthrift or corrupting wealth wants is money as money, AS THE *GENERAL POWER OF PURCHASING.* (Also for paying debts.) Where the small producer needs money above all, is for *payment.* In both cases money is used as money. Hoard formation, on the other hand, only becomes real, fulfils its dream, in *usury.* What is demanded of the usurer is not capital, but money as money, and through interest he converts this hoard of money for himself into capital, self-valorising value, a means whereby he takes control of part of the surplus labour and part of the conditions of production themselves, even if they remain nominally independent of him. *Usury* exists apparently in the pores of production, like the gods in the system of Epicurus.[19] This form of interest-bearing capital admittedly presupposes that production has developed the circulation of commodities so far that it has progressed to the formation of money, and developed money in its various functions. But it depends on a situation in which the part of the product which is converted into a commodity still only forms a relatively small part of production, and in which the conversion of the commodity into money is still difficult, and money itself, the existence of the commodity as exchange value, is still exceptional. This kind of money capital, although it presupposes the production of commodities, cannot be derived directly from the relation between commodity and money. The more the commodity develops as a commodity, the more does money develop as its pure form; and the more is the price at which the commodities are sold determined by their value. It is competition as form of realisation of capital, in which this is paid. That money is paid for money loaned is a simple consequence of the need TO HAVE IT ON ANY PRICE, and the hoard-forming usurer exploits this need.[20] Money is a condition, a necessary condition, and it is the more difficult to obtain the less the commodity form is the general form of the product. It is a condition for production, even though still very extraneous, and a condition for extravagance and to fulfil the need for corruption. As such a condition, as money, it is sold. *Merchants' wealth* is older than

*interest-bearing money capital* to the extent that it emerges directly from the circulation of commodities, whereas *money capital* emerges from the privileged position of money which grows out of circulation, and from the need for it as a condition. In the first case the form of circulation is $M—C—M$ (or $C—M—C$). In the second the result is $M—M'$; that more money can be made with money. In so far as it attaches itself to *commercial capital* it has the same relation to it as interest-bearing capital does to capital on the basis of capitalist production in general. In contrast to this, where it exploits small-scale property or extravagant wealth (which itself appropriates the labour of slaves or serfs), it emerges simply from money as money—as hoard, in its function of means of payment, etc., and the price at which it is granted is determined purely by the price the usurer succeeds in extorting. That "nothing is given for nothing", hence nothing is lent free of charge, is already evident from the fact that [XV-947] with the development of the commodity every divestiture appears as an appropriation.[21]

Commercial capital, or money as it appears in merchants' wealth, is the first form of capital, i.e. value which proceeds exclusively from circulation (from exchange), preserves, reproduces, and increases itself within it; and thus the exclusive purpose of this movement is exchange value. There are two movements: buying in order to sell, and selling in order to buy, but $M—C—M$ is the predominant one. Money and its increase predominate as the exclusive purpose of the operation. Commercial capital is money as the mediating movement of circulation. Money similarly appears here as an end in itself, without on that account rigidifying in its metallic existence. It is here the living transformation of value into the two forms of the commodity and money; the indifference of value towards the particular use values in which it is incorporated, and at the same time its metamorphosis into all of these forms, which appear, however, merely as disguises for it. Thus while the action of commerce gathers together the *conditions of circulation*, and merchants' wealth is therefore on the one hand the first form of capital's existence, and also appears historically in this way, on the other hand this form appears as contradictory to the concept of *value*. To buy cheap so as to sell dearer is the law of commerce. Hence not the *exchange of equivalents*. The concept of value is present to the extent that the different commodities are all *value*, and therefore *money*; equal, from the qualitative point of view, expressions of social labour. But they are not equal *magnitudes of value*. It should in general be noted that when products are first exchanged as commodities the *quantitative ratio*

in which they are exchanged is *d'abord*[a] directly a matter of accident. They are posited as commodities to the extent that they are *exchangeable* at all, i.e. expressions of *the same thing*. But it is not thereby posited that they are *equivalents*, in so far as each contains the same amount of labour time. Continued exchange and therewith reproduction increasingly eliminates this accidental character. At first, however, this does not operate for the producer on the one side and the consumer on the other, but rather for the mediating movement between both of them, for the merchant, who compares the money prices and pockets the difference. He posits the *equivalence* through his own movement. He compares the prices. If the whole of production is based on the exchange value of the product, the value of the commodity is regulated not only by its *qualitative* but by its *quantitative* identity. Money as commercial wealth, as it appears embedded in the most divergent forms of society, and at the most distinct stages of the development of the social forces of production, is merely the mediating movement between extremes it does not dominate and presuppositions it does not create.

Money emerges from the mere form of commodity circulation $C—M—C$ not only as measure of values and means of circulation but as absolute form of the commodity and thereby of wealth, as hoard, etc., and its retention and increase as money appears as an end in itself; in the same way, money, the hoard as self-preserving and self-increasing by alienation, emerges from the mere form of merchants' wealth, $M—C—M'$, as a value which increases itself merely by being alienated. *Usurers' capital* has the same relation to *merchants' wealth* as *interest-bearing money capital has to industrial capital.* Usurers' capital, in and for itself, is as far from having an internal limit as is merchants' wealth, which rests on PROFIT UPON EXPROPRIATION. The second depends on fraud, which goes as far as it can, and the first depends on force, which goes as far as it can. That both develop *monetary wealth* means in fact that they appropriate for themselves the wealth of society in the form of money; that they monopolise the monetary wealth of society.

Independent merchants' wealth—as predominant form of capital—is the achievement by the process of circulation of an independent position vis-à-vis its extremes—and these extremes are the exchanging producers themselves. These extremes remain independent towards this process, this process is, conversely, independent towards them. Here the product becomes a commod-

[a] At first.—*Ed.*

ity through trade. Trade does not exist because the product is produced from the outset as a commodity (or if it is this is only within narrow limits). Here it is trade which develops the forming of products into commodities; trade is not the movement of produced commodities. Here, therefore, capital first makes its appearance as capital in the circulation process, because this process is altogether the form in which exchange value first moves as in its element; exchange value dominates this form, whose *development* is *the circulation process*. What is produced, as a result of this money developed in the circulation process into capital, is money capital *quand même*,[a] usurers' capital.

[XV-947a] The long and short of this story, the reason why capital develops as commercial capital and usurers' capital—in these two forms as monetary wealth—before its actual shape emerges, the shape in which it subjects production to itself, the shape in which it constitutes the fundamental form of modern society, is this, that the product is first developed as exchange value *in circulation*, that it first becomes *commodity* and *money* in circulation. Capital can be formed in the circulation process, and must be formed in it, before it dominates the extremes of the process—the different spheres of production between which the circulation process mediates. The circulation of money and commodities—hence also money and commodity capital—can *mediate* between the spheres of production of the most diverse organisations, which by virtue of their internal structure are still chiefly directed towards the production of use value. This *achievement of an independent position by the circulation process*, whereby the spheres of production are related to each other by a third element, expresses two things. It expresses both that circulation has not yet taken control of production, but rather relates to it as an indifferent presupposition, a *given* presupposition, and that the process of production has not absorbed that of circulation as a mere moment of itself. Both these things are apparent in capitalist production. The process of production rests entirely on circulation, and circulation is a mere moment of production, merely the realisation of the product produced as a commodity. The form of capital which it obtains *directly* out of circulation, that of commercial capital, appears here as merely a *form* of capital in its movement of reproduction; the same is true of all the forms it assumes as money capital, and the valorisation of money capital as such—through its mere alienation as

[a] All the same.—*Ed.*

commodity—appears as a particular form merely through its valorisation in the production process itself.

*Wealth as the subject of consumption.* This is at bottom more akin to productive capital than to commercial capital or usurers' capital, because it is a direct appropriation of surplus labour (of the slave, the serf, etc.) through the possession of the conditions of production. But here the worker himself still belongs *d'une manière ou d'une autre*[a] to the objective conditions of production. What is predominant is use value. The agents do not come to meet each other as buyers and sellers. The independent forms of exchange value as money and as commodity do not condition the process itself. The slave (not the serf) may be bought as a commodity. But his exploitation does not take place in the form of the exchange of commodities between exploiter and exploited. Slavery, serfdom, are posited by relations independent of production itself—in so far as it is directed to exchange value. The SLAVEHOLDER, FEUDAL LORD, possesses surplus labour in the form of HOMELY VALUES IN USE. The merchant brings him commodities, of which he exchanges very few for the mass of these products. Usury attaches itself here to anticipate the income of the LANDLORD, etc., to provide for him the means with which to purchase the merchant's commodities, and altogether to advance to him that form of wealth through which it *always* holds power over men and things. On top of this there is the *necessity for payment.*

*Productive classes.*

To the extent that usury becomes attached to merchants' wealth itself, the latter aims to gain a profit. It therefore pays interest in order to make more profit. Here the interest must already become more moderate, because it must allow the possibility of a profit; it may however, where things are on a small scale, also lead simply to an increase in *prices*, to which interest and a proportional amount of profit are added. There are natural limits to this increase. With the merchant there is never the compulsion to buy from him BEYOND A CERTAIN PRICE. Thus reproduction is slow despite the high prices, because the market is restricted. Here, then, usury dominates the small, nascent COMMERCIAL and INDUSTRIAL TRADE. On the other hand, trade whose wealth exists only in circulation leads to the absolute dependence of that wealth on circulation, [XV-947b] to the development of due dates of payment, to dependence on the RETURNS, on the payments of others, etc. But in so far as money is *means of payment* it must absolutely be procured, AT WHATEVER COST.

[a] In one way or another.—*Ed.*

Here therefore usury—which advances the money—rules unconditionally, prescribes the conditions.

*Petty-bourgeois and small peasant industry.*[22]

Needs money either as *means of purchase* or *means of payment.*

As *means of purchase* chiefly when, in forms of production where the worker must still be the proprietor of his conditions of production, must possess the conditions of production, those conditions are lost to him through accidents or extraordinary vicissitudes, or at least fail to be replaced in the customary course of *reproduction.* For example, harvest failure or cattle plague, etc. These [corn and cattle] also belong among the conditions of production as means of subsistence and raw material. A mere rise in their price can make him incapable of buying them back with the yield of his product or even replacing them *in natura. Examples*: the same wars through which the Roman patricians ruined the plebeians, forcing them into military services which prevented them from reproducing their conditions of labour, hence *impoverishing* them (and this is here the predominant form—impoverishment is here the loss of the conditions of reproduction), filled up their storehouses and cellars with captured copper, the money of that epoch. Instead of giving the plebeians directly the commodities—corn, horses, etc.—they lent them this useless copper, and used the situation to charge enormous, usurious interest rates. Under Charlemagne, who similarly ruined the peasants, all they could do was become serfs instead of debtors. Thus we know that in Africa, as in the Romanian principalities,[23] etc., starvation leads people e.g. to sell themselves as slaves to those who are richer. This for the epoch-making moments at which money develops as usurers' capital. If this is considered in detail, the retention or the loss of the conditions of production depends for the individual producer on 1,000 fortuities, and every such accident of loss—of *impoverishment*—is a point at which the usurer-parasite can strike root. For a small peasant it merely needs the death of a cow, for a small cobbler it merely needs a rise in the price of leather, to make both of them unable TO BEGIN their reproduction ANEW on the previous scale: and here usury steps in, seizing control of their surplus labour, etc., by alienating from them their conditions of production juristically if not yet economically. Here money is demanded purely as means of purchase, yet the intention is neither to consume nor to make a "profit", but rather to recover control of the conditions of labour which have been lost.

*Means of payment.* This is the true terrain of usury, large in

extent and peculiar to it. Here money steps forth in its absolute form, and indeed in the usual sphere of the production process, in the native sphere of the circulation process. In the narrowest circle. Every monetary obligation to be fulfilled on certain TERMS, tribute, taxation, involves the necessity to pay money. And with the slightest degree of division of labour, and emerging from commodity production itself, the relation of creditor and debtor develops from that of buyer and seller, as I have proved,[a] partly from the particular form of alienation which flows from the particular nature of use values, partly from the failure of the different times and periods of production of the different TRADES to coincide. Here it is absolutely essential to have the commodity in the form of money at the particular time appointed. Use value as such, the commodities themselves, appear here as worthless rubbish. Money is absolute, counts for everything, and this all-embracing power of money is the power of the usurer.

[XV-948] Even on the basis of modern capital, e.g. in monetary crises, where interest=20%, the price of the commodity is far below its production costs. Then usury holds sway even here. And the same usury is the chief means of developing the necessity of money as means of payment, for it pushes the producer more and more deeply into debt, and nullifies his usual means of payment, his total production being insufficient for him to pay the interest. Here usury sprouts from money as *means of payment* and creates and extends this form of money, hence its own terrain.

*Means of purchase*—as soon as the usual reproduction is dislocated and fails to provide for the replacement of the conditions of labour, which therefore have to be derived from circulation. *Means of payment* as the form of money in which it appears, in general, as the absolute form vis-à-vis concrete wealth. In both forms money is required not as capital but as money: In one case *money* must, by way of exception, be first converted into the conditions of labour. In the other case we have the necessity of conversion *into money*. In both forms money capital develops on a basis independent of capitalist production. In both forms it can lead to the latter. In their direct form, usury and trade *merely exploit given relations of production*. They do not create these relations; are external to them. Direct usury endeavours to preserve them in order to be able to exploit them again and again; it is conservative, it merely makes them more wretched. The less

[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 375-76).—*Ed.*

the conditions of production enter the process and emerge from it again as a commodity, the more does their creation out of *money* appear as a specific act. The less the whole of production depends on circulation, with payments exclusively in cash, with the sale of commodities restricted to a narrow sphere, with little accumulation and little money in circulation, with slow and interrupted metamorphoses, little intertwining therefore of the production process of one person with the circulation of the other, the stronger is the power of money as *means of payment.* Hence the greater the area for usury. Just as money as hoard is the more important, the less exchange value is developed, so money as usurers' capital is the more important, the less money is a form naturally implied by the mode of production.

The development of *monetary wealth* as a particular form of wealth means with regard to usurers' capital that all its claims are possessed in the form of *monetary claims.* The more the bulk of production in a given country is restricted to payments in kind, etc., and use value, the more does monetary wealth develop there.

*Adam Smith* has this to say with regard to merchants' capital:

"The inhabitants of a city, it is true, must always ultimately derive their subsistence, and the whole materials and means of their industry, from the country. But those of a city, situated near either the sea-coast or the banks of a navigable river, may draw them from the most remote corners of the world, either in exchange for the manufactured produce of their own industry, or by performing the office of carriers between distant countries, and exchanging the produce of one for that of another. A city might, in this manner, grow up to great wealth, while not only the country in its neighbourhood, but all those to which it traded, were in poverty. Each of those countries, perhaps, taken singly, could afford it but a small part either of its subsistence or of its employment; but all of them taken together, could afford it both a great subsistence, and a great employment" ([Garnier,] t. II, liv. III [pp. 452-53; McCulloch's edition, Vol. III, p. 209] [24]).

Just as money first developed [in exchange] between communities, so did trade first develop as foreign trade and intermediary trade. On a large scale first as CARRYING TRADE.

"The cities of Italy seem to have been the first in Europe which were raised by commerce. The crusades gave extraordinary encouragement to the shipping of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, sometimes in transporting men, and always in supplying them with provisions. These republics were the commissaries, if one may say so, of those armies" (l.c. [p. 454; Vol. III, p. 210]).

[XV-949] "The inhabitants of trading cities, by importing the improved manufactures and expensive luxuries of richer countries, afforded some food to the vanity of the great proprietors, who eagerly purchased them with great quantities of the rude produce of their own lands. The commerce of a great part of Europe in those times, accordingly, consisted in the exchange of their own rude, for the manufactured produce of more civilised nations" ([pp.] 454-55 [ibid.]).

Luxury manufactures, the offspring of FOREIGN COMMERCE, established by merchants ([pp.] 456-57 [Vol. III, p. 211]) (worked up foreign materials).

Adam Smith speaks of a second kind, which

"grow up naturally, and ... of their own accord, by the gradual refinement of household manufactures. Worked up HOME-GROWN MATERIALS" ([p.] 459 [Vol. III, p. 213]).

The trading peoples of antiquity, like the gods of Epicurus, exist in the spaces between the worlds, or RATHER like the Jews in the pores of Polish society.[19]

The first independent trading peoples or cities attained their magnificent development through the *CARRYING TRADE*, which rested on the barbarism of the producing peoples, between which they played the part of intermediary.

In the preliminary stages of bourgeois society, trade dominates industry; in modern society the reverse. Trade will naturally react back to varying degrees upon the communities between which it is carried on. It will subjugate production more and more to exchange value; force direct use value more and more into the background, by making enjoyment and subsistence more dependent on the sale than on the immediate use of the product. It dissolves the old relations. It increases the circulation of money. It does not merely seize hold of the overflow of production; it progressively bites into production itself. (Certain branches of production are still based on trade.) Yet its solvent effect depends to a great extent on the nature of the producing communities between which it operates. For example, [it] has hardly shaken the old Indian communities and Asiatic relations in general. Fraud in exchange is the basis of trade where it appears independently.

Commercial wealth, like usury, as an independent economic form and as the foundation for trading peoples and trading cities, exists and has existed between peoples standing at very different stages of economic development, and production in the guild form, etc., can continue to exist in the trading city itself (the old Asian cities, the Italian cities of the Middle Ages, the Greek cities, etc.).

* "*Trade* is an operation, by which the wealth, or work, either of individuals, or of societies, may be exchanged by a set of men called merchants, for an equivalent, proper for supplying every want, without any interruption to industry, or check to consumption" * ([James] Steuart, [*An Inquiry etc.*,] Dublin edition, [1770,] Vol. I, [p.] 166).[25] * "While wants continue simple and few, a workman finds time enough to distribute his work: when wants become more multiplied, men must work harder; *time becomes precious*; hence trade is introduced with the merchant as middleman between workmen and consumers" ([p.] 171). "The *collection*" *

(of products. The *TRADE is concentrated* at first, but in *circulation*, while the work itself continues to be carried on in isolation.)

* "*into a few hands* is the introduction of trade" * [ibid.].

(This COLLECTION INTO A FEW HANDS is not yet a feature of the process of production itself.)

"The CONSUMER does not buy so as to sell again. The merchant buys and sells solely WITH A VIEW TO GAIN" ([p.] 175). "The most simple of all TRADE, is that which is carried on by *BARTERING the necessary articles of subsistence*" (barter between the SURPLUS fund of the farmers and the FREE HANDS[26]) ([p.] 175). "When reciprocal wants are SUPPLIED BY BARTER, there is not the smallest occasion for money: this is the most simple of all combinations. When wants are multiplied, BARTERING BECOMES more difficult; UPON THIS *MONEY* IS INTRODUCED. This is the COMMON PRICE of all things: it is a PROPER equivalent in the hands of those who WANT. This OPERATION OF BUYING AND SELLING is a little more complex than the former" [ibid., p. 177].

Thus 1) *BARTER*; 2) *SALE*; 3) *COMMERCE*. The merchant must be introduced. What before we called WANTS is here represented by the CONSUMER; what we called industry, by the MANUFACTURER; what we called money, [XV-950a] by the merchant.

//Money is on the one hand the first metamorphosis of the commodity, its existence as exchange value. Secondly, however, it is the beginning of the 2nd metamorphosis, as the form in which the commodity is converted into the other commodity. The merchant represents these two points, the 2 moments of money in *M—C—M*, but in such a way that money itself appears as the aim.//

"...This OPERATION of BUYING and SELLING is TRADE: IT RELIEVES both parties of the whole TROUBLE OF TRANSPORTATION, and ADJUSTING WANTS TO WANTS, OR WANTS TO MONEY; THE *MERCHANT REPRESENTS BY TURNS* THE CONSUMER, THE MANUFACTURER, AND THE MONEY. To the CONSUMER he appears as the whole body of MANUFACTURERS; to the manufacturer as the whole body of CONSUMERS; and to one and the other class HIS CREDIT SUPPLIES THE USE OF MONEY" ([pp.] 177-78).

*"Merchants are supposed to buy and sell not by necessity, but with a view to profit"* (l.c., [p.] 201).

Gilbart (J. W.), *The History and Principles of Banking*, London, 1834, has this to say about *interest*:

"That a man who borrows money with a view of *making a profit* by it, should give some portion of his profit to the lender, IS A SELF-EVIDENT PRINCIPLE OF NATURAL JUSTICE. A man makes a profit usually by means of TRAFFICK. But in the Middle Ages the population was purely agricultural. And under such conditions, as under FEUDAL GOVERNMENT, there can be but little TRAFFICK, and hence little PROFIT. Therefore, the laws on usury in the Middle Ages were justified" [pp. 163, 164]. "Besides, IN AN AGRICULTURAL COUNTRY A PERSON SELDOM WANTS TO BORROW MONEY EXCEPT HE BE REDUCED TO POVERTY OR DISTRESS BY MISERY" (p. 163).

"Henry VIII limited interest to 10%, James I to 8, Charles II to 6, Anne to 5%" (pp. 164-65). "In those times, the lenders were in fact, if not legally, monopolists, and hence it was necessary that they, like other monopolists, should be placed under RESTRAINT" (l.c., [p.] 165). "In our times, it is the rate of profit which regulates the rate of interest; in those times, it was the rate of interest which regulated the rate of profit. If the money-lender charged a high rate of interest to

the merchant, the merchant had to charge a higher rate of profit on his GOODS. Hence, a large sum of money was taken from the pockets of the purchasers to be put into the pockets of the MONEY-LENDERS. This *ADDITIONAL PRICE*, put *upon the goods*, made the capital less able and less inclined to purchase them" ([p.] 165).

In the 17th century, Josiah Child, in his *Traités sur le commerce et sur les avantages qui résultent de la réduction de l'intérêt de l'argent* (written in 1669, translated from the English), Amsterdam and Berlin, 1754 //a *Traité contre l'usure*, by Thomas Culpeper, 1621, is there as well argues against Thomas Manley (whose TRACT is called *Interest of Money Mistaken*), calling him the "CHAMPION OF THE USURERS".[27] The starting point, as with all the discussions of the English political economists of the 17th century, is naturally the wealth of Holland, where "the RATE OF INTEREST is LOW". Child makes this LOW RATE OF INTEREST the reason for the wealth [of the Dutch], Manly says it is only the result of it.

"Insomuch that to know whether any country be rich or poor no other question needs to be resolved, but this, viz. What interest do they pay for money?" ([J. Child, *Brief Observations Concerning Trade and Interest of Money*, London, 1668, p. 9] l.c., [p.] 74).[a] "Like a stout champion for the sly and timorous herd of usurers, he plants his main battery against that part which I confessed to be weakest. ... And he positively denies that the lowness of interest is the cause of wealth and affirms it to be only the effect thereof" ([J. Child, *A New Discourse of Trade...*, London, 1775, p. 39; *Traités...*, p.] 120).[b] "When interest is abated, they who call in their money must either buy land (whose price goes up as a result of the number of buyers) or trade with it" ([*A New Discourse...*, p. 47; *Traités...*, p.] 133).[a] "Whilst interest is at 6 per cent no man will run an adventure to sea for the gain of 8 or 9 per cent which the Dutch, having money at 4 or 3 per cent at interest, are contented with" ([ibid.; *Traités...*, p.] 134). "The low rate of interest and the high price of land force the merchant to stick to commerce" ([ibid., p. 52; *Traités...*, p.] 140). "The reduction of interest inclines a nation to thriftiness" ([ibid.; *Traités...*, p.] 144).[a] "If trade be that which enriches any kingdom, and lowering of interest advances trade, then the abatement of interest, or more properly restraining of usury, is doubtless a primary and principal cause of the riches of any nation; it being not absurd to say that the same thing may be both [XV-950b] a *cause* under certain CIRCUMSTANCES and an effect under others" ([ibid., p. 58; *Traités...*, p.] 155).[a] "An egg is the cause of a hen, and a hen the cause of an egg. The abatement of interest causes an increase of wealth, and the increase of wealth may cause a further abatement of interest. But that is best done by the midwifery of good laws" ([ibid., p. 59; *Traités...*, p.] 156).[a] "I am an advocate for industry, my adversary for idleness and sloth" ([ibid., p. 71; *Traités...*, p.] 179).[b]

Child appears here as the direct champion of industrial and commercial capital. //

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[a] Marx quotes partly in German and partly in French.—*Ed.*
[b] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

The number of turnovers of capital can only increase profits in so far as it increases the number of reproductions, *hinc*[a] the amount OF SURPLUS LABOUR, or the amount of reproduction (its scale) in the same period of time. Engaged capital cannot be utilised to extend the scale of reproduction. But with COMMERCIAL CAPITAL the situation is different.

If the productivity of industry increases, the price of the individual commodity falls. It contains less labour, less paid and unpaid labour. Let us assume 300 yards of linen instead of 100. Let these 300 be the work of 10 men (as linen, and let yarn remain equally expensive, etc.); while previously the 100 were the work of 10 men. In the latter case 10 yards would contain the work of one man, for instance=12 hours of labour. 10 yards=12 hours of labour; 1 yard=$^{12}/_{10}$=$^{6}/_{5}$=$1^{1}/_{5}$ hours of labour. In the former case 30 yards=12 hours of labour; 1 yard=$^{12}/_{30}$ hours of labour=$^{4}/_{10}$=$^{2}/_{5}$ hours of labour. In one case the yard contains $^{6}/_{5}$ hours of labour, in the other $^{2}/_{5}$, hence 3 times less. Assume that 1 hour of labour=3 shillings.[28] Then in the first case the yard costs $1^{1}/_{5}$s. and in the second $^{2}/_{5}$s. In the first case ls. $2^{2}/_{5}$d. and in the second case $4^{4}/_{5}$d. Assume now that the yarn, etc., the constant capital contained in the yard,=ls. Then in the first case the yard costs 2s. $2^{2}/_{5}$d. and in the second ls. $4^{4}/_{5}$d. Assume the wage=$^{1}/_{2}$ of the value added; then in the first case the yard contains $7^{1}/_{5}$d. and in the second $2^{2}/_{5}$d. [of the wage]. The surplus value is equal to this. The ratio between the wage and the surplus value has remained the same. If the individual commodity is considered, the profit (and the wage) contained in it is 3 times smaller than in the other case. But if the total amount is considered, the total of wages and profits has remained the same, because $10\times7^{1}/_{5}=30\times2^{2}/_{5}$. The rate of profit, in contrast, would have fallen, because the capital laid out in yarn, etc., would be tripled. The rate of profit could only remain the same if the yarn, etc., had also fallen three times in value or there had been a threefold reduction in wages.

In the first case the 10 yards cost 10 (2s. $2^{2}/_{5}$d.)=£1 2s.

In the second case the 30 yards cost 30 (ls. $4^{4}/_{5}$d.)=£2 2s. (but in the first case 30 would have cost £3 6s.)

Let us now assume that the cost of the yarn, etc., falls threefold in the second case as well.

Thus in the first case the 10 yards cost £1 2s., and one yard costs 2s. $2^{2}/_{5}$d.

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[a] Hence.—*Ed.*

In the second case the 30 yards cost £1 2s. and one yard costs $8^4/_5$d.

In this case too, the total amount of profit (and wages) is as much for the 30 yards as it was previously for the 10; despite the big fall in the price of the commodity, of each individual yard. The rate of profit is the same on the individual yard, for in the first case it comes to $7^1/_5$d. on an outlay of 1s. $7^1/_5$d. In the second case the ratio is $2^2/_5:6^2/_5$. In both of them the ratio is 3:8. But from the point of view of the individual yard the amount of profit is reduced. In the first case it was $7^1/_5$d., while in the second it is now only $2^2/_5$d.[29]

[XV-950] If 300 yards are the work of 10 men, who previously produced 100 yards, there would be in the first case 30 yards from 1 man, in the second 10 yards from 1 man. In the first case the yard contains $^1/_{30}$ of a day's labour, in the second case $^1/_{10}$.

Let us therefore assume that the price of the yarn, etc., remains the same, e.g.$=x$; then in one case the price of the yard$=x+^1/_{10}$ M,[a] in the other it$=x+^1/_{30}$ M. The 100 yards cost in the first case 100 $(x+^1/_{10}$ M$)=100x+10$ M; and in the second 300 $(x+^1/_{30})=300\ x+10$ M. It is clear, therefore, that if the wage remains the same, e.g. $^1/_2$ of the day's labour, the *amount of profit* will remain the same in both cases. In the first case the profit on 100 yards$=^{100}/_{20}$ M$=5$ M, and in the second case the profit on 300 yards$=^{300}/_{60}=^{100}/_{20}=5$ M. The amount of profit is the same here because 100 $(^1/_{20})$ is not more than 300 $(^1/_{60})$. But the *rate of profit* has fallen; for in the [first] case the outlay on one yard$=x+^1/_{20}$ M and the profit$=^1/_{20}$ M. In the second case [the outlay]$=x+^1/_{60}$ [M] and the profit$=^1/_{60}$. If the man's cost$=$20s., and the $x$ (yarn, etc.)$=$1s., then $x+^1/_{20}$ M$=$1s.$+$1s.$=$2s. And the profit similarly$=^1/_{20}$ M$=$1s. The price would therefore be *3s.*, and the profit within that would be $^1/_3$. In the other case $x+^1/_{60}$ M$=$1s.$+$4d.$=$1s. 4d. And the profit would$=^1/_{60}$ M$=$4d. Therefore the price$=$1s. 8d. and the profit within that would be $^1/_5$. Disregarding this fall in the rate of profit, the *total amount of profit* on each yard would in the first case$=^1/_{20}$ M and in the second $^1/_{60}$ [M], hence 3 times less. But the latter profit is repeated on 3 times as many yards as the former.

*Let us posit the second case,* namely that the yarn becomes cheaper TO THE SAME DEGREE as weaving becomes more productive.

Under the old mode of production 100 yards would have been produced by 10 men. The price of the whole product=

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[a] "M" designates one worker's working day.—*Ed.*

$=100\ x+10$ M. The price of a single yard$=x+{}^{1}/_{10}$ M. And the profit on that is ${}^{1}/_{20}$ M.

In the second case the yarn, etc., for 300 yards costs ${}^{300}/_{3}\ x=100\ x$. The 300 yards cost $100\ x+10$ M. The price of a single yard is ${}^{x}/_{3}+{}^{1}/_{30}$ M. The profit$={}^{1}/_{60}$ M. So if $x$ again$=$1s. and 1 M$=$20s., the yard cost ${}^{1}/_{3}$s.[+] ${}^{20}/_{30}$s.$={}^{1}/_{3}$ [s.]$+{}^{2}/_{3}$s.$=$1s. The profit out of this would be ${}^{1}/_{60}$ M$={}^{20}/_{60}$s.$={}^{1}/_{3}$s. The rate of profit would therefore be ${}^{1}/_{3}$ of the whole, as in the old production. But the *amount of profit* on a *single* yard would in the first case be ${}^{1}/_{20}$ M or 1s.; in the second it would only be ${}^{1}/_{60}$ of a man$={}^{1}/_{3}$s., hence 3 times less. The profit on the total number of yards would be the same, for 100 or 100s.$=300\times{}^{1}/_{3}$s.$={}^{300}/_{3}=100$s.

*Assume a third case,* in which it is not the yarn but the wage which falls in the same measure as weaving becomes more productive.

In the old mode of production the yard$=x+{}^{1}/_{10}$ M. The profit$={}^{1}/_{20}$ M. In the new mode of production the yard$=x+{}^{1}/_{30}$ M. But the profit$={}^{2}/_{90}$ M. The outlay is $x+{}^{1}/_{30}$ M. Therefore if $x=$1s. and 1 M$=$20s., [XV-951] ${}^{1}/_{30}$ M$={}^{20}/_{30}$s.$={}^{2}/_{3}$s. ${}^{3}/_{90}$ M$={}^{1}/_{30}$ M$={}^{2}/_{3}$s. and ${}^{1}/_{90}$ M$={}^{2}/_{9}$s. The profit would therefore be ${}^{4}/_{9}$s.

The price of the commodity$=1{}^{2}/_{3}$s. The profit contained within that$={}^{4}/_{9}$s. The price of the commodity$={}^{15}/_{9}$s., of which ${}^{4}/_{9}$, hence more than ${}^{1}/_{4}$, is profit.

*Positing the fourth case:* yarn and wages fall equally.

So we have the following four cases:

*Case I. Price of yarn,* etc., remains the same in both modes of production$=$1s.. per yard. The value of a man or a day's labour$=$20s.

a) 10 M produce 100 yards, 1 M 10 yards; 1 yard therefore contains ${}^{1}/_{10}$ of a man$={}^{20}/_{10}$s.$=$2s. The yard therefore costs 1s. yarn$+$ *2s. labour$=$ 3s.* The 100 yards cost 300s.$=$£15. If the rate of surplus value amounts to half the labour, the profit on 1 yard$=$1s.$={}^{1}/_{3}$ of the [price of the] product. Or, calculated on the outlay, *the rate of profit* is 1s.:2$=$*50%*. On the 100 yards it is 100s.$=$£5$=$5 men.

b) 10 M produce 300 yards, 1 man 30 yards; 1 yard therefore$={}^{1}/_{30}$ M$={}^{20}/_{30}$s.$={}^{2}/_{3}$s. *A single yard* therefore costs 1s. (yarn, etc.)$+{}^{2}/_{3}$s. (labour)$=$ *1${}^{2}/_{3}$s.* The 300 yards cost 300 $(1+{}^{2}/_{3})$ or *500s.*$=$£25. Rate of surplus value as previously, thus the surplus value on 1 yard is ${}^{2}/_{6}$s.$={}^{1}/_{5}$ of the product. Or, calculated on the outlay, it is ${}^{2}/_{6}$ or ${}^{1}/_{3}$s. to 1s.$+{}^{1}/_{3}={}^{4}/_{3}$s. Therefore *the rate of profit$=$1:4$=$25%*. On the 300 yards,$=$300 $(1+{}^{2}/_{3}$s.$)=$500s., this makes ${}^{300}/_{3}$s.$=$£5$=$5 M as above.

In this case, I [b)], the rate of profit falls, the *amount of profit* on a *single yard falls from 1s. to $^1/_3$s., from $^1/_{20}$ M to $^1/_{60}$ M.* The amount of profit on the whole product remains the same.

*Case II.* The price of yarn, etc., falls under the 2nd mode of production in line with the [rise in the] productivity of the weaving, hence a 3fold fall. The yarn, etc., for the 300 yards then costs as much as it cost previously for 100, namely 100s. A yard therefore costs $^1/_3$s. yarn, etc.+$^2/_3$s. labour=1s. The 300 yards cost 300s.=£15, as in case a) of I. The profit=$^1/_3$s.=$^1/_3$ of the product. Or, calculated on the outlay, $^1/_3$ against $^2/_3$=*50%,* which is *the rate of profit.*

In this case the rate of profit remains the same, while the *amount of profit on a single yard, compared with Ia), falls from 1s. to $^1/_3$s.* The amount of profit on the whole product remains the same, for $^{300}/_3$=100s.=£5=5 M.

*Case III.* The price of yarn, etc., remains the same as under I, while the rate of surplus value undergoes a threefold increase with the tripling of productivity:

Yarn for the 300 yards costs 300s. One yard costs 1s. yarn+$^2/_3$s. labour=1$^2/_3$s., as under I b). But now only $^1/_3$,=$^2/_9$s., of the $^2/_3$s. labour represents wages. Hence the profit=$^4/_9$[s.]=$^2/_5$ of the product=40% on the product.[30] [XV-952] The outlay is 1s. yarn+$^2/_9$ wages=$^{11}/_9$s. And the profit is $^4/_9$; the ratio is therefore 4:11, which gives a *rate of profit of 36$^4/_{11}$%.* The rate of profit is lower than in I a) and II, but higher than in I b).

The 300 yards cost 300 (1+$^2/_3$)=500s.=£25, as in I b). The *amount of profit on a single yard is $^4/_9$s.,* whereas under I a) it came to 1s.; under I b) it was $^1/_3$s., under II it was $^1/_3$s. Therefore in comparison with I a), at $^9/_9$, it has fallen by over a half; in comparison with I b), at $^1/_3$s., or $^3/_9$, it has risen by $^1/_9$; and similarly in comparison with II, where the amount of profit was also $^1/_3$s., or $^3/_9$. The amount of profit on the whole product rises from 100s. to 133$^1/_3$s. It is now 6$^2/_3$ M instead of 5 M.

*Case IV.* The price of yarn falls in the new mode of production, and similarly the rate of wages, in the same proportion as the productivity of labour grows.

As before, there are 10 men producing 300 yards. 1 M for 30 yards. 1 yard=$^1/_{30}$ M.

The price of yarn=$^1/_3$s. Therefore the price of yarn, etc., for the 300 yards=$^{300}/_3$s.=100s., as under I and II. The price of the product=$^1/_3$s. yarn+$^1/_{30}$ M, or $^1/_3$s. yarn+$^{20}/_{30}$s.=$^1/_3$+$^2/_3$=1s., as under II and I a).[31] But out of this 1s., or $^9/_9$s., $^4/_9$ are profit. And if we calculate the outlay, we have $^1/_3$s.+$^2/_9$s. wages, or $^3/_9$+$^2/_9$, or

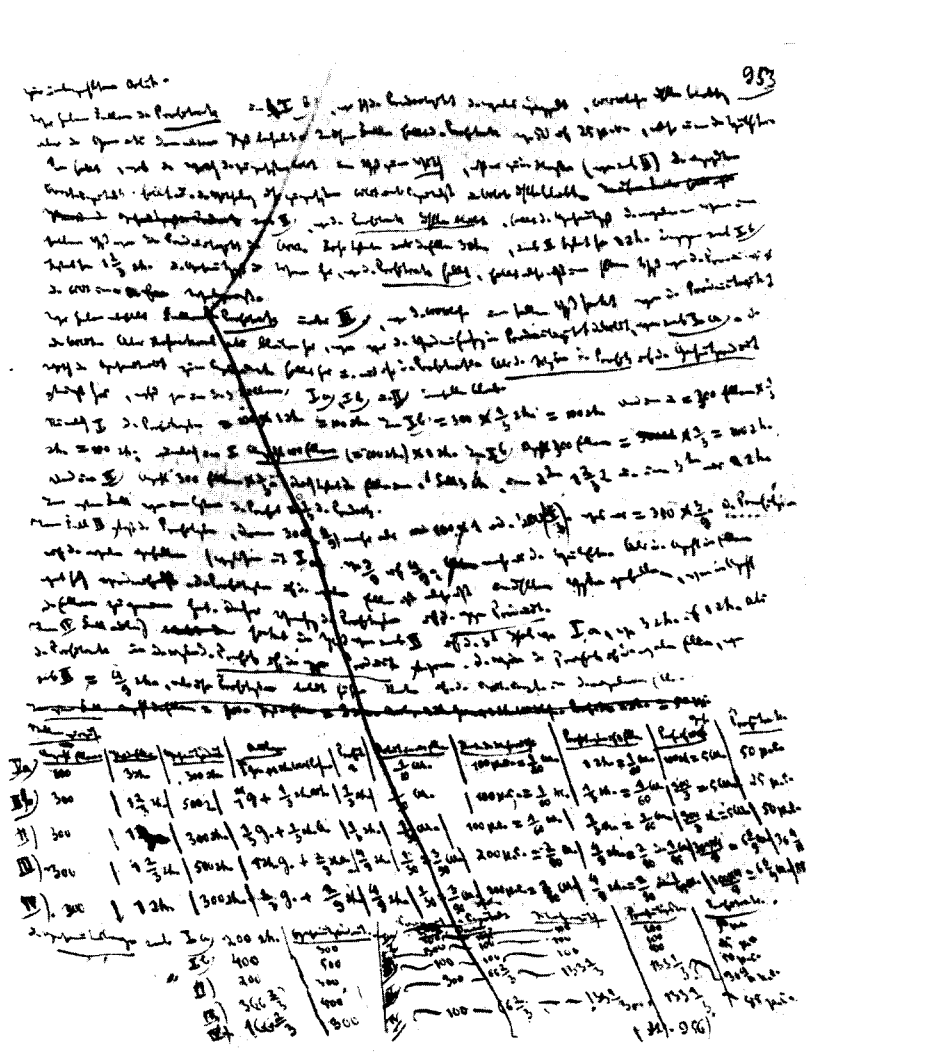

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$^5/_9$. The profit is therefore in the ratio $^4/_9$:$^5/_9$, or 4:5,=*a rate of profit of 80%.* The amount *of profit on a single yard* is $^4/_9$s., as under III, hence higher than under I b) and II but *it continues to be more than 50% lower* than under I a). The *amount of profit* on the whole product=300×$^4/_9$=133$^1/_3$,=6$^2/_3$ M, hence as under III.

If we now compare these 4 cases with each other, we see that in *all* those cases where the productivity of labour grows, there is a decline not only in the value of the *individual* commodity and therewith in its price, but in the *amount of profit in proportion to the individual commodity*, whether the rate of profit rises or falls. The same labour produces 3 times the product; hence $^2/_3$ less labour is contained in the individual product, and since the amount of profit can be nothing other than a portion of this quantity of labour contained in the individual commodity, the *amount of profit* on the individual commodity must decline. In *all* the cases the *amount of profit* on the whole product does not fall *below* the original amount of profit, for the number of products increases in the same proportion as the amount of profit on the individual product declines.

The amount of profit remains *the same* as long as the rate of exploitation remains the same, and the same number of workers are employed, however the amount of profit is divided among the number of commodities; there is no change either in the amount or in the division of that amount between workers and capitalist. Thus under I a), with 100 yards and a profit of 1s. per yard, a profit of 100s. or £5 results; the same with 300 yards and a profit of $^1/_3$s. under I b) and II.

In comparing II with I a) we found that *the rate of profit remained the same,* for in the 2nd case the profit on an outlay of 3s. was 1s. and in the other case it was $^1/_3$s. on $^2/_3$s. outlay. This happens when, firstly, the rate of wages remains the same, but, secondly, when, as labour becomes more productive in a particular sphere, it becomes more productive in the same proportion in the spheres which provide constant capital, yarn, etc. In this case the rate of profit remains the same because the *proportional* values of the raw material, etc., contained in the individual commodity and of *paid labour*, the proportion between the two, remains the same; just as does the ratio between paid [XV-953] and unpaid labour.

In I b), where the productivity of weaving increases threefold and wages remain the same, but the yarn, etc., retains its old price, we have a fall in the *rate of profit.* In this case the rate of profit falls from 50% to 25%, by half therefore. It falls because the value of the added labour[32] falls in relation to the *value* and not merely

in relation to the quantity (as under II) of the constant capital *applied*, and the division of this added labour between capitalist and worker remains the same; under II, where the *rate of profit remains the same*, the total price of the individual commodity falls in the same proportion as the productivity of labour [rises]. Previously[33] the yard cost 3s., under II it costs 1s. Under I b), in contrast, it costs $1^2/_3$s. Here, therefore, where the *rate of profit falls*, the total price of the commodity does not fall in the same proportion as the productivity of labour in the weaving process [increases].

We have equally a fall in the *rate of profit* under III, where wages fall in the same proportion as the productivity of labour [rises]. But raw materials, etc., remain the same here as before the threefold increase in the productivity of labour, as under I a). The value of the whole of the labour[34] falls here in relation to the constant capital, and with it the rate of profit too. *But the amount of profit on the whole product* rises here, whereas in the 3 cases I a), I b), and II, it remained the same.

The amount of profit, namely, in I a),$=100\times1$s.$=100$s. In I b) it$=300\times{}^1/_3$s.$=100$s. And in II it$=300$ yards$\times{}^1/_3$s.$=100$s; namely in I a) the *number is 100 yards* (=100s.)×1s. In I b) the number is 300 yards$\times{}^1/_3=100$s. And in II the number is 300 yards$\times{}^1/_3$. Nevertheless, the yard costs 3s. in the first case, $1^2/_3$s. in the 2nd, and only 1s. in the 3rd. In the first case as in the third the profit$={}^1/_3$ of the product.

In Case III the amount of profit rises, for 300 ($^4/_9$) is more than $100\times1$ or 300 ($^1/_3$), which only$=300\times{}^3/_9$. The amount of profit on the individual [product] has fallen (compared with I a)) from $^9/_9$ to $^4/_9$; more than a half. But the number of yards has tripled. The amount of profit on a single yard has therefore not fallen in the same proportion as the number of yards has increased. Hence an increase in the amount of profit on the *product taken as a whole.*

In Case IV, finally, the price falls as under II to a 3rd of I a), from 3s. to 1s. But there is a rise in the rate of profit and the amount of *profit on the whole product.* The amount of profit on the individual yard, as under III,$={}^4/_9$s., but this amount of profit forms a higher rate on the constant capital in the individual yard.

Let us put these results together.[35]

[XV-956][36] These results follow from the foregoing investigation: If the increase in the *productive power of labour* has an equal effect on all components of the commodity, as under II and IV, the price of the commodity will fall in *the same proportion* as the productivity of labour increases. In this case, therefore, where the

| *Number of yards* | *Price of yard* | *Total product* | *Outlay* | *Profit* | *Labour in a yard* | *Rate of surplus value* | *Amount of profit on 1 yard* | *Profit on total amount* | *Rate of profit* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I a) 100 | 3s. | 300s. | 1s. yarn+1s. wages | 1s. | $^1/_{10}$ M | 100%=$^1/_{20}$ M | 1s. =$^1/_{20}$ M | 100s.=5 M | 50% |
| I b) 300 | $1^2/_3$s. | 500s. | 1s. yarn+$^1/_3$s. wages | $^1/_3$s. | $^1/_{30}$ M | 100%=$^1/_{60}$ M | $^1/_3$s.=$^1/_{60}$ M | $^{300}/_3$=5 M | 25% |
| II) 300 | 1s. | 300s. | $^1/_3$ yarn+$^1/_3$s. wages | $^1/_3$s. | $^1/_{30}$ M | 100%=$^1/_{60}$ M | $^1/_3$s.=$^1/_{60}$ M | $^{300}/_3$=5 M | 50% |
| III) 300 | $1^2/_3$s. | 500s. | 1s. yarn+$^2/_9$s. wages | $^4/_9$s. | $^1/_{30}$=$^3/_{90}$ M | 200%=$^2/_{90}$ M | $^4/_9$s. =$^2/_{90}$ or $^1/_{45}$ M | $\frac{300\times4}{9}=6\frac{6}{9}$M | $36^4/_{11}$[%] |
| IV) 300 | 1s. | 300s. | $^1/_3$ yarn+$^2/_9$s. | $^4/_9$s. | $^1/_{30}$=$^3/_{90}$ M | 200%=$^2/_{90}$ M | $^4/_9$s. =$^2/_{90}$ or $^1/_{45}$ M | $\frac{300\times4}{9}=6\frac{6}{9}$M | 80[%] |

## *Composition of Capital*

| | *Total outlay* | *Total product* | *Constant* | *Variable* | *Surplus value* | *Amount of profit* | *Rate of profit* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Under I a) | 200s. | 300 | I a) 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 50% |
| I b) | 400 | 500 | I b) 300 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 25% |
| II) | 200 | 300 | II) 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 50% |
| III) | $366^2/_3$ | 500 | III) 300 | $66^2/_3$ | $133^1/_3$ | $133^1/_3$ | $36^4/_{11}$% |
| IV) | $166^2/_3$ | 300 | IV) 100 | $66^2/_3$ | $133^1/_3$ | $133^1/_3$ | 80% |

productivity of labour is tripled, the price of the individual yard undergoes a 3fold reduction, it falls from 3s. to 1s. Similarly, the *ratio* of the IMMEDIATE LABOUR contained in the commodity to the REALISED LABOUR contained in it remains the same. If for that reason the value of the wage remains the same, or the ratio between paid and unpaid labour, the division of the product of the IMMEDIATE LABOUR between capitalist and worker, then the *ratio between variable and constant capital* also remains the same, hence the *rate of profit.* Compare II with I a).

*If, on the other hand, wages* (the value of labour capacity), and therefore the necessary labour time, *fall* in the same proportion *as the productivity of labour grows* (the middle stages, e.g. a fall, but not a very deep one, only bring about a modification in the level), the *rate of profit* will rise, as in IV, and the *amount of profit* on the whole product will grow. (The rate of profit=the ratio of the amount of profit to the capital laid out.)

This is the situation with cases II and IV, where the price falls from 3s. to 1s.; in II the rate of profit remains the same and the *total amount* of profit ditto; in IV the rate of profit rises and the *total amount of profit* ditto.

I b) and III, in contrast, both represent cases in which the productivity of labour is multiplied by three in the FINISHING PROCESS, but the value of raw material, etc., remains UNALTERED. Here there is a reduction in I b): if wages remain the same, the *proportion* of variable to constant capital falls to the same degree as constant capital grows. Hence a fall in the rate of profit. If, as in III, the value of labour falls,[37] the rate of profit admittedly falls, because the surplus value is calculated on a greater total capital. But, firstly, the total capital does not rise as high as in I b), where firstly the constant capital rises from 100 to 300 and secondly the variable capital, 100, remains the same, the total capital therefore rising by 200 (the excess of the constant capital in I b) over the constant capital in I a); whereas the surplus value remains the same as in I a); whereas in III the constant capital admittedly rises from 100 to 300, but the variable capital, in contrast, falls from 100 to $66^2/_3$, the total capital therefore does not rise by the whole amount of the growth of the constant capital; and, secondly, the surplus value grows from 100 to $133^1/_3$, therefore rises by $33^1/_3$% in comparison with I a). The rate of profit therefore falls, but not in the same proportion as in I b), and the *amount of profit* on the whole thing rises, because the rate of profit is admittedly lower than in I a), but the AGGREGATE surplus value is greater, or, in other words, the rate of profit in III falls in a lesser proportion, as

compared with I a), than the total capital advanced in III rises, as compared with I a).

We can therefore see that with a fall in the *price of the individual commodity* resulting from an increase in the productivity of labour and therefore a simultaneous increase in the *numbers* of these LOWER-PRICED COMMODITIES, the rate of profit may fall, or rise, or remain the same. At least the AGGREGATE amount of profit remains *always the same,* if the same number of workers remain in employment (and wages do not rise); it may rise if the further condition is added to these that wages fall as the productivity of labour increases. But *the aggregate amount of profit only remains equal* under the condition that the same number of workers remains in employment. This is only possible, in case no CHANGE OF VALUE occurs in the constant capital, if the capital outlay is increased. For example, compare I b) with I a). If the expendable capital remained the same in I b) as it was in I a), namely 200, the amount of profit could not remain the same. $^3/_4$ of this 200 would now have to be laid out in constant capital, and $^1/_4$ in variable capital. Therefore 150 in constant capital and 50 in variable capital. 100 represented 10 M; 50 would therefore only represent 5.[38] And we should have:

| *Constant capital* | *Variable capital* | *Surplus value* | *Product* | *Number of yards* | *Price of yard* | *Rate of profit* | *Amount of profit* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 150[s.] | 50[s.] | 50s. | 250s. | 150 | $1^2/_3$s. | 25% | 50[s.] |

The capital laid out would be the same. The number of yards would have grown from 100 to 150, hence by 50%; the amount of profit, on the other hand, would have fallen from 100 to 50, hence by 50. The exploitation of labour would remain the same; *hinc* the rate of surplus value too. Both the amount of profit and the *rate of profit* can remain the same if, as in II, productivity grows simultaneously and *in the same measure* in those branches of industry which produce constant capital and those which USE IT UP. It can only grow if, *apart from this condition,* another is added to it, that there is a fall in wages.

[XV-954][36] It would appear, according to this, that the rate of profit cannot *fall* unless:

1) the *relative value of labour capacity* rises (while the value of the constant capital remains the same). This is Ricardo's assertion, but he does not include the restrictive clause, without which the statement is absolutely incorrect.[39]

2) or there is a rise in the *value of constant capital in relation to variable.* And the latter would appear to be restricted to cases

where the productive power of labour does not rise *equally* and *simultaneously* in all the branches of production which contribute to produce the commodity.

Let us assume a threefold increase in productivity in spinning and weaving. If productivity in the production of cotton itself is simultaneously tripled, the proportion of constant to variable capital *SO FAR* remains the same (in so far as the raw material comes into consideration). If £100 can command 10[40] men, and these ten previously worked up cotton for £300, and they now work up 3 times as much cotton, 3 times *x* cotton now cost only £300, which is what *x* cotton cost previously, since the *value of cotton* has fallen three times. Even in this case a *fall in profit* would prove not that the yield of cotton cultivation had declined, but only that it had not become more productive in *the same ratio* as cotton manufacturing. Therefore only a *relative* reduction in its productivity, despite the absolute increase in it. Ricardo, however, thinks that agriculture must become more unproductive absolutely. It would only demonstrate that industry and agriculture do not develop to *the same* degree in *bourgeois* production. If they do not do this, that alone is sufficient to explain the decline in the rate of profit.

But the presupposition that the value of constant capital, despite the increase in its amount, falls in *the same proportion as the productivity of labour increases*, can be reduced to the presupposition that the value of constant capital *consists of present labour alone, and no past labour enters into reproduction.* The value of the past labour does indeed fall once its product can be reproduced more cheaply. If, with a threefold increase in the productivity of spinning, a worker sets 1,800 spindles into action instead of 600, it must be assumed that 1,800 spindles could now be reproduced with the same labour as was required previously for 600. We shall postpone any further discussion of this question, and pass on to why we took up this investigation again at all at this point.

We have seen that in all cases where the productivity of labour grows, hence the same amount of labour is represented in a greater quantity of commodities, hence the price of the individual commodity falls (because the value does), *the amount of profit made on the individual commodity is reduced*, whether the rate of profit rises, falls, or stays the same, and even if there is an increase in the amount of profit on the total product.

//It turns out, incidentally, that the investigation always goes awry when one looks at the *price of the individual commodity in itself.* Or when one merely measures the labour IN REGARD TO THE QUANTITY OF COMMODITY PRODUCED BY IT. Everything depends on the magnitude of

the total amount of capital laid out. Even if we analyse the price of the individual commodity, e.g. in the above case, where the price of the yard falls from 3s. to $1^2/_3$s.; if we know that 1s.=yarn, etc., $^1/_3$s.=wages and $^1/_3$s.=profit, we do not know whether the total amount of profit has remained the same or not. For example, in case I b), if the capital laid out continues to be, as before, only 200, the amount of profit falls; if it is 400 it remains the same. Even in case III, if *the capital* remains *the same* at this price of $1^2/_3$s. per yard, while the rate of wages is reduced, the amount of profit on the whole product does not grow.

The situation would then be as follows:

| *Constant capital* | *Variable capital* | *Surplus value* | *Product* | *Number of yards* | *Price of yard* | *Rate of profit* | *Amount of profit* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| $163^7/_{11}$ | $36^4/_{11}$ | $72^8/_{11}$ | $272^8/_{11}$ | $163^7/_{11}$ | $1^2/_3$s. | $36^4/_{11}$ | $72^8/_{11}$ |

Total capital is 200 instead of 100 as previously.[41] //

[XV-955] The phenomenon—which derives from the nature of capitalist production—that with a growing productive power of labour the price of the individual commodity falls, the number of commodities increases, the *amount of profit on the individual commodities declines in all circumstances*, the rate of profit rises, falls or remains the same, but the *amount of profit on the total number of commodities* remains the same or *grows* (even when it *falls* in the cases we have explained, in which the capital ought to have grown but remains *the same*, it in fact remains the same or grows, because the capitalist who applies the improved mode of production sells *below* the old market price *alias* above *his own* individual production price, until competition has balanced this out; the second requisite, the growth of the capital laid out, proceeds hand in hand with this period of adjustment)—this phenomenon only presents itself on the surface in: a fall in the amount of profit on the individual commodity, a fall in its price, a stable or growing amount of profit on the increased total number of commodities. This is conceived in such a way that the capitalist, of his own free choice, adds less profit on each single commodity but finds compensation through the increased number of commodities he sells. This view rests on the notion of "PROFIT UPON ALIENATION",[17] which is in turn for its part abstracted from the attitude of mind of *merchants' capital*, of *commercial capital*. If a merchant were to sell 100 yards, which cost him 3s. per yard (I a)), hence 300s. per year, with a 10% increase in the price, he would make a profit of 30s. And he would sell one yard at 3s. $3^3/_5$d. ($3^3/_5$d. or $^{18}/_5$d. or $^{36}/_{10}$ of a penny=$^3/_{10}$s., since 3s.=3×12d.=36d., hence $^3/_{10}$s.=$^{36}/_{10}$d.). If,

in contrast, he sells 300 yards (case II), each yard costing him 1s., he must equally make a profit of 30s. in order to gain 10% on the capital of 300s. But whereas the first merchant adds $^{3}/_{10}$s. to each yard, this one only needs to add $^{1}/_{10}$s.; the first merchant adds $3^{3}/_{5}$d., he only adds $1^{1}/_{5}$d. He therefore sells a yard at 1s. $1^{1}/_{5}$d., whereas the first merchant sells it at 3s. $3^{3}/_{5}$d., and he makes the same profit thereby as the first merchant. If he sold at 1s. $1^{1}/_{2}$d., he would make a much greater profit than the other, despite adding much less to the individual yard, and even so he would still sell it more than twice as cheap.

If we now look at merchants' capital as a whole, e.g. here the whole section of MERCANTILE CAPITAL INVESTED IN THE SELLING OF LINEN, it is clear that it by no means depends on merchants' capital whether it has 100 or 300 yards to sell, and whether it has to advance 300s. for 100 yards or for 300, whether *its* cost price per yard is 1s. or 3s., and it therefore depends just as little on merchants' capital whether it makes its 10% profit by adding $3^{3}/_{5}$d. per item on a smaller number of yards or $1^{1}/_{5}$d. per item on a greater number. The rate of surcharge itself—again from the point of view of the whole—depends just as little on the merchant; it is determined rather by the general law of AVERAGE PROFIT, namely that he can obtain the same profit, e.g. 10%, for *capital of equal magnitude,* whatever particular sphere it may be invested in, and however much or however little labour it may set in motion. This is just as valid for capital which remains constantly in the *process of circulation* as it is, let us say, for fixed capital, which never (*in natura*) dwells anywhere but in the sphere of the *direct process of production.* The *production price* of industrial capital appears as the *cost price* for commercial capital. But since industrial capital does actually buy, does replace on the market the elements, in part of its constant capital, in part of its variable capital (the latter in so far as the value of labour capacity is determined by the price of the worker's means of consumption)—and since these elements pass from the hands of the merchant into the hands [XV-957][42] of the industrialist, it is clear that not only does the production price of one commodity pass over into the cost price of the other, but the *industrial production price* of one commodity together with *the commercial addition to this price* appear as an element in the cost price of the other commodity.

The *industrial production price* of one commodity always enters into the *cost price* of the other, even when the industrialists exchange directly, without the interposition of merchants. The weaver, for example, pays the production price of the yarn. This

therefore forms an outlay for him, it enters into his constant capital, it is an advance for him, an element in the cost price. It is therefore not only in the form of interest that SURPLUS VALUE, even from the point of view of the individual capitalist, forms a part of his advances, enters into the cost price of his commodity. But this is also the case for all the elements of his constant capital, and for wages (variable capital) in so far as the value of labour capacity is determined by the production price of the worker's means of consumption.

Profit—and therefore the difference between price of production and cost price—appears to him *as a surplus over the cost price* only as regards his own commodity. As regards all the other commodities which *enter* into the price of production of his own commodity, *their cost price,* hence the costs of his production, *appear to him* as determined by the price of production, and profit therefore appears *as an element which* enters *into the price of production, not as a result which* emerges *from it.*

This is the case if the price of production is considered quite independently of the interposition of merchants' capital. But how do things stand with the latter's inclusion? Is the additional charge it makes to be regarded as a merely *nominal raising of the price over the value,* or how otherwise? If this is the case on an average—since the commercial price of the commodities enters as an element into their reproduction—then all commodities are sold *above* their value. For included in the price of production are, 1) the whole of the capital advanced, and 2) the whole of the surplus value, divided among the different capitals *pro rata*[a] their magnitude. But, firstly, the capital advanced consists of the *objectified labour* in the means of labour, etc., secondly it is replaced by an equal quantity of living labour (wages), and thirdly the whole of the surplus value comprises the totality of the surplus labour. So if yet a further element is added to this, which raises the price of production, the price of the total commodity is>than its value, and the price of the individual commodity>than its price of production, i.e. greater than its price as determined by the value of the total commodity. But this seems to be the case with commercial capital.

A distinction must be made in dealing with capital included in the process of circulation.

*D'abord,*[b] functions are confused with merchants' capital, or are

[a] In proportion to.—*Ed.*
[b] In the first place.—*Ed.*

to be found in practice *plus ou moins*[a] bound up with it, which *belong to the process of production itself*, although they do not proceed in the workshop of the producer.

The first of these functions is the *transport industry* (THE CARRIAGE OF COMMODITIES). The use value of the commodity is admittedly in its finished form, but this use value does nevertheless undergo an alteration. Its *location, its spatial existence*, is changed. This process belongs to the process of production itself. The commodity is not on the market, hence is not yet in circulation, before it has passed through this change of location. Everything that occurs in connection with this process belongs to the process of production.

*Secondly:* The use value of the commodity must first be divided into the amounts appropriate to it as use value, it must be separated out, before the commodity really exists as a commodity. 1 qr of wheat, for example, first exists as a quarter when a quarter has been weighed out from the total amount of wheat, etc. This measuring, weighing, *real* reduction of the commodity to the units of measurement which are appropriate to it as a use value—and which at first only exist notionally—forms a part of the preparation of the commodity, a part of its *process of production*. It is a process which the commodity must pass through before it is present wholesale or retail as a commodity, and it is an operation which use value [XV-958] must itself pass through before it is ready as *use value of the commodity*. Since capitalist production produces on a large scale, whereas individual consumption takes place on a small scale, this operation constitutes a very significant part of the RETAIL trade. The packer, WAREHOUSEMAN, weigher, etc., in the workshop belong to the productive workers just as much as do the spinner, dyer, etc.; the capital expended on those functions is just as much productive capital as that directly laid out for spinning, etc. In the same way, this employment of capital, even when it takes place and is repeated in capital's sphere of circulation, belongs entirely to the *process of production* of the commodity.

*Thirdly:* What is the situation with the fixed and circulating capital which is necessary for the conservation, storage, preservation of the commodities whilst they are on the market, hence have already left the actual production process and entered the sphere of circulation?

The answer to this is most obvious when we look first at commodities which are only placed on the market once a year,

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[a] More or less.—*Ed.*

because they can only be reproduced once a year, as e.g. corn, cotton, etc. If the COTTON IMPORTERS in Liverpool had no WAREHOUSES, DOCKS, etc., the manufacturer in Manchester, etc., would himself have to store the quantity of cotton he needed during the year, expending on the one hand capital for WAREHOUSES, buildings (fixed capital), and on the other hand variable capital, to buy the wage labour[43] to perform the OPERATIONS necessary for the preservation of the cotton. Exactly the same situation holds for the miller and his corn, the baker and his flour, etc. All these things are *conditions of production*, and the operations and expenses, etc., required for conservation and storage themselves belong among the conditions of production. The only difference is that a part of the capital required for the manufacture of COTTON or bread, which has these particular functions allotted to it, is to be found and operates in the hands of COTTON IMPORTERS, corn dealers, etc., instead of COTTON MANUFACTURERS, MILLERS and BAKERS. But the capitals engaged in these functions are directly productive capitals, they are engaged in the process of production although they are to be found in the sphere of circulation. They are parts of productive capital which are to be found OUT OF DOORS (i.e. outside the immediate workshop). This is true for all capitals invested in *WAREHOUSING*, in so far as the commodities WHICH ARE KEPT AND PRESERVED form the elements of a further process of production; their WAREHOUSING and PRESERVING would be the responsibility of the immediate producer if it had not been MADE OVER, through the division of labour, TO OUT OF DOORS CAPITALISTS.

We come now to the second sort of commodity, those which enter directly into individual consumption. It is clear from the outset that, in so far as they form the workers' means of consumption—IN FACT variable capital which has shed its monetary form—the preservation and WAREHOUSING of these commodities *belongs among the direct conditions of the process of production.* They form part of variable capital in exactly the same way as the first sort forms part of constant. Therefore the same thing is true here as well. But looking now at the *WAREHOUSING* of commodities which do not form part either of constant or of variable capital, can we say of them that the capital and labour required for this enter the *direct process of production* of the commodities? Certainly not. Nevertheless they do enter by a roundabout route. They enter into the *direct cost of consumption.* WAREHOUSING of the first sort enters into the cost of *industrial consumption*, hence of direct production; that of the second sort enters into the cost of *individual consumption*, hence the *cost of consumption.* If all such

commodities, instead of being bought *au fur et à mesure*,[a] had to be drawn, e.g. AT ONCE, to the amount of their production over a year e.g., [XV-959] the private consumers would have to expend capital for buildings to store them and for wage labour to preserve those commodities in a usable condition. Consumption costs *en général*—e.g. the fact that I must have my furniture cleaned, my house scrubbed, my meat cooked, my shoes polished—do not enter the commodity's process of production and therefore do not enter its price of production. They only occur after the commodity has ceased to be a commodity and become a mere use value. But in so far as the costs of consumption are anticipated the consumer receives the commodity in a form ready for consumption, in a form in which the price of production requires no additional private payment. For example, if yarn is manufactured and linen woven at home, the weaving belongs to the cost of consumption of the yarn. If it is woven industrially, the weaving process belongs to the cost of production. And so it is in the case mentioned above. If I have my meat cooked at home, the cooking belongs to its cost of consumption. If I get it ready cooked from the cook-SHOP, it belongs to its cost of production, it enters into its production process, but it also emerges from the production process in a more advanced form, and it enters into the process of consumption in a more finished form.

To that extent, then, the *WAREHOUSING* of the second sort of commodity, which does not enter as an element into either constant or variable capital, is also included in the *direct process of production.* And the capital employed therein is directly *productive capital.* Productive capital can in general have 2 meanings: 1) capital entering directly into the production process; 2) capital which enters into the process of reproduction (which includes circulation).

In connection with this 3rd category, capital INVESTED IN *WAREHOUSING* (which includes storage and preservation), it must be noted: these actions are only more productive in so far as they are required by the AVERAGE conditions of production. If instead the markets are overstocked, etc., goods cannot be sold, there follows a STOPPAGE OF COMMODITIES IN THE CIRCULATING RESERVOIRS; if this results from an *interruption* in the process of circulation, it belongs to the *faux frais de production*[b] for the industrial producer. It increases the *cost price* for him by contracting the difference between price of

[a] Piecemeal as required.—*Ed.*
[b] Overhead costs of production.—*Ed.*

production and cost price. The FINAL market price is not increased thereby, but, rather, mostly stands in an inverse ratio to the *faux frais*, just as do transport costs, when they arise from blockages of this kind in the process of circulation, e.g. when a commodity which is sent from Manchester to China finds the markets overstocked there, travels from there to Australia, suffers the same fate here, and is finally disposed of in South America.

Apart from that, what all these INVESTMENTS OF CAPITAL IN TRANSPORTING, DIVIDING ACCORDING TO MEASURE AND WEIGHT, AND WAREHOUSING OF COMMODITIES have in common is that they are employed in processes which *directly alter and affect the use value of commodities*, give it another form, whether through change of place or through a real reduction of the use value into parts corresponding to its natural quantities, or through the preservation of that use value. It is precisely the direct relation of these processes to the use value of the commodity as use value which makes them into directly *productive processes* and the capital employed in them into *PRODUCTIVE CAPITAL, EMPLOYED IN PECULIAR SPHERES OF IMMEDIATE PRODUCTION*, ACCORDING TO THE GENERAL DIVISION OF LABOUR.

It was necessary to strip off these FEATURES OF THE CIRCULATING CAPITAL—in other words to separate them from the CIRCULATING CAPITAL. The processes of production, which continue within the sphere of circulation, extend beyond the direct process of production. This is all the more necessary in that the capital which functions merely in circulation, merchant's capital especially, in part combines these functions too with its own, hence does not step forth in its *pure* form. But *after* these features have been stripped off we have the pure form of circulating capital.

[XV-960] Before we now pass on to this particular kind of capital, it must further be noted:

*Firstly:* TRANSPORTING, RETAILING (DIVIDING) (MEASURING) AND WAREHOUSING CAPITAL, which have the appearance of belonging to the circulation process, are IN FACT not distinguished from other productive capital except in that they form particular spheres, just as AGRICULTURAL, MINING, MANUFACTURING CAPITAL (alongside their subdivisions) are distinguished only as *particular spheres*; except in that they create different use values. This therefore does not give rise to any new distinctions in the form of *capital in general*,[44] separate from consideration of the peculiarities of its process of production which arise from the nature of the use value created by it.

*Secondly:* As in all other spheres of capital, profit here is derived partly from the wage labour directly exploited in these spheres, and partly, when the organic composition of the capital is not

average, e.g. when it contains less variable, more fixed capital, from the share, *pro rata* the magnitude of the capital, of the surplus value created in other spheres of production.

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We come now to the particular shapes of capital which are confined within the process of circulation and have absolutely nothing to do with the use value of the commodity and THE DIVERS DEGREES OF ITS FINISHING. They are not only distinguished as particular spheres of application of capital; but they also form a kind of capital which is distinct from productive capital as such.

Since they are only concerned with the functions of the circulation process as such, their peculiar functions must be explained from the form of metamorphosis of the commodity, hence from the movements of form which are peculiar to circulation as such.

Capital is in circulation only *qua commodity* or *qua money*; commodity or money capital. The movement of the commodity (and therefore of commodity capital) is $C—M—C$, selling in order to buy, and, in so far as this process is constantly repeated, selling in order to buy and buying in order to sell. It is this latter movement which makes the metamorphosis of commodities into the metamorphosis of commodity *capital.* For it emerges here that what is in question is not only a CHANGE in the form of commodity and money, but the preservation and increase of value in this process. This is therefore the function of *merchants' capital.* It presents the total movement of the metamorphosis of commodities as a movement of commodity capital, and apart from this change of form and its movement merchants' capital as merchants' capital has no function.

*The second is money,* in so far as it possesses functions apart from those of being merely means of circulation (the sole form in which it functions in *merchants' capital* (commodity capital) as such, namely as the purely evanescent form of the commodity). As I showed in the first part,[a] this reduces itself, these peculiar and apparently independent movements of money which emerge from the metamorphosis of the commodity reduce themselves, to 1) *hoard formation*; 2) the function of money as *means of payment*; 3) the functions of *money as world money,* in which it has a double movement, running backwards and forwards between the national

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 359-84).—*Ed.*

spheres of circulation on the one hand, and movement from its sources of production over the world market and the division of this influx between the national spheres of circulation [on the other].

From the standpoint of the exchange of commodities, as we have seen,[a] *hoard formation*—viewed merely as a form of money—is the petrifaction or autonomisation of the commodity in its first metamorphosis. But here as presence of capital, the *money* which is precipitated as hoard is capital (or at least the aliquot part), productive capital which has completed its process of production and been converted back from money into commodity and from commodity into *more* money. The different determinations of money as hoard now appear as determinations of *money capital.* The *first* form of the hoard, or function of the [XV-961] hoard, was to serve as *reserve fund of coin.* Now, in this quality, in which it has to function as means of circulation held READY, i.e. as means of purchase, it is the part of *circulating capital* which the industrial capitalist (or commercial, which in respect of money capital is *the same thing*) must always keep in store as *money capital,* in order to defray current expenses—to pay wages, to cover HIS OWN PERSONAL EXPENSES (WHAT HE SPENDS AS REVENUE) and to buy other ingredients of production which need to be paid for in cash.

The second function of money as hoard was to form a reserve fund for *payments,* the fund from which money flows as means of payment. We shall soon come to this point when we arrive at means of payment.

*The third function* of money as hoard was to be a reserve fund of world money, a fund of means of purchase or payment in foreign markets, and apart from this in particular to represent the form in which new supplies of money for the world market are drawn from the sources of production of money, etc., in exchange for commodities.

Whether the hoard is to serve as reserve fund for *means of payment* in the home market, or as *means of payment and means of purchase* in the foreign market, this form of functioning as *means of payment* or *world money* alters absolutely nothing, IN REGARD TO THE CAPITAL, in the fact that it is the part of *circulating capital* which the industrialist always needs in the form of *money,* just as in the case of the reserve fund of coin.

*Finally:* The hoard, in so far as it did not function as reserve fund of coin, means of payment and world money, was *hoard as*

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[a] Ibid., pp. 359-70.—*Ed.*

*such*, the commodity petrified in its *first metamorphosis*, made independent, and conserved. But for capital the hoard is *capital lying idle*—a part of it lying idle in the form of money, which it is unable to valorise directly in its own business. For the capitalist, who does not share the DELUSIONS of the hoarder, and to whom money has value not as absolute form of the commodity but only as absolute form of capital—self-valorising and functioning value—this form of capital lying idle is *unproductive* capital, loanable capital, which ought at least to be converted into *interest-bearing capital* if he himself is not to utilise it as profit-bringing capital. For the capitalist, therefore, it is money which is to be found on the market as *money capital.* It may be newly accumulated profit, i.e. profit converted into capital. But a part of this capital which lies idle may also flow from rent or other sources of income of the unproductive workers (and even of the productive ones), who want to sell as *capital*, i.e. loan out, a part of their revenue which is available in money.

As far as the *hoard* as such is concerned, whether it serves in any particular function or not, it makes only one operation necessary, that of *preservation.* The costs of preservation can be reduced to buildings, *coffre fort*,[a] hence SOME fixed capital; the counting of the hoard; and if it is large, perhaps the wage labour of a number of unproductive workers for the "protection" of the hoard, not against moth and rust, but against thieves.[45]

If it is the exclusive task of particular capitals to perform the operations which emerge from the circulation of capital, these can only be operations which emerge from the functions of circulation as such. Functions *separated off* from the total process of capitalist production, peculiar to the process of circulation, and distinguishing it.

Hence *commodity capital, merchants' capital, commodity dealers*, as the operation of a particular capital, exclusively concerned with this, have as such nothing else to do but to buy and sell commodities, an operation which costs labour time, but in this case lays claim to the whole labour time, both the capitalist's and that of his wage labourers, clerks, etc. The movement which represents the constant metamorphosis of the commodity appears here as his exclusive *operation*, as proceeding through his *mediating activity* or RATHER the specific activity of capital through which it functions.

[XV-962] Similarly, the function of a specific capital as *money*

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[a] Safe.—*Ed.*

*capital*, in short the *trade in money*, can only obtain content from the specific functions of money—and therefore of capital as money, in its mode of existence as money—as opposed to the functions performed by money as a moment of merchants' capital (where it always acts as means of purchase).

These functions are therefore firstly: *hoard formation* as such, which consists merely in the *preservation* of money precipitated from circulation (capital precipitated in the form of money and profit or REVENUE in general). We have already seen,[a] in examining money, that whereas the money hoard is fragmented in pre-bourgeois stages of production, within capitalist production it becomes centralised in large repositories. This is the first function of the money dealer or the trade in money.

The industrial capitalist (like the commercial capitalist) *must* constantly have READY *a definite part* of his circulating capital in the form of money capital, i.e. as hoard (in its form), as a reserve fund for coin and means of payment, whether at home or abroad. And this part stands in a definite proportion to the scale on which he produces, e.g. to the wages he has to pay every week, etc. And the magnitude of the cash operations currently in progress, e.g. with the merchant. But although *this part* is *determinate* (changing of course at different moments of reproduction), it is *dissolved* again and again, i.e. as means of purchase and means of payment (here as payment of the balance) its form as hoard is dissolved, the hoard is emptied, and in turn constantly refilled by the sale of commodities or payment for sold commodities. Its parts therefore change constantly; on the one hand it dissolves as means of purchase and means of payment, on the other hand it is constantly reconstituted by the constant conversion of the commodity back into money. *C'est un continuel va-et-vient*[b]; by no means the static hoard of the hoarder. Thus the second function of the trade in money consists in constantly receiving the money taken in by the industrialist and the merchant, collecting it as a hoard, and constantly returning it as means of purchase or payment. This operation makes accountancy necessary, constant payment and calculation. This movement of the hoard (money capital)—its constant formation and dissolution—and the maintenance of an equilibrium between the two, is mediated by the activity of the money dealer, who does nothing else. In so far as money in

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 370).—*Ed.*

[b] It is a continual coming and going.—*Ed.*

particular functions as means of payment—a function in which, as we explained previously,[a] reciprocal claims have to be calculated, and only the balance has to be paid in money—the money dealer has to perform this function of money as means of payment, to settle the claims, at one time to pay money as a balance, at another time to accept money as a balance. This balancing and mediating operation of money as means of payment is particularly developed in capitalist production, where the whole of production is based on exchange value, on circulation, and therefore accounts must constantly be settled among the producers (and the merchants).

In so far as payment or buying on the foreign market makes special operations necessary, necessitates, creates special forms of transmitting the balance or of money as means of purchase (rate of exchange, etc.) these again form a particular function of the money trade.

In the same way, the RETURN of money from the sources of production in exchange for commodities can achieve independence as a separate operation and function (BULLION dealing, etc.). This is in turn a particular function of the money trade.

Finally, money which lies idle is lent out, i.e. thrown onto the market as money capital; it is borrowed by others, and this appears in turn—in different forms (LOAN, DISCOUNT, etc.)—as a particular function of the money trade, which is thus at once for loanable money capital the same thing as the merchant is for commodities, the intermediary through which supply of and demand for money capital are balanced out and centralised.

Lastly, we may add yet a further point: Money as world money sheds its national [XV-963] character as the money of a particular country, and is reduced to its gold and silver content, while gold and silver, as the two commodities which circulate as world money, have simultaneously to be reduced to the ratio of their values, which constantly changes. This, too, happens through the mediation of the money dealer, who makes it his particular business to perform this adjustment of national money to world money. (*Rate of exchange*; in this case the current state of the balance of payments is a further factor, but this is a detail which does not belong here.[46]) On the other hand, this operation too ultimately comes down to the simple exchange for each other of the kinds of money used in different countries, just as within a single country

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 377-78).—*Ed.*

the kinds of money belonging to the various particular spheres of circulation are exchanged. (Simple money changers.) All these functions together form the business of the *money trade,* which splits in turn into different branches, just as the commodity trade does.

Just as the operations of the *commodity dealer* (*merchant*) are absolutely nothing but the independent form of the movements, functions, the *commodity* and therefore capital in its shape of *commodity capital* must pass through in the whole of its process of circulation or the movements of its metamorphosis as a whole; in the same way the operations of the *money dealer* (operations of *specific* money capital) are absolutely nothing but the movements which flow from the functions of money as such as opposed to itself as means of circulation (in the way that it functions in trading capital), hence they also fall within the sphere of capital in its shape as money, as *money capital.*

It therefore appears in fact from a more exact analysis—//the sale of money as capital too, the throwing of money into circulation as capital, only initiates the process of production, which proceeds from money; that this representation of capital as initiating the whole process in the form of money appears here as a particular function, that the person who lends the money throws it into production or circulation as capital only indirectly, through the industrial capitalist or merchant, this intermediate operation, the changing hands of the money before it opens the process, does not change the essence of the matter at all//—that *trading capital,* i.e. commodity capital as a *specific* capital, and on the other hand *money capital,* as capital which IS INVESTED AND SHUT UP in a specific business, the *money trade*—that these are nothing but *independent* modes of existence of these forms of money capital and commodity capital, which *productive* capital assumes in passing through the whole of the reproduction process, the forms which it assumes in *its own* sphere of circulation, in the interval between leaving the actual process of production and returning to it.

Nothing can be more incorrect than to view *COMMERCIAL CAPITAL* and *MONEYED CAPITAL* (here in the sense of the money trade) as particular departments of *PRODUCTIVE CAPITAL,* somewhat in the same way as MINING, FISHING, FARMING, MANUFACTURING, ETC., CAPITAL. It is rather that *every* PRODUCTIVE CAPITAL is *COMMERCIAL CAPITAL,* in so far as it passes through the whole movement of its process of production, $C—M—C$ or $M—C—M$, and is looked at in this form in isolation. It is in fact its form as *CIRCULATING CAPITAL,* this being viewed as a unity of the opposed phases of the metamorphosis.

Similarly, every *productive* capital is MONEYED CAPITAL in one phase, whether this takes the form of $M—M'$, or in so far as the functions which it performs in its form of money, hence its monetary functions, are viewed in isolation. Moreover, productive capital does not cease to perform the functions of COMMERCIAL CAPITAL and to appear in one phase as COMMERCIAL CAPITAL because of the interposition of COMMERCIAL CAPITAL as a particular *kind of capital*, capital INVESTED IN A PECULIAR SPHERE AND MANAGED BY A PECULIAR SET OF CAPITALISTS; or because of the interposition of MONEYED CAPITAL as a particular kind of capital, the capital of the money dealers; just as little does it cease to be MONEYED CAPITAL and to perform the functions of MONEYED CAPITAL.

[XV-964] A *reduplication* therefore takes place (at least in appearance). COMMERCIAL CAPITAL (commodity capital) and MONEYED CAPITAL[a] are on the one hand *general formal determinations* of productive capital, and the particular movements it passes through as COMMERCIAL CAPITAL (commodity trade) and MONEYED *capital* (money trade) are particular functions which productive capital performs in its process of reproduction in both those forms. On the other hand, *particular capitals* (therefore also PECULIAR SETS OF CAPITALISTS) are exclusively engaged, whether in the form of COMMERCIAL CAPITAL or in the form of MONEYED CAPITAL. As particular forms of productive capital in general, they also become the spheres of particular capitals; *particular spheres* of the valorisation of capital.

It is well known that, STRICTLY SPEAKING, a banker does not need to possess any *capital of his own* besides the capital of his customers; and it is a fact not less well known that e.g. commercial AGENTS only administer the capital of their customers (the industrialists) as MANAGERS, and do not need to have any particular capital in addition to this. GENERALLY speaking, the *private* capital of *commerçants* and BANKERS is only the basis on which an immense superstructure is erected, and it bears no relation at all (the larger it is, the less the relation) to the capital of other people, which they turn over, and with which they conduct their business.

Assume that a merchant possesses £1,000 of capital and turns it over 40 times in the year; in the course of the year he will lay out a money capital of £40,000, and purchase commodity capital to the amount of £40,000, so that altogether a capital of £80,000 passes through his hands. This *turnover of merchants' capital* (in so far as it relates to the £1,000 which form the specific capital of the merchant) is *very different from the turnover of productive capital.* In

[a] Marx adds the German equivalent in brackets.—*Ed.*

fact it represents nothing but the law of the circulation of money, that the quantity of prices realised by the money is represented by the rapidity of its circulation, by the *number* of circuits it performs within a given period. What is true of money in general—money as means of circulation, as means of purchase and means of payment, and this is how it functions in MERCANTILE capital—is true here as a function of *capital.* Admittedly, it makes a profit with each turnover, and this is what makes the sum of money WITH WHICH HE STARTS into capital //For the individual merchant, who can seize hold of a greater or lesser amount of the total business and make a SURPLUS PROFIT because his counterpart makes a smaller than AVERAGE PROFIT, it is correct to say: If the rate of profit and the prices of commodities are given, the total amount of his profit depends on the number of turnovers in the year or the amount of business he does. If the rate of profit and the number of turnovers are given, it depends on the prices of the commodities. If prices and number of turnovers are given, it depends on the rate of profit//, but this profit too is determined in another manner than in the case of productive capital. The turnover of productive capital is by no means an expression of the number of circuits performed by money as means of circulation. It is rather the opposite: the number of circuits of money is here an expression of the frequency of renewal of the process of reproduction, of how often money is converted into capital. Here it turns over a given number of times because it functions as capital a given number of times. In commercial capital it functions a given number of times as capital because it turns over a given number of times. The number of turnovers is therefore important with productive capital because they express the number of periods within which the *creation* of surplus value, hence of profit, is repeated. Here the turnover enters the *rate of profit* as a determining factor, because it expresses the circulation time within which capital exploits a definite quantity of labour, appropriates unpaid labour. The turnover itself has nothing to do with the creation of profit. It expresses rather 1) the periods of its realisation; and 2) the degree to which labour time is limited by circulation time. With COMMERCIAL CAPITAL there are two points to make. *Firstly:* Profit is only made through turnover, which represents nothing but the circulation of money; the number of *circuits performed by the same* sum of money; i.e. *the repetition of the acts of buying and selling.* Even the simple $C—M—C'$ in the circulation process of productive capital has another meaning. $C$ is the result of the process of production, the commodity which

results from the process of production; $C'$, in contrast, is the commodities which enter as elements of the commodity into its process of production, which represent its conditions of production. But, as against this, looking at $C—M—C'$ in commercial capital, $C$ is distinguished from $C'$ only as *price*, not as commodity, [XV-965] and even if $C'$ is another use value, the relation of this to $C$ is no different from if it were the same use value.

Secondly, however, although the *profit* is made here by the turnover itself, not first realised within the turnover, as was the case with productive capital, the number of turnovers is not a factor in determining the rate of profit here, but rather the opposite. The (AVERAGE) *rate of profit* determines the profit on each individual turnover. If the general rate of profit is e.g. 10%, that is also the rate of profit of merchants' capital. For a merchants' capital of e.g. £1,000 to realise a profit of 10% over the year, it may only take, if it turns over ten times, a profit of 1% in each turnover on a quantity of commodities of £100, hence adding 10 to 1,000. Thus, for example, only £ $^1/_{100}$ on a commodity priced at £1 = $^{20}/_{100}$s. = $^2/_{10}$s. = $^1/_5$s. = 2 $^2/_5$d. If it turned over 20 times, it would need to make only $^1/_2$% on each turnover, for $20 \times {}^1/_2 = 10$. $^1/_2$ per 100 is $^{10}/_2$ or 5 on 1,000. Thus on a commodity priced at £1, for example, it is only £ $^1/_{200}$ = $^{20}/_{200}$s. = $^2/_{20}$s. = $^1/_{10}$s. = 1 $^1/_5$d. The average number of turnovers in the different spheres of the trade in commodities is presupposed as given here. Thus in merchants' capital everything appears entirely on the surface.

Let us now take, e.g., the rotation of a capital in the manufacture of CALICO. The product, 10,000 yards of calico=(e.g.) £1,000. The manufacturer sells these 10,000 yards to a MERCHANT, a CLOTHDEALER, who pays him £1,000. (We shall ignore credit as not yet developed.) The 10,000 yards of calico are now in the hands of the MERCHANT, and they represent there *commodity capital*, merchants' capital. In the hands of the MANUFACTURER they represented CAPITAL+PROFIT. Let this MERCHANT be MERCHANT I. The manufacturer now uses his £1,000 to buy yarn for £700, coal, etc., for £100, and with a further £100 he buys labour.[43] The remaining £100 he spends as revenue. If we analyse the latter transaction further, we find that, BY and BY, *au fur et à mesure*,[a] as the workers receive the £100, they buy commodities from *épicier*, just as the manufacturer buys means of consumption from the *épicier* with his £100. MERCHANT II, the *yarn dealer*, now has £700 instead of the yarn, his commodity capital. The same applies to the coal dealer, MERCHANT III,

[a] Gradually.— *Ed.*

who has £100 instead of his coal, and finally to the *épicier*, MERCHANT IV, who has £200 for his commodities. It is clear at the outset that the CALICO continues to be available on the market as a *commodity*, even though it has passed from the hands of the MANUFACTURER into those of the MERCHANT. It is the capital of the MANUFACTURER, which has not yet passed through its first metamorphosis, has not yet been reconverted from commodity into money. For the MANUFACTURER this conversion has taken place. He has £1,000 instead of his CALICO. But for the CALICO itself the conversion has not taken place. It has not yet been converted into money, it has not yet passed over either into industrial or into individual consumption as a use value. MERCHANT I now represents on the market the same commodity capital as the MANUFACTURER originally represented. For the latter, the process of metamorphosis has been cut short by merchant I, but only to be taken up again, perforce, in the hands of the merchant. If the MANUFACTURER had had to wait until his CALICO really ceased to be a commodity, until it was converted into money, had passed through its first metamorphosis, had been sold to the actual buyer—the industrial or individual CONSUMER—his process of reproduction would have been interrupted. Or, in order not to interrupt it, he would have had to restrict his operations, expend a smaller part of his capital for yarn, etc., wage labour, etc., in short, for the elements of the production process, and retain a greater part of it in money as a reserve fund, so that, whilst a part of it was on the market as a commodity, another part could be converted afresh into productive capital, and then, whilst the second part entered the market as a commodity, the first part could return to him. This division is also necessary with *trade*. But, without the latter, the part of circulating capital held *en reserve* in the form of money would always have to be greater in proportion to the part involved in the process of production, and the scale of reproduction would therefore have to be restricted. Instead of that, the MANUFACTURER can now keep a larger part of his capital in the actual production process, a smaller part as money reserve. But instead of that *a part* of the capital of society—initially in the form of merchants' capital—is always to be found within the process of circulation; it never enters directly into the process of reproduction. It is always and exclusively employed *in the purchase of commodities*. There therefore appears to have taken place no more than A CHANGE in the persons who have in their hands this portion of capital.

[XV-966] If the merchant were to employ the £1,000 productively himself, instead of using it to buy COTTON, there would be an

increase in the size of the productive capital. But of course in that case the MANUFACTURER would have to keep a more significant part back as money reserve, and the same would be true of MERCHANT I, now turned into a MANUFACTURER. In the one case the productive part of the MANUFACTURER'S capital would be increased; but in return for this the whole of the merchants' capital would be withdrawn from production. In the other case both of them would have to increase their money reserve, but then a large part of the merchants' capital would also be devoted to production. Thus it looks like six of one and half a dozen of the other; what is gained on one side is lost on the other. Nevertheless, it is not so (unless merchants' capital exceeds its necessary proportions). And indeed it is not so because the reproduction of merchants' capital and the reproduction of productive capital are two different processes, although the first is only a moment of the reproduction process of the total capital. In the best case, i.e. if he works to order and receives his money as soon as the commodity is finished, the COTTON MANUFACTURER can still only turn over his capital e.g. 4 times in the year, because he cannot produce and reproduce more than 10,000 yards in 3 months. The repetition of his reproduction process is not only determined by the actual act of circulation—*C—M—C*—the circulation his commodity must pass through from the moment at which it emerges from the process as a finished commodity, in order to enter it once again in the form of the elements of the production of the commodity. It is determined further by the duration of the production process itself. If his capital were [£]900, and he always had to have $^1/_3$ in the money reserve, there would never be more than £600 present in the production process, and he would only be able to produce 6,000 yards in one rotation, hence if his capital turned over 4 times he would produce 24,000 yards, whereas in the other case[47] he produces 40,000. When and how much he converts back into capital is by no means dependent on the character of his money as money; it is rather that this reconversion of money into productive capital, and the repetition of this reconversion, depends on the specific nature of his productive capital, on the use value of the commodity it produces, and the particular kind of labour which produces this use value and the conditions under which it is produced.

If I now consider the £1,000 of MERCHANT I in relation to this single MANUFACTURER, the *reproduction* of his capital is in fact entirely dependent on the reproduction of this productive capital. He buys the 10,000 yards today, and sells them it doesn't matter when, say

in a week. He cannot convert the money used in this way back into yards until the MANUFACTURER'S second turnover time arrives, at the end of the first 6 months, when the latter again places 10,000 yards on the market, and so on. But merchants' capital, after the 10,000 yards of COTTON MANUFACTURER I have been sold, can again buy 10,000 yards there from COTTON MANUFACTURERS II, III, IV. If we assume the merchant needs a month to make the sale, he could buy 12,000 yards every month, hence in the course of a year 12×12,000=144,000 yards; and thus with his capital of £1,000 he could buy and sell the commodities of 36 MANUFACTURERS, each of them producing 40,000 yards in the year and having a total capital of £32,400 (each of them £900) fixed in their TRADES.[48] Admittedly, we are assuming here that the merchant sells more quickly than the MANUFACTURER could. If this were not the case, merchants' capital would represent absolutely nothing but the capital of the MANUFACTURER lying idle. And it would be the same thing as if the latter always had £1,000 in the process of production and £1,000 as reserve or as means of purchase available in the process of circulation. But this more rapid sale, i.e. the more rapid finding of buyers, results from the *principle of the division of labour*, since the merchant has nothing else to do but find buyers and sellers. The *first moment* is therefore that the merchant not only enables the MANUFACTURER to convert his commodity, his calico, into money at an earlier stage, but also enables this *calico* itself to pass through its first metamorphosis more rapidly, to be sold more rapidly.

With this presupposition, the *turnovers of merchants' capital* by no means represent the turnovers or the repetition of the reproduction process—conversion of the commodity into money—of MANUFACTURER I, of a single capital in a particular sphere, but rather the turnovers of 36, perhaps, or ANY OTHER AMOUNT, of capitals functioning in this sphere.

[XV-967] Or if the merchant is a GENERAL MERCHANT, he will be able, after the sale of the 10,000 yards of calico for £1,000, etc., to buy silk, etc., with the result that the turnover of his capital can represent not only the turnovers of many capitals in a single sphere of production, but the turnovers of a number of capitals in various spheres of production.

His money capital thus performs the same function towards the productive capitals to be found on the market in the shape of commodity capitals as money performs towards the commodities whose prices it realises in sequence through the number of its circuits in a given period. Its turnover is absolutely nothing but the turnover of money as means of purchase, i.e. means of

circulation, since in fact it merely represents *C—M—C—M*, etc. After the merchant has converted the commodity (of the MANUFACTURER) into money and therefore his own money into a commodity, he converts this money into a commodity again, etc. These turnovers of his *money capital* as means of purchase, as an intermediary in the circulation of commodities, depend on the total reproduction process, or at least on a substantial part of it (for the individual merchant), but they do not depend on the reproduction process of the individual capital. In so far as he, because of the process as a whole, always finds commodities on the market—and this is the prerequisite for him—his *turnover* consists in the *mere* repetition of purchases, a repetition mediated by the repetition of sales. His turnover merely represents the repetition of the circuit of money. The difference between his turnover and the simple circuit of money is this: *the same piece of money* repeats purchases. E.g. A buys from B with £10, B buys from C with the same £10, C from D and so on. Here the buyer is always a different person, although the £10 always remain the same. The money changes hands. But the MERCHANT who buys calico from the MANUFACTURER with £1,000 sells the same calico again to a third person, and the same amount of money returns to his hands. Whether it consists of the same coins is a purely accidental matter. It is at the same time *M—C—M*, the form of capital. But how often the merchant can renew the same operation depends on how often the same amount of money, his capital as money capital, returns to his hands. If we start from the merchant as commodity owner—and he has become a commodity owner by the purchase of the 10,000 yards—he sells the commodity, and he buys a new commodity with the money into which it has been converted. *C—M—C. The same* money changes places twice: it comes into the hands of the merchant as seller and it leaves his hands as buyer. This is the movement of the metamorphosis of the commodity in general, a movement which the merchant represents in so far as he first sells (the commodity) and buys with the price of that commodity; first converts the commodity into money, then the money into a commodity. Here the money is mere means of circulation, although it represents capital for him. Nevertheless, this is not the peculiar movement of merchants' capital, although that movement does form a moment of its own movement; in so far as the movement includes a twofold movement of the same piece of money. But merchants' capital, as separated from productive capital, in so far as this itself circulates, always steps forth first as buyer, as money which is to be converted into a

commodity. It never makes its first appearance as a commodity, for the commodity appears in the hands of its first owner as product, and it never appears as such in the hands of the actual merchant. The real movement of merchants' capital is this:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccccc} 1) & & 2)3) & & 4)5) & & 6)7) & & 8)9) \\ M & — & C & — & M & — & C & — & M \end{array}, \text{ etc.}$$

Money is exchanged for a commodity, the same commodity is exchanged for money, the same money is exchanged for a commodity, the same commodity is exchanged for money, etc. The difference between this and the metamorphosis of the commodity, in which money only functions as means of circulation, is this: There it is only the same piece of money which changes hands twice and is to be found in the same hand in a double determination (first as realised price of the commodity, second as means of purchase), while the two extremes, the two different commodities, only change their place once and then fall out of circulation. But here it is *the same, the identical commodity* which changes hands twice. It is sold twice, first by the producer to the merchant, and then by the merchant to the consumer, industrial or individual. There the twofold change of place of *the same pieces of money* is the mediation of the real exchange of commodities, the real exchange of matter. Here, in contrast, the twofold change of place of *the same commodity* is not the means whereby the same amount of money (increased) returns to the hands of the same person. It is merely through this twofold change of place of the same commodity—it is the means of pulling back the money—that the money constantly returns here, so that its movement appears as a movement of capital, although it constantly functions in the process as means of circulation. [XV-968] The sale of the commodity—the same phase of its metamorphosis—is here passed through twice.

This is true if we consider the first rotation $M \overset{1)}{—} C \overset{2)}{—} M$. It is otherwise in the reproduction, the continuity, the repetition of this process, and the movement of merchants' capital is this constant repetition.

$$M—\ddot{C}—\dot{M}/\dot{M}—\ddot{C}—\dot{M}, \text{ etc.}$$

In the first rotation the same commodity only changes its position twice, and *the same* sum of money comes back. (This return of the same sum of money—hence the same sum of value (*capital*, because every sum of value appears in its return as self-preserving and self-valorising and [as] value relating itself

to itself)—is very different from the twofold functional displacement of the same piece of money. The money performs the latter function in its determination as money and indeed as means of circulation. The return may, it is true, also be purely formal. For example, when the capitalist pays wages in money, and the worker buys the commodity from the capitalist with the same money. This means only that the same persons confront each other as seller and buyer, the same money can therefore serve both of them as means of purchase.) But the sum of money which has thus returned—it is capital with reference to the money laid out, with which the process began; but it is also the realised price of the commodity which has been sold, hence the first metamorphosis of this commodity—*the same identical pieces of money* now in turn buy commodities, which are in turn sold, etc. Here, then, there is in addition to the twofold displacement of the commodity a twofold displacement of the same money, or its displacement as means of circulation. The RETURN *of the money as capital*, accomplished by the twofold displacement of the commodity or its sale twice (or more times) in succession. But the repetition of this process, and therefore the purchase of the commodity, is mediated by the *twofold displacement* of the money which has returned, or its function as means of circulation. The rapidity of *turnover* of merchants' capital is therefore dependent on 2 moments: 1) On the rapidity with which its money capital performs the circuit as means of circulation, or, and this is the same thing, repeats its purchases. Here the purchase is always repeated with the money which has returned. Its rapidity is therefore the same as the rapidity with which the money changes its place twice, passes from the buyer of the commodity to the merchant, and from the merchant to the seller of another commodity. Rapidity in the turnover of merchants' capital, and rapidity in the circuit of money are therefore identical here. This repetition naturally depends upon a constant flow of new commodities onto the market, hence a constant flow of reproduction. If the self-renewing merchants' capital is large, the reproduction of the commodity must be not only constant and rapid but also on a mass scale. [The rapidity of turnover of merchants' capital however also depends] 2) on the rapidity with which the same commodity changes hands twice, hence on the rapidity of circulation of *the same* commodity. It must pass quickly from the hands of the producer into those of the merchant. But this is already implied in moment 1). What is added here, essentially, is this, that it must pass quickly from the hands of the merchant into those of the

final buyer. He must sell quickly. He now sells either to the industrial consumer //we are leaving out of consideration the division of labour amongst the merchants themselves, by which WHOLESALE DEALER sells to RETAILER, etc.// or to the individual consumer. If to the former, this rapidity of re-sale will depend directly on the rapidity of reproduction. If to the individual consumer, consumption will form in reality a moment of the process of reproduction. It is $C—M—C'$ in the first sense, that in which the commodity is converted into means of consumption through the mediation of money. The more production as a whole rests on circulation, each producer therefore possessing his product only in the shape of a commodity or of money, his consumption therefore resting on sale (*qua ad* commodity) and purchase (*qua ad* money), the more is the rapidity of consumption, of the commodity's withdrawal from circulation, conditioned by the manner of the production process itself.

The rapidity of turnover of merchants' capital therefore depends on 2 moments: the rapidity with which the same money changes its position, performs its circuit, hence the rapidity of money as means of circulation (is expressed in this). Then the rapidity with which the double displacement of *the same commodity* takes place, the peculiar circulation which is appropriate to it as *commodity capital* (not as mere commodity). Both moments depend on the rapidity of the total reproduction process. The turnover of merchants' capital is not, however, identical with the turnover or the number of reproductions of a *productive capital of equal magnitude.* It represents rather the sum total of the turnovers of a number of such capitals, whether in the same sphere or in different spheres of production.

[XV-969] The more quickly merchants' capital turns over, the smaller it is in relation to the amount of productive capital. The more slowly it turns over, the greater is the part of the total money capital which figures as merchants' capital. Hence in modes of production, or at stages of production, at which circulation is undeveloped, because in general the exchange-value character and further the capitalist character of production is undeveloped, the total amount of merchants' capital (although small absolutely) is relatively large in proportion to the total amount of commodities thrown into circulation. The greater part of the actual money capital is therefore in the hands of the merchants, whose wealth thus forms *monetary wealth* as far as the others are concerned. (The actual *money trade* must be added to this. But we shall deal with this later.)

It further follows from the calculations:

In so far as *merchants' capital* appears as *commodity capital,* it is absolutely nothing but productive capital itself, which happens to be in the sphere of circulation *sub specie*[a] commodity capital. It is true that it now appears in the hands of another commodity owner. But the fact that it is in reality just a phase of productive capital emerges immediately when the commodity capital in the hands of the merchant is unsaleable, when his money capital is therefore not returned to him, when he therefore cannot buy the commodity afresh. Then the same standstill in reproduction occurs as if the capital—in the form of commodity capital, in the first stage of its circulation process—were to be found unsaleable in the hands of the producer.

It is not necessarily the case that merchants' capital performs just the turnover considered above. The merchant may perform both movements *simultaneously.* Then his capital is divided into two parts. One consists of commodity capital, the other of money capital. From one he buys, thereby converting his capital into commodities. To the other he sells, thereby converting another part of his capital into money. On the one hand his capital flows back to him as money capital, while on the other hand his money capital is simultaneously converted into commodity capital or flows back to him as commodity capital. The larger the part which exists in one form, the smaller the part which exists in the other. But this division must balance out. E.g. £300 merchants' capital. He initially keeps £100 in reserve and buys commodities with £200. As long as this £200 exists in the commodity form he cannot buy with it. Now he buys with £100. At this point, however, £200 has been converted from commodities into money and £100 from money into commodities. But what is important here is that the merchant simultaneously buys with one part of his capital and sells with the other part. Assume he buys at 3 weeks' payment and he sells similarly at 3 weeks' payment. At the end of 3 weeks he owes £200 and is due to receive £100. He has thus a balance of £100 to pay, while he simultaneously possesses £200 in commodities. Instead of £300 he would then require only £100 to conduct the transaction. But if he has sold the commodities over the 3 weeks, he can pay the balance with the money he has made, and therefore does not need to lay out any money at all.

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[a] Under the aspect of.—*Ed.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Therefore: 200 — *bought* x yards payable after 3 weeks − £200 | 100 x qrs *sold* payable after 3 weeks | Thus he pays for the 200 x yards with the £100 made+£100 he will make, but he needs for the whole transaction only £100. I.e. he needs only £100 to buy 200 yards for £100[a] and sell 100 qrs. at £100. |
| £200 to pay | [£]100 to take in | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| This employment of money as means of payment involves the circuit of money as means of circulation: | *Bought* x yards payable after 3 weeks with £200. Sold before the end of the 3 weeks. | — £100 to take in | Thus he pays for the 100 x yards with the price he gained from their sale. I.e. the purchase of the 200 x yards costs him no monetary outlay. He has bought without money, sold for money. Hence instead of £100 to add he has £100 in his possession. |
| | Owes £200, possesses £200 | | |

With the addition of money as means of payment, and the credit system founded on this, there is a further reduction in the quantity of money capital which forms *mercantile capital*, in proportion to the magnitude of the transactions this mercantile capital performs. If I buy £1,000 worth of commodities at 3 months' payment, and I sell the commodities before the end of 3 months, I do not need to advance a single farthing for *this* transaction. [XV-970] In this case it is also as clear as day that the *money capital*, which appears here as *mercantile capital*, is absolutely nothing other than productive capital itself in its form of *money capital*, its RETURN to itself in the form of money. (That the MANUFACTURER who sells the £1,000 of commodities for 3 months can discount the bill on the MERCHANT changes nothing in the situation, and has nothing to do with merchants' capital as such.) If the market prices of the commodities were to fall in the meantime, e.g. by $^1/_{10}$, the merchant would only receive £900 back IN RETURN, and would have to add £100 in order to pay. This £100 would therefore be merely a reserve to compensate for a possible difference in price. But the same thing is true for the MANUFACTURER.

[a] Thus in the original. Presumably, it should be "£200".—*Ed.*

If he had himself sold at falling market prices, £900 would have come back instead of £1,000, and he could not have started the operation again on the same scale without a reserve capital of £100.

Let us now consider another phase of the above process.

The MANUFACTURER received £1,000 from the merchant to whom he sold his CALICO. With the £1,000 he buys yarn from the yarn dealer; MERCHANT II. His (the MANUFACTURER'S) capital has thereby completed its circulation process and is once again in the sphere of production. The £1,000 in the hands of the yarn dealer represent on the one hand the *RETURN* of his money capital, the reconversion of his money into money. But with reference to the *yarn* itself, hence productive capital, the £1,000 represent in fact its first metamorphosis, its conversion into money (although this has already happened for the yarn MANUFACTURER specifically through his sale to MERCHANT II). The phases of production of the capitals in the various spheres are intertwined with each other, in that what emerges from one phase as product (finished commodity) enters the other as condition of production, and indeed they may interlock with each other reciprocally in the way that iron enters the production of coal and coal the production of iron. The spheres of circulation are intertwined with each other in exactly the same way. Thus here the *reconversion* of the money capital of the CALICO MANUFACTURER into productive capital is the reconversion of the yarn into money, the *RETURN of the money capital* of the YARN MANUFACTURER. This represents at the same time the RETURN of the money capital of the YARN dealer. The money with which the CALICO MANUFACTURER pays the yarn dealer is not the money of MERCHANT I, for the latter has obtained commodities to the amount of £1,000 for this. It is his own capital in the form of money. These £1,000 now appear in the hands of the yarn dealer as *MERCANTILE CAPITAL*, but to what extent are they this, as distinct from this money as the money form the CALICO has shed, and the money form the YARN has assumed? If, for example, the YARN dealer bought on credit, and sold before he had to pay, the £1,000 would contain not a farthing of *MERCANTILE capital* as distinct from the money form, which productive capital itself assumes in its process of circulation. *MERCANTILE capital*, in so far as it is not a mere form of productive capital, which appears as a particular kind of capital because productive capital is to be found on the market in the hands of MERCHANTS in its shape as commodity capital and its shape as money capital, is therefore nothing but the part of money capital which belongs to the MERCHANT himself. This part represents—on a much

lessened scale (if this were not so, mercantile capital would be GOOD FOR NOTHING), on a highly reduced scale—nothing but the part of productive capital which must always be available in the hands of the MANUFACTURER as a reserve for means of purchase, as money; IN FACT it represents nothing but a part of the part of productive capital which must always circulate as money capital. (It also circulates when held in reserve as means of circulation, as means of purchase. But it would really circulate. E.g. the MANUFACTURER has [£]1,000 in commodities instead of £1,000. He cannot begin his process of reproduction with these commodities. He would need in addition £1,000 in money in order to buy means of production, etc.) This part is now to be found *much reduced in size* in the hands of a particular SET of capitalists, and it is always in circulation, always functioning in the circulation process. (To say that the merchant extends the market, that there is consequent division of labour, etc., amounts to saying that he finds buyers more quickly. For even finding more [XV-971] buyers only means finding buyers for more commodities.) It is very much reduced because it serves the turnover not of one capital but of many capitals. Apart from the part of productive capital which must constantly exist as money for current expenditure, another part must constantly circulate as means of purchase on the market, without ever itself being converted into productive capital, for the whole of the capitalist class, for the process of reproduction of the total capital—for the continuity of this process. This part forms *mercantile capital.* It is the smaller, relatively speaking, the more rapid the total process of reproduction, hence the circuit of money, and the more developed money is as means of payment, hence the *credit system.*

We saw when we considered the total process of reproduction[49] that in part capital is exchanged with capital, in part capital with income and capital, and, finally, in part capital with income. With MERCANTILE capital this is represented in the following way, that to the extent that it exchanges with industrial consumers (disregarding here movements from the hands of one buyer into those of another, from the WHOLESALER'S hands into the RETAILER'S, etc.) it is a mere TRANSFER of capital; to the extent that it exchanges with individual consumers it is exchange with income.

*Mercantile capital* is nothing but capital which functions within the sphere of circulation. The circulation process is a phase of the total process of reproduction. But no value is produced in the circulation process, hence no surplus value is produced either. There occur only changes of form *in a magnitude of value which*

*remains the same.* In fact what occurs is nothing but the metamorphosis of the commodity, which has nothing to do with value creation or value alteration as such. If surplus value is realised in the sale of the commodity, this is because the surplus value already exists in it; hence in the second act, the exchange back of the money capital in return for the commodity, no surplus value is realised (this can only be achieved here through the exchange of money for labour).[50] On the contrary. In so far as this metamorphosis costs circulation time—a time during which capital does not produce—hence does not produce surplus value either—it is a limitation on the creation of value, and the surplus value will be expressed as a rate of profit in an exactly inverse ratio to the duration of circulation time. *Mercantile capital* therefore creates neither value nor surplus value. That is to say, not directly. In so far as it contributes to the curtailment of circulation time, and in general mediates the metamorphosis without which capital cannot begin its process of production anew, it performs a function indispensable to the capitalist mode of production, and it may indirectly *help to increase the surplus value created by productive capital,* or at least establish it as a higher rate of profit, or both at once. In so far as it helps to extend the market and mediates the division of labour between the capitals—hence also enables the individual capital to work on a larger scale—its function promotes the productivity of productive capital and the process of accumulation, the reconversion of profit into productive capital. In so far as it curtails circulation time, it raises the ratio of surplus value to the capital advanced, hence the rate of profit. Finally, in so far as it inserts a smaller part of capital (money capital) into the sphere of circulation of the commodities, into the process of circulation of capital (to the extent that this circulation process excludes the exchange of capital and labour capacity), it increases the part of capital directly invested in production. But as we have said: in so far as it has an impact on the magnitude of value as such, and the ratio of surplus value to the value advanced, it does this only indirectly, through its impact on the productive capital. Within the sphere of circulation—the only sphere in which it functions—it does not itself create value or surplus value, apart from that which flows from the sphere of direct production into the sphere of circulation. The *profit* which *mercantile capital* brings in is therefore merely a part of the surplus value, which is created by the total productive capital, and of which an aliquot part is transferred to mercantile capital. What mercantile capital is exchanged for—whether it is capital, or

money representing income, profit (interest), rent, wages—is a fixed amount of value, which remains what it was through this exchange. Mercantile capital not only does not itself produce its profit, which is, rather, [XV-972] only a TRANSFER from the surplus value made, squeezed out, by productive capital; it is also preserved *as capital* only through the constant renewal of the process of production. But the latter point is already implied by the fact that *MERCANTILE CAPITAL* is in reality nothing but *productive capital* in its sphere of circulation; and it only appears alongside productive capital as *distinguishable* and *distinct* MERCANTILE capital because the part of PRODUCTIVE capital which would always have to be present in the hands of the INDUSTRIAL capitalist as circulating money capital is now to be found, on a much reduced scale, in the hands of a *particular SET OF CAPITALISTS,* whose function lies outside the actual process of production.

Indeed, *mercantile capital* does not function in the actual process of production, but in the process of reproduction of the commodity, of which the process of circulation forms a section of its own. Just as the industrial capitalist is an agent of capitalist production, or productive capital personified, so the MERCHANT is an AGENT of capitalist circulation, IN FACT a personification of circulating capital. But every capital which is engaged in the process of production or reproduction, which performs any necessary function of capital at all, draws, *pro rata* its size, an equal portion of the surplus value produced by the total capital within a definite period, hence e.g. annually. This is therefore true of *mercantile capital* as well, although it has nothing to do with the direct production of that surplus value, hence also nothing to do with the direct exploitation of the worker. (In so far as the RETAILER, etc., exploits the worker, he exploits him as a seller exploits the buyer. This cheating, this fraud, which we are not examining here at all, is not a form characteristic of capitalist production as such.) Just as a capital of 1,000 brings the same AVERAGE PROFIT as another capital of 1,000, even though it only employs perhaps $^1/_3$ of the workers, and returns perhaps only once whereas the other capital returns 4 times a year, hence has a longer circulation time, and employs less variable capital, so also with *MERCANTILE CAPITAL*. What is involved here is only the size of the capital outlay, and the functioning of that capital IN WHATEVER WAY DURING A CERTAIN PERIOD, SAY [an] ANNUAL PERIOD. Since the actual productivity of capital as capital consists in its producing profit; and since mercantile capital produces the same AVERAGE PROFIT as industrial capital (interest+commercial profit=interest+industrial profit), *mercantile*

*capital* does not *appear as a particular kind of capital* alongside productive capital, but as a particular kind of productive capital, as one of the *particular* spheres into which it is divided and within which it functions. We therefore find the following put forward side by side as kinds of productive capital: APPROPRIATIVE INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY, MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY, CARRYING INDUSTRY, MERCANTILE INDUSTRY. As if it were only distinguished materially from the other spheres of productive capital, whether through the particular kind of use value it produces (as with the MINING and AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY), or through the particular way in which the use value is further shaped (as with the MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY and the CARRYING INDUSTRY). But mercantile capital is not a particular sphere of productive capital; it is a sphere of capital separated off from the spheres of productive capital. It has nothing to do with use value as such, being only concerned with the exchange of the use values, just as it has nothing to do with exchange value, but is only concerned with changes in its form. Mercantile capital should rather be placed in the same sphere as *MONETARY CAPITAL*. Trade in commodities and trade in money as two particular spheres or functions of parts of the total capital which belong to the process of circulation. The great political economists, like Smith, Ricardo, etc., are embarrassed by *MERCANTILE CAPITAL* as a separate kind of capital, since they rightly examine the fundamental form of capital, productive capital, and IN FACT only examine circulating capital in so far as it is itself a phase of the reproduction process of capital. Propositions about profit, etc., derived directly from the examination of productive capital, cannot be applied directly to mercantile capital. They therefore in fact leave the latter aside entirely, mentioning it only *en passant* as a kind of productive capital. Where they deal specifically with it, as Ricardo e.g. in connection with *foreign trade*, they endeavour to demonstrate [XV-973] that it creates no value, *hinc*[a] NO SURPLUS VALUE. But what is valid for foreign trade is also valid for internal trade. The mere [act] of exchanging commodities, buying and selling, presupposes the commodities as use values which have a certain price, and creates neither the one nor the other.[51]

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On the other hand, since *mercantile capital* is the first free mode of existence of capital in history, and appears as such vis-à-vis guild and feudal, petty-bourgeois and small peasant production,

[a] Hence.—*Ed.*

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Capitel III Theil.

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the [advocates of the ] Monetary and Mercantile System regarded it as the fundamental form of capital, and they derived from it their notions of SURPLUS VALUE and PROFIT. PROFIT UPON EXPROPRIATION.[17] In reality the merchant draws his profit from circulation and makes it in the act of circulation. But he withdraws what is already there; he merely appropriates a part of the surplus value which is already contained in the commodity, and thereby shares it with his BROTHER CAPITALISTS. Because it arises from circulation for him, it appears to arise from circulation in and for itself.

If MERCANTILE CAPITAL brings in A HIGHER AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF PROFIT than industrial capital, a part of the industrial capital is converted into mercantile. If it brings in A LOWER AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF PROFIT, the reverse process takes place. A part of MERCANTILE CAPITAL is converted into INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL. There is no capital which can change its determination, the sphere of its functions, with greater ease.

This is now the question: How does MERCANTILE CAPITAL appropriate the rate of surplus value or profit which is owing to it? It appears on the surface that it adds the AVERAGE RATE OF PROFIT to the price of the commodity. We have seen[52] that the price of production of the individual commodity or for the whole capital of every *particular* sphere of production is different from the value of the commodity, may be equal, larger, or smaller. But the sum of the production prices of the commodities=the sum of their values. So if the AVERAGE price at which every industrial capitalist sells to the MERCHANT=the production price of his commodity, the sum of the commodity prices paid by mercantile capital=the sum of the values. And taking mercantile capital as a whole, the value of the commodities would form the *cost price* or *BUYING PRICE*. And since the merchant's profit=the difference between BUYING PRICE and SELLING PRICE, he would sell all commodities *above* their value. For every individual commodity the *PRODUCING PRICE* would be his COST PRICE, and he would sell it above its PRODUCING PRICE. For all commodities together this would be identical with his selling them *above their value.* His profit—taking the whole—would therefore come from buying the commodities at their value and selling them above their value. Through this operation, a part of the surplus value (or of profit), or a part of the commodity within which the surplus value is represented, would stick to his fingers. If, for example, I buy a yard at 2s. and sell it at 2s. $2^2/_5$d., that is the same as if I were to sell only $^{10}/_{11}$ of a yard for 2s. and appropriate for myself either $^1/_{11}$ of a yard or its price,$=^2/_{10}$s. I achieve this, however, only because the buyer pays as much for one yard as $1+^1/_5$ $(1+^2/_{10})$ of a yard cost. This is A *CIRCUITOUS WAY* OF PARTAKING IN

THE SURPLUS VALUE. *Or, alternatively*, the production price at which industrial capital sells is not=to the real production price of the commodity, but=its production price−the part of the profit which falls to the MERCHANT. In this case, the production price of the commodity=its cost price+the industrial profit (interest INCLUDED)+THE MERCANTILE PROFIT. Just as INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL only realises in circulation profit which is already contained in the commodities as surplus value //although for the particular capital the quota of profit it realises is different from the quota of surplus value which this specific capital produces// so here mercantile capital would only realise a profit because the whole surplus value is *not yet* realised in the price of the commodity realised by INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL. Its SELLING PRICE stands above the BUYING PRICE, not [because it] stands above the value of the totality of commodities, but because in its BUYING price the *value* is realised,—[namely in] surplus value—the part which is due to the merchant.[53]

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# [XVI-973] THIRD CHAPTER CAPITAL AND PROFIT

## 1) [SURPLUS VALUE AND PROFIT]

Considered in its totality (wholeness) (or considered completely) (or in *its completeness*) the movement of capital is a unity of the process of production and the process of circulation.

The *surplus value* produced within a given period of circulation (let us take e.g. a year as the measure; see above, Chapter II[54]), when measured against the *total capital* which has been advanced, is called—*profit.* (Under profit is included not only interest—known to be a mere portion of the total profit—but also the *rent of land,* which is nothing but *a part* of the capital employed in agriculture. The particular way capital is specified by this particular form of investment belongs to the consideration of landed property.[55] Here we shall merely indicate that profit is not to be understood exclusively as what is called industrial or commercial profit.)

Considered with respect to its material, profit is absolutely nothing but surplus value itself. Considered with respect to its absolute magnitude, it therefore does not differ from the surplus value produced by capital over a particular turnover time. It is surplus value itself, but *calculated* differently. By its nature, surplus value is related to that part of the advanced capital through exchange with which it arises, and it is therefore calculated in relation to that part. Circulation time, in so far as it differs from production time, only comes into consideration here as a barrier to the creation of surplus value. But as *profit,* surplus value is related to, and therefore measured by, not a part of the capital advanced, but the whole amount of the capital advanced, without regard to the entirely different positions these different

components occupy in the creation of surplus value and the production of the value of the commodity in general.

So: Assume there is a capital equal to 600 thalers. The constant part of the capital consists of $^5/_6$ of it, namely raw material and machinery; the variable part, laid out in wages, consists of the remaining $^1/_6$. If the surplus value produced in a year amounts to 60 thalers—hence the value of the whole product in a year is 660 thalers—this surplus value of 60 thalers is called *profit*, as long as it is not considered with regard to the 100 thalers which are exchanged for 160 in the capitalist production process, not with regard to the sixth of the capital from which it arises, but with regard to the $^6/_6$ of which the capital advanced consists, i.e. with regard to the total capital advanced of 600 thalers. Although the 60 thalers continue to have *the same* magnitude of value, 60 on 100 makes 60 per cent while 60 on 600 only makes 10%. Surplus value therefore receives in profit—which always expresses a relation,* a proportion—a new *expression, numerically different* from its original shape. The same magnitude naturally alters its numerical expression, once it is calculated, instead of in its organic relation to part of a whole, in a relation to the whole of the whole.

[XVI-974] The difference is not only *numerical* but also *conceptual, essential.* It is not only a matter of a different valuation, measurement or calculation. There is more to it. This difference in calculation, measurement, valuation is a necessity for capital, it expresses a new characteristic relation of capital, the creation of a new form, which is just as essential as the difference between the form of exchange value and that of money, perhaps.

As we have seen, the relation between surplus value and the variable part of capital is an organic one. In fact it expresses the secret of the formation and growth, of the existence of capital as capital. This organic relation is extinguished in the relation between profit and capital. Surplus value obtains a form in which the secret of its origin is no longer hinted at with the slightest trace. Since all parts of capital equally appear as the basis of the newly created value, the capital-relation becomes a complete mystification. In surplus value as such, the relation of capital to the labour which capital appropriates is constantly expressed. In the relation of capital to profit, capital is related not to labour but to itself. It is on the one hand a merely quantitative relation of an amount of value or an amount of money to itself. If I say for example that a capital of 100 thalers brings in a profit of

* *An appendix should be added to this.* See Malthus, etc.[56]

10 thalers a year, I am merely comparing thalers with thalers. On the first occasion the PRINCIPAL, the CAPITAL, the main amount, appears as given, on the other occasion these 100 thalers become the main amount, the PRINCIPAL, the CAPITAL, precisely because they bring in an extra amount, and the main amount appears as the underlying cause, of which this extra amount is the effect. This is its natural fruit. (See *Aristotle* on *usury*,[57] and also the one passage in Sismondi[58] where he says that wealth like labour bears fruit annually. When he adds to this "like labour and *through labour*" he is already going too far.)

The difference between capital and its particular forms is therefore extinguished in this form, and this is therefore also true of capital's functions in which it appears even before capitalist production itself. Capital thereby becomes a thing, which existed just as much in antiquity as it exists today.

"The capitalist expects an equal *profit* upon all the parts of the capital" (Malthus).[a]

On the one hand this contains the correct point that profit is a form of surplus value, if the latter is related equally to all parts of the capital and therefore measured equally against the total amount of capital. But there is also the point that the capitalist knows nothing of the essence of capital, and surplus value exists in his consciousness only in the form of profit, a converted form of surplus value, which is completely abstracted from the relations under which it originates and by which it is conditioned. During the direct process of production, the nature of surplus value does, it is true, continuously enter the capitalist's consciousness, as indeed we have seen in considering surplus value, the greed for alien labour time, etc.[59] But this is only a transitory moment. In fact the capitalist himself regards capital as a self-acting automaton, which has the quality of increasing itself and bringing in a gain, not as a relation, but in its material existence. The social relations under which value takes on this quality, and the things in which it exists as its body (use value), appear as eternal natural relations, or rather, it is grasped at most that certain (artificial) conditions hinder this natural development and cannot allow it to unfold completely.

The notion of capital as a self-acting automaton of this kind lies at the basis of e.g. Price's calculation of interest and compound interest, which completely turned the head even of William Pitt.[60]

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[a] Th. R. Malthus, *Principles of Political Economy...*, 2nd ed., London, 1836, p. 268.— *Ed.*

(See Luther on the growth of interest.[61]) Hence also the kind of idiotic proclamations one finds on the part of the political economists. E.g. there must be profit, otherwise the capitalist would put his capital out at interest. He would have no reason to throw it into production instead of putting it out at interest [XVI-975] (thus capital would allegedly bring in interest even if no capital were thrown into production). Thus Turgot already says: If it brought in no profit, everyone would buy land with his capital. (See Turgot.[62] Thus here a particular mode of employment of capital is regarded as being of itself profitable.)

Surplus value, however, necessarily assumes the form of *profit* in the bourgeois mind—and this is not just a way of looking at things. The relation of surplus value as *a relation of profit* dominates bourgeois production, determines the distribution of the capitals in the different branches of production, is so to speak the triangulation point for free competition (the competition of capitals amongst each other, i.e. the real movement of capitals in which alone the laws of capital are realised. These laws are in fact nothing but the general relations of this movement, its result on the one hand, its tendency on the other.)

The relations under which a quantity of value, money, commodities, the particular use values in which value re-enters production, becomes capital, i.e. the owner of this quantity of value becomes a capitalist, are, under capitalist production, within bourgeois society, so enmeshed with the existence of capitalists that for example Wakefield had to go to the Colonies to discover that these relations are not self-evident, and that without them value does not become capital and the owner of value does not become a capitalist. So self-evident, and so altogether incomprehensible, that this discovery of Wakefield's could in fact mark a kind of epoch in modern political economy.[63]

The actual production process of capital is constantly bound up with its circulation process. Both are moments of the production process itself, as the production process for its part in turn appears as a moment of the circulation process. The two constantly overlap, interpenetrate, and thereby constantly falsify each other's characteristic distinguishing marks. But in the process of circulation surplus value on the one hand assumes new determinations, on the other hand capital passes through transformations, and finally it so to speak steps out of its organic life into foreign conditions of life, into relations in which not capital and labour but on the one hand capital and capital confront each other, and on the other hand the individuals as well again

confront each other in the relations of simple circulation, as commodity owners, buyers and sellers—circulation time and labour time thus cut across each other as this path is followed, and thus appear to determine surplus value equally. Now the original form in which capital and wage labour confront each other disappears as it were, and relations enter the picture which are apparently independent of this, surplus value itself no longer appears as a product of the appropriation of labour time, but as the excess of the selling price of commodities over their value, and as well, above all, as money. The result is the complete extinction of the memory of the original nature of surplus value, or alternatively this original nature never enters clearly into consciousness at all, but appears at most as an equally valid moment alongside the moments which arise out of circulation independently of capital's original nature, hence as a moment of the movement which belongs to capital independently of its relation to labour. Indeed, these phenomena of circulation are themselves directly adduced by other political economists (such as Ramsay, Malthus, Senior, Torrens, etc.[64]) as proofs that capital in its material shape—regardless of the social relation of production which makes it capital—is an independent source of surplus value alongside labour and independently of labour. But it lay in the nature of this relation, as we already saw in considering the process of production of capital,[a] that the socially productive forces of labour appear as productive forces transposed into capital, that the autonomisation and personification of past labour and of the value which exists in practice in the shape of the capitalist, the rule of past labour over living labour, which constitutes the essence of capital, the transformation as against this of the worker into mere objective labour capacity, a commodity, the fruitfulness of capital, in so far as it exists objectively, does not appear as a consequence of the social relation of production, the latter appearing rather inversely as a consequence of the material relation between those objects and labour as particular moments [XVI-976] of the process of production. In the capital-relation—to the extent that it is still considered independently of its circulation process—what is essentially characteristic is the mystification, the upside-down world, the inversion of the subjective and the objective, as it already appears in money. Corresponding to the inverted relation, there necessarily arises, already in the actual production process itself, an inverted conception, a transposed

[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 112-13, 159-61, 187-88, 260-63, 271-72.—*Ed.*

consciousness, which is completed by the transformations and modifications of the actual process of circulation. However, the capitalist as capitalist is nothing but this movement of capital itself. What he is in reality, he is also in consciousness. Since the positive, dominant side of the relation is expressed in him, he only feels at home precisely in these contradictions; they do not disturb him, whereas the wage labourer, who is trapped in the same inverted notion, only from the other extreme, is driven in practice, as the oppressed side, to resistance against the whole relation, hence also against the notions, concepts and modes of thinking corresponding to it.

It must be added that in the real process of circulation not only do those transformations we have considered take place (and impel even the better political economists to adopt the capitalists' conceptions, if in a somewhat more doctrinaire form) but they coincide with real competition, buying and selling above and below value, hence profit does not appear to the capitalists as surplus value, as it is in fact for every one of them, not as dependent on the degree of exploitation of labour, but as the result of one person's taking advantage of another, a notion which not only the older, but even the more recent political economists have sanctioned. (E.g. *Torrens.*[65] See also *Senior* on money, etc., and wages.[66])

In fact the only thing which interests capital in practice, and regulates the real movement of capital, competition, is *profit*, and not *surplus value*, i.e. the ratio of the surplus value to the total amount of capital advanced, and not the ratio of the surplus value to the capital laid out in the purchase of labour capacity. This leads us (and is the actual transition) to the consideration of *costs of production* and their relation to the *process of the sale* of the product.

There are still a few remarks to make before we pass on to this.

*Firstly:* From the standpoint of the society in which capitalist production prevails, capital appears as a SELFACTOR—value as possessing in itself the quality of self-increase in consequence of *qualitates occultae*[a] of some kind; how much this is the case appears strikingly in interest-bearing money capital, money capital loaned out at interest. An amount of value is sold here as *in itself* capital; i.e. capital itself appears as a commodity. A certain quantity of values, or a bill on values, is sold as a self-preserving and self-increasing amount. The situation is not altered by the fact that this amount is not money itself but the commodity into which it

[a] Hidden qualities.—*Ed.*

can be converted. For as self-preserving and self-increasing value commodities are viewed and sold merely *qua* exchange value, i.e. *qua* money. This quality of being capital is sold as an immanent quality of the amount of value. It therefore returns to its owner with a profit.

*Secondly:* It needs no discussion here that if a commodity is sold above or below its value, there takes place merely a change in the distribution of surplus value between different capitalists, between the buyer and the seller. This difference in distribution, or alteration in the proportions in which different people share in the surplus value, does not change anything, either in its magnitude or in its nature.

*Thirdly:* The relation of competition, in so far as we have considered it here as an *illustration* (not as belonging to the development itself[67]), entails that the surplus value the individual capitalist makes is not really the decisive factor. [XVI-977] For an average profit is formed; i.e. a general measure, and laws, according to which the capitalists calculate among themselves the *total value* of their class. (See *Jones* as well on this.[a]) The real price of the commodity—disregarding fluctuations in the market price—is thereby considerably modified, and it differs from the value of the commodity. No individual capitalist can therefore say, nor does any one of them know, to what extent the surplus value he has produced himself enters, or does not enter, into the profit he makes, to what extent a part of the surplus value produced by the class of capitalists enters into the price of his commodity. It is best to bring this point in when considering the costs of production, just as it is best to bring in there the inverted manner in which the laws of capital are represented in competition. The perception, as it arises out of competition, the relation that dominates the capitalist (for it is in fact the laws of capital themselves which in competition appear to him as external compulsion applied by his capital to other capitals and to his capital by other capitals), alienates him completely from the perception of the inner essence of the relations within which he moves, and of which he is merely the interested agent or functionary.

*Fourthly:* The confusion or lack of distinction between surplus value and profit is the source of the greatest BLUNDERS IN POLITICAL ECONOMY, even where it is merely a matter of giving a correct presentation. The significant political economists, such as e.g.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 366-70.—*Ed.*

Ricardo, naturally do not confuse the two completely, although they never consciously grasp the difference. But for that reason the real law appears with them, on the one hand, as an abstraction from the real movement, which therefore also contradicts it everywhere in detail. On the other hand, they are bound to want to use the nature of value or surplus value to explain phenomena which only arise from surplus value in the form of profit. Hence incorrect laws. Ricardo abstracts from competition where he develops the general nature of capital. On the other hand, he already brings in fixed capital, etc., as determining moments right at the beginning, in the determination of value, and thereby abolishes his so-called law or reduces it to a mere shadow, as Malthus correctly shows.[68] On the other hand, with his followers, like Mill and McCulloch,[69] we see the insane attempt e.g. to convert circulation time into labour time, and finally to describe as *labour* not only the functions of beasts, but of inanimate things, all their natural motions. Say too in this connection.[70] However this criticism belongs to the concluding section of this chapter.[71]

### 2) [PROFIT ALWAYS EXPRESSES SURPLUS VALUE TOO SMALL]

It follows from the characteristic distinction of form between surplus value and profit that profit always *expresses a smaller proportion than that of real surplus value*, hence the rate of profit always represents the ratio in which capital appropriates alien labour as much smaller than it really is. This (tautological) law, once understood, does away with all incorrect statistics, and it has bigger merits. It is essential for the comprehension of phenomena which would otherwise remain incomprehensible and limp along beside the theory as indigestible fragments of reality.

It goes without saying that the magnitude $a$ expresses a smaller ratio if it is measured against $b+c+a$ than if it is measured against $c+a$, or that a magnitude expresses a larger or smaller part of a third magnitude according to whether that latter magnitude is itself larger or smaller. The total capital is therefore always larger than the part of it which is exchanged for wages.

### [XVI-978] 3) [THE RATIO IS ALTERED NUMERICALLY AND IN FORM]

*Profit* is therefore a different relation firstly in its form; and secondly it is numerically different. It is a converted form of

surplus value, in which there is a change firstly in the latter's numerical relation, secondly in its conceptual determination.

### 4) [THE SAME SURPLUS VALUE MAY BE EXPRESSED IN VERY DIFFERENT RATES OF PROFIT; THE SAME RATE OF PROFIT MAY EXPRESS VERY DIFFERENT SURPLUS VALUES]

Thus, if the surplus value is converted into profit, i.e., considered numerically, if the surplus value is calculated in proportion to the total amount of capital advanced, the following propositions are a further consequence of this different presentation:

An *equal* profit may express different rates of surplus value. Take for example a profit of 10%. If the capital is 600, with constant capital 500 and variable 100, 60 thalers of surplus value amount to 60%, at the same time 10%, on a capital of 600. If the capital of 600 consists of 400 thalers of constant capital and 200 thalers of variable, 60 on 200 thalers amounts to a surplus value of 30%. The profit continues to be 10%. Finally, if the capital of 600 consists of 550 constant and 50 thalers of variable capital, 60 on 50 would amount to 120% surplus value (50:60=100:120) but profit would continue to be 10%.

### 5) [RELATION OF SURPLUS VALUE AND PROFIT=RELATION OF VARIABLE CAPITAL TO TOTAL CAPITAL][6]

Since profit is nothing but the ratio of the surplus value to the total amount of capital advanced, the rate of profit, or its proportional magnitude, evidently depends on two circumstances, firstly the *total amount* of capital advanced, and secondly the ratio of the variable part of the capital advanced to its constant part. This is when the surplus value is presupposed as given. Otherwise, it depends on 1) the ratio of the surplus value to the variable part of the capital; secondly the ratio of the variable part to the total quantity of capital, or also, and this is the same thing, its ratio to the constant part of the capital. E.g. 50 is $^1/_2$ of 100, but it is, at the same time, $\frac{1}{2\times 6}=\frac{1}{12}$ of 600. If $50=S$ (surplus value), $100=V$, the variable capital, then $^{50}/_{100}$ is the rate of surplus value, which$=^1/_2$ or $50\%=^S/_V$. If the total capital is $600=C(500)+V$, then

$^{50}/_{600} = {}^{1}/_{12} = 8\,{}^{1}/_{3}\%$ is the profit, which $= \frac{S}{V+C}$. $\frac{S}{V} : \frac{S}{V+C} = (V+C) : V$. or also $\frac{S}{v+c}$ (the rate of profit) : $\frac{S}{V}$ (is related to the rate of surplus value) $= V$ (as the variable capital): $V+C$ (is related to the total capital). Thus $\frac{S}{v+c} : \frac{S}{V} = V : (V+C)$.

Profit is related to surplus value as variable [should read: total] capital is related to total [should read: variable] capital (we do not need the categories of fixed and circulating capital here, because variable capital is circulating capital, but a part of constant capital is also circulating capital, so this antithesis does not belong here) and this evidently depends on the proportion in which constant and variable capital form components of the total capital [$C$], since $V = C - c$ and $c = C - v$. If $C$ were $= 0$, variable capital would have reached its maximum; i.e. the whole amount of the capital advanced would be variable capital, i.e. capital laid out directly in wages. In this case profit would be $= \frac{s}{c+v} = \frac{s}{v}$, i.e. [XVI-979] it would be equal to the surplus value. This would be the expression of its maximum. It declines in the same measure as $c$ grows, and therefore as the total amount of capital advanced, $c+v$, or $C$, diverges from the variable capital $v$. If one considers the expression $\frac{s}{v+c}$, one sees that its magnitude evidently stands in a direct ratio to the absolute magnitude of $s$, which is however conditioned by the ratio $\frac{s}{v}$; it stands in an inverse ratio to the magnitude of $v+c$, i.e. the total amount of capital advanced. With Cherbuliez (see Notebook [72]) the determination of profit would be correct, if he did not confuse product and value of the product, use value and exchange value of the commodity.

## 6) COSTS OF PRODUCTION [73]

a) We have seen [74] that the general form of capital is $M—C—M'$. In other words, money, an amount of value, is thrown into circulation in order to extract from it a larger amount. The process which produces this larger amount of value is capitalist production; the process which realises it is the circulation process of capital.

The capitalist does not produce the commodity for its own sake, not for the sake of its use value or for consumption. The product capital is in reality concerned with is not the material product but the gain, the *excess of the product's value over the value of the capital advanced,* which enters into the production of the commodity. If he converts £1,000 into machinery, cotton and wages, this is not for the sake of the twist he produces but because the machinery, cotton and wages now represent £1,200, after their conversion into twist, instead of £1,000 as originally. The hoarder as such changes a commodity of a definite value, e.g. £1,000 of twist, from the form of a commodity into that of money, in order to withdraw the latter from circulation and to possess the exchange value of his commodity in the independent form of money, the form in which it is independent of the commodity itself. The capitalist does not share the hoarder's superstitions. The forms in which exchange value appears, commodity or money, are indifferent to him, they are impermanent forms, because all real wealth is for him in fact merely exchange value in its different embodiments. He first converts money into a commodity—a commodity of a higher exchange value than the money advanced, because within the capitalist process of production more labour time is materialised in the commodity than was originally contained in its factors of production, and indeed it is realised through the unpaid appropriation of alien labour time—and in the circulation process he converts this commodity back into money, but now into a larger amount of money than the amount from which the process took its departure. A part of this excess over its original magnitude serves him as income, which he consumes, and a part is converted back into capital in order to begin the same cycle afresh. Whether he converts it into variable or constant, fixed or circulating capital, the capitalist must, on the one hand, uniformly withdraw every part of the capital from his private consumption and consume it industrially, and, on the other hand, expose it to the chances and risks of circulation, once it has assumed the form of the product. The capitalist uniformly advances the total capital—without regard to the qualitative differences within it in the production of surplus value—in order not only to reproduce the capital advanced but to produce an excess of value over and above the capital. He can only exploit labour, i.e. convert the value of the variable capital he advances into a higher value, through the exchange with living labour, by advancing at the same time the conditions for the realisation, the conditions of production of this labour—raw material and machinery—converting a sum of value

he possesses into this form of the conditions of production, just as he is only a capitalist at all, can only undertake the process of exploitation of labour at all, because he, as proprietor of the conditions of production, confronts the worker, as the mere possessor of labour capacity. It is quite indifferent to him whether it is considered that he advances constant capital to make a profit on the variable capital, or advances variable capital[XVI-980] to make a profit out of the constant capital; whether he lays out money in wages to give a higher value to the machinery and raw material, or advances money in machinery and raw material to be able to exploit labour. Although the profit he makes, the surplus value of the commodity he realises in the process of circulation, consists only of the excess of unpaid labour appropriated by him over the labour he has paid—his commodity only has a surplus value because a portion of unpaid labour time is now contained in it, and he sells this although he has not paid for it—the size of his profit by no means depends on the surplus value alone, but rather on the ratio of the surplus value to the total amount of capital advanced. If the capital advanced was 1,000, and if the value of the commodity into which it is converted is 1,200, the profit is only 200 compared with 1,000; 200:1,000=20%. The part of the capital that was laid out in machinery and material of labour is just as much advanced by the capitalist as is the part laid out in wages, and although the latter part alone creates surplus value, it only creates it on condition that the other parts, i.e. the conditions of production for the labour, are advanced, and all these elements enter uniformly into the product. Since the capitalist can only exploit labour by advancing constant capital, since he can only valorise constant by advancing variable capital, all these things are lumped together in his notion of the matter, and all the more so because his real profit is determined by the ratio of surplus value not to variable capital but to the total capital, hence is not determined at all by surplus value, but rather by the profit, which, as we have just seen, may remain the same and yet express different rates of surplus value.

We now return, therefore, to the point of departure from which we proceeded in considering the general form of capital. Profit represents the excess of exchange value, produced in the process of production and realised in the process of circulation, over the amount of money or exchange value originally converted into capital by the capitalist. Firstly, the real rate at which the capitalist profits, hence capital grows and accumulates, depends on this relation. Secondly, therefore, the competition between capitals is

also dependent on this. Thirdly, this leads to the disappearance of any recollection of the real origin of this profit and the qualitative distinction between the various elements, or the entry of these elements into the capitalist process of production.

Profit therefore=the excess of value of the product or rather the amount of money realised in circulation for the product (hence in the capitalist process, this excess during a particular turnover time) *above* the value of the capital which entered the formation of the product. The whole of the capital accordingly appears as *means of production* for this profit, and since these means of production are values which are here given over in part to the industrial process of production, in part to circulation, in order to create this excess of value or profit, the whole amount of the capital advanced appears as *costs of production of the commodity,* in fact costs of production of the gain or profit which is made by means of the commodity.

Cost of production means everything, all the components of the product the capitalist has *paid for.* If he sells the commodity at £1,200, and surplus value on this amounts to 200, he has *paid* £1,000, he has bought it, and converted it from the form of money, of exchange value, in which he originally possessed it, into the form of the commodity; i.e., from the standpoint of exchange value, into a lower form. If he were not to sell the commodity, which he has not produced for its use value, the £1,000 advanced would be lost. They are in any case *costs,* and must be replaced by the sale, so that the capital can be available again and again in its original state, so that it may simply be preserved. [XVI-981] The £1,000, or rather the advance of the £1,000, for they are intended to be replaced, are the *price*—hence the *costs*—which the capitalist pays in order to buy the £1,200.

It therefore follows that the *production costs of the commodity* from the standpoint of the individual capitalist, and its *real production costs,* are two different things.

The production costs contained in the commodity itself are equal to the labour time it costs to produce it. Or its production costs are equal to its value. The labour materialised in it includes the labour used to produce the raw material which has entered into it, as well as the labour used to produce the fixed capital employed in producing it, and, finally, the labour, the necessary and surplus labour, paid and unpaid labour, employed to produce it.

From the standpoint of the capitalist, the costs of production consist only of the money he has advanced—or only of the part of

the production costs of the commodity which he has paid. The capitalist has not paid for the surplus labour contained in the commodity. Indeed, it is precisely the fact of not paying for this which constitutes his profit. This surplus labour costs the capitalist nothing, although it naturally costs the worker labour just as much as does his paid labour, and enters into the commodity as an element constitutive of value just as much as the paid labour.

It follows, therefore, that surplus value, hence also *profit,* in so far as it is only another form of surplus value, does not enter into the production costs of the capitalist who sells the commodity, even though it does enter into the production costs of the commodity. His profit arises precisely from the fact that *he has something to sell which he has not paid for.* For him the *profit* consists in the *excess of the value* (the price) *of the commodity over its production costs,* which means in other words nothing but the excess of the total amount of labour time contained in the commodity over the labour time paid for by the capitalist which is contained therein.

This solves the *controversy* over whether profit enters into the costs of production or not. (See in Say, Jones, and particularly Torrens, etc.; these matters will be examined in more detail later on.[75])

b) In a deeper sense, it is a question (see the absurd Say, Storch, etc.[76]) of whether profit enters into the costs of production, i.e. is indispensable to capitalist production. It boils down to the fact that surplus value, hence also profit, is not merely a form of income but a relation of production for capital (for accumulation, etc.); the absurdity of the abstract distinction between a relation of production and a relation of distribution is in general demonstrated here. The question can only be brought up at all through an absolute failure to comprehend the nature of capital, hence also of capitalist production. In the shape of interest, profit already enters as an element into the costs of production.

c) It follows from the law that the *production costs of capital* are smaller than the *value* of the commodities produced by it (and profit is constituted precisely by the *excess of the value* of the commodity *over the value* of the production costs contained in it, or the excess of the labour contained in it over the paid labour contained in it), that commodities can be sold *below* their value at a *profit.* As long as some excess over the production costs is realised, a profit is always realised. The commodity will be sold at a profit as long as it is sold *above* the value of its production costs,

although this does not mean that the buyer has to pay the whole of the difference between the value of the production costs and the value of the commodity. Assume that a pound of twist has a value of 1s., of which $^4/_5$ are costs of production. $^1/_5$ is unpaid labour, hence the element that constitutes the surplus value. If the 1 lb. of twist is sold at only 1s., it is sold at its *value,* and the profit realised in it amounts to $^1/_5$s.$=^{12}/_5$p.$=2\,^2/_5$d. If the 1 lb. were to be sold at $^4/_5$s., or $\frac{4 \times 12}{5}$ d.$=^{48}/_5$d.$=9^3/_5$d., it would be sold at $^1/_5$ *below* its value, and no profit at all would be realised. But if it is sold above $9\,^3/_5$d., say perhaps at 10d., [XVI-982] it is sold at a profit of $^2/_5$d., although this is still 2d. or $^{20}/_{10}$d. *below* its value. The profit is there as soon as it is sold *above* its production costs; even if it is sold *below* its value. If it is sold at its value, the whole of the surplus value is realised for the capitalist, i.e. the whole excess of the unpaid labour contained in the commodity over the paid labour contained therein. Therefore delimited here is the whole of the room available for the rise and fall of profit. This room is determined by the surplus value, i.e. by [the correlation of] the value of the commodity and the value of its production costs, by difference between the value of the commodity and the value of its production costs, between the total amount of labour contained in it and the paid labour contained in it.

If the capitalist sells the commodity at a profit, but below its value, a part of the surplus value is appropriated by the buyer instead of the seller. This different division of the surplus value among different persons would naturally change nothing in its nature, just as it is a matter of complete indifference to the worker (unless he happens himself to be the buyer of the commodity) whether his unpaid surplus labour is appropriated by the capitalist who exploits him directly or by the class of capitalists, etc.

This law, that the capitalist can sell the commodity *at a profit,* although *below* its value, is very important for the explanation of certain phenomena of competition.

In particular, one of the main phenomena, which we shall come back to later in more detail, would be entirely inexplicable without this: namely, a *general rate of profit,* or the way in which the capitals work out amongst themselves the total surplus value produced by capital. A general rate of profit of this kind is only made possible by the fact that some commodities are sold above, others below, their value, or that the surplus value realised by the individual capital depends not on the surplus value it itself produces but on

the average surplus value produced by the whole of the capitalist class.

d)[77] Therefore, if the *surplus value* is given, absolute or relative—i.e., on the one hand, there is a given limit to the normal working day, beyond which labour time cannot be extended, on the other hand the productive power of labour is given, so that the minimum of necessary labour time cannot be curtailed any further—profit can only be increased in so far as it is possible to reduce the *value* of the constant capital required for the production of the commodity. When constant capital enters into the production of a commodity, is required for its production, it is not its price (its exchange value) but its use value which alone comes into consideration. The amount of labour that flax e.g. can absorb in spinning does not depend on the *value* of the flax, but on its *quantity,* given the stage of production, i.e. given a definite stage of technological development; just as the assistance a machine affords to e.g. 100 workers does not depend on its *value, price,* but on its use value, its character as a machine. At one stage of technological development a bad machine may be expensive, while at a higher stage of technological development an excellent machine may be cheap. The English cotton industry was first able to develop once cotton was converted from an expensive into a cheap material by the invention of the COTTON GIN (1793) //because 1 old black woman could separate 50 lbs of cotton fibres from cotton seed in 1 day immediately after the invention of this chopping machine, whereas previously the day's labour of 1 black man was required to perform this process for a single pound of cotton//.

*The value* of the constant capital required at a particular technological stage can only be reduced, hence the *profit,* $\frac{s}{c+v}$ can only be increased, while the surplus value remains the same, in two circumstances. Either if there is a direct fall in the *value* of the fixed and circulating capital employed, i.e. both become the product of less labour time, hence there is an increase in the productive power of the branches of labour of which they are the direct products. In this case there is an increase in the profit in a branch of labour because of a growth in the productivity of labour (hence to a certain degree a growth in surplus labour) in the other branches of labour which supply it with the conditions of production. [XVI-983] In this case too, therefore, the profit thereby obtained (or the increase of profit, or, and this is the same thing, the diminution of the difference between profit and surplus

value), or the greater productivity of capital (for profit is the actual product of capital) is a result of the growth in the productivity of labour and the appropriation of that growth by capital. Only this does not take place directly, i.e. it takes place indirectly. Thus the growth of the profit a capitalist obtains through the cheapening of cotton and the spinning machine, though not a result of the rise in the productivity of spinning, is indeed a result of the rise in the productivity of machine manufacture and flax cultivation (or cotton cultivation, etc.).

The advantage of this is twofold, it raises the productivity of capital in two ways. In order to materialise a given quantity of labour, hence to appropriate a given quantity of surplus labour, a smaller outlay is needed in purchasing the conditions of labour, the constant part of capital, the value of which only reappears in the product but is not increased in it. There is therefore a fall in the production costs now required to appropriate a given quantity of surplus labour. This is expressed by a rise in the ratio of the variable part of capital to the constant part, hence to the total capital. There is therefore an increase in profit, for $\frac{s}{c+v}$ clearly grows in line with a fall in the value of $C$, the numerical magnitude of $C$, since it would reach its maximum when $C=0$.

*Secondly:* Let us assume that a constant capital of a given magnitude was previously required e.g. to employ a given number of spinners and to appropriate a given quantity of their surplus labour. At the given stage of production the employment of these 100 men requires machinery[a] of a certain quality and a definite size, and similarly a definite quantity of raw material, cotton, wool, silk, etc. But the value of this constant capital has nothing to do with the spinning process into which it enters. If it fell by a half, the surplus value produced in the spinning process would firstly remain the same as before, but the profit would have increased. If the constant capital was originally $^5/_6$ of the total capital, the variable capital $^1/_6$—hence e.g. out of £600, £500 constant, £100 variable—and the surplus value 30%, the rate of profit would come to 5% on £600 (100×6 makes 600; 6×5=30).(Rate of profit 5%: surplus value 30%=600 $(c+v)$:100$(v)$) (5×600=3,000, and 30×100 similarly=3,000). The rate of profit was 5%. If now the production costs of the constant capital were to fall by half—i.e. if there were a doubling of productive power in the branches which

[a] In the manuscript, Marx wrote the words "fixed capital" over the word "machinery".—*Ed.*

provided this constant capital—therefore from 500 to 250, the total amount of capital employed would have fallen from 600 to 350. The surplus value, at 30, and the variable capital, at 100, would remain the same... So now it is 30 on 350. The rate of profit, instead of $\frac{30}{500+100}$, is $\frac{30}{250+100}$; so instead of 5% the profit is $8^4/_7$%. ($350:30=100:8^4/_7$.) The profit would therefore have increased because in the first case the ratio of the variable capital to the total capital=100:600=1:6. In the second case it is $100:350=1:^7/_2$. In the first case the variable capital=$^1/_6$ of the total capital, in the second it= $\frac{1}{^7/_2}=^2/_7$. But the ratio is $^1/_6:^2/_7=^7/_{42}:^{12}/_{42}$. The ratio of the variable capital to the total capital has therefore risen from $^7/_{42}$ to $^{12}/_{42}$, i.e. by $^5/_{42}$. The rate of profit has increased by the same ratio as that by which the ratio of the variable capital to the total capital has increased, [XVI-984] because $^7/_{42}:^{12}/_{42}$ or $7:12=5:8^4/_7$. ($5\times12=60$, and $7\times(8+^4/_7)=56+\frac{7\times4}{7}-56+4=60$.)

This would therefore be the first gain, or, speaking generally, a capital of 350 would now bring in as much profit as a capital of 600 did previously, because the surplus value would remain the same, but the employment of the same amount of capital laid out in wages would now only require for its realisation a constant capital of 250 instead of the 500 required previously. The *production costs* required for the production of the surplus value and accordingly of the profit would have been reduced.

Secondly, however, £250 out of the total capital of £600 required previously for the production of the same amount of commodities and the same surplus value would be set free. This money could either be invested in another branch of business for the appropriation of alien labour, or employed in the same branch of business. Presupposing the same stage of production and therefore the same ratio between the different parts of the capital, twice the number of workers could be employed, hence twice the surplus labour could be appropriated, without any increase at all in constant capital. An increase of only £100 would be needed for wages; hence a total capital of £700, to make a gain (a surplus value) of £60 (60:200, the same as 30:100, surplus value as before is 30%). Previously £1,200 would have been needed (according to the previous rate). Or if the 250 were added as new capital to the old (where this is technically possible) and divided into *c* and *v* in the same proportion, $71^3/_7$ would be the share of

labour and $178^4/_7$ the share of constant capital. According to the previous ratio, surplus value would then be $21^3/_7$ (or 30%) ($100:30=73^3/_7:21^3/_7$). The total profit on the capital of £600 (although the rate of surplus value remains the same, surplus value itself has increased, because the ratio of variable capital to total capital has increased) now$=30+21^3/_7=51^3/_7$.

The rate of profit would have increased from 5% to $8^4/_7$% as compared with the original situation, while the amount of profit would have increased, because surplus value has increased, from 30 to $51^3/_7$. Every reduction in the value of the constant capital, leaving aside the fact that it increases the rate of profit, because it reduces the ratio of total capital to variable, now permits the exploitation of the same amount of labour with a smaller outlay of capital overall, therefore leaving the surplus value unaltered, and sets free a part of the capital, which can be converted now into variable capital, the self-increasing part of capital, instead of being converted into constant capital, as it was previously. Any increase in the value of constant capital (if the stage of production, hence the technological conditions of production, remain the same) only increases the production costs required for the production of the same surplus value, and therefore reduces the rate of profit. Any reduction in the value of constant capital, as long as the stage of production remains the same, increases the part of capital which can be converted into variable capital, capital which is not only self-preserving but self-increasing, and therefore increases not only the rate of profit, but its amount, because it increases the amount of surplus value.

[XVI-985] *Another example.*

If, therefore, there is a given capital, of e.g. £9,000 sterling, and if the same flax, machinery, etc., which cost £6,000 previously, and was worked on by 100 workers during the year, at £30 apiece, can now be bought at £3,000, the profit (surplus value calculated on the total capital) which accrued to the capitalist for the £6,000 would be as large as the profit for which 9,000 was previously necessary. He would need $^1/_3$ less capital in order to *absorb* and *appropriate* the same surplus labour. £3,000 would therefore be set free for him. If the ratio remained the same, he could now, out of the £3,000 which had been set free, employ 1,500 for machinery and flax, 1,500 for wages, and absorb the surplus labour of 50 more workers than previously with the same capital of £9,000. In the first case, the rate of profit would have risen if he only employed £6,000, because the ratio of the variable to the total capital would have increased. In the second case, the

AMOUNT of profit would have risen as well as the rate, if he continued to employ the £9,000 in production, because 1) 4,500 out of the 9,000 would have been exchanged for living labour, as against 3,000 previously, and because 2) the surplus labour of 50 more men would have been appropriated, the quantity of surplus labour would have increased not only *relatively* but *absolutely*. In both cases, the productivity of labour, in so far as it affects the constant capital, only increases the profit (the rate of profit) because it increases surplus labour *relatively*, in proportion to the capital laid out, or *absolutely* (the latter when a part of the capital which previously, on a given, on the same, scale of production, had to be converted into constant capital, now becomes free, or can be converted into variable capital).

The *increase in the rate of profit*—through a reduction in the ratio between variable capital *and constant capital* [*or in the ratio of variable capital* to][78] the total amount of capital advanced, or, and this is the same thing, through a *reduction in the value* of the constant capital, as a result of the increased productive power of the labour which produces it—originates in both cases solely from the fact that surplus value is increased *relatively* or *absolutely* in proportion to its production costs, i.e. to the total amount of capital required to produce it, or that the difference between profit and surplus value is lessened. This increase in the rate of profit therefore rests on the development of productive power, not in the branch of labour belonging to a particular capital, but in the branches of labour of which the product is the constant capital required in that branch of labour.

// In reality the part of capital which exists as fixed capital—or also all the commodity capital which was produced under the old conditions of production—is *relatively devalued* by this increase in productive power or the relative devaluation of this capital; just as the rate of profit is lessened, hence also profit is lessened proportionately to capital, whereas the *value of that capital* itself rises, if there is a reduction in productive power, an increase, it may be, in the cost of iron, wood, cotton, etc., and other elements which [form] fixed capital and circulating capital, to the extent that they enter into constant capital, given that surplus value remains the same. This effect is to be considered in dealing with competition.[67] This circumstance never comes into consideration with *new capital investment*, whether in the same business or in the newly established one; just as little with the raw material which has to be bought afresh. //

// Furthermore, the rate of profit can be increased by *curtailment*

*of circulation time,* hence by all inventions which ease COMMUNICATIONS and speed up the means of transport, and similarly by speeding up the formal transformation processes of the commodity, thus through the development of credit and the like. But this actually needs to be considered under the heading of the circulation process.[54] //

A second kind of increase in the rate of profit arises from another source, not from *economy in the labour* which produces constant capital, but from *economy in the employment of constant capital.* Constant capital is on the one hand *saved* by the concentration of workers, by cooperation, by labour on a large scale. The same factory buildings, heating, lighting, etc., cost less, relatively speaking, when employed on a large than when employed on a small scale of production. Here it is the common application of the same use value which lessens the costs of production. Similarly, the cost of a part [XVI-986] of the machinery, etc., e.g. a steam-boiler, does not rise in proportion to its horsepower. (See example.[79]) Although its absolute value rises, its *relative* value falls, in proportion to the scale of production and the magnitude of the variable capital which is set in motion, or the quantity of labour power which is exploited. The economy a capital applies in its own production, e.g. spinning, rests directly on *economy of labour,* i.e. the exchange of as little objectified labour as possible for as much living labour as possible, the production of the maximum amount of surplus labour, which is only made possible by increasing the productive power of labour. The *economy* just mentioned, in contrast, rests on accomplishing this *greatest possible appropriation of alien unpaid labour* in the most economical way possible, i.e., on the given scale, with the smallest possible *production costs.* This economy, too, rests either on exploiting the productivity of social labour outside this particular branch of production, i.e. the productivity of the labour employed in the production of constant capital; or, in the case considered above, on economy in the employment of constant capital, which either directly makes possible saving through cooperation, etc., the social form of labour within capitalist production, and the scale of this production, or makes possible the production of machinery, etc., on a scale at which its exchange value does not grow uniformly with its use value. In both cases, the raised productivity is the increase in the productivity of labour which arises from the social form of labour, this time not [through changes] in the labour itself but in the conditions under which and with which it produces. It is also relevant here that in large-scale production the

*waste products* more easily become the materials for new industry than does the scattered waste of small-scale industry; this likewise means a reduction in production costs.

Capital therefore has a tendency in the direct employment of *living labour* to reduce it to *necessary labour,* and always to curtail the labour necessary for the manufacture of a product by exploiting the social productive power of labour, hence to economise on living labour—to employ as little labour as possible for the manufacture of a commodity. In the same way, it has a tendency to employ this labour which has been economised and reduced to necessary labour under the *most economical conditions,* i.e. to reduce the exchange value of the constant capital to the minimum possible level—hence altogether to reduce *production costs to their minimum.* If we see, therefore, that the value of the commodity is determined not by the labour time contained in it as such, but by the *necessary* labour time contained in it, capital realises this determination first, and at the same time continuously curtails the labour socially *necessary* to the production of a commodity. The price of the commodity is thereby reduced to its minimum, since all the elements of the labour required to produce it are reduced to a minimum.

e) In order to calculate profit (like surplus value) we take not only the surplus value a particular capital produces in a given period of time (turnover time) but also a quantity of capital, e.g. 100, as a yardstick, so that the ratio is expressed in per cent.

f) It is clear that the rate of accumulation, i.e. of the real growth of capital, is determined by the profit and not by the surplus value, since, as we have seen, the same profit and the same rate of profit may express very different rates of surplus value. It is profit that expresses surplus value in proportion to the total amount of capital advanced, hence the real growth (or the ratio of real growth) of the total capital. The real gain the capitalist makes is therefore not expressed by the surplus value but by the profit. Surplus value is related only to the part of the capital from which it directly arises. Profit is related to the whole of the capital which has been advanced in order to produce that surplus value; this capital therefore contains not only the part directly exchanged for living labour, but also the part representing the sum of the value of the conditions of production under which alone the other part of the capital can be exchanged for living labour and the latter exploited.

[XVI-987] Surplus value only expresses the excess of the part of

living labour exchanged and appropriated in the production process over the equivalent given away in exchange for it in wages, in the form of objectified labour. Profit, however, expresses the excess of the *value of the product over the value of the whole of the costs of production*; hence it expresses in fact the increment of value which the total capital receives at the end of the processes of production and circulation, over and above the value it possessed before this process of production, when it entered into it.

Profit is therefore also the sole form which interests capital directly, and in it the memory of its origin is completely extinguished. The conversion of surplus value into profit therefore completes the mystification which makes capital appear as a SELFACTOR and a person vis-à-vis labour, thus turning the objective moment of the production process into a subject.

g) How, then, is profit related to the size of the capital, *presupposing the same surplus value*? This is the same question as: How is the amount of profit related to the rate of profit?

But secondly, how does a *general rate of profit* originate, a rate of profit dependent on the *size* of the capital alone, and independent of the surplus value which is created by a particular capital in a particular branch of business, or of the productivity (i.e. the ratio of appropriation of alien labour) prevailing in a particular branch of business?

These two questions, which are connected with production costs, must be answered before we proceed to the solution of the most important question in this section—the decline of the rate of profit in the course of capitalist production.

//Before this, one further remark regarding 6 c).[a] [80] Since commodities can be sold at a profit *beneath* their value—namely, provided that they are sold *above* the capitalist's costs, the part of the production costs paid for by the capitalist himself, the part advanced from his own purse—and since the difference between the value of the commodity and costs of production allows the capitalist considerable room for manoeuvre and makes it possible to set very different price levels for the commodity below its value without liquidating profit altogether—it is clear that competition could force down the rate of profit everywhere, not only in one branch, but in many, indeed in all branches of production, through a gradual compression of prices below their value. If society consisted purely of industrial capitalists, this would balance out, since each of them would obtain his conditions of labour

[a] See this volume, pp. 82-84.—*Ed.*

cheaper not only as a private consumer but as an industrial consumer, the rate of profit therefore rising again generally as a result both of the devaluation of the total capital advanced and of the diminution in the production costs of labour capacity, hence the rise of surplus value relatively to variable capital. But society includes classes with fixed incomes, THE MONEYED CLASS, etc., creditors and so on, hence there are fixed deductions from surplus value or profit which do not fall with the reduction in the rate of profit or the fall of the prices of commodities beneath their value. These classes would make a double gain. The rate which would fall to their share would have a higher exchange value, because it remained unchanged, while the prices of commodities would on the average have fallen beneath their value. They would come to a greater proportion of the deduction, and would be able to buy more with this. Something of the kind took place in England between 1815 and 1830 (see *Blake*[81]). Under these circumstances, the situation of the actual industrial capitalists might be very precarious. The moneyed classes would in fact pocket the considerable part of the surplus value lost by industrial capital itself. However, such a state of affairs could only be temporary, since it would call forth bankruptcies among the industrialists (as among the English farmers between 1815 and 1830) and hold up the accumulation of capital. A reaction would necessarily occur. Therefore, although competition may reduce the *rate of profit* not only in a particular branch of industry, as long as it is higher than the average rate, but also, [XVI-988] as Adam Smith says,[82] in all branches, the latter effect can only be temporary. The capital accumulated in the hands of the FIX[ed] INCOME and MONEYED CLASSES would either have to be employed in the purchase of commodities for consumption, and in this case the price of the commodity would again move closer to its value, hence the rate of profit would again rise; or it would itself be loaned out again as capital. In the latter case there would be on the one hand a yet further increase in competition, hence the rate of profit, which had already fallen a long way, would sink still further owing to a further reduction of the prices of the commodities beneath their values, thereby bringing about a crisis, an explosion and a reaction; but on the other hand, the new placements of funds, whether as interest or as rent, would be made at a lower rate, in line with the fall in prices, thereby bringing forth a situation approximating to that in which *all* capitalists sold the commodities beneath their value, hence, through equalisation, *at* their value. The rate of profit would thereby rise to its normal level again.

From this standpoint, therefore, it appears that Adam Smith's view is correct in one aspect, overlooked by his opponents, that it explains certain temporary phenomena of modern industry, but does not explain the general phenomenon which is involved in the normal decline of the rate of profit; all it does is to explain merely temporary *general fluctuations*, which are later again balanced out.

Further: This view does not in fact imply that the *rate of profit* in general sinks, but rather the rate of profit which appears directly as *industrial* profit. It implies that there merely takes place a different distribution, since in fact a considerable part of the surplus value is POCKETED by the MONEYED INTEREST and the FIXED INCOME MEN, instead of the industrial capitalists themselves. There is, it suggests, merely a different *distribution* of profit in general; profit itself has not changed its rate, since it now appears as higher income in the hands of other classes. In the long term, indeed, this would lead to crises and reaction. So Adam Smith does not explain the actual phenomenon. But the value of the FIXED INCOMES would rise, on the one hand because they would collect a higher rate of overall profit—although the rate would remain the same nominally—and secondly because they would in fact buy for their share not only more products, but also a greater amount of objectified labour, even if this labour was not *paid for* by them. //

It is clear that if the surplus value is given, and the *rate of profit* in which it is expressed is given // this may, as we have seen, vary greatly while the surplus value remains the same //, the amount of profit, the absolute magnitude of profit, depends entirely on the *magnitude of the total capital employed.* If the profit on 100 thalers is 10, it is 10,000 on 100,000, namely $10 \times 1{,}000$, since the ratio of capital 100 to capital $100{,}000 = 10:(10 \times 1{,}000)$. The amount of profit grows in this case in exactly the same measure as the value or the magnitude of the capital advanced; just as when the capital is given, the amount of profit depends on the rate of profit.

1) We see, however, that *the same* surplus value may be expressed in very different rates of profit, according to the ratio of the variable capital to the total capital.

2) But secondly, the surplus value itself is in the nature of things *not the same* for different capitals. *It differs.* In the first place, the ratio of the actual *circulation time to production time* varies, and therefore the turnover time of different capitals is different, and the surplus value really created stands in a ratio which is the inverse of that between circulation time and production time. Secondly, the normal working day differs with different capitals, and therefore surplus labour time is different,

although this is initially only to be conceived as compensation for the proportions in which the different modes of labour stand towards simple average labour. Thirdly, the ratio of circulating to fixed capital, the ratio in which *fixed capital* turns over, etc., are different. Productivity differs in different branches of industry, and the proportion in which they participate in the productivity of other branches of industry is also different. For example, an industry which employs very few hands does not participate in the cheapening of agricultural products, or, in general, in the cheapening of means of subsistence, in the same measure as an industry which employs many hands, one setting in motion much living labour; just as an industry which employs little machinery does not participate in the same measure in the cheapening of machinery as one which employs a great deal of machinery.

[XVI-989] One can only speak of an *average rate of profit* when the rates of profit in the different branches of production of capital are different, not when they are the same.

A closer investigation of this point belongs to the chapter on competition.[67] Nevertheless, the decisive general considerations must be adduced here.

Firstly, it lies in the nature of a common or general rate of profit that it represents the *average profit*; the average of very diverse rates of profit.

The average rate of profit presupposes further that if a particular capital in a particular investment brings in a profit which rises or falls about a certain point, its profit rises or falls above or below the normal rate of profit, which is therefore determined precisely by the level designated from this point of measurement. At this level the rate of profit counts as the normal one, which capital as such is by and large entitled to. But even now we are not yet at the decisive point.

A rate of profit—to the extent that it is not compensated for by the particular nature of the capital investment, in an analogous manner to the way concurrent circumstances, such as the particular nature of the labour, etc., modify somewhat the differences in length of the normal days of different branches of labour—above or below the average counts as an exceptional condition for capital in the particular branch of investment where it takes place, and it will be forced down or raised up by competition to the general level, through the entry of outside capitals into the privileged branch, or in the opposite case the exit of local capitals—capitals which are settled in that branch—out of the latter. The level of the rate of profit thereby falls in the first

case, and rises in the second. The surplus profit, or the short-fall of profit, an individual capitalist encounters in a particular branch (district) of capital investment, does not belong to this discussion at all. What is involved here is rather the profit of capital in all the particular branches of production, or in every particular sphere of capital investment conditioned by the social division of labour—for every capital placed in average or normal conditions. This qualification is necessary, in order to proceed, through analysis, to what lies at the basis of the *average rate of profit.*

If we adopt some particular quantity of capital, e.g. 100, as a yardstick—i.e. a yardstick for comparing the magnitude of different capitals—the meaning of the *average rate of profit* is that on £100 a profit of e.g. £10, of $^1/_{10}$ of the capital advanced, or of 10%, is made, entirely disregarding the particular nature or determination of the sphere of production in which this £100 is invested as capital. It therefore by no means follows that a sum of value of £100 can be invested as capital in every sphere of production. It only follows that in each of these spheres 10% is made on 100, whatever the magnitude of the capital required for engaging in a particular branch of production. A *general rate of profit* therefore means in fact nothing but that the total amount of profit is absolutely determined by the magnitude of the capital advanced. The capital may be large or small, the average rate of its profit is 10%, and indeed in the same circulation time, turnover time, hence 1 year for example, as the measure of circulation time. If circulation time is posited as indifferent for all capitals (or identical, which is the same thing); furthermore the rate of profit too; the amount of profit will depend entirely on the magnitude of the capital. Or, the amount of profit=$a$ times $x$, in which $a$ is a fixed magnitude, $x$ is the variable which expresses the magnitude of the capital. Or, given the magnitude of the capital, the amount of profit is given, namely determined, by the general rate of profit. [XVI-990] That the general rate of profit=10%, e.g., means nothing at all except that $^1/_{10}$ of the capitals, in whatever branch they are employed, returns as profit or that the profit stands in the same ratio to the magnitude of the capital—has the same ratio to the magnitude of the capital advanced, its amount therefore depends directly on the magnitude—stands in direct ratio to the magnitude of the capital; hence is similarly independent of the *real turnover time of the capital* (since the rate of profit is the same for any given circulation time), is independent of its *specific circulation time*—i.e. of the ratio of its circulation time to its production time; is similarly independent of the organic relation

of the different components of capital in each particular branch of production, hence independent of the *real surplus value*—i.e. the real quantity of surplus labour—which every individual capital absorbs or produces in every particular branch of production.

The conversion of surplus value into profit alters not only the numerical relation—or rather the *expression of the numerical relation*—but the form as such. Surplus value appeared as a relation in which objectified labour was exchanged for living labour, or in which objectified labour appropriated living labour without exchange. The organic relation of the different parts of the capital advanced to each other, and therefore also the relation of the surplus value to a *specific* component of the capital emerges, is expressed in this. The relation ceases as soon as surplus value is expressed as profit. All parts of the capital advanced appear as uniform magnitudes of value, only differing quantitatively—amounts of exchange value, sums of value which in relation to their quantity—or rather added together—uniformly have the quality of producing not only themselves but an excess over their original magnitude: profit. The capital is the main sum, the profit is the subsidiary sum produced by this main sum in a definite circulation time. The main sum, the capital, is related as ground (cause) to the subsidiary sum as the grounded (consequence, effect). This appears as the existing law of capitalist production. How and whence and why is so little expressed in this relation of capital and profit that the spokesmen of capitalist production, the political economists, give the most varied and contradictory interpretations of this phenomenon.

Nevertheless, even after this conversion of surplus value into profit, surplus value remains equal to profit as an absolute magnitude. Whether 100 is calculated as a profit of 10% on 1,000, or as a surplus value of 20% on the variable part contained within that 1,000, say 500, the 100 continues [to appear] *as the same magnitude of value*, only differently calculated //and in the difference of the calculation there exists the difference of form, the extinction of the relation of this *excess over the capital advanced to the organic relation of the different components of capital*//. In itself the distinction remains purely formal. The difference of surplus value in particular capital investments would therefore continue to be displayed here as a *difference of profit*.

The situation is entirely different, however, with the *general rate of profit*, the most general law of which is expressed in the fact that the rate of profit is equal for all capitals, or, and this is the same

thing, that the amounts of profit are related to each other directly and exactly as the magnitudes of the capitals.

The *general rate of profit*, and therefore profit in its real, empirical shape, already implies the conversion of surplus value into profit and therefore the conversion of the rate of surplus value into the rate of profit. But *then the differences in surplus value* (in its rate) (and therefore also relatively in the total amounts of surplus value), as they emerge in the particular spheres of capital investment, partly owing to differences in the ratio of variable to constant capital, partly owing to the ratio of circulating and fixed capital (let us say owing to all the relations which emerge from the ratio of production time to circulation [XVI-991] time)—these *different rates of surplus value*, or the *diversity of surplus value*, continue to exist, although in the altered form of differences in profit or *different rates of profit*. These serve as the substance, the prerequisite, of the *general rate of profit*, and therefore of *profit in its organic form*. They are equalised, reduced to their average magnitude, which is then the real (normal) rate of profit in all particular spheres—particular spheres of production of capital—produced by the division of social labour. On the basis of the first transformation, therefore, a second takes place, which no longer affects the form alone, but also the substance itself, in that it alters the *absolute magnitude* of profit—hence of surplus value, which appears in the form of profit. This *absolute magnitude* was untouched by the first transformation.

Whatever the production costs (in the capitalist's eyes) in any particular sphere of production—hence of any particular commodity—the capitalist adds e.g. 10% (the general rate of profit) to the sum advanced, calculates thus that 10% will be added to the amount of commodities produced in a year. This 10% then enters into the price of the commodity, and if the commodity is sold at this price the normal profit, or the average profit, is realised. If, e.g., the capitalist were to reckon 2% over this average profit in the first half of the year, and 2% under in the second half, the total amount of commodities during a year, or the average profit he makes during a year, would represent the normal profit or average profit of a capital of a given magnitude, since the increases and reductions in profit during the daily transactions would have balanced out to that amount.

But in its essence profit consists of surplus value—not of a *formally* higher valuation of the product, as perhaps the money price rises nominally if the value of the material of money, gold perhaps, falls, without a simultaneous fall in the value of

commodities. Surplus value is a genuine creation of new value. It represents more objectified labour—hence a higher real exchange value—than the labour originally objectified in the capital, i.e. it goes beyond its original exchange value. And this surplus quantity of labour is realised in a surplus quantity of product or use value. Just as it would be wrong to regard a greater quantity of use values or products as a greater quantity of objectified labour on account of their greater quantity—with an increase in the productivity of labour they may represent the converse, a smaller quantity of labour—so it is correct that at a given level of the productivity of labour, at a given stage of production, surplus labour or surplus value expresses itself at the same time as surplus product, more use value. If we consider the total capital, the total surplus value represents the total excess quantity of labour which is realised in the total SURPLUS PRODUCE, over and above the product which replaces the constant part of capital and is required for the reproduction of the whole of the working class—a SURPLUS PRODUCE which is in part converted back into capital, and in part forms the income of all the classes living, under various headings, from their command over alien labour, from their respective shares in this SURPLUS PRODUCE.

If the addition of profit to price were merely formal, it would be *nominal*, in the same way as if the value of the total product were only distinguished from the total value of the capital advanced by being valued, let us say, in money whose value had fallen, or, equally, whose numerical expression had been magnified by being valued in silver instead of in gold. [XVI-992] Neither new value nor SURPLUS PRODUCE would be implied thereby. All capitalists would sell the same value at a higher money price, the same as if they were all to sell it at a lower money price or all to sell it at a money price corresponding to the value. It would then also be a matter of indifference whether a profit of 10% or 1,000% were added to the price of the costs of production, for the BIG FIGURES which express a merely nominal increase of the price are just as irrelevant as if this nominal increase were to take place on a smaller scale. The percentages of this nominal increase would be a matter of complete indifference. The wage, i.e. the part of capital which is set aside for the reproduction of labour capacity, as well as the part of capital which replaces the constant capital advanced, would appear in the same ratio in BIGGER FIGURES, in a higher monetary expression.

Just as the surplus value of the individual capital in each particular sphere of production is the measure of the absolute

magnitude of the profit—in so far as this is merely a converted form of surplus value—so is the *total surplus value* produced by the total capital, hence the whole of the class of capitalists, the absolute *measure of the total profit of the total capital*, whereby profit should be understood to include all forms of surplus value, such as rent, interest, etc. (that this total profit implies an ENCROACHMENT on wages is beside the point, as was shown earlier[a]). It is therefore the absolute magnitude of value (and therefore the absolute SURPLUS PRODUCE, amount of commodities) which the capitalist class can divide up among its members under various headings. The empirical, or average, profit can therefore be nothing other than the distribution of that total profit (and the total surplus value represented by it or the representation of the total surplus labour) among the individual capitals in each particular sphere of production, in equal proportions, or, what is the same thing, according to the different proportions in which they stand to the magnitude of the capitals, and not according to the proportion in which the capitals directly stand to the production of that total profit. It therefore only represents the result of the particular mode of calculation in which the different capitals divide among themselves aliquot parts of the total profit. What is available for them to divide among themselves is only determined by the absolute quantity of the total profit or the total surplus value. The rule of distribution is equal profit for capitals of equal magnitude or inequality of profit in proportion to the unequal magnitude of the capitals. What was merely formal in the first transformation, the calculation of surplus value on the individual overall capital as a *uniform, distinct amount of value* without regard to the organic relation of its components, becomes here a material difference, since the share of total profit or total surplus value is uniformly determined, measured, at so many per 100, hence according to the magnitude of the capitals, without regard to the proportion in which each individual capital in each particular sphere of production participates in the creation of that total profit or total surplus value. Just as in the first transformation the surplus value is formally determined as the excess of the value of the product over the value of the capital advanced, so here the share of each capital advanced in the excess of the value of the total product of the total capital over its total value is determined materially in proportion to the value of the capital advanced. The AGENCY

[a] See this volume, pp. 69-76.—*Ed.*

through which this calculation is performed is the *competition of capitals* with each other. From the moment at which the surplus value is converted as profit, i.e. excess over the capital advanced, the second practical consequence follows, that a particular excess in proportion to the capital advanced forms the profit or the surplus value falling to its share, which stands in proportion to its magnitude—the magnitude of the production costs—and these come down to the value of the capital advanced. Profit thus equalised, levelled, expresses for capitals in one sphere of production a higher surplus value than they really produce directly, [XVI-993] for others a lower one, and for both the average of these higher and lower amounts. The absolute measure of this rate of profit naturally depends on the absolute proportion of the surplus value to the totality of the capital advanced.

In fact the matter can be expressed in this way:

Profit—as first transformation of surplus value—and the rate of profit in this first transformation—expresses surplus value in proportion to the individual overall capital of which it is the product—treating all parts of this overall capital as uniform, and relating to the whole of it as a homogeneous sum of value, without regard to the organic relation in which the different components of this capital stand towards the creation of its surplus value.

Empirical or average profit expresses the same transformation, the same process, in that it relates the total amount of surplus value, hence the surplus value realised by the whole capitalist class, to the total capital, or the capital employed by the whole capitalist class, in exactly this way—it relates the total surplus value as profit to that total capital of society, without regard to the organic relation in which the individual components of that total capital have participated directly in the production of that total surplus value, on behalf, that is, of the individual independent capitals or the individual capitalists in the particular sphere of production. Just as, for example, with the individual capital of £900, if it yields a surplus value of £90, this profit is related equally to all components of the £900, and every component of the latter is valorised at 10%, thus, it may be, the 350 fixed capital, the 350 capital for raw material, and the 200 capital for wages, each provides 10%, each therefore produces a profit in proportion to its magnitude—"the capitalist generally expects an equal profit upon all the parts of the capital which he advances" (*Malthus*)[56]—so the total capital $C$ socially, or the total amount of all the capitals of all the individual capitalists, is related to $S$, the surplus value, as the rate of profit $r$, for example, and every part of this total

capital participates in the proportion $r$ to $P$ or $S$, hence in proportion to the magnitude of its value, irrespective of its direct functional relation in the production of $S$.

The second transformation is a necessary result of the first, which emerges from the nature of capital itself, whereby the surplus value is converted into an excess of value over production costs, i.e. the value of the capital advanced. In the first case, the absolute magnitude of the surplus value=that of the profit; but the rate of profit is less than the rate of surplus value. In the second case the absolute magnitude of the total surplus value=the magnitude of the total profit; but the average rate of profit is less than the average rate of surplus value (i.e. the ratio of surplus value to the total value of the variable capital contained in the total capital).

The transformation is formal in the first case, in the second material at the same time, since now the profit that falls to the share of the individual capital is in practice a different magnitude from the surplus value created by it, it is larger or smaller. In the first case, the surplus value is calculated only according to the magnitude of the capital which produces this particular surplus value, without regard to the capital's organic components. In the second case, the share of the individual independent capital in the total surplus value is calculated in accordance with this capital's magnitude alone, without regard to its functional relation to the production of that total surplus value.

In the second case, therefore, an essential difference enters the picture, both between profit and surplus value and between the price and the value of the commodity. Hence the difference between the real prices—even the normal prices of the commodities—and their values. The more detailed [XVI-994] investigation of this point belongs to the chapter on *competition*,[67] in which it will also need be demonstrated how it is that despite this difference between the normal prices of commodities and their values, alterations in the value of the commodity modify its price.

But it will be understood from the outset how through the confusion of empirical profit with surplus value—which profit presents in a very transformed form (just as through the confusion of the difference itself which corresponds to this between the normal prices and the values of commodities)—and this confusion is a common feature of all previous political economy, to a greater or lesser degree (only with the distinction that the more deep-going political economists such as Ricardo,

Smith, etc., directly reduce profit to surplus value, i.e. want to display the abstract laws of surplus value directly through empirical profit, because otherwise any attempt to gain knowledge of the laws [of political economy] would have to be abandoned—whereas the economic *plebs* do the opposite, and directly set up and proclaim as laws of surplus value the phenomena of empirical profit; in reality proclaiming the semblance of lawlessness to be the law itself) [...][a]

The competition of capitals is nothing more than the realisation of the immanent laws of capital, i.e. of capitalist production, in that each capital confronts the other as the executor of these laws, the individual capitals bringing their inner nature to bear by the external compulsion which they exert on each other, according to their inner nature. But in competition the immanent laws of capital, of capitalist production, appear as the result of the mechanical impact of the capitals on each other; hence inverted and upside down. What is effect appears as cause, the converted form appears as the original one, etc. Vulgar political economy therefore explains everything it does not understand from competition, i.e. to state the phenomenon in its most superficial form counts for it as knowing the laws of the phenomenon.[83]

If a capital which turns over 6 times in a year only takes a profit *2 times smaller* than a capital which turns over 3 times, one which employs much labour does not take any more profit than one which employs much fixed capital, one which suffers long interruptions in the production process itself no less than one which proceeds without interruption, etc., this means nothing but that the capitalists calculate the profit they make on the capital's size, not on its direct causal connection with the process.

If each capitalist adds 10% to his production costs, this means nothing but that one capitalist adds a given amount more, the other adds a given amount less, than he really produces over and above those production costs.

It is in one respect the same as when the individual capitalists sell their commodities above or below their value because they are cheating or being cheated. The one realises more surplus value than he produced, the other less. But the two divide among themselves, even if for accidental motives, and unequally, the total surplus value their two capitals have produced. The same thing takes place with average profit or empirical profit, only following a general law which is entirely independent of the personal frauds

[a] The sentence is unfinished in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

committed by capitalists against each other, but rather asserts itself against and through these activities.

Adam Smith's assertion that the capitalists would have no reason to employ a large instead of a small capital, unless profit bore some proportion to the magnitude of the capitals, is naive but incorrect.[84] Leaving aside its shallowness—a larger capital with a smaller profit may after all—within [XVI-999][85] certain limits—realise a greater amount of profit than a smaller capital with a greater rate of profit. The motive for the employment of larger capitals would therefore remain. What is alone important in Smith's case is that he feels the difficulty of explaining this at all, whereas with the *oeconomista vulgaris* it is self-evident, just as everything is self-evident with that fellow.

The situation arises simply from this, that with the conversion of surplus value into profit the value of the capital advanced is converted into the production costs of the individual capitalists, the magnitude of these production costs is therefore converted into the magnitude of the capital advanced, which means that they calculate the same magnitude of the product—the actual product of capital is profit—in proportion to these production costs, so that the division of the total surplus value as it is present in empirical profit can take place. The relation of supply in particular branches of production gives rise of itself to this levelling and this average calculation.

The last point which has still to be considered under this heading is the entirely fossilised form capital has taken on these days, and the completion of the mystification peculiar to the capitalist mode of production.

*We must return to this point.*

Hence the phrase (of Torrens) that with the advance of civilisation it is not labour but capital that determines the value of commodities. Similarly, that capital is productive, irrespective of the labour employed by it. (Ramsay, Malthus, Torrens, etc.)[86]

h) In relation to the *costs of production* there is a further phenomenon to be discussed: why with the development of capitalist production, and therefore of the volume and measure of development of fixed capital, the mania to prolong the normal working day sets in to such a degree that the intervention of governments becomes necessary everywhere precisely at that point. But this can come later.

### 7) [GENERAL LAW OF THE FALL IN THE RATE OF PROFIT WITH THE PROGRESS OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION]

We have seen (6 g))[a] that real profit—i.e. the current average profit and its rate—is different for the individual capital from profit, and therefore from the rate of profit, in so far as the latter consists of the surplus value really produced by the individual capital and the rate of profit therefore=the ratio of the surplus value to the total amount of the capital advanced. But it was also shown that considering the sum total of the capitals which are employed in the various particular spheres of production, the total amount of the social capital, or, and this is the same thing, the *total capital of the capitalist class*, the average rate of profit is nothing other than the total surplus value related to and calculated on this total capital; that it is related to the total capital exactly in the way in which profit—and therefore the rate of profit—is related to the individual capital, in so far as profit is considered only as surplus value which has been converted formally. Here, therefore, we once again stand on firm ground, where, without entering into the competition of the many capitals, we can derive the general law directly from the general nature of capital as so far developed. This law, and it is the most important law of political economy, is that the *rate of profit has a tendency to fall with the progress of capitalist production.*

[XVI-1000] Since the general rate of profit is nothing but the ratio of the total amount of surplus value to the total amount of capital employed by the capitalist class, we are not concerned here with the different branches into which surplus value is divided, such as industrial profit, interest, rent. Since all these different forms of surplus value are only components of the total surplus value, one part may increase because the other declines. We are concerned here, however, with a fall in the rate of the total surplus value. Even the rent of land—as Adam Smith has already correctly noted—falls with the development of capitalist production, instead of rising, not in proportion to the particular area of land of which it *appears* to be the product, but in proportion to the *capital* invested in agriculture, therefore precisely in the form in which it steps forth directly as a component of surplus value.[87] This law is confirmed by the whole of modern agronomy. (See Dombasle,[88] Jones,[89] etc.)

So where does this tendency for the general rate of profit to fall come from? Before this question is answered, one may point out

[a] See this volume, p. 91.—*Ed.*

that it has caused a great deal of anxiety to bourgeois political economy. The whole of the Ricardian and Malthusian school is a cry of woe over the day of judgement this process would inevitably bring about, since capitalist production is the production of profit, hence loses its stimulus, the soul which animates it, with the fall in this profit. Other economists have brought forward grounds of consolation, which are not less characteristic. But apart from theory there is also the practice, the crises from * superabundance of capital or, what comes to the same, the mad adventures capital enters upon in consequence of the lowering of [the] rate of profit. Hence crises—see Fullarton[90]—acknowledged as a necessary violent means for the cure of the plethora of capital, and the restoration of a sound rate of profit.*

// Fluctuations in the rate of profit, independent of organic CHANGES in the components of capital, or of the absolute magnitude of capital, are possible if the *value* of the capital advanced, whether it is engaged in the form of fixed capital, or exists as raw material, finished commodities, etc., rises or falls in consequence of an increase or reduction, independent of the already existing capital, in the labour time needed for its *reproduction*, since the value of every commodity—hence also of the commodities of which the capital consists—is conditioned not only by the necessary labour time contained in it itself, but by the necessary—socially necessary—labour time which is required for its *reproduction*, and this reproduction may occur under circumstances which hinder or facilitate it, and are different from the conditions of the original production. If under the changed circumstances twice as much labour time, or, inversely, half as much, is generally required to reproduce the same capital, as was needed to produce it, that capital, presupposing that the value of money remains permanently unchanged, would now be worth 200 thalers, if it was previously worth 100, or, if it was previously worth 100, it might now only be worth 50. If this increase or decline in value were to affect uniformly all sections of capital, profit too, like the capital, would now be expressed in twice as many or in half as many thalers. The rate would remain unchanged. 5 is related to 50 as 10 to 100 or 20:200. Let us assume however that the nominal value of fixed capital and raw material alone rises, and that they form $^4/_5$ of 100, hence 80, the variable capital forming $^1/_5$, hence 20. In this case the surplus value, hence the profit, would continue to be expressed in [XVI-1001] the same sum of money. Thus the rate of profit would have risen or fallen. In the first case surplus value=10 thalers, which makes 10% on 100. But the 80 are now

worth 160, hence the total capital=180. 10 on $180={}^{1}/_{18}={}^{100}/_{18}=100:18=5={}^{5}/_{9}\%$, instead of the previous 10%. In the second case 40 instead of 80, the total capital=60, on which $10={}^{1}/_{6}={}^{100}/_{6}$. $100:6=16=16\,{}^{2}/_{3}\%$. But these fluctuations can never be general, unless they affect the commodities which enter into the worker's consumption, hence unless they affect variable capital, hence the whole of capital. In this case, however, the rate of profit remains unchanged, even though the amount of profit has changed nominally. //

The general rate of profit can never rise or fall through a rise or fall in the total value of the capital advanced. If the value of the capital advanced, expressed in money, rises, the nominal monetary expression of the surplus value rises too. The rate remains unchanged. Ditto in the case of a fall.

The general rate of profit can only fall:

1) if the absolute magnitude of surplus value falls. The latter has, inversely, a tendency to rise in the course of capitalist production, for its growth is identical with the development of the productive power of labour, which is developed by capitalist production;

2) because the ratio of variable capital to constant capital falls. As we have seen, the rate of profit is always smaller than the rate of surplus value which is expressed in it.[a] But the larger the ratio of constant to variable capital, the smaller it is. Or, the same rate of surplus value is expressed in a rate of profit which is the smaller, the larger the ratio of the total amount of capital advanced to the variable part of the latter, or the greater a part the constant capital forms of the total capital. Surplus value expressed as profit is $\frac{S}{C+v}$, and the larger $C$ is, the smaller this magnitude, and the more it diverges from $\frac{S}{v}$, the rate of surplus value. For $\frac{S}{C+v}$ would reach its maximum when $C=0$, hence $\frac{S}{C+v}=\frac{S}{v}$.

But the law of development of capitalist production (see Cherbuliez,[b] etc.) consists precisely in the continuous decline of variable capital, i.e. the part of capital laid out in wages, in return for living labour—the variable component of capital—in *relation* to the constant component of capital, i.e. to the part of capital

[a] See this volume, pp. 69-77.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 304-20.—*Ed.*

which consists in fixed capital and in the CIRCULATING CAPITAL laid out for raw material and *matières instrumentales.*[a] The whole development of relative surplus value, i.e. of the productive power of labour, i.e. of capital, consists, as we have seen,[91] in the curtailment of necessary labour time, hence also the reduction of the total amount of the capital exchanged for labour, through the increase in the production of surplus labour by means of division of labour, machinery, etc., cooperation, and the expansion in the amount of value and the mass of constant capital expended which this involves, accompanied by a reduction in the capital expended for labour.

So when the ratio of variable capital to the total amount of capital alters, the rate of profit falls, i.e. the ratio of surplus value to the variable part of capital[b] is the smaller, [XVI-1002] the smaller the ratio of variable capital to constant capital.

If, for example, in the production of India the ratio of the capital laid out as wages to the constant capital=5:1, and in England it is 1:5, it is clear that the rate of profit in India must appear much larger, even if the surplus value actually realised is much smaller. Let us take 500. If the variable capital=$^{500}/_{5}$=100, the surplus value 40, the rate of surplus value will be 40%, the rate of profit only 10%. In contrast, if the variable part is 400 and the rate of surplus value is only 20%, this would make 80 on 400, and on 500 a rate of profit of 80:500, of 8:50. 8:50=16:100. Therefore 16%. (100:16=500:80 or 50:8=250:40 or 25:4=125:20. 25×20=500. 4×125=500.) So although labour would be twice as strongly exploited in Europe as in India, the rate of profit in India would be related to the rate of profit in Europe as 16:10, as 8:5,=1:$^{5}/_{8}$. Hence as 1:0,625. And indeed this is because $^{4}/_{5}$ of the total capital is exchanged for living labour in India, and only $^{1}/_{5}$ in Europe. If real wealth appears slight in those countries where the rate of profit is high, it is because the productive power of labour is slight, a fact which is expressed precisely in the high rate of profit. 20% is $^{1}/_{5}$ on labour time, hence India could only feed $^{1}/_{5}$ of the population not directly involved in the product; whereas 40% is $^{2}/_{5}$, hence in England twice the proportion of the population could live without working.[92]

The tendency towards a fall in the general rate of profit therefore=the development of the productive power of capital, i.e.

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[a] Instrumental materials.—*Ed.*

[b] Thus in the manuscript. The passage should read: "... i.e. the ratio of surplus value to the total capital".—*Ed.*

the rise in the ratio in which objectified labour is exchanged for living labour.[93]

The development of productive power has a double manifestation: [Firstly,] in the magnitude of the productive forces already produced, in the amount of value and the physical extent of the conditions of production under which new production takes place, i.e. the absolute magnitude of the productive capital already accumulated. Secondly, in the relative smallness of the capital laid out for wages, in comparison with the total capital, i.e. the relatively small amount of living labour which is required for the reproduction and exploitation of a large capital—for mass production.

This implies, at the same time, the concentration of capital in large amounts at a small number of places. The same capital is large if it employs 1,000 workers united into a single labour force, small if it is divided into 500 businesses employing two workers apiece.

If the ratio of the variable part of capital to the constant part, or to the total capital, is large, as in the above example, this shows that all the means towards the development of the productivity of labour have not been employed, that, in a word, the *social forces* of labour have not been developed, that therefore with a large quantity of labour little is produced, [XVI-1003] whereas in the opposite case a (relatively) large amount is produced with a small amount of labour.

The development of fixed capital (which produces of itself a development of the circulating capital laid out in raw material and *matières instrumentales* (*see Sismondi*[94]) is a particular symptom of the development of capitalist production.[95] It implies a direct reduction, relatively speaking, of the variable part of capital, i.e. a lessening in the quantity of living labour. The two are identical. This is most striking in agriculture, where the reduction is not only relative but absolute.

//Adam Smith's idea that the general rate of profit is forced down by competition[96]—on the presupposition that capitalists and workers alone confront each other—or that the division of surplus value among different classes is not further considered—comes down to saying that profit does not fall because wages rise; but wages do indeed rise because profit falls, hence it is—from the point of view of the result, an increase in wages corresponding to the fall of profit—the same mode of explanation as Ricardo's completely opposite one, in which profit falls because wages become more expensive, etc.,[97] or as Carey's, because there is an

increase not only in costs of production (exchange value) but in the use value of the wage.[98] That profit TEMPORARILY falls as a result of competition between capitals—i.e. their competition in the demand for labour—is admitted by all political economists (see *Ricardo*[99]). Adam Smith's explanation, *if he did not speak of industrial profits only, would raise this to a general law very contradictory to the laws of wage[s] developed by himself.*//

The development of productive power has a double manifestation: in the increase of surplus labour, i.e. the curtailment of the necessary labour time; and in the reduction of the component of capital which is exchanged with living labour, relatively to the total amount of capital, i.e. the total value of the capital which enters into production. (See *Surplus Value, Capital,* etc.[100]) Or, expressed differently: It is manifested in the greater exploitation of the living labour employed (this follows from the greater quantity of use values which it produces in a given time, *hinc*[a] the curtailment of the time required for the reproduction of the wage, *hinc* the prolongation of the labour time appropriated by the capitalist without equivalent) and in the reduction in the relative amount of living labour time which is employed in general—i.e. in its amount relatively to the capital that sets it in motion. Both movements not only go [hand in hand] but condition each other. They are only different forms and phenomena in which the same law is expressed. But they work in opposite directions, in so far as the rate of profit comes into consideration. Profit is surplus value related to the total capital, and the rate of profit is the ratio of this surplus value, calculated according to a particular measure of the capital, e.g. as a percentage. However, surplus value—as an overall quantity—is determined firstly by its rate, but secondly by the amount of labour employed simultaneously at this rate, or, and this is the same thing, the magnitude of the variable part of the capital. On the one hand there is a rise in the rate of surplus value, on the other hand there is a (relative) fall in the numerical factor by which this RATE is multiplied. In so far as the development of productive power lessens the necessary (paid) part of the labour employed, it raises the surplus value, because it raises its rate, or it raises it when expressed as a percentage. However, in so far as it lessens the total amount of labour employed by a given capital, it reduces the numerical factor by which the rate of surplus value is multiplied, hence it reduces its amount.

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[a] Hence.—*Ed.*

Surplus value is determined both by the rate, which expresses the ratio of surplus labour to necessary labour, and by the amount[a] of working days employed. However, with the development of the productive forces, the latter—or the variable part of the capital—is reduced in relation to the capital laid out.

If $C=500$, $c=100$, $v=400$, and $S=60$, $^{S}/_{v}={}^{60}/_{400}=15\%$, so that the rate of profit$={}^{60}/_{500}=12\%$. [XVI-1004] Furthermore, if $C=500$, $c=400$, $v=100$, and $S=30$, $^{S}/_{v}={}^{30}/_{100}=30\%$, so that the rate of profit$={}^{30}/_{500}=6\%$. The rate of surplus value is doubled, the rate of profit is halved. The rate of surplus value exactly expresses the rate at which labour is exploited, while the rate of profit expresses the relative amount of living labour employed by capital at a given rate of exploitation, or the proportion of the capital laid out in wages, the variable capital, to the total amount of capital advanced.

If $C=500$, $c=400$, and $v=100$, for the rate of profit to be 12% or profit to be 60, surplus value would have to be 60, $^{S}/_{v}={}^{60}/_{100}=60\%$.

For the rate of profit to remain the same, the rate of surplus value (or the rate of exploitation of labour) would have to grow in the same ratio as the magnitude of the capital laid out in labour grows, in the same way as the magnitude of the variable capital falls relatively, or the magnitude of the constant capital grows relatively. It is already strikingly apparent from one single circumstance that this is only possible within certain limits, and that it is rather the reverse, the tendency towards a fall in profit—or a *relative* decline in the amount of surplus value hand in hand with the growth in the rate of surplus value—which must predominate, as is also confirmed by experience. The part of the value which capital newly reproduces and produces is=to the living labour time directly absorbed by it in its product. One part of this labour time replaces the labour time objectified in wages, the other part is the unpaid excess amount, surplus labour time. But both of them together form the whole amount of the value produced, and only a part of the labour employed forms the surplus value. If the normal day=12 hours, 2 workers who perform simple labour can never add more than 24 hours (and workers who perform higher labour can never add more than 24 hours×the factor which expresses the ratio of their working day to the simple working day), of which a definite part replaces

[a] In the manuscript the word "number" is written over the word "amount".—*Ed.*

their wages. The surplus value they produce cannot, whatever the circumstances, be more than an aliquot part of 24 hours. If, instead of 24 workers, only 2 are employed to a given quantity of capital (in proportion to a given measure of capital), or 2 workers are necessary in the new mode of production where 24 were necessary in the old one, in proportion to a given amount of capital, then if the surplus labour in the old mode of production $= {}^{1}/_{12}$ of the total working day, or = 1 hour, no increase in productive power—however much it raised the rate of surplus labour time—could have the effect that the 2 workers provided the same amount of surplus value as the 24 in the old mode of production. If one considers the development of productive power and the relatively not so pronounced fall in the rate of profit, the exploitation of labour must have increased very much, and what is remarkable is not the fall in the rate of profit but that it has not fallen to a greater degree. This can be explained partly by circumstances to be considered in dealing with competition between capitals,[67] partly by the general circumstance that so far the immense increase of productive power in some branches has been paralysed or restricted by its much slower development in other branches, with the result that the general ratio of variable to constant capital—considered from the point of view of the total capital of society—has not fallen in the proportion which strikes us so forcibly in certain outstanding spheres of production.

In general, therefore: The decline in the average rate of profit expresses an increase in the productive power of labour or of capital, and, following from that, on the one hand a heightened exploitation of the living labour employed, and [on the other hand] a *relatively reduced amount of living labour* employed at the heightened rate of exploitation, calculated on a particular amount of capital.

It does not now follow automatically from this law that the *accumulation* of capital declines or that the absolute *amount* of *profit* falls (hence also the *absolute*, not *relative, amount* of surplus value, which is expressed in the profit).

[XVI-1005] Let us stay with the above example.[a] If the constant capital is only ${}^{1}/_{5}$ of the total capital advanced, this expressed a low level of development of productive power, a limited scale of production, small, fragmented capitals. A capital of 500 of this kind, with surplus value at 15% (the variable capital at 400) gives a *total amount* of profit of 60. If we reverse the ratio, this expresses

[a] See this volume, p. 110.—*Ed.*

a large scale, the development of productive power, cooperation, division of labour, and large-scale employment of fixed capital. Let us therefore assume that a capital of this kind is of 20 times greater extent; 500×20=10,000, thus 6% profit on 10,000 (or surplus value of 30%, if the variable capital=2,000) 600. A capital of 10,000 therefore accumulates more quickly with 6% than a capital of 500 with 12%. The one realises a labour time of 400, the other one of 2,000, hence an absolute amount of labour time 5 times greater, although relatively to its magnitude, or to a given amount of capital, e.g. 100, it employs four times less [labour time]. (See Ricardo's example.[a] [101])

Here, as in the whole of our analysis, we entirely disregard use value. With the greater productivity of capital it goes without saying that the same value employed at the more productive scale represents a much greater amount of use value than it does at the less productive scale, and therefore also provides the material for a much more rapid rate of growth of the population and consequently of labour powers. (See *Jones.*[b])

This fall in the rate of profit leads to an increase in the *minimum amount of capital*—or a rise in the level of concentration of the means of production in the hands of the capitalists—required in general to employ labour productively, both to exploit it, and to employ no more than the *labour time socially* required for the manufacture of a product. And there is a simultaneous growth in accumulation, i.e. concentration, since large capital accumulates more rapidly at a small rate of profit than does small capital at a large rate of profit. Once it has reached a certain level, this rising concentration in turn brings about a new fall in the rate of profit. The mass of the lesser, fragmented capitals are therefore ready to take risks. *Hinc* crisis. The so-called plethora of capital refers only to the plethora of capital for which the fall in the rate of profit is not counterbalanced by its size. (See Fullarton.[90])

Profit, however, is the driving AGENCY in capitalist production, and only those things are produced which can be produced at a profit, and they are produced to the extent to which they can be produced at a profit. Hence the anxiety of the English political economists about the reduction in the rate of profit.

Ricardo already noted that the increase in the amount of profit accompanying a decline in the rate of profit is not absolute, but

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[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, 3rd ed., London, 1821, pp. 124-26.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 335-37, 371.—*Ed.*

that there may be a decline in the amount of profit itself, despite the growth of capital. Strangely enough, he *did not grasp this in general*, but merely gave an example.[101] Nevertheless, the matter is very simple.

500 at 20% gives 100 profit.

50,000 at 10% gives 5,000 profit; but 5,000 at 2% would only give 100 profit, no more than 500 gives at 20%, and at 1% it would only give 50 profit, hence only half as much as 500 at 20%. *In general*: As long as the rate of profit falls more slowly than capital grows, there is a rise in the amount of profit and therefore the rate of accumulation, although relative profit declines. If the profit were to fall to the same degree as the capital grew, the amount of profit would, despite the growth in capital, remain the same as it was with a higher rate of profit on a smaller capital. This would therefore also be true of the rate of accumulation. Finally, if the rate of profit fell in a greater proportion than the growth in capital, the amount of profit and therewith the rate of accumulation would fall along with the rate of profit, and it would stand lower than in the case of a smaller capital with a higher rate of profit at a correspondingly less developed stage of production.

[XVI-1006] //We do not consider use value at all, except in so far as it determines the production costs of labour capacity or the nature of capital, as with fixed capital, because we are considering capital in general, not the real movement of capitals or competition.[67] But it may be remarked here in passing that this production on a large scale, with a higher rate of surplus value and a reduced rate of profit, presupposes an immense production, and therefore consumption, of use values, hence always leads to periodic overproduction, which is periodically solved by expanded markets. Not because of a lack of demand, but a lack of paying demand. For the same process presupposes a proletariat on an ever-increasing scale, therefore significantly and progressively restricts any demand which goes beyond the necessary means of subsistence, while it at the same time requires a constant extension of the sphere of demand. Malthus was correct to say that the *demand of the* worker *can never suffice for the capitalist.*[a] [102] His profit consists precisely in the excess of the worker's supply over his demand. Every capitalist grasps this as far as his own workers are concerned, only not for the other workers, who buy his commodities. Foreign trade, luxury production, the state's extravagance (the growth of state expenditure, etc.)—the massive

[a] Th. R. Malthus, *Principles of Political Economy...*, pp. 315, 405.—*Ed.*

expenditure on fixed capital, etc.—hinder this process. (Hence sinecures, extravagance on the part of the state and the unproductive classes, are recommended by Malthus, Chalmers, etc., as a nostrum.[a]) It remains curious that the same political economists who admit the periodic overproduction of capital (a periodic plethora of capital is admitted by all modern political economists) deny the periodic overproduction of commodities. As if the simplest analysis did not demonstrate that both phenomena express *the same antinomy*, only in a different form. //

That this mere possibility disturbs Ricardo (Malthus and the RICARDIANS similarly) shows his deep understanding of the conditions of capitalist production.[104] The reproach that is made against him, that in examining capitalist production he is unconcerned with "human beings", keeping in view the development of the productive forces alone—bought at the cost of whatever sacrifices—without concerning himself with distribution and therefore consumption, is precisely what is great about him. *The development of the productive forces of social labour is the* historic task and justification of capital. It is exactly by doing this that it unconsciously creates the material conditions for a higher mode of production. What makes Ricardo uneasy here is that profit—the stimulus of capitalist production and the condition of accumulation, as also the driving force for accumulation—is endangered by the law of development of production itself. And the quantitative relation is everything here.

There is in reality a deeper basis for this, which Ricardo only suspects. What is demonstrated here, in a *purely economic* manner, from the standpoint of capitalist production itself, is its barrier—its *relativity*, the fact that it is not an *absolute*, but only an historical *mode of production*, corresponding to the material conditions of production of a certain restricted development period.

To bring this important question to a decisive conclusion, the following must first be investigated:

1) Why does it happen that with the development of fixed capital, machinery, etc., the passion for overwork, prolongation of the normal working day, in short the mania for *absolute surplus labour* grows, along with precisely the mode of production in which *relative surplus labour* is created?

2) How is it that in capitalist production *profit* appears—from the point of view of the individual capital, etc.—as a *necessary*

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[a] See Th. R. Malthus, *Principles of Political Economy...*, pp. 326, 361, 408 et al.; Th. Chalmers, *On Political Economy...*, 2nd ed., Glasgow, 1832, pp. 344-46.[103]—*Ed.*

*condition of production*, hence as forming part of the absolute production costs of capitalist production?

If we take surplus value, its rate is greater, the smaller the variable capital in proportion to it, and less, the larger the variable capital. $\frac{s}{v}$ rises or falls inversely as $v$ rises or falls. If $v=0$, this [$s$] would be at its maximum, for no outlay of capital for wages would be necessary, no labour would have to be paid in order to appropriate unpaid labour. Inversely: the expression $\frac{s}{c+v}$, or the rate of profit, would be at its maximum if $c=0$, that is, if the rate of profit=the rate of [XVI-1007] surplus value, i.e. if no constant capital $c$ at all had to be laid out in order to lay out capital $v$ in wages and thus realise it in surplus labour. The expression $\frac{s}{c+v}$ therefore rises and falls inversely as $c$ rises or falls, hence it also rises or falls against $v$.

The rate of surplus value is greater, the smaller the variable capital in proportion to the surplus value. The rate of profit is greater, the greater the variable capital in proportion to the total capital, and this proportion is greater the smaller the constant capital in proportion to the total capital, hence also in the proportion to which it forms a smaller part of the total capital than the variable capital. But the variable capital for its part is smaller in proportion to the total capital, the greater the proportion of the total capital and therefore of the constant capital to the variable capital.

Assume $s=50$, $v=500$, $c=100$. Then $s'={}^{50}/_{500}={}^{5}/_{50}={}^{1}/_{10}=10\%$. And Pp. (rate of profit)$={}^{50}/_{600}={}^{5}/_{60}={}^{1}/_{12}=8{}^{1}/_{3}\%$. Hence ${}^{s}/_{v}$ is greater, the smaller $v$ is, $\frac{s}{c+v}$ is greater, if $s$ is given, the greater $v$ is and the smaller $c$ is, but ${}^{s}/_{v}$ increases when $c$ increases. If now ${}^{s}/_{v}$ becomes $3{}^{s}/_{v}$, and $c$ grow 3 times, so that $\frac{3s}{3c+v}$, $v$ which was originally related

| | |
|---|---|
| to $c$ as | $v:(v+c)$ |
| is now related as | $v:(v+3c)$ |
| $v=\frac{c-v}{v+c}$ and | $v=\frac{c-v}{v+3c}$ |
| $v=\frac{c}{1+{}^{c}/_{v}}$. | $v-\frac{c}{1+{}^{3c}/_{v}}$ |

If $s$ became greater than $v$ in the measure to which $c$ grew or $v$ becomes greater than $c+v$, hence if the rate of surplus value grew through greater employment of constant capital in the same measure as the proportion of variable capital to total capital declines, the rate of profit would remain unchanged.

Originally we had $\frac{s}{c+v}=p'$. Now we have $\frac{3s}{3s+v}=p'$.

The first question is by how much $\frac{s}{3c+v}$ [is less than] $\frac{s}{c+v}$.

$$\frac{s}{c+v}-\frac{s}{3c+v}=\frac{s(3c+v)-s(c+v)}{(c+v)(3c+v)}$$

$$=\frac{s(3c+v-c-v)}{(c+v)(3c+v)}=\frac{s(2c)}{(c+v)(3c+v)}$$

[XVI-1008] Let surplus value=120. Variable capital=600. In this case $s'$, or rate of surplus value,=$^{120}/_{600}$=20%. If the constant capital=200, then $p'=^{120}/_{800}=^{12}/_{80}=^{3}/_{20}$=15%. If now the constant capital is increased threefold, from 200 to 600, and everything else remains unchanged, then $s'$=20% as before, but $p'$ now=$^{120}/_{1,200}=^{12}/_{120}=^{6}/_{60}=^{3}/_{30}=^{1}/_{10}$=10%. The rate of profit would have fallen from 15 to 10 [per cent], by $^{1}/_{3}$; the constant capital would have tripled. The variable capital was previously $^{600}/_{800}=^{6}/_{8}=^{3}/_{4}$ of the total capital, it is now $^{600}/_{1,200}$, only $^{1}/_{2}$ or $^{2}/_{4}$, it has therefore become smaller by $^{2}/_{3}$.

But if the surplus value increased threefold through the tripling of the constant capital, i.e. if it grew from 120 to 120×3=360, then $s'$ would now=$^{360}/_{600}=^{36}/_{60}=^{6}/_{10}=^{3}/_{5}$=60%, and $p'$ would =$^{360}/_{1,200}=^{36}/_{120}=^{6}/_{20}=^{3}/_{10}$=30%.

But since the variable capital is now related to the total capital as 600:1,200, whereas previously it was as 600:800, it is now $^{1}/_{2}$ of the total capital, and was previously $^{6}/_{8}$ or $^{3}/_{4}$, so it has fallen.[a] [105]

[XVI-1009] $s$=120, $v$=600, $c$=200. $s'=^{120}/_{600}$=20%, $p'=^{120}/_{800}$=15%.

$s$=120. $v$=600. $c$=600. $s'=^{120}/_{600}$=20%. $p'=^{120}/_{1,200}$=10%. 15:10=3:2=1:$^{2}/_{3}$. Hence $p'$ has fallen by $^{1}/_{3}$, $c$ has risen 3 times, total capital has grown from 800 to 1,200, by $^{1}/_{2}$; finally $v$ was originally related to $c$ as 600:200=3×200=3$c$, but now=$v$. Hence $v$ has fallen 3fold against $c$. Finally $v$ was previously related to $c$ as 600:800=6:8=3:4=$^{3}/_{4}$ $c$. Now it is related as

[a] The lower half of page 1008 is filled with calculations relating to the ratios given above.—*Ed.*

600:1,200=6:12=2:4; $={}^{1}/_{2}$ or ${}^{2}/_{4}c$. Hence it has fallen against $c$ by ${}^{1}/_{4}$.

For the rate of profit to remain the same at 15%, the surplus value would have to rise from 120 to 180, hence by 60 (but 60:120=1:2), hence by a half. Furthermore, [a rise in] $s'$ from ${}^{120}/_{600}$ or 20% to ${}^{180}/_{600}$ or 30%, from 20 to 30, is again [a rise] by 50%.

The surplus value had to increase in the same proportion as the total capital grew from 800 to 1,200, i.e. by 50%, that is it had to increase from 20 to 30%. Originally $v$ was ${}^{3}/_{4}$ of the total capital, now it is ${}^{2}/_{4}$. But ${}^{3}/_{4}\ C\times 20$ is as much as ${}^{2}/_{4}\ C\times 30$, namely $\frac{60C}{4}$ (=15%).

//It is self-evident that the variable capital may constantly grow in the absolute sense, i.e. the absolute number of workers may grow, although it is constantly falling in proportion to total capital and fixed capital. Hence the inane dispute over whether machinery reduces the number of workers. It almost always reduces the number when introduced, not in the sphere in which it has itself been introduced, but through the suppression of workers who carry on the same industry at the previous stage of production. For example the machine spinners drive out the hand spinners, the machine weavers the hand weavers, etc. But in the branch of industry which employs the machinery the number of workers may grow constantly in the absolute sense //although here men are often driven out by WOMEN and YOUNG PERSONS// although it declines relatively.//

[XVI-995] Let us first assemble the facts.

$C=v+c$. $s$=surplus value. $s'$=rate of surplus value. $p'$=rate of profit. $s'={}^{s}/_{v}$, $p'={}^{s}/_{C}$ or $\frac{s}{v+c}$.

[...][a]

$C=800$. $c=200$. $v=600$. $s=120$. In this case, $c={}^{1}/_{4}C$ (${}^{800}/_{4}=200$) and $v={}^{3}/_{4}C\left(=\frac{3\times x}{4}=xx\right)$; $s'={}^{120}/_{600}=20\%$. If $c$ increases from 200 to 600, by a factor of three, $C$ will rise from 800 to 1,200, *i.e. by 50%.*

Since $c={}^{1}/_{4}C$, its threefold increase causes it to grow from ${}^{1}/_{4}$ to ${}^{3}/_{4}$ (by ${}^{2}/_{4}$). The total capital is now ${}^{3}/_{4}C+{}^{3}/_{4}C=1{}^{2}/_{4}C$. It has

[a] Here and below, the dots in square brackets designate the damaged places in the manuscript. The sign x in the next few paragraphs stands for illegible symbols in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

therefore risen by [...]. It was originally=$^3/_4C$ (=600), so if it is tripled this brings it from $^3/_4$ to $^9/_4$, from 600 to 1,800, and it brings the total capital to 2,000 ([...] $C\frac{x}{4}$xxxx$C$ [...] over and above the original capital $^6/_4C$=1,200 (1,200+800=2,000). How far therefore the total capital [...] becomes xxxx growth in $c$, depends on the original proportion of $c$ to $C$, which presents itself entirely as a particular proportion between $c$ and $v$ [...] of $C$. So the greater the proportion of $c:v$ or of $c:C$ $(c+v)$, the more does the total amount $C$ grow through [...] the more does the rate of profit fall and the greater is the growth in the rate of surplus value required for the rate of profit to remain the same. [...] the growth of the total capital if the rate of surplus value is given.

In the case of an increase of $C$ from 800 to 1,200, of $c$ from 200 to 600, the constant capital is tripled and the total capital grows by [...] by 50%. In this case the rate of surplus value or $s'$ continues to be 20% and $s$=120. But $p'=^{120}/_{1,200}$=10%. Surplus value and rate of surplus value [...] have fallen from 15 to 10, i.e. by $^1/_3$ or $33^1/_3$%. Why is there this difference, that the rate of profit falls by $33^1/_3$% [...] grows by 50%? Because the relation of the rate of profit expresses itself as the inverse of the relation of the two capitals we have compared. [...] or 1,200. This growth is from 800:1,200=2:3, hence from 2:(2+1) or by 50%. The fall in the rate of profit expresses itself inversely, as fall of [...] from $^{120}/_{800}$ to $^{120}/_{1,200}$ or $^{120}/_{800}$:$^{120}/_{1,200}$=3:2; hence as a fall of $^1/_3$ or $33^1/_3$%.

The fall in the rate of profit therefore depends directly on the growth in the total capital, if the variable capital remains the same; its fall expresses itself in inverse proportion to the growth of the capital. *If this grows from 2:3, the rate of profit falls from 3:2.* Furthermore, if the variable capital remains the same, the growth of the total capital can only derive from the growth of the constant capital. However, the proportion in which a particular increase in constant capital causes the total capital to increase depends on the original ratio between $c$ and $C$. This *inverse relation* explains in part why the rate of profit does not fall in the same proportion as the capital increases, even if the rate of surplus [value] remains the same. If 2 increases to 4, that is a growth of 100%. If 4 falls to 2, that is a fall of 50%.

b) If in the second case indicated above the rate of profit is to remain the same, the profit, hence the surplus value, will have to rise from 120 to 180, i.e. by 60 or $^1/_2$ of 120, rise by half its original magnitude. The surplus value would therefore have

directly to *grow in the same proportion* as the total capital, by 50%, therefore rising in a greater proportion than the fall in the rate of profit, surplus value remaining the same.

If $c$ had risen to 1,200 instead of 600, the total capital would have risen to 1,800, for $C$ would have risen by 1,000, hence by 125%. [...] remain the same, the total amount of surplus value=the total profit, would have had to rise to 270. But 270:120 must [imply] a growth of 150 [...] or 125% on top of 120. 120 on 120 is 100%, and 30 on 120 is $^1/_4$ or 25% (4×30=120) [...]%.)

c) How in this case (b) would $s'$ or surplus value have risen?

It was originally $^{120}/_{600}$=20% or $^1/_5$ of the variable capital. If the capital grows to 1,200 or $c$ is tripled, $^{180}/_{600}$ or 30% or [...]. In the third CASE, if the capital grows to 1,800, [surplus value is] $^{270}/_{600}=^9/_{20}$ of the variable capital,=45%. In [this case the rate of] surplus value has risen from 20 to 30%, i.e. by 50%, to the same degree as the total capital has grown in this case and the absolute surplus value or [... has risen in this] case from 20 to 45; i.e. by 25; but 25:20=$1^1/_4$ (20+$^1/_4$20 or 5) hence 125%. (This [...] only on the growth of the increment, not the relation of the numbers to each other as such.) The rate of surplus value would therefore have to [grow] directly [as the] total capital grew or in the same proportion as the absolute surplus value would have to grow for the rate of profit to remain unaltered with a growing [...].

Variable capital amounted to

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Case I: | 600 | out of total capital | $800=^3/_4\,C$; | constant capital | $200=^1/_4\,C$ |
| Case II: | 600 | ,, | $1{,}200=^2/_4\,C$; | ,, | $600=^2/_4\,C$ |
| Case III: | 600 | ,, | $1{,}800=^1/_3[C]$; | ,, | $1{,}200=^2/_3\,C$ |
| XXXXXX: | 600 | ,, | $3{,}600=^1/_6[C]$; | ,, | $3{,}000=^5/_6\,C$. |

Surplus value or profit had to increase to 540; the rate of surplus value=$^{540}/_{600}$, $^9/_{10}$ or 90%. 90% against 20 [...] of 70. But 70 to 20 would be 350%. The increase of capital would be 3,600−800=2,800, similarly [350%]. In this case the rate of surplus labour=$^9/_{10}$ of the total working day, hence given 10 hours of labour 9 hours. [...] [XVI-996] [...], although entirely corresponding to the growth of the total capital with variable capital remaining the same, now express the rate of rise and fall inversely in the same value expression as the capital [...]. If the capital rises from 2 to 4, the rate of profit falls from 4 to 2. The other rises by 100%, [...]

[...] and the rate of surplus value, which is an identical relation if variable capital remains the same, does not grow as capital grows or variable capital [...] total capital. There is absolutely no rational reason why the rise of productive power should observe exactly the same numerical ratio. It [...] of relative surplus value grows and its growth is expressed in the ratio of the reduction in the variable capital [...], but not in the same ratio as this proportion declines. Productive power grows, hence surplus labour. Firstly, there lies here [...] the matter. One man may produce as much use value as 90. Never more than an average of 12 hours a day in value is [...], as this [...] surplus value never more than *12 hours* $-x$, where $x$ expresses the labour time necessary for his own production. The surplus value, [...] *the labour time which he himself works, not by the working days he replaces.* If 90 men worked only $^1/_2$ an hour of surplus time a day, this would be [...] hours. If the one man needed only one hour of necessary labour time, he would never [produce] more than 11 hours of surplus value. [The pro]cess is double. It increases the surplus labour time of the working day, but it also reduces the numerical coefficients of those working days, [...] capital. Secondly: The development of productive power is not uniform; certain branches of industry may themselves be more unproductive [...] but this is determined by the general productivity of capital.

[...] firstly at a stage of production which remains the same, without great revolutions in productive power, in proportion to its already existing [...] only gives rise to a total capital of 2, whereas 1,000 at 10% gives 1,100. c. 1,100 prod[... Ex]ample of 800, $v=600$, $c=200$, and surplus value$=160$ or rate of profit equal to 20%, a capital of 100,000 would give [...] instead of $^3/_4$ only $^1/_6$ variable, ($^3/_4=^{18}/_{24}$, and $^1/_6=^4/_{24}$) hence employs $^{14}/_{24}$ or $^7/_{12}$ less variable capital relatively speaking, at [...] 50% it continues to be 5,000. His variable capital, and the living labour employed by it, would still be 16,666$^1/_6$ in total amount, hence [...] it would still be nearly 28 times greater than the capital employed in the first case. But the rate of profit is determined, because the rate of surplus value is determined, by the ratio of the variable capital to the total capital. At simple interest £100,000 would grow into 200,000 in 20 years, whereas 800 at 20% would only produce an accumulation of 3,200 in 20 years (160×20). In the second 20 years 200,000 at 5% would grow to 400,000. The other capital at 20%, in contrast, would only grow to 12,800.

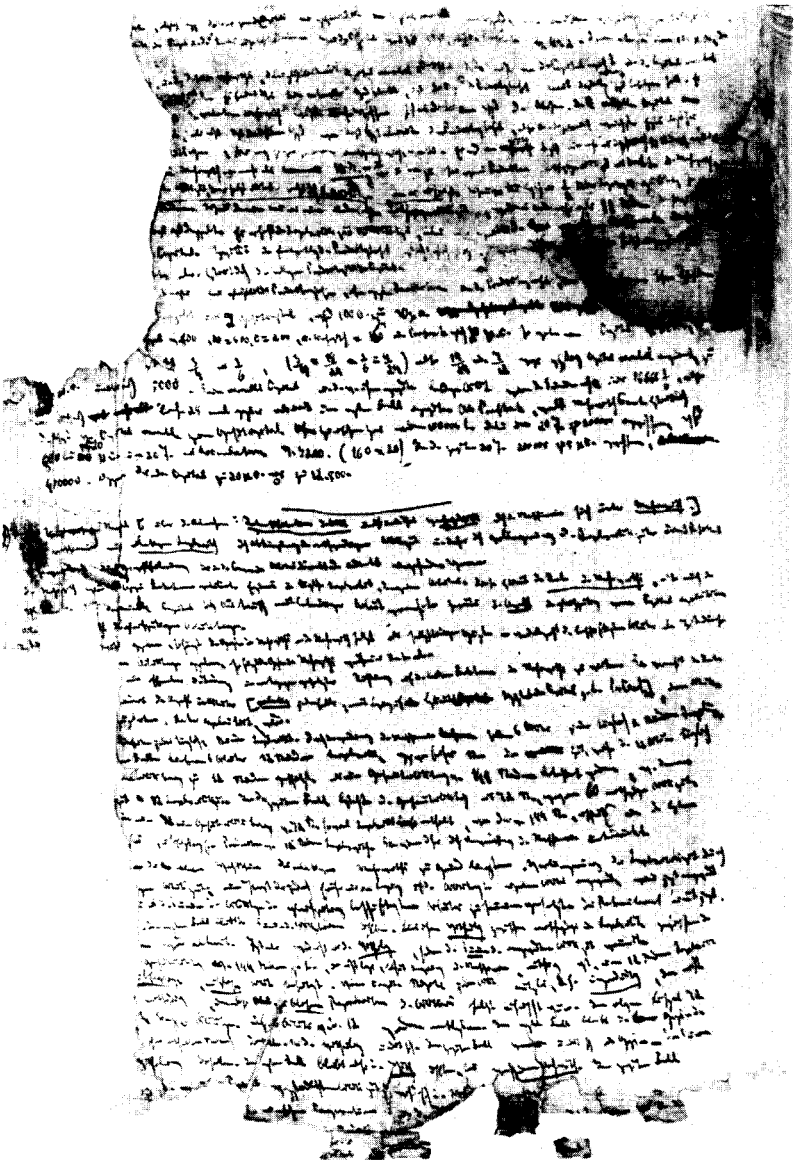

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[α] As a rule //see under *surplus value*[106] for the exception: *intensification of labour* and therefore in fact *increase of labour* by machinery// machinery only creates *relative surplus value* through the curtailment of necessary labour time and therefore the prolongation of surplus labour time. This result is brought about by the cheapening of the commodities which enter directly or indirectly into the worker's consumption.

Surplus value is formed by two factors. Firstly the daily surplus labour of the individual worker. This determines the *rate of surplus value,* hence also the proportion in which variable capital is increased through the exchange with living labour. Secondly, the *number* of workers simultaneously exploited by capital or the number of simultaneous working days.

If the rate of surplus value is given, the magnitude of the surplus value—the surplus value itself as an independent magnitude—depends on the number of workers employed. If this [number and the number of simultaneous] working days is given, the magnitude of the surplus value depends on its rate.

[...] now evidently has a tendency to affect the two factors of surplus value in opposite directions. It increases the rate [...] reduces the number of workers // *relatively* anyway; with respect to a definite measure of capital, e.g. per cent//, whose labour [...] is exploited at an increased rate.

[...] each one provided 1 hour of surplus labour a day. By the employment of machinery 6 workers should each provide 2 hours of surplus labour a day [...] In this case 6 workers provide 12 hours of surplus labour, just as previously 12 did. The time during which the 12 workers [work] every day, assuming [a norm]al working day of 12 hours, [can] be regarded as a total working day of 144 hours, of which [132 hours are necessary labour] time, 12 surplus labour time. In the second case the total working day consists of 72 hours, of which 60 are necessary labour time, [12 surplus labour time]. Since a total working day of 72 hours now contains as much surplus labour as the day of 144 hours, in the latter case [6 workers] appear [to be use]less, superfluous for the production of 12 hours of surplus value. They are therefore suppressed by the employment of machinery.

[...]—which lies at the basis of all growth in relative surplus value—prolongation of surplus labour time through [curtailment of necessary] labour time; however, a process which was only employed previously in regard to the working day of the individual worker is now employed [...] composed of the sum total of the working days of the workers simultaneously employed. The

*retranchement* now takes [...]. In the first case the sum total of hours of labour remains the same. It is merely their *division* between necessary and surplus labour, between [...], which is altered. But now there is a change not only in the *division* of labour time but also in the *sum total* of labour time employed.

[...] total working day of 144 hours e.g., which is no longer necessary, since the employment of machinery, to [produce] 12 hours of surplus labour. *Superfluous, useless* labour is removed. From the capitalist standpoint all labour is useless, i.e. *unproductive,* which is not necessary [...], which would therefore be required for the *mere* reproduction of the worker himself. In the above example 72 [...], i.e. 6 days of labour. I.e. 6 of the 12 workers are dismissed. In the first case the magnitude remains [... (...] hours contained in it) the same. The division alone has changed. In the second case the magnitude changes—the total amount [...] the division of the same. In the first case, therefore, the *value* remains the same, while *the surplus value increases.* In the second case [...] at the same time the labour time objectified in the product, while the surplus [value] increases.

[...] of simple cooperation and divi[sion of la]bour [takes] place. This is as with [...] Relatively to the product [...] the number of workers is reduced [...] workers [...] capital *C* [... con]stant [...], [XVI-997] with machinery, an absolute reduction (with regard to a particular capital) takes place. In certain branches of industry, agriculture [...] reduction is in fact always in advance, without being CHECKED as in other branches of industry BY THE CIRCUMSTANCE THAT AT THE NEW RATE [...] OLD NUMBER OF LABOURERS MAY BE SUCCESSIVELY ABSORBED, BUT EVEN AN ABSOLUTE[LY] GREATER ALTHOUGH RELATIVELY MUCH SMALLER X [...]

The way in which the rate of profit is altered even in the case considered above, where the rate of surplus value grows in the same (or [a greater proportion]) than the fall in the number of workers, hence the fall in one factor finds compensation in the growth of the other through more [...]—hence the magnitude of the surplus value remains unchanged or even grows—depends on the proportion in which [...] is [affected by] a CHANGE in the components of the total capital or on the proportion in which this CHANGE proceeds. [...] The surplus value the capital makes *can only derive from the number of workers it exploits, or from the number of workers who* [...] society—alias the class of capitalists as a whole—is affected by the setting free of the workers he has dismissed, [...]

It is now an entirely self-evident *general law* that with the

progressive increase in the employment of machinery the magnitude [...] remain, but must *fall*; i.e. that the reduction in the number of the [...] (in relation to a particular measure of capital) [...] *reduction* in the *number* cannot be continuously counterbalanced by a corresponding *increase in the rate of surplus value* [...] the working day of the individual worker is exploited.

Assume that 50 workers provide only 2 hours of surplus [labour]; in that case the surplus value created by them=100. Assume further [...] if 10 men were replaced by 1, 5 would replace the 50. [...] labour time=5×12,=72[a] hours. The same for the *total value of their* product. The surplus [value] created by them [is]<than 72, since only equal to 72--the necessary labour time. Hence it is<than 100 by much more. There therefore takes place [...], so large that the reduction in the absolute amount of labour which is employed, brought about through the development of productive power, [...] by an increase of equal size in the *rate of surplus value*—where surplus value therefore falls, despite the growth in the rate of surplus value. [...] A *fall* in the amount of surplus value—or the total amount of surplus labour employed—must necessarily come about with the development of machinery [...] it is [shown] here that capitalist production enters into contradiction with the development of the productive forces and is by no means their absolute [...] and final form.

//If the 50 workers could all be employed at the new rate, or even only 25 perhaps, surplus value would grow, and not only its rate, as compared with the earlier CASE. Hence the importance of the scale on which machinery is employed, and its tendency to employ as many workers as possible at the same time, combined with the tendency to pay for as few necessary working days as possible.// (50) (150)

β) Let us assume a capital of 600. Let 400 of this be laid out in labour, 200 in constant capital, instruments and raw material. Let the 400 represent 10 workers. If a machine were to be employed, which together with the raw material=520, and if the capital laid out in labour were only to be 80 now, 10 workers would be replaced by 2 or 5 by 1. The total amount of capital laid out would remain the same, hence *production costs* would remain the same. The 2 workers would not produce more surplus labour time for each 12 hours than the 10 produced, for wages would have remained the same. Nevertheless, the quantities of commodities produced under the changed conditions of production might on

[a] Thus in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

certain presuppositions become cheaper, although it is presupposed that this quantity has not increased, or that no more commodities are produced with the same capital under the new process of production than were previously produced under the old one. Since the same quantity of raw material has been worked on as before, 150, the machinery has now risen from 50 to 370. //Namely 370 machinery, 150 raw material, 80 labour. 370+150+80=600.//

Assume now that the machinery employed has a turnover time //reproduction time// of 10 years. Of the value employed, 37 ($^{370}/_{10}$) would enter into the annual output of commodities for the replacement, WEAR AND TEAR, of the machinery. The sum total of the production costs of the commodities //disregarding profit and surplus value here, as the rate remains the same// would now be=37+150+80=267. The production cost of the commodity under the old process=600, whereby we assume that the instruments which enter into the process (estimated at 50) must be renewed every year. The price of the commodities would have been cheapened in the ratio 267:600. To the extent that the commodity enters into the worker's consumption, its cheapening would bring about a reduction in the labour necessary for his reproduction and thereby an increase in the length of surplus labour time. //But initially, as in any employment of machines, capitalist II would admittedly sell cheaper than capitalist I, but not in the same proportion as his production costs had fallen. This is in fact an anticipation of the cheapening of the production costs of labour which occurs through machinery [...] [If] his workers receive the same wages as previously, they can admittedly buy more commodities (more of the commodities they themselves have produced) but not in the proportion in which they have become more productive. It would be the same thing if the capitalist paid them in his own commodity, as if he were to give them a quantity which was admittedly larger, but smaller in the proportion to which this quantity expressed exchange value.// Even if we disregard the relation itself, and consider the empirical form, in which the capitalist calculates interest, say 5%, on his total capital according to the part of it which has not been consumed. Then 5% on 300 (the part of the capital not consumed in the first year)=15, or 5% profit e.g., similarly 15, therefore 30. Thus the price of the commodities would come to 280+30=310, still almost half as cheap as in the first case.[107]

In fact only 370 thalers were laid out for fixed capital, 150 capital for raw material, and 80 for labour.[108]

However, if in order to replace 5 workers by one the capital [...] the machinery had to increase from 50 to perhaps 2,000 instead of 370, the total capital therefore rising to 2,300, the WEAR AND TEAR contained in the commodity annually would=$^{2,000}/_{100}$=20. Production costs would=250, with interest and profit of 150. 250+150+80=480. 10% on [...] So in this case [...] by inequality [...] 2,000 again=[...] machinery made dearer.

[XVI-998] [...] in two ways:

[...] turnover time peculiar to fixed capital—mode of circulation—a much smaller aliquot part of it enters into the value [...] product—than is really required for production. Only its WEAR and TEAR, the part of it that is worn out in the course of a year, enters into [the value of the pro]duct, because only this part really circulates. Hence if the capital remains the same and there is only a CHANGE in the proportion of the capital [...] component of the capital laid out [in] labour, there is a cheapening of the product, the ultimate result of which is a cheap[ening ... in the pro]duction costs of labour, hence an increase in the rate of surplus value, i.e. of surplus labour time.

[If] capital [remains] *the same*, and there is also no increase in surplus time (or no original reduction in wages) [...] measure, as the turnover time (reproduction time) of the fixed capital declines in velocity.

[...] the aliquot part of the old capital, which is converted into fixed capital, but the capital had rather to [...] so that the total capital might grow, the proportion of this growth, required for the number of workers [...] occur, in which the commodity produced with the machine became dearer than that produced with hand labour [...]

[...] posited on the assumption that the amount of commodities produced by the smaller number of workers is not larger, [...] [than the] number produced without machinery, or on the assumption that [...] capital with machinery does not [...] than previously without it. [...]

[...] workers employed produced more than the 10 without it, they thus produce perhaps as much as 20 [...] always a definite number, but perhaps a greater number than they force out. In this case 1 replaced [...] could perhaps only be employed if both were employed. In any case, the part of capital laid out in [...] would have to be *doubled*. I.e. the magnitude of the capital could not [remain] unaltered.

[...] but if the slow turnover time of the capital cheapens the product, even if the old capital increases again, hence a greater

amount of commodities than before is not produced, then this is even more so in the other case.

This belongs to *the section on production costs,*[a] just as the previous comments on *surplus value* must be treated under the heading "Surplus Value".[109]

//The total amount of the capital advanced enters into the *labour process,* but only the part of the capital consumed during a particular period of the labour process enters into the *valorisation process* or into the *value of the product.* (See *Malthus.*[b]) Hence the smaller value or the greater cheapness of the commodities which are e.g. produced with the same capital of 500, if $^2/_5$ of this are fixed capital and $^1/_5$ variable capital, than if the proportions are inverted. (Even if profit and interest are calculated on the whole of the capital, only an aliquot part of it enters into the value of the commodity, not the capital itself, as in the case in which the whole of the capital or the greatest part of it is laid out in living labour.) But the profit is calculated on the whole of the capital, including the unconsumed part of it. Although the unconsumed part of the capital does not enter into the value of the product of the individual capital considered for itself, it does enter into the average production costs of capitalist production, in the form of profit (interest), because it constitutes an element of the average profit, and an ITEM in the calculation by means of which the capitalists divide among themselves the total surplus value of the capital.//

//The rate of profit depends upon, or is nothing other than, the ratio of the surplus value (considered as an absolute magnitude) to the magnitude of the capital advanced. But the surplus value itself—i.e. its absolute magnitude—may fall even though the rate of surplus value rises, and rises considerably. The amount of surplus value or its absolute magnitude must indeed fall, despite any rise whatever in the rate of surplus value, once the [...] of *surplus value* of the labour which is displaced by machinery is greater than the *total amount of value,* or labour,[32] which steps into its place. Or the *surplus time* of the displaced worker[s] is greater than the *total labour time* of the workers who replace them. Thus if 50 are replaced by 5. And the surplus labour time of the 50 was 2 hours (with a normal working day of 12 hours). Their surplus labour time or the *surplus value* created by them=100 hours. The total labour time or the *value* created [by the 5] (hence the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 78-103.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 70, 100.—*Ed.*

necessary labour time+surplus)=60 hours. Assume that these 5 workers provide twice as much surplus time, or that surplus value=4 hours every day for each of them. So that for 5 there are 20 hours. The rate of surplus value has grown by 100%; the total amount of surplus value or the surplus value itself is only $4\times5=20$ hours. The surplus value is only $^1/_5$ of the 100 created by the 50, smaller by 80%. If now 15 workers were employed at the new rate the amount of surplus value would rise to 60, if 20 to 80, if 25 to 100. Half as many workers would have to be employed at the new rate in order to produce as much surplus value as at the old rate. But if 50 were employed, they would produce twice as much, namely 200. Not only the rate of surplus value, but also the surplus value itself would have doubled.// //Assume that the 5 only produced surplus value at the same rate as the 50, hence only 10 hours. Then 50 workers would have to be employed just as before in order to produce the same surplus value, although they would produce 10 times as many commodities in the same time. This in the branches of industry where the product does not enter into the consumption of the workers themselves. Here the profit derives purely from the fact that the *necessary* labour time, over a certain average period, stands higher than the labour time needed by the capitalists who have introduced the new machinery; they therefore sell the commodity *above* its value. This is, however, different from sheer fraud. They sell it *above* the value it costs them, and *below* the value it costs society before the general introduction of the machinery. They sell the labour of their [...] *higher* labour, they buy it as yet at [...] With the [...] at the new rate. But there is also an increase in c[...] more significant [...][110]

[XVI-1009] //In the latter case he sells the individual commodity cheaper than it can be produced given the still *generally prevailing production costs*, he sells it *below* its average value, but not cheaper in the same proportion as he himself produces it below its average value. He sells the *total amount* of the commodities produced in an hour, in a day—//and with the new means of production he provides a greater total amount in the same time// —*above* their value, above the hour or the day of labour time contained in them. If he produces 20 yards with the same production costs as the others incur in producing 5, and if he sells them $^1/_5$ below the average price, he is selling them $^3/_5$ *above* their value. If the 10 yards cost $10x$ and he sells the 20 at $20\times{}^{4x}/_5={}^{80x}/_5=16x$, he is selling them at 6 over their value of 10. $^1/_5$ of 10 is 2, or $^3/_6$ of 10 is 5; 20 cost him 10; or 2 costs him 1 or $^5/_5$. What now is the relation to his workers? If they continue to receive the same wages as before,

they also receive commodities for their wages (i.e. in so far as the more cheaply produced commodity enters into their [XVI-1010] consumption). And let this take place for all the workers, each of whom would be able to buy more of this specific commodity with the aliquot part of their wage which is expended for it.

The capitalist would make a surplus profit of $^3/_5$ or 60%. He sells them the commodity $^1/_5$ cheaper, but he sells the labour contained in it $^3/_5$ dearer than the average labour, hence at a value standing $^3/_5$ above the average labour. $^3/_5$ of 12 hours of labour $=\frac{12\times 3}{5}={}^{36}/_5=7^1/_{15}$. This *surplus labour*, which they have provided for him through the higher potentiation of their labour, HE POCKETS.

Let us assume that necessary labour time=10. Thus under the old conditions they would obtain $^{10}/_{12}$ of the product 10. In the old situation 1 hour of labour produces $^1/_{12}$ of the product of a day, hence in 10, $^{10}/_{12}=8$ thalers, for example. In the new situation $^{16}/_{12}$ is produced in one hour of labour$=^4/_3$, $1^1/_3$. In 3 hours 4 thalers, in 6 hours 8 thalers.[111] Thus they work 6 hours of surplus labour. Previously it was only 2.//

//Adam Smith correctly adduces in favour of an average profit—i.e. a profit purely determined by the magnitude of the capital—the example of the use of silver instead of iron, or gold instead of silver, of a more costly raw material in general, under otherwise identical conditions of production.[112] Here the part of the capital advanced in the form of raw material may grow hundredfold, and more, ditto therefore the profit, with the same rate of average profit. Although not the slightest CHANGE takes place in the organic relations between the different components of the capital.//

//The Yankee economist Wayland is very naive.[113] Because relative surplus value is only produced in branches of industry directly or indirectly involved in the production of articles destined for the workers' consumption, hence it is there in particular that capital introduces cooperation, division of labour and machinery, and because this occurs to a much lesser extent in luxury production, he concludes that the capitalists work to the advantage of the poor, not the rich, and capital there develops its productivity in the interest of the former, not the latter.//

Average surplus value—disregarding here absolute surplus value, and considering only relative surplus value, which arises from the curtailment of necessary labour time through the development of the productive powers of labour—is the total

amount of surplus value in all specific branches of production, measured against the *total capital* laid out for living labour. Since the development of productive power is very uneven in the different branches of industry (which directly or indirectly produce the means of subsistence entering into the worker's consumption), uneven not only in degree but often proceeding in opposed directions, as the productivity of labour is just as much [XVI-1011] bound up with natural conditions which may lead to a decline in productivity while the productivity of labour grows // the whole of the investigation into the extent to which natural conditions influence the productivity of labour independently of the development of social productivity and often in opposition to it, belongs into the analysis of rent //—it results from this that this average surplus value must stand very much below the level to be expected from the development of productive power in the individual branches of industry (the most prominent ones). This is in turn one of the main reasons why the rate of surplus value, although it grows, does not grow in the same proportion as the variable capital declines in its proportion to the total capital. This would only be the case (assuming that the proportion is correct in general; it is correct for the rate of surplus value, as has been shown previously,[a] but not for surplus value) if those branches of industry in which the variable *C* declines the most against fixed, etc., were to make their products enter into the consumption of the worker in the same proportion. But take here, for example, the proportion between industrial and agricultural products, where the relation is precisely the opposite.[114]

Let us now consider a particular branch of industry. If an increase of productive power occurs in it, the increase which occurs in this particular branch absolutely does not imply a direct increase in the branch of industry which provides it with its raw material (with the exception of *agriculture*, since its product itself provides its raw material, in seeds, and this is again a peculiarity of agriculture). The raw material branch itself at first remains completely unaffected by the increase, and may also remain unaffected subsequently. // Nevertheless, a cheaper raw material does not step in to replace it, unless *the same raw material* becomes cheaper, as cotton does not replace sheep's wool. // But the productivity is demonstrated by the fact that a greater quantity of raw material is needed to absorb the same quantity of labour. Thus this part of constant capital at first grows unconditionally

[a] See this volume, pp. 115-16, 128-29.—*Ed.*

with the greater productivity of labour. If 5 produce as much as 50, or more, 50 will work up 10 times more raw material. The raw material must initially increase in *the same* proportion as the productivity of labour. Or if we assume that 5 produce as much as 50, and 45 are dismissed, the 5 now need 10× as much capital as did the 5 previously, or as much as 50. This part of the capital has grown 10 times, at least, measured against the capital laid out in labour. //With greater exploitation this can be restricted somewhat, if on the one hand there is a relative reduction in waste through the improved quality of the labour, and on the other hand because the waste is absolutely more massive, more concentrated, can serve better as raw material once again for new, different production, hence in fact the same raw material stretches further, AS TO ITS VALUE. This is an ITEM, but an insignificant one.// However, this is not to say by any means that fixed capital, buildings, machinery (lighting, etc.) (apart from fixed capital the *matières instrumentales* in general) increase in the same proportion, so that 10 times as much would now be required by the 5 as they required before. On the contrary. Although machinery of greater BULK becomes dearer absolutely, it becomes cheaper relatively. This is particularly true for the motive force, steam engines, etc., the production costs of which fall (relatively) with [the increase in] their horse power or other POWER. This part—hence the *total constant capital*—therefore by no means grows in proportion with the growth in productive power, although it does grow *absolutely*, to an insignificant degree. The total capital therefore does not grow [XVI-1012] proportionally in relation to the growth of productive power.

If out of the 500 there were originally perhaps 300 for workers, 150 for raw material and 50 for instruments, it follows that a doubling of productive power through the application of machinery would require the employment of at least 300 for raw material, and if 50 workers[115] produced this product of twice the size, 50 for labour; but it does not follow that the cost of machinery, etc., for these 30[a] workers would rise from 50 to 500, a tenfold increase. The cost of machinery would perhaps only rise to double the amount—to 100; so that the total capital would have fallen from 500 to 450. The ratio between the variable capital and the total capital would now be 30:450. $^{30}/_{450}=^{3}/_{45}=^{1}/_{15}$. 1:15.

[a] Marx altered the number of workers from 50 to 30 and based his subsequent calculations on the latter figure.—*Ed.*

Previously the ratio was 300:500, $^{300}/_{500}=3:5$. $^{1}/_{15}=^{3}/_{45}$; and $^{3}/_{5}=^{27}/_{45}$. According to this, however, the total capital required to produce a certain surplus value would have fallen. Assume in the first case that the surplus value=2 hours out of 12,=$^{2}/_{12}$, in the second case=$^{4}/_{12}$ or $^{1}/_{3}$.[116]

In the first case $^{1}/_{6}$ of 300 (if a worker=1 thaler)=50. And this is 10% of 500.

In the second case $^{1}/_{3}$ of 30=10. 450 are required for the production of these 10. If we assume that 300 workers are employed at this new rate, they would produce 100. The total capital needed to produce the 100 would rise to 450×30=4,500×3=13,500. In the previous ratio it was 1,000 to produce 100.

But assume that fixed capital falls still more, not perhaps relatively in proportion to the growth of the productive forces. If the 30 workers produce as much as the 300 did previously, they will need 500, just as before: 150 for raw material, 30 for labour (as previously 300), but perhaps only 100 for fixed capital. The total capital is now 210, of which variable capital is $^{3}/_{21}=^{1}/_{7}$, [XVI-1013] previously=$^{3}/_{5}$. (300 out of 500)

If the surplus value were now to increase 5fold, the 30 would give a surplus value of 50, where the 300 gave one of 10. Thus on 300, 30, would be on 30—15.

The total capital is 500 in the first case, 210 in the second case. 410 would now give 30, hence more than 500 previously.

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The growth of productive power allows more commodities to be produced in the same labour time. Therefore, it does not raise the exchange value of the commodities produced in this way, but only their quantity; it rather lessens the exchange value of the individual commodities, while the value of the total amount of commodities produced in a given time remains *the same.*

To say that there is an increase in productivity is the same as saying that the same raw material absorbs less labour in the course of its conversion into the product, or that the same labour time requires more raw material for its absorption.

For example, a pound of yarn requires exactly the same amount of cotton, whether a large or a small amount of labour is required for the conversion of the cotton into yarn. If the productivity of the spinner rises, the quantity of cotton contained in a pound of yarn absorbs less labour. The pound of yarn therefore falls in

value, gets cheaper. If 20 times as many pounds of cotton as before are spun in an hour, e.g. 20 pounds instead of 1 pound, each pound of yarn falls by $^1/_{20}$ in the value component the labour of spinning adds to it; in the differential value between a pound of cotton and a pound of yarn (leaving aside the value of the fixed capital present in the spun yarn). Nevertheless, the value of the product of the same time is now greater than before, not because more new value has been created, but only because more cotton has been spun, and the value of this has on our assumption remained the same. The newly created value would be the same amount for the 20 pounds as previously for the one pound alone. For 1 pound it would in the new mode of production be smaller by $^1/_{20}$.

Presupposing therefore that the commodities are sold at their value, the increase of productive power (with the exceptions mentioned earlier[a]) only creates surplus value in so far as the cheapening of the commodities cheapens the production costs of labour capacity, hence shortens the necessary labour time, hence lengthens surplus labour time.

The product of every particular sphere of production can therefore only create surplus value in so far as, and in the proportion in which, this *specific* product enters into the average consumption of the workers. But every such product—since a developed division of labour within society is a fundamental prerequisite for the development of commodities in general and even more for capitalist production—only forms an *aliquot* part of the worker's total consumption. The increase of productive power in every particular sphere therefore creates a surplus value *by no means in proportion to the increase of productive power* but only in the much smaller proportion in which the product of this particular sphere forms an *aliquot* part of the worker's total consumption. If a product formed $^1/_{10}$ of the worker's total consumption, a doubling of productive power would allow the production of $^2/_{10}$ in the same time as $^1/_{10}$ was produced previously. $^1/_{10}$ of the wage would fall to $^1/_{20}$, or by 50%, while the productive power would have risen by 100%. 50% on $^1/_{10}x$=5% on 1$x$. E.g. 5% on 100 comes to 105. 50% on $^{100}/_{10}$ or 10 comes to 5, the same total amount. The growth of productive power by 100% would in this case have cheapened wages by 5%. [XVI-1014] It is therefore clear why the striking growth of productive power in individual branches of industry appears to be entirely out of proportion with

[a] See this volume, pp. 130-32.— *Ed.*

the fall of wages or the growth of relative surplus value. Hence capital too—to the extent that this depends on surplus value, a point we shall soon investigate more closely—is far from increasing in the same proportion as the growth in the productive power of labour.

Only if productive power were to increase evenly in all branches of industry which directly or indirectly provide products for the worker's consumption could the proportional growth of surplus value correspond to the proportional increase of productive power. But this is by no means the case. Productive power increases in very different proportions in these different branches. Contrary movements often take place in these different spheres (this is due partly to the anarchy of competition and the specific nature of bourgeois production, partly to the fact that the productive power of labour is also tied to natural conditions, which often become less productive in the same proportion as productivity rises, in so far as it depends on social conditions) so that the productivity of labour rises in one sphere while it falls in another. //Think for example of the simple influence of the seasons, on which the greater part of all the raw products of industry depends, exhaustion of forests, coal seams, mines and the like.// The growth of average total productivity is therefore always and unconditionally much less than this growth appears in a few particular spheres, and indeed in one of the main branches of industry, the products of which enter into the worker's consumption, agriculture, it is as yet FAR FROM KEEPING PACE WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE POWERS IN THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY. On the other hand, in many branches of industry the development of productive power has no influence, either directly or indirectly, on the production of labour capacity, hence of relative surplus value. Quite apart from the fact that the development of productive power is not only expressed in an increase in the rate of surplus value but also in a (relative) reduction in the number of workers.

Hence the growth of surplus value is by no means in proportion to the growth of productive power in particular branches of production, and, secondly, it is also always smaller than the growth of the productive power of capital in *all* branches of industry (hence also those branches whose products enter neither directly nor indirectly into the production of labour capacity). Hence the accumulation of capital grows—not in the same proportion as productive power increases in a particular branch, and not even in the proportion in which productive power increases in all branches, but only in the average proportion in which it increases

in *all* the branches of industry of which the products enter directly or indirectly into the overall consumption of the workers.

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The *value* of a *commodity* is determined by the total labour time, *past* and *living*, which enters into it, which is contained in it; hence not only by the labour time which is added in the final production process, from which the commodity as such emerges, but by the labour contained in the fixed capital and circulating capital, or in the conditions of production of the labour last to be added, by the labour time contained in the machinery, etc., the *matières instrumentales* and the raw material, in so far as their value reappears in the commodity, which is entirely the case with raw material and [XVI-1015] the *matières instrumentales*, whereas the value of the fixed capital only reappears partially in the product—in proportion to its WEAR AND TEAR.

If $^1/_4$ of the value in a commodity consisted of constant capital and $^3/_4$ of wages; if as a result of an increase of productive power in this particular branch the amount of living labour employed were to fall from $^3/_4$ to $^1/_4$, and if the number of workers employed in its production were to be reduced from $^3/_4$ to $^1/_4$, then, given the presupposition that the $^1/_4$ of labour was exactly as productive as the $^3/_4$ was previously (and not more so), the value of the new fixed and circulating capital, apart from the raw material contained in the $^1/_4$, could rise to $^2/_4$. Then the value of the commodity would remain unchanged, although the labour would have become more productive by $^3/_4$ to $^1/_4$, i.e. by 3 to 1, i.e. it would have tripled its productive power. Since the value of the raw material would have remained the same, the new fixed and circulating capital would not be able to rise as far as $^2/_4$ of the old value of the commodity, thus permitting the commodity to become cheaper, with a real fall in its production costs. Or the difference between the new labour time and the old would have to be larger than the difference between the value of the old constant capital and the new (deducting the raw material). It is not possible to add the same amount more of past labour as a condition of labour as has been deducted of living labour. If the $^1/_4$ of workers were to produce *more* than the $^3/_4$ did previously, so that the increase in the productivity of their labour were greater than the reduction in their numbers or their total labour time, the new constant capital could grow // disregarding surplus value here and speaking only of the value of the commodity, on which after all the surplus value depends, because the cheapening of the production costs of labour

capacity depends on the lessening of the value// by $^2/_4$, and even by more than $^2/_4$, only it would now have to grow in the same proportion as the productive power of the new labour.

Secondly, however, this relation is also brought about, 1) by the fact that the fixed capital only enters in part into the value of the commodity; 2) the *matières instrumentales*, such as the coal consumed, the heating, lighting, etc., are proportionally economised by labour on a large scale, although their total value increases, and therefore a smaller value component of the same enters into the individual commodity. But the condition remains the same, that the value component of the machinery which enters into the individual commodity as WEAR and TEAR, and the *matières instrumentales* which enter into it, should be smaller than the difference in productivity between the new and the old labour. Nevertheless, this does not exclude the possibility that an equally large or even a larger quantity of constant capital might be used for the total amount of commodities, e.g. the number of pounds of twist, which are produced in a given period of time, e.g. a day, than was previously expended in the form of wages. Only a smaller quantity in respect of the individual commodity. Presupposing, therefore, that the $^1/_4 n$ workers produce exactly as much in one day as the $^3/_4 n$ workers produced previously, the law would remain absolute. Because the amount of commodities produced would remain the same in proportion to these $^1/_4 n$ workers as it was for the $^3/_4 n$ workers. The value of the individual commodity could therefore fall *only* if the new constant capital < than that previously expended in wages and now no longer in existence. It can therefore be said absolutely that in the proportion in which *a smaller quantity of labour replaces a greater quantity of labour*—[XVI-1016] does not need to be identical, but may be, and mostly is, greater than the proportion in which the number of workers is diminished (the relative number of workers)—the constant capital which enters into the commodity //and in practice also the interest and profit on the *whole* of the constant capital, which admittedly enters into the labour process but not into the valorisation process// must be greater than the proportion in which the new constant capital grows (here the raw material is left out). This is only an aspect to be introduced in distinction to the one-sided consideration in dealing with surplus value. To be inserted in the section on *production costs*.[a]

This does not, however, (owing to the way in which the fixed capital is reproduced) prevent the total capital //hence also the

[a] See this volume, pp. 78-103.— *Ed.*

part of it which is not *consumed* in the labour process, but still enters into it// from being absolutely greater than the previous total capital.

Thus if e.g. 1 replaces 10, the capital which is allotted to him in the form of machinery, etc., and *matières instrumentales*—in so far as it enters into his product—is smaller than the previous capital which was required for the 10 workers. The proportion of capital laid out in labour has fallen 10 times here, but the new constant capital has perhaps only risen 8 times. From this point of view, therefore, the capital laid out in labour has not fallen proportionally in the same degree as the capital required for its realisation [has increased]. Or the total amount of capital which enters into the production of the one worker is smaller than the total amount of capital which enters into the production of the 10 workers replaced by him. And, although the part of capital laid out in wages has fallen 10 times in comparison with previously, it still forms a larger part of this new capital than $^1/_{10}$, because this new capital, which enters into the production of the one worker, has itself become *smaller* than the old capital, which entered into the production of the 20 workers.

On the other hand, however, the total capital which is required as condition of production for this increase in the productivity of labour—including namely the part which does not enter as WEAR and TEAR into the product—but is rather consumed in a series of work periods—is greater—may be much greater than the previous total capital, so that the part of the total capital laid out in labour has declined in a still greater proportion than the productivity of labour has grown. The more the fixed capital develops, i.e. the productivity of labour, the greater this unconsumed part of the capital, the smaller the proportion of the part of capital laid out in labour in relation to the total capital. From this point of view it might appear as if the magnitude of the capital grew more rapidly than the productivity of labour //but even the total capital cannot grow to the extent that the interest and profit on it raise the production costs of the commodity to the level to which the productivity of labour has risen//. But this only means that the portion of the capital annually produced which is converted into fixed capital is always increased relatively to the portion of the capital which is laid out in wages; by no means, however, that the total capital—which is in part fixed, in part converted into wages—grows as quickly as the productivity of labour.

If the part of capital laid out in labour thus falls, this is even

more the case if the growth in the part of capital which consists of raw material is brought into *consideration* at the same time.

[XVI-1017] Let us take an extreme case: the rearing of sheep on a modern scale, where previously small-scale agriculture predominated. But here *two different branches of industry* are being compared. The amount of labour—or of capital laid out in wages—which is suppressed here is enormous. Hence the constant capital can also grow enormously. And it is very much the question whether the total capital which is here allotted to the individual shepherds is greater than the total amount of the capitals which were previously divided among several hundred shepherds.

It is questionable whether, in individual branches of industry in which the total capital undergoes extraordinary growth, profit originates at all from the surplus value produced in these branches and not rather, in connection with the calculations made by the capitalists between themselves, from the general surplus value produced by the sum total of all the capitals.

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Many ways of increasing productive power, particularly with the employment of machinery, require absolutely no relative increase in capital outlay. Often only relatively inexpensive alterations in the part of the machine which provides the motive force, etc. See examples.[117] Here the increase in productive power is unusually great compared to the capital outlay which falls to the relative share of the individual worker—of the individual commodity as well. Thus here—at least as far as this part of the capital is concerned—the capital laid out in raw material grows the more rapidly—no noticeable reduction in the rate of profit—at least not to the extent that it would be caused by an increase in this part of the capital. On the other hand, although the capital does not grow here so much relatively speaking, it is true to say, as it is in the general case overall, that for the most part the absolute amount of capital employed—hence the concentration of capital or the scale on which work is done—must grow very significantly. More powerful steam engines (of more horsepower) are absolutely dearer than less powerful ones. But relatively speaking their price falls. Even so, a greater outlay of capital—a greater concentration of capital in one hand—is required for their employment. A bigger factory building is absolutely dearer, but relatively cheaper, than a smaller one. If every aliquot part of the total capital is smaller in proportion to the total capital employed by the labour

saved, this aliquot part can mostly be employed solely in such MULTIPLES as will raise the total amount of capital employed to an extraordinary degree or in particular the part of the total capital not consumed in a single turnover, the part the consumption of which extends over a period of turnovers lasting many years. It is in general only with this work on a large scale that productive power is increased tremendously, since it is only in this way that:

1) the principle of MULTIPLES, which underlies simple cooperation, and is repeated in the division of labour and the employment of machinery, can correctly be applied. (See *Babbage*, on how this increases the scale of production, i.e. the concentration of capital.[a])

2) The greater altogether the number of workers employed on the new scale, the smaller, relatively, the portion of fixed capital which enters as WEAR and TEAR for buildings, etc. The greater the principle of the cheapening of production costs by joint utilisation of the same use values, as lighting, heating, common use of the motive power, etc. [XVI-1018] The more is it possible to employ absolutely dearer, but relatively cheaper, instruments of production.

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The circumstance that in some branches of production, railways, canals, etc., where an immense fixed capital is employed, these are not independent sources of surplus value, because the ratio between the labour exploited and the capital laid out is too small.

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A further remark needs to be added to the previous page[b]:

It is possible that if a capital of 500 was needed for 20 workers, and now a total capital of only 400 is needed for 2, 2,000 workers will now have to be employed, hence a capital of 400,000, in order to employ the aliquot parts of the 400 productively. It has already been shown[c] that even with an increased rate of surplus value the relative reduction in the number of workers to be exploited can only be counterbalanced by a very great increase in the multiple of labour.

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This is seen (appears) in competition. Once the new invention has been introduced generally, the rate of profit becomes too small for a small capital to be able to continue to operate in the

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[a] Ch. Babbage, *Traité sur l'économie...*, Paris, 1833, pp. 275-78.[118]— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 139-40.— *Ed.*

[c] Ibid., pp. 124-25, 128-29.— *Ed.*

given branch of industry. The amount of necessary conditions of production grows in general in such a way that a significant minimum level comes into existence, which excludes all the smaller capitals from this branch of production for the future. It is only at the beginning that small capitals can exploit mechanical inventions in every sphere of production.

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The growth of capital only implies a reduction in the rate of profit to the extent that with the growth of capital the above-mentioned changes take place in the ratio between its organic components. However, despite the constant daily changes in the mode of production, capital, or a large part of it, always continues to accumulate over a longer or shorter period on the basis of a definite average ratio between those organic components, so that NO ORGANIC CHANGE OCCURS IN ITS CONSTITUENT PARTS as it grows.

On the other hand, a reduction in the rate of profit can only be enforced by a growth in capital—because of a growth in the absolute amount of profit—as long as the rate of profit does not fall in the same proportion as the capital grows. The obstacles which stand in the way of this are to be found in the considerations we have already brought forward.[a]

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Absolute plethora of capital.

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Increase in workers, etc., despite the relative decline in variable capital or capital laid out in wages. However, this does not take place in all spheres of production [XVI-1019]. E.g. not in agriculture. Here the decline in the element of living labour is absolute.

An increase in the amount of labour on the new production basis is in part necessary in order to compensate for the lessened rate of profit by means of the amount of profit; in part in order to compensate for the fall in the magnitude of surplus value which accompanies the rising rate of surplus value on account of the absolute reduction in the number of workers exploited by means of an increase in the number of workers on the new scale. Finally the principle of MULTIPLES touched on earlier.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 104-33.—*Ed.*

But it will be said that if the variable capital declines in sphere of production I, it increases in the others, namely those which are employed in the production of the constant capital needed for sphere of production I. Nevertheless, the same relation enters here, e.g. in the production of machinery, in the production of raw products, *matières instrumentales*, e.g. coal. The tendency is general, although it is first realised in the different spheres of production by fits and starts. It is counterbalanced by the fact that the spheres of production themselves increase. In any case, it is only a need of the bourgeois economy that the number of people living from their labour alone should increase absolutely, even if it declines relatively. Since labour capacities become superfluous for the bourgeois economy once it is no longer necessary to exploit them for 12 to 15 hours a day. A development of productive power which reduced the absolute number of workers, i.e. in fact enabled the whole nation to execute its total production in a smaller period of time, would bring about revolution, because it would demonetise the majority of the population. Here there appears once again the limit of bourgeois production, and the fact becomes obvious that it is not the absolute form for the development of productive power, that it rather enters into collision with the latter at a certain point. In part this collision appears constantly, with the crises, etc., which occur when now one now another component of the working class becomes superfluous in its old mode of employment. Its limit is the surplus time of the workers; it is *not concerned* with the absolute surplus time gained by society. *The development of productive power* is therefore only important in so far as it increases the surplus labour time of the workers, not in so far as it reduces labour time for material production in general. It is therefore embedded in a contradiction.

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The rate of surplus value—i.e. the ratio of surplus to necessary labour time for the individual worker (therefore in so far as surplus value is not modified in the different spheres of production by the proportion between the organic components of capital, turnover time, etc.)—is automatically balanced out in all the spheres of production, and this is *a basis for the general rate of profit.* (The modifications which in this way influence the necessary costs of production are compensated for by the competition between capitalists, by the different ITEMS which they bring into consideration when dividing among themselves the general surplus value.)

[XVI-1020] That the rate of surplus value rises means nothing other than that the cost of production of labour capacity falls, hence necessary labour time falls, in the proportion to which the *specific* product of that particular sphere of production which has become cheaper enters into the general consumption of the workers. This cheapening of labour capacity, reduction in necessary labour time, increase in absolute labour time, therefore takes place uniformly, and influences all spheres of capitalist production uniformly, not only those in which the development of productive power has taken place, but also those whose products do not enter at all into the consumption of the workers, and in which the development of productive power can therefore create no relative surplus value. (It is therefore clear that in competition, once the monopoly in the new invention has come to an end, the price of the product is reduced to its production costs.)

If, therefore, 20 workers who work 2 hours of surplus labour are replaced by 2, it is correct, as we have seen already,[a] that these 2 can under no circumstances provide as much surplus labour as the 20 did previously. But in all spheres of production the surplus labour rises in proportion to the cheapening of the product of the 2 workers, and it rises without any alteration having taken place in the ratio of the organic components of the capitals employed by the spheres of production.

On the other hand, an increase in the value of the product of a sphere of production of this kind, which enters into the reproduction of labour capacity, has just as general an effect; this may wholly or partially paralyse that surplus value.

In the first case, however, the surplus labour time gained is not to be estimated by the sphere of production in which the increase of productive power has taken place, but by the sum total of the diminutions of necessary labour time in *all* spheres of capitalist production.

But the more general the relation becomes, with 2 replacing 20 in *all* or most spheres of production, under the same proportions between total capital and variable capital, the more does the relation in the totality of capitalist production raise the relation in the particular spheres of production. I.e. no reduction in necessary labour time could create the amount of surplus value there was previously, when 20 worked instead of 2.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 110-11, 127-28.— *Ed.*

And under all circumstances the rate of profit would then fall, even if the capital itself increased so much that a number [of workers] equally great or even greater than before could be employed under the new conditions of production.

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The *accumulation* of capital (considered materially) is double. It consists on the one hand in the *growing amount* of past labour, or the available amount of the conditions of labour; the material prerequisites, the already available products and numbers of workers, under which new production or reproduction takes place. Secondly, however, in the *concentration*, the reduction in the number of capitals, the growth of the capitals present in the hands of the individual capitalist, in short in a new distribution of capitals, of social capital. The power of capital as such grows thereby. The independent position achieved by the social conditions of production [XVI-1021] vis-à-vis the real creators of those conditions of production, as represented in the capitalist, thereby becomes increasingly apparent. Capital shows itself more and more as a *social power* (the capitalist is merely its functionary, and it no longer stands in any relation to what the labour of an individual creates or can create), but an *alienated social power which has become independent*, and confronts society as a thing—and through this thing as a power of the individual capitalist. On the other hand, constantly increasing masses [of people] are thereby deprived of the conditions of production and find them set over against them. The contradiction between the *general social power* which capital is formed into, and the *private power of the individual capitalist* over these social conditions of production becomes ever more glaring, and implies the dissolution of this relation, since it implies at the same time the development of the material conditions of production into general, therefore communal social conditions of production.

This development is given by the development of productive power along with capitalist production and by the manner in which this development of productive power takes shape.

The question now is, how is the accumulation of capital affected by the development of the productive forces, in so far as they find expression in CHANGE[S] in surplus value and the rate of profit, and how far is it influenced by other factors?

Ricardo says[a] that capital can grow in two ways: 1) in that a

[a] See D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, pp. 327-28.[119]—*Ed.*

greater amount of labour is contained in the greater amount of products, hence the exchange value of the use values grows along with their quantity; 2) in that the quantity of use values grows, but not their exchange value, hence the increase occurs simply through an increase in the productivity of labour.[120]

# [MISCELLANEA]

## [XVII-1022] LABOUR PROCESS AND VALORISATION PROCESS: USE VALUE AND EXCHANGE VALUE

It was shown originally [121] that the distinction between the labour process and the valorisation process was of decisive importance, because there rested upon it the distinction between constant and variable capital, and the whole of the theory of capital (surplus value, profit, etc.).

But there are, as will appear, yet more very important relations relevant to this distinction.

We see, firstly, with fixed capital, that it enters into the labour process completely, but into the valorisation process only partially—to the extent that it is used up, as WEAR AND TEAR. This is one of the main factors working towards the cheapening of commodities through the employment of machinery; thus TO A CERTAIN DEGREE towards the increase of relative surplus value. At the same time, however, it is a cause of the decline in the rate of profit.

But, apart from fixed capital, all those productive forces which cost *nothing*, i.e. those which derive from the division of labour, cooperation, machinery (in so far as this costs nothing, as is for example the case with the motive forces of water, wind, etc., and also with the ADVANTAGES which proceed from the SOCIAL ARRANGEMENT of the workshop) as well as forces of nature whose application does not give rise to any costs—or at least to the degree to which their application does not give rise to any costs—enter into the labour process without entering into the valorisation process.

It is apparent here, secondly, and once again, how *use value*, which originally appears to us only as the material substratum of the economic relations, itself intervenes to determine the economic category.

We saw this first with money, where the nature of the substratum which serves as its vehicle, the use value of the commodity which functions as money, is itself determined by the economic function.

*Secondly:* the whole relation of wages to capital rests on the fact that labour capacity as exchange value is determined by the labour time required to produce it; but because its use value itself consists in labour, its exchange value is paid for, and it nevertheless returns in the exchange with capital more exchange value than it receives.

[XVII-1023] 3) Fixed capital—hence this particular economic form—is to a large extent dependent on use value. The duration of the depreciation of the machine, i.e. TO WHAT DEGREE it enters into the price of the commodity during a given period of turnover, and how long the component of capital represented by it circulates, depends on the use value, i.e. on the greater or lesser durability of the machine, etc. The turnover time of the total capital therefore depends on this; and CHANGES in the ratio between the organic components of the capital are also considerably affected by this.

4) The whole distinction between the labour process and the valorisation process—hence also the increase in the productivity of labour while labour time remains the same—the whole of the development of the productive forces—concerns use value, not exchange value. But it changes and modifies the economic relations and exchange value relations themselves.

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## DIMINUTION IN THE RATE OF PROFIT

No capitalist voluntarily employs a new mode of production, even though it may be much more productive, and however high the ratio in which it increases the rate of surplus value, if it reduces the rate of profit. But every new mode of production of this kind cheapens the commodity. He therefore starts by selling it *above* its costs of production, and *above* its value. He is able to do this because the average labour time *socially* required for the production of this commodity is *greater* than the labour time required under the new mode of production (the total amount of labour time contained in the constant and variable capital). His mode of production stands *above* the socially average level.

Competition generalises this and subjects it to the general law. Then the fall in the rate of profit takes place, a law which is therefore completely independent of the will of the capitalist.

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## CONSTANT CAPITAL. ABSOLUTE QUANTITY OF CAPITAL

In order to employ with advantage the machine which produces the motive force (hence e.g. to use the steam engine instead of the motive force provided by hands and feet), which sets in motion the actual working machines, i.e. in such a way that the [XVII-1024] total capital which is required in the new mode of production does not make the commodity more expensive instead of cheapening it, it is necessary for this motivating machine to be employed for a large number of working machines and therefore relatively [fewer] workers. And relative costs of production fall in proportion as the number of working machines increases. Hence the constant growth in absolute capital and the *growth in the minimum amount of capital* required in order to employ in the production of the commodity no more *labour time than is socially necessary.* Hence in turn a growth [in the constant capital] (since the raw material and the *matières instrumentales* form part of this), a fall in the variable capital in comparison with the quantity of capital advanced, and, above all, the necessity for an absolute[ly large] quantity of capital.

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## DECLINE IN THE RATE OF PROFIT

The result of the investigation is this: Firstly, the rate of surplus value does not rise in proportion to the growth in productive power or the decline in the (relative) number of workers employed. The capital does not grow in the same proportion as the productive power. Or, the rate of surplus value does not rise in the same proportion as the variable capital falls in comparison with the total amount of capital. Hence a diminution in the relative magnitude of the surplus value. Hence *a decline in the rate of profit. A constant tendency towards a decline in the same.*

It should be remarked further on this point that the law whereby the value of the commodities is determined by the labour time socially necessary for their production drives the individual

capitalist, so that he can sell his commodity *above* its social value, to curtail the labour time necessary for him exceptionally by introducing the division of labour, by employing machinery, etc.—also in spheres of production whose products enter neither directly nor indirectly into the worker's consumption or into the conditions of production of his articles of consumption—therefore also in branches of production where no development of productive power can cheapen the reproduction of labour capacity, i.e. shorten the necessary labour time and lengthen the surplus labour time. Once proof has actually been provided that these commodities can be produced more cheaply, the capitalists who work under the old conditions of production must sell them *below* the value, since the labour time they need for the production of those commodities now stands *above* the labour time socially *necessary* for their production. In a word—and this appears as an effect of competition—they too must adopt the new mode of production [XVII-1025], in which the ratio of the variable capital to the total amount of capital advanced has fallen. Here, therefore, there takes place a reduction in the value of the commodities, and a reduction in the number of workers exploited, without an increase of any kind in relative surplus value. This situation in the unproductive spheres of production—those not producing relative surplus value—is of substantial influence, if one considers the capital of the whole society, i.e. of the capitalist class, from the angle that the total amount of surplus value falls in proportion to the capital advanced—hence that the *rate of profit* falls.

It is possible that such commodities may by growing cheaper become accessible to the workers' consumption, may indeed become necessary elements in this. Their effect is never direct, and is never more than partial. They DIVERSIFY its magnitude without raising its value. Above all, they DIVERSIFY the magnitude of the capitalists' [consumption], a point which can be made for any development in productivity, but which is irrelevant in our context. They even exert an economic influence, in so far as every expansion of the sphere of exchange, every magnification of the number of stages in which the exchange value of a commodity unfolds promotes at the same time its character as commodity, hence also promotes the mode of production directed exclusively at the production of *commodities*, not of use values as such.

On the other hand, the fall in variable capital in comparison with total capital—and this fall accompanies every development of productive power—does not occur to the same degree as

productive power develops, because an ever more considerable portion of the capital enters into the value of the commodities, into the valorisation process, only in the form of annuities, and because during certain periods a constant increase takes place in the size of the capital in the production of a particular commodity without accompanying changes in the ratio of the organic components, i.e. it remains on the basis of the old mode of production. The rate of profit therefore does not diminish in the same proportion as capital grows (still less in a greater proportion), although the growth of capital—to the extent that it depends on the development of the productive forces—is continuously accompanied by a tendential fall in the rate of profit.

We therefore say, on the one hand: capital does not grow as quickly as productive power. We say, on the other hand: the rate of profit does not fall as quickly as capital grows. We say, on the one hand: variable capital does not decline as quickly in proportion to total capital, or total capital does not grow as quickly in proportion to variable capital, as productivity grows. We say, on the other hand: the surplus value created by variable capital does not grow as quickly as the variable capital falls, and does not fall as quickly as the constant capital rises. (Of the total capital.)

[XVII-1026] The absolute magnitude of surplus value declines, in comparison with the capital advanced, although the rate of surplus value rises, with the fall in variable capital, or in the relative portion of the total capital which is laid out in wages. But it declines more slowly than variable capital falls. The rate of profit therefore does not fall as quickly as the total capital grows. On the other hand, the total capital does not grow as quickly as productive power and the replacement of variable capital by constant capital which accompanies this. This would therefore imply that variable capital falls more quickly than the total capital grows. But this is incorrect, in so far as the total capital enters into the valorisation process. However, the more rapid growth in the productive power of capital means only that the growth in the rate of surplus value does not correspond to the growth in productive power.

In so far as the employment of a greater amount of constant capital really creates [greater] surplus value, the aliquot part of the total amount of capital which corresponds to a single worker must be smaller than the total amount of capital which corresponded to the number of workers he replaces. But this comparative reduction in the aliquot parts of the capital relative to the

individual workers employed by it (absolutely greater in relation to this individual, smaller in relation to the number he replaces) generally occurs—and in the further course of development always occurs—with a simultaneous increase in the absolute size of the capital, hence of the sum total of these aliquot parts. If, e.g., a capital of 400 was used for one instead of 500 for 20, these 400 could perhaps only be employed in this manner if 10,000×400 were employed. Therefore, although the conditions of labour would be cheaper for the individual worker—not compared with the previous individual worker, but with the previous 20 workers—there is a rise in the total value of the conditions of labour which must be possessed by the individual so as to carry on the productive labour process under these new conditions. I.e. the power of capital vis-à-vis labour grows, or, and this is the same thing, the worker's chance of appropriating the conditions of labour for himself is lessened. The independent position of past labour as an alien power over living labour achieves a tremendous extension of its dimensions. The good Carey overlooked this.[122] The single spindle is cheaper, but the workshop needed to employ mechanical spindles of this kind requires a capital extraordinarily increased in size, compared with that required previously by the hand spinner.

At the start of developments in many spheres of production where the tool is transformed into a machine of labour—but has not yet developed into a system of machinery—there may indeed be a fall in the amount of capital required, if e.g. 1 worker replaces 10, the raw material remains the same, and the cost of the machine-like tool is in contrast less than the wages of the 10 workers over one year. Mr. Carey TAKES HOLD OF such phenomena of the transition from manual to machine labour TO MAKE A FOOL OF HIMSELF. But these small machines are then seized upon by capital, which applies to them the principles of cooperation and the division of labour, and the principle of the [XVII-1027] proportional reduction of production costs, and finally subjects the whole workshop to a motivating machine or a natural force.

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## ACCUMULATION[123]

The most direct way in which the *increase in productive power* intensifies the accumulation of capital is through the *reduction in necessary labour time* and the increase in surplus value, since

surplus value is converted from its form as income into the form of capital; this conversion in general constitutes accumulation.

The direct result of every increase in productive power is a *cheapening of the commodities* in whose sphere of production the heightening of productive power has taken place. Whether these commodities enter into the worker's means of subsistence—hence into the reproduction of labour capacity—or not, they increase in any case the amount of *use values* in which a definite magnitude of value is represented, hence a definite sum of money //the value of the substance in which the money exists remaining unchanged//, or the amount of use values representing a specific quantity of labour time—even where these commodities do not increase the magnitude of the surplus value, and the magnitude of the profit (its *value magnitude*). A *relatively* greater part of the income—of the profit, the surplus value—can therefore be reconverted into capital, although the extent of the capitalist's enjoyments, or the amount of use values he consumes, values not reconverted into capital, is simultaneously increased. The more so, in that the increase of productive forces also takes place in the spheres of luxury production, and here luxury production is to be understood as including all production which does not enter either directly or indirectly into the reproduction of labour capacity. The accumulation of capital therefore grows as productive power increases, not only through the growth in the magnitude of the value which is represented in the form of profit, but through the ability, resulting from the general cheapening of commodities, to reconvert into capital an increasingly large part of income.

Disregarding this point: In so far as the increase in the productive power of the raw material and the instruments of labour, of the *constant capital,* brings about luxury production in the above sense, the same total capital absorbs more labour altogether, can employ, can realise, more labour. This is another source of the accumulation of capital, since here the absolute, if not the relative, surplus value is increased, because more days of labour are employed, exploited.

## [XVII-1028] DIMINUTION OF OUTGOINGS FOR CONSTANT CAPITAL

The *SUPPRESSION* of all precautionary measures aimed at the safety, convenience and health of the workers belongs here; e.g. in the coal mines, similarly in the factories proper, a large part of the

*battle bulletins* (see the half-yearly factory REPORTS) of the wounded and dead of the industrial armies arises from this source.[124] Similarly lack of space, etc.

The *devaluation* of constant capital as a result of new inventions, whereby it can be reproduced more cheaply and with better quality, more effectively, hence the labour time contained in it is no longer that socially necessary — and improvements come thick and fast particularly when new machines are first introduced — is one of the main reasons why *overwork* and the prolongation of SURPLUS labour time — OVERTIME — goes hand in hand with machinery (see the examples in Babbage[125]). The circulation time within which the value of machines, etc., and other components of fixed capital is reproduced is in practice not determined by the time during which they last but by the quantity of labour time during which they serve as means of production, and in general by the dimensions, the duration, of the labour process during which they function and are used up. If the WORKMEN work 18 hours instead of 12, this gives 3 more days per week, $1^1/_2$ weeks of labour in 1 week, hence in 52 weeks $52+{}^{52}/_2=52+26=78$ weeks. In 5 years 390 weeks, hence well-nigh 7 years. If the OVERTIME is unpaid, and the normal SURPLUS TIME=2 hours, 30 hours of the 3 days (36 hours) would have to be paid for. Apart from the normal surplus time, the workers thus provide 1 week free for every 2 weeks. 1 year for every 2. And thus the *valorisation* of the machine is *doubled*, and accomplished in half the time needed otherwise.[126]

Where the capitalists have a monopoly, and are not compelled by competition to replace obsolete machinery, etc., by new, as for example on the railways, they therefore exclude improvements as long as possible. *"The Lancet" for 1 March 1862* STATES that a large number of the illnesses arising from railway travel are caused by the lack of elasticity inside the carriages and in the springs which SUPPORT the carriages.

* "The inventor of any patented article usually obtains reward for his ingenuity by a royalty on the sale from persons making use of his discovery. A number of ingenious improvements adapted solely for use by railway companies are yearly patented, and the system pursued towards the inventors is that, after approval of the plan suggested, it is determined to wait until the time of the patent expires before adopting it. Thus the old stock is used up and the royalty to the patentee saved; and though a few more preventable accidents may occur, yet the public are supposed to be used to being so treated, and the only anxiety is to keep the reports out of the papers, or to soften them as much as possible."*[a]

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[a] "The Influence of Railway Travelling on Public Health", *The Lancet*, March 1, 1862, p. 233.— *Ed.*

## [XVII-1029][127] [MERCANTILE CAPITAL. MONEY-DEALING CAPITAL]

### CONTINUATION OF NOTEBOOK XV

Thus *mercantile capital* enters into the equalisation of surplus value to form an average profit (although it does not enter into the production of *that surplus value*), and therefore the AVERAGE RATE OF PROFIT already contains the deduction from surplus value which falls to MERCANTILE capital, hence the MERCANTILE DEDUCTION from the profit of productive capital.

| | | *Surplus value* |
|---|---|---|
| E.g. *EXTRACTIVE capital* | 200 | 30 |
| *AGRICULTURAL capital* | 300 | 45 |
| *MANUFACTURING capital* | 200 | 25 |
| *MERCANTILE capital* | 100 | |
| | 800 | 100 |

If the mercantile capital enters here into the distribution of the surplus value, the rate of profit=$12\,^1/_2$%. If it does not, the rate=$14\,^2/_7$%. The mercantile capital of 100 must turn over 8 times in order to buy and sell 800 (for the value of the commodity=700 (cost price)+100 profit=800). And therefore, in order that it may also come to $14\,^2/_7$%, it must in every turnover give rise to an eighth of $14^2/_7$; or $1+{}^3/_4+{}^1/_{28}=1+{}^{11}/_{14}$%. The 800 would lose $14\,^2/_7$. There would therefore remain $785\,^5/_7$. And the real profit made by the capital of 700 would=$85\,^5/_7=12\,^{12}/_{49}$. Less than if the mercantile capital enters into the distribution. Because in fact the mercantile capital would make $14^2/_7$%, whereas the others would

be reduced to a quota which emerges if $^1/_8$ of the capital makes $14\,^2/_7$%. In fact, however, if a mercantile capital of 100 is necessary to turn over 781 $^1/_2$ (at 12 $^1/_2$%), a larger MERCANTILE CAPITAL would be necessary to turn over 800. 102 $^{574}/_{1,563}$ would be necessary. More industrial capital would have to be converted into mercantile capital. The amount of surplus value would thereby be lessened, hence the rate of profit; but the mercantile rate of profit would always remain somewhat higher than the industrial rate.

If the CALICO man has realised in the £1,000 for which he sells the 12,000 yards the whole production process of the 12,000, it initially appears to be no concern of his if the MERCHANT adds e.g. 10% to the price. But, first, once he buys yarn, machine, coal, etc., he has for his part to pay for the addition to the price. If the calico enters into the worker's consumption, his wages rise. In both cases the calico man's rate of profit falls. If his product enters into the constant capital of another capital, this is the same thing for the equalisation of the rate of profit as if it entered into his own. Furthermore, the nominal increase in the rate of profit brings with it an uncompensated increase in the rate of interest. If the product enters into the consumption of the non-worker, his capacity for accumulation, etc., is reduced.

[XVII-1030] But this way of conceiving the matter is wholly incorrect.

Firstly, it contradicts the historical FACT that mercantile capital, SO FAR FROM BEING EXCLUDED OF PARTICIPATING IN THE REGULATION OF THE AVERAGE PROFIT, rather, as the first free form of capital, is the FIRST TO ENTER INTO THAT CREATION. Mercantile profit originally determines the profit of PRODUCTIVE CAPITAL. Only when capitalist production has penetrated fully, and the producer is A MERE MERCHANT, is the MERCANTILE PROFIT REDUCED TO THE ALIQUOT PART OF THE SURPLUS VALUE FALLING DUE TO IT IN REGARD TO THE ALIQUOT PART IT FORMS OF THE GENERAL CAPITAL.

Secondly, it altogether contradicts the concept of a GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT, which is entirely indifferent towards the *particular function* of the capital WHICH PARTICIPATES IN THE PARTITION OF THE GENERAL MASS OF SURPLUS VALUE, and is indifferent towards THE DEGREE IN WHICH IT CONCURRED IN ITS PRODUCTION.

It can therefore be seen that even MERCANTILE CAPITAL, once it appears as a mere element of capitalist production, is subsumed under it, does not contradict the law that the sum total of the AVERAGE PRICES of the commodities, i.e. the sum of their production prices,=the sum of their values, and the sum of the *profits* (INTEREST and RENT INCLUDED)=the sum of the surplus value or the unpaid SURPLUS labour. It is only that the mercantile capital shares the

profit with the PRODUCTIVE capital, while the latter directly winkles it out of the worker in the form of surplus value.

The magnitude of the deduction profit suffers through MERCANTILE profit—i.e. the magnitude of the difference between the BUYING PRICE of the MERCHANT (the SELLING PRICE of the PRODUCER) and the SELLING PRICE of the MERCHANT (the BUYING PRICE of the CONSUMER), hence the apparent "extra charge" the merchant makes upon the price of the individual commodity—is determined, since the general rate of profit is already given, by the AVERAGE NUMBER OF turnovers, REVOLUTIONS of MERCANTILE CAPITAL, which is in turn expressed in the proportion in which the MERCANTILE CAPITAL stands to the total capital. For e.g. 100 to realise a profit of 20%, the merchant must add 5% to each sum of commodities of a price of £100 if his capital revolves 4 times, 4% if it revolves 5 times, 2% if it revolves 10 times. The difference between the BUYING PRICE and the SELLING PRICE of the MERCHANT is the smaller, the greater the proportion of the part of capital directly employed in production.

There now remains the question: Since the MERCHANT himself may employ labour, apart from his capital //to the extent that his own labour enters here, it forms a part of WAGES, as with industrial capital//, does he create surplus value through this labour? Does it originate directly as a part of the profit he CHARGES on account of the function of his own capital? What is his relation to *his own* wage labourers (*commis*,[a] etc.)?

Just as productive capital makes a profit by selling labour, contained in the commodity, which it has not paid for, so does *mercantile capital* do the same by paying productive capital not the *whole of the unpaid labour* contained in the commodity (in the commodity as product of that capital as an aliquot part of the total capital), but only a part of it, [and pocketing] the *unpaid* part which is still, for mercantile capital, contained within the commodity.[128] Just as [profit] appears to industrial capital as an extra, a supplement to the cost, the part of the value it has not laid out in production, not advanced, so for commercial capital does the purchase price of the commodity, and the supplement to the price, the difference between SELLING and BUYING PRICE, appear as something independent of the production process and the value of the commodity itself, although it is moderate *in degree* and is kept within bounds by the laws of competition.

If we therefore take the last price—the MERCANTILE PRICE—as distinct from the factory price, it is only in the former that the

[a] Shop assistants.—*Ed.*

production price of the commodity is completely expressed.

The merchant [sells]—if we leave aside the intermediate transactions within the merchant estate itself, which are of no interest at all here—1) to the industrial consumer, i.e. to productive capital. Here the mercantile profit enters as a cost into production. 2) He sells to the individual consumers; to the extent that he is himself one of these, this must be regarded as the direct appropriation of a part of his profit *sub specie* use value; [XVII-1031] what he himself consumes in this way is a deduction from the amount of the commodity in which the total surplus value is realised; when he sells to the industrial capitalist—profit and interest—this appears under both categories directly as a deduction from surplus value; what he sells to the workers is sale to variable capital. Finally he sells to the recipient of rent.

The merchant lessens the *number of buyers* for productive capital. The merchant lessens *the number of sellers* for the consumer. Towards the industrialist he concentrates the consumers into fewer persons, towards the consumer he concentrates the producers into fewer persons. Hence a great curtailment of this exchange process or of the loss of time on labour, etc., conditioned by mere circulation. The function of pure merchants' capital, separated from the previously mentioned continuation of productive operations in the circulation process, such as transportation, etc.,[a] can be reduced simply to buying and selling. With developed capitalist production and a developed division of labour we also find merchants' capital functioning in a certain sphere in its pure form, separated from its entanglement with other operations. E.g. forwarding and transport only concern the merchant in so far as they enter into the BUYING PRICE of the commodity, as ITEMS among the costs constituting its price. Similarly rent for WAREHOUSING, which falls to the share of another capital, that invested in DOCKS, etc. Finally, RETAILING does not fall within the province of merchants' capital, but of another section of merchants.

Merely buying and selling involves the MERCHANT in costs over and above the capital directly advanced, hence existing in the form of either money capital or commodity capital; namely the part of capital which really belongs to him. Firstly buying and selling themselves; the time *this* kind of labour costs (function); writing, calculating, accounting, travel costs, cost of correspondence, etc. And with bigger capital the clerks, the assistants who work for the merchant, finally HIS OFFICE. Whatever of his own labour goes into

[a] See this volume, pp. 38-48.— *Ed.*

the shit can be deducted from profit, just as with every other kind of capital. The outlays this causes form a second part of the capital, which is not directly INVESTED IN WARES. They are costs incurred in buying and selling over and above the part of capital which is directly involved in this function. And the merchant adds to this part of capital the same profit as he adds to the other one, or the price of the commodity must not only replace these costs for him, but yield a profit on them. The whole thing therefore enters as an element into the surcharge the merchant adds to the price of the commodity, or into the excess of the SELLING PRICE over the BUYING PRICE. This excess therefore makes good a part of the costs which derive from the operation of BUYING and SELLING itself, and which are for the merchant as it were included in the BUYING PRICE of the commodity, although he does not have to pay them to the seller but must himself advance them.

These circulation costs—or costs of pure merchants' capital—can be divided up into an insignificant part, which has to do with the consumption of *commodities* themselves, namely e.g. travel costs, POSTAGE, paper, ink, OFFICE, etc.; and a more important part, which consists in the *payment* of *alien labour*, which is formally *wage labour*, SINCE it is exchanged directly for capital, and is only exchanged for it in the reproduction process of capital. Both sorts of circulation costs occur in part in productive capital itself (its mercantile or office costs); *since circulation is after all its own process.* With merchants' capital, in contrast, these costs occur as independent. In the former case the OFFICE stands alongside the factory, mine, FARM, etc. In the latter case the OFFICE is there as such with its outgoings.

These costs are not incurred in the production of the commodity itself, i.e. they are not necessary in the labour process in order to produce its *use value.* They are rather incurred in or for the circulation of commodities; they are necessary in order *to realise* them as *value.* They are necessary for their reproduction process. The commodity is a unity of exchange value and use value; but it is use value whose [XVII-1032] exchange value exists only ideally as price and must first be realised. In so far as this realisation gives rise to costs, those costs enter into the reproduction costs of the commodity, although not into its direct production cost. These reproduction costs also occur without capitalist production, as soon as production becomes commodity production in general. The circulation process is not only the realisation of *surplus value*, it is rather only the latter in so far as it is simultaneously and above all the realising of *value.*

Since merchants' capital is absolutely nothing but a *form* of productive capital functioning in the circulation process *which has achieved an independent position*, all questions relating to it must be solved by posing the problem first in the form in which those phenomena peculiar to MERCANTILE capital do not yet appear independently, but rather as directly linked, in direct connection, with productive capital. As *OFFICE* in contrast to *factory*, productive capital functions continuously in the circulation process. We therefore have first to consider the OFFICE and its costs, and their relation to the value and surplus value of commodities, where the office appears as the side of productive capital itself which is turned to circulation.

OFFICE costs can be reduced *d'abord*[a] to the rent of accommodation, which is itself in turn composed of ground rent, interest for the capital fixed in the house, and finally the annual depreciation in replacement of that capital.

The rent is merely a part of the surplus value, as is the interest. The capitalist does not pocket them himself; he pays them to another capitalist. That does not change anything in the situation. They appear to him as costs. They are, nonetheless, deductions from the surplus value created by the worker. This part of the costs of circulation can therefore be reduced to the fact that productive capital has to pay a part of the surplus value, in the form of house rent, to another capitalist and to the LANDLORD.

Only a part of the OFFICE rent remains as a real advance, the depreciation of the house which is to be replaced annually. Now come the office costs, which can all be reduced to paper, ink, pens, STAMPS and the salaries of clerks, travelling salesmen, etc. The fixed capital needed by these fellows, apart from the raw material of the paper, etc., comes down to the depreciation of the house (this part of the rent of the accommodation) and the few miserable sticks of furniture they need to set up an office. These are costs which the productive capitalist must cover, pay cash for, to a greater or lesser extent, depending on the particular nature of his business; they form a real capital advance, and are not concealed surplus value which appears as a cost to the person who must pay it and as interest or rent, i.e. appears in the form of surplus value, to the other person, who pockets it.

In calculating the rate of profit the capitalist counts this part of the capital advanced just as much as he does the part advanced in raw material, machines, etc. These are values which are consumed,

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[a] First.— *Ed.*

and must be consumed, not to produce the commodity itself, i.e. the use value of the commodity, but to make it circulate as a commodity, and it could not be reproduced without them; since it must be converted into money, must have realised its value, before its reproduction. They form part of the *faux frais*[a] of production, i.e. they are costs of reproduction which are not costs incurred in the manufacture of the use value of the commodities, but derive instead from their economic form as commodity. Relatively, these costs are always very insignificant as compared with the real outlays for production, and they are the more insignificant the larger they appear; because they are only noticeable where a big capital is set in motion, in proportion to which they are visible—on account of their concentration—but relatively weaker than in the case of a small capital. Yet we are not concerned here with the quantity, but with their qualitative determination.

In any case, these outlays have the peculiarity, which distinguishes them from the actual costs of production, that whereas the rate of profit (here=rate of surplus value, as we disregard the adjustment) depends in the best case on the costs of production, here inversely the costs stand in proportion to the amount of profit. If the business is small, the amount of profit is small, so the office costs are minimal, since the producer can take care of this almost alone. If the business is large, the amount of profit is large, so office costs increase and occasion a certain degree of division of labour. The great extent to which these costs are associated with the profit is shown e.g. in the fact that if they increase, a part of the salary is paid by giving a percentage share in that profit. In so far as the salary assumes this form, this part of the office costs is reduced to a deduction from the profit of the capitalists, a deduction which nevertheless leaves him the AVERAGE RATE, because he works under more favourable conditions than the AVERAGE CONDITIONS OF PRODUCTION.

Hence this is also to be eliminated from the question.

In any case, these office costs—in so far as they do not consist of the labour of the capitalist himself, in so far as they have to be paid and require advances—enter into those advances. They enter into the price of the commodity, and, [XVII-1033] for the commodity to be able to be reproduced, a part of its value must be set aside (hence a part of the commodity itself must be exchanged) for the OFFICE, pens, ink, paper, salaries of the clerks, etc. Since these expenses add nothing to the use value of the commodity, are

[a] Overhead costs.—*Ed.*

expenses which do not enter into the direct production process, the capitalist seeks to restrict them as much as possible. In so far as *that part of the value* of the commodity is realised which constitutes wages, these expenses belong to the conditions of production of the *commodity*-producing labour itself (even if no capitalist were there), they belong therefore to the conditions of reproduction of the salary, [and] to the conditions of labour. A part of the annual labour of the country is therefore employed in the reproduction of these conditions. The worker must therefore reproduce them as *capital*, if not as profit as well. In so far as they are required to reproduce the *part of the value* of the commodities which represents surplus value, they have nothing to do with the worker as such. UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES, as expenses which have always to be reproduced, they reduce the *rate of profit* and the *amount of profit* in so far as this part of capital cannot be laid out in, raw material, wages, etc.

The only question which opens up here is this: The clerks and other members of the office are formally wage labourers. They sell their labour capacity directly to capital. If the productive capitalist now makes a profit, does he extract surplus value directly from this sort of wage labourer or not? Does their labour enter into the value of the commodity, and how? Here, *notabene*, it is not a matter of OVERLOOKERS, MANAGERS, who are employed in the act of production in a directing role, but of purely mercantile workers, who are only concerned with the realisation of the value of the commodity, and the functional labours that are involved in the circulation process of the commodity.

There is, at the outset, an analogy between the clerks and the wage labourers: If e.g. a division of labour is introduced among them, the same number will perform more labour. But they receive their wages as individuals. The wage bears no relation to the productivity of their labour. The social character of their labour appears to them as rather a productive power of capital and a form belonging to capital itself.

Further: The more intensive or extensive their working day, the fewer of them does the capitalist need to retain. The higher his *rate of profit* on a given aliquot part of capital, e.g. 100, the lower is this ITEM of costs, and the more, *pro rata*, is the capital advanced lessened in proportion to the surplus value. The greater is then the *amount of profit*, since a proportionately greater part of the capital can be employed directly in production.

Just as labour is involved in direct *production*, so is the clerk in the direct *reproduction* of alien wealth. His labour, like that of the

worker, is only a means for the reproduction of capital, as the power which commands him, and at the same time as the worker creates surplus value, the clerk is employed in helping its realisation, not for himself, but for capital.

But there always remains this difference between these mercantile workers and the wage labourers engaged in the production process: The more labour the capitalist extracts from the latter, the greater his surplus value. The more unpaid labour they perform, the more saleable, but unpaid, value they produce. And the greater the number of workers employed at a given stage of production, the greater the amount of surplus value. Surplus value can in general only be created by labour, whose realisation depends on its quantity, irrespective of whether this labour is, or is not, paid for. With the mercantile wage labourers, on the other hand, the value they add to the commodity is never greater than what they themselves cost; it depends not on their labour but on the value of their labour capacity. The capitalist can only extract surplus value from them in so far as he pays their labour capacity at less than its value, but reckons it among the ITEMS of cost at its value. This case does not belong here, where we always presuppose that full values are paid. The less the capitalist pays the MERCANTILE worker, i.e. the more he has him work for the same price, the *smaller* his costs. I.e. the less it costs him to realise the surplus value. But the latter is not itself affected by this (only indirectly, in so far as a large part of the capital can be invested in productive expenditure). The increase in the number of these workers as such therefore occurs only if there is more value and surplus value to be realised, hence more of this kind of labour is required. It is always a result, never a cause of the increase of surplus value.

The mercantile worker has something else in common with the wage labourer proper: What is paid to him is the value—the cost of reproduction—of his specific labour capacity, which stands higher than that of the wage labourer. (Incidentally, this depends very much on competition, and becomes ever cheaper WITH THE PROGRESS OF CIVILISATION.) With the development of capitalist production—and therefore of civilisation—this labour capacity depreciates. Its cost of reproduction becomes cheaper: 1) because of the emergence of the division of labour, which means that [XVII-1034] a more one-sided capacity needs to be produced, and part of the cost of this production is not borne by the capitalist since, like the aptitudes of the worker, this capacity develops by the exercise of the function itself, and develops the more rapidly the

more one-sided the function becomes with the division of labour; 2) because the preliminary training, the acquisition of the knowledge of reading, writing, arithmetic and commercial matters in general, language skills, etc., becomes ever quicker with the progress of science, and can be reproduced more easily, more universally and more cheaply, the more the capitalist mode of production predominates, and therefore science and methods of teaching are directed to practical ends; 3) [because of] the introduction of universal public education, which permits the recruitment of this kind of worker from classes which were previously excluded, and are accustomed to an inferior living standard. The development of capitalist production therefore devalues the labour capacity of these people, their salaries, while their capacity for work increases; partly through better preliminary training, and superior skill resulting from the increase in the division of labour and the tradition handed down from the past. The auxiliary means of this labour, such as all the necessary books on commercial arithmetic, etc., and the art of book-keeping, etc., are also perfected.

But the labour time these people have to work stands in no connection with the labour time required for the reproduction of their labour capacity. All the labour they perform over and above this is unpaid labour time, which capital appropriates without an equivalent. Its costs would otherwise be very much increased, if it only received an equivalent in EXCHANGE for the value of this labour capacity which it pays. Its rate of profit would be very much reduced. But whatever the relation of the unpaid to the paid labour time which this kind of worker provides for capital, this unpaid labour never increases the value of the commodity, and it therefore does not add any surplus value to it. All it does is lessen the cost of realising the value, hence lessen the ratio of the capital advanced to the surplus value, hence increase the rate of profit in the same proportion as it is not paid and no equivalent for it enters into the costs of production. It never adds to the value of the commodity more than its own value, hence never more than its cost, however far that cost may sink below the labour time for which the labour is active. If the capitalist could reduce this labour to 0, the rate of profit and the amount of profit would be higher to a corresponding degree. But if, on the other hand, the (actual) wage labour were reduced to 0, profit would vanish and, with surplus value, capital itself.

The side of capital turned towards circulation therefore appears double to the money capital, which must always buy. This achieves

an independent position in the shape of MERCANTILE capital, as capital which is always in the state of circulation, and which both alternately assumes the forms of commodity and of money and also, although in different proportions at different times, always exists simultaneously in both forms.

But productive capital not only alternately assumes the forms of commodity and money in the circulation process, its function thus appearing as that of selling and buying; not only must it always, for the sake of the continuity of the production process, be represented IN A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF CIRCULATING CAPITAL, CONSISTING IN MONEY. Buying and selling requires labour and this labour gives rise to costs, circulation costs. These are represented, alongside the productive workshop, in the OFFICE and its costs, which can be reduced partly to the consumption of the commodities needed to perform this labour of circulation, partly to the wages of the workers who are only employed in functions which arise from the circulation process of the commodity, partly in the realisation of its value, partly in the reconversion of the realised value into conditions of production, or, to look at this purely formally, in selling and buying. The commodities are sold to realise their value, they are bought (by the productive capitalist) for the purpose of reproduction, of starting industrial consumption or renewing it. This part of the capital advanced does not exist with the FARMER, e.g.; it is barely visible with the small industrialist, it attains a PALPABLE form in large-scale industry, but, like all the determinations which are appropriate to productive capital as circulating capital, it appears independently with *MERCANTILE CAPITAL*. Besides the part of mercantile capital which functions as commodity or money, another part is advanced in *OFFICE COSTS*, and in the wages of its IN and OUT OF DOOR FUNCTIONARIES. This is the only workshop of MERCANTILE capital. The part of capital employed in this way appears much larger with the big MERCHANT than with the industrialist, because apart from the MERCANTILE OFFICES proper which are associated with every productive workshop, the part of productive capital which would have to be employed in this manner by the whole class of productive capitalists is concentrated in the hands of individual MERCHANTS, who, just as they attend to the continuation of the function of circulation, attend also to the continuation of the costs of circulation which grows out of this continuation. What is true of the other part of MERCANTILE CAPITAL is true of this one. Every individual mercantile capital functions for A LOT OF PRODUCTIVE CAPITALS, and the whole of the mercantile capital laid out in this way replaces a capital which in this form was

employed by the whole [XVII-1035] PRODUCTIVE CLASS, and it replaces it with a smaller amount, since the total amount of these circulation costs is lessened by division and concentration of labour. It is precisely in this way that it increases the capital employed in production itself and thereby indirectly the productive power and the quantity of the productive capital.

In so far as these costs enter into the function of MERCANTILE CAPITAL, they naturally do not form, as costs of this kind, a part of its profit. As we saw directly with productive capital, they enter into the price of the commodity as capital advanced, costs of production. In so far as these costs of realising the price (selling) or converting value into commodity (buying)—these costs of circulation—enter into the difference between the MERCANTILE SELLING PRICE and the BUYING PRICE, this part of the difference does not form a profit, and it is not a part of the surplus value, but rather a mere reproduction of capital advanced. So that if we are speaking of mercantile profit, this part of the merchant's EXPENSES, or this part of the SELLING PRICE, or RATHER the difference between SELLING PRICE and BUYING PRICE, must be deducted.

But there is a considerable difference between the relation of MERCANTILE capital to its MERCANTILE wage labourers—and the same relation between productive capital and its MERCANTILE clerks, etc.

It goes without saying, first of all, that just as the function of MERCANTILE CAPITAL creates absolutely no surplus value (the same is true of the MERCANTILE part of PRODUCTIVE capital), the workers employed by it create no surplus value either. The costs of circulation always increase the capital outlay, and always reduce the rate of profit. The commodities which are consumed in circulation are withdrawn as much from industrial as from individual consumption, and the labour which is performed there is always a deduction from productive labour.

The relation of *MERCANTILE CAPITAL* to surplus value is different from the relation of *productive capital.* The former appropriates a part of the surplus value, TRANSFERS PART OF IT TO ITSELF. The latter produces it by direct exploitation of labour, direct appropriation of alien labour. The costs of circulation *appear* to productive capital as expenses; they appear to mercantile capital as the source *of its profit,* which—presupposing the general rate of profit—is in proportion to the magnitude of the costs of circulation. For mercantile capital, therefore, INVESTMENT in these costs of circulation is productive INVESTMENT. Hence the MERCANTILE LABOUR it buys is also, for it, directly productive. It is only through its function of realising value that mercantile capital functions as capital in the

reproduction process. The amount of profit it makes depends on the amount of capital it can employ in this process, and the greater the unpaid labour of the clerks, the more of this capital can it employ (the more capital can it employ in buying and selling). For the most part, however, it has its workers perform the function itself, through which its capital acts as reproductive capital (not merely interest-bearing capital, for example), but it pays them as labour capacity. Although the *unpaid* labour of these clerks does not create surplus value, any more than mercantile capital does in general, it does create *for it an appropriation of surplus value,* which for the particular capital is the same thing. It is therefore a source of profit for it. Mercantile business could otherwise never be conducted on a large scale—in capitalist fashion. The relation of the MERCHANT to his "clerks, etc." is therefore much more analogous to the relation of productive capital to the productive wage labourer than the relation of the clerks in the MERCANTILE OFFICES attached to the factory, etc., although the exploitation of the MERCANTILE worker himself is the same in both cases.

*Capital* employed in *money-dealing* is a particular kind of commercial capital alongside capital employed in *commodity-dealing.* The one is a development of *commodity capital,* the other a *development of money capital,* or the one is a development of capital as commodity, the other of capital as money. Both are merely *forms and modes of existence of productive capital* present in the circulation process *which have attained an independent role.* Just as mercantile capital *exists* before productive capital, as the first free form of capital, so does money-dealing and capital employed therein (*MONEYED CAPITAL,* interest-bearing capital, also belongs here) presuppose only *merchants' capital* [XVII-1036]; it therefore equally exists as a form of capital *which precedes* productive capital.

Mercantile capital—within the capitalist reproduction process—is absolutely nothing but on the one hand productive capital *in general* in its circulation $C—M—C$ (which however simultaneously assumes a shape of its own, because the commodity here is capital: $M—C'C''—M$), in its function of buying and selling—or in the movement of the complete metamorphosis it passes through in its sphere of circulation, and on the other hand a part of productive capital which has been separated off from it, *has become independent,* and for which the sphere of circulation is the sphere of production peculiar to it. The situation is exactly the same with money-dealing capital.

Circulating capital (and all capital circulates, even fixed capital,

to the extent that its depreciation enters into the commodity as a value component) is precipitated as money when it RETURNS from a circuit or appears as the starting point of a circuit. For a sum of value which must first be converted into capital, money appears as a starting point in isolation. This is only the case for *newly invested capital.* But for capital already involved in the process, and therefore IN A CONTINUAL COURSE OF REPRODUCTION, *both the concluding point and the starting point* appear *only as points of transit.* In so far as capital has to pass through $C—M—C'$ between its stay in the sphere of production and its return to the latter, the $M$ is in fact only the result of a phase of the metamorphosis, to become after that the starting-point for the opposite phase which complements it. Capital, however, simultaneously passes through the acts $C—M$ and $M—C$. I.e. not only is there a capital in the stage $M—C$, while the other is in the stage $C—M$, but the same capital is *simultaneously* buying constantly and selling constantly, owing to the continuity of the production process. Capital is continuously to be found in both stages *simultaneously.* While a part of it is converted into money, to be reconverted into commodities, the other part is simultaneously converted into commodities, to be reconverted into money. Whether the money functions here as means of circulation or means of payment—in the second case so that the balances are paid, in the first case so that the value is always present in a dual form, at one pole as commodity, at the other as money—depends on the form of commodity exchange itself. But in both cases the capitalist has constantly to pay out money (and to *many people*; the productive capitalist has to pay many merchants, the merchant has to pay many capitalists, etc.) in order constantly to receive money in payment. This merely *technical operation* of paying money and collecting money in itself constitutes labour, which, in so far as money functions as means of payment, makes acts of account settling necessary, after the balance has been calculated. This labour is a *cost of circulation.* A definite part of the capital must constantly be available as hoard (as a coin reserve, i.e. a reserve of means of purchase and a fund for payment, a reserve for payments) and a part of the capital constantly returns in this form. This makes necessary, apart from payment and collection, the *keeping in safe custody* of this hoard, which is in turn a separate operation. It is therefore in fact the constant dissolution of the hoard into means of circulation and means of payment, and its rebuilding as money obtained through sale or payment fallen due—this constant movement of the part of capital which constantly exists as money—separated from the

function itself, this *technical* movement, which gives rise to particular labour and costs. *Circulation costs.* It is a result of the division of labour that these technical operations, which flow from the functions of capital, are allotted to definite functionaries on behalf of the whole capitalist class, and that these operations are concentrated in their hands. Here, as with merchants' capital, there is division of labour in a dual sense. It becomes a particular operation, a particular business, and because it becomes a particular business, performed for the whole class, it is concentrated, carried out on a large scale, and a division of labour takes place within it, both through its splitting into different branches which are independent of each other, and through the development of the workshop within these branches. A part of the productive capital involved in this movement is separated off from productive capital, and is employed only in these operations—first the storing of the money, then its payment, collection, settlement of balances, etc.—which are separate from the acts necessitating these technical operations. This is [XVII-1037] productive capital which has attained an independent role in money dealing.

If we now consider the reproduction process of a single capital, we see that the realised surplus value returns in the form of money. The profit is in part expended as income, and it must in part be reconverted into capital. The reproduction process is not only a simple reproduction process but a process of accumulation, reproduction on an increased scale. This manifests itself in part as *accumulation of money.* Whether the individual capitalist can immediately reconvert into capital his profit which exists in the form of money, i.e. utilise it within his reproduction process, depends 1) on the state of the market, which does not perhaps permit the extension of a particular business at that moment; 2) also on the organic composition of his productive capital; since not every sum can be converted immediately into productive capital, this conversion depending in part on the technological conditions (I may have enough money to extend a factory, not enough to add a new one), in part on the magnitude of the sum, which must be large enough to be divided into variable and constant capital in the appropriate proportions. As long as this is not possible, the money is a hoard lying idle—now capital lying idle. The job of storing it falls to the money dealer. This is an operation of the money dealer which arises from a moment of the capitalist process of accumulation, which initially presents itself as *accumulation of money* (in part at least). As long as the capitalist cannot invest the money in his own business, he endeavours to

valorise this idle hoard as *interest-bearing* capital, to lend it out. The money dealer does this for the whole class; *lending and borrowing,* like paying and collecting money, become a particular function of capital employed in money dealing—a function which proceeds from the reproduction process of capital itself. What previously appeared as a *concentration* of the hoard reservoir, now appears as simultaneously a concentration of *money* loanable as capital.

The same is true of the capitalist who has brought his gains into safety but wants to consume them not as money but as capital, i.e. wants to live on interest.

Similarly for all *productive capitalists* themselves—for the part of the profit they expend as income, yet NOT AT ONCE, but *au fur et à mesure.*[a] This consumption fund (the actual *coin reserve*) can be lent out as capital in the interval, and it must under all circumstances be accumulated as money IN CERTAIN DIMENSIONS. The same holds for the *recipient of rent* who wants, apart from this, to consume a part of his income as interest-bearing capital. Ditto for all unproductive workers whose income is in part capitalised, in part consumed *au fur et à mesure,* but received in larger portions at certain intervals.

All this is concentrated as loan capital with the money dealer, who apart from this himself lends money and must keep READY definite funds, in order always to be able to pay. The function of his particular capital is only the independent form of the processes which emerge from the reproduction process of capital (conversion of profit into capital), in part from the form of circulation; the fact that newly arisen capital steps forth in the form of money. The money dealer lends and borrows for the whole class, or rather he performs the lending and borrowing of the whole class.

*Exchange rate business* and *exchange business* proceed from the function of money as world money; the difference between the national currencies. Finally the BULLION *trade; in part the settlement of international payments,* therefore the movement back and forth of money capital (here capital, because it is a form of capital); in part the procurement of fresh supplies of *gold and silver* from their sources of production. The latter is in fact brought about by foreign trade. But the *technical aspect,* the BULLION RETURN, is taken over by the money dealer. Hoard formation—usurers' capital—the exchange of international coins—the BULLION trade (the ENGLISH GOLDSMITHS) form the foundations of the independent development

[a] Gradually.—*Ed.*

of money dealing. It is specially connected with dealing in commodities [XVII-1038], since only merchants' capital—before the development of capitalist production—constantly buys and sells on a mass scale, lends and borrows, pays and collects, in short constantly has its wealth chiefly in the form of money.[129]

Only with the *credit system* does MONIED CAPITAL and money dealing receive the form which emerges from the capitalist mode of production itself.

The profit of *money dealing* does not offer the same difficulty as that of mercantile capital. With the latter the difficulty arises from the fact that the profit originates through an addition to the prices of the commodities, and the commodity is sold dearer than it is bought; which appears to contradict the determination of the price of production and ultimately the value of the commodity by labour time. With the former, in contrast, the commodity as such remains entirely outside the picture, and by far the greater part of the money dealer's profit consists of the interest for which he lends capital, whereas he borrows it for nothing; or of the excess of the interest at which he lends it over the interest at which he borrows it. A part of the surplus value itself therefore directly appears as the source of his profit, and his profit merely appears as a share in that surplus value.

We shall be able to go into this in more detail in the section on capital as *credit*,[67] but this does not form part of our task at present.

# EPISODE. *REFLUX* MOVEMENTS OF MONEY IN CAPITALIST REPRODUCTION

Let us take first the circulation between productive capitalist and SHOPKEEPER and worker. Let the SHOPKEEPER represent all the sellers of the means of subsistence which enter into the worker's consumption.

*Money* is paid as wages by the capitalist to the worker; the worker gives out this money as means of circulation, buys commodities from the SHOPKEEPER with it; with the money the SHOPKEEPER replaces his STOCK from the capitalist, who we shall assume produces means of subsistence.

In so far as the money is exchanged on the part of the capitalist for labour, it is money which is converted into productive capital. It is the first element (disregarding the part of the money which is converted into raw material, etc.) in *M—C—M,* as form of the reproduction process of capital.

Furthermore, as far as this capitalist is concerned, the money functions as means of purchase, means of circulation. *C—M—C*(*L'* [a]). (He has converted the commodity into money and now converts this money into labour, another commodity.)

As far as the worker is concerned, the money is simply coin. *L* (his commodity)—*M—C* (the commodity he buys from the SHOPKEEPER); a mere money form, which his commodity assumes, to be subsequently converted into means of subsistence.

With the SHOPKEEPER, the money functions initially as means of circulation. *C—M—C.* He is constantly selling commodities and buying new commodities with the money. But CONSIDERING that he bought the commodity before he sold it, his process presents itself

[a] Labour capacity.—*Ed.*

as $M—C—M'$ $M'—C$, etc. And this REFLUX represents here the capitalist movement.

This money in the hands of the capitalist in the act $M—L$ (labour[130] as commodity), disregarding the fact that it is means of circulation (means of purchase), represents capital, but only a capital in the course of changing its form. It is converted from the form of money into the form of labour, from the form of money into that of the commodity. This is a change of form which capital undergoes in the reproduction process, but it does not express a *valorisation* of capital; for the money the capitalist pays=the *value* of the labour capacity he buys. No *surplus value* arises out of this process, considered in itself. Surplus value only arises from the industrial consumption of the commodity.

For the worker the money, as being merely coin, merely represents *income.* This is always the case where the money merely represents the simple metamorphosis $C—M—C$; the conversion of the commodity into money, so that it can be converted into means of subsistence. In fact exchange of the commodity for means of subsistence. Mr. Tooke calls money that is spent in this manner *income,* because it must in fact derive from an income, wages, profit—interest or rent.[a]

[XVII-1039] Lastly, if we consider the SHOPKEEPER, for him the money is not only the form of his capital but its REFLUX movement, it is the movement of his capital. $M—C—M'$, money which returns increased from circulation, self-valorising value. We shall consider this point presently.

However, it is clear even now that nothing can be more incorrect than Tooke's direct identification of the different determinations of the form of money with the question whether they represent capital or income. Thus for example money as means of circulation=income, but when it is not expended as income it is *capital.*

*D'abord,*[b] money appears as *means of circulation* in all 3 processes. For the capitalist $C—M—L'$. For the worker $L—M—C$. For the SHOPKEEPER $C—M—C'$. The same money functions here further as a mere change in the form of capital, as income, as capital+income; i.e. as capital which constitutes capital in relation to itself.

If we consider the whole process of the productive capitalist, money is merely a form of his capital, a form which he changes

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[a] Th. Tooke, *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle...,* London, 1844, pp. 34, 36.[131]—*Ed.*

[b] To begin with.—*Ed.*

through his exchange with labour; considered from the point of view of the content, this is a reconversion into conditions of production. The same money in the worker's hands becomes income and circulates as income. The same money returning into the hands of the *épicier*[a]=capital+profit, and its *departure* from the shopkeeper in renewed purchases from the productive capitalist is a mere change in the form of his capital, which denotes a moment in the process of reproduction. It is therefore ridiculous to say that this money is income or capital or ANYTHING OF THE SORT.

Let us assume that the productive capitalist has bought labour capacity for £100; the workers buy with this money £100 of commodities (which the SHOPKEEPER has bought from the capitalist) and they thus return his money to him. This REFLUX expresses for him the concluding process of a part of his capital. $M—C—M'$. He has withdrawn more money from circulation than he threw in. If the profit=10%, the commodities he sold for 100 cost him $90^{10}/_{11}$. ($9^{1}/_{11}$ profit on the 100.) He sells the commodities to the workers for 100 and buys them from the capitalist for $90^{10}/_{11}$. But in fact in his sale to the SHOPKEEPER the capitalist does not realise the whole value of these commodities—the production price of these commodities, but leaves the *épicier* to realise $^{1}/_{11}$ of the value. The workers therefore obtain commodities the real production price of which=100. They obtain an equivalent for their 100. And when the *épicier* makes his profit on the commodities he is merely participating in the capitalist's profit.

In examining how the different parts of the total capital are exchanged for each other,[132] how their values are realised one through the other, and how their use values replace each other, we saw that if we subsume the *épicier* under the productive capitalist, or entirely leave him aside, the transaction presents itself like this: The capitalist pays £100 for the labour of the workers: the latter buy back from him £100 worth of commodities. Thus the £100 flow back to him. But in this transaction the capitalist gains nothing. Instead of directly paying the workers commodities to the value of £100, he pays them a value of £100 in the form of exchange value (real money or tokens of value), and as soon as he receives this £100 back, he pays in commodities. Although every part of the commodity contains value, and every individual commodity consists in equal parts of $C+P$, cost and profit, paid labour and unpaid labour, the part of the total product (or of the value of the total product) which is paid in wages contains no

[a] Shopkeeper.— *Ed.*

SURPLUS VALUE, if it is considered in isolation, just as the part of the total product which replaces the constant capital contains no surplus value—because the whole of this part of the product (after the *remplacements* have been deducted) is then calculated as consisting merely of SURPLUS labour.

Hence for the *épicier* (who trades with the workers) to be able constantly to withdraw more money from circulation than he throws in, all that is needed is that enough money should circulate to pay the workers' wages. The *épicier* withdraws more money from circulation than he throws in because he in fact throws more value into circulation than he withdraws from it. Admittedly, the means of subsistence he bought from the capitalist had a value (we say here value for price of production, since we are dealing with capital as a whole and consider every particular sphere only as a part of the total capital) of [XVII-1040] 100, but a realised value of only $90^{10}/_{11}$. But he throws them into circulation with their adequate, full value expression of 100. And for the question we are considering here it is entirely the same thing whether the commodity is thrown into circulation with a higher value than that with which it was originally withdrawn therefrom, because its value has grown, or because a merely latent value has been made manifest, realised. We say: this is the same thing here, where we are considering the relation of circulating money to the reproduction process.

Let us assume that the *épicier* consumes his profit entirely, and in the same articles he buys from the capitalist. In this case, if he originally buys with £$90\,^{10}/_{11}$, he sells these commodities to the workers for 100, and with this 100 he can buy back not only enough to replace the commodity capital which was to be sold to the workers (namely £100 worth of commodities for £$90^{10}/_{11}$) but also $^{1}/_{11}$ of the commodity value of 100 for his own consumption. Hence in this case he would buy back from the productive capitalist commodities to the value of £100. The sum of money (£100) the capitalist needs to pay the workers would therefore constantly flow back to him from the *épicier*. If the *épicier* buys for £$90\,^{10}/_{11}$, he obtains a commodity value of £100, and he sells this to the workers for £100. If he buys for £100, he obtains a commodity value of £110. Therefore, after he has sold a value of 100 to the workers, he retains a commodity value of £10 for his own personal consumption.

Here, therefore, we see *d'abord* an example in which it is only required that the capitalist should pay the workers their wages weekly (or over some other period)—hence that money to the

amount of their wages should circulate—for the *épicier* to be able constantly to withdraw from circulation more money than he threw in. In this case $^{10}/_{11}$ $((9\,^{1}/_{11})11=99+^{11}/_{11}=100)$ is constantly returned by the *épicier* to the capitalist from the circulation he requires in order to pay wages. But he would have to procure the remaining $^{1}/_{11}$ in some other way, *which we shall discuss later.* Secondly, however, if the *épicier* realised his profit of £$9\,^{1}/_{11}$ in the commodities of the capitalist himself, the £100 of wages paid by the capitalist would be sufficient not only for the workers to obtain their wages and the *épicier* to replace his capital, but also for him simultaneously to realise his profit. To pay the wages of his workers periodically, therefore, the capitalist would *need no other fund* than this circulation between himself, his workers and the *épicier.* As for the SHOPKEEPER, he would constantly withdraw from circulation *more value* than he threw into it (expressed as *value*), namely £110, while he only threw in £100. Nevertheless he would always throw into circulation as much money as he took out, namely £100. In this case, however, he constantly withdraws £110 worth of commodities from circulation and only throws back £100 worth. This version of the matter appears to contradict the previous one. First we said that he withdrew more money from circulation than he threw in, because he threw in commodities of greater value than he withdrew. Now we say that he throws exactly as much money in as he takes out, because he withdraws commodities of greater value from circulation than he throws back into it. The two are in fact identical expressions. In the one case he realises his surplus value in commodities, in the other in money. The *épicier* constantly withdraws from circulation a commodity value of £110 for £100, while he only throws into circulation, sells to the workers, a commodity value of £100. This is the result of the fact that he constantly withdraws (realised) commodity value from circulation for £$90^{10}/_{11}$, and throws back into it a value of 100 (realised in the same quantity of commodities).

At any rate, we have here an example in which the same circulation (£100) suffices for the capitalist to pay wages; suffices at the same time for the *épicier* to realise a SURPLUS value of £10, and finally *the same* amount suffices for the *épicier* to realise capital and income, and for the capitalist constantly to expend the same amount for the repeated purchase of the same amount of labour.[43]

Let us assume that the capital of the *épicier* is £1,200. Let this sum turn over 4 times a year, so that every year he makes £4,800 worth of purchases from the capitalist, which is £400 a month and

£100 a week. *His own* capital would be replaced in the first quarter. If the rate of profit were 10% per annum—hence the 4fold turnover were the AVERAGE REVOLUTION OF THE MERCANTILE CAPITAL—the *épicier* would add $2^1/_2$% on each 100, for 10% on 1,200=120, and 120 on 4,800=$2^1/_2$%. In this case, if the *épicier* paid 100 he would obtain a commodity value [XVII-1041] of $102^1/_2$, and since he only gives the workers a commodity value of 100 for £100, these £100 worth of commodities would cost him £$97^{23}/_{41}$. Here, therefore, a weekly circulation of £100 (the £100 turn over 4 times a month and 48 times in the year) would 1) pay for labour[43] with an annual value of £4,800, and 2) realise a commodity value of £4,800. Taken together, a value of £9,600 would be realised. Apart from this, the capital of £100 would return to the capitalist at the end of the whole circuit, whether this was itself equal to a value of £100 (if gold money, etc.) or it was only represented by a token of value or credit paper, which is the same thing for this discussion. While it realised these commodity values, the £100 would at the same time have replaced the *épicier*'s capital of 1,200 and realised a profit of 120.

(The calculation is in itself absurd on account of the *hypotheses.* For if the *épicier* only needs 100 in turnover, he cannot invest a capital of 1,200. We should then have to assume that, apart from the sum which he always has READY and which after all amounts at most to $^1/_3$ of what is being turned over, hence £40 at most, the remainder is counted for his SHOP, wages, etc., circulation costs. We should then have to calculate a higher surcharge: 10% profit and so much, etc., for the replacement of the fixed capital. We should then have had to bring into the calculation as well the circulation between the *épicier* and his own workers.)

But what we are concerned with here, and what is the case independently of any hypotheses, is this: In one single cycle of the circulation of the capital, in which the capitalist lays out £100 in labour, the workers buy commodities with the £100 from the *épicier,* and the *épicier* uses this £100 to buy back commodities from the capitalist, the £100 buy labour for £100 and commodities for £200, namely the £100 of commodities the workers buy from the *épicier,* and the £100 of commodities the *épicier* buys from the capitalist. This admittedly expresses, in so far as we are considering the circulation of money, merely its circuit, *M—C—M—C,* etc. But at the same time, if we look at the process which lies hidden behind this, [it expresses] a complete cycle of the reproduction process, which contains, entwined together, the moments of production, consumption, distribution, circulation and

reproduction. In contrast to this, the 40 turnovers of the £100 in the year express the 40fold repetition of this complete cycle. A single cycle may proceed slowly or quickly, the amount circulating may be big or small, but the money must pass through these turnovers. ITS SUFFICIENCY for the 40 times greater amount, on the other hand, has as its condition a given number of repetitions of the cycle, hence that the reproductions of the whole cycle of reproduction over a year should be sufficiently rapid.

Assume that the capitalist pays the workers £100 out of his own pocket (before he has begun to trade with the *épicier*). The *épicier* buys with £100 from his pocket a commodity value of £110 from the capitalist (namely £$90^{10}/_{11}$ of commodities for resale and $9^{1}/_{11}$ for his own consumption). £200 of money has now been laid out, therefore. £100 is in the pockets of the workers. The capitalist for his part has replaced the £100 through the sale of the commodities. As soon as the cycle has started, and the £100 has passed from the workers to the *épicier*, and flowed back from the latter to the capitalist in purchases, £200 is in the capitalist's pocket. But he pays his workers with the £100 he receives back from the *épicier*, not with the £100 he received from him before the cycle. £100 of money is now thrown out of this circulation. But the capitalist now may retain £100 less in the form of money. He can invest it elsewhere. The CURRENCY flows to him from the *épicier*. This is in general the service performed by capital engaged purely in trade. The capitalist does not gain any capital thereby. For he provided £100 of commodities for the first £100, and for the £100 of the *épicier*, with which he pays the workers from now on, he must always provide commodities afresh. But what he gains is that he can invest this value of £100 elsewhere. Whether the *épicier* was the original owner of the £100 or not is demonstrated at the end of the first cycle. If it was his, he now has £100, just as before, since he has consumed the surplus value of £10 in commodities. If it belonged to the capitalist, the *épicier* has to pay out the £100. If he buys anew, this happens in fact with fresh credit.

[XVII-1042] In the real reproduction process we must presume that one part of the profit is consumed as income, another part is accumulated. Let us assume that the *épicier*, who makes a profit of 10% on a capital of 100 (this 100 needs to be merely an aliquot part of his capital and stands for $x$ here), consumes half of the 10% and accumulates the other half. On our assumption the workers buy from him £100 worth of commodities, which cost him £$90\,^{10}/_{11}$. His profit=£$9\,^{1}/_{11}$. But in order to simplify the calculation we should prefer to say, and the relation is the same here: the workers buy for £110 commodities which cost him £100. £110 is

here what the capitalist has to pay the workers; he only receives the whole sum back from the *épicier* if the latter constantly consumes the £10 profit, and indeed consumes it in the capitalist's commodities. If he consumes £5, £105 comes back to the capitalist, and if this occurs regularly this amount is constantly in circulation. The capitalist, on the other hand, would constantly have to draw £5 from sources other than this cycle of circulation and, through wages, throw them into circulation as SURPLUS, except under certain circumstances which will appear shortly.

The £5 the *épicier* accumulates is initially accumulated by him in the form of money, and this is the sole, *most direct, immediate* form in which he can accumulate, unlike the productive capitalist. The productive capitalist can accumulate *in natura*, if his product itself enters as a condition of production into itself, as e.g. wheat does as wheat seed in agriculture, or he can accumulate through exchange, as do e.g. the machine manufacturer and iron producer. (What would correspond to this in the case of the SHOPKEEPER, perhaps, would be an increase in the part of his capital which enters into the circulation costs of his circulating capital, such as buildings, etc. But even so this too requires a prior conversion into money.)

//It is true that accumulation may appear with all capitalists as *accumulation of unsold commodities* (presupposing here that they have sold the part of the commodities which replaces their capital). But this is always involuntary accumulation and it hinders reproduction, with one sole exception. The capitalist may consider it necessary to produce an increasing reserve fund of commodities to cover increasing demand (this can naturally only happen with commodities which can be preserved FOR SOME TIME, such as clothing materials and the raw material for them, etc., cattle, machines, etc., metals, etc.), and SO FAR (this may also be case for the SHOPKEEPER) all accumulation amounts to annual overproduction, an overproduction which is the law of expanding production, not stagnant production.//

Our SHOPKEEPER may now accumulate this £5 straight away in real terms as capital, i.e. convert it into capital, or only accumulate it as the material of capital, as money capital destined for reproduction, but temporarily at rest. This is in fact a mere hoard, but with the determination of capital lying fallow.

With £100 the SHOPKEEPER bought commodities of a value of 110; the capitalist paid the workers £110 of wages; the workers paid the SHOPKEEPER the £110 for commodities which are worth 110 but only cost the SHOP 100. On our first presupposition the SHOP[keeper]

spends with the same capitalist, apart from the 100 needed for the replacement of his commodity capital (which has a value of 110), 10 more for his own personal consumption. For 110 he receives commodities of a value of 121, but he consumes this value of 21 or sells it to himself. The commodities cost him only 10, although they are worth £21; but cost him as his own customer the value of 21. (Just as he obtained 110 for 100 (in the case where his capital was $90^{10}/_{11}$) but consumed 10. The £110, however, circulates constantly; it provides the money for both the workers' wages and the *épicier*'s commodities, as well as the commodities the *épicier* buys back; equally the £110 replaces his capital and his profit.)

If the *épicier* always consumes £5 and accumulates £5 (as distinct from the HOARD, which is always involuntary with the capitalist, but which is, both for him and for the hoarder, money withdrawn from circulation, exchange value at rest as money) the situation remains the same in so far as he still buys commodities for £110; £100 to replace his capital, £5 as profit added to the capital, and £5 for his own consumption. But certain distinctions enter here. As far as concerns the £5 consumed by the *épicier* himself, the old rule still prevails. He buys with it a commodity value of £$7^3/_4$, which he himself consumes, however. [XVII-1043] It is different with the other £$7^3/_4$.

This is wrong. We assume that he always adds 5% to the capital, hence the capital is 100, 105, 110,[133] etc. For him to accumulate this, to apply it as capital, the workers need to buy more from him, the capitalist must therefore buy more labour[45] (whether by employing more workers, or by having to pay more because more work is done. Here we leave out of account any rise in the market price, although this amounts to the same thing for the circulation of money. Similarly, the production price of the commodity could have risen, hence either more labour is employed by the capitalist in order to produce the same amount of commodities, or the raw material, etc., has become dearer. We are not considering any of these CASES here. It is assumed that commodity values remain the same.) The mere accumulation of the SHOP[keeper], SO FAR as it is not SPEND OF HIS PROFIT, is not of the slightest use to him in accumulating as capital the money saved, if the workers do not have any more to buy. And we are assuming that this is his LINE OF BUSINESS, and we leave out of account here the competition through which one SHOPKEEPER extends his sphere of action at the expense of another. (This is a very important consideration in dealing with the competition of capitals.[67] Here one of the SHOP[keepers] represents the class of SHOP[keepers].) It is admittedly possible that he e.g.

expands his SHOP, etc., and maintains a larger service personnel. This already requires a considerable increase in the accumulation of his capital (or RATHER his LATENT CAPITAL). It therefore only comes about in consequence of a long (productive) accumulation or growth of latent capital.

But let us assume that the workers buy more and that the shopkeeper's accumulation corresponds exactly to the growth in wages (hence to the growth in the reproduction of the *variable* capital of the capitalist). (If the latter were to proceed more rapidly, he would have to take credit from the capitalist. His profit would then grow more rapidly than his capital.)

Let us say that this process takes up e.g. 5 years.

*Year I) Capital 100.* SHOP[keeper] buys from the capitalist for £100 commodities of the value of £110. Capital pays £110 in wages. The workers buy commodities from the SHOP[keeper] to the value of £110.

//If the situation is normal, the worker, like anyone else, buys the commodities at their value. They are only dearer for him because he provides more labour for the money with which he buys them than the money represents; not because the commodity is worth less in money than it costs him. The money costs him more labour than it is worth.//

II) *Capital 105.* SHOP[keeper] buys from capital for £110 (hence commodities to the value of £121). But he only has in his shop commodities for £105, hence to the value of £$115^1/_2$. He consumes commodities to the value of £$5^1/_2$, which cost him £5. (The $^1/_2$ is 10% on 5.) The capitalist pays £$115^1/_2$ in wages, with which the workers buy from the SHOP[keeper] a commodity value of £$115^1/_2$.

III) *Capital 110.* SHOP[keeper] buys commodities from capital for £$115^1/_2$, hence commodities of the value of £$126^1/_2+{}^1/_{20}$, or £$126^{11}/_{20}$. But he has in his shop only £110 of commodities, consumes therefore a commodity value of £$5^{11}/_{20}$. The value of these commodities, for which he has laid out £110, is 121. The capitalist pays £121 in wages. The workers buy commodities from the SHOP[keeper] for £121.

IV) *Capital 115.* SHOP[keeper] buys from capital for £121=a commodity value of £$132^1/_{10}$. But he only has in his SHOP commodities for 115, the value of which is $126^1/_2$. He therefore consumes a commodity value of $6^6/_{10}$. The capitalist pays £$126^1/_2$ to the workers; they buy with this commodities which cost the SHOP[keeper] 115.

[XVII-1044] V) *Capital 120.* SHOP[keeper] buys from the capitalist for £$126^1/_2$. But he only has enough in his SHOP for £120. He

therefore consumes £$6^1/_2$=a commodity value of $6+{}^1/_2+{}^6/_{10}+{}^1/_{20}=6+{}^1/_{20}+{}^{12}/_{20}+{}^1/_{20}=6+{}^{14}/_{20}=6^7/_{10}$.

He has in his SHOP commodities for £120, hence a value of £132. The capitalist pays £132 to the workers; they buy for this amount from the SHOP[keeper], etc.

Two things are assumed here for the SHOP[keeper] to be able to add 5% to his capital every year. Firstly, that the individual CONSUMPTION OF the SHOP[keeper] himself grows somewhat every year. Otherwise the accumulation would have to proceed more rapidly. Secondly, that the capitalist (this is what we call the directly productive capitalist κατ'ἐξοχην[a]) accumulates, since this is demonstrated in the growing magnitude of his variable capital, i.e. the annual growth in his outlay for the purchase of labour. But we see here at the same time that though the circulation of £100 was enough as long as the SHOP[keeper] did not accumulate but consumed his £10 of profit in commodities, this is no longer the case once he begins to accumulate. Just as at the beginning of the process he bought for £$90^{10}/_{11}$ and sold for £100, the capitalist therefore having to add £$9^1/_{11}$ to circulation, but the £100 being sufficient, so now at the beginning of each year the capitalist has to make an addition to circulation from his own capital in order to keep reproduction going.

Year I) SHOPKEEPER operates with £100. Capital pays wages of £110. Therefore throws £10 more money into circulation.

Year II) SHOPKEEPER operates with £105. Capital pays wages of $115\,{}^1/_2$. Throws £$5\,{}^1/_2$ more money into circulation.

Year III) SHOPKEEPER operates with £110. Capital pays wages of £121. Therefore throws £$5\,{}^1/_2$ more money into circulation. ($115\,{}^1/_2+5\,{}^1/_2=120+{}^2/_2=121$.)

Year IV) SHOPKEEPER operates with £115.[133] Capital pays wages of £$126\,{}^1/_2$. Therefore throws £$5\,{}^1/_2$ more into circulation.

Year V) SHOPKEEPER operates with £120. Capital pays £132. Throws £$5\,{}^1/_2$ more into action.[134]

The total amount the capitalist has added to circulation over the five years=£$10+4(5+{}^1/_2)=10+20+{}^4/_2=$£32. This amount replaces the whole of the SHOPKEEPER'S profit, because he consumes part of it in the commodities of the capitalist, hence sells it to himself.

Incidentally, the eventual upshot of all this is the law we developed earlier. The wage of the worker pays the whole capital of the SHOP[keeper] as well as his profit. Therefore, if a SHOP[keeper] who only provides the workers with the means of subsistence, i.e.

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[a] Par excellence.— *Ed.*

is only sustained by variable capital, accumulates, the money laid out for wages must increase. In fact the causal relation is reversed. The SHOP[keeper] can only accumulate as SHOP[keeper] (i.e. reconvert into CAPITAL his profit in his BUSINESS) if productive capital produces on an expanded scale, and only in so far as this expansion involves an expansion of variable capital, i.e. capital laid out in wages. The expansion of circulation—to the DEGREE of the SHOP[keeper]'s ACCUMULATION—must then be provided by capital.

Now take the second case. The SHOP[keeper] has no opportunity to expand his business, because the capital laid out in the purchase of labour does not increase, or does not increase in the proportion to which the SHOP[keeper] would like to accumulate.

If e.g. his capital is 100, the value of the commodities he buys is 110, and if he consumes half of the 10, he will accumulate £25 in the 5 years; if his capital=1,000, he will accumulate £250. Thus the accumulation of capital appears here at first as accumulation of money, WHICH IS NOTHING ELSE than HOARDING, although here the hoard has the character of latent capital. All surplus value which is realised in money assumes this form initially, until it has been reconverted into productive capital. The latent capital may also have other forms, those of fixed capital, etc. But then—with the exception of unsold commodities destined for individual consumption (apart from the means of subsistence for the workers)—it already exists as a condition of production, realised (not in the money form) and available.

[XVII-1045] This accumulation of capital in the form of money is however the sole kind which can take place without the presupposition of simultaneous reproduction in other spheres of productive capital. This SHOPKEEPER can thus be compelled to HOARD the £250 as money, because there is no growth in variable capital. This lack of growth does not prevent him from setting aside annually £5 of money, or more, depending on his greed or mania for accumulation, which he cannot however directly apply as capital in his business. This is an incidental feature of the reproduction process which is important for the explanation of many phenomena.

Under the circumstances we have indicated, the SHOP[keeper] buys from capital:

*1st year* for £100. Capital has to throw £110 into circulation. Thus £10 more than it receives from the SHOP[keeper].

*2nd year* for £105. Namely £100 for SHOP and £5 for SHOPKEEPER. The SHOPKEEPER accumulates or RATHER HOARDS £5. Capital has as before to throw £110 into circulation. The SHOP[keeper] for the £5

receives £5 1/2 of commodities *in natura*. But for the £100 he receives a value in commodities of £110, which the capitalist has to pay his workers as wages. But since he receives £105 from the SHOP[keeper] he has to add 5.

*3rd year* the same. *4th year* the same. *5th year* the same.

The capitalist has therefore to add to circulation in the first year 10, in the 4 following years £20 (each year 5), in the 5 years £30. It was £32, while the SHOP[keeper], instead of putting the £5 into the bank (in short laying it aside), invested it productively in the purchase of capital's commodities. It is therefore—*prima facie*—almost the same CASE, *quoad circulationem*,[a] as if the SHOP[keeper] had accumulated productively.

Given the capitalist mode of production, however, it is to be assumed that the SHOP[keeper] deposits this amount every year with a banker. Whether or not he draws interest from this is here irrelevant. Yet it would need to be considered for reproduction as a whole. This much is clear, however, that the amount the SHOP[keeper] puts aside in this case=the amount capital has to add every year over the 5 years—£5. The SHOP[keeper] first puts aside £5 at the end of the first year, hence £25 over the 5 years. In the first year capital throws £10 into circulation. But 5 out of this 10 remains in circulation or returns to it from the SHOP[keeper]. With the exception of the £10 which the capitalist casts into circulation in the first year, he continues to throw in no more than 5 a year, since the other 5 remains in circulation. Since the 105 remains in circulation (the capitalist has thrown in the 5 once and for all) there remains to be added by the capitalist over the 5 years, after the deduction of this amount—and it is in circulation, flows back—only £25, exactly the same amount the SHOP[keeper] has lying in the bank. This money—capital lying fallow, accumulating latent money capital for the SHOP[keeper]—forms the source of the supplement capital needs for the circulation. Thus the circulation can last year by year with the sum of £110. The profit of the *épicier* is *verbalement*[b] PAID to him IN HIS OWN COIN. He himself puts back £105 a year, and £5 is paid to him in his money which he has deposited with the BANKER. (It is assumed here that he himself receives no interest; otherwise an increase of circulation from one direction or another would be necessary.) The capitalist pays him his annual balance of £5 with his £5 annually deposited with the BANKER. The business is now done in the following way:

[a] From the standpoint of circulation.—*Ed.*
[b] Literally.—*Ed.*

*First year.* Capitalist receives £100 from *épicier.* Pays 110 to workers, who buy commodities from the *épicier* with this money. The *épicier* pays 105 and takes 5 to the banker.

*Second year.* Capitalist receives £105 from *épicier* (5 of which is thrown into circulation by capital). He takes from the BANKER the 5 which the *épicier* has deposited. He pays the workers £110. Back to the *épicier.* The latter brings to the banker the same £5, which have been returned to him in the £110.

*Third year.* Capitalist receives £105 from the *épicier.* He takes the £5 from the banker and pays it to the *épicier* for the second time, in the 4th year for the 3rd time, in the 5th year for the 4th time. The £25 deposited with the BANKER by the *épicier* therefore continues to exist only in the form of £5. And in fact the capitalist threw £10 into circulation only at the beginning of the transaction; this £10 passes through the same cycle just as before. Out of the £25, therefore, only £5 is to be found with the BANKER as money accumulated and constantly expended by the capitalist; this £5 constantly travels from the banker to the capitalist and from the [XVII-1046] *épicier* to the banker. Only by an indirect route does the *épicier* annually throw £110 into circulation. His capital of £25 deposited with the BANKER amounts to his having a balance of £25 in his favour with the BANKER, which is present (in so far as the BANKER deals at all with his own capital) in the form of SECURITIES, mere drafts on future income, government stocks, bills of exchange, share certificates, etc. What has accumulated here in fact is the *épicier*'s draft on the BANKER, the BANKER'S draft on the future receipts of the state, share companies, productive capitals. The accumulation is IN FACT here an accumulation of mere drafts on receipts which derive from productive capital. (For the revenue of the state can also be reduced to receipts of this kind, which are paid to it annually by the productive capitalists.) This discussion belongs actually to the credit system.[67] What is important here is that we should see how the £110 continues to suffice for the circulation, although £25 is *accumulated* as *latent money capital.* One can see from this the difference between actual (apparent) accumulation of money and the inflow of CURRENCY. What must be accumulated here in CURRENCY is nothing but the identical original £110, although the SHOP[keeper] annually withdraws £5 of this from circulation.

//Even if the SHOP[keeper] accumulates productively, and annually buys £5 more of commodities from the capitalist, the latter receives the extra amount from the BANKER in the same way. Yet in this case circulation increases by the whole amount of money the

SHOP[keeper] does not consume in commodity value, as his purchasing money. The capitalist must obtain from other sources the increased wages over and above this purchasing money.// The capitalist indeed owes the banker capital (value) to the value of £5 each time, for the £5 he withdraws annually in this way. Hence at the end of the 5th year £25. But this is definitely not the same as saying that he has as a result of this changed the figures in his account with the BANKER. If, e.g., he has increased his constant, without increasing his variable, capital, he will have more to receive from the BANKER (who administers his account for him) for the sale of his commodities. We do not say, therefore, that he borrows the £25. To be sure, he must lay out £5 more of his capital every year in money. But for this it is not necessary that the amount of CURRENCY he himself provides via the SHOP[keeper] be increased.

With regard to the MERCHANT (*épicier*, SHOPKEEPER) who sells the means of subsistence to the workers—with regard to a part of the capital (part of the MERCANTILE CAPITAL)—we have seen, thus, how he constantly "extracts from circulation more money than he throws in". *He extracts* a part of the *"surplus value" in "commodity value"*, but this must be a GENERAL LAW, since all those who live off profit //interest and rent// must expend a PART for their individual consumption. It is enough for the operation that the amount of money necessary to pay the worker his *weekly* wage should circulate, hence the amount necessary to pay for the commodity values the worker consumes. The money necessary for this circulation is provided (and forms a part of the capital) from the capital of the SHOPKEEPER himself for the most part (unless he is trading on credit from the MANUFACTURER). The part *originally* provided by the productive capitalist himself=the *profit of the* SHOPKEEPER, i.e. it is not equal to the *annual profit* on his capital, but=the part of the profit which falls on the weekly turnover. (In fact the excess contains not only profit but at the same time the depreciation of the capital laid out for the circulation costs.) Let us assume that the SHOP[keeper] circulates £1,000, which turn over 4 times in the year. And the profit (including costs, etc.)=16%. Thus 4% in three months and $^4/_3$% in 1 month, and in one week $^4/_{12}$=$^1/_3$%. (4% in 3 months on 1,000=£40. And in 12 months=£160. And 16% annually on £1,000=£160.) This would be a weekly addition of $^1/_3$% to 1,000. To £100 it is £$^1/_3$. To £300 it is 3×£$^1/_3$=£1. To £900 it is £3. And to £1,000 it is £3 $^1/_3$ or £3 6 $^2/_3$s. And this would be the amount the manufacturer had to add to the CURRENCY of £1,000. (Naturally all these amounts must

in reality be set somewhat higher, because the REFLUX movement does not proceed without friction. A part of the wage, for example, may run into other channels, may be HOARDED by the worker, etc. On the other hand, we are leaving almost entirely out of account compensations for credit.) We have seen how [XVII-1047] this amount *remains constant*, if on the one hand wages (and the number of workers employed) remain the same, and on the other hand the *épicier* consumes the whole of his profit in the commodities of the capitalist. It is not greatly modified when the SHOP[keeper] WITHDRAWS PART OF HIS PROFIT. If the *épicier* accumulates productively, i.e. expands his business, the prerequisite is that the variable capital employed by the capitalist should increase. In this case too, what the capitalist adds is only equal to the profit, or RATHER the *weekly expression of the profit*, of the tenant.[a] A very small rate, therefore. *Incidentally, see the following*

*//Note to* P. *1044.*[b]

The calculation is wrong, because it is always only the part of the SHOPKEEPER's money with which he operates as capital which is calculated, thus not the money he expends for his own consumption, the money he expends as income. Then matters proceed in this way:

*Year I.* SHOPKEEPER buys with £100 for his SHOP a commodity value of £110. Wages 110. The *capitalist* throws into circulation £10,=the profit of the SHOPKEEPER,=the 11th part of the circulation.

*Year II.* SHOPKEEPER expends £5 as income. Buys commodities for the SHOP for 105. He therefore expends the £110 he has received from the workers. For the £105 he receives commodities of 115 $^1/_2$. The capitalist has to pay wages of £115 $^1/_2$. £110 of this has been thrown into circulation by the SHOP[keeper]. The capitalist now has to throw in 5$^1/_2$.

*Year III.* SHOP[keeper] throws in £115$^1/_2$. Capitalist 121. Hence 5 $^1/_2$. Similarly in Years IV and V.

The calculation is thus correct after all. Besides this, the amount the capitalist throws in here as an increment is smaller than the amount he originally threw in by almost a half—5 $^1/_2$ instead of 10.//

*At first view, it seems a puzzling question, how the capitalist shall be able perpetually to withdraw more money from circulation than he throws into it, the more so since he, in fact, throws all the

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[a] This seems to be a slip of the pen. It should probably be "shopkeeper".— *Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 181.— *Ed.*

money into the circulation, or is the starting point as well as the returning point of the circulation?*

With the *épicier* the capitalist has only to throw once and for all into circulation—if the reproduction process remains the same and the *épicier* consumes the whole of his profit—the part=the weekly expression of the profit of the MERCANTILE capital of the *épicier*. This addition to the capital thrown into circulation every week by the *épicier* himself //we can look later at the differences which enter through the fact that the *épicier* buys perhaps only once a month or once every 3 months, depending on the circumstances, and sells weekly//+the weekly monetary expression of this capital itself is then sufficient for the *épicier* to be able to withdraw every week from circulation e.g. £10 more than he threw into it, although the weekly CURRENCY remains £110, as before. And what the capitalist has thrown in, ONCE and FOR ALL, is only $^1/_{11}$ of the weekly expression of his variable capital, hence, since the weekly variable capital=$^1/_{52}$ of the annual variable capital, $^1/_{11}$ of this, $\frac{1}{52 \times 11} = {}^1/_{572}$ of the variable capital he has to lay out annually. Whether I pay 1,200 thalers (value) all together at the end of the year, or 12 thalers a month or 3 thalers a week, changes nothing in the *amount of value* I have to pay for the whole year. In the first case, however, 1,200 thalers of money would be needed to realise the value. In the second, if the 3 thalers flow back, they may be sufficient to pay the 1,200 thalers. 3 thalers, turning over 400 times in the year, realise 1,200. But one sees at the same time that important as the above investigation is for the role played by mercantile capital in relation to the circulation of money proceeding during the reproduction process, the question is not thereby exhausted. This is so in two respects.

1) Since mercantile capital is itself PART and PARCEL OF THE CAPITAL, one should, to begin with, refer it to productive capital itself. The operation would then look like this: The capitalist pays out 110 in wages, the workers buy back from him commodities of 110, and the money thus flows back to him. This shows us indeed how a money capital of 110, laid out weekly (in money as CURRENCY, means of payment), is enough if he has to lay out a variable capital annually to the amount of £5,720. The workers receive from him in the course of the year a commodity value of £5,720. But the sum of £110 is sufficient to pay them this over the whole year. The simple circuit of the money is only that *the same* coin passes through different hands. In contrast to this, the REFLUX move-

ment—continuity—implies [XVII-1048] that the same coin or ar least the same amount of money passes again and again through *the same* hands as means of purchase or payment. Hence the money capital the capitalist must have in order to pay his variable capital to the workers is in no way proportionate to the size of this variable capital itself. Although the weekly expression in money of the variable capital for the 2 variable capitals A and B is naturally proportionate to the magnitudes of A and B. If A is 50 times greater than B, its weekly expression in money is 50 times greater than that of B. In either case this is quite compatible with the MONETARY expression of A and B over the whole year never being, respectively, greater than $^{A}/_{52}$ and $^{B}/_{52}$. This is an important moment in the REFLUX movement, in order to grasp the mechanism of the circulation of money. But whether the capitalist pays out £110 at the end of the week or 5,720 at the end of the year, this movement does not explain how even a centime of profit flows back to him, hence also profit realised as money. For, reduced to a still simpler expression, the process comes down to this: He first pays out the amount in money; he then pays out the same amount of value in commodities and thus draws back the money. It is reduced to this, that every week he pays out a value of £110 to the workers. No advantage results from this process of payment. And not in the least from the fact that he first gives out the tokens (the money) and then draws them back and gives out the real commodity values.

2) *But secondly*, with regard to the MERCANTILE CAPITAL of the SHOPKEEPER, the matter can be reduced to this: His specific profit requires merely that the value of the commodity sold by him should be paid; and, since the workers are the buyers of his commodity, that the wage of labour should=the value of the commodities sold to them by him. But expressing this generally we find that the problem itself is only repeated (leaving aside the SPECIFIC NATURE OF MERCANTILE CAPITAL) IN ANOTHER FORM: Expressed generally this means nothing but: for the capitalist to draw from circulation more money than he has thrown into it nothing more is needed except that the value of his commodities should be paid for, or that enough money should be there to pay for the value of his commodities. Or that enough money should be available every week, i.e. that enough money should periodically circulate, to pay for the periodically circulating amount of commodities that he offers for sale. But since the value of his commodities includes surplus value (profit (interest, rent)), hence he has given out less money in order to buy the elements of the commodity, it means

that so much money is (periodically) in circulation as to enable him periodically to withdraw from circulation more money than he has thrown in. This solution of the QUESTION, generalised, is therefore nothing more than a repetition of the QUESTION itself.

We must above all endeavour TO REDUCE THE PROBLEM ITSELF TO ITS SIMPLEST EXPRESSION.

The fact that the capitalist receives back more value than he gives out is not what constitutes the question. For this would be the question of the origin of surplus value, which we have already solved. *Therefore, what is at stake here is the question of how this surplus value is realised in circulation.* In the first act of capital, *M—C*, it buys commodities to which, as shown above, surplus value is added in the production process, i.e. value the capitalist has not paid for but which he can sell. In the second process, *C—M*, in contrast, in the sale of the reproduced commodities, the capitalist in fact throws into circulation more value than he has withdrawn from it in *M—C*. The only requirement for the realisation of this higher value is that it should find an equivalent in circulation. We have discussed how this happens, in investigating the way in which, in the total reproduction process, the use values and values of the different capitals replace, pay for, and realise each other.[135] Hence this too is not the problem. In explaining that process we made abstraction from the circulation of money, or we considered money only as the expression of value, as money of account. The question was therefore then posed in this way: *Assuming the product is sold, how is it replaced?* Or, on the other hand, *who buys it, who possesses the values needed to replace it*? The question is now related to *the money* with which the purchase is conducted. Capital's extraction from the circulation process of a greater commodity value than it originally threw in is explained by the fact that it throws in the surplus in one form, before it extracts it in the other form. And the way it throws in the surplus in advance in the other form has been explained.

[XVII-1049] But the question here is: How is the surplus realised in money? How does the surplus value assume the form of a surplus of money? The money the capitalist lays out at the beginning of the process does not enter into the production process. The capitalist rather gives it away entirely. The fact that he has given it away is a condition for the initiation of the actual production process. Hence whatever increase of value occurs in the production process, the value which was originally represented by money increases, but this increase of value changes absolutely nothing in the quantity of money. It itself is present in circulation

in the same quantity, before and after the production process. It has changed hands. If now through the circuit of reproduction it flows back into the hands of the capitalist, how should it flow back in increased quantity? Let us say the total productive capital=1,000, and there were commodities of that amount in the hands of the MERCHANT. WELL. The commodities are now partly present in the productive process, and are partly being consumed by the workers. The £1,000, in contrast, is now in the hands of the MERCHANT. Once the production process has ended, commodities to the value of 1,100 ought to be found in the hands of the productive capitalist. How is the MERCHANT to buy commodities to the value of £1,100 with £1,000? It is of no assistance to shift the question from one foot to the other and to say: the MERCHANT sells the commodities to the consumers for £1,100. Who are the consumers? The industrial consumers and the individual consumers. Industrial consumers are the capitalist himself and the workers. But they only buy back when the £1,000 has been converted into 1,100. Individual consumers—profit (interest, rent) and RETAINERS. But this profit and its branches—interest, rent and the salaries of the unproductive workers—have first to be realised. They are contained precisely in the £100. One therefore says in fact that the capitalist pays the merchant the 100, so that the latter can pay him £1,100 for commodities of a value of 1,100, since the merchant only possesses £1,000 from the previous operation.

SO BROADLY PUT, the question answers itself. In the form in which the problem is posed, money is only considered in circulation, excluded from the production process. //We disregard here credit money, in which circulation itself functions as the workshop for the production of money.// And it is excluded, as money. But not as commodity. As the latter, it emerges itself from the production process. And the money (gold, silver) is at first a commodity—before it runs its course in circulation as money. Let us transfer gold and silver production from the gold and silver lands to the home country itself, so that the entry of foreign trade does not bring in superfluous incidental details in advance. TO WORK A GOLD OR SILVER MINE, the capitalist has to lay out constant and variable capital, as in every other branch of industry. But his constant capital consists only of fixed capital and *matières instrumentales.*[a] Living labour forms a large proportion of the total outlay. Let us assume that when he lays out £100 in money, he gains £130. This £30 then forms the surplus value. ////(Profit and rent) The production

[a] Instrumental materials.—*Ed.*

of gold and silver is distinguished from all other branches of production by the fact that here, rather than comparing the value of the product with the value of the outlay, we must compare the money value of the outlay, the EXPENSES MONETARILY EXPRESSED, with the *total amount* of the product. The outlay, £100,=A CERTAIN MASS OF GOLD. Its price of £100 is merely the expression in the language of money of account of the fact that the outlay=a certain quantity of gold. Hence if the product is 130, i.e. if it contains $^{3}/_{10}$ more gold than the outlay, the profit=30%. The rate of profit (which here includes rent) is determined purely by the excess of the use value obtained (gold) over the outlay (similarly in gold), expressed in the same use value, gold. And this is entirely independent of the value of the gold. An equalisation of the profit can here only take place to the extent that if the rate of profit=10% and the excess of gold=30, this 30 may be split up into rent and profit. On the other hand, the outlay itself depends, to be sure, on the value of the gold, hence on the productivity of the labour employed in the production of gold and silver—a productivity which is determined by the natural level of yield of the mine, if the mode of production is given, and which depends on the mode of production if the natural level of yield is given. If the value of gold and silver stands high, because the mines yield little //We want to leave aside the mode of production here, although it is important for SURPLUS value, as in every other TRADE; the capitalist [XVII-1050] can extract more surplus labour if he employs division of labour, machinery, etc.// and therefore a large quantity of labour provides a meagre result, £20 may perhaps buy as much labour (i.e. means of subsistence for the workers), instruments and *matières instrumentales* as in another situation 100. If, therefore, £100 is invested and yields a SURPLUS PRODUCE of only £3, the rate of profit will admittedly only be 3%. But as much can be bought with this £3 as with £30 in the other case.////

Or the surplus labour is expressed in £30. Let us assume that the capital consists of 40 constant capital and 60 variable capital, i.e. £60 laid out in wages. In this case the £100 thrown into circulation comes out of the production process itself as gold and silver to the value of £130. The whole of the capital does not need first to be converted into gold or silver by the circulation process, but is converted into gold or silver *in natura.* The first metamorphosis here is not the conversion of the commodity into gold or silver (money) but inversely the conversion of gold and silver into commodity. Gold and silver are only realised as commodities and converted into money through their exchange

with other commodities. Our gold producer would *d'abord* have had to pay out $^6/_{13}$ of his product to the workers. The REFLUX of this $^6/_{13}$ or £60 would not take place with him. The workers buy from the SHOPKEEPER with it, but the SHOPKEEPER does not have to buy from the gold producer with the £60, which is gold. He rather expends £60 in order to buy commodities from the capitalist who produces means of subsistence. The £60 therefore flows towards the latter. (The profit of the SHOPKEEPER continues to consist in his receiving from the capitalist for the £60 a commodity value of say £66 (10%). Whereas he himself naturally only gives out commodities to the value of £60 for the £60.) And the £30 is reconverted by the gold producer into machinery, *matières instrumentales*, etc.; they therefore flow to the machine manufacturer, coal producer, etc. Finally, profit and rent of £30 is in part consumed, whether in means of subsistence and luxuries or by being handed to unproductive workers (the state, servants, etc.); and a part of it is destined for accumulation, therefore thrown onto the loan market. As long as it is not loaned out, it lies idle as a hoard. Once it is loaned out, it is itself again laid out in constant capital and variable capital and thus thrown into circulation. The gold which the gold producer has thus thrown into circulation flows back to him from circulation only in the form of the commodity; it returns to him (with surplus) out of his own sphere of production as gold and silver. Thus the £130 of new gold flow as money into circulation, partly in exchange for means of subsistence, it may be for the workers, it may be for the other classes, partly in exchange for machinery and *matières instrumentales*. This commodity, unlike all others, does not have to be converted into money, but becomes money through its conversion into a commodity; it therefore performs the opposite movement to that performed by the other commodities. If on the one hand a SURPLUS of commodity values is thrown into circulation, on the other hand a surplus of gold is thrown in. This is on the assumption that there exists a circulation adequate to begin the new cycle of the reproduction process. On the same assumption, all that needs to be circulated anew, is surplus value. From the other angle, the angle of gold production, it is not only the surplus (the £30), which is thrown into circulation but the whole product (with the exception of the accumulated gold, as long as it lies idle). Thus on the above assumption,[a] if e.g. the capital consists of 1,000 and the profit of 100 (the total SURPLUS VALUE), all that needs to be thrown into

[a] See this volume, pp. 189-91.— *Ed.*

circulation is gold for £100. Thus a capital of $71\,^{5}/_{13}$ would suffice for gold production. For the product equals 100. (Profit $28\,^{8}/_{13}$.) Relatively little capital suffices here because it is not the surplus of this capital but capital and profit—the total product in which it is reproduced—which is expended in paying for that surplus of commodity values.

The whole of the portion of annual production which is exchanged for gold or silver (this is how the matter presents itself when gold and silver are not produced within the country) or directly employed in the production of gold and silver, 1) represents more gold or silver than is expended to produce it; it represents SURPLUS value directly in gold or silver, as a surplus of gold and silver; 2) reproduces in gold or silver the whole of the capital laid out. This gold (let us leave out silver to simplify matters), in so far as it enters as a material into gold and silver manufacturing, is as we have seen[a] also a form of hoard-formation, which we are not concerned with here. It replaces the constant capital of the jeweller, GOLDSMITH, watchmaker, etc. Another part enters the CURRENCY, whether to replace worn out, [XVII-1051] abraded coins, or because the realisation of the commodity values requires a greater QUANTITY OF CURRENCY. A third part becomes a hoard, and in this form it is either a mere hoard (capital lying idle) or a reserve fund for means of payment and purchase, or, finally, for the settlement of international balances, or a means of purchase abroad. As BULLION, gold can only serve as means of payment on the world market; within the country it must be converted into actual coin or at least transferred into money of account.

According to our assumption, gold production takes place within the country.

The gold producer has to exchange his product 1) for variable capital by means of the wage paid to the workers; 2) for constant capital, for machinery and *matières instrumentales*; 3) for means of subsistence, etc., in which PROFIT (RENT INCLUDED) IS SPENDED [expended]; 4) a part of the profit is accumulated. If this accumulation is not to be mere HOARDING, it must in turn be laid out as variable and constant capital.

Let us start from 4); the part of the newly produced gold which is accumulated as profit. It must either BE HOARDED, if there is no direct employment for it, or, if there is employment for it, it

[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 359-70).— *Ed.*

replaces constant and variable capital. If the latter takes place, the gold producer may either invest it in his own business or loan it out as interest-bearing capital. As far as the first is concerned, the gold producer has it in common with all other producers whose SURPLUS is realised in money that it is initially a hoard which lies idle, latent money capital. As such it lies with the banker, and waits for its conversion into productive capital. The sole difference is that in the one case it can exist in the form of tokens of value (government stocks) or as banknotes or some other form of credit money, but here it exists itself as value, i.e. money. The second case is as follows: He accumulates, i.e. capitalises the profit existing as a SURPLUS of gold. This happens either through his investing it in his own business or loaning it out.

Let us assume that he invests it in his own business. Then, in this particular case, his accumulation will be different from that of the other capitalists. The other capitalists can only employ their own product again as a condition of production if it really enters as a condition of production into their own product. E.g. coal enters into coal production, machines enter into machine production, metal enters into metal production, corn enters into corn production. But they can never do more than reproduce it *in natura* as *constant capital.* One might refer to the producers of means of subsistence which can be stored; e.g. living cattle, corn, clothes, etc., are variable capital which is accumulated *in natura.* But cattle-breeders, FARMERS, CLOTHIERS, etc., must all first sell cattle, corn, clothes before they can pay the workers with them. The wage must be paid in money. They indeed accumulate, TO A CERTAIN DEGREE (no one produces means of subsistence to pile them up; the capitalist produces at most the excess quantity he THINKS TO BE ABLE TO SELL WITHIN THE YEAR, basing his calculations on THE GENERAL OVERPRODUCTION AS COMPARED WITH THE YEAR PAST), variable capital FOR THE SOCIETY, but not *directly* for themselves. Apart from this, every particular branch of production produces ONLY ONE ITEM OF THE VARIABLE CAPITAL, AND CAN ONLY BY ITS CONVERSION INTO MONEY BE RECONVERTED INTO ALL THE INGREDIENTS OF VARIABLE CAPITAL. The gold producer, in contrast, can never reproduce *in natura* any part of his constant capital. Gold is neither instrument, nor *matière instrumentale* for the production of gold. It does not enter into the production of gold *in natura.* But the gold producer, unlike the other producers, can directly reproduce his variable capital, i.e. the variable capital in its direct form, gold paid to the workers as wages. For the worker to be able to realise this gold there must admittedly be the commodities on the market into which, as means of subsistence, he

sinks his wages. (For society it is variable capital which the producers of variable capital can accumulate, i.e. a commodity; but not this commodity in the form in which it serves them themselves directly as variable capital. Conditions of production and commodities which belong to the consumption fund of society can BE ACCUMULATED, the former TO A GREATER, THE LATTER TO A SMALLER DEGREE.) This gold paid to the workers would go directly into circulation. The more workers were employed, the more gold could circulate, and more gold would have to circulate, SINCE THE WORKMEN ARE TO BE PAID CONTEMPORANEOUSLY AT A GIVEN PERIOD. But here A DIFFERENCE comes in. What he has to advance for *CIRCULATION* is the *weekly MONETARY EXPRESSION* OF THE NEW VARIABLE CAPITAL HE IS TO DISPENSE DURING THE YEAR. What he must pay is THAT *MONETARY EXPRESSION OF ONE WEEK* $\times 52$. The matter proceeds in this way. He employs e.g. 10 more workers a year, SAY=£520. THIS IS £1 WEEKLY per worker or £10 for 10 workers. [XVII-1052] But he has to lay out this £10 every week, since the outlay flows back to him not as money but as commodity. The *épicier* receives the £10, buys a commodity from the manufacturer for it. If the circulation was previously 100—I mean this circulation between the manufacturer, *épicier* and WORKMEN—it is now 110. The manufacturer continues to receive the £100 he EXPENDS FOR HIS OWN WORKMEN, REPLACED BY THE *épicier*; he receives further, replaced by him, the £10 the gold producer SPENDS for his WORKMEN. The *épicier* makes his profit on the £10 as on the 100. He sells the workers for £10 commodities of the value of £10, but they only cost him £$^{10}/_{11}$ or $18^{2}/_{11}$s., if his profit on 100=10% (it is however much less on account of the turnover of the capital). The *épicier* therefore pays the manufacturer 110 the first week. But the manufacturer only pays his workers 100. Hence the £10 the gold producer threw into circulation does not flow back into this circulation between worker and *épicier*. But the *épicier* must now buy £110 worth a week from the manufacturer. Every week he receives from the workers who produce gold this addition of £10 for circulation. Nevertheless only £110 circulates every week. Therefore, out of the £520 the gold producer has laid out in additional labour during the year, no more than £10 enters into the circulation between the manufacturer and the SHOPKEEPER. The basic sum of 510 is money which has replaced the capital of the manufacturer, i.e. commodities to this amount, in which capital and profit are both included. Assume that the SHOPKEEPER, who has to buy $^{1}/_{11}$ more from the manufacturer, bought in the 2nd week £110 worth, before he received the £10 from the gold producer's workers, that

he therefore advanced the £10 from his own capital. Thus the manufacturer lays aside £10 (within this circulation), since he only has to pay 100 to his own workers. In the 2nd week, the *épicier* receives £110, 100 from the manufacturer's workers, 10 from the gold producer's workers. But he already possesses commodities for £110 (deducting what he keeps for himself). To the manufacturer's workers he gives £100 in commodities, and to the gold producer's workers he gives £10. He therefore once again has £110.

The only difference is this: If the *épicier* has advanced the £10, so when the cycle is broken off he retains the £10 which flow to him from the gold producer's workers. If he paid the money from his receipts from the gold producer's workers, he has to hand over the £10 to the manufacturer.

In any case, £520 worth of the manufacturer's commodities are converted into money. The manufacturer pays the wage IN FACT only for the first week in money. Later he always pays it in commodities. For the money form of his commodities flows back to him from the 2nd week onwards from the *épicier*. Every week the gold producer pays in gold. But this gold does not enter into this circulation, or only in his exchange with his workers. It only serves once as the workers' means of payment, and is then converted in the hands of the manufacturer into THE MONETARY EXPRESSION OF THAT PART OF HIS CAPITAL WHICH DOES NOT *in natura* ENTER INTO THE CONSUMPTION OF HIS WORKMEN. I.e. it is converted into the MONETARY EXPRESSION (AS FAR AS IT GOES) OF THAT PART OF ITS PRODUCT WHICH REPRESENTS HIS CONSTANT CAPITAL AND HIS PROFIT. $^{1}/_{52}$ of the variable capital of the gold producer enters into the circulating money capital of the SHOPKEEPER, and therefore functions as CURRENCY between the SHOP[keeper], the manufacturer and the WORKMEN, $^{51}/_{52}$, on the other hand, becomes the expression of the constant capital and profit of the manufacturer. (Here we disregard the PROFIT of the SHOPKEEPER, which receives its MONETARY EXPRESSION in the $^{51}/_{52}$.)

Let us assume that the capital the manufacturer has laid out is £700. Then the gold manufacturer's 10 workers replace £520 for him. The £100 of "circulation" his workers cost him are to be found in the circuit between him and the SHOP[keeper]. Therefore he only has to turn into money a commodity value of £170 [XVII-1053] in order to realise the whole of his capital, CAPITAL and profit. Since his constant capital=600, he replaces, with this 520, 600−520, the whole of his constant capital except £80. If the profit=10%, he therefore has to replace a further £80 for constant capital and £70 for profit,=£150.

His constant capital amounts to variable capital+profit for the producer of constant capital. If wages again form $^1/_7$, the variable capital amounts to $74^2/_7$. And profit=$445^5/_7$. If the whole of this is given out, £520 flows back to him for commodities, since he provides the means of subsistence. And he only has to sell an additional £150 worth of commodities.

This much is clear *d'abord*,[a] that even the part of the gold producer's capital that he lays out in wages does not remain in circulation as COIN, but adds at most the MONETARY EXPRESSION OF ONE WEEK'S WAGES to this circulation. He pays this part as wages. This is the way in which he throws this part into circulation. But it does not remain in circulation for the payment of the wage. It is converted instead into the money capital of the productive capitalist. If, as a result of an increase in the production of gold (we do not mean a rise in the productivity of the mines, etc., but a growth in the labour and capital invested in gold production), the manufacturer increased his own production, hence e.g. in the above case[b] employed 10 more workers (an incorrect proportion: if the gold producer employs 10 more workers the manufacturer will employ at most one more) the process would be as follows: he had to pay £100 in wages to 100 workers, and now he has to pay 110 for 110 workers. But on our assumption the SHOPKEEPER receives £10 a week from the workers of the gold producer. This would be the calculation, assuming that the production of the manufacturer provided enough commodities for 10 workers in addition to his own.

*1st week.* SHOPKEEPER receives £10 from gold producer's workers. 100 from manufacturer's workers. Buys for £110 from the manufacturer. Buys with this from the manufacturer commodities to the value of £110. Manufacturer pays £100 of this to his workers, uses the £10 in some other way. Only £100 flows to the *épicier* from the manufacturer's workers, but 10 flows from the gold producer's workers. The first £100 circulates constantly within this sphere. The last £10 is constantly thrown afresh into *this* circulation every week, but does not return to it.

*2nd week.* Assume that the manufacturer increases his production by 10 workers as a result of new demand from the gold producer. He therefore pays a wage of £110. The SHOPKEEPER now sells for £110 to the manufacturer's workers, for 10 to the gold producer's workers. He buys for £120 from the manufacturer. But the manufacturer only needs £110 for wages. £10 therefore

[a] At the outset.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 194-96.—*Ed.*

flows back. Therefore if he increases his own variable capital as a result of an increase in gold production, he only increases—*quoad* circulation—the *weekly* expression of his addition to variable capital. The gold of the gold producer which flows to him afresh every week—BEYOND THIS POINT—does not flow back to *this* section of circulation.

Let us now take the part of the profit which the gold producer expends as INCOME. Apart from particular expenditures, he will sometimes buy commodities of greater value, sometimes of smaller. For example, some furniture, jewels, etc., horses, carriages, etc., may have a high price, so that much gold must be expended at one time in the sale. But we can take an average. For 10 weeks he throws into circulation perhaps £10, while for 2 weeks 100 each time. If that is right, he would have thrown into circulation in the 12 weeks gold to the value of £1,200. That makes £100 a week. Over the year he throws £1,200 in gold into circulation. But we can calculate the quantity, which remains constant in this circulation between him, his SHOPKEEPER and the MANUFACTURER and FARMER, as ABOUT £100. The remainder, £1,100, goes into the pockets of the manufacturer and FARMER (in part into the SHOPKEEPER's pockets), in order to serve in another *sector of circulation*, or it lies there as latent capital. If production is increased in this way, the *WEEKLY MONETARY EXPRESSION OF THE WAGES OF THE* ADDITIONAL LABOURERS must be added to this. The greater part of this gold is however withdrawn both from the circulation between SHOPKEEPER, WORKMEN and MANUFACTURER, and from the circulation between SHOPKEEPER, MANUFACTURER AND GOLD-PRODUCING [XVII-1054] capitalist.

The 3rd part of his product, finally, is exchanged for constant capital, where it again pays for wages (variable capital) and constant capital. Speaking of the former, what we said previously applies. Most of it is withdrawn from the sphere of circulation, into which it is thrown, and does not return there. Let us assume it is £110, and £10 of this represents the profit of the producer of the constant capital. Let $^1/_5$ of his outgoings of £100=labour,[43] hence £20. This £20 does not return to circulation (or only a small part of it for an increased outlay in labour). The £20 replaces $^1/_4$ of the constant capital in money, SINCE $^{80}/_4$=20. 70 remains to be replaced profit included. But the circulation which occurs within the sphere of circulation of the exchange of the constant capital is sufficient to realise the £80. Of the 20 paid for the variable capital, a half—10—is sufficient for the realisation of the profit. Of the £100 the producer of the constant capital

receives 90 is therefore superfluous for his circulation. (Or at least most of the 90, if he expands his business as a result of the demand from the gold producer.) What now happens to this £90? To the producer of the constant capital it represents not an equivalent for profit but an equivalent for capital. He receives back more of the equivalent for his capital in money, an excess quantity in money, which he needs in the natural form of his capital as RETURN.

Let the whole of the annual productive capital consist of 6 million, i.e. let this be the magnitude of the part of the capital which comes onto the market as a commodity and which therefore includes the annual depreciation of the constant capital. Assume that the variable part of this capital $= {}^1/_6, = 1$ million. Then all that needs to be circulated for this in money is $\frac{1 \text{ million}}{52} = 19{,}230$.

This 19,230 in fact circulates 52 times its own value in commodities. There therefore remain to be realised 5 million + 19,230. Assume further that the profit (rent included) = 30%, hence 1,800,000 on the 6 million. Assume that this profit is completely consumed. If the capitalists, like the workers, were to spend their income roughly immediately in equal weekly portions, this would require $34{,}615^5/_{13}$ a week. However, on account of the larger occasional and periodic purchases let us say 100,000. Then we have ABOUT 119,230 for CURRENCY. For the CURRENCY which is expended as profit. This sum replaces not only the profit of the producers of the means of subsistence, but their variable *capital*; it replaces not only the profit of the producers of constant capital but at the same time their variable capital. Let us assume that the proportion of variable to constant capital is in general 1:5. This proportion is not displayed exactly in the division of the 6 million, because it is merely the depreciation of the fixed capital which enters into it, not the fixed capital itself. According to our previous calculation, 2,800,000 of this consists of means of subsistence (1 million for replacement of the total variable capital of the society, and 1,800,000 for the profit on the total capital) and this is circulated on our first calculation by £108,334. Since these commodities of 2,800,000 are the product of the capitalists who produce the means of subsistence, their total product = £2,800,000. This includes their capital advanced + a profit of 20%. Hence ${}^1/_6$ of this amount consists of their profit, and the remainder consists of capital advanced. Out of the £2,800,000, therefore, $466{,}666^4/_6$ is profit and 2,333,334 is capital

advanced. The profit these producers consume in their own reciprocal commodities, or rather this reciprocal consumption of their profit in their reciprocal commodities, may occur in three ways. They may buy simultaneously or on credit from each other. In both cases, there is at most a balance to be paid, now from one, now from another. Or one may buy today from the other in CASH, the other tomorrow in CASH from the former. In this CASE—the *most unfavourable* case for the reduction of the CASH present in CURRENCY—there takes place at all events a REFLUX movement of money and through this REFLUX movement a circulation of money. Here a definite sum of money circulates, and pays many times over in the same hands for different portions of commodity value. Let us say it passes through each pair of hands 10 times. Thus only $^1/_{10}$ is needed of the amount that would otherwise be necessary to circulate the above profit. Assume that the profit of 466,333 referred to=$^1/_4$ of the 1,800,000, of which it forms an aliquot PART. (It is more than $^1/_4$.) Then, if a circulation of £100,000 is required for £1,800,000, £25,000 is required for $^1/_4$ of that. But this 25,000 should be reduced to a tenth of that amount. There therefore remain 75,000+2,500, or £77,500, for the total circulation present in profit. Furthermore, if the proportion of variable to constant capital in [XVII-1055] this sphere of production=1:5, the capital of 2,333,334 will be divided into $^1/_5$ variable capital and $^4/_5$ constant. The variable=466,666$^4/_5$, say 466,667, and the constant=1,866,667. £8,974 is required for the circulation of the variable capital, and this is already calculated in the circulation of the total variable capital. There remain £1,866,667, with which the producers of the means of subsistence pay for their constant capital, and with which the workers and capitalists employed in the manufacture of the constant capital replace their variable capital and realise their profit, in short expend wages and profit.

After deduction of the 2,333,334 which are employed in the production of the means of subsistence there remain 3,666,666 of the capital of 6 million. £533,333 of this is variable capital (since variable capital is 1 million altogether and 466,667 falls to the workers in sphere I, that of the production of the means of subsistence). There remains a constant capital of 3,133,333. This amount, with which the capitalists of sphere II realise their profits and their variable capital, is sufficient to allow class I to replace its constant capital. £2,500 for profit and £8,974 for wages is sufficient for class I (for the circulation within it). So there remains for circulation between class I and class II, etc.[136]

The calculation SOMEWHAT ELSE TO TURN.

//We had a capital of 6 million. 20% profit=1,800,000. Hence the value of all the commodities in circulation=7,800,000. If 2,800,000 consist of means of subsistence, a constant capital of 5,000,000 remains over. (The proportion is greater here because only the part of the constant capital which enters as depreciation into the commodity enters into the *value* of the annually circulating commodity.)//

*Hence I)* £2,800,000. *Sphere of the capital employed in the production of the means of subsistence.*

Out of these commodities of the value of £2,800,000 20% represent profit—ABOUT 466,667—and the remainder, capital=*2,333,333.* 388,888 of this capital is variable capital. There remains a constant capital of 1,944,445.[137]

There circulates within this sphere for the variable capital $\frac{388,888}{52}$, of which the weekly MONETARY expression=ABOUT 7,477 (7,476 $^{36}/_{52}$ to be precise). And there circulates for the profit, which is on our assumption entirely consumed, say for all expenditure of income (which is not wages), $^{1}/_{10}$ of the total amount, which would be ABOUT 46,667. But since the consumers of the profit are reciprocally dealers in the commodities they consume, a REFLUX takes place here. The butcher buys from the baker, and with the same money the baker buys from the butcher and the butcher again from the baker. Through the REFLUX movement, therefore, *the same* sum of money passes through the same hands. Say this turnover takes place 10 times on the average. Then only $^{1}/_{10}$ of the previous amount is required to turn the profit into money. There therefore remains about £4,666, whereby we have not made any attempt to calculate how much of his own commodities the SHOPKEEPER, etc., gobbles up.

In this sphere, therefore, what is required for circulation within it is £7,477 for wages and £4,666 for profit. Taken together=£12,143 in money.

The remaining £1,944,445 worth of commodities of class I are sold to class II, the manufacturers of constant capital.

*So now to class II.* Its capital, with profit,=a commodity value of £50,000,000. Of this, profit=somewhat more than 833,333. Out of the 5 million, the 1,944,445 replace the part of the product which consists of wages and profit; wages thus=1,111,112. In order to pay these wages, $\frac{1,111,112}{52}$ is needed,=£21,367. And to pay the profit say $^{1}/_{10}$ of the amount is needed, hence 83,333. Thus the

total amount of money that has to circulate [XVII-1056] =83,333+£21,367=£104,700. With this £104,700 the capitalists and workers of class II buy their means of subsistence from class I, and class I buys the replacement of its constant capital *in natura* from class II. A REFLUX takes place. Class II buys e.g. means of subsistence from class I for £100; class I uses the same £100 to buy constant capital from class II. It is like a wagon which travels backwards and forwards, first taking A's load to B and then on the return journey taking B's freight to A. With this money, therefore, a commodity value not of £1,944,445 is realised, but one of 2×£1,944,445=£3,888,890. The same amount of money realises the constant capital of I, and the variable capital and profit of class II. There therefore remains of the 5 million of class II:

III) £5 million−£1,944,445=£3,055,555. Let us assume that only $^1/_{10}$ of this is replaced *in natura*, which as regards agriculture is much too little. This part does not enter into circulation at all, and does not need to be turned into gold. ABOUT 305,555 should be deducted from the amount to be realised. There remain: £2,750,000 worth of commodities. This 2nd circulation in class II is a mere reciprocal TRANSFER of capital, an exchange mediated through money. The iron producer buys coal from the coal producer, the latter in turn buys machines from the machine-builder, he in turn buys iron from the iron producer, etc. The money here will for the most part circulate as means of payment and only balances will be paid in money. But even if it circulates itself, at most $^1/_{20}$ is required. $\frac{2{,}750{,}000}{20} = 137{,}500.$

What is required altogether, therefore, to realise the capital of 6 million as well as a profit of 1,800,000 (wrong again, should be 1,200,000, for this is $^1/_5$ of 6 million or 20%, BUT NEVER MIND), *to realise commodities of the value of 6 million plus profit of 1,200,000, or £7,200,000 worth*, is the following:

£12,143 circulating in class I;
£104,700 between class I and class II;
£137,500 in class II. Makes together: £254,343 in money.

*Sum total*: 254,343.

We have assumed in this connection that out of the capital of 6 million, variable capital=388,888+1,111,112=1,500,000, hence the variable capital=$^1/_4$ of the capital advanced. This is somewhat more than $^1/_6$ of the capital advanced in wages. The adjustment of

balances and credit, etc., has not been brought into the calculation. Hence if the gold producer only provided enough gold to realise $^1/_6$ of the capital laid out in wages, or, what is the same thing, if enough of the commodity was exported to return gold from the mining countries, etc., this would be sufficient to provide the whole CURRENCY. And once this had been imported, it would be enough (deducting wear and tear on the money) as long as the mode of production remained the same.

What is in general needed to enable the capitalist to withdraw more money from circulation than he throws into it is nothing more than this: enough money must circulate in order to convert into money the commodity values which are circulating. It is not yet necessary for this purpose that $^1/_6$ of the capital should be available as money; this is the annual amount of money which has to be paid out in wages alone. The amount which is needed, however, is provided by the part of capital which is exchanged directly for gold, i.e. the commodities which are sold to the producers of gold and silver, and bring back BULLION in RETURN. But a part of the capital is accumulated as hoard, under its various aspects. Thus one part always lies idle. Assume that the capital which circulates annually in commodities=£110. And $^1/_{10}$ is required to convert it into gold, hence £10. If then £10 worth of commodities are exported and exchanged for gold, this is divided up among the whole class which produces the £110 worth of commodities.

[XVII-1057] Just as the producers of the means of consumption replace the variable capital and the part of the production of all classes expended as income, so these gold importing elements (THE SAME AS GOLD PRODUCING PART) of the COMMUNITY replace the money needed for the circulation of the whole of the capital.

After what we have developed so far, the following two points should first be made:

*Firstly*: The turnovers of the same amount of money effected by the REFLUX are always accompanied by turnovers of the same *monetary individuals*, while the number of different turnovers performed by the same monetary individuals by no means includes the REFLUX. E.g. £100 from the SHOPKEEPER to the manufacturer, from the manufacturer to the worker, from the worker back to the SHOPKEEPER. Here the same money makes 3 turnovers. At any rate 2, from the manufacturer to the workers, from the workers to the SHOPKEEPER. In addition to this, the REFLUX includes the repetition of this cycle, for *the same amount of money*, whether this consists of the same identical pieces of money or not.

A piece of money, on the other hand, may turn over 10 times in one day without expressing a REFLUX. I buy a commodity for 5s., the SHOPKEEPER gives the 5s. to another buyer in the change for £1, who in turn pays a worker with it, the worker makes a purchase with it, etc. The mere rapidity of turnover of *the same* piece of money—mostly in inverse proportion to its magnitude—is different from the rapidity with which the cycle passes through its phases and is repeated.

*Secondly.* Where money as *coin* appears in *C—M—C* in the first conception, i.e. the conversion of the commodity into means of subsistence for its producer or owner, it only functions, first as paid out *wages*, *W—M—C*; second where profit, interest, rent, etc. (also the wages of the unproductive) are spent as income. For here the *M* that they expend represents the exchange value form of a sold commodity, to be subsequently resolved into means of subsistence. *C—M—C.* The fact that the money expended in this way simultaneously replaces a capital (capital+profit) does not alter the situation at all. On the other hand, all other functions in which money appears *in circulation* are always forms in which it constitutes a phase of capitalist reproduction, which either does not proceed as far as RETAIL at all (as the EXCHANGE OF CONSTANT CAPITAL for CONSTANT CAPITAL), or is, at least, a PREVIOUS PROCESS. As long as it circulates in this way it is money capital. For the RETAILER, the income taken from the other is admittedly also money capital. But this is not reciprocal. Here the money does not derive from the metamorphosis of *capital as such*, but from incomes which have arisen from it and become separated off.

We have examined the cycle performed by the same amount of money between SHOPKEEPER, manufacturer and worker; which is IN FACT—if we leave aside the mediating SHOPKEEPER—the circulation of *the same* amount of money between manufacturer and worker. The manufacturer buys with *the same* money labour[43] which is always new, and the worker buys with the same money *commodities that are always new.* The manufacturer (if we leave aside the SHOP[keeper]) originally throws this money into circulation. He must therefore have originally received it from circulation; but from the circulation with the gold producer. Or this process took place earlier and he possesses this money as a part of his capital accumulated in money form, just as he possesses another part in machinery. If the weekly value of his commodity=£600 (including £100 of profit, or 20% [of the capital advanced]) and the wage to be paid every week=£100, he must sell $^1/_6$ of his commodity to the gold producer. He then has once and for all the £100 he needs

for the weekly payment of the wage. Suppose that the whole of his capital is 1,500, of which 1,000 is fixed capital, 398 a week *matière brute et instrumentale*,[a] 100 a week wages. Suppose the fixed capital is used up over a cycle of 10 years. Then he needs £100 a year for depreciation. And £2 a week (we shall reckon 50 weeks of labour a year). He therefore has a depreciation of £2 a week. 398 *matière brute* and *instrumentale* and 100 wages=an advance of £500, on which there is 20[%] profit=100. He perhaps has to replace the depreciation of £100 only once in the year (probably less often). The first week he takes in £600, of which 100 are not exchanged for commodities but for money. He has therefore converted the whole of his profit into money. Or he brought £100 more, apart from the WORKING CAPITAL. (This is IN FACT advanced by the SHOPKEEPER.) Or he can consume none of his profit in the first week. For he possesses $^1/_6$ of the commodity in gold, his workers consume $^1/_6$, and $^4/_6$ replace his constant capital. In the next week he does not need to buy gold from the gold producer with any part of his commodity in order to be able to pay the wages. But in the 1ST WEEK he needs a part of his capital twice over. Firstly in the form of the commodity, the $^1/_6$ that the workers will consume, secondly in the form of gold, so as to enable the workers [XVII-1058] to buy their $^1/_6$ from him. During this week, therefore, he must have currency in reserve for his own consumption, money which does not flow to him from the business but which he has inherited, etc., or he must live by borrowing, which is likely if he starts his production with £500.

In the 2nd week he does not need to possess $^1/_6$ of his commodity in dual form as commodity and as money; for the £100 of wages flow back to him from the worker in payment for the commodity.

Hence in order to maintain this circulation between himself and the worker in existence he only needs to buy gold from the gold producer with $^1/_6$ of the product of a week.

There is always the question of who *first* throws into circulation the part of the money present therein. The answer is: it is always the capitalist, whether he be producer or MERCHANT; never the worker or the recipient of interest or rent. He who loans out at interest throws capital into circulation, i.e. TRANSFERS IT TO THE PRODUCTIVE CAPITALIST; but it is the latter who first throws it really into circulation.

The *recipient of rent* receives his money in part from the FARMING

[a] Raw material and instrumental material.—*Ed.*

CAPITALIST, in part from the INDUSTRIAL CAPITALIST (who WORKS MINES, etc., and for buildings) (and the rent of houses); further, he receives it from the worker. (Part of the rent of land, and the rent of his house.) In so far as rent is provided in currency by the *workers*, this part of its MONETARY EXPRESSION (just as with the SHOPKEEPER who sells means of subsistence to the workers) is drawn from the circulation between capitalist and workers, hence contained in the CURRENCY which circulates for wages. Admittedly this part does not flow back as quickly (if the manufacturer is not himself the LANDLORD or the FARMER, which is very often the CASE) as the part of the wages given out for the means of subsistence. Yet this latter CASE is a peculiar one. The same money which the MANUFACTURER or FARMER here gives out as a wage realises for him the rent he takes as LANDLORD, or the rental he takes as a letter of houses, leaving aside the fact that it replaces for him the depreciation of his commodities. The worker receives the value, namely the house, which he rents by the week. But a part of this value can be reduced to house- and ground-rent. And what the manufacturer pays as manufacturer simultaneously turns into money for him his revenue as LANDLORD and house-letting capitalist. He himself has advanced the CURRENCY for this in the purchase of labour.[43] But the worker pays back to him ground- and house-rent.

He makes 2 transactions with the worker. He buys his labour with money, and secondly he sells him housing and receives back for it a part of this money. But the value he sells here to the worker is not entirely paid by him; it contains unpaid labour. By paying this to him, the worker pays him ground- and house-rent. There is therefore no contradiction in the fact that in drawing back the money he himself has thrown into circulation he draws back more money than he threw into circulation, i.e. more money than the paid value he threw in. For all LANDLORDS and house-letters, in so far as their ground- and house-rent is paid by the workers (just as with the taxes), the same money circulates the wage and realises a part of the rent and the interest on capital, hence monetises a part of the surplus value. All that is needed to monetise the whole of this part of surplus value, which can be reduced to the rent and interest on houses[a] paid by the worker, is the CURRENCY necessary for the payment of wages. The same is true of the profit of the SHOPKEEPER who trades with the workers.

The ground-rent of buildings, etc., forms part of the costs of fixed capital. Therefore a part of the CURRENCY which the

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, p. 572; Vol. 32, p. 18.—*Ed.*

productive capitalists advance for the fixed capital simultaneously monetises a part of the SURPLUS VALUE, namely the rent of land.

Rent on private houses, etc., forms part of the expenditure through which the capitalist SPENDS HIS PROFITS; the actual rent paid by the FARMER, MINING CAPITALIST, etc., forms a part of the surplus value of their products.

With the money he receives for rent the LANDLORD buys commodities from the manufacturer and FARMER, or he buys them from the SHOPKEEPER, who pays the manufacturer and FARMER with it. Therefore once this part of the CURRENCY exists, it flows back continuously to the productive capitalists, just as the money for wages does, although they must again withdraw it from circulation by means of commodities. But it is enough to enable them to pay the rent in the form of money over and over again, in order to receive the money back for commodities. But more flows back to them, namely the part of the rent which the workers pay to the LANDLORD as rent of their houses or the part the MANUFACTURER has paid as rent for buildings. Therefore the CURRENCY which monetises the rent is sufficient not only to pay it over and over again, but to pay the part of the wage which is resolved into rent, and the part of the costs of fixed capital which is resolved into rent. But it is only the part of the rent which does not always flow [from] wages or fixed capital that necessitates its own circulation of money, A SPECIFIC SUM OF CURRENCY OF ITS OWN.

[XVII-1059] What is true of rent (to the LANDLORD) and interest (to the money-lender) is true of profit itself (* whether interest be paid to another person or not, whether or not, consequently, it be included in the revenue of the producing capitalist), as far as the productive capitalist spends it, and spend it he must, in some part, since he lives upon it.* The money given out in THE SPENDING OF PROFIT, money thrown into circulation, * contributes as well as the money spent in the realisation of rent and interest to provide the monetary means for paying the capitalist.

The monetary expression of rent, interest, profit, as far as they buy commodities for individual consumption,* must flow back to the PRODUCTIVE CAPITALIST as means of purchase or payment just as much as does the MONETARY EXPRESSION OF WAGES. The profit, RENT, INTEREST HAVE BEEN SPENT DURING LAST YEAR; the money given out for them is no longer in the hands of the LANDLORD, rentier, PRODUCER, but in those of the *épicier*, who pays the WHOLESALE DEALER with it, who in turn pays the PRODUCTIVE CAPITALIST. In the same measure as this money flows back to the SHOPKEEPER, HIS STORE HAS BECOME EMPTIED AND WANTS REFILLING. The money therefore performs in reverse the same

course as it performed *d'abord* in a forward direction. Since it thereby realises the commodity values of the PRODUCTIVE CAPITALIST, the latter is able to pay RENT and interest with the same money and TO EXPEND FOR HIS OWN USE another part of the surplus value.

For the productive capitalist to withdraw from circulation more money than he threw into it nothing more is necessary than that enough money should circulate in order to pay the commodity values. If BARTER were to occur, one would find nothing mysterious in the fact that the capitalist withdraws more commodity value from circulation at the end of the cycle than he threw in in the form of money. For at the end of the cycle he has a greater commodity value to exchange. The origin of the whole PERPLEXED QUESTION is therefore that one does not see where the CURRENCY is to come from, the *REAL MONETARY EXPRESSION* OF THAT ENHANCED VALUE. WHAT PUZZLES is that more is withdrawn from circulation by the capitalist than is thrown in, which is the more PUZZLING in that he himself—as a class—IN FACT possesses the whole of the monetary wealth (*possesses it* because he directly owns the whole of the surplus value, whatever he may have to give up of this). But *il faut distinguer.*[a] As capitalist he throws his capital alone into circulation (i.e. THE MONETARY EXPRESSION OF IT), but as a fellow who has realised profit (or if he has not yet realised any he must possess OTHER MEANS), he throws PART OF THE MONETARY EXPRESSION OF HIS SURPLUS VALUE into circulation, just as THE MONETARY EXPRESSION OF THE OTHER PART OF THAT SURPLUS VALUE—OF RENT AND INTEREST—IS CONTINUALLY THROWN INTO CIRCULATION by the LANDLORD and the *rentier* and lastly the MONETARY EXPRESSION OF WAGES is thrown in BY THE WORKMEN. If a capitalist has thrown into circulation £1,000, i.e. employed it reproductively, and at the same time consumed £200 (*sub specie* of profit), and if his profit=20%, he has thrown into circulation exactly as much money as is necessary in order to give monetary expression to his commodity,=1,200, his capital+his surplus value. He has not made a gift to circulation, either with the £1,000 or with the £200; he has withdrawn commodity values in return for this money, for the 200 he has withdrawn as much as he threw in, for the 1,000 he has withdrawn 20% more. Nevertheless, he has provided the MONETARY EXPRESSION with which the commodity value of £1,200 can be paid to him, and, if we view the capitalist as one person with the PARTNERS IN THE SURPLUS VALUE ABSORBED BY HIM //*The Times* for November 19, 1862 [p. 9] calls the Lancashire manufacturers

[a] One must make distinctions.—*Ed.*

"*WEALTH ABSORBERS*" and their workers "*WEALTH-WINNERS*" *//, he has in fact himself provided the money with which he is paid; but he has provided it IN EXCHANGE FOR COMMODITIES and (AS FAR AS IT IS GOLD, etc.) himself ORIGINALLY RECEIVED it IN EXCHANGE FOR THE LABOUR OF HIS MEN.

*The first class of productive capitalists consists of those who produce the means of subsistence in their final form*, in the form in which they enter into individual consumption. The value of their *annual* product consists of two parts: [The first part is] *constant capital*, which contains the depreciation of the fixed capital, this depreciation entering annually into the product. The other part, which remains unconsumed, has nothing to do with the value of the product (although, in the AVERAGE RATE OF PROFIT, profit and interest on this part of the capital advanced are reckoned just as much as on any other part. But even in this case the fixed capital only enters here as an ANNUITY, depreciation+profit on top, as with the second class of capitalist. We leave out the profit here as we are separating the surplus value). It consists secondly of raw material and *matière instrumentale*, which *in natura* in part, and in value every time, entirely enter into the product, because they are entirely consumed in the production process. *Secondly: variable capital.* In the hands of the capitalist this exists as money; once it is realised it exists as labour. For the worker who provides the commodity in which this part of the capital is realised, it exists as WAGES. Finally the 3rd part of the product. *Surplus value*, which can be resolved into profit (interest) and in part into rent.

The whole of the annual product of this class, in so far as it enters into annual consumption, enters into individual consumption. Here we are leaving accumulation entirely to one side, for the moment, and only examining simple reproduction. A part of this product [XVII-1060] is bought by the workers of this class I, hence paid back with the money which is given them in *WAGES* by the capitalists. Or the money in which the variable capital of this class is paid out buys back an appropriate part of the value of the product. This money thereby flows back to the productive capitalist. This is not a *replacement* of the part of the capital

* In a LEADER occasioned by the Manchester DISTRESS,[138] where the Manch[ester] men went begging to the whole of England FOR "THEIR POOR WORKMEN", but nervously buttoned up their own purses, and, as Mr. Cobden says, QUITE JUST SO. Of course. If alms are given by those who do not directly participate in the exploitation of these particular workers, that is philanthropic. But for the capitalists themselves to be compelled to pay tribute instead of WAGES [XVII-1060] to their own workers once they cease to be able to exploit them, would be "AGAINST THE SOUND PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY" and "WOULD", AS *The Morning Star* INSINUATED, "SMACK OF SOCIALIST PERVERSION".[139]

consumed by the workers; it is however the REFLUX to the productive capitalist of the CURRENCY in which he has paid the workers and with which he buys them afresh. The more or less small part of the surplus value which is consumed *in natura* in this class does not need any monetary expression, since it is appropriated by the producer in its natural form and does not enter into circulation. AS TO THE OTHER PART, the rent, interest, profit, which were paid the previous year (or, if the business is in progress, *au fur et à mesure* of the reproduction (AS TO THE PRODUCTIVE CAPITALIST)) (or, if the business is *begun afresh*, from the currency reserve of the productive capitalist), are used to buy back the appropriate part of the value of the total product of class I. In this way the CURRENCY in which the productive capitalist pays rent and interest flows back to him. Not as a replacement for what he has paid; but for the commodities he is selling afresh for the money he himself has provided. It is not a replacement for the interest, rent, etc., paid the previous year, but a REFLUX to productive capital of the CURRENCY in which he has paid the LANDLORD and the rentier and in which he will pay them afresh. He will give them back the same tokens as a claim on the aliquot part owing to them of the commodity SURPLUS, which represents their share in the surplus value of these commodities. Finally, if e.g. capitalist A, a member of this class, which can be divided into an immense number of particular spheres—as numerous as the means of subsistence themselves—buys means of subsistence from B, C, D, E, he thereby enables them to realise in money the aliquot PART, consumed by him, of the product A—the part consumed by the productive capitalist himself. They in turn enable him to realise his own product in money, until everyone has drawn from someone else's pocket the MONETARY EXPRESSION of the consumed part of his product. Thus the CURRENCY with which each of them has bought, and will buy again, the commodity of the other, flows back to each one. The part of the value of product I which consists of variable capital and surplus value (profit, interest, RENT) is thus entirely realised in money.

But as far the other part of capital I is concerned, constant capital, this must be replaced *in natura*, reconverted from the form of the FINAL commodity into its elements of production, raw material, machinery, *matière instrumentale*, etc. (We consider the part of these products which enters again into their own reproduction as a condition of production, such as corn, coal, etc., as belonging to 2 from this point of view. By the way, corn is not directly a means of subsistence, at most flour is. Fruit, eggs, etc.,

poultry, etc., are though.) Or this part of capital I must be bought by class II. We therefore come now to the circulation of money between these two classes.

*Second class.* Its product consists similarly of *constant capital* (raw material, *matière instrumentale* and depreciation of the fixed capital), *variable capital* and *surplus value*, which is in turn divided in the form of profit (interest) and rent. But the product of this class does not enter into individual consumption (one might deduct dwellings, which enter into both individual and productive consumption. But this division is necessary for clarity) (or in so far as it does enter, it is class I, the section of class I whose product is simultaneously an element of variable and of constant capital). Neither the money which represents the variable capital of this class, nor the surplus value which is realised in its product, can BE SPENT IN THE PRODUCE OF THIS CLASS.

In order now to determine the circulation between these 2 classes, we start with the MOST EVIDENT POINT.

Class II pays its variable capital out in money, as does class I, but this money does not flow back *directly* to the productive capitalist, as was the case *under I).* The worker buys his means of subsistence from class I. The WHOLE MONETARY EXPRESSION OF THE VARIABLE CAPITAL OF CLASS II therefore flows to the productive capitalists of class I. With it they buy from the productive capitalists of II a product value—i.e. constant capital, raw material, etc.—which is equal to the value of the variable capital of II. By this *detour* the CURRENCY originally given out by the capitalists of II and needed by them *for the payment of wages* flows back to them. At the same time they have by this detour sold the part of their product which equals the value of the variable capital to class I, and the latter class has TO THAT AMOUNT RECONVERTED ITS PRODUCE INTO THE ELEMENTARY CONSTITUENTS OF THAT PRODUCE. //This mediation must occur with class I as well, in the case of those who produce means of subsistence which do not enter into the workers' consumption. Their workers buy from the other capitalists of I and thus provide them with the money with which they in part give monetary expression to interest, rent, profit and use this to buy (as SPENDING of income) from the capitalists of I who do not produce means of subsistence for the workers. They thereby replace for the latter the CURRENCY needed for their variable capital. At the same time this CURRENCY serves for them as the monetary expression of a part of the profit, etc.// //Once banks have developed, the money [XVII-1061] for wages IN FACT returns every week to the productive capitalist, and it is a matter of indifference whether it would otherwise only have

returned to him by detour.// In any case we see here how the same sum of money circulates between a productive capitalist and his workers, is then paid out by these workers to another class of productive capitalists, and is laid out by these as capital in the purchase of the commodities of the first productive capitalist and thus returns to him. The purchase of constant capital on the part of class I occurs—since it is a conversion of capital into its elements, not a conversion of income into the means of subsistence—at longer intervals of time and in larger amounts, corresponding to the scale on which production takes place and to the conditions of reproduction of capital in each of the particular spheres of I. The money paid out in wages therefore does not flow back every week to class II, but at greater intervals and in greater quantities, so that one cannot tell at all by looking at this money where it comes from. In agriculture too, by the way, and in certain urban trades, even if wages are paid by the week, a great deal of labour is employed at certain times, hence a lot of wages is paid, while at other periods in the year little is employed and little paid. The reflux therefore does not take place as smoothly as CLOCKWORK. But all that is needed here is to grasp the *essential* movement. Its further course should first be developed under the *credit system*[67]; but to understand this, PREVIOUS KNOWLEDGE OF THIS ESSENTIAL MOVEMENT is necessary. The exchange of the part of the product of class II which represents its surplus value for the constant capital of class I, which exists in means of subsistence, is tangibly demonstrated on the world market, e.g. in the exchange of English CALICOES for cotton, or the exchange of English machinery and yarn for foreign wheat, etc.

Finally, as far as concerns the income which can be utilised in this sphere in the form of profit (interest, rent), its monetised existence of the previous year, etc., is consumed in the last remaining part of the product of class I. There thus flows to class I the money with which it buys back from class II the part of its constant capital which is still missing. The money for its surplus value thus flows back to this class.

In this way the productive capitalists of I and II, apart from the fact that their fund for income is established in the form of money, are [able] to pay interest and rent in money to the lenders of capital and the LANDLORDS, whereupon the whole process begins again. It must be noted here, once more, that a reproduction of capital for class I is a realisation of surplus value in money for class II; and, further, that the *way in which the money flows from II to I*, precisely because this is in the form of daily expenditure or

occasionally (irregularly) more important expenditures—since it is the expenditure of income and therefore corresponds to the needs and whims of individual consumption—must differ from the way and form in which the same sum of money flows back from I to II, since this is a reconversion of capital existing as money into productive capital; and the quantities in which purchases are made here, ditto the intervals [of payment], must correspond to the conditions of production of both capitals.

It is clear that if the capitalist SPENDS £200 IN REVENUE and throws £1,000 into circulation as capital, but withdraws £1,200, he has withdrawn from circulation more money than he threw into it, for as capitalist he has only thrown £1,000 into circulation. He has spent the £200 on means of subsistence of equal value, which have passed into his consumption fund. In short, as mere money-owner, and spender, not as capitalist.

Class I has now replaced the whole of its constant capital *in natura*, its variable capital in money, and similarly its income fund in money (profit (interest, rent)) and it has nothing further to buy from class II, nothing further to pay to it (since we are for the moment not speaking of accumulation here). That part of agriculture, as for example the cultivation of corn, etc., the breeding of cattle, etc., belongs at the same time to class II, i.e. is at the same time a producer of constant capital, does not alter this situation. To the extent that agriculture does belong to class II, what we shall now develop further in relation to class II applies to it as well.

We showed previously—presupposing reproduction on the same scale—that the new labour added during the year, or the value produced during the year,=the variable capital reproduced+the surplus value, cannot buy any more or pay for any more than what has just been discussed, i.e. the annual product of the articles which enter into individual consumption (class I) and the part of the *product* of the producers of constant capital which represents the variable capital and the incomes of class II.

Adam Smith would have been entirely correct if he had said that this part of the annual product resolves itself into mere income, which is paid by wages, profit (interest), rent. He would nevertheless have had to add here too that this total income replaces the total constant capital of class I. But Smith is wrong in asserting this of the totality of the annual product, and in having the constant capital of class II replaced by its income and that of class I. It is therefore also incorrect when Smith says the following.

Beforehand [XVII-1062] one further remark: under "DEALER" Smith includes all capitalists who participate in the production process and the circulation process,[140] under "CONSUMERS" he includes the workers and the capitalists, LANDLORDS, etc., and their RETAINERS, AS FAR AS THEY SPEND REVENUE.

He says:

*"The circulation of every country may be considered as divided into two different branches—the *circulation of the dealers with one another, and the circulation between the dealers and consumers.* Though the same pieces of money, whether paper or metal, may be employed sometimes in the one circulation and sometimes in the other, *yet as both are constantly going on at the same time,* each requires a certain kind of money of one kind or another to carry it on. *The value of the goods circulated between the different dealers with one another never can exceed the value of those circulated between the dealers and the consumers, whatever is bought by the dealers being ultimately destined to be sold to the consumers*" (*Wealth of Nations,* McCulloch's edition* [Vol. II, pp. 79-80]).

This corresponds to Smith's incorrect analysis of the value of the commodity into WAGES, PROFIT and RENT. On this see our earlier remarks.[a] And this incorrect view itself rests in turn on the fact that the accumulated capital—including the constant capital—in the capitalist mode of production originally flows from surplus labour, i.e. profit is converted into capital, from which it nevertheless by no means follows that the profit once converted into capital consists of "profit".

The VALUE of the GOODS CIRCULATED BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT DEALERS is always greater than the VALUE of the GOODS CIRCULATED BETWEEN THE DEALERS AND CONSUMERS, because the first circulation includes an EXCHANGE of the natural components of constant capital, which replaces a part of the value of the capital which the CONSUMER never pays. The *simultaneous* parallel course of the movements—and every successive moment of metamorphosis and reproduction appears at the same time as occurring simultaneously and in parallel—prevented Smith from seeing the movement itself. He would otherwise have found in the monetary circulation of capital a refutation rather than a confirmation of his proposition, which is derived from an incorrect analysis of the natural price.[141] The phrase "DEALER" and "CONSUMER" is also disturbing, since the DEALERS—the productive capitalists—appear in that EXCHANGE simultaneously as the final "CONSUMERS", even if industrial CONSUMERS, not individual.

*Tooke* remarks as follows on the above passage from Adam Smith, which he makes into one of the basic foundations of his theory of money:

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 398-408 and Vol. 31, p. 106.—*Ed.*

*"All the transactions between dealers and dealers, by which are to be understood all sales from the producer or importer, through all the stages of intermediate processes of manufacture or otherwise to the retail dealer or the exporting merchant, are *resolvable* into *movements or transfers of capital.* Now transfers of capital do not necessarily suppose, nor do actually as a matter of fact entail, in the great majority of transactions, a passing of money, that is, bank notes or coin—I mean bodily, and not by fiction—at the time of the transfer. All the movements of capital may be, and the great majority are, effected by the operations of banking and credit without the intervention of actual payment in coin or bank notes, that is, actual, visible, and tangible bank notes, not suppositions bank notes, issued with one hand and received back by the other, or, more properly speaking, entered on one side of the ledger with a counter-entry on the other. *And there is the further important consideration, that the total amount of the transactions between dealers and dealers must, in the last resort, be determined and limited by the amount of those between dealers and consumers*" (Th. Tooke, *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle,** London, 1844, [pp.] 35-36).

In the concluding sentence, Tooke repeats Adam Smith's proposition, with the crudeness peculiar to him as a practitioner, in the process depriving it of its theoretical teeth. That the "TOTAL AMOUNT" of the "TRANSACTIONS BETWEEN DEALERS AND DEALERS" must be determined "IN THE LAST RESORT" by the AMOUNT of the TRANSACTIONS BETWEEN DEALERS and CONSUMERS is not subject to any doubt and is a triviality. The capital of the whole class that is employed in production at all depends in the "LAST RESORT" upon, and is therefore determined by, the amount of the product which the producer can sell, for it is only from the product he sells that he derives his profit. But Adam Smith, whose proposition Tooke thinks he is repeating, was not talking about this. Smith says: *"the *value* of the goods circulated between dealers and dealers"="the *value* of those circulated between dealers and consumers".* Tooke is exclusively concerned in the above-mentioned pamphlet with the struggle against the CURRENCY PRINCIPLE.[142] The [XVII-1063] phrase that the CIRCULATION BETWEEN DEALERS and DEALERS can be resolved into "MOVEMENTS OR TRANSFERS OF CAPITAL" //he is only interested here, vis-à-vis his opponents, in the question of *how* the reciprocal obligations arising out of the circulation of capitals in the reproduction process are *settled*, a question which is theoretically entirely subordinate// shows the crudeness of the whole conception. "MOVEMENTS OF CAPITAL." What was required was to determine and analyse precisely these MOVEMENTS. What underlies this is that he *means* the MOVEMENTS of capital in *the sphere of circulation*, for which reason he always understands under capital here money or commodity capital. "TRANSFERS OF CAPITAL" are very different from MOVEMENTS OF CAPITAL, although they are MOVEMENTS. They only apply in fact to mercantil-

ist capital, and they mean in fact nothing more than that the different phases, in which capital passes from the hands of one buyer to the next, are IN POINT OF FACT *only the movement of its own circulation.* The "MOVEMENTS" of capital, however, are qualitatively distinct phases of the reproduction process. "TRANSFER" OF CAPITAL also takes place when variable capital passes into the hands of the workers as wages, thus being converted into "CURRENCY". The long and short of the story is simply that in the movements of capital as such—before its definitive exchange as commodity with the consumers—the money only circulates as means of payment, hence functions in part exclusively as money of account, in part exclusively as balance, IF THERE BE ANY. Tooke concludes from this that the distinction between these two functions of money is a distinction between "CAPITAL" and "CURRENCY". In general he firstly confuses money and commodity with money and commodity as modes of existence of capital, with money and commodity capital, and secondly regards the particular money form in which the capital is circulated as a distinction between "capital" and "coin".

The following point by Tooke is a good one:

* "The business of bankers, setting aside the issue of promissory notes on demand, may be divided into two branches, corresponding with the distinction pointed out by Dr. Smith of the transactions between dealers and dealers, and between dealers and consumers. One branch of the banker's business is to collect capital from those who have not immediate employment for it, and to distribute or transfer it to those who have. The other branch is to receive deposits of the incomes of their customers, and to pay out the amount, as it is wanted for expenditure, by the latter in the objects of their consumption. The former may be considered as the business behind the counter, and the latter before or over the counter: the former being a *circulation of capital*, the latter of *currency*" * [l.c., p. 36].

(I.e. the first circulation OF money capital. This is not actual *circulation*, but *TRANSFER*. Real circulation always includes an objective moment of the reproduction process of capital. *TRANSFER*, as with MERCANTILE CAPITAL, puts one person in place of another; but the capital continues to be in the same phase as before. There is each time a transfer of money—or titles to property—from one to the other (or also a transfer of commodity), without the money's having undergone any metamorphosis. This is even truer of the *TRANSFER* OF MONETARY CAPITAL BY LOANS, etc., BY THE MEDIUM OF THE BANKER. The same is true of the *TRANSFER* by which the capitalist distributes the monetary expression of his surplus value in part to the rentier, in part to the LANDLORD. In the latter case it is distribution of income; in the former, distribution of capital. Only the TRANSFER of

MERCANTILE CAPITAL from ONE SORT OF MERCHANT TO THE OTHER brings commodity capital itself closer to its conversion into money.)

* "The distinction or separation in reasoning of *that branch* of banking which relates to the *concentration of capital* on the one hand and the *distribution of it on the other*, from *that branch* which is employed in administering the *circulation** for *local purposes of the district, is so important, etc."* (l.c., [pp.] 36-37).

In class II as in class I the total product can be divided into 3 parts.

//Here it may be remarked incidentally: *capital*, as opposed to profit, is the name of the *amount of value advanced.* But it is not an amount of value. It is *capital* and therefore implies in this form a relation to profit. As long as the surplus value is not realised, hence the movement of capital as capital has not yet come to an end, the total product (surplus value included) is called capital; it is pregnant with surplus value, but the latter has not yet [XVII-1064] attained an independent position in relation to capital. It is still self-realising capital, HENCE capital absolutely.//

1) 2) 3)

*Constant capital—Variable capital. Surplus value.* (Profit, rent, interest.)

We have seen how 2) and 3) have been realised and have circulated in the exchange with 1). We have now to consider the first part, constant capital.

It consists a) of the *unconsumed* part of the fixed capital, which does not enter into the value of the product, and therefore does not come into consideration.

b) Secondly, however, it is necessary to replace the part of the value which represents the depreciation of the fixed capital and *matière instrumentale* and *matière brute, s'il y en a.*[a]

Just as in class I the part of the product which consists of profit—or which is expended as income—is realised through the consumption of the product *in natura* on the part of production or by exchange within the different spheres of production of this same class, so in class II the same takes place for the constant capital, whether through replacement *in natura* in its own sphere of production, or through exchange with products between the different spheres of this same class. The products here re-enter as condition of production into their own production (as corn enters as seed, breeding cattle, etc.) or the product of sphere A e.g. enters into the product of sphere B as condition of production,

[a] Instrumental material and raw material, if any.—*Ed.*

and the product of sphere B enters into the product of sphere A, as iron into machine production or machines into iron production. The product of sphere A may enter into sphere B, that of B into C, and that of C into A. This intertwining—the GENERAL BALANCE of these spheres, without any need for an exact balance between any two spheres—makes no difference to the situation. It lies in the nature of the situation that here money will develop as means of payment and therefore the movement without money will be compensated for by SETOFFS. Yet since the period in which product A enters B may differ from the period in which B enters A, etc., here too circulation of money can take place, and will do so *plus ou moins*,[a] particularly before capitalist production is completely developed. It is in any case important to consider it so here.

Since there in fact takes place here EXCHANGE of constant capital for constant capital, and the products merely change their place in the production process reciprocally, the money constantly flows back to the person who expends it. E.g. when the machine manufacturer buys iron in order to replace his machine-building machine, there enters into this: 1) the depreciation of the machine-building machine itself; he advances this himself; 2) iron, etc. He buys this from the iron manufacturer; the iron manufacturer buys machines from him in order to replace the depreciation of his own machinery and thus the money flows back to the machine-builder.

Even where the product enters directly into its own reproduction, there may take place, in consequence of the division of labour, a circulation of money; the reproduction of capital may be accompanied by a circulation of money. A FARMER may sell all his corn and buy the seed from another farmer. But then the latter must grow seed both for himself and for the other. To the one farmer a part of the value of the corn represents the purchase price for the replacement of the seed, to the other it represents his variable capital+surplus value. In this case the money does not flow back between the two of them directly. Yet the seed man must expend the money in order to buy means of subsistence, corn among other things. He pays his workers with the money and expends it as his own income. The money of the farmer's workers flows back to him in part. They belong to the public who enable him to sell his corn as a whole. And so it is with cattle-breeding. One farmer may only fatten up the cattle to sell them as means of

[a] More or less.—*Ed.*

subsistence; but the other may produce breeding cattle, to replace the constant capital of the farmer who fattens for slaughter.

This part—resolving into constant capital—of the product of the productive capitalists who produce constant capital for class I, is just as much the product of the year's labour as every other part of the product, i.e. it is only reproduced by passing through the labour process. But its *value* is the result of past labour, labour of the previous year, etc. And as such value it buys back the part of the product which is required for its reproduction. The more developed capitalist production is, the more, consequently, the result of past labour enters as *agens* into production, the greater is this part of the product, which falls to the share of production and never leaves that sphere. And the greater the value component of the product which goes to replace the constant part of the constant capital. But the labour is more productive to that degree. This value itself is dependent not on the labour it cost but the labour its reproduction costs. It is therefore on the one hand constantly piled up with the progress of capitalist production, and on the other hand constantly depreciated over shorter or longer periods. Its value only remains constant as long as the mode of production does not alter.

[XVII-1065] We have still to consider the following:

1) Accumulation, specially in respect of money.
2) *The simultaneity* of the movements.
3) *The gold and silver producer.*
4) The whole movement of *mercantile capital.*

First of all, as far as concerns 4), MERCANTILE CAPITAL, we have already elucidated its movement with the example of the SHOPKEEPER who sells means of subsistence to the workers. Put in the place of this MERCHANT A[143] the whole class of these SHOPKEEPERS. Their business is, as before, to sell the producer's commodity to the workers, and to take back from them MONEY WAGES in return. Their capital is replaced *IN MONEY* and their *profit is realised* by the same money as originally existed as variable capital and is then paid to the workers as MONEY REVENUE and in turn paid back by the workers as COIN to the SHOPKEEPER, in order to realise the share of the total product which belongs to the workers in aliquot parts of that product. The MONEY CAPITAL of the SHOPKEEPER himself, in so far as it is not INVESTED IN COSTS OF CIRCULATION, consists of his circulating money capital. If he buys for £200 AT EVERY PERIOD in which he makes a purchase, 100 for credit, 100 from his own pocket, he has advanced £100 of the money capital constantly present in circulation. If this £200 turns over 40 times he successively buys

commodities of a value of £8,000 with it. It changes nothing in the situation that a SHOPKEEPER from this sphere A buys from 50 different producers, and 50 SHOPKEEPERS from this sphere in their turn buy from 1 producer. Just as little is anything changed by the fact that this SHOPKEEPER consumes his profit in part in his own commodities, and in part buys commodities with it from other SHOPKEEPERS, who in turn buy from him again in accordance with the division of labour, so that the money which realises the profit of this class passes in turn through an intermediate circulation (SPENDING OF REVENUE) among the different agents of this class. What he consumes through purchasing from others realises their profit, and what others consume from him realises his profit. But each of them must thereby buy back from the producer with this money (in which their profit is realised) a part of the commodities, in order to renew this consumption. E.g. if SHOPKEEPER A of this class buys for £100 from producers and receives commodities for £110, in return for which he receives £110 from the workers, he has a profit of 10%. But if he buys for £110 and consumes for £10, he continues to sell to the workers for 100 and receives 110. But the 10 return to the PRODUCER in payment for the commodities consumed by the shopkeeper. He therefore receives the full value of the commodities for 10. If the profit is 10% he receives commodities for £10 $^{1}/_{10}$, but he consumes these. If in contrast he buys with £10 from another SHOP[keeper], B, the latter realises his profit in this transaction, but must return £9 $^{10}/_{11}$ to *his* producer, in order to replace the commodity. And if B buys from A for £10, the same thing is true of him.

Assume that the whole of the product which producer class I (the section *which* produces means of subsistence, and indeed that part of them which is sold to the workers) sells to this SHOPKEEPER class A=£500,000.

Assume that there are 5 WHOLESALE DEALERS who buy this 500,000; but that their capital turns over 5 times. Every fifth of a year they buy 100,000 between them. Each of the 5 buys 20,000 worth. Therewith each buys 100,000 worth over the whole year, thus 500,000 taken together. Assume their profit is 10%. Then the profit on the 20,000 each year=£2,000, and in each $^{1}/_{5}$ of a year=£400.

The capitalist therefore sells *in appearance* to each of the 5 £20,400 worth of commodities every fifth of the year for £20,000. These 5 WHOLESALE DEALERS sell to the SHOPKEEPERS, RETAILERS of class A, in the course of every fifth of a year. Let there be 100 of these retailers. They sell by the day and by the hour, but buy at smaller

intervals from the WHOLESALE DEALERS, perhaps only every fifth of a year or every month. Let the price supplement of these SHOPKEEPERS be 20%, namely 10% profit and 10% to replace their circulation costs (which also have to be deducted for the 5 WHOLESALE dealers; to simplify matters we have not done this). The commodity value 1 WHOLESALE DEALER has in hand=£20,400. And the commodity value 5 have in hand is £102,000 (since this is for $^1/_5$ of a year, over the whole year this=£510,000 worth of commodities). Of this £102,000 each SHOPKEEPER has to buy £1,020. 20 of these shopkeepers correspond to 1 WHOLESALE DEALER, but $^1/_{20}$ of £20,400=£1,020. 10% on this £1,020 makes 102. But let us assume this SHOPKEEPER makes his purchases 10 times a year. He then needs only £510 to buy £1,020 over a fifth of a year.[144]

[XVII-1065a] Assume that the complete wage bill for classes I and II is £550,000. This is therefore the commodity value which the *SHOPKEEPER class A* sells to the workers. For the SHOPKEEPER to gain 10[%] he must have paid $^1/_{11}$ less for £550,000 than is contained therein. This=£50,000. So that he would only have paid £500,000 for the commodity value of £550,000. Only assuming that the SHOPKEEPER turns over his capital 10 times in the year, or renews his purchases 10 times, twice every fifth of a year. Thus he only has to advance a capital of £55,000. And on this there is an annual profit of 10%=£5,500. And this makes £1,100 every $^1/_5$ of a year. Assume there are 100 SHOPKEEPERS; then each of them advances a capital of only £550. And every 5th of a year each of them receives a profit of 11%.[a] But each of them sells to the workers every 5th of a year for £1,100. Over the year this amounts to 5,500 for 1 SHOPKEEPER and 550,000 for the 100 SHOPKEEPERS. On this £1,100 he adds a profit of £11. The commodity therefore costs him only £1,089. And 5,445 annually. And 544,500 for the 100. So that the producer would have sold him commodities of the value of 550,000 for 544,500. But there is further to be deducted the profit the SHOPKEEPER makes on the capital invested in the costs of circulation, the shop, etc., the depreciation of this capital; finally the part of the price supplement which falls to the capital invested in the productive labour of RETAILING: costs and profit. Assume that all of this comes to as much as the profit on the capital constantly circulating in purchases. Hence another £11 every fifth of a year. Thus 11 must be deducted from the £1,089, which brings it to 1,078. But in order to simplify matters let us assume that this second £11 is a price supplement which includes

[a] Thus in the original. It should be "£11".—*Ed.*

the costs (of circulation and production) and profit on the productive part of the capital. £11 per year comes to £55 for each SHOP[keeper], and 5,500 for the 100. We therefore deduct this 5,500, as not contained in the value of the purchased commodity, but added to it by the SHOP[keeper]. There remain *544,500.* This is the *real commodity value* which the SHOP[keepers] buy annually from the producers. There must further be deducted 5,500 for profit. There remain 539,000. The SHOP[keeper] therefore pays 539,000 a year to the producer, and for this he receives a commodity value of 544,500 from him, adding 5,500, partly in circulation costs, partly in production costs (which however include the profit he himself makes as a capitalist producer). So we now have:

*The workers buying* commodities for 550,000 *every year.*

*100* SHOPKEEPERS selling to them every year for 550,000; costs them 539,000 (whereby a value of 5,500 is added by them themselves). And they obtain from the producers a commodity value of 544,500 for the 539,000.

Each of the 100 SHOPKEEPERS sells every year for £5,500, every 10th of a year for £550, and every 5th of a year for £1,100. A value of £11 is deducted from this £1,100, added by the SHOP[keeper]. £1,089 remains (every 5th of a year). This £1,089 costs the shopkeeper *1,078* (every 5th of a year) and over the whole year 5,390, and it costs the 100 SHOPKEEPERS *107,800 every 5th of a year,* over the whole year 539,000. *20* of these fellows therefore buy for *21,560* every 5th of a year, receiving in return a commodity value of 1,089×20=*£21,780.*

[XVIII-1066][145] One more point on the question of interest on interest[60]:

The notion of capital as a self-reproducing entity—BY VIRTUE OF ITS INNATE QUALITY AS A PERENNIAL ANNUALLY GROWING VALUE—led to the wondrous ideas of Dr. Price, which left the fantasies of the alchemists far behind them. Pitt seriously believed in these ideas and made them pillars of his financial wisdom in his laws on the SINKING FUND[146]:

* "Money bearing compound interest increases at first slowly. But, the rate of increase being continually accelerated, it becomes in some time so rapid, as to mock all the powers of imagination. One Penny, put out at our Saviour's birth to 5% compound interest would before this time have increased to a greater sum, than would be contained in a 150 millions of Earths, all solid gold. But if put out to simple interest, it would in the same time, have amounted to no more than 7 sh. 4½d. Our government has hitherto *chosen* to improve money in the *last rather* than the first of those ways" (Richard Price, *An Appeal to the Public, on the Subject of the National Debt,* London, 1772, 2nd ed.* [pp. 18-19]).

(His trick: the government should borrow at simple interest and put out the borrowed money at compound interest.) In his:

*Observations on Reversionary Payments etc.*, London, 1772, he flies still higher:

*"A shilling put out to 6% compound interest at our Saviour's birth would ... have increased to a greater sum than the whole solar system could hold, supposing it a sphere equal in diameter to the diameter of Saturn's orbit"* (l.c., XIII, note). *"A state need never, therefore, be under any difficultics; for, with the *smallest* savings, it may, in as little time as its interest can require, pay off the *largest* debt"* (l.c., [XIII/]XIV, p. 136).

What fine principles emerged from this for the credulous Pitt! Price WAS SIMPLY DAZZLED BY THE ENORMOUS QUANTITIES RESULTING FROM THE GEOMETRICAL PROGRESSION OF NUMBERS. Since he regarded capital as A SELFACTING THING, WITHOUT ANY REGARD TO THE CONDITIONS OF REPRODUCTION OF LABOUR, *merely as a self-increasing number* (just as Malthus regarded MAN in his GEOMETRICAL progression[a]), he could believe he had found the laws of its growth in that formula. The formula: $S=c(1+i)^n$. (In this formula, $S$=the sum of capital and interest to be calculated; $c$=the capital advanced; $i$=the rate of interest (ALIQUOT PART OF 100) and $n$=the number of years during which the process takes place.) In a speech of 1792, proposing to increase the sum of money devoted to the SINKING FUND,[147] Pitt takes Dr. Price's mystification entirely seriously.

"The House of Commons resolved in 1786" (see Lauderdale[148]) "that the *consentement unanime* was that 1 million pounds sterling be raised for the public benefit" (Lauderdale, l.c., p. 175).

According to Price, who was believed by Pitt, nothing was better, of course, than to tax the people in order to "accumulate" the sum of money raised by the tax and thereby to spirit away the STATE DEBT through the mystery of COMPOUND INTEREST. Taxes for "SINKING FUND" or amortisation fund.

"That resolution was soon followed by a law—of which Pitt was the author—which ordained the accumulation of $^1/_4$ million pounds sterling, until the time when the annuities fell due and the fund increased to £4 million per year" [p. 176] (CH. XXXI of the ACT of the 26th Year of the Reign of George III).[b]

In his speech of 1792, in which he proposed increasing the sum devoted to the SINKING FUND, Pitt included machinery, credit, etc., among the reasons for England's commercial pre-eminence. But

"the most extensive and long-lasting reason is *accumulation.* This principle is developed fully and explained adequately in Smith's work alone, that genius, etc. ... This accumulation of capitals operates by reserving at least a part of the annual profit in order to increase the principal sum, which must then be employed in the

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[a] [Th. R. Malthus,] *An Essay on the Principle of Population...*, London, 1798, pp. 25-26.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes partly in German and partly in French.—*Ed.*

same manner in the next year, thereby providing a continuous profit" [pp. 178-79].[a]

Pitt considered Price's interest on interest—COMPOUND INTEREST—calculation, to be identical with *Adam Smith's theory of accumulation.* This is important.

[XVIII-1067] Child, the ancestor of the London banking system, was incidentally an enemy of the "monopoly" of the usurers, in exactly the same sense as Moses and Son in its bulletins declares its opposition to the "monopoly prices" of the small tailors.

We already find with *Josiah Child* (father of the London banking system) (*Traités sur le commerce et sur les avantages qui resultent de la réduction de l'intérêt de l'argent,* by Jos. Child (written in 1669), etc., translated from the English, Amsterdam and Berlin, 1754) that

"£100 at 10% would produce 102,400 pounds sterling in 70 years, if interest is added on the interest"[a] ([p.] 115).

The first notion of ACCUMULATION is that OF HOARDING, just as the first notion of CAPITAL is as MERCANTILE capital. The second notion is that of COMPOUND INTEREST, just as interest-bearing capital, or money lent out at interest, is the second historical form of capital. Political economy SOMETIMES becomes perplexed when the antediluvian expressions of the relations peculiar to capitalist production again assert themselves as expressions of the latter, as with interest on interest for the accumulation OF CAPITAL.

How Price's notion is unthinkingly allowed to slip into the works of modern, and relatively critical, economists is shown e.g. by the following passage from *The Economist*:

*"If there be any cases in England in which land, with all its rights and privileges, has not been bought and sold over and over again"* (and hence, as he very wisely concludes, "has become merely the representative of the money paid for it") *"—which we doubt—we do ... not doubt ... that every sixpence of rent is the *representative of capital,* saved by the landlord and reinvested by the land, in those cases where land has not been sold... *Capital, with compound interest on every portion of capital saved, is so all engrossing,* that *all the wealth in the world from which income is derived* has long ago *become the interest on capital.* Although land be more valuable in some places than in others, all rent is *now* the payment of interest on capital previously invested in the land" (*Economist,* July 19, 1851).*[b]

*The Economist* could say, based on the same incredible notion, *that all the labour that may in myriads of ages be realised, will only represent interest due to capital till now accumulated.* I cite

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[a] Marx quotes partly in German and partly in French.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Economist,* No. 412, July 19, 1851, p. 796.—*Ed.*

the passage merely on account of the incredible notion that accumulation=interest on interest. Otherwise, by the by, and *en passant, The Economist* remarks, l.c., *that the community as such

"as a corporate body ... claims the land (as common property), and never gives up that claim".*

He who expends capital in the purchase of land

*"does in fact forfeit and give up to the community some of the advantages which belong to property *strictly and exclusively personal*" (l.c.).

Finally there is the following rubbish from the "romantic" Müller:

"Dr. Price's colossal increase in compound interest, or the self-accelerating forces of the human being, presupposes an undivided, unbroken, and uniform order over many centuries, if it is to bring about these incalculable effects. As soon as the capital is divided, cut up, into a number of separate branches, growing on their own account, the whole process of the accumulation of forces begins again. Nature has divided the progression of force into a series of courses of roughly 20 to 25 years, which are allotted to each *individual worker* on an average. After this period of time has expired, the worker leaves his course and must now transfer the capital gained through the compound interest of labour to a new worker; for the most part he must divide it among several workers or children. They have first to animate and learn to employ the capital which falls to them, before they can draw from it actual compound interest. An immense amount of capital gained by civil society is, even in the most dynamic communities, piled up gradually, over long years, and is not employed in the direct extension of labour, being rather transferred to another individual, a worker, a bank, the state, under the name of a *loan*, as soon as a considerable sum has been brought together. The recipient then sets the capital really into motion, and accordingly draws *from it compound interest*, and [XVIII-1068] can easily pledge himself to pay the giver simple interest. Finally the law of consumption, greed, waste reacts against that immense progression in which the forces of man and their product would tend to increase, if the law of production or frugality alone were to hold sway" (A. Müller, *Die Elemente der Staatskunst*, Berlin, 1809, Part III, [pp.] 147-49).

It would be impossible within a few lines to jumble together more hair-raising and self-contradictory nonsense. We do not mention the ludicrous confusion of worker and capitalist, of value of labour capacity and interest on capital, etc.—let us just mention the assertion that the decline in compound interest is due, among other things, to the fact that capital is "lent out", whereupon it "*then*" brings "compound interest". The extraordinary shallowness of this "profundity" or RATHER "stupidity", this for example:

"In determining the *price* of things *time* is not an issue; in determining interest it is time which chiefly comes into consideration" (l.c., [pp.] 137-38).

Müller is speaking here of *circulation time*. Since he *sees* circulation time as determining in the case of *interest*, but *does not see* this in the case of the price of the commodity, the profundity

consists in holding fast to the *semblance* and reasoning forth on this basis. The same fellow tells us:

"Urban production is bound to the cycle of days; rural production in contrast to the cycle of years" (l.c., [p.] 178).

By "urban production" he means manufacture in contrast to agriculture. Agriculture which is not run in the capitalist fashion—and this is what he refers to—is of course bound to the annual cycle. Large-scale manufacturing on the other hand (IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE FIXED CAPITAL EMPLOYED) is bound to the cycle of 12 to 15, in some branches of the transport industry (railways, etc.) 20 years. Our Müller's procedure is characteristic of Romanticism in all its manifestations. Its content consists of the most vulgar everyday prejudices, trivialities created from superficial appearances. This false and trivial content then has to be "heightened" and made poetical by a mystificatory mode of expression.

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[XVIII-1068] Assume that there are 5 *WHOLESALE DEALERS* for the 100 SHOPKEEPERS. They have therefore to sell to the shopkeepers every year 544,500 worth of value, and in $^1/_5$ of a year 108,900 worth of commodity value. For which they, however, only receive a payment of 107,800 from the SHOPKEEPERS.

Each of the 5 WHOLESALE DEALERS has in $^1/_5$ of a year to sell to 20 RETAILERS. I.e. each has to sell a commodity value of £21,780, for which he receives 21,560 in money. But for this 21,560 each WHOLESALE dealer must *d'abord* receive from the PRODUCER a commodity value of £21,780. Indeed, he must receive more than this, since he also has to make his profit. Assume that his capital circulates 5 times in the year. All 5 buy over the year from the PRODUCER for 539,000. But they do this with a capital of 107,800. 10% on this makes £10,780 over the year. And over a fifth of a year this makes *£2,156.* The profit for each of the 5 WHOLESALE DEALERS every $^1/_5$ of a year is therefore £431 $^1/_5$. Each of the WHOLESALE DEALERS therefore buys from the capitalist every $^1/_5$ of a year commodities to the value of £21,780 for £21,560 money minus £431 $^1/_5$. He therefore pays £21,128 $^4/_5$ for the commodities, or 5 pay 105,644 every $^1/_5$ of a year, and 528,220 over the whole year. The producer therefore has in fact to provide a commodity value of 544,500 for 528,220—if we disregard the value addition made by the RETAILER—the difference thus does not come even to 3$^1/_2$% of the commodity value provided by the capitalist.

The only thing of importance here is that the interposition of the WHOLESALERS in no way alters the circuit, described above,

between the *épicier*, the producer and the worker; except that here the workers are not only workers of class I, who produce means of subsistence for the WORKMEN. The RETAILER [XVIII-1069] does not put in his pocket the whole of the reduction in the price at which the PRODUCER sells him the commodity; instead this reduction is divided between WHOLESALER and RETAILER. In other words, what is divided is the part of the surplus value which amounts to MERCANTILE PROFIT. Instead of the MONEY WAGES PAID BY ONE CAPITALIST TO HIS OWN WORKMEN [being] RETURNED TO HIM BY THE SHOPKEEPER (but now for the re-purchase not only of wages in commodities, but of the profit of the SHOPKEEPER) the MONEY WAGES of all WORKMEN of classes I and II flow back to the producers of class I through the SHOPKEEPER and the WHOLESALERS (in the re-purchase of the commodities falling to the share of the workers+the realisation in commodities of the profit of the WHOLESALERS and RETAILERS). With part of this reflux the producers of class I replace in money their variable capital, and with the other part they buy constant capital from class II, who with this money again obtain the MONEY fund from which they pay wages.

The situation for shopkeepers and wholesalers B, who sell means of subsistence to the owners and consumers of the SURPLUS, is the same as for SHOPKEEPERS and WHOLESALERS A.

We saw that the product of the producers of class I, however many of them there might be, was collected in 5 WHOLESALE reservoirs, and then divided into 100 RETAIL reservoirs, then entered PIECEMEAL, by the day and by the hour, into the circulation between RETAILER and CONSUMER. With the REFLUX of the money, on the other hand, no such constantly increasing subdivision takes place as with the circulation of the commodity. On the contrary. The workers' money is concentrated in the 100 RETAILERS, then collected into 5 reservoirs at the WHOLESALERS, and is only re-divided once it returns to the individual producers.

In the case of the circulation of the commodity there is a mere TRANSFER from PRODUCER to WHOLESALER, from WHOLESALER to RETAILER, and it is the last who sells it definitively. Similarly in the reverse direction, with the REFLUX, TRANSFER, of the money which flows back to the capitalist (REFLUX of capital, when he sells on credit, but REFLUX of MONEY and indeed as means of purchase or REFLUX of the *MONEY FORM* of his capital when he sells for CASH) from the RETAILER to the WHOLESALER, from the WHOLESALER to the producer.

The situation is entirely the same with the MERCHANTS who mediate the purchase and sale of constant capital, i.e. buy and sell for industrial consumption. Here too the profit derives from the

fact that they buy the commodity below its value and sell it at its value, thus receiving their share in its surplus value. This circulation in itself has no particular significance. E.g. the WHOLESALER buys yarn from the spinner, sells it to the weaver, or buys flax from the FARMER and sells it to the linen yarn manufacturer. In fact it is the weaver who pays the spinner. The circulation of these particular mercantile capitals, through their constant sale of a particular commodity, conceals the real movement, the real connection. Everything e.g. which appears in the circulation between flax producer, MERCHANT and spinner is nothing but a constant buying by the spinner from the flax producer. Every individual act of the reproduction process thus appears divided and in an independent shape.

We now come to *accumulation.*

//But first still one more point. It is very important in estimating the GENERAL SURPLUS VALUE to include *mercantile profit,* because a part of the SURPLUS VALUE is concealed here and appears to arise out of a *specific sphere of production.*//

*But now back to p. 1065, Notebook XVII, 1) and 3) (accumulation and the gold producer).*[a] We have in the reproduction process

1) *the class of producers* who *produce means of subsistence,* the elements into which the variable capital and the part of the product produced as surplus value and expended as income are resolved,

2) *the class of producers* who produce *the constant capital* for the first class. This consists in the final analysis of the classes which provide the latter with elements of constant capital, hence raw materials, seeds (whether corn or breeding cattle. In the animal kingdom the seed is the cattle itself, in the vegetable kingdom it is the actual seeds), and produce the machines, containers and tools (we see even in agriculture how seed production, whether in the animal or the plant kingdom, can split away from production for consumption as an independent sphere of production).

[XVIII-1070] A house can of course serve as constant capital or enter into individual consumption, or both at once. Coal, wood, a horse, a wagon, a mass of small instruments and containers enter as *constant parts* of consumption, as tools of consumption. This makes no difference. In so far as the producers sell to individual consumers they belong to class I, in so far as they sell to producers, to class II. In one category things apply to them which pertain to that category; in the other, things which pertain to the other.

[a] See this volume, p. 219.—*Ed.*

Alongside these classes the producer of the commodities which function as money, the producer of the precious metals, forms a category *sui generis*.[a] For the sake of simplification, we only speak of the gold producer as the producer of the material of money. For the sake of simplification (since the countries which produce the precious metals have peculiar characteristics which are irrelevant to this general investigation) we place the gold producers in the middle of the country of capitalist production itself.

Incidentally, we have excluded foreign trade for the same reason [149]; exporter and importer are themselves merely categories of WHOLESALE DEALERS. The exporter exports means of subsistence which enter in finished form into consumption: in this case he belongs to the WHOLESALE DEALERS, who do nothing in the reproduction process but mediate the TRANSFER to the RETAILERS of the product, which then flows directly into the sphere of consumption. Or he exports raw materials, semi-manufactures, instrumental materials, machines, instruments of labour. In this case he mediates the exchange between the producers themselves. In the one case it is *C—M*, in the other case *M—C*, the conversion of commodity capital into money, or of money capital into commodities. There is therefore no essential difference between these and the two main categories of WHOLESALE DEALERS. But the importer is the same as the exporter. The exporter of one country is the importer for the other one, and the importer of one country is the exporter for another one. There are of course exporters and importers in one single country, e.g. England. But the exporter imports into other countries, and the importer exports out of other countries.

Gold enters as raw material and *matière instrumentale* into a series of luxury products. In so far as the gold producer sells his gold to the producers of these articles, he belongs to class II, which sells and produces the elements of constant capital.

Every part of the product equally contains a portion of surplus value. Every individual commodity or portion of a commodity considered in itself. (Nevertheless, our distinction also appears in practice. If 2 thirds of the product consist of costs, $^1/_3$ of SURPLUS, and the capitalist only sold $^1/_3$, he would only have replaced his variable capital; if he sold $^2/_3$ he would have replaced his variable and constant capital, and would have realised no profit, although every part of the commodity, and every individual commodity,

[a] In its own right.— *Ed.*

would have been equally sold at its production price, hence would have realised a part of the SURPLUS VALUE.) The gold producer realises just as much profit on this part as on every other part; because unpaid labour is contained in the gold and he realises this *pro rata*. But only formally. For he receives no other commodity. But instead converts the gold from the form of bars into the money form, which he could also do by sending it to the mint. (There is of course a difference for him between places where it is coined free of charge, as in England, and where *seigneuriage* is charged as in France.) It emerges clearly in his case that the surplus value arises not from circulation but from production, because in production it already possesses the form in which it is capable of circulation. But this circulation between the gold producer and the gold consuming producer is important on account of one point. In this TRADE the gold producer withdraws money from circulation instead of throwing it in; for the gold that he throws in does not enter into circulation as money but as an element of production.

Therefore in a country where gold mines, etc., are located, we find AVERAGE productive consumption of gold, just as of all other commodities which form the object or the *matière instrumentale* of other commodities. If in this case this consumption were so large as to cover the wages [of the workers] of the gold producer and his profit (hence the part he spends as income) two things could be said:

1) The whole of this part of the annual gold production does not enter circulation as money; it neither enters as CURRENCY into the circulation between RETAILER and INDIVIDUAL CONSUMER (COIN) nor does it enter as money capital into the TRANSACTIONS between the productive consumers. //The difference between coin and money exists here in SO FAR as the money capital is paid out to the worker in coin, because it has to circulate in the circulation between RETAILER and DEFINITIVE CONSUMER; whereas in the spheres in which it moves between the productive consumers, i.e. the productive capitalists, it does not enter into this circulation, serves chiefly as means of payment and in their hands ceases to represent capital, which is what it does do in the HANDS of the DEFINITIVE CONSUMERS. The simultaneity and parallel course of the different successive phases of circulation, which at the same time represent opposite phases for different capitals, brings about the difference between the kinds of money, in which capital circulates on the one hand and income on the other. The transition from one kind of money to the other is mediated through exchange.//

[XVIII-1071] 2) There takes place here a REFLUX of money (from circulation) to the gold producer, and this REFLUX repeats itself. If e.g. the gold CONSUMER (GOLDSMITH, etc.) pays him 4 times a year, or buys from him every quarter, here in the case we have supposed this is money flowing from circulation itself for the payment of wages. The gold producer would only need to have in reserve in coin the expression of wages for a quarter of a year, since the same amount flows back to him again from circulation every quarter. The GOLDSMITH, etc., in contrast, replaces his money capital, which he laid out in the purchase of gold, with the money which comes from the SPENDERS OF REVENUE, to whom the gold producer would himself in part belong. If this consumption of gold amounted to a sufficiently considerable part, it would provide for the gold producer not only the money for wages, but also for the income PART (what is SPENT as income) OF THE PRODUCER'S PROFIT (RENT). Here it must be borne in mind that the gold producer, like every other capitalist, needs ONLY AN ALIQUOT PART, AND A RELATIVELY SMALL PART, of the YEARLY MONEY EXPRESSION of the WAGES, in order to pay them, and that in spending his own income he also only needs A MUCH SMALLER MONEY EXPRESSION OF ITS YEARLY VALUE, since the same money flows back and performs the service anew.

Assume that the GOLD PRODUCER has to pay his workers £12,000 annually. This makes £1,000 a month, and say £240 a week, if 50 weeks are worked in the year. Assume that this producer advances the money weekly at the beginning of the first quarter, and, since it does not flow back to him, for the whole of the quarter. At the end of the quarter he makes a sale for £3,000 (if the year=50 weeks, the quarter=12 $^1/_2$ weeks and the week=£240). To the goldsmith, etc. In the second quarter, therefore, he no longer has to increase the CURRENCY by a further £3,000, but instead he retains this £3,000 in his own possession or with his BANKER, and allows £240 of it to flow back into circulation every week. There is no doubt that this would be the case in an industrial country. Only a small part of the product would be necessary, and this would be sold to the productive consumers of gold so that in this way there would be a constant reflux of the wage from circulation. For this part of the gold producer's capital, therefore, and, depending on the circumstances, also for the MONETARY EXPRESSION OF HIS REVENUE, he adds nothing to circulation, in so far as its movement is between INDIVIDUAL CONSUMERS and PRODUCERS. This circumstance is entirely overlooked by Ricardo in a hypothesis he bases on the assumption that the gold mine is to be found in the country of capitalist production itself, e.g. England.[150]

A money REFLUX would take place for this part of the gold producer's product, because he sells the gold as a commodity, does not buy with it, does not spend it as money.

//Within capitalist production *cost price*[151] never=value. *Production price* can=value, if the coincidence occurs that 1) the capital which gives the commodity its final form, and 2) the capital which provides the machine and the raw material, both have the AVERAGE ORGANIC COMPOSITION. Just as the production prices of the commodities which form the *variable* capital may always vary in their value, the *amount* of these commodities, which forms the wage, always=the labour time (ON AN AVERAGE) the worker needs to reproduce this amount,=the value of the labour capacity for which the variable part of the capital is exchanged. This part, whatever its price,=its value. It is therefore sufficient for the other two parts—surplus value and constant capital—to possess the AVERAGE COMPOSITION, for the production price of the commodity to be equal to its value.//

In what follows, therefore, we entirely leave *à part* the part of the gold which enters as raw material into the production of other commodities, hence into the constant capital of other spheres of production.

As far as concerns the position of the gold producer for gold production (THUS CIRCUMSCRIBED), this is *sui generis*. The product, the commodity he has produced, cannot enter as an element either into the constant or into the variable capital of other spheres of production, and it therefore does not enter into the real reproduction process as considered above. Nor does it enter into his own constant or variable capital. Just as little does it enter into the category of commodities in which income IS IMMEDIATELY SPENT. On the other hand, however, this commodity directly possesses the form in which it can enter into the world market as money, just as it can be converted into national money through a merely technical transformation. It may function directly as money, i.e. buy. The converted form of the commodity is its primitive form. And it therefore also directly possesses the absolute form of circulating capital, the form of money capital.

The gold producer can therefore buy directly, without having to sell. HIS COMMODITY IS IMMEDIATELY CONVERTIBLE INTO EVERY OTHER COMMODITY, WITHOUT ANY REGARD *to its relation to the productive conditions of existence of the commodities* for which it [XVIII-1072] is exchanged; the commodities it buys.

We have transferred the gold producer to a country of capitalist production. What applies to every other sphere of capitalist

production applies to this one: it can only absorb its proportional part of capital and labour, if the rate of profit is not to fall below the AVERAGE PROFIT. In other spheres of production, where surplus value can be resolved into profit and rent, a relative oversupply of the sphere with capital would initially affect rent alone; the turn of profit would come when the relative oversupply of the sphere with capital and labour persisted, even after profit had swallowed up the rent. Assume that the capital invested in gold production yielded 30%, 10 PROFIT and 20 rent. If a given amount more of capital and labour were applied to this sphere, and correspondingly more withdrawn from the other spheres, the means of subsistence and the constant capital of the gold producer (i.e. the machines, etc., he must buy) would rise for instance from 100 to 120. This 120 would as before express numerically the same physical amount of means of production, i.e. the same amount of labour, and the same ratio as previously of machinery, etc., to this given amount of labour. The product would be as before 130, whether the capital laid out=100, 110, or 120. If we take the last figure, not only would the rent have disappeared, but also nearly 20% of the profit. For $120:10=100:8\,^1/_3$. Thus the rent of 20 would have vanished and the profit would have fallen from 10 to $8\,^1/_3$%. The capital and labour employed in gold production therefore stands in a certain proportion to the amount of capital employed in all other spheres of production, or is brought back to this through the equalisation of the rate of profit.

The producer of the gold can buy what he wants with it (i.e. what commodities he finds on the market); hence means of subsistence on the one hand; instruments of production on the other. He can consume, in this form, the part of his gold product which represents surplus value (profit, rent), IN FACT HOARD WITH A VIEW TO CONVERT IT AT A LATER PERIOD EITHER INTO REVENUE OR INTO CAPITAL. In so far as he does this, the gold producer accumulates a part of his product in natural form, just as the peasant or the machine manufacturer does.

As regards the part he exchanged for means of subsistence or instruments of production, the part of the product sold to him by the producers of those commodities now exists entirely in gold, i.e. in a form in which the reproduction process of their commodities cannot be renewed. If they are to reproduce at the same level, the same part of their product (assuming that NO CHANGE has occurred in the value of the ingredients of their production) must be converted back into raw materials, machinery, etc. For example, those who sell the means of subsistence, i.e. commodities in their

final form, the form in which they enter into individual consumption, cannot use gold either as a raw material (semi-manufactured material), or as a *matière instrumentale* (for this has already been withdrawn for GOLDSMITHS, etc.), or to replace their means of production. It is implied, furthermore, that the circulation is already sufficiently FULL TO REPLACE BY ITS FLUX AND REFLUX ALL VARIABLE CAPITAL IN THE FORM OF MONEY, etc.; similarly the part of the circulating capital which must circulate as money capital. From the means of subsistence this class has sold to the gold producer, and IN RETURN for which it now possesses gold, it can accumulate in gold the surplus value contained in these commodities; it can hold onto the gold as the form of the surplus value; it can store up, preserve, retain this surplus value in the form of gold. But it must replace the raw material, machinery (it is assumed that the production of gold for luxury consumption replaces the CURRENCY for the gold PRODUCER, without his having to throw other money into circulation to achieve this; but the part of the commodity that he consumes—and, apart from this, the part of the labour that is contained in the commodity consumed by him—must be replaced by its producers through the purchase of new labour[43]); for we assume that the previous circulation was sufficient to pay out the variable capital in money. The producer of the means of subsistence therefore buys with the part of the gold which he has obtained—the part he keeps as the direct form of his surplus value (profit)—semi-manufactured material, *matières instrumentales,* MACHINERY, etc. The producers of these commodities are all in the same position. Each one can only retain a portion of the gold=a part of his profit or surplus value in general. With the other part he replaces the raw material, etc. For this last part of the gold, which comes to the original producer, they sell their whole commodity, *pro toto,* with deduction of exchanges between the original producers, and they cannot again split up this part into a PART consisting OF SURPLUS VALUE and a PART consisting OF PRODUCTIVE CAPITAL. For them this gold therefore represents nothing but the part of their surplus value accumulated in gold. And the commodities they thus sell indirectly to the gold producer constitute a part of the part of their product in which surplus value is realised.

We have observed the course of events where the gold producer buys means of subsistence. THE SAME CASE AS FAR AS HE BUYS INSTRUMENTS OF PRODUCTION AND *matières instrumentales.* [XVIII-1073] Hence the whole annual product of the gold producer //we are deliberately leaving foreign trade out of the picture here// can be resolved into

the expression of surplus value in gold; it is a part of the SURPLUS LABOUR of the WHOLE SOCIETY which is directly incarnated in gold, converted into gold. For the gold producer, as for any other capitalist, his total product consists of 1) a part which reproduces the constant capital; 2) a part which replaces the variable capital; and 3) a third part which represents the SURPLUS VALUE. But in relation to the whole society it is merely the incarnation of SURPLUS VALUE and SURPLUS LABOUR. To the extent that this SURPLUS VALUE comes into consideration, the gold producer is distinguished from the others only in that for him it is a form emerging directly from the process of production, whereas for the others it is mediated through exchange, through circulation. The other producers—whether of means of subsistence or of constant capital—exchange, out of the part of their product which represents surplus value, a part for the gold of the gold producer; they thus replace his capital for him and he gives them the commodity in which they realise a part of their surplus value. The relation of the gold producer to classes I and II is therefore exactly the same as the relation of classes I and II to each other. That is, the whole of his annual product can be resolved into income, i.e. it is exchanged for a part of the means of subsistence and means of production which represent income for their producers, i.e. *realisation* OF *SURPLUS LABOUR*. Just as class I realised a part of its *SURPLUS VALUE* in its own products, so also can the gold producer. But he can realise only a part. He must consume a part of his SURPLUS VALUE. The others, in contrast, must *not* consume a part of their SURPLUS VALUE, if they want to possess it in the form of gold. Therefore, in so far as this form of replacement comes into consideration, the exchange between the gold producer and the other classes does not represent a new phenomenon. But it is a new phenomenon in so far as a part of the SURPLUS VALUE is here directly converted into the material of money and thereby the simple reproduction process assumes the special feature that the valorisation of the commodity presents itself directly as accumulation of gold, hence as accumulation of latent money capital.

If we leave aside the form of capitalist production, it is clear that the producers must exchange a part of their products with each other, in part for individual consumption, in part for productive consumption. This part (and it forms BY FAR THE GREATEST PART OF THEIR PRODUCE) can ON AN AVERAGE be regarded as given, particularly in static conditions, such as were normal *before* the capitalist mode of production. They can only exchange the *SURPLUS* with the product of the gold or silver producer. And in fact their *hoards* are formed

in this manner, and in general the basis is laid for the circulation of metallic money. The situation that only this *surplus* can be converted into gold remains the same in capitalist production.

In so far as the gold producer and the other producers now convert their [surplus] into capital anew as money (in addition to the money otherwise circulating amongst them), the question is not specific. The same conditions are needed as are required in general for the conversion of money into capital.

So far, therefore, we merely have this: The accumulation of money—as identical with new gold production—requires that a part of the surplus labour of the country should be invested in the production of gold.

But now let us pose the question in a different form, in which the production of new gold is entirely left on one side. It is known that during a considerable period of time, roughly from 1808 to 1830, the newly added gold and silver were exactly sufficient to replace the abrasion, etc., the WEAR AND TEAR, of the money capital of Europe. The capitalist accumulation process must also be considered in itself—precisely with regard to money—without bringing in the production of gold and silver at all.

The question that concerns us here is not the same as the one considered previously, in dealing with reproduction: how surplus value existing as money, or RATHER the part of the surplus value which is not consumed, can be converted back into *productive capital.* The question is rather how, and UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS, a part of the surplus value, INSTEAD OF BEING SPENT, MAY BE ACCUMULATED AS *MONEY,* AND THIS WITHOUT ANY REGARD TO THE EXCHANGE WITH THE GOLD OR SILVER PRODUCING CAPITALIST?

Let us consider the different classes:

class I, which produces means of subsistence;

class II, which produces the constant capital for those means of subsistence and the constant capital for this constant capital;

class III, THE MERCANTILE AND MONIED CAPITAL, WHO ONLY INTERMEDIATE THE MOVEMENTS AMONGST THE TWO FIRST CLASSES.

[XVIII-1074] On class I. This class has to replace its constant and variable capital. It replaces the latter through its own products, it buys the former through exchange for its products.

As regards the surplus value, class I must itself *consume* a part of it; but its whole product, * surplus value as well as capital, exists in the form of commodities destined for immediate consumption, or destined, at least, to fall into the funds of consumption, and, thereby, to be got rid of in the sphere of circulation. It must be sold, before any part of it exists in the form of money; and the

sale of it means its being bought for consumption.* This is what the part of the product which represents SURPLUS VALUE has in common with the part which represents capital. *If, therefore, that class need only consume part of its surplus produce itself, the whole surplus produce must be consumed—and, therefore, sold to consumers. If not, it will encumber their warehouses in the form of not consumed and unvendible commodities.*

According to our presupposition, class I exchanges with class II only the part of its product which represents its constant capital, hence NO PART OF REVENUE. When dealing with this question, therefore, the exchange with this class must *be left out of consideration altogether, as far as class I is concerned. We are thrown back upon [class I] itself.

Within class I itself, the exchange with the workmen must be also eliminated. The workmen of class II are already included in the exchange of class I with II, which exchange, we say, is to be eliminated. Their own workmen only pay them back in money the value of the capital paid out to them in commodities. This exchange has nothing at all to do with the *realisation* of the surplus value, but only with the variable capital advanced.

We are then forced to consider the parties of class I itself, which *share in the surplus value produced in it,* and who by their exchanges return to the producing capitalist the monetary value partly of his capital advanced, partly of his profit. Neither the exchange with class II, nor the payment of the variable capital within class I, has anything to do with the question thus put.*

We have seen how a part of the capital can accumulate as money capital, in SO FAR as not only the part of income which the gold producer consumes *in natura,* but the part of his product (gold) which he must give *in natura* in exchange, in order to replace his capital (leaving aside the part of this product that he sells as raw material to other branches of production), both constitute a part of the income of the other producers, a part which is retained directly in the shape of gold, is initially HOARDED gold, and can then function as money capital in reality, i.e. enter directly into the accumulation process of capital.

The question we now pose is this: Leaving aside this part of the SURPLUS VALUE, which is accumulated through exchange with the gold producer in the shape of gold, how is it possible at all for productive capital initially to pocket as gold a part of its income, instead of spending it, and then to accumulate this part as money capital?

The capitalist has laid out £100. His commodity=110. In our

presentation so far, where the surplus value of 10 BEYOND THE CAPITAL BECOMES MONETISED, we assumed that the income was entirely eaten up; SO THAT IN FACT THE MONEY SPENT IN THE CONSUMPTION OF THE REVENUE monetises the surplus value, PAYS IT BACK. But if the capitalist (and *EACH* CAPITALIST, for the matter must be conceived in a general way; as a process *of* capital, NOT OF ONE SINGLE CAPITALIST AT THE EXPENSE OF OTHERS, so that e.g. the sale by one capitalist of 110, of which he only SPENDS 105, is not explained by saying THAT ANOTHER IS UNABLE TO SELL PART OF HIS PRODUCE) replaces 100, SPENDS 5 AND ACCUMULATES 5, HOW IS THIS TO BE MANAGED ON A GENERAL SCALE? THAT IS THE QUESTION TO BE PUT AND TO BE ANSWERED.

Just as a part of the produce of particular spheres of production enters into them again as a condition [of production], this consideration would be important if we were to examine a specific sphere of production of class I. But here it is not important. Let 100 represent the total capital of this class and 10 its total profit. It must consume a part *in natura* (i.e. in the product of this class itself *in natura*). Say 5. The question is thus: under what conditions can this class keep back 5 as money, FIRST conditions for the reconversion of income into capital? The first condition is that it sells for 105. The 100—replacement of the capital—is explained, and therefore does not come into consideration any further here. The question is, to whom are the commodities to the value of £5 sold? They consist of commodities which in part merely enter into the income of the higher classes, in part enter into the consumption of the workers, productive or unproductive.

THE FURTHER ELUCIDATION OF THIS POINT TO BE POSTPONED.

# [XVIII-1075] *MERCANTILE* CAPITAL [CONTINUED]

On the DISTRIBUTION OF CAPITAL AMONG THE DIFFERENT EMPLOYMENTS [152]:

"CAPITAL IS DIRECTED TO DIFFERENT EMPLOYMENTS BY THE *RATE OF PROFITS*. This GENERAL PRINCIPLE is modified by: *1) the difficulties connected with a change of investment; 2) the risk which attends different investments. Risk of losses* determined by the INSURANCE SOCIETIES. But there is also *the risk of success. Should we take into account the many losses sustained by the community of merchants, the number of failures, as well as the instances of uncommon success, it would be found, that the average rate of profit in commerce, does not differ from that of capital, when vested in other branches of production" (S. P. Newman, *Elements of Political Economy*, Andover and New York, 1835, [pp.] 83-85).

"In the existing economical arrangements of society, the very act, which is performed by the merchant, of standing between the producer and consumer, advancing to the former capital and receiving products in return, and then handing over these products to the latter, receiving back capital in return, is a transaction, which both facilitates the economical processes of the community, and adds value to the products in relation to which it is performed"* (l.c., [p.] 174).

"Time is saved for the MANUFACTURER and the CONSUMER by his intervention and money. This *service requires an outlay of capital and labour* and must, **since it adds value to products, for the same products in the hands of consumers are worth more than in the hands of producers**" [p. 175],

//this is *absolutely wrong*. The use value of a commodity is greater IN THE HAND OF THE CONSUMER THAN IN THAT OF THE PRODUCER, because it is only then that it is REALISED at all. *The value in use of the commodity only becomes realised by passing into the sphere of consumption. In the hand of the producer it exists in a latent form only. But I do not pay a commodity twice over, first its value in exchange, and secondly its value in use. By paying its value in exchange, I appropriate its value in use. Its *value in exchange* is not augmented by passing from the producer to the consumer*//,

"*STRICTLY BE CONSIDERED AN ACT OF PRODUCTION*." //This is wrong.// (l.c., [p.] 175.)

"Let us say that trade is useful, but let us not say: trade is productive" (F. Vidal, *De la répartition des richesses etc.*, Paris, 1846, [p.] 198).[a]

A very good work on mercantile capital is: Corbet (Thomas), *An Inquiry into the Causes and Modes of the Wealth of Individuals; or the Principles of Trade and Speculation Explained,* London, 1841.

Corbet does not pretend to give the GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY here. He conceives mercantile capital as something specific, and he describes its specific mode of operation. The connection between mercantile capital and the *GENERAL PRINCIPLES* IS RATHER LOOSELY more hinted at than developed. Yet, this is not the task Corbet sets himself. He leaves it to the GENERAL ECONOMIST. We shall now go through some of Corbet's main points.

* "All trade consists in the *exchange* of things of *different kinds*; and the advantage arises out of this *difference.* To exchange a pound of bread against a pound of bread ... would be attended with no advantage ... hence trade is advantageously contrasted with *gambling, which consists in the mere exchange of money for money*" * (l.c., [p.] 5).

With $C—M—C'$ the ADVANTAGE arises from the difference between $C$ and $C'$, i.e. the use values exchanged. The commodities are only *realised* as use values through this exchange, by passing out of the hand in which they are merely repositories of exchange value into the hand in which they are really use values. Exchange value appears as a mere form for the mediation of this process, and no alteration in the exchange value is IMPLIED IN IT. The whole movement of [XVIII-1076] capital $M—C—M'$, on the other hand, IMPLIES THE QUALITATIVE IDENTITY OF THE EXTREMES $M$ and $M'$. * If no alteration were implied in the *quantity* of the extremes, the operation would be tautological, silly and useless. And in fact, suppose a merchant has bought commodities for £100 and the state of the market forces him to again sell them for £100. It is the same as if he had kept the original £100 in his hands, as far as he is concerned or his £100 are concerned. If he were forced to sell them for less, [which] may happen, the operation implies a positive loss, which can never be its purpose or its aim.* This is the general formula for capital, whether INDUSTRIAL OR MERCANTILE. And whether the trade is in commodities or money. It is always buying in order to sell; hence, if we leave aside the CHANGE IN THE *QUANTITY* OF $M'$, AS COMPARED WITH $M$, * it is the exchange of money for money, of value in exchange for value in exchange. There is no *difference* in the *kinds* of the commodities exchanged. Hence no advantage arising out of that difference.* Thus according to *Corbet*

[a] Marx quotes from Vidal in French.—*Ed.*

every MOVEMENT of capital would be * *gambling*, and the difference between *gambling* properly so called and other kinds of capitalistic gambling would amount to this: In the one case //but this is also the case with all the operations of the monied capital properly so called// the exchange of money for money is concealed by intermediate movements; in the other case it is not. The gambler directly (and he shares this with the capital-lending capitalist, the banker, etc.) puts out money to gain more money or to lose the money put out. The productive capitalist, whether industrial or commercial, first exchanges his money for the commodity, to afterwards exchange the commodity for money. In the one instance the exchange of money for money is undisguised, direct, *sans phrase.* In the other instances it is concealed by intermediate movements, but does always appear as the result of the complex movements.* If Corbet therefore calls GAMBLING GAMBLING because it IS EXCHANGE OF MONEY FOR MONEY, EVERY MOVEMENT OF CAPITAL RESOLVES INTO *GAMBLING*. This is why e.g. *Pinto* regards trade as "*un jeu*".[a] But since this *jeu* would soon have to come to an end if this operation were to continue, if only one side gained, an alternation would have to take place: now one side, now the other, would have to be THE LOSING OR THE WINNING PARTY. This only expresses the contradiction that profit UPON ALIENATION [17] implies loss on one side, and therefore cannot be a continuous, general relation of production. Pinto says:

"Trade is a game; and nothing can be won from beggars. If one won everything from everybody for a long time, it would be necessary to give back the greater part of the profit voluntarily, in order to begin the game again. This devouring trade would destroy itself" (*Traité de la circulation et du crédit,* edit. Pinto, Amsterdam, 1771, p. 231).[b]

And our friend M'Culloch in fact finds himself unable to distinguish in any way at all the principle of speculation, i.e. OF GAMBLING, from that of trade and the movement of capitalism—buying in order to sell. He says:

* "Every transaction in which an individual buys produce in order to sell it again, is, in fact, a speculation"* (*A Dictionary, Practical etc., of Commerce etc.,* London, 1847, [p.] 1056 sqq.).

*Note which is to be made on the division of labour.*

Corbet establishes a very important new principle of the *division of labour* WITHIN THE SAME SPHERE OF PRODUCTION. However, this principle of the division of labour cannot be developed here, where we are speaking OF ITS GENERAL NATURE, because it already presupposes the

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[a] A game.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

real movement of capital.[153] The principle is the equalisation of the prices of commodities, WITHIN A LONGER PERIOD OF YEARS, TO THEIR PRICE OF PRODUCTION. In industry proper it is already the peculiar circulation of fixed capital WHICH FASTENS THE PRODUCER NOT ONLY TO A PECULIAR SPHERE OF PRODUCTION, BUT TO A GIVEN SUBDIVISION OF THAT SPHERE. In trade (WHOLESALE) the same SUBSUMPTION TO A SPECIAL KIND OF TRADE, AND TO A PARTICULAR SUBDIVISION OF THAT KIND, IS PRODUCED by the cycle of equalisation of commodity prices [XVIII-1077], i.e. market prices, which stretches out over a number of years. In general Corbet emphasises very well how the AVERAGE PRICE, which appears AT FIRST VIEW as an abstraction,

1) appears as a principle regulating the division of labour;

2) how in turn particular TRADES—SPHERES OF EMPLOYMENT OF CAPITAL—are formed, which are only founded on *AVERAGES*.[154]

* "The third principle of trade is, to deal always in the *same commodity,* or set of commodities" (p. 12).* "This is in part founded on and *aided *by the necessity of equalising the fluctuation of trade*" (l.c.). "Hence when trade has made its greatest advances, and comes the next to perfection, such *divisions of the professions,* as the Russian merchant, the American, the Dutch merchant, the timber merchant, the fruit merchant, etc." ([p.] 14).

"*Profit,* on the general principle, is *always the same,* whatever be [the] price; keeping its place like an incumbent body on the swelling or sinking tide. As, therefore, prices rise, a tradesman raises prices; as prices fall, a tradesman lowers price, i.e. as they are raised or lowered to him, he raises or lowers them to his customers"* (l.c., [p.] 20).

In this *superficial* and *upside down* form it appears to the TRADESMAN THAT PROFIT DOES NOT RESULT FROM A SURCHARGE OF PRICE, BUT THAT IT FORMS PART AND PARCEL OF THE *VALUE* OF THE COMMODITY. It appears to him rather in the inverted form that "PROFIT" is always A SURCHARGE OVER AND ABOVE THE REAL VALUE OR PRICE OF THE PRODUCE.

The equalisation of profits (along with the AVERAGE story we have just noted) is well presented in the following:

* "Every necessary trade must or does yield profit, and when trade ceases to do so it ceases to be necessary" (l.c., [p.] 22). "One business not more profitable than another" (l.c.). "*One business not more hazardous than another*"* ([p.] 24). "E.g. shipping: With regard to the trade in general, *the freight must compensate or pay for all hazards, and so far as the individual is concerned, they are covered or reduced to nothing by *insurance; a device by which the loss is spread over all,*"*

//it would be just as foolish to say *that this loss *ceases to exist,* because *it is* spread *over all,* as it would be to say that the diminution of profits resulting from the diminishing proportion of variable to constant capital, or from the longer revolutions of fixed capital or the later returns of some sorts of circulating capital, or of any of the circumstances, regulating the equalisation of profits between different spheres of production—and the hazard, the risk

of loss, greater or smaller in different spheres, fully enters into those regulating circumstances—does take away the diminution of the general profit of capital caused by those circumstances//,

"or *the whole trade is made to contribute to the loss of each individual member,* with a fair remuneration for those who take the charge and run the risk of *equalising the business,* i.e. the underwriters"* (l.c.). "It can be assumed THAT ALL THE *SHIPS* BELONGING TO GREAT BRITAIN are lost (by force or through DECAY) *in 17 years*" ([p.] 26). "INSURANCE against loss by fire would seem a very hazardous TRADE, if one compares the SMALLNESS of the PREMIUM RECEIVED with the GREAT SUMS the INSURERS are called upon to pay.... But owing to THE *GREAT EXTENT* OF THE BUSINESS and to the *AVERAGE* which that *extent establishes, it is reduced to a business of very equal tenor, yielding always a fair profit or percentage on capital, and no more; wonderfully exact and uniform indeed considering the extremes to which it is subjected"* ([p.] 27). "When we say that one business is not more profitable than another, *this is to be understood of business in general; and taken along with the fact that each *individual business is at one time more or less profitable,* or pays better or worse than at another. That, indeed, *a variation of profit as well as of price,* to a certain extent, perpetually takes place or is in constant operation in each and all businesses, is beyond question.* It arises out of *adjusting the supply to the demand" ([p.] 33). "*Fluctuations compensate each other*" ([p.] 35). "Fluctuations, ebbs and flows, or oscillations continually happen or are constantly taking place, to a greater or [XVIII-1078] less extent, in each and all businesses"* ([p.] 36).

With regard to *competition*:

"FOR COMPETITION the following general principles apply: THE *MINIMUM OF PRICE OF ANY COMMODITY REGULATES THE MARKET PRICE OF THAT COMMODITY.* Secondly: *IT IS NOT THE MAJORITY, BUT THE MINORITY OF PERSONS,* who regulate competition. Thirdly: **it is capitalists,* i.e. the *greater or chief capitalists, who fix price.* In this manner there is only one company in England for the manufacture of plate glass of any size, viz. the British Plate Glass Company at Ravenhead in Lancashire, all others having been found unable to compete with it; and the great thread manufacturers at Shrewsbury, oblige all other thread manufacturers in the kingdom to do as they do, as all the Ironfounders in Scotland are regulated by and follow steadily in the rear of the great Carron company*" (l.c., pp. 42-44). "*LETTING* e.g. of LANDS AND HOUSES is A CONDITIONAL SALE, OR SALE OF THE *USE OF A THING FOR A LIMITED TIME*" (l.c., p. 81).

*Businesses* ON AVERAGE:

*"The great principle on which all insurance proceeds, whether sea, life, or fire, is average, the spreading of the general loss over the whole insured; or the uncertainty of individual events, and the certainty of general or cumulative.* E.g. *the duration of the life of any one person is very uncertain, but the average duration or term of human life is very certain or well established. So also in sea or fire insurance, the destruction of any individual or particular property is a matter of uncertainty, but the average amount or value of the property destroyed, or that will be destroyed, within a given time, is a thing pretty well ascertained or settled. It follows, therefore, that the less the risks (i.e. each individual risk) in amount, and the greater the number of them undertaken, the more nearly is the business reduced to a perfect average, and the better conducted" (l.c., [pp.] 100-01).

"*Business is at all times overdone*" (p. 115 sqq.). "However great the appetite or desire of the public for any thing, the food administered, the supply furnished,

goes always beyond the demand. Like the Malthusian principle of propagation, the talent in society is always in advance, redundant, superabundant* (e.g. in the writing of newspapers). ...Nowhere is this more conspicuous than in towns. A town is always *OVERBUILT*; THERE BEING ALWAYS MORE HOUSES THAN ARE WANTED, particularly in the OUTSKIRTS OR SUBURBS, where they *never pay, but seem as if built for the public good or the dignity or honour of the place—with but a far distant or prospective view to profit*" ([pp.] 115-17).

An important circumstance in the *circulation* and *reproduction* of capital is this: *Time* passes between the outlay and the RETURN of the capital, EVEN IF IT RETURNS. This interval, in proportion to its size, has a dual impact. *Firstly on the use value.* Time destroys use value absolutely; i.e. *every thing, in a certain period, deteriorates, and is at last corrupted, spoilt and bereft of the qualities which constitute its value in use; some articles sooner, some later. Some must be sold very quickly, not to deteriorate or to be altogether spoiled; some may stand a longer time. All are ruined, more or less, if, beyond a certain time, they do not enter into consumption, or, what is the same, prolong their existence as vendible commodities, instead of being used as values in use. This, then, is the *first risk* a commodity runs, in fact capital runs, by being converted from money into the shape of commodities, whether destined for individual or industrial consumption. Besides, the *conservation* of [XVIII-1079] commodities, so far as they are values in use or articles, requests spending upon them of capital and labour, in some instances less, in others more. Into their *mercantile price,* there can only enter the *average* cost which the conservation of a given article, during the interval that it finds itself upon the market, necessitates. That average cost, for a given article, is determined by the average time it is fixed in this *interval* between production and consumption, or its average *stay* as a commodity upon the market. For *different* articles this cost of conservation is evidently determined, not only by the *average time* they stay upon the market, but also by the average deterioration or cost of preventing that deterioration, according to the nature of different articles, *during the same time.* If the average time is given, the cost of conservation depends for different articles upon their specific qualities as values in use. If the cost, resulting from the different nature of the articles, is given, it exclusively depends upon their different *averages* of return, or the different averages during which they encumber the market, find themselves upon the market in the state of *commodities* (vendible commodities is only a tautology). This then constitutes *one item of the costs of circulation.* But it is evident, that this item, instead of adding to the value of the general production, can in no case be anything but a *deduction*

from it. Suppose, that the average time, during which all articles stay upon the market, be the same; suppose in the second instance, that their deterioration and the costs to counteract it be the same; that, therefore, the *unavoidable dechet*[a] during the identical time of circulation and, moreover, the cost to prevent extra-*dechet* or deterioration, be the same for every sort of produce; then it is clear, that this unavoidable *dechet* on the one part, and the cost of limiting it to its minimum, is a deduction from the value of exchange of the article (at least its *surplus value*), firstly because in a given time so much percentage of the whole production is simply lost, and, secondly, because so much *faux frais de production*[b] are incurred, incurred not in creating surplus value, but in the task of realising it. It would never do to say that the consumer must pay this. But, from what source is he to pay it? His source for paying is *his product*, or the co-property in the product of another person. It is then clear, that his produce has been diminished, and that his costs of production have been augmented. Out of a diminished fund of production and of increased costs of production, he is positively unable to compensate another producer for the same loss incurred by that other producer. It is, therefore, clear, that as far as this item enters into price, it does not change the relation of prices of commodities, so far as the *ratio of those costs of circulation* is identical for them, and that, so far as it changes the relation of prices, and even of profits, this can only constitute a compensation for the greater loss incurred by particular branches of business, which exceptional loss, inherent to the nature of the business, is spread, by the equalisation of profits, over the whole sphere of employment of capital.*

[XVIII-1080] *The second effect of time* (disregarding the general effect of the RETURN, TO ENABLE THE PRODUCER TO ENTER UPON REPRODUCTION) within the circulation process * affects not the *value in use* (and the value in exchange only secondarily, so far as it *exists* only in the value of use), but the *value* of *exchange* directly, without any regard to the changes the article itself, or the value in use of a commodity, may incur during its intermediate stay between production and consumption, or during its sojourn on the market. We shall not speak here of the changes in the market price of commodities, since we always are reasoning here upon the

[a] Wear and tear.— *Ed.*
[b] Overhead costs of production.— *Ed.*

supposition that commodities are selling at a price corresponding to their real values.

But the real value of commodities changes during a certain interval of time, and the greater the time, the larger the field, the opportunity for such changes of value. We do not take into consideration the mercantile capital. Although it has bought the article beneath its value, the value of the article may fall before it sells it, and in this case the difference between buying and selling price may either diminish, altogether vanish, or even the selling price may fall beneath the buying price according to an intermediate change having taken place in the value of the article.

But, as said, it is not worth while to consider here the mercantile capital in particular.

The process of circulation of the capital dissolves into two parts, epochs or phases—first, the conversion of commodity into money, and, secondly, the reconversion of money into commodities, viz. those commodities which constitute the ingredients entering into the production or formation of the first commodity; productive ingredients, as we shall call them for abbreviation's sake. Now we shall inquire how far any *variation or change in value* may affect price and profit; any variation taking place in one or the other of these two phases. We shall commence with the latter, the reconversion of money into the productive ingredience.

Be the commodity produced cotton twist. The twist has been sold, converted into money, the surplus value contained in its price has been realised, and it is now about being reconverted into its productive ingredients.

It must be converted into cotton, and *matières instrumentales*, such as coal, soap, tallow, etc. It must, furthermore, be converted into labour, by paying anew wages out of the funds realised. The value of cotton, like all other raw produce, depends, independently of the will of man, or the capital expended, on the seasons. The same quantity of labour may, according to the favour of the season, as far as the old cotton fields are concerned, or to the fertility of the soil, as far as new fields for the production of cotton have been broken up, yield very different quantities of cotton. Consequently, the *same quantity* of cotton, say a cwt or a lb, may represent very different values. Suppose now that the value of cotton had risen, either because of bad weather, or because the additional demand for cotton was supplied from less fertile soils. In this case, to replace that part of his capital, which must replace cotton, the spinner has to make a greater outlay of the money realised. [XVIII-1081] This enhancement in the value of cotton

may absorb or surpass the whole profit made in the first revolution of his capital. Then the price of labour may rise, because the value of necessary. He must again pay [the] greater part of his return, to replace that part of his capital which resolves into wages. If both these circumstances occur at the same time, it is probable that, even if he employs the whole money return—capital and profit—he will be unable // without recurrence to loan, not falling under our consideration now // to recommence his operations on the same scale of production. At all events, he will be unable to do so with *the same amount of capital* originally advanced. His operation may be a losing one, if we contemplate not one, but both consecutive revolutions of his capital. Suppose that, during the first turn, he advanced £100 and had returned to him 120. Suppose that in the second turn, the outlay for a less quantity of constant capital having augmented, and ditto the variable capital having risen in value, but diminished in quantity (the quantity of labour employed), so that his profits were only 5 p.c. He has won 5 p.c. or $5^{15}/_{21}$ in the second revolution. But he has advanced £120, not only the capital but the profit of the first revolution. Thus he has lost £$14^{6}/_{21}$; because this part of his profit realised in the first turn has vanished. In both cases he has realised surplus value; but part of the surplus value realised in the first turn has been lost in the second. In the second turn, considered for itself, he has lost, because he had £100 capital and 20 profit, and has now 120 capital and only $5^{15}/_{21}$ profit. It is evident that his average profit must be determined by the *equalisation* of these fluctuations during the different turns. Hence he must stay to the same business, to get the *average rate* of *profit.*

There may also take place a *change of value* in the ingredients of his fixed capital. If coal, or iron, would have risen in value, the *dechet* may be impossible to be replaced at the same price, at which it originally entered into the process of production. The cost of its replacement may be higher than its original cost value amounted to. Besides, apart from this part of the fixed capital—the *dechet* of the last year to be replaced—the value of the whole machinery, instruments, etc., may have sunk by a fall in its cost of reproduction, or by a fall in its *new* value. In fact, if the *dechet* costs more to replace, the unconsumed part of the machinery will also rise in value; if the value of the whole machinery sinks, the cost of replacing its *dechet* will also sink.

We come now to* *C—M,* *the *phasis* during which the produce circulates, waiting to be changed into money. We do not speak of any fall or rise of market price originating from changes in the

relative forces of demand and supply. Because we suppose prices=values. If in the preceding example the price of *x* lbs twist=£120 (including cost=£100, of which say £80 for raw material, i.e. *cotton*+£20 surplus value), and if the value of cotton fell suddenly, from an extraordinary harvest, by 60 p.c., then the cotton worked up in the twist floating upon the market would sink as well as the cotton in its raw state. Hence the price of the *x* lbs would be reduced from £120 to £88 (the cotton contained in it sinking from £80 to 48). The spinner would have incurred a positive loss of £12, although he had realised a profit of £20, or a profit of [XVIII-1082] 20 p.c. which, in fact, may be a surplus value of 50 p.c. and more. But it would for him be the same as if he had bought *x* lbs [of] cotton for £80 in order to sell them for 48. If there was not the surplus value sold in his twist, his return would be only=48+20=£68. Consequently of £20 more than it is now in consequence of the surplus value realised. In fact, if cotton continued on the same low scale of price, the manufacturer, in the new turn of reproduction, might lay out only £48 in cotton, £20 for the other expenses, and continue on the same scale of production. And he might act with the £20 profit as before. (In regard to the capital laid out, the rate of profit would even have risen.) But on a full or an approximate return of the former cotton prices, he would not possess sufficient capital for a reproduction on the old scale. If he had debts to pay (interest for instance for £100 borrowed or bills of exchange on the suppliers of the old cotton, coal, etc.) he might be bankrupt. And, at all events, the *monetary value of his capital* would have depreciated, although no depreciation would have taken place in the *value of money*—£88 would at all events represent a smaller capital than would 100 (120 with the profit) before. The effect would be, of course, the reverse, if the price of cotton, etc., had risen instead of having fallen.*

Such a CHANGE OF VALUE directly depreciates the capital (productive), IF THE CHANGE HAPPENS DURING THE FIRST phasis *C—M*; IT CRIPPLES REPRODUCTION AND DIMINISHES PROFIT, IF IT OCCURS DURING THE SECOND PHASE—: *M—C*.

But since the capital is always in both phases simultaneously—(newly invested capital, OR ADDITIONAL CAPITAL, IS, OF COURSE, ONLY AFFECTED BY THE CHANGES OF VALUE WORKING ON *M—C*)—, A CHANGE OF VALUE will thus WORK IN A CONTRARY DIRECTION UPON THE PART OF THE CAPITAL CIRCULATING AS CAPITAL (in *C—M*) and *the part of the capital reconverted from the form of money into that of the productive ingredients. For instance, if the value of cotton falls, the twists and cottons upon

the market will be depreciated, but the capital of the spinner, etc., reconverted into cotton will yield higher profits than before and may enable him to enlarge his scale of production. (It will of course damage him, if he possesses great provisions of raw cotton, before the change of value took place. This will be depreciated like the cotton already worked up in twist, etc., and still more immediately.) On the other hand, if the value of cotton rises, the price (hence the profit, since the cost remains the same) of the circulating twist, etc., in short of all goods into which cotton has entered, will rise, and so the capital returned far exceed the capital advanced (the same will be the case with productive capital already invested in cotton=provisions) while the capital *to be* reconverted into cotton* ($M$—$C$) *will yield lower profit and may necessitate either a contraction of production (should wages not have fallen simultaneously) or the employment of additional capital, to yield the same quantity of produce and to absorb the same quantity, as before, of surplus labour. It is only with overstocked markets (be it that the markets are overstocked with yarns, goods, etc., be it that large accumulations of cotton of the former harvest still encumber the warehouses of the merchant or fill those of the manufacturer) that a fall in the price of cotton (or any other productive ingredient) can harm the productive capitalist to any degree. But an enhancement in the value of cotton, etc., will always check reproduction to a high degree, while only with markets overstocked can it bring him any profit.*

AT ALL EVENTS, these RISKS, arising out of the *change of value in the productive ingredients of commodities, and, therefore, affecting commodities in the interval between production and sale, or between their monetary form and their reconversion into the productive elements,* can never enter into the *costs of circulation* [XVIII-1083], THAT IS TO SAY, SUCH COSTS OF CIRCULATION AS ARE COMPENSATED FOR IN THE PRICE OF THE PRODUCE. It is clear so far that the *AVERAGE* RISKS FROM SUCH CHANGES OF VALUE as are common to all spheres of production CAN GIVE NO TITLE OF COMPENSATION FOR ANY PECULIAR SPHERE OF PRODUCTION. SECONDLY, the commodities which ARE EXCEPTIONALLY EXPOSED TO SUCH SUDDEN FLUCTUATIONS OF VALUE (e.g. all those into which the annual produce of the earth enters, as opposed to those into which a specific mining product enters) *if they incur the risk of extraordinary losses, run the chance of extraordinary gains. And thus this becomes equalised.*

The contemporary COTTON crisis resulting from the American Civil War[155] has demonstrated both of these things. On the one hand, the greatest misery in the MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS and a

standstill OF THE MILLS ON THE LARGEST SCALE. On the other hand, since the markets have since 1860 been oversupplied, an increase in the prices of the YARNS and GOODS available on the market, and therefore a rise in profits for the manufacturers to whom these GOODS belong. But particularly for those who possessed a STOCK OF COTTON, and are speculating with it in Liverpool.

Now back to Corbet.

*"Time produces a *difference of price.* Now the principles of trade suppose a constant selling with one hand as a buying takes place with the other, so as that a person *shall never have any stock on hand on which time can operate or produce an effect.* * This is never literally the case, even with a GROCER, much less with a CLOTHIER. THE EFFECT OF A RISE OR FALL OF PRICE HERE APPLIES especially *TO THE MANUFACTURER,* with whom, in many cases, a considerable time often elapses between the time when he buys the raw material and that at which he is *able to bring it to market worked up and finished ... while all must be affected to the extent of their stock on hand when they come out of business, according to the difference of price at that period as compared with what it was when they went in" ([p.] 121). "With regard to the profit of the shopkeeper, or the value of the labour laid out on a raw material by a manufacturer, if in either case a person can replace his stock at a price by as much less as the amount of that profit or the value of such labour, he is secure and safe whatever other difference may exist between the price of the commodity when purchased and when sold.* E.g. *shall he produce £100 worth of goods, if he sell them for £85 and replace his stock or raw material at £80, or sell them only for £80 and replace his stock or raw materials at £75, in either case he comes out of the transaction with a clear gain, profit or return on capital or stock of 5%; and he can never be placed in any better situation by an advance of price, because if in that case he has much to receive, he has as much to pay when he returns to the market. It will thus be seen *that the profit on stock has nothing to do with, and is altogether distinct from the rise or fall of price"* ([p.] 121).

But in any case his capital is depreciated. Incidentally, it is only correct to say that he then always makes a profit of £5, but it is wrong to say that he always makes a profit of 5%. 5 on 100=5%; 5 on 80=$6^1/_4$% and 5 on 75=$6^2/_3$%. If in consequence of the VARIATION OF VALUE there is a fall in THE VALUE OF CAPITAL, the *rate of profit* will rise, provided that the AMOUNT OF PROFIT remains the same; if the VALUE OF CAPITAL rises in the given manner, the *rate of profit* will fall, provided that THE AMOUNT OF PROFIT REMAINS THE SAME. This point is purely formal with the MERCHANT, who always adds e.g. 5%, *whatever the price of the commodity. The same does not hold true with the producing capitalist. The *rate of profit* must rise with him in the one case, and fall in the other, in as much as he sells the same surplus labour as before.*

*It is clear* from the above that it is necessary to *distinguish between *one revolution of capital,* and the set of revolutions or repeated number of revolutions which a capital describes in an *economic cycle of reproduction.** If we consider ONE SINGLE REVOLUTION, the profit=the *ratio of the surplus to the capital advanced. And

if he sells his commodity under cost price, it is a clear loss. Here we have in fact only the difference between the buying price (or what is the same to the producing capitalist, the cost price) and the selling price (or production price): the difference between the value of the capital originally advanced, and the value to which the capital worked up into the commodity is sold. However, the thing is different, if we consider not only one productive [XVIII-1084] revolution, but the process of continual reproduction during an economic cycle encompassing several years.* Just as important here, *not only for the profit realised, but for the value of the original capital to be [re]placed, [is] the concatenation of, or the ratio between, the different single revolutions; in one word the difference between the original value of the capital at the beginning of a turn and its *replacing value* at the second turn and so forth. For instance, if the capital=100, and profit=10 at the end of the first turn, and the *replacing value* at the beginning of the second turn=110, profit=0. And the reproduction would be commenced under worse circumstances; since only the same mass of surplus labour would be absorbed, although the capital advanced would have been augmented. The cost price would have increased, and the rate of profit decreased. These fluctuations are equalised in the whole cycle (even if the capital be depreciated finally, it will be made up by profit) which comprises a set of turns.*

*"The fall of prices, however, acts as a great discouragement to trade; because although the capitalist does not in effect, at least considered as a *merchant*, lose by it, he seems to do so, and the noncapitalist is *ruined*. Thus, supposing a person without capital to have purchased £100 worth of goods, and to have given his bill for that amount, if he is obliged to sell them for £80, or can sell them for no more, he is minus £20, and so cannot meet the demands on him, and is obliged to stop. As is commonly the case, the first bill of a person in such circumstances will be paid by selling below prime cost, and so may the second; but it is obvious that such an expedient must soon tell, and bring matters to a crisis.* The NON-CAPITALIST is always EXPOSED to this *fatality, and his situation very much resembles a time bargain between gamblers in the stocks; with this distinction that he wants the funds necessary to pay his differences when the day of settlement arrives, if the same shall be against him" ([p.] 122).

"Should we admit that the value of manufactured goods is affected by an *alteration in the value of the raw material*, some, particularly woollen goods, vary considerably, and consequently a person may gain or lose by having a stock of such on hand* ... for the essence of speculation lies after all in the **raw material*, without seeming to do so, and would be properly carried into effect only in the coarser or plainer sorts, standing clear of fashion and the expense of manufacture as much as possible" ([p.] 128 sqq).

"*Accumulation of stocks* or *non-exchange* ... overproduction" ([p.] 104).

"A bushel of grain or a yard of cloth has, properly considered, no *progressive value*; is fixed and unalterable in its nature; and can be affected only by an

alteration in other things, which may be either for or against according to circumstances" ([p.] 204).

"... *time bargains* in the funds ... this is branded with the name of gambling; because *the one seems to lose exactly what the other gains*... And gambling it certainly is" ([pp.] 207-08).

"With regard to the latter"* (the morality of this gambling with FUNDS) *"indeed, we can see nothing in them different from what takes place in *all speculation, which*, so far as it goes upon the difference of price between one time and another, futurity and contingency, *may equally come under the denomination of gambling*; and in point of fact, there are bargains for commodities which proceed upon the stipulation of delivery at a future period or the payment of a difference in lieu of it"* ([p.] 209).

# [5) THEORIES OF SURPLUS VALUE[156]]

## I) PROLETARIAN OPPOSITION ON THE BASIS OF RICARDO

### 4) THOMAS HODGSKIN, *POPULAR POLITICAL ECONOMY. FOUR LECTURES DELIVERED AT THE LONDON MECHANICS' INSTITUTION*, LONDON, 1827[157]

*"Easy labour is only *transmitted skill*"* ([p.] 48).

"As all the advantages derived from the division of labour *naturally centre in and belong to the labourers, if they are deprived of them,* and in the *progress of society* those only are enriched *by their improved skill who never labour—this must arise from unjust appropriation; from usurpation and plunder in the party enriched,* and from *consenting submission in the party impoverished"* ([pp.] 108-09).

[XVIII-1085] "The labourers, to be sure, multiply too rapidly when *that multiplication is only compared with the want of the capitalist for their services" (l.c. [p.] 120). "Malthus points out the effects which an increase in the *number of labourers* has in lessening the share which each one receives of the annual produce—the portion of that *distributed* amongst them being a definite and determinate quantity not regulated in any degree by what they annually create" (l.c.).

"Labour, the exclusive standard of value,* but *labour, the creator of all wealth [is] *no commodity*"* (l.c., [p.] 186).

Regarding the influence of money on the expansion of wealth, Hodgskin remarks correctly:

*"As a man can dispose of small portions of produce that is corruptible, for what is incorruptible, he is under no temptation to throw it away; and thus the use of money adds to wealth, by preventing waste"* ([p.] 197).

The chief advantage of RETAIL TRADE derives from the fact that the QUANTITY in which commodities are best produced is not that in which they are best distributed (l.c. [p. 146]).

*"Both the theory relative to capital, and the practice of stopping labour at that point where it can produce, in addition to the subsistence of the labourer, a profit for the capitalist, seem opposed to the natural laws which regulate production"* ([p.] 238).

With regard to the *accumulation of capital,* Hodgskin advances roughly the same ideas as those contained in his first book.[158] Nevertheless—for the sake of completeness—we will reproduce the main passages.

"If one considers for example fixed capital, the most favourable position for the IDEA OF CAPITAL AIDING PRODUCTION, 3 CLASSES of circumstances are to be distinguished under which [the results of] accumulation of capital are very DIFFERENT. 1) When MADE AND USED BY THE SAME PERSONS. It is obvious that EVERY ACCUMULATION IN HIS POSSESSION OF THE INSTRUMENTS HE MAKES AND USES, FACILITATES HIS LABOUR. *The limit to such an ACCUMULATION is the POWER of the LABOURER TO MAKE AND USE THE INSTRUMENTS IN QUESTION.* 2) WHEN MADE AND USED BY DIFFERENT PERSONS, WHO SHARE BETWEEN THEM IN JUST PROPORTION THE PRODUCE OF THEIR COMBINED LABOUR. Capital may be made by one labourer and used by another; *they divide the commodity in proportion as each has contributed by his labour to produce it... I should rather express this fact, however, by saying that a part of the society employed in making instruments, while another part uses them, is *a branch of division of labour* which aids productive power and adds to the general wealth. As long as the produce of the two classes of labourers is divided between them, the accumulation and increase of such instruments as they can make and use, is as beneficial as if they were made and used by one person"* ([*Labour Defended...*, London, 1825, pp.] 243-44). "3) When *owned by a class of persons who neither make nor use it" [p. 243]. "The capitalist being the mere *owner* of the instruments, is not, as such, a labourer. He in no manner assists production"* [pp. 244-45].

//In other words, production *is assisted by the *instrument*, but not by the title A holds to the instrument; not by the circumstance that the instrument is owned by a non-labourer.*//

*"He acquires possession *of the produce of one labourer, which he makes over to another*, either for a time* as is the case with *most kinds of fixed capital, or for ever, as is the case with wages, whenever he thinks it can be used or consumed for *his* advantage. He never does allow the produce of one labourer, when it comes into his possession, to be either used or consumed by another, unless it is for his benefit. He employs or lends his property *to share the produce*, or natural revenue, *of labourers*; and every *accumulation of such property* in his hands is a *mere extension of his power over the produce of labour*, and retards the progress of national wealth. This [is] at present the case... When the capitalist, being the owner of all the produce, will allow labourers neither to make nor use instruments, unless *he* obtains a profit over and above the subsistence of the labourer, it is plain that bounds are set to productive labour much within what nature prescribes. *In proportion as capital in the hands of a third party is accumulated, so the whole amount of profits required by the capitalist increases*, and so there arises an artificial check to production and population... In the present state of society, the labourers being in no case the owners of capital, *every accumulation of it adds to the amounts of profit demanded from them*, and extinguishes all that labour which would only procure the labourer his comfortable subsistence. ... when it is admitted that labour produces all things, even capital, it *is nonsense to attribute productive power to the instruments labour makes and uses. ...wages facilitate not production*, like instruments. *Labour, not capital, pays all wages...** [XVIII-1086] The greater part of the *ADVANCES of CAPITALISTS* consists of **promises to pay...* The master manufacturer has either money or paper with which he pays wages; those wages his labourers exchange for the produce of other labourers, who will not keep the wages, whether money or paper, and it is returned to the manufacturer, who gives in exchange for it the cloth which his own labourers have made. With it he again pays wages, and the money or paper again goes the same round...*

"The invention and employment of paper money has revealed that CAPITAL is

by no means *SOMETHING SAVED.* As long as the capitalist, to realise his WEALTH, or command over OTHER PEOPLE'S LABOUR, was obliged to have in his possession AN ACTUAL ACCUMULATION OF the PRECIOUS METALS OR COMMODITIES, we might have SUPPOSED that ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL was the result OF AN ACTUAL SAVING, and that on it depended the progress of society. But when paper money and parchment SECURITIES were invented, when the possessor of nothing but SUCH A PIECE OF PARCHMENT RECEIVED AN ANNUAL REVENUE IN PIECES OF PAPER with which he obtained whatever was necessary for his own use and consumption, *and not giving away all the pieces of paper, was richer at the end of the year than at the beginning, or was entitled next year to receive a still greater number of pieces of paper, obtaining a still greater command over the produce of labour,* it became evident that capital was not any thing saved; and that the INDIVIDUAL CAPITALIST did not grow rich by AN ACTUAL AND MATERIAL SAVING, but BY DOING SOMETHING WHICH ENABLED HIM ... TO OBTAIN MORE OF THE PRODUCE OF OTHER PEOPLE'S LABOUR...

"It ascribes TO HIS" (the capitalist's) *"*property* merely, whether he employ it to *pay wages*, or whether it consist in useful instruments, all that vast assistance *which knowledge and skill, when realised in machinery*, give to labour... The united labours of the miner, the smelter, the smith, the engineer, the stoker, and of numberless other persons, and not the lifeless machines, perform whatever is done by steam engines... *By the common mode of speaking, the productive power of this skill is attributed to its visible products*, the instruments, *the mere owners of which*, who neither make nor use them, imagine themselves to be very productive persons" (p. 245 sqq.).*

With regard to his polemic against "*THE DANGER OF FORCING CAPITAL OUT OF THE COUNTRY*" [p. 253], and against the INTEREST OF CAPITAL AS [a] NECESSARY STIMULUS FOR INDUSTRY, or concerning the SAVINGS THEORY, see IX, 47.[159] To be included in the CHAPTER on the vulgar economists.[3]

"As the population increases *both increased production and consumption take place, which is all that is ever meant by the terms accumulation or increase of national wealth*" (l.c., [p.] 257).

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## m) RAMSAY (GEORGE) (OF TRINITY COLLEGE), *AN ESSAY ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH,* EDINBURGH, 1836

With Ramsay we return again to the political economists.

In order to find a place for commercial capital, he calls it "THE TRANSPORT OF COMMODITIES FROM ONE PLACE TO ANOTHER" ([p.] 19). He thus confuses trade with the CARRYING INDUSTRY.

Ramsay's chief contribution:

*First:* That he does in fact make the distinction between *constant and variable capital.* True, this occurs in such a manner that the distinction between fixed and circulating capital which he takes from the circulation process is the only one which he *nominally* retains, but he defines fixed capital in such a way that it includes all the elements of constant capital. He therefore regards as *fixed* capital, not only machinery and instruments, buildings in which labour is carried on or in which the result of labour IS STORED,

draught and breeding animals, but also all raw materials (semi-manufactures, etc.), "THE SEED OF THE AGRICULTURIST AND THE RAW MATERIAL OF THE MANUFACTURER" ([p]p. 22-23). Moreover "MANURE OF ALL KINDS, FENCES FOR AGRICULTURE AND THE FUEL CONSUMED IN MANUFACTURES" (l.c. [p. 23]) are fixed capital.

*"*Circulating capital** consists only *of subsistence* and *other necessaries advanced to the workmen, previous to the completion of the produce of their labour*" (l.c.).

It can be seen therefore that by "CIRCULATING CAPITAL" he understands nothing but [XVIII-1087] the part of capital that can be resolved into wages, and by FIXED CAPITAL, the part that can be resolved into the objective conditions—means and materials of labour. The mistake here, however, is the identification of this division of capital, which is directly derived from the production process, with the distinction which arises from the circulation process. This is due to his adherence to the tradition of political economy.

On the other hand, Ramsay again confuses the purely material element of the fixed capital thus defined with its existence as "capital". Circulating capital (i.e. variable capital) does not enter into the real labour process, but what does enter, is living labour, which is bought with circulating capital, and which replaces it. What enters in addition into the labour process is constant capital, that is, labour objectified in the objective conditions of labour, in the materials and means of labour. Ramsay therefore writes:

*"Fixed capital alone, not circulating, is properly speaking a source of national wealth" ([p.] 23). "Labour and fixed capital are the only elements of expense of production"* ([p.] 28).

What is really expended in the production of a commodity are raw materials, machinery, etc., and the living labour which sets them in motion.

"CIRCULATING" CAPITAL is superfluous, EXTRANEOUS TO THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION.[160]

*"Were we to suppose the labourers not to be paid until the completion of the product, there would be no occasion whatever for circulating capital.* Production would be just as great. This proves that *circulating capital is not an *immediate* agent of production, *not even essential to it at all*, but merely a *convenience rendered necessary by the deplorable poverty of the mass of the people*" ([p.] 24). "The *fixed capital alone constitutes an element of cost of production in a national point of view"* ([p.] 26).

In other words: the labour objectified in the conditions of labour—materials and means of labour—which we call "fixed capital", and the living labour, in short, embodied, objectified

labour and living labour, are necessary conditions of production, elements of the national wealth. On the other hand, it is a mere "convenience" due to the "deplorable poverty of the mass of the people" that the means of subsistence of the workers at all assume the form of "CIRCULATING capital". Labour is a condition of production, but wage labour is not, and neither, therefore, is it necessary that the workers' means of subsistence confront them as "capital", as an "advance by the capitalist". What Ramsay overlooks is that if the means of subsistence of the workers did not confront them as "capital" (as "circulating capital", as he calls it), neither would the objective conditions of labour confront them as "capital", as "fixed capital", as he calls it. Ramsay attempts in earnest, and not merely in words as the other economists do, to reduce capital to "A PORTION OF THE NATIONAL WEALTH, EMPLOYED, OR MEANT TO BE EMPLOYED, IN FAVOURING REPRODUCTION" [p. 21]; he therefore declares wage labour and consequently capital—that is the social form which the means of reproduction assume on the basis of wage labour—to be unimportant and due merely to the poverty of the mass of the people.

Thus we have arrived at the point where political economy itself—on the basis of its analysis—declares the *capitalist form* of production, and consequently *capital*, to be not an absolute, but merely an "accidental", historical condition of production.

Ramsay, however, does not go far enough to draw the correct conclusions from his premisses, from the new definition which he has given to capital in the immediate production process.

Ramsay comes indeed close to the correct definition of surplus value.

*"A circulating capital will always maintain more labour than that formerly bestowed upon itself. Because, could it employ no more than had been previously bestowed upon itself, what advantage could arise to the owner from the use of it as such?"* ([p.] 49). Or will people assert that the **quantity of labour* which any circulating capital will employ is no more than equal *to that previously bestowed* upon it?* This would mean that *the value of the capital expended was equal to that of the product"* ([p.] 52).

This means, therefore, that the capitalist exchanges less objectified labour for more living labour and that this surplus of unpaid living labour constitutes the excess of the value of the product over the value of the capital consumed in its production, in other words, the *surplus VALUE* (profit, etc.). If the amount of labour for which the capitalist pays WAGES=the amount which he receives back from the worker in the product, then the value of the product would be no greater than that of the capital and there would be no profit. Although Ramsay is very close here to the real

origin of surplus value, he is nevertheless too bound up in the tradition of the economists not to begin immediately straying again along false paths. First of all, the way he explains this exchange between variable capital [XVIII-1088] and labour is ambiguous. If he had been quite clear about this, then further misunderstanding would have been impossible. He says:

"Circulating capital, for instance, RAISED BY THE LABOUR OF 100 MEN, will set in motion 150 men. THEREFORE THE PRODUCT AT THE END OF THE YEAR will, in this case, be the result of the labour of 150 men" ([p.] 50).

Under what circumstances can the product of 100 men buy [the labour of] 150 men?

If the wages received by a worker for 12 hours' labour=the value of 12 hours' labour, then only one working day could be bought back with the product of his labour and only 100 [working days] with the product of 100 working days. But if the value of the daily product of his labour=12 labour hours and the value of the daily wage he receives=8 labour hours, then $1^1/_2$ working days or [the labour of] $1^1/_2$ men can be paid for, bought back, for the value of his daily product. And 100 ($1+^1/_2$ men or working days)=100+50=150 men can be employed with the product of 100 working days. Thus, the condition in which the product of 100 men sets 150 in motion is that each of the 100 men and, in general, every worker, spends half as much time working gratis for the capitalist as he works for himself, or that he spends $^1/_3$ of the working day working gratis. Ramsay does not make this clear. The ambiguity appears in the conclusion: "THEREFORE THE PRODUCT AT THE END OF THE YEAR WILL, IN THIS CASE, BE THE RESULT OF THE LABOUR OF 150 MEN." It will indeed be the result OF THE LABOUR OF 150 men in the same way as the product of 100 men was THE RESULT OF THE LABOUR OF 100 men. The ambiguity (and certainly the lack of clarity, *plus ou moins*[a] derived from Malthus) is to be found in this: It appears as if the profit arises merely from the fact that 150 men are now employed instead of 100. Just as if the profit derived from the 150 workers arose from the fact that 225 workers can now be set in motion by the product of the 150 (100:150=150:225) (4:6=6:9). But that is not the point.

The labour which the 100 men supply=$x$, if $x$ is their total working day. The wages they receive [will then equal] $^2/_3x$. Hence the value of their product=$x$, the value of their wages=$x-^1/_3x$, and the surplus value made on them=$^1/_3x$.

If the entire product of the labour of 100 men is again laid out

[a] More or less.—*Ed.*

in wages, then 150 men can be employed with it and their product will be=to the wages of 225 men. The labour time of 100 men is the labour time of 100 men. But the labour they are *paid for* is the product of $66^2/_3$ men, that is, only $^2/_3$ of the value embodied in their product. The ambiguity [arises] because it appears as if the 100 men or the 100 working days (it makes no difference whether they are days calculated over a year or separate days) produce 150 working days—a product embodying the value of 150 working days; while, conversely, the value of 100 working days suffices to *pay for* 150 working days. If the capitalist continues to employ 100 men as he did previously, then his profit remains the same. He will continue to pay the 100 men a product=the labour time of $66^2/_3$ men and pocket the rest as he did before. If, on the other hand, he lays out the whole product of the 100 men in wages once again, then he *accumulates* and appropriates a new amount of SURPLUS LABOUR equal to 50 working days instead of only $33^1/_3$ as he did previously.

It is immediately apparent that Ramsay is not clear on the point, since he once again advances against the determination of value by labour time the otherwise "inexplicable" phenomenon that the *rates of profit* are equal for capitals which exploit different masses of labour.[43]

*"The use of fixed capital modifies to a considerable extent the principle that value depends upon quantity of labour. For some commodities on which the same quantity of labour has been expended, require very different periods before they are fit for consumption. But as during this time the capital brings no return, *in order that the employment in question should not be less lucrative than others* in which the product is sooner ready for use, it is necessary that the commodity, when at last brought to market, *should be increased in value by all the amount of* [*the*] *profit withheld.** This shows how *capital may regulate value independently of labour"* ([p.] 43).

It shows rather that CAPITAL REGULATES AVERAGE PRICES [161] INDEPENDENTLY *OF THE VALUE* OF THE particular PRODUCT and that it exchanges commodities not according to their value, but in such a way that ONE EMPLOYMENT OF CAPITAL ... should not be less [XVIII-1089] PRODUCTIVE THAN OTHERS. Since empty tradition is more powerful in political economy than in any other science, Ramsay does not fail either to reproduce the "wine in the cellar" [162] argument which has been notorious since the time of [James] Mill. And he therefore concludes that "CAPITAL [is] A SOURCE OF VALUE INDEPENDENT OF LABOUR" ([p.] 55), whereas the most he would have been justified in concluding was that THE SURPLUS VALUE REALISED BY CAPITAL IN A PARTICULAR EMPLOYMENT DOES NOT DEPEND UPON THE QUANTITY OF LABOUR EMPLOYED BY THAT PARTICULAR CAPITAL. [XVIII-1090] This false conception of Ramsay's in

this case is all the more surprising since, on the one hand, he grasps the *natural basis,* so to speak, of SURPLUS VALUE, and, on the other hand, he affirms with regard to one instance that the *DISTRIBUTION of SURPLUS VALUE*—its equalisation to the general rate of profit—does not increase the SURPLUS VALUE itself.

"The source of profit is the LAW of the MATERIAL WORLD, whereby the * beneficence of nature, when aided and directed by the labour and skill of men, gives so ample a return to national industry as to leave a *surplus* of products over and above what is absolutely necessary for replacing in kind the fixed capital consumed, and *for perpetuating the race of labourers employed*..."* [p. 205].

("*PERPETUATING* THE RACE OF LABOURERS" [XVIII-1091] is a fine result of capitalist production. Of course, if labour only sufficed to reproduce the conditions of labour and to keep the workers alive, no *SURPLUS* would be possible, HENCE NO PROFIT and NO CAPITAL. But that nature has nothing whatever to do with it and that the RACE OF LABOURERS PERPETUATES itself despite this *SURPLUS* and that the SURPLUS assumes the form of profit and on this BASIS the RACE OF CAPITALISTS "PERPETUATES" itself, has been admitted by Ramsay himself since he declares that "CIRCULATING CAPITAL", by which he means wages, wage labour, is not an ESSENTIAL condition of production, but is due merely to the "DEPLORABLE POVERTY OF THE MASS OF THE POPULATION" [p. 24]. He does not draw the conclusion that it is capitalist production which "PERPETUATES" this "DEPLORABLE POVERTY", although he admits it when he says that it "PERPETUATES THE RACE OF LABOURERS" AND LEAVES THEM ONLY AS MUCH AS IS NECESSARY FOR THAT PERPETUATION. In the sense indicated above it can be said that SURPLUS VALUE, etc., rests on a *natural law,* that is, on THE PRODUCTIVITY OF HUMAN LABOUR in its exchange with nature. But Ramsay himself states that a source of SURPLUS VALUE is the *absolute lengthening of labour time* (p. 102) as well as the increased productivity of labour brought about by industry.)

* "... Let the gross produce be ever so little more than is strictly essential for the above purposes, and the separation of a distinct revenue from the general mass, under the appellation of profit, and belonging to another class of men, becomes possible" ([p.] 205). "*The very existence of the master-capitalists as a distinct class is dependent on the productiveness of industry*"* ([p.] 206).

*Secondly,* with regard to the equalisation of the rate of profit as a result of the rise in prices IN SOME BRANCHES caused by increases in wages, Ramsay observes:

The rise in prices in some branches of industry resulting from increases in wages * "by no means exempted the master-capitalists from suffering in their profits, nor even *at all diminished their total loss,* but only served *to distribute it more generally*[a] *among the different orders composing that body*"* ([p.] 163).

[a] Ramsay has "equally".—*Ed.*

And if the capitalist whose wine is the product of 100 men (Ramsay's example) sells it for the same price as a capitalist whose commodity is the product of 150 men, in order that "THE EMPLOYMENT [of capital] IN QUESTION BE NO LESS LUCRATIVE THAN OTHERS" [p. 43], then it is clear that thereby the SURPLUS VALUE embodied in the wine and in the other commodity is not increased, but only DISTRIBUTED EQUALLY between DIFFERENT ORDERS OF CAPITALISTS [XVIII-1091].

[XVIII-1089] He also brings up again Ricardo's EXCEPTIONS.[163] These latter will have to be discussed in that part of *our* text where we speak of the conversion of VALUE into PRICE OF PRODUCTION.[164] That is, very briefly, as follows. Provided that in the different TRADES the length of the working day (in so far as this is not compensated by the INTENSITY OF LABOUR, the unpleasantness of the work, etc.) is the same, or rather the SURPLUS LABOUR is the same [as well as] the rate of exploitation, the rate of surplus value can change only if wages rise or fall. Such variations in the rate of surplus value=the rise or fall in wages, will affect the production prices of commodities in different ways according to the organic composition of capital. Capital in which the variable part is large compared to the constant part, would acquire more surplus labour as a result of a fall in wages and would appropriate less surplus labour as a result of a rise in wages than capital with a larger proportion of the constant part to the variable part. A rise or fall in wages would therefore have opposite effects on the rate of profit in the two branches or on THE GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT. In order to maintain the general rate of profit, if wages rise, the prices of the first kind of commodities will rise, and those of the second kind will fall. (Either type of capital will of course be *directly* affected by variations in wages only in proportion to the greater or less quantity of living labour it employs in comparison with the total capital expended.) Conversely, if wages fall, the prices of the first kind of commodities will fall and those of the second kind will rise.

Strictly speaking, all this hardly belongs to the discussion of the original conversion of VALUES into production prices and the original establishment of the general rate of profit, since it is much more a question of how a *general rise or fall in wages* will affect production prices regulated by the general rate of profit.

Still less has this problem ANYTHING TO DO WITH THE DIFFERENCE between FIXED AND CIRCULATING CAPITAL. Bankers and merchants employ almost exclusively circulating capital and hardly any variable capital; that is, they lay out relatively small amounts of capital on

living labour. Contrariwise, a mine-owner employs incomparably more fixed capital than a capitalist engaged in tailoring. But it is very questionable whether he employs relatively as much living labour. It is merely because Ricardo advanced this special, relatively insignificant case as the *only instance of a divergence* between production price and VALUE (or, as he incorrectly put it, as an exception to the determination of VALUE by labour time) and presented it in the form of a difference between fixed and circulating capital, that this BLUNDER—and in an incorrect form at that—has survived as an important dogma in all subsequent political economy. (The mine-owner should be counterposed not to the tailor but to the banker and the merchant.)

* "The rise of wages is limited by the productiveness of industry. In other words, ... a man can never receive more for the labour of a day or year than with the aid of all the other sources of wealth, he can produce in the same time... His pay must be less than this, for a portion of the gross produce always goes to replace fixed capital" * (i.e. *constant capital*, raw materials and machinery, etc., according to Ramsay) * "with its profit" * ([p.] 119).

Here Ramsay confuses two things. The amount of "fixed capital" embodied in the daily product is not the product of the day's labour of the worker; in other words, this portion of the *value* of the product represented by a portion of the product *in natura* is not the product of this day's labour. On the other hand, profit is indeed a deduction from the daily product of the worker or from the value of this daily product.

Although Ramsay has not clearly elaborated the nature of surplus value and although in particular he remains firmly rooted in the old prejudices with regard to the relation of VALUE and production price and the conversion of surplus value into AVERAGE PROFIT, he has on the other hand drawn another, correct [XVIII-1090] conclusion from his conception of fixed and circulating capital.

Before coming to this [here is another passage about "value"]:

* "*Value* must be in proportion not merely to the capital truly consumed, but to that also which continues unaltered, viz. to the total capital employed" * ([p.] 74).

By this he means that profit, and therefore also the production price, must be in proportion [to the total capital employed] whereas the VALUE obviously cannot be altered by that part of the capital which does not enter into the value of the product. With the advance of society (i.e. of capitalist production) the fixed portion of capital increases at the expense of the circulating capital, i. e. that laid out in labour.[43] Therefore the demand for labour declines *relatively* as wealth increases or capital is accumu-

lated. In manufacture, the "evils" which the development of the productive power generate for the workers are temporary, but reappear constantly. In agriculture, they are continuous, especially in connection with the conversion of arable land into pasture. The general result is: With the advance of society, i.e. with the development of capital, here with that of national wealth, the condition of the workers is affected less and less by this development, alias, it *worsens* relatively in the same ratio as the general wealth increases, i.e. as capital is accumulated, or, what amounts to the same thing, as the scale of reproduction increases. One can see that it is a far cry from this conclusion to the naive conceptions of Adam Smith or the apologetics of vulgar political economy. For Adam Smith, the accumulation of capital is identical with growing demand for labour, CONTINUAL RISE OF WAGES, and *consequently* with a FALL OF PROFITS. In his time, the demand for labour did in fact grow at least in the same proportion in which capital was accumulated, because manufacture still predominated at that time and large-scale industry was only in its infancy.

"The DEMAND FOR LABOUR depends only" (DIRECTLY, IMMEDIATELY) "upon the AMOUNT OF CIRCULATING CAPITAL" ([pp.] 86-87). (This is tautology on Ramsay's part, since he equates CIRCULATING CAPITAL with capital laid out in wages.) "With the progress of civilisation THE FIXED CAPITAL OF THE COUNTRY IS INCREASED AT THE EXPENSE OF THE CIRCULATING" ([pp.] 88-89). "The DEMAND FOR LABOUR will not therefore GENERALLY increase as CAPITAL AUGMENTS, at least not IN THE SAME PROPORTION" ([p.] 88). "It is not, until, favoured by the NEW INVENTIONS, CIRCULATING CAPITAL SHALL HAVE BECOME INCREASED beyond what it formerly was,"

//here again the wrong assumption creeps in that an INCREASE of necessaries in general and INCREASE of that portion of necessaries intended for the workers are the same thing//

* "that a greater demand for labour will spring up. Demand will then rise, but not in proportion to the accumulation of the general capital. In countries where industry has much advanced, fixed capital comes gradually to bear a greater and greater proportion to circulating. *Every augmentation, therefore, in the national stock destined for reproduction, comes, in the progress of society, to have a less and less influence upon the condition of the labourer*" ([pp.] 90-91). "Every addition to fixed capital is made at the expense of the circulating",* i.e. at the expense of the demand for labour ([p.] 91). * "The evils resulting from the invention of machinery, to the labouring population employed in manufactures, will probably be but temporary, *liable to be perpetually renewed however,* as fresh improvements are constantly making for economising labour" * [p. 91].

And for the following reasons. [*Firstly*:] The CAPITALISTS who USE THE *NEW MACHINERY* obtain EXTRAORDINARY PROFITS; consequently their capacity to save and to increase their capital grows. A portion of this is also used as CIRCULATING CAPITAL. Secondly: The price of the manufactured commodities falls in proportion to the DIMINISHED COST

OF PRODUCTION; thus the CONSUMERS save, and this facilitates the ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL, a portion of which may find ITS WAY TO THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY IN QUESTION. Thirdly: The fall in the price of these products increases the demand for them ([pp.] 92-93).

"Thus though the machinery MAY THROW OUT OF EMPLOYMENT A CONSIDERABLE BODY OF PERSONS, this will yet probably be followed, AFTER A LONGER OR SHORTER PERIOD, by THE RE-ENGAGEMENT OF THE SAME, OR EVEN A GREATER NUMBER OF LABOURERS" ([pp.] 92-93). "In agriculture the case is widely different. The DEMAND FOR RAW PRODUCE cannot increase in that rapid way in which it may for MANUFACTURED GOODS... The most fatal to the COUNTRY PEOPLE is *the conversion of arable land into pasture... Almost all the funds which formerly supported men, are now vested in cattle, sheep, and other elements of fixed capital*" ([p.] 93).

[XVIII-1091] Ramsay remarks correctly:

"* *Wages* as well as *profits* are to be considered each of them as really a *portion of the finished product*, totally distinct in a national point of view from the cost of raising it" ([p.] 142). "Fixed capital ... independent of its results ... is a pure loss...* But, besides this, LABOUR, not WAGES, not WHAT IS PAID FOR IT, is an element of cost of production. LABOUR is a SACRIFICE. *The more of it is expended in one employment, the less for another, and, therefore, when applied to unprofitable undertakings, the nation suffers from the waste of the principal source of wealth...* The *REWARD OF LABOUR* does not constitute an element OF COST" ([pp.] 141-43).

(This is quite right: *labour*, and not *paid* labour or wages, must be considered as an element of value.)

Ramsay describes the *real* reproduction process correctly:

"In what manner is a comparison to be instituted between the product and the *stock expended upon it?... With regard to a whole nation ... it is evident that *all the various elements of the stock expended* must be *reproduced* in some employment or another, otherwise the industry of the country could not go on as formerly. The raw material of manufactures, the implements used in them, as also in agriculture, the extensive machinery engaged in the former, the buildings necessary for fabricating or storing the produce, must all be parts of the total return of a country, as well as of the advances of all its master-capitalists. Therefore, the quantity of the former may be compared with that of the latter, each article being supposed placed as it were beside that of a similiar kind*" ([pp.] 137-39).

"Now as regards the individual capitalist

//this is a false abstraction. The nation does not exist, or exists only as the capitalist class, and the whole class operates in exactly the same way as the individual capitalist. The two methods of approach differ from one another only in that one clings to and isolates use value, the other exchange value//,

"since he does not *replace* his outgoings IN KIND, by far THE GREATER NUMBER must be obtained by EXCHANGE, A CERTAIN PORTION OF THE PRODUCT BEING NECESSARY FOR THIS PURPOSE. Hence each *individual master-capitalist comes to look much more to the exchangeable value of his product than to its quantity" ([pp.] 145-46).

[XVIII-1092] "The more the *value of his product exceeds the value of the capital advanced, the greater will be his* profit. Thus, then, will he estimate it, by comparing

value with value, not quantity with quantity.* This is the first difference TO BE REMARKED IN THE MODE OF RECKONING PROFITS BETWEEN NATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS."

//The nation too—SUPPOSING IT TO BE SOMETHING ELSE THAN THE SUM OF CAPITALISTS—can SO FAR compare value with value: it can calculate the total labour time which it has to expend *to replace the used-up part of its constant capital and the part of the product consumed individually, and the time of labour spent in producing a surplus destined to enlarge the scale of reproduction.*//

"The second is, that, since the MASTER-CAPITALIST always makes an *ADVANCE OF WAGES* to the LABOURERS, *INSTEAD OF PAYING THEM OUT OF THE FINISHED COMMODITY*, HE CONSIDERS THIS AS WELL AS THE FIXED CAPITAL CONSUMED, A PART OF HIS EXPENSES, THOUGH THEY, NATIONALLY SPEAKING, are not AN ELEMENT OF COST."

//This difference too disappears in fact in the process of reproduction as a whole. *The capitalist always pays *out of the finished commodity*, that is to say, out of the commodity finished by the labourer yesterday he pays his wages tomorrow, or in point of fact, he gives him, in the form of wages, only an assignation of products *to be finished in future* or almost *produced* (i.e. finally produced) by the time they are bought.* The *ADVANCE* disappears as a mere illusion in reproduction, i.e. in the CONTINUITY OF THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION.//

"Hence his RATE OF PROFIT will depend *upon the excess in the value of his product over and above the value of the capital, both fixed and circulating*" ([p.] 146).

//This is likewise true IN A "NATIONAL POINT OF VIEW". His profit always depends on what he himself pays for the product, WHETHER FINISHED OR NOT, WHEN HE PAYS WAGES.//

Ramsay has the merit, firstly, that he CONTRADICTS the false NOTION—CURRENT since Adam Smith—OF THE VALUE OF THE WHOLE PRODUCE DISSOLVING INTO REVENUE UNDER DIFFERENT NAMES; secondly, that he determines the rate of profit in two ways, [once] by the RATE of wages, i.e. the rate of surplus value, and a second time, by the value of the constant capital. But he transgresses in the opposite direction to Ricardo. Ricardo arbitrarily seeks to equalise the rate of profit and the rate of surplus value. On the other hand, the twofold determination of the rate of profit—1) by the rate of surplus value (HENCE by THE RATE OF WAGES) and 2) by the ratio of this surplus value to the total capital advanced, that is, IN FACT determined by the ratio of the constant capital to the total capital—is irrationally presented by Ramsay as two parallel circumstances which determine the rate of profit. He does not grasp the transformation which surplus value undergoes before it becomes profit. Whereas therefore Ricardo arbitrarily seeks to reduce the rate of profit to

the rate of surplus value in order to work out the theory of value consistently, Ramsay seeks to reduce surplus value to profit. We shall see later that the way he describes the influence of the VALUE of constant capital on the rate of profit is very inadequate, and even incorrect.

* "Profit must rise or fall exactly as the *proportion* of the gross produce, or of *its value*, required to replace necessary advances, falls or rises...* The rate OF PROFIT, therefore, depends *upon two circumstances: 1) the proportion of the whole produce which goes to the labourers; secondly, the proportion which must be set apart for replacing, *either in kind or by exchange*, the fixed capital"* ([pp.] 147-48).

In other words, therefore, [the rate of profit depends] on the excess of the VALUE of the product over THE SUM OF CIRCULATING AND FIXED CAPITAL; HENCE on the proportion WHICH, FIRSTLY, THE CIRCULATING CAPITAL, AND, SECONDLY, THE FIXED CAPITAL, BEAR TO THE VALUE OF THE WHOLE PRODUCE. If we know where this *SURPLUS* comes from, then the whole matter is very simple. But if we only know that the profit depends on the *ratio* of the *SURPLUS* to these outlays, then we can acquire the most inaccurate NOTIONS about the ORIGIN of this surplus, for example we can, like Ramsay, imagine that it originates in part in fixed (constant) capital.

[XVIII-1093] "It is certain *that an increased facility of raising the various objects which enter into the composition of fixed capital, tends, by diminishing this proportion, to raise the rate of profit, just as in the former case of an augmented return of the elements of circulating capital, which serves to maintain labour"* ([p.] 164).

With regard to the tenant farmer, for example:

*"... be the [amount of gross] return small or great, the quantity of it required for replacing what has been consumed in these different forms, can undergo no alteration whatsoever. This quantity must be considered as *constant, so long as production is carried on on the same scale.* Consequently, the *larger the total return*, the less must be the proportion of the whole which the farmer must set aside for the above purposes"* (l.c., [p.] 166).

"The more easily the FARMER who produces FOOD and RAW MATERIALS such as FLAX, HEMP, WOOD, etc., can reproduce them, [the more] his profit will increase. The FARMER'S PROFIT [increases] as a result of the *INCREASE* IN THE *QUANTITY* OF HIS PRODUCE, *the TOTAL VALUE of which REMAINS THE SAME*, but A SMALLER PROPORTION OF THIS SUM TOTAL, and CONSEQUENTLY OF ITS VALUE, is required FOR RESTORING THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF FIXED CAPITAL, WITH WHICH *THE FARMER CAN SUPPLY HIMSELF*; WHILE THE MANUFACTURER WOULD BENEFIT because HIS product would have a GREATER PURCHASING POWER"([pp.] 166-67).

Let us assume that the harvest=100 qrs and the seed corn=20 qrs, that is, $^1/_5$ of the harvest. Let us assume further that the harvest is doubled the following year (with the expenditure of the same amount of labour) and now=200 qrs. If the scale of production remains the same, then the seed corn=20 qrs as

previously, but this is now only $^1/_{10}$ of the harvest. One has to take into account however that the value of the 100 qrs [previously harvested]=that of the 200 qrs [now obtained], therefore 1 qr of the first harvest=2 of the second. 80 qrs remain over in the first case, 180 in the 2nd. Since wages are irrelevant to the present problem, which concerns the influence that a change in the value of constant capital exerts on the rate of profit, let us assume that the value of wages remains unchanged. Then, if [wages were] 20 qrs in the first case, [they are] 40 in the second. Finally, let us assume that the value of the other ingredients of constant capital which the farmer does not reproduce *in natura*=20 qrs in the first case and therefore 40 in the second.

We now have the following calculation:

1) *The product*=100 qrs. *The seed corn*=20 qrs. *The other elements of constant capital*=20 qrs, *wages*=20 qrs, *profit*=40 qrs.

2) *The product*=200 qrs. *The seed corn*=20 qrs. *The other elements of constant capital*=40 qrs, *wages*=40 qrs and *profit*=100 qrs, [i.e. its value]=50 qrs in the first case. There would therefore be a SURPLUS PROFIT of 10 qrs [in the second case].

Thus not [only] the rate of profit, but also the profit itself would have increased here, as a result of a change in the value of constant capital. Although wages remained the same in both 1) and 2), the ratio of profit to wages, that is, the rate of surplus value, would have risen. But this is only an illusion. The profit would consist firstly of 80 qrs, equal to 40 qrs in case 1), and the ratio to wages would remain the same; secondly, [in case] 2), of 20 qrs, equal only to 10 qrs in case 1), which would have been converted into revenue from constant capital.

But is this calculation correct? We must assume that the result [in case] 2) was due to a harvest which came about although work was carried on in the same conditions as prevailed in [case] 1). In order to clarify the matter, let us assume that 1 qr=£2 in [case] 1).

This means that for the harvest which has yielded him 200 qrs, the farmer has laid out: 20 qrs for seed corn (=£40), 20 qrs for other elements of constant capital (=£40), 20 qrs for wages (=£40). *A total of* £120, and the product=200 qrs. In the first case he likewise laid out only £120 (60 qrs) and the product=100 qrs=£200. The profit remaining was £80, or 40 qrs. Since the 200 qrs [in case 2)] are the product of the same amount of labour [as the 100 qrs in case 1)], then once again they are likewise=only £200. Thus, only £80 profit remains, which is now, however,=140 qrs.[165] Consequently, a qr now [costs the farmer] only £$^4/_7$ and not £1. In other words, the value of a qr has fallen

from [£]2 to [£]$^4/_7$, that is, by $1^3/_7$, and not from 2 to 1, that is, by a half as we assumed above in [case] 2) as opposed to [case] 1).

His total product [in case 2)]=200 qrs=£200. But £120 out of this £200 replaces the 60 qrs which he has expended, each one of which cost him £2. There thus remains a profit of £80 which=the remaining 140 qrs. How does this happen? The qr is now=£1, but each of the 60 qrs expended in production cost £2. They cost the farmer as much as if he had expended 120 of the new qrs. The remaining 140 qrs therefore=£80, or no more than the remaining 40 were worth previously. It is true that he sells each of the 200 qrs for £1 (if he sells his total product) and receives £200 for them. But of the 200 qrs, 120 have cost him £2 each, the remaining qrs therefore only yield him £$^4/_7$ each.

If he now again lays out 20 qrs [for seed] (=£10 [if one reckons 10s. for a qr]), 40 qrs for wages (=£20), and 40 qrs for the other elements of constant capital (=£20), that is, a total of 100 qrs instead of 60 as previously and he harvests 180 qrs, then these 180 have not the same value as did the 100 previously [if one reckons £1 for a qr]. True, he has employed as much living labour as he did previously, and consequently the [XVIII-1094] value of the variable capital has remained the same and so [has the value] of the SURPLUS PRODUCE. But he has laid out less objectified labour, since the 20 qrs, which were=£20 previously, are now worth only 10.

The account will therefore work out as follows:

| *Constant capital* | | *Variable capital* | *Surplus value* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1) 20 qrs seed corn | =£20 | 20 qrs (£20) | 40 qrs (£40) |
| 20 qrs instruments of labour, etc. | =£20 | | |
| 2) 20 qrs [seed corn] | =£10 | | |
| 40 qrs [instruments of labour, etc.] | =£20 | 40 qrs (£20) | 80 qrs (£40) |

In the first case the product comes to 100 qrs=£100.

In the second case the product comes to 180 qrs=£90.

Nevertheless the rate of profit would have risen [despite the fall in the value of the product], for in the first case the return on an outlay of [£] 60 was £40 and in the 2nd it was 40 for an outlay of 50. In the first case it amounted to $66^2/_3$%, in the second to 80%.

Anyhow, the rise in the *rate of profit* is not due to the *value* remaining unchanged, as Ramsay supposes. Since one part of the labour expended, i.e. the part contained in the constant capital (in seeds in this case), has diminished, the value of the product falls if

*production* continues *on the same scale,* just as the value of 100 lbs of twist falls if the cotton it is made of becomes cheaper. But the ratio of variable to constant capital increases (without the *value* of the variable capital increasing). In other words, the ratio of the total capital outlay declines in relation to the SURPLUS. HENCE the rate of profit rises.

If what Ramsay says were correct, if the value remained the same, then the *profit,* the amount of profit, and consequently also the rate of profit, would rise. There can be no question of a rise merely in the rate [of profit].

The question is not however disposed of for the special case. In agriculture this special case takes the following form: A certain amount of seed corn at the *old price of the product* figures in the harvest, this part is incorporated in the harvest *in natura.* The other expenses are defrayed by the sale of the corn at its old price. The old outlay yields a product which is twice as big as before. Thus, in the above-mentioned case, for example, where 20 qrs are used as seed corn (=£40) and the other outlays=40 qrs (=£80), the harvest yields 200 qrs and not, as the previous harvest, 100 qrs (=£200), of which 40 qrs=£80 were profit on a total outlay of 60 qrs=£120. The outlay in connection with this [second] harvest is absolutely the same as it was in the first—60 qrs, the value of which is £120, but instead of a SURPLUS of 40 qrs, the SURPLUS is now 140 qrs. The SURPLUS *in natura* has in this case increased considerably. But because the labour expended is the same in both CASES, the 200 qrs have no greater value than did the 100, that is, £200. In other words [the value of] the qr has fallen from £2 to £1. But since there was a SURPLUS of 140 qrs, it seemed that it had to come to £140, for one qr is worth just as much as any other.

The matter would be simplified if we considered it *d'abord* without regard to the reproduction process, that is, if we assumed that the tenant farmer was withdrawing from the business and selling his whole product. Then he would indeed have to sell 120 qrs to recover his outlay of £120 (to reimburse himself). In this way he would recover the capital advanced. Thus a SURPLUS of 80 qrs would remain, and not of 140, and since these 80 qrs=£40, they are worth in absolute terms as much as the SURPLUS in the first case.

In the course of the *reproduction* process, however, the matter is altered to a certain extent. For the farmer replaces the 20 qrs of seed corn *in natura* out of his own product. [As far as their value is concerned] they are replaced by 40 qrs in the product. But in the reproduction process he only needs to replace them with

20 qrs *in natura*, as was the case previously. The rest of his expenditure [expressed in quarters] increases in the same ratio as the qr is devalued (provided wages do not fall). To replace the remaining portion of constant capital, he now needs 40 qrs and not 20 as previously, and to replace wages he also needs 40 qrs instead of 20. Altogether he must now lay out 100 qrs, compared to 60 previously; but he need not lay out 120, the amount corresponding to the depreciation of the corn, because the 20 qrs [used as seed] which were worth £40, are replaced by 20 [quarters] (since in this context only their use value matters) which are worth [£]20. So evidently he has made a gain [XVIII-1095] of these 20 qrs, now worth £20. His SURPLUS is therefore not £80 but £100, not 80 qrs, but 100. (Expressed in qrs of the old value, not 40 but 50.) This is an unquestionable FACT, and if the market price does not fall as a result of ABUNDANCE, the farmer can sell 20 qrs more at the new value, thus gaining £20. In the course of *reproduction*, moreover, the farmer obtains this SURPLUS of £20 on the same outlay, because labour has become more productive, without the rate of surplus value having risen or the workers having performed more SURPLUS labour than previously or having received a smaller portion of the *reproduced part* of the product (which represents living labour). On the contrary, it is assumed that in the reproduction process the worker receives 40 qrs, whereas he received only 20 previously. This then is a rather peculiar phenomenon. It does not occur without reproduction, but it takes place in connection with it and it takes place [moreover] because the farmer replaces a PART OF HIS ADVANCES *in natura*. Not only the rate of profit could increase in this case, but the amount of profit as well. (With regard to the reproduction process itself, the farmer can either carry on on the old scale, in which case the price of the product will fall if he again obtains as good a harvest, because a portion of the constant capital has cost less, but the rate of profit will rise; or the farmer can increase the scale of production, sow more with the same outlay, and then both the rate of profit and the amount of profit will rise.)

Let us consider the manufacturer. Let us assume that he has laid out £100 in cotton twist and made a profit of [£]20. The product therefore=[£]120. It is assumed that [£]80 out of the outlay of £100 has been paid for cotton. If the price of cotton falls by half, he will now need to spend only 40 on the cotton and £20 on the rest, that is £60 in all (instead of £100); the profit will be [£]20 as previously and the total product will amount to £80 (if he does not increase the scale of his production). £40 thus remains in

his pocket. He can either spend it or invest it as additional capital. If he invests it, he will lay out [an additional] [£]$26^2/_3$ on cotton and $13^1/_3$ on labour, etc., on the new scale. The profit [will amount to] £$13^1/_3$. The total product will now be $60+40+33^1/_3$, or £$133^1/_3$.

Thus it is not the fact that the farmer replaces his seed corn *in natura* which is the key, for the manufacturer buys his cotton and does not replace it out of his own product. What this phenomenon amounts to is this: release of a portion of the capital previously tied up in constant capital, or the conversion of a portion of the capital into revenue. If exactly the same amount of capital is laid out in the reproduction process as previously, then it is the same as if ADDITIONAL CAPITAL HAD BEEN EMPLOYED on the old scale of production. This is therefore a kind of accumulation which arises from the increased productivity of those branches of industry which supply the productive ingredients of capital. However, such a fall in the [price of] raw materials, IF DUE TO THE SEASONS, IS COUNTERACTED BY UNFAVOURABLE SEASONS, IN WHICH THE RAW MATERIALS appreciate. The capital released in this way IN ONE or several SEASONS is, therefore, to a certain extent, reserve capital for the other seasons. For instance, the MANUFACTURER whose [fixed capital] turns over once every 12 years, must arrange things in such a way that he can continue to produce—at least on *the same scale*—throughout the 12 years. One has therefore to take into account that the *PRICES* [of the raw materials] he has *to REPLACE* fluctuate and even themselves out MORE OR LESS over a long period of years.

A rise in prices of the ingredients [of constant capital] has the opposite effect to a fall of the prices. (We are leaving variable capital out of account here, although if wages fall, less variable capital—in terms of value—will need to be laid out, and if they rise, more.) If production is to be continued on the old scale, then a greater outlay of capital is necessary. Therefore, apart from a fall in the rate of profit, extra CAPITAL MUST BE EMPLOYED OR A PART OF the REVENUE MUST BE CONVERTED INTO CAPITAL, although it will not have the effect of ADDITIONAL CAPITAL.

*ACCUMULATION* has taken place in the one case although the value of the capital advanced has remained the same (but its physical elements have been increased). The rate of valorisation increases, and the absolute magnitude of profit increases, because the effect is the same AS IF ADDITIONAL CAPITAL had been advanced on the old scale. *Accumulation* has taken place in the other case in SO FAR AS the value of the capital advanced, i.e. that part of the value of the total output which functions as capital, has increased. But the physical elements have *not* been increased. The rate of profit falls. (The

amount of profit only falls if either a different number of workers is employed or if their wages rise as well.)

This phenomenon of the conversion of capital into revenue should be noted, because it creates the *illusion* that the amount of profit grows (or in the opposite case decreases) independently of the amount of surplus value. We have seen that, under [XVIII-1096] certain circumstances, a PART OF RENT can be explained by this phenomenon.[166]

In the way mentioned above (that is, if the remaining 20 qrs=£20 are not used immediately to extend the scale of production, i.e. if they are not accumulated), a money capital of £20 is set free. This is an example of how *redundant money capital* can be extracted from the reproduction process although the aggregate value of commodities remains the same, namely, by a portion of the capital which existed previously in the form of fixed (constant) capital being converted into money capital.

How little the above phenomenon has to do with the determination of the *rate of profit*, becomes clear if one considers the case of A FARMER (or *manufacturer) who enters business under the new conditions of production. Formerly he wanted a capital of £120 to enter the business, £40 to buy 20 qrs [of] seeds, £40 for other ingredients of constant capital, and £40 to pay wages. And his profit was £80.* 80 on 120=8 on 12=2 on 3,=$66^2/_3$%.

HE NOW HAS TO ADVANCE £20 TO BUY 20 qrs OF SEED, £40 AS previously [to buy the other elements of constant capital], £40 FOR WAGES, SO THAT HIS OUTLAY OF CAPITAL=[£]100. AND profit is 80, that is 80%. THE AMOUNT OF PROFIT HAS REMAINED *THE SAME*, BUT ITS *RATE* HAS INCREASED by 20%. Thus one can see that the fall in the value of SEED (or of the PRICE which has to be paid *to replace* the seed) has in itself nothing to do with the increase in the amount of profit, but implies merely an INCREASE in THE RATE OF PROFIT.

Moreover, the FARMER in the one case—or the MANUFACTURER in the other—will not consider that he has obtained a larger profit, but that a portion of the capital previously tied up in production has been freed. And his view will be based on the following simple calculation. Previously, the capital advanced in production was=[£]120; now it=100, while 20 is now in the hands of the FARMER as free capital, money which can be invested in ANY way he likes. But in either CASE the capital=120 ONLY, its size has therefore not been increased. The fact, however, that $^1/_6$ of the capital has been divested of the form in which it is inseparable from the reproduction process does indeed have the same *effect* as an ADDITIONAL CAPITAL.

Ramsay has not got to the bottom of this matter because he has not at all clearly worked out the relationship between value, surplus value and profit.

Ramsay correctly expounds to what extent machinery, etc., in so FAR AS IT AFFECTS VARIABLE CAPITAL, influences profit and the rate of profit.[167] That is to say, he shows that this influence results from the depreciation of labour capacity, the increase of relative SURPLUS labour or, if the reproduction process is considered as a whole, also the reduction of the PART OF THE GROSS RETURN WHICH GOES TO REPLACE WAGES.

*"An increased or diminished productiveness* of the industry *employed in raising commodities which do not enter into the composition of fixed capital,* can have no influence on the rate of profit, *except by affecting the proportion of the gross amount which goes to maintain labour"* ([p.] 168).

"If the manufacturer has doubled his output as a result of improvements in machinery, the value of his GOODS MUST, in the end, FALL in the same proportion as their quantity has increased."

//It is assumed that in fact, taking the wear and tear of the machinery into account, twice the quantity costs no more than half did previously. Otherwise the VALUE [of the single commodity] falls, *but not *in proportion* to its quantity. Its quantity may double, while its value, the value of the single commodity, like that of the aggregate product, may sink only, instead of from 2:1, from 2:1$^1/_4$, etc.*//

"...and the MANUFACTURER benefits only in so far as he is able to clothe the worker more cheaply so that A SMALLER PROPORTION of the gross RETURN goes to the worker... The farmer too benefits //as a result of the increased industrial productivity// only in so far as a portion of his outlay is expended on CLOTHING for THE LABOURER and he can buy this more cheaply now; that is, in the same way as the MANUFACTURER" ([pp.] 168-69).

A fall [or rise] in the value of the INGREDIENTS of constant capital affects the rate of profit by altering the *ratio of surplus value* to the total capital outlay. A fall (or rise) in wages, on the other hand, [affects the rate of profit] by influencing the *rate of surplus value* directly.

SUPPOSE for example, that, in the above-mentioned case, the price of the seed (assuming the FARMER grows FLAX) remains the same, that is, £40 (20 qrs) and the rest of the constant capital costs £40 (20 qrs), but that wages—that is, wages for *the same* number of workers—fall from £40 to 20 (from 20 qrs to 10). In this case, the total [newly created] *value*, which=the wages+surplus value, remains unchanged. Since the number of workers remains the same, their labour is embodied in a value of 40+80=£120, as it was previously. But from this £120, 20 now goes to the workers

and the surplus value now amounts to 100. //It is assumed that no improvements have taken place which affect THE NUMBER OF LABOURERS EMPLOYED in this BRANCH.// The capital advanced is now 100 instead of 120 just as in the case where the value of the seed fell by half. But the profit is now [£]100, i.e. 100%, whereas in the other case, where the capital advanced was likewise reduced from 120 to 100, it was 80%. And as in that other case [£]20, or $^1/_6$ of the capital, [XVIII-1097] is set free. But in the former case, the surplus value remained unchanged—[£]80—(and since 40 was paid as wages, [the rate of surplus value] was 200%). In the latter case, the surplus value rises to 100 (and, since wages now come to [£]20, [the rate of surplus value increases] to 500%).

In this case, not only has the rate of profit risen but the *profit* itself, because the rate of surplus value has risen and consequently the surplus value itself. This differentiates this CASE from the other, something which Ramsay does not grasp. This always takes place when the increase in profit is not nullified by a corresponding reduction in the rate of profit resulting from a simultaneous CHANGE in the VALUE of constant capital. In the above-mentioned case, for example, the capital laid out is [£]120 and the profit 80, that is, $66^2/_3$%. In the present case, the capital outlay is 100 and the profit 100=100%. If, however, the capital outlay had risen from 100 to 150 as a result of a CHANGE in the price of constant capital, then the profit—which has increased from 80 to 100—would only give a rate of $66^2/_3$%.

[Because] "SUCH COMMODITIES HELP TO MAKE UP NEITHER FIXED CAPITAL NOR CIRCULATING, [it follows that] profit can in no way be affected by any ALTERATION in their PRODUCTIVENESS. *Such are luxuries of all kinds" ([pp.] 169-70).

"Master-capitalists gain by the abundance of luxuries because their profits will command a greater quantity for their private consumption; but the rate of this profit is in no degree affected either by their plenty or scarcity*" ([p.] 171).

*D'abord*, a portion of the LUXURIES can be used as one of the ingredients OF CONSTANT CAPITAL. Grapes, for example, in [the production of] wine, gold in luxury articles, diamonds in glass cutting, etc. But Ramsay excludes this CASE in SO FAR as he says: COMMODITIES which do not ENTER into FIXED CAPITAL. In that case, however, the concluding sentence—"SUCH ARE LUXURIES OF ALL KINDS", is incorrect.

However, productivity in the luxury industries can only increase in the same way as it does in all others—either because natural resources such as the land, mines, etc., from which the RAW MATERIALS for LUXURIES are procured, become more productive, or new, more productive sources are discovered; or again by

application of the division of labour, or, especially, by the use of machinery (or of better tools) and of natural forces. //The improvement of tools and their increasing differentiation belongs to the *division of labour.*// (One should not forget *chemical processes.*)

Let us now assume that the production time for LUXURIES is reduced due to machinery (or chemical processes), that less labour is required to produce them. This cannot have the slightest influence on wages, on the *value* of labour capacity, since these articles do not enter into the consumption of the workers (at least never into that part of their consumption which determines the value of their labour capacity). //It can influence the *market price* of labour, if workers are thrown onto the streets as a result of these developments and the influx onto the labour market is thereby increased.// Increased productivity in the luxury industries, therefore, has no influence on the rate of surplus value nor, consequently, on the rate of profit in so far as this is determined by the rate of surplus value. Nevertheless, it can indeed influence the rate of profit in so far as it affects either the *amount* of surplus value or the ratio of variable capital to constant capital and to the total capital. If, for example, machinery makes it possible to employ 10 workers where 20 were previously employed, then, indeed, the rate of surplus value is not modified in any way. The cheapening of luxury articles does not enable the worker to live more cheaply. He requires the same amount of labour time to reproduce his labour capacity as he did previously.

//In practice, therefore, the manufacturer of luxury articles seeks to depress the wages of labour below its value, [below] its minimum. This he is able to do because of the *relative surplus* POPULATION engendered by increasing productivity in other branches of industry, for example among knitters. Or—as likewise happens in these branches—he seeks to extend the *absolute labour time,* thus, in fact, producing *absolute surplus value.* It is correct, however, that *productivity* in the luxury industries cannot reduce the *value* of labour capacity, it cannot produce any relative SURPLUS value and, in general, cannot produce *that form* of surplus value which results from the *growing productivity* of industry *as such.*//

The amount of surplus value is determined in two ways: by the rate of surplus value, that is, the surplus labour (absolute or relative) of the individual workers; secondly, by the number of workers simultaneously employed. In so far therefore as increasing productivity in the luxury industry reduces the *number of workers* which a certain quantity of capital employs, it reduced the

*amount of surplus value.* HENCE ALL OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES REMAINING THE SAME, [it reduces also] the *rate of profit.* The same thing occurs if the number of workers is reduced, or remains *the same,* but the capital laid out on machinery and raw materials is increased; in other words, [it occurs] wherever there is any DIMINUTION in the ratio of variable capital to the total capital which is not balanced or partially offset by a reduction in wages. But since the rate of profit in this sphere [XVIII-1098] enters into the equalisation process of the general rate of profit just as much as that in any other sphere, increased productivity in the luxury industry would, in the case under consideration, bring about a fall in the general rate of profit.

Conversely: If the increased productivity in the luxury industry was [due to improvements carried out] not in that industry itself, but in those branches of industry which provide it with constant capital, then the rate of profit would rise in the luxury industry.

//*Surplus value* (that is, its size, its quantity, ITS TOTAL AMOUNT) is determined by the rate of surplus value multiplied by the number of workers employed. Certain circumstances may affect both factors simultaneously either in the same direction or in opposite directions, or they may affect only one of the factors. Apart from the absolute lengthening of the working day, increased productivity in the luxury industry can affect only the number [of workers employed]. The inevitable consequence therefore is a reduction in the amount of surplus value and hence in the rate of profit, even if no increase in constant capital takes place. If the constant capital does increase, however, a reduced amount of surplus value is calculated on an increased total capital.//

Ramsay comes closer to a correct understanding of the rate of profit than the others. The SHORTCOMINGS too are therefore more conspicuous in his exposition. He brings out all the factors involved, but he does it one-sidedly and therefore incorrectly.

Ramsay sums up his view of profit in the following passage:

"The rate of profit IN INDIVIDUAL CASES is therefore determined by the following causes: 1) The productiveness of the industry ENGAGED IN RAISING the ARTICLES OF FIRST NECESSITY which are required by the labourer for FOOD, CLOTHING, etc.; 2) the productiveness of the industry employed IN RAISING THE OBJECTS WHICH ENTER INTO THE COMPOSITION OF FIXED CAPITAL; 3) THE RATE OF REAL WAGES."

//Here this must mean the quantity of NECESSARIES, etc., which the worker receives, WHATEVER BE THE price OF THE ARTICLES COMPOSING IT.//

"A VARIATION IN the 1st and 3rd of these *causes acts upon profit by altering the proportion of the gross produce which goes to the labourer: a change in the

*second* affects the same, by modifying the proportion necessary for replacing, *either directly* or *by means of exchange,* the fixed capital consumed in production; for profit is essentially a question of proportion*" ([p.] 172).

He rightly reproaches Ricardo (although Ramsay's own presentation is also inadequate):

"*Ricardo* overlooks the fact that the whole product is not only divided up between WAGES and PROFITS, but that a part of it is also NECESSARY FOR REPLACING FIXED CAPITAL" ([p.] 174, note).

//It can already be noted in the first description of accumulation, i.e. of the conversion OF SURPLUS VALUE INTO CAPITAL, that the entire SURPLUS LABOUR takes the form of *capital* (constant and variable) and of *SURPLUS LABOUR* (profit, interest, rent). For this CONVERSION reveals that SURPLUS LABOUR itself assumes the form of capital and that the unpaid labour of the worker confronts him as the *totality of the objective conditions of labour.* In this form it confronts him as alien property with the result that the capital which is antecedent to his labour, appears to be independent of it. [It appears] as a ready-made value of a given magnitude, whose value the worker merely has to augment. It is never the product of his past labour (nor ANY CIRCUMSTANCES which, *independently of the particular labour process* into which the past labour of his enters, affect or increase its value) which, or the replacement of which, appears as exploitation, but it is always merely the manner and the rate in which his present labour is exploited. As long as the individual capitalist continues to operate on the same scale of production (or on an expanding one), the replacement of capital appears as an operation which does not affect the worker, since, if the conditions of production belonged to the worker, he would likewise have to replace them out of the GROSS PRODUCE in order to continue reproduction on the same scale or on an expanded scale (and the latter too is necessary because of the NATURAL INCREASE OF POPULATION). But this affects the worker in three respects: 1) The perpetuation of the conditions of production as property alien to him, as capital, perpetuates his condition as wage worker and hence his fate of always having to work part of his labour time for a third person for nothing; 2) the extension of these conditions of production, alias accumulation of capital, increases the extent and the size of the classes WHO LIVE UPON HIS SURPLUS LABOUR; it worsens HIS POSITION *RELATIVELY* BY AUGMENTING THE RELATIVE WEALTH OF the capitalist AND HIS CO-PARTNERS, by further increasing his RELATIVE SURPLUS labour through the division of labour, etc., and reduces that part of the GROSS PRODUCE which is used to pay wages; [3] finally, since the conditions of labour confront the individual worker in an ever

more gigantic form and increasingly as social forces, the chance of his taking possession of them himself as is the case in small-scale industry, disappears.//

[XVIII-1099] Ramsay uses the term *GROSS PROFIT* for what I call simply profit. He divides this *GROSS PROFIT* into *NET PROFIT* (interest) and *PROFIT OF ENTERPRISE* (industrial profit).

Ramsay, like Ricardo, takes issue with Adam Smith on the question of the *fall in the GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT.*

Refuting Smith, he writes:

"COMPETITION of the MASTER-CAPITALISTS can indeed LEVEL the profits rising especially high above the level" //this LEVELLING is by no means a sufficient explanation for the formation of a GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT// "but it is wrong to say THAT *THIS ORDINARY LEVEL ITSELF IS LOWERED*" ([pp.] 179-80).[a]

"Were it possible that the price *of every commodity, both raw and fabricated, should fall in consequence of the competition among the producers, yet this could not in any way affect profit. Each master-capitalist would sell his produce for less money, but,* on the other hand, *every article of his expenses, whether belonging to fixed capital or to circulating, would cost him a proportionally smaller sum" ([pp.] 180-81).

*Ditto against Malthus:*

*"The idea of profits being paid by the consumers, is, assuredly, very absurd. Who are the consumers? They must be either landlords, capitalists, masters, labourers, or else people who receive a salary, etc." ([p.] 183).

"The *only competition* which can *affect the general rate of gross profits,* is that between master-capitalists and labourers"* ([p.] 206).

The last sentence expresses the true gist of Ricardo's proposition. The rate of profit can fall independently of the COMPETITION BETWEEN CAPITAL and LABOUR, but *this* is the *only kind of COMPETITION* which can bring about its decrease. Ramsay himself, however, does *not* advance *any* reasons why the general rate of profit has a tendency to fall. The only thing he says—and which is correct—is that the *rate of interest* can fall quite independently of the RATE OF GROSS PROFITS in a given country, namely:

"But were we even to suppose, that CAPITAL WAS NEVER BORROWED WITH ANY VIEW BUT TO PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT, it is possible that interest might vary without ANY CHANGE IN THE RATE OF GROSS PROFITS. For, as A NATION ADVANCES IN THE CAREER OF WEALTH, A CLASS OF MEN SPRINGS UP AND INCREASES more and more, who by the labours" //EXPLOITATION, ROBBERY// "of their ANCESTORS find themselves in the possession of FUNDS sufficiently ample to afford a handsome maintenance from the interest alone. Very many also who during youth and middle age were actively engaged in business, retire in their latter days to live quietly on the interest of the sums they have themselves accumulated. These two classes have a tendency to INCREASE with the increasing riches of the country, FOR THOSE WHO BEGIN WITH A

[a] This is not a quotation but Marx's rendering of the ideas developed by Ramsay.—*Ed.*

TOLERABLE STOCK ARE LIKELY TO MAKE AN INDEPENDENCE SOONER THAN THEY WHO COMMENCE WITH LITTLE. Therefore, in old and rich countries, the AMOUNT of NATIONAL CAPITAL belonging to those who are unwilling to take the trouble of employing it themselves, BEARS A LARGER PROPORTION TO THE WHOLE PRODUCTIVE STOCK OF THE SOCIETY, than IN NEWLY SETTLED AND POOR COUNTRIES. How numerous [is] the CLASS OF RENTIERS IN ENGLAND! AS THE CLASS OF *RENTIERS* INCREASES, SO ALSO DOES THAT OF LENDERS OF CAPITAL, FOR THEY ARE ONE AND THE SAME. For this reason alone, interest must have had a tendency to fall in old countries" ([p.] 201 sqq.).

Ramsay says about the *RATE OF NET PROFIT* (interest) that it

"depends partly upon the RATE OF GROSS PROFITS, partly on the proportion in which these are separated into interest and industrial profit. This proportion depends upon the COMPETITION between the LENDERS and BORROWERS OF CAPITAL. This COMPETITION is influenced, though by no means ENTIRELY *regulated*, BY THE RATE OF GROSS PROFIT EXPECTED TO BE REALISED. And the COMPETITION is not exclusively regulated by this CAUSE because on the one hand many borrow without ANY VIEW TO PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT, and, on the other, because *the PROPORTION of the *whole national capital to be lent, varies with the riches of the country independent of any change in gross profits*" ([pp.] 206-07). "The *profits of enterprise depend upon the net profits of capital*, not the latter upon the former"* ([p.] 214).

[XVIII-1100] Apart from the circumstance mentioned earlier, Ramsay says—rightly:

"Interest is only a measure OF INDUSTRIAL PROFITS where the level of civilisation is such that the WANT OF CERTAINTY OF REPAYMENT is not a factor which enters into the calculation...[a] In England, for instance, at the present day, WE CANNOT consider COMPENSATION FOR RISK AS AT ALL ENTERING INTO THE INTEREST RECEIVED FROM FUNDS [lent] ON WHAT WOULD BE CALLED GOOD SECURITY" ([p.] 199, note).

Speaking of the *INDUSTRIAL capitalist*, whom he calls the MASTER-CAPITALIST, Ramsay remarks:

"The industrial capitalist is the general DISTRIBUTOR of wealth; he pays to the LABOURERS, the WAGES, to the capitalist, the interest, to the proprietor, the rent. On the one hand are MASTERS, on the other, LABOURERS, CAPITALISTS and *landlords. The interests of these two grand classes are diametrically opposed to each other. It is the master who *hires* labour, capital, and land, and of course tries to get the use of them on as low terms as possible; while the owners of these sources of wealth do their best to *let* them as high as they can*" ([pp.] 218-19).

*INDUSTRIAL PROFIT. (LABOUR OF SUPERINTENDENCE.)*

What Ramsay writes about *INDUSTRIAL profit* (and especially, about the LABOUR OF SUPERINTENDENCE) is on the whole the most reasonable part of his book, although part of his DEMONSTRATION is borrowed from *Storch*.[b]

The exploitation of labour costs labour. In so far as the labour performed by the INDUSTRIAL capitalist is rendered necessary only because of the contradiction between capital and labour, it enters

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[a] This sentence is a paraphrase of Ramsay by Marx.—*Ed.*

[b] See H. Storch, *Cours d'économie politique...*, Vol. I, Paris, 1823, Ch. 12-13.—*Ed.*

into the cost of his OVERLOOKERS (the industrial non-commissioned officers) and is already included in the category of WAGES in the same way as costs caused by the slave overlooker and his whip are included in the production costs of the slave-owner. These costs, like the greater part of the trading expenses, belong to the *faux frais* of capitalist production. As far as the general *rate of profit* is concerned, the labour of the capitalists arising from their competition with one another and their attempts to ruin one another counts just as little as the greater or lesser skill of one industrial capitalist compared to another in extracting the largest amount of SURPLUS LABOUR from his workers for the smallest expenditure and making the best use of this extracted SURPLUS LABOUR in the process of circulation. These matters should be dealt with in the analysis of the competition of capitals.[67] Such an analysis deals in general with the struggle of the capitalists and their effort to acquire THE GREATEST POSSIBLE AMOUNT OF SURPLUS LABOUR and it is concerned only with the division of the surplus labour amongst the different individual capitalists, and not with the origin of surplus labour or its GENERAL EXTENT.

All that remains for the LABOUR OF SUPERINTENDENCE is the general function of organising the division of labour and the cooperation of certain individuals. This labour is fully taken into account in the WAGES of the GENERAL MANAGER in the larger capitalist enterprises. It has already been deducted from the general rate of profit. The best practical proof of this is provided by the cooperative factories set up by the English workers,[168] for these, despite the higher rate of interest they have to pay, yield profits higher than AVERAGE, although the WAGES of the GENERAL MANAGER, which are naturally determined by the market price for this kind of labour, are deducted. The industrial capitalists who are their own GENERAL MANAGERS save one ITEM of the production costs, pay WAGES to themselves, and consequently receive a rate of profit above the average. If this assertion of the apologists were taken literally tomorrow, and the profit of the INDUSTRIAL capitalist limited to the *WAGES OF MANAGEMENT AND DIRECTION*, then capitalist production, the appropriation of the SURPLUS labour of others and its transformation into capital would come to an end the day after tomorrow.

However, if we consider this [payment of the] LABOUR OF SUPERINTENDENCE as WAGES concealed in the *GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT*, then the law established by Ramsay[a] and others applies, namely, that

[a] See G. Ramsay, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth*, Edinburgh, London, 1836, pp. 227-31.—*Ed.*

while profit (industrial profit as well as GROSS profit) is proportional to the amount of capital advanced, this portion of the profit stands in *inverse* ratio to the size of the capital, it is infinitesimally small in the case of large capital and enormously large where the capital is small, i.e. where the capitalist production is purely nominal. Whereas the small capitalist, who does almost all the work himself, seems to obtain a very high rate of profit in proportion to his capital, what happens in fact is that, if he does not employ a few workers whose surplus labour he appropriates, he actually makes *no profit at all* and his enterprise is only *nominally* a capitalist one (whether he is engaged in industry or in commerce). What distinguishes him from the wages worker is that, because of his nominal capital, he is indeed the master and owner of his own conditions of labour and consequently has no MASTER over him; [XVIII-1101] and hence he appropriates his whole labour time himself instead of it being appropriated by someone else. What appears to be profit here, is merely the excess over ordinary WAGES, an excess which results from the fact that he appropriates his own SURPLUS LABOUR. However, this phenomenon belongs exclusively to those spheres which have not as yet been really conquered by the capitalist mode of production.

"The profits OF ENTERPRISE may be considered as made up of 3 parts: 1) the salary of the MASTER; 2) [an insurance for] his RISK; 3) his *SURPLUS GAINS*" ([p.] 226).

As regards point 2) it is quite irrelevant here. Corbet[a] (and Ramsay himself[b]) has stated that the *INSURANCE* which covers the risk only distributes the LOSSES of the capitalists uniformly or distributes them more generally amongst the whole class. The profits of the INSURANCE COMPANIES—that is, of the capitals which are EMPLOYED IN THE BUSINESS OF INSURANCE, and take over this distribution—must be deducted from these uniformly distributed losses. These COMPANIES receive a part of the surplus value in the same way as MERCANTILE or MONIED CAPITALISTS do, without participating in its direct production. This is a question of the distribution of the SURPLUS VALUE amongst the different sorts of capitalists and of the deductions which are consequently made from [the surplus value accruing to] the individual capitalists. It has nothing to do either with the nature or with the extent of the SURPLUS. The worker obviously cannot provide any more than his SURPLUS labour. He cannot make an additional payment to the capitalist so that the

[a] See this volume, p. 243.—*Ed.*
[b] See G. Ramsay, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth*, pp. 222-25.—*Ed.*

latter may *insure* the fruits of this SURPLUS labour *against* loss. At most one could say that, even APART FROM capitalist production, the producers themselves might have certain expenses, that is, they would have to spend a part of their labour, or of the products of their labour in order to insure their products, their wealth, or the elements of their wealth, against accidents, etc. Instead of each capitalist insuring himself, it is safer as well as cheaper for him if one section of capital is entrusted with this job. INSURANCE is paid out of a portion of SURPLUS VALUE, its protection and distribution between the capitalists has nothing to do with its origin and extent.

What is left is 1) the SALARY and 2) the SURPLUS GAINS, as Ramsay calls that part of SURPLUS VALUE which falls to the industrial capitalist as opposed to the interest-grabber and which, consequently, is determined absolutely by the ratio of interest to industrial profit;[i.e. the ratio between] the two parts into which the SURPLUS VALUE accruing to capital (in contrast to landed property) is divided.

As far as 1), the SALARY, is concerned, it is *d'abord* self-evident that in capitalist production, the function of capital as lord over labour falls to the capitalist, or a clerk or a representative paid by him. Even this function would disappear together with the capitalist production, in so far as it does not arise from the nature of cooperative labour but from the domination of the conditions of labour over labour itself. Ramsay himself however sweeps away this element or reduces it to such an extent that it is not WORTH SPEAKING OF.

"The SALARY [of the employer], like the labour [of superintendence], remains roughly the same, be the CONCERN large or small" ([pp.] 227, 229). "A worker will never be able to say that he can do the same amount of work as 2, 3 or more of his workmates. But one industrial CAPITALIST or FARMER can take the place of 10 or 15" ([p.] 255).

The 3rd part, the *SURPLUS GAINS*, includes [compensation for] risks—which are only *possible* risks, nothing but the possibility of losing the GAINS and the capital—it in fact however takes the form of INSURANCE and therefore of a share which certain capitals in a particular branch receive in the total SURPLUS VALUE.

"These SURPLUS GAINS," Ramsay writes, *"do truly represent the revenue derived from *the power of commanding the use of capital*"* //in other words from the *power of commanding other people's labour// "whether belonging to the person himself or borrowed from others...* the NET PROFITS" (interest) *"vary exactly as the amount of capital; on the contrary, the larger the capital, the larger the proportion of the surplus gains to the stock employed"* ([p.] 230).

In other words, this means nothing more than that the SALARIES OF MASTERS stand in inverse ratio to the size of the capital. The larger

the scale on which the capital operates, the more *capitalist* the mode of production, the more negligible is the element of industrial PROFIT which is reducible to SALARY, and the more clearly appears the real character of industrial profit, namely, that it is a part of the SURPLUS GAINS, i.e. of SURPLUS VALUE, i.e. of unpaid SURPLUS LABOUR.

The whole contradiction between INDUSTRIAL PROFIT and INTEREST only has meaning as a contradiction between the RENTIER and the INDUSTRIAL CAPITALIST, but it has not the slightest bearing on the relationship of the worker to capital, the nature of capital, or the origin of the profit capital yields, etc.

With regard to *rent not derived from corn*, Ramsay says:

> * "In this manner the rent paid for one species of produce becomes the cause of the high value of others" * ([p.] 279).
>
> "*REVENUE*," says Ramsay in the final chapter, * "differs from the annual gross produce, simply by the absence of all those objects which go to keep up *fixed capital*" * (by which he means *constant capital*, RAW MATERIALS in all stages of production, *matières instrumentales* and machinery, etc.) ([p.] 471).

[XVIII-1102] Ramsay has already said[a] and repeats in the final chapter that

> "CIRCULATING CAPITAL" (that is, his term for capital laid out in wages) is superfluous, it is * "neither an *immediate* agent in production, nor even *essential* to it at all" * ([p.] 468).

But he does not draw the obvious conclusion that by denying that wage labour and capital laid out in wages are essential, the *necessity* for capitalist production in general is denied and the conditions of labour consequently cease to confront the workers as "capital" or, to use Ramsay's term, as "fixed capital". One part of the conditions of labour appears as fixed *capital* only because the other part appears as CIRCULATING *capital*. But once capitalist production is presupposed as a fact, Ramsay declares that *WAGES* and *GROSS PROFITS OF CAPITAL* (INDUSTRIAL PROFIT or, as he calls it, PROFIT OF ENTERPRISE, INCLUDED) are necessary forms of revenue ([pp.] 478, 475).

These are naturally the two forms of revenue which, in their simplicity and generality, indeed epitomise the essence of the capitalist production and of the two classes on which it is based. On the other hand, Ramsay declares that *RENT*, in other words landed property, is a superfluous form of capitalist production ([p.] 472), but forgets that it is a necessary product of this mode of production. The same applies to his statement that the "NET PROFIT OF CAPITAL", that is, interest, is not a necessary form.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 256-57.—*Ed.*

"It would only be necessary for the rentiers to become industrial capitalists. As regards NATIONAL WEALTH this makes no difference... The NET[a] PROFIT need certainly not be so high AS TO AFFORD SEPARATE INCOMES TO THE OWNER AND THE EMPLOYER" ([pp.] 476-77).

Here he again forgets what he has said himself, namely that, as a necessary consequence of the development of capital, a constantly growing class of rentiers comes into being.[b]

"GROSS PROFITS OF CAPITAL AND ENTERPRISE [are] ... essential in order that production should go on" ([p.] 475).

Naturally. Without profit, no capital and without capital, no capitalist production.

Thus, the conclusion at which Ramsay arrives is, on the one hand, that the capitalist mode of production based on wage labour is not really a necessary, i.e. not an absolute form of social production (which Ramsay himself expresses only in a rather limited form by stating that "CIRCULATING CAPITAL" and "WAGES" [would be] superfluous if the mass of the people were not so poor that they had to receive their share of the product IN ADVANCE, before it was completed); on the other hand, [he concludes] that interest (in contrast to industrial profit) and rent (that is, the form of landed property created by capitalist production itself) are SUPERFETATIONS which are not essential to capitalist production and of which it can rid itself. If this bourgeois ideal were actually realisable, the only result would be that the whole of the SURPLUS VALUE would go to the industrial capitalist directly, and society would be reduced (economically) to the simple contradiction between capital and wage labour, a simplification which would indeed accelerate the dissolution of this mode of production.

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//In *The Morning Star* (December 1, 1862), a manufacturer moans:

*"*Deduct* from the *gross produce* the wages of labour, the rent of land, the interest on capital, the cost of raw material, and the *gains of the agent, merchant, or dealer*, and what remained was the *profit of the manufacturer*, the Lancashire resident, the occupier, on whom *the burden of maintaining the workmen for so many partakers in the distribution of the gross produce* is thrown."*[c]

//If one disregards the value and considers the GROSS PRODUCE *in natura*, it is clear that after the replacement of the constant capital

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[a] Ramsay has "gross".—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 278-79.—*Ed.*

[c] "Lancashire Profits and Lancashire Rates", *The Morning Star*, No. 2101, December 1, 1862, p. 5.—*Ed.*

and the capital laid out in wages, that portion of the product which remains constitutes the SURPLUS VALUE. From this however has to be deducted a portion for rent and the GAINS of the AGENTS, MERCHANTS OR DEALERS, all of whom, WHETHER THEY USE CAPITAL OF THEIR OWN OR NOT, also share in that part of the GROSS PRODUCE which constitutes SURPLUS VALUE. All these therefore are *DEDUCTIONS* for the MANUFACTURER. His profit itself is subdivided into industrial profit and interest—if he has borrowed capital.//

//*With regard to differential rent*: The work of the labourer working on more fertile soil is more productive than that of a man working on less fertile soil. If, therefore, he were to be paid *in natura*, he would receive a smaller share of the GROSS PRODUCE than the labourer working on less fertile soil. Or, what amounts to the same thing, his relative surplus labour would be greater than that of the other labourer, although he worked the same number of hours per day. But the value of the wage of the one is equal to that of the other. Hence the profit of his EMPLOYER is no greater [than that of the other employer]. The surplus value contained in the additional amount of his product, the greater relative productivity of his labour, or the differential surplus labour performed by him, is POCKETED BY THE LANDLORD.//

### n) CHERBULIEZ, *RICHESSE OU PAUVRETÉ*, PARIS, 1841 (REPRINT OF THE GENEVA EDITION) [PUBLISHED UNDER THE TITLE *RICHE OU PAUVRE*]

(It is questionable whether we should specially include this fellow in this group [of economists] since most of what he writes is based on Sismondi, or whether we should on occasion insert his pertinent remarks in the form of quotations.[169])

[XVIII-1103] "Capital," says Cherbuliez, consists of "the raw materials, the tools, the means of subsistence [*approvisionnement*]" (p. 16). "There is no difference between a capital and any other part of wealth. A thing only becomes capital by the use that is made of it, that is to say, when it is employed in a *productive operation*, as raw material, as instrument, or as means of subsistence" ([p.] 18).[a]

This is the standard way of reducing capital to the material elements in which it presents itself in the labour process, i.e. means of labour and means of subsistence. The latter category, moreover, is not accurate since, though means of subsistence are indeed a condition for the producer, a prerequisite enabling him to exist during production, they themselves do not enter into the

[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

labour process, into which nothing enters but the object of labour, the means of labour and labour itself. Thus the objective factors of the labour process—which are common to all forms of production—are here called *capital*, although the *approvisionnement* (in which wages are already included) tacitly implies the *capitalist* form of these conditions of labour.

Cherbuliez, like Ramsay, [assumes] that the *approvisionnement*—which Ramsay calls CIRCULATING CAPITAL—diminishes (relatively, at any rate, to the total amount of capital and absolutely in so far as machinery continually throws workers out of employment). But both he and Ramsay appear to think that there is an inevitable reduction in the amount of means of subsistence, of NECESSARIES, which can be employed as productive capital. But this is by no means the case. In this context, people always confuse that part of the GROSS PRODUCT which replaces capital and is employed as capital, with that part which represents the SURPLUS PRODUCE. The *approvisionnement* decreases because a large portion of capital, that is, the part of the GROSS PRODUCE employed as capital, is reproduced as constant capital instead of as variable capital. A large portion of the SURPLUS PRODUCE, consisting of means of subsistence, is consumed by unproductive workers or idlers or exchanged for LUXURIES. *Voilà tout.*[a]

True, the fact that a constantly smaller part of the total capital is converted into variable capital can also be expressed in other ways. The part of capital which consists of variable capital=that part of the total product which the worker himself appropriates, produces for himself. Therefore, the smaller this part is the smaller accordingly is the portion of the total number of workers which is required to reproduce it (just as in the case of the individual worker, who works correspondingly less labour time for himself). The total product, like the total labour, of the workers falls into 2 parts. One part the workers produce for themselves; the other part they produce for the capitalist. Just as the [labour] time of the individual worker can be divided into 2 parts, so can the [labour] time of the whole working class. If the surplus labour=$^1/_2$ day, it is the same as if half the working class produces means of subsistence for the working class and the other half produces raw materials, machinery and finished products for the capitalists, partly as producers and partly as consumers.

It is ridiculous that Cherbuliez and Ramsay believe that the part of the GROSS PRODUCE which can be consumed by the workers and can

[a] That's all.—*Ed.*

enter into their consumption *in natura* has been reduced of necessity OR reduced AT ALL. Only that part has been reduced which is consumed in this form and therefore as *variable capital.* On the other hand, a larger portion is eaten up by servants, soldiers, etc., or exported and exchanged for more sumptuous means of subsistence.

The only important thing in both Ramsay and Cherbuliez is that they actually counterpose *variable* and *constant capital* and do not confine themselves to the distinction between fixed and circulating capital derived from circulation. For Cherbuliez counterposes that part of capital which goes on *approvisionnement* to that which consists of *matières brutes, matières instrumentales*[a] and means of labour, i.e. INSTRUMENTS, MACHINES. Although two constituent elements of constant capital—*matières brutes* and *instrumentales*—belong to circulating capital as far as the mode of circulation is concerned.

The important thing in variations in the constituent elements of capital is not that relatively more workers are occupied in the production of raw materials and machinery than in that of direct means of subsistence—this concerns only the division of labour—but the proportion of the product which has to be used to replace past labour (i.e. to replace constant capital) to that which has to be used to pay living labour. The larger the scale of capitalist production, and hence the greater the accumulation of capital—the greater is the share in the value of the product falling to the machinery and raw material into which the CAPITAL EMPLOYED in the production of machinery and raw material can be resolved. A correspondingly larger portion of the product must therefore be returned to production either *in natura* or by the producers of constant capital exchanging some of their products amongst themselves. The part of the product which belongs to production becomes larger, and the part which represents living, newly added labour becomes relatively smaller. Of course, this part grows in terms of commodities—use values, since the development described is synonymous with increased productivity of labour. But the portion of this part which the worker receives falls relatively all the more. And the same process gives rise to a continuous relative REDUNDANCY of the WORKING POPULATION.

[XVIII-1104] //It is an incontrovertible FACT that, as capitalist production develops, the portion of capital invested in machinery and raw materials grows, and the portion laid out in wages declines. This is the only question with which both Ramsay and

[a] Raw materials, instrumental materials.—*Ed.*

Cherbuliez are concerned. For us, however, the main thing is: does this FACT explain the decline in the rate of profit? (A decline, incidentally, which is far smaller than it is said to be.) Here it is not simply a question of the quantitative ratio but of the *value ratio.*

If 1 worker can spin as much cotton as 100 [workers spun previously], then the [supply of] raw material must be increased a hundredfold, and this is moreover brought about only by the spinning machine which enables one worker to control 100 spindles. But if simultaneously one worker produces as much cotton as 100 workers did previously and 1 worker produces a spinning machine whereas previously he produced only a spindle, then the ratio of value remains the same, that is, the labour expended in the spinning, [in the production of] the cotton and the spinning machine remains the same as that expended previously in spinning, the cotton and the spindle.

As far as the *machinery* is concerned, its cost is not as great as that of the labour it displaces, although the spinning machine is much more expensive than the spindle. The individual capitalist who owns a spinning machine must possess a greater amount of capital than the individual spinner who buys a spinning wheel. But the spinning machine is cheaper than the spinning wheel in relation to the number of workers it employs. Otherwise it would not have displaced the spinning wheel. The place of the spinner is taken by a capitalist. But the capital which the former laid out on the spinning wheel was *larger* relative to the size of the product, than that which the capitalist lays out on the spinning machine.//[a]

The increasing productivity of labour (in so FAR AS [it is] CONNECTED WITH MACHINERY) is identical with the decreasing number of workers *relatively to the number and extent of the machinery employed. Instead of a simple and cheap instrument a collection of those instruments* (albeit MODIFIED) IS put in place, and *besides that collection the whole part of the machinery consisting of the moving and conducting parts; besides the materials used (like coal, etc.) to produce the moving agent (as steam).* Finally, the buildings. If one worker is in charge of 1,800 spindles instead of driving a spinning wheel, it would be quite ridiculous to ask why these 1,800 spindles are not as cheap as the single spinning wheel. The productivity in this case is brought about precisely by the amount of capital employed as machinery. The ratio of the wear and tear

[a] The passage within double oblique lines was crossed out by Marx.—*Ed.*

of the machinery affects only the commodity; the worker confronts the total amount of machinery and similarly the value of the capital laid out in labour confronts the value of the capital laid out in machinery.

There can be no doubt that machinery becomes cheaper, and this for two reasons: [1] The application of machinery to the production of raw materials from which the machinery is made. [2] The application of machinery in the transformation of these materials into machinery. In saying this, we already say two things. *Firstly*, that in both these branches, compared with the instruments required in the manufacturing industry, the value of the capital laid out in machinery also grows as compared with that laid out in wages. *Secondly*, what becomes cheaper is the individual machine and its component parts, but a system of machinery develops; the tool is not simply replaced by a single machine, but by a whole system, and the tools which perhaps played the major part previously, the needle for example (in the case of a stocking loom or a similar machine), are now assembled in thousands. Each individual machine confronting the worker is in itself a colossal assembly of instruments which he formerly used singly, e.g. 1,800 spindles instead of one. But in addition, the machine contains elements which the old instrument did not have, etc. Despite the cheapening of individual elements, the price of the WHOLE aggregate increases enormously and the [increase in] productivity consists in the continuous expansion of the machinery. Further, one factor in the cheapening of machinery apart from that of its elements, is the cheapening of the source of the motive power (the steam-boiler, for example) and of the transmission mechanism. ECONOMY OF POWER. But this results precisely from the fact that to an increasing extent the same motor can drive a larger system of machines. The motor becomes relatively cheaper (or its cost does not grow in the same ratio as the increase in the size of the system in which it is employed; the motor becomes more expensive as its power grows, but not in the same proportion); even when its cost increases absolutely, it declines relatively. This is therefore a new motive, quite apart from the price of the individual machine, for increasing the capital that is laid out in machinery and confronts labour. One element—the increasing speed of machinery—increases productive power enormously but it does not affect the value of the machinery itself in any way.

It is therefore self-evident or a tautological proposition that the increasing productivity of labour caused by machinery corresponds to increased value of the machinery relative to the amount of

labour employed (consequently to the value of labour, the variable capital).

[XVIII-1105] All circumstances which result in the use of machinery leading to a reduction in the price of commodities can be attributed, firstly, to a decrease in the amount of labour embodied in each individual commodity, secondly, however, to a decrease in the wear and tear of the machinery whose value enters into the individual commodity. The less rapid the wear and tear of the machinery, the less labour is required for its reproduction. This therefore increases the amount and the value of the capital existing as machinery as compared with that existing in labour.

Only the question of raw material therefore remains to be dealt with. It is obvious that the quantity of raw material must increase proportionally with the productivity of labour; that is, the amount of raw material must be proportionate to that of labour. This relationship is closer than it appears. Let us assume, for example, that 10,000 lbs of cotton are consumed weekly. Calculating 50 weeks to the year, this would amount to 10,000×50, that is, 500,000 lbs. Let us also assume that the amount paid out in wages=£5,000 over the year. And if a pound of cotton is assumed to cost 6d. this comes to 250,000s.=£12,500. Let us assume that the capital turns over 5 times during the year. This means that in the course of a fifth of a year, 100,000 lbs of cotton is used=£2,500. And £1,000 goes on wages in the same fifth of a year. This is more than $^1/_3$ of the value of the capital laid out on the cotton.[170] This does not alter the ratio. If the value of the cotton=[£]10,000 every $^1/_5$ of a year and that of the labour=1,000, then it will be $^1/_{10}$. (If one considers the product of the whole year, 50,000 on one side and 5,000 on the other—it is also $^1/_{10}$.)

//The value of a commodity, *quoad* machinery,[a] is determined by the wear and tear of the machinery, that is, solely by the value of the machinery in so far as it enters into the valorisation process, in other words, in so far as it is used up in the labour process. Profit, on the contrary, is determined (leaving raw materials out of account) by the value of the whole of the machinery which enters into the labour process irrespective of the degree to which it is used up. Profit must therefore decline as the total amount of [living] labour employed declines compared with the part of capital laid out in machinery. It does not decline in the same proportion because surplus labour increases.//

One may ask with regard to raw material: If, for example,

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[a] As far as machinery is concerned.—*Ed.*

productive power in spinning increases tenfold, that is, 1 worker spins as much as ten did previously, why should not 1 NIGGER[a] produce as much cotton as 10 did previously, that is, why should the *value ratio* not remain the same? The spinner uses 10 times as much cotton in the same time, but the NIGGER produces 10 times as much cotton in the same time. The 10 times larger amount of cotton therefore costs no more than a tenth of this amount cost previously. This means that despite the increase in the amount of the raw material, its value ratio to variable capital remains the same. In fact it was only the large fall in the price of cotton which enabled the cotton industry to develop in the way it did. The dearer the material (gold and silver, for example) the less are machinery and the division of labour applied in transforming it into articles of luxury. This is because too much capital has been advanced for the raw materials and the demand for these products is limited owing to the expensive raw materials.

To this it is quite easy to answer that some kinds of raw materials, such as wool, silk, leather, are produced by animal *organic* processes, while *cotton, linen,* etc., are produced by vegetable *organic* processes; capitalist production has not yet succeeded, and never will succeed in mastering these processes in the same way as it has mastered purely mechanical or inorganic chemical processes. Raw materials such as skins, etc., and other animal products become dearer partly because the insipid law of rent increases the value of these products as civilisation advances. As far as coal and metal (wood) are concerned, they become much cheaper with the advance of production; this will however become more difficult as mines are exhausted, etc.

//While it can be said with regard to corn rent and mine rent that they do not increase the value of the product (only its market price) but are rather the expression of the value of the product (the excess of its value *over* the production price), there is, on the other hand, no doubt that animal rent, house rent, etc., are not consequences but *causes* of the increasing values of these things.

The cheapening of raw materials, and of *matières instrumentales,* etc., CHECKS BUT DOES NOT CANCEL THE GROWING VALUE OF THIS PART OF CAPITAL. It checks it TO THE DEGREE TO WHICH IT brings about THE FALL in PROFIT.// //This rubbish is herewith disposed of.// (If tomorrow the price of cotton were to drop by 90 per cent, the spinning industry would develop even more rapidly the day after tomorrow, etc.)

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[a] See p. XI of the Preface.— *Ed.*

//In considering profit, surplus value is assumed as given. And only the variations in constant capital and their influence on the rate of profit are considered. There is only one way in which surplus value directly affects constant capital, namely through *absolute surplus labour,* lengthening of the working day, as a result of which the relative value of constant capital is reduced. Relative SURPLUS LABOUR—where the working day remains unaltered (apart from the greater intensification of labour)—increases the value ratio of profit to total capital by increasing the SURPLUS itself. Absolute surplus labour time reduces the cost of constant capital RELATIVELY.//

[XVIII-1106] Let us return to Cherbuliez.

The formulas he uses for the rate of profit are either mathematical expressions for profit as it is COMMONLY understood, without involving any kind of law, or they are quite wrong, although he has an *inkling* of the matter, approaches close to it.

"Commercial profit[171] is determined by the *value of the products* compared with the *different elements* of productive capital."

//In point of fact, profit is the relationship of the SURPLUS VALUE of the product to the value of the total capital advanced regardless of the differences in its elements. But the SURPLUS VALUE is itself determined by the size of the variable capital and the rate of its valorisation, and the *ratio* of this SURPLUS VALUE to the total capital is again determined by the ratio of the variable to the constant capital and also by changes in the value of constant capital.//

"Evidently the two chief elements in this determination are the price of the raw materials and amount of *approvisionnement* required to work them up. The economic progress of society affects these two elements in an *opposite* way and it tends to make raw materials dearer by increasing the value of all the products of the extractive industries,[172] which are carried out on land that is privately owned and limited in extent" (p. 70).[a] On the other hand, the *approvisionnement* decreases (relatively), a matter to which we shall return presently.

"The total amount of products, less the total amount of capital expended in producing them, provides us with the total amount of profit gained during a definite period of time. The *growth* in the total amount of products *is proportionate to the capital advanced* and not to the capital consumed. The *rate of profit,* or the ratio of profit to capital, is therefore the result of the combination of two other ratios, namely, *the ratio between the capital advanced and that consumed,* and *the ratio between the capital consumed and the product*" (l.c., [p.] 70).

Cherbuliez first states correctly that profit *is determined* by the *value* of the product in relation to the "different elements" of productive capital. Then he flies off suddenly to the product itself,

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[a] Marx quotes partly in German and partly in French.—*Ed.*

to the total amount of products. But the amount of products may increase without its value increasing. Secondly, a comparison between the amount of the product and the quantity of products of which the capital—used up and not used up—consisted, can at best only be made in the way Ramsay does, by comparing the aggregate natural product with the ingredients expended *in natura*.[a] But as regards capital, the form taken by the product is different from its ingredients in every particular sphere of production (even in those branches of industry in which, as in agriculture, etc., one part of the product is used *in natura* as a production element of the product). Why does Cherbuliez stray on to this *faux fuyant*[b]? Because, despite his vague idea that the organic composition of capital is decisive for the rate of profit, he in no way uses the contradiction between variable capital and the other part of capital in order to explain SURPLUS VALUE—which, like value itself, he does not explain at all. He has not shown how SURPLUS VALUE arises and therefore has recourse to *SURPLUS PRODUCE, i.e. to use value.*

Although all SURPLUS VALUE takes the form of SURPLUS PRODUCE, SURPLUS PRODUCE as such does not represent SURPLUS VALUE. //A product may contain no SURPLUS VALUE, as, for example, in the case of a peasant who owns his own implements (as well as his own land) and only works exactly the same amount of time as any wage worker does to reproduce his own wages, say 6 hours. In a good year, he might produce twice as much [as usual]. But the value would remain the same. THERE WOULD BE NO SURPLUS VALUE, although [there would be] SURPLUS PRODUCE.//

In itself it was already a mistake on the part of Cherbuliez to represent variable capital in the "passive" and purely material form of *approvisionnement*, that is, as use value, a form which it obtains in the hands of the workers. If, on the other hand, he had considered it in the form in which it actually appears, namely, as money (as the form in which exchange value, i.e. a certain amount of social labour time as such, exists), then for the *capitalist* it would resolve in the labour which he exchanges for it (and, as a result of this exchange of objectified labour for living labour, the variable capital would be set in motion and would grow); variable capital in the shape of labour—but not if it is regarded as *approvisionnement*—becomes an element of productive capital. *Approvisionnement*, on the other hand, is the use value, the material existence of

[a] See this volume, p. 264.—*Ed.*
[b] False path.—*Ed.*

the variable capital when it becomes the revenue of the worker. Variable capital regarded as *approvisionnement* is, therefore, just as "*passive*" an element as both the other parts of capital which Cherbuliez describes as "passive".

The same distortion of views prevents him from elaborating the rate of profit out of the *relationship* of this active element to the passive element, and from showing that it declines as society advances. Cherbuliez in fact reaches no other conclusion but that the *approvisionnement* [XVIII-1107] declines as a consequence of the development of the productive power while the working population grows, and so, as a result of the REDUNDANT POPULATION, wages are consequently pushed down below their value. None of his explanations are based on the exchange of [equal] values—or the payment of labour capacity at its value—and profit thus *actually* appears to be a *deduction from wages* (although he doesn't say so). This deduction may indeed occasionally constitute a part of real profits, but it can never serve as the foundation for the elaboration of the category of profit.

Let us *d'abord* reduce the first proposition to its correct formulation.

"The *value* of the total amount of products, less the *value* of the total amount of capital expended in producing them, provides us with the total amount of profit gained during a definite period of time." [173]

This is the primary (usual) form in which profit appears and it is likewise the form in which it appears in the consciousness of capitalists. Alias [profit is] the excess of the value of the product gained during a definite period of time over the value of the capital expended. Or the excess of the value of the product over the cost price of the product. Even "the definite period of time" in Cherbuliez's statement appears like a bolt from the blue, since he has not dealt with the circulation process of capital. The first proposition, therefore, is nothing but the usual DEFINITION OF PROFIT, of the immediate form in which it appears.

*The second proposition*:

"The growth *in the total amount of products* is proportionate to the capital employed and not to the capital used up."

Paraphrased again, it would read thus:

"The *growth* in the *value* of the total amount of products is proportionate to the capital advanced" (WHETHER CONSUMED OR NOT).

The only purpose of this is the *surreptitious introduction* of the completely unproven and, in the way it is formulated, quite false proposition (for it already presupposes equalisation to the general

rate of profit) that the amount of profit depends on the amount of capital employed. But an apparent causal nexus is to be introduced because "the *growth in the total amount of products* is proportionate to the capital *employed* and not to the capital used up".

Let us take this sentence in both its formulations—that in which it is written and that in which it ought to have been written. In this context—and in accordance with the conclusion which it is intended to serve as *medius terminus*[a]—it should be written as follows:

"The *growth* in the *value* of the total amount of products is proportionate to the capital employed and not to the capital used up."

Here, evidently, SURPLUS value is to be evolved on the basis of the fact that the excess of the capital employed over that used up creates the *excess value of the products.* But the capital which is not used up (machinery, etc.) retains its value (for the fact that it is not used up means precisely that its value has not been used up); it retains the same value after the conclusion of the production process as it had before this process started. If any *change in value* has taken place, it can only have happened in that part of the capital which has been used up, and which therefore entered into the valorisation process. In point of fact it is also wrong to say that, for example, a capital of which $^1/_3$ is not used up and $^2/_3$ are used up in production, would inevitably yield a higher profit than one in which $^2/_3$ are not used up and $^1/_3$ is used up, provided the *rate of the exploitation of labour is the same* (and disregarding the equalisation of the rate of profit). For obviously, the second capital contains more machinery, etc., and other elements of constant capital, while the first capital contains less of these elements and sets more living labour in motion, and therefore produces more surplus labour as well.

If we take the proposition as formulated by Cherbuliez himself, then it must be said *d'abord* that it is of no use to him, because the amount of products or the amount of use values as such by no means determines either the value or the surplus value or the profit. But what is behind all this? A part of constant capital consisting of machinery, etc., enters into the labour process without entering into the valorisation process, and thereby helps to increase the amount of products without adding anything to their value. (For in so far as its wear and tear adds value to the product, it belongs to the capital *used up* and not to the capital *employed* as

[a] Intermediate clause. Here, a second proposition.—*Ed.*

opposed to that used up.) But, by itself, this unconsumed part of constant capital does not bring about a *growth in the amount of products.* It helps to produce a greater output in a given labour time. Therefore, if only the same amount of labour time were expended as is contained in the *approvisionnement,* the same amount of products would be produced. The excess of products is therefore due to a CHANGE which takes place in this part of the *capital used up* and not to the excess of the capital employed over that used up (assuming that it is not a matter of branches of industry in which—as in agriculture—the *amount* of products is, or can be, independent of the amount of capital laid out, [because] the productivity of labour is, in part, dependent on uncontrollable natural conditions).

If however he considers constant capital—used up or otherwise—as independent of the labour time, independent of the CHANGE in the variable capital which takes place in the valorisation process, then he might just as well say:

"The growth in the total amount [XVIII-1108] of products" (at least in the manufacturing industry) "is proportionate to the growth of the part of capital consisting of raw materials which is used up."

For the increase of products is physically identical with the growth of this part of capital. In agriculture on the other hand (and likewise in the extractive industries), where only a small proportion of the capital laid out is not used up (i.e. constant capital) and a relatively large proportion of capital is used up (as wages for example), the amount of products, provided the land is fairly fertile, can be much larger than in the advanced countries where the ratio of capital laid out to capital used up is infinitely greater. The second proposition thus amounts to an attempt to bring in surreptitiously SURPLUS VALUE (the indispensable basis of profit).

"The *rate of profit,* or the *ratio* of the profit to capital, is therefore the result of the combination of two other ratios, namely, the *ratio between the capital advanced and that used up,* and the ratio *between the capital used up and the product*" (p. 70).

Previously *profit* ought to have been explained. But nothing emerged except a DEFINITION of it which merely states the form in which it appears, i.e. the fact that profit=the excess of the value of the total product over the cost price of the product or over the value of the capital used up, which is the VULGAR DEFINITION OF PROFIT.

Now the *rate of profit* ought to be explained. But once again nothing emerges except the VULGAR DEFINITION. The rate of profit=the ratio of profit to the total capital, or, what amounts to the same thing, it=the ratio of the excess of the value of the

product over its cost price to the total capital advanced for production. The distorted conception and bungling application of the approximately correct distinction between the elements of capital, and the vague idea that profit and rate of profit are directly connected with the ratio of these elements to one another, only lead to a repetition of the generally known phrases in a rather doctrinaire fashion, in fact merely to a statement that profit and rate of profit exist, without, however, anything being said about their nature. The matter is not improved by the fact that Cherbuliez expresses his doctrinaire formulae in algebraic language:

"Let $P$ be the aggregate product of a given period of time, $C$ the capital invested, $\pi$ the profit, $r$ the *ratio* of profit to capital (rate), $c$ the capital used up, then $P-c=\pi$, $r=\frac{\pi}{C}$, therefore $Cr=\pi$. Therefore $P-c=Cr$; therefore $r=\frac{P-c}{C}$" ([p.] 70, Note 1).

Which means nothing more than that the rate of profit=the ratio of profit to capital and that profit=the excess of the value of the product over its cost price.

In general, when Cherbuliez speaks about consumed and unconsumed capital he has at the back of his mind the difference between fixed and circulating capital, and not the distinction which he himself has drawn, namely, that between the different types of capital based on the production process. Surplus value is antecedent to circulation and no matter how much the differences arising out of circulation affect the rate of profit, they have nothing to do with the origin of profit.

"Productive capital is composed of a consumable part and a non-consumable part. The more wealth and population increase, the more the consumable part tends to increase, because the extractive INDUSTRIES demand an ever greater supply of labour. On the other hand, this same progress causes the *amount* of capital advanced to increase at a much faster rate than the amount of capital *consumed.* Thus although the total mass of capital consumed tends to increase, the effect is neutralised, because the mass of products grows in more rapid progression and the *total amount of profit* must be considered as growing at a rate at least as high as that at which the *total amount of capital advanced* grows" ([p.] 71).[a] "The amount of profit grows, not the rate, which is the ratio of this amount to the capital advanced, $r=\frac{P-c}{C}$. It is clear that $P-c$ or the profit, since $P-c=\pi$, *can* grow although $r$ declines, if $C$ grows more rapidly than $P-c$" ([p.] 71, Note 1).

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[a] Marx quotes partly in German and partly in French.—*Ed.*

Here the reason for the decline in the rate of profit is touched on, but in view of the preceding distortions, it can only lead to confusion and contradictions which cancel each other out. First the amount of capital consumed grows but the amount of products grows even more rapidly (i.e. the excess of the value of the products over their cost price in this case), for it grows in proportion to the capital advanced and this grows more rapidly than the capital consumed. *Why* the fixed capital grows more rapidly than the mass of raw materials, for example, is not explained anywhere. BUT NEVER MIND. The amount of profit grows *in proportion to* the capital *advanced*, to the total capital, but [XVIII-1109] the *rate of profit* is nevertheless supposed to fall, because the total capital grows more rapidly than the mass of products or rather than the amount of profit. First the *amount of profit grows* at a rate at least as great as that at which "the total amount of capital advanced" grows, and then the rate of profit *falls*, because the total amount of capital advanced grows more rapidly than the amount of profit. First $P-c$ grows "at least" proportionally to $C$, and then $\frac{P-c}{C}$ falls, because $C$ increases even more rapidly than $P-c$, which "increases at least as rapidly as $C$". If we throw aside all this confusion, then all that remains is the tautology that $\frac{P-c}{C}$ *can* fall although $P-c$ increases, that is, that the rate of profit can fall although profit increases when the rate falls. The rate of profit simply signifies the ratio of $P-c$ to $C$, [and this ratio declines] when capital increases more rapidly than the amount of profit.

Thus the final pearl of wisdom is that the rate of profit can fall, that is, the ratio of an increasing amount of profit to capital can fall when the capital increases more rapidly than the amount of profit, or if the amount of profit, despite the absolute growth, declines relatively in comparison with the capital. This is nothing but a different expression for the decline in the rate of profit. But that this phenomenon is within the bounds of possibility, and even its existence, has never been called to question. The sole point at issue was precisely to explain the cause of this phenomenon, and Cherbuliez explains the decline in the rate of profit, the decline in the amount of profit in relation to the total capital, by the relative increase in the amount of profit which is at least proportionate to the growth of the capital. He obviously surmises that the mass of living labour employed declines relatively to past labour, although

it increases absolutely, and that *therefore* the rate of profit must decline. But he never arrives at a clear understanding. The closer one comes to the threshold of understanding, the more distorted the statements become, unless the threshold is actually crossed, and [the greater is] the illusion of having crossed it.

On the other hand, what he says about the *equalisation of the general rate of profit* is very much to the point.

//In the second chapter of Part III, on "Capital and Profit", where the formation of the general rate of profit is dealt with, the following must be considered:

1) *Different organic composition of capitals,* partly conditioned by the difference between variable and constant capital in so far as this arises from the *stage of production*—the absolute *quantitative* relations between machinery, raw materials and the quantity of labour which sets them in motion. These differences relate to the labour process. The differences between *fixed and circulating capital* arising from the *circulation process* have also to be considered—differences which lead to valorisation variations, in *a given period of time,* in different spheres.

2) *Differences in the relative value of the parts* of different capitals which do not arise from their organic composition. These arise from the difference of VALUE particularly of the raw materials, even assuming that the raw materials absorb an equal quantity of labour in two different spheres.

3) The result of those differences is *diversity of the rates of profit in different spheres* of capitalist production. It is true only for capitals of equal composition, etc., that the rate of profit is the same and the amount of profit is in proportion to the size of the capital employed.

4) *For the total capital,* however, what has been explained in CHAPTER I holds good. In capitalist production each capital is assumed to be a unit, an aliquot part of the total capital. *Formation of the general rate of profit.* (Competition.)

5) *Transformation of values into prices of production.* Difference between value, cost price, and production price.//

//6) To take up also the Ricardian point: The influence of general variations in wages on the general rate of profit and HENCE on prices of production.//

"After the deduction of rent, what remains of the *amount of profit,* that is, of the excess of products over the capital consumed, is divided between the capitalist producers *in proportion to the capital each has advanced,* whereas the portion of the product which corresponds to the capital consumed and is intended to replace it, is divided in proportion with the capital actually used up. This *dual law of division*

comes about as a *result of competition*, which tends to equalise the advantages of all investments of capital. Finally, this dual law of division determines the respective *values* and *prices* of the different kinds of products" ([pp.] 71-72).

This is very good. Only the concluding words are wrong, namely, that the formation of the general rate of profit determines the *values* and *prices* (it should be prices of production) of commodities. On the contrary, the determination of the value is the *prius*,[a] antecedent to the rate of profit and to the establishment of production prices. How can any *division* at all of the "amount of profit", i.e. of the surplus value [XVIII-1110]—which is itself only a part of the total value of commodities—determine the "*amount* of profit", that is, the surplus value, that is, the value of the commodities? This is only correct if, by relative values of commodities, one means their production prices. The whole lopsidedness of Cherbuliez's presentation arises from the fact that he does not examine the origin and the laws of value and surplus value independently. In other respects, he describes the relation between wage labour and capital more or less correctly.

"People who neither receive anything by devolution" (legal transfer, inheritance, etc.), "nor have any possessions they can exchange, can obtain what they need only by offering their *labour* to the capitalist. They only acquire the right to the things which are allocated to them as the *price of labour*, but they have no right to the *product* of their labour, nor to the *value* which they have added" ([pp.] 55-56). "By *exchanging* his labour for a certain volume of *approvisionnement*, the worker completely renounces all right to the other portions of capital. The *attribution* of these products remains the same as it was previously; it is not modified in any way by the above-mentioned convention. The products continue to belong exclusively to the capitalist who has provided the raw materials and the *approvisionnement. This is an inescapable sequence of the law of appropriation, the fundamental principle* of which was, conversely, the *exclusive right of every worker to the product of this labour*" (p. 58).

This fundamental principle, according to Cherbuliez, is as follows:

"The worker has an exclusive right to the value resulting from his labour" (p. 48).[b]

Cherbuliez does not understand nor does he explain how the law of commodities, according to which commodities are equivalents and exchange with one another in proportion to their value, i.e. to the labour time embodied in them, unexpectedly leads to the result that on the contrary capitalist production—and only on the basis of capitalist production is it essential for the product to

[a] Primary factor.—*Ed.*
[b] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

be produced as a commodity—depends on the fact that one portion of labour is appropriated without exchange. He only senses that a *transformation* has suddenly taken place.

This fundamental principle is a pure fiction. It arises from the surface appearance of *commodity circulation.* Commodities are exchanged with one another according to their value, that is, according to the labour embodied in them. Individuals confront one another only as commodity owners and can therefore only acquire other individuals' commodities by alienating their own. It therefore *appears* as if they exchanged only their own labour since the exchange of commodities which contain *other people's* labour, in so far as they themselves were not acquired by the individuals in exchange for their own commodities, presupposes different relations between people than those of [simple] commodity owners, of buyers and of sellers. In capitalist production this appearance, which its surface displays, disappears. What does not disappear, however, is the illusion that originally men confront one another only as commodity owners and that, consequently, a person is only a property owner in so far as he is a worker. As has been stated, this "originally" is a delusion arising from the surface appearance of capitalist production and has never existed historically. In general, man (isolated or social) always comes on to the stage as a property owner before he appears as a worker, even if the property is only what he procures for himself from inorganic nature (or what he as a member of the family, tribe, communal organisation, procures partly from nature, partly from the means of production which have already been produced in common). And as soon as the first animal state is left behind, man's property in nature is mediated by his existence as a member of a communal body, family, tribe, etc., by his relationship to other men, which determines his relationship to nature. The "propertyless labourer" as a "fundamental principle" is rather a creature of civilisation and, on the historical scale, of "capitalist production". This is a law of "expropriation" not of "appropriation", at least not simply of appropriation in the way Cherbuliez imagines it, but a kind of appropriation which corresponds to a definite, specific mode of production.

"Every accumulation of wealth provides the means for accelerating further accumulation" ([p.] 29).[a]

On *page 59,* Cherbuliez calls *matières brutes* and machinery, etc., "the two *passive elements of capital*" in contrast to the *approvisionnement.*

[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

//Ricardo's view (derived from Smith) that all accumulation can be reduced to expenditure on wages, would be incorrect even if no accumulation *in natura* took place—[which is the case,] for example, when the FARMER sows more seed, the stock-breeder increases his stock of cattle for breeding or for fattening, the owner of engineering works uses part of his surplus value in the form of machine tools—and even if all producers who produce the elements of some part of capital did not overproduce regularly, counting on the fact of annual accumulation, i.e. the expansion of the general scale of production. Moreover, the farmer can exchange part of his SURPLUS corn with the stock-breeder, who may convert this corn into variable capital while the farmer converts his corn into constant capital [by means of this exchange]. The flax-grower [XVIII-1111] sells part of his surplus product to the spinner, who converts it into constant capital. With this money the flax-grower can buy tools and the tool-maker can buy iron, etc., so that all these elements are turned directly into constant capital.

But disregarding all this, let us assume that a manufacturer of machines wants to convert AN ADDITIONAL CAPITAL OF £1,000 into elements of production. He will of course lay out part of it on wages, say £200. But he buys iron, coal, etc., with the remaining 800. Let us assume that this iron, coal, etc., has first to be produced. Then, if the iron or coal producers either have no excess (accumulated) stocks of their commodities, and likewise have no ADDITIONAL MACHINERY and are unable to buy it immediately (for in this case too constant capital would be exchanged for constant capital), they can only [produce the required iron and coal] if they work their old MACHINERY longer. As a result, they would have to replace it more rapidly, but a part of its value would enter into the new product. Irrespective of this, however, the iron manufacturer needs more coal in any case and must therefore transform at least part of his share in the £800 directly into constant capital. Both coal and iron producers sell their wares in such a way that they contain unpaid surplus labour. And if this amounts to a $^1/_4$, then this alone means that 200 out of the £800 is not converted into wages, not to mention the part which has to make good the wear and tear of the old machinery.

The SURPLUS consists always of the articles produced by the particular capital, i.e. coal, iron, etc. Part of the SURPLUS is converted directly into constant capital when the producers whose commodities serve as elements of production for other producers exchange these commodities with one another. That part [of the

surplus value], however, which is exchanged against the products of those who produce means of subsistence and replaces their constant capital, provides the necessary variable capital. The producers of means of subsistence that can no longer enter as elements into their production (except as variable capital) acquire additional constant capital through the same process which provides the other [producers] with additional variable capital.

The following features distinguish reproduction—in so far as it constitutes accumulation—from simple reproduction.

*Firstly:* Both the constant and variable elements of production which are accumulated consist of newly added labour. They do not amount to revenue, although they arise from profit. They amount to profit or surplus labour, whereas in the case of simple reproduction part of the product represents past labour (i.e. in this context, labour which has not been performed in the current year).

*Secondly:* If the labour time in certain branches is lengthened, that is, if no ADDITIONAL INSTRUMENTS or machines are employed, the new product must indeed, to a certain extent, pay for the more rapid wear and tear of the old [tools or machines], and this accelerated consumption of the old constant capital is likewise an aspect of accumulation.

As a result of the ADDITIONAL money capital which arises in the process of reproduction—partly through the freeing of capital, partly through the conversion of part of the product into money, partly because, as a result of the money collected by the producer, the demand for other [commodities], e.g., [those offered by the] sellers of luxury goods, is reduced—the systematic replacement of the elements [of production] is by no means a necessity, as it is in the case of simple reproduction. With the ADDITIONAL money anyone can buy or command products, although the producer from whom the purchase is made may neither expend his revenue on the product of the purchaser nor replace his capital with it.// //ADDITIONAL CAPITAL (constant or variable) must appear in the form of money capital on one side, even if this only exists in the form of outstanding claims, whenever it is not balanced by a corresponding addition on the other side.//

For the rest, Cherbuliez presents a remarkable amalgam of Sismondian and Ricardian contradictory views.

Cherbuliez says:

"The products are appropriated before they are converted into capital; and this *conversion does not eliminate such appropriation*" ([p.] 54).[a]

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[a] Marx quotes partly in German and partly in French.—*Ed.*

But this applies not only to the products, but also to labour. Raw materials, etc., and means of labour belong to the capitalist. They are the *converted* form of his money. On the other hand, when he has bought labour capacity or the daily (say 12 hours) USE of labour capacity, with a sum of money=the product of 6 hours of labour, then the labour of 12 hours belongs to him; it is *appropriated* by him before it is carried out. The process of production itself turns labour into capital. But this transformation is an act which takes place later than its appropriation. The "products" are converted into capital, *physically* converted in so far as in the labour process they function as conditions of labour, conditions of production, objects and means of labour, and *formally* converted in so far as not only their *value* COMES TO BE PERPETUATED but as they become means for absorbing *labour and surplus labour*, in so far as they IN FACT function as ABSORBERS OF LABOUR. [XVIII-1112] On the other hand: the labour capacity *appropriated before* the [production] process is turned directly into capital *in* the course of the process by being converted into the conditions of labour and into SURPLUS VALUE; as a result of its embodiment in the product, it not only preserves the constant capital but replaces the variable capital and adds SURPLUS VALUE.

*Sismondian:*

"The hypothesis that an *invariable ratio* exists between the different elements of capital is not substantiated at any stage of the economic development of society. The relationship is essentially *variable* and for two reasons: a) the division of labour, and b) the replacement of human labour by natural agents" ([p.] 61). "These two factors tend to reduce the *ratio* of the *approvisionnement* to the other two elements of capital" ([pp.] 61-62).

"In this situation, the *increase in productive capital* does not necessarily lead to an increase in the amount of *approvisionnement* intended to constitute the price of labour; it can be accompanied—at least TEMPORARILY—by an absolute diminution of this element of capital, and consequently by a *reduction in the price of labour*" ([p.] 63).[a]

//This is Sismondian; the effect on the *wage level* is the only aspect considered by Cherbuliez. This problem does not arise at all in an investigation where the *value of labour is always supposed to be paid, and the fluctuations of the *market price* of labour beyond or below that point (the value) are not taken into consideration.*//

"The producer who wishes to introduce a new division of labour in his enterprise or to exploit some natural force, will not wait until he has accumulated sufficient capital to be able to employ in this new way *all* the workers he needed previously. In the case of division of labour, he will perhaps be satisfied to produce

[a] Marx quotes partly in German and partly in French.—*Ed.*

with 5 workers what he previously produced with 10. In the case of the exploitation of a natural force, he will perhaps use only 1 machine and 2 workers. The *approvisionnement* will, in consequence, be reduced to 1,500 in the first case and to 600 in the second. But since the number of workers remains the same, *their competition* will soon force the price of labour below its original level" ([pp.] 63-64).[a] "This is one of the most astonishing results of *the law of appropriation.* The absolute increase in wealth, that is, in the products of labour, does not give rise to a proportional increase and may lead to a diminution in the *approvisionnement* for the workers, in the portion they receive of all kinds of products" ([p.] 64). "The factors determining the *price of labour*" //in this context it is always a question only of the *MARKET PRICE* OF LABOUR// "are the absolute amount of productive capital and the ratio between the different elements of capital, two social facts on which the will of the workers can exercise no influence" ([p.] 64). "Nearly all the odds are against the worker" (l.c.).

The ratio between the different elements of productive capital is determined in two ways. *First:* By the organic composition of productive capital. By this we mean the technological composition. With a *given productive power of labour*, which can be taken as constant so long as no CHANGE occurs, the amount of raw material and means of labour, that is, the amount of constant capital—in terms of its *material elements*—which corresponds to a definite *quantity of living labour* (paid or unpaid), that is, to the *material* elements of *variable* capital, is determined in every sphere of production.

If the proportion of the objectified labour to the living labour employed is small, then the portion of the product that represents living labour will be large regardless of how this portion is divided between capitalist and worker. If the reverse is the case, the contrary result will occur. With a given rate of exploitation of labour, the surplus labour too will be large in the former case and small in the latter. This can only CHANGE as a result of a CHANGE in the mode of production which alters the technological relationship between the two parts of capital. Even in this case, the absolute amount of living labour employed by the capital which uses a greater proportion of constant capital may be equal or even larger if capitals of different *size* are compared. But it must be smaller *relatively*. For capitals of the same size, or calculated in proportion to the total capital—100 for example—it must be smaller both relatively and absolutely. All CHANGES arising from the development (not the decline) of the productive power of labour, reduce that part of the product which represents living labour, that is, they reduce variable capital. Regarding capitals [XVIII-1113] invested in different branches of production, one can say [that these

[a] Marx quotes partly in German and partly in French.—*Ed.*

changes] reduce the *variable* capital absolutely in those branches which have reached a higher level of production, since wages are assumed to be equal.

So much with regard TO THE CHANGES arising from changes in the mode of production.

*Secondly, however,* if one assumes that the organic composition of capitals is given and likewise the differences which arise from the differences in their organic composition, then the *value ratio* can change although the technological composition remains the same. What can happen is: a) a CHANGE in the value of the constant capital; b) a CHANGE in the value of the variable capital; c) a *CHANGE in both,* in equal or unequal proportions.

a) If the technological composition remains the same and a CHANGE in the value of constant capital takes place, its value will either fall or rise. If it falls, and only the same amount of living labour is employed as previously, i.e. if the *scale* or *level of production* remains the same, if, for example, 100 men are employed as previously, the same physical amount of raw material and means of labour continues to be required. But the SURPLUS LABOUR BEARS A GREATER PROPORTION TO THE WHOLE CAPITAL ADVANCED. The rate of profit rises. In the opposite case it declines. In the former case, *for the capitals already employed in that sphere (not those newly invested in* it *after the change of value in the elements of constant capital has taken place), the total sum of the capital employed diminishes or some portion of that capital is set free, although production continues to be carried on on the same scale; or the capital so liberated is added to the production and then works like an accumulation of capital. The scale of production is enlarged, and the absolute amount of surplus labour is increased proportionally.* With a given *mode of production,* every accumulation of capital results in an INCREASE in the TOTAL AMOUNT OF surplus value WHATEVER THE RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE may BE.

Conversely, if the VALUE OF THE ELEMENTS OF CONSTANT capital increases, then * *either the scale of production* (hence the mass of the total capital advanced) must increase to employ the *same quantity of* labour (the same variable capital—unchanged in its value) as before; and then, although the absolute amount of surplus value, and the rate of surplus value, remains the same, its proportion to the whole capital advanced sinks, and, hence, the rate of profit falls.* Or the scale of production and the TOTAL SUM OF CAPITAL ADVANCED is not enlarged. In the latter case the variable capital must decrease whatever the circumstances. If the same sum as previously is laid out in constant capital, it now represents a smaller amount of

material elements and since the *technological conditions* remain the same, * less labour is to be employed. The whole capital advanced is then diminished by the labour dismissed; the total value of the capital advanced is diminished, but of that diminished capital the constant capital bears (value considered) a greater proportion. The surplus value is diminished absolutely, because less labour is employed; and the proportion of the remaining surplus value to the total capital advanced is diminished, because variable capital bears a less proportion to constant capital.

On the other hand, if the whole capital is employed as before—the less value of the variable capital (representing a less quantity of the whole of labour (living labour) employed) being absorbed by the greater value of the constant capital; the one being diminished in the same proportion as the other is augmented—then the absolute quantity of surplus value sinks, because less labour is employed, and, at the same time, the proportion of this surplus value to the whole capital advanced falls. Thus the rate of profit sinks from two causes, the diminution in the amount of surplus labour, and the decreasing proportion borne by that surplus labour to the total capital advanced.*

In the first case (with SINKING VALUE OF THE ELEMENTS OF CONSTANT CAPITAL) where the *rate of profit rises* in all circumstances the scale of production must be extended if the *amount of profit* is to increase. Let us assume that the capital is 600—half constant, half variable. If the constant capital were to lose $^1/_2$ its value, it would only amount to 150, although the variable capital would remain 300. The total capital employed would be only 450, 150 being freed. If the 150 are added to the capital again, then $128^4/_7$ of the 150 will now be laid out in variable [XVIII-1114] capital. Thus the *scale of production* is expanded and more labour employed, if the same capital continues to be used in the production process.

In the opposite case, where with RISING VALUE OF THE ELEMENTS OF CONSTANT CAPITAL the *rate of profit* falls in all circumstances, the *scale of production*, and therefore THE CAPITAL ADVANCED, must be INCREASED if the amount of profit is not *to decrease* and the *amount* of labour employed (and therefore SURPLUS VALUE) is to remain *the same*. If this is not done, if only THE OLD OR LESS THAN THE OLD CAPITAL IS ADVANCED, then not only does the rate of profit decline, but also the amount of profit.

The rate of surplus value remains unchanged in both cases; it changes, however, if any change in the *technological* composition of capital takes place: it increases if the constant capital increases (because labour is then more productive) and declines when it falls (because labour is then less productive).

b) If there is any CHANGE in the value of variable capital independent of the *organic composition*, it can only occur because of a fall or a rise in the price of means of subsistence that are not produced in the sphere of production under consideration but enter into it as commodities from outside.

If the *value of variable* capital falls, it nevertheless represents the same amount of living labour as before. The same quantity of labour merely costs less. If therefore the *scale of production* remains the same (since the value of constant capital is unchanged), then the part of the total capital used for the purchase of labour is diminished. Less capital needs to be laid out in order to pay the same number of workers. Thus, in this case, if the *scale of production remains the same*, the amount of capital laid out diminishes. The rate of profit increases, and this for two reasons. The *SURPLUS VALUE has increased*; the ratio of living labour to objectified labour has remained the same, but the increased SURPLUS VALUE correlates with a smaller total capital. If, on the other hand, the capital freed is again invested, then this = *accumulation*.

If the *value of the variable capital* increases, then a greater total capital must be laid out in order to employ the same number of workers as before, because the value of the constant capital remains the same and that of the variable capital has risen. The amount of labour remains the same, but a smaller part of it is SURPLUS LABOUR, and this smaller part corresponds to a larger capital. This takes place when the *scale of production remains the same*, while the value of the total capital increases. If the value of the total capital does not increase, the *scale of production* must be reduced. The amount of LABOUR declines and a smaller portion of this reduced amount constitutes SURPLUS LABOUR, WHICH, TOO, BEARS A SMALLER PROPORTION TO THE WHOLE CAPITAL ADVANCED.

The ORGANIC CHANGES and those brought about by CHANGES OF VALUE can have a similar effect on the rate of profit in certain CIRCUMSTANCES. They differ however in the following way. If the latter are not due simply to FLUCTUATIONS OF MARKET PRICES and are therefore not temporary, they are invariably caused by an ORGANIC CHANGE in the spheres that provide the elements of constant or of variable capital.

It is not necessary here to examine *CASE 3* in detail.

In the case of capitals of equal size—or if the calculation is based on equal amounts of the total capital, 100, for example—the *organic composition* may be *the same* in *different spheres of production*, but the *value ratio* of the primary component parts of constant and variable capital may be *different* according to the

different values of the amount of instruments and raw materials used. For example, copper instead of iron, iron instead of lead, wool instead of cotton, etc.

On the other hand, is it possible for the organic composition to be different if the *value ratio* remains the same? If the organic composition is the same, the relative amounts which constitute constant capital and living labour are *the same* per 100. The quantitative proportions are the same. The value of the constant capital may be the same, although the relative amounts of labour set in motion are different. If the machinery or raw materials are dearer (or cheaper), less labour, for example, may be required, but in this case the value of the variable capital is also relatively smaller or vice versa.

[XVIII-1115] Let us take A and B. $c'$ and $v'$ are the component parts (in terms of value) of A, and $c$ and $v$ those of B (in terms of value). If $c':v'=c:v$, then $c'v=v'c$. Consequently likewise $\frac{c'}{c}=\frac{v'}{v}$.

Since the *value ratios* [of constant to variable capital] are equal, only the following variations are possible. If in one sphere *more surplus labour is carried out* [than in another sphere] (for example, night-work is impossible in agriculture, and although the individual agricultural labourer can be overworked, nevertheless the total amount of labour which can be expended on a given area of land, etc., is limited by the object being produced (corn), whereas in a factory of a given size the amount produced depends (δύναμει[a]) on the hours of labour worked) (that is to say, it is due to the different modes of production that more surplus labour can be employed in one sphere at a given level of production than in another), then, even if the value ratio of constant and variable capital is the same, the amount of labour employed in proportion to the total capital will nevertheless be different.

Or, let us assume that the [raw] material is dearer and labour (of greater *skill*) is dearer, in the same proportion. In this case A employs 5 workers, where B employs 25, and they cost him £100—as much as the 25 workers, because their labour is dearer (their surplus labour is therefore also worth more). These 5 workers work up 10 lbs of raw material, $y$,=500 and B's workers work up 1,000 lbs of raw material, $x$, worth 500, because the raw material is dearer and the productive power of labour is less highly developed in the case of A. The *value ratio* here—£100 $v$ to

[a] Potentially.—*Ed.*

500 *c*—is the same in both cases, but the *organic composition* is different.

The *value ratio* is the same: the value of constant capital in A is the same as in B, and proportionately A lays out the same amount of capital in wages as B. But the quantity of his products will be smaller. Although he employs the same absolute quantity of labour as B, he uses more relatively, because his constant capital is dearer. He processes less raw material, etc., in the same time, but this smaller quantity costs him as much as the larger quantity processed by B. The *value ratio* in this case is the same, the organic composition is different. In the other case the value ratio being assumed to be the same, this can occur only if the amounts of the surplus labour are different or if the values of the different kinds of labour are different.

The organic composition can be taken to mean the following: Different ratios in which it is necessary to expend constant capital in the different spheres of production in order to absorb the same amount of labour. The *combination of the same amount of labour* with the object of labour requires either that both more raw material and more MACHINERY are used in one case than in the other, or that more if only one of these is used.

//Where the ratios between fixed and circulating capital are very different, those between *constant and variable* capital can be *the same,* consequently the SURPLUS VALUE can be the same although the *values* produced annually must be different. Let us assume that in the coal industry—where no raw materials are used (apart from *matières instrumentales*), the fixed capital constitutes half the total capital and variable capital the other half. Let us assume that in tailoring the fixed capital=0 (as in the previous case we disregard *matières instrumentales*), that the raw materials=$^1/_2$ and the variable capital=$^1/_2$. Given the same degree of exploitation of labour, both will realise the same amount of *SURPLUS VALUE,* since both employ the same amount of labour in proportion to capital, i.e. per 100. But let us assume that fixed capital in the coal industry turns over once every 10 years while there is no difference in the rate of turnover of circulating capital in both cases. At the end of the year (we will assume that the variable capital turns over once a year in both cases) the tailor's capital will have produced values amounting to 150 if the surplus VALUE=50. The coal producer, on the other hand, will have produced values amounting to 105 at the end of the first year (consisting of 5 for fixed capital, 50 for variable and 50 for surplus labour). As in the case of the tailor (the total value of his product+the fixed capital=150, that is, the

product=105+45 for the remaining fixed capital). The production of different magnitudes of value therefore does not preclude the production of *the same* amount of SURPLUS VALUE.

In the 2nd year, the fixed capital of the coal producer would=45, variable capital=50 and surplus value=50, that is, the capital advanced would=95 and the profit would=50. The rate of profit would have *risen*, because the value of the fixed [XVIII-1116] capital would have declined by $^1/_{10}$ as a result of wear and tear during the first year. Thus there can be no doubt that in the case of all capitals employing a great deal of fixed capital—provided the scale of production remains unchanged—the rate of profit must *rise* in proportion as the value of the machinery, the fixed capital, declines annually, because wear and tear has already been taken into account. If the coal producer sells his coal at the same price throughout the 10 years, then his rate of profit must be higher in the 2nd year than it was in the 1st AND SO FORTH. Or one would have to assume that the maintenance work, etc., stands in direct proportion to the depreciation, so that the total sum advanced annually under the heading of fixed capital remains the same. This extra profit may be equalised also as a result of the fact that—apart from wear and tear—the value of fixed capital falls in the course of time, because it has to compete with new, more recently invented, better machinery. On the other hand, this falling[a] rate of profit, which results naturally from wear and tear, makes it possible for the declining value of the fixed capital to compete with newer, better machinery, the full value of which has still to be taken into account. Finally, the coal producer sold his coal more cheaply [at the end of the second year] on the basis of the following calculation: 50 on 100 means 50% profit, 50% on 95 comes to $47^1/_2$; if therefore he sold the same quantity of coal [not for 105 but] for $47^1/_2$—then he would have sold it more cheaply than the man whose machinery, for example, began to operate only in the current year. Large installations of fixed capital presuppose possession of large amounts of capital. And since these big owners of capital dominate the market, it appears that only for this reason their enterprises yield SURPLUS PROFIT (rent). In the case of agriculture, this rent derives from working relatively fertile land, but here we are dealing with a case where relatively cheaper machinery is utilised.//

//A large number of instances which are adduced in connection with the relation of fixed to circulating capital, refer to the

[a] Thus in the original. Presumably, it should be "rising".—*Ed.*

difference between variable and constant capital. First of all, the proportion of constant to variable capital can be the same although the proportion of fixed to circulating capital is different. Secondly, in the case of constant and variable capital it is a question of the primary division of capital between living and *objectified* labour, *not* of the modification of this relationship by the circulation process or the influence of this latter on reproduction.

It is clear *d'abord* that the difference between fixed and circulating capital can affect surplus value (apart from the differences in the mass of living labour employed, i.e. differences which are related to the ratio of variable to constant capital) only in so far as it affects the *turnover* of the total capital. It is therefore necessary to investigate how the *turnover* affects surplus value. Two factors are obviously closely connected with it: 1) SURPLUS VALUE cannot be accumulated, reconverted into capital, so rapidly (so often); 2) the *capital advanced* must increase both to continue to employ the same number of workers, etc., and because the advances [of money] which the capitalist makes to himself to cover his own consumption costs must extend over a longer period. These factors are important in connection with *profit.* Here however it is, to begin with, only necessary to examine how they affect SURPLUS VALUE. One must moreover always clearly distinguish between these two factors.//

//Everything which increases the *advances* without proportionally increasing the surplus value, reduces the rate of profit EVEN IF THE SURPLUS VALUE REMAINS THE SAME; the opposite is the case with everything which reduces them. In so far, therefore, as a large amount of fixed capital in proportion to circulating capital—or different turnover periods of capital—affects the size of the advances, it affects the rate of profit EVEN IF NOT AT ALL AFFECTING THE SURPLUS VALUE.//

//The rate of profit is not SIMPLY the SURPLUS VALUE calculated on the capital advanced, but THE MASS OF SURPLUS VALUE REALISED WITHIN A GIVEN PERIOD, that is, in a definite period of circulation. In so far as the difference between fixed and circulating capital affects the MASS OF SURPLUS VALUE which a particular capital yields *WITHIN A GIVEN PERIOD,* it affects the rate of profit. Two aspects must be taken into consideration: [firstly,] the difference in the size of the *advances* (RELATIVE TO THE SURPLUS VALUE REALISED) and SECONDLY, THE DIFFERENCE IN THE *LENGTH OF TIME* FOR WHICH THESE ADVANCES HAVE TO BE MADE BEFORE THEY ARE RETURNED WITH A SURPLUS.//

[XVIII-1117] //The reproduction time, or rather, the number of

reproductions taking place in a definite period of time, is substantially affected by 2 circumstances:

1) *The product remains longer in the sphere of production proper. It is possible firstly* that, in order to be produced, one product requires a longer period of time than another; it may require a larger part of a year, a whole year or even more than a year. (The latter is the case for example with buildings, in stock-breeding and the production of certain luxuries.) In this case, the product continually absorbs labour—often a great deal of labour is absorbed (for instance by luxury articles and buildings) in relation to the constant capital—the amount depending on the composition of the productive capital, its division into constant and variable capital. Thus in the measure as the time required for the production of the commodity increases and the labour process continues uniformly, a continuous absorption of labour and of surplus labour takes place. This happens for example with cattle or buildings if the latter require say more than a year's work. The product can enter the sphere of circulation, that is, it can be sold, be thrown on the market, only when the work is completed. The surplus labour expended in the first year is embodied with the rest of the labour in the unfinished product of the first year. It is neither greater nor smaller than in other branches of production where the ratio between constant and variable capital is the same. But the value of the product cannot be *realised*, that is, in the sense that it cannot be converted into money, and neither can the SURPLUS VALUE. The latter cannot therefore be accumulated as capital nor used for consumption. The capital advanced, and also the SURPLUS VALUE, serve, so to speak, as foundations for further production. They are a precondition for it and enter, to some extent, as semi-finished products, or, *d'une manière ou d'une autre*,[a] as raw material into the production process of the 2nd year.

Let us assume that the capital is [£]500, labour=100 and surplus value=50, so that the capital advanced in production=550+500 which is advanced in the 2nd year. The surplus value again=50. The value of the product is therefore=£1,100, of which 100 is surplus value. In this case, the surplus value is the same as if the capital had been reproduced in the first year and £500 had been invested again in the 2nd year. In each year the variable capital employed is 100 and the surplus value 50. But the *rate of profit* is different. In the first year it is 50, or 10%. But in the second year the capital advanced amounts to

[a] In one way or another.—*Ed.*

550+500=1,050, and $^1/_{10}$ of this=105. If one assumes the same rate of profit, then the value of the product comes to: 550 in the 1st year; 550+500+55+50=1,155 in the 2nd year. At the end of the 2nd year, the value of the product=1,155. Otherwise it would have been only 1,100. In this case, the profit is greater than the surplus value produced, for this only amounts to 100. If one includes the consumption costs which the capitalist has to advance over 2 years, then the capital laid out is even greater in proportion to the surplus value. On the other hand, it is true that the *entire* surplus value gained in the first year has been converted into capital in the 2nd. Furthermore, the capital laid out in wages is greater, because the 100 is not reproduced at the end of the first year, so that in the 2nd year 200 must be advanced for the same labour for which 100 would have been sufficient if it had been reproduced in the 1st year.

*Secondly.* After the labour process has been completed, the product must continue to remain in the production sphere in order to undergo natural processes which require either no labour or relatively quite insignificant amounts of it, like wine in the cellar. Only when this period has elapsed can the capital be reproduced. It is obvious that in this case, quite irrespective of what the ratio of variable to constant capital may have been, the effect is the same as if more constant and less variable capital had been laid out. The SURPLUS LABOUR, as well as the total amount of LABOUR employed during a definite period of time, is smaller. If the *rate of profit* is the same, this is due to equalisation, not to the amount of SURPLUS VALUE produced in this sphere. More capital must be advanced beforehand to maintain the reproduction process—the continuity of production. And for this very reason the SURPLUS VALUE declines *in proportion* to the capital advanced.

*Thirdly. Interruptions in the labour process* while the product is in the production process, as in agriculture or in processes such as tanning, etc., where chemical processes involve intervals before the product can proceed from one stage to the next, higher one. If in such cases the interval is reduced by chemical discoveries, the productivity of labour rises, the SURPLUS VALUE [is increased] and objectified labour has to be advanced for a shorter period of time. In all these cases, the SURPLUS VALUE is smaller and the advanced capital larger.

2) The same thing happens if the rate of turnover of the circulating capital is lower than the AVERAGE because of distant markets. In this case, too, the advanced capital is greater, the SURPLUS VALUE smaller and its *proportion* to the advanced capital is

also smaller.// //In the latter case [the capital] is retained longer in the circulation sphere, in the former case, in the production sphere.//

[XVIII-1118] //Let us assume that the capital advanced in some branch or other of the transport industry=1,000, fixed capital=500, which will be worn out in 5 years. The variable capital, which=500, turns over 4 times during the year. The annual value of the product will thus be 100+500+100, if the [annual] rate of surplus value=20%, a total of 700. On the other hand, let us assume that in a branch of tailoring the constant capital, which consists only of circulating capital,=500 (the fixed capital=0) and the variable capital=500. Surplus value=100. [The capital] turns over 4 times a year. Then the (annual) value of the product will be 4 (500+500)+100=4,100. The surplus value is the same in both cases. In the last-mentioned case, the entire capital turns over 4 times a year or once a quarter. Of the other capital 600 turn over in the course of a year, therefore $\frac{600}{4}=150$ in a quarter of a year. That is, 50 in a month, 100 in 2 months, and 400 in 8 months. The whole capital requires 1 year and 8 months or 20 months, in order to turn over. In a year, only $^6/_{10}$ of it turns over.

Now it will be said that in order to make a profit of 10%, less is added per quarter on a value of 1,000 in the case of the first capital than in that of the other. But here it is not a question of addition. One makes more surplus value on the capital used up but not on the capital employed. The difference here arises from the surplus value, not from the addition of profit. The difference here lies in the value, not in the surplus value. In both cases the variable capital amounting to 500 turns over 4 times in a year. Both capitals yield a surplus value of 100 in a year, the [annual] rate of surplus value=20%. But £25 in a quarter, therefore a higher percentage? 25 on 500 each quarter=5% a quarter, that is, 20% per annum.

The first [capitalist] turns over $^1/_2$ his capital 4 times a year and only $^1/_5$ of the remaining $^1/_2$ once during the year. A half of four times is *twice*. Thus he turns his capital over $2^1/_{10}$ times during the year. The entire capital of the second capitalist turns over 4 times a year. But this makes absolutely no difference to the SURPLUS VALUE. If the second capitalist continues the reproduction process uninterruptedly, then he must constantly convert 500 into raw materials, etc., and must always use 500 for labour, while the other capitalist likewise uses 500 for labour and has invested the

remaining 500 once and for all (that is, for 5 years) in such a form that he does not need to reconvert it again. This applies however when the ratio of variable to constant capital is the same [in both capitals] despite the difference between fixed and circulating capital. If in both cases, $^1/_2$ consists of constant and $^1/_2$ of variable capital, then it is only possible for $^1/_2$ [in one case] to consist of fixed capital if the circulating constant capital=0, and [in the other case], $^1/_2$ can consist of circulating constant capital only if the fixed capital=0. Although the circulating constant capital can=0, as in the extractive and transport industries where, however, the *matières instrumentales* rather than the raw materials constitute the circulating constant capital, the fixed capital can never=0 (except in banking, etc.). This is however immaterial so long as the ratio of constant capital to variable capital is the same in both cases, even though in one case there may be more fixed and less circulating constant capital than in the other, or vice versa. The only difference here is the time of reproduction required by one half of the capital and by the total capital. One capitalist must invest a capital of £500 for 5 years before it is returned to him, the other, for a quarter of a year or a whole year. The ability to dispose of the capital is different. The amount advanced is the same but the time for which it is advanced is different. This difference does not concern us here. When one considers the total capital advanced, surplus value and profit are the same—£100 in the first year on the 1,000 advanced. In the second year, it is rather the fixed capital that has a higher rate of profit, since the variable capital has remained the same, whereas the value of the fixed capital has declined. The capitalist only advances 400 fixed and 500 variable capital in the 2nd year and receives a profit of 100 as he did before. But 100 on 900=$11^1/_9$%, while the other capitalist, if he continues to reproduce his capital, advances 1,000 as he did previously and makes a profit of 100=10%.

The position is different, of course, if, along with the fixed capital, the constant capital as a whole increases as compared with the variable, or if altogether more capital must be advanced in order to set the same amount of labour in motion. In the case discussed above, the question is not how often the total capital is returned or how large the advance is, but how often that portion is returned which is sufficient to set the same amount of productive labour in motion as that used in the other instance, in order to renew the process of production. However, if in the case cited above, the fixed capital were [not 500 but] 1,000 and the circulating capital only 500 [as previously], then matters would be

different. This, however, would not be due to the fact that it is fixed capital. For if the circulating part of the constant capital in the second case were to amount to 1,000 [instead of 500] (because of the dearness of [raw] materials, for example), then the result would be the same. Since in the first examples [of the two cases] the larger the fixed capital, the greater the relative size of the capital advanced as a whole to the variable capital, these two factors are often confused. Moreover, the whole business of the turnover was in fact originally derived from mercantile capital, where it is determined by different laws. In the case of mercantile capital, as I have demonstrated,[174] the rate of profit is indeed determined by the AVERAGE number of turnovers, regardless of the composition of this type of capital which, incidentally, consists mainly of circulating capital. For in the case of mercantile capital, profit is determined by the GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT.//

[XVIII-1119] // The point is this. If the fixed capital=x, and it turns over only once every 15 years, then $^1/_{15}$ of it is turned over in a single year, but likewise only $^1/_{15}$ needs to be replaced each year. It would make no difference at all if it were replaced 15 times in a year. Its mass would still be the same as before. The product would only become dearer as a result. But it is more difficult to dispose of it and the risk of depreciation is greater than if the same amount of capital were advanced in the form of circulating capital. But this does not affect the *surplus* in any way, although it does enter into the capitalists' calculation of the *rate of profit* since this risk is included in the calculation of the depreciation. As far as the other part of capital is concerned, let us assume that the circulating part of constant capital—*matières brutes* and *matières instrumentales*—amounts to 25,000 a year and wages to 5,000. If it were returned only once during the year 30,000 would have to be advanced during the whole year, and if the surplus value were at the rate of 100% it would amount to 5,000, and profit at the end of the year would be 5,000 on 30,000,=$16^2/_3$% ($^1/_6$). If, on the other hand, the capital turns over five times during the year, then a capital advance of only 5,000 for constant circulating capital and 1,000 for wages will be sufficient. Surplus value will be 1,000, and for $^5/_5$ of a year 5,000. But this surplus value is made on a capital of £6,000, because more than this amount is never advanced. Profit would therefore be 5,000 on 6,000, or $^5/_6$, five times as much [as previously], that is, $83^1/_3$%. (Disregarding fixed capital.) There is thus a very considerable difference in the rate of profit because, in fact, labour worth 5,000 is bought with a capital of 1,000 and raw materials, etc., worth

25,000 with a capital of 5,000. If the amounts of capital were equal in these cases of different rates of turnover, then only 6,000 need have been advanced in the first case, that is, only 500 a month, $^5/_6$ of which would have consisted of constant capital and $^1/_6$ of variable capital. This $^1/_6$ would$=83^1/_3$, on which surplus value at 100% would be $83^1/_3$, and this would amount in a year to $(83+^1/_3)\ 12=^{12}/_3$ (or 4)$+966=1{,}000$. But 1,000 on $6{,}000=16^2/_3\%$.//

*To return to Cherbuliez.*

*Sismondian:*

"In so far as the economic progress of society is characterised by an absolute growth of productive capital and by a *change in the proportions* between the different elements of this capital, it offers the workers some advantages: 1) The greater productivity of labour, resulting especially from the use of machinery, brings about such a rapid growth of productive capital that despite the change that takes place in the proportion of the *approvisionnement* to the other elements of capital, this element nevertheless increases absolutely, which makes it possible not only to employ the same number of workers as before, but also an additional number, so that for the workers the result of progress *apart from some* interruptions means an increase in productive capital and in the demand for labour. 2) The greater productivity of capital tends to diminish the value of the whole mass of products considerably, thus placing them *within reach of the workers*, thereby increasing the range of enjoyments they are able to obtain" (l.c., [p.] 65).[a]

On the other hand:

"1) However impermanent, however partial the temporary diminution of the *approvisionnement* which constitutes the price of labour may be, it produces harmful effects nevertheless. 2) The factors tending to promote the economic advance of society are for the most part accidental, independent of the will of the producing capitalist. The effects of these causes are therefore not permanent, etc." ([p.] 66). "3) It is not so much the *absolute* as the *relative* amount consumed by the worker which makes his lot happy or unhappy. What does it matter to the worker if he is able to obtain a few more products which formerly were inaccessible to him if *the number of products inaccessible to him has grown in even greater proportion, if the distance which separates him from the capitalist* has only increased, if his social position has deteriorated and become more disadvantageous? Apart from the consumption strictly necessary for the maintenance of our strength, *the value of our enjoyments* is *essentially relative*" ([p.] 67).

"People frequently forget that the wage labourer is a thinking man, endowed with the same capacities, impelled by the same motives as the working capitalist" ([p.] 67).

[XVIII-1120] "Whatever advantages a rapid growth in social wealth may bring to the wage workers, *it does not cure the causes of their poverty* ... they continue *to be deprived of all rights to capital and are consequently obliged to sell their labour and to renounce all claims to the products of that labour*" ([p.] 68). "This is the principal error of the law of appropriation ... the *evil lies in this* absolute *lack of any bond* between the wage worker and the capital which is set in motion by his industry" ([pp.] 68-69).

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[a] Marx quotes partly in German and partly in French.—*Ed.*

This last phrase about "*bond*" is written in the typical Sismondian manner and is quite silly to boot.

*About the normal man [who is] equated with capitalist*, etc., see ibid., pp. 74-76.

About the *concentration of capitals* and the elimination of the smaller capitalists (l.c., pp. 85-88).

"If in present circumstances real profit derives from the thrift of the capitalists, it could derive just as well from that of the wage earners" ([pp.] 88-89).

*Cherbuliez*

1) shares [James] Mill's view that all taxes should be imposed [only] on rent[175] ([p.] 128) but since it is impossible

"to impose a tax which is levied only on rent and affects nothing but rent" [pp. 128-29],[a]

since it is difficult to separate profit from rent and impossible when the landowner is himself the cultivator, Cherbuliez proceeds to

2) the real conclusion of the Ricardian theory:

"Why do people not take a step further and *abolish private ownership of land?*" ([p.] 129).[a] "The landowners are idlers who are maintained at the public expense without any kind of benefit to industry or to the general welfare of society". "What makes land productive is the capital employed in agriculture; the landowner contributes nothing to it; he only exists to pocket rent, which does not constitute a part of the profit on his capital, neither is it the product of labour nor that of the productive power of the soil, but the effect of the price of the agricultural products, which is increased by the competition of the consumers", etc. ([p.] 129).[a] "Since the elimination of the private ownership of land would in no way change the causes responsible for rent, rent would continue to exist, but the state would receive it, for all the land would belong to it and it would lease out arable sections of the land to private persons owning sufficient capital to exploit them" ([p.] 130).[a] Rent would replace all state revenues. "Finally industry, liberated, released from all fetters, would take an unprecedented leap forward, etc." ([p.] 130).[a]

But how does this Ricardian conclusion agree with the pious Sismondian wish to place "bonds" on capital and capitalist production? How does it agree with the lamentation:

"Capital will ultimately rule the world if an upheaval does not halt the course which the development of our society is taking under the domination of the law of appropriation" ([p.] 152).[a] "Capital will eliminate the old social distinctions everywhere in order to replace them by this simple classification of men into rich and poor, the rich, who enjoy themselves and rule, and the poor, who work and obey" ([p.] 153).[b] "The general appropriation *of productive wealth and of the products* has always reduced the numerous class of proletarians to a position of subjugation and political impotence, but this appropriation was once combined with a system of restrictive laws which, by *impeding the development of industry* and *the accumulation of*

[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes partly in German and partly in French.—*Ed.*

*capital*, [XVIII-1121] placed limits on the growth of the class of the disinherited, restricted their civil rights within narrow bounds and thus in different ways rendered this class harmless. Today, capital has broken part of these fetters; it is preparing to break all of them" ([pp.] 155-56).[a] "The demoralisation of the proletarians is the second result of the distribution of wealth"[176] ([p.] 156).

## o) RICHARD JONES

### 1) REVEREND RICHARD JONES, *AN ESSAY ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH, AND ON THE SOURCES OF TAXATION*, LONDON, 1831, PART I, *RENT*

Even this first work *ON RENT* is distinguished by what has been lacking in all English economists since Sir James Steuart, namely, a sense of the *historical* differences in modes of production. (Such a correct DISTINCTION of historical forms generally speaking is not contradicted by the very important archaeological, philological and historical BLUNDERS attributed to Jones. See, for example, *The Edinburgh Review*, VOL. LIV, Article IV.[177]) He found that the modern economists after Ricardo define rent as *SURPLUS PROFIT*, a definition which presupposes that the FARMER is a capitalist (or a FARMING CAPITALIST who exploits the land), who expects AVERAGE PROFIT on the capital which he invests in this particular sphere, and that agriculture itself has been subordinated to the capitalist mode of production. In short, landed property is conceived only in its modern bourgeois form, that is, in the modified form which it has been given by capital, the dominant relation of production in society. Jones by no means shares the illusion that capital has been in existence since the beginning of the world.

His views on the origin of rent in general are summarised in the following passages:

"The POWER of the earth TO YIELD, even TO THE RUDEST LABOURS OF MANKIND, more than is necessary for the subsistence of the CULTIVATOR himself, enables him to pay a tribute: hence the origin of rent" ([p.] 4).

"RENT has usually originated in the * *appropriation of* [*the*] *soil*, at a time when the bulk of the people must cultivate it on such terms as they can obtain, or starve, and when their scanty capital of implements, seeds, etc., being utterly insufficient to secure their maintenance in any other occupation than that of agriculture, is chained with them to the land by an overpowering necessity*" [p. 11].

Jones traces rent throughout all its changes, from its crudest form, performance of labour services, to modern FARMER'S RENT. He finds that everywhere a specific form of rent, i.e. of landed property, corresponds to a definite form of labour and of the

[a] Marx quotes partly in German and partly in French.—*Ed.*

conditions of labour. Thus, LABOUR RENTS OR SERF RENTS, the CHANGE FROM LABOUR RENTS TO PRODUCE RENTS, METAYER RENTS, RYOT[178] RENTS, etc., are examined in turn, a development the details of which do not concern us here. In all previous forms, it is the landed proprietor, not the capitalist, who directly appropriates the *SURPLUS LABOUR* of other people. *Rent* (as the Physiocrats conceive it by *reminiscence*) appears historically (and still on the largest scale among the Asiatic peoples) as the general form of *surplus LABOUR*, of LABOUR performed without payment in return. The appropriation of this SURPLUS LABOUR is here not mediated by exchange, as is the case in capitalist society, but its basis is the forcible domination of one section of society over the other. (There is, accordingly, direct slavery, serfdom or political dependence.)

Since we are only considering landed property here in so far as an understanding of it contributes to an understanding of capital, we shall leave Jones' analysis and proceed directly to his result—which distinguishes him from, and shows his superiority over, all his predecessors.

But first a few INCIDENTAL REMARKS.

In discussing *forced labour* and the forms of serfdom (or slavery) which correspond to it more or less, [XVIII-1122] Jones *unconsciously* emphasises the two forms to which all SURPLUS VALUE (SURPLUS LABOUR) can be reduced. It is characteristic that, in general, real forced labour *displays in the most brutal form, most clearly, the essential features of wage labour.*

"Under these conditions" (where there is serf labour) "*rent* can only be increased either by the more skilful and effective utilisation of the labour of the TENANTRY" //RELATIVE SURPLUS LABOUR//, "this however is hampered by the inability of the PROPRIETORS as A BODY TO ADVANCE THE SCIENCE OF AGRICULTURE, *or* by an increase in *the QUANTITY* of the LABOUR EXACTED, and in this case, while the LANDS of the PROPRIETORS will be better TILLED, those of the SERFS, from which labour has been withdrawn, all the worse" (l.c., *CH. II*, [p. 61]).

What distinguishes this book on *RENT* by Jones from his *SYLLABUS* to be mentioned in 2—is this: In the first work he proceeds from the various forms of landed property as a given fact; in the second, from the various forms of labour to which they correspond.

Jones also shows how different stages in the development of the productive power of social labour correspond to these different production relations.

Serf labour (just as slave labour) has this in common with wage labour, *quoad*[a] rent, that the latter is paid in *labour*, not in *products*, still less in *money*.

[a] In respect of.—*Ed.*

As far as "METAYER RENT" is concerned * "the *advance of stock by* the proprietor and the *abandonment of the* management *of cultivation to the actual labourers* shows the continued absence of an intermediate class of capitalists" (l.c., [p.] 74).

"Ryot rents are *produce rents paid by a labourer, raising his own wages from the soil, to the sovereign as its proprietor*" (Ch. IV, [p. 109]).* (In *Asia* especially.) "RYOT RENTS are often mixed up with LABOUR RENTS AND METAYER RENTS" ([p.] 136 sqq.). [Under this system] the sovereign is the chief LANDLORD. * "The prosperity or rather the *existence of* [*the*] *towns* in Asia proceeds entirely from the *local expenditure of* [*the*] *government*" * (l.c. [p. 138]).

* "*Cottier*[179] *rents* ... all rents *contracted to be paid in money*, by peasant tenants, extracting their own maintenance from the soil" * ([p.] 143). (*Ireland.*) "Over the greater part of the globe, no MONEY RENTS are paid" [l.c.].

"All these FORMS" (SERF, RYOT, METAYER, COTTIER, etc., in short, PEASANTS' RENTS) "PREVENT THE FULL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE POWERS OF THE EARTH. The *difference in the productiveness of the industry* depends *first*, on the *QUANTITY* OF CONTRIVANCE USED IN APPLYING MANUAL LABOUR, and *SECONDLY*, on the EXTENT to which the MERE *PHYSICAL EXERTIONS ARE ASSISTED BY THE ACCUMULATED RESULTS OF PAST LABOUR*, in other words, on the different * quantities of skill, knowledge and capital brought to the task of production. *Small number of the agricultural*[a] *classes.* It is obvious that the relative numbers of persons who can be maintained without agricultural labour, *must be measured wholly by the productive powers of the cultivators...*" (Ch. VI [pp. 157-60]). "In England, the tenants who on the disuse of the labour of the serf tenantry took charge of the cultivation of the domains of the proprietors, were found on the land; they were *yeomen*" * ([p.] 166).

We now come finally to the point which is of decisive interest to us here—*FARMERS' RENTS.* It is here that Jones' superiority is most striking, for he shows that what Ricardo and others regard as the eternal form of landed property, is its bourgeois form, which, after all, only develops 1) when landed property has ceased to be the dominant relation in production and, consequently, in society; 2) when agriculture itself is carried on in a capitalist way, which presupposes the development of large-scale industry (AT LEAST OF MANUFACTURE) in the towns. Jones shows that rent in the Ricardian sense only exists in a [XVIII-1123] society the basis of which is the capitalist mode of production. As a consequence of the transformation of rent into surplus PROFIT, the *direct* influence of landed property on WAGES ceases, which, in other words, merely means that the landed proprietor ceases to be the *direct APPROPRIATOR of SURPLUS LABOUR*, this role being now assumed by the capitalist. The relative size of the rent affects only the division of *SURPLUS VALUE* BETWEEN CAPITALIST and PROPRIETOR, NOT THE EXACTION OF THAT SURPLUS LABOUR ITSELF. This conclusion in fact emerges from Jones' analysis, though it is not explicitly stated.

Jones marks a substantial advance on Ricardo, in his historical explanation as well as in the economic details. We shall follow his theory step by step. BLUNDERS, of course, occur.

[a] Thus in the manuscript. Should be "non-agricultural".—*Ed.*

In the following passages, Jones correctly explains the historical and economic conditions under which rent=SURPLUS PROFIT, that is, the expression of *modern* landed property.

*"*Farmers' rents* can only exist when the most *important relations of the different classes of society have ceased to originate in the ownership and occupation of the soil*"* ([p.] 185).

The capitalist mode of production begins with manufacture and only later subjugates agriculture.

*"It is the artisans and the handicraftsmen who first range themselves under the *management of capitalists*"* ([p.] 187).

"One of the immediate consequences of this system is the *POWER OF MOVING AT PLEASURE* THE LABOUR AND CAPITAL EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE, TO OTHER OCCUPATIONS".

//And only with this POWER can there be any question of equalisation of AGRICULTURAL and INDUSTRIAL PROFITS.//

"While the TENANT was himself *a labouring peasant, forced, in the absence of other funds for his maintenance, to extract it himself from the soil,* he was chained to that soil by necessity; the LITTLE STOCK he might possess, *since it was not sufficient to procure him a maintenance unless used for the single purpose of cultivation, was virtually chained to the soil with its master.* With the CAPITALIST-MASTER this *dependence on the soil is broken;* and *unless as much *can be gained by employing the working class on the land, as from their exertions in various other employments*, which in such a state of society abound, the business of cultivation will be abandoned. Rent, in such a case, necessarily consists merely of *surplus profits*"* ([p.] 188). "RENT ceases to have any influence on *wages. When the engagement* of the *labourer is with a capitalist, this *dependence on the landlord is dissolved**" ([p.] 188-89).

As we shall see later, Jones does not really explain how *SURPLUS PROFIT* arises, or rather, he explains it only in Ricardian fashion, i.e. BY THE DIFFERENCE IN THE DEGREES OF NATURAL FERTILITY of DIFFERENT SOILS.

"*When* RENTS *CONSIST OF SURPLUS PROFITS*, there are 3 causes from which the rent OF A PARTICULAR SPOT OF GROUND may increase:

"1) AN INCREASE OF THE PRODUCE FROM THE ACCUMULATION OF LARGER QUANTITIES OF CAPITAL IN ITS CULTIVATION;

"2) the more efficient APPLICATION of CAPITAL ALREADY EMPLOYED;

"3) the capital and produce remaining the same, THE DIMINUTION of the SHARE of the PRODUCING CLASSES in that PRODUCE AND A CORRESPONDING INCREASE of the SHARE of the LANDLORD.

"These causes may COMBINE IN DIFFERENT PROPORTIONS" ([p.] 189).

We shall see what is involved by these different causes. First of all they all presuppose that rent exists as SURPLUS PROFIT; and then there is not the slightest doubt that cause 1) to which Ricardo alludes only once and then only incidentally,[180] is correct. When the capital employed in agriculture increases, the amount of rent increases as well, even though the *price of corn*, etc., does not rise

and no other CHANGE whatever takes place. It is clear that, in this case, the *price of land rises*, although corn prices do not and no CHANGE whatever takes place in them.

Jones declares rent on the *WORST SOIL* to be monopoly price. He therefore restricts the real source of rent either to *monopoly price* (in the same way as Buchanan, Sismondi, Hopkins,[181] and others) if it is *absolute rent* (not arising from differences in the fertility of the different kinds of soil) or to *differential rent* (in the Ricardian sense).

//*Ad vocem*[a] *absolute rent*, let us take a *gold mine*. We assume that the capital employed=£100, the AVERAGE profit £10, rent £10, and that half the capital consists of constant capital (in this case, machinery and *matière instrumentale*) and half of variable capital. The £50 of constant capital means nothing more than that it contains the same amount of labour time as [XVIII-1124] is embodied in £50 worth of gold. That part of the product which=£50 therefore replaces this constant capital. If the rest of the product=£100 and if 50 workers are set to work with the £50 of variable capital then [the labour of] 50 workers (assuming a working day of 12 hours) must be expressed in £100 worth of gold, of which £50 goes to pay wages and £50 represents unpaid labour. The value of the products of all capitals of the same composition will then be 120; the product will then consist of 50*c* and 100, [the 100] corresponding to 50 working days, that is, 50*v* plus 50*c*. A capital of 100, utilising more constant capital and a smaller number of workers, would produce a product of less value. However, all ordinary industrial capitals, although the value of their products would, in these circumstances, amount to 120, would only sell them at their production price of 110. But in the case of the gold mine, this is impossible quite apart from the OWNERSHIP OF LAND, because in this case the value is expressed in the product in kind. A rent of £10 would therefore of necessity arise.//

"Corn CAN SELL at a *monopoly price*, that is, at a price which more than pays the *COSTS and PROFITS OF THOSE WHO GROW IT UNDER THE LEAST FAVOURABLE CIRCUMSTANCES*; or at such a price as will only *repay* the *COMMON PROFITS*. In the first case abstracting from all *difference of fertility in the soils cultivated, [the] *increased produce obtained by increased capital* (prices remaining the same) may increase the rents, in proportion to the increased capital laid out.* For example 10% be the ORDINARY RATE OF PROFIT. If the corn PRODUCED BY £100 CAN BE SOLD FOR 115, the rent would be £5. If *in the progress of improvement the capital employed on the same land were doubled, and the produce doubled, the £200 would yield 230* and *£10 would be rent, and the rent will be doubled*" ([p.] 191).

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[a] As regards.—*Ed.*

//This applies to ABSOLUTE RENT AS WELL AS TO DIFFERENTIAL RENT.//

"In small COMMUNITIES CORN may be constantly at a *monopoly price*... This is possible in LARGER COUNTRIES too, provided the increase of population keeps steadily ahead of the INCREASE OF TILLAGE. However monopoly price of corn is unusual in COUNTRIES of CONSIDERABLE EXTENT AND GREAT VARIETY OF SOIL. When prices rise steeply more lands are cultivated or more capital is laid out on the old lands, till the price hardly yields the ORDINARY PROFIT on the OUTLAY any longer. Then TILLAGE will STOP, and in such countries CORN is usually sold at a price *not more than sufficient to replace the capital employed under the least favourable circumstances and the ordinary rate of profit on it,* and the *rent paid on the better soils is then measured by the excess of their produce over that of the poorest soil cultivated by similar capitals*" ([pp.] 191-92). "All that is necessary to effect A RISE OF RENT OVER THE SURFACE of a country possessing SOILS of unequal goodness, is this: that the *better soils should yield to the additional capital employed upon them in the progress of cultivation, something more than the soils confessedly inferior to them; for then while [the] means can be found of employing fresh capital on any soil between the extremes A and Z, at the ordinary rate of profit, rents will rise on all the soils superior to that particular soil*" ([p.] 195). "Let A have been cultivated with [£]100 yielding annually 110, £10 being the ordinary profits, and B with 100 yielding £115 and C with 100 yielding £120 and so on to Z; the rent of B would be 5, and that of C 10. Let each of these qualities of soil be cultivated with [a capital of] £200. A will produce 220, B 230, C 240, etc., the rent of B, therefore, will have become 10, that of C 20, etc." ([p.] 193).

"The *GENERAL ACCUMULATION* of the capital employed in cultivation, *while it augments the produce of all gradations of soils, somewhat in proportion to their original goodness, *must of itself raise rents* without *reference to any progressive diminution in the return to the labour and capital employed,* and, indeed, *quite independently of any other cause whatever**" ([p.] 195).

It is one of Jones' merits that he is the first who clearly brings out the fact that *once rent [is] supposed, its growth will on the whole //always supposing no revolutions in the mode of production// result from the augmentation of agricultural capital, of capital employed on land. "This may be the case not only if prices remain the same but even when they *fall* below their former* level".

[XVIII-1125] Rejecting the GRADUAL DIMINUTION of productivity [in agriculture], Jones remarks:

*"The average corn produce of England at one time did not exceed 12 bushels per acre; it is now about double" ([p.] 199). "Each successive portion of capital and labour concentrated on the land may be more economically and efficiently applied than the last"* ([pp.] 199-200).

"Rent will double, triple and quadruple, and so on, if the capital invested in the old land is doubled, tripled, quadrupled *without a diminished return, and without altering the relative fertility of the soils cultivated*" ([p.] 204).

This is therefore the first point on which Jones is in advance of Ricardo. ONCE RENT [is] SUPPOSED, IT MAY INCREASE BY THE MERE INCREASE OF THE AMOUNT OF CAPITAL EMPLOYED on the LAND, irrespective of *any change either in the relative fertility of the soils, or the returns of the

successive doses of capital employed, or any alteration whatever in the *price* of agricultural produce.*

Jones' next point is this:

*"It is not essential to the rise, that the *proportion between the fertility of the soils* should be exactly *stationary*"* ([p.] 205).

(Here Jones overlooks the fact that, conversely, an *increasing* * *disproportion*, even when the whole agricultural capital is more productively employed, must and will increase the amount of the differential rent. A *diminution*, on the contrary, in the differences of the fertility of the various soils must diminish the differential rent, i.e. rent flowing from *those differences*. [By] taking away the cause you take away the effect. Still rent (apart from absolute rent) may increase, but* in that case *only in consequence of an increase of the agricultural capital employed.*)

"Ricardo had overlooked the NECESSARILY *UNEQUAL EFFECTS OF ADDITIONAL CAPITAL ON SOILS OF UNEQUAL FERTILITY*" (l.c.).

(This means nothing more than *that the employment of additional capital adds to the differences of relative fertility, and, in that way, to differential rent.*)

"If numbers, BEARING A CERTAIN PROPORTION TO EACH OTHER, are multiplied by the same number, the proportion will be the same as that of the original numbers, yet THE *DIFFERENCES between THE AMOUNTS* OF THE SEVERAL PRODUCTS WILL INCREASE AT EACH STEP OF THE PROCESS. If 10, 15, 20, be multiplied by 2 or 4, and become 20, 30, 40, or 40, 60, 80, THEIR RELATIVE PROPORTIONS will NOT be DISTURBED: 80 and 60 bear the same proportion to 40, as 20 and 15 do to 10, but the *difference BETWEEN THE AMOUNTS OF THEIR PRODUCTS* WILL HAVE INCREASED AT EACH OPERATION, AND FROM BEING 5 AND 10, BECOME 10 AND 20, AND THEN 20 AND 40" ([pp.] 206-07).

This law works out simply as follows:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) 10,[5] | 15,[10] | 20. | *The difference* | 5 [and 10]. | *Sum of the differences* | 15. |
| 2) 20,[10] | 30,[20] | 40. | " " | 10 [ and 20]. | " " | 30. |
| 3) 40,[20] | 60,[40] | 80. | " " | 20 [and 40]. | " " | 60. |
| 4) 80,[40] | 120,[80] | 160. | [" " | 40 and 80. | " " | 120.] |

The difference between the terms is doubled in 2 and quadrupled in 3. The sum of the differences is likewise doubled in 2 and quadrupled in 3.

This therefore is the 2nd law. The *first law* (applied by Jones only to DIFFERENTIAL RENT) is that the amount of rent increases with the increase of the amount of capital employed. If rent is 5 for 100, then it is 10 for 200.

[XVIII-1126] The *second law*. *All other circumstances remaining the same, the proportional difference between the capitals

employed on different soils remaining the same, the *amount of that difference*, and hence the amount of the aggregate rent or the sum of those differences, increases with the absolute quantity of that difference resulting from the increase of the capitals employed.* Hence the *second law* is: The amount of differential rent increases in proportion as the differences of the products increase when the relative FERTILITY remains the same, but CAPITAL EMPLOYED ON THE DIFFERENT SOILS is increased uniformly.

Further: "If [£]100 BE EMPLOYED ON CLASSES A, B AND C, with a PRODUCE of 110, 115, and 120, and SUBSEQUENTLY 200, with RETURNS of 220, 228 and 235, *the relative differences of the products will have diminished, and the soils will have *approximated in fertility*, still the *difference** *of the AMOUNTS of their PRODUCTS* WILL BE INCREASED FROM 5 AND 10 to 8 and 15, and RENTS will have risen accordingly. *Improvements, therefore, which tend to approximate the degrees of fertility of the cultivated soils, may very well raise rents,* and that without the cooperation of any other cause" ([p.] 208). "The *turnip and sheep husbandry and the fresh capital employed to carry it on, produced a greater alteration in the fertility of the poor soils than in that of the better; still it increased *the absolute produce of each*, and,* therefore, RAISED RENTS, while it diminished the DIFFERENCES in the FERTILITY of the SOILS CULTIVATED" (l.c.). "With regard to Ricardo's view that improvements may cause rents to fall, [it is only necessary] *to remember the slowly progressive manner in which agricultural improvements are practically discovered, completed and spread*" ([p.] 211).

//This last passage is only of practical interest and does not affect the problem as such, but refers only to the fact that these IMPROVEMENTS do not proceed so rapidly AS TO CONSIDERABLY AUGMENT SUPPLY IN REGARD TO DEMAND AND THUS TO REDUCE MARKET PRICES.//

Originally we have:

a) b) c)

1) 10, 15, 20. The CAPITAL EMPLOYED IN EACH CLASS=100. The PRODUCT=110, 115, 120. The *difference*=5+10=15. ON ACCOUNT of improvements made, twice as much capital is employed, [£]200 instead of 100 IN EACH CLASS a), b) and c); but this CAPITAL has a different effect in the DIFFERENT CLASSES and the products yielded=220 (that is, double that of a)), 228 and 235. Thus:

a) b) c)

2) 20, 28, 35. The CAPITAL EMPLOYED IN EACH CLASS=200. The PRODUCT=220, 228 and 235. The *difference*=8+15=23. But the rate OF DIFFERENCE has been reduced. 5:10 (i.e. [the ratio of the differences] b—a [to a] in 1)=$^1/_2$ and 10:10=1, whereas 8:20=only $^8/_{20}=^4/_{10}=^2/_5$ and 15:20=$^{15}/_{20}=^3/_4$. The rate of difference has declined but its AMOUNT has increased. This does not, however, constitute a new law, but only shows that the INCREASE OF CAPITAL EMPLOYED leads to an INCREASE in RENT as in the first law, although the INCREASE in a, b, c is not proportional to their ORIGINAL DIFFERENCES OF

FERTILITY. If prices were to fall as a consequence of this increased fertility (which is however [relatively] diminished fertility for b and c, for otherwise their product would have to be 230 and 240 respectively), it would by no means be necessary for the rent to rise or even to remain stationary.

[XVIII-1127] As a consequence, a SEQUEL, of the 2nd law, a further APPLICATION of it can be considered:

The *third law*:

If *"improvements in the efficiency of the capital employed in cultivation increase the *surplus profits* realised on particular spots of land, they increase rent"* [p. 244].

The following passages by Jones (TOGETHER with the earlier ones) refer to this:

"Thus the first source of a rise OF FARMERS' RENTS are *the *progressive accumulation and the unequal effects of capital on all gradations of soil*" ([p.] 234).

//This, however, can only refer to IMPROVEMENTS which RELATE DIRECTLY TO THE FERTILITY OF THE SOIL AS, FOR INSTANCE, MANURES, rotation OF CROPS, etc.//

*"Improvements in the efficiency of the capital employed in cultivation, raise rents by increasing *the surplus profits realised on particular spots of land.* They invariably produce this increase of surplus profit, *unless they augment the mass of raw produce so rapidly as to outstrip the progress of demand.* Such improvements in the efficiency of the capital employed, do usually occur in the progress of agricultural skill, and of the accumulation of *greater masses of auxiliary capital"** (constant capital). *"A rise of rents from this cause, is generally followed *by the spread of tillage to inferior soils,* without any decrease in the returns to agricultural capital on the worst spots reclaimed"* ([p.] 244).

//Jones very correctly declares that A FALL in PROFITS *does not prove* [the decreasing efficiency of] AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY (alias the FALL in the price of AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE). But he himself explains most inadequately how such a fall can come about. [According to him] either the amount produced or ITS DIVISION BETWEEN LABOURERS and CAPITALISTS may CHANGE. Jones has as yet no idea of the real law of declining rate of profit.

*"A fall of profits is no proof of the decreasing efficiency of agricultural industry" ([p.] 257). "Profits depend partly on the *amount* of the produce of labour, partly on the *division* of that produce between the labourers and capitalists;* and their AMOUNT, therefore, might VARY FROM A CHANGE IN EITHER OF THESE PARTICULARS" ([p.] 260).

This is the reason for the incorrect law which he elaborates:

*"When, abstracting from the effects of taxation, an apparent diminution takes place in the revenue of the producing classes considered jointly"* //what revenue means is not explained here, [whether] VALUE IN USE or VALUE IN EXCHANGE, AMOUNT OF PROFIT or RATE [of profit]//, "WHEN THERE IS *A FALL IN THE RATE OF*

*PROFITS, NOT COMPENSATED BY A RISE OF WAGES,* and vice versa," //that is precisely what Ricardo's law says, and it is wrong// "THERE HAS BEEN, it may be argued, SOME DECREASE IN THE PRODUCTIVE POWER OF LABOUR AND CAPITAL" ([p.] 273).

Jones correctly grasps that a *relative increase* [in the value] of *industrial produce as compared to [that of] agricultural produce[a] may take place in the progress of society, although, in point of fact, agriculture is progressing absolutely.*

*"In the progress of nations, an increase of manufacturing power and skill usually occurs, *greater* than that which can be expected in the agriculture of an increasing people. This is an unquestionable truth. *A rise in the relative value of raw produce* may, therefore, be expected in the advance of nations, *without any positive decrease* in the efficiency of agriculture"* ([p.] 265).

But this does not explain the *positive* rise in the *money prices* of RAW PRODUCE, unless A FALL IN THE VALUE OF GOLD TAKES PLACE which *in manufacture is balanced and overbalanced by the still greater fall in [the value of] the commodities produced, while it is not so balanced in agriculture. This may happen, even [XVIII-1128] if no general fall in the value of gold (money) takes place, but when a particular nation, for instance, buys more money* with a DAY'S WORK than THE COMPETING NATIONS DO.

Jones explains his reasons for *not* believing that in England the Ricardian law operates, the abstract possibility of which he does admit HOWEVER.

"If rents should ever rise from the cause stated by Mr. Ricardo,[b] *'the employment of an additional quantity of labour with a proportionally less return', and a consequent transfer to the landlords of a part of the produce obtained on the better soils, then the *average proportion of the gross produce* taken by the landlords as rent, will necessarily increase.* Secondly,[c] the *industry of a larger proportion of the population must be devoted to agriculture*" ([pp.] 280-81).

(This last statement is not quite correct. *It is possible that [a] greater portion of secondary labour is employed—more commodities procured by industry and commerce enter the agricultural process, without the gross produce being augmented proportionally, and without more immediate labour being employed. There may be even less employed.*)

"The statistical history of England presents to us 3 facts: *A spread of tillage* accompanied *by a rise in the general rental of the country. A diminution of the proportion of people employed in agriculture. A decrease in the landlord's proportion of the produce*" ([p.] 282).

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[a] Thus in the manuscript. The passage should presumably read: "a *relative increase* [in the value] of agricultural produce as compared to [that] of industrial produce".— *Ed.*

[b] See D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* p. 60.— *Ed.*

[c] Jones has "Firstly".— *Ed.*

(This last development, just as the decline in the rate of profit, is due to the increase in that part of the product which replaces constant capital. At the same time, rent can increase in both AMOUNT and value.)

"Adam Smith says: *'In the progress of improvement, rent, though it increases in [proportion to the] extent, diminishes in proportion to the produce of the land'*" ([p.] 284).[a]

Jones calls constant capital "AUXILIARY CAPITAL".

"It appears from various RETURNS made AT DIFFERENT TIMES to the BOARD OF AGRICULTURE, that the whole capital AGRICULTURALLY EMPLOYED in England, IS TO THAT APPLIED TO THE SUPPORT OF LABOURERS, as 5 to 1; that is, there are 4 times as much AUXILIARY CAPITAL USED, AS THERE IS OF CAPITAL APPLIED TO THE MAINTENANCE OF THE LABOUR USED DIRECTLY IN TILLAGE. In FRANCE, this ratio=2:1" ([p.] 223). *"When a given quantity of additional capital is applied *in the shape of the results of past labour*, to assist the labourers actually employed, *a less annual return* will suffice to make the employment of such capital profitable,* and, therefore, *permanently practicable, than if the same quantity of fresh capital were expended in the support of additional labourers"* ([p.] 224). "Let us suppose £100 EMPLOYED upon the soil IN THE MAINTENANCE OF 3 MEN, PRODUCING THEIR OWN WAGES, and 10% profit on them, OR £110. Let the capital employed be doubled. And first let the fresh capital support 3 additional LABOURERS. The INCREASED PRODUCE must equal £110=the WAGES of 3 ADDITIONAL MEN+£10 profit. Next let the same ADDITIONAL £100 be EMPLOYED IN THE SHAPE OF IMPLEMENTS, MANURES, OR ANY RESULTS OF PAST LABOUR, while the NUMBER of ACTUAL LABOURERS remains the same. Let this AUXILIARY CAPITAL last on the average 5 years: the ANNUAL RETURN to repay the capitalist must be 10% PROFIT, and £20 the ANNUAL WEAR AND TEAR OF HIS CAPITAL: or £30 will be the annual RETURN, necessary TO MAKE THE CONTINUOUS EMPLOYMENT of the second £100 PROFITABLE, instead of £110, THE AMOUNT NECESSARY WHEN DIRECT LABOUR WAS EMPLOYED by IT. It will be obvious, therefore, that the ACCUMULATION OF AUXILIARY CAPITAL IN CULTIVATION, WILL BE PRACTICABLE WHEN THE EMPLOYMENT of the same *amount of capital in the support of additional labour has ceased to be so, and that the accumulation of such capital may go on for an indefinite period*" ([pp.] 224-25). "Thus the *increase of auxiliary capital both increases the command of man over the powers of [the] soil, relatively to the amount of [XVIII-1129] labour directly or indirectly employed upon it; and *diminishes the annual return* necessary to make the progressive employment of given quantities of fresh capital profitable*" ([p.] 227). "If we suppose any capital, £100 for instance, EMPLOYED UPON THE SOIL, wholly in paying the wages of labour, and YIELDING 10% PROFIT, the revenue of the FARMER will=$^1/_{10}$ that of the LABOURERS. If the capital be trebled, etc., then the REVENUE of the FARMER WILL CONTINUE TO BEAR THE SAME PROPORTION TO THAT OF THE LABOURERS. But if the number of labourers remaining the same, the AMOUNT OF CAPITAL IS DOUBLED, PROFITS become £20, or $^1/_5$ of the revenue. If the capital be quadrupled, profits become £40, or $^2/_5$ of the revenue of the LABOURERS; if the CAPITAL be increased to £500, PROFITS would become £50, OR HALF THE REVENUE of the LABOURERS. And the WEALTH, the INFLUENCE, and probably to some extent, the numbers of the CAPITALISTS IN THE COMMUNITY, WOULD BE *PROPORTIONALLY* INCREASED... A *great*

[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. 1, London, 1835, p. 406.—*Ed.*

*increase of capital* usually makes the *EMPLOYMENT OF SOME ADDITIONAL DIRECT LABOUR* necessary. *THIS CIRCUMSTANCE, HOWEVER, WILL NOT PREVENT THE STEADY PROGRESS OF THE RELATIVE* [increase] *OF THE AUXILIARY CAPITAL*" ([pp.] 231-32).

The first important point in this passage is that, with the increase in capital, the AUXILIARY CAPITAL increases in comparison to the variable capital, in other words, that the latter declines *relatively* in comparison with the constant capital.

The fact that the *ANNUAL RETURNS* decline in proportion to the capital advanced if there is an increase in that part of the AUXILIARY CAPITAL which consists of fixed capital, that is, if its turnover period extends over several years—its value only entering into the product annually in the form of depreciation—is not a phenomenon peculiar to agriculture, but a general one. Although, in industry, the raw material worked up during the year increases even more rapidly than the size of the fixed capital. Compare, for example, the amount of raw cotton which A MULE JENNY consumes weekly or annually with that used up by a spinning wheel. But suppose, for example, that in (large-scale) tailoring the same amount of raw material in terms of *value* is worked up (although not the same physical amount, the raw material being dearer than that used in spinning), then the annual RETURN in tailoring will be considerably larger than in spinning, because a large part of the (fixed) capital laid out in the latter only enters into the product as annual depreciation.

The *value* of the annual RETURN in agriculture (where what one can regard as the raw material, the seed, does not increase in the same proportion as the other elements of constant capital, especially fixed capital) is naturally smaller if the capital increases as a result of an increase in the constant capital only and not in the variable. For the variable capital must be entirely replaced in the product, the other [constant capital] only as an annuity in so far as it is consumed annually. If it is assumed that the *price of grain* is given, when a qr=£2,[a] 220 qrs are required to replace a variable capital of 100 at a profit of 10%, whereas only 60 qrs (=£30) are required to replace a wear and tear amounting to £20 and a profit of £10. A smaller absolute RETURN yields the same profit (as is the case in industry in similar circumstances). Jones' reasoning, however, contains several FALLACIES.

*D'abord*, it cannot be asserted (on the assumptions *made*) that the PRODUCTIVE POWERS OF THE SOIL have increased. They have increased in comparison with THE LABOUR EMPLOYED DIRECTLY, BUT NOT compared with

[a] Thus in the manuscript. Presumably, it should be "10s.".—*Ed.*

THE GENERAL CAPITAL EMPLOYED. All that can be said is that less *GROSS PRODUCE* is necessary in order to yield the same *NET PRODUCE*, i.e. the same profit as before.

[XVIII-1130] Further, the increase in the FARMER'S revenue in comparison to *that of the LABOURERS* is important in this *special* sphere in so far as here the part of the total product WHICH GOES TO PROFIT INCREASES AND GOES ON INCREASING RELATIVELY TO THAT PART WHICH GOES TO THE LABOURERS. As a result, the WEALTH and INFLUENCE of the FARMING CAPITALIST AS COMPARED TO HIS LABOURERS undoubtedly grow and expand. But Jones seems to make the following calculation: [£] 10 on 100 is $^1/_{10}$. £20 on £120 (i.e. 100 expended in labour and 20 depreciation)=$^1/_6$ and the £20 is $^1/_5$ of the sum paid out to the workers, etc. But nothing is more fallacious than that, GENERALLY SPEAKING, the rate of profit can increase while the amount of capital laid out on labour declines. Exactly the opposite takes place. Proportionally less SURPLUS VALUE is produced and the rate of profit therefore falls. As regards the FARMER specifically (and also each particular enterprise taken in isolation) the rate of profit may remain the same whether he employs 3 or 6 workers with a capital of 200.

The fact that rent=SURPLUS PROFIT, i.e. the excess over and above the AVERAGE PROFIT, presupposes not only that agriculture is *formally* subordinated to capitalist production, but also that equalisation of rates of profit takes place in the various spheres of production, specifically between agriculture and industry. Otherwise rent may be equal to a *SURPLUS over WAGES* (which is also profit). It may even represent a PART OF PROFIT or be a DEDUCTION FROM WAGES.

2) *RICHARD JONES, AN INTRODUCTORY LECTURE ON POLITICAL ECONOMY, DELIVERED AT KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON, 27TH FEBRUARY, 1833. TO WHICH IS ADDED A SYLLABUS OF A COURSE OF LECTURES ON THE WAGES OF LABOUR,* LONDON, 1833

* "Property in the soil almost universally rests, at one time of a people's career, either in the general government, or in persons deriving their interest from it" ([p.] 14).

"By economical structure of nations, I mean those relations between the different classes which are established in the first instance by the institution of property in the soil, and by the distribution of its surplus produce; afterwards modified and changed (to a greater or less extent) by the *introduction of capitalists* as agents in producing and exchanging wealth, and in feeding and employing the labouring population"* ([pp.] 21-22).

//The reason Mr. Senior—whose *OUTLINE* appeared at approximately the same time as Ramsay's *ESSAY ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH*, in which latter work the division of profit into "profit OF ENTERPRISE"

and into "NET PROFITS OF CAPITAL OR INTEREST" (CH. IV) is dealt with at length—is supposed to have discovered this division, which was already known in 1821 and 1822, can be explained only by the fact that Senior—a mere apologist of the existing order and consequently a vulgar economist—is very congenial to Mr. Roscher.[182]//

By "*LABOUR fund*" Jones understands

*"the aggregate amount of the revenues consumed by the labourers, whatever be the source of those revenues"* ([*Syllabus*, p.] 44).

The main point (the term LABOUR fund probably comes from Malthus?[183]) in Jones' work is that the whole economic structure of society revolves around the *form of labour*, in other words, the form in which the worker appropriates his means of subsistence, or that part of his product UPON WHICH HE LIVES. This LABOUR fund has various forms and *capital* is merely one of them, it is a form which arises rather late in the historical development. It is only in Jones' work that the important differentiation—between labour that is paid out of capital and labour paid directly out of revenue—made by Adam Smith receives the full elaboration of which it is capable and becomes a major key for understanding the various economic structures of society. And with it disappears the absurd notion that, because in capital the worker's revenue first takes the form of something appropriated, alias *saved*, by the capitalist, this signifies more than a formal difference.

"Even among the West European NATIONS we still find the EFFECTS of the *social conformation which results from the peculiar mode of distributing the produce of their land and labour, established [XVIII-1131] in the early period of the existence of agricultural nations* //namely A CLASS OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS, secondly LANDLORDS, thirdly MENIALS, RETAINERS and ARTISANS who participate in the consumption of the REVENUE of the LANDLORDS either directly or indirectly//" ([*An Introductory Lecture*, p.] 16). "*Capital*, that is, *ACCUMULATED WEALTH EMPLOYED WITH A VIEW TO PROFIT* is the GREAT AGENT, the motive POWER which causes the *CHANGES* that take place in THIS ECONOMIC CONFORMATION". ... "Among all NATIONS, you will find THE DISTINCT DIVISION OF WEALTH HERE POINTED OUT, acting *a most important part in modifying the ties which connect the different classes of the community, and in determining their productive power...* In Asia and in part of Europe (it was formerly the case throughout Europe) the *NON-AGRICULTURAL* CLASSES are almost wholly maintained from the INCOMES of the other CLASSES, principally from the incomes of the *landholders. If you want the labour of an artisan, you provide him with materials; he comes to your house, you feed and pay him his wages. After a time, the capitalist steps in, *he provides the materials, he advances the wages of the workman, he becomes his employer*, and is *the owner of the article produced*, which he exchanges for your money ... an intermediate class* appears between the LANDOWNERS and a portion of the *NON-AGRICULTURISTS*, upon which *intermediate class those non-agriculturists are dependent for employment and subsistence. The ties which formerly bound the community together are worn out and fall to pieces; other bonds, other principles of cohesion, connect its

different classes: *new economical relations* spring into being, etc. ...* Here in England not only the *great body of non-agriculturists almost wholly depend on the pay of capitalists, but the labouring cultivators of the soil are their servants too*" ([p.] 16 sqq.).

The *Syllabus of a Course of Lectures on the Wages of Labor* differs from the book ON RENT in this: The book examines the different forms of landed property to which different SOCIAL FORMS OF LABOUR correspond. In the *Syllabus,* these DIFFERENT FORMS OF LABOUR are the point of departure and both the different forms of landed property and CAPITAL are regarded as their OFFSPRING. The determinate social form of the worker's labour corresponds to the form which the conditions of labour—that is, in particular, the land, nature, since this relationship embraces all others—assume in respect of the worker. But the former is in fact merely the objective expression of the latter.

We shall see, therefore, that the different forms of the LABOUR fund correspond to the different ways in which the worker confronts his own conditions of production. The manner in which he appropriates his product (or part of it) depends on his relations to his conditions of production.

"The LABOUR fund," says Jones, "may be divided into 3 classes: 1) REVENUES which are produced by the LABOURERS who consume them, and never belong to any other persons" //in this case, quite irrespective of the *particular* form, the worker must in fact be the owner of his instruments of production//; 2) "REVENUES BELONGING TO CLASSES DISTINCT FROM THE LABOURERS, AND EXPENDED BY THOSE CLASSES IN THE DIRECT MAINTENANCE OF LABOUR"; 3) "*Capital* in its proper sense. These DISTINCT BRANCHES of the LABOUR fund may all be observed IN OUR OWN COUNTRY; but WHEN WE LOOK ABROAD, WE SEE THOSE PARTS of that fund, which are the most limited here, CONSTITUTING ELSEWHERE THE MAIN SOURCES OF SUBSISTENCE TO THE POPULATION AND DETERMINING THE CHARACTER AND POSITION OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE, etc." ([pp.] 45-46).

*Ad a*). "The WAGES OF *LABOURING CULTIVATORS, OR OCCUPYING PEASANTS.* These LABOURING CULTIVATORS OR PEASANTS are *HEREDITARY* OCCUPIERS, *PROPRIETORS, TENANTS.* The TENANTS are *SERFS, METAYERS, COTTIERS.* The last peculiar to Ireland. Something resembling RENT or profit is often mixed up with the REVENUES of PEASANT CULTIVATORS OF ALL CLASSES, but *WHEN THEIR SUBSISTENCE IS ESSENTIALLY DEPENDENT ON THE REWARD OF THEIR MANUAL LABOUR,* they may be regarded as WAGE LABOURERS.

"Thus, among the LABOURING PEASANTS there are:

"α) *HEREDITARY OCCUPIERS, WHO ARE LABOURING* [XVIII-1132] *CULTIVATORS.* ANCIENT GREECE. MODERN ASIA, more especially INDIA.

"β) *PROPRIETORS.* FRANCE, GERMANY, AMERICA, AUSTRALIA, Ancient Palestine.

"γ) COTTIERS" ([*Syllabus,* pp.] 46-48).

The characteristic feature [of these groups] is that the worker reproduces the LABOUR fund for himself. It *is not transformed into capital.* Just as the worker directly produces the labour fund, so he appropriates it directly, although his SURPLUS LABOUR may be

appropriated either wholly or in part by him himself or may be appropriated entirely by other classes, depending on the particular form which his relation to his conditions of production assumes. It is entirely due to economic prejudice that Jones describes this category as WAGE LABOURERS. Nothing which characterises WAGE LABOURERS exists amongst them. It is a pretty bourgeois economic fancy that, because that part of the product which the worker appropriates to himself under capitalism appears as *WAGES*, the part of his product which the worker himself consumes must be *WAGES*.

*Ad b.* "In England [the labourers are] limited to *menial servants, soldiers, sailors,* and * *a few artisans working on their own account*, and paid *out of the incomes of their employers.* Over a considerable portion of the earth this branch of the General Labour Fund maintains nearly the whole of the *non-agricultural labourers.* Former prevalence of this Fund in England. Warwick the king-maker.[184] The English gentry. Present prevalence in the East. Mechanics, menials. Large bodies of troops so maintained. Consequences of the concentration of this Fund throughout Asia in the hands of the sovereign. Sudden rise of cities. Sudden desertion. Samarcand; Candahar and others*" ([pp.] 48-49).

Jones overlooks two main forms: The Asiatic communal system with its unity of agriculture and industry. And secondly, the urban craft guild system of the Middle Ages, [which] also existed partially in the Ancient World.

*Ad c.* *"*Capital* should never be confounded with the *General Labour Fund* of the World, of which a large proportion consists of revenues. All branches of a nation's revenues ... contribute to the accumulations by which capital is formed. They contribute in different proportions in different countries and different stages of society. When wages and rents contribute the most"* ([p.] 49 sqq.).

Because SURPLUS LABOUR is converted into capital (instead of being exchanged directly as revenue for labour), capital seems to appear as something *saved* out of revenue. Jones considers it mainly from this point of view. And in THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY the great mass of capital does, in fact, consist of revenue reconverted in this way. But in the capitalist production the original LABOUR FUND itself likewise appears as something *saved* by the capitalist. The reproduced LABOUR FUND does not remain in the possession of the worker as in case a), but appears as the property of the capitalist and confronts the worker as the property of *someone else.* And this POINT is not elaborated by Jones.

What Jones has to say about the RATE OF PROFITS and its influence on accumulation in the *COURSE* [*of Lectures*] is rather inadequate:

*"*All other things being equal,* the power of a nation to save from its profits varies with the *rate of profits*: is great when they are high, less when low; but as the rate of profits declines, *all other things do not remain equal.* The *quantities of capital employed relatively to the numbers of* [*the*] *population* may *increase.*"*

//What Jones does not understand is how, as a result of the *"*may*" increase, the rate of profit sinks *because* "the *quantities of capital* employed *relatively* to the *numbers of* [*the*] *population* have *increased*".* But he approaches close to the correct view.//

*"Inducements and facilities to accumulate may increase... *A low rate of profit* is ordinarily accompanied by a *rapid rate of accumulation,* relatively to the numbers of [the] people as in England;* and a **high rate of profit* by a slower rate of accumulation, [XVIII-1133] relatively to the numbers of [the] people,* as in Poland, Russia, India, etc." ([p.] 50 sqq.).

Where the rate of profit is high (apart from cases where, as in North America, there is capitalist production on the one hand and, on the other hand, the VALUE OF ALL AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE IS LOW) it is *GENERALLY* due to the fact that capital consists PRINCIPALLY of variable capital, that is, direct labour predominates. Assume a capital of 100, of which $^1/_5$ is variable capital. And assume further that the SURPLUS LABOUR amounts to $^1/_3$ of a working day. In this case, profit=10%. Assume that $^4/_5$ [of the capital] consists of variable capital and that SURPLUS LABOUR=$^1/_6$ of the working day. In this case, profit would=16%.

"ERROR of the DOCTRINE, that whenever, in the progress OF NATIONS, the **rate of profits* declines, the means of providing subsistence for an increasing population must be becoming less. Foundations of this error: 1) A mistaken notion, that accumulation from profits must be slow where the rate of profits is low, and rapid where it is high. 2) A mistaken belief, that profits are the only source of accumulation. 3) A mistaken belief that all the labourers of the earth subsist on accumulations and *savings from revenue,* and never *on revenue itself*" (l.c.).

"Alterations which take place in the economical structure of nations when *capital assumes the task of advancing the wages of labour*... The amount of capital devoted to the maintenance of labour may vary, independently of any changes in the whole amount of capital."* //This proposition is important.// *"...Great fluctuations in the amount of employment, and great suffering, may sometimes be observed to become more frequent *as capital itself becomes more plentiful ... Periods of gradual transition of the labourers from dependence on one fund to dependence on another... Transfer of the labouring cultivators to the pay of capitalists... Transfer of non-agricultural classes to the employ of capitalists*"* (l.c.).

What Jones calls "TRANSFER" here, is what I call "primitive accumulation". This is merely a formal difference. It is also in contradiction to the absurd notion of "SAVINGS".

*"*Slavery.* Slaves may be divided into pastoral—praedial—domestic—slaves of a mixed character, between praedial and domestic.* We find SLAVES as CULTIVATING PEASANTS, as *menials or artisans, maintained from the incomes of the rich, *as labourers maintained from capital*"* ([p.] 59).

But so long as slavery is predominant, the capital-relation can only be sporadic and subordinate, never dominant.

### 3) RICHARD JONES, *TEXT-BOOK OF LECTURES ON THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF NATIONS*, HERTFORD, 1852[185]

* "The productiveness of the industry of nations really depends on 2 circumstances: First, on the *fertility or barrenness of the original sources*" //land and water// "of the wealth they produce. Secondly, on the *efficiency of the labour* they apply in dealing with those sources, or fashioning the commodities obtained from them" ([p.] 4).

"The *efficiency of human labour* will depend: 1) *on the continuity* with which it is exerted; 2) on the *knowledge* and *skill* with which it is applied, to effect the purpose of the producer; 3) on the *mechanical power* by which it is aided" ([p.] 6).

"The *power* exerted by human labourers in producing wealth ... may be increased: 1) by enlisting in their service, *motive forces* greater than their own..., 2) by employing any amount or kind of motive [XVIII-1134] forces at their command *with an increased mechanical advantage.** For example, an ENGINE OF 40 HORSEPOWER on a railway has a different effect to one on a TURNPIKE ROAD" ([p.] 8). * "The best form of a plough will do as much work, and as well, with two horses, as the worst with four" ([p.] 9).

"The steam engine is not a mere *tool*, it gives *additional motive force*, not merely the *means of using forces* the labourer already possesses, *with a greater mechanical advantage*" * ([p.] 10, note).

This is, therefore, according to Jones, the difference between a TOOL and MACHINERY. The former provides the worker with means for employing the power he possesses to a greater mechanical advantage, the latter provides an increase of MOTIVE FORCE. (?)

* "*Capital* ... consists of wealth *saved from revenue*, and used *with a view to profit*" ([p.] 16). "The possible sources of capital ... are obviously all the revenues of all the individuals composing a community, from which revenues it is possible that any saving can be made. The particular classes of income which yield the most abundantly to the progress of national capital, *change at different stages of their progress*, and are therefore found *entirely different* in nations occupying different positions in that progress" * (l.c.). "*PROFITS* are therefore FAR FROM BEING THE ONLY SOURCES FROM WHICH CAPITAL IS FORMED OR INCREASED. It is even an UNIMPORTANT SOURCE OF ACCUMULATION, compared with WAGES and * rents, in the earlier stages of society" ([p.] 20). "When a considerable advance in the powers of national industry has actually taken place, profits rise into comparative importance as a source of accumulation" * ([p.] 21).

According to this, capital is a part of the WEALTH which constitutes revenue, the part which is expended not as revenue but for the purpose of producing profit. Profit is already a form of surplus value which specifically presupposes capital. If the capitalist mode of production, i.e. capital, is postulated, then the explanation is correct; in other words, if one postulates what has to be explained. But here Jones means all revenue SPENT, NOT AS REVENUE, but with the aim of enrichment, that is, PRODUCTIVELY.

Two aspects are, however, important in this context: *First:* To a certain extent accumulation of wealth takes place in all stages of economic development, that is, partly an expansion of the scale of

production and partly, the accumulation of treasure, etc. As long as WAGES and RENT predominate—that is, according to what was said earlier, as long as the greater part of the SURPLUS LABOUR and SURPLUS PRODUCE which does not accrue to the worker himself, goes to the landowner (the State in Asia) and, on the other hand, the worker reproduces his LABOUR fund himself, i.e. he not only produces his own WAGES himself, but pays them to himself, usually, moreover (almost always IN THAT STATE OF SOCIETY), he is also able to appropriate AT LEAST a part of his SURPLUS LABOUR and his SURPLUS PRODUCT—in this state of society, WAGES and RENT are the main sources of accumulation as well. (In these circumstances profit is restricted to merchants, etc.) Only when the capitalist production has become predominant, when it does not merely exist sporadically, but has subordinated to itself the mode of production of society; when IN FACT the capitalist DIRECTLY APPROPRIATES THE WHOLE SURPLUS LABOUR AND SURPLUS PRODUCE IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, ALTHOUGH HE HAS TO PAY AWAY PORTIONS OF IT TO THE LANDOWNER, etc.—only then does profit become the PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF CAPITAL, OF ACCUMULATION, OF WEALTH SAVED FROM REVENUE, AND USED WITH A VIEW TO PROFIT. This at the same time presupposes (as is implicit in the domination of the capitalist mode of production) that "A CONSIDERABLE ADVANCE IN THE POWERS OF NATIONAL INDUSTRY HAS ACTUALLY TAKEN PLACE".

Jones thus answers those asses who imagine that no accumulation can take place without the profit yielded by capital or who justify profit by saying that the capitalist makes a sacrifice in order TO *SAVE* FROM his REVENUE FOR PRODUCTIVE PURPOSES,[186] by pointing out that in this particular (capitalist) mode of production the function "OF ACCUMULATING" devolves principally on the capitalist whereas, in previous modes of production, it was the labourer himself and, in part, the LANDLORD who played the chief roles in this process and profit played hardly any part in it. Naturally the function [of accumulating] always devolves 1) on those who pocket the SURPLUS VALUE and, 2) among those who pocket the SURPLUS VALUE, in particular on the person who also acts as agent in the production process itself. By saying, [XVIII-1135] therefore, that profit is justified *by the fact* that the capitalist "SAVES" HIS CAPITAL out of PROFIT and that he fulfils the function of accumulating, one merely says that the capitalist mode of production is justified because it exists—this, however, applies equally to the modes of production which preceded it and those which will succeed it. If one says that otherwise accumulation would be impossible, then one forgets that this particular method of accumulation THROUGH THE AGENCY OF THE CAPITALIST has come into existence at a certain

historical stage and is moving towards the historical date when it will cease to exist.

*Secondly,* once so much ACCUMULATED WEALTH has been concentrated in the hands of capitalists *per fas et nefas*[a] that they can dominate production, then the greater part OF EXISTING CAPITAL — AFTER A CERTAIN LAPSE OF TIME — can BE CONSIDERED AS MERELY ORIGINATING FROM PROFIT (REVENUE), that is, from capitalised surplus value.

A point which Jones does not sufficiently emphasise, and which he really only implies tacitly, is this: If the LABOURING PRODUCER pays himself his own WAGES and if his product does not at first assume the "SHAPE" of OTHER PEOPLE'S REVENUE FROM which "SAVINGS" are made AND THEN PAID BACK BY THEM TO THE LABOURER, it is necessary that the labourer be in possession of his conditions of production (as property owner, or TENANT, or HEREDITARY OCCUPIER, etc.). In order that his WAGES and consequently the LABOUR FUND can confront him as alien capital, these conditions of production must have been lost to him and have assumed the SHAPE OF alien PROPERTY. Only after his conditions of production together with his LABOUR FUND have been wrested from him and when, as *capital,* they are rendered independent in relation to him, does the further process begin, which is not concerned with the mere reproduction of these original conditions of production, but with their further development so that both the conditions of production and the LABOUR FUND confront the labourer as something "SAVED" FROM OTHER PEOPLE'S REVENUE IN ORDER TO BE CONVERTED INTO CAPITAL. By losing possession of his conditions of production, and hence, of his LABOUR FUND, the labourer also loses the function of accumulating, and every addition he makes to wealth appears in THE SHAPE OF OTHER PEOPLE'S REVENUE which MUST FIRST BE "SAVED" BY THOSE PEOPLE, THAT IS TO SAY, NOT SPENT AS REVENUE, [if it is] TO PERFORM THE FUNCTIONS OF CAPITAL AND LABOUR FUND for the LABOURER.

Since Jones himself describes a state of affairs in which things have not yet reached this stage and where unity prevails, he certainly should have described this "*separation*" as the real generation process of capital. Once this separation exists, this process does indeed take place and it IS CONTINUED and extended, since the SURPLUS LABOUR of the worker always confronts him as the revenue of others, through the "SAVING" of which alone wealth can be ACCUMULATED and the scale of production extended.

The reconversion of revenue into capital. If *capital* //i.e. the separation of the conditions of production from the labourer// is

[a] By fair means or foul.—*Ed.*

the source of profit //i.e. of the fact that SURPLUS LABOUR appears as the revenue of capital and not of labour// then profit becomes the source of capital, of new capital formation, i.e. of the fact that the ADDITIONAL conditions of production confront the worker as capital, as a means for maintaining him as a worker and of appropriating his SURPLUS LABOUR anew. The original unity between the worker and the conditions of labour //abstracting from slavery, where the labourer himself belongs to the objective conditions of labour// has two main forms: the Asiatic communal system (primitive communism) and small-scale agriculture based on the family (and linked with domestic industry) IN ONE OR THE OTHER FORM. Both are embryonic forms and both are equally unfitted to develop labour as *social* labour and the productive power of social labour. Hence the necessity for the separation, for the rupture, for the antithesis of labour and property (by which property in the conditions of production is to be understood). The most extreme form of this rupture, and the one in which the PRODUCTIVE FORCES OF SOCIAL LABOUR ARE also MOST POWERFULLY DEVELOPED, is capital. The original unity can be re-established only on the material foundation which capital creates and by means of the revolutions which, in the process of this creation, the working class and THE WHOLE SOCIETY UNDERGO.

Another point which Jones does not sufficiently emphasise is this:

Revenue which is exchanged as such against labour—if it is not the revenue of a SELF-SUSTAINING LABOURER who employs a SECONDARY WORKMAN—is the revenue of the LANDHOLDER, itself derived from the rent which the SELF-SUSTAINING LABOURER pays him, and which the landlord does not entirely consume *in natura*, either by himself or together with his MENIALS and RETAINERS, but a part of which he uses to buy the products or services of secondary WORKMEN and so on. This always presupposes the first relationship.

[XVIII-1136] //In the same way as part of the profit is classified as interest, EVEN IF THE INDUSTRIAL CAPITALIST EMPLOYS ONLY HIS OWN CAPITAL, because this form [of revenue] has a separate mode of existence, so, given the capitalist mode of production, EVEN IF A LABOURER OWNS HIS MEANS OF PRODUCTION, EVEN WITHOUT EMPLOYING ANY OTHER LABOURER, IT IS CONSIDERED AS CAPITAL and the part of his own labour realised by him *au delà*[a] the common WAGE appears to be PROFIT yielded by his capital. He himself is then divided up into DIFFERENT economic categories. As HIS OWN WORKMAN, HE GETS HIS WAGES, AND AS CAPITALIST, HE GETS HIS PROFITS. This observation belongs to the chapter "REVENUE AND ITS SOURCES".[187]//

[a] Over and above.—*Ed.*

* "There is a difference between the influence, on the productive powers of nations, of that *wealth which has been saved*, and is *dispensed as wages with a view to profit*; and of that wealth which is advanced out of revenue for the support of labour. With a view to this distinction, I use the word *capital* to denote that portion of wealth exclusively which has been saved from revenue, and is used with a view to profit" ([pp.] 36-37). "We might ... comprise under the term capital, *all the wealth devoted to the maintenance of labour*, whether is has gone through any *previous process of saving or not*, ...we must, then, in tracing the position of the labouring classes, and of their paymasters in different nations and under different circumstances, distinguish between *capital which has been saved*, and *capital which has undergone no process of accumulation*; between, in short, capital which is revenue, and capital which is not revenue" ([p.] 36). "In every nation of the Old World, except England and Holland, the *wages* of the agriculturists *are not advanced* out *of the funds* which have *been saved and accumulated from revenues*, but *are produced by the labourers themselves*, and never *exist in any other shape than that of a stock for their own immediate consumption*" * ([p.] 37).

What distinguishes Jones from the other economists (except perhaps Sismondi) is that he emphasises that the essential feature of capital is its socially determined form, and that he reduces the whole difference between the capitalist and other modes of production to this distinct form. It is that labour is directly converted into capital and that, on the other hand, this capital buys labour not for the sake of its use value, but in order to valorise itself, to create surplus value (a larger amount of exchange value) and to use it "WITH A VIEW TO PROFIT".

This shows, however, at the same time that the "SAVING OF REVENUE" in order to convert it into capital and "accumulation" are distinguished from other methods only through the *form* in which "WEALTH IS DEVOTED TO THE MAINTENANCE OF LABOUR". The AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS in England and Holland who receive WAGES which are "ADVANCED" by capital PRODUCE "THEIR WAGES THEMSELVES" just like the French PEASANT OR THE SELF-SUSTAINING RUSSIAN SERF. If the production process is considered in its continuity, then the capitalist advances the LABOURER as "WAGES" today only a part of the product which the LABOURER "produced" yesterday. Thus the difference [between the capitalist and other modes of production] does not lie in the fact that, in one case, THE LABOURER DOES PRODUCE HIS OWN WAGES AND IN THE OTHER [case] DOES NOT PRODUCE THEM. The difference lies in the fact that [in one case] his product appears as *WAGES*; that in this case, the worker's product (the part of the product produced by the worker which makes up the LABOUR FUND) 1) appears as the revenue of *others*; 2) that then, however, it is not expended as revenue, and not spent on labour by means of which revenue is directly consumed, but, 3) that it confronts the worker as *capital* which returns to him this portion of the product, in exchange not merely

for an equivalent but for more LABOUR than is objectified in the product. Thus his product appears 1) as revenue of others, 2) as something which is "SAVED" FROM REVENUE IN ORDER TO BE EMPLOYED IN THE PURCHASE OF LABOUR WITH A VIEW TO PROFIT, i.e. as *capital.*

And this process in which his own product confronts him as *capital,* is described in the following way: the LABOUR FUND HAS GONE "THROUGH A PREVIOUS PROCESS OF SAVING", "HAS UNDERGONE A PROCESS OF ACCUMULATION", and prior TO BEING CONVERTED INTO THE LABOURER'S MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE, it "EXISTS IN *ANOTHER SHAPE*" (here it is expressly stated that merely a *change of form* takes place) "THAN THAT OF A STOCK FOR THE LABOURER'S IMMEDIATE CONSUMPTION". The whole difference lies in the *transformation* which the LABOUR FUND produced by the worker undergoes before it comes back to him in the form of WAGES. In the CASE OF SELF-SUSTAINING PEASANTS or independent artisans, it therefore never assumes the form of "WAGES".

[XVIII-1137] "SAVING" and "accumulation"—AS FAR AS THE LABOUR FUND IS CONCERNED—are mere *names* here for the transformations which the worker's product undergoes. The SELF-SUSTAINING LABOURER consumes his product just like the WAGE LABOURER, or rather, the latter does so just like the former. But in the case of the wage earner, his product *appears* to be SOMETHING SAVED OR ACCUMULATED FROM [the revenue of] *OTHERS,* THE CAPITALIST'S REVENUE. IN FACT, however, it is this process that makes it possible for the capitalist "TO SAVE" OR "ACCUMULATE" THE LABOURER'S SURPLUS LABOUR for HIS own purposes, and this is the reason why Jones places such great emphasis on the fact that, in non-capitalist modes of production, ACCUMULATION does not arise FROM PROFITS, but from WAGES, in other words, from the income of the SELF-SUSTAINING CULTIVATOR or the artisan who exchanges his labour directly for revenue (otherwise how could the MIDDLE CLASSES have arisen out of the latter?) and from the LANDLORD'S RENT. But for the LABOUR FUND to undergo these transformations, the conditions of production must confront the labourer as capital, which is not the case in other forms. The expansion of *WEALTH* does not appear to be due to the LABOURER in the latter case, but to the SAVING of profit, the reconversion of surplus value into capital, in the same way as the LABOUR FUND itself (before its expansion as a result of new accumulation) confronts the labourer as capital.

"SAVING", taken literally, only makes sense with regard to the capitalist who capitalises his revenue, in contrast to the capitalist who consumes his revenue, i.e. SPENDS it AS REVENUE, but makes NO SENSE WHATEVER when applied to relations BETWEEN CAPITALIST AND LABOURER.

Two *cardinal* FACTS about capitalist production: [First,] concentra-

tion of the means of production in a few hands so that they no longer appear as the immediate property of the individual labourer, but as factors of social production, even though in the first instance they appear as the property of the non-working capitalists, who are their TRUSTEES in bourgeois society and enjoy all the fruits of this TRUSTEEship. Second: Organisation of labour itself as social labour brought about by cooperation, division of labour and the linking of labour with the results of social domination over natural forces. In both these ways, capitalist production eliminates private property and private labour, even though as yet in antagonistic forms.

The main difference between productive and unproductive labour noted by Adam Smith, is that the former is exchanged directly for capital and the latter for revenue—and the full meaning of this difference emerges first in Jones. His work shows that the first kind of labour is characteristic of the capitalist mode of production, and the second—where it is predominant—belongs to earlier modes of production, and, where it merely plays a subordinate role, is restricted (or ought to be restricted) to spheres which are not directly concerned with the production of wealth.

* "*Capital* is the instrument through which all the causes which augment the efficiency of human labour, and the productive power of nations, are brought into play... Capital is the stored-up results of *past labour* used to produce some effect in some part of the task of producing wealth"* [p. 35].

(In Note, ib., PAGE 35, he says:

* "It will be convenient, and it is reasonable, to consider the act of production as incomplete till the commodity produced has been placed in the hands of the person who is to consume it; all done previously has that point in view. The grocer's horse and cart which brings up our tea from Hertford to the College, is as essential to our possession of it for the purpose of consumption as the labour of the Chinese who picked and dried the leaves.")

"But ... *this capital* ... does not perform in every community *all the tasks it is capable of performing*. It takes them up gradually and successively in all cases; *and it is a remarkable and an all-important fact, that the one special function*, the performance of which is *essential* to the *serious advance of the power of capital in all its other functions, is exactly that* which, in the case of the greater portion of the labourers of mankind, *capital has never yet fulfilled at all*" ([pp.] 35-36). "I allude to *the advance of the wages of labour*" ([p.] 36). "The wages of labour are advanced by capitalists in the case of less than one-fourth of the labourers of the earth." "This fact ... of vital importance in accounting for the comparative progress of nations" (l.c.).

[XVIII-1138] "Capital, or accumulated stock, after performing various other functions in the production of wealth, only takes up late that of *advancing* to the labourer his wages"* ([p.] 79).

In the last sentence on PAGE 79, capital is indeed described as a "relation", not merely as "ACCUMULATED STOCK" but as a quite definite

relation of production. The "STOCK" cannot "TAKE UP THE FUNCTION OF ADVANCING WAGES". Jones, moreover, emphasises that it is *the basic form of capital*—the form which gives the whole process of social production its distinctive character, dominates it, leads to a quite new development of the productive powers of social labour, and revolutionises all social and political relationships—that confronts wage labour, and pays WAGES. He emphasises that before capital performs this function, which is of decisive importance, it fulfils other functions and appears in other, subordinate and historically earlier forms, but that its POWER IN ALL ITS FUNCTIONS only develops fully when it steps forth as industrial capital. On the other hand, in LECTURE III "ON THE GRADUAL MANNER IN WHICH CAPITAL OR CAPITALISTS" //there's the rub in this *OR*; ACCUMULATED STOCK becomes capital only because of this personification// "UNDERTAKE SUCCESSIVE FUNCTIONS IN THE PRODUCTION OF WEALTH",[a] Jones does not indicate what the previous FUNCTIONS are. They can indeed only be those of capital engaged in commerce or banking. But although Jones comes so close to the correct concept and even expresses it in a certain fashion, nevertheless, being an economist, he is so enmeshed in bourgeois fetishism that not even the devil could be certain that he does not mean that "ACCUMULATED STOCK" as such can perform different FUNCTIONS.

The sentence:

> * "Capital, or *accumulated stock*, after performing various other functions in the production of wealth, only *takes up* late that *of advancing* to the labourer his wages" * ([p.] 79)

is the most complete expression of the contradiction; on the one hand, it expresses a correct historical conception of capital, but, on the other hand, a shadow is cast over it by the narrow-minded notion of the economist that "STOCK" as such is "capital". Hence "THE ACCUMULATED STOCK" becomes a person who "TAKES UP THE FUNCTION OF ADVANCING WAGES" TO MEN. Jones is still rooted in economic prejudice when he solves [the problem], a solution becomes necessary as soon as the capitalist mode of production is regarded as a determinate historical category and no longer as an eternal natural relation of production.

One can see what a great leap forward there was from Ramsay to Jones. Ramsay regards precisely that FUNCTION of capital which makes it capital—THE ADVANCING OF WAGES—AS ACCIDENTAL, due only to the poverty of the people, and irrelevant to the production

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[a] See R. Jones, *Text-book of Lectures on the Political Economy of Nations...*, p. 35 sqq.—*Ed.*

process as such. In this narrow circumscribed manner, Ramsay *denies* the necessity for the capitalist mode of production. Jones, on the other hand, //strange that they were both priests of the ESTABLISHED CHURCH.[188] The ministers of the English CHURCH seem to think more than their continental [brethren]// demonstrates that it is precisely this function that makes capital capital and gives rise to the most characteristic features of the capitalist mode of production. He shows how this form occurs only at a certain level of development of the productive powers and that it then creates an entirely new material basis. Consequently, however, his comprehension of the fact that this form "can be superseded" and of the merely transitory historical necessity for this form, is quite different from that of Ramsay and more profound. He by no means regards capitalist relations as eternal.

* "A state of things may hereafter exist, and *parts of the world may be approaching to it*, under which the labourers and the owners of accumulated stock may be identical; but in the progress of nations ... this has *never yet* been the case, and to trace and understand *that progress*, we must observe the labourers gradually transferred from the hands of a body of customers, who pay them out of their revenues, to those of a body of employers, who pay them by advances of capital out of the returns to which the owners aim at realising a distinct revenue. This may not be as *desirable a state of things as that in which labourers and capitalists are identified*, but we must *still accept it as constituting a stage in the march of industry*, which has hitherto marked the progress of advancing nations. At that stage the people of Asia have not yet arrived" * ([p.] 73).

[XVIII-1139] Here Jones states quite explicitly that capital and the capitalist mode of production are to be "accepted" merely as a transitional phase in the development of social production, a phase which, if one considers the development of the productive powers of social labour, constitutes a gigantic advance on all preceding forms, but which is by no means the end result; on the contrary, the necessity of its destruction is contained in the antagonism between "OWNERS OF ACCUMULATED WEALTH" and the "ACTUAL LABOURERS".

Jones was a professor of political economy at Haileybury and the *successor to Malthus*. One can see here how the real science of political economy ends by regarding the bourgeois production relations as merely *historical* ones, leading to higher relations in which the antagonism on which they are based is resolved. By analysing them political economy breaks down the apparently mutually independent forms in which wealth appears. This analysis (even in Ricardo) goes so far that 1) The *independent, material form of wealth* disappears and wealth is shown to be simply the activity of men. Everything which is not the result of human activity, of labour, is nature and, as such, is not social wealth. The

phantom of the world of goods fades away and it is seen to be simply a continually disappearing and continually reproduced objectivisation of human labour. All solid material wealth is only transitory materialisation of social labour, crystallisation of the production process whose measure is time, the measure of a movement itself. 2) The manifold forms in which the various component parts of wealth are distributed amongst different sections of society lose their apparent independence. Interest is merely a part of profit, rent is merely surplus profit. Both are consequently merged in profit, which itself can be resolved in *surplus value*, that is, to unpaid labour. The value of the commodity itself, however, can only be reduced to labour time. The Ricardian school reaches the point where it rejects one of the forms of appropriation of this surplus value—landed property (rent)—as useless, in so far as it is pocketed by private individuals. It rejects the idea that the landowner is an agent of capitalist production. The antithesis is thus reduced to that between capitalist and wage labourer. This relationship, however, is regarded by the Ricardian political economists as given, as a natural law, on which the production process itself is based. The later economists go one step further and, like Jones, admit only the *historical* justification for this relationship. But from the moment that the bourgeois mode of production and the conditions of production and distribution which correspond to it are recognised as *historical*, the delusion of regarding them as natural laws of production vanishes and the prospect opens up of a new society, [a new] economic formation of society, to which the bourgeois mode of production is only the transition.

//The third section[4] "Capital and Profit" to be divided in the following way: 1) Conversion of surplus value into profit. Rate of profit as distinguished from rate of surplus value. 2) Conversion of profit into average profit. Formation of the general rate of profit. Transformation of values into prices of production. 3) Adam Smith's and Ricardo's theories on profit and prices of production. 4) *Rent.* (Illustration of the difference between value and price of production.) 5) History of the so-called Ricardian law of rent. 6) Law of the fall of the rate of profit. Adam Smith, Ricardo, Carey. 7) Theories of profit. Query: whether Sismondi and Malthus should also be included in the *Theories of Surplus Value.* 8) Division of profit into industrial profit and interest. Mercantile capital. Money capital. 9) Revenue AND ITS SOURCES. The question of the relation between the processes of production and distribution also to be included here. 10) REFLUX movements of money in the

process of capitalist production as a whole. 11) Vulgar economy. 12) *Conclusion. "Capital and wage labour".*//

We still [have] to consider a number of things in Jones' work: 1) In what way, in particular, the capitalist mode of production—the ADVANCING OF WAGES BY CAPITAL—alters the forms and the productive powers. 2) His observations regarding accumulation and the rate of profit.

But, first of all, another point has to be emphasised.

[XVIII-1140] *"The capitalist has been but an agent to give the labourers the benefit of the expenditure of the revenues of the surrounding customers, in a new form and under new circumstances"* ([p.] 79).

This refers to the NON-AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS, whose earnings previously came direct from the revenue of the LANDHOLDERS, etc. Whereas previously they exchanged their labour (or the product of their labour) directly for that revenue, the capitalist exchanges the product of their labour—collected and concentrated in his hands—for that revenue, in other words, revenue is transformed into, exchanged for capital, in that it constitutes the RETURNS on capital. Instead of being direct RETURNS for labour, it constitutes direct RETURNS for the capital that EMPLOYS THE LABOURERS.

//The first section "*Production Process of Capital*" to be divided in the following way: 1) Introduction. Commodity. Money. 2) Transformation of money into capital. 3) *Absolute surplus value.* (a) Labour process and valorisation process. (b) Constant capital and variable capital. (c) Absolute surplus value. (d) Struggle for the normal working day. (e) *Simultaneous working days* (number of simultaneously employed labourers). Amount of surplus value and rate of surplus value (magnitude and height?). 4) *Relative surplus value.* (a) Simple cooperation. (b) Division of labour. (c) Machinery, etc. 5) Combination of absolute and relative surplus value. Relation (proportion) between wage labour and surplus value. Formal and real subsumption of labour under capital. Productivity of capital. Productive and unproductive labour. 6) Reconversion of surplus value into capital. Primitive accumulation. Wakefield's theory of colonisation. 7) *Result of the production process.* Either *sub* 6) or *sub* 7) the CHANGE in the form of the LAW OF APPROPRIATION can be shown. 8) Theories of surplus value. 9) Theories of productive and unproductive labour.//

// *Interest*: *The Economist* remarks on interest:

"If A FIXED SUM OF PRECIOUS METAL falls [in value], this is no reason why A SMALLER QUALITY OF MONEY SHOULD BE TAKEN FOR ITS USE, for if the PRINCIPAL is of less value for the BORROWER, the interest is to the same extent less difficult for him to pay. In California, 3% per month, 36% per annum, because of the UNSETTLED

STATE. In *Hindustan*, with the *Indian princes* borrowing for *UNPRODUCTIVE EXPENSES*, the lenders, to counterbalance on the average the losses of capital, [charge] very high interest, 30%, *HAVING NO RELATION TO PROFIT* WHICH MIGHT BE GAINED in INDUSTRIAL OPERATIONS" (*The Economist*, [No. 491,] January 22, 1853 [p. 89]).[189]

But the interest charged by usurers who advance seeds, etc., or lend the loom, etc., to THE RYOTS bears just as little "RELATION TO PROFIT" gained by the latter. I.e. it bears no relation to the profit made by these HINDOO CULTIVATORS and WEAVERS. Just as little does the interest English workers pay at the pawnshop (100% a year on the average; see Tuckett[a]) HAVE ANY RELATION TO THE RATE OF THEIR WAGES AND STILL LESS TO "PROFITS REALISED BY THEM". The interest these usurers receive rather includes not only the entire profit (THE WHOLE SURPLUS VALUE), but constitutes in part a *deduction from the wages*, these being depressed even *under* the Indian level, which is low in itself, partly because of the HINDOOS' limited needs and partly because of the fertility of the soil, WHENCE LOW PRICE OF RICE, etc. Incidentally, this reproduces itself in England, for instance, where "HOME INDUSTRY" exists merely as a form not yet really (but only formally) subsumed under the capitalist mode of production, etc. This against the jackass Carey, who e.g. compares the interest paid by an Indian RYOT with that paid on FIRST CLASS BILLS in England, to demonstrate how much higher wages are in England than in India.[b] But now back to *The Economist*, which adds the following to the above:

"The lender here CHARGES an *interest so high as to be sufficient to replace the principal in a short time, or at least as, on the average of all his lending transactions, might serve to counterbalance his losses in particular instances, by the apparently exorbitant gains acquired in others*" (l.c.).

Concerning the *rate of interest*, it says:

*"The *rate of interest* depends: 1) upon the rate of profit; 2) upon the proportion in which the *entire profit* is divided between lender and borrower"* (*The Economist*, l.c.).

*The Economist*, like all English economists, of course [considers that] profit=THE WHOLE SURPLUS VALUE minus RENT; interest is merely PART OF IT.

*"Abundance or scarcity of the precious metals, the high or low scale of general prices prevailing, determines only whether a greater or less amount of money will be required in effecting the exchanges between borrowers and lenders, as well as every other species of exchange...* The only difference is *that a greater sum of money would be needed to represent and transfer the capital lent ... the relation between the sum paid for the use of capital and the capital expresses the rate of interest as measured in money"* ([pp.] 89-90).

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[a] See this volume, p. 349.—*Ed.*

[b] See H. Ch. Carey, *Essay on the Rate of Wages...*, Philadelphia, 1835, p. 112 sqq.[190]—*Ed.*

[XVIII-1141] Regarding the pawnshop business:

*"It is by frequent fluctuations in a month, and by pawning one article to relieve another, where a small sum is obtained, that the premium for money becomes so excessive. 240 licensed pawnbrokers in London and about 1,450 in the country. The capital employed is estimated at about 1 million.* It is turned round at least thrice in the course of a year and yields each time $33^1/_2$% on an average; so that the INFERIOR ORDERS OF England yearly pay 1 MILLION for the *temporary loan of a million, exclusive of what they lose by goods being forfeited"* (J. D. Tuckett, *A History of the Past and Present State of the Labouring Population etc.*, Vol. I, London, 1846, p. 114).[191]//

*COURT OF EXCHEQUER. Homer versus Taunton. DECEMBER 21, 1859* (*Reynolds's* [*Newspaper*], DECEMBER 25, 1859 [No. 489, pp. 11, 1]). (STOCKING WEAVERS.[a])

"THIS WAS AN ACTION FOR LIBEL by Homer (HOSIER and GROCER) (his wife runs a SHOP at that place) AT EARL Shilton, NEAR Hinckley-Leicestershire, versus Taunton, EDITOR of the *Midland Express,* *for two libels imputing to the plaintiff oppression and tyranny over the working people in his employ, and also [charging him] with being a *truckmaster.**"

(INSTEAD OF PAYING HIS WORKPEOPLE IN WAGES, that fellow MADE THEM TAKE OUT THEIR EARNINGS IN HIS WIFE'S SHOP.)

"HE EMPLOYED BETWEEN 200 and 300 WORKPEOPLE. After all the deductions the AVERAGE EARNINGS are between 3s. 6d. and 4s. A WEEK. A *FRAME* COSTS £2, AND THE MASTER CHARGES THE WORKMAN £2 10 A YEAR FOR THE USE OF THE FRAME. (1s. per WEEK; of the 52 weeks, 50 are WORKING WEEKS.)"

//Hence in a year he makes 50s. on 40s., or 125%. This shows Mr. Carey the size of interest (rent) where profit really appears in industrial countries like England in the exceptional form in which he generally conceives of it, namely as interest or rent which the capitalist receives from the worker for the rent of the machine. This also disposes of the twaddle about the LABOUR OF SUPERINTENDENCE. Some of these KNITTERS formerly owned FRAMES, but the emergence of improved ones made theirs valueless.

*"The workman, now, be it remarked, is not allowed to buy one for himself. Prior to certain alterations in the construction of the stocking frame, a skilled and industrious man could earn from 8-10s. a week"* [ibid., p. 1].

As regards the benefits deriving from *improvements* in machinery for the worker himself, the rapid series of improvements in the JENNY MULE in the 18th century made it impossible for the INDEPENDENT (notably AGRICULTURAL) WEAVERS to replace their machines, rendered valueless, by new ones, and landed them in the hands of the capitalists. (Apart from the fact that the machines, once developed and capable of being MOVED BY MECHANICAL POWER, led on to the FACTORY SYSTEM.)

[a] Marx adds the German term here.—*Ed.*

("The IMPROVEMENTS," says Babbage in his book, 1832, CH. XXIX [p. 281],[a] "which took place not long ago in frames for making patent-net were so great, that a machine, in good repair, which had cost £1,200, sold a few years after for £60. During the great speculations in that trade, the IMPROVEMENTS succeeded each other so rapidly, that machines which had never been finished were abandoned in the hands of their makers, who were left stranded through happier discoveries serving the same purpose.")//

*"A man, with a wife and 4 children, was enabled to earn from 6s. to 6s. 6d. a week; but after the *usual* deduction for frame rent, room rent, scouring, etc., had been taken, no more than 2s. remained to support himself and family. Another very able hand, having been 20 years in the trade, could earn as much as 12s. a week; but then, he would have to work 15 hours every day. One man, examined in the course of this trial, declared that all the clothes he had on, with the exception of his coat, were borrowed." "The money thus made,"* says *Reynolds's Newspaper,* *"is the distillation of the sweat and the strength of the starving [XVIII-1142] and squalid myriads, to whom life is a dismal penance of incessant and unrequited toil."*

The journalist who had denounced this TASKMASTER was fined £5 for LIBEL.

Where capitalist production is capitalist merely in form, the capitalist is merely a RACK-RENTING "*MIDDLEMAN*". This holds equally for industry carried on in this way and for Irish or Indian agriculture. TAKE the following item from *The Times* of March 13, 1862, HEADED "STARVING NEEDLEWOMEN":

*"A deputation waited on Sir G. Lewis, at the War Office, on the 11th March. An association, originally established by Miss Barlee, and now powerfully supported, proposes to undertake the contracts for military clothing on the same terms now given by Government to contractors, and yet to pay the starving needlewomen an advance of 30% on their present wages. This result is simply obtained by getting rid of the 'middleman' and applying *his profits* to the benefit of the human material out of which they have hitherto been made. With every advantage the society can give, an ordinary needlewoman cannot earn more than 1s. for 10 hours' incessant labour at soldiers' shirts (viz. 2 shirts a day), and at cloth work not more than 1s. 6d. a day, for 12 hours' work. At contract work her wages now vary from 5d. to 8d. per 10 hours' work."*

//For a seven-day week this makes 35 to 56d., i.e. from 2s. 11d. to 4s. 8d. a week.//

//"Admittedly there is something cruel about this robbing of the worker; but it constitutes *the very basis, the surest source of profit,* and commercial probity has not the least occasion to blush on account of it. The most honourable fellow may engage in it on his terrain: the master's wresting the utmost from the worker is within the rules of war, they are two contending powers" [Leduc,] *Sir Richard Arkwright,* l.c., [Paris, 1841, p.] 144).[b]

When the MASTER EXPLOITS *ses ouvriers,*[c] for instance, by OVERWORKING

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[a] Ch. Babbage, *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures.*—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

[c] His workers.—*Ed.*

them IN AN EXTRAORDINARY STYLE, this is CLEAR PROFIT, whatever the AVERAGE RATE OF PROFIT. All PROFITS OF EXPROPRIATION[17] are uncertain. Under GIVEN AVERAGE CIRCUMSTANCES OF COMMERCE, cheating the worker always remains "*the very basis, the surest source of profit*".[a]//

//The capitalist's real profit is largely PROFIT UPON EXPROPRIATION, and there is a particularly wide scope for the "individual work" of the capitalist in this, the mercantile field, where it is not a matter OF creating SURPLUS VALUE but of distributing the AGGREGATE profit of the WHOLE CLASS OF CAPITALISTS AMONG ITS INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS. This does not concern us here.[192] Certain kinds of profit, e.g. that based on speculation, occur solely in this field. Therefore, examining them here would be totally irrelevant. It is evidence of vulgar economy's brute stupidity that it lumps these — notably in order to represent profit as "WAGES" — with profit SO FAR AS IT ORIGINATES IN THE CREATION OF SURPLUS VALUE. See, e.g., the worthy Roscher.[193] It is therefore quite natural that such jackasses, in discussing the distribution of the AGGREGATE profit of the whole capitalist class, should throw together the calculation items and compensation titles of capitals in different spheres of production with the causes behind the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists, with the factors behind the origin of profit as such, so to speak.//

[XVIII-1143] //*Different ratios of constant to variable capital:*

* "Price of cotton cloth in the island of Java. The cotton, in the seed, is sold by the picul (about 133 lbs). Not above $^1/_4$ or $^1/_5$ of this weight ... is cotton; and the natives, by means of rude rollers, separate, at the expense of one day's labour, about $1^1/_4$ lb. of cotton from the seed. In this stage it is worth between 4 or 5 times its original cost; and the prices of the same substance, in its different stages of manufacture, are for one picul:

"Cotton in the seed: 2 to 3 dollars;
"Clean cotton ..... 10-11;
"Cotton thread ..... 24;
"Cotton thread died blue ..... 35.

"Good ordinary cotton cloth ..... 50. Thus ... the expense of spinning in Java is 117% on the value of the raw material ... the expense of spinning cotton into a fine thread is, in England, about 33%" * (Ch. Babbage, *On the Economy of Machinery etc.*, London, 1832, [pp.] 165-66).

"In 1792, manual labour was performed mainly by men, without premature recourse to children; the total number of workers or operatives of all kinds could be estimated, in 1792, at a quarter of the population, which was around 15 million. The available mechanical power, at the time, was probably *three times that of manual labour in value.* Consequently, the manual labour was equal to that of 3,750,000 men, and the mechanical labour to that of three times this number, or roughly the labour of 11,250,000 men, the total product having the value of the labour of 15,000,000 men. As a result, *the population* and *the total accumulated*

[a] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

*productive power were evenly balanced.* But the introduction of the improved steam engine, weaving looms, etc., multiplied Great Britain's productive power incalculably. *Manual labour has increased by enlisting the daily labour,* carried on almost continuously, *of women and children at the manufactories,* and as a result it can now be assessed as that of one-third of the population, which had grown to 18 million by 1817, an increase of 3 million over 25 years. But since the introduction of the improved machines of Arkwright and Watt there has been a real rise in the powers productive of wealth equal to the labour of 200 million active, strong and well-trained workers, that is to say *10 times the population* of the British Isles, or *thirty times the amount of manual labour* replaced today by this increase in the means of producing wealth. The following changes occurred between 1792 and 1817: the *population rose* from 15,000,000 to 18,000,000; *manual labour* rose from $^1/_4$ to $^1/_3$, which in relation to 18,000,000 people means *6 million.*

"The *newly created* [productive] *power*=the labour of ... *200 million* people.

"In 1792, *mechanical labour*=3 times the amount of manual labour ... *11,250,000. Grand total of productive power in 1817* ... 217,250,000 people, or, as a ratio to the population of 1817, 12.6 to 1. It follows from this table that over a period of 25 years Britain achieved a level of industrial development and productive power enabling it to increase its wealth at an annual rate 12 times that of the past, and that it can therefore sacrifice this surplus, whether in war expenditure or in foreign trade unprofitable to it, or employ it to improve the condition of its population" ([H. G. Macnab,] *Examen impartial des nouvelles vues de M. Robert Owen etc.*, Paris, 1821, [pp.] 128-30).[a]//

[XVIII-1144] //*Economy through reducing breaks in labour time in the production sphere.*

"*Bleaching* ... the NATURAL OPERATION SHORTENED by the APPLICATION OF CHLORINE, IN COMBINATION WITH LIME" (Babbage, l.c., [pp.] 31-32).//

*Economy* IN EXPENSE *and* ADDITIONAL CAPITAL.

"It will be necessary occasionally to adjust or repair the machine; this is done with greater ease by a workman accustomed to machine-making than by one who merely directs its motion. Now, since the good performance of machines and their duration depend to a very great extent upon the care given to immediately correcting every irregular vibration, the tiniest imperfection in their parts as soon as they appear, it is evident that the expenditure arising from the reparation and the wear and tear of machinery is considerably reduced by installing the appropriate workman right on the spot. But in the case of a single tulle loom, this would be too expensive a plan. The conclusion immediately following is that only an establishment using a number of such looms may have recourse to it, so that the whole time of one workman can be occupied in keeping them in order and making whatever repairs happen to be necessary. If this principle of economy is applied consistently, one is bound of necessity to double and treble the number of machines, in order to employ the whole time of 2 or 3 skilful workmen" (Babbage, CH. XXII, [pp.] 280-81).[b]

*Now back to Richard Jones.*

After describing *capital* as a specific relation of production, the essence of which is that ACCUMULATED WEALTH takes over the function

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[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes partly in German and partly in French.—*Ed.*

OF ADVANCING WAGES, and the LABOUR FUND itself appears as "WEALTH SAVED FROM REVENUE AND EMPLOYED WITH A VIEW TO PROFIT", Jones outlines the CHANGES in the development of the productive powers characteristic of this mode of production. How the (ECONOMICAL) RELATIONS and consequently the social, moral and political STATE of NATIONS CHANGES with the *CHANGE* in the MATERIAL POWERS OF PRODUCTION, is very well explained.

* "As communities *change their powers of production*, they *necessarily change their habits too*" ([p.] 48). "During their progress in advance, all the different classes of the community find that they are connected with other classes by *new relations*, are assuming *new positions*, and are surrounded by new moral and social dangers, and *new conditions* of social and political excellence" * (l.c.).

He describes the influence of the capitalist form of production on the development of the productive powers in the following way. But before coming to this, a few passages connected with those already quoted.

* "Great political, social, moral, and intellectual changes *accompany changes in the economical organisation of communities*, and in the agencies and the means, affluent or scanty, by which the tasks of industry are carried on. These changes necessarily exercise a commanding influence over the different political and social elements to be found in the populations where they take place; that influence extends to the intellectual character, to the habits, manners, morals, and happiness of nations" ([p.] 45). "England is the only great country which has taken ... the first step in advance towards perfection *as a producing machine*; the only country in which the population, agricultural as well as non-agricultural, is ranged under the direction of capitalists, and where the effects of their means and of the peculiar functions they alone can perform, are extensively felt, not only in the enormous growth of her wealth, but also in all the economical relations and positions of her population. Now, England, I say it with regret, but without the very slightest hesitation, is not to be taken as a safe specimen of [XVIII-1145] the career of a people so developing their productive forces" ([pp.] 48-49).

"The *general labour fund* consists: 1) of wages which the labourers themselves produce. 2) Of the revenues of other classes expended in the maintenance of labour. 3) Of capital, or a portion of wealth saved from revenue and employed in advancing wages with a view to profit. Those maintained on the first division of the labour fund we will call *unhired labourers*. Those on the second, *paid dependants*. Those on the third, *hired workmen*" * (wage labourers). * "The receipt of wages from any of these 3 divisions of the labour fund determines the *relations of the labourer with the other classes of society*, and so determines sometimes directly, sometimes more or less indirectly, the degree of continuity, skill, and power with which the tasks of industry are carried on" ([pp.] 51-52). "The first division, *self-produced wages*, maintains more than half, probably more than $^2/_3$, of the labouring population of the earth. These labourers consist everywhere of peasants who occupy the soil and labour on it... The second division of the labour fund, *revenue expended in maintaining labour*, supports by far the greater part of the *productive* non-agricultural labourers of the East. It is of some importance on the continent of Europe; while in England, again, it comprises only a few jobbing mechanics, *the relics of a larger body*. The third division of the labour fund, *capital*, is seen in England employing the great majority of her labourers, while it maintains

but a small body of individuals in Asia and in continental Europe maintains only the non-agricultural labourers; not amounting, probably, on the whole, to a quarter of the productive population" ([p.] 52). "I have not ... made any distinction as to *slave-labour*... The *civil rights* of labourers do not affect their *economical position*. Slaves, as well as freemen, may be observed subsisting on each part of the general fund"* ([p.] 53).

Although the "CIVIL RIGHTS" of the LABOURERS DO NOT AFFECT "THEIR ECONOMICAL POSITION", THEIR ECONOMICAL POSITION HOWEVER DOES AFFECT THEIR CIVIL RIGHTS. Wage labour on a national scale—and consequently, the capitalist mode of production as well—is only possible where the workers are personally free. It is based on the personal freedom of the workers.

Jones quite correctly reduces Smith's PRODUCTIVE and UNPRODUCTIVE labour to its essence—capitalist and non-capitalist labour—by correctly applying [the distinction made by] Smith between LABOURERS paid BY CAPITAL and those paid OUT OF REVENUE. Jones himself, however, apparently understands by *productive* and *unproductive* LABOUR, labour which enters into the production OF MATERIAL [wealth] and that which does not. This follows from the passage quoted, where he speaks of the *PRODUCTIVE LABOURERS* WHO DEPEND ON REVENUE EXPENDED to maintain them [p. 52]. Further:

*"The portion of the community which is *unproductive of material wealth* may be *useful*, or it may be *useless*"* ([p.] 42). Further: *"It is reasonable, to consider the *act of production* as incomplete till the *commodity produced* has been placed in the hands of the person who is to consume it" (p. 35, note).*

The distinction made between the LABOURERS who live on CAPITAL and those who live on REVENUE is concerned with the form of labour. It expresses the whole difference between capitalist and non-capitalist modes of production. On the other hand, the terms productive and unproductive LABOURERS in the narrow sense [are concerned with] labour which enters into the production of *commodities* (production here embraces all operations which the commodity has to undergo from the FIRST PRODUCER to the CONSUMER) no matter what kind of labour is applied, whether it is manual labour or not ([including] scientific labour), and labour which does not enter into, and whose aim and purpose is not, the production of commodities. This difference must be kept in mind and the fact that all other sorts of activity influence MATERIAL PRODUCTION and vice versa in no way affects the necessity for making this distinction.

[XVIII-1146] We now come to the *development of the productive powers* by the capitalist mode of production.

*"It may be as well to point out here how this fact" //of the wages being advanced by capital// "affects their *powers of production*, or the *continuity*, the *knowledge*, and the *power*, with which labour is exerted... The capitalist who pays a

workman may assist *the continuity of his labour.* First, by *making such continuity possible*; secondly, by *superintending* and *enforcing* it. Many large bodies of workmen throughout the world ply the street for customers, and depend for wages on the *casual wants* of persons who happen at the moment to require their services, or to want the articles they can supply. The early missionaries found this the case in China... 'The artisans run about the towns from morning to night to seek custom. The greater part of Chinese workmen work in private houses. Are clothes wanted, for example? The tailor comes to you in the morning and goes home at night. It is the same with all other artisans. They are continually running about the streets in search of work, even the smiths, who carry about their hammer and their furnace for ordinary jobs. The barbers, too ... walk about the streets with an armchair on their shoulders, and a basin and boiler for hot water in their hands.'[194] This continues to be the case very generally throughout the East, and partially in the Western World. Now these workmen cannot *for any length of time work continuously.* They must ply like a hackney coachman, and when no customer happens to present himself they must be idle. If in the progress of time a change takes place in their economical position, if they *become the workmen of a capitalist who advances their wages beforehand,* two things take place. First, they *can* now labour continuously; and, secondly, an agent is provided, *whose office and whose interest it will be, to see that* they *do* labour continuously ... the capitalist has reserves ... to wait for a customer... Here, then, is an *increased continuity in the labour* of all this class of persons. *They labour daily from morning to night,* and are *not interrupted* by waiting for or seeking the customer, who is ultimately to consume the article they work on. But the *continuity of their labour,* thus made *possible,* is secured and improved by the *superintendence of the capitalist.* He *has advanced their wages*; he *is to receive the products of their labour.* It is *his interest and his privilege to see that they do not labour interruptedly or dilatorily.* The continuity of labour thus secured, the effect even of this change on the productive power of labour is very great... *The power is doubled.* Two workmen steadily employed *from morning to night,* and from year's end to year's end, will probably produce more than 4 desultory workmen, who consume much of their time in running after customers, and in recommencing suspended labour" * ([p.] 37 sqq.).

*Firstly.* The transition from LABOURERS who perform CASUAL SERVICES—making coats, trousers, etc., in the LANDOWNER'S house—to workers employed by capital, is already very well described by *Turgot.*[a] *Second.* Although CONTINUITY certainly distinguishes capitalist LABOUR from the form described by Jones, it does not distinguish [capitalist labour] from slave production carried on on a large scale. *Third.* It is incorrect to describe the *increased amount of labour* brought about by its long duration and continuity as an increase in productive power or the POWER of LABOUR. This [occurs] only in SO FAR AS THE CONTINUITY AUGMENTS THE PERSONAL SKILL OF THE LABOURERS. By [increased] POWER, we understand the greater productivity of A GIVEN QUANTITY OF LABOUR EMPLOYED, NOT ANY CHANGE IN THE QUANTITY EMPLOYED. The latter belongs rather to the formal subordi-

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[a] See [A. R. J.] Turgot, *Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses* [1766]. In: *Oeuvres de Turgot,* new edition by E. Daire, Vol. 1, Paris, 1844, p. 10 sqq.[195]—*Ed.*

nation of labour to capital and it only evolves fully with the development of fixed capital. (We shall deal with this soon.)

Jones correctly emphasises the fact that the capitalist regards labour as his property, no part of which must be wasted. With regard to LABOUR which is maintained directly by REVENUE, this is a matter of the use value of labour only. [XVIII-1147] Furthermore, Jones correctly emphasises that the SEDENTARY labour of the NON-AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS lasting from morning to night is by no means something which arises spontaneously, but is itself a *product* of economic development. In contrast to the Asiatic form and to the Western form [of labour] (prevailing in former times, partly even today) in the countryside, the urban labour of the Middle Ages already constitutes a great advance and serves as a preparatory school for the capitalist mode of production, as regards the CONTINUITY and STEADINESS OF LABOUR.

//About this *CONTINUITY OF LABOUR*:

*"The capitalist, too, keeps, as it were, an *echo-office* for labour; he *insures against* the uncertainty of finding a vent for labour, which uncertainty would, but for him, prevent the labour, in many cases, from being undertaken. The trouble of looking for a purchaser, and of going to a market, is reduced, by his means, to a comparatively small compass"* (*An Inquiry into Those Principles, Respecting the Nature of Demand and the Necessity of Consumption etc.*, London, 1821, [p.] 102).

In the same work:

*"Where the capital is in a great degree *fixed*, or where it is sunk on land ... the trader *is obliged* to continue to employ, much more nearly (than if there had been less fixed capital), the same amount of circulating capital as he did before, in order not to cease to derive *any* profit from the part that is fixed"* (l.c., [p.] 73).//

//*"Of the state of manners to which the dependence of the workmen on the revenues of their customers has given birth in China, you would, perhaps, get the most striking picture in the Chinese Exhibition, so long kept open by its American proprietor in London. It is thronged with figures of artisans with their small packs of tools, plying for customers, and idle when none appear—painting vividly to the eye the necessary absence, in their case, of *that continuity of labour* which is one of the three great elements of its productiveness, and indicating sufficiently, to any well-informed observer, the *absence also of fixed capital and machinery*, hardly less important elements of the fruitfulness of industry"* (Jones, l.c., [*Text-book of Lectures on the Political Economy of Nations*, p.] 73). *"In India, where the admixture of Europeans has not changed the scene, a like spectacle may be seen in the towns. The artisans in rural districts are, however, provided for there in a peculiar manner... Such handicraftsmen and other non-agriculturists as were actually necessary in a village were maintained by an assignment of a portion of the joint revenues of the villagers, and throughout the country bands of hereditary workmen existed on this fund, whose industry supplied the simple wants and tastes which the cultivators did not provide [for] by their own hands. The position and rights of these rural artisans soon became, like all rights in the East, hereditary. The band found its customers in the other villagers. The villagers were stationary and abiding, and so were their handicraftsmen... The *artisans of the towns* were and are in a very different position. They received their wages from what was

substantially the same fund—the surplus revenue from land—but modified in its mode of distribution and its distributors, so as to destroy their *sedentary permanence*, and produce frequent, and usually disastrous migrations ... such *artisans are not confined to any location by dependence on masses of fixed capital*" * (as in Europe, for example, where COTTON and other MANUFACTORIES are FIXED IN DISTRICTS where there is WATERPOWER, OR ABUNDANT STEAM-PRODUCING FUEL, and CONSIDERABLE MASSES OF WEALTH have been CONVERTED INTO BUILDINGS and MACHINERY, etc.). *"...The case [is] different when the sole [XVIII-1148] dependence of the labourers is *on the direct receipt* of part of the revenues of the persons who consume the commodities the artisans produce. *They are not confined to the neighbourhood of any fixed capital.* If their customers change their location for long—nay, sometimes for very short—periods, the non-agricultural labourers must follow them, or starve" (Jones, l.c., [pp.] 73-74). "The greater part of* this FUND for the HANDICRAFTSMEN IN ASIA is *distributed by the State and its officers. The *capital*[a] was, necessarily, the principal centre of distribution" ([p.] 75). "From Samarkand, southwards to Beejapoor and Seringapatam, we can trace the ruins of vanishing capitals, of which the population left them *suddenly*"* (and not as in other countries [as a result of a gradual] decline) *"*as soon as new centres of distribution of [the] royal revenues*, i.e. of the whole of the surplus produce[b] of the soil, were established"* (l.c., [p.] 76).

See *Dr. Bernier*,[c] who compares the Indian towns to army camps. This is due to the form of landed property which exists in Asia.//

We now proceed from the *CONTINUITY* to the DIVISION OF LABOUR, [the development of] KNOWLEDGE, use of machinery, etc.

*"But the *effect of the change of paymasters* on the *continuity of labour* is by no means yet exhausted. The *different tasks of industry may now be further divided*... If he" (the capitalist) "employ more than one man, he can divide the task between them; he can keep each individual steadily at work at the portion of the common task, which he performs the best... If the capitalist be rich, and keep a sufficient number of workmen, then the task may be *subdivided* as far as it is capable of subdivision. The continuity of labour is then complete... Capital, by assuming the function of advancing the wages of labour, has now, by successive steps, perfected its *continuity*. It, at the same time, increases the *knowledge* and *skill* by which such labour is applied to produce any given effect. The class of capitalists are from the first partially, and then become ultimately completely, *discharged from the necessity of manual labour*. Their *interest is that the productive powers of the labourers* they employ should be the greatest possible. *On promoting that power their attention is fixed*, and almost exclusively fixed. More thought is brought to bear on the best means of effecting all the purposes of human industry; *knowledge* extends, multiplies its fields of action, and assists industry in almost every branch... But further still as to *mechanical power*. Capital employed not to *pay*, but to *assist* labour, we will call *auxiliary capital*."*

//He therefore means by this term the part of constant capital which is not made up of RAW MATERIAL.//

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[a] Marx adds the German term in brackets.—*Ed.*

[b] Jones has "surplus revenues".—*Ed.*

[c] F. Bernier, *Voyages ... Contenant la description des états du Grand Mogol...*, Vol. 2, Paris, 1830, p. 231 sqq.[196]—*Ed.*

*"The *national mass of auxiliary capital may, certain conditions being fulfilled, increase indefinitely: the number of labourers remaining the same.* At every step of such increase, [there is an increase] in the third element of the efficiency of human labour, namely, its *mechanical power... Auxiliary capital thus increases its mass relatively to the population...* What conditions, then, must be fulfilled that the mass of auxiliary capital employed to assist them" //the capitalist's workmen// "may increase? There must concur 3 things:

"1) the means of saving the additional capital;

"2) the will to save it;

"3) some invention by which it may be [made] possible, through the use of such capital, that the productive powers of labour may be increased, and increased to an extent which *will make it, in addition to the wealth it before produced, reproduce the additional auxiliary capital used, as fast as it is destroyed, and also some profit on it...* When the *full amount of auxiliary capital, that in the actual state of knowledge can be used profitably, has already been supplied,* ... an *increased range of knowledge* can alone point out the means of employing more. Further, such employment is only practicable if the means discovered *increase the power of labour sufficiently to reproduce the additional capital in the time it wastes away.* If this be not the case, the capitalist must lose his wealth... But the increased efficiency of the labourers must, besides this, *produce some profit,* or he would have no motive for employing his capital in production at all... All the while, that *by employing fresh masses of auxiliary capital, these two objects can be effected,* there is no definite and final limit to the progressive employment of such fresh masses of capital. They may go on increasing co-extensively with the *increase of knowledge.* But knowledge is never stationary; and, as it extends itself from hour to hour in all directions, from hour to hour some new implement, some new machine, some new motive force may present itself, which will enable the community profitably to add something to the mass of auxiliary capital by which it assists its industry, and *so increase the difference between the productiveness of its labour* and that of poorer and less skilful nations" (l.c. [pp. 38-41]).

[XVIII-1149] First, with regard to the statement that the INVENTIONS, or APPLIANCES or CONTRIVANCES must be of such a kind, *"that the productive powers of labour are increased to such an extent as to make it, in addition to the wealth it before produced, reproduce the additional auxiliary capital used, as fast as it is destroyed"*, or *"reproduce the additional capital *in the time it wastes away*".* This means nothing more than that the wear and tear is replaced *au fur et à mesure (que)*[a] IT TAKES PLACE, OR, THAT THE ADDITIONAL CAPITAL IS REPLACED IN THE AVERAGE TIME DURING WHICH IT IS CONSUMED. A portion of the value of the product, or, what amounts to the same thing, a portion of the product, must replace the CONSUMED AUXILIARY CAPITAL, and, at such a rate that if, in a given period of time, it is WHOLLY CONSUMED, IT MAY BE REPRODUCED WHOLLY, OR A NEW CAPITAL OF THE SAME KIND MAY TAKE THE PLACE OF THE CAPITAL GONE BY. But what is the condition for this? The productivity of labour must rise to such an extent through the application of the ADDITIONAL AUXILIARY

[a] As soon as.—*Ed.*

CAPITAL that a part of the product can be deducted to replace this component part either *in natura* or by EXCHANGE.

The reproduction of the AUXILIARY CAPITAL takes place if the productivity is so great, in other words, if the increased amount of output produced during the working day of the same length is such that a unit of a particular commodity is *cheaper* than a unit produced by the former method, although the aggregate price of the *total output* covers (for example) the annual depreciation of the machinery, that is, the amount of depreciation calculated per unit of the commodity is insignificant. If the part which replaces the depreciation, and secondly the part which replaces the value of raw material, are deducted from the total product, then there remains a part which pays for the wages and a part which covers the profit and even yields more surplus value [although the price per unit remains the same as] it was previously... *An increase in the product could* take place without fulfilling this condition. If, for example, the number of pounds of twist were to increase tenfold (instead of a hundredfold, etc.) and if the VALUE of the wear and tear of the machinery which has to be added to the price were to drop from $^1/_6$ to $^1/_{10}$, then the twist spun by machinery would be dearer than that produced by spindle. If an ADDITIONAL £100 of CAPITAL in the form of guano were used in agriculture and if this guano had to be replaced in a year, and if the value of a qr (produced by the old method)=£2, then 50 ADDITIONAL qrs would have to be produced merely to replace the depreciation.[197] And without this the additional capital could not be used (profit is here disregarded).

Jones' remark that the ADDITIONAL CAPITAL MUST BE "REPRODUCED" (of course from the sale of the product or *in natura*) "IN THE TIME IT WASTES AWAY" simply means that the commodity must replace the wear and tear embodied in it. In order to begin reproduction anew, all the value elements contained in the commodity must be replaced by the time when its reproduction is to begin again. In agriculture, this reproduction time is given as a result of natural conditions, and the period of time in which the wear and tear must be replaced is given, *ni plus ni moins*[a] as the time in which all the other value elements of grain, for example, have to be replaced. In order that the reproduction process can begin, i.e. that the renewal of the real process of production can take place, the commodity must pass through the process of circulation, that is, the commodity must be sold (in so far as it is not replaced *in*

[a] In exactly the same way.—*Ed.*

*natura*, like the seeds) and the money for which it is sold converted into elements of production again. In the case of grain and other agricultural products, there are certain specific periods for this reproduction dictated by the seasons, that is, extreme *limits*, definite limits are set to the duration of the process of circulation.

Second: Such definite limits to the circulation process arise in general from the nature of commodities as use values. All commodities deteriorate sooner or later, although the *ultima Thule*[a] of their existence varies. If they are not consumed by people (either in the production process or individually), then they are consumed by elemental natural forces. They decay, and finally they disintegrate. If their use value is destroyed, then their exchange value goes down the drain and that puts an end to their reproduction. The final limits of their circulation time are therefore determined by the natural *termini*[b] of reproduction proper to them as use values.

Third: In order that the production process of the commodities may be continuous, that is, so that one [XVIII-1150] part of capital may be continuously in the production process and the other continuously in the process of circulation, very varied divisions of capital must take place, in accordance with the natural limits of the periods of reproduction, or the limits [of existence] of the different use values, or the different spheres of operation of capital.

Fourth: This applies to all the value elements of the commodity simultaneously. But, in the case of commodities in the production of which a great deal of fixed capital is employed, there is, in addition to the limits which their own use values impose on the circulation process, another determining factor, namely, the use value of fixed capital. IT WASTES AWAY IN A CERTAIN TIME AND, THEREFORE, MUST BE REPRODUCED IN A GIVEN PERIOD. Let us assume, for example, that a ship lasts 10 years, or a spinning machine 12. The freight carried during the 10 years, or the twist sold during the 12 years, must be sufficient for a new ship to replace the old one after 10 years and for a new spinning machine to replace the old one after 12. If the fixed capital is used up in $^1/_2$ year, then the product must be returned from circulation in this period.

Besides the natural mortality periods for commodities as use values—periods which vary greatly amongst different use values—and besides the requirements of the continuity of the production

[a] A remote goal or end (literally: the farthest Thule, a land considered by the ancients to be the northernmost part of the habitable world).—*Ed.*

[b] Periods.—*Ed.*

process, which set even more varied final limits to the circulation time, according to whether the commodities must remain in the production sphere or can remain in the circulation sphere for a longer or shorter period of time, a third factor is thus added, namely, the different mortality periods, and therefore different requirements of reproduction, of the AUXILIARY CAPITAL used in the production of commodities.

Jones declares that the second condition [for the use of auxiliary capital] is the "profit" which the AUXILIARY CAPITAL must "produce", and this is the *conditio sine qua non* for all capitalist production, regardless of the particular form in which the capital is employed. Nowhere does Jones explain how he conceives the genesis of this profit. But since he merely derives it from "LABOUR", and the profit yielded by the AUXILIARY CAPITAL simply from the increased EFFICIENCY OF THE LABOUR OF THE WORKMEN, it must consist of absolute or relative SURPLUS LABOUR. It arises in general from the fact that after deducting the *part of the product* which either *in natura* or by EXCHANGE replaces the constituent parts of capital which consist either of raw materials or of instruments of labour, the capitalist, firstly, pays WAGES from the remainder of the product, and secondly, appropriates a part of it as *SURPLUS PRODUCE*, which he either sells or consumes *in natura*. (This latter is not a significant factor in capitalist production and occurs only in a few exceptional cases, when the capitalist directly produces necessary means of subsistence.) This SURPLUS PRODUCE however, just as the other parts of the product, consists of the workers' realised labour, but labour which is not paid for; this product of labour is appropriated by the capitalist without any equivalent.

What is new in Jones' presentation is that the increase in the AUXILIARY CAPITAL over and above a certain level is contingent on an *INCREASE OF KNOWLEDGE*. Jones declares that the necessary conditions are: 1) THE MEANS TO SAVE THE ADDITIONAL CAPITAL; 2) THE WILL TO SAVE IT; 3) SOME INVENTION by means of which the productive power of labour is increased sufficiently to reproduce the ADDITIONAL CAPITAL and to produce a profit on it. What is necessary above all is that there should be a *SURPLUS PRODUCE* either in kind or CONVERTED INTO MONEY. In the production of cotton, for example, the planters in America (like those in India at the present time) were able to plant large areas, but did not have the means for converting the raw cotton into cotton by means of CLEANING at the right time. Part of the cotton rotted in the fields. This kind of thing was ended by the invention of the COTTON GIN. Part of the product is now converted into COTTON GIN. But the COTTON GIN does not merely replace its own

cost; it also increases the SURPLUS PRODUCE. New markets have the same effect, for instance, furthering the conversion of skins into money (likewise improved transport). Each new machine which consumes coal is a means for converting SURPLUS [produce] existing in the shape of coal into capital. The conversion of a part of the SURPLUS [produce] into AUXILIARY CAPITAL can take place in two ways: [firstly,] increase in the AUXILIARY CAPITAL already in existence, its reproduction on a larger scale; [secondly,] discovery of new use values or of a new use for well-known use values, and new inventions of machinery or of MOTIVE POWER leading to the creation of new kinds of AUXILIARY CAPITAL. In this context, EXTENSION OF KNOWLEDGE is obviously one of the conditions for increasing the AUXILIARY CAPITAL or, what amounts to the same thing, for the conversion of SURPLUS PRODUCE or SURPLUS MONEY (foreign trade is important in this connection) into SURPLUS OF AUXILIARY CAPITAL. For example, the telegraph opens up a whole new field for the investment of AUXILIARY CAPITAL, so do the railways, etc., and so does the whole gutta-percha and INDIAN RUBBER production.

[XVIII-1151] This point about the EXTENSION OF KNOWLEDGE is important.

Consequently, accumulation does not have to set new labour in motion, it may simply direct the labour previously employed into new channels. For example, the same mechanical atelier which previously made [hand] looms now makes power-looms and some of the weavers are taken over by [mills using] the changed methods of production while the others are thrown on to the street.

When a machine replaces labour, it always demands less new labour (for its own production) than it replaces. Perhaps the old labour is simply given a new direction. In any case, labour is freed, which after a greater or lesser amount of trials and tribulations may be used in other ways. The human material FOR A NEW SPHERE OF PRODUCTION is thus provided. As far as the *direct* freeing of capital is concerned, it is not the capital which buys the machine which becomes free, BECAUSE IT IS INVESTED IN IT. And even assuming that the machine is cheaper than the amount of wages it replaces, more raw material, etc., will be required. If the workers now dismissed previously cost £500 and the new machine costs 500 too, then the capitalist previously had an outlay of 500 every year, whereas the machine may perhaps last 10 years, so that IN FACT he now has an outlay of only 50 a year. But what at any rate becomes free (after deducting the [expenditure for] the larger number of workers employed in the manufacture of the machine and in AUXILIARY

MATTERS connected with it, such as coal [production], etc.) is the capital which constituted the income of the [dismissed] workers or that [employed in the production of commodities] which these workers bought with their wages. This continues to exist as it did previously. If workers are simply replaced as MOTIVE POWER without the machinery itself being substantially altered, for example, if wind or water [now operate the machinery] where this was done previously [by workers], two lots of capital are freed, the capital previously spent on paying the workers and the capital for which their money income was exchanged. This is an example used by Ricardo.[a]

But one part of the product previously converted into wages is now always reproduced as AUXILIARY CAPITAL.

A large part of the labour previously used directly in the production of means of subsistence is now used in the production of AUXILIARY CAPITAL. This too is in contradiction to Adam Smith's view, according to which the accumulation of capital=the employment of *more* productive labour.[b] Apart from the examples considered above, the result may be merely a CHANGE in the APPLICATION OF LABOUR and a WITHDRAWAL of labour from the direct production of means of subsistence and its transfer to the production of means of production, railways, bridges, machinery, canals and so on.

// How important the existing amount of means of production and the existing scale of production are for accumulation [is described in the following]:

"The astonishing expedition with which a great cotton *factory*, comprehending spinning and weaving, can be erected in Lancashire, arises from the *vast* collection *of patterns* of every variety, from those of gigantic steam engines, waterwheels, iron girders and joists, down to the smallest member of a throstle or loom in possession of the engineers, mill-wrights, and machine makers. In the course of last year Mr. Fairbairn equipped waterwheels equivalent to 700 horses power and steam engines to 400 horses power from his engineer factory alone, independent of his mill-wright and steam-boiler establishment. Hence, whenever capital comes forward to take advantage of improved demand for goods, the means of fructifying it are provided with such rapidity, that it may realise its own amount in profit, ere an analogous *factory* could be set a-going in France, Belgium or Germany" (A. Ure, *Philosophie des manufactures etc.*, Vol. I, Paris, 1836, [pp.] 61-62).[c]

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[a] See D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, p. 336.[198]—*Ed.*

[b] See A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. 1, London, 1835, p. 400 sqq.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx quotes in French. Here the original English is reproduced (see A. Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures...*, London, 1835, p. 39).—*Ed.*

[XVIII-1152] With development, machinery becomes cheaper, partly relatively—in comparison with its FORCE—and partly absolutely; at the same time, however, a massive concentration of machinery takes place in the workshop so that its value increases in proportion to the living labour employed, although the value of its individual components declines.

The driving force—the machine which produces the MOTIVE POWER—becomes cheaper as the machinery which TRANSMITS the power and the machine which the power operates, are improved, as friction is reduced, etc.

"The facilities resulting from the employment of self-acting tools have not only *improved the accuracy and accelerated the construction* of *the machinery* of a mill, but have also *lowered its cost and increased its mobility* in a remarkable degree. At present a throstle frame, made in the past manner, may be had complete at the rate of 9s. 6d. per spindle, and a MULE JENNY at about 8s. per spindle including the patent licence for the latter. The spindles in cotton factories *move with so little friction that 1 horse power* drives 500 on the fine hand mule, 300 on the MULE JENNY, and 180 on the throstle; which power includes all the subsidiary preparation machines as carding, roving, etc., a power of 3 horses is adequate to drive 30 large looms with their dressing machines" (l.c., [pp.] 62-63 [Engl. ed., p. 40]).[a]//

* "Over by far the greater part of the globe, the great majority of the labouring classes do not even receive their wages from capitalists; they either produce them themselves, or receive them from the revenue of their customers. The great primary step has not been taken which secures the *continuity* of their labour; they are aided by such knowledge *only*, and such an *amount of mechanical power* as may be found in the *possession of persons labouring with their own hands for their subsistence*. The skill and science of more advanced countries, the giant motive forces, the accumulated tools and machines which those forces may set in motion, are absent from the tasks of the industry which is carried on by such agents alone" * ([R. Jones, *Text-book of Lectures on the Political Economy of Nations*..., p.] 43).

//In England herself: * "Take agriculture... A knowledge of good farming is spread thinly, and with wide intervals, over the country. A very small part of the agricultural population is aided by all the capital which ... might be available in this branch of the national industry... The working in these" //great manufactories// "is the occupation of only a small portion of our non-agricultural labourers. In country workshops, in the case of all handicraftsmen and mechanics who carry on their separate task with little combination, there the division of labour is incomplete, and its continuity consequently imperfect... Abandon the great towns, observe the broad surface of the country, and you will see what a large portion of the national industry is lagging at a long distance from perfection, in either continuity, skill, or power" * (l.c., [p.] 44).//

Capitalist production leads to separation of *science from labour* and at the same time to the application of science to material production.

With regard to *rent*, Jones remarks correctly:

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[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

Rent, in the modern sense of the term, which depends entirely on profit, presupposes:

* "the *power of moving capital and labour from one occupation to another ... the mobility of capital and labour*, and in countries where agricultural capital and labour have no such mobility ... we cannot expect to observe any of the results which we see to arise here from that mobility exclusively" * (l.c., p. 59).

This "MOBILITY OF CAPITAL AND LABOUR" is, in general, the *real* prerequisite for the formation of a general rate of profit. It presupposes indifference to the *specific form* of labour. In reality friction takes place (at the expense of the working class) between the one-sided character which the division of labour and machinery impose on *labour capacity* on the one hand, while on the other hand, it confronts capital //which is thereby differentiated from its undeveloped form in craft-guild industry // merely as the living potentiality of any type of labour in general, which is given this or that direction according to the profit that can be made in this or that sphere of production, so that different masses of labour are transferable from one sphere to another.

In Asia, etc., * "the body of the population consists of labouring peasants; *systems of cultivation* [XVIII-1153] *imperfectly developed, afford long intervals of leisure.* As the peasant produces his own food, he *also produces most of the other primary necessities which he consumes* ... his *dress, his implements, his furniture, even his buildings*; for there is in this class little division of occupations. *The fashions and habits of such a people do not change*; they are handed down from parents to children; there is nothing to alter or disturb them" * ([p.] 97).

On the other hand, the capitalist production, whose characteristic features are MOBILITY OF CAPITAL AND LABOUR and continual REVOLUTIONS in the modes of production, and therefore in the relations of production and commerce and the way of life, leads to great MOBILITY IN THE HABITS, MODES OF THINKING, etc., of the PEOPLE.

Compare the following with the above-quoted passage about the "INTERVALS OF LEISURE" and the "IMPERFECTLY DEVELOPED SYSTEMS OF CULTIVATION".

* "Where a steam engine is employed on a farm, it forms *part of a system* which employs most labourers in agriculture, and [is] in all cases [associated] with a reduction [in the number] of horses" ("[On] the Forces used in Agriculture". [A] Paper read by Mr. *John C. Morton* at the Society of Arts [on December 7,] 1860 [199]).* And

* "The *difference of time* required to complete the products of agriculture, and of other species of labour, is the main cause of the great dependence of the agriculturists. They cannot bring their commodity to market in less time than a year. For that whole period they are obliged to borrow from the shoemaker, the tailor, the smith, the wheelwright, and the various other labourers, whose products they want and which are completed in a few days or weeks. Owing to this natural circumstance, and owing to the more rapid increase of the wealth produced by other labour than that of agriculture, the monopolisers of all the land, although

they have also monopolised legislation, are unable to save themselves and their servants, the farmers, from becoming the most dependent class of men in the community" (Hodgskin, *Popular Political Economy*, p. 147,* note).[200]

The capitalist differs from capital in that he must live, and therefore must consume part of the SURPLUS VALUE as revenue, daily and hourly. Thus, the longer the period of production before the capitalist can bring his commodity to market, or the longer the period of time before he gets RETURNS from the sale of his commodities, the longer he must live either on credit during the intervening time—a matter we are not discussing here—or he must HOARD a STOCK OF MONEY as large as he spends as revenue. He must *advance* his own revenue for a longer period. His capital must be larger. He is obliged to leave a part of it always unused, as a consumption fund. //In small-scale farming, therefore, domestic industry is combined with agriculture; supplies for the year, etc.//

We now come to Jones' teaching on *accumulation*. His original contribution so far has been that it is by no means necessary for accumulation to arise from profit; and secondly, that THE *ACCUMULATION OF AUXILIARY CAPITAL* DEPENDS UPON THE *ADVANCE OF KNOWLEDGE*. He limits the latter to the discovery of new MECHANICAL APPLIANCES, MOTIVE FORCES, etc. But it is true in general. For example, if corn is used as raw material in the preparation of spirits, then a NEW SOURCE OF ACCUMULATION is opened up, BECAUSE THE SURPLUS PRODUCE MAY BE CONVERTED INTO NEW FORMS, SATISFY NEW WANTS, AND ENTER AS A PRODUCTIVE ELEMENT INTO A NEW SPHERE OF PRODUCTION. The same applies if starch, etc., is prepared from corn. The sphere of exchange of these particular commodities and of all commodities is thereby expanded. The same takes place when coal is used for lighting, etc.

Foreign trade, too, is of course a GREAT AGENT IN THE PROCESS OF ACCUMULATION, because it tends to increase the variety of use values and the volume of commodities.

What Jones says first of all is concerned with the *connection between accumulation and the rate of profit*. (He is by no means very clear about the origin of the latter.)

* "The power of a nation to accumulate capital from profits *does not vary with the rate of profit* ... on the contrary, the power to accumulate capital from profits *ordinarily varies inversely as the rate of profit*, that is, it is great where the rate of profit is low, and small where the rate of profit is high"* ([Jones, *Text-book of Lectures*..., p.] 21). Adam Smith says: [XVIII-1154] * "Though that part of the revenue of the inhabitants which is derived from the profits of stock is always much greater in rich, than in poor, countries, it is *because the stock is much greater*; in *proportion to the stock*, the profits are generally much less" (*Wealth of Nations*, Vol. II, Ch. 3 [p. 406]).

"In England and Holland, the *rate of profit* is lower than in any other part of Europe" ([p.] 21). "During the period in which her" (England's) "wealth and capital have been increasing the most rapidly, *the rate of profit* has been gradually declining" ([pp.] 21-22). "The *relative masses of the profits produced* ... depend *not alone on the rate of profit* ... but *on the rate of profit taken in combination with the relative quantities of capital employed*" ([p.] 22). "The increasing quantity of capital of the richer nation ... is also usually accompanied by a decrease in the rate of profits, or a decrease in the proportion, which the annual revenue derived from the capital employed, bears to its gross amount" (l.c.). "If it be said that *all other things being equal*, the *rate of profit will determine the power of accumulating from profit*, the answer is, that the case, if practically possible, is too rare to deserve consideration. We know, from observation, that a declining rate of profit is the usual accompaniment of *increasing differences in the mass of capital* employed by different nations, and that, therefore, while the rate of profit in the richer nations declines, *all other things are not equal*. If it be asserted that the decline of profits may be great enough to make it impossible to accumulate from profits at all, the answer is, that it would be foolish to argue on the assumption of such a decline, because long before the rate of profits had reached such a point, capital would go abroad to realise greater profits elsewhere, and that the power of exporting will always establish some limit below which profits will never fall in any one country, *while there are others in which the* [rate of] *profit is greater*" * ([pp.] 22-23).

"Apart from the *PRIMARY* SOURCES OF ACCUMULATION, [there are] *DERIVATIVE* ONES, such as, for example, the OWNERS OF [the] NATIONAL DEBT, officials, etc." ([p.] 23).

ALL THIS IS *bel et bon*.[a] It is quite correct that the *amounts ACCUMULATED* by no means depend solely on the rate of profit, but on the rate of profit multiplied by the capital employed, that is, just as much on the size of the capital advanced. If the capital employed $= C$, and the rate of profit $= r$, then accumulation $= Cr$, and it is clear that this product can increase if $C$ grows more quickly than $r$ declines. And this is indeed A FACT DERIVED FROM OBSERVATION. But this does not explain the *cause*, the *raison d'être*, of this FACT. Jones himself came very near to it when he made the observation that the AUXILIARY CAPITAL continuously increases RELATIVELY TO THE WORKING POPULATION BY WHICH IT IS PUT INTO MOTION.

In so far as the decline in profit is due to the cause mentioned by Ricardo—the RISE OF RENT—the ratio of the total SURPLUS VALUE to the capital employed remains unchanged. But one part of it—RENT—increases, at the expense of the other part, i.e. of PROFIT; this leaves the proportion of the total SURPLUS VALUE, of which PROFIT, INTEREST AND RENT are only categories, [to the total capital] unchanged. Thus, in fact, Ricardo denies the phenomenon itself.

On the other hand, the mere decline in the rate of interest proves nothing in itself, just as its rise proves nothing, although it does indeed always indicate the MINIMUM RATE below which profit

[a] Well and good.—*Ed.*

*cannot* fall. For profit must always be higher than the AVERAGE [rate of] INTEREST.

[XVIII-1155] Apart from the terror which the law of the declining rate of profit inspires in the economists, its most important corollary is the presupposition of a constantly increasing concentration of capitals, that is, a constantly increasing decapitalisation of the smaller capitalists. This, on the whole, is the result of all laws of capitalist production. And if we strip this fact of the contradictory character which, on the basis of capitalist production, is typical of it, what does this fact, this trend towards centralisation, indicate? Only that production loses its private character and becomes a social process, not formally—in the sense that all production subject to exchange is social because of the absolute dependence of the producers on one another and the necessity for presenting their labour as abstract social labour ([by means of] money)—but in actual fact. For the means of production are employed as communal, social means of production and therefore not [determined] by [the fact that they are] the property of an individual, but by their relation to production, and the labour likewise is performed on a social scale.

A separate section in Jones' work is headed "[On the] CAUSES WHICH DETERMINE THE INCLINATION TO ACCUMULATE".

* "1) Differences of temperament and disposition in the people.

"2) Differences in the proportions in which the national revenues are divided among the different classes of the population.

"3) Different degrees of security for the safe enjoyment of the capital saved.

"4) Different degrees of facility in investing profitably, as well as safely, successive savings.

"5) Differences in the opportunities offered to the different ranks of the population to better their positions by means of savings" * ([p.] 24).

All these 5 causes, in fact, boil down to this—that accumulation depends on the stage of the *capitalist mode of production* reached by a particular nation.

*D'abord No. 2.* Where capitalist production exists in a developed form, profit constitutes the chief SOURCE of accumulation, that is, the capitalists have concentrated the greater part of the NATIONAL REVENUE in their hands and even a section of the LANDLORDS seeks to capitalise [their revenue].

*No. 3.* Security (in the legal and police sense) increases in proportion to the degree to which the capitalists secure control of the state administration.

*No. 4.* As capital develops, the spheres of production increase on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the organisation of

credit [develops] in order to collect every FARTHING in the hands of the MONEY-LENDERS (bankers).

*No. 5).* In capitalist production, the improvement of one's position depends solely on money, and everyone can delude himself into believing that he can become a Rothschild.

There remains *No. 1).* All peoples do not have the same predisposition towards capitalist production. Some primitive peoples, such as the Turks, have neither the temperament nor the DISPOSITION to it. But these are exceptions. The development of capitalist production creates an AVERAGE level of bourgeois society and therefore an average level of temperament and disposition amongst the most varied peoples. [It is] as truly cosmopolitan as Christianity. This is why Christianity is likewise the special religion of capital. In both it is only men who count. One man in the abstract is worth just as much or as little as the next man. In the one case, all depends on whether or not he has faith, in the other, on whether or not he has credit. In addition, however, in the one case, predestination has to be added, and in the other case, the accident of whether or not a man is born with a silver spoon in his mouth.

*The source of surplus value and* PRIMITIVE RENT:

* "When land has been appropriated and cultivated, such land yields, in almost every case, to the labour employed on it, *more than is necessary* to continue the kind of cultivation already bestowed upon it. *Whatever it produces* [XVIII-1156] *beyond this,* we will call *its surplus produce.* Now this surplus produce is *the source of primitive rents,* and limits the extent of such revenues, as can be continuously derived from the land by its *owners,* as distinct from its *occupiers*" * ([p.] 19).

These PRIMITIVE RENTS are the first social form in which SURPLUS VALUE is represented, and this is the obscure conception which forms the foundation of the theory of the Physiocrats.

Both absolute and relative SURPLUS VALUE have this in common that they presuppose a certain level of the productive power of labour. If the entire working day (available labour time) of a man (any man) were only sufficient to feed himself (and at best his FAMILY as well), then there would be no SURPLUS LABOUR, SURPLUS VALUE and SURPLUS PRODUCE. This prerequisite of a certain level of productive power is based on the natural productiveness of land and water, the NATURAL SOURCES OF WEALTH. It is different in different countries, etc. Needs are simple and crude in early times and the MINIMUM PRODUCE required for the maintenance of the producers themselves is consequently small, and so is the SURPLUS PRODUCE. On the other hand, the number of people who live off the SURPLUS PRODUCE in those circumstances is likewise very small, so that they

receive the sum total of the small amounts of SURPLUS PRODUCE obtained from a relatively large number of producers.

The basis for absolute SURPLUS VALUE—that is, the real precondition for its existence—is the *natural fertility of the land*, of nature, whereas relative SURPLUS VALUE depends on the development of the social productive forces.

And with this we finish with Jones.

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*Dominance of the merchant estate:* In the part of London called Tower Hamlets, one finds very extensive furniture-making. There exists there a division of labour, in the sense that production as a whole is subdivided, falls into a large number of mutually independent branches of business. One shop only makes chairs, another makes tables, another again cupboards, etc. But these shops are run *plus ou moins*[a] on a handicraft basis, by a small master-craftsman with a few journeymen. Still their output is too large for them to work on direct orders from private individuals. Their customers are the owners of furniture warehouses. On Saturday the master visits them and sells his product, and [...][b] there is haggling over the price as in a pawnshop over the loan to [be] extended for one article of dress or another, etc. These master-craftsmen must sell weekly, if only to be able [to buy] the raw materials for the next week. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES they are, properly speaking, merely MIDDLEMEN between the trader and their own [work]ers. The trader is the capitalist proper, and he pockets the greater part of the SURPLUS VALUE. Along these lines [... the] transition to manufacture from branches which were previously carried on on the handicraft basis or as subsidiary branches [of rural] industry. Thus in Lyons, etc., Nottingham, etc., the trader is called the *manufacturer*, although those MIDDLEMEN ... exploit [... the] workers. This is the transition to manufacture or also to large-scale industry, depending on the level of technological development of small independent production. Where it is already based on handicraft-type machines—or machines used WITHIN THE LIMITS of [handicraft] production—we see a transition to large-scale industry.

[...]

["E.g. in the west] of the United States most SETTLERS, having paid for their land, REACH it with no property in [the world except] an ax, a spade, a hoe, a gun,

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[a] More or less.—*Ed.*

[b] The manuscript is damaged here.—*Ed.*

a cow, a few household utensils, and one or two [...] (A CHANGE OR TWO OF CLOTHING). The land [is] covered with timber [and] is of no use in its present [XVIII-1157] condition for TILLAGE. They go to a neighbouring merchant. He let them have on credit—against the future CROP—some of [his] capital, in the form of sugar, tea, coffee, flour, corn, potatoes, seed, salt, PROVISIONS, winter clothing, etc. With this borrowed capital *each settler begins his labours, and when the crops are harvested, the merchant is paid in grain and other productions, and the settler finds himself, by the aid of this credit, in possession of a surplus, sufficient in part to support his family for another year, which he could not have possibly possessed had the merchant refused to give him credit...* A large part *of the planters of the cotton growing states* receive *large supplies of clothing and subsistence for their slaves and of every article of their very consumption, upon credit from the neighbouring merchants, in anticipation of the next year's crop...* As regards these COUNTRY MERCHANTS themselves, *who aid the settlers and planters, few or none of them have a capital of their own adequate to carry on business to the extent they do. They are themselves obliged to obtain most of their supplies upon credit from the wholesale merchants of the large interior towns and the Atlantic cities, while those in turn avail themselves more or less of credit with the European manufacturers... It not unfrequently happens that a settler in [the] remotest region of Missouri plants his land and produces his crop by means of credit obtained, it may be, through three or four successive links, from a manufacturer of hardware in Birmingham, or from one of dry goods in Manchester" (Condy Raguet, *A Treatise on Currency and Banking*, 2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1840, [pp.] 50-52).*

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Richard Jones sums up correctly in the following passage:

*"The *amount of capital devoted to the maintenance of labour* may vary, *independently of any changes in the whole amount of capital...* Great *fluctuations in the amount of employment*, and great suffering, may sometimes be observed to become more frequent *as capital itself becomes more plentiful*" (R. Jones, *An Introductory Lecture on Political Economy*, London, 1833, p. 52).*

The total capital may remain *the same* and a CHANGE (decline especially) may take place in the variable capital. A CHANGE in the proportion between the two constituent parts of capital does not necessarily involve CHANGES in the size of the total cap[ital].

An increase in the total capital, on the other hand, may be accompanied not only by a relative, but by an absolute diminution of variable capital and is always connected with violent FLUCTUATIONS in the variable capital and consequently with "FLUCTUATIONS IN THE AMOUNT OF EMPLOYMENT".

## [3) RELATIVE SURPLUS VALUE

### γ) MACHINERY.
### UTILISATION OF THE FORCES OF NATURE AND OF SCIENCE
### (*STEAM, ELECTRICITY, MECHANICAL AND CHEMICAL AGENCIES*)]
### [(CONTINUED)] [10]

[V-211] *Costs of machinery, buildings, etc.*, when not WORKING. In *The Times* for November 26, 1862[a] a spinning manufacturer points out that his MILL, EMPLOYING 800 WORKPEOPLE and CONSUMING, WHEN AT FULL WORK, ABOUT 150 BALES OF EAST INDIAN, OR ABOUT 130 BALES OF AMERICAN COTTON, costs him ABOUT £6,000 a year (ABOUT £120 a WEEK) when not WORKING. There are, first of all, fixed costs, which do not concern us here (but which are very important in practice), namely *RENT*, the most significant FIXED COST, whether the machine WORKS or not (RENT in the above case=£2,450), further *INSURANCE* (INSURANCE OF MILLS AND MACHINERY AGAINST FIRE in the above case=£477, *INSURANCE OF COTTON IN PROCESS* £123); *taxes* on this property // RATES ON THE MILLS AND MACHINERY, AS PAID IN 1861 (POOR RATE INCLUDED) £310 //. Further: *salaries OF MANAGER, BOOK KEEPER and SALESMEN.* (In the above case £625.) Then *WAGES OF LODGEKEEPER, WATCHMEN, ENGINEER,* AND *OCCASIONAL LABOUR TO TEND THE MACHINERY* (£250. This *OCCASIONAL* LABOUR TO TEND THE MACHINERY belongs to the outgoings TO CONSERVE IT). Then *COAL FOR WARMING THE MILL,* AND *OCCASIONALLY WORKING THE STEAM ENGINE.* (£150.) Finally "*ALLOWANCE FOR DETERIORATION OF MACHINERY*". (£1,200, because the machinery is already very worn out.) With regard to the last point, the Lancashire SPINNER remarks:

*"It may appear to many that, as the mills and machinery are not working, they cannot be deteriorating... It is not intended to cover the cost of the ordinary wear and tear, which is repaired, as a knife has a new blade, by a staff of mechanics provided for the purpose by every manufacturer when his mill is working. But it is intended to cover that kind of wear which cannot be repaired from time to time, and which, in the case of a knife, would ultimately reduce it to a

[a] "The Case of the Millowners. To the Editor of *The Times*", *The Times*, No. 24413, November 26, 1862.—*Ed.*

state in which the cutler would say of it, 'it is not worth a new blade'.[a] It is *also intended to cover the loss* which is constantly arising from the superseding of machines before they are worn out by others of a new and better constitution. From these two causes it is well known that the machinery in a mill gets entirely renewed, at the least, once in every 15 or 20 years; and invention does not stand still in times like these, being always stimulated by difficulties; nor do the weather and the natural principle of decay suspend their operations because the steam engine ceases to revolve." *

The same fellow also says:

* "No doubt a large number (of manufacturers) have ample reserves on which they can fall back, but the bulk of Lancashire manufacturers have no spare capital. The habit of the trade is to spend in extensions of their mills and machinery their profits as fast as they make them, and as a rule they have an insufficiency rather than a redundancy of floating capital" * [p. 12].[b]

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[V-212] Cherbuliez: *Riche ou pauvre etc.*, Paris, 1841.[201] (Reprint of the Geneva edition.)

| "*New Capital* | *Old Capital* |
|---|---|
| 1) the machine | 1) provisioning of the workers |
| 2) annual upkeep | 2) the instrument and its upkeep |
| 3) raw materials | 3) raw materials."[c] |

//There is of course provisioning of the workers in the case of new capital as well. He is only speaking here of the provisioning of the workers replaced by the machine.//[d]

"On both sides one must abstract from the number of workers who are necessary to supervise and direct the movements of the machine. The old capital would grow *in direct proportion* to the number of workers employed. If it is 100 for a particular number, it is 200 for twice that number. The new capital is not subject to the same laws of growth, for the element of the machine that serves the application of the motor does not grow in numbers or in dimensions in proportion to the number of workers whose labour it replaces. Hence whatever the superiority of the new capital over the old for a given number of workers, it lies in the nature of this surplus labour that it is converted into inferiority, in proportion as one increases the number of the workers represented and replaced by the machine. If 2 workers are replaced, it is perhaps more expensive. If 4, 10, 20 workers are replaced, it becomes ever cheaper. This favourable result can only be obtained on condition that one disposes of a previously accumulated capital which is sufficient to set up a machine to replace the required number of workers and to obtain a

[a] The words "*Fixed capital*" are written in the margin opposite the following two sentences.— *Ed.*

[b] In the margin opposite this paragraph, Marx wrote "*Improvement of machinery paid for with loans*".— *Ed.*

[c] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

[d] Marx wrote this paragraph to the right of the Cherbuliez text.— *Ed.*

quantity of raw materials proportionate to that number. Here again, as in the case of a new subdivision of labour, the saving is linked to the prior realisation of an additional capital. *Each accumulation of wealth provides the means of accelerating subsequent accumulation*" ([pp. 28-]29).[a]

// *Firstly*. The situation with accumulation is to be taken into account in the conversion OF SURPLUS VALUE INTO CAPITAL. It should be mentioned here that just as accumulation is a condition of capitalist production, so capitalist production is a cause of ACCUMULATION.

*Secondly*: The machine replaces a certain quantity of workers, either in real terms, i.e. by taking their place (this is always the case when the trade is not new but was previously carried on without machinery); or potentially, in that so and so many workers would be necessary to replace *it*. If we speak e.g. of the millions of workers (see Hodgskin[202]) who would be needed to furnish the amount of production now furnished in the cotton industry, we are speaking of the number of the workers who would be needed to replace *the machinery*. It is different when we say that so and so many weavers were displaced by the POWERLOOM. Then we are speaking of the workers the machine has *replaced*. This is a big distinction. Once machinery has been introduced as the basis of a branch of production (with no more competition from manufacture) it only displaces workers to the degree that it is improved. But production expands with a given level of PERFECTION of the machinery before it attains a higher level.

If e.g. 10 were employed at handlooms, and 20 are employed at POWERLOOMS, and if a POWERLOOM replaces 10 handlooms, then the 20 accomplish as much as 200 did previously. But they have not driven out or replaced 200. The first POWERLOOM drove out 10. The other 19 POWERLOOMS have employed 19. One must not say, therefore, that productive power has replaced 180, because 200 would have been needed without the POWERLOOMS. The productive power has merely increased tenfold.

If a new POWERLOOM is invented, allowing 10 to do as much as 20, the 20 would be replaced by the 10, or 10 thrown out of work. If the number of these POWERLOOMS grew in turn to 20, 20 would be employed. And 40 would have been necessary on the previous scale. And 400 on the original scale. But the 400 men, who never existed, have not been replaced. The first POWERLOOM drove out 10 and second 2. Thus the productive power has grown in the proportion 20:1.

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[a] Marx quotes partly in German and partly in French (with minor alterations).— *Ed.*

At any rate there has thus been a twentyfold increase in the productive power. If this development had taken place in all branches, the worker would have needed 20 times less time to reproduce his means of subsistence. Thus if it was 11 hours initially, it is now $^{11}/_{20}$ of an hour, and all the remaining part of his working day, $11^{9}/_{20}$ hours, belongs to the capitalist. But the development is not uniform and all-embracing.

It should further be remarked: the amount of surplus labour is determined not by the workers replaced by the machine but by the workers employed by it. This is precisely what Cherbuliez forgets. The productivity of the machine (and its cheapness) is not only determined by the quantity of workers it replaces, but also by the quantity of workers whose labours it assists. Or the expressions are in [V-213] SOME RESPECT identical. //

// In so far as machine labour curtails the labour time needed to produce a particular commodity, hence increases the quantity of commodities which are produced in *the same* labour time, 2 things are possible. The commodity enters into the consumption of the workers. Then, leaving aside what we developed previously,[a] there is an increase in the amount of labour which can be applied to produce commodities that do *not* enter into the consumption of the workers; in which SURPLUS LABOUR can therefore be represented. This extends the basis, UPON WHICH CAN [be] REARED A LARGER UPPER CLASS. At the same time the pleasures of this CLASS. But there is also an extension of the basis, UPON WHICH CAN [be] REARED A LARGER WORKING CLASS, or the amount of living material on whose EXERTIONS the UPPER CLASS IS REARED. If, secondly, the commodity does not enter into the consumption of the workers, there is either a cheapening of pleasures or a setting free of labour for NEW FIELDS OF EXERTION. //

*Distribution of the value of the machinery, BUILDINGS, etc., over the quantity of commodities produced.*[b]

Constant capital, in so far as its relative magnitude of value—proportionately to the total capital—enters as a determining factor into the rate of profit, is to be left out of account entirely in examining surplus value as such. We have therefore regarded it as *c*, of indifferent magnitude, both in the section on absolute surplus value and in dealing with cooperation, division of labour, etc.[c] In examining machinery, however, we are compelled to concern ourselves especially with constant capital. Nevertheless,

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, p. 235 ff.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 321-27.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., pp. 172-232, 255-63, 264-306.—*Ed.*

there is no inconsistency here. Two points should be made about this:

1) Relative surplus value can be created only in so far as the commodities entering into the consumption of the workers (means of subsistence) are cheapened; hence the value of these commodities is reduced, i.e. the quantity of labour time required for their production is reduced. And the labour time contained in the commodity consists of two parts: a) the *past labour time* contained in the means of labour consumed in the commodities, and in the raw material, *s'il y en a*[a]; b) the *living labour* last added, in short the labour which is realised with the aid of those means of labour and in that raw material.

*All the methods* of shortening the labour time necessary for the production of a commodity, HENCE reducing its value, leave untouched the value of the raw material which enters into production. (There is at most a *saving* of it given labour on a larger scale.) This part of the *past labour* which enters into the value of the commodity therefore does not come into consideration at all. What all these methods have in common is that they curtail to a greater or lesser degree the living labour which is applied to past labour.

All that remains to be considered now, therefore, is the part of the past labour which consists of the instruments and conditions of labour (such as buildings, etc.). This PART remains unchanged with simple cooperation and division of labour. (It is, inversely, cheapened by concentration and utilisation in common.) But it is different with the employment of machinery. Here a specific relation enters the picture. The curtailment of living labour rests here upon a revolution in this part of constant capital, and one can say, expressing it very ROUGHLY, that complex, large-scale, and expensive instruments of production replace simple and cheap ones. If the commodity were therefore just as much *made dearer* by the machinery (or *more so*) as it is on the other hand cheapened by the acceleration and curtailment of the living labour added, the *value* of the commodity would not be reduced. One component [of the value] of the commodity would fall by the very fact that the other increased. There would be no reduction in the *total quantity* of labour time necessary to the production of the commodity, *therefore* no production of *surplus value*. So because this *method* of creating relative surplus value rests on the revolution of a particular part of the constant capital, and is thereby distinguished

[a] If there is any.—*Ed.*

from other methods, this point must be examined here specifically. Viewed quite generally, the problem is solved by saying that the total quantity [V-214] of the commodities produced by the machinery is *so large* that in every aliquot commodity there enters a smaller value component (part of the depreciation) of the machinery, buildings and the *matières instrumentales*[a] needed for the functioning of the machinery than if the same commodity were produced in the old manner by human beings and their old craft tools. But the fulfilment of this condition will in turn depend on the following circumstances:

α) *the quantity of commodities* an individual worker can produce in a given labour time, e.g. a working day, by means of the machinery;

β) *the number of workers* who, if the above relation is given, *simultaneously* receive assistance from the machinery in their labour; and through whom the value part of the total machinery calculated on each individual is relatively reduced;

γ) the difference between the period during which the machinery enters into the labour process and the period during which it enters into the valorisation process. E.g. a machine which lasts for 15 years enters completely into the labour process every year for 15 years. But only $^1/_{15}$ of it enters into the valorisation process every year. The total annual product in commodities therefore never contains more than $^1/_{15}$ of the value component of the machinery.

2) A big distinction is to be made between the question of how far the constant capital affects the *rate of profit*—this is the investigation of the question of the *ratio* of the *surplus value to the value* of the *capital advanced*, WITHOUT ANY REGARD TO THE FUNCTIONS OF DIFFERENT PARTS OF THAT CAPITAL—and on the other hand, the question of how far a particular configuration of constant capital (machinery, etc.) lessens the *price of the individual commodity*, or the labour time *contained* in it (past and present labour). In *content* of course the two questions come down to the same thing. But here the same phenomenon is considered from entirely different points of view. In the one case we investigate how the commodity // and therefore *labour capacity*, in so far as the commodity enters into the consumption of the workers // is cheapened, i.e. the total quantity of labour, past and living, required for its production, is lessened. In the other case we investigate how the ratio of surplus value to total capital advanced (the rate of profit) is affected by the

[a] Instrumental materials.—*Ed.*

revolution in the quantity and value relations of the constituent parts of the capital. The latter investigation presupposes surplus value; it presupposes the whole of capitalist production (including the process of circulation). The former investigation presupposes nothing but our general law about the value of commodities and the laws that follow therefrom about the value of labour capacity and ratio of surplus value to the latter.

3) The confusion between these questions: the lessening of the labour time required for the production of an individual commodity (or a number of commodities), and the proportion of surplus labour to necessary on the one hand, and on the other hand the value and quantity relations of the different components of capital, is the source of great FALLACIES.

*D'abord*[a] the main FALLACY. If the essence of capitalist production is grasped, it is absolutely no contradiction to say that the labour time necessary for the production of a commodity is reduced, but that there is on the other hand an increase in the total amount of time the worker must use for the production of this commodity which has become cheaper. In contrast, this constitutes, in fact, an incomprehensible contradiction to the economists who let the machine be invented and introduced, not in order to curtail the labour time the worker needs for the production of a commodity, but in order to curtail the labour time he must provide altogether as equivalent of his wage. And especially so, if on the one hand profit is explained by the fact that machinery shortens the worker's labour time, and on the other hand it is demonstrated (Senior,[b] etc.) that machinery necessitates the prolongation of that labour time.

*Secondly*: As far as the labour time of the worker himself is concerned, his paid labour time is shortened by this, and his unpaid labour time lengthened. It already follows [V-215] from this that the quantity of labour time contained in a commodity and the proportion in which this labour time is divided between capitalist and worker are two entirely different things. If the capitalist sells a commodity more cheaply, it does not follow at all from this that he makes *less profit* on it, realises less SURPLUS VALUE on it. The situation is usually the reverse. In addition to this, it is not *the individual commodity*, but the total amount of commodities produced in a certain period, that is to be considered as *the product of the capital.*

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[a] First.—*Ed.*

[b] N. W. Senior, *Letters on the Factory Act...*, London, 1837, pp. 11-14; see also present edition, Vol. 30, p. 333.—*Ed.*

*Prolongation of absolute labour time in the* FACTORY SYSTEM.[a]

The developed organisation of labour which corresponds to the machine system on the capitalist basis is the *FACTORY SYSTEM*, which predominates even in modern large-scale agriculture, more or less modified by the peculiarities of that sphere of production.

The main proposition that applies here is that the *SURPLUS VALUE* the capitalist makes derives not from the labour *replaced* by the machine, but from the labour which is employed on the basis of machinery.

Now the yield in SURPLUS VALUE is determined by two moments[b]: the rate at which the individual worker is exploited, or the share of surplus labour in the working day of an individual worker, and, secondly, the number of workers simultaneously employed, the number exploited by a given capital. The introduction of machinery lessens the latter moment, while it raises the former. It raises the surplus labour time of the individual worker, but it lessens the number of workers simultaneously exploited by a particular capital. The same method, therefore, which has a tendency to raise the rate of SURPLUS VALUE, has at the same time the antagonistic tendency to weaken the other moment, which acts equally to determine the amount of surplus value.

If each of 20 workers works for 12 hours, 2 hours of which is SURPLUS VALUE, the amount of SURPLUS VALUE$=2\times20=40$ hours of labour ($=3$ working days of 12 hours each plus 4 hours). If each of 10 workers works 12 hours, 4 hours of which is SURPLUS LABOUR, the amount of SURPLUS VALUE$=40$ hours as above. But 6 workers, each of whom works 6 hours of SURPLUS LABOUR, will only provide 36 hours of SURPLUS VALUE. And if the same capital set in motion 20 workers in the first case and 6 workers in the second, the amount of SURPLUS VALUE would have declined, even though its rate had increased.

This antagonistic tendency of exploitation based on machinery impels the extension of absolute labour time. If e.g. in the second case the workers were to work 14 hours instead of 12, and 8 hours were SURPLUS LABOUR, the AMOUNT of SURPLUS VALUE would$=6\times8=48$.

This reason, which impels the absolute prolongation of labour time—the increase of absolute SURPLUS LABOUR, the prolongation of the working day—is something the capitalists and their spokesmen are totally *unconscious of*. The phenomenon shows itself once

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 330-31. Marx adds the English expression *factory system* in brackets, after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 185, 253 et al.—*Ed.*

machine manufacturing has been sufficiently extended and developed through competition for the *social value*, the market value, of the commodities produced with machinery to be brought down to their individual value, so that the capitalist can no longer pocket the difference.

This is a driving motive entirely independent of the valorisation of the part of the constant capital which consists of machinery and buildings. The valorisation motive, as being more obvious, is directly present in the consciousness of the capitalists and their spokesmen.

This motive is very simple, and common to all SURPLUS LABOUR, but it operates particularly strongly when the value and the amount of the capital employed in the means of labour is large enough to be predominant.

*D'abord*, NO ADDITIONAL OUTLAY OF MACHINERY and BUILDING is necessary, whether 12 or 24 hours are worked, whereas, if a correspondingly greater amount of labour is to be absorbed *simultaneously*, the buildings, machinery [V-216] and TO A CERTAIN DEGREE THE MACHINERY WHICH PRODUCES THE MOTIVE POWER must be increased in size. The commodity is cheapened thereby too. For it is irrelevant whether the value of the machinery is distributed over more labour *spatially*, through the *number of workers* who work alongside each other and are assisted simultaneously by it; or this happens *temporally*, by the fact that the same *number of workers* are assisted by the same machinery over 24 instead of 12 hours.

The absolute reproduction time of the buildings remains roughly the same, whether they enter really as conditions into the labour process over 12 or over 24 hours.

The reproduction time of the machinery itself is not curtailed to the same extent as its active service is prolonged. But the reproduction time of its *value* is curtailed to the same extent.

The profit is thus greater in a *given section of circulation* and the profit in general is calculated according to the surplus value which is realised in a particular period of circulation, e.g. a year.

The ratio of constant to variable capital is in general reduced by this, because the share of the most important part of the constant capital is reduced.

The examination of this last point therefore belongs to the theory of profit.[4]

*Replacement of the tool of labour by machinery.*

It should be noted here that machinery does not only replace living labour, but also the worker and the tools of his craft. The latter may of course be very insignificant, e.g. when sewing

machines replace the usual labour of sewing. This is usually not a replacement; the actual WORKING TOOL rather re-emerges in the machinery itself, even if on an infinitely larger scale and more or less altered by mechanisation.

*Conglomeration of workers in the factory system.*

Later on we shall go further into the peculiarities of cooperation,[a] as it appears in the factory system, as distinct from both simple cooperation and manufacture based on the division of labour.

But here it is to be noted above all that developed machinery—the system of production based on machinery—presupposes the conglomeration of workers at one point, their spatial concentration under the direction of a single capitalist. Concentration of this kind is its condition. See the quotation from Ravenstone.[203]

The machinery which produces the motive power—and similarly the directing machinery which subdivides and transmits the power—is relatively cheapened to the degree that it is applied to a progressively larger system of machinery; there is a similar relative reduction in the cost of buildings, heating, superintendence, etc., in short the objective conditions of labour which are *communally* needed and consumed by the mass of the workers. There must correspond to the system of simultaneously operating machinery an army of simultaneously employed workers, partly to put into effect the division of labour peculiar to the machine system, partly to implement the system of simple cooperation, the simultaneous exploitation of many people who do the same thing, which is characteristic of the division of labour. Hence although the number of workers set in motion by a particular capital—and the number of workers required for the production of a given amount of commodities—is reduced, the number of workers simultaneously employed and commanded under individual capitalists increases; there is an increase in the concentration of workers acting together in space and time.

Just as the capital functioning in production in this system takes on the shape of a great *social mass of wealth*, even if it belongs to an individual capitalist, which stands in no relation at all to an individual's capacity—however large—for working and earning, so the same is true of the system of collaborating workers in a great social combination.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 423-25, 483-85, 496-97.—*Ed.*

[V-217] *Condensation of labour.*[a]

If we call the variable capital $v$, the constant $c$, and the surplus labour contained in the product $x$, the value of the commodities produced by a particular *capital*, if we assume that the whole of the constant capital enters into the valorisation process, considered from the point of view of the absolute surplus value $= c + v + x$.

The methods which raise relative surplus value change absolutely nothing in this formula. Or, the *value* of the total product is *not* raised by these methods. $c$ may grow, because the amount, and therefore the value, of the raw material grows. Ditto, because the value of the machinery grows. But the *value of* $c$ remains unaltered. It only reappears in the product. Just as little is $x$ altered. $v$ is exchanged in the labour process for $v + x$, where $v$ represents the labour time which is expressed in $v$, and $x$ represents the excess over and above this. $v + x$ is the total working day. It is not altered by the methods which create relative surplus value. Or, in other words: however much the quantity of products produced in a working day is increased by these methods, their value is not increased, even though, as a result of the cheapening of the products, *hinc*[b] of the means of reproduction of labour capacity, the division of labour time into paid and unpaid is changed. (The value of the total product of e.g. one working day may be increased: e.g. more *cotton* may be spun, etc. In short because more constant capital is consumed in the same time.)

There is nevertheless an *exception* to this. And an exception which only develops with machine labour. This is *condensation of labour*, or it is so in so far as, owing to the development of the social productive power of labour, the *intensity* of labour, the filling in of the *pores* in labour time, is driven onwards to such an exceptional degree, and becomes so much the constant feature of labour in a particular sphere of production, that the more intensive hour of labour = the more extensive hour of labour + $x$. At a certain point what has been gained in extension must be lost in intensity. But the same result also occurs in reverse. And the *replacement* here of quantity by degree is not a matter of speculation. Where the *factum* occurs, there is A VERY EXPERIMENTAL WAY TO PROVE IT: if it is *physically impossible* for the worker e.g. regularly to perform the same quantity of labour over 12 hours in the course of a week as he now performs over 10 or $10\,^1/_2$ hours. Here we see the necessary reduction of the normal or total

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, p. 335.— *Ed.*

[b] Hence.— *Ed.*

working day as a result of the greater condensation of labour, which implies a greater tautness, nervous tension, but at the same time a greater physical exertion. With the increase of the two moments—the rapidity and the extent (the quantity) of the machinery which is to be supervised—a *nodal point* is necessarily reached, at which the intensity and the extent of labour cannot simultaneously grow any further, the one necessarily excluding the other. And in this case, in spite of the reduction in absolute labour time, the SURPLUS LABOUR may not only remain the same, but grow. And indeed for two reasons. On the one hand, because the productivity of labour grows, i.e. owing to the general law that determines relative SURPLUS VALUE altogether. Secondly, however, because the *more intensive* hour of labour *now counts as such*, hence its product e.g.=the value of $1\,^1/_2$ extensive hours of labour in the previous mode of production. The more intensive hour of labour—here as the regular, general law of a particular sphere of production, not as something accidental and individual—will now be reckoned as what it is, as *a greater quantity of labour*, condensed as opposed to more porous labour time. As long as the intensity grows simultaneously with the extension of the absolute labour time, the worker will admittedly be subject to not only simple but double overwork; but the *more intensive hour of labour* does not count as such. It only counts from the moment at which its heightened intensity appears as the real, tangible and given limit of its extension.

This is the reason why with the introduction of the Ten Hours' BILL there was not only a growth in the productivity of the branches of English industry into which it was introduced, but also a rise rather than [V-218] a fall in the *amount of value* they produced, and even in wages.[a]

It should of course always be remarked that as soon as a concrete economic phenomenon comes into question, general economic laws can never be applied simply and directly. E.g., in the matter just referred to, a mass of circumstances come into consideration which lie far away from our subject; indeed, it would be impossible to explain these circumstances without anticipating developments which involve much more concrete relations than those we are so far able to grasp. E.g., the rise in demand following from the expansion of the world market since the discoveries in California and Australia,[b] and the combinations

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 30, p. 337 ff.—*Ed.*

[b] The discovery of gold in California in 1848 and in Australia in 1850.—*Ed.*

connected with this. The influence exerted, precisely during the *period* of occurrence of the phenomenon referred to, by the cheapness and abundance of the supply of the raw material (cotton), etc., in a number of these branches of industry. And finally the measure of the value, e.g. of cotton, is determined not by the English hour of labour, but by the AVERAGE NECESSARY TIME OF LABOUR on the world market.

But leaving aside all this, the English FACTORY REPORTS unanimously demonstrate two facts: 1) that since the introduction of the Ten Hours' Act (later modified to $10\,^1/_2$ hours) the small, piece-by-piece improvements in machinery were on a far larger scale and more continuous than in any prior period, and 2) that the speed of the machinery, and the amount of it that the individual worker has to overlook, have very much increased the intensity of labour, the demands on the worker's nerves and muscles.

Furthermore, the same *REPORTS* leave no doubt about the other two facts: 1) that without the law on hours, the limitation of the absolute working day, that great revolution in the running of industry would not have occurred, that it was *enforced* by the outer limit set by legislation to the exploitation of the worker; 2) that the experiment would not have been possible, i.e. not possible so quickly with this favourable result, without the high level of technological development already attained, and the means of assistance given by the level of capitalist production attained in general.

If all branches of industry were subjected to the same restrictions, and with the same success, with an equal rise in the intensity of labour, this intensity would count as a *GENERAL RULE*, and not as the distinct property of a specifically determined branch of labour. A new AVERAGE normal working day would merely have been established. The whole day would have been shortened, but also the necessary labour time and the surplus labour time within that (ON AN AVERAGE) in the different branches. (An English working day of $10\,^1/_2$ hours is not only more productive, but contains perhaps as great a quantity of labour as the 24 hours worked in the COTTON MILLS of Moscow.)

The capitalist mode of production in general condenses labour time, or increases the amount of labour provided within a definite time, the *amount of labour* which IS actually WORKED IN FOR INSTANCE AN HOUR or 12 HOURS. This is in fact identical with increasing the continuity of labour for the individual worker (for the individual worker, disregarding the continuity of the production process, i.e. its regular continuance over whole periods of time). Even the

formal subsumption of labour under capital brings this about, as does the whip in the mode of production based on slavery. This intensity is increased still further by cooperation, but particularly by the division of labour and even more by machinery, where the continuing activity of the individual is bound and conditioned by the activity of a whole, of which he only appears as a member, or which works, as in the mechanical workshop, with the utter uniformity and tirelessness of an inanimate force of nature, an iron mechanism. A certain AVERAGE DEGREE of INTENSITY OF LABOUR—of the real quantity of labour which is performed IN A GIVEN TIME—and a relatively higher DEGREE //although in the nature of things it differs in different branches of production// than is found in non-capitalist or even in merely formally capitalist production, is here altogether a *general presupposition.* It is presupposed for all work, if one speaks of time as its measure, and if one speaks of the labour time *necessary* for the production of a commodity. But this is not what is being referred to here.

Just as little is it the greater (or different) performance of the same labour in the same time, according to the degree to which skill, etc., has been developed through the division of labour and *TRANSMITTED* SKILL, and efficiency is increased through the aid of machinery. These two aspects relate to the *higher productivity of labour,* whereby IN FACT the real quantity of labour remains the same, and (with machinery) MIGHT EVEN BE DIMINISHED TO A CERTAIN DEGREE.

[V-219] What is being spoken of here is an increase in the exertions of labour which accompanies the development of productive power; so that in the same time not only more is produced, but *more work is done,* more labour power is expended, and indeed *above* the AVERAGE DEGREE—in a degree which is only made feasible permanently, day in day out, by limiting the extension of labour time. In this case not only relative but absolute SURPLUS VALUE is created, as long as this DEGREE of intensity is not universal. But the latter would presuppose, just as much, a general reduction of the working day.

In any case, intensification of labour meets with barriers just as does extension of labour. And these barriers are shown by the fact that at a certain point the intensity of labour can only be raised by reducing its extension. Thus e.g. if 10 hours is the normal average working day, with the corresponding level of intensity of labour—or of condensation of labour time, quantity of labour which is provided at each moment in time—all inventions which made labour *more productive* on *this basis,* without increasing the tension of the labour itself, would only raise relative surplus value.

But if a new condensation of labour time were linked to this development of the productive forces, so that the quantity of labour grew in the same time, and not only the productivity of that labour, a point would soon be reached at which the overall working day would have to be shortened again.

It is only capital's shameless and ruthless lack of moderation, impelling it to go beyond the natural limits of labour time into the realms of madness, whereby the labour also silently becomes more intensive and strained with the development of the productive forces, that forcibly compels even the society which rests on capitalist production (in this connection the rebellion of the working class itself is of course the main driving force) to restrict the normal working day within firmly fixed limits. This first occurs as soon as capitalist production has emerged from the crude and boisterous years of its adolescence and created a material basis for itself. Capital's reaction to this forcible restriction of labour time is a greater condensation of labour, which for its part in turn brings about a new curtailment of absolute labour time AT A CERTAIN POINT. This tendency to replace EXTENT by DEGREE only emerges at a higher level of development of production. This is in a certain sense a condition for social progress. Free time is created in this way for the worker as well, and the intensity of a particular kind of labour therefore does not remove the possibility of activity in another direction; this can on the contrary function, appear, as a relaxation from it. Hence the extraordinarily beneficial consequences—statistically demonstrated—of this process for the physical, moral, and intellectual amelioration of the WORKING CLASSES in England.[204]

As we have often repeated, we always proceed, in our whole development, from the assumption that commodities, and therefore also labour capacity, are always paid for at their *value*, and we consider the CHANGES in SURPLUS LABOUR exclusively on this basis. The real cuts in wages, etc., conditioned by competition are therefore not mentioned here. Thus e.g. the supply of labour is increased by OVERTIME, without any increase in the number of workers, or one group of workers is OVERWORKED, while the other group is entirely or partly unemployed. In this way an artificial OVERSUPPLY OF LABOUR is created, with the result that the supply of those rendered unemployed by this OVERWORKING forces down wages altogether (also those of the employed).

This is, on the other hand, one of the reasons why wages rose rather than fell in England in the branches of industry covered by the FACTORY LAWS. Since the demand for commodities rose as a result

of the extension of the world market, and, in particular, in the opinions of the capitalists, the extent of this demand rose still further, the demand for labour also rose; but this demand could not, as under the old conditions, be satisfied by artificially increasing the supply of labour, nor was it possible thereby to paralyse its effects on wages.

[The] supply of workers also fell off very considerably; in part through emigration from England, in part through the Irish exodus and pestilence.[205]

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[XIX-1159][a9] One example of the condensation of labour is work that is not practised at factories, e.g. tailoring in London. During certain months of the year there is both the greatest possible extension of the working day, and the work is carried on at a feverish rate.* For the rest of the year the tailors are for the most part unemployed or only partially employed. The *necessary labour time—hinc* wages—is not determined by the labour time in this period of the paroxysm of labour, but is rather calculated on the AVERAGE labour time, and the wage thus obtained therefore also covers a great part of the whole year's income. Here the condensation of labour is bound up with the extension of the working day, but the whole working period is restricted e.g. to a few months or weeks. One of the most miserable forms of exploitation of labour. These are periods of feverish labour, alternating with chronic slackness and unemployment.

## DIVISION OF LABOUR AND MECHANICAL WORKSHOP. TOOL AND MACHINERY [206]

"By a low level of organisation I mean a *low degree of differentiation of the organs* for different particular operations; for *as long as one and the same organ has to perform diversified work*, the reason for its variability may probably be seen in the fact that natural selection preserves or suppresses every little deviation of form less carefully than *when the organ has to serve for one special purpose alone.* In the same way that knives intended to cut all kinds of things may be of more or less the same shape, *whilst a tool intended solely for some particular use* must have a different shape for every particular use" (Darwin [*On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, London, 1859, p. 149]).[b]

* In all *SEASONAL businesses.*

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[a] This page of the manuscript is entitled: "Continuation of Notebook V (Machinery, etc.)".—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes with minor alterations.—*Ed.*

It is one of the main results of the division of labour that instruments or tools which belong to the same species of purpose, e.g. cutting instruments, boring instruments, compressing instruments, etc., should become differentiated, specialised and simplified. One only needs to observe, e.g., the infinite variety of forms assumed by the knife, once each particular way of using it has been given a form which corresponds to this particular purpose and this purpose alone! It happens that once this kind of labour—rather the different forms of labour which work together to create a particular product, a specific commodity—has been divided up, the ease with which it can be performed depends on particular modifications of the instruments which formerly served different purposes. The direction taken by these alterations is determined by experience and by the specific difficulties put in the way by the unchanged form. This differentiation, specialisation, and simplification of the means of labour therefore originates spontaneously with the division of labour itself, without any need for a prior insight into the laws of mechanics, etc. Darwin, see above, makes the same remark on specialisation and differentiation in the organs of living beings.

*Differentiation*—difference of forms and crystallisation of these forms. *Specialisation*, that the instrument which now only serves a particular purpose is only effective in the hands of labour which is itself differentiated. Both things imply the simplification of the instruments, which only have to serve now as the means of a simple and uniform operation.

The differentiation, specialisation and simplification of the instruments of labour given by the division of labour in the system of manufacture based on it—their EXCLUSIVE ADAPTATION TO VERY SIMPLE OPERATIONS—is one of the technological, material prerequisites for the development of machinery as an element which revolutionises the mode of production and the relations of production.

[XIX-1160] In one sense Babbage is therefore right to say:

"While the division of labour has reduced *each particular process to the use of some simple tool, the union of all these tools*, actuated by one moving power, constitutes a machine" (Babbage, *Traité sur l'économie des machines etc.*, Paris, 1833 [p. 230]).[a]

What we stress here is not only the reduction of "each particular process to the use of some simple tool", but also something which is involved in this, the *creation of these simple tools* arising out of the division of labour.

[a] Here and below Marx quotes from Babbage in French. The original English is reproduced here (see Ch. Babbage, *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures*, London, 1832, p. 171).—*Ed.*

One finds the view, both in English textbooks on mechanics and in works on political economy, that a machine is not essentially different from a TOOL or instrument; that the latter is A SIMPLE MACHINE and the machine A COMPLICATED TOOL, or that they are only to be distinguished as simple and complex machinery.[a] In this sense, indeed, even the elementary mechanical forms, such as lever, inclined plane, pulley, screw, wedge, wheel, etc., are called machines.[207]

But it is not in this sense that Babbage calls the machine, in the passage quoted above, a "union of all these tools, actuated by one moving power". He is not speaking here of the mere combination of different elementary mechanical forms, such as those mentioned above. There is hardly even a simple tool which is not a combination of several of these forms. Babbage speaks here rather of the union, the combination, of all the different instruments which e.g. within the manufacture of the same commodity are appropriate to different, separate modes of operation and therefore to different workers; and also of the setting in motion of this combination of instruments by a *single* motor, whatever this motor might be, whether the human hand and foot, animal power, elemental forces, or an automatic mechanism (mechanical propulsion).

Other people, in contrast, draw the line of demarcation between machine and tool by saying that in the case of the tool the motive power is human, but with the machine the power is provided by a natural force alien to man (a force which does not dwell within the human being as an individual quality) such as animal or mechanical power, etc. According to this view an ordinary plough, e.g., is a machine, while a JENNY, a MULE (unless driven by SELFACTORS), a sewing machine, etc., and the most complicated mechanical looms, are none of them machines, as long as they are set in motion by human beings themselves.

It must above all be noted that what is involved here is not a precise technological separation, but such a revolution in the means of labour employed as to transform the mode of production and therefore the relations of production; thus it is something characteristic of the capitalist mode of production in particular.

Historically, two stages in the transition to machine labour must be distinguished.

Machinery by no means always arises from manufacture, i.e. the analysis of the labour required for the production of a commodity

[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, p. 487, and Vol. 29, pp. 82-83.—*Ed.*

into different forms of hand labour divided among different individuals. This is only one point of departure for machinery. It also emerges, secondly, from tools which had production of the handicraft type as their prerequisite, and, during the golden age of manufacture in the towns, were at most developed further, in the sense that a mass of these tools was concentrated in a building, together with the workers who set them in motion, assuming the form of simple cooperation. Here the cheapening of the product arose in particular from three[a] causes: 1) the discipline to which the workers were subjected by capital; 2) the common utilisation of the general-type conditions of labour, such as buildings, tools, etc.; 3) the purchase of raw material on a large scale, etc.

The following should be viewed as the two classic examples of machinery which has emerged through these different routes:

On the one hand, the spinning and weaving machines which emerged from the most ancient tools (even if these had been somewhat improved in the course of time), without any further subdivision of the modes of operation within them, as brought about by some further division of labour. If we speak here of the division of labour, we mean the division of labour on which manufacture is founded, not separation into distinct and independent handicrafts. (Weaving, for example, was very subdivided in the latter way.)

On the other hand, there is the construction of the machines themselves by means of machinery. The [XIX-1161] latter emerged from—and had as its basis, a basis which also underlay the production of machines in spinning, etc.—the most complete implementation known to us of the system of manufacture founded on the division of labour.

The transformation of industry proceeds historically from the first form. It is in the nature of things that only after the manufacture of commodities by machinery had attained a certain extent did the need to produce the machinery itself by machines make itself felt.

With spinning wheels, where the motive force which set the wheel in motion, and through the wheel the spindle, was the foot, the part of the tool which came directly into contact with the material, the wool, the spindle, had a separate existence, was in fact a different tool from the wheel, which the motive force seized on. The picking of the wool and its twisting into threads, hence in fact spinning, was done by hand, and was only then threaded by

[a] Marx has "two".—*Ed.*

hand onto the spool, once it had passed through this hand operation. From the moment when the tool itself took over this operation previously performed by hand, hence the tool itself spun, the same motive force as set the wheel in motion also setting the tool itself to spin, and the worker thus being reduced to the role of setting the wheel in motion and correcting and supervising the spinning of the tool (e.g. reconnecting broken threads), from this moment the spinning wheel changed into a machine, even if a machine of the handicraft type—a machine within the limits of handicrafts, i.e. a machine which could be worked by an individual person; which initially still permitted the trade to be carried on as a handicraft or a domestic, or a rural-domestic enterprise (the last as a subsidiary occupation of the agricultural population). But from this moment onwards *the number of spindles* was also larger; the *working machine proper* was admittedly still set in motion by human power, but partly the way in which this power was directed, partly the immediate effect of this part of the machine, which seizes and transforms the material, no longer stood in any relation to the *physical* exertion or the dexterity of the worker, to the operations in which his hand still had to act as intermediary, before the tool carried them further. All his hand now did was to assist the instrument by correcting its ERRORS. The instrument had become the spinner and the same motive force which set the wheel in motion imparted to the working part of the machine a movement that "spun". The amount of the product therefore no longer stood in any relation to the physical exertion of the foot as motive force, whereas the hand came to the operation *post festum*, did not mediate it. Here a mass of spindles were AT ONCE set into the movement of spinning. The actual instrument of labour is therefore a union of many previously independent spindles, driven by the same motive force. It is therefore the transformation of the part of the tool which comes directly into contact with the material that served as the point of departure of the industrial revolution, which characterises the capitalist mode of production; this was the road from 6 to 1,800 spindles (paired on one MULE). With the spinning wheel there were only a few virtuosi (prodigies) who could spin with both hands. The spinning machine was not really complete until a large number of such machines, a REUNION of such machines, received their motion from water and later from steam. The organisation and combination of labour resting on the machinery first becomes complete with the establishment of the mechanical workshop, where an automaton sets the whole process in motion.

But the industrial revolution first affects the part of the machine which does the work. The motive force here is at first still man himself. But operations such as previously needed the virtuoso to play upon the instrument, *are now brought about by the conversion* of the movement directly effected by the simplest mechanical impulse (turning the crank, treading the wheel) of human origin into the refined movements of a working machine.

[XIX-1162] From the moment when direct human participation in production was reduced to the provision of simple POWER, the principle of work by machinery was given. The mechanism was there; the motive force itself could later be replaced by water, steam, etc.

After this first great industrial revolution, the employment of the steam engine as a machine for producing movement was the second revolution.

If one neglects to consider this, looking only at the motive force, one overlooks precisely the thing that marks, *historically*, the turning point.

Man possessed living automata from the beginning, in the shape of animals, and the employment of animal power for the pulling and carrying of burdens, for riding, driving, etc., is older than most handicraft instruments. Hence if one wished to characterise this as the decisive feature, machinery would be further developed among the Scythians than the Greeks; at least, the former employed these living locomotives to a greater extent. Animals were the first to be applied as motive force for the implements of labour, tools which have to bring about a definite mechanical alteration in the material they seize on, in the case of the plough, and much later also water (later still wind) in the case of the mill. The first form already belongs to very early stages of civilisation, which had not yet progressed to manufacture, but had only advanced to handicraft production. Just as little did the water mill bring forth an industrial revolution, rather taking up the same kind of position alongside handicrafts in the Middle Ages as it later occupied beside manufacture, etc. That the use of water power to set a mechanism in motion was, of course, seen as a particular principle, emerges from the fact that the later factories were baptised "mills", and indeed they are still called MILLS in England.

With both kinds of labour it was a matter of one of the simplest mechanical operations, the reduction of material, pulverising, in one case, and disaggregation in the other.

If we look at the machines which replace the earlier tools,

whether those of handicrafts or of manufacture, we find (with the exception of machines whose work itself consists in movement, in changing from one place to another, i.e. transport machines, railways, steamships, etc.) that the part of the machine which actually modifies the material consists for the most part of earlier tools, such as spindles, needles, hammers, saws, planes, shears, scrapers, combs, etc., even if they have received a modified form so that they can function as parts of a mechanism. What mainly distinguishes them is either that what previously appeared as an independent tool now acts merely as one element in a collection of such tools, or that it has taken on much more gigantic dimensions in proportion to the power of the motive force. But the actual task with any mechanism never consists in any more than the conversion of the original movement which is brought about by the motive force into another form, corresponding to the purpose of the labour and imparted to the working machine.

"*Weaving machines:* Are on the whole identical to an ordinary loom, or rather they consist of many looms, which are set in motion at the same time. They only have in addition particular attachments for pulling the combs and shafts, for throwing the shuttle and striking the plate. The alterations undergone since olden times by the *shuttle,* with which the weft is thrown through the warp, are not very significant. The form has on the whole remained the same" (Poppe [*Geschichte der Technologie...,* Vol. I, Göttingen, 1807, pp. 279, 280]).[a]

*Mills:*

"First the *crushing* of corn grains. *D'abord* probably by hitting them with stones. Then a container or mortar, in which they were pounded with a pestle. Then it was seen that *grinding* was better than pounding. The pestle was given a *twisting movement* in the mortar for that reason. This was best done with a *handle,* placed at the stem of the pestle, and *turned round and round* by a human being, almost like our coffee grinders. Thus the *hand mill* was discovered. At the beginning female slaves were assigned to the grinding, later serfs. Later still the pestle was made much heavier and provided with a *pole* instead of a handle, to which horses, oxen, or even donkeys were harnessed. These animals continuously pulled the pestle which was pounding the corn round and round, while they themselves went round in a circle, with eyes blindfolded. Thus there were already [XIX-1163] *horse mills* (*molae jumentariae, asinariae*[b]), which were of greater effectiveness than the hand mills. The horse mills were then perfected; the pestle took on a more appropriate, initially conical shape, and a more convenient container in which it was turned round. In the course of time the pestle was remodelled into a big, heavy *cylindrical stone,* which turned round upon another big stone, and in this way ground the corn. The former stone was called the runner, the latter was called the nether millstone. The cylindrical runner had an opening in the centre, through which the grains of corn could fall, so as to pass between the surfaces of the runner and the nether millstone, where they were crushed...

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[a] This and the following passages from Poppe are contained in Marx's Excerpt Notebook XV (London 1851).—*Ed.*

[b] Mills worked by draught animals, donkeys.—*Ed.*

"The invention of the *watermill* took place at the time of Mithridates, Julius Caesar, Cicero. (From Asia to Rome.) The first watermills in Rome were built on the Tiber shortly before Augustus. *Vitruvius* describes one...

"Toothed wheels and gears, which were connected to the shaft of the waterwheel, transmitted the motion of the waterwheel to the millstone which crushed the corn" (Poppe [op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 104-07, 109-10]).

The plough involved absolutely no new principle, and was in no way suited to bringing about an industrial revolution. It fitted completely into the framework of small-scale production. Here the animals functioned as living locomotives, just as they had previously done when pulling and carrying burdens. Like human beings they are capable of voluntary movement, and man had already learned to subordinate their will to the direction of his. The movement was irregular, if only on account of difficulties of the terrain, and man had not only to lead constantly, but to bear a hand himself along with the animal, once the cart became stuck in the mud. The connection between the motive force and working machine did not involve a new principle either. It was just as easy to harness the ox or the horse to the plough as to the cart. With the simple application of animal power the principle of *voluntary movement* remains predominant; the purely mechanical action is concealed under the cover of voluntary movement, and therefore it does not emerge. But it is already entirely different with e.g. the mill, where the animals are led or whipped round in a circle with their eyes blindfolded. The movement here already appears as *unnatural*, and reduced to a regular mechanical course, the circle. To the peasant, old and new, the animal by no means appears as a piece of machinery, but, as Mr. von Haller says in his *Restauration der Staats-Wissenschaft*,[a] a "*helpmate*". Animals are in general only the earliest human instruments, a point already developed well by Turgot.[b] The steam plough presupposes not only agriculture on a large scale, but the levelling of the ground, just as the locomotive presupposes railway lines.

The *mill* in contrast can be regarded as the first *implement of labour* to which the principle of machinery has been applied. This was relatively easier than with spinning, weaving machines, etc., because the actual working part of the machine, i.e. the part which overcomes resistance and seizes the object to be worked on, functioned from the outset independently of the human hand and

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[a] C. L. von Haller, *Restauration der Staats-Wissenschaft...*, Vol. 1, Winterthur, 1816, pp. 332, 378 (note).— *Ed.*

[b] See [A. R. J.] Turgot, *Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses* [1766]. In: *Œuvres de Turgot*, Vol. 1, pp. 34-35; see also present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 97-98.— *Ed.*

without further intervention of human operations. Whether I pound or grind dried corn in a mortar with a pestle, my hand serves here simply as a motive force. Once it was discovered that grinding was more advantageous than pounding, and hence a turning movement was more advantageous than a movement up and down, it was gradually found that the pestle did not need to be directly grasped with the hand, but that an apparatus for turning could be interposed between it and the hand. With the growing size and weight of the pestle, greater force had to be exerted on it, and the handle grew in size and was progressively converted into a shaft, which was turned in a circle, first by human beings and then by animals. There were admittedly changes in the form of the pestle and of the container in which it worked, and it was a long time before the bottom of the container and the pestle were replaced by two stones, of which one turned cylindrically upon the other; and it was a still longer time before this movement was brought about by the natural fall of water down an incline. With the water mill the mechanical principle, the principle of the employment of a mechanical motive force and its direction by a mechanical contrivance, was realised to a considerable extent, for the water-wheel, which the water seizes hold of, and its crankshaft, which transmits the motion to the millstone through a system of toothed wheels and gears, comprised a whole system of mechanical motion.

[XIX-1164] From this angle, therefore, the whole of the history of mechanics can be studied through the history of the mill.

We find here, firstly, the application one after another of all kinds of motive force, and the coexistence for a long time of human power, animal power, water power, floating mills, windmills, wagon mills (mills on wagons, set in motion by the movement of the wagon, for war, etc.) and finally steam mills.

At the same time we see in the history of the mill the extraordinarily slow progress in development from Roman times (shortly before Augustus), when the first water mills were introduced from Asia, to the end of the 18th century, when the first steam mills are seen, constructed on a large scale in the United States. Here it is only through an extraordinary accumulation of the experience of generations that there occurs an advance, which is even then only applied sporadically, without overturning the old method of working. This lay partly in the character of the corn mills as a subsidiary agricultural occupation, in the very slow extension of the individual machine to form a system of machinery, in which the same motive force set in motion several

sets of millstones; it lay also in the nature of the article. Yankee land was the first place where there was a big trade in flour, the flour trade on a large scale.

In Rome water mills were still extraordinary establishments.

"The water mills have even today not yet driven out all the hand and horse mills" [Poppe, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110].

The year 536 (Belisarius) saw the appearance of the first floating mills. From Rome the water mill spread to other states [pp. 111, 112].

A further advance in the machinery of the mill was that part of the work which was previously separate from the actual grinding, carried on independently, was now performed by the same motive force and thus mechanically combined with the work of grinding.

"Originally no one thought about *separating the flour from the husks or the bran.* Then the ground corn was sifted through a *hand sieve.* The pounded corn had already for a long time been caught in a special bin, later called the *bolting house,* in the form in which it emerged from between the millstones. Later on, sieves were installed in the bolting house, and given a form which allowed them to be turned with a crank. They made do with that until the *beginning of the 16th century,* when the *bolting mechanism* proper was invented in Germany; there a sieve, in the shape of a stretched-out bag, is shaken by the mill itself. The invention of the *bolting mechanism* gave rise to the development of a special type of fabric, so-called *bolting cloth,* which was later produced in factories."

//This is an example of the way in which a new division of labour within society is called forth by the introduction of, and improvements in, machinery.//

"*Roller milling* was invented at the end of the 18th century by Oliver Evans in Philadelphia" [ibid., pp. 114-16, 118-19].

"*Windmills.* Invented in Germany in the 10th or 11th century. Only in the 12th century were they first seriously made use of. Until then they were rarities. From the *16th century* Holland was the land of the windmills. Improved by them and by the Netherlanders. In Holland windsails were previously used more for driving *scoops* for removing water from low-lying fields" [pp. 130-34].

*Improvements:*

"Brake bands, so as to be able to bring the mill to a halt suddenly. The *post mill,* or so-called *German windmill,* was the only kind of [wind]mill known up to the middle of the 16th century. A violent storm could overturn a mill of this type along with its post. In the *middle of the 16th century* a Fleming found the way to make it impossible to overturn a mill. He made the whole of the mill immobile except the top, so that only the top needed to be turned round to point the sails into the wind, while the body of the mill was fixed firmly to the ground. *Dutch windmills.* In Germany and other countries it was only *in the 18th century* that they started to imitate the construction of the Dutch windmill, because the post mills were *much less costly.* The Dutch mills were given foundations, not merely *of wood,* in the shape of a truncated cone; soon the attempt was successfully made to construct them upon a *stone* base, which often took a turret-like shape. The roof or cap of the mill can be turned on rollers" (it has to be movable, so that it can always be turned towards the wind), [XIX-1165] "either with the assistance of a lever which is moved

by means of a stationary winch, or crowbars are used to turn round a shaft; this has a drive which engages with teeth in the cornice of the roof. Only in the 18th century was *this machinery perfected to enable easier and more advantageous movement*" [pp. 135-37].

(Holland in the 16th and 17th centuries was the dominant commercial and colonial nation; in addition, import of corn, large-scale trade in grain, cattle breeding within the country rather than tillage, hydraulic projects, the Protestant religion, bourgeois development, republican freedom.)

"*Whatever the kind of mill*, all its parts were always capable of many improvements; *people hardly concerned themselves about these possibilities until the end of the 17th century.*

"*In the 18th century* mills were infinitely improved, partly through *better utilisation of the motive power*, partly through a *more advantageous arrangement of the internal parts*, e.g. the milling, sifting, and the whole of the gearing mechanism. *New kinds of mill* and new parts for mills were invented, and new *theories* were worked out to secure the optimum layout for the mills. As in machine technology as a whole, the theory was often in open contradiction to experience, unpractical, wrong.

"The *common hand mill*, as it existed centuries ago, and even now often still exists on certain large farms, etc., is usually provided with a crank, on which human power is exerted. Two people can do the turning together. These mills were also not seldom constructed in such a way as to be turned by the pushing and pulling of *levers*. But here the motive power acted unevenly on the mill. This was improved through the addition of the *flywheel*, since the latter continues its movement at the same speed even if the motive power becomes weaker for a few moments. (Already recommended in the works of Faulhaber (1616 and 1625) and De Cous (1688).) The flywheel is placed on the crankshaft, and it facilitates its movement and makes it more uniform. The examination of *rotary movement* in mills was useful from many different aspects. It extended not only to the actual flywheels and pinions, but especially to the millstones, waterwheels, windsails, in general to all the parts which rotated" [pp. 138-40].

"Invention of the *field mills*, *wagon mills* or *animal mills*, which could be brought by wagon from one place to another. Supposed to have been invented by the Italian *Pompeo Targone*, at the end of the 16th century, for military purposes. He was Marquis Spinola's engineer. In the 18th century more sophisticated field mills, in which the runners were set in motion by the wheels of the wagon itself, while it was being pulled along.

"When the craft of milling was still in its infancy, only a single runner and consequently only one set of millstones was set in motion by the main axle shaft, which passes through e.g. the waterwheel. Later on the possibility was seen of setting in motion two runners, and thereby also two sets of millstones, by the main axle shaft, which passes through e.g. a single waterwheel." (17th century?) "All one had to do was provide the main axle with a spur wheel, and let this engage on both sides with the gears of two shafts lying parallel with the main axle. What was needed in addition was to fix a cogwheel at each of these shafts, in such a way that each cogwheel could drive its own runner by means of a vertical drive shaft; then one had two sets of millstones. But now everything depended on the *quantity of water*, because that intermediate mechanism and connecting gear required a stronger motive power. There was very little attempt to arrange the machinery in

such a way as to lessen *friction* as much as possible, so as to allow it to be driven by as small a motive power as possible. People depended entirely on the motive power, which was expected to overcome whatever irregularities of motion might occur and to make up for the deficiencies of the machine. No precise investigation was made into *the theory of friction until the end of the 17th century.* At most one smeared with grease and oil a few of the parts which seemed to come up hard against each other. The wheels, the gudgeon pins, etc., benefited from a *correct knowledge of the theory of friction. In the 18th century the theory of friction was reasonably well developed.* Furthermore, the *teeth of the gears* were made *epicycloidal...* Teeth which are rounded off into this curved line produce an even velocity of rotation, [XIX-1166] they do not jerk or shake, there is much less friction at the point of contact, and consequently the motion is much easier and closer to the ideal" [pp. 145-49, 155].

"In the period when the first water mills were set up, no attention was paid to controlling the water more advantageously, or ensuring that the wheels themselves" (the waterwheels) "should be designed and employed to greater effect. *The theory of hydrodynamics,* [developed] by Poleni, in *De motu aquae* (1717), was of assistance in the construction of watermills. D'Alembert, *Traité d'équilibre et du mouvement des fluides,* 1744. Bossut, *Traité elementaire d'hydrodynamique,* 1775,[a] etc. Similarly Bernoulli, Euler, etc., particularly in arriving at satisfactory results on the *flow velocity of water* and the *obstacles to this.* Special instruments, known as *flow meters,* were invented in the 18th century for the practical determination of the *flow velocity* of water. The *levelling* or *surveying of water,* i.e. the determination *of the gradient* or inclination of the *bed* of a river, canal, stream and the like was of no less importance in water mill technology. Full use of this was first made in the 18th century, especially with the assistance of the *level* or *water level.* Where rivers were not too broad, use was made of *artificial* gradients. The water is forced into a narrower space as it approaches the waterwheel, so as to make it flow faster. The contrivance used for that purpose is the *millrace.* It had long been customary in Germany for the water to be made to flow towards the wheel in a more or less steep gradient. In France the millers almost always employed the water horizontally, and accordingly it had no *natural gradient,* or no vertical distance between the inclined plane and the horizontal surface. Until the *middle of the 18th century there was no special theory* of millraces. After this period the discovery was made that the *millraces* for overshot waterwheels and breast wheels are best built in the shape of a *parabola...* Newton, Mariotte, Johann and Daniel Bernoulli, d'Alembert, Euler, etc., made considerable advances in the theory of the *resistance* or *thrust* of water" [pp. 160-65].

(With the undershot wheel the water acts through its *velocity,* while with the breast wheel it brings about the turning effect through its *thrust and weight,* and with the *overshot* wheel it is for the most part its weight alone which acts. Whether it is more advantageous to set up one or the other of the wheels mentioned depends on the quantity of water and the distance through which it falls.)

"After this a mass of other people endeavoured in the 18th century to derive a general law through which the strength of the thrust could be determined. Hydraulics and hydraulic technology were altogether enriched in the 18th century with many discoveries, which were for the most part very advantageous for the

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[a] These works are mentioned in Poppe's book, on p. 160 (notes 29-31).— *Ed.*

craft of milling too. The latter, *however, followed very slowly after advances in the theory*, especially in Germany. The *waterwheels* themselves in particular had been investigated more closely since the beginning of the 18th century, with the aim of discovering a theory which would enable them to be constructed to the greatest advantage. Parent, Pitot, Cassini, de La Hire, Martin, Du Bost, William Waring, Philipp Williams, Deparcieux, Lambert, etc.[a] The theory of waterwheels was difficult, hence it was decried as empty theorising, and the millwrights paid little attention to it. In this respect too, much of the theoretical work still remained reserved to the 19th century" [pp. 165-69, 171].

"The *second half of the 18th century* saw the invention of the Englishman *Barker*: *water mill without wheel and trundle.* This water mill resulted from the so-called *reaction machine* or *Segner's waterwheel.* A cylinder, open at the top, is capable of turning easily about its axis. A large number of precisely horizontal pipes is inserted into the cylinder close to the bottom, and the water present in the cylinder can enter these pipes. They must be closed at their [XIX-1167] extremities, but be provided close to the end with an opening into the side, out of which the water is able to flow in a horizontal direction. If the water now flows out of the side openings, the cylinder will turn about its axis in the opposite direction. The water exerts an even pressure everywhere upon the side walls of the pipes. But at the points where the openings are located, the water finds no resistance and can therefore flow out freely. At the points opposite these openings, the pressure continues to be exerted upon the walls; and since this pressure is not cancelled out by an equal and opposite pressure, it pushes the pipe away in that direction and sets the cylinder into rotation. Barker connected the axis of the cylinder to the millstones and the appropriate apparatus, and a corn mill was created out of this..." [pp. 173-74].

"*Mills driven by steam engines.* Tried first in England. This was the origin of the so-called *Albion mill* in London, *which had 20 sets of millstones* and was set in motion by 2 steam engines. It was destroyed by fire on the 2nd March 1791. In the 18th century this system was still a rarity. In Germany, in the first decade of the 19th century, it did not yet...

"A water mill was built by *Thomas Ellikott* in *Virginia* on the Okkaquam River. It performs all the functions of milling almost without human assistance. It has 3 waterwheels and 6 sets of millstones. No one needs to bring the corn up the stairs and throw it into the hopper: the mill itself does this through the mechanism of a moving *Archimedean water screw*, which screws the corn horizontally forward, and a kind of *system of buckets*, which brings it up to the top floor, and guides it from there through the hopper into the area between the millstones. Before being poured in it is cleaned by a further machine. After the flour has cooled, the machine brings it automatically to the place where the flour containers stand, and even pours it into them" [pp. 183, 185, 186].

In Germany the nobles at first maintained that the wind was their property; but then the bishops challenged them, claiming it as ecclesiastical property.

"In 1159 the emperor Frederick I made water mills a regalian right. The only exception for a while were small non-navigable rivers. The regalian prerogative was even extended to cover the air. It was already an established practice in the 11th century for ruling princes to oblige their subjects to have their corn milled in the

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[a] Poppe mentions their works on pp. 167-68 (notes 66-76) of his book.—*Ed.*

seigneurial mills and in no others, in return for a certain fee. *Privileged mills or compulsory mills*" [pp. 189-90].

"In the *first half of the 18th century* the Dutch also provide practical instruction in the millwright's art" [p. 192].

The mill passed through the following stages of development, beginning with the period of the Roman Empire, at the start of which the *water mill* was introduced into Rome from Asia Minor:

*Middle Ages. Hand mills, animal mills* and *water mills.* (*Windmills* invented in Germany in the 10th or 11th century. First used seriously from the 12th century onwards. Until the *middle of the 16th century* the only ones used.) Characteristic that the German nobility claimed the wind as its property, then the priests. Frederick I made water mills a regalian right in 1159, then extended this to cover the air. *Privileged* or *compulsory* seigneurial *mills.* Moses said: Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn.[a] But the Christian lords of Germany say on the contrary: "Serfs should have a big wooden board fastened round their neck, so that they can't use their hands to put flour into their mouths." [208]

The sole improvement in the water mill: For a long time, the flour was caught, just as it emerged from between the millstones, in a special container. The *hand sieves,* which were previously used to sift the crushed corn, were now fixed in this container, which was designed in such a way that they could be turned with a crank.

*Sixteenth century.* Beginning of the 16th century, a sieve stretched out to form a bag, the *bolter properly so called,* shaken by the mill itself.

Windmills were very widespread in Holland in the first half of this century. They were converted from German into *Dutch windmills.* In the middle of the century the Dutch were already using wind-driven sails to draw water. Movable top. Stone building. *Braking system,* in order to bring the mill to an immediate halt while in motion. Mechanical contrivances to turn the top into the wind, even if still very clumsy. (The *cap* of the mill.) Namely thus: the sails are directed towards the wind by means of the cap. [XIX-1168] The cap is turned round on rollers (pointed) by crowbars, etc. At the end of the 16th century transportable mills for military purposes, *field mills, wagon mills* or *animal mills,* which can be brought from one place to another on a wagon pulled by an ox.

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[a] Deuteronomy 25:4.—*Ed.*

*Seventeenth century.* With some non-water mills (*hand querns*) the motion was produced by pushing and pulling with *handles.* The motive power acts very unevenly here. The *flywheel* introduced (fixed to the crankshaft) to facilitate the motion and make it more uniform. Some theoretical investigations into flywheels, pinion wheels and rotary motion in general.

*Eighteenth century.* Two sets of millstones set in motion by one waterwheel. (This had already started in the *17th century.*) Namely, a single waterwheel acts on a single axletree, which acts on 2 runners, and thereby 2 sets of millstones are also set in motion, and indeed it acts on 2 runners through side-axles, gearing, and connecting gear (see above).[a] But now greater motive power is required. The *theory of friction* is developed. Epicycloidal shape for the teeth of wheels, gears, etc.

*Investigations into the better utilisation of the motive power itself, the water, its regulation.* Necessary to determine the thrust of flowing water; whether a certain amount is sufficient for a particular purpose, whether it needs to be used as a whole or in part. Theoretical writings *de motu aquae,*[b] its velocity, obstacles it comes up against. *Current meters* to determine the flow velocity of the water. Hence the first *measurements of motive power.*

What was further found important (already in the 17th century, and earlier still in practice, in a crude form) was *levelling or water surveying* (i.e. the determination of the gradient or the inclination of the bed of a river, a stream, a canal, etc.). In the 18th century the *level or water level.*

*Artificial inclines. Millraces.* Since the middle of the 18th century. Theory *of the millrace.* Parabola as form of the millrace for overshot waterwheels and breast wheels. Whether the water acts by velocity or weight. Theory of the *resistance or thrust of water.* Newton, Mariotte, the Bernoullis, d'Alembert, Euler, etc. (Laws determining the force of thrust.) Investigations into the most advantageous form of *waterwheel.* Theory of waterwheels difficult. Practice only followed theory slowly here.

*Second half of the 18th century. Water mill without wheel and trundle,* consisting of a cylinder capable of moving easily about its axis, open above, and a large number of horizontal pipes inserted into it near its bottom, closed at their extremities, but provided with a side-opening close to the end, out of which the water can flow in a horizontal direction. The principle here is the uniform pressure of

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[a] See this volume, pp. 397-98.— *Ed.*

[b] On the motion of water.— *Ed.*

the water on the pipes. If the water runs out at the side where it finds no resistance, the pressure on the other side is not cancelled out into equilibrium, and the pipes therefore turn. The principle is *au fond*[a] the same as with the steam engine—movement produced by removing the equilibrium of the motive power.

*Milling with steam engines.* With this at the same time a system of machinery. 20 sets of millstones at the Albion in London, set in motion by 2 steam engines. (Burned down in 1791.)

Similarly at the end of the *18th century. Water mill* as system; not only by the combination of 6 sets of millstones, but automatically (through the Archimedean water screw). The corn is carried up the escalator, it is deposited on the upper floor, it is guided from there through the hopper to between the millstones, it is cleaned by machinery connected to them, it is poured out, the cooled flour is brought automatically to the place where the flour containers stand and automatically poured into them. This was built by *Thomas Ellikott* on the Okkaquam River in Virginia. Now the system of the automatic milling machine had been perfected.

[XIX-1169] What drove the *Dutch* (since 1579 separated from Spain as the United Provinces) to use *wind power* was the lack of rivers with any considerable inclination. //A great lack of mines for the setting up of actual factories. There were neither smithies nor ironworks there of any size.// //The most prominent of the trades carried on there were wool, silk, linen manufactures, oil and saw mills, paper and dyeworks. Almost all these trades had already reached their highest level towards the end of the 17th century. Declined from then onwards.// //Tobacco factories.//

*United States of America.* Its trade (export of grain and flour, etc.) with the West Indies. But particularly during the *Revolutionary War* (1793-1807, etc.) their trade increased with England, France, Spain, Portugal, and numerous other European countries. Demand for American flour (whereas otherwise they only had to supply the West Indies with it). 619,681 barrels of flour were exported from the *United States* in 1791; 1,074,639 in 1793.

//Here, as previously with the Dutch, the first trades to become prominent were closely connected with trade and seafaring.// //The corn trade was very insignificant in the Middle Ages, took on a certain importance in the 17th century, grew in the 18th and 19th centuries. One may say that the trade in flour was first conducted on a world-wide SCALE by the *UNITED STATES.*//

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[a] At bottom.—*Ed.*

*Gunpowder, the compass, and the printing press* were the 3 great inventions which ushered in bourgeois society. Gunpowder blew up the knightly class, the compass discovered the world market and founded the colonies, and the printing press was the instrument of Protestantism and the regeneration of science in general; the most powerful lever for creating the intellectual prerequisites.

But the *water (wind) mill* and the *clock* are two machines inherited from the past. Their development prepares the way for the period of machinery, even during the time of manufacture. Hence "MILLS"[a] is the word for all instruments of labour set in motion by the forces of nature, including the more complicated tools in which the human hand is the MOTOR. With the mill the elements of machinery are already developed alongside each other in a certain independence and extension; motive power, the PRIME MOTOR engaged by the motive power, *connecting mechanism*, wheels, levers, cogs, etc., between the PRIME MOTOR and the *working machine.*

The *clock* is based on the craftsmanship of artisanal production together with the erudition which characterises the dawn of bourgeois society. It gives the idea of the automatic mechanism and of automatic motion applied to production. The history of the clock goes hand in hand with the history of the theory of uniform motion. What, without the clock, would be a period in which the value of the commodity, and therefore the labour time necessary for its production, are the decisive factor?

"*Flails* already known to the ancients. *Threshing sledges and threshing wagons* (threshing machines) among the Phoenicians" [Poppe, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 194].

The water mill, first used for milling corn, could naturally be employed on different materials, for all similar purposes, with appropriate modifications to the working instrument. In the period of manufacture, therefore, it was extended to all manufactures in which this motive power, etc., was employed, either as a whole or in part.

*Oil machines.* Oil mills, stamping mills.

"*Oils.* The process by which they are obtained from seeds and fruits sometimes involves merely squeezing out, but more often the seeds or fruits are *crushed and ground*, and then *squeezed out* once again. The ancients already obtained their oil by squeezing in an *oil press* or *pressing machine* [pp. 220-22]. There are many *oil mills* in Holland" [p. 227].

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[a] Marx uses both the German and the English term. Cf. this volume, p. 392.—*Ed.*

The *needle factory*, which Adam Smith takes as his example, is itself a factory for an *instrument* of labour.[209]

*Nuremberg*. The main centre of inventions for tools, on the basis of handicraft production, from the clock (Nuremberg egg[210]) to the *die stamper* used for forming pinheads and setting them on the pins.

The *thimble* was also a Nuremberg invention [see Poppe, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 4-7, 13-14, 95].

[XIX-1170] "The *saw* is ancient; the present-day saw is not very different in shape from the saw of the ancient Greeks. Already in the 4th century there were water-driven *mills for sawing wood*. There was already a *sawmill* in Augsburg in 1337. In *Norway* in 1530 the first sawmill was built under the name of 'The New Craft'" [ibid., pp. 33-36].

"Already in the *16th century* [there were] mills which set in motion many saw blades, cutting one or more trees at once into many planks. Euler, *Sur l'action des scies* [1756]. Nancarrow, *Calculations Relating to Grist and Sawmills* [1794].[a] (Improved theory of sawmills.)" [Pp. 41-43, 45-46.]

"*Boring mills* for the boring of wooden tubes already existed in the 16th century. *Veneering mills* for precision cutting of stained and rare types of wood were invented in the 16th century by Georg Renner of Augsburg. (The men of Nuremberg and Augsburg were excellent cabinet-makers.)" [Pp. 43-46.]

*Paper mills.*

"*Rag (linen) paper* seems to have been invented in Germany in the 14th century. Straight after the invention of rag paper mechanical contrivances were used for the crushing and pounding of the rags. The first paper mills were *hand mills*, and only after a number of years were *water-driven paper mills* set up, when large-scale paper-making started. In the 14th century [they were to be found] in Germany (Nuremberg) and Italy. The *rag cutting machine* first became known in Germany in the first quarter of the 18th century... Up to the end of the *17th century* the rags were merely converted into a pulpy mass by the hammering or stamping of the apparatus. Then the *paper milling machine*, called the *Hollander* or *Dutch machine*, was invented in Germany. A cylinder lined with a large number of iron bands, housed in a strong wooden container, crushed the rags it took up out of a trough. It was set rotating by the water-wheel with the help of a system of gears. The Germans did not recognise the usefulness of these machines, and paid no attention to them. The Dutch snatched them up. They used them as *hand mills* initially. then after some time arranged for them to be driven by *windsails*.

"*Golden age of paper milling* in Holland" [pp. 196-203]. "The Dutch conducted their papermaking operations *industrially*, appointing a specific person for each individual assignment in their paper mills. They worked quicker and better than the German papermakers, who for the most part carried on the business only in the handicraft fashion" [p. 218].

The *Dutch paper mills* of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century can be regarded as an important example of a *manufacture* associated with machinery, in which individual jobs

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[a] Poppe mentions these works on p. 41 of Vol. II of his book, in notes 64 and 67.— *Ed.*

are performed by machines, although the whole thing does not constitute a system of machinery. At the same time there is a considerable division of labour in this.

"Sorting and washing of the rags. *Clarification by water. Bleaching of the rags...*" [pp. 205-08]. "Once the paper has been *scooped*, passed between the *felts*, and *piled up in layers* to form a *pad or Puscht*, it must be strongly pressed together. For a long time this was done by the so-called *rod or lever press*, set in motion by human power" [p. 209]. "*Glazing, blueing*" [pp. 212-17].

A mixture of mechanical and chemical processes.

"*Glass polishing.* Among the ancients only *burning glasses*; they did not know that glasses can *magnify* objects.

"The first trace of the use of magnification lenses in the Arab writer *Alhazen*, 12th century. Only at the end of the *13th century* were *spectacles* invented. *Roger Bacon.* The oldest *polishing mill* first improved by Hook (1665). *Telescope. Magnifying glass or microscope.* (End of the 16th century.) The actual *telescope* first spread from Holland in 1609. *Jansen* constructed the first telescope in 1590. Europe first learned from *Galileo* how to make a proper telescope and employ it in astronomy. Then *Kepler*" [pp. 244-47, 249-50, 257-60].

*Carriage manufacture.*

"Numerous separate craftsmen worked in this trade. There were apart from the wheelwrights, harness-makers, tailors, locksmiths, brass-founders, turners, fringe-makers, glaziers, painters, varnishers, gilders, etc. Later on, in the carriage factories, those workers were assembled together, with the product passing from one hand to the next" [p. 330].

*Self-driving wagons*, moved along without a harness by the aid of a system of gearing, found in Nuremberg in the 16th and 17th centuries [p. 348].

[XIX-1171] *Metal factories.*

1) *Stamping and hammering works.*

"The ancients already *stamped or fragmented* the ore before smelting, *washed and cleaned* it, partly to accelerate the melting, partly to obtain the metal with as small a waste as possible. The ore was crushed to a powder in a mortar; this powder was then ground in an ordinary handmill, and subsequently cleaned and washed. The washing of the minute pieces of ore was done in *sieves.* Actual *stamping works or stamping mills*, with stampers, which pounded the ore in a stamping trough, were invented in Germany in the first years of the *16th century*; the iron-shoed stamper was positioned close to the shaft of the waterwheel, and the cams on this shaft raised the stamper during the rotation of the wheel. At the beginning there were merely *dry stamping works*, i.e. no water entered the stamping trough. But the crushed ore gave off such a thick dust during the functioning of these stamping works that the workers were physically unable to endure it, and then the subsequent smelting process could not progress properly. This situation gave rise very soon to the idea of *wet stamping or stamping with water.* This improved arrangement of stampers and stamping troughs had already been achieved in the 17th century, but the *washing works* first [became more widespread] in the 18th century", etc., etc. [pp. 381-84, 386].

*The use of bellows.*

"The oldest way of fanning the flames was to use a piece of skin, or tree leaves, or thick green branches. Later on they used *reeds*, through which the air was blown into the fire with the mouth. *Leather bellows*, where a quantity of air was incessantly blown out by the simple pressure of the hand from a container to a communicating pipe. Known very early on, among the *Greeks*. In smelting works too, large bellows of this kind were set in motion by hand. Up to roughly the *beginning of the 14th century*. Around this time the first bellows driven by waterwheels. *Wooden* instead of leather bellows, lasting 10 times longer than leather ones", etc., "invented in *Germany*, Nuremberg, already before the middle of the 16th century" [pp. 387-90].

"*Large hammer works* were established in the 13th and 14th centuries for forming the metal, particularly iron, copper, brass and lead, into *bars* or *sheets* with heavy iron hammers, set in motion by the *cams on a waterwheel shaft*. At the beginning very inadequate, like all mills. Only *in the 18th century* was the shape of the cams, the design of the waterwheels, etc., and the blowing machines perfected, particularly by *Swedish* scientists" [p. 428].

// Poppe (*Geschichte der Technologie*) shows how the *urban crafts* (these being independent activities of free men) have developed since the 11th century, bound up with trade and science in the towns, and how the guilds, livery companies, mysteries, in short industrial corporations, have developed together with these crafts, politically too.[a] There are many *"orders" of this kind dating from the 12th and 13th centuries.*

"Germany in those days possessed the greatest masters in almost every craft. Louis IX of France had the handicraftsmen organised into guilds by Stephan Boileau in 1270. Frederick I and Frederick II endeavoured to abolish the craft associations, which were becoming refractory. Influence of the craftsmen in the towns. All the attempts of princes to suppress the guilds were of no avail. Their importance increased more and more. The craftsmen violently demand not only a share in the government of the towns, but exclusive control of them. *Golden age of the crafts in the Netherlands*. The wool weavers play the most important role here. In 1304 a battle at sea between the Dutch and the Flemings, won by the former. In the *14th century* conflict between the craftsmen and the urban authorities. The craft guilds always had periods of weakness, but always righted themselves. Indeed, each craft sets up a complete armament for itself. In the *14th century* many inventions and discoveries. All kinds of weaving, metalworking, working in silver and gold, reach a very advanced stage. *15th century*. No significant change in the organisation of the craft system. At the end of that century *Nuremberg* the most flourishing of the German towns. *16th century*. Constant increase in crafts and trades. *Germany* is again outstanding in inventions. Spanish Netherlands. England" [Vol. I, pp. 13, 15-24, 27-29].

"In the *17th and 18th centuries* the actual manufactures and factories emerge, especially in *England* and *France*" [p. 31].

"*Manufacture and factory* when numerous crafts *come together* and work towards *a single goal*. It is called *manufacture* when hands are directly used, or if they are in short supply, machines are used, to produce [XIX-1172] commodities. *Factory* when fire and hammers are used for this. Some trades cannot be carried on except on a

[a] Here Marx summarises pp. 9-12 of Vol. I of Poppe's book.—*Ed.*

large scale; e.g. *porcelain making, glass making,* etc., *are therefore never handicrafts.* Some trades, e.g. weaving, were already carried on on a large scale in the 13th and 14th centuries" [pp. 31-32].

"In the *18th century* many men of learning set out with great energy to achieve a precise knowledge of the handicrafts, manufactures and factories. Some made them subjects of special studies. It was only in modern times that the connection of mechanics, physics, chemistry, etc., with the handicrafts" (he should have said production) "was properly recognised. Otherwise the rules and customary practices were handed down in the *workshops* from the masters to the journeymen and apprentices, and *thus there was a conservative tradition.* Previously, *prejudices* stood in the way of the men of learning. The term *technology* is first used by *Beckmann* in 1772. Even before the middle of the 18th century there is a treatise on the diseases of artisans and craftsmen, by the Italian *Ramazzini.* A complete technology was the work of *Réaumur* and *Shaw.* The former put his plan forward to the French Academy. HENCE: *Descriptions des arts et métiers, faites ou approuvées par Messieurs de l'Académie Royale etc.,* in folio, Paris, beginning of 1761" [pp. 62-64, 81-82, 91-92].[a]//

## *Spinning and weaving.*
## 1) *Woollen materials.*

"Before the *10th century* the wool manufactures *of Germany* were the most renowned in Europe; the plant nurseries of the Netherlands manufactures. The cloth factories *of Ghent* were already flourishing in the middle of the 12th century. *Florence, Milan, Genoa, Naples* were the most renowned from the 13th century onwards" [pp. 243-44].

"Even the ancients did not convert the shorn wool into thread without preparing it first. It had first to be cleansed of impurities and dust. For this reason it was *teased* and *willeyed* or sorted and beaten, then *washed,* greased with olive oil or butter, to make it *easier to work,* and finally *scribbled* and *carded.*[b] For *washing the wool* the ancients used a kind of *soapwort* (struthium).

"The ancients were to some extent familiar with the process of *willeying* or *beating* the wool, *to improve the regularity of the fibres.* Subsequently, *wool beaters* were introduced for this specific purpose. Nuremberg already had these in the 13th century. At the *beginning of the 18th century,* and perhaps even earlier, the wool was *willeyed by machine,* i.e. a special machine was used to *disentangle* it: the *willey.* In England more recently improvements were made to this machine (GIGGING MILLS, TOWING MILLS, MACHINES FOR TWITCHING WOOL).

"Pliny was already familiar with *teasing, scribbling and carding,* i.e. with implements with iron spikes for *loosening, dividing and equalising the length of the fibres.* Such scribblers were now improved, the number of teeth they had was increased, etc. Nevertheless, a considerable amount of time continued to be expended on this, and many people continued to be used in wool manufactures to disentangle and card a large quantity of wool. But these simple implements were used up to the middle of the 18th century and beyond. In 1775 *SCRIBBLING MILLS* and *CARDING ENGINES*[c] were used for the first time. Driven either by waterwheels or

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[a] The title was taken from note 92 on p. 92 of Vol. I of Poppe's book.— *Ed.*

[b] Here Marx adds in brackets three German synonyms denoting the operations listed.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx gives the two English terms in brackets after their German equivalents.— *Ed.*

by steam. Richard Arkwright was the man who smoothed the way for this invention. *50,000 wool carders* demonstrated against him at the Houses of Parliament. The machine did the job better, on a larger scale, and more cheaply. These machines consist of a number of cylinders to which toothed cards are attached; 2 pairs of cylinders with interlocking cards always work together..." [pp. 265-69].

"Now to draw out the carded wool into *a single thread*, to turn it *into yarn* by *spinning*. The ancients used the *spindle* for this purpose. The *spinning wheel* was a more recent invention. The first spinning wheels were *hand-wheels*, big wheels set in motion by the right hand of the person spinning, while the left hand drew out the thread. Only in *1530* was the small *treadle* invented, by *Jürgens* of Dorf bei Braunschweig. A *double spinning wheel*, or spinning wheel with 2 spools, was also invented in Germany. The aim of this was for two threads to be spun at the same time. The attempt had previously been made to see whether one person might not be able to spin on 2 spinning wheels at the same time, with long practice. This was indeed possible, but operating the treadle was too onerous. In *the middle of the 18th century* there also appeared spinning wheels which simultaneously reeled, doubled and twisted the spun [XIX-1173] yarn" [pp. 265-72].

"*Spinning machines* or *spinning mills*. A machine set in motion by the human hand, using a crank, or by a waterwheel or steam engine, which spins 60, 100 or more very fine and uniform threads at the same time, and can even be set in motion together with the *scribbling and carding machines*, using the same source of power.

"Spinning machines were already known in the first quarter of the 18th century (then only used for sheepswool). Probably in Italy first of all. *Arkwright* was the first to use them for cotton, in 1775. Difficulties were experienced in introducing this machine in England from the beginning of the 18th century, and similarly in France, even after Arkwright's invention; they were first overcome by the COTTON manufacturers and then by the WOOLLEN MANUFACTURERS... [pp. 273-76].

"The *reel* was invented for *parting the yarn into skeins, hanks or bundles*. The common *hand reel* first. Then the *more developed variety* of the clasp or *number reel*. Still more developed kinds of reel were connected up with spinning wheels in the 18th century. They even invented reels which indicated the number of skeins and threads with a pointer on a dial...

"After the invention of shearing and pressing, the teasing and dressing of the woollen cloths (stuffs) became so complicated that it could only be performed by skilled *cloth dressers* and *cloth shearers*, who already belonged to the most highly reputed craftsmen at the time of the revival of learning. *Gigging* and *shearing machines* were introduced into the English cloth factories in the 18th century, making it *unnecessary* for *carding and shearing* to be done by human hands. In 1758 *Everett* introduced the first water-driven shearing mill. 100,000 people who had been thrown out of work set fire to this machine.

"*Rolling* or *cylinder machines* were introduced in England, particularly in the second half of the 18th century, to replace the customary *mangling or rolling* of the cloth" [pp. 289-90, 292].

"*Fulling*, in order to clean, thicken, and strengthen the cloth, already practised among the Romans as *fullonum*, treading the cloth with the feet. After the invention of *fulling mills* the cleaning of the cloth was separated from the rest of the preparation, namely gigging and dressing. Fulling mills were already in existence at the end of the 10th century. They are *stamping or hammering works*. Both stamp" [pp. 286-87].

2) *Cotton materials.*

"*The Dutch* were first to master the weaving of calico when they drove the Portuguese out of most of their Indian possessions. The first *calico manufactures* in Holland at the *end of the 17th century.* Actually just *calico printing works,* printing on white calico bought up cheaply from India. After some time *calico weaving* as well in Holland, then Switzerland, Hamburg, Bremen, Augsburg, Austria, Saxony, Lusatia, etc. *Printing presses, printing machines* for calico" [pp. 313-14, 316].[a]

// As soon as large-scale manufacture is somewhat developed, it employs separate machines for different simple processes such as *milling, crushing, stamping, fulling, pressing,* etc.; but the motive power has to overcome all the inadequacies of the mechanism. //

"Easier to clean cotton than wool.

"But the operation of *disentangling* the cotton threads is more difficult. The Indians and the Greeks planked or disentangled the threads with the planking bow, as hatters plank their hairs. Simple combing, teasing or carding was first set aside on a large scale in the *middle of the 18th century,* when Arkwright invented his carding machine. *Spindles* for spinning in the ancient world and India. In *1775* Arkwright took out the patent for his spinning machine.

"... The *scutching machine* had completely cleaned the willeyed cotton, and now it was the turn [XIX-1175[b]] of the *ROVING MILLS,*[c] which took up the cotton and pushed it out at the other end in the form of thick, sausage-shaped threads (ROVINGS). The spinning of the cotton into yarn is now performed by the *mule,* consisting of many bobbins, which picks up the ROVINGS itself, and draws out and twists them. *WATERTWIST,*[c] the less twisted MULETWIST, and the mule itself, as Arkwright invented it. Soon a special machine was constructed for the *WEFT,*[c] leaving the mule mostly for the spinning of *warp.* The new machine was called a *JENNY.* Finally, the MULE and the JENNY were combined together to form a third machine, which spun nothing but MULEtwist, and muletwist was now much used for spinning the weft. The whole of the machinery, from the carding machine to the mule, was driven by a steam engine" [pp. 336-37, 340-42].

3) *Silk.*

"Several *100 different kinds of silk* were woven in France before the French Revolution, of which 150 had been invented since 1730 alone. In Avignon there was a law that every apprentice might only devote himself to one single type of manufacture, and not learn to produce more than one type of material; this was of great assistance in promoting perfect mastery of the trade" [pp. 413-14].

4) *Knitting.*

"The *stocking frame or stocking loom* was invented in England; with it, one worker can knit 100 stitches almost in one moment without needing great exertion or skill. The *most complicated* machine in existence. It is entirely made of iron, and consists of more than 2,500 parts. Many hundred needles are in motion at the same time. Invented, at the end of the 16th century (1589), by *William Lee,* a graduate of St. John's College" [pp. 463-64].

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[a] Marx condenses in quoting.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx skips page number 1174.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx gives the English term in brackets after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

In dealing with cotton spinning, *Ure* refers to:

*Willow* and *scutching machine* for opening and cleaning [the cotton]. Two kinds of scutching machine are used: the second is called a *spreading* or *lapping machine.* Then the *carding machine.* With fine spinning: *first carding* and fine carding. *Drawing* and *doubling. Drawing rollers (drawing machine, drawing frame or drawer). Roving.* Roving frame (a kind of initial spinning machine). Finally the *spinning machine for fine yarn.*[211]

*First,* SOURCES OF MECHANICAL POWER.

* "A *prime Mover* ... the *great operative,* without whose powerful aid all the human hands employed would be able only to accomplish small and feeble results. The ponderous machinery of the factories were all a useless erection unless it could be put into full and continuous movement. *Prime movers:* steam engines, windmills, waterwheels, air engines, electromagnetic engines, etc. Combinations of mechanism adapted to communicate motion. *Some of these generate the force which actuates them, as the steam engine, electromagnetic engine,* etc. Others are only arrangements for collecting mechanical power, either from the natural movement of water, or of that of air. Engines belonging to the latter class are dependent upon a supply of force, by its very nature uncertain and often intermittent, and which, if deficient, cannot be increased by man. Whereas the steam engine and its allied machines are absolutely at man's disposal, can be forced up to any amount of activity, can be set in action at any required [XIX-1176] time, and can be arrested at a moment's notice" [*The Industry of Nations,* Part II, London, 1855, pp. 61-62].[212]

"The steam engine can be so adjusted, as perfectly to attend to itself, to feed its furnaces, to replenish its boilers, and, in addition, to govern its rate of movement" [ibid., p. 68].

"*Caloric engine of Ericsson.* 'This invention,' says Mr. Ericsson, 'consists in producing motive power by the application of caloric to atmospheric air or other permanent gases or fluids susceptible of considerable expansion by the increase of temperature; the mode of applying the caloric being such that, after having caused the expansion or dilatation which produces the motive power, the caloric is transferred to certain metallic substances, and again retransferred from these substances to the acting medium at certain intervals, or at each successive stroke of the motive engine; the principal supply of caloric being thereby rendered independent of combustion or consumption [of fuel]'. 'The same given quantity of heat which sets it in motion is used over and over again to keep up that motion; and no additional supply is wanted beyond what is requisite to compensate for a small loss incurred by escape and radiation'[a]" [pp. 97-98].

"*Manufacturing machines, machines representative of man himself engaged in industrial labour*" [p. 120].

"The object of all the beautiful machinery connected with the first part of the preparation of cotton, prior to its being converted into thread, is to render the fibres clean and free from extraneous substances—to equalise their quality—and to render them as nearly parallel as possible" * [p. 122].

*New and* ORIGINAL POWERLOOM.

"The old * powerlooms (the best of them) could produce not more than $^1/_3$ the amount of cloth as compared with the workings of the new looms, although twice

[a] The last sentence is from *The Athenaeum. Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts,* February 19, 1853.—*Ed.*

the amount of labour is required to produce the same quantity in a given time. An experienced operative*" (with the modern *loom) "will produce 26 pieces, 29 inches wide and 29 yards long, of printing cloth of eleven picks per quarter inch, from *two such modern looms*, in a factory working 60 hours per week. The weaving of each piece costs $5^1/_8$d. The same person, if set to work at one of the old looms, could only produce 4 similar pieces, each of which would cost 2s. 9d. for weaving alone*" [p. 156].

*Stocking loom.*

The best sort, the latest of the modern ones (19th century), the

"*CIRCULAR LOOM* of Chevalier *Claussen*, *adapted for weaving all kinds of looped fabrics, produces the fabrics by means of a continuous circular motion. It may be worked either by steam or hand. The great point of difference between this and the common stocking or knitting frame is, that the rows of loops are formed spirally, and not parallel to each other; the loops are also formed simultaneously upon different parts of the circumference of the frame.* The *goods are not liable to 'running', arising* otherwise from a *defect or breaking of any one of the loops. The movement in the circular loom being continuous, and in *one direction only*, and not alternating forwards and backwards as in the ordinary loom, no time is lost in the back strokes, and in consequence a larger quantity of work can be performed in a given amount of time.* The LOOM was shown by Claussen in the *Great Exhibition of 1851.[a] It has 1,200 needles, placed on the circumference, and will with ease make 80 revolutions in the minute. The quantity of loops or stitches made will be equal therefore to 1,200×80, equal to 96,000 per minute, and these *produced by the hand power of one workman alone*" [pp. 164-65].[b]

[XIX-1177] *Silk, Jacquard loom.*

"The simple looms are only capable of producing an unfigured fabric, and have no power to form embroidered tissues... For this purpose a peculiar apparatus is necessary, and looms to which this is attached are called Jacquard looms... If while the weaving were going forward one or two of the threads of the warp were lifted or depressed while the others were undisturbed, the cloth then made would exhibit a different appearance in that part of it where these disturbed threads were, to the other parts. It would show a certain mark on its surface; and if this disturbance were occasional, these marks would be repeated at a certain distance from one another, and thus a sort of figure would be produced in the cloth. This is what the Jacquard apparatus accomplishes... Invention of *Mr. Barlow*,[c] exhibited on the Great Exhibition. In this loom, two"* (instead of one as previously) *"perforated cylinders are used, and the cards are disposed on these in alternate order, so that while one cylinder is in action, the other is changing its card and preparing for work. By this arrangement, the loom can be worked with a velocity 40% greater than that of the ordinary construction. The steadiness of its action also greatly increased, and the strain upon the warp diminished"* [pp. 159-60, 162].

*LACE MACHINE* (BOBBINET). (Tulle.)

"There is no WARP OR WEFT in the STOCKING FRAME and the *circular loom. The fabric is composed entirely of loops,[d] and of one continuous thread.* With the

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[a] The first international trade and industrial fair.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes from *The Industry of Nations* with minor alterations.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Industry of Nations* further has: "which received the Council Medal at the Great Exhibition".—*Ed.*

[d] Marx adds the German term in brackets.—*Ed.*

*lace machine, the warp does not materially differ from that of the common loom; the chief peculiarity resides in the weft, and in the most curious and ingenious arrangement of the shuttle, called in this machine the bobbins*" [pp. 166-67].[a]

This is the machine which Ure describes as being as far superior to the most complicated chronometer in richness and variety of mechanical invention as the latter is to an ordinary turnspit.[b]

*Sewing machine.*[c]

A further addition to be made *to the* PRIME MOTORS is the HYDRAULIC PRESS.

*"Water engines in principle not differing from the steam engine: that is to say a column of water has been made to act upon a piston[d] within a cylinder of the same general description as those of the steam engine. Hydraulic press, capable of such a wonderful variety of application as to be fit for the compression of a few bales of pocket-handkerchiefs, or for elevations of stupendous structures"* [pp. 107-08].

*Example of the specialisation and differentiation of implements.*

*"It has been stated that not less than *300 varieties of hammers* are made in Birmingham, each adapted to some particular trade"* [p. 388].

STEEL PEN MANUFACTURE. *First division of labour, then production by machinery.*

"The INTRODUCTION of the *steel pen about 30 years old, and on its first being submitted to public approval each pen was charged at 6d. At the present moment 124 may be purchased for the same sum, and of equal, if not superior, quality. In 1820 the first gross of steel pens was sold, at the rate of £7 4s. the gross. In 1830 they had fallen to 8s., and the price gradually fell, until it reached the sum of 6d., which is its present limit. One of the Birmingham factories produces at the rate of 960,000 per day, or 289,528,000 per annum. The total production of the Birmingham makers amounts to at least 1,000 millions per annum. In the manufacture, the steel assumes the most wonderful variety of texture. At first it is soft as lead, afterwards it becomes as brittle as glass, and finally it is tempered to a state of elasticity as nearly [XIX-1178] as possible approaching that of the quill pen*" [pp. 391-92, 394].

The Birmingham STEEL PEN MANUFACTURE IN ITS ORIGINAL STATE, up until ABOUT 25 years ago, was the picture of a modern system of manufacture, based on the division of labour. For individual processes it employed in part machine-like tools, in part machines (just as had been done in the original manufacture, once it reached a certain height of development) and in part steam-driven mechanisms, but with interruptions and hand labour in between.

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[a] Marx quotes from *The Industry of Nations* with minor alterations.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Ure, *Technisches Wörterbuch...*, Vol. I, Prague, 1843, p. 296.—*Ed.*

[c] See *The Industry of Nations*, pp. 174-76.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx adds the German term in brackets.—*Ed.*

*"A strip of thin sheet-steel,[a] of the proper width and thickness, is first prepared, by careful rolling and annealing.[a] In this state it is ready to be *cut* into pens by means of a *press*, in which are fitted the proper tools for cutting out the 'blank'." (*Blank** here means the "plate".) *"The use of the press is to give a regulated amount of pressure to the tools fitted to it. These presses are worked by women, who are so dexterous that the average product of a good hand is 200 gross, or 28,000 per day of 10 hours. Two pens are cut out of the width of the steel, the broad part to form the tube[a]; and the points are cut to such a nicety, that there is but little waste. The 'blanks' are now to be *pierced*, and here the little central hole and the side slits are cut by *another press*. These semi-pens are now placed in an *annealing oven* to make them softer, after which they are '*marked*', by the aid of a *die*[a] *worked by the foot*, which stamps the name of the maker on the back. The half-finished little instrument is then placed in a *groove*[a] and by a *machine* converted from a flat into a cylindrical form. This is called 'raising' the metal. The pens are again placed in the 'muffle', packed in small iron boxes with lids, and heated to white heat. They are then withdrawn, and suddenly thrown into a large vessel of oil, where they acquire a brittleness[a] that makes them almost crumble at the touch. The next process is 'cleaning', then follows 'tempering',[a] which restores the pens to the required elasticity, and is accomplished by placing them in a large *tin cylinder*, open at one end, and turned over a fire in the same manner that coffee is roasted. The heat changes the colour of the pens—first grey, then straw colour, next to a brown or bronze, and lastly to a blue. Still there is a roughness to be removed from the surface, which requires the pens to be placed in *tin cans*, with a small quantity of sawdust. These cans are horizontally placed in a frame,[a] and made to revolve by steam, the pens rubbing against each other, by which means they are cleaned. After the 'scouring' process (which consists in placing the hardened pens in an iron cylinder, which is filled with [filings] pounded [in a] crucible,[a] or other abrasive substance, the whole revolves by power, and the friction produces a bright clean surface on the pen), they are taken to the 'grinding room',[a] where each individual pen is ground at the back in two ways, at right angles to each other, or rather over each other, the quality of the pen very much depending upon this operation. By the aid of a pair of *nippers*,[a] the girl takes up the pen, holds it for a moment or so on a revolving 'bob' and the grinding is over. Now follow the pen to the 'slitting-room',[a] where it is placed in a press, where the process is instantly effected. The pens are next examined, and sorted according to their qualities; after which they are varnished with a solution of gum, when they are considered ready for sale"* [pp. 392-93].

This is more than a dozen operations, to which must be added the TRANSFER from one process to the next.

"It was as this kind of manufacture that *Mr. Gillott of Birmingham established the first steel pen factory on a large scale, and the works now carried on in his name are the largest in the world for this purpose. Upwards of 1,000 persons are occupied at these works, the majority of whom are females. About 180 million pens* were made in the year between May 1850 and May 1851, and the weight of the *sheet-steel consumed in their manufacture [amounted] to not less than 268,800 lbs or 120 tons" (ton=2,240 lbs) [p. 392].

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[a] Marx adds the German term(s) in brackets.—*Ed.*

[XIX-1179] "For some time the introduction of machinery in the steel pen manufacture appeared attended with insuperable difficulties, for there seemed no possibility of completing a steel pen by anything like a continuous process. This difficulty has, however, been surmounted, and in the Great Exhibition" (1851) "there was shown a machine now in great use, which effects this object. This machine is the invention of Messrs. Hinks, Wells, et Co., of Birmingham. It is entirely selfacting. It receives the steel as a flat ribbon, and cuts, pierces, and side-slits two pens at one stroke, performing six processes at once" * [pp. 393-94].

*Automatic workshop.*

*Paper factory.* (Modern.) Earlier this was a separate manufacture, very highly developed, especially by the Dutch, during the 17th century and at the beginning of the 18th. In this connection mills were employed in part for particular processes: first querns, then water or windmills.[a]

Precisely this manufacture was very DISCONNECTED in its manufacturing form, owing to the alternation of chemical and mechanical processes within it.

*PREPARATORY PROCESSES.* "Reduction of the rags, and then removing from them all foreign matters, colouring matters included.

"1) The first machine tears the rags into fine shreds, and at the same time removes the impurities. It consists of a large reservoir, partly filled with water, which is admitted by a TAP,[b] and kept running during the process. Across the VAT[c] a shaft runs, which carries upon it a wooden cylinder armed with teeth of steel, and at the bottom of the VAT is a * hollowed piece of wood also armed with teeth, and these parts of the engine are so adjusted that when the rags pass between them they are caught and torn into shreds. The cylinder armed with teeth is driven at a rapid rate by a band from the main shaft impelled by the steam engine. The operation of the engine is continued until the rags are reduced to a fine state of division, and are now called *pulp.*[b] During the whole time water is continually flowing through the reservoir, but in diminishing quantities, and the impurities are drained away through wire-covered openings, the pure pulp and water alone remaining at last.* The PULP is now very dirty" [*The Industry of Nations,* Part II, pp. 183-84].

2) *Second process.* "Removal of the COLOURING MATTER and rendering the pulp white. If only PURE WHITE LINEN RAGS are EMPLOYED from the beginning, this bleaching is not only unnecessary but even injurious. * When variously coloured rags are used or old writing paper, and such like materials, then the bleaching process is indispensable. By a large pipe communicating with the pulp engine, the semi-fluid mass is allowed to flow away into a reservoir, where it undergoes the bleaching process. The pulp is placed in cisterns,[b] and mixed with a solution of chloride of lime.[b]* The COLOUR is thus soon * removed, and the pulp becomes bleached white *" [pp. 184-85].

3) *Third process.* * "The pulp is now pressed in the hydraulic press so as to reduce its bulk" * [p. 185].

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[a] J. H. M. Poppe, *Geschichte der Technologie...,* Vol. II, pp. 198, 203.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx adds the German term(s) in brackets.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx uses the corresponding German term, and adds the English term and a German synonym in brackets.— *Ed.*

4) *Fourth process.* "It is then again washed, so as to remove the chloride of lime" [ibid.].

The preparatory processes are often considerably multiplied when the transition is made from manufacture or handicrafts to machinery—for the sake of the machine itself, because the material which is actually to be worked on, such as cotton, paper pulp, etc., needs to be much more even in quality, more uniformly arranged, for it to be subjected to a purely mechanical process. This is then always a repetition of the same process at different levels.

5) *Fifth process.* "MORE MINUTE division is required. This is EFFECTED by *another pulp machine, called the beater. This machine only differs from the first in the teeth being set closer together, and in the cylinder being made to revolve at a much higher velocity.* The operation lasts *some hours, and so much latent heat is extricated that the pulp becomes very sensibly warm, and is reduced to the last state of fineness. When this condition is attained, the pulp is now fitted for the production of paper, and is let off to the vat, from which it is supplied to the papermaking machine*" [ibid.].

[XIX-1180] Then comes the *actual paper machine,* also preceded by a couple of other processes, the PULP-METER and FROM THE METER TO THE STRAINER [pp. 186-87].

The bleaching forms, it seems, a process in itself, and the same is true of the application of the hydraulic press. The actual paper machine, on the other hand, is completely automatic.

*Automatic workshop.*

*"There are two great elements of success completely embodied in this wonderful automaton. In all manufacturing arts, one of the most important considerations is *continuity of production.* That manufacturing machine is the most perfect, and the most economical, which is capable of *uninterrupted* productiveness. Wherever the material to be manufactured can pass *without interruption* (and consequently *without delay*) from the first to the last stages of its treatment by machinery, there will be in all probability a better article produced, and at a less cost, than where at every stage it has to be carried from one place to another. No machine yet invented exhibits this more strikingly than that described. It is a *complete system,* for the raw material enters at one extremity, and the finished product emerges from the opposite end.

"In a second point also this machine exhibits its admirable construction, which is *in its being entirely automatic.* It *receives no help from man,* but accomplishes its allotted task by the *combination and appropriate operation of the parts of* which it is made. If *assistance is necessary* in any respect, it is in order to *remove accidental difficulties,* and not for the *purpose of aiding in the manufacture.* The action of the machine is also very *rapid,* the progress of the pulp from the first strainer to the finished roll of paper not generally occupying more than a few minutes"* [pp. 190-91].*)

*) All these English quotations, in which no AUTHOR is mentioned, come from: *The Industry of Nations,* Part II: *A Survey of the Existing State of Arts, Machines, and Manufactures,* London, 1855.

Hence *CONTINUITY OF PRODUCTION* (i.e. there is no interruption in the phases the production of the raw material passes through). *Automatic* (MAN ONLY [required] TO REMOVE ACCIDENTAL DIFFICULTIES). *RAPIDITY OF ACTION.* The *simultaneity of the operations* is also increased by the machinery, as when THE "BLANK" in the manufacture of STEEL PENS IS CUT, PIERCED and SIDE SLITTED BY ONE STROKE [p. 394].

(As an example of how one factory makes others necessary:

* "In connexion with the steel pen manufacture, a considerable trade in pencil-cases, pen-holders, and little articles necessary to the use of the steel pen, has sprung up" * [p. 395].)

These are the final processes of paper manufacture:

"When the PULP is now FITTED (by the *second PULP ENGINE*) for the production OF PAPER, IT IS LET OFF TO *THE VAT*, FROM WHICH IT IS SUPPLIED TO THE PAPER MAKING MACHINE" [p. 185].

*First process.* * "The pulp is discharged first into two large reservoirs furnished with revolving arms or agitators, which stir up the mass and prevent its settling at the bottom" * [p. 186].

*Second process.* * "From these vats the pulp is conducted into an apparatus called a *pulp-meter.* This is an ingenious machine for insuring uniformity in the supply of the pulp to the rest of the machine. It consists of an arrangement of revolving buckets in a circular box, this box is filled with pulp, and as the buckets dip into it, they take up a certain quantity, which they then discharge in succession into a *trough*[a] communicating with the first part of the machinery. In all processes where a continuous sheet is formed, as in cotton carding, and wool carding, etc., it is found greatly to secure the uniformity of the sheet, if the machine be supplied with measured quantities of the material, and for this purpose it is generally weighed out, and then supplied to the machine. The application of this principle to the paper engine [is] new" * [pp. 186-87].

[XIX-1181] *Third process.* * "The pulp is then conducted from the meter to the *strainer.*[a] As it passes along the trough, a little channel of water from another machine, identical in its action with the pulp-meter, is added to it. This water serves to dilute the pulp to a proper consistency for future operations. The diluted pulp then flows in a single channel to" * [p. 187]

*Fourth process.* * "the *sand-strainer.* This is a trough in which a series of furrowed ridges of metal are arranged, over which the pulp flows in its onward progress. In thus flowing onwards (*furrowed ridges*[a]) it deposits its heavier impurities, which settle at the bottom of the trough, and the pure pulp, which is of lighter specific gravity, flows forward" * [ibid.].

*Fifth process.* * "When the pulp has reached the end of the *sand-strainer,* it flows down into a strainer called a *knot-strainer.* It is very differently constructed to the preceding. It consists of a trough containing a number of brass bars,[a] placed close together longitudinally, and most accurately planed and smoothed. These bars are in a movable frame, which is agitated at each side by a lever, and the bars are so closely set together as to permit nothing but *the fibre of the paper* to pass between them. Any *knots* which may have been in the pulp are removed and left on the upper surface of the bars, while the pulp *filters down* in a box placed for its

[a] Marx adds the German term(s) in brackets.—*Ed.*

reception. As these knots accumulate they are taken away by an attendant"* [ibid.].

*Sixth process.* *"The pulp is then again strained or filtered, and this time by *ascension.* Passing from the preceding strainer down into a metal box, it is carried forward to a third trough, in which bars similar to the last named, but inverted in their position, are placed. The pulp now filters upwards through these bars, and being now devoid both of all impurities and of all inequalities of texture, it is fit for the beautiful process to which it is about to be submitted"* [pp. 187-88].

*Seventh process.* *"Proceeding from the last strainer it flows over a leather lip into a little trough containing a two-bladed[a] *agitator,* called a *hog.* This agitator effectually stirs up the pulp, and keeps it from settling down at the bottom. It is then conducted on to"* [p. 188]

*Eighth process.* *"an endless *apron,*[a] made of perforated brass-wire.[a] Here the pulp *first begins to part with its water,* which streams down through the wire into a wooden reservoir placed underneath. But this water contains a small portion of the finer fibres of the pulp, and the material is too valuable to be wasted. It is therefore made to run out of this reservoir into a trough, which carries it back to the engine employed to *dilute* the pulp coming from the pulp-meter with water. Thus the waste water from the pulp is used over and over again, and it would appear scarcely possible that any of the material should be wasted. The wire apron being continually moved forward, receives a continuous supply of pulp, and carries it onwards. In passing on with the apron, the *lateral edges of the pulp are confined, and made parallel* by a band lying on the apron on each side, called a *deckle band.* These bands move with the apron, and the pulp finally leaves them, its edges being now tolerably firm and well defined. As the pulp passes along the wire web, the latter is shaken so as to facilitate the escape of the water. In proportion as it increases its distance from the strainers, the pulp becomes more and more firm by the constant loss of its watery parts, but it is even at the end of the wire cloth very soft and friable"* [ibid.].

[XIX-1182] *Ninth process.* *"The *marks* called watermarks are now to be produced in the paper, if it should be intended to receive any. These marks consist, in fact, of a displacement of a portion of the pulp where they appear thinnest, by the pressure upon it while yet soft of a wire roller, upon which different devices are wrought. These devices are then reproduced in the substance of the paper, just as sealing wax receives the impress of a seal. And no matter what may be their variety, the soft pulp receives and retains it faithfully. This is effected in a very simple way. *Just before the paper leaves the wire cloth,* it *passes under a roller* made of brass wire, upon the surface of which the device is produced, by wires wrought into it, and the impress of this roller communicates itself to the paper"* [p. 189].

*Tenth process.* *"Just prior to the pulp leaving the wire web, a very ingenious arrangement is made in the machine, with a view more perfectly to extract the water. It consists of a metal box placed under the travelling web, and communicating with three powerful air pumps. These pumps are set in motion by the steam engine, and produce a powerful exhaust or vacuum in the box. The effect of this on the superincumbent layer of pulp is to *suck in the water,* and to *cause the fibres very completely to interlace one with another.* The firmness of the texture of the paper is thus very materially promoted"* [ibid.].

*Eleventh process.* *"The paper now passes between *two rollers upon a web of felt,*[a]

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[a] Marx adds the German term in brackets.—*Ed.*

leaving *the web upon which it was produced*, which returns for a continual fresh supply. These rollers are covered with felt, and squeeze out a considerable quantity of water, and the paper now becomes pretty firm.* But THE WATER has still not been REMOVED entirely, and the PAPER is still not QUITE DRY and FIRM" [pp. 189-90].[a]

*Twelfth process.* *"The damp but tolerably *smooth* sheet is received by a *large cylinder revolving on its axis*, but charged with high-pressure steam. The heat thus communicated dissipates the moisture as steam, and the paper becomes rapidly very nearly dry. In order, however, to complete it, it passes over several other cylinders similarly heated, and finally emerges from the last of the series a beautifully white, smooth, and continuous sheet"* [p. 190].

### *Parallel or subsequent processes.*

*Glazing the* PAPER. *"When the paper is required to be glazed, it is effected by passing it between polished and heated cylinders, in passing through which it is subjected to the most severe pressure"* [p. 191].

*Sizing and blueing the paper.* *"It will be obvious that by mixing any substances such as gelatine, starch, or colouring matter, with the pulp, the quality and colour of the resulting paper is affected accordingly. The finer kinds of paper are generally impregnated with gelatine or size[b] after the paper is made.* This is done outside THE VAT, because otherwise the FELT USED IN THE MACHINE [is] INJURED. On the other hand, *sizing in the vat [offers] many advantages, when substitutes for gelatine can be used. Of these several kinds are employed. A mixture of alum and rosin,[b] previously dissolved in soda, and combined with potato-starch, is now largely used for sizing in the vat by the *continental* makers. Paper thus made is less greasy to write upon, but does not bear the ink so well as those which are sized with gelatine. For writing papers in England the application of gelatine by an *after process* is still preferred, and is accomplished *by means of rollers dipping in a trough of the size.* At Mr. Joynson's mills, in Kent, fine writing *paper is now made, sized with gelatine*, dried, and cut into sheets at the rate of 60 feet *a minute* in length, and 70 inches in width. At another of the great paper mills 1,400 tons of paper are produced yearly. In Great Britain alone 130 million lbs [of] paper [are] manufactured annually"* [pp. 191-92].[a]

### [XIX-1183] *ENVELOPE MANUFACTURE.* (Branch of the *PAPER-FOLDING* machine.) This was originally a manufacture.

"THE *FOLDING*,[b] *GUMMING*, AND *EMBOSSING*" (to EMBOSS=to pick out in relief, *relever en bosse*) (These are the protruding figures, DEVICES PRINTED UPON THE UPPER END of the paper flap which closes the envelope.) "[are carried on] *by the ordinary modes of production; and at each of these operations every single envelope must *be separately handled.* Great economy gained by the machinery. The *isolation* of the different stages of manufacture consequent upon the employment of manual labour adds immensely to the cost of production, the loss mainly arising from the *mere removals from one process to another.* In embossing by hand a boy will perhaps get through 8,000 or 9,000 per day, and then there must be an assistant to turn down the *flap*,[b] on which the device has been placed, and arrange the envelopes in separate parcels*" [p. 200].

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[a] Marx quotes from *The Industry of Nations* with minor alterations.— *Ed.*
[b] Marx adds the German term(s) in brackets.— *Ed.*

The "FOLDING" in hand manufacture of this kind was done

*"by means of a bone '*folding stick*', an experienced workwoman folding about 3,000 per day.* [Now a machine] makes *about 2,700 per hour"* [p. 198].

The transition from handicrafts (as in all kinds of weaving, even when done with refined versions of the handloom) and manufacture, where the division of labour predominates, to large-scale industry is *continuous*, in that a mass of new branches of labour, such as NEEDLE, PEN, ENVELOPE making, etc., are first carried on for a short time in the handicraft fashion, then as manufactures, and soon after that by machine. This naturally does not exclude that other branches are directly introduced as machine-based—those in which big supplies are to be delivered from the outset (as with transport) or where the nature of the product requires a big supply (as with telegraphy, etc.).

The casting of type (letters for printing) can be seen as an example of a *manufacture* resting on the division of labour. Five main operations.

1) *Casting the type.* *"Each workman can create from 400 to 500 types an hour"* [p. 203].

2) *Breaking off the type* "(the LEAD and ANTIMONY in the METAL poison the LITTLE BOYS who have to do this), *breaking off to a *uniform length.* At this operation a quick boy can break off from 2,000 to 3,000 types an hour, although, be it observed, by handling new type a workman has been known to lose his thumb and forefinger from the effect of the metallic poisons" [ibid].

3) "*The types are rubbed on a flat stone,* which takes off all roughness or '*bur*' from their sides, as well as adjusts their 'beards' and their 'shanks'.[a] A good *rubber* can finish about 2,000 in an hour" [p. 204].

4) "The types, by men or boys, fixed into a sort of composing stick about a yard long, where they are made to lie in a row with their 'nicks'[a] all uppermost: 3,000 or 4,000 per hour can be thus arranged" [ibid.].

5) "*The bottom extremities of these types,* which had been left rough by the second process, are, by the stroke of a plane,[a] made smooth, and the letter ends being then turned uppermost, the whole line is carefully examined by a microscope; the faulty types are extracted; and the rest are then extricated from the *stick,* and left in a heap"* [ibid.].

Thus if 1 FOUNDER casts 500 TYPES in 1 hour, and a boy breaks off 3,000 in 1 hour, 6 FOUNDERS to ONE BOY are needed. And since 1 RUBBER rubs 2,000 IN AN HOUR, there are 4 FOUNDERS to 1 RUBBER, and if one ARRANGER sets 4,000 PER HOUR, there are 8 FOUNDERS to 1 ARRANGER.

With division of labour into MULTIPLES the following should be noted: Assume that there are 3 different operations, related in such proportions that 2 men must be employed in the first operation, and 1 man in the 2nd, to work on what the first

[a] Marx adds the German term in brackets.—*Ed.*

operation has provided, whereas [XIX-1184] the 3rd operation requires 4 to work on the product of the 1st and 2nd operations. So the following numbers must be employed: *operation I*, 2; *operation II*, 1; *operation III*, 4—a total of 7. These MULTIPLES proceed from the principle of the division of labour, so that despite the different periods of time required by the various operations, all the workers are still employed in those operations simultaneously, exclusively, and for equally long periods of time. The less time a given operation costs for a particular quantity of the phase of the product provided by it, or of the particular function involved (e.g. stoking, repair of the machines, etc.), the greater must the number of other workers be to enable one individual to be employed in performing exclusively this function.

If, however, I employ many founders, and therefore a proportionately large number of BREAKERS, RUBBERS, and ARRANGERS, THE PRINCIPLE OF MULTIPLES BEING GIVEN, this is the principle of simple cooperation. Unless the work is done on a certain scale, the division cannot be carried out at all.

Many attempts have been made, with varying degrees of success, to cast the types using a system of machinery. This will succeed eventually. Once a certain kind of production attains the form of manufacture, the constant endeavour is to transform it into factory production with machines.

A [result of production] *by machinery*, especially where already existing machinery is improved or driven out by new machinery, is the **economisation of space*, hence reduction of the *cost of production*.

*Powerloom.**

**The original form of the powerloom very clumsy,** very similar to the old [hand]loom. The new one very altered.[a] "The *modern POWERLOOM* (for weaving ordinary yarn) **was only *about half the size* of the cumbrous original machine, and was made chiefly of iron, while the former was principally constructed of wood.* This **powerloom [is] a more complicated piece of mechanism than it appears to be. And this need not surprise us, when it is remembered that it *fulfils all the duties of the weaver*. It throws the shuttle, operates upon the healds, the batten and the beams, just as if an intelligence was communicated to it. It raises and depresses the alternate threads of the warp, it throws the shuttle, it drives up each thread of weft with the batten, it unwinds the warp off the warp-beam, and it winds up the woven material upon the cloth roller. But still more remarkably, this loom will not go without weft. On the old plan it was indifferent to the loom, so to speak, whether it had weft or not. Its operations were continuous, and the empty shuttle flew as before, but of course without making any cloth until the attendant stopped it and mended the thread, or placed a fresh bobbin in. But the loom of Messrs. *Kenworthy and Bullough* immediately stops under such circumstances. The moment the slender thread breaks, or is absent from its accustomed place, the noisy machinery

[a] Cf. the illustrations in *The Industry of Nations*, Part II, pp. 154-55.—*Ed.*

is instantly arrested, the shuttle ceases to fly and the wheels to move. The attendant then replaces the thread, and all goes on as before. By this ingenious contrivance the quality of the cloth is greatly improved, and much of the care and watchfulness of the weaver is rendered unnecessary, for the arrest of the machinery immediately informs him of the accident. This apparatus* is called *the *self-acting stop**" [pp. 154-57].

"The **warp*, before it is brought to the powerloom, has to be prepared by the unwinding of the threads off bobbins, and arranging them parallel to each other. In order to strengthen them, the threads of the warp have also to be sized and dressed with paste; both these operations [XIX-1185] are done by machinery, with a little assistance from the attendants" [p. 158].

"*The shuttleless powerloom for weaving ribbons*[a] *and fringes*.[a] Exhibited* 1851 i.a. *The ordinary loom for weaving ribbons and other *narrow fabrics* requires, for the perfect play of the shuttle, a space three or 4 times greater than is occupied by the web. In all looms hitherto constructed, the shuttle has been an indispensable necessity. To overcome this, and to *economise* space, invention of Messrs. *Reed* of Derby*" [pp. 162-63].

*The machine factory.*

*"The construction of a machine to bring iron into shape must differ very materially from one intended to deal with the soft and delicate fibre of silk or cotton. A far *greater exercise of force* is necessary for the former class of engine. Without the steam-hammer, the lathe,[a] and the drill,[a] such machines as the printing press, the powerloom, and the carding-engine could not have been constructed"* [pp. 221-22].

The first machinery depended on hand labour, on *manufacture,* for its construction. Once the machine had been invented, and, of special *importance here,* once a form of POWER completely at man's disposal and applicable in any amount, such as STEAM, had been discovered to set the machine in motion, the production of machinery by machinery became possible. On the other hand, a large number of working machines invented later on, such as those just mentioned, and also PHILOSOPHICAL INSTRUMENTS,[213] require the existence of machines for their production. The first steam engines were *built in the mode of manufacture and handicrafts.* Similarly the first machines which were driven by the steam engine, such as spinning and weaving machines, mills, etc. The improvement of quality by machinery—its impact on use value—does not concern us here as such. But its impact has a double importance for the production process: 1) Where a raw material or semi-manufacture is brought under the sway of machinery, the ease with which the process advances to its next phase depends in part upon, is conditioned by, THE DEGREE OF PERFECTION of the material it has to work with. Its homogeneity, etc., is a condition for its further treatment by machinery. 2) Still more important is the

[a] Marx adds the German term in brackets.—*Ed.*

uniformity, the mathematical exactness of form, etc., required when the elements of MACHINES and PHILOSOPHICAL INSTRUMENTS are to be produced. The degree of success here depends absolutely on this *quality*, and the extent to which the unreliability of handwork is removed from these things, so they are subjected to the regularity of the WORKING MACHINE, which has been precisely calculated in advance.

*Working machine as distinct from the other parts of the machinery*, hence from the PRIME MOTOR and the directing, or transmission, mechanism.

* "In all machines there are certain parts which *actually do the work for which the machine is constructed*, the *mechanism* serving only to *produce the proper relative motion of those parts to the material upon which they operate*. These working parts are the *tools with which the machine works*" * [p. 222].

Here we have the correct view. The TOOLS with which the human being worked reappear in the machinery, but now they are the TOOLS with which the machine works. Its mechanism brings about the movements of the TOOLS (previously performed by the human being) required to treat the material in the manner desired or to accomplish the purpose desired. [XIX-1186] It is no longer the human being, but a mechanism made by human beings, which HANDLES the TOOLS. And the human being supervises the action, corrects accidental ERRORS, etc.

*Firstly*, what appears from the outset in a machine is that it is a *REUNION of these TOOLS*, which are set in WORKING MOTION at once by the same mechanism, whereas a human being could only set in motion one such TOOL AT ONCE, or given unusual virtuosity at most 2, since he has only 2 hands and 2 feet. A machine works simultaneously with a large number of TOOLS. Thus many 100 spindles on a bobbin-frame, many 100 combs on a carding engine, over 1,000 needles on a stocking-frame, many sawblades on a sawing machine, hundreds of knives on a chopping machine, are set in motion at the same time, etc. Similarly (2) the number of SHUTTLES on the mechanical loom. This is the first *REUNION* OF INSTRUMENTS in the machine. It must, apart from this, be from the outset a REUNION of this WORKING MACHINERY with the mechanism which sets it in motion and with the PRIME MOTOR, which MOVES the MECHANISM. *Second REUNION*: arises from the fact that the different *machines* through which the raw material has to pass in the succession of processes are connected with each other, and are driven by the same motive power. There is thus CONTINUITY of the production process and *system*, i.e. a combination of the processes carried out by different machines in the different phases. *Third REUNION*. A number of

WORKING MACHINES of this kind are driven by the same motive power, with the corresponding PREPARATORY MACHINES for the earlier phases, united in a workshop. The principle of simple cooperation is applied to the machines and the workers employed on them. This is one of the most important aspects of developed machine production. *Firstly because of* the saving on the PRIME MOTOR and the economical distribution of the MOVING POWER. *Secondly* the smaller the scale of production, the more costly the PREPARATORY PROCESSES, partly because of the cost of the machinery itself; partly because the number of workers required for the work falls in proportion to the increase in the size of the operation, and the *intermediary work*, e.g. the transfer of the product from one process to another, is reduced, where it is done by workers, in inverse proportion to the scale on which the work is done. *Thirdly.* Just as in simple cooperation, the costs of the collectively used conditions of labour such as buildings, fuel, heating, OVERLOOKERS, etc., fall in proportion as the scale of production rises. There is, further, in addition the principle which arises out of the division of labour that [the tasks of the] MANAGER, the mechanic, the ENGINEER, the stoker, etc., can in part be handed over to workers who are exclusively concerned with them, in part are just as necessary on a large scale as they are on a small scale. Finally (leaving aside the utilisation of waste products) the simultaneous exploitation of many workers is only possible in this way, and the amount of surplus value realised by the individual capital depends on this, if its rate is given.

*Secondly.* Or instead of the reunion of many TOOLS in a machine, many TOOLS appear to be combined together from the point of view of their power, their dimensions and their sphere of action, in the way that many hammers appear to be combined in a STEAM-HAMMER. Here, where the TOOL of machinery is distinguished from the TOOL of the worker by its dimensions, a mechanical driving force is required from the outset. This kind of machinery can therefore never exist in the handicraft manner, i.e. in such a way that it can be driven by a single worker or his family, or a pair of journeymen with a master craftsman.

With the above, there is now an answer to the question of what distinguishes a machine from a tool. Once the tool is itself driven by a mechanism, once the tool of the worker, his implement, of which the efficiency depends on his own skill, and which needs his labour as an intermediary in the WORKING PROCESS, is converted into the tool of a mechanism, the machine has replaced the tool. In this case the mechanism must already have attained a degree of development which makes it capable of receiving its motive power

from a mechanically driven PRIME MOTOR, instead of receiving it as before from a human being or an animal, in short from PRIME MOTORS which possess voluntary movement.

[XIX-1187] As long as the latter is still the case, the machine only appears as a machine-like handicraft tool. In proportion as its dimensions grow and it develops into a system of production, mechanical must replace human motive power.

In its first form, however, the machine (which at the same time throws out of work a mass of workers employed in handicrafts and manufacture, since it allows one person to perform what would otherwise be performed by 10 or 20) annihilates the system of manufacture and simple cooperation based on the division of labour, and appears to replace it once again with a system of handicrafts.

Simple cooperation is doubly annihilated, in that one weaver now does what was done by many weavers assembled in a manufactory; and on a larger scale e.g. with mowing and threshing machines, building machines for raising heavy weights, machines for breaking stones, etc. But secondly, in that everywhere that power needed to be produced by simple cooperation, the mechanical motive power replaces this.

But this does not rule out 1) that machine factories may be built straight away as such, without passing through the previous stages; 2) that in work where the EXERCISE OF FORCE predominates from the outset the motive power must also be mechanical from the outset, i.e. with no relation to human or animal muscle power.

If the machine proceeds from *simple handicrafts*, e.g. if machine weaving replaces hand weaving, a machine must perform simultaneously the various operations performed previously by the handicraftsman. This does not appear as a system of processes accomplished by the REUNION of different machines. At most, that is, in weaving, the preparation of the WARP as a preparatory process. This is now also mechanical. On the other hand, in spinning, e.g., preparatory processes which are simple in hand spinning are separated into a series of processes.

*Or the machine* proceeds from a *system of manufacture based on the division of labour*, and then either a complex single machine replaces the separate operations, as with the production of envelopes, STEEL PENS, etc., or the previously separated operations are replaced by a series of processes carried out by a system of machinery, as with the spinning of wool, etc., and also, particularly as an example, papermaking.

The explanation that a MACHINE IS A COMPLICATED TOOL and A TOOL A

SIMPLE MACHINE explains nothing. The explanation that you have a machine where the tool is not driven by human power, and a tool where man is the PRIME MOVER, would make a dog-cart or a plough drawn by oxen a machine, but a mechanical stocking loom or a bobbinet machine, etc., a tool. It contains no element from which the social CHANGE can be explained. It runs counter to the history of the development of machinery in general, and to the history which the first HANDICRAFTS and MANUFACTURES are still passing through daily in their transition to the machine-based factory. It depends altogether on the state of affairs in which the essential nature of machinery was not yet so far developed that the APPLICATION of the PRIME MOVER was a matter of free choice, according to the level at which the machine is to operate.

The system of mechanical production can go further, and unite branches of production previously independent of each other, as e.g. in the FACTORIES where spinning and weaving are united, and form a continuous system.

In the year 1861 (see *Parliamentary Return: Factories*, 11 February 1862[a]) there were altogether 2,715 FACTORIES in England and Wales (not including Scotland and Ireland), [XIX-1188] of which 671 were EMPLOYED IN SPINNING AND WEAVING. There were in these factories 13,274,346 spindles, 235,268 POWERLOOMS and 215,577 persons employed [*Factories...*, p. 3]. (Included among these persons are *all managers, clerks, overlookers, engineers, mechanics, and all other employed in the factory, except the owners or occupiers constituting the firm* [p. 1].)

If one reflects that the total number of spindles used at the same time in *all* the English COTTON FACTORIES=28,352,125, the total number of POWERLOOMS=368,125, and the total number of persons employed=407,598, one sees what an overwhelming position is occupied by spinning and weaving combined. Those 671 factories employed 143,947 STEAM HORSEPOWER, and 3,823 WATER HORSEPOWER. The number of POWERLOOM WEAVERS came to 99,504.

The number of boys under 13 years old was 11,289, the number of girls under 13 years old was 9,224, making *children under 13* together=20,513. Women and girls over 13=115,117. Thus children (FEMALE AND MALE UNDER 13) and women=135,630. Hence the number of men employed (all the clerks employed in the offices, those employed in the WAREHOUSE, etc., ENGINEERS, MECHANICS)=79,947. The number of MALES between 13 and 18=19,699. If one deducts

[a] *Factories. Return to an Address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 24 April 1861.* Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be Printed, 11 February 1862.— *Ed.*

this group, which still includes a large proportion of children, the number of MALES over 18 years old comes to 60,248, of which at least 4,000 are not employed in FACTORY labour. There thus remain 56,248 employed MALES over 18 years old.

To the total number of English COTTON FACTORIES, 2,715, with 28,352,125 SPINDLES, 368,125 POWERLOOMS (149,539 POWERLOOM WEAVERS), 263,136 STEAM [horse]power and 9,825 WATER [horse]POWER, there correspond 407,598 persons. Within this number there are 39,156 children under 13 years old. NUMBER OF FEMALES ABOVE 13 YEARS: 216,512. Thus children under 13, girls over 13 and women together come to 255,668 people. Men between 13 and 18: 38,210. Together 293,878. There remain 113,720 men over 18, from which figure at least 15,000 must be deducted for those not employed in the factory itself. There remain ABOUT 98,000 [p. 3].

FACTORIES occupied in *SPINNING* alone number 1,079. *Number of spindles*: 15,077,299. *POWER*: 99,976 STEAM and 4,883 WATER. Number of persons employed: 115,192 [ibid.].

Factories occupied in *weaving* alone number 722. *POWERLOOMS* 131,554. *POWER*: 15,240 STEAM and 406 WATER; number of persons employed 63,160.

(The total number of 2,715 FACTORIES includes 243 factories which are NOT INCLUDED IN EITHER OF THE ABOVE DESCRIPTIONS [pp. 2-3].)

We will now look at the WOOLLEN, etc., FACTORIES in England and Wales. (Same *Return* for 1861 [pp. 4-5].) [See Table 1 on p. 429.]

*TOTAL OF WOOLLEN FACTORIES* (including, in addition to the above, 129 FACTORIES EMPLOYED IN FINISHING AND DRESSING, and 120 NONDESCRIPT factories): 1,456, with 1,846,850 *SPINDLES*, 20,344 *POWERLOOMS*, 2,066 *GIGS*, 25,233 *STEAM*, 6,675 *WATER*, and 76,309 persons employed.

If we analyse this number, 5,931 should be deducted, being children under 13 years old (3,333 MALES and 2,598 FEMALES). Moreover, 29,613 *FEMALES* over 13 (among whom there are in turn many children) [should also be deducted]. With the above, this makes 35,544. *MALES BETWEEN* 13 and 18, again including many children, account for a further 9,811. There remain 30,954 *MALES ABOVE 18*. Of whom AT LEAST 7,000 need to be deducted. There remain 23,954 MALES [p. 5]. [See Table 2 on p. 429.]

But it will now be better to make up a list for all kinds of production alongside each other, in order to display the relation of the combined factories to the others. From this one can see the concentration which takes place as a result of this combination. To ease comprehension it should be remarked that the excess of the total number of factories over the number indicated under specific

[Continued on p. 434]

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[Table 1 to p. 426]

| Woollen factories | Number of factories | Spindles | Power-looms | Gigs | Steam | Water | Number of children under 13 years: Males | Number of children under 13 years: Females | Number of males between 13 and 18 | Females above 13 | Males 18 | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Factories employed in spinning and weaving | 440 | 1,086,352 | 19,277 | 807 | 14,313 | 2,759 | 1,913 | 1,815 | 4,799 | 21,354 | 16,969 | 46,850 |
| Factories employed in spinning | 729 | 760,498 | | 258 | 7,690 | 3,307 | 1,184 | 705 | 3,014 | 5,465 | 8,531 | 18,899 |
| Factories employed in weaving | 34 | | 1,067 | 26 | 268 | 26 | 36 | 37 | 98 | 829 | 409 | 1,409 |

[Table 2 to p. 426]

[XIX-1189] *Worsted Factories in England* (1861) [p. 6].

a) *Factories employed in spinning and weaving*

| Number of factories | Spindles | Power-looms | Number of weavers | Amount of moving power: Steam | Amount of moving power: Water | Children under 13: Males | Children under 13: Females | Males between 13 and 18 | Females above 13 | Males above 18 | Total: Males | Total: Females | Total: Males and females |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 125 | 633,390 | 25,814 | 18,106 | 13,368 | 781 | 3,858 | 3,955 | 3,793 | 24,642 | 10,806 | 18,457 | 28,597 | 47,054 |

[Tables to p. 434]

| I) COTTON[a] | Number of factories | Number of spindles | POWER-LOOMS | GIGS | POWER-LOOM WEAVERS | POWER: STEAM | POWER: WATER | CHILDREN UNDER 13: MALES | CHILDREN UNDER 13: FEMALES | MALES BETWEEN 13 AND 18 | FEMALES ABOVE 13 | MALES ABOVE 18 | TOTAL NUMBERS EMPLOYED: MALES | TOTAL NUMBERS EMPLOYED: FEMALES | TOTAL NUMBERS EMPLOYED: MALES and FEMALES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) SPINNING AND WEAVING | 671 | 13,274,346 | 235,268 | | 99,504 | 143,947 | 3,823 | 11,289 | 9,224 | 19,699 | 115,117 | 60,248 | 91,236 | 124,341 | 215,577 |
| b) SPINNING ONLY | 1,079 | 15,077,299 | | | | 99,976 | 4,883 | 8,661 | 6,212 | 13,003 | 54,851 | 32,465 | 54,129 | 61,063 | 115,192 |
| c) WEAVING ONLY | 722 | | 131,554 | | 49,182 | 15,240 | 406 | 1,623 | 1,564 | 4,648 | 36,794 | 18,531 | 24,802 | 38,358 | 63,160 |
| d) *Total* | 2,715 | 28,352,125 | 368,125 | | 149,539 | 263,136 | 9,825 | 21,774 | 17,382 | 38,210 | 216,512 | 113,720 | 173,704 | 233,894 | 407,598 |
| II) WOOLLEN[b] | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| a) SPINNING AND WEAVING | 440 | 1,086,352 | 19,277 | 807 | 15,009 | 14,313 | 2,759 | 1,913 | 1,815 | 4,799 | 21,354 | 16,969 | 23,681 | 23,169 | 46,850 |
| b) SPINNING ONLY | 729 | 760,498 | | 258 | | 7,690 | 3,307 | 1,184 | 705 | 3,014 | 5,465 | 8,531 | 12,729 | 6,170 | 18,899 |
| c) WEAVING ONLY | 34 | | 1,067 | 26 | 826 | 268 | 26 | 36 | 37 | 98 | 829 | 409 | 543 | 866 | 1,409 |
| d) *Total* | 1,456 | 1,846,850 | 20,344 | 2,066 | 15,835 | 25,233 | 6,675 | 3,333 | 2,598 | 9,811 | 29,613 | 30,954 | 44,098 | 32,211 | 76,309 |

[a] *Factories. Return to an Address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 24 April 1861*, pp. 2-3; cf. this volume, pp. 425-26.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. this volume, pp. 426, 429.—*Ed.*

[Tables to p. 434]

III) *Worsted*[a]

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) | *Spinning and weaving* | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 125 | 633,390 | 25,814 | 18,106 | 13,368 | 781 | 3,858 | 3,955 | 3,793 | 24,642 | 10,806 | 18,457 | 28,597 | 47,054 |
| b) | *Spinning only* | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 206 | 612,136 | | | 8,958 | 786 | 2,344 | 2,932 | 1,946 | 11,437 | 3,201 | 7,491 | 14,369 | 21,860 |
| c) | *Weaving only* | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 157 | | 17,154 | 10,630 | 2,421 | 84 | 66 | 19 | 618 | 9,238 | 3,141 | 3,825 | 9,257 | 13,082 |
| d) | *Total* | *Spindles* | *Power-looms* | *Weavers* | *Steam* | *Water* | *Children under 13* Males | Females | *Males* between 13 and 18 | *Females above 13* | *Males above 18* | *Total* Males | Females | *Males and females* |
| | 512 | 1,245,526 | 42,968 | 28,736 | 25,426 | 1,667 | 6,268 | 6,906 | 6,424 | 45,674 | 17,700 | 30,392 | 52,580 | 82,972 |

[XIX-1190] *IV) Flax*[b]

| | Factories | Number of spindles | Power-looms | Weavers | *Moving* Steam | *Power* Water | *Children under 13* Males | Females | *Males between 13 and 18* | *Females above 13* | *Males above 18* | *Total* Males | Females | Males and females |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) | *Spinning and weaving* | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 14 | 42,080 | 766 | 466 | 1,707 | 100 | 299 | 441 | 294 | 2,456 | 701 | 1,294 | 2,897 | 4,191 |
| b) | *Spinning* | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 89 | 302,228 | | | 6,300 | 839 | 582 | 649 | 1,003 | 9,618 | 2,353 | 3,938 | 10,267 | 14,205 |
| c) | *Weaving* | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 27 | | 1,394 | 1,062 | 441 | 37 | 5 | 2 | 63 | 1,140 | 544 | 612 | 1,142 | 1,754 |
| d) | *Total* | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 136 | 344,308 | 2,160 | 1,528 | 8,505 | 976 | 886 | 1,108 | 1,383 | 13,277 | 3,651 | 5,920 | 14,385 | 20,305 |

[a] *Factories. Return to an Address...*, p. 6; cf. this volume, p. 429.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 7.— *Ed.*

[Tables to p. 434]

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| V) | *Hemp Factories*[a] | | | | | | | | | | | |
| a) | *Spinning and weaving* 1 | 14 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| b) | *Spinning* 2 | 250 | | | 33 | 31 | 12 | 13 | 44 | 12 | 56 |
| c) | *Total* 3 | 264 | 1 | 1 | 39 | 33 | 15 | 14 | 47 | 15 | 62 |
| VI) | *Jute Factories*[a] | | | | | | | | | | |
| a) | *Spinning and weaving* | caret. | Ditto | weaving | | | | | | | |
| b) | *Spinning* 3 | 620 | | | 50 | 5 | 73 | 13 | 18 | 73 | 91 |
| c) | *Total* 4 | 620 | | | 62 | 6 | 84 | 17 | 23 | 84 | 107[214] |

[XIX-1191] *VII) Silk Factories in England*[b]

| | Factories | Spindles | Power-looms | Weavers | Moving power: Steam | Moving power: Water | Children under 11 years: Males | Children under 11 years: Females | Children between 11 and 13: Males | Children between 11 and 13: Females | Males between 13 and 18 | Females over 13 | Males over 18 | Total: Males | Total: Females | Total: Males and females |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) | *Spinning and weaving* 49 | 254,426 | 2,965 | 2,201 | 903 | 109 | 71 | 171 | 193 | 589 | 444 | 6,224 | 1,859 | 2,572 | 6,984 | 9,556 |
| b) | *Spinning* 244 | 1,051,484 | | | 3,760 | 688 | 589 | 832 | 1,146 | 2,644 | 2,043 | 16,079 | 4,167 | 7,945 | 19,555 | 27,500 |

[a] *Factories. Return to an Address...*, p. 8.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 9-10.— *Ed.*

[Tables to p. 434]

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| c) *Weaving* 422 | | 7,670 | 5,007 | 996 | 28 | 20 | 38 | | | 584 | 7,425 | 3,690 | 4,294 | 7,463 | 11,757 |
| d) *Total* 761 | 1,305,910 | 10,635 | 7,208 | 5,916 | 834 | 702 | 1,130 | 1,418 | 3,543 | 3,185 | 31,217 | 9,996 | 15,301 | 35,890 | 51,191 |

[XIX-1190] *VIII) Jute Factories in Scotland*[a]

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) *Spinning and Weaving* 12 | 16,680 | 497 | 445 | 981 | 40 | | [Children under 13 Males | Females] | | 345 | 2,248 | 957 | 1,326 | 2,302 | 3,628 |
| b) *Spinning* 13 | 13,858 | | | 736 | 20 | | | | | 267 | 1,236 | 227 | 494 | 1,236 | 1,730 |
| c) *Weaving* 2 | | 57 | 39 | 20 | | | | | | 1 | 50 | 9 | 10 | 50 | 60 |
| *Total* 27 | 30,538 | 554 | 484 | 1,737 | 60 | | 24 | 54 | | 613 | 3,534 | 1,193 | 1,830 | 3,588 | 5,418 |

[XIX-1190]

*IX) Flax Factories in Ireland*[b]

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) *Spinning and Weaving* 19 | 217,064 | 2,491 | 1,868 | 4,471 | 383 | | 34 | 186 | | 1,488 | 9,423 | 2,187 | 3,709 | 9,609 | 13,318 |
| b) *Spinning* 60 | 375,917 | | | 5,751 | 1,796 | | 192 | 256 | | 1,997 | 11,627 | 3,303 | 5,492 | 11,883 | 17,375 |
| c) *Weaving* 15 | | 2,175 | 1,446 | 460 | 141 | | | | | 208 | 1,825 | 384 | 592 | 1,825 | 2,417 |
| d) *Total* 100 | 592,981 | 4,666 | 3,314 | 10,710 | 2,384 | | 226 | 442 | | 3,761 | 23,130 | 5,966 | 9,953 | 23,572 | 33,525 |

[a] Ibid., p. 12.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 19.— *Ed.*

[Continued from p. 426]
headings arises from the inclusion in the total of FINISHING and DRESSING FACTORIES or factories engaged in other special tasks which do not fall under one of the general categories. The list only covers England and Wales (1861). HOSIERY FACTORIES and LACE MANUFACTURES are not included here. [See tables on pp. 430-33.]

First of all, then:

I) *COTTON*. The number of combined factories is 671 here. The number of spinning alone is 1,079, of weaving alone is 722, and 1,079+722=1,801, hence the proportion of the first type is almost $^1/_3$ already. The combined factories alone employ 215,577 persons; the two other types together employ 115,192+63,160=178,352. Hence, although they amount to less than $^1/_3$ of the others, the combined factories employ 37,225 more persons.

Furthermore, there are ON THE AVERAGE for 1 combined factory *19,782 spindles* (and $^{624}/_{671}$); 350 and $^{418}/_{671}$ *POWERLOOMS*; and *220* (and $^{150}/_{671}$) POWER. For 1 WEAVER there are 2 and $^{36,260}/_{99,504}$ POWERLOOMS. The number of spinners is not indicated; they are instead lumped together with persons employed in the OFFICES, WAREHOUSES and otherwise. But we shall see this when dealing with the children.

[XIX-1192][215] *For 1 combined factory there are:* spindles, 19,782; *POWERLOOMS*, 350; *POWER*, 220; *proportion of weavers to POWERLOOMS*, 1 to $2^{36,260}/_{99,504}$, WEAVERS per factory over 148. *Number of persons per factory:* over 321.

The AVERAGE for 1 *SPINNING* factory, in contrast, is: *number of spindles*, 13,973; *POWER*, 97; *number of persons per factory*, 106; *proportion of persons to spindles*, 1 person to ABOUT 130 spindles.

*AVERAGE for 1 WEAVING factory: POWERLOOMS*, 182; *POWER*, 22; *proportion of POWER to persons*, [$4^{576}/_{15,646}$].

According to the proportion which exists in the SPINNING only COTTON MILL, group I a) (SPINNING AND WEAVING) would have to employ 102,110 persons for its 13,274,346 spindles. For weaving, according to the proportion in the WEAVING only CONCERNS I c), [group I a)] would have to employ 88,115 persons for its 235,268 POWERLOOMS. Thus somewhat more than 190,225 persons altogether. But it employs 215,577.

In the case of I c) there is 1 weaver for 2.67 POWERLOOMS. In the case of I a) 1 weaver for 2.36. Thus fewer weavers are needed in case I c), the weaving only factories, than in I a) (TO A SMALL FRACTION).

In I b) the following relationship holds between the number of spindles and the POWER: 143.7 SPINDLES to 1 POWER. In I c) there are ... 8.4 POWERLOOMS to 1 POWER.

According to the proportion found in I b), I a) ought to employ a POWER of 92,375.4 for its SPINDLES. And according to the proportion in I c) it ought to employ 28,008 for its LOOMS. But it employs much more power than this.

In example I there is no saving in workers or POWER to be seen, nor is there any relative increase in the number of SPINDLES and LOOMS. Admittedly, to make a complete comparison one ought in all 3 CASES to have the *product* of I.

[XIX-1193] In the case of I b), the total of 115,192 persons includes 14,873 children under 13, 13,003 MALES BETWEEN 13 and 18, and 54,851 FEMALES ABOVE 13. There appear to be somewhat more children and women employed altogether in the case of the combined factories I a). We now want to turn to the other category, where there is perhaps SOMETHING ELSE to see. With I we only see that there is a growth in concentration; the AVERAGE combined factory sets in motion more POWER, more SPINDLES, more LOOMS and more PEOPLE than the non-combined factories I b) and I c).

Let us apply ourselves to table II) *WOOLLEN FACTORIES.*[a]

Here the concentration is much more significant than under I, in COTTON, which is due to the fact that spinning and weaving mills are not so large as COTTON manufacturing ones.

The number of combined FACTORIES is 440, that of non-combined factories is 763. The proportion of combined to non-combined is 1:1.7, more than a half. II a) employs 26,542 more PEOPLE than II b) and II c), which employ together only 20,308: hence it employs more than twice the number. It employs 325,854 more SPINDLES, 18,210 more LOOMS, and 523 more GIGS; furthermore, it employs 5,781 more POWER.

There are for 1 factory (on the AVERAGE):

| | *SPINDLES* | *LOOMS* | *GIGS* | *POWER* | *PEOPLE* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| II a) | 2,468.9 | 43.8 | 1.8 | 38.8 | 106.4 |
| II b) | 1,043.2 | | 0.3 | 15 | 25.9 |
| II c) | | 31.3 | 0.7 | 8.6 | 41.4 |

The ratio between PEOPLE and POWER cannot of course be seen from these figures, since the AVERAGE does not apply to any particular factory.

According to the proportions in II b), II a) would have to employ POWER of 35.5 for spindles. (We are leaving the GIGS out of

[a] Here Marx repeats the corresponding table, given on p. 430 of this volume. He omits the line containing the totals.—*Ed.*

consideration in all 3 CASES.) It also needs a further 12 for its LOOMS, hence 47.5 altogether. But it only employs a POWER of 38.8, 8.6 less. There is therefore a saving, a more economical or more intensive employment of POWER. In II b) there is 1 person for every 40.2 spindles, or for 760,498 spindles+258 GIGS=760,756 there are 18,899 PEOPLE. Thus 40.2. In II c) there are PEOPLE TO THE AMOUNT OF 1,409 for 1,067 LOOMS and 26 GIGS=1,093. II a), on the other hand, employs 20,084 POWERLOOMS and GIGS. This is 18.3 times more. If the proportion in II b) were followed, II a) would have to employ 27,023 PEOPLE for its SPINDLES; and if the proportion of II c) were followed for its LOOMS and GIGS it would have to employ somewhat over 25,784; taken together this is 52,807. But it only employs 46,850, thus 5,957 less. There is therefore a saving in workers relative to [XIX-1194] the MASS OF WORKING MACHINERY PUT IN MOTION.

Out of its total of 18,899 PEOPLE, II b) employs 1,184 MALES and 705 [females] under 13 years old=1,889, hence $^1/_{10}$ plus a fraction too small to be worth mentioning. 3,014, or somewhat under $^1/_6$, or more precisely the 6.2th part, or $\frac{1}{^{62}/_{10}}=\frac{10}{62}$ of the total number of people employed are youths BETWEEN 13 and 18 years old. It employs 5,465 FEMALES of over 13, hence not quite $^1/_3$ or more precisely the 3.4th part$=\frac{1}{^{34}/_{10}}=\frac{10}{34}=\frac{5}{17}$. It employs 8,531 MALES of over 18, hence less than $^1/_2$, or more precisely 2.2 or $=\frac{1}{^{22}/_{10}}=\frac{10}{22}=\frac{5}{11}$. The total number of women it employs is 6,170, hence less than $^1/_3$, or more precisely the 3.06th part. And it employs 12,729 men; somewhat more than $^2/_3$, more precisely the 1.4th part or $\frac{1}{^{14}/_{10}}=\frac{10}{14}=\frac{5}{7}$. So we now have the proportion for II b).

II b) The proportional share of the different categories in the WHOLE PEOPLE EMPLOYED:

| Children under 13 | Youths between 13 and 18 | FEMALES over 13 | MALES over 18 | TOTAL OF FEMALES | TOTAL OF MALES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ABOUT $^1/_{10}$ | 6.2 or $^5/_{31}$ somewhat under $^1/_6$ | 3.4 or $^5/_{17}$ not quite $^1/_3$ | 2.2= $^5/_{11}$ under $^1/_2$ | 3.06 under $^1/_3$ | 1.4= $^5/_7$ over $^2/_3$ |

If we now pass to II c), we find 826 weavers to 1,067 LOOMS, or 1 weaver to 1.2 LOOMS. Further, 73 children under 13 out of

1,409=the 19.3th part, or less than $^1/_{19}$. Further, 98 youths between 13 and 18, hence the 14.3th part of the whole, less than $^1/_{14}$. Further, 829 FEMALES over 13. Hence 1.7 or $^{10}/_{17}$, or over $^1/_2$. 409 men over 18 or the 3.4th part=$^5/_{17}$, less than $^1/_3$. Women altogether account for 866, or the 1.7th[a] part, or $^{10}/_{17}$, less than $^2/_3$. Finally men=543 or not quite 2.5=$^{10}/_{25}$=$^2/_5$.

The proportion for II c):

| *Number of weavers to* POWER-LOOMS | *Children under* 13 | *Youths of* 13-18 | FEMALES over 13 | Men over 18 | TOTAL OF FEMALES | TOTAL OF MALES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 to 1.2 | 19.3 under $^1/_{19}$ | 14.3 under $^1/_{14}$ | 1.7 or $^{10}/_{17}$ over $^1/_2$ | 3.4 or $^5/_{17}$ under $^1/_3$ | 1.7 under $^2/_3$ | ABOUT 2.5 or $^2/_5$ but not quite. |

If we now pass to II a) we find 15,009 weavers to 19,277 LOOMS. Hence 1 weaver to 1.2 POWERLOOMS. 3,728 *children under 13.* Divided into 46,850, this is 12.5, not quite $^1/_{12}$; $^{10}/_{125}$=$^2/_{25}$. 4,799 *youths between 13 and 18*=9.5,[b] less than $^1/_9$ or $^{10}/_{95}$. 21,354 *FEMALES ABOVE* 13 makes 2.1, less than $^1/_2$ or $^{10}/_{21}$. 16,969 *MALES over* 18. Makes less than 2.8. *MALES* altogether: 1.9. [XIX-1195] *FEMALES:* the same.

Hence the proportion for II a):

| *Weavers per* LOOM | *Children under* 13 | *Youths of* 13-18 | *Women over* 13 | MALES over 18 | MALES and FEMALES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 to 1.2 | under $^1/_{12}$ | under $^1/_9$ | under $^1/_2$ or $^{10}/_{21}$ | less than 2.8 or $^{10}/_{28}$ | are roughly evenly divided. Somewhat more MALES. |

The number of children under 13 and youths between 13 and 18 has fallen in comparison with II b). This is to be explained from the introduction of machinery which makes the children in part superfluous, as we can see from the *FACTORY INSPECTORS' REPORTS*; an arrangement which originates from the fact that the MANUFACTURERS found it vexing to have TO EMPLOY TWO SETS OF SO-CALLED HALF-TIMES. But the number of FEMALES over 13 years old has grown almost from $^1/_3$ to $^1/_2$, and thus the overall ratio of women to men has also grown, in comparison with II b). If, however, we make a comparison with II c), it is difficult to determine the ratio, since in

[a] The exact figure is 1.62. Marx put 1.6, then changed it to 1.7, and used the latter in the subsequent calculations.— *Ed.*

[b] The exact figure is 9.7. Marx, however, used 9.5 in the subsequent calculations.— *Ed.*

weaving the female element predominates still more over the male here.

Let us now pass to III) *Worsted Factories.*[a]

The number of combined factories is 125, that of the others is 363, hence less than $^1/_3$; but the number of PEOPLE employed in the combined factories is larger by 12,112: 21,254 more SPINDLES are employed, 8,660 more POWERLOOMS, and 1,900 more POWER.

There are for 1 *AVERAGE* factory:

| | *Spindles* | *Looms* | *Power* | *People* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| III a) | $5{,}067\,^3/_{25}$ | 206.5 | $113\,^{24}/_{125}$ | $376\,^{54}/_{125}$ |
| III b) | $2{,}971\,^{55}/_{103}$ | | $47\,^{31}/_{103}$ | $106\,^{12}/_{103}$ |
| III c) | | $109\,^{41}/_{157}$ | $15\,^{150}/_{157}$ | $83\,^{51}/_{157}$ |

We shall leave aside the fractions, even though this makes the calculation merely approximate.

III b): 28($^3/_{106}$) spindles to 1 worker. III c): $1\,^{26}/_{83}$ POWERLOOMS to 1 worker.

There appears to be no SAVING OF LABOUR in this case.

[XIX-1196] VII) *Silk Factories.*[b]

Large-scale industrial production of silk is relatively new in England (compared with wool and cotton, similarly with flax in Scotland, Ireland, etc.), the number of factories in this branch is therefore relatively large, and their size in contrast is RELATIVELY SMALL. Hence here the combined factories also constitute a less significant proportion than in the other cases.[c]

The number of combined factories is 49, that of the others is 666; hence the former are ABOUT $^2/_{27}$ of the total number; but the number of spindles employed by these $^2/_{27}$ is almost $^1/_4$ of those employed by the 244 spinning factories, and the number of LOOMS EMPLOYED by them is over $^1/_3$ of those employed by the 422 weaving factories, etc. The more precise ratio emerges from the following calculation:

There are for 1 AVERAGE factory:

| | Spindles | Looms | Power | People |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| VII a) | $5{,}192\,^{18}/_{49}$ | $60\,^{25}/_{49}$ | $20\,^{32}/_{49}$ | $195\,^1/_{49}$ |
| VII b) | $4{,}309\,^{22}/_{61}$ | | $18\,^{14}/_{61}$ | $112\,^{43}/_{61}$ |
| VII c) | | $18\,^{37}/_{211}$ | $2\,^{90}/_{211}$ | $27\,^{363}/_{422}$ |

[a] Here Marx repeats the corresponding table, given on p. 431 of this volume. He omits the line containing the totals.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 432-33.— *Ed.*

[c] Here Marx repeats Table *VII) Silk Factories*, given on pp. 432-33 of this volume. He omits the line containing the totals.— *Ed.*

The ratio between POWER, PEOPLE, and quantity of machinery, as it appears in these averages, is absolutely imaginary; they are only intended to demonstrate concentration. On the other hand, however, we once again see here the undeniable FACT //and here it is still more significant than before// that there is ECONOMY OF POWER in the combined factories, in certain BRANCHES.

We now give some further examples of flax and jute factories in Ireland and Scotland.[a] [See table on p. 440.]

24 combined; but 125 others. Hence less than $^1/_5$ of the latter, and ABOUT $^1/_6$ of the total number.

The more precise ratios emerge from the following table:

ON AN AVERAGE, each factory has:

| | SPINDLES | LOOMS | POWER | PEOPLE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| X a) | $3{,}413\,^3/_4$ | $91\,^5/_8$ | $202\,^7/_{24}$ | $452\,^{11}/_{24}$ |
| X b) | $2{,}350\,^{55}/_{84}$ | | $78\,^{27}/_{42}$ | $178\,^{17}/_{84}$ |
| X c) | | $140\,^{27}/_{41}$ | $47\,^{39}/_{41}$ | $182\,^{28}/_{41}$ |

We come now to VIII) *JUTE FACTORIES. SCOTLAND.*

This is an entirely new kind of factory. First emerged after the Russo-British War.[216] Not significant in England.[b]

Total number of FACTORIES 27. Combined factories 12, almost half. Employ more SPINDLES and LOOMS than the rest put together.

ON AN AVERAGE, each factory has:

| | SPINDLES | LOOMS | POWER | PEOPLE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) | 1,390 | $41\,^5/_{12}$ | $85\,^1/_{12}$ | $302\,^1/_3$ |
| b) | 1,066 | | $58\,^2/_{13}$ | $133\,^1/_{13}$ |
| c) | | $28\,^1/_2$ | 10 | 30 |

[XIX-1198] Finally: IX) *FLAX FACTORIES. IRELAND.*[b]

Altogether 94 factories, of which 19 are COMBINED.

There are for 1 AVERAGE factory:

| | SPINDLES | LOOMS | POWER | PEOPLE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) | $11{,}424\,^8/_{19}$ | $131\,^2/_{19}$ | $255\,^9/_{19}$ | $700\,^{18}/_{19}$ |
| b) | $6{,}265\,^{17}/_{60}$ | | $125\,^{47}/_{60}$ | $289\,^{35}/_{60}$ |
| c) | | 145 | $40\,^1/_{15}$ | $161\,^2/_{15}$ |

*Manufacture* emerges from handicrafts by a double route:

1) *Simple cooperation.* The concentration in a single room of many handicraftsmen all doing the same thing, and many

[a] See *Factories. Return to an Address...—Ed.*

[b] Here Marx repeats the corresponding table, given on p. 433 of this volume. He omits the line containing the totals.—*Ed.*

[Table to p. 439]

[XIX-1197] X) *Flax Factories. Scotland* (1861)

| Factories | Spindles | Power-looms | Power-loom weavers | *Amount of power* Steam | Water | Children under 13 *Males* | *Females* | *Males* between 13 and 18 | *Females* above 13 | Males above 18 | Males | *Total of people* Females | Males and females |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) *Spinning and weaving* 24 | 81,930 | 2,199 | 2,061 | 4,679 | 176 | 33 | 111 | 1,017 | 7,879 | 1,855 | 2,905 | 7,990 | 10,859 |
| b) *Spinning* 84 | 197,455 | | | 5,830 | 776 | 271 | 454 | 1,552 | 10,318 | 2,374 | 4,197 | 10,772 | 14,969 |
| c) *Weaving* 41 | | 5,767 | 3,786 | 1,936 | 30 | | 8 | 241 | 5,894 | 1,347 | 1,588 | 5,902 | 7,490 |

handicraft tools. This is the characteristic feature of the old weaving manufacture and the further preparation of cloth. Almost no division of labour at all here. At most for certain auxiliary operations, some of them preparatory, some FINISHING. The main economy here is: the communal use of the general conditions of labour, such as the building, heating, etc. The overall supervision of the manufacturer, hence the element which is peculiar to capitalist production in general.

Ure says in *Philosophie des manufactures*, Vol. II (pp. 83-84)[a]:

"It deserves to be remarked, moreover, that handworking is more or less discontinuous from the caprice of the operative, and therefore *never gives an average weekly or annual product* at all comparable to that of a like machine equably driven by power. For this reason *hand-weavers* very seldom turn off in a week much more than one-half of what their loom could produce if kept continuously in action for 12 or 14 hours a day, at the rate which the weaver in his working paroxysms impels it"[b] [A. Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures...*, London, 1835, p. 333].

The mechanical workshop of course enjoys this advantage as much over the system of manufacture as it does over the system of handicrafts. In the mechanical workshop the motion and speed of the machine (PRIME MOTOR) rules over human labour, in manufacture and handicrafts the reverse is the case. But it also applies to manufacture in contrast to handicrafts, to a lesser degree. In the latter, the handicraftsman is MORE OR LESS a human being who works; in the former he is a worker who as such and *qua* worker belongs to someone else, who solicits his aid merely in his quality as a machine for working.

[XIX-1199] 2) *The unification into a single factory of crafts divided into many independent branches.* The division is present in advance here, but every part of the work is carried on as an independent handicraft. The first thing that happens now is the annihilation of this isolation and independence. The difference is summed up in the fact that the particular form of labour no longer produces the product as a *particular commodity*, but merely as an integral part of a *commodity*. The separate product ceases to be a commodity as such. Once this unification of what was previously divided has taken place, SUBDIVISION develops further on the basis of this spontaneously evolved manufacture, which found its components already divided and SELF ACTING. To this combination of previously dispersed handicrafts, found in manufacture, there corresponds, within large-scale industry, the combination of factories, one of

[a] Marx presumably quotes from the Paris edition of 1836.—*Ed.*
[b] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

which produces a semi-manufactured object, while the other uses it as its raw material. This is how it is with spinning and weaving. The prerequisite for this was that both branches had already been separately brought under the system of machine production.

Just as one should not think of sudden changes and sharply delineated periods in considering the succession of the different geological formations, so also in the case of the creation of the different economic formations of society. In the womb of the handicrafts, manufacture develops in its initial stages and even machinery is employed here and there, in individual spheres and for individual processes. The latter point is even truer for the actual period of manufacture, in which water and wind (or even human and animal power as mere *remplaçants*[a] for water and wind) are employed for individual processes. But these are isolated cases and do not constitute the character of the ruling period, do not form its *pivot*, as Fourier says.[b] The greatest inventions—gunpowder, the compass, printing—belong to the handicraft period, as also does the *clock*, one of the most remarkable automata; just as the most brilliant and revolutionary discoveries in astronomy, those of Copernicus and Kepler, belong to a time when all mechanical aids to observation were in their infancy. Similarly, the construction of the spinning machine and the steam engine rested on the handicrafts and manufacture which built them; they also rested on the science of mechanics, developed within this period, etc.

But the *general law* which is valid throughout, is that the material possibility of the later form is created in the earlier form; both the technological conditions and the economic structure of the workshop which corresponds to them. Machine labour is directly called into existence as a revolutionising element by the excess of needs over the possibility of satisfying them with the old means of production. But this excess of demand is itself given by the discoveries made still on the handicraft basis, by the colonial system founded under the domination of manufacture, and by the world market relatively firmly established by the colonial system.[c] Once the revolution in the productive forces has been achieved—which is displayed in technological terms—a revolution also starts in the relations of production.

In so far as machines are employed in manufacture, they are,

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[a] Substitutes.—*Ed.*

[b] Ch. Fourier, *Théorie de l'unité universelle.* In: *Œuvres complètes*, 10th ed., Vol. 3, Paris, 1841, pp. 140, 171.—*Ed.*

[c] Cf. present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 335-36.—*Ed.*

correspondingly, produced either in the handicraft manner or on the basis of the division of labour applied in manufacture. As soon as machine production becomes dominant, its means of production—the machinery and tools employed by it—must themselves be produced by machines.

[XIX-1200] Except where animals can be employed purely mechanically, as with turning a mill, their employment is entirely dependent on their voluntary movement, and the direction of their will by the human will, a principle which has nothing in common with machine production. Moreover, they can only be employed as POWER in manufacture TO A VERY SMALL DEGREE, because their employment on a mass scale would take up tremendous space.

*Mr. John C. Morton*, AT THE *SOCIETY OF ARTS* (January 1860), read a paper on the *FORCES USED IN AGRICULTURE*,[217] dealing particularly with the displacement of HORSEPOWER by STEAMPOWER, and referring to the advantages of machinery, where animal (as also human) power is displaced by mechanical power, which is cheaper, and can act more uniformly over a greater period of time:

* "The forces referred to are ... *steam power, horsepower,* and *manual labour... Purely mechanical power, supplied by the steam engine,* may be more extensively used with every improvement of the land which tends to give *uniformity* to its condition... *Force derived from horses,* required where crooked hedge-rows, and other obstacles, *prevent uniform action,* and which constantly diminishes... In operations requiring *more exercise of the will, but less actual power,* the only competent force is that *directed from moment to moment by the human mind—manual labour...*"

Mr. Morton reduces these forces to

"'horsepower'" (as used in reference to steam engines), "i.e. the unity assumed as equal to pull or lift *33,000 lbs one foot per minute.* By calculations given, the cost of steam power is estimated at 3d. per hour, while the cost of horse labour is $5^1/_2$d. per horsepower per hour, and the steam power can be continued for much more *lengthened periods* than the horse labour. So that the force supplied by steam 'horsepower' at 3d. per hour, is nearly *twice* as great as that supplied by actual horsepower" * //since the horse can only be employed for 8 hours in this manner!// * "at $5^1/_2$d. per hour. And where steam power can be used, the *quality* of the work performed by its aid" * //on account of its uniformity of motion// * "is superior to that done by horsepower. This applies to threshing,[a] chaff-cutting,[b] *grinding* and [the] like" * (similarly sowing, mowing) * "and seems equally applicable to steam-ploughing... By comparing the mere force of manual labour with the two other forces, it is found that to do the work of the steam engine 66 men would be required at 15s. per hour, and to do the work of the horsepower 32 men would be required at 8s. per hour. Competition of manual labour as a force, with steam or

[a] Marx adds the German term in brackets.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx gives in brackets the noun "chaff-cutter", its German equivalent and the translation of the word "chaff".—*Ed.*

horsepower, is therefore obviously out of the question... By steam power at least 3 out of every 7 horses on arable land may be dispensed with all the year, at a cost not exceeding the cost of these horses during the 3 or 4 months, when alone they are really needed on the land." *

One may see from the above *firstly* in a sphere where STEAM POWER, HORSEPOWER and MANUAL LABOUR COMPETE IN AGRICULTURE—THEIR RELATIVE VALUES, AS TO POWER AND ECONOMY; 2) that a plough is not a machine. Leaving aside the older form of the plough, where the farmer does more work behind the plough than the horse or the ox in front of the plough, the employment of STEAM presupposes *UNIFORMITY* of the SOIL, just as a locomotive presupposes rails instead of a road. These conditions are part and parcel of the [XIX-1201] employment of the machine, i.e. A WORKING MECHANISM ABLE TO RECEIVE ITS MOVING FORCE FROM A MERELY MECHANICAL FORCE.

The development of the mechanical workshop into a system is straight away made necessary in spinning by the fact that the raw material in ITS PREPARATORY PHASES MUST BE MECHANICALLY PREPARED, IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO BE WORKED UPON BY MACHINERY. And these PREPARATORY PROCESSES for their part require relatively much more ASSISTANCE OF MANUAL LABOUR, IF CARRIED ON ON A SMALL SCALE, INSTEAD OF A LARGE ONE. The system therefore requires for its part once again the combination or cooperation OF A GREAT LOT OF WORKING MACHINES WHICH ARE FED BY THE PREPARATORY PROCESSES.

Nothing could be more incorrect than to conceive the medieval system of corporations and guilds, in which the division of labour amongst particular HANDICRAFTS forms at once the basis of a social and political organisation, as something "unfree". It was the form in which labour emancipated itself from landed property, and definitely the period in which labour stood at its highest point, socially and politically. In order to understand its real character, one must study German history in particular, since in Germany, unlike France, royal power did not conspire with the emerging burgher estate against the feudal elements. One would then find that the system of corporations and guilds, constantly suffering setbacks in the struggle against imperial and feudal power, constantly reasserts itself afresh against it. Only when the material basis—the technological basis of organisation—had ceased to be dominant, when it had therefore lost its revolutionary and ASCENDING CHARACTER, when it had ceased to be appropriate to the epoch and entered into conflict, partly with manufacture, partly, later on, with large-scale industry, did it start to be protected, as a *reactionary* element, by reactionary governments and the estates in alliance with them.

*Saving and gain of raw material by use of machinery.* In milling. In sawing, e.g., the machine (in fact a colossal razor) which cuts, or shaves, the VENEER,[a] as compared both with the earlier cylindrical sawing machine, in which a number of saws were inserted, and with the handsaw, and still more with the axe and the knife.

*COTTON GIN.*

The most imposing example is the reclamation of cultivable land by hydraulic machines.

*BOAT MAKING MACHINES,* from the boats carried by steamships and down to CUTTERS and the smallest river boats, for crossing from one side to the other. These were previously made in the YARDS, in handicraft fashion, with little division of labour and with machinery used at most for planing. Now made entirely by automatic machinery, first in America. Now carried on on a large scale by a company near London.

*We now proceed further* with the English quotation on *p. 1185.*[b]

As soon as we are to be able not only to extend the dimensions of machines at will, but also to develop them into a system of machinery, a driving force—and PRIME MOVER—applicable at any level must be available. Hence no development of machinery was possible without STEAM. The STEAM ENGINE was IN FACT invented before the industrial revolution. Imperfect. Now along with its INDUSTRIAL NECESSITY its form is also discovered. The elements of the machine were present before *Watt* gave it the form industrially applicable to manufacture.

[XIX-1202] "*Steam engine:* a machine which is able to bring about a mechanical effect through the action of water steam. The first idea for this [was put forward] in the second half of the 17th century. To bring about movement by using steam it was necessary not only to produce the steam pressure but to remove it afterwards and to be able to condense the steam.

"*Papin* invented the *safety valve* in 1680; later he also arrived at the idea of making the steam act in a cylinder on a kind of piston. He covered the base of the cylinder with a layer of water, converted it into steam by placing the cylinder over heat, and thus drove the piston to the top. By taking away the heat, or removing the cylinder from the heat, he effected a condensation of the steam, so that the atmospheric pressure acted on the piston of the cylinder, which was open above, thereby forcing it down. Papin published experiments of this nature in *1690* in the *Acta Lipsiensia.*[218]

"*Savery,* an English captain, came upon the same idea at ABOUT THE SAME TIME, and had already actually constructed several machines when in *1696* he published a description of them. The principle of Savery's machine differed from that of Papin's in that he did not use a piston to transmit the effect of the steam, and he

[a] Marx adds the German term in brackets.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 421-22.—*Ed.*

was also able to accomplish the *condensation of the steam* much more conveniently and more quickly. His achievement was the building of the first large-scale *steam engine.* Savery later made use of Papin's safety valve. Savery's machine was employed in *raising* water. It consumed an extraordinary quantity of fuel, and was difficult to construct in very large dimensions. Water could not be raised very far with it. Much effort was put into finding an improvement, in particular in trying to apply to it Papin's first ideas of a piston-driven machine. It was 2 Englishmen who first succeeded *completely* in this endeavour,

"*Thomas Newcomen,* blacksmith, and

"*John Cawley,* glazier, and they should be considered the first to introduce the piston-driven steam engine. Since Savery, thanks to his patent, possessed the sole right to create a vacuum by the condensation of steam, Newcomen and Cawley entered into association with him, by taking out a patent in *1705,* in the names of all 3, 'to condense steam directed *under* the piston, and to bring about an alternating movement through its connection with a lever'. The construction of this 'atmospheric' machine, later named after Newcomen alone, not only offered the advantage that, if one wanted to raise water with it, the steam did not come into contact with the water at all, but also that it provided at the same time the *possibility of bringing about any kind of movement*" [A. Ure, *Technisches Wörterbuch...,* pp. 423-26].[219]

This application of MECHANICAL POWER took place where, as with wind and water mills in manufacture, GREAT EXERTION OF FORCE was necessary (stamping, turning, raising) and where in fact human labour acted as an automatic PRIME MOTOR creating its own power, whereas the implement of labour was manipulated not with the hand but was directly connected with the transmission mechanism, the shaft, crank, etc.

"*Newcomen* later improved the machine by changing the method of obtaining condensation: the cold water, instead of being poured onto the outside of the cylinder, was sprayed into it.

"The *taps and the steam distributor* initially had to be operated by hand, until a boy called *Humphry Potter,* who was employed to attend a Newcomen engine, had the idea of connecting the handles of the taps and distributors to the beam (with strings) and letting the machine operate them itself.

[XIX-1203] "The *Newcomen* engine was still far from perfect, a particular disadvantage being the condensation of water in the cylinder of the engine, which resulted in a considerable loss of heat; while the cylinder itself never became completely cool. All attempts to remedy this basic deficiency were fruitless, and the construction of the steam engine remained the same *for nearly 70 years.* Then *Watt* came onto the scene.

"*Watt's first engine was one in which the steam produced only the downstroke of the piston,* i.e. *a single action engine.* The upstroke was produced, once the piston had reached the bottom of the cylinder, by closing the steam inlet and letting the steam previously introduced flow over and under the piston, the pressure on the two sides thus being neutralised. A counterweight attached at the other end of the beam, together with the pumping rods installed there for raising the water, could therefore easily effect the ascent of the piston... Useful as the *single action* Watt engine still is for *raising water* and *salt-springs,* it is well-nigh useless for accomplishing any other mechanical work" [ibid., pp. 426-28, 430].

Thus the first single action *Watt engine* was in fact only an improved version of the steam engine, not as a GENERAL PRIME MOTOR, but in the original special function it had in the epoch of manufacture, that of a machine for pumping water.

"Most industrial applications make it necessary to convert the linear motion of a piston into rotary motion; with the single action engine this is admittedly possible, but if the motion produced is to be highly uniform, this can only be achieved if an inert object of tremendous weight (a flywheel) is set in rotary movement. But the engine has to waste a tremendous amount of power to move such an object; this power could otherwise have been employed usefully, not to mention the resulting increase in wear and tear on pivots and bearings.

"These circumstances led Watt to invent the *double action steam engine.* In this case *the steam produces both the upstroke and the downstroke of the piston,* the counterweight becomes entirely unnecessary, and the flywheel, which has to be attached to ensure uniform motion, can be much lighter. In *1782* Watt took out a patent for the double action engine, and from this time onwards the steam engine emerges as *useful for all branches of industry.*

"Improvements subsequent to Watt in the *double action steam engine* for the most part concerned subsidiary matters. In particular, it was sought to construct the engine in such a way that *it took up as little space as possible.* It was for this reason in particular that attempts were made to get rid of the beam, and connect the radius bar of the crank *directly* with the piston rod... Engines which operate purely through expansion, without condensation, air and cold-water pumps, are *Woolf engines*" [pp. 430, 432, 435-36, 441].

A steam engine therefore requires the following elements:

1) A *boiler,* with its appliances for firing, stoking, etc.

[XIX-1204] 2) A *steam cylinder,* with piston, piston-rod and stuffing box.

3) A *regulating appliance* (valve), both on the inside and the outside,

and

4) in condensation engines—a *condenser,* with an *air and water pump.*

The steam engine as a product of the period of manufacture. Here not as a GENERAL PRIME MOTOR but only for a particular purpose, *the raising of water.* Moreover, not originally automatic, since the opening and closing of the taps, partly to introduce water into the boiler, partly to cool down the cylinder and condense the steam, as also the opening and closing of the steam distributor at the end of the pipe connecting the boiler to the cylinder (the end facing the boiler), was originally done by hand. Nor was it an engine worked purely by steam, but rather an engine in which *atmospheric pressure* was essential. (The cylinder was above; Watt was first to make it enclosed. In his first engine, however, there was still a *counter-weight,* attached to the other end of the beam, the one facing the pump, which actually produced the upstroke through its *weight.*)

Atmospheric pressure was essential because, after the steam was condensed through the spraying of cold water on the cylinder, a semi-vacuum arose inside. Watt's first engine was itself merely an improved version of the steam engines used for raising water in the period of manufacture. Only with his 2nd engine, the *double action* engine, was he able to transform it into a GENERAL *PRIME MOTOR* for industry as a whole.

*Railways.*

Here too the beginning belongs to the period of manufacture.

"The oldest rails were made of wood, and rails of this type are said to have been in use already 200 years ago in *quarries and mines* in England and Germany. The discovery that a horse could pull more than 4 times as much on rails as on ordinary roads led in *1738* to the construction of the first line with cast iron rails for the general purposes of *transport.* The first railways used nothing but horses for transport. The first idea of employing steam engines to move vehicles on wheels came from *Dr. Robinson of Glasgow in 1759.* In *1761 Watt* pursued the idea, and after him in *1786* the brilliant *Oliver Evans* in North America. But it was only in *1802* that the Englishmen Trevithick and Vivian constructed the first steam locomotive, which was able to pull a load of *10 tons* along a railway line *at a speed of 5 English miles per hour.* All kinds of experiments. A *theoretical* prejudice that the friction of the wheels on a smooth rail would not be sufficient to prevent a mere sliding of the wheels, their rotation on the spot, making it impossible to pull heavy loads. In *1814 Stephenson* constructed the first genuinely serviceable steam locomotive for the Stockton and Darlington Railway. These locomotives were only for *transporting freight.* In October 1829 *Stephenson's locomotive* won *the prize* at a competition on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. Condition: it had to pull a weight 3 times its own at a speed of 10 English miles an hour. In *1839,* on the same line, the 13-ton locomotive St. George pulled a load of $135\,^1/_2$ tons at an average speed of $21\,^4/_5$ English miles per hour" [ibid., pp. 545, 567-69].

"*1851* GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANY: such ENGINES have been CONSTRUCTED for it since 1847. It pulls *a passenger train of *120* tons, at [an] average speed of *60* miles per hour. The evaporation of the boiler, when in full work, is equal to 1,000 horsepower, of 33,000 lbs per horse—the effective power, as measured by a dynamometer,* is *equal to 743 horsepower. The weight of the engine [XIX-1205] empty is 31 tons; coke and water, 4 tons—engine in working order, 35 tons.

"Long after the extended use of the steam engine by the miner, the manufacturer, and the navigator, it was still to be applied to the purposes of locomotion on land"* [*The Industry of Nations,* Part II, pp. 83, 86, 88].

The first *steamboat,* produced by *Fulton* (and Livingstone), was *The Clermont,* begun in New York in 1806. It was launched in 1807. (First voyage from New York to Albany.) (145 MILES at 5 MILES PER HOUR.) [J. D. Tuckett, *A History of the Past and Present State of the Labouring Population...,* p. 277.]

//Further comments on railways:

"RAILWAYS, AS A MODE OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN DISTANT PLACES, were projected in England before any artificial canals. The RAILS were first made of *wood, [and] were laid down to facilitate the transport of coal from the collieries at Newcastle; and in some other parts, long pieces of timber were laid in the ruts of

the roads, *to prevent them from becoming impassable.** Until within a very few years, *railroads have been considered *as supplementary to canals*, to be employed in short distances, or where the nature of the ground precluded the application of inland navigation...* It is now about 50 or 60 years since IRON RAILS were GRADUALLY SUBSTITUTED FOR WOOD IN RAILROADS" (this was written in 1846)... *"Railroads were only considered fit for heavy goods, [such] as coal, iron, or stone. The locomotive engine, for drawing carriages on railroads, was not thought of,* though Watt, *in his patent, describes a scheme for which he formed a *steam carriage*, but he never carried it into practice. *Murdock*, his pupil, an engineer, when connected with Boulton and Watt,* was the first *who actually constructed a steam carriage in this country, [in] *1782*... The first practical application* of the *steam engine to the propulsion of carriages [was] effected * by * Trevithick and Vivian, who patented their invention [in] 1812...* They *constructed an ingenious steam carriage for *common roads* and exhibited it in London; but the *generally defective state of the roads* caused the patentees to abandon this application of their invention...* The railways *gradually extended their operations upon the collieries in the North of England.* Great advantage of this... On the 15th of September 1830 the RAILWAY (between Manchester and Liverpool) was OPENED BY THE PASSAGE OF 8 LOCOMOTIVE ENGINES, ALL BUILT by Stephenson and Co.; to these were connected 28 CARRIAGES. In 1836 THE FIRST RAILWAY MANIA; overtopped in 1843-48" [J. D. Tuckett, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 282-84, 287.]//

"Then *Henry Bell*, a Scotchman, FOR MANY YEARS A HOUSE CARPENTER, established the *first* regular English steamship passage in January 1812, between Glasgow and Helensburgh (A WATERING PLACE ON THE Clyde). This Bell was ruined; *reduced to indigence.[220] *David Napier* contrived at length a new and superior mode of construction. [In] *1818* he established the *Rob Roy*,* of about 90 TONS, between Greenock and Belfast. Before 1818 *steamboats but rarely ventured beyond the precincts of the river and coasts of the Friths, and there only in fine weather" [ibid., pp. 278-81]. "About 1836-37 the project of crossing the Atlantic first started. The *Sirius* the first steam vessel which [XIX-1206] performed it. Government assistance was found necessary. *Cunard* (a Canadian) first obtained a grant from the British Government for a line of Post Office steamers between Liverpool and Boston. Government assistance* with the lines progressively set up after that.[221]

*"*West India Company; Pacific Company; Cape Screw Steam Packet Ship Co.; Peninsular and Oriental Company; East India Company*, for the line between *Suez and Bombay*"* [*The Industry of Nations*, Part II, pp. 79-80].

*Now back to p. 1185.*[a]

The great extent to which the WORKING MACHINE differs from the actual body of the machinery is also shown in its manufacture, in that the two things fall under different branches of industry.

*"Accordingly, in machinery for spinning and its preparatory processes, for weaving of all kinds, and for papermaking, there are a *variety of such working tools*, as, for example, spindles and flyers, fluted rollers, heckles, and all the varieties of card clothing, weavers' reels and shuttles, the wirecloth used by papermakers, etc., *the making of each of which articles constitutes a distinct branch*, and is carried on *by a different sort of workmen from those who make the machines*. For the machine-makers usually *purchase these parts from their proper makers*, when they fit up their machines for sale.* There are INGENIOUS MACHINES (and even *automatic) *used for making*

[a] See this volume, pp. 421-22. The quotation further below continues the extract on the working machine given on p. 422 of this volume.—*Ed.*

*these working parts* or *tools* of the machine—such as the card-setting engine, for making cardcloth for cotton, etc., and the automatic bobbin-making engine. There are also several very clever machines for making the *healds* for weavers' looms, and automaton engines for making the dents employed in weaving. Generally, however, these parts of machines require manual labour trained up for this kind of work exclusively"* [*The Industry of Nations*, Part II, pp. 222-23].

"Among CONSTRUCTING ENGINES there is **Nasmyth's steam hammer*, [which is] capable of smiting a block of granite into powder, and as capable of breaking a nutshell without injury to the kernel. Patent for it taken* [out in] 1842. Used in LARGE ENGINEERING ESTABLISHMENTS, some of which have 3-4 of these hammers, of 30, 15, 5 CWT., etc., FOR DIFFERENT KINDS OF WORK; the *steam hammer requires for itself the attendance of *one person only*. The most gigantic machine of the kind at Messrs. Mare's large works: hammer of 6 tons weight, with a stroke of 6 feet.* This GREAT HAMMER is called '*Thor*'. Forges *a paddle wheel shaft for a pair of marine engines of 16 1/2 tons, 27 feet 9 inches in length.* With the *aid of a powerful crane,[a] the welding[a] and forging of this large mass is rendered as simple and easy as that of a horseshoe in the hands of a country smith.* In the EXHIBITION of 1851 there was a hammer of this kind, with an ANVIL weighing 8 *tons; the hammer itself [weighs] 1 1/2 tons, [and is] suspended from the piston rod[a]; the piston, which works in the cylinder, placed at the top of the machine, [is] 16 inches [in] diameter, and the extreme *fall of the hammer* (in steam engines called [the] *stroke*) is equal to 42 inches; the pressure of steam usually employed being equal to 40 lb. on the square inch. The hammer being on the self-acting principle, every degree of blow, from that of merely cracking an eggshell to that of a dead pressure of 500 tons, is attainable. By admitting the steam under the piston, the hammer is elevated to the desired height, and by its own gravity the hammer falls; but the fall may be instantly eased, if desirable, by the admission of steam, according to the particular kind of blow required. In ordinary works, as many as 70 blows are given in a minute.* Used in * *iron shipbuilding establishments, anchormakers, large engine builders*, and *at the principal railway manufacturing establishments*; the making up of iron, either from scraps, old rails, hoops,[a] or from the pile is also effected by means of this hammer" [ibid., pp. 223-26].[b]

[XIX-1207] "Before the introduction of this adjunct to the smithy, the forging of large marine engine shafts was not only a tedious, but an uncertain process; and many an accident which has occurred to the ocean steamers to be traced to the imperfect forging of iron; for, without blows of sufficient energy, it is impossible to expel the *scoria*[a] from between the bundles of iron rods, which, as in the United States, they attempted to weld together to form their main shafts"* [p. 226].

"Apart from this *formidable kind of work, [they are] employed in the stamping out of dish covers, and the moulding and forming of silver plate.* In his patent of *1784*, TAKEN OUT in April, *Watt* already has in mind this kind of application for the *steam engine. He alludes to a probable mode of applying the piston-rod of a steam engine, in connexion with a heavy hammer or stamper, for forging iron and other metals*" [p. 227].[b]

This is the greatness of Watt, that in a patent TAKEN OUT in April 1784 he foresees all possible applications for the STEAM ENGINE, and puts them forward as possibilities, for locomotion, for the forging of metals, etc.

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[a] Marx adds the German term in brackets.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes with minor alterations.—*Ed.*

*"A still more powerful hammer for some ironworks at *Dowlais*. Hammer of 6 tons weight, [a] clear fall of 7 feet perpendicular, anvil 36 tons in one solid mass. Under such control as to be made to drive a nail into soft wood, with a succession of most delicate taps. This monster hammer employed for giving some 6 or 8 tremendous blows to the masses of iron called 'blooms', from which the railway bars are rolled, so as to weld them into one solid mass before they are drawn out. This invention also invented for *driving piles*[a]" [pp. 227-28].

"Ordinarily the instrument used for *forging* is what is called a *tilt-hammer*. Heavy mass of metal, weighing 3 to 4 tons, the head of which is placed upon the anvil, which is sunk in the ground, while the shank[a] rests upon pivots, in a strong frame. In order to lift this hammer, a large wheel is arranged near the head, upon the circumference of which projecting pieces or *cogs*[a] are placed. As this wheel revolves, the cogs catch one after another under the head of the hammer, lift it up a certain distance, and then release it, when it falls on the object placed on the anvil. Its force is merely that acquired by its own weight, to which is superadded the impetus of its fall. But the height to which such a hammer can be raised *is very limited*, and in real power it is far inferior to Nasmyth's hammer. The moving power of the tilt hammer may be steam, applied through the medium of pulleys and shafting, or water power from a waterwheel, used in the same way" [pp. 228-29].

"These [are] *forging machines. Ryder's patent forging machine,** in which 5 or more hammers act at once, rising and falling 700 *times in a minute; chiefly used for forging *mule and throstle spindles* for cotton machinery, screw-bolts, files.*[a] This machine is *smaller* and more complicated. It has a HIGH VELOCITY together with a POWERFUL STROKE (on a MUCH SMALLER SCALE than the above)" [pp. 229-31].[b]

"*RIVETING MACHINERY.*[c] IN BOTH" (this and the previous *machine) "iron in the heated state is the material commonly operated upon. The forging engine reduces the metal into form, and moulds it at the will of the worker; the riveting engine [XIX-1208] simply crushes up a red-hot bolt, and so clasps two iron plates inseparably together.

"The first application of machinery to riveting iron plates was introduced by Mr. *Fairbairn* of Manchester.* He himself says: *'The invention of the riveting machine originated in a turn-out of the boilermakers in the employ of this firm about 15 years ago. On that occasion the attempt was made to rivet two plates together by compressing the red-hot rivets in the ordinary punching-press. The success of this experiment immediately led to the construction of the original machine, in which the movable die was forced upon the rivet by a powerful lever, acted upon by a cam. A short experience proved the original machine inadequate to the numerous requirements of the boilermakers' trade, and the present form was therefore adopted about 8 years since.' This machine is in a portable form, and can be moved on rails.* Through this machine 12 times the QUANTITY is DONE IN THE SAME TIME and *one man's labour saved. The riveting is done without noise" [pp. 231-34].

"It may be safely stated that but for this machine the construction of the tubular[a] iron bridges would have been almost impracticable. The invention of this machine, like that of several others used in manufactures, as the result of a 'turn-out' on the part of the operatives, only gives additional testimony to the folly

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[a] Marx adds the German term(s) in brackets.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes with minor alterations.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx adds the verb "rivet" and three corresponding German synonyms in brackets.—*Ed.*

of such proceedings. The object of introducing the rivets into these holes while red-hot (the tubes of the great bridges) is to secure the subsequent powerful contraction of the metal in cooling by which the plates are bound together with the most powerful force"* [p. 234].

This is a very pretty line of reasoning about STRIKES. Machinery is favourable to the workers when the manufacturer introduces it without their participation, but unfavourable when PUSHED ON BY THEM. On the other hand, it is precisely as a result of the TURN-OUTS that such significant machines as the SELFACTOR, or Fairbairn's RIVETING MACHINE (without which TUBULAR IRON BRIDGES are ALMOST IMPRACTICABLE), etc., have been introduced. So this is good, the more so because the introduction of machinery is in general good for the worker. But when STRIKES are in question, machinery is presented as bad for the worker. He should not accelerate his fate.

"Another *stationary* RIVETING MACHINE of *Mr. Garforth at Manchester puts in 360 rivets per hour, with the attendance of 1 man and 3 boys. In this engine the force for driving up the rivet is entirely obtained from the thrust of a piston-rod, impelled forward by high-pressure steam"* [pp. 234-35].[a]

"*PUNCHING MACHINE*,[b] for PERFORATING. The one in *Woolwich Dockyard [is] quite self-acting. The pressure necessary to penetrate an iron plate .08 of an inch in thickness by a punch half an inch in diameter, requires a power of 6,025 pounds, and through one of .24 inch in thickness it demands a force of 17,100 pounds" [pp. 236-37].

"The *shearing engine* is generally connected with the punching engine, and is placed at the opposite side to the punch, or above it, as may be most convenient. The shearing portion is a flat bar of steel, brought to a cutting edge, and acting against a similar edge on the bed of the recess, somewhat like *a pair of scissors. It is a wonderful spectacle* to *enter one of the large machine-shops* at Manchester, and to *behold a row of these monster engines at work.* To hear the clanging of the metal as hole after hole is made in it; to see it cut like a sheet of paper, and shaped into its required figure; and to feel the solid ground trembling under the effects of these *cyclopean instruments... The punching and the shearing engine are to the machine-maker* what the scissor is to the tailor, and the *auger*[c] [XIX-1209] *to the carpenter. They are the rudimentary constructing instruments,* and are among the most indispensable *furniture of the iron factory"* * [p. 237].

These, therefore, are the PRINCIPAL CYCLOPEAN CONSTRUCTING INSTRUMENTS.

Leaving aside this enormous POWER, machine construction makes necessary the greatest mathematical precision of the individual parts and the production of these *en masse,* involving the employment of WORKING MACHINERY on a large scale.

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[a] Marx quotes with minor alterations.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx adds, in brackets, the noun "punch" and three German terms corresponding to it, and the verb "punch" with two variant German translations.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx adds the German term in brackets.— *Ed.*

## * *Application of self-acting machinery to the construction of more refined machines.**

* "The almost mathematical accuracy and precision with which the *forms of the various details*, whether of the most delicate, of most ponderous machines are executed, is highly deserving of notice. To produce *pieces of machinery* so perfect by manual dexterity and labour" * (and the clock?) * "were hardly possible; and if possible, would entail so great an expense, that neither in quantity nor price could we by any increase of machinery and skilled population have kept pace with *the demand which has followed upon the increased perfection and facilities of production realised by improved mechanism.*

"Only 60 years ago, nearly every part of a machine had to be made and finished to its required *form by mere manual labour*; i.e. we were entirely dependent on the dexterity of the hand and the correctness of the eye of the workman, for accuracy and precision in the execution of the parts of machinery. With the advances of the mechanical processes of manufacture invented by Watt, Arkwright, Crompton, Brunel, Didot and Jacquard, a *sudden demand for machinery of unwonted accuracy* arose, while the *number of skilled workmen then existing* were neither sufficiently numerous nor skilful to meet the wants of the times. *Mr. Henry Maudslay*, about 40 years ago" (about* 1810 or 1814) * "introduced the *slide principle* into the tools and machines employed in the production of machinery; and, but for the introduction of this principle, we never could have attained to the advanced stage in machine-making in which we now are (the slide[a]).

"The principle here alluded to is embodied in a *mechanical contrivance* which *has* been substituted for the human hand *for holding, applying and directing the motion of a cutting-tool to the surface of the work to be cut*, by *which we are enabled to constrain the edge of the tool to move along or across the surface of the object*, with such absolute precision, that with almost no expenditure of muscular exertion, a workman is enabled to produce any of the elementary geometrical forms—lines, planes, circles, cylinders, cones and spheres—with a degree of ease, accuracy, and rapidity, that no amount of experience could have imparted to the hand of the most expert workman. The slide principle is embodied in the *slide-rest*, now become a part of every lathe, and applied in a modified form in the boring mill, the planing machine, the slotting engine, the drilling machine, etc. Simple and outwardly unimportant as this appendage to lathes may appear, it is not, we believe, averring too much to state, that its *influence in improving and extending the use of machinery* has been as great as that produced by *Watt's improvements* of *the steam engine itself*. Its introduction went at once to perfect all machinery, to cheapen it, and to stimulate invention and improvement. *Soon after its introduction the slide-rest was made self-acting*, that is, its motion along or across the surface to which the tool it held was applied were rendered independent of the attention of the workman in charge of it" * [pp. 238-39].

The SLIDE-REST therefore represents the *human hand* in general.

* "*Boring engine*, by which the cylinders of steam engines, hydraulic presses, etc., are cut out and smoothed on the inside. In these machines, the cylinder to be bored is firmly secured upon a frame prepared to receive it, and the cutting instruments are gradually advanced by a screw into its interior; the cutting tools revolve as they enter, and remove portions of the metal gradually until the whole cylinder is bored. In the best arrangements of these machines the [XIX-1210]

[a] Marx gives both the English and the German term.—*Ed.*

advance of the boring tool is entirely automatic. The boring machine may be in general terms described as a contrivance for *working a bore or tool, which, by a rotary motion on its axis, cuts out a hollow cylinder* in any substance it is applied to.

"The cylinders of steam engines and those of hydraulic presses require to be bored with extreme accuracy and care, since any inequality in the diameter of the cylinder would certainly cause *great leakage* when a *high pressure* was applied to the piston working in it. It is only by the aid of this engine that our prime movers are obtained; for it may be safely stated, that the manufacture of a steam engine of any working dimensions could not be accomplished without the assistance of the boring engine. It is also applied for other machines, such as pumps, etc." [pp. 239-41].

*The lathe.*[a]

"Scarcely any part of a machine exists to which the use of the lathe has not been in some way or other necessary. It is an instrument of universal value"* [p. 241].[b]

"The CONSTRUCTION of the *SIMPLE FOOT-LATHE* is essentially also that of a machine driven by steam. *The only part absent is the axle and the flywheel, for this part is not here necessary, since the rotary motion is communicated from a shaft by means of a band, and this shaft is actuated by the steam engine. In heavy works, however, and indeed in all power lathes of any value, the *self-acting principle* is introduced, and adjustments are made to accomplish that object. The use of the lathe in manufacturing work is necessarily confined, as a general rule, to the production *of cylindrical bodies, or for giving a round form to particular parts of machines*" [pp. 241-43].

*Shaping machine (slotting engine).* (Much more modern introduction than the lathe.)

"The principle on which this engine works is simply that of a vertical *chisel*,[a] moving up and down, and cutting through the metal as it descends. By an ingenious arrangement of cogs the bed is capable of being moved in concert with the rest of the machine, and thus continually presents a fresh surface for the tool to act against. It is a most interesting sight to observe these iron workmen chiselling their obdurate work into shape, without any sort of human assistance. It will be easily understood that any machine capable of cutting down in a vertical direction can be applied for giving a definite form to a block of metal. Any angular figure can be produced by this engine under the control of the workman, in whose hands it becomes, in fact, a powerful knife, cutting out just as he sees fit" [pp. 244-45].[b]

"*Planing machine.*[a] An iron carpenter, for all that the latter effects upon wood with his planes, *the machine accomplishes by means of its tools*, Precision and Power. By it the most accurate plane surfaces may be produced, for the machine is incapable of giving out incorrect work, and these surfaces are, consequently, far superior to those obtained formerly by the *file* of the skilful workman. In the best work done by hand, some slight deviation from absolute rectilinear motion is always observable. It differs from the shaping machine in this, that the work is cut by being carried against a stationary cutting tool. *The tool*, it is true, *is capable of lateral and vertical movements*, but this is merely so as to present to it a fresh part of the work, as* [XIX-1211] in the *sliding rest* of the *lathe. The object intended to be planed, is firmly secured to the bed of the machine, and this being capable of a

[a] Marx adds the German term in brackets.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes with minor alterations.—*Ed.*

to-and-fro motion, is set going. A cutting tool is arranged in a strong frame across the length of the engine, and the carrying forward of the bed of the machine with the work on it, brings the latter in contact with the tool, which planes, or rather ploughs along its surface, scraping up a shaving of iron as the work passes beneath it" [pp. 245-47].

"*Drilling machine.*[a] A vertical lathe, with this exception, that the work is stationary, while the tool revolves" [p. 247].

"*Measuring machine.** One of them is adapted to measuring to the 10,000TH of an inch and the other to the 1,000,000TH PART OF AN INCH" [p. 248].

*"*These are machines chiefly of the present* [*19th*] *century;** with the exception of the last one mentioned they are *all used for reducing iron* (and copper) *to shape" [p. 249].

"The *machinery* used *for wood-work is not less ingenious.* It is chiefly of *American* origin. In that country machinery for working in wood is even more largely employed than with us, and these machines find their way into workshops of a smaller character. Much greater value of manual labour in that country ... as little work as possible is done by hand ... more attention paid to economy of time and labour, and to production of rapid results with the least possible expenditure, than to great durability and finish. [Where] natural obstacles [are] to be contended with by a scattered population, not elegance of workmanship, but boldness of design"* [pp. 249-50].

The *pump* is a machine which employs STEAM POWER alone, instead of human POWER. One milliard tons (1,000 million tons) of water were pumped out of the Lake of Harlem in 1836-37 in this way, using colossal steam engines, CONNECTED TO THE PISTONS[b] OF 11 PUMPS*) [pp. 250-54].

//"Before 1836 the Dutch *used to drain their low-lying country by machinery principally moved by wind-power. 12,000 windmills, with an aggregate power of 60,000 horses"* (*thus 5* [*horse*] *POWER PER MILL*) (this shows the * small dimensions upon which wind-power to be used), "are required to prevent $^2/_3$ of the Kingdom of Holland from relapsing to the state of morass and lake from which it has been rescued. A few small steam engines were also used*" [p. 253].//

*"*In England, drainage* [is] extensively carried on by aid of the steam engine, and especially by Mr. Gurney. Not less than 680,000 acres, once in a state of morass //the fens of Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire//, are now rich in corn and cattle. The machinery used by Mr. Gurney for raising the water has been in all cases a series of scoop[a]-wheels.* They somewhat resemble the undershot waterwheel; but instead of being turned by the impulse of the water *they [are used to] lift it, and are moved by steam power. The quantity discharged by the 80 horse engine is nearly 5 tons of water in a second, or about 16,200 tons of water in an hour" [pp. 254-55].

[XIX-1212] "*Centrifugal pumps.* (*Appold's* machine, 1851 Exhibition. Used*

*) *"A more striking example of the use of the *common pump* could scarcely be selected. This colossal apparatus differs in no essential respect as regards the pumping machinery from ordinary lift pumps"* [p. 254].

[a] Marx adds the German term in brackets.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx wrote "piston-rod" over this word, without putting any insertion mark.— *Ed.*

earlier in AMERICA and *France.) The ordinary pump only yields in its best form 45% of work, the remainder of the motive power employed in it being lost through its defective arrangements. Some of the worst kinds of pumps yield only 18% of work, and thus absorb 72% in overcoming the resistance, frictions, etc. Appold's pump makes 600 revolutions per minute, and, at that rate, does an average duty of 70% on the power employed"* [pp. 255, 257, 259].

There are various other CENTRIFUGAL PUMPS [pp. 260-63].
*Washing and drying machine* [p. 266].

*"For various purposes in the arts a *current of air in rapid motion* is required.* E.g. *the whole series of foundry operations, steel-grinding, lace-gassing, warp-drying, etc. In all these procedures a blast of air is absolutely needed.

"The *common bellows* is constructed upon very faulty principles, and is of course wholly unfit for the wants of the manufacturer. One of its chief defects lies in *the interruption of its action*, by reason of which it is not capable of giving out a regular and continuous stream of air. To effect this a new adjustment of its parts is necessary. The *nozzle*[a] must communicate with a *second chamber*, in which the air can accumulate under pressure, and the pumping part of the bellows, its lower part, must throw the air into the *reservoir*, and not, as in the common bellows, directly through the nozzle.

"*The smith's bellows is a better machine.* Here there is a reservoir for the air; and the current is continuous and not intermittent. By *connecting* the arm acting on the blacksmith's bellows with the crank[a] of a steam engine or waterwheel a *power air pump of a simple kind is formed*; and this sort of machine is often employed where a better one cannot be procured. The *volume of air*, however, which it is capable of giving out is very small, and cannot be made to receive *any high degree of velocity.* The pressure, however, up to which the reservoir can be loaded by weights is an advantage, since a small but very powerful jet of air can thus be procured.

"*Air machines* can, in fact, be arranged under the same head as hydraulic machines. Some are constructed upon the pumping principle, and others on the centrifugal. Bellows belong to the class of pumping machines. For small forges, as in machine shops for the smaller parts of machines, an improved kind of smith's bellows is constructed. *Enfer's* apparatus a great improvement upon the blacksmith's bellows.

"As it is found in hydraulics that a pump is the only engine which can be satisfactorily used for driving out water at a high pressure, and that centrifugal engines are only fit for low lifts and large quantities; so in this case, the centrifugal air engine is little adapted to the wants of the forge, where a *compact and powerful blast* is needed more than a *broad current* of air"* [pp. 272-74].

*The *blowing fan* (driven also by steam power). //The fan, moved by a handle,[a] and used on a small scale, an exact type of it.// *

*"In iron foundries of [XIX-1213] continual employment. Air is drawn in at the openings round the axis of the machine, it then passes along the vanes,[a] and is driven off at their tips[a] into the tube connected with the apparatus" [pp. 274-76].

"*Air pump.* Philosophical instrument[213]; but of primary consequence in the construction of the low-pressure steam engine, for keeping up the vacuum of the

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[a] Marx adds the German term(s) in brackets.—*Ed.*

condensing chamber, in the manufacture of sugar, etc. On the great scale applied in *seasoning wood.* The timber is placed in a large vessel of iron half-filled with the seasoning solution, the whole is then hermetically secured, and the air is exhausted by the *air pump* driven by a steam engine. A vacuum having thus been obtained, and the *air removed from the cells of the wood,* air is readmitted into the chamber, and *by its pressure on the surface,* the *liquid* is driven into the wood, thoroughly penetrating every interstice" * [pp. 276-77].

*Corn mills.*

* "It is found that the great friction and pressure necessary to reduce corn to powder heats it so much as to render it very liable to undergo decomposition, and the only method of preventing this is by introducing a current of air between the stones, and thus keeping the flour cool.

"One of the most magnificent flour mills in the Royal Dock-yard at Plymouth. The building is 240 feet long, and 70 feet in height. In the centre 2 steam engines of 45 horsepower, on each side 12 pairs of stones, each performing 123 revolutions in a minute, and grinding 5 bushels of corn per hour, so that when the mill is in full work, 120 bushels of corn are ground in that time, and the flour is dressed by 8 machines. The corn is laid on the upper floor, and then is conducted by spouts, first to screening machines, or cylindrical sieves, arranged somewhat like an Archimedean screw. It is admitted at one end, and being cleaned of sand and dust in its passage, falls into a hopper,[a] from which it passes by spouts to the mill stones.* Then it is *purified of bran. The machines usually employed consist of a kind of cylinder made of *wirecloth.* The flour is passed into this, and is brushed through the meshes of the cloth by brushes. The flour is sometimes driven through the meshes of the cloth by fans, [which are] made to revolve very rapidly, and thus blow it through. The wirecloth [is] extremely fine in its texture. [At the] 1851 (Exhibition) [there were] specimens* with 22,500 *holes in a square inch. A length of more than 3,900 feet did not exceed one ounce in weight" [pp. 278-79].[b]

"*Philosophical instruments:* at first of the rudest and simplest construction. The insensitiveness of a chemist's balance, the defective construction of a lens, the incorrect graduation of a thermometer, or the faulty subdivision of the circle of a transit instrument, vitiate all researches in which they are employed.* The ACCURACY of the PHILOSOPHICAL INSTRUMENTS is therefore OF THE HIGHEST VALUE for SCIENTIFIC ADVANCE. Conversely, the *STEAM ENGINE and the [electric] telegraph*" (clocks too for the most part) "are INVENTIONS ORIGINATING ENTIRELY IN PHYSICAL SCIENCE... The old MICROSCOPE and telescope only gave FAULTY IMPRESSIONS" [pp. 288-90].[b]

*LIGHT.* 1851 death of Daguerre [p. 291].

[XIX-1214]* *Electromagnetism.*

"The iron is rendered magnetic by transmitting the voltaic electricity through the bundle of copper wire with which it is enveloped.

"Professor *Oersted* first discovered that a *magnetic needle* placed within the influence of a *current of electricity* circulating through a coil of wire, has immediately a tendency to *deflect,* or turn aside, communicated to it. In this consists the

[Continued on p. 462]

[a] Marx adds the German term in brackets.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes with minor alterations.—*Ed.*

[Tables to p. 462]

*Proportions of Children, Men and Women Employed in the* FACTORIES *Proper of the* UNITED KINGDOM[a]

[XIX-1215] *I)* COTTON

| NUMBER [of] FACTORIES | CHILDREN UNDER 13 MALES | CHILDREN UNDER 13 FEMALES | MALES BETWEEN 13 and 18 | FEMALES ABOVE 13 | MALES ABOVE 18 | MALES | TOTAL FEMALES | MALES and FEMALES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) *England and Wales* 2,715 | 21,774 | 17,382 | 38,210 | 216,512 | 113,720 | 173,704 | 233,894 | 407,598 |
| b) *Scotland* 163 | 307 | 325 | 2,661 | 32,884 | 5,060 | 8,028 | 33,209 | 41,237 |
| c) *Ireland* 9 | | | 336 | 1,910 | 488 | 824 | 1,910 | 2,734 |
| d) TOTAL 2,887 | 22,081 | 17,707 | 41,207 | 251,306 | 119,268 | 182,556 | 269,013 | 451,569 |
| II) WOOLLEN | | | | | | | | |
| a) *England and Wales* 1,456 | 3,333 | 2,598 | 9,811 | 29,613 | 30,954 | 44,098 | 32,211 | 76,309 |
| b) *Scotland* 184 | 29 | 9 | 1,327 | 4,592 | 3,855 | 5,211 | 4,601 | 9,812 |
| c) *Ireland* 39 | | | 75 | 417 | 370 | 445 | 417 | 862 |
| d) TOTAL 1,679 | 3,362 | 2,607 | 11,213 | 34,622 | 35,179 | 49,754 | 37,229 | 86,983 |
| III) WORSTED | | | | | | | | |
| a) *England and Wales* 512 | 6,268 | 6,906 | 6,424 | 45,674 | 17,700 | 30,392 | 52,580 | 82,972 |

[a] The following tables (pp. 458-62) are based on *Factories. Return to an Address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 24 April 1861.* See this volume, pp. 425-40.—*Ed.*

[Tables to p. 462]

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| b) *Scotland* | | | | | | | | |
| 17 | | | 178 | 1,839 | 895 | 1,073 | 1,843 | 2,916 |
| c) *Ireland* | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | | | 12 | 139 | 24 | 36 | 139 | 175 |
| d) TOTAL | | | | | | | | |
| 532 | 6,268 | 6,910 | 6,614 | 47,652 | 18,619 | 31,501 | 54,562 | 86,063 |

[XIX-1216] IV) *FLAX*

| FACTORIES | CHILDREN UNDER 13 *MALES* | *FEMALES* | *MALES* between 13 and 18 | FEMALES ABOVE 13 | MALES ABOVE 18 | MALES | TOTAL FEMALES | MALES AND FEMALES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) *England* | | | | | | | | |
| 136 | 886 | 1,108 | 1,383 | 13,277 | 3,651 | 5,920 | 14,385 | *20,305* |
| b) SCOTLAND | | | | | | | | |
| 163 | 304 | 573 | 2,833 | 24,283 | 5,606 | 8,743 | 24,856 | 33,599 |
| c) IRELAND | | | | | | | | |
| 100 | 226 | 442 | 3,761 | 23,130 | 5,966 | 9,953 | 23,572 | *33,525* |
| d) TOTAL | | | | | | | | |
| 399 | 1,416 | 2,123 | 7,977 | 60,690 | 15,223 | 24,616 | 62,813 | 87,429 |
| V) *HEMP* | | | | | | | | |
| a) *England* | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | | | 33 | 15 | 14 | 47 | 15 | 62 |
| b) SCOTLAND | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | | | 15 | 487 | 43 | 58 | 487 | 545 |
| c) IRELAND | | | | | | | | |
| VACATE | | | | | | | | |
| d) TOTAL | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | | | 48 | 502 | 57 | 105 | 502 | 607 |

[Tables to p. 462]

VI) *JUTE*

| [FACTORIES | CHILDREN UNDER 13 *MALES* | *FEMALES* | *MALES* between 13 and 18 | FEMALES ABOVE 13 | MALES ABOVE 18 | MALES | TOTAL FEMALES | MALES AND FEMALES] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) *England* 4 | | | 6 | 84 | 17 | 23 | 84 | 107 |
| b) *SCOTLAND* 27 | 24 | 54 | 613 | 3,534 | 1,193 | 1,830 | 3,588 | 5,418 |
| c) *IRELAND* 5 | 10 | 17 | 10 | 229 | 176 | 196 | 246 | 442 |
| d) *TOTAL* 36 | 31[a] | 71 | 629 | 3,847 | 1,386 | 2,049 | 3,918 | 5,967 |

VII) *SILK*

| FACTORIES | UNDER 11 YEARS MALES | FEMALES | BETWEEN 11 AND 13 MALES | FEMALES | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) *England* 761 | 702 | 1,130 | 1,418 | 3,543 | 3,185 | 31,217 | 9,996 | 15,301 | 35,890 | 51,191 |
| b) *SCOTLAND* 8 | | | 17 | 176 | 26 | 735 | 150 | 193 | 911 | 1,104 |
| c) *IRELAND* 2 | | | 7 | 21 | 13 | 77 | 16 | 36 | 98 | 134 |
| d) *TOTAL* 771 | 702 | 1,130 | 1,442 | 3,740 | 3,224 | 32,029 | 10,162 | 15,530 | 36,899 | 52,429 |

[a] The source has: 34.—*Ed.*

[Tables to p. 462]

[XIX-1217] VIII) *Hosiery Factories* (driven partly by hand, partly by power)

| Factories | Children under 13 years | Males between 13 and 18 | Females above 13 years | Males above 18 | Total *Males* | Total *Females* | Total *Males and Females* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) *England* 65 | vacate | 411 | 2,108 | 1,544 | 1,955 | 2,108 | 4,063 |
| b) *Scotland* 4 | 0 | 9 | 217 | 198 | 207 | 217 | 424 |
| c) *Ireland* | 0 | | | | | | |
| d) *Total* 69 | 0 | 420 | 2,325 | 1,742 | 2,162 | 2,325 | 4,487 |

*General Summary*

| Factories | Spindles | Power looms | Power-loom weavers | *Amount of power* Steam | *Amount of power* Water | Children under 13 *Males* | Children under 13 *Females* | Males between 13 and 18 | Females over 13 | *Males* above 18 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| England and Wales 5,652 | 33,095,603 | 444,233 | 202,847 | 328,747 | 20,003 | 34,381 | 32,667 | 59,463 | 338,500 | 177,596 |
| Scotland 568 | 2,615,220 | 40,073 | 23,294 | 34,609 | 5,960 | 681 | 1,141 | 7,662 | 68,571 | 17,000 |
| Ireland 158 | 739,205 | 6,560 | 4,423 | 11,938 | 3,376 | 243 | 480 | 4,207 | 25,902 | 7,040 |
| United Kingdom 6,378 | 36,450,028 | 490,866 | 230,564 | 375,294 | 29,339 | 35,305 | 34,288 | 71,332 | 432,973 | 201,636 |

principle of the ordinary form of electric telegraph used in this country.* Oersted also discovered *the *magnetism* induced in a soft bar of iron by the circulation round it of an electric current. Thus by making and unmaking the magnet a series of signals can be transmitted to any distance. Telegraphs in the United States on this principle*" [pp. 328-29].

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[See tables on pp. 458-61.]

| | *Males* | Total *Females* | *Males and females* |
|---|---|---|---|
| England and Wales | 271,440 | 371,167 | 642,607 |
| Scotland | 25,343 | 69,712 | 95,055 |
| Ireland | 11,490 | 26,382 | 37,872 |
| United Kingdom | 308,273 | 467,261 | 775,534 |

Females about $^{10}/_{16}=^{5}/_{8}$ of the total, and males$=^{3}/_{8}$. The number of males is smaller if 5 are deducted per each of the 6,378 factories to account for males not actually in the factories. 31,890 males should therefore be deducted, say 30,000.

[XIX-1218] The number of children under 13 comes to 69,593, nearly $^{1}/_{11}$ of the total. The total number of children cannot be given, since with the males all those between 13 and 18 are lumped together, with the females all those over 13.

The number of males over 18 only comes to 201,636, of whom over 31,000 must be deducted; say 31,000. There remain 170,636.

If we take the number as given in the statistics, the proportion of males over 18=about $^{5}/_{19}$, less than $^{1}/_{3}$.

If we take the number after deduction of the 31,000, the number of males over 18=about the 4.5th part, or less than $^{1}/_{4}$.

There are 230,564 weavers to 490,866 looms. Approximately 2.1 looms to 1 weaver.

The proportion of spindles to workers is more difficult to calculate. Firstly we must deduct the workers employed on the looms. Secondly those employed outside the factory, and those not engaged in direct factory labour. Thus the engineers, stokers, mechanics, etc., must also be reckoned here. And there are at least 8 to be deducted per average factory. Removing the weavers leaves 544,970. And removing 8 per factory over 6,378 factories leaves 493,874. But now there are the additional difficulties 1) that we do not know how many are otherwise employed in the weaving industry; and 2) that the gigs (only in the woollen industry) are not separately listed.

But the total number of gigs is only 2,163. They can therefore

be left out of account. But we find approximately 113,308 persons in the categories covering factories where weaving alone is done (first a further deduction of 4,487 has to be made for HOSIERY; there remain 489,378). Of these only 81,049 are WEAVERS, more than $1^{3}/_{10}$ of a person to 1 weaver; approximately[a]

But we have given the number of spindles per person elsewhere.[b]

[Horse]POWER altogether is 404,633. After deducting those not employed in the factory this is almost 2 [horse]POWER to 1 person. But these numbers must only be used for the *sex and age ratios,* since what needed to be said on the other points has been said elsewhere.

We have:

*1861:* 2,887 COTTON *factories* in the UNITED KINGDOM, employing 451,569 persons=over 156 per factory
*1835:* 1,250 employing 193,544 persons=over 155 per factory

*1861:* MALES 182,556; FEMALES 269,013=1:1.4, thus ABOUT $1:1\,^{2}/_{5}$
*1835:* 100,258 119,124=1:1.1. $1:1\,^{1}/_{10}$

Horsepower and spindles cannot be compared, owing to deficiencies in the last lists, those of 1836.

Further:

*1861:* 2,211 WOOLLEN and WORSTED *factories* with 173,046=over 78 persons per factory
*1835:* 1,315 with 158,484=over 120

*1861:* MALES 81,255; FEMALES 91,791=1:1.1
*1835:* MALES 39,360 27,569=1.4:1

[XIX-1219] And in the *flax factories*:

*1861:* 399 factories with 87,429 persons=over 219 per factory
*1835:* 352 with 32,868 =over 93

*1861:* MALES: 24,616; FEMALES: 62,813=1:2,5
*1835:* MALES: 10,342 22,526=1:2,1

Finally in the *silk factories*:

*1861:* 771 factories with 52,429 persons=68 persons per factory
*1835:* 237 30,407 =over 128

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[a] Marx did not complete the calculation.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 434, 436, 438.—*Ed.*

*1861:* MALES 15,530; FEMALES 36,899=1:2.3 //(1:2 $^{3}/_{10}$=1:2 $^{30}/_{100}$)//
*1835:* MALES 9,969 20,438=1:2.05 //(1:2 $^{5}/_{100}$)//

*1861:* in 6,268 COTTON, *WOOL and* WORSTED, *FLAX AND SILK factories,* there were:
MALES ABOVE *18*: 198,351. *Total number*: 664,473
*1835:* in 3,154 of these factories, there were:
MALES ABOVE *18*: 88,859. *Total number*: 344,623

*1861:* the proportion of MALES ABOVE *18* to the total number=1:3.3
*1835:* =1:3.8

*4* PERSONS TO *1* HORSEPOWER is the *average (*Reports of* [*the*] *Inspectors of Factories,* October 1856, p. 9).*

*General* RETURNS were made BY ORDER OF PARLIAMENT in 1835, 1838, 1850, 1856, and 1861.

[XIX-1220] *I) UNITED KINGDOM*[a]

Number of factories

| | 1838 | 1850 | 1856 | 1861 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| COTTON | 1,819 | 1,932 | 2,210 | 2,887 |
| WOOLLEN | 1,322 | 1,497 | 1,505 | 1,679 |
| WORSTED | 416 | 501 | 525 | 532 |
| FLAX | 392 | 393 | 417 | 399 |
| SILK | 268 | 277 | 460 | 771 |
| | 4,217 | 4,600 | 5,117 | 6,268 |

*HORSEPOWER EMPLOYED*[b]

| | 1838 | 1850 | 1856 | 1861 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| COTTON | 59,803 | 82,555 | 97,132 | 394,100[c] |
| WOOLLEN | 20,617 | 22,144 | 25,901 | 36,477 |
| WORSTED | 7,176 | 11,515 | 14,904 | 28,204 |
| FLAX | 11,089 | 14,292 | 18,322 | 46,081 |
| SILK | 3,384 | 3,711 | 5,176 | 7,050 |
| | 102,069 | 134,217 | 161,435 | 411,912 |

*POWERLOOMS*[d]

| | 1836 | 1850 | 1856 | 1861 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| COTTON | 108,751 | 249,627 | 298,847 | 399,992 |
| WOOLLEN | 2,150 | 9,439 | 14,453 | 21,770 |
| WORSTED | 2,969 | 32,617 | 38,956 | 43,048 |

[a] *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department for the Half Year ending 31st October 1856,* London, 1857, p. 11; cf. also this volume, pp. 458-61.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 30.—*Ed.*
[c] The source has: 294,100.—*Ed.*
[d] Ibid., p. 16.—*Ed.*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| SILK | 1,714 | 6,092 | 9,260 | 10,709 |
| FLAX | 209 | 3,670 | 7,689 | 14,792 |
| | 115,793 | 301,445 | 369,205 | 490,311 |

[XIX-1221] *SPINDLES EMPLOYED IN THE UNITED KINGDOM*[a]

| 1850 | 1856 | 1861 |
|---|---|---|
| 25,638,716 | 33,503,580 | 36,450,028 |

*AVERAGE NUMBER OF SPINDLES IN EACH FACTORY. UNITED KINGDOM*[b]

| | 1850 | 1856 | 1861 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| COTTON | 14,000 | 17,000 | ABOUT 17,000 | |
| WORSTED | 2,200 | 3,400 | (not quite) over | 3,725 |
| FLAX | 2,700 | 3,700 | over 4,195 | |

*AVERAGE NUMBER OF SPINDLES PER HORSEPOWER. UNITED KINGDOM*[c]

| | 1850 | 1856 | 1861 |
|---|---|---|---|
| COTTON | 275 | 315 | 146? |
| WORSTED | 86 | 102 | ? |

[XIX-1222] *PERSONS EMPLOYED. UNITED KINGDOM. TOTAL NUMBER*[d]

| | 1835 | 1838 | 1850 | 1856 | 1861 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| COTTON | 219,386 | 259,104 | 330,924 | 379,213 | 451,569 |
| WOOLLEN | 55,461 | 54,808 | 74,443 | 79,091 | 86,983 |
| WORSTED | 15,880 | 31,628 | 79,737 | 87,794 | 86,063 |
| FLAX | 33,212 | 43,557 | 68,434 | 80,262 | 87,420 |
| SILK | 30,745 | 34,303 | 92,544[e] | 56,137 | 52,429 |
| TOTAL | 354,684 | 423,400 | 596,082 | 682,497 | 775,534 |

*Thus there was a positive decline [in 1856-61] in the number of* PERSONS *employed in the* WORSTED *and* SILK FACTORIES.

*CHILDREN UNDER 13 YEARS*[f]

| | 1835 | 1838 | 1850 | 1856 | 1861 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| COTTON | 28,673 | 12,327 | 14,993 | 24,648 | 39,788 |
| WOOLLEN | 9,451 | 6,203 | 7,094 | 6,703 | 5,969 |
| WORSTED | 3,959 | 4,534 | 9,956 | 11,228 | 13,178 |

[a] Ibid., p. 14.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 16.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., p. 17.—*Ed.*
[d] Ibid., p. 31; cf. also this volume, p. 462.—*Ed.*
[e] The source has: 42,544.—*Ed.*
[f] Here and below, *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories... for the Half Year ending 31st October 1856*, p. 30.—*Ed.*

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FLAX | 5,290 | 1,767 | 1,581 | 1,806 | 3,539 |
| SILK | 9,082 | 4,452 | 1,498 | 1,686 | 5,182 |
| TOTAL | 56,455 | 29,283 | 35,122 | 46,071 | 67,656 |

It should be remarked that in 1835 over $^2/_3$ of the children still worked FULL TIME (17,147 worked only 8 HOURS AND ATTENDED SCHOOL). Since 1838 children have only worked HALF TIME, and in the SILK INDUSTRY children between the ages of 8 and 11 (not between 11 and 13) have worked HALF TIME and ATTENDED SCHOOL.

*MALES BETWEEN 13 and 18*

| | 1835 | 1838 | 1850 | 1856 | 1861 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| COTTON | 27,339 | 41,046 | 37,059 | 38,941 | 41,207 |
| WOOLLEN | 8,042 | 11,018 | 11,884 | 11,134 | 11,213 |
| WORSTED | 2,081 | 3,753 | 7,695 | 7,116 | 6,614 |
| FLAX | 3,457 | 5,953 | 8,012 | 8,950 | 7,974 |
| SILK | 2,654 | 4,739 | 4,951 | 6,059 | 3,224 |
| TOTAL | 44,573 | 66,509 | 67,864 | 72,220 | 70,235 |

[XIX-1223] *FEMALES ABOVE 13*

| | 1835 | 1838 | 1850 | 1856 | 1861 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| COTTON | 105,545 | 141,184 | 183,912 | 211,742 | 251,306 |
| WOOLLEN | 19,150 | 18,833 | 26,810 | 30,579 | 35,179 |
| WORSTED | 8,136 | 20,321 | 46,901 | 51,371 | 47,652 |
| FLAX | 19,961 | 29,828 | 46,843 | 55,863 | 60,690 |
| SILK | 14,904 | 20,806 | 29,027 | 38,271 | 32,029 |
| TOTAL | 167,696 | 230,972 | 333,493 | 387,826 | 426,856 |

*MALES ABOVE 18*

| | 1835 | 1838 | 1850 | 1856 | 1861 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| COTTON | 57,829 | 64,547 | 94,960 | 103,882 | 119,268 |
| WOOLLEN | 18,818 | 18,754 | 28,655 | 30,675 | 35,179 |
| WORSTED | 1,704 | 3,020 | 15,185 | 18,079 | 31,501 |
| FLAX | 4,504 | 6,009 | 11,998 | 13,643 | 15,223 |
| SILK | 4,105 | 4,306 | 7,068 | 10,121 | 10,162 |
| TOTAL | 86,960 | 96,636 | 157,866 | 176,400 | 211,332 |

In looking at the *increase* in the number of *workers employed in the FACTORIES* the following distinctions must always be made: this occurs either a) as a result of the *spread* of an established machine industry (e.g. the COTTON SPINNING FACTORY); or b) through subsumption under *machine production* of spheres previously subordinated to handicraft production (particularly where one kind of production, e.g. COTTON SPINNING or WEAVING, is taken over by

machinery, and machinery is then gradually applied to every kind of spinning and weaving); or lastly c) through *incorporating* into the factory certain branches of a machine-based industry which previously stood *outside the* FACTORY and were carried on in handicraft fashion. Thus the *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories for 31 October 1856* remarks as follows in relation to the above tables[a] (the data for 1861 of course missing):

[XIX-1224] * "The increase of cotton looms" * (since 1838) * "has been consequent upon the *extension of trade,* not from power having been applied to any special article formerly woven solely by hand" * (this is therefore an example of a), above); * "but in the other fabrics it will be found that power is now applied to the *carpet loom,* the *ribbon* loom, and to the *linen loom,* in which its *application* had hitherto been *very much restricted.* In these three fabrics, *intricate* and *carefully conceived alterations were necessary to adapt the looms to steam power*" * (l.c., p. 16). (The latter process is an example of *b*).)

* "The *application of power* to the *process of combing wool* ... extensively in operation since the introduction of the '*combing machine*', especially '*Lister's*' ... undoubtedly had the effect of throwing a very large number of men out of work. Wool was formerly combed by hand, most frequently *in the cottage of the comber.* It is now very *generally combed in the factory,* and hand labour is superseded, except in some particular kinds of work, in which hand-combed wool is still preferred. Many of the hand combers found employment in factories, but the *produce of the hand comber bears so small a proportion to that of the machine,* that *the employment of a very large number of combers has passed away*" (l.c., [p.] 16).

"*The increased employment of men in worsted factories* is doubtless owing in some measure to the process of 'combing wool' being now very generally performed *in* the factories since the introduction of combing machines" * (this is thus an example of *c*)); * "and the large proportion of men employed in *woollen factories* arises from the heaviness of the material, and consequently of the work, *in dressing and finishing factories*" (l.c., [pp.] 19-20).

"It will be seen," * the same Report says, * "that the number of children has decreased since 1835 very considerably in *woollen* and *flax* factories, while it has gradually increased in worsted factories. The decrease in the former is to be attributed to the *introduction of machinery, now rapidly increasing, whereby the labour of children is entirely superseded.*" * (This was a *consequence* of the TEN HOURS' BILL.) * "The greater number of children now employed in *worsted* factories is not a consequence of an *increased demand* for juvenile labour, but of the *immense development of the worsted manufacture* during the last twenty years... The largest proportion of children is employed in worsted factories—being double the proportion of cotton factories—the smallest proportion in flax factories" * (l.c., [p.] 19).

Since SILK and WORSTED FACTORIES are the only ones in which we find on comparing *1856 and 1861* an *absolute* (and not merely *relative*) decline in the number of persons employed, it is WORTH WHILE looking at these FACTS more closely.

But first the following should be quoted on the *spread of*

[a] See this volume, pp. 465-66.—*Ed.*

*machinery,* or RATHER *of* POWER-*driven machinery,* from the *above Report.*

* "The *adaptation of power* to *machinery heretofore moved by hand is almost of daily occurrence* ... the *minor improvements in machinery* having for their object the *economy of power,* the production of better work, *the turning off more work in the same time,* or *in supplying the place of a child, a female, or a man, are* [XIX-1225] *constant,* and though sometimes apparently of no great moment, have somewhat important results" (l.c., 1856, 31st October, p. 15).*

In the same place it says:

* "There has been no *mechanical invention* of recent years which has created so great a *revulsion in the mode of manufacture,* and *eventually in the habits of the operatives, as the spinning jenny and throstle frame did*" * (l.c., [p.] 15).

Here the correct sequence of events is correctly expressed. The "MECHANICAL INVENTION" first. Thereby there was CREATED a "REVULSION IN THE *MODE OF MANUFACTURE*" (mode of production) and HENCE in the relations of production, HENCE the SOCIAL RELATIONS and "EVENTUALLY" in the "*HABITS* OF THE OPERATIVES".

* "The *application of power to the loom* is the cause of the greatest diversion of labour from an old channel to which recent public attention has been drawn. The sufferings of the handloom weavers were the subject of an inquiry by a Royal Commission, but although their distress was acknowledged and lamented, the amelioration of their condition was left, and probably necessarily so, to the chances and changes of time, which it may now be hoped have *nearly* obliterated those miseries, and not improbably *by the present great extension of the powerloom.* It has never been possible to ascertain the number of handlooms, but an estimate has been given that the number of handloom weavers and their families consisted of about 800,000 persons in 1838. At that date *steam power was employed almost exclusively* for *cotton* looms, or for fabrics mixed with cotton, but immediately afterwards there was a rapid increase in the number of powerlooms for all fabrics, woollen, worsted, flax, and silk, and their increase has continued to the present time" * (l.c., [p.] 15).

The same *Reports for 1856, 31st October,* has the following to say about the *growth of factories* (I am adding the data for 1856-61):

* "The average increase of factories from 1838 to 1850" * (12 years) * "was at the rate of 32 per annum, while from 1850 to 1856 it has been at the rate of 86 per annum" * (and from 1856-61 //*excluding* the newly added HEMP and JUTE FACTORIES, as well as the "mechanical" HOSIERY FACTORIES// *230* per annum). * "In the former period" (1838-50) "the increase was confined to factories engaged in the manufacture of *cotton, woollen,* and *worsted,* and the increase was in the following proportions: in *cotton factories* 6%; *woollen factories* 13%; *worsted factories* 20%. In the period between 1850 and 1856, the *principal increase* has been in *cotton* and *silk* factories. The aggregate increase is, in *cotton factories* 14.2%; woollen 5%; *worsted* 4.7; *flax* 6.1; *silk* 66.0%" * (l.c., [p.] 12).

[XIX-1226] The INCREASE for the period between 1856 and 1861 is: COTTON by 13%, WOOLLEN 11%, WORSTED 1%. FLAX: reduction by 5%. SILK: increase by 67%.

What is interesting, therefore, is that 1) in FLAX the *number of factories* declined between 1856 and 1861 by ABOUT 5%, or 18 in 5 years (AVERAGE of each year). This shows *concentration.* But 2) in SILK, on the other hand, where there was the biggest increase in the number of factories, there was also a *decline in the number of workers,* and the same thing occurred in WORSTED.

*FLAX FACTORIES*

| | FACTORIES | SPINDLES | LOOMS | POWER | PEOPLE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1850 | 393 | | 3,670 | 14,292 | 68,434 |
| 1856 | 417 | | 7,689 | 18,322 | 80,262 |
| 1861 | 399 | 1,216,674 | 14,792 | 36,081 | 87,429 |

The SPINDLES must be looked into later. So here there is enormous concentration. The amount of POWER has almost doubled in 5 years [1856-61]; thus an increase of almost 100%. The number of people EMPLOYED, in contrast, has only grown by ABOUT 8%. The number of factories has fallen.

In WORSTED the growth of factories has been very slight, at 1%, and the number of workers has fallen.

*WORSTED FACTORIES*

| | FACTORIES | SPINDLES | LOOMS | POWER | PEOPLE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1850 | 501 | | 32,617 | 11,515 | 79,737 |
| 1856 | 525 | | 38,956 | 14,904 | 87,794 |
| 1861 | 532 | 1,289,172 | 43,048 | 28,204 | 86,063 |

This is a very good example. Just like the one of the FLAX FACTORIES.

*SILK FACTORIES*

| | FACTORIES | SPINDLES | LOOMS | POWER | PEOPLE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1850 | 277 | | 6,092 | 3,711 | 42,544 |
| 1856 | 460 | | 9,260 | 5,176 | 56,137 |
| 1861 | 771 | 1,338,544 | 10,709 | 7,050 | 52,429 |

This example is very good.

[XIX-1227] *Concentration.*

* "There are now" (1856) "but 8 more woollen factories than in 1850, and yet the power employed in woollen factories has increased during the same period by 3,757 horses" * (l.c., [p.] 13).

ECONOMY OF POWER. It says in the same *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories for 31st October 1856*:

* "Great as the increase of the power employed undoubtedly is,—59,366 horsepower between 1838 and 1856—it is nevertheless much below the actual

additional force available and in motion for manufacturing purposes. The Return of 1838 gave the number of steam engines and of waterwheels, with the amount of horsepower employed. At that time the figures represented a much more accurate estimate of the actual power employed than do the figures in the Returns either of 1850 or 1856. The figures given in the Returns are all of the *nominal* power of the engines and wheels, not of the power actually employed or capable of being employed. The modern steam engine of 100 horsepower is capable of *being driven at a much greater force than formerly, arising from improvements in its construction, the capacity and construction of the boilers,* etc., and thus the nominal power of a modern manufacturing steam engine cannot be considered more than an index from which its real capabilities may be calculated" * (l.c., [pp.] 13-14).

"In the *Reports for October 1852* Mr. Horner quotes *a letter from *James Nasmyth,* the eminent civil engineer, of Patricroft, near Manchester, explaining at some length the nature of *recent improvements in the steam engine,* whereby the *same engine can be made to perform more work with a diminished consumption of fuel.** " It says at the end of this letter:

*"'It would not be very easy to get an exact return as to the increase of performance or work done by the identical engines to which some or all of these improvements have been applied; I am confident, however, that, could we obtain an exact return, the result would show that from the same weight of steam-engine machinery we are now obtaining *at least* 50% more duty or work performed on the average, and that, as said before, in many cases the *identical steam engines* which, in the days of the restricted speed of 220 feet per minute, yielded 50 horsepower, are now yielding upwards of 100'" * [p. 14].[a]

The *Reports for 31st October 1856* comments further:

*"The fact that the nominal horsepower of the steam engine is but an index of its actual force, will be further evident upon a comparison of horsepower and machinery employed in 1850 and 1856. In the former period the factories of the United Kingdom employed 134,217 nominal horsepower to give motion to 25,638,716 spindles and 301,445 looms. The number of spindles and looms in 1856 was respectively 33,503,580 of the former and 369,205 of the latter, which, reckoning the force of the nominal horsepower required to be the same as in 1850, would require a force equal to 175,000 horses, but the actual power given in the Return for 1856 is 161,435, less by above *10,000 horses* than, calculating upon the basis of the return of 1850, the factories ought to have required in 1856. The number of persons employed bears exactly the same proportion for nominal horsepower as in 1838 and 1850, [XIX-1228] viz. four persons" * (l.c., [p]p. 14-15).

*The Reports of the Inspectors of Factories for 31st October 1856* concludes (in the GENERAL report):

*"The facts thus brought out by the Return appear to be that the factory system is increasing rapidly; that although the same number of hands are employed in proportion to the horsepower as at former periods, there are fewer hands employed in proportion to the machinery; that the *steam engine is enabled to drive an increased weight of machinery* by economy of force, and other methods, and that an *increased quantity of work can be turned off* by *improvements in machinery,* and in methods of manufacture, by increase of *speed of the machinery,* and by a variety of other causes" * ([p.] 20).[a]

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 30, p. 339.—*Ed.*

*Child labour.*

* "The *educational clauses of the Factory Act* being held in such disfavour by millowners" (*Reports of the Inspectors of Factories* [...] *31st October 1856,* p. 66, report of *Sir John Kincaid*).*

(One only needs to read these *Reports* to be convinced of the "grotesque" way in which the clauses on schooling ARE COMPLIED WITH. Daily ATTENDANCE FOR SOME HOURS AT SCHOOL.)

* "Children who are required in cotton, woollen, worsted and flax factories to attend school from the age of 8 years to that of 13 are, if employed in silk-throwing mills, released from school at 11 years of age, and are then employed for full time. Even this very modified application of the half-time system was only required by the Factory Act of 1844, previous to which time their exemption from the restrictions upon the labour of children was in practice complete" (report of Mr. *Alexander Redgrave,* p. 77).

"The so-called education clauses in the Factory Acts enact no more than that the children shall attend a school... Before the passing of the Act of 1844, certificates of school attendance were not very rare, which had been signed by the schoolmaster or schoolmistress with a +, as they were unable to write. On one occasion, on visiting a place called a school, from which certificates of school attendance had issued, I was so struck with the ignorance of the master, that I said to him, 'Pray, Sir, can you read?' His reply was—'*Aye, summat* (somewhat)!', and as a justification of his right to grant certificates, he added, 'At any rate, I am before my scholars.'

"The Inspectors, when the Bill of 1844 was in preparation, did not fail to represent the disgraceful state of the places called schools, certificates from which they were obliged to admit as a compliance with the law; but they were successful only in obtaining thus much, that since the passing of the Act of 1844, the figures in the school certificate must be filled up in the *handwriting of the schoolmaster, who must also sign his Christian and surname in full*" (*Reports ... 31st October 1855,* [pp.] 18-19. *L. Horner*).*

[XIX-1229] That wretched apologist *Macaulay* says in his *History of England* (Vol. I, [10th ed., London, 1854,] p. 417):

* "The practice of setting children prematurely to work ... prevailed in the 17th century to an extent which, when compared with *the extent of the manufacturing system,* seems almost incredible. At Norwich, the chief seat of the clothing trade, a little creature of 6 years old was thought fit for labour. Several writers of that time, and among them some who were considered as eminently benevolent, mention, with exultation, the fact, that in that single city boys and girls of tender age created wealth exceeding what was necessary for their own subsistence by 12,000 pounds a year. The more carefully we examine the history of the past, the more reason shall we find to dissent from those who imagine that our age has been fruitful of new social evils. The truth is, that the evils are, with scarcely an exception, old. That which is new is the intelligence which discerns and the humanity which remedies them." [a]

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[a] Quoted from *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Half Year ending 31st October 1855,* London, 1856, p. 18.—*Ed.*

"The Legislature is alone to blame, by having passed a *delusive law,* which, while it would seem to provide that the children employed in factories shall be *educated,* contains no enactment by which that professed end can be secured. It provides nothing more than that the children shall on certain days of the week, and for a certain number of hours (3) on each day, be inclosed within the four walls of a place called a school, and that the employer of the child shall receive weekly a certificate to that effect signed by a person designated by the subscriber as a schoolmaster or schoolmistress" (*Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... 30th June*[a] *1857,* report of *L. Horner,* [p.]17).*

Horner says in the same report, pp. 17-18:

* "But it is not only in the miserable places above referred to that the children obtain certificates of school attendance without having received instruction of any value, for in many schools where there is a competent teacher, his efforts are of little avail from the distracting crowd of children of all ages, from infants of 3 years old and upwards; his livelihood, miserable at the best, depending on the pence received from the greatest number of children whom it is possible to cram into the space. To this is to be added scanty school furniture, deficiency of books, and other materials for teaching, and the depressing effect upon the poor children themselves of a close, noisome atmosphere. I have been in many such schools, where I have seen rows of children doing absolutely nothing; and this is certified as school attendance, and, in statistical returns, such children are set down as being educated.

"The effect of the half-time system appears to have caused the employment of the smallest number of children who would be subject to that system" (*Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... 30th June 1857,* report of Mr. *Alexander Redgrave,* [p.] 78).*

A very pretty example of FACTORY EDUCATION is to be seen in *PRINTWORKS* (before these were entirely subject to the FACTORY ACT, i.e. before 1861?):

[XIX-1230] * "The school attendance of children employed in printworks is thus provided for:

"Every child before being employed in a printwork must have attended school for at least 30 days and not less than 150 hours during the 6 months immediately preceding such first day of employment, and during the continuance of its employment in the printwork it must attend for a like period of 30 days and 150 hours during every successive period of 6 months, reckoned from the first day of its employment.

"The attendance at school must be between 8 a.m. and 6 p.m. No attendance of less than 2 hours and a half nor more than 5 hours, on any one day, shall be reckoned as part of the 150 hours.

"Under ordinary circumstances the children attend school morning and afternoon for 30 days, for at least 5 hours each day, and upon the expiration of the 30 days, the statutory total of 150 hours having been attained—having in their language 'made up their book'—they return to the printwork, where they continue until the 6 months have expired, when another instalment of school attendance becomes due, and they again seek the school until the book is again made up... Very many boys, having attended school for the required number of hours (150), when they return to school after the expiration of their 6 months' work in the

[a] Should be April.—*Ed.*

printwork, are in the same condition as when they first attended school as printwork boys ... [they] have lost all that they gained by their previous school attendance" (*Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... 31st October 1857,* report of *Alexander Redgrave,* [pp.] 41-42).

"In other printworks the children's attendance at school is made to depend altogether upon the exigencies of the work in the establishment; the requisite number of hours is made up each 6 months by instalments consisting of from 3 to 5 hours at a time, spreading over perhaps the whole six months... For instance, the attendance on one day might be from 8 a.m. to 11 a.m., on another day from 1 p.m. to 4 p.m., and the child might not appear at school again for several days, when it would attend, perhaps from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m.; then it might attend for 3 or 4 days consecutively or for a week, then it would not appear in school for 3 weeks or a month, after that, upon some odd days at some odd hours when the operative who employed it chose to spare it; and thus the child was, as it were, buffeted from school to work, from work to school, until the tale of 150 hours was told"* (l.c., [pp.] 42-43).

### *Influence of the Ten Hours' Bill in increasing the intensity of labour.*

*"The great improvements that have been made in machinery, of all kinds, have vastly improved their productive powers; improvements to which a stimulus was doubtlessly given, *especially as regards the greater speed of the machinery in a given time,* by *the restrictions of the hours of work.* These improvements, [XIX-1231] *and the closer application which the operatives are enabled to give,* have had the effect ... of as much work being turned off in the shortened time as used to be in the longer hours" (*Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... 31st October 1858, report of L. Horner,* [p.] 10).[a]

"The *Children's Employment Commission,* the reports of which have been published several years, brought to light many enormities, *which still continue*—some of them much greater than any that factories and printworks were ever charged with"* (l.c., [p.] 10).

### *Concentration:*

* *Chief branches of Scotch manufactures,* in the course of 20 years between 1835 and 1857, as quoted from Parliamentary Returns:

| | Flax *mills* | Males | Females | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1835 | 170 | 3,392 | 10,017 | 13,409 |
| 1857 | 168 | 8,331 | 23,391 | 31,722"[pp. 29-30]. |

"The flax branch shows a decrease of 2 in the number of mills, but with the large addition of 18,313 in the number of hands employed, showing the extent to which small mills have been superseded by the larger class, during the period mentioned" (*Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... 31st October 1858, report of Sir John Kincaid,* [p.] 30).*

### He has this to say of one school, in the same report:

*"The school apartment was about 15 feet long and 10 feet wide; and within that space, we counted 75 children screaming something unintelligible, at the top of their voices" (l.c., p. 32).*

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[a] Marx also quotes this passage in Notebook V of this manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 30, p. 338).—*Ed.*

*Age of the children and* INVENTIONS TO GET RID OF TWO SETS OF HALF-TIMES.

* "The mill-occupier requires juvenile labour in his factory, and obtains it in the manner enjoined by statute. The question of *real age* is one with which he does not trouble himself. What he looks for in the juvenile hands is *strength* to enable them to perform their respective work. If the child has strength for the work, it is not a question of whether the child is of the age at which he may be legally withdrawn from school and half-time employment, but whether its appearance will justify the certifying surgeon in granting to it a full-time certificate for employment in his factory... My attention was called to an advertisement which appeared in the local newspaper of an important manufacturing town of my district, of which the following is a copy:

"'Wanted from 12 to 20 boys, not younger *than what will pass* for 13 years of age... Wages 4s. per week. Apply...'" (*Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... 31st October 1858*, report [XIX-1232] of *Alexander Redgrave*, [pp.] 40-41).

"Thus there are frequently two antagonists to the half-time system of education, the parent who seeks full-time wages, and the manufacturer who seeks the full-time worker. Most manufacturers, when the nature of the employment will permit of the arrangement, and when a sufficient supply of older hands can be procured, dispense with the labour of half-time children, i.e. children under 13 years of age... *The manufacturers of textile fabrics* have been singled out, as it were, from all other manufacturers by whom children are employed..." *

// Because it was in these factories that the FACTORY SYSTEM was first developed in its full HIDEOUSNESS. The *CHILDREN'S EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION* was actually called into being by these MILLOWNERS, in order to prove the existence of as great, and even greater, ENORMITIES in the other branches of MANUFACTURING and mining, in the coalmines, and the glass, porcelain, etc., factories. // (l.c., [p.] 42.)

* "Employers of labour would not unnecessarily retain 2 sets of children under 13 if they could obtain a sufficient number of children fit for the work above that age. In fact one class of manufacturers. the *spinners of woollen yarn*, now rarely employ children under 13 years of age, i.e. *half-times*." *

(The expression is a good one. The workers are only TIME, FULL-TIMES or HALF-TIMES.)

* "*They have introduced* improved and new machinery of various kinds, which altogether supersedes the necessity for the employment of children; f.i.: I will mention one process ... wherein, by *the addition of an apparatus*, called a *piecing machine*, to *existing machines*, the work of 6 or 4 half-times, according to the peculiarity of each machine, *can be performed by one young person*. The object of *improved machinery* is to diminish manual labour, to provide for the performance of a process or the completion of a link in a manufacture by the aid of an iron instead of by the aid of the human apparatus, and undoubtedly the half-time system had some share in stimulating the invention of the 'piecing machine'" (l.c., [pp. 42-] 43).*[a]

*Baynes* (OF Blackburn, at that time MAYOR OF Blackburn) says in a LECTURE given in 1858 ON THE COTTON STATISTICS:

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 30, p. 338.—*Ed.*

*"Each real and mechanical horsepower will drive 450 self-acting mule spindles with preparation, or 200 throstle spindles, or 15 looms for 40 inches cloth, with winding, warping, and sizeing. Each horsepower in spinning will give employment to $2^1/_2$ operatives, but in weaving to 10 persons, at wages averaging full 10s. 6d. a week to each person—men, women, and children, including half-times.* For the *average numbers *spinning production* at *13 ounces per spindle...*"*[a]

## * *Water power and steam power.**

*"In the early days of textile manufactures, the locality of the factory depended upon the existence of a stream having a sufficient fall to turn a waterwheel; and, *although the establishment* of *these water mills was the commencement of the breaking up of the domestic system of manufacture,* yet the mills necessarily situated upon streams, and frequently at considerable distances the one from the other, formed part of *a rural rather than* of *an urban system*; and it was not [XIX-1233] until the introduction of steam power as a substitute for the stream, that *factories were congregated in towns and localities* where the coal and water required for the production of steam were found in sufficient quantities. *The steam engine is the parent of the manufacturing towns,* and it is thus from a comparatively modern date that the rapid extension of some and the origin of other towns is to be reckoned" (*Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... 30th April 1860,* report of *Alexander Redgrave,* [p.] 36).*

## In the SPINNING *factory* there are many processes

*"from the first sorting of the raw material to the final spinning of the yarn, carders, rovers, drawers, jobbers, spinners, pieceners, etc.* On the other hand, with *weaving, the *whole is completed in one process,* that of weaving, which requires, moreover, *but one class of hands.*"*[b]

## * *Bleaching and Dyeing Works Act of 1860* (came into operation on 1st August 1861).*[c]

*"In *most of the cotton, worsted, and silk mills,* an *exhausting state of excitement necessary* to enable the workers satisfactorily to mind the *machinery,* the *motion of which has been greatly accelerated within the last few years,* seems to me not unlikely to be one of the causes *of that excess of mortality from* lung diseases which Dr. Greenhow has pointed out in his recent admirable Report on the subject" (*Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... 31st October 1861, report of Robert Baker,* [pp.] 25-26).*

"From Dr. Greenhow's report, comparing the *pulmonary mortality which exists in the silk* and other *textile districts, and districts with other industries where females and children are largely employed,* with the *mortality in the standard healthy districts (rural) of England[d]:

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[a] [J.] Baynes, *The Cotton Trade...,* Blackburn, London, 1857, pp. 48-49. Quoted from: *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Half Year ending 31st October 1858,* London, 1858, pp. 59-60.—*Ed.*

[b] The source has not been found.—*Ed.*

[c] See *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Half Year ending 31st October 1861,* London, 1862, p. 19.—*Ed.*

[d] Ibid., pp. 26-28.—*Ed.*

| *Percentage of adult males engaged in manufacture* | *Death rate* from pulmonary affection per 100,000 males | *District* | *Death rate* from *pulmonary affection* per 100,000 females | Percentage of adult women engaged in manufacture | Nature of female occupation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14.9 | 598 | Wigan | 644 | 18.0 | Cotton |
| 42.6 | 708 | Blackburn | 734 | 34.9 | Cotton |
| 37.3 | 547 | Halifax | 564 | 20.4 | Worsted |
| 41.9 | 611 | Bradford | 603 | 30.0 | Worsted |
| 31.0 | 691 | Macclesfield | 804 | 26.0 | Silk |
| 14.9 | 588 | Leek | 705 | 17.2 | Silk |
| 36.6 | 721 | Stoke-upon-Trent | 665 | 19.3 | Earthenware |
| 30.4 | 726 | Woolstanton | 727 | 13.9 | Earthenware |
| | 305 | 8 healthy districts | 340 | | |

[XIX-1234] "In this Table, in each district and in each kind of employment we observe that the average death rate both of males and females is more than twice as high as the average death rate in the 8 healthy districts ... a result which it seems impossible to account for, either by moral or climatic causes, and therefore the view taken by other enquirers, as well as by Dr. Greenhow, that there is something in congregated labour which seriously affects the health of the workers and ends in an increased mortality, is confirmed" (*Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... 31st October 1861*, report of *Robert Baker*, [p.] 28).*

"In the * *silk manufacture* the daily work of children above 11 years" * (between 11 and 13), * "less Saturday, was limited to 10 hours per day,* between 1844 and 1850; *before* this period (since 1833) it was limited to 9 HOURS; by a law of 1850, children over 11 years old engaged IN WINDING AND THROWING SILK were to work $10^1/_2$ hours a day. This under the pretext that SILK MANUFACTURE was LIGHTER work", etc. [p. 26].[a]

* "One thing, however, seems quite clear, that the allegation put forth in 1850 about the manufacture of silk being a healthier occupation than that of other textile fabrics not only entirely fails of proof, but the proof is quite the other way" * (l.c., [p.] 27).

[In] * *1833* the labour of females and young persons [was] limited to *12 hours per day*, and *3* years allowed for the full development of the Act with respect to children.

The Quarterly Return of the Marriages, Births and Deaths registered in the divisions, counties, and districts of England, published by authority of the Registrar-General, and dated *28th October* 1857, contains the following paragraph: *

* "Mr. Leigh, of the Deansgate subdistrict, makes the following judicious remarks, which deserve the careful consideration of the people of *Manchester. Very sad there is the life of a child.* Births 266; deaths 254. The total numbers of deaths,

[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 30, p. 227.—*Ed.*

exclusive of coroner's cases, is 224, and of this number 156 were of children under 5 years of age, leaving a total adult mortality of only 68. So large a proportion I have never known. It is evident that whilst the ordinary circumstances affecting adult life have been to a considerable extent in abeyance, those militating against the very young have been in great activity. Of the children, not less than 76 were carried off by diarrhoea, 14 by hooping cough, 6 by scarlatina, 6 by measles, and one by small-pox. 87 of the children died under the age of one year. Neglected diarrhoea, close confinement to ill-ventilated rooms during hooping cough, want of proper nutrition, *and free administration of laudanum*, producing marasmus and convulsions, as well as hydrocephalus and congestion of brain, these must explain why, with a diminution of the causes producing disease in adults, the mortality as a total is still so high" (*Registrar-General's Quarterly Return, No. 35*, p. 6).*[a]

[XIX-1235] The aim in investigating relative surplus value is to find how necessary labour time is reduced by the growth in the productivity of labour, and thereby SURPLUS labour time, HENCE the SURPLUS VALUE which falls to the share of capital, is increased. An increase in the productivity of labour=a cheapening of the commodities which enter into the worker's consumption, and the value of labour capacity is determined by the value of those commodities. With machinery there is the additional element that cheap means of labour are replaced by expensive ones. Constant capital must therefore be investigated here—it must be taken into account—since a new element now enters into it (and also into the valorisation process). The forces of nature cost nothing; they enter into the labour process without entering into the valorisation process; but the PRIME MOTORS on which they act, or through which [they] are appropriated for the labour process, do cost something. The past labour contained in the constant capital forms a value component of the commodity, just as does the living labour obtained in exchange for the variable capital. If on the one hand the necessary (living) labour time were to fall, through an increase in the productivity of living labour, while on the other hand the value component of the commodity added by machinery were to rise in the same, or a higher, ratio, the commodity would become dearer instead of cheaper, and thus—despite the greater productivity of the living labour—no additional surplus value would be created; the surplus value would rather be lessened. For this reason, it is necessary to discuss already at this point, TO A CERTAIN DEGREE, *the share* which the value component added by the value of the machinery to the commodity, to the product, accounts for in the total value of the commodity.

On the other hand, it is clear in the case of the increase in the

[a] See *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Half Year ending 31st October 1857*, London, 1857, p. 23; cf. present edition, Vol. 30, p. 217.—*Ed.*

productive forces of labour brought about by *simple cooperation* and *division of labour, d'abord,*[a] that the constant capital does *not* increase in proportion to the commodity; it is clear, secondly, that, even disregarding the higher productivity of living labour and therefore the lesser magnitude of value of the individual products, *a cheapening of the commodity also* takes place on account of *economy* in constant capital (particularly in the communal use of constant capital, parts of which, such as buildings, heating facilities, lighting, etc., do not increase in mass in the same proportion as the living labour they serve at the same time as general objective conditions of labour). In so far as the commodity is thereby cheapened—even disregarding the greater productivity of the living labour considered for itself—this circumstance can be mentioned, although we shall not examine it in more detail until the section on capital and profit.[4]

It is precisely the characteristic feature of capitalist production that while even the *social* characteristics of labour which raise its productive power appear as a force *alien* to labour itself, as *conditions* lying outside it, as qualities and conditions not belonging to labour itself—for the worker always continues to confront capital as an isolated individual, standing outside the social connection with his fellow-workers—this is still more the case, *prima facie,* with the *objective* conditions of that social labour.[b] The examination of these conditions therefore appears from the capitalist point of view as the examination of *circumstances* which concern capital alone, proceed from it and are enclosed within it, and have absolutely nothing to do with the worker. This is so even though it is only this *social* form of labour itself that converts these external conditions from such as exist in isolation for the individual worker into social conditions, concentrated conditions, which can be employed *more economically* through concentration in space and time and *common* employment by the cooperating workers; can be employed in such a manner that the workers' greater EFFICIENCY in the labour process is accompanied by lesser costs, i.e. a smaller consumption of value by the workers, so that they enter to a lesser degree into the valorisation process.

We shall find, in connection with machinery in particular, how the alienation between these conditions of labour and the way in which the labour itself is carried on is held fast in the *consciousness of the capitalist* and asserted in his dealings with the worker.

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[a] Firstly.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 504-05.—*Ed.*

This is, however, only a further consequence and carrying through of the *antagonism* which forms the essence [XIX-1236] of capitalist production, and was therefore already delineated in our discussion of absolute surplus value.[a]

It is, in general, a characteristic of capitalist production that the conditions of labour confront living labour as independent, as personified, that it is not the worker that employs the conditions of labour, but the conditions of labour that employ the worker. It is precisely through this that the latter become *capital*, and the commodity owner who possesses them becomes a *capitalist* vis-à-vis the worker. This independence naturally ceases in the actual labour process, but the total labour process is a process of capital, it is incorporated in capital. To the extent that the worker figures in the process as *labour*, he is himself a moment of capital.

[V-175a/A][222] The vitalising natural power of labour—the fact that by using and expending material and instrument it preserves them in this or that form, hence also preserves the labour objectified in them, their exchange value—becomes a *power*, not of labour, but *of capital*, as does every natural or social power of labour which is not the product of earlier labour or not the product of such earlier labour as must be repeated (e.g. the historical development of the worker, etc.). Therefore, this vitalising power is not paid for by capital. Just as the worker is not paid for his capacity to think.

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Labour's specific quality of preserving already objectified labour as objectified labour by adding a new quantity of labour does not receive any remuneration; nor does it cost the worker anything, as it is a natural property of labour. In the *process of production* the separation of labour from the objective moments of its existence—material and instrument—is *superseded*. The existence of capital and wage labour depends on this separation. Its supersession which actually takes place in the *actual* production process, is not paid for by the capitalist. Nor does the supersession occur through the exchange between capitalist and worker, but through *labour itself in the production process*. And as such *present* labour it is itself already incorporated into capital, it is a moment of capital. This preserving power of labour therefore appears as *ca-*

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[a] Ibid., Vol. 30, pp. 190-92.—*Ed.*

*pital's power of self-preservation.* The worker has merely added new labour; past labour—in which capital exists—has an eternal existence as *value* quite independently of its material existence. This is how the matter appears to capital and to the worker.

[XIX-1236] With the formal subsumption of labour under capital, these conditions of labour undergo no further modification; they remain, physically, material and means of labour. But with the new mode of production, with the revolution in the mode of production created by capitalist production, these conditions of labour change their shape. They receive new determinations from the fact that they serve the socially cooperating workers as conditions. With simple cooperation and manufacture based on the division of labour, this modification affects merely the general conditions of labour, which can be utilised commonly, such as buildings, etc. But with the mechanical workshop based on machinery, the modification extends to the actual instrument of labour. As with the formal subsumption of labour under capital, these conditions, and therefore also their altered shape—a shape which has been altered by the social form of the labour itself—remain an *alien circumstance* to the workers. Indeed, in the case of machinery, as we shall see further on, the antithesis or alienation develops further, into an *antagonistic contradiction.*

A further question to be dealt with here is this: If we examine these conditions of labour, to the extent that they are *cheapened* in the social form of labour, this happens in relation to the cheapening of the *commodities* which enter into the worker's consumption, and this is identical with the relative *devaluation* of labour capacity. What is important here is that the total amount of labour which enters into the individual product—the sum total of the past and present labour entering into it—is *lessened.* With cooperation and the division of labour it is evident that the living labour becomes more productive, performs the same work in a shorter time, while it goes without saying that the part of the value of the commodity which derives from the constant capital is not increased. With machinery this needs to be demonstrated, and will be demonstrated. But the characteristic feature of all 3 CASES, in so far as relative surplus value is being considered, is that the living labour needs *less time* to produce the same commodity.

In the section on capital and profit, on the other hand, what is involved is neither the *increase of surplus value,* SURPLUS labour time,

which is rather presupposed as given; nor is it the *reduction in the total amount of past and living labour which enters into the commodity*; it is instead the way in which the *ratio of the surplus value to the value of the total capital advanced*, and in particular the quantitative proportion between the living labour employed and the past labour employed, is affected by the *economy* in constant capital which is first made possible by the social forms taken on by labour in the capitalist mode of production, but excluded, in contrast, in the case of the dispersed labour of independent handicraftsmen or small-scale agriculturists. *Such is the difference in the consideration of the same circumstances from different points of view.*

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If we now return to machinery,[a] it is evident that the mode of production corresponding to it finds its purest and most classical expression in the *automatic workshop*, in which the application of the machine takes the form of the application of a connected system of machinery, of a totality—falling into a number of different phases—of mechanical processes which have as their common motor a PRIME MOTOR driven mechanically, with the drive provided by natural forces.[b] The single machine makes its appearance in many spheres of production, replacing [XIX-1237] either earlier individual trades of the handicraft type, or kinds of work previously performed through cooperation, such as, in the latter case, building machines, [or] e.g. sowing, mowing, threshing machines, etc. There is, particularly in the first case, a re-emergence of handicraft production, based now on machinery, such as with the original spinning machine, many kinds of loom, the sewing machine, etc. But this handicraft production based on the machine now appears as nothing more than a *transition* to large-scale industry. Or, in manufacture (and agriculture) based on the division of labour, the machines intervene in specific processes, while other processes, which are admittedly connected with the former processes, but still interrupt mechanical production, require human labour, not for the supervision of a mechanical process, but for the production itself. This is the way in which manufacture and large-scale agriculture reappear, in changed shape, in the period of machine production.

The *automatic workshop*, however, is a perfected mode of production, corresponding to machinery, and it is the more

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[a] See this volume, p. 477.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 82-85.—*Ed.*

perfect, the more it forms a complete mechanical system, and the less individual processes still require (as do mechanical spinning mills not employing SELFACTORS) to be mediated through human labour.

Machinery has a *negative* impact on the mode of production resting on the *division of labour* in manufacture and on the *specialised skills of labour capacity produced* on the basis of that division of labour. It devalues the labour capacity specialised in this way, in part reducing it to simple, abstract labour capacity, and in part producing on its own basis a new specialisation of labour capacity, the characteristic feature of which is its *passive subordination* to the movement of the mechanism itself; its complete annexation to the needs and requirements of the mechanism.

//The *Ricardian* example (*PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY*, 3RD ED., [p.] 469 sqq.):

Let the capitalist have £20,000. 7,000 of this is INVESTED IN FIXED CAPITAL; 13,000 as CIRCULATING CAPITAL EMPLOYED IN THE SUPPORT OF LABOUR. Now machinery TO THE AMOUNT OF 7,500 is added to the FIXED CAPITAL of 7,000. Hence the total FIXED CAPITAL now=7,000+7,500=14,500. There therefore remains a circulating capital of 20,000−14,500, i.e. 5,500. Previously the GROSS PRODUCE was 15,000, hence a profit of £2,000. Or $^1/_{10}$ on 20,000,=10%.

The extra labour previously employed by "7,500" "WOULD BECOME REDUNDANT" [p. 471].

Ricardo now continues:

* "The *reduced quantity of labour* which the capitalist can employ, must, indeed, with the assistance of the machine, and after deductions for its repairs, produce *a value equal to £7,500,* it must replace the circulating capital with a profit of £2,000 on the whole capital" * ([p.] 471).

I.e. the amount of surplus value and therefore the rate of profit (10%) on the £20,000 remains exactly the same, although now *less than half the* QUANTITY OF LABOUR IS EMPLOYED, *compared with previously.* Previously the variable capital was 13,000, now it is only 5,500. The phrase, "WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE MACHINE" means nothing here, since Ricardo himself argues, as against Say, that the machine only adds its own *value* (as INCLUDED IN ITS ANNUAL wear and tear) to the product; but no surplus value. Ricardo does not investigate how this "FACT" can be reconciled with the THEORY OF VALUE, which it contradicts *prima facie.*[a]//

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[a] See D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* p. 335 (note), pp. 336-37.—*Ed.*

* "*Machine*, or *engine*, is any mechanical instrument contrived to move bodies. And it is *composed* of the *mechanical powers*. *Mechanical powers* are certain *simple instruments*, commonly employed for raising greater weights, or overcoming greater resistances, than could be effected by the natural strength without them. These are usually accounted 6 in number, viz. the lever, the wheel and axle, the pulley, the inclined plane, the wedge, and the screw" * (Hutton, *A Course of Mathematics*, [pp.] 174-75).[223]

The mechanical workshop takes the place of 1) manufacture based on the division of labour; 2) the independent handicraft enterprise.

Although the mechanical workshop 1) *negates* simple cooperation, in so far as it puts the machine in the place of power created through cooperation; and 2) negates the *division of labour*, in so far as it abolishes cooperation or manufacture resting on the division of labour, there does nevertheless occur within the mechanical workshop itself both cooperation and división of labour. Point 1 needs no further discussion here. It should however be remarked that, given machinery as the material basis of the mechanical workshop, simple cooperation plays a much more important role in it than the division of labour.

[XIX-1238] But what is above all involved here is this question: what kind of division of labour is it which predominates in the mechanical workshop, as opposed to the kind which characterises manufacture?

There are two points to distinguish here.

Either, a), machinery develops into a system of machines, which perform different processes, each of which forms a phase for the next one, as in spinning, paper manufacturing, etc. Here there naturally emerges a *new division of labour*, which belongs to the mechanical workshop, and which must be examined specifically.[a]

Or, b), a *system of this kind* does not result; for we do not understand by this system merely the link between MOTIVE POWER, transmitting machinery, and working machinery. This link can be found in *all* mechanical factories without distinction. Two things are, in turn, possible here.

α) Either a handicraft is replaced by a machine,[b] as e.g. the handloom is replaced by the mechanical loom, or the turner's bench is replaced by a mechanical lathe. Here the mechanical workshop directly replaces handicraft work, and machines of this kind can also bring into existence a new kind of handicraft work. Once they have developed into a mechanical workshop, what

[a] See this volume, p. 486.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 481.—*Ed.*

characterises this workshop is *cooperation.* Many such machines (set in motion by the same motor and the transmission apparatus connected to it) work together at the same place and the same time, and there is therefore added to them a large number of human machine assistants, working alongside each other simultaneously. Whether a machine of this kind is operated in isolation by a small master with a pair of assistants, or a number of them work together, the handicraftsman, who performed various operations and whose labour represented a larger or smaller totality of pieces of work, is replaced by a single machine, which performs these operations simultaneously. This handicrafsman is replaced by a mere assistant to the machine. The same thing takes place in the mechanical workshop composed of many such machines. Only there is the difference that in the first case power was still developed in so far as MAN still remained the PRIME MOTOR with this machine too, whereas in the workshop man is replaced with an automaton, a mechanical driving force. No division of labour in our sense took place here. It is therefore not abolished. What is abolished is a more complex kind of labour, comprising various activities, which is replaced by *simple machine labour.* By *simple machine labour* we understand the assistance man has to render to the working machine.

β) But if a machine of this kind replaces a manufacture based on the division of labour, examples of which we have just given, this rests directly on a *negation of the division of labour.* The specialisation achieved by labour capacity through the division of labour is destroyed, and labour capacity is therewith *depreciated,* in so far as the system of manufacture required a hierarchy of labour capacities, so that there was simple labour at one point and, corresponding to it, more complex labour at another. Simpler labour now replaces simple labour; though simple, the latter was still specific, and had therefore developed into a specialised skill, however lousy the work might be. Here the system of manufacture can turn back into handicrafts, i.e. the work can be carried on by independent small masters with a pair of assistants; but this is always to be regarded as no more than a *transitional stage* to the mechanical workshop.

In so far as a division of labour takes place here, it proceeds solely from the general structure of the mechanical workshop; hence from the distinction, *d'abord,* between PRIME MOTOR and working machine. The former may require stokers, FEEDERS of the PRIME MOTOR with coal, water, etc., or also the clearing out of ashes, etc. Workers employed in this way, whose numbers are limited by

the small number of PRIME MOTORS in operation in a workshop, are mere menials. The principle of the division of labour here is not that *a particular* specialism is developed, but that certain simple functions can be performed by one person for many, just as well on a large as on a small scale. E.g., a furnace can be heated for many just as it can for a few. Secondly, there are services performed for the *machine* as such, in order to keep it in constant REPAIR. Thus there are workers charged with the sharpening e.g. [XIX-1239] of carding machines, or mechanics and engineers *attached* to the workshop. Individual persons can only be attached in this way because there is a large quantity of machines working simultaneously, hence there is constantly something to be patched up, etc., friction to be removed, so that the whole of the time of such a man can be USEFULLY employed. There are naturally only a small number of these people, who do no "machine labour", but are attached to the workshop after being selected from the circle of those accessory workers required to set up the workshop (machine producers, handicraftsmen, etc.).

Finally, menials are needed to sweep up the waste, remove the debris of the workshop, etc. This is one of the main tasks of the children (in the sense of the English FACTORY ACTS). This kind of labour has nothing to do with machine labour as such; it is merely a menial function. One cannot speak here of the development of a particular specialism, but only of menial tasks, which do not demand power or presuppose the development of any sort of specialised skill. //In the case of the LACE *machine* women and children have to perform machine labour.//

These categories are to be found in every workshop (mechanical), as also in manufacture, in part.

But the workers who really supervise the operation of the machines, or the main body of workers properly so called, are people who all do the same thing, so that here there is no actual division of labour, but instead simple cooperation; the economic basis of its effect here is not cooperation among human beings, but the circumstance that economy is demanded where a common motor and transmission machinery are used for many similar machines (leaving aside buildings, etc., which is also characteristic of manufacture resting on simple cooperation).

But finally, in so far as firstly children are required here for wholly simple menial services, and on the other hand young people of both sexes and women are required for the actual machine labour, a new division of labour emerges, found already in handicrafts, and in slave labour resting on cooperation, namely

between *OVERLOOKERS and actual* workers.[a] This division of labour arises from the need for discipline and supervision in the armies of workers, as in other armies, and has nothing to do with the development of specialisation, unless it be specialisation in checking, giving orders, and cavilling. These OVERLOOKERS in fact represent the capitalist towards the workers. In the case of the small handicraft master, who works with a few journeymen, this work of supervision and command, the disciplinary power, is bound up with his cooperation in the work. With the industrial capitalist, this *LABOUR OF SUPERINTENDENCE*, which is "his", is performed by workers delegated by him. These are the NCO's of the workshop. It is in fact the *OVERLOOKERS* and not the capitalists who perform the real *LABOUR OF SUPERINTENDENCE*. The mechanical workshop is altogether characterised by these relations of subordination, regimentation, just as under the system of slavery the ruling mode of cooperation is slave-driving Negro slaves and working Negro slaves. It is labour for the exploitation of labour.

With both the kind of mechanical workshop just examined and the one that rests on a system of machinery—whether these two kinds of workshop replace independent handicrafts or manufacture—very skilled labour is often replaced by simple machine labour, as in the mechanical workshop, and special skills are always destroyed.

a) We come now to the mechanical workshop based on a *system of machinery*.[b] Here a division of labour naturally takes place. //It is not necessary to repeat here the characteristics this kind of mechanical workshop has in common with the one considered above, characteristics which therefore apply to *the mechanical workshop in general*.// This division of labour has its material basis in the differences between the specialised machines which perform specific phases of the production process, and for the service of which there are therefore allotted parties of workers trained and assigned exclusively to that purpose. Here too the main body of workers is always formed by those employed in the final operation, not by those employed in preliminary or subsequent work. There is added here a new kind of menial service, which falls to the children to perform, namely when the transfer of the object of labour from one machine to another is accomplished not by the machine [XIX-1240] itself but by human vehicles, who in

[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 262-63, 387, 413; Vol. 32, pp. 495-98; and this volume, pp. 279-83.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 483.—*Ed.*

fact form here only the porters, the arms and legs, who act as intermediaries in the transfer of the material from one machine to another. Differences of age and sex play a major role here, in so far as certain manipulations require somewhat more strength, physical size, etc., and, according to the nature of the material to be worked on, more dexterity, agility, or, particularly with hard materials, a greater power of resistance.

In manufacture the TASKS are divided into a hierarchy of abilities and strength, depending on what is required to *make use* of the instruments, and on whether the skills demanded for this are easier or harder to achieve. Certain physical and mental qualities of the individuals are here *SEIZED UPON*, in order through their one-sided development to create in manufacture a total mechanism formed out of human beings themselves. Here, in the mechanical workshop, the body of this total mechanism consists of the differentiated machines themselves, each of which performs the particular special processes, following one upon the other in succession, which are required for the process as a whole. Here it is not a specially developed labour capacity which puts into service a particular instrument in a skilled fashion, it is instead the self-acting instrument which needs special and constantly attached servants. There the worker *puts into service* a particular instrument; here particular groups of workers *serve* various machines, which perform particular processes. The hierarchy of abilities which more or less characterises manufacture disappears here.

What distinguishes this mechanical workshop is rather a general *equalisation* of services, so that for those really employed in machine labour the transition from one machine to another is entirely possible, within a short period of time, and without great preparations. In manufacture, the division of labour proceeds from the fact that the particular *TASKS* to be performed can only be performed by particular *specialised* labour capacities, hence that not only distribution but real *division* of the labour into groups of specialisations must take place. With the mechanical workshop, in contrast, it is the machines which are *specialised*, and their simultaneous functioning, although they perform successive phases of the same total process, requires the *distribution* among them of particular groups of workers, who are always entrusted with the same services—which are all equally simple. It is a distribution of the workers among *specialised machines* rather than a division of labour among *specialised labour capacities*. In the one case, the *labour capacity* which puts into service the particular instruments is specialised; in the other case, the *machine* served by particular

groups of workers is *specialised.* Leaving aside the mere menials mentioned previously and newly occurring here, the main distinction is between *strength* and *agility.* In so far as strength is to be employed, this is merely the *average strength* possessed by every *adult* MALE as distinct from FEMALES and children. This can therefore be reduced to a simple difference of sex and age. But the *agility* and dexterity which is demanded, and similarly the quickness of observation, and altogether the highly strained attentiveness required, have to do with the fact that the rapidity of functions at the machine runs parallel with the speed of the machine itself, and that a number of these machines, each of which has many functions, have simultaneously to be served, e.g. in the connecting up of threads. In large part this kind of agility—leaving aside the fact that practice, habit, is the main thing here—requires in turn no particular special skill, but a degree of application peculiar to e.g. certain ages, more characteristic of the undeveloped (youthful) body than the developed one. All these services are distinguished by their *passivity,* their adaptation and subordination to the operations and motions of the machine itself. This *specialisation in passivity,* i.e. the abolition of specialisation itself as specialisation, is what characterises machine labour. *Improvements within the mechanical workshop itself* are aimed at removing as far as possible all the skills which have again grown up on its own basis. It is therefore completely simple labour, i.e. [labour characterised by] uniformity, emptiness and subordination to the machine. Deadening labour, as labour which [XIX-1241] requires the complete subsumption of the individual under it, just as with the division of labour in manufacture. It prevents the development of specialisation, but is itself in turn specialised in this lack of specialisation. Here the last remnant of the worker's satisfaction in his own labour disappears, to be replaced by absolute indifference, which is itself conditioned by the labour's lack of real content.

In manufacture, labour is continuous. In the mechanical workshop, attentiveness to the work of the machine is continuous, and so is the movement of the worker, conditioned by the movements of the machine (where the worker must move backwards and forwards with the machine). His real interventions, in contrast, are incidental, according to whether the machine has made an ERROR or not. Here, therefore, the worker is in constant servitude to the machine, whereas in manufacture the instrument always remains the servant.

In manufacture—considered as a whole—the individual worker forms a living part of the machine as a whole, i.e. the workshop,

which is itself a mechanism consisting of human beings. In the mechanical workshop, on the other hand (i.e. the workshop considered here, which has developed into a system of machinery), man is a living accessory to its aggregate body, which exists outside him in the shape of the machine, and to the automatic machinery. Yet the machinery as a whole consists of machines, which form parts of that whole. Here human beings are merely the living accessories, the conscious appendages, of the unconscious but uniformly operating machinery.

The mechanical workshop is characterised by *cooperation* (simple) and the distribution of the cooperating agents among the *various parts* of the whole of the big automaton, as its mobile accessories and servants; by subordination to the movements and operations of the machine, to which the worker is chained as to his fate; by the equivalence of all kinds of work and by passivity; and by the absence of specialisation or at most the development of mere differences of age and sex into specialisations. Discipline and subordination arise here not merely from cooperation but from subordination to the system of machinery as a whole.

*Ure,* who is notorious even in England as the shameless apologist of the factory system, nevertheless performed a service in being the first to grasp its spirit correctly, and sharply to characterise the *distinction* and the *antithesis* between the automatic workshop and the system of manufacture based on the division of labour, which was treated by Adam Smith as the most important thing. (This to be brought in later.) The removal of the hierarchy of skills; the destruction of the specialisations entrenched behind "the division of labour", and therewith the introduction of a passive subordination—with its accompaniment of absolute discipline, regimentation, subjection to the clock and the rules of the factory—these things are very properly picked out by Ure, as we shall now see from certain extracts.[a] The regained *universality* of the worker in this system exists only *in itself,* in so far as he is indifferent towards his labour, the content of which lies outside him, and in so far as he develops no specialisation. In reality, however, this is the development of a *specialisation without content.*

[XX-1242][10] Whereas under handicrafts, and even in manufacture, the movements of a human being direct those of the instrument, the reverse is the case in the mechanical workshop: the movements of the machinery direct those of the human being.

[a] See this volume, p. 496 ff.—*Ed.*

Sir David Barry:

"The indispensable necessity" (for the workers) "of forcing both their mental and bodily exertions to keep exact pace with the motions of machinery propelled by an unvarying, unceasing power. 2) The continuance of an erect posture for periods unnaturally prolonged and too quickly repeated. To these causes are often added dusty rooms; impure air, heated atmospheres, constant perspiration" (*Engels,* [*Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England,*] p. 193).[a]

"The slavery in which the bourgeoisie holds the proletariat chained, is nowhere more conspicuous than in the factory system. Here ends all freedom in law and in fact. The operative must be in the mill at half-past five in the morning; if he comes a couple of minutes too late, he is fined; if he comes ten minutes too late, he is not let in until breakfast is over, and a quarter of the day's wages is withheld. He must eat, drink, and sleep at command... The *despotic bell* calls him from his bed, his breakfast, his dinner.

"What a time he has of it, too, inside the factory! Here the employer is absolute law-giver; he makes regulations at will, changes and adds to his codex at pleasure, and even if he inserts the craziest stuff, the courts say to the working man: Now, when you have freely entered into this contract, you must be bound by it" (*Engels,* pp. 217-18 [p. 467]).

The whole of this lawmaking boils down to fines or deductions from wages.

Engels quotes this from a regulation:

"'*6)* Every operative detected *speaking* to another, *singing* or *whistling,* will be fined 6d.; for leaving his place during working hours, 6d.'

"It may be said that such rules are necessary in a great, complicated factory, in order to insure the harmonious working of the different parts; it may be asserted that such a severe discipline is as necessary here as in an army. This may be so, but what sort of a social order is it which cannot be maintained without such shameful tyranny?... Every one who has served as a soldier knows what it is to be subjected even for a short time to military discipline. But these operatives are condemned from their ninth year to their death to live under the sword, physically and mentally" (l.c., [p.] 219 [p. 468]).

"But it is far more shameful yet, that according to the *universal* testimony of the operatives, numbers of manufacturers collect the fines imposed upon the operatives with the most heartless severity, and for the purpose of piling up extra profits out of the farthings thus extorted from the impoverished proletarians" ([p.] 220 [p. 469]).

This is the only legislation in the world—these are the only CODES of law in the world (the slaveholder AT LEAST DISPENSES WITH THIS MOCK LEGISLATION)—the confessed purpose of which is nothing else than to "enrich" the legislator as far as possible at the expense of his subjects; a legislator who only AIMS AT the extortion of money for his private advantage.

And it is precisely the *apologists of the factory system,* such as *Ure,*

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[a] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England,* present edition, Vol. 4, p. 448. Henceforth the references in square brackets are to this edition.—*Ed.*

the apologists of this complete de-individualisation of labour, confinement in barrack-like factories, military discipline, subjugation to the machinery, regulation by the stroke of the clock, surveillance by overseers, complete destruction of any development in mental or physical activity, who vociferate against infringements of individual freedom and the *free* movement of labour at the slightest sign of state intervention.

"Overwork and forced work" (*Engels*, [p.] 151 [p. 416]).

"As voluntary, productive activity is the highest enjoyment known to us, so is compulsory toil the most cruel, degrading punishment" (l.c., [p.] 149 [p. 415]).

The machines "work *against* the workers, not *for* them" (l.c., [p.] 173 [p. 433]).

"The *collecting*" *of both sexes and all ages* in a single work-room, the inevitable contact between them, the *crowding into a small space of people*, to whom neither mental nor moral education has been given [XX-1243] and the accumulation of a number of relatively "raw" people in a workroom, are all characteristic of the mechanical workshop [p. 441].

*Full-timers—half-timers*—this way of describing workers who work full time and children who work only half time, which is not only used by the English manufacturers, but occurs *officially* in the Factory Reports, is much more characteristic of the factory system than the distinction between masters and hands. Here the workers are purely and simply personified *labour time*, and the character of capitalist production emerges in its pure form. Age differences are reduced to *full-timers* and *half-timers*, $10^1/_2$ hours and 6 hours. The workers are merely personified hours.

"The time of *children*, which should be devoted solely to their physical and mental development," is sacrificed to "the greed of an unfeeling bourgeoisie. The children are withdrawn from school and the fresh air so that they can be exploited for the benefit of the manufacturers" (l.c., [p.] 187 [p. 443]).

There can be no doubt that the factory system sacrifices women and children more than any other system. Moreover, the preponderance of women and children in the mechanical workshops breaks the *resistance* [of the workers] and adds a passive element which also condemns the adults to slavery, to passive subordination.

"Let us hear how they ('the humane bourgeoisie') acted before the factory inspector was at their heels. Their own admitted testimony shall convict them in the Report of the Factories' Inquiry Commission of 1833" (l.c., p. 187 sqq. [ibid.]).

1817: petitions from Owen (then a manufacturer in New Lanark), calling for legislative guarantees for the health of the operatives, and especially of children. [Factory] Acts of 1818, 1825 and 1831

"of which the first two were never enforced, and the last only here and there. The Act *of 1831* (Sir J. C. Hobhouse) provided that in cotton mills no one under 21 should be employed between half-past seven at night and half-past five in the morning; and that in all factories young persons under 18 should work no longer than twelve hours daily, and nine hours on Saturday" ([p.] 208 [pp. 459-60]).

The introduction of *child labour* brought the worker to the point of selling, instead of his own labour, that of his *children*, therefore *selling his children* and conducting a slave trade with them. This brought about an essential change in the relation between capitalist and worker, for the *buyers of labour capacity* are no longer faced with *sellers* of their own labour, but with *sellers of alien labour*, of labour capacities which are capable neither of taking responsibility, nor of entering into a contract. The married worker endeavours to recover by the *sale of his children* what the adult worker loses through the competition of child labour. Here, then, there is not even the form of the *contract*, which characterises the relation between capital and labour, the formal freedom of the two contracting parties, for it is not children who make contracts, but their parents who make them on their behalf. An English Tory writer says on this subject:

*"Infant labour has been called in to aid them"* (the adult workers) *"and even to work for their *own* daily bread. Without strength to endure such disproportionate toil, without instruction to guide their future life, they have been thrown into a situation morally and physically polluted!... The Jewish historian has remarked upon the overthrow of Jerusalem, by Titus, that it was no wonder it should have been destroyed, with such a signal destruction, when *one* inhuman mother sacrificed her offspring to satisfy the cravings of absolute hunger"* (*Public Economy Concentrated etc.*, Carlisle, 1833, [p.] 66).

[XX-1244] The factory system includes the *sale* of children by their parents, and at the same time the annihilation of the physical and mental development of the workers in *embryo*, i.e. in the years of their *childhood*.

We always proceed here from the assumption that labour capacity is paid at its *value*, and we therefore do not have to consider the *real* movement of wages here. It nevertheless results from the factors determining the *AVERAGE VALUE* of wages that the value of labour capacity includes a wage sufficient to support the family of the worker. Since the factory system converts women and children into wage labourers who have to *earn* their own subsistence, the *value* of labour capacity is thereby depreciated, not only because women and children emerge as competitors of the other workers, but also because the *AVERAGE VALUE* is now paid, and this value is *divided* among all members of the family. A Ricardian, *De Quincey*, remarks correctly on this:

*"*The numerical increase of labourers* has been great, through the growing substitution of female for male and above all of childish for adult, labour. Three girls of 13, at wages of 6 to 8s. a week",* //much too high!// "in their myriads displaced *the *one man* of mature age, at wages varying from 18s. to 45"* (Thomas de Quincey, *The Logic of Political Economy*, Edinburgh, 1844, [p.] 147, note).[a]

There is therefore no doubt at all that the AVERAGE VALUE of *labour capacity* is thereby brought down, devalued, or that this is a direct consequence of the mechanical workshop, which requires neither muscle power, nor skilled labour, the learning of which can only be begun at a more mature age, and then can only be brought to the required level of virtuosity through long years of apprenticeship. One of the first *results* of the factory system was *the abolition of* APPRENTICESHIP.

"The result of the Commission set up by the English bourgeois themselves was the *Factory Act of 1833*, which forbade the employment of children under nine years of age (except in silk mills), limited the working-hours of children between *9-13 years* to 48 per week, or 9 hours in any one day at the utmost; that of young persons from *14-18* years of age to 69 per week, or 12 on any one day as the maximum, provided for an hour and a half as the minimum interval for meals, and repeated the total prohibition of night-work for persons under 18 years of age. Compulsory school attendance two hours daily was prescribed for all children under 14 years, and the manufacturer declared punishable in case of employing children without a certificate of age from the factory surgeon, and a certificate of school attendance from the teacher... Further, surgeons and inspectors were appointed" ([p.] 211 [F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, pp. 461-62]).

How much this system is based on the *devaluation of labour capacity* is shown by its immanent polemic against education, of which there are examples above. It requires as a *conditio* [*sine qua non*] the non-development of these production machines!

In *1844*, under Peel's ministry, $6^1/_2$ hours' labour for children between 8 and 13, 12 (from 6 o'clock in the morning until the evening, including mealtimes) for workers over 13.

"Surplus value" can only be extracted through

"the barbarous treatment of the operatives, the destruction of their health, the social, physical, and mental decay of whole generations" (*Engels*, p. 215 [p. 466]).

What distinguishes the factory system is the fact that in it the true nature of *surplus value* emerges. *Surplus labour*, and therefore the question of *labour time*, becomes decisive here. But *time* is IN FACT the active existence of the human being. It is not only the measure of human life. It is the space for its development. And the ENCROACHMENT OF CAPITAL OVER the TIME OF LABOUR is the appropriation of the *life*, the mental and physical life, of the worker.

[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 30, p. 304.—*Ed.*

[XX-1245] Machine labour does away with the all-round exertion of the muscles, it offers no opportunity for physical activity. Nor does it allow any mental activity. It prevents

"the worker from occupying his mind with other things" (l.c., [p.] 216 [ibid.]),

and in addition it takes control of this mind and body when it is still in an *immature* state.

It is,

"properly speaking, *not work*, but tedium, the most deadening, wearing process conceivable" (l.c., [p.] 216 [ibid.]).

"The engine moves unceasingly; the wheels, the straps, the spindles hum and rattle in his ears without a pause, and if he tries to snatch one instant, there is the overlooker at his back with the book of fines. This condemnation to be buried alive, to give constant attention to the tireless machine is felt as the keenest torture" ([p.] 216 [ibid.]).

"The dull routine of a ceaseless drudgery, in which the same mechanical process is incessantly repeated, resembles the labour[a] of Sisyphus—the toil, like the rock, recoils perpetually on the wearied operative. The mind gathers neither stores nor strength from the constant work of the same muscles" (Dr. J. P. Kay) (Engels, l.c. [p.] 217, note [p. 467]).

The two books by Dr. Ure and Frederick Engels are absolutely the *best* on the factory system, and are identical in the field they cover; the difference being that what *Ure* expresses as the *servant* of the system, a servant whose horizons are confined within the system, is expressed by Engels as a free critic.

*Engels* remarks, in relation to the small masters in Birmingham, that the worker is in an even worse position here.

"The many small employers cannot well subsist on the profit divided amongst them, determined by competition, a profit under other circumstances absorbed by a single manufacturer" ([p.] 241 [pp. 488-89]).

This is true in general with the fall in the rate of profit which is inseparable from the coming of large-scale industry. The small masters, who have to divide among themselves the profit otherwise absorbed by a *single employer*, are in such a lousy situation that they themselves have to force down the workers' wages to an abnormal degree.

In the London *dress-making establishments* there is a mass of young girls, 15,000 of them, who work 15 to 18 hours a day for 4 months of the year, during the SEASON. In most of these establishments the girls never sleep more than 6 hours, often only 3 or 4, occasionally only 2 hours in 24, when they don't have to work through the whole night. The only limit set to their work is the absolute physical inability to hold the needle another minute.

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[a] Engels has "torment".—*Ed.*

"Cases have occurred in which these helpless creatures did not undress during 9 consecutive days and nights, and could only rest a moment or two here and there upon a mattress, where food was served them ready cut up in order to require the least possible time for swallowing. In short, these unfortunate girls are kept by means of the moral slave-driver's whip, the threat of discharge, to such long and unbroken toil as no strong man, much less a delicate girl of 14 to 20 years, can endure" ([p.] 253 [p. 498]).

The same can be said of the *needlewomen* of London.

[XX-1246] The large-scale *industrial* system has been put into effect:

1) in FACTORIES proper;

2) in manufactories, which all now employ machines to some degree;

3) in agriculture.

In all these one finds a *system of production on a large scale.* The number of workers is *relatively small* in proportion to the *product* produced by them in all these spheres together. Hence the large number of workers and particularly children and women workers who are simply exploited in attic rooms; where, without any real development in the productivity of labour, both the amount of *surplus value* created and the quantity of products depend exclusively on SURPLUS LABOUR and on paying only what is absolutely essential. This applies to the human material *set free* by the great system and therefore obliged to subject itself to every condition, even such in which the frightful consequences of this system emerge still more clearly than directly in the system itself—above all of course in those *handicraft* enterprises related to the factory, into which the whole of the surplus population is thrown, but then in all those spheres of labour which capital exploits *formally*, without giving rise to a *capitalist mode of production* in them, although the latter must ultimately take over, as in the cases of tailoring, sewing, baking, fancy weaving, lace making, etc., and then in fact even appears as an advance and an ALLEVIATION of the situation! Apologists of the system, such as Ure, therefore point to the atrocities of the system of labour produced *outside* the factory system by the factory system itself—whether under the small masters or under an enterprise only formally capitalist—in order to prove the *relative beauties* and *advantages* of the system itself! They only forget that those branches of labour are so to speak only the *foreign department* of the system, being still its direct offspring and logical consequence!

"The *working class* first manifested opposition to the bourgeosie when they *forcibly* resisted the introduction of machinery at the very beginning of the industrial period" [p. 503].

"The manufacturer is Capital, the operative Labour" (l.c., [p.] 329 [p. 563]).

There are according to *The Daily News* (1862) an average of roughly 15 deaths by starvation every month in London.[a]

Let us now see what Mr. Ure (*PHILOSOPHY OF MANUFACTURES*), the Pindar of the factory system, has to tell us about the essential character of the mechanical workshop.[b]

*Vol. I.* Difference between the handicraftsman, who employs the instrument of labour, and the machinery, which employs the worker:

"It has been said, for example, that the steam engine now drives the powerlooms with such velocity as to *urge on* their attendant weavers at the same rapid pace; but that the handweaver, *not being subjected to this restless agent*, can throw his shuttle and move his treadles at his convenience" ([pp.] 10-11 [*The Philosophy of Manufactures...*, London 1835, p. 7]).

It was Sir Robert Peel who made the comment Ure refers to. After all, he still thought he was living in the good old days of his weaving father, since he went on to say

"the handloom weavers are mostly small farmers" [Fr. ed., p. 11, Engl., ed., p. 7].

Ure counters this, on pp. 11 and 12 [pp. 7-8], with the evidence of Dr. Carbutt of Manchester:

"Nothing can be a greater mistake; they live, or rather they just keep life together, in the most miserable manner, in the *cellars and garrets of the town*, working sixteen to eighteen hours for the merest pittance."

But what was it that threw them into the cellars and garrets and condemned them to work for 16 to 18 hours a day, if not competition from machinery?

[XX-1247] "This class of operatives, who, though *inmates of factories, are not, properly speaking, factory workers, being independent of the moving power*, have been the principal source of the obloquy so unsparingly cast on the cotton and other factories" ([p.] 13 [pp. 8-9]).

This group of factory workers is composed in part of the menials mentioned earlier (of whom Ure is speaking here), in part of the NCO's (OVERLOOKERS) and in part of the engineers and mechanics who are associated with the factory.

What then does the classical FACTORY or *mechanical workshop* consist in?

[a] The source for this statement has not been found.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx gives the English title, but quotes in French, from a French edition (*Philosophie des manufactures...*, Paris, 1836). This applies both to longer passages and to separate words and phrases. The page numbers he gives refer to the French edition. Those in square brackets, supplied by the Editors, refer to the English edition (unless otherwise stated).—*Ed.*

The term "designates ... the *combined operation* of many *orders of work-people, adult and young,* in tending with assiduous skill a *system of productive machines continuously impelled by a central power*... It excludes" all factories "in which the mechanisms do not form a *connected series,* nor are *dependent* on *one* prime mover... This title" (FACTORY) "in its strictest sense, involves the idea of a *vast automaton, composed of various mechanical and intellectual organs, acting in uninterrupted concert for the production of a common object,* all of them being *subordinated* to a self-regulated *moving force*" ([pp.] 19-20 [pp. 13-14]).

Here are the main characteristics of the mechanical workshop.

A vast automaton, i.e. a system of connected productive mechanisms, receiving their motive power from a self-acting central motor. This system of machinery, with its automatic PRIME MOTOR, forms the body, the articulated body of the mechanical workshop. The cooperation of various *classes* of worker, distinguished mainly by whether they are adult or not, differences of age and gender. These workers themselves appear as merely the intellectual organs of the machinery (the machinery does not appear as their organ) who are distinguished from the inanimate organs by consciousness, and who work "in concert" with the latter, acting, like the inanimate machinery, in subordination to its moving force and equally "uninterruptedly".

The raw material has to pass through various metamorphoses, to which in the factory system there correspond various machines.

The main difficulty with the mechanical workshop lay in producing

"the *discipline* necessary to induce human beings to renounce their desultory habits of work, and to *identify themselves with the unvarying regularity* of the *complex automaton.* To devise and administer a successful code of factory discipline, tied to the necessities of factory diligence, was the Herculean enterprise, the noble achievement of Arkwright" ([p.] 22 [p. 15]).

Ure continues:

"Even at the present day, when the system is perfectly organised, and its labour lightened to the utmost" (!) "it *is found nearly impossible* to convert persons *past the age of puberty,* whether drawn from rural or from handicraft occupations, into useful factory hands" ([pp.] 22-23 [p. 15]).

Here *Ure* admits that, although no apprenticeship, etc., is needed, one must work in these mitigated jails, as Fourier calls them,[224] from one's youth in order to be able to subject oneself to the "discipline" and to obey the "unvarying regularity of the complex automaton" throughout the whole of the day. This automaton is the autocrat here.

"When Adam Smith wrote his immortal elements of economics, automatic machinery being hardly known, he was properly led to regard the *division of labour* as the grand principle of *manufacturing* improvement. In each branch of manufacture he saw that some parts ... were, on that principle, of easy execution

and [XX-1248] some ... were comparatively difficult; and therefore he concluded that to each a workman of appropriate value and cost was naturally assigned" ([p.] 28 [p. 19]).

"But what was in Dr. Smith's time a topic of useful illustration, cannot now be used without risk of misleading the public mind as to the right principle of manufacturing industry. In fact, the *division*, or rather *adaptation* of *labour to the different talents of men*, is little thought of in factory employment. *On the contrary, wherever a process requires peculiar dexterity and steadiness of hand, it is withdrawn as soon as possible from the* c u n n i n g *workman*, who is prone to irregularities of many kinds, and it is placed in charge of a peculiar mechanism, so *self-regulating*, that a child may superintend it" [p. 20].

//And Ure is still surprised that the workers are not grateful to the "peculiar mechanism" which devalues their labour capacity and deprives their specialism of any monetary value!// ([p.] 29 [p. 20]).

(Ure also speaks of the "menials" of his autocrat or automaton:

"In those spacious halls the benignant *power* of steam summons around him his *myriads of* ... m e n i a l s" ([p.] 26 [p. 18]).

"The principle of the factory system, then, is to substitute *mechanical science* for *hand skill*, and *the partition of a process into its essential constituents*, for the *division or graduation of labour among artisans*. On the *handicraft plan*, labour was usually the most expensive element of a production: *materiem superabat opus*[a]; but on *the automatic plan, skilled labour* gets *progressively superseded*, and will, eventually, be replaced by *mere overlookers of machines*" ([p.] 30 [p. 20]).

(And the worker is supposed to be grateful for being converted like this from a skilled man to a mere overlooker!)

"By the infirmity of human nature it happens, that *the more skilful the workman*, the more self-willed and intractable he is apt to become, and, of course, the less fit a component of a mechanical system" (where he must *himself be an automaton*) "in which, by occasional irregularities, he may do great damage to the whole. The *grand object*, therefore, of the modern manufacturer is, through the *union of capital and science*, to r e d u c e the task of his work-people to the exercise of *vigilance and dexterity—faculties, when concentred to one process, speedily brought to perfection in the young*" [pp. 20-21].

(Here Mr. Ure admits that the automatic system, like the division of labour, fixes the worker's activity *on a single point*—only the undeveloped human being must be broken in from childhood onwards to be an "organ of the automaton") ([pp.] 30, 31 [pp. 20-21]).

"In the infancy of mechanical engineering, a machine-factory displayed *the division* of *labour in manifold gradations*: the file, the drill, the lathe, having each its different workmen *in the order of skill*: but the *dexterous hands* of the *filer and driller* are now superseded by machines, etc., and those of the iron and brass turners by the self-acting slide-lathe. Mr. Anthony Strutt, who conducts the mechanical

[a] The work excelled the material (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II, 5).—*Ed.*

department of the great cotton factories of Belper and Milford, has so thoroughly departed from the old routine of the schools, that *he will employ no man who has learned his craft by regular apprenticeship*" ([p.] 31 [p. 21]).

(And indeed the LAWS on APPRENTICESHIP WERE TO BE REPEALED SOON after the emergence of machinery.)

The characteristic feature of the automatic system is, instead of the gradation and SPECIFYING of labour,

"*the equalisation of labour, or automatic plan.* On *the gradation system,* a man must serve an *apprenticeship of many years* before his hand and eye become skilled enough for certain mechanical feats; [XX-1249] but on the system of decomposing a process into its constituents, and embodying each part in an automatic machine, a person of common care and capacity may be entrusted with any of the said elementary parts *after a short probation,* and may be transferred from one to another, in any emergency, at the discretion of the master. Such translations are utterly at variance with the old practice of the division of labour, which fixed one man to shaping the head of a pin, and another to sharpening its point" (pp. 32-33 [pp. 21-22]).

The great Ure speaks proudly of

"that cramping of the faculties, that narrowing of the mind, that stunting of the frame, which were ascribed, and not unjustly, by moral writers, to the division of labour" ([p.] 34 [pp. 22-23]).

"It is in fact the *constant aim* and *tendency* of every improvement in machinery, to supersede *human labour altogether,* or *to diminish its cost,* by *substituting the industry of women and children* for that of *men*; or that *of ordinary labourers,* for *trained artisans.* In most of the water-twist, or *THROSTLE cotton MILLS,* the spinning is entirely managed by females of sixteen years and upwards. The effect of substituting the self-acting mule for the common mule is to discharge the greater part of the men spinners, and to retain adolescents and children. The proprietor of a *factory* near Stockport states, in evidence to the commissioners, that by such substitution, he would save £50 a week in wages, in consequence of dispensing with nearly 40 male spinners, at about 25s. of wages each. This tendency to employ merely *children* with watchful eyes and nimble fingers"

//these watchful eyes and nimble fingers must BE USED UP IN THE NICK OF TIME FOR THE POCKETS OF THE MANUFACTURERS//

"instead *of journeymen of long experience,* shows how the *scholastic dogma of the division of labour* into *degrees of skill* has been *exploited*"

(the English text has "EXPLODED" here: the French translation brings out a fine double meaning)

"by our enlightened manufacturers" ([pp.] 34-35 [p. 23]).

After Ure has thus correctly described the "tendency" and the "constant aim" to drive out labour, to subject the worker to the "automaton-autocrat", to reduce the price of labour by substituting the labour of women and children for that of adults, and unskilled for skilled labour, after he has described this as the essence of the automatic workshop, he goes on to reproach the

workers because by their STRIKES they—hasten!—the development of this beautiful system. As the system is the best thing for them, what could be more intelligent on their part than to "force" its development!

The predominance of women and children in the automatic workshop is, to be sure, the best proof of how fundamentally it differs from manufacture based on the division of labour, which requires "journeymen of long experience".

*Ure* says of the application of "*physics*" in the FACTORY SYSTEM that one would see there

"*many theorems bearing golden fruit*, which had been long barren in college ground" ([p.] 37 [p. 24]).

"A horse can work at its full efficiency only 8 hours out of the 24" ([p.] 43 [p. 28]).

(And children [can work] 12?)

For the steam engine there are no such limits.

The expense per annum of a machine of 60 horsepower, worked 8 hours every day, is £1,565, which is ABOUT $^1/_5$ of the amount needed to maintain living horses for that period [Fr. ed., p. 43, Engl. ed., p. 28].

"There are many engines" (steam engines) "made by Bolton and Watt, 40 years ago, which have continued in constant work all that time with very slight repairs" ([p.] 44 [p. 29]).

[XX-1250] "Steam engines furnish the means not only of their support but of their multiplication. They create a vast demand for fuel; and, while they lend their powerful arms to drain the pits and to raise the coals, they call into employment multitudes of miners, engineers, shipbuilders, and sailors, and cause the construction of canals and railways" ([p.] 45 [p. 29]).

Ure says of the advantages of machines:

"They enable an operative to turn out a greater quantity of work than he could before—'*time*', '*labour*'" (??) "and quality of work remaining constant" ([p.] 46 [p. 30]).

This leaves out, *d'abord*, the absolute lengthening of labour time; and secondly the greater intensity of labour, AS FAR AS ITS CONTINUITY IS CONCERNED. The statement as it stands in Ure is to be taken as the norm in so far as the value of the greater amount of the product likewise remains *constant*, in contrast to the growth in the intensity of labour we have considered elsewhere.

"A steam engine needs no period of repose" ([p.] 43 [p. 28]).

"The philosophy of manufactures is well displayed in the economy of power" ([p.] 42 [p. 27]). Firstly economy in the PRIME MOTOR ([p.] 42 [p. 27] sqq.). *Economy* in the transmission machinery ([pp.] 55, 56, 57 [pp. 35, 36, 37]). Economy in the working machinery ([p.] 58 [p. 37] sqq.).

"Almost every *tool* is now more or less automatic, and performs its work more cheaply and with greater precision than the hand could possibly do" ([p.] 58 [p. 37]).

"The facilities resulting from *the employment of self-acting tools* have not only improved the accuracy, and accelerated the construction, of the machinery of a factory, but have also *lowered its cost* and increased its *mobility* in a remarkable degree" ([p.] 62 [p. 40] sqq.).

Mr. *Ure* himself admits that

"*however well-informed* the mill proprietors of Great Britain may be" they by no means understand "the operative part of their business as clearly as the commercial"[a] ([p.] 66 [p. 42]).

On p. 67 he speaks of the "ignorance" of the manufacturers AS TO THE "structure of a good machine" [p. 42]. (So that they depend on the "*MANAGERS*".) In any case, these "*MANAGERS*", *unlike the* "*PROPRIETORS*" *of the* FACTORIES, are, Ure tells us,

"the soul of our factory system" ([p.] 68 [p. 43]).

Having told us previously that the factory workers gain a deep insight into the nature of the mechanics and physics EMPLOYED, Ure now admits, with regard to the PROPRIETORS:

"It may be supposed that this species of education can be most easily acquired *in the midst of the machinery itself.* But this is a mistake which experience speedily proves" ([p.] 68 [p. 43]).

He speaks quite correctly of

"the *commercial views* of the proprietor" ([p.] 67 [p. 43]) (as opposed to mechanical views) ([p.] 67 [p. 42]).

The automatic *machine for dressing warps* (see Engels [*The Condition of the Working-Class in England,* p. 511]) was a consequence of STRIKES:

"This example affords an instructive warning to workmen to beware of strikes, by proving how *surely science, at the call of capital, will defeat every unjustifiable union which the labourers may form*" ([pp.] 63-64 [pp. 40-41]).

[XX-1251] Any further citations from Part 2 of Ure's book can be entered subsequently.[225]

Now we want first of all to examine the question of the REPLACING OF LABOUR by machinery.

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[a] Marx quotes partly in French, partly in German and partly in English.—*Ed.*

# NOTES
# AND
# INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] Having completed the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, vols 28 and 29), Marx embarked on a substantial economic work which, as he planned, was to encompass all aspects of life in capitalist society. The first step was the publication, in 1859, of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* Part One. In the preface to this work, Marx sets out the plan of his ambitious project: "I examine the system of bourgeois economy in the following order: *capital, landed property, wage-labour; the State, foreign trade, world market...* The first part of the first book, dealing with Capital, comprises the following chapters: 1. The commodity; 2. Money or simple circulation; 3. Capital in general. The present part consists of the first two chapters" (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 261).

The extant correspondence (see present edition, Vol. 40) shows that after the publication of Part One Marx intended to start immediately on the second part, dealing with capital in general. However, certain circumstances, his preoccupation with *Herr Vogt* among them, prevented him from immediately carrying out this intention. Preparatory work (drafting plans, reviewing the 1857-58 manuscript and excerpts dealing with capital—see present edition, Vol. 29—as well as making new excerpts, etc.), continued up to the summer of 1861, and in August 1861 Marx began writing. Viewed as the second part of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* the new manuscript originally bore the same title, and on the covers of the first two notebooks he wrote the subtitle "Third Chapter. Capital in General" (see present edition, Vol. 30, p. 6). But soon the size of the manuscript grew considerably and reached 23 notebooks, 1,472 large pages in all. In the present edition it is published in vols 30-34.—5

[2] The section on Ravenstone begins on p. XIV—861 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 32, p. 392). Preceding it in Notebook XIV and numbered "1)" is a section devoted to the anonymous pamphlet *The Source and Remedy of the National Difficulties.*—7

[3] An analysis of vulgar political economy is to be found in Notebook XV, where revenue and its sources are examined (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 449-541). On p. XV—935, Marx refers to the "section on the vulgarians" in which he will "return" to the polemic between Proudhon and Bastiat mentioned here

only in passing (ibid., p. 526). Further evidence of his intention to write a chapter specifically devoted to vulgar political economy is provided by the plan for the third part of *Capital,* which he drew up in January 1863; the eleventh, and penultimate, chapter was to have the title "Vulgar Economy" (see this volume, p. 347).—7, 255

4 By the "third chapter" or "third section" Marx means the entire third part of the investigation of "capital in general" (see Note 1). The title "Third Chapter. Capital and Profit", and also the draft plan of this chapter, are to be found on the inside front cover of Notebook XVI (originally Marx called this notebook, dated December 1861-January 1862, "Notebook *Ultimum*"). This title is also reproduced on p. XVI—973. A slightly changed and extended version of the plan for this section of his study is given by Marx on p. XVIII—1139 (see this volume, pp. 346-47).

In mid-1863, when embarking on a new, third, version of the work which was later to become *Capital,* Marx concluded that the chapters, or sections,in his study of "capital in general" would actually represent separate books that would be comprised in *Capital.* From this time on, the third chapter began to figure as Book III (later Volume III) of *Capital.*—7, 346, 380, 478

5 Marx drew attention to the need for a special examination of the relation between surplus value and profit on p. III—98 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 30, p. 178).—7

6 Marx evidently meant the ratio between the *rate* of profit and the *rate* of surplus value, which is in inverse proportion to the ratio of variable to total capital. On the importance of distinguishing between the rate of surplus value and the rate of profit see p. III—124e of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 30, p. 229).—7, 77

7 From p. 1029 on, Notebook XVII continues the text begun in Notebook XV (see Note 53).—8

8 The "Episode" is to be found on pp. XVII—1038-1065a and XVIII—1068-1074 (see this volume, pp. 171-222 and 226-38). In the draft plan for the third section (the future Volume III) of *Capital* it has a somewhat different title, namely "Reflux Movements of Money in the Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole" (see this volume, pp. 346-47).—8

9 The cover of Notebook XVIII has not survived. The notes given below were made on the inside front cover of Notebook XIX of the manuscript of 1861-63. Besides the table of contents there are references here to *Factories. Returns* for various years.

The front cover of Notebook XIX is dated: "*Jan. 1863*".—8, 387

10 In March 1862 Marx interrupted his successive analysis of relative surplus value and embarked on a detailed examination of bourgeois theories of surplus value. As a result, part of Notebook V was not filled in. In late 1862-early 1863 Marx returned to his analysis of the use of machinery in capitalist production and made records in notebooks V, XIX and XX, as is testified by his letters to Engels of January 24 and 28, 1863 (see present edition, Vol. 41, pp. 446 and 449-51). Part of Notebook V has therefore been included in this volume in accordance with the time it was written. The text on pp. 372-501 of this volume thus represents the continuation of subsection "γ) Machinery. Utilisation of the Forces of Nature and of Science" of section "3) Relative Surplus Value", the beginning of which is published in Volume 30 of the present edition.

Marx did not write the table of contents for Notebook V on the inside front cover, which he did for other notebooks of the manuscript of 1861-63 beginning with Notebook VI.—8, 372, 489

[11] The notes given below were made on the inside front cover of Notebook XX of the manuscript of 1861-63.

On the front cover of Notebook XX Marx wrote: "*März. April. Mai. 1863*", the last two months being inserted in retrospect.—8

[12] In the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28), and also in notebooks I, II and XI of the present manuscript (see present edition, vols 30 and 31), Marx described mercantile and money-dealing capitals as being, on the one hand, the first historical forms of capital and, on the other hand, derivative forms of capital in bourgeois society. Marx drew attention to the need to go into greater detail on the role of trade in the development of capitalist production on p. II—71 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 30, p. 136).—9

[13] The text on pp. 9-25 of this volume reproduces in part and with some alterations a number of passages from Marx's economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 226-36).—9

[14] The term "auxiliary capital" was used by Richard Jones, who, in Marx's words, understood it to mean "the part of constant capital which is not made up of raw material" (see this volume, p. 357). Cf. p. V—196 of the manuscript, where Marx also uses the said term (present edition, Vol. 30, p. 327).—9

[15] Above, on p. XV—939 of the manuscript, Marx writes on this score: "The usurer in all pre-capitalist modes of production has a revolutionary impact only in the *political* sense, in that he destroys and wrecks the forms of property whose constant reproduction in the same form constitutes the stable basis of the political structure" (see present edition, Vol. 32, p. 535).—10

[16] Page XV—941 of the manuscript has the note, "*England.* 17th century. The polemics are no longer directed against usury as such, but against the amount of interest" (see present edition, Vol. 32, p. 537).—11

[17] "Profit upon expropriation" (or "profit upon alienation") is a term which was used in writings on political economy before Marx. On p. VI—221 he writes that "*profit upon alienation* ... arises ... from the goods being sold *above* their value" (see present edition, Vol. 30, p. 351).—11, 35, 67, 241, 351

[18] There follows the end of the sentence crossed out by Marx: "before it takes on its other functions, before capitalist production, and therefore before capital itself comes to be the all-dominant relation of production, before its fundamental form is developed in which it constitutes the basis of modern society".—12

[19] Cf. *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy* (Rough Draft of 1857-58) (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 233) and also *Capital,* Vol. III, chapters XX and XXXVI (present edition, Vol. 37).—12, 20

[20] In the original there follows the sentence crossed out by Marx: "What he receives for his money therefore depends neither on its value nor on the value of the commodities, since the *general measure of valorisation* and thus profit, the *average rate of profit,* come into being only on the foundation of capitalist production itself."—12

[21] The dialectics of alienation and appropriation in the process by which the bourgeois mode of production emerges and develops were discussed in detail by Marx back in *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy* (Rough Draft of 1857-58) notably in the section headed "Forms Preceding Capitalist Production" (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 399-439).—13

[22] Cf. the exposition below on pp. 17-18 and the corresponding passages in *Capital,* Vol. III, Chapter XXXVI (present edition, Vol. 37).—17

[23] In the manuscript, the word "principalities" (*Provinzen*) was crossed out and "lands" (*Ländern*) written above it. On the exploitation of peasants in the "Romanian principalities" see *Capital,* Vol. I, Chapter X (present edition, Vol. 35).—17

[24] Here Marx quotes from *Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations,* Paris, 1802, Garnier's translation of Adam Smith's work. Marx made excerpts from it in Paris in the spring of 1844. In the present volume all quotations from Garnier's translation are given according to the English edition (A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* by J. R. MacCulloch. In four volumes. Edinburgh, London, 1828), with the pages indicated in brackets, and Marx's wording respected. Marx widely used the 1828 edition when working on the manuscript of 1861-63.—19

[25] Marx apparently had in mind this passage when he mentioned Steuart on p. IV—174 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 30, p. 298).—20

[26] On the term "free hands" coined by James Steuart see present edition, Vol. 28, p. 395, Vol. 30, pp. 193, 295, Vol. 32, p. 180, and also *Capital,* Vol. III, Chapter XLVII (present edition, Vol. 37).—21

[27] Marx is not quite accurate here. Thomas Manley was the author not of the tract *Interest of Money Mistaken,* published anonymously in London in 1668, but of another tract which appeared in London in 1669, under the heading *Usury at 6 per cent Examined and Found Unjustly Charged by Sir Thos. Culpeper and J. C.* Since below Marx quotes Child from the French edition indicated, which includes several of his works, the present volume has the titles and page numbers of the English originals in square brackets.—22

[28] Below in the original mistakes were made when converting pence into shillings.—23

[29] There follows an incomplete sentence which concludes p. 950b: "If wages fell to $^1/_3$, say from $^2/_5$s. ..."—24

[30] The magnitude $^2/_5$, or 40 per cent, does not reflect the ratio between the amount of profit and the price of the product, but the approximate ratio between the profit and the outlay on the product's manufacture. In actual fact the former ratio is $^4/_{15}$, or $26^2/_3$ per cent.—26

[31] The price of the product in this case is the same as in II, but not in I a).—26

[32] Marx is referring to the value added by living labour.—29, 128

[33] Marx is referring to case I a).—30

[34] The reference is to the value added by living labour, both paid and unpaid.—30

[35] In the table below, several figures which Marx gives twice are reproduced only once.—30

[36] Page XV—956 is the direct continuation of page XV—953, and page XV—954 is the direct continuation of page XV—956.—30, 33

[37] Marx means the value of labour power, or of labour capacity. He deliberately drew a distinction between labour and labour power (labour capacity) back in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, vols 28 and 29). However, in this manuscript, which was not intended for publication, the term "value of labour" is often used for the sake of brevity in the sense of "value of labour capacity".—32

[38] Up to here, according to Marx's supposition, 100s. represented 5 M and not 10 M, so that 50s. represent not 5 M, but $2^1/_2$ M.—33

[39] See D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* London, 1821, chapters I, V, VI, and XXI. This thesis of Ricardo's is examined by Marx in greater detail in notebooks XII and XIII of the manuscript (see present edition, vols 31 and 32).—33

[40] In the previous exposition Marx assumed throughout that £100 commanded 5 men.—34

[41] Marx examines case III.—35

[42] Page 957 is the direct continuation of page 955.—36

[43] In this manuscript Marx often refers to "wage labour" or "labour" pure and simple when he means hired labour power (see also Note 36).—39, 50, 175, 176, 179, 198, 204, 206, 234, 262

[44] The concept "capital in general" is central to the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, vols 28 and 29) and is used repeatedly in Marx's correspondence (see present edition, Vol. 40, pp. 287, 298-303). On the whole, Marx viewed this manuscript as representing a stage in his efforts to work out the substance of the said concept (see Note 1).—41

[45] Cf. Matthew 6:19: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal."—44

[46] These questions are examined in detail by Marx in *Capital,* Volume III, Chapter XXXV (see present edition, Vol. 37).—46

[47] Marx means the case when the cotton manufacturer's capital amounts to £1,000 and turns over four times a year.—52

[48] In the manuscript the annual production of each manufacturer is given as 40,000 yards. This implies that their capitals turn over several times a year, whereas all the other figures in this example show that each capital turns over just once a year, producing 4,000 yards. If we assume that the manufacturer's capital (£900) turns over four times a year, in a year it will produce 36,000 yards. In this case each merchant could buy and sell the commodities produced by four manufacturers.—53

[49] See notebooks IX and X of the manuscript (present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 130-200, 204-40).—61

[50] Cf. *Capital,* Volume III, Chapter XVI (present edition, Vol. 37).—62

[51] Cf. *Capital,* Volume III, Chapter XVI (present edition, Vol. 37).—64

[52] Marx dwelled on this question on pp. X—450-454, 470-473, XI—529-560, XIV—788-789 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 261-71, 301-05, 401-57; Vol. 32, pp. 270-73).—67

[53] This is the end of Notebook XV of the manuscript of 1861-63. There follows a note by Marx: "Continued in Notebook XVII." The single front cover of notebooks XVII and XVIII (p. 1066) carries the note: "*Beginning on page 1029 continuation of Notebook XV*" (see also Note 127).—68

[54] Chapter, or Section, II of Marx's work was to have been devoted to examining the circulation process of capital (see the draft plan of 1861, Section II, "Circulation Process of Capital", present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 514-16). The content of this section was largely expounded back in *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy* (Rough Draft of 1857-58) (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 329-537, Vol. 29, pp. 7-128).—69, 89

[55] On the place accorded to an examination of landed property in the plan for Marx's economic studies see Note 1 and also present edition, Vol. 40, p. 270.—69

[56] Marx is referring to the proposition: "Profits, indeed, imply proportions; and the rate of profits had always justly been estimated by a per-centage upon the value of the advances" (Th. R. Malthus, *Definitions in Political Economy...*, London, 1827, p. 30).—70, 100

[57] In his examination of usury in *De republica* (*Politica*), I, 8-10, Aristotle concludes that the generation of money by money, or interest, is the sphere of acquisition most offensive to human nature. Marx refers to this statement by Aristotle in the original text of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 488) and also in *Capital,* Volume I, Chapter V (see present edition, Vol. 35).—71

[58] Marx is referring to the following statement: "Wealth like labour and through labour bears fruit annually... This fruit is the revenue flowing out of capital" (J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes d'économie politique,* Vol. I, Paris, 1827, pp. 81-82). He subsequently quoted it in *Capital,* Volume I, Chapter XXIII (see present edition, Vol. 35).—71

[59] Marx wrote about the greed for alien labour time, which determines the behaviour of the capitalist, and about other questions connected with this when he examined absolute surplus value in Notebook III of this manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 30).—71

[60] Marx criticised the erroneous arguments on interest and compound interest in Richard Price's works *An Appeal to the Public...,* London, 1772, and *Observations on Reversionary Payments...,* London, 1772, and also William Pitt's fantasy engendered by Price's ideas, back in the manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 218-19). When examining the question of compound interest on p. XIV—853 of the manuscript he noted: "We shall return to Price's fantasy in the section on revenue and its sources" (see present edition, Vol. 32, p. 376). However, in Notebook XV, which contains a summary of the views of vulgar bourgeois political economists on revenue and its sources (see ibid.) there is no mention of "Price's fantasy". Marx did not resume his criticism of Price on this question until p. XVIII—1066 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see this volume, pp. 222-24).

Subsequently a critical analysis of Price's views was given in *Capital,* Vol. III, Chapter XXIV (see present edition, Vol. 37).—71, 222

[61] In Notebook XV of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 531-40) Marx examines in detail Luther's views on interest as expounded in the latter's

book *An die Pfarrherrn wider den Wucher zu predigen. Vermanung,* Wittemberg, 1540.—72

62 The reference is to A. R. J. Turgot, *Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses.* In *Oeuvres...,* Vol. I, Paris, 1844, pp. 39 and 57. For a description of Turgot's views on the profit yielded by capital see this manuscript, pp. VI—233 and XV—906 (present edition, Vol. 30, p. 367, Vol. 32, p. 476).—72

63 Cf. the draft plan for the section on the production process of capital, p. XVIII—1140 of the manuscript (see this volume, p. 347),where under point "6) Reconversion of surplus value into capital..." Marx notes the need to examine Wakefield's theory of colonisation. He later devoted Chapter XXXIII of Volume I of *Capital* to an analysis of the theory (see present edition, Vol. 35).—72

64 Ramsay's views are examined in detail in notebooks I and III of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30), those of Malthus in Notebook III (ibid., Vol. 32), of Senior in notebooks III and XX (ibid., vols 30, 34) and of Torrens in notebooks I and XIV (ibid., vols 30, 32).—73

65 On Torrens see Note 64.—74

66 In Notebook III of this manuscript Marx examined Senior's views as an "example illustrating the political economists' failure to understand surplus labour and surplus value" (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 179, 199-203).—74

67 When working on this manuscript, Marx was guided in his study of capital by the plan he had devised when writing the manuscript of 1857-58 and which he set out in a letter to Engels of April 2, 1858: "*Capital* falls into 4 sections. a) Capital *en général...* b) *Competition,* or the interaction of many capitals. c) *Credit,* where capital, as against individual capitals, is shown to be a universal element. d) *Share capital* as the most perfected form (turning into communism) together with all its contradictions" (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 298).—75, 88, 94, 101, 111, 113, 170, 179, 184, 212, 280

68 Marx deals with Malthus' polemic against Ricardo on this issue on pp. XIII—761-762 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 222-25).—76

69 Marx traced the main directions in which Ricardo's theory of value was vulgarised in the works of James Mill and MacCulloch in Notebook XIV of the manuscript; see especially pp. XIV—844-848 (present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 359-67).—76

70 Marx deals with Say's views on value on pp. XIV—847-850 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 365-69).—76

71 In the draft plan for the chapter "Capital and Profit" which Marx drew up on p. XVIII—1139, the eleventh (penultimate) item reads "Vulgar economy" (see this volume, p. 347).—76

72 Marx is referring to a notebook which is not extant and in which between 1844 and 1847 he made excerpts from Antoine Cherbuliez's work *Richesse ou pauvreté,* Paris, 1841 (see also Note 201). Marx deals with Cherbuliez's views on this question on pp. XVIII—1106-1112 (see this volume, pp. 292-304).—78

73 Marx notes the need for a detailed analysis of the costs of production on p. II—88 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 30, p. 163).—78

[74] Marx is referring to pp. I—1-13 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 9-32).—78

[75] Say's and Jones' views on this question were not discussed in the manuscript; Torrens' position is analysed on pp. XIII—783-788 (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 262-70).—82

[76] The reference is possibly to the propositions advanced in the works by J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique...*, 4th edition, Vol. 2, Paris, 1819, pp. 491 and 507-08, and H. Storch, *Cours d'économie politique,* Vol. 2, St. Petersburg, 1815, pp. 252-60.—82

[77] In all probability, Marx was referring to what follows under point d) when he wrote on p. II—90: "We have investigated the changes in constant capital elsewhere (in dealing with profit)" (see present edition, Vol. 30, p. 165). See also p. II—93 (present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 168-69). Evidently, the final pages of Notebook II were filled in by Marx after he had completed Notebook XVI, which is dated December 1861-January 1862.—84

[78] The part of the sentence enclosed in square brackets was crossed out by Marx, probably by mistake.—88

[79] The example to which Marx refers is given on p. V—205 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30, p. 339).—89

[80] The original has "6a", which is evidently a mistake.—91

[81] In this connection Marx referred to William Blake's *Observations on the Effects Produced by the Expenditure of Government...* also on p. XII—688 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 32, p. 93). He reproduced the pertinent passages from the said work back in the manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 168-69).—92

[82] On p. XI—555 of the manuscript Marx quoted a number of pages from Adam Smith's *Inquiry...* (according to the French edition, *Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations,* Vol. I, Paris, 1802) dealing with the causes of the fall in the rate of profit; he went into greater detail abour Smith's position on this issue on pp. XIII—673, 693 (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 72-73, 101-02).—92

[83] Cf. this statement by Marx on competition and its reflection in bourgeois political economy with the similar passage on p. IV—21 of the manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 340-41).—102

[84] Marx comments on this statement by Smith on p. VI—260 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 395-96).—103

[85] The text on p. 999 is the direct continuation of that on p. 994. The sheet which makes up pp. 995-998 (they are twice the size of the other pages in Notebook XVI) was evidently inserted into the notebook at a later date, following which Marx numbered all the pages. The text on the inserted pages is published immediately before the text marked in the margins as "*Continuation of the last page of the inserted sheet*", and begins on p. XVI—1009 (see this volume, p. 129).—103

[86] Marx deals in detail with the views of Malthus, Torrens and Ramsay on the said questions on pp. XIII—753-758, 760-764, XIV—782-788, and XVIII—1087-1090, of the manuscript respectively (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 209-18, 221-27, 258-71, and also this volume, pp. 256-60).—103

[87] Smith's statement is quoted by Richard Jones in *An Essay on the Distribution of*

*Wealth...*, London, 1831, p. 238. Marx quotes this passage from Jones' book on p. XVIII—1128 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see this volume, p. 330).—104

88 Marx gives the pertinent excerpt from Dombasle's work *Annales agricoles...*, Vol. 4, Paris, 1828, on p. X—449 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 259-60).—104

89 In the original, instead of Jones, Marx—apparently by mistake—names here the English agricultural chemist James Johnston whom he subsequently quotes in chapters XXXVII and XXXIX of Volume III of *Capital*. In Chapter XLV he refers to Dombasle and Jones in connection with the progress of capitalist agriculture and the growth in the organic composition of capital deriving from it (see present edition, Vol. 37).

Marx analyses in detail Richard Jones' theory of rent on pp. XVIII—1121-1130 of the manuscript (see this volume, pp. 320-32).—104

90 The reference is to J. Fullarton, *On the Regulation of Currencies...*, London, 1844, pp. 161-66. Marx examines Fullarton's views on crises in the manuscript of 1857-58 and on p. XIII—707 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 225, Vol. 32, p. 129).—105, 112

91 Marx is referring to the section dealing with relative surplus value, which constitutes part of Notebook III and notebooks IV and V of the economic manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30).—107

92 According to the example given, the expenditure of living labour in India equals 400+80=480. The proportion of surplus labour time in the total labour time equals $^{80}/_{480}=^{1}/_{6}$; this therefore represents the possible proportion of the non-productive population.

The expenditure of living labour in England is equal to 100+50=150. The proportion of surplus labour time, and thus the possible proportion of the non-productive population, is $^{50}/_{150}=^{1}/_{3}$, or twice as much as in India.—107

93 Cf. the text below on pp. 108-10 with the proposition formulated by Marx on pp. IV—138-139 (present edition, Vol. 30, p. 247) on the proportion in which a reduction of necessary labour time causes an increase in surplus labour time and its tendencies towards change (see present edition, Vol. 30, Note 185).—108

94 In his manuscript of 1857-58 Marx quoted the pertinent passages from Sismondi as found in *Nouveaux principes d'économie politique...*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1827, pp. 94, 95, 97-98 (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 35-36).—108

95 Cf. the corresponding passage in the manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 92-93).—108

96 Marx analyses Smith's views on the ratio of profit to wages on pp. XI—555-557 (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 449-52).—108

97 Marx analyses Ricardo's views on the ratio of wages to profit in notebooks XII and XIII, pp. 661-694 (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 51-103).—108

98 Marx criticised Carey's position on this question back in the manuscript of 1857-58, pp. III—2, IV—1, VI—1, VI—27, VII—18 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 6-8, 296-98, 478, Vol. 29, pp. 29, 138-39).—109

99 Marx quotes the pertinent statement by Ricardo on p. XIII—670 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 67-68).—109

100 Marx is referring to the sections "Relative Surplus Value" and "Capital and Profit" of the manuscript contained in notebooks III-V and XVI (see present edition, Vol. 30, and this volume, pp. 69-153).—109

101 Cf. pp. XIII—731-732 of the manuscript (present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 172-73).—112, 113

102 Cf. pp. XIII—775-776 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 32, p. 249).—113

103 Cf. the critique of Chalmers' views on p. IX—416 and of those of Malthus on pp. XIII—767-773 of the manuscript (present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 195-96, Vol. 32, pp. 232-45).—114

104 Cf. pp. XIII—773-776 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 243-50).—114

105 What follows in the manuscript is crossed out: "$=1/2:3/4=2/4:3/4$, $=2/3$, by $2/9$. *Consequently the surplus value should grow only by* $2/3$ *and not treble.* $120/3=40$. $2/3$ of $120=80$. $120+2/3\times120+80=200$. $200/600=1/3=33\,1/3\%$ *Ss'*. But $200/1{,}200=2/12=1/6$. $3/4$ of *20C*."—116

106 Marx is referring to section "3) Relative Surplus Value", subsection "γ) Machinery, Utilisation of the Forces of Nature and of Science" of the manuscript, notably pp. V—201-208 (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 334-43).—123

107 Here and below Marx assumes that the annual wear and tear of the machinery amounts to 50, not to 37, thalers. Then, the not-consumed part of the advanced capital is equal at the end of the first year to $370-50=320$ (not $370-37=333$), and neither is it 300 thalers, as Marx assumes here.—126

108 What follows in the manuscript is crossed out: "or 80 on 200. The total capital advanced—280, of which 80 go on wages. Previously 200 went on constant capital and 400 on wages—600 in total. *In the first case, the proportion of* capital expended on labour to the total capital is $80/280$. In the second, $400/600$. In the first [case]—$2/7$, in the second—$2/3$; consequently, not as it appeared originally, $2/15$ in the first case and $2/3$ in the second; then the difference was between $6/15$ and $30/45$, or 5 times greater in the second case than in the first; [in actual fact] in the second [the change is] from $2/7$ to $2/3$, or from $6/21$ to $14/21$, i.e. only $2\,1/3$ times greater [than in the first].

"*Two things follow from this.*"—126

109 Marx means section "3) Relative Surplus Value" of Part I, "The Production Process of Capital" (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 233-346).—128

110 In the margins of p. XVI—998, Marx made the following addition, which has only survived in part and cannot therefore be placed with certainty at a definite point in the text: "... that the sum of surplus value not only does not fall, but rises [...] to the actual rate [of surplus value] depends on the number of workers employed, that with the use of machinery, due to the action of the laws inherent in machine production, the more productive application [...], the better division and combination of labour due to fixed capital, grows."—129

111 With the aid of the new means of production, the workers produce in one hour of labour not $8/10$ of a thaler, as previously, but $3/5$ greater than this amount, i.e. $8/10+3/5\times8/10=1\,7/25$ thalers; in 6 hours of labour, therefore, $7\,17/25$ thalers, which is a little different from the amount of 8 thalers given by Marx.—130

[112] Marx cites and analyses these statements by Smith on pp. VI—261, 262 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 397-98).—130

[113] Marx cites and comments on the pertinent statement by Wayland on pp. IV—167, 168 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 30, p. 290).—130

[114] Marx means that in the consumption of a worker the proportion of agricultural products (the organic composition of capital in agriculture being lower than in industry) is greater than that of industrial products.—131

[115] The calculations below contain arithmetical errors which do not, however, affect the course of Marx's reasoning.—132

[116] In the original there follow collateral calculations which take about a quarter of p. 1012.—133

[117] In Notebook V of the manuscript of 1861-63, examining the process of production of relative surplus value, Marx gives numerous examples of various ways of increasing productive power (see in particular p. 200 of the manuscript, present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 332-33).—139

[118] Cf. p. IV—166 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 30, p. 288).—140

[119] Cf. pp. XIII—726, 727 of the manuscript (present edition, Vol. 32, p. 165).—144

[120] The lower half of p. 1021 of the manuscript (last page of Notebook XVI) was not filled in. Its reverse (p. 1021a) carries a short draft of a table of contents for several pages of this notebook:

"*Ricardo and school* p. 977
*Wakefield* p. 975.
*Tendency of the rate of profit to fall.*
*Average profit.* 982.
*Competition* 976.
*Capitalist production.* 979."—145

[121] Marx is referring to subsection "γ) Exchange with Labour. Labour Process. Valorisation Process" of section "1) Transformation of Money into Capital" as expounded in notebooks I-II of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 33-42).—146

[122] Marx provides a critique of Carey on this question in *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy* (Rough Draft of 1857-58) (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 499-502).—151

[123] The heading for this part of the manuscript had been preceded by another which was deleted: "*Increase in Absolute Surplus Labour Time by Means of Machinery and Fixed Capital.*"—151

[124] Marx gives an example of this on p. II—92 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30, p. 168). Later, in Volume I of *Capital,* Chapter XV, Section 9, these problems were examined in detail (see present edition, Vol. 35).

By the "battle bulletins" Marx means *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary...*—153

[125] Cf. pp. III—124f and V—201 of the manuscript, where Marx gives pertinent examples from Babbage (present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 229, 334).—153

126 Marx made an arithmetical error in his calculation. Cf. Volume III of *Capital,* where the example in question is reproduced, in a corrected form, in Chapter V, point I (see present edition, Vol. 37).—153

127 On p. XVII—1029 there is a note by Marx: "Continuation of Notebook XV." At the end of p. XV—973, the final one of this notebook, Marx wrote: "Continued in Notebook XVII." See Note 53.—154

128 Cf. *Capital,* Volume III, Chapter XVII (present edition, Vol. 37).—156

129 Cf. the paragraph below with *Capital,* Volume III, Chapter XIX (present edition, Vol. 37).—170

130 Marx means labour capacity, labour power. See Note 36.—172

131 Cf. Marx's analysis of Tooke's views on this question in *Capital,* Volume III, Chapter XXVIII (present edition, Vol. 37).—172

132 The reference is to the section "*Digression. Tableau économique, according to Quesnay*" in Notebook X of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 31).—173

133 Marx gives the nearest whole. More exactly, at an annual rate of accumulation of 5 per cent, the retailer's capital will amount to 100, 105, $110^1/_4$, $115^{61}/_{80}$, etc.—179, 181

134 In the margins opposite this paragraph Marx wrote "NB" and below "This calculation is wrong". He made similar calculations on p. 1047 (see this volume, p. 186), following which he apparently crossed out the words "This calculation is wrong" and added "*See p. 1047*".—181

135 See, in particular, pp. VI—272, VII—273-299, IX—379-419 and XIII—698-703 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 411-51; Vol. 31, pp. 130-200; Vol. 32, pp. 111-22).—189

136 Sphere I in the present manuscript refers to the production of means of subsistence (objects of consumption), and sphere II to the production of means of production, or elements of constant capital. Accordingly, the capitalists in sphere I are denoted as class I and those in sphere II as class II. Later, in Volume II of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 36), Engels, basing himself on the final draft of Volume II, denoted the production of means of production as sphere I and the production of means of subsistence as sphere II.—200

137 In his previous calculations, Marx assumed that the ratio of variable to constant capital in this sphere was 1:5, and not 1:6, as he now assumes.—201

138 On the events which Marx describes here as "Manchester distress", see also his articles "Workers' Distress in England" and "Garibaldi Meetings.—The Distressed Condition of Cotton Workers", written around September 20 and 30, 1862, respectively (present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 239-42, 245-47); they are also mentioned in his letter to Engels of November 17, 1862 (ibid., Vol. 41, p. 430).—209

139 Marx quotes the pertinent excerpt from *The Morning Star* on pp. XII—611, 612 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 31, p. 538).—209

140 Marx reproduces the explanation of the term "dealer" as given by Germain Garnier, who translated Smith's work into French.—214

141 A critique of Smith's views of *natural price* is given on pp. VI—263-265 of the manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 399-403).—214

142 The *currency principle*—one of the varieties of the quantitative theory of money, which emerged in England in the 1840s. Marx deals with the theoretical views of the Currency School in *Capital,* Vol. III, Chapter XXXIV (see present edition, Vol. 37).—215

143 What Marx means by sphere A or class A hereinafter is class I of social production, the production of means of subsistence.—219

144 There follows an incomplete calculation which Marx crossed out with three vertical lines: "And this is the entire capital he needs in this LINE during the year. 10% of 510 makes £51 a year and £$10^1/_5$ for $^1/_5$ year. For £510 the SHOP therefore receives goods to the tune of £$520^1/_5$. And for 1,020 it receives goods to the tune of $1{,}040^2/_5$. With this sum it makes purchases from the WHOLESALER every fifth of a year. For the 20 SHOPKEEPERS which exist for every WHOLESALE DEALER this makes 20×£$520^1/_5$=£10,404, and for 100 SHOPKEEPERS per year $^1/_5$ year=52,020. This means that for $^5/_5$, or 1 year,=."—221

145 Page 1066 opens Notebook XVIII, which Marx filled in in January 1863.—222

146 In order to prevent a growth in the national debt, William Pitt the Younger, then British Prime Minister, introduced in 1786 a sinking fund, i.e., a scheme whereby a certain proportion of public revenues was used every year to purchase state promissory notes. However, the war with France (1793-1802) was accompanied by a sharp increase in the national debt. The imbalance between revenues and expenditure led first to a limit on the issue of banknotes, and in 1797 to the enactment of a law relieving the Bank of England of the obligation to accept banknotes. Marx dealt in detail with the laws on the sinking fund enacted under Pitt in the article "Mr. Disraeli's Budget" published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5318, May 7, 1858 (see present edition, Vol. 15, pp. 512-14).—222

147 The reference is to Pitt's speech of February 17, 1792. It was reproduced in part in James Maitland Lauderdale's book *Recherches sur la nature et l'origine de la richesse publique...,* Paris, 1808, pp. 176-79, which Marx quotes below.—223

148 The reference is to Lauderdale's book from which Marx familiarised himself with Pitt's speech of February 17, 1792 (see Note 147).—223

149 Marx planned to devote one of the books of his economic work specifically to foreign trade (see Note 1).—229

150 Ricardo advanced this hypothesis in chapters XIII and XXVIII of his book *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation.* Here Marx, too, adheres to this hypothesis (see, for example, this volume, p. 193), considering it to be correct (see its substantiation in *Capital,* Volume II, Chapter XX, point XII, "The Reproduction of the Money Material"—present edition, Vol. 36). At the same time, Marx noted Ricardo's extreme inconsistency on this issue back in his work *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* Part One (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 401-02).—231

151 In the manuscript of 1861-63 Marx uses the term "cost price" ("Kostenpreis" or "Kostpreis") in three different meanings: 1) in the sense of the price of production, as here; 2) in the sense of the "immanent cost of production" of the commodity, which is identical to the value of the commodity (see present edition, Vol. 30, p. 401); and 3) in the sense of the cost of production.—232

152 The excerpts from Newman which Marx gives below contain minor digressions

from the original. Marx quotes Newman according to notebooks XVI and XVII of excerpts compiled in London in 1851-52.—239

153 In this manuscript Marx holds that the "real movement of capital" (it can be observed in competition, credit, share capital and other more concrete forms of interaction between numerous capitals) should be examined following a clarification of what is meant by the general nature of capital as expressed by the concept "capital in general" (see also notes 1 and 44).—242

154 Below Marx reproduces some of Corbet's propositions, partly verbatim and partly in his own summarised rendering, according to Notebook XVI of excerpts compiled in London in 1851.—242

155 The *American Civil War* (1861-65) led, among other things, to a blockade of US cotton exports to Britain, bringing about a crisis in the country's textile industry. Many factories were closed down and their workers sacked. The price of cotton rose, bringing with it unbridled speculation on the Liverpool cotton market. Marx later returned to this in *Capital,* Volume III, Chapter VI, point III (see present edition, Vol. 37).—249

156 The text on pp. XVIII—1084-1157 belongs mainly to the *Theories of Surplus Value* (see present edition, vols 30-32).—253

157 The passages from Hodgskin's work which Marx gives below are presented partly in a summarised form according to Notebook IX of excerpts compiled in London in 1851.—253

158 Below Marx partly quotes and partly interprets the pertinent passages from Hodgskin's anonymously published work *Labour Defended...,* London, 1825, according to Notebook XI of excerpts compiled in London in 1851.—253

159 Marx is referring to Notebook IX of excerpts which he compiled in London in 1851. Page 47 of this notebook carries the pertinent excerpts from pp. 252-56 of Hodgskin's book *Popular Political Economy.*—255

160 Here Marx returns to an analysis of Ramsay's thesis which he criticised earlier, on pp. II—72-74 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 137-42).
The passages from Ramsay below are given by Marx partly in a summarised form according to Notebook IX of excerpts compiled in London in 1851.—256

161 The term "average price" (Durchschnittspreis) is used here by Marx in the sense of price of production, i.e., the costs of production plus average profit, since he is referring to the "average market price over a long period, or the central point towards which the market price gravitates", as he explains on p. XII—605 (present edition, Vol. 31, p. 530). Marx first used this term on p. VI—264 (ibid., Vol. 30, p. 400). In the present manuscript, the said term is used as a synonym for the terms "cost price" and "price of production". See also Note 151.—259

162 Marx expands on Mill's example of the "wine in the cellar" on p. VIII—341 and also on pp. XIV—792, 845 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 70-71, Vol. 32, pp. 277, 362).—259

163 The reference is to the "exceptions" formulated by Ricardo on the basis of the law which stipulates that value is determined by labour time. Marx goes into greater detail on this on pp. XI—528-542 and also pp. XIV—782-783 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 400-26, Vol. 32, pp. 258-62).—261

164 Marx is referring to the third chapter (or section—see Note 4) on "Capital

and Profit", which he began in Notebook XVI and in point 2 of which he proposed to discuss the question of the "transformation of values into prices of production"—cf. his draft plan on p. XVIII—1139 (this volume, p. 346).

Subsequently this question was examined in *Capital,* Volume III, chapters VIII-XII (see present edition, Vol. 37).—261

165 In the original calculation it was assumed that in the second case the cost of production of instruments of labour and labour capacity would be reckoned against the halved value of a quarter of corn resulting from the doubling in the size of the harvest. Now Marx points out that this fall in value occurred only in the *autumn* of the second year, whilst up to that autumn the value of a quarter was twice as high. Thus, whilst in the original calculation the costs of production in the second case amount to $20c+40c+40v=100$ quarters, it now turns out that they are expressed by the first sum, i.e., the sum in the first case: $20c+20c+20v=60$ quarters. Since the harvest in the second case amounts to 200 quarters, the share of profit equals 140 quarters.—267

166 Marx is apparently referring to the conversion of part of profit and part of capital into rent, which he examined on pp. XIII—684-687, when analysing Ricardo's theory of profit (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 87-92).—272

167 On p. III—126 of the manuscript, Marx, examining the influence of a rise in labour productivity on a fall in the value of constant and variable capital, noted: "*see Ramsay*" (see present edition, Vol. 30, p. 236).—273

168 On workers' cooperative factories in Britain see also p. XV—919 of the manuscript (present edition, Vol. 32, p. 497).—280

169 The summary of contents for the *Theories of Surplus Value* written on the inside front cover of Notebook XIV of the manuscript includes point "n) *Cherbuliez*" (see present edition, Vol. 32, p. 8). Marx intended to examine Sismondi's views, not in the *Theories of Surplus Value,* but in the subsequent part of his work where he planned to analyse the "real movement of capital (competition and credit)" (ibid., p. 245). See also Note 67.—285

170 In the manuscript Marx crossed out the following here: "Although now, in view of the fivefold turnover, this individual capitalist has to lay out only £2,500 on cotton, the capital spent on cotton is, if we consider the overall product, 5 times that contained in labour."—290

171 Cherbuliez gave the name "commercial profit" *(profit mercantile)* to the profit of the individual capitalist.—292

172 Apart from the extraction of minerals, the production of timber, fishing and hunting, Cherbuliez included among the "extractive industries (*industries extractives*) all types of farming which produce agricultural raw materials.—292

173 What Marx means when he refers to the need to "reduce the first proposition to its correct formulation" is that the original lacks the word "value" (see also next page) given here in italics, since Cherbuliez makes no distinction between the value of products and their material form, or use value.—294

174 Marx is referring to the examination of mercantile capital in notebooks XV and XVII of the manuscript, notably pp. 964 and 1030 (see this volume, pp. 48-50, 155-57).—317

175 Marx is summarising James Mill's arguments as contained in *Elements of Political Economy,* London, 1821, Chapter 4, Section 5, "Taxes on Rent".—319

176 Cherbuliez describes the inequality between the rich and the poor who depend on them as the first result of the present distribution of wealth.—320

177 The reference is to the anonymous review of this book by Jones published in the issue of August-September 1831 (Vol. LIV), pp. 84-99.—320

178 *Ryot*—an Indian peasant. Jones applies this term to the peasants in India and other Asian countries who paid rent—a tax in kind—to the sovereign, who was the supreme owner of all the land.—321

179 The *cottiers*—a category of the rural population consisting of poor or landless peasants. In Ireland, the cottiers rented small plots of land and cottages from the landlords or real estate agents on extremely onerous terms. Their position resembled that of farmhands.—322

180 When examining Ricardo's views on the question of rent, Marx referred to this fact on pp. XI—492, 504, as well as on p. XII—605 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 338-39, 358-60, 529-30).—323

181 See Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*; with Notes and an Additional Volume by David Buchanan, Vol. II, Edinburgh, London, 1814, p. 55, note; J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes d'économie politique...*, Vol. I, Paris, 1827, pp. 300-13; Th. Hopkins, *Economical Enquiries...*, London, 1822, p. 11 et seq. and p. 31 et seq.; idem., *On Rent of Land...*, London, 1828, pp. 6, 15. See also the manuscript, pp. XI—508a-510, 522; XII—644 (present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 365-68, 387, Vol. 32, p. 22).—324

182 Marx is referring to Roscher's book *System der Volkswirthschaft*, Vol. 1: *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie*, Stuttgart and Augsburg, 1858, p. 385, where Roscher, discussing the division of profit into profit of enterprise and interest, refers to *An Outline...* by Senior, who, along with George Read, was among the first to draw attention to this fact. In Notebook VII of excerpts compiled in London in 1859-63, p. 229, Marx remarks that this division was discernible back in the anonymous pamphlet *An Inquiry into those Principles, respecting the Nature of Demand and the Necessity of Consumption*, London, 1821, pp. 52-53, and also in Thomas Hopkins' *Economical Enquiries Relative to the Laws Which Regulate Rent, Profit, Wages, and the Value of Money*, London, 1822, pp. 43-44.—333

183 What Jones calls the "labour fund" figures in Malthus as "funds for the maintenance of labour". This term was used repeatedly in the first edition of Malthus' *Essay on the Principle of Population...*, London, 1798, pp. 303, 305, 306, 307, 312, 313, et seq. It also occurs in his *Principles of Political Economy...*—333

184 In his *Text-book of Lectures on the Political Economy of Nations*, Hertford, 1852, p. 71, Jones recalls that the Earl of Warwick, the "king-maker", alone fed daily, in his various castles, 40,000 men.—335

185 Marx made a detailed conspectus of this work by Jones in Notebook VII of excerpts compiled in London in 1859-63, pp. 119-23, from where the quotations below are taken.—337

186 The supporters of this viewpoint included Nassau William Senior (*Principes fondamentaux de l'économie politique...*, Paris, 1836, pp. 342-43); Alonzo Potter (*Political Economy*, New York, 1841, p. 133); Gustave de Molinari (*Études économiques*, Paris, 1846, p. 36) and other economists.—338

187 Marx discusses revenue and its sources on pp. XV—891-944 of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 449-541). This "Episode", as Marx describes it on the inside front cover of Notebook XIV, is a supplement to the main text

of the *Theories of Surplus Value.* It may be seen from the plan for the third section (see Note 4) of *Capital* drawn up on p. XVIII—1139 that he intended it to be subsequently included as point 9 in this third chapter (see this volume, p. 346).—340

188 Only Jones was a clergyman.—345

189 See article "Connection between the Rate of Interest and the Abundance or Scarcity of the Precious Metals" in the indicated issue of *The Economist.* This quotation had previously been given by Marx in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 236).—348

190 Cf. the corresponding passage in the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 227).—348

191 The quotation from the book by J. D. Tuckett is taken from the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 230).—349

192 Marx gave a detailed examination of commercial capital in notebooks XV, XVII and XVIII of the manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 464-69 and also this volume, pp. 9-68, 154-70, 239-52).—351

193 The reference is evidently to the latter's book *System der Volkswirthschaft,* Vol. 1: *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie,* Stuttgart and Augsburg, 1858, p. 384 et seq.—351

194 Here Jones quotes from the Physiocrats' monthly calendar *Ephémérides du Citoyen,* 1767, Part III, p. 56.—355

195 Cf. p. I—23 of the manuscript (present edition, Vol. 30, p. 46).—355

196 Cf. also the descriptions of Indian towns in Bernier's book which Marx cites in his letter to Engels of June 2, 1853 (present edition, Vol. 39, pp. 332-33).—357

197 Marx refers to "depreciation" here because organic fertilisers applied to the soil function as fixed capital and transfer their value to the product only gradually, one part after another.—359

198 Cf. the analysis of Ricardo's example on pp. XIII—735-736 of the manuscript (present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 179-81).—363

199 The report in question was delivered on December 7, 1859, and published in *The Journal of the Society of Arts, and of the Institutions in Union,* December 9, 1859, pp. 53-61. Here Marx quotes from the account of this report, "Agricultural Progress and Wages", published in *The Economist,* January 21, 1860, p. 64, in the "Agriculture" column.—365

200 Marx quoted this passage back in the manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, p. 522).—366

201 The first edition of Cherbuliez's book entitled *Riche ou pauvre...* appeared in Paris and Geneva in 1840. Here, the reference is to Cherbuliez's book *Richesse ou pauvreté. Exposition des causes et des effets de la distribution actuelle des richesses sociales,* Paris, 1841.—373

202 See Th. Hodgskin, *Popular Political Economy...,* London, 1827, p. 72. Notebook IX of excerpts, compiled in London in 1851, contains the following: "In 1826, the various machinery used in manufacturing cotton enabled 1 man to perform the work of 150. Now 280,000 men are supposed to be employed in it, whereas half a century ago 42,000,000 were required."—374

203 Marx is referring to the following passage from Ravenstone's book *Thoughts on the Funding System, and Its Effects,* London, 1824, p. 45: "Machinery can seldom be applied with success to abridge the labours of an individual; more time would be lost in its construction than could be saved by its application. It is only really useful when it acts on great masses, when a single machine can assist the labours of thousands." Marx also quotes this passage in the manuscript of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, p. 325). See Note 2.—381

204 Marx came to this conclusion as a result of analysing the half-yearly reports of the English factory inspectors. See, for example, *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Half Year ending 31st October 1859,* London, 1860, pp. 47-48, 52. See also present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 170, 224, Vol. 20, p. 10.—386

205 Excerpts on this subject are to be found in Notebook VII (p. 193), compiled in London in 1859-63, in which Marx copied out passages from the *Irish Census for 1861.* The census indicated that, between 1851 and 1861, 1,230,986 Irishmen emigrated. This was partly due to the famine of 1846-47 caused by the potato blight, which claimed a million lives. In 1861 the total population of Ireland was 5,764,543, having fallen by 787,842 since 1851.—387

206 See Marx's letter to Engels of January 28, 1863 (present edition, Vol. 41, pp. 449-51). This letter sets out in generalised form what Marx wrote on the first thirty pages of Notebook XIX. The most probable direct reason for this description of the essential differences between a tool and a machine was his study of Richard Jones' views.—387

207 Marx is most likely referring to the statements made by Charles Hutton in his book *A Course of Mathematics,* London, 1841, p. 810, and also by Francis Wayland in *The Elements of Political Economy,* Boston, 1843, p. 61 et seq.—389

208 Cf. J. H. M. Poppe, *Geschichte der Technologie...,* Vol. 1, Göttingen, 1807, pp. 104-05.—400

209 Adam Smith gives this example in "Division of Labour", the first chapter of *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Edinburgh, London, 1814.—404

210 The *Nuremberg egg* was the name given to the first pocket watch with a steel spiral spring made by the Nuremberg craftsman Peter Henlein at the very beginning of the 16th century. It owed this name to its oval shape.—404

211 In this paragraph Marx gives a short summary of the entry "Baumwollspinnerei" in Ure's *Technisches Wörterbuch,* revised by K. Kramarsch and Dr. F. Heeren, Vol. 1, Prague, 1843, pp. 105-30.—410

212 The anonymous work *The Industry of Nations* contained descriptions of the items on display at the Great Exhibition. The exhibition, which Marx visited, was held in London from May to October 1851. The above work may have been written by Robert Ellis.—411

213 Marx borrowed the term "philosophical instruments" from *The Industry of Nations,* Part II, London, 1855, which devoted an entire chapter to this subject (Chapter VII, pp. 286-349). What the anonymous author understood this term to mean were such scientific instruments as high-precision scales, thermometers, barometers, hydrometers, theodolites, telescopes, microscopes, etc. The term "philosophical instruments" appeared in connection with "natural philosophy", which was used for a long time in Britain to denote physics and other natural sciences.—421, 456

214 The manuscript continues with notes later crossed out by Marx:

"VII) SILK FACTORIES

"a) SPINNING AND WEAVING."

There follow a number of figures. Adjacent to "Silk Factories" is the reference "(on the next page)". It is on this basis that the text has been rearranged.—432

215 On the right of this page in the manuscript, there are auxiliary calculations, which are separated from the remaining text by a vertical line.—434

216 Marx is referring here to the Crimean War of 1853-56, waged by Russia against Turkey, from 1854 also against Britain and France, and from 1855 against Sardinia for domination in the Middle East.—439

217 Marx is quoting below from "Agricultural Progress and Wages", published in *The Economist,* January 21, 1860 (p. 64). This article contained excerpts from the lecture delivered by J. C. Morton on December 7, 1859, to the Society of Arts and entitled "On the Forces Used in Agriculture". It was published in the Society's weekly *The Journal of the Society of Arts,* December 9, 1859. Marx made a conspectus of the said article in his Notebook VII of excerpts compiled in London between 1859 and 1863.

The *Society of Arts* was an educational and philanthropic association founded in London in 1754.—443

218 *Acta Lipsiensia* (Leipzig Chronicles) was the unofficial name of the *Acta Eruditorum* (Scholars' Chronicles), the first German scientific journal, which was published in Leipzig between 1682 and 1782 (in Latin).—445

219 This and the following quotations are taken almost entirely from Notebook XV of excerpts, which Marx compiled in London in 1851. They are given by Marx in a very generalised form, since his interest focussed on the purely technical aspect of the development of machines. Digressions from the original are ignored below.—446

220 Marx expresses the gist of Tuckett's statement. Tuckett has: "Henry Bell, a Scotchman, for many years a house carpenter ... was ... determined to establish a regular steam passage boat between Glasgow and Helensburgh, which is a watering place on the Clyde, opposite to Greenock... This vessel ... began to be propelled regularly between Glasgow and Helensburgh, in January 1812 ... it is remarkable, that Bell lived to see the general adoption of the grand invention, which he was the first in Europe to apply to practical use, and not only to be distanced by his rivals, but to be ruined in the competition, and reduced to indigence..."—449

221 Marx gives the gist of the passage from *The Industry of Nations.* The original reads: "In fine, all the commercial enterprises for the establishment of lines of steamers, where the voyages are of considerable length, have been supported by government."—449

222 The excerpts from the economic manuscript of 1857-58 written by Marx on the inside front cover of Notebook V relate directly to the problems examined here in Notebook XIX, which explains the arrangement of the text in the economic manuscript of 1861-63. Also on the inside front cover of Notebook V there was a quotation from Ramsay's book *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth,* Edinburgh, London, 1836, p. 205, which Marx apparently crossed out at a later date. He had already made use of this quotation in the economic manuscript of 1861-63 (see this volume, pp. 259-60).—479

[223] The edition Marx used has not been identified. The first edition of Hutton's book came out in 1798-1801. Marx referred to the elements of machines named by Hutton on the front cover of Notebook I of his manuscript of 1861-63.—483

[224] *Mitigated jails* (Les bagnes mitigés) is the name Fourier gives to factories in his book *La fausse industrie morcelée, répugnante, mensongère, et l'antidote, l'industrie naturelle, combinée, attrayante, véridique, donnant quadruple produit,* Paris, 1835, p. 59.—497

[225] Marx is referring to Volume 2 of Ure's book quoted above (see also present edition, Vol. 34).—501

# NAME INDEX


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*Alhazen (Abu Ali Al-Hasan Ibn Alhasan)* (965-c. 1039)—Arab scholar, famous for his works on geometry, optics, medicine and philosophy.—405

*Anne* (1665-1714)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1702-14).—21

*Appold, John George* (1800-1865)—English engineer and inventor.—455, 456

*Archimedes* (c. 287-212 B.C.)—Greek mathematician and mechanical engineer.—399, 402, 457

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*Arkwright, Sir Richard* (1732-1792)—English industrialist, invented the cotton-spinning machine named after him.—350, 352

*Augustus (Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus)* (63 B.C.-A.D. 14)—Roman Emperor (27 B.C.-A.D. 14).—394, 395

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*Babbage, Charles* (1792-1871)—English mathematician, mechanical engineer and economist.—140, 153, 350, 351, 352, 388

*Bacon, Roger* (c. 1214-c. 1294)—English philosopher and scientist.—405

*Baker, Robert*—factory inspector in Britain.—475, 476

*Barker*—English mechanical engineer of the 18th century, inventor of a water-mill.—399

*Barlee*—founder of a seamstresses' association in London.—350

*Barlow, A.*—English inventor.—411

*Barry, Sir David* (1780-1835)—English physician and physiologist.—489

*Baynes, John*—member of the Blackburn municipal council, in 1857 delivered two lectures on cotton trade and then had them published.—474

*Beckmann, Johann* (1739-1811)—German scholar, author of a number of works on economics and technology.—407

*Belisarius (Belisar)* (c. 505-565)—a general of the Byzantine emperor Justinian I.—396

*Bell, Henry* (1767-1830)—Scottish engineer and inventor.—449

*Bernier, François* (1625-1688)—French physician, traveller and writer.—357

*Bernoulli, Daniel* (1700-1782)—Swiss mathematician and physicist, founder

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*Bernoulli, Johann* (1667-1748)—Swiss mathematician and physicist.—398, 401

*Blake, William* (end of the 18th-c. middle of the 19th cent.)—English economist, wrote on money circulation and poverty.—92

*Boileau* or *Boilesve, Etienne* (c. 1200-c. 1270)—mayor of Paris, compiler of *Livre des métiers,* in which he systematised guild regulations for Parisian artisans.—406

*Bossut, Charles* (1730-1814)—French mathematician, author of several fundamental works on the theory and history of mathematics.—398

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*Brunel, Sir Marc Isambard* (1769-1849)—English engineer and inventor, French by birth.—453

*Buchanan, David* (1779-1848)—English journalist and economist, follower and commentator of Adam Swith.—324

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*Caesar, Gaius Julius* (c. 100-44 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman.—394

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*Carey, Henry Charles* (1793-1879)—American vulgar economist, believed in harmony of class interests in capitalist society.—108, 151, 346, 348, 349

*Cassini, Giovanni Domenico (Jean-Domenique)* (1625-1712)—French astronomer of Italian descent, the first director of the Paris Observatory.—399

*Cawley (Calley), John*—one of the inventors of the steam engine in England.—446

*Chalmers, Thomas* (1780-1847)—Scottish Protestant theologian, economist, follower of Malthus.—114

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*Charles II* (1630-1685)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1660-85).—21

*Cherbuliez, Antoine Élisée* (1797-1869)—Swiss economist, tried to combine Sismondi's doctrine with elements of the Ricardian theory.—78, 106, 285-88, 292-98, 300, 303-04, 318-19, 373, 375

*Child, Sir Josiah (Josias)* (1630-1699)—English economist, banker, and merchant, mercantilist; President of the Court of Directors of the East India Company (1681-83 and 1686-88).—22, 224

*Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero)* (106-43 B.C.)—Roman statesman, orator and philosopher.—394

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*Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865)—English manufacturer, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League.—209

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*Crompton, Samuel* (1753-1827)—English inventor of the mule machine.—453

*Culpeper, Sir Thomas* (1578-1662)—English economist, mercantilist.—22

*Cunard, Sir Samuel* (1787-1865)—British merchant and shipowner, founder of a shipping company which ran a postal service between Britain and the USA.—449

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*Daguerre, Louis Jacques Mandé* (1787-1851)—French painter and decorator, inventor of the diorama and the daguerreotype.—457

*D'Alembert, Jean Le Rond* (1717-1783)—French philosopher and mathematician, Encyclopaedist and leading figure of the French Enlightenment.—398, 401

*Darwin, Charles Robert* (1809-1882)—English naturalist, founder of the theory of natural selection of species.—387, 388

*Deparcieux, Antoine* (1703-1768)—French designer, mathematician and physicist.—399

*De Quincey, Thomas* (1785-1859)—English writer and economist, commentator of Ricardo's works.—492

*Didot, Saint-Leger* (1767-1829)—French inventor of the paper-making machine.—453

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*Ericsson, John* (1803-1889)—American engineer of Swedish descent, inventor of the heat engine.—410

*Euler, Leonhard* (1707-1783)—Swiss mathematician, physicist and expert in mechanics, worked at the St. Petersburg (1727-41 and 1766-83) and Berlin (1741-66) Academies of Sciences.—398, 401, 404

*Evans, Oliver* (1755-1819)—American engineer and inventor.—396, 448

*Everet (Everett)*—18th-century English inventor.—408

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*Fairbairn, Sir William* (1789-1874)—Scottish engineer, owner of a factory in Manchester.—363, 451

*Faulhaber, Johann* (1580-1635)—German mathematician and engineer.—397

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—442, 497

*Frederick I (Barbarossa* or *Redbeard)* (c. 1123-1190)—King of Germany from 1152, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1155-90).—399, 400, 406

*Frederick II* (1194-1250)—King of Sicily since 1208; King of Germany since 1212, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1220-50).—406

*Fullarton, John* (1780-1849)—British economist, wrote on money circulation and credit, opposed the quantitative theory of money.—105, 112

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*Galilei, Galileo* (1564-1642)—Italian physicist and astronomer, founder of mechanics.—405

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*Gilbart, James William* (1794-1863)—British banker and economist, wrote a number of works on banking.—21

*Gillott, Joseph* (1799-1873)—English manufacturer.—413

*Greenhow, Edward Headlam* (1814-1888)—English physician, author of a number of works on medicine.—475

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*Henry VIII* (1491-1547)—King of England (1509-47) and Ireland (from 1541).—21

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*Hodgskin, Thomas* (1787-1869)—English economist and journalist; utopian socialist, drew socialist conclusions from the Ricardian theory.—7, 253-55, 366, 374

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*Hook (Hooke), Robert* (1635-1703)—English naturalist, mathematician and physicist.—405

*Hopkins, Thomas*—English economist of the early 19th century.—324

*Horner, Leonard* (1785-1864)—English geologist and public figure, factory inspector (1833-56), member of the Factories Inquiry Commission in 1833 and of the Children's Employment Commission in 1841; took the side of the workers.—470-73

*Hutton, Charles* (1737-1823)—English mathematician.—483

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*Jacquard, Joseph Marie* (1752-1834)—French inventor of a power-loom for the manufacture of silk.—411, 453

*James I* (1566-1625)—King of England, Scotland and Ireland (1603-25).—21

*Jansen (Janse), Zacharias* (c. 1580)—Dutch optician.—405

*Jones, Richard* (1790-1855)—English economist, adherent of classical bourgeois political economy.—75, 82, 104, 112, 320-47, 352-59, 364-71

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*Jürgens, Johann*—16th-century German inventor.—408

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*Kay-Shuttleworth, Sir James Phillips* (1804-1877)—British politician, physician in a poor district of Manchester.—494

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*La Hire, Philippe de* (1640-1718)—French astronomer, physicist, mathematician and artist.—399

*Lambert, Johann Heinrich (Jean Henri)* (1728-1777)—German mathematician, astronomer and philosopher, French by birth.—399

*Lauderdale, James Maitland, 8th Earl of* (1759-1839)—British politician and economist, criticised Adam Smith's theory.—223

*Leduc, Pierre Étienne Denis,* called *Saint-Germain-Leduc* (b. 1799)—French writer and journalist.—350

*Lee, William* (d. 1610?)—English inventor of the hosiery knitter.—409

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*Lewis, Sir George Cornewall* (1806-1863)—British statesman, Whig; Sec-

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*Lister (Masham, Samuel Cunliffe Lister, Baron)* (1815-1906)—English manufacturer and inventor.—467

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*Louis IX (Saint)* (1214-1270)—King of France (1226-70).—406

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*M(a)cCulloch (M'Culloch), John Ramsay* (1789-1864)—Scottish economist, vulgarised David Ricardo's doctrine.—76, 214, 241

*Macnab, Henry Grey* (1761 or 1762-1823)—English journalist, adherent and populariser of Robert Owen's ideas.—352

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, founder of a theory of population.—70, 71, 73, 76, 100, 103, 113-14, 128, 223, 244, 253, 258, 278, 333, 345, 346

*Manley, Thomas* (1628-1690)—English writer and economist, mercantilist.—22

*Mare, C. J.*—English manufacturer.—450

*Mariotte, Edme* (c. 1620-1684)—French physicist.—398, 401

*Martin*—French inventor.—399

*Maudslay, Henry* (1771-1831)—English engineer, inventor and manufacturer.—453

*Mill, James* (1773-1836)—British historian, economist and positivist philosopher, follower of Ricardo's theory.—76, 259, 319

*Mithridates VI Eupater* (132-63 B.C.)—King of Pontus.—394

*Morton, John Chalmers* (1821-1888)—English agronomist.—365, 443

*Müller, Adam Heinrich, Ritter von Nitterdorf* (1779-1829)—German journalist and economist, representative of the so-called Romantic school, which expressed the interests of the feudal aristoracy.—225

*Murdock, William* (1754-1839)—Scottish engineer and inventor.—449

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*Napier, David* (1790-1869)—Scottish inventor and marine engineer.—449

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*Newcomen, Thomas* (1663-1729)—one of the English inventors of the steam engine.—446

*Newman, Samuel Phillips* (1797-1842)—American philologist and economist.—239

*Newton, Sir Isaac* (1643-1727)—English physicist, astronomer and mathematician.—398, 401

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*Oersted, Hans Christian* (1777-1851)—Danish physicist.—457, 462

*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—English utopian socialist.—491

P

*Papin, Denis* (1647-1714)—French physicist, an inventor of the steam engine.—446

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*Peel, Sir Robert* (1788-1850)—British statesman, moderate Tory, Home Secretary (1822-27 and 1828-30), Prime Minister (1834-35 and 1841-46).—493

*Pindar (Pindaros)* (c. 522-c. 442 B.C.)—Greek poet, wrote triumphal odes.—496

*Pinto, Isaac* (1715-1787)—Dutch stockjobber and economist.—241

*Pitot, Henri* (1695-1771)—French mathematician, physicist and hydrodynamical engineer.—399

*Pitt, William* (1759-1806)—British statesman, a Tory leader, Prime Minister (1783-1801 and 1804-06).—71, 223, 224

*Pliny the Elder (Gaius Plinius Secundus)* (A.D. 23 or 24-79)—Roman scholar, author of *Natural History* in 37 volumes.—407

*Poleni, Giovanni* (1683-1761)—Italian mathematician, astronomer and hydrodynamical engineer.—398

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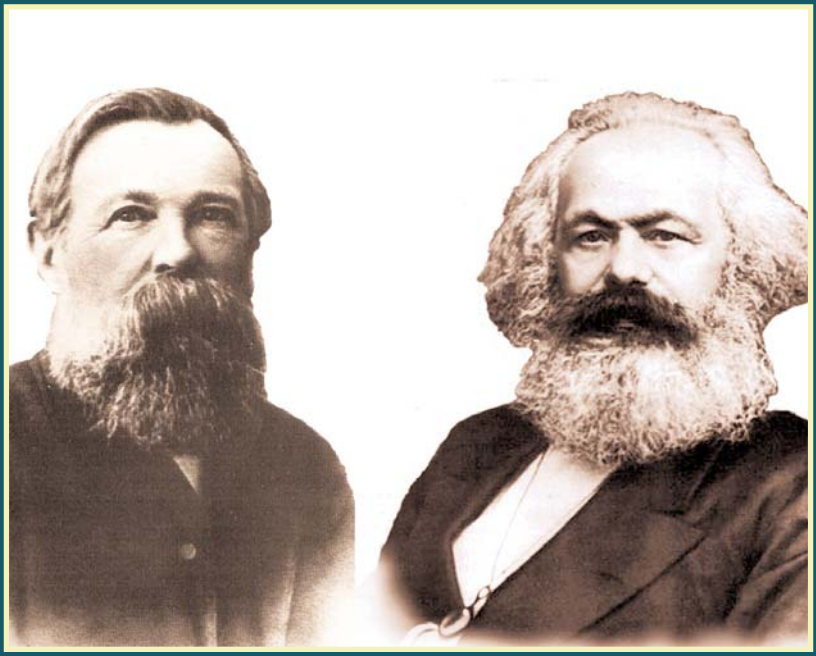

## VOLUME 34

Marx 1861-64

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 34

## Marx 1861-64

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Translated by

BEN FOWKES

(For the translators of the passages from the *Theories of Surplus Value* see Preface, p. X.)

# Preface

Volume 34 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains the conclusion of Marx's Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (Notebooks XX-XXIII, pp. 1251-1472 of the manuscript). The manuscript as a whole is the second rough draft of *Capital* and makes up volumes 30 to 34 of the present edition. This volume also includes Marx's manuscript "Chapter Six. Results of the Direct Production Process" and other fragments of the Economic Manuscript of 1863-64, the only extant remnants of the third rough draft of Book I of *Capital*. All these manuscripts are presented in accordance with their new publication in the languages of the original in *Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels. Gesamtausgabe (MEGA).* Zweite Abteilung. Bd. 3. Berlin, 1976-1982 and Bd. 4.1. Berlin, 1988.

In the part of the 1861-63 manuscript contained in this volume Marx concludes his analysis of the production process of capital, concentrating on relative surplus value and its connection with absolute surplus value and on the primitive accumulation of capital. He also deals here with problems which he subsequently discussed in Book II of *Capital*, in particular the reproduction and circulation of the total social capital. The closing part of the manuscript consists of excerpts from the works of earlier and contemporary political economists and Marx's commentaries. In "Chapter Six" Marx examines in detail the prerequisites for and results of the direct production process of capital, considering from this angle the commodity, the production of surplus value and the reproduction of the capitalist relations of production.

Obvious slips of the pen in Marx's text have been corrected by the Editors without comment. The proper and geographical

names and other words abbreviated by the author are given in full. Defects in the manuscript are indicated in footnotes, places where the text is damaged or illegible are marked by dots. Editorial reconstructions, where they were possible, are given in square brackets.

Foreign words and phrases are given as used by Marx, with the translations supplied in footnotes where necessary. English phrases and individual words occurring in the original are set in small caps. Longer passages and quotations in English are given in asterisks. The passages from English political economists quoted by Marx in French or German are given according to contemporary English editions. In all cases the form of quoting used by Marx is respected. The language in which Marx quotes is indicated unless it is German.

The text and notes to Volume 34 were prepared by Irina Antonova, Mikhail Ternovsky, Yelena Vashchenko and Lyubov Zalunina, and edited by Larisa Miskievich (Russian Independent Institute of Social and National Problems). The Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature and the Name Index were compiled by Vardan Azatyan in conjunction with Georgi Volovik. The Subject Index to volumes 30-34 was prepared by Yuri Kharitonov (RIISNP). The bulk of the text in this volume was translated by Ben Fowkes (Lawrence & Wishart). The translation of pp. XX—1291a-1294a, XXI-1300-1301, XXII—1346-1351, XXII—1397-1400, XXIII—1418-1420, XXIII—1433-1434, XXIII—1449-1451 of Marx's Manuscript of 1861-63 was taken from the three-volume edition of his *Theories of Surplus Value*, issued by Progress Publishers, Moscow. It was made by Emile Burns, Renate Simpson and Jack Cohen and edited by Salo Ryazanskaya. Volume 34 was edited by Svetlana Gerasimenko and Victor Schnittke and prepared for the press by Alla Varavitskaya (Progress Publishing Group Corporation).

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# KARL MARX

## ECONOMIC WORKS

## 1861-1864

# ECONOMIC MANUSCRIPT OF 1861-1863 (Conclusion)

# A CONTRIBUTION TO THE CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY[1]

## [I) THE PRODUCTION PROCESS OF CAPITAL]

XXI[2]

*Hume and Massie* (INTEREST)

i) Formal and real subsumption of labour under capital. Transitional forms.

k) Productivity of capital, productive and unproductive labour.

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4) α) *Reconversion of surplus value into capital.*

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XXIII[4]

*Works*

## [3) RELATIVE SURPLUS VALUE

### γ) *MACHINERY. UTILISATION OF THE FORCES OF NATURE AND OF SCIENCE (STEAM, ELECTRICITY, MECHANICAL AND CHEMICAL AGENCIES). CONCLUSION*][5]

#### [XX-1251] REPLACEMENT OF LABOUR BY MACHINERY

//*P. 138a, Notebook IV.*[a] The relations mentioned there belong to the section we are coming to now, namely the relation between *wages and surplus value.*[b] However, what was said there, all of which, properly speaking, refers to relative surplus value and therefore presupposes the magnitude of the total working day as a given quantity, needs to be supplemented in two respects:

Machinery lessens the number of workers employed by a given capital. Hence, if on the one hand it raises the rate of surplus value, on the other hand it reduces its amount, because it reduces the number of workers employed simultaneously by a given capital.

Secondly: The increase in productive power, HENCE the fall in the prices of commodities and the devaluation of labour capacity, allows the purchase of more labour capacity *with the same capital.* Thus not only is the rate of surplus value (*quoad* the individual worker) increased, but there is also an increase in the number of workers who can be exploited simultaneously using the same capital.[6] This is true of all the means which increase the productive power of labour (hence also true for machinery).

*Surplus value* (we are not concerned here with *profit*) always=*surplus labour.* The *rate of surplus value,* i.e. the ratio between the surplus labour of the individual worker and his necessary labour,=the ratio of the *total surplus value* created by capital to the variable capital. For the variable capital=the wage of

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 251-52.— *Ed.*

[b] Cf. present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 311-12 and Vol. 33, p. 347.—*Ed.*

the individual worker multiplied by the number of workers employed at the same time by this capital.

Assuming that the wage of the individual worker is 10, and the number of workers is $x$, the variable capital (equal to the total amount of wages paid out)$=10x$. If the surplus value created by the individual worker$=2$, the surplus value created by $x$ workers$=2x$. And the ratio $\frac{2x}{10x}$, i.e. the ratio of the total surplus value to the variable capital is the same, $^2/_{10}$, [as] the rate of surplus value the individual worker creates. $^2/_{10}=^1/_5$, i.e. the surplus labour time$=^1/_5$ of the necessary labour time. It therefore follows that the rate of surplus value can only rise or fall in an inverse ratio to the necessary labour, and that the *rate* of surplus value always=the rate of surplus labour.

But it has been demonstrated in considering absolute surplus value that its amount depends not only on its rate, but on the *number* of workers employed at the same time.[a] Now, however, the development of productive power increases the number of workers who can be employed simultaneously by a *variable capital* of a given magnitude. If the wage$=a$, and the number of workers$=x$, the variable capital$=ax$. If we assume that $ax$ is a constant magnitude,$=v$ (variable capital), it is clear that the smaller $a$ is, the larger will $x$ be, the number of workers, and the larger $a$, the smaller $x$. The number of labour capacities which can be bought with a given variable capital, $v$, evidently depends on, rises and falls with, the value of those labour capacities. Therefore, in so far as the increase in the productive powers of labour depreciates labour capacity, it increases the number of labour capacities $v$ can buy simultaneously. Thus the same means which raise the rate of *relative surplus value* or lessen necessary labour time also increase the quantity of surplus value, not only because they raise the *rate of exploitation* of the individual worker but also because more workers can be exploited at this rate with the same capital, $v$. So an increase in *surplus value* takes place, not only because the rate of surplus value rises, but also because the *quantity* of workers exploited by the same capital $v$ grows. Relative surplus value therefore implies not only a reduction of necessary labour time, but also an increase in the number of workers exploited by the same $v$. To that extent, a *rise in relative surplus value* is not simply identical with a *fall in the rate* of necessary labour time, for both factors of surplus value are simultaneously

[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 179-80, 185-86, 206.— *Ed.*

affected by the rise in relative surplus value, both the [XX-1252] rate of surplus value and the number of workers exploited by a $v$ of the same value.

This by no means contradicts the law that with the development of the productive forces, hence of capitalist production, the ratio of variable capital, i.e. that laid out in wages, to total capital falls, because its proportion to constant capital falls—and profit must be examined chiefly from this point of view. Nor does it contradict the fact, which emerges in particular when one considers machinery, that *the same* capital (total capital) reduces the number of workers it employs. Assume that the total capital is 500; let the original ratio $v:c$ (variable to constant)=400:100, hence $^4/_5v$ and $^1/_5c$. Let the constant capital rise from 100 to 400 as a result of capitalist development. This development may be accompanied not only by a fall from 400 to 100 in the capital laid out in wages, because the number of workers employed by the capital has undergone a 4fold reduction, but also a fall from 100 to only 50, for the same reasons, in the cost of this number of workers, now reduced to $^1/_4$ of its former size. The same variable capital of 400 would now set in motion twice the number of workers, and the REMAINING VARIABLE CAPITAL OF 50 now in fact sets in motion—for its aliquot part—twice as great a number of workers as previously. There has been a *relative* increase *in the number of workers set in motion by variable capital*, even though there has been a fall in this variable capital and thereby in the absolute number of workers employed.[7]

Absolute surplus value—which presupposes a given level of productivity—can increase the *number* of workers *simultaneously employed* and therefore the amount of surplus value, at a given rate, only in so far as there is a *growth in capital*, more capital is employed altogether; it does contribute to this growth, admittedly, in so far as the accumulation of capital—the reconversion of surplus value into capital—increases with the increase in surplus value, no matter how the latter process can be effectuated. But relative surplus value directly increases the *rate of gratis labour*, and lessens the absolute wage, thus making it possible to exploit more workers at the same time with the same variable capital at the increased rate of exploitation. It makes it possible to draw in more *labour capacities* with the same wage payment (also through the introduction of female and child labour), and thus has an impact on the population absolutely (just as, in relative terms, it constantly increases it BY MAKING SOME SORT OF LABOUR OR OTHER CONTINUOUSLY REDUNDANT), thereby increasing the mass of living labour capacities which

forms the basis for exploitation by capital; the animate material from which SURPLUS value is extracted.//

If the quantity of workers employed is reduced by machinery in *a single* branch, while their wages are at the same time reduced by the cheapening of the commodities which enter into the workers' consumption, there is a simultaneous reduction in wages in all other branches of capitalist production, in which this revolution has not taken place, because one of the elements which go to make up wages has fallen in value. Here the same quantity of labour is employed as before, but using less capital. A part of the capital previously laid out in wages is therefore freed.[8]

The capital thus set free can be invested in *the same* branches of production, to extend them, or in new branches. And since machinery takes hold, now of one branch, now of another (disregarding here the fact that the use value of the income is increased, hence a greater part of it can be reconverted back into capital), capital is in this manner continuously set free. This is naturally slower to take effect than the displacement of the workers by machinery. On the other hand, the demand of those thrown out of work falls or ceases altogether. Therefore the capitals which in part derived their RETURN from the consumption of these workers are in part depreciated, if they cannot find a foreign market for the part of their product which has been set free in this way. But the variable capital which has now been converted into constant capital, ceases to constitute a demand for labour. Even the labour it originally set in motion (machine workers, etc.) is never as much as the labour it releases, for this part of the capital, e.g. 1,000 laid out in machines, now represents not only the wages of the mechanics, but at the same time the profit of these capitalists, whereas previously it only represented wages (*Ricardo*[a]).[9]

[XX-1253] As an infinite drive for enrichment, capital strives for the infinite increase of the productive forces. On the other hand, every increase in the productive powers of labour—leaving aside the fact that it increases use values for capital—is an increase in the productive power of capital and it is only a productive power of labour in so far as it is a productive power of capital.[10]

ACCUMULATION

We have shown *alio loco*[b] that, in so far as the reproduction process of the total capital is confined to the reproduction of the

[a] See present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 177-200.— *Ed.*

[b] In another place.— *Ed.*

process on the previous scale, the different moments are conditioned by natural laws, and that in fact exchange takes place between the *surplus value* of the producers of constant capital and the *constant* capital of the producers of the means of subsistence, etc. We have further seen how a part of this surplus value of all classes is exchanged for the new gold and silver of the producers of the precious metals.[11] But to the extent that the reproduction process is a process of *direct* accumulation, i.e. the conversion of surplus value (income) into capital, there is no such mutual dependence. It is possible that a part, whether of the commodities which enter into constant capital or form constant capital, or even of the commodities which enter into variable capital, exchanges definitively for *money*, whether HOARDED MONEY or new supplies of gold and silver, and that on one side the SURPLUS is fixed to the spot in this money form as *latent capital.* In this form it is a *draft on future labour.* As such, it is a matter of indifference whether this exists in the form of tokens of value, debt claims, etc. It may be replaced by any other title. Like the state creditor with his COUPONS, every capitalist possesses a draft on future labour in his newly acquired value, and by appropriating present labour he has already appropriated future labour. The accumulation of capital in the money form is by no means a material accumulation of the material conditions of labour. It is rather an *accumulation of property titles to labour.*[12]

There is a distinction between absolute and relative surplus value which emerges for variable capital. In the first case, $v$ can only employ $n$ workers, e.g. with 100 thalers it can employ 100 workers. The *ratio* between the *value of the variable* capital and the *number of workers simultaneously employed* is *constant* here. Admittedly, if the working day is prolonged in absolute terms, 100 workers who work 16 hours (their product=1,600 hours of labour) replace $133^1/_3$ workers who work only 12 hours (for $12 \times 133^1/_3 = 1{,}600$ hours of labour). Or, in other words, the same aim is achieved by prolonging labour time by 4 hours as if $33^1/_3$ more workers working the old day of 12 hours were to be added. Leaving aside the fact that the instruments of labour, factory buildings, etc., are saved for these $33^1/_3$ workers, a saving which occurs even if the 4 surplus labour hours are paid in the same proportion as the 12, hence are not appropriated by the capitalist ALTOGETHER gratis. This represents a positive saving in the constant capital laid out, which does not need to grow here in the same measure as the quantity of labour exploited.

If a part of the constant capital (instrument of labour, buildings,

etc.) is worn out more rapidly, firstly this does not happen in the same proportion (neither in the case of the instrument, nor, even less, in the case of the buildings) as the increase in the PRODUCTIVE USE of these conditions of labour. Secondly, no component of surplus value is thereby added to the commodities produced, SINCE the proportion of these conditions of labour to the labour itself remains constant in the worst case, but IN REALITY falls. Thirdly, the more rapid turnover, which AT ONCE replaces greater capital outlays, is of direct profit to the capitalist. The individual capitalist never has more than a certain amount of capital at his disposal. Every acceleration of turnover, which permits him to exploit the same quantities of labour with a *lessened capital outlay*—since the rapidity of circulation lessens the size of the capital that needs to be laid out and allows the same operations to be carried out with a smaller amount of [XX-1254] capital—reduces the production costs of the exploitation and increases his capacity of disposition over his capital. All these considerations, however, belong to the examination of profit—where the ratio of the surplus value to the total amount of capital laid out is discussed.[13]

But as far as the *variable capital* is concerned, the capitalist must pay as much for 100 workers as for $133^1/_3$, if he pays the 4 hours of OVERTIME at the same rate as the previous 12 hours; or if the 4 hours are divided into necessary and surplus labour in the same proportion as the 12 were. In this case no alteration in the variable capital would take place. As against this, if, once the working day is raised from 12 to 16 hours, more SURPLUS labour in general is added for nothing, say for the sake of simplicity the whole of the 4 hours, a variable capital of $33^1/_3$ thalers is of course saved, namely the amount that needed to be laid out to produce the same magnitude of value under the 12-hour working day. Nevertheless, the 100 workers can only be employed for 100 thalers. The variable capital laid out for them remains constant in relation to the number employed by it, although it has fallen *relatively* in relation to the *quantity of surplus labour* set in motion by it, and therefore in relation to the *increased* number of workers who would have had to be paid under other circumstances.

The ratio between the *value of the variable capital* and the *number* of workers employed, however, changes as a result of the increase in the productive forces and the relative *devaluation* of labour capacity brought about by this. Now perhaps only 70 thalers are needed to employ the same 100 workers. This sets free a part of the variable capital,=30 thalers, quite apart from the increase in relative SURPLUS labour. The same number of workers produce

more commodities, and provide a greater amount of surplus value. However, the rate of surplus value grows here because wages fall, hence there is also a decline in the *value* of the variable capital in proportion to the number of workers set in motion by it. It can now be seen that the *ratio of variable to constant capital*, its rise or fall, is subject to different variations from those affecting the ratio between the *value of the variable capital* and the *number* of labour capacities it can buy.

Since the surplus value a given variable capital produces is doubly determined, by the rate of SURPLUS and by the number of workers employed at the same time, it can be seen in considering relative surplus value how the development of productive power and therefore the development of *real capitalist production* affects both these moments.[14]

With the division of labour and simple cooperation, it appears more clearly that the number of workers remains the same or even increases, but that they are set in motion, are represented, by a variable capital of relatively smaller value; with machinery the *number* of workers employed is reduced, and the *value* of the *variable capital* falls at the same time in proportion to the *number* of workers, so that if e.g. there are 50 workers instead of 100, the variable capital which sets these 50 in motion is smaller than the variable capital which set $^{100}/_{2}$ or 50 in motion on the old scale.

Lauderdale makes the point against the *saving of labour* by machinery that this is not the characteristic thing, because labour performs operations by means of machinery which it could not do without it.[a] The latter, however, concerns only the *use value* of the machine and has nothing to do with the *exchange value* of the commodities produced by it, hence it has nothing to do with *the* SURPLUS *value* either.

The greater productivity of labour expresses itself in the fact that capital has to buy less necessary labour to produce *the same* value and a *greater* quantity of use values. The growth of the productive forces therefore implies that, if *the total value of capital remains the same*, or for a capital of a *given* magnitude, the constant part of it grows continuously relative to the variable, i.e. to that part of the capital which is laid out in living labour, the part which constitutes the wage fund. This means at the same time that a smaller amount of labour sets in motion a greater amount of capital.[15]

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[a] [J. M.] Lauderdale, *Recherches sur la nature et l'origine de la richesse publique...*, Paris, 1808, pp. 119-20. Cf. also present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 162-63.—*Ed.*

With absolute surplus value, the raw material must increase if the labour time is prolonged. But the quantity of labour and the quantity of constant capital (in so far as the latter grows at all, hence only the part of it which is formed by raw material) remain in a *constant* ratio, and grow [XX-1255] in a constant ratio. (Although the quantity of *paid* labour does not grow in the same ratio as the constant capital does. But the *number of workers* remains the same.) If the limit[a] of the working day is given here, constant and variable capital remain in *the same* ratio.

Although in considering *surplus value* we merely have to consider the ratio of the surplus labour to the variable capital, hence not the ratio of the surplus value to the total capital, the result that emerges is the same as is already to be noted in considering relative surplus value, namely that the *development of the productive forces*, which is the condition for the increase of relative surplus value, presupposes or is accompanied by two things:

1) *Concentration of capital*, i.e. an absolute increase in the amounts of value which must be present in the hands of the individual capitalists; for work on a *large scale* is a presupposition. Hence an increase in the *total amounts of capital* which represent the property of the individual capitalists. These amounts of capital must therefore be concentrated in a few hands.

2) While the absolute *amounts of capital* in the hands of the individual capitalist increase, take on *social* dimensions, there is at the same time a change in the composition of the capitals. The variable capital declines relatively in proportion to the constant capital, and forms a progressively smaller component of the total capital.

//The question is whether this should not be placed together in the following section, δ), where we derive the results from the characteristics of capitalist production.//[16]

If there is an increase in the total value of the capital which enters into the production process, the wage fund, the variable capital, must decline relatively, in comparison with the previous ratio, in which the productive power of labour remained the same. If the ratio changes in such a way that, out of 100, only $^1/_4$ instead of $^1/_2$ is laid out in labour, hence $75c+25v$, the capital would have to increase from 100 to 200 in order to employ the same number of workers as before. Then [we should have] $150c+50v$.

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[a] In the manuscript: "d. Gze", which can mean both "die Grenze" (the limit) and "das Ganze" (the total length).— *Ed.*

The 2 moments of SURPLUS value are its rate, the surplus time the individual worker works, and the number of workers employed simultaneously, hence from the point of view of the total capital the SURPLUS labour of the individual worker multiplied by the number of simultaneous workers, or by the *working population.* If the latter is given, the surplus value can only grow through a relative increase in SURPLUS labour, and an absolute reduction in necessary labour time. If the rate is given, it can only grow through a growth in the population.

The ratio between the *rate of surplus value* and the *number* of simultaneously exploited workers receives a characteristic modification with the development of the productive forces, particularly through machinery—in short with the real development of capitalist production.

The ratio of the part of the individual working day (if its limit has been reached) which constitutes *surplus labour* to the part which consists of necessary labour time is modified by the development of the productive forces, so that the necessary labour is restricted to an ever smaller fractional part. But the same is then true for the population. A working population OF, SAY, 6 millions can be considered as one working day of 6×12, i.e. 72 million hours of labour; so that *the same* laws are applicable here. But this first develops with the employment of machinery.

Capital can produce surplus labour only by positing necessary labour, i.e. by entering into exchange with the worker. It is therefore the tendency of capital to produce as much labour as possible, just as it is its tendency to reduce necessary labour to a minimum. It is therefore as much the tendency of capital to enlarge the working population as it is to posit a part of that population as a surplus population,=a population which is initially useless, until such time as capital can utilise it. (Surplus population and surplus capital.) It is as much the tendency of capital to render human labour superfluous, as to drive it on without limit. It must increase the number of simultaneous working days in order to increase the SURPLUS; but equally, it must transcend it as necessary labour in order to posit it as SURPLUS labour.[17] And indeed we see that the reduction in necessary labour presupposes cooperation, hence also the materials of labour, on a mass scale, and that the population is thus itself a means of positing surplus population, just as on the other hand—at a given rate of surplus labour—it sets a limit to the amount of labour that can be exploited simultaneously.

With respect to the single working day, the process is as follows:

1) to lengthen it to the limit of physical possibility; 2) to shorten more and more the necessary part of it.

The VERY process by which necessary labour is reduced makes it possible to set to work new necessary labour; i.e. the *production of workers* becomes cheaper, more workers can be produced in the same time in the measure to which the proportion of necessary labour time becomes smaller, or the time required for the *production of the living labour capacities* is reduced. This irrespective of the fact that the increase in population increases the productive power of labour, by making possible division of labour, cooperation, etc. [XX-1254a][a] Increase in population is a *natural power* of labour for which nothing is paid.

On the other hand, it is just as much the tendency of capital—as previously in the case of the *single* working day—now to reduce to a minimum the many simultaneous working days (which, so far as *value* alone is concerned, can be regarded as *one single working day*), i.e. to posit as many of them as possible as *not necessary*. As previously in the case of the single working day it was the tendency of capital to reduce the hours of necessary labour, so now it tends to reduce the *necessary working days* in relation to the total of objectified labour time. If 6 are necessary to produce 12 hours of surplus labour, capital works towards the reduction of these 6 to 4. $6\times2=4\times3$. Thus 4 workers who work 3 surplus [hours] produce as much surplus value as 6 workers each of whom only works 2 surplus hours. Or 6 working days=a working day of 72 hours. The surplus labour here=12 hours, hence the necessary labour=60 hours. If capital succeeds in reducing necessary labour time by 24 hours (i.e. by two working days or 2 workers), the total working day remains $60-24+12=36+12=48$, of which 12 are surplus [hours]. On the other hand, the newly created surplus capital can be valorised as such only by being exchanged for living labour. Hence it is just as much the tendency of capital constantly to increase the working population as it is constantly to diminish the necessary part of it, i.e. posit a part of it as surplus population, overpopulation. It is a reserve. *Au fond*[b] this is only the application of what has been developed *in the case of the single working day*. All the contradictions expressed, but not understood, in modern population theory[18] are, therefore, already latent here.[19]

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[a] The pages 1254a and 1255a (numbered by Marx) are between pages 1255 and 1256.— *Ed.*

[b] At bottom.—*Ed.*

*Ricardo,* in speaking of machinery, correctly states that capital *makes* a REDUNDANT population.[a] It has the tendency both to increase the population absolutely and to posit an ever-increasing part of the latter as surplus population.

The division of labour and the combination of labour within the production process is a machinery which costs the capitalist nothing. He pays for the individual labour capacities, not for their combination, not for the social power of labour. Another productive force which costs him nothing is SCIENTIFIC POWER.[b] The growth of the population is a further productive force which costs nothing. But it is only through the possession of capital—in particular in its form as machinery—that he can appropriate for himself these free productive forces; the latent wealth and powers of nature just as much as all the social powers of labour which develop with the growth of the population and the historical development of society.

The reduction of necessary labour relative to surplus labour is expressed, if we consider a single working day, in the appropriation of a larger part of the working day by capital. Here the living labour which is employed remains the same. Let us assume that 3 workers out of 6 are made superfluous through the employment of machinery. If the 6 workers themselves possessed the machinery, they would now work for only half a day each (presupposing, that is, that this proportion applies generally, so that a use value of the value of 6 hours performs the same service as previously the use value of the value of 12 hours did). Now 3 continue to work for the whole day each day of the week.

Assume that necessary labour previously amounted to 10 hours and surplus labour to 2 hours daily; in this case the surplus labour performed by the 6 workers amounted to $2\times6$ hours$=1$ working day, and over the week to the weekly surplus labour of *a single* worker. Each worked one day a week gratis. It would be the same as if 5 workers had worked only for themselves and the 6th had worked gratis for the whole of the week. One worker in 6 costs the capitalist nothing. The 5 workers represent *necessary labour.* If their number could be reduced to 4, and the one worker worked for nothing as before, relative surplus value would have grown. Previously, its ratio was 1:6 and it is now 1:5. If each one, instead of working 10 hours of necessary labour time, only works $9^3/_5$, hence SURPLUS [labour] is $2^2/_5$ instead of 2, $2^2/_5\times5=12$ hours of

[a] See present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 195-200.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 32 ff.—*Ed.*

labour=1 whole working day, and it would be the same as if 1 of the 5 workers represented the whole of the surplus labour, and the other 4 worked the necessary labour time for themselves and for the 5th worker. The variable capital would have fallen from $6x$ ($x$=the wage) to $5x$. $6x$ was=5 weekdays, and $5x$ is now=4 weekdays, but provides the same surplus value. Thus the rate of surplus value has grown. The same quantity of surplus labour is extracted with less variable capital.

If it is possible for this capital to employ the 6 workers at the *new* rate, surplus value will increase not merely relatively to the variable capital laid out, but absolutely as well. For now each of 6 workers works $2^2/_5$ hours a day gratis. This=$(2+{}^2/_5)6={}^{72}/_5=14^2/_5$. Previously it was only=12. $2^2/_5$ performed by 6 is of course more than $2^2/_5$ performed by 5.[20]

[XX-1255a] Given this new rate, capital again has an interest in employing as many workers as possible at this rate, partly in consequence of the law, developed in the case of absolute surplus value, that if the rate of surplus value is given, its amount can only grow in proportion to the number of workers employed simultaneously[a]; partly because the advantages deriving from the combination and division of labour grow as the number of workers employed simultaneously grows.

The tendency of capital is, OF COURSE, to link absolute SURPLUS value with relative; hence the greatest possible extension of the working day and the maximum number of simultaneous workers, accompanied by the reduction of necessary labour time to the minimum and therefore a restriction of the necessary number of workers to the minimum. The contradictions involved here appear as a process in which mutually contradictory conditions alternate in time. One necessary consequence is the *greatest possible diversification of the use value of labour*—or of the branches of production—so that capital's production strives on the one hand for the *development and intensification of productive power* and on the other hand for a *limitless variety of branches of labour*, i.e. that production should have the maximum of all-round content, subjecting to itself all aspects of nature.[21]

α) *D'abord*,[b] any concern with profit is to be left aside here. Machinery can always step into the place of workers, whether they worked as independent handicraftsmen or in manufacture based on the division of labour, as soon as the *price of the commodity* is

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 179-80, 185-86, 206.— *Ed.*
[b] First of all.— *Ed.*

thereby lessened, and this always takes place once the *part of the value* which falls to the individual commodity as depreciation of the machinery is *smaller* than the value added to the commodity by the labour replaced by the machine. Because as the machinery replaces labour, it goes without saying that less living labour enters into the individual commodity, or a smaller amount of living labour produces the same quantity of commodities as before, or a greater quantity. Hence the price of the individual commodity falls under these circumstances, SINCE it=the value of the machinery used up in it+the value of the labour added, which is the smaller, the greater the quantity of use values a given quantity of living labour produces. It is not necessary to speak here of the value of the raw material, because it is constant for both kinds of production, the old and the new. Raw material enters into both as a given value.

But the total amount of more cheaply produced commodities is not greater than the total amount of more expensively produced commodities. I.e., if the same labour time (objectified+living labour) produces twice as many commodities as before, this double quantity of commodities is now worth only the same amount as the half produced before. In itself, the cheapening of the commodity brought about by machinery creates no surplus value. The surplus value remains, as before, equal to the surplus labour, the excess [of the total labour performed] over the necessary labour. But since the *number* of workers a capital of a given magnitude sets in motion has become smaller—owing to the employment of machinery—the total quantity of living labour set in motion by that capital has also become smaller. So that for the surplus value to remain the same it must increase relatively, i.e. a greater part than previously of the now smaller total quantity of labour must be surplus labour, or, and this is the same thing, the smaller number of workers must provide the same quantity of surplus labour as the greater number did previously. The surplus value would then stay *the same*, but would even so have grown relatively, SINCE wages, and therefore the variable capital, would have fallen. For to say that a greater proportion of the total quantity of labour is surplus labour means nothing more than that the [proportion of] necessary labour, labour necessary for the reproduction of labour capacity, has fallen. *Hinc*[a] the amount of wages [has fallen too]. Despite this *relative* rise in surplus value and fall in wages, the capitalist would have no more surplus value TO POCKET THAN

[a] Hence.— *Ed.*

BEFORE, because the rate of surplus value would only have risen in the same proportion as the number of workers has fallen, hence the total amount of surplus value,=the result of multiplying the number of workers by the rate of surplus value, would have remained *the same.* Therefore for the employment of machinery to bring the capitalist more surplus value for a given capital the surplus value would have to grow absolutely, i.e. the reduced number of workers would have to do not only just as much surplus labour as the greater number did before, but more surplus labour than they did.

Now, however—leaving aside the fact that skilled labour is reduced to simple labour—the wage only falls in so far as the cheaper commodities produced by machinery enter into the worker's consumption, thereby cheapening the reproduction of labour capacity and depreciating its value, so that it is represented by a wage of lesser [XX-1256] value.

It is clear, firstly, that *this* reduction of wages by machinery is not simultaneous with the latter's introduction, but only occurs gradually; however, once the fall in the value of the commodity produced by the machinery has become general, surplus value rises, not just in the branch where machinery has been introduced, but in *all* branches of production, SINCE ONE ELEMENT of the VALUE of labour capacity has undergone a general fall. Indeed, surplus value rises more in branches where machinery has not been introduced, for those branches employ the same number of workers as before, but pay less for them. This cannot therefore be a motive for the branch of production which is introducing machinery.

Secondly, machinery only cheapens the particular product of a particular branch of production; this product only enters into the value of labour capacity or the consumption of the worker as a particular ITEM, and only reduces that value in the proportion to which it forms an element in the worker's means of subsistence. The DEPRECIATION of labour capacity which results from this—or the surplus value which results from this—therefore stands in no relation to the proportion to which the machinery has increased the productive power of labour or reduced the number of workers necessary for the production of a given quantity of use values.

Thirdly, however, it is clear that the surplus labour provided by a smaller number of workers as a result of the introduction of machinery—hence in the branches of production where machinery has been introduced—can only grow absolutely up to a certain limit, or even only be kept equal, within certain limits, to the

surplus labour provided by a greater number of workers before the introduction of machinery. E.g. if the working day=12 hours, the machine replaces 24 workers by 2, and the surplus labour previously amounted to 1 hour, the quantity of surplus labour provided by the 24=24 hours or 2 working days, hence as large as the total amount of labour provided by the 2 workers, taking necessary and surplus labour together. The greater the proportion in which the machinery reduces the number of workers set in motion by a given capital, the more impossible does it become for the number of workers remaining to provide a greater amount of surplus labour than, or an equal amount to, that provided by the workers who have been displaced, however much the *relative* surplus labour time they work may grow.

But the *value* of a commodity is determined by the *labour time necessary* to produce it under the conditions of production prevailing in general. The capitalists who are first to introduce machinery into a particular branch of production produce the commodity with the expenditure of less labour time than the time *socially necessary*. The *individual* value of their commodity therefore stands *below* its social value. This therefore enables them—until machinery has taken over generally in that branch of production—to sell the commodity *above* its individual value, although they are selling it *below* its *social* value. Or the labour of their workers appears SO FAR as higher labour, standing above average labour, and its product therefore has a higher value. Thus, for the capitalist who introduces machinery, a smaller number of workers in fact produce a higher *surplus value* than was produced by the larger number of workers.

Let us assume that 2 workers have displaced 12. The 2 produce as much as the 12 did. Each of the 12 had to work 1 hour surplus, hence 12 hours altogether. If the capitalist now sells his product at 24, the old total of labour time (22 of which are necessary labour and 2 surplus labour),+10 hours, the whole of the surplus labour of the 10 who have been displaced, the part of the value of the product which corresponds to the raw material remains the same. Let the depreciation of the machinery which enters into the product (from which one must further deduct in the comparison the depreciation of the old handicraft tools) amount annually to $^1/_{10}$ of the machinery which displaced the 10 workers.[22] The total amount of the previous product cost 12×12 hours=144 hours+the raw material+the depreciation of the old handicraft tools. The total amount of product produced by machinery=24 hours+10 hours+$^{120}/_{10}$=12=46 hours. The price of

a single commodity has therefore fallen greatly. The raw material can be left out of account on both sides. The capitalist therefore extracts a surplus value of 12 hours out of the 24 hours.[23] Or each of the 2 workers provides for him as much surplus as 6 did previously. It is the same as if he had reduced necessary labour time to 6 hours and bought the whole working day with the *value* of the product of half the working day.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the reduction in the number of workers set in motion with a given capital, and therefore in one of the factors which constitute surplus value, a reduction resulting from the introduction of machinery, gives rise in part to the tendency, which is precisely a feature of the mechanical workshop, to prolong absolute labour time, hence to have the 2 workers work e.g. 16 or 17 hours, when they previously only worked 12. This tendency receives all possible FACILITIES from the character of machinery, and, apart from the motive indicated, it is accompanied by yet further motives, which will be developed later (in connection with profit and as determined by the ratio between variable and constant capital).

[XX-1257] Once machinery has been introduced generally into the branch of production, thereby obliterating the difference between the individual and the social value of the commodity produced by it, there is naturally an increase in this tendency to expand the amount of surplus value—lessened by the reduction in the number of workers—by *absolutely lengthening* the working day, and thus increasing the absolute quantity of labour extracted from this smaller number of workers.

Once barriers have been put up against this tendency and the normal working day has been established, the tendency is to increase the *intensity* of labour and thus to valorise it as standing above simple labour. This point has already been developed.[a]

In so far as machinery brings about a direct reduction of wages for the workers employed by it, by e.g. using the demand of those rendered unemployed to force down the wages of those in employment, it is not part of our task to deal with this CASE. It belongs to the theory of wages.[24] In our investigation we proceed from the assumption that the *labour capacity* is paid *at its value*, hence wages are only reduced by the DEPRECIATION of that labour capacity, or, what is the same thing, by the cheapening of the means of subsistence entering into the workers' consumption. Here, in contrast, it is not a matter of a reduction in the *value* of the AVERAGE

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 335-39, and Vol. 33, pp. 384-86.—*Ed.*

wage, but of a reduction below its previous AVERAGE (expressed quantitatively, in use values), of a reduction in the AVERAGE itself or a fall in the price of labour below its value.

But the following is indeed relevant here:

*Firstly*: The fact that owing to the direct exploitation of the labour of women and children, who must earn their wages themselves, so that a greater amount of labour from the whole of the worker's family falls to the share of capital, *firstly*: there is an increase in the *total amount of exploitable labour* a given population offers to capital, hence also in the amount of surplus labour extractable from this working population; *secondly*: the labour capacity of the *adult* worker is depreciated. Previously the worker's wage had to suffice to maintain himself and his family. The wife worked for their house, not for the capitalist, and the children only began to earn the equivalent for their consumption at an advanced age. The wage of the adult *père de famille* had to suffice not only to maintain them *without labour* on their part, but also to replace the cost of developing their labour capacity, which is reduced almost to 0 by machinery.

Now, in contrast, women and children not only reproduce an equivalent of their consumption but at the same time [produce] SURPLUS value. Thus the whole family must provide a greater amount of labour, necessary+surplus labour, must supply more surplus labour in order to squeeze out the same *AVERAGE wage* for the whole family.

*Secondly*: In so far as machinery replaces the skilled independent handicraftsman, replacing equally the specialisation developed through the division of labour with simple labour, differentiated at most by distinctions of age and sex, it reduces all labour capacities to *simple* labour capacities and all labour to simple labour, whereby the total amount of labour capacities is depreciated.

All this refers to the workers employed by machinery. We shall come back later to the workers who have to compete with the new machine workers or those working with improved machinery.[a]

β) We now have two further questions to investigate. *Firstly*, how far the effects of machinery differ from those of the division of labour and simple cooperation, and *secondly* the effects of machinery on those thrown out of work, displaced by it.

It is characteristic of all *social forms* and combinations of labour developed within capitalist production that they curtail the time necessary for the production of commodities, hence also lessen the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 28-29.—*Ed.*

number of workers required to produce a given quantity of commodities (and similarly *surplus value*). Yet it is only in *machinery*, and in the *mechanical workshop* based on the application of the new system of developed machinery, that the *replacement of workers* by a part of constant capital (by the part of the product of labour which again becomes a means of labour) exists; in general, only here does the *rendering* of the *workers superfluous* emerge as an *explicit and conscious tendency* and a *tendency acting on a large scale.* Past labour appears here as a means of replacing living labour or lessening the number of workers. This reduction in human labour appears here as a *capitalist speculation,* as a means of increasing surplus value.

(This can in fact only take place to the extent that the commodities produced by machinery enter as means of subsistence into the consumption of the worker, or form reproductive elements of labour capacity. Nevertheless, in so far as the *individual value* of the commodities produced by machinery is initially, before the general introduction of machinery, [XX-1258] different from their social value, and the individual capitalist pockets part of this difference, it is a *general* tendency of capitalist production to replace human labour by machinery in all branches of production.)

It is also with the coming of *machinery* that the worker first directly fights against the productive power developed by capital, seeing in it a principle antagonistic to him personally, to living labour. *The destruction of machinery* and the resistance in general on the part of the workers to the introduction of machinery is the first declaration of war against the mode of production and the means of production developed by capitalist production. Nothing of this kind takes place with simple cooperation and the division of labour. On the contrary. The division of labour within manufacture in a certain manner reproduces the division of labour between the different crafts. The only antagonism we find here is the prohibition, on the part of the guild and the medieval organisation of labour, on the employment by a single master of *more than a maximum of workers,* and the complete ban on their employment by a mere *merchant,* who is not a master. This antagonism is *instinctively* directed against the general foundation on which alone the transition from the handicraft-based to the capitalist mode of production can take place, namely the cooperation of many workers under *a single* master, and against *production on a mass scale,* although the social powers of labour which this mass production develops, and the DEPRECIATION or even

replacement of living labour by the product of past labour, could not here as yet be present to consciousness.

The division of labour and simple cooperation never rest *directly* upon replacing labour or rendering workers superfluous, since their basis is on the one hand the CONGLOMERATION of workers, on the other hand the establishment of a living machinery or system of machines by means of these conglomerated workers. Admittedly, labour is rendered *relatively* superfluous by these methods. E.g. when a manufactory based on the division of labour, with 30 workers, produces *x* times as many locks as 30 independent locksmiths could produce, not only are the independent locksmiths driven out of business when they come into competition with the manufactory, but the growth in the production of locks no longer presupposes, as it did previously, a proportionate growth in the number of locksmiths. This appears more as a transformation of guild masters and their journeymen into capitalists and wage labourers than as a displacement of the wage labourers themselves by the application of capital and scientific knowledge. The latter form is the less likely to be seen in that manufactories appear only *sporadically*, in so far as they appear *before* the invention of machinery; they by no means seize hold of all branches, and they coincide with the initial development of industrial labour on a large scale and the requirements based on this. The later manufactories, which go hand in hand with machinery, have it as a presupposition, even if they are only able to employ it partially as yet. They have as a presupposition the surplus population formed by machinery and constantly renewed by it.

Adam Smith could therefore still view the division of labour in manufacture and the increase in the number of workers as identical expressions. (See the one quotation.[a])

Here the main form always remains—the *relative number of workers* (because the quantity of labour) required to produce a given amount of the commodity is reduced, or *the same number* produce more (hence also the demand for labour for the expansion of production falls relatively), but at the same time *more workers* must be employed in order to bring about this *relative* increase in productive power. The tangible, visible form in which this appears here is a *relative reduction* of the *necessary* labour time, not a reduction in the *absolute amount of labour employed*; because the living worker, and the *number of workers simultaneously employed*, always remains the basis here. The more so as the emergence of

[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 185-86.— *Ed.*

manufacture falls in a period during which needs, the amount of commodities being exchanged, and foreign trade (in fact a *relative world market*) suddenly underwent an immense expansion. We therefore only find manufacture in conflict with handicraft production, by no means with *wage labour* itself, which (in the towns) first assumes an existence on a broad scale with this mode of production.

The *necessary* labour time is changed, but only because of the growth in the number of workers employed simultaneously, and in general because industrial labour as wage labour is separated from handicraft and rural patriarchal production. But the basis of this development of productive power is always the worker and the extension of his specific kind of skill. The situation is admittedly different in *large-scale agriculture*, which develops simultaneously with manufacture. From the outset this type of agriculture operates in the manner of machinery, but in fact only because here, both in the conversion of arable land into pasture and in the employment of better implements and *horses*, *past labour*, as with machinery, steps forth as a means of replacing or lessening *living labour*.

[XX-1259] *As regards machinery, however*:

Where *new branches of industry* are founded on machinery, one cannot of course speak of the replacement of workers by machinery. But this CASE does not in general arise until machinery is already developed; in an advanced epoch of the mode of production based on it, and even here only to an infinitesimally small extent, whether compared with commodities where human labour is displaced by machinery, or commodities which replace those produced previously by hand labour alone.

The first thing is always the *application of machinery* to branches where the work was previously carried on as a handicraft or manufacture. With this the machine steps forth as a *revolution* in the mode of production altogether, emerging from the capitalist mode of production. The purpose, once the *mechanical workshop* has been set up, is to make continuous *improvements in the machinery*, which will either subordinate to the machine system sections of the workshop not yet subordinated to it, or reduce the number of workers employed, or put the labour of women and children in place of that of adult male workers, or, finally, increase the productive power of the same number of workers to a greater extent than in manufacture (which is therefore directly felt by the workers) thereby lessening the *relative* number of workers required for the production of a given quantity of commodities.

The formula with machinery is not the relative shortening of the *single working day*—the shortening of its necessary part—but the reduction of the *number of workers*, i.e. of the working day which is composed of many simultaneous working days put together—the reduction of its necessary part; i.e. the aim is to throw out, to extinguish, a certain number of workers, as being superfluous to the production of surplus labour; leaving aside the annihilation of the specialisation developed through the division of labour and the resultant DEPRECIATION of labour capacity. Past labour—and the social circulation of labour—is consciously treated here as a means of rendering living labour superfluous. In the other form, necessary labour time is the basis on which surplus labour is developed. Here, inversely, what is calculated is how a given quantity of surplus labour can be obtained through the possession of a given quantity of necessary labour.

Here the antithesis between capital and wage labour develops into a complete contradiction, in that capital appears as a means, not only of depreciating living labour capacity, but of making it *superfluous*; completely superfluous for particular processes, but on the whole as a means of *reducing it to the smallest possible number.* Necessary labour is directly posited here as superfluous—*overpopulation*—in so far as it is not required for the production of surplus labour.

We have already explained[a] how in this way capital—against its will—in fact lessens the amount of surplus labour a given capital can produce. Hence in turn the contrary tendency to cause the relatively small number of workers actually employed by machinery to do *as much absolute surplus labour as possible*, i.e. to extend the absolute working day.

The political economists of the period of large-scale industry therefore attack the erroneous view, which still prevailed in the period of manufacture, that it was in the interest of the state—i.e. here the capitalist class—to employ the largest possible *number of workers.* The task appears to be the opposite one, to reduce as far as possible the number of workers required for the production of surplus labour and TO MAKE POPULATION REDUNDANT.[25]

γ) What this amounts to for the worker is not only the annihilation of his special skill and the DEPRECIATION of his labour capacity, but the annihilation, for a constantly fluctuating section of workers, of their only commodity—*labour capacity*—which is posited as superfluous by machinery, whether because part of the

[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 259-66.— *Ed.*

work is entirely taken over by the machinery, or because the number of workers assisting the machinery is very much reduced and the workers belonging to the previous mode of production and competing with the machinery are ruined. The *labour time necessary* for the production of the commodity *for them* as individuals is no longer the labour time socially necessary. Their labour of 16 to 18 hours now only has the [XX-1260] value of the 6 or 8 hours' labour required with machinery. Confronted with a labour time prolonged beyond all normal limits and with inferior remuneration—since the value of their labour is regulated by the value of the commodities produced with machinery—they then take up the struggle against machinery until they finally go under. (See the example with the *weavers* in the supplementary notebook.[26])

If on the one hand machinery has the tendency *constantly to throw workers out*, whether from the mechanical workshop itself, or from the handicraft enterprise, on the other hand it has the tendency constantly to *attract* them, since once a particular stage of development of productive power is given, *surplus value* can only be increased by increasing the number of workers employed at the same time. This attraction and repulsion is the characteristic feature of machinery, hence the constant *fluctuation* in the *worker's existence.*

It is also demonstrated in STRIKES that machinery is invented and employed in direct opposition to the claims of living labour, and that it appears as a means of defeating and breaking them. (See *Ricardo* on the constant antagonism between machinery and living labour.[27])

Here, therefore, we have, in a concentrated expression, the alienated form which the objective conditions of labour—past labour—assume against living labour; here we have it as a direct antagonism, in that past labour, hence the general social powers of labour, including natural forces and scientific knowledge, appear directly as weapons, used partly to throw the worker onto the streets, to posit him as a *surplus object*, partly to break down his special skill and the claims based on the latter, partly to subject him to the thoroughly organised despotism of the factory system and the military discipline of capital.

It is in this form, therefore, that the *social conditions* of labour, which emerge from the *social productive power* of labour and are posited by labour itself, appear most emphatically as forces not only alien to the worker, belonging to *capital*, but also directed in the interests of the capitalist in a hostile and overwhelming fashion

against the individual worker. We have seen at the same time how the capitalist mode of production not only changes the labour process formally, but radically remoulds all its social and technological conditions[28]; and how capital here no longer appears as material conditions of labour—raw material and means of labour—*not belonging* to the worker, but as the *quintessence* of the *social forces and forms* of the individual worker's common labour confronting him.

Here too past labour—in the automaton and the machinery moved by it—steps forth as acting apparently in independence of [living] labour, it subordinates labour instead of being subordinate to it, it is the iron man confronting the man of flesh and blood.[29] The subsumption of his labour under capital—the absorption of his labour by capital—which lies in the nature of capitalist production, appears here as a technological fact. The *keystone of the arch* is complete. Dead labour has been endowed with movement, and living labour only continues to be present as one of dead labour's conscious organs. The *living connection* of the whole workshop no longer lies here in cooperation; instead, the system of machinery forms a unity, set in motion by the PRIME MOTOR and comprising the whole workshop, to which the living workshop is subordinated, in so far as it consists of workers. Their *unity* has thus taken on a form which is tangibly autonomous and independent of them.

Here we should further cite, first, the relevant passages from Ure, etc., and, second, some comments on scientific knowledge and the forces of nature.

The workshop based on machinery constantly repels workers as *necessary* and, on the other hand, attracts those who have been repelled, to perform functions set by the machine itself. If e.g. 40 out of 50 workers have been dislodged, there is nothing at all to prevent 40 workers from being brought back on the basis of the new level of production. A more detailed discussion of this point does not belong here, however, since it concerns relations between variable and constant capital. The peculiar obsession of the political economists with demonstrating that *in the long run* large-scale industry based on the employment of machinery always re-absorbs the REDUNDANT POPULATION is laughable. First they want to prove that machinery is good because it saves labour, and then it is once again good because it doesn't save any labour, compensating for its replacement of manual labour at one point by making manual labour necessary at another point. [XX-1261] For it is particularly the subsidiary labour, not performed by machinery but made necessary as a result of machinery, that bourgeois

political economy points to as a consolation for the worker. The consolation therefore consists in the fact that machinery only apparently does away with DRUDGERY, but in fact creates new forms of it alongside the old. Or, as far as concerns the workers employed in the mechanical workshop itself, that in spite of the machinery—and in spite of the fact that the toil of the individual worker is increased by machinery—the number of those condemned to this DRUDGERY is itself increased. Incidentally, this is not the place to discuss this question in more detail, since it presupposes an examination of the real movement of capital which is not yet possible here. Nevertheless, the examples I have adduced so far make it possible at least to illustrate the effects of machinery in both directions. This is just as little the place to undertake any further demonstration of the way in which in agriculture the predominant tendency of machinery must be to make the POPULATION REDUNDANT not only TEMPORARILY but ABSOLUTELY.

With machinery—and the mechanical workshop based on it—the domination of past labour over living labour assumes not only a social validity—expressed in the relation of capitalist and worker—but so to speak a *technological* validity.

One might ask how it is possible at all for the application of machinery—leaving aside a setting free of capital and labour—directly to make possible new and increased labour, SINCE all labour, from start to finish, whether directly performed by machinery or presupposed by it, must be < than the amount of labour previously contained in the commodity produced without machinery. But although e.g. the quantity of labour contained in a yard of machine-made linen is < than that in a yard made without machinery, it by no means follows from this that if now 1,000 yards are produced with machinery where previously one yard was produced, there is not a great increase in labour—the labour of flax cultivation, transport and all kinds of intermediary labour. The increase concerns not the quantity of labour contained in *a single* yard, but the greater amount of preliminary labour—independent of the weaving itself—which 1,000 yards require, as opposed to one yard, whether in the preparation of the material or in the circulation (transport). Each yard would remain cheaper as a result of machine labour, although the thousand yards set in motion a thousand times as much subsidiary labour as the single yard did previously.

It is mass production—cooperation on a large scale, with the employment of machinery—that first subjugates the *forces of nature* on a large scale—wind, water, steam, electricity—to the

direct production process, converts them into *agents of social labour.* (In agriculture, in its pre-capitalist forms, human labour appears rather as merely an assistant to the process of nature, which it does not control.) These forces of nature *cost nothing* as such. They are not the product of human labour. But their *appropriation* occurs only by means of machinery, which does have a cost, is itself the product of past labour. They are therefore only appropriated as agents of the labour process through machinery and by the owners of machinery.

Since these NATURAL AGENTS cost nothing, they enter into the labour process without entering into the valorisation process. They make labour more productive without raising the *value of the product*, without adding to the value of the commodity. They rather *lessen* [the value of] the single commodity, since the *quantity* of commodities produced in *the same labour time* is increased, hence the *value* of every aliquot part of this quantity is reduced. Thus, in so far as these commodities enter into the reproduction of labour capacity, the value of labour capacity is thereby reduced, or the labour time necessary for the reproduction of the wage is shortened, and the SURPLUS labour is lengthened. To that extent, therefore, the forces of nature themselves are appropriated by capital, not through their raising the value of the commodities, but through their reducing it, through their entering into the labour process without entering into the valorisation process. The employment of these forces of nature on a large scale is only possible where machinery is employed on a large scale, hence also where there is a corresponding CONGLOMERATION of workers and cooperation of workers subsumed under capital.

The employment of the *NATURAL AGENTS*—their incorporation so to speak into capital—coincides with the development of *scientific knowledge* as an independent factor in the production process. In the same way as the production process becomes an *application of scientific knowledge*, so, conversely, does science become a factor, a function so to speak, of the production process.[30] Every invention becomes the basis of new inventions or new, improved methods of production. It is the capitalist mode of production which first puts the natural sciences [XX-1262] to the service of the direct production process, while, conversely, the development of production provides the means for the theoretical subjugation of nature. It becomes the task of science to be a means for the production of wealth; a means of enrichment.

This is the first mode of production where practical problems are posed which can only be solved scientifically. Only now is

experience and observation—and the NECESSITIES of the production process itself—on a scale which permits and necessitates the APPLICATION of scientific knowledge. *Exploitation of science*, of the theoretical progress of humanity. Capital does not create science, but it exploits it, appropriates it to the production process. There is at the same time a *separation of science*, as *science applied* to production, from *direct labour*, whereas at earlier stages of production the restricted measure of knowledge and experience is directly linked with labour itself, does not develop as an autonomous power separated from labour, and therefore in general never goes beyond a collection of procedures carried on traditionally and only expanding very slowly and little by little. (Learning by experience of the MYSTERIES OF EACH HANDICRAFT.) No separation of hand from brain.

MR. *Howell* (ONE OF THE FACTORY INSPECTORS) says, in *Reports etc.* [*of the Inspectors of*] *Factories* [*for the*] *Half Year ending 31st October 1856*, pp. 53[-54]:

*"According to the best authority in such matters, it would seem that *factory employment is a kind of drudgery* which requires small cultivation of the faculties of the mind",*

and he cites the *MASTERS* themselves, AS FOLLOWS:

*"'The factory operatives should keep in wholesome remembrance the fact that theirs is really a low species of skilled labour; and that there is none which is more easily acquired or of its quality more amply remunerated, or which, by a short training of the least expert can be more quickly as well as abundantly supplied.' 'The *master's machinery* really *plays a far more important part in the business of production* than *the labour and skill of the operative*, which six months' education can teach, and a common labourer can learn'"* (*The Master Spinners and Manufacturers' Defence Fund.* Report of the Committee appointed for the receipt and apportionment of this fund, to the Central Association of Master Spinners and Manufacturers, [Manchester, 1854,] pp. 17[-19]).[a]

(The meaning of the *word *factory* as given in the interpretation clause of the Factory Act of 1844 (7 Victoria, c. 15, section 73)*[b] is this:

*"The word *factory* ... shall be taken to mean all buildings and premises ... wherein or within the curtilage of which steam, water, or any other mechanical power shall be used to move or work machinery employed in preparing, manufacturing, or finishing, or in any process incident to the manufacture of cotton, etc."*[31]

The particular *OBJECT* on which the FACTORY works, such as COTTON,

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 341-42.—*Ed.*

[b] *An Act to Amend the Laws Relating to Labour in Factories.*—*Ed.*

WOOL, HAIR, SILK, FLAX, HEMP, JUTE OR TOW, is of course a LOCAL matter, etc., and does not form part of the essential character of the FACTORY.)

Just as MACHINERY is described here as the "MASTER'S MACHINERY", and its function is described as *his* function in the *production process* (THE BUSINESS OF PRODUCTION), so equally is this true for the *scientific knowledge* which is embodied in this MACHINERY, or in the METHODS OF PRODUCING, chemical processes, etc. Science appears as a *potentiality alien* to labour, *hostile* to it and *dominant* over it, and its application—on the one hand concentration and on the other hand the development into a science of the knowledge, observations and craft secrets obtained by experience and handed down traditionally, for the purpose of analysing the production process to allow the application of the natural sciences to the material production process—this, the application of science, rests entirely on the separation of the intellectual potentialities of the process from the knowledge, understanding and skill of the individual worker, just as the concentration and development of the conditions of production and their conversion into capital rests on the divestiture—the separation—of the worker from those conditions. Instead, FACTORY labour leaves the worker only a knowledge of certain hand movements; with this, therefore, the laws on APPRENTICESHIP are done away with; and the struggle of the state, etc., to get the FACTORY children at least to learn reading and writing shows how this APPLICATION OF SCIENCE UPON THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION coincides with the suppression of all intellectual development in the course of this process. Admittedly, a small class of higher workers does take shape, but this does not stand in any proportion to the masses of "deskilled" workers.

[XX-1263] On the other hand, two points are also clear:

The development of the natural sciences themselves //and they form the basis of all knowledge// as also the development of all knowledge with regard to the production process, itself takes place on the basis of capitalist production, which generally first produces the sciences' material means of research, observation and experiment. In so far as the sciences are used as a means of enrichment by capital, and thereby become themselves a means of enrichment for those who develop them, the MEN OF SCIENCE compete with each other to discover *practical applications* for their science. Moreover, *invention* becomes a *métier* by itself. With capitalist production, therefore, the *scientific factor* is for the first time consciously developed, applied, and called into existence on a scale which earlier epochs could not have imagined.

"This invention" (of the iron man[29]) "confirms the great doctrine already propounded, that when *capital enlists science in her service*, the *refractory hand of labour will always be taught docility*" (Ure, l.c., [Vol.] II, [p.] 140 [p. 368]).[a]

It is very good that the same *Ure* who tells us here that science in the service of capital subjects the refractory hand of labour to its yoke—as shown particularly in his account of the inventions called forth by STRIKES—makes this proclamation to the worker:

"What a different lot would be his, did he quietly move onwards in the progression of improvement designed by Providence to emancipate his *animal functions* from brute toil, and to leave his intelligent principle leisure to think of its immortal interests!" ([Vol.] II, [p.] 143 [p. 370]).

The same Ure who bluntly informs us here that science enlisted in the service of capital subjects labour to the yoke of capital [says]:

"The blessings which physico-mechanical science has bestowed on society, and the means it has still in store for ameliorating the lot of mankind, have been too little dwelt upon; while, on the other hand, it has been *accused* of lending itself to the rich capitalists as an instrument for harassing the poor, and of exacting from the operative an accelerated rate of work" (Ure, Vol. I, [p.] 10 [p. 7]).

//Since *Ure* has in fact expressed the spirit of the factory system, and of modern industry in general, more correctly than any other official spokesman, let us bring together here a brief collection of his own contradictory statements:

*Vol. I, p. 13*: "This class of operatives, who, though inmates of factories, are not, properly speaking, factory workers, being independent of the moving power, have been the principal source of the obloquy so unsparingly cast on the cotton and other factories" [pp. 8-9].[b]

As if these assistants of the actual machine workers were not a necessary result of the system!

"By the infirmity of human nature it happens, that the more skilful the workman, the more self-willed and intractable he is apt to become, and, of course, the less fit a component of a mechanical system, in which, by occasional irregularities, he may do great damage to the whole. The grand object therefore of the modern manufacturer is, through *the union of capital and science*, to reduce the task of his work-people to the exercise of *vigilance and dexterity*,—faculties, *when concentred to one process*, speedily brought to perfection in the young" (Vol. I, [pp.] 30-31 [pp. 20-21]).[c]

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[a] Here and below, Marx quotes from Ure in French, from a French edition (A. Ure, *Philosophie des manufactures...*, Paris, 1836). He also uses occasionally French words and phrases in his comments on Ure. Here the original English is reproduced (A. Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures...*, London, 1835, first edition). The page numbers Marx gives refer to the French edition. Those in square brackets, supplied by the Editors, refer to the English edition.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, p. 496.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., p. 498.—*Ed.*

"*Thus*, that cramping of the faculties, that narrowing of the mind, that stunting of the frame, which were ascribed, and not unjustly, by moral writers, to *the division of labour, cannot*, in common circumstances, occur under the equable distribution of industry" ([Vol.] I, [p.] 34 [pp. 22-23]).[a]

"It is, in fact, *the constant aim and tendency of every improvement in machinery* to supersede *human labour* altogether, or *to diminish its cost*, by *substituting the industry of women and children for that of men*; or *that of ordinary labourers, for trained artisans*" ([Vol.] I, [pp. 34-]35 [p. 23]).[a]

"The principle of the factory system then is, to substitute *mechanical science for* [XX-1264] *hand skill*, and the partition of a process into its essential constituents, for the division or graduation of labour among artisans" ([Vol.] I, [p.] 30 [p. 20]).

"On the graduation system, a man must serve an apprenticeship of many years before his hand and eye become skilled enough for certain mechanical feats; but on the system of decomposing a process into its constituents, and embodying each part in an automatic machine, a person of common care and capacity may be entrusted with any of the said elementary parts after a short probation, and may be transferred from one to another, on any emergency, at the discretion of the master" ([Vol.] I, [pp.] 32-33 [pp. 21-22]).[b]

And after he has told us that the constant aim of machinery is to devalue labour and displace skilled by unskilled labour //since now skill is transferred to the machine and the individual worker's special knowledge is replaced by the *application of mechanical science*//, he lists this as one of the advantages of machinery:

"They effect a *substitution* of more skilled labour for that which is comparatively unskilled"[c] ([Vol.] I, [p.] 46 [p. 30]).

He says in the same passage ([Vol.] I, p. 46 [p. 30]):

"They enable an operative to turn out a greater quantity of work than he could before,—time" //i.e. not the time for which the worker must work but the time needed to turn out a greater quantity of work//, "*labour*" //this is wrong: the labour becomes more intensive with the increased speed of the machinery//, "and quality of work remaining constant."[d]

Machinery imposes *continuity of labour* on the worker:

"In like manner, he must necessarily renounce his old prerogative of stopping" (work) "when he pleases, because he would thereby throw the whole establishment into disorder" ([Vol.] II, [p.] 4 [p. 279]).

After *Ure* has told us that it is the tendency of machinery to make labour superfluous or depreciate it:

"Instead of repining as they have done at the prosperity of their *employers*, and concerting odious measures to blast it, they should, on every principle of gratitude

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, p. 499.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., Vol. 30, p. 288.—*Ed.*

[c] The English original has: "They effect a substitution of labour comparatively unskilled, for that which is more skilled."—*Ed.*

[d] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, p. 500.—*Ed.*

and self-interest, have rejoiced at the success resulting from their labours... Had it not been for the violent collisions and interruptions resulting from erroneous views among the operatives, the *factory system would have been developed still more rapidly* and beneficially for all concerned than it has been" ([Vol.] II, [pp.] 5-6 [pp. 279, 280]).

Thus the workers have harmed themselves by their STRIKES, etc., because they have prevented the *mechanical workshop from developing still more rapidly.* But then he reproaches them *for the opposite reason,* because their STRIKES, COMBINATIONS, etc., have called forth inventions, extended the [factory] system, and *accelerated* its *development,* thereby harming themselves once again. (Previously he said that the worker must renounce "his prerogative of stopping work". Now he says it is untrue that "the work in a *factory* is *incessant*". ([Vol.] II, [p.] 50 [p. 309]) because he views the labour of VIGILANCE as non-labour, and only counts the moments when the worker has to perform an operation with his fingers.)

"Fortunately for the state of society in the cotton districts of Great Britain, *the improvements in machinery are gradual,* or at any rate brought very gradually into general use" ([Vol.] II, [p.] 68 [p. 322]).

On the one hand he praises the inventions called forth by COMBINATIONS and STRIKES for having furthered the development of the system and expanded its power of production to an extraordinary degree. E.g. [he speaks] of the *iron man,*

"a creation destined to *restore order among the industrious classes,* and to *confirm* to Great Britain *the empire* of the cotton industry[a]" ([Vol.] II, [p.] 138 [p. 367]).

Thus in the case of the machines employed in calico printworks (for printing colours, etc.):

"At length capitalists sought deliverance from this intolerable bondage *in the resources of science,* and were speedily *re-instated in their legitimate rule,* that *of the head over the inferior members*" (Vol. II, [p.] 141 [p. 369]).

(The mindlessness and inferiority of the workers, their existence as mere *organs* of the factory is the *legitimate right* of capital, which exists as the *head* through this fact alone.)

Through their revolts, he explains in detail, the workers themselves "hastened" the development of the system, and thereby brought about their own ruin.

"Violent revulsions of this nature display short-sighted [XX-1265] man in the contemptible character of a *self-tormentor.* What a different lot would be his, did he quietly move onwards in the progression of improvement" (Vol. II, [pp.] 142-43 [p. 370]).

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[a] The English original has: "...the empire of art". The text version follows the French translation used by Marx.—*Ed.*

He likewise demonstrates that science, *enlisted by capital,* is not employed for the suppression of the "oppressed class", by saying that in all conflicts between capital and labour "science enlisted in the service of capital" compels the workers "*to surrender at discretion*" (Vol. II, [p.] 142 [p. 370]) and secures to capital its "legitimate right" to be the *head* of the factory and to degrade the workers to the level of organs of the factory, lacking in mind or will.

It is capitalist production which first transforms the material production process into the application *of science to production*—science put into practice—but it does so only by subjecting labour to capital and *suppressing* the worker's own intellectual and professional development.

Let us now see *Ure's* further apologies for the *displacement of labour,* the throwing out of labour by machinery and the *devaluation* of labour *associated* with this, and on the other hand his presentation of the *drawing back* of labour. For this repulsion and attraction is what is peculiar to the system.

//*Ure* presents it as an advantage of the more rapid development of the system that a couple more workers are employed as the NCOs of capital, and placed in opposition to their own class, or even that there is an increasing number of examples of working-class parvenus, who have themselves turned into exploiters of the workers. But in particular [he says it is an advantage] that there are *yet more factory workers.*

"Thus good workmen would have advanced their condition to that of overlookers, managers, and partners in new mills, and have increased at the same time the demand for their companions' labour in the market" ([Vol.] II, [p.] 5 [p. 280]).

"The system ... would have exhibited *still more frequently gratifying examples* of skilful workmen becoming opulent proprietors" ([Vol.] II, [pp. 5-]6 [p. 280])."//

//Ure admits that the regulation of the *working day* on the part of the state, the Twelve Hours', Ten Hours' Bill, etc., owes its existence solely to "the revolts" of the workers, to their *unions* (he describes them *polemically* as "conspiracies"):

"In consequence of these turmoils and complaints" //of the Spinners' Union in the period around 1818//, "Sir Robert Peel's bill for regulating the hours of labour in factories was passed in 1818: but a similar spirit of discontent continuing to manifest itself, a second bill was passed in 1825, and a third in 1831—the last under the direction of Sir J. C. Hobhouse" ([Vol.] II, [p.]19 [p. 288])."//

//"*The Spinners' Union* succeeded perfectly in mystifying their dupes by romantic representations of *white slavery,* and of the hecatombs of infants sacrificed annually on the calico-crowned altar of Mammon" ([Vol.] II, [pp.] 39-40 [p. 302])."//

"The effect of improvements in machinery, not merely in superseding the necessity for *the employment of the same quantity of adult* labour as before, in order to

produce a given result, but in substituting one *description of human labour for another,— the less skilled for the more skilled,* juvenile for adult, female for male—causes a fresh disturbance in the rate of wages. It is said to lower *the rate of earnings of adults* by displacing a portion of them, and thus rendering their number superabundant as compared with the demand for their labour.

"It certainly *augments the demand for the labour of children,* and increases the rate of their wages" ([Vol.] II, [p.] 67 [p. 321]).

"If any check were given to the cotton manufacture, nay, if *its continual expansion* shall not prove sufficiently great to *re-absorb* those *adults* whom it is *continually casting out,* then the improvements in machinery might be said to have a tendency to 'lower wages'" ([Vol.] II, [p.] 67 [pp. 321-22]).

Here the process is described correctly. Machinery *continually casts out* adult workers, and in order merely to "re-absorb" them, to draw them back in, it needs to *expand continuously.*

Improvements in machinery are gradual, or only come into general use gradually. At the same time there is a continuous gradual extension in that

"*the demand* [for the manufactured article], arising from the decrease of price, bringing it continually within the range of the means of greater numbers of consumers, *keeps up the demand for adult labour,* and thus counteracts the effect of the improvements of machinery which operate to displace it. Hence no [XX-1266] *diminution of earnings for adults* has thus far arisen" ([Vol.] II, [pp.] 68-69 [p. 322]).

"In cotton-spinning it would now be possible to reduce the wages of labour, because, since the mules have been enlarged, there is always a sufficiency of hands... The operative spinners, aware that a great excess of hands would have the effect of reducing their wages, combine to pay the expenses of sending their unemployed comrades away to America... The *trade-unions* are, in fact, bound by their articles to pay certain sums to their idle members, in order to support them, and to prevent them volunteering to work at under-wages from necessity" ([Vol.] II, [pp.] 74-75 [pp. 326-27]).

"The main reason why they" (wages) //in the mechanised factory// "are so high is, that they form *a small part of the value of the manufactured article*" (and this is true in general of the labour added to the material)... "*The less proportion wages bear to the value of the goods,* the higher, generally speaking, is the recompense of labour" ([Vol.] II, [p.] 78 [p. 329]).

*Ure* relates how in their war with the workers the manufacturers *enlarged* the MULE-JENNIES,[a] increased the number of spindles, etc.

"The workmen could not decently oppose" this "because its direct tendency was to raise, or *uphold* at least, the *wages of each spinner,* but *to diminish the numbers necessary for the same quantity of work*; so that those employed would prosper, but the combined body would be impoverished" ([Vol.] II, [pp.] 133-34 [p. 364]). (Incidentally, *Ure* admits here that ([Vol.] II, [p.] 134 [p. 365]) there is *some* "*additional task in the shape of a lengthened mule*".)

*Division of labour and mechanical workshop.* Ure says this of the invention of a machine for *dressing warps*:

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[a] In the manuscript, the English term is given in brackets after its French equivalent.— *Ed.*

"Thus the combined mal-contents who *fancied themselves impregnably intrenched behind the old lines of the division of labour*, found their flanks turned and their defences rendered useless by *the new mechanical tactics*, and were obliged to surrender at discretion" ([Vol.] II, [p.] 142 [p. 370]).[a]//

//It is possible for wages to stand e.g. higher in England than on the Continent, and yet be lower *relatively*, in proportion to the productivity of labour.[b] *Ure* himself cites from the *Supplément de rapport des manufactures. Préfaces des tables par M. J. W. Cowell*[c]:

"Mr. Cowell, however, by a most elaborate analysis of cotton-spinning, endeavours to prove in his supplementary report, that the wages in England are *virtually* lower to the capitalist, though higher to the operative, than on the continent of Europe, in consequence of the amount of work turned out daily by every machine being more than equivalent to the higher price of labour upon it" ([Vol.] II, [p.] 58 [pp. 314-15]).//

//On the determination of the *minimum, and of the wage in general, in the case of* TASK WORK, see the following passage from *Ure*:

"So much weight of prepared cotton is delivered to him" [the spinner], "and he has to return by a certain time in lieu of it a given weight of twist or yarn of a certain degree of fineness, and he is paid so much per pound for all that he so returns. If his work is defective in quality, the penalty falls on him; *if less in quantity than the minimum fixed for a given time, he is dismissed* and an abler operative procured. *The productive power of his spinning-machine is accurately measured, and the rate of pay for work done with it decreases with* (though not as) *the increase of its productive power*" ([Vol.] II, [p.] 61 [pp. 316-17]).

//The mitigating circumstance mentioned at the end comes into force if the price of the manufactured product does not sink in the same proportion as its value is reduced, and the demand for labour is so strong that the worker can appropriate for himself PART OF THE AUGMENTED PRODUCTIVITY. Or if the *intensity of the labour* also grows with the increased productivity of the mule, and the labour does *not* remain *the same* for a given time.// And apart from this, Mr. *Ure himself* indicates that the increase in the productivity of the mule is accompanied by an increase in the number of children employed, children the spinner has to pay, and thus the *apparent increase in his wage*, which may be shown by comparative tables, is reduced to nothing, and probably turns into a negative quantity. Say, e.g., that the number of spindles carried by the mule is to be increased from 500 to 600:

"By this increase, the productive power of the machine will be augmented one-fifth. When this event happens, the spinner will not be paid at the same rate for work done as he was before; but as that rate will not be diminished in the ratio

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 30, p. 341.— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid., Vol. 31, p. 252.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx presumably means *Supplementary Report of Factory Commissioners.*— *Ed.*

of one-fifth, the improvement will augment his money earnings for *any given number of hours' work.* The whole benefit arising from the improvement is *divided* between the master and the operative. Both the profits of the one, and the earnings of the other are simultaneously increased by it. The foregoing statement *requires a certain modification* ... the spinner has to pay something [XX-1267] for *additional juvenile aid* out of his additional sixpence. This deduction deserves to be considered."

//And as Ure himself concedes further on, this augmentation of juvenile aid is accompanied by the "displacement" of a portion of the adults, etc. ([Vol.] II, [pp.] 66, 67 [pp. 320, 321]).//

//*Ure's* grounds for consoling the factory workers are IN FACT that the agricultural workers of *large-scale agriculture,* which originates from the same system, are still worse off; that the children who work in the mines and in industries which have not yet developed to the stage of the mechanical workshop are still worse off; and particularly that workers in branches which have been *ruined* by *machinery* or have to compete with it, or into which machinery throws its displaced SURPLUS workers, are still worse off than the workers employed *directly* in the mechanical workshop. And this is supposed to prove that the system is favourable to the working class!

"It has been said, for example, that the steam-engine now drives the power-looms with such velocity as to urge on their attendant weavers at the same rapid pace; but that the hand-weaver, not being subjected to this restless agent, can throw his shuttle and move his treddles at his convenience" ([Vol.] I, [pp.] 10-11 [p. 7]).[a]

He cites *Dr. Carbutt* of Manchester:

"With regard to Sir Robert Peel's assertion, a few evenings ago, that the hand-loom weavers are mostly small farmers, nothing can be a greater mistake; they live, or rather they just keep life together, in the most miserable manner, in the cellars and garrets of the town, working *sixteen or eighteen hours* for the merest pittance" ([Vol.] I, [pp.] 11-12 [pp. 7-8]).[a]

"The *textile manufactures* consist of two distinct departments; one carried on by multitudes of small independent machines belonging" (not always, and less and less) "to the workmen, another carried on by concatenated systems of machinery, the property of the masters. Of the former, muslin and stocking-weaving are examples; of the latter, mule-spinning and power-loom weaving. The workmen of the first class being *scattered over a wide tract of country,* and *being mutual competitors for work and wages,* can seldom *conspire* with one another, and never with effect against their employers. But supposing them to do so in some degree, they would lock up as much of their own capital as of their masters'; that is, they *would lose as much interest of money in their unemployed looms and loom-shops, as he would lose on the capital advanced to them in yarn for weaving.* The operatives of the latter class are *necessarily associated in large bodies,* and moreover have no capital sunk in machinery

[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, p. 496.—*Ed.*

or work-shops. When they choose to strike they can readily join in the blow, and by stopping they *suffer merely the loss of wages for the time, while* they occasion to their master *loss of interest on his sunk capital* and his taxes, *as well as injury* to the delicate moving parts of metallic mechanisms *by inaction* in our humid climate... If we add to the loss of this interest, *that of the profit fairly resulting from the employment of the said capital,* we may be able to appreciate ... the vast evils which mischievous cabals among the operatives may inflict on mill-owners" ([Vol.] II, [pp.] 7-8 [pp. 281-82]).

(The loss of the "interest" and "profit" deriving from the appropriation of surplus LABOUR is treated in the same way as if these fellows had suffered the theft of *their property* and its NATURAL FRUITS.)//

//"Under what pretext, or with what face of pretension, operatives, whose labour is assisted by steam or water power, can lay claim to a peculiar privilege of *exemption from more than ten hours' daily labour* it is hard to conjecture. They compare their toil [with that] of the *small* class, comparatively speaking, of artisans, such as carpenters, bricklayers, stone-masons, etc., who, they say, work only from six to six, with two one-hour intervals for meals: a class, however, in this material respect distinguished from most factory operatives, that their work is done entirely by muscular effort, and after serving a long apprenticeship with no little outlay. But what do the factory people think of the numerous class of domestic operatives, the stocking or frame-work knitters, the hand-loom weavers, the wool-combers, the lace-manufacturers, and a variety of others, who *work, and very hardly too, from twelve to sixteen hours a-day,* to earn a bare subsistence... The consideration *is also overlooked* by these *interested*" (the capitalists, after all, are DISINTERESTED!) "*reasoners*" //he is not a reasoner!//, [XX-1268] "*that by reducing the hours of labour,* and *thereby* the amount of subsistence derivable from the less objectionable occupations, *they would cause a corresponding increase* of *competition for employment in the more objectionable ones,* and thus *inflict an injury on the whole labouring community,* by wantonly renouncing the fair advantages of their own" ([Vol.] II, [pp.] 76-77 [pp. 328, 329]).

This "reasoning" goes even beyond the heights of absurdity one may expect from Ure. Thus if the workers work 10 hours instead of 12, then //assuming productivity remains the same and is not increased by new inventions// the capitalists, so as to continue producing on the same scale, will have to employ *not more workers at the same time,* which would reduce the SURPLUS POPULATION of the unemployed, thereby reducing the competition between workers in general, but *the reverse, less workers* will be employed *at the same time,* thus increasing the competition among them! If 6 workers do 2 hours of overwork every day, they displace 1 worker a day and 6 workers a week. According to Ure the situation is reversed, *6 more are employed because 6 are displaced!*//

//"It deserves to be remarked, moreover, that handworking" (working at home) "is more or less *discontinuous* from the caprice of the operative, and never gives an average weekly or annual product comparable to that of a like machine equably driven by power. For this reason hand-weavers very seldom turn off in a week much more than one-half of what their loom could produce if kept *continuously in*

*action for twelve or fourteen hours a day, at the rate* which the weaver in his working paroxysms impels it" ([Vol.] II, [pp.] 83-84 [p. 333]).[a]

"The present net weekly earnings of the cotton hands in the stocking trade are from 4s. to 7s. a week; but those received by a far greater number are less than the lowest sum... The full-wrought cotton-hose workmen are all sober and industrious persons ... their average earnings are not *more than 6s.6d. a week.* On this sum, a man, his wife, and children, have to be maintained. Many among them are therefore extremely wretched and destitute of the necessaries of life... The embroidery of bobbin-net, called lace running, also a non-factory household work, painfully illustrates our position. No less than one hundred and fifty thousand females, chiefly of very youthful ages, get their livelihood from this employment in Great Britain. The work is wholly domestic; and though requiring more skill and harder labour than any other branch of the lace business, it is the worst paid... They begin early, and work late, and during this long daily period their bodies are constantly bent over the frame upon which the lace is extended", etc. ... "[They contract a] consumptive tendency, distortion of the limbs, and general debility", etc. "Aversion to the control and *continuity of factory labour,* and the pride of spurious gentility or affectation of lady-rank are among the reasons why young women so frequently sacrifice their comfort and health to lace-embroidery at home. One girl in her examination states, 'I like it better than the factory, though we can't get so much. We have our *liberty* at home, and *get our meals comfortable,* such as they are'" ([Vol.] II, [pp.] 86-88 [pp. 334-35, 336]).[32]

Flattering as the last point is for the FACTORY SYSTEM, it becomes absurd when Ure applies it generally. How much EXTENSION would be needed for the COTTON INDUSTRY to absorb e.g. 150,000 more GIRLS, considering that in 1860, therefore almost 30 years after the appearance of Ure's book, all the COTTON mills of the UNITED KINGDOM employed no more than 269,013 FEMALES OF ALL AGES! This is the kind of rubbish the fellow talks. Even if these 150,000 GIRLS wanted to enter any factory at all, *all* the FACTORIES of all kinds employed only 467,261 FEMALES OF ALL AGES in 1860! Ure did, nevertheless, with the aim of glorifying factory labour, perform the service of highlighting and stressing the still more atrocious condition of the OUT OF DOOR workers—itself in this form A RESULT OF THE [factory] SYSTEM. Thus he *stresses* the extraordinary wretchedness of the hand-weavers, as if this misery were not the result of mechanical weaving and of the actions of the CAPITALISTS, who themselves in turn exploited this misery.

"There is no combination among these poor men. They work in damp detached cellars as long as they can see. [XX-1269] Each brings his individual labour to the *proprietor of the material, who will of course accept the cheapest offer*" ([Vol.] II, [p.] 92 [p. 338]).

"It must appear to every impartial judge ... that the hardest labour, in the worst room, in the worst conducted factory, is less hard, less cruel, and less demoralising, than the labour in the best of coal mines" ([Vol.] II, [p.] 90 [p. 337]).

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, p. 441.—*Ed.*

"A brutality of manners is here disclosed, too gross for transcription, and most discreditable to the masters of the mines" ([Vol.] II, [p.] 90 [p. 337]).

Ure has this to say about the *combination of spinning* and *weaving*:

"The difficulty of competition *from the augmented capital* and *skill*, is increased" ([Vol.] II, [p.] 79 [p. 330]).

"The continental nations must serve a severe and tedious apprenticeship under the fostering care of tranquillity and capital, before they can fabricate and manage a good system of throstles, self-actors, mules, and power-looms" (l.c., [p.] 81 [p. 331]).

"On the other hand, non-factory processes of art which can be condensed into a single frame or machine moveable by hand, come within the reach of operatives in every adjacent country, and will have their profits ere long reduced to the *minimum* consistent with the employment of capital in it, and their wages brought down to the scale of those in the cheapest or meanest living country. The stocking trade affords a painful illustration of this fact" ([Vol.] II, [p.] 82 [p. 332]).

*So much for Ure.//*

Improvements in shipbuilding, navigation, geography, astronomy, etc., have reduced the cost of a lb. of tea from £6-10 to 1-3s. (*Hodgskin.*)[a]

*"The natural agent"* (such as *water power, coals, etc.) "has nothing that it did not possess 40 or 400 years before, but capital has rendered its powers productive"* (Carey, *Principles of Political Economy*, PART I, Philadelphia, 1837 [p. 42]).

"In the 13th century (and part of the 14th) English agriculture was *in a very deplorable state: *superstition* operated on the farmer, so that he would not sow seeds on certain unlucky days, etc.; the implements of husbandry also were generally insufficient for good farming operations; hence, indifferent crops were the result, frequently *not more than 6 bushels an acre.*"*[33] (Now the average is 3 qrs or 24 BUSHELS.) (J. D. Tuckett, *A History of the Past and Present State of the Labouring Population etc.*, Vol. I, London, 1846, [p.] 49.)

*The expansion and improvement of the means of communication* naturally have an effect on the PRODUCTIVE POWER OF LABOUR: *they lessen the labour time* required for the production of the same commodities, and they create that INTERCOURSE which is required for intellectual and commercial development, as also for improved agricultural methods, advances in chemistry, geology, etc. Enlightenment in general as well (see above the reference to *SUPERSTITION*), also legal security, etc. As late as under George II

*"our highways continued to be generally kept in repair merely by the *compulsory labour* of the parish paupers, or, where these could not be obtained, a *compulsory statute labour* on various farms in the parish"* (Tuckett, l.c. [p. 266]).

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[a] See Th. Hodgskin, *Popular Political Economy*, London, Edinburgh, 1827, pp. 65-67.— *Ed.*

"Where no regular roads exist, *there can hardly be said to be a community; the people could have nothing in common"* (l.c. [p. 270]).[a]

Such IMPROVEMENTS IN THE MODE AND OPERATION OF FARMING have been made that now 8 or 10 HANDS can supply the necessaries of 100 where 20 years ago, it took 35 PERSONS; and A CENTURY prior to this, it took as many as it now does in Italy, from 75 to 85. By this a portion of the [rural] LABOURERS have been driven to the manufacturing towns (Tuckett, Vol. II, p. 527).

[XX-1270] It is demonstrated most strikingly in *agriculture* (in England) that with an increase in the productive power of labour the AVERAGE wage not only does not rise, but falls. On the average, the condition of the agricultural labourers in England has deteriorated in the same ratio as agriculture has been improved.

//The article by that louse Potter (*M.P.*) in *The Times*,[34] of which we shall say more later, was written when he was CHAIRMAN of the Manchester CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, and, as *Ferrand* says (in his MOTION on the COTTON FAMINE, *HOUSE OF COMMONS, April 27, 1863)*,

*"that letter might be looked upon as the *manifesto of the manufacturers*".*[35]

Ferrand was invited by a deputation of WORKMEN from 16 DISTRICTS (27 DELEGATES FROM DIFFERENT PARTS OF Lancashire AND Cheshire) to bring forward their cause in Parliament, and he obtained information from them which none of the MANUFACTURERS present in the HOUSE OF COMMONS gave the lie to. We shall assemble together here the most important passages of his speech.

*Intensity of labour.*

*"They informed him that the labour in the factories was, owing to the improvement in the machinery, continually on the increase. When, for instance, the powerloom was first introduced, one person attended two looms; now one attended three without a helper, while it was not at all an unusual thing for one person to attend to 4 looms. There had also been a large increase in the number of 'picks'. In 1825, for instance, there were 85 picks a minute, there were now 160 on an average, being an increase of 50 picks a minute since the passing of the Ten Hours' Act. *Twelve hours work was*, it further appeared, now *done instead of ten*, owing to the increased speed of machinery since 1847. Hon. members would, therefore, at once see how much the labours of factory operatives had increased of late years."[b]

*Vicissitudes of the cotton trade.*

"The cotton trade of England had existed for 90 years. During the first half of that period our manufacturers had a monopoly of the world; ... it had lasted through *three generations* of the English race ... it had *destroyed nine generations* of *the cotton operatives* themselves. From 1815 to 1830 the cotton trade of this country had to contend against the cotton trade of the continent of Europe and against that of the United States of America. In 1833 the China and Indian trade was opened, and during the last 30 years it had extended itself in the East *by the destruction of the human race*. In 1790, when the first census of the United States' slaves was taken, the number was 697,000. In 1861 the probable number was 3,500,000.

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 29, p. 167.— *Ed.*

[b] *The Times*, No. 24544, April 28, 1863, p. 9, col. 1.—*Ed.*

"From *1815* to *1821* the cotton trade was depressed.

"*1822* and *1823* prosperous years.

"*1824* Repeal of the combination laws, important strikes frequent, mills at a stand for weeks.

"*1825* Monetary crisis and failing trade.

"*1826* Great distress, riots.

"*1827* Slight improvement.

"*1828* Great increase of power looms and exports.

"*1829* Exports exceeded those of any former year, especially to India.

"*1830* Great distress, glutted markets.

"*1831-1833* Continued distress. In 1833 trade to the East thrown open.

"*1834* Great increase of mills and machinery. At last discovered, when the mills were built and filled with machinery, that there was no population in the factory districts to work the machinery. A proposition was then made by the manufacturers to the Poor Law[36] Commissioners that the surplus population should be sent from the agricultural districts to the North, and *that the manufacturers would absorb it and use it up.* Those were the very words used by the cotton manufacturers. Agents were appointed in the town of Manchester, with the consent of the Poor Law Commissioners, lists of workpeople were made out and sent to these agents, the manufacturers [XX-1271] went to the offices, and, having selected such as suited them, the families were sent down from the South. They were forwarded ticketed, like so many bales of goods—by canal and by carriers' carts,—some tramped, and many were found in the manufacturing districts lost and half-starved. This had grown up into a regular trade. The House would hardly believe it, that this regular trade, this traffic in human flesh had continued to be carried on, and these people were bought and sold by the agents in Manchester to the cotton manufacturers just as regularly as slaves were sold to the cotton growers in the Southern States.

"*1835* Trade again prosperous. Extinction of the handloom weavers by the powerlooms, many of them died by starvation, some of them with their families existed on $2^1/_4$ d. per day.

"*1836* Prosperity.

"*1837 and 1838* Depressed state.

"*1839* Recovery of the cotton trade. *Villiers'* first motion for the repeal of the corn laws.[37]

"*1840* Great depression, riots put down by the military.

"*1841 and 1842* Dreadful suffering.* *1842* The manufacturers * locked out the factory operatives, to enforce the repeal of the corn laws. They flocked into Yorkshire by tens of thousands, driven back by the military, their leaders placed on their trial at Lancaster.

"*1843* Great Distress.

"*1844* Revival of trade.

"*1845* Great Prosperity.

"*1846* Repeal of the corn laws.

"*1847* Trade depressed; wages reduced after the pledge of the masters that they would be raised.

"*1848* Still depression, Manchester under the protection of the military.

"*1849* Revival.

"*1850* Prosperity.

"*1851* Declining prices, low wages, and frequent strikes.

"*1852* Slight improvement, strikes continued, proposal made to bring over foreigners to work the mills.

"*1853* Great distress at Stockport. Eight months' strike at Preston to get back *the 10%* which *had been taken from the operatives after the repeal of the corn laws.*

"*1854* Markets glutted.

"*1855* Frequent failures reported from the United States, Canada, and the Eastern markets, consequent on the glutted state of the markets.

"*1856* Average commercial prosperity."*

*1857* CRISIS in autumn. (Although the COTTON TRADE was affected only superficially.)

*"*1858* Improvement of the cotton trade.

"*1859* Great Prosperity. Increase of mills.

"*1860* The cotton trade was at its zenith. Indian markets, etc., glutted with cotton."* As late as 1863 the GLUT in these MARKETS had not been entirely removed. Hence the [XX-1272] AMERICAN CRISIS was at first very advantageous for the MANUFACTURERS.[38] *"The French Treaty became law* in this year of *1860.* **Enormous increase of mills and machinery in Lancashire, want of hands.* The millowners applied to the flesh agents, and they sent to the downs of Dorset, the glades of Devon, and to the plains of Wilts, but the *surplus population had been used up. The Bury Guardian*[a] said it was estimated that on the completion of the treaty 10,000 additional hands could be *absorbed* in Lancashire, and that between 30,000 and 40,000 would be needed. The agents and subagents having scoured the agricultural districts in 1860, and found the surplus population absorbed, a deputation from the cotton manufacturers waited upon the President of the Poor Law Board (Villiers) to ask him to supply them again with the poor orphans from the workhouses.

"*1861* Census taken. Stated that the surplus population in the agricultural districts was on the decline.

"*1862* Mills worked short time, and the great mass of the people unemployed.

"*1863* Trade prostrate, riots occurred.

"*Between 1770 and 1815,* cotton trade depressed or stagnant 5 years, and revived and prosperous 40 years.

"*Between* 1815 and 1863* *depressed or stagnant 28 years, prosperous 20 years.

"*After 1846,* since the repeal of the corn laws, cotton trade stagnant or depressed 9 years, revived 8.

"*1834-35* The distress caused to the Indian handloom weavers frightful.

"The Governor General of India[b]:

"'That distress was scarcely paralleled in the history of commerce.' 'The bones of the handloom weavers,'* says the same *Governor General, 'whited the plains of India.'

"*1834* The New Poor Law passed, which favoured the migration of labour from the agricultural to the manufacturing districts."*[c]

The letter of *Edmund Potter,* to which Ferrand refers, is in *The Times* for *MARCH 24, 1863.*[d] This MOUTHPIECE of the MANUFACTURERS says there, among other things:

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[a] *The Bury Guardian,* May 12, 1860.— *Ed.*

[b] G. E. Auckland.— *Ed.*

[c] *The Times,* No. 24544, April 28, 1863, p. 8, cols 5-6, p. 9, col. 1. Marx gives a brief summary of the article.—*Ed.*

[d] *The Times,* No. 24514, March 24, 1863, p. 12, cols 2-4. See also this volume, p. 45.—*Ed.*

* "The cotton operative may be told the supply of cotton workers is too large ... it must be reduced by a third, perhaps, and that then there will be a healthy demand for the remaining two thirds. ... Public opinion urges *emigration... The master* cannot willingly see *his labour supply being removed*; he may think, and perhaps justly, that it is both wrong and unsound. ... If the public funds are devoted to assist emigration he has a right to be heard, and *perhaps to protest.*" *

The same Potter says in his apology for the COTTON TRADE:

* "True, the legislature *interfered* and *regulated his trade,* and *forced* upon the trade *an extent of education* for *the young people* and a *restriction* of the *hours of working for females* which has been singularly beneficial to the entire population... The growth and value of the trade has undoubtedly drawn the surplus population from Ireland and from many agricultural districts..." *

He considers that *after a year or two* the COTTON TRADE will again return to its old PROGRESS, especially through the expansion of the Asiatic market, and particularly the *Indian* market.

* "Ought we, then, to ... *break up the very machinery of supply*?" *

He cites these figures:

* "*Cotton trade exports*:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *1830* | £19,418,885 | *1855* | £34,779,141 |
| *1840* | [£]24,654,293 | *1860* | £51,959,185 |
| *1850* | [£]28,257,401 | *1861* | £45,978,272 * |

[XX-1273] * "When in its zenith, it" (the cotton trade) "furnished 5/13 of our exports... It is not pretended that the trade will assume its former proportions till the raw material is produced at a certain rate, assume it to be 6d. per lb.; it may be some time before the supply can be forced sufficiently to bring it to that price, but it is not denied that time—*one, two or three years it may be*—will produce the quantity...[39]

"The question I would put, then, is this—*is the trade worth retaining, is it worth while to keep the machinery*[40] *in order, and is it not the greatest folly to think of parting with that?* I think it is. *I allow that the workers are not a property, not the property of Lancashire or the masters, but they are the strength of both; they are the mental and trained power which cannot be replaced for a generation; the mere machinery which they work might much of it be beneficially replaced, nay improved, in a twelvemonth. Encourage or allow the working power to emigrate, and what of the capitalist?* He too will emigrate. *Take away the cream of the workers, the fixed capital will depreciate in a great degree, and the floating will not subject itself to a struggle with the short supply of inferior labour* ... [I will not go into the question as to where the 150,000 hands and those depended upon them are to be removed to, a question I should fancy quite as difficult to solve as the one it is sought to] decide upon—viz., *emigration. We are told the workers wish it. Very natural it is that they should do so.*

"Reduce, compress the cotton trade, by taking away its working power and reducing their wages' expenditure, say one-third, or five millions, and what then would happen to the class above, the small shopkeepers; and what of the rents, the cottage rents, the savings, and property, to some extent, of the workers themselves, or of those just above them; what would be the rate of rental if one-third were unoccupied? Every man, woman, and child among our working population now

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[illegible] upon—viz., emigration. We are told the workers wish it. Very natural it is that they should do so when [illegible]

Reduce, compress the cotton trade, by taking away its working power and reducing their wages' expenditure, say one-third, or five millions, and what then would happen to the class above, the small shopkeepers; and what of the rents, the cottage rents, the savings, and property, to some extent, of the workers themselves, or of those just above them; what would be the rate of rental if one-third were unoccupied? Every man, woman, and child among our working population now pays a rental of 20s. per head per annum. Trace such effects upward to the small farmer, the better householder, and, last of all and most lightly, the landowner, and say if there could be any suggestion more suicidal to all classes of the country than by enfeebling a nation by exporting [illegible]

At the very worst, five or six millions sterling in the shape of a loan, safe enough as an investment, lent and judiciously expended with statesmanlike judgment, might preserve and ultimately resuscitate a trade which has done more for the prosperity of the nation, morally and physically, than anything history records.

[illegible] I suggest, then, a loan (no gifts, no charity except such as private benevolence will continue to administer) extending, it may be, over two or three years, administered by Special Commissioners added to the Boards of Guardians in the Cotton districts, under special legislative regulations, enforcing some occupation or labour, as a means of keeping up, at least, the moral standard of the recipients of the loan. Both statesmen and employers and Lancashire property owners will have to meet and grapple with the difficulty now; it is a duty which cannot, ought not to be delayed under present aspects. I may be told that all this is very unsound—very exceptional. It may be. But can anything be worse for landowners or masters than parting with the best of the workers and demoralizing and disappointing the rest by an extended deplative emigration, and a depletion of capital and value in an entire province, it may be called, containing 2,000,000 souls, or, taking Lancashire and the adjacent parts of Cheshire, of nearly 3,000,000?

[illegible]

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In the same issue, for March 24, 1863, *The Times* roundly rebukes Edmund Potter, this MOUTHPIECE of the COTTON MANUFACTURERS. The following cuttings come from its article:

[XX-1274] *"Mr. Edmund Potter, in another part of our paper, copiously argues that the Cotton workers of Lancashire and Cheshire must be kept together by national loans in idleness and in plenty, in order that the Cotton Trade may, at some uncertain future, revive.

"Mr. Potter thinks Cotton Lords do a great kindness to their country when they accumulate to themselves enormous fortunes.

"When we are told that but for the Cotton Trade morals and education would have been lower throughout England, we are tempted to recognise in such an assertion the conceit of an uneducated Plutocracy. When we are told of the reasonable profits of the masters, and yet of the 'self-made men and capitalists' who spring up in such unexampled profusion from the workers of the Cotton districts, we find a difficulty in reconciling these inconsistent assertions.

"If we look into any book of statistical references, such as *M'Culloch*,[a] for example, we shall see that the Cotton Trade is estimated to maintain, directly, about half a million workers, and directly and indirectly about 1,200,000 men, women, and children. It is supposed to have a capital of £8,000,000 constantly circulating in wages, and to give an annual profit of £13,000,000 to the masters. During the last few years of extraordinary overtrading these figures have doubtless been increased; but these are the average dimensions of the trade according to the latest independent estimates.

"Edmund Potter argues otherwise. He is so impressed with the exceptional and supreme importance of the Cotton Masters that, in order to preserve this class and

[a] J. R. MacCulloch, *A Dictionary, Practical, Theoretical, and Historical, of Commerce and Commercial Navigation*, London, 1847, pp. 437-38.— *Ed.*

perpetuate their profession, he would keep half a million of the labouring class confined in a great moral workhouse against their will. 'Is the trade worth retaining?' asks Mr. Potter. 'Certainly, by all honest means, it is,' we answer. 'Is it worth while keeping the machinery in order?' again asks Mr. Potter. Here we hesitate. By the 'machinery' Mr. Potter means the human machinery, for he goes on to protest that he does not *mean to use them as an absolute property.* We must confess that we do not think it 'worth while', or even possible, to keep the human machinery in order—that is, to shut it up and keep it oiled till it is wanted. Human machinery *will* rust under inaction, oil and rub it as you may. Moreover, the human machinery will, as we have just seen, get the steam up of its own accord, and burst or run a muck in our great towns. It might, as Mr. Potter says, require some time to *reproduce* the *workers,* but, having machinists and capitalists at hand, we could *always find thrifty, hard, industrious men wherewith to improvise more master manufacturers than we can ever want.* But to preserve the class of workers is just what we cannot do.

"Mr. Potter talks of the trade reviving 'in one, two, or three years', and he asks us not 'to encourage or *allow* (!) the working power to emigrate'. He says that it is very natural that the workers should wish to emigrate; but he thinks that, in *spite of their desire,* the nation ought to keep this half million of workers, with their 700,000 dependents, shut up in the Cotton districts; and, as a necessary consequence, he must of course think that the nation ought to keep down their discontent by force and sustain them by alms—and this upon the chance that the Cotton Masters *may some* day want them.

"Not fifty Cotton Trades could justify us in the folly of pauperising and demoralising a million of our countrymen; not a thousand Cotton Trades could pay us for the horrible necessity of slaughtering our people in civil broils. The time is come when the great public opinion of these Islands must operate to save this 'working power' from those who would deal with it as they would deal with iron, and coal, and cotton"* [p. 9, cols 2, 3].

[XX-1275] Finally, we shall give some further figures relating to cotton, wool, silk, flax, etc., taken from the *Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom 1861,* issued officially by Parliament. These figures should be compared with the notes on the PROGRESS OF FACTORIES given earlier.

*QUANTITIES OF COTTON IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM* [lbs][a41]

| [Year] | *1846* | *1847* | *1848* | *1849* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| [Imported] | 467,856,274 | 474,707,615 | 713,020,161 | 755,469,012 |
| Re-exported | 588,667 | 669,235 | 660,891 | 882,978 |
| There remain | 467,267,607 | 474,038,380 | 712,359,270 | 754,586,034 |
| [Year] | *1850* | *1851* | *1852* | *1853* |
| [Imported] | 663,576,861 | 757,379,749 | 929,782,448 | 895,278,749 |
| [Re-exported] | 914,908 | 999,825 | 998,967 | 1,326,515 |
| [There remain] | 662,661,953 | 756,379,924 | 928,783,481 | 893,952,234 |

[a] *Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom...,* Eighth number, London, 1861, pp. 28, 40. Marx owned a copy of the book.—*Ed.*

| [Year] | *1854* | *1855* | *1856* | *1857* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Imported | 887,333,149 | 891,751,952 | 1,023,886,304 | 969,318,896 |
| Re-exported | 1,101,126 | 1,110,430 | 1,309,472 | 1,177,925 |
| [There remain] | 886,232,023 | 890,641,522 | 1,022,576,832 | 968,140,971 |

| [Year] | *1858* | *1859* | *1860* |
|---|---|---|---|
| [Imported] | 1,034,342,176 | 1,225,989,072 | 1,390,938,752 |
| [Re-exported] | 1,335,790 | 1,563,778 | 2,235,970 |
| [There remain] | 1,033,006,386 | 1,224,425,294 | 1,388,702,782 |

Let us now compare EXPORTS of COTTON commodities, in both quantity and value, according to the same *Statistical Abstract*[a]:

[XX-1276] *COTTON MANUFACTURES*

| | DECLARED VALUE. £ | QUANTITIES. YDS. | COTTON TWIST AND YARN. DECLARED VALUE | TWIST AND YARN LBS QUANTITIES |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1846 | 17,717,778 | 1,062,091,758 | 7,882,048 | 161,892,750 |
| 1847 | 17,375,245 | 937,229,489 | 5,957,980 | 120,270,741 |
| 1848 | 16,753,369 | 1,091,373,930 | 5,927,831 | 135,831,162 |
| 1849 | 20,071,046 | 1,327,448,640 | 6,704,089 | 149,502,281 |
| 1850 | 21,873,697 | 1,347,756,877 | 6,383,704 | 131,370,368 |
| 1851 | 23,454,810 | 1,536,101,929 | 6,634,026 | 143,966,106 |
| 1852 | 23,223,432 | 1,517,513,916 | 6,654,655 | 145,478,302 |
| 1853 | 25,817,249 | 1,584,727,106 | 6,895,653 | 147,539,302 |
| 1854 | 25,054,527 | 1,685,668,960 | 6,691,330 | 147,128,498 |
| 1855 | 27,578,746 | 1,929,941,646 | 7,200,395 | 165,493,598 |
| 1856 | 30,204,166 | 2,023,738,543 | 8,028,575 | 181,495,805 |
| 1857 | 30,372,831 | 1,968,056,485 | 8,700,589 | 176,821,338 |
| 1858 | 33,421,843 | 2,314,205,042 | 9,579,479 | 200,016,902 |
| 1859 | 38,744,113 | 2,551,909,929 | 9,458,112 | 192,206,643 |
| 1860 | 42,141,505 | 2,765,337,818 | 9,870,875 | 197,343,655 |

We now return to p. 1269.[b]

[XX-1277] "As long as the prejudice which condemned labour [as degrading] retained its full force, the physicists, naturalists, engineers, and mathematicians claimed to be studying the sciences in a disinterested manner. They would have been ashamed to place the daughters of the muses in the service of sordid gain;

[a] *Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom...*, Eighth number, pp. 28, 34-37.— *Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 43-45.— *Ed.*

they investigated the properties of matter or of numbers for their own sake; at most they allowed themselves to make occasional application of their discoveries to public works or the protection of health... But now all the universities have chairs of Chemistry, Physics, Mechanics in their application to the crafts; all men of learning pride themselves on their ability to justify the usefulness of their labours and their discoveries, by demonstrating the benefits to be drawn from them, in facilitating all kinds of labour, in bringing wealth to the markets, and in providing enjoyment to the consumers" (Sismondi, *Études*, Vol. I, [Brussels, 1837, p.] 38).

//Mr. MacCulloch says, on p. 165 of his *Principles of Political Economy*, Edinburgh, 1825:

"The bad consequences that have been supposed to result *from the indefinite extension and improvement of machinery* would *equally result from the continued improvement of the skill and industry of the labourer.*"

In so far as this SKILL rests on the division of labour—i.e. on the development of manufacture as opposed to handicrafts—the statement is in part correct. But even here it is not true, since *Ure* correctly remarks that the greater the SKILL of the worker, the more "self-willed", etc., the fellow is.[a] There is a very great difference, invisible only to a M'Culloch, between a situation where progress in SKILL and INDUSTRY appears as the *personal* virtuosity of the worker, and a situation where this is *reversed*—as in the capitalist employment of machinery—as a *characteristic of capital as opposed to the worker* and *at the expense of the worker.*//

"It ascribes *to *his property*" (the capitalist's) "merely, whether he employ it to pay wages, or whether it consists in useful instruments, all that vast assistance, which knowledge and skill, when realised in machinery, give to labour—the productive power of this skill" (of combined labour) "is attributed to *its visible products, the instruments*, the mere owners of which, who neither use nor make them, imagine themselves to be very productive persons"* (Th. Hodgskin, *Popular Political Economy*, [London, Edinburgh, 1827.] pp. 249-51).[b]

In manufacture the worker is thrown out of work TEMPORARILY, in agriculture this is constant.

Jones says this of modern agriculture:

*"In the progress of culture,[c] all, and perhaps more than all the labour and capital which once loosely occupied 500 acres, are now concentrated for the more complete tillage of 100" (Jones, *Distribution of Wealth*, London, 1831, [pp. 190-] 191).[42]

"Since the general introduction of expensive machinery, human nature has been forced far beyond its average strength"* (R. Owen, *Observations on the Effect of the Manufacturing System*, 2ND ED., London, 1817, [p. 16]).

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[a] See A. Ure, *Philosophie des manufactures...*, Vol. I, pp. 30-31. Cf. this volume, p. 35.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, p. 255.—*Ed.*

[c] This phrase is Marx's summary of what Jones says in the opening part of this passage.—*Ed.*

Horses, working cattle, etc., also belong among the machines used in agriculture. Machines of this kind themselves consume COMMODITIES (not only coal) WHICH OTHERWISE WOULD HAVE BEEN CONSUMED BY LABOURERS.

Messrs. *Senior* and *Torrens* assert, as do others, that machinery, when applied to commodities which fall within the worker's consumption, must always raise wages.

*Senior says*:

"Only in two cases can the **general rate of wages** be reduced by the introduction of machinery: *when labour is employed in the construction of machinery, which labour would otherwise have been employed in the production of commodities for the use of labourers*; and secondly, *when the machine itself consumes commodities (as horses, working cattle, etc.) which would otherwise have been consumed by labourers, and *that* to a greater extent than it produces them*" (Senior, *Three Lectures on the Rate of Wages*, London, 1830, [p.] 40).

[XX-1278] Torrens, for his part, says:

*"Machines work but do not eat. When they displace labour, and render it dispensable,[a] they at the same time displace and render dispensable[a] the *real wages*, the food and clothing, which maintained it. The *aggregate fund for the support of labour* is not diminished"* (Torrens, *Wages and Combination*, London, 1834, [p.] 39).

The whole of this *raisonnement*[b] rests on an incorrect conception of *variable capital*. The latter, considered from the point of view of its material elements, can in fact be resolved into the *commodities that enter into the workers' consumption, the means of subsistence*. But the converse by no means follows from this, namely that these commodities or means of subsistence must be consumed by the workers and form variable capital, with the result that there is a fixed proportion between the number of workers on the one hand and the quantity of the means of subsistence on the other. (Even Ricardo occasionally falls into this nonsensical way of speaking.) These means of subsistence are also consumed by the other classes, and they may be consumed by them in greater quantities. They may be consumed by unproductive workers (soldiers, servants, etc.). They may be exported and exchanged for luxuries. *The more productive the branches of industry which produce the means of subsistence which are necessary, and therefore also enter* into the *consumption of the workers, the greater the possible size of that section of the workers* who *produce means of subsistence which do not enter* at all *into the consumption* of the *workers*; and *the more they are displaced by*

[a] Torrens has "disposible".— *Ed.*
[b] Reasoning.— *Ed.*

*machinery in those branches, the greater the competition between them, which results in a fall in wages in the other branches as well.*

"£5-6 *per* ACRE was regarded as the CAPITAL REQUIRED for the CULTIVATION OF LAND; but the HIGH FARMING OF MODERN TIMES REQUIRES almost double that sum" (W. Johnston, *England As It Is etc.*, London, 1851, Vol. I, [p.] 14).

*M'Culloch*, l.c. (*Principles of Political Economy*, Edinburgh, 1825, p. 166):

"IF IT BE advantageous that the SKILL of the labourer should be INDEFINITELY EXTENDED—that he should be enabled to produce A VASTLY GREATER QUANTITY OF COMMODITIES with the same, or a less, quantity of labour, IT MUST ALSO BE ADVANTAGEOUS THAT HE SHOULD AVAIL HIMSELF OF THE ASSISTANCE OF SUCH MACHINERY AS MAY MOST EFFECTUALLY ASSIST HIM IN BRINGING ABOUT THAT RESULT."

Here Mr. M'Culloch *assumes* that the machine *belongs* to the worker.

"In a factory ... *the portions of capital and land are much greater than those of labour and skill*; and the *net revenue accruing to their proprietors is also much greater. But the very preponderancy of machinery or capital begets the necessity of a corresponding excess of labour and skill *in other processes*—namely in the repair of mills and machinery, and in the construction of new ones, etc. ... *industry* preponderates in nearly every group employed in the fabrication of productive capital... And if we look at the means employed in the construction of *expensive ornaments*, and *other articles of luxury*, the *demand for which is engendered by the profits of capital*, we find their value to consist almost exclusively of the services of labour and skill— ... the preponderance (in service and profits), of skill in one process of production, begets the necessity of a corresponding excess of labour in one or more others, and vice versa ... the *augmented profits of capital*[a] *setting free a larger number of desires*, increase the demand for and the production of value in its consumable forms*" (G. Opdyke, *Treatise on Political Economy*, New York, 1851, p. 98 sqq.).

This is partially correct. Large-scale production permits a large part of the labour to be employed, partly in luxury production (where it is in part paid still worse), partly in the production of fixed capital (railways, etc.), where much crude labour is required.

*Differences in agricultural productivity.*

*"In Great Britain the production of wheat is about 32 bushels an acre; in France, by official returns, it only averages 14 bushels, and rarely exceeds 20.* That is, in France, with twice the expenditure of labour, the RETURN is only one-half what it is in GREAT BRITAIN. Nearly the same as in Ireland" (*The Economist*, November 8, 1851 [p. 1231]).

In England $^1/_7$ of the AGRICULTURISTS are independent PEASANTS and COTTIERS,[43] $^1/_7$ tenant farmers, $^5/_7$ AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS. In Ireland $^1/_{13}$ EMPLOYS LABOURERS, $^6/_{13}$ COTTIERS, and $^6/_{13}$ LABOURERS. In England 28% [XX-1279] of the POPULATION are employed in the production OF

[a] Opdyke has: "...the augmented profits of industry".— *Ed.*

FOOD, in Ireland 63%. But the ACREABLE PRODUCE in Ireland is only $^1/_2$ what it is in England (*Third Report of the Irish Poor Law Commission*, 1836).[a] Thus twice as many PEOPLE are engaged in producing half as much FOOD. Labour in Ireland is only $^1/_4$ as productive as in England (*The Economist*, 1848).

"Labour is nothing without * *knowledge*.[44] In the subdivisions of occupations and of labour itself, it becomes ... so separated from labour in complicated societies,* that we must consider it apart" (W. Thompson, *An Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth etc.*, London, 1824, [p.] 272).

* "The chances of the future extension of science [are] multiplied in exact proportion to its diffusion" * (p. 275).

"In the earlier stages of society, labour and knowledge accompany each other because they are both simple" (l.c.).

"The man of knowledge and the productive labourer come to be widely divided from each other: and knowledge, * instead of remaining the handmaid of labour in the hand of the labourer to increase his productive powers ... has almost everywhere arrayed itself against labour *... The possessors of KNOWLEDGE, and the possessors of POWER, sought everywhere to advance their own individual interests, *KNOWLEDGE being such an instrument*, so capable of being detached from labour, and opposed to it" (l.c., [p.] 274).

*Knowledge thus becomes independent* of labour and enters the service of capital; this process belongs in general to the category of the *attainment of an independent position by the conditions of production* vis-à-vis labour. This separation and autonomisation, which is at first of advantage to capital alone, is at the same time a *condition for the development of the* POWERS OF SCIENCE AND KNOWLEDGE.

"The union of the workers with the industrial entrepreneur is a genuine *association*" (Le comte A. de Laborde, *De l'esprit d'association etc.*, Paris, 1818, [p.] 131.[b]

This Laborde is the actual inventor of the economic harmonies. The fellow does not ask himself: *what kind of association* is this?

"Ten peasant families have been dismissed in the new system to make room for the farmer, who is not a peasant at all. He only contributes to production by the employment of his capital and his intelligence; but the greater the improvement in the condition of the rich farmer, the greater the deterioration in that of the men who work in the fields for him. The former reserves for himself the use of the will, of choice, of intelligence; that is to say, he denies his labourers and domestic servants the use of these things. From them he demands nothing but the employment of their muscular power, and he reduces them as much as he can to the level of machines" (Sismondi, *Etudes*, Vol. I, pp. [130-]131).[c]

* "*Knowledge* of the material world, and skill to apply it by labour, are the sources of wealth" * (*The Economist*, August 30, 1851 [pp. 953-54, cols 2, 1]).

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[a] *Third Report of the Commissioners for Inquiring into the Condition of the Poorer Classes in Ireland...*, London, 1836.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx quotes partly in German and partly in French.—*Ed.*

In the 18th century advances in mathematics, mechanics and chemistry and discoveries occurred at almost the same rate in England, France, Sweden, and Germany. *Inventions* too in France for example. But only in England were they applied in capitalist fashion at the time, because there alone were the economic relations sufficiently developed to allow the exploitation of scientific progress by capital. (Particularly decisive in this connection were England's agricultural relations and colonial possessions.)

* "What presents or removes obstacles to the application of capital and labour" * //this therefore applies equally to civil institutions, security, means of transport, etc.// "* must affect production,* although the number of [XX-1280] labourers and the quantity of capital remain the same" (Bailey, *Money and Its Vicissitudes*, London, 1837, [p.] 55).

In the system of small-scale production the producers ARE AIDED BY

* "*such knowledge* only, and such an amount of mechanical power as may be found in the possession of persons labouring with their own hands for their own subsistence" (R. Jones, *Text-book of Lectures on Political Economy*, Hertford, 1852, [p.] 43).[45]

"The lapse of two centuries has produced a wonderful change in the progress of science and in the instruments it has employed" (*The Industry of Nations*, Part II, London, 1855, [p.] 286).[46]

"Up to a certain point, in fact, and especially in chemical investigations, costly and complicated apparatus is not essentially necessary. For much depends upon the observer's own faculties of perception and combination. But beyond this the philosopher becomes to a very large extent dependent upon his instruments" ([p.] 288).

"The insensitiveness of a chemist's balance, the defective construction of a lens, the incorrect graduation of a thermometer, or the faulty subdivision of the circle of a transit instrument, cannot but vitiate all researches in which they are employed... That physical science in the present day has attained its present eminent position, and is still progressing, must be in a large degree attributed to the wonderful care exercised, and the mechanical skill displayed, in the production of philosophical instruments" *[47] ([p.] 289).[a]

*On the other hand* there is the impact of PHYSICAL SCIENCE on PRODUCTION.

* "To it are we indebted for the steam-engine and the electric telegraph—inventions originating entirely in physical philosophy" * ([p.] 290).

The loss of corn is estimated at $2^1/_2$% less with threshing machines than with ordinary hand threshing.[b] With almost all machines, it is true to say that using the same amount of raw material they provide a greater quantity of manufactured goods

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, p. 457.—*Ed.*

[b] See W. Schulz, *Die Bewegung der Production*, Zurich and Winterthur, 1843, p. 36.—*Ed.*

than the imperfect tools of hand labour, by working the material more finely, etc. (Use of waste, reconversion of rags, etc., into raw material.)[48]

*Better methods in agriculture.*

"Such as the introduction of green crops in place of fallow, and the introduction of beet cultivation on a large scale, which was begun under George II (in England). From that time onwards sandy ground and worthless game preserves were transformed into excellent wheat and barley fields, and the production of corn on light soils increased threefold, while at the same time excellent green fodder was gained for cattle and sheep. The expansion and improvement of cattle-raising by crossing the breeds, better methods of irrigation and drainage, a more appropriate rotation of the crops, the employment of bone-meal as a fertiliser, etc."[a]

"*Malthus* estimates the average crop yield in [West] European countries to be four times the amount of seed sown, in Hungary and the surrounding area eight to ten times, and in the tropical parts of America as much as 12 to 20 times."[b]

| | *Hectares* | *Workers* | *Hectolitres of corn* | *Horses* | *Oxen* | *Sheep* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Great Britain* produces on | 13 mill. | 5,200,000 | 56 mill. | 170,000 | 1,250,000 | 10,200,000 |
| *France* | 40 [mill.] | 22-24 mill. | 153 [mill.] | 40,000 | 800,000 | 5,200,000 |

//"The system of free competition, that system which consists in the nonexistence of system, has only a negative significance in itself. It means the *dissolution of the earlier* associations of real and personal wealth, which had emerged in the big estate complexes and the union between landowners and peasants, as also in the corporations of the guild type, with their precisely structured relations between masters, journeymen and apprentices" (W. Schulz, *Die Bewegung der Production*, Zurich, 1843, [pp.] 57-58).

[XX-1281] "All statistically based assertions that wages have risen, or at least not fallen in relation to the necessary means of subsistence, possess at most a merely abstract validity, which reveals itself to be nothing but an illusion when applied to reality. All that can be said is that those occupations which presuppose specific dispositions or a long apprenticeship have on the whole become more remunerative; whereas the relative wage for the mechanically uniform activity which one person can be trained for as easily and quickly as another has fallen with the growth of competition, and necessarily had to fall. And it is precisely *this* kind of labour which is still the most widely practised, at the present stage of its organisation. Thus if a worker of the first category now earns seven times as much as 50 years ago, and a worker of the second category earns the same as 50 years ago, both workers will of course earn four times as much on an *average*. But if there are in a given country only 1,000 of the first category, while the second category includes 1,000,000 human beings, 999,000 are not better off than 50 years

[a] Ibid.— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 42. The following table was compiled by Marx. Cf. ibid., p. 43.— *Ed.*

ago, and they are *worse off* if the price of the requirements of life has risen at the same time" (Schulz, l.c., [p.] 65).

"Even if it were as true as it is actually false, that the average income of *all* the classes of society has risen, the differences between different incomes, and the *relative* gap between them, could well have increased, with the result that contrasts of wealth and poverty have emerged more sharply. Precisely *because* total production rises, there is, in the same degree as this happens, an increase in needs, desires and claims, with the result that *relative* poverty can increase while *absolute* poverty declines. A Samoyed who lives on oil and rancid fish is not poor, because in *his* enclosed society all have the same needs. But in a state which *progresses*, and increases its total production in proportion to the population in the course of a decade by perhaps one-third, the worker who earns exactly the same now as 10 years ago has not remained just as well off, but has become worse off by one-third. This is exactly the case in our present epoch" (l.c., [pp.] 65-66).

"In order to achieve a freer intellectual development, a people must cease its enslavement to its own physical needs, it must no longer be in servitude to the body. It must above all have *time*, to be *able* to create intellectually and enjoy the fruits of the intellect. This time is gained by progress in the organisation of labour... If a certain expenditure of time and human power was necessary previously for the satisfaction of a given quantity of material needs, and if this expenditure is subsequently reduced by a half, the room for manoeuvre available for intellectual creation and enjoyment is at the same time increased by as much, without any loss in physical well-being... But even the division of *these* spoils we have captured from old Chronos himself in his very own realm is still decided by the throw of blind and unjust fortune's dice... It is certain, at least, that for large numbers of people the duration of slave labour in the factories has indeed increased, regardless of the saving in time achieved by the perfecting of the machine system. And yet the gain of a greater quantity of free time is also a common acquisition by the power of the nation as a whole (l.c., [pp.] 67-68).

"*Period of manufacture* ... of *handicraft* activity *subdivided* to the highest degree, which is at the same time an activity in which one hand cooperates with another for *one and the same* purpose of production" (l.c., [p.] 37).

"The continued division of labour finally leads to the employment of a more highly perfected *machine system*, and thereby to the 4th stage" //first hand labour, then handicraft labour, then manufacture, then fabrication[a]// "of actual *fabrication* by machines" (l.c., [p.] 37).

[XX-1282] In fabrication,

"man ... becomes the rational guide and director of the forces of nature, active intellectually rather than physically. He thereby enters into an entirely different relation of activity, since he now only brings the material which is to be subjected to the purposes of production into connection with natural forces alien to him, and therefore the result of their impact, or the product, no longer stands in any proportion to his own *physical* exertions" (l.c., [p.] 38).

(Even with manufacture and simple cooperation, it does not stand in proportion to his *individual* performance.)

"Trade, with its purpose of raising the value of a commodity by means of transport, is merely a branch of industry, and is essentially subject to the same law of development. The first and simplest kind of trade is the exchange of

[a] Cf. W. Schulz, *Die Bewegung der Production*, p. 39.— *Ed.*

commodities from *hand to hand.* Following this, it creates the first tools and means of transport, which are as yet simple, such as beasts of burden, or small boats; the rudder still serves man as a *craft implement* required for the steering and motion of these boats. There is also a continued *subdivision of activities for the common* purposes of transport, as is perhaps the case with the larger crews of big rowing boats, where a majority of the people still work in uniform, ever-repeated, but at the same time interconnected operations of the machine *type.* Finally a higher stage of development is reached, in that in sailing ships, steamships, steam-driven vehicles and the like, the power of wind and steam does not merely replace that of the human being, but is *multiplied* by its obedient subordination to his will... Thus trade too, like agriculture and industry, has its periods of hand labour, handicrafts, manufacture, and machinery" (l.c., [pp.] 38-39).//

We have seen how the ancients conceive the *division of labour* qualitatively—as improvement of labour and the use values created by labour.[a] The application of machinery properly so called to production appears first of all in the water mill. The poem written by *Antipater,*[b] a contemporary of Cicero, in honour of the introduction of water mills in Rome, bears witness once again to a conception entirely different from that of the moderns (in the Greek Anthology).

"He tells the female slaves whose task it is to grind the corn that they can sleep late now" (they no longer need to rise early) "even if the crowing cocks announce the dawn. For Ceres has ordered the Nymphs to perform the work of their hands, and they, dancing on top of the wheel" (leaping, hopping) "circle" (rotate in a circle) "the axle; this, with its twisted spikes, turns the weight of 4 concave millstones. We enjoy again" (taste again) "the old life, if we learn to feast on the gifts of Ceres without toil."[49]

The sole point of view considered here is the saving of labour *for* the worker himself, not *saving on the price of labour.*

### [XX-1283] h) [*RELATIVE AND ABSOLUTE SURPLUS VALUE*][50]

We have considered absolute and relative surplus value separately. But in capitalist production they are bound together. And it is precisely the development of modern industry which shows how they develop simultaneously, how the working day is prolonged in the same degree as necessary labour time is reduced by the development of the social productive powers of labour. It is capital's tendency to develop surplus value simultaneously in both forms. It thereby calls forth at once the struggle for the *normal working day,* depicted previously, and its enforced establishment as a law imposed on capital by the state.[c] The tendency of capitalist

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 272, 280-85.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx has *Antiparus.*— *Ed.*

[c] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 216-26.— *Ed.*

production is shown clearly when one compares the state's intervention in the first dawn of bourgeois industry (as this appears e.g. in the labour statutes of the 14th century) with modern factory legislation. In the former case, labour time is fixed in order to compel the workers to perform a certain quantity of surplus labour for their EMPLOYERS (or even labour in general), to compel them to perform absolute surplus labour. In the latter case, the aim is forcibly to establish a boundary, beyond which the capitalist may not prolong absolute labour time, so as to prevent the prolongation of labour time beyond a definite limit. The necessity of such an intervention by the state, which was first demonstrated in England, the home of large-scale industry, and the necessity of extending this intervention progressively to new branches of industry, in the same measure as capitalist production seizes hold of those branches, proves at once, on the one hand, that capitalist production knows of no limits to the appropriation of alien labour time, and that, on the other hand, the workers are incapable within the established conditions of capitalist production—without acting as a class upon the state, and, through the state, upon capital—of saving from the harpy's claws of capital even the free time necessary for their physical preservation.[51] The working day for children and adults in France is *12 hours.*[52] According to the Law of *1833*, which preceded the Ten Hours' Bill, labour in England from 1835 onwards was to last 9 hours a day for children under 12 years old (since 1836 for children of 13 as well), and *12 hours* a day for young persons below 18 years (not after 8.30 in the evening and not before 5.30 in the morning).[a] $1^1/_2$ hours *pour les repas, mais ce temps n'est pas compris dans les neuf ou 12 heures de travail.*[b] (At the same time the Law of 1833 included 2 hours of compulsory school attendance.) (As late as 1844 the manufacturers had the workers work 14 to 16 hours in those branches where children could be dispensed with or replaced by adults who had lost any other means of support.)

*May 1844 12* hours for adults and $6^1/_2$ for children. (12 hours inclusive of free hours.) (* Half an hour for breakfast and an hour for dinner.*) In *1672* Petty wrote his *Political Anatomy of Ireland.* There he says[53]:

* "Labouring men work *10 hours per diem*, and make 20 meals per week, viz. 3 a day for working-days, and two on Sundays;" * (now only 2 meals) *"whereby it is plain, that if they could fast on Friday nights, and *dine in one hour and a half*" *

[a] See present edition, Vol. 33, p. 493.—*Ed.*

[b] For meals, but this time is not included in the 9 or 12 hours of labour.—*Ed.*

(now breakfast and dinner only amount to $1^1/_2$ hours), * "whereas they take two, from *eleven to one*; thereby thus working $^1/_{20}$ more, and spending $^1/_{20}$ less, the $^1/_{10}$" * //for taxes// * "abovementioned might be raised" * (10th ED., London, 1691).

It follows from this passage that in those days the labour time for adults was not greater than what is now legally prescribed for children over 13 years old, and that the workers had more to eat. And we already find this favourable situation for the workers in England in the 15th century.

"It appears from the Statute of 1496 that the diet was then considered EQUIVALENT to $^1/_3$ of the income of an artificer, and $^1/_2$ the income of a LABOURER, which indicates a greater degree of independence among the WORKING CLASSES than prevails at present; for the board, both of LABOURERS and ARTIFICERS, would now be reckoned at a much higher proportion of their WAGES. The *hours for MEALS and RELAXATION* were more liberal, too, than at this day. They amounted to e.g. from March to September one hour for breakfast, an hour and a half for dinner, and half an hour for NOON-MEATE. Hence 3 hours altogether. In winter they worked from 5 o'clock in the morning until it went dark. In contrast, in the FACTORIES of the present there is only half an hour for breakfast, one hour for DINNER, exactly half what there was in the 15th century" (John Wade, *History of the Middle and Working Classes*, 3rd ED., London, 1835, [pp.] 24, 25 and 577, 578).

[XX-1284] The absolute surplus labour which is gained from lengthening the working day is of course the basis from which the individual capitalist proceeds, since an increase in the productivity of labour only brings about a relative reduction in the wages paid by the individual [capitalist], in so far as he is able to sell the product of labour above its individual value; in so far as the article he produces enters the consumption of the worker the effect is, with the exception of articles of decisive importance, not sudden, and secondly it is common to all capitalists, whether it is they or their BROTHER CAPITALISTS who bring about this alteration in the value of the means of subsistence. With the individual [capitalist], however, where there are piece-wages, it appears that with improvements in machinery, as *Ure* himself concedes, the piece-wage is reduced in the same proportion, or, if the state of business does not allow this, roughly in the same, as the productive power of labour grows, although the *price of the product* at first stands above its value, i.e. is not reduced in the same proportion as the amount of labour required to make it.[a] There is a striking general example in the fact that *directly after the abolition of the Corn Laws* the manufacturers undertook a fairly general reduction of wages *by 10%*, an act which as late as 1853 produced a STRIKE of 8 months in Preston.[54] Wages rose later owing to a

[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 40-41.—*Ed.*

combination of circumstances which produced an *extraordinary* demand for labour and were entirely independent of the general laws governing *average wages.*

[*RATIO OF WAGES TO SURPLUS VALUE*]

The question we [have] now to consider is the *ratio* of wages to surplus value.

Let us first take the *working day* as given. In this case the *value* of the product of the working day—or the total amount of value, part of which forms the wage, the other part the surplus value—remains constant. And it is clear that the magnitude of value of both parts and the change in their value stand in an *inverse* proportion. The greater the one, the smaller the other, and vice versa. Furthermore, we have seen[a] that the rate of surplus value is, generally speaking, nothing but the ratio of surplus to necessary labour, or, and this is the same thing, the ratio of the surplus VALUE to the variable capital; it follows from this that a change in the relative value of wages and surplus value can only come about through a change in the magnitude of the variable capital, or, and this is the same thing, a change in the necessary labour time or in wages altogether. If, as a result of an increase in the productive power of labour, the *value of labour capacity* falls, there is a rise in the part of the value of the product which represents unpaid labour or surplus value. If the productivity of labour falls, e.g. as a result of bad harvests, etc., the surplus value also falls. For it should not be forgotten that the proportion of *necessary labour time* to *surplus labour time* is determined not by the productivity of the sphere of industry in which the worker works, but by the productivity of all the branches whose results enter into his reproduction process. Whatever the circumstances, a rise or fall in surplus value can only emerge here from a change in the value of labour capacity, and this is conditioned by, and stands in an *inverse* ratio to, the productivity of labour.

The presupposition here is that labour capacity is paid at its *value,* hence there is an *average wage,* and no rise above this average takes place, no fall below this level. If the length of the working day is given, it is clear that the more productive the labour, the shorter the part of the working day the worker works for himself, and the longer the part he works for capital, and vice versa.

But even an increase of wages over the *average* would change

[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 172-79.—*Ed.*

nothing in this law. Surplus value could only increase to the extent that there was a fall in the *value* of labour capacity and therefore in wages, and it could only fall for the opposite reason.

The *average wage*, or the *value of labour capacity*, as stated earlier, is not a constant magnitude *quoad* exchange value.[a] But it expresses a constant quantity of use values, a constant quantity of commodities for the satisfaction of needs, i.e. means of subsistence. The *value* of this quantity of use values depends on the general productivity of all the branches of industry the results of which enter into the worker's necessary consumption. Assume now that industry becomes more productive. Then the following cases are possible. The worker *receives the same quantity* of use values as before. In this case there is a fall in the *value* of his labour capacity or his *wage*. For there has been a fall in the *value* of this quantity, which has remained constant. The worker has to work less labour time to pay the equivalent of his wage. A greater part of the working day therefore falls to the share of capital. The proportion in which the worker participates in the value of the product of his working day has fallen, while on the other hand there has been an increase in unpaid labour time, or capital's *part of the value, surplus value*. Hence the *relative* wage, the *proportion* of the wage, has dropped.

[XX-1285] Assume, secondly, that there is a rise in the amount, the *quantity*, of the means of subsistence, and therefore in the *average wage*, but not in the same proportion as in the worker's productivity. In this case the *value* of labour capacity *falls*, and surplus value rises in the same proportion. For although the worker receives a greater amount of commodities than before, they are the product of a smaller part of his working day than before. His paid labour time has fallen, his unpaid has risen. Although his *real* wage has risen (relating the real wage to use value), its *value*, and therefore the worker's relative wage—the proportion in which he shares with capital the value of his product—has fallen. Finally the *third* CASE: The worker continues to receive the same *value*—or the objectification of the same part of the working day—as before. In this case, because the productivity of labour has risen, the quantity of use values he receives, his real wage, has risen, but its *value* has remained constant, since it continues to represent the same quantity of realised labour time as before. In this case, however, the surplus value too remains unchanged, there is no change in the ratio

[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 42-45.— *Ed.*

between the wage and the surplus value, hence the *proportion* [of surplus value] *to the wage* remains unchanged.

The cases can be summarised as follows: quantity remains the same, proportion falls; quantity rises, proportion falls; proportion remains the same, quantity rises. But in all these cases the surplus value, the rate of surplus value, its ratio to the capital laid out in wages, can only *grow* through a fall in the *value* of wages; the growth can only be in inverse ratio to the value of wages, and only as a result of CHANGES occurring in the value of wages arising from a CHANGE in the productivity of labour. (If, on the other hand, the industry became less productive, the value of wages, relative wages, would rise if the quantity remained the same, and therefore surplus value, and hence the ratio of surplus value to variable capital, would fall.)

Assume a situation where wages remain constant in *value*, although the productivity of labour increases, hence there is an increase in the quantity of commodities in which this value is embodied. Then there would be no CHANGE in *surplus value*, although the latter would represent, just as wages would, a greater quantity of use values than before. It is therefore possible, looking at this from the point of view of use value, of the quantity of commodities in which wages and surplus value are expressed, for both to rise in the same proportion, but it is impossible for the *exchange value* of one to rise unless the exchange value of the other falls.

If the industry becomes less productive and wages do not fall below the AVERAGE, their *value* rises. *Quantity remains the same. Proportion rises.* If real wages fall, but in such a way as nevertheless to represent more labour time than before, *proportion rises, although quantity* falls. *Proportion remains the same, quantity falls*: if the worker only receives the product of the number of hours that was normal before the change in productive power.

* "When an alteration takes place in the productiveness of industry, so that either more or less is produced by a given quantity of labour and capital, the proportion of wages may obviously vary, whilst the quantity which that proportion represents remains the same, or the quantity may vary, whilst the proportion remains the same" * ([J. Cazenove,] *Outlines of Political Economy*, London, 1832, [p.] 67).

"In a country where the *gross return* is *small, a *larger proportion of the whole* may give the labourer a less command of necessaries, than in other countries,* where the *gross return* is greater, **a smaller proportion of the whole*" * (Ramsay, [*An Essay on the*] *Distribution of Wealth*, Edinburgh, 1836, p. 178).

What Ricardo says about the ratio between PROFITS and WAGES is true of the ratio between WAGES and SURPLUS VALUE.

"In proportion as less is appropriated for WAGES, more will be appropriated for PROFITS, and vice versa" ([Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, 3rd ed., London, 1821, p.] 500).

"It is not the progress of mechanical science that is to blame, but *the social order*, if the worker, who gains the power of doing in two hours what he did previously in twelve, does not thereby become richer" (Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes*, Vol. I, [p.] 349).[a55]

[XX-1286] "It is a remarkable result of the philosophical history of mankind that the progress of society in population, industry, and enlightenment is always achieved at the expense of the health, the skill and the intelligence of the great mass of the people ... the *individual happiness of the great majority is sacrificed to the happiness of a small number of individuals*, and it would be doubtful which of these two conditions, that of barbarism or prosperity, is to be preferred, if the insecurity inherent in the first did not incline the scales in favour of the second" (H. Storch, *Cours d'économie politique*, Vol. III, ed. by Say, [Paris,] 1823, [pp.] 342-43).[b]

* "*Trades Unions*, in their desire to maintain wages, *endeavour to share in the profits of improved machinery*...* They demand higher wages because * *labour is abbreviated** ... in other words: they endeavour *to establish a duty on manufacturing[c] improvements"* (*On Combinations of Trades*, NEW ED., London, 1834, [p.] 42).

In the case considered, Ricardo is correct in saying that the sum of wages+profit=a constant magnitude of value, in so far as they always represent *the same quantity of labour time.*

We come now to the second case, the *lengthening of the working day*, and for the sake of simplification we assume here that the productive power of labour remains the same.

There are in fact only two possibilities to investigate.

1) *Surplus labour time is lengthened*, without any increase in wages, or any appropriation by the worker himself of a part of this OVERTIME. This was for the most part the case throughout the period in which the FACTORY SYSTEM pushed OVERTIME to an unlimited extent, both in its own sphere and in other spheres (outside it). (The example of the London *bakeries.*[d]) (Also shown in the fact that wages rose relatively more in the BRANCHES subject to the Ten Hours' Bill than where there was no normal working day laid down by law.) (See the list quoted earlier.[e]) The value of labour capacity apparently remains the same here, while surplus value rises. Or the *value* of labour capacity, although it remains *the same absolutely*, falls *relatively*, because *surplus value* rises. SURPLUS labour does not grow because necessary labour is lessened absolutely, but

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[a] Marx quotes in French, from the second edition of Sismondi's work.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

[c] The English original has "mechanical".— *Ed.*

[d] Cf. present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 181, 228. See also Marx's article "Bread Manufacture" (present edition, Vol. 19, p. 253).— *Ed.*

[e] See present edition, Vol. 30, p. 228.— *Ed.*

necessary labour falls in comparison with surplus labour, because the latter grows absolutely. If we compare the magnitude of the value of labour capacity or wages here with surplus value—or compare the paid with the unpaid part of the working day—the latter has risen absolutely, and *therefore* the former has fallen relatively, while in the first case (of a change resulting from a change in the productivity of labour) any rise or fall in surplus value arises only from a *direct change in the value* of labour capacity, or in the magnitude of the necessary labour time. Here too, a *relative* fall in wages corresponds to the growth of surplus value, but this is a relative fall which is caused by a CHANGE in SURPLUS labour, a movement independent of necessary labour time—or of the value of labour capacity.

There are, however, two comments to be made here.

If this lengthening of labour time is not temporary, and the lengthened and lengthening working day becomes firmly established as normal, if this lengthening becomes established as normal, as was previously the case in all the branches of labour now subject to the Ten Hours' Bill, and is now the case in a very large part of the spheres of production not yet subject to it, this fall in relative wages also rests on an absolute devaluation of labour capacity, a fall in its value. For, as we have seen, the daily, weekly average wage presupposes a normal number of years, which comprises a working life—the active existence of the worker, and therefore of his labour capacity. As a result of the lengthening of labour time this working life is shortened. If, e.g., the period=20 years, and the daily necessary wage=$x$, then the total value of the labour capacity is:

In 1 day the wage is $x$,
in 365 days the wage is $365x$,
in 20 years the wage$=365\times20\times x$.
In 365 days$\times20$ the wage$=365\times20\times x$.

In 1 day the wage$=\dfrac{x\,[365\times20]}{365\times20}$.

[XX-1287] If now the cycle of labour capacity is shortened by OVERTIME from 20 years to 15, the value of labour capacity has fallen from $365\times20x$ to $365\times15x$, from 4 to 3, or from 1 to $^3/_4$. Hence by $^1/_4$. If the daily value of labour capacity is to remain constant, despite its accelerated consumption, $x$ must BE CHANGED INTO $y$, hence the following equation must take place:

$365\times15y=365\times20x$. $y=\dfrac{365\times20x}{365\times15}=\dfrac{20x}{15}=\dfrac{4}{3}x=\left(1+\dfrac{1}{3}\right)x$. In other

words, the *necessary wage* would now have to grow by $^1/_3$ in order to remain the same.

Assume, e.g., that the weekly wage=10s. With ABOUT 52 weeks, in the year this=520s., and in 20 years=520×20=10,400s.=(=£26 a year)=£520 in 20 years. Therefore, if the value of labour capacity is to remain the same, when its duration is reduced from 20 to 15 years by OVERTIME, the annual wage would have to=£$^{520}/_{15}$ (or £$34^2/_3$) and the weekly wage=£ $\frac{520}{52 \times 15}$=£ $\frac{10}{15}$=$\frac{10 \times 20}{15}$ s.=$\frac{10 \times 4}{3}$ s. =$13^1/_3$s. Therefore, for the *daily value of labour capacity* to remain *the same*, not only nominally but in reality, the worker would have to appropriate for himself as necessary labour time $^1/_3$ more of the total working day.

Under all circumstances, however, we must note (which is important for our later discussion) that when we look at the *value of the product* in which the total working day is objectified, this value naturally always=wages+surplus value, in other words necessary labour time+surplus labour time. It would on the other hand be wrong to invert this and say, as in the first case, that the *total amounts of wages and surplus value* always *represent the same constant sum of value*, because they represent *the same labour time.* They rather represent a changing labour time and therefore a *variable* sum of value.

Ferrand's witticism in his speech of *April 27, 1863* in the House of Commons, cited above,[a] contains no element of *contradictio in adjecto*[b]:

* "The cotton trade of England had existed for 90 years. It had existed through *three generations of the English race*, and he believed he might safely say that *during the same period* it *had destroyed nine generations of factory operatives.*" *

What *Professor Cairnes* says in *The Slave Power*, London, 1862, is even truer of the manufacturers, since they do not even have to pay the FEE-SIMPLE for the workers:

* "The rice-grounds of Georgia or the swamps of the Mississippi may be fatally injurious to the human constitution; but the waste of human life, which the cultivation of these districts necessitates, is not so great that it cannot be repaired from the teeming preserves of Virginia and Kentucky"

(read Ireland and the agricultural districts of England, as long as their surplus population was not yet used up or withered in the bud).

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[a] See this volume, p. 45.—*Ed.*

[b] Here: "...no element of self-contradiction".—*Ed.*

"Considerations of economy, moreover, which, under a natural system, afford some security for humane treatment by identifying the master's interest with the slave's preservation, when once trading in slaves is practised, become reasons for racking to the uttermost the toil of the slave; for, *when his place can at once be supplied from foreign preserves, the duration of his life* becomes a matter of less moment *than its productiveness while it lasts.* It is accordingly a maxim of slave management, in slave importing countries, that the *most effective economy is that* which takes out of the [XX-1288] human chattel *in the shortest space of time the utmost amount of exertion it is capable of putting forth.* It is in tropical culture, where annual profits often equal the whole capital of plantations, that negro life is most recklessly sacrificed. It is the agriculture of the West Indies, which has been for centuries prolific of fabulous wealth, which has engulfed millions of the African race. It is in Cuba, at this day, whose revenues are reckoned by millions, and whose planters are princes, that we see, in the servile class, the coarsest fare, the most exhausting and unremitting toil, and even the absolute destruction of a portion of its members every year, *by the slow torture of overwork and insufficient sleep and rest*" * ([pp.] 110, 111).

[*CONVERTED FORM OF THE VALUE OF LABOUR CAPACITY IN THE VALUE OR PRICE OF LABOUR*]

Consideration of the CASE cited above leads us further to a different conception of the *value* of labour capacity, which is of little importance in our analysis of capital, but becomes very important in considering wages specifically.

* "The *price of labour* is the sum paid for a *given quantity of labour*; the *wages of labour* is the sum earned by the labourer ... the *wages of labour* depend *upon the price of labour* and the *quantity of labour* performed" * (Sir Edw. West, *Price of Corn and Wages of Labour,* London, 1826, [pp.] 67, 68).

* "An *increase in the wages of labour* does not necessarily imply an *enhancement of the price of labour.* From fuller employment, and greater exertions, *wages of labour may be considerably* increased, whilst *the price of labour may continue the same*" * (l.c., [p.] 112).

//Malthus maintains that the *value of labour* is constant, and that only the values of the commodities in which labour is paid change. This assertion, which like everything else is also found at certain points in Adam Smith, rests on the following train of thought, of which Malthus himself is by no means conscious[a]: Assume that the length of the working day is given, e.g.=12 hours. At a certain level of productive power, let necessary labour=10 hours and SURPLUS labour=2. If there is a general growth in the productivity of labour, the results of which enter into the worker's necessary means of subsistence, the ratio will be changed into 9 hours of necessary and 3 hours of surplus labour. If the general productivity of labour declines, it will be changed into 11 hours of necessary

[a] See present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 220-22.— *Ed.*

and 1 hour of surplus labour. If we look at this from the point of view of the worker, his wage always costs him 12 hours of labour, although the commodities into which the wage can be resolved represent in turn the value of 10, 9 and 11 hours, according to the different levels of productivity of labour, and, corresponding with this, his surplus labour=2, 3 and 1 hour, HENCE the profit is entirely different in each case. But to say that, because the worker—presupposing that the length of the working day is given—must work a given number of hours, e.g. 12, in order to obtain the product of 9, 10, or 11, the *value* of labour is *constant*, and therefore is the *STANDARD OF VALUE*, is preposterous. The same quantity of labour appears here rather in an expression which is variable, and entirely different from the product of that quantity of labour. It would, as Bailey rightly says,[a] be the same as declaring 1 YARD of CLOTH to be the STANDARD OF VALUE because the YARD of CLOTH always remains identical whether it costs 5 or 1 or 6s.//[56]

So far we have not spoken of the *VALUE OF LABOUR* but only of the *value of labour capacity*, since a direct exchange of more labour for less would contradict the law of commodity exchange, and the form, whether the labour is active or objective, is entirely irrelevant, and the more irrelevant in that the value of a definite quantity of *objectified* labour is measured not by the quantity of labour *objectified* in it but by the average quantity of *living labour* required to reproduce the same commodity. On the other hand, the concept of the commodity in and for itself excludes labour as process—i.e. the *value* of the commodity—: labour as process, *in actu*, is the substance and measure of value, not value. Only as *objectified* labour is it value. Therefore, in considering capital in general—where the presupposition is that commodities are exchanged at their *value*—labour can only function as *labour capacity*, which is itself an *objective* form of labour.

In the production process, however, this mediation disappears. If we disregard the formal process of the exchange [XX-1289] between capital and labour and consider what really occurs *in* the production process, and appears as the result of the production process, a certain quantity of living labour is exchanged for a smaller quantity of objective labour, and at the end of the process a certain quantity of objectified labour is exchanged for a smaller quantity of objectified labour.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 32, p. 222.—*Ed.*

A working day of 12 hours, e.g., is exchanged on the part of the worker for the product of 12−2 hours, or 10 hours, if the surplus labour=2 hours.

It appears as a result that a commodity of the value of 10 hours=the value of the labour capacity, the value of the *manifestation of this labour capacity* of 12 hours, i.e. 12 hours of labour. In fact the reproduction of the worker's labour capacity=10 hours of labour, costs him 12 hours. He must work for 12 hours—must deliver a product in which 12 hours of labour are realised—in order to obtain commodities in which 10 hours are realised. The *value of his labour capacity,* determined by the 10 hours of labour time required for its daily reproduction, is the *equivalent* he receives for 12 hours of labour, and thus *appears* as the value of a *12-hour working day.*

*Price* is at the outset merely the monetary expression of value. Assuming that the quantity of money which can be produced in an hour is 6d., this makes 6×12d., or 6s., for 12 hours of labour. If now the necessary labour time=6 hours, the *price of labour capacity* = 3s. (its value expressed in money) and these 3s. – the *value or price of the labour capacity*—appear as the *value or price* of a working day of 12 hours.

They are in fact the price, or the amount of value, the worker receives in payment for the 12 hours—as equivalent. It is in this sense that we speak of the *value or price* of labour. //Once again, this is as distinct from the market price of labour, which stands now above, now below, its value, as with every other commodity.// And it is in fact the form in which the relation *appears.* For our investigation we must hold fast to what is essential. So if we speak of the *value* (or, expressed in money, the *price*) of *labour,* this must always be understood to mean the *value of labour capicity.* But since this *value of labour capacity* (which is its daily, weekly, etc., value) in fact forms the wage, hence the sum of money the worker receives in payment for the whole of his working day, this *price,* in which only the *paid part* of the working day is objectified, appears as the *price or value of the whole working day.* And in this way 3s. are *the value of a working day* of 12 hours, although they are only the product of 6 hours of labour. In this form, *the value, price of labour is* a specific expression, which directly contradicts the concept of value. But this contradiction *exists.* It is mediated through a series of intermediate elements, which we have developed. In reality the relation appears unmediated, and therefore the wage appears as the *value* or *price* of a definite quantity of living labour. This *form* becomes important when one is examining *wages* in their real

movement. It is also important in understanding many misconceptions in the theory.[a] But at this point we shall only consider [XX-1290] it incidentally in relation to the passage from West quoted above, and the CASE we are examining at present.

One can see that initially the phrase

*"the *price of labour* is the *sum* paid for a given *quantity of labour*"*[b]

is correct. It is the unconceptual form in which the *VALUE OF LABOUR* appears (i.e. the value of labour capacity). We do not *de prime abord*[c] see from this SUM PAID what *difference* there exists between the labour the worker performs and the labour required for the production of his wage. Let us take the above example. The labour time of 1 hour is objectified in 6d., and the labour time of 12 hours in 6s. Since the worker only receives 3s. for 12 hours of labour, the ratio of his surplus labour to his necessary labour=100:100, or, this is the difference between the *value of his labour capacity*, which is paid him in wages, and *its valorisation*, which constitutes surplus value for the capitalist. This cannot, however, be perceived in the expression that the value of a working day of 12 hours=3s.*) Even so, this *form* too allows certain conclusions to be drawn which are relevant to our CASE.

Assume the total working day=10 hours, assume further that the necessary labour time=6 hours, and assume finally that 1 hour of labour is objectified in 6d. For 10 hours of labour the worker receives the product of 6 hours=36d.=3s. Thus the *price or value* of 1 hour (*value* or *price* in the sense developed above) comes to $^3/_{10}$s. or $3^3/_5$d., and the SURPLUS value comes to $2^2/_5$d. an hour. $2^2/_5:3^3/_5={}^{12}/_5:{}^{18}/_5=12:18=2:3$. Or, inversely, $3^3/_5:2^2/_5=3:2$. In fact the ratio of total surplus labour [to necessary labour] is 4 hours:6 hours=$^2/_3$:1.

The total working day=10 hours, of which 6 are necessary labour. $^6/_{10}={}^3/_5$. The worker works for himself for $^3/_5$ of 10 hours, and he works for his capitalist for $^2/_5$. (This is again the ratio of

*) Let us assume that a commodity is sold at its price of production. If one deducts from its value the value of the constant capital contained in it, as well as the part of the wage contained in it, one might imagine that the excess was the surplus value, and thus the difference between the value and the valorisation of labour capacity could be calculated from the wage. We shall see later that this is not the case.

[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 530-31.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 70.—*Ed.*
[c] At first.—*Ed.*

3:2 or 2:3, according to whether one takes the ratio of necessary labour to surplus labour or the inversion of this.) He therefore works $^3/_5$ of every hour for himself, and $^2/_5$ for his capitalist. Or 36 minutes for himself and 24 minutes for capital. And these 36 minutes are represented by $3^3/_5$d., the 24 minutes by $2^2/_5$d. If surplus labour is now lengthened from 4 hours to 6, hence by 2 hours, the value of the working day remains 3s. as before,=the value of the labour capacity. The price of an hour of labour time now only comes to $^3/_{12}$s. or 3d.; it has therefore fallen from $3^3/_5$ to 3, or by $^3/_5$d. Whereas the surplus value has risen from $2^2/_5$ to 3, or by $^3/_5$. Previously the worker worked 36 minutes of each hour for himself, and 24 for the capitalist; now he works 36—6 for himself and 24+6 for the capitalist. This change in the ratio of necessary labour to surplus labour, brought about by the *absolute prolongation* of the working day, therefore finds expression as a fall *in the price or value* of a certain quantity of labour, of an hour of labour in the given case. Here it appears as an *absolute* (not merely relative) fall. (But, as we have seen, it also implies a real DEPRECIATION of labour capacity, in so far as 12 hours' use of labour capacity presupposes a different *duration* of labour capacity from 10 hours' use.)

[2)][a] Now let us assume the opposite case, where the worker receives the same price in payment for the 2 additional hours as for the 10, hence $2(3+^3/_5)$d. or $7^1/_5$d. The surplus value then comes to $2(2+^2/_5)=4^4/_5$d. In the 12 hours, 6s. are now produced altogether. And of these 6s. the worker receives 3s. $7^1/_5$d., while the capitalist receives 2s. $4^4/_5$d. In this case the *value of labour* has risen from 3s. to 3s. $7^1/_5$d., and the *surplus value* from 2s. to 2s. $4^4/_5$d. This *simultaneous* rise in the *value* of labour and in *surplus value* is only possible given an absolute lengthening of the working day. //Except when the labour time becomes more intensive; but this can only apply to individual branches of labour. If the intensification becomes general, it is the normal intensity of labour, and the *more intensive* hour of labour is now the *normal* hour of labour, which is presupposed when one speaks of 1 hour of labour.// This rise in the *wage* (in its value) takes place without any increase in the *price of labour* or the *value of labour.* It only shows that labour time has been lengthened, and this absolute lengthening of the working day is not entirely a free gift for the capitalist. This shows the correctness of a [XX-1291] further remark by West:

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[a] See this volume, p. 67.—*Ed.*

* "The *wages of labour* is the sum earned by the labourer ... the *wages of labour* depend upon the price of labour and the quantity of labour performed... An *increase in the wages of labour* does not necessarily imply an *enhancement of the price of labour*... Wages of labour may be *considerably increased*, whilst the *price of labour may continue the same*." *[a]

It is therefore wrong to conclude that the *VALUE OR PRICE* OF LABOUR has increased if the exchange value of the wage has risen, where this rise is connected with a growth in the *quantity* of labour or a *lengthening of the working day.*

In this case the *surplus value has grown*, but not its rate, for the increase in the variable capital has kept pace with the growth in the surplus value.

As long as 10 hours were worked, capital paid a wage of 3s. (36d.) and made a surplus value of 2s. This is therefore a rate of surplus value of $^2/_3 = 66^2/_3\%$. Once 12 hours are worked, capital pays 3s. $7^1/_5$d. (or $43^1/_5$d.), and the surplus value=2s. $4^4/_5$d. (=$28^4/_5$d.). $43^1/_5$d.=$^{216}/_5$d., and $28^4/_5$d.=$^{144}/_5$. Hence the ratio of surplus value to variable capital=$^{144}/_{216}$=$^{72}/_{108}$=$^{36}/_{54}$=$^{18}/_{27}$, and 18:27=$66^2/_3$:100.

Here, therefore, there takes place a *growth* in the *value* of the wage and a *growth in surplus value*, without any change in the *proportion* between them, nor therefore in *relative surplus value* or in the *relative wage.*[*)] But in this case the rise in the *value of the wage* is not accompanied by a rise in the *price or value of labour*, understanding this phrase to mean the total amount paid for a *given labour time.*

In the given case the worker works $7^1/_5$ of the 12 hours for himself and $4^4/_5$ for capital. Previously he worked 6 hours for himself and 4 for capital. But $7^1/_5$ is related to $4^4/_5$ as 6 is related to 4. I.e. the ratio of paid to unpaid labour time has remained unchanged. But since 6 hours was the labour time necessary for the reproduction of labour capacity, the wage now in fact appears to have risen above the minimum, above the *value of labour capacity*. The value of this labour capacity, however, was calculated on its being consumed for ten hours every day. With a twelve-hour consumption there is a change in its *total duration*, and therefore in the *total value* of this labour capacity, if the wage does

*) In the case indicated here, however, there would be a *relative* increase in *profit*, for reasons which can only be explained later.

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[a] See this volume, p. 70.—*Ed.*

not rise in the same proportion as the length of exploitation—the duration—of the labour capacity diminishes. It depends on the circumstances whether a lengthening of the working day, with the *price of labour* remaining constant, hence *an increase in the wage,* brings about a *real* DEPRECIATION *of labour capacity,* which is not indicated by any change in the *price of labour,* and indeed is accompanied by an increase in the *value of the wage.*

We have examined 1) the case where the lengthening of the absolute labour time is entirely appropriated by capital; and 2) the case where *the ratio* between paid and unpaid labour remains the same while labour time has been lengthened. Now we come 3) to the case where the OVERTIME is admittedly divided between capitalist and worker, but not in *the same* ratio as existed previously between paid and unpaid labour time.

As long as 10 hours were worked the worker worked 6 hours for himself (3s.) and 4 hours for the capitalist (2s.).Once 12 hours are worked, let him receive 6d. in payment for 1 hour, and work one hour for the capitalist (=6d.). The total labour time the worker now works for himself=7 hours, the labour time he works for the capitalist=5 hours. Previously the ratio was $^4/_6$ (=$^2/_3$), now it is $^5/_7$. $^2/_3$=$^{14}/_{21}$, and $^5/_7$=$^{15}/_{21}$. The worker now receives 3s. 6d. for 12 hours; this makes $3^1/_2$d. for one hour, instead of the previous $3^3/_5$d. The *price of labour* has therefore fallen by $^1/_{10}$d. And the *wage* has risen from 3s. to 3s. 6d. [XX-1292] Here, therefore, a rise in wages has taken place (disregarding the DEPRECIATION of the labour capacity by its more rapid consumption) at the same time as a fall in the price of labour, and the surplus value has risen in the same proportion as the price of labour has fallen. Previously, the capitalist laid out 3 and received 2,=$^2/_3$; now he lays [out] 3s. 6d. and receives 2s. 6d.; hence he lays out 42d. and receives 30. $^{30}/_{42}$=$^{15}/_{21}$;=$^5/_7$. The rate of surplus value has therefore risen from $^2/_3$ to $^5/_7$, or from $^{14}/_{21}$ to $^{15}/_{21}$ or by $^1/_{21}$.

Conversely, if the worker received $1^1/_2$ of the 2 hours, hence 9d., the relation would be this: His wage now=3s. 9d.,=45d., this makes $3^3/_4$d. an hour, whereas previously he received only $3^3/_5$. $^3/_4-^3/_5$=$^{15}/_{20}-^{12}/_{20}$=$^3/_{20}$. In this case the rise in the wage is accompanied by a rise in the *price of labour,* to which there would correspond a *fall in the rate of surplus value.* The capitalist lays out 3s. 9d., there therefore remain for him 2s. 3d. 3s. 9d.=45d., and 2s. 3d.=27d. $^{27}/_{45}$=60%. Previously it was $66^2/_3$%. A fall of $6^2/_3$%. We shall see later on that *relative profit* may grow even in this case, where the amount of surplus value increases although its rate declines.

*A rise in wages*—seen from the point of view of *exchange value,* not use value, and with the productivity of labour remaining constant, as is the overall assumption in this part of the investigation—can therefore take place with the *price of labour* remaining constant, whereby a DEPRECIATION of labour capacity is possible. It can take place with *the price of labour falling,* a DEPRECIATION of labour capacity accompanied by not only an absolute but also a relative increase in surplus value.

It is necessary to subdivide this form in this way, as *value of labour* or *price of labour,* in which the *value of labour capacity* presents itself in practice and in its direct manifestation, in order to solve certain problems connected with the movement of wages. In considering the general relation we have only to take account by way of exception of this inverted form in which the value of labour capacity appears. This inverted form is, however, the way in which it appears in the real process of competition, where everything appears in an inverted form, and in the consciousness of both worker and capitalist.

We saw earlier: Given the length of the working day (and as long as we are not speaking of a fall of wages *below* the minimum or of their rise *above* the minimum, hence of *price fluctuations* which do not concern *value* itself), any alteration can only proceed from CHANGES in the productivity of labour. So, assuming the case of a rise in the price of the necessary means of subsistence (e.g. the products of agriculture) as a result of a fall in the productivity of agriculture—with all other circumstances remaining the same, hence no fall for example in the price of the non-agricultural means of subsistence which might cancel out the above price rise—the *value* of *labour capacity* would have to rise, there would have to be an increase in necessary labour time at the cost of surplus labour time, and surplus value would have to fall. The quantity of the means of subsistence received by the workers would remain constant in spite of the rise in the value of labour capacity. If not, if it declined, the *level of wages,* or wages, would fall below its established minimum, in spite of the increased value of labour capacity and in spite of the resultant rise in relative wages and fall in relative surplus value. But this law does not by any means apply if the working day functions not as a constant but a variable magnitude, i.e. is prolonged beyond its previous normal limit. If absolute surplus labour is prolonged in this way, then despite the rise *in the value of labour capacity* relative surplus value can not only remain the same but even grow. This was unquestionably the case in England, e.g., for the period 1800 to

1815. During this time the products of agriculture became dearer but it was at the same time the main period of the *lengthening of the normal working day.**)

[*DERIVED FORMULAE FOR THE RATIO OF SURPLUS VALUE TO VARIABLE CAPITAL OR OF SURPLUS LABOUR TO NECESSARY LABOUR*]

[XX-1293] We have seen[a] that the rate of surplus value is to be calculated simply by reference to the magnitude of the variable capital, or, and this is the same thing, is to be expressed as the ratio of $\frac{\text{SURPLUS LABOUR}}{\text{NECESSARY LABOUR}}$. In the first expression $\frac{\text{surplus value}}{\text{variable capital}}$, the ratio of surplus value to the capital, whose variation it is, is expressed; it is a value relation; in the ratio of SURPLUS LABOUR TO NECESSARY LABOUR both values, the variable capital and the SURPLUS LABOUR, are reduced to the basic ratio which measures them both, since the ratio of the two values is determined by the labour time contained in them, and the values are therefore in the same relation to each other as the labour times. $\frac{\text{Surplus value}}{\text{variable capital}}$ and $\frac{\text{SURPLUS LABOUR}}{\text{NECESSARY LABOUR}}$ or $\frac{\text{unpaid labour}}{\text{paid labour}}$ are all the original, conceptual expressions of the same relation.

The same relation can also be expressed in other derived forms, but these do not present the essential points with the same conceptual rigour.

NECESSARY LABOUR+SURPLUS LABOUR=the total working day. Assuming that NECESSARY LABOUR=8, and SURPLUS LABOUR=4, the ratio=$^4/_8=^1/_2$. Or 50% is the rate of exploitation of labour. The total working day=12 (=NECESSARY LABOUR+SURPLUS LABOUR), necessary labour

*) There were other circumstances in that period which brought about not only a relative, but an absolute fall in the average wage. One of these factors was the continuous DEPRECIATION of money, and, as is well known, in epochs of the DEPRECIATION of money the nominal wage rises in the same proportion as money is depreciated. The value of money is taken as constant throughout our investigation.

[1]) I have already used the expression $\frac{\text{paid labour}}{\text{unpaid labour}}$ in my original presentation of the rate of surplus value. This must not be done. Since it presupposes the *payment* of *quantities of labour*, not *labour capacity*. *Unpaid labour* is the expression used among the bourgeois themselves for abnormal *OVERTIME*.

[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 172-80.— *Ed.*

time$=12\times{}^{2}/_{3}$, and SURPLUS labour time$={}^{12}/_{3}$. Both can be expressed as aliquot parts of the total working day, and if we compare these expressions, the same proportion emerges. $\frac{12\times 2}{3}$ or ${}^{24}/_{3}:{}^{12}/_{3}=24:12=8:4$. But the rate of exploitation is not given directly by this expression. E.g., if surplus labour is 50% of necessary, it is ${}^{1}/_{3}$, or $33{}^{1}/_{3}$%, of the total working day. This $33{}^{1}/_{3}$% does not, unlike the 50%, directly express the rate of exploitation. Although this derivative form is serviceable in some investigations, it can lead to entirely false conclusions.

For example, if we assume that NECESSARY LABOUR=6 hours, and SURPLUS LABOUR=6 hours, the rate of surplus value, or the rate of exploitation, will be 100%. If we assume that NECESSARY LABOUR=4 hours, and surplus LABOUR=8 hours, the rate of surplus value, or the degree of exploitation, will be 200%. It is clear, on the other hand, that $\frac{\text{surplus labour}}{\text{total working day}}$ can never=100%, since this ratio always$=\frac{\text{total working day} - \text{NECESSARY LABOUR}}{\text{total working day}}$, in other words the SURPLUS LABOUR always forms an aliquot part of the total working day, is always smaller than the total working day, hence never$={}^{100}/_{100}$. Still less can it ever$=\frac{100+x}{100}$. The total working day is a limit which surplus labour can never reach, however great the reduction in necessary labour.*) Since surplus labour=the total [working day]−NECESSARY LABOUR, it will grow in the same ratio as NECESSARY LABOUR becomes smaller. But if the latter became 0, surplus LABOUR would also be 0, since it is only a function of necessary labour. Various writers on political economy (some of whom also confuse profit with surplus value) have drawn from this the incorrect conclusion that the *rate of surplus value* can *never amount to 100%*,[a57] thus taking a derived expression, which does not directly express the ratio, for the direct expression of the ratio. The expression must first be converted back in order to find the real ratio. If, e.g., we have the ratio of surplus labour to the total working day, or $\frac{\text{surplus labour}}{\text{working day}}$, it results from this that neces-

*) This applies to the worker in so far as he is employed. For the *total day* composed of many *simultaneous working days* the day of the individual worker can be left out of account.

[a] Here Marx wrote "Rodbertus" above the line.—*Ed.*

sary labour=the total working day—surplus labour. And we therefore also have the ratio of the necessary working day to the total working day. The two ratios: $\frac{\text{necessary labour}}{\text{total working day}}$ and $\frac{\text{surplus labour}}{\text{total working day}}$ yield $\frac{\text{surplus labour}}{\text{necessary labour}}$ and only with this ratio do we have the real rate of exploitation, which can amount to 100% and more.

[XX=1294] Just as the expressions of necessary labour and surplus labour as fragments of the total working day are derived forms of the ratio $\frac{\text{surplus labour}}{\text{necessary labour}}$, $\frac{\text{paid labour}}{\text{unpaid labour}}$, so the expression of wages and surplus value as aliquot parts of the *total product* (i.e. of the value of the total product) is a derived form of the conceptual relation $\frac{\text{surplus value}}{\text{variable capital}}$. The value of the product=constant capital+(variable capital+surplus value). If we put constant capital=0, i.e. if we abstract from its value, which does not affect the ratio between surplus value and variable capital, or does not affect the value the newly added labour has imparted to the product, the value of the total product=the value of the variable capital+the surplus value,=wages+surplus value. Hence once the production process is extinguished in its result, in the product, once the living labour exchanged for objectified labour has again objectified itself, wages and surplus value can be expressed as fractions of value, as proportional parts of the total value of the product. Thus if the variable capital of £8 is reproduced by £8, and if in addition the surplus labour has objectified itself in £4, the value of the product=$8v+4s$,=£12. The values £8 and £4, in which necessary and surplus labour have respectively been objectified, can then be expressed as proportional parts of the total product of £12.

Firstly, this derived ratio suffers from the same disadvantage as the derived formula we considered earlier. It does not directly express the rate of exploitation. Secondly, because the finished product always expresses labour time of a specific magnitude, all relations emerging from variations in the working day, in absolute surplus labour, disappear in this form. We find, therefore, that in fact the writers on political economy who make particular use of this form[a] treat the sum of necessary time+surplus time, the total

[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, p. 251.—*Ed.*

working day, as a constant magnitude, hence they also treat the total value of the product, in which the total working day is expressed, solely as a constant magnitude. Lastly, however, when this formula is treated as the original formula, it blurs and falsifies the *qualitative character* of the exchange relation between capitalist and worker, the exchange between *living labour* and *objectified labour*, which really takes place in the production process, by dealing *solely* with objectified labour, labour objectified in the product. The essential relation, the fact that the worker has no share in the product, and that this exchange, instead of giving him a share, excludes him from any share in the product as such, this *vital point* of the whole relation, disappears, and its place is taken by the false semblance that the capitalist and the wage labourer form a PARTNERSHIP, and share out the product in proportion to their different contributions to its formation. This is therefore a favourite formula of bourgeois apologists for the *relation of capital.*

Nevertheless, this derived formula is an expression that emerges from the result of the production process itself, in which both wages and surplus value are ultimately represented as parts of the value of the product, the total amount of objectified labour. We shall learn the true meaning of this formula for the development of the relation of capital later on—when considering accumulation. This formula becomes all the more important because money figures as means of payment, i.e. labour is first paid for once it is objectified, hence has itself already passed over from the form of the process to that of rest, from the form of value-creating activity to that of value.

The *value* or *price of labour* (expressed in money) is the *direct* form in which the *value of labour capacity* appears. The situation appears to the worker as if he sells *his labour* for a certain sum of money; to the capitalist too it appears as if he buys this commodity for a certain sum of money. This price is then regulated, like that of every other commodity, by the laws governing the demand for, and supply of, labour. But the question has then to be asked, what regulates the laws of supply and demand? Or, in the case of this commodity (labour), as with all other commodities, one must ask what regulates its value, or the price corresponding to its value? Or its price, once supply and demand are evenly balanced? With labour as such, in contrast to all other commodities, we see that it is not directly covered by the law of value, for the value of a commodity, or the price which corresponds to that value, is determined by the quantity of [XX-1295] labour contained in this commodity, or the labour time objectified in it. It would be absurd

to speak of the quantity of labour contained in a quantity of living labour, or of the determination e.g. of 12 hours of labour by 12 hours of labour. Here it is apparent that value can only be determined, one can only speak of the *value of labour* at all, in so far as the latter is a derivative form of the *value of labour capacity*.

Let us look first at the *conceptual expression* [of labour capacity], and then at its *converted form*, as it appears on the surface—on the market. The comparison will serve also to clarify the relation between the two expressions.

Let us assume that the *daily value* of labour capacity=6 hours of labour. Let 1 hour of labour be realised in *6d.*; or let 6d. be the expression in money of 1 hour of labour. The worker sells his labour capacity to the capitalist for 6×6d.=36d.=3s. He has then sold his labour capacity at its value. The actual consumption of this commodity by the capitalist consists in the worker's labour. But labour capacity is only sold for a certain part of the whole day. Assume the normal working day is 12 hours. The value of the product in which the 12-hour working day is realised=12 hours. The first 6 hours in which it is realised are only an equivalent for the wage. The value of the product (12 hours) minus the value of the labour capacity (6 hours), the difference between the value in which the working day is realised and the value of the labour capacity, forms the surplus value. Or, the difference between the total working day and the necessary labour time=the surplus labour.

The value in which the total working day is realised=6s.; the value in which the value, or the price, of the labour capacity is replaced=3s. The surplus value=6−3s., or=3s., or the surplus labour=12 hours−6 hours=6 hours. The surplus value appears here directly as the difference between the total amount of value in which the working day is realised and the value in which the part of the working day is realised which replaces only the wage, the value of the labour capacity; in other words it appears as the difference between the total working day and the paid part of the working day.

But, as remarked earlier,[a] labour capacity is one of the commodities where money figures as means of payment; i.e. it figures twice, first as means of purchase, in the sale, then as means of payment, when the sale is realised, once the use value of the commodity has passed into the possession of the buyer. The

[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, p. 52.— *Ed.*

worker only receives payment, e.g. daily or weekly, once the capitalist has had his labour capacity work e.g. for a week during 12 hours of each day. The equivalent he receives therefore *appears* as an equivalent for his 12 hours of labour. Apart from this, he has sold his labour capacity, hence its consumption, for a particular period of time. But this time-determined consumption on the part of the capitalist is on the part of the worker a particular quantity, measured in time, of his own activity, i.e. his labour, hence e.g. the sale of 12 hours of his labour a day. And the *price*, the sum of money he receives, thus reappears, for him as for the capitalist, as the *price of*, or the *equivalent for, his 12 hours of labour.* It is the more natural, therefore, that this *real result of the process*—namely that a *particular quantity of labour* has been bought and sold for a particular quantity of money—should also appear to the capitalist as the content of the transaction, since what concerns him in the whole of the transaction is only *this content.*

Now what appears in this form as the *value of labour* or as *its price*, forming THE LIMIT of market prices? Precisely the *value of labour capacity*, or the *sum of money* in which the necessary labour is objectified. If the normal working day consists of 12 hours—and necessary labour time is 6 hours—then 3s. (the result of 6 hours of labour) will appear as the *value* of the *12-hour* working day. Prices which stand above or below this are prices which diverge from the *value* of *labour* and oscillate around it as a central point. Under these circumstances, therefore, 3d. appears as the value of one hour of labour. We have already explained earlier that this would have a higher expression if the normal working day were less than 12 hours, and [a smaller expression] if it were more than 12 hours. However, we do not want to return to this discussion here. Here we are concerned with another side, the *qualitative* side. (The wage for a particular period of time, a particular quantity of labour (e.g. an hour of labour), is determined here by the ratio of necessary labour to the total working day. And the wage appears as the sum which is paid for the total working day. If the price of labour remains constant, the wage can rise if labour time is prolonged; if the wage remains constant, the price of labour can fall if labour time is prolonged; equally, if the price of labour falls, the wage can rise if [labour] time [XX-1296] is prolonged.)

Hence the value in which the necessary labour time is realised appears as the *value of the working day*, which=necessary labour time+surplus labour time. 3s. thus appears under the above presupposition as the value of a *12-hour working day*, although the 12-hour working day is objectified in 6s. Thus the *value of the*

*working day* appears in this example as half the size of *the value of the product* in which this working day is objectified. (See p. 40 of *Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie,* Part One, 1859, where I announce that in my analysis of capital this problem will be solved:

"How does production on the basis of exchange value solely determined by labour time lead to the result that the exchange value of labour is less than the exchange value of its product?" [a])

If the necessary labour time=$x$, the total working day=$y$ or=$x+z$, and if $x$ is realised in a value $x'$, while $y$ is realised in $x'+z'$, $x'$ appears as the value of $x+z$.

The *value of labour* (or of the working day), as it appears in this unconceptual form, is therefore something entirely different from the *value of the commodity* determined by the working day.

Before we go any further, two more remarks should be made.

*Firstly*: On the above presupposition, the value of an hour of labour=3d., and this is the case because the value of the labour capacity, or the value in which the necessary labour is realised,=6 hours, and the value of each hour=6d., hence the value in which 6 hours are realised=36d. This $^{36}/_{12}$, or the value of the labour capacity—the value of the commodities in which the necessary labour time is realised—divided by the number of hours which form the total working day, necessary+surplus labour, appears here as the value of an hour of labour. If the total working day came to only 10 hours, the value of an hour would=$^{36}/_{10}$; if it came to 18 hours, the value would=$^{36}/_{18}$. The constant factor is the value of the labour capacity, or the value in which the necessary labour is realised. But the *price of a particular quantity of labour,* e.g. the price of an hour, is determined by the ratio of the necessary labour time to the total working day, or to the necessary+the surplus labour.

It is therefore clear that if on the above presupposition 3d. per hour is established as the average value of an hour of labour, this is on the assumption not only that the total working day is twice as long as the necessary labour time, 12 hours instead of 6, but that the worker is employed for 12 hours every day, or that his average daily employment over the year comes to 12 hours. For only if he works 12 hours every day is he capable of reproducing the value of his own labour capacity, and therefore continuing to live as a worker under the same average conditions; or, only if he works 12

[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 302).— *Ed.*

hours is he capable of producing for himself a daily value of 6 hours—the value of his labour capacity. If he were only employed for e.g. 10 hours at a *price per hour* of 3d., he would only receive 30d.=2s. 6d., a wage which would fall below the daily value of labour capacity, and therefore below the average wage. If he were only employed for 6 hours, he would receive precisely half the wage required to conduct his life in its traditional manner. The same phenomena occur when there is only half time work, $^3/_4$ time, etc. It is for this *reason* that the London BUILDERS spoke out in their STRIKE of 1860 sq. against *payment by the hour* instead of by the working day or the working week.[a] This is also an important aspect in determining the case of the *SEASONAL workers*, etc.; here the worker perhaps OVERWORKS for 3 months and for the rest of the year is only half OR $^1/_3$ EMPLOYED.

*The second point* follows from the specific nature of *OVERTIME*. The calculation of the price or value of an hour has hitherto always been done on the presupposition that the worker is employed for longer than 6 hours, i.e. that he works his necessary labour time for himself. With OVERTIME this limit does not exist. There it is not only presupposed that the worker works $^1/_2$ an hour for himself, $^1/_2$ an hour for his MASTER, but that he works $^{12}/_2$ hours for himself in the course of the day. This is IN FACT THE LIMIT. If the MASTER had him work only 6 hours, the necessary wage would be expressed as $^3/_6 \times 6$,=3s. I.e. the value of the labour=the value of the product of the labour; and the surplus labour, hence surplus value, would=0. If the whole working day only came to 7 hours, the MASTER would gain only 1 surplus hour, only the 6d. of surplus value in which the value of a surplus hour is expressed. If he now has the worker work more than the normal working time of 12 hours, and pays the wage of 6d. even for the 2 extra hours, the ratio of necessary to surplus labour no longer enters the picture. He can gain 1 surplus hour without having 6 necessary hours worked.

[XX-1291a][58] The value concept is not only completely extinguished in this expression of the *value of labour* or the *price of labour time*, but inverted into something directly contradictory to it. The value in which *one part* of the normal working day is embodied (namely the part necessary for the reproduction of labour capacity) appears as the *value* of the *total* working day. Thus the *value of* 12 hours of labour=3s., although the value of the *commodity* which is produced in 12 hours of labour=6s., and indeed because 12 hours of labour are represented by 6s. This is

[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, p. 193.—*Ed.*

therefore an irrational expression, somewhat like $\sqrt{-2}$ in algebra. But it is an expression which necessarily results from the production process, it is the necessary *form of appearance* of the value of labour capacity. It is already contained in the term *wage of labour*, in which the wage of labour=the price of labour=the value of labour. This form lacks conceptual rigour; but it is the form which lives both in the consciousness of the worker and in that of the capitalist, because it is the form which directly appears in reality; it is therefore the form vulgar political economy sticks to, making the specific difference which sets the science of political economy apart from all the other sciences the fact that the latter seek to uncover the essence which lies hidden behind commonplace appearances, and which mostly contradicts the form of commonplace appearances (as for example in the case of the movement of the sun about the earth), whereas the former proclaims the mere translation of commonplace appearances into equally commonplace notions to be the true business of science. In this inverted and derived form, the form in which the *value of labour capacity* presents itself on the surface of bourgeois society, possesses its commonplace expression (its exoteric shape) as the *value* or, expressed in money, the *price* of labour, the difference between *paid* and *unpaid* labour is entirely extinguished, since the wage is after all a payment for the *working day* and an equivalent for it—IN FACT, for its product. The surplus value the product contains must therefore in fact be derived from an invisible, mysterious quality, from constant capital. This expression, the difference between wage labour and serf labour, forms a *DELUSION of the worker himself.*

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[*ADDENDA*]

Before we proceed, a few more quotations and remarks relating to the whole of Section I, presented above.

According to Hobbes *science*, not *operative labour*, is the mother of the arts.

* "Arts of public use, as fortification, making of engines, and other instruments of war; because they confer to defence and victory, are power; and though the true mother of them be *science, namely the mathematics*, yet because they are brought into the light, by the hand of the artificer, they be esteemed, the midwife passing with the vulgar for the mother, as his issue" * (*Leviathan*, in *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes*, EDIT. by Molesworth, Vol. III, London, 1839-1844, [p.] 75).

The product of mental labour—science—always stands far below its value, because the labour time needed to reproduce it has no relation at all to the labour time required for its original production. For example, a schoolboy can learn the binomial theorem in an hour.

*Labour capacity*:

* "The *value* or *worth of a man*, is as of all other things, his price: that is to say, so much as would be given *for the use of his power*" * (Hobbes, *Leviathan*, l.c., [p.] 76).* "A *man's labour*" * //that is, the *use of his labouring power// "also, is a *commodity* exchangeable for benefit, as well as any other *thing*" * (l.c., [p.] 233).

*Productive and unproductive labour*:

* "It is not enough, *for a man to labour* for the maintenance of his life; but also to *fight*, if need be, for the *securing of his labour*. They must either do as the Jews did after their return from captivity, in re-edifying the temple, build with one hand, and hold the sword in the other; or else they must hire others to fight for them" * (Hobbes, l.c., [p.] 333).

*Locke*. Taking Locke's whole doctrine of LABOUR together with his doctrine of the *origin* of *interest* and *rent*—for he considers surplus value only in these specific forms—surplus value is nothing but *alien labour*, surplus labour, which land and capital—the conditions of labour—enable their owners to appropriate. And ownership of a greater quantity of conditions of labour than one person can himself put to use with his own labour is, according to Locke, a *political* invention which contradicts the law of nature on which private property, the right to private property, [XX-1292a] is founded.

//For *Hobbes* too labour is the sole source of all wealth, apart from those gifts of nature which are to be found already in a consumable state. God (NATURE)

* "either *freely gives*, or *for labour sells* to mankind" * (*Leviathan* [p. 232]).

But for Hobbes it is the sovereign who distributes property in land at his discretion.//

The relevant passages [in Locke] are as follows:

* "Though the *earth*, and all inferior creatures, be common to all men, yet every man has a property in his own person: this nobody has a right to but himself. The labour of his body, and the work of his hands, we may say, are properly his. Whatsoever then he removes out of the state that nature has provided, and left it in, he has mixed his labour with, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property" (*Of Government*, Book II, Ch. V; [in *The*] *Works*, 7th edit., Vol. II, 1768 [p.] 229).

"His labour has taken it out of the hands of nature, where it was common, and belonged equally to all her children, and has thereby appropriated it to himself" (l.c., [p.] 230).

"The same law of nature, that does by this means give us property, does also bound that property too... As much as any one can make use of to any advantage of life before it spoils, so much he may by his labour fix a property in: whatever is beyond this, is more than his share, and belongs to others" (l.c.).

"But the chief matter of property being now not *the fruits of the earth*, etc., but the *earth* itself... As much land as a man tills, plants, improves, cultivates, and can use the product of, so much is his property. He by his labour does, as it were, enclose it from the common" ([p.] 230).

"Subduing or cultivating the earth, and having dominion, we see are joined together. The one gave title to the other" ([p.] 231).

"The measure of property nature has well set *by the extent of men's labour* and the conveniencies of life: no man's labour could subdue, or appropriate all; nor could his enjoyment consume more than a small part; so that it was impossible for any man, this way, to intrench upon the right of another, or acquire to himself a property, to the prejudice of his neighbour... This measure did confine every man's possession to a very moderate proportion, and such as he might appropriate to himself, without injury to anybody, in the first age of the world... And the same measure *may be allowed still* without prejudice to anybody, as full as the world seems"* ([pp.] 231-32).

Labour gives things almost all their value //VALUE here=use value, and labour is taken as concrete labour, not as a quantity; but the measuring of exchange value by labour is in reality based on the fact that the labourer creates use value//. The remainder of use value which cannot be resolved into labour is the gift of nature, and hence in and for itself *common property*. What Locke therefore tries to show is not the contradiction—that property can nevertheless [be] acquired by other PROCEDURES than labour—but how, in spite of the COMMON PROPERTY in nature, individual property could be created by individual labour.

*"It *is labour indeed* that *puts the difference of value on every thing*... Of the products of the earth useful to the life of man ... $^{99}/_{100}$ are wholly to be put on the account of labour" ([p.] 234).

"It is labour then which puts the greatest part of the value upon land" ([p.] 235).

"Though the things of nature are given in common, yet man, by *being master of himself*, and *proprietor of his own person*, and the actions or labour of it, had still in himself the great foundation of property"* ([p.] 235).

One LIMIT [to property] is therefore the limit of *personal labour*; the other, that a man should not amass more things than he can use. The latter limit however is extended by exchange of perishable products for *money* (apart from other exchanges):

*"He might heap up as much of these *durable* things as he pleased; the exceeding of the bounds of his just property"* //apart from the *LIMIT* of his personal labour// *"not lying in the largeness of his possession, but the perishing of any thing uselessly in it. And thus came in the use of money, some lasting thing which men might keep without spoiling, and that by mutual consent men would take in [XX-1293a] exchange for the truly useful, but perishable support of life"* ([p.] 236).

Thus arises the inequality of individual property, though the *limit of personal labour* remains.

*"This partage of things in an inequality of private possessions, men have made practicable out of the bounds of society, and without compact; only by putting a value on gold and silver, and tacitly agreeing in the use of money"* ([p.] 237).

We must now compare with this the following passage from Locke's work on interest,[a] not forgetting that according to him natural law makes *personal labour* the limit of PROPERTY:

"[...] let us next see how it" (money) "comes to be of the same nature with land, by yielding a certain yearly income, which we call Use or Interest. For land produces naturally something new and profitable, and of value to mankind; but money is a barren thing, and produces nothing, but by compact, *transfers that profit, that was the reward of one man's labour, into another man's pocket.* That which occasions this, is the unequal distribution of money; which inequality has the same effect too upon land, that it has upon money... For as the unequal distribution of land (you having more than you can, or will manure, and another less) brings you a tenant of your land; and the same unequal distribution of money ... brings me a tenant for my money: so *my money is apt in trade, by the industry of the borrower,* to produce more than 6 per cent to the borrower, as well as your land, *by the labour of the tenant,* is apt to produce more fruits, than his rent comes to"* (FOLIO EDITION OF Locke's *Works*, VOL. II, 1740).[59]

In this passage Locke has in part the polemical interest of showing landed property that its rent is in no way different from usury. Both *"transfer that profit, which was the reward of one man's labour, into another man's pocket"* through the unequal distribution of the conditions of production.

Locke's view is all the more important because it was the classical expression of bourgeois society's ideas of right as against feudal society, and moreover his philosophy served as the basis for all the ideas of the whole of subsequent English political economy.

## [*INTERMEZZO*] *HUME AND JOSEPH MASSIE*

*Massie's anonymous* work *An Essay on the Governing Causes of the Natural Rate of Interest* appeared in 1750. The second part of Hume's *Essays*, which contains "Of Interest", was published in 1752, that is, 2 years later. Massie therefore has priority. Hume attacks Locke, Massie attacks both Petty and Locke, both of whom still held the view that the level of interest depends on the quantity

[a] J. Locke, *Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest, and Raising the Value of Money* (1691). In: *The Works*, Vol. II, London, 1740.— *Ed.*

of money, and that in fact the real object OF THE LOAN is money (not capital).[60]

Massie laid down, more categorically than did Hume, that *INTEREST* is merely a part of profit.[a] Hume is mainly concerned to show that the value of money makes no difference to the rate of interest, since the proportion between interest and money capital is given—6% for example, that is, £6 rises or falls in value at the same time as the value of the £100 (and, therefore, of one pound sterling) rises or falls, but the proportion 6 is not affected by this.

Let us start with *Hume*.

*"Everything in the world is purchased by labour"* (*Essays*, VOL. I, London, 1764, [p.] 289).[61]

The rate of interest depends on the demand from borrowers and the supply by lenders, that is, on demand and supply, but after that essentially on the level of

*"profits arising from commerce" (l.c., [p.] 329).[62] "The greater or less stock of labour and commodities must have a great influence" (upon interest); "since we really and in fact borrow these, when we take money upon interest" (l.c., [p.] 337). "No man will accept of low profits, where he can have high interest; and no man will accept of low interest, where he can have high profits"* (l.c., [p.] 335).

High interest and high profit are both the expression

*"of the small advance of commerce and industry, not of the scarcity of gold and silver.* And *low interest* of the opposite" ([p.] 329).

[XX-1294a] *["In] a state, therefore, where there is nothing but a landed interest"* (or as he says later, *"landed gentry and peasants") "the borrowers must be numerous, and interest high"* ([p.] 330),

because wealth only concerned with enjoyment is driven by boredom to seek pleasures, while on the other hand production, except for agriculture, is very limited. The opposite is the case, when COMMERCE has developed. The passion for GAIN entirely dominates the MERCHANT. He

*"knows no such pleasure as that of seeing the daily increase of his fortune".*

(The passion for exchange value, abstract wealth, weighs with him far more than that for use values.)

*"And this is the reason why trade increases frugality, and why, among merchants, there is the same overplus of misers over prodigals, as, among the possessors of land, there is the contrary"* ([p.] 333).

*Unproductive labour*:

*"Lawyers and physicians beget no industry; and it is even at the expense of others they acquire their riches; so that they are sure to diminish the possessions of some of their fellow-citizens as fast as they increase their own" ([pp. 333-]334).

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[a] See this volume, p. 92.—*Ed.*

"Thus an increase of commerce raises a great number of lenders, and by that means *produces a lowness of interest*" ([p.] 334).

"*Low interest* and *low profits of merchandise* are two events, that mutually forward each other, and *are both originally derived* from that extensive commerce, which produces opulent merchants, and renders the monied interest considerable. Where merchants possess great stocks, whether represented by few or many pieces of metal, it must frequently happen, that when they either become tired of business, or have heirs unwilling or unfit to engage in commerce, a great deal of these riches naturally seeks an annual and secure revenue. The plenty diminishes the price, and makes the lenders accept of a low interest. This consideration obliges many to keep their stocks in trade, and rather be content with low profits than dispose of their money at an under value. On the other hand, when commerce has become very extensive, and employs very large stocks, there must *arise rivalships among the merchants*, which *diminish the profits of trade*, at the same time that they increase trade itself. The low profits of merchandise induce the merchants to accept more willingly of a low interest, when they leave off business, and begin to indulge themselves in ease and indolence. It is *needless*, therefore, to enquire which of these circumstances, *viz. low interest or low profits*, is *the cause* and which *the effect*. They both arise from an extensive commerce, and mutually forward each other... An extensive commerce, by producing large stocks, diminishes both interest and profits; and is always assisted, in its diminution of the one, by the proportional sinking of the other. I may add, that as low profits arise from the increase of commerce and industry, they serve in their turn to the farther increase of commerce, by rendering the commodities cheaper, encouraging the consumption and heightening the industry. And thus, ... interest is *the true barometer of the state*, and *its lowness* is a sign *almost* infallible of the flourishing of a people"* (l.c., [pp.] 334-36).

(Joseph Massie,) *An Essay on the Governing Causes of the Natural Rate of Interest; wherein the Sentiments of Sir William Petty and Mr. Locke, on that Head, are considered*, London, 1750.[63]

*"It appears from these several extracts[64] that Mr. Locke attributes the government of the natural *rate of interest* to [the] proportion which the quantity of money in a country bears to the debts of its inhabitants one amongst [another,] and to the trade of it; and that Sir William Petty makes it depend on the quantity of money alone; so they [only differ] in regard to debts" ([pp.] 14-15).

[XXI-1300][65] Rich people, "instead of employing their money themselves, let it out to other people for them to make profit of, reserving for the owners a *proportion of the profits to be made*. But when the riches of a country are dispersed into so many hands, and so equally divided, as not to leave many people enough to maintain two families, by employing it in trade, there can be *little borrowing*; for £20,000, when it belongs to one man, cannot[a] be lent, because the interest of it will keep a family, but if it belongs to ten men, it cannot be lent, because the interest will not keep 10 families" ([pp.] 23-24).

"All reasoning about natural interest from *the rate which the Government pays for money*, is, and unavoidably must be fallacious; experience has shown us, they neither have agreed, nor preserved a correspondence with each other; and reason tells us they never can; for *the one has its foundation in profit*, and *the other in necessity*; the former of which has bounds, but the latter none. The gentleman who borrows money to improve his land, and the merchant or tradesman who borrow

[a] A slip of the pen. Massie has "may".— *Ed.*

to carry on trade, have limits beyond which they will not go; if they can get 10 per cent by money, they may give 5 per cent for it; but they will not give 10; whereas he who borrows through necessity, has nothing else to determine by, and this admits of no rule at all" ([pp.] 31-32).

"The equitableness of taking interest depends not upon a man's making or not making *profit* by what he borrows, but upon its being capable of producing profit if rightly employed" ([p.] 49). "If *that which men pay as interest* for what they borrow, be a part of the profits it is capable of producing, this *interest* must always be governed by those *profits*" ([p.] 49).

"What proportion of these profits do of right belong to the borrower, and what to the lender? and this there is no other method of determining than by the opinions of borrowers and lenders in general; for right and wrong in this respect, are only what common consent makes" ([p.] 49).

"This rule of *dividing profits* is not however to be applied particularly to every lender and borrower, but to lenders and borrowers in general ... remarkably great and small gains are the rewards of skill, and the want of understanding, which *lenders have nothing at all to do with*; for as they will not suffer by the one, they ought not to benefit by the other. What has been said of *particular men* in *the same business* is applicable to *particular sorts of business*" ([p.] 50).

"The *natural rate of interest* is governed by the *profits of trade* to particulars" * ([p.] 51).

Why then was interest 4% instead of 8 as it had been earlier in England? Because English merchants at that time

* "got double the profits they now make".*

Why 3% in Holland, 5 and 6 in France, Germany, Portugal, 9% in the West and East Indies, 12 in Turkey?

* "One general answer will do for the whole, which is, that the profits of trade in these several countries differ from the profits of trade here, and so much as to produce all those different rates of interest" * ([p.] 51).

But what is the fall in profit due to? To competition, foreign and internal,

* "a decrease of foreign trade" * (through foreign competition) * "or *to people* in *trade lowering the prices of their commodities upon each other* ... through necessity to get some trade, or through avarice to get most" ([pp. 52-]53).

"The profits of trade in general, are governed by the proportion *which the number of traders* bears to the *quantity of commerce*" * ([p.] 55). "In Holland where the number of PEOPLE EMPLOYED in *trade bears the greatest proportion to the whole number of inhabitants ... *interest is lowest*; in Turkey, where the disproportion * is greatest, INTEREST is highest" ([pp.] 55-56).

[XXI-1301] * "What governs the *proportion between trade and traders*?" * ([p.] 57). The * "motives to trade", natural necessity, liberty, preservation of men's private rights, public safety ([p.] 58).

"There are no two countries which furnish an equal number of the necessaries of life in equal plenty, and *with the same quantity of labour*. Men's wants increase or diminish with the severity or temperateness of the climate they live in; consequently the *proportion of trade* which the inhabitants of different countries are obliged to carry on through necessity, cannot be the same, nor is it practicable to ascertain the degree of variation further than by the degrees of heat and cold; from whence one

may make this general conclusion, that [the] *quantity of labour* required for a certain number of people is greatest in cold climates, and least in hot ones; for in the former, men not only want more clothes, but the earth more cultivating than in the latter" ([p.] 59). "One kind of necessity which is peculiar to Holland, arises from the country being overpeopled; which, with *the great labour required to fence and drain the land*, makes their necessity to trade greater than it is in any other part of the habitable world"* ([p.] 60).

Massie, even more definitely than Hume, presents INTEREST as a mere *part of profit*; both attribute the fall in profit to the accumulation of capitals (Massie [speaks] especially of competition) and the fall in profits resulting from this. Both [say] equally little about the *origin of the profit* OF TRADE itself.

### *i) [FORMAL AND REAL SUBSUMPTION OF LABOUR UNDER CAPITAL. TRANSITIONAL FORMS]*[66]

We have considered the two forms of absolute and relative surplus value separately, but shown at the same time how they are interconnected, and that it is precisely with the development of relative surplus value that absolute surplus value is pushed to its uttermost limit.[a] We have seen how the separation of the two forms brings forth differences in the relations of wages and surplus value.[b] Given the development of productive power, surplus value always appears as absolute surplus value, and in particular any change in it is only possible through a CHANGE in the total working day. If we presuppose the working day as given, the development of relative surplus value alone is possible, i.e. through the development of productive power.

But the mere *existence of absolute surplus value* implies nothing more than such a level of natural fertility, hence a productivity of labour *of natural and spontaneous origin*, that not all the (possible) (daily) labour time of a man is required for the maintenance of his own existence or the reproduction of his own labour capacity. The only further requirement is that he should be compelled—that an external compulsion should exist for him—to work more than the necessary labour time, a compulsion to do SURPLUS labour. However, the physical possibility of a *surplus* PRODUCE, in which SURPLUS LABOUR is objectified, clearly depends on 2 circumstances: If needs are very limited, then even with a small natural productive power of labour

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 172-346, Vol. 33, pp. 387-501, and this volume, pp. 8-86.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 61-75.—*Ed.*

a part of the labour time can suffice to satisfy them, and thus to leave another part over for surplus LABOUR, and therewith for the creation of the surplus PRODUCE. On the other hand: If the natural productive power of labour is very high—i.e. if the natural fertility of the soil, the waters, etc., requires only a slight expenditure of labour to be made to gain the means of subsistence necessary to existence, this natural productive power of labour, or, IF YOU PLEASE, this productivity of labour of natural and spontaneous origin, naturally functions—if we consider the *mere duration of the necessary labour time*—in exactly the same way as the development of the social productive power of labour. A high level of productive power of labour, of natural origin, is connected with a rapid increase in the POPULATION—in labour capacities—and therefore in the material out of which the SURPLUS VALUE is cut. If, inversely, the natural productive power of labour is small, hence the labour time required for the satisfaction of even simple needs is great, the development of SURPLUS PRODUCE (or SURPLUS LABOUR) can only come close to forming *alien wealth* if the number of people simultaneously exploited by one person is large. [XXI-1302] If we assume that the necessary labour time=$11^1/_2$ hours, and the working day=12 hours, one worker provides a surplus value of $^1/_2$ an hour. But since $^{23}/_2$ hours are required to maintain a single worker, the following calculation applies:

Workers
1 provides $^1/_2$ an hour of SURPLUS labour.
23 [provide] $^{23}/_2$ hours.

Hence in this case 23 workers would be necessary in order to maintain one single person who lives without work, but only lives like a worker. For him to live 3 or 4 times better, and in addition to be able to turn a part of the surplus value back into capital, perhaps 23×8 workers,=184 workers, would have to be employed for one single individual. Moreover, the real wealth at the disposal of the single individual would be very small here. The greater the productive power of labour, the greater can the number of non-workers be in proportion to the workers, and the greater the number of workers who are not employed in the production of the necessary means of subsistence, or are not employed in material production at all, or, finally, the greater the number of persons who either directly are proprietors of the *SURPLUS PRODUCE* or who work neither physically nor intellectually but still perform "services" which the owners of the SURPLUS PRODUCE pay for by setting aside a part of the latter for them.

In any case, to the two forms of surplus value—absolute and relative—if each is considered for itself in its separate existence, and absolute surplus value always precedes relative—there correspond two separate *forms of the subsumption of labour under capital*, or *two separate forms of capitalist production*, of which the first always forms the predecessor of the second, although the further developed form, the second one, can in turn form the basis for the introduction of the first in new branches of production.

I call the form which rests on absolute surplus value the *formal subsumption of labour under capital.* It is distinguished only *formally* from other modes of production, in which the actual producers provide a surplus PRODUCE, a SURPLUS VALUE, i.e. work more than the necessary labour time, but for others rather than for themselves.

The compulsion which is exerted—i.e. the method by which the SURPLUS VALUE, SURPLUS PRODUCE, or SURPLUS LABOUR, is called into existence—is of a different kind. We shall first examine the specific *differences* in the next section, under accumulation.[67] But the essential points in this *formal subsumption of labour under capital* are:

1) that the *worker* confronts the capitalist, who possesses money, as the proprietor of his own person and therefore of his own labour capacity, and as the seller of the temporary use of the latter. Thus both meet as commodity owners, as seller and buyer, and thus as formally free persons, between whom in fact no other relation exists than that of buyer and seller, no other politically or socially fixed relation of domination and subordination;

2) (something which is implied by the first relation—for otherwise the worker would not have to sell his labour capacity) that the *objective conditions of his labour* (raw material, instruments of labour and therefore also means of subsistence during labour)[68] belong, completely or at least in part, not to him but to the buyer and consumer of his labour, therefore themselves confront him as *capital.* The more completely these *conditions of labour* confront him as the property of another, the more completely is *the relation of capital and wage labour* present *formally*, hence the more complete the formal subsumption of labour under capital.

As yet there is no difference in the *mode of production* itself. The labour process continues exactly as it did before—from the technological point of view—only as a labour process now *subordinated* to capital. Nevertheless, there develops within the production process itself, as we have indicated earlier //and everything said about this earlier is only now in the proper

place[a]//, *firstly* a relation of domination and subordination, in that the consumption of labour capacity is done by the capitalist, and is therefore supervised and directed by him; and *secondly* a greater continuity of labour.

If the relation of domination and subordination replaces those of slavery, serfdom, vassalage, patriarchal relations of subordination, there takes place only a *change in their form.* The form becomes freer, in that the subordination is now only of an *objective* nature, it is formally speaking voluntary, affects only the position between worker and capitalist in the production process. And this is the *change of form* which takes place in agriculture in particular when former serfs or slaves are transformed into free wage labourers.

[XXI-1303] Or the relation of *domination and subordination* in the production process replaces an earlier *independence* in the production process, as e.g. with all SELF-SUSTAINING PEASANTS, FARMERS who only had to pay a rent in kind, whether to the state or to the LANDLORD, with rural-domestic subsidiary industry, or *independent handicrafts.* Here, therefore, the loss of a previous *independence* in the production process is the situation, and the relation of domination of subordination is itself the product of the introduction of the capitalist mode of production.

Finally, the relation of capitalist and wage labourer can replace the *master of the guild type* and his *journeymen and apprentices,* a transition accomplished in part by urban manufacture at its very beginnings. The *medieval guild relation,* which developed in analogous form in narrow circles in Athens and Rome as well, and was of such decisive importance in Europe for the formation of capitalists on the one hand, and of a free estate of workers on the other, is a *limited,* not yet adequate, form of the relation of capital and wage labour. There exists here on the one hand the relation of buyer and seller. Wages are paid, and master, journeyman, and apprentice confront each other as free persons. The technological basis of this relation is the *handicraft workshop,* in which the more or less skilled manipulation of the *instrument of labour* is the decisive factor of production. Here independent personal labour and therefore its professional development, which requires a longer or shorter period of apprenticeship, determines the result of the labour. The master is admittedly in possession of the conditions of production, the tools of the trade, the material of labour //although the tools may also belong to the journeyman//,

[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 92-95.— *Ed.*

and the product belongs to him. To that extent he is a *capitalist.* But as a capitalist he is not a *master.* He is first and foremost a *craftsman* himself, and is SUPPOSED to be a master of his craft. Within the production process itself he figures as a craftsman as much as do his journeymen, and he is the first to initiate his apprentices into the mysteries of the craft. He has exactly the same relation to his apprentices as a teacher has to his pupils. His relation to apprentices and journeymen is therefore not that of the capitalist as such, but that of the *master* of a craft, who holds as such a hierarchical position in the corporation, and therefore towards them, which IS SUPPOSED to rest on his own *mastery* in the craft. His capital is therefore restricted both in its *material* form and in the *extent* of its *value*; it has not by any means yet attained the free form of capital. It is not a *definite quantity of objectified labour,* value in general, which can take on this or that form of the conditions of labour, and takes on whatever form it chooses, according to whether it decides to be exchanged for this or that form of living labour, in order to appropriate surplus labour. Only after he has passed through the prescribed stages of apprentice and journeyman, etc., himself produced his masterpiece, can he put money to work in *this particular* branch of labour, in his own craft, partly by turning it into the objective conditions of the craft, partly by buying journeymen and keeping apprentices. Only in his own craft can he convert his money into capital, i.e. use it not only as the means of his own labour but also as a means of exploiting alien labour. His capital is tied to a particular form of *use value,* and therefore does not confront his workers as *capital.* The methods of work he employs are not only acquired by experience but prescribed by guild regulations—they count as the necessary methods, and thus from this angle too it is not exchange value but the use value of the labour which appears as the ultimate purpose. The delivery of work of this or that quality does not depend on his own discretion; the whole guild system is rather directed towards the delivery of work of a *specific quality.* The price of labour[69] is just as little subject to his arbitrary will as the method of work. The *restricted* form, which prevents his wealth from functioning as *capital,* is further shown by the fact that a *maximum* is in fact prescribed for the extent of the value of his capital. He is not allowed to keep more than a *certain number of journeymen,* since the guild is supposed to ensure for all masters a proportional share in the receipts of their craft. Finally there is the relation of the master to other masters as a member of the same guild; as such he belongs to a corporation, which has certain communal

conditions of production (guild order,[70] etc.), political rights, participation in the city administration, etc. He works to order—with the exception of his work for merchants—for immediate use value, and so the number of masters is regulated accordingly. He does not confront his workers as a *mere merchant.* Still less can the merchant convert his money into productive capital; he can only "transfer" the commodities, he cannot produce them himself. *An existence of the estate type*—the purpose and result of the exploitation of alien labour is here not exchange value as such, not enrichment as such. What is decisive here is the *instrument.* The raw material is in many branches of labour (e.g. tailoring) delivered to the master himself by his customers. The barrier to production within the whole range of the available consumption is here a law. It is therefore by no means regulated by the barriers of capital itself. In the capitalist relation the barriers disappear along with the politico-social bonds in which capital still moves here, hence not yet appearing as *capital.*

[XXI-1304][71] [...] in Carthage and Rome, it is restricted to peoples among whom the Carthaginians [...] had developed capital in the form of commercial capital, and therefore made exchange values as such into the direct [...] production, or where, as with the Romans, through the concentration of wealth, particularly of landed property, in a few hands, production was necessarily directed no longer towards use by the producer himself but towards exchange value, hence possessed this aspect of capitalist production. For although the purpose for the rich Roman was consumption, the greatest possible quantity of use values, this could only be attained through the magnitude of the exchange value of the product offered for sale, and thus production was directed towards exchange value, and what concerned him was to get as much money as possible, hence to squeeze out as much labour as possible from the slaves.

*In comparison with the independent craftsman, who works for* STRAY CUSTOMERS, the continuity of [labour of] the worker, who works for the capitalist, is naturally greater, for his work does not find any limit in accidental needs that set him to work or in the magnitude of those needs; he is rather employed day in, day out, by capital, continuously, and more or less regularly. In comparison with that of the slave, this work is more productive, because more intensive and more continuous, for the slave only works under the impulse of external fear, but not for *his own existence,* which does not belong to him; the free worker, in contrast, is driven on by his own WANTS. The consciousness[72] of free self-determination—of

freedom—makes the latter a much better worker than the former, and similarly the feeling of RESPONSIBILITY; for, like every seller of a commodity, he is RESPONSIBLE for the commodity he provides, and he must provide it at a certain quality, if he is not to be swept from the field by other sellers of commodities of the same SPECIES. The *continuity* of the relation between slave and slaveholder is preserved by the direct compulsion exerted upon the slave. The free worker, on the other hand, must preserve it himself, since his existence as a worker depends on his constantly renewing the sale of his labour capacity to the capitalist. Unlike both the slave and the serf, the worker receives *an equivalent* for his labour, since the *wage*, as we have seen,[a] although it in fact only pays the necessary labour, appears as the *value, the price of the working day*; and although in fact his SURPLUS labour is no more paid than the forced labour of the serf or the work the slave does over and above the time necessary for the reproduction of his keep. The difference here can only consist in the quantity of unpaid labour time, although a *quantitative difference* of this kind is not necessary, depending rather on the level of the customary *value of labour capacity*. But however much or however little SURPLUS labour the free worker provides, however high or low the average wage stands, whatever the relation between his total working day and his necessary labour time, for him the *form* of the matter is always that he works *for his wages*, for *money*, and if he works for 12 hours to obtain an equivalent of 8 hours of labour, the 12 hours are only worked to buy with them the equivalent of 8. This is not the case with the slave. Even the part of the work he does for himself—i.e. in order to replace the value of his own keep—appears to him as labour he performs for the slaveowner, whereas with the free worker even the surplus labour he performs appears as labour performed in his own interest, i.e. as the means of purchasing his wages. The *money relation*, the sale and purchase between worker and capitalist, disguises the former's *labour for no return*, whereas with slave labour the property relation of the slave to his MASTER disguises the former's *labour for himself*. If the working day=12 hours, the labour time which is necessary and is therefore represented in the wage might=6, 7, 8, 9, 10, or 11 hours, and therefore the surplus labour, i.e. labour for no return, might equal, respectively, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2 hours or 1 hour, but the way the relation always appears to the worker is that he sells 12 hours of

[a] See this volume, pp. 72-86.—*Ed.*

labour for a particular price, even if a variable one, and therefore always works only for himself, never for his MASTER.

[XXI-1305] [...] The higher value of this labour capacity must be paid to the worker himself, and it is expressed in a higher wage. Great differences in wages are therefore found, according to whether the specific kind of labour requires a more highly developed labour capacity, necessitating greater production costs, or not, and this on the one hand opens up an area of free movement for individual differences, while on the other hand it provides a spur to the development of the individual's own labour capacity. Certain as it is that the mass of labour must consist of more or less UNSKILLED LABOUR, and therefore that the mass of wages must be determined by the *value of simple labour capacity*, it remains possible for isolated individuals to make their way upwards into higher spheres of labour by particular energy, talent, etc., just as there remains the abstract possibility that this or that worker could himself become a capitalist and an EXPLOITER of alien labour. The slave belongs to a particular *MASTER*; it is true that the worker must sell himself to capital, but not to a particular capitalist, and thus he has a choice, within a particular sphere, as to who he sells himself to, and can change MASTERS. All these differences in the relation make the activity of the free worker more intensive, more continuous, more agile, and more dexterous than that of the slave, quite apart from the fact that they fit the worker himself to undertake historical actions of an entirely different nature. The slave receives the means of subsistence necessary for his maintenance in a *natural form*, which is as fixed in kind as in extent—in *use values*. The free worker receives them in the form of *money*, of *exchange value*, of the abstract social form of wealth. However much the wage is now in fact nothing but the *silver* or *gold* or *copper* or *paper* form of the necessary means of subsistence, into which it must constantly be resolved—*money* functioning here as the merely transitory form of exchange value, as mere *means of circulation—abstract wealth, exchange value*, and not a specific traditionally and locally limited use value, still remains for the worker the purpose and result of his labour. It is the worker himself who turns the money into whatever use values he wants, buys the commodities he wants with it, and as *an owner of money*, as a buyer of commodities, he stands in exactly the same relation to the sellers of commodities as any other buyer. The conditions of his existence—and also the limited extent of the value of the money he has acquired—naturally compel him to spend it on a rather restricted range of means of subsistence. Nevertheless,

some degree of variation is possible here, such as e.g. newspapers, which form part of the necessary means of subsistence of the English urban worker. He can save something, form a hoard. He can also waste his wages on spirits, etc. But in acting this way he acts as a free agent, he must pay his own way; he is himself responsible for the way in which HE SPENDS HIS WAGES. *He learns to master himself, in contrast to the slave,* who needs a MASTER. To be sure, this only applies when one considers the transformation of a serf or slave into a free wage labourer. The capitalist relation appears here as a step up the social scale. It is the opposite when an independent peasant or craftsman is transformed into a wage labourer. What a difference there is between the PROUD YEOMANRY OF ENGLAND, of whom Shakespeare speaks,[73] and the English agricultural day labourers! Since the purpose of labour is for the wage labourer wages alone, money, a definite quantity of exchange value, in which any specific characteristics of use value have been extinguished, he is completely indifferent to the *content* of his labour, and therefore to the specific character of his activity. In the guild or caste system, on the other hand, this activity was regarded as the exercise of a vocation, whereas with the slave, as with the beast of burden, it is only a particular kind of activity, of exertion of his labour capacity, imposed on him and handed down from the past. Hence in so far as the division of labour has not made his labour capacity entirely one-sided, [XXI-1306] the free worker is *in principle* receptive to, and ready for, any variation in his labour capacity and his working activity which promises better wages (as is indeed demonstrated in the case of the surplus POPULATION of the countryside, which constantly transfers to the towns). If the developed worker is more or less incapable of this variation, he still regards it as always open to the next generation, and the emerging generation of workers can always be distributed among, and is constantly at the disposal of, new branches of labour or particularly prosperous branches of labour. In North America, where the development of wage labour has least of all been affected by reminiscences of the old guild system, etc., this *variability*, this complete indifference to the specific content of labour, this ability to transfer from one branch to another, is shown particularly strongly.[a] Hence the contrast between this *variability* and the uniform, traditional character of *slave labour*, which does not vary according to the requirements of production, but rather the reverse, requiring that production should itself be

[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 28, p. 41.—*Ed.*

adapted to the mode of labour introduced originally and handed down by tradition, is emphasised by all United States writers as the grand characteristic of the free wage labour of the North as against the slave labour of the South. (See *Cairnes.*[a]) The constant creation of *new kinds* of labour, this continuous variation—which results in a multiplicity of use values and therefore is also a real development of exchange value—this continuing division of labour in *the whole of the society*—first becomes possible with the capitalist mode of production. It begins with the free handicraft-guild system, where it does not meet with a barrier in the ossification of each particular branch of the craft itself. With the merely *formal subsumption of labour under capital*, the compulsion to do surplus labour and therewith on the one hand to create needs and the means to satisfy those needs, and on the other hand to produce in quantities which go beyond the measure of the worker's traditional needs—and the creation of *free time* for development, independently of material production—*merely* takes on a different form from that of earlier modes of production, but it is a form which heightens the continuity and intensity of labour, increases production, is favourable to the development of *variations in labour capacity* and accordingly to the differentiation of kinds of labour and modes of gaining a living, and finally replaces the very relation between the owner of the conditions of labour and the worker by a new *relation of purchase and sale*, and eliminates all patriarchal and political admixtures from the relation of exploitation. To be sure, a relation of *domination and subordination* enters the relation of production itself; this derives from capital's ownership of the labour it has incorporated and from the nature of the labour process itself. The less capitalist production goes beyond this formal relation, the less is this relation developed, since it presupposes small capitalists alone, who are only marginally distinct from the workers themselves in their training and mode of employment.

Technologically, therefore—where this transformation of earlier modes of production into the capitalist one takes place and initially appears only as a *formal subsumption of labour under capital*—hence the relation of purchase and sale between the owners of the conditions of labour and the owners of labour capacity also appears this way—the real labour process remains the same, and the way in which it is carried on depends on the relation from

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[a] J. E. Cairnes, *The Slave Power: Its Character, Career, and Probable Designs...*, London, 1862, p. 44.—*Ed.*

which it has developed. Agriculture remains the same, although the day labourer has replaced the serf; similarly with the handicraft system, when it makes the transition from the guild-like to the capitalist mode of production. The difference in the *relation of domination and subordination,* when the mode of production is not yet affected, is at its greatest where *rural or in general domestic subsidiary trades, or side occupations* carried on *just for* the needs of the family, *are transformed into separate branches of labour carried on in a capitalist way.*

The difference between labour formally *subsumed* under *capital* and the previous way of employing labour emerges here to the same extent as the growth in the *magnitude of the capital* employed by the individual capitalist, hence in the number of workers he employs *simultaneously.* Only when capital has grown to a certain minimum level does the capitalist cease to be a worker himself and begin to reserve his energies for management and commercial dealings with the commodities that have been produced. On the other hand, the proper form of capitalist production, which is now to be considered, can only enter the picture once capitals of a certain magnitude have directly taken control of production, whether through the merchant's becoming a producer, or because larger capitals have gradually been formed within production itself.

* "A free labourer has generally the liberty of changing his master; this liberty distinguishes a slave from a free labourer, as much as an English man-of-war sailor is distinguished from a merchant sailor... The condition of a labourer is superior to that of a slave, because a *labourer thinks* himself *free*; and this condition,[a] however erroneous, has no small influence on the character ... of a population" * (Th. R. Edmonds, *Practical Moral and Political Economy etc.*, London, 1828, [pp. 56-]57). "The motive which impels a free man to labour is much more violent than the motive impelling a slave: * a free man has to choose between hard labour [XXI-1307] and [starvation for himself and family; a slave has to choose between hard labour and] a good whipping" (l.c., [p.] 56). "The difference between the conditions of a slave and of a labourer under the money system is very inconsiderable ... the master of the slave understands too well his own interest to weaken his slaves by stinting them in their food; but the master of a free man gives him as little food as possible, because the injury done to the labourer does not fall on himself alone, but on the whole class of masters" * (l.c.).

"In the old world, * to make mankind labour beyond their wants, to make one part of a state work, to maintain the other part gratuitously,* could only be brought about by slavery, and slavery was therefore introduced universally. * Slavery was then as necessary towards multiplication, as it would now be destructive of it. The reason is plain. If *mankind be not forced to labour,* they will only labour for themselves; and if they have few wants, there will be few [who] labour. But when states come to be formed and have occasion for idle hands to defend them against

[a] Edmonds has "opinion".— *Ed.*

the violence of their enemies, food at any rate must be procured for those who do not labour; and as by the suppositions, the wants of the labourers are small, a method must be found to increase their labour above the proportion of their wants. For this purpose slavery was calculated... The slaves were forced to labour the soil which fed both them and the idle freemen, as was the case in Sparta; or they filled all the servile places which freemen fill now, and they were likewise employed, as in Greece and in Rome, in supplying with manufactures those whose service was necessary for the state. Here then was a *violent method of making mankind laborious* in raising food... Men were then forced to labour, because they were slaves to others; men are now forced to labour because they are slaves to their own wants" * (Steuart, [*An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy*...,] Vol. I, Dublin EDITION, [1770,] pp. 38-40).

//In agriculture, capitalist production in particular—production directed towards exchange value on the one hand, buying labour on the other hand—brings about a greater *intensity* of labour because the number of workers is very much reduced. Wages by no means increase in proportion to this heightened *intensity of labour.*

In the 16th century, while on the one hand the lords were dismissing their RETAINERS, the FARMERS, who were turning themselves into industrial capitalists, "were dismissing the IDLE MOUTHS"

Agriculture was converted from a MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE into a TRADE. The consequence, as *Steuart* says, was this:

* "The withdrawing ... [of] a number of hands from a trifling agriculture forces, in a manner, *the husbandmen to work harder*; and *by hard labour upon a small spot*, the same effect is produced as with slight labour upon a great extent" * (l.c., Vol. I, p. 105).

//Even in the handicrafts of the towns, production remained chiefly production of *MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE*, although in the nature of things the product was produced directly as a commodity, since it had first to be converted into money before it could be converted into means of subsistence.// (Enrichment as such was not its direct purpose.)//

THE REAL SUBSUMPTION OF LABOUR UNDER CAPITAL

//(Since the purpose of productive labour is not the existence of the worker but the production of surplus value, all necessary labour which produces no surplus labour is superfluous and worthless to capitalist production. The same is true for a nation of capitalists. The same proposition can also be expressed in this way, that all *gross product* which only replaces the worker's subsistence (*approvisionnement*), and produces no *net product*, is just as superfluous as the existence of those workers who themselves produce no net product or no SURPLUS VALUE—or those who, although they were necessary for the production of SURPLUS VALUE at a given

stage of the development of industry, have become superfluous to the production of that SURPLUS VALUE at a more advanced stage of development. Or, in other words, only the number of people profitable to capital is necessary. The same is true for a nation of capitalists.

"Is not the *real interest* of a nation similar" to that of a private capitalist, for whom it would be a matter quite indifferent whether his capital would "employ 100 or 1,000 men" provided his [profits on a] capital of 20,000 "were not diminished in all cases below 2,000? Provided its net real income, its rent and profits be the same, it is of no importance whether the nation consists of 10 or of 12 millions [XXI-1308] of inhabitants... If 5 millions of men could produce as much food and clothing as was necessary for 10 millions, food and clothing for 5 millions would be the net revenue. Would it be of any advantage to the country, that to produce this same net revenue, 7 millions of men should be required, that is to say, that 7 millions should be employed to produce food and clothing sufficient for 12 millions? The food and clothing of 5 millions would be still the net revenue" [D. Ricardo, *Des principes de l'économie politique et de l'impôt*, Paris, 1819].[a]

Even the philanthropists can have no objection to bring forward against this statement by Ricardo. For it is always better that out of 10 million people only 50% should vegetate as pure production machines for 5 million, than that out of 12 million 7 million, or 58 $^1/_3$%, should vegetate in this way.)

*"Of what use in a modern kingdom would be a whole province thus divided"* //between *self-sustaining little farmers* as in the *first times of ancient Rome//, "however well cultivated, except for the mere purpose of breeding men, which, singly taken, is a most useless purpose"* (Arthur Young, *Political Arithmetic etc.*, London, 1774, [p.] 47).

//*Factory work*:

"A man becomes exhausted more quickly when he watches over the uniform motion of a mechanism for fifteen hours a day, than when he applies his physical strength over the same period of time. This *labour of surveillance*, which might perhaps serve as a useful exercise for the mind, if it did not go on too long, destroys both the mind and the body in the long run through excessive application" (G. de Molinari, *Études économiques*, Paris, 1846, [p. 49]).[b]//

The real subsumption of labour under capital is developed in all the forms which produce relative, as opposed to absolute, surplus value, though, as we have seen, this definitely does not exclude the

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[a] Marx quotes Ricardo, partly in German and partly in French, from the book by Ch. Ganilh, *Des systèmes d'économie politique...*, 2nd ed., Vol. I, Paris, 1821, pp. 214-15. Here the original English is reproduced, due account being taken of the changes made by Marx. Cf. D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, 3rd ed., London, 1821, pp. 416-17.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

possibility that they might increase the latter while increasing the former.

* "*Agriculture for subsistence* ... changed for *agriculture for trade* ... the improvement of the national territory ... proportioned to this *change*" * (Arthur Young, *Political Arithmetic*, London, 1774, [p.] 49, note).//

//*Minimum of wages*:

"The possession of property and *some interest in property* are essential *to preserve the common unskilled labourer from falling into the condition of a piece of machinery, bought at the *minimum* market price at which it can be produced,* that is *at which labourers can be got to exist and propagate their species, to which he is *invariably* reduced sooner or later, *when the interests of capital and labour are quite distinct*, and are left to adjust themselves under the sole operation of the law of supply and demand"* (Samuel Laing, *National Distress etc.*, London, 1844, [p.] 46).//

With the real subsumption of labour under capital, all the CHANGES we have discussed take place in the technological process, the labour process, and at the same time there are changes in the relation of the worker to his own production and to capital—and finally, the development of the productive power of labour takes place, in that the productive forces of social labour are developed, and only at that point does the application of natural forces on a large scale, of science and of machinery, to direct production become possible. Here, therefore, there is a change not only in the formal relation but in the labour process itself. On the one hand the capitalist mode of production—which now first appears as a mode of production *sui generis*[a]—creates a change in the shape of material production. On the other hand this change in the material shape forms the basis for the development of the capital-relation, whose adequate shape therefore only corresponds to a particular level of development of the material forces of production. We have examined the way in which the worker's relation of dependence in production itself is thereby given a new shape. This is the first point to be emphasised. This heightening of the productivity of labour and the scale of production is in part a result of, and in part a basis for, the development of the capital-relation.

The second point is this, that capitalist production now entirely strips off the form of production for SUBSISTENCE, and becomes PRODUCTION FOR TRADE, in that neither the individual's own consumption nor the immediate needs of a given circle of customers remain a barrier to production; now the only barrier is the magnitude of the capital itself. On the other hand, where the

[a] In its own right.—*Ed.*

whole of the product becomes a commodity (even where, as in agriculture, it partially re-enters production in natural form), all its elements leave the circulation and enter into the act of production as *commodities.* [XXI-1309] It is, finally, common to all these forms of capitalist production that, for production to occur in a capitalist way, an ever-growing minimum of exchange value, of money—i.e. of constant capital and variable capital—is required to ensure that the labour necessary to obtain the product is the labour *socially necessary*, i.e. that the labour required for the production of a single commodity=the minimum amount of labour necessary under average conditions. For objectified labour—money—to function as capital, it must be present in the hands of the individual capitalist in a certain minimum quantity; this minimum stands far above the maximum required in the case of the merely formal subsumption of labour under capital. The capitalist must be the owner or proprietor of means of production on a *social scale,* and the extent of their value, in one man's concentrated possession, stands increasingly outside all relation with the amount an individual person or an individual family could accumulate over generations by their own *hoarding.* The extent of the conditions of labour required thus stands in no relation at all to what the individual worker could appropriate for himself in the most favourable case, by saving, etc. This *minimum amount of capital* in a given branch of business is the greater, the more developed it is capitalistically, the higher the development of the productivity of labour, the social productivity of labour or the productivity of social labour within it. Capital must increase the magnitude of its value to the same extent, and it must assume the extent of the means of production required for social production, hence shed its individual character entirely. It is precisely the productivity, and therefore the quantity of production, the numbers of the population and of the surplus population, created by this mode of production, that constantly calls forth new branches of industry, operating with the capital and labour that have been set free. In these branches capital can once again work on a small scale and again pass through the various phases of development required until with the development of capitalist production labour is carried on on a social scale in these new branches of industry as well, and accordingly capital appears again as a concentration of a great mass of social means of production in a single person's hands. This process is continuous.

With the real subsumption of labour under capital a complete revolution takes place in the mode of production itself, in the

productivity of labour, and in the relation—within production—between the capitalist and the worker, as also in the social relation between them.

Only the simplest form, that of *simple cooperation*, is possible under earlier relations of production as well (see above, Egypt, etc.) //where this simple cooperation takes place for the building of pyramids, etc., instead of railways//[a] and in the slave relation (on this see later[74]). The relation of dependence worsens here through the introduction of female and child labour, so that it again approximates to the slave relation. (See *Steuart.*[b])

What all these forms of production have in common, apart from the *growing minimum amount of capital* required for production, is that the *common conditions* for the labour of a large number of associated workers permit, as such, *economies* to be made in contrast with the fragmentation of these conditions when production is on a small scale; since the effectiveness of these *common conditions of production*, which does not appear to have any direct connection with the raising of the productivity of labour itself through cooperation, division of labour, machines, etc., does not require an equal increase in their amount and value. The *common, simultaneous* use of the conditions of production leads to a fall in their *relative value*, even though there is an increase in the absolute amount of value they represent.

//The *positive result* here is a fall in the labour time needed to produce an increased quantity of means of subsistence; this result is attained through the social form of the labour, and the individual's ownership of the conditions of production appears as not only unnecessary but incompatible with this production on a large scale. This is represented in the capitalist mode of production by the fact that the capitalist—the *non-worker*—is the owner of these social masses of means of production. He never in fact represents towards the workers their unification, their social unity. Therefore, as soon as this contradictory form [XXI-1310] ceases to exist, it emerges that they own these means of production *socially*, not as *private individuals*. Capitalist property is only a contradictory expression of their social property—i.e. their negated individual property—in the conditions of production. (Hence in the product. For the product is constantly changing into the conditions of production.) It appears at the same time that this

[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, p. 452 and Vol. 30, pp. 255-63.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx presumably refers to James Steuart's *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy*... In three volumes, Vol. I, Dublin, 1770, pp. 38-39. Cf. also this volume, pp. 103-04.—*Ed.*

transformation requires a certain stage of development of the material forces of production. E.g., in the case of the small PEASANT the piece of land he tills is *his*. The ownership of this, as his instrument of production, is the necessary spur to, and condition of, his labour. Similarly with handicrafts. In large-scale agriculture, as in large-scale industry, this labour *does not first have to be separated* from property in the conditions of production, *the separation already in fact exists*; this separation of property from labour, which is bemoaned by Sismondi,[75] is a necessary transition to the conversion of property in the conditions of production into *social* property. The individual worker could only be restored as *an individual* to property in the conditions of production by divorcing productive power from the development of labour on a large scale. The *alien property* of the capitalist in this labour can only be abolished by converting his property into the property of the non-individual in its independent singularity, hence of the *associated, social individual*. This naturally brings to an end the fetishistic situation when the product is the proprietor of the producer, and all the social forms of labour developed within capitalist production are released from the contradiction which falsifies them all and presents them as mutually opposed, e.g. by failing to present a reduction in labour time in such a way that all work for 6 hours, saying instead that the 15-hour labour of 6 people is sufficient to maintain 20.[a]//[76]

*Production for production's sake*—i.e. the productive power of human labour developed without being determined in advance by any barrier of needs established beforehand. Later we shall discuss in more detail the fact that, even within capitalist production, this contradicts its own barriers, although it is the tendency to aim at this.[b] For while it is the most productive of all modes of production so far, it includes—owing to its *contradictory character*—barriers to production, which it constantly endeavours to transcend, hence crises, overproduction, etc. On the other hand, *production for production's* sake therefore appears as its precise opposite. Production not as the development of human productivity; but as the display of *material wealth*, in antithesis to the productive development of the human individual.

All the methods by which relative surplus value, and therewith the specifically capitalist mode of production, is developed, can be reduced in the most abstract form to this, that this mode of

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[a] Presumably it should be "15".—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 441-42.—*Ed.*

production aims at bringing the *value of the individual commodity* down to its *minimum*, and therefore producing as many commodities as possible in a given labour time, or operating the transformation of the object of labour into a product with the smallest possible quantity of labour in the shortest possible labour time. Productivity of labour is in general nothing but the production of a maximum of product with a minimum of labour, or the realisation of a minimum of labour time in a maximum of product, HENCE the reduction of the value of the individual product to its minimum.

Two remarks should be made in this connection:

*Firstly*: It appears to be a contradiction that production directed towards exchange value, and dominated by it, endeavours to reduce the value of the individual product to a minimum. But the value of the product as such is a matter of indifference to capitalist production. Its goal is the production of the greatest possible amount of surplus value. And it is therefore determined, not by the value of the individual product, the individual commodity, but by the rate of surplus value, the ratio of the part of the commodity which represents variable capital to its variation, or the surplus labour contained in the product in excess of the value of the variable capital. Its purpose is not to make the individual product and therefore the total amount of product contain as much labour as possible, but to make it contain as much unpaid labour as possible. *This contradiction was perceived by the Physiocrats. See Quesnay,*[a] *in Supplementary Notebook C*, p. 29 (and further 31).[77]

[XXI-1311] *Secondly*:

The reduction of the commodity to its minimum value, i.e. its greatest possible cheapening, only produces relative surplus value directly in so far as those commodities enter into the consumption of the worker as necessary means of subsistence, and their cheapening is therefore identical with the cheapening of labour capacity, i.e. with the reduction of necessary, and hence of paid, labour time, which as we have seen[b] is in turn expressed from the point of view of the whole working day as a fall in the value or *price of labour*.

But this law is not just valid for this particular sphere of capitalist production; it covers all the spheres of production which

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[a] [F.] Quesnay, *Dialogues sur le commerce et sur les travaux des artisans.* In: *Physiocrates... par M. Eugène Daire*, Part I, Paris, 1846, pp. 188-89.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 83-84.— *Ed.*

capital seeks gradually to control and subordinate to its mode of production. We have seen[a] that the individual capitalist's cheaper production of his particular commodity does not directly achieve a cheapening of labour capacity (at least, there is no cheapening of labour capacity arising out of this cheapening of his product) and that to the extent that this cheapening is achieved, this does not redound to the benefit of this individual capitalist but to that of capital in general—the capitalist class—in that it produces a general cheapening of labour capacity.

But because the value of a commodity is determined by the average labour time *necessary* to produce it at a given stage of production, the *individual* value of the commodity which is produced *by way of exception* with more productive methods of labour, above the average level characteristic of the given stage of production, stands *below* the general or social value of that commodity. If, therefore, it is sold *below* the social value of commodities of the same kind, but *above* its individual value—hence sold at a certain value which *retains* some of the difference between its individual and its general value—it is sold *above* its value, or, in other words, the labour contained in it is momentarily *higher labour* than the average labour with which it is produced in general. But the labour capacity of the labour employed to produce it is not paid as higher labour capacity. This *difference* is pocketed by the capitalist and forms surplus value for him. This kind of surplus value, which is based on the *difference between* the *individual and the social value* of a commodity, brought about by a change in the mode of production, is of diminishing magnitude, and falls to 0 once the new mode of production is in general use, thereby itself becoming the average mode of production. And it is this diminishing surplus value that results *directly* from changes in the mode of production. It therefore forms the *direct motive* of the capitalist, and this thus holds sway over all the spheres of production which come under the control of capital equally, independently of the use value they produce and therefore independently of whether the product does or does not enter into the worker's necessary means of subsistence or into the reproduction of labour capacity. This form of surplus value, however, is transitory, it can only relate to the individual capitalist and not to capital as a whole, and although it produces a relative DEPRECIATION of labour capacity or the price of labour in the particular branch, this is not *because the price falls* but *because it does not rise.*

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, p. 319.—*Ed.*

Therefore, this form does not affect surplus value in general, because it does not call forth a *permanent* (*relative*) diminution of the price of labour in its own branch, any more than it produces a general cheapening of labour capacity and therefore a curtailment of necessary labour time, since its product does not enter into the worker's necessary means of subsistence.

But, secondly, the gradual introduction of the capitalist mode of production in these branches of production, for the motive we have indicated, leads here, as in the branches devoted to producing the necessary means of subsistence, to a reduction in the labour employed to simple average labour, combined at the same time with a tendency to prolong the absolute working day. Here, therefore, entirely the same DEPRECIATION of labour capacity as in the other branches takes effect, a DEPRECIATION which arises not from the cheapening of the means of subsistence but from the simplification of labour, its reduction to simple average labour.

If the worker works 12 hours, and, e.g., 10 hours of this is for himself and 2 hours for the capitalist, the *ratio of the surplus value* to the variable capital admittedly remains the same whether the 10 hours are labour of a higher or lower type. The value of the variable capital rises or falls with the level of the labour, and since the surplus labour has the same character as the necessary labour, the ratio between the surplus value and the variable capital remains the same.

The introduction of machine labour, etc., both provides new motives for the prolongation of absolute labour time, and at the same time facilitates this, since it robs the labour of its SINGULARITY, SO TO SAY. And it exerts this effect entirely independently of the particular nature of the branch of production into which it is introduced, and independently [XXI-1312] of whether the product of this branch enters or does not enter into the consumption of the workers.

As soon as the capitalist mode of production (i.e. the real subsumption of labour under capital) has taken control of agriculture, the mining industry, the manufacture of the main fabrics for the clothing industry and the transport system, means of locomotion, it gradually conquers the other spheres too, which are either subject to formally capitalist enterprise alone, or are still carried on by independent handicraftsmen, and it does this in the same measure as capital itself develops. This is capital's tendency. It has already been remarked, in our consideration of machinery,[a]

[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 319-46, and Vol. 33, pp. 387-501.—*Ed.*

that the introduction of machinery into one branch brings with it its introduction in other branches—as well as in other varieties of the same branch. For example machine spinning led to machine weaving; machine spinning in the cotton industry led to machine spinning in wool, linen, silk, etc. The increased employment of machinery in coal mines, cotton FACTORIES, etc., made necessary the introduction of the large-scale mode of production in machine-building itself. Apart from the increased means of transport required by this mode of production on a large scale, it is only the introduction of machinery in machine-building itself—in particular the Cyclopean PRIME MOTOR, etc.—which made possible the introduction of steamships, steam vehicles and railways (in particular it revolutionised the whole of the shipbuilding industry). The introduction of large-scale industry throws such masses of human beings into the branches not yet subjected to it, or creates in those branches such an amount of relative SURPLUS POPULATION as is required for the transformation of the handicrafts or of small, formally capitalist, enterprise into large-scale industry; the industry then passes in turn through the various stages—and at the same time constantly releases capital. Actually the whole of this discussion does not belong here.[78] But it is necessary briefly to indicate, as we have just done, the way large-scale industry seizes hold of all around it, and point to its gradual conquest of all the spheres of production. (Railway construction itself—we mean the building of the *railway lines*—displays merely the form of the concentration of capital, on the one hand, and the cooperation of workers, on the other hand. The employment of machinery itself is very slight here.)

(*Price of labour. Price* of labour, not *value* of labour, is the correct expression when one is speaking of *labour itself*, rather than of labour capacity. What the worker *really* provides is a *particular quantity of labour*, since it is only therein that the use value of his labour capacity finds expression, or rather exists. And this *quantity of labour*, labour measured by time, is what the capitalist receives, and the only thing that interests him in the transaction. The wage therefore appears to the capitalist, as to the worker himself, as the *price of the labour* itself. And it is this in so far as the amount of money paid for any commodity is its *price*. But the price of a commodity—in so far as we are not dealing here with the accidental quantity of money for which a commodity is exchanged in accidental transactions—is above all (the more developed forms of market price, etc., can themselves only be explained in this way) nothing but its *value*, which is represented

*as value*, separately from its use value, in the *money form*, its value itself being expressed in the material of money. Although this is the case, there is contained in the *price*, in and for itself, something we discussed earlier in dealing with money, the possibility that *price* and *value* may not correspond.[a] The *price* of a commodity does not need to correspond to its value. The *value of a commodity* is the adequate expression of this value. But *price*—or the money form of the value—contains two moments, 1), that the value of the commodity receives a particular *qualitative* expression, that the labour time contained in it is expressed as *general social labour time*, i.e. in a form common to all commodities as *values*—in the *measure* of values, in the *money* form; and 2), that the *amount of value*—the quantitative expression—is expressed similarly, hence the commodity is expressed in a quantity of money of *the same* magnitude of value, in an equivalent—because this is the expression of the value of the commodity in the use value of another commodity—not its direct, unmediated expression. Therefore, because it is inherent in *price* that the commodity takes on a converted form, passes through a process of alienation, first ideally then in reality, it lies in the nature of this process that value and price may [XXI-1313] diverge. E.g., if a yard of linen has a value of 2s. and a price of 1s., the magnitude of its value is not expressed in its price; and its price is not an equivalent, not the adequate monetary expression, of its value. Nevertheless, it remains the *monetary expression* of its value—the *value expression* of the yard of linen—in so far as the labour contained in it is represented as general social labour, as *money*. Owing to this incongruence between price and value it is possible to speak directly of the price of an object, although one cannot speak directly of its value. Initially, to be sure, this concerns only the possible incongruence between the *magnitude of value* of a commodity and the amount of value expressed in its *price*. But *price* can also become an *irrational* expression,[79] namely a monetary expression for objects which have *no value*, although price is in and for itself the expression of an object as money and therefore *qualitatively* (if not necessarily *quantitatively*) as *value*. E.g. a false oath can have a price, although it has no value (viewed economically; we are not speaking of use value here). For if money is absolutely nothing but the *converted form* of the exchange value of a commodity, exchange value *represented* as exchange value, it is on the other hand a definite quantity of a commodity

[a] See present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 307-08.— *Ed.*

(gold, silver or the representatives of gold and silver), and anything *can* be exchanged for anything, the birthright can be exchanged for a mess of pottage.[a] The *price* relation is the same as the irrational expression in algebra, as $\frac{0}{0}$, etc. It can be found by further investigation whether or not a rational relation lies hidden behind this irrational expression, i.e. whether or not there is a real value relation. Since the *monetary expression* or the *price* of a commodity, of a thing, is an expression in which the use value of the object is completely extinguished, which also means the extinction of the connection existing between the use value of this commodity and its value, i.e. the labour contained in it, which obtains an *abstract expression* in exchange value, abstraction from the use value or the nature of the object can proceed further, to the point where abstraction is made from whether it is expressed according to its nature as *value*, i.e. whether it is a use value which contains and can contain objectified labour. Things which have no value may have a *price*. If one now asks further *what value relation* lies at the basis of this *price* of labour which appears in practice—or one asks, as Adam Smith does, what is the natural price of labour[b]—it turns out that the *regulating price* of labour is determined by the *value of labour capacity*, and is nothing but a derivative expression of the latter. Let the quantity of money which is paid as the *price* of a working day of 12 hours be=3s. or 36d. If necessary labour time=6 hours, 3s. is thus the value of the daily labour capacity which is consumed for 12 hours every day. This sum of money, in which 6 hours are realised, is expressed here as the *price* of a working day of 12 hours because the worker must work for 12 hours in order to obtain the monetary expression of 6 hours of labour time, and he in fact receives in exchange for 12 hours this *price*, this sum of money, alone. This *price* is therefore not the expression of the value of his labour—this is something one cannot speak of at all—but rather the value of his labour capacity, which requires 6 hours of labour a day for its reproduction. How this price relates to the value of the labour capacity, and secondly to the daily value in which the use of this labour capacity, daily labour, is realised, depends on the one hand on the value of labour capacity, and on the other hand on the daily duration of its use or, in other words, the length of the normal working day. But this relation to the value of labour

[a] Genesis 25:29-34. Cf. also K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part III, Ch. X.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 401-03, Vol. 31, pp. 529-32, and Vol. 32, p. 36.—*Ed.*

capacity and therefore the relation of necessary labour to surplus labour is completely extinguished in the *price* of labour. If the price of the working day of 12 hours=3s., the price of 6 hours=$1^1/_2$s., and the price of one hour=3d. Thus the whole of the labour time appears as paid. No distinction between paid and unpaid labour is expressed here. And it does in fact look as if the 3s. are the value created by 12 hours of labour, although they are only half of that value; this is how the expression *value of labour* arose. Here, value of labour as distinct from *price of labour* means nothing but what Adam Smith calls the *natural price* of labour, i.e. its regulating price, determined by the *value of labour capacity*, as distinct from its accidental prices. This wholly irrational expression, *value of labour*, leads on the one hand to a confusion [XXI-1314] between the determination of the value of commodities by the labour time contained in them, and the determination of their value by the price of labour, two expressions which have absolutely nothing in common, since the value of a commodity is determined by the total amount of labour time contained in it, whereas the price of labour expresses only the part of this total amount paid to the worker. On the other hand, those political economists, such as Ricardo, who found this out,[a] used very clumsy methods to contradict this contradiction. Nevertheless, the relation of the *price* of labour to the *value of labour capacity* makes itself felt in practice even in individual cases. Thus for example in the polemic of the London BUILDERS, etc., in 1860 and subsequently against the *introduction of wages by the hour* instead of a daily wage.[b] [80] If, e.g.. the worker is only employed for 6 hours, and on the above assumption the following calculation is made: 3s.=the price of 12 hours of labour, hence $1^1/_2$s. is the price of 6, or 3d. is the price of 1 hour of labour, a worker would provide e.g. $1^1/_2$s. of surplus labour, or 3 hours, while he would not be paid for his necessary labour of 6 hours. In order to squeeze out 3 hours of SURPLUS [labour], the MASTER must allow him to work 6 hours of necessary labour for himself. In the long run, of course, it is impossible to continue this attempt to squeeze out SURPLUS labour without allowing the worker to work the necessary labour. But the BUILDERS perceived very clearly, as one can see from their polemical publications, that at least in the medium term these methods of payment made possible an attempt of this kind on the part of the MASTERS, and that it was, on the other hand, a very

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 36-39, 52.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., Vol. 30, p. 193.— *Ed.*

clever method of reducing the average wage, of depreciating labour capacity. The value of labour capacity expressed in money is the price paid to the worker for the whole working day, and it appears as the direct price of the whole working day, since although the sale and purchase of this commodity occurs before the labour is performed, payment takes place only after it has been performed.)[81]

The point we analysed in dealing with relative surplus value, namely that the value of labour capacity stands in an inverse relation to the productivity of labour, and falls to the same degree as the productivity of labour develops,[a] is nothing other than an individual application of the general rule that the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labour, or the magnitude of the labour time, which is realised in it, that its value falls in the proportion to which it can be produced with less labour, and that the development of the productive power of labour means absolutely nothing but the development of conditions under which the same quantity of commodities (use values) can be produced with a declining quantity of labour; hence that the value of a commodity falls with the development of the productive power of the labour which produces it.

### TRANSITIONAL FORMS

I am not speaking here of forms transitional between the formal subsumption of labour under capital and its real subsumption under capital, and thereby of forms leading to the specifically capitalist mode of production; but of forms in which the capital-relation does not yet exist formally, i.e. under which labour is already exploited by capital before the latter has developed into the form of productive capital and labour itself has taken on the form of wage labour. Such forms are to be found in social formations which precede the bourgeois mode of production; on the other hand they constantly reproduce themselves within the latter and are in part reproduced by the latter itself.

//*Forms transitional to capitalist production.* One can only speak of transitional forms of this kind where the *relation of buyer or seller* (or, in modified form, of borrower and lender) prevails *formally* between the real producer and the exploiter, in general where the content of the transaction between the two PARTIES is not

[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 233-54, and Vol. 33, pp. 474-78.—*Ed.*

conditioned by relations of servitude and domination, but they confront each other as formally free. The two forms in which capital appears (this will be discussed in more detail later, in Section III[82]) before it takes control of the direct relation of production—becoming in this sense productive capital—and therefore appears as the relation which dominates production, are *trading capital* and *usurers' capital* (*interest-bearing capital*). Both kinds of capital, which appear within capitalist production as a special and derivative form of capital, but in previous forms of production as the sole and the original forms of capital, may enter into such relations to the actual producer that they either appear as antediluvian forms of capital, or, in the capitalist mode of production itself, as transitional forms, and are in part called forth by the capitalist mode of production in modes of production that have not yet been subordinated to the former.

[XXI-1315] For example, in India the usurer (who *de prime abord*[a] makes the RYOT mortgage HIS *FUTURE CROP* to him BEFORE IT IS GROWN) advances to the RYOT the money he needs to plant the cotton. The RYOT has to pay 40-50% per annum. Here labour is not yet formally subsumed under capital. IT [capital] DOES NOT EMPLOY THE RYOT AS LABOURER; he is not a wage labourer, any more than the usurer who employs him is an industrial capitalist. The product is not the property of the usurer, but it is mortgaged to him. The money the RYOT converts into means of production is admittedly alien property, but he disposes of it as his own, SINCE it has been lent to him.

The RYOT is HIS OWN EMPLOYER, and his mode of production is the traditional one of the independent, small, SELF-SUSTAINING PEASANT. He does not work under alien direction, for another and under another, and thus he is not subsumed as a wage labourer to the owner of the conditions of production. These therefore do not confront him as capital. Thus even the *formal capital-relation* does not take place, still less the specifically capitalist mode of production. And yet the usurer appropriates not only the whole of the surplus value created by the RYOT, i.e. all the surplus PRODUCE over and above the means of subsistence necessary for his reproduction, but he also takes away from him part of the latter, so that he merely vegetates in the most miserable manner. The usurer functions as a capitalist in so far as the valorisation of his capital occurs *directly* through the appropriation of alien labour,

[a] First of all.—*Ed.*

but in a form which makes the actual producer into his debtor, instead of making him a seller of his labour to the capitalist. This form heightens the exploitation of the producer, drives it to its uttermost limits, without in any way, with the introduction of capitalist production—even if at first with the merely formal subsumption of labour under capital—introducing the resulting heightened productivity of labour and the transition to the specifically capitalist mode of production. It is rather a form which makes labour sterile, places it under the most unfavourable economic conditions, and combines together capitalist exploitation without a capitalist mode of production, and the mode of production of independent small-scale property in the instruments of labour without the advantages this mode of production offers for less developed conditions. Here in fact the means of production have ceased to belong to the producer, but they are *nominally* subsumed to him, and the mode of production remains in the same relations of small independent enterprise, only the relations are *in ruins.* We find the same relation between e.g. the patricians and plebeians of Rome, or the peasants owning small parcels of land and the usurers. And at the same time it is a form in which the capital of the Jews was created everywhere in the Middle Ages, where they appear as money-lenders in the pores of purely agricultural peoples. (* *Debt slavery* in distinction to *wage slavery.**)

We find further in India, where the old communities have dissolved, that this money-lending is replaced by the loan of the instruments of labour, e.g. looms, at an interest of 50-100%. In *England,* on the other hand, this is reproduced in e.g. the shape taken on by DOMESTIC INDUSTRY under the impact of large-scale industry; e.g. among the stocking weavers, etc. The mass of people thrown out through the introduction of machinery, robbed of their means of production, continue to be exploited by the owners of the means of production in this caricatured form of domestic industry, although those means of production do not develop into capital, and labour does not develop into wage labour. What appears here in the form of *interest* is not only the *total surplus value,* it is also a part of the normal wage of labour. A critique on the level of Mr. Carey's would be needed to calculate the *rate of interest* in a country from such relations.[83] (See the *COURT OF EXCHEQUER case* cited in another Notebook.[a]) This form can be

[a] See present edition, Vol. 33, p. 349.—*Ed.*

*transitional* to the capitalist mode of production. It is itself the EXTRANEOUS PRODUCE of the capitalist mode of production.

What we have said of usurers' capital is true of *merchants' capital.* It can equally be a *form transitional to* the subsumption of labour under capital (initially its formal subsumption). This is the case wherever the *merchant* as such plays the role of MANUFACTURER. He advances the raw material. He appears originally as the *buyer* of the products of independent industries. But this point should be presented in more detail in the next section.[84]

Yet it should only be presented in the next section in so far as it is a *form transitional to* capitalist production, and displays the alienation of the conditions of labour as a process of development of capitalist production with reference to an historical example.

On the basis of capitalist production, however, this form, in the *changed shape in which it reproduces* DOMESTIC INDUSTRY, is reproduced as one of the most dreadful forms of production existing, a form which is only brought to an end by the introduction of machinery, and in comparison with which the formal subsumption of labour under capital appears as a redemption. [XXI-1316] The immense surplus POPULATION created by large-scale industry in agriculture and the factory system is exploited here in a way which saves the "capitalist" a part of the production costs of capital, and allows him to speculate directly upon the misery of the workers. It is so in JOBBING WORK, the system under which some of the tailors, cobblers, NEEDLEWOMEN, etc., are employed in London. The surplus value created here depends not only on overwork and the appropriation of surplus labour, but also directly on *deductions from wages,* which are forced down far below their normal average level.

The system of *MIDDLEMEN* and *SWEATERS* follows on from this one. The actual "capitalist" distributes among the *MIDDLEMEN* a certain quantity of raw material which is to be worked on, and they in their turn distribute these materials among those unfortunates, living in cellars, who have sunk down below the average level of the normal workers who are combined together in TRADE UNIONS, etc., etc. Thus the profit of these MIDDLEMEN, among whom there are often in turn further MIDDLEMEN, consists exclusively of the difference between the normal wage they let themselves be paid, and the wage they pay out, which is less than normal. Once a sufficient number of workers of the latter kind is organised through this system, they are often directly employed by capitalist No. I on the same conditions as those under which the MIDDLEMEN employed them. This is a shining example of the *travail de*

*direction.*[a] Colossal fortunes are made in this way. (See the example of the NEEDLEWOMEN cited in the other Notebook.[b])

* "In wages, besides *the rate of wages*, which results from the demand for it in proportion to its supply, there is a *lower rate* which may be the result of the necessities of the workmen. For example, in those trades where there is what is called the 'Sweating System' practised, the fair result of the demand and supply rate of wages is represented by the amount received by the 'sweater'" (*Trades' Unions and Strikes: Their Philosophy and Intention*, by T. Dunning etc., London, 1860, [p.] 6).* "A 'sweater' is one who takes out work to do, at the usual rate of wages, and who gets it done by others at a lower price; the *difference*, which is his profit, being 'sweated' out of those who execute the work"* (l.c., [p.] 6, note).//[c]

### *k) PRODUCTIVITY OF CAPITAL, PRODUCTIVE AND UNPRODUCTIVE LABOUR*

(To be cited in addition to the above on the subsumption of the different spheres of production under capital:

* "In the good old times, when 'Live and let live' was the general motto, every man was contented with one avocation. In the cotton trade, there were weavers, cotton-spinners, bleachers, dyers, and several other independent branches, all living upon the profits of their respective trades, and all, as might be expected, contented and happy. By and by, however, when the downward course of trade had proceeded to some extent, first one branch was adopted by the capitalist, and then another, till in time, the whole of the people were ousted, and thrown upon the market of labour, to find out a livelihood in the best manner they could. Thus, although no charter secures to these men the right to be cotton-spinners, manufacturers, printers, finishers, etc., yet the course of events has invested them with a monopoly of all... They have become Jack-of-all-trades, and as far as the country is concerned in the business, it is to be feared, they are masters of none"* (*Public Economy Concentrated etc.*, Carlisle, 1833, p. 56).

* "One of two things *ought* to have resulted from the use of machinery, either that men should have laboured *less*, or that they should have *more* comforts. Unfortunately, neither of those things have happened. Men's comforts have been lessened since the introduction of machinery; they have had to work double time, and infant labour has been called in to aid them, and even to work for their *own* daily bread... The Jewish historian has remarked upon the overthrow of Jerusalem, by Titus, that it was no wonder [that] it should have been destroyed, with such a signal destruction, when *one* inhuman mother sacrificed her offspring to satisfy the cravings of absolute hunger"* (l.c., [p.] 66).)

[XXI-1317] We have seen not only how capital produces, but how it is itself produced, and how it emerges from the production process as a relation changed in essence, how it develops in the production process. On the one hand it transforms the mode of

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[a] Work of superintendence.— *Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 33, p. 350.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 343-44.—*Ed.*

production, on the other hand this changed shape of the mode of production, as well as the attainment of a specific level of development of the material forces of production, is the foundation and the condition—the presupposition—of capital's own formation.

Since living labour is incorporated into capital—through the exchange between capital and the worker—since it appears as an activity belonging to capital, as soon as the labour process starts, all the productive powers of social labour present themselves as productive powers of capital, just as the general social form of labour appears in money as the quality of a thing. Thus the productive power of social labour, and the specific forms of it, now present themselves as productive powers and forms of capital, of *objectified* labour, of the objective conditions of labour, which—as such an independent entity—are personified in the capitalist and confront living labour. Here once again we have the inversion of the relation, the expression of which we have already characterised as *fetishism* in considering the nature of money.[a]

The capitalist himself only holds power as the *personification of capital.* (In double-entry book-keeping this role he has as *capitalist,* as capital personified, is constantly counterposed to his existence as a mere person; in the latter capacity he only appears as a private consumer and debtor to his own capital.)

The *productivity* of capital consists first of all, even when it is only the *formal* subsumption of labour under capital that is being considered, in the *compulsion to perform surplus labour*; to work beyond the individual's immediate needs. The capitalist mode of production shares this compulsion with previous modes of production, but exerts it, carries it out, in a manner more favourable to production.

Even from the point of view of this merely formal relation—the *general* form of capitalist production, which has its less developed mode in common with the more developed—the *means of production,* the *objective conditions of labour*—material of labour, means of labour (and means of subsistence)—do not appear as subsumed under the worker; rather, he appears as subsumed under them. He does not employ them, they employ him. And they are thereby capital. CAPITAL *EMPLOYS* LABOUR.[85] The means of production are not means by which he can produce products, whether in the form of direct means of subsistence, or as means of

[a] See present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 289, 387 and Vol. 32, pp. 449-64, 482-98.— *Ed.*

exchange, as commodities. He is rather a means for them, partly to preserve their value, partly to valorise it, i.e. to increase it, to absorb surplus LABOUR.

Even this relation in its simplicity is an inversion, a personification of the thing and a reification of the person, for what distinguishes this form from all previous ones is that the capitalist does not rule the worker in any kind of personal capacity, but only in so far as he is "capital"; his rule is only that of objectified labour over living labour; the rule of the worker's product over the worker himself.

But the relation becomes still more complex—and apparently more mysterious—in that, with the development of the specifically capitalist mode of production, not only do these directly material things—all of them products of labour, viewed from the angle of use value the objective conditions of labour as well as the products of labour, viewed from the angle of exchange value objectified general labour time, or money—stand on their hind legs vis-à-vis the worker and confront him as "capital", but also the forms of socially developed labour, cooperation, manufacture (as a form of the division of labour), the factory (as a form of social labour organised on the material basis of machinery) appear as *forms of the development* of capital, and therefore the productive powers of labour, developed out of these forms of social labour, hence also science and the forces of nature, appear as *productive forces* of *capital.* In fact, unity in cooperation, combination in the division of labour, the application of the forces of nature and science, as well as the products of labour in the shape of machinery, for the purpose of production, are all things which confront the individual workers themselves as *alien* and *objective,* as a mere form of existence of the means of labour which are independent of them and rule over them—just as the means of labour, in their simple visible shape as material, instrument, etc., confront the workers as *functions of capital* and *therefore functions of the capitalist.* The social forms of their own labour, or the form of their own [XXI-1318] social labour, are relations constituted quite independently of the individual workers; the workers as subsumed under capital become elements of these social constructions, but these social constructions do not belong to them. They therefore confront the workers as *shapes* of capital itself, as combinations which, unlike their isolated labour capacities, belong to capital, originate from it and are incorporated within it. And this assumes a form which is the more real the more, on the one hand, their labour capacity is itself modified by these forms, so that it becomes

powerless when it stands alone, i.e. *outside* this context of capitalism, and its capacity for independent production is destroyed, while on the other hand the development of machinery causes the conditions of labour to appear as ruling labour technologically too, and at the same time to replace it, suppress it, and render it superfluous in its independent forms. In this process, in which the *social* characteristics of their labour confront them as *capitalised* to a certain extent—in the way that e.g. in machinery the visible products of labour appear as ruling over labour—the same thing of course takes place for the forces of nature and science, the product of general historical development in its abstract quintessence: they confront the workers as *powers* of capital. They become in fact separated from the skill and knowledge of the individual worker, and although—if we look at them from the point of view of their source—they are in turn the product of labour, they appear as *incorporated* into capital wherever they enter the labour process. The capitalist who employs a machine does not need to understand it (see Ure[a]). But vis-à-vis the workers, realised science appears in *the machine* as *capital.* And in fact all these applications of science, of the forces of nature and of large masses of products of labour—applications based on *social labour*—appear only as *means of exploitation* of labour, means of appropriating surplus labour, hence, vis-à-vis labour, as *forces* belonging to capital. Capital naturally employs all these means only to exploit labour, but in order to exploit labour, it must employ them in production. And thus the development of the *social* productive powers of labour and the conditions for this development appear as the *work of capital,* and not only does the individual worker relate passively to this work, it also takes place in antagonism to him.

Capital itself is dual since it consists of commodities.

*Exchange value* (money), but self-*valorising value,* value which creates value, *grows* as *value,* obtains an increment, through the fact that it is *value.* This can be reduced to the exchange of a given quantity of objectified labour for a greater quantity of living labour.

*Use value,* and here capital appears according to its particular situation in the labour process. But precisely here it does not just remain material of labour, means of labour to which *labour* belongs, and which have incorporated labour, but involves also, along with labour, its *social combinations* and the development of

[a] A. Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures...*, London, 1835, p. 43.—*Ed.*

the means of labour which corresponds to these social combinations. Capitalist production first develops the conditions of the labour process on a large scale—first develops them separately from the single independent worker—developing both its objective and its subjective conditions, but developing them as powers which dominate the *individual worker* and are *alien* to him.

Thus *capital* becomes a very mysterious being.

Our investigation of *profit*[86] differs from our investigation of *surplus value* in this way, among others: If surplus labour remains the same, profit may rise owing to the economical utilisation of *communal* conditions of labour, of which there are many kinds, e.g. savings on building costs, heating, lighting, etc.; or because the value of the PRIME MOTOR does not rise in the same measure as its power increases, so that the value of the PRIME MOTOR is not so costly for big factories as it is for scattered small workshops; economies in the prices of raw materials by purchase on a large scale (a point we shall not examine any further, since it presupposes the development of relations which do not come into consideration here, where we presuppose the *value* of the commodity as given, rather than market prices); savings where the transmission machinery is on a large scale; or due to the fact that waste products occur in such amounts that these excrements of production themselves again become saleable commodities (or [XXI-1319] are able to enter afresh as means of production into the reproduction of the same sphere of production or of another one); or savings deriving from a reduction in administration costs or from the fact that the masses of commodities concentrated in the warehouses do not become dearer in the same proportion but rather become relatively cheaper, etc. The whole of the economy in the use of these conditions of labour, all this *relative* cheapening of constant capital, while its absolute value increases and its ratio to variable capital grows, rests on the fact that the conditions of labour, raw material as much as the means of labour, etc., are employed *communally*, and this communal *utilisation* //concentration in a *smaller space* is one of the essential points here// has as its absolute presupposition the *communal* cooperation of a conglomeration of workers. This conglomeration of human beings involves the concentration of the conditions of labour, and the latter involves the relative cheapening of these conditions. Hence the relative cheapening of constant capital—which raises the profit when the surplus value is *given*—//the replacement of the means of transport, etc., must be added to this, as also that of the *means of storing* the commodities required for production//—is

itself only an *objective* expression of the *productive power of social labour*, and follows from the social combination of labour alone. //And apart from this economy in the direct production process there is only one more CHANGE possible, a second change, in the VALUE of the constant capital. This change proceeds from the *cheapening* of the elements of constant capital which are supplied to it from outside; an *economising* which is therefore not a result of the organisation of the labour process into which these commodities enter as elements. But these commodities are the result of *another* labour process in *another* sphere of production.// They appear, however, as *independent* of surplus LABOUR and SURPLUS VALUE, since these are presupposed to them as given. That the worker delivers more of the product in the same time, on the other hand, is a result of cooperation, of the division of labour, and lastly of the association of his labour with machinery (natural forces) and methods of work (science). Machinery itself (just like chemical processes, etc.) is initially only the visible product of a combination of labour by head and hand; but in its employment it is the employment of combined labour, and it only produces *surplus value* as a means of exploiting to a higher degree the worker's powers of labour and the combination of workers.

Science, the general intellectual product of social development, equally appears here as directly *incorporated* into capital (and the application of science as science to the material processes of production, separated from the knowledge and skill of the individual worker, proceeds from the *social* form of labour alone) as the forces of nature as such and the natural forces of *social* labour itself. Because it is exploited by capital against labour, because it acts as a productive power of capital over against labour, the general development of society as such equally appears as the *development of capital*, and the more so because the emptying of *labour capacity* [of all content], at least of the vast majority of labour capacities, proceeds at the same pace.

The *material* result of capitalist production—apart from the development of the productive powers of social labour itself, which here appear to be merely means for the exploitation of labour—is an increase *in the amount of products*, and all these means for the exploitation of labour equally appear to be means for the *multiplication and diversification of products*, since the increased productivity of labour is expressed in this increased production. Yet seen from this angle, capitalist production appears to be the rule of things over people. For the creation of *use values* in increasing extent, quality, diversity—the creation of great

*material wealth*—appears as the purpose for which the labour capacities are only means, and a purpose which can only be attained by their own *restriction to a single activity and deprivation of humanity.*

*Machinery.*

* "Every fresh application of machinery and horse labour is attended with an increase of produce and, consequently, of capital; to whatever extent it may diminish *the ratio* which that part of the national capital forming the fund for the payment of wages bears to that which is otherwise employed, its tendency is, not to diminish, but to increase the *absolute amount* [XXI-1320] of that fund, and hence to increase the quantity of employment"*. (*The Westminster Review*, January 1826, [p.] 123).[87]

"The class of capitalists, considered as a whole, is in a normal position in that its well-being follows the course of social progress" (Cherbuliez, *Riche[sse] et pauvre[té]*, [Paris, 1841, p.] 75).[a] "The capitalist is the social man *par excellence*, he represents civilisation" (l.c., [p.] 75).[a] "The PRODUCTIVE POWER OF CAPITAL can only mean the quantity of real productive power which the capitalist, by means of his capital, can command" (J. St. Mill, *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy*, London, 1844, p. 91). * "Capital is ... collective force"* (John Wade, *History of the Middle and Working Classes etc.*, 3rd ED., London, 1835, [p.] 162). "Capital is only another name for civilisation" (l.c., [p.] 164).

//*Economy* in the use of the conditions of production depends entirely on their *communal use* by the concentrated and cooperating mass of workers—hence it depends on this *social* character of their labour. The conditions of labour, as the conditions of the labour of many people acting in cooperation, are cheaper than the scattered conditions, repeated on a small scale, of the labour of the isolated individual worker or small groups of workers; they are cheaper as conditions of combined labour than as those of fragmented labour. More precisely: 1) a saving in the "subjective" conditions of labour communally required by many people, such as buildings, heating, light; 2) a saving that arises from the concentration of the instruments of production, hence a saving in the machinery of transmission; 3) economy in the use of the POWER which sets in motion the PRIME MOTORS. Other ways of making things cheaper depend on inventions, and belong to the second kind of cheapening of constant capital—namely a cheapening which arises not from the arrangements directly made for its use, but from the development of the productivity of labour in spheres of production of which it is the result.

Nevertheless, capitalist production does not limit itself to these economies which arise from the concentration of workers and of the means of labour. A second kind of economy proceeds from

[a] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

the contempt with which human material "which does not cost anything" is treated; thus it is packed together in confined and badly ventilated rooms, and rules of safety and comfort are ignored, as with the failure to FENCE in dangerous machinery, and the inadequate numbers of shafts, etc., in the mines. These points must be backed up with a few examples later on.[88]//

Capital is therefore productive:

1) as the *compulsion* to do surplus labour,

2) as absorbing within itself and appropriating the productive powers of social labour and the social powers of production in general, such as science.

The question is, how or through what means does labour appear productive towards capital, or as *productive labour*, since the productive powers of labour are transposed into capital? And can the same productive power count twice, once as productive power of labour and once as productive power of capital? //Productive power of labour=productive power of capital. But *labour capacity* is productive owing to the *difference* between its *value* and its *valorisation*.//

Only bourgeois narrowness, which considers the capitalist forms of production to be the latter's absolute forms—and therefore the eternal natural forms of production—is able to confuse the question of what *productive labour* is from the standpoint of capital with the question of what labour is productive in general, or what productive labour is in general, and therefore esteem itself very wise in giving the reply that all labour which produces anything at all, results in anything whatsoever, is *eo ipso*[a] productive labour.

[*Firstly*:] Only labour *which is converted directly into capital* is *productive*; hence only labour which posits variable capital as variable, and therefore $= C + \Delta$. If the variable capital $= x$ before its exchange with labour, so that we have the equation $y = x$, that labour is productive labour which converts $x$ into $x + h$ and therefore makes $y = x$ into $y' = x + h$. This is the sole point that needs to be discussed. Labour which posits surplus value, or serves capital as an AGENCY for the positing of surplus value and therefore enables it to posit itself as capital, as self-valorising value.

*Secondly*: The social and general productive powers of labour are productive powers of capital; but these productive powers concern the labour process alone, or affect use value alone. They appear as qualities capital possesses as a thing, they appear as its

[a] By that very fact.— *Ed.*

use value. They do not directly affect *exchange value.* Whether 100 work together or each of the 100 works in isolation, the *value* of their product=100 working days, whether this is represented by many products or a few. That is to say, the productivity of labour is irrelevant to exchange value.

[XXI-1321] There is only one way in which differences in the productivity of labour affect exchange value.

If the productivity of labour develops e.g. in a single branch of labour—if e.g. weaving with POWERLOOMS instead of handlooms ceases to be an exception—and if the weaving of a yard with the POWERLOOM requires only half as much labour time as with the HANDLOOM, the 12 hours of the HANDLOOM WEAVER are no longer represented in a value of 12 hours, but in a value of 6, since *necessary* labour time has now become 6 hours. The 12 hours of the HANDLOOM WEAVER now only=6 hours of social labour time, although he continues to work for 12 hours, as before. But this is not the point under discussion. If we take a different branch of production, in contrast, such as typesetting, in which no machinery is yet employed, 12 hours in this branch will produce just as much *value* as 12 hours will in branches of production where machinery, etc., has been developed to the uttermost extent. As productive of *value,* therefore, labour always remains the labour of the *individual,* only expressed *generally.* Productive labour—as value-producing labour—therefore always confronts capital as the labour of the individual labour capacity, of the *isolated worker,* whatever social combinations these workers may enter in the production process. Whereas capital thus confronts the worker as the social productive power of labour, the productive labour of the worker never represents towards capital anything more than the labour of the *isolated worker.*

*Thirdly*: If it appears as a natural quality of capital—and therefore as a quality which gushes forth from its use value—that it compels the performance of surplus labour and claims the social productive powers of labour as its own, it appears, conversely, as a natural quality of labour that it posits its own social productive powers as productive powers of capital and its own surplus as surplus value, as the self-valorisation of capital.

These 3 points must now be developed and the distinction between productive and unproductive labour derived from them.

*Ad 1.* The productivity of capital consists in positing labour as wage labour towards itself, and the productivity of labour consists in positing the means of labour as capital towards itself.

We have seen that money is converted into capital, i.e. a given

exchange value is converted into self-valorising exchange value, into value+surplus value, by the conversion of a part of the money into such commodities as serve labour as means of labour (raw materials, instrument, in short the material conditions of labour), and the employment of another part of the money for the purchase of labour capacity. However, it is not this first exchange between money and labour capacity, or the mere purchase of the latter, which converts money into capital. This purchase incorporates into capital the USE of labour capacity for a certain period of time, or, in other words, it makes a definite quantity of living labour into one of the modes of existence of capital itself, its entelechy so to speak. In the real production process, living labour is converted into capital by on the one hand reproducing the wage—hence the value of the variable capital—and on the other hand positing a surplus value, and through this process of conversion the whole sum of money is converted into capital, although the only part which varies directly is that which is laid out in the wage. If the value was$=c+v$, it now$=c+(v+x)$, which is the same thing as$=(c+v)+x$, or, in other words, the original sum of money, magnitude of value, has valorised itself, has been posited at the same time as self-preserving and self-multiplying value.

(The following should be noted: The circumstance that only the *variable part* of the capital brings forth its INCREMENT changes absolutely nothing in the fact that by means of this process the whole of the original value is valorised, is increased by a surplus value; that therefore the whole of the original sum of money has been converted into capital. For the original value$=c+v$ (constant and variable capital). It becomes in the process $c+(v+x)$; the latter is the reproduced part, which arose through the conversion of living into objectified labour, a conversion which is conditioned and introduced by the exchange of $v$ for labour capacity or its conversion into wages. But $c+(v+x)=c+v$ (the original capital)$+x$. Apart from this the conversion of $v$ into $v+x$, hence of $(c+v)$ into $(c+v)+x$, could only occur through the conversion of a part of the money into $c$. One part can only be converted into *variable* capital through the conversion of the other into constant *capital*.)

In the real production process labour is converted *in reality* into capital, but this conversion is conditioned by the original exchange between money and labour capacity. It is only through this *direct* conversion of labour into *objectified* labour which belongs not to the worker but to the capitalist that the money is converted into capital, including the part which has taken on the form of the

means of production, the conditions of labour. Previously money was only capital *in itself*,[a] whether it existed in its own form or in the form of commodities (products) which possessed a shape enabling them to serve as the means of production for new commodities.

[XXI-1322] It is only this particular *relation* to labour which converts money or commodity into capital, and that labour is *productive labour* which—by means of this relation it has to the conditions of production, to which there corresponds a particular position in the real production process—converts money or commodity into capital, i.e. preserves and increases the value of the *objective labour* which has attained an independent position vis-à-vis labour capacity. Productive labour is only an abbreviation for the whole relation in which, and the manner in which, labour capacity figures in the capitalist production process. It is however of the highest importance to distinguish between this and *other* kinds of labour, since this distinction brings out precisely the determinate form of labour on which there depends the whole capitalist mode of production, and capital itself.

*Productive labour*, therefore, is labour which—in the system of capitalist production—produces *surplus value* for its EMPLOYER or which converts the objective conditions of labour into capital, and their owners into capitalists, hence labour which produces its own product as capital.

Hence in speaking of *productive labour* we are speaking of *socially determined* labour, labour which implies a highly definite relation between the buyer and the seller of labour.

Although the money in the possession of the buyer of labour capacity—or, as a commodity, the buyer of means of production and subsistence for the worker—only becomes capital through the process, is only converted into capital in the process, and therefore these things are not capital before their entry into the process, but are only about to become capital, they are even so capital *in themselves*; they are capital through the independent shape in which they confront labour capacity and in which labour capacity confronts them, a relation which conditions and ensures the exchange with labour capacity and subsequent process of the real conversion of labour into capital. They already possess at the outset the *social determinacy* vis-à-vis the workers which makes them into capital and gives them command over labour. They are therefore *posited in advance* as capital vis-à-vis labour.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 171-204.— *Ed.*

*Productive labour* can therefore be characterised as labour which exchanges directly with *money as capital*, or, and this is merely an abbreviated expression of the same thing, labour which exchanges directly with *capital*, i.e. with money which is in itself capital, has the determination of functioning as capital, or confronts labour capacity as *capital*. The expression "labour which exchanges *directly* with *capital*" means that labour exchanges with money as *capital* and converts it *actu*[a] into capital. What the determination of *immediacy* implies will soon become more clearly apparent.

Productive labour is therefore labour which reproduces for the worker only the previously determined value of his labour capacity, but at the same time, as value-creating activity, it valorises capital or places the values created by labour in confrontation with the worker himself as capital.

In examining the exchange between capital and labour, as we saw in considering the process of production,[b] two moments need to be distinguished, which are fundamentally distinct, although they condition each other.

*Firstly*: The first exchange between labour and capital is a *formal process*, in which capital figures as *money* and labour capacity figures as *commodity*. The sale of labour capacity takes place notionally or legally in this first process, although the labour is *paid for* only after it has been done, at the end of the day, of the week, etc. This does not change anything in this single transaction in which labour capacity is *sold*. What is sold here *directly* is not a commodity in which labour has already been realised but the *use of labour capacity* itself, hence in practice *labour itself*, since the USE of labour capacity is its ACTION—labour. It is therefore not an exchange of labour mediated through the exchange of commodities. If A sells boots to B, they both exchange labour, the first labour realised in boots, the second in money. But here *objectified labour* in its general social form, i.e. as *money*, is exchanged for *labour which exists* as yet only as a *capacity*, and what is bought and sold is the use of that capacity, hence labour itself, although the *value* of the commodity that has been sold is not the value of labour (an irrational expression) but the *value* of labour capacity. A direct exchange therefore takes place between *objectified* labour and *labour capacity* which *de facto* amounts to living labour; hence an exchange between objectified labour and living labour. The

[a] By that action.— *Ed.*
[b] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 33-42.— *Ed.*

wage—the value of labour capacity—therefore presents itself, as explained previously,[a] as the direct purchase price, the *price of labour.*

The relation between worker and capitalist in this first moment is the relation between the seller of a commodity and its buyer. The capitalist pays the *value* of the labour capacity, hence the *value* of the commodity, which he is buying.

At the same time, however, the labour capacity is only bought because the labour it can perform, and enters into an obligation to perform, is greater than the labour required for the reproduction of this labour capacity, and is therefore represented by a value greater than the value of the labour capacity.

[XXI-1323] *Secondly*: The second moment of the *exchange* between capital and labour has in fact nothing to do with the first, and strictly speaking is not an *exchange* at all.

In the first moment an exchange of money and commodity takes place—an exchange of equivalents—and the worker and the capitalist confront each other solely as the owners of commodities. Equivalents are exchanged (i.e. the relation is not affected at all by *the time when* they are exchanged, and whether the price of labour stands *above* or *below* the *value* of labour capacity or is *equal* to it changes nothing in the transaction. It *can* therefore take place according to the general law of the exchange of commodities.) In the second moment no exchange at all takes place. The owner of money has ceased to be the buyer of a commodity, and the worker has ceased to be the seller of a commodity. The owner of money now functions as a capitalist. He consumes the commodity he has bought, and the worker provides it, since the use of his labour capacity is his labour itself. *Labour* has itself become a part of objective wealth through the earlier transaction. The worker performs the labour, but it *belongs* to capital and is now nothing more than a function of the latter. It therefore occurs directly under capital's control and direction, and the product in which it is objectified is the new shape in which capital appears, or rather the shape in which it *realises* itself *actu*[b] as capital. Labour therefore directly *objectifies* itself in this process, converts itself *directly* into capital, after it has already been incorporated *formally* into capital through the first transaction. And indeed *more* labour is here converted into capital than was previously laid out as capital in the purchase of labour capacity. A portion of unpaid labour is

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[a] See this volume, pp. 61-86.—*Ed.*

[b] In effect.—*Ed.*

appropriated in this process, and only in this way is money converted into capital.

Although no exchange in fact takes place here, the result, if one disregards the intervening stages, is that in the process—taking both moments together—a definite quantity of objectified labour has exchanged for a greater quantity of living labour, which is expressed in the result of the process in the following way, that the labour which has increased its size in its product>than the labour which is objectified in labour capacity, and therefore>than the objectified labour which is paid to the worker, or that in the real process the capitalist receives back, hence obtains, not only the part of the capital he laid out in wages, but also a surplus value, which costs him nothing. Here the *direct* exchange of labour for capital means 1) the direct conversion of labour into capital, the objective component of capital in the production process, 2) the exchange of a definite quantity of objectified labour for the same quantity of living labour+a surplus quantity of living labour, which is appropriated *without exchange.*

The statement that *productive labour* is labour which exchanges *directly* with *capital* comprises all these moments, and is only a derivative formula for the fact that it *is labour* which converts money into capital, exchanges with the conditions of production as *capital,* and therefore by no means relates to the former as simple conditions of production, does not relate to them as *labour* in the absolute sense, without any specific social determinateness.

This implies 1) the relation of money and labour capacity to each other as commodities, sale and purchase between the owner of money and the owner of labour capacity; 2) the direct subsumption of labour under capital; 3) the real conversion of labour into capital in the production process, or, and this is the same thing, the creating of surplus value for capital. A *twofold exchange between labour and capital* takes place. The first merely expresses the purchase of labour capacity and therefore, *actu,* of labour, hence of its product. The second expresses the direct conversion of *living* labour into capital, or its objectification as the realisation of capital.

The result of the capitalist production process is neither a mere product (use value) nor a *commodity,* i.e. a use value which has a particular exchange value. Its result, its product, is the creation of *surplus value* for capital, and therefore in fact the *conversion* of money or a commodity into capital; whereas before the production process these were capital merely in intention, in themselves, in terms of their determination. More labour is absorbed in the

production process than was bought, and this absorption, [XXI-1324] this *appropriation* of alien unpaid labour, which is accomplished in the production process, is the *immediate purpose* of the capitalist production process, for what capital wants to produce as capital (hence the capitalist as capitalist) is neither direct use value for its own consumption, nor a commodity to be converted first into money and later into use values. Its purpose is *enrichment*, the *valorisation of value*, its *magnification*, hence the preservation of the old value and the creation of surplus value. And it achieves this *specific product* of the capitalist production process only in the exchange with labour, which for that reason is called *productive labour*.

In order to produce *commodities*, labour must be useful labour, it must produce *use values*, it must be represented in *use values*. And therefore only labour which is represented in *commodities*, hence in use values, is able to make the exchange with capital. This is a presupposition which goes without saying. But it is not this concrete character of the labour, its use value as such, the fact that it is e.g. tailoring, cobbling, spinning, weaving, etc., which forms its specific use value for capital, stamps it therefore as *productive labour* in the system of capitalist production. Its *specific use value* for capital consists not in its particular useful character, any more than in the specific useful features of the product in which it is objectified. It is rather its character as the element which creates exchange value, abstract labour; not in the sense that it represents any particular quantity of this general labour, but that it represents a *greater* quantity than is *contained* in its price, i.e. in the *value of the labour capacity*. The use value of labour capacity is for it the excess amount of labour it provides over and above the labour which is objectified in it, and is therefore required for its reproduction. It naturally provides this quantity *in the particular form* appropriate to it as a specific kind of useful labour, as the labour of spinning, of weaving, etc. But this concrete character of labour, which generally enables it to be represented in a commodity, is not its *specific use value* for capital. This consists for capital in its quality of being labour in general, and in the difference between the quantity of labour it performs and the quantity of labour it costs, in the fact that the former is *greater* than the latter.

A particular sum of money, $x$, becomes capital through the fact that it is represented in its product as $x+h$; i.e. the fact that the quantity of labour contained in it as a product is greater than the quantity of labour originally contained in it. And this is the result

of the exchange between money and productive labour, or, in other words, only that labour is *productive* which enables objectified labour to be represented in the exchange with it as an increased quantity of objectified labour.

The capitalist production process is therefore not merely the production of commodities. It is a process which absorbs unpaid labour, a process which makes the material and means of labour—the means of production—into means for the absorption of unpaid labour.

It emerges from what has been said so far that to be *productive labour* is a determination of labour which has at first absolutely nothing to do with the *particular content* of the labour, its specific utility or the peculiar use value in which it is represented.

*The same* kind of labour can be *productive* or *unproductive.*

E.g. Milton, WHO DID THE *Paradise Lost* FOR £5, was an *unproductive worker.* But a writer who does factory labour for his publisher is a *productive worker.* Milton produced *Paradise Lost* for the same reason as a silkworm produces silk. It was an expression of *his own* nature. Later on he sold the product for £5. But the Leipzig proletarian of literature who assembles books (such as compendia of political economy) under the direction of his publisher is a *productive worker,* for his production is from the outset subsumed under capital, and only takes place so that capital may valorise itself. A singer who sells her songs on her own account is an *unproductive worker.* But the same singer, engaged by an impresario, who has her sing in order to make money, is a *productive worker.* For she produces capital.[a]

[XXI-1325] There are various questions to be distinguished here.

Whether I buy a pair of trousers, or I buy some cloth and take a journeyman tailor into the house, paying him for his *service* (i.e. his tailoring labour) of converting this cloth into trousers, is a matter of complete indifference to me, in so far as only the trousers are at stake. I buy the trousers from the MERCHANT TAILOR, instead of operating in the second way, because the latter way of doing things is dearer, and the trousers cost less labour, and are therefore cheaper if the CAPITALIST TAILOR produces them than if I have them produced in the latter manner. But in both cases I do not convert the money with which I buy the trousers into capital but into trousers, and what is important to me in both cases is to use the money as a mere means of circulation, i.e. to convert it

[a] See this volume, p. 448.—*Ed.*

into this particular use value. Here, therefore, the money does not function as capital, although in one case it is exchanged for a *commodity*, and in the other case it buys *labour* itself as a *commodity*. It functions only as money, and more precisely as means of circulation. On the other hand, the journeyman tailor is not a *productive worker*, although his labour provides for me the product, the trousers, and for him the price of his labour, the money. It is possible that the quantity of labour provided by the journeyman is greater than the amount contained in the price he receives from me. And indeed this is likely, since the price of his labour is determined by the price received by the *productive* journeymen tailors. But this is a matter of complete indifference to me. Whether he works 8 or 10 hours, once the price has been fixed, is completely indifferent to me. The only thing at stake here is the *use value*, the trousers, in which connection I naturally have an interest in paying as little as possible for them, whether I buy them in one way or the other; but I am not concerned to pay more or less in one case than in the other—or only *to pay the normal price for them*. This is an *outgoing* for the purpose of my consumption, not an increase of my money but a lessening of it. It is definitely not a means of enrichment, just as little as any other kind of expenditure of money for my *personal consumption* is a means of enrichment. One of the *savants* of Paul de Kock[89] may tell me that I cannot live without this purchase, just as I cannot live without the purchase of bread, hence I also cannot *enrich* myself, that it is therefore an indirect means—or at least a condition—for my enrichment. The circulation of my blood and my respiration would in the same way also be conditions for my enrichment. But neither the circulation of my blood nor my respiration in themselves enrich me on that account; both of these processes rather presuppose a costly metabolism without whose necessity there would be no poor devils at all. The mere *direct* exchange of money for labour therefore does not convert money into capital or labour into productive labour. What then is the characteristic feature of this exchange? What distinguishes it from the exchange of money with productive labour? On the one hand the fact that the *money* is expended *as money*, as the independent form of exchange value, which is to be converted into a *use value*, into means of subsistence, an object of personal consumption. Therefore the money does not become capital but rather the reverse, it loses its existence as exchange value so as to be consumed as use value. On the other hand, labour only interests me as a use value, as a *service* by means of which cloth is turned

into trousers; the service which it performs for me thanks to its particular useful character. But when the journeyman tailor is employed by a MERCHANT TAILOR, the service he performs for this capitalist by no means consists in his converting cloth into trousers, but rather in the fact that the necessary labour time which is objectified in a pair of trousers=12 hours of labour, and the wage the journeyman receives=6 hours. The service he performs for the capitalist therefore consists in the fact that he works 6 hours for nothing. That this occurs in the form of the making of trousers only *conceals* the real relation. Hence as soon as the MERCHANT TAILOR is able to do this, he endeavours to convert the trousers back into money again, i.e. into a form in which the particular character of tailoring has completely disappeared, and in which the service performed is expressed in such a way that instead of a labour time of 6 hours, which [XXI-1326] is expressed in a particular amount of money, a labour time of 12 hours is available, which is expressed in twice the amount of money.

I buy the work of the tailor on account of the service it performs as *tailoring*, which is to satisfy my need for clothing, hence to serve one of my *needs*. The MERCHANT TAILOR buys it as a means of making two thalers out of one. I buy it because it produces a certain use value, performs a certain service. He buys it because it provides more exchange value than it costs, he buys it merely as a means of exchanging less labour for more labour.

Where money is exchanged directly for labour, and the latter does not produce any capital, hence is *not productive* labour, it is bought as a *service*; this is nothing more than an expression for the particular use value provided by labour, just like every other commodity; but it is a specific expression for the particular use value of labour, in so far as labour does not provide services as an *object* but as an *activity*, which however by no means distinguishes it e.g. from a machine, e.g. a clock. *Do ut facias, facio ut facias, facio ut des, do ut des*[a] are here completely indifferent forms of the same relation, whereas in capitalist production the *do ut facias* expresses a very specific relation of the objective value, which is given, and the living activity, which is appropriated. Thus, because the specific relation of labour and capital is not contained at all in this purchase of *services*, because it has either been completely extinguished or was never present, it is naturally the favourite

[a] "I give that you may make", "I make that you may make", "I make that you may give", "I give that you may give"—contractual formulas in Roman law (*Corpus iuris civilis*, Digesta XIX, 5.5). Cf. present edition, Vol. 28, p. 393.— *Ed.*

form used by Say, Bastiat and their associates to express the *relation of capital* and *labour*.[a]

How the *value* of these services is regulated, and how this *value* is itself determined by the laws of wages, is a question which has nothing to do with the investigation of the relation currently under discussion, and which belongs to the chapter on wages.

The result is that the mere exchange of money for labour does not convert the latter into *productive labour*, and that the *content* of this labour, on the other hand, is initially a matter of indifference.

The worker himself can buy labour, i.e. can buy commodities which are provided in the form of services, and when he expends his wage in such services this expenditure does not differ in any respect from the expenditure of his wage to buy any other commodity. The services he buys may be more or less necessary, e.g. he can buy the service of a doctor or a priest, just as he can buy bread or spirits. As a buyer—i.e. a representative of money towards the commodity—the worker is in exactly the same category as the capitalist, when the latter steps forward as buyer alone, i.e. when it is only a matter of transferring money into the form of a commodity. How the price of these services is determined, and what relation it has to the actual wage, how far it is regulated by the laws governing the latter, and how far not, are questions which should be treated in a discussion of wages and are a matter of complete indifference for the present investigation.[90]

If the mere exchange of money and labour does not convert the latter into *productive labour*, or, and this is the same thing, does not convert the former into capital, the *content*, the concrete character, the particular utility of the labour, also appears at first to be a matter of indifference; as we have just seen, the same labour of the same journeyman tailor appears as in one case productive, in another case not.

Some *services* or *use values*, the results of certain activities or kinds of labour, are incorporated in *commodities*; others, however, leave behind no tangible result *as distinct from* the persons themselves: or they do not result in a *saleable commodity*. E.g. the service a singer performs for me satisfies my aesthetic needs, but what I enjoy exists only in an action inseparable from the singer himself, and once his work, singing, has come to an end, my enjoyment is also at an end; I enjoy the activity itself—its

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 175, 180-81, Vol. 30, pp. 114, 148, and this volume, pp. 152-54.—*Ed.*

REVERBERATION in my ear. These services themselves, just like the commodities I buy, may be necessary or merely appear necessary, e.g. the service of a soldier, or a doctor, or a lawyer, or they may be services which provide me with pleasure. This does not change their economic determination in any way. If I am healthy and do not need a doctor, or I am fortunate enough not to have to engage in any lawsuits, I avoid like the plague the expenditure of money for medical or legal services.

[XXI-1328][91] One can also have *services* thrust upon one, *the services of officials*, etc.

If I buy the services of a teacher, not in order to develop my own capacities, but to acquire skills with which I can earn money—or if other people buy this teacher for me—and if I really learn something—which is in itself entirely independent of my paying for his services—these costs of learning form as much a part of the costs of production of my labour capacity as do my subsistence costs. But the particular utility of this service *changes* nothing in the *economic relation*; and this is not a relation in which I convert money into capital, or by which the performer of the service, the teacher, converts me into *his capitalist*, HIS MASTER. Whether the doctor cures me, the teacher is successful in instructing me, or the lawyer wins my case, is therefore a matter of complete indifference for the *economic determination* of this relation. What is paid for is the performance of a service as such, and its result cannot by its nature be guaranteed by the person performing it. A large part of *services* belong to the *costs of consumption* of commodities, as with cooks, maids, etc.

It is characteristic of all *unproductive labours* that they are only at my disposal in the same proportion as I exploit *productive workers*—as is the case with the purchase of all other consumption commodities. It is the *productive worker*, therefore, who of all persons has the least command over the *services* of unproductive workers, although he has to pay the most for *involuntary* services (the state, taxes). Inversely, however, my ability to employ *productive workers* does not at all grow in the proportion to which I employ *unproductive workers*; it is rather the reverse, it declines in the same proportion.

*Productive workers* may themselves be *unproductive workers* as far as I am concerned. If e.g. I have my house decorated, and these decorators are the wage labourers of a MASTER, who sells me this function, it is the same for me as if I had bought a ready-decorated house, expended money for a commodity I intend to consume, but for the MASTER who sets these workers to decorating,

they are productive workers, for they produce surplus value for him.

But what is the situation with independent handicraftsmen or with peasants who do not employ any workers, hence do not produce as capitalists? Either they are *producers of commodities*, as always in the case of peasants //but not e.g. in the case of a gardener I take into my household//, and I buy the *commodities* from them, in which connection it makes no difference e.g. that the handicraftsman supplies the commodities to order, whereas the peasant delivers his SUPPLY according to the measure of his means of producing it. In this relation they meet me as sellers of commodities, not as sellers of labour, and this relation therefore has nothing to do with the exchange between capital and labour, hence it also has nothing to do with the distinction between *productive and unproductive labour*, which depends merely on whether the labour is exchanged for money as money or for money as capital. They therefore belong neither to the category of *productive workers* nor to that of *unproductive workers*, although they are producers of commodities. Their production is not subsumed under the capitalist mode of production. These producers, who work with their own means of production, may not only reproduce their labour capacity, but also create surplus value, in that their position allows them to appropriate their own surplus labour, or a part of it (for a part is taken away from them in the form of taxes, etc.). And here we meet with a peculiarity characteristic of a society in which a determinate mode of production predominates, although all relations of production have not yet been subjected to it. In feudal society, for example, which can best be studied in England, because here the system of feudalism was introduced in finished form from Normandy, and its form was imprinted upon a social foundation which differed in many respects, relations which are far from belonging to the essence of feudalism also take on a feudal expression. Such is the case with e.g. purely monetary relations, where there is no element at all of reciprocal personal services between SUZERAIN and vassal. E.g. the fiction that the small peasant possesses his farm as a fief. It is exactly the same with the capitalist mode of production. The independent peasant or handicraftsman is cut into two.

"In the small enterprises ... *the entrepreneur* is often his *own worker*" (Storch, Vol. I, St. Petersburg edition, [p.] 242).[a]

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[a] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

As owner of the means of production he is a capitalist, as worker he is his own wage labourer. He therefore pays himself his wages as a capitalist and draws his profit from his capital, i.e. he exploits himself as wage labourer and pays himself in SURPLUS VALUE the tribute labour owes to capital. Perhaps he pays himself yet a third part as landowner (rent), just as the industrial capitalist, as we shall see later,[a] when he works with his own [XXI-1329] capital, pays himself interest and regards this as something he owes himself not as industrial capitalist but as capitalist in the absolute sense. The *social determinacy* of the means of production in capitalist production—so that they express a particular *relation of production*—is so intertwined with, and in the understanding of bourgeois society so inseparable from, the material existence of these means of production as means of production, that that determinacy (categorial determinacy) is applied even where the relation directly contradicts it. The means of production only become capital in so far as they achieve an autonomous position as an independent power vis-à-vis labour. In the given case, the producer—the worker—is the owner, the proprietor of his means of production. They are therefore no more capital than he is a wage labourer vis-à-vis them. Nevertheless, they are considered to be capital, and he himself is split in two, so that *he* as capitalist employs himself as wage labourer. In fact this way of presenting the matter, irrational as it may be ON FIRST VIEW, is nevertheless correct SO FAR: The producer admittedly creates his own SURPLUS VALUE in the given case //assuming that he sells his commodity at its value//, or the whole product objectifies his own labour alone. But he owes his ability to appropriate *for himself* the whole product of his own labour, whereby the excess of the value of his product over the average price[92] FOR INSTANCE of his day's labour is not appropriated by a third *MASTER*, not to his labour—which does not distinguish him from other workers—but to his ownership of the means of production. It is therefore only through ownership of the latter that he obtains control of his own surplus labour, and thus he relates to himself as wage labourer as his own capitalist. The *separation* of the two appears as the normal relation in this society. Therefore where it does not take place in practice it is assumed, and, as we have just shown, SO FAR correctly; for (unlike e.g. the conditions of ancient Rome or Norway) (or American conditions in the North West of the UNITED STATES) the *unification*

[a] See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Part V, Ch. XXIII (present edition, Vol. 37).—*Ed.*

of the two appears here as accidental, their *separation* as normal, and therefore the separation is retained as the relation, even when one person unites the different functions. It emerges in very striking fashion here that the capitalist as such is only a function of capital, and the worker a function of labour capacity. Then there is also the law that economic development divides the functions among different persons, so that the handicraftsman or peasant who produces with his own means of production is either turned little by little into a small capitalist who also exploits alien labour, or loses possession of his means of production //at the outset this may occur even though he remains their *nominal* owner, as with the mortgage system// and is turned into a wage labourer. This is the tendency in the form of society in which the capitalist mode of production predominates. In considering the essential relations of capitalist production, therefore, it can be assumed //since this tends to occur more and more, is the principal purpose, and the productive powers of labour are developed to the highest point in this case alone// that the whole world of commodities, all the spheres of material production—the production of material wealth—have been subjected (either formally or really) to the capitalist mode of production. In this presupposition, which expresses the LIMIT, and therefore approximates ever more closely to exact accuracy, all the workers engaged in the production of commodities are wage labourers and the means of production confront them as capital in all spheres of production. It can then be described as the characteristic feature of *productive workers*, i.e. of workers producing capital, that their labour is realised in *commodities*, material wealth. And thus *productive labour* would have obtained a second, subsidiary determination distinct from its decisive characteristic, for which the *content of the labour* is a matter of complete indifference and which is independent of that content.

With non-material production,even when it is conducted purely for exchange, hence produces *commodities*, two things are possible: 1) It results in *commodities*, use values, which possess an independent shape separate from the producers and consumers; hence may exist in the interval between production and consumption, may circulate in this interval as *saleable commodities*, as in the case of books, paintings, in short all the products of artistic creation, which are distinct from the artistic performance of the executant artist. Here capitalist production is only applicable to a very limited degree. To the extent that e.g. the writer of a joint work—encyclopaedia—e.g. exploits a number of others as hacks.

[XXI-1330] Here things usually remain at the level of the *forms transitional to* capitalist production, where different scientific or artistic producers, artisanal or professional, work for a common merchant capital, the publisher; a relation which has nothing to do with the capitalist mode of production proper, and is itself not yet formally subsumed under it. The fact that the exploitation of labour is at its worst precisely in these transitional forms does not change anything in the situation. 2) The product[a] is not separable from the act of producing, as with all executant artists, orators, actors, teachers, doctors, clerics, etc. Here too the capitalist mode of production only occurs to a slight extent, and can in the nature of things only take place in certain spheres. E.g. teachers in educational institutions may be mere wage labourers for the entrepreneur who owns the institution; there are many such education factories in England. Although they are not *productive workers* vis-à-vis the pupils, they are such vis-à-vis their employer. He exchanges his capital for their labour capacity, and enriches himself by this process. Similarly with enterprises such as theatres, places of entertainment, etc. Here the actor's relation to the public is that of artist, but vis-à-vis his employer he is a *productive worker.* All the phenomena of capitalist production in this area are so insignificant in comparison with production as a whole that they can be disregarded entirely.

With the development of the specifically capitalist mode of production, in which many workers cooperate in the production of the same commodity, the direct relations between their labour and the object under production must of course be very diverse. E.g. the assistants in the factory, mentioned earlier,[b] have no direct involvement in the treatment of the raw material. The workers who constitute the overseers of those who are directly concerned with this treatment stand a step further away; the engineer in turn has a different relation and works mainly with his brain alone, etc. But the *whole group of these workers,* who possess labour capacities of different values, although the total number employed reaches roughly the same level, produce a result which is expressed, from the point of view of the *result* of the pure labour process, in *commodities* or in a *material product,* and all of them together, as a workshop, are the living production machine for these *products;* while, from the point of view of the production process as a whole, they exchange their labour for capital, and reproduce the

[a] Marx has "production".—*Ed.*
[b] See present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 483-84.—*Ed.*

money of the capitalist as capital, i.e. as self-valorising value, self-multiplying value. It is indeed the peculiarity of the capitalist mode of production that it separates the different kinds of labour, hence also brain and hand labour—or the kinds of labour in which one or the other aspect predominates—and distributes them among different people, although this does not prevent the material product from being the *common product* of these persons or their common product from being objectified in material wealth. Nor, on the other hand, does this prevent, or change in any way, the fact that the relation of each individual person is that of a wage labourer to capital, and in this eminent sense it is the relation of the *productive worker*. All these people are not only employed *directly* in the production of material wealth, they exchange their labour *directly* for capital's money, and therefore, as well as directly reproducing their wage, they create a surplus value for the capitalist. Their labour consists of paid labour+unpaid surplus labour.

In addition to extractive industry, agriculture, and manufacturing, there exists yet a fourth sphere of material production, which also passes through the different stages of the handicraft system, the system of manufacture, and mechanised industry; it is the *transport industry*, transporting human beings, it may be, or commodities. Here the relation of the *productive worker*, i.e. the wage labourer, to capital is exactly the same as in the other spheres of material production. Here too the object of labour undergoes a material alteration—a *spatial* alteration, or change of place. In regard to the transport of human beings, this appears merely as a *service*, performed for them by an entrepreneur. But the relation between the buyer and the seller of this *service* has no more to do with the relation of the productive worker to capital than the relation between the buyer and the seller of twist. If, however, we look at the process in regard to commodities, [XXI-1331] we find that there does occur an alteration to the object of labour, the *commodity*, in the course of the labour process. Its spatial location is altered, and a change in its use value accompanies this, in that the spatial location of this use value is altered. Its exchange value increases in the measure to which this alteration in its use value requires labour, a total amount of labour which is in part determined by the depreciation of the constant capital, hence the amount of objectified labour which enters into it, in part by the amount of living labour, as in the valorisation process of all other commodities. Once the commodity has arrived at its destination, this alteration which has taken place to its use

value disappears, and is now expressed only in its increased exchange value, in the greater dearness of the commodity. Although the real labour has here left behind no trace in the use value, it has nevertheless been realised in the exchange value of this material product, and thus it is true of this industry, as of the other spheres of material production, that it is embodied in the *commodity*, although it has left behind no visible trace in the use value of the commodity.

Here we are still only concerned with *productive capital*, i.e. capital employed in the *direct production process*. We shall come later to capital in the *circulation process*, and in view of the particular shape capital assumes as *mercantile capital* it will only be later that we can answer the question as to how far the workers employed by it are productive or not productive.[a]

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"The PRODUCTIVE LABOURER" he that "DIRECTLY" increases "HIS MASTER'S WEALTH" (Th. R. Malthus, *Principles of Political Economy*, 2ND ed., London, 1836, [p.] 47 [note]).[b]

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[*ADDENDA*]

*//Application of large-scale industry, cooperation and machinery to industry.*

"Division of labour cannot be pushed at all to the same extent in agriculture as in manufactures *because in the one all the necessary operations can be carried on simultaneously by different individuals, in the other, they must follow in rotation, according to the change of seasons"* (G. Ramsay, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth*, Edinburgh, 1836, [p.] 332, note). *"Under a system of spade husbandry, a larger produce can be raised, and hence a more numerous population supported, from the growth of the soil of any particular country, than by any other plan of agriculture"* (l.c., [p.] 339). Although the GROSS PRODUCE is greater with small-scale agriculture, *"labour is less productive—*a waste of labour.* If the gross produce of the soil be greater, there will on the other hand be a deficiency in every thing else"* (l.c., [p.] 337).

In 1390 A FARM of 57 ACRES YIELDED 6 BUSHELS OF WHEAT //32 BUSHELS is the AVERAGE in England now// and another, 5 BUSHELS OF OATS, TO THE ACRE. At that time the population did not exceed 2,353,102[c] souls (*Eden*[94]). *"We know very well that to *secure* the grain is as important as to *raise* it, and that if it *were not*

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[a] See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Part IV, Ch. XVII (present edition, Vol. 37).—*Ed.*

[b] This quotation was crossed out by Marx.[93]—*Ed.*

[c] In the source used by Marx: 2,353,202.—*Ed.*

*possible to obtain the necessary assistance at harvest time*, much of that which had been raised would be lost.* In the SOUTHERN STATES the *planter [is] compelled to limit his cultivation within the power[s] of his people to make his harvest.* In 1389 (according to *Eden*) *in securing the crop of corn of 200 acres,* there were employed 250 REAPERS and THATCHERS ON ONE DAY, and 200 on another. On another day in the same year, 212 were *hired for one day, to cut and tie up 13 acres of wheat and one acre of oats* (*Eden*). At that time 12 BUSHELS TO AN ACRE were considered an AVERAGE CROP, so that 212 PERSONS were employed *to harvest 168 bushels of grain, an operation* which could be accomplished with ease, in our time, by 6 persons" (Carey, *Principles of Political Economy*, Philadelphia, 1837, [pp.] 58 sqq.). Once the spade has replaced the stick, *"he can now make holes four inches deep with less labour than with his stick he could make those of two" (H. C. Carey, *The Past, the Present, and the Future*, Philadelphia, 1848 [pp. 10-11]).

"In all cases we mark the pioneers gladly seizing on the *clear dry land of the hillsides*, in preference to the rich and highly wooded land of the river bottoms. Everywhere we see them, as population gradually increases, descending equally gradually the sides of the hills and mountains towards the rich lands at their feet: and everywhere, [XXI-1332] with the growth of numbers, penetrating the earth to reach the lower soils, to enable them to combine the upper clay, or sand, with the lower marl or lime, and thus *compounding for themselves*, out of the various materials ... a soil capable of yielding a larger return than that upon which they were at first compelled to expend their labours. Everywhere, with increased power of men, we see them exercising increased power over land. Everywhere, as the new soils are brought into activity, and as they are enabled to obtain larger returns, we find more rapid increase of population, producing [an] increased tendency to *combinations of exertion*, by which *the powers of the individual labourer are trebled*, etc." * (l.c., [pp.] 48, 49).[95]

"In 1760, the POPULATION of England and Wales was 6,479,000. The total quantity of GRAIN produced in the former period was estimated at 15,349,000 qrs, and the EXPORTS EXCEEDED THE IMPORTS by 400,000 qrs. The whole QUANTITY OF LAND is about 37,000,000 ACRES. The QUANTITY OF LAND NOW IN CULTIVATION is, at the lowest calculation, twice as great as at the ACCESSION of George III. *With *this extension over the surface*, there has been a corresponding *descent into the bowels of the land*, and the lower soils have been to a wonderful extent combined with the superficial ones. The *underlying marl* of Norfolk and Lincoln has been combined with the *sand*, and throughout the kingdom, *lime* has been to an extent not to be estimated combined with the *clay*, the power to accomplish which has resulted from the cultivation of the iron and coal soils, always among the last to be brought into full activity. The effect of this may be judged from the fact that the same land which in the former period yielded in addition to the grain, but about 40 tons of straw, now yields the same grain and more than 500 tons of straw, hay and turnips, as food for the cattle required to meet the demands of the meat markets ... demands 3 times exceeding those of the former period. The weight of food per acre is considerably more than twice as great as was then obtained, and the number of acres being doubled, we have 5 times the quantity of food to be distributed, while the population has increased but 150%"* (l.c., [pp. 51-]52). "In the 14th century the RETURN to the HUSBANDMEN averaged less than 1 qr to the ACRE and IF FROM THIS be DEDUCTED 2 BUSHELS FOR the SEED, we have 6 BUSHELS as the PRODUCT OF LABOUR. The POPULATION is now about $6^1/_2$ times greater, but the NUMBER OF PERSONS WHO LIVE BY THE LABOUR OF THE FIELD is not 3 times greater, WHILE THE LAND IN CULTIVATION IS PROBABLY 10 times as great; and the *average yield per acre, estimating green crops as beef and mutton, and looking to the vast yield of

potatoes and various other articles of vegetable food, is at least * 6 times as great" (l.c., [p.] 54).//

It is quite correct that, as Carey says (l.c., [pp.] 48, 49), the "*POWERS OF THE INDIVIDUAL LABOURER ARE TREBLED* and MORE" with "COMBINATIONS OF EXERTION". But the *value* of the INDIVIDUAL labour capacity is not *increased* as a result of this development of the SOCIAL POWERS OF LABOUR, but on the contrary *lessened*, lessened absolutely. And what he sells to capital continues to be, as before, his *INDIVIDUAL labour capacity* in the form in which it is enmeshed in his person, not his labour as a factor of that *SOCIAL POWER* of combined LABOUR. As we have seen,[a] this latter combination is a form alien to the individual workers, it is a *form of capital*, for which reason the *PRODUCTIVE POWERS* of this combination also appear as productive powers of capital and not of labour. In so far as what is involved here is the *value of labour capacity*, which determines the *price of labour* (not, therefore, the particular circumstances which determine the rise or fall of this price *above* or *below* that value, whatever oscillations there may be), this must necessarily be reduced by the development of the productive powers of labour, in the same way as is the *value* of every other commodity. It can only be *raised* to the extent that the development of the capitalist mode of production demands the formation of labour capacities whose more complex labour makes necessary a higher *individual* development of these labour capacities, with the result that the amount of value (labour) required for their production is greater. This does not affect the great mass of workers, on whom the capitalist mode of production has rather the opposite effect.

[XXI-1333] *On the above remarks* about *PRICE OF LABOUR* and *VALUE OF THE LABOURING POWER*: //The *value* of a steam engine does not grow because its productive capacity increases, and this also applies to that of the *LABOURING POWER*.//

* "It is true that the causes which raise the *amount of the labourer's wages* often raise the *capitalists' profits*. If, by *increased industry*, one man performs the work of two, both the amount of wages and the rate of profits will generally be raised. But the *rate of profits* will be raised not by *the rise of wages*, but in consequence of the *additional supply of labour having diminished its price*, or having diminished the period for which it had previously been necessary to advance that price" * (N. W. Senior, *Three Lectures on the Rate of Wages*, London, 1830, [p.] 14 sqq.).[b]

This is correct for the *RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE*. As regards the RATE OF PROFIT, it may rise without any reduction in the price of labour.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 259-64, 278-79.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 349.— *Ed.*

*Productive labourer.*

From the point of view of capitalist production, a worker who admittedly produces saleable commodities, but merely to an amount equal to his own labour capacity, i.e. a worker who produces no surplus value for capital, is *not productive.* How strongly this is maintained can already be seen from passages in Ricardo, saying that the very existence of such people is a nuisance.[a] This is the theory and practice of capital.

* "Both the theory relative to capital, and the *practice of stopping labour at that point* where it can produce, in addition to the subsistence of the labourer, a *profit* to the capitalist, seem opposed to the natural law which regulates production" * (Th. Hodgskin, *Popular Political Economy,* London, 1827, [p.] 238).

* "He" * (the worker) * "will work *a* for *b* wages; but not 2*a* for 2*b* wages. Then if you give him 2*b* for 1*a*, may it not follow that he will be content with less, and therefore not work even *a*?" * (*An Inquiry into those Principles respecting the Nature of Demand etc.*, [London, 1821, p.] 97).

*Price of labour,* like *price of land,* are imaginary expressions like $\frac{0}{0}$ or $\sqrt{-2}$.

The following passage is already very good—although involuntarily—on how *money* which is exchanged for labour is expended by its owner as capital, and received by the worker merely as money:

* "How much private good money doth to merchants, tradesmen, husbandmen, and others *that both mayntaine and inrich* themselves by setting the poore on worke for money. How much private good to all those poor people, who *onely live by labouring for that money*" * (*Usurie Arraigned and Condemned etc.*, London, 1625, [p.] 3).

Also cited, earlier, is an example of modern agriculture in order to illustrate surplus value; the one given here is one about 100 years older. This is *barley* (the 2nd year of a rotation which extends over 4 years, with I year turnips, 2nd year barley, III clover, IV wheat). The calculation is per acre:

[a] See D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* pp. 415-17.— *Ed.*

| *Constant Capital* | s. | *Variable Capital* | £s. | *Surplus Value* | | *Product* | £ s. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *We find:* | | Wage for | | *Rent* | 12s.6d. | 4 qrs AT | | Hence the |
| SEED 3 BUSHELS | 9 | PLOWING, | | TYTHE | 3 | 24s. | =4 16 | total |
| WEAR AND TEAR | 1 | HARROWING, | 1 | RATES | 1 6 | | | capital |
| EXTRA EXPENSES | 1 | STRIKING, | | *Profit* | £ | STRAW | 15 | advanced |
| FENCES | 1 | FURROWS, | | | 2 8 | SHEEP FEED | 2 6[d.] | £1 12s. |
| | 12s. | WATER FURROWING, | | | 8 | | 5 13 6 | |
| | | MOVING, | | | 348[a] | | | |
| | | CARTING AND STACKING, THRESHING, CARTING TO MARKET | | | | | | |

([J. Arbuthnot,] *An Inquiry into the Connection between the Present Price of Provisions and the Size of Farms, etc.* [XXI-1334] *By a Farmer,* London, 1773, (pp. [104-]107 sqq.) This pamphlet must be cited later in connection with the rent of land as an example of how AGRICULTURAL PROFIT has fallen and rents have risen.

*Simple cooperation*:

* "There will be a greater increase of produce by their (the ex-cottagers') *joint labours in one farm,* than when *each* is to *toil for himself* on a little spot" (l.c., [p.] 128).

"There is also *an advantage in the proportion of servants*" * (if the same number of people are concentrated by 1 FARMER on 300 ACRES, instead of being employed on 100 ACRES each by 3 FARMERS) * "which will not easily be understood but by practical men; for it is natural to say, as 1 is : 4, so are 3:12; but this will not hold good in practice; for, in harvest-time and many other operations which require that *kind of dispatch,* by the *throwing many hands together,* the work is better, and more expeditiously done: f.e., in harvest, 2 drivers, 2 loaders, 2 pitchers, 2 rakers, and [the] rest at the rick, or in the barn, will *dispatch double the work* that the *same number of hands* would do, *if divided into different gangs on different farms*" (l.c., [pp.] 7-8).

"Suppose he should have a flock of 100 sheep, which is a great many for such a farm (of 100 acres), that flock will not maintain a shepherd, though it requires as much care and attendance as triple the number, which would be very easily tended by 1 man" * (l.c., [pp.] 9-10).[96]

*Natural productivity of the land.*

Where capitalist production has developed, THE DIFFERENCES OF NATURAL PRODUCTIVITY—SOIL, and CLIMATE, and everything connected with this—make a DIFFERENCE IN THE RESPECTIVE PRODUCTIVITY OF THE CAPITAL EMPLOYED, since the natural productivity of labour, just like its social productivity, appears as *productivity of capital,* hence the degree of this productivity also appears as a degree of the productivity of

[a] Should be £3 5s.—*Ed.*

capital. The converse, however, does not hold. It is *not this natural productivity* which favours the development of capital, or solicits it in proportion to itself. This gives us a deep insight into the nature of *SURPLUS VALUE* (=SURPLUS LABOUR) as, AT ONCE, imagined by the Physiocrats (and Smith in part) and propounded, for the apologetic purposes of landed property, by Malthus—the view that this *SURPLUS VALUE* is ANYHOW a gift of nature. There may be a great amount of game in a country. If a hunter restricts himself to shooting or catching only as much as comes his way, he does not produce a SURPLUS of game. And if a human being in general restricts himself to appropriating as much of the SPONTANEOUS PRODUCTIONS of an abundant nature as he needs for the satisfaction of his necessary requirements, he does not produce any capital in this way. The wealth of the country may enable him to work little, to extend the AREA of his work over $^1/_{40}$ of an acre. He does not produce any more SURPLUS in this way than if he worked the whole day to cultivate 40 ACRES OF BARREN LAND. Nowhere does production begin with capital. Capital begins where an industrial population has already developed under other modes of production—WHATEVER THEY BE—and this depends on the amount of NATURAL WANTS and therefore on the natural incentive to industry. This stands in an inverse ratio to the natural productivity of the soil. It stands in a direct ratio to the necessity *OF ACTION*; to the resistance to be overcome. Of course, if the ground and the climate are too infertile, the result is the same as when they are too fertile.

* "Nor can I conceive a greater curse upon a body of people, than to be thrown upon a spot of land, where the *productions for subsistence and food* were, in great measure, *spontaneous*" *

//hence not a result of labour, not an incentive to the development of human [XXI-1335] activity//

* "and the climate required or admitted little care for raiment and covering ... there may be an extreme on the other side. A soil incapable of produce by labour is quite as bad as a soil that produces plentifully without any labour" * ([N. Forster,] *An Enquiry into the Present High Price of Provisions etc.*, London, 1767, [p.] 10).

*Machinery.*

* "Were the hands which are spared by such improvements" * (machinery and *all kinds of improvements and inventions for *lessening the quantity of labour*) "to remain absolutely idle, ... they would be real evils. For want of labour is amongst the worst of evils. On the other hand, the benefits of these inventions are obvious and considerable, and always *tend in their consequences to lessen*, if not entirely remedy, *the evils which they at first occasion.* Manufactures are brought to market at a cheaper rate; the manufacture is thereby extended, and more hands employed. The lands produce more plentifully, and at less expense. The consequence is, a greater plenty of provisions and a lower price of them" * (l.c., [p.] 21, note).

PRICE OF LABOUR. Where the expression *price* is *prima facie* original and *irrational*, hence expresses not merely an *incongruence* with the *magnitude of value* of an object expressed in money, but also an *incongruence* with the concept of value itself, we are certain always to find two things:

Either the *price* expresses a purely accidental relation, i.e. an equation between 2 things, an exchange relation between two things which are in themselves incommensurable. Such *prices*, however characteristic they may be of the condition of the society, cover a range of things of infinitesimal significance from the point of view of political economy. The only problem in this case is to find where the *buyers* come from, *able to put such prices on things which have no value.*

Or the *price* is the *form of appearance* of a value relation hidden behind it, which is in this form not *directly* perceivable. The question of the AVERAGE PRICE then leads to the real problem. Only this 2nd irrational form of price offers real problems for political economy. *Price of labour* and *price of land* (or the forces of nature altogether) are the only two irrational expressions of this kind. The *price of land* is irrational, *since the adequate price is the monetary expression of value, and there can be no value where there is no labour materialised in the thing.* Hence the investigation of the secrets of this price is one of the main problems of political economy.

Similarly irrational is the expression: *price of labour.* And in this case, as with the price of land, the expression expresses a real relation. Price is the MONETARY EXPRESSION OF VALUE. The value of a given amount of money is determined by the quantity of labour contained in it. A given quantity of labour therefore results in the value of a given amount of money, but this amount of money is not the *price* of the labour contained in the money; it is rather that the money only has value as an expression of this quantity, SINCE it thereby appears as the expression of the same energy which measures all other commodities. The *price of labour* does not even mean this. It means the amount of money with which a particular quantity of labour is bought, as opposed to the amount of money in which the same amount of labour is expressed. The price of labour, therefore, does not express the *value of the money* in which the labour is expressed, but a quantity of money which differs from this. This is therefore, *prima facie*, an irrational expression which contradicts the concept of value and therefore *price* itself, *which [is] only [the] monetary expression of value—whether it be adequate or not to the magnitude of that

value.* If, however, one asks further what is the AVERAGE OR NATURAL PRICE OF LABOUR, the answer is: *the value of labour capacity.* The *price of labour* is therefore merely the *price* of labour capacity, and it is paid for a greater quantity of labour than is contained in the labour capacity.

[XXI-1336] *Production process of capital.*

We have seen: This production process is not only the process of producing *commodities*, but the process of producing *surplus VALUE*, absorption of surplus labour, and therefore the process of producing capital.[a] The first formal act of exchange of money and labour—or capital and labour—is only *potentially* the appropriation of alien living labour by objectified labour. The real appropriation process first occurs in the real production process, which is preceded by that first formal transaction in which capitalist and worker confront each other *purely* as *commodity owners*, relate to each other as buyer and seller. For this reason, all the vulgar economists, such as Bastiat,[b] remain stuck at that first formal transaction, precisely in order to swindle away the specific relation. The difference is shown strikingly in the exchange between money and unproductive labour. Here, money and labour are exchanged for each other *exclusively* as commodities. This exchange, therefore, is an *expenditure of income* instead of a formation of capital.

*Rent of land.*

//*Malthus* says, in *An Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent etc.*, London, 1815:

* "A fair *profit* on the *stock* employed, including, of course, the *payment of labour*, will always be a *sufficient inducement to cultivate*" * ([p.] 3, note).

Nothing could be more correct. And so for the worker who possesses his own instruments of labour it is A SUFFICIENT INDUCEMENT TO SPIN OR WEAVE if only he receives FAIR WAGES, and often very UNFAIR WAGES, as we see with all handicraftsmen who have to compete with manufacture or the mechanical workshop. For the same worker, COTTAGER or SMALL TENANT, it is A *SUFFICIENT INDUCEMENT TO CULTIVATE*, if he receives wages, in a favourable case SOME SURPLUS over the AVERAGE WAGES, i.e. if he is able to appropriate a part of his own SURPLUS LABOUR, not to speak of the cases (Ireland, etc.) where, despite his LITTLE STOCK, WHICH IS *NO CAPITAL*, he decides to CULTIVATE for the

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 92-106.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 175, 180-81, Vol. 30, pp. 114, 147-48, and this volume, pp. 138-39.—*Ed.*

(physical) minimum, which stands below the AVERAGE WAGES. Hence if the sole reason for the nonexistence of rent were the circumstance that ground which only yields a PROFIT (the production price) forms "A SUFFICIENT INDUCEMENT" TO CULTIVATE, the fact that the *COST PRICE*[97] (as opposed to the production price) forms A SUFFICIENT INDUCEMENT for the WORKMAN TO WORK would be just as much a reason for the nonexistence of profit. Just as the latter does not thereby obtain disposition over capital, so equally the former does not obtain disposition over the land. For the land to be tilled by FARMER-CAPITALISTS, the price of its product must form a surplus over the *production price*, a surplus profit. For the land to be tilled by SMALL TENANTS and COTTIERS, on the other hand, it is enough that it form a surplus over the *cost price*, hence that a part of the surplus value be converted into rent instead of being converted into profit. This does not then form a *surplus* over the profit, but *the same surplus value*, which is otherwise called profit, is now called rent, or a part of the profit goes to the owner of the land, instead of going to the possessor of the SMALL STOCK. The whole mistake of the Physiocrats //only further compounded: since with them profit is posited as equal to WAGES, and SURPLUS LABOUR and SURPLUS PRODUCE are therefore only expressed *in rent*// is fully expressed in the following utterances by PARSON Malthus:

*"We still want to know why the consumption and supply"* (in the case of *raw produce) "are such as *to make the price so greatly exceed the cost of production*, and the main cause is evidently the *fertility* of the earth in producing the necessaries of life. Diminish this plenty, diminish the fertility of the soil, and the excess will diminish; diminish it still further, and it will disappear. The cause of the *high price* of the necessaries of life *above* the cost of production is to be found in their abundance, rather than scarcity" (l.c. [p.] 13). "If f.i. the soil of the earth had been such, that, however well directed might have been the industry of man, he could not have produced from it more than was barely sufficient to maintain those, whose labour and attention were necessary to its products; though, in this case, food and raw materials would have been evidently scarcer than at present, and the land might have been, in the same manner, *monopolised* by particular owners; yet it is quite clear, that neither *rent*, nor any *essential surplus produce of the land in the form of high profits* could have existed"* ([p.] 9).

*D'abord*,[a] if the labour of a man on the land only brought forth enough for his existence (HIS FAMILY INCLUDED, as long as they are not capable of working) the land could not be *MONOPOLISED* among PARTICULAR OWNERS, because exactly the same number of OWNERS as cultivators could exist. "MONOPOLISING" here would mean: appropriation through labour, hence in Locke's sense.[b] The sphere of this

[a] First of all.— *Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 87-89.— *Ed.*

"monopoly" would extend exactly as far as the individual labour of each individual. Hence this is already a foolish hypothesis. But what is the upshot of the whole thing? If the whole of a man's labour were required for the reproduction of his own labour capacity, there would be no *SURPLUS LABOUR* and HENCE no *SURPLUS PRODUCE* [XXI-1337] for it to realise itself in. Then there would be neither profit nor rent, since both are merely forms of the appropriation of SURPLUS LABOUR and therefore merely categories of SURPLUS VALUE. The Physiocrats, who assume, as Malthus himself says (p. 16), that profit is nothing but the WAGES of the capitalists, i.e. is

* "proportioned to the wants and necessities of the owners of capital" *,

i.e. merely reproduces the means of subsistence necessary for the reproduction of their own labour capacity, therefore correctly assert that rent is the sole surplus PRODUCE, i.e. the sole form of SURPLUS VALUE, of SURPLUS LABOUR, since it alone would represent a surplus of labour over the amount necessary for the subsistence of the workers. To that extent, therefore, rent, like profit, in short surplus VALUE and surplus PRODUCE, rests on the *FERTILITY* of the SOIL, i.e. on the naturally originating productivity of labour, which produces more than the absolutely necessary subsistence of the worker, a natural productivity which of course rests on qualities of its inorganic nature—qualities of the soil, etc. But what has this *FERTILITY* of the SOIL to do with * "making the price so greatly exceed the cost of production" *? In proportion as the natural productivity of labour and the NATURAL FERTILITY of the SOIL grow, a given quantity of labour is expressed in a greater quantity of product. The same quantity of labour is expressed in *the same value*, hence the *total product* is also expressed in the same *total price*. But the *price of the individual product falls*. Instead of being expressed in a HIGH PRICE OF A qr OF WHEAT, this fertility is expressed in A LOW PRICE of the qr OF WHEAT. To be sure—and here the Physiocrats become confused—this FERTILITY is expressed in the low value of labour capacity, and the relatively short duration of the *necessary* labour time. Therefore, if the same labour time is worked, the same quantity of labour provided, the *SURPLUS labour* (and the SURPLUS PRODUCE) grows in the same proportion as the necessary part of the working day and therefore the *value* of the NECESSARY PRODUCE fall. This *SURPLUS PRODUCE* would therefore have a higher value, not because the *price* of the individual product has *risen*, but because it has fallen, and the *total price* of the *total amount* would either have remained the same or fallen if the same number of hours were no longer worked. If the necessary labour was=6, the working

day=12, and the result of greater FERTILITY is that necessary labour=3, and surplus labour=7, the value of the total product will have fallen by $^1/_6$, the price of the commodity by twice that amount, and the *value of the surplus* PRODUCE will have risen by $^1/_6$. This rise in *surplus value* or SURPLUS PRODUCE depends solely on the *increased appropriation of alien labour,* which is only possible precisely because the *value* of the commodity has *fallen.* Not only the quantity but the *value of the surplus* PRODUCE rises; this bewilders the Physiocrats, who do not see that if the total labour time was reduced in proportion to the [growth in the] productivity of labour, the *value of the* SURPLUS PRODUCE would fall. E.g. if in the above case the worker now only worked for 6 hours instead of 12, he would receive as much for 3 hours as previously for 6, and similarly the appropriator of the surplus labour of 3 hours. But the *value* of the total product, and along with that the value of the SURPLUS PRODUCE would have fallen by half. The fact that the quantity of labour—e.g. 12 hours a day—remains the same, whatever the change in the productivity of labour, appears to the Physiocrats to be an "institution of nature", and to Malthus to be A "GIFT OF NATURE TO MAN" (l.c., [pp. 8-]9), namely A GIFT OF NATURE to the "NATURAL SUPERIORS OF MEN". The "HIGH PROFITS" of Mr. Malthus depend, to be sure, on this beneficent institution of nature. But the excess of rent over profit, or the "*EXCESS OF PRICE OVER THE COST OF PRODUCTION*" does not [p. 9]. If agricultural labour is more fruitful than other labour, this can only show itself in the fact that here less living labour is necessary in order to use the products of earlier labour (constant capital) for reproduction, to convert them into fresh products. Thus the *value* produced by a given capital in agriculture would be <than the value produced by the same capital elsewhere. Instead of an EXCESS of the price of the total product over the costs of production in other spheres there would be a minus.// //It is already apparent with *Anderson*[a] that the law of *differential rent* can be discovered without a clear insight into the nature of *value.* In fact nothing is needed for this except the awareness that the average market price, or what one may call the *market value*—without knowing how this market value is determined and how it is related to the determination of the values of commodities—is *the same* for RAW PRODUCE which has been produced by means of labour the productivity of which varies thanks to the different ADVANTAGES of the kinds of soil which produce *the same*

[a] J. Anderson, *An Enquiry into the Nature of the Corn Laws...*, Edinburgh, 1777. See also present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 268, 322, 344-47, 371-75, 387, 457-64, 532.— *Ed.*

sort of RAW PRODUCE. Where Malthus appropriates what he finds in Anderson (leaving aside the fact that he falsifies this by amalgamating it with the Physiocrats and Adam Smith), he develops or confuses matters on the basis of his false theory that the *value* of a commodity (HENCE its price; as MONETARY EXPRESSION OF VALUE) is determined by the *QUANTITY OF LABOUR* it can command. His presentation is as confused as one can possibly imagine. He says:

[XXI-1338] * "But the *accumulation of capital beyond the means of employing* it *on land of the greatest natural fertility, and the greatest advantage of situation,* must necessarily *lower* profits, while the *tendency of population to increase beyond the means of subsistence,* must, after a certain time, *lower the wages* of labour" * (*Inquiry into etc. Rent,* [p.] 17).

If *WAGES* fall owing to the "TENDENCY OF POPULATION", *profit*[a] therefore *rises.* And thereby, for NON-AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL, an increase in the price of RAW PRODUCE (*profit* would in turn be altered by constant capital's becoming dearer) would initially bring about a *RISE in profit* instead of a fall in profit (for surplus value). The *rate* of surplus value would increase even if there was a fall in the quantity of corn, etc., it was able to command, owing to an increase in the price of corn. In so far as this increase in profit is conditioned by the FALL OF WAGES, it would also take place for the capital which cultivated the worst soil, and yielded no rent. This profit would of course be represented in a lesser quantity of raw PRODUCE. On the better lands, a part of the profit would be separated off as *surplus profit,* and therefore *IN THE SHAPE OF RENT. Rent* would be formed, not through a fall, but through a *rise* in the rate of profit, on the best lands. If an increase in the price of the RAW PRODUCE brings a fall in the *rate* of surplus value—and we can say here the *rate of profit,* since Malthus, like Ricardo, etc., *lumps together both of them,* and for *him* they are therefore identical—this can only arise from the fact that a great *quantity of necessary labour time* is required on the worst lands, and therefore a small *quantity of surplus labour* is left over (if the length of the working day remains the same). And since the *price of corn,* etc., would have risen in general, the worker would everywhere have to work a longer necessary time in order to obtain *the same* wage. Surplus labour, and therefore SURPLUS value, would therefore fall in all branches of production, HENCE profit would fall. For the farmer of the better lands this would be nominal, if he retained the whole of the product, since a smaller part of his product would now have

[a] Here the words "surplus value" are written under the word "profit" in the manuscript.— *Ed.*

a greater value than previously—and the value of his total product would have risen. But if we assume with Malthus that the WAGES OF LABOUR fall, because *more labour is required* to produce them, how can the *rate of profit* be reduced thereby? And now he continues:

* "The *expense of production* will *thus* be *diminished*, but the *value of produce*, that is, the *quantity of labour*, and of the other products of labour besides corn which it can command, instead of diminishing *will be increased*. There will be an increasing number of people demanding subsistence, and ready to offer their services in any way in which it can be useful. The *exchangeable value of food* will, *therefore*, be in *excess of the cost of production*, including in the cost the *full* profits of the stock employed upon the land, *according to the actual rate of profits*, at the time being. And this excess is *rent*" * ([pp.] 17, 18).

Hence the EXPENSE OF PRODUCTION falls and the VALUE OF PRODUCE rises. And why does the EXPENSE OF PRODUCTION fall? *Malthus* understands by EXPENSE OF PRODUCTION wages+profit, BESIDES the *value* of the STOCK EMPLOYED, which he *does not mention* as being IRRELEVANT in his version. This amount falls. Why? Because wages fall and profit falls. And why do wages *fall*? Because the corn has become dearer. And why has the corn become dearer? Because the EXPENSE OF PRODUCTION on the worst lands has *risen*. If the worker continued to receive as much corn, etc., as before, his wage would have to *rise*, i.e. its value would have to rise, because he would have to *work* for himself a greater part of the day in order to reproduce the same quantity of means of subsistence. If the *value* of his wage falls, therefore, it is because the quantity of corn he receives is less, on account of the TENDENCY *of the population*. If the corn has become dearer by $^1/_3$, and he receives $^1/_3$ less corn, he continues to work *the same* surplus labour time for his EMPLOYER. The same labour time would admittedly be represented by a *smaller quantity* of corn, but the EMPLOYER would obtain from this smaller quantity a *portion of value* as large as before. (Apart from this, this method of proceeding cannot explain why the inferior land would be cultivated, since the growth of population would rather involve, not the production of more corn, but placing the people on a more exiguous diet.) The *rate of profit* would thus remain the same, and therefore the EXPENSE OF PRODUCTION for the EMPLOYER would remain the same. But in relation to the *corn* the EXPENSE OF PRODUCTION would have risen, SINCE the same quantity of labour, still divided in the same manner as previously, would be represented by a *smaller quantity of corn*, and the value or price of the individual quantity of corn would therefore have risen. This *increased value* of corn would not however represent an EXCESS OF VALUE OVER THE EXPENSE OF PRODUCTION on the worst land, since the value

of profit and wages would=the VALUE of CORN, hence the *EXPENSE OF PRODUCTION* [XXI-1339] would=the VALUE of the PRODUCE. And Malthus concedes this, since the worst land bears *no rent*, hence the *VALUE of its PRODUCE*=the *COST OF PRODUCTION*, paying only wages and profit. Hence if wages have fallen, the rate of profit at least has remained the same. Indeed, it would have *risen* if the *value* of labour had fallen, i.e. if the fall in wages were related not just to the fall in the quantity of use values. A smaller quantity of corn would now command the same quantity of labour as before: *the same* quantity of corn would therefore command a *greater quantity* of labour than before. But this would not create any *EXCESS of the VALUE* OF PRODUCE *OVER* THE EXPENSE OF PRODUCTION. It would not at all affect the identity between *VALUE OF PRODUCE* and *EXPENSE OF PRODUCTION*, but would only have the result that the relation of wages and profit remained the same. Nor would anything be changed by the fact that the *price* of corn would have risen in comparison with that of the other products, and therefore that a small quantity of corn would command a greater quantity of the other products.

So where would the *rent* on the better lands come from? The EXCESS OF VALUE OF PRODUCE OVER THE COST OF PRODUCTION? It would simply come from this, that they would sell their product over its *COST OF PRODUCTION*, would sell it at the *COST OF PRODUCTION* of the inferior land. Here, therefore, there would be a double rise in profit. Firstly because WAGES would have fallen, and secondly because the product would be sold over its value. But in fact an *EXCESS OF VALUE* is created here, because the *COST OF PRODUCTION* on the worst lands would have *risen*, and therefore the *price of corn* on all the lands would have risen, while the real COST OF PRODUCTION on the better lands has remained *the same*. The *value* would have risen in comparison with *the better lands'* COST OF PRODUCTION, because it would be measured not according to their COST OF PRODUCTION but according to that of the worst land. Because their *nominal value* would thus have risen, *their* COST OF PRODUCTION would have fallen (fallen because the *COST OF PRODUCTION* would have risen for the corn produced on the bad SOIL), yet their nominal value did not rise *because* the COST OF PRODUCTION fell, but the other way round. They sell corn which costs them £1 the qr at e.g. £3, but only because the same qr of corn costs £3 on the bad soil. Because the nominal value of their corn rises to £3, its cost of £1, which has remained constant, falls relatively, but its nominal value does not rise because the *COST OF PRODUCTION* has fallen. This distortion is committed by Mr. Malthus in order to maintain his first proposition, that rent is A GIFT OF NATURE, Physiocratically expressed, and corn is dear because

PLENTIFUL, the *productivity* of agriculture being the reason for the *high price* of its product. Hence with him the *value* of the product must rise, because its *COST OF PRODUCTION* falls. This has absolutely nothing to do with the fact that the same quantity of corn * "commands a *greater quantity of labour*, and of the other products besides corn".* For on the Malthusian presupposition the wage also sinks on the worst soil, and how could it not do so, since the wage is *the same* for all kinds of soil? And the corn on the worst soil also very definitely COMMANDS MORE OTHER PRODUCTS BESIDES CORN, in so far as their *value* has remained the same, and they have not become dearer simultaneously with the corn. However, these circumstances create no *rent* on the bad soil. They therefore have absolutely nothing to do with the formation of rent. Incidentally, according to Malthus the *rate of profit* would not fall, but rent would only prevent it from rising on the better land. The *rate of profit* cannot fall because the same quantity of corn commands more surplus labour, it can only fall because it commands less, because the worker must work *more* of the total working day *for himself*, in order to reproduce the same quantity of corn, or its value. Here, therefore, it is evident—in the nonsensical way Malthus lets the COST OF EXPENSE fall and the value of the product rise—that he has not understood the theory of differential rent. He admittedly says at another point, in order to show that RENT is not a monopoly:

* "It follows then, that the price of raw produce, in reference to the *whole quantity* raised, is sold at the natural or necessary price, that is, at the price *necessary* to obtain the actual amount of produce, although by far the *largest part* is sold *at a price* very much *above that which is necessary to its production*, owing to *this part* being produced at *less expense*, while its exchangeable value remains undiminished" * ([p.] 36).

The reverse. *Owing to *this part* being produced at *less expense*, because its nominal value is *raised* above its former standard!* And how the *WHOLE QUANTITY* is to be sold AT ITS *NECESSARY PRICE* when *BY FAR THE LARGEST PART* OF IT is sold ABOVE ITS NECESSARY PRICE, is impossible to conceive. THE WHOLE IS rather sold *at the necessary price for producing the *smallest part* of it, therefore at a difference between its real and its nominal value.*//

[XXI-1340] //Both Malthus and the others think that *RENT* is merely A *CERTAIN SHAPE* WHICH THE SURPLUS assumes.

* "The *more general surplus* ... is meant to include the *profits* of the farmer, as well as the *rents* of the landlords" (Malthus, *Inquiry etc. into etc. Rent*, [p.] 16). "This *surplus produce** (under *certain circumstances) ... shows itself chiefly in extraordinary *high profits*, and extraordinary high wages, and *appears* but little in the *shape of rent*" (l.c., [p.] 17). "Nor is it possible that *rent* should permanently remain as *part of the profits of stock*, or of the *wages of labour* ... *essential separation* (of rent) from

profits. If the general profits of stock were 20 p.c. and particular portions of land would yield 30 p.c. on the capital employed, 10 p.c. of the 30 would obviously be *rent*, by whomsoever received" (l.c., [pp.] 18-19). "...As a nation reaches any considerable degree of wealth, etc. ... *the separation of rent, as a kind of fixture upon land of a certain quality, etc.*" (l.c., [p.] 20.// //"Rent ... has been found to commence *its separation from profits*, as soon as profits and wages fall, etc."* (l.c., pp. 20 [-21]).//

*Wages. Average and* MOVEMENT.

*"*There is nothing so absolutely unavoidable in the progress of society as the fall of wages*, that is *such a fall* as, combined with the *habits* of the labouring classes, will regulate the progress of population according to the *means of subsistence*"* (Malthus, *Rent*, [p.] 19).

In his *Observations on the Effects of the Corn Laws etc.*, 3rd ED., London, 1815, Mr. *Malthus* asserts in opposition to Adam Smith (hence in opposition to his own false assumptions in the *Essay on Population*):

*"It is manifest ... that *the whole of the wages of labour* can never rise and fall in proportion to the variations in the price of corn"* (l.c., p. 6).

The same chap says in *Grounds of an Opinion etc.*, London, 1815:

*"These wages will finally be determined by the usual money price of corn, etc."* ([p.] 26).

And the same view is upheld in the *Inquiry into Rent*, in order to show the necessity for the SEPARATION of *RENT* from PROFITS and WAGES. Why then does the fellow, in the *Observations on the Effects of the Corn Laws*, contest this view, inherited by him from Adam Smith and otherwise asserted by him, if in a one-sided and blinkered manner quite different from Adam Smith's? Answer in *James Deacon Hume's Thoughts on the Corn-Laws etc.*, London, 1815:

*"Mr. Malthus has taken much pains to refute Adam Smith's proposition 'that *the price of labour is governed by the price of corn*'... it is the very life-blood of the question, and the manner in which it has been treated by Mr. Malthus leaves him open to suspicion that he is labouring to furnish hints and arguments upon which others may support the *extravagant pretensions of the agricultural interest* without incurring the *direct odium* of doing so himself"* (l.c., [p.] 59).

(Malthus is always a low sycophantic dog.)

//*Mr. Ireland*, SECRETARY of the BRITISH CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY, said at the society's third ANNIVERSARY, at the end of May 1863:

*"Abundant evidence from government returns and other authentic sources proved that the working man gave for the use of land, machinery, *superintendence*, and *liberty to work*, for distribution and protection, 8 hours labour out of every 12: to the landlord and capitalist, 6 hours; to the retailer, one hour; and to the government, 1 hour; leaving only 4 hours for himself."//

"The *price of the necessaries of life* is, in fact, *the cost of producing labour*"* (Malthus, *Inquiry into etc. Rent*, [p.] 48, note).[98]

Malthus concedes that wages (daily wages) fell with the development of TASK WORK. This took place (and on the *land* in particular) after the end of the 18th century, with the rise in the price of grain and the DEPRECIATION of banknotes, hence 2 circumstances which equally had the effect of forcing down wages. It is [XXI-1341] one of the almost incomprehensible BLUNDERS of Ricardo, who lived precisely at this time, that he assumed the *working day* as fixed, and therefore did not see how the *rate of surplus value* could rise, or at least remain the same, in spite of the rise in the price of the necessary means of subsistence, and disregarding a DESCENDING MOVEMENT in the *value of labour capacity.*

* "Corn and labour rarely march quite abreast; but there is an obvious limit, beyond which they cannot be separated. With regard to the *unusual exertions* made by the labouring classes in periods of dearness, *which produce the fall of wages noticed in the evidence* //before the Parliamentary Committees//, they are most meritorious in the individuals, and certainly *favour the growth of capital.* But no man of humanity could wish to see them *constant and unremitted.* They are most admirable as a temporary relief; but if they were constantly in action, effects of a similar kind would result from them, *as from the population of a country being pushed to the very extreme limits of its food...* I own I do not see with pleasure *the great extension of the practice of task-work.* To work really hard during 12 or 14 hours in the day, for any length of time, is *too much for a human being*" * (Malthus, l.c., [p.] 48, note).

According to Eden[a] the NECESSARIES IN A LABOURER'S FAMILY OF ABOUT AN AVERAGE SIZE can be divided into ROUGHLY 5 parts, $^2/_5$ flour or bread, $^2/_5$ *house rent, fuel, soap, candles, tea, sugar, clothing, $^1/_5$ meat, milk, butter, cheese and potatoes* //Malthus, *Observations on the Effects of the Corn Laws etc.*, 3rd ED., London, 1815 [pp. 5-6]//. //Thus even according to this calculation, $^3/_5$ are directly AGRICULTURAL NECESSARIES.//

"When Smith speaks OF 'CORN', he means *'food', because *value* of *all* agricultural produce ... has a natural tendency to equalise itself; as the farmer will seek every opportunity of growing that which pays best, etc."* (James D. Hume, *Thoughts on the Corn-Laws etc.*, London, 1815, [p.] 59). "As far as the articles *house rent, fuel, soap, candles, tea, sugar, and clothing* are concerned ... *much of the *price* of almost all these articles consists of *taxes* as well as *labour*" (l.c., [p.] 60). "Bread and meal form a much greater proportion than $^2/_5$ of the subsistence of the *common labourer*" (l.c., [p.] 60).[b]

"It has been endeavoured to be proved *that labour is not influenced by the price of subsistence,* but that, on the contrary, it is always cheapest when grain is dearest. In support of this brilliant discovery, which would have undoubtedly entitled the Author to a chair in the university of Laputa,[99] no example could be adduced but from the *cotton manufactory, in the infancy of which wages were far beyond the rates of*

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[a] F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor: or, an History of the Labouring Classes in England, from the Conquest to the Present Period...* In three volumes, Vol. I, London, 1797.— *Ed.*

[b] Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, p. 38.—*Ed.*

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*common labour*; and where *from this cause* and other *improvements in machinery* they have always had *a tendency to diminish*. The real earnings of the cotton-weaver are now far less than they were: *his superiority over the common labourer*, which at first was very great, has now *almost entirely ceased*. Indeed, whether from the increase in the price of ordinary labour, or from the freer circulation which has been produced by the alteration in the laws of settlement and *apprenticeship, the difference in the wages of skilful and common labour is far less now than at any former period*" * (*Remarks on the Commercial Policy of Great Britain, principally as it Relates to the Corn Trade*, London, 1815, [p.] 48).

[XXI-1342] (*Locke, Ogilvie* and *Spence* are very important for the history of views on landed property in the 18th century.)[100]

The only correct point in the theory of population is that the development of capital throws the mass of the population into conditions in which their reproduction meets with no limit except for the NEGATIVE CHECKS, just as is the case with animals and plants. The wretched human being reproduces more rapidly than the *travailleur dans ses conditions naturelles*[a]—because the conditions for his reproduction are of infinitesimal size. Poverty *pullule*[b]; just as in the animal kingdom, the smaller the class the more massive its reproduction.

*Capital. Capital* as *person* with Adam Smith too.

* "*Stock cultivates* land; *stock employs labour*"* (*Wealth of Nations*, BOOK V, CH. II, ED. *Buchanan*, Vol. III, 1814, p. 309).

*Productive and unproductive labour. Buchanan* (2) (3).[101]

*Increase in wages resulting from cheapening of commodities.*

*"It is not ... accurate to say, that either rent, profit, or *wages* are *increased*, because they purchase *more* of a *cheaper* article"* (*Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I, p. 417, note by *Buchanan*).

*Shortening of labour time by machinery.* Boxhorn says, referring to the introduction of the ribbon-loom in Leyden //*Institutiones Politicae*, Amsterdam, 1663//:

"In this town about twenty years ago certain people invented an *instrument* for weaving, with which *a single person* could weave more cloth, and more easily, *than many others in the same length of time*. As a result there arose disturbances and complaints from the weavers, until the town council finally prohibited the use of this instrument" (Beckmann, *Zur Geschichte der Erfindungen*, Vol. 1, [p.] 127).[c]

*Labour and capital.*

* "It is a mistake to suppose that the rich man maintains his servants, tradesmen, tenants, and labourers: the truth is, they maintain him"* ([W.] *Paley* [*Moral and Political Philosophy*. In: *The Works*, Vol. 1, London, 1837, p. 144]).

USUAL *and* AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN AND LABOUR.

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[a] Labourer in his natural conditions.— *Ed.*

[b] Pullulates.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx quotes in Latin.— *Ed.*

* "There is a difference between what may be called the *usual price* of corn and the *average price*... Let us suppose the common price of corn for 4 years out of 5 to be about £2 a qr, and during the 5th to be £6. The *average price* of the 5 years will then be £2, 16s.; but the *usual* price will still be about £2, and it is by *this* price, and *not by the price of a year of scarcity*, or even the average including it, that *wages* are *generally regulated*" * (Malthus, *The Grounds of an Opinion on the Policy of Restricting the Importation of Foreign Corn etc.*, London, 1815, [p.] 26).

## *Cooperation.*

* "Whether the *united* skill, industry and emulation of *many together* on the *same work* be not the way to advance it? And whether it had been otherwise possible for England to have carried on her Woollen Manufacture to so great a perfection?" ([G. Berkeley,] *The Querist etc.*, London, 1750, Q. 521).

"Whether the Woollen Manufacture of England is not *divided* into several *parts or branches* appropriated to *particular places*, where they are *only*, or *principally* manufactured; fine cloths in Somersetshire, coarse in Yorkshire, long Ells at Exeter, Saies at Sandbury, Crapes at Norwich, Linseys at Kendal, Blankets at Whitney, and so forth?" (l.c., Q. 520).*

## *Machinery and* AVERAGE WAGES.

* "Wages are decreased in the same proportion as the powers of production increase. Machinery, it is true, *cheapens* the *necessaries of life*, but *it also cheapens the labourer*" (*A Prize Essay* [XXI-1343] *On the Comparative Merits of Competition and Cooperation etc.*, London, 1834, [p.] 27).

"The moment the machine comes into competition with human labour, the wages of that labour begin to adjust themselves to the lesser cost of production by [the] machine. The Rev. Mr. Turner was in *1827* rector of Wilmstowe, in Cheshire, a manufacturing district. The questions of the *Committee of Emigration*, and Mr. Turner's answers shew how the competition of human labour is maintained against machinery. *Question.* 'Has not the use of the power-loom superseded the use of the hand-loom?' *Answer.* 'Undoubtedly; it would have superseded them much more rapidly than it has done, if the hand-loom weavers were not enabled to submit to a reduction of wages.' *Question.* 'But in so submitting he has accepted wages which are insufficient to support him...' *Answer.* '...in fact the competition between the hand-loom and the power-loom is maintained out of the poor-rates.' Thus ... degrading pauperism or expatriation, is the benefit which the industrious receive from the introduction of machinery, to be reduced from the respectable and in some degree independent mechanic, to the cringing wretch who lives on the debasing bread of charity. This they call a '*temporary inconvenience*'" (l.c., [p.] 29).

"Thus does this advocate of machinery" * (this applies to Ure as well[a]) "by allowing that *a check to improvement would be beneficial to the working man* ... admit, that the malformation of society renders mechanical improvement detrimental. Shame to the advocates of a system which makes us lament the progress of human ingenuity" ([p.] 30).

"It" (machinery) "enables the labourer to purchase more with his income ..., *if that income be fixed*; but if it deprive him of employment, it also deprives him of that income, and those labourers who are not employed, compete with those who are" ([p.] 27).

"Besides that machinery lessens the wages of the labourer, it also obliges him to

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[a] See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part IV, Ch. XV, Sect. 5 (present edition, Vol. 35).— *Ed.*

*work longer*, even for these decreased wages. Formerly he employed about 9 hours of the 24 in his occupation; he also had a *greater number of local holidays*" * ([p.] 30).

Quotes *Malthus*:

* "They see invention after invention in machinery brought forward, which is seemingly calculated in the most marked manner to abate the sum of human toil. Yet with these apparent means of giving plenty, leisure, and happiness to all; they still see the labours of the great mass of society *undiminished*, and their condition if not deteriorated, in no very striking manner improved" (*Principle of Population*, 5TH ED., VOL. II [pp. 272-73]).

*Accumulated labour.*

"Nonsensical phrase as *capital being accumulated labour*. Talk of *accumulated knowledge, accumulated skill*, and it may be understood, but then we shall see that this accumulated knowledge and skill, as far as the creation of wealth is concerned, *cannot be separated from the arm of the labourer*" * (Hodgskin, *The Natural and Artificial Right of Property Contrasted etc.*, London, 1832, [p.] 153, note).

The pamphlet *An Essay on the Political Economy of Nations etc.*, London, 1821, contains a number of very good original POINTS.

*Firstly, on the origins of capital*, in so far as this coincides with the *building up of reserve supplies*:

* "The chief productions of nature are *periodical*, and require to be *reserved* for *gradual consumption during the intervals of harvests*. This is *the prime source of capital*" (p. 3).

"The *profit of capital* varies, and *under that term* is usually included both *interest* and the *wages of the undertaker*" ([p.] 8).

[XXI-1344] "Be it what it may intermediately, a *product* is ultimately exchanged against ... *labour*" * ([p.] 13).

(This applies only to variable capital.)

*Difference between the mere preservation of constant capital and the reproduction of variable capital*:

* "The only proper *reproductive consumption* is the final one, that which *labour gives against a commodity*, a *new creation* for one *extinguished*. The *whole of production* seems comprised in the mind in passing by all intermediate exchanges and processes, and going at once with the commodity to the labour which *returns*, agricultural or manufacturing, a *new value*, either in entire creation or addition of improvement to one begun" ([pp.] 13-14). "*Productions* become *capital* merely when given for *reproductive consumption* (ultimately and not intermediately, as indigo assimilated with the cloth) as food, clothing, or shelter to the labour which *returns* the value" * ([p.] 67).

*Capital in relation to reproduction.*

* "*Capital* may be defined to be *that part of periodical production* which is employed to obtain *the next reproduction*" * ([p.] 24).

*Difference between productive and* COMMERCIAL CAPITAL.

* "In agriculture and manufacture, *capital is exchanged directly against the services of labour*. In *commerce, capital is often exchanged against capital*; this is mere

speculation, reckoning on supply and the different sources of demand"* ([p.] 43).

*Absolute surplus labour. Relative surplus value:*

*"The labour, that is the *economic time of society*, is a given portion, say ten hours a day of a million of people, or ten million hours" ([p.] 47).

"*Capital has its boundary of increase.* This boundary may, at a given period, be attained *in the actual extent of economic time employed*, although the *productive powers* of the community might be still susceptible of improvement. A society can increase by *extending the quantity of labour*, or *making it more effective*: in other terms, *augmenting population*, division of labour, machinery, scientific knowledge" ([p.] 49). "If *capital cannot receive more than the equivalent or value, rendered by the labour in activity*"* (hence if the ECONOMIC TIME or the *working day is given*); *"if this be its boundary, impossible at the moment, in the existing state of the society to pass, then the more the assignment to wages, the less the profit. This is a general principle, and does not take place in detailed instances, because there increased wages are usually *the consequence* of *particular demand*, which gives always increased value in relation to other commodities and their profit"* ([p.] 49).

//The profit—and even the rate of surplus value—may rise IN A PARTICULAR BRANCH above the *GENERAL LEVEL*, despite a simultaneous rise in WAGES in this *BRANCH* above the GENERAL LEVEL. If, however, the capitalist (leaving aside the other circumstances which determine profit) were to pay as much more for WAGES as the demand for the commodity rose above the average, his profit would not *grow*. This *rise or fall of profits and wages, in a particular branch, over the *general level*,* has absolutely nothing to do with the general relation.//

[XXI-1345] *"Beyond the *time* is to be considered its *effectiveness*, which arises from division of labour, the *intenseness of the exertion*, and machinery" ([p.] 54).

"In the cotton manufacture ... it is *division of labour*, but *union of capital*"* ([p.] 51).

*Value of labour capacity. Average wages. TASK-WORK. DAY-WORK.*

If we consider the total capital in relation to the *value of labour capacity* as given—or, popularly speaking, the *average wage of labour* as given—this *quality of being given*—the LIMIT of the wage—is a presupposition which *every individual capitalist* takes as his starting point in the conversion of money into capital. He meets with certain *AVERAGE WAGES* in each branch of industry. Whether they are high or low, his money is *not* converted into capital in so far as he does not receive in RETURN a SURPLUS over this *value of labour capacity.*

It is one of the tasks of the *TRADES' UNIONS* to keep this *AVERAGE* in existence, whereas the individual capitalist acts against the maintenance of the *AVERAGE*, in order to force the individual worker's wages down *below* the AVERAGE.

This must all be brought in here, in order to show the importance of this AVERAGE, in practice as well. Important for all this is:

*Trades' Unions and Strikes: Their Philosophy and Intention.* By T. J. Dunning, Secretary to the London Consolidated Society of Bookbinders,[102] London, 1860.[a]

*"What is termed an *uniform rate*" (of wages) "can only mean what is applicable to the general run of men, and in point of fact a *minimum* rate as regarded by the men, and an '*uniform rate*' as regarded by the masters" ([p.] 17).

*Task-work, day-work, minimum.*

"Where the work in any trade is paid for by the '*piece*' *at so much per job*—as, f.i., among the compositors, the type, in London, is for the most part comprised *at so much* per 1,000 letters—there is no uniform rate *received* by the workmen. There is generally *an uniform rate*, or nearly so, *of the price of the various jobs*; but, as workmen of different quickness and skill will do more or less work at the same price per job, their *wages* may very materially differ in amount" ([p.] 17). "But in *work by the day there is generally an uniform rate* ... recognised by both employer and employed as the *standard of wages* for the general run of workmen in the trade ... some men will be worth more and some worth less than its amount ... the employer likes to reap the benefit arising from the man being worth more, and is also afraid that if he increased this man's wages, he would probably be called upon to raise the others; and the men, on the other hand, would be against the man who was not worth the regular rate taking less, lest the others might be reduced to it"* ([pp.] 17-18).

But since the EMPLOYERS always DISCHARGE inferior WORKMEN as soon as possible, they have on the whole nothing but SUPERIOR WORKMEN AT THAT UNIFORM RATE ([p.] 18).

[XXII-1346] (The UNIONS never allow their MEMBERS to work for less than this *AVERAGE RATE.*)

*"All men in trade are supposed to be competent to earn and to receive *the standard rate of wages*"* (in the specific *trade) ... "the fact is, that, taken as a whole, they are all competent, the exceptions being too few to be appreciable"* ([p.] 20).

If one worker does much more in a day than another, in the same TRADE, where DAY TIME is paid,

*"the employer mostly likes to reap the benefit of such quickness himself; which generally results in the quick hand subsiding into the *regular quantity of work*".*

If the WORKMAN were particularly outstanding

*"he would be paid no more, or, if he were, it would be by no means in proportion to the additional work he got through. This is the true reason why the workmen are accused of not wishing to do more than a *certain quantity of work* ...

[a] See this volume, pp. 342-43.—*Ed.*

To expect them to do more, is to desire virtually *a reduction of wages*, which have before been shown to be at the bottom of all these complaints at the *uniform rate of wages*" ([pp.] 20-21).

*Work by day and work by piece.*

"The compositors of London, as a general rule, work by the piece, timework being the exception; while those in the country work by the day, the exception being work by the piece. The shipwrights of the Port of London work by job or piece, while those of all other ports work by the day. Indeed, *the main objection* in different trades to *working by the piece* is the complaint that, when the men are found to earn good wages at it, the *employer wishes to reduce the price of the work*, and that it is so often made use of *as a means of reducing wages*"* ([p.] 22).

*Dunning* is very good *on the risk* of the EMPLOYER (Notebook, pp. 17 sqq.).[103]

*Wages.*

*"As the *social position* of workmen depends entirely upon the wages they obtain, it is felt by the majority of them to be a sacred duty to adopt this means" (Trade societies) "of *protecting* their wages"* ([p.] 7).

[*HISTORICAL:*] *PETTY*

1) *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions*, London, 1667.

Our friend Petty has quite a different "population theory" from Malthus. According to him *a check ought to be put upon the "breeding" faculties of parsons, and the "Coelibat" again put upon them.*

All this belongs to [the section on] *productive and unproductive* LABOUR.[a]

a) PARSONS:

*"Forasmuch as there be more males than females in England ... it were good for the ministers to *return to their Coelibat*; or that none should be ministers, whilst they are married... And then our *unmarried parson* might live as well *with half*, as now with the whole of his benefice"* (pp. 7-8).

b) *Merchants and* RETAILERS:

*"A large portion of these also might be retrenched, who *properly and originally* earn *nothing from the publick*, being only a kind of *gamesters*, that *play with* [XXII-1347] *one another for the labours of the poor*; yielding of themselves no fruit at all, otherwise than as veins and arteries, to *distribute* forth and back the blood and nutritive juyces of the body politick, namely the product of husbandry and manufacture"* ([p.] 10).

c) *Lawyers, physicians, officials, etc.*:

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[a] See this volume, pp. 123-46.—*Ed.*

* "If the numerous offices and fees relating to the *government, law,* and *Church,* and if the number of divines, lawyers, physicians, merchants and retailers were also lessened, all which do receive *great wages for little work done* to the publick, with how much greater ease would common expenses be defrayed?" ([p.] 11).

d) *Paupers* (*supernumeraries*):

"Who shall pay these men? I answer, everybody... I think 'tis plain, they ought neither to be starved, nor hanged, nor given away"* [to another nation], etc. ([p.] 12). Either they are given * "the superfluity",* or if there is none, * "*in case* there *be no overplus* ... 'tis fit *to retrench a little* from the delicacy of others feeding in quantity or quality"* ([pp.] 12-13). The labour imposed on them (the *supernumeraries*) may be of any kind; only it must be * "without expense of foreign commodities*; the important thing is *to keep their minds to disciplined obedience, and their bodies to a patience of more profitable labours when need shall require it"* ([p.] 13). They are best employed in the making of bridges and cawseys, in mines, etc. ([p.] 12).

*Population—wealth*:

* "*Fewness of people is real poverty*; and a nation wherein are 8 millions of people, are more than twice as rich as the same scope of land wherein are but few[a]"* ([p.] 16).

*Ad* (a) above (*Parsons*). Petty handles the clergy with EXQUISITE irony:

* "Religion best flourishes when the priests are most mortified, as ... the law ... best flourishes when lawyers have least to do"* ([p.] 57). He advises the *parsons* in any case * "*not to breed more churchmen* than *the benefices,* as they now stand shared out, will receive".* For example, with 12,000 *benefices* in England and Wales, * "it will not be safe to breed up 24,000 ministers".* For then the 12,000 unprovided for will enter into competition, * "which they cannot do more easily than by persuading the people, that the 12,000 incumbents do poison or starve their souls"* (an allusion to the English Convocation of the Clergy) * "and misguide them in their way to heaven"* ([p.] 57).

*Origin of* SURPLUS VALUE *and how to compute it.* His treatment is somewhat confused, but in all the grappling with ideas he hits the nail on the head here and there.

Petty distinguishes between *NATURAL PRICE, POLITICAL PRICE, TRUE PRICE CURRENT* ([pp.] 66, 67). By *NATURAL PRICE* he means in fact *VALUE,* and it is only this that concerns us here, since [XXII-1348] the determination of SURPLUS VALUE *depends* on the *determination of value.*

In this treatise he in fact determines the *value of commodities* by the comparative *quantity of labour* they contain.

* "But before we talk too much of *rents,* we should endeavour to explain the mysterious nature of them, with reference as well to *money, the rent of which we call usury,* as to that of *lands and houses*"* ([p.] 23).

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[a] Petty has: "...but four".— *Ed.*

The first question is, what is the *value* (*in money* or a commodity) specifically of corn?

α) * "If a man can bring to London an ounce of silver out of the earth in Peru, *in the same time* that he can produce a bushel of corn, then one is the natural price of the other; now if by reason of new and more easier mines a man can get two ounces of silver as easily as formerly he did one, then corn will be as cheap as ten shillings the bushel, as it was before at 5s., *caeteris paribus*[a]" ([p.] 31). "Let the production of a bushel of corn be supposed of *equal labour* to *that of producing an ounce of silver*" * ([p.] 66).

This is, in the first place, the * "real and not [an] imaginary way of computing the prices of commodities" * (l.c., [p.] 66).

β) The second point, which has now to be examined, is the *value of labour.*

* "The law ... *should allow the labourer but just wherewithal to live*; for if you allow double, then he works but half so much as he could have done, and otherwise would; *which is a loss to the public of the fruit of so much labour*" * ([p.] 64).

The value of labour is therefore determined by the necessary means of subsistence. The labourer is impelled to surplus production and surplus labour only by being forced to use the whole of the labour power within his capacity in order to get even as much as he *just needs to live.* However, the cheapness or dearness of his labour is determined by 2 factors: natural fertility and the standard of expenditure (needs) conditioned by the climate.

* "*Natural dearness and cheapness* depends upon the *few or more hands requisite to necessaries of nature*: As corn is cheaper where *one man* produces corn for ten, than where he can do the like but for six; and withal, according as the climate disposes men to a necessity of spending more or less" * ([p.] 67).

γ) For Petty the *surplus* exists only in 2 forms: RENT OF LAND or RENT OF MONEY (USURY). The latter he derives from the former. For him, as later for the Physiocrats, the first is the *true form* of SURPLUS VALUE (but at the same time he explains that CORN is intended to cover

* "all necessaries of life,* as in the * Lord's Prayer * (Our Father) * the word *Bread* doth" *).

In developing his ideas he presents rent (the surplus) not as the excess drawn by the EMPLOYER beyond the NECESSARY TIME OF LABOUR, but as the excess of surplus LABOUR of the producer himself over his wages and the replacement of his own capital.

* "Suppose a man could with his own hands plant a certain scope of land with corn, that is, could dig, or plough, harrow, weed, reap, carry home, thresh and winnow so much as the husbandry of this land requires; and had withal *seed* wherewith to sow the same. I say, that when this man had *subducted his seed out of*

[a] Other things being equal.— *Ed.*

*the proceed of his harvest*"* (that is, in the first place deducted from the product an amount equivalent to the constant capital) [XXII-1349] *"and also what himself had both eaten and given to others in exchange for clothes and other natural necessaries; that the *remainder of corn*, is the *natural and true rent of the land for that year*; and the *medium of seven years*, or rather so many years as makes up the *cycle within which dearths and plenties make their revolution*, doth give the ordinary rent of the land in corn"* ([pp. 23-]24).

In fact for Petty, therefore, since the value of corn is determined by the labour time contained in it, and the rent=the total product minus wages and SEED, rent=the SURPLUS PRODUCE in which the surplus LABOUR is objectified. Rent here includes profit; the latter is not yet separated from rent.

In the same ingenious way *Petty* goes on to ask:

*"But a further, though collateral question may be, *how much English money the corn or rent is worth*? I answer, so *much as the money* which another single man can save *within the same time*, over and above his expenses if he employed himself wholly to produce and make it; viz. let another man go travel into a country where is silver, there dig it, refine it, bring it to the same place where the other man planted his corn, coin it, etc., the same person, all the while of his working for silver, gathering also food for his necessary livelihood, and procuring himself covering, etc., [the silver of the one] *must be esteemed of equal value with the corn of the other*: the one being perhaps twenty ounces and the other twenty bushels. From whence it follows that the price of a bushel of the corn be an ounce of silver"* ([p.] 24).

The difference in the kind of labour, Petty expressly notes, is here quite immaterial; all that matters is the *labour time.*

*"And forasmuch as possible there may be more art and hazard in working about the silver, than upon corn, yet all comes to the same pass; for let a hundred men *work ten years* upon corn, and *the same number of men, the same time*, upon silver; I say, that the *neat proceed* of the silver is *the price of the whole neat proceed of the corn*, and like parts of the one, the price of like parts of the other"* ([p.] 24).

After thus explaining *rent*—which here is equivalent to the total *surplus value*, PROFIT INCLUDED—and its expression in money, he then sets out, again in a very brilliant way, to determine the *money value of land.*

*"Wherefore we would be glad to find *the natural value* or *fee simple* of land,[a] though but no better than we have done that of the *usus fructus* above mentioned" ([p.] 25). "Having found the *rent* or *value of the usus fructus per annum*, the question is, how *many years purchase* (as we usually say) is the *fee simple* naturally worth? If we say an infinite number, then an acre of land would be equal in value to a thousand acres of the same land; which is absurd, an infinity of units being equal to an infinity of thousands. Wherefore we must pitch upon some *limited number*, and that I apprehend the number of years, which I conceive one man of 50 years old, another of 28, and another of 7 years old, all being alive together may be

[a] Petty has: "...the natural values of the fee simple of land".—*Ed.*

thought to live; that is to say, of a grandfather, father, and child; few men having reason to take care of more remote posterity... Wherefore I pitch the *number of years purchase, that any land is naturally worth,* to be the ordinary [XXII-1350] extent of three such persons their lives. Now in England we esteem three lives equal to one and twenty years, and consequently the *value of land,* to be about the *same number of years purchase*"* ([pp. 25-]26).

After resolving rent into *SURPLUS labour* and consequently *SURPLUS VALUE,* Petty explains that land is nothing but the capitalised rent, that is to say, a *definite number* of *years' rent* or the total amount of the rents for a definite number of years.

In fact, rent is *capitalised* or reckoned as the *value of land in this way*:

Let one ACRE yield an annual rent of £10. If the rate of interest=5%, then £10 represents the interest on a capital of £200, and, as the interest at 5% replaces the capital in 20 years, the value of the ACRE would=£200 (20×5×2). The capitalisation of rent therefore depends on the rate of interest. If the rate of interest were=10%, it would represent the interest on a capital of £100 or 10 YEARS' PURCHASE.

But as Petty starts from the *RENT OF LAND* as the general form of surplus value, which includes profit, he cannot take interest on capital as something given; on the contrary, he has to deduce it from rent as a *special form* (as Turgot also does[a]—quite consistently from his own standpoint). In what way then is he to determine the number of years—the number of years' rent—which forms the *value of land*? A man is only interested in buying as many yearly rentals as the number of years during which he has "to take care" of himself and his immediate POSTERITY; that is, as long as an *average man,* grandfather, father and child, lives, and on the "English" reckoning this is 21 years. Therefore what lies beyond the 21 years' "*usus fructus*" has no value for him. Consequently he pays for the *usus fructus* for 21 years, and this constitutes the *value of the land.*

In his ingenious way he gets himself out of the difficulty; but the important thing here is,

firstly, that *rent,* as the expression of the total *AGRICULTURAL SURPLUS VALUE,* is derived not from the land but from labour, [and is presented as] the surplus of labour in excess of what is necessary for the subsistence of the labourer;

secondly, that the *value of land* is nothing but the rent purchased in advance for a certain number of years—a *transmuted* form of rent itself, in which for example 21 years' surplus VALUE

[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 356, 362-63, 366.—*Ed.*

(or labour) appears as the *value of the land*; in a word, the *value of land* is nothing but *capitalised rent.* Such is Petty's deep insight into the matter. From the standpoint of the *buyer* of rent (i.e. of land) *rent* thus appears merely as the *interest on the capital* he has used to buy it; and in this form rent has become completely unrecognisable and appears as *interest on capital.*

After Petty has thus determined the *value of land* and the *value of the annual rental,* he is able to derive the RENT OF MONEY OF USURY as a secondary form.

* "As for *usury,* the least that can be, is the *rent of so much land as the money lent will buy,* where the security is undoubted" * ([p.] 28).

Here interest is presented as determined by the *price of rent,* whereas on the contrary the *price of rent* or the *purchase value of land* is determined by interest. But this is quite consistent, as *rent* is presented as the general form of SURPLUS VALUE and therefore *interest* on *money* must be derived from it as a secondary form.

*Differential rent.* Of this too the first notion is to be found in Petty. He derives it not from the *different* fertility of pieces of land of the same size, but from the *different position,* distance from the market, of *pieces of land of equal fertility,* which as we know is one element in differential rent. He says:

[XXII-1351] * "As great need of money heightens exchange, so doth great need of corn *raise the price* of that likewise, and *consequently* of the *rent of the land that bears corn*" *

(here therefore he says explicitly that the *price* of corn determines rent, it being implicit in the earlier analysis that rent does not determine the *value* of corn),

* "and *lastly of the land itself,* as for example, if the corn which feeds London, or an army, be brought 40 miles thither, then the *corn, growing within a mile of London,* or the quarters of such army, *shall have added unto its natural price,* so much as the charge [of] bringing it thirty nine miles does amount to... Hence it comes to pass, *that lands intrinsically alike* near populous places, such as where the perimeter of the area that feeds them is great, will not only *yield more rent* for these reasons, but also more years purchase than in remote places",* etc. ([p.] 29).

Petty also mentions the second cause of differential rent—the *differing fertility* of land and therefore the *differing productivity* of labour on equal areas of land:

* "The *goodness or badness,* or the value of land depends upon *the greater or lesser share of the product given for it* in proportion to the simple labour bestowed to raise the same product"* ([p.] 67).

Petty's exposition of differential rent is therefore *better than that of Adam Smith.*

*//Economy in constant capital aimed at raising the rate of profit (collieries).*

*"Under the competition which exists among the coal owners and coal proprietors in each district for the supply of their several markets, *no more outlay* is incurred than is sufficient to overcome *the* most obvious physical difficulties; and under that which prevails among the labouring colliers, who are ordinarily more numerous than the work to be done requires, a large amount of danger and of exposure to the most numerous influences will gladly be encountered for wages a little in advance of the agricultural population round them, in an occupation, in which they can moreover make a profitable use of their children. The double competition is quite sufficient ... to cause a large proportion of the pits to be worked with the most imperfect drainage and ventilation; often with ill constructed shafts, bad gearing, incompetent engineers; and ill constructed and ill prepared bays" //recesses in which it is hewn// "and roadways; causing a destruction of life, and limb, and health, the statistics of which would present an appalling picture"* (*First Report of the Children's Employment Commissioners in Mines and Collieries etc.*, April 21, 1841, [p.] 102).//[33]

[XXII-1352] *//Child labour. Overwork.*

"While factory labour hinders the development of children's muscles, work in coal mines has the opposite effect. With workers, especially children and young persons, the *effects of overworking* are *extraordinary muscular development, stunted growth, crippled gait, irritation of the head, back, etc."* (l.c., *First Report etc.*, [p.] 134).

The COLLIERS' excessive MUSCULAR EXERTION in childhood produces

*"a preternatural muscular development. Such a disproportionate muscular development, instead of being an indication of sound and robust health, is really a proof that the general system is starved by the overnourishment of this one particular part of it; and that the system is weakened, not strengthened by this undue expenditure of its nutriment upon the muscles, is shown by the evidence now collected, which proves indubitably that the body in general is stunted in its growth, peculiarly prone to disease, and that it prematurely decays, and perishes ... in the coal mines.* The employment of children **protracts the period of childhood, shortens the period of manhood,* and *anticipates the period of old age, decrepitude, and death*" (l.c. [p.] 134). "The employment of the adult colliers is almost exclusively in the 'getting' of the coal from its natural resting place, of which there are various methods, according to the nature of the seams and the habits of the several districts. That of the children and young persons consists principally, either in handling the airdoors where the coal carriage must pass through openings the immediately subsequent stoppage of which is necessary to preserve the ventilation in its proper channels, or in the conveyance of the coal from the bays or recesses in which it is hewn, along the subterranean roadways, to the bottom of the pit shaft; a distance varying from absolute contiguity even to miles in the great coalfields of the North of England, where the *depth* requires that *the same expensive shaft* shall serve for the excavation of a large tract of coal" ([p.] 107). "Startling as the fact may appear, it is into the pits, which never can be worked without inflicting great and irreparable injury on the health of children, that children are taken at the *earliest ages, if only to be used as living and moving candlesticks*" * (cf. *Diodorus*[a]), *"or to keep

[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, p. 253.— *Ed.*

rats from a dinner; and it 'is a part of this worst character too, in which *female children* are employed" * (l.c.).

The terrible hue and cry raised against the MANUFACTURERS called forth counter-denunciations on their part, and they had the satisfaction of seeing the * commission for inquiry into *the children's employment** demonstrate that children were being exploited by capital in the same manner, or even worse, in many other branches, particularly in the COAL MINES.//

//The *approximate* relation of *COMMON LABOUR* to the LABOUR CLASS in general can be seen from the following estimate in *Samuel Laing*'s *National Distress; its Causes and Remedies*, London, 1844. He puts the * *total of population dependent on ordinary labour** at 11,300,000 //including domestic servants//.

*MIDDLE CLASS* (including the MEMBERS OF THE LOWER BRANCHES in the PROFESSIONS, LITERATURE, COMMERCE, etc., SHOPKEEPERS and RETAIL TRADESMEN of every kind, farmers, artisans and the *aristocracy of the working class proper*) totalling 4,650,000. 1,000,000 for the GENTEEL POPULATION (capitalists, aristocracy and HIGHER PROFESSIONALS). And the *PAUPERS, criminals, PROSTITUTES, vagrant POPULATION* amount to 1,500,000. But he says himself that the calculation is inaccurate, the last group numbering 2,000,000 to 2,500,000 ($^1/_7$-$^1/_8$ of the TOTAL POPULATION) (pp. 52-53).[a]//

[a] Cf. K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part III, Ch. VII, Sect. 2, note (present edition, Vol. 35).— *Ed.*

## [XXII-1353] 4) RECONVERSION OF SURPLUS VALUE INTO CAPITAL

### α) *RECONVERSION OF SURPLUS VALUE INTO CAPITAL*

The first result of the capitalist production process—of the absorption of unpaid labour or surplus labour by capital in this process—is that the *product* contains a higher value than the capital contained before its entry into the process. We shall assume that the product is sold, converted back into money. The closer investigation of this process belongs to the section which follows, on the process of circulation.[a] For the present investigation this is *presupposed.* If the capital was=5,000, the constant capital=4,000, and the variable capital=1,000, and if the rate of surplus value amounted to 100%, the product would now=6,000 (presupposing that the whole of the capital had entered into the valorisation process). If the original value of the capital advanced was 5,000, the value is now 5,000+1,000=6,000. And if we presuppose that it has been reconverted into money, £5,000 represents the capital which has been replaced and preserved, and £1,000 the surplus value which has been turned into gold. The £5,000 has proved itself as capital precisely by preserving and increasing itself as *self-valorising value*; not only is the £5,000 there again, over and above this it has, unlike itself as the original capital, posited a surplus value of £1,000.

The capitalist—who is not just capital—will consume a part of this surplus value, i.e. he will expend it as means of circulation, so as to convert it into means of subsistence for his own use, and it is a matter of complete indifference whether he also buys "services" on top of the commodities, i.e. whether he buys labour which he needs for the satisfaction of needs of whatever kind, but which is

[a] See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. II, Part I (present edition, Vol. 36).— *Ed.*

bought for the sake of its use value, not as an element positing exchange value.

Here we shall leave out of account the part of the surplus value which the capitalist expends in this way for the satisfaction of his needs. All that needs to be noted is that in this way the capitalist can expend a certain sum of money or amount of value every year without any resulting reduction in the size of his capital. What he expends here is a part of the surplus value he has appropriated—the objectified unpaid labour—and it does not affect the capital itself. The money is an evanescent form here. The surplus value is represented by a *surplus product*, a *surplus of commodities*, which the capitalist can consume entirely or in part without touching his own capital; without being prevented from perpetuating the same sum of £5,000 as capital, i.e. preserving it, and making it produce a surplus value, through another exchange with labour.

The capitalist alone is the active representative of capital. As such, his purpose is not enjoyment, not use value, but the increasing of exchange value. Like the hoarder, he represents the absolute drive for self-enrichment, and any definite limit to his capital is a barrier which must be overcome. We shall see later on that in addition the constant magnification of capital, not merely its preservation, is a *necessity* for capitalist production—a condition for it.[a]

For the point we are considering here we can entirely make abstraction from the part of the surplus value that is consumed by the capitalist. We are only concerned with the part that enters anew into capitalist production.

If the capital was originally=£5,000, and the surplus value=1,000, hence the total value=6,000, the £5,000 have been converted into capital by positing a surplus value, distinct from the original sum, of £1,000, through the exchange of the variable capital with labour. If the £1,000 were entirely consumed, the capital entering anew into production would be as before £5,000. But the *capital itself* would not have been increased. The £5,000 would [XXII-1354] have become capital by positing, by producing, a surplus value of £1,000, and by repetition of this process it could constantly preserve itself *as capital*, as *the same capital*; but for this capital to be able to enter into the production process as a *larger capital*, hence—at a given level of production—to create a still larger surplus value, a new process must take place in

[a] See this volume, pp. 183-87.—*Ed.*

addition. The *surplus value* itself (disregarding the part that is consumed) must again be converted into *capital.*

How, then, is the surplus value converted into capital? The conditions of this process will be examined in more detail in the next section.[a] Here we shall only establish the purely formal aspect.

The surplus value is not distinguished in any way from the original capital in so far as it is considered from the material point of view. It is *the same* product; one part of it replaces the original capital, and another part represents surplus product, surplus value, surplus labour. The difference between the two parts is not material, but consists in the fact alone that one part represents an equivalent for paid—objectified and living—labour, the other for *unpaid* labour. If the product is e.g. twist or corn, and if the surplus value=$^1/_3$ of the product, this $^1/_3$ can be represented just as well in corn or twist as the other $^2/_3$, which replaces the capital. And similarly, once the product has been converted into money (whether actual money or tokens of value) there exists absolutely no difference of form between the part of the money that represents the capital and the part that represents the surplus value. If the value of the capital was 100 and the value of the product is 150, 100 thalers represent the capital and 50 the surplus value, but the one is composed of thalers just as much as the other. The surplus product exists in the same manner as the part of the product that replaces the capital, originally in the shape of the commodity that has been produced, then, once the sale has taken place, in the form of money. (If money functions as means of payment, both can exist in the form of a title to a debt.)

Hence for the *surplus value* to be converted into capital no other conditions whatever are required except those that were originally required for a *given value,* hence *money,* to be converted into capital or to produce a surplus value. In order to convert the surplus value into capital, its owner must find available the conditions he needs to exchange it for labour capacity, i.e. he must find on the commodity market on the one hand the objective conditions of labour—the raw materials, the means of labour, etc.—in short the objective conditions of labour available as purchaseable commodities, and on the other hand the subjective condition of labour, purchaseable labour capacities. If, e.g., the capitalist is a cotton spinner, he must find for his surplus value of

[a] See K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, Part VII, chapters XXIV, XXV (present edition, Vol. 35), Vol. II, Part III (present edition, Vol. 36).—*Ed.*

£1,000 additional cotton available on the market, additional machinery (unless labour time is prolonged or intensified), etc., and additional spinners. If the working day can neither be increased in intensity nor extended, the number of spinners alone must be increased. If the population does not grow sufficiently for this, the conversion is impossible. On the other hand, the same would apply if he found no additional cotton available, at least in this branch. Similarly if additional machinery is required. However, in cotton spinning, for example, it may be sufficient to extend the machinery and increase the raw material, without any need for new workers. In agriculture new workers alone are necessary, and instruments [too], not more raw materials (seed), etc. But all this does not concern us here. We are not concerned with the *conditions* which make it possible to convert *surplus* VALUE into capital, or to convert an additional value into capital, to convert a greater amount of value into capital, i.e. to exchange it for labour capacity and the conditions for the latter's exploitation. We *assume*, as with the original conversion of money into capital, that they are available on the market.

With this presupposition, then, the capitalist will now exchange, apart from the old amount of value, the *sum of money* which=the surplus value, for the *conditions of labour* (material of labour, means of labour) and for labour capacity itself. And the relations within which this occurs are given by the technological conditions, i.e. the ratio in which the additional money is exchanged for the different elements of production. [XXII-1355] If the surplus value were not big enough to buy the different elements—in their given ratio to each other—it could not be converted into capital (in this sphere). It would be possible, for example, for the surplus value to be big enough to employ 10 new workers, but not big enough to buy the material they require, etc. Or, for the employment of a number of new workers to require an *increase in the size of the enterprise as a whole*, for which the surplus value was insufficient. Thus if this conversion of surplus value into capital may meet a barrier in the *available population*, it may equally meet a barrier in its *own size* and the technological conditions of the employment of more capital. *This* capitalist would then be unable in his own sphere to reconvert the surplus value into capital. On the other hand, the capitalist might perhaps e.g. improve the *machinery* alone, add new parts, etc., to make it more effective, without *being obliged* to employ more labour than before. Or he might in agriculture buy more cattle without needing to employ more workers, etc. Or he might replace his old steam engine with A MORE

POWERFUL ONE. In this case *relative* surplus value might as a result be increased, because the workers would become more productive without any increase in the quantity of labour. The way this would be expressed initially in the case of a single capital would be that the individual value of its commodity would stand *below* its social value, and therefore the *value of labour capacity* would *thus* be reduced relatively for that capitalist.

All these cases and possibilities should be considered under the *real reproduction process.* For the capitalist to convert *surplus value* into capital he must be just as able to exchange it for *more labour* as he could the original capital, hence set in motion AN ADDITIONAL QUANTITY OF LABOUR, whether by squeezing out a *greater quantity* of labour from the *old workers* through the payment of an increased wage, or by employing an *ADDITIONAL NUMBER OF WORKMEN.* And this is the *presupposition* from which, as a FACT, we must proceed in considering the *conversion of surplus value* into *capital.* The special circumstances and modifications which enter here are to be considered later.[104]

It is assumed, therefore, that *surplus value* is converted into capital in the same manner as money was originally converted into value that posits surplus value. One part of the surplus value is converted into *constant capital,* the other into *variable*; i.e. one part buys *commodities* which figure in the production process as material and instrument, another part buys labour capacity. It is only this latter part which posits *surplus value,* in exactly the same way as previously, namely by the fact that it is exchanged for more living labour than the amount of objectified labour it contains. The *difference* between this and the earlier process is that all the elements of the capital now consist of *unpaid* labour, and the original formation of surplus value, i.e. the appropriation of alien labour without equivalent, appears as a means by which it appropriates more surplus value, appropriates more *alien labour* without equivalent. This original process of enrichment appears as the means and condition of this kind of enrichment on an *increased* scale.

In the first process, by which money is converted into capital, hence in the *first process of capital formation,* the *capital advanced* appears as itself *independent* of the labour capacities for which it is exchanged. It is the *surplus value* alone which consists of unpaid labour. In this process, the capitalist's money was exchanged partly for the *means of labour,* for equivalents, partly for labour capacities, which were bought at their value. And thus both parts of the money, the *constant* and *the variable,* only represented commodities

which were exchanged for equivalent commodities, and both of which existed independently of the workers, as the *property* of the [XXII-1356] capitalist, who laid out his money in this form. This *original sum of money*, which was converted into capital, was present independently of the worker, like all the other commodities in the possession of their owners, and in exactly the same way as his own commodity, labour capacity, independently confronted these conditions of its realisation. It was the *surplus value* alone which represented alien *unpaid* labour appropriated by the capitalist.

Now, in this second process, *capital* itself, the money that is converted into capital anew, appears as *objectified alien unpaid* labour which serves as a means of appropriating more surplus labour. The money with which the capitalist now buys the *objective conditions of labour*, the means of labour and material of labour, represents surplus value alone, is only *surplus value converted* into money.

Whether the capitalist exchanges the surplus value—in so far as it has been converted into variable capital—as capital with *the same* workers or with additional *new workers* makes no difference at all to the relation. It does not alter the situation at all. The money with which he buys the new conditions of labour, just like the money with which he buys the new labour capacities, represents *unpaid labour* which he has appropriated in the exchange with the old labour capacities, and which he now makes into the means of purchasing more labour, hence more surplus labour. If we consider the whole of the capitalist class on one side—i.e. capital—and the working class on the other side—i.e. the worker as a collective person—the product of the worker's own unpaid labour confronts him now as *capital*, as the *objective* power over his labour, as *alien wealth*, of which he can only re-appropriate a part, by buying back this part with more labour than is present within it, and thus *valorising* it afresh as capital.

Let us assume that the capital was originally=£5,000, and the surplus value=£1,000. If the capitalist consumes £500 a year and if he converts 500 into capital every year, in 10 years he will have eaten up £5,000, i.e. his original capital; but he now finds himself in possession of a capital of £10,000. And the amount of surplus value he has appropriated in 10 years=£10,000. His total capital therefore now in fact represents nothing other than surplus value converted into capital, i.e. *objectified unpaid alien labour*, which, in proportion as its amount grows, continuously appropriates growing amounts of alien labour afresh. If the capitalist were to consume only £200 a year, the only resulting change would be

that he would expend his original capital in 25 years, and then his capital of £25,000 would represent nothing but *surplus value.* Thus every capital must after a certain time represent nothing but *surplus value.* If a worker saves £1,000 and himself becomes a capitalist, making £200 of surplus value every year, of which he consumes 100, in 10 years the surplus value he has saved=£1,000, i.e.=his total capital. The notion that he consumes the surplus value, and not his original capital, instead retaining the latter, naturally does not change in any way the fact that the amount of capital he possesses at the end of the 10 years=the amount of the surplus value he has appropriated, and the amount he has consumed=the amount of his original capital. The expression all political economists are so fond of, that all existing capital is to be viewed as interest and interest on interest, means nothing more than that it is capitalised surplus value, surplus value converted into capital, and that all capital ultimately appears to be a mere form of existence of surplus value. This particular form of surplus value—*interest*—this name, does not change the situation at all. And here, where we are considering surplus value in general, it is not of course necessary to examine this particular form, the form in which the political economists express capital as a *mere form of existence of surplus value,* i.e. *of unpaid alien labour.*[105]

[XXII-1357] The *conversion of surplus value into capital* is definitely not distinct from the *original conversion of money into capital.* The conditions are the same, namely: that a *definite amount of value* (hence value expressed independently, *money,* whether this functions as money of account or actual money is irrelevant), a sum of money, is converted into capital through the exchange with the conditions of labour and labour capacity. The distinction does not lie in the process itself—for it is the *identical process,* the conversion of money into capital. The distinction lies in this alone, that the *money* which is converted into capital in this second process of capital formation represents nothing but *surplus value,* i.e. surplus labour, i.e. *objectified unpaid alien labour.* This conversion of surplus value into capital is called the *accumulation of capital.*

So far we have noted two points:

1) The whole of the value of the capital into which the *surplus value* has been reconverted consists of unpaid, alien labour, consists precisely of the surplus labour which was appropriated in the capitalist production process.

2) The *value of each capital* must represent mere capitalised surplus value after a certain period of time, since after a certain

number of years the *original amount of value* of the capital has been consumed by the capitalist. Here the *value* alone is to be considered. Therefore the fact that the capitalist imagines that he only consumes a part of the surplus value every year, retaining his capital in contrast, makes no difference here. It does not change in any way the fact that the *amount of value* of each capital, after a certain number of years,=the accumulated surplus value which has been reconverted into capital, and not an atom of the value of the old capital exists any more.

This second *process of capital formation* is rightly regarded as so essential and characteristic of capital that capital is depicted, unlike other forms of wealth, as * "wealth saved from revenue (profit) with a view to, etc." * (See *R. Jones*, etc.)[106]

Originally, therefore, the labour capacities, or the workers, were confronted with the *objective conditions of labour*, i.e. *objectified labour*, in the form of *conditions of production* (the material of labour and the means of labour) and *means of subsistence*, as alien commodities in the possession of the *keepers of commodities*, who are converted into capitalists precisely through the fact that they confront living labour as the personified existence of objectified labour. But now, with this second process of capital formation, the workers are faced with their *own labour, objectified* in conditions of production and means of subsistence which are *capital*, i.e. alien property, which confronts labour as a means for the exploitation of labour.

When considering the capitalist production process we saw that 1) absolute surplus value can only be increased at a *given stage of the development of production*, i.e. at a given level of the productive forces, either by increasing the intensity of labour or extending the working day, or, presupposing both of these as given, by increasing the *number of workers employed*; in all of which cases the *magnitude of the capital laid out* must grow; and that 2) *relative surplus value* can only be increased through the *development of the productive power of labour*, through cooperation, division of labour, employment of machinery, etc.; all these things again presuppose *a growth in the magnitude of the capital laid out.* The *magnitude of the capital laid out* is increased through the *reconversion of surplus value into capital*, or, what is the same thing, the *accumulation of capital*, [XXII-1358] since now the *capital* is formed of the *original amount of value* plus *the surplus value* (namely the part of the latter which is reconverted into capital), or the product which represents the original capital plus the surplus product; the surplus value as such is no longer distinct from the capital but is instead added to

it as *additional capital.* Or the formation of surplus value now presents itself as *an increase in the magnitude* of the capital which enters into the production process. This therefore fulfils the condition that both the *quantity* of labour *employed* should be increased and the *productive power of the labour should be increased.* The objective conditions under which labour develops its social powers of production to a heightened degree [are thereby given]. Production on an *increased scale* therefore takes place, as regards both the quantity of labour employed and the *development of the means of production,* of the *conditions of production,* under which this labour presents itself socially. If, therefore, the capitalist mode of production on the one hand increases the conditions for the creation of surplus value for surplus labour, on the other hand, inversely, the reconversion of surplus value into capital, or the *accumulation of capital,* is a condition for the development of the capitalist mode of production, of the scale of production, of the growing amount of labour which is exploited, and of the *material conditions* for the development of the productive powers of social labour.

We saw at the same time[a] how the capitalist mode of production continuously produces a *relative surplus* POPULATION, i.e. it *sets free, renders disposable* a definite number of labour capacities, ejects them from the different spheres of production as superfluous labour power. Capitalist accumulation, therefore, is not conditioned by the purely natural progress of POPULATION; it produces a larger or smaller *quantity of disposable* labour capacities for the already *available new capital* and the capital which is constantly *being formed*; these labour capacities can be re-absorbed either by the extension of the old branches of production or by the formation of new branches, depending on whether the additional capital into which the surplus value has been reconverted is used in one way or the other.

If the original capital was=£6,000, and the surplus value is=£1,000, there is no distinction between them, *in terms of substance,* before they are reconverted into money, for both exist as parts of the same product, in the same commodity form; just as little is there any distinction once they have been converted into money. The conversion of the £1,000 into capital is therefore not at all different from the point of view of *its conditions* from the conversion of the original £6,000 into capital. The only distinction is that in the £1,000 the workers are now confronted with *their*

[a] See this volume, pp. 8-61.—*Ed.*

*own unpaid labour* or the *product of their own unpaid labour* as *capital.* This is No. 1.

The £6,000 has been converted into *capital* through producing £1,000 as *surplus value,* as its *valorisation,* which differs from its original amount of value. Through the reconversion of the £1,000 into capital this formal antithesis ceases to exist. A capital of £7,000 is now available instead of one of £6,000; i.e. a capital which has grown by $^1/_6$. Or both amounts function as *two* capitals, one of them as a capital of 6,000, the other as a capital of 1,000. This does not alter the fact that the total capital has increased by $^1/_6$. It merely expresses the fact that the additional $^1/_6$ functions as capital in another sphere of production, or is employed by another capitalist in the same sphere of production. But the one *common* characteristic remains: what was *surplus value* as distinct from capital now itself becomes *capital,* and proves itself to be such by producing *surplus value* for its part. The surplus value has been converted into *additional capital.*

The *capital* has therefore produced *capital,* by no means merely a commodity, or the *capital-relation* creates the *capital-relation* on an increased scale.

[XXII-1359] This increase of *capital,* i.e. of the amount of wealth produced, which confronts labour as *capital,* has the following results:

1) the *capitalist mode of production* is extended over spheres of production which were previously not subjected to capitalist production; i.e. *capital* increasingly seizes control of the totality of spheres of production;

2) it forms *new spheres of production,* i.e. it produces new use values and employs new branches of labour;

3) in so far as additional capital is employed in *the same* sphere of production by the same capitalist, partly to convert the formal subsumption of [labour under] capital into a real subsumption, partly to extend the *scale of production,* to develop the specifically capitalist mode of production, hence to work with a *greater capital,* a greater combination of the conditions of labour and the division of labour, etc., this *accumulation* presents itself as *concentration*; since *a single* capital commands more workers and more of the means of production, *social wealth* appears united in a single hand *in greater quantities*;

4) in *every* sphere of production, this formation of capital proceeds at *different* points on the surface of society. It is different, mutually independent commodity or money owners who first convert this money into capital through the exchange with

labour capacity, and then convert the *surplus value* back into capital or accumulate capital. A formation of *different* capitals therefore takes place, or there is an increase in the *number of capitalists* and *independent capitals.* Accumulation, as opposed to the *concentration* of capital or its attraction, presents itself as the *repulsion of capitals* from each other. The relation between these two opposed forms should not be developed here; it should rather be considered under the *competition of capitals.*[107] This much is clear. All accumulation of capital is concentration of the means of production in a single hand. But at the same time the *concentration* of many capitals stands opposed to this *fragmentation* of capitals as a special process.

In considering the production of absolute surplus value, we saw this:

The *value of the constant capital,* i.e. of the material of labour and the means of labour, is simply *preserved* in the labour process; it appears again in the product, not because the worker performs a special kind of labour to preserve this value, but because these *conditions of production* as such are employed by the *living workers.* By the fact that the worker adds new labour to objectified labour, and more labour than is contained in his wages, he at the same time preserves the *value* of the constant capital, of the labour already objectified in the conditions of production. The *value* of the constant capital he preserves therefore stands in no relation at all to the *quantity* of labour he adds; it depends instead on the magnitude and therefore the extent of the value of the constant capital with which he works. The more productive his labour becomes, the greater e.g. the quantity of raw material treated by a given number of workers, the greater accordingly is the *value* of the part of the constant capital he preserves, or the part that re-appears in the *product.* On the other hand, this greater productivity of his labour is conditioned by the extent and therefore the amount of value of the communal means of production and conditions of production which support his labour, the machinery, draught animals, buildings, fertiliser. Drainage and irrigation canals, etc. This part of the constant capital—objectified labour—enters into the *labour process* in its entire extent as means of production and means for raising the productivity of labour, whereas it enters into the *valorisation process* only partially and by stages, over a lengthy period, hence does not raise the *value* of the individual product in the same degree as it does the amount of products, i.e. [XXII-1360] the *productivity* of labour. And in the same degree as the capitalist mode of

production develops, there develops the *difference* between the amount of constant capital, i.e. of means of labour and conditions of labour, which enters into the labour process, and the *part of the value* of the constant capital which enters into the valorisation process. The whole of the value of the constant capital—in so far as it consists of means of production—which does not enter into the valorisation process, whereas it does enter into the labour process, hence in its totality increases the productive power of labour, whereas only an aliquot part of it re-appears as *value* in the product and therefore *raises the price of the product*, thus performs exactly the same *free services* as the forces of nature, such as water, wind, etc., forces of nature which are not the product of human labour, and therefore have no *exchange value*, enter into the labour process without entering into the valorisation process. A machine, e.g., which serves for 15 years, its value therefore only entering into the annual product to an extent of $^1/_{15}$, functions in the labour process not as $^1/_{15}$ but as $^{15}/_{15}$. The $^{14}/_{15}$ cost nothing. Thus the employment on a larger scale of *past labour*, or *labour objectified* in the means of production, increases the productivity of living labour. On the other hand, the *amount of value* which thus enters gradually into the product grows *absolutely*, although it does not grow at the same time to the same degree as this *component of the value* of the *constant* capital increases. It grows absolutely with the extent of the means of production employed. Labour thus *preserves* this greater part of the value, makes it re-appear in the product, in the same process by which it adds *surplus value* (and adds value altogether). Apart from this, it should be remarked that the labour process preserves not only the value which re-appears in the product, hence the part of the value of the constant capital which enters into the product, but also the value which does *not* enter into the *valorisation process*, but only into the *labour process*. We are not speaking here of the particular labour which is necessary for the cleaning of machines, buildings, etc. This falls under repair work, and is different from *labour itself*, which makes use of the machine. The cleaning of a spinning machine is a different kind of labour from spinning itself. In the latter case what is involved is only the preservation of the spinning machine through the fact that spinning is done with it, the fact that it functions as a spinning machine. The labour process itself preserves its *use value as a machine* and thereby also its *exchange value*. This conserving (value conserving) quality of labour, which should be regarded as a natural power of labour, itself costing *no labour*—i.e. in the given case no further, special labour in addition

to the labour of spinning is required to preserve the machine—emerges doubly in times of crisis, i.e. in circumstances in which the machine does not function as a machine, in which the use value of its activity is suspended. *Negatively*, through the machine's deterioration. *Positively*, because at such times a certain number of hours *are worked*, merely *to keep the machine functioning. //All this should be considered when dealing with the labour process and the valorisation process.*[a]// In the case of the *soil*, if we regard the *land* as an agricultural machine—and in the process it is nothing more than this, in the material that is worked on, the seed, the animals, etc.—the labour process not only preserves the *exchange value* given to it by the work done on it previously, but it also raises its *use value, improves the machine itself* (see *Anderson and Carey*[b]), while the cessation of the labour process produces a *dépérissement*[c] of its use value and of the exchange value which falls to its share as the physical existence of objectified labour. (The relevant passages are to be cited further below.)

Thus the matter can be presented from two sides:

1) α) As we showed in dealing with capitalist production, the productivity of labour develops with the employment of the means of production—of the objective conditions of labour—on a larger scale; it develops along with the extent of the latter.[d]

But the *accumulation* of *capital*, i.e. the reconversion of surplus value into capital, expands, increases the extent of, the objectified means with which living labour functions.

[XXII-1361] β) The amount of past labour which enters into the labour process without entering into the valorisation process, hence the *unrecompensed function* of past labour in the production process, increases with the *development* of the capitalist *mode of production*, a development which is itself conditioned by the accumulation of capital. These two points are related to the *increase of constant capital*, the accumulation of which is posited with the accumulation of capital, or, in other words, they are related to the progressive conversion of a part of the surplus value into constant capital. The increase of *surplus value* as such is limited to the part of surplus value which is converted into *variable capital*, just as surplus value in general arises from variable capital.

The overall amount of PRODUCE, hence surplus PRODUCE as well, grows with the productivity of labour, even if *surplus value* remains

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 54-106.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., Vol. 31, pp. 372, 579.—*Ed.*

[c] Destruction.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 19-21.—*Ed.*

constant; hence it grows with the productivity of labour. If necessary labour finds expression in a larger product, this is also true of surplus labour, which is after all not materially different.

2) The two above-mentioned points show how the capitalist mode of production, and therefore the productivity of labour, develops through the *entry of objectified labour* into the production process *to a greater, growing* extent; at the same time, as demonstrated previously, this brings about a growth in *surplus value.* On the other hand, the *capitalist mode of production* appears as the form of production in which, unlike all earlier forms, *objectified labour* can enter into the production process to an increasing extent.

Living labour reproduces the *variable part* of capital, irrespective of the *surplus value,* and therefore the *surplus* PRODUCE, it adds. This *relation* must be determined in more detail below.[a]

What has to be noted here first of all is this:

The portion of the *constant* part of the capital which enters into the *valorisation process*—hence the whole of the raw material, all the *matières instrumentales,*[b] whether they figure as *matières instrumentales* for the preparation of the raw material, or as accessory materials for the *machinery,* or the overall requirements of the workshop, such as heating, lighting, etc.—lastly all of the part of the means of production which is used up during the labour process—re-appears in the *product* through its contact with living labour. In addition to this the part of the value of the means of production which does not enter into the product is preserved.

This *re-appearance* is expressed doubly: the *value* of the total product is raised to the amount of this *re-appearing* part of the value. Secondly: a growing part of the increased quantity of products represents an *equivalent* for the growing amount of constant capital.

Irrespective, therefore, of the *surplus value* or the SURPLUS PRODUCE in which it is expressed, we can say that the greater the amount of objectified labour set in motion by a given quantity of living labour //*the greater the objectified wealth which serves for reproduction*//—*the more abundantly* the conditions of labour are available—the greater is the *value* of the total product (and the quantity of products in which this value is expressed) reproduced by *the same* amount of labour; although, if we presuppose the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 193-94.—*Ed.*

[b] Instrumental materials.—*Ed.*

(extensive and intensive) *magnitude* of the working day as *given*, the same amount of labour only adds *the same* value to the product, hence e.g. a million workers working 12 hours a day add the same value independently of the *level of productivity of their labour* and the *amount of the objective conditions of labour* corresponding to this level of labour, or the *extent* of the *material conditions of production* corresponding to particular levels of the productivity of labour. The quantity of products depends of course on the level of productivity of labour. But this *level of productivity* is expressed in, and depends on, the *extent of the material conditions* [XXII-1362] presupposed when the labour is functioning.

Although under the presupposition mentioned *the same amount of labour* only adds *the same value* to the constant capital (necessary labour+surplus labour, and quite independently of the ratio in which the total working day is divided into these two parts), the *value of the product* (total product) created by the same amount of labour varies a great deal according to the *amount of the value of the constant capital* which is set in motion by the same amount of living labour. For the *value of this product* is determined by the total amount of labour contained in it, hence the sum of the objectified+the added living labour. And although the latter has remained *the same* according to the presupposition, the former has *grown* with the development of the extent and richness of the conditions of production. And the *amount of the value* of the constant capital which is preserved by the *living labour* does not depend on the *quantity* of living labour but on 2 circumstances, namely 1) the *amount of the value* of the constant capital which it sets in motion, an amount which grows as the volume of the constant capital grows (even if not in *the same* proportion, on account of the growing productivity of labour); and 2), the part of that amount of value which enters into the total product. (We should be able to dispense entirely with the 2nd condition if we assumed an epoch of production in which that amount of value *entirely* entered into the product.) With the growing amount of the value of the constant capital set in motion by it, the same labour therefore *reproduces greater amounts of value of objectified labour*, which re-appear in the product, *greater amounts of value of the total product.* However, the progressive conversion of surplus value into capital or the accumulation of capital—in so far as this is at the same time a progressive concentration of quantities of capital in the hands of individual capitalists, the development of the specifically capitalist mode of production—increases the amount

of the value of constant capital which is set in motion by the same quantity of labour.

Ricardo is therefore wrong to say that 1 million human beings (under the restrictions mentioned earlier, but *not* made by him) always produce e.g. every year *the same value*, independently of the level of the productivity of labour. A million working with machinery, animals, fertiliser, buildings, canals, railways, etc., reproduce an incomparably *higher value* than 1 million whose living labour takes place without the assistance of this mass of objectified labour. And indeed for the simple reason that they reproduce an incomparably greater amount of *objectified labour* in the product, a reproduction which *is independent* of the amount of labour newly added.

Let us take e.g. an English worker who spins in a cotton factory. He spins more [than] 200 Indian or Chinese spinners, who work with distaff and spinning-wheel. And say he spins *Indian* cotton. One has to assume that the length and the average intensity of the working day are the same—for with comparisons between the working days of different nations modifications of the general law of value arise which we are leaving out of account here as irrelevant.

In this case it would be correct to say that 200 English workers do not create, add, any more value than 200 Indian. Nevertheless, the products of their labour would be very different in value, we mean the *total product.* Not just that the English spinner converts 200 times as much cotton into yarn as the Indian in the same time, hence creates 200 times as much use value in the same time, hence that his labour is 200 times more productive.

[XXII-1363] 1) The product of the English spinner's working day contains 200 times as much *cotton*, hence a *value* 200 times greater than that of the *Indian* spinner. 2) Admittedly, the quantity of spindles with which the English spinner spins does not contain more value in the same proportion as they exceed in *number* the one spindle set in motion by the Indian spinner, and the speed with which the English spinner's spindles wear out is not greater in the same proportion as the amount of their value is greater, for the one spindle is made of wood and the others are made of iron. Even so, an incomparably greater part of the value of the incomparably more valuable instrument of labour enters into the daily product of the English spinner than into that of the Indian. An incomparably greater amount of value is therefore *preserved* and in this sense *reproduced* in the Englishman's daily product than in the Indian's. It is precisely for this reason that the

part of the product which=the value of the constant capital (in so far as it has entered into the mass of products) can be exchanged again for an amount of machinery and raw materials which is 200 times greater than in the case of the Indian. He starts the *new production* or *reproduction* with an infinitely greater wealth of the objective conditions, because his labour started out from an incomparably greater amount of the conditions of production, incomparably more already *objectified labour* serves it as basis and point of departure and is preserved by the newly added labour. This is true of the product. But there is the additional factor that the *use value*, and therefore the *value*, of the instrument of labour preserved by the labour of the Englishman, without entering into the valorisation process, is disproportionately greater than that of the Indian's instrument, for through his labour the latter preserves only the *value* of his distaff, in so far it does not enter into the valorisation process. And the *amount of this objective, past* labour, past labour which as machinery, etc., cooperates in the Englishman's labour process *for free* (free namely for all those components of the machinery which do not enter into the valorisation process), is in turn the condition by which his daily product not only creates afresh an incomparably greater use value, but preserves, and therefore *reproduces* in the product, incomparably more *value*. Thus living labour preserves *greater amounts of value*, which exist as past labour, are objectified, the *greater the amount of value* of the *past labour* already is, past labour which enters in part as means of labour, in part as material of labour, into the labour process, whereas on the other hand the *greater amount of exchange value and use value*, of commodities it reproduces in this way, is in turn the condition and the presupposition of a richer reproduction. Under these conditions the *amount of surplus value* simultaneously rises. This is in part because the amount of variable capital rises, hence the *number of workers employed*, in part because the productivity of the workers rises, hence the *rate of surplus value*, and in part because with the productivity of labour there is a rise in the *quantity of use values, the surplus* PRODUCE in which the same *surplus value* is expressed. For all these reasons a large part of the surplus value can be reconverted back into capital, and this could occur even if the *rate of surplus value* remained unchanged; more capital can therefore be accumulated, and the *objective conditions* under which the work takes place, the means of labour and material of labour—*objectified, past* labour—can be extended, hence *production on a larger scale* can be repeated, quite apart from the fact that this

extension and greater scale of the conditions of labour is itself in turn a means of raising the *productivity of labour.* (An example from the *agriculture* of *Quesnay, exploitation riche et pauvre,*[a] should also be quoted here.[108]) The greater the amount of objective wealth living labour works with, the greater the extent to which *past labour* enters into the *living labour process* as an element of reproduction, the greater therefore is not only the quantity of use values, but also the amount of their *exchange value,* and the greater is the INCREMENT *of production* which enters or can enter during reproduction.

It is the *wealth* expressing the *past labour* which enters into the production process, that conditions the magnitude of the *wealth* created by living labour; even disregarding the growing surplus value [XXII-1364] *newly added* by living labour.

Although the quantity of product of the *working day* of the Englishman is so much *more valuable* than that of the Indian, because it *reproduces* a much greater amount of wealth, i.e. preserves it in the product and as the part of the means of labour which does not enter into the product, the *individual product,* the individual *commodity,* is much cheaper. For the Indian adds to perhaps 1 lb. of cotton as much labour time as the Englishman adds to 200 lbs. The Englishman therefore adds only $^1/_{200}$ of a working day to a lb., where the Indian adds a whole working day. If a greater depreciation of machinery is reproduced in the Englishman's daily product, this value is spread over 200 lbs, whereas the depreciation of the Indian's distaff enters in its entirety into 1 lb.

//The whole of the portion of the product which replaces capital can admittedly be resolved into *variable capital,* i.e. wages, and *constant capital,* both of which re-enter into the production process, and cannot therefore enter into the *consumption of the capitalist,* if the mode of production is to be continued on the same scale, and with other circumstances remaining the same. This is even disregarding the fact that this *growing amount* of the reproduced conditions of production, the *growing amount* of capital, is the means which permits the exploitation of a *growing amount of labour* and growing production *by the same* amount of labour, in addition to which the use values in which the SURPLUS PRODUCE is expressed are *increased* and *differentiated,* multiplied. This *circumstance,* that living labour reproduces *more capital* in proportion to the increase in the basis of past labour on which it stands, i.e. that it produces *more*

[a] Exploitation [by] rich and poor.— *Ed.*

*past labour* in the form of *means of production*, is by no means irrelevant for the individual capitalist. The *individual capitalist* is a *commodity owner*; the whole capitalist class of course cannot sell its own capital, but the *individual* capitalist can and does, once he withdraws from business, and he can then expend the *growing amount of value* of his *capital* as wealth, if he wishes. For the individual capitalist, therefore, leaving aside *surplus value*, it is not a matter of indifference that his *capital grows* alongside surplus value.//

*Quesnay*, and following him his school, the Physiocrats, quite correctly call this growing weight with which *past labour* enters as an element into the living labour process *richesses d'exploitation*.[109] The greater these *richesses d'exploitation*, the extent of the value and use value of the *past labour* from which living labour proceeds as its *presupposition*, the greater the *richesses d'exploitation* it reproduces as its result, and the easier it is to extend the scale on which living labour can start the labour process afresh *under ever richer objective* conditions. The accumulation of capital can be resolved into the extension of the scale on which production can be repeated, into the growing wealth of the conditions, of the objective wealth, of the forces and means of production which have already been produced and which serve as living labour's *inorganic body*. But these *richesses d'exploitation* are not only such in Quesnay's sense, namely riches which serve as means of exploitation in agriculture, etc. They are at the same time *richesses of exploitation of living labour*, the growing extent of the means for its exploitation and the growing *power* of past labour over living. The fact that the development of the objective conditions of labour appears as a growing power of these *objective conditions* for and over living labour, instead of as a *growing power* of labour, is naturally alien to the production process as such. But it is *characteristic* of the *capitalist* production process, in which the objectified conditions of labour confront labour in *alienated* and *independent* form, as powers in their own right. On the other hand, it is *within* the capitalist mode of production that *past labour* first develops to this extent.

[XXII-1365] //Therefore, even if the *law* were correct, which as we shall see later on is *incorrect*, when it is expressed as a *permanent law*, namely, that as a result of the declining natural productivity of the *kinds of land* which enter the sphere of production the *products of the land serving as major food sources*, and a part of the *raw materials*, become dearer //no one has yet asserted that e.g.

*cotton* has become dearer in the same degree as the cotton industry has developed, or silk; the opposite is the case//, this would not prove that they cost *more labour*, although they have a *higher value* and although *value* is exclusively determined by the *quantity of labour* which is contained in a commodity. Let us take England, for example. The proportion of workers directly employed in agriculture has fallen since the 11th century from $^{9}/_{10}$ to at least $^{1}/_{5}$, hence $^{2}/_{10}$, and the number of workers as compared with the *product* continues to fall every day. Hence in so far as the number of workers *directly* employed in agriculture is concerned, it has fallen constantly and is still falling constantly. In 8 centuries it has fallen by at least $^{7}/_{10}$. Therefore, in so far as the labour of the agricultural workers comes into consideration, the *value* of the total product of agriculture has necessarily fallen by $^{7}/_{10}$; hence the *value* of a single item of the product, e.g. of 1 qr of wheat, has also fallen. And the relation between the England of the 19th century and that of the 11th century is the same as the present relation between England and other countries, e.g. *Russia.* Hence if the *value* of English corn rose continuously, this would only be possible because more *objectified labour*, and indeed labour *of other spheres of production*, had entered into it. It is asserted of these other spheres of production that the labour in them has become *more unproductive*, or that the same quantity of use value contains more labour and therefore more exchange value. Precisely the reverse. Nevertheless, if the value of *the same quantity of corn*, of e.g. a quarter, has risen, the *quantity* of labour *contained* in it must have increased. The quantity of living agricultural labour contained in it has not increased; hence the quantity of *objectified labour* coming to it from other spheres must have increased; within this there may also be a *quantity of objectified labour* which is itself a product of agriculture, such as e.g. *cattle.* More machinery is necessary, for example, more drainage canals, etc. A greater part of value for machinery, etc., therefore enters into a qr of corn. But the *value* which is present in the machinery does not consist only of the *labour* the machine costs, but also of the *past labour* which is reproduced, contained, in it as a product; and this *part of the value* which is contained in it does not depend for its *reproduction*—presupposing that there is no change in the development of the forces of production—on living labour, but on the amount of past labour which enters into the production of a machine and is preserved in it. Similarly with the cattle. If more past labour exists in this form, a greater value component enters into the product for it, although the quantity of living labour

remains the same. The *value* of the *means of production* which enter into agriculture can therefore increase without any *increase* in the living labour necessary for agricultural production, because this living labour reproduces more value in the *product*, without any contribution on its part, than if it had worked with poorer conditions of production. Thus the *value of the individual commodity* [XXII-1366] of a *single, particular* sphere of production could increase, hence e.g. a quarter of corn could be dearer in England than in poorer countries—entirely disregarding *differences in the value* of gold and silver in poorer and richer countries, which are not to be considered here—even though in fact the quarter of wheat was produced more cheaply in England than in countries where it is cheaper—cheaper, in so far as *living* labour comes into consideration. One cannot draw from this the ridiculous conclusion that *all commodities* may be dearer in one country, although they are produced *more cheaply*. For the entry of *past labour* into the labour process in general on a larger scale is only possible at all—the replacement of *past* labour by a larger part of the total product is only possible—because *living labour* has become more productive, hence a larger part of the product can go into production instead of going into consumption. If, e.g., with the increase in the machinery, a corresponding, equally increased part of its value entered into the individual commodity, a simple transposition of living labour would take place. More labour would be necessary to produce the machine in the same degree as less labour was necessary to employ the machine. A greater part of the value of the machinery would be used up to *the same extent* as more machinery was employed, and it would therefore have to be reproduced. Exactly as many more machine workers would be needed as e.g. fewer spinners. What would be won on one hand would be lost on the other. Machine labour would therefore be unable to drive out hand labour, as both would produce equally dearly. There would therefore be produced neither more use values nor more surplus value, surplus PRODUCE, and it would be impossible for more capital to enter the production process in the form of *past labour* instead of being laid out as *variable capital*, i.e in wages; or it would only enter the process in this form because more living labour was employed in this sphere of machine production. However, if in *industry* proper the productivity of labour grows, hence the quantity of the products of labour which can be converted into means of labour also grows, owing e.g. to a concentration of workers and the implements of labour—a concentration of the latter which also

appears *physically* in machinery—and therefore there is a growth in the *objective wealth* with which *the same quantity* of living labour begins the reproduction process, hence also a growth in the *value of the total product*, although the price and value of the individual commodity falls, all this does not hinder the *possibility of employing* more *objectified labour*, hence not only use value but also exchange value, in a *particular sphere* to produce the same product. In all these spheres the reproduction *of the same* exchange value costs less, because the same *quantity of living labour* preserves more *objectified labour*. More *objectified labour* can therefore enter into this one sphere in order to replace the declining *natural productivity* of the land; and the product can therefore become dearer because, although it contains less living labour, it contains more objectified labour than that decline in living labour amounts to, hence it contains *more labour* altogether, without the nation's actually having *worked more* on that account in order to reproduce the same product. The product of agriculture *may* therefore become dearer, although it in fact costs less *labour* than in places where it is cheaper, for the *greater quantity of objectified* labour which enters into it *costs* the nation in fact nothing, because it is on the one hand reproduced by the same quantity of *living* labour, and on the other hand the amount of use values is so much increased that a *greater part* of them can replace this constant capital.//

//That a richer nation can expend more for a particular product, without becoming impoverished, than a poorer nation, is shown among other things by the increasing price of unproductive labour, such as singing, ballet-dancing, etc.[110]//

[XXII-1367] //I shall take up the development again later, but here I want to insert an earlier presentation of the subject, the appropriate passages of which can be retained.[111]

The surplus value is itself posited once more as capital, as objectified labour entering into the process of exchange with living labour and therefore dividing itself into a *constant* part—the objective conditions of labour, material and instrument—and the subjective conditions for the existence of labour—for the existence of living labour capacity, the worker's means of subsistence, the *variable* part of capital.

In the first appearance of capital, these *presuppositions* themselves appeared outwardly to emerge from *circulation*, to be given in it; as external presuppositions of the origin of capital, of the conversion of money into capital. These *external presuppositions* now appear as moments of the movement of capital itself, as

*results* of its own *production process*, so that it itself presupposes them as its own moments and conditions.

*Objectified surplus labour* in its totality, hence the *surplus product* in its totality, now appears as *surplus capital—surplus capital*, as compared with the original capital, before it has realised itself as capital; i.e. as *exchange value become independent*, and confronting living labour capacity as its *specific use value*. All the moments which confronted living labour capacity as *alien, external* [powers], consuming and using it under *certain conditions independent of it*, are now posited as its own *product and result*.

*Firstly: Surplus value* or *surplus product* is nothing but a certain sum of *unpaid labour*—the *sum of surplus labour*. This new *value*, which confronts living labour as value independent of it, is the *product of labour*, which the capitalist has appropriated for himself without giving an equivalent. It is nothing but the *objectified surplus quantity* of *labour* over the *quantity of necessary labour*.

*Secondly*: The particular forms which this value must adopt to be valorised anew, i.e. to be posited as capital—on the one hand as raw material and instrument, on the other hand as means of subsistence for the workers—are exactly for this reason merely *particular forms of surplus labour* itself. //(This should actually be considered when dealing with the *reproduction process*. What the individual capital has produced is a *particular commodity*, one part of the value of which is now admittedly employed for the purchase of new raw material, another part for the material of labour, etc., but *in natura this particular* capital does not produce its own conditions of reproduction but only *their value*. If we consider the whole of the *surplus* PRODUCE of the *total capital*, this consists of the material of labour, the means of labour, and the means of subsistence. Hence not only is *surplus value* reproduced, but also the *material forms* in which this *surplus value* can function anew as capital. Here, where the *simple form* of accumulation is being considered (where in fact it is still being considered *formally*, for it can only be considered concretely together with the process of circulation and reproduction), what has to be *stressed* first of all is that in the *surplus value* the capitalist has the part of the value with which he can buy new material and instrument. Originally the matter appears like this: The capitalist buys instrument and material and labour with *his money*. In this act of purchase he does nothing but what is done by every purchaser when he converts *his money* into commodities; the difference lies only in the fact that he buys commodities which are consumed productively, instead of buying commodities for his own individual consumption. This is

itself a great gain, for which he is duly grateful. But now the situation changes. He in fact makes his purchases with the worker's *money*, since this money represents nothing but *unpaid alien labour*, appropriated *without an equivalent*. If the worker himself could appropriate his own surplus labour, he would himself be able to sell his surplus PRODUCE, and convert a part of it into means of labour and material of labour. Then these would not confront him as *capital*. They would present themselves as a greater wealth of his own [XXII-1368] conditions of labour, instead of as the *surplus capital* of the capitalist.)//

Originally it appeared alien to the worker himself, accomplished without his participation, rather as an act of capital, or a circumstance dependent on the accidental size of the capitalist's wealth, that instrument or means of labour were available to an extent which made it possible for living labour to realise itself not only as *necessary labour* but as *surplus labour* as well. But now the *means of surplus production*, which allow the absorption of surplus labour, are themselves merely the *converted form* of SURPLUS LABOUR or SURPLUS VALUE.

*Thirdly*: The independent being-for-itself of *value* in the form of *money* (as value) or materially in the form of *productive capital*, means of production, which also includes means of subsistence—hence its being as capital—the *separateness* of the conditions of labour vis-à-vis living labour capacity, which goes so far that these conditions confront the person of the worker in the person of the capitalist—as a personification with its own will and interest—this absolute *divorce, separation* of *property*, i.e. of objective wealth, from living labour capacity—that they confront it as *alien property*, as the reality of another juridical person, as the absolute realm of *his* will; and that on the other hand, therefore, labour appears as *alien labour* vis-à-vis the value personified in the capitalist, or vis-à-vis the conditions of labour—this absolute separation between property and labour, between value and value-creating activity—hence also the fact that the content of labour is alien to the worker himself—this *separation* now appears as the *product* of labour itself, as the objectification of its own moments. For through, or in, the act of production itself—which only confirms the exchange between capital and living labour that preceded it—the total result of labour (of both necessary and surplus labour) is posited as *capital*. Labour capacity has appropriated only the means of subsistence necessary for its reproduction, i.e. for its *reproduction* as mere labour capacity separated from the conditions of its realisation, and it has posited these conditions themselves as *objects*,

*values*, which confront it in an alien, commanding personification. It emerges from the process not only no richer but actually poorer than it entered into it. For not only has it created the conditions of living labour as *capital*; but the valorisation inherent in it as a *potentiality*, the value-creating potentiality, now also exists as *surplus value, surplus product, surplus capital*; as value endowed with its own power and will confronting it in its abstract, objectless, purely subjective poverty. Not only has it produced alien wealth and its own poverty, but also the relationship of this wealth as self-sufficient wealth to itself as poverty, which this wealth consumes to draw new life and spirit to itself and to valorise itself anew.

All this arose from the exchange in which the worker exchanged his living labour capacity for an amount of *objectified* labour, except that now this objectification—these conditions for his being which exist outside him—appear as *his own product*, as posited by him himself, both as his own objectification and as the objectification of himself as a power independent of himself, indeed dominating him, dominating him through his own actions.

All the moments of *surplus capital* are the product of alien labour—*alien surplus labour* converted into capital. It no longer seems here, as it still did when we first considered the production process, as if capital, for its part, brought with it some sort of value from circulation. The objective conditions of labour now appear rather as labour's product—both in so far as they are value in general, and as use values for production. But if *capital* thus appears as the *product* of labour, the *product* of labour for its part appears as *capital*—objectified labour as dominion, command, over living labour. Labour thus appears to be active in the production process in such a way that it simultaneously rejects its realisation in objective conditions as an alien reality, and therefore posits itself as an insubstantial, merely necessitous labour capacity in face of this reality alienated from it, a reality not belonging to it but to others; that it posits its own reality not as a being-for-itself but as a mere being for something else, and hence also as a mere other-being or as the being of something else confronting it.

[XXII-1369] This process of the realisation of labour is at the same time the process of its de-realisation. It posits itself objectively, but it posits its objectivity as its own non-being, or as the being of its non-being—the being of capital. It returns back into itself as the mere potentiality of positing value or of valorisation, because the totality of real wealth, the world of real

values, and equally the real conditions for its own realisation, are posited as independent existences facing it. It is the potentialities resting in living labour's own womb which come to exist as realities outside it as a result of the production process—but as realities *alien* to it, which constitute wealth in opposition to it.// //(The continuation of this extract follows immediately below.[a])//

The whole of the *surplus capital*=the part of the *surplus value* which has been reconverted into capital, but it is not entirely exchanged for *living labour*; what is exchanged is rather only *the part* which is converted into variable capital. The other part is exchanged for *objectified* labour in forms of the latter which enter into *constant* capital as its elements. The details of how this happens are only to be considered later in connection with the circulation process.[b] Just as money was converted into capital by being exchanged for productive labour, the same thing takes place with the surplus capital, which is absolutely nothing but money or commodities converted into capital. But just as, in the case of the original conversion, the money, in order to be exchanged for productive labour, had at the same time to be exchanged for that labour's objective conditions of production, the same is true of the surplus capital. The statement that the conversion of surplus value into capital=the exchange of surplus value for productive labour misleads (even the most notable political economists) to the incorrect notion that this *surplus capital* is *only* exchanged for living labour or is only converted into *variable* capital. The reverse is the case. As this capital formation progresses, an ever greater part of the surplus capital is exchanged for additional *past labour*, the conditions of labour, and an ever smaller part is exchanged for *living labour*. Or an ever smaller part, relatively speaking, of the surplus product is reproduced in *means of subsistence* for the workers, and an ever larger part in *means of labour and material of labour*. The variable capital is so to speak converted into the worker's flesh and blood, into the *living material of labour*, the constant capital into the objective conditions of that labour. As capital formation progresses, the ratio between *constant* and *variable* capital *changes*. For the *capitalist mode of production* extends in part to cover new branches of labour not as yet subjected to it (therefore changing the *above* ratio in those branches); it creates new branches of labour, which are exploited from the outset in

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[a] See this volume, pp. 243-47.—*Ed.*

[b] See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. II, Part III, Ch. XXI, Sect. III (present edition, Vol. 36).—*Ed.*

the capitalist manner; finally, it develops and extends previous modes of production by extending the *capital outlay*, the *scale* of production in them. In all these cases there is a *change* in the ratio between variable and constant capital, the ratio between the two components through which capital dirempts and reproduces itself. Capital *of the same magnitude*—in so far as its magnitude reaches the minimum required for the capitalist mode of production, for industrial operation—can be divided into an absolutely larger constant part and an absolutely smaller variable part. If the magnitude of the total capital varies with the *capital formation* which grows out of the formation of surplus capital, if it increases, there is under all circumstances a *relative* fall in the variable part of the capital, even though it has increased *absolutely. More labour* is set in motion by the increased capital, but *less* labour as compared with the *magnitude of the capital.*

The *magnitude of the variable capital* can only increase *pari passu*[a] with the *magnitude of the total capital* in so far as the *mode of production* remains unchanged, in so far as no CHANGE takes place in the *development of the productive forces.* If, e.g., the surplus capital is large enough to set up a second factory alongside the first one, and productivity *remains the same*, the capital which is now twice as large will employ twice as much labour as did previously the capital which was half as large. A greater part of the *surplus capital* can only be converted into variable capital, i.e. more labour can be employed in proportion to the capital laid out, if it is invested in branches of production which require [XXII-1370] more living labour in proportion to objectified labour. This may be the case in a particular sphere. The one compared with the other.

But for the *development of capitalist production*, which is bound up with the *increasing extent of the amount of capital* as its material basis, there are changes in the *mode of production*, in the *productivity of labour*, and therefore in the *technological proportion* in which particular amounts of the objective means of labour require a particular quantity of living labour in order to set them in motion. We saw this when considering the capitalist mode of production.[b] The extension of the scale [of production] permits the extension of cooperation, the division of labour, machinery, and other material means of aiding production, and with this a *rising productivity* of labour is posited. The same labour treats a greater amount of raw material, sets in motion a greater amount of the

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[a] In step.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 285-88, 305, 310.—*Ed.*

means of labour, reproduces a greater amount of constant capital in the product, and utilises a greater part of the means of labour not entering into the valorisation process.

The *growing productivity of labour,* which is developed with the growing extent of capital, hence with the reconversion of surplus value into capital, with the formation of surplus capital, is expressed precisely in, or is identical with, a change in the ratio between *constant* and *variable* capital, and the same amount of labour sets in motion more constant capital, or even a smaller amount of labour sets in motion the same or more constant capital; [the growing productivity of labour] is therefore expressed in the fact that the part of the total capital which is converted into variable capital constantly declines in proportion to the part which is converted into constant capital. The quantity of labour employed grows with the growth of the total capital, but in an ever-declining proportion to the growth of the total capital. The variable part of the *surplus capital* could continuously absorb the whole SURPLUS POPULATION, and yet the *relative magnitude of the additional variable* capital might still fall constantly, in relation to the total capital. And in the same proportion as capital grows, through the growth of surplus capital and the addition of surplus capital to surplus[a] capital, there develops, excluding short intervals of extension [of production] while the *productivity of labour remains the same,* with the advance in the productivity of labour which accompanies that growth, a *relative* and *absolute* increase in constant capital as compared with variable. In the course of development, therefore, and as a result of accumulation, an ever smaller *proportion* of the surplus capital is converted into variable capital, or into means of subsistence which are exchanged with living labour. This development is merely identical with the fact that the rise in the scale of production results in a decline in the relative amount of living labour needed to convert a growing quantity of the means of production into the product. If, e.g., the ratio of constant capital [to variable] is as 3:1, $^1/_3$ of the surplus capital will be converted into variable capital, while if it=5:1, $^1/_5$ will be converted, and if it is as 10:1, $^1/_{10}$ will be converted[b] and this ratio changes with accumulation from 3:1, 4:1 into 5:1, 10:1, etc.

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[a] Should apparently be: "total". — *Ed.*

[b] This passage should read: "...$^1/_4$ of the surplus capital will be converted into variable capital, while if it=5:1, $^1/_6$ will be converted, and if it is as 10:1, $^1/_{11}$ will be converted".— *Ed.*

The *surplus capital* changes the ratio for the *total capital*; it not only changes it for itself, but also for the original capital of which it is the offshoot. For it is precisely through the addition of the surplus capital to the original capital that the objective conditions of the labour process make it possible to raise the productivity of labour, and therefore to reduce the ratio of variable to constant capital. The greater the wealth of the conditions with which the work is being done, the greater the proportion between the part of the total product which is reproduced as constant capital, and the part which is reproduced as variable capital. The same division takes place in surplus capital where production remains the same: a still greater predominance of constant over variable capital. [XXII-1371] Thus the *variable capital*, i.e. the part of the capital laid out in wages, increases with the *accumulation of capital*, for this is the sole means of producing *absolute surplus value*, but it declines relatively, or it increases in a constantly falling ratio as compared with the *growth* of the *total capital* and indeed the increasing *conversion of unpaid labour* into capital, i.e. *accumulation* of means and necessary producers, is [the cause] of this declining ratio, which not only shows itself in the *division* of the surplus capital, but reacts back upon the *total capital.*

All accumulation is the means of greater accumulation, hence the means for the exploitation of more *living labour*, but at the same time it is the means of employing less *living* labour in proportion to the total capital.

Hence if a surplus POPULATION is employed and absorbed by the *surplus capital*, this process of the assimilation or absorption of living labour by objectified labour is, as we saw in considering capitalist production,[a] created and accompanied—with improvements in machinery, etc., and the application of the capitalist mode of production where it did not previously exist—by a continuous expulsion of workers, a releasing of workers, a rendering of them available, with the result that the increasing number of workers attracted by capital is created by an increasing mass of expelled, released workers; a circumstance through which accumulation itself holds in reserve and continuously produces an available surplus POPULATION—living material for a still greater accumulation of capital—over and above the natural increase of the population.

It certainly must not be imagined that the *amount of variable capital* is identical with the *increasing amount of the means of*

[a] See this volume, pp. 26-30.—*Ed.*

*subsistence* which, with the *development of the amount of capital and the productivity of labour,* can be converted into variable capital, i.e. *can* be exchanged for living labour; nor should one adopt the fantastic notion that a certain part of the product must be converted into *variable capital* owing to the nature of its use value, or that *variable capital* has any kind of necessary relation to the *amount of the means of subsistence* (or the materials for the means of subsistence) which can enter as means of consumption into the *reproduction* of labour capacity.

*Reproduction.*

Reproduction in its narrower sense will be developed in the next section.[104] For the present, only the following point needs to be made: Production, considered as a continuously self-renewing act, or considered in the context of its constant renewal, is *reproduction.* The production process as a whole is always a reproduction process (in so far as new branches of labour are not being set up, and where it cannot be said at the STARTING point of these that *the same product* is being reproduced). In the total product there is *reproduced* 1) the constant capital, 2) the variable capital, and finally, 3) it contains a new component—the SURPLUS PRODUCE, which represents the surplus value. The part of the constant capital that does not enter into the valorisation process can be left out of account here. The closer examination of this belongs to the following section. All 3 of these constituents contained in the product exist in *the same material* shape. It is the same *mass of products,* the same *commodity,* each part of which corresponds to the three parts described above. The original *value* is what *is reproduced* first, and the *surplus value* is newly produced. The part that represents surplus value *may* enter into consumption (although not completely, as will be seen later). To begin with, let us consider the first two [XXII-1372] parts. If *production* is to be begun again on *the same* scale, the parts of the product which represent variable capital and constant capital must be reconverted into the *use value form* they possessed originally. (All this would be better placed in the next section.) In *reproduction* the starting point is the *product*; in the *simple production process* the particular product must first come into existence, or what is reproduced obtains in the product a form it *previously* did not possess, whereas in *reproduction* the form is constantly repeated. In *reproduction* the presuppositions of production themselves appear as its past results and the result of production appears as its *presupposition.* Every presupposition appears in every reproduction as a result (a

positing) and every result appears as a presupposition; the product both as condition and as result of the production process. Seen as a whole, the production process is a constant reproduction process, although, within every particular sphere of production, and for a single capital, 1) its presuppositions may appear as *initial* conditions, which are the starting point, as with the opening of any new business; and 2) the product may be converted into money without involving any renewal of the production process. Production, conceived in its flux—its truth—always appears as reproduction. *Accumulation* is nothing but reproduction on an extended scale. If the surplus value were entirely consumed, the scale would remain the same.

The following points are linked with this:

1) *Surplus capital* is nothing but SURPLUS LABOUR; 2) from the point of view of its *value*, every *original capital*, whether accumulated or not, appears after a certain period of time as having arisen from surplus value—hence it disappears as *original capital*, as *independent wealth* not derived from the exploitation of alien labour but rather *presupposed* to it. (Suppose the capital is 100, the surplus value=20. There may or may not be accumulation. If there is not, and the *production process* is always *repeated* on the same scale // *reproduction* 1) implies the constant *repetition* of the same production process, in so far as its product or the use value that results from it comes into consideration; 2) but it is not derived from the constant repetition of this process, the result of which is the *commodity*, or which is extinguished as a single process in the product, but rather from the fact that at the same time a part of the *value* of the product entered as a *presupposition* into production and emerges from it again as a result, and that the *material form* which this part of the value possessed in the labour process is restored again through the conversion of the product in that process//, hence the surplus value is consumed, the latter can always [be] expressed *in a definite ratio* with the capital, just as occurs in the case of profit. E.g. 20:100=1:5. So if this process is repeated 5 times, the surplus value consumed will=the original capital, and, where *value* is being considered, the situation is not changed at all, whether it is imagined that the surplus value is consumed and the capital preserved, or the *value* of the capital is consumed and the surplus value accumulated. After 5 years, the *value* of the capital in the given case=the *value* of the surplus value grabbed during the 5 years, or, in the value of the capital, the worker is confronted, from the point of view of the value, with no more than the *total amount of the surplus value appropriated by the*

*capitalist without equivalent.* If the worker had kept his own surplus value for himself and the capitalist had consumed as before an amount equal to that surplus value, the value of the original capital at the end of the 5 years would have been=0, while the worker would have possessed a value=the original capital. If, however, *surplus value* is reconverted into *capital*, let us say in the above case 10%, nothing changes in the calculation except this: the surplus value consumed is now $^1/_{10}$ of the original capital, instead of being $^1/_5$ as it was previously. The *value* of the original capital is now consumed in 2×5 years, in 10 years, instead of in 5 years. But it has been replaced at the same time by a value of 20×10, i.e. twice the original capital, because the *total amount* of surplus value capitalised in the 10 years=twice the [XXII-1373] *value* of the original capital. But the *value* of the original capital has disappeared, just as happened before, and the *value of the whole* of the capital is now only equal to the total amount of surplus value accumulated. (If the capital=$C$, the annual surplus value=$y$, and if $y=\frac{C}{x}$ (or $xy=C$, $x:C=1:y$) then $xy=C$. Or if the surplus value= $\frac{C}{x}$. $C=\frac{xC}{x}=x\left(\frac{C}{x}\right)=C$. Thus if $\frac{C}{x}$ is the surplus value of one year, the original capital must be replaced by surplus value in $x$ years.) Once more, this fact is not altered in any way whether it is conceived that the value of the original capital has been preserved and half the surplus value has been consumed (over the 10 years), while the other half, which=the original capital, has been accumulated, or that the *value* of the whole of the capital has been consumed, and on the other hand the *whole of the surplus value,*=twice the value of the original capital, has been accumulated over the 10 years.) But leaving aside these 2 points, leaving aside accumulation and leaving aside the nature of surplus capital and the ratio between the value of the original capital and the total amount of value of the surplus value that has been consumed, another point, 3), enters the picture:

If we consider the *simple reproduction process,* the simple repetition of the exchange between the same capital and the same labour capacity, the situation presents itself differently in considering the continuous process, its flux, its constant repetition, in short considering the same process as a reproduction process, from when this process appears as a simple and isolated, a solitary production process. //What converts the production process into a reproduction process—and for this reason the true conception of the production process is to conceive it as a *reproduction*

*process*—this belongs to the next section—is that the *product* is reconverted into the elements of its production. I.e. *constant capital* is again produced in its natural form through the conversion of the product, while another part of the capital, variable capital, is again exchanged for labour capacity. This reconversion of the part of the product which represents capital into the elements of its production is mediated by exchange, and in some branches of industry, e.g. agriculture, it proceeds in a natural form. A part of the product, as seed, manure, cattle, etc., re-enters the same production process as an element.

Within a particular sphere of production—i.e. a sphere which produces a particular *commodity*, a commodity with a particular use value—reconversion into elements of production of the same material character takes place. The product, in contrast, can be converted from its shape as money into any other elements of production, it can be transferred from one sphere to the other. Then the capital is not reproduced in the same natural form. But this too is reproduction, in so far as the *value*—which is indeed a product as well—is being considered. Then the *form of reproduction* changes.// //*Rate of profit (average).*[112] I showed earlier[a] that if the rate of surplus value=e.g. 50, and we have the following compositions in various spheres of production: $C50$, $V50+S25$ ($S$=surplus value), hence a rate of profit of 25; $C90$, $V10$, $S5$, hence a rate of profit of 5; $C80$, $V20$, $S10$, hence a rate of profit of 10; $C20$, $V80$, $S40$, hence a rate of profit of 40%, the average profit is $=\frac{25+5+10+40}{4}=\frac{80}{4}=20\%$. According to this the average rate of profit would be 20%. For a more precise determination it needs to be added that the *amount* of capital invested in each of the particular spheres also comes into consideration. E.g. if in the above case 2 capitals were invested at 25, 2 at 5, 2 at 10, and 2 at 40%, we would have 8 capitals. Hence $\frac{2\times 80}{2\times 4}$. The rate of profit *would be* the same, because the ratio of the total capital to the profit would have remained *the same.* If the doubling, or indeed any increase at all, of the capital had occurred *evenly* over every case, the amount of surplus value would have increased in the same proportion; the proportion between the two would therefore have remained *the same.* However, it is different if we have e.g. 20 capitals of 100 at 5%, 20 at 10, 10 at 25, and 5 at 40. In this case we would have:

[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 301-02.—*Ed.*

| | Capital | *Surplus Value* | *Rate of Profit* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 20×100 | =2,000 | 100 | |
| 20×100 | =2,000 | 200 | |
| 10×100 | =1,000 | 250 | |
| 5×100 | = 500 | 200 | |
| *Hence: Capital* | 5,500 | 750 | $13^{14}/_{22}$% |

[XXII-1374] Thus we see that the average profit is determined 1) by the average of the unequal profit rates of the different spheres of production; and 2) by the proportional division of the total capital among the different spheres of production. Here "different spheres of production" is to be understood to mean the spheres of production as they diverge according to their differing ORGANIC COMPOSITION OF CAPITAL.//

The relation we are referring to is this:

If we consider the *simple* reproduction process of capital—whether it is reproduced in the same sphere of production or a different one is irrelevant—in the course of the constant repetition of the conversion of variable capital into labour the worker constantly reproduces 1) the variable capital, and 2) the surplus value. What confronts him as variable capital is just as much his own product as the surplus value is. He has reproduced the variable capital and it serves to buy his labour anew. He reproduces it again, and again it buys his labour. It is his labour of yesterday, or of the last six months, which buys and pays for his labour of today or of the next six months. His present labour is bought with his past labour. And if we examine the result, in the product he has reproduced firstly *his own future wage*, perhaps his present wage (if e.g. the wage is paid weekly and the commodity is sold during the week, the worker thus in fact being paid out of his product converted into money; this does occur, just as much as it occurs that other commodities are only converted into money after a year, hence are only then expressed in a form in which they can function as wages; but the relation is not changed at all by this), and then, equally, the surplus value.

The notion which is very widespread among some political economists (e.g. Ricardo[a]) that the worker and the capitalist share the value of the product—share the product if we take the *total product* of the *total capital*, share the *value* of the product if we

[a] See present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 52-59.— *Ed.*

take the individual capital—says nothing further. This notion is not an arbitrary one. If we consider the *continuous production process*, which constantly renews itself, hence if we do not fix on one single production process, the *value* the worker adds to the means of production forms the *fund* from which 1) variable capital is renewed, hence wages are paid; 2) *surplus value* flows, in whatever way it is divided and converted into a consumption fund for the capitalist and an accumulation fund. If the worker is to be continuously employed, this should only be possible in so far as he continuously reproduces the part of the value of the product which serves to pay him, i.e. in so far as he IN FACT constantly reproduces the means of paying for his own labour. And although the relation originally presented itself as the exchange of objectified for living labour, the value of the product not only contains objectified labour but also *objectifies* living labour. His objectified labour is therefore the fund from which his living labour is paid.

Let us imagine that the worker works with his own means of production, or, and this is the same thing, that he only works with alien means of production as long as is necessary to reproduce his wages (in the latter case the property of the capitalist in the means of production would only be *nominal*; they would not produce any surplus value for him, and would only serve to reproduce the [worker's] wages). In that case the fund from which he is paid or which he requires for the reproduction of his labour capacity, the fund of means of subsistence which is the natural condition for the renewal of his labour, would not confront him as *capital*. This fund would not *employ* him, he would rather *apply* the fund, constantly reproducing it, in order to maintain his life as a worker. Therefore the fact that this labour fund confronts him as *variable* capital—as a *component of capital* at all—is merely a specific *social* form of this fund, a form which has nothing to do with its nature as a *labour fund*, or with the service it performs for the reproduction of the worker and, therefore, of his product as such. In *capitalist production*, this labour fund is constantly reproduced as a *mass of commodities* belonging to the capitalist, which the worker must constantly buy back, and in doing so he gives more labour than is contained in it. But he must *constantly buy it back* because he constantly reproduces it as *capital*. If he constantly reproduced it as his own labour fund, it would not confront him as *capital*. This is therefore only a particular *historical form of appearance* of his product (or rather of part of his product), which is admittedly very important for the shape of the production process or rather

the reproduction process, [XXII-1375] but changes nothing, either in this labour fund, in so far as it is considered as use value, or in its character as the worker's own product, as the objectification of his own labour.

It is possible for this labour fund not to assume the form of capital, and despite this for the worker constantly to be obliged to provide surplus labour and to hand over a part of the value of his product without equivalent. This applies e.g. to the situation of the peasants on *corvée* in the Danubian Principalities, which we examined earlier.[a] They do not just reproduce the labour fund itself—this is something all workers do under all forms of society. The labour fund rather assumes the form of capital vis-à-vis them. It appears as not only their product but a product which belongs to them, as the fund for their means of subsistence, which they constantly renew by their labour, but renew for themselves, in order to consume it as their labour fund. The *corvée* labour they perform for the boyars therefore *appears* as unpaid labour, while the labour of the wage labourer appears as *paid*, but it only appears as paid because 1) the labour fund reproduced by the wage labourer constantly passes into the ownership of the capitalist, thus constantly confronts him as *variable capital*, as alien property, which he must constantly buy back as means of payment from the hands of a third party; 2) the *value* of his necessary labour, of the part of the labour he does for himself, confronts him as the *price* for the whole of the working day, necessary+surplus labour, and therefore the *whole* of the working day appears as paid; 3) his surplus labour therefore does not appear as separated from his necessary labour (separated spatially and temporally). If the worker works 6 hours a day for himself, 6 hours for his capitalist, this is, over 6 days of the week, the same as if he worked 3 days for himself (and during these 3 days used the means of production for himself as his own property) and 3 days for the capitalist, hence worked 3 days for nothing. But since this division does not take place *outwardly*, he *appears* to be paid for 6 working days. The *corvée* worker in Moldavia, on the other hand, works 3 days for himself on his own field, and no one pays him for this; he pays himself; the product of these 3 days of his week's work is not converted into *capital*, i.e. it never confronts him as a *condition of production* in the hands of a third party. He works the other 3 days on the boyar's estate for nothing. This surplus labour of his *appears* as what all surplus labour is—*unpaid*

[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 212-17.—*Ed.*

compulsory labour, provided without an *equivalent*—but it only appears this way because the product of his *necessary* labour does not pass into the hands of the boyar, is therefore not given back by the boyar to the *corvée* peasant in exchange for 6 days [of labour]. If this were the case the whole of his labour would appear as paid, and thus the LABOUR *fund* he himself produced would confront him as capital. If the boyar were to appropriate the whole of the product of the peasant's labour, and pay back to him what he needed for his existence, so that he could again 1) buy back, i.e. reproduce, this part, which costs 3 days of labour a week or 6 hours a day, but in addition, 2), work 3 days [a week] or 6 hours a day for nothing, the *corvée* would have been converted into wage labour, and the labour fund into the specific form of *variable capital.* On the other hand, in India for example (pre-English India) the RYOT provided a certain part of his product or his surplus labour in the form of rent *in natura.* But he never *alienated* his LABOUR fund; it was not for a moment converted into *capital*; he himself constantly reproduced it for himself. Since capital, if it is to reproduce itself as capital, as self-valorising value, must constantly yield up to labour capacity part of the value of the product=the means of subsistence necessary for labour capacity's reproduction, and since it must equally constantly appropriate the *surplus labour* for nothing, just as the boyar or the Mogul does, it is evident that this formal quality of the LABOUR fund of appearing as *capital,* and in particular as *variable capital,* is only a particular *historical form of appearance* of the labour fund, and in and for itself—important as it is for the whole production process and the relation between the worker and the appropriator of surplus labour—it changes nothing in the circumstance that the LABOUR fund [XXII-1376] is nothing but the part of the value of the product or of the product of the worker which he constantly reproduces in order constantly to consume it. All that is different is the *way* in which he gets into a position to consume it. In the one case it confronts him directly as a product in his possession, and forms a consumption fund which stands directly at his disposal; in the other case this part of the product is first *alienated,* appears as *alien property,* as the *product* of the worker's labour *which has become independent* vis-à-vis him, the *personification* of his *past labour,* which he can appropriate again and again by buying it back again with more living labour than is contained in it. In the other forms, too, he must constantly buy back this part of the product by renewing his labour, but he does not have to buy it back as a *commodity* from a third party. If a part of the labour,

surplus labour, appears as *corvée labour*, as *unpaid compulsory labour* to the *corvée worker*, or the objectification of surplus labour, the surplus product, appears to the RYOT as a *part of his total product* which he must hand over without an equivalent, this is so only because in both cases the necessary labour and the product of that necessary labour appear as *labour belonging* to, and *product belonging* to, the *corvée* peasant and the RYOT themselves, and never as labour and product belonging to a third party. With the *wage labourer* in contrast the *whole of his labour* appears as paid labour, because no part of his labour appears as belonging to him, and the whole of the product of his labour, even the part that merely forms his own consumption fund, renews his own means of subsistence, constantly presents itself at each moment as a product belonging to the capitalist, as *capital*. It is only because his necessary labour itself appears as labour *alien* to him that his total labour appears as *paid* labour; it is only because the product even of his necessary labour appears as a product *which does not belong to him* that it can appear as the *means of payment* for his labour. In order to present itself as means of payment it must pass beforehand into the hands of a third party, and then pass in turn, through purchase and sale, out of his hands and into the hands of the worker. It therefore only appears as *means of payment*, or the LABOUR *fund* only appears as capital, because it is directly *appropriated*, not by the worker, but by the capitalist, because it is first taken, so that it can be given back. This constant divestiture is the condition for its appearance as a *fund of means of payment* of labour, as capital, instead of as a direct consumption fund.

We have seen, therefore, that:

1) *Surplus capital*—or capital as surplus capital—consists in all its elements of surplus labour appropriated by the capitalist without an equivalent, and it is the means for the repetition of this appropriation of alien surplus labour;

2) The *value* of all capital, even where it differs originally from surplus capital, disappears in production as a whole, and is converted simply into capitalised surplus value;

3) Apart from surplus value, *variable capital* occurs in the production process as a whole as merely a particular *historical form of appearance* of the LABOUR fund constantly renewed and reproduced by the worker himself for his reproduction.

The political economists express this when they:

1) characterise accumulation as the conversion of income (profit) into capital (this also includes constant capital);

2) characterise the total value of the product //apart from the

constant capital// or the product of the worker as the fund from which wages and surplus value are paid, or in which the capitalist and the worker each have a share;

3) conceive *variable capital* as merely a *particular historical form of appearance* of the LABOUR fund, as Richard Jones did, who demonstrated how this fund assumes different forms in different epochs.[a]

[XXII-1377] //One of the chief merits of the Physiocrats was their insight into the *reproduction process.* Thus it is very finely brought out (see *Baudeau*[b]) that what appear in *production* as *avances*[c] appear in reproduction as *reprises.*[d] *Reprises* appear in contrast to *avances* as a direct or mediated (through the circulation process) reconversion of the components of the *product* from their natural form into *elements of production,* components of constant capital; the reconversion of the part of the product which=constant capital into raw material, accessory materials and means of labour. As *avances* on the other hand these presuppositions of the product appear independent of the latter, they appear as derived from circulation. The difference is constantly evident. If a capital is invested in a particular sphere of production, its *avances* appear as constantly reproduced, as *reconverted* forms of components of the product. If new *capital* is productively invested, money is converted into *constant* and *variable* capital. For the individual capitalist these are not *reprises,* but mere *avances,* although—because this new capital is *surplus capital*—they are just as much *reprises,* considered from the point of view of reproduction as a whole.//[113]

//Both the old capital and the surplus capital can be reproduced in an *altered natural form.* This is possible in a double form. *Firstly*: The capital (old or surplus capital, original or additional capital) is not reproduced in the *shape of the same product* as the one of which it originally formed a component, but in the shape of *another product,* which had already been produced earlier. This is the *emigration* of capital (ITS TRANSFER) from one sphere of production to another, whether it happens that the distribution merely of the old capital between the different spheres of production is altered, or

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[a] See R. Jones, *An Introductory Lecture on Political Economy...*, London, 1833, pp. 14-50. Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 335-45, 352-53.—*Ed.*

[b] N. Baudeau, *Explication du Tableau Economique....* In: *Physiocrates. Quesnay ... par M. Eugène Daire,* Part II, Paris, 1846. See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 230-32.—*Ed.*

[c] Advances.—*Ed.*

[d] Returns.—*Ed.*

that the additional capital, the surplus capital, is invested in another sphere of production, already existing previously, instead of the one from which it originates. This is also a *metamorphosis of capital*, and indeed a very important one, since it underlies the *competition* between capitals in different spheres of production, hence the formation of the *general rate of profit.* The most variable part of capital, which can take on the most diverse forms, is *variable capital* itself, which is exchanged for living labour. For the natural form of this part of capital to alter, nothing else is necessary than that *labour capacity* should be employed in one manner rather than another. This rests on the CHANGEABILITY of human labour capacity. The simpler the labour—and in all large branches of production the labour is simple—the less specific training is necessary, the easier is this conversion of the form of concrete labour. Furthermore, as far as *circulating capital* is concerned, its convertibility into any desired form of existing commodity is naturally *absolute*; this is the character of money. But this convertibility is purely illusory. For money is only a transitory form of *circulating* capital //taken here in so far as it does not consist of means of subsistence for the worker; hence as the part of the constant capital which does not consist of *fixed capital*, implements of labour, etc.// and its amount stands in no relation at all to the amount of *circulating capital.* If e.g. more *rye* is to be produced rather than more *wheat*, more money must be converted into rye seed. If the previous rye harvest was precisely sufficient for previous consumption, and no foreign rye was available for purchase, the investment of more capital in rye could only take place if the consumption of rye were reduced by *raising the price of rye*, thereby setting free part of the rye as *seed.* As far as the other conditions are concerned, labour would remain the same, so too *fixed capital*, and there would merely be a different division of *the same* labour and the same *implements* between wheat cultivation and rye cultivation. *On the other hand*, e.g., to change the numbers of twist which are to be spun, etc., would require only a *slight modification* of the fixed capital. The kind of labour and the material would remain the same. This is in general the case when the dimensions [XXII-1378] of the same *branch of production* necessitate a change in the total amount of capital employed in it. Hence where the *raw material* remains the same. It is on the other hand possible for the *raw material* to change and the fixed capital and the kind of labour to remain the same, or for the latter to change only a little. E.g. when more of one kind of tree or another is felled, when more of one kind of fish or another is

caught, when more of one metal or another is extracted from the earth. But where the *branch of production* is essentially different, a given part of the fixed capital cannot be converted from one form into the other. The *buildings* may remain the same, but the machinery, etc., is very different, and the same is true of the installations erected on the land. When a CHANGE like this takes place, therefore, the *fixed capital* may become devalued and worthless. But if it is merely the SURPLUS CAPITAL which changes its employment, the change always amounts to a treatment of *the same raw material* by different machines, etc. The VARIABILITY OF HUMAN LABOUR always forms the basis of this kind of *metamorphosis* of capital, whether because a part of the old labour capacities alter their work, or because new labour capacities are predominantly employed, not in the old sphere of production, but in another one.

This *metamorphosis* of capital concerns merely the *real metamorphosis*, which takes place in the labour process, the *changed* form of the raw material, machinery, labour, into which the capital has been reconverted. It has nothing to do with the *formal* metamorphosis, which consists exclusively in the conversion of *commodity capital into money capital*, and of *money capital* into *productive capital*, in fact in the reconversion of *commodity capital*, as the commodities which form the elements of the labour process. This second metamorphosis is related purely to the changed *natural form* (the form of the use values) into which the money is reconverted in the course of its reconversion into capital.

*Secondly.* Old or additional capital is invested in *new* branches of production. Either *new raw material* is needed for this, or the newly discovered use value of an *old raw material.* E.g. railways. No new material in addition to coal, iron, wood, etc., is required for this purpose. *Rubber* is a contrasting case. Even with the telegraph, there is merely the employment in a new way of old raw materials. The main variation in the latter case lies only in the method of working.

The more productive the labour, the more possible it is to increase the number of *branches of labour*; to utilise in a new manner labour which has become *superfluous* in the old production for its reproduction on the same or an extended scale, whether through a new way of using old raw materials, or through the discovery of, or the extension of trade in, new raw materials. The *variety* of branches of production grows with the *accumulation* of capital—hence the *differentiation of labour.*//

//The use of the *excrements of production* and *consumption* extends

along with the *capitalist branches of production.* By excrements of *production* we mean its *waste products,* whether those of industry or of agriculture (such as manure, etc.). By *excrements* of consumption we mean in part the excrements proceeding from the natural reproduction process (faeces, urine, etc., of human beings), in part the form in which the articles of consumption remain behind after they have been consumed (such as rags, etc.). In a chemical factory, for example, the subsidiary products which are lost in the case of small-scale production again form in the case of mass production the raw material for other branches of chemical production; in large-scale engineering iron filings are again converted into iron; in the manufacture of wood on a mass scale the sawdust again yields a return as fertiliser; thus the excrements either re-enter the same sphere of production as means of production, or other spheres of production. The manure of animals, the urine and faeces of human beings, re-enter cultivation, tanneries, etc. Iron waste re-enters the same branch of production as a means of production; rags go into the paper factory; COTTON waste goes into fertiliser; an example should be looked up for chemicals. This is connected partly with the *natural* interchange of matter, partly with the industrial *interchange of form.*// [96]

[XXII-1379] *Surplus value* is always expressed in *SURPLUS PRODUCE*; i.e. in a part of the *product* which is at the disposal of the capitalist, and forms a *surplus* over and above the parts of the product which replace the capital originally laid out. One should not imagine for that reason that *surplus PRODUCE* arises merely because in reproduction the amount of products increases as compared with the original amount. All *surplus value* is expressed in *surplus PRODUCE,* and it is only this that we call the *surplus product.* (The surplus of use value in which the surplus value is expressed.) On the other hand, not all of the *surplus product* represents surplus value; this is a confusion found in Torrens[a] and others. Assume, for example, that the year's harvest is twice as large this year as the previous year, although *the same* amount of objectified and living labour was employed to produce it. The *value* of the harvest (disregarding here all deviations of price from value brought about by supply and demand) is the same. If the same ACRE produces 8 qrs of wheat instead of 4 qrs, 1 qr of wheat will now have half as much value as before, and the 8 qrs will have no more value than the 4 had. In order to exclude all outside influences, assume that

[a] See present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 267-74.— *Ed.*

the seed was cultivated on specific fields, which yielded the same product as the previous year. Thus a qr of seed would have to be paid for with 2 qrs of wheat, and all the elements of capital as also surplus value would remain the same (similarly the ratio of the surplus value to the total capital). If the situation is different in this example, this is only because a part of the constant capital is replaced *in natura* from the product; hence a smaller part of the product is needed to replace the seed; hence a part of the constant capital is set free and *appears* as SURPLUS PRODUCE.

This belongs *to reproduction.*[104]

The *surplus value* is expressed as *SURPLUS PRODUCE*, and the shape of the surplus PRODUCE is the same as that of the total product, i.e. the particular use value capital produces in this particular branch. If the product consists of wheat, boards, machines, twist, locks, violins, etc., the surplus PRODUCE will also be expressed as wheat, boards, machines, twist, locks, violins, etc.

The following process can now take place with the *SURPLUS PRODUCE*[114]:

*Firstly*, in so far as *it is not converted into surplus capital, but consumed*: 1) Either the capitalist can consume it in its natural form, entirely or partially. If only partially, it falls under the CASE to be examined in 2). For him to consume it in its natural form, it must exist in a form in which it is able to *enter into individual consumption.* To this there also belong the instruments, containers, etc., which enter into the consumption process as *implements*, such as needles, scissors, bottles, etc. Or e.g. semi-manufactures, such as sewing materials, which are worked up in the sphere of consumption itself. 2) He consumes it in the form of other use values; he sells it and buys with the money the various objects which form part of the consumption fund. If his product is the kind that cannot enter into individual consumption, its buyer must buy it for *productive consumption*, i.e. it must enter for him into his capital as a replacement element, or into his surplus capital as an element of new constant capital. Hence the fact that every part of the value of the surplus PRODUCE which is not converted by its owner into surplus capital is consumed by him does not imply that this *surplus PRODUCE* itself enters *in natura* into individual consumption. It may enter into capital. It can in fact be consumed as capital by the buyer of this surplus PRODUCE. And again, two things are possible here: Either it replaces *original capital* or surplus capital, or it represents for the buyer the conversion of a part of his *surplus PRODUCE into SURPLUS CAPITAL*. If a greater part of the SURPLUS PRODUCE were produced in a natural form in which it can only serve

as *constant capital*, the part of the SURPLUS PRODUCE which enters into individual consumption (whether in order to be converted into variable capital, or in order to enter into the consumption fund of the capitalist) being correspondingly [small], there would take place an *overproduction of constant capital*. If on the other hand too large a part of the SURPLUS PRODUCE were reproduced in a form in which it cannot be constant capital, but is destined for individual consumption, whether that of the worker as variable capital, or that of the non-worker, there would have taken place an *overproduction of the part of the circulating capital* which does not enter into constant capital. These relations could be determined precisely in an enclosed and isolated country. But *foreign trade* allows a part of the *SURPLUS PRODUCE* which exists in one country in the form of raw materials, semi-manufactures, accessory materials and machinery, to be converted into the form of the *surplus PRODUCE* [XXII-1380] of another country, in which it exists in the form of consumable objects. *Foreign* trade thus breaks through this barrier. It is therefore necessary for capitalist production, which works according to the *measure* of its means of production without regard to the *satisfaction of a definite given need*. The domination of production by exchange value appears for the individual in such a way that his production 1) is not directed towards his own needs, 2) does not directly satisfy his needs; in a word, he produces *commodities*, which can only be converted into *use values* for him after their conversion into money. But now this appears in such a way that the production of a *whole* country is not measured by its direct needs, or by such a distribution of the different parts of production as would be required for the valorisation of that production. With this, the reproduction process is dependent not on the production of mutually complementary equivalents in the same country, but on the production of these equivalents on foreign markets, on the power of absorption and the degree of extension of the world market. This provides an *increased* possibility of non-correspondence, HENCE a possibility of crises.

If a country were isolated, its surplus PRODUCE could only be consumed in the given natural form of that surplus PRODUCE. The sphere within which the surplus PRODUCE could be exchanged would be limited by the multiplicity of different branches of production in the same country. Foreign trade tears down this barrier. A surplus PRODUCE of twist can be represented in wine, raisins, silk, etc. Thus foreign trade multiplies the forms into which the surplus PRODUCE of a country can be converted and in which it can be

consumed. But in spite of assuming this *foreign* form, the SURPLUS PRODUCE continues to represent nothing but the SURPLUS value, the SURPLUS labour, of the indigenous workers.

The larger the scale on which the necessary means of subsistence are produced, and therefore the more productive the labour is (with the correspondingly increased accumulation of capital), the greater the part of the labour that can be employed in the production of a multiplicity of forms in which the surplus PRODUCE can be consumed.

The objects which enter into the consumption fund may be consumed more slowly or more quickly. The richer the production, the more does a wealth of more or less durable use values enter into this consumption fund, so that the consumption fund increases in size and multiplicity. Part of the *consumption fund* might in emergency be converted into capital.

However, if we are speaking of *surplus PRODUCE* in so far as *it is not* converted *into surplus capital,* but consumed by those who possess it, we can disregard any mediation through either internal or foreign trade. Only the part of the *product* which is expressed in a form appropriate for individual consumption can enter into the *consumption fund.* The capitalist does not need to consume everything himself: his cats, dogs, horses, birds, servants, mistresses, etc., eat as well. Or a part can also be consumed by *unproductive workers* whose services are bought in this way.

II) *In so far as the surplus PRODUCE is converted into surplus capital.*

The conversion may be into variable capital and constant capital. *Variable capital* can be increased or reduced (the variable capital *in the proportion necessary* for the extension of production; this proportion is not however determined by the *proportion* by which production is extended) without any increase or reduction in the surplus PRODUCE or indeed any change in that part of it alone which exists *in the form of necessary means of subsistence* entering into the worker's consumption. More of this part may be consumed by horses, dogs, mistresses, etc., or *more or less* may be exchanged for the *services* of unproductive labour. The part of the surplus PRODUCE which is convertible into *variable capital* may be increased or reduced according to the restriction or the extension of this unproductive consumption. This part of the surplus PRODUCE may be reduced e.g. for the following year (at least it may be reduced in relation to the number of productive workers newly set in motion during that year) if a large part of the surplus PRODUCE is fixed in the kind of *constant capital* (fixed capital) which rather than entering directly into the reproduction process forms merely

a basis for extended reproduction, and is neither by nature exportable nor able to be turned into the components of variable capital on foreign markets. [XXII-1381] Thus e.g. with the conversion of surplus PRODUCE into railways, canals, buildings, bridges, the draining of marshes, docks, and the fixed parts of a factory, forges, coal mines, etc. None of these things can be transported; nor do they directly increase reproduction, although they are all means for extending reproduction. If they are constructed *disproportionately*, this may result in a deficit of next year's surplus PRODUCE; in particular a lessening of the part of the surplus PRODUCE which can be expressed as *variable capital* and as *circulating* capital in general. Again there is a *potentiality for crises* arising from the *overproduction* of *fixed capital.*

We demonstrated earlier[a]:

If the scale of production remains the same—if reproduction is repeated to the same extent—the product of the producers who produce *constant capital*, in so far as this product consists of *variable capital* (wages) and *surplus PRODUCE*—hence represents in general the *income* of this class—must be exactly=to the *constant capital* needed annually by the class which produces the *means of consumption.* If it were larger, it would have no equivalent—no counter-value corresponding to it—and would be depreciated *pro tanto.*[b] As remarked above, *foreign trade* breaks through this barrier. The producers can convert a part of their product into variable capital and objects of consumption of income on the foreign markets.

But let us disregard foreign trade. With reproduction remaining the same, therefore, the variable capital and the surplus PRODUCE of class I (which produces constant capital), in particular the surplus PRODUCE, cannot be considered as income. It is income for the capitalists involved in this class I alone, not for capital as a whole. For it is a part of the constant capital of class II. Thus one can look at the matter in this way, that the whole of the product of class II[115] only replaces the constant capital of the society, and the whole of the product of class I forms the income of the society, hence represents, after deduction of the variable capital, of the part that is consumed as wages, the surplus PRODUCE which is consumed annually in various forms; a consumption which is mediated through exchange, purchase and sale, in such a way that the

[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 429-41, Vol. 31, pp. 134-45 and Vol. 32, pp. 102-08, 380-85.— *Ed.*

[b] Correspondingly.— *Ed.*

surplus PRODUCE is divided among its various owners according to need.

But it is different once the *surplus PRODUCE* is converted into *surplus capital.*

//This matter must be presented first without regard to *money*, and then with *regard* to money.

*Without money*: For a part of the surplus PRODUCE to be able to be converted into surplus capital, a part of it must *d'abord*[a] be reproduced in a form in which it can serve as *additional variable capital.* This is true particularly of those items of the variable capital in which the product of one year must serve for the consumption of the following year, as with corn, etc., and all *raw materials* from the vegetable kingdom, such as cotton, flax, wool too, etc., where the same thing takes place. The sheep may be shorn at different times of year, but the wool harvest depends on the number of sheep available during the year, etc. It is untrue, in contrast, of those means of subsistence the production of which can itself be increased during the year, parallel with their production, if the conditions of this increased production are available, whether machinery and labour, or machinery, labour and raw material. Coal, iron, metals in general, wood, etc., require more labour, more coal, more machinery, and more implements of labour for increased production, if the number of workers in employment is increased. If, on the other hand, just the working day is increased, nothing more is necessary than in one case more raw material, in the other case more accessory materials and a more rapid production subsequently of the machinery or implements which have been worn out. The surplus capital does not need to be invested simultaneously or evenly in all branches. If e.g. new COTTON FACTORIES are built and filled with machinery (and this is not merely a new distribution of the old capital), the SURPLUS PRODUCE does not need to exist simultaneously in the form of cotton, but only once the new factory SHALL BE PUT TO WORK, perhaps in a year. Then, however, the additional cotton must be procured. What was necessary until then was only the additional conversion of surplus PRODUCE partly into wages (variable capital) and partly into more iron, wood, stones, belts and the additional quantity of accessory materials, machinery [XXII-1382] and implements required for an increased production of those items.

A part of the *surplus PRODUCE* can be converted *in natura directly into constant capital,* may enter directly, as such, into its own

[a] First.— *Ed.*

reproduction. E.g. wheat may enter as seed, coal as an accessory in coal production, machines in machine-building, etc. Or the producers of the constant capital may exchange it among themselves, in which case it serves each of them, once it has changed hands, as constant capital; but this whole part of the surplus PRODUCE, considered as a whole, has been converted directly into constant capital, new, additional constant capital has been created.

Similarly, a part of the *SURPLUS PRODUCE* is directly convertible into variable capital, and often all that is needed for this is a different distribution of the necessary means of subsistence, their exchange with productive instead of with unproductive workers.

A part of the SURPLUS PRODUCE may be converted for one capitalist into variable, for another into constant, capital. E.g. the FARMER buys new machines, implements, etc. The machine manufacturer employs new workers with the means of subsistence received from the FARMER in exchange for the machines.

Since the constant capital employed by class I (the class that produces the means of subsistence) increases, this makes it possible to increase the part of the product produced by class II which can be resolved into variable capital and SURPLUS PRODUCE. But the constant capital [of class II] can be increased directly, partly *in natura*, partly through a division of the SURPLUS PRODUCE mediated through exchange, without any exchange with class I, and thus without meeting any direct barrier in the production of class I. Similarly, the exchange of constant capital takes place here directly with the surplus PRODUCE of class I (not with its constant capital). It is converted for class II into additional variable capital, and for class I into additional constant capital. Yet the necessary proportions are abolished thereby, made more accidental, hence new potentialities for *crisis*.

The difference for class I, however, is this, that if a greater part of its product is consumed as variable capital by class II, a smaller amount of product is consumed in the form of surplus PRODUCE by the non-productive workers and the capitalists themselves; *demand* thereby falls for the producers of class I who produce the surplus PRODUCE in the form of means of consumption for the non-workers. They are thereby restricted in their reproduction, and a devaluation of part of the capital invested in this class takes place. In reality, the part of the surplus PRODUCE which is consumed in the form of luxury products or for the payment of unproductive workers is relatively small at the beginning of the *carrière*[a] of a

[a] Career.— *Ed.*

nation producing in the capitalist fashion. The surplus PRODUCE increases in quantity and value with the accumulation of capital; it is therefore possible for an ever greater part to be reproduced in the form of luxury products, or exchanged for the services of unproductive workers, and accordingly a constantly growing part can be converted into surplus capital. Still greater, with this progress in accumulation, is the part of the capital which is converted into constant capital, while the part converted into variable capital constantly declines *relatively*, hence in the formation of *SURPLUS CAPITAL* the part of the means of subsistence which is converted into variable capital or withdrawn from unproductive consumption constantly declines, so that there is a constant increase in the amount of products at the disposal of unproductive consumption, despite the growth of capital. The amount of surplus PRODUCE converted in the production of constant capital increases, but while the part of the *surplus PRODUCE* which exists in the form of *means of subsistence* grows to the same degree, there is a decline in the share of the working class—in the part of the surplus which is to be converted into additional variable capital.

Since the *definite proportion* in which the total capital is divided between the 2 classes [of producers], or in which the various components of the product enter into the reproduction process at particular points, is dissolved, partly by foreign trade, partly by the changing conversion of SURPLUS PRODUCE into SURPLUS CAPITAL, there is here a new potentiality *OF INADEQUACY* and therefore OF *CRISES*. These disproportions may occur not only between fixed and circulating capital (in their reproduction), between variable and constant capital, and between the different components of constant capital, but also between capital and income.

The CASE of *money* is to be examined later.//

[XXII-1383] For our present purpose, the *conversion of surplus PRODUCE* into *surplus capital* can be conceived most simply as follows: The *surplus PRODUCE* is expressed in products of varying use value. Part of it takes the form of *means of consumption* which do not enter into the consumption of the working classes. (Foreign trade would make it possible to express this part too in any form of use value, but here we want entirely to make abstraction from foreign trade.) This part enters entirely into the consumption of the possessor of the surplus PRODUCE. This is the first deduction to be made. A second part consists of means of consumption which enter into general consumption. A greater or lesser part of this is *directly* consumed by the possessors of the SURPLUS PRODUCE, or indirectly consumed by their dogs, horses, servants or by the

unproductive workers whose services are given to the possessors of the SURPLUS PRODUCE in exchange. This second part of the surplus PRODUCE is thus equally to be deducted. Another part of these *means of consumption* serves to buy labour. It is converted into *variable capital.* Finally, part of it consists of seed, raw materials, accessory materials, semi-manufactures, cattle, machinery and tools. This part is converted into *constant capital.* The sum total of the parts of the surplus PRODUCE which are thus converted into variable and constant capital forms the *surplus capital,* into which a part of the *surplus PRODUCE* or *surplus value* has been converted. If, e.g., the SURPLUS PRODUCE thus converted into capital=500 thalers, of which 400 consist of constant and 100 of variable capital; if the day's work of 100 workers can be bought with the 100 thalers, and the working day of 100 workers is realised in 200 thalers, the 100 thalers would be the means of buying twice as much labour as is contained in them, and thereby of converting the 500 thalers into 600, into capital. The part of the SURPLUS CAPITAL which is converted into variable capital is exchanged for more labour, or is a means of appropriating a part of new additional labour for nothing. But these 100 thalers are themselves alien labour appropriated for nothing, just as are the 400 thalers of additional constant capital, so that the whole of this *surplus labour* of the worker is, in the hands of the capitalist, a means of appropriating new surplus labour and effecting the reproduction *for nothing* of the labour already appropriated.

The circumstance that the *productivity* of *labour,* and at the same time the *value of the product reproduced by it,* depends on the wealth of the objective conditions, on the amount of past labour which enters into the production process—hence depends on the *accumulation of capital*—appears, like *all the productive power* of labour, as a *productive power of capital, independent of labour and confronting it.* This *stage-by-stage extension of past* labour, which is set in motion by living labour in the reproduction process—and which conditions the growing productivity of living labour—is presented as *a service performed by* this *past* labour, or it is conceived in such a way that the *alienation of this past labour as capital* makes it into this essential moment of production; because in fact in capitalist production this *past labour* constantly confronts living labour as capital, this *confrontation,* this *estranged, socially converted form* of labour is regarded as the secret process by which capital makes labour more productive, although naturally this past labour of the worker performed exactly the same service when it functioned as the worker's *property.* This view is necessary:

1) because only in capitalist production, as opposed to previous modes of production, does *past* labour enter into reproduction to this increasing extent; it therefore appears as *its* mark of distinction from previous modes of production; 2) because the *antagonistic* form in which objectified labour here appears towards living labour is considered as its *immanent* character, and as inseparable from the function it fulfils in the reproduction process.

Apart from the *accumulation of objectified labour*, as it appears in the conversion of surplus PRODUCE into surplus capital, a *constant accumulation* of the worker's personal skill takes place, through practice, and through the TRANSFER of acquired skill to the new generation of workers which is growing up. This *accumulation* costs capital nothing [XXII-1384] although it plays a role of decisive importance in the reproduction process. The accumulation of *scientific knowledge* should also be added here, in so far as it is applied to the material production process. This accumulation is continuous reproduction on a continuously expanding scale. The results of knowledge achieved are taught and reproduced as the *elements* of knowledge, and worked on further by the learners as elements of knowledge. Here the cost of reproduction never stands in proportion to the original cost of production.

A warning should be issued here against two notions:

1) confusing *saving* with accumulation,

2) confusing the *accumulation process* of capital with accumulation such as occurs in the simple *formation of hoards.*

*Ad* 1), *saving.* The actually disposable part of the product—the surplus PRODUCE—could be consumed by the capitalist *individually.* Hence by converting a part of it into capital he renounces its enjoyment and saves. The notion that the whole of the SURPLUS PRODUCE can be consumed is *d'abord* in and for itself incorrect, because the product passes through all kinds of dangers in the production process proper, as also in the circulation process, and a reserve fund is therefore necessary, not only for ordinary depreciation, but for extraordinary accidents. This reserve fund can only be formed from the surplus PRODUCE. Moreover, the capitalist mode of production would be impossible without a constant extension of the division of labour, improved and additional machinery, etc., which likewise requires a part of the SURPLUS PRODUCE. Capitalist production is altogether a production directed towards the increase of exchange value, especially surplus value, and this continuous increase can only be attained by the constant conversion of surplus PRODUCE into capital. The capitalist

mode of production is of course only possible with its conditions, and these are very different from those of a mode of production directed towards immediate subsistence. Thus much initially on the illusion that the whole of surplus PRODUCE can be consumed.

But we have here the even more extraordinary notion that the capitalist can consume the whole of his capital, instead of valorising it as capital! First of all, the major part of this capital exists in a non-consumable form, as means of production; it exists in a shape in which it can only be consumed productively. The whole notion rests on the idea of the *individual money owner.* Instead of converting £1,000 into capital, he can consume it. (He can of course only put it out at interest if he does not consume his £1,000, leaving it instead for others to employ as capital.) But if the total reproduction process were to be interrupted even for only 14 days, that would be the end of the "consumables".

But the capitalist has one merit in comparison with others. It has nothing to do with labour. What the capitalist *saves* is the product of *unpaid labour,* hence a product appropriated from the worker without equivalent. *The savings of the rich are made at the expense of the poor (Say).*[a] It is *accumulated labour,* but not *his* accumulated labour.

2) *Accumulation process.* The difference between this and HOARDING has already been noted previously.[b]

In so far as accumulation is understood to mean the *building up of supplies,* or the existence *of commodities in the zone intermediate* between production and consumption, this belongs to the circulation process.[c]

The phrase that no one is more involved in the accumulation process of capital than the worker himself means in the opinion of the vulgarisers that the worker must be happy if he is paid as low a wage as possible (the *rate of surplus value,* further the rate of profit, as high as *possible*), because along with the amount of SURPLUS VALUE OT SURPLUS PRODUCE (profits, developed further) the part which is converted into *SURPLUS CAPITAL* grows, and therefore there is a growth in the amount of **additional variable capital* or that part of capital which is converted into wages of productive labour or which is exchanged against labour.* If this part grows more

[a] J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique...,* 5th ed., Vol. I, Paris, 1826, pp. 130-31. Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 359-70.— *Ed.*

[c] See K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. II, Part I, Ch. VI, Sect. I (present edition, Vol. 36).— *Ed.*

rapidly than the LABOURING POPULATION (and the ADDITIONAL DEMAND FOR LABOUR is determined by it), the *price of labour* will increase above its *VALUE*, or the *AVERAGE*. First a *lessening of the wage* (or at least a relatively low wage) is asserted to be something good; in other words, the worker exchanges *as large a part as possible* of his time with the capitalist for nothing, and therefore obtains *as little* of the product of his own labour *as possible*, and this is supposed to be good because the amount of capital employed is thereby increased. Then an increase in the size of this capital is regarded as something good because SURPLUS LABOUR is thereby reduced, or the wage increases. For a greater part of his free labour to flow back to him as wages under particular circumstances he is expected provisionally to appropriate a smaller part of his labour as wages. What [XXII-1385] pretty, and particularly for the worker what stupid, circular arguments!

Accumulation brings a *relative* reduction in the part of the capital that is converted into variable capital. This is No. 5.

Secondly, the mass of the *POPULATION made REDUNDANT* or the *surplus POPULATION* constantly created by the capitalist mode of production itself increases with the development of the productive forces associated with accumulation.

But leaving this aside, and these are circumstances of decisive importance, accumulation is in the worker's interest, however much it must bring him ever repeated misfortune,

1) in so far as *surplus capital* is increased through the fact that a smaller part of the SURPLUS PRODUCE is consumed by the capitalist and a larger part converted into surplus capital; hence in so far as the growth of SURPLUS CAPITAL does not result from an increase in SURPLUS LABOUR (and therefore in SURPLUS PRODUCE), but from the conversion of a larger part into capital when this SURPLUS PRODUCE is divided into income and capital;

2) but since this depends on the *productivity of labour*, assuming the magnitude of the *SURPLUS PRODUCE* remains the same, and the productivity of labour in turn depends on the *development of the capitalist mode of production*, it is in the worker's interest (once wage labour exists) for capitals to be employed in large, concentrated quantities, instead of being scattered among many capitalists and employed in an unproductive manner.

In so far as the *accumulation process* is identical with the *concentration process*, the *inner* progress of capitalist production consists in an ever increasing supersession of *private production*, of the kind of production for which the property of the genuinely isolated producer in his conditions of labour appears as a *condition*

*of production* itself. The worker's relation to the *conditions of production* develops into a relation to *common, social magnitudes.*

//Conclusion of the quotation from an earlier presentation of the subject[116]:

In so far as the surplus product is valorised anew as surplus capital, enters anew the labour process and the process of self-valorisation, it divides itself into:

1) means of subsistence to be exchanged for labour capacity. This part of the capital can be defined as the *wages fund.* It serves for the progressive maintenance of labour capacity, since this part of the surplus capital grows continuously, even though by no means in the proportion to which the surplus capital itself grows. This *wages fund* now appears as *alienated* labour, converted into *capital,* just as much as do

2) the *objective components,* the objective conditions for the employment of additional labour. Both components of capital are now *posited* by labour, and posited as its *presuppositions.* What *originally* appeared as a *division of capital within itself* now appears in such a way that *labour's own product—objectified surplus labour*—is divided into those two components which, considered materially, are the objective conditions of the *labour process,* and the objective conditions for the *maintenance* and *reproduction* of labour capacity; but from the point of view of their form these *conditions* of the realisation of labour confront it as an *alien, independent power,* as *capital.* Labour has itself created a new fund for the employment of new labour, but at the same time it has created the condition that this fund can be appropriated only if new surplus labour is employed on the extra part of surplus capital. Hence, by producing surplus capital, surplus value, labour has simultaneously created the real necessity (and possibility) for new surplus labour, surplus capital thus itself being the real possibility of both new surplus labour and new surplus capital. It becomes evident here how progressively the objective world of wealth is enlarged through labour even as an alien power confronting it, and how it gains an ever wider and fuller existence, so that relatively, in relation to the values created or to the extent of the real conditions for the creation of value, the necessitous subjectivity of living labour capacity stands out in ever more glaring contrast. The more labour objectifies itself, the greater becomes the objective world of values which confronts it as alien—as alien property. By creating surplus capital, labour imposes on itself [XXII-1386] the compulsion to create yet further surplus capital, etc., etc.

With regard to the original, not-surplus, capital the relation has changed for labour in so far as 1) the part exchanged for necessary labour is reproduced by this labour itself, i.e. it no longer comes to labour out of circulation but is its own product, and 2) the part of value which represents the real conditions for the utilisation of living labour, in the form of raw material and instrument, has been maintained by living labour itself in the production process. And since every use value by its nature consists of transitory material, and exchange value exists only within use value, this maintenance=protection from destruction, or the negation of the transitory nature of the values owned by the capitalists. In this way, these values are posited as values-for-themselves; as *imperishable wealth.* Hence only in the production process has living labour posited this original sum of values as *capital.*

In so far as *surplus capital* is considered, the capitalist represents value-for-itself obtained by the *appropriation of alien labour.* For each moment of surplus capital (material, instrument, means of subsistence) resolves *into alien labour,* which the capitalist has not appropriated by means of *exchange* for already existing values but which he has *appropriated* without *exchange.* True, the exchange of a part of *the values belonging to him,* or of *objectified labour* possessed by him, for labour capacity, appears as the *original condition* for this *surplus capital.* The possession of *values* by the capitalist, part of which he *formally* exchanges for living labour capacity, appears to be the condition for the formation of surplus capital I, if that is what we call the surplus capital arising from the original production process, i.e. the condition for the *appropriation of alien labour,* of objectified alien labour. In any case, it appears as a condition for the formation of *surplus capital I* that there be an exchange of values belonging to the capitalist, thrown into circulation by him, and supplied to the workers by him—of values which do *not* derive from his exchange with living labour, or from his relation as *capital* to *labour,* but rather from a prior, so-called *original accumulation.* As e.g. this is always the case for every individual who steps into the marketplace as a new capitalist.

But now let us think of surplus capital I being thrown again into the production process, realising its surplus value in exchange once more, and appearing once more as new *surplus capital II* at the beginning of a third production process. This *surplus capital II* has different *presuppositions from those of surplus capital I.* The presupposition of surplus capital I was the existence of values belonging to the capitalist and thrown by him into circulation. The

presupposition of surplus capital II is nothing but the existence of *surplus capital I*; in other words the presupposition that the capital has already appropriated alien labour without exchange. This enables him to begin the process again and again, and on an ever-increasing scale. True, in order to create *surplus capital II*, he had to exchange a part of surplus capital I in the form of means of subsistence for living labour. But what he thus exchanged were values which he did not originally put into circulation from his own funds, but alien objectified labour which he appropriated without giving any equivalent for it, and which he now exchanges again for alien living labour, just as the *means of labour* in which this new labour is realised and with which it creates new surplus value have come into his possession without exchange, by means of simple appropriation. *Past appropriation of alien labour now appears as the simple condition for new appropriation of alien labour.* In other words, his possession of alien labour in objective, physical form, in the form of values already in existence, appears to be the condition for his ability to appropriate alien living labour capacity anew, without giving any equivalent for it. That he should already be confronting living labour as capital appears to be [XXII-1387] the sole condition not only for him maintaining himself as capital, but for him as growing capital *appropriating* alien labour without *equivalent* on an increasing scale. *Property* in *past* or *objectified alien labour* appears as the sole condition for further *appropriation of present or living labour.*

In so far as a *surplus capital I* was created by means of simple exchange between objectified labour (the original capital) and living labour capacity—[a transaction] based on the law of the exchange of commodities as equivalents estimated by the comparative quantity of labour or labour time contained in them—and in so far as this exchange, speaking juridically, presupposed nothing but the right of property of each person in his own products and his right to dispose of them freely (on the side of the worker—the freedom to dispose of his own personal capacities), and in so far as surplus capital II is merely the result of surplus capital I, hence a consequence of that first relationship [that between labour and capital]—the right of property on the side of capital is *dialectically* transformed into the right to alien products or into the right of property in alien labour, the right to appropriate alien labour without equivalent; and on the side of the worker it is transformed into the duty to relate himself towards his own labour and its product as *alien property.* But the exchange of equivalents which appeared as the initial operation has been reversed in such a way

that on the one side only an apparent exchange takes place, in that the part of capital exchanged for labour capacity is, in the first place, itself *alien labour* appropriated without equivalent, and in that, secondly, it must be replaced *by labour capacity* with a SURPLUS, hence it is not IN FACT given away but only transformed from one form into another. The *relationship of exchange is therefore a mere semblance*, which belongs to the circulation process. Furthermore, the right to property originally appeared to be based on one's own labour. Now property appears as the right to alien labour and as the impossibility for labour to appropriate its own product. The separation of property, or wealth, and labour now appears as a consequence of the law which arose from their identity.

Finally, the result of the process of production and valorisation now appears to be above all the *reproduction* on an ever-increasing scale of the very relationship of *capital and labour*, of *capitalist and worker*. The number of necessitous labour capacities, lacking substance, of "the LABOURING POOR", thus increases along with the amount of capital, and inversely. This *antagonistic relation* is expressed by Eden, Chalmers,[a] etc. IN FACT, this relationship of production (a *relationship* of social *intercourse*, into which the subjects enter as agents of production) appears to be an even more important result of the process than its material results. Each side reproduces itself by reproducing its other, its negation. The capitalist produces labour as alien; labour produces the product as alien. The capitalist produces the worker, and the worker the capitalist. *As soon as the mode of production based on capital is presupposed* //actually money has been transformed into capital only *at the end of the first production process*, which resulted in its reproduction (1) and in the new production of surplus capital I (2); but surplus capital I is itself only realised as surplus capital once it has reproduced itself (3) and posited surplus capital II (4), i.e. once the presuppositions of money in the process of becoming capital which still lie outside the movement of *real* capital have disappeared, and capital therefore has IN FACT itself and in accordance with its immanent essence created the very conditions from which it sets out in reproduction// the condition that the capitalist must bring into circulation values created *by his own labour* or in some other way—excepting only values created by already existing, past wage labour—belongs to the *antediluvian* conditions of capital; to its *historical* presuppositions, which,

[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 520-21 and Vol. 29, pp. 120-22.— *Ed.*

precisely as such *historical presuppositions*, have vanished and therefore belong to the *history of its formation* but by no means to its *contemporary history*, i.e. do not belong to the real system of the mode of production dominated by it. [XXII-1388] If e.g. the flight of serfs into the cities was one of the *historical* conditions and presuppositions for the development of the medieval city, it is not a *condition*, a moment, of the reality of fully developed city life, but belongs to its *past* presuppositions, to the presuppositions of its *becoming*, which are superseded in its *being*. But the conditions of the *becoming*, the *emergence*, of capital imply that it is not yet in being but is only *becoming*. Hence they disappear with the development of real capital, the capital which, setting out from its own reality, itself posits the conditions for its realisation. This occurs, e.g., when the process in which money or value-for-itself originally becomes capital presupposes a *primitive accumulation* by the owner of money or commodities, which he has achieved as a *non-capitalist*, whether by saving, or by his own labour, etc. Therefore, while the presuppositions for the transformation of money into capital appear as given, external *presuppositions* for the emergence of *capital*, as soon as capital has become capital, it creates its own presuppositions, namely the possession of the real conditions for the creation of new values without *exchange*—by means of its own production process. These *presuppositions*, which originally appeared as prerequisites of its becoming, and therefore could not arise from its *action as capital*, now appear as results of its own realisation, *reality*, as brought into being by it, not *as conditions of its emergence*, but *as results of its being*. It no longer sets out from its presuppositions, but is itself presupposed, and, setting out from itself, it itself creates the presuppositions for its maintenance and growth. The conditions, therefore, which preceded the creation of surplus capital I, and which express the becoming of capital, do not fall within the sphere of the mode of production for which capital serves as the presupposition. They lie behind it as preliminary historical stages of its becoming, just as the processes through which the Earth was transformed from a fluid sea of vapour into its present form, lie beyond its life as finished Earth. Note the views of the bourgeois political economists, who consider capital to be an eternal and *natural* form of production, but still try to justify it by declaring the conditions of its becoming (the imaginary conditions, moreover) to be the conditions of its present realisation, i.e. they present the moments in which the capitalist appropriates as a *non-capitalist*—because he is only in the process of becoming—as the VERY CONDITIONS in which

he appropriates *as a fully-fledged capitalist.* //*Natural laws of production!* Here, it is true, it is a matter of the *natural laws of bourgeois production,* hence of the laws within which production occurs at a *particular historical stage* and under *particular historical conditions of production.* If there were no such laws, the *system of bourgeois production* would be altogether incomprehensible. What is involved here, therefore, is the presentation of *the nature* of this particular mode of production, hence its *natural laws.* But just as it is itself *historical,* so are its *nature* and the *laws of that nature.* The natural laws of the Asiatic, the ancient, or the feudal mode of production were essentially different. On the other hand, it is entirely certain that human production possesses definite *laws* or *relations* which remain the same in all forms of production. These identical characteristics are quite simple and can be summarised in a very small number of commonplace phrases.// These attempts at apologetics demonstrate a bad conscience and the inability to bring the *specific* mode of appropriation of capital into harmony with the *general laws of property* proclaimed by capitalist society itself. On the other hand—and this is much more important—our method indicates the points at which historical analysis must be introduced, or at which the bourgeois economy as a mere historical form of the production process points beyond itself towards earlier historical modes of production. To present the laws of the bourgeois economy, it is not necessary therefore to write the *real history* [XXII-1389] of the *production relations.* But the correct analysis and deduction of these relations always leads to *primary equations,* which point to a past lying behind this system. If, on the one hand, the *pre-bourgeois phases* appear as *merely historical,* i.e. as *presuppositions which have been superseded,* the present conditions of production [on the other hand] appear as *superseding themselves* and therefore as positing themselves as *historical presuppositions* for a future society.//

The above already belongs in part to the examination of the so-called *primitive accumulation.*[a]

But the following should be added here:

The conversion of money into capital and therefore the formation of surplus capital I have two conditions;

*Firstly*: The money must be able to be exchanged freely for labour; the *historical conditions* which have to be fulfilled for this to happen will be considered later. The money owner, who now enters the marketplace, comes upon these *conditions* as the ruling

[a] See this volume, pp. 243-56.—*Ed.*

conditions of the mode of production. The money (and what it represents) already *in itself* confronts labour as *capital*, and now has only to *perform its function* as such.

*Secondly*: If an individual wants to become a capitalist today, [he] must have *money*. If he is to be a newly formed capitalist, who has neither *inherited* money (is already in possession of money made in a capitalist way), nor been loaned *money* //for the identity of the person who confronts the worker with money in his pocket is a matter of complete indifference//, nor *stolen* it, nor acquired it in another sphere of capital (outside the actual sphere of production) as merchant, financier, speculator, etc., and the relation of these secondary functions of capital to productive capital will emerge later (we are not concerned at all here with the division of the available capitals, with their transfer from one hand to another), he must have earned it or worked for it and saved it. (What he gains by putting his savings out to interest, etc., must be deducted from this, for this is already *capitalist* valorisation.) He first converts his money into capital from the moment when he exploits workers himself. If he was a productive worker himself, the *pécule*[a] cannot be great. But e.g. doctors, writers, lawyers, etc., who have acquired "capital", have only acquired it because the capitalist mode of production is dominant. The *payment* of these unproductive labours depends precisely on the *wealth* of the real agents of production, and the real use value of the service they render is therefore still entirely independent of its *price*. Milton DID THE *Paradise Lost* FOR £5.

*Hoard formation proper* does not occur. The hoarder is always a *usurer* at the same time.

The capitalist mode of production constantly reproduces the conditions, in that:

1) in the simple production process it reproduces the relation of the conditions of labour as capital and that of the worker as wage labour.

2) The continuous conversion of surplus value into capital (accumulation) creates the range of these *conditions which exist as capital* through the *increase of the labour capacities available as wage labourers.*

3) The extension of the capitalist mode of production to ever new spheres abolishes the unity which still sometimes existed there between the direct producer and his conditions of production;

[a] Savings.— *Ed.*

turns the producer into a wage labourer and his means of labour into capital which confronts him as a wage labourer.

4) The concentration (and competition) of capital eliminates small capitals and fuses them together into large ones, although a process of repulsion in newly formed EMPLOYMENTS, etc., runs parallel to this process of attraction in the developed spheres. If this were not the case, bourgeois production would be very simple, and would soon arrive at its catastrophe.

[XXII-1390] //*Table of the Reproduction Process (presented without circulation of money and at a constant scale of reproduction)*[117]

[*First Draft*]

*I*

*Production of Means of Subsistence*

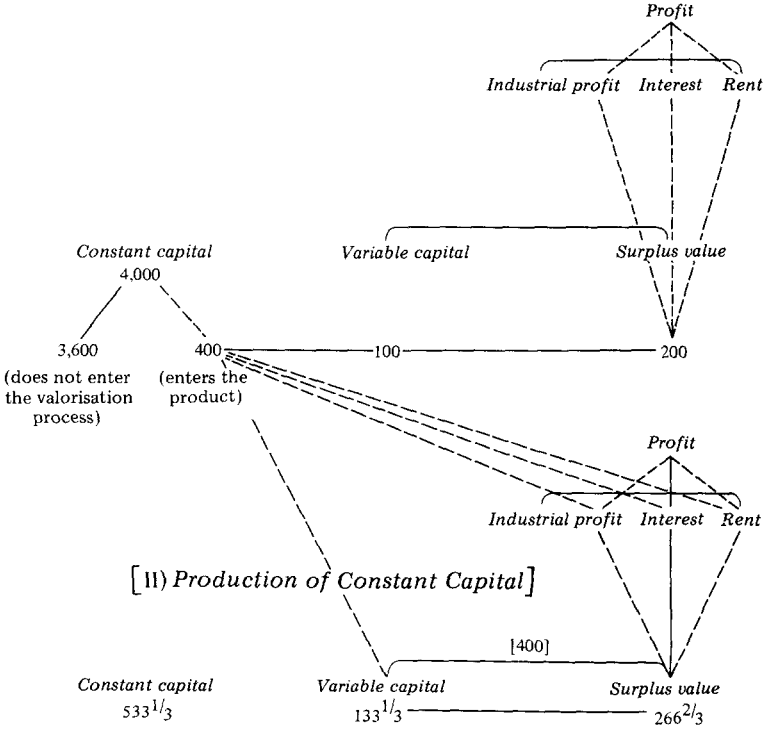

[*Second Draft*]

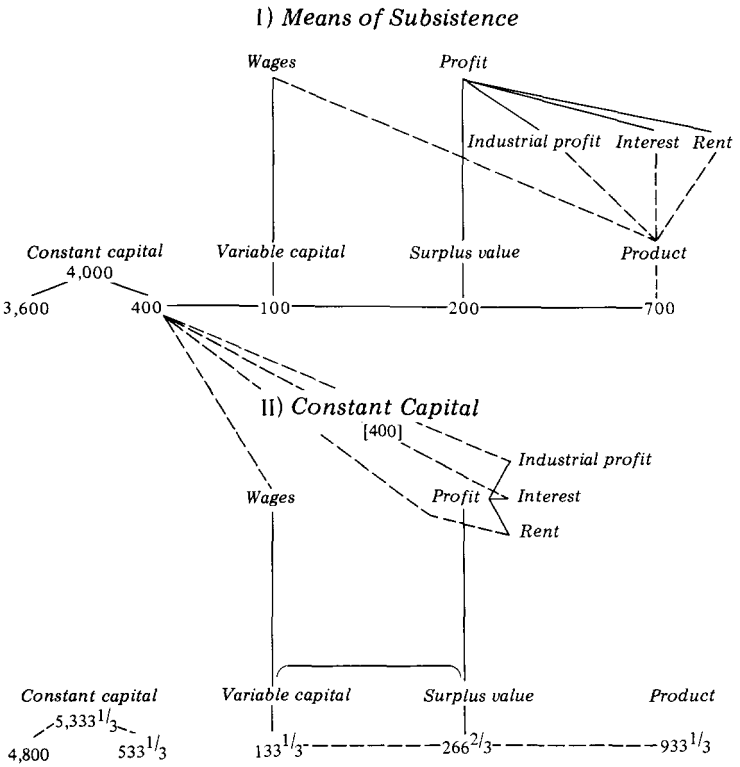


Therefore, summarising the whole:

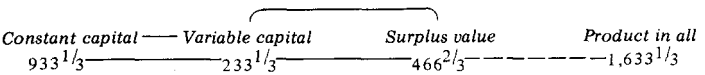


[XXII-1391] The part of the *constant capital* (hence here the *fixed capital*) which does not enter into the *product*, i.e. does not enter into the *valorisation process*, is discarded in all cases.

[*Third Draft*]

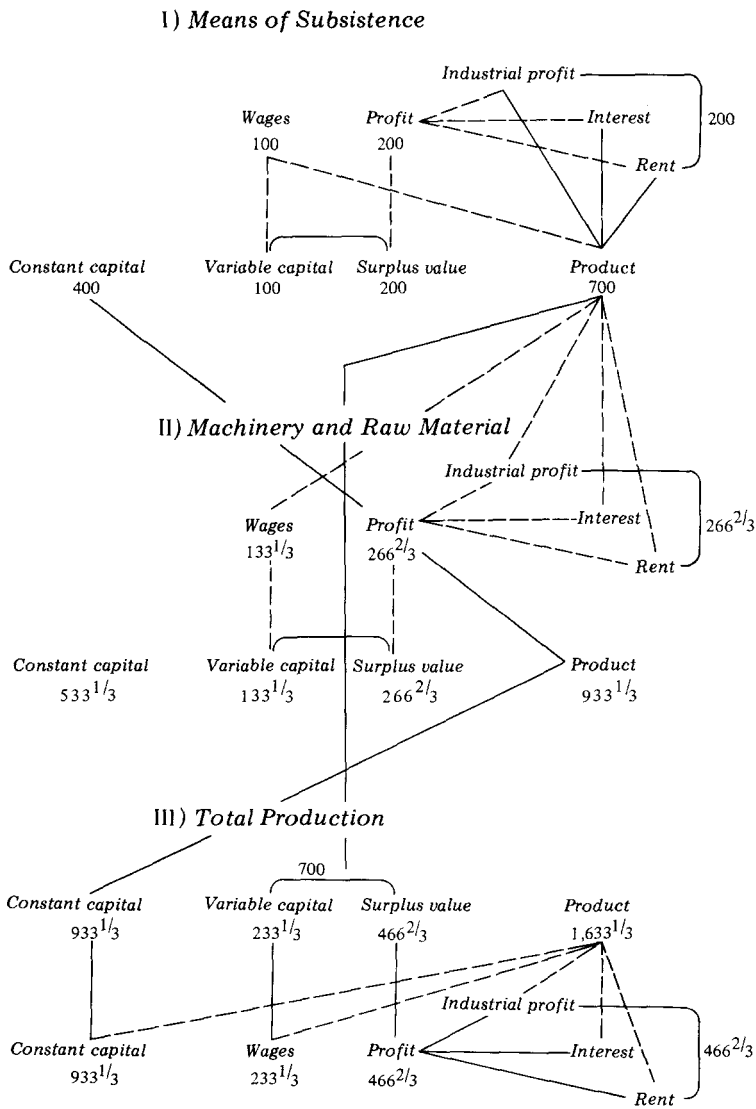
I) Means of Subsistence
Industrial profit
Wages
100
Profit
200
Interest
200
Rent
Constant capital
400
Variable capital
100
Surplus value
200
Product
700
II) Machinery and Raw Material
Industrial profit
Wages
133 1/3
Profit
266 2/3
Interest
266 2/3
Rent
Constant capital
533 1/3
Variable capital
133 1/3
Surplus value
266 2/3
Product
933 1/3
III) Total Production
700
Constant capital
933 1/3
Variable capital
233 1/3
Surplus value
466 2/3
Product
1,633 1/3
Industrial profit
Constant capital
933 1/3
Wages
233 1/3
Profit
466 2/3
Interest
466 2/3
Rent

Under I) we see the constant capital of 400, which re-occurs in the product in its entirety. The whole of this product consists of *means of subsistence*, which enter into the consumption fund; although they enter only partially into the consumption fund of class I. The variable capital, = 100, posits a surplus value of 200, in addition to its own reproduction in the product. The 100 of variable capital are paid out in money, in wages; these wages draw out of the total product of 700 products to the value of 100. In this way, the money flows back into the hands of the capitalist of class I. The surplus value appears entirely as profit, but is split into industrial profit, interest, and rent, of which at least the last two are entirely paid in money; the total amount of products is drawn on to the extent of 200 by the owners of this income. Class I has therefore consumed 300 of its own product; at the same time, money has flowed back to the capitalists, with the result that they can pay wages, interest and rent anew in money. There remains an unconsumed and disposable remainder of 400 from the total product, which is the part of the value of the [XXII-1392] product needed to replace the constant capital of 400.

Under II), the whole of the product consists of raw materials and machines.

The *variable capital* of $133^1/_3$ is paid out in wages (money), and $133^1/_3$ is drawn with this money from the total product of class I. Thus $133^1/_3$ of the money of class II flows to class I, and products to the same value flow from class I to class II. The surplus value of $266^2/_3$ is paid in money as interest and rent, and a quantity of the products of class I is bought with this money. This sum of money together with the money that has flowed back from the wages, interest and rent of class I and the wages of class II is more than sufficient to provide class I with the 400 in money needed to replace class I's constant capital of 400 and to allow class II to draw means of subsistence from the total product of class I for its industrial profit. The result is that the whole of the product [of class] I has passed into the consumption fund, and 400 of the total product of class II has passed into class I in replacement of its constant capital, but class II, on the other hand, needs $533^1/_3$ for the replacement of its own constant capital.

The situation is actually as follows.

*Class I.* 100 are paid in money as wages. For this 100 the workers draw 100 out of the total product of I; with this, 100 flows back to the capitalists of I in money, with which they can buy labour anew. They have already paid a certain part of the 200 of

surplus value the year before in interest and rent; with this money interest and rent buy their corresponding parts of the total product of I. The money thus flows back to the capitalists of I, and with this money they pay interest and rent anew or give interest and rent new drafts on the product of the next year. As far as industrial profit is concerned, they partly consume it *in natura*, and partly exchange [it] among themselves through the mediation of money payments.

*Class II* has paid $133^1/_3$ (in money) as wages. For this money, the working class of II buys products from I. These $133^1/_3$ thus flow back into the hands of class I in money, and class I uses this to buy products of this amount from class II. At the same time, the interest and rent money flows to class I from class II, and the latter similarly draws its share in return for this from the total product of I. With this money, class I buys products from class II, to which the money has thus flowed back again, allowing it to pay wages again, as well as interest and rent. It gives out one part of this money—a part which=its industrial profit—in order to buy products from I. With this money, class I buys the remainder of the products it requires from II. It has now bought for 400,=its constant capital, from class II, and replaced its constant capital. The whole of the product of class I has passed into the consumption fund. On the other hand, all the money class II needs for the payment of wages, interest, rent and the monetary transactions of the capitalists within this class has returned to it.

Under III), the total product of class II appears as the constant capital of the society, and the total product of class I represents in part the total amount of variable capital of I and II, in part the total amount of income enjoyed by both classes under various categories.//

[XXII-1393] The following should be noted in connection with the foregoing economic tables:

1) The constant CAPITAL consists of fixed and circulating capital. The *part of the fixed capital* which does not enter into the *valorisation process* is left out of account. Or, and this is the same thing, that part alone of the *fixed capital* which enters into *annual reproduction*, hence into *the year's total product*, is here included under the heading of constant capital.

Furthermore, part of the capital consists of *money*. Here only the variable capital is presented as *money capital*. Interest and rent, on the other hand, [are presented] as sums of money existing in the hands of their owners. The amount of money to be found in

circulation is IN FACT much less than appears here, partly as the monetary expression of variable capital, partly as the monetary expression of interest and rent.

2) Commercial capital and money-dealing capital are not displayed separately, as this would make the table too complicated.

3) For the same reason, *reproduction* is conceived as remaining constant, since the presentation of the accumulation process would equally tend to confuse the simple conception of the main movement.

4) Tables I and II show how the total product of II appears as the constant capital of the society, whereas the total product of I is realised in the variable capital and the surplus value of both classes. This process is presupposed in Table III, therefore here the product of II appears directly as constant capital, while the product of I appears as the total amount of variable capital and surplus value.

5) The *dotted lines* always show the ORIGIN of expenditures, the starting point of circulation, where they *ascend.* The *unbroken lines* show the ORIGIN of expenditures, where they *descend.*

The complete table follows on the next page [see p. 244]:

### [XXII-1395] β) *SO-CALLED PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION*

//*From an earlier presentation of the subject.*[118]

If we consider first of all the relationship as it has become, value which has become capital (and surplus value which has become surplus capital), and living labour as mere use value confronting it, so that living labour appears as mere means for the *valorisation* of objectified, dead labour, for its permeation with a life-giving soul while losing its own soul to it—and having produced as a result alien wealth on the one hand, but on the other, as its own property, only the necessitousness of living labour capacity—then we can see clearly that the physical conditions of real labour (the material in which it is valorised, the instrument by means of which it is valorised, and the means of subsistence which kindle the flame of living labour capacity into activity and prevent its being extinguished, and supply the necessary matter for its life process) are posited in and through the process itself as alien, independent existences; in other words as the *mode of existence* of an *alien person,* as self-sufficient values-for-themselves, and thus as values which form wealth alien to the living labour capacity which confronts them in subjective isolation, the wealth of the capitalist. The

## [XXII-1394] *Tableau économique of the Reproduction Process as a Whole*

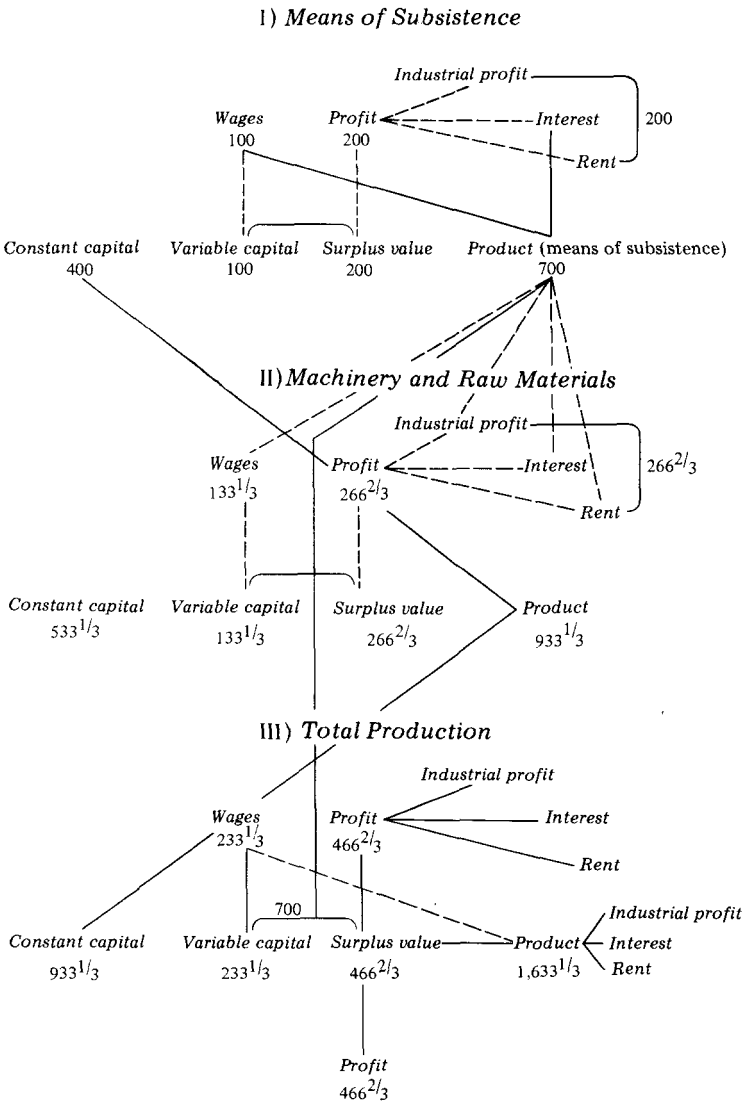

objective conditions of living labour appear as *separate values, become independent* as against living labour capacity as subjective being, which therefore appears, as against them, only as value of *another kind* (distinct from them not as *value*, but as *use value*). Once this separation is presupposed, the *production process* can only produce it anew, *reproduce* it, and that on a larger scale. How it does this, we have already seen. The objective conditions of living labour capacity are presupposed as independent existences confronting it, as the objectivity of a subject distinct from living labour capacity and independently confronting it. The reproduction and *valorisation*, i.e. the *expansion*, of these *objective conditions* is therefore simultaneously their reproduction and their new production as the wealth of an alien subject, indifferent to and independently confronting labour capacity. What is reproduced and newly produced is not only the *being* of these objective conditions of living labour but *their being as alien* to the worker, as independent values, i.e. values belonging to an alien subject, confronting this living labour capacity. The *objective* conditions of labour gain a *subjective* existence as against living labour capacity—*capital* gives rise to the *capitalist*. On the other hand, the purely subjective being of labour capacity vis-à-vis its own conditions gives it a merely indifferent objective form as against these conditions—it is only *a value of a particular use value—a commodity*—alongside its own conditions as *values of a different use value—other commodities*. [XXII-1396] Instead of being reproduced in the production process as conditions for its realisation, they on the contrary emerge from it as conditions for *their own* valorisation and preservation as values-for-themselves over against it. The material on which it works is *alien* material; just as the instrument is an *alien* instrument; its labour appears as a mere accessory to them as substance and therefore objectifies itself in things *not* belonging *to it*. Indeed, living labour itself appears as *alien* vis-à-vis the living labour capacity whose labour it is, whose life it expresses, for it is surrendered to capital in return for objectified labour, for the product of labour itself. Labour capacity relates to it as to something alien, as *compulsory labour*. Its own labour is alien to it—and, as we see in capitalist production, it really *is* alien, as regards its content, its direction, and its social form—just as much as material and instrument are. Therefore the product too appears to it as a combination of alien material, alien instrument and alien labour—as *alien property*, and after production it has become poorer by the life force expended, and it begins the DRUDGERY anew as labour capacity EMPLOYED by the *conditions of labour*.

The recognition of the product as its own, and its awareness that its separation from the conditions of its realisation is an injustice—*a relationship imposed by force*—is an enormous consciousness, *itself the product* of the capitalist mode of production and just as much the KNELL TO ITS DOOM as the consciousness of the slave that he *could not be* the *property of another* reduced slavery to an artificial, lingering existence, and made it impossible for it to continue to provide the basis of production.

However, if we consider the *original relation*, before money entered into the process of self-valorisation, we come up against various conditions which *must have arisen*, or been *given, historically*, for money to become capital and for labour to become wage labour. The essential conditions are posited in the relationship itself as it originally appeared: 1) On the one side, the existence of living labour capacity as a purely *subjective* existence, separated from the moments of its objective reality; therefore separated just as much from the *conditions* of *living labour* as from the *means of existence, the means of subsistence*, the means of self-maintenance of *living labour capacity*; the living possibility of labour on one side in this complete abstraction. 2) On the other side, the value or objectified labour must be an accumulation of use values, sufficiently large to provide the objective conditions not merely for the production of the commodities necessary to maintain or to reproduce living labour capacity, but also to produce surplus labour, to supply the objective material for it. 3) A system of free exchange—money circulation—between the two sides; a relationship between the two extremes which is based upon exchange values, not on the lord-subject relationship, i.e. production which does not directly supply the means of subsistence to the producer but is mediated by exchange; and therefore also does not have direct disposition over alien labour, but must buy it from the vehicle of this labour himself. Finally 4) the side which represents the objective conditions of labour in the form *in which they have become independent* must present itself as *value*, and the ultimate aim must be the *positing of value*, the self-valorisation of value, the creation of money—not immediate enjoyment or the creation of use values.

[XXII-1397] So long as *both* sides exchange their labour with one another in the form of *objectified labour*—as *products, which are commodities*—the relation is impossible. It is equally impossible if the *worker* himself appears as the property of the other side, himself belongs among the *objective* conditions of labour, and not as a *person* engaged in exchange. (That slavery can exist at

individual points within the bourgeois system of production, does not contradict this. But slavery is then possible only because it does not exist at other points, and represents an anomaly in relation to the bourgeois system itself.)

The conditions under which the relationship originally appears, or which appear as historical presuppositions for its becoming, exhibit at first glance a dual character—on the one side dissolution of lower forms of living labour, on the other side dissolution of relations more fortunate for the immediate producer. On the one hand, dissolution of slavery and serfdom. On the other, dissolution of the form under which the means of production are immediately available as the property of the immediate producer, whether his work is *predominantly* directed at use value (agriculture) or exchange value (urban work). Finally, the dissolution of the form of *community* in which the worker, as organ of this naturally evolved community, is at the same time posited as owner or possessor of his means of production.//

[*ADDENDA*]

//*Petty, Sir Dudley North, Locke.* By comparing North's and Locke's writings with Petty's *Quantulumcunque* (1682) and *A Treatise of Taxes, and Contributions* (1667), their indebtedness to Petty can be seen. Thus in the matter of 1) the *LOWERING of INTEREST*; 2) the RAISING AND ABASING OF MONEY; 3) *North*'s CALLING INTEREST THE RENT OF MONEY, etc. [W. Petty, *The Political*] *Anatomy of Ireland* (1672).

*North and Locke* wrote their works[a] at the same time and on the same occasion: *LOWERING OF INTEREST* and *RAISING OF MONEY*. But [they have] opposite views. With Locke it is the *WANT OF MONEY* that is responsible for the high rate of interest and in general for the fact THAT THINGS DO NOT FETCH THEIR REAL PRICES and THE REVENUES TO BE PAID OUT OF THEM. North shows the opposite, that it is not WANT OF MONEY but OF CAPITAL OR REVENUE. We find in his works the first definite concept of *STOCK* OR *CAPITAL*, or RATHER of *money* as a mere *form of capital*, in so far as it is not means of circulation. In *Sir Dudley North*'s writings we find the first correct conception of interest as opposed to Locke's idea.

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[a] [D. North,] *Discourses upon Trade; Principally Directed to the Cases of the Interest, Coynage, Clipping, Increase of Money*, London, 1691, and J. Locke, *Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest, and Raising the Value of Money* (1691), in: *The Works*, 7th ed., Vol. II, London, 1768.—*Ed.*

Petty, *A Treatise of Taxes, and Contributions*, London, 1667. *Supplementary points.*[a]

1) *On the quantity of circulating money* which a nation needs, §§ 14, 15 [p. 16].

His view of *total production* is shown in the following passage:

*"If there be 1,000 men in a territory, and if 100 of these can raise the necessary food and raiment for the whole 1,000, if 200 more make as much commodities, as other nations will give either their commodities or money for, and if 400 more be employed in the ornaments, pleasure and magnificence of the whole; if there be 200 governors, divines, lawyers, physicians, merchants and retailers, making in all 900, the question is,* etc.,[119] concerning the *paupers ('supernumeraries')"* (p. 12).

In his analysis of rent and of its valuation in money, where he takes EQUAL LABOUR (QUANTITIES), Petty remarks:

*"This, I say to be the *foundation* of *equalising and balancing of values*; yet in the superstructures and practices thereupon, I confess there is much variety and intricacy"* ([p.] 25).

[XXII-1398] 2) What he was much preoccupied with is [the "*natural par*] BETWEEN LAND AND LABOUR" ([p.] 25).

*"Our silver and gold we *call* [by several names, as in England by] pounds, shillings, and pence, all which may be called and understood by either of the [three. But that which I] would say upon this matter is, that all things ought to be *valued by two natural denominations, which is land and labour*: that is, all ought to say, a ship or garment is worth such a measure of land, with such another measure of labour; forasmuch as both ships and garments were the *creatures of lands* and *men's labours thereupon*; this being true, we should be glad to cut a *natural par between land and labour*, so as we might express the value by either of them alone as well or better than by both, and reduce one into the other as easily and certainly as we reduce pence into pounds."*

For this reason Petty seeks THE "NATURAL VALUES of the FEE SIMPLE OF LAND", after he has found the monetary expression of rent ([p.] 25).

His definition contains three overlapping elements:

a) The *magnitude of value*, determined by equal labour time, with *labour figuring as the source of value.*

b) *Value* as the form of social labour. Hence money is treated as the *true form of value*, although in other passages he overturns all the illusions of the Monetary System. With him, therefore, the *definition of the concept.*

c) Labour as the source of exchange value is confused with labour as the source of use value; and labour is seen as presupposing natural material (LAND). In fact, HE "CUTS" the "PAR"

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[a] See this volume, pp. 170-75.— *Ed.*

between LABOUR and LAND by presenting the *FEE SIMPLE* of the latter as *capitalised rent*—therefore not treating land as the natural material of real labour.

3) With reference to the rate of interest he says:

* "Of the vanity and fruitlessness of making *civil positive laws* against the *laws of nature*" * (i.e. the laws arising from the nature of bourgeois production) * "I have spoken elsewhere" * (l.c., [p.] 29).

4) *In regard to rent: surplus* VALUE consequent on the *greater productivity of labour*:

* "If the said shires by greater labour than now is used (as by digging instead of ploughing, setting instead of sowing, picking of choice seed instead of taking it promiscuously, steeping [it] instead of using it wholly unprepared, and manuring the ground with salt instead of rotten straw, etc.), could be fertilised, then will *the rent* be as much more advanced, as the *excess of increase exceeds that of the labour*" * ([p.] 32).

(He means here the *PRICE* OR *WAGES OF LABOUR.*)

5) *RAISING* [*the value*] *OF MONEY* (§§ 18-19).[a]

6) The passage quoted earlier[b] "IF YOU ALLOW DOUBLE, THEN HE WORKS BUT HALF SO MUCH, etc." must be taken to mean: If the worker received for 6 hours the value of 6 hours, then he would receive *DOUBLE* what he now receives, and he receives the value of 6 for 12. He would then work only 6, "WHICH IS A LOSS TO THE PUBLIC, etc."

Petty, *An Essay Concerning the Multiplication of Mankind* (1682). Division of labour (pp. 28-29).[120]

*Political Anatomy of Ireland* (and *Sapienti Sat.*), 1672 (London edition, 1691).

1) * "This brings us to the most important consideration in *political oeconomies*, viz. how to make a *par and equation* between land and labour, so as to express the value of any thing by either alone" * ([p.] 63).

In fact, the task in this connection is only to resolve the *value of land* itself into *labour*.

[XXII-1399] 2) This work was written later than the one examined earlier.[c]

* "The *day's food of an adult man*, at a medium, and not the [day's labour, is the common *measu*]*re of value*, and seems to be as regular and constant as the value of fine silver... Wherefore I *valued* an Irish [cabin at the] *number of day's food, which the maker spent in building of it*" * ([p.] 65).

This latter statement is quite Physiocratic.

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[a] [W. Petty,] *A Treatise of Taxes, and Contributions*, London, 1679, Ch. XIV, p. 64.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 172.— *Ed.*

[c] This refers to *A Treatise of Taxes, and Contributions*, the first edition of which appeared in 1662.— *Ed.*

* "That some men will eat more than others is not material, since by a day's food we understand $^1/_{100}$ part [of what 100] of all sorts and sizes will eat, so as [to] live, labour, and generate" * ([p.] 64).

But what Petty is searching for here in the *statistics* of Ireland is not the COMMON measure of values, but the measure *of values* in the sense that *money* is the measure of values.

3) *Quantity of money and wealth of the nation* (*Verbum Sapienti*, 1672, [p.] 13).

4) *Capital.*

* "What we call *the wealth, stock, or provision of the nation*, being the effect of the *former or past labour*, should not be conceived *to differ from efficiencies in being*" * ([p.] 9).

5) *Productive power of labour.*

* "We said, that half the people, by a very gentle labour, might much enrich the kingdom ... upon what shall they employ themselves? To which I answer in general, upon producing food and necessaries for the whole people of the land, *by few hands*; whether by *labouring harder*, or by *introducing the compendium*, and *facilitations of art*, which is equivalent to what men vainly hoped from *polygamy*. For as much as he, that can do the work of five men by one, effects the same as the begetting four adult workmen" ([p.] 22). "*Cheapest food* ... will be when food also is *raised by fewer hands than elsewhere*" * ([p.] 23).

6) Purpose of men and goal ([p.] 24).

7) *On money, see* also the *Quantulumcunque* (1682).//

//Buat (comte du), *Éléments de la politique, ou Recherche des vrais principes de l'économie sociale* (6 volumes), London, 1773.

This feeble and diffuse writer, who takes the outward form of Physiocracy for its essence and glorifies the landed aristocracy—and in fact accepts Physiocracy only in so far as it serves this purpose—would not have to be mentioned at all but for the fact that the brutal characteristics of the bourgeois emerge so sharply in his work; quite as sharply as, e.g., in Ricardo's writings later. His error in restricting the net product to rent makes no difference to this.

What Buat says is repeated by Ricardo in relation to the net product in general.[a] The workers belong to the *faux frais*[b] and exist only in order that the owners of the net product may "form society". (See the relevant passages.[121]) The free worker's lot is conceived as only a changed form of slavery; but this is necessary so that the higher strata may form "society". //*Arthur Young* too

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[a] See D. Ricardo, *Des principes de l'économie politique et de l'impôt*, Paris, 1819, Ch. XXVI, and present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 116-19, 126-29.— *Ed.*

[b] Incidental expenses.— *Ed.*

sees the *net product, surplus value,* as the purpose of production.[a] [122]//

[XXII-1400] In this connection we may recall the passage in Ricardo, directed against Adam Smith, for whom that capital is the most productive which employs the greatest number of workers.[b] On this, compare *Buat,* pp. 30-31; also on the labouring class and slavery ([pp.] 28-29); on the necessity for these labourers to work surplus time, and on the meaning of the *strict nécessaire*[c] ([p.] 30). The one passage to be quoted here—because it deals well with the prattle about the *risk* that the capitalist always runs:

"They" (the merchants) "have risked much to gain much? But they have risked men, and goods or money. As for the men, if they have exposed them to manifest peril for the sake of gain, they have done a very wicked act. As for the goods, if there is any merit in producing them, there should be no merit in risking them for the profit of one individual, etc." (Vol. II, [p.] 297).[d]//

//*Capitalist cultivation of the land:*

"As the LAND is PUT IN BETTER ORDER, AN ACRE TAKES *LESS CORN* TO SOW IT, AND LESS *STRENGTH*" (HORSES, etc.) "TO MANAGE IT" (*An Essay on the Causes of the Present High Price of Provisions, as connected with Luxury, Currency, Taxes, and National Debt,* London, 1773, p. 13) (*author: Dickson,* AUTHOR of *The Husbandry of the Ancients*).

*Rent.* The pamphlet cited quotes *An Inquiry into the Late Mercantile Distress, in Scotland and England etc.,* London, 1772, and in the latter work, which apart from this calls for an increase in the CURRENCY, against which the *Essay* protests (see p. 245 of the *Thick Notebook* [123]), complaint is made about the great increase in rents. The author says that the view of the LANDLORD is

* "that to *advance the rents* was the first step to improvements in agriculture" (*An Inquiry etc.,* p. 36). "The rents have been greatly advanced in general all over the country" (Scotland), "and in some parts of it, to a degree that hardly admitted of the tenants' *absolute wants* being supplied" * ([p.] 38). Many TENANTS had therefore emigrated to America ([pp.] 51[-52]).

In the *Essay* now (1773) the rise in the price of corn in England is in part explained by the fact that the demand for BUTCHERS' MEAT has led to the conversion of the larger part of the land to pasture, and that in England

* "the arable lands are kept in constant tillage; and the grasslands, whether meadows or upland pastures, are kept perpetually in grass" * ([p.] 15).

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[a] See A. Young, *Political Arithmetic. Containing Observations on the Present State of Great Britain...,* London, 1774.— *Ed.*

[b] See D. Ricardo, *Des principes de l'économie politique et de l'impôt,* Ch. XXVI, and present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 116-19, 126-29.— *Ed.*

[c] Absolute necessities.— *Ed.*

[d] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

On the Scottish method, by which lands cultivated in GRASS and CORN are constantly rotated between the two, there is higher production of both corn and meat. On the English method, there is *less corn*, and not much more BUTCHERS' MEAT, but it is HIGH-FED. According to Dickson, therefore, the irrational system of cultivation in England is the cause of the RISE in the PRICE OF CORN, etc. (disregarding the bad SEASONS).

* "It is a certain truth, that *a great quantity of our best lands*, formerly in tillage, is now lying in grass" ([p.] 9). "Provisions in general are reduced in their quantity, and therefore must be raised in their price"* ([p.] 17). The "*FREE IMPORTATION*" OF CORN is proposed as *one* means of LOWERING the PRICES OF PROVISIONS (pp. 73 sqq.).

But there is no way of helping the depressed STATE of MANUFACTURES except:

* "by reducing the price of materials and labour: and this can only be done by reducing the *price of provisions*. The *landholder* is in a different situation from the manufacturer: For as in all farms lately taken in lease, the *rent* is adapted to the present *high price* of their productions; if this price is reduced, the *tenants* of these farms must undoubtedly fail" ([p.] 81). "What is to be done for the support of the farmer? Is he to be left to the mercy of his landlord?" ([p.] 82). "There are some" (landlords) "who have no more compassion for their tenants than for the Moors of Bengal, or the Caribs of St. Vincents. Immersed in dissipation, or possessed by avarice, they assign the management of their country affairs to persons whose whole merit consists in being expert in bargain-making, and who are the more highly valued, the more they are habituated to the low arts of trick and cunning"* ([p.] 83).

If prices are reduced through "FREE IMPORTATION" or "regulation of the CURRENCY" ([pp.] 84 sqq.) it will therefore not be necessary

* "that a *breach be made in their leases*... Should *rents* be reduced in proportion to the *price* of commodities, they"* (the * landlords) "will still be able to live as well as at present"* ([p.] 84) (namely on account of the reduced prices of the COMMODITIES).

[XXII-1401] With him the excessive issue of paper is also a reason. He is A CURRENCY PRINCIPLE MAN.[124]

He indicates *TAXES* as a further cause of the rise in the *prices of PROVISIONS*.

* "*Taxes* raise the price of all commodities"* ([p.] 89).

Hence, on pp. 87 sqq., a rise in the PRICE of PROVISIONS with the rise in the *PUBLIC DEBT*. Only one TAX without

* "such [a] bad consequence—*a tax on stockholders*"* ([p.] 89).

Apart from the TAXES there is

* "*the money spent by the taxgatherers*"* ([p.] 92).

He proposes

* "the saving of 1 or 2 millions annually on the article of posts and pensions" * ([p.] 93).

Tithes to be assessed in money, as has long been the case in Scotland ([p.] 104). THE DIVISION OF COMMONTIES (l.c.).

* "Making roads in the country at the public expense" * ([p.] 105).

Not only do ROADS open markets to the FARMER, he

"gains *access to foreign manure for improving his lands ... the advantages of one place are communicated to all*" ([p.] 106).

*What is the cause of the rise in rents?*
Not *bad SEASONS*. For

"if the *price of provisions is raised* by *bad crops, land continues of the same value, and the farmer cannot afford a higher rent... In proportion to this" (advancement of price) "the quantity which he sends to market is lessened*" ([p.] 6).

Nor can *IMPROVEMENTS* be the cause.

Not only "have rents risen nearly in the PROPORTION mentioned IN PLACES where *no* IMPROVEMENTS have been made", but also *"it is even probable that they" (the improvements) "have *prevented the price of provisions from rising so high* as otherwise it would have done" ([p.] 7).

"When the *price* is *raised* by *other* causes" * (than *bad seasons), "the produce of the land becomes more valuable, and, in proportion to this, the farmer can afford an advancement of rent. When therefore the rise of rents keeps pace with the price of provisions, it is a certain evidence that in the opinion of the farmers the advancement of the price is not owing to bad crops" * ([p.] 6).

But now rents have risen, particularly in Southern Scotland,

* "nearly in the same proportion as the price of grain and cattle" * ([pp. 6-]7).//

//Charles Smith, *A Short Essay on the Corn Trade, and the Corn Laws etc.*, London, 1758. (The CORN TRACTS to be cited later.) The *tendency* of this pamphlet can be seen from the following:

* "Although it be the general opinion that the present dearness of corn arises principally from the *avarice* of the farmers and [the] iniquity of the factors, merchants, millers, bakers and dealers in corn; yet there is cause to believe that it arises chiefly, if not wholly, from a *real scarcity*, occasioned by the shortness of crops * in the last 4 to 5 years, 1756 in the whole *kingdom, 1752-55 in * its *West and Northwest parts" * ([Ch. Smith, *Three Tracts on the Corn-Trade and Corn-Laws*, London, 1766, p.] 5).[a]

He develops the laws of supply and demand against POPULAR PREJUDICES.// (This is the first of the *Three Tracts on the Corn-Trade and Corn-Laws* published together in *1766*.)

//Edmund Burke (THE LATE), *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity, originally presented to the Right Hon. William Pitt, in the month of November, 1795*, London, 1800.

[a] Marx quotes with some alterations.— *Ed.*

* "The labouring people are only poor *because* they are *numerous*. Numbers, in their nature, imply poverty" * ([p.] 2).

This "deep" thinker considers that if $x$ is divided into 100 each of the 100 receives more than if $x$ is divided into 1,000. What depth of insight, which contrasts particularly finely with the following statements:

*Surplus value. Constant and variable capital.*

* "Those who labour ... in reality feed both the pensioners called the rich and themselves" ([pp. 2,] 3).

"Of all the instruments of his" (the farmer's) "trade, the *labour of man* (what the ancient writers have called the *instrumentum vocale*) is that on which he is most to rely for the re-payment of his capital. The other two, the *semi-vocale* in the ancient classification, that is, the working stock of the cattle, and the *instrumentum mutum* [XXII-1402] such as carts, ploughs, spades, and so forth ... without a given portion of the first, *are nothing at all*" * ([p.] 10).

(Amusing doggerel poem by Spence: *E. Burke's Address to the Swinish Multitude,* 1795.)[125]

*Value of labour. Employment of many workers.*

* "Unquestionably, there is a good deal of difference between the value of one man's labour and that of another, from strength, dexterity, and honest application. But I am quite sure, from my best observation, *that any given five men* will, in *their total,* afford a proportion of labour equal to any other five within the periods of life I have stated; that is, that among such 5 men there will be one possessing all the qualifications of a good workman, one bad, and the other three middling, and approximating to the first and the last. So that in so small a platoon as that of even five, you will find the full complement of all that 5 men *can* earn" * ([pp. 15-]16).

*Concentration of capital.*

* "The *monopoly of authority* is, in every instance and in every degree, an evil; but the *monopoly of capital* is the contrary" * ([p.] 25).

(As if the "MONOPOLY OF CAPITAL" did not give a "MONOPOLY OF AUTHORITY"!)//

*Primitive accumulation.* Let us take *Price's* pamphlet and the *reply* to it.[a]

Dr. Richard Price, *Observations on Reversionary Payments* (the *3RD ED.*, to which the reply makes reference, is that of 1773), *6th ED.*, 2 VOLS (EDITED BY *William Morgan,* London, 1803).

*Price,* l.c., VOL. II:

* "If land gets into the hands of *a few great farmers* ... the *little farmers*" * (described earlier as * "a multitude of little proprietors and tenants, who maintain themselves and families by the produce of the ground they occupy, by sheep kept on a common, by poultry, hogs, etc., and who, therefore, have little occasion to

[a] This refers to [J. Arbuthnot,] *An Inquiry into the Connection between the Present Price of Provisions, and the Size of Farms...*, London, 1773.— *Ed.*

*purchase* any of the *means of subsistence*")[a] "will be *converted* into a body of men who earn their subsistence by *working for others*, and who will be under a necessity of going to market for all they want" ([p.] 147). "There will, perhaps, be *more labour*, because there will be *more compulsion* to it" ([p.] 147). "More *bread* will be consumed, and, therefore, more corn grown: because there will be *less ability* of going to the price of other food" ([pp.] 147-48). "Towns and manufactures will increase, because *more will be driven to them* in quest of places and employments. This is the way in which the *engrossing of farms* naturally operates: And this is the way in which, for many years, it has been actually operating in this kingdom" ([p.] 148). "The very causes which produce depopulation among us, may, for some time, promote tillage"* ([p.] 148).

Shows further on pp. 149-52 (p. 32 of the notebook [126]), that the LABOURING CLASSES consumed disproportionately *more meat*, and that therefore the *price of corn*, especially WHEAT, is of less concern to them.

Cites REV. MR. Addington's *Enquiry into the Reasons for and against Inclosing Open-Fields*, London, 1772, pp. 43 and 37:

"In Northamptonshire and Leicestershire, *inclosing[127] has greatly prevailed, and *most of the new enclosed landskips are turned into pasturage*; in consequence of which, many landskips have not now 500 acres ploughed yearly, in which 1,500, or at least 1,000 were ploughed formerly; and scarce an ear of corn is now to be seen in some that bore hundreds of quarters. And so severely are the effects of this felt, that worse wheat has been lately sold in those counties at an average of 7s. and 7s. 6d. the Winchester bushel, for many months together than used to be sold at 3s. 6d. and 4s., etc."* ([p.] 43).

Addington also says:

*"In the counties of Northampton and Leicester the decrease of the inhabitants in almost all the inclosed villages in which [XXII-1403] they have no considerable manufacture, is obvious to be remarked by every one who knew their state 20 or 30 years ago, and sees them now... The ruin of former dwelling houses, barns, stables, etc., shew every one who pass through them that they were once better inhabited. A hundred houses and families have in some places dwindled into 8 or 10 [pp. 43, 44]. The *landholders*, in most parishes that have been inclosed only 15 or 20 years, are very few in comparison of the numbers who occupied them in their open field state. It is no uncommon thing to see 4 or 5 wealthy graziers *engrossing* a large inclosed lordship, which was before in the hands of 20 or 30 farmers, and as many smaller tenants or proprietors. All these *are thrown out of their livings with their families*, and many other families which were employed and supported by them"* (*Addington*, [pp.] 37[-38]).

Price comments on these quotations from Addington:

*"I have here in view *inclosures of open fields and lands* already improved. It is acknowledged *by even the writers in defence of inclosures*, that these diminish tillage, increase the monopolies of farms, raise the prices of provisions, and produce depopulation. Such inclosures, therefore, however gainful they may be at present

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[a] In the original the words given by Marx in brackets immediately precede the passage in which he includes them here.— *Ed.*

to a few individuals, are undoubtedly pernicious. On the contrary. Inclosures of waste *lands and commons* would be useful, if divided into small allotments, and given up to be occupied at moderate rents by the poor. But if, besides lessening the produce of fine wool, they *bear hard on the poor by depriving them of a part of their subsistence*, and only go towards increasing farms already too large, the advantages attending them may not much exceed the disadvantages"* ([pp.] 155-56, note).

(One can see from these quotations how shallowly and optimistically the matter is conceived by that compiler and arch-plagiarist MacCulloch in his *Literature of Political Economy*, London, 1845 (p. 194):

* "To whatever other causes the increase of prices might have been ascribed, one could hardly have imagined that the extension of enclosures would have been of the number. Indeed, if there be any thing that contributed more than another to the vast increase that has taken place in the produce of England since the middle of the last century, it has been the enclosure of wastes, etc." *)

One can see how with contemporaries of the *process*, which forms a major moment in the *primitive accumulation* of capital—namely (quote *Steuart*[a] later) *the separation of the earth from its* INDUSTRIOUS CHILDREN—the formation of big FARMS is the *characteristic* FEATURE, as "INGROSSING" (this is only another word for the concentration of many small FARMS in a *single* hand). Just as Mirabeau describes large-scale manufactories as "*fabriques réunies*",[b] small MANUFACTURING CONCERNS concentrated in one hand.

This *primitive accumulation*, which looks so idyllic in the hands of the liberal cretins, is a most melancholy and tragic story.

*Concentration of the available conditions of production* in a few hands, and *their separation from the hands* of the *direct producers*, as whose property or possessions they originally appear, is the decisive factor. On the theft of *the possessions of the church* by the nobility and the bourgeoisie, see *Cobbett's* HISTORY of the Reformation.[c] The beginning of the liberal regime sees the FRAUDULENT *appropriation of the* ESTATES *of the* CROWN (see *F. Newman*[d]). The FRAUDULENT ENCLOSURES *of the* COMMONS. (The passages cited, and others.) In this connection the destruction of the YEOMANRY,[73] the SELF-CULTIVATING PROPRIETORS //as also the COTTIERS[43]//, who had in their hands perhaps $^7/_{10}$ of the land after 1689, and were in fact the owners of property.

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[a] J. Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy...*, Vol. I, London, 1767, p. 50.— *Ed.*

[b] Associated factories. See [H. G. V. R.] Mirabeau, *De la monarchie prussienne, sous Frédéric le Grand...*, Vol. 3, London, 1788, p. 20.— *Ed.*

[c] W. Cobbett, *A History of the Protestant "Reformation", in England and Ireland...*, London, 1824.— *Ed.*

[d] F. W. Newman, *Lectures on Political Economy*, London, 1851, pp. 129-30.— *Ed.*

[XXII-1404] (See *Macaulay*[a] and passages to be cited later.) They were defeated by the *improvements in agriculture*, by competition from the large-scale FARMERS (since from 1700 to ABOUT 1750 there was an almost continuous fall in the price of grain[b]), by the increasing *burden of the taxes* (national debt, etc., standing army, etc.) and by the collapse of the *rural side-industries*, which were unable to compete with the factories. For the way in which the LABOURERS themselves WERE STARVED OUT by the *taxes on the means of subsistence* (CUSTOMS AND EXCISE), see later quotation.[c] (The whole *system of the protection* of AGRICULTURAL and MANUFACTURED PRODUCE, together with the development of foreign trade, of the colonial system and the credit system, played a part in promoting the *acceleration* of accumulation, the accumulation of capital at the expense of the working class and the old GENTRY, and the transformation of the independent producers into simple wage labourers. The sudden creation of large *fortunes* through state debts (=stock-exchange swindles), as well as through the *newly arisen* intermediary agents, FACTORS, BROKERS, etc., accelerated the concentration of money in a few hands. This money subsequently functioned as *capital* in part in agriculture and manufacture, or also, through the *purchase of land*, promoted the new system of FARMING, as conducted by LANDLORDS aiming purely at MONETARY REVENUE.)

*Systematically conducted* by the *CLEARING OF ESTATES*[d] (the conversion of clan-based or feudal landed property into modern landed property, the forcible separation of the old TENANTS from their conditions of production, involving murder and manslaughter, and military operations, their forcible CONVERSION INTO BEGGARS, the burning down of COTTAGES. Since the middle of the 18th century in the *Scottish Highlands*. Repeated in the 19th. In part still continuing. First conversion into sheep pastures, later on (now) even into artificial forests for hunting grounds; the inhabitants were legally prohibited from *emigrating* in the 18th century, so as to drive them into the factories. Some became *fishermen*, fled to the coast. Again driven from there, once the LANDLORDS found it advantageous to make contracts with the big London fishmongers, who conduct the business on a large scale). (In *England* the conversion of *arable land into pasture* since the decade prior to the middle of the 18th century through *ENCLOSURES OF COMMONS*, *the*

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[a] Th. B. Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second*, 10th ed., Vol. I, London, 1854, pp. 333-34.— *Ed.*

[b] See also present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 363-64, 370-71.— *Ed.*

[c] No such quotation occurs further in the text.— *Ed.*

[d] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 458-59.— *Ed.*

*throwing together of small farms.* This is still proceeding now. The CLEARING OF ESTATES has taken place again in Ireland on a very large scale since 1846. The death by hunger of 1 million Irish and the driving of another million overseas—this was a CLEARING OF THE ESTATE OF IRELAND. Still continuing. (Cite details on this.) The CLEARING OF ESTATES only shows, as a *systematic* process applied to whole counties, what occurred everywhere in detail in that *primitive accumulation,* as a result of the changed relations of production.)

Now against *Price, Addington,* etc.:

*An Inquiry into the Connection between the Present Price of Provisions, and the Size of Farms etc. By a Farmer,* London, 1773.[a] This fellow shrugs his shoulders over those whose philosophy "DOES NOT SEE BEYOND THE BELLIES OF THE POOR". Modern political economy can certainly not be reproached with this.

* "The culture of the earth cannot be overdone" * ([p.] 62).

The fellow is a FREETRADER:

REPEAL of the CORN LAWS; * "make the trade free and open for export or import at all times and on all occasions, without the least restraint ... let corn flow like water, and it will find its level" * ([p.] 88).

//FREE TRADE, leaving aside the abolition of restrictions on international trade, means nothing but the *free, unrestricted development* of capitalist production and its laws, without any regard for the agents of production, without any regard for any [XXII-1405] considerations which fall outside the laws and conditions of the *development of capital,* whether those considerations are national, humanitarian or WHATEVER. The previous restrictions, in so far as they proceed from the MANUFACTURERS, LANDOWNERS, etc., themselves have the purpose of first creating the conditions in which *capital* can proceed from itself as its own presupposition. It is only at a *certain point* in its development that it ceases to need any EXTRANEOUS help.//

* "Absolute necessity of a perfect freedom in trade in general, but most especially in that of corn" * ([p.] 135).

*Against Price:*

* "Nor is it a consequence that there must be depopulation, because men are not seen wasting their labour in the open field" ([p.] 124).

"If *by converting the little farmers into a body of men who must work for others more labour is produced,* it is an advantage which the nation should wish for" ([p.] 128). "The produce being greater when their joint labours are employed on one farm, there will be a *surplus for manufacturers,* and by these means manufactures, one of

[a] This work, published anonymously, was written by John Arbuthnot.— *Ed.*

the mines of this nation, will increase, in proportion to the quantity of corn produced" * ([p.] 129).

//It is not just the *surplus* which is created by the increased productivity of capitalist production. If, for example, only 3 people are now necessary in place of 4 previously employed on the land, and at the same time the *variable* capital is replaced by *constant* capital and the 3 are thrown into manufacture, part of the FARMER's constant capital is exchanged for the variable capital of the MANUFACTURER. The 3 now receive the quantity of CORN they consumed previously as peasants on the land in the form of a wage from the MANUFACTURER. Thus, more *grain* is *thrown onto the market*, not because a SURPLUS has been produced, but because the part of the product which was previously consumed directly by the 3 as peasants is now purchased by the same 3 people as workers in MANUFACTURE. More has been thrown onto the market because more consumers have been taken from agriculture and thrown into manufacture. What is gained *by this* is not a SURPLUS OF CORN PRODUCE, but more MANUFACTURING PRODUCE.//

He admits that meat continued as late as 1697 to be the chief element in the diet of the workers ([p.] 130).

Incidentally, he has the right idea (hence *before* Adam Smith) about changes in the relative prices of meat and corn and the way they balance out:

* "The value of the one must fall, or that of the other rise, till they come on a par... The only method of *ascertaining* what should be the price of the one for it to be in proportion to that of the other, is *to allot* a *certain sum of money to the raising of corn, and an equal sum to the rearing and fattening of cattle*; *an equal profit* will determine the *real value* of each" * ([pp. 132-]33).

(In this passage rent is not included among the costs of production.) This *passage is important for prices of production.*[128]

* "*If no labour was wanted, there could be no price*" * ([p.] 138).

This man concedes to *Dr. Price* that wages have not risen in *proportion to the* PRICE OF PROVISIONS, and adds in congratulation:

* "In the circumstance of the *price of labour's not being increased in the proportion of the price of provisions*, the Doctor's" (Price's) "assertion *corroborates* what is said in the valuable works of Mr. *Arthur Young*, and will, I hope, pacify the minds of those *who imagine that the dearness of provisions must ruin our manufactures*" * ([p.] 138).

(This latter point was the general view at that time.)

[XXII-1406] * "I most truly lament the loss of our *yeomanry, that set of men who really kept up the independence of this nation*; and sorry I am to see their lands now in the hands of *monopolising lords, tenanted out to small farmers*, who hold their leases on such conditions as to be little better than vassals ready to attend a summons on every mischievous occasion. With regard to the class called *hirelings*, I believe they

are mostly in the same state as they were, with the benefit of work at present, instead of being prowling about commons and wastes"* ([p.] 139).

The following passages for *Smith's* opinion, that CORN creates its own CONSUMERS and always has value:

* "The culture of the earth cannot be overdone" ([p.] 62).

"Corn is scarce or not scarce in proportion to the consumption of it. If there are more mouths, there will be more corn, because there will be more hands to till the earth; and if there is more corn, there will be more mouths, because plenty will bring people" ([p.] 125).

"Profuse plenty in manufacturing towns does not produce more labour, but the contrary. It is a fact well known to those who are conversant in that matter, that *scarcity, to a certain degree, promotes industry*, and that the manufacturer who can subsist on three days' work, will be idle and drunken the remainder of the week"* ([p.] 93).

This fellow, who gives very precise calculations of the income and expenditure of the FARMERS (pp. 146, 103-07), says:

* "By the foregoing estimate it appears that the farmer may, by great care and with good luck, obtain about *25 p.c. per annum*, but to do this he must sell his wheat [at] 46s. 8d., etc. It is not every soil that will admit of a course attended with so much profit"* (l.c. [p. 107]).

It will be seen how the big FARMERS enriched themselves at that time—how they *accumulated capital*—through the impoverishment of the LABOURERS and EXPROPRIATION of the SMALL TENANTS. From the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th through the 16th century we have the *conversion of arable land into sheep pastures.* The English laws against this. In the 17th century under Elizabeth, and similarly from the time of the Revolution[129] until 1697, the small TENANTS and OCCUPIERS again increase, in part through the extension of corn cultivation, in part because manufacture [ha]s[130] to perform part of its preparatory work (e.g. spinning) on the land.

[The fact that] this "accumulation of capital" went hand in hand with the impoverishment of the workers can also be seen from Price.

[Pric]e says[131]:

[...] Bacon, *Essays, Civil and Moral*, Sect. 20, says:

* "The device of King Henry VII was profound and admirable, [in mak]ing farms and houses of husbandry of *a standard*; that is, maintained with such a proportion of land to [them, as may breed a *su]bject in convenient plenty and no servile condition*, and to keep the plough in the [hands of the owners and] not *hirelings*." "*Inclosures*,"* says Bacon in his history of the REIGN of Henry VII, [* "began at that] time (1489) to be more frequent, whereby arable land was turned into pasture, which was [easily manag]ed by a few herdsmen. This bred a decay of people... They" (King and parliament) "took a [course to take] a way *depopulating inclosures* and *depopulating pasturage* by consequence. The ordinance was, [that all houses of hus]bandry with 20 acres of ground to them, should be kept up for ever,

together [with a ... pr]oportion of land to be occupied with them, and in no wise to be severed from them. [By these means, the houses bein]g kept up, did of necessity, enforce that dweller not to be a beggar." *

This statute [was renewed under Henry VIII. Every person who] converted [tillage into] PASTURE [was subjected to a] FORFEITURE [of] HALF THE LAND ([Price, op. cit., Vol. II, pp.] 156, 157).

[XXIII-1407][132] In a LAW passed in the 25th year of the reign of *Henry VIII* IT IS SET FORTH

*"that many farms, and great plenty of cattle, particularly sheep, had been gathered into few hands, whereby the *rents of land had been increased, and tillage very much decayed*; churches and towns pulled down; the price of provisions excessively enhanced and marvellous number of people rendered incapable of maintaining themselves and families; and, therefore, it was enacted, that no person should keep above 2,000 sheep *nor hold more than two farms.*"

"In 3 *Edward VI* a bill was brought in for the benefit of the poor, for rebuilding decayed farm houses, and *maintaining tillage against too much inclosing.* [In] 1638, there was a *special commission from Charles I*, for enforcing the statute of *30 Elizabeth*, by which no cottage was allowed in any country place, without at least 4 acres [of] land to it, to prevent the increase of the poor, by securing to them a maintenance, nor were any inmates allowed in a cottage, to secure the full cultivation of the land, by diffusing the people more over it" ([Price, op. cit., pp.] 157, 158). "By an act in *Cromwell's time*, no new house was to be built within 10 miles of London, unless there were 4 acres of land occupied by the tenant" (l.c.).

"Such",* says Dr. *Price*, *"was the policy of former times. *Modern policy* is, indeed, *more favourable to the higher classes of people*; and the consequence of it may in time prove, that the whole kingdom will consist of only *gentry* and *beggars*, or of *grandees* and *slaves*" ([p.] 158).

"As in former times the number of *occupiers of land* was greater, and all had more opportunities of *working for themselves*, it is reasonable to conclude, that the *number of people* willing to *work for others*, must have been smaller, and the *price of day labour* higher. This is now the case in our *American* colonies, and this likewise, upon inquiry, I find to have been the case in this country formerly" ([pp.] 158, 159). "The *nominal price* of *day-labour* is at present no more than about 4 times, or at most 5 times higher. So far, therefore, has the price of labour been from advancing in proportion to the increase in the expenses of living, that it does not appear that it bears now *half* the proportion to those expenses that it did bear formerly" * ([p.] 159).

Price quotes:

//MR. Kent, *Hints to Gentlemen of Landed Property etc.*, London, 1776 (2nd ed., 1793), p. 273:

*"The balance at present is considerably against the labourer... The great increase in the poor rates may be accounted for in a few words. The rise upon land and its produce, is at least 60 p.c., the rise upon labour not above 20 p.c. The difference is of course against the working hands; and when their earnings are insufficient for the absolute necessaries of life, they must inevitably fall upon the parish." *//

Further, *Price* himself says:

*"Upon the whole. The circumstances of the lower ranks of men are altered in almost every respect for the worse. From *little occupiers of land*, they are *reduced* to the

state of *day-labourers* and *hirelings*; and at the same time their subsistence in that state is become more difficult"* ([pp.] 159 sqq.).

[XXIII-1408] //*Value* and PRICE. Let us suppose that the *quantity of labour* SPENT UPON AN ACRE OF LAND (IN WHEAT) is represented by a *quantity of money*, = £7.

*"His"* (the *farmer's) "expenses will *always be nearly the same*, but his crop may vary, therefore his wheat should sell in proportion to his crop"* ([J. Arbuthnot,] *An Inquiry into the Connection etc. By a Farmer*, London, 1773, [p.] 107).

The example is a good one, because it is presupposed with some likelihood that *labour* remains exactly the same.

Then:

*"When he has 5 qrs he can sell at 28s.—£7
$4^1/_2$ about 31s.—ditto*
4 35s.
$3^1/_2$ 40s.
3 46s. 8d.
$2^1/_2$ 56s.
2 70s." (l.c., [p.] 108).//[133]

This FARMER, in *An Inquiry into the Connection etc.*, presents the FREE TRADE doctrine in its double aspect. On the one hand FREE IMPORT and EXPORT. On the other hand

*"*perfect freedom in markets*[134]: every restraint on the sale of a commodity, is a check on the trade, and must necessarily enhance the price of the commodity"* (l.c., [p.] 110).

This absolute *free movement of capital*, according to its own immanent laws, expresses itself at the same time as *utter ruthlessness* towards the LABOURING POPULATION, who only figure among the "*faux frais*"[a] of capital. As long as *capitalist production* has not yet produced for itself all the conditions of its free development—and the most essential one is the formation of a class of WAGE LABOURERS absolutely dependent on capital—capital *regulates* and intervenes, until it has made the conditions adequate to its needs. The measures by which it protects itself against foreign competition are presented as MEANS FOR SECURING THE LABOURING PEOPLE THEIR EMPLOYMENT. The application of forcible methods at home is in part presented as [a means for achieving] the national goal of PRODUCING "THE GREATEST *QUANTITY*" POSSIBLE (l.c., [p.] 3), and in part [as a way of ensuring] that labour does not go to waste and that WE SHALL NOT BE UNDERSOLD BY FOREIGNERS.

This FARMER (just cited) shows the *development of productive power* resulting from the capitalist farming of the land. And on the

[a] "Incidental expenses".— *Ed.*

other hand, *economy in the use of constant capital.* The small FARMER does not have *at his disposal the appropriate number of horses*; he needs apart from this *relatively* more *ready money* and *more workers* ([pp.] 5, 6 sqq.).

* "There are operations on ... almost every kind of soil, which, at *different* times, require *different strength* of horses: f.i. sometimes 6 horses will be required in 1 plough, to break up a piece of ground for fallow; thus, in this instance, the farmer of 300 acres will have 2 ploughs at work, when the little farmer cannot have one, but must wait till it is [XXIII-1409] perhaps too late to recover his season; or at least he will have lost all the benefit of the roasting weather, which is to make his fallow. On the other hand, there are many operations in fallowing, and in seed time, when three-horse ploughs are sufficient; in which case the farm of 300 acres will have 4 three-horse ploughs at work when the other can have but one" * [p. 6]. "...Hence the *farmer of 300 acres, with a proportionate capital and number of horses, is able to do more than his proportion of work *in the same time*; and *the doing* of *it at the critical juncture*" * //see Liebig on this as well [135]// * "is of so much the greater consequence; thus his ground is naturally in better tilth, his fallows, seed-time, dung-cart, in short, every operation performed better, *because they can be dispatched*; and his ground being in better order, it will not be denied but that his produce must be greater" ([p.] 7).

"The great farmer will also have a *considerable advantage* in respect to his *carts and waggons*... The same will hold good with regard to *harrows, rollers*, and many other implements" * ([pp.] 8-9). [136]

Further:

* "*The keeping of livestock*; oxen or sheep, or both... It may be asked ... whether an equal number of cattle may not be kept on the three small farms? The reasons why they cannot are many: *The purchasing of stock and providing artificial food for them*, not only requires capital, but the resolution of a man in an extensive business... This is one of the great advantages which attends the farmer who at the same time is [a] grazier ... he can, by the assistance of artificial pasture, bring cattle to market at a cheaper rate than when fed on old pastures and hay" * ([pp.] 9, 10).

The small FARMER needs relatively speaking as many workers as the big one, and even more. If they are his own children,

* "they are *not maintained* for *so little as hired servants*..." *

If the FARMER works himself,

* "he is a loser by it. *His employment should be, a general attention to the whole*: his thresher must be watched ... his mowers, reapers, etc., must be looked after; he must constantly go round his fences; he must see there is no neglect; which would be the case if he was confined to any one spot..." *

As regards the *FARMERS themselves*

* "there are 3 men employed to look after 300 acres, which would be at least as well managed by one man on his horse" ([pp.] 11, 12).

"This calculation of the comparative advantage of labour on the great and small farms, only regards the common business of a farmer, without taking in the several great works of marling, land-draining, etc. ... which there is rarely, if ever, an instance of on small farms, for *want of a sufficient capital* for such an undertaking" * ([p.] 13).

*Rent*: Some people praise

* "the old method of calculating the profits of the farmer by the *three rents. In the infancy of agriculture,* it was a conscientious and equal partition of property; such as it is now practised in the less enlightened parts of the world; in most parts of France, Germany, and in some of our American colonies: the *one finds land and capital,* the other *knowledge and labour:* but on a well-cultivated and good soil, the *rent* is now the least object: *it is the sum which a man can sink in stock, and in the annual expense of his labour,* on which he is to reckon the interest of his money or income" * ([p.] 34).

[XXIII-1410] //*Pauperism. An Inquiry into the Management of the Poor etc.*, London, 1767, p. 84:

* "The poor always have, and ever must at least keep pace with, if not out-run, the public provision made for their relief." *

Hence this PUBLIC PROVISION is the cause of pauperism. *N'est-ce-pas?*[a]//

//*An Enquiry into the Causes of the Present High Price of Provisions.* In two parts (the author is Rev. *Nathaniel Forster*), London, 1767.

The causes of the rise in the *price of* PROVISIONS are

1) "THE *WEALTH OF THE COUNTRY,* OR THE *GREAT QUANTITY OF MONEY* ACCUMULATED IN IT, AND CIRCULATING THROUGH EVERY PART OF IT" ([p.] 1), 2) *LUXURY* and 3) *TAXES.*

Too great a natural fertility is *unfavourable to the development of a country* (l.c., *Supplementary Notebook B,* p. 8 [137]).

*Defence of machinery* (l.c., pp. 8 and 9).

*Antagonism between classes.*

* "The *landed* and *trading interests* are eternally jarring, and jealous of each other's advantage" * (l.c., [N. Forster, op. cit.,] p. 22, note).

* "From the fluctuating state of most manufactures and many trades, and the consequent fluctuation of wages, the *masters* and *their workmen are unhappily in a perpetual war with each other*" * ([p.] 61).

*Laziness,* LUXURY, VICES *of the workers.* [Forster] quotes:

"They want the unfortunate to be perfect" (Helvétius, *De l'esprit,* Vol. II, [Paris, 1758, p.] 38).[b]

* "From whence do the poor generally learn those vices of idleness and luxury, which are ever unpardonable in them! From their betters altogether. *Luxury was never yet found to ascend.*" * ([N. Forster, op. cit., pp.] 62-63).

*Defence of corn profiteering, etc.* (l.c. [Supplementary Notebook B], p. 9.[138])

* "*The landed interest* ... has certainly had no reason to complain of late. The *value* of *lands and their produce* has been raised to the present high pitch *by our trades and manufactures solely.* This is not only true in fact, but ... it could not be

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[a] Is it not so? — *Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

otherwise. The *produce of lands* is *of no value* without a demand for it. And this demand can only arise from industry, in some other way; that is, *from commerce and manufactures*" * (l.c., [p.] 213).//

*Disappearance of the* YEOMANRY.[73]

* "At that time" * (the time of the revolution of 1688[129]) * "there existed a race of men in the country, besides the gentlemen and husbandmen, called *yeomanry*. Men who cultivated *their own property*, consisting chiefly of farms from 40 to fourscore pounds" (£80) "a year ... the men were hardy, brave, [XXIII-1411] and of good morals; by the *influx of riches* and a change of manners, *they were nearly annihilated*, in the *year 1750*, and are now but faintly remembered" * (*A Letter to Sir T. C. Bunbury, Bart. etc. On the Poor Rates, and the High Price of Provisions etc. By a Suffolk Gentleman*, Ipswich, 1795, [p.] 4).

//"*Reasons* for the * *deficiency in the supply of bread-corn: First ... an increasing population... Another and principal cause* ... that a *greater proportion of the general produce is appropriated* to the sustenance of horses and other flock, than formerly, in a degree to *affect the bread-corn destined for the sustenance of man*,* " etc. (GOVERNOR Pownall, *Considerations on the Scarcity and High Prices of Bread-Corn and Bread etc.*, Cambridge, 1795, [p.] 8).

*INGROSSING OF FARMS.*

"In many PARISHES OF Hertfordshire" (which he lists) "INSTEAD OF 24 FARMS (of from 50 to 150 ACRES) THERE ARE NOW ONLY 3" (Thomas Wright (OF Mark-Lane), *A Short Address to the Public on the Monopoly of Small Farms*, [London, 1795,] pp. 2-3).[a]

* "It is become a common practice with the *landed gentlemen*, in every part of the kingdom, to throw several estates together, to make *capital farms*; or for several landholders to let estates which lie near together, to one man; whereby the renters are so enriched, and their numbers so diminished,—that it is easy for them to form combinations" * (*Two Letters on the Flour Trade, and the Dearness of Corn etc. By a Person in Business*, London, 1767, [pp.] 19-20).//

*Devaluation of labour through a* FALL IN THE VALUE OF MONEY. (*DEPRECIATION of money*; the artificial RAISING of the VALUE OF MONEY has the same effect.)

* "Merchants and traders ... can always raise the prices of whatever they deal in, faster than the *value of money* decreases; but the *labourer*, having nothing to subsist on but his daily work, must ever *be behindhand in advancing the price of his labour*; because he is not able to wait till it acquires *its due proportion of value*, and therefore by it he must suffer extremely" * ([S. Jenyns,] *Thoughts on the Causes and Consequences of the Present High Price of Provisions*, [London,] 1767, [p.] 18).

//As a reason for the *rise in the price of corn*: POPULATION.

* "During a part of the period from 1771 to 1789, trade, manufactures and population have increased very rapidly" * (*Considerations on the Corn Laws etc.*, By Edgar Corrie, MERCHANT in Liverpool, London, 1791, [p.] 33).//

[XXIII-1412] //*RENT*. The pamphlet that follows is important for the history of the theory of rent. Although *Anderson* discovered the theory of differential rent,[139] he was far from being able to

[a] Marx quotes with some alterations.— *Ed.*

explain thereby the RISING PRICE OF CORN and PROVISIONS. This happens first here, in the following pamphlet, unlike all the previous literature. Admittedly the author otherwise assumes that *RENT* is an *ITEM* in the costs of production, and in particular explains the rise in the price OF *BUTCHERS' MEAT* partly through the INCLOSURE OF COMMONS, whereby a large number of farmers were no longer able as before to *feed* their cattle *without* paying RENT for this. Directly introducing *rent* in this way as a *CAUSE* of the increase in the price of *cattle*, etc., rather than as an *EFFECT* corresponds not only to *Smith's* theory of rent but also to *Ricardo's*, etc., since Smith's theory //see Ramsay on this as well[a]// with regard to the determination of other *agricultural prices* by the *price of corn* is not attacked at all, indeed not even investigated. The title of the pamphlet is:

*A Political Enquiry into the Consequences of Enclosing Waste Lands etc.*, London, 1785.

*"It is not the *plenty* or *scarcity* which makes an article dear for any long continuance of time, because the *price depends on the necessary charges and expenses in the production of it*" ([p.] 65). "In fact it is not the *scarcity* that we have any reason to complain of, it is only the *dearness* or *high price*" ([p.] 71). "There is now a great *plenty* of *cattle* in this country ... and yet the *price* of butchers' meat is nearly twice as dear as it was 30 years ago; therefore it must be the *charge of production*, which stamps the price of these articles" ([p.] 72).

"*Plenty* or *scarcity* of the articles of subsistence do not *ultimately* govern the price of a commodity, though it may tend to create a temporary rise or fall to a certain degree. It is the *charge of production*, that stamps the *permanent average price* on all kinds of commodities whatever... F.i., no possible plenty of Dutch holland, or fine muslins of India, could ever cause those articles to alter for any length of time to an equal low price as the coarse dowlas—because the manufactory of those fine articles is so infinitely more expensive than the coarse" ([p.] 20). "Gold may be bought too dear, and so may corn, or grass, or any other of the useful productions of nature" (l.c.). "Admitting then that the *charge of production* stamps the *permanent averaged* price on all kinds of commodities, then I may fairly draw this conclusion: that though by a higher degree of cultivation of the lands in this country, we might be able to produce twice as much corn and grass as we produce at present; yet, if that corn and grass *so produced should cost the nation, or the farmer* who produced it, *on account* of *the advanced rent of lands*, and *the exorbitant expenses in the cultivation*, twice as much per load as the price of those articles are at present, neither the nation nor the farmer would mend their condition by this increased plenty; on the other hand the poor would suffer double the distress they now suffer unless their wages were doubled; and if their wages were doubled, this would effectually *put a stop to all manufactures* carried on at present to supply foreign markets" ([pp.] 20-21). "Although the superior skill and industry of the inhabitants of a country where the *soil is naturally poor*, may sometimes triumph over the inhabitants of another where the soil is naturally more fertile; does that prove that *every poor or barren soil* to be found in this or other countries, can be *brought* to *yield equal compensation for labour*,

[a] G. Ramsay, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth*, Edinburgh, London, 1836, pp. 278-79. See also present edition, Vol. 33, p. 283.—*Ed.*

as those soils [XXIII-1413] *which are naturally rich and fertile?*... There are many degrees of fertility or barrenness" ([pp. 23-]24).

"I have been in countries where barely harrowing in the seed was the only cultivation required to produce the most immense crops; and as to manure, should any have been laid thereon, the corn would have been so rank as to have rotted before it was ripe. On the other hand, there are degrees of poverty; f.i. some soils naturally poor pay well for cultivation; there are others which after much labour yield a scanty crop, not equal in value to the expense of raising it; there is a sort of poor soil, of which there are millions of acres in this kingdom which would be much less beneficial to the nation, when cultivated by the best practical method that could be devised, than they are in their present uncultivated state"* ([p.] 24).

"One has to distinguish: '*MARSHY SOILS*', which WANT DRAINING, like the Isle of Dogs, *and many other lands on the banks of large rivers every farmer knows to be, when properly drained, the most productive meadow ground in this kingdom" ([p.] 26). "The waste lands now in England ... *chiefly* consist of either stiff clays, with little or no staple of mould to produce a profitable vegetation; or of absolute sands, where no verdure but heath can grow; or of chalk soils, where there is only a thin carpet of turf to cover the barren rock"* ([p.] 27).

*RENT* as entering into the CHARGE OF PRODUCTION:

* "What is the cause of the present high price of butchers' meat? Why, the *dearness* of lean stock; and what is the cause of that dearness?" *—The difference between *the expense of rearing a beast on a common, and that of rearing one *on ground for which rent is paid** ([p.]) 81).//

*Expropriation of the* COTTAGERS.[43] (The *Political Enquiry etc.* we have just cited.)

* "*Farmers* forbidding cottagers to keep any living creature besides themselves, *under the pretence*, that if they keep any beasts or poultry, they will steal from the farmers' barns for their support; they also say, keep the cottagers poor and you will keep them industrious. But the real fact is, [so] that the farmers may have *the whole right of commons* to themselves" ([p.] 75). "Though the farmers, their wives and daughters have, in a great measure, forsaken the ancient system of industry"* //eggs, poultry, the making of butter and milk//, *"yet I do not find that the cottager or his wife ... are in general deficient therein; but the *enclosing of commons* added to the *tyrannical behaviour of farmers*, has in many places *deprived them of means of exerting their natural industrious disposition*"* (l.c., [p.] 76).

//On the wheat consumption of the English people (1759) as well as the consumption of BARLEY, RYE, OATS (1759) see *Supplementary Notebook* B, p. 16:

"From the year *1752 to 1765*, THE ANNUAL CONSUMPTION OF OATS for horses is INCREASED, in London only, above 52,000 qrs" (*Corn Tracts*,[a] by Charles Smith, 2ND ED., 1766, p. 140).//

//*BREAD consumption of the individual* LABOURER. 1 qr per year, i.e. 1 qr OF MEAL=512 lbs=1 qr 1 BUSHEL of CORN seems to be the

[a] *Three Tracts on the Corn-Trade and Corn-Laws...—Ed.*

average consumption OF HEALTHY LABOURING PEOPLE. This makes 1 lb. 6 oz. of FLOUR per day (*Corn Tracts*, [p.] 187).//

[XXIII-1414] //CHANGE *in England* from A CORN EXPORTING TO a corn IMPORTING COUNTRY. The COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL (1790) IMPUTES THIS CHANGE TO AN *INCREASED POPULATION*, AN INCREASED OPULENCE, AND CONSEQUENTLY AN INCREASED DEMAND. This is how the CHANGE is presented:

* "This kingdom, which in former times used to produce more corn than was necessary for the consumption of its inhabitants, has of late years been under the necessity of depending on the produce of foreign countries for a part of its supply" ([p.] 8). //*Representation of the Lords of the Committee of Council, appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations, upon the present state of the laws for regulating the exportation and importation of corn etc.* A new edition, 1800 (made to the King* on the 8th of March 1790).//

EXPORT until 1765, IMPORT after 1771.//

//*TASK work.* (FREE AND SLAVE LABOUR.) Where

* "*the whole labour* was to be performed by slaves, the *resource of task-work was unknown*, and the farmer or owner of the estate must ... maintain the year round as many slaves as he would want in harvest"* (William Mitford, *Considerations on the Opinion Stated by the Lords of the Committee of Council etc.*, London, 1791, [p.] 59).[140]//

//*Laws on settlement*:

* "Among the hindrances to agriculture may well be reckoned *the present law of settlements*; which forbids the migration of industry to the parts where it is wanted, and compels the maintenance of involuntary sloth*... It is a matter of **emancipating the poor from their present attachment to the glebe*"* (W. Mitford, l.c., [p.] 53).//

//*Differences in fertility.*

*The Question of Scarcity Plainly Stated etc.* BY Arthur Young, London, 1800. (Young was the SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE.)

According to his own calculations, and those of the BOARD OF AGRICULTURE, etc., the AVERAGE PRODUCT OF an ACRE=23 BUSHELS, about 3 quarters, in England (p. 9). 40 COUNTIES in England. The worst county AVERAGE PER ACRE is 15 BUSHELS (*Huntingdonshire*) and the best is *28* (Lincoln and Rutland).

It emerges from these figures that 8 counties have very low *AVERAGES* (15, 18 and 20 BUSHELS); as against this 21 COUNTIES produce from the AVERAGE (23 BUSHELS) up to the maximum (28).//

//*Capital's stay in the sphere of production.*

* "A field now—[in] 1814—sown with, and growing a *crop of oats or beans*, will next year (1815) be fallowed, and ploughed, and harrowed at least 5 or 6 times, to pulverise and to prepare it to receive the *seed wheat in September or October 1815*; it will then be sown with wheat, which will be reaped in *September 1816*; consequently the crop is chargeable [XXIII-1415] with *2 years' rent*, and taxes and cesses of every description"* ([Th. Simpson,] *A Defence of the Land-owners and Farmers of Great*

*Britain etc.*, London, 1814, [pp.] 4-5). * "The *lowest rent of land* [is] from *30s. to 40s. per acre*" * (l.c., [p.] 4).//[141]

//*Task work*, etc. It says in the same pamphlet[a]:

* "The *far greater part* of the operations of husbandry are performed by men *employed by the day*, or *by the piece*. The wages or earnings of these have been taken only at 12s. per week; and though at *piece-work* a man may properly be supposed, under the increased stimulus to industry, to obtain 1s. or perhaps 2s. a week more than he would earn by weekly wages, yet in estimating his *general earnings*, the loss of time in the course of the year, from bad weather or sickness, may be held *equivalent to this addition*. The wages of these men will also generally be found to bear—some *reference to the necessary charges of subsistence*; so as that *a man with two children*... may be able to maintain his family without parochial relief" (l.c., [p.] 34). "A *reduction* in the price of labour can with more propriety be applied to *yearly* servants ... *their necessities* being commonly limited to themselves" * ([p.] 35).//

//*Rents and fallows*:

* "If, until the prevalence of the late high prices, *arable* land in general bore but little rent, chiefly by reason of the acknowledged necessity of frequent fallows; the rents must again be reduced, to admit of a return to the same system" * (J. D. Hume (of the custom house), *Thoughts on the Corn-Laws etc.*, London, 1815, [p.] 72).//

//*Constant and variable capital.* Calculation of income and expenditure for 100 acres of land. (*Supplementary Notebook B*, [pp.] 21-22.)[142]//

*Burke*, in the pamphlet quoted earlier,[b] describes the expression "*labouring poor*" as detestable political cant; Burke, that great cant-monger with his execrable cant about landlords, etc. The expression "labouring poor" is found in the Statutes, and furthermore in almost all the writers of the 17th and 18th centuries. (*Adam Smith* too. See e.g. the passage on the consequences of the *division of labour*.[c]) Eden, etc. The contrast is made in part with the *idle poor* (paupers), in part with the *self-sustaining peasant* or *handicraftsman*.

//*Rent.*

The period from 1740 to 1750 was the *cheapest* period in our annals; it was also the period of the greatest exports (*Remarks on the Commercial Policy of Great Britain, Principally as It Relates to the Corn Trade*, London, 1815, [p.] 33). One may see from p. 143 of the *Lords' Report*[d] that the * expense of cultivating 100 acres in 1790=£411 15s. [11]$^3/_4$d.; in 1813 [it was] £771 16s. 4$^1/_2$d.; but the former sum bears almost precisely the same proportion to the latter as 6s., the price of wheat in the first year, does to 11s. in the second //per bushel// * (l.c., [p.] 42).

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[a] This refers to *Address to the Two Houses of Parliament on the Importance of the Corn Laws to the National Revenue*, London, 1815.— *Ed.*

[b] E. Burke, *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity*... (see this volume, pp. 253-54).—*Ed.*

[c] See present edition, Vol. 30, p. 306.— *Ed.*

[d] Presumably *Reports Respecting Grain, and the Corn Laws*..., London, 1814.— *Ed.*

[XXIII-1416] *Increase of rent.* On most ESTATES from 2 to 5, on many of them more (l.c., [p.] 43).

*Increase of rent* combined with *decline in the rate of rent.* The ADDITIONAL CAPITAL produces dearer (l.c., [pp.] 44-45). (*Supplementary Notebook B*, p. 30).

*Value of labour* and *price of the means of subsistence.*

* "It has been endeavoured to be proved that labour is not influenced by the price of subsistence, but that, on the contrary, it is always cheapest when grain is dearest. In support of this brilliant discovery, which would undoubtedly have entitled the author to a chair in the university of Laputa,[99] no example could be adduced but from the cotton manufactory, in the infancy of which *wages were far beyond the rate of common labour*; and where from this cause and other improvements in machinery they have always had a tendency to diminish. The real earnings of the cotton weaver are now far less than they were; his superiority over the common labourer, which at first was very great, has now almost entirely ceased. Indeed, whether from the increase in the price of ordinary labour, or from the freer circulation which has been produced by the alteration in the laws of settlement and apprenticeship, the difference in the wages of skilful and common labour is far less now than at any former period" * (l.c., [p.] 48).[a]

The IMPORTATION of the PRECIOUS METALS into Europe has DOUBLED since 1770. SHORTLY AFTER THIS THE GREAT RISE IN CORN BEGAN ([p.] 76). "From 1700 to 1770 THE IMPORTATION OF SILVER REMAINED NEARLY STATIONARY. At that time (according to Humboldt) importation into Europe amounted to 6 million *livres* (4 for Europe, 2 TRANSMITTED to ASIA). Since that time there have been INCREASES" (l.c., [pp.] 76-77).

*Size of circulation.*

* "The manufacturer, who has 500 workmen to pay on the Saturday night, cannot do it with the same notes when their wages amount to £500, as he did when they were only £300. *The circulation of the country is always regulated by the value of the goods to be exchanged.* It is not the greater quantity of shipping which trade between Newcastle and London that has caused the increase in the trade between those two ports. It is the greater quantity of goods which has caused the employment of a greater amount of shipping" * (l.c., [p.] 86).

*Cause of the* HIGH PRICE OF CORN.

* "Thus it has been shown that the high price of corn has arisen partly from a *depreciation* in the *value of silver*, partly from an *alteration in the value of the currency*, and partly *from speculation*" (l.c., [p.] 88).

*Clearing of estates.*

"In every country the state of manners will greatly depend *on the nature of the equivalent given for the surplus produce of the soil.* Where that equivalent consists of manufactures, wealth and industry will flourish; but when there are no manufactures to give to the landlord for his surplus produce, it will generally be consumed by idle retainers. Such ... was the state of manners under the *feudal system*; the landlord distributing the surplus produce [XXIII-1417] among a train of dependants, and *receiving his equivalent in military service.* The feudal system has

[a] Cf. this volume, p. 162.—*Ed.*

declined throughout Europe with the progress of trade and manufactures. In the Highlands of Scotland this change is not yet fully accomplished, though the *ancient state of property is daily subverted* by the progress of modern manners. The *landlord, without regard to the hereditary tenant,* now offers his land to the *highest bidder,* who, if he is an improver, instantly adopts *a new system of cultivation. The land,* formerly *overspread* with small tenants or labourers, was *peopled in proportion to its produce*; but under *this new system of improved cultivation* and *increased rents* the largest possible produce is obtained at the least possible expense; and the *useless hands* being, with this view, *removed,* the *population is reduced not to what the land will maintain, but to what it will employ.* The dispossessed tenants" //"outcasts from home",[a] p. 145// "either seek a subsistence in the manufacturing towns, or, if they can afford the expense of the voyage, emigrate to America" * (David Buchanan, *Observations etc.,* Edinburgh, 1814, [pp.] 143-44).

*Personification of capital.*

* "Stock *cultivates* land; stock *employs* labour" * (A. Smith, [*An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,*] BOOK V, CH. II, Buchanan EDITION, [Vol.] III, [p.] 309).

//*Shortening of labour by means of machinery. The workers' struggle against this. Beckmann,* in Supplementary Notebook C, pp. 4[-5].[143] *Ribbon mills.* The gaining of extra wheat by better grinding (l.c., p. 5).

*Struggle in England against the sawmills* (ibid., p. 5).

*German inventions* (ibid., p. 5).//

//*Against Malthus.* See *Ensor. Supplementary Notebook C,* pp. 6-7.

CLEARING OF ESTATES.

* "They dispossessed families as they would grub up coppice-wood, and they treated villages and their people as Indians harassed with wild beasts do, in their vengeance, a jungle with tigers... Men shall be bartered for a fleece or a carcass of mutton, nay, held cheaper... The Moguls, when they had broken into the Northern provinces of China, proposed in council to exterminate the inhabitants, and convert the land into pasture. This proposal many Highland proprietors have effected in their own country against their own countrymen" * (George Ensor, *An Inquiry Concerning the Population of Nations etc.,* London, 1818, [pp.] 215-16).//

//*Exchange of objectified for living labour.*

"Just as everyone is forced to consume before he produces, the poor worker finds himself *dependent upon the rich man,* and can neither live nor work without obtaining from him existing produce and commodities, in exchange for those he promises to produce by his own labour" (Simonde (i.e. Sismondi), *De la richesse commerciale etc.,* Geneva, 1803, Vol. I, [p.] 36). "To make him" (the rich man) "consent to this" (i.e. to this bargain), "it was necessary to agree that whenever *labour already performed was exchanged for* [XXIII-1418] *labour yet to be done,* the latter would have a higher value than the former" ([p.] 37).[b]//

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[a] D. Buchanan has: "outcasts at home".— *Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

*On differences in the* RETURN *from capital. Sismondi,* l.c., [pp. 130-31, 228-29, 232 ] in *Supplementary Notebook C,* p. 8. The same writer on *merchant capital,* l.c.

//Sir Dudley North, *Discourses upon Trade etc.,* London, 1691 (*Supplementary Notebook C*).[144]

This work, like Locke's economic writings, is in direct connection with and directly based on Petty's works.

The work is mainly concerned with *commercial capital,* and so it is not relevant here. Masterly skill in the field with which it deals.

It is particularly remarkable that from the time of the Restoration of Charles II up to the middle of the 18th century there were continual complaints from the LANDLORDS about the fall in rents (just as the price of wheat continually declined especially from ?[145] onwards). Although the industrial capitalist class played a considerable part in the compulsory reduction of the rate of interest (from the time of Culpeper and Sir Josiah Child),[a] the real protagonist of this measure was the *LANDED INTEREST*. The "*VALUE OF LAND*" and the "RAISING of it" were proclaimed to be in the national interest. (Just as on the other hand from about 1760 the rise in rents, in the VALUE OF LAND and in the PRICE of CORN and PROVISIONS, and the complaints of the MANUFACTURERS on this score, form the basis of the economic investigations on this subject.)

With few exceptions it is the struggle between MONEYED INTEREST and LANDED INTEREST that fills the century from 1650 to 1750, as the nobility, who lived in the grand style, saw with disgust how the usurers had got their hands on them and, with the building up of the modern credit system and the national debt at the end of the 17th century, confronted them with overwhelming power in the sphere of legislation, etc.

Already *Petty* speaks of the LANDLORDS' complaints about the fall in rents and their opposition to the IMPROVEMENTS (look up the passage).[b] He defends the usurer as against the LANDLORD and puts RENT OF MONEY and RENT OF LAND on the same footing.[c]

*Locke* reduces both to exploitation of labour.[d] He takes the same standpoint as Petty. Both oppose the compulsory regulation of interest. The LANDED INTEREST had noted that the *VALUE OF LAND* rose

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[a] See also present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 463, 540.— *Ed.*

[b] See W. Petty, *Political Arithmetick...* In: *Several Essays in Political Arithmetick...,* London, 1699, p. 230, and also present edition, Vol. 31, p. 343.— *Ed.*

[c] See W. Petty, *A Treatise of Taxes, and Contributions...,* London, 1667, Ch. 4, pp. 19-27, and Ch. 5, p. 28.— *Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 87-89.— *Ed.*

when interest fell. At a given level of rent, its *capitalised expression*, i.e. the VALUE OF LAND, falls or rises in inverse relation to the rate of interest.

The third writer to follow this LINE of Petty's is *Sir Dudley North*, in the work referred to above.

This is the first form in which *capital* starts its revolt against *landed property*, as in fact *USURY* was one of the principal means of the accumulation of capital—i.e. through its CO-PROPRIETORSHIP in the LANDLORD'S REVENUES. But industrial and commercial capital go more or less hand in hand with the LANDLORDS against this outmoded form of capital.

* "As the landed man lets his land, so these (who have *stock* in trade, and either have not the skill, or care not for the trouble of managing it in trade) let their *stock*; this latter is called *interest*, but is only *rent* for stock" *

(here, as also in Petty's writings, it can be seen how rent, to those just emerging from the Middle Ages, [XXIII-1419] appears as the primary form of surplus value)

* "as the other is for land. And in several languages, hiring of money, and lands, are terms of common use; and it is so also in some counties of England. Thus to be a *Landlord*, or a *Stocklord* is the same thing; the landlord has the advantage only in this: that his tenant cannot carry away the land, as the tenant of the other may the stock; and therefore land ought to yield *less profit* than stock, which is let out at a greater hazard" * ([p.] 4).

*Interest.* North seems to have been the first to have a correct conception of interest, for by *STOCK*, as will be seen from the passages next quoted, he means not only money, but capital (as indeed Petty, too, distinguishes between *STOCK and money*. Locke considered that interest was determined exclusively by the quantity of money; so did Petty. *See the passages in Massie on this*[a]).

* "If there be more lenders than borrowers, interest will ... fall; ...it is not [low] interest [that] makes trade, but *trade increasing the stock of the nation* makes interest low" ([p.] 4).

"Gold and silver, and, out of them, money, are nothing but the weights and measures, by which traffick is more commonly[b] carried on, than could be done without them: and also a proper fund for a *surplusage of stock to be deposited in*" * ([p.] 16).

*Price and money.* As the price is nothing but the *EQUIVALENT* of the commodity expressed in *money*, and, when we are dealing with a *sale*, the commodity realised in money—that is, it represents the

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[a] See [J. Massie,] *An Essay on the Governing Causes of the Natural Rate of Interest; Wherein the Sentiments of Sir William Petty and Mr. Locke, on That Head, Are Considered*, London, 1750, pp. 11-19, and this volume, p. 91.—*Ed.*

[b] North has "conveniently".—*Ed.*

*commodity* as *exchange value* in order to convert it subsequently into a use value again—it is one of the earliest recognitions of the fact that here we are dealing with gold and silver only as a *form of existence* of the *exchange value* of commodities themselves, as a *phase in their metamorphosis*, not with gold and silver as such. North puts this very nicely for his time.

* "What do these people want, who cry out for money",* etc. (The whole passage. Supplementary Notebook *C*, [pp.] 12-13).[146]

* "Money being ... the common measure of buying and selling, every body who has any thing to sell, and cannot procure chapmen for it, is presently apt to think, that *want of money* in *the Kingdom* ... is the cause why his goods do not go off; and so, want of money is the common cry, which is a great mistake"*([p.] 11).

*Further*: *Capital* is self-*valorising value*, whereas in *hoarding* the *crystallised form* of *exchange value* as such is the aim. One of the earliest discoveries of the classical economists is therefore the antithesis between *hoarding* and the *valorisation of money*, that is to say, the presentation of *money as capital.*

* "No man is richer for having his estate all in money, plate, etc., lying by him, but on the contrary, he is for that reason the poorer. That man is richest, whose estate is in a *growing condition*, either in land at farm, money at interest, or goods in trade"* ([p.] 11).

(Similarly, John Bellers, *Essays about the Poor, Manufactures, Trade, Plantations, and Immorality etc.*, London, 1699, says:

* "Money neither *increaseth*, nor is useful, but when it's parted with, and as money is unprofitable to a private person but as he disposeth of it, for something valuable, so what money is more than of absolute necessity for a Home Trade, is dead stock to a kingdom or nation, and brings no profit to that country it's kept in" ([p.] 13).)

"Altho' every one desires to have it" (money), "yet none, or very few care for keeping it, but they are forthwith contriving to dispose of it: knowing that from all the money that lies dead, no benefit is to be expected and it is a certain loss"* ([D. North, op. cit., p.] 21).

[XXIII-1420] *Money as world money.*

* "A nation, in the world, as to trade, is in all respects like a city in a kingdom, or a family in a city" ([p.] 14). "In this course of trade, gold and silver are in no sort different from other *commodities*, but are taken from them who have plenty, and carried to them who want or desire them",* etc. ([p.] 13).

*The quantity of money that can circulate is determined by the exchange of commodities.*

* "If never so much" (money) "be brought from abroad, or never so much coined at home, all that is more than what the commerce of the nation requires, is *but bullion*, and will be treated as such; and coined money, like wrought plate at second hand, shall sell but for the intrinsick"* ([pp.] 17-18).

Conversion of MONEY into BULLION, and vice versa ([p.] 18) (*Supplementary Notebook C, p. 13*). *Valuation* and *weighing* of money. Oscillatory movement (l.c., p. 14).[147]

*Usury and* LANDED INTEREST and TRADE:

* "The moneys employed at interest in this nation, are not near the tenth part, *disposed to trading people*, wherewith to manage their trade; but are for the most part lent for the supply of luxury, and to support the expense of persons, who though great owners of land yet spend faster than their lands bring in, and being loath to sell, choose rather to mortgage their estates" * ([North, op. cit., pp.] 6-7).

//*A Discourse of the Necessity of Encouraging Mechanick Industry etc.*, London, 1689.[148]

*Child labour.*

The late age at which the English employ *children* as compared with Germany [op. cit., p. 13]. (*Supplementary Notebook C, p. 24.* Cf. in contrast that falsifier of history Macaulay.[a])

*Unproductive labour* (that of the BRAIN alone). "*A* NECESSARY EVIL". Hamburg praised for treating it in this way (l.c. [p. 14]).//

//*Gold and silver are commodities.* This is a basic perception for money to be understood at all; for it is a *commodity* which develops into *money* in the process of commodity exchange; it receives the function of money, and the other *commodities* can only express their *value* in it in so far as they are exchanged for it as *a commodity.*

"Silver and gold themselves (which we may call by the general name of *bullion*) are to be considered but as a finer sort of *commodities*; and as *such* are capable of *rising and falling in price*, and may be said to be *of more* or *less value* in divers places, according to their plenty or scarcity. Bullion then may there be reckoned to be of higher value, where the smaller weight will purchase the greater quantity of the product or manufacture of the country" ([S. Clement,] *A Discourse of the General Notions of Money, Trade, and Exchanges, as they stand in Relation Each to Other etc. By a Merchant*, London, 1695, [p.] 7).

"Silver and gold, coined or uncoined, tho' they are used for a measure of all other things, are no less a *commodity* than wine, oil, tobacco, cloth or stuffs" ([J. Child,] *A Discourse Concerning Trade, and That in Particular of the East-Indies etc.*, London, 1689, [p.] 2). "The stock and riches of the kingdom cannot properly be confined to money, nor ought gold and silver to be excluded from being [XXIII-1421] [149] *merchandise*" ([Th. Papillon.] *The East-India-Trade a Most Profitable Trade etc.*, London, 1677, [p.] 4).//

"Weak minds may be alarmed at the *exportation of specie* ... but ... gold and silver is as much *a commodity* as corn, wine, and oil, and it must circulate like, and with, *all other kinds of property*; and will increase or decrease in proportion to the demand at market, like any other *goods* or *merchandise*; with this superior advantage attending it, viz. that it is utterly impossible we can *ever be* in want of

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[a] Th. B. Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second*, 10th ed., Vol. I, p. 417; see also present edition, Vol. 30, p. 222, and Vol. 33, p. 471.—*Ed.*

cash, so long as we have trade, goods and property to purchase it" * (*An Essay upon Publick Credit, in a Letter to a Friend. Occasioned By the Fall of Stocks*, London, 1748, [p.] 16).

[XXIII-1422] //*A Discourse Shewing the Great Advantages That New Buildings, and the Enlarging of Towns and Cities Do Bring To a Nation*, London, 1678.

Just as later on the rise in rents, etc., was ascribed to the most idiotic causes, so at that time the FALL IN THE *VALUE OF LAND* was treated in the same way. The blame was laid, among other things, upon the large number of new buildings in London at the time. The above work is directed against this argument. The author first of all gives the real causes, in which connection he also notes that the *VALUE* OF LAND and of rents *depends* upon the *price of the products of agriculture.*

* "By the *plague*, 200,000 people dying in one year, *the fall of rents of the land was occasioned*, corn, meat, and wool, that was wont to feed and clothe those 200,000 persons, now went wanting, occasioned the market to fall, and *the price of land must follow the price of its commodities*" * ([p.] 1).

The cause of the "*FALL OF RENTS IN THE COUNTRY*" is

* "that *the product of the country is greater than the consumption*, that is, that there is more corn, wool and other commodities of the country, than the people can dispose of: which makes plenty, and plenty makes things cheap; now the value of land must fall in proportion to *the value of the goods* that are produced from it; that which has occasioned it, is, that the *improvements* in *the country* are *greater than the increase of people*. The improvements of the country are many, as the draining of fens, the sowing of sanfoin and other seed, the disparking of parks, the inclosing of forests; ...now there is not an increase of people in proportion. First, because of the great plague...; and, secondly, the going away of the people to new plantations, and to improve Ireland" * ([p.] 14).

But *secondly* the man points to the *differential rent* on *houses*, and regards this *increasing valorisation* of houses as the production of wealth.

* "In all other employments of those hands ... as in making of stuff and cloth, and several other commodities; the *market* is sometimes *overstocked*; by which the prices of the goods do so much fall ... that there is greater loss to those goods that were made before, than what is gained by the imploying of the hands in making of new; so that then, *the profit by the labour of the poor is lost*, and it is much the same thing as if their food had been given them *gratis*. But this never happens in the building of new houses; for the *building of new houses raises the rent of the old ones*; and that this is true, appears because in the ends and outparts of all cities and towns, houses are of less value than they are in the middle" ([p.] 3). "Now when cities and towns so flourish, that they incourage builders, so that by the addition of new buildings those houses that were before the ends and outparts of the city, or town, *stand nearer to the middle*; then *the rents of these* houses rise in proportion as they become nearer to [XXIII-1423] the middle of the town" * ([pp. 3-]4).

He then uses the example of London to demonstrate this. SITUATION is for houses what the growth of relative fertility is for the land. The peculiar nature of the creation OF VALUE which distinguishes differential rent is picked out here. It is, namely, that THE ADDITIONAL PRODUCTION *raises* the value of the older lands and their produce, instead of reducing it.//

// *Writings of Josiah Tucker.*

Good point against the mercantile balance OF TRADE[a] (Supplementary Notebook *C*, p. 27).

First of all against the possibility of a general *overproduction* (l.c.).

*Population* is *wealth.* More people=more labour, and labour is the "RICHES OF A COUNTRY" (l.c.).

Against *Hume's theory* that the richer country must produce *dearer* on account of the INFLUX OF MONEY, etc.[b] (l.c., p. 28).//

// *VALUE OF LAND.* The *purpose* of all TRADE is to increase it.

* "All trade, domestick or foreign, that does not in the result *increase the value of land,* ought to be totally rejected" * ([J. Child,] *A Discourse Concerning Trade, and That in Particular of the East-Indies etc.,* London, 1689, [p.] 1).//

*The Mercantile System's view of surplus value*:

* "Trade confined amongst ourselves, procures little advantage to the kingdom; no more than the buying and selling of land, one hath more, and another hath less; the *owners are changed,* but the land is still the same. It is foreign trade that is the great interest and concern of the kingdom" * ([Th. Papillon,] *The East-India-Trade a Most Profitable Trade to the Kingdom etc.,* London, 1677, [p.] 1).

In contrast to the *Monetary System*:

* "If gold and silver must be confined within our walls, i.e. the seas that environ us, it is rendered fruitless, and yields *no increase* to the kingdom's *capital*" *(l.c., [pp.] 4-5).

*Money of account*:

* "It is true, that usually the *measure* of *stock or riches* is accounted by money; but that is rather in *imagination* than *reality.* A man is said to be worth 10,000 pounds, when possibly he has not 100 pounds in ready money, but his estate, if he be a farmer, consists in land, corn, or cattle, and husbandry implements; if a merchant, in goods," * etc. (l.c., p. 4).

*Accelerated rapidity of the turnover of money at a time of* QUICK TRADE.

* "It is a great mistake, though a common one, to think, that it is the *plenty* or *scarcity* of *money,* that is the cause of a good or bad trade: It is true, when the trade is quick and good, money is more seen, and *changeth hands ten times for what it does,*

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[a] J. Tucker, *A Brief Essay on the Advantages and Disadvantages Which Respectively Attend France and Great Britain, with Regard to Trade,* 3rd ed., London, 1753, Introduction, p. VI.— *Ed.*

[b] See J. Tucker, *Four Tracts, Together with Two Sermons, on Political and Commercial Subjects,* 3rd ed., Gloucester, 1776, pp. 35-37.— *Ed.*

when the trade is dull and dead; so that one hundred pounds in a time of quick trading, makes as great an appearance as one thousand pounds in a time of dead trading. It is not so *much the money that influenceth the trade,* as it *is the trade that discovers the money, which otherwise would lie hid*" * (l.c., [p.] 5).

[XXIII-1424] //*Reasons for a Limited Exportation of Wool,* London, 1677.

On behalf of the LANDLORDS and TENANTS, who blame their misfortunes on the *CHEAPNESS* OF WOOL ([p.] 3), the export of which was prohibited in order to provide the manufacturers with cheap raw material. The whole pamphlet is directed against "THE BEATING DOWN [of] THE PRICE OF WOOL" ([p.] 16).

This is one of the first works to express the antagonism between the *LANDED INTEREST* and the *MANUFACTURING interest.* (Otherwise this period as a whole is characterised more by the antagonism between the *LANDED* and the *MONIED* INTEREST.)

The author says earlier that the export of wool was only ever suspended for temporary reasons.

In 1647 the EXPORT OF "WOOL" was prohibited

* "upon pretence that there was not wool enough to furnish our own necessities. Which (if true) might be because of the great destruction of sheep by the wars. Yet there seems to be another ground for that act. The government of that time having been assisted in the civil wars *by great numbers of the wool workmen,* (who liked much better to rob and plunder for half a crown a day, than toil at a melancholy work for 6d. a day) to *encourage and reward them,* I say, *and to weaken the gentry,* they made this prohibition" * ([p.] 8).

Great stocks of wool lay UPON the LAND; hence a fall in the price; and the ruin of the FARMERS and GRAZIERS, and of the LANDLORDS, who were compelled to take over the FARMS themselves...

* "In fine the farm must be sold, since the wool has no price".*

But the rent had fallen so low, the number of lands offered for sale was so great, that there were no buyers ([p.] 16). The "*CHEAPNESS of the WOOL*" is to blame for everything. On the other hand:

* "The low price of wool hath made so many apply to husbandry, that usually corn does hardly bear any price wherewith to pay his" (the farmer's) "rent" * (l.c., [p.] 18).

*The scourge of pauperism is an effect of industry.*

* "Where there is *most manufacture* there is either always or for the most part, *more poor*: the reasons are plain. It is true indeed that the first introducing a manufacture employs many poor, but *they cease not to be so*: and *the continuance* of *it makes many*" (l.c., [p.] 19). ("Their masters allow wages so mean, that they are only preserved from starving whilst they can work" ([p.] 4).)

"Now then suppose wool fall to 3d. per pound... The *price* of all land in England must likewise fall; there being *not one acre which produceth not* wool (plowed

lands at least from harvest to seed-time, and longer when they lie fallow). Consequently the *taxes* (which now are *generally on land*, and ever *proportioned to rent*, the ancient manner of taxing by 10th and 15th being of late out of use) [are] much to the advantage of the usurer, but to the prejudice of the country gentleman"* ([p.] 5).

It can be seen from this that wool was then still the chief product of the country, and that taxes still laid a significant burden upon the LANDLORDS, who were later able to shift this burden from themselves by means of indirect taxation.

But now comes the most significant passage in this book:

Because the SUPERFLUOUS WOOL is unsaleable

* "the one" ([the] farmer) "cannot pay his rent, nor the other" ([the] landlord) "sustain the taxes. And is not this the chiefest, if not the sole reason of sinking our rents, throwing up farms, and the misery of the whole country?... Now that it is the greatest concern and interest of the [XXIII-1425] nation, to preserve the nobility, gentry, and those to whom the land of the country belongs, at least much greater than a few artificers, imployed in working the superfluity of our wool, or the merchants who gain by the exportation of our manufacture, is manifest. 1) Because they" (the landholders) "are the masters and proprietors of *the foundation of all the wealth in this nation, all profit arising out of the ground, which is theirs*"* (*Physiocrats*). *"2) Because *they bear all the taxes and publick burthens; which in truth are only born by those who buy and sell not; all sellers raising the price of their commodities*, or abating of their goodness, according to their taxes"* [op. cit., pp. 4-5].

(*Locke, Vanderlint, Physiocrats.* Except that Locke immediately TURNS the point to his own convenience; because all TAXES ultimately fall on the landholders, they should also pay them *directly*, instead of indirectly. How a person comes to *buy* without *selling*, hence to possess *money*, the converted form of the commodity, without throwing any *commodities* onto the market, is naturally not explained here. Thus this theory was initially constructed by the LANDED INTEREST.)

* "3) Because they maintain great families, which conduce much to the *consumption* of our manufactures, many people relying upon them, and perhaps as many as upon cloth working"* [op. cit., p. 5].

(The necessity for these people, as *"fruges consumere nati"*,[a] consumers, in order to provide an impulse to industry. *Physiocrats.* Later *Malthus and his sort.*[b])

* "4) Because they must *of necessity* bear all magistracies and public imployments (how burthensome soever)"* (ceases, therefore, with the coming of *bureaucracy*) * "and are the *only hindrances of the confusion which would follow upon equality*"* ([p.] 5).//

//*Denunciation of* WOOL STAPLERS *and* FACTORIES AS A PUBLIC NUISANCE. On the history of the formation of the different forms of commercial

[a] "Born to *consume* the fruits" (Horace, *Epistolae*, lib. I, ep. 2:27).— *Ed.*

[b] Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, p. 217.— *Ed.*

capital. *Supplementary Notebook E* [pp. 153-54]. ([G. Clarke,] *The Case of Our English Wool etc.*, 1685.) (In the same place, *Reasons of the Decay of the Clothing-Trade*, [London,] 1691 [pp. 154-56].)//

//*Sir R. Temple*, in *An Essay upon Taxes etc.*, London, 1693, gives a compact presentation, on pp. 3-4, of the *pre-capitalist tax system* (of ITS PRINCIPLES). For the LANDLORDS and MEAN PEOPLE. Against USURERS, TRADERS and *FREEHOLDERS* [p. 5].

"A *GENERAL EXCISE* UPON HOME COMMODITIES," he says, is IN TRUTH the same thing as "A *LAND TAX*.... SINCE BOTH *ARE A DUTY UPON THE SAME COMMODITIES*, WHICH ARE *THE PRODUCT OF THE LAND*" ([pp. 10-]11).

(The same idea as with Locke, the WOOL MAN, etc.[a]) Says that the TAXES UPON COMMODITIES do not raise their *prices* for the consumers, but reduce them for the producers, if the "NECESSITY" of the "SELLERS" is GREATER than that of the "BUYERS", which is the case in England with HOME COMMODITIES. (The same point in *Quesnay*.[b]) This is said to be the "PRINCIPAL CAUSE OF THE PRESENT FALL OF RENTS, AND THE PRICE OF COMMODITIES" ([p.] 12). (All this in Supplementary Notebook *E* [pp. 156-58].) (*Against an EXCISE*, [p.] 12.) The excise is attacked very well from the political point of view ([p.] 14).// (Exactly the same antagonism towards *Holland* as in Quesnay [pp. 16 ff.].)

//*Struggle between the LANDLORDS and the MONEY LORDS.* See the work *Remarks on the Proceedings of the Commissioners etc.* (by *John Trenchard*)[150] (anonymously), London, 1696. *Supplementary Notebook E* [pp. 158-60]. Land bank against *BANK OF ENGLAND*. Conflict: As *interest* falls (which the MONIED INTEREST does not want) the *VALUE OF LAND* rises. The MONIED MEN want the kind of interest, etc., that ENABLES them IN A FEW YEARS TO APPROPRIATE LAND—

*"so that at this rate in some few years, the traders will invade the antient gentry, and take away their *place and station*"* ([pp.] 3-4).//

//*Cruelty of capital.*

*"Such a spirit of cruelty reigns here in England among the men of trade, that it is not to be met with in any other society of men, nor in any other country of the world"* (*An Essay on Credit and the Bankrupt Act etc.*, London, 1707, [p.] 2).

(This should be brought in when dealing with debtors and creditors.[151])//

[XXIII-1426] //Once the products are exchanged as *commodities*, they are *per se*[c] money. This point should be made in connection with the transition to the *metamorphosis of the commodity*.[152]

[a] See J. Locke, *Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest, and Raising the Value of Money* (1691). In: *The Works*, 8th ed., in 4 vols, Vol. II, London, 1777, pp. 20-21, 34-35, 39, 48.— *Ed.*

[b] F. Quesnay, *Dialogues sur le commerce et sur les travaux des artisans*. In: *Physiocrates ... par M. Eugène Daire*, Part I, pp. 145-46, 163.— *Ed.*

[c] Of themselves.— *Ed.*

* "The course of trade being thus turned, from exchanging of goods for goods, or *delivering* and *taking*, to *selling* and *paying*, all the bargains in the world are now stated upon the foot of *a price in money*; and tho' it be at any time an *exchange of goods for goods*, yet *even those goods are on either side rated at a price in money*" * ([p.] 8).[a]//

//On the *insignificance* of *politics*, when *exchange value* is at stake. [D. Defoe,] *An Essay on Loans etc.*, London, 1710.//

//Nicholas Barbon, *A Discourse Concerning Coining the New Money Lighter. In Answer to Mr. Locke's Considerations etc.*, London, 1696.

It emerges both from Barbon's preface, and from *Decus et Tutamen etc.* (by a PARTISAN of Locke), that Dr. Barbon, banking entrepreneur, had a *private interest* in the "RAISING OF MONEY".[153]

*Use value is the basis of value.*

* "The value of all things arise from their *use* ... things of no use are of no value" * ([p.] 2).

The USE may derive from physical needs, or mental needs, which means here "*DESIRES*"...

* "There are two general uses... They are either useful to supply the *wants of the body*, ... or the *wants of the mind* (such things that satisfy *desire*... Desire implies want; it is the *appetite of the mind*, and as natural as hunger to the body)" (l.c.). "The greatest number ... have their value from supplying the wants of the mind" ([p.] 3).

"Desire and wants increase with riches. And from thence it is, that the contented man is the only rich man, because he wants nothing" ([p.] 3). "If any things could have an *intrinsick* value *in themselves*, they would be cattle and corn" * ([p.] 3), namely * "things that supply the wants of the body, and support life" (l.c.). "*Rarity* and *scarcity* are the chief reasons for the value of those things that are used for ornament, and not for any excellent quality in themselves" ([p.] 5). "[Value] depends only *on opinion*" * ([p.] 4). (*Storch.*[b])

*Use value and exchange value.*

* "There is nothing that troubles this controversy more, than for want of *distinguishing* betwixt *value* and *virtue*. Value is only the price of things: that can never be certain... *Nothing can have an intrinsick value*. But things have an *intrinsick virtue*, which in all places have the same virtue; as the load stone to attract iron, etc. But these things, though they may have great virtues, may be of small or no value or price, according to the place where they are plenty or scarce" * ([p.] 6).

*Exchange value is indifferent towards the use value of things.*

* "There is no difference or distinction in things of equal value; that is, one commodity is as good as another that's of the same value. One hundred pounds worth of lead or iron, is of as great a value as one hundred pounds worth of silver and gold" ([p.] 7).

[XXIII-1427] "Gold and silver are *commodities* as well as lead or iron" ([p.] 7).

"In trade and commerce there is *no difference* in *commodities* when *their values are equal*" ([p.] 11).

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[a] [D. Defoe,] *An Essay upon Publick Credit...*, London, 1710.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 303.— *Ed.*

"*Nothing has a price or value in itself*; the price or value of every thing *arises* from the occasion or use for it; the plenty and scarcity, in respect to their occasion, makes things of greater or less value" ([p.] 10).

"Now if the value of all things arise from their use; if plenty or scarcity makes things dear or cheap; if silver be a commodity for several uses, and more plentiful in some places than in others; then it must necessarily follow, that *silver can have no certain or intrinsick value*; and if silver be of an uncertain value, then it can never be the instrument of commerce and traffick: For, *that which is uncertain in its own* value, *can never be a certain measure of another value*"*([p.] 8).

*Money of account* (l.c., [pp.] 17, 18, 27). IT IS THE *DENOMINATION*, etc. ([pp.] 30, 31).

*Means of circulation.*

*"It is the *currency* of the coin that all men regard more than the *quantity* of silver in it" ([p.] 29).

"Money does wear and grow lighter by often telling over"* ([p.] 29).

His polemic against the *BALANCE OF TRADE* ([pp.] 35-40, 42, 44-45, 51-52). (*Supplementary Notebook E* [pp. 183-87].)

//*"*One sort of wares are as good as another, if the value be equal*"* ([p.] 53).

*Accounts.* Holland ([pp.] 54-55).

*World money*, *BULLION*, *commodity* ([pp. 54-]55). The *BALANCING OF ACCOMPT* is not to blame for the sending out of money ([p.] 57). Spaniards ([p.] 57). The relative *value* of BULLION in different countries is to blame for its BEING SENT OUT ([pp.] 59-60).//

//*Decus et Tutamen etc.*, London, 1696.

*Subsidiary coinage. Copper coinage* ([pp.] 6-7). Assumes, anyway, taking this from Barbon, that BULLION is sent abroad not for payments but as a means of purchase ([p.] 51).//

//*"It is evident that *enclosures* have been in a great measure the occasion of the increase of the poor in their neighbouring parishes"* (*Some Thoughts Concerning the Maintenance of the Poor etc.*, London, 1700, [p.] 10).//

//*Land as the basis of wealth.*

*"*Land* paid"* (during the 11 years of war since 1689) *"10s. in the pound per annum, principal and interest, under which latter name (land) *husbandry, manufacture* and *trade* are comprehended, as having their existence from, and being no more than the *product* and *improvement* of land, which is the *principal stock*, and gives birth and maintenance to all of 'em"* ([p.] 2).

On the binding character of contracts extorted by *NECESSITY*.[a] This also applies to the contract between capitalist and wage labourer ([p.] 16). (Both quotations come from: [J. Drake,] *An Essay Concerning the Necessity of Equal Taxes etc.*, London, 1702. The

[a] In the manuscript the English word is given in brackets after its German equivalent.— *Ed.*

second is on page *4, Supplementary Notebook F.*) THE *INTEREST OF THE YEAR 1699* AMOUNTED TO MORE THAN THE WHOLE CHANGE OF THE *YEAR 1688* ([p.] 9).//

//* "*Stock jobbing a publick nuisance*" * ([p.] 1).[a]

(*THE ANATOMY OF THE STOCK EXCHANGE*... under George I.)

*Stockjobbers "*original thieves* and *pick pockets*" ([ibid., p.] 8). "A gang a rogues and cheats" ([p.] 6).

"That original of *stock jobbing, Josiah Child*" * ([p.] 13). See stock exchange manipulations ([pp.] 13-15).//

[XXIII-1428] // *VALUE.*

> * "The value of a thing
> Is just as much as it will bring." * [154]

Or as *Nicholas Barbon* quotes "THE OLD MAXIM" [op. cit., p. 2]: "*Valet quantum vendi potest.*"[b]//

//*Sir Matthew Decker*[c]: *ONE SINGLE TAX*, namely UPON *HOUSES* according to the rents they pay. See the pamphlet in *Supplementary Notebook F*, p. 6. This pamphlet was already in its 5TH *EDITION* in *1774.* He was a MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT. See also *MR. Horsley*, 1744.[d] (*Supplementary Notebook F*, [p.] 6. In the same place [pp. 6-9] the pamphlet *An Essay on the Inequality of Our Present Taxes, Particularly the Land-Tax etc.*, London, 1746.) In the last-mentioned work:

* "The latter tax" (*excises*) "*has well nigh starved our poor*" * ([p.] 25).

Denounces the way the EXCISE falls UPON THE POOR ([p.] 37).

* "The manufacturers who *work for* their daily bread, ... *are the chief consumers of customed as well as excised goods*"*([pp.] 37-38).

Says that out of all the English families 600,000 should pay nothing. The other 900,000 *2s. IN THE POUND [of] ANNUAL INCOME* (hence an *income tax*), modified according to the number of children and the income ([pp.] 38-39).//

//*Some Thoughts on the Interest of Money in General, and Particularly in the Publick Funds etc.*, London, 1750. This is a very significant work.

*Rent*:

* "The *rent of land*, and the *price of the things* which that land produces, always do, and necessarily must, rise and fall together" * ([p.] 3).

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[a] [D. Defoe,] *The Anatomy of Exchange Alley: or, a System of Stock Jobbing*, London, 1719.— *Ed.*

[b] "A thing costs as much as it can fetch".— *Ed.*

[c] [M. Decker,] *Serious Considerations on the Several High Duties Which the Nation in General (As Well As Its Trade in Particular) Labours Under...*, London, 1743.— *Ed.*

[d] [W.] Horsley, *Serious Considerations on the High Duties Examin'd: Address'd to Sir Matthew Decker*, London, 1744.— *Ed.*

//He thinks, quoting from *Locke*, that this is connected with the CHEAPNESS OF MONEY (in view of the PLENTY OF SILVER) and therefore the DEARNESS OF PROVISIONS, while the same cause which makes MONEY CHEAP (ITS PLENTY) also reduces the interest ([p.] 12).//

* "The *decrease of the interest of money* is one *cause*, or rather *measure*, of the *increase* in *the price of the necessaries of life*" * ([pp.] 6-7).

//*Locke* is his main authority.//

*A fall in profit* (interest) *and a rise in rents* are *here* for the first time presented as interconnected FACTS, even though the phenomenon is explained in a curious way according to Lockean principles. Take the following passage:

* "*An increase of the rent*, or *annual value*" * (of the land) * "...must proceed from *a rise in the price of the produce of [the] land, and the common provisions of life*; but I do not mean here that the *fall of interest* is the immediate cause of the *increase of rents*, or of *the price of the necessaries of life*, but that there is such a connection between them that they will *accompany one another*; so that the *cause*, whatever that be, which produces the one, will necessarily draw the other after it" * ([p.] 36).

Notes the FALL OF RENTS for some years; but this is not a general phenomenon, he says ([pp.] 57-58, [Supplementary Notebook F,] p. 16).

*Value. This is the most complete discussion*, since Petty and Franklin, of the correct theory of value (*Supplementary Notebook* F, [pp.] 12 sqq.). (P. *14*, where he gets rid of the SUPPLY and DEMAND TALK in a few words.) (Similarly pp. 15,++.) Whether gold or silver falls in price or the commodity (l.c., [p.] 15).[155]

*Fall in rents. (Inkling of differential rent.)*

* "The fall in the rents of particular farms" * is partly due to the fact that * "many of them have been heretofore raised above a holding rent, and now are sunk down again; and others have consisted of rich and unimprovable lands, and whilst *poor and barren lands*, by manure and dressing, *have been made to yield a greater produce*, the richer lands have been at a stand; *and such improvements of one must have depreciated the value and rent of the other*; for the value, and price, of the lands and the provisions arising from them, all taken [XXIII-1429] together, will be no more than before, unless the mouths to consume them, or the money to buy them, have increased in proportion to the increase in the produce" ([pp.] 58-59). "The persons would indeed *live better* and more plentifully on such increased produce, but the *value* and *price* of the present greater produce would be no more than of the former less produce; and the rent ... put together would be no more" * ([pp.] 58-59).

*Price of the necessary means of subsistence and price of labour.*

* "Whether the *charge to the poor* would be *heightened by an advance in the price of provisions, is a very great question*" ([p.] 72). "As to labour, in husbandry or manufactures, it has been observed, that it is always dearest when provisions are cheapest, because people in low life, who work only for their daily bread, if they can get it by *three days' work in a week*, will many of them make holiday the other

three, or *set their own price on their labour.* If a greater price of provisions should oblige them to work one day in a week, or one hour in a day more, or rather play one day, or one hour less than they now do, which would not very much hurt them; the pay of that day or hour would more than make amends for the advance in the prices of such things as they commonly live on; and those who imploy them, might very well afford to set the industrious to work, and pay them better wages too, since their *profit* would be augmented in *a proportion much greater*" * ([p.] 73).

*Investigation of the effect of dearness of labour in making commodity prices dearer.*

* "I know't is frequently a subject of complaint that *labour is dear* in *England,* and from thence that the goods of the growth or manufacture of this country, come dear to a foreign or domestic market; but I think that the dearness of them arises rather from the *multiplicity of brokers,* who *intervene between the first producer and the last consumer,* and the *great profit* which is made by those intermediate dealers. *The very smallest of abatements made in the gains of the manufacturer,* that is the employer, the factor, shopkeeper, or merchant, would make *a vast advance in the wages of the labourer and first workman.* I doubt therefore that the true reason why merchants of some foreign countries do undersell ours, is because our goods *run too long a circuit* before they come to the consumer, and the *several agents* through whose hands they go, *eat up a great share of those gains which should belong to the first producer and manufacturer;* and neither the factor nor dealer is content with so small a profit as in other countries; and *not because the goods, when they come out of first hands,* are dearer than in other places" * ([pp.] 73-74).

*All taxes must fall on the land.* Quotes in this connection a CONTEMPORARY WRITER and Locke (*Supplementary Notebook F, p. 18*). An EXCISE increases prices, etc., for the CONSUMER, but often thereby lowers them for the PRODUCER (l.c., p. 19×).//

* "*Labour is distant wealth*" * ([Ch. Townshend,] *National Thoughts, Also with an Appendix Showing the Damages Arising from a Bounty of Corn. By a Land-Owner,* London, 1752 or 1753, [p.] 26).

*BOUNTIES ON EXPORTATION OF CORN*, etc., and against *IMPORT DUTY* (the above-mentioned *National Thoughts, Supplementary Notebook F,* p. *19*).[156]

[XXIII-1430] //*Reasons for the Late Increase of the Poor-Rates: or, A Comparative View of the Price of Labour and Provisions etc.,* London, 1777.

1) *CHANGE IN THE RELATIVE SITUATION of the CLASSES.*

* "Labourer depressed almost to the earth" * [p.5] (*Supplementary Notebook* F, p.21).

The *LANDOWNER* receives a double gain from the rising price of PROVISIONS: the *amount of rent* has risen, "*ADVANCED RENT*" [op. cit., p. 8] and therefore the VALUE OF LAND has risen, and secondly [he gains] from the *fall in interest* (l.c.).[157]

Factors which *help* the *FARMER* to raise the price of PROVISIONS:(l.c.).

* "The landlord and tenant ... have both gone hand in hand in keeping the labourer down; from a mistaken notion that they could not raise his wages, but at the expense of their respective emoluments" * (*Reasons etc.,* [p.] 11).

*Calculation of the means of subsistence now and 40 years ago* ([*Supplementary*] *Notebook F, p. 22*) shows further how for a long time wages did not rise in the same proportion as 3) the price of the means of subsistence.

* "The disadvantage which the *labourer sustains*, is *slipt into the profits which the landholder has acquired*" * (*Reasons etc.*, [p.] 19) (similarly p. 23 [of Supplementary Notebook F], *pp. 20-22* in the pamphlet).

On *the rubbish talked about the* LUXURIES *of the* POOR (*Supplementary Notebook F*, p. 23). (*Wheaten bread*, tea.)

*Views of property owners and capitalists.*

* "There is a capital error, in the very idea that men of fortune often entertain of the poor. They are apt to consider them as a tax, and a burden upon their property, when, in fact, *their property is of no value without them*" * ([p.] 23).

*Laws regulating wages. Elizabeth. James I.*

*PAUPERISM, FARMERS, MANUFACTURERS.* Very significant passage (l.c. [Supplementary Notebook F], pp. 23-24 [pp. 26-28 in the pamphlet]).

*Value of land.*

* "*Land itself* ... must be considered *of no value* ([without] the labourer); and that value which it acquires by *his means*, must be allowed to rise, and fall, in proportion to *his* strength and industry" * (*Reasons etc.*, [p.] 29).

*How the* POOR LABOURER *was treated before and now* (l.c. [Supplementary Notebook F], pp. 24-25 [pp. 30-35 in the pamphlet]). (EXPROPRIATED BY FARMER and LANDLORD.)

*Capitalist and worker.*

* "The farmer now absurdly asserts, that *he* keeps the poor. *They are indeed kept in misery*" * ([op. cit., p.] 31).

*On the nonsensical explanations of* MISERY *and the moral means to remedy it* ([Supplementary Notebook F,] p. 25).

*Previous and present wages* ([Supplementary Notebook F,] pp. 25-26 [pp. 36-42 in the pamphlet]). *An extremely admirable work!* //

//Storch, *Cours d'économie politique*, Vol. I [St. Petersburg, 1815].[a]

*The earth* is a machine (Vol. I, [p.] 168). (Machinery of DIFFERENT POWERS.)

"The *fertility* of the soil is manifested sometimes by the *abundance* of its products, and sometimes by their *variety*" ([p.] 169).

*Disadvantages of the division of labour.* With division of labour the worker is merely an *accessory* (p. 204).

*Separation of workers* in agriculture ([p.] 209).

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[a] Here and below Marx quotes from and comments on Storch partly in French.— *Ed.*

*Transport.* Travel by sledge in Russia ([pp. 226-]227).
[XXIII-1431] *Entrepreneurs and workers.*

"In small enterprises ... the *entrepreneur* is often his *own* worker" ([p.] 242).

*Sources of income* are at the same time *causes of production* ([p.] 259) (Supplementary Notebook G, p. 8).

*Rent* as general expression for surplus value ("income *independent* of labour") ([p.] 260).

"*Durable wealth in the consumption fund* may serve as *capital*" ([p.] 273).

*Fixed capital* remains in the hands "of the *industrial worker*" and does not "*change its form at all*", whereas *circulating capital* "*is most often converted into new products*" ([p.] 295).

With the *fisherman circulating capital* is NOTHING, *fixed capital* is fairly considerable ([p.] 296).

*Income* ([p.] 331).

*PROFITS OF STOCK* in Smith. He CONFOUNDS the rent of capital with the profit of the entrepreneur ([p.] 334, note).

"Smith—*confounds* the profit of the entrepreneur and the rent of capital *into a single income* which he calls the *PROFITS OF STOCK*" ([p.] 334, note).

*Vol. II*: *WAGES OF SUPERINTENDENCE.*

"When it is a matter of separating it" (the *wage of the entrepreneur*) "from this *profit*, it is impossible to estimate its value except by virtue of the wage the entrepreneur would have had to pay to a *worker* if he had hired one to perform this task" ([p.] 1).

*Fixed capital and circulating capital* (*Supplementary Notebook G*, pp. 55-56 [Storch, *Cours...*, Vol. II, pp. 36-37]). *Difference in circulation time* (l.c. [Supplementary Notebook G], pp. 56-57).

"The *worker* ... *lends* his industry" ([p.] 36).

But, adds the cunning Storch, he "risks" nothing except

"the loss ... of his wages... The worker does not hand over anything of a *material* nature" ([pp. 36-]37).

With Storch a double confusion is apparent: 1) when the *necessary price* is resolved into mere "incomes", instead of into constant capital+income; 2) when the *necessary price* of the commodities is determined by the price of wages, etc., and the latter is *for its part* in turn determined by the *prices of the commodities.* With regard to the first point:

1) "The *circulating capital*" // why not the fixed capital as well? // "employed in materials, raw materials and labour already performed, is itself composed of *commodities*, the *necessary price* of which *is formed of the same elements*; with the result that in considering the whole of the commodities in a country, it would be counting twice to place this portion of the circulating capital among the elements of the necessary price" ([p.] 140).

2) "It is true that the worker's *wage*, just like the part of the profit of the entrepreneur that consists of *wages*, if one considers them as a portion of means of subsistence, *is also composed of commodities* bought at current prices, which themselves consist of *wages, the rent of capital, the rent of land*, and *the profits of entrepreneurs*... This observation only serves to prove that it *is impossible to resolve the necessary price into its simplest elements*" ([pp.] 140[-141], note).

*Young—evaluation of the gross product per acre* ([*Supplementary*] *Notebook G*, p. 59). *Rent* (AVERAGE) the same (p. 60 [Storch, *Cours*..., Vol. II, p. 223]).

*Money* (*as means of credit and payment*):

"If these same pieces of money can thus serve as the instrument of different loans for three times ... [or] thirty times ... their value, they can equally serve just as many times successively as an instrument of repayment" ([ibid.,] Vol. III, [p.] 161).

Under *Adam Smith* the division of labour ([Storch, *Cours*...,] Vol. VI, Note II) (*Supplementary Notebook G*, p. 114).

[XXIII-1433][158] *Exchange of commodities and division of labour* WITHIN SOCIETY.

"For exchanges to take place, it is not sufficient for there to exist exchangeable things; there also has to be ... a *variety* of things" (Storch, Vol. I, [p.] 75). "The division of labour ... is rather *the cause* than *the effect* of exchanges, at least at the beginning" (l.c., [p.] 82, note).

*Price of commodities.* Price is first of all the monetary expression of value. The fact that the exchange value of one commodity is expressed in the use value of another does not make the latter into the *price* of the former. Here the category taken from the circulation of money has been smuggled into the simple bartering of commodities. Thus e.g. *Storch* says:

If e.g. 4 lbs of tea are exchanged for 1 arshin of cloth, "it is clear that the quantity of cloth forms the *price* of the tea, just as the quantity of tea forms the *price* of the cloth" ([Vol.] 1, [p.] 87). "It is *correlative quantities* which constitute the *price* of commodities" (l.c.).//

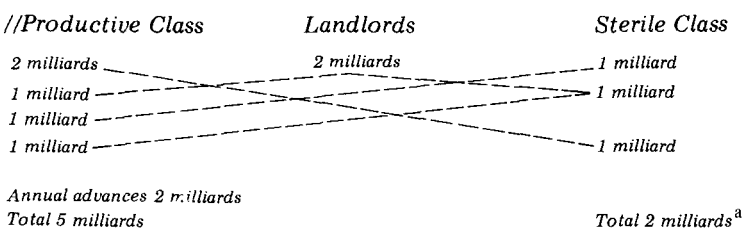


[a] Marx gives the *Tableau* in French; further, in his comments on it, he uses some French words and expressions.— *Ed.*

This is the simplest form of the *Tableau économique.*[159]

1) *Money circulation* (assuming payment is made only annually). The money circulation starts out from the SPENDING CLASS, the landlords, who have no *commodities* to sell, who buy without selling.

They buy to the amount of 1 milliard from the productive class, who send back the milliard in money in payment of rent to them. (This disposes *of* $^1/_5$ of the AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE.) They buy to the amount of 1 milliard from the sterile class, who in this way get 1 milliard in money. (This disposes of $^1/_2$ of the product of manufacture.) With the 1 milliard, the sterile class buy means of subsistence from the productive class; so that 1 milliard in money thus flows back to the latter. (This disposes of a second $^1/_5$ of the AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE.) With the same milliard in money the productive class buy 1 milliard in manufactured products; this replaces for them one half of their advances. (This disposes of the second $^1/_2$ of the PRODUCE of MANUFACTURE.) The sterile class buy [XXIII-1434] raw materials with the same milliard in money. (This disposes of another $^1/_5$ of the agricultural produce.) In this way the [2] milliards in money have flowed back to the productive class.

So what remains is $^2/_5$ of the AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE. $^1/_5$ is consumed *in natura*, but in what form is the second $^1/_5$ accumulated? That is to be shown later.[160]

2) Even from *Quesnay's* point of view, according to which the whole sterile class in fact consist only of wage labourers, the falsity of the assumptions made is evident from the *Tableau* itself.

The *original advances* (fixed capital) made by the productive class are assumed to be 5 times the size of the annual advances. In the case of the sterile class this ITEM is not mentioned at all—which naturally does not prevent it from existing.

Moreover, it is wrong to say that the reproduction=5 milliards; the Tableau itself shows it to be 7 milliards; 5 in the case of the productive class and 2 in the case of the sterile class.

The product of the sterile class=2 milliards. This product consists of 1 milliard in raw materials (which therefore partly enter into the product, and partly replace the wear and tear of the machinery which has entered into the value of the product) and 1 milliard in means of subsistence, which have been consumed in working them up.

They sell this entire product to the landlords and the productive class,[a] in order *firstly* to replace the advance (in raw materials),

[a] Marx has "*stériles*" ("sterile class"), probably a slip of the pen.—*Ed.*

*secondly* to obtain agricultural means of subsistence. Therefore not *a farthing's worth of the manufactured products* is left for their own consumption, still less for interest or profit. This in fact was noticed by Baudeau (or [Le] Trosne); he explains it by the sterile class selling their product *above* its *value*, so that what they sell for 2 milliards=2 milliards−x. The profit, and even what *they* consume in manufactured goods as necessary means of subsistence, is therefore explained only by the *raising of the price of the commodities above their value.*[a] And here the Physiocrats necessarily fall back on the Mercantile System's *PROFIT UPON ALIENATION.*[161] This is why free competition between the MANUFACTURERS is so very essential, so that they do not take too great advantage of the PRODUCTIVES and AGRICULTURISTS. On the other hand this free competition is necessary in order that AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE may be sold at a "*good* price", that is, that it may rise *above* its NATIVE PRICE by sale abroad—the assumption being a country WHICH EXPORTS WHEAT, etc.

"Every purchase is a sale, and every sale a purchase" (Quesnay, *Dialogues sur le commerce et sur les travaux des artisans etc.*, ed. Daire[162] ([p.] 170).[b] "To buy is to sell, and to sell is to buy" (*Quesnay* in Dupont de Nemours, *Origine etc.*, [p.] 392).[163]

"*Price always precedes purchases and sales.* If the competition of sellers and buyers brings about no change in it, it exists as it is through other causes *independent* of trade" ([p.] 148).[c]

"It is always to be presumed that it" (exchange) "is profitable to both" (contracting parties), "since they mutually procure for themselves the enjoyment of wealth which they could only obtain through exchange. But always there is only exchange of wealth *of a certain value* for other wealth of *equal value*, and consequently *no real increase of wealth*" (this should be: no real increase of value) (l.c., [p.] 197).[d]

*Advances and capital* are explicitly stated to be identical.

"*The increase of capitals* is then the *principal means of augmenting* labour, and is of the *greatest benefit to society*", etc. (*Quesnay* in Dupont de Nemours, l.c., [p.] 391).[163]//

[XXIII-1435] //[J. Cunningham,] *An Essay on Trade and Commerce: Containing Observations on Taxes, as they are supposed to affect the price of labour in our manufactories etc.*, London, 1770. (The same author had already published the essence of this work in *Considerations on Taxes etc.*, London, 1765.)

This fellow vents his spleen against the workers in manufacturing, who should be restored, he says, to the same "*HAPPY STATE*" as

[a] See N. Baudeau. *Explication du Tableau economique...* In: *Physiocrates ... par M. Eugène Daire*, Part II, pp. 852-54.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx quotes Quesnay in French.—*Ed.*

[c] F. Quesnay, *Dialogues...*: "Du commerce. Premier dialogue entre M.H. et M.N.".—*Ed.*

[d] F. Quesnay, *Dialogues...*: "Sur les travaux des artisans. Second dialogue".—*Ed.*

that enjoyed already by then by the *AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.* His work is very important. One sees in part from it that there was still a lack of discipline in manufacture *shortly before the introduction of large-scale industry*; that the supply of hands still by no means met the demand; that the worker was still far from regarding the whole of his time as belonging to capital. (Naturally at that time there was still much brutality among the workers; but no more than there was among THEIR NATURAL SUPERIORS.) In order to remedy these defects, the author recommends *high taxes* on the NECESSARIES OF LIFE, which will compel the workers to work, in the same way as bad harvests do; GENERAL *NATURALISATION,* in order to increase competition among them; also debasement of the currency (*RAISING OF MONEY*), etc. Apart from machinery, everything that this fine man demanded came about shortly afterwards: HIGH PRICE OF PROVISIONS, IMMENSE TAXATION, DEPRECIATION OF CURRENCY, all circumstances which contributed towards reducing the level of wages, and in the year 1815 happily placed the ragged factory worker alongside the "PAUPER" who represented the "BOLD PEASANTRY OF ENGLAND". Above all, the following passages are important, partly as showing the *labour time* really worked by manufacturing workers in those days, partly as showing the efforts of *capital* to force them to work TO THE FULL EXTENT OF THEIR POWERS (as well as to inculcate in them *INDUSTRIOUS* HABITS, *CONSTANCY OF LABOUR*):

*First of all, the whole of the worker's labour time belongs to the "COMMERCIAL STATE", meaning here the COMMON INTEREST of INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL*:

* "*An hour's labour lost* in a day is a prodigious injury to a commercial state" * ([p.] 47).

*Compulsion to labour*:

* "*Any method* ... that will *enforce labour* and industry, will have *the same effect as increasing the number of hands,* and will convert what would otherwise be a burthen, into the riches and strength of the state" * ([p.] 18).

(One of these METHODS is the *HIGH PRICE OF PROVISIONS,* to which taxes on the means of subsistence, etc., contribute.)

* "*Taxes tend to lower the price of labour*" * ([p.] 14).

*Price of labour and quantity of labour.* (*Length of the working day.*)

* "To *labour less* and *not cheaper* has been the consequence of a low price of provisions" ([p.] 14).

"Men will not labour, while they have the means of idleness in their power; but, as soon as these means are exhausted, *necessity* again rouses them to their work; and *from this cause,* no state has ever yet made any considerable figure in commerce, where the necessaries of life could be obtained by little labour" * ([p.] 26).

Some kind of "METHOD" must therefore

* "be found out, to create *a general industry*; that the *moderate labour of 6 days in the week* may be so *enforced* as, in time, *to grow habitual*, as in the case with the *Dutch*; for this would be equal to an increase of manufacturing people, near one third, and produce many millions, per annum, more in commodities... Of such vast consequence is sobriety, industry, and *constant labour*, to a commercial state" ([pp. 28-]29). "When, from a high price of necessaries, persons are obliged to *labour 6 days in the week*, they keep themselves sober, and the work of such men is always best performed, etc." ([p.] 30). "Sir William Temple observes, that 'of such force is the prevalency of habit, that the change from constant labour to constant ease, is as difficult and disagreeable, as from constant ease to constant labour'" ([pp.] 30[-31]).

[XXIII-1436] "If the making every seventh day an holiday is supposed to be a divine institution, as it implies *the appropriating the other six days to labour*, surely it will not be thought cruel to *enforce* it" ([p.] 41).

"If our poor will ... live *luxuriously*, and *work only four days in a week*, their labour must of course be dear" ([pp.] 44, etc.).

"I hope I have said enough to make it appear that *the moderate labour of 6 days in a week is no slavery*" * [p. 55].

Against *Postlethwayt* (the author of *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*). *Postlethwayt* had said, in a work entitled *Great-Britain's Commercial Interest Explained and Improved*, 2ND EDITION, London, 1759:

* "High taxes must raise the price of necessaries, an high price of necessaries must raise the price of labour, and an high price of labour must enhance the value of commodities: so that the state, in which labour is cheapest, will always be able to undersell other states, and gain their trade" * [pp. 12-13].

The scoundrel we are presently dealing with states the contrary, in his first work, the title of which indicates the whole of its contents: *Considerations on Taxes, as they are supposed to affect the price of labour in our manufacturies: also some reflections on the general behaviour and disposition of the manufacturing populace of this kingdom; shewing, by arguments drawn from experience, that nothing but necessity will enforce labour;*// hence *wages are always to be kept at such a level* that NECESSITY is there every single day, today as well as yesterday, that it drives the worker on, and that he is never able to emerge from this "NECESSITY"// *and that no State ever did, or ever can, make any considerable figure in trade, where the necessaries of life are at a low price*, London, 1765. Postlethwayt answered the fellow in a later edition of his *Universal Dictionary*.[164] (We shall quote the passage later; he INVEIGHS AGAINST HIM IN THIS BOOK.)

* "Our *labouring people* who are employed in *husbandry* do this" [work six days in a week] "and, to all appearance, they are the happiest of all our labouring poor:" *

(This blighter himself admits later on in the work that these "HAPPY" FELLOWS have already sunk to the physical minimum, and

that *at least they* would be unable to bear any further increase of the taxes on NECESSARIES without an increase in wages.)

* "but the *Dutch do this in manufactories*, and appear to be a very happy people. The *French* do so, when *holidays* do not intervene" * ([J. Cunningham, *An Essay*..., p.] 55).

The *WORKING CLASS* must have the *feeling of dependency* upon *THEIR SUPERIORS*:

* "But, our manufacturing people have adopted a notion, that as Englishmen they enjoy a birthright *privilege of being more free and independent than in any country in Europe*. Now, this idea, as far as it may affect the bravery of our troops, may be of some use; but *the less the manufacturing poor have of it, certainly the better for themselves* and the state. *The labouring people should never think themselves independent of their superiors*" ([p.] 56). "It is extremely dangerous to encourage mobs in a commercial state like ours, where perhaps seven parts out of eight of the whole are people with little or no property" ([p.] 57).

"It is the *quantity of labour*, and not the *price of it*,[165] that is determined by the *price of provisions and other necessaries*: reduce the price of necessaries very low, and of course you reduce the quantity of labour in proportion" ([p.] 48). "That mankind, in general, are naturally inclined to ease and indolence, [XXIII-1437] we fatally experience to be true, from the conduct of our manufacturing populace" * (rabble), * "who do not labour, upon an average, above 4 days in a week, unless provisions happen to be very dear" ([p.] 15).

"*Master-manufacturers* know, that there are various ways of rising and falling the *price of labour*, besides that of *altering its nominal value*" ([p.] 61).

"The cure will not be perfect, till *our manufacturing poor* are contented *to labour 6 days for the same sum which* they now *earn in four days*" ([p.] 69). "This is necessary to bring us upon a par with France" ([pp. 69-]70).

"*A day's labour is vague; it may be long or short*" ([p.] 73).

"In this kingdom ... the manufacturer, who labours *4 days, has a surplus of money* to live idle with the rest of the week. Now, say wheat should rise to 7*s*. a bushel" * (from 5), * "the only evil the manufacturer has to complain of, is, that he is obliged to work a day and a half, or two days, more in a week, and be frugal and sober, like the Dutch manufacturer, or the English husbandman" * (l.c., [p.] 97).

*If* *WORKHOUSES* are to be effective, they must become *HOUSES OF TERROR*:

* "If a *workhouse scheme* is to answer any good purpose, in regard ... to extirpating idleness, debauchery and excess, promoting a spirit of industry, *lowering the price of labour in our manufacturies* ... such house must be made *an house of terror*, and not an *asylum for the poor*" * ([pp.] 242[-43]).

He calls a "WORKHOUSE" of this kind an "*IDEAL WORKHOUSE*", proposing that within it

* "he" (the poor [man]) "shall labour 14 hours in a day, allowing proper time for his meals, in such manner that there shall remain *12 hours of neat labour*" * ([p.] 260).

If one sees on the one hand that he demonstrates that 6 days of work in the week are not "*slavery*" for MANUFACTURING WORKINGMEN (see

*Postlethwayt*[164] straight away) and that he indicates as an extraordinary fact that in Holland the POOR work 6 days in the MANUFACTORIES; if on the other hand he proposes a working day of 12 hours in his "*HOUSE OF HORROR*", his "*IDEAL WORKHOUSE*", and one compares this with the situation (in 1833?) when a restriction to 12 hours of labour in factories for children, women and young persons was opposed as a terrible outrage by Ure and his patrons,[a] while the French workers regard the reduction of the working day to 12 hours as the *sole achievement* of the February Revolution [of 1848] (see the *Report of the Inspectors of Factories*[b]), the prolongation of labour time (of the working day) enforced by the capitalist mode of production becomes evident.

* "There is a very great consumption of luxuries among the labouring poor of this kingdom; particularly among the *manufacturing populace*, by which they *also consume their time, the most fatal of all their consumptions*" * ([J. Cunningham, *An Essay*..., p.] 153).

If the workers work more, they should not therefore earn more, for NECESSITY must always remain the stimulus for their labour; they must remain *poor*, but create the *WEALTH* of the "COMMERCIAL STATE", i.e., if we paraphrase this, of their bourgeoisie.

* "Temperate living and *constant employment* is the direct road, for the *poor*, to [XXIII-1438] *rational happiness*; and to *riches* and strength for the state" * ([p.] 54).

What he understands by "RATIONAL *HAPPINESS*" of the *POOR* can be seen from his depiction of the AGRICULTURAL "*LABOURERS*" as the "*HAPPIEST*".[c] He himself says in another passage of this work:

* "Husbandmen ... but just live decent when provisions are *at the cheapest rates*... Their powers are always upon the stretch, they *cannot live cheaper than they do, nor work harder*... But this is far from being the case with the manufacturer" * ([p.] 96).

This, then, is the "RATIONAL HAPPINESS" of the POOR.

Against this there is a passage from *Postlethwayt*[164] ((to be quoted in connection with the normal working day) see *Supplementary Notebook G*, pp. 50-52).

*Primitive accumulation.*

The fellow[d] may be quoted to great effect in connection with the *ENFORCING OF LABOUR*, and the *bringing about with the help of the power of the state, etc.*, of such circumstances as further the accumulation of capital, and convert the working class into a mere

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[a] See this volume, p. 42.— *Ed.*

[b] *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Half Year Ending 31st October 1855*, London, 1856, p. 80. See present edition, Vol. 30, p. 221.— *Ed.*

[c] Cf. this volume, p. 292.— *Ed.*

[d] [J. Cunningham.] *An Essay on Trade and Commerce*..., London, 1770.— *Ed.*

instrument for the valorisation and the quickest and most massive possible increase of capital.

*It was first of all the forcible legislation passed since the Statute of Edward III*[a] which established the *working day* (seeking at the same time to hold down *wages*), but in precisely the opposite way to the *FACTORY ACTS of NOWADAYS.* The earlier legislation corresponds to the period of the formation of capitalist production, the conditions of which only ripened gradually; the later legislation corresponds to the *domination of the capitalist mode of production,* which removed all the obstacles standing in its way, and created the circumstances under which the "NATURAL LAWS" could function freely. The earlier legislation was a way of determining the *working day* in order to force the workers to perform every day a certain quantity of labour, through a form of compulsion which lay outside the compulsion of the laws of economics; these are the laws against the alleged "INDOLENCE AND EASE" of the WORKING CLASSES. The later legislation, in contrast, consists of laws against *overwork,* interventions into the "natural functioning" of the laws of economics. The contrast between these two types of law shows the manner in which capitalist production enforces labour—the former laws *compel* the workers to labour, the latter enforce the *limits* of the working day.

The fellow starts off like this:

* "In the reign of *Edward VI* indeed the English seem to have set, in good earnest, about *encouraging* manufactures and *employing the poor.* This we learn from a remarkable statute which runs thus:

"'That all vagrants shall be *branded,* and be the *slaves* of those who apprehend them, for two years; to be fed with bread and water'" *

//later to be the staple diet of the AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS//,

* "with an iron collar or ring fastened on their necks, arms, or legs; and upon running away, to be farther branded, and be condemned to slavery for life; and upon running away again, to be hanged' (*Statute I Edward VI c. 3*)" * [pp. 5-6].

*An increase in the price of PROVISIONS* is a circumstance which brings the LABOURING POOR (without coercive laws) to such a condition "THAT THEY CANNOT LIVE CHEAPER ... NOR WORK HARDER". They thereby attain to the "RATIONAL HAPPINESS" of the PROUD PEASANTRY OF ENGLAND [pp. 14-15].

In cases where the price of PROVISIONS is high:

* "A general industry is immediately created; workmen crowd about the houses of master-manufacturers, *begging* for work, *almost at any rate*; and they work 5 or 6 days in the week instead [of] 3 or 4. Labour being a kind of commodity, the quantity then offered tends to the lowering its price" * ([pp. 15-]16).

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[a] See also present edition, Vol. 30, p. 226.—*Ed.*

(This QUANTITY OFFERED by no means depends merely on the number of workers; it depends rather on the *amount of labour* WHICH IS OFFERED, and this amount is determined, [XXIII-1438a] if the number is given, by the length of the working day, and if the length of the working day is given, it is determined by the number of workers.)

Our friend remarks quite correctly on this point:

* "Any method that will *enforce labour* and industry, will have the same *effect as increasing* the *number of hands*" * ([p.] 18).

*An increase in the price of* PROVISIONS can naturally first of all result from an *increase in* POPULATION relative TO *THE TERRITORY.*

* "A multitude of people being drawn together in a small territory will raise *the price of provisions*; but, at the same time, if the police be good, it *must keep down* the *price of labour*, make men industrious, and incline them to exert their best abilities in the improvement of manufactures" * ([p.] 19).

*Increase of population* through *enlistment of foreign workers, thus increasing competition among the workers*:

* "But the most expeditious way of increasing the number of people, *keeping down the price of labour, enforcing* industry, and improving our manufactures, is *a general naturalisation*" * ([p.] 20).

(The flow of Irish people into the industrial districts, etc., since the machine age has fulfilled all this scoundrel's expectations about "A GENERAL NATURALISATION". It is in fact remarkable how all the pious wishes this obsequious sycophant of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie mechanically reels off—increase in the prices of agricultural products, growth in the national debt, introduction of taxes on NECESSARIES, enlistment of foreign workers, depreciation of money, WORKHOUSES as HOUSES OF TERROR, artificial production of a constant "REDUNDANCY OF LABOUR"—how all this has become a reality since the arrival of the epoch of large-scale industry in England.)

It is in the highest degree characteristic that among all these means "TO *ENFORCE LABOUR* AND INDUSTRY" the fellow never thinks of *better* PAY, or *raising wages.* The reverse in fact. One may see from his pamphlet that precisely on the eve of the introduction of machine industry the DEMAND FOR LABOUR grew more rapidly in England than the SUPPLY, and that the manufacturing bourgeois, jealous and envious of the "RATIONAL HAPPINESS" the AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS had already been reduced to, struggled with all their might against the rising rate of wages. The *introduction of machinery* coincides precisely with the epoch when the spokesmen of the bourgeoisie were racking their brains as to how to increase

the SUPPLY of labour without raising wages, in view of the preponderance of the demand for labour over its SUPPLY. *Machinery* really did enter the picture at a moment when they were considering ways of lowering *wages*.

The FACT that at that time the demand for labour rose more rapidly than the supply of labour can be seen from the following passages (already Vanderlint, and later Forster,[a] etc., point out that the bourgeois refuse to provide for themselves a larger amount of labour by paying higher wages):

* "Another cause of idleness, in this kingdom, is the *want of a sufficient number of labouring hands*" ([p.] 27).

"Whenever, *from an extraordinary demand for manufactures*, labour grows scarce, *the labourers feel their own consequence*" * (which should not happen) * "and will make their masters feel it likewise: *it is amazing*; but *so depraved are the dispositions of these people*, that, in such cases, a set of workmen have combined to distress their employer, by *idling a whole day together*" * ([pp.] 27-28).

(Compare Vanderlint and Forster on this "AMAZING" [XXIII-1438b] fact and this unheard-of "DEPRAVATION".)[166]

* "These things never happen when wheat and other necessaries are dear; labour is then so *plentiful*, and becomes too necessary to admit of *such unnatural combinations*" * ([p.] 28).

Some "METHOD" or other must therefore "BE FOUND TO CREATE A GENERAL INDUSTRY" ([pp. 28-]29).

Apart from the *natural* RISE in the PRICE OF NECESSARIES and A GENERAL NATURALISATION, the method is *TAXES UPON NECESSARIES*.

* "Indolence and ease are luxuries of the poor, which should not often be indulged, lest they grow into habit; for then they become fatal. Now *all the taxes on the necessaries* of the poor appear to be the more useful, as they operate to prevent this fatal indulgence, and therefore should be the last taxes to be abolished" ([p.] 45).

"Half the taxes which the lower sort of people in England pay, are for superfluities, or the means of a low debauch, and not for the necessaries. When it is considered what luxuries the manufacturing populace consume, such as brandy, gin, tea, sugar, foreign fruit, strong beer, printed linens, snuff, tobacco, etc., it is *amazing* any one should be so weak as to conceive that *taxes raise the price of labour*; or that it should be necessary to raise the price of labour because of our taxes, in order to enable the poor to live comfortably, knowing they consume *such heaps* of superfluities" ([p.] 46).

"*Taxes* are so far from injuring our foreign trade, by rendering our manufactures dear in foreign markets, ... that I am persuaded we should have no manufactures to export, if all taxes were entirely abolished; and if from other concurrent causes, our manufacturing poor could live at half the expense they have done for 20 years past" ([p.] 47).

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[a] See J. Vanderlint, *Money Answers All Things...*, London, 1734, and [N. Forster,] *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Present High Price of Provisions*, London, 1767.— *Ed.*

"In the great city of Amsterdam, not above 4 malefactors are capitally convicted in a year, and a beggar is hardly to be seen in the streets; *happy consequences these of high taxes, dearness of provisions, and a good police*... The great *De Witt*, in his maxims of Holland,[167] says that 'high taxes promote invention, industry and frugality'" * ([p.] 49).

The main reason why England is "UNDERSOLD" by the French in a number of countries is "THE HIGH PRICE OF LABOUR" ([p.] 67).

The condition of "RATIONAL HAPPINESS" to which he wants to bring the WORKING Englishmen is described in what follows. He only commits one more *falsification* here, in that the French workers of whom he speaks were *AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS*, who in England at that time, on his own admission, were already in the same condition of "RATIONAL HAPPINESS". (The disproportion between the wages of MANUFACTURING AND AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS was ENFORCED then by the LAWS OF SETTLEMENT.[168])

* "This [is] necessary to bring us upon a par with France. An author, who stiles himself a *Northampton manufacturer*, says that 'labour is $^1/_3$ cheaper in France than in England; for their poor work hard, and fare hard, as to their food and clothing: their chief diet is bread, fruit, herbs, roots, [XXIII-1439] and dried fish; for they very seldom eat flesh; and when wheat is dear, they eat very little bread'. To which may be added, that their drink is either water or other small liquors, so that they spend very little money, etc." ([pp. 69-]70). "*These things are very difficult to be brought about*; but they are *not impracticable*, since they have been effected both in France and Holland" * ([pp.] 70[-71]).

Quotes *authorities* for the view that a high price of PROVISIONS is necessary "TO *ENFORCE* GENERAL INDUSTRY":

* "*Sir William Temple*, in his discourse to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, says, '*provisions must be rendered so dear*, as to *enforce* general industry'. *Sir W. Petty, Sir Josiah Child*" * (the mid-17th century ancestor of the STOCKJOBBERS), * "Mr. Polixfen, *Mr. Gee*" * (chief Mercantilist), * "etc., have all concurred in the same observation; viz. that trade can never be greatly extended, where the necessaries of life are very cheap" * ([p.] 83).

He further quotes the wretched *Arthur Young*, TAX-MONGERER and sycophant to the English landed aristocracy, whose merits as an agronomist have been greatly exaggerated, and whose economic views are beneath criticism. The fellow was always an enthusiastic supporter of *high prices* OF PROVISIONS, partly because, as he explicitly says, they "compensate" the GENTRY for the TAXES and secure for them the necessary freedom from taxation, partly because they on the one hand force down the *level of wages*, and on the other hand compel the workers *to work more* for lower wages. In order to make the "high price of corn" acceptable to the MANUFACTURERS, the chief opponents of such a system, (and also to make the BOUNTY ON THE EXPORT OF CORN palatable to them) he demonstrated statistically (l.c., p. 18) in *A Six Weeks' Tour into Wales*, London, 1769,[169] that

* "there was *not any proportion between the rates of labour and those of provisions*" * [See J. Cunningham, *An Essay...*, p. 290].

They were related instead inversely:

* "so very far is the rate of the one from the rule of the other, that they are mostly in opposition" * [ibid., p. 291].

His work *The Expediency of Allowing the Free Exportation of Corn*, 1770, is directed exclusively at proving this point.

* "But, in the name of common-sense where are the facts, and what are the reasonings, *that prove a high rate of provisions an enemy to manufactures?* Living must be rendered dear before *that general industry*, which can alone support a manufacturing people, will be rooted amongst them" [p. 293]. "The labouring poor work no *more days in a week than are sufficient* to maintain themselves; the remainder is spent in idleness" * [p. 294] (*Young*, l.c., [pp.] 28 sqq.).

Thus far the *authorities*.

The *national debt is therefore a good thing*, because it *effects the increase of taxes*, and AN INCREASE "OF RICHES" fortunately leads to an increase in the national debt.

* "An increase of riches had a tendency to increase the national debt ... by making it extremely easy for the government, on any emergency, to borrow money at a low rate of interest" * ([J. Cunningham, *An Essay...*, pp.] 164-65).

Cites the *Dutch* national debt and *Dutch* taxes:

* "And yet, after all, labour is cheaper there than in England" * ([p.] 170).

[XXIII-1440] *DEPRECIATION OF MONEY* is also a good method.

* "Since the year 1613, the French have, by frequent enhancements of their money, varied the relation between silver and commodities; that is, they have altered the *measure of value*; by which means *they do not give half so much silver for a day's labour* as they did 150 years ago" ([p.] 211). "France *purchases an equal quantity of labour* with less silver than we do; consequently labour is cheaper in France than in England" * ([p.] 213).

He therefore wishes

* "some alteration" in "the value of money" ([p.] 213).

"Labour continues the same in England when wheat is at 10s. a bushel, as it does when it is at 2s. 6d.; and I believe, in other countries, the price of wheat as little governs the price of labour" * ([p.] 160).

But assume

* "that an *increase of our taxes* should raise the *price of necessaries* 2d. a day to the poor manufacturer; the utmost evil that could arise from thence, *supposing there was sufficient employment*, would be, that he must work 1 or 2 hours a day[a] in a week more, etc.; by working this hour or 2 extraordinary, he would be capable of purchasing as many necessaries and superfluities as he could do before this increase of taxes" ([p.] 161).

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[a] Cunningham has: "a day, or one day".— *Ed.*

"We find that the manufacturing people readily submit to the necessity of labouring more for a maintenance, when, from a *bad harvest*, wheat is very dear... *Taxes on the necessaries of the poor*, operate something in this way, and are great incitements to labour and industry ... the *price of labour* is no way affected by it, but the quantity only"* ([p.] 94).

The workers would submit to this operation by the method of TAXES, without noticing it, if only such blighters as *Postlethwayt* and his gang "WERE SILENT" ([p.] 95).

*State measures, coercive laws for enforcing the creation of a labour force.* First the above-mentioned law of Edward VI.[a] Then various laws of *Elizabeth (Supplementary Notebook G*, pp. 32, 40[170]). *STATUTE I. Anne* (l.c., [p.] 40). *Dutch Statute of Charles V, October 7, 1531* (l.c., [p.] 45) (against begging). *First Edict of the STATES AND CITIES of Holland, 19th of March 1614* (l.c., [pp.] 45, 46) (WHIPPING, BANISHMENT, BURNING OF BEGGARS). Similarly *PLACARD OF THE UNITED PROVINCES, JUNE 25, 1649* (l.c., p. 46).

*But he thinks that these frankly coercive laws would not work in England.* The same effect must be achieved in a more inconspicuous manner:

*"The lower sort of people in England, *from a romantic notion of liberty*, generally reject and oppose everything that is *forced* upon them: and though, *from a fear of punishment*, you *may oblige persons to work certain hours for certain wages*, you cannot oblige them to do their work properly" ([p.] 92). "Although *necessity* must be the basis of any *scheme to enforce* general industry, yet, it *appears* from the notions and dispositions of the British populace, that *it should not come so fully and directly to the point*, as it *does in such acts of parliament*; for the execution of such laws has almost always produced *illegal combinations*, riot, and confusion. If possible, the effects of such laws should be produced, *almost insensibly, and without the appearance of force*"* ([p.] 93).

[XXIII-1441] *Piecework.* Cantillon, *Essai sur la nature du commerce en général* (the Amsterdam edition, 1756, forms Vol. III of the *Discours politiques*, Amsterdam, 1754-1757).[b]

"These master craftsmen *know* approximately *how much work a journeyman can do per day in each trade*, and they often pay in proportion to the work that they do; thus these journeymen work as much as they can, in their own interests, *without any other supervision*" (l.c., [p.] 185).

"The work of the journeymen is regulated by the day or by the piece" (Cantillon, l.c., p. 202).

*Protestantism was also a means for increasing surplus labour.*

"Those states which have embraced Protestantism ... enjoy the advantage of having abolished a large number of the holidays which are days of idleness in the

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[a] See this volume, p. 295.— *Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx quotes from the French writers in French; some of his comments are also in French.— *Ed.*

Roman Catholic countries, and lessen the labour of the inhabitants by *nearly the eighth part of the year*" (Cantillon, l.c., [p.] 231).

//Ch. Ganilh, [*La*] *Théorie de l'économie politique etc.*, Paris, 1815, 2 vols.

*Productive labour.*

"This *market value*, the distinctive characteristic" (!) "of *productive* labour" (Vol. I, [p.] 266).

*Progress of industry and number of workers employed.*

"The progress of industry, far from necessitating a larger number of hands, reduces the number" (Vol. I, [p.] 308). "It is not even easy to say when the increase of the products of industry requires the increase of the manufacturing population" ([Vol.] I, [p.] 307).

*Rent.*

"The rent of land, like every other *product*" (!) "... is entirely due to the employment of capital" ([Vol.] II, [p.] 77).

"The fact that the capital which produced it belongs to the landowner or the farmer is of little importance" ([Vol.] II, [p.] 80).

"The *market price* of cultivated land" //and what about uncultivated land?// "can neither be smaller nor greater than the capital which has brought it under cultivation" ([Vol.] I, [p.] 54).

*Value.* There are no *intrinsic values.* It depends on the need for the products.

"Whether they have cost much or little is therefore a matter of indifference" ([Vol.] II, [pp.] 335 and 334-37) (p. 126 of *Supplementary Notebook G*).//

//Forbonnais, *Principes économiques* (edit. Daire and Molinari, in: *Mélanges d'économie politique*, [Vol. I,] Paris, 1847).

*Income.*

"Income is the fruit of a property made capable of *annually* bringing new values into trade or circulation" ([p.] 174).

*Fixed capital.*

"The work of draining and clearing the land requires an amount of labour the land can only pay for over several years" ([p.] 179).

"The *level of profit* ... is the *sine qua non factor*" ([p.] 185).

(What Forbonnais says on high and low prices is good, ibid., [pp.] 184-85.)

[XXIII-1442] *Conversion of land into fishponds.*

"At one time the fashion for fish was a sort of madness, ruining the people as well as the nobility. A large amount of land was converted into ponds. Now the change of taste has converted them into grazing land and pastures" (l.c., [p.] 187, Note 2 by Forbonnais).

*Low price* (*against the Economists*[171]) (*Supplementary Notebook G*, [p.] 129 [op. cit., p. 187]). The same on the *reduction in men*

involved in agriculture and the *emigration* of these "*superfluous men*" into other trades (pp. 130-31 [op. cit., pp. 187-88]).

Forbonnais argues well in the following passage against the wretched Ganilh and his associates, who make market price the distinguishing characteristic of productive labour, and [advocate] heavy luxury consumption, etc.:

An *increase in the price* of relatively useless things is bad,

"when the *considerable surplus* of some citizens is acquired by *cutting down the surplus* of the rest of the citizens; for then there is *a forcible transfer of property*, which constitutes *harmful luxury*" ([p.] 187). "The more taxes there are, the more luxury there appears to be, because there will be a greater number of men provided with a big surplus *through a forcible transfer of other people's property*" ([p.] 206).//

//*Abrégé élémentaire des principes de l'économie politique*, Paris, 1796 (Germain Garnier).

This fellow, Smith's translator, a Physiocrat who has gone through him, is above all a plagiarist of Cantillon. Let one phrase suffice:

"Any commodity men have the power to multiply ... has as its average and ordinary *value* the *total amount of land and labour employed to produce it* and to put it on sale"([pp.] 61-62).

*The rent of* LANDLORDS, in contrast to WAGES and profit,

"is received by the proprietor free of charge and *solely in virtue of a legal fiction* which recognises and maintains *the right of property* in *certain individuals*" ([p.] 28).

*Adam Smith.*

"He set himself," says Garnier, "to derive the growth of the wealth of nations from two causes alone, these being 1) the perfecting of the faculties of labour; and 2) the accumulation of capital" ([p.] VI, Preface).

*Capital=advances.*

"It is rare for the consumer to employ the worker directly. It is equally rare for the latter to have in his possession the *wherewithal to feed himself* while he is working, or to furnish himself with *materials and instruments*. Moreover, *this advance*, whoever makes it, is *a service distinct from labour*, and requires a *specific compensation*" ([p.] 34).

Hence because the conditions of labour are *separated* from labour in capitalist production, it is a *service* to overcome this separation, and the service must receive special payment—*from the workers*. (Garnier admits that *profits* are made on this, p. 35.) The possibility of this service therefore only arises from the reality of the separation. According to Mr. Garnier, if all sellers or buyers of commodities only sold [or bought] their own products, they would have to pay each other reciprocally, by an addition to their prices,

"compensation" for the fact that they had advanced to themselves, during their work, the *means of subsistence* needed for working.

[XXIII-1443] *The fellow's consumption theory, and his polemic against Smith's distinction between productive and unproductive labour*[a] (*Supplementary Notebook G*, [pp.] 134, 136, 138, 139). For the rest, there are some sensible statements here and there but he applies them incorrectly, for example the following two:

"A nation necessarily lives from day to day" ([p.] 193). "It cannot become richer except by *simultaneously* increasing the volume of its consumption and that of its production" ([p.] 194).

*Commodities = wealth in the circuit of circulation.*

"Wealth, considered in *the circuit it has to pass through* before arriving in the hands of the consumer, is normally described by the expression *commodities*" ([pp.] 54-55).

*The Physiocratic theory* (*Supplementary Notebook G*, p. 135): subsistence (corn, etc.) gives labour *value*, labour does not give *subsistence* value.//

//Condillac, *Le commerce et le gouvernement*, 1776. [In:] *Mélanges etc.*, edit. Daire and Molinari, [Volume I,] Paris, 1847.

Value depends on the "utility" of "things", i.e. on our "need" for them, i.e. on our "*opinion*" of their utility, etc., i.e. on our "judgment" of their useful qualities ([pp.] 251, 252). This "opinion" is further related to the "opinion" we have of their scarcity or abundance, more or less, and therefore of the degree of their VALUE ([pp.] 253, etc.).

"Their value lies ... principally in the *judgment* we form of their utility, etc." ([p.] 255).

("This philosophy" is the source of Mr. Storch's wisdom on the nature of value.) ɔ

*Value is not absolute or inherent* (cf. *Barbon*[b]).

"One is inclined to regard *value* as an *absolute quality*, which is *inherent in things* independently of the *judgments* we form, and this confused notion is a source of faulty reasoning... Things have more or less" (value) "solely according to whether we *judge* them to be more or less useful, or, if they have the *same utility*, we *judge* them to be scarcer or more abundant" ([p.] 255).

*Surplus value. Exchange of equal values.*

"If ... one always exchanges one product of an equal value for another product of equal value, one will multiply the number of exchanges in vain; it is clear that afterwards, just as before, *the amount of value* or wealth will always be *the same*" ([pp.] 266-67).

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, p. 167.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 280-82.—*Ed.*

"But it is not true that in an exchange [of commodities] we give equal value for equal value. On the contrary, each of the contracting parties in every case gives a less for a greater value" ([p.] 267). "In fact, if we always exchanged equal values, neither of the contracting parties *would have anything to gain.* And yet they both do gain something, or they ought to. Why? Because the value of a thing consists solely in its relation to our needs. What is more to the one is less to the other, and vice versa" ([p.] 267). "It is not to be assumed that we offer for sale articles essential for our own consumption: we offer what is superfluous... We wish to part with a thing that is useless to us, in order to obtain one that we need: we want to give less for more" ([p.] 267).

The "ideas on the value of things" then become completely confused by the introduction of the precious metals as units of money:

"When it began to be believed that the price of things was to be seen in a measure which always remained the same, such as an ounce of gold or silver, no one doubted any more that they had an absolute value, and from that time there were nothing but confused ideas on the subject" ([p.] 288).

"It was ... natural to think that, in an *exchange, equal value* was given *for equal value* whenever each of the articles exchanged was estimated *as being of equal value with the same quantity of money...* But there is another point to be considered in the calculation. The question is, whether we both exchange *something superfluous* [XXIII-1444] for something necessary" ([p.] 291).

*Movement of money in capitalist production.*

"When it" (money) "*moves without giving rise to an exchange,* no circulation takes place. For example, the money which comes from taxation has passed through many hands before arriving in the sovereign's treasury. But this is not circulation; *it is only transport...* What is needed for circulation is that money should *be converted* in *some sense into all the things* which are appropriate to the maintenance of life, etc." (Condillac, [p.] 295).//

//*Considerations Concerning Taking Off the Bounty on Corn Exported.*[172] *In some letters to a friend. To which is added, a Postscript, shewing that the price of corn is no rule to judge of the value of land; which will be increased in proportion to the cheapness of its several products,* London, 1753. These letters originally appeared in *The Evening Post.*

This man is an *absolute* FREE TRADER. He even calls for the abolition of the Act of Navigation,[173] which Sir M. Decker does not do[a]... But he also wants all the barriers to capitalist production WITHIN the country to be pulled down.

* "To *raise the price* of corn at home, in whatever manner it is done, is the same thing as to lay a tax on the consumption of it; and to do this in such a manner as lessens the price of it abroad, is to apply this tax for the benefit of foreigners" ([p.] 4).

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[a] See [M. Decker,] *Serious Considerations on the Several High Duties...,* pp. 21-22.— *Ed.*

"The interest of trade requires, that corn and all other provisions should be as cheap as possible; for whatever makes them dear, must make *labour dear also*, and must lessen the sale of our manufactures" * ([p.] 3).

*Reduction of wages. Amount of labour time in the first half of the 18th century in England. Removal of* RESTRAINTS, *guild laws,* APPRENTICESHIP, *monopolies, etc. Free movement of capital a means of reducing wages in relation to the price of* PROVISIONS.

*But the* * "*trader*" * himself * "*objects*, that taking away the bounty, and consequently making corn cheap, the industry of the common people will be lessened ... that the traders in our manufactures[a] find the greatest difficulty in carrying on their business *upon every extraordinary call* from abroad for our manufactures: That the *workmen proportion the value of their labour to the demand for the manufactures*" * [ibid.];

(There was the rub. POPULATION declined in the first decades of the 18th century, rose only slightly until ABOUT 1760; nevertheless it was already SUPERABUNDANT on the land, but owing to LAWS OF SETTLEMENT,[168] guild laws (APPRENTICESHIP, etc.) the ranks of the urban workers in the towns were not filled up to the same degree: fall of the price of corn from 1700 up to ABOUT 1760. And the bourgeois did not want the workers to "PROPORTION THE VALUE OF THEIR LABOUR TO THE DEMAND FOR THE MANUFACTURES"; he did not want the law of supply and demand to operate in so far as it worked against himself. Instead, the worker was supposed to restrict the VALUE OF HIS LABOUR as *value of labour capacity* to a definite amount of the means of subsistence. Nevertheless, even today almost every attempt of this kind calls forth a *STRIKE* on the part of the workers, and it only succeeds under the most extraordinary circumstances.)

* "and, when the price of 3 days' labour will maintain their families [for] a week, will not work six" * [ibid.];

(they WILL rather ONLY WORK SIX FOR PROGRESSIVE WAGES. *It took* [XXIII-1445] time before *capital* was able to gain *de facto* the title to all the worker's available time);

* "and, if the necessaries of life were to be had at a cheaper rate, the case would be still worse... This is true with regard to all labour in *England*, where a *monopoly* is given to almost every kind of manufacture, and the *traders are not allowed to employ such hands* as they think are fit and able to work for them, but *are confined to such only as the law has qualified*... In all countries, *where industry is not restrained*, the price of provisions must affect the price of labour. This will always be diminished when the necessaries of life grow cheaper" * ([p.] 3).

He enumerates among the "DIFFICULTIES" and "DISCOURAGEMENTS" PUT UPON INDUSTRY:

the * *Apprenticeship Act* "(many trades a man may not lawfully exercise who has not served an apprenticeship), others he may not *join* together: at others he may

[a] In the source: "manufacture towns".— *Ed.*

not work *within the limit of a corporation*... Every man, if not restrained by law, would *pass from one employment to another, as the various turns in trade should require*... Our *present restraints* often put it in *the power of workmen* to *demand higher wages* than their works deserve, and thus prevent the sales of our manufactures"* ([p.] 4).

*The chief law of capitalist production* as opposed to guild industry is the FREE TRANSFER OF LABOUR AND CAPITAL FROM ONE FIELD OF EMPLOYMENT TO ANOTHER. Labour confronts capital as *labour in general*, the particular content of which is as accidental and external for capital as the particular use value of the commodity it produces. For what is important for capital is the *production of surplus value*, the appropriation of *alien surplus labour* IN WHATEVER SHAPE—THE SHAPE BEING OF COURSE DETERMINED BY THE WANTS OF THE MARKET. On the other hand, in *capital* labour comes face to face with *value* as such, objectified labour as such, *money* in the independent form, the relation of which to living labour is its quality of being *capital*, a capital which does not increase because of its use value or the particular skill of the capitalists. (This belongs to CHAPTER IV.[a])

All this out of the *first* letter. In *LETTER* II a representative of the *LANDED INTEREST* replies, and this man frankly expresses what is at stake for the LANDED INTEREST in this question (something only a few did in 1814-15).

*Rent and price* OF PROVISIONS (see *Supplementary Notebook H*, pp. 2-3 [op. cit., pp. 5-6]).

In the *THIRD LETTER OUR MAN REPLIES*

*Fall in the value of labour capacity*: *"*In whatever proportion the expenses of a labourer"* //or as he puts it elsewhere, *"the *price of provisions*" ([op. cit.,] p. 3)// "*are diminished*, in *the same proportion will his wages be diminished*, if *the restraints upon industry are at the same time taken off*"* (p. 7).

In what follows he endeavours to prove, and this is interesting, that *rent* does not depend on the level of the *price of corn* (*Supplementary Notebook H*, pp. 3-4 [op. cit., pp. 8-9]).//[174]

//1765 RIOTS in London, 1765 and 1766 in the countryside, as a consequence of the PRICE OF PROVISIONS (see the *TAXES ESSAY MAN*,[b] his *Preface*, and *Three Letters etc.*,[c] *Supplementary Notebook H*, p. 4).

*Letters to Men of Reason, and the Friends of the Poor, on the Hardships of the Excise Laws relating to Malt and Beer etc.*, London, 1774. This is the most furious pamphlet against the LANDED INTEREST.

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[a] See this volume, p. 178.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to J. Cunningham, author of *An Essay on Trade and Commerce*... See also this volume, pp. 290-94, 315.—*Ed.*

[c] *Three Letters to a Member of the Honourable House of Commons, from a Country Farmer, Concerning the Prices of Provisions*..., London, 1766, pp. 3, 31.—*Ed.*

It is therefore very important. (*Supplementary Notebook H*, pp. 5-9.)//

[XXIII-1446] //*Considerations on the Present State of the Poor*, London, 1775 (1ST EDITION *1773*).

In 1680 the POOR RATE[175] in England was £665,392; in 1773 IT WAS INCREASED between 4 and 5 times, BEING 3 MILLIONS (PREFACE, [p.] V).

Against the FARMING OUT OF THE POOR (*Supplementary Notebook H*, p. 10 [op. cit., p. 9]).//

//*Béardé de l'Abbaye*, etc. [*Recherches sur les moyens de supprimer les impôts...*,] Amsterdam, 1770. Against the Physiocrats (Supplementary Notebook H, [pp.] 10-11 [op. cit., pp. 40-43]).//

//*Against the laws of rent and* POPULATION. M. Fletcher, [*Reflexions on the Causes Which Influence the Price of Corn*, London,] 1827 (*Supplementary Notebook H*, p. *12* [op. cit., pp. 9-10, 18]).//

//[M. Fletcher,] *An Essay on Political Economy*, [London,] 1828. Trickery with the LAND TAX SINCE GEORGE II (*Supplementary Notebook* H, [pp.] 12-13 [op. cit., p. 25]).//

//*RENT*. [J. F. M. Redesdale,] *Observations etc.*, [London,] 1828 [p. 84]. SITUATION more important than NATURAL FERTILITY.//

//[G. Robertson,] *Essays on Political Economy etc.*, London, 1830 (Supplementary Notebook H, [pp.] 13[-14]).

How capital and rent grew during the ANTI-JACOBIN WAR,[176] but the main reason was the *PRIVATIONS of the working class* and the *greater labour time*, in part of women and children, in part of the other workers. These passages are *important*. To be included in the CHAPTER on so-called primitive accumulation.[177] (*Supplementary Notebook H, p. 14* [op. cit., pp. 247-48]).//

*England and America etc.*, 2 VOLUMES, London, 1833 (Wakefield).

*COMBINATION OF LABOUR* (Vol. I, p. 16) (*Supplementary Notebook H*, p. 15). In a PIN FABRIC

* "each pin is the produce of many persons' *united labour*" * [p.] 19).

The first [combination] is therefore "COMBINATION IN POWER" ([p.] 20).

Division of agriculture into numerous mutually independent branches ([p.] 27) (*Supplementary Notebook H*, p. 16).

*The concentration of capital* (or of great masses of capital) *IN A FEW HANDS* is the condition for capitalist production. Where capital is evenly distributed among the producers it does not function as capital; this prevents "THE EXISTENCE OF A *CLASS OF LABOURERS FOR HIRE*" and *labour on a large scale*, etc. How then is the SCATTERED CAPITAL COMBINED? For this is the presupposition of capitalist production. Wakefield calls this concentration //which in fact coincides with primitive accumulation//

*a "*contrivance for the accumulation of capital*, and the use of capital ... in large masses and a fixed shape".*

How have men done this?

*"*They have divided themselves into owners of capital and owners of labour*",

and, *horribile dictu*,[a]

*"this *division* was ... *the result of concert* or *combination*"* (pp. 17-18) ([Supplementary Notebook H,] pp. 15-16).

Wakefield makes this distinction between England and America: In the UNITED STATES less than $^1/_{10}$ of the PEOPLE are HIRED LABOURERS, [whereas] in England THE *BULK OF THE PEOPLE* consists of this class "WHOSE *ONLY PROPERTY* IS LABOUR" [pp.] 42-44) ([Supplementary Notebook H,] p. 16).

Will some idiot now say that this is the case because THE BULK OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE are idlers, and only the few capitalists work, or that this contrast arises out of the difference in energy and thrift between AMERICAN and ENGLISH PRODUCERS?

*Increase in capitalists with the accumulation of capital, but not in the same proportion.*

*"The number of master-manufacturers ... has increased, though in a less proportion than manufacturing capital"* ([p.] 87).

[XXIII-1447] In America there is a rapid alternation between being a capitalist and being a worker (now this has already changed) ([pp.] 130-31) ([Supplementary Notebook H,] p. 18, below).

*Division between worker and capitalist:* PROPORTIONATE WAGES.

Wakefield says:

*"The *mere division of produce* between capitalists and labourers is a matter of very small moment, indeed, when compared with *the amount of produce to be divided*... The grand question is, *how much do the two parties divide between them?*"* (Vol. I, [p.] 123).

1) We see here, firstly, that *wages and profit* are viewed as parts of the product. This contradicts the relation of wage labour; but in reality the product of the worker is nonetheless always the fund from which he is paid. The money he receives this week is a part of the realised *value* of the commodity he produced the day before yesterday, or a week ago, or a month ago, etc.

2) The money that is paid out in wages, or *variable capital*, consists in substance, from the point of view of its use value, of means of consumption (mainly; the worker may, and must, expend a part of it on so-called unproductive labour), of *objectified*

[a] It is dreadful to relate.—*Ed.*

labour, which always appears towards living labour as *past* labour. But for that reason this *past labour* may be CONTEMPORANEOUS or a thing of the future. For example, the worker receives his weekly wage on Saturday; the bread, milk, meat, vegetables, etc., in which it is expended are first produced in the course of the following week, in this final form, the form in which these articles enter into individual consumption. To that extent, his wage is nothing but a *draft* on the *products of simultaneous* and even *future labour*; a draft which the workers receive on their reciprocal products, simultaneous and future. To that extent it would be absurd to maintain that the capitalist *accumulates* this and holds it in *reserve* for the workers. But the exclusive possession of the products in which past labour has been objectified, whether as means of labour or as means of subsistence, enables the capitalist to exchange his money for living labour, and, secondly, in so far as he pays it out in wages, to make it into drafts on the products of CONTEMPORANEOUS and future labour. But the conceptual point one must keep hold of here is that the capitalist exchanges *money*, hence the *independent expression* of past labour, *value*, for living labour. How the wage is subsequently realised is another matter. This should be brought forward during the investigation of *normal stocks* and circulating capital.

3) What Mr. Wakefield overlooks is *THAT THE AMOUNT OF PRODUCE TO BE DIVIDED* HAS SOMETHING TO DO WITH THE MANNER IN WHICH THIS AMOUNT IS PRODUCED and that the division of the product HAS SOMETHING TO DO WITH THE METHOD OF DIVISION. This ought to have been very clear to Mr. Wakefield, because his main point is that capital, wage labour, capitalist production, and the AMOUNT OF PRODUCE dependent on that, only arise with a CERTAIN METHOD OF DIVISION OF THE PRODUCE.

*Process of accumulation.*

* "*Labour creates capital, before capital employs labour*" * (Vol. II, [p.] 110).

*The accumulation of capital is not identical with the growth of variable capital*[178]:

[XXIII-1448] * "It does not follow that, because labour is employed by capital, capital always finds a field in which to employ labour" ([Vol.] II, [p.] 103, note). "Capital frequently increases without providing any more employment for labour" ([Vol.] II, [p.] 99). "It is not true that all capital employs labour" (l.c., [p.] 99). "Though no labour be employed save by capital, still millions upon millions of capital are accumulated, not to employ *domestic* labour, but, for want of employment *for capital*, either to lie idle, or to be wasted in distant and ruinous speculations" * ([Vol.] II, [p.] 97). [XXIII-1448]

[XXIII-1448] *Rapid succession of generations of workers.*

*The overworked children in the factories "die off with strange rapidity; but the places of those who perish are instantly filled, and a *frequent change of persons* makes no alteration in the scene"* ([Vol. I, p.] 55).

*Farming out of the poor* (see above, p. 1446,[a] *Considerations etc.* ([Supplementary] Notebook [H], p. 10). Cf. Robert Blakey (1602[b]), *The History of Political Literature,* [London,] 1855, and here [in] Wakefield [on] Mrs. Hibner,[179] etc. (Supplementary Notebook H, [p.] 17).

*Large profits during the Anti-Jacobin War.*[176]

*"The rate of interest is a pretty sure criterion of the rate of profit. During the last war the rate of interest was very high"* ([E. G. Wakefield, op. cit., Vol. I, p.] 91).

And what was the concomitant circumstance of this accumulation of capital? Exactly what was "rediscovered" in 1830:

*"The peasant of the South of England ... is not a freeman, nor is he a slave; he is a *pauper*"* (Wakefield, l.c., [Vol.] I, [p.] 47).

*On the bad remuneration of the workers* who trade in knowledge ([Supplementary Notebook H,] p. 17 [op. cit., Vol. I, p. 96]).

*Universal suffrage and the working classes and the Reform Bill of 1830* (*Supplementary Notebook H*, p. 19 [op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 184-85]).

(*Wages.* James Mill (quoted by Wakefield). Article on *Education* in *Supplement to the Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 1832):

*"A good diet is a necessary part of a good education... In the great body of the people, all education is impotent without it"* [op. cit., Vol. I, p. 206] (against *Rumford*[c]).

*Rent. Situation* is almost the only decisive factor in the Colonies ([ibid., pp.] 217-18) ([Supplementary Notebook H,] p. 20).

*"*Rent* ... arises from competition *for the use of land*"* ([p.] 218).

How improvements which lessen the cost of production benefit the landlord (l.c., [p.] 224, [Supplementary Notebook H,] p. 20). Circumstances which determine competition for the use of land in England ([ibid., pp. 227-28] *Supplementary Notebook H,* pp. 20-21).

*Minimum of wages.*

*"In what country, except North America and some new colonies, do the wages of free labour employed in agriculture, much exceed a bare subsistence for the labourer?" ([p.] 246). "Undoubtedly farmhorses in England, being a valuable property, are better fed than English peasants"* ([p.] 246).

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[a] See this volume, p. 307.—*Ed.*

[b] This presumably refers to the Act for the Relief of the Poor, 1601. Blakey attributes it to the year 1602.—*Ed.*

[c] B. [Thompson,] Count of Rumford, *Essays, Political, Economical, and Philosophical,* Vol. I, London, 1796. See also present edition, Vol. 30, p. 46.—*Ed.*

*Simple labour* (quoted by Wakefield[a]).

* "The great class, who have nothing to give for food but ordinary labour, are the great body of the people" * (James Mill, Article on *Colony* in *Supplement to the Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1832).

*Connection of agriculture with domestic industry, etc.*, in the UNITED STATES (Supplementary Notebook F, pp. 21-22, 25).//

[XXIII-1449] [J. Gray,] *The Essential Principles of the Wealth of Nations, Illustrated, in Opposition to Some False Doctrines of Dr. Adam Smith, and Others*, London, 1797.

This man knew of Anderson, for in his appendix he quotes from Anderson's AGRICULTURAL REPORT FOR THE COUNTY OF ABERDEEN.

This is the *only important* English work directly linked with the Physiocratic teaching. William Spence's *Britain Independent of Commerce*, 1807, is a mere caricature. This same fellow in 1814-15 was one of the most fanatic defenders of the LANDED INTEREST on the basis of Physiocracy—which teaches FREE TRADE. The fellow is not to be confused with *Thomas Spence*, the deadly enemy of *PRIVATE PROPERTY IN LAND*.

The work contains firstly an excellent and compressed résumé of the Physiocratic doctrine.

He is right in tracing the origin of this view to *Locke* and *Vanderlint*, and he describes the Physiocrats as men who

* "very systematically, *though not correctly*, illustrated" * the doctrine (p. 4). (See also on this [p.] 6; [*Supplementary*] *Notebook H*, pp. 32-33.[180])

The summary given there brings out very nicely that the *PRIVATION theory*—which the later apologists, and PARTLY even Smith, made the basis for the formation of capital—arose precisely from the Physiocratic view that *NO SURPLUS VALUE* IS CREATED in industry, etc.:

* "*The expense laid out in employing and maintaining* them" * [handicraftsmen, manufacturers[181] and merchants] * "does no more than *continue the existence of its own value*, and is therefore unproductive" * //because * unproductive of surplus value//. "The wealth of society can never in the smallest degree be *augmented* by artificers, manufacturers, or merchants otherwise than by their *saving and accumulating part of what is intended for their daily subsistence*; consequently it is by *privation or parsimony alone* that they can add any thing to the general stock" * (Senior's theory of abstinence, Adam Smith's theory of saving). * "Cultivators, on the contrary, may live up to the whole of their income, and yet at the same time enrich the State; for their industry affords a surplus produce called rent" ([p.] 6).

"A class of men whose labour (though it produces something) produces no more than what was bestowed, in order to effect that labour, may with the greatest propriety be called *an unproductive class*" * ([p.] 10).

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[a] [E. G. Wakefield,] op. cit., Vol. II, p. 77.— *Ed.*

*Production of surplus value to be clearly distinguished from its* TRANSFER.

* "*The augmentation* of revenue" * //this is *accumulation*// * "is not, but indirectly, the object of the Economists... [171] Their object is the *production* and *reproduction of revenue*" * ([p.] 18).

And this is the great merit of Physiocracy. It asks itself: how is *surplus value* (for him it=REVENUE) produced and reproduced? The question of how it is *reproduced* on a *larger scale*, that is, increased, comes up only in the second place. Its *category*, the secret of its production, [XXIII-1450] must first be revealed.

*Surplus value and* COMMERCIAL CAPITAL.

* "When the question is about the *production* of revenue, it is altogether illogical to substitute for that the *transfer of revenue*, which *all commercial dealings* are resolvable into" ([p.] 22). "What does the word *commerce* imply but *commutatio merciumᵃ*... sometimes more beneficial to the one than the other; but still what the one gains the other loses, and their traffic really *produces no increase*" ([p.] 23). "Should a Jew sell a crown piece for 10s., or a Queen Anne's farthing for a guinea, he would augment his own income, no doubt, but he would not thereby augment the *quantity of the precious metals*; and the nature of the traffic would be the same, whether his virtuoso customer resided in the same street with himself, or in France, or in China" * ([p.] 23).

*The Physiocrats explain the profit of industry as profit* UPON ALIENATION[161] *(that is, in the Mercantilist way). This Englishman therefore draws the right conclusion that this profit is only a gain when industrial commodities are sold abroad. From the Mercantilist premiss he draws the right Mercantilist conclusion.*

* "No man, as a manufacturer, however he may gain himself, adds anything to the national revenue, if his commodity is sold and consumed at home; for *the buyer precisely loses ... what the manufacturer gains*... There is an *interchange* between the seller and the buyer, but no increase" ([p.] 26).

"To *supply the want of a surplus* ... the master employer takes a profit of 50 p.c. upon what he expends in wages, or 6d. in the shilling on each manufacturer's pay... And if the manufacture is sold abroad" * ... this * "would be the *national profit*" * of so and so many * "artificers" * ([p.] 27).

*Very good presentation of the reasons for Holland's wealth.* Fisheries. (He should also have mentioned stock raising.) MONOPOLY OF THE SPICES OF THE EAST. CARRYING TRADE. Lending money abroad. (*Supplementary Notebook H*, pp. 36-37).[182]

* Manufacturers "are a necessary class" * but not a * "*productive class*" * ([op. cit., p.] 35). They * "occasion a *commutation* or *transfer* of the revenue previously provided by the cultivator, by giving a *permanency* to that revenue under a new form" * ([p.] 38).

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ᵃ Commodity exchange.— *Ed.*

There are only 4 ESSENTIAL CLASSES. PRODUCTIVE CLASS OR CULTIVATORS. MANUFACTURERS. DEFENDERS. THE *CLASS OF INSTRUCTORS* (into which he includes the Physiocratic *décimateurs*[a] or priests),

* "for every civil society must be fed, clothed, defended and instructed" * ([pp.] 50-51).

The mistake of the Economists[171] is that they * "*deemed receivers of land rents, as mere receivers of rent, a productive class* in society... They have in some degree compensated for their error by intimating that the Church and King are to be served out of those rents. Dr. Smith ... suffering it" * (this * error * of the * Economists) "to pervade the *whole of this enquiry*," * (this is correct) * "directs his refutation to the sound part of the Economical system" * ([p.] 8).

[XXIII-1451] The LANDLORDS as such are not only not *PRODUCTIVE*, but not even *AN ESSENTIAL CLASS OF SOCIETY*.

* "The *proprietors of land* as mere receivers of land rents are *not an essential class of society... By separating the rents of lands from the constitutional purpose of the defence of the State*, the receivers of those rents instead of being an essential class, render themselves one of the most unessential and burthensome classes in society" * ([p.] 51).

See his further treatment of this, which is very good (*Supplementary Notebook H*, pp. 38-39[183])—and this polemic against the receivers of land rent from the standpoint of the Physiocrats, *as the final conclusion from their doctrine, is very important.*

[The author] also shows that the real *tax on land* is Turkish ([Supplementary Notebook H, p.] 40 [op. cit., p. 59]).

The *LANDLORD taxes* not only IMPROVEMENTS OF LAND, but often the PRESUMPTION OF FUTURE IMPROVEMENT ([Supplementary Notebook H,] p. 40 [op. cit., pp. 63-64]). Tax on rents ([*Supplementary*] *Notebook* [H], p. 40; l.c. [p. 65]).

The Physiocratic doctrine *ANCIENTLY* ESTABLISHED in England, Ireland, feudal Europe, EMPIRE OF THE MOGUL[184] ([Supplementary Notebook H,] p. 42; l.c. [pp. 93-94]).

The LANDLORD as TAX-IMPOSER ([Supplementary Notebook H,] p. 43; l.c. [p. 118]).

*The limitations of Physiocracy break through in the following* (lack of *understanding of the division of labour*):

Let us assume that a clockmaker or CALICO manufacturer cannot sell his clock or CALICO.

//But let us assume instead that a producer of coal, iron, flax, indigo, etc., cannot sell these products, or even that a producer of corn cannot sell his corn. *Béardé de l'Abbaye*, cited above, is very good on this.[b] He [the anonymous author] has to stress production

[a] Tithe recipients.—*Ed.*

[b] Béardé de l'Abbaye, *Recherches sur les moyens de supprimer les impôts...*, p. 43. See also this volume, p. 307.—*Ed.*

*for immediate consumption* as against the *production of commodities*—very much in contradiction with the Physiocratic view that *valeur vénale*[a] is the principal thing. But that runs right through the work of this fellow. It is the *bourgeois* view within the pre-bourgeois *way of looking at things.*//

We will see then * "that a manufacturer only enriches himself by being a *seller*" *

(we will only see that he produces his product as a *commodity*)

* "and that when he ceases to be a *seller*, his *profits*" *

//and what of the PROFITS of the FARMER WHO IS NOT A *SELLER*?//

* "are immediately at a stand, because they are not natural profits, but artificial. The cultivator ... *may exist*, and thrive, and multiply, without *selling* any thing" * ([pp. 38-]39).

(But then he must also be a MANUFACTURER.)

Against *Arthur Young's high price as being important for the* PROSPERITY OF AGRICULTURE[b]; *but this is at the same time polemics against the Physiocrats* (*Supplementary Notebook H*, pp. 41, 42 and 43 [op. cit., pp. 65-78 and 118]).

*Surplus value cannot be derived from the nominal raising of the price on the part of the seller.*

* "*Sellers*" * are * "*not enriched*" * through the * "augmentation of the *nominal value of the produce* ... since what they gain as sellers, they precisely expend in the quality of buyers" * ([p.] 66).

*Vanderlint-like*:

* "While a field admitting cultivation can be found for every idler, let no idler be without a field. Houses of industry are good things; but fields of industry are much better" * ([p.] 47).

Against the FARM SYSTEM, and for LONG LEASES, because landownership will otherwise only hinder production and IMPROVEMENTS ([Supplementary Notebook H,] p. 43 [op. cit., pp. 118-23]). (*Irish right of tenantry.*[c])

[XXIII-1452] *Quotes the following Mercantilist opinion expressed by Mun or Lee*:

* "Great Britain could no more expect to get rich, without the balance of trade in her favour, than a family could get rich, the master of which had no other occupation than winning the money of his wife and children at play" * [p.] 114).

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[a] Market value.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 298-99.—*Ed.*

[c] See K. Marx, "The Indian Question.—Irish Tenant Right" (present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 157-62).—*Ed.*

*Quotes in an appendix* [p. 7] *the above-mentioned arguments by Anderson*[a] FOR LONG LEASES, etc. On the *YEOMANRY*.[73]

//[G. Whatley,] *Principles of Trade etc.*, [London,] 1774.

How the phrase that wages are not determined by the price OF PROVISIONS is used here by the DEFENDER of the LANDED INTEREST, i.e. the BOUNTY on the EXPORTATION OF CORN (*Supplementary Notebook H*, pp. 44-45 [op. cit., pp. 18, 39]).//

*OVERWORKING* and *dying off OF YOUNG WOMEN* (*The Times*, JULY 2, 1863. *Supplementary Notebook H*, p. 168[185]).

//R. Torrens, *An Essay on the External Corn Trade etc.*, London, 1815.

*Against Malthus* (*Supplementary Notebook G*, p. 9).

*Extension of the fields devoted to corn production*[b]:

* "Other things remaining the same, in proportion as the *territory*, which supplies subsistence, is *extended*, the *inequality* in the productiveness of the seasons will be diminished" * ([p.] 2), or its * "*irregularity*" * (p. 24).

*Value of labour capacity.* Well worked out (Supplementary Notebook G, p. 10 [op. cit., pp. 62-65]). At that time //also in part in the 18th century// this "law of nature" was exploited by the FREE TRADERS in favour of the MANUFACTURING INTEREST and against the LANDED INTEREST and taxes imposed by the state (CORN LAWS). On the other hand, the defenders of the LANDED INTEREST, TAX MONGERS, etc., hold onto the phenomenon of CURRENT PRICES, which is independent of the *price of the means of subsistence*, and onto the *surplus labour* and *fall in the level of wages* (hence direct subjection of the working class *to* the capitalists) which is brought about by the increasing dearness of the means of subsistence. This doctrine had lost much of its sense, once the *whole of the available labour time* of the working class was subordinated to capital. In the 18th century it was advocated by the following *fellows*, apart from *Sinclair* and other TAX GATHERERS and representatives of the national debt: the *TAX ESSAY MAN*[c] (completely systematically) (1765 and 1770), *Sir W. Temple* (apes the Dutch) //the Physiocrats too, half unconsciously//, *Principles of Trade* (1774)[d] (in favour of a BOUNTY ON CORN), *Arthur Young, A Six Weeks' Tour into Wales etc.*, 1769, *The Expediency of Allowing the Free Exportation of Corn* (1770) (he, like the TAX ESSAYS MAN, is a Pindar of the high price of NECESSARIES), and all the rest of his writings, such as *Political Arithmetic* [1774], the

[a] See this volume, p. 311.— *Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript, Marx wrote "(PROVISION)" above "corn production".— *Ed.*

[c] This refers to J. Cunningham, author of *Considerations on Taxes...* and *An Essay on Trade and Commerce...* See also this volume, pp. 290-94, 306.— *Ed.*

[d] By G. Whatley.— *Ed.*

*Inquiry* [*into the Connection between the Present Price of Provisions, and the*] *Size of Farms* [London,] (1773)[a] (that it was a faith in practice can be seen from *Vanderlint's polemic* of 1737 or thereabouts[b]) and others.

*In opposition*: *Vanderlint.* Against the BOUNTY pamphlet (*Evening Post* LETTERS) (1753),[c] *Letters to Men of Reason* (1774),[d] *Essential Principles* (1797),[e] etc. *Postlethwayt.*

In the 19th century advocated by Malthus, Spence (W.), Lauderdale, *Parnell*, in short the whole CORN LAW gang; opponents included Buchanan, *West, Ricardo, Commercial Policy*,[f] *Torrens, J. D. Hume* and many others, some of whom need to be mentioned again in connection with the squabble over the CORN LAWS. (It is to be noted that the same *FREE TRADERS* have told the workers since 1830 that this *law of nature* does not apply to them; they have in part made the same assertions vis-à-vis the workers as the LANDED interest made towards the *FREE TRADERS.* During the first three-quarters of the 18th century, when the price of corn was constantly falling, the issue was *in practice* a matter of indifference for the bourgeois, whereas they did not succeed until the introduction of large-scale industry in squeezing out of the urban workers THE *FULL LABOUR* FOR A PRICE CORRESPONDING TO THE VALUE OF LABOUR. They only turned against the LANDED interest in periods when corn became dearer.)

[XXIII-1453] Mr. *Torrens* admits, incidentally, that this was tolerable in the period of the Anti-Jacobin War,[176] when 1) England had a monopoly of machinery, 2) she had the monopoly of the world market, and 3) the workers were further protected by the depreciation OF the CURRENCY. But once this came to an end, *competition on the world market* became harmful to the cause; apart from this, *wages* had in part already been driven down to the VERY LIMIT OF THEIR NATURAL PRICE, driven down so far that any further pressure on wages was *dangerous*; in addition, the struggle and the revolt of the workers *against the extension of the working day* had already started at that time. (It should be added that in so far as RAW PRODUCE enters into constant capital, the *rate of profit* is reduced

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[a] By J. Arbuthnot.—*Ed.*

[b] This presumably refers to J. Vanderlint's work *Money Answers All Things...*, London, 1734.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 304-06.—*Ed.*

[d] Ibid., p. 306.—*Ed.*

[e] By J. Gray. See this volume, pp. 311-15.—*Ed.*

[f] This presumably refers to *Remarks on the Commercial Policy of Great Britain, Principally As It Relates to the Corn Trade*, London, 1815.—*Ed.*

by an increase in the price of RAW PRODUCE, independently of wages, and with competition on the world market and the cessation of the monopoly the NOMINAL RISE IN THE VALUE OF LABOUR MUST SERIOUSLY ATTACK THE RATE OF PROFIT.)

WHERE FOOD RISES WITHOUT A CORRESPONDING RISE IN WAGES, etc., DISEASE and death of the workers, until [the wage of] labour rises "UP TO THE LEVEL OF THE MONEY PRICE OF CORN" ([Torrens, op. cit., pp.] 78-79; *Supplementary Notebook* G, pp. 12-13).

*Exceptions to the principle*: 1) when "CORN SO VERY *GRADUALLY RISES*" as to LEAD to "*SUBSTITUTION OF POTATOES FOR BREAD*", "*LOWERING THE STANDARD OF SUBSISTENCE*" (i.e. *LOWERING* the VALUE OF LABOUR) ([*Supplementary*] *Notebook G*, p. 14 [op. cit., p. 90]); 2) *TEMPORARY exceptions* with SUDDEN RISES OF CORN, as in Thuringia (l.c. [Supplementary Notebook G,] pp. 14-15 [op. cit., pp. 90-91]; 3) If the RISE OF CORN is compensated for by a cheapening of manufactured commodities or a FALL in other NECESSARIES owing to a reduction in TAXES ([Supplementary Notebook G,] p. 15 [op. cit., pp. 91-92]).

* "Contrary to all sound theory, and in direct opposition to experience, those who would make provisions dear contend that the price of corn has no influence on wages; and cannot, therefore, increase the price of wrought goods, or give the foreigner any advantage over the home manufacturer" * ([op. cit., p.] 227).

Torrens believes—as was the prevailing view before and after Adam Smith, until Ricardo—that raising wages raises the *prices of commodities.* This point of view was predominant in the 18th century in the polemic against HIGH PRICES OF PROVISIONS and therefore HIGH NOMINAL PRICES OF WAGES. But it does not alter the situation in any way. With West, Ricardo, etc., on account of the (direct) *reduction in the rate of profit*, with Torrens and his predecessors on account of the *rise in the amount of commodities, BEING UNDERSOLD ON THE MARKET OF THE WORLD*, hence, by a detour, *a fall in profit.*

*Torrens* quotes the EVIDENCE[a] of *Lauderdale* given before the *HOUSE OF LORDS.* (This should all be *quoted* in connection with the *PRICE OF LABOUR.*)

The situation amounts to this: In years of dearth they work *EXTRA HOURS*; the *quantity of labour added* is thereby increased; hence if the *DEMAND* remains the same, the *price of labour* falls, while labour time is prolonged. An important point here, once again, is that the *SUPPLY OF LABOUR* can rise without any *increase in the number of workers.* ([To be cited] in connection with the *PRICE OF LABOUR.*) ([*Supplementary*] *Notebook G*, pp. 33-34 [op. cit., pp. 227-30].)

*Torrens* in contrast says this:

[a] Marx gives this English word in brackets after its German equivalent.— *Ed.*

* "With respect to labour, as well as with respect to everything else, *market* will occasionally *vary* from *natural price*" * ([op. cit., p.] 229).

*Lauderdale* further says:

* "In 1790, when wheat=£2 16s. per qr., it cost 15d. to *weave* an ell of muslin; and in *1812*, when wheat was at £6, the same work was done for 6d. ... Dear provisions and low wages of 1812" * (Torrens, [p.] 230).

The author of [*Remarks on the*] *Commercial Policy* [London, 1815] comments on this, as quoted above,[a] that it is admittedly the case for the kind of manufacturing labour that stood far above the COMMON LABOUR PRICE. It was *levelled down* to the latter. But the EVIDENCE given [by Lauderdale] before *LORDS and COMMONS* (not to mention the POOR LAW SYSTEM, whereby in England part of the WAGES is paid as alms) proves the contrary, that the nominal *price of labour* increased considerably on an average, even if not in the same proportion as the price of PROVISIONS, except in a very few cases. See the *arguments of Torrens* ([*Supplementary*] *Notebook G*, pp. 34-36 [op. cit., pp. 229-36]). (On the whole, AGRICULTURAL WAGES *doubled*, while the price of the means of subsistence *tripled*) (between 1790 and 1813) (i.e. the price of corn; meat even more).

[XXIII-1454] Quotes Sir *Henry Parnell*, pamphlet ON THE *CORN* TRADE, 1815[b]—this fellow was CHAIRMAN of the COMMONS' COMMITTEE on the *CORN LAWS*, directed against the MANUFACTURERS—as saying that the increased prices will raise CORN WAGES and thereby the PRICES OF MANUFACTURES ([*Supplementary*] *Notebook* G, p. 37 [op. cit., p. 238]). He, says Torrens,

* "confines his *consideration to the market rate of wages*" * ([op. cit., p.] 239).

*Quantity of imported corn* ([*Supplementary*] *Notebook G*, p. 39 [op. cit., pp. 290-91]).

* "...when it requires a *greater quantity of labour*, to procure subsistence, a *greater quantity of labour*, or of its produce, must remain with the labourer as his wages. But, as a greater quantity of his labour, or (what is the same thing) of the produce of his labour, becomes necessary to the subsistence of the labouring manufacturer, and is consumed by him while at work, a smaller quantity of the productions of labour will remain with the employer; and any given quantity of manufacturing capital will bring to market" * //as if the commodities destined for the workers did not also come onto the market// * "a less supply of wrought goods than before" ([op. cit.,] 235-36).[186]

"Every reduction in the money price of corn, reduces the money price of labour" ([op. cit., p.] 76). "An increase in the money price of corn, increases wages" * (l.c.).

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[a] See this volume, pp. 162 and 269.—*Ed.*

[b] Presumably *The Substance of the Speeches of Sir H. Parnell, Bart. in the House of Commons, with Additional Observations, on the Corn Laws*, 2nd ed., London, 1814.—*Ed.*

If the CORN DUTY were *suddenly* removed:

* "The agricultural labourers, too, who had been employed upon the land thus thrown out of tillage, would lose all the benefit of the skill and dexterity they might have acquired in their accustomed calling; and, deprived of their moral capital, would be driven to seek employments in which their productive powers must be lowered" * ([op. cit., pp.] 179-80).[187]

But this applies to all workers who are thrown out of their ACCUSTOMED CALLINGS by IMPROVEMENT.

Artificial increase of rent through artificial increase of the price of PROVISIONS. Threatened with the revenge of the people ([*Supplementary Notebook*] *G*, [pp.] 18-19 [op. cit., p. 199]).

*Session 1813-14. Report and Evidence from the Select Committee (of the House of Commons) on Petitions Respecting the Corn Laws* and *Reports from the Lords' Committee on the State of the Growth, Commerce, and Consumption of Grain, and All Laws Relating Thereto. Session 1814-15.*[188]//

//*G. Newnham* (*BARRISTER AT LAW*).[a]

The price below which [the import of] corn was prohibited was fixed at 63s. in the law of 1804, but at 80s. in the law of 1815. Above that price it can be imported on payment of a DUTY of 2s. 6d. ([Supplementary Notebook] E, [p.] 118 [op. cit., p. 2]).

An increase in the price of corn *increases wages*, where they are limited to *MERE NECESSARIES*[189]; but it deprives the workers of the LITTLE SUPERFLUITIES, compels them

* "to descend from [their] accustomed place in the general scale" * ([Supplementary Notebook] E, [p.] 118 [op. cit., pp. 5-6]).

The *wretched Malthus* had plagiarised *Anderson* with regard to the *SUPERFLUITIES* which went to make up wages apart from corn. In fact a few more SUPERFLUITIES of this kind are indicated by *Eden* for 1795 and later. These had *completely disappeared* among the AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS by 1815. They were in fact reduced to the earlier English prison diet of *bread* and *water* ([Supplementary Notebook] E, p. 118, below, [p.] 119, at the beginning, l.c. [p. 6]).

See on the *rate* at which *corn*, etc., and *WAGES* rose from 1773 to 1812 ([Supplementary Notebook] E, p. 119 [op. cit., p. 7]).

[XXIII-1455] How the wage of AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS was directly measured by reference to the price OF PROVISIONS by MAGISTRATES, POOR HOUSE overseers, etc. 1 GALLON LOAF per week (8 LB. 11 OZ.) and 3d. for clothing per week per family of father, mother and 3 children.

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[a] G. L. Newnham, *A Review of the Evidence before the Committees of the Two Houses of Parliament, on the Corn Laws*, London, 1815.— *Ed.*

*Evidence of Mr. Bennett* (*Lords' Report*,[a] p. 97; [Supplementary Notebook] E, pp. 119-20; l.c. [p. 20]).

Those swine! *Sir F. Eden*, Vol. I, p. 577, relates that the *squires of Berkshire* (in their capacity as magistrates these fellows determined the wages of the agricultural labourers — this in relation to earlier laws, see above on the "poor" (the second book)[b])

*"fixed the rate of wages at Speenhamland, 1795"* as follows: *"income should be 3s. for a man, when the gallon or *half peck* loaf of 8 lb. 11 oz. is at 1s., and increase regularly till bread is 1s. 5d.; when it is *above that sum*, decrease regularly till it be at 2s.; and then his food should be $^1/_5$th less"* ([G. L. Newnham,] l.c., [p.] 20, note).

*Bad land which was cultivated then. Rent* ([Supplementary Notebook] E, [pp.] 120-21 [op. cit., pp. 51, 17]). See on this what a member in the House of Commons openly says,

*"that this is a measure mainly intended to raise rents"* ([Supplementary Notebook] E, p. 121 [op. cit., p. 17]).

*On the proportion of bad land*, it emerges from the *evidence* that it was not very high ([Supplementary Notebook] E, [pp.] 121-23 [op. cit., pp. 52-53]).

*See the table on corn imports* ([Supplementary Notebook E,] pp. 123-24 [op. cit., pp. 58-59]). (On this evidence it is incomprehensible how Adam Smith could drivel on about the disinterestedness of the landlords.[c])

*Owing to the rise of rents the landlords* did not pay a farthing for the Anti-Jacobin war[176]; indeed, they gained ([Supplementary Notebook] E, [p.] 23).[d]//

//Charles H. Parry, M. D., *The Question of the Necessity of the Existing Corn Laws, Considered etc.*, London, 1816. *Against the Ricardian and Malthusian* conception of differential rent ([Supplementary Notebook] E, p. 17). In practice rents often do not fall when the price of produce falls (Parry, [p.] 11).

The cases where *rent "impedes" cultivation* ([Supplementary Notebook] E, p. 18 [op. cit., pp. 13-14]).

*The evidence* before *the Houses of Commons and Lords* ([Supplementary Notebook] E, p. 19 [op. cit., p. 40]).

According to *Arthur Young* himself in his evidence, the *poorer farmers* (*insufficient cultivators* owing to shortage of capital)

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[a] Presumably *Reports Respecting Grain, and the Corn Laws...* — *Ed.*

[b] F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor: or, an History of the Labouring Classes in England...*, Vol. I. See also present edition, Vol. 30, p. 46. — *Ed.*

[c] See present edition, Vol. 31, p. 578. — *Ed.*

[d] See Ch. H. Parry, *The Question of the Necessity of the Existing Corn Laws...*, pp. 100-01. — *Ed.*

* "*keep up the price of corn only for the benefit of the greater capitalists, their rivals*" * ([Ch. H. Parry, op. cit.,] p. 51).

*Parry*, a pure FREETRADE BOURGEOIS, points out that some of the FARMERS compensated themselves entirely at the expense of the workers, and BY THROWING THEM ON THE PARISH obstructed

* "the usual connection between wages and provisions" * ([op. cit., pp.] 69-70).

*STANDARD OF LIFE*. Parry bemoans the fact that the English "LABOURERS" do not want to eat any inferior "MIXTURES OF FLOUR", and says:

* "In Scotland, *where education is better*, this prejudice is ... unknown" * ([op. cit., p.] 69).

*Wages*. For Eden, the years 1792-96 correspond closely to THE DEARNESS OF 1812 and the following years. But the *LABOURERS* suffer still worse ([Supplementary Notebook] *E*, pp. 20-21 [op. cit., pp. 73-78]). Here *bread* accounts for approximately half, in Eden not *quite* half. On an average over $^2/_5$. But with families with more children, it accounts for much more. In 1795 and 1796 there still figure articles [of consumption] which have disappeared by 1815. BESTIALITY of the FARMERS ([Supplementary Notebook E,] pp. 21 and 22 [op. cit., pp. 77 and 80-81]). Also on p. 22 [of Supplementary Notebook] E [op. cit., pp. 78-81] there is the demonstration that despite the considerable rise in *NOMINAL WAGES* the REAL WAGES of the *LABOURER* have suffered an immense decline. Cf. Eden [Supplementary Notebook] E, p. 26 [op. cit., p. 213].

*Those dirty dogs of LANDLORDS* are freed by their RENTS from all TAXES. Moreover, gain. On this, and the different varieties of these fellows, see [Supplementary Notebook] E, [pp.] 23-24 [op. cit., pp. 100-04].

[XXIII-1456] *RENT and FARMERS' PROFIT*.

* "If ... it be determined that a farmer must necessarily *make a profit* because he *engages to pay a rent*, nothing can be more oppressive",* etc. ([op. cit., p.] 158).

*Horses in Great Britain and Ireland*: 1,800,000. They cost £16,200,000. They eat the food needed by human beings ([op. cit., p.] 176; [Supplementary Notebook] E, p. 25).//

//John Locke, *Some Considerations on the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest etc.* (1691). [In:] *Works*, VOL. II, London, 1777.

* "There being *a want of day labourers*" //agricultural// "in the country, they must be humoured, or else they will not work for you", etc. ([p.] 17). "If the labourer hath less wages, he must also pay less for *corn, butter, cheese, flesh*" ([p.] 48).

"The *natural worth*" * (use value) * "of any thing, consists in its fitness to supply the necessities, or serve the conveniencies of human life" * ([p.] 28).

In distinction from this, "*MARKETABLE VALUE*".

* "The *marketable value* of any assigned quantities of two or more commodities are ... equal, when they will exchange one for another" (l.c.). "The *value* or *price of* all *commodities*, of which money passing in trade is truly one, *consisting in proportion*, you alter this, as you do all other proportions, *whether you increase one*, or *lessen the other*" * (l.c., [p.] 30).//

//Pietro Verri, *Meditazioni sulla economia politica etc.* (first published in 1771), *Custodi* [his edition *Scrittori classici italiani di economia politica*], Parte moderna, Vol. XV [Milan, 1804].[a]

"*Money is the universal commodity*" ([p.] 16).

(Against the *Physiocrats.*) (*Thick Notebook,*[123] p. 95, below [op. cit., pp. 20, 22].)

*Monetary* and *Mercantilist.*

"These are the pivots around which all the measures of political economy turn: the maximum possible increase in the number of sellers of each commodity, and the maximum possible decrease in the number of buyers" ([op. cit., pp.] 52-53).

See how he extricates himself from that, combining it in his manner with the increase of annual reproduction (Thick Notebook, p. 96, below [op. cit., pp. 53-56]).

"The problem of political economy is to increase annual reproduction to the utmost" (he means by that the net product, surplus value) "with the least possible labour, or given the quantity of reproduction to obtain it with the least possible labour; given the quantity of labour to obtain the maximum reproduction; to increase labour as far as possible and to extract from it the maximum reproductive effect" ([op. cit., p.] 190).

*Ferdinando Paoletti.*[b] For the Physiocrats (Thick Notebook, p. 98).

Antonio Genovesi, *Lezioni di economia civile* (1765), [In: *Scrittori classici italiani di economia politica.* Parte moderna,] Vol. VIII [Milan, 1803].

"It seems that these human forces have much elasticity; because, just like elastic bodies, they never achieve a full development without a great degree of compression and provocation" ([pp.] 10-11).

"The merchant counts the money he has made as almost nothing; he always looks to the future" ([p.] 139).//

[XXIII-1457] //Nicolas Baudeau, *Première introduction à la philosophie économique etc.* (1771). [In:] *Physiocrates*, ed. Daire [Paris, 1846].[c]

"The title of *wealth* [*richesse*] therefore presupposes two things: firstly the *usual qualities*, which make objects suitable for our useful or pleasant enjoyment, and

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[a] Marx quotes the Italian authors in Italian.— *Ed.*

[b] F. Paoletti, *I veri mezzi di render felici le societá.* In: *Scrittori classici italiani di economia politica.* Parte moderna, Vol. XX, Milan, 1804. See present edition, Vol. 30, p. 368.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx quotes Baudeau in French.— *Ed.*

make them *goods* [*biens*]; secondly the possibility of *exchanging* them, which makes it possible for these goods to obtain other goods for you, and which makes them *wealth*" ([p.] 661).

"By the continuity, the generality, and the perfection of the art of instruction, men *appropriate in good time* the results of the reflections, the experiences, and the successes of many generations and many centuries; and it is this appropriation which develops the faculties", etc. ([p.] 665).//

*Process of accumulation.*

* "Simple labour is produced by the mere multiplication of human beings" * (Francis Wayland, *The Elements of Political Economy*, Boston, 1843, p. 298).

The natural growth of population is one of the results of reproduction; it is firstly itself accumulation (of human beings) and secondly the prerequisite of the process of accumulation (WITHIN CERTAIN LIMITS). It costs the capitalist nothing, no more than does the SKILL accumulated (piled up) by the working class through practice alone and TRANSMITTED as a result (advantages of labour) to its *remplaçants*.[a] (See *Hodgskin*.[b]) Finally there is the accumulation and reproduction of *scientific knowledge*, which determines the material process of production more or less directly. *Scientific knowledge* is the branch of objectified labour in which *reproduction*—the labour time necessary to "appropriate" it—stands in the *lowest ratio* to the labour time required originally in production.

*Process of accumulation and demand for labour.*

A part of the total surplus PRODUCE is converted back into capital or a part of this part is converted into variable capital, i.e. laid out in wages. With this premiss, the following needs to be remarked about the preposterous economic doctrine of the physical dependence of wages on the magnitude of the capital available (this is also to disregard foreign trade and the investment of capital abroad at interest):

1) If one says that the amount of labour employed depends on the amount of capital available, this is correct in so far as—expressed in absolute terms—it is an *absolute tautology*, which only appears *not* to be a tautology because the moments of labour appear in the *capitalist mode of production* and therefore also in *capitalist ideology* as *autonomous and alien* and *independent* of each other. It means nothing more than this, that the increase in the number of working human beings depends on (or at least finds its limit in) the degree of *productivity of their labour*, a degree of productivity which is on the one hand expressed in the development of their own productive capacities and the degree of energy,

[a] Replacements.— *Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 411, 427-28.— *Ed.*

knowledge and appropriateness to the purpose with which these capacities are exerted and *have been exerted.* But, secondly, it is expressed in the broader or narrower basis of *produced productive forces* on which it works and in the *extent of annual reproduction,* which must as raw material maintain in existence the means of subsistence and production itself for the following year. SOIL. EARTH.

[XXIII-1458] 2) The *whole of the surplus* PRODUCE consists of newly *added labour* (considered from the point of view of its *value*). Hence also *that part* of it which is converted into *surplus capital* or forms the source of accumulation. But although the whole of that surplus capital is derived from *surplus* LABOUR, nothing could be further from the truth than the notion that it is entirely exchanged for additional new labour, in the real conversion of the *surplus* PRODUCE into capital. It exists from the outset in forms in which it constitutes elements of constant capital, and only a part of it, relatively speaking a much more insignificant part, is converted into *variable capital.*

3) The more developed capitalist production is, the *smaller is the part of the surplus* PRODUCE which is reconverted into variable capital, and the greater is the part of the population which is constantly made REDUNDANT by the production process. The greater too is the *quantity of labour* which is consumed without increasing the *number of workers.* The SUPPLY OF LABOUR, be it noted, depends (see the passage from Lauderdale[a]) not only on the *number of workers* but on the *length of the working day.* It should also be added that large-scale industry, while on the one hand it constantly creates AN ARTIFICIAL REDUNDANCY OF POPULATION, on the other hand creates a situation of the working class in which it reproduces itself on a mass scale as a *tas de misérables.*[b]

4) Then there is also the part which *enters into the consumption of the* UPPER CLASSES *directly* (or after being modified by foreign trade).

The rising demand for labour, adopted by Adam Smith as a dogma, (and, since he lets wages rise here as well, the *accelerated growth of demand* for labour) in proportion to the accumulation of productive capital, is a chimera which was, to be sure, correct for the system of Manufacture, on which his views were based. There is the same peculiar contradiction in Wakefield. In the UNITED STATES, and NEW COLONIES SETTLED by OLD BOURGEOIS COUNTRIES, an accelerated growth of wages (demand for labour) takes place up to a certain period, along with the growth of wealth, because here $^{99}/_{100}$ of the

[a] See this volume, pp. 317-18.— *Ed.*
[b] Gang of wretches.— *Ed.*

agriculturalists, who in turn contribute perhaps $^4/_5$ of the whole of production, are PEASANTS working for themselves, hence not producing *in a capitalist fashion*, while in the towns there is capitalist production, and the whole colony exploits the capitalist mode of production of the OLD COUNTRIES without sharing its birthpangs. He himself admits this. On the other hand he wishes forcibly to introduce the *capitalist mode of production* into the colonies in their turn, and to abolish the free [exploitation of the] fertility of the soil—which is the essence of the colonies.[a]

//Le Trosne, *De l'intérêt social etc.* [In:] *Physiocrates*, edit. Daire, [Part II,] Paris, 1846.[b]

"It" (*money*) "has no other motion than that imparted to it by the products" ([p.] 885).

"*Value* consists in the *exchange relation* between one thing and another, between a given amount of one product and a given amount of another" ([p.] 889).

"Properly speaking, all products of the same kind form a single mass, and their price is determined in general and without regard to particular circumstances" ([p.] 893).

(Say, [*Traité d'économie politique*,] 3rd ed., Vol. II, Paris, 1817, p. 438.)

"Products can only be paid for with products" ([Le Trosne, op. cit., p.] 899). ("Products can only be bought with products" [Say, op. cit., p. 441].) "*Exchange* is by its nature a contract which rests on equality, i.e. it takes place *between two equal values*. It is therefore not *a means of self-enrichment*, since as much is given as is received" ([Le Trosne, op. cit., pp.] 903[-904].)

[XXIII-1459] "*Sale* can be reduced ... to exchange... It takes place in the same way, *between two equal values*, and *it is not a means of self-enrichment*" ([ibid., p.] 909).

"It is ... not the *parties to a contract* who decide on the value; that has been decided *before* the contract" ([p.] 906). "A commercial transaction in which *money* is involved is *not completed* ... by the *sale*... [At that point] only the *buyer* has achieved his aim... For the *seller*, however, all has not yet finished: *the money* he has received is not yet a good suitable for his enjoyment; in order to make use of it, then, he must in turn become a buyer" ([p.] 908). "It follows from this that every *purchase* on the part of someone buying at that moment presupposes a *prior sale*, and *every sale* presupposes a purchase to follow... It follows also that everyone daily returns the money he has received, and puts it into circulation; and that each halt money makes indicates the *fulfilment of a need* by the giver, or the *discharge of an obligation*, and the subsequent intention to discharge an obligation or fulfil a need on the part of him who receives the money" ([pp.] 908-09).

"Exchange arrives directly at the goal, which is consumption; it has only *two terms*, and concludes with a single contract. But a contract in which money is involved has not been completed, since the seller must become a buyer, either in person or through the mediation of the person to whom he transfers his money. In order to arrive at consumption, which is the ultimate aim, *at least four terms* and *three contracting parties* are therefore needed, and *one of the contracting parties intervenes twice*" ([p.] 909).

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[a] See [E. G. Wakefield,] *England and America*, Vol. I, London, 1833, and E. G. Wakefield, *A View of the Art of Colonization, with Present Reference to the British Empire...*, London, 1849. See also this volume, pp. 307-11.—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx quotes the French authors in French.—*Ed.*

"It" (money) "is not a mere *token*, for it is itself wealth; it does not *represent* the values, it is their *equivalent*" ([p.] 910). "In the hands of the seller who has received it, the money is *a pledge* or draft, which he will call on when he wishes, and in the manner in which he wishes" ([p.] 910).

*Accumulation over and above annual reproduction.* //But the whole of the fixed capital which has not been consumed is also a result of reproduction, without which it would be devalued and lose its use value.//

"Thanks to the more or less long duration of the products of manufacture, a nation possesses a considerable fund of wealth, *independent* of its annual reproduction, which forms a long-term *accumulation of capital.* This was originally paid for with products, and is continually *maintained* and *augmented*" ([pp.] 928-29).//

//Mercier de la Rivière, *L'ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés politiques* (1767). [In:] *Physiocrates*, edit. Daire [Part II, Paris, 1846].

"One does not exchange money for money" ([p.] 486).

"At bottom, a value in money is nothing but a value in the form of product, which *has merely changed its form*" ([p.] 486).

"It is absolutely necessary that sellers and buyers should alternately yield up to each other by their purchases the money they have received through their sales" ([p.] 540). "Each seller, by the purchases he makes in his turn, must provide the money to enable the others to buy the commodities he wants to sell them" ([p.] 541).

[XXIII-1460] "With money one buys commodities, and with commodities one buys money; thus to sell or to buy is always ... to exchange one value, whatever it may be, for another value. Whether one of these two values is money, or they are both ordinary commodities, is in itself a matter of complete indifference", etc. ([p.] 543).

"A seller can normally only succeed in raising the prices of his commodities if he agrees to pay, by and large, more for the commodities of the other sellers; and for the same reason a consumer can normally only pay less for his purchases if he submits to a similar reduction in the prices of the things he sells" ([p.] 555).

"Is not each consumer alternately a buyer and a seller for equal amounts of money?" ([p.] 559).

"If money represents, in our hands, the things we can wish to *buy*, it also represents the things we have *sold* to obtain that money" ([p.] 586).

*Valorisation process.*

"This method of adding to one particular object the value of a number of others" //e.g. adding the living costs of the *tisserand*,[a] etc.//, "of as it were *heaping up* various values *in layers* on top of one single value, has the result that this value grows to the same extent" ([p.] 599). "The expression *addition* gives a very clear picture of the way in which the *price of a manufactured product* is formed: this price is only the *sum* of a number of values which have been consumed, and it is arrived at by *adding* them together; however, *addition* is not the same as *multiplication*" ([p.] 599).

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[a] Weaver.— *Ed.*

(In fact *addition* does=*multiplication*. 2+2=4. 2×2=4.)
//[H. Martyn,] *The Advantages of the East-India Trade to England, Considered*, London, 1720.[190]//

[XXIII-1461] Now we return to:
2) *So-called Primitive Accumulation.*[a]
a) If we presuppose the *capitalist mode of production* as historically given, the conditions are thus given in which the *means of production* are constantly *reproduced* as *capital* and labour as *wage labour* by the production process itself, for the latter is not only a process of the production of *use values*[b] and *commodities* but a process of production and reproduction of *social relations*, of the *relations of production* within which use values[b] and commodities are reproduced. And indeed, reproduction takes place in such a way that on the one hand the *relations of capitalist production* are reproduced on a larger scale, and on the other hand their *differentia specifica*, their inner tendency is giving reality a form ever more adequate to the principle. Once the capitalist mode of production is itself presupposed as *given*, its analysis remains important even for the *present theme*, because the manner in which the capitalist mode of production *expands* (takes possession of a greater segment of the social area) and subjects to itself spheres of production as yet not subject to it, while on the other hand it proceeds from the merely *formal* subsumption of labour under it to labour's *real subsumption*, entirely reproduces the *manner* in which it arises altogether. For this reason, we shall be able in this section to have constant consideration for these changes, which proceed *on the basis of the capitalist mode of production* itself.
This is number I.
*The second is as follows*:
The development of capital does not begin with the creation of the world, it does not begin *ab ovo*. Only in the 16th and 17th centuries does it in fact begin to be something which dominates the world and seizes hold of the whole economic formation of society. This is its infancy. Therefore, we only need to go back to conditions in the very recent past. The capitalist mode of production in fact only attains a full development with *large-scale industry*, and therefore dates in its totality from the last third of the 18th century (even if it was still only sporadically developed). Even the merely *formal subsumption* of labour under capital—on

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[a] See this volume, pp. 243-47.—*Ed.*
[b] In the manuscript Marx wrote "things" above "use values".—*Ed.*

which the *prolongation of the working day* depends, as well as the confiscation of the *whole of the disposable time of the working class* as belonging to capital—only develops once the *capitalist mode of production* has *really* developed. Previously this was seen at most in the *system of slavery* (founded on modern colonies or among ancient trading peoples or in classical antiquity, e.g. among the Romans) once production on a mass scale, hence production for *sale*, production of *commodities*, had taken control of agriculture through the concentration of landed property.

Where we find *manufacture* before the 16th and 17th centuries, as in Italy, Spain, Constantinople, Flanders, etc., it 1) has a partially handicraft character (except perhaps in *mining* and *metalworking*), and 2) always rests on *trade*, on the monopoly of the CARRYING TRADE, which piles up money capital, mercantile capital, in the hands of these *monopolists* of the [XXIII-1462] world market of that time.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to go back to earlier conditions in order to refute current notions about the so-called primitive accumulation of capital.

3) Capitalist production presupposes that a man must sell his *labour* because he is not in a position to *sell commodities*, hence is not in a position to *produce* commodities, hence the means of production of commodities—the objective conditions of labour—confront him as *alien* property.

Where *private property* exists in one form or another, as well as the *exchange of commodities*, the exchange of the products of this private property, *one condition of capitalist production*—namely the *individual who has been stripped* of the means of production, of the conditions of labour—can be created for all the reasons for which *the individual* is deprived of, *loses* that private property and therefore those means of production. And these conditions are from the point of view of the isolated individuals purely *accidental*, they have nothing to do with the *general deprivation, loss* of these conditions by the mass of the people, hence with their general conversion into wage labourers. The isolated individual can be *pauperised* under all possible forms of private property; hence under all possible modifications of the social mode of production which presupposes private property. And yet Rome, Athens, etc., show us (even in *Thebes*, the ancient republic, *free wage labourers* arose in this manner) that the capitalist mode of production by no means originates through this pauperisation of the individual, and even of the mass of plebeians, etc. But *without* slavery it would have had to come into existence.

If it emerges here that even *the loss of the means of production* by the mass of (free) people does not create the capitalist mode of production (although conditions in Athens, Sicily, etc., came close to it), this is even less the case for the circumstances and accidents by which individuals lose their means of production, and may sporadically become *free wage labourers* in so far as they do not live as *paupers of the state* (*panes et circenses*[a]). In this investigation we are not interested in the fact that free wage labourers may sporadically be present, without affecting the society's whole mode of production and therefore the social relations of production.

4)[191] *Proudhon* speaks in his *Philosophie de la misère* of an *extra-economic origin of property*, by which he means *landed property*.[b] This mystery amounts to the *pre-bourgeois* ([pre-]capitalist) relation [of the individual] to the *conditions of his labour*, initially to the natural conditions, then to the soil. He might just as well accuse *capital and wage labour*, as *forms of property*, of having an *extra-economic* origin. For the worker's encounter with the objective conditions of labour as *capital*, and the capitalist's encounter with the *worker* as a propertyless, abstract *worker*, presuppose an *historical process*, however much this relation is reproduced on this basis, once it has been given, however much it is elaborated in scope and depth. And this *historical process* is the history of the emergence of both capital and wage labour. In other words, the *extra-economic origin* of property means nothing but the *historical origin* of the bourgeois forms of production, forms to which the categories of political economy give theoretical or conceptual expression. The statement that pre-bourgeois history, and each phase of it, has its own *economy* and an *economic basis* of its movement, is in fact merely the tautology that human life [XXIII-1463] has from the beginning rested on production, and—once humanity emerged from the merely animal condition—*d'une manière ou d'une autre*,[c] on *social production*, whose relations are precisely what we call *economic* relations.[192]

[XXIII-1464] *Interest calculation.*

*Simple interest.* 100:5=860:43 (THE INTEREST). AS HUNDRED (100) IS TO $i$ (INTEREST, F.I. 5%), SO PRINCIPAL TO INTEREST. $i$ = INTEREST OF 100. $p$ = PRINCIPAL.

As $100:i=p:x$, and $x=\frac{ip}{100}$.

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[a] Bread and circuses.—*Ed.*

[b] See K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy* (present edition, Vol. 6, p. 197).—*Ed.*

[c] In one way or another.—*Ed.*

COMPOUND INTEREST: for the sake of simplification the rate of interest is assumed to be=5%, $^{105}/_{100}$ or $^{21}/_{20}$. Number of years=$n$. PRINCIPAL=$a$, sum=$S$. Thus the formula is as follows:

$S = a\,(^{21}/_{20})^{n}$. And solved logarithmically this gives: log. $S$ = log. $a$ + log. $(^{21}/_{20})^{n}$ = log. $a$ + n·log. $(^{21}/_{20})$ = log. $a$ + $n$·(log. 21 − log. 20).

LET $a$=1,000, $n$=100 years, INTEREST=5%, $S$=$x$?

$S$=1,000 $(^{21}/_{20})^{100}$. log. $S$=log. 1,000+100 (log. 21−log. 20).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | log. 21=1.3222193 |
| SUBTRACTING | | log. 20=1.3010300 |
| | | log. $^{21}/_{20}$=0.0211893 |
| MULTIPLYING BY | | 100 |
| | 100 | log. $^{21}/_{20}$ =2.1189300 |
| ADD | | log. 1,000=3.0000000 |
| | | 5.1189300 |

HENCE log. $S$= 5.1189300, TO WHICH CORRESPONDS THE NATURAL NUMBER £*131,501*.

According to Leonhard Euler's calculation (done however to 15 decimal places instead of 7, as in the above example, owing to the length of the series of years) a PRINCIPAL of £1, BEING PLACED AT 5% COMPOUND INTEREST FOR 500 YEARS,=£39,323,200,000. And this makes £78,646,400 (ON AN AVERAGE) for each year of the 500.

[XXIII-1465] If not only interest is ADDED every year to the PRINCIPAL, but A NEW SUM $b$ is always added as well, *the original principal,=$a$, would increase each year in the following manner:

after [the] *1st year*: $^{21}/_{20}\ a+b$;
after *2 years*: $(^{21}/_{20})^{2}a+(^{21}/_{20})b+b$;
after *3 years*: $(^{21}/_{20})^{3}a+(^{21}/_{20})^{2}b+(^{21}/_{20})b+b$;
after *4 years*: $(^{21}/_{20})^{4}a+(^{21}/_{20})^{3}b+(^{21}/_{20})^{2}b+(^{21}/_{20})b+b$;
after *n years*: $(^{21}/_{20})^{n}a+(^{21}/_{20})^{n-1}b+(^{21}/_{20})^{n-2}b\ldots+(^{21}/_{20})b+b$.

Now if we take that part of this formula, in which $b$ appears, inversely, it forms an ascending geometrical proportion, viz:

$$b+(^{21}/_{20})b+(^{21}/_{20})^{2}b+(^{21}/_{20})^{3}b\ldots+(^{21}/_{20})^{n-1}b.$$

The exponent of this series is $(^{21}/_{20})$. Now the formula for a geometrical progression is=

$$\frac{a(\text{the first term})\cdot(b^{n}-1)}{b-1}.$$

supposing $a$ the first term, $b^{n-1}$ the last term, so that* $b^n = b^{n-1} \times b$, and $b$ *the ratio. Hence in our case $b$=first term, $^{21}/_{20}$=ratio. Consequently the sum of the above geometrical progression=

$$b \cdot \frac{((^{21}/_{20})^n - 1)}{^{21}/_{20} - 1} = \frac{b((^{21}/_{20})^n - 1)}{^{1}/_{20}} = 20(^{21}/_{20})^n b - 20b.$$

The whole expression will therefore be:

$$(^{21}/_{20})^n a + 20(^{21}/_{20})^n b = 20b + (^{21}/_{20})^n (a + 20b) - 20b.$$

To calculate the latter expression by logarithm, we treat its first part—$(^{21}/_{20})^n(a+20b)$ separately, and afterwards subtract $20b$. Suppose $a$=£1,000, 5% compound [XXIII-1466] interest, $b$ (the sum annually added)*=100, $n$ (the *number of years)=25.

In this case the formula $(^{21}/_{20})^n \times (a+20b) - 20b$ resolves itself into $(^{21}/_{20})^{25} \times (1{,}000+2{,}000) - 2{,}000$.

log. $^{21}/_{20}$=0.021189299
25×log. $^{21}/_{20}$=0.5297324750
log. (1,000+2,000)=3.4771213135

Sum =4.0068537885, which is the logarithm of 10,159.2

Subtracting $20b$=2,000 2,000

£8,159 2s.=£8,159 2s.

Since this principal of £1,000 is always increasing, and after 25 years amounts to £8,159$^1/_{10}$, it may be asked, in how many years it will amount to £1,000,000.

We have then the equation*

$$(^{21}/_{20})^n(a+20b) - 20b = 1{,}000{,}000 \text{ or}$$

$$(3{,}000)\ (^{21}/_{20})^n - 2{,}000 = 1{,}000{,}000.$$

$$(^{21}/_{20})^n = \frac{1{,}002{,}000}{3{,}000} = 334.$$

$n$ log. $(^{21}/_{20})$=log. 334.

log. 334=2.5237465 and log. $(^{21}/_{20})$=0.0211893.

$$n = \frac{25237465}{00211893} = \frac{25237465}{211893} = 119 \text{ YEARS, } 1 \text{ MONTH, } 7 \text{ DAYS.}$$

[XXIII-1467] The formula developed above,

$(^{21}/_{20})^n(a+20b) - 20b$, or

$(^{21}/_{20})^n a + 20(^{21}/_{20})^n b - 20b$

is changed into

$(^{21}/_{20})^n a - 20(^{21}/_{20})^n b + 20b$; or into

$(^{21}/_{20})^n (a - 20b) + 20b$ if the annual total, $b$, is subtracted from the PRINCIPAL, instead of being added to it.

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If $n$ expresses in YEARS LESS than a YEAR instead of a * whole year, it becomes a fraction, but the calculation is performed by logarithms as before.

If the amount, f.i., of the principal at the end of 1 day was required, $n = {}^1/_{365}$; if after 2 days, $n = {}^2/_{365}$, etc.

Suppose $a = £100{,}000$, interest * = 5%. The PRINCIPAL is to be calculated for 8 days * (compound interest).

Then $S = a \cdot (^{21}/_{20})^{8/365} = 100{,}000(^{21}/_{20})^{8/365}$.

$\log S = \log. 100{,}000 + {}^8/_{365} \log. (^{21}/_{20})$, but

$\log. (^{21}/_{20}) = 0.0211893$

$\times {}^8/_{365} = 0.0004644$, to which [should be added]

$\log. 100{,}000 = 5.0000000$

5.0004644, which corresponds to the natural number 100,107. If we subtract from this number 100,107 the original principal of 100,000, we find the interest for 8 days = £107.

The theory of the calculation of interest owes its first improvements to the *great Leibnitz*, who published the principal elements of it in the Leipsic *Acta Eruditorum* for 1683.*[a]

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If $a$ is the first TERM, $b$ the exponent of the progression, and $n-1$ the exponent of the final term,

the sum of the progression $= \dfrac{a \cdot (b^n - 1)}{b - 1}$.

If $b = \dfrac{b}{c}$, so that $\dfrac{b}{c} < 1$, hence $c > b$, the sum, or

$$S, = \frac{a}{1 - {}^b/_c} \quad \text{or} = \frac{ac}{c - b}.$$

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[a] This refers to Leibnitz's article "Meditatio juridico-mathematica de interusurio simplice".— *Ed.*

[XXIII-1468] * To this subject belongs also the calculation of the present value of a sum of money, which is payable only after a term of years.

For as £20, in ready money, amounts to £21 in a year; so (reciprocally) a sum of £21, which cannot be received till the end of one year, is really worth only £20. If, therefore, we express, by $a$, a sum whose payment is due at the end of a year, the present value of this sum is $^{20}/_{21}a$; and, therefore, to find the present worth of a principal $a$, payable a year hence, we must multiply it by $^{20}/_{21}$; to find its value two years before the time of payment, we multiply it by $(^{20}/_{21})^2$; and, in general, *its value, n years before the time of payment, will be expressed by* $(^{20}/_{21})^n a$.

Suppose a man has to receive for 5 successive years an annual rent of £100, and that he wishes to give it up for ready money, the interest being at 5%; it is required to find how much he is to receive.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| For £100 due | *after 1 year,* he receives | 95.239 |
| | *after 2 years* | 90.704 |
| | *after 3 years* | 86.385 |
| | *after 4 years* | 82.272 |
| | *after 5 years* | 78.355 |
| | Sum of the 5 terms= | 432.955, |

which he receives in ready money for the £500.

If the annual rent=$a$, which commencing at present, and lasting $n$ years, will be actually worth

$$a+(^{20}/_{21})a+(^{20}/_{21})^2a+(^{20}/_{21})^3a+(^{20}/_{21})^4a..(^{20}/_{21})^na.$$

Exponent=$^{20}/_{21}$.

This is a geometrical progression. The whole is reduced to finding its sum.

$$\frac{(^{20}/_{21})^{n+1}a-a}{^{20}/_{21}-1}=\frac{(^{20}/_{21})^{n+1}a-a}{-^{1}/_{21}}=-21\cdot(^{20}/_{21})^{n+1}a+21a=21a-21(^{20}/_{21})^{n+1}a.$$

The latter part to be calculated by logarithms, and then to be subtracted from $21a$.

[XXIII-1469] When the *principal* alone *produces* interest, it is called *simple interest.*

When the interest, as soon as it becomes due, is added to the principal, and the whole then produces interest, it is termed *compound interest.*

*Simple interest.* $p$=principal lent, $r$ the interest of £1 for 1 year, $n$=number of years, $i$=the interest of the sum lent * //hence $r$=*rate

of interest//, $m$=the *amount* (the sum of the principal and its interest for any time, taken together).

$rp$=the interest of £$p$ for *one year.*

$nrp$=the interest of £$p$ for $n$ years.

$i=n\cdot r\cdot p$; $m=p+nrp=p(1+nr)$.

These 2 equations:* *1)* $i=nrp$, *and 2)* $m=p(1+nr)$ are sufficient *to solve any question connected with simple interest.

If $q$ the rate per cent, then, since $r$ the rate of interest for £1, $q=100r$, or $r=\frac{q}{100}$. then* 1) $i=n\cdot\left(\frac{q}{100}\right)p$ and 2) $m=p\left(1+\frac{nq}{100}\right)=\left(\frac{100+nq}{100}\right)p$.

*Required the simple interest, and amount of £125 6s. 8d. in 4 years, at 5 p.c.

$p=125\,{}^1/_3$; $r={}^5/_{100}={}^1/_{20}=0.05$; $n=4$.

$i=4\cdot({}^1/_{20})\cdot 125\,{}^1/_3={}^1/_5\cdot 125\,{}^1/_3=25\,{}^1/_{15}=$£25 1s. 4d.

$m=$£150 8s.

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*Discount at simple interest.* $p$=present worth and discount of a given sum $m$, due $n$ years hence, at the rate $r$. In $n$ years at $r$ $p$[will]=$m$.

$m=(1+nr)p$. $P=\frac{m}{1+nr}$. This is the present worth of $p$.

Discount $d=m-\frac{m}{1+nr}$, for the discount=the amount of money to be received after $n$ years−the present worth of $p$; since* $p+d$ or $d+\frac{m}{1+nr}=m$, [XXIII-1470] $d=m-\frac{m}{1+nr}=\frac{m+mnr-m}{1+nr}=\frac{nrm}{1+nr}$.

*If $q$ the rate p.c.,

$$p=\frac{m}{1+nr}=\frac{m}{1+{}^{nq}/_{100}}=\frac{100m}{100+nq}.$$

$$d=\frac{nrm}{1+nr}=\frac{n\cdot({}^q/_{100})\cdot m}{1+{}^{nq}/_{100}}=\frac{{}^{nqm}/_{100}}{100+{}^{nq}/_{100}}=\frac{nqm}{100+nq}.$$

Since* $i$ (interest) *of $m$ in the time $n$ at the rate* $r=nrm$ or $n\left(\frac{q}{100}\right)m$ and $d=\frac{nqm}{100+nq}$* it is evident that interest is always greater

than discount under the same circumstances.

*Compound interest.** $M = (1 + r)^n P$. If $I =$ interest;

$$I = M - P = (1 + r)^n P - P((1 + r)^n - 1).$$

*If $R = 1 + r$, or one pound, together with its interest for a year,*

$$M = P \cdot R^n \text{ and since } I = M - P, = P \cdot R^n - P,$$
$$I = (R^n - 1)P.$$

$$P = \frac{M}{R^n} \cdot n = \frac{\log. M - \log. P}{\log. R}$$

*When compound interest is allowed, the present worth will be obtained from*

$$P = \frac{M}{R^n}, \text{ and *the } \textit{discount} \text{ from } D = M - P = M - \frac{M}{R^n} = \frac{M(R^n - 1)}{R^n}.$$

[XXIII-1471] If $P$ the present value of an annuity $[A]$, to be paid in $n$ years, at compound interest ($R = 1 + r$, £1 + its interest for one year)

the amount of $P$ in $n$ years will be* $PR^n$ (which we expressed earlier as $a(^{21}/_{20})^n$).

$$PR^n \text{ or } M = \frac{A \cdot (R^n - 1)}{R - 1} \quad \text{and} \quad P = \frac{A \cdot (R^n - 1)}{R^n(R - 1)}.$$

$$*\text{If } P = \frac{A \cdot (R^n - 1)}{R^n(R - 1)} = A \cdot \frac{\frac{R^n - 1}{R^n}}{R - 1} = A \cdot \frac{1 - \frac{1}{R^n}}{R - 1},$$

we suppose $n$ to be indefinitely great $= \infty$, so

$$\frac{1}{R^n} = \frac{1}{\infty} = 0, \text{ and hence}$$

$$P = A \cdot \frac{1 - \frac{1}{R^n}}{R - 1} = \frac{1 - 0}{R - 1} A = \frac{A}{R - 1}.$$

Hence: $P = \frac{A}{R - 1}$; that is to say the annuity divided by* 1 and *its interest for one year minus 1 is the present value or worth of the annuity $A$ to continue payable *for ever.* Suppose $R = {}^{21}/_{20}$, which is* $= 1 + {}^{1}/_{20}$ or $= 5\%$, *then the value of the perpetual annuity would be, if the annuity was £800,

$$P = \frac{800}{{}^{21}/_{20} - 1} = \frac{800}{{}^{1}/_{20}} = 20 \times 800 = £16{,}000.$$ If the rate of interest $= 3\%$

[XXIII-1472] $P=\frac{800}{103/100-1}=\frac{800}{3/100}=\frac{80{,}000}{3}=26{,}666^2/_3.$

If the rate of interest was*$=2^1/_2\%$, so that $\frac{102^1/_2}{100}=R$. *we should have, $2^1/_2=^5/_2$, $P=\frac{800}{41/40-1}=\frac{800}{1/40}=32{,}000$, which corresponds to the value of $P$ of 16,000 at 5%.

This is the formula by which the sales or purchases of Freehold Estates are regulated: and it is evident that the sum of money paid, must be *greater* or *less* according as the rate of interest of money is *lower* or *higher*. (Cf. Hind's *Algebra*, pp. 264-65).*[193] [XXIII-1472][194]

# [*CAPITAL*]
# BOOK I
# THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION OF CAPITAL[195]

[VOLUME I OF *CAPITAL*. SEPARATE PAGES OF THE MANUSCRIPT]

[24] [196] his labour capacity. Once his labour really starts, it ceases from that moment to belong to him. Hence he can no longer *sell* it.[51) a 197]

Owing to the peculiar nature of this specific commodity, labour capacity, it does not really pass into the hands of the buyer as a use value on the conclusion of the contract between buyer and seller. The exchange value of this commodity, like that of all others, is determined before it enters into circulation, because it is sold as a capacity, as a power, and a specific amount of labour time was required to produce this capacity, this power. The exchange value of this commodity therefore existed before its sale, but its use value only begins to exist with the exercise of that power subsequently. Hence the alienation of that power does not coincide in time with its real manifestation, i.e. its existence as a use value. The situation is the same as it is with a house, the use of which has been sold to me for a month. Here I only receive the use value after *I* have inhabited the house for a month. In the same way, I only receive the use value of the labour capacity after I have consumed it, in fact after I have had it work for me. But in use values of this kind, where the formal alienation by sale of the commodity does not coincide with the real transfer of its use value to the buyer, the money of the buyer usually serves as *means of payment*, as we have seen before.[b] The labour capacity is *sold* for a day, a week, etc., but it is only *paid for* after it has been consumed

[a] Here and below, the note numbers followed by a bracket indicate notes by Marx. See editorial Note 197.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 29, p. 375.—*Ed.*

throughout a day, a week, etc. In all countries where the capital-relation is fully developed, labour capacity is only paid for after it has performed its function.[48)] [198] In all cases, therefore, the worker *advances* the use of his commodity to the capitalist; he lets the buyer consume it before he receives payment of its exchange value; he provides it *on credit.* This constant allowance of credit by the workers to the capitalists, arising from the special nature of the use value that is sold, is no mere figure of speech, as is shown in times of crisis and even in cases of individual bankruptcy.[52)]

However, the nature of the exchange of commodities is not altered by whether money functions as means of purchase or means of payment. The price of the labour capacity is contractually fixed in the sale, although it is not realised until later. Nor does

[52)] "The worker *lends* his industry" (Storch, *Cours d'économie politique*, Vol. II, St. Petersburg edition, 1815, p. 36). But, *Storch* adds slyly, he "*risks nothing*" except "*the loss ... of his wages*... The worker does not hand over *anything of a material nature*" (l.c., [pp. 36]37).[a]

*"All labour is paid after it has ceased"* (*An Inquiry into those Principles, respecting the Nature of Demand etc.*, London, 1821, [p.] 104). Other practical consequences which emerge from this mode of payment, based, incidentally, on the nature of the relation, are not relevant to our investigation. However, one example may be appropriate here. There are in London two sorts of bakers, the "FULL-PRICED", who sell the bread at its *full price*, and the "*UNDERSELLERS*", who sell it *below* that price. The latter class comprises more than $^3/_4$ of the total number of bakers (see p. XXXII in the report of *H. S. Tremenheere*, the government commissioner appointed to examine the *Grievances Complained of by the Journeymen Bakers etc.*[b] London, 1862). These "UNDERSELLERS" for the most part adulterate the bread by mixing it with alum, soap, pearl-ash, chalk, Derbyshire stone flour, etc. (See the BLUE BOOK cited above, as well as the report of the *Committee of 1855 on the Adulteration of Bread*[c] and *Dr. Hassall's* book *Adulterations Detected*, 2ND EDITION, London, 1861). *Sir John Gordon* stated before the Committee of 1855 that as a result of these adulterations *"the poor men who lived on 2 lbs of bread a day did not take in one fourth of that amount of nutrition",* quite apart from the *"*injurious effects* on [their] health".* Tremenheere says (l.c., p. XLVIII) that one reason why "a very large proportion of the labouring class" are prepared to put up with the alum, stone flour, etc., despite being aware of the adulteration, is that it is *"a matter of necessity"* for them *"to take from their baker, or from the chandler's shop, whatever bread may be offered to them",* because, receiving their wages only at the end of the week, they *"only pay for the week's supply to the family at the week's end".* He adds, supporting this with statements by witnesses, that *"it is notorious that *bread composed of those mixtures is made expressly for sale in this manner*".*

[a] Marx quotes partly in French and partly in German.— *Ed.*

[b] *Report Addressed to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department Relative to the Grievances Complained of by the Journeymen Bakers...*, London, 1862.— *Ed.*

[c] *First Report from the Select Committee on Adulteration of Food, etc...*, 27 July 1855 [London, 1855].— *Ed.*

this form of payment change the fact that this price determination is related to the *value of the labour capacity*, and not to the *value of the product* or to the *value of labour*, which is not a commodity as such at all.

As has been shown,[199] the *exchange value* of labour capacity is paid when the price of the means of subsistence is paid; these means of subsistence are those customarily necessary at a given state of society for the worker to be able to maintain the level of strength, health, and general vitality needed to exert his labour capacity, as well as to perpetuate himself through his human replacements.[53)] If man is distinguished from all other animals by the boundless extension of which his needs are capable, there is, inversely, no other animal able to contract its needs to the same

53) [200] *Petty* determines the *value* of the daily wages as the value of the amount of "DAILY FOOD" sufficient for the worker "TO LIVE, LABOUR, AND GENERATE" (*Political Anatomy of Ireland* (1672), London, 1691 EDITION, [p.] 64. Quote *Dureau de la Malle* as well[a]).

* "The price of labour is always constituted of the price of necessaries." * The worker does not receive proper wages * "whenever the price of necessaries is such, that the labouring man's wages will not, *suitably* to his low rank and station, as a labouring man, support *such a family* as is often the lot of many of them to have" * (Jacob Vanderlint, *Money Answers All Things*, London, 1734, p. 15).

"The simple worker, who possesses nothing but his arms and his industry, has *nothing* unless he manages to sell his labour to others... In every kind of labour, *it must happen*, and *it does in fact happen*, that the wage of the worker is limited to what he needs to secure his own subsistence" (Turgot, *Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses* (1766). In: *Oeuvres*, ed. Daire, Vol. I, Paris, 1844, p. 10).[b]

* "The price of the necessaries of life is, in fact, the cost of producing labour" * (Malthus, *Inquiry into etc., Rent*, London, 1815, [p.] 48, note). "From a comparative review of corn prices and wages since the reign of Edward III we may draw the inference that during the course of 500 years, the earnings of a day's labour in this country have been more frequently below than above a peck" (=$^1/_4$ BUSHEL) "of wheat; that a peck of wheat may be considered as something like a middle point, or a point rather above the middle, about which the corn wages of labour, varying according to the demand and supply, have oscillated" (Malthus, *Principles of Political Economy*, 2ND EDITION, London, 1836, p[p. 240,] 254).

* "The natural price of any article is that ... bestowed upon its production... Its (labour's) natural price ... consists in such a quantity of the necessaries and comforts of life as from the nature of the climate and the habits of the country are necessary to support the labourer, and to enable him to rear such a family as may preserve, *in the market*, an undiminished supply of labour... The natural price of labour ... though it varies under different climates, and with the different stages of national improvement, may, in any given time and place, be regarded as very nearly stationary" * (R. Torrens, *An Essay on the External Corn Trade*, London, 1815, pp. 55-65 *passim*).[201]

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[a] [A. J. C. A.] Dureau de la Malle, *Économie politique des Romains*, Vol. I, Paris, 1840, pp. 127-34.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

unbelievable degree, or to restrict itself to the same minimum level of living conditions; in a word, there exists no animal with the same talent for *making itself Irish.* One cannot however speak of a *physical minimum* of existence of this kind [25] when the *value* of labour capacity is involved. With labour capacity, as with every commodity, its price can rise *above* its value, or fall *below* it, hence the value can diverge in one direction or the other from the price, which is merely the monetary expression of value itself. The level of the necessaries of life, the total value of which constitutes the value of labour capacity, may itself rise or fall. But the analysis of these variations belongs not to this discussion but to the theory of wages.[90] It will emerge in the course of this investigation that for the analysis of capital it is entirely irrelevant whether the level of the worker's needs is presupposed to be high or low.[a] As in theory, so in any case in practice, the *value* of labour capacity is regarded as a *given magnitude.* E.g., a money owner who wants to convert his money into capital, e.g. into the entrepreneurial capital of a cotton factory, enquires first and foremost about the average level of wages in the place where he intends to set up the factory. He knows that wages, like the price of cotton, constantly diverge from the average, but also that these variations cancel each other out. Hence wages enter into his provisional calculations as a *value of a given magnitude.* On the other hand, the *value of labour capacity* forms the conscious and explicit basis of the TRADES' UNIONS, the importance of which for the English working class can hardly be exaggerated. The aim of the TRADES' UNIONS is nothing other than to prevent wages from *falling* below the level that is traditional in the different branches of industry. Their aim is to prevent the *price* of labour capacity from being forced down below its *value.* They are of course aware that a change in the relation of supply and demand brings about a change in the market price. On the one hand, however, the actual occurrence of such a change is something very different from the unilateral assertion of the buyer, in this case the capitalist, that it has occurred. On the other hand, there is

"a wide difference between the demand and supply rate of wages, or the rate which the FAIR[b] operation of commodity exchange would give, *if the buyer and seller of it were on equal terms,* and that which the seller, the worker, is compelled to accept if the employer deals with each man *singly,* and dictates a reduction, taking advantage of the individual workman's accidental needs" (which do not depend on

[a] See K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, Part VII, Ch. XXV (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

[b] Marx gives the English word in brackets after the German equivalent.—*Ed.*

the general relation of supply and demand). "The workmen *combine* to put themselves on something like *equality in the bargain for the sale of their labour* with the capitalist. This is the *rationale*" (the logical basis) "of *TRADES' UNIONS.*" [54]

Their purpose is to make sure that

"the workman's present necessities do not compel him to take less than the wages which the demand and supply of labour in the trade have *previously* adjusted",[55]

thereby forcing down the *value* of labour capacity below its customary level in a particular sphere. This *value* of labour capacity is "regarded by the workmen themselves as a *minimum rate*, and by the capitalists as a *uniform rate* for all workmen in a particular enterprise".[56] The UNIONS therefore never allow their members to work *at less than* this minimum rate.[57] They are insurance associations founded by the workers themselves for this purpose. An example may explain the aim of these combinations formed among the workers for the protection of the *value* of

[54] T. J. Dunning (*Secretary to the London Consolidated Society of Bookbinders*),[102] *Trades' Unions and Strikes: Their Philosophy and Intention*, London, 1860, pp. 6, 7.

[55] L.c., p. 7.

[56] L.c., p. 17.

[57] It goes without saying that the capitalists denounce this "*UNIFORM RATE OF LABOUR*" as an encroachment on the personal freedom of the worker, and an obstacle which hinders the capitalist from following the impulses of his heart and giving special remuneration to people of special talents, etc. Mr. *Dunning*, in the pamphlet we have just quoted, not only gets to the heart of the matter but treats the issue with pleasing irony; his reply is that the TRADES' UNIONS allow the capitalist "TO PAY FOR SUPERIOR SKILL, OR WORKING ABILITY, AS MUCH MORE AS HE PLEASES", but prevent him from forcing down $^{99}/_{100}$ of the wages, i.e. the wages of the "COMMON RUN OF MEN", of the average worker in every business, below the "*minimum wage*", i.e. below the customary value of the average labour capacity. It is in order for an EDINBURGH REVIEWER ("Concerning the COMBINATIONS OF TRADE", 1860[a]) to denounce as slavery the combinations of workers against the despotism of capital which these FREE-BORN BRITONS voluntarily submit to out of an incomprehensible delusion. In time of war one always wants the enemy army to refuse to submit to the despotism of discipline. But the *REVIEWER*, in his moral indignation, discovers something still worse. The TRADES' UNIONS are sacrilegious, because they infringe the laws of *FREE TRADE*! *Quelle horreur!*[b] Mr. Dunning replies, *inter alia*: *"It would not be a *free exchange of blows* if one of the parties were to have one arm disabled or tied down while the other had the free use of both ... the employer wishes to deal with his men singly, so that whenever he pleases he may give the 'sweaters' price for their labour; their right arm as bargainers being tied down by their necessities in its sale. This he calls *free trade*, but the freedom is all on his own side. Call it *trade*, if you will, it is not free *exchange*"* (l.c., [p.] 48).

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[a] "Secret Organisation of Trade", *The Edinburgh Review*, No. 224, October 1859. Marx put "1860" by mistake.— *Ed.*

[b] What horror! — *Ed.*

labour capacity. In all the London businesses there are so-called "*SWEATERS*".[a]

"A *SWEATER* is one who takes out work to do, at the usual rate of wages, and who gets it done by others at a lower price; the difference, which is his profit, being *sweated* out of those who execute the work."[58)]

It represents nothing but the difference between the *value* of the labour capacity, which is *paid for* by the first entrepreneur, and the price paid by the *sweater* to the actual workers, which stands *below* the value of the labour capacity.[59)] It is, incidentally, a highly characteristic [...]

[259] The form of *piece wages* is used e.g. in the English POTTERIES to engage young APPRENTICES (who have reached the age of 13) at a low piece wage, with the result that they overwork themselves exactly in the period of their development, "to the great advantage of their masters". This is officially stated to be one of the causes of the degeneration of the population in the pottery factories.[41)]

An increase in the total wage (e.g. the total weekly wage) in

58) L.c., p. 6.

59) "A philanthropic association has been set up in London, the purpose of which is to undertake the contracts for military clothing on the same terms now given by the Government to contractors, and yet to pay the starving needlewomen an advance of 30 p.c. on their present wages. This result is simply obtained by getting rid of the 'MIDDLEMAN', and applying his profits to the benefit of the human material out of which they have been hitherto made. With every advantage the society can give, a needlewoman cannot earn more than 1s. for 10 hours' incessant labour at soldiers' shirts (viz. 2 shirts a day), and at cloth work not more than 1s. 6d. a day, for 12 hours' work. At contract work her wages now vary from 5d. to 8d. per 10 hours' work and she has in addition to provide the yarn, etc." (*The Times*, March 13, 1862 [p. 10]).[b]

41)* "There are, in the employ of the manufacturer, many youths who are taken as apprentices at the early age of 13 and 14 as flat-[ware] pressers and hollow-ware pressers. For the first two years they are paid weekly wages of 2s. to 3s. 6d. per week. After that they begin to work on the *piece-work system*, earning journeymen's wages. 'The practice,' Mr. Longue says, 'of employing a great number of apprentices and taking them at the age of 13 and 14 is very common in a certain class of manufactories, a practice which is not only very prejudicial to the interests of the trade, but is probably another great cause to which *the bad constitution of the potters is to be attributed.* This system, *so advantageous to the employer*, who requires quantity rather than quality of goods, tends directly to encourage the young potter *greatly to overwork himself* during the 4 or 5 years during which he is employed on the piece-work system but at low wages.' The consequences of overwork in the hot stoves at that early age may readily be anticipated"* (*Children's Employment Commission. First Report*, London, 1863, [p.] XIII).

[a] Marx gives the German equivalent in brackets after the English word.— *Ed.*

[b] Cf. this volume, p. 121, and Vol. 33 of the present edition, p. 350.— *Ed.*

branches of labour where TASK WORK has been freshly introduced—an increase resulting, say, from a higher intensity of labour—is regarded by the MASTERS as a ground in itself for a reduction in wages, once they reach a certain level, since the masters consider them now to be higher than is good for the worker. TASK WORK as a means of forcing down wages is thus directly denounced.[42)]

It should be clear in itself that the *mode in which* wages are paid in itself changes nothing in their nature, although the mode of payment—which incidentally may sometimes be restricted to one or the other method by the technical nature of the labour in question—may favour the development of the capitalist production process to a greater or lesser degree.

It is clear that *individual* differences in wages, which have more room for development with piece wages than with time wages, are only deviations from the [average] level of wages. But piece wages have a tendency to force down the level of wages itself, unless this effect is paralysed by other circumstances.

The wage, as the *overall price* of daily average labour, contradicts the concept of value. Every *price* must be reducible to a *value*, since the price is in and for itself only the monetary expression of value, and the fact that actual prices stand above or below the price which corresponds to their value does not alter anything in the situation that they are a quantitatively incongruent expression of the value of the commodity, even if they are too large or too small *quantitatively* in the case that has been presupposed. But here, in the *price of labour* there would be a *qualitative* incongruence.

Note 16. *To add to p. 244.*

* "When corn forms a part of the subsistence of the labourer, an increase in its natural price necessarily occasions an increase in the natural price of labour; or, in other words, when it requires a greater quantity of labour to procure subsistence, a greater quantity of labour, or of its produce, must remain with the labourer, as his wages. But, as a greater quantity of his labour, or (what is the same thing) of the produce of his labour, becomes necessary to the subsistence of the labouring manufacturer, and is consumed by him while at work, a smaller quantity of the productions of labour will remain with the employer" * (R. Torrens, *An Essay on the External Corn Trade*, [London,] 1815, [pp.] 235, 236).[a]

42) * "Indeed, the main objection in different trades *to working by the piece* is the complaint that, when the men are found to earn good wages at it, the *employer wishes to reduce the price of the work*, and that *it is so often made use of as a means for reducing wages*" * (Dunning, l.c., p. 22).

[a] Cf. this volume, p. 318.—*Ed.*

[260] Since the value of a commodity=the necessary labour contained in it, the value of a day's labour—performed under otherwise adequate conditions of production and with the average, *customary* social degree of intensity and skill—would be equal to the day of labour contained in it. This is nonsense and does not begin to provide a definition. Hence the *value of labour*—i.e. the price of labour (qualitatively) stripped of its monetary expression—is an irrational expression and in fact merely a converted and inverted form for the *value of labour capacity.* (*Price,* which is not reducible to *value,* whether directly or through a series of intermediate steps, expresses a merely accidental exchange of something for money. And thus things which are in the nature of the case not *commodities* and are therefore in this sense *extra commercium hominum*[a] can be converted into commodities by being exchanged for money. Hence the connection between venality and corruption and the money relation. Since money is the converted shape of the commodity, it is not evident from looking at it where it comes from, what has been converted into it, whether this may be conscience or virginity or potatoes.)

But piece wages, when they have to serve directly as the expression of a value relation, are just as irrational as time wages, the most direct form of wages. Say, for example, that an hour of labour,=6d., has been objectified in an item of a commodity (disregarding the constant capital contained in it). The worker receives 3d., or, in other words, the *value of this item* with regard to the worker is not determined by the *value* contained in it, as measured by the labour time. This wage therefore does not in fact *directly* express a value relation. What is involved here is not the measurement of the value of the item according to the labour time contained in it, but rather the reverse, the measurement of the necessary labour time the worker has performed with reference to the item. The wage *he receives is therefore a time wage,* since the item only has the task of measuring the time for which he receives the wage, and of serving as a guarantee that he has only employed *necessary labour time,* hence has worked with the appropriate intensity, and apart from this, that his labour (as a use value) is of the appropriate quality. *Piece wages* are therefore nothing but a *particular form* of time wages, which for their part are only the converted form of the *value of labour capacity,* or respectively the *prices of labour capacity* which correspond quantitatively to that value or diverge from it. If piece wages have a tendency to allow a

[a] Outside the sphere of human commerce.—*Ed.*

great room of manoeuvre for the worker's individuality, hence to raise the wages of some workers above the general level to a greater or lesser extent, they equally force the wages of other workers below that level, and reduce the level itself, owing to the extreme intensity of the competition to which the workers are spurred on under such a system.[a]

In so far as the intensity of labour—other things being equal—is measured by the amount of product delivered by the worker in a given time, one must, when comparing time wages (e.g. the wage for a working day of a given length) in different countries, compare at the same time the way in which these wages are related to each other when expressed by the piece. Only in that way can one arrive at the true proportion between necessary and surplus labour, or between wages and surplus value. It will then often occur that although time wages are apparently higher in rich countries, piece wages are higher in poor countries, and the worker in fact requires a greater portion of his working day to reproduce his wage in the latter, so that the rate of surplus value is lower here than there, and wages are therefore relatively speaking higher. Hence the real price of labour is in fact higher in poor countries than in rich ones. When one considers a number of countries, one finds that apart from duration, and productivity which is independent of the individual worker, intensity matters as much as does the length of the working day. The more intensive working day in a given country=the less intensive+$x$. If one takes the working day of the gold and silver producing countries as the measure of the international working day, the more intensive English working day of 12 hours, e.g., will be expressed in more gold than the less intensive Spanish day; i.e. it will stand higher in proportion to the average working day realised in gold and silver. A high national wage, if we consider an overall day of a given length, will stand higher not only from the point of view of use value, but also from that of exchange value, and therefore in its monetary expression as well. (If a given value of gold and silver is presupposed, a higher monetary expression must always express more value, and a lower, less value; if the money wages of workers of different countries are considered *simultaneously* the *value of gold and silver* is always presupposed as given, since even a *change* in this value occurs *simultaneously* in different countries, so that *no* change takes place as far as their *reciprocal* ratio is concerned.) A

[a] Cf. K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VI, Ch. XXII (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

higher national wage, therefore, does not in fact imply a higher *price of labour*, seen as the price of a given quantity of labour. If the working day is longer, or, and internationally this amounts to the same thing, if the labour is more intensive, wages in one country may be higher than in another, but, firstly, they may still constitute a smaller portion of the overall day, hence may still be relatively smaller, and, secondly, they may even represent a smaller *price of labour*. If, for example, the worker receives 3s. a day for 12 hours, this is less than if his day's wage amounted to $2^1/_2$s. for 11 hours. For the one hour of surplus labour includes a much greater amount of wear and tear, hence a much more rapid reproduction of labour capacity. The difference would be even greater if the $2^1/_2$s. were paid for 10 and the 3 for [...]

[263] i.e. to receive back from production a higher value than the total amount of values the capitalist advanced in and for the production process. The production of the commodities themselves only appears as a means to this end, just as the labour process in general only appears as a means of the valorisation process. The term "valorisation process" is not to be taken in its previous sense as a process of the formation of value, but as a process of the formation of surplus value.

This result is however brought about to the extent that the amount of living labour which the worker has to perform, and which therefore is objectified in the product of his labour, is greater than the amount of labour contained in the variable capital or laid out in wages, or, and this is the same thing, is greater than the amount of labour required for the reproduction of labour capacity. In so far as the value advanced becomes capital through the production of surplus value alone, the origin of capital itself, like the capitalist production process, depends above all on 2 moments:

Firstly, the *sale and purchase of labour capacity*, an act which falls within the sphere of circulation, but from the point of view of the *capitalist production process as a whole* constitutes not only a moment and a presupposition, but also the constant result of the process. This sale and purchase of labour capacity implies the separation of the objective conditions of labour—hence of the *means of subsistence and the means of production*—from living labour capacity itself, so that the latter forms the only property which the worker has at his disposal, and the only commodity he has to sell. This separation proceeds so far that the conditions of labour confront the worker as *independent persons*, for the capitalist, as owner of the

conditions of labour, is only their personification in opposition to the worker as the mere owner of labour capacity. This separation and this achievement of an independent position by the conditions of labour is presupposed before the sale and purchase of labour capacity can take place, hence before living labour can be incorporated into dead labour as means for the latter's self-preservation and self-multiplication, hence its self-valorisation. Without the *exchange* of variable capital for labour capacity, no self-valorisation of capital as a whole could take place, and therefore no capital formation or conversion of means of production and means of subsistence into capital. The second moment is the real production process, i.e. the real consumption process of the labour capacity purchased by the owner of money or commodities.*)

[264] In the real production process, the objective conditions of labour—material and means of labour—not only serve to allow living labour to objectify itself, but also to allow *more* labour to be objectified than was contained in the variable capital. They therefore serve as means for absorbing and squeezing out surplus labour, which is expressed in surplus value (and SURPLUS PRODUCE). Hence if one considers both moments together, firstly the exchange of labour capacity for variable capital, and secondly the real production process (in which living labour is incorporated into capital as an *agens*[a]), the process as a whole appears as one in

*) ["The employer is interested in keeping down the price of labour; but while that price remains the same, while at a given expense he gets a given amount of work done, his situation remains unaltered. If a farmer can get a field trenched for £12 it is indifferent to him whether he pays the whole of the sum] * to three capital workmen or to 4 ordinary ones... If the three could be hired at £3 10s. a piece, while the 4 required £3 a piece, though the wages of the three would be higher, the price of the work done by them would be lower. It is true that the causes which raise the amount of the labourer's wages often raise the rate of the capitalist's profits. If, by increased industry, one man performs the work of two, both the amount of wages and the rate of profits will generally be raised; not by the rise of wages, but *in consequence of the additional supply of labour having diminished its price*, or having diminished the period for which it has previously been necessary to advance that price. The labourer, on the other hand, is principally interested in the *amount of wages*. The amount of his wages being given, it is certainly his interest that the *price of labour should be high*, for on that depends the *degree of exertion* imposed on him"* (l.c. [N. W. Senior, *Three Lectures on the Rate of Wages...*, London, 1830, pp.] 14, 15). From the same work:

* "The labourer's situation does not depend on the amount which he receives at any one time, but on his average receipts during a given period ... the longer the period taken, the more accurate will be the estimate"* (l.c., [p.] 7). "The *year* the best period to take. Includes summer and winter wages" (l.c., [p.] 7).[202]

[a] Agent.— *Ed.*

which 1) less objectified labour is exchanged for more living labour, in that what the capitalist in reality receives in return for the wage is living labour; and 2) the objective forms which directly represent capital in the labour process, the means of production (hence objectified labour once again), serve as means for squeezing out and absorbing this living labour. The whole thing appears as a process taking place between objectified and living labour, a process which not only converts living into objectified labour, but also at the same time converts objectified labour, and therefore living labour as well, into capital. It is therefore a process in which not only a commodity is produced, but also surplus value, and therefore *capital* (cf. [pp.] 96-108).[a]

Here the means of production appear not only as means of realisation of labour, but also, to the same degree, as *means of exploitation of alien labour.*

### [379] *Ad b)*[203]: *Different Forms of Centralisation of the Means of Production Among Different Peoples*

* "Although skill and mechanical science may do much, the preponderance of the *vital element is essential in the extension of manufactures.* The system of *morcellement,* in preventing a rapid development of the population, has thus tended indirectly to retard the extension of manufactures. It has also had that effect in a direct manner. It has retained a large population attached to and occupied upon the soil. The cultivation of the soil is their primary occupation—that which is followed with pride and contentment—their employment in spinning, weaving, and the like is but a subsidiary one necessary for their support. Their savings are hoarded for the purpose of increasing their inheritance and they are not prone to wander from home in search of fresh occupation or new habits" * [*Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... 31st October 1855,* London, 1856, p. 67].

//Hence it is precisely here, where *saving (=hoarding) still exists to a relatively high degree, and is able to exist under the given circumstances, [that] the *formation of capital,* relatively speaking, and the *development of capitalist production,* is prevented, in comparison to England, by the very same economical conditions that are favourable to the hoarding, etc.//

"The position of a proprietor, the possession of a house, of a plot of ground, is the chief object also of the factory operative, and of almost every poor man who has not already a property; in fact, all look to the land... From this description of the character and occupations of a very numerous class of the French people, it will be readily inferred that, unlike that of England, the manufacturing industry of France is represented by small establishments," * [l.c.]

//this shows how necessary the expropriation of the land is for the development of large-scale industry//

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[a] See this volume, pp. 403-24.— *Ed.*

* "some moved by steam and water, many dependent for the moving power upon animal labour and many factories still entirely employing manual labour only."

This *characteristic of French industry* is well described by Baron C. Dupin, as *consequent upon the system of the tenure of land.* He says:

"As France is the country of divided properties, that of small holdings, so it is the *country of the division of industry, and of small workshops*" * (*Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... 31st October 1855,* [pp.] 67-68).

The same FACTORY INSPECTOR [as wrote this report] (A. Redgrave) provides a survey of French *TEXTILE* MANUFACTURES OF WHATEVER IMPORTANCE, for 1852, from which it appears that [the sources of power there were *steam* 2,053 (horsepower), *water* 959 and *other mechanical power* 2,057][a] (l.c., p. 69).[a)] He compares this RETURN with the * return of the number of factories, etc., presented to the House of Commons in * 1850, and shows on that basis * "the following remarkable difference between the system of textile manufacture of England and that of France",* the result being as follows:

[380] * "The *number* of factories in France is *3 times as large* as those in England, while the number of persons employed in them is *only* $^1/_5$ greater; but the very different proportions of machinery and moving power will be best shown by the following comparison:

| | France | England | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Number of factories | 12,986 | 4,330 | |
| Number of persons employed * | 706,450 | 596,082" | The French figures in fact include FACTORIES which would not be counted under this category at all in England. |

a) What appears as preliminary (primitive) accumulation of capital is in fact only the taking up of an independent position by the conditions of production—their separation from the SELF-EMPLOYING PRODUCER and his transformation into a wage labourer. This is shown in the text using the example of manufacture. But it is clear that it also applies e.g. to the relation between the FARMING CAPITALIST and the peasant, etc. "Large-scale cultivation does not require a greater amount of capital than small or medium cultivation; on the contrary, it requires less, but in these different systems capitals must be distributed differently. In large-scale cultivation the capitals applied to agriculture must be available in the hands of a small number of men who pay the wages of the labourers they employ" (Mathieu de Dombasle, *Annales agricoles de Roville,* 2nd instalment, [Paris,] 1825, p. 217).[b]

[a] The passage in square brackets was crossed out by Marx.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx quotes partly in French and partly in German.— *Ed.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *"Average number of persons in each factory | 54 | 137 | |
| Average no. of spindles to each person employed* | 7 | 43" | Hence 6 times as many in England as in France. |
| *"Average no. of persons to each loom | 2 (power* and *handloom) | 2 | (powerloom only)"* |

According to this, then, *more* people are EMPLOYED in France than in England, but only because all HANDLOOM WEAVING is excluded from the English RETURN; but the AVERAGE ESTABLISHMENT employs more than twice as many people in England as in France ($^{54}/_{136}=^{27}/_{68}=^{13}/_{34}$=almost $^{1}/_{3}$), hence there is a greater AGGLOMERATION of people under the direction of the same capital. In France there are 3 times as many factories, but only $^{1}/_{5}$ more people employed in them; hence *fewer* people are employed in proportion to the *number of* ESTABLISHMENTS. Furthermore, with regard to the MASS OF MACHINERY COMING UPON EACH PERSON, there are 6 times as many SPINDLES in England as in France. If all the persons employed were spinners, there would be 4,945,150 SPINDLES in France, and $^{1}/_{5}$ fewer in England. Thus in England, there is 1 POWERLOOM to 2 PERSONS, in France 1 POWER OR 1 HANDLOOM.

| | |
|---|---|
| PERSONS | 596,082 |
| | 43 |
| | 1,788,246 |
| | 23,843,28 |
| | 25,631,526 |

In England there are 25,631,526 [spindles]. Furthermore,* "the steam power employed in the factories of Great Britain=108,113 horses; the proportion of persons employed [is] about $5^{1}/_{2}$ persons to each horsepower of steam; the proportion of France upon this estimate should give a steam power=128,409 horses, whereas the *whole* of the steam power of France was in 1852 only=75,518 horses, produced by 6,080 steam engines, of the average power of less than $12^{1}/_{2}$ horses to each; while the number of steam engines employed in the textile factories of France appears to have been in *1852*, 2,053, and the power of these engines to [have been] equal to 20,282 horses, distributed as follows:

| | Factories | Power, in horses |
|---|---|---|
| Employed in spinning only | 1,438 | 16,494 |
| weaving only | 101 | 1,738 |
| finishing, etc. | 242 | 612 |
| other processes | 272 | 1,438 |
| | 2,053[a] | 20,282" (l.c., p. 70).[b] |

[a] The source has 2,033. Marx corrects the error.— *Ed.*

[b] *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... 31st October 1855,* London, 1856.— *Ed.*

"The absence, in France, of the bones and sinews of manufactures, coal and iron, must ever retard her progress as a manufacturing country"* (l.c.).

There is far more working machinery, and prime-moving machinery (MECHANIC POWER), per one worker in an English factory, COMPARED TO THE FRENCHMEN; and he therefore works up far more raw material in *the same* time. *The productive power of his labour is, therefore, much greater, as is the capital that employs him. The number of establishments [is] much smaller in England than in France. The number of workingmen employed on the average, in one single establishment, [is] much greater in England than in France, although the total number employed in France [is] greater than in England, although in a small proportion only, compared to the number of establishments.*

This shows that as a result of historical, etc., circumstances, which have had a varying impact upon the *relative degree of concentration of the means of production*, corresponding to the greater or lesser *expropriation* of the mass of the direct producers, there have been very different levels of development of the productive forces and of the *capitalist mode of production* altogether. But this stands in a precisely inverse relation to the "SAVING" and "HOARDING" of the direct producer himself, which is very great in France as compared with England. The scale on which the SURPLUS LABOUR of the *producers can be "saved" and "hoarded" and "accumulated" and brought together in great masses, i.e. *concentrated*, can be used as capital, corresponds exactly to the degree in which their surplus labour is hoarded, etc., by their employers instead of by themselves; corresponds, therefore, to the degree in which the great mass of the real producers is precluded from the capacity and the conditions of "saving", "hoarding", "accumulating", is in one word precluded from all power of appropriating its own surplus labour to any important degree, because of their more or less complete *expropriation from their means of production.* Capitalistic accumulation and concentration are based upon, and correspond to, the facility of *appropriating other people's surplus labour in great masses*, and the corresponding inability of these people themselves to lay any claim to their own surplus labour. It is, therefore, the most ludicrous delusion, fallacy, or imposture, to explain, and account for, this capitalistic accumulation, by confounding it with, and, as far as phraseology goes, converting it into, a process quite its opposite, exclusive of it, and corresponding to a mode of production upon whose ruins capitalistic production can alone be reared. This is one of the delusions carefully entertained by political economy. The truth is this, that in this bourgeois society,

every workman, if he is an exceedingly clever and shrewd fellow, and gifted with bourgeois instincts, and favoured by an exceptional fortune, can possibly be converted himself into an *exploiteur du travail d'autrui.*[a] But where there was no *travail* to be *exploité,* there would be no capitalist[s] nor [would there be] capitalistic production.*

[a] Exploiter of the labour of other people.— *Ed.*

## [441] CHAPTER SIX. RESULTS OF THE DIRECT PRODUCTION PROCESS

Three points need to be considered in this chapter:

1) *Commodities* as the *product of capital*, of capitalist production;

2) Capitalist production is *the production of surplus value*;

3) Finally, it is *the production and reproduction of the whole relation* through which this direct production process is characterised as *specifically capitalist.*

Of these 3 headings, No. 1 should be placed last, not first, in the final revision before printing, since it forms the *transition* to the second book—the circulation process of capital. But for the sake of convenience we shall begin with it here.

### *AD* 1) COMMODITIES AS THE PRODUCT OF CAPITAL

The *commodity*, as the elementary form of bourgeois wealth, was our starting point, the presupposition for the emergence of capital. On the other hand, *commodities* now appear as the *product of capital.*

This circular course taken by our presentation, on the one hand, corresponds to the *historical development* of capital, one of the *conditions for the emergence* of which is the *exchange of commodities, trade in commodities*; but this condition itself is formed on the basis provided by a number of *different stages of production*, which all have in common a situation in which capitalist production either does not as yet exist at all or exists only sporadically. On the other hand, the exchange of commodities in its full development and the *form of the commodity* as the universally necessary social form of the product first emerge as a *result of the capitalist mode of production.*

If, in contrast, we consider societies where *capitalist production is fully developed,* the commodity appears there as both the constant elementary presupposition of capital and, on the other hand, as the direct result of the capitalist production process.

Both commodities and money are the elementary presuppositions of capital, but they only develop into capital under certain conditions. Capital formation cannot occur except on the basis of the circulation of commodities (which includes the circulation of money), hence at an already given stage of development of trade in which the latter has achieved a certain extension. The production and circulation of commodities, however, do not conversely presuppose the capitalist mode of production for their existence; on the contrary, as I have already demonstrated,[1] they also "exist in pre-bourgeois social formations". They are the *historical presupposition* of the capitalist mode of production. [442] On the other hand, however, it is only on the basis of capitalist production that the commodity becomes *the general form of the product,* that every product must take on the commodity form, that sale and purchase seize control not only of the surplus of production but of its very substance, and that the various conditions of production themselves emerge in their totality as *commodities* which go into the production process from circulation. Hence if the *commodity* appears on the one hand as the presupposition for the formation of capital, the *commodity* also appears, on the other hand, as essentially the product and result of the capitalist production process, in so far as it is the *universal elementary form of the product.* At earlier stages of production, products assume the commodity form *in part.* Capital, in contrast, necessarily produces its product as a *commodity.*[2] Therefore, to the degree that capitalist production, i.e. capital, develops, the general laws developed with regard to the commodity—for example, the laws concerning value—are also realised in the different forms of money circulation.

Here, it is apparent how even economic categories which belong to earlier epochs of production take on a specifically different,

[1] [K. Marx,] *Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie* [Erstes Heft], Berlin, 1859, p. 74.[a]

[2] Sismondi.[b]

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 29, p. 331.—*Ed.*

[b] J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi, *Etudes sur l'économie politique*, Vol. 2, Brussels, 1838, p. 161. See present edition, Vol. 29, p. 235.—*Ed.*

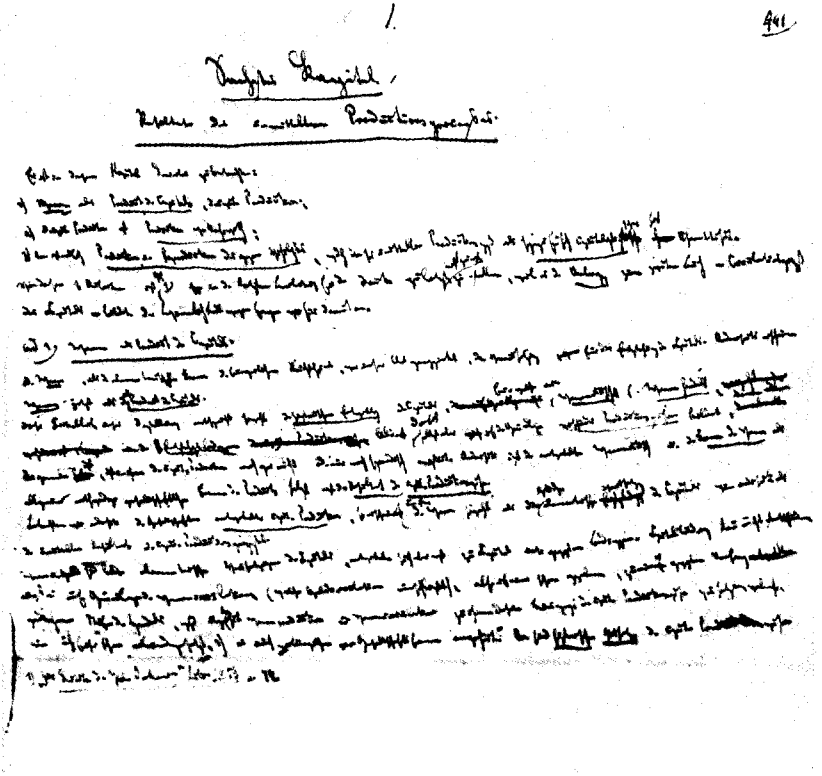

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historical, character on the basis of the capitalist mode of production.[a]

The conversion of money, which is itself only a converted form of the commodity, into capital only takes place once labour capacity has been converted into a commodity for the worker himself; hence once the category of commodity trade has taken control of a sphere which was previously excluded from it, or only sporadically included in it. Only when the working population has ceased either to form part of the *objective* conditions of labour, or to enter the market as a producer of commodities, selling its labour itself—or more precisely its labour capacity—instead of the product of its labour, does production become *the production of commodities* to its complete extent, over the whole of its length and breadth. Only then are all products converted into commodities, and only then do the objective conditions of each individual sphere of production enter into production as commodities themselves. Only on the basis of capitalist production does the commodity in fact become the *universal elementary form of wealth.*[b] If, e.g., capital has not yet taken control of agriculture, a large part of the product is still produced directly as means of subsistence, not as commodities; a large part of the working population will not yet have been converted into wage labourers, nor will a large part of the conditions of labour have been converted into capital. This implies that the developed division of labour, as it appears *accidentally* within society, and the capitalist division of labour within the workshop, condition and produce each other. For the *commodity* as the necessary form of the product, and therefore the alienation of the product as the necessary form of its appropriation, imply a fully developed *division of social labour,* while on the other hand it is only on the basis of capitalist production, hence also of the *capitalist division of labour* within the workshop, that all products necessarily assume the commodity form, and all producers are therefore necessarily commodity producers. It is therefore only with the coming of capitalist production that use value is first generally mediated through exchange value.

*3 points.*

1) Capitalist production is the first to make the commodity the universal form of all products.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 39-44.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., Vol. 30, p. 69. —*Ed.*

2) Commodity production necessarily leads to capitalist production, once the worker has ceased to be a part of the conditions of production (slavery, serfdom) or the naturally evolved community no longer remains the basis [of production] (India). From the moment at which labour power itself in general becomes a commodity.

3) Capitalist production annihilates the [original] basis of commodity production, isolated, independent production and exchange between the owners of commodities, or the exchange of equivalents. The exchange between capital and labour power becomes formal: [...][a]

From this point of view the form in which the conditions of production themselves enter into the *labour process* is also entirely irrelevant. E.g. it is a matter of indifference whether they only give up their value to the product gradually, as in the case of a part of the constant capital, machinery, etc., or enter into it materially, as with the raw material; whether, as in the case of the seed in agriculture, a part [443] of the product is directly re-employed by the producer himself as a means of labour, or is first sold and then converted afresh into a means of labour. Whatever their role as use values in the production process, all the means of labour that have been produced now function at the same time as elements in the *valorisation process.* To the extent that they are not converted into real money, they are converted into money of account, they are treated as exchange values, and the value element they add to the product in one way or another is precisely calculated. In the same measure as e.g. agriculture becomes a branch of industry carried on in the capitalist fashion—as capitalist production settles itself down in the country—in the same measure as agriculture produces for the market, produces *commodities,* articles for sale and not for its own direct consumption, in that measure does it calculate its expenditure, treat each ITEM of it as a commodity (whether it buys from another or from itself, i.e. *from production*), and therefore—to the extent that the commodity is treated as independent exchange value—as *money.* Therefore since wheat, hay, cattle, seed of all kinds, etc., are *sold* as commodities—and without being sold they do not count as products at all—they enter into production as *commodities,* or, respectively, as money. The *conditions of production,* the *elements of products,* naturally become *commodities* in the same

[a] This later insertion was left unfinished by Marx.— *Ed.*

measure as the *products* do—for they are identical with the products—and in so far as the valorisation process comes into consideration they are calculated in the independent form of exchange value, as *monetary magnitudes.* The direct production process is here always and inseparably a *labour process* and a *valorisation process,* just as the product is a *unity of use value and exchange value,* i.e. a *commodity.* Leaving aside this formal aspect, we can say that in the same measure as e.g. the FARMER's *purchases of what he has to lay out* expand, so also does the trade in seed, in manure, in breeding cattle, etc.—whereas he *sells* his income. Thus for the individual FARMER these conditions of production also pass in actuality out of circulation and enter into his production process; circulation becomes in effect the presupposition of his production, since the conditions of production increasingly become commodities really *bought* (or *purchaseable*). In any case, for him they are already commodities, as articles, means of labour, which form at the same time *parts of the value* of his capital. (Hence if he returns them *in natura* to production he reckons them as having been sold to him *qua the producer.*) And indeed this develops in the same proportion as the capitalist mode of production develops in agriculture; hence in proportion as it is carried on increasingly in a factory-like fashion.

The character of the *commodity* as the *universally necessary form of the product,* as the specific peculiarity of the capitalist mode of production, is palpably demonstrated in the large scale of production, the one-sidedness and the *massive nature of the product* brought about with the development of capitalist production. This mode of production imposes on the product a character which is social and is firmly bound up with the social context, while making its direct relation as use value to the satisfaction of the producer's needs appear, in contrast, as something wholly accidental, irrelevant and inessential. This mass product must be realised as exchange value, it must pass through the metamorphosis of the commodity, not only as a necessity for the subsistence of the producer who produces as a capitalist, but also as a necessity for the renewal and continuity of the production process itself. And this is why it passes into the sphere of trade. Its buyer is not [444] the direct consumer but the merchant, who effects the metamorphosis of the commodity as a business in its own right.[3] The

[3] Sismondi.[a]

[a] J.C.L. Simonde de Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes d'économie politique...*, 2nd ed., Vol. I, Paris, 1827, pp. 81-82.— *Ed.*

product finally develops its character as a commodity, and hence its character as exchange value, because under capitalist production the number of different spheres of production, hence the spheres of the product's exchangeability, are constantly multiplied.[4)]

//We proceed from the commodity, this specific social form of the product, as the basis and the presupposition of capitalist production. We take the individual product into our hands and analyse the formal determinations it contains as a commodity, which mark it out as a commodity. Before capitalist production, a large part of the products was not produced as commodities, not to serve as commodities; while, conversely, a large part of the products which entered production did not do so as commodities, did not enter the production process as commodities. The conversion of products into commodities only occurs at individual points, is limited only to the surplus of production, or only to individual spheres of production (the products of manufacture), etc. The whole range of products neither enters into the process as articles of trade, nor does it emerge from it as such.[5)] Nevertheless, commodity circulation, and money circulation within certain limits, hence a certain degree of development of trade, are the *presupposition*, the *starting point*, *of capital formation* and the capitalist mode of production. It is as such a presupposition that we treat the commodity, since we proceed from it as the simplest element in capitalist production. On the other hand, the *commodity* is the product, the result of capitalist production. What appears first as its element is later revealed to be its own product. Only on the basis of capitalist production does the commodity become the universal form of the product, and the more this production develops, the more do all the ingredients of production enter into the production process as commodities.//

The *commodity* as it emerges from capitalist production is determined differently from the commodity as it was at the starting point, as the element, the presupposition, of capitalist

4) Cf. [K. Marx,] *Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie* [Erstes Heft], p. 17.[a] See also *Wakefield.*[b]

5) See the *French work* of ABOUT 1752 in which it is asserted that corn was never regarded as an article of trade in France before [1660].[204]

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 29, p. 281.— *Ed.*

[b] E. G. Wakefield's commentary to Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations.* In: A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I, London, 1835, p. 64. See also present edition, Vol. 29, p. 163, and Vol. 32, pp. 388, 422.— *Ed.*

production. We started with the individual commodity as an independent article in which a specific quantity of labour time was objectified, and which therefore had an exchange value of a given magnitude.[a]

Henceforth the commodity appears in a dual determination:

1) What is objectified in it, apart from its use value, is a specific quantity of socially necessary labour, but whereas in the commodity as such it remains entirely undetermined (and is in fact a matter of indifference) from whom this objectified labour derives, etc., the *commodity* as the *product of capital* contains in part paid, and in part unpaid, labour. It has already been remarked[b] that this expression is not correct in so far as the labour itself is not bought and sold directly. But a certain total amount of labour is *objectified* in the commodity. Part of this objectified labour (leaving aside constant capital, for which an equivalent has been paid) is received in exchange for the equivalent of the wage; another part is appropriated by the capitalist without any equivalent. Both parts are objectified, and are therefore present as parts of the value of the commodity. And to characterise the one as paid, the other as unpaid, labour, serves the purposes of abbreviation.

[445] 2) The individual commodity not only appears materially as a part of the total product of the capital, as an aliquot part of the amount produced by it. Now we no longer have in front of us the individual, independent commodity, the individual product. It is not individual commodities which appear as the result of the process, but a *mass of commodities* in which the value of the capital advanced+the surplus value, the appropriated surplus labour, has been reproduced. Each of these individual commodities is a repository of the value of the *capital* and the surplus value produced by it. The labour applied to the individual commodity can no longer be calculated at all—if only because this would be a calculation of the average, hence a notional estimate, which covers the part of the constant capital which enters into the value of the total product merely as depreciation, and also the conditions of production that are consumed communally, and finally because it is the directly social labour, which is balanced out and estimated as the average labour of the many cooperating individuals. The labour applied to the individual commodity counts only as the aliquot part of the total labour which falls to this commodity and is estimated *notionally*. In the *determination of the price* of the

[a] See present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 300-01.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 359.—*Ed.*

individual commodity this labour appears as a merely notional part of the total product in which the capital is reproduced.

3) The *commodity* now reveals itself as such—as the repository of the total value of the capital+the surplus value, as opposed to the commodity which originally appeared to us as independent—as the *product of capital*, in reality as the converted form of the capital which has now been valorised—in the *scale* and the *dimensions* of the *sale* which must take place in order that the old capital value may be realised, along with the surplus value it has created. To achieve this it is by no means enough for the individual commodities or part of the individual commodities to be sold at their value.

We saw earlier[a] that the commodity must acquire a double mode of existence in order to be made fit for circulation. Not only must it confront the buyer as an article with particular useful qualities, as a particular *use value* which satisfies particular needs, whether of individual or of productive consumption. Its exchange value must have acquired a *form* different and distinct from its use value, independent of it, although only notionally. It must *appear* as the unity of use value and exchange value, but at the same time it must appear as this duality. Its exchange value acquires this independent form, a form entirely independent of its use value, as the pure existence of materialised social labour time, in its *price*, that expression in which exchange value is expressed as exchange value, i.e. as *money*; and indeed it is expressed in this way in *money of account*.

There are in fact individual commodities, as for example railways, large buildings, etc., which are on the one hand so continuous in their nature, and on the other hand so extensive, that the entire product of the capital advanced appears as one *single* commodity. In this field, therefore, the law demonstrated in relation to single commodities[b] would apply, namely that their *price* is nothing but their value expressed in money. The total value of the capital+the surplus value would be contained in the single commodity, and could be expressed in money of account. The price determination of a commodity of this kind would not differ from that given earlier for the single commodity, because here the *total product* of the capital would really be present as a *single* commodity. It is therefore unnecessary to discuss this point any further.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 29, p. 307.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., Vol. 28, pp. 74, 124.—*Ed.*

The majority of commodities, however, are discrete in nature (and even the continuous ones can in most cases be treated notionally as discrete magnitudes), i.e., considered as amounts of a given article, they are divisible according to the *measures* customarily applied to them as specific use values, [446] e.g. *a* QUARTERS of wheat, *b* centners of coffee, *c* yards of linen, *x* dozens of knives—in this case the individual commodity itself counts as the unit of measurement, etc.

We now have to look at the *total product* of the capital, which can always be considered as a *single* commodity, whatever its scale, and whether it is discrete or continuous; it can be considered as a single use value, and its exchange value therefore also appears in the *total price* as the expression of the total value of this total product.

When the *valorisation process* was examined,[a] it was shown that a part of the constant capital advanced, such as buildings, machines, etc., gives up to the product only the specific quantities of value it loses in the labour process as means of labour, and that it never enters into the product materially, in the form of its own use value. It was also shown that it continues to serve in the labour process over a long period, and that the part of the value that it gives up over a particular period of time to the product produced during that period can be estimated according to the ratio between that particular period and the total period during which it is used up as a means of labour, thereby losing its total value and transferring its total value to the product. E.g. if it serves for 10 years, a calculation of the average will show that it gives up $^1/_{10}$ of its value to the product in one year, and adds $^1/_{10}$ of its value to the annual product of the capital. In so far as this part of the constant capital continues to serve as a means of labour, after disposing of a given quantity of products, and to represent a definite value, according to the average estimate indicated above, it does not enter into the formation of the value of the products that have been disposed of. In general, its total value is only a determinant of the value of the products disposed of, the products for the production of which it has already served, in so far as the value given up by it during a particular period of time is estimated as an aliquot part of its total value, determined by the ratio between the period of time during which it has served and given up a part of its value and the total period of time during which it

[a] This refers to a lost section of the manuscript of 1863-64. Cf. present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 73-76, and this volume, pp. 187-90.—*Ed.*

serves and gives up its total value to the product. For the rest, the value it continues to have does not come into consideration when the value of the amount of commodities already disposed of is estimated. It can therefore be set at nothing in relation to this amount. Or, and this comes to the same thing, the matter can be regarded, for the sake of simplification, for the present purpose, as if the *total capital,* including the part of the constant capital which only enters completely into the product over long periods of production, were entirely contained, dissolved, in the product of the total capital which we are about to consider.

Let us assume that the total product=1,200 yards of linen. Let the capital advanced be=£100, of which £80 represents constant capital, and £20 variable capital, and let the rate of surplus value be=100%, so that the worker works half the working day for himself, and the other half for the capitalist, without receiving payment. In this case, the surplus value that has been produced=£20, and the total value of the 1,200 yards=£120, £80 of which represents value added by the constant capital, and £40 newly added labour. Half of the latter replaces the wage, the other half represents surplus labour [447] or forms surplus value.

Since the elements of capitalist production, only excepting the newly added labour, already enter into the production process as commodities, hence with specific prices, the value added by the constant capital is already given as a *price,* e.g. in the above example it is £80 for flax, machines, etc. But as regards the newly added labour, if the wage determined by the necessary means of subsistence=£20, and the surplus labour is of the same amount as the paid labour, it must be expressed in a price of £40, since the value in which the [newly] added labour is expressed depends on its quantity but not by any means on the situation in which it is paid. The total price of the 1,200 yards produced by the capital of £100 therefore=£120.

How in this case is the value of the individual commodity to be determined, here the value of a yard of linen? Evidently by dividing the *total price* of the total product by the number of individual products as they result from a division of the product into aliquot parts according to measurements which are given. The *total price* of the product must be divided by the *number* of products; there *use value* provides the yardstick, hence in this case it is $\frac{£120}{1{,}200 \text{ yards}}$. This gives a price of 2s. for the individual yard of linen. If the yard which serves as the measure of the linen is now further developed as a yardstick, by subdividing it into

smaller aliquot portions, this will make it possible to go further, and to determine the price of half a yard, and so on. Thus the price of the individual commodity is determined by calculating its use value as an aliquot part of the total product and its price as a corresponding aliquot part of the total value brought forth by the capital.

We have seen[a] that in accordance with the different levels of *productivity* or *productive power of labour* the same labour time will be expressed in very diverse amounts of produce, or an exchange value of equal magnitude will be expressed in entirely different quantities of use value. In the case under consideration, assume that the productivity of linen weaving increases fourfold. The constant capital, flax, machines, etc., that was set in motion by the labour expressed in £40 was=£80. If the productivity of weaving labour were to increase fourfold, it would set in motion 4 times as much constant capital; thus £320's worth of flax, etc. And the number of yards would increase fourfold, it would grow from 1,200 to 4,800. The newly added weaving labour, however, would continue to be expressed in £40, since the quantity of labour would have remained unchanged. The total price of the 4,800 yards therefore now=£360, and the price of a single yard$=\frac{£360}{4{,}800 \text{ yards}}=1\,{}^1/_2$s. The price of a single yard would have fallen by $^1/_4$, from 2s., or 24d., to $1\,{}^1/_2$s. or 18d., because the constant capital contained in the yard would have absorbed $^1/_4$ less additional living labour during its conversion into linen, or the same quantity of weaving labour would have been distributed over a greater quantity of product.[205] Even so, our present purpose is still better served if we take an example in which the total capital advanced remains *the same*, but the productive power of labour is expressed in very diverse quantities of the same [448] use value, e.g. wheat, merely as a result of natural conditions, e.g. seasonable or unseasonable weather. Let us assume that the quantity of labour SPENT UPON AN ACRE OF LAND, e.g. IN THE PRODUCTION OF WHEAT, is expressed in £7, of which £4 is newly added labour, and £3 represents labour already objectified in constant capital. Let £2 of the £4 be wages and £2 surplus labour, in line with the ratio already presupposed of $\frac{\text{surplus labour}}{\text{necessary labour}}=\frac{100}{100}$. But let the CROP VARY according to the variations in the seasons.

[a] See present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 278-82.—*Ed.*

| *Total in qrs* | | *ONE qr* | *Value or price of the total product* |
|---|---|---|---|
| "WHEN HE HAS | 5 | HE CAN SELL 28s. | £7 |
| | $4\frac{1}{2}$ | ABOUT 31 | ditto |
| | 4 | 35 | " |
| | $3\frac{1}{2}$ | 40 | " |
| | 3 | 46s. 8d. | " |
| | $2\frac{1}{2}$ | 56 | " |
| | 2 | 70 | "[6] |

The *value* or the *price* of the total product of the capital of £5 advanced for 1 ACRE always remains the same here, £7, since the amount of objectified and newly added living labour advanced remains constant. But this same labour is expressed in very different numbers of quarters, and the single quarter, the same aliquot part of the total product, therefore has very diverse prices. This variation in the prices of the individual commodities produced with the same capital does not however lead to any change at all in the rate of surplus value, in the ratio of surplus value to variable capital, or in the proportion in which the total working day is divided into paid and unpaid labour. The total value in which the newly added labour is expressed remains the same, because the same quantity of living labour as before is added to the constant capital, and the proportion between the surplus value and the wage, or between the paid and the unpaid labour, remains the same whether the yard, owing to differences in the productivity of labour, costs 2s. or $1\frac{1}{2}$s. What has altered in regard to the individual yard is the total quantity of weaving labour added to it; but the proportion in which this total quantity is divided into paid and unpaid labour remains the same for each aliquot part—whether larger or smaller—of this total quantity which is contained in the individual yard. Similarly, under the *given* presupposition, in the second case—with a decline in the productivity of labour—a rise in the price of the quarter [of wheat], the fact that the newly added labour is distributed over fewer quarters, with a greater quantity of newly added labour therefore falling to the share of the individual quarter, [449] would make absolutely no difference to the proportion in which this larger or smaller quantity of labour absorbed by the individual quarter is divided between paid and unpaid labour. Nor does it make any difference, either to the total surplus value the capital has produced, or to the aliquot part of the surplus value contained

[6] [J. Arbuthnot,] *An Inquiry into the Connection etc. By a Farmer,* London, 1773, p. 108.

in the value of the individual quarter, in relation to the value newly added to it. If under the given presuppositions more living labour is added to a specific quantity of the means of labour, more paid and more unpaid labour is added to it in identical proportions; if less living labour is added, less paid and less unpaid labour is added, again in identical proportions, but the *ratio* between these two components of the newly added labour remains *unchanged.*

Leaving aside a number of distorting influences, which it is not relevant to consider for the present purpose, it is the tendency and the result of the capitalist mode of production continuously to raise the productivity of labour, hence continuously to increase the amount of the means of production converted into products with the same additional labour, continuously to distribute the newly added labour over a greater quantity of products, so to speak, and therefore to reduce the *price* of the individual commodity, or to *cheapen* commodity prices in general. But in and for itself this cheapening of commodity prices involves absolutely no change, either in the *amount* of surplus value produced by the same variable capital, or in the proportional division of the newly added labour contained in the individual commodity into paid and unpaid, or in the rate of surplus value realised in the individual commodity. If the conversion of a specific quantity of flax, spindles, etc., into a yard of linen absorbs less of the weaver's labour than before, this does not in the least alter the proportional division of this greater or lesser amount of labour into paid and unpaid. The *absolute quantity* of living labour added afresh to a given quantity of already objectified labour does not affect the *proportion* in which this amount, which can be larger or smaller according to the particular commodity, is divided into paid and unpaid labour. In spite of the variation in commodity prices arising out of a variation in the productive power of labour, i.e. a reduction in these commodity prices and a cheapening of the commodity, the proportion between paid and unpaid labour, and altogether the rate of surplus value realised by capital, may therefore remain *constant.* If a variation occurs, not in the productive power of the labour newly added to the means of labour, but in the productive power of the labour that creates the means of labour, the price of which will accordingly rise or fall, it is equally clear that the variation thus effected in the *prices of the commodities* would not alter the unchanging division of the additional living labour contained in them into paid and unpaid labour.

Conversely. If *variation in the prices of commodities* does not exclude a constant rate of surplus value, an unchanging division of the additional labour into paid and unpaid, *constancy in the prices of commodities* does not exclude variation in the rate of surplus value, changes in the proportional division of the newly added labour into paid and unpaid. In order to simplify matters let us assume that, in the branch of labour under discussion, no *variation* takes place *in the productive power of any of the labour contained in it*, hence in the above case, for example, there is no variation in the productivity of weaving labour or the labour that provides the flax, the spindles, etc. On the above assumption, £80 is laid out in constant capital, £20 in variable capital. This £20 is supposed to express the 20 days (e.g. weekdays) of 20 weavers. According to our presupposition, they produced £40, hence worked half a day for themselves and half a day for the capitalist. But it is further [450] posited that the working day was=10 hours, and is now extended to 12, so that the surplus labour is increased by 2 hours per man. The total working day would have grown by $^1/_5$, from 10 hours to 12. Since $10:12=16\,^2/_3:20$, no more than $16\,^2/_3$ weavers would now be necessary to set in motion the same constant capital of £80, hence to produce 1,200 yards of linen. (For 20 men working 10 hours account for a total of 200 hours, and $16\,^2/_3$ men working 12 hours also account for 200 hours.) Or, if we keep the 20 workers as before, they will now add 240 hours of labour instead of the previous 200 hours. And since the value of 200 hours per day per week is expressed in £40, the value of 240 hours per day per week would be expressed in £48. But since the productive power of labour, etc., has remained the same, and since there are £80 of constant capital for £40 [of variable], there would be £96 of constant capital for £48 [of variable]. The capital advanced would therefore amount to £116, and the commodity value produced by it would=£144. But since £120[206]=1,200 yards, £128=1,280 yards. A single yard would therefore cost $\frac{£128}{1{,}280}=£^1/_{10}=2s.$ The price of the single yard would be unchanged, because it would still cost the same total quantity of weaving labour newly added and labour objectified in the means of labour. The surplus value contained in each yard, however, would have grown. Previously there was £20 of surplus value for 1,200 yards, hence 4d. for one yard ($\frac{£20}{1{,}200}=[£]^2/_{120}=£^1/_{60}=^1/_3s.=4d.$). Now there is £28 [of surplus value] for 1,280 yards, [and one yard] now [contains] $5^1/_4$d. [of

surplus value], since $5\,^1/_4$d.×1,280=£28, which is the actual total of the surplus value contained in the 1,280 yards. Similarly, the additional £8 of surplus value are=80 yards (at 2s. per yard), and in fact the number of yards has risen from 1,200 to 1,280.

Here, then, the *price of the commodity* remains the same; the productive power of labour remains the same. The amount of capital laid out in wages remains the same. Nevertheless, the total amount of surplus value rises from 20 to 28, or by 8, which is $^2/_5$ of 20; since $8\times{}^5/_2={}^{40}/_2=20$, it has risen by 40%. This is the percentage by which the total surplus value has grown. But as far as the *rate of surplus value* is concerned, it was originally 100% and is now 140%.

These blasted figures can be corrected later. For the moment it is enough to say that surplus value grows where *commodity prices remain constant* [451] because the same amount of variable capital sets in motion *more* labour, and therefore produces not only *more* commodities of the same *price*, but more commodities containing *more* unpaid labour.

*The correct calculation* is shown in the following comparison. But first certain additional prefatory remarks need to be made:

If 20*v* originally=20 ten-hour days (which one can multiply by 6 to arrive at weeks, without changing matters) and if the working day=10 hours, the total amount of labour=200 hours.

If the day is prolonged from 10 to 12 hours (and surplus labour from 5 to 7) the total labour of the 20=240 hours.

If 200 hours of labour are represented in £40, 240 are represented in £48.

If 200 hours set a constant capital of £80 in motion, 240 will set in motion a capital of £96.

If 200 hours produce 1,200 yards, 240 hours, in contrast, will produce 1,440 yards.

And now the comparison follows:

| | *c* | *v* | *s* | *Value of total product* | *Rate of surplus value* | *Total surplus value* | *Yards* | *Price per yard* | *Amount of weaving labour per yard* | *Surplus labour* | *Rate of surplus labour* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I) | £80 | £20 | £20 | £120 | 100% | 20 | 1,200 | 2s. | 8d. | 4d. | 4:4=100% |
| II) | £96 | £20 | £28 | £144 | 140% | 28 | 1,440 | 2s. | 8d. | $4\,^2/_3$d. | $4\,^2/_3:3\,^1/_3=140\%$ |

5:7=the number of hours rose from 5 to 7.

As a result of the increase in *absolute surplus value,* i.e. the prolongation of the working day, the ratio [between the paid and unpaid parts] in the total amount of labour applied has risen from 5:5 to 5:7, a rise from 100% to 140%; this ratio is equally reflected in the *single* yard. But the total amount of surplus value is determined by the *number* of workers employed at this higher rate. If the number of workers had fallen as a result of the longer working day—only the same quantity of labour being performed as before, but a smaller number of workers being employed owing to the longer working day—the rate of surplus value would increase *to the same extent,* but its absolute amount would not.

Let us now assume the opposite, that the *working day* remains *the same,*=10 hours, but that as a result of an *increase in the productivity of labour,* an increase which takes place not in the constant capital that employs the weaving labour, nor in this labour itself, but rather in other branches of industry, the products of which enter into the wage, necessary labour is reduced from 5 to 4 hours. Then the workers would work 6 hours for the capitalist instead of 5 as before, and 4 for themselves instead of 5. [452] The ratio of surplus labour to necessary labour was 5:5=$^{100}/_{100}$, 100%; but now it is 6:4=150:100=150%.

20 men continue to be employed for 10 hours,=200 hours [altogether]; they continue to set in motion the same constant capital of £80. The value of the total product continues to be £120, the number of yards=1,200, the price of the yard=2s. The reason is that nothing at all has changed in the prices of production. The total product (in value) of 1 [worker] was £2, and of 20 was [£]40. But if at 5 hours a day the week=[£]20, 4=[£]16, and he buys the same quantity of means of subsistence with the £16 as previously [with £20]. The 20 men, who now only perform 4 hours of necessary labour, are paid £16 instead of [£]20, as previously. Variable capital has fallen from 20 to 16, but continues to set in motion the same absolute quantity of labour. However, this quantity is now divided differently. Previously $^1/_2$ was paid, $^1/_2$ unpaid. Now 4 hours of the 10 are paid and 6 unpaid, hence $^2/_5$ paid and $^3/_5$ unpaid; in other words the ratio is now 6:4 instead of 5:5; thus the rate of surplus value is 150% instead of 100%. The rate of surplus value has risen by 50%. There would be $3^1/_5$d. of paid and $4^4/_5$d. of unpaid weaving labour in each yard; this is $^{24}/_5$:$^{16}/_5$ or 24:16, as above. We should therefore have:

| | *c* | *v* | *s* | *Value of total product* | *Rate of surplus value* | *Total surplus value* | *Yards* | *Price per yard* | *Amount of weaving labour* | *Surplus labour* | *Rate of surplus labour* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| III) | 80 | 16 | 24 | £120 | 150% | 24 | 1,200 | 2s. | 8d. | $4^4/_5$d. | $4^4/_5:3^1/_5=$ 24:16=150% |

It will be noted here that the total amount of surplus value is only 24, not 28 as in II. But if in III the same amount of variable capital (20) were to be laid out, the *total amount* of labour employed would have risen, since it remains the same if a variable capital of 16 is laid out. In fact it would have risen by $^1/_4$, since 20 is $^1/_4$ more than 16. *There would have been a rise in the total quantity of labour employed, not just in the proportion of surplus labour to paid labour.* Since 16 yields £40 at this new rate, 20 yields [£]50, [£]*30* of which is surplus value. If £40=200 hours, [£]50=250 hours. And if 200 set in motion 80*c*, 250 hours set in motion 100*c*. Finally, if 200 hours produce 1,200 yards, 250 hours produce 1,500. The calculation would be as follows:

| | *c* | *v* | *s* | *Total value* | *Rate of surplus value* | *Total surplus value* | *Yards* | *Price per yard* | *Amount of weaving labour* | *Surplus labour* | *Rate [of surplus labour]* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IIIa) | 100 | 20 | 30 | 150 | 150% | 30 | 1,500 | 2s. | 8d. | $4^4/_5$d. | 150% |

It should in general be noted that if, as a result of a fall in wages (which is a result here of an increase in productive power), *less variable capital* is needed to employ the same amount of labour, *this amount of labour is employed with a greater* advantage for capital, in that the paid part of this amount falls in comparison with the unpaid part. Furthermore, if the capitalist continues to lay out *the same* amount of *variable capital*, he makes a twofold gain, because he not only achieves a *higher rate of surplus value* on the same total quantity, but exploits a *greater quantity of labour* at *this higher rate of surplus value,* *although his variable capital has not increased in magnitude.*

[453] We have therefore seen that:

1) the rate and quantity of surplus value may *remain constant* with *changing commodity prices*;

2) the rate and quantity of surplus value may *vary* with *constant commodity prices.*

As was developed in our examination of the production of surplus value, commodity prices as such only influence surplus

value in so far as they enter into the reproduction costs of labour capacity, thereby affecting the latter's own value; this effect may over short periods be cancelled out by countervailing influences.

It follows from 1) that the fall in commodity prices which arises from the development of the productive power of labour, the resultant cheapening of commodities—leaving aside the group of commodities which make labour capacity itself cheaper when they become cheaper (just as, inversely, their increased dearness makes labour capacity more expensive)—admittedly implies that less labour is materialised in the individual commodities, or that the same labour is represented by a greater quantity of commodities, for which reason a smaller aliquot part of the labour falls to the share of each individual commodity, but it does not in itself imply any change in the *proportional division* of the labour contained in each individual commodity into *paid* and *unpaid.* The two laws developed here are universally valid for all commodities, including therefore those that do not enter directly or indirectly into the reproduction of labour capacity, and the prices of which are therefore irrelevant to the determination of the *value* of labour capacity itself, whether they have risen or fallen.

It follows from 2)—see remarks *ad* III) and IIIa)—that although the *commodity prices* remain the same, and the productive power of the living labour employed directly in the branch of production which results in the commodity remains the same, the *rate and the amount of surplus value* may rise. //It would have been equally possible to demonstrate the *obverse* of this phenomenon, namely that prices may fall either if the total working day is reduced, or if the *necessary labour time* increases owing to an increase in the prices of other commodities, while the working day remains constant.// This is the case because a *variable capital of a given magnitude* may employ very unequal quantities of *labour of a given productive power* (and the prices of the commodities remain the same as long as the productive power of labour does not alter) or a *variable capital of varying magnitude* employs equal quantities of labour of a given productive power. In short, a variable capital of a given magnitude of value does not by any means always set in motion the same amount of living labour, and therefore, in so far as it is regarded as a mere symbol for the quantities of labour it sets in motion, it is a symbol of *variable magnitude.*

This last remark—*ad* 2) and law No. 2—shows how the commodity as a *product of capital,* as an *aliquot constituent of capital,* and as a repository of capital which has valorised itself and

therefore contains an aliquot part of the surplus value created by capital, must be considered differently from the way we viewed it previously, at the beginning of our examination of the individual, independent commodity.[a]

(When we speak of the prices of commodities, we always assume that the *overall price* of the mass of commodities produced by capital=the *overall value* of this mass of commodities, and therefore that the *price* of the aliquot part, of the individual commodity,=the aliquot part of that overall value. *Price* here is in general only the monetary expression of *value*. Prices as distinct from values are not as yet present at all in our treatment of the question.)

[454] (//*Transition* from Sections 2 and 3 of this chapter to *3) which is first treated here as 1 (cf. p. 444)*[b]

We have seen[207] that capitalist production is the production of surplus value, and as such (in *accumulation*) it is at the same time the *production of capital* and the *production* and reproduction of the whole capital-relation on an ever more extensive scale. Surplus value, however, is only produced as a part of the commodity's value, just as it is then expressed in a specific quantity of a commodity or in SURPLUS PRODUCE. Only as a *producer of commodities* does capital produce *surplus value* and reproduce itself. Therefore what we have again to concern ourselves with next is the *commodity* as its *direct product*. As we have seen,[c] however, *commodities* are *incomplete results* from the point of view of their *form* (according to their formal economic determination). They have to pass through certain changes of form—they must re-enter the process of exchange, in which they undergo these changes of form—before they can again function as wealth, whether in the form of money or as use values. We therefore have now to examine the *commodity* more closely as the immediate result of the capitalist production process, and following that the further processes it has to pass through.//) (Commodities are the elements of capitalist production, and they are its *product*; they are the form in which capital reappears at the end of the production process.)

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[a] See this volume, pp. 362-63. See also K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part I, Ch. I.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 362.—*Ed.*

[c] See present edition, Vol. 29, p. 307.—*Ed.*

The *individual commodity*—as the product of capital, in fact as the elementary constituent of reproduced and valorised capital—displays the difference between it and the individual commodity from which we started out as the presupposition of capital formation, the commodity considered in its *independence.* One point of difference—apart from the point considered previously, relating to the determination of the price—is that when the commodity is sold at its price the *value* of the capital advanced to produce it is not realised, still less the *surplus value* created by that capital. Indeed, considered merely as the repositories of capital, not only materially, as parts of the use value of which the capital consists, but also as repositories of the *value* of which the capital consists, commodities can be sold at the price which corresponds to their value and nevertheless be sold *below* their value as *products of capital* and as *constituents of the overall product in which the capital that has been valorised exists initially.*

In the example above, a capital of £100 was reproduced in 1,200 yards of linen, at a price of £120. In view of our earlier discussion, where we had $c=80$, $v=20$, $s=20$, we can express matters like this: the £80 of constant capital is represented by 800 yards, or $^2/_3$ of the overall product, the £20 of variable capital, or wages, is represented by 200 yards, or $^1/_6$ of the overall product, and the £20 of surplus value is similarly represented by 200 yards, or a further $^1/_6$ of the overall product. If now 800 yards, for example, rather than 1 yard, were sold at their price,=£80, and if the other 2 parts [of the product] could not be sold, the original capital value of 100 would only be reproduced to an extent of $^4/_5$. The 800 yards, in their capacity as repositories of the total capital of 100, i.e. as the sole *actual product* of this total capital, would be sold *below their value,* in fact $^1/_3$ below their value, since the value of the overall product=120, and 80=only $^2/_3$ of the overall product. The missing value, £40, is equal to the remaining third of that product. The 800 yards mentioned above could also be sold *above* their value, if we look at them in isolation, and they would then nevertheless be sold *at* their value as repositories of the total capital, if, for example, they were themselves sold at 90, and the remaining 400 yards were sold at only £30. But here we shall disregard entirely the sale of separate portions of the overall quantity of commodities *above* or *below* their value, since according to our original presupposition commodities are in general sold *at* their value.

[455] What is involved here is not only the sale of the commodity at its value, as in the case of the independent commodity, but its sale as repository of the capital advanced for its production and therefore

its sale at its value (price) as an *aliquot part of the capital's overall product.* If only 800 out of this overall product of 1,200 yards=£120 are sold, the 800 do not represent $^2/_3$ aliquot parts of the total value, but the total value itself; they therefore represent a value of 120 and not one of 80, and the individual commodity is not=[£]$^{80}/_{800}$=$^8/_{80}$=$^4/_{40}$=$^2/_{20}$=2s., but=$^{120}/_{800}$=$^{12}/_{80}$=$^3/_{20}$=3s. According to this, the individual commodity would be sold 50% too dear, if it were sold at 3s. instead of two. The individual commodity, as an aliquot part of the total value produced, must be sold at its price, and therefore must be sold as an *aliquot part* of the overall product being sold. It must be sold, not as an independent commodity, but as e.g. $^1/_{1,200}$ of the overall product, as the complement, therefore, of the other $^{1,199}/_{1,200}$. What is important is that the individual commodity should be sold at its price×the *number* which is its denominator as an aliquot part [of the overall product].

//Needless to say, the result of this is that with the *development of capitalist production* and the cheapening of the commodity corresponding to that development the *quantity of commodities* grows, the *number* of commodities that have to be sold *grows*; hence a constant *extension of the market* is necessary, is a requirement of the capitalist mode of production. But THIS POINT belongs BETTER TO THE SUBSEQUENT BOOK.// //This also explains why the capitalist is unable to deliver 1,300 yards at 2s. apiece, whereas he could deliver 1,200 at that price. The reason is that the additional 100 yards might perhaps require an additional provision of constant capital, etc., which could provide an additional production of 1,200 yards at that price but not 100, etc.//

From this it can be seen how the commodity as *product of capital* is distinguished from the *individual commodidy, treated independently*; this distinction will be more and more apparent, and will affect the real price determination of the commodity, etc., in ever increasing measure, the further we trace the course of the capitalist production and circulation process.

But the point I want to draw particular attention to is this:

We saw in CHAPTER II, Section 3, of this First Book[208] how the different value components of the product of capital—the value of constant capital, the value of variable capital and surplus value—on the one hand are represented, repeat themselves, in their *proportional parts* in each individual commodity, which itself represents an aliquot part of the *total amount of use value* that has been produced, as well as an aliquot part of the *total amount of value that has been produced*; and how on the other hand the overall product can be divided up into certain portions, quotients, of the use value, the article, that has been

produced, one part of which represents the value of the constant capital alone, a second part the value of the variable capital alone, and finally the third part the surplus value alone. These two presentations, although they are identical in substance, as shown earlier, are *contradictory* in their mode of expression. For in the second one the individual commodities which belong to LOT *1*, which merely reproduces the value of the constant capital, appear as if they represented labour objectified only before the production process. Hence e.g. the 800 yards=£80=the value of the constant capital advanced only represent the value of the cotton yarn, oil, coal, machinery, etc., that has been consumed, but not one particle of the value of the newly added weaving labour; whereas *viewed as use value* every yard of linen contains in addition to the flax, etc., a definite quantity of weaving labour, which has indeed given it the form of linen, and the *price* of each yard, 2*s*., contains 16d. as reproduction of the constant capital consumed in it, 4d. for wages, and 4d. for unpaid labour materialised in it. This apparent contradiction — the failure to solve which has given rise to fundamental analytical BLUNDERS, as we shall see later[a] — is AT FIRST VIEW just as *confusing* for the person who only considers the *price* of the individual commodity as is perhaps the proposition put forward shortly before[b] to the effect that the individual commodity, or a particular portion of the overall product, can be sold *at* its price *below* its price; *above* its price *at* its price; and even *above* its price *below* its price. *Proudhon* is an example of this confusion (*verte*[c]).

(The price of the yard in the above example is not determined in isolation but as an aliquot part of the overall product.)

[456] (Earlier[d] I gave a presentation of what had been *developed* previously concerning the *determination of prices*, as follows (certain elements of this should perhaps be inserted into the foregoing discussion):

Originally we considered *the individual commodity independently*, as the result and direct product of a particular quantity of labour. Now it is *the result*[e] *of capital*, and the situation alters *formally* (later on it alters *really*, in the production prices) in this way: The amount of use values produced represents a *quantity of labour* which is=the *value of the constant capital contained and consumed in the product* (the value of

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[a] See this volume, pp. 381-83.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 376-77.— *Ed.*
[c] See overleaf (this volume, pp. 381-82).— *Ed.*
[d] See this volume, pp. 363-64.— *Ed.*
[e] Marx wrote "product" above this word.— *Ed.*

the *quantity of materialised labour transferred* by it to the product)+the *quantity of labour* received in exchange for the variable capital, part of which replaces the value of the variable capital, the other part forming *surplus value.* If the labour time contained in the capital, expressed in money,=£100, £40 of which is variable capital, and if the rate of surplus value=50%, the total amount of labour contained in the product is represented by *£120.* Before the commodity can circulate, its *exchange value* must first be converted into *price.* Hence if the overall product is not a single continuous item, so that the whole of capital cannot be reproduced in an *individual* commodity, as e.g. a house, the capital must calculate the *price* of the individual commodity, i.e. it must express the exchange value of the individual commodity in money of account. The *overall value* of £120 will now be *divided* between a larger or smaller number of products according to the varying productivity of labour, and the *price* of the individual commodity will therefore be in an *inverse proportion* to the total number of commodities, will represent per piece a larger or smaller aliquot part of the £120. If the overall product=e.g. 60 tons of coal, the 60 tons=£120=£2 per ton=£ $\frac{120}{60}$: if the product=75 tons, the ton will=$^{120}/_{75}$=£1 12s.; if the product=240 tons, the ton will=$^{120}/_{240}$=$^{12}/_{24}$=£$^{1}/_{2}$, and so on. The *price* of the individual commodity therefore=$\frac{\text{the total price of the product}}{\text{the total number of products}}$, the total price divided by the total number of products, which are measured in the various units of measurement appropriate to the use value of the product.

Thus if the price of the individual commodity=the total price of the quantity of commodities (number of tons) produced by the capital of 100 *divided* by the total number of commodities (here tons), the *total price* of the overall product, on the other hand,=the price of the individual commodity *multiplied* by the *total number* of commodities produced. If the quantity of commodities has risen, owing to a rise in productivity, their number has too, while the price of the individual commodity has fallen. The inverse is the case if productivity has fallen: one factor, the price, will rise, while the other FACTOR, the number, will fall. As long as *the amount* of labour *laid out* is *the same,* it will be expressed in the same *total price* of £120, whatever proportion of this falls to the account of the individual commodity, with its varying quantities, which vary in proportion to the productivity of labour.

If the part of the price which falls to the individual product—the aliquot part of the overall value—is smaller, owing to the larger [total] number of products, i.e. owing to the greater productivity of labour, the part of the surplus value that falls to it is also smaller, [i.e.] the aliquot part of the total price in which the surplus value of £20 is expressed, and which attaches to the product, is smaller. But this does not alter the *ratio* of the part of the price of the individual commodity that expresses surplus value to the part of the price of the commodity that represents wages or paid labour.

It was admittedly shown, when we considered the capitalist production process,[209] that, if we disregard any lengthening of the working day, the cheapening of the commodities which determine the value of labour capacity, i.e. enter into the worker's necessary consumption, has a tendency to cheapen labour capacity itself, and therefore simultaneously to reduce the *paid* part of the labour and to prolong the *unpaid* part, the overall length of the working day remaining the same.

So whereas on the previous presupposition the price of the individual commodity participates in the *surplus value* in the same proportion as it formed an aliquot part of the overall value, and in the same proportion as it participated in the total price, the part of this price which represents surplus value will now rise, in spite of the falling price of the product. This is, however, only the case because the surplus value takes up a greater proportional place in the *total price* of the product, as a result of the increased productivity of labour. The same cause—the increased productivity of labour //the *reverse* would occur with declining productivity//—which leads the same quantity of labour, the same value of £120, to be expressed in a greater quantity of products, therefore reduces the *price* of the individual commodity, lessens the *value of labour capacity.* Although the *price of the individual commodity* therefore *falls,* although the total quantity of labour contained in it falls, and therefore also its value falls, the proportional component of this price which consists of surplus value rises, or, in other words, a greater *quantity of unpaid labour* is contained in the smaller total quantity of labour contained in the individual commodity, e.g. in a single ton, than previously, where the labour was less productive, the amount of product was smaller, and the price of the individual commodity was higher. Now more unpaid labour is contained in the *total price* of £120, and therefore in each aliquot part of that £120.

[457] It is PUZZLES of this kind which confuse Proudhon, because

he looks only at the price of the individual, independent commodity, and does not view the commodity as the *product of the total capital*, hence does not consider the proportions in which the overall product with its respective prices is divided conceptually.

"It is impossible, with *interest on capital*" (this is only the name for one particular part of surplus value) "being added in commerce *to the worker's wages* to *make up the price of the commodity*, for the worker to be able to buy back what he himself has produced. Living by working is a principle which, under the rule of interest, is implicitly self-contradictory" (*Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon*, Paris, 1850, [p.] 105).[a]

This is quite correct. In order to make matters clear, let us assume that the worker, "*l'ouvrier*" involved here, is the whole working class. The weekly money which the class receives, and with which it has now to buy the means of subsistence, etc., is expended on a mass of commodities of which the *price*, viewing them individually and all together, contains in addition to a part which=wages, another part, which=*surplus value*, of which the interest referred to by Proudhon only forms a single part, and perhaps a small proportional part relatively speaking. How then is it possible for the working class, with its weekly income, which only = wages, to buy a quantity of commodities which=wages+surplus value? Since the weekly wage, seen from the point of view of the class as a whole, only=the weekly amount of the means of subsistence, it follows, as night follows day, that the worker is *unable* to buy the necessary means of subsistence with the sum of money he has received. For the sum of money he has received=the weekly wage, the weekly price of his labour which has been paid to him, while the price of the weekly necessary means of subsistence=the weekly price of the labour contained in them+the price in which the unpaid surplus labour is expressed. *Ergo*: "it is impossible for the worker to be able to buy back what he himself has produced. *To live by working*", given these presuppositions, is, therefore, implicitly "*self-contradictory*".[b] Proudhon is entirely right, as far as *appearances* are concerned. But if he were to view the commodity as the product of capital, instead of independently, he would find that the weekly product can be divided into one part, the *price* of which,=the wage,=the variable capital laid out during the week, contains no *surplus value*, etc., and another part,

[a] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*
[b] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

the price of which only=the surplus value, etc.; although the price of the commodity includes all these elements, etc. But it is precisely, and only, the first part, which the worker buys back. (Whereby it is irrelevant for the present purpose that he may be, and is, swindled by the *épicier*,[a] etc., when buying back.)

This is the usual position with Proudhon's apparently deep and inextricable economic paradoxes. They consist in the fact that he expresses the confusion created in his brain by economic phenomena as the law governing these phenomena.

(Proudhon's argument is in fact even worse, because implicit in it is the presupposition that the true price of the commodity=the wage contained in it=the quantity of *paid* labour contained in it, and the *surplus value*, interest, etc., is only a *supplementary charge*, arbitrarily made, over and above the true price of the commodity.)

But worse still is the criticism made of him by the vulgar economists. Mr. *Forcade* for example (the passage should be quoted here [1]) not only points out that Proudhon's argument, on the one hand, proves too much, in that the working class would not be able to survive at all on this argument, but also, on the other hand, that he does *not* go far enough in expressing the paradox, in that the price of the commodities the worker buys includes, in addition to wages+interest, etc., raw material, etc. (in short, it includes the elements of the price of constant capital). Quite correct, Forcade. BUT WHAT NEXT? He shows that the problem is in fact still more difficult than it is in Proudhon's formulation; and this is a reason for him *not* to solve it, not even to the extent of Proudhon's presentation, sliding over it instead with a hollow phrase (see No. 1).

[458] In fact the good thing about Proudhon's approach is that he frankly expresses the confusion inherent in the economic phenomena, with sophistical self-satisfaction, unlike the vulgar economists, who endeavour to conceal it but are incapable of grasping these questions, laying bare the poverty of their theoretical understanding. Thus Mr. W. Thucydides *Roscher*[210] describes Proudhon's *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* as "confused and

[1] Forcade.[b]

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[a] Grocer.—*Ed.*

[b] E. Forcade, *La guerre du socialisme.* Part Two: *L'économie politique révolutionnaire et sociale.* In: *Revue des Deux Mondes,* New Series, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1848, pp. 998-99. See also present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 345-46, 416.—*Ed.*

confusing".[a] The word "confusing" expresses the feeling of powerlessness experienced by vulgar political economy when faced with this confusion. It is incapable of solving the contradictions of capitalist production, even in the confused, superficial and sophistical form in which Proudhon formulates and thrusts them upon it. There is nothing left for it to do except appeal from [Proudhon's] sophistry, which it is unable to overcome theoretically, to "ordinary" common sense, and to point out that things still work out despite all this. A fine consolation for self-styled "theorists"!

//*N.B.* The whole of this passage on Proudhon would be better placed in Chapter III of Book II, or even later.[b]//

With this, the problem presented in CHAPTER I[211] is solved at the same time. If the *commodities* which form the product of capital are sold at prices determined by their values, hence if the whole capitalist class sells the commodities *at their value*, each capitalist will realise a surplus value, i.e. he will sell a part of the value of the commodity which has cost him nothing, which he has not paid for. The gain the capitalists make in dealing with each other is thus not attained by reciprocal fraud—this can only relate to the case where one snaps up a piece of the surplus value which was destined for another—nor is it attained by their selling each other their commodities above their value. It is attained instead by their selling them to each other at *their value*. This presupposition, that commodities are sold at prices which correspond to their values, also forms the basis of the investigations contained in the next book.

The immediate result of the direct capitalist production process, its product, is *the commodity*. Not only does its price replace the value of the capital advanced, and consumed during the commodity's production, it also, and at the same time, materialises as *surplus value*, objectifies, the surplus labour consumed during that production. As a *commodity*, the product of capital must enter into the process of the exchange of commodities, thereby not only entering into the real metabolic process but also at the same time passing through those changes of form we have presented as the metamorphosis of the commodities. In so far as this is merely a matter of formal changes—the conversion of these commodities

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[a] W. Roscher, *System der Volkswirtschaft*, Vol. I: *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie*, Stuttgart and Augsburg, 1858, p. 133.—*Ed.*

[b] See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Part VII, Ch. XLIX (present edition, Vol. 37).—*Ed.*

into money, and their reconversion into commodities—the process has already been presented in what we called "simple circulation"—the circulation of commodities as such.[a] But these commodities are now at the same time the repositories of capital; they are capital itself, valorised, pregnant with surplus value. And in this connection their circulation, which is now at the same time the reproduction process of capital, implies further determinations, which were alien to commodity circulation when it was considered in abstraction. We have now to consider, therefore, the circulation of commodities as the *circulation process of capital.* This will be done in the next book.[212]

### [459] AD 2:[b] CAPITALIST PRODUCTION AS THE PRODUCTION OF SURPLUS VALUE

In so far as capital only steps forth in its elementary forms, as commodity or money, the capitalist steps forth in the character, already known to us, of commodity owner or money owner. But the commodity owner and money owner are no more capitalists for this reason than commodity and money are in themselves capital. Just as the latter may be converted into capital only under definite conditions, so the owners of commodities and money are only converted into capitalists under the same conditions.

Originally capital stepped forth as *money,* which needed to be converted into *capital,* or was only capital δυνάμει.[c]

Just as on the one hand the political economists commit the BLUNDER of identifying these elementary forms of capital—commodity and money—as such with capital, so on the other hand do they commit the BLUNDER of asserting that capital's *mode of existence as a use value*—the *means of labour*—is as such capital.[d]

In its first provisional (so to speak) form as *money* (as the point of departure for the formation of capital), capital still exists as money alone, hence as a *quantity of exchange values* in the *independent form of exchange value,* its *monetary expression.* But this money has to be valorised. Exchange value has to serve for the

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 303-14.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, p. 355.—*Ed.*
[c] Potentially.—*Ed.*
[d] See present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 12, 94-99, 139-42, 150-53.—*Ed.*

creation of more exchange value. The *magnitude of value* has to grow, i.e. the existing value has not only to maintain itself but to posit an INCREMENT, $\Delta$ value, a *surplus value*, with the result that the given value—the given sum of money—represents a *fluens*, and the increment a fluxion.[213] We shall return to this independent monetary expression of capital when we consider its circulation process. Here, where we are still only concerned with money as the *point of departure of the direct production process*, one remark will be sufficient: Capital still exists here only as a *given quantity of value*, $= M$ (money), in which all use value has been extinguished, hence in the form of money. The *magnitude* of this quantity of value is limited by the *level* or *quantity* of the *sum of money* which is to be converted into capital. This quantity of value therefore becomes capital through *increasing* its *magnitude*, through its conversion into *a variable magnitude*, through its being, from the outset, a *fluens*, which has to produce a fluxion. *In itself*, i.e. according to its *determination*, this sum of money is only capital because it is to be employed, expended, in a way which has as its purpose the *magnification* of this sum, because it is expended for the *purpose of its own magnification*. If this appears, with regard to the existing sum of value or money, as its *determination*, its inner driving force, its tendency, so also, with regard to the *capitalist*, i.e. the owner of this sum of money, in whose hands it is to perform this function, it appears as his *intention*, his *purpose*. In this originally simple money or value expression of capital (or what is to become capital), an expression in which abstraction is made from any relation to use value, in which this falls aside, all the disturbing interposition and potentially confusing indications of the *real production process* (commodity production, etc.) fall away, and the *characteristic, specific nature* of the capitalist production process appears in just as abstract and simple a form. If the original capital is a *quantity of value* $= x$, the purpose is for this $x$—and this is what makes it into capital—to become converted into $x + \Delta x$, i.e. into a sum of money or a quantity of value = the original quantity of value + an excess amount over and above the original quantity of value, into the given *magnitude of money* + additional money, into the *given value + surplus value*. The *production of surplus value*—which implies the preservation of the value originally advanced—thus appears as the determining purpose, the driving concern, and the *final result* of the capitalist production process, as the means whereby the original value is converted into capital. *How* this is achieved, the real procedure followed in converting $x$ into $x + \Delta x$, does not change in any way

the purpose and result of the process. $x$ can of course also be converted into $x+\Delta x$ without the capitalist production process, but [firstly] not under the *condition* and the *presupposition which has been given*, namely that the competing members of the society should confront each other as persons who stand vis-à-vis each other as *commodity owners* alone and only enter into contact with each other as such (this excludes slavery, etc.); and, secondly, not under the other condition, namely that the social product is produced as a *commodity*. (This excludes all forms in which use value is the primary purpose for the direct producers, and in which at most the excess product, etc., is converted into a commodity.)

[460] This purpose of the process, the conversion of $x$ into $x+\Delta x$, further shows the course the investigation has to take. The expression must be the function of a variable magnitude, or be converted into such during the process. As a *given sum of money*, $x$ is at the outset a constant magnitude, the increment of which is therefore$=0$. It must therefore be converted in the process into another magnitude, which contains a variable element. And what is needed is to discover this component, and at the same time to demonstrate the kind of mediations through which an originally constant magnitude becomes variable. Since a part of $x$ is in turn reconverted into a constant magnitude (this emerges from further consideration of the real production process[104])—namely into the means of labour, because a part of the *value* of $x$ exists only in the form of particular use values, instead of in its monetary form, a CHANGE which does not alter in any way the constant nature of the value magnitude, and indeed does not alter this part in any way, in so far as it is exchange value—$x$ is expressed in the process as $c$ (constant magnitude)$+v$ (variable magnitude)$=c+v$. But the difference, $\Delta(c+v)=c+(v+\Delta v)$, and, since the difference of $c=0$, it$=(v+\Delta v)$.[214] What originally appears as $\Delta x$ is therefore really $\Delta v$. And the ratio of this INCREMENT of the original magnitude $x$ to the part of $x$ of which it is really the increment must be ($\Delta v=\Delta x$ (since $\Delta x=\Delta v$)), $\frac{\Delta x}{v}=\frac{\Delta v}{v}$, which is in fact the formula for the *rate of surplus value.*

Since the total capital $C=c+v$, of which $c$ is constant and $v$ variable, $C$ can be regarded as a function of $v$. If $v$ grows by $\Delta v$, $C$ becomes$=C'$.

One therefore has:

1) $C=c+v$.
2) $C'=c+(v+\Delta v)$.

If one subtracts equation 1) from equation 2), one obtains the difference $C'-C$, the increment of $C=\Delta C$.

3) $C' - C = c + v + \Delta v - c - v = \Delta v$.

Hence 4) $\Delta C = \Delta v$.

One therefore has 3); and therefore 4) $\Delta C = \Delta v$. But $C'-C$=the magnitude by which $C$ has changed,=the increment of $C$ or $\Delta C$ ($=\Delta C$), hence 4). Or the increment of the total capital=the INCREMENT of the variable part of the capital, so that $\Delta C$ or the CHANGE in the constant part of the capital=0. In this investigation of $\Delta C$ or $\Delta v$, therefore, the constant capital must be set=0, i.e. it must be left out of consideration.

The proportion by which $v$ has grown$=\frac{\Delta v}{v}$ (*the rate of surplus value*). The proportion by which $C$ has grown$=\frac{\Delta v}{C}=\frac{\Delta v}{c+v}$ (*the rate of profit*).

The actual, specific *function* of capital as capital is therefore the *production of surplus value*, which, it later appears, is nothing but the *production of surplus labour, the appropriation of unpaid labour* in the real production process, which expresses itself as, is objectified as, *surplus value*.

A further result is that it is necessary for the conversion of $x$ into capital, into $x+\Delta x$, that the value or sum of money $x$ should be converted into the *factors of the production process*, above all into the *factors of the real labour process*. It is possible in particular branches of industry for a part of the means of production—the *object of labour*—to have no value, not to be *a commodity*, despite being a use value. In this case a part of $x$ is converted solely into means of production, and, in so far as the conversion of $x$ comes into consideration, i.e. the purchase by $x$ of commodities which enter into the labour process, the object of labour [does not figure at all, the operation] is restricted to the purchase of means of production. One factor of the labour process, the object of labour, is here=0, in so far as its value comes into consideration. But we are considering the matter in its complete form, in which the object of labour too=a commodity. For the cases in which this is not so, this factor, AS FAR AS VALUE IS CONCERNED, should be set=0, in order to rectify the calculation.

The commodity is a direct unity of use value and exchange value; in the same way, the production process, which is a *process of the production of commodities*, is a direct unity of the labour and valorisation processes. *Commodities*, i.e. use value and exchange value directly united, emerge from the process as *result*, as

product; similarly, they enter into it as constituent elements. But nothing at all can ever emerge from a production process without first entering into it in the form of the conditions of production.

The conversion of the sum of money advanced, the sum of money which is to be valorised and converted into capital, into *the factors of the production process* is an act of commodity circulation, of the process of exchange, and is reducible to a series of purchases. This *act* therefore still falls *outside* the direct production process. It only introduces it, but it is its *necessary presupposition*, and if we consider, instead of the direct production process, capitalist production in its totality and continuity, this conversion of money into the *factors* of the *production process*, the purchase of means of production and labour capacity, itself forms an *immanent moment of the process as a whole.*

[461] If we look now at the shape of capital *within* the direct production process, capital has, like the simple commodity, the *dual shape* of *use value* and *exchange value.* But further determinations enter in both forms, and these determinations are different from those of the simple commodity viewed independently, they have undergone further development.

As far as *use value* is concerned, first of all, its specific content, its further determination, was completely irrelevant to determining the concept of the commodity. The article which was to be a commodity, and therefore a repository of exchange value, had to satisfy some social need; it therefore had to possess some useful qualities. *Voilà tout.*[a] It is different with the *use value* of the commodities which perform a function in the production process. The nature of the *labour process* first dirempts the means of production into *object of labour* and *means of labour*, or, determined more precisely, *raw material* on the one hand, *instruments, accessory materials*, etc., on the other. These are *determinations of the form of the use value* which arise from the very nature of the labour process, and thus use value is determined further—in relation to the means of production. The *determination of the form of the use value*[1)] [215] is itself essential here for the development of the *economic relation*, the *economic category.*

But the use values which enter into the labour process are further divided into two moments and contraries, strictly separated conceptually (in the same way as the *objective* means of production are divided, as we have just said)—on the one hand

[a] And that is all.—*Ed.*

there are the objective means of production, the *objective conditions of production*, on the other hand there are the working labour capacities, labour power exerting itself to a given purpose, the *subjective* condition of production. This is a further determination of the form of capital, in so far as it appears *sub specie*[a] *of use value* within the direct production process. In the simple commodity, particular kinds of purposeful labour, spinning, weaving, etc., are incorporated, objectified, in the spun yarn, the woven cloth. The form of the product, appropriate to its purpose, is the sole trace left behind by the purposeful labour which made it, and this trace can itself be extinguished, if the product has a natural form, as do cattle, wheat, etc. Use value appears in the commodity as what is present, what is available; whereas in the labour process it appears only as *product*. The single commodity is in fact a finished product, the result of the process by which it arose; this process, through which a particular kind of useful labour has been embodied, objectified, in the product, is in fact contained within, and superseded by, the latter. The commodity comes into existence in the production process. It is constantly ejected from the process as product, in such a way that the product itself appears as only a moment of the process. One part of the *use value* in which capital appears within the production process is *living labour capacity* itself, but this is labour capacity of a particular *specificity* corresponding to the particular use value of the means of production, and it is *self-activating labour capacity, labour power which expresses itself* purposefully, makes the means of production the objective moments of its activity and therefore *converts* them from the original form of their use value into the new form of the product. Therefore in the labour processes the use values themselves undergo a *real conversion* process, either of a mechanical, chemical or physical nature. Whereas in the commodity the use value is a given thing with particular qualities, now the use values, things which function as raw material and means of labour, are converted by means of living labour which is active in and through them, living labour which is precisely labour capacity *actu*,[b] into a use value of a changed shape—the *product*. Thus the shape capital assumes in the labour process, the shape of *use value*, is now divided into *firstly* the *means of production*, conceptually dirempted and related to each other; and *secondly* [462] the conceptual diremption, which springs from the nature of the

[a] Under the aspect.—*Ed.*
[b] In action.—*Ed.*

labour process, between the *objective* conditions of labour (the means of production) and the *subjective* condition of labour, *labour capacity* acting for a purpose, i.e. labour itself. *Thirdly*, however, considering the process as a whole, the use value of capital appears here as a process of the production of use value, in which the means of production, according to this specific determination, function as means of production of the purposefully active *specific labour capacity* corresponding to their particular nature. Or, the whole of the *labour process* as such appears in the living interaction of its objective and subjective moments as the overall shape of the use value, i.e. the *real* shape of capital in the production process.

The production process of capital, seen from the point of view of reality—or seen as a process which by applying useful labour to use values constitutes new use values—is above all a *real labour process.* As such, its moments, its conceptually determined components, are those of the *labour process* in general, of any *labour process*, whatever the level of economic development and whatever mode of production forms the basis of this process. Hence, since the real shape of capital, or the shape of the objective use values of which *capital consists*, its material substratum, is necessarily the shape of the means of production—means of labour and object of labour—which serve to produce new products; and since, further, these use values are already available (on the market) in the circulation process, in the form of commodities, hence in the possession of the capitalist as a commodity owner, before they begin to function in the labour process in accordance with their specific purpose; hence because capital—in so far as it is expressed in *objective* conditions of labour—*consists* from the point of view of use value of *means of production*, raw materials, accessory materials and means of labour, tools, buildings, machines, etc., the conclusion is drawn from this that all the *means of production* are δυνάμει[a] and, in so far as they function as means of production, *actu* capital. Capital is therefore regarded as a necessary moment of the *human labour process in general*, irrespective of any historical form this process may assume, and is therefore seen as something eternal, something conditioned by the nature of human labour. Similarly, it is assumed that because the production process of capital in general is a *labour process*, the *labour process as such*, the labour process in all social forms, is necessarily a *labour process of capital.* Capital is thus regarded as a *thing*, which plays a certain

[a] Potentially.—*Ed.*

thing-like role, a role appertaining to it as a thing, in the production process. This is the same logic which concludes that because money is gold, gold is in and for itself money, that because wage labour is labour, all labour is necessarily wage labour. An *identity* is thus proved by concentrating on what is *identical* in all production processes, as opposed to the *specific differences* between production processes. Identity is proved by abstracting from difference. We shall return in more detail in the course of this section to this point, which is of decisive importance.[a] For the present, we shall only say this:

*Firstly*: The commodities the capitalist has bought in order to consume them in the production process or labour process as *means of production* are his property. They are in fact only his money converted into commodities, and his capital exists just as much in them as it did in the money; indeed it exists more intensely, to the extent that they are available in the shape in which they really function as *capital*, i.e. as means for the creation of value, for the valorisation of value, i.e. for its increase. These means of production are therefore *capital*. On the other hand, the capitalist has bought labour capacity with the other part of the sum of money he has advanced; he has bought workers, or, as was developed in CHAPTER IV,[216] it *appears* that he has bought *living labour*. This therefore belongs to him just as much as do the objective conditions of the labour process. There is, however, the following specific distinction to be pointed out here: Real labour is what the worker really gives to the capitalist as equivalent for the part of the capital that has been converted into wages, for the [463] purchasing price of labour. It is the expenditure of his life force, the realisation of his productive capacities, *his* movement, not the capitalist's. Viewed as a personal function, in its reality, labour is the function of the worker and not of the capitalist. Viewed from the point of view of exchange, the worker is what the capitalist receives from him in the labour process, not what the capitalist represents towards him in the same process. This therefore stands in contrast to the way the objective conditions of labour, as capital, and to that extent as the existence of the capitalist, confront the subjective condition of labour, labour itself, or rather the *worker* who works, within the labour process itself. Thus it comes about that both from the standpoint of the capitalist and from that of the worker the *means of production*, as existence of capital, as EMINENTLY *capital*, confront labour, hence confront the

[a] See this volume, pp. 404-10.—*Ed.*

other element into which the capital advanced has been converted, and therefore appear δυνάμει as the specific mode of existence of capital outside the production process as well. This development proceeds further, as will be shown, partly through the general nature of the capitalist valorisation process (the role played in this by the means of production as devourers of living labour) and partly through the development of the specifically capitalist mode of production (in which machinery, etc., becomes the real ruler over living labour). Hence where the capitalist production process is the basis the *use values* in which capital exists in the form of *means of production* are *inseparably welded* to the function of those means of production, the character of these *things* as *capital*, which is a particular social relation of production; just as to those caught up in this mode of production the *product* counts as in and for itself a *commodity*. This is the basis for the fetishism of the political economists.

*Secondly*: The means of production proceed from circulation into the labour process as particular *commodities*, e.g. as cotton, coal, spindles, etc. They enter in the *shape of the use value* they possessed as long as they were still circulating as commodities. Having entered the process, they then function with the characteristics appropriate to their use values, with the qualities which belong to them materially as things, e.g. cotton as cotton, etc. But it is different with the part of capital which we call *variable*, but which is only really converted into the *variable part of capital* by its exchange for *labour capacity*. Viewed from the point of view of its real shape, *money*—that part of capital which the capitalist expends for the purchase of labour capacity—represents nothing but the *means of subsistence available on the market* (or thrown onto the market over CERTAIN periods) which enter into the worker's individual consumption. Money is only the converted form of these means of subsistence, and the worker converts the money back into means of subsistence as soon as he has received it. Both this conversion and then the consumption of these commodities as use values is a process which has no *direct* connection with the direct production process, more precisely the labour process; it rather falls outside the latter. One part of the capital, and thereby the capital as a whole, becomes converted into a *variable magnitude* precisely because what is obtained in the exchange is not *money*, a constant magnitude of value, nor *means of subsistence*, similarly constant magnitudes of value, in which the money can be expressed, but rather *living labour capacity*, an element which creates value and, as a value-creating element, may be larger or

smaller, may be expressed as a variable magnitude, and in all circumstances, as a factor in the production process, is a *fluid magnitude, in the process of becoming*—and therefore contained WITHIN DIFFERENT LIMITS—instead of *having become.* Now it is true that in reality the consumption of the means of subsistence by the workers may itself be as much implied by the labour process (included by it) as the consumption of *matières instrumentales*[a] by machines is e.g. included in the machines, with the result that the worker appears as only an instrument bought by capital, which needs to consume, needs the addition of a certain portion of means of subsistence as its *matières instrumentales* so that it may perform its function in the labour process. This occurs to a greater or lesser degree according to the extent and brutality of the exploitation of the worker. However, this phenomenon is not contained conceptually in the capital-relation, not in this narrow sense (we shall examine this matter further *in Section 3*,[b] on the reproduction of the whole relation). The usual situation is more that the worker consumes his means of subsistence during *pauses* in the direct labour process, whereas the *machine* consumes what it requires *while functioning.* (Animals?) But then again, from the point of view of the whole working class, part of these means of subsistence are consumed by family members who are not yet, or no longer, working. In practice, the difference between a worker and a machine can be reduced to the difference between an animal and a machine, *quoad*[c] *matières instrumentales* and their consumption. But this is not necessarily so, and therefore does not belong among the conceptual determinants of capital. In any case, the part of the capital laid out in wages appears formally as *no longer* belonging to the capitalist, but rather to the *worker,* once it has assumed its real shape, the shape of the means of subsistence which enter into the worker's consumption. The *use value shape* this part of the capital has as a commodity before its entry into the production process—as *means of subsistence*—is therefore entirely different from the shape it assumes *within* that process, which is that of *labour power expressing itself in working activity,* hence of living labour itself. This part of the capital is therefore specifically distinguished by this from the [464] part available in the shape of means of production, and this is one more reason why under the capitalist mode of production the *means of production* appear in an

[a] Instrumental materials.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 461-66.—*Ed.*
[c] As regards.—*Ed.*

eminent sense, in *distinction* from, and in *opposition* to, the *means of subsistence,* as *capital* in and for themselves. If we disregard points to be developed later, this appearance is dispelled simply by the fact that the *form of the use value* in which the capital exists at the end of the production process is that of the *product,* and this product exists in the form of both *means of production* and *means of subsistence*; both are therefore equally present as *capital,* and are therefore also present in opposition to living labour capacity.

Let us now proceed to the *valorisation process.*

With regard to *exchange value* there is once more a distinction between the *commodity* and the capital involved in the valorisation process.

The *exchange value* of the capital that enters into the production process is smaller than the exchange value of the capital that was thrown onto the market or advanced. For it is only the *value of the commodities* which enter into the process as means of production—i.e. the value of the *constant* part of the capital—that enters into the production process as *value.* We now have, instead of the *value* of the variable part of capital, *valorisation* as a process, with the labour involved constantly realising itself as value, but also flowing beyond the already posited values, proceeding to the creation of new values.

As far as the preservation of the *old value* is concerned, the preservation of the value portion of the constant part [of the capital], this depends on the following: that the *value* of the means of production which enter into the process should not be greater than is necessary, hence that the commodities of which they consist should only contain, objectified, the *labour time socially necessary* for the purpose of production. This should be the case e.g. with the buildings, the machinery, etc., and it is the capitalist's business to make sure of this when purchasing these means of production; to make sure that they have the appropriate AVERAGE quality as use values needed for the formation of the product, whether as raw material or as machinery, etc., hence that they function AVERAGELY well, and do not oppose any unusual obstacles to labour, the living factor, e.g. through the quality of the raw material; and, also to be included here, the machinery, etc., employed should not pass on more than the AVERAGE depreciation to the commodities, etc. All this is the capitalist's affair. But the preservation of the value of the constant capital also depends on its being consumed as far as

possible only productively, on its not being squandered, because otherwise a greater portion of objectified labour would be contained in the product than is *socially necessary*. This depends in part on the workers themselves, and there the *supervision of the capitalist* begins. (He can make sure of this by introducing TASK WORK, by deductions from wages.) It is necessary, further, that the work should be performed properly, should serve its purpose, that the conversion of the means of production into product should proceed in a methodical fashion, that the use value envisaged as the aim of the process should really emerge in the *right* form as its result. The capitalist's functions of *supervision* and [maintaining] *discipline* enter the picture once again here. It is necessary, finally, that the production process should not be disturbed, or interrupted, and that it really proceed to produce the product within the time limit imposed by the nature of the labour process and its objective conditions. (Time period.) This depends in part on the *continuity of labour*, which is a feature of capitalist production. But it also depends in part on external and uncontrollable accidents. To that extent, every production process involves a risk for the values which enter into it; but 1) the values are subject to risk *outside* the production process as well, and 2) risk is a feature of *every* production process; it is not peculiar to capital's production process alone. (Capital protects itself against risks by *association*. The direct producer working with his own means of production is subject to the same risks. This is not peculiar to the capitalist production process. If, in capitalist production, the risks fall upon the capitalist, that is only because he has usurped possession of the means of production.)

But now, as far as the living factor of the valorisation process is concerned, 1) the *value* of the variable capital must be preserved by being replaced, reproduced, i.e. by the addition to the means of production of as large a quantity of labour as the value of the variable capital or of wages amounted to; 2) an *increment* of its value, a surplus value, must be created, by the objectification in the product of a surplus quantity of labour over and above that contained in the wage, of an *additional quantity of labour*.

Accordingly, the distinction between the *use value* of the capital advanced, or of the commodities in which it existed, and the *use value shape of the capital* in the [465] labour process corresponds to the *distinction* between the *exchange value* of the capital advanced and the appearance of the *exchange value* of the capital in the valorisation process. *In the former case* the means of production,

the constant capital, enters into the process in the same *use value form* as was previously possessed by the commodities of which it consists, whereas the finished *use values* of which the variable capital consisted are replaced by the living factor of labour power, real labour, valorising itself in new use values. *In the latter case,* the *value* of the means of production, the constant capital, enters as such into the valorisation process, whereas the *value* of the variable capital does not enter into it at all, but is replaced by the value-creating activity of the living factor, an activity which exists as the valorisation process.

For the worker's *labour time* to posit value in proportion to its duration, it must be *socially necessary labour time.* I.e. the worker must perform the *socially normal* quantity of purposeful labour within a given time, and the capitalist therefore forces him to ensure that his labour possesses at least the socially normal *average degree* of intensity. He will try to raise it as much as possible above this *minimum,* and extract from him over a given period as much labour as possible, for every [increase in the] intensity of labour over the *average degree* creates surplus value for him. He will also try to prolong the labour process as much as possible beyond the boundary of what has to be worked in order to replace the value of variable capital, of wages. If the intensity of the labour process is given, he will try to increase its duration as much as possible; if the duration is given, he will try to increase its intensity as much as possible. The capitalist *compels* the worker to give his labour the normal degree of intensity, and where possible a higher degree, and he compels him to prolong his labour process as much as possible beyond the period of time needed to replace his wages.

This peculiar character of the capitalist valorisation process gives rise to a further modification of the *real shape* of capital in the production process, its *shape as a use value. Firstly* the means of production must be available in a *quantity* sufficient not only for the absorption of necessary labour, but also for that of surplus labour. *Secondly* there are changes in the intensity and extension of the real labour process.

To be sure, the means of production the worker employs in the real labour process are the property of the capitalist, and, as previously explained,[217] they confront the worker's labour, which is the expression of his own life, as *capital.* But on the other hand it is the worker who employs the means of production in his labour. In the real labour process, he utilises the means of labour as the conductor of his labour, and the object of labour as the material in

which his labour is expressed. It is precisely through this that he converts the means of production into a form of the product appropriate to the purpose. The matter assumes a different aspect if considered from the angle of the valorisation process. It is not the worker who employs the means of production, but the means of production that employ the worker. It is not a matter of living labour being realised in objective labour as its objective organ, but of objective labour being preserved and increased by the absorption of living labour, thereby becoming *self-valorising value, capital,* and functioning as such. The means of production now appear only as *absorbers* of the largest possible quantity of living labour. Living labour now appears only as a means for the valorisation and therefore capitalisation of existing values. And, leaving aside our previous analysis, the means of production again appear, precisely for that reason, as *éminemment* the presence of *capital* vis-à-vis living labour, and indeed they now appear as the rule of past, dead labour over living labour. Living labour, precisely in its *value-creating* function, is constantly incorporated into the valorisation process of objectified labour. Labour, as the exertion, the expenditure of vital forces, is the personal activity of the worker. But as *value-creating,* as engaged in *its own objectification process,* the labour of the worker itself becomes a *mode of existence* of the value of the capital, incorporated into the value of the capital, once he enters into the production process. This power of *preserving value* and creating *new value* is therefore capital's power, and the process appears as one of capital's *self-valorisation,* while the worker who creates the value—*value alien to him*—is on the contrary impoverished.

[466] This ability of objectified labour to convert itself into *capital,* i.e. to convert the means of production into means of command over, and exploitation of, living labour, appears under capitalist production as an inherent characteristic of the means of production (and it is indeed δυνάμει bound up with them on this basis); it appears as inseparable from them, hence as a *quality* which falls *to them as things, as use values, as means of production.* They therefore appear to be in and for themselves *capital,* and capital, which expresses a *particular relation of production,* a particular social relation, in which the owners of the conditions of production confront living labour capacities within production, therefore appears as a *thing,* just as value appeared as the quality of a thing and the *economic determination* of the thing as a *commodity* appeared as its quality as a thing; and just as the social form assumed by labour in money expressed itself as the *qualities*

*of a thing.*[2)] [218] In fact the rule of the capitalists over the workers is only the rule over the *workers* themselves of the *conditions of labour* in their independence, in the independent position they have taken on vis-à-vis the workers (apart from the objective conditions of the production process—the *means of production*—the conditions of labour include the objective conditions for the preservation and effective functioning of labour power, i.e. the *means of subsistence*), although this relation only comes to realisation in the *real production process,* which, as we have seen, is essentially a *process of the production of surplus value,* which includes the preservation of the old value; it is a *process of the self-valorisation of the capital advanced.* In circulation, capitalist and worker only stand vis-à-vis each other as *sellers of commodities,* but owing to the specific polarity of the kinds of commodity they sell to each other, the worker necessarily enters into the production process as a constituent in the *use value,* the *real existence* and the *value existence* of capital, although this relation is first brought to realisation *within* the production process, and the capitalist, who as a buyer of labour only exists δυνάμει, first becomes a *real capitalist* when the worker, who is *eventualiter*[a] converted into a wage labourer through the sale of his labour capacity, first *really* falls under the command of capital in that process. The *functions* performed by the capitalist are only the functions of capital itself performed with *consciousness* and *will*—the functions of value valorising itself through the absorption of living labour. The capitalist functions only as capital *personified,* capital as a person, just as the worker only functions as the personification of *labour,* which belongs to him as torment, as exertion, while it belongs to the capitalist as the substance that creates and increases wealth; and in fact it appears as such an element incorporated into capital in the production process, as its living, variable, factor. The rule of the capitalist over the worker is therefore the rule of the object over the human, of dead labour over living, of the product over the producer, since in fact the commodities which become means of domination over the worker (but purely as means of the rule of *capital* itself) are mere results of the production process, *the* products of the production process. This is exactly *the same* relation in the sphere of material production, in the real social life process—for this is the production process—as is represented by *religion* in the ideological sphere: the inversion of the subject into the object and *vice versa.* Looked at *historically* this inversion appears as the point of

[a] Ultimately.— *Ed.*

entry necessary in order to enforce, at the expense of the majority, the creation of wealth as such, i.e. the ruthless productive powers of social labour, which alone can form the material basis for a free human society. It is necessary to pass through this antagonistic form, just as man had first to shape his spiritual forces in a religious form, as powers independent of him.[2)] [219] It is the *alienation process* of his own labour. To that extent, the worker here stands higher than the capitalist from the outset, in that the latter is rooted in that alienation process and finds in it his absolute satisfaction, whereas the worker, as its victim, stands from the outset in a relation of rebellion towards it and perceives it as a process of enslavement. To the extent that the production process is at the same time a real labour process, and the capitalist has to perform the function of *supervision* and *direction* in actual production, his activity [467] in fact obtains thereby a specific, manifold content. But the *labour process* itself only appears as a *means* to the *valorisation process*, just as the use value of the product only appears as the vehicle of its exchange value. The self-valorisation of capital—the creation of surplus value—is therefore the determining, dominating, and overmastering purpose of the capitalist, the absolute driving force and content of his action, in fact only the rationalised drive and purpose of the hoarder. This is an utterly miserable and abstract content, which makes the capitalist appear as just as much under the yoke of the capital-relation as is the worker at the opposite extreme, even if from a different angle.

The original relation in which the WOULD-BE capitalist buys labour (after CHAPTER IV[216] we can say this instead of saying "labour capacity") from the worker, in order to capitalise a monetary value, and the worker sells disposition over his labour capacity, sells his labour, in order to eke out his life, is the necessary introduction to and condition of—it contains it within itself—the relation now developed in the real production process, in which the commodity owner becomes a capitalist, becomes capital personified, and the worker becomes a mere personification of labour for capital. The first relation, in which the two sides appear to confront each other as *owners of commodities*, is the presupposition for the capitalist production process; similarly, it is also, as we shall see later on, its result and product. But the two acts must accordingly be kept separate from each other. The first belongs to circulation. The second only develops on the basis of the first, in the real production process.

The production process is the *direct* unity of the labour process

and the valorisation process, just as its direct result, the commodity, is the *direct* unity of use value and exchange value. But the labour process is only a means to the valorisation process, and the valorisation process as such is essentially the *production of surplus value,* i.e. the *process of the objectification of unpaid labour.* The overall character of the production process is thereby specifically determined.

Although we view the production process from two distinct points of view, 1) as a *labour process,* and 2) as a *valorisation process,* it is already implied that it is in fact only one single, indivisible labour process. Work is not done twice, once to produce a useful product, a use value, to *convert* the means of production into products, and the second time to produce *value* and *surplus value,* to *valorise value.* Labour is only added in the particular, concrete, specific form, mode, mode of existence in which it is activity directed towards a purpose, activity which converts the means of production into a particular product, converting, e.g., spindles and cotton into *yarn.* Only spinning labour, etc., is added, and as it continues it produces more and more yarn. This *real* labour only posits value in so far as it possesses a normal, definite level of intensity (or, it only *counts* to the extent that it possesses this), and in so far as this *real labour* of given intensity is materialised in the product in definite quantities measured by time. *If the labour process ceased* at the point where the quantity of labour added in the form of spinning, etc., was=the quantity of labour contained in the wage, no surplus value would be produced. *Surplus value* is therefore also expressed in a *surplus product,* here as the quantity of yarn which exceeds the quantity the value of which=the value of the wage. The labour process therefore appears as a valorisation process through the fact that the concrete labour added in its course is a quantity of *socially necessary labour* (by virtue of its intensity), that it is posited as equal to a certain quantity of average social labour; and through the fact that this quantity represents a quantity *additional* to the amount contained in the wage. It is the *quantitative* calculation of the particular concrete labour as *necessary average social labour,* a calculation which corresponds, however, to the real moment, firstly, of the normal intensity of labour (the fact that only the socially necessary amount of labour time is employed for the production of a given quantity of the product) and [secondly,] of the prolongation of the labour process beyond the *length of time* necessary for the replacement of the value of the variable capital.

[468] It follows from our previous discussion that the expres-

sion "*objectified labour*", and the antithesis between *capital* as *objectified labour* and *living labour*, are capable of severe misinterpretation.[220]

I have already shown previously[3)] that the analysis of the commodity in terms of "*labour*" by all previous political economists is ambiguous and incomplete.[a] It is not sufficient to reduce it to "labour"; *labour* has to be considered in the dual form in which it is on the one hand represented as *concrete labour*, in the *use value of the commodities*, and on the other hand calculated as *socially necessary* labour, in *exchange value*. From the first point of view, everything depends on its particular use value, its specific character, which impresses on the use value it has created a specific kind of stamp and makes it into one concrete use value in distinction from others, into this specific article. But its particular utility, its specific nature and the kind of thing it is are completely abstracted from when labour enters into calculations as a *value-forming* element or the commodity is viewed as its objectification. In this case it is undifferentiated, *socially necessary, general* labour, entirely indifferent towards any particular content, for which reason it receives an expression common to all commodities and only distinguishable in terms of quantity. This is its independent expression as *money*, the expression of the commodity as *price*. From the one aspect the thing is expressed in the particular *use value* of the commodity, in its particular *existence as an object*, from the other aspect it is expressed in *money*, whether this exists as actual money, or, in the price of the commodity, as mere money of account. From the one aspect it is exclusively *quality* that is involved; from the other aspect it is merely the *quantity* of labour. From the one aspect the distinction between different kinds of concrete labour is expressed in the division of labour; from the other aspect in its monetary expression, which is undifferentiated. Within the production process this distinction confronts us *actively*. It is no longer made by us, but is a feature of the production process itself.

The distinction between *objectified labour* and *living labour* is manifested in the *real labour process*. The means of production, such as cotton and spindles, etc., are products, use values, in which

3) Without this confusion it would have been altogether impossible for any dispute to arise as to whether nature does not also contribute to the product, in addition to labour. This point concerns *concrete* labour alone.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 292-302.— *Ed.*

definite useful, concrete kinds of labour, machine-making, cotton growing, etc., are *embodied* whereas the *labour of spinning* appears in the process as a kind of labour not only specifically distinct from the kinds of labour contained in the means of production, but also as living labour, labour which is still in process of being realised and which constantly ejects its product from itself, in contrast to the kinds of labour which have already been objectified in their own characteristic products. From this standpoint too, an antithesis emerges between one side, which is the immediate presence of capital, and the other, which is living labour, the direct expenditure of the worker's life. Furthermore, objectified labour steps forth in the labour process as the *objective moment,* element, in the *realisation of living labour.*

The situation looks entirely different once one considers the valorisation process, the formation and creation of new value.

The labour contained here in the means of production is a *particular quantity of general social labour,* and it is therefore expressed in a certain *magnitude of value* or *sum of money,* IN FACT in the *price* of these means of production. The labour which is added is a *particular additional quantity of general social labour,* and is expressed as *an additional amount of value* and *sum of money.* The labour already contained in the means of production is the same as the newly added labour. The only difference between the two is that the one is *objectified* in use values, and the other is in the process of carrying out this *objectification,* the one is past, the other present, the one dead, the other living, the one *objectified,* in the perfect tense, the other *objectifying* itself, in the present tense. To the extent that past labour sets living labour to work, it itself becomes a process, *it valorises itself,* it becomes a *fluens* that creates a fluxion.[213] This absorption of additional living labour is past labour's *process of self-valorisation,* its real *conversion into capital,* [469] into self-valorising value, its conversion from a *constant magnitude of value* into a variable magnitude of value, value *in process.* This additional labour can admittedly only be added in the shape of concrete labour, and therefore it can only be added to the means of production in their specific shape as particular use values; moreover, the value contained in these means of production is only *preserved* by their consumption as means of labour by concrete labour. This is not, however, to deny that the *available value,* the labour *objectified* in the means of production, increases above its own quantity, and indeed above the quantity of labour objectified in the variable capital, solely because, and to the degree that, it absorbs living labour, and to the degree that the latter is

itself objectified as *money*, as *general social labour*. It is therefore EMINENTLY in this sense—which relates to the *valorisation process*—the actual purpose of capitalist production—that capital, as *objectified* labour (ACCUMULATED LABOUR, PRE-EXISTENT LABOUR AND SO FORTH), confronts *living* labour (IMMEDIATE LABOUR, etc.) and is counterposed to it by the political economists. Yet they constantly fall into contradiction and ambiguity here—even Ricardo—because they have not clearly worked out the analysis of the commodity in terms of labour in its dual form.

It results from the original process of exchange between capitalist and worker—as owners of commodities—that only the living factor, labour capacity, enters into the production process as a moment of capital in its real shape. But it is only in the production process itself that *objectified labour* is converted into *capital* through the absorption of living labour, and that *labour is therefore converted into capital.*

//*Note*: The passage entered in *pages 96 to 107* under the heading "*The Direct Production Process*" belongs here. It should be BLENDED with the foregoing, and each passage should be RECTIFIED by reference to the other. Pages 262-64 of this book belong here as well.[221]//

[469a] *This belongs to p. 469.*[222]

### *6) The Direct Production Process*

The capitalist production process is a unity of the labour process and the valorisation process. In order to convert money into capital, it is converted into commodities, which form *the factors of the labour process.* First, *labour capacity* must be bought with the money. Then *objects* must be bought, for without these the labour capacity cannot be *consumed*, i.e. it cannot *work*. These objects have no meaning within the *labour process* except to serve as *means of subsistence for labour, use values for labour.* In relation to living labour itself they are its material and means; in relation to the product of labour they are the means of its production, with regard to the fact that these means of production are themselves already products, products as means of production of a new product. But these objects do not play this role in the labour process because the capitalist buys them, because they are the converted form of his money, rather the reverse: he buys them because they play this role in the labour process. For the spinning process as such, for example, it is a matter of indifference that the cotton and the spindles *represent* the money of the capitalist, hence

*capital,* that the money expended is determined as capital. Cotton and spindles become the material and means of labour in the hands of the working spinner alone, and they become these things because he spins, not because he turns cotton belonging to another person into yarn for the same person by spinning with a spindle belonging to the same person. The utilisation or productive consumption of commodities in the labour process does not make them capital, it makes them rather elements in the labour process. In so far as these objective elements of the labour process are bought by the capitalist, they represent his capital. But this is also true of labour. It also represents his capital, for labour belongs to the buyer of labour capacity just as much as do the objective conditions of labour that he has bought. And it is not just the individual elements of the labour process that belong to him; the whole labour process does. Capital, which previously existed in the form of money, now exists in the form of the labour process. Because capital has taken control of the labour process, and the worker therefore works for the capitalist instead of working for himself, the labour process does not for all that change its *general nature.* Just because money, when converted into capital, is converted into the factors of the labour process, hence necessarily takes on the shape of the material of labour and the means of labour, the material of labour and the means of labour do not by nature become *capital,* any more than gold and silver by nature become *money* because money is represented among other things by gold and silver. But the same modern political economists who laugh over the naïveté of the Monetary System which, when asked "What is money?" replies "Gold and silver", are not ashamed, when asked "What is capital?" to reply "Capital is cotton". This is precisely what they are saying when they declare that the material and means of labour, the means of production or the products which are employed in further production, in short the *objective conditions of labour,* are by nature *capital,* in so far as, and because, they serve through their material characteristics as use values in the labour process. It is in order for other people to add: capital is meat and bread, for although the capitalist buys labour capacity with money, this money in fact only represents the bread, [469b] the meat, in short the means of subsistence of the worker.[127] A

[127] * "*Capital* is that part of the wealth of a country which is employed in production, and consists of food, clothing, tools, raw materials, machinery, etc., necessary to give effect to labour" * (Ricardo, l.c. [*On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* p.] 89). * "*Capital* is a portion of the national wealth, employed or meant to be employed, in favouring reproduction" * (G. Ramsay, l.c.

chair with four legs and a velvet cover represents a *throne* in certain situations; but this chair, a thing that is there for people to sit upon, is not a throne by the nature of its use value. The most essential factor of the labour process is the worker himself, and in the ancient production process this worker was a slave. It does not follow from this that the worker is by nature a *slave* (although *Aristotle* is not very far removed from holding this opinion[b]), any more than it follows that spindles and cotton are by their nature *capital* because they are at present consumed in the labour process by *wage labourers.* The stupidity of this procedure, whereby a definite *social relation of production,* which is expressed in things, is taken as the material and natural quality of these things, strikes us forcibly when we open the nearest textbook of political economy, and read on the very first page that the elements of the production process, reduced to their most general form, are land, *capital* and labour.[128] It might just as well be said that they are *landed property,* knives, scissors, spindles, cotton, corn, in short *the*

[*An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth,* p.] 21). *"*Capital* ... a particular species of wealth ... destined ... to the obtaining of other articles of utility"* (Torrens, l.c. [*An Essay on the Production of Wealth,* p.] 5). "*Capital* ... produces ... as the means of a new production" (Senior, l.c. [*Principes fondamentaux de l'économie politique...,* Paris, 1836], p. 318).[a] "When a fund is devoted to material production, it takes *the name of capital*" (Storch, *Cours d'économie politique,* Vol. I, Paris edition of 1823, [p.] 207).[a] "*Capital* is that portion of the wealth *produced* which is destined for reproduction" (Rossi, *Cours d'économie politique.* [*Année*] *1836-1837,* Brussels edition, 1843, p. 364).[a] Rossi torments himself over the "difficult question" of whether the "raw material" can be counted as part of the capital too. One can admittedly make a distinction between "capital as material" and "capital as instrument", but "is it (the raw material) really an instrument of production there? Is it not rather an object which is acted upon by the instrument of production?" (p. 367).[a] He does not see that once he has confused capital with its material form of appearance and therefore called the objective conditions of labour simply capital it does not matter that they can be divided as regards labour itself into material and means of labour, for as regards the product they are equally means of production. And he does, in fact, call capital simply "means of production"[a] (p. 372). "There is no difference between *capital* and any other part of wealth: a *thing* only becomes *capital* by the use that is made of it, that is to say, when it is employed in a productive operation, as raw material, as instrument, or as means of subsistence" (Cherbuliez, *Riche*[*sse*] *ou pauvre*[*té*], Paris, 1841, p. 18).[a]

[128] See e.g. John St. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy,* Vol. I, [London, 1848,] Book 1 [p. IX].

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[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

[b] See Aristoteles, *De republica.* Libri VIII. In: *Aristotelis opera* ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri, Vol. X, Oxford, 1837; Aristoteles, *Ethica Nicomachea.* In: *Aristotelis opera* ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri, Vol. IX, Oxford, 1837.—*Ed.*

*material of labour* and *the means of labour,* and—*wage labour.* On one side we name the elements of the labour process enmeshed with the *specific social characteristics* they possess at a particular *historical* stage of development; and on the other side we add an element which is attributable to the *labour process,* independently of all specific social formations, as an eternal process between man and nature in general. //We shall see further on that this illusion of the political economists, by which the appropriation of the labour process by capital is confused with the labour process itself, and the *objective elements* of the labour process are therefore simply converted into capital, because capital is converted among other things into the objective elements of the labour process—that this illusion, which among the classical political economists lasts only as long as they view the capitalist production process exclusively from the point of view of the labour process, and is therefore corrected in their later analysis, arises from the nature of the capitalist production process itself. But it can be stated immediately that this is a very convenient method of demonstrating the eternal character of the capitalist mode of production, or of showing that *capital* is a *permanent natural element* of human production in general. Labour is the eternal natural condition for human existence. The labour process is nothing but labour itself, viewed at the instant of its creative functioning. The general moments of the labour process are therefore independent of all particular social developments. The means of labour and the material of labour, a part of which are already the products of previous labour, play their role in every labour process in all epochs and under all circumstances. If I therefore attach to them the name of *capital* in the conviction that "*semper aliquid haeret*",[223] I have *proved* that the existence of capital is an eternal natural law of human production, and that the Kirghiz who cuts down rushes with a knife he has stolen from a Russian and weaves these rushes together to make a boat is just as much a capitalist as Herr von Rothschild. I might just as well prove that the Greeks and Romans took communion because they drank wine and ate bread, or that the Turks sprinkled themselves every day with Roman Catholic holy water because they washed every day. One finds impertinent and shallow phrase-making of this kind spewed forth with self-satisfied self-importance not only by such people as *F. Bastiat,* or in the wretched economic tracts of the *Society for the Advancement of Useful Knowledge,*[224] or in the nursery stories of mother *Martineau,* but even [469c] by genuine authorities. Their intention is to prove in this manner the eternal natural necessity

for capital; but instead of this, it is rather the opposite that is proved. Capital's necessity even for a particular historical stage of development of the social production process is thereby *negated*, for the assertion that capital is nothing but the material and means of labour, or that the objective elements of the labour process are by their nature capital, rightly meets with the reply that this proves a need for capital but not for capitalists, or that capital is nothing but a *name* invented to defraud the masses.[129)]//

This inability to grasp the labour process as independent and yet at the same time as one side of the capitalist production process is still more strikingly evident when Mr. *F. Wayland* for example informs us that raw material is *capital*, and that it becomes a *product* by being treated. Thus leather is the *product* of the currier and the *capital* of the shoemaker. To be raw material and to be product are both determinations which a *thing* possesses in relation to the *labour process*, and they both have nothing to do with its determination of being *capital*, although both of them, raw material and product, constitute *capital* once the labour process

129) "We are told that labour cannot move one step without capital—that the shovel is just as necessary to a man who digs as is his labour[a]—that capital is just as necessary to production as labour itself is. The working man knows all this, for its truth is daily brought home to him; but this mutual dependency between capital and labour has nothing to do with the relative position of the capitalist and the working man; nor does it show that the former should be maintained by the latter. Capital is but so much unconsumed produce; and that which is at this moment in being, exists now independent of, and is in no way identified with, any particular individual or class. And were every capitalist and every rich man in the United Kingdom to be annihilated in one moment, not a single particle of wealth or capital would disappear with them; nor would the nation itself be less wealthy, even to the amount of the FARTHING. It is the capital, and not the capitalist, that is essential to the operations of the producer; and there is as much difference between the two, as there is between the actual cargo and the bill of lading" (J. F. Bray, *Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy etc.*, Leeds, 1839, [p.] 59).

*"*Capital* is a sort of *cabalistic word* like church or state, or any other of those general terms which are invented by those who fleece the rest of mankind to conceal the hand that shears them"* (*Labour Defended against the Claims of Capital etc.*, London, 1825, [p.] 17). The author of this anonymous pamphlet is *Th. Hodgskin*, one of the most significant modern English political economists. The pamphlet we have cited, the importance of which is still recognised (see e.g. John Lalor, *Money and Morals etc.*, London, 1852 [p. XXIV]), called forth an anonymous reply from Lord *Brougham* some years after it first appeared, a reply which is as superficial as all the other economic achievements of that notorious windbag.[b225]

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[a] Bray has: "that capital is as a shovel to a man who digs".—*Ed.*

[b] [H. P. Brougham,] *The Rights of Industry...*, 2nd ed., London, 1831.—*Ed.*

has been appropriated by the capitalist.[130] //Mr. *Proudhon* has exploited this with his customary "depth".

"What causes the sudden transformation of the *notion of product* into *that of capital*? It is the *idea of value.* This means that the product, in order to become capital, must have passed through an authentic valuation, must have been bought or sold, its price discussed and fixed by a kind of legal convention. Hides, for instance, coming from the butcher's shop, are the *product of the butcher.* Have these hides been bought by a currier? At once he adds either them or their value to his working capital. By the work of the currier this *capital* becomes a *product* again" [*Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon,* pp. 178-80].

Mr. Proudhon stands out by the apparatus of incorrect metaphysics with which he first enters the most conventional and elementary notions into his "exploitation fund" as capital, subsequently selling them to the public as a high-flown "product". The question of how the *product* is converted into *capital* is in and for itself nonsense, but the answer is on a level with the question. Mr. Proudhon in fact only informs us of two fairly well-known facts, firstly that products are sometimes worked up as raw material, and secondly that *products* are at the same time *commodities,* i.e. possess a *value,* which before being realised must pass the acid test of the debate between buyer and seller. The same "philosopher" remarks:

"For society, the difference between capital and product does not exist. This difference is an entirely subjective one, according to the individual" [ibid., p. 182].[a]

He calls the abstract social form "subjective", and his subjective abstraction "society".//

If the political economist, as long as he is looking at the capitalist production process purely from the point of view of the *labour process,* declares capital to be a mere *thing,* raw material, instrument, etc., it then again occurs to him that the production process is after all also a valorisation process, and in relation to the valorisation process those things only come into consideration as *value.*

130) *"The material which ... we obtain for the purpose of combining it with *our own*" (!) "industry, and forming it into a product, is called *capital*; and, after the labour has been exerted, and the value created, it is called a *product.* Thus, the same article may be *product* to one, and *capital* to another. Leather is the product of the currier, and the capital of the shoemaker"* (F. Wayland, l.c. [*The Elements of Political Economy,* Boston, 1843], p. 25). (There now follows the above-quoted shit from Proudhon, the citations coming from *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon,* Paris, 1850, pp. 179, 180 and 182.)

[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

"The same capital exists now in the form of a sum of money, now in the form of raw material, an instrument, a finished commodity. These *things* are not actually *capital*; that resides in the *value* they have."[131]

In so far as this value

"maintains itself, continues to exist, multiplies itself, tears itself away from the commodity [469d] that created it, always remains in the possession of the same producer (i.e. the capitalist) like a metaphysical and insubstantial quality",[132]

what was immediately beforehand proclaimed a *thing* is now declared to be a "*commercial idea*".[133]

The product of the capitalist production process is neither a mere *product* (a use value) nor is it a mere *commodity*, i.e. a product that has an exchange value. The *specific product* of this process is rather *surplus value*. The product is *commodities* which possess more exchange value, i.e. represent more labour, than was advanced to produce them, in the form of money or commodities. The *labour process* appears in the capitalist production process merely as a *means*, while the *valorisation process*, or *the production of surplus value*, appears as the goal. As soon as the political economist becomes aware of this, capital starts to be defined as wealth which is employed in production in order to make a "profit".[134]

We have seen[226] that the conversion of money into capital can be divided into two independent processes, which belong to quite distinct spheres and exist in isolation from each other. The first process belongs to the sphere of the *circulation of commodities* and therefore takes place on the *commodity market*. It is the *sale and purchase of labour capacity*. The second process is the *consumption of*

[131] J. B. Say, l.c. [*Traité d'économie politique*..., 3rd ed., Paris, 1817], Vol. II, p. 429, note. When *Carey* says *"*Capital* ... all articles possessing exchangeable value"* (H. C. Carey, *Principles of Political Economy*, PART I, Philadelphia, 1837, p. 294), this is to fall back into the explanation of capital already mentioned in Chapter I[a]: *"Capital—is commodities",*[b] an explanation which refers only to the way capital appears in the circulation process.

[132] Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes etc.*, Vol. I, p. 89.

[133] "Capital is a commercial idea" (Sismondi, *Études etc.*, Vol. 2, p. 273).[c]

[134] *"*Capital*. That portion of the stock of a country which is kept or employed with a view to profit in the production and distribution of wealth"* (T. R. Malthus, *Definitions in Political Economy*. NEW EDITION etc. BY John Cazenove, London, 1853, p. 10). "*Capital* is that part of WEALTH which is EMPLOYED in production and *generally for the purpose of obtaining profit"* (Th. Chalmers, *On Political Economy etc.*, 2nd ed., Glasgow, 1832, [p.] 75).

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[a] This refers to a part of the 1863-64 manuscript which has not reached us. Cf. K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part II, Ch. IV (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

[b] J. Mill, *Elements of Political Economy*, London, 1821, p. 74.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

*the labour capacity that has been purchased*, or the *production process* itself. In the first process, the capitalist and the worker confront each other only as money and commodity owners, and their transaction, like all transactions between buyers and sellers, is an exchange of equivalents. In the second process, the worker appears *pro tempore* as a living component of capital itself, and the category of exchange is entirely excluded here, since the capitalist has appropriated for himself by purchase all the factors of the production process, material as well as personal, before the start of that process. But although the two processes exist alongside each other independently, they condition each other. The first introduces the second, and the second implements the first.

The first process, the *sale and purchase of labour capacity*, shows us the worker and the capitalist solely as seller and buyer of the commodity. What distinguishes the worker from other sellers of commodities is only the *specific nature*, the *specific use value* of the commodity he sells. But the particular use value of the commodities alters absolutely nothing in the determination of the economic form of the transaction, it does not alter the fact that the buyer represents money, and the seller a commodity. Hence in order to *prove* that the relation between the capitalist and the worker is nothing but a relation between commodity owners who exchange money and commodities with each other for their mutual advantage and by virtue of a free contract, it is sufficient to isolate the first process and keep holding onto its formal character. This simple conjuring trick is hardly witchcraft, but it forms the whole of vulgar political economy's stock of wisdom.

We have seen[227] that the capitalist must convert his money not just into labour capacity but into the objective factors of the labour process, the means of production. But if we look at capital as a whole, on one side, i.e. the totality of buyers of labour capacity, on one side, and the totality of sellers of labour capacity, the totality of workers, on the other, we see that the worker is compelled to sell, instead of a commodity, his own labour capacity as a commodity, because he is confronted on the other side by the whole of the means of production, by the whole of the objective conditions of labour, as well as by the whole of the means of subsistence, money, means of production and [469e] means of subsistence as alien property, hence because the worker is *confronted* by all the *objective wealth* as the property of the *owners of commodities*. It is presupposed that he works as a *non-owner* and that the *conditions of his labour* confront him as *alien property*. The fact that capitalist No. I is a money owner, and buys means of

production from capitalist No. II, who owns means of production, while the worker buys means of subsistence from capitalist No. III with money received from capitalist No. I, makes absolutely no change in the circumstance that capitalists Nos. I, II and III are, taken together, in exclusive possession of money, means of production, and means of subsistence. Human beings can only live in so far as they produce their means of subsistence, and they can only produce means of subsistence in so far as they find themselves in possession of means of production, in possession of the objective conditions of labour. It is therefore apparent from the outset that the worker, who is denuded of the means of production, is denuded of the means of subsistence, just as, conversely, a person who is denuded of means of subsistence will be unable to create any means of production. Hence what stamps money or commodities with the *character of capital* from the outset, even in the first *process*, before they have actually been converted into *capital*, is neither their nature as money nor their nature as commodities, nor is it the material use value these commodities have of serving as means of subsistence and means of production, but the circumstance that this money and these commodities, these means of production and subsistence, confront *labour capacity* which has been denuded of all objective wealth as *independent powers*, personified in those who own them. The material conditions necessary for the realisation of labour are therefore themselves *alienated* from the worker, and appear rather as *fetishes* endowed with a will and a soul of their own, and *commodities* figure as the *buyers* of *persons*. The buyer of labour capacity is only the personification of *objectified* labour, which gives up part of itself to the worker, in the form of means of subsistence, in order to incorporate *living labour capacity* into its other part, and through this incorporation to preserve itself as a whole and grow beyond its original measure. It is not a case of the worker buying means of subsistence and means of production, but of the means of subsistence buying the worker, in order to incorporate him into the means of production.

The *means of subsistence* are a particular material form of existence in which capital confronts the worker before he appropriates them through the sale of his labour capacity. But when the production process begins, labour capacity has already been sold, and the means of subsistence have therefore been transferred, at least *de jure*, into the worker's consumption fund. These means of subsistence do not form an element in the labour process, for apart from working labour capacity the labour process

presupposes nothing more than the material and means of labour. The worker must in reality preserve his labour capacity through his means of subsistence, but this private consumption of his, which is at the same time the reproduction of his labour capacity, falls outside the commodity's production process. It is possible in capitalist production for the whole of the worker's disposable time to be in fact absorbed by capital, and hence for the consumption of the means of subsistence in fact to appear as a mere incident of the labour process itself, just as does the consumption of coal by a steam engine, of oil by a wheel or of hay by a horse; or the whole private consumption of a working slave. It is in this sense that e.g. *Ricardo* (see above, note 127[a]) enumerates "food and clothing" alongside raw materials, tools, etc., as things which give "EFFECT TO LABOUR" and therefore serve as "capital" in the labour process. But [469f] however things may turn out *in fact*, when the free worker consumes the means of subsistence they are commodities he has *bought*. As soon as they pass into his hands, and therefore all the more so as soon as they have been consumed by him, they cease to be capital. They therefore do not constitute any part of the *material elements* in which *capital* appears in the *direct production process*, although they do constitute the *material form of existence* of the *variable capital* which figures on the *market*, within the *sphere of circulation*, as the buyer of labour capacity.[135)]

When a capitalist converts 400 thalers out of 500 into means of production and lays out 100 for the purchase of labour capacity, those 100 thalers form his *variable* capital. With them the workers buy means of subsistence, either from the same capitalist or from others. The 100 thalers are only the *monetary form* of these means of subsistence, which therefore in fact form the *material content* of the variable capital. The variable capital no longer exists within the *direct production process* in the monetary form or the commodity form; it exists in the form of the *living labour* which it has appropriated by buying labour capacity. And it is only through this conversion of variable capital into labour that the quantity of value advanced in money or commodities is converted at all into

135) This is the correct point which lies at the basis of *Rossi's* polemic against including the means of subsistence among the components of productive capital. But we shall see in a later chapter how incorrectly he conceives the matter, and the degree of confusion he argues himself into in consequence of this.[b]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 404-05.—*Ed.*

[b] P. [L. E.] Rossi, *Cours d'économie politique. Année 1836-1837.* In: *Cours d'économie politique*, Brussels, 1843. See also present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 510-14, Vol. 30, pp. 141, 145-51, and Vol. 31, pp. 189-95.—*Ed.*

*capital.* Hence although the *sale and purchase of labour capacity,* by which the conversion of a part of the capital into variable capital is *conditioned,* is a process which precedes the *direct production process,* and is separate from and independent of it, it forms the *absolute foundation* for the capitalist production process and it forms a *moment* of this production process itself, when we consider the latter as *a whole* and not only at the moment of the direct production of commodities. Objective wealth is converted into capital solely because the worker sells his labour capacity in order to live. The *objects* which are the objective conditions of labour, hence the *means of production,* and the *objects* which are the objective conditions for the preservation of the worker himself, hence the *means of subsistence,* only become *capital* when faced with *wage labour.* Capital is no more a *thing* than money is. In capital, as in money, definite *social relations of production between persons* are expressed *as the relations of things* to persons, or definite social connections appear as *social characteristics belonging naturally* to things. As soon as the individuals confront each other as free persons, there is no production of surplus value without *a wage system.* Without the production of surplus value there is no capitalist production, hence no capital and no capitalist! Capital and wage labour (this is what we call the labour of the worker who sells his own labour capacity) merely express two factors in the same relation. Money cannot become capital without being exchanged for labour capacity as a commodity sold by the worker himself. Labour, on the other hand, can only appear as wage labour when its *own* objective conditions meet it as egoistical powers, as alien property, value existing for itself and holding fast to itself, in short as capital. So if capital can only consist from the material point of view—or from the point of view of the use values in which it exists—of the objective conditions of labour itself, these objective conditions must from the formal point of view confront labour as *alien, independent* powers, as value—objectified labour—to which living labour is the mere means of its own preservation and expansion. Wage labour, or the wage system, is therefore a necessary social form of labour for capitalist production, just as capital, potentiated value, is a necessary social form which the objective conditions of labour must assume for the labour to be wage labour. Wage labour is therefore a necessary condition for the formation of capital, and it remains the constantly necessary presupposition for capitalist production. So although the first process, the exchange of money for labour capacity, or the sale of labour capacity, does not enter as such into

the direct production process, it does in contrast enter into the production of the relation as a whole.[136)]

The first process, the sale and purchase of labour capacity, presupposes that the means of production and the means of subsistence have achieved independence vis-à-vis the real worker, and therefore presupposes *personified* means of production and subsistence, which conclude contracts as *buyers* with the workers as sellers. If we now pass from this process, which occurs in the *sphere of circulation*, on the *commodity market*, to the *direct production process* itself, we find that the latter is above all a *labour process*. In the labour process the worker enters as worker into a normal, active relation to the means of production, determined by the nature and purpose of the labour itself. He appropriates the means of production and treats them merely as the means and material of his labour. The independent existence of these means of production, to which [469g] they held fast, and their self-willed character, their separation from labour, are now in fact *superseded*. The objective conditions of labour step forth in their normal unity with labour, as the mere material for, and the organs of, labour's creative functioning. The worker treats the hide he is tanning as merely the object on which his creative activity is exerted, not as capital. He does not tan the capitalist's hide.[137)] To the extent that the production process is simply a *labour process*, the worker

[136)] One can therefore conclude from this what an *F. Bastiat* understands of the essence of capitalist production when he declares the *wage system* to be a formality, external to capitalist production and irrelevant to it, and makes the discovery "that it is not *the form of the remuneration* which creates this dependence for him" (for the worker) (*Harmonies économiques*, Paris, 1851, [p.] 378).[a] This is a discovery—as well as being a misunderstood piece of plagiarism from genuine political economists—worthy of the eloquent ignoramus who also discovered, in the same work, hence in 1851, that "what is still more decisive and unmistakable is the *disappearance of the great industrial crises* in England" ([p.] 396).[a] Although F. Bastiat had decreed the removal of great crises from England in 1851, that country again enjoyed a great crisis in 1857, and only avoided another industrial crisis of previously unimagined extent in 1861 because of the outbreak of the American Civil War; one can read this even in the official reports of the English Chambers of Commerce.[228]

[137)] "We see further from the explanations of the economist himself that, in the *process of production*, capital, the result of labour, is *immediately* transformed again into the substratum, into the material of labour; and that therefore the momentarily postulated *separation of capital from labour* is immediately *superseded by the unity of both*" (F. Engels, [*Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy.* In:] *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, etc., [Paris, 1844,] p. 99).[b]

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[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 3, p. 430.—*Ed.*

consumes the means of production in this process simply as *means of subsistence of labour.* But to the extent that the production process is at the same time a *valorisation process,* the capitalist consumes the worker's labour capacity in it, or appropriates living labour as the life-blood of capital. The raw material, the object of labour in general, serves only to *soak up* alien labour, and the instrument of labour serves only as a duct, a conduit, for this *process of absorption.* Through the incorporation of living labour capacity into the objective components of capital, the latter becomes a monster endowed with life, and begins to function "as though it had love in its bosom".[a] Since labour creates value solely in a particular useful form, and since every specific useful kind of labour requires material and means of labour which possess a specific use value, [e.g.] spindles and cotton, etc., for the labour of spinning, anvil, hammer and iron for the labour of the smith, and so on, the labour can only be absorbed in so far as capital takes on the shape of the specific means of production required for particular labour processes, and only in this shape can capital absorb living labour. Here, therefore, one sees why the *material* elements of the labour process are seen as *capital* on account of their material characteristics by the capitalist, the worker and the political *economist,* the last-mentioned being capable of thinking of the labour process only as a labour process appropriated by capital. One also sees why the political economist is incapable of separating their material existence, as simply factors of the labour process, from the *social* quality attaching to them, which makes them into *capital.* He cannot do this because in reality the same identical labour process which the means of production serve through their material characteristics as mere means of subsistence of labour, converts those means of production into mere means for the absorption of labour. The worker makes use of the means of production in the labour process, considered in isolation. But in the labour process which is at the same time a capitalist production process the means of production make use of the worker, with the result that labour appears only as a means whereby a certain *amount of value,* hence a certain amount of *objectified* labour, absorbs living labour in order to preserve and increase itself. Thus the labour process appears as a *process of the self-valorisation* of objectified labour by means of living labour.[138] *Capital* employs the

138) *"*Labour* is the *agency* by which capital is made productive of ... profit"* (John Wade, l.c. [*History of the Middle and Working Classes...*], p. 161). "In

[a] Goethe, *Faust,* Part I, "Auerbach's Cellar in Leipzig".—*Ed.*

*worker*, not the *worker capital*, and it is only *things which employ the worker* and therefore, in the shape of the capitalist, possess *selfhood*, and a consciousness and will of their own, which are *capital*.[139] In so far as the labour process is merely the means and the real form of the *valorisation process*, hence in so far as it is a process which consists in the objectification in commodities of a *surplus of unpaid labour, surplus value*, over and above the labour which was objectified in wages, hence in the *production of surplus value*, the essential point of this whole process is the exchange of *objectified labour* with *living labour*, the exchange of less *objectified labour* for more *living labour*. In the process of exchange itself, a quantity of labour objectified in money as a commodity is exchanged for a quantity of labour of equal magnitude, objectified in living labour capacity. [469h] In line with the law of value governing the exchange of commodities, equivalents are exchanged, *equal quantities* of objectified labour, although one quantity is objectified in a thing, the other in a living person. However, this exchange only introduces the *production process*, by means of which more labour is in fact obtained in living form than was expended in objectified form. The great merit of classical

bourgeois society, living labour is but a means to increase accumulated labour" ([K. Marx and F. Engels,] *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*, 1848, p. 12[a]).

[139] The particular *economic* character of the *means of subsistence*, that they buy workers, or the character of the *means of production*, such as leather and lasts, that they *employ* journeymen cobblers, this inverted relation between thing and person, hence their *capitalist* character, is so inseparably *bound up* with the *material* character of the elements of production in the system of capitalist production, and therefore in the imagination of the political economists, that *Ricardo*, for example, despite regarding it as necessary to give a more precise characterisation of the material elements of capital, employs without further reservations or further remarks, as *self-evident*, the economically *correct* expressions "*CAPITAL*, OR THE *MEANS OF EMPLOYING LABOUR*" (hence not "*MEANS* EMPLOYED BY LABOUR" but "MEANS OF EMPLOYING LABOUR") (l.c. [*On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*], p. 92), "QUANTITY OF LABOUR EMPLOYED BY A CAPITAL" (ibid., p. 419), and "THE FUND WHICH IS TO EMPLOY THEM" (THE LABOURERS) (p. 252), etc. How could one have explained to an ancient Greek or Roman such expressions as "THOUGH THE *EXISTING MASS OF COMMODITIES SHOULD COMMAND LESS LABOUR* THAN BEFORE, etc." (*An Inquiry into those Principles, respecting the Nature of Demand etc.*, p. 60), where the commodity's command over labour is directly referred to? In the present-day German language, too, the capitalist, the personification of the *things* which take labour, is called "*the giver of labour*" [*Arbeitsgeber*] and the actual worker, who gives labour, is called "*the taker of labour*" [*Arbeitsnehmer*]. "In bourgeois society capital is independent and has individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality" ([K. Marx and F. Engels,] *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*, l.c.[a]).

[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, p. 499.—*Ed.*

political economy is therefore that it presented the whole production process as a process of this kind between *objectified labour* and *living labour*, and hence it presented capital, as opposed to living labour, solely as *objectified* labour, i.e. as *value* which *valorises* itself by means of living labour. Classical political economy's deficiencies here are firstly that it was incapable of demonstrating how this exchange of more living labour for less objectified labour fits in with the law of the *exchange of commodities*, the determination of the values of commodities by labour time, and secondly, therefore, that it directly lumped together the exchange of a definite quantity of *objectified* labour for labour capacity in the *circulation process* with the absorption of living labour in the production process by the *objectified* labour which is present in the shape of means of production. It lumps together the *process of exchange* between variable capital and labour capacity with the process of the absorption of living labour by constant capital. This deficiency too arises from classical political economy's "capitalist" prejudices, because the capitalist himself, who only pays for labour after it has been performed, regards the exchange of a small quantity of objectified labour for a large quantity of living labour as *one single unmediated process*. Hence if the modern political economist counterposes capital, as *objectified labour*, to living labour, he understands by objectified labour not the *products of labour* in the sense in which they possess a use value and are the embodiment of particular useful acts of labour, but in the sense in which they are the material expression of a particular *quantity* of general social labour, hence are *value*, money, which *valorises* itself by appropriating alien living labour. This appropriation is mediated by the exchange between variable capital and labour capacity, which takes place on the *commodity market*, but is only completed in the real production process.[140)]

140) Direct labour and objectified labour, present and past labour, living and hoarded labour, etc., are therefore forms in which the political economists express the relation between capital and labour.

*"Labour and Capital ... the one *immediate* labour, ... the other *hoarded labour*"* (James Mill, *Elements of Political Economy*, London, 1821, p. 75). *"*Antecedent labour* (capital) ... *present labour*"* (E. G. Wakefield, in his edition of Adam Smith [*An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*], Vol. I, London, 1835, p. 231, note). *"*Accumulated labour* (capital) ... *immediate labour*"* (Torrens, l.c. [*An Essay on the Production of Wealth...*, London, 1821], CH. I [p. 31]).

*"*Labour* and *Capital*, that is, *accumulated labour*"* (Ricardo, l.c. [*On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*], p. 499).

*"The *specific* advances of the capitalists do not consist of cloth"* (or of any use values at all), *"but of *labour*"* (Malthus, *The Measure of Value etc.*, London, 1823, p. 17).

The subordination of the labour process to capital does not at first change the real mode of production in any way, and its only practical effect is as follows: the worker comes under the command, the direction, and the overall supervision of the capitalist, only in relation to his labour which belongs to capital, of course. The capitalist takes care that the worker wastes no time, and e.g. produces every hour the product of an hour's labour, employing only the average amount of labour time necessary to produce the product. To the extent that the capital-relation dominates production, and the worker therefore constantly appears on the market as a seller and the capitalist as a buyer, the labour process is itself by and large *continuous* and not interrupted, as it would be if the worker, as an independent producer of commodities, depended on the sale [469i] of his commodities to individual customers, since the minimum amount of capital must be large enough to employ the worker continuously and wait for the sale of the commodities.[141] Finally, the capitalist compels the

"Just as everyone is forced to consume before he produces, the poor worker finds himself *dependent* upon the rich man, and can neither live nor work without obtaining from him existing produce and commodities, in exchange for those he promises to produce by his own labour... To make him" // i.e. the rich man // "consent to this, it was necessary to agree that whenever *labour already performed* was exchanged for *labour yet to be done*, the latter would have a higher value than the former" (Sismondi, *De la richesse commerciale*, Vol. I, Geneva, 1803, pp. 36, 37).[a]

Mr. *W. Roscher*, who evidently has no idea of what the English political economists are saying, and apart from this inopportunely recalls that Senior has baptised capital "*ABSTINENCE*", makes the following grammatically "*acute*" professorial observation: "The school of Ricardo is also accustomed to subsume capital under the concept of labour, as 'hoarded labour'. This is *clumsy*, because after all (!) the owner of capital has even so (!) done *more* (!) than *merely* (!) *produce* (!) and *preserve it* (!); namely he has *abstained* from enjoying it himself, in return for which he demands e.g. interest" (W. Roscher, l.c. [*Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie...*, 1858, p. 82]).[b]

141) *"If in the progress of time a change takes place in their economical position"* (i.e. the *workmen's), "if they become the workmen of a capitalist who advances their wages beforehand, two things take place. First, they *can* now labour continuously; and, secondly, an agent is provided, whose office and whose interest it will be, to see that they *do* labour continuously... Here, then, is an increased continuity in the labour of all this class of persons. They labour daily from morning to night, and are not interrupted by waiting for or seeking the customer... But the continuity of labour, thus made possible, is secured and improved by the superintendence of the capitalist. He has advanced their wages; he is to receive the products of their labour. It is his interest and his privilege to see that they do not

[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

[b] The exclamation marks in brackets are Marx's.—*Ed.*

worker to prolong the duration of the labour process as far as possible beyond the limits of the labour time necessary for the reproduction of the wage, for this *surplus of labour* is precisely what provides the capitalist with *surplus value.*[142)]

Just as the owner of commodities is only interested in the use value of the commodity as the vehicle of its exchange value, so the capitalist is only interested in the labour process as the vehicle and instrument of the valorisation process. Within the production process too—in so far as it is a valorisation process—the means of production continue to be simply monetary values, for which the particular material shape, the particular use value, in which this exchange value is expressed is a matter of indifference, just as labour itself does not count within the production process as productive activity of a particular useful character, but as the substance that creates value, as social labour in general which is being objectified, and of which the only interesting aspect is *its quantity.* For capital, therefore, every particular sphere of production counts only as a particular sphere in which money is invested in order to make more money, in order to preserve and increase existing value or to appropriate *surplus labour.* The labour process is different, and therefore the factors of the labour process are different, in every individual sphere of production. One cannot make any boots with spindles, cotton, and spinners. But the investment of capital in one or the other sphere of production, the division of the total capital of society between the various spheres

labour interruptedly or dilatorily"* (R. Jones, l.c. [*Text-book of Lectures on the Political Economy of Nations...*, Hertford, 1852], p. 38 sqq. *passim*).

142) "An axiom generally admitted by economists is that all labour must leave a surplus. In my opinion this proposition is universally and absolutely true: it is the corollary of the law of proportion" (!), "which may be regarded as the summary of the whole of economic science. But, if the economists will permit me to say so, the principle that *all labour must leave a surplus* is meaningless according to their theory, and is not susceptible of any *demonstration*" (Proudhon, [*Système des contradictions économiques, ou*] *Philosophie de la misère* [Vol. I, Paris, 1846, p. 73]).[a] I have shown in my work *Misère de la philosophie. Réponse à la philosophie de la misère de M. Proudhon*, Paris, 1847, pp. 76-91,[b] that Mr. Proudhon does not have the slightest idea of the nature of this "*surplus of labour*", which is in fact the *surplus product* in which the surplus labour or unpaid labour of the worker is expressed. Since he finds that all labour in fact produces a "surplus" of this kind in capitalist production, he endeavours to explain this fact by calling upon some sort of mysterious natural quality in labour, and to escape from his embarrassment by using such *sesquepedalia verba*[c] as "corollary of the law of proportion", etc.[229]

[a] Here and further in this passage Marx quotes from Proudhon in French.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 152-60.—*Ed.*

[c] Bombastic, meaningless and long-winded expressions.—*Ed.*

of production, and finally the degree to which capital migrates from one sphere of production to another, are all determined by the changing proportions in which society requires the products of these particular spheres of production, i.e. the use value of the commodities they produce; for although only the exchange value of a commodity is paid, it is never bought for any other reason than its use value.

But capital is in and for itself indifferent towards the *specificity* of every sphere of production, and where it is invested, how it is invested, and to what extent it passes from one sphere of production into another, or its distribution between the various spheres of production alters, is determined solely by the greater or lesser difficulty experienced in selling the commodities produced by one or the other sphere of production. In reality this fluidity of capital is slowed down by frictions, which we do not need to consider here any further. But on the one hand, as we shall see later, it creates means of overcoming these frictions, in so far as they arise solely from the nature of the relation of production itself, and on the other hand the development of the mode of production peculiar to capital removes all legal and extra-economic obstacles to its free movement in the various spheres of production. Above all it overturns all the legal or traditional barriers preventing it from buying whatever kind of labour capacity it thinks fit, or appropriating any kind of labour at all at its good pleasure. Furthermore, although labour capacity possesses a particular shape in every particular sphere of production, as the capacity for spinning, shoemaking, blacksmithing, etc., although, in short, every particular sphere of production requires a labour capacity which has developed in a particular direction, a *specialised* labour capacity, that fluidity of capital, its indifference towards the particular character of the labour [469k] process it is appropriating, presupposes the same fluidity or *versatility* in labour, hence in the ability of the worker to employ his labour capacity. We shall see that the capitalist mode of production itself creates these economic obstacles to its own tendency, but it removes all *legal* and *extra-economic* obstacles to the versatility we are discussing.[143] Just as capital, as self-valorising value, is indifferent to the particular material shape in which it appears in the labour process, whether as steam engine, manure heap or silk, so the worker is indifferent to the *particular content* of his labour. His labour

143) * "Every man, if not restrained by law, would pass from one employment to another, as the various turns in trade should require" * (*Considerations Concerning Taking Off the Bounty on Corn Exported etc.*, London, 1753, [p.] 4).

belongs to capital, it is merely the use value of the commodity he has sold, and he has only sold it in order to appropriate to himself money, and, with that money, the means of subsistence. He is only interested in changes in the kind of labour [needed] because every particular kind of labour demands a different development of labour capacity. While his indifference towards the particular content of his labour does not provide him with the ability to change his labour capacity to order, he shows this indifference by throwing his replacements, the succeeding generation, from one branch of labour to the other according to the requirements of the market. The higher the development of capitalist production in a country, the greater the demand for *versatility* in labour capacity, the more indifferent the worker is towards the *particular content* of his labour, and the greater the fluidity of capital's movement from one sphere of production to another. Classical political economy presupposes as axioms the *versatility* of labour capacity and the *fluidity* of capital, and justifiably so to the extent that this is the tendency of the capitalist mode of production, which asserts itself ruthlessly despite all obstacles, which are for the most part created by capitalist production itself. In order to present the laws of political economy in their purity, abstraction is made from these frictions, just as in pure mechanics abstraction is made from particular frictions which have to be overcome in each particular case of its application.[144)]

Although the capitalist and the worker only confront each other

[144)] Nowhere is the fluidity of capital, the versatility of labour and the indifference of the worker towards the content of his labour more clearly apparent than in the United States of North America. In Europe, and even in England, capitalist production continues to be haunted and falsified by feudal reminiscences. The fact that e.g. baking, shoemaking, etc., are only now starting to be carried on *in the capitalist fashion* in England, is entirely due to the circumstance that English capital had feudal prejudices about "respectability". It was "respectable" to sell Negroes into slavery, but it wasn't "respectable" to make sausages, boots or bread. All the machinery which subordinates the "disreputable" European branches of business to the capitalist mode of production therefore originates from the United States. On the other hand, people are nowhere as indifferent to the kind of labour they perform as in the United States; nowhere else are people so aware that their labour always delivers *the same* product, money, and nowhere else do people pass with the same nonchalance through the most disparate branches of labour. This "versatility" of labour capacity therefore appears here as a completely distinct quality of the free worker in contrast to the working slave, whose labour capacity is fixed, and can only be employed in the locally traditional manner. * "Slave labour is eminently defective in point of versatility... if tobacco be cultivated, tobacco becomes the sole staple, and tobacco is produced whatever be the state of the market, and whatever be the condition of the soil" * (Cairnes, l.c., [*The Slave Power: Its Character, Career, and Probable Designs...*, London, 1862, pp.] 46, 47).

on the market as *buyer,* money, and *seller,* commodity, this relation has from the outset a characteristic coloration owing to the peculiar content of the transaction; the more so, in that the capitalist mode of production presupposes that the presence of both sides on the market in *the same* antithetical determination is *constantly* repeated, or is a constant one. If we consider the relation of commodity owners as such on the market, we see the same commodity owner appear alternately as seller and buyer of commodities. The fact that two commodity owners are distinguished from each other as buyers and sellers is only a constantly disappearing difference, in that all alternately play the same roles towards each other in the sphere of circulation. Admittedly, the worker too becomes a buyer, after he has sold his labour capacity, converted it into money, and he is now confronted by the capitalists as mere sellers of commodities. But in his hands the money is only a means of circulation. On the actual *commodity market* the worker is in fact only distinguished as a buyer from the commodity owner as a seller, just like everyone else who possesses money. But on the *labour market* it is different: here *money* always confronts him as the money form of *capital,* and therefore the money owner confronts him as capital personified, *a capitalist,* just as for his part the worker confronts the money owner as [469l] merely the personification of labour capacity, and therefore of labour, as *a worker.*

"The relation of the manufacturer to his operatives is ... purely economic. The manufacturer is 'Capital', the operative 'Labour'." [145)]

It is not a mere buyer and a mere seller who face each other, it is *a capitalist* and *a worker,* who face each other in the sphere of circulation, on the market, as *buyer* and *seller.* Their relation as *capitalist* and *worker* is the presupposition for their relation as *buyer* and *seller.* This is not, as with other sellers of commodities, a relation that arises absolutely from the nature of the commodity itself, such as that no one directly produces products for his own needs, but rather that everyone produces a particular product as a *commodity,* and then through selling it appropriates the products of others. What we are dealing with here is not the *social division of labour* and independent position of the different branches of labour vis-à-vis each other which makes e.g. the shoemaker into a seller of boots and a buyer of leather or bread. It is rather the

[145)] F. Engels, [*Die*] *Lage der arbeitenden Klasse etc.,* [Leipzig, 1845,] p. 329.[a]

[a] See present edition, Vol. 4, p. 563.—*Ed.*

*division* of the associated *elements of the production process* themselves, and their *achievement of an independent position* vis-à-vis each other, which proceeds as far as their reciprocal personification. This is what makes *money*, as the general form of *objectified labour*, into a *buyer* of labour capacity, of the living source of *exchange value* and therefore of wealth. *Real* wealth, which is *money*, if seen from the point of view of exchange value, and *the means of subsistence and the means of production*, if seen from the point of view of use value, confronts the worker, the *potentiality* of wealth, i.e. labour capacity, as one person confronting another person.

[469m] Since *surplus value* is the specific product of the production process, its product is not only the commodity but *capital*. Labour is converted into capital within the production process. The functioning of labour capacity, i.e. labour, *objectifies* itself in the production process, and thus becomes value, but since the labour ceases to belong to the worker even before it starts, what is objectified for the worker is *the objectification of alien labour*, and therefore value independently confronting labour capacity, *capital*. The *product* belongs to the capitalist, and it represents capital vis-à-vis the worker just as much as the *elements of production* do. On the other hand, existing value—or money—only *genuinely* becomes capital, firstly, by presenting itself as self-valorising value, value *in process* (and it does present itself as such in that the functioning of labour capacity, labour, takes effect within the production process as energy incorporated into it, and belonging to it), and, secondly, by distinguishing itself as *surplus value* from itself as *value* originally pre-posited, which is in turn a result of the objectification of surplus labour.

In the production process, labour becomes *objectified labour* as opposed to living labour capacity, i.e. it becomes capital; a second result of this absorption and appropriation of labour in the production process is that the value pre-posited becomes value *in process*, and therefore value which creates a surplus value distinct from itself. Only through the conversion of labour into capital during the production process is the pre-posited quantity of value, which was only δυνάμει [a] capital, realised as *actual capital*.[146)]

146) "They" (the workers) "exchange their labour" (this should read "their labour capacity") "for corn" // i.e. the means of subsistence //. "This becomes their income" //i.e. falls to their share as individual consumption// "...whereas their *labour* has become *capital* for their master" (Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes* [*d'économie politique...*], Vol. I, p. 90). "The workers, giving their labour in exchange, *convert* it [the product] *into capital*" (l.c., p. 105).

[a] Potentially.— *Ed.*

[469] There is one further remark to be made about value or money as objectification of general average social labour: the labour of spinning, for example, may in itself stand *above* or *below* the level of average social labour. I.e. a given quantity of spinning labour may be equal to, greater than, or less than, the same quantity of average social labour, e.g. labour time of the same magnitude (length), objectified in a given quantity of money. But if the labour of spinning is performed with the degree of intensity normal in its *sphere,* hence if the amount of labour employed in yarn manufactured in the course of an hour=the normal quantity of yarn an hour of spinning labour provides on an average under the given social conditions, the labour objectified in the yarn will be *socially necessary labour.* As such it has a quantitatively determined relation to the average social labour in general which serves as a yardstick, representing accordingly a quantity of the latter, which can be the same, greater or smaller. It therefore itself expresses a *definite quantity* of average social labour.

### *Formal Subsumption of Labour under Capital*

The labour process becomes the instrument of the valorisation process, of the process of capital's self-valorisation—the process of the creation of surplus value. The labour process is subsumed under capital (it is capital's *own* process) and the capitalist enters the process as its conductor, its director; for him it is at the same time directly a process of the exploitation of alien labour. I call this the *formal subsumption of labour under capital.* It is the *general* form of any capitalist production process; but at the same time it is a *particular* form alongside the developed *mode of production which is specifically capitalist,* because the second involves the first, but the first by no means necessarily involves the second.

[470] The production process has become the process of capital itself. It is a process which proceeds with the *factors of the labour process,* into which the capitalist's money has been converted, and which proceeds under his direction, and with the purpose of using money to make more money.

When the peasant who previously produced independently for himself becomes a day labourer working for a farmer; when the hierarchical structure valid for the mode of production of the guild type disappears, to be replaced by the simple antithesis between the capitalist and the handicraftsman who is set to work for him as a wage labourer; when the man who was previously a

slaveholder employs his former slaves as wage labourers, etc., production processes with a different social determination are thereby converted into the production process of capital. With this, there occur the changes discussed earlier. The previously independent peasant becomes, as a factor in the production process, dependent on the capitalist, who directs that process; his very employment depends on a contract he has concluded in advance as a commodity owner (an owner of labour power) with the capitalist as a money owner. The slave ceases to be an instrument of production belonging to the employer of that instrument. The relation between master and journeyman vanishes. The master stood towards the journeyman in the relation of master of the craft. Now he relates to him merely as the owner of capital, just as the journeyman now only confronts the master as a seller of labour. Before the production process they all confront each other as owners of commodities, having only a *monetary relation* in common; *within* the production process, as personified agents of the factors of that process. The capitalist functions as "capital", the direct producer as "labour", and their relation is determined by labour, as a mere factor in self-valorising capital.

Furthermore, the capitalist takes care that the labour possesses the normal level of quality and intensity, and he prolongs the labour process as much as possible, since the amount of surplus value produced by it thereby increases. There is a growth in the *continuity* of labour when the producers, instead of being dependent as previously on individual customers, no longer have any commodities to sell, but possess a permanent paymaster in the shape of the capitalist.

The mystification inherent in the *capital-relation* also enters the picture. Labour's power of preserving value appears as capital's power of self-preservation, labour's power of creating value appears as capital's power of self-valorisation, and altogether, in line with the concept, *objectified* labour appears as the employer of *living* labour.

Despite all this, the CHANGE indicated does not mean that an essential change takes place from the outset in the real way in which the labour process is carried on, in the real production process. On the contrary, it is in the nature of the matter that where a subsumption of the labour process under capital takes place it occurs on the basis of an *existing labour process*, which was there before its subsumption under capital, and was formed on the basis of various earlier processes of production and other conditions of production. Capital thus subsumes under itself a

*given, existing labour process,* such as handicraft labour, the mode of agriculture corresponding to small-scale independent peasant farming. If changes take place in these traditional *labour processes* which have been brought under the command of capital, these modifications can only be the gradual *consequences* of the subsumption of given, traditional labour processes under capital, which has already occurred. The fact that the labour becomes more intensive, or the duration of the labour process is prolonged, that the labour becomes more continuous and more systematic under the eyes of the interested capitalist, etc., none of these things changes the character of the real labour process itself, the real mode of labour. This therefore forms a great contrast to the specifically *capitalist mode of production* (labour on a large scale, etc.) which, as has been shown, takes shape as capitalist production progresses, and which *revolutionises* the kind of labour done and the real mode of the entire labour process, simultaneously with the relations between the various agents of production. It is in order to mark the contrast with the latter mode of the labour process that we call the subsumption of the labour process under capital examined so far[230]—which is the subsumption under capital of a mode of labour already developed before the emergence of the capital-relation—*the formal subsumption of labour under capital.* The capital-relation is a *relation of compulsion,* the aim of which is to extract surplus labour by prolonging labour time—it is a relation of compulsion which does not rest on any personal relations of domination and dependence, but simply arises out of the difference in economic functions. This capital-relation as a relation of compulsion is common to both modes of production, but the specifically capitalist mode of production also possesses other ways of extracting surplus value. If, in contrast to this, the basis is an existing mode of labour, hence a *given* level of development of the productive power of labour and a mode of labour which corresponds to this productive power, surplus value can only be created by *prolonging labour time,* hence in the manner of *absolute surplus value.* Therefore, where this is the sole form of production of surplus value, we have the *formal subsumption of labour under capital.*

[471] The general moments of the labour process, as presented in CHAPTER II,[231] thus e.g. the diremption placing the objective conditions of labour—the material and means of labour—on one side, and the living activity of the worker himself, etc., on the other, are determinations independent of whatever is the historical and specifically the social character of the production process, and

they remain equally true for all possible forms of development of the latter; they are in fact the unalterable natural conditions of human labour. This is strikingly demonstrated straight away by the fact that they are valid for human beings working independently, producing, not in an exchange with society, but only in an exchange with nature, such as Robinson Crusoe, etc. They are therefore in fact absolute determinants of *human* labour altogether, once human beings have worked their way out of their purely animal character.

What from the outset distinguishes the labour process subsumed under capital, even when it is only formally subsumed, and what distinguishes it more and more, even on the basis of the old, traditional mode of labour, is the *scale* on which it is carried on, hence on the one hand the extent of the means of production advanced, and on the other hand the number of workers under the control of the same EMPLOYER. What appears as a maximum on the basis of e.g. the handicraft mode of production (e.g. with regard to the number of journeymen) hardly even forms a minimum for the capital-relation. For in fact the latter can hardly enter the picture more than nominally unless the capitalist employs at least enough workers for the surplus value produced by them to be sufficient to serve as income for his own private consumption, and as a fund for accumulation, so that he himself is exempted from direct labour and only works now as a *capitalist*, as the overseer and director of the process, performing as it were the function of capital engaged in its valorisation process and virtually endowed with will and consciousness. And this expansion of the *scale* of production forms the real basis on which the specifically capitalist mode of production emerges, under otherwise favourable historical circumstances, such as those of the 16th century, although it of course may appear *sporadically* at isolated points, not as dominating over society, within earlier forms of society.

The distinguishing character of the *formal subsumption of labour under capital* can be made most plain by comparison with situations in which capital already exists in particular subordinate functions, but not yet in its ruling function, the function in which it determines the general form of society, as directly buying labour and directly appropriating the production process. *Usurers' capital*, for example, in so far as it advances raw material, instrument of labour or even both, in the form of money, to the direct producer, as e.g. in India. The immense interest it charges, the interest payments in general it thus extorts from the direct producer, irrespective of their size, are only another name for surplus value.

In fact it converts its money into capital by extorting unpaid labour, surplus labour, from the direct producer. But it does not become involved in the production process itself; this continues alongside it in its traditional manner. Usurers' capital springs up in part because of the *stunted development* of this mode of production, and in part it is a means of *keeping it stunted*, and making it continue to vegetate in the most unfavourable conditions. Here the formal subsumption of labour under capital does *not yet* take place. Another example is *merchants' capital*, in so far as it gives out orders to a number of direct producers, then collects and sells their products, in which connection it may also advance raw material, etc., or also make monetary advances, etc. This is the form out of which the modern capital-relation in part developed, and it still forms here and there the transition to the capital-relation proper. Here too no formal subsumption of labour under capital has yet taken place. The direct producer continues to be both a seller of commodities and an employer of his own labour. But the transition is already present here to a greater extent than in the relation of usurers' capital. Both of these forms, to which we shall return at some later point, are reproduced as parallel and transitional forms within the capitalist mode of production.

### [472] *The Real Subsumption of Labour under Capital or the Specifically Capitalist Mode of Production*

In *Chapter III*[232] we exhaustively analysed how the whole real shape of the mode of production changes with the *production of relative surplus value* //in the case of the individual capitalist, in so far as he seizes the *initiative*, it is spurred on by the fact that value=the socially necessary labour time objectified in the product, and therefore *surplus value* begins to be created for him once the *individual* value of his product stands *below* its social value, and can as a result be sold *above* its individual value// and how a specifically *capitalist mode of production* arises (technologically as well), on the basis of which, and with which, there also begins a simultaneous development of the *relations of production* corresponding to the capitalist production process—relations between the different agents of production, in particular between the capitalist and the wage labourer.

The *social* productive powers of labour, or the productive powers of directly *social, socialised* (common) labour, are developed through cooperation, through the division of labour within the workshop, the employment of *machinery*, and in general through

the transformation of the production process into a conscious *application* of the natural sciences, mechanics, chemistry, etc., for particular purposes, *technology*, etc., as well as by *working on a large scale*, which corresponds to all these advances, etc. //This socialised labour alone is capable of applying the *general* products of human development, such as mathematics, etc., to the *direct* production process, just as, conversely, the development of the sciences presupposes that the material production process has attained a certain level.// This development of the productive power of *socialised labour*, as opposed to the more or less isolated labour of the individual, etc., and, alongside it, the *application of science*, that *general* product of social development, to the *direct production process*, has the appearance of a *productive power of capital*, not of labour, or it only appears as a productive power of labour in so far as the latter is identical with capital, and in any case it does not appear as the productive power either of the individual worker or of the workers combined together in the production process. The mystification which lies in the capital-relation in general is now much more developed than it was, or could be, in the case of the merely formal subsumption of labour under capital. On the other hand, the historical significance of capitalist production first emerges here in striking fashion (and specifically), precisely through the transformation of the direct production process itself, and the development of the social productive powers of labour.

It was demonstrated in CHAPTER III that the "social character", etc., of the worker's labour confronts him, both "notionally" and "in fact", as not only alien, but hostile and antagonistic, and as objectified and personified in capital.

Just as the production of absolute surplus value can be regarded as the material expression of the formal subsumption of labour under capital, so the production of relative surplus value can be regarded as that of the real subsumption of labour under capital.

In any case, if each of the two forms of surplus value—absolute and relative—is considered for itself, in its separate existence—and absolute surplus value always precedes relative—we can say that two separate forms of the subsumption of labour under capital, or two separate forms of capitalist production, correspond to the two forms of surplus value. The first form of production always constitutes the predecessor of the second, although the second, which is the further developed form, can in turn form the basis for the introduction of the first in new branches of production.[a]

[a] See this volume, p. 95.—*Ed.*

## [473] //*Supplementary Remarks on the Formal Subsumption of Labour under Capital*

Before we proceed any further in considering the real subsumption of labour under capital, the following supplementary remarks are taken from my notebooks.[65]

I call the form which rests on absolute surplus value *the formal subsumption of labour under capital* because it is distinguished only *formally* from the earlier modes of production on the basis of which it directly originates (is introduced), modes in which either the producers are SELF-EMPLOYING, or the direct producers have to provide surplus labour for others. *The compulsion* exerted there, i.e. the method of extracting surplus labour, is of a different kind. The essential features of *formal subsumption* are these: 1) the purely money relation between the person who is appropriating the surplus labour and the person who provides it; to the extent that *subordination* arises, it arises from the *particular content of the sale,* not from a *subordination* pre-posited to *the sale,* which might have placed the producer in a relation other than the money relation (the relation of one commodity owner to another) towards the exploiter of his labour, as a consequence of political conditions, etc. It is *only* as owner of the conditions of labour that the buyer brings the seller into a condition of *economic* dependency; it is not any kind of political and socially fixed relation of domination and subordination.

2) Something implied by the first relation—for otherwise the worker would not have to sell his labour capacity—namely the fact that the *objective conditions of his labour* (the means of production) and the *subjective conditions of his labour* (the means of subsistence) confront him as *capital,* as monopolised by the buyer of his labour capacity. The more completely these *conditions of labour* confront him as alien property, the more completely does *the relation of capital and wage labour* occur *formally,* hence the formal subsumption of labour under capital, which is the condition and presupposition of its *real* subsumption.

As yet there is no difference in the mode of production itself. The *labour process,* seen from the *technological point of view,* continues exactly as it did before, except that now it is a labour process *subordinated* to capital. Nevertheless, there develops within the production process itself, as previously demonstrated, 1) an *economic* relation of domination and subordination, in that the consumption of labour capacity is done by the capitalist, and is therefore supervised and directed by him; and 2) a great

continuity and intensity of labour and a greater economy in the employment of the conditions of labour, in that every effort is made to ensure that the product only represents *socially necessary labour time* (or RATHER, less than that). This applies both with regard to the living labour employed to produce the product, and with regard to the *objectified* labour which, as the value of the means of production employed, enters as a constituent element into the value of the product.

With the *formal subsumption* of labour under capital, *the compulsion to do surplus labour*—and therewith on the one hand to create needs and the means to satisfy those needs, and on the other hand to produce in quantities which go beyond the measure of the worker's traditional needs—and the creation of *free time* for development, independently of material production, *merely* take on a *different form* from that of earlier modes of production, but it is a form which heightens the continuity and intensity of labour, increases production, is more favourable to the development of *variations in labour capacity* and accordingly to the differentiation of modes of labour and gaining a living, and finally dissolves the very relation between the owner of the conditions of labour and the worker into a pure *relation of purchase and sale*, or a *money relation*, and *eliminates* from the relation of exploitation all patriarchal, political or even religious admixtures. To be sure, the *relation of production* itself creates a new *relation of domination and subordination* (and this also produces *political*, etc., expressions of itself). The less capitalist production goes beyond the formal relation, the less is the formal relation itself developed, since it presupposes small capitalists alone, who are only marginally distinct from the workers themselves in their training and mode of employment.

[474] The difference in the *kind of relation of domination and subordination*, when the mode of production is not yet affected, is most apparent where *rural* and *domestic* subsidiary occupations, carried on just for the needs of the family, are transformed into independent capitalist branches of labour.

The difference between labour *formally* subsumed by capital and the previous way of employing labour emerges to the same extent as the growth in the *magnitude of the capital* employed by the individual capitalist, hence in the *number of workers simultaneously employed by him*. The capitalist requires a certain minimum amount of capital to be able to stop being a worker himself and to confine himself entirely to the direction of the labour process and the conduct of trade with the commodities that have been produced.

The *real* subsumption of labour under capital, *the capitalist mode of production proper,* only takes place when capitalists of a certain importance have directly taken control of production, whether because the merchant becomes an industrial capitalist or because large-scale industrial capitalists have come into existence on the basis of the *formal subsumption.*[a)]

If the relation of domination and subordination replaces those of slavery, serfdom, vassalage, patriarchal, etc., relations of subordination, there takes place only a *change in their form.* The

[a)] [474a] This note *is not related to the last passage* but to the preceding one.[233]

* "A free labourer has generally the liberty of changing his master: this liberty distinguishes a slave from a free labourer, as much as an English man-of-war sailor is distinguished from a merchant sailor... The condition of a labourer is superior to that of a slave, because a labourer *thinks* himself *free*; and this conviction, however erroneous, has no small influence on the character of a population" * (Th. R. Edmonds, *Practical Moral and Political Economy*, London, 1828, [pp. 56-]57). "The motive which impels a free man to labour is much more violent than the motive impelling a slave: *a free man has to choose between hard labour and *starvation*" * //*check this passage*//, * "a slave between ... and a good whipping" (l.c., [p.] 56). "The difference between the conditions of a slave and a labourer under the money system is very inconsiderable; ... the master of the slave understands too well his own interest to weaken his slaves by stinting them in their food; but the master of a free man gives him as little food as possible, because *the injury done to the labourer does not fall on himself alone, but on the whole class of masters*" * (l.c.).

"In the old world, * *to make mankind laborious beyond their wants*, to make *one part of a state* work, to *maintain the other part gratuitously,** could only be brought about by slavery, and slavery was therefore introduced universally. * Slavery was then as necessary towards multiplication, as it would now be destructive of it. The reason is plain. *If mankind be not forced to labour, they will only labour for themselves*; and if they have few wants, there will be few [who] labour. But when states come to be formed and have occasion for idle hands to defend them against the violence of their enemies, food at any rate must be procured for those *who do not labour*; and as by the supposition, the wants of the labourers are small, a method must be found to *increase their labour above the proportion of their wants.* For this purpose *slavery* was calculated... The slaves were forced to labour the soil which fed both them and the idle freemen, as was the case in Sparta; or they filled all the servile places which freemen fill now, and they were likewise employed, as in Greece and in Rome, in supplying with manufactures those whose service was necessary for the state. Here then was a *violent method of making mankind laborious* in raising food... Men were then forced to labour, because *they were slaves to others*; men are now forced to labour because they are *slaves of their own wants*" * (J. Steuart, [*An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy....*,] VOL. I, Dublin EDITION, [1770,] pp. 38-40).

"In the 16th century," says the same *Steuart*, "while on the one hand the LORDS were dismissing their RETAINERS, the FARMERS", who were turning themselves into industrial capitalists, "were dismissing the IDLE MOUTHS. Agriculture was converted from a *MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE* into a *TRADE.*" The consequence was this: * "The withdrawing ... [of] a number of hands from a trifling agriculture *forces*, in a manner, *the husbandmen to work harder*; and *by hard labour upon a small spot*, the *same effect* is produced *as with slight labour upon a great extent*" * (l.c., p. 105).

form *becomes freer*, because the subordination is now only of an *objective* nature; it is formally speaking voluntary, *purely economic.* (*Verte.*[a])

[475] Or the relation of *domination and subordination* in the production process replaces an earlier *independence* in the production process, as e.g. with all SELF-SUSTAINING PEASANTS, FARMERS who only had to pay a rent in kind, whether to the state or to the LANDLORD, with rural-domestic subsidiary industry, or *independent handicrafts.* Here, therefore, the loss of a previous *independence* in the production process is the situation, and the relation of domination or subordination is itself the product of the introduction of the capitalist mode of production.

Finally, the relation of capitalist and wage labourer can replace the *master of the guild type* and his *journeymen and apprentices*, a transition accomplished in part by urban manufacture at its very beginnings. The *medieval guild relation*, which developed in analogous form in narrow circles in Athens and Rome as well, and was of such decisive importance in Europe for the formation of capitalists on the one hand, and of a free estate of workers on the other, is a *limited*, not yet adequate, form of the relation of capital and wage labour. There exists here on the one hand the relation of buyer and seller. Wages are paid, and master, journeyman, and apprentice confront each other as free persons. The technological basis of this relation is the *handicraft workshop*, in which the more or less skilled manipulation of the *instrument of labour* is the decisive factor of production. Here independent personal labour and therefore its professional development, which requires a longer or shorter period of apprenticeship, determines the result of the labour. The master is admittedly in possession of the conditions of production, the tools of the trade, the material of labour //although the tools may also belong to the journeyman//, and the product belongs to him. To that extent he is a *capitalist.* But as a capitalist he is not a *master.* He is first and foremost a *craftsman* himself, and IS SUPPOSED to be a master of his craft. Within the production process itself he figures as a craftsman as much as do his journeymen, and he is the first to initiate his apprentices into the mysteries of the craft. He has exactly the same relation to his apprentices as a teacher has to his pupils. His relation to apprentices and journeymen is therefore not that of the capitalist as such, but that of the *master* of a craft, who holds as such a

[a] This refers to page 475 of Marx's manuscript (pp. 433-34 of this volume).—*Ed.*

hierarchical position in the corporation, and therefore towards them, which IS SUPPOSED to rest on his own *mastery* in the craft. His capital is therefore restricted both in its *material* form and in the *extent of its value*; it has not by any means yet attained the free form of capital. It is not a *definite quantity of objectified labour,* value in general, which can take on this or that form of the conditions of labour, and takes on whatever form it chooses, according to whether it decides to be exchanged for this or that form of living labour, in order to appropriate surplus labour. Only after he has passed through the prescribed stages of apprentice and journeyman, etc., himself produced his masterpiece, can he put money to work in *this particular* branch of labour, in his own craft, partly by turning it into the objective conditions of the craft, partly by buying journeymen and keeping apprentices. Only in his own craft can he convert his money into capital, i.e. use it not only as the means of his own labour but also as a means of exploiting alien labour. His capital is tied to a particular form of *use value,* and therefore does not confront his workers as *capital.* The methods of work he employs are not only acquired by experience but prescribed by guild regulations—they count as the necessary methods, and thus from this angle too it is not exchange value but the use value of the labour which appears as the ultimate purpose. The delivery of work of this or that quality does not depend on his own discretion; the whole guild system is rather directed towards the delivery of work of a *specific quality.* The price of labour[69] is just as little subject to his arbitrary will as the method of work. The *restricted* form, which prevents his wealth from functioning as *capital,* is further shown by the fact that a *maximum* is in fact prescribed for the extent of the value of his capital. He is not allowed to keep more than a *certain number of journeymen,* since the guild is supposed to ensure for all masters a proportional share in the receipts of their craft. Finally there is the relation of the master to other masters as a member of the same guild; as such he belongs to a corporation, which has certain communal conditions of production (guild order,[70] etc.), political rights, participation in the city administration, etc. He works to order—with the exception of his work for merchants—for immediate use value, and so the number of masters is regulated accordingly. He does not confront his workers as a *mere merchant.* Still less can the merchant convert his money into productive capital; he can only "transfer" the commodities, he cannot produce them himself. *An existence of the estate type*—the purpose and result of the exploitation of alien labour is here not exchange value as such, not

enrichment as such. What is decisive here is the *instrument.* The raw material is in many branches of labour (e.g. tailoring) delivered to the master himself by his customers. The barrier to production within the whole range of the available consumption is here a law. It is therefore by no means regulated by the barriers of capital itself. In the capitalist relation the barriers disappear along with the politico-social bonds in which capital still moves here, hence not yet appearing as *capital.*

[476] The merely formal conversion of the handicraft trade into a capitalist enterprise, in which case the technological process therefore initially remains the same as before, consists in the *removal of all these barriers*—whereby the relation of domination and subordination also alters. The master is now no longer a capitalist because he is a master, but a master because he is a capitalist. The barrier of his production is no longer conditioned by the barrier of his capital. Capital (*money*) can be exchanged for *any kind* of labour at will, and therefore for any conditions of labour too. The capitalist can cease to be a handicraftsman himself. With the sudden expansion of trade, and the resultant demand for commodities from the merchant estate, the guild-type enterprise was driven to go beyond its own barriers, and to turn itself formally into a capitalist enterprise.

In comparison with the independent craftsman, who works for STRAY CUSTOMERS, the continuity [of labour] of the worker, who works for the capitalist, is naturally greater, for his work is not limited by the accidental needs of individual CUSTOMERS, but only by the exploitation requirements of the capital that employs him. In comparison with that of the slave, this work is more productive, because more intensive, for the slave only works under the impulse of external fear, but not for *his own existence,* which does not belong to him, and yet it is *guaranteed.* The free worker, in contrast, is driven by his WANTS. The consciousness (or rather the *notion*) of free self-determination, of freedom, makes the one a much better worker than the other, as well as the FEELING (consciousness) OF *RESPONSIBILITY* bound up with this; for, like every seller of a commodity, he is RESPONSIBLE for the commodity he provides, and he must provide it at a certain quality, if he is not to be swept from the field by other sellers of commodities of the same SPECIES. The *continuity of the relation* between slave and slave holder is preserved by the direct compulsion exerted upon the slave. The free worker, on the other hand, must preserve it himself, since his existence and that of his family depend upon his constantly renewing the sale of his labour capacity to the capitalist.

In the case of the slave the *minimum wage* appears as a constant magnitude, independent of his own labour. In the case of the free worker, the *value of his labour capacity*, and the *average wage* corresponding to it, does not present itself as confined within this predestined limit, independent of his own labour and determined by his purely physical needs. The *average* for the *class* is more or less *constant* here, as is the value of all commodities; but it does not exist in this immediate reality for the *individual* worker, whose wage may stand either above or below this minimum. The *price of labour* sometimes falls below *the value of labour capacity*, and sometimes rises above it. Furthermore, there is room for manoeuvre (WITHIN NARROW LIMITS) for the worker's *individuality*, as a result of which there are differences in wages, partly between *different branches of labour*, and partly in *the same* branch of labour, according to the industriousness, skill, strength, etc., of the worker, and indeed these differences are in part determined by the measure of his own personal performance. Thus the level of the wage appears to vary according to the worker's own labour and its individual quality. This is particularly strongly developed where a *piece wage* is paid. Although the latter, as we have shown,[234] does not change in any way the general relation between capital and labour, surplus labour and necessary labour, it nevertheless expresses the relation for each individual worker differently, according to the measure of his own personal performance. Great strength or special skills may increase the *purchase value* of the slave as a person, but this is of no concern to the slave himself. It is different with the free worker, who is himself the proprietor of *his labour capacity*.

[477] The higher value of this labour capacity must be paid to the worker himself, and it is expressed in a higher wage. Great differences in wages are therefore found, according to whether the specific kind of labour requires a more highly developed labour capacity, necessitating greater production costs, or not, and this on the one hand opens up an area of free movement for individual differences, while on the other hand it provides a spur to the development of the individual's own labour capacity. Certain as it is that the mass of labour must consist of more or less UNSKILLED LABOUR, and therefore that the mass of wages must be determined by the *value of simple labour capacity*, it remains possible for isolated individuals to make their way upwards into higher spheres of labour by particular energy, talent, etc., just as there remains the abstract possibility that this or that worker could himself become a capitalist and an EXPLOITER of alien labour. The

slave belongs to a particular MASTER; it is true that the worker must sell himself to capital, but not to a particular capitalist, and thus he has a choice, within a particular sphere, as to who he sells himself to, and can change MASTERS. All these differences in the relation make the activity of the free worker more intensive, more continuous, more agile, and more dexterous than that of the slave, quite apart from the fact that they fit the worker himself to undertake historical actions of an entirely different nature. The slave receives the means of subsistence necessary for his maintenance in a *natural form*, which is as fixed in kind as in extent—in *use values*. The free worker receives them in the form of *money*, of *exchange value*, of the abstract social form of wealth. However much the wage is now in fact nothing but the *silver* or *gold* or *copper* or *paper* form of the necessary means of subsistence, into which it must constantly be resolved—*money* functioning here as the merely transitory form of exchange value, as mere *means of circulation—abstract wealth, exchange value*, and not a specific traditionally and locally limited use value, still remains for the worker the purpose and result of his labour. It is the worker himself who turns the money into whatever use values he wants, buys the commodities he wants with it, and as *an owner of money*, as a buyer of commodities, he stands in exactly the same relation to the sellers of commodities as any other buyer. The conditions of his existence—and also the limited extent of the value of the money he has acquired—naturally compel him to spend it on a rather restricted range of means of subsistence. Nevertheless, some degree of variation is possible here, such as e.g. newspapers, which form part of the necessary means of subsistence of the English urban worker. He can save something, form a hoard. He can also waste his wages on spirits, etc. But in acting this way he acts as a free agent, he must pay his own way; he is himself responsible for the way in which HE SPENDS HIS WAGES. *He learns to master himself, in contrast to the slave*, who needs a master. To be sure, this only applies when one considers the transformation of a serf or slave into a free wage labourer. The capitalist relation appears here as a step up the social scale. It is the opposite when an independent peasant or craftsman is transformed into a wage labourer. What a difference there is between the PROUD YEOMANRY OF ENGLAND, of whom Shakespeare speaks,[73] and the English agricultural day labourers! Since the purpose of labour is for the wage labourer wages alone, money, a definite quantity of exchange value, in which any specific characteristics of use value have been extinguished, he is completely indifferent to the *content* of his

labour, and therefore to the specific character of his activity. In the guild or caste system, on the other hand, this activity was regarded as the exercise of a vocation, whereas with the slave, as with the beast of burden, it is only a particular kind of activity, of exertion of his labour capacity, imposed on him and handed down from the past. Hence in so far as the division of labour has not made his labour capacity entirely one-sided, the free worker is *in principle* receptive to, and ready for, any variation in his labour capacity and his working activity which promises better wages (as is indeed demonstrated in the case of the surplus POPULATION of the countryside, which constantly transfers to the towns). If the developed worker is more or less incapable of this variation, he still regards it as always open to the next generation, and the emerging generation of workers can always be distributed among, and is constantly at the disposal of, new branches of labour or particularly prosperous branches of labour. In North America, where the development of wage labour has least of all been affected by reminiscences of the old guild system, etc., this *variability*, this complete indifference to the specific content of labour, this ability to transfer from one branch to another, is shown particularly strongly. Hence the contrast between this *variability* and the uniform, traditional character of *slave labour*, which does not vary according to the requirements of production, but rather the reverse, requiring that production should itself be adapted to the mode of labour introduced originally and handed down by tradition, is emphasised by all United States writers as the grand characteristic of the free wage labour of the North as against the slave labour of the South. (See *Cairnes.*[a]) The constant creation of *new kinds* of labour, this continuous variation—which results in a multiplicity of use values and therefore is also a real development of exchange value—this continuing division of labour in *the whole of the society*—first becomes possible with the capitalist mode of production. It begins with the free handicraft-guild system, where it does not meet with a barrier in the ossification of each particular branch of the craft itself.//

[478] After these supplementary remarks on the *formal subsumption of labour under capital* we come now to:

### *The Real Subsumption of Labour under Capital*

What is generally characteristic of *formal subsumption* remains valid in this case too, i.e. the direct *subordination to capital of the*

[a] J. E. Cairnes, *The Slave Power: Its Character, Career, & Probable Designs...*, p. 44.—*Ed.*

*labour process*, in whatever way the latter may be conducted technologically. But on this basis there arises a *mode of production—the capitalist mode of production*—which is *specific* technologically and in other ways, and *transforms* the *real nature of the labour process* and *its real conditions*. Only when this enters the picture does the *real subsumption of labour under capital* take place.

* "*Agriculture for subsistence* ... changed for *agriculture for trade* ... the *improvement of the national territory* ... proportioned to this *change*" * (A. Young, *Political Arithmetic*, London, 1774, [p.] 49, note).

The real subsumption of labour under capital is developed in all the forms which develop relative, as distinct from absolute, surplus value.

With the real subsumption of labour under capital there takes place a complete //and a constant, continuous, and repeated[a]// revolution in the mode of production itself, in the productivity of labour and in the relation between capitalist and worker.

In the case of the real subsumption of labour under capital, all the CHANGES in the labour process itself, analysed by us previously,[b] actually take effect. *Labour's social powers of production* are developed, and with labour on a large scale the application of science and machinery to direct production takes place. On the one hand, the *capitalist mode of production*, which now takes shape as a mode of production *sui generis*,[c] changes the shape of material production. On the other hand, this alteration of production's material shape forms the basis for the development of the capital-relation, which in its adequate shape therefore corresponds to a specific level of development of the productive powers of labour.

We have already seen[d] that a definite and constantly *growing minimum of capital* in the hands of the individual capitalist is on the one hand a necessary presupposition, and on the other hand a constant result, of the *specifically* capitalist mode of production. The capitalist has to be the proprietor or possessor of means of production on a *social scale*, of an amount of value which has lost any relation to the possible production of the individual or his

a) [K. Marx and F. Engels,] *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*, [London,] 1848 [pp. 5-6].[a]

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, p. 487.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 424-27.—*Ed.*

[c] In its own right.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 427-28. See also K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VII, Ch. XXIV, Sect. 1; Ch. XXV, Sect. 2 (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

family. This *minimum amount of capital* is the greater in any branch of business the more capitalistically it is conducted, the higher the development of the social productivity of labour in it. To the same degree, the capital must increase in value and assume social dimensions; hence it must shed any *individual* character. The capitalist mode of production develops the productivity of labour, the amount of production, the size of the population, and the size of the surplus population. With the capital and labour thus released, new branches of business are constantly called into existence, and in these capital can again work on a small scale and again pass through the different developments outlined until these new branches of business are also conducted on a social scale. This is a constant process. At the same time *capitalist production* tends to conquer all *branches of industry* it has not yet [479] taken control of, where there is as yet only *formal subsumption.* Once it has taken control of agriculture, the mining industry, the manufacture of the main materials for clothing, etc., it seizes on the other spheres, where the subsumption is as yet only *formal* or there are still even independent handicraftsmen. We already noted when considering machinery[235] how its introduction into one branch brings about its introduction into others, and at the same time into other varieties of the same branch. Mechanical spinning, for example, leads to mechanical weaving; mechanical spinning in the cotton industry leads to mechanical spinning in wool, linen, silk, etc. The wider employment of machinery in coal mines, cotton manufactures, etc., made necessary the introduction of the large-scale method of production into machine manufacture itself. Leaving aside the growth in the means of transport required by this mode of production on a large scale, it is on the other hand only the introduction of machinery into machine manufacture itself—particularly the cyclical PRIME MOTOR—which has made possible the introduction of steamships and railways, and revolutionised the whole of shipbuilding. Large-scale industry throws as large a mass of human beings into the branches not yet subjected to it, or creates in these branches as large a relative surplus POPULATION, as is required for the conversion of handicrafts or of the small, formally capitalist business into a large-scale industry. See in this context the following Tory Jeremiad:

* "In the good old times, when 'Live and let live' was the general motto, every man was contented with one avocation. In the cotton trade, there were weavers, cotton spinners, blanchers, dyers, and several other independent branches, all living upon the profits of their respective trades, and all, as might be expected, contented and happy. By and by, however, when the downward course of trade

had proceeded to some extent, first one branch was adopted by the capitalist, and then another, till in time the whole of the people were ousted, and thrown upon the market of labour, to find out a livelihood in the best manner they could. Thus, although *no charter* secures to these men the right to be cotton-spinners, manufacturers, printers, etc., yet the course of events has invested them *with a monopoly of all*... They have become Jack-of-all trades, and as far as the country is concerned in the business, it is to be feared, they are masters of none"* (*Public Economy Concentrated etc.*, Carlisle, 1833, [p.] 56).[a]

The *material* result of capitalist production, apart from the development of the *social productive powers of labour*, is *to raise the quantity of production* and *to increase and multiply the spheres of production* and their subdivisions. Only when this has occurred is the *exchange value* of the products developed correspondingly—*the sphere* in which they function, or are realised, as *exchange value*.

Admittedly, "*production for production's sake*"—production as an end in itself—already enters the picture with the *formal subsumption of labour under capital*; it does this as soon as it generally becomes the direct purpose of production to produce *as much surplus value, and as large a surplus value, as possible*, as soon as, in general, the exchange value of the product becomes the decisive purpose. And yet this tendency, which is *immanent* in the capital-relation, is first *realised* in an *adequate manner*—and itself becomes a *necessary condition*, even *technologically*—when the *specifically capitalist mode of production* has developed, and with it the *real subsumption of labour under capital*.

[480] We have already analysed the essence of this latter mode of production so exhaustively[236] that we can be very brief here. It is production which is not limited by any predetermining or predetermined barriers set by needs. (Its antagonistic character implies *barriers to production*, which it constantly wants to go beyond. Hence crises, overproduction, etc.) This is one side, one distinction from the earlier mode of production; the positive side, IF YOU LIKE. The other side is the negative, or antagonistic one: *production* in opposition to, and without concerning itself about, the *producer*. The real producer as mere means of production, objective wealth as an end in itself. And therefore the development of this objective wealth in opposition to, and at the cost of, the human individual. The *productivity of labour* in general=the *maximum of product* with the *minimum of labour*, hence the greatest possible cheapening of the commodities. This becomes a *law* in the capitalist mode of production, independently of the will of the individual capitalist. And this law is only realised because it implies

[a] Cf. this volume, p. 121.—*Ed.*

another one, namely that the scale of production is not determined according to given needs but rather the reverse: the number of products is determined by the constantly increasing scale of production, which is prescribed by the mode of production itself. Its purpose is that the individual product, etc., should contain *as much unpaid labour* as possible, and this is only attained by engaging in *production for production's sake. On the one hand* this appears as a *law,* to the extent that the capitalist who produces on too small a scale would embody in his products more than the quantity of labour socially necessary. It therefore appears as the adequate implementation of the *law of value,* which first develops completely on the basis of the capitalist mode of production. *On the other hand,* however, it appears as the drive of the individual capitalist, who endeavours to reduce the *individual value* of his commodity *below* its socially determined value in order to break through this law, or to *cheat* it to gain an advantage for himself.

What all these forms of production (of relative surplus value) have in common, apart from the *increase in the minimum amount of capital required for production,* is that the *common conditions* for the labour of many directly cooperating workers as such permit *economies,* in contrast to the fragmentation of these conditions which occurs with production on a small scale, in that the *operation of these common conditions of production* does not condition a proportionally equal increase in their mass and their *value.* Their *common, simultaneous use* allows their *relative* value to fall (in relation to the product), however much their absolute value grows.

### *Productive and Unproductive Labour*[237]

Here we should like briefly to anticipate our results, before we consider any further the *changed shape of capital* which emerges as a result of the capitalist mode of production.

Since the direct purpose and the *actual product* of capitalist production is *surplus value,* only *such labour* is *productive,* and only such an exerter of labour capacity is a *productive worker,* as directly *produces surplus value.* Hence only such labour is productive as *is consumed* directly in the production process for the purpose of valorising capital.

From the simple standpoint of the *labour process* in general, such labour appeared to us to be *productive* as was realised in a *product,* or more precisely in a *commodity.* But from the standpoint of the capitalist production process, this element has to be added to the

definition: such labour is productive as directly valorises capital, or produces *surplus value*, hence is *realised*, without any equivalent for the worker, for the performer of the labour, in a SURPLUS VALUE, expressed in a SURPLUS PRODUCE, hence in an *excess increment of commodities* for the MONOPOLISER of the MEANS OF LABOUR, for the *capitalist*; only such labour is productive as posits the variable capital, and therefore the total capital, as $C+\Delta C=C+\Delta v$. It is therefore labour which directly serves capital as the AGENCY of its *self-valorisation*, as a means to the production of surplus value.

The capitalist labour process does not abolish the general determinations of the labour process. It produces products and commodities. To that extent, such labour remains productive as is objectified in *commodities*, as a unity of use value and exchange value. But the labour process is only a means to capital's valorisation process. Hence such labour is productive as is represented in *commodities*. But if we consider the individual commodity, such labour is productive as represents *unpaid* labour in an aliquot part of the commodity, or, if we consider the total product, such labour is productive as represents nothing but unpaid labour in an aliquot part of the *total quantity of commodities*, hence represents a *product* which costs the capitalist nothing.

That *worker* is *productive* who performs *productive labour*, and that *labour is productive* which directly creates *surplus value*, i.e. *valorises* capital.

[481] Only the narrow-minded bourgeois, who regards the capitalist form of production as its absolute form, hence as the sole natural form of production, can confuse the question of what are *productive labour* and *productive workers* from the standpoint of capital with the question of what *productive* labour is in general, and can therefore be satisfied with the tautological answer that all that labour is productive which produces, which results in a product, or any kind of use value, which has any result at all.

That worker alone is productive whose labour process=the *process of the productive consumption* of labour capacity—the vehicle of the labour—by capital or the capitalist.

Two things immediately follow from this:

*Firstly*: Since with the development of the *real subsumption of labour under capital* or the *specifically capitalist mode of production* it is not the individual worker but rather a *socially combined labour capacity* that is more and more the *real executor* of the labour process as a whole, and since the different labour capacities which cooperate together to form the productive machine as a whole contribute in very different ways to the direct process by which the

commodity, or, more appropriate here, the product, is formed, one working more with his hands, another more with his brain, one as a MANAGER, ENGINEER or technician, etc., another as an OVERLOOKER, the third directly as a manual worker, or even a mere assistant, more and more of the *functions of labour capacity* are included under the direct concept of *productive labour*, and their repositories under the concept of *productive workers*, workers directly exploited by capital and altogether *subordinated* to its valorisation and production process. If one considers the *total worker* constituting the workshop, his *combined activity* is directly realised *materialiter*[a] in a *total product* which is at the same time a *total quantity of commodities*, and in this connection it is a matter of complete indifference whether the function of the individual worker, who is only a constituent element of this total worker, stands close to direct manual labour or is far away from it. But then: The activity of this total labour capacity is its *direct productive consumption by capital*, i.e. it is capital's process of self-valorisation, the direct production of surplus value, and therefore—a point we shall develop further later on—the *direct conversion of surplus value into capital.*

*Secondly*: The more detailed determinations of productive labour follow automatically from the given characteristic features of the capitalist production process. *Firstly*, in confronting capital or the capitalist, the owner of labour capacity figures as its *seller*—irrationally expressed, as we have seen,[238] as the direct seller of *living labour, not of a commodity.* He is a *wage labourer.* This is the *first presupposition.* Secondly, however, this preliminary process, which belongs to circulation, introduces a stage by which the worker's labour capacity and his labour are directly incorporated into capital's production process as a *living factor.* Labour capacity itself becomes one of capital's *components*, its *variable* component in fact, which not only preserves in part and reproduces in part the capital values that have been advanced, but at the same time *increases* them, and therefore converts them into self-valorising value, into capital, for the first time, through the creation of surplus value. This labour directly *objectifies* itself during the production process as a *quantity of value in flux.*

The *first condition* may *occur without the second.* A worker may be a *wage labourer*, a day labourer, etc. This always takes place, [even] if the second moment is absent. Every productive worker is a wage labourer; but this does not mean that every wage labourer is a

[a] In material form.—*Ed.*

productive worker. In all cases where labour is bought in order to be consumed as *use value*, as a *service*, and not in order to replace the value of the variable capital as a *living factor* and to be incorporated into the capitalist production process, this labour is not productive labour, and the wage labourer is not a productive worker. His labour is then consumed on account of its *use value*, not as *positing exchange value*, it is consumed *unproductively*, not productively. The capitalist therefore does not confront labour as a capitalist, as the representative of capital. He exchanges his money for labour as *income*, not as *capital*. The consumption of the labour does not constitute $M—C—M'$, but $C—M—C$ (the last symbol represents the *labour*, or the *service* itself). Money functions here only as means of circulation, not as capital.

[482] The *commodities* the capitalist buys for his private consumption are not consumed productively, they do not become *factors of capital*; just as little do the *services* he buys for his consumption, voluntarily or through compulsion (from the state, etc.), for the sake of their *use value*. They do not become a factor of capital. They are therefore not productive kinds of labour, and those who perform them are not *productive workers*.

The more production in general develops into the production of commodities, the more does everyone have to become, and want to become, a *dealer in commodities*, a maker of money, whether out of his product, or his services, if the product only exists in the form of services, owing to the way it is naturally constituted. This *money making* appears as the ultimate purpose of every kind of activity. (See *Aristotle*.[a]) In capitalist production, the production of products as commodities, on the one hand, and the form of labour as *wage labour*, on the other, become absolute. A large number of functions and activities which were surrounded with a halo, regarded as ends in themselves, and done for nothing or paid for in an indirect way (so that PROFESSIONALS, such as PHYSICIANS and BARRISTERS in England, could not or cannot sue for *payment*), are on the one hand converted directly into *wage labour*, however their content or their mode of payment may differ.[b] On the other hand, they become subject—that is, the estimation of their value,

a) Aristotle.[a]

b) [K. Marx and F. Engels,] *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*.[b]

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[a] See Aristoteles, *De republica*. Libri VIII. In: *Aristotelis opera* ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri, Vol. X. See also present edition, Vol. 29, p. 269, and Vol. 30, p. 19.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 6, p. 487.—*Ed.*

the *price* of these various activities, from the prostitute's to the king's, becomes subject—to *the laws that regulate the price of wage labour.* The analysis of this latter point belongs to a special discussion of wage labour and wages, rather than to this section. This phenomenon, that with the development of capitalist production all *services* are converted into *wage labour,* and all those who perform these services are converted into *wage labourers,* hence that they have this *characteristic* in common with productive workers, gives even more grounds for confusing the two in that it is a phenomenon which characterises, and is created by, *capitalist production* itself. On the other hand, it gives the apologists [of capitalism] an opportunity to convert the productive worker, because he is a wage labourer, into a worker who merely exchanges his *services* (i.e. his labour as a use value) for *money.* This makes it easy to pass over in silence the *differentia specifica* of this "productive worker", and of capitalist production—as the production of surplus value, as the process of the self-valorisation of capital, which incorporates living labour as merely its AGENCY. A soldier is a wage labourer, a mercenary, but he is not for that reason a productive worker.

A further error has two sources.

*Firstly*: Some of the labour which produces commodities in capitalist production is performed in a manner which belongs to *earlier modes of production,* where the *relation of capital and wage labour* does not yet exist in practice, and therefore the category of *productive and unproductive* labour, which corresponds to the capitalist standpoint, is entirely inapplicable. But in accordance with the ruling mode of production even those relations which have not yet been subsumed under it in fact are subsumed under it notionally. The SELF-EMPLOYED LABOURER, for example, is his own wage labourer, and his own means of production confront him in his own mind as capital. As his own capitalist, he employs himself as a wage labourer. Anomalies of this type then offer a favourable field for outpourings of drivel about productive and unproductive labour.

[483] *Secondly*: Certain *unproductive kinds of labour* may *incidentaliter* be connected with the production process, and their *price* may even enter into the *price of the commodity,* hence the money laid out for them may SO FAR form a *part of the capital advanced,* and their labour may therefore appear as labour which is exchanged not for *income* but directly for *capital.*

Let us straight away take the last case, *taxes,* the price of government services, etc. But this belongs to the *faux frais de*

*production*,[a] and is a form *accidental* to the capitalist production process in and for itself, and in no way *conditioned* by it, or necessary to or immanent in it. If for example all *indirect* taxes were converted into *direct* ones, taxes would continue to be paid, but would no longer form a capital advance, rather an *expenditure of income*. The possibility of this change in the form shows its external character, its indifference to, and contingency for, the capitalist production process. With a change in the form of productive labour, in contrast, the income of capital would dry up and capital itself would cease to exist.

Further examples are legal proceedings, contracts, etc. All these relate only to conditions made between the owners of commodities as buyers and sellers of commodities; they have nothing to do with the relation of capital and labour. Those who perform these functions may thereby become the wage labourers of capital; this does not make them productive workers.

*Productive labour* is only an abbreviated expression for the whole relation, and the manner in which labour capacity and labour figure in the capitalist production process. Hence if we speak of *productive labour*, we speak of *socially determined labour*, labour which implies a very definite relation between its buyer and its seller. Productive labour is exchanged directly for *money as capital*, i.e. for money which is in itself capital, has the quality of functioning as capital, and confronts labour capacity as capital. Productive labour is therefore labour which for the worker only reproduces the previously posited value of his labour capacity; but as value-creating activity it valorises capital, and *counterposes* the values created by labour to the worker himself as *capital*. The specific relation between *objectified* and *living labour*, which makes the former capital, makes the latter *productive labour*.

The specific product of the capitalist production process, surplus value, is only created through exchange with *productive labour*. What forms its *specific use value* for capital is not its particular useful character, any more than it is the particular useful qualities of the product in which it is objectified, but its character as the element that creates exchange value (surplus value).

The capitalist production process is not merely a process of the production of commodities. It is a process which absorbs unpaid labour, making the means of production into means for the absorption of unpaid labour.

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[a] Overhead costs of production.— *Ed.*

It emerges from what has been said so far that to be *productive labour* is a quality of labour which in and for itself has absolutely nothing to do with the *particular content* of the labour, its particular usefulness or the specific use value in which it is expressed.

[484] Labour *with the same content* can therefore be both productive and unproductive.

Milton, for example, WHO DID *Paradise Lost*, was an unproductive worker. In contrast to this, the writer who delivers hackwork for his publisher is a productive worker. Milton produced *Paradise Lost* in the way that a silkworm produces silk, as the expression of *his own* nature. Later on he sold the product for £5 and to that extent became a dealer in a commodity. But the Leipzig literary proletarian who produces books, e.g. compendia on political economy, at the instructions of his publisher is roughly speaking a productive worker, in so far as his production is subsumed under capital and only takes place for the purpose of the latter's valorisation. A singer who sings like a bird is an unproductive worker. If she sells her singing for money, she is to that extent a wage labourer or a commodity dealer. But the same singer, when engaged by an entrepreneur who has her sing in order to make money, is a productive worker, for she directly *produces* capital. A schoolmaster who educates others is not a productive worker. But a schoolmaster who is engaged as a wage labourer in an institution along with others, in order through his labour to valorise the money of the entrepreneur of the KNOWLEDGE-MONGERING INSTITUTION, is a productive worker. Yet most of these kinds of work, from the formal point of view, are hardly subsumed formally under capital. They belong rather among the transitional forms.

On the whole, the kinds of work which are only enjoyed as services, and yet are capable of being exploited directly *in the capitalist way*, even though they cannot be converted into products separable from the workers themselves and therefore existing outside them as independent commodities, only constitute infinitesimal magnitudes in comparison with the mass of products under capitalist production. They should therefore be left out of account entirely, and treated only under wage labour, under the category of wage labour which is not at the same time productive labour.[90]

*The same kind* of labour (e.g. GARDENING, TAILORING, etc.) can be performed by the same WORKING MAN in the service of an industrial capitalist, or of the immediate consumer. In both cases the worker is a wage labourer or a day labourer, but in the first case he is a

*productive* worker, in the second an *unproductive* one, because in the first case he produces capital, in the second case he does not; because in the first case his labour forms a moment in capital's process of self-valorisation, in the second case it does not.

A large part of the annual product, the part consumed as income and no longer re-entering production afresh as a means of production, consists of extremely paltry products (use values), serving to satisfy the most miserable appetites, FANCIES, etc. But content is entirely irrelevant to whether the labour is determined to be productive or not //although the development of wealth would of course be checked if a disproportionate part were reproduced in this way, instead of being reconverted into means of production and means of subsistence, which enter anew into reproduction, whether that of the commodities or that of the labour capacities themselves—which are, in short, consumed productively//. This kind of productive labour produces use values, is objectified in products, which are only destined for unproductive consumption. These products have in reality, as articles, no *use value* for the reproduction process. //They can only obtain this through an *interchange of matter*, through an exchange with reproductive use values; but that is only a change of place. SOMEWHERE they must be consumed as unreproductive. Other articles of the same kind which fall into the unproductive consumption process might also in case of necessity again function as capital. A more detailed discussion of this belongs to CHAPTER III of Book II, on the reproduction process.[104] Only one anticipatory remark needs to be made here: It is impossible for conventional political economy to say anything sensible about the barriers to luxury production, from the standpoint of capitalist production itself. But the matter is quite simple if the moments of the reproduction process are properly analysed. If the reproduction process is hindered, or if its progress, in so far as it is already conditioned by the natural increase of the POPULATION, is prevented by the disproportionate employment of the kind of *productive labour* which is expressed in unreproductive articles, with the result that too few necessary means of subsistence, or too few means of production, etc., are reproduced, luxury must be condemned from the standpoint of capitalist production. Apart from that, luxury is an absolute necessity for a mode of production which produces wealth for the non-producers, hence must give wealth the necessary forms in which it can be appropriated by the wealthy simply for their enjoyment.// For the worker himself, this productive labour, like all other labour, is

merely a means to the reproduction of his necessary means of subsistence; for the capitalist, to whom the nature of the use value and the character of the concrete labour employed are in themselves matters of complete indifference, it is merely a *moyen de battre monnaie, de produire la survalue.*[a]

[485] The obsession with defining *productive* and *unproductive* labour in terms of its *material* content derives from 3 sources:

1) the fetishistic notion, peculiar to the capitalist mode of production and arising from its essence, that the formal *economic* determinations, such as that of being a *commodity*, or being *productive* labour, etc., are qualities belonging to the material repositories of these formal determinations or categories in and for themselves;

2) the idea that, considering the labour process as such, only such labour is *productive* as results in a *product* (a material product, since here it is only a question of material wealth);

3) the fact that in the *real* reproduction process—considered from the point of view of its *real* moments—there is a great difference, with regard to the formation, etc., of wealth, between labour which is expressed in reproductive articles and labour which is expressed in mere LUXURIES.

(*An example*: Whether I buy trousers, or I buy cloth and invite a journeyman tailor into my house, paying him for his *service* (i.e. his tailoring labour), is to me a matter of complete indifference. I buy the trousers from the MERCHANT TAILOR because they are cheaper that way. In both cases I convert the money I expend into a use value which is to fall to the share of my individual consumption, to satisfy my individual requirements; I do not convert it into capital. The journeyman tailor performs the same *service* for me, whether he works for me in my house, or under the MERCHANT TAILOR. But the service rendered by the same journeyman tailor, when employed by a MERCHANT TAILOR, to that capitalist, consists in the fact that he works for 12 hours and only receives payment for 6, etc. The service he performs for the capitalist therefore consists in his working 6 hours for nothing. The fact that this occurs in the form of the making of trousers only *hides* the real transaction. As soon as the MERCHANT TAILOR is able to do so, he endeavours to reconvert the trousers into money, i.e. into a form in which the particular character of the labour of tailoring has disappeared completely, and the service performed is expressed in the fact that one thaler has become two.

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[a] Means of coining money, of producing surplus value.—*Ed.*

*Service* is in general only an expression for the *particular use value* of labour, in so far as this is useful not as a material object but as an activity. *Do ut facias, facio ut facias, facio ut des, do ut des*[a]—here these are all entirely indifferent forms of the same relation, whereas in capitalist production the *do ut facias* expresses a very specific relation between objective wealth and living labour. Hence because the specific relation of labour and capital is not contained at all in this *buying of services*, being either completely extinguished or not present at all, it is naturally the favourite way for Say, Bastiat and their associates to express the *relation of capital and labour*.)

The worker too buys *services* with his money, which is a kind of expenditure, but no way to convert money into capital.

No one buys medical or legal "services" as a means of converting the money expended in this way into capital.

Many of the *services* belong to the consumption costs of commodities, as in the case of cooks, etc.

The difference between *productive* and *unproductive labour* consists merely in whether labour is exchanged for *money as money* or for *money as capital*. Where I buy the *commodity*, as e.g. in the case of the SELF-EMPLOYED LABOURER, ARTISAN, etc., the category does not come into consideration at all, because there is no direct exchange between money and labour of any kind at all, but rather between *money and a commodity*.

[486] (With non-material production, even if it is conducted purely for the purpose of exchange, purely produces commodities, two things are possible:

1) it results in commodities which exist separately from the producer, hence can circulate in the interval between production and consumption as commodities; this applies to books, paintings, and all the products of artistic creation which are distinct from the actual performance of the executant artist. Here capitalist production is applicable on a very restricted scale. In so far as these people do not employ assistants, etc., in the manner of SCULPTORS, etc., they mostly work (if they are not independent) for merchant capital, e.g. for booksellers; this is a relation which itself constitutes merely a form transitional to a *mode of production capitalist only in form*. The fact that it is precisely in these transitional forms that the exploitation of labour reaches its highest level does not alter the situation at all;

[a] "I give that you may make", "I make that you may make", "I make that you may give", "I give that you may give"—contractual formulas in Roman law (*Corpus iuris civilis*, Digesta XIX, 5.5). Cf. present edition, Vol. 28, p. 393.—*Ed.*

2) the product is inseparable from the act of producing it. Here too there is only a restricted field for the capitalist mode of production, and it can in the nature of things only take place in a few spheres. (I need *the* doctor, not his errand boy.) In educational institutions, for example, teachers may well be merely wage labourers for the entrepreneur who owns the teaching factory. But similar cases do not need to be considered when dealing with capitalist production as a whole.)

"The PRODUCTIVE LABOURER he that DIRECTLY increases *HIS MASTER'S WEALTH*" (Malthus, *Principles of Political Economy*, 2ND ED., London, 1836 [p. 47, note]).[93]

The difference between *productive* and *unproductive labour* is important as regards accumulation, since one of the conditions for the reconversion of surplus value into capital is that the exchange should be with productive labour alone.

The capitalist, as representative of capital engaged in its valorisation process—*productive capital*—performs a *productive* function, which consists precisely in directing and exploiting productive labour. The capitalist class, in contrast to the other consumers of *surplus* VALUE, who do not stand in a direct and active relation to its production, is the *productive class par excellence.*[b] (As director of the labour process the capitalist can perform *productive labour* in the sense that his labour is included in the overall labour process which is embodied in the product.) As yet, we are only acquainted with capital within the direct production process. The situation with the other functions of capital—and with the agents used by capital to perform these functions—can only be examined later.

The *productive* (and therefore also its opposite, the *unproductive*) character of *labour* therefore depends on this, that the production of capital is the production of surplus value, and the labour employed by capital is labour that produces surplus value.

## [487] *Gross and Net Product*

(This is perhaps better placed in CHAPTER III of Book III.[239])

Since the purpose of capitalist production (and therefore of *productive* labour) is not the existence of the producer but the

b) See *Ricardo.*[a]

[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, p. 127. See also present edition, Vol. 28, p. 235, Vol. 32, pp. 55-56, 96-97 and 397-99.—*Ed.*

production of surplus value, all necessary labour which produces no surplus labour is superfluous and worthless to capitalist production. The same is true for a nation of capitalists. All *gross product* which only reproduces the worker, i.e. produces no *net product* (surplus PRODUCE), is just as superfluous as that worker himself [who produces no surplus value]. Or, if certain workers were necessary for the production of net product at a given stage of the development of production, they become superfluous at a more advanced stage of production, which no longer requires them. Or, in other words, only the number of people profitable to capital is necessary. The same is true for a nation of capitalists.

"Is not the real interest of a nation similar" to that of a private capitalist, for whom it would be a matter quite indifferent whether his capital would "employ 100 or 1,000 men" provided his profits on a capital of 20,000 "were not diminished in all cases below 2,000? Provided its net real income, its RENTS and PROFITS be the same, it is of no importance whether the nation consists of 10 or of 12 millions of inhabitants... If 5 millions of men could produce as much food and clothing as was necessary for 10 millions, food and clothing for 5 millions would be the net revenue. Would it be of any advantage to the country, that to produce this same net revenue, 7 millions of men should be required, that is to say, that 7 millions should be employed to produce food and clothing sufficient for 12 millions? The food and clothing of 5 millions would be still the net revenue" [D. Ricardo, *De principes de l'économie politique et de l'impôt*, Paris, 1819].[a]

Even the philanthropists can have no objection to bring forward against this statement by Ricardo. For it is always better that out of 10 million people only 50% should vegetate as pure production machines for 5 million, than that out of 12 million 7 million, or $58^1/_3$[%], should do so.

* "Of what use in a modern kingdom would be a whole province thus divided" * //between *self-sustaining little farmers* as in the *first times of ancient Rome//, "however well cultivated, except for the mere purpose of breeding men, which, singly taken, is a most useless purpose"* (Arthur Young, *Political Arithmetic etc.*, London, 1774, [p.] 47).[b]

The circumstance that the purpose of capitalist production is *NET PRODUCE*, which in fact merely takes the form of the *surplus PRODUCE*, in which *surplus VALUE* is expressed, implies that capitalist production is essentially *the production of surplus value.*

This runs counter to e.g. the antiquated point of view, corresponding to earlier modes of production, in accordance with

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[a] Marx quotes Ricardo, partly in German and partly in French, from the book by Ch. Ganilh, *Des systèmes d'économie politique...*, pp. 214-15. Here the original English is reproduced, due account being taken of the changes made by Marx. Cf. D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, pp. 416-17.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. this volume, p. 105.—*Ed.*

which the urban authorities, etc., for example, prohibited the use of inventions in order not to deprive workers of their subsistence, since the worker as such counted as an end in himself, and the livelihood he earned in his station counted as his privilege, which the whole of the old order was concerned to maintain. It also runs counter to the point of view, still tinged with nationalism, of the protectionist system (as opposed to FREE TRADE), that industries, etc., should be protected nationally against foreign competition, etc., as being the sources for the existence of a large number of human beings. But it also runs counter to Adam Smith's view that e.g. the investment of capital in agriculture is "more productive" because the same amount of capital sets more hands to work.[a] For the developed capitalist mode of production, these are all outdated, and untrue, false, notions. A large gross product (AS FAR AS THE VARIABLE PART OF CAPITAL IS CONCERNED) in *proportion* to a small net product is=a small productive power of labour, and therefore of capital.

[488] There is nevertheless a whole range of confused conceptions traditionally associated with this distinction between gross and net product. These derive in part from the *Physiocrats* (see Book IV[240]) and in part from Adam Smith, who continues on occasion to confuse capitalist production with production for the direct producers.

If an individual capitalist sends money abroad, where he gets INTEREST at 10%, whereas at home he might be able to employ a large number of surplus PEOPLE, from the capitalist standpoint he deserves an award for good citizenship, for this virtuous burgher is putting into effect the law that distributes capital within the world market, as also within the confines of a given society, according to the rate of profit provided by each particular sphere of production, and precisely in this way brings the various spheres of production into equilibrium and proportion. (Whether the money is delivered e.g. to the Emperor of Russia for wars against Turkey, etc., is irrelevant.) In acting in this way, the individual capitalist is only following the immanent law and therefore the morality of capital TO PRODUCE AS MUCH SURPLUS VALUE AS POSSIBLE. But these issues have nothing to do with the examination of the direct production process.

Furthermore, *capitalist production* often has *non-capitalist production* counterposed to it, e.g. AGRICULTURE FOR SUBSISTENCE, in which

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[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. II, London, 1843, pp. 452, 454.— *Ed.*

hands are employed, is counterposed to AGRICULTURE FOR TRADE, which provides a much bigger product for the *market*, and therefore permits a net PRODUCE to be extracted in manufacturing from people previously employed in agriculture. This contrast, however, is not a subdivision *within* the capitalist mode of production itself.

On the whole, as we have seen, the law of capitalist production is to increase constant capital as against variable capital and surplus value, the NET PRODUCE; and secondly to increase the NET PRODUCE in proportion to the part of the product which replaces variable capital, i.e. wages. At present these 2 things are confused. If the total product is called the gross product, it increases in capitalist production as against the net product; if the part of the product which can be reduced to wages+NET PRODUCE is called the gross product, the net product increases as against the gross product. Only in agriculture (through the conversion of tilled fields into pastureland, etc.) does the net product often grow at the expense of the gross product (the total amount of product) as a result of certain characteristics peculiar to rent, which do not belong here.

Otherwise, the doctrine that the *net product* is the final and highest goal of production is only a brutal, but correct expression of the fact that the *valorisation of capital*, and therefore the creation of surplus value, without any concern for the worker, is the driving force and the essence of capitalist production.

The highest ideal of capitalist production—corresponding to the relative growth of the net product—is the greatest possible reduction in the number of people living on wages, and the greatest possible increase in the number of people living off the net product.

### [489] *Mystification of Capital, etc.*

Since living labour is already—within the production process—incorporated into capital, the *social productive powers of labour* all present themselves as *productive forces*, as properties inherent in capital, just as in money the general character of labour, in so far as it functioned to create value, appeared as the property of a thing. This is even more true for the following reasons.

1) Although labour is objectified in the product as something that belongs to the capitalist, it belongs to the *individual worker* as the *expression of labour capacity*, as exertion (it is what the worker really pays the capitalist, what he gives him). *However* the *social combination* of the individual labour capacities, in which the latter

only function as particular organs of the total labour capacity constituting the workshop as a whole, does not belong to the workers, but rather confronts them as a *capitalist arrangement*; it is *inflicted* upon them.

2) These *social productive powers* of labour, or *productive powers of social labour,* first develop historically with the specifically capitalist mode of production, hence appear as something immanent in the capital-relation and inseparable from it.

3) The *objective conditions of labour* assume a changed shape with the development of the capitalist mode of production, through the dimensions in which, and the economy with which, they are employed (even leaving aside the form of machinery, etc.). They undergo further development as concentrated means of production, representing *social* wealth, and their extent and their effect is that of the *conditions of production of socially* combined labour, this last expression in fact summarising the whole development. Even if we leave aside the combination of labour, the *social character of the conditions of labour*—which includes among other things their form as machinery, and fixed capital in all its forms—appears as something entirely autonomous, which exists independently of the worker as a *mode of capital's existence,* and therefore also as something arranged by the *capitalists* independently of the workers. Like the *social character* of their own labour, only even more so, the *social character* the conditions of production acquire as *communal* conditions of production of combined labour appears as *capitalist,* as a character possessed by those conditions of production as such, independently of the workers.

*Ad* 3)[a] we should like to add here the following remarks, which in part anticipate what comes later:

(*Profit,* as distinct from surplus value, may rise owing to the economical utilisation *of communal* conditions of labour. Savings may be made e.g. on building costs, heating, lighting, etc., the value of the PRIME MOTOR may not grow in the same proportion as its power increases, there may be economies in the prices of raw materials, re-use of waste products, reductions in administration costs, reductions in the cost of storage with production on a larger scale, etc. All this *relative* cheapening of constant capital combined with an absolute increase in its value rests on the fact that these means of production, means of labour as also material of labour, are employed *communally,* and this *communal* utilisation has as its absolute presupposition the *communal* cooperation of the conglom-

[a] See this volume, pp. 355, 461-66.—*Ed.*

erated workers; it is itself therefore only the *objective* expression of the *social character of labour*, and of the resultant *social* productive power, just as the particular shape those conditions take, e.g. as machinery, usually rules out their employment except by combined labour. But towards the worker who moves within them they appear as *given* conditions *independent* of him, as the *shape of capital*. The economical use of those conditions (and the resultant increase in profit and cheapening of commodities) therefore also appears as something quite different from the *surplus labour* of the worker; it appears as the direct *deed* and *accomplishment of the capitalist*, who functions here altogether as the personification of the *social* character of labour, of the *total workshop* as such. *Science*, the general intellectual product of social development, equally appears here as directly incorporated into capital (the application of science as science, separated from the knowledge and skill of the individual worker, to the material process of production), and the general development of society, because it is exploited by capital against labour, because it acts as a productive power of capital over against labour, appears as the *development of capital*, and the more so because for the great majority [of workers] the *emptying of labour capacity* [of all content] proceeds at the same pace.)

[490] The capitalist himself only holds power as the personification of capital. (This is why in double-entry book-keeping he constantly figures twice, e.g. as DEBTOR to his own capital.)

The *productivity* of capital consists first of all, when *formal* subsumption is considered, merely in the *compulsion to perform surplus labour*; a compulsion that the capitalist mode of production shares with previous modes of production, but exerts in a form more favourable to production.

Even from the point of view of the merely *formal* relation—the *general* form of capitalist production, which has its less developed mode in common with the more developed—the *means of production*, the *objective conditions of labour*, do not appear as subsumed under the worker; rather, he appears as subsumed under them. CAPITAL *EMPLOYS* LABOUR.[85] Even this relation in its simplicity is a personification of things and a reification of persons.

But the relation becomes still more complex—and apparently more mysterious—in that, with the development of the specifically capitalist mode of production, not only do these things—these products of labour, both as use values and as exchange values—stand on their hind legs vis-à-vis the worker and confront him as

"*capital*"—but also the social forms of labour appear as *forms of the development of capital*, and therefore the productive powers of social labour, thus developed, appear as *productive powers of capital.* As such social forces they are "*capitalised*" vis-à-vis labour. In fact, *communal* unity in cooperation, combination in the division of labour, the application of the forces of nature and science, as well as the products of labour in the shape of *machinery*, are all things which confront the individual workers as *alien, objective, and present in advance*, without their assistance, and often against them, independent of them, as mere forms of existence of the *means of labour* which are independent of them and *rule over* them, in so far as they are *objective*; while the intelligence and volition of the total workshop, incarnated in the capitalist or his UNDERSTRAPPERS (representatives), in so far as the workshop is formed by the combination of the means of labour, confront the workers as *functions* of capital, which lives in the person of the capitalist. The social forms of their own labour—the subjective as well as the objective forms—or the form of their own social labour, are relations constituted quite independently of the individual workers; the workers as subsumed under capital become elements of these social constructions, but these social constructions do not belong to them. They therefore confront the workers as *shapes* of capital itself, as combinations which, unlike their isolated labour capacities, belong to capital, originate from it and are incorporated within it. And this assumes a form which is the more real the more, on the one hand, their labour capacity is itself modified by these forms, so that it becomes powerless when it stands alone, i.e. *outside* this context of capitalism, and its capacity for independent production is destroyed, while on the other hand the development of machinery causes the conditions of labour to appear as ruling labour technologically too, and at the same time to replace it, suppress it, and render it superfluous in its independent forms. In this process, in which the *social* characteristics of their labour confront them as *capitalised*, to a certain extent—in the way that e.g. in machinery the visible products of labour appear as ruling over labour—the same thing of course takes place for the forces of nature and science, the product of general historical development in its abstract quintessence: they confront the workers as *powers* of capital. They become in fact separated from the skill and knowledge of the individual worker, and although—if we look at them from the point of view of their source—they are in turn the product of labour, they appear as *incorporated* into capital wherever they enter the labour process. The capitalist who

employs a machine does not need to understand it (see Ure[a]). But vis-à-vis the workers, realised science appears *in the machine* as *capital.* And in fact all these applications of science, of the forces of nature and of large masses of products of labour—applications based on *social labour*—appear only as *means of exploitation* of labour, means of appropriating surplus labour, hence, vis-à-vis labour, as *forces* belonging to capital. Capital naturally employs all these means only to exploit labour, but in order to exploit labour, it must employ them in production. And thus the development of the *social* productive powers of labour and the conditions for this development appear as the *work of capital,* and not only does the individual worker relate passively to this work, it also takes place in antagonism to him.

Capital itself is dual, since it consists of commodities.

*Exchange value* (money), but self-*valorising value,* value which creates value, *grows* as *value,* obtains an increment, through the fact that it is *value.* This can be reduced to the exchange of a given quantity of objectified labour for a greater quantity of living labour.

*Use value,* and here capital appears according to its particular situation in the labour process. But precisely here it does not just remain material of labour, means of labour to which *labour* belongs, and which have incorporated labour, but involves also, along with labour, its *social combinations* and the development of the means of labour which corresponds to these social combinations. Capitalist production first develops the conditions of the labour process on a large scale—first develops them separately from the single independent worker—developing both its objective and its subjective conditions, but developing them as powers which dominate the *individual worker* and are *alien* to him.

Thus capital becomes a very mysterious being.

[491] The conditions of labour are heaped up vis-à-vis the worker as *social powers,* and in this form *they become capitalised.*

Capital is therefore *productive*:

1) as the *compulsion to do surplus labour.* Labour is *productive* precisely as the performer of this surplus labour, through the difference between the value of labour capacity and its valorisation;

2) as the *personification and representative,* the reified shape of the "social productive powers of labour" or the productive powers of social labour. The way in which the law of capitalist production—

[a] A. Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures...,* p. 43.—*Ed.*

the creation of surplus value, etc.—enforces this has already been discussed.[241] It appears as inflicted by the capitalists upon each other and upon the workers—hence it in fact appears as a law of capital operating against both capital and labour. The natural social powers of labour do not develop in the *valorisation process* as such but in the *real labour process.* They therefore appear as properties which belong to capital as a thing, they appear as its use value. Productive labour—as value producing—always confronts capital as the labour of *isolated* workers, whatever social combinations those workers may enter into in the production process. Thus whereas capital represents the social productive power of labour towards the workers, productive labour always represents towards capital only the labour of the *isolated* workers.

We saw in dealing with the *accumulation process*[242] how past labour, in the form of the forces and conditions of production that have already been produced, raises reproduction, in terms of both use value and exchange value—both the amount of value a particular quantity of living labour *preserves,* and the *quantity of use values* it produces anew—and how the moment through which it does this appears as a *force immanent in capital,* because *objectified labour* always functions vis-à-vis the worker in capitalised form.

"Capital is the democratic, philanthropic and egalitarian power *par excellence*" (Fr. Bastiat, *Gratuité du crédit etc.*, Paris, 1850, [p.] 29).[a]

* "Stock cultivates land; stock employs labour" (A. Smith, l.c. [*An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*], Book V, Ch. II, Buchanan EDITION, Vol. III, [Edinburgh, London,] 1814, p. 309).

"Capital is ... collective force" * (John Wade, *History of the Middle and Working Classes etc.*, 3rd ED., London, 1835, [p.] 162). "Capital is only another name for civilisation" (l.c., [p.] 164).

"The class of capitalists, considered as a whole, finds itself in a normal situation when its well-being keeps pace with the march of social progress" (Cherbuliez, *Riche[sse] ou pauvre[té]*, [p.] 75). "The capitalist is social man *par excellence*: he represents civilisation" (l.c., [p.] 76).[a]

Superficial:

"The *PRODUCTIVE POWER OF CAPITAL* can only mean the quantity of real PRODUCTIVE POWER which the capitalist, by means of his capital, can command" (J. St. Mill, *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy*, London, 1844, p. 91).

* "The accumulation of *capital*, or the *means of employing labour* ... must in all cases depend on the *productive powers of labour*" * (Ricardo, [*On the*] *Principles* [*of Political Economy, and Taxation*], 3rd ED., [London,] 1821, [p.] 92).

A commentator on Ricardo remarks as follows on this:

* "If *the productive powers of labour mean the smallness of that aliquot part* of *any produce that goes to those whose manual labour produced it,* the sentence is nearly

[a] Marx quotes in French.—*Ed.*

identical"* (*Observations on Certain Verbal Disputes in Political Economy*, London, 1821, p. 71).

The constant transposition of labour into capital is well expressed in the following naive statements by *Destutt de Tracy*:

"They who live on profits" (the industrial capitalists) "maintain all the others and alone augment the public fortune and create all our means of enjoyment. That must be so, *because labour is the source of all wealth* and because they alone give a useful *direction* to current labour, by making a useful application of accumulated labour" (Destutt de Tracy, l.c. [*Elémens l'idéologie*, Paris, 1826, p.] 242).[a]

Because labour is the source of all wealth, capital serves to increase all wealth.

"Our faculties are our only original wealth; our labour produces all other wealth, and all labour properly directed is productive" (l.c., [p.] 243).[a]

Our faculties are our only original wealth. Therefore labour capacity is not wealth. Labour produces all other wealth, that means: it produces wealth for all others except for itself, and it itself is not wealth, but only its product is wealth. All labour properly directed is productive; that means: all productive labour, all labour which yields profit to the capitalist, is properly directed.[b]

The transposition of the social productive powers of labour into material attributes of capital is so strongly rooted in people's minds that the advantages of machinery, of the application of science, inventions, etc., in this *alienated* form are conceived of as the *necessary* form, and therefore all these things are regarded as *attributes of capital.* What serves here as the basis is 1) the form in which the matter appears on the basis of capitalist production, and therefore also in the consciousness of those whose ideas are confined within that mode of production; 2) the historical fact that this development first took place in the *capitalist* mode of production, as distinct from earlier modes of production, and that the *antagonistic* character of this development therefore *appears* to be immanent in it.

### [492] *AD* 3)[c] THE PRODUCT OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION IS NOT ONLY *SURPLUS VALUE*, IT IS *CAPITAL*

As we have seen,[243] capital is $M—C—M'$, self-*valorising value*, value that gives birth to value.

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[a] Marx quotes in French.— *Ed.*

[b] Cf. present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 177-78.— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 355, 384.— *Ed.*

Initially, the sum of money or of value advanced is only capital δυνάμει,[a] only capital *in itself*, even after it has been converted into the factors of the labour process—means of production, *constant* capital—and into *labour capacity*, into which the variable capital has been converted. This *mere* potentiality was even more the case before its conversion into the factors of the real production process. Only within the latter, through the *real* incorporation of living labour into the objective forms of existence of capital, only through the real absorption of additional labour, is *this labour* converted into capital; and not only this labour is converted, but the sum of value advanced is converted from possible capital, value earmarked as capital, into effective and actual capital. What took place during the process as a whole? The worker sold the right to dispose of his labour capacity in order to secure the necessary means of subsistence, for a given value, determined by the value of his labour capacity. What, therefore, is the result from his point of view? *Simplement* and *purement*[b] the reproduction of his labour capacity. So what did he give away? He gave value-preserving, value-creating and value-increasing activity, his labour. He therefore comes out of the process as he entered it, if we leave aside the wearing down of his labour power. He emerges as merely subjective labour power, which must pass through the same process again, in order to preserve itself.

Capital, in contrast, does not come out of the process as it entered it. It is *in* the process that it is first converted into actual capital, into self-valorising value. The total product is now the form in which capital exists as realised capital, and as such it again confronts labour as the property of the capitalist, as a power which is independent and has been created by labour itself. Hence the production process was not only its reproduction process, but its process of production as capital. Previously the conditions of production confronted the worker as capital in so far as he *found* them *to be present* over against him *in independence.* Now it is the product of his own labour that he finds confronting him as conditions of production that have been converted into *capital.* What started as a presupposition is now the result of the production process.

Saying that the production process creates *capital* is only another way of saying that it has created *surplus value.*

But the matter does not rest here. The *surplus value* is

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[a] Potentially.—*Ed.*

[b] Simply and purely.—*Ed.*

reconverted into additional capital, is manifested in the formation of new capital or capital of greater size. Thus *capital* has created *capital*; it has not just realised itself as capital. The *accumulation process* is itself an immanent moment of the capitalist production process. It includes the *creation* of new *wage labourers*, who are means to the realisation and augmentation of the existing capital, whether because sections of the population not previously seized on by capitalist production, such as women and children, are now subsumed under it, or because a greater number of workers, resulting from the natural increase of the POPULATION, are subjected to it. It emerges from a closer examination that capital itself *regulates* this production of labour power, the production of the mass of human beings it intends to exploit, in accordance with its requirements for this exploitation. Capital therefore does not just produce capital, it produces a growing mass of workers, the material which alone enables it to function as additional capital. Hence not only does labour produce the conditions of labour on an ever increasing scale as *capital*, in opposition to itself; capital, for its part, produces on an ever increasing scale the *productive wage labourers* it requires. Labour produces its conditions of production as *capital*, and capital produces labour as the means of its realisation as capital, as wage labour. Capitalist production is not only the reproduction of the relation, it is its reproduction on an ever growing scale; and in the same proportion as the social productive power of labour develops, along with the capitalist mode of production, the pile of wealth confronting the worker grows, as *wealth ruling over* him, as *capital*, and the world of wealth expands vis-à-vis the worker as an alien and dominating world. At the opposite pole, and in the same proportion, the worker's subjective poverty, neediness and dependency develop. The *deprivation* of the worker and the *abundance* of capital correspond with each other, they keep in step. At the same time the numbers of the working *proletariat*, these living means for the production of capital, increase.

[493] The *growth of capital* and the *increase of the proletariat* therefore appear as associated *products* of the same process, even if they are polar opposites.

The relation is not only reproduced, not only produced on an ever more massive scale, it not only creates more workers for itself and constantly seizes upon branches of production previously not subjected to it, it is also reproduced under circumstances which are more and more favourable to one side, the capitalists, and more and more unfavourable to the other, the wage labourers.

This was demonstrated in our presentation of the specifically capitalist mode of production.[242]

From the point of view of the continuity of the production process, the wage is only the *part* of the product constantly produced by the worker which is converted into means of subsistence for him, and therefore into the means of preserving and increasing the labour capacities capital requires for its own self-valorisation, for its vital process. This preservation and increase of labour capacities, as the result of the process, therefore itself appears as nothing but the reproduction and extension of capital's own conditions of reproduction and accumulation. (See the Yankee.)[a)] [244]

With this there also disappears the *superficial appearance* the relation originally possessed, that *commodity owners* with equal rights met each other in circulation, on the commodity market, distinguished from each other, like all other *commodity owners*, only by the material content of their commodities, the particular use value of the commodities they had to sell to each other. Or, this *original* form of the relation only remains behind as the *superficial appearance* of the *capitalist* relation that underlies it.

Two aspects need to be distinguished here, through which the *reproduction of the relation itself* on an ever increasing scale as a *result of the capitalist production process* is distinguished from the first form, as it on the one hand emerges *historically* and on the other hand constantly presents itself anew on the surface of developed capitalist society.

1) Firstly, *with regard to the initial process* which occurs within circulation, the *sale and purchase of labour capacity.*

The capitalist production process is not only the *conversion* into *capital* of the value or the commodities the capitalist in part brings to market and in part retains for himself within the labour process; these products *converted* into capital are not *the capitalist's* products, they are the worker's. The former repeatedly sells the latter a part of his product—the necessary means of subsistence—for labour, in order to preserve and increase labour capacity, the *buyer* himself, and he repeatedly lends him another part of his product, the objective conditions of labour, as a means for the self-valorisation of capital, as *capital.* While the worker thus reproduces his products as *capital*, the capitalist reproduces the worker as a *wage labourer*, and therefore as a seller of his own labour. The relation between mere commodity sellers implies that they exchange *their* own *labour*, as incorporated in different use values. The sale and purchase of labour capacity, as the constant

*result* of the capitalist production process, implies that the worker must constantly *buy back* a part of his own product by selling his living labour. With this, the *superficial appearance* of a simple relation between commodity owners *fades away*. This constant sale and purchase of labour capacity, and the constant confrontation between the worker and the commodity produced by the worker himself, as *buyer* of his labour capacity and as constant capital, appears only as the *form mediating* his subjugation to capital, the subjugation of living labour as a mere means to the preservation and increase of the *objective* labour which has achieved an independent position vis-à-vis it. This perpetuation of the relation of capital as buyer and the worker as seller of labour is a *form* of mediation which is immanent in this mode of production; but it is a form which is only distinct in a formal sense from other, more direct, forms of the enslavement of labour and *property in labour* on the part of the owner of the conditions of production. It *glosses over* as a mere *money relation* the real transaction and the perpetual dependence, which is constantly renewed through this mediation of sale and purchase. Not only are the conditions of this *commerce* constantly reproduced; in addition to this, what one buys with, and what the other is obliged to sell, is the result [494] of the process. The constant renewal of this relation of *sale and purchase* only mediates the permanence of the specific relation of dependence, giving it the deceptive *semblance* of a transaction, a contract, between *commodity owners* who have equal rights and confront each other equally freely. This *initial* relation now appears as itself an immanent moment of the domination, produced in capitalist production, of objective labour over living labour.

Hence both these groups are mistaken:

those who regard wage labour, the sale of labour to capital, and therefore the form of the *wage system*, as *external* to capitalist production; it is an *essential form* of mediation of the capitalist production relation, constantly produced anew by this relation itself;

and those who find the *essence* of the capital-relation in this superficial relation, in this *essential formality*, this *semblance* of the capital-relation, and therefore pretend to characterise the relation by subsuming workers and capitalists together under the general relation of *commodity owners*, thereby engaging in apologetics and extinguishing the *differentia specifica* of the capital-relation.

2) For the capital-relation to occur at all, a definite historical stage and form of social production is presupposed. Means of communication and production, and needs, have first to develop

within an earlier mode of production which go beyond the old relations of production and enforce their transformation into the capital-relation. But they only need to be sufficiently developed to allow the formal subsumption of labour under capital to take place. On the basis of this altered relation, however, specific changes in the mode of production develop, creating new material forces of production, on the basis of which the new mode of production first develops and therewith in fact creates new real conditions for itself. A complete economic revolution thus takes place. On the one hand it creates, for the first time, the real conditions for the domination of capital over labour, completing them, giving them an appropriate form, and on the other hand, in the productive powers of labour developed by it in opposition to the worker, in the conditions of production and relations of communication, it creates the real conditions for a new mode of production, superseding the antagonistic form of the capitalist mode of production, and thus lays the material basis for a newly shaped social life process and therewith a new social formation.

This is an essentially different conception from that of the bourgeois political economists, themselves imprisoned in capitalist preconceptions, who are admittedly able to see how production is carried on *within* the capital-relation, but not how this *relation* is itself produced, and how at the same time the material conditions for its dissolution are produced within it, thereby removing its *historical justification* as a *necessary form* of economic development, of the production of social wealth.

In contrast to this, we have seen not only how capital produces, but how it is itself produced, and how it emerges from the production process in a form essentially different from that in which it entered the process. On the one hand it transforms the mode of production; on the other hand this altered shape of the mode of production and this particular stage of the development of the material forces of production is the basis and the condition—the presupposition—of its own formation.

### [495] *Result of the Direct Production Process*[245]

Not only do the objective conditions of the production process appear as its result; their *specific social* character also appears in this way. The social relations, and therefore the social position, of the agents of production towards each other—the *relations of production* themselves—are produced, and are the constantly renewed result of the process.[246]

[*UNPLACED FOOTNOTES*]

[73] *The* COLLIERS. The effects of this dependence of the COLLIERS on the exploiters for their dwellings are shown whenever there is a STRIKE. In November 1863, for example, there was a STRIKE in Durham. The people were evicted in the severest weather, with wives and children, and their furniture, etc., was thrown into the street. What was then important above all was to find shelter during the cold nights. A large proportion of them slept in the open air; some broke into their EVACUATED DWELLINGS and OCCUPIED them during the night. The next day the mineowners had the doors and windows nailed up and barred, in order to cut off from those who had been ejected the luxury of sleeping on the bare floors of the empty COTTAGES during the freezing nights. The people then resorted to building wooden CABINS, and wigwams of turf, but these were again torn down by the owners of the fields. A large number of children died or had their health ruined during this campaign of labour against capital (*Reynolds's Newspaper*, November 29, 1863).[a]

[75] *Ricardo* actually comforts the workers by saying that as a result of the increasing productive power of labour and the increase in the total capital as against the variable component of capital, the portion of surplus value consumed as income will also increase, hence an INCREASED DEMAND FOR MENIAL SERVANTS! (Ricardo, [*On the*] *Principles* [*of Political Economy, and Taxation*,] p. 475).

[76] * "Property ... is essential to preserve the common unskilled labourer from falling into the condition of a piece of machinery, bought at the *minimum* market price at which it can be produced, that is at which labourers can be got to exist and propagate their species, to which he is *invariably* reduced sooner or later, when the interests of capital and labour are quite distinct, and are left to adjust themselves under the sole operation of the law of supply and demand" * (Samuel Laing, *National Distress*, London, 1844, p[p. 45-]46).

[77] *Ireland. Emigration.* In so far as the real increase or reduction in the working POPULATION during the ten-year industrial cycle can exert a perceptible influence on the labour market, this could only be in England, and we take it as a model, because here the capitalist mode of production is [highly] developed, and does not, unlike on the European continent, operate largely on the basis of

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[a] "The Colliery Strike in Durham", *Reynolds's Newspaper*, No. 694, November 29, 1863, p. 8.—*Ed.*

a peasant economy which does not correspond to it. Here we can only speak of the impact of capital's need for valorisation on the extension or contraction of emigration. It should first be remarked that the emigration of capital, i.e. the part of the annual income which is invested abroad as capital, particularly in the colonies and in the UNITED STATES of America, is far larger in proportion to the annual fund for accumulation than the number of emigrants in proportion to the annual increase in population. Some of these emigrants are in fact merely following capital abroad. Furthermore, the emigration from England, if we consider its main component, the agricultural one, consists for the most part not of workers but of tenant farmers' sons, etc. This has so far been more than replaced by immigration from Ireland. The periods of stagnation and crisis, when the pressure to emigrate is at its strongest, are the same periods as those during which more excess capital is sent abroad, and the periods of declining emigration are the same as those of declining emigration of superfluous capital. The absolute proportion between capital *employed* in the country and labour power is therefore little affected by the fluctuations of emigration. If emigration from England were to take on serious dimensions, in relation to the annual increase of the population, it would lose its position on the world market. The Irish emigration since 1848 has given the lie to all the expectations and prophecies of the Malthusians. First of all, they had declared an emigration exceeding the increase of population to be an impossibility. The Irish solved that problem despite their poverty. Those who have emigrated send back every year most of the resources needed to finance the emigration of those left behind. Secondly, however, the same gentlemen had made the prophecy that the FAMINE which swept away one million people, and the subsequent exodus,[247] would have the same effect in Ireland as the BLACK DEATH[248] had had in England in the mid-14th century. Precisely the opposite has occurred. Production has fallen more quickly than the population, and the decline in the means of employing the agricultural workers has been quicker too, although their wages are no higher today, taking into account the changes in the price of the means of subsistence, than in 1847. The population has fallen in 15 years from 8 million to approximately $4\,^1/_2$ million. To be sure, cattle production has increased to a certain extent, and Lord Dufferin, who wants to convert Ireland into a mere sheep pasture, is quite right to say that the population is still far too high.[a] In the

[a] Cf. K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VII, Ch. XXV, Sect. 5, e. (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

meantime, the Irish have taken not only their bones but themselves to America, and the cry "*exoriare aliquis ultor*"[a] resounds threateningly on the other side of the Atlantic.

If we look at the last two years, 1864 and 1865, we find the following figures for the main CROPS:

| | *1864 qrs | *1865* qrs | *Decrease* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Wheat* | 875,782 | 826,783 | 48,999 |
| *Oats* | 7,826,332 | 7,659,727 | 166,605 |
| *Barley* | 761,909 | 732,017 | 29,892 |
| *Bere* | 15,160 | 13,989 | 1,171 |
| | *1864 Tons* | *1865 Tons* | *Decrease* |
| *Potatoes* | 4,312,388 | 3,865,990 | 446,398 |
| *Turnips* | 3,467,659 | 3,301,683 | 165,976 |
| *Flax* | 64,506 | 39,561 | 24,945 * |

(The OFFICIAL *Agricultural Statistics, Ireland*, Dublin, 1866, p. 4).[b]

This does not prevent individual persons from enriching themselves during the rapid ruin of the country as a whole. Thus e.g.

The number of people who had an annual income of from £900 to £1,000 in 1864 was 59, and in 1865: 66. The number with an annual income between £1,000 and £2,000 was 315 in 1864 and 342 in *1865*. (*Verte.*[c])

| | | *1864* | *1865* |
|---|---|---|---|
| INCOMES between | 3,000- 4,000: | 46 | 50 |
| | 4,000- 5,000: | 19 | 28 |
| | 5,000-10,000: | 30 | 44 |
| | 10,000-50,000: | 23 | 25 |

And: 3 people each of whom had £87,606 in 1864, and 3 people each of whom had £91,509 in *1865* (*Income and Property Tax Return*, August 7, 1866).

Lord Dufferin, who is himself one of these "supernumeraries", notes correctly that Ireland still has far too many inhabitants.

79) Thus e.g. the talk of shifting present burdens onto future generations by means of government debts. A can give B, who

[a] "Rise some avenger" (Virgil, *Aeneid* IV, 902).—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VII, Ch. XXV, Sect. 5, f. (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

[c] This refers to the text that follows immediately.—*Ed.*

lends him commodities either in reality or in appearance, a promissory note on *future products*, just as indeed there exist poets and musicians of the future. But A and B together never consume an atom of the future product. Every epoch pays for its own wars. A worker, on the other hand, can expend the labour of the three following years in a single year.

* "In pretending to stave off the expenses of the present hour to a future day, in pretending that you can burthen posterity to supply the wants of the existing generation" * the absurd statement is made * "that you can consume what does not yet exist, that you can feed on provisions before their seeds have been sown in the earth... All the wisdom of our statesmen will have ended in a great transfer of property from one class of persons to another, in creating an enormous fund for the rewards of jobs and peculation" * (Percy Ravenstone, M. A., *Thoughts on the Funding System, and Its Effects*, London, 1824, [pp.] 8-9).

Although the formation of capital and the capitalist mode of production rest essentially on both the ending of the feudal mode of production and the *expropriation* of the peasants, handicraftsmen, and in general on the ending of the mode of production which rests on the *private property of the direct producer in his conditions of production*; although the capitalist mode of production, once it is introduced, develops in the same proportion as that form of private property is done away with, along with the mode of production founded on it, hence to the degree that those direct producers are *expropriated* in the name of the *concentration of capital* (centralisation); although that *process of expropriation*, which is later repeated systematically in the CLEARING OF ESTATES, in part *introduces*, as an act of violence, the capitalist mode of production, both the *theory of the capitalist mode of production* (*political economy*, the philosophy of law, etc.) and the capitalist himself in his *conception* of the matter like to confuse the capitalist's form of property and appropriation, which rests on the appropriation of alien labour in its progress and, essentially, on the expropriation of the direct producer, with the above-mentioned *mode of production*, which on the contrary presupposes the *private property of the direct producer in his conditions of production*—a presupposition under which the capitalist mode of production in agriculture and manufacture, etc., would be *impossible*—and therefore also like to present every attack on the capitalist *form of appropriation* as an attack on the other kind of property, the property that has been worked for, indeed an attack *on all property*. Of course they always experience great difficulty in presenting the expropriation of the mass of working people from their property as the vital condition for property which rests on labour. //By the way, private property

of that form always implies at least *slavery* for the members of the family, who are used and exploited to the full by the head of the family.// The general *legal* conception, from Locke to Ricardo, is therefore that of *petty-bourgeois property*, while the relations of production they actually describe belong to the *capitalist mode of production*. What makes this possible is the relation of *buyer and seller*, which remains the same *formally* in both forms. With all these writers one finds the following duality:

1) *economically* they oppose *private property resting on labour*, and show the advantages of the *expropriation of the mass* [*of workers*] and the *capitalist mode of production*;

2) but *ideologically* and *legally* the *ideology* of *private property resting on labour* is transferred without further ado to property resting on the *expropriation of the direct producer*.

"It was under Frederick II that subjects" (peasants) "were first granted hereditary tenure and property rights in most of the provinces of the Kingdom of Prussia. And this Ordinance helped to end a misfortune suffered by the country people which was threatening to *depopulate* the countryside. For it was precisely in the last" (18th) "century that the landowners, once they had started to concern themselves with *raising the yield of their estates*, began to find it advantageous *to drive out some of their subjects and add the peasants' fields to their own demesnes*. The people who had been driven out fell victim to poverty, being homeless; moreover, those who remained on the land were now subjected to completely intolerable burdens, since they were now expected by the landowners to cultivate the previous peasants' fields as well, the owners of which would otherwise have facilitated through their labour the cultivation of the demesne too. This '*expropriation of the peasants*' was especially severe in *the eastern part of Germany*. When Frederick II conquered *Silesia*, many thousand peasant farms there were without any farmers; the cottages lay in ruins, and the fields were in the hands of the landowners. *All the confiscated lands* had to be redistributed, placed in the hands of farm managers, provided with cattle and implements, and granted to peasants in hereditary and private ownership. The same abuses on the island of *Rügen* were still causing uprisings of the rural inhabitants when Moritz Arndt was a young man; soldiers were sent, the rebels were imprisoned, and the peasants sought revenge, ambushing and murdering individual members of the nobility. In *Electoral Saxony* too, the same abuses were a source of disturbances as late as 1790" (G. Freytag [*Neue Bilder aus dem Leben des deutschen Volkes*, Leipzig, 1862, pp. 38-39]).

This is a clear demonstration of what the noble sentiments of feudalism really amounted to!

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] After completing the Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58 (see present edition, vols 28 and 29), Marx started work on a large economic treatise which was to cover every aspect of life in capitalist society. The first step was the publication, in 1859, of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One. In the Preface to this work, Marx sets out the plan of his ambitious project: "I examine the system of bourgeois economy in the following order: *capital, landed property, wage-labour*; *the State, foreign trade, world market*... The first part of the first book, dealing with Capital, comprises the following chapters: 1. The commodity; 2. Money or simple circulation; 3. Capital in general, The present part consists of the first two chapters" (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 261).

From Marx's letters (see present edition, Vol. 40) it is evident that after publishing Part One he intended to start immediately on the second part, which was to deal with capital in general. However, various circumstances, including the need to concentrate on *Herr Vogt*, prevented him from carrying out this intention. He was busy with preparatory work up to the summer of 1861, drafting plans, reviewing the 1857-58 Manuscripts and his excerpts on capital (see present edition, Vol. 29), making new excerpts, etc., and did not proceed to the actual writing until August. As Marx originally regarded what eventually became the Manuscript of 1861-63 as the second part of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, he gave the manuscript the same title, subheading the first two notebooks "Third Chapter. Capital in General" (see present edition, Vol. 30). However, the manuscript soon exceeded the planned size, growing ultimately to 23 notebooks, 1,472 large pages in all.

This volume contains the conclusion of the manuscript (part of Notebook XX and notebooks XXI, XXII and XXIII). The earlier sections, including *Theories of Surplus Value*, are in vols 30-33 of the present edition.—5

[2] The notes below were made by Marx on the inside front covers of notebooks XXI-XXIII of the Manuscript of 1861-63. The table of contents for Notebook XX, the text of which is included in Vol. 33 and in this volume, is to be found in Vol. 33, p. 8.

On the inside front cover of Notebook XXI, under the heading "Excerpts from Works", Marx listed the following titles:
"1) *Massie*, 1750. 2) Malthus, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent*, Lond., 1815. 3) Malthus, *The Grounds of an Opinion*, 1815.

"4) *A Prize Essay on the Comparative Merits of Competition and Cooperation etc.*, Lond., 1834.
"5) Hodgskin, *The Natural and Artificial Right of Property*, Lond., 1832.
"6) *An Essay on the Political Economy of Nations etc.*, Lond., 1821.
"7) *Trades Unions and Strikes*, Lond., 1860."
The front cover of Notebook XXI bears the date "May 1863".—7

3 The following entry under the heading "Works" is made on the inside front cover of Notebook XXII:
"1) *Trades Unions and Strikes*, London, 1860.
"2) *Petty's Schriften.*
"3) *Buat.*
"4) (Dickson:) *An Essay on the Causes of the Present High Prices of Provisions etc.*, Lond., 1773.
"5) *A Short Essay on the Corn Trade etc.* (Charles Smith). London, 1758.
"6) Edmund Burke: *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity etc.* (1795), London, 1800.
"7) Dr. Richard Price, *Observations on Reversionary Payments*, edit. Lond., 1803.
"8) *An Inquiry into the Connection between the Present High Prices of Provisions, and the Size of Farms, etc.*, Lond., 1773."
The front cover of this notebook bears the date: "*May 1863*".—7

4 The inside front cover of Notebook XXIII carries the following entry, under the heading "Works":
"1) *An Inquiry into the Connection etc. and the Size of Farms*, Lond., 1773. 2) *An Inquiry into the Management of the Poor* (*Malthusianer*), London, 1767. 3) (N. Forster), *An Inquiry into the Causes of the Present High Prices of Provisions*, in 2 parts, 1767. 4) *A Letter to Sir T. C. Bunbury etc.*, 1795. 5) *Considerations etc. by Governor Pownall*, 1795. 6) *Monopoly of Small Farms.* Th. Wright. 7) *Two Letters on the Flour Trade etc.*, 1767. 8) *Thoughts on etc. High Prices etc.*, 1767. 9) E. Corrie, 1791. 10) *A Political Enquiry into the Consequences of Enclosing Waste Lands*, 1785. 11) *Representation of the Lords etc.* (1790) 1800 edit. 12) William Mitford. 13) Arthur Young, *Scarcity*, 1800. 14) *A Defence of the Landowners*, 1814. 15) J. D. Hume, *Thoughts on the Corn Laws*, 1815. 16) *Remarks on the Commercial Policy*, 1815. 17) Buchanan. 18) Ensor. 19) Beckmann. 20) Sismondi: *Richesse commerciale*, 1803. 21) Sir Dudley North. 22) *Discourse ... Encouraging Mechanick Industry*, 1689. 23) *General Notions of Commerce*, 1695. 24) *The East Indian Trade a Most Profitable Trade*, 1677. 25) *Publick Credit*, 1748. 26) *New Buildings*, 1678. 27) Josiah Tucker. 28) *Exportation of Wool*, 1677. 29) *Case of Engl. Wool*, 1685. 30) *Decay of Clothing Trade*, 1691. 31) Sir R. Temple. 32) Trenchard, 1696. 33) *Credit*, 1707. 34) *Loans*, 1710. 35) Nicholas Barbon, 1796. 36) *Decus et tutamen*, 1696. 37) *Equal Taxes*, 1702. 38) *Stock Exchange.* 39) Decker, 1744. 40) *Taxes*, 17[46]. 41) *Some Thoughts on the Interest of Money in General, etc.*, 1750. 42) *National Thoughts. Bounty of Corn.* 43) *Reason for Increase of Poor Rates*, 1777. 44) Storch. 45) Quesnay. 46) *An Essay on Trade and Commerce*, 1770. 47) Cantillon. 48) Forbonnais. 49) Ganilh. 50) Garnier. 51) Condillac. 52) Bounty, 1753. 53) *Letters to Men of Reason*, 1774. 54) *State of Poor*, 1773. 55) B. de l'Abbaye, 1770. 56) *Essay on Political Economy*, 1828. 59) *Observations*, 1828. 60) Fletcher, 1827. 61) *Essay on Political Economy*, 1830. 62) Wakefield. 63) *Essential Principles*, 1797. 64) *Princip. of Trade*, 1774. 65) *An Essay on the External Corn Trade.* Torrens. 1815."
The front cover of this notebook bears the date: "*June 1863*".—7

[5] In March 1862 Marx interrupted his systematic analysis of relative surplus value for the sake of a detailed discussion of bourgeois theories of surplus value. As a result, Notebook V of the 1861-63 Manuscript was left partly unfilled. As is evident from Marx's letters to Engels of January 24 and 28, 1863 (see present edition, Vol. 41, pp. 446, 449), he resumed his analysis in late 1862 and early 1863, dealing with relative surplus value, specifically with the capitalist employment of machinery, and filling in the process Notebook V and notebooks XIX and XX. The opening part of the section is to be found in Vol. 30, pp. 318-46, and Vol. 33, p. 372 et seq.—8

[6] In the margin opposite this and the preceding paragraph Marx wrote: "setting free of capital".—8

[7] In the margin opposite this paragraph Marx wrote: "profit gained by means of accumulation".—10

[8] In the margin opposite this sentence Marx wrote: "setting free".—11

[9] Above, in the margin opposite the passage beginning with the words "The capital thus set free", Marx wrote: "machinery and demand for labour".—11

[10] Above, in the margin opposite the passage beginning with the words "As an infinite drive", Marx wrote "productive power of capital".—11

[11] Marx deals with these questions in the Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 362-76), as well as in the Manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 414-51, Vol. 31, pp. 84-93, 130-51, Vol. 32, pp. 381-86).—12

[12] In the margin opposite this paragraph Marx wrote: "accumulation of property titles in the total reproduction process". Opposite the next paragraph he put: "absolute surplus value, (profit) rate".—12

[13] Marx is referring to the third part of his work. In the plan of Chapter III which he drew up in 1860 it is marked: "III. Capital and Profit" (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 516). In the present manuscript this part is contained in notebooks XVI and XVII (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 69-153).

In the margin opposite this paragraph Marx wrote: "reduction in the capital advanced" and "rate of profit".—13

[14] In the margin opposite this paragraph Marx wrote: "variable capital".—14

[15] Marx took over the two foregoing paragraphs, with some alterations, from the Manuscripts of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, p. 316).

In the margin opposite the second paragraph Marx wrote: "decline in variable capital against constant".—14

[16] Here Marx probably has in mind the item "7) Result of the Production Process" of Section 1, Chapter III, "Capital in General" (cf. present edition, Vol. 33, p. 347).

In the Manuscript of 1863-65 Chapter Six bears the title "Results of the Direct Production Process" (see this volume, p. 335).—15

[17] The passage from the words "The ratio of the part" up to this point was taken over by Marx, with some alterations, from the Manuscripts of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 325-26).—16

[18] Marx has in mind the Malthusian theory of population, a critical analysis of which he gave in this manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 347-50, Vol. 32, pp. 243-45, 432-33). Cf. also the Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58

(present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 524-27) and the relevant footnote in Section 1 of Chapter XXV, "The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation", of Vol. I of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 35).—17

19 The passage comprising here the three foregoing paragraphs was taken over by Marx, with some alterations, from the Manuscripts of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 326-27).—17

20 The three foregoing paragraphs are a somewhat modified version of a passage from the Manuscripts of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 151-52).—19

21 The foregoing paragraph is a somewhat modified version of a passage from the Manuscripts of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 153-54).—19

22 Marx assumes that the value of the machinery is equivalent to the aggregate labour time of 10 displaced workers, that is, to 120 hours. Consequently, the annual depreciation of this machinery amounts to 12 hours.—22

23 This surplus labour time consists of 2 surplus hours provided by 2 workers and 10 surplus hours of 10 displaced workers. The capitalist who was the first to apply machinery adds these 10 surplus hours to the value of his product because its individual value is lower than its social value.—23

24 Marx probably has in mind Book III, "Wage Labour", of the six books which he planned to write. Book III was to deal with a number of problems related to wages (see Note 1).

Marx discussed the effect of unemployment as a labour reserve on the level of wages in Vol. I of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 35, Part IV, Chapter XV, Section 5, and Part VII, Chapter XXV, Section 3).—23

25 Marx brings up the subject in the Manuscripts of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 325-28, 527-29; see also this volume, pp. 16, 17, 18).—28

26 Marx is referring here to one of the Supplementary Notebooks (Beihefte) to his Manuscript of 1861-63 in which, as he wrote to Engels on May 29, 1863, he made "excerpts from all kinds of earlier literature relating to the part of the political economy I had elaborated" (see present edition, Vol. 41, p. 474). Supplementary Notebooks marked with the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G and H are extant. Some of these excerpts are to be found in notebooks XXI, XXII and XXIII of the 1861-63 Manuscript. Page 5 of Supplementary Notebook A contains a passage copied out from *An Essay, in Answer to the Question, whether does the Principle of Competition, with Separate Individual Interests...?*, London, 1834, p. 29, to which Marx refers as *A Prize Essay on the Comparative Merits of Competition and Cooperation*, London, 1834. The example cited here by Marx is from this book. See also this volume, p. 165-66.—29

27 "Machinery and labour are in constant competition" (D. Ricardo, *Principles of Political Economy*. Third edition, London, 1821, p. 479). See also present edition, Vol. 32, p. 199.—29

28 On changes in the conditions of the labour process under capitalism see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 92-97, 131, 134-35, 146-47, 255 et seq.; Vol. 33, pp. 372 et seq.; this volume, p. 8 et seq. Cf. also present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 81-84.—30

29 Reference here is to the self-acting mule invented by the British engineer Richard Roberts in 1825. The workers nicknamed this loom the iron man,

because it automatically performed many of the operations in the spinning industry which had hitherto been performed manually.

Marx quotes Ure's words about the iron man in Notebook V of the Manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30, p. 342).—30, 35

30 On the role of science in capitalist production see also the Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 84-86, 89-93).—32

31 Marx took this quotation from p. 173 of his Excerpt Notebook VII, which he filled in London between 1859 and 1863. Marx put it in double square brackets and wrote after it: "This passage very important to the very concept of machine labour, namely as involving a motor of some kind of mechanical, not human, power."—33

32 In the margin opposite this quotation Marx wrote: "domestic work".—43

33 In the margin opposite this quotation Marx wrote: "profit".—44, 176

34 The article "The Cotton Districts and Emigration" by the Manchester manufacturer Edmund Potter was published on March 24, 1863, in *The Times*, No. 24514, p. 12, cols. 2-4, as a letter to the Editor dated March 20.

Marx returns to this article in the 1861-63 Manuscript (see this volume, pp. 47-48, 51-52).—45

35 Quoted from a report on the sitting of the House of Commons on April 27, 1863, published in *The Times* of April 28, 1863, p. 8, col. 4, under the heading "The Cotton Famine".—45

36 The 1834 *Poor Law* (an Act for the Amendment and Better Administration of Laws Relating to the Poor in England and Wales) permitted only one form of aid to needy able-bodied persons—their enrolment in prison-type workhouses where they were engaged in monotonous and exhausting unproductive labour. The people nicknamed them Bastilles for the Poor. The law aimed at making the poor accept hard working conditions in industry, thus increasing the supply of cheap labour.—46

37 The *Corn Laws* (first introduced in the fifteenth century) imposed high import duties on agricultural produce in the interests of the landowners in order to maintain high prices for these products on the home market. The struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the Corn Laws ended in 1846 with their repeal.—46

38 Here Marx summarises the following passage from Ferrand's speech: "The men, who kept their mills locked and the workpeople idle, had been making enormous profits by exports of the raw material." The reference is to the "cotton famine" caused by the 1861-65 Civil War in the USA.

Concerning this see also K. Marx, "The British Cotton Trade", *The New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6405, October 14, 1861 (present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 17-20) and K. Marx, "On the Cotton Crisis", *Die Presse*, Vienna, No. 38, February 8, 1862 (present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 160-62).—47

39 The text on pp. 1273 and 1274 of the manuscript consists almost entirely of cuttings from *The Times* of March 24, 1863, pasted onto these pages.—48

40 Marx also quotes this passage in Volume I of *Capital*, where he makes the following remark after the quotation: "He means the living labour machines" (present edition, Vol. 35, Part VII, Chapter XXIII).—48

41 The manuscript has the following text below this table: "Thus we obtain [the following figures] for cotton consumption in the United Kingdom (after deduction of re-exported cotton)", and a table with figures for 1846-60.—52

42 Marx also used this passage from Richard Jones' book, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth...*, London, 1831, earlier on in the 1861-63 Manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 30, p. 169).

He makes a special analysis of Jones' book in the section "Proletarian Opposition on the Basis of Ricardo" (see present edition, Vol. 33, p. 320 et seq.).—54

43 The *cottiers*—a category of the rural population consisting of poor or landless peasants. In Ireland, the cottiers rented small plots of land and cottages from landlords or real estate agents on extremely onerous terms. Their position resembled that of the farmhands.—56, 256, 267

44 Marx is giving the gist of this statement by William Thompson: "In speaking of labour, we have always included ... knowledge.... Without this knowledge, it would be no more than brute force directed to no useful purpose."—57

45 Marx also quotes this passage from Jones earlier on in the 1861-63 Manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 33, p. 364).

He analyses Jones' book in the section "Proletarian Opposition on the Basis of Ricardo" of the 1861-63 Manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 337-71).—58

46 The anonymous work *The Industry of Nations...* (presumably written by Robert Ellis) describes the Great Exhibition, held in London between May and October 1851. Marx visited the show.—58

47 "Philosophical instruments" are the object of a whole chapter in *The Industry of Nations..* (Chapter VII, pp. 286-349). The term is used to denote scientific instruments like precision balances, thermometers, barometers, hydrometers, theodolites, telescopes, and microscopes. The phrase "philosophical instruments" stems from the term "natural philosophy" ("*philosophia naturalis*"), which had long been used in England to denote physics and other natural sciences.—58

48 In the margin opposite this paragraph Marx wrote "profit".—59

49 The poem is to be found in Dugald Stewart's *Lectures on Political Economy*, Edinburgh, 1855, Vol. 1, pp. 191-92. Marx gives it in his own German translation. Passages from Stewart's work are contained in Marx's Excerpt Notebook VII, which he filled in London between 1859 and 1863. Page 147 of the notebook has the following entry: "Epigram on watermills by Antipater of Thessalonica; lived in Augustus' age, and was a contemporary of Vitruvius, who notices the introduction of watermills as then recent."

Subsequently, in Volume I of *Capital*, Marx gave the poem in the German translation by Count Christian zu Stolberg (cf. present edition, Vol. 35, Chapter XV, Section 3c).—61

50 In accordance with the plan of the third chapter of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* which he drew up in 1860, Marx intended to examine this problem in the section "Primitive Accumulation" (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 513-14). In the course of his work on the Manuscript of 1861-63, however, he made a new plan for the arrangement of the material, under which this problem was to be dealt with in Section 5 of Part I (see present edition, Vol. 33, p. 347).

Here and below, the titles of subsections, given in square brackets, have been taken from the summary of contents Marx wrote on the inside front cover of Notebook XX (see present edition, Vol. 33, p. 7).—61

[51] In Notebook XXIII Marx makes use of additional material to illustrate these propositions (see this volume, pp. 290-98).—62

[52] For Marx's assessment of the French factory legislation, see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 220-21.—62

[53] The passage quoted by Marx is to be found in Petty's *Verbum Sapienti*, a supplement to *The Political Anatomy of Ireland*.—62

[54] Marx wrote about the strike in Preston in two of his articles published in *The New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3904, October 21 and No. 3928, November 18, 1853 (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 411-15, 446-48).—63

[55] In the margin opposite this quotation Marx wrote "Sismondi".—67

[56] In the margin opposite this paragraph Marx wrote: "Malthus' theory of value".—71, 343

[57] Marx apparently has in mind the following passage from Rodbertus' *Soziale Briefe an von Kirchmann. Dritter Brief*, Berlin, 1851, pp. 127-28: "The profit on capital can never increase ad infinitum, for profit results merely from the proportion in which the value of the product is divided. It must, accordingly, always be but a fraction of this unit. For, even if one abstracts from rent ... this unit must, apart from the fraction of it used to replace the capital expended, be divided between the workers and the capitalist. This alone would make it impossible for profit on capital ever to amount to 100 per cent.... However high it may be, it must always amount to considerably less."—79

[58] Originally Marx correctly marked this page as 1297, but he wrote the figure 7 rather indistinctly and apparently misread it later as 1, so he marked the following pages as 1292, 1293 and 1294. On discovering the error, Marx added "a" to each of the wrong page numbers.—85

[59] Marx quotes Locke's work *Some Considerations...* from Massie's book *An Essay on the Governing Causes of the Natural Rate of Interest...*, London, 1750, pp. 10-11.—89

[60] These views were formulated in the following works: William Petty, *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions...*, London, 1667; John Locke, *Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest, and Raising the Value of Money* (1691), in: *The Works*, London, 1740. Marx analysed these views on pp. XXII-1397 and XXIII-1419 of his 1861-63 Manuscript (see this volume, pp. 247, 272-74).—90

[61] The quotation is from the Section "Of Commerce" in Hume's *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. A new edition, London, 1764.—90

[62] Reference here is to the Section "Of Interest" in Hume's *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. A new edition, London, 1764.—90

[63] Marx includes this work in the list of titles on the inside front cover of Notebook XXI (cf. Note 2). The excerpts from it quoted below are referred to in the section "Interest" of Notebook XXIII (see this volume, p. 273).—91

[64] Massie means extracts, which he quoted earlier, from Petty's "Political Arithmetick..." (*Several Essays in Political Arithmetick...*, London, 1699), and from

Locke's *Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest, and Raising the Value of Money* (*The Works*, London, 1740).—91

65 This is the beginning of Notebook XXI, on the cover of which Marx wrote: "*May 1863*". In working on the manuscript of Chapter Six, "Results of the Direct Production Process", Marx drew extensively on his Manuscript of 1861-63, in particular Notebook XXI. He cut out several pages of this notebook and pasted them onto pages of the manuscript of Chapter Six. Thus, he attached p. XXI-1303 to p. 475 (cf. this volume, pp. 96-98 and 433-35), p. XXI-1305 and the top part of p. XXI-1306 to p. 477 (this volume, pp. 100-03 and 436-38), and p. XXI-1318 to p. 490 (this volume, pp. 123-25 and 458-59). Here these pages are given in the text of both Notebook XXI and Chapter Six.

The text of some other pages of Notebook XXI was fully or partly incorporated by Marx into the following sections of Chapter Six: "Supplementary Remarks on the Formal Subsumption of Labour under Capital", "The Real Subsumption of Labour under Capital", "Gross and Net Product", and "Mystification of Capital" (cf. this volume, pp. 97-98 and 429, 430, 432; 98 and 435; 101 and 435-38; 102-04 and 430-32; 104-06 and 452; 107-08 and 439-40, 442; 108-11 and 441-42; 120-21 and 440-41; 121-24 and 457; 124-26 and 456-57; 127-28 and 460-61; 136 and 449-50; 138-39 and 449-50; 145-46 and 451-52).—91, 430

66 The text of the 1861-63 Manuscript that follows is a direct continuation of the section "The Production Process of Capital" (see this volume, p. 86).—93

67 Originally Marx examined the relationship between the formal and the real subsumption of labour under capital in his analysis of the unity of the labour process and the valorisation process (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 92-95). He returned to it here, in the addenda to his investigation of the relationship between absolute and relative surplus value, planning to continue its discussion in the section on the accumulation of capital, which was also to include a subsection on primitive accumulation (see this volume, p. 327). In Chapter Six, "Results of the Direct Production Process"—which, according to Marx's original plan, was to be the concluding chapter of Volume I of *Capital*—the problem is dealt with in the section "Capitalist Production as the Production of Surplus Value" (see this volume, pp. 327-28).—95

68 In Chapter Six, "Results of the Direct Production Process", Marx counterposes the means of subsistence as "*subjective conditions of labour*" to the means of production as "*objective conditions of labour*" (see this volume, p. 430).—95

69 These words are rather indistinct in the manuscript and can also be read as "the process of labour" ("Prozeß der Arbeit").—97, 434

70 Marx means the system aimed at precluding competition among guild members. It involved discussion of production matters, equal conditions for all members of the guild, and joint decisions on prices, raw materials, and quality.—98, 434

71 In transferring p. 1305 to Chapter Six, Marx cut off its top, and thus the first 10 to 14 lines of the text on pp. 1304 and 1305 were lost. The text of the missing part of p. 1305 probably corresponded to that of the last paragraph of p. 476 in Chapter Six (see this volume, pp. 435-36).—98

72 In the manuscript of Chapter Six, which includes passages from the 1861-63

Manuscript (see Notes 65 and 71), Marx, after the word "consciousness", added "(or rather the *notion*)" (see this volume, p. 435).—98

[73] The *yeomen* were a stratum of English freeholders which disappeared approximately by the mid-18th century, superseded by small tenant farmers. This was the result of the process of the primitive accumulation of capital, in particular, of what was known as the enclosure of common lands and their usurpation by landlords. Skilful archers, the yeomen formed the core of the English army before firearms came into wide use; they were known for their staunchness and bravery in battle. Marx wrote that during the English revolution of the 17th century the yeomen were the main fighting force of Oliver Cromwell, the leader of the bourgeoisie and the burgeoisified nobility. English novelists and historians paid tribute to the yeomen's courage and military skill, and their role as defenders of the independence of the English nation.

The expression "proud yeomanry of England" is probably a paraphrase of Shakespeare's expressions "good yeomen", "fight gentlemen of England", and "fight boldly yeomen". See *Henry V*, etc., Act III, Scene 1, and *Richard III*, Act V, Scene III. (See also present edition, Vol. 4, p. 552; Vol. 20, p. 145.)—101, 256, 265, 315, 437

[74] Marx means here the further elaboration of propositions formulated in his analysis of relative surplus value in the 1861-63 Manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 262-63). He worked out this idea in more detail in the manuscript of Chapter Six, on the basis of Cairnes' work *The Slave Power: Its Character, Career, and Probable Designs...*, London, 1862 (see this volume, pp. 471, 438).—108

[75] In his *Nouveaux principes d'économie politique, ou De la richesse dans ses rapports avec la population*, Seconde édition. Tome second, Paris, 1827, p. 434, Sismondi wrote: "We tend completely to separate every kind of property from every kind of labour." Marx quotes this proposition in *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VIII, Chapter XXXII, note.—109

[76] This paragraph was marked off by Marx in the margin; opposite it he wrote: "contradictory form of social labour".—109

[77] Marx copied passages out of Quesnay's *Dialogues...* on pp. 23 and 29-31 of Supplementary Notebook C (see Note 26).—110

[78] Marx dwells on relative surplus population in *Capital*, Vol. I, Chapter XXV, "The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation".—113

[79] Marx borrows the term "*irrational* (imaginary) expression" from mathematics to denote the price of things having no value, such as land or labour (cf. this volume, p. 149).—114

[80] Marx may have taken information on the subject from *The Times*, which in 1860-61 published material on the Nine Hours Movement, launched by the builders' union. See, in particular, the issues of March 13 and June 2, 1860.—116

[81] Marx borrows this proposition from an anonymous work, *An Inquiry into those Principles, respecting the Nature of Demand and the Necessity of Consumption...*, London, 1821, p. 104: "Labour would ... be paid after it has ceased." Marx comes back to it in Chapter Six, "Results of the Direct Production Process" (see this volume, p. 340) and in *Capital*, Vol. I, Part III, Chapter VI, footnote.—117

82 Marx has in mind the third part, "Capital and Profit", of the 1861-63 Manuscript. It was one of the versions of Volume III of *Capital*. See Note 13.—118

83 In the Manuscripts of 1857-58 and in Volume III of *Capital* Marx pointed to the ahistorical approach taken by Carey, who compared the rate of interest in the early stages of capitalism with that under developed capitalism (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 227; *Capital*, Vol. III, Part V, Chapter XXXVI, present edition, Vol. 37).—119

84 Marx refers here to the section on the primitive accumulation of capital, which he included as item 6 in his outline of Part I of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 33, p. 347). Subsequently, Marx dealt with the subject in Volume I of *Capital* (Chapter XXXI, "Genesis of the Industrial Capitalist", present edition, Vol. 35, Part VIII. Chapter XXXI).—120

85 The words "capital employs labour" are a paraphrase of Ricardo's "capital, or ... the means of employing labour". In another passage Ricardo speaks of capital as "funds" which "would be paid to the labouring class", as "funds" which "employed this class" (D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*. Third edition, London, 1821, pp. 92, 511-12). Marx analysed these propositions of Ricardo in his manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 56, 302-03).—122, 457

86 The word "profit" written three times in the margins of these pages suggests that Marx intended to use part of the text that follows (pp. 1318-20 of his manuscript) in the section "Capital and Profit".—125

87 Marx refers to a review of the article "Effect of the Employment of Machinery etc. upon the Happiness of the Working Classes". The review, presumably by William Ellis, was published in *The Westminster Review*, London, Vol. 5, No. 9, January-April 1826. Marx made a synopsis of the review in London Excerpt Notebook IX (1850-53), and included its title in his list of literature in Notebook I. In the Manuscripts of 1857-58 Marx describes the author of the review as a "philistine" (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 170).—127

88 In Volume I of *Capital* Marx cites examples illustrating the effect of large-scale machine production on workers' labour and living conditions (see Part IV, Chapter XV and Part VII, Chapter XXV).—128

89 Marx has in mind Saucissard, a character in Paul de Kock's novel *L'amant de la lune*, a cunning drunkard (cf. present edition, Vol. 11, p. 269).—137

90 Marx means *Wage Labour*, a work he intended to write in accordance with his "plan of six books".—139, 342, 448

91 This is a slip of the pen: it should be "1327".—140

92 The term "average price" (*Durchschnittspreis*) was used by Marx in the 1861-63 Manuscript to denote the price of production (cf. present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 400-01 and Vol. 31, pp. 326-27).—142

93 The quoted passage is not from Malthus, but from William Pickering, editor of the second (posthumous) edition of Malthus' book.—146, 452

94 This is a passage from Eden's work, *The State of the Poor: or, an history of the labouring classes in England, from the Conquest to the present period....* In three volumes. Vol. I, London, 1797, p. 48, which Marx is quoting from

H. C. Carey's *Principles of Political Economy.* Part the first: *Of the Laws of the Production and Distribution of Wealth,* Philadelphia, 1837, p. 61.—146

95 Marx intended to make use of this quotation in dealing with rent as is evident from his note "rent" made in the margin.—147

96 Marx intended to make use of these passages in dealing with profit as is evident from his note "profit" made in the margin.—150, 219

97 The term "*cost price*" (*Kostenpreis* or *Kostpreis*) is used by Marx in three different meanings: 1) the cost of production for the capitalist ($c+v$); 2) the "immanent cost of production" of the commodity ($c+v+s$), which is identical with the value of the commodity, and 3) the price of production ($c+v+$ average profit).

In notebooks X-XIII of the manuscript, the term "cost price" is used to mean the price of production or the average price. Marx treats these terms as identical there (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 402-03, 559).

In notebooks XIV and XV Marx uses the term to mean either the price of production or the production cost for the capitalist (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 261, 271, 461-62).

Marx uses the term "Kostenpreis" in three different meanings because in classical political economy, the word "Kosten" also had three meanings, to which effect he made a special note (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 269-73, 512-13): 1) that which is advanced by the capitalist, 2) the price of the advanced capital plus average profit, and 3) real (immanent) production cost of the commodity itself.

Jean Baptiste Say further complicated the matter by defining "production cost" as "that which is paid for the productive services of labour, capital and land" (J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique...* Seconde édition, Tome III, Paris, 1814, p. 453). Marx rejected this interpretation (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 361, 439; Vol 32, p. 102).—154

98 Marx intended to use the last two quotations in investigating profit. This is evident from the line marking them in the margin and the words "rate of profit" written opposite them.—161

99 *Laputa*—an imaginary flying island described in Part Three of Jonathan Swift's *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World.* In four parts. By Lemuel Gulliver. London, 1726. The Laputans engage in various kinds of pseudo-science.—162, 270

100 Marx has in mind the following works: John Locke, *Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest, and Raising the Value of Money* (1691). In: *The Works.* Vols. 1-4. 7th ed., Vol. 2, London, 1768; [W. Ogilvie,] *An Essay on the Right of Property in Land with respect to its foundation in the law of nature, its present establishment by the municipal law of Europe and the regulations by which it might be rendered more beneficial to the lower ranks of mankind,* London, 1781; Th. Spence, *The End of Oppression; or a quartern loaf for twopence; being a dialogue between an old mechanic and a young one,* London, 1795.—165

101 Marx has in mind pages 2 and 3 of his Excerpt Notebook "Beiheft C" (see Note 26) which contains a synopsis of Buchanan's *Observations on the Subjects Treated of in Dr. Smith's "Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations",* Edinburgh, London, 1814. The excerpts on pp. 2 and 3 pertain to productive and non-productive labour, which Marx commented on in the Manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 31, p. 186).—165

102 The *Consolidated Society of Bookbinders* was one of the earliest English trades unions (founded in London in 1779-80). Th. J. Dunning, who became its secretary in 1843, wrote a book on its history and a number of documents setting out its programme.—169, 343

103 Marx has in mind p. 17 sqq. of his Supplementary Notebook A containing excerpts from Th. J. Dunning's work *Trades' Unions and Strikes: Their Philosophy and Intention*, London, 1860, which he is quoting here.—170

104 Marx discussed this in Book Two of *Capital*, the first manuscript of which he wrote in 1865.—182, 207, 220, 386, 449

105 For an analysis of the mystification of the capitalist production relations resulting from the fact that vulgar political economy treats capital only as interest-bearing capital see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 458, 490, 494-96, 520.—184

106 "Capital ... consists of wealth saved from revenue, and used with a view to profit" (R. Jones, *Text-book of Lectures on the Political Economy of Nations, Delivered at the East India College, Haileybury*, Hertford, 1852, p. 16). Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, p. 337; *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VII, Chapter XXIV, Section 1, footnote.—185

107 Marx means the section on competition in the book on capital, which he intended to write in accordance with his "plan of six books".—188

108 Marx apparently means those passages in Quesnay's works in which he advocates large-scale capitalist agriculture (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 372-73. See also this volume, p. 196 and the next note.—195

109 Quesnay discusses this ("richesses d'exploitation") in his works, *Maximes générales du gouvernement économique d'un royaume agricole...* and *Analyse du Tableau économique*. (In: *Physiocrates. Quesnay, Dupont de Nemours, Mercier de la Rivière, L'Abbé Baudeau, Le Trosne, avec une introduction..., des commentaires et des notices historiques, par M. Eugène Daire*, Première partie, Paris, 1846, pp. 62, 96).—196

110 Vertical lines and the repeated note "rent" in the margin suggest that Marx intended to develop the propositions he set out on pp. 1365-66 of his manuscript (see this volume, pp. 196-99) later, in his analysis of ground rent.—199

111 Marx copied the text that follows (pp. 198-203) from the Manuscripts of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 379-82), making a number of alterations and additions.—199

112 Vertical lines and the repeated note "rate of profit" in the margin suggest that Marx planned to make use of the calculations and arguments that follow (see this volume, pp. 210-11) in an analysis of profit.—210

113 Marx marked the following two paragraphs with a vertical line in the margin and wrote opposite them: "Transformation of labour and product in reproduction. Real metamorphosis of capital in reproduction".—216

114 Marx marked the following passage down to the words "The difference for class I however", p. 225, with a vertical line and wrote in the margin: "Reproduction of constant and variable capital. Exchange. Overproduction. Circulation. Accumulation. Ditto. Ditto."—220

115 In the two preceding sentences Marx meant by class I the production of constant capital and by class II, the production of means of subsistence. From this point on he uses these designations the other way round.—223

116 The passage that follows, up to the words "positing themselves as historical presuppositions for a future society" (pp. 231-38),was taken over by Marx from the Manuscripts of 1857-58, with some changes and additions (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 383-89).—231

117 There is also a table of the reproduction process with a commentary to it in Marx's letter to Engels of July 6, 1863 (see present edition, Vol. 41, pp. 485-87).—238

118 The following passage, up to the words "dissolution of relations more fortunate for the immediate producer" (pp. 243-47), was taken over by Marx from the Manuscripts of 1857-58, with some changes and additions (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 389-92).—243

119 Petty continues: "... since there is food enough for this supernumerary 100 also, how they should come by it?"—248

120 Marx made excerpts from this work by Petty, published in the collection: W. Petty. *Several Essays in Political Arithmetick*, 4th edition, London, 1755 (see also present edition, Vol. 30, p. 286).—249

121 This refers to the excerpts from du Bois's work contained in Marx's Supplementary Notebook A to the 1861-63 Manuscript, pp. 27-32. The page numbers Marx gives in citing du Bois below refer to this notebook.—250

122 On pp. 176 et seq. of Notebook VII (London, 1859-63) Marx writes the following about Young's views: "(We already find in Young, almost literally, what was later propounded by Ricardo; namely, that everything comes down to the net produce. This net produce should always be regarded as the main thing and ultimate purpose, while the population should always be seen only as a means for its production. Incidentally, the latter would then follow as a matter of course)".

In *Capital* Marx describes Young as "a fanatical upholder of surplus-produce" (Vol. I, Part III, Chapter IX, Section 4, footnote).—251

123 Marx has in mind Notebook VII; its first 64 pages contain the concluding part of the Manuscripts of 1857-58, while the rest of it is filled with excerpts from works by various authors which Marx made in 1859-63. Page 245 of this Notebook has a reference to pp. 39 and 45 of *An Inquiry...*—251, 322

124 Marx means the supporters of the *currency principle*, one of the schools of the quantity theory of money widely subscribed to in Britain in the first half of the 19th century. According to this theory, the value and price of commodities are determined by the quantity of money in circulation, and economic crises are caused mainly by violations of the laws of money circulation. The proponents of the quantity theory sought to maintain the stability of money circulation by means of obligatory gold backing of bank notes.

Marx showed the untenability of the currency principle in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 412-15).—252

[125] In his Supplementary Notebook B, Marx made the following remark about Burke: "Spence's poem aptly parodies the cant this fellow had recourse to even vis-à-vis the upper classes" (p. 29). Cf. also this volume, p. 269.—254

[126] Marx means his Supplementary Notebook B, which, on pp. 31-34, contains excerpts from R. Price's *Observations on Reversionary Payments...*, 6th ed., London, 1803.—255

[127] *Inclosing*—the eviction of peasants from their land by feudal lords. The plots thus set free were then enclosed with fences, ditches, etc. This practice assumed its classical form in England between the late 15th and early 19th centuries. It put an end to communal landownership and the class of small landowners.—255

[128] Marx first used the term "price of production" on p. XII-614 of this manuscript (present edition, Vol. 31, p. 543); later on he mostly used, instead of it, the term "cost price" (see Note 97).—259

[129] The reference is to the revolution of 1688 (the overthrow of the Stuart dynasty and the enthronement of William III of Orange), after which the constitutional monarchy was consolidated in England on the basis of a compromise between the landed aristocracy and the bourgeoisie.—260

[130] Here and down to the bottom the manuscript page is damaged. The text in square brackets is a restoration according to the quoted sources and Supplementary Notebook B.—260

[131] In *Observations on Reversionary Payments...*, Vol. II, London, 1803, Price quotes Francis Bacon.—260

[132] This page of the manuscript bears the inscription: "*Critique of Political Economy. Notebook XXIII*".—261

[133] A further analysis of this example of Arbuthnot's is to be found in Chapter Six, "Results of the Direct Production Process" (see this volume, pp. 368-69).—262

[134] John Arbuthnot says: "When I appear so strong an advocate for free import and export, it will be conceived that I am not less strenuous for a perfect freedom in markets...."—262

[135] In his work *Über Theorie und Praxis in der Landwirtschaft*, Brunswick, 1856, p. 23, Justus von Liebig wrote: "In agriculture, there is no more important factor than that of time."—263, 412

[136] Opposite the last three paragraphs Marx wrote "profit" three times.—263, 414

[137] This proposition is contained on p. 10 of Forster's book (see also this volume, pp. 150-51). Excerpts from Forster's work are to be found on pp. 8 et seq. of Marx's Supplementary Notebook B.—264

[138] This page of Marx's notebook contains excerpts from pp. 91-92 of Forster's book.—264, 415

[139] For Anderson's view of differential rent see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 344-51 and 372-74.—265

[140] The passage quoted is from Adam Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations...*. Marx reproduces it from a footnote in Mitford's book.—268

[141] Marx wrote "circulation" in the margin opposite this quotation.—269

142 Pages 21-22 of Supplementary Notebook B contain excerpts from *Address to the Two Houses of Parliament on the Importance of the Corn Laws to the National Revenue*, London, 1815, pp. 8-11 and 32.—269

143 Pages 4-5 of Supplementary Notebook C contain excerpts from vols I and II of Johann Beckmann's five-volume work, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Erfindungen*. Marx copied out passages from pp. 123-27 of Vol. I, Leipzig, 1786, and from pp. 57-58, 101, 261-75 of Vol. II, Leipzig, 1788.—271

144 The excerpts from North's work are to be found on pp. 12-14 of Supplementary Notebook C.—272

145 Originally Marx wrote "from 1688" here, but later on he deleted the figure "1688" and put a question mark instead. On pp. XI—507-08 Marx gives data on the movement of wheat prices from 1641 (present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 363-64).—272

146 Pages 12-13 of Supplementary Notebook C contain the following quotation from North's book (pp. 11-12): ["What do these people want, who cry out for Money? I will begin with the *Beggar*... it is not money, but bread, and other necessaries for life that he wants... The farmer complains, for the want of money ... he thinks that were more money in the country, he should have a price for his goods. Then it seems money is not his want, but a price for his corn, and cattel, which he would sell, but cannot ... why he cannot get a price?... 1. Either there is too much corn and cattel in the country, so that most who come to market have need of selling, as he has, and few of buying; or 2. There wants the usual vent abroad, by transportation, as in time of war, when trade is unsafe, or not permitted; or, 3. The consumption fails, as when men, by reason of poverty, do not spend so much in their houses as formerly they did; wherefore it is not the increase of specifick money, which would at all advance the farmers goods, but the removal of any of these three causes, which do truly keep down the market.

"The merchant and shop-keeper want money in the same manner, that is, they want a vent for the goods they deal in, by reason that the markets fail".]—274

147 Page 14 of Supplementary Notebook C contains excerpts from North's work which pertain to the "ebbing and flowing" of a country's money circulation. Marx gives one of these excerpts in *Capital*, Vol. I, Part I, Chapter III, Section 3, a. "Hoarding", footnote (present edition, Vol. 35).—275

148 The title page of the book has "1690" as the publication date, and the note: "Licens'd, Aug. 23d. 1689".—275

149 Marx left the greater part of this page unfilled.—275

150 This is incorrect. The book is by John Asgill.—280

151 Marx quotes this passage from *An Essay on Credit* ... in *Capital*, Vol. I, Chapter III, Section 3, b. "Means of Payment", footnote (present edition, Vol. 35).—280

152 Marx quotes the relevant passage in *Capital*, Vol. I, Chapter III, Section 3, b. "Means of Payment", footnote (present edition, Vol. 35).—280

153 In Vol. I of *Capital* (Chapter III, Section 2, c. "Coin and Symbols of Value", footnote) Marx wrote: "From the fact that gold and silver, so far as they are coins, or exclusively serve as the medium of circulation, become mere tokens of themselves, Nicholas Barbon deduces the right of Governments 'to raise

money', that is, to give to the weight of silver that is called a shilling the name of a greater weight, such as a crown; and so to pay creditors shillings, instead of crowns. 'Money does wear and grow lighter by often telling over.... It is the denomination and currency of the money that men regard in bargaining, and not the quantity of silver... 'Tis the public authority upon the metal that makes it money.'" (Nicholas Barbon, *A Discourse Concerning Coining the New Money Lighter...*, London, 1696, pp. 29, 30, 25.) See present edition, Vol. 35.—281

154 A paraphrase of two lines from the poem *Hudibras*, Part II, Song I, by Samuel Butler. He has:

> "For what is worth in any thing
> But so much money as 'twill bring?"—283

155 Pages 12-15 of Supplementary Notebook F contain excerpts from pp. 4-54 of *Some Thoughts...*, which is quoted here.—284

156 Page 19 of Supplementary Notebook F contain excerpts from pp. 1-36 of Charles Townshend's work *National Thoughts....*—285

157 Marx wrote "rents" in the margin opposite this sentence.—285

158 When numbering the pages, Marx missed out "1432".—288

159 Marx reproduces the *Tableau économique* (somewhat abridged) as it is presented by Quesnay in his *Analyse du Tableau économique* (see *Physiocrates...*, Première partie, Paris, 1846, p. 65). He gives it in the same form in his letter to Engels of July 6, 1863 (see present edition, Vol. 41, pp. 485-87).

Marx analyses Quesnay's *Tableau économique* on pp. X—422-37 of the 1861-63 Manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 204-40) and in Chapter X (written by him) of Part II of Engels' *Anti-Dühring* (present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 211-43). See also *Capital*, Vol. II, Chapter XIX (present edition, Vol. 36).—289

160 Marx assumes here that, according to Quesnay, only *one-fifth* of the gross agricultural product does not enter into circulation but is used by the "productive class" *in natura*. (See also present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 227 et seq.)

Marx returns to this point in Chapter X (written by him) of Part II of Engels' *Anti-Dühring* (present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 233-34). There he details his interpretation of Quesnay's views on the replacement of circulating capital in agriculture. From this later analysis it follows that, according to Quesnay, *two-fifths* of the farmers' gross product, used *in natura*, goes to replace their circulating capital.—289

161 "*Profit upon alienation*" or "*profit upon expropriation*" are terms used by James Steuart. Marx cites and analyses them at the beginning of the section "Theories of Surplus Value" (see present edition, Vol. 30, p. 385).—290, 312

162 This title is used in Daire's edition *Physiocrates...*, Première partie, Paris, 1846, for two dialogues by Quesnay: "Du commerce. Premièr dialogue entre M.H. et M.N." and "Sur les travaux des artisans. Second dialogue". Marx is quoting from the first dialogue.—290

163 The passage quoted by Marx is not from P.S. Dupont de Nemours' *De l'origine et des progrès d'une science nouvelle*, but from his *Maximes du docteur Quesnay, ou Résumé de ses principes d'économie sociale*, which is related to the former in content.—290

164 See "First Preliminary Discourse". In: M. Postlethwayt, *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*..., 4th ed., Vol. I, London, 1774, p. 14. See also *Capital*, Vol. I, Part III, Chapter X, Section 5.—292, 294

165 In Volume I of *Capital* Marx says that by the price of labour the author of *An Essay on Trade and Commerce* means the nominal daily or weekly wages (Part VI, Chapter XX, footnote; present edition, Vol. 35).—293

166 Marx repeatedly quotes from the works of Vanderlint and Forster, whom he describes as "defenders of the working-classes", in Volume I of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 35). See also this volume, pp. 151, 264-65.—297

167 Marx apparently means here an English edition of the book, *Aanwysing der heilasme politike Gronden en Maximen van de Republike van Holland en West-Friesland*, attributed to Jan de Witt and first published in Leiden in 1662. As has been established, however, de Witt only wrote two chapters, whereas the rest was written by Pieter de la Court, a Dutch economist and entrepreneur.—298

168 The *laws of settlement*, introduced in England in 1662, virtually deprived farm workers of the right to move from one place to another. A component part of the Poor Laws, they provided for the judicial return of farm workers to the places of their birth or permanent residence. This enabled the employers to keep wages at the minimum level.— 298, 305

169 Actually, Cunningham is quoting here another work by Young, namely, *The Expediency of Allowing the Free Exportation of Corn*..., London, 1770, pp. 18, 19-20.—298

170 Pages 20-32 and 40-52 of Supplementary Notebook G contain excerpts from [J. Cunningham,] *An Essay on Trade and Commerce*..., London, 1770.—300

171 In the second half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century, *Economists* was a name used in France for the Physiocrats. By the 1850s the word acquired a more general meaning and ceased to denote exponents of one specific economic doctrine.—301, 312, 313

172 Marx wrote "corn" in the margin opposite this sentence.—304

173 The *Navigation Acts* were passed in Britain to protect British shipping against foreign competition. The best known was that of 1651, directed mainly against the Dutch, who controlled most of the sea trade. It prohibited the import of any goods that were not carried by British ships or ships of the country where the goods were produced, and laid down that British coasting trade and trade with any of Britain's colonies could only be carried on by British ships. The Navigation Acts were modified in the early 19th century and repealed in 1849, except for the regulations on coasting trade, which were revoked in 1854.—304

174 Marx wrote "rent" in the margin opposite this sentence.—306

175 Under the Poor Laws, introduced in England in the 16th century, a special tax was levied on every parish in favour of the poor; parishioners who could not support themselves and their families were paid allowances out of the poor relief fund.—307

176 A reference to the wars which Britain waged as a member of the European coalitions against the French Republic and Napoleonic France. During these wars, which lasted, with intervals, from 1792 to 1815, the British ruling circles

established a reign of terror in their country, putting down several revolts and passing laws banning workers' associations.—307, 310, 316

177 Later Marx quoted this passage in *Capital*, Vol. I, Part V, "The Production of Absolute and of Relative Surplus Value", Chapter XVII, IV (1.), footnote (present edition, Vol. 35).—307

178 Here Marx put the note: "(see continuation on p. 1448)". Accordingly, the paragraph written in the lower part of p. XXIII-1448 and separated from the rest of the text with a line is given here, as the immediate continuation of the foregoing.—309

179 Marx quotes Blakey in *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VIII, Chapter XXVII, footnote (present edition, Vol. 35).

In his *England and America*, Vol. I, London, 1833, pp. 66-67, Wakefield cites the case of a Mrs. Hibner who was sentenced to be hanged for murdering teenagers from poor families employed in her workshop.—310

180 Almost all the passages copied by Marx from p. 6 of the anonymous work in question (pp. 32-33 of Marx's Supplementary Notebook H) are given below.—311

181 By "manufacturers" the anonymous author means both workers (whom he occasionally calls "labouring manufacturers") and industrial entrepreneurs (whom he also calls "masters employers"). By "artificers" he means both wage workers and artisans proper.—311

182 Pages 36-37 of Supplementary Notebook H contain excerpts from pp. 31-33 of Gray's *The Essential Principles...* published anonymously.—312

183 Pages 38-39 of Supplementary Notebook H contain excerpts from pp. 51-54 of the anonymous work *The Essential Principles....*—313

184 The *Empire of the Great Moguls*, founded in 1526 by the Moguls, invaders of Turkish descent, became very powerful in the mid-seventeenth century when it conquered the greater part of India and part of Afghanistan. Later, however, the Empire began to decline due to popular movements and increasing separatist tendencies. In the early half of the eighteenth century the Empire of the Great Moguls practically ceased to exist. Nominally, the Great Moguls remained the rulers of India until 1858, when the British authorities put an end to the dynasty.—313

185 This is an error: the excerpt from *The Times* of July 2, 1863, is to be found on page 186—only a part of which has been preserved—of Supplementary Notebook H.—315

186 In the margin opposite this paragraph Marx wrote: "price of labour and surplus value".—318

187 In the margin opposite this paragraph Marx wrote: "depreciation of labour".—319

188 Marx dealt with these Blue Books (*Report from the Select Committee on Petitions Relating to the Corn Laws of This Kingdom...* and *Reports Respecting Grain, and the Corn Laws*) in *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VI, Chapter XXI (present edition, Vol. 35).—319

189 In the margin opposite this sentence Marx wrote "wages".—319

190 Marx left the bottom part of p. XXIII-1460 unfilled. He may have intended to put there excerpts from Martyn's book: some are to be found in Supplemen-

tary Notebook D and were used in Volume I of *Capital*. See present edition, Vol. 30, p. 287.—327

191 Marx took over the text under item "4)", with some alterations, from the Manuscripts of 1857-58 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 412-13).—329

192 Marx left the greater part of p. XXIII-1463 unfilled.—329

193 It is unknown which edition of J. Hind's *The Elements of Algebra* was used by Marx. In the 1839 edition, the passage he cites here is on pp. 245-56.—336

194 The lower half of p. XXIII-1472 (the last page of the Manuscript of 1861-63) remained unfilled.—336

195 In August 1863, Marx embarked on a new stage in his work on *Capital*: he proceeded to "make a *fair copy* of the political economy for the printers (and give it a final polish)" (present edition, Vol. 41, p. 474). However, rather than being a fair copy, the resultant manuscript—produced between the summer of 1863 and the summer of 1864—became a third rought draft of Book One of *Capital*, based on the plan Marx had made in December 1862 (see present edition, Vol. 33, p. 347). The bulk of the manuscript has not reached us. What has survived are "Chapter Six. Results of the Direct Production Process", a number of separate pages from other chapters, and several unplaced footnotes.

Marx did not date the manuscript. However, the manufacturer's watermarks and the imprint "1864" on the paper, and also a comparison of the text of this manuscript with that of the first manuscript of Book Two of *Capital*, completed at the beginning of 1865, give an idea of the time it was written.

The separate pages precede Chapter Six. Their pagination and content indicate that they belong to the first five chapters. That they were written earlier is also evident from the watermarks and the imprint "1863" on pp. 24 and 25 as well as on pp. 96-107, which were later incorporated into Chapter Six.

The unplaced footnotes, given at the end of this volume, also throw light on the contents of Book One of *Capital*. There is no indication of the period when they were written apart from the fact that in one of the notes Marx quotes a source dated 1866 (see this volume, p. 469).—337

196 Pages 24 and 25 apparently belong to the first chapter ("The Conversion of Money into Capital") of the part of the 1863-64 Manuscript which has not reached us. The beginning of the first sentence on p. 24 was on p. 23, which is not extant. The text on pp. 339-42, up to the words "As in theory", is based on the first section of the Manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 42-54).—339

197 The extant part of the manuscript does not contain the text of Note 51.—339

198 The extant part of the manuscript does not contain the text of Note 48. Marx probably wrote it in editing the manuscript later on.—340

199 This refers to the missing part of the Manuscript of 1863-64, to which this page belonged (cf. *Capital*, Vol. I, Part II, Chapter VI; present edition, Vol. 35).—341

200 In his further work on the text Marx made use of Note 53 to substantiate his arguments concerning relative surplus value (see *Capital*, Vol. I, Part IV, Chapter XII, footnote; present edition, Vol. 35).—341

201 Marx made use of the foregoing text (from p. 339 of this volume onwards) and notes 52-53 in Volume I of *Capital*, as is evident from their almost literal

coincidence with the text in *Capital* (see *Capital*, Vol. I, Part II, Chapter VI; present edition, Vol. 35).—341

202 These quotations have nothing to do with Marx's own text on p. 263 of his manuscript; in all probability, they are the continuation of a note on p. 262, which has not reached us. The beginning of the quotation from pp. 14-15 of Senior's book is missing in the manuscript and is given here in square brackets (cf. this volume, p. 148).—349

203 This item probably belongs to the section "The So-Called Primitive Accumulation" of Chapter Five, "The Process of Accumulation of Capital", in the manuscript of 1863-64 (cf. also *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VIII, Chapter XXVI; present edition, Vol. 35).—350

204 A reference to [A. Goudar,] *Les intérêts de la France mal entendus, dans les branches de l'agriculture, du commerce, de la population, des finances, de la marine, et de l'industrie: Par un citoyen*. Vol. 1, Amsterdam, 1757. This work is mentioned in Ch. Smith's book *Three Tracts on the Corn-Trade and Corn-Laws*, Second edition, London, 1766, of which Marx made a synopsis in Supplementary Notebook B.—362

205 The price of one yard fell by $^1/_4$ because the aggregate value of the product had trebled (from £120 to £360), while the quantity of the product had increased fourfold (from 1,200 to 4,800 yards).—367

206 The figure £120 is incorrect, since originally the calculation was $96c+20v+28s$, which, if calculated per 100 units of advanced capital, gives $83c+17v+24s=$£124.—370

207 This refers to the missing part of the Manuscript of 1863-64 and to sections that Marx planned to write for this chapter (see this volume, p. 357, 384-466).—375

208 A reference to the missing part of the manuscript (cf. *Capital*, Vol. I, Part III, Chapter IX).—377

209 A reference to the missing part of the manuscript (cf. *Capital*, Vol. I, Part IV, Chapter XII).—380

210 In the preface to the first edition of his book *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie*, Wilhelm Roscher described himself as the Thucydides of political economy.—382

211 A reference to the missing part of the manuscript (cf. *Capital*, Vol. I, Part II, Chapter V).—383

212 Marx reproduced the last three sentences in the first edition of Vol. I of *Capital* as a transition to the questions he deals with in Vol. II (see K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, Erster Band, Hamburg, 1867), but did not include them in any of the subsequent editions.—384

213 *Fluxion* and *fluens* are concepts of the calculus of fluxions, the earliest form of differential and integral calculus, developed by Newton. He used the term *fluens* to denote the values of a system which change simultaneously and constantly, depending on time, and the term *fluxion* to denote the velocity with which the *fluens* changes. Thus, fluxions are time derivatives of fluenses.—385, 402

214 Marx apparently means that $\Delta(c+v)=\Delta c+\Delta v$ and, since the increment of $c$ is constant, the difference is equal to $\Delta v$.—386

215 The manuscript does not contain Note 1). It was probably to refer the reader to Marx's determination of use value given in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 270).—388

216 A reference to the missing part of the manuscript (cf. also *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VI, Chapter XIX).—391, 399

217 A reference to the missing part of the manuscript (cf. present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 40-41, and *Capital*, Vol. I, Part III, Chapter XI).—396

218 Note 2) is missing from the text of the manuscript. Marx apparently left its number by mistake when he decided to transfer the note to another place. See this volume, p. 399.—398

219 The manuscript does not contain the text of Note 2).—399

220 A reference to the missing part of the manuscript (cf. present edition, Vol. 28, p. 188; Vol. 32, pp. 35-37, 408-09; Vol. 33, pp. 256-57, 285-86 and *Capital*, Vol. I, Part II).—401

221 Page 262 has not reached us. For pp. 263-64 see this volume, pp. 348-50).—403

222 The text that follows, originally belonging to the missing part of the manuscript, was later incorporated by Marx into Chapter Six, which affected the pagination, pp. 96-107 becoming 469a-469m.—403

A comparison of the text of this section (pp. 469a-469m) with the third chapter of the Manuscript of 1861-63 shows that Marx used the latter as a basis for the text given here (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 141-59).—403

223 "*Semper aliquid haeret*", part of the saying "*Audacter calumniare, semper aliquid haeret*" ("If you slander somebody long enough, some of it is bound to stick").

224 Marx apparently means the Society for Promoting the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, founded by Henry Broom in Britain in 1827. It sought to achieve its aim by publishing popular and inexpensive books.—406

225 This work is also mentioned by Thomas Hodgskin himself in his pamphlet *The Natural and Artificial Right of Property Contrasted...*, London, 1832, pp. 165-66. Marx noted this in his synopsis of Hodgskin's pamphlet (see Supplementary Notebook A, p. 12).—407

226 This refers to the missing part of the 1863-64 Manuscript (cf. *Capital*, Vol. I, Part II).—409

227 This refers to the missing part of the 1863-64 Manuscript (cf. *Capital*, Vol. I, Part III, Chapter VII).—410

228 The *Civil War in the United States* between the economically and socially progressive states of the North and the states of the South, dominated by slave-owners, which lasted from April 1861 to April 1865.

The effect the US Civil War had on the economic situation in Britain was analysed in a number of reports issued by the British chambers of commerce and in articles published in *The Economist*, such as "The Board of Trade Return. The Trade with the United States", No. 922, May 4, 1861, pp. 480-81, and "The Difficult Position of English Commerce with Reference to the American Civil War", No. 925, May 18, 1861, pp. 534-35. *The Morning Post* of May 16, 1864, suggested that the American Civil War had helped Britain to

avoid a crisis. Marx examined the problem in the articles "The Crisis in England", written on about November 1, 1861, (*Die Presse*, No. 305, November 6, 1861), and "British Commerce", written on November 2, 1861 and published in *The New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6440, November 23, 1861 (see present edition, Vol. 19).—414

229 Marx criticises Proudhon's "axiom" in *The Poverty of Philosophy* (present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 152-60), in the Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58 (present edition, Vol. 28, p. 531), and in *Capital*, Vol. I, Part V, Chapter XVI (present edition, Vol. 35).—419

230 A reference to the missing part of the manuscript (cf. *Capital*, Vol. I, Part V, Chapter XVI).—426

231 A reference to the missing part of the manuscript (cf. present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 54-60; *Capital*, Vol. I, Part II).—426

232 A reference to the missing part of the manuscript (cf. *Capital*, Vol. I, Part IV, Chapter XIII).—428

233 The quotation that follows was written by Marx on an unnumbered separate sheet.—432

234 A reference to the missing part of the manuscript (cf. *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VI, Chapter XXI).—436

235 A reference to the missing part of the manuscript (cf. *Capital*, Vol. I, Part IV, Chapter XV).—440

236 A reference to the missing part of the manuscript (cf. *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VII, Chapter XXIV).—441

237 Marx dealt with the subject at greater length in the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63, first in *Theories of Surplus Value* as part of his analysis of bourgeois political economy (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 7-130) and then in the part of the manuscript devoted to relative surplus value (see this volume, pp. 121-46). The conclusions formulated here are largely based on those studies.—442

238 A reference to the missing part of the manuscript (cf. *Capital*, Vol. I, Part V, Chapter XVIII).—444

239 Marx probably means Part III, "The Law of the Tendency of the Rate of Profit to Fall", of Vol. III of *Capital*.—452

240 This is, in all probability, Marx's first mention of the fourth book of *Capital*, "On the History of the Theory", which he planned to write. He also refers to Book IV in his letter to Ludwig Kugelmann of October 13, 1866 (see present edition, Vol. 42, p. 328). The fifth section of the Manuscript of 1861-63—*Theories of Surplus Value*—was the first rough draft of the fourth book of *Capital*. On the views of the Physiocrats see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 352-76.—454

241 A reference to the missing part of the manuscript (cf. *Capital*, Vol. I, Part III).—460

242 A reference to the missing part of the manuscript (cf. *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VII, Chapter XXV).—460, 464

[243] A reference to the missing part of the manuscript (cf. *Capital*, Vol. I, Part II, Chapter IV).—461

[244] There is no such note in the manuscript. Marx probably has in mind the American economist Carey, who examined the relationship between the growth of population and the growth of capital in his work *Principles of Political Economy*, Philadelphia, 1837.—464

[245] The following is another draft of the beginning of Chapter Six (cf. present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 252-53).—466

[246] Here the manuscript of the third and last section of the chapter breaks off.—466

[247] Marx means the mass Irish emigration to the USA after 1848 (cf. *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VII, Chapter XXV).—468

[248] Marx means the pandemic of plague that swept Europe in 1347-50. According to some estimates, it took a toll of about 25 million, approximately a quarter of the entire population of Europe at that time (see also *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VII, Chapter XXV).—468

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*Charles I* (1600-1649)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1625-49), executed during the English Revolution.—261

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*Charles V* (1500-1558)—Holy Roman Emperor (1519-56) and King of Spain under the name of Charles (Carlos) I (1516-56).—300

*Cherbuliez, Antoine Elisée* (1797-1869)—Swiss economist, tried to combine the teaching of Sismondi with elements of Ricardo's theory.—127, 405, 460

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*Cobbett, William* (c. 1762-1835)—British politician and radical journalist; published *Cobbett's Annual Register* from 1802.—256

*Condillac, Étienne Bonnot de* (1715-1780)—French philosopher and economist, follower of John Locke.—303

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*Cowell, John W.*—member of the Factories Inquiry Commission in 1833.—40

*Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—leader of the English Revolution, Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653.—261

*Culpeper, Sir Thomas* (1578-1662)—English economist, advocate of Mercantilism.—272

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*Custodi, Pietro* (1771-1842)—Italian economist, published works by Italian economists of the late 16th-early 19th centuries.—322

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*Decker, Sir Matthew* (1679-1749)—English merchant and economist, predecessor of Adam Smith, M. P.—283, 304

*Defoe, Daniel* (c. 1661-1731)—English writer and journalist; author of *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner.*—281, 283

*Destutt de Tracy, Antoine Louis Claude, comte de* (1754-1836)—French economist and philosopher, advocate of constitutional monarchy.—461

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*Eden, Sir Frederick Morton* (1766-1809)—English economist and historian, disciple of Adam Smith.—146, 147, 162, 234, 269, 319-21

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*Edward VI* (1537-1553)—King of England (1547-53).—261, 295, 300

*Elizabeth I* (1533-1603)—Queen of England and Ireland (1558-1603).—261, 286, 300

*Ensor, George* (1769-1843)—English journalist, critic of Malthusianism.—271

*Euler, Leonhard* (1707-1783)—mathematician and physicist of Swiss descent, worked at the St. Petersburg (1727-41 and 1766-83) and Berlin (1741-66) academies of sciences.—330

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*Forcade, Eugène* (1820-1869)—French journalist and vulgar economist.—382

*Forster, Nathaniel* (c. 1726-1790)—English clergyman, author of a number of works on economics, upheld the workers' interests.—151, 264, 297

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*Freytag (Freitag), Gustav* (1816-1895)—German playwright and novelist.—471

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*Ganilh, Charles* (1758-1836)—French politician and economist, epigone of the Mercantilists.—301-02

*Garnier, Germain, marquis* (1754-1821)—French economist and politician, monarchist; follower of the Physiocrats, translator and critic of Adam Smith.—302

*Gee, Joshua* (18th cent.)—English merchant, Mercantilist.—298

*Genovesi, Antonio* (1712-1769)—Italian philosopher and economist.—322

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*Hobbes, Thomas* (1588-1679)—English philosopher.—86-87

*Hobhouse, John Cam, Baron Broughton de Gyfford* (1786-1869)—British Whig statesman, President of the Board of Control for India (1835-41 and 1846-52).—38

*Hodgskin, Thomas* (1787-1869)—English economist and journalist, utopian socialist; drew socialist conclusions from the Ricardian theory.—44, 54, 149, 167, 323, 407

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*Hume, James Deacon* (1774-1842)—English economist, Free-Trader.—161, 162, 269, 277, 316

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*Lauderdale, James* (1759-1839)—British politician and economist, criticised Adam Smith's theory.—14, 316, 317-18, 324

*Leibniz (Leibnitz), Gottfried Wilhelm* (1646-1716)—German philosopher and mathematician.—332

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*Longe, Francis Davy* (1831-1910)—English lawyer, in 1863 was in the Children's Employment Commission.—344

M

*Macaulay, Thomas Babington, Baron* (1800-1859)—English historian and politician, Whig M. P.; as member of the Supreme Council of India (1834-38) took part in drafting a penal code for India, which was adopted in 1860.—257, 275

*M(a)cCulloch, John Ramsay* (1789-1864)—Scottish economist, vulgarised David Ricardo's theory.—51, 54, 56, 256

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, author of a population theory.—59, 70, 146, 151, 153, 155, 156, 157-59, 160-61, 162, 166, 167, 170, 271, 279, 315, 316, 319, 320, 341, 409, 417, 452

*Martineau, Harriet* (1802-1876)—English writer, supporter of moderate social reforms.—406

*Martyn (Martin), Henry* (d. 1721)—English lawyer and politician.—327

*Massie, Joseph* (d. 1784)—English writer on trade and finance; formed a collection of fifteen hundred treatises on economics, 1557-1763.—89-90, 91, 93, 273

*Mercier de la Rivière, Paul Pierre* (1720-1793)—French economist, Physiocrat.—326

*Mill, James* (1773-1836)—British historian, economist and positivist philosopher, follower of Ricardo's theory.—310-11, 417

*Mill, John Stuart* (1806-1873)—British economist and positivist philosopher, epigone of classical political economists, son of James Mill.—127, 405, 460

*Milton, John* (1608-1674)—English poet; prominent in the English Revolution.—136, 237, 448

*Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel Victor Riqueti, comte de* (1749-1791)—leading figure in the French Revolution, advocate of constitutional monarchy.—256

*Mitford, William* (1744-1827)—English historian, Tory M. P.—268

*Molesworth, Sir William* (1810-1855)—British statesman, Mayfair Radical, member of the House of Commons; First Commissioner of the Board of Works and Public Buildings (1853-55), Secretary of State for the Colonies (1855).—86

*Molinari, Gustave de* (1819-1912)—Belgian economist and journalist.—105, 301, 303

*Morgan, William* (1750-1833)—British economist, author of pamphlets against the growth of military expenditures and national debt; publisher of Richard Price's works.—254

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*Newman, Francis William* (1805-1897)—English philologist and writer, radical; wrote several books on religion, politics and economics.—256

*Newnham, G. L.*—English lawyer.—319-20

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*Ogilvie, William* (1736-1819)—English professor of humanity and advocate of common ownership of land.—165

*Opdyke, George* (1805-1880)—American entrepreneur, politician and economist.—56

*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—British utopian socialist.—54

P

*Paley, William* (1743-1805)—English theologian, philosopher and economist.—165

*Paoletti, Ferdinando* (1717-1801)—Italian priest and economist, Physiocrat.—322

*Papillon, Thomas* (1623-1702)—English merchant and politician, M.P.—275, 277

*Parnell*—see *Congleton, Henry Brook Parnell, Baron*

*Parry, Charles Henry* (1779-1860)—English physician, author of a number of works on economics and politics, Free Trader.—320-21

*Peel, Sir Robert* (1750-1830)—British politician and diplomat, father of Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel; member of the House of Commons; Junior Lord of the Admiralty.—38, 41

*Petty, Sir William* (1623-1687)—English economist and statistician, founder of English classical political economy.—62, 89, 91, 170, 171, 172, 173,

174-75, 247, 248, 249, 250, 272-73, 284, 298, 341

*Pindar* (c. 522-c. 442 B.C.)—Greek lyric poet, famous for his odes.—315

*Pitt, William (the Younger)* (1759-1806)—British statesman, Tory; Prime Minister (1783-1801, 1804-06).—253

*Pollexfen, John* (born c. 1638)—English merchant and economist; advocated abolition of the East India Company's monopoly.—298

*Postlethwayt, Malachy* (1707-1767)—English economist.—292, 294, 316

*Potter, Edmund*—British manufacturer and politician, Free Trader, M.P.—45, 47-48, 51-52

*Pownall, Thomas* (1722-1805)—English statesman, governor of Massachusetts, Whig M.P.—265

*Price, Richard* (1723-1791)—English radical journalist, economist and philosopher.—254, 255, 258, 259, 260-61

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist; early anarchist.—329, 378, 381-82, 383, 419

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*Quesnay, François* (1694-1774)—French economist, founder of the Physiocratic school; physician.—110, 195, 196, 280, 289, 290

R

*Ramsay, Sir George* (1800-1871)—one of the last English classical political economists.—66, 146, 266, 404

*Ravenstone, Piercy* (d. 1830)—English Ricardian economist; opposed Malthus; upheld the workers' interests.—470

*Redesdale, John Freeman-Mitford, Baron* (from 1802) (1748-1830)—English lawyer and politician.—307

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*Robertson, George* (c. 1750-1832)—English topographical writer.—307

*Rodbertus-Jagetzow, Johann Karl* (1805-1875)—German economist.—79

*Roscher, Wilhelm Georg Friedrich* (1817-1894)—German economist, founder of the historical school in political economy.—381-82, 418

*Rossi, Pellegrino Luigi Edoardo, Count* (1787-1848)—Italian economist, lawyer and politician; vulgarised Adam Smith's and David Ricardo's theories.—405, 412

*Rothschild, Lionel Nathan, Baron* (1808-1879)—head of the Rothschild banking house in London; Whig M.P. (from 1858).—406

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*Smith, Charles* (1713-1777)—English writer on the corn trade.—253, 267

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*Spence, William* (1783-1860)—English entomologist, also studied economics.—311, 316

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*The Evening Post*—a daily published under various titles in New York in 1801-1934; organ of the Republican Party from 1856.—304-06, 316

*Revue des Deux Mondes*—a literary and political fortnightly published in Paris since 1829.—382

*Reynolds's Newspaper. A Weekly Journal of Politics, History, Literature and General Intelligence*—a radical newspaper founded by George William Reynolds in London in 1850; supported the labour movement.—467

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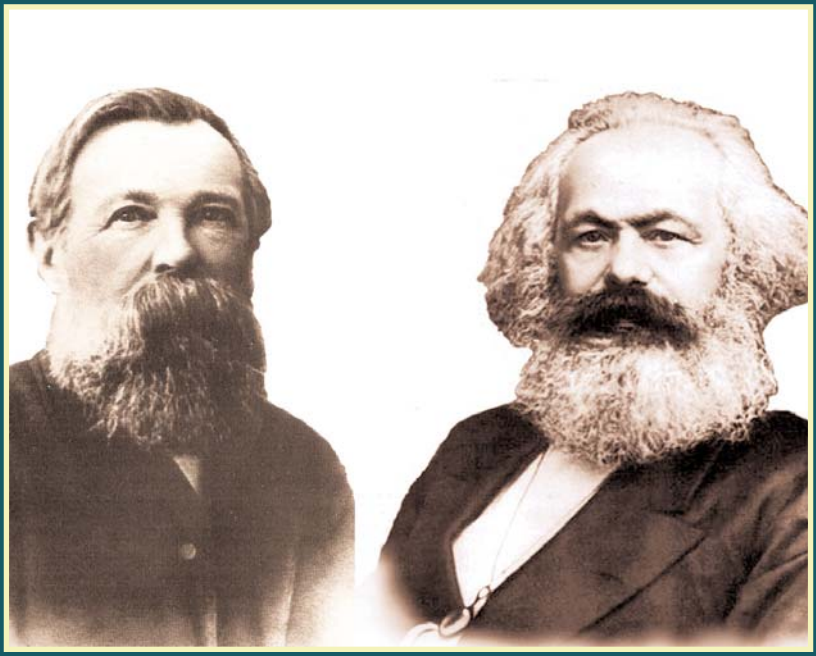

## VOLUME 35

### Karl Marx - Capital Volume I

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 35

## Karl Marx - Capital Volume I

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*Note: Pages 1–6 of CAPITAL (frontmatter) have been consolidated into 4 pages to meet U.S. production requirements.*

# Preface

Volume 35 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains Volume I of *Capital*, Marx's principal economic work. Volume I deals with the process of production of capital.

The present publication of Volume I is based on the first English edition (including the preface to the first and the afterword to the second German editions), prepared by Frederick Engels and published in 1887. The present volume further includes the preface and the afterword to the first French edition (1872-75) of Volume I, and also the prefaces to the third (1883) and the fourth (1890) German editions.

Significant textual divergences between the English translation and the German editions are indicated in this volume by editorial footnotes, which are marked with index letters. Editorial footnotes also point out inadequate translations of German economic terms (except for *Fabrik, Fabrikant* and *große Industrie*, translated in Engels' English edition as "manufacture", "manufacturer" and "modern industry").

Engels' addenda to the fourth German edition are given in this volume in double oblique lines (they replace the square brackets used in the first English edition). His footnotes, likewise placed in oblique lines, are marked with the initials "F. E."

The title page is given in accordance with the German editions.

In preparing this publication of Volume I, obvious slips of the pen and printer's errors in the first English edition have been corrected by the Editors without comment; bibliographical data, figures and facts

have been checked. Editorial elucidations are supplied in square brackets. Foreign words and phrases are given as used by Marx and Engels, with the translations supplied in footnotes where necessary. Some of the English words used are now antiquated or have undergone changes in usage. For example, Marx uses the word "nigger", which has acquired generally — but especially in the USA — a more profane and unacceptable status than it had in Europe in the 19th century.

Quotations from English authors are given as they occur in the 1887 edition. Quotations from French, Italian, Latin and Greek sources (except for those from fiction and the Bible) have been translated into English. Here the Editors have drawn on Ben Fowkes' translation of Volume I of *Capital* (Penguin Books, London, 1976). The translations of passages from earlier works of Marx and Engels quoted in the 1887 English edition may differ from those in the corresponding volumes of these *Collected Works*.

In compiling the bibliographical notes the Editors used, where necessary, Marx's excerpt notebooks and preparatory manuscripts.

The editorial notes at the end of the volume are indicated by superior numbers; the author's footnotes are marked by superior numbers with a round bracket.

The text of the volume was prepared and the notes to it written by Yelena Vashchenko and Lyubov Zalunina, and edited by Alexander Chepurenko (Russian Independent Institute of Social and National Problems). The Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature and the Name Index were prepared by Svetlana Kiseleva.

The volume was prepared for the press by Lydia Belyakova, Yelena Kalinina and Mzia Pitskhelauri (Progress Publishing Group Corporation).

# KARL MARX

# CAPITAL

## A CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY[1]

## VOLUME I

### BOOK ONE

### THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION OF CAPITAL

*Translated from the third German edition*
*by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling*
*and edited by Frederick Engels*

# Das Kapital.

## Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.

Von

**Karl Marx.**

Erster Band.

**Buch I: Der Produktionsprocess des Kapitals.**

Hamburg
Verlag von Otto Meissner.
1867.

Title page of the first German edition
of Volume I of *Capital*

DEDICATED

TO MY UNFORGETTABLE FRIEND

*Wilhelm Wolff*

INTREPID, FAITHFUL,
NOBLE PROTAGONIST OF THE PROLETARIAT

*Born in Tarnau on June 21, 1809*
*Died in exile in Manchester on May 9, 1864*

# PREFACE TO THE FIRST GERMAN EDITION

The work, the first volume of which I now submit to the public, forms the continuation of my *Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie* (*A Contribution to the Criticism of Political Economy*) published in 1859. The long pause between the first part and the continuation is due to an illness of many years' duration that again and again interrupted my work.

The substance of that earlier work is summarised in the first three chapters of this volume.[a] This is done not merely for the sake of connection and completeness. The presentation of the subject-matter is improved. As far as circumstances in any way permit, many points only hinted at in the earlier book are here worked out more fully, whilst, conversely, points worked out fully there are only touched upon in this volume. The sections on the history of the theories of value and of money are now, of course, left out altogether.[2] The reader of the earlier work will find, however, in the notes to the first chapter additional sources of reference relative to the history of those theories.

Every beginning is difficult, holds in all sciences. To understand the first chapter, especially the section that contains the analysis of commodities, will, therefore, present the greatest difficulty. That which concerns more especially the analysis of the substance of value and the magnitude of value, I have, as much as it was possible, popu-

[a] The German original has here "in the first chapter", i. e., the first chapter of the first edition. In subsequent editions this was expanded to three chapters, as in the present edition.

larised.[1] The value form, whose fully developed shape is the money form, is very elementary and simple. Nevertheless, the human mind has for more than 2,000 years sought in vain to get to the bottom of it, whilst on the other hand, to the successful analysis of much more composite and complex forms, there has been at least an approximation. Why? Because the body, as an organic whole, is more easy of study than are the cells of that body. In the analysis of economic forms, moreover, neither microscopes nor chemical reagents are of use. The force of abstraction must replace both. But in bourgeois society the commodity form of the product of labour — or the value form of the commodity — is the economic cell form. To the superficial observer, the analysis of these forms seems to turn upon minutiae. It does in fact deal with minutiae, but they are of the same order as those dealt with in microscopic anatomy.

With the exception of the section on value form, therefore, this volume cannot stand accused on the score of difficulty. I presuppose, of course, a reader who is willing to learn something new and therefore to think for himself.

The physicist either observes physical phenomena where they occur in their most typical form and most free from disturbing influence, or, wherever possible, he makes experiments under conditions that assure the occurrence of the phenomenon in its normality. In this work I have to examine the capitalist mode of production, and the conditions of production and exchange corresponding to that mode. Up to the present time, their classic ground is England. That is the reason why England is used as the chief illustration in the development of my theoretical ideas. If, however, the German reader shrugs his shoulders at the condition of the English industrial and agricultural labourers, or in optimist fashion comforts himself with the thought that in Germany things are not nearly so bad, I must plainly tell him, "*De te fabula narratur!*" [4]

[1] This is the more necessary, as even the section of Ferdinand Lassalle's work against Schulze-Delitzsch, in which he professes to give "the intellectual quintessence" of my explanations on these subjects, contains important mistakes.[3] If Ferdinand Lassalle has borrowed almost literally from my writings, and without any acknowledgement, all the general theoretical propositions in his economic works, e.g., those on the historical character of capital, on the connection between the conditions of production and the mode of production, &c., &c., even [down] to the terminology created by me, this may perhaps be due to purposes of propaganda. I am here, of course, not speaking of his detailed working out and application of these propositions, with which I have nothing to do.

Intrinsically, it is not a question of the higher or lower degree of development of the social antagonisms that result from the natural laws of capitalist production. It is a question of these laws themselves, of these tendencies working with iron necessity towards inevitable results. The country that is more developed industrially only shows, to the less developed, the image of its own future.

But apart from this. Where capitalist production is fully naturalised among the Germans (for instance, in the factories proper) the condition of things is much worse than in England, because the counterpoise of the Factory Acts is wanting. In all other spheres, we, like all the rest of Continental Western Europe, suffer not only from the development of capitalist production, but also from the incompleteness of that development. Alongside of modern evils, a whole series of inherited evils oppress us, arising from the passive survival of antiquated modes of production, with their inevitable train of social and political anachronisms. We suffer not only from the living, but from the dead. *Le mort saisit le vif!* [5]

The social statistics of Germany and the rest of Continental Western Europe are, in comparison with those of England, wretchedly compiled. But they raise the veil just enough to let us catch a glimpse of the Medusa head behind it. We should be appalled at the state of things at home, if, as in England, our governments and parliaments appointed periodically commissions of inquiry into economic conditions; if these commissions were armed with the same plenary powers to get at the truth; if it was possible to find for this purpose men as competent, as free from partisanship and respect of persons as are the English factory inspectors, her medical reporters on public health, her commissioners of inquiry into the exploitation of women and children, into housing and food. Perseus wore a magic cap that the monsters he hunted down might not see him. We draw the magic cap down over eyes and ears as a make-believe that there are no monsters.

Let us not deceive ourselves on this. As in the 18th century, the American War of Independence [6] sounded the tocsin for the European middle class, so in the 19th century, the American Civil War [7] sounded it for the European working class. In England the progress of social disintegration is palpable. When it has reached a certain point, it must re-act on the Continent. There it will take a form more brutal or more humane, according to the degree of development of the working class itself. Apart from higher motives, therefore, their own most important interests dictate to the classes that are for the nonce

the ruling ones, the removal of all legally removable hindrances to the free development of the working class. For this reason, as well as others, I have given so large a space in this volume to the history, the details, and the results of English factory legislation. One nation can and should learn from others. And even when a society has got upon the right track for the discovery of the natural laws of its movement — and it is the ultimate aim of this work, to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society — it can neither clear by bold leaps, nor remove by legal enactments, the obstacles offered by the successive phases of its normal development. But it can shorten and lessen the birth-pangs.

To prevent possible misunderstanding, a word. I paint the capitalist and the landlord in no sense *couleur de rose*. But here individuals are dealt with only in so far as they are the personifications of economic categories, embodiments of particular class relations and class interests. My standpoint, from which the evolution of the economic formation of society is viewed as a process of natural history, can less than any other make the individual responsible for relations whose creature he socially remains, however much he may subjectively raise himself above them.

In the domain of political economy, free scientific inquiry meets not merely the same enemies as in all other domains. The peculiar nature of the material it deals with, summons as foes into the field of battle the most violent, mean and malignant passions of the human breast, the Furies of private interest. The English Established Church, e. g., will more readily pardon an attack on 38 of its 39 articles [8] than on $\frac{1}{39}$ of its income. Now-a-days atheism itself is *culpa levis*,[a] as compared with criticism of existing property relations. Nevertheless, there is an unmistakable advance. I refer, *e.g.*, to the Blue Book [9] published within the last few weeks: "Correspondence with Her Majesty's Missions Abroad, regarding Industrial Questions and Trades' Unions". The representatives of the English Crown in foreign countries there declare in so many words that in Germany, in France, to be brief, in all the civilised states of the European Continent, a radical change in the existing relations between capital and labour is as evident and inevitable as in England. At the same time, on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, Mr. Wade, vice-president of the United States-

[a] venial sin

declared in public meetings that, after the abolition of slavery, a radical change of the relations of capital and of property in land is next upon the order of the day. These are signs of the times, not to be hidden by purple mantles or black cassocks.[10] They do not signify that tomorrow a miracle will happen. They show that, within the ruling classes themselves, a foreboding is dawning, that the present society is no solid crystal, but an organism capable of change, and is constantly changing.

The second volume of this work will treat of the process of the circulation of capital[1] (Book II), and of the varied forms assumed by capital in the course of its development (Book III), the third and last volume (Book IV), the history of the theory.[11]

Every opinion based on scientific criticism I welcome. As to the prejudices of so-called public opinion, to which I have never made concessions, now as aforetime the maxim of the great Florentine is mine:

"*Segui il tuo corso, e lascia dir le genti.*"[12]

London, July 25, 1867 *Karl Marx*

[1] On p. 564 the author explains what he comprises under this head.

# AFTERWORD TO THE SECOND GERMAN EDITION [13]

I must start by informing the readers of the first edition about the alterations made in the second edition. One is struck at once by the clearer arrangement of the book. Additional notes are everywhere marked as notes to the second edition.[14] The following are the most important points with regard to the text itself:

In Chapter I, Section 1, the derivation of value from an analysis of the equations by which every exchange value is expressed has been carried out with greater scientific strictness; likewise the connection between the substance of value and the determination of the magnitude of value by socially necessary labour time, which was only alluded to in the first edition, is now expressly emphasised. Chapter I, Section 3 (the Form of Value), has been completely revised, a task which was made necessary by the double exposition in the first edition, if nothing else.— Let me remark, in passing, that that double exposition had been occasioned by my friend, Dr. L. Kugelmann in Hanover. I was visiting him in the spring of 1867 when the first proofsheets arrived from Hamburg, and he convinced me that most readers needed a supplementary, more didactic explanation of the form of value.— The last section of the first chapter, "The Fetishism of Commodities, etc.," has largely been altered. Chapter III, Section 1 (The Measure of Value), has been carefully revised, because in the first edition this section had been treated negligently, the reader having been referred to the explanation already given in *Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie*, Berlin 1859 [see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 303-14]. Chapter VII, particularly Part 2 [Eng. ed., Chapter IX, Section 2], has been re-written to a great extent.

It would be a waste of time to go into all the partial textual changes, which were often purely stylistic. They occur throughout the book. Nevertheless I find now, on revising the French translation appearing in Paris,[15] that several parts of the German original stand in need of rather thorough remoulding, other parts require rather heavy stylistic editing, and still others painstaking elimination of occasional slips. But there was no time for that. For I had been informed only in the autumn of 1871, when in the midst of other urgent work, that the book was sold out and that the printing of the second edition was to begin in January of 1872.

The appreciation which *Das Kapital* rapidly gained in wide circles of the German working class is the best reward of my labours. Herr Mayer, a Vienna manufacturer, who in economic matters represents the bourgeois point of view, in a pamphlet published during the Franco-German War[16] aptly expounded the idea that the great capacity for theory, which used to be considered a hereditary German possession, had almost completely disappeared amongst the so-called educated classes in Germany, but that amongst its working class, on the contrary, that capacity was celebrating its revival.[17]

To the present moment political economy, in Germany, is a foreign science. Gustav von Gülich in his "Historical Description of Commerce, Industry," &c.,[1] especially in the two first volumes published in 1830, has examined at length the historical circumstances that prevented, in Germany, the development of the capitalist mode of production, and consequently the development, in that country, of modern bourgeois society. Thus the soil whence political economy springs was wanting. This "science" had to be imported from England and France as a ready-made article; its German professors remained schoolboys. The theoretical expression of a foreign reality was turned, in their hands, into a collection of dogmas, interpreted by them in terms of the petty trading world around them, and therefore misinterpreted. The feeling of scientific impotence, a feeling not wholly to be repressed, and the uneasy consciousness of having to touch a subject in reality foreign to them, was but imperfectly concealed, either under a parade of literary and historical erudition, or by an admixture of extraneous material, borrowed from the so-called "Kameral"

[1] *Geschichtliche Darstellung des Handels, der Gewerbe und des Ackerbaus*, &c., von Gustav von Gülich. 5 vols., Jena, 1830-45.

sciences,[18] a medley of smatterings, through whose purgatory the hopeless[a] candidate for the German bureaucracy has to pass.

Since 1848 capitalist production has developed rapidly in Germany, and at the present time it is in the full bloom of speculation and swindling. But fate is still unpropitious to our professional economists. At the time when they were able to deal with political economy in a straightforward fashion, modern economic conditions did not actually exist in Germany. And as soon as these conditions did come into existence, they did so under circumstances that no longer allowed of their being really and impartially investigated within the bounds of the bourgeois horizon. In so far as Political Economy remains within that horizon, in so far, i. e., as the capitalist régime is looked upon as the absolutely final form of social production, instead of as a passing historical phase of its evolution, political economy can remain a science only so long as the class struggle is latent or manifests itself only in isolated and sporadic phenomena.

Let us take England. Its political economy[b] belongs to the period in which the class struggle was as yet undeveloped. Its last great representative, Ricardo, in the end, consciously makes the antagonism of class interests, of wages and profits, of profits and rent, the starting-point of his investigations, naïvely taking this antagonism for a social law of Nature. But by this start the science of bourgeois economy had reached the limits beyond which it could not pass. Already in the lifetime of Ricardo, and in opposition to him, it was met by criticism, in the person of Sismondi.[1]

The succeeding period, from 1820 to 1830, was notable in England for scientific activity in the domain of political economy. It was the time as well of the vulgarising and extending of Ricardo's theory, as of the contest of that theory with the old school. Splendid tournaments were held. What was done then, is little known to the Continent generally, because the polemic is for the most part scattered through articles in reviews, occasional literature and pamphlets. The unprejudiced character of this polemic — although the theory of Ricardo already serves, in exceptional cases, as a weapon of attack upon bourgeois economy — is explained by the circumstances of the time. On the one hand, modern industry itself was only just emerging from

[1] See my work *Zur Kritik, &c.*, p. 39 [present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 300-01].

[a] In the 3rd and 4th German editions *hoffnungsvoll* ("hopeful").- [b] The German original has "Its classical political economy".

the age of childhood, as is shown by the fact that with the crisis of 1825 it for the first time opens the periodic cycle of its modern life. On the other hand, the class struggle between capital and labour is forced into the background, politically by the discord between the governments and the feudal aristocracy gathered around the Holy Alliance [19] on the one hand, and the popular masses, led by the bourgeoisie, on the other; economically by the quarrel between industrial capital and aristocratic landed property — a quarrel that in France was concealed by the opposition between small and large landed property, and that in England broke out openly after the Corn Laws. The literature of political economy in England at this time calls to mind the stormy forward movement in France after Dr. Quesnay's death,[20] but only as a Saint Martin's summer reminds us of spring. With the year 1830 came the decisive crisis.

In France and in England the bourgeoisie had conquered political power. Thenceforth, the class struggle, practically as well as theoretically, took on more and more outspoken and threatening forms. It sounded the knell of scientific bourgeois economy. It was thenceforth no longer a question, whether this theorem or that was true, but whether it was useful to capital or harmful, expedient or inexpedient, politically dangerous or not. In place of disinterested inquirers, there were hired prize-fighters; in place of genuine scientific research, the bad conscience and the evil intent of apologetic. Still, even the obtrusive pamphlets with which the Anti-Corn Law League,[21] led by the manufacturers Cobden and Bright, deluged the world, have a historic interest, if no scientific one, on account of their polemic against the landed aristocracy. But since then the Free-trade legislation,[22] inaugurated by Sir Robert Peel, has deprived vulgar economy of this its last sting.

The Continental revolution of 1848-49 also had its reaction in England. Men who still claimed some scientific standing and aspired to be something more than mere sophists and sycophants of the ruling classes, tried to harmonise the Political Economy of capital with the claims, no longer to be ignored, of the proletariat. Hence a shallow syncretism, of which John Stuart Mill is the best representative. It is a declaration of bankruptcy by bourgeois economy, an event on which the great Russian scholar and critic, N. Tschernyschewsky, has thrown the light of a master mind in his *Outlines of Political Economy according to Mill.*

In Germany, therefore, the capitalist mode of production came to

a head, after its antagonistic character had already, in France and England, shown itself in a fierce strife of classes. And meanwhile, moreover, the German proletariat had attained a much more clear class consciousness than the German bourgeoisie. Thus, at the very moment when a bourgeois science of political economy seemed at last possible in Germany, it had in reality again become impossible.

Under these circumstances its professors fell into two groups. The one set, prudent, practical business folk, flocked to the banner of Bastiat, the most superficial and therefore the most adequate representative of the apologetic of vulgar economy; the other, proud of the professorial dignity of their science, followed John Stuart Mill in his attempt to reconcile irreconcilables. Just as in the classical time of bourgeois economy, so also in the time of its decline, the Germans remained mere schoolboys, imitators and followers, petty retailers and hawkers in the service of the great foreign wholesale concern.

The peculiar historical development of German society therefore forbids, in that country, all original work in bourgeois economy; but not the criticism of that economy. So far as such criticism represents a class, it can only represent the class whose vocation in history is the overthrow of the capitalist mode of production and the final abolition of all classes — the proletariat.

The learned and unlearned spokesmen of the German bourgeoisie tried at first to kill *Das Kapital* by silence, as they had managed to do with my earlier writings.[23] As soon as they found that these tactics no longer fitted in with the conditions of the time, they wrote, under pretence of criticising my book, prescriptions "for the tranquillisation of the bourgeois mind". But they found in the workers' press — see, e. g., Joseph Dietzgen's articles in the *Volksstaat*[24] — antagonists stronger than themselves, to whom (down to this very day) they owe a reply.[1]

[1] The mealy-mouthed babblers of German vulgar economy fell foul of the style of my book. No one can feel the literary shortcomings in *Das Kapital* more strongly than I myself. Yet I will for the benefit and the enjoyment of these gentlemen and their public quote in this connection one English and one Russian notice. The *Saturday Review*, always hostile to my views, said in its notice of the first edition: "The presentation of the subject invests the driest economic questions with a certain peculiar charm."[25] The *St. Petersburg Journal (Sankt-Peterburgskie Viedomosti)*, in its issue of April 20, 1872, says: "The presentation of the subject, with the exception of one or two exceptionally special parts, is distinguished by its comprehensibility by the general reader, its clearness, and, in spite of the scientific intricacy of the subject, by an unusual liveliness. In this respect the author in no way resembles ... the majority of German scholars who ...

An excellent Russian translation of *Das Kapital* appeared in the spring of 1872. The edition of 3,000 copies is already nearly exhausted. As early as 1871, N. Sieber, Professor of political economy in the University of Kiev, in his work *David Ricardo's Theory of Value and of Capital*, referred to my theory of value, of money and of capital, as in its fundamentals a necessary sequel to the teaching of Smith and Ricardo. That which astonishes the Western European in the reading of this excellent work, is the author's consistent and firm grasp of the purely theoretical position.

That the method employed in *Das Kapital* has been little understood, is shown by the various conceptions, contradictory one to another, that have been formed of it.

Thus the Paris *Revue Positiviste*[27] reproaches me in that, on the one hand, I treat economics metaphysically, and on the other hand — imagine! — confine myself to the mere critical analysis of actual facts, instead of writing receipts (Comtist ones?) for the cook-shops of the future. In answer to the reproach *in re* metaphysics, Professor Sieber has it:

> "In so far as it deals with actual theory, the method of Marx is the deductive method of the whole English school, a school whose failings and virtues are common to the best theoretic economists."[28]

M. Block — *Les Théoriciens du Socialisme en Allemagne. Extrait du Journal des Economistes, Juillet et Août 1872* — makes the discovery that my method is analytic and says:

> "This work classes Mr. Marx among the most eminent analytical minds" [p. 7].

German reviews, of course, shriek out at "Hegelian sophistics".[29] The *European Messenger* of St. Petersburg in an article dealing exclusively with the method of *Das Kapital* (May number, 1872, pp. 427-436),[30] finds my method of inquiry severely realistic, but my method of presentation, unfortunately, German-dialectical. It says:

> "At first sight, if the judgement is based on the external form of the presentation of the subject, Marx is the most ideal of ideal philosophers, always in the German, i. e., the bad sense of the word. But in point of fact he is infinitely more realistic than all his fore-runners in the work of economic criticism. [...] He can in no sense be called an idealist."

write their books in a language so dry and obscure that the heads of ordinary mortals are cracked by it."[26]

I cannot answer the writer better than by aid of a few extracts from his own criticism, which may interest some of my readers to whom the Russian original is inaccessible.

After a quotation from the preface to my *Critique of Political Economy*, Berlin, 1859, pp. IV-VII [present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 263-64], where I discuss the materialistic basis of my method, the writer goes on:

"The one thing which is of moment to Marx, is to find the law of the phenomena with whose investigation he is concerned; and not only is that law of moment to him, which governs these phenomena, in so far as they have a definite form and mutual connection within a given historical period. Of still greater moment to him is the law of their variation, of their development, i.e., of their transition from one form into another, from one series of connections into a different one. This law once discovered, he investigates in detail the effects in which it manifests itself in social life. [...] Consequently, Marx only troubles himself about one thing: to show, by rigid scientific investigation, the necessity of successive determinate orders of social conditions, and to establish, as impartially as possible, the facts that serve him for fundamental starting-points. For this it is quite enough, if he proves, at the same time, both the necessity of the present order of things, and the necessity of another order into which the first must inevitably pass over; and this all the same, whether men believe or do not believe it, whether they are conscious or unconscious of it. Marx treats the social movement as a process of natural history, governed by laws not only independent of human will, consciousness and intelligence, but rather, on the contrary, determining that will, consciousness and intelligence.... If in the history of civilisation the conscious element plays a part so subordinate, then it is self-evident that a critical inquiry whose subject-matter is civilisation, can, less than anything else, have for its basis any form of, or any result of, consciousness. That is to say, that not the idea, but the material phenomenon alone can serve as its starting-point. Such an inquiry will confine itself to the confrontation and the comparison of a fact, not with ideas, but with another fact. For this inquiry, the one thing of moment is, that both facts be investigated as accurately as possible, and that they actually form, each with respect to the other, different momenta of an evolution; but most important of all is the rigid analysis of the series of successions, of the sequences and concatenations in which the different stages of such an evolution present themselves. [...] But it will be said, [...] the general laws of economic life are one and the same, no matter whether they are applied to the present or the past. This Marx directly denies. According to him, such abstract laws do not exist. [...] On the contrary, in his opinion every historical period has laws of its own.... As soon as society has outlived a given period of development, and is passing over from one given stage to another, it begins to be subject also to other laws. In a word, economic life offers us a phenomenon analogous to the history of evolution in other branches of biology. [...] The old economists misunderstood the nature of economic laws when they likened them to the laws of physics and chemistry. [...] A more thorough analysis of phenomena shows that social organisms differ among themselves as fundamentally as plants or animals. Nay, one and the same phenomenon falls under quite different laws in consequence of the different structure of those organisms as a whole, of the variations of their individual organs, of the different conditions in which those organs function, &c. Marx, e.g., denies that the law of population is the same at all times and in all places.

He asserts, on the contrary, that every stage of development has its own law of population.... With the varying degree of development of productive power, social conditions and the laws governing them vary too. Whilst Marx sets himself the task of following and explaining from this point of view the economic system established by the sway of capital, he is only formulating, in a strictly scientific manner, the aim that every accurate investigation into economic life must have. [...] The scientific value of such an inquiry lies in the disclosing of the special laws that regulate the origin, existence, development, death of a given social organism and its replacement by another and higher one. And it is this value that, in point of fact, Marx's book has."

Whilst the writer pictures what he takes to be actually my method, in this striking and [as far as concerns my own application of it] generous way, what else is he picturing but the dialectic method?

Of course the method of presentation must differ in form from that of inquiry. The latter has to appropriate the material in detail, to analyse its different forms of development, to trace out their inner connection. Only after this work is done, can the actual movement be adequately described. If this is done successfully, if the life of the subject-matter is ideally reflected as in a mirror, then it may appear as if we had before us a mere a priori construction.

My dialectic method is not only different from the Hegelian, but is its direct opposite. To Hegel, the life process of the human brain, i. e., the process of thinking, which, under the name of "the Idea", he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurgos of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of "the Idea". With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought.

The mystifying side of Hegelian dialectic I criticised nearly thirty years ago, at a time when it was still the fashion.[31] But just as I was working at the first volume of *Das Kapital*, it was the good pleasure of the peevish, arrogant, mediocre Ἐπίγονοι [32] who now talk large in cultured Germany, to treat Hegel in same way as the brave Moses Mendelssohn in Lessing's time treated Spinoza, i. e., as a "dead dog".[33] I therefore openly avowed myself the pupil of that mighty thinker, and even here and there, in the chapter on the theory of value, coquetted with the modes of expression peculiar to him. The mystification which dialectic suffers in Hegel's hands, by no means prevents him from being the first to present its general form of working in a comprehensive and conscious manner. With him it is standing on its head. It must be turned right side up again, if you would discover the rational kernel within the mystical shell.

In its mystified form, dialectic became the fashion in Germany, because it seemed to transfigure and to glorify the existing state of things. In its rational form it is a scandal and abomination to bourgeoisdom and its doctrinaire professors, because it includes in its comprehension and affirmative recognition of the existing state of things, at the same time also, the recognition of the negation of that state, of its inevitable breaking up; because it regards every historically developed social form as in fluid movement, and therefore takes into account its transient nature not less than its momentary existence; because it lets nothing impose upon it, and is in its essence critical and revolutionary.

The contradictions inherent in the movement of capitalist society impress themselves upon the practical bourgeois most strikingly in the changes of the periodic cycle, through which modern industry runs, and whose crowning point is the universal crisis. That crisis is once again approaching, although as yet but in its preliminary stage; and by the universality of its theatre and the intensity of its action it will drum dialectics even into the heads of the mushroom-upstarts of the new, holy Prusso-German empire.

*Karl Marx*

London, January 24, 1873

Londres 18 Mars 1872.

Au citoyen Maurice La Châtre.

Cher citoyen,

J'applaudis à votre idée de publier la traduction de Le Capital en livraisons périodiques. Sous cette forme l'ouvrage sera plus accessible à la classe ouvrière et pour moi cette considération l'emporte sur toute autre.

Voilà le beau côté de votre médaille, mais en voici le revers: La méthode d'analyse que j'ai employée et qui n'avait pas encore été appliquée aux sujets économiques, rend assez ardue la lecture des premiers chapitres, et il est à craindre que le public français toujours impatient de conclure, avide de connaître le rapport des principes généraux avec les questions immédiates qui le passionnent, ne veuille point, parce qu'il n'aura pas tout d'abord passé outre.

C'est là un désavantage contre lequel je ne puis rien sinon toutefois prévenir et prémunir les lecteurs soucieux de vérité. Il n'y a pas de route royale pour la science et ceux-là seulement ont chance d'arriver à ses sommets lumineux qui ne craignent pas de se fatiguer à gravir ses sentiers escarpés.

Recevez, cher citoyen, l'assurance de mes sentiments dévoués.

Karl Marx.

Marx's letter to Lachâtre of March 18, 1872, the facsimile of which is given in the French edition of Volume I of *Capital*

# PREFACE TO THE FRENCH EDITION

*To Citizen Maurice Lachâtre*

Dear Citizen,

I applaud your idea of publishing the translation of *Das Kapital* in periodic instalments. In this form the work will be more accessible to the working class and for me that consideration outweighs any other.

That is the bright side of your medal, but here is the reverse. The method of analysis I have used, a method not previously applied to economic subjects, makes for somewhat arduous reading in the early chapters, and it is to be feared that the French public, ever impatient to arrive at conclusions and eager to know how the general principles relate to the immediate questions that excite them, may become discouraged because they will not have been able to carry straight on.

That is a disadvantage about which I can do nothing other than constantly caution and forewarn those readers concerned with the truth. There is no royal road to learning, and the only people with any chance of scaling its sunlit peaks are those who have no fear of weariness when ascending the precipitous paths that lead up to them.

I remain, dear Citizen,

Yours very sincerely,

*Karl Marx*

London, March 18, 1872

# AFTERWORD TO THE FRENCH EDITION

## To the Reader

Mr. J. Roy set himself the task of producing a version that would be as exact and even literal as possible, and has scrupulously fulfilled it. But his very scrupulosity has compelled me to modify his text, with a view to rendering it more intelligible to the reader. These alterations, introduced from day to day, as the book was published in parts, were not made with equal care and were bound to result in a lack of harmony in style.

Having once undertaken this work of revision, I was led to apply it also to the basic original text (the second German edition), to simplify some arguments, to complete others, to give additional historical or statistical material, to add critical suggestions, etc. Hence, whatever the literary defects of this French edition may be, it possesses a scientific value independent of the original and should be consulted even by readers familiar with German.

Below I give the passages in the Afterword to the second German edition which treat of the development of political economy in Germany and the method employed in the present work.[a]

*Karl Marx*

London, April 28, 1875

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[a] See this volume, pp. 13-20.

# LE CAPITAL

PAR

## KARL MARX

TRADUCTION DE M. J. ROY, ENTIÈREMENT REVISÉE PAR L'AUTEUR

PARIS

ÉDITEURS, MAURICE LACHATRE ET Cie

26, BOULEVARD DE SEBASTOPOL, 26

Cover of the first issue of the French edition of Volume I of *Capital*

Cover of the first issue of the French edition
of Volume I of *Capital* with Marx's dedication
to his daughter Jenny Longuet

# PREFACE TO THE THIRD GERMAN EDITION

Marx was not destined to get this, the third, edition ready for the press himself. The powerful thinker, to whose greatness even his opponents now make obeisance, died on March 14, 1883.

Upon me who in Marx lost the best, the truest friend I had — and had for forty years — the friend to whom I am more indebted than can be expressed in words — upon me now devolved the duty of attending to the publication of this third edition, as well as of the second volume, which Marx had left behind in manuscript. I must now account here to the reader for the way in which I discharged the first part of my duty.

It was Marx's original intention to re-write a great part of the text of the first volume, to formulate many theoretical points more exactly, insert new ones and bring historical and statistical materials up to date. But his ailing condition and the urgent need to do the final editing of the second volume [34] induced him to give up this scheme. Only the most necessary alterations were to be made, only the insertions which the French edition (*Le Capital.* Par Karl Marx. Paris, Lachâtre, 1873) [15] already contained, were to be put in.

Among the books left by Marx there was a German copy which he himself had corrected here and there and provided with references to the French edition; also a French copy in which he had indicated the exact passages to be used. These alterations and additions are confined, with few exceptions, to the last [Engl. ed.: second last] part of the book: "The Accumulation of Capital". Here the previous text fol-

lowed the original draft more closely than elsewhere, while the preceding sections had been gone over more thoroughly. The style was therefore more vivacious, more of a single cast, but also more careless, studded with Anglicisms and in parts unclear; there were gaps here and there in the presentation of arguments, some important particulars being merely alluded to.

With regard to the style, Marx had himself thoroughly revised several sub-sections and thereby had indicated to me here, as well as in numerous oral suggestions, the length to which I could go in eliminating English technical terms and other Anglicisms. Marx would in any event have gone over the additions and supplemental texts and have replaced the smooth French with his own terse German; I had to be satisfied, when transferring them, with bringing them into maximum harmony with the original text.

Thus not a single word was changed in this third edition without my firm conviction that the author would have altered it himself. It would never occur to me to introduce into *Das Kapital* the current jargon in which German economists are wont to express themselves — that gibberish in which, for instance, one who for cash has others give him their labour is called a labour-*giver* [Arbeit*geber*] and one whose labour is taken away from him for wages is called a labour-*taker* [Arbeit*nehmer*]. In French, too, the word *travail* is used in every-day life in the sense of "occupation". But the French would rightly consider any economist crazy should he call the capitalist a *donneur de travail* [labour-giver] or the worker a *receveur de travail* [labour-taker].

Nor have I taken the liberty to convert the English coins and moneys, measures and weights used throughout the text to their new-German equivalents. When the first edition appeared there were as many kinds of measures and weights in Germany as there are days in the year. Besides there were two kinds of marks (the Reichsmark existed at the time only in the imagination of Soetbeer, who had invented it in the late thirties), two kinds of gulden and at least three kinds of taler, including one called *neues Zweidrittel.*[35] In the natural sciences the metric system prevailed, in the world market — English measures and weights. Under such circumstances English units of measure were quite natural for a book which had to take its factual proofs almost exclusively from British industrial relations. The last-named reason is decisive even today, especially because the corresponding relations in the world market have hardly changed and English weights

and measures almost completely control precisely the key industries, iron and cotton.

In conclusion a few words on Marx's art of quotation, which is so little understood. When they are pure statements of fact or descriptions, the quotations, from the English Blue Books,[9] for example, serve of course as simple documentary proof. But this is not so when the theoretical views of other economists are cited. Here the quotation is intended merely to state where, when and by whom an economic idea conceived in the course of development was first clearly enunciated. Here the only consideration is that the economic conception in question must be of some significance to the history of science, that it is the more or less adequate theoretical expression of the economic situation of its time. But whether this conception still possesses any absolute or relative validity from the standpoint of the author or whether it already has become wholly past history is quite immaterial. Hence these quotations are only a running commentary to the text, a commentary borrowed from the history of economic science, and establish the dates and originators of certain of the more important advances in economic theory. And that was a very necessary thing in a science whose historians have so far distinguished themselves only by tendentious ignorance characteristic of careerists. It will now be understandable why Marx, in consonance with the Afterword to the second edition,[a] only in very exceptional cases had occasion to quote German economists.

There is hope that the second volume will appear in the course of 1884.[34]

*Frederick Engels*

London, November 7, 1883

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[a] See this volume, pp. 12-20.

# PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

The publication of an English version of *Das Kapital* needs no apology. On the contrary, an explanation might be expected why this English version has been delayed until now, seeing that for some years past the theories advocated in this book have been constantly referred to, attacked and defended, interpreted and misinterpreted, in the periodical press and the current literature of both England and America.

When, soon after the author's death in 1883, it became evident that an English edition of the work was really required, Mr. Samuel Moore, for many years a friend of Marx and of the present writer, and than whom, perhaps, no one is more conversant with the book itself, consented to undertake the translation which the literary executors of Marx were anxious to lay before the public. It was understood that I should compare the MS. with the original work, and suggest such alterations as I might deem advisable. When, by and by, it was found that Mr. Moore's professional occupations prevented him from finishing the translation as quickly as we all desired, we gladly accepted Dr. Aveling's offer to undertake a portion of the work; at the same time Mrs. Aveling, Marx's youngest daughter, offered to check the quotations and to restore the original text of the numerous passages taken from English authors and Blue Books [9] and translated by Marx into German. This has been done throughout, with but a few unavoidable exceptions.

The following portions of the book have been translated by Dr. Aveling: (1) Chapters X (The Working Day), and XI (Rate and Mass of Surplus Value); (2) Part VI (Wages, comprising Chapters

# CAPITAL:

## A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION

BY KARL MARX

*TRANSLATED FROM THE THIRD GERMAN EDITION, BY SAMUEL MOORE AND EDWARD AVELING*

AND EDITED BY

FREDERICK ENGELS

VOL. I

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1887.

Title page of the first English edition
of Volume I of *Capital*

XIX to XXII); (3) from Chapter XXIV, Section 4 (Circumstances that &c.) to the end of the book, comprising the latter part of Chapter XXIV, Chapter XXV, and the whole of Part VIII (Chapters XXVI to XXXIII); (4) the two Author's prefaces.[a] All the rest of the book has been done by Mr. Moore. While, thus, each of the translators is responsible for his share of the work only, I bear a joint responsibility for the whole.

The third German edition, which has been made the basis of our work throughout, was prepared by me, in 1883, with the assistance of notes left by the author, indicating the passages of the second edition to be replaced by designated passages, from the French text published in 1873.[1] The alterations thus effected in the text of the second edition generally coincided with changes prescribed by Marx in a set of MS. instructions for an English translation that was planned, about ten years ago, in America, but abandoned chiefly for want of a fit and proper translator. This MS. was placed at our disposal by our old friend Mr. F. A. Sorge of Hoboken N. J. It designates some further interpolations from the French edition; but, being so many years older than the final instructions for the third edition, I did not consider myself at liberty to make use of it otherwise than sparingly, and chiefly in cases where it helped us over difficulties. In the same way, the French text has been referred to in most of the difficult passages, as an indicator of what the author himself was prepared to sacrifice wherever something of the full import of the original had to be sacrificed in the rendering.

There is, however, one difficulty we could not spare the reader: the use of certain terms in a sense different from what they have, not only in common life, but in ordinary political economy. But this was unavoidable. Every new aspect of a science involves a revolution in the technical terms of that science. This is best shown by chemistry, where the whole of the terminology is radically changed about once in twenty years, and where you will hardly find a single organic compound that has not gone through a whole series of different names. Political economy has generally been content to take, just as they

[1] *Le Capital*, par Karl Marx. Traduction de M. J. Roy, entièrement revisée par l'auteur. Paris. Lachâtre.[15] This translation, especially in the latter part of the book, contains considerable alterations in and additions to the text of the second German edition.

[a] See this volume, pp. 30-42.

were, the terms of commercial and industrial life, and to operate with them, entirely failing to see that by so doing, it confined itself within the narrow circle of ideas expressed by those terms. Thus, though perfectly aware that both profits and rents are but sub-divisions, fragments of that unpaid part of the product which the labourer has to supply to his employer (its first appropriator, though not its ultimate exclusive owner), yet even classical political economy never went beyond the received notions of profits and rents, never examined this unpaid part of the product (called by Marx surplus product) in its integrity as a whole, and therefore never arrived at a clear comprehension, either of its origin and nature, or of the laws that regulate the subsequent distribution of its value. Similarly all industry, not agricultural or handicraft, is indiscriminately comprised in the term of manufacture, and thereby the distinction is obliterated between two great and essentially different periods of economic history: the period of manufacture proper, based on the division of manual labour, and the period of modern industry based on machinery. It is, however, self-evident that a theory which views modern capitalist production as a mere passing stage in the economic history of mankind, must make use of terms different from those habitual to writers who look upon that form of production as imperishable and final.

A word respecting the author's method of quoting may not be out of place. In the majority of cases, the quotations serve, in the usual way, as documentary evidence in support of assertions made in the text. But in many instances, passages from economic writers are quoted in order to indicate when, where, and by whom a certain proposition was for the first time clearly enunciated. This is done in cases where the proposition quoted is of importance as being a more or less adequate expression of the conditions of social production and exchange prevalent at the time, and quite irrespective of Marx's recognition, or otherwise, of its general validity. These quotations, therefore, supplement the text by a running commentary taken from the history of the science.

Our translation comprises the first book of the work only. But this first book is in a great measure a whole in itself, and has for twenty years ranked as an independent work. The second book, edited in German by me, in 1885, is decidedly incomplete without the third, which cannot be published before the end of 1887. When Book III has been brought out in the original German, it will then be soon enough to think about preparing an English edition of both.[36]

*Das Kapital* is often called, on the Continent, "the Bible of the working class".[37] That the conclusions arrived at in this work are daily more and more becoming the fundamental principles of the great working-class movement, not only in Germany and Switzerland, but in France, in Holland and Belgium, in America, and even in Italy and Spain, that everywhere the working class more and more recognises, in these conclusions, the most adequate expression of its condition and of its aspirations, nobody acquainted with that movement will deny. And in England, too, the theories of Marx, even at this moment, exercise a powerful influence upon the socialist movement which is spreading in the ranks of "cultured" people no less than in those of the working class. But that is not all. The time is rapidly approaching when a thorough examination of England's economic position will impose itself as an irresistible national necessity. The working of the industrial system of this country, impossible without a constant and rapid extension of production, and therefore of markets, is coming to a dead stop. Free-trade[38] has exhausted its resources; even Manchester doubts this its quondam economic gospel[1]. Foreign industry, rapidly developing, stares English production in the face everywhere, not only in protected, but also in neutral markets, and even on this side of the Channel. While the productive power increases in a geometric, the extension of markets proceeds at best in an arithmetic ratio. The decennial cycle of stagnation, prosperity, over-production and crisis, ever recurrent from 1825 to 1867, seems indeed to have run its course; but only to land us in the slough of despond of a permanent and chronic depression. The sighed-for period of prosperity will not come; as often as we seem to perceive its heralding symptoms, so often do they again vanish into air. Meanwhile, each succeeding winter brings up afresh the great question, "what to do with the unemployed"; but while the number of the unemployed keeps swelling from year to year, there is nobody to answer that question; and we can almost calculate the moment when the unemployed losing patience will take their own fate into their own hands. Surely, at such a moment, the voice ought to be heard of

[1] At the quarterly meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, held this afternoon, a warm discussion took place on the subject of Free-trade. A resolution was moved to the effect that "having waited in vain 40 years for other nations to follow the Free-trade example of England, this Chamber thinks the time has now arrived to reconsider that position". The resolution was rejected by a majority of one only, the figures being 21 for, and 22 against.—*Evening Standard*, Nov. 1, 1886.

a man whose whole theory is the result of a lifelong study of the economic history and condition of England, and whom that study led to the conclusion that, at least in Europe, England is the only country where the inevitable social revolution might be effected entirely by peaceful and legal means. He certainly never forgot to add that he hardly expected the English ruling classes to submit, without a "pro-slavery rebellion",[39] to this peaceful and legal revolution.

*Frederick Engels*

November 5, 1886

# PREFACE TO THE FOURTH GERMAN EDITION

The fourth edition required that I should establish in final form, as nearly as possible, both text and footnotes. The following brief explanation will show how I have fulfilled this task.

After again comparing the French edition and Marx's manuscript remarks I have made some further additions to the German text from that translation. They will be found on p. 80 (3rd edition, p. 88) [this volume, pp. 126-27], pp. 458-60 (3rd edition, pp. 509-10) [this volume, pp. 494-97], pp. 547-51 (3rd edition, p. 600) [this volume, pp. 582-83], pp. 591-93 (3rd edition, p. 644) [this volume , pp. 621-22] and p. 596 (3rd edition, p. 648) [this volume, pp. 624-26] in Note 2. I have also followed the example of the French and English editions by putting the long footnote on the miners into the text (3rd edition, pp. 509-15; 4th edition, pp. 461-67) [this volume, pp. 498-503]. Other small alterations are of a purely technical nature.

Further, I have added a few more explanatory notes, especially where changed historical conditions seemed to demand this. All these additional notes are enclosed in square brackets and marked either with my initials or "D. H."[a]

Meanwhile a complete revision of the numerous quotations had been made necessary by the publication of the English edition. For this edition Marx's youngest daughter, Eleanor, undertook to compare all the quotations with their originals, so that those taken from

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[a] *Der Herausgeber*, i. e. the editor. In the present edition all of Engels' additions are given in double oblique lines and marked with "F. E."

English sources, which constitute the vast majority, are given there not as retranslations from the German but in the original English form. In preparing the fourth edition it was therefore incumbent upon me to consult this text. The comparison revealed various small inaccuracies. Page numbers wrongly indicated, due partly to mistakes in copying from notebooks, and partly to the accumulated misprints of three editions; misplaced quotation or omission marks, which cannot be avoided when a mass of quotations is copied from notebook extracts; here and there some rather unhappy translation of a word; particular passages quoted from the old Paris notebooks of 1843-45, when Marx did not know English and was reading English economists in French translations, so that the double translation yielded a slightly different shade of meaning, e. g., in the case of Steuart, Ure, etc., where the English text had now to be used — and other similar instances of trifling inaccuracy or negligence. But anyone who compares the fourth edition with the previous ones can convince himself that all this laborious process of emendation has not produced the smallest change in the book worth speaking of. There was only one quotation which could not be traced — the one from Richard Jones (4th edition, p. 562, note 47). Marx probably slipped up when writing down the title of the book [40]. All the other quotations retain their cogency in full, or have enhanced it due to their present exact form.

Here, however, I am obliged to revert to an old story.

I know of only one case in which the accuracy of a quotation given by Marx has been called in questions. But as the issue dragged beyond his lifetime I cannot well ignore it here.[41]

On March 7, 1872, there appeared in the Berlin *Concordia*, organ of the German Manufacturers' Association, an anonymous article entitled: "How Karl Marx Quotes." It was here asserted, with an effervescence of moral indignation and unparliamentary language, that the quotation from Gladstone's Budget Speech of April 16, 1863 (in the Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association, 1864,[42] and repeated in *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 617, 4th edition; pp. 670-71, 3rd edition) [this volume, pp. 645-46], had been falsified; that not a single word of the sentence: "this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power ... is ... entirely confined to classes of property" was to be found in the (semi-official) stenographic report in Hansard. "But this sentence is nowhere to be found in Gladstone's speech. It says quite the opposite." (In bold face): "Marx has added the sentence lyingly, both in form and in content."

Marx, to whom this number of the *Concordia* was sent the following May, answered the anonymous author in the *Volksstaat* of June 1st.[43] As he could not recall which newspaper report he had used for the quotation, he limited himself to citing, first the equivalent quotation from two English publications, and then the report in *The Times*, according to which Gladstone says:

"That is the state of the case as regards the wealth of this country. I must say for one, I should look almost with apprehension and with pain upon this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power, if it were my belief that it was confined to classes who are in easy circumstances. This takes no cognisance at all of the condition of the labouring population. The augmentation I have described, and which is founded, I think, upon accurate returns, is an augmentation entirely confined to classes of property."[a]

Thus Gladstone says here that he would be sorry if it were so, but it *is* so: this intoxicating augmentation of power and wealth *is* entirely confined to classes of property. And as to the semi-official Hansard, Marx goes on to say: "In the version which he afterwards manipulated, Mr. Gladstone was bright enough to obliterate the passage that would be certainly compromising on the lips of an English Chancellor of the Exchequer. This is, incidentally, traditional English parliamentary practice, and by no means the invention of little Lasker versus Bebel.[44]"

The anonymous writer gets angrier and angrier. In his answer in the *Concordia*, July 4th, he sweeps aside second-hand sources and demurely suggests that it is the "custom" to quote parliamentary speeches from the stenographic report; insisting, however, that the *Times* report (which includes the "lyingly added" sentence) and the Hansard report (which omits it) "fully coincide materially", while the *Times* report likewise contains "the direct opposite of that notorious passage in the Inaugural Address". This fellow carefully conceals the fact that the *Times* report explicitly includes that self-same "notorious passage", alongside of its alleged "opposite". Despite all this, however, the anonymous one feels that he is stuck fast and that only some new dodge can save him. Thus, whilst his article bristles, as we have just shown, with "impudent mendacity" and is interlarded with such edifying terms of abuse as "bad faith", "dishonesty", "lying statement", "that spurious quotation", "impudent mendacity", "a quo-

[a] This quotation is given in English in the German original.

tation which was completely forged", "this forgery", "simply nefarious", etc., he finds it necessary to divert the issue to another domain and therefore promises "to explain in a second article the importance which we" (the non-mendacious anonymous one) "attach to the content of Gladstone's words". As if his particular opinion, of no decisive value as it is, had anything whatever to do with the matter. This second article was printed in the *Concordia* on July 11th.

Marx replied again in the *Volksstaat* of August 7th [45] now giving also the reports of the passage in question from *The Morning Star* and *The Morning Advertiser* of April 17, 1863. According to both reports Gladstone said that he would look with apprehension, etc., upon this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power if he believed it to be confined to CLASSES IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES.[a] But this augmentation *was* in fact ENTIRELY CONFINED TO CLASSES POSSESSED OF PROPERTY. So these reports too reproduced word for word the sentence alleged to have been "lyingly added". Marx further established once more, by a comparison of the *Times* and the Hansard texts, that this sentence, which three newspaper reports of identical content, appearing independently of one another the next morning, proved to have been really uttered, was missing from the Hansard report, revised according to the familiar "custom", and the Gladstone, to use Marx's words, "had afterwards conjured it away". In conclusion Marx stated that he had no time for further intercourse with the anonymous one. The latter also seems to have had enough, at any rate Marx received no further issues of the *Concordia*.

With this the matter appeared to be dead and buried. True, once or twice later on there reached us, from persons in touch with the University of Cambridge, mysterious rumours of an unspeakable literary crime which Marx was supposed to have committed in *Capital*; but despite all investigation nothing more definite could be learned. Then, on November 29, 1883, eight months after Marx's death, there appeared in *The Times* a letter headed Trinity College, Cambridge, and signed Sedley Taylor, in which this little man, who dabbles in the mildest sort of co-operative affairs, seizing upon some chance pretext or other, at last enlightened us, not only concerning those vague Cambridge rumours, but also the anonymous one in the *Concordia*.

"What appears extremely singular," says the little man from Tri-

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[a] Here and below the words in small caps are given in English in parentheses after the German equivalent.

nity College, "is that it was reserved for *Professor Brentano* (then of the University of Breslau, now of that of Strassburg) to expose... the bad faith which had manifestly dictated the citation made from Mr. Gladstone's speech in the [Inaugural] Address. Herr Karl Marx, who... attempted to defend the citation, had the hardihood, in the DEADLY SHIFTS to which Brentano's masterly conduct of the attack speedily reduced him, to assert that Mr. Gladstone had 'manipulated' the report of his speech in *The Times* of April 17, 1863, before it appeared in Hansard, in order to 'obliterate' a passage which 'was certainly compromising' for an English Chancellor of the Exchequer. On Brentano's showing, by a detailed comparison of texts, that the reports of *The Times* and of Hansard agreed in utterly excluding the meaning which craftily isolated quotation had put upon Mr. Gladstone's words, Marx withdrew from further controversy under the plea of 'want of time.' "

So that was at the bottom of the whole business! And thus was the anonymous campaign of Herr Brentano in *Concordia* gloriously reflected in the productively co-operating imagination of Cambridge. Thus he stood, sword in hand, and thus he battled, in his "masterly conduct of the attack",[46] this St. George of the German Manufacturers' Association, whilst the infernal dragon Marx, "in deadly shifts", "speedily" breathed his last at his feet.

All this Ariostian battle-scene, however, only serves to conceal the dodges of our St. George. Here there is no longer talk of "lying addition" or "forgery", but of "CRAFTILY ISOLATED QUOTATION". The whole issue was shifted, and St. George and his Cambridge squire very well knew why.

Eleanor Marx replied in the monthly journal *To-Day* (February 1884), as *The Times* refused to publish, her letter. She once more focussed the debate on the sole question at issue: had Marx "lyingly added" that sentence or not? To this Mr. Sedley Taylor answered:

"The question whether a particular sentence did or did not occur in Mr. Gladstone's speech" had been, in his opinion, "of very subordinate importance" in the Brentano-Marx controversy, "compared to the issue whether the quotation in dispute was made with the intention of conveying, or of perverting Mr. Gladstone's meaning".

He then admits that the *Times* report contains "a verbal contrariety"; but, if the context is rightly interpreted, i. e., in the Gladstonian Liberal sense, it shows what Mr. Gladstone *meant* to say (*To-Day*, March, 1884). The most comic point here is that our little Cam-

bridge man now insists upon quoting the speech *not* from Hansard, as, according to the anonymous Brentano, it is "customary" to do, but from the *Times* report, which the same Brentano had characterised as "necessarily bungling". Naturally so, for in Hansard the vexatious sentence *is missing*.

Eleanor Marx had no difficulty (in the same issue of *To-Day*) in dissolving all this argumentation into thin air. Either Mr. Taylor had read the controversy of 1872, in which case he was now making not only "lying additions" but also "lying" suppressions; or he had not read it and ought to remain silent. In either case it was certain that he did not dare to maintain for a moment the accusation of his friend Brentano that Marx had made a "lying" addition. On the contrary, Marx, it now seems, had not lyingly added but suppressed an important sentence. But this same sentence is quoted on page 5 of the Inaugural Address, a few lines before the alleged "lying".[42] And as to the "contrariety" in Gladstone's speech, is it not Marx himself, who in *Capital*, p. 618 (3rd edition, p. 672), note 105 [this volume, p. 646, Note 3], refers to "the continual crying contradictions in Gladstone's Budget speeches of 1863 and 1864"? Only he does not presume *à la* Mr. Sedley Taylor to resolve them into complacent Liberal sentiments. Eleanor Marx, in concluding her reply, finally sums up as follows: "Marx has not suppressed anything worth quoting, neither has he 'lyingly' added anything. But he has restored, rescued from oblivion, a particular sentence of one of Mr. Gladstone's speeches, a sentence which had indubitably been pronounced, but which somehow or other had found its way—out of Hansard."

With that Mr. Sedley Taylor too had had enough, and the result of this whole professorial cobwed, spun out over two decades and two great countries, is that nobody has since dared to cast any other aspersion upon Marx's literary honesty; whilst Mr. Sedley Taylor, no doubt, will hereafter put as little confidence in the literary war bulletins of Herr Brentano as Herr Brentano will in the papal infallibility of Hansard.

*Frederick Engels*

London, June 25, 1890

# BOOK I

# THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION OF CAPITAL[a]

[a] The English edition of 1887 has here "Capitalist Production".

# Part I

# COMMODITIES AND MONEY

## Chapter I

## COMMODITIES[a]

### SECTION 1.—THE TWO FACTORS OF A COMMODITY: USE VALUE AND VALUE (THE SUBSTANCE OF VALUE AND THE MAGNITUDE OF VALUE)

The wealth of those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails, presents itself as "an immense accumulation of commodities",[1] its unit being a single commodity. Our investigation must therefore begin with the analysis of a commodity.

A commodity is, in the first place, an object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another. The nature of such wants, whether, for instance, they spring from the stomach or from fancy, makes no difference.[2] Neither are we here concerned to know how the object satisfies these wants, whether directly as means of subsistence, or indirectly as means of production.

Every useful thing, as iron, paper, &c., may be looked at from the two points of view of quality and quantity. It is an assemblage of many properties, and may therefore be of use in various ways. To discover the various uses of things is the work of history.[3] So also is the establishment of socially-recognised standards of measure for the

[1] Karl Marx, *Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie*, Berlin, 1859, p. 3 [present edition, Vol. 29, p. 269].

[2] "Desire implies want; it is the appetite of the mind, and as natural as hunger to the body... The greatest number (of things) have their value from supplying the wants of the mind." Nicholas Barbon, *A Discourse Concerning Coining the New Money Lighter. In Answer to Mr. Locke's Considerations, &c.*, London, 1696, pp. 2, 3.

[3] "Things have an intrinsick vertue" (this is Barbon's special term for value in use) "which in all places have the same vertue; as the loadstone to attract iron" (l. c., p. 6). The property which the magnet possesses of attracting iron, became of use only after by means of that property the polarity of the magnet had been discovered.

[a] The German editions have "The Commodity".

quantities of these useful objects. The diversity of these measures has its origin partly in the diverse nature of the objects to be measured, partly in convention.

The utility of a thing makes it a use value.[1] But this utility is not a thing of air. Being limited by the physical properties of the commodity, it has no existence apart from that commodity. A commodity, such as iron, corn, or a diamond, is therefore, so far as it is a material thing, a use value, something useful. This property of a commodity is independent of the amount of labour required to appropriate its useful qualities. When treating of use value, we always assume to be dealing with definite quantities, such as dozens of watches, yards of linen, or tons of iron. The use values of commodities furnish the material for a special study, that of the commercial knowledge of commodities.[2] Use values become a reality only by use or consumption: they also constitute the substance of all wealth, whatever may be the social form of that wealth. In the form of society we are about to consider, they are, in addition, the material depositories of exchange value.

Exchange value, at first sight, presents itself as a quantitative relation, as the proportion in which values in use of one sort are exchanged for those of another sort,[3] a relation constantly changing with time and place. Hence exchange value appears to be something accidental and purely relative, and consequently an intrinsic value, i. e., an exchange value that is inseparably connected with, inherent in commodities, seems a contradiction in terms.[4] Let us consider the matter a little more closely.

A given commodity, e. g., a quarter of wheat is exchanged for

[1] "The natural worth of anything consists in its fitness to supply the necessities, or serve the conveniencies of human life" (John Locke, *Some Considerations on the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest*, 1691, in Works Edit. London, 1777, Vol. II, p. 28). In English writers of the 17th century we frequently find "worth" in the sense of value in use, and "value" in the sense of exchange value. This is quite in accordance with the spirit of a language that likes to use a Teutonic word for the actual thing, and a Romance word for its reflexion.

[2] In bourgeois societies the economic *fictio juris* prevails, that every one, as a buyer, possesses an encyclopaedic knowledge of commodities.

[3] "Value consists in the exchange relation between one thing and another, between a given amount of one product and a given amount of another" (Le Trosne, *De l'Intérêt Social, Physiocrates*, Ed. Daire. Paris, 1846, p. 889) [Marx quotes in French].

[4] "Nothing can have an intrinsick value" (N. Barbon, l. c., p. 6); or as Butler says—

"The value of a thing
Is just as much as it will bring."[47]

x blacking, y silk, or z gold, &c.—in short, for other commodities in the most different proportions. Instead of one exchange value, the wheat has, therefore, a great many. But since x blacking, y silk, or z gold, &c., each represents the exchange value of one quarter of wheat, x blacking, y silk, z gold, &c., must, as exchange values, be replaceable by each other, or equal to each other. Therefore, first: the valid exchange values of a given commodity express something equal; secondly, exchange value, generally, is only the mode of expression, the phenomenal form, of something contained in it, yet distinguishable from it.

Let us take two commodities, e. g., corn and iron. The proportions in which they are exchangeable, whatever those proportions may be, can always be represented by an equation in which a given quantity of corn is equated to some quantity of iron: e. g., 1 quarter corn = x cwt. iron. What does this equation tell us? It tells us that in two different things—in 1 quarter of corn and x cwt. of iron, there exists in equal quantities something common to both. The two things must therefore be equal to a third, which in itself is neither the one nor the other. Each of them, so far as it is exchange value, must therefore be reducible to this third.

A simple geometrical illustration will make this clear. In order to calculate and compare the areas of rectilinear figures, we decompose them into triangles. But the area of the triangle itself is expressed by something totally different from its visible figure, namely, by half the product of the base multiplied by the altitude. In the same way the exchange values of commodities must be capable of being expressed in terms of something common to them all, of which thing they represent a greater or less quantity.

This common "something" cannot be either a geometrical, a chemical, or any other natural property of commodities. Such properties claim our attention only in so far as they affect the utility of those commodities, make them use values. But the exchange of commodities is evidently an act characterised by a total abstraction from use value. Then one use value is just as good as another, provided only it be present in sufficient quantity. Or, as old Barbon says,

"One sort of wares are as good as another, if the values be equal. There is no difference or distinction in things of equal value... An hundred pounds' worth of lead or iron, is of as great a value as one hundred pounds' worth of silver or gold."[1]

[1] N. Barbon, l. c., [p]p. 53 and 7.

As use values, commodities are, above all, of different qualities, but as exchange values they are merely different quantities, and consequently do not contain an atom of use value.

If then we leave out of consideration the use value of commodities, they have only one common property left, that of being products of labour. But even the product of labour itself has undergone a change in our hands. If we make abstraction from its use value, we make abstraction at the same time from the material elements and shapes that make the product a use value; we see in it no longer a table, a house, yarn, or any other useful thing. Its existence as a material thing is put out of sight. Neither can it any longer be regarded as the product of the labour of the joiner, the mason, the spinner, or of any other definite kind of productive labour. Along with the useful qualities of the products themselves, we put out of sight both the useful character of the various kinds of labour embodied in them, and the concrete forms of that labour; there is nothing left but what is common to them all; all are reduced to one and the same sort of labour, human labour in the abstract.

Let us now consider the residue of each of these products; it consists of the same unsubstantial reality in each, a mere congelation of homogeneous human labour, of labour power expended without regard to the mode of its expenditure. All that these things now tell us is, that human labour power has been expended in their production, that human labour is embodied in them. When looked at as crystals of this social substance, common to them all, they are—Values.

We have seen that when commodities are exchanged, their exchange value manifests itself as something totally independent of their use value. But if we abstract from their use value, there remains their Value as defined above. Therefore, the common substance that manifests itself in the exchange value of commodities, whenever they are exchanged, is their value. The progress of our investigation will show that exchange value is the only form in which the value of commodities can manifest itself or be expressed. For the present, however, we have to consider the nature of value independently of this, its form.

A use value, or useful article, therefore, has value only because human labour in the abstract has been embodied or materialised in it. How, then, is the magnitude of this value to be measured? Plainly, by the quantity of the value-creating substance, the labour, contained in the article. The quantity of labour, however, is measured by its dura-

tion, and labour time in its turn finds its standard in weeks, days, and hours.

Some people might think that if the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labour spent on it, the more idle and unskilful the labourer, the more valuable would his commodity be, because more time would be required in its production. The labour, however, that forms the substance of value, is homogeneous human labour, expenditure of one uniform labour power. The total labour power of society, which is embodied in the sum total of the values of all commodities produced by that society, counts here as one homogeneous mass of human labour power, composed though it be of innumerable individual units. Each of these units is the same as any other, so far as it has the character of the average labour power of society, and takes effect as such; that is, so far as it requires for producing a commodity, no more time than is needed on an average, no more than is socially necessary. The labour time socially necessary is that required to produce an article under the normal conditions of production, and with the average degree of skill and intensity prevalent at the time. The introduction of power-looms into England [48] probably reduced by one-half the labour required to weave a given quantity of yarn into cloth. The hand-loom weavers, as a matter of fact, continued to require the same time as before; but for all that, the product of one hour of their labour represented after the change only half an hour's social labour, and consequently fell to one-half its former value.

We see then that that which determines the magnitude of the value of any article is the amount of labour socially necessary, or the labour time socially necessary for its production.[1] Each individual commodity, in this connection, is to be considered as an average sample of its class.[2] Commodities, therefore, in which equal quantities of labour are embodied, or which can be produced in the same time, have the same value. The value of one commodity is to the value of any other, as the labour time necessary for the production of the one is to that

[1] "The value of them" (the necessaries of life), "when they are exchanged the one for another, is regulated by the quantity of labour necessarily required, and commonly taken in producing them" (*Some Thoughts on the Interest of Money in General, and Particularly in the Publick Funds, &c.*, London, [p]p. 36[, 37]. This remarkable anonymous work, written in the last century, bears no date. It is clear, however, from internal evidence, that it appeared in the reign of George II about 1739 or 1740.

[2] "Properly speaking, all products of the same kind form a single mass, and their

necessary for the production of the other. "As values, all commodities are only definite masses of congealed labour time." [1]

The value of a commodity would therefore remain constant, if the labour time required for its production also remained constant. But the latter changes with every variation in the productiveness of labour. This productiveness is determined by various circumstances, amongst others, by the average amount of skill of the workmen, the state of science, and the degree of its practical application, the social organisation of production, the extent and capabilities of the means of production, and by physical conditions. For example, the same amount of labour in favourable seasons is embodied in 8 bushels of corn, and in unfavourable, only in four. The same labour extracts from rich mines more metal than from poor mines. Diamonds are of very rare occurrence on the earth's surface, and hence their discovery costs, on an average, a great deal of labour time. Consequently much labour is represented in a small compass. Jacob doubts whether gold has ever been paid for at its full value.[49] This applies still more to diamonds. According to Eschwege, the total produce of the Brazilian diamond mines for the eighty years, ending in 1823, had not realised the price of one-and-a-half years' average produce of the sugar and coffee plantations of the same country,[50] although the diamonds cost much more labour, and therefore represented more value. With richer mines, the same quantity of labour would embody itself in more diamonds, and their value would fall. If we could succeed at a small expenditure of labour, in converting carbon into diamonds, their value might fall below that of bricks. In general, the greater the productiveness of labour, the less is the labour time required for the production of an article, the less is the amount of labour crystallised in that article, and the less is its value; and *vice versâ*, the less the productiveness of labour, the greater is the labour time required for the production of an article, and the greater is its value. The value of a commodity, therefore, varies directly as the quantity, and inversely as the productiveness, of the labour incorporated in it.

A thing can be a use value, without having value. This is the case whenever its utility to man is not due to labour. Such are air, virgin soil, natural meadows, &c. A thing can be useful, and the product of

price is determined in general and without regard to particular circumstances" (Le Trosne, l. c., p. 893).

[1] K. Marx, l. c., p. 6 [present edition, Vol. 29, p. 272].

human labour, without being a commodity. Whoever directly satisfies his wants with the produce of his own labour, creates, indeed, use values, but not commodities. In order to produce the latter, he must not only produce use values, but use values for others, social use values. //And not only for others, without more. The mediaeval peasant produced quit-rent-corn for his feudal lord and tithe-corn for his parson. But neither the quit-rent-corn nor the tithe-corn became commodities by reason of the fact that they had been produced for others. To become a commodity a product must be transferred to another, whom it will serve as a use value, by means of an exchange.// [1] Lastly nothing can have value, without being an object of utility. If the thing is useless, so is the labour contained in it; the labour does not count as labour, and therefore creates no value.

## SECTION 2.—THE TWOFOLD CHARACTER OF THE LABOUR EMBODIED IN COMMODITIES

At first sight a commodity presented itself to us as a complex of two things — use value and exchange value. Later on, we saw also that labour, too, possesses the same twofold nature; for, so far as it finds expression in value, it does not possess the same characteristics that belong to it as a creator of use values. I was the first to point out and to examine critically this twofold nature of the labour contained in commodities.[51] As this point is the pivot on which a clear comprehension of political economy turns, we must go more into detail.

Let us take two commodities such as a coat and 10 yards of linen, and let the former be double the value of the latter, so that, if 10 yards of linen = W, the coat = 2W.

The coat is a use value that satisfies a particular want. Its existence is the result of a special sort of productive activity, the nature of which is determined by its aim, mode of operation, subject, means, and result. The labour, whose utility is thus represented by the value in use of its product, or which manifests itself by making its product a use value, we call useful labour. In this connection we consider only its useful effect.

[1] //*Note in the 4th German edition*: I am inserting the parenthesis because its omission has often given rise to the misunderstanding that every product that is consumed by some one other than its producer is considered in Marx a commodity.— *F. E.*//

As the coat and the linen are two qualitatively different use values, so also are the two forms of labour that produce them, tailoring and weaving. Were these two objects not qualitatively different, not produced respectively by labour [52] of different quality, they could not stand to each other in the relation of commodities. Coats are not exchanged for coats, one use value is not exchanged for another of the same kind.

To all the different varieties of values in use there correspond as many different kinds of useful labour, classified according to the order, genus, species, and variety to which they belong in the social division of labour. This division of labour is a necessary condition for the production of commodities, but it does not follow, conversely, that the production of commodities is a necessary condition for the division of labour. In the primitive Indian community [53] there is social division of labour, without production of commodities. Or, to take an example nearer home, in every factory the labour is divided according to a system, but this division is not brought about by the operatives mutually exchanging their individual products. Only such products can become commodities with regard to each other, as result from different kinds of labour, each kind being carried on independently and for the account of private individuals.

To resume, then: In the use value of each commodity there is contained useful labour, i. e., productive activity of a definite kind and exercised with a definite aim. Use values cannot confront each other as commodities, unless the useful labour embodied in them is qualitatively different in each of them. In a community, the produce of which in general takes the form of commodities, i. e., in a community of commodity producers, this qualitative difference between the useful forms of labour that are carried on independently by individual producers, each on their own account, develops into a complex system, a social division of labour.

Anyhow, whether the coat be worn by the tailor or by his customer, in either case it operates as a use value. Nor is the relation between the coat and the labour that produced it altered by the circumstance that tailoring may have become a special trade, an independent branch of the social division of labour. Wherever the want of clothing forced them to it, the human race made clothes for thousands of years, without a single man becoming a tailor. But coats and linen, like every other element of material wealth that is not the spontaneous produce of Nature, must invariably owe their existence to

a special productive activity, exercised with a definite aim, an activity that appropriates particular nature-given materials to particular human wants. So far therefore as labour is a creator of use value, is useful labour, it is a necessary condition, independent of all forms of society, for the existence of the human race; it is an eternal nature-imposed necessity, without which there can be no material exchanges between man and Nature, and therefore no life.

The use values, coat, linen, &c., i. e., the bodies of commodities, are combinations of two elements — matter and labour. If we take away the useful labour expended upon them, a material substratum is always left, which is furnished by Nature without the help of man. The latter can work only as Nature does, that is by changing the form of matter.[1] Nay more, in this work of changing the form he is constantly helped by natural forces. We see, then, that labour is not the only source of material wealth, of use values produced by labour. As William Petty puts it, labour is its father and the earth its mother.[54]

Let us now pass from the commodity considered as a use value to the value of commodities.

By our assumption, the coat is worth twice as much as the linen. But this is a mere quantitative difference, which for the present does not concern us. We bear in mind, however, that if the value of the coat is double that of 10 yds of linen, 20 yds of linen must have the same value as one coat. So far as they are values, the coat and the linen are things of a like substance, objective expressions of essentially identical labour. But tailoring and weaving are, qualitatively, different kinds of labour. There are, however, states of society in which one and the same man does tailoring and weaving alternately, in which case these two forms of labour are mere modifications of the labour of the same individual, and not special and fixed functions of different persons; just as the coat which our tailor makes one day, and

[1] "All the phenomena of the universe, whether produced by the hand of man or through the universal laws of physics, are not actual new creations, but merely a modification of matter. Joining together and separating are the only elements which the human mind always finds on analysing the concept of reproduction; and it is just the same with the reproduction of value" (value in use, although Verri in this passage of his controversy with the Physiocrats is not himself quite certain of the kind of value he is speaking of) "and of wealth, when earth, air and water in the fields are transformed into corn, or when the hand of man transforms the secretions of an insect into silk, or some pieces of metal are arranged to make the mechanism of a watch." — Pietro Verri, *Meditazioni sulla Economia Politica* //first printed in 1771// in Custodi's edition of the Italian Economists, Parte Moderna, t. XV, [p]p. [21,] 22.

the trousers which he makes another day, imply only a variation in the labour of one and the same individual. Moreover, we see at a glance that, in our capitalist society, a given portion of human labour is, in accordance with the varying demand, at one time supplied in the form of tailoring, at another in the form of weaving. This change may possibly not take place without friction, but take place it must.

Productive activity, if we leave out of sight its special form, viz., the useful character of the labour, is nothing but the expenditure of human labour power. Tailoring and weaving, though qualitatively different productive activities, are each a productive expenditure of human brains, nerves, and muscles, and in this sense are human labour. They are but two different modes of expending human labour power. Of course, this labour power, which remains the same under all its modifications, must have attained a certain pitch of development before it can be expended in a multiplicity of modes. But the value of a commodity represents human labour in the abstract, the expenditure of human labour in general. And just as in society, a general or a banker plays a great part, but mere man, on the other hand, a very shabby part,[1] so here with mere human labour. It is the expenditure of simple labour power, i. e., of the labour power which, on an average, apart from any special development, exists in the organism of every ordinary individual. Simple average labour, it is true, varies in character in different countries and at different times, but in a particular society it is given. Skilled labour counts only as simple labour intensified, or rather, as multiplied simple labour, a given quantity of skilled being considered equal to a greater quantity of simple labour. Experience shows that this reduction is constantly being made. A commodity may be the product of the most skilled labour, but its value, by equating it to the product of simple unskilled labour, represents a definite quantity of the latter labour alone.[2] The different proportions in which different sorts of labour are reduced to unskilled labour as their standard, are established by a social process that goes on behind the backs of the producers, and, consequently, appear to be fixed by custom. For simplicity's sake we shall hence-

[1] Comp. Hegel, *Philosophie des Rechts*, Berlin, 1840, p. 250, § 190.

[2] The reader must note that we are not speaking here of the wages or value that the labourer gets for a given labour time, but of the value of the commodity in which that labour time is materialised. Wages is a category that, as yet, has no existence at the present stage of our investigation.

forth account every kind of labour to be unskilled, simple labour; by this we do no more than save ourselves the trouble of making the reduction.

Just as, therefore, in viewing the coat and linen as values, we abstract from their different use values, so it is with the labour represented by those values: we disregard the difference between its useful forms, weaving and tailoring. As the use values, coat and linen, are combinations of special productive activities with cloth and yarn, while the values, coat and linen, are, on the other hand, mere homogeneous congelations of undifferentiated labour, so the labour embodied in these latter values does not count by virtue of its productive relation to cloth and yarn, but only as being expenditure of human labour power. Tailoring and weaving are necessary factors in the creation of the use values, coat and linen, precisely because these two kinds of labour are of different qualities; but only in so far as abstraction is made from their special qualities, only in so far as both possess the same quality of being human labour, do tailoring and weaving form the substance of the values of the same articles.

Coats and linen, however, are not merely values, but values of definite magnitude, and according to our assumption, the coat is worth twice as much as the ten yards of linen. Whence this difference in their values? It is owing to the fact that the linen contains only half as much labour as the coat, and consequently, that in the production of the latter, labour power must have been expended during twice the time necessary for the production of the former.

While, therefore, with reference to use value, the labour contained in a commodity counts only qualitatively, with reference to value it counts only quantitatively, and must first be reduced to human labour pure and simple. In the former case, it is a question of How and What, in the latter of How much? How long a time? Since the magnitude of the value of a commodity represents only the quantity of labour embodied in it, it follows that all commodities, when taken in certain proportions, must be equal in value.

If the productive power of all the different sorts of useful labour required for the production of a coat remains unchanged, the sum of the values of the coats produced increases with their number. If one coat represents x days' labour, two coats represent 2x days' labour, and so on. But assume that the duration of the labour necessary for the production of a coat becomes doubled or halved. In the first case, one coat is worth as much as two coats were before; in the second

case, two coats are only worth as much as one was before, although in both cases one coat renders the same service as before, and the useful labour embodied in it remains of the same quality. But the quantity of labour spent on its production has altered.

An increase in the quantity of use values is an increase of material wealth. With two coats two men can be clothed, with one coat only one man. Nevertheless, an increased quantity of material wealth may correspond to a simultaneous fall in the magnitude of its value. This antagonistic movement has its origin in the two-fold character of labour. Productive power has reference, of course, only to labour of some useful concrete form, the efficacy of any special productive activity during a given time being dependent on its productiveness. Useful labour becomes, therefore, a more or less abundant source of products, in proportion to the rise or fall of its productiveness. On the other hand, no change in this productiveness affects the labour represented by value. Since productive power is an attribute of the concrete useful forms of labour, of course it can no longer have any bearing on that labour, so soon as we make abstraction from those concrete useful forms. However then productive power may vary, the same labour, exercised during equal periods of time, always yields equal amounts of value. But it will yield, during equal periods of time, different quantities of values in use; more, if the productive power rise, fewer, if it fall. The same change in productive power, which increases the fruitfulness of labour, and, in consequence, the quantity of use values produced by that labour, will diminish the total value of this increased quantity of use values, provided such change shorten the total labour time necessary for their production; and *vice versâ*.

On the one hand, all labour is, speaking physiologically, an expenditure of human labour power, and in its character of identical abstract human labour, it creates and forms the value of commodities. On the other hand, all labour is the expenditure of human labour power in a special form and with a definite aim, and in this, its character of concrete useful labour, it produces use values.[1]

[1] In order to prove that "labour alone is that all-sufficient and real measure, by which at all times the value of all commodities can be estimated and compared", Adam Smith says, "Equal quantities of labour must at all times and in all places have the same value for the labourer. In his normal state of health, strength, and activity, and with the average degree of skill that he may possess, he must always give up the same portion of his rest, his freedom, and his happiness" (*Wealth of Nations*, b. I. ch. V [Vol. I, London, 1835, pp. 104-05]). On the one hand, Adam Smith here (but not

## SECTION 3.—THE FORM OF VALUE OR EXCHANGE VALUE

Commodities come into the world in the shape of use values, articles, or goods, such as iron, linen, corn, &c. This is their plain, homely, bodily form. They are, however, commodities, only because they are something twofold, both objects of utility, and, at the same time, depositories of value. They manifest themselves therefore as commodities, or have the form of commodities, only in so far as they have two forms, a physical or natural form, and a value form.

The reality of the value of commodities differs in this respect from Dame Quickly, that we don't know "where to have it".[55] The value of commodities is the very opposite of the coarse materiality of their substance, not an atom of matter enters into its composition. Turn and examine a single commodity, by itself, as we will, yet in so far as it remains an object of value, it seems impossible to grasp it. If, however, we bear in mind that the value of commodities has a purely social reality, and that they acquire this reality only in so far as they are expressions or embodiments of one identical social substance, viz., human labour, it follows as a matter of course, that value can only manifest itself in the social relation of commodity to commodity. In fact we started from exchange value, or the exchange relation of commodities, in order to get at the value that lies hidden behind it. We must now return to this form under which value first appeared to us.

Every one knows, if he knows nothing else, that commodities have

everywhere) confuses the determination of value by means of the quantity of labour expended in the production of commodities, with the determination of the values of commodities by means of the value of labour, and seeks in consequence to prove that equal quantities of labour have always the same value. On the other hand, he has a presentiment, that labour, so far as it manifests itself in the value of commodities, counts only as expenditure of labour power, but he treats this expenditure as the mere sacrifice of rest, freedom, and happiness, not as at the same time the normal activity of living beings. But then, he has the modern wage labourer in his eye. Much more aptly, the anonymous predecessor of Adam Smith, quoted above in Note 1, p. 49, says "one man has employed himself a week in providing this necessary of life ... and he that gives him some other in exchange cannot make a better estimate of what is a proper equivalent, than by computing what cost him just as much labour and time; which in effect is no more than exchanging one man's labour in one thing for a time certain, for another man's labour in another thing for the same time" (l. c., p. 39). //The English language has the advantage of possessing different words for the two aspects of labour here considered. The labour which creates Use Value, and counts qualitatively, is *Work*, as distinguished from Labour; that which creates Value and counts quantitatively, is *Labour* as distinguished from Work.—*F. E.*//

a value form common to them all, and presenting a marked contrast with the varied bodily forms of their use values. I mean their money form. Here, however, a task is set us, the performance of which has never yet even been attempted by *bourgeois* economy, the task of tracing the genesis of this money form, of developing the expression of value implied in the value relation of commodities, from its simplest, almost imperceptible outline, to the dazzling money form. By doing this we shall, at the same time, solve the riddle presented by money.

The simplest value relation is evidently that of one commodity to some one other commodity of a different kind. Hence the relation between the values of two commodities supplies us with the simplest expression of the value of a single commodity.

## A. Elementary or Accidental Form of Value

x commodity A = y commodity B, or
x commodity A is worth y commodity B.
20 yards of linen = 1 coat, or
20 yards of linen are worth 1 coat.

### *1. The two poles of the expression of value: Relative form and Equivalent form*

The whole mystery of the form of value lies hidden in this elementary form. Its analysis, therefore, is our real difficulty.

Here two different kinds of commodities (in our example the linen and the coat), evidently play two different parts. The linen expresses its value in the coat; the coat serves as the material in which that value is expressed. The former plays an active, the latter a passive, part. The value of the linen is represented as relative value, or appears in relative form. The coat officiates as equivalent, or appears in equivalent form.

The relative form and the equivalent form are two intimately connected, mutually dependent and inseparable elements of the expression of value; but, at the same time, are mutually exclusive, antagonistic extremes — i. e., poles of the same expression. They are allotted respectively to the two different commodities brought into relation by that expression. It is not possible to express the value of linen in linen.

20 yards of linen = 20 yards of linen is no expression of value. On the contrary, such an equation merely says that 20 yards of linen are nothing else than 20 yards of linen, a definite quantity of the use-value linen. The value of the linen can therefore be expressed only relatively — i. e., in some other commodity. The relative form of the value of the linen presupposes, therefore, the presence of some other commodity — here the coat — under the form of an equivalent. On the other hand, the commodity that figures as the equivalent cannot at the same time assume the relative form. That second commodity is not the one whose value is expressed. Its function is merely to serve as the material in which the value of the first commodity is expressed.

No doubt, the expression 20 yards of linen = 1 coat, or 20 yards of linen are worth 1 coat, implies the opposite relation: 1 coat = 20 yards of linen, or 1 coat is worth 20 yards of linen. But, in that case, I must reverse the equation, in order to express the value of the coat relatively; and, so soon as I do that, the linen becomes the equivalent instead of the coat. A single commodity cannot, therefore, simultaneously assume, in the same expression of value, both forms. The very polarity of these forms makes them mutually exclusive.

Whether, then, a commodity assumes the relative form, or the opposite equivalent form, depends entirely upon its accidental position in the expression of value — that is, upon whether it is the commodity whose value is being expressed or the commodity in which value is being expressed.

## 2. *The Relative form of value*

### *(a.) The nature and import of this form*

In order to discover how the elementary expression of the value of a commodity lies hidden in the value relation of two commodities, we must, in the first place, consider the latter entirely apart from its quantitative aspect. The usual mode of procedure is generally the reverse, and in the value relation nothing is seen but the proportion between definite quantities of two different sorts of commodities that are considered equal to each other. It is apt to be forgotten that the magnitudes of different things can be compared quantitatively, only when those magnitudes are expressed in terms of the same unit. It is only as

expressions of such a unit that they are of the same denomination, and therefore commensurable.[1]

Whether 20 yards of linen = 1 coat or = 20 coats or = x coats—that is, whether a given quantity of linen is worth few or many coats, every such statement implies that the linen and coats, as magnitudes of value, are expressions of the same unit, things of the same kind. Linen = coat is the basis of the equation.

But the two commodities whose identity of quality is thus assumed, do not play the same part. It is only the value of the linen that is expressed. And how? By its reference to the coat as its equivalent, as something that can be exchanged for it. In this relation the coat is the mode of existence of value, is value embodied, for only as such is it the same as the linen. On the other hand, the linen's own value comes to the front, receives independent expression, for it is only as being value that it is comparable with the coat as a thing of equal value, or exchangeable with the coat. To borrow an illustration from chemistry, butyric acid is a different substance from propyl formate. Yet both are made up of the same chemical substances, carbon (C), hydrogen (H), and oxygen (O), and that, too, in like proportions—namely, $C_4H_8O_2$. If now we equate butyric acid to propyl formate, then, in the first place, propyl formate would be, in this relation, merely a form of existence of $C_4H_8O_2$; and in the second place, we should be stating that butyric acid also consists of $C_4H_8O_2$. Therefore, by thus equating the two substances, expression would be given to their chemical composition, while their different physical forms would be neglected.

If we say that, as values, commodities are mere congelations of human labour, we reduce them by our analysis, it is true, to the abstraction, value; but we ascribe to this value no form apart from their bodily form. It is otherwise in the value relation of one commodity to another. Here, the one stands forth in its character of value by reason of its relation to the other.

By making the coat the equivalent of the linen, we equate the labour embodied in the former to that in the latter. Now, it is true that

[1] The few economists, amongst whom is S. Bailey, who have occupied themselves with the analysis of the form of value, have been unable to arrive at any result, first, because they confuse the form of value with value itself; and second, because, under the coarse influence of the practical bourgeois, they exclusively give their attention to the quantitative aspect of the question. "The command of quantity ... constitutes value" (*Money and Its Vicissitudes*, London, 1837, p. 11. By S. Bailey).

the tailoring, which makes the coat, is concrete labour of a different sort from the weaving which makes the linen. But the act of equating it to the weaving, reduces the tailoring to that which is really equal in the two kinds of labour, to their common character of human labour. In this roundabout way, then, the fact is expressed, that weaving also, in so far as it weaves value, has nothing to distinguish it from tailoring, and, consequently, is abstract human labour. It is the expression of equivalence between different sorts of commodities that alone brings into relief the specific character of value-creating labour, and this it does by actually reducing the different varieties of labour embodied in the different kinds of commodities to their common quality of human labour in the abstract.[1]

There is, however, something else required beyond the expression of the specific character of the labour of which the value of the linen consists. Human labour power in motion, or human labour, creates value, but is not itself value. It becomes value only in its congealed state, when embodied in the form of some object. In order to express the value of the linen as a congelation of human labour, that value must be expressed as having objective existence, as being a something materially different from the linen itself, and yet a something common to the linen and all other commodities. The problem is already solved.

When occupying the position of equivalent in the equation of value, the coat ranks qualitatively as the equal of the linen, as something of the same kind, because it is value. In this position it is a thing in which we see nothing but value, or whose palpable bodily form represents value. Yet the coat itself, the body of the commodity, coat, is a mere use value. A coat as such no more tells us it is value, than does the first piece of linen we take hold of. This shows that when placed in value relation to the linen, the coat signifies more than when out of that relation, just as many a man strutting about in a gorgeous uniform counts for more than when in mufti.

[1] The celebrated Franklin, one of the first economists, after Wm. Petty, who saw through the nature of value, says: "Trade in general being nothing else but the exchange of labour for labour, the value of all things is ... most justly measured by labour" (*The Works of B. Franklin, &c.*, edited by Sparks. Boston, 1836, Vol. II, p. 267).[56] Franklin is unconscious that by estimating the value of everything in labour, he makes abstraction from any difference in the sorts of labour exchanged, and thus reduces them all to equal human labour. But although ignorant of this, yet he says it. He speaks first of "the one labour", then of "the other labour", and finally of "labour", without further qualification, as the substance of the value of everything.

In the production of the coat, human labour power, in the shape of tailoring, must have been actually expended. Human labour is therefore accumulated in it. In this aspect the coat is a depository of value, but though worn to a thread, it does not let this fact show through. And as equivalent of the linen in the value equation, it exists under this aspect alone, counts therefore as embodied value, as a body that is value. *A*, for instance, cannot be "your majesty" to *B*, unless at the same time majesty in B's eyes assumes the bodily form of A, and, what is more, with every new father of the people, changes its features, hair, and many other things besides.

Hence, in the value equation, in which the coat is the equivalent of the linen, the coat officiates as the form of value. The value of the commodity linen is expressed by the bodily form of the commodity coat, the value of one by the use value of the other. As a use value, the linen is something palpably different from the coat; as value, it is the same as the coat, and now has the appearance of a coat. Thus the linen acquires a value form different from its physical form. The fact that it is value, is made manifest by its equality with the coat, just as the sheep's nature of a Christian is shown in his resemblance to the Lamb of God.[57]

We see, then, all that our analysis of the value of commodities has already told us, is told us by the linen itself, so soon as it comes into communication with another commodity, the coat. Only it betrays its thoughts in that language with which alone it is familiar, the language of commodities. In order to tell us that its own value is created by labour in its abstract character of human labour, it says that the coat, in so far as it is worth as much as the linen, and therefore is value, consists of the same labour as the linen. In order to inform us that its sublime reality as value is not the same as its buckram body, it says that value has the appearance of a coat, and consequently that so far as the linen is value, it and the coat are as like as two peas. We may here remark, that the language of commodities has, besides Hebrew, many other more or less correct dialects. The German "Wertsein", to be worth, for instance, expresses in a less striking manner than the Romance verbs "valere", "valer", "valoir", that the equating of commodity B to commodity A, is commodity A's own mode of expressing its value. *Paris vaut bien une messe.*[58]

By means, therefore, of the value relation expressed in our equation, the bodily form of commodity B becomes the value form of commodity A, or the body of commodity B acts as a mirror to the value of

commodity A.[1] By putting itself in relation with commodity B, as value *in propriâ personâ*, as the matter of which human labour is made up, the commodity A converts the value in use, B, into the substance in which to express its, A's, own value. The value of A, thus expressed in the use value of B, has taken the form of relative value.

### *(b.) Quantitative determination of Relative value*

Every commodity, whose value it is intended to express, is a useful object of given quantity, as 15 bushels of corn, or 100 lbs of coffee. And a given quantity of any commodity contains a definite quantity of human labour. The value form must therefore not only express value generally, but also value in definite quantity. Therefore, in the value relation of commodity A to commodity B, of the linen to the coat, not only is the latter, as value in general, made the equal in quality of the linen, but a definite quantity of coat (1 coat) is made the equivalent of a definite quantity (20 yards) of linen.

The equation, 20 yards of linen = 1 coat, or 20 yards of linen are worth one coat, implies that the same quantity of value substance (congealed labour) is embodied in both; that the two commodities have each cost the same amount of labour of the same quantity of labour time. But the labour time necessary for the production of 20 yards of linen or 1 coat varies with every change in the productiveness of weaving or tailoring. We have now to consider the influence of such changes on the quantitative aspect of the relative expression of value.

I. Let the value of the linen vary,[2] that of the coat remaining constant. If, say in consequence of the exhaustion of flax-growing soil, the labour time necessary for the production of the linen be doubled, the value of the linen will also be doubled. Instead of the equation, 20

[1] In a sort of way, it is with man as with commodities. Since he comes into the world neither with a looking glass in his hand, nor as a Fichtian philosopher, to whom "I am I" is sufficient, man first sees and recognises himself in other men. Peter only establishes his own identity as a man by first comparing himself with Paul as being of like kind. And thereby Paul, just as he stands in his Pauline personality, becomes to Peter the type of the *genus homo*.[a]

[2] Value is here, as occasionally in the preceding pages, used in the sense of value determined as to quantity, or of magnitude of value.

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[a] species man

yards of linen = 1 coat, we should have 20 yards of linen = 2 coats, since 1 coat would now contain only half the labour time embodied in 20 yards of linen. If, on the other hand, in consequence, say, of improved looms, this labour time be reduced by one-half, the value of the linen would fall by one-half. Consequently, we should have 20 yards of linen = $\frac{1}{2}$ coat. The relative value of commodity A, i. e., its value expressed in commodity B, rises and falls directly as the value of A, the value of B being supposed constant.

II. Let the value of the linen remain constant, while the value of the coat varies. If, under these circumstances, in consequence, for instance, of a poor crop of wool, the labour time necessary for the production of a coat becomes doubled, we have instead of 20 yards of linen = 1 coat, 20 yards of linen = $\frac{1}{2}$ coat. If, on the other hand, the value of the coat sinks by one-half, then 20 yards of linen = 2 coats. Hence, if the value of commodity A remain constant, its relative value expressed in commodity B rises and falls inversely as the value of B.

If we compare the different cases in I and II, we see that the same change of magnitude in relative value may arise from totally opposite causes. Thus, the equation, 20 yards of linen = 1 coat, becomes 20 yards of linen = 2 coats, either, because the value of the linen has doubled, or because the value of the coat has fallen by one-half; and it becomes 20 yards of linen = $\frac{1}{2}$ coat, either, because the value of the linen has fallen by one-half, or because the value of the coat has doubled.

III. Let the quantities of labour time respectively necessary for the production of the linen and the coat vary simultaneously in the same direction and in the same proportion. In this case 20 yards of linen continue equal to 1 coat, however much their values may have altered. Their change of value is seen as soon as they are compared with a third commodity, whose value has remained constant. If the values of all commodities rose or fell simultaneously, and in the same proportion, their relative values would remain unaltered. Their real change of value would appear from the diminished or increased quantity of commodities produced in a given time.

IV. The labour time respectively necessary for the production of the linen and the coat, and therefore the value of these commodities may simultaneously vary in the same direction, but at unequal rates, or in opposite directions, or in other ways. The effect of all these possible different variations, on the relative value of a commodity, may be deduced from the results of I, II, and III.

Thus real changes in the magnitude of value are neither unequivocally nor exhaustively reflected in their relative expression, that is, in the equation expressing the magnitude of relative value. The relative value of a commodity may vary, although its value remains constant. Its relative value may remain constant, although its value varies; and finally, simultaneous variations in the magnitude of value and in that of its relative expression by no means necessarily correspond in amount.[1]

### 3. *The Equivalent form of value*

We have seen that commodity A (the linen), by expressing its value in the use value of a commodity differing in kind (the coat), at the same time impresses upon the latter a specific form of value, namely that of the equivalent. The commodity linen manifests its quality of having a value by the fact that the coat, without having assumed a value form different from its bodily form, is equated to the linen. The fact that the latter therefore has a value is expressed by saying that the coat is directly exchangeable with it. Therefore, when we say that a commodity is in the equivalent form, we express the fact that it is directly exchangeable with other commodities.

[1] This incongruity between the magnitude of value and its relative expression has, with customary ingenuity, been exploited by vulgar economists. For example — "Once admit that A falls, because B, with which it is exchanged, rises, while no less labour is bestowed in the meantime on A, and your general principle of value falls to the ground... If he [Ricardo] allowed that when A rises in value relatively to B, B falls in value relatively to A, he cut away the ground on which he rested his grand proposition, that the value of a commodity is ever determined by the labour embodied in it; for if a change in the cost of A alters not only its own value in relation to B, for which it is exchanged, but also the value of B relatively to that of A, though no change has taken place in the quantity of labour to produce B, then not only the doctrine falls to the ground which asserts that the quantity of labour bestowed on an article regulates its value, but also that which affirms the cost of an article to regulate its value" (J. Broadhurst, *Political Economy*, London, 1842, pp. 11 and 14).

Mr. Broadhurst might just as well say: consider the fractions $\frac{10}{20}$, $\frac{10}{50}$, $\frac{10}{100}$, &c., the number 10 remains unchanged, and yet its proportional magnitude, its magnitude relatively to the numbers 20, 50, 100, &c., continually diminishes. Therefore the great principle that the magnitude of a whole number, such as 10, is "regulated" by the number of times unity is contained in it, falls to the ground.— //The author explains in section 4 of this chapter, p. 91 note 2, what he understands by "Vulgar Economy".— *F. E.*//

When one commodity, such as a coat, serves as the equivalent of another, such as linen, and coats consequently acquire the characteristic property of being directly exchangeable with linen, we are far from knowing in what proportion the two are exchangeable. The value of the linen being given in magnitude, that proportion depends on the value of the coat. Whether the coat serves as the equivalent and the linen as relative value, or the linen as the equivalent and the coat as relative value, the magnitude of the coat's value is determined, independently of its value form, by the labour time necessary for its production. But whenever the coat assumes, in the equation of value, the position of equivalent, its value acquires no quantitative expression; on the contrary, the commodity coat now figures only as a definite quantity of some article.

For instance, 40 yards of linen are worth — what? 2 coats. Because the commodity coat here plays the part of equivalent, because the use-value coat, as opposed to the linen, figures as an embodiment of value, therefore a definite number of coats suffices to express the definite quantity of value in the linen. Two coats may therefore express the quantity of value of 40 yards of linen, but they can never express the quantity of their own value. A superficial observation of this fact, namely, that in the equation of value, the equivalent figures exclusively as a simple quantity of some article, of some use value, has misled Bailey, as also many others, both before and after him, into seeing, in the expression of value, merely a quantitative relation. The truth being, that when a commodity acts as equivalent, no quantitative determination of its value is expressed.

The first peculiarity that strikes us, in considering the form of the equivalent, is this: use value becomes the form of manifestation, the phenomenal form of its opposite, value.

The bodily form of the commodity becomes its value form. But, mark well, that this *quid pro quo* exists in the case of any commodity B, only when some other commodity A enters into a value relation with it, and then only within the limits of this relation. Since no commodity can stand in the relation of equivalent to itself, and thus turn its own bodily shape into the expression of its own value, every commodity is compelled to choose some other commodity for its equivalent, and to accept the use value, that is to say, the bodily shape of that other commodity as the form of its own value.

One of the measures that we apply to commodities as material substances, as use values, will serve to illustrate this point. A sugar-loaf

being a body, is heavy, and therefore has weight: but we can neither see not touch this weight. We then take various pieces of iron, whose weight has been determined beforehand. The iron, as iron, is no more the form of manifestation of weight, than is the sugar-loaf. Nevertheless, in order to express the sugar-loaf as so much weight, we put it into a weight-relation with the iron. In this relation, the iron officiates as a body representing nothing but weight. A certain quantity of iron therefore serves as the measure of the weight of the sugar, and represents, in relation to the sugar-loaf, weight embodied, the form of manifestation of weight. This part is played by the iron only within this relation, into which the sugar or any other body, whose weight has to be determined, enters with the iron. Were they not both heavy, they could not enter into this relation, and the one could therefore not serve as the expression of the weight of the other. When we throw both into the scales, we see in reality, that as weight they are both the same, and that, therefore, when taken in proper proportions, they have the same weight. Just as the substance iron, as a measure of weight, represents in relation to the sugar-loaf weight alone, so, in our expression of value, the material object, coat, in relation to the linen, represents value alone.

Here, however, the analogy ceases. The iron, in the expression of the weight of the sugar-loaf, represents a natural property common to both bodies, namely their weight; but the coat, in the expression of value of the linen, represents a non-natural property of both, something purely social, namely their value.

Since the relative form of value of a commodity — the linen, for example — expresses the value of that commodity, as being something wholly different from its substance and properties, as being, for instance, coat-like, we see that this expression itself indicates that some social relation lies at the bottom of it. With the equivalent form it is just the contrary. The very essence of this form is that the material commodity itself — the coat — just as it is, expresses value, and is endowed with the form of value by Nature itself. Of course this holds good only so long as the value relation exists, in which the coat stands in the position of equivalent to the linen.[1] Since, however, the properties of a thing are not the result of its relations to other things, but

[1] Such expressions of relations in general, called by Hegel reflex categories,[59] form a very curious class. For instance, one man is king only because other men stand in the relation of subjects to him. They, on the contrary, imagine that they are subjects because he is king.

only manifest themselves in such relations, the coat seems to be endowed with its equivalent form, its property of being directly exchangeable, just as much by Nature as it is endowed with the property of being heavy, or the capacity to keep us warm. Hence the enigmatical character of the equivalent form which escapes the notice of the bourgeois political economist, until this form, completely developed, confronts him in the shape of money. He then seeks to explain away the mystical character of gold and silver, by substituting for them less dazzling commodities, and by reciting, with ever renewed satisfaction, the catalogue of all possible commodities which at one time or another have played the part of equivalent. He has not the least suspicion that the most simple expression of value, such as 20 yds of linen = 1 coat, already propounds the riddle of the equivalent form for our solution.

The body of the commodity that serves as the equivalent, figures as the materialisation of human labour in the abstract, and is at the same time the product of some specifically useful concrete labour. This concrete labour becomes, therefore, the medium for expressing abstract human labour. If, on the one hand, the coat ranks as nothing but the embodiment of abstract human labour, so, on the other hand, the tailoring which is actually embodied in it, counts as nothing but the form under which that abstract labour is realised. In the expression of value of the linen, the utility of the tailoring consists, not in making clothes, but in making an object, which we at once recognise to be Value, and therefore to be a congelation of labour, but of labour indistinguishable from that realised in the value of the linen. In order to act as such a mirror of value, the labour of tailoring must reflect nothing besides its own abstract quality of being human labour generally.

In tailoring, as well as in weaving, human labour power is expended. Both, therefore, possess the general property of being human labour, and may, therefore, in certain cases, such as in the production of value, have to be considered under this aspect alone. There is nothing mysterious in this. But in the expression of value there is a complete turn of the tables. For instance, how is the fact to be expressed that weaving creates the value of the linen, not by virtue of being weaving, as such, but by reason of its general property of being human labour? Simply by opposing to weaving that other particular form of concrete labour (in this instance tailoring) which produces the equivalent of the product of weaving. Just as the coat in its bodily

form became a direct expression of value, so now does tailoring, a concrete form of labour, appear as the direct and palpable embodiment of human labour generally.

Hence, the second peculiarity of the equivalent form is, that concrete labour becomes the form under which its opposite, abstract human labour, manifests itself.

But because this concrete labour, tailoring in our case, ranks as, and is directly identified with, undifferentiated human labour, it also ranks as identical with any other sort of labour, and therefore with that embodied in the linen. Consequently, although, like all other commodity-producing labour, it is the labour of private individuals, yet, at the same time, it ranks as labour directly social in its character. This is the reason why it results in a product directly exchangeable with other commodities. We have then a third peculiarity of the equivalent form, namely, that the labour of private individuals takes the form of its opposite, labour directly social in its form.

The two latter peculiarities of the equivalent form will become more intelligible if we go back to the great thinker who was the first to analyse so many forms, whether of thought, society, or Nature, and amongst them also the form of value. I mean Aristotle.

In the first place, he clearly enunciates that the money form of commodities is only the further development of the simple form of value — i. e., of the expression of the value of one commodity in some other commodity taken at random; for he says —

5 beds = 1 house (χλίναι πέντε ἀντὶ οἰχίας)

is not to be distinguished from

5 beds = so much money.

(χλίναι πέντε ἀντὶ ... ὅσον αἱ πέντε χλίναι)

He further sees that the value relation which gives rise to this expression makes it necessary that the house should qualitatively be made the equal of the bed, and that, without such an equalisation, these two clearly different things could not be compared with each other as commensurable quantities. "Exchange," he says, "cannot take place without equality, and equality not without commensurability" (οὔτ' ἰσοτης μη οὔσης συμμετρίας). Here, however, he comes to a stop, and gives up the further analysis of the form of value. "It is, however, in reality, impossible (τῇ μέν οὖν ἀληθεία αδύνατον), that

such unlike things can be commensurable" — i. e., qualitatively equal. Such an equalisation can only be something foreign to their real nature, consequently only "a makeshift for practical purposes".[60]

Aristotle therefore, himself, tells us, what barred the way to his further analysis; it was the absence of any concept of value. What is that equal something, that common substance, which admits of the value of the beds being expressed by a house? Such a thing, in truth, cannot exist, says Aristotle. And why not? Compared with the beds, the house does represent something equal to them, in so far as it represents what is really equal, both in the beds and the house. And that is — human labour.

There was, however, an important fact which prevented Aristotle from seeing that, to attribute value to commodities, is merely a mode of expressing all labour as equal human labour, and consequently as labour of equal quality. Greek society was founded upon slavery, and had, therefore, for its natural basis, the inequality of men and of their labour powers. The secret of the expression of value, namely, that all kinds of labour are equal and equivalent, because, and so far as they are human labour in general, cannot be deciphered, until the notion of human equality has already acquired the fixity of a popular prejudice. This, however, is possible only in a society in which the great mass of the produce of labour takes the form of commodities, in which, consequently, the dominant relation between man and man, is that of owners of commodities. The brilliancy of Aristotle's genius is shown by this alone, that he discovered, in the expression of the value of commodities, a relation of equality. The peculiar conditions of the society in which he lived, alone prevented him from discovering what, "in truth", was at the bottom of this equality.

### *4. The Elementary form of value considered as a whole*

The elementary form of value of a commodity is contained in the equation, expressing its value relation to another commodity of a different kind, or in its exchange relation to the same. The value of commodity A is qualitatively expressed by the fact that commodity B is directly exchangeable with it. Its value is quantitatively expressed by the fact that a definite quantity of B is exchangeable with a definite quantity of A. In other words, the value of a commodity obtains inde-

pendent and definite expression, by taking the form of exchange value. When, at the beginning of this chapter, we said, in common parlance, that a commodity is both a use value and an exchange value, we were, accurately speaking, wrong. A commodity is a use value or object of utility, and a value. It manifests itself as this two-fold thing, that it is, as soon as its value assumes an independent form — viz., the form of exchange value. It never assumes this form when isolated, but only when placed in a value or exchange relation with another commodity of a different kind. When once we know this, such a mode of expression does no harm; it simply serves as an abbreviation.

Our analysis has shown, that the form or expression of the value of a commodity originates in the nature of value, and not that value and its magnitude originate in the mode of their expression as exchange value. This, however, is the delusion as well of the mercantilists and their recent revivers, Ferrier, Ganilh,[1] and others,[61] as also of their antipodes, the modern bagmen of Free-trade,[38] such as Bastiat. The mercantilists lay special stress on the qualitative aspect of the expression of value, and consequently on the equivalent form of commodities, which attains its full perfection in money. The modern hawkers of Free-trade, who must get rid of their article at any price, on the other hand, lay most stress on the quantitative aspect of the relative form of value. For them there consequently exists neither value, nor magnitude of value, anywhere except in its expression by means of the exchange relation of commodities, that is, in the daily list of prices current. Macleod, who has taken upon himself to dress up the confused ideas of Lombard Street in the most learned finery, is a successful cross between the superstitious mercantilists, and the enlightened Free-trade bagmen.[62]

A close scrutiny of the expression of the value of A in terms of B, contained in the equation expressing the value relation of A to B, has shown us that, within that relation, the bodily form of A figures only as a use value, the bodily form of B only as the form or aspect of value. The opposition or contrast existing internally in each commodity between use value and value, is, therefore, made evident externally by two commodities being placed in such relation to each other, that the

[1] F. L. A. Ferrier, sous-inspecteur des douanes, *Du gouvernement considéré dans ses rapports avec le commerce*, Paris, 1805; and Charles Ganilh, *Des Systèmes d'Économie Politique*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1821.

commodity whose value it is sought to express, figures directly as a mere use value, while the commodity in which that value is to be expressed, figures directly as mere exchange value. Hence the elementary form of value of a commodity is the elementary form in which the contrast contained in that commodity, between use value and value, becomes apparent.

Every product of labour is, in all states of society, a use value; but it is only at a definite historical epoch in a society's development that such a product becomes a commodity, viz., at the epoch when the labour spent on the production of a useful article becomes expressed as one of the objective qualities of that article, i. e., as its value. It therefore follows that the elementary value form is also the primitive form under which a product of labour appears historically as a commodity, and that the gradual transformation of such products into commodities, proceeds *pari passu* [a] with the development of the value form.

We perceive, at first sight, the deficiencies of the elementary form of value: it is a mere germ, which must undergo a series of metamorphoses before it can ripen into the price form.

The expression of the value of commodity A in terms of any other commodity B, merely distinguishes the value from the use value of A, and therefore places A merely in a relation of exchange with a single different commodity, B; but it is still far from expressing A's qualitative equality, and quantitative proportionality, to all commodities. To the elementary relative value form of a commodity, there corresponds the single equivalent form of one other commodity. Thus, in the relative expression of value of the linen, the coat assumes the form of equivalent, or of being directly exchangeable, only in relation to a single commodity, the linen.

Nevertheless, the elementary form of value passes by an easy transition into a more complete form. It is true that by means of the elementary form, the value of a commodity A becomes expressed in terms of one, and only one, other commodity. But that one may be a commodity of any kind, coat, iron, corn, or anything else. Therefore, according as A is placed in relation with one or the other, we get for one and the same commodity, different elementary expressions of value.[1] The number of such possible expressions is limited only by the

[1] In Homer, for instance, the value of an article is expressed in a series of different things. *Iliad*, VII, 472-75.

[a] side by side

number of the different kinds of commodities distinct from it. The isolated expression of A's value, is therefore convertible into a series, prolonged to any length, of the different elementary expressions of that value.

### B. Total or Expanded form of value

z Com. A = u Com. B or = v Com. C or = w Com. D or = x Com. E or = &c.

(20 yards of linen = 1 coat or = 10 lbs tea or = 40 lbs coffee or = 1 quarter corn or = 2 ounces gold or = $\frac{1}{2}$ ton iron or = &c.)

#### *1. The Expanded Relative form of value*

The value of a single commodity, the linen, for example, is now expressed in terms of numberless other elements of the world of commodities. Every other commodity now becomes a mirror of the linen's value.[1] It is thus, that for the first time, this value shows itself in its true light as a congelation of undifferentiated human labour. For the labour that creates it, now stands expressly revealed, as labour that ranks equally with every other sort of human labour, no matter what its form, whether tailoring, ploughing, mining, &c., and no matter, therefore, whether it is realised in coats, corn, iron, or gold. The linen, by virtue of the form of its value, now stands in a social relation,

[1] For this reason, we can speak of the coat value of the linen when its value is expressed in coats, or of its corn value when expressed in corn, and so on. Every such expression tells us, that what appears in the use values, coat, corn, &c., is the value of the linen. "The value of any commodity denoting its relation in exchange, we may speak of it as ... corn value, cloth value, according to the commodity with which it is compared; and hence there are a thousand different kinds of value, as many kinds of value as there are commodities in existence, and all are equally real and equally nominal" (*A Critical Dissertation on the Nature, Measures, and Causes of Value: chiefly in reference to the writings of Mr. Ricardo and his followers.* By the author of *Essays on the Formation, &c., of Opinions*, London, 1825, p. 39). S. Bailey, the author of this anonymous work, a work which in its day created much stir in England, fancied that, by thus pointing out the various relative expressions of one and the same value, he had proved the impossibility of any determination of the concept of value. However narrow his own views may have been, yet, that he laid his finger on some serious defects in the Ricardian theory, is proved by the animosity with which he was attacked by Ricardo's followers. See the *Westminster Review* for example.[63]

no longer with only one other kind of commodity, but with the whole world of commodities. As a commodity, it is a citizen of that world. At the same time, the interminable series of value equations implies, that as regards the value of a commodity, it is a matter of indifference under what particular form, or kind, of use value it appears.

In the first form, 20 yds of linen = 1 coat, it might, for ought that otherwise appears, be pure accident, that these two commodities are exchangeable in definite quantities. In the second form, on the contrary, we perceive at once the background that determines, and is essentially different from, this accidental appearance. The value of the linen remains unaltered in magnitude, whether expressed in coats, coffee, or iron, or in numberless different commodities, the property of as many different owners. The accidental relation between two individual commodity-owners disappears. It becomes plain, that it is not the exchange of commodities which regulates the magnitude of their value; but, on the contrary, that it is the magnitude of their value which controls their exchange proportions.

### 2. *The particular Equivalent form*

Each commodity, such as, coat, tea, corn, iron, &c., figures in the expression of value of the linen, as an equivalent, and, consequently, as a thing that is value. The bodily form of each of these commodities figures now as a particular equivalent form, one out of many. In the same way the manifold concrete useful kinds of labour, embodied in these different commodities, rank now as so many different forms of the realisation, or manifestation, of undifferentiated human labour.

### 3. *Defects of the Total or Expanded form of value*

In the first place, the relative expression of value is incomplete because the series representing it is interminable. The chain of which each equation of value is a link, is liable at any moment to be lengthened by each new kind of commodity that comes into existence and furnishes the material for a fresh expression of value. In the second place, it is a many-coloured mosaic of disparate and independent expressions of value. And lastly, if, as must be the case, the relative value of each commodity, in turn, becomes expressed in this expand-

ed form, we get for each of them a relative value form, different in every case, and consisting of an interminable series of expressions of value. The defects of the expanded relative value form are reflected in the corresponding equivalent form. Since the bodily form of each single commodity is one particular equivalent form amongst numberless others, we have, on the whole, nothing but fragmentary equivalent forms, each excluding the others. In the same way, also, the special, concrete, useful kind of labour embodied in each particular equivalent, is presented only as a particular kind of labour, and therefore not as an exhaustive representative of human labour generally. The latter, indeed, gains adequate manifestation in the totality of its manifold, particular, concrete forms. But, in that case, its expression in an infinite series is ever incomplete and deficient in unity.

The expanded relative value form is, however, nothing but the sum of the elementary relative expressions or equations of the first kind, such as

20 yards of linen = 1 coat
20 yards of linen = 10 lbs of tea, etc.

Each of these implies the corresponding inverted equation,

1 coat = 20 yards of linen
10 lbs of tea = 20 yards of linen, etc.

In fact, when a person exchanges his linen for many other commodities, and thus expresses its value in a series of other commodities, it necessarily follows, that the various owners of the latter exchange them for the linen, and consequently express the value of their various commodities in one and the same third commodity, the linen. If then, we reverse the series, 20 yards of linen = 1 coat or = 10 lbs. of tea, etc., that is to say, if we give expression to the converse relation already implied in the series, we get,

C. The General form of value

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ coat} \\ 10 \text{ lbs of tea} \\ 40 \text{ lbs of coffee} \\ 1 \text{ quarter of corn} \\ 2 \text{ ounces of gold} \\ \frac{1}{2} \text{ a ton of iron} \\ x \text{ com. A., etc.} \end{array}\right\} = 20 \text{ yards of linen}$$

### *1. The altered character of the form of value*

All commodities now express their value (1) in an elementary form, because in a single commodity; (2) with unity, because in one and the same commodity. This form of value is elementary and the same for all, therefore general.

The forms A and B were fit only to express the value of a commodity as something distinct from its use value or material form.

The first form, A, furnishes such equations as the following: — 1 coat = 20 yards of linen, 10 lbs of tea = 1/2 a ton of iron. The value of the coat is equated to linen, that of the tea to iron. But to be equated to linen, and again to iron, is to be as different as are linen and iron.This form, it is plain, occurs practically only in the first beginning, when the products of labour are converted into commodities by accidental and occasional exchanges.

The second form, B, distinguishes, in a more adequate manner than the first, the value of a commodity from its use value; for the value of the coat is there placed in contrast under all possible shapes with the bodily form of the coat; it is equated to linen, to iron, to tea, in short, to everything else, only not to itself, the coat. On the other hand, any general expression of value common to all is directly excluded; for, in the equation of value of each commodity, all other commodities now appear only under the form of equivalents. The expanded form of value comes into actual existence for the first time so soon as a particular product of labour, such as cattle, is no longer exceptionally, but habitually, exchanged for various other commodities.

The third and lastly developed form expresses the values of the whole world of commodities in terms of a single commodity set apart for the purpose, namely, the linen, and thus represents to us their values by means of their equality with linen. The value of every commodity is now, by being equated to linen, not only differentiated from its own use value, but from all other use values generally, and is, by that very fact, expressed as that which is common to all commodities. By this form, commodities are, for the first time, effectively brought into relation with one another as values, or made to appear as exchange values.

The two earlier forms either express the value of each commodity in terms of a single commodity of a different kind, or in a series of many such commodities. In both cases, it is, so to say, the special business of each single commodity to find an expression for its value, and

this it does without the help of the others. These others, with respect to the former, play the passive parts of equivalents. The general form of value, C, results from the joint action of the whole world of commodities, and from that alone. A commodity can acquire a general expression of its value only by all other commodities, simultaneously with it, expressing their values in the same equivalent; and every new commodity must follow suit. It thus becomes evident that, since the existence of commodities as values is purely social, this social existence can be expressed by the totality of their social relations alone, and consequently that the form of their value must be a socially recognised form.

All commodities being equated to linen now appear not only as qualitatively equal as values generally, but also as values whose magnitudes are capable of comparison. By expressing the magnitudes of their values in one and the same material, the linen, those magnitudes are also compared with each other. For instance, 10 lbs of tea = 20 yards of linen, and 40 lbs of coffee = 20 yards of linen. Therefore, 10 lbs of tea = 40 lbs of coffee. In other words, there is contained in 1 lb. of coffee only one-fourth as much substance of value—labour—as is contained in 1 lb. of tea.

The general form of relative value, embracing the whole world of commodities, converts the single commodity that is excluded from the rest, and made to play the part of equivalent—here the linen—into the universal equivalent. The bodily form of the linen is now the form assumed in common by the values of all commodities; it therefore becomes directly exchangeable with all and every of them. The substance linen becomes the visible incarnation, the social chrysalis state of every kind of human labour. Weaving, which is the labour of certain private individuals producing a particular article, linen, acquires in consequence a social character, the character of equality with all other kinds of labour. The innumerable equations of which the general form of value is composed, equate in turn the labour embodied in the linen to that embodied in every other commodity, and they thus convert weaving into the general form of manifestation of undifferentiated human labour. In this manner the labour realised in the values of commodities is presented not only under its negative aspect, under which abstraction is made from every concrete form and useful property of actual work, but its own positive nature is made to reveal itself expressly. The general value form is the reduction of all kinds of actual labour to their common character of being

human labour generally, of being the expenditure of human labour power.

The general value form, which represents all products of labour as mere congelations of undifferentiated human labour, shows by its very structure that it is the social resumé of the world of commodities. That form consequently makes it indisputably evident that in the world of commodities the character possessed by all labour of being *human* labour constitutes its specific social character.

### 2. *The interdependent development of the Relative form of value, and of the Equivalent form*

The degree of development of the relative form of value corresponds to that of the equivalent form. But we must bear in mind that the development of the latter is only the expression and result of the development of the former.

The primary or isolated relative form of value of one commodity converts some other commodity into an isolated equivalent. The expanded form of relative value, which is the expression of the value of one commodity in terms of all other commodities, endows those other commodities with the character of particular equivalents differing in kind. And lastly, a particular kind of commodity acquires the character of universal equivalent, because all other commodities make it the material in which they uniformly express their value.

The antagonism between the relative form of value and the equivalent form, the two poles of the value form, is developed concurrently with that form itself.

The first form, 20 yds of linen = one coat, already contains this antagonism, without as yet fixing it. According as we read this equation forwards or backwards, the parts played by the linen and the coat are different. In the one case the relative value of the linen is expressed in the coat, in the other case the relative value of the coat is expressed in the linen. In this first form of value, therefore, it is difficult to grasp the polar contrast.

Form B shows that only one single commodity at a time can completely expand its relative value, and that it acquires this expanded form only because, and in so far as, all other commodities are, with respect to it, equivalents. Here we cannot reverse the equation, as we can the equation 20 yds of linen = 1 coat, without altering its gene-

ral character, and converting it from the expanded form of value into the general form of value.

Finally, the form C gives to the world of commodities a general social relative form of value, because, and in so far as, thereby all commodities, with the exception of one, are excluded from the equivalent form. A single commodity, the linen, appears therefore to have acquired the character of direct exchangeability with every other commodity because, and in so far as, this character is denied to every other commodity.[1)]

The commodity that figures as universal equivalent, is, on the other hand, excluded from the relative value form. If the linen, or any other commodity serving as universal equivalent, were, at the same time, to share in the relative form of value, it would have to serve as its own equivalent. We should then have 20 yds of linen = 20 yds of linen; this tautology expresses neither value, nor magnitude of value. In order to express the relative value of the universal equivalent, we must rather reverse the form C. This equivalent has no relative form of value in common with other commodities, but its value is relatively expressed by a never ending series of other commodities. Thus, the expanded form of relative value, or form B, now shows itself as the specific form of relative value for the equivalent commodity.

[1)] It is by no means self-evident that this character of direct and universal exchangeability is, so to speak, a polar one, and as intimately connected with its opposite pole, the absence of direct exchangeability, as the positive pole of the magnet is with its negative counterpart. It may therefore be imagined that all commodities can simultaneously have this character impressed upon them, just as it can be imagined that all Catholics can be popes together. It is, of course, highly desirable in the eyes of the petit bourgeois, for whom the production of commodities is the *nec plus ultra*[a] of human freedom and individual independence, that the inconveniences resulting from this character of commodities not being directly exchangeable, should be removed. Proudhon's socialism is a working out of this Philistine Utopia, a form of socialism which, as I have elsewhere shown,[64] does not possess even the merit of originality. Long before his time, the task was attempted with much better success by Gray, Bray, and others. But, for all that, wisdom of this kind flourishes even now in certain circles under the name of "science". Never has any school played more tricks with the word science, than that of Proudhon, for

"wo Begriffe fehlen,
Da stellt zur rechten Zeit ein Wort sich ein".[65]

[a] summit

### *3. Transition from the General form of value to the Money form*

The universal equivalent form is a form of value in general. It can, therefore, be assumed by any commodity. On the other hand, if a commodity be found to have assumed the universal equivalent form (form C), this is only because and in so far as it has been excluded from the rest of all other commodities as their equivalent, and that by their own act. And from the moment that this exclusion becomes finally restricted to one particular commodity, from that moment only, the general form of relative value of the world of commodities obtains real consistence and general social validity.

The particular commodity, with whose bodily form the equivalent form is thus socially identified, now becomes the money commodity, or serves as money. It becomes the special social function of that commodity, and consequently its social monopoly, to play within the world of commodities the part of the universal equivalent. Amongst the commodities which, in form B, figure as particular equivalents of the linen, and, in form C, express in common their relative values in linen, this foremost place has been attained by one in particular—namely, gold. If, then, in form C we replace the linen by gold, we get,

D. The Money form

$$\left.\begin{array}{rl} 20 \text{ yards of linen} & = \\ 1 \text{ coat} & = \\ 10 \text{ lbs of tea} & = \\ 40 \text{ lbs of coffee} & = \\ 1 \text{ qr. of corn} & = \\ \frac{1}{2} \text{ a ton of iron} & = \\ x \text{ commodity A} & = \end{array}\right\} \quad 2 \text{ ounces of gold}$$

In passing from form A to form B, and from the latter to form C, the changes are fundamental. On the other hand, there is no difference between forms C and D, except that, in the latter, gold has assumed the equivalent form in the place of linen. Gold is in form D, what linen was in form C—the universal equivalent. The progress consists in this alone, that the character of direct and universal exchangeability—in other words, that the universal equivalent

form — has now, by social custom, become finally identified with the substance, gold.

Gold is now money with reference to all other commodities only because it was previously, with reference to them, a simple commodity. Like all other commodities, it was also capable of serving as an equivalent, either as simple equivalent in isolated exchanges, or as particular equivalent by the side of others. Gradually it began to serve, within varying limits, as universal equivalent. So soon as it monopolises this position in the expression of value for the world of commodities, it becomes the money commodity, and then, and not till then, does form D become distinct from form C, and the general form of value become changed into the money form.

The elementary expression of the relative value of a single commodity, such as linen, in terms of the commodity, such as gold, that plays the part of money, is the price form of that commodity. The price form of the linen is therefore

20 yards of linen = 2 ounces of gold, or, if 2 ounces of gold when coined are £2,20 yards of linen = £2.

The difficulty in forming a concept of the money form, consists in clearly comprehending the universal equivalent form, and as a necessary corollary, the general form of value, form C. The latter is deducible from form B, the expanded form of value, the essential component element of which, we saw, is form A, 20 yards of linen = 1 coat or x commodity A = y commodity B. The simple commodity form is therefore the germ of the money form.

## SECTION 4.—THE FETISHISM OF COMMODITIES AND THE SECRET THEREOF

A commodity appears, at first sight, a very trivial thing, and easily understood. Its analysis shows that it is, in reality, a very queer thing, abounding in metaphysical subtleties and theological niceties. So far as it is a value in use, there is nothing mysterious about it, whether we consider it from the point of view that by its properties it is capable of satisfying human wants, or from the point that those properties are the product of human labour. It is as clear as noon-day, that man, by his industry, changes the forms of the materials furnished by Nature, in such a way as to make them useful to him. The form of wood, for

instance, is altered, by making a table out of it. Yet, for all that, the table continues to be that common, every-day thing, wood. But, so soon as it steps forth as a commodity, it is changed into something transcendent. It not only stands with its feet on the ground, but, in relation to all other commodities, it stands on its head, and evolves out of its wooden brain grotesque ideas, far more wonderful than "table-turning" ever was.[a]

The mystical character of commodities does not originate, therefore, in their use value. Just as little does it proceed from the nature of the determining factors of value. For, in the first place, however varied the useful kinds of labour, or productive activities, may be, it is a physiological fact, that they are functions of the human organism, and that each such function, whatever may be its nature or form, is essentially the expenditure of human brain, nerves, muscles, &c. Secondly, with regard to that which forms the ground-work for the quantitative determination of value, namely, the duration of that expenditure, or the quantity of labour, it is quite clear that there is a palpable difference between its quantity and quality. In all states of society, the labour time that it costs to produce the means of subsistence, must necessarily be an object of interest to mankind, though not of equal interest in different stages of development.[1] And lastly, from the moment that men in any way work for one another, their labour assumes a social form.

Whence, then, arises the enigmatical character of the product of labour, so soon as it assumes the form of commodities? Clearly from this form itself. The equality of all sorts of human labour is expressed objectively by their products all being equally values; the measure of the expenditure of labour power by the duration of that expenditure, takes the form of the quantity of value of the products of labour; and finally, the mutual relations of the producers, within which the social character of their labour affirms itself, take the form of a social relation between the products.

A commodity is therefore a mysterious thing, simply because in it

[1] Among the ancient Germans the unit for measuring land was what could be harvested in a day, and was called Tagwerk, Tagwanne (*jurnale*, or *terra jurnalis*, or *diurnalis*), *Mannsmaad*, &c. (See G. L. von Maurer, *Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark—, &c. Verfassung*, München, 1854, [p.]p. 129-33.)

[a] In the German editions there is the following footnote here: "One may recall that China and the tables began to dance when the rest of the world appeared to be standing still—*pour encourager les autres* [to encourage the others]." [66]

the social character of men's labour appears to them as an objective character stamped upon the product of that labour; because the relation of the producers to the sum total of their own labour is presented to them as a social relation, existing not between themselves, but between the products of their labour. This is the reason why the products of labour become commodities, social things whose qualities are at the same time perceptible and imperceptible by the senses. In the same way the light from an object is perceived by us not as the subjective excitation of our optic nerve, but as the objective form of something outside the eye itself. But, in the act of seeing, there is at all events, an actual passage of light from one thing to another, from the external object to the eye. There is a physical relation between physical things. But it is different with commodities. There, the existence of the things *quâ* commodities, and the value relation between the products of labour which stamps them as commodities, have absolutely no connection with their physical properties and with the material relations arising therefrom. There it is a definite social relation between men, that assumes, in their eyes, the fantastic form of a relation between things. In order, therefore, to find an analogy, we must have recourse to the mist-enveloped regions of the religious world. In that world the productions of the human brain appear as independent beings endowed with life, and entering into relation both with one another and the human race. So it is in the world of commodities with the products of men's hands. This I call the Fetishism which attaches itself to the products of labour, so soon as they are produced as commodities, and which is therefore inseparable from the production of commodities.

This Fetishism of commodities has its origin, as the foregoing analysis has already shown, in the peculiar social character of the labour that produces them.

As a general rule, articles of utility become commodities, only because they are products of the labour of private individuals or groups of individuals who carry on their work independently of each other. The sum total of the labour of all these private individuals forms the aggregate labour of society. Since the producers do not come into social contact with each other until they exchange their products, the specific social character of each producer's labour does not show itself except in the act of exchange. In other words, the labour of the individual asserts itself as a part of the labour of society, only by means of the relations which the act of exchange establishes directly between

the products, and indirectly, through them, between the producers. To the latter, therefore, the relations connecting the labour of one individual with that of the rest appear, not as direct social relations between individuals at work, but as what they really are, material relations between persons and social relations between things. It is only by being exchanged that the products of labour acquire, as values, one uniform social status, distinct from their varied forms of existence as objects of utility. This division of a product into a useful thing and a value becomes practically important, only when exchange has acquired such an extension that useful articles are produced for the purpose of being exchanged, and their character as values has therefore to be taken into account, beforehand, during production. From this moment the labour of the individual producer acquires socially a twofold character. On the one hand, it must, as a definite useful kind of labour, satisfy a definite social want, and thus hold its place as part and parcel of the collective labour of all, as a branch of a social division of labour that has sprung up spontaneously. On the other hand, it can satisfy the manifold wants of the individual producer himself, only in so far as the mutual exchangeability of all kinds of useful private labour is an established social fact, and therefore the private useful labour of each producer ranks on an equality with that of all others. The equalisation of the most different kinds of labour can be the result only of an abstraction from their inequalities, or of reducing them to their common denominator, viz., expenditure of human labour power or human labour in the abstract. The twofold social character of the labour of the individual appears to him, when reflected in his brain, only under those forms which are impressed upon that labour in everyday practice by the exchange of products. In this way, the character that his own labour possesses of being socially useful takes the form of the condition, that the product must be not only useful, but useful for others, and the social character that his particular labour has of being the equal of all other particular kinds of labour, takes the form that all the physically different articles that are the products of labour, have one common quality, viz., that of having value.

Hence, when we bring the products of our labour into relation with each other as values, it is not because we see in these articles the material receptacles of homogeneous human labour. Quite the contrary: whenever, by an exchange, we equate as values our different products, by that very act, we also equate, as human labour, the different

kinds of labour expended upon them. We are not aware of this, nevertheless we do it.[1] Value, therefore, does not stalk about with a label describing what it is. It is value, rather, that converts every product into a social hieroglyphic. Later on, we try to decipher the hieroglyphic, to get behind the secret of our own social products; for to stamp an object of utility as a value, is just as much a social product as language. The recent scientific discovery, that the products of labour, so far as they are values, are but material expressions of the human labour spent in their production, marks, indeed, an epoch in the history of the development of the human race, but, by no means, dissipates the mist through which the social character of labour appears to us to be an objective character of the products themselves. The fact, that in the particular form of production with which we are dealing, viz., the production of commodities, the specific social character of private labour carried on independently, consists in the equality of every kind of that labour, by virtue of its being human labour, which character, therefore, assumes in the product the form of value — this fact appears to the producers, notwithstanding the discovery above referred to, to be just as real and final, as the fact, that, after the discovery by science of the component gases of air, the atmosphere itself remained unaltered.

What, first of all, practically concerns producers when they make an exchange, is the question, how much of some other product they get for their own? in what proportions the products are exchangeable? When these proportions have, by custom, attained a certain stability, they appear to result from the nature of the products, so that, for instance, one ton of iron and two ounces of gold appear as naturally to be of equal value as a pound of gold and a pound of iron in spite of their different physical and chemical qualities appear to be of equal weight. The character of having value, when once impressed upon products, obtains fixity only by reason of their acting and reacting upon each other as quantities of value. These quantities vary continually, independently of the will, foresight and action of the producers. To them, their own social action takes the form of the action of objects, which rule the producers instead of being ruled by them. It

[1] When, therefore, Galiani says: Value is a relation between persons — "La Ricchezza è una ragione tra due persone", — he ought to have added: a relation between persons expressed as a relation between things (Galiani, *Della Moneta*, p. 221, V. III of Custodi's collection of *Scrittori Classici Italiani di Economia Politica, Parte Moderna*, Milano, 1803).

requires a fully developed production of commodities before, from accumulated experience alone, the scientific conviction springs up, that all the different kinds of private labour, which are carried on independently of each other, and yet as spontaneously developed branches of the social division of labour, are continually being reduced to the quantitative proportions in which society requires them. And why? Because, in the midst of all the accidental and ever fluctuating exchange relations between the products, the labour time socially necessary for their production forcibly asserts itself like an overriding law of Nature. The law of gravity thus asserts itself when a house falls about our ears.[1] The determination of the magnitude of value by labour time is therefore a secret, hidden under the apparent fluctuations in the relative values of commodities. Its discovery, while removing all appearance of mere accidentality from the determination of the magnitude of the values of products, yet in no way alters the mode in which that determination takes place.

Man's reflections on the forms of social life, and consequently, also, his scientific analysis of those forms, take a course directly opposite to that of their actual historical development. He begins, *post festum*,[a] with the results of the process of development ready to hand before him. The characters that stamp products as commodities, and whose establishment is a necessary preliminary to the circulation of commodities, have already acquired the stability of natural, self-understood forms of social life, before man seeks to decipher, not their historical character, for in his eyes they are immutable, but their meaning. Consequently it was the analysis of the prices of commodities that alone led to the determination of the magnitude of value, and it was the common expression of all commodities in money that alone led to the establishment of their characters as values. It is, however, just this ultimate money form of the world of commodities that actually conceals, instead of disclosing, the social character of private labour, and the social relations between the individual producers. When I state that coats or boots stand in a relation to linen, because it is the uni-

[1] "What are we to think of a law that asserts itself only by periodical revolutions? It is just nothing but a law of Nature, founded on the want of knowledge of those whose action is the subject of it" (Friedrich Engels, *Umrisse zu einer Kritik der Nationalökonomie*, in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, edited by Arnold Ruge and Karl Marx, Paris, 1844 [present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 433-34]).

[a] After the feast, i. e. after the events reflected on have taken place.

versal incarnation of abstract human labour, the absurdity of the statement is self-evident. Nevertheless, when the producers of coats and boots compare those articles with linen, or, what is the same thing, with gold or silver, as the universal equivalent, they express the relation between their own private labour and the collective labour of society in the same absurd form.

The categories of bourgeois economy consist of such like forms. They are forms of thought expressing with social validity the conditions and relations of a definite, historically determined mode of production, viz., the production of commodities. The whole mystery of commodities, all the magic and necromancy that surrounds the products of labour as long as they take the form of commodities, vanishes therefore, so soon as we come to other forms of production.

Since Robinson Crusoe's experiences are a favourite theme with political economists,[1] let us take a look at him on his island. Moderate though he be, yet some few wants he has to satisfy, and must therefore do a little useful work of various sorts, such as making tools and furniture, taming goats, fishing and hunting. Of his prayers and the like we take no account, since they are a source of pleasure to him, and he looks upon them as so much recreation. In spite of the variety of his work, he knows that his labour, whatever its form, is but the activity of one and the same Robinson, and consequently, that it consists of nothing but different modes of human labour. Necessity itself compels him to apportion his time accurately between his different kinds of work. Whether one kind occupies a greater space in his general activity than another, depends on the difficulties, greater or less as the case may be, to be overcome in attaining the useful effect aimed at. This our friend Robinson soon learns by experience, and having rescued a watch, ledger, and pen and ink from the wreck, commences, like a true-born Briton, to keep a set of books. His stock-book contains a list of the objects of utility that belong to him, of the operations necessary for their production; and lastly, of the labour time that defi-

[1] Even Ricardo has his stories *à la* Robinson.[67] "He makes the primitive hunter and the primitive fisher straightway, as owners of commodities, exchange fish and game in the proportion in which labour time is incorporated in these exchange values. On this occasion he commits the anachronism of making these men apply to the calculation, so far as their implements have to be taken into account, the annuity tables in current use on the London Exchange in the year 1817. 'The parallelograms of Mr. Owen'[68] appear to be the only form of society, besides the bourgeois form, with which he was acquainted" (Karl Marx, *Zur Kritik*, &c., pp. 38, 39 [present edition, Vol. 29, p. 300]).

nite quantities of those objects have, on an average, cost him. All the relations between Robinson and the objects that form this wealth of his own creation, are here so simple and clear as to be intelligible without exertion, even to Mr. Sedley Taylor.[69] And yet those relations contain all that is essential to the determination of value.

Let us now transport ourselves from Robinson's island bathed in light to the European Middle Ages shrouded in darkness. Here, instead of the independent man, we find everyone dependent, serfs and lords, vassals and suzerains, laymen and clergy. Personal dependence here characterises the social relations of production just as much as it does the other spheres of life organised on the basis of that production. But for the very reason that personal dependence forms the groundwork of society, there is no necessity for labour and its products to assume a fantastic form different from their reality. They take the shape, in the transactions of society, of services in kind and payments in kind. Here the particular and natural form of labour, and not, as in a society based on production of commodities, its general abstract form is the immediate social form of labour. Compulsory labour is just as properly measured by time, as commodity-producing labour; but every serf knows that what he expends in the service of his lord, is a definite quantity of his own personal labour power. The tithe to be rendered to the priest is more matter of fact than his blessing. No matter, then, what we may think of the parts played by the different classes of people themselves in this society, the social relations between individuals in the performance of their labour, appear at all events as their own mutual personal relations, and are not disguised under the shape of social relations between the products of labour.

For an example of labour in common or directly associated labour, we have no occasion to go back to that spontaneously developed form which we find on the threshold of the history of all civilised races.[1)]

[1)] "A ridiculous presumption has latterly got abroad that common property in its primitive form is specifically a Slavonian, or even exclusively Russian form.[70] It is the primitive form that we can prove to have existed amongst Romans, Teutons, and Celts, and even to this day we find numerous examples, ruins though they be, in India. A more exhaustive study of Asiatic, and especially of Indian forms of common property, would show how from the different forms of primitive common property, different forms of its dissolution have been developed. Thus, for instance, the various original types of Roman and Teutonic private property are deducible from different forms of Indian common property" (Karl Marx, *Zur Kritik*, &c., p. 10 [present edition, Vol. 29, p. 275]).

We have one close at hand in the patriarchal industries of a peasant family, that produces corn, cattle, yarn, linen, and clothing for home use. These different articles are, as regards the family, so many products of its labour, but as between themselves, they are not commodities. The different kinds of labour, such as tillage, cattle tending, spinning, weaving and making clothes, which result in the various products, are in themselves, and such as they are, direct social functions, because functions of the family, which, just as much as a society based on the production of commodities, possesses a spontaneously developed system of division of labour. The distribution of the work within the family, and the regulation of the labour time of the several members, depend as well upon differences of age and sex as upon natural conditions varying with the seasons. The labour power of each individual, by its very nature, operates in this case merely as a definite portion of the whole labour power of the family, and therefore, the measure of the expenditure of individual labour power by its duration, appears here by its very nature as a social character of their labour.

Let us now picture to ourselves, by way of change, a community of free individuals, carrying on their work with the means of production in common, in which the labour power of all the different individuals is consciously applied as the combined labour power of the community. All the characteristics of Robinson's labour are here repeated, but with this difference, that they are social, instead of individual. Everything produced by him was exclusively the result of his own personal labour, and therefore simply an object of use for himself. The total product of our community is a social product. One portion serves as fresh means of production and remains social. But another portion is consumed by the members as means of subsistence. A distribution of this portion amongst them is consequently necessary. The mode of this distribution will vary with the productive organisation of the community, and the degree of historical development attained by the producers. We will assume, but merely for the sake of a parallel with the production of commodities, that the share of each individual producer in the means of subsistence is determined by his labour time. Labour time would, in that case, play a double part. Its apportionment in accordance with a definite social plan maintains the proper proportion between the different kinds of work to be done and the various wants of the community. On the other hand, it also serves as a measure of the portion of the common labour borne by each individual, and of his share in the part of the total product destined for in-

dividual consumption. The social relations of the individual producers, with regard both to their labour and to its products, are in this case perfectly simple and intelligible, and that with regard not only to production but also to distribution.

The religious world is but the reflex of the real world. And for a society based upon the production of commodities, in which the producers in general enter into social relations with one another by treating their products as commodities and values, whereby they reduce their individual private labour to the standard of homogeneous human labour — for such a society, Christianity with its *cultus* of abstract man, more especially in its bourgeois developments, Protestantism, Deism, &c., is the most fitting form of religion. In the ancient Asiatic and other ancient modes of production, we find that the conversion of products into commodities, and therefore the conversion of men into producers of commodities, holds a subordinate place, which, however, increases in importance as the primitive communities approach nearer and nearer to their dissolution. Trading nations, properly so called, exist in the ancient world only in its interstices, like the gods of Epicurus in the Intermundia,[71] or like Jews in the pores of Polish society. Those ancient social organisms of production are, as compared with bourgeois society, extremely simple and transparent. But they are founded either on the immature development of man individually, who has not yet severed the umbilical cord that unites him with his fellowmen in a primitive tribal community, or upon direct relations of subjection. They can arise and exist only when the development of the productive power of labour has not risen beyond a low stage, and when, therefore, the social relations within the sphere of material life, between man and man, and between man and Nature, are correspondingly narrow. This narrowness is reflected in the ancient worship of Nature, and in the other elements of the popular religions. The religious reflex of the real world can, in any case, only then finally vanish, when the practical relations of every-day life offer to man none but perfectly intelligible and reasonable relations with regard to his fellowmen and to Nature.

The life-process of society, which is based on the process of material production, does not strip off its mystical veil until it is treated as production by freely associated men, and is consciously regulated by them in accordance with a settled plan. This, however, demands for society a certain material ground-work or set of conditions of exist-

ence which in their turn are the spontaneous product of a long and painful process of development.

Political economy has indeed analysed, however incompletely,[1] value and its magnitude, and has discovered what lies beneath these forms. But it has never once asked the question why labour is represented by the value of its product and labour time by the magnitude of that value.[2] These formulæ, which bear it stamped upon them in

[1] The insufficiency of Ricardo's analysis of the magnitude of value, and his analysis is by far the best, will appear from the 3rd and 4th books of this work.[72] As regards value in general, it is the weak point of the classical school of political economy that it nowhere, expressly and with full consciousness, distinguishes between labour, as it appears in the value of a product and the same labour, as it appears in the use value of that product. Of course the distinction is practically made, since this school treats labour, at one time under its quantitative aspect, at another under its qualitative aspect. But it has not the least idea, that when the difference between various kinds of labour is treated as purely quantitative, their qualitative unity or equality, and therefore their reduction to abstract human labour, is implied. For instance, Ricardo declares that he agrees with Destutt de Tracy in this proposition: "As it is certain that our physical and moral faculties are alone our original riches, the employment of those faculties, labour of some kind, is our only original treasure, and it is always from this employment that all those things are created, which we call riches... It is certain, too, that all those things only represent the labour which has created them, and if they have a value, or even two distinct values, they can only derive them from that (the value) of the labour from which they emanate" (Ricardo, *The Principles of Pol. Econ.*, 3 Ed., London, 1821, p. 334[73]). We would here only point out, that Ricardo puts his own more profound interpretation upon the words of Destutt. What the latter really says is, that on the one hand all things which constitute wealth "represent the labour that creates them", but that on the other hand, they acquire their "two different values" (use value and exchange value) from "the value of labour". He thus falls into the commonplace error of the vulgar economists, who assume the value of one commodity (in this case labour) in order to determine the values of the rest. But Ricardo reads him as if he had said, that labour (not the value of labour) is embodied both in use value and exchange value. Nevertheless, Ricardo himself pays so little attention to the twofold character of the labour which has a twofold embodiment, that he devotes the whole of his chapter on "Value and Riches, Their Distinctive Properties", to a laborious examination of the trivialities of a J. B. Say. And at the finish he is quite astonished to find that Destutt on the one hand agrees with him as to labour being the source of value, and on the other hand with J. B. Say as to the notion of value.

[2] It is one of the chief failings of classical economy that it has never succeeded, by means of its analysis of commodities, and, in particular, of their value, in discovering that form under which value becomes exchange value. Even Adam Smith and Ricardo, the best representatives of the school, treat the form of value as a thing of no importance, as having no connection with the inherent nature of commodities. The reason for this is not solely because their attention is entirely absorbed in the analysis of the magnitude of value. It lies deeper. The value form of the product of labour is not only the most abstract, but is also the most universal form, taken by the product in bour-

unmistakable letters that they belong to a state of society, in which the process of production has the mastery over man, instead of being controlled by him, such formulæ appear to the bourgeois intellect to be as much a self-evident necessity imposed by Nature as productive labour itself. Hence forms of social production that preceded the bourgeois form, are treated by the bourgeoisie in much the same way as the Fathers of the Church [75] treated pre-Christian religions.[1)]

geois production, and stamps that production as a particular species of social production, and thereby gives it its special historical character. If then we treat this mode of production as one eternally fixed by Nature for every state of society, we necessarily overlook that which is the *differentia specifica* of the value form, and consequently of the commodity form, and of its further developments, money form, capital form, &c. We consequently find that economists, who are thoroughly agreed as to labour time being the measure of the magnitude of value, have the most strange and contradictory ideas of money, the perfected form of the general equivalent. This is seen in a striking manner when they treat of banking, where the commonplace definitions of money will no longer hold water. This led to the rise of a restored mercantile system (Ganilh, &c.),[61] which sees in value nothing but a social form, or rather the unsubstantial ghost of that form. Once for all I may here state, that by classical political economy, I understand that economy which, since the time of W. Petty, has investigated the real relations of production in bourgeois society, in contradistinction to vulgar economy, which deals with appearances only, ruminates without ceasing on the materials long since provided by scientific economy, and there seeks plausible explanations of the most obtrusive phenomena, for bourgeois daily use, but for the rest, confines itself to systematising in a pedantic way, and proclaiming for everlasting truths, the trite ideas held by the self-complacent bourgeoisie with regard to their own world, to them the best of all possible worlds.[74]

1) "Economists [76] have a singular method of procedure. There are only two kinds of institutions for them, artificial and natural. The institutions of feudalism are artificial institutions, those of the bourgeoisie are natural institutions. In this they resemble the theologians, who likewise establish two kinds of religion. Every religion which is not theirs is an invention of men, while their own is an emanation from God. ... Thus there has been history, but there is no longer any" (Karl Marx, *Misère de la Philosophie. Réponse à la Philosophie de la Misère par M. Proudhon*, 1847, p. 113 [present edition, Vol. 6, p. 174]). Truly comical is M. Bastiat, who imagines that the ancient Greeks and Romans lived by plunder alone.[77] But when people plunder for centuries, there must always be something at hand for them to seize; the objects of plunder must be continually reproduced. It would thus appear that even Greeks and Romans had some process of production, consequently, an economy, which just as much constituted the material basis of their world, as bourgeois economy constitutes that of our modern world. Or perhaps Bastiat means, that a mode of production based on slavery is based on a system of plunder. In that case he treads on dangerous ground. If a giant thinker like Aristotle erred in his appreciation of slave labour, why should a dwarf economist like Bastiat be right in his appreciation of wage labour? — I seize this opportunity of shortly answering an objection taken by a German paper in America, to my work, *Zur Kritik der Pol. Oekonomie*, 1859.[78] In the estimation of that paper, my view that each

To what extent some economists are misled by the Fetishism inherent in commodities, or by the objective appearance of the social characteristics of labour, is shown, amongst other ways, by the dull and tedious quarrel over the part played by Nature in the formation of exchange value.[79] Since exchange value is a definite social manner of expressing the amount of labour bestowed upon an object, Nature has no more to do with it, than it has in fixing the course of exchange.

The mode of production in which the product takes the form of a commodity, or is produced directly for exchange, is the most general and most embryonic form of bourgeois production. It therefore makes its appearance at an early date in history, though not in the same predominating and characteristic manner as now-a-days. Hence its Fetish character is comparatively easy to be seen through. But when we come to more concrete forms, even this appearance of simplicity vanishes. Whence arose the illusions of the monetary system? [80] To it gold and silver, when serving as money, did not represent a social relation between producers, but were natural objects with strange social properties. And modern economy, which looks down with such disdain on the monetary system, does not its superstition come out as clear as noon-day, whenever it treats of capital? How long is it since economy discarded the physiocratic illusion, that rents grow out of the soil and not out of society?

But not to anticipate, we will content ourselves with yet another example relating to the commodity form. Could commodities themselves speak, they would say: Our use value may be a thing that interests men. It is no part of us as objects. What, however, does belong to

special mode of production and the social relations corresponding to it, in short, that the economic structure of society, is the real basis on which the juridical and political superstructure is raised, and to which definite social forms of thought correspond; that the mode of production determines the character of the social, political, and intellectual life generally [see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 263], all this is very true for our own times, in which material interests preponderate, but not for the Middle Ages, in which Catholicism, nor for Athens and Rome, where politics reigned supreme. In the first place it strikes one as an odd thing for any one to suppose that these well-worn phrases about the Middle Ages and the ancient world are unknown to anyone else. This much, however, is clear, that the Middle Ages could not live on Catholicism, nor the ancient world on politics. On the contrary, it is the mode in which they gained a livelihood that explains why here politics, and there Catholicism, played the chief part. For the rest, it requires but a slight acquaintance with the history of the Roman republic, for example, to be aware that its secret history is the history of its landed property. On the other hand, Don Quixote long ago paid the penalty for wrongly imagining that knight errantry was compatible with all economic forms of society.

us as objects, is our value. Our natural intercourse as commodities proves it. In the eyes of each other we are nothing but exchange values. Now listen how those commodities speak through the mouth of the economist.

"Value"— (i. e., exchange value) "is a property of things, riches"- (i. e., use value) "of man. Value, in this sense, necessarily implies exchanges, riches do not."[1]

"Riches" (use value) "are the attribute of men, value is the attribute of commodities. A man or a community is rich, a pearl or a diamond is valuable..." A pearl or a diamond is valuable as a pearl or a diamond.[2]

So far no chemist has ever discovered exchange value either in a pearl or a diamond. The economic discoverers of this chemical element, who by-the-bye lay special claim to critical acumen, find however that the use value of objects belongs to them independently of their material properties, while their value, on the other hand, forms a part of them as objects.[81] What confirms them in this view, is the peculiar circumstance that the use value of objects is realised without exchange, by means of a direct relation between the objects and man, while, on the other hand, their value is realised only by exchange, that is, by means of a social process. Who fails here to call to mind our good friend, Dogberry, who informs neighbour Seacoal,[82] that, "To be a well-favoured man is the gift of fortune; but reading and writing comes by Nature."[3]

## Chapter II

### EXCHANGE

It is plain that commodities cannot go to market and make exchanges of their own account. We must, therefore, have recourse to their guardians, who are also their owners. Commodities are things, and therefore without power of resistance against man. If they are wanting in docility he can use force[83]; in other words, he can take posses-

[1] *Observations on certain verbal disputes in Pol. Econ., particularly relating to value and to demand and supply*, London, 1821, p. 16.

[2] S. Bailey, l. c., p. 165.

[3] The author of *Observations* and S. Bailey accuse Ricardo of converting exchange value from something relative into something absolute. The opposite is the fact. He has explained the apparent relation between objects, such as diamonds and pearls, in which relation they appear as exchange values, and disclosed the true relation hidden

sion of them.[1] In order that these objects may enter into relation with each other as commodities, their guardians must place themselves in relation to one another, as persons whose will resides in those objects, and must behave in such a way that each does not appropriate the commodity of the other, and part with his own, except by means of an act done by mutual consent. They must, therefore, mutually recognise in each other the rights of private proprietors. This juridical relation, which thus expresses itself in a contract, whether such contract be part of a developed legal system or not, is a relation between two wills, and is but the reflex of the real economic relation between the two. It is this economic relation that determines the subject-matter comprised in each such juridical act.[2] The persons exist for one another merely as representatives of, and, therefore, as owners of, commodities. In the course of our investigation we shall find, in general, that the characters who appear on the economic stage are but the personifications of the economic relations that exist between them.

What chiefly distinguishes a commodity from its owner is the fact, that it looks upon every other commodity as but the form of appearance of its own value. A born leveller [85] and a cynic, it is always ready to exchange not only soul, but body, with any and every other commodity, be the same more repulsive than Maritornes herself.[86] The owner makes up for this lack in the commodity of a sense of the concrete, by his own five and more senses. His commodity possesses for himself no immediate use value. Otherwise, he would not bring it to the market. It has use value for others; but for himself its only direct use value is that of being a depository of exchange value, and, conse-

behind the appearances, namely, their relation to each other as mere expressions of human labour. If the followers of Ricardo answer Bailey somewhat rudely, and by no means convincingly, the reason is to be sought in this, that they were unable to find in Ricardo's own works any key to the hidden relations existing between value and its form, exchange value.

[1] In the 12th century, so renowned for its piety, they included amongst commodities some very delicate things. Thus a French poet of the period enumerates amongst the goods to be found in the market of Landit, not only clothing, shoes, leather, agricultural implements, &c., but also "*femmes folles de leur corps*" ["wanton women"].[84]

[2] Proudhon begins by taking his ideal of justice, of "justice éternelle", from the juridical relations that correspond to the production of commodities: thereby, it may be noted, he proves, to the consolation of all good citizens, that the production of commodities is a form of production as everlasting as justice. Then he turns round and seeks to reform the actual production of commodities, and the actual legal system corresponding thereto, in accordance with this ideal. What opinion should we have of a chemist,

quently, a means of exchange.[1] Therefore, he makes up his mind to part with it for commodities whose value in use is of service to him. All commodities are non-use values for their owners, and use values for their non-owners. Consequently, they must all change hands. But this change of hands is what constitutes their exchange, and the latter puts them in relation with each other as values, and realises them as values. Hence commodities must be realised as values before they can be realised as use values.

On the other hand, they must show that they are use values before they can be realised as values. For the labour spent upon them counts effectively, only in so far as it is spent in a form that is useful for others. Whether that labour is useful for others, and its product consequently capable of satisfying the wants of others, can be proved only by the act of exchange.

Every owner of a commodity wishes to part with it in exchange only for those commodities whose use value satisfies some want of his. Looked at in this way, exchange is for him simply a private transaction. On the other hand, he desires to realise the value of his commodity, to convert it into any other suitable commodity of equal value, irrespective of whether his own commodity has or has not any use value for the owner of the other. From this point of view, exchange is for him a social transaction of a general character. But one and the same set of transactions cannot be simultaneously for all owners of commodities both exclusively private and exclusively social and general.

Let us look at the matter a little closer. To the owner of a commodity, every other commodity is, in regard to his own, a particular equivalent, and consequently his own commodity is the universal equivalent for all the others. But since this applies to every owner,

who, instead of studying the actual laws of the molecular changes in the composition and decomposition of matter, and on that foundation solving definite problems, claimed to regulate the composition and decomposition of matter by means of the "eternal ideas", of "naturalité" and "affinité"? Do we really know any more about "usury", when we say it contradicts "justice éternelle", "équité éternelle", "mutualité éternelle", and other "vérités éternelles" than the fathers of the church[75] did when they said it was incompatible with "grâce éternelle", "foi éternelle", and "la volonté éternelle de Dieu"?

[1] "For twofold is the use of every object.... The one is peculiar to the object as such, the other is not, as a sandal which may be worn, and is also exchangeable. Both are uses of the sandal, for even he who exchanges the sandal for the money or food he is in want of, makes use of the sandal as a sandal. But not in its natural way. For it has not been made for the sake of being exchanged" (Aristoteles, *De Rep.*, 1, i, c. 9).

there is, in fact, no commodity acting as universal equivalent, and the relative value of commodities possesses no general form under which they can be equated as values and have the magnitude of their values compared. So far, therefore, they do not confront each other as commodities, but only as products or use values. In their difficulties our commodity-owners think like Faust: "Im Anfang war die That."[87] They therefore acted and transacted before they thought. Instinctively they conform to the laws imposed by the nature of commodities. They cannot bring their commodities into relation as values, and therefore as commodities, except by comparing them with some one other commodity as the universal equivalent. That we saw from the analysis of a commodity. But a particular commodity cannot become the universal equivalent except by a social act. The social action therefore of all other commodities, sets apart the particular commodity in which they all represent their values. Thereby the bodily form of this commodity becomes the form of the socially recognised universal equivalent. To be the universal equivalent, becomes, by this social process, the specific function of the commodity thus excluded by the rest. Thus it becomes—money.

"Illi unum consilium habent et virtutem et potestatem suam bestiæ tradunt. Et ne quis possit emere aut vendere, nisi qui habet characterem aut nomen bestiæ, aut numerum nominis ejus" (*Apocalypse*).[88]

Money is a crystal formed of necessity in the course of the exchanges, whereby different products of labour are practically equated to one another and thus by practice converted into commodities. The historical progress and extension of exchanges develops the contrast, latent in commodities, between use value and value. The necessity for giving an external expression to this contrast for the purposes of commercial intercourse, urges on the establishment of an independent form of value, and finds no rest until it is once for all satisfied by the differentiation of commodities into commodities and money. At the same rate, then, as the conversion of products into commodities is being accomplished, so also is the conversion of one special commodity into money.[1)]

[1)] From this we may form an estimate of the shrewdness of the petit-bourgeois socialism, which, while perpetuating the production of commodities, aims at abolishing the "antagonism" between money and commodities, and consequently, since money exists only by virtue of this antagonism, at abolishing money itself.[89] We might just as well try to retain Catholicism without the Pope. For more on this point see my work, *Zur Kritik der Pol. Oekon.*, p. 61, sq. [present edition, Vol. 29, p. 320 sq.].

The direct barter of products attains the elementary form of the relative expression of value in one respect, but not in another. That form is x Commodity A = y Commodity B. The form of direct barter is x use value A = y use value B.[1] The articles A and B in this case are not as yet commodities, but become so only by the act of barter. The first step made by an object of utility towards acquiring exchange value is when it forms a non-use value for its owner, and that happens when it forms a superfluous portion of some article required for his immediate wants. Objects in themselves are external to man, and consequently alienable by him. In order that this alienation may be reciprocal, it is only necessary for men, by a tacit understanding, to treat each other as private owners of those alienable objects, and by implication as independent individuals. But such a state of reciprocal independence has no existence in a primitive society based on property in common, whether such a society takes the form of a patriarchal family, an ancient Indian community,[53] or a Peruvian Inca State.[90] The exchange of commodities, therefore, first begins on the boundaries of such communities, at their points of contact with other similar communities, or with members of the latter. So soon, however, as products once become commodities in the external relations of a community, they also, by reaction, become so in its internal intercourse. The proportions in which they are exchangeable are at first quite a matter of chance. What makes them exchangeable is the mutual desire of their owners to alienate them. Meantime the need for foreign objects of utility gradually establishes itself. The constant repetition of exchange makes it a normal social act. In the course of time, therefore, some portion at least of the products of labour must be produced with a special view to exchange. From that moment the distinction becomes firmly established between the utility of an object for the purposes of consumption, and its utility for the purposes of exchange. Its use value becomes distinguished from its exchange value. On the other hand, the quantitative proportion in which the articles are exchangeable, becomes dependent on their production itself. Custom stamps them as values with definite magnitudes.

In the direct barter of products, each commodity is directly a means of exchange to its owner, and to all other persons an equivalent, but

[1]) So long as, instead of two distinct use values being exchanged, a chaotic mass of articles are offered as the equivalent of a single article, which is often the case with savages, even the direct barter of products is in its first infancy.

that only in so far as it has use value for them. At this stage, therefore, the articles exchanged do not acquire a value form independent of their own use value, or of the individual needs of the exchangers. The necessity for a value form grows with the increasing number and variety of the commodities exchanged. The problem and the means of solution arise simultaneously. Commodity-owners never equate their own commodities to those of others, and exchange them on a large scale, without different kinds of commodities belonging to different owners being exchangeable for, and equated as values to, one and the same special article. Such last-mentioned article, by becoming the equivalent of various other commodities, acquires at once, though within narrow limits, the character of a general social equivalent. This character comes and goes with the momentary social acts that called it into life. In turns and transiently it attaches itself first to this and then to that commodity. But with the development of exchange it fixes itself firmly and exclusively to particular sorts of commodities, and becomes crystallised by assuming the money form. The particular kind of commodity to which it sticks is at first a matter of accident. Nevertheless there are two circumstances whose influence is decisive. The money form attaches itself either to the most important articles of exchange from outside, and these in fact are primitive and natural forms in which the exchange value of home products finds expression; or else it attaches itself to the object of utility that forms, like cattle, the chief portion of indigenous alienable wealth. Nomad races are the first to develop the money form, because all their worldly goods consist of moveable objects and are therefore directly alienable; and because their mode of life, by continually bringing them into contact with foreign communities, solicits the exchange of products. Man has often made man himself, under the form of slaves, serve as the primitive material of money, but has never used land for that purpose. Such an idea could only spring up in a bourgeois society already well developed. It dates from the last third of the 17th century, and the first attempt to put it in practice on a national scale was made a century afterwards, during the French bourgeois revolution.[91]

In proportion as exchange bursts its local bonds, and the value of commodities more and more expands into an embodiment of human labour in the abstract, in the same proportion the character of money attaches itself to commodities that are by nature fitted to perform the social function of a universal equivalent. Those commodities are the precious metals.

The truth of the proposition that, "although gold and silver are not by nature money, money is by nature gold and silver",[1] is shown by the fitness of the physical properties of these metals for the functions of money.[2] Up to this point, however, we are acquainted only with one function of money, namely, to serve as the form of manifestation of the value of commodities, or as the material in which the magnitudes of their values are socially expressed. An adequate form of manifestation of value, a fit embodiment of abstract, undifferentiated, and therefore equal human labour, that material alone can be whose every sample exhibits the same uniform qualities. On the other hand, since the difference between the magnitudes of value is purely quantitative, the money commodity must be susceptible of merely quantitative differences, must therefore be divisible at will, and equally capable of being reunited. Gold and silver possess these properties by Nature.

The use value of the money commodity becomes twofold. In addition to its special use value as a commodity (gold, for instance, serving to stop teeth, to form the raw material of articles of luxury, &c.), it acquires a formal use value, originating in its specific social function.

Since all commodities are merely particular equivalents of money, the latter being their universal equivalent, they, with regard to the latter as the universal commodity, play the parts of particular commodities.[3]

We have seen that the money form is but the reflex, thrown upon one single commodity, of the value relations between all the rest. That money is a commodity[4] is therefore a new discovery only for

[1] Karl Marx, l. c., p. 135 [present edition, Vol. 29, p. 387]. "The metals ... are by their nature money" (Galiani, *Della moneta* in Custodi's Collection: Parte Moderna, t. iii [p. 137]).

[2] For further details on this subject see in my work cited above, the chapter on "The precious metals" [present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 385-88].

[3] "Money is the universal commodity" (Verri, l. c., p. 16).

[4] "Silver and gold themselves (which we may call by the general name of bullion) are ... commodities ... rising and falling in ... value ... Bullion, then, may be reckoned to be of higher value where the smaller weight will purchase the greater quantity of the product or manufacture of the country," &c. ([S. Clement,] *A Discourse of the General Notions of Money, Trade, and Exchanges, as They Stand in Relation each to other. By a Merchant*, Lond., 1695, p. 7). "Silver and gold, coined or uncoined, though they are used for a measure of all other things, are no less a commodity than wine, oil, tobacco, cloth, or stuffs" ([J. Child,] *A Discourse concerning Trade, and that in particular of the East Indies*, &c. London, 1689, p. 2). "The stock and riches of the kingdom cannot properly be

those who, when they analyse it, start from its fully developed shape. The act of exchange gives to the commodity converted into money, not its value, but its specific value form. By confounding these two distinct things some writers have been led to hold that the value of gold and silver is imaginary.[1] The fact that money can, in certain functions, be replaced by mere symbols of itself, gave rise to that other mistaken notion, that it is itself a mere symbol. Nevertheless under this error lurked a presentiment that the money form of an object is not an inseparable part of that object, but is simply the form under which certain social relations manifest themselves. In this sense every commodity is a symbol, since, in so far as it is value, it is only the material envelope of the human labour spent upon it.[2] But if it be de-

confined to money, nor ought gold and silver to be excluded from being merchandise" ([Th. Papillon,] *A Treatise concerning the East-India Trade being a Most Profitable Trade*, London, 1680, Reprint 1696,[92] p. 4).

[1] "Gold and silver have value as metals before they are money" (Galiani, l. c., [p. 72]). Locke says, "The universal consent of mankind gave to silver, on account of its qualities which made it suitable for money, an imaginary value."[93] Law, on the other hand, "How could different nations give an imaginary value to any single thing ... or how could this imaginary value have maintained itself?" But the following shows how little he himself understood about the matter: "Silver was exchanged in proportion to the value in use it possessed, consequently in proportion to its real value. By its adoption as money it received an additional value (une valeur additionnelle)" (Jean Law, *Considérations sur le numéraire et le commerce* in E. Daire's Edit. of *Economistes Financiers du XVIII siècle*, [p]p. [469]-70).

[2] "Money is their (the commodities') symbol" (V. de Forbonnais, *Élémens du Commerce*, Nouv. edit., Leyde, 1766, t. II, p. 143). "As a symbol it is attracted by the commodities" (l. c., p. 155). "Money is a symbol of a thing and represents it" (Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois* (*Œuvres*, London, 1767, t. II, p. 3). "Money is not a mere symbol, for it is itself wealth; it does not represent the values, it is their equivalents" (Le Trosne, l. c., p. 910). "The notion of value contemplates the valuable article as a mere symbol; the article counts not for what it is, but for what it is worth" (Hegel, l. c., p. 100). Lawyers started long before economists the idea that money is a mere symbol, and that the value of the precious metals is purely imaginary. This they did in the sycophantic service of the crowned heads, supporting the right of the latter to debase the coinage, during the whole of the Middle Ages, by the traditions of the Roman Empire and the conceptions of money to be found in the Pandects.[94] "Let no one call into question," says an apt scholar of theirs, Philip of Valois, in a decree of 1346, "that the trade, the composition, the supply and the power of issuing ordinances on the currency ... belongs exclusively to us and to our royal majesty, to fix such a rate and at such a price as it shall please us and seem good to us" [G. F. Pagnini, l. c., p. 205]. It was a maxim of the Roman Law that the value of money was fixed by decree of the emperor. It was expressly forbidden to treat money as a commodity. "Pecunias vero nulli emere fas erit, nam in usu publico constitutas oportet non esse mercem."[95] Some good work on this question has been done by G. F. Pagnini, *Saggio sopra il giusto pregio del-*

clared that the social characters assumed by objects, or the material forms assumed by the social qualities of labour under the régime of a definite mode of production, are mere symbols, it is in the same breath also declared that these characteristics are arbitrary fictions sanctioned by the so-called universal consent of mankind. This suited the mode of explanation in favour during the 18th century. Unable to account for the origin of the puzzling forms assumed by social relations between man and man, people sought to denude them of their strange appearance by ascribing to them a conventional origin.

It has already been remarked above that the equivalent form of a commodity does not imply the determination of the magnitude of its value. Therefore, although we may be aware that gold is money, and consequently directly exchangeable for all other commodities, yet that fact by no means tells how much 10 lbs, for instance, of gold is worth. Money, like every other commodity, cannot express the magnitude of its value except relatively in other commodities. This value is determined by the labour time required for its production, and is expressed by the quantity of any other commodity that costs the same amount of labour-time.[1] Such quantitative determination of its relative value takes place at the source of its production by means of barter. When it steps into circulation as money, its value is already given. In the last decades of the 17th century it had already been shown that money is a commodity, but this step marks only the infancy of the analysis. The difficulty lies, not in comprehending that money is a commodity, but in discovering how, why, and by what means a commodity becomes money.[2]

*le cose, 1751*; Custodi *Parte Moderna*, t. II. In the second part of his work Pagnini directs his polemics especially against the lawyers.

[1] "If a man can bring to London an ounce of Silver out of the Earth in Peru, in the same time that he can produce a bushel of Corn, then the one is the natural price of the other; now, if by reason of new or more easie mines a man can procure two ounces of silver as easily as he formerly did one, the corn will be as cheap at ten shillings the bushel as it was before at five shillings, *caeteris paribus*.[a] William Petty, *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions*, London, 1667, p. 31.

[2] The learned Professor Roscher, after first informing us that "the false definitions of money may be divided into two main groups: those which make it more, and those which make it less, than a commodity", gives us a long and very mixed catalogue of works on the nature of money, from which it appears that he has not the remotest idea of the real history of the theory; and then he moralises thus: "For the rest, it is not to be denied that most of the later economists do not bear sufficiently in mind the peculiari-

a other circumstances being equal

We have already seen, from the most elementary expression of value, x commodity A = y commodity B, that the object in which the magnitude of the value of another object is represented, appears to have the equivalent form independently of this relation, as a social property given to it by Nature. We followed up this false appearance to its final establishment, which is complete so soon as the universal equivalent form becomes identified with the bodily form of a particular commodity, and thus crystallised into the money form. What appears to happen is, not that gold becomes money, in consequence of all other commodities expressing their values in it, but, on the contrary, that all other commodities universally express their values in gold, because it is money. The intermediate steps of the process vanish in the result and leave no trace behind. Commodities find their own value already completely represented, without any initiative on their part, in another commodity existing in company with them. These objects, gold and silver, just as they come out of the bowels of the earth, are forthwith the direct incarnation of all human labour. Hence the magic of money. In the form of society now under consideration, the behaviour of men in the social process of production is purely atomic. Hence their relations to each other in production assume a material character independent of their control and conscious individual action. These facts manifest themselves at first by products as a general rule taking the form of commodities. We have seen how the progressive development of a society of commodity producers stamps one privileged commodity with the character of money. Hence the riddle presented by money is but the riddle presented by commodities; only it now strikes us in its most glaring form.

## Chapter III

## MONEY, OR THE CIRCULATION OF COMMODITIES

### SECTION 1.—THE MEASURE OF VALUES

Throughout this work, I assume, for the sake of simplicity, gold as the money commodity.

ties that distinguish money from other commodities" (it is then, after all, either more or less than a commodity!)... "So far, the semi-mercantilist reaction of Ganilh is not altogether without foundation" (Wilhelm Roscher, *Die Grundlagen der Nationaloekonomie*, 3rd Edn., 1858, pp. 207-10). More! less! not sufficiently! so far! not altogether! What clearness and precision of ideas and language! And such eclectic professorial twaddle is

The first chief function of money is to supply commodities with the material for the expression of their values, or to represent their values as magnitudes of the same denomination, qualitatively equal, and quantitatively comparable. It thus serves as a *universal measure of value*. And only by virtue of this function does gold, the equivalent commodity *par excellence*, become money.

It is not money that renders commodities commensurable. Just the contrary. It is because all commodities, as values, are realised human labour, and therefore commensurable, that their values can be measured by one and the same special commodity, and the latter be converted into the common measure of their values, i.e., into money. Money as a measure of value, is the phenomenal form that must of necessity be assumed by that measure of value which is immanent in commodities, labour time.[1]

The expression of the value of a commodity in gold — x commodity A = y money commodity — is its money form or price. A single equation, such as 1 ton of iron = 2 ounces of gold, now suffices to express the value of the iron in a socially valid manner. There is no longer any need for this equation to figure as a link in the chain of equations that express the values of all other commodities, because the equivalent commodity, gold, now has the character of money. The general form of relative value has resumed its original shape of simple or isolated relative value. On the other hand, the expanded expression of rel-

modestly baptised by Mr. Roscher, "the anatomico-physiological method" of political economy! One discovery however, he must have credit for, namely, that money is "a pleasant commodity".

[1] The question — Why does not money directly represent labour time, so that a piece of paper may represent, for instance, x hours' labour, is at bottom the same as the question why, given the production of commodities, must products take the form of commodities? This is evident, since their taking the form of commodities implies their differentiation into commodities and money. Or, why cannot private labour — labour for the account of private individuals — be treated as its opposite, immediate social labour? I have elsewhere examined thoroughly the Utopian idea of "labour money" in a society founded on the production of commodities (l. c., p. 61, seq. [see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 320 seq.]). On this point I will only say further, that Owen's "labour money",[96] for instance, is no more "money" than a ticket for the theatre. Owen presupposes directly associated labour, a form of production that is entirely inconsistent with the production of commodities. The certificate of labour is merely evidence of the part taken by the individual in the common labour, and of his right to a certain portion of the common produce destined for consumption. But it never enters into Owen's head to presuppose the production of commodities, and at the same time, by juggling with money, to try to evade the necessary conditions of that production.

ative value, the endless series of equations, has now become the form peculiar to the relative value of the money commodity. The series itself, too, is now given, and has social recognition in the prices of actual commodities. We have only to read the quotations of a price-list backwards, to find the magnitude of the value of money expressed in all sorts of commodities. But money itself has no price. In order to put it on an equal footing with all other commodities in this respect, we should be obliged to equate it to itself as its own equivalent.

The price or money form of commodities is, like their form of value generally, a form quite distinct from their palpable bodily form; it is, therefore, a purely ideal or mental form. Although invisible, the value of iron, linen and corn has actual existence in these very articles: it is ideally made perceptible by their equality with gold, a relation that, so to say, exists only in their own heads. Their owner must, therefore, lend them his tongue, or hang a ticket on them, before their prices can be communicated to the outside world.[1] Since the expression of the value of commodities in gold is a merely ideal act, we may use for this purpose imaginary or ideal money.[a] Every trader knows, that he is far from having turned his goods into money, when he has expressed their value in a price or in imaginary money, and that it does not require the least bit of real gold, to estimate in that metal millions of pounds' worth of goods. When, therefore, money serves as a measure of value, it is employed only as imaginary or ideal money. This circumstance has given rise to the wildest theories.[2] But, although the money that performs the functions of a measure of value is only ideal

[1] Savages and half-civilised races use the tongue differently. Captain Parry says of the inhabitants on the west coast of Baffin's Bay: "In this case" (he refers to barter) "they licked it" (the thing represented to them) "twice with their tongues, after which they seemed to consider the bargain satisfactorily concluded." [97] In the same way, the Eastern Esquimaux licked the articles they received in exchange. If the tongue is thus used in the North as the organ of appropriation, no wonder that, in the South, the stomach serves as the organ of accumulated property, and that a Kaffir estimates the wealth of a man by the size of his belly. That the Kaffirs know what they are about is shown by the following: at the same time that the official British Health Report of 1864 disclosed the deficiency of fat-forming food among a large part of the working class,[98] a certain Dr. Harvey (not, however, the celebrated discoverer of the circulation of the blood), made a good thing by advertising recipes for reducing the superfluous fat of the bourgeoisie and aristocracy.

[2] See Karl Marx, *Zur Kritik*, &c., "Theorien von der Masseinheit des Geldes", p. 53, seq. [present edition, Vol. 29, p. 314 seq.].

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a In the German editions "ideeles Geld" (ideal money).

money, price depends entirely upon the actual substance that is money. The value, or in other words, the quantity of human labour contained in a ton of iron, is expressed in imagination by such a quantity of the money commodity as contains the same amount of labour as the iron. According, therefore, as the measure of value is gold, silver, or copper, the value of the ton of iron will be expressed by very different prices, or will be represented by very different quantities of those metals respectively.

If, therefore, two different commodities, such as gold and silver, are simultaneously measures of value, all commodities have two prices —one a gold price, the other a silver price. These exist quietly side by side, so long as the ratio of the value of silver to that of gold remains unchanged, say, at 1 : 15. Every change in their ratio disturbs the ratio which exists between the gold prices and the silver prices of commodities, and thus proves, by facts, that a double standard of value is inconsistent with the functions of a standard.[1]

Commodities with definite prices present themselves under the form: a commodity A = x gold; b commodity B = z gold; c commod-

[1] "Wherever gold and silver have by law been made to perform the function of money or of a measure of value side by side, it has always been tried, but in vain, to treat them as one and the same material. To assume that there is an invariable ratio between the quantities of gold and silver in which a given quantity of labour time is incorporated, is to assume, in fact, that gold and silver are of one and the same material, and that a given mass of the less valuable metal, silver, is a constant fraction of a given mass of gold. From the reign of Edward III to the time of George II, the history of money in England consists of one long series of perturbations caused by the clashing of the legally fixed ratio between the values of gold and silver, with the fluctuations in their real values. At one time gold was too high, at another, silver. The metal that for the time being was estimated below its value, was withdrawn from circulation, melted and exported.The ratio between the two metals was then again altered by law, but the new nominal ratio soon came into conflict again with the real one. In our own times, the slight and transient fall in the value of gold compared with silver, which was a consequence of the Indo-Chinese demand for silver, produced on a far more extended scale in France the same phenomena, export of silver, and its expulsion from circulation by gold. During the years 1855, 1856 and 1857, the excess in France of gold imports over gold exports amounted to £41,580,000, while the excess of silver exports over silver imports was £34,704,000. In fact, in those countries in which both metals are legally measures of value, and therefore both legal tender, so that everyone has the option of paying in either metal, the metal that rises in value is at a premium, and, like every other commodity, measures its price in the over-estimated metal which alone serves in reality as the standard of value. The result of all experience and history with regard to this question is simply that, where two commodities perform by law the functions of a measure of value, in practice one alone maintains that position" (Karl Marx, l. c., pp. 52, 53 [present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 313-14]).

ity C = y gold, &c., where a, b, c, represent definite quantities of the commodities A, B, C and x, z, y, definite quantities of gold. The values of these commodities are, therefore, changed in imagination into so many different quantities of gold. Hence, in spite of the confusing variety of the commodities themselves, their values become magnitudes of the same denomination, gold magnitudes. They are now capable of being compared with each other and measured, and the want becomes technically felt of comparing them with some fixed quantity of gold as a unit measure. This unit, by subsequent division into aliquot parts, becomes itself the standard or scale. Before they become money, gold, silver, and copper already possess such standard measures in their standards of weight, so that, for example, a pound weight, while serving as the unit, is, on the one hand, divisible into ounces, and, on the other, may be combined to make up hundredweights.[1] It is owing to this that, in all metallic currencies, the names given to the standards of money or of price were originally taken from the pre-existing names of the standards of weight.

As *measure of value*, and as *standard of price*, money has two entirely distinct functions to perform. It is the measure of value inasmuch as it is the socially recognised incarnation of human labour; it is the standard of price inasmuch as it is a fixed weight of metal. As the measure of value it serves to convert the values of all the manifold commodities into prices, into imaginary quantities of gold; as the standard of price it measures those quantities of gold. The measure of values measures commodities considered as values; the standard of price measures, on the contrary, quantities of gold by a unit quantity of gold, not the value of one quantity of gold by the weight of another. In order to make gold a standard of price, a certain weight must be fixed upon as the unit. In this case, as in all cases of measuring quantities of the same denomination, the establishment of an unvarying unit of measure is all-important. Hence, the less the unit is subject to variation, so much the better does the standard of price fulfil its office. But only in

[1] The peculiar circumstance, that while the ounce of gold serves in England as the unit of the standard of money, the pound sterling does not form an aliquot part of it, has been explained as follows: "Our coinage was originally adapted to the employment of silver only, hence, an ounce of silver can always be divided into a certain adequate number of pieces of coin; but as gold was introduced at a later period into a coinage adapted only to silver, an ounce of gold cannot be coined into an aliquot number of pieces." Maclaren, *A Sketch of the History of the Currency*, London, 1858, p. 16.

so far as it is itself a product of labour, and, therefore, potentially variable in value, can gold serve as a measure of value.[1]

It is, in the first place, quite clear that a change in the value of gold does not, in any way, affect its function as a standard of price. No matter how this value varies, the proportions between the values of different quantities of the metal remain constant. However great the fall in its value, 12 ounces of gold still have 12 times the value of 1 ounce; and in prices, the only thing considered is the relation between different quantities of gold. Since, on the other hand, no rise or fall in the value of an ounce of gold can alter its weight, no alteration can take place in the weight of its aliquot parts. Thus gold always renders the same service as an invariable standard of price, however much its value may vary.

In the second place, a change in the value of gold does not interfere with its functions as a measure of value. The change affects all commodities simultaneously, and, therefore, *caeteris paribus*,[a] leaves their relative values *inter se*,[b] unaltered, although those values are now expressed in higher or lower gold prices.

Just as when we estimate the value of any commodity by a definite quantity of the use value of some other commodity, so in estimating the value of the former in gold, we assume nothing more than that the production of a given quantity of gold costs, at the given period, a given amount of labour. As regards the fluctuations of prices generally, they are subject to the laws of elementary relative value investigated in a former chapter.

A general rise in the prices of commodities can result only, either from a rise in their values — the value of money remaining constant — or from a fall in the value of money, the values of commodities remaining constant. On the other hand, a general fall in prices can result only, either from a fall in the values of commodities — the value of money remaining constant — or from a rise in the value of money, the values of commodities remaining constant. It therefore by no means follows, that a rise in the value of money necessarily implies a proportional fall in the prices of commodities; or that a fall in the value of money implies a proportional rise in prices. Such change of

[1] With English writers the confusion between measure of value and standard of price (standard of value) is indescribable. Their functions, as well as their names, are constantly interchanged.

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[a] Other things being equal - [b] between ourselves

price holds good only in the case of commodities whose value remains constant. With those, for example, whose value rises, simultaneously with, and proportionally to, that of money, there is no alteration in price. And if their value rise either slower or faster than that of money, the fall or rise in their prices will be determined by the difference between the change in their value and that of money; and so on.

Let us now go back to the consideration of the price form.

By degrees there arises a discrepancy between the current money names of the various weights of the precious metal figuring as money, and the actual weights which those names originally represented. This discrepancy is the result of historical causes, among which the chief are:— (1) The importation of foreign money into an imperfectly developed community. This happened in Rome in its early days, where gold and silver coins circulated at first as foreign commodities. The names of these foreign coins never coincide with those of the indigenous weights. (2) As wealth increases, the less precious metal is thrust out by the more precious from its place as a measure of value, copper by silver, silver by gold, however much this order of sequence may be in contradiction with poetical chronology.[1] [99] The word pound, for instance, was the money name given to an actual pound weight of silver. When gold replaced silver as a measure of value, the same name was applied according to the ratio between the values of silver and gold, to perhaps 1-15th of a pound of gold. The word pound, as a money name, thus becomes differentiated from the same word as a weight name.[2] (3) The debasing of money carried on for centuries by kings and princes to such an extent that, of the original weights of the coins, nothing in fact remained but the names.[3]

These historical causes convert the separation of the money name from the weight name into an established habit with the community. Since the standard of money is on the one hand purely conventional, and must on the other hand find general acceptance, it is in the end regulated by law. A given weight of one of the precious metals, an

[1] Moreover, it has not general historical validity.

[2] It is thus that the pound sterling in English denotes less than one-third of its original weight; the pound Scot, before the Union,[100] only 1-36th; the French livre, 1-74th; the Spanish maravedi, less than 1-1,000th; and the Portuguese rei a still smaller fraction.[101]

[3] "The coins which today are ideal are the oldest coins of every nation, and all of them were once real, and precisely because they were real they were used for calculation" (Galiani, *Della moneta,* l. c., p. 153).

ounce of gold, for instance, becomes officially divided into aliquot parts, with legally bestowed names, such as pound, dollar, &c. These aliquot parts, which thenceforth serve as units of money, are then subdivided into other aliquot parts with legal names, such as shilling, penny, &c.[1] But, both before and after these divisions are made, a definite weight of metal is the standard of metallic money. The sole alteration consists in the subdivision and denomination.

The prices, or quantities of gold, into which the values of commodities are ideally changed, are therefore now expressed in the names of coins, or in the legally valid names of the subdivisions of the gold standard. Hence, instead of saying: A quarter of wheat is worth an ounce of gold; we say, it is worth £3 17s. 10½d. In this way commodities express by their prices how much they are worth, and money serves as *money of account* whenever it is a question of fixing the value of an article in its money form.[2]

The name of a thing is something distinct from the qualities of that thing. I know nothing of a man, by knowing that his name is Jacob. In the same way with regard to money, every trace of a value relation disappears in the names pound, dollar, franc, ducat, &c. The confusion caused by attributing a hidden meaning to these cabalistic signs is all the greater, because these money names express both the values of commodities, and, at the same time, aliquot parts of the weight of the metal that is the standard of money.[3] On the other hand, it is absolutely necessary that value, in order that it may be distinguished

[1] David Urquhart remarks in his *Familiar Words* [pp. 104-05] on the monstrosity (!) that now-a-days a pound (sterling), which is the unit of the English standard of money, is equal to about a quarter of an ounce of gold. "This is falsifying a measure, not establishing a standard." He sees in this "false denomination" of the weight of gold, as in everything else, the falsifying hand of civilisation.

[2] When Anacharsis was asked for what purposes the Greeks used money, he replied, "For reckoning" (Athenaeus, *Deipn[osophistae]*, 1. iv, 49, v. 2, ed. Schweighäuser, 1802, [p. 120].

[3] "Owing to the fact that money, when serving as the standard of price, appears under the same reckoning names as do the prices of commodities, and that therefore the sum of £3 17s. 10½ d. may signify on the one hand an ounce weight of gold, and on the other, the value of a ton of iron, this reckoning name of money has been called its mint-price. Hence there sprang up the extraordinary notion, that the value of gold is estimated in its own material, and that, in contradistinction to all other commodities, its price is fixed by the State. It was erroneously thought that the giving of reckoning names to definite weights of gold, is the same thing as fixing the value of those weights" (Karl Marx, l. c., p. 52 [present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 312-13]).

from the varied bodily forms of commodities, should assume this material and unmeaning, but, at the same time, purely social form.[1]

Price is the money name of the labour realised in a commodity. Hence the expression of the equivalence of a commodity with the sum of money constituting its price, is a tautology,[2] just as in general the expression of the relative value of a commodity is a statement of the equivalence of two commodities. But although price, being the exponent of the magnitude of a commodity's value, is the exponent of its exchange ratio with money, it does not follow that the exponent of this exchange ratio is necessarily the exponent of the magnitude of the commodity's value. Suppose two equal quantities of socially necessary labour to be respectively represented by 1 quarter of wheat and £2 (nearly 1/2 oz. of gold), £2 is the expression in money of the magnitude of the value of the quarter of wheat, or is its price. If now circumstances allow of this price being raised to £3 or compel it to be reduced to £1, then although £1 and £3 may be too small or too great properly to express the magnitude of the wheat's value, nevertheless they are its prices, for they are, in the first place, the form under which its value appears, i. e., money; and in the second place, the exponents of its exchange ratio with money. If the conditions of production, in other words, if the productive power of labour remain constant, the same amount of social labour time must, both before and after the change in price, be expended in the reproduction of a quarter of wheat. This circumstance depends, neither on the will of the wheat producer, nor on that of the owners of other commodities.

Magnitude of value expresses a relation of social production, it expresses the connection that necessarily exists between a certain article and the portion of the total labour time of society required to produce

[1] See "Theorien von der Masseinheit des Geldes" in *Zur Kritik der Pol. Oekon. &c.*, p. 53, seq. [present edition, Vol. 29, p. 314 seq.]. The fantastic notions about raising or lowering the mint-price of money by transferring to greater or smaller weights of gold or silver, the names already legally appropriated to fixed weights of those metals; such notions, at least in those cases in which they aim, not at clumsy financial operations against creditors, both public and private, but at economic quack remedies, have been so exhaustively treated by Wm. Petty in his *Quantulumcunque concerning money: To the Lord Marquis of Halifax*, 1682, that even his immediate followers, Sir Dudley North and John Locke, not to mention later ones, could only dilute him. "If the wealth of a nation," he remarks, "could be decupled by a proclamation, it were strange that such proclamations have not long since been made by our Governors" (l. c., p. 36).

[2] "Or indeed it must be admitted that a million in money is worth more than an equal value in commodities" (Le Trosne, l. c., p. 919), which amounts to saying "that one value is worth more than another value which is equal to it".

it. As soon as magnitude of value is converted into price, the above necessary relation takes the shape of a more or less accidental exchange ratio between a single commodity and another, the money commodity. But this exchange ratio may express either the real magnitude of that commodity's value, or the quantity of gold deviating from that value, for which, according to circumstances, it may be parted with. The possibility, therefore, of quantitative incongruity between price and magnitude of value, or the deviation of the former from the latter, is inherent in the price form itself. This is no defect, but, on the contrary, admirably adapts the price form to a mode of production whose inherent laws impose themselves only as the mean of apparently lawless irregularities that compensate one another.

The price form, however, is not only compatible with the possibility of a quantitative incongruity between magnitude of value and price, i. e., between the former and its expression in money, but it may also conceal a qualitative inconsistency, so much so, that, although money is nothing but the value form of commodities, price ceases altogether to express value. Objects that in themselves are no commodities, such as conscience, honour, &c., are capable of being offered for sale by their holders, and of thus acquiring, through their price, the form of commodities. Hence an object may have a price without having value. The price in that case is imaginary, like certain quantities in mathematics. On the other hand, the imaginary price form may sometimes conceal either a direct or indirect real value relation; for instance, the price of uncultivated land, which is without value, because no human labour has been incorporated in it.

Price, like relative value in general, expresses the value of a commodity (e. g., a ton of iron), by stating that a given quantity of the equivalent (e. g., an ounce of gold), is directly exchangeable for iron. But it by no means states the converse, that iron is directly exchangeable for gold. In order, therefore, that a commodity may in practice act effectively as exchange value, it must quit its bodily shape, must transform itself from mere imaginary into real gold, although to the commodity such transubstantiation may be more difficult than to the Hegelian "concept", the transition from "necessity" to "freedom", or to a lobster the casting of his shell, or to Saint Jerome the putting off of the old Adam.[1] Though a commodity may, side by side with its ac-

[1] Jerome had to wrestle hard, not only in his youth with the bodily flesh, as is shown by his fight in the desert with the handsome women of his imagination, but also

tual form (iron, for instance), take in our imagination the form of gold, yet it cannot at one and the same time actually be both iron and gold. To fix its price, it suffices to equate it to gold in imagination. But to enable it to render to its owner the service of a universal equivalent, it must be actually replaced by gold. If the owner of the iron were to go to the owner of some other commodity offered for exchange, and were to refer him to the price of the iron as proof that it was already money, he would get the same answer as St. Peter gave in heaven to Dante, when the latter recited the creed—

> "Assai bene è trascorsa
> D'esta moneta già la lega e'l peso,
> Ma dimmi se tu l'hai nella tua borsa." [103]

A price therefore implies both that a commodity is exchangeable for money, and also that it must be so exchanged. On the other hand, gold serves as an ideal measure of value, only because it has already, in the process of exchange, established itself as the money commodity. Under the ideal measure of values there lurks the hard cash.

## SECTION 2.—THE MEDIUM OF CIRCULATION

### *a. The Metamorphosis of Commodities*

We saw in a former chapter that the exchange of commodities implies contradictory and mutually exclusive conditions. The differentiation of commodities into commodities and money does not sweep away these inconsistencies, but develops a *modus vivendi*, a form in which they can exist side by side. This is generally the way in which real contradictions are reconciled. For instance, it is a contradiction to depict one body as constantly falling towards another, and as, at the same time, constantly flying away from it. The ellipse is a form of motion which, while allowing this contradiction to go on, at the same time reconciles it.

In so far as exchange is a process, by which commodities are transferred from hands in which they are non-use values, to hands in which they become use values, it is a social circulation of matter. The

in his old age with the spiritual flesh. "I thought," he says, "I was in the spirit before the Judge of the Universe." "Who art thou?" asked a voice. "I am a Christian." "Thou liest," thundered back the great Judge, "thou art nought but a Ciceronian." [102]

product of one form of useful labour replaces that of another. When once a commodity has found a resting-place, where it can serve as a use value, it falls out of the sphere of exchange into that of consumption. But the former sphere alone interests us at present. We have, therefore, now to consider exchange from a formal point of view; to investigate the change of form or metamorphosis of commodities which effectuates the social circulation of matter.

The comprehension of this change of form is, as a rule, very imperfect. The cause of this imperfection is, apart from indistinct notions of value itself, that every change of form in a commodity results from the exchange of two commodities, an ordinary one and the money commodity. If we keep in view the material fact alone that a commodity has been exchanged for gold, we overlook the very thing that we ought to observe — namely, what has happened to the form of the commodity. We overlook the facts that gold, when a mere commodity, is not money, and that when other commodities express their prices in gold, this gold is but the money form of those commodities themselves.

Commodities, first of all, enter into the process of exchange just as they are. The process then differentiates them into commodities and money, and thus produces an external opposition corresponding to the internal opposition inherent in them, as being at once use values and values. Commodities as use values now stand opposed to money as exchange value. On the other hand, both opposing sides are commodities, unities of use value and value. But this unity of differences manifests itself at two opposite poles, and at each pole in an opposite way. Being poles they are as necessarily opposite as they are connected. On the one side of the equation we have an ordinary commodity, which is in reality a use value. Its value is expressed only ideally in its price, by which it is equated to its opponent, the gold, as to the real embodiment of its value. On the other hand, the gold, in its metallic reality, ranks as the embodiment of value, as money. Gold, as gold, is exchange value itself. As to its use value, that has only an ideal existence, represented by the series of expressions of relative value in which it stands face to face with all other commodities, the sum of whose uses makes up the sum of the various uses of gold. These antagonistic forms of commodities are the real forms in which the process of their exchange moves and takes place.

Let us now accompany the owner of some commodity — say, our old friend the weaver of linen — to the scene of action, the market.

His 20 yards of linen has a definite price, £2. He exchanges it for the £2, and then, like a man of the good old stamp that he is, he parts with the £2 for a family Bible of the same price. The linen, which in his eyes is a mere commodity, a depository of value, he alienates in exchange for gold, which is the linen's value form, and this form he again parts with for another commodity, the Bible, which is destined to enter his house as an object of utility and of edification to its inmates. The exchange becomes an accomplished fact by two metamorphoses of opposite yet supplementary character — the conversion of the commodity into money, and the re-conversion of the money into a commodity.[1] The two phases of this metamorphosis are both of them distinct transactions of the weaver — selling, or the exchange of the commodity for money; buying, or the exchange of the money for a commodity; and, the unity of the two acts, selling in order to buy.

The result of the whole transaction, as regards the weaver, is this, that instead of being in possession of the linen, he now has the Bible; instead of his original commodity, he now possesses another of the same value but of different utility. In like manner he procures his other means of subsistence and means of production. From his point of view, the whole process effectuates nothing more than the exchange of the product of his labour for the product of some one else's, nothing more than an exchange of products.

The exchange of commodities is therefore accompanied by the following changes in their form.

Commodity — Money — Commodity.
C_____M_____C.

The result of the whole process is, so far as concerns the objects themselves, C—C, the exchange of one commodity for another, the circulation of materialised social labour. When this result is attained, the process is at an end.

[1] "ἐχ ςὲ τοῦ ... πυρὸς τ'άνταμεείβεσθαι πάντα, φησὶν δ'Ηράχλειτος, χαὶ πῦρ άπάντων, ὥοπερ χρυσου χρήματα χαὶ χρημάτων χρυσός"[a]. (F. Lassalle, *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunkeln*, Berlin, 1858, Vol. 1, p. 222). Lassalle in his note on this passage, p. 224, n. 3, erroneously makes gold a mere symbol of value.[104]

[a] "As Heraclitus says, all things are exchanged for fire and fire for all things, as wares are exchanged for gold and gold for wares."

*C—M. First metamorphosis, or sale*

The leap taken by value from the body of the commodity, into the body of the gold, is, as I have elsewhere called it, the *salto mortale* of the commodity.[105] If it falls short, then, although the commodity itself is not harmed, its owner decidedly is. The social division of labour causes his labour to be as one-sided as his wants are many-sided. This is precisely the reason why the product of his labour serves him solely as exchange value. But it cannot acquire the properties of a socially recognised universal equivalent, except by being converted into money. That money, however, is in some one else's pocket. In order to entice the money out of that pocket, our friend's commodity must, above all things, be a use value to the owner of the money. For this, it is necessary that the labour expended upon it, be of a kind that is socially useful, of a kind that constitutes a branch of the social division of labour. But division of labour is a system of production which has grown up spontaneously and continues to grow behind the backs of the producers. The commodity to be exchanged may possibly be the product of some new kind of labour, that pretends to satisfy newly arisen requirements, or even to give rise itself to new requirements. A particular operation, though yesterday, perhaps, forming one out of the many operations conducted by one producer in creating a given commodity, may to-day separate itself from this connection, may establish itself as an independent branch of labour and send its incomplete product to market as an independent commodity. The circumstances may or may not be ripe for such a separation. To-day the product satisfies a social want. To-morrow the article may, either altogether or partially, be superseded by some other appropriate product. Moreover, although our weaver's labour may be a recognised branch of the social division of labour, yet that fact is by no means sufficient to guarantee the utility of his 20 yards of linen. If the community's want of linen, and such a want has a limit like every other want, should already be saturated by the products of rival weavers, our friend's product is superfluous, redundant, and consequently useless. Although people do not look a gift-horse in the mouth, our friend does not frequent the market for the purpose of making presents. But suppose his product turn out a real use value, and thereby attracts money? The question arises, how much will it attract? No doubt the answer is already anticipated in the price of the article, in the exponent of the magnitude of its value. We leave out of consideration here

any accidental miscalculation of value by our friend, a mistake that is soon rectified in the market. We suppose him to have spent on his product only that amount of labour time that is on an average socially necessary. The price then, is merely the money name of the quantity of social labour realised in his commodity. But without the leave, and behind the back, of our weaver, the old-fashioned mode of weaving undergoes a change. The labour time that yesterday was without doubt socially necessary to the production of a yard of linen, ceases to be so to-day, a fact which the owner of the money is only too eager to prove from the prices quoted by our friend's competitors. Unluckily for him, weavers are not few and far between. Lastly, suppose that every piece of linen in the market contains no more labour time than is socially necessary. In spite of this, all these pieces taken as a whole, may have had superfluous labour time spent upon them. If the market cannot stomach the whole quantity at the normal price of 2 shillings a yard, this proves that too great a portion of the total labour of the community has been expended in the form of weaving. The effect is the same as if each individual weaver had expended more labour time upon his particular product than is socially necessary. Here we may say, with the German proverb: caught together, hung together. All the linen in the market counts but as one article of commerce, of which each piece is only an aliquot part. And, as a matter of fact, the value also of each single yard is but the materialised form of the same definite and socially fixed quantity of homogeneous human labour.[106]

We see then, commodities are in love with money, but "the course of true love never did run smooth".[107] The quantitative division of labour is brought about in exactly the same spontaneous and accidental manner as its qualitative division. The owners of commodities therefore find out, that the same division of labour that turns them into independent private producers, also frees the social process of production and the relations of the individual producers to each other within that process, from all dependence on the will of those producers, and that the seeming mutual independence of the individuals is supplemented by a system of general and mutual dependence through or by means of the products.

The division of labour converts the product of labour into a commodity, and thereby makes necessary its further conversion into money. At the same time it also makes the accomplishment of this transubstantiation quite accidental. Here, however, we are only con-

cerned with the phenomenon in its integrity, and we therefore assume its progress to be normal. Moreover, if the conversion take place at all, that is, if the commodity be not absolutely unsaleable, its metamorphosis does take place although the price realised may be abnormally above or below the value.

The seller has his commodity replaced by gold, the buyer has his gold replaced by a commodity. The fact which here stares us in the face is, that a commodity and gold, 20 yards of linen and £2, have changed hands and places, in other words, that they have been exchanged. But for what is the commodity exchanged? For the shape assumed by its own value, for the universal equivalent. And for what is the gold exchanged? For a particular form of its own use value. Why does gold take the form of money face to face with the linen? Because the linen's price of £2, its denomination in money, has already equated the linen to gold in its character of money. A commodity strips off its original commodity form on being alienated, i. e., on the instant its use value actually attracts the gold, that before existed only ideally in its price. The realisation of a commodity's price, or of its ideal value form, is therefore at the same time the realisation of the ideal use value of money; the conversion of a commodity into money, is the simultaneous conversion of money into a commodity. The apparently single process is in reality a double one. From the pole of the commodity owner it is a sale, from the opposite pole of the money owner, it is a purchase. In other words, a sale is a purchase, C—M is also M—C.[1]

Up to this point we have considered men in only one economic capacity, that of owners of commodities, a capacity in which they appropriate the produce of the labour of others, by alienating that of their own labour. Hence, for one commodity owner to meet with another who has money, it is necessary, either, that the product of the labour of the latter person, the buyer, should be in itself money, should be gold, the material of which money consists, or that his product should already have changed its skin and have stripped off its original form of a useful object. In order that it may play the part of money, gold must of course enter the market at some point or other. This point is to be found at the source of production of the metal, at

[1] "Every sale is a purchase" (Dr. Quesnay, *Dialogues sur le Commerce et les Travaux des Artisans. Physiocrates*, ed. Daire, I partie, Paris, 1846, p. 170), or, as Quesnay in his *Maximes générales* puts it, "To sell is to buy".[108]

which place gold is bartered, as the immediate product of labour, for some other product of equal value. From that moment it always represents the realised price of some commodity.[1] Apart from its exchange for other commodities at the source of its production, gold, in whose-so-ever hands it may be, is the transformed shape of some commodity alienated by its owner; it is the product of a sale or of the first metamorphosis C—M.[2] Gold, as we saw, became ideal money, or a measure of values, in consequence of all commodities measuring their values by it, and thus contrasting it ideally with their natural shape as useful objects, and making it the shape of their value. It became real money, by the general alienation of commodities, by actually changing places with their natural forms as useful objects, and thus becoming in reality the embodiment of their values. When they assume this money shape, commodities strip off every trace of their natural use value, and of the particular kind of labour to which they owe their creation, in order to transform themselves into the uniform, socially recognised incarnation of homogeneous human labour. We cannot tell from the mere look of a piece of money, for what particular commodity it has been exchanged. Under their money form all commodities look alike. Hence, money may be dirt, although dirt is not money. We will assume that the two gold pieces, in consideration of which our weaver has parted with his linen, are the metamorphosed shape of a quarter of wheat. The sale of the linen, C—M, is at the same time its purchase, M—C. But the sale is the first act of a process that ends with a transaction of an opposite nature, namely, the purchase of a Bible; the purchase of the linen, on the other hand, ends a movement that began with a transaction of an opposite nature, namely, with the sale of the wheat. C—M (linen — money), which is the first phase of C—M—C (linen — money — Bible), is also M—C (money — linen), the last phase of another movement C—M—C (wheat — money — linen). The first metamorphosis of one commodity, its transformation from a commodity into money, is therefore also invariably the second metamorphosis of some other commodity, the retransformation of the latter from money into a commodity.[3]

[1] "The price of one commodity can only be paid by the price of another commodity" (Mercier de la Rivière, *L'ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés politiques. Physiocrates*, ed. Daire, II partie, p. 554).

[2] "In order to have this money, one must have made a sale", l. c., p. 543.

[3] As before remarked, the actual producer of gold or silver forms an exception. He exchanges his product directly for another commodity, without having first sold it.

### *M—C, or purchase. The second and concluding metamorphosis of a commodity*

Because money is the metamorphosed shape of all other commodities, the result of their general alienation, for this reason it is alienable itself without restriction or condition. It reads all prices backwards, and thus, so to say, depicts itself in the bodies of all other commodities, which offer to it the material for the realisation of its own use value. At the same time the prices, wooing glances cast at money by commodities, define the limits of its convertibility, by pointing to its quantity. Since every commodity, on becoming money, disappears as a commodity, it is impossible to tell from the money itself, how it got into the hands of its possessor, or what article has been changed into it. *Non olet*,[109] from whatever source it may come. Representing on the one hand a sold commodity, it represents on the other a commodity to be bought.[1]

M—C, a purchase, is, at the same time, C—M, a sale; the concluding metamorphosis of one commodity is the first metamorphosis of another. With regard to our weaver, the life of his commodity ends with the Bible, into which he has reconverted his £2. But suppose the seller of the Bible turns the £2 set free by the weaver into brandy. M—C, the concluding phase of C—M—C (linen, money, Bible), is also C—M, the first phase of C—M—C (Bible, money, brandy). The producer of a particular commodity has that one article alone to offer; this he sells very often in large quantities, but his many and various wants compel him to split up the price realised, the sum of money set free, into numerous purchases. Hence a sale leads to many purchases of various articles. The concluding metamorphosis of a commodity thus constitutes an aggregation of first metamorphoses of various other commodities.

If we now consider the completed metamorphosis of a commodity, as a whole, it appears in the first place, that it is made up of two opposite and complementary movements, C—M and M—C. These two antithetical transmutations of a commodity are brought about by two antithetical social acts on the part of the owner, and these acts in their turn stamp the character of the economic parts played by him. As the person who makes a sale, he is a seller; as the person who makes

[1] "If money represents, in our hands, the things we can wish to buy, it also represents the things we have sold to obtain that money" (Mercier de la Rivière, l. c., p. 586).

a purchase, he is a buyer. But just as, upon every such transmutation of a commodity, its two forms, commodity form and money form, exist simultaneously but at opposite poles, so every seller has a buyer opposed to him, and every buyer a seller. While one particular commodity is going through its two transmutations in succession, from a commodity into money and from money into another commodity, the owner of the commodity changes in succession his part from that of seller to that of buyer. These characters of seller and buyer are therefore not permanent, but attach themselves in turns to the various persons engaged in the circulation of commodities.

The complete metamorphosis of a commodity, in its simplest form, implies four extremes, and three *dramatis personæ*. First, a commodity comes face to face with money; the latter is the form taken by the value of the former, and exists in all its hard reality, in the pocket of the buyer. A commodity owner is thus brought into contact with a possessor of money. So soon, now, as the commodity has been changed into money, the money becomes its transient equivalent form, the use value of which equivalent form is to be found in the bodies of other commodities. Money, the final term of the first transmutation, is at the same time the starting-point for the second. The person who is a seller in the first transaction thus becomes a buyer in the second, in which a third commodity owner appears on the scene as a seller.[1]

The two phases, each inverse to the other, that make up the metamorphosis of a commodity constitute together a circular movement, a circuit: commodity form, stripping off of this form, and return to the commodity form. No doubt, the commodity appears here under two different aspects. At the starting-point it is not a use value to its owner; at the finishing point it is. So, too, the money appears in the first phase as a solid crystal of value, a crystal into which the commodity eagerly solidifies, and in the second, dissolves into the mere transient equivalent form destined to be replaced by a use value.

The two metamorphoses constituting the circuit are at the same time two inverse partial metamorphoses of two other commodities. One and the same commodity, the linen, opens the series of its own metamorphoses, and completes the metamorphosis of another (the wheat). In the first phase or sale, the linen plays these two parts in its own person. But, then, changed into gold, it completes its own second

[1] "There are therefore ... four terms and three contracting parties, one of whom intervenes twice" (Le Trosne, l. c., p. 909).

and final metamorphosis, and helps at the same time to accomplish the first metamorphosis of a third commodity. Hence the circuit made by one commodity in the course of its metamorphoses is inextricably mixed up with the circuits of other commodities. The total of all the different circuits constitutes *the circulation of commodities.*

The circulation of commodities differs from the direct exchange of products (barter), not only in form, but in substance. Only consider the course of events. The weaver has, as a matter of fact, exchanged his linen for a Bible, his own commodity for that of some one else. But this is true only so far as he himself is concerned. The seller of the Bible, who prefers something to warm his inside, no more thought of exchanging his Bible for linen than our weaver knew that wheat had been exchanged for his linen. B's commodity replaces that of A, but A and B do not mutually exchange those commodities. It may, of course, happen that A and B make simultaneous purchases, the one from the other; but such exceptional transactions are by no means the necessary result of the general conditions of the circulation of commodities. We see here, on the one hand, how the exchange of commodities breaks through all local and personal bounds inseparable from direct barter, and develops the circulation of the products of social labour; and on the other hand, how it develops a whole network of social relations spontaneous in their growth and entirely beyond the control of the actors. It is only because the farmer has sold his wheat that the weaver is enabled to sell his linen, only because the weaver has sold his linen that our Hotspur is enabled to sell his Bible, and only because the latter has sold the water of everlasting life that the distiller is enabled to sell his *eau-de-vie*, and so on.

The process of circulation, therefore, does not, like direct barter of products, become extinguished upon the use values changing places and hands. The money does not vanish on dropping out of the circuit of the metamorphosis of a given commodity. It is constantly being precipitated into new places in the arena of circulation vacated by other commodities. In the complete metamorphosis of the linen, for example, linen — money — Bible, the linen first falls out of circulation, and money steps into its place. Then the Bible falls out of circulation, and again money takes its place. When one commodity replaces another, the money commodity always sticks to the hands of some third person.[1] Circulation sweats money from every pore.

[1] Self-evident as this may be, it is nevertheless for the most part unobserved by political economists, and especially by the "Free-trader Vulgaris".

Nothing can be more childish than the dogma, that because every sale is a purchase, and every purchase a sale, therefore the circulation of commodities necessarily implies an equilibrium of sales and purchases. If this means that the number of actual sales is equal to the number of purchases, it is mere tautology. But its real purport is to prove that every seller brings his buyer to market with him. Nothing of the kind. The sale and the purchase constitute one identical act, an exchange between a commodity owner and an owner of money, between two persons as opposed to each other as the two poles of a magnet. They form two distinct acts, of polar and opposite characters, when performed by one single person. Hence the identity of sale and purchase implies that the commodity is useless, if, on being thrown into the alchemistical retort of circulation, it does not come out again in the shape of money; if, in other words, it cannot be sold by its owner, and therefore be bought by the owner of the money. That identity further implies that the exchange, if it do take place, constitutes a period of rest, an interval, long or short, in the life of the commodity. Since the first metamorphosis of a commodity is at once a sale and a purchase, it is also an independent process in itself. The purchaser has the commodity, the seller has the money, i. e., a commodity ready to go into circulation at any time. No one can sell unless some one else purchases. But no one is forthwith bound to purchase, because he has just sold. Circulation bursts through all restrictions as to time, place, and individuals, imposed by direct barter, and this it effects by splitting up, into the antithesis of a sale and a purchase, the direct identity that in barter does exist between the alienation of one's own and the acquisition of some other man's product. To say that these two independent and antithetical acts have an intrinsic unity, are essentially one, is the same as to say that this intrinsic oneness expresses itself in an external antithesis. If the interval in time between the two complementary phases of the complete metamorphosis of a commodity become too great, if the split between the sale and the purchase become too pronounced, the intimate connexion between them, their oneness, asserts itself by producing — a crisis. The antithesis, use value and value; the contradictions that private labour is bound to manifest itself as direct social labour, that a particularised concrete kind of labour has to pass for abstract human labour; the contradiction between the personification of objects and the representation of persons by things; all these antitheses and contradictions, which are immanent in commodities, assert themselves, and develop

their modes of motion, in the antithetical phases of the metamorphosis of a commodity. These modes therefore imply the possibility, and no more than the possibility, of crises. The conversion of this mere possibility into a reality is the result of a long series of relations, that, from our present standpoint of simple circulation, have as yet no existence.[1] [a]

### *b. The currency*[2] *of money*

The change of form, C—M—C, by which the circulation of the material products of labour is brought about, requires that a given value in the shape of a commodity shall begin the process, and shall, also in the shape of a commodity, end it. The movement of the commodity is therefore a circuit. On the other hand, the form of this movement precludes a circuit from being made by the money. The result is not the return of the money, but its continued removal further and further away from its starting-point. So long as the seller sticks fast to his money, which is the transformed shape of his commodity, that commodity is still in the first phase of its metamorphosis, and has completed only half its course. But so soon as he completes the process, so soon as he supplements his sale by a purchase, the money

[1] See my observations on James Mill in *Zur Kritik*, &c., pp. 74-76 [present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 332-34]. With regard to this subject, we may notice two methods characteristic of apologetic economy. The first is the identification of the circulation of commodities with the direct barter of products, by simple abstraction from their points of difference; the second is, the attempt to explain away the contradictions of capitalist production, by reducing the relations between the persons engaged in that mode of production, to the simple relations arising out of the circulation of commodities. The production and circulation of commodities are, however, phenomena that occur to a greater or less extent in modes of production the most diverse. If we are acquainted with nothing but the abstract categories of circulation, which are common to all these modes of production, we cannot possibly know anything of the specific points of difference of those modes, nor pronounce any judgment upon them. In no science is such a big fuss made with commonplace truisms as in political economy. For instance, J. B. Say sets himself up as a judge of crises, because, forsooth, he knows that a commodity is a product.[110]

[2] *Translator's note.*—This word is here used in its original signification of the course or track pursued by money as it changes from hand to hand, a course which essentially differs from circulation.

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[a] In the German editions there follows one more paragraph here: "As medium in the circulation of commodities money acquires the function of the means of circulation."

again leaves the hands of its possessor. It is true that if the weaver, after buying the Bible, sell more linen, money comes back into his hands. But this return is not owing to the circulation of the first 20 yards of linen; that circulation resulted in the money getting into the hands of the seller of the Bible. The return of money into the hands of the weaver is brought about only by the renewal or repetition of the process of circulation with a fresh commodity, which renewed process ends with the same result as its predecessor did. Hence the movement directly imparted to money by the circulation of commodities takes the form of a constant motion away from its starting-point, of a course from the hands of one commodity owner into those of another. This course constitutes its currency (*cours de la monnaie*).

The currency of money is the constant and monotonous repetition of the same process. The commodity is always in the hands of the seller; the money, as a means of purchase, always in the hands of the buyer. And money serves as a means of purchase by realising the price of the commodity. This realisation transfers the commodity from the seller to the buyer and removes the money from the hands of the buyer into those of the seller, where it again goes through the same process with another commodity. That this one-sided character of the money's motion arises out of the two-sided character of the commodity's motion, is a circumstance that is veiled over. The very nature of the circulation of commodities begets the opposite appearance. The first metamorphosis of a commodity is visibly, not only the money's movement, but also that of the commodity itself; in the second metamorphosis, on the contrary, the movement appears to us as the movement of the money alone. In the first phase of its circulation the commodity changes place with the money. Thereupon the commodity, under its aspect of a useful object, falls out of circulation into consumption.[1] In its stead we have its value shape — the money. It then goes through the second phase of its circulation, not under its own natural shape, but under the shape of money. The continuity of the movement is therefore kept up by the money alone, and the same movement that as regards the commodity consists of two processes of an antithetical character, is, when considered as the movement of the money, always one and the same process, a continued change of places

[1] Even when the commodity is sold over and over again, a phenomenon that at present has no existence for us, it falls, when definitely sold for the last time, out of the sphere of circulation into that of consumption, where it serves either as means of subsistence or means of production.

with ever fresh commodities. Hence the result brought about by the circulation of commodities, namely, the replacing of one commodity by another, takes the appearance of having been effected not by means of the change of form of the commodities, but rather by the money acting as a medium of circulation, by an action that circulates commodities, to all appearance motionless in themselves, and transfers them from hands in which they are non-use values, to hands in which they are use values; and that in a direction constantly opposed to the direction of the money. The latter is continually withdrawing commodities from circulation and stepping into their places, and in this way continually moving further and further from its starting-point. Hence although the movement of the money is merely the expression of the circulation of commodities, yet the contrary appears to be the actual fact, and the circulation of commodities seems to be the result of the movement of the money.[1]

Again, money functions as a means of circulation only because in it the values of commodities have independent reality. Hence its movement, as the medium of circulation, is, in fact, merely the movement of commodities while changing their forms. This fact must therefore make itself plainly visible in the currency of money. Thus[a] the linen, for instance, first of all changes its commodity-form into its money form. The second term of its first metamorphosis, C—M, the money form, then becomes the first term of its final metamorphosis, M—C, its re-conversion into the Bible. But each of these two changes of form is accomplished by an exchange between commodity and money, by their *reciprocal displacement*. The same pieces of coin come into the seller's hand *as the alienated form of the commodity* and leave it as *the absolutely alienable form of the commodity*. They are displaced twice. The first metamorphosis of the linen puts these coins into the weaver's pocket, the second draws them out of it. The two inverse changes undergone by the same commodity are reflected in the displacement, twice repeated, but in opposite directions, of the same pieces of coin.

If, on the contrary, only one phase of the metamorphosis is gone through, if there are only sales or only purchases, then a given piece of money changes its place only once. Its second change of place al-

[1] "It" (money) "has no other motion than that imparted to it by the products" (Le Trosne, l. c., p. 885).

[a] Here (from "Thus the linen..." to "commodities in general", p. 127) the English text has been altered in conformity with the 4th German edition.

ways expresses the second metamorphosis of the commodity, its reconversion from money. The frequent repetition of the displacement of the same coins reflects not only the series of metamorphoses that a single commodity has gone through, but also the intertwining of the innumerable metamorphoses in the world of commodities in general. It is a matter of course, that all this is applicable to the simple circulation of commodities alone, the only form that we are now considering.

Every commodity, when it first steps into circulation, and undergoes its first change of form, does so only to fall out of circulation again and to be replaced by other commodities. Money, on the contrary, as the medium of circulation, keeps continually within the sphere of circulation, and moves about in it. The question therefore arises, how much money this sphere constantly absorbs?

In a given country there take place every day at the same time, but in different localities, numerous one-sided metamorphoses of commodities, or, in other words, numerous sales and numerous purchases. The commodities are equated beforehand in imagination, by their prices, to definite quantities of money. And since, in the form of circulation now under consideration, money and commodities always come bodily face to face, one at the positive pole of purchase, the other at the negative pole of sale, it is clear that the amount of the means of circulation required, is determined beforehand by the sum of the prices of all these commodities. As a matter of fact, the money in reality represents the quantity or sum of gold ideally expressed beforehand by the sum of the prices of the commodities. The equality of these two sums is therefore self-evident. We know, however, that, the values of commodities remaining constant, their prices vary with the value of gold (the material of money), rising in proportion as it falls, and falling in proportion as it rises. Now if, in consequence of such a rise or fall in the value of gold, the sum of the prices of commodities fall or rise, the quantity of money in currency must fall or rise to the same extent. The change in the quantity of the circulating medium is, in this case, it is true, caused by the money itself, yet not in virtue of its function as a medium of circulation, but of its function as a measure of value. First, the price of the commodities varies inversely as the value of the money, and then the quantity of the medium of circulation varies directly as the price of the commodities. Exactly the same thing would happen if, for instance, instead of the value of gold falling, gold were replaced by silver as the measure of value, or if, in-

stead of the value of silver rising, gold were to thrust silver out from being the measure of value. In the one case, more silver would be current than gold was before, in the other case, less gold would be current than silver was before. In each case the value of the material of money, i. e., the value of the commodity that serves as the measure of value, would have undergone a change, and therefore so, too, would the prices of commodities which express their values in money, and so, too, would the quantity of money current whose function it is to realise those prices. We have already seen, that the sphere of circulation has an opening through which gold (or the material of money generally) enters into it as a commodity with a given value. Hence, when money enters on its functions as a measure of value, when it expresses prices, its value is already determined. If now its value fall, this fact is first evidenced by a change in the prices of those commodities that are directly bartered for the precious metals at the sources of their production. The greater part of all other commodities, especially in the imperfectly developed stages of civil society, will continue for a long time to be estimated by the former antiquated and illusory value of the measure of value. Nevertheless, one commodity infects another through their common value relation, so that their prices, expressed in gold or in silver, gradually settle down into the proportions determined by their comparative values, until finally the values of all commodities are estimated in terms of the new value of the metal that constitutes money. This process is accompanied by the continued increase in the quantity of the precious metals, an increase caused by their streaming in to replace the articles directly bartered for them at their sources of production. In proportion therefore as commodities in general acquire their true prices, in proportion as their values become estimated according to the fallen value of the precious metal, in the same proportion the quantity of that metal necessary for realising those new prices is provided beforehand. A one-sided observation of the results that followed upon the discovery of fresh supplies of gold and silver, led some economists in the 17th, and particularly in the 18th century, to the false conclusion, that the prices of commodities had gone up in consequence of the increased quantity of gold and silver serving as means of circulation. Henceforth we shall consider the value of gold to be given, as, in fact, it is momentarily whenever we estimate the price of a commodity.

On this supposition then, the quantity of the medium of circulation is determined by the sum of the prices that have to be realised. If now

we further suppose the price of each commodity to be given, the sum of the prices clearly depends on the mass of commodities in circulation. It requires but little racking of brains to comprehend that if one quarter of wheat costs £2, 100 quarters will cost £200, 200 quarters £400, and so on, that consequently the quantity of money that changes place with the wheat, when sold, must increase with the quantity of that wheat.

If the mass of commodities remain constant, the quantity of circulating money varies with the fluctuations in the prices of those commodities. It increases and diminishes because the sum of the prices increases or diminishes in consequence of the change of price. To produce this effect, it is by no means requisite that the prices of all commodities should rise or fall simultaneously. A rise or a fall in the prices of a number of leading articles, is sufficient in the one case to increase, in the other to diminish, the sum of the prices of all commodities, and, therefore, to put more or less money in circulation. Whether the change in the price correspond to an actual change of value in the commodities, or whether it be the result of mere fluctuations in markert prices, the effect on the quantity of the medium of circulation remains the same.

Suppose the following articles to be sold or partially metamorphosed simultaneously in different localities: say, one quarter of wheat, 20 yards of linen, one Bible, and 4 gallons of brandy. If the price of each article be £2, and the sum of the prices to be realised be consequently £8, it follows that £8 in money must go into circulation. If, on the other hand, these same articles are links in the following chain of metamorphoses: 1 quarter of wheat — £2 — 20 yards of linen — £2 — 1 Bible — £2 — 4 gallons of brandy — £2, a chain that is already well known to us, in that case the £2 cause the different commodities to circulate one after the other, and after realising their prices successively, and therefore the sum of those prices, £8, they come to rest at last in the pocket of the distiller. The £2 thus make four moves. This repeated change of place of the same pieces of money corresponds to the double change in form of the commodities, to their motion in opposite directions through two stages of circulation, and to the interlacing of the metamorphoses of different commodities.[1] These anti-

[1] "It is products which set it" (money) "in motion and make it circulate... The velocity of its" (money's) "motion supplements its quantity. When necessary, it does nothing but slide from hand to hand, without stopping for a moment" (Le Trosne, l. c., pp. 915, 916).

thetic and complementary phases, of which the process of metamorphosis consists, are gone through, not simultaneously, but successively. Time is therefore required for the completion of the series. Hence the velocity of the currency of money is measured by the number of moves made by a given piece of money in a given time. Suppose the circulation of the 4 articles takes a day. The sum of the prices to be realised in the day is £8, the number of moves of the two pieces of money is four, and the quantity of money circulating is £2. Hence, for a given interval of time during the process of circulation, we have the following relation: the quantity of money functioning as the circulating medium is equal to the sum of the prices of the commodities divided by the number of moves made by coins of the same denomination. This law holds generally.

The total circulation of commodities in a given country during a given period is made up on the one hand of numerous isolated and simultaneous partial metamorphoses, sales which are at the same time purchases, in which each coin changes its place only once, or makes only one move; on the other hand, of numerous distinct series of metamorphoses partly running side by side, and partly coalescing with each other, in each of which series each coin makes a number of moves, the number being greater or less according to circumstances. The total number of moves made by all the circulating coins of one denomination being given, we can arrive at the average number of moves made by a single coin of that denomination, or at the average velocity of the currency of money. The quantity of money thrown into the circulation at the beginning of each day is of course determined by the sum of the prices of all the commodities circulating simultaneously side by side. But once in circulation, coins are, so to say, made responsible for one another. If the one increase its velocity, the other either retards its own, or altogether falls out of circulation; for the circulation can absorb only such a quantity of gold as, when multiplied by the mean number of moves made by one single coin or element, is equal to the sum of the prices to be realised. Hence if the number of moves made by the separate pieces increase, the total number of those pieces in circulation diminishes. If the number of the moves diminish, the total number of pieces increases. Since the quantity of money capable of being absorbed by the circulation is given for a given mean velocity of currency, all that is necessary in order to abstract a given number of sovereigns from the circulation is to throw the same number of one-pound notes into it, a trick well known to all bankers.

Just as the currency of money, generally considered, is but a reflex of the circulation of commodities, or of the antithetical metamorphoses they undergo, so, too, the velocity of that currency reflects the rapidity with which commodities change their forms, the continued interlacing of one series of metamorphoses with another, the hurried social interchange of matter, the rapid disappearance of commodities from the sphere of circulation, and the equally rapid substitution of fresh ones in their places. Hence, in the velocity of the currency we have the fluent unity of the antithetical and complementary phases, the unity of the conversion of the useful aspect of commodities into their value aspect, and their re-conversion from the latter aspect to the former, or the unity of the two processes of sale and purchase. On the other hand, the retardation of the currency reflects the separation of these two processes into isolated antithetical phases, reflects the stagnation in the change of form, and therefore, in the social interchange of matter. The circulation itself, of course, gives no clue to the origin of this stagnation; it merely puts in evidence the phenomenon itself. The general public, who, simultaneously with the retardation of the currency, see money appear and disappear less frequently at the periphery of circulation, naturally attribute this retardation to a quantitative deficiency in the circulating medium.[1]

[1] "Money being ... the common measure of buying and selling, everybody who hath anything to sell, and cannot procure chapmen for it, is presently apt to think, that want of money in the kingdom, or country, is the cause why his goods do not go off; and so, want of money is the common cry; which is a great mistake... What do these people want, who cry out for money? ... The farmer complains ... he thinks that were more money in the country, he should have a price for his goods. Then it seems money is not his want, but a price for his corn and cattel, which he would sell, but cannot... Why cannot he get a price? ... (1) Either there is too much corn and cattel in the country, so that most who come to market have need of selling, as he hath, and few of buying; or (2) There wants the usual vent abroad by transportation...; or (3) The consumption fails, as when men, by reason of poverty, do not spend so much in their houses as formerly they did; wherefore it is not the increase of specific money, which would at all advance the farmer's goods, but the removal of any of these three causes, which do truly keep down the market... The merchant and shopkeeper want money in the same manner, that is, they want a vent for the goods they deal in, by reason that the markets fail" ... [A nation] "never thrives better, than when riches are tost from hand to hand" (Sir Dudley North, *Discourses upon Trade*, London, 1691, pp. 11-15, passim). Herrenschwand's fanciful notions amount merely to this, that the antagonism, which has its origin in the nature of commodities, and is reproduced in their circulation, can be removed by increasing the circulating medium.[111] But if, on the one hand, it is a popular delusion to ascribe stagnation in production and circulation to insufficiency of the circulating medium, it by no means follows, on the other hand, that an

The total quantity of money functioning during a given period as the circulating medium, is determined, on the one hand, by the sum of the prices of the circulating commodities, and on the other hand, by the rapidity with which the antithetical phases of the metamorphoses follow one another. On this rapidity depends what proportion of the sum of the prices can, on the average, be realised by each single coin. But the sum of the prices of the circulating commodities depends on the quantity, as well as on the prices, of the commodities. These three factors, however, state of prices, quantity of circulating commodities, and velocity of money currency, are all variable. Hence, the sum of the prices to be realised, and consequently the quantity of the circulating medium depending on that sum, will vary with the numerous variations of these three factors in combination. Of these variations we shall consider those alone that have been the most important in the history of prices.

While prices remain constant, the quantity of the circulating medium may increase owing to the number of circulating commodities increasing, or to the velocity of currency decreasing, or to a combination of the two. On the other hand the quantity of the circulating medium may decrease with a decreasing number of commodities, or with an increasing rapidity of their circulation.

With a general rise in the prices of commodities, the quantity of the circulating medium will remain constant, provided the number of commodities in circulation decrease proportionally to the increase in their prices, or provided the velocity of currency increase at the same rate as prices rise, the number of commodities in circulation remaining constant. The quantity of the circulating medium may decrease, owing to the number of commodities decreasing more rapidly; or to the velocity of currency increasing more rapidly, than prices rise.

With a general fall in the prices of commodities, the quantity of the circulating medium will remain constant, provided the number of commodities increase proportionally to their fall in price, or provided the velocity of currency decrease in the same proportion. The quantity of the circulating medium will increase, provided the number of commodities increase quicker, or the rapidity of circulation decrease quicker, than the prices fall.

The variations of the different factors may mutually compensate

actual paucity of the medium in consequence, e. g., of bungling legislative interference with the regulation of currency, may not give rise to such stagnation.

each other, so that notwithstanding their continued instability, the sum of the prices to be realised and the quantity of money in circulation remain constant; consequently, we find, especially if we take long periods into consideration, that the deviations from the average level, of the quantity of money current in any country, are much smaller than we should at first sight expect, apart of course from excessive perturbations periodically arising from industrial and commercial crises, or, less frequently, from fluctuations in the value of money.

The law, that the quantity of the circulating medium is determined by the sum of the prices of the commodities circulating, and the average velocity of currency [1] may also be stated as follows: given the sum of the values of commodities, and the average rapidity of their metamorphoses, the quantity of precious metal current as money depends on the value of that precious metal. The erroneous opinion that it is, on the contrary, prices that are determined by the quantity of the circulating medium, and that the latter depends on the quantity of the

[1] "There is a certain measure and proportion of money requisite to drive the trade of a nation, more or less than which would prejudice the same. Just as there is a certain proportion of farthings necessary in a small retail trade, to change silver money, and to even such reckonings as cannot be adjusted with the smallest silver pieces... Now, as the proportion of the number of farthings requisite in commerce is to be taken from the number of people, the frequency of their exchanges: as also, and principally, from the value of the smallest silver pieces of money; so in like manner, the proportion of money" (gold and silver species) "requisite to our trade, is to be likewise taken from the frequency of commutations, and from the bigness of the payments" (William Petty, *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions*, London, 1667, [p]p. 17 [, 18]). The Theory of Hume [112] was defended against the attacks of J. Steuart and others, by A. Young, in his *Political Arithmetic*, London, 1774, in which work there is a special chapter entitled "Prices depend on quantity of money", at p. 112, sqq. I have stated in *Zur Kritik*, &c., p. 149 [present edition, Vol. 29, p. 399]: "He" (Adam Smith) "passes over without remark the question as to the quantity of coin in circulation, and treats money quite wrongly as a mere commodity." This statement applies only in so far as Adam Smith, *ex officio*, treats of money. Now and then, however, as in his criticism of the earlier systems of political economy, he takes the right view. "The quantity of coin in every country is regulated by the value of the commodities which are to be circulated by it.... The value of the goods annually bought and sold in any country requires a certain quantity of money to circulate and distribute them to their proper consumers, and can give employment to no more. The channel of circulation necessarily draws to itself a sum sufficient to fill it, and never admits any more" (*Wealth of Nations*, Bk. IV, ch. I). In like manner, *ex officio*, he opens his work with an apotheosis on the division of labour. Afterwards, in the last book which treats of the sources of public revenue [l. c., Bk. V, ch. II], he occasionally repeats the denunciations of the division of labour made by his teacher, A. Ferguson.

precious metals in a country;[1] this opinion was based by those who first held it, on the absurd hypothesis that commodities are without a price, and money without a value, when they first enter into circulation, and that, once in the circulation, an aliquot part of the medley of commodities is exchanged for an aliquot part of the heap of precious metals.[2]

[1] "The prices of things will certainly rise in every nation, as the gold and silver increase amongst the people; and consequently, where the gold and silver decrease in any nation, the prices of all things must fall proportionately to such decrease of money" (Jacob Vanderlint, *Money Answers All Things*, London, 1734, p. 5). A careful comparison of this book with Hume's *Essays*, proves to my mind without doubt that Hume was acquainted with and made use of Vanderlint's work, which is certainly an important one. The opinion that prices are determined by the quantity of the circulating medium, was also held by Barbon[113] and other much earlier writers. "No inconvenience," says Vanderlint, "can arise by an unrestrained trade, but very great advantage; since, if the cash of the nation be decreased by it, which prohibitions are designed to prevent, those nations that get the cash will certainly find everything advance in price, as the cash increases amongst them. And ... our manufactures, and everything else, will soon become so moderate as to turn the balance of trade in our favour, and thereby fetch the money back again" (l. c., pp. 43, 44).

[2] That the price of each single kind of commodity forms a part of the sum of the prices of all the commodities in circulation, is a self-evident proposition. But how use values, which are incommensurable with regard to each other, are to be exchanged, *en masse*, for the total sum of gold and silver in a country, is quite incomprehensible. If we start from the notion that all commodities together form one single commodity, of which each is but an aliquot part, we get the following beautiful result: The total commodity = x cwt. of gold; commodity A = an aliquot part of the total commodity = the same aliquot part of x cwt. of gold. This is stated in all seriousness by Montesquieu: "If one compares the amount of gold and silver in the world with the sum of the commodities available, it is certain that each product or commodity, taken in isolation, could be compared with a certain portion of the total amount of money. Let us suppose that there is only one product, or commodity, in the world, or only one that can be purchased, and that it can be divided in the same way as money: a certain part of this commodity would then correspond to a part of the total amount of money; half the total of the one would correspond to half the total of the other, &. ... the determination of the prices of things always depends, fundamentally, on the relation between the total amount of things and the total amount of their monetary symbols" (Montesquieu, l. c., t. III, pp. 12, 13). As to the further development of this theory by Ricardo and his disciples, James Mill, Lord Overstone, and others, see *Zur Kritik*, &c., pp. 140-46, and p. 150, sqq. [present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 390-96 and p. 399 sqq.]. John Stuart Mill, with his usual eclectic logic, understands how to hold at the same time the view of his father, James Mill, and the opposite view. On a comparison of the text of his compendium, *Principles of Pol.Econ.*, with his preface to the first edition, in which preface he announces himself as the Adam Smith of his day — we do not know whether to admire more the simplicity of the man, or that of the public, who took him, in good faith, for the Adam Smith he announced himself to be, although he bears about as much resemblance to

### *c. Coin and symbols of value*

That money takes the shape of coin, springs from its function as the circulating medium. The weight of gold represented in imagination by the prices or money names of commodities, must confront those commodities, within the circulation, in the shape of coins or pieces of gold of a given denomination. Coining, like the establishment of a standard of prices, is the business of the State. The different national uniforms worn at home by gold and silver as coins, and doffed again in the market of the world, indicate the separation between the internal or national spheres of the circulation of commodities, and their universal sphere.

The only difference, therefore, between coin and bullion, is one of shape, and gold can at any time pass from one form to the other.[1] But no sooner does coin leave the mint, than it immediately finds itself on the highroad to the melting pot. During their currency, coins wear away, some more, others less. Name and substance, nominal weight and real weight, begin their process of separation. Coins of the same denomination become different in value, because they are different in weight. The weight of gold fixed upon as the standard of prices, deviates from the weight that serves as the circulating medium, and the

Adam Smith as say General Williams, of Kars, to the Duke of Wellington.[114] The original researches of Mr. J. S. Mill, which are neither extensive nor profound, in the domain of political economy, will be found mustered in rank and file in his little work, *Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy*, which appeared in 1844. Locke asserts point blank the connexion between the absence of value in gold and silver, and the determination of their values by quantity alone. "Mankind having consented to put an imaginary value upon gold and silver ... the intrinsick value, regarded in these metals, is nothing but the quantity" (*Some Considerations*, &c., 1691, *Works*, Ed. 1777, Vol. II, p. 15).

[1] It lies, of course, entirely beyond my purpose to take into consideration such details as the seigniorage on minting. I will, however, cite for the benefit of the romantic sycophant, Adam Müller, who admires the "generous liberality" with which "the English Government coins gratuitously",[115] the following opinion of Sir Dudley North: "Silver and gold, like other commodities, have their ebbings and flowings. Upon the arrival of quantities from Spain ... it is carried into the Tower, and coined. Not long after there will come a demand for bullion to be exported again. If there is none, but all happens to be in coin, what then? Melt it down again; there's no loss in it, for the coining costs the owner nothing. Thus the nation has been abused, and made to pay for the twisting of straw for asses to eat. If the merchant were made to pay the price of the coinage, he would not have sent his silver to the Tower without consideration, and coined money would always keep a value above uncoined silver" (North, l. c., p. 18). North was himself one of the foremost merchants in the reign of Charles II.

latter thereby ceases any longer to be a real equivalent of the commodities whose prices it realises. The history of coinage during the Middle Ages and down into the 18th century, records the ever renewed confusion arising from this cause. The natural tendency of circulation to convert coins into a mere semblance of what they profess to be, into a symbol of the weight of metal they are officially supposed to contain, is recognised by modern legislation, which fixes the loss of weight sufficient to demonetise a gold coin, or to make it no longer legal tender.

The fact that the currency of coins itself effects a separation between their nominal and their real weight, creating a distinction between them as mere pieces of metal on the one hand, and as coins with a definite function on the other — this fact implies the latent possibility of replacing metallic coins by tokens of some other material, by symbols serving the same purposes as coins. The practical difficulties in the way of coining extremely minute quantities of gold or silver, and the circumstance that at first the less precious metal is used as a measure of value instead of the more precious, copper instead of silver, silver instead of gold, and that the less precious circulates as money until dethroned by the more precious — all these facts explain the parts historically played by silver and copper tokens as substitutes for gold coins. Silver and copper tokens take the place of gold in those regions of the circulation where coins pass from hand to hand most rapidly, and are subject to the maximum amount of wear and tear. This occurs where sales and purchases on a very small scale are continually happening. In order to prevent these satellites from establishing themselves permanently in the place of gold, positive enactments determine the extent to which they must be compulsorily received as payment instead of gold. The particular tracks pursued by the different species of coin in currency, run naturally into each other. The tokens keep company with gold, to pay fractional parts of the smallest gold coin; gold is, on the one hand, constantly pouring into retail circulation, and on the other hand is as constantly being thrown out again by being changed into tokens.[1]

[1] "If silver never exceed what is wanted for the smaller payments, it cannot be collected in sufficient quantities for the larger payments ... the use of gold in the main payments necessarily implies also its use in the retail trade: those who have gold coins offering them for small purchases, and receiving with the commodity purchased a balance of silver in return; by which means the surplus of silver that would otherwise encumber the retail dealer, is drawn off and dispersed into general circulation. But if there is as

The weight of metal in the silver and copper tokens is arbitrarily fixed by law. When in currency, they wear away even more rapidly than gold coins. Hence their functions are totally independent of their weight, and consequently of all value. The function of gold as coin becomes completely independent of the metallic value of that gold. Therefore things that are relatively without value, such as paper notes, can serve as coins in its place. This purely symbolic character is to a certain extent masked in metal tokens. In paper money it stands out plainly. In fact, *ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte.*[a]

We allude here only to inconvertible paper money issued by the State and having compulsory circulation. It has its immediate origin in the metallic currency. Money based upon credit implies on the other hand conditions, which, from our standpoint of the simple circulation of commodities, are as yet totally unknown to us. But we may affirm this much, that just as true paper money takes its rise in the function of money as the circulating medium, so money based upon credit takes root spontaneously in the function of money as the means of payment.[1)]

The State puts in circulation bits of paper on which their various denominations, say £1, £5, &c., are printed. In so far as they actually take the place of gold to the same amount, their movement is subject to the laws that regulate the currency of money itself. A law peculiar to the circulation of paper money can spring up only from

much silver as will transact the small payments independent of gold, the retail trader must then receive silver for small purchases; and it must of necessity accumulate in his hands" (David Buchanan, *Inquiry into the Taxation and Commercial Policy of Great Britain*, Edinburgh, 1844, pp. 248, 249).

[1)] The mandarin Wan-mao-in, the Chinese Chancellor of the Exchequer, took it into his head one day to lay before the Son of Heaven [116] a proposal that secretly aimed at converting the *assignats* of the empire into convertible banknotes. The Assignats Committee, in its report of April, 1854, gives him a severe snubbing. Whether he also received the traditional drubbing with bamboos is not stated. The concluding part of the report is as follows: — "The Committee has carefully examined his proposal and finds that it is entirely in favour of the merchants, and that no advantage will result to the crown" (*Arbeiten der Kaiserlich Russischen Gesandtschaft zu Peking über China.* Aus dem Russischen von Dr. C. Abel und F. A. Mecklenburg. Erster Band, Berlin, 1858, pp. 47, 54). In his evidence before the Committee of the House of Lords on the Bank Acts, a governor of the Bank of England says, with regard to the abrasion of gold coins during currency: "Every year a fresh class of sovereigns becomes too light. The class which one year passes with full weight, loses enough by wear and tear to draw the scales next year against it" (House of Lords' Committee, 1848, n. 429).

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[a] Everything depends on the first step.

the proportion in which that paper money represents gold. Such a law exists; stated simply, it is as follows: the issue of paper money must not exceed in amount the gold (or silver as the case may be) which would actually circulate if not replaced by symbols. Now the quantity of gold which the circulation can absorb, constantly fluctuates about a given level. Still, the mass of the circulating medium in a given country never sinks below a certain minimum easily ascertained by actual experience. The fact that this minimum mass continually undergoes changes in its constituent parts, or that the pieces of gold of which it consists are being constantly replaced by fresh ones, causes of course no change either in its amount or in the continuity of its circulation. It can therefore be replaced by paper symbols. If, on the other hand, all the conduits of circulation were today filled with paper money to the full extent of their capacity for absorbing money, they might tomorrow be overflowing in consequence of a fluctuation in the circulation of commodities. There would no longer be any standard. If the paper money exceed its proper limit, which is the amount in gold coins of the like denomination that can actually be current, it would, apart from the danger of falling into general disrepute, represent only that quantity of gold, which, in accordance with the laws of the circulation of commodities, is required, and is alone capable of being represented by paper. If the quantity of paper money issued be double what it ought to be, then, as a matter of fact, £1 would be the money name not of $\frac{1}{4}$ of an ounce, but of $\frac{1}{8}$ of an ounce of gold. The effect would be the same as if an alteration had taken place in the function of gold as a standard of prices. Those values that were previously expressed by the price of £1 would now be expressed by the price of £2.

Paper money is a token representing gold or money. The relation between it and the values of commodities is this, that the latter are ideally expressed in the same quantities of gold that are symbolically represented by the paper. Only in so far as paper money represents gold, which like all other commodities has value, is it a symbol of value.[1]

Finally, some one may ask why gold is capable of being replaced by

[1] The following passage from Fullarton shows the want of clearness on the part of even the best writers on money, in their comprehension of its various functions: "That, as far as concerns our domestic exchanges, all the monetary functions which are usually performed by gold and silver coins, may be performed as effectually by a circulation of inconvertible notes, having no value but that factitious and conventional value [which] they derive from the law, is a fact which admits, I conceive, of no denial.

tokens that have no value? But, as we have already seen, it is capable of being so replaced only in so far as it functions exclusively as coin, or as the circulating medium, and as nothing else. Now, money has other functions besides this one, and the isolated function of serving as the mere circulating medium is not necessarily the only one attached to gold coin, although this is the case with those abraded coins that continue to circulate. Each piece of money[a] is a mere coin, or means of circulation, only so long as it actually circulates. But this is just the case with that minimum mass of gold, which is capable of being replaced by paper money. That mass remains constantly within the sphere of circulation, continually functions as a circulating medium, and exists exclusively for that purpose. Its movement therefore represents nothing but the continued alternation of the inverse phases of the metamorphosis C—M—C, phases in which commodities confront their value forms, only to disappear again immediately. The independent existence of the exchange value of a commodity is here a transient apparition, by means of which the commodity is immediately replaced by another commodity. Hence, in this process which continually makes money pass from hand to hand, the mere symbolical existence of money suffices. Its functional existence absorbs, so to say, its material existence. Being a transient and objective reflex of the prices of commodities, it serves only as a symbol of itself, and is therefore capable of being replaced by a token.[1] One thing is, however, requisite; this token must have an objective social validity of its own, and this the paper symbol acquires by its forced currency. This compulsory action of the State can take effect only within that inner sphere of circulation

Value of this description may be made to answer all the purposes of intrinsic value, and supersede even the necessity for a standard, provided only the quantity of issues be kept under due limitation" (Fullarton, *Regulation of Currencies*, London, 1844, p. 21). Because the commodity that serves as money is capable of being replaced in circulation by mere symbols of value, therefore its functions as a measure of value and a standard of prices are declared to be superfluous!

[1] From the fact that gold and silver, so far as they are coins, or exclusively serve as the medium of circulation, become mere tokens of themselves, Nicholas Barbon deduces the right of Governments "to raise money", that is, to give to the weight of silver that is called a shilling the name of a greater weight, such as a crown; and so to pay creditors shillings, instead of crowns. "Money does wear and grow lighter by often telling over... It is the denomination and currency of the money that men regard in bargaining, and not the quantity of silver... 'Tis the public authority upon the metal that makes it money" (N. Barbon, l. c., pp. 29, 30, 25).

[a] In the German editions "gold".

which is co-terminous with the territories of the community, but it is also only within that sphere that money completely responds to its function of being the circulating medium, or becomes coin.[a]

## SECTION 3.—MONEY

The commodity that functions as a measure of value, and, either in its own person or by a representative, as the medium of circulation, is money. Gold (or silver) is therefore money. It functions as money, on the one hand, when it has to be present in its own golden person. It is then the money commodity, neither merely ideal, as in its function of a measure of value, nor capable of being represented, as in its function of circulating medium. On the other hand, it also functions as money, when by virtue of its function, whether that function be performed in person or by representative, it congeals into the sole form of value, the only adequate form of existence of exchange value, in opposition to use value, represented by all other commodities.

### *a. Hoarding*

The continual movement in circuits of the two antithetical metamorphoses of commodities, or the never ceasing alternation of sale and purchase, is reflected in the restless currency of money, or in the function that money performs of a *perpetuum mobile* of circulation. But so soon as the series of metamorphoses is interrupted, so soon as sales are not supplemented by subsequent purchases, money ceases to be mobilised; it is transformed, as Boisguillebert says, from "meuble" into "immeuble", [117] from movable into immovable, from coin into money.

With the very earliest development of the circulation of commodities, there is also developed the necessity, and the passionate desire, to hold fast the product of the first metamorphosis. This product is the transformed shape of the commodity, or its gold-chrysalis.[1] Commodities are thus sold not for the purpose of buying others, but in order to replace their commodity form by their money form. From being the mere means of effecting the circulation of commodities, this

[1] "Monetary wealth is nothing but ... wealth in products, transformed into money" (Mercier de la Rivière, l. c. [p. 573]). "A value in the form of product, which has merely changed its form" (ibid., p. 486).

[a] In the German editions the sentence ends as follows: ", and is therefore able to receive, in the form of paper money, a purely functional mode of existence in which it is externally separated from its metallic substance."

change of form becomes the end and aim. The changed form of the commodity is thus prevented from functioning as its unconditionally alienable form, or as its merely transient money form. The money becomes petrified into a hoard, and the seller becomes a hoarder of money.

In the early stages of the circulation of commodities, it is the surplus use values alone that are converted into money. Gold and silver thus become of themselves social expressions for superfluity or wealth. This naïve form of hoarding becomes perpetuated in those communities in which the traditional mode of production is carried on for the supply of a fixed and limited circle of home wants. It is thus with the people of Asia, and particularly of the East Indies. Vanderlint, who fancies that the prices of commodities in a country are determined by the quantity of gold and silver to be found in it, asks himself why Indian commodities are so cheap. [118] Answer: Because the Hindus bury their money. From 1602 to 1734, he remarks, they buried 150 millions of pounds sterling of silver, which originally came from America to Europe.[1] In the 10 years from 1856 to 1866, England exported to India and China £120,000,000 in silver, which had been received in exchange for Australian gold. Most of the silver exported to China makes its way to India.

As the production of commodities further develops, every producer of commodities is compelled to make sure of the *nexus rerum* [119] or the social pledge.[2] His wants are constantly making themselves felt, and necessitate the continual purchase of other people's commodities, while the production and sale of his own goods require time, and depend upon circumstances. In order then to be able to buy without selling, he must have sold previously without buying. This operation, conducted on a general scale, appears to imply a contradiction. But the precious metals at the sources of their production are directly exchanged for other commodities. And here we have sales (by the owners of commodities) without purchases (by the owners of gold or silver).[3] And subsequent sales, by other producers, unfollowed by purchases, merely bring about the distribution of the newly

[1] "'Tis by this practice they keep all their goods and manufactures at such low rates" (Vanderlint, l. c., [p]p. [95,] 96).

[2] "Money ... is a pledge" (John Bellers, *Essays about the Poor, Manufacturers, Trade, Plantations, and Immorality*, London, 1699, p. 13).

[3] A purchase, in a "categorical" sense, implies that gold and silver are already the converted form of commodities, or the product of a sale.

produced precious metals among all the owners of commodities. In this way, all along the line of exchange, hoards of gold and silver of varied extent are accumulated. With the possibility of holding and storing up exchange value in the shape of a particular commodity, arises also the greed for gold. Along with the extension of circulation, increases the power of money, that absolutely social form of wealth ever ready for use.

"Gold is a wonderful thing! Whoever possesses it is lord of all he wants. By means of gold one can even get souls into Paradise." (Columbus in his letter from Jamaica, 1503).

Since gold does not disclose what has been transformed into it, everything, commodity or not, is convertible into gold. Everything becomes saleable and buyable. The circulation becomes the great social retort into which everything is thrown, to come out again as a gold crystal. Not even are the bones of saints, and still less are more delicate *res sacrosanctæ, extra commercium hominum*[a] able to withstand this alchemy.[1] Just as every qualitative difference between commodities is extinguished in money, so money, on its side, like the radical leveller[85] that it is, does away with all distinctions.[2] But money itself is

[1] Henry III, most Christian king of France, robbed cloisters of their relics, and turned them into money.[120] It is well known what part the despoiling of the Delphic Temple, by the Phocians, played in the history of Greece.[121] Temples with the ancients served as the dwellings of the gods of commodities. They were "sacred banks". With the Phoenicians, a trading people *par excellence*, money was the transmuted shape of everything. It was, therefore, quite in order that the virgins, who, at the feast of the Goddess of Love, gave themselves up to strangers, should offer to the goddess the piece of money they received.

[2] "Gold, yellow, glittering, precious gold!
Thus much of this, will make black white; foul, fair;
Wrong, right; base, noble; old, young; coward, valiant.
... What this, you gods? Why, this
Will lug your priests and servants from your sides;
Pluck stout men's pillows from below their heads;
This yellow slave
Will knit and break religions; bless the accurs'd;
Make the hoar leprosy ador'd; place thieves,
And give them title, knee and approbation,
With senators on the bench; this is it,
That makes the wappen'd widow wed again:
... Come damned earth,
Though common whore of mankind."
(Shakespeare, *Timon of Athens* [Act IV, Scene 3]).

[a] consecrated objects, beyond human commerce

a commodity, an external object, capable of becoming the private property of any individual. Thus social power becomes the private power of private persons. The ancients therefore denounced money as subversive of the economic and moral order of things.[1] Modern society, which, soon after its birth, pulled Plutus by the hair of his head from the bowels of the earth,[2] greets gold as its Holy Grail,[122] as the glittering incarnation of the very principle of its own life.

A commodity, in its capacity of a use value, satisfies a particular want, and is a particular element of material wealth. But the value of a commodity measures the degree of its attraction for all other elements of material wealth, and therefore measures the social wealth of its owner. To a barbarian owner of commodities, and even to a West European peasant, value is the same as value form, and therefore, to him the increase in his hoard of gold and silver is an increase in value. It is true that the value of money varies, at one time in consequence of a variation in its own value, at another, in consequence of a change in the values of commodities. But this, on the one hand, does not prevent 200 ounces of gold from still containing more value than 100 ounces, nor, on the other hand, does it hinder the actual metallic form of this article from continuing to be the universal equivalent form of all other commodities, and the immediate social incarnation of all human labour. The desire after hoarding is in its very nature unsatiable. In its qualitative aspect, or formally considered, money has no bounds to its efficacy, i. e., it is the universal representative of material wealth, because it is directly convertible into any other commodity. But, at the same time, every actual sum of money is limited in amount, and, therefore, as a means of purchasing, has only a limited

[1] "Money! Nothing worse
in our lives, so current, rampant, so corrupting.
Money — you demolish cities, root men from their homes,
you train and twist good minds and set them on
to the most atrocious schemes. No limit,
you make them adept at every kind of outrage,
every godless crime — money!"

(Sophocles, *Antigone* [lines 295-301]).[a]

[2] "Avarice hopes to drag Pluto himself out of the bowels of the earth" (Athenaeus, *Deipnos*[*ophistae*], 1. VI, 23, Vol. 2, ed. Schweighäuser, p. 397).

[a] Marx quotes in Greek. English translation by Robert Fagles (Sophocles, *The Three Theban Plays*, London, 1982, p. 73).

efficacy. This antagonism between the quantitative limits of money and its qualitative boundlessness, continually acts as a spur to the hoarder in his Sisyphus-like labour of accumulating. It is with him as it is with a conqueror who sees in every new country annexed, only a new boundary.

In order that gold may be held as money, and made to form a hoard, it must be prevented from circulating, or from transforming itself into a means of enjoyment. The hoarder, therefore, makes a sacrifice of the lusts of the flesh to his gold fetish. He acts in earnest up to the Gospel of abstention. On the other hand, he can withdraw from circulation no more than what he has thrown into it in the shape of commodities. The more he produces, the more he is able to sell. Hard work, saving, and avarice, are, therefore, his three cardinal virtues, and to sell much and buy little the sum of his political economy.[1]

By the side of the gross form of a hoard, we find also its aesthetic form in the possession of gold and silver articles. This grows with the wealth of civil society. "Soyons riches ou paraissons riches" (Diderot).[123] In this way there is created, on the one hand, a constantly extending market for gold and silver, unconnected with their functions as money, and, on the other hand, a latent source of supply, to which recourse is had principally in times of crisis and social disturbance.

Hoarding serves various purposes in the economy of the metallic circulation. Its first function arises out of the conditions to which the currency of gold and silver coins is subject. We have seen how, along with the continual fluctuations in the extent and rapidity of the circulation of commodities and in their prices, the quantity of money current unceasingly ebbs and flows. This mass must, therefore, be capable of expansion and contraction. At one time money must be attracted in order to act as circulating coin, at another, circulating coin must be repelled in order to act again as more or less stagnant money. In order that the mass of money, actually current, may constantly saturate the absorbing power of the circulation, it is necessary that the quantity of gold and silver in a country be greater than the quantity required to function as coin. This condition is fulfilled by money tak-

[1] "These are the pivots around which all the measures of political economy turn: the maximum possible increase in the number of sellers of each commodity, and the maximum possible decrease in the number of buyers" (Verri, l.c., [p]p. 52[-53]).

ing the form of hoards. These reserves serve as conduits for the supply or withdrawal of money to or from the circulation, which in this way never overflows its banks.[1)]

### *b. Means of Payment*

In the simple form of the circulation of commodities hitherto considered, we found a given value always presented to us in a double shape, as a commodity at one pole, as money at the opposite pole. The owners of commodities came therefore into contact as the respective representatives of what were already equivalents. But with the development of circulation, conditions arise under which the alienation of commodities becomes separated, by an interval of time, from the realisation of their prices. It will be sufficient to indicate the most simple of these conditions. One sort of article requires a longer, another a shorter time for its production. Again, the production of different commodities depends on different seasons of the year. One sort of commodity may be born on its own market place, another has to make a long journey to market. Commodity owner No. 1, may therefore be ready to sell, before No. 2 is ready to buy. When the same transactions are continually repeated between the same persons, the conditions of sale are regulated in accordance with the conditions of production. On the other hand, the use of a given commodity, of a house, for instance, is sold (in common parlance, let) for a definite period. Here, it is only at the end of the term that the buyer has actually received the use value of the commodity. He therefore buys it

[1)] "There is required for carrying on the trade of the nation a determinate sum of specifick money, which varies, and is sometimes more, sometimes less, as the circumstances we are in require.... This ebbing and flowing of money supplies and accommodates itself, without any aid of Politicians.... The buckets work alternately; when money is scarce, bullion is coined; when bullion is scarce, money is melted" (Sir D. North, l. c., Postscript, p. III). John Stuart Mill, who for a long time was an official of the East India Company.[124] confirms the fact that in India silver ornaments still continue to perform directly the functions of a hoard. The "silver ornaments are brought out and coined when there is a high rate of interest, and go back again when the rate of interest falls" (J. S. Mill's Evidence. "Reports on Bank Acts", 1857, 2084 [,2101]). According to a Parliamentary document of 1864, on the gold and silver import and export of India,[125] the import of gold and silver in 1863 exceeded the export by £19,367,764. During the 8 years immediately preceding 1864, the excess of imports over exports of the precious metals amounted to £109,652,917. During this century far more than £200,000,000 has been coined in India.

before he pays for it. The vendor sells an existing commodity, the purchaser buys as the mere representative of money, or rather of future money. The vendor becomes a creditor, the purchaser becomes a debtor. Since the metamorphosis of commodities, or the development of their value form, appears here under a new aspect, money also acquires a fresh function; it becomes the means of payment.[a]

The character of creditor, or of debtor, results here from the simple circulation. The change in the form of that circulation stamps buyer and seller with this new die. At first, therefore, these new parts are just as transient and alternating as those of seller and buyer, and are in turns played by the same actors. But the opposition is not nearly so pleasant, and is far more capable of crystallisation.[1] The same characters can, however, be assumed independently of the circulation of commodities. The class struggles of the ancient world took the form chiefly of a contest between debtors and creditors, which in Rome ended in the ruin of the plebeian debtors. They were displaced by slaves. In the Middle Ages the contest ended with the ruin of the feudal debtors, who lost their political power together with the economic basis on which it was established. Nevertheless, the money relation of debtor and creditor that existed at these two periods reflected only the deeper-lying antagonism between the general economic conditions of existence of the classes in question.

Let us return to the circulation of commodities. The appearance of the two equivalents, commodities and money, at the two poles of the process of sale, has ceased to be simultaneous. The money functions now, first as a measure of value in the determination of the price of the commodity sold; the price fixed by the contract measures the obligation of the debtor, or the sum of money that he has to pay at a fixed date. Secondly, it serves as an ideal means of purchase. Although existing only in the promise of the buyer to pay, it causes the commod-

[1] The following shows the debtor and creditor relations existing between English traders at the beginning of the 18th century. "Such a spirit of cruelty reigns here in England among the men of trade, that is not to be met with in any other society of men, nor in any other kingdom of the world" (*An Essay on Credit and the Bankrupt Act*, London, 1707, p. 2).

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[a] In the German editions there is the following footnote here: "Luther distinguishes between money as means of purchase and means of payment: 'You have caused me to suffer twofold damage, because I cannot pay on the one hand and cannot buy on the other' (Martin Luther, *An die Pfarrherrn, wider den Wucher zu predigen*, Wittemberg, 1540)."

ity to change hands. It is not before the day fixed for payment that the means of payment actually steps into circulation, leaves the hand of the buyer for that of the seller. The circulating medium was transformed into a hoard, because the process stopped short after the first phase, because the converted shape of the commodity, viz., the money, was withdrawn from circulation. The means of payment enters the circulation, but only after the commodity has left it. The money is no longer the means that brings about the process. It only brings it to a close, by stepping in as the absolute form of existence of exchange value, or as the universal commodity. The seller turned his commodity into money, in order thereby to satisfy some want; the hoarder did the same in order to keep his commodity in its money shape, and the debtor in order to be able to pay; if he do not pay, his goods will be sold by the sheriff. The value form of commodities, money, is therefore now the end and aim of a sale, and that owing to a social necessity springing out of the process of circulation itself.

The buyer converts money back into commodities before he has turned commodities into money: in other words, he achieves the second metamorphosis of commodities before the first. The seller's commodity circulates, and realises its price, but only in the shape of a legal claim upon money. It is converted into a use value before it has been converted into money. The completion of its first metamorphosis follows only at a later period.[1]

The obligations falling due within a given period, represent the sum of the prices of the commodities, the sale of which gave rise to those obligations. The quantity of gold [a] necessary to realise this sum, depends, in the first instance, on the rapidity of currency of the means

[1] It will be seen from the following quotation from my book which appeared in 1859, why I take no notice in the text of an opposite form. "Contrariwise, in the process M — C, the money can be alienated as a real means of purchase, and in that way, the price of the commodity can be realised before the use value of the money is realised and the commodity actually delivered. This occurs constantly under the everyday form of pre-payments. And it is under this form, that the English government purchases opium from the ryots of India.... In these cases, however, the money always acts as a means of purchase.... Of course capital also is advanced in the shape of money.... This point of view, however, does not fall within the horizon of simple circulation" (*Zur Kritik*, &c., pp. 119, 120 [present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 372-73]).

[a] The German editions have "money".

of payment. That quantity is conditioned by two circumstances: first the relations between debtors and creditors form a sort of chain, in such a way that A, when he receives money from his debtor B, straightway hands it over to C his creditor, and so on; the second circumstance is the length of the intervals between the different due days of the obligations. The continuous chain of payments, or retarded first metamorphoses, is essentially different from that interlacing of the series of metamorphoses which we considered on a former page. By the currency of the circulating medium, the connexion between buyers and sellers, is not merely expressed. This connexion is originated by, and exists in, the circulation alone. Contrariwise, the movement of the means of payment expresses a social relation that was in existence long before.

The fact that a number of sales take place simultaneously, and side by side, limits the extent to which coin can be replaced by the rapidity of currency. On the other hand, this fact is a new lever in economising the means of payment. In proportion as payments are concentrated at one spot, special institutions and methods are developed for their liquidation. Such in the Middle Ages were the *virements*[a] at Lyons. The debts due to A from B, to B from C, to C from A, and so on, have only to be confronted with each other, in order to annul each other to a certain extent like positive and negative quantities. There thus remains only a single balance to pay. The greater the amount of the payments concentrated, the less is this balance relatively to that amount, and the less is the mass of the means of payment in circulation.

The function of money as the means of payment implies a contradiction without a *terminus medius*. In so far as the payments balance one another, money functions only ideally as money of account, as a measure of value. In so far as actual payments have to be made, money does not serve as a circulating medium, as a mere transient agent in the interchange of products, but as the individual incarnation of social labour, as the independent form of existence of exchange value, as the universal commodity. This contradiction comes to a head in those phases of industrial and commercial crises which are known as monetary crises.[1] Such a crisis occurs only where the ever-

[1] The monetary crisis referred to in the text, being a phase of every crisis, must be clearly distinguished from that particular form of crisis, which also is called a monetary crisis, but which may be produced by itself as an independent phenomenon in such

[a] clearing-houses

lengthening chain of payments, and an artificial system of settling them, has been fully developed. Whenever there is a general and extensive disturbance of this mechanism, no matter what its cause, money becomes suddenly and immediately transformed, from its merely ideal shape of money of account, into hard cash. Profane commodities can no longer replace it. The use value of commodities becomes valueless, and their value vanishes in the presence of its own independent form. On the eve of the crisis, the bourgeois, with the self-sufficiency that springs from intoxicating prosperity, declares money to be a vain imagination.[126] Commodities alone are money. But now the cry is everywhere: money alone is a commodity! As the hart pants after fresh water,[127] so pants his soul after money, the only wealth.[1] In a crisis, the antithesis between commodities and their value form, money, becomes heightened into an absolute contradiction. Hence, in such events, the form under which money appears is of no importance. The money famine continues, whether payments have to be made in gold or in credit money such as banknotes.[2]

If we now consider the sum total of the money current during a given period, we shall find that, given the rapidity of currency of the circulating medium and of the means of payment, it is equal to the sum of the prices to be realised, plus the sum of the payments falling

a way as to react only indirectly on industry and commerce. The pivot of these crises is to be found in moneyed capital, and their sphere of direct action is therefore the sphere of that capital, viz., banking, the stock exchange, and finance.

[1] "The sudden reversion from a system of credit to a system of hard cash heaps theoretical fright on top of the practical panic; and the dealers by whose agency circulation is affected, shudder before the impenetrable mystery in which their own economic relations are involved" (Karl Marx, l. c., p. 126 [present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 378-79]). "The poor stand still, because the rich have no money to employ them, though they have the same land and hands to provide victuals and clothes, as ever they had; ...which is the true Riches of a Nation, and not the money" (John Bellers, *Proposals for Raising a College of Industry*, London. 1696, [p]p. 3[-4].

[2] The following shows how such times are exploited by the "amis du commerce". "On one occasion" (1839) "an old grasping banker" (in the City) "in his private room raised the lid of the desk he sat over, and displayed to a friend rolls of banknotes, saying with intense glee there were £ 600,000 of them, they were held to make money tight, and would all be let out after three o'clock on the same day" ([H. Roy,] *The Theory of the Exchanges. The Bank Charter Act of 1844*, London, 1864, p. 81). The *Observer*, a semi-official government organ, contained the following paragraph on 24th April, 1864: "Some very curious rumours are current of the means which have been resorted to in order to create a scarcity of banknotes.... Questionable as it would seem, to suppose that any trick of the kind would be adopted, the report has been so universal that it really deserves mention" [l. c., p. 236].

due, minus the payments that balance each other, minus finally the number of circuits in which the same piece of coin serves in turn as means of circulation and of payment.[a] Hence, even when prices, rapidity of currency, and the extent of the economy in payments, are given, the quantity of money current and the mass of commodities circulating during a given period, such as a day, no longer correspond. Money that represents commodities long withdrawn from circulation, continues to be current. Commodities circulate, whose equivalent in money will not appear on the scene till some future day. Moreover, the debts contracted each day, and the payments falling due on the same day, are quite incommensurable quantities.[1]

Credit money springs directly out of the function of money as a means of payment. Certificates of the debts owing for the purchased commodities circulate for the purpose of transferring those debts to others. On the other hand, to the same extent as the system of credit is extended, so is the function of money as a means of payment. In that character it takes various forms peculiar to itself under which it makes itself at home in the sphere of great commercial transactions. Gold and silver coin, on the other hand, are mostly relegated to the sphere of retail trade.[2]

When the production of commodities has sufficiently extended itself, money begins to serve as the means of payment beyond the

[1] "The amount of purchases or contracts entered upon during the course of any given day, will not affect the quantity of money afloat on that particular day, but, in the vast majority of cases, will resolve themselves into multifarious drafts upon the quantity of money which may be afloat at subsequent dates more or less distant.... The bills granted or credits opened, today, need have no resemblance whatever, either in quantity, amount, or duration, to those granted or entered upon to-morrow or next day; nay, many of today's bills, and credits, when due, fall in with a mass of liabilities whose origins traverse a range of antecedent dates altogether indefinite, bills at 12, 6, 3 months or 1 often aggregating together to swell the common liabilities of one particular day...." (*The Currency Theory Reviewed; [in] a Letter to the Scottish People.* By a Banker in England. Edinburgh, 1845, pp. 29, 30, passim.)

[2] As an example of how little ready money is required in true commercial operations, I give below a statement by one of the largest London houses of its yearly receipts and payments. Its transactions during the year 1856, extending to many millions of pounds sterling, are here reduced to the scale of one million.

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[a] In the 3rd and 4th German editions there follows this text: "The farmer, for example, sells this wheat for £2, and this money serves thus as the medium of circulation. On the day when the payment falls due, he uses it to pay for linen which the weaver has delivered. The same £2 now functions as the means of payment. The weaver now buys a Bible for cash. This functions again as the medium of circulation, and so on."

sphere of the circulation of commodities. It becomes the commodity that is the universal subject-matter of all contracts.[1] Rents, taxes, and such like payments are transformed from payments in kind into money payments. To what extent this transformation depends upon the general conditions of production, is shown, to take one example, by the fact that the Roman Empire twice failed in its attempt to levy all contributions in money. The unspeakable misery of the French agricultural population under Louis XIV, a misery so eloquently denounced by Boisguillebert, Marshal Vauban,[128] and others, was due not only to the weight of the taxes, but also to the conversion of taxes in kind into money taxes.[2] In Asia, on the other hand, the fact that state taxes are chiefly composed of rents payable in kind, depends on conditions of production that are reproduced with the regularity of natural phenomena. And this mode of payment tends in its turn to maintain the ancient form of production. It is one of the secrets of the conservation of the Ottoman Empire. If the foreign trade, forced upon Japan by Europeans, should lead to the substitution of money rents for rents in kind, it will be all up with the exemplary agriculture

| *Receipts* | | *Payments* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bankers' and Merchants' Bills payable after date . . . . . | £533,596 | Bills payable after date | £302,674 |
| Cheques on Bankers, &c., payable on demand | 357,715 | Cheques on London Bankers . . . . . | 663,672 |
| Country Notes . . . . . | 9,627 | Bank of England Notes . . . . . | 22,743 |
| Bank of England Notes | 68,554 | Gold . . . . . | 9,427 |
| Gold . . . . . | 28,089 | Silver and Copper . . . | 1,484 |
| Silver and Copper . . . | 1,486 | | |
| Post Office Orders . . . | 933 | | |
| Total | £1,000,000 | Total | £1,000,000 |

*Report from the Select Committee on the Bank Acts*, July, 1858, p. lxxi.

[1] "The course of trade being thus turned, from exchanging of goods for goods, or delivering and taking, to selling and paying, all the bargains ... are now stated upon the foot of a Price in money" ([D. Defoe,] *An Essay upon Publick Credit*, 3rd Ed., London, 1710, p. 8).

[2] "Money ... has become the executioner of all things." Finance is the "alembic that evaporates a frightful quantity of goods and commodities in order to obtain this fatal extract." "Money [...] declares war [...] on the whole human race" (Boisguillebert, *Dissertations sur la nature des richesses, de l'argent et des tributs*. Edit. Daire. *Économistes financiers*, Paris, 1843, t. i, pp. 413, 419, 417 [, 418]).

of that country. The narrow economic conditions under which that agriculture is carried on, will be swept away.

In every country, certain days of the year become by habit recognised settling days for various large and recurrent payments. These dates depend, apart from other revolutions in the wheel of reproduction, on conditions closely connected with the seasons. They also regulate the dates for payments that have no direct connexion with the circulation of commodities such as taxes, rents, and so on. The quantity of money requisite to make the payments, falling due on those dates all over the country, causes periodical, though merely superficial, perturbations in the economy of the medium of payment.[1]

From the law of the rapidity of currency of the means of payment, it follows that the quantity of the means of payment required for all periodical payments, whatever their source, is in inverse proportion[129] to the length of their periods.[2]

The development of money into a medium of payment makes it necessary to accumulate money against the dates fixed for the payment of the sums owing. While hoarding, as a distinct mode of acquiring

[1] "On Whitsuntide, 1824," says Mr. Craig before the Commons' Committee of 1826, "there was such an immense demand for notes upon the banks of Edinburgh, that by 11 o'clock they had not a note left in their custody. They sent round to all the different banks to borrow, but could not get them, and many of the transactions were adjusted by slips of paper only; yet by three o'clock the whole of the notes were returned into the banks from which they had issued! It was a mere transfer from hand to hand." Although the average effective circulation of banknotes in Scotland is less than three millions sterling, yet on certain pay days in the year, every single note in the possession of the bankers, amounting in the whole to about £7,000,000, is called into activity. On these occasions the notes have a single and specific function to perform, and so soon as they have performed it, they flow back into the various banks from which they issued.(See John Fullarton, [*On the*] *Regulation of Currencies*, London, 1844, p. 85, note.) In explanation it should be stated, that in Scotland, at the date of Fullarton's work, notes and not cheques were used to withdraw deposits.

[2] To the question, "If there were occasion to raise 40 millions p. a., whether the same 6 millions" (gold) ... "would suffice for such revolutions and circulations thereof, as trade requires," Petty replies in his usual masterly manner, "I answer yes: for the expense being 40 millions, if the revolutions were in such short circles, viz. weekly, as happens among poor artisans and labourers, who receive and pay every Saturday, then $\frac{40}{52}$ parts of 1 million of money would answer these ends; but if the circles be quarterly, according to our custom of paying rent, and gathering taxes, then 10 millions were requisite. Wherefore, supposing payments in general to be of a mixed circle between one week and 13, then add 10 millions to $\frac{40}{52}$, the half of which will be $5\frac{1}{2}$, so as if we have $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions we have enough" (William Petty, *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, 1672, Edit.: London, 1691, pp. 13, 14).[130]

riches, vanishes with the progress of civil society, the formation of reserves of the means of payment grows with that progress.

### *c. Universal Money*[a]

When money leaves the home sphere of circulation, it strips off the local garbs which it there assumes, of a standard of prices, of coin, of tokens, and of a symbol of value, and returns to its original form of bullion. In the trade between the markets of the world, the value of commodities is expressed so as to be universally recognised. Hence their independent value form also, in these cases, confronts them under the shape of universal money. It is only in the markets of the world that money acquires to the full extent the character of the commodity whose bodily form is also the immediate social incarnation of human labour in the abstract. Its real mode of existence in this sphere adequately corresponds to its ideal concept.

Within the sphere of home circulation, there can be but one commodity which, by serving as a measure of value, becomes money. In the markets of the world a double measure of value holds sway, gold and silver.[1]

[1] Hence the absurdity of every law prescribing that the banks of a country shall form reserves of that precious metal alone which circulates at home. The "pleasant difficulties" [131] thus self-created by the Bank of England, are well known. On the subject of the great epochs in the history of the changes in the relative value of gold and silver, see Karl Marx, l. c., p. 136 sq. [present edition, Vol. 29, p. 387 sq.]. Sir Robert Peel, by his Bank Act of 1844, sought to tide over the difficulty, by allowing the Bank of England to issue notes against silver bullion, on condition that the reserve of silver should never exceed more than one-fourth of the reserve of gold. The value of silver being for that purpose estimated at its price in the London market. // *Added in the 4th German edition.*— We find ourselves once more in a period of serious change in the relative values of gold and silver. About 25 years ago the ratio expressing the relative value of gold and silver was $15\frac{1}{2}:1$; now it is approximately $22:1$, and silver is still constantly falling as against gold. This is essentially the result of a revolution in the mode of production of both metals. Formerly gold was obtained almost exclusively by washing it out from gold-bearing alluvial deposits, products of the weathering of auriferous rocks. Now this method has become inadequate and has been forced into the background by the processing of the quartz lodes themselves, a way of extraction which formerly was only of secondary importance, although well known to the ancients (Diodorus, III, 12-14) [Diodor's v. Sicilien *Historische Bibliothek*, Book III, 12-14, Stuttgart, 1828, pp. 258-61]. Moreover, not only were new huge silver deposits discovered in North America, in the Western part of the Rocky Mountains, but these and the Mexican silver mines were really opened up by the laying of railways, which made possible the

[a] In the German editions "Money of the world".

Money of the world serves as the universal medium of payment, as the universal means of purchasing, and as the universally recognised embodiment of all wealth. Its function as a means of payment in the settling of international balances is its chief one. Hence the watchword of the mercantilists, balance of trade.[1] Gold and silver serve as

shipment of modern machinery and fuel and in consequence the mining of silver on a very large scale at a low cost. However, there is a great difference in the way the two metals occur in the quartz lodes. The gold is mostly native, but disseminated throughout the quartz in minute quantities. The whole mass of the vein must therefore be crushed and the gold either washed out or extracted by means of mercury. Often 1,000,000 grammes of quartz barely yield 1-3 and very seldom 30-60 grammes of gold. Silver is seldom found native; however, it occurs in special quartz that is separated from the lode with comparative ease and contains mostly 40-90% silver; or it is contained, in smaller quantities, in copper, lead and other ores which in themselves are worthwhile working. From this alone it is apparent that the labour expended on the production of gold is rather increasing while that expended on silver production has decidedly decreased, which quite naturally explains the drop in the value of the latter. This fall in value would express itself in a still greater fall in price if the price of silver were not pegged even today by artificial means. But America's rich silver deposits have so far barely been tapped, and thus the prospects are that the value of this metal will keep on dropping for rather a long time to come. A still greater contributing factor here is the relative decrease in the requirement of silver for articles of general use and for luxuries, that is its replacement by plated goods, aluminium, etc. One may thus gauge the utopianism of the bimetallist idea [132] that compulsory international quotation will raise silver again to the old value ratio of $1:15\frac{1}{2}$. It is more likely that silver will forfeit its money function more and more in the markets of the world.—*F. E.*//

[1] The opponents, themselves, of the mercantile system,[61] a system which considered the settlement of surplus trade balances in gold and silver as the aim of international trade, entirely misconceived the functions of money of the world. I have shown by the example of Ricardo in what way their false conception of the laws that regulate the quantity of the circulating medium, is reflected in their equally false conception of the international movement of the precious metals (l. c., pp. 150 sq. [present edition, Vol. 29, p. 399 sq.]). His erroneous dogma: "An unfavourable balance of trade never arises but from a redundant currency.... The exportation of the coin is caused by its cheapness, and is not the effect, but the cause of an unfavourable balance," [133] already occurs in Barbon: "The Balance of Trade, if there be one, is not the cause of sending away the money out of a nation; but that proceeds from the difference of the value of bullion in every country" (N. Barbon, l. c., pp. 59, 60). MacCulloch in *The Literature of Political Economy: A Classified Catalogue*, London, 1845 [p. 157], praises Barbon for this anticipation, but prudently passes over the naive forms, in which Barbon clothes the absurd supposition on which the "currency principle" [134] is based. The absence of real criticism and even of honesty, in that catalogue culminates in the sections devoted to the history of the theory of money; the reason is that MacCulloch in this part of the work is flattering Lord Overstone whom he calls "facile princeps argentariorum" [a] [l.c., p. 181].

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[a] recognized king of the money merchants

international means of purchasing chiefly and necessarily in those periods when the customary equilibrium in the interchange of products between different nations is suddenly disturbed. And lastly, it serves as the universally recognised embodiment of social wealth, whenever the question is not of buying or paying, but of transferring wealth from one country to another, and whenever this transference in the form of commodities is rendered impossible, either by special conjunctures in the markets, or by the purpose itself that is intended.[1]

Just as every country needs a reserve of money for its home circulation, so, too, it requires one for external circulation in the markets of the world. The functions of hoards, therefore, arise in part out of the function of money, as the medium of the home circulation and home payments, and in part out of its function of money of the world.[2] For this latter function, the genuine money commodity, actual gold and silver, is necessary. On that account, Sir James Steuart, in order to distinguish them from their purely local substitutes, calls gold and silver "money of the world".[135]

The current of the stream of gold and silver is a double one. On the one hand, it spreads itself from its sources over all the markets of the world, in order to become absorbed, to various extents, into the different national spheres of circulation, to fill the conduits of currency, to replace abraded gold and silver coins, to supply the material of articles of luxury, and to petrify into hoards.[3] This first current is started

[1] For instance, in subsidies, money loans for carrying on wars or for enabling banks to resume cash payments, &c., it is the money form, and no other, of value that may be wanted.

[2] "I would desire, indeed, no more convincing evidence of the competency of the machinery of the hoards in specie-paying countries to perform every necessary office of international adjustment, without any sensible aid from the general circulation, than the facility with which France, when but just recovering from the shock of a destructive foreign invasion, completed within the space of 27 months the payment of her forced contribution of nearly 20 millions to the allied powers, and a considerable proportion of the sum in specie, without any perceptible contraction or derangement of her domestic currency, or even any alarming fluctuation of her exchanges" (Fullarton, l. c., p. 131). // *Added in the 4th German edition.*— We have a still more striking example in the facility with which the same France was able in 1871-73 to pay off within 30 months a forced contribution more than ten times as great, a considerable part of it likewise in specie.— F. E.//

[3] "Money is shared among the nations in accordance with their need for it ... as it is always attracted by the products" (Le Trosne, l. c., p. 916). "The mines which are continually giving gold and silver, do give sufficient to supply such a needful balance to every nation" (J. Vanderlint, l. c., p. 40).

by the countries that exchange their labour, realised in commodities, for the labour embodied in the precious metals by gold and silver-producing countries. On the other hand, there is a continual flowing backwards and forwards of gold and silver between the different national spheres of circulation, a current whose motion depends on the ceaseless fluctuations in the course of exchange.[1]

Countries in which the bourgeois form of production is developed to a certain extent, limit the hoards concentrated in the strong rooms of the banks to the minimum required for the proper performance of their peculiar functions.[2] Whenever these hoards are strikingly above their average level, it is, with some exceptions, an indication of stagnation in the circulation of commodities, of an interruption in the even flow of their metamorphoses.[3]

[1] "Exchanges rise and fall every week, and at some particular times in the year run high against a nation, and at other times run as high on the contrary" (N. Barbon, l. c., p. 39).

[2] These various functions are liable to come into dangerous conflict with one another whenever gold and silver have also to serve as a fund for the conversion of banknotes.

[3] "What money is more than of absolute necessity for a Home Trade, is dead stock ... and brings no profit to that country it's kept in, but as it is transported in trade, as well as imported" (John Bellers, *Essays*, p. 13). "What if we have too much coin? We may melt down the heaviest and turn it into the splendour of plate, vessels or utensils of gold or silver, or send it out as a commodity, where the same is wanted or desired; or let it out at interest, where interest is high" (W. Petty, *Quantulumcunque*, p. 39). "Money is but the fat of the Body Politick, whereof too much doth as often hinder its agility, as too little makes it sick ... as fat lubricates the motion of the muscles, feeds in want of victuals, fills up the uneven cavities, and beautifies the body; so doth money in the state quicken its action, feeds from abroad in time of dearth at home; evens accounts ... and beautifies the whole; altho' more especially the particular persons that have it in plenty" (W. Petty, *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, [p]p. 14 [, 15]).[130]

# Part II

# THE TRANSFORMATION OF MONEY INTO CAPITAL

## Chapter IV [136]

### THE GENERAL FORMULA FOR CAPITAL

The circulation of commodities is the starting-point of capital. The production of commodities, their circulation, and that more developed form of their circulation called commerce, these form the historical ground-work from which it rises. The modern history of capital dates from the creation in the 16th century of a world-embracing commerce and a world-embracing market.

If we abstract from the material substance of the circulation of commodities, that is, from the exchange of the various use values, and consider only the economic forms produced by this process of circulation, we find its final result to be money: this final product of the circulation of commodities is the first form in which capital appears.

As a matter of history, capital, as opposed to landed property, invariably takes the form at first of money; it appears as moneyed wealth, as the capital of the merchant and of the usurer.[1] But we have no need to refer to the origin of capital in order to discover that the first form of appearance of capital is money. We can see it daily under our very eyes. All new capital, to commence with, comes on the stage, that is, on the market, whether of commodities, labour, or money, even in our days, in the shape of money that by a definite process has to be transformed into capital.

[1] The contrast between the power, based on the personal relations of dominion and servitude, that is conferred by landed property, and the impersonal power that is given by money, is well expressed by the two French proverbs, "No land without its lord", and "Money has no master".

The first distinction we notice between money that is money only, and money that is capital, is nothing more than a difference in their form of circulation.

The simplest form of the circulation of commodities is C—M—C, the transformation of commodities into money, and the change of the money back again into commodities; or selling in order to buy. But alongside of this form we find another specifically different form: M—C—M, the transformation of money into commodities, and the change of commodities back again into money; or buying in order to sell. Money that circulates in the latter manner is thereby transformed into, becomes capital, and is already potentially capital.

Now let us examine the circuit M—C—M a little closer. It consists, like the other, of two antithetical phases. In the first phase, M—C, or the purchase, the money is changed into a commodity. In the second phase, C—M, or the sale, the commodity is changed back again into money. The combination of these two phases constitutes the single movement whereby money is exchanged for a commodity, and the same commodity is again exchanged for money; whereby a commodity is bought in order to be sold, or, neglecting the distinction in form between buying and selling, whereby a commodity is bought with money, and then money is bought with a commodity.[1] The result, in which the phases of the process vanish, is the exchange of money for money, M—M. If I purchase 2,000 lbs of cotton for £100, and resell the 2,000 lbs of cotton for £110, I have, in fact, exchanged £100 for £110, money for money.

Now it is evident that the circuit M—C—M would be absurd and without meaning if the intention were to exchange by this means two equal sums of money, £100 for £100. The miser's plan would be far simpler and surer; he sticks to his £100 instead of exposing it to the dangers of circulation. And yet, whether the merchant who has paid £100 for his cotton sells it for £110, or lets it go for £100, or even £50, his money has, at all events, gone through a characteristic and original movement, quite different in kind from that which it goes through in the hands of the peasant who sells corn, and with the money thus set free buys clothes. We have therefore to examine first the distinguishing characteristics of the forms of the circuits M—

[1] "With money one buys commodities, and with commodities one buys money" (Mercier de la Rivière, *L'ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés politiques*, p. 543).

C—M and C—M—C, and in doing this the real difference that underlies the mere difference of form will reveal itself.

Let us see, in the first place, what the two forms have in common.

Both circuits are resolvable into the same two antithetical phases, C—M, a sale, and M—C, a purchase. In each of these phases the same material elements—a commodity, and money, and the same economic *dramatis personæ*, a buyer and a seller—confront one another. Each circuit is the unity of the same two antithetical phases, and in each case this unity is brought about by the intervention of three contracting parties, of whom one only sells, another only buys, while the third both buys and sells.

What, however, first and foremost distinguishes the circuit C—M—C from the circuit M—C—M, is the inverted order of succession of the two phases. The simple circulation of commodities begins with a sale and ends with a purchase, while the circulation of money as capital begins with a purchase and ends with a sale. In the one case both the starting-point and the goal are commodities, in the other they are money. In the first form the movement is brought about by the intervention of money, in the second by that of a commodity.

In the circulation C—M—C, the money is in the end converted into a commodity, that serves as a use value; it is spent once for all. In the inverted form, M—C—M, on the contrary, the buyer lays out money in order that, as a seller, he may recover money. By the purchase of his commodity he throws money into circulation, in order to withdraw it again by the sale of the same commodity. He lets the money go, but only with the sly intention of getting it back again. The money, therefore, is not spent, it is merely advanced.[1]

In the circuit C—M—C, the same piece of money changes its place twice. The seller gets it from the buyer and pays it away to another seller. The complete circulation, which begins with the receipt, concludes with the payment, of money for commodities. It is the very contrary in the circuit M—C—M. Here it is not the piece of money that changes its place twice, but the commodity. The buyer takes it from the hands of the seller and passes it into the hands of another buyer. Just as in the simple circulation of commodities the double change of place of the same piece of money effects its passage from one

[1] "When a thing is bought in order to be sold again, the sum employed is called money advanced; when it is bought not to be sold, it may be said to be expended."—(James Steuart, *Works*, &c. Edited by Gen. Sir James Steuart, his son. London, 1805, Vol. I, p. 274).

hand into another, so here the double change of place of the same commodity brings about the reflux of the money to its point of departure.

Such reflux is not dependent on the commodity being sold for more than was paid for it. This circumstance influences only the amount of the money that comes back. The reflux itself takes place, so soon as the purchased commodity is resold, in other words, so soon as the circuit M—C—M is completed. We have here, therefore, a palpable difference between the circulation of money as capital, and its circulation as mere money.

The circuit C—M—C comes completely to an end, so soon as the money brought in by the sale of one commodity is abstracted again by the purchase of another.

If, nevertheless, there follows a reflux of money to its starting-point, this can only happen through a renewal or repetition of the operation. If I sell a quarter of corn for £3, and with this £3 buy clothes, the money, so far as I am concerned, is spent and done with. It belongs to the clothes merchant. If I now sell a second quarter of corn, money indeed flows back to me, not however as a sequel to the first transaction, but in consequence of its repetition. The money again leaves me, so soon as I complete this second transaction by a fresh purchase. Therefore, in the circuit C—M—C, the expenditure of money has nothing to do with its reflux. On the other hand, in M—C—M, the reflux of the money is conditioned by the very mode of its expenditure. Without this reflux, the operation fails, or the process is interrupted and incomplete, owing to the absence of its complementary and final phase, the sale.

The circuit C—M—C starts with one commodity, and finishes with another, which falls out of circulation and into consumption. Consumption, the satisfaction of wants, in one word, use value, is its end and aim. The circuit M—C—M, on the contrary, commences with money and ends with money. Its leading motive, and the goal that attracts it, is therefore mere exchange value.

In the simple circulation of commodities, the two extremes of the circuit have the same economic form. They are both commodities, and commodities of equal value. But they are also use values differing in their qualities, as, for example, corn and clothes. The exchange of products, of the different materials in which the labour of society is embodied, forms here the basis of the movement. It is otherwise in the circulation M—C—M, which at first sight appears purposeless, be-

cause tautological. Both extremes have the same economic form. They are both money, and therefore are not qualitatively different use values; for money is but the converted form of commodities, in which their particular use values vanish. To exchange £100 for cotton, and then this same cotton again for £100, is merely a roundabout way of exchanging money for money, the same for the same, and appears to be an operation just as purposeless as it is absurd.[1] One sum of money is distinguishable from another only by its amount. The character and tendency of the process M—C—M, is therefore not due to any qualitative difference between its extremes, both being money, but solely to their quantitative difference. More money is withdrawn from circulation at the finish than was thrown into it at the start. The cotton that was bought for £100 is perhaps resold for £100 + £10 or £110. The exact form of this process is therefore M—C—M′, where M′ = M + △M = the original sum advanced, plus an increment. This increment or excess over the original value I call "surplus value". The value originally advanced, therefore, not only remains intact while in circulation, but adds to itself a surplus value or expands itself.[a] It is this movement that converts it into capital.

[1] "One does not exchange money for money," says Mercier de la Rivière to the Mercantilists (l. c., p. 486). In a work, which, *ex professo*, treats of "trade" and "speculation", occurs the following: "All trade consists in the exchange of things of different kinds; and the advantage" (to the merchant?) "arises out of this difference. To exchange a pound of bread against a pound of bread ... would be attended with no advantage; ... Hence trade is advantageously contrasted with gambling, which consists in a mere exchange of money for money" (Th. Corbet, *An Inquiry into the Causes and Modes of the Wealth of Individuals; or the Principles of Trade and Speculation Explained*, London, 1841, p. 5). Although Corbet does not see that M—M, the exchange of money for money, is the characteristic form of circulation, not only of merchants' capital but of all capital, yet at least he acknowledges that this form is common to gambling and to one species of trade, viz., speculation: but then comes MacCulloch and makes out, that to buy in order to sell, is to speculate, and thus the difference between Speculation and Trade vanishes. "Every transaction in which an individual buys produce in order to sell it again, is, in fact, a speculation" (MacCulloch, *A Dictionary Practical, &c., of Commerce*, London, 1847, p. 1009). With much more naïveté, Pinto, the Pindar of the Amsterdam Stock Exchange, remarks, "Trade is a game": (taken from Locke) "and nothing can be won from beggars. If one won everything from everybody for a long time, it would be necessary to give back the greater part of the profit voluntarily, in order to begin the game again" (Pinto, *Traité de la Circulation et du Crédit*, Amsterdam, 1771, p. 231).

[a] The German editions have here *verwertet sich*, which is translated in the previous economic volumes of the present edition as "valorises itself" or "is valorised". Hence *Verwertung* ("valorisation").

Of course, it is also possible, that in C—M—C, the two extremes C—C, say corn and clothes, may represent different quantities of value. The farmer may sell his corn above its value, or may buy the clothes at less than their value. He may, on the other hand, "be done" by the clothes merchant. Yet, in the form of circulation now under consideration, such differences in value are purely accidental. The fact that the corn and the clothes are equivalents, does not deprive the process of all meaning, as it does in M—C—M. The equivalence of their values is rather a necessary condition to its normal course.

The repetition or renewal of the act of selling in order to buy, is kept within bounds by the very object it aims at, namely, consumption or the satisfaction of definite wants, an aim that lies altogether outside the sphere of circulation. But when we buy in order to sell, we, on the contrary, begin and end with the same thing, money, exchange value; and thereby the movement becomes interminable. No doubt, M becomes M + $\Delta$M, £100 become £110. But when viewed in their qualitative aspect alone, £110 are the same as £100, namely money; and considered quantitatively, £110 is, like £100, a sum of definite and limited value. If now, the £110 be spent as money, they cease to play their part. They are no longer capital. Withdrawn from circulation, they become petrified into a hoard, and though they remained in that state till doomsday, not a single farthing would accrue to them. If, then, the expansion of value is once aimed at, there is just the same inducement to augment the value of the £110 as that of the £100; for both are but limited expressions for exchange value, and therefore both have the same vocation to approach, by quantitative increase, as near as possible to absolute wealth. Momentarily, indeed, the value originally advanced, the £100 is distinguishable from the surplus value of £10 that is annexed to it during circulation; but the distinction vanishes immediately. At the end of the process, we do not receive with one hand the original £100, and with the other, the surplus value of £10. We simply get a value of £110, which is in exactly the same condition and fitness for commencing the expanding process, as the original £100 was. Money ends the movement only to begin it again.[1] Therefore, the final result of every separate cir-

[1] "Capital is divisible ... into the original capital and the profit, the increment to the capital ... although in practice this profit is immediately turned into capital, and set in motion with the original" (F. Engels, *Umrisse zu einer Kritik der Nationalökonomie*, in:

cuit, in which a purchase and consequent sale are completed, forms of itself the starting-point of a new circuit. The simple circulation of commodities — selling in order to buy — is a means of carrying out a purpose unconnected with circulation, namely, the appropriation of use values, the satisfaction of wants. The circulation of money as capital is, on the contrary, an end in itself, for the expansion of value takes place only within this constantly renewed movement. The circulation of capital has therefore no limits.[1]

As the conscious representative of this movement, the possessor of money becomes a capitalist. His person, or rather his pocket, is the point from which the money starts and to which it returns. The expansion of value, which is the objective basis or mainspring of the circulation M—C—M, becomes his subjective aim, and it is only in so far as the appropriation of ever more and more wealth in the abstract

*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, herausgegeben von Arnold Ruge und Karl Marx, Paris, 1844, p. 99 [present edition, Vol. 3, p. 430]).

[1] Aristotle opposes Œconomic to Chrematistic. He starts from the former. So far as it is the art of gaining a livelihood, it is limited to procuring those articles that are necessary to existence, and useful either to a household or the state. "True wealth (ὁ ἀληθινός πλοῦτος) consists of such values in use; for the quantity of possessions of this kind, capable of making life pleasant, is not unlimited. There is, however, a second mode of acquiring things, to which we may by preference and with correctness give the name of Chrematistic, and in this case there appear to be no limits to riches and possessions. Trade (ἡ χαπηλιχή) is literally retail trade, and Aristotle takes this kind because in it values in use predominate) does not in its nature belong to Chrematistic, for here the exchange has reference only to what is necessary to themselves (the buyer or seller)." Therefore, as he goes on to show, the original form of trade was barter, but with the extension of the latter, there arose the necessity for money. On the discovery of money, barter of necessity developed into χαπηλιχή, into trading in commodities, and this again, in opposition to its original tendency, grew into Chrematistic, into the art of making money. Now Chrematistic is distinguishable from Œconomic in this way, that "in the case of Chrematistic circulation is the source of riches (ποιητιχη χρημάτων... διὰ χρημάτων μεταβολῆς). And it appears to revolve about money, for money is the beginning and end of this kind of exchange (τὸ γὰρ νόμισμα στοὶχεῖον χαι πέροζ τῆζ ἄλλαγῆζ ἐστίν). Therefore also riches, such as Chrematistic strives for, are unlimited. Just as every art that is not a means to an end, but an end in itself, has no limit to its aims, because it seeks constantly to approach nearer and nearer to that end, while those arts that pursue means to an end, are not boundless, since the goal itself imposes a limit upon them, so with Chrematistic, there are no bounds to its aims, these aims being absolute wealth. Œconomic not Chrematistic has a limit ... the object of the former is something different from money, of the latter the augmentation of money.... By confounding these two forms, which overlap each other, some people have been led to look upon the preservation and increase of money *ad infinitum* as the end and aim of Œconomic" (Aristoteles, *De Re[publica,]* edit. Bekker, lib. 1. c. 8, 9, passim).

becomes the sole motive of his operations, that he functions as a capitalist, that is, as capital personified and endowed with consciousness and a will. Use values must therefore never be looked upon as the real aim of the capitalist[1]; neither must the profit on any single transaction. The restless never-ending process of profit-making alone is what he aims at.[2] This boundless greed after riches, this passionate chase after exchange value,[3] is common to the capitalist and the miser; but while the miser is merely a capitalist gone mad, the capitalist is a rational miser. The never-ending augmentation of exchange value, which the miser strives after, by seeking to save[4] his money from circulation, is attained by the more acute capitalist, by constantly throwing it afresh into circulation.[5]

The independent form, i. e., the money form, which the value of commodities assumes in the case of simple circulation, serves only one purpose, namely, their exchange, and vanishes in the final result of the movement. On the other hand, in the circulation M—C—M, both the money and the commodity represent only different modes of existence of value itself, the money its general mode, and the commodity its particular, or, so to say, disguised mode.[6] It is constantly changing from one form to the other without thereby becoming lost, and thus assumes an automatically active character. If now we take in turn each of the two different forms which self-expanding value successively assumes in the course of its life, we then arrive at these two

[1] "Commodities" (here used in the sense of use values) "are not the terminating object of the trading capitalist, money is his terminating object" (Th. Chalmers, *On Pol. Econ.* &c., 2nd Ed., Glasgow, 1832, pp. 165, 166).

[2] "The merchant counts the money he has made as almost nothing; he always looks to the future" (A. Genovesi, *Lezioni di Economia Civile* (1765), Custodi's edit. of Italian Economists. Parte Moderna, t. viii, p. 139).

[3] "The inextinguishable passion for gain, the *auri sacra fames*,[137] will always lead capitalists" (MacCulloch, *The Principles of Polit. Econ.*, London, 1830, p. 179). This view, of course, does not prevent the same MacCulloch and others of his kidney, when in theoretical difficulties, such, for example, as the question of overproduction, from transforming the same capitalist into a moral citizen, whose sole concern is for use values, and who even develops an insatiable hunger for boots, hats, eggs, calico, and other extremely familiar sorts of use values.

[4] Σώζειν is a characteristic Greek expression for hoarding. So in English to save has the same two meanings: *sauver* and *épargner*.

[5] "That infinity which things do not possess when progressing, they possess in circulation" (Galiani [, *Della Moneta*, p. 156]).

[6] "It is not matter which makes capital, but the value of that matter" (J. B. Say, *Traité d'Econ. Polit.*, 3ème éd., Paris, 1817, t. II, p. 429 [Note]).

propositions: Capital is money: Capital is commodities.[1] In truth, however, value is here the active factor in a process, in which, while constantly assuming the form in turn of money and commodities, it at the same time changes in magnitude, differentiates itself by throwing off surplus value from itself; the original value, in other words, expands spontaneously. For the movement, in the course of which it adds surplus value, is its own movement, its expansion, therefore, is automatic expansion. Because it is value, it has acquired the occult quality of being able to add value to itself. It brings forth living offspring, or, at the least, lays golden eggs.

Value, therefore, being the active factor in such a process, and assuming at one time the form of money, at another that of commodities, but through all these changes preserving itself and expanding, it requires some independent form, by means of which its identity may at any time be established. And this form it possesses only in the shape of money. It is under the form of money that value begins and ends, and begins again, every act of its own spontaneous generation. It began by being £100, it is now £110, and so on. But the money itself is only one of the two forms of value. Unless it takes the form of some commodity, it does not become capital. There is here no antagonism, as in the case of hoarding, between the money and commodities. The capitalist knows that all commodities, however scurvy they may look, or however badly they may smell, are in faith and in truth money, inwardly circumcised Jews,[138] and what is more, a wonderful means whereby out of money to make more money.

In simple circulation, C—M—C, the value of commodities attained at the most a form independent of their use values, i, e., the form of money; but that same value now in the circulation M—C—M, or the circulation of capital, suddenly presents itself as an independent substance, endowed with a motion of its own, passing through a life process of its own, in which money and commodities are mere forms which it assumes and casts off in turn. Nay, more: instead of simply representing the relations of commodities, it enters now, so to say, into private relations with itself. It differentiates itself as original value from itself as surplus value; as the father differentiates himself from himself *quâ* the son, yet both are one and of one age: for only by

[1] "Currency (!) employed in producing articles ... is capital" (Macleod, *The Theory and Practice of Banking*, London, 1855, v. 1, ch. i, p. 55). "Capital is commodities" (James Mill, *Elements of Pol. Econ.*, London, 1821, p. 74).

the surplus value of £10 does the £100 originally advanced become capital, and so soon as this takes place, so soon as the son, and by the son, the father, is begotten, so soon does their difference vanish, and they again become one, £110.

Value therefore now becomes value in process, money in process, and, as such, capital. It comes out of circulation, enters into it again, preserves and multiplies itself within its circuit, comes back out of it with expanded bulk, and begins the same round ever afresh.[1] M—M′, money which begets money, such is the description of Capital from the mouths of its first interpreters, the Mercantilists.

Buying in order to sell, or, more accurately, buying in order to sell dearer, M—C—M′, appears certainly to be a form peculiar to one kind of capital alone, namely, merchants' capital. But industrial capital too is money, that is changed into commodities, and by the sale of these commodities, is re-converted into more money. The events that take place outside the sphere of circulation, in the interval between the buying and selling, do not affect the form of this movement. Lastly, in the case of interest-bearing capital, the circulation M—C—M′ appears abridged. We have its result without the intermediate stage, in the form M—M′, "*en style lapidaire*" so to say, money that is worth more money, value that is greater than itself.

M—C—M′ is therefore in reality the general formula of capital as it appears *prima facie* within the sphere of circulation.

## Chapter V

### CONTRADICTIONS IN THE GENERAL FORMULA OF CAPITAL

The form which circulation takes when money becomes capital, is opposed to all the laws we have hitherto investigated bearing on the nature of commodities, value and money, and even of circulation itself. What distinguishes this form from that of the simple circulation of commodities, is the inverted order of succession of the two antithetical processes, sale and purchase. How can this purely formal distinc-

[1] Capital: "the fruit-bearing portion of the accumulated wealth ... a permanent self-multiplying value" (Sismondi, *Nouveaux Principes d'Économ. Polit.*, t. i. [2 éd., 1827,] [p]p. 88, 89).

tion between these processes change their character as it were by magic?

But that is not all. This inversion has no existence for two[a] out of the three persons who transact business together. As capitalist, I buy commodities from A and sell them again to B, but as a simple owner of commodities, I sell them to B and then purchase fresh ones from A. A and B see no difference between the two sets of transactions. They are merely buyers or sellers. And I on each occasion meet them as a mere owner of either money or commodities, as a buyer or a seller, and, what is more, in both sets of transactions, I am opposed to A only as a buyer and to B only as a seller, to the one only as money, to the other only as commodities, and to neither of them as capital or a capitalist, or as representative of anything that is more than money or commodities, or that can produce any effect beyond what money and commodities can. For me the purchase from A and the sale to B are part of a series. But the connection between the two acts exists for me alone. A does not trouble himself about my transaction with B, nor does B about my business with A. And if I offered to explain to them the meritorious nature of my action in inverting the order of succession, they would probably point out to me that I was mistaken as to that order of succession, and that the whole transaction, instead of beginning with a purchase and ending with a sale, began, on the contrary, with a sale and was concluded with a purchase. In truth, my first act, the purchase, was from the standpoint of A, a sale, and my second act, the sale, was from the standpoint of B, a purchase. Not content with that, A and B would declare that the whole series was superfluous and nothing but Hokus Pokus; that for the future A would buy direct from B, and B sell direct to A. Thus the whole transaction would be reduced to a single act forming an isolated, non-complemented phase in the ordinary circulation of commodities, a mere sale from A's point of view, and from B's, a mere purchase.The inversion, therefore, of the order of succession, does not take us outside the sphere of the simple circulation of commodities, and we must rather look, whether there is in this simple circulation anything permitting an expansion of the value that enters into circulation, and consequently, a creation of surplus value.

Let us take the process of circulation in a form under which it presents itself as a simple and direct exchange of commodities. This is

[a] In the German editions "for one".

always the case when two owners of commodities buy from each other, and on the settling day the amounts mutually owing are equal and cancel each other. The money in this case is money of account and serves to express the value of the commodities by their prices, but is not, itself, in the shape of hard cash, confronted with them. So far as regards use values, it is clear that both parties may gain some advantage. Both part with goods that, as use values, are of no service to them, and receive others that they can make use of. And there may also be a further gain. A, who sells wine and buys corn, possibly produces more wine, with given labour time, than farmer B could, and B, on the other hand, more corn than wine-grower A could. A, therefore, may get, for the same exchange value, more corn, and B more wine, than each would respectively get without any exchange by producing his own corn and wine. With reference, therefore, to use value, there is good ground for saying that "exchange is a transaction by which both sides gain".[1] It is otherwise with exchange value.

"A man who has plenty of wine and no corn treats with a man who has plenty of corn and no wine; an exchange takes place between them of corn to the value of 50, for wine of the same value. This act produces no increase of exchange value either for the one or the other; for each of them already possessed, before the exchange, a value equal to that which he acquired by means of that operation."[2]

The result is not altered by introducing money, as a medium of circulation, between the commodities, and making the sale and the purchase two distinct acts.[3] The value of a commodity is expressed in its price before it goes into circulation, and is therefore a precedent condition of circulation, not its result.[4]

Abstractedly considered, that is, apart from circumstances not immediately flowing from the laws of the simple circulation of commodities, there is in an exchange nothing (if we except the replacing of one use value by another) but a metamorphosis, a mere change in the form of the commodity. The same exchange value, i. e., the same quantity of incorporated social labour, remains throughout in the

[1] "Exchange is an admirable transaction in which the two contracting parties always gain, both of them (!)" (Destutt de Tracy, *Traité de la volonté et de ses effets*, Paris, 1826, p. 68). This work appeared afterwards as *Traité d'Econ. Polit.*[139]

[2] Mercier de la Rivière, l. c., p. 544.

[3] "Whether one of those two values is money, or they are both ordinary commodities, is in itself a matter of complete indifference" (Mercier de la Rivière, l. c., p. 543).

[4] "It is not the parties to a contract who decide on the value; that has been decided before the contract" (Le Trosne, p. 906).

hands of the owner of the commodity, first in the shape of his own commodity, then in the form of the money for which he exchanged it, and lastly, in the shape of the commodity he buys with that money. This change of form does not imply a change in the magnitude of the value. But the change, which the value of the commodity undergoes in this process, is limited to a change in its money form. This form exists first as the price of the commodity offered for sale, then as an actual sum of money, which, however, was already expressed in the price, and lastly, as the price of an equivalent commodity. This change of form no more implies, taken alone, a change in the quantity of value, than does the change of a £5 note into sovereigns, half sovereigns and shillings. So far therefore as the circulation of commodities effects a change in the form alone of their values, and is free from disturbing influences, it must be the exchange of equivalents. Little as vulgar economy knows about the nature of value, yet whenever it wishes to consider the phenomena of circulation in their purity, it assumes that supply and demand are equal, which amounts to this, that their effect is nil. If therefore, as regards the use values exchanged, both buyer and seller may possibly gain something, this is not the case as regards the exchange values. Here we must rather say, "Where equality exists there can be no gain." [1] It is true, commodities may be sold at prices deviating from their values, but these deviations are to be considered as infractions of the laws of the exchange of commodities,[2] which in its normal state is an exchange of equivalents, consequently, no method for increasing value.[3]

Hence, we see that behind all attempts to represent the circulation of commodities as a source of surplus value, there lurks a *quid pro quo*, a mixing up of use value and exchange value. For instance, Condillac says:

"It is not true that on an exchange of commodities we give value for value. On the contrary, each of the two contracting parties in every case, gives a less for a greater value. ... If we really exchanged equal values, neither party could make a profit. And

[1] "Dove è egualità non è lucro" (Galiani, *Della Moneta in Custodi,* Parte Moderna, t. iv, p. 244).

[2] "The exchange becomes unfavourable for one of the parties when some external circumstance comes to lessen or increase the price; then equality is infringed, but this infringement arises from that cause and not from the exchange itself" (Le Trosne, l. c., p. 904).

[3] "Exchange is by its nature a contract which rests on equality, i. e. it takes place between two equal values, and it is not a means of self-enrichment, since as much is given as is received" (Le Trosne, l. c., [p]p. 903 [, 904]).

yet, they both gain, or ought to gain. Why? The value of a thing consists solely in its relation to our wants. What is more to the one is less to the other, and *vice versâ*. ... It is not to be assumed that we offer for sale articles required for our own consumption. ... We wish to part with a useless thing, in order to get one that we need; we want to give less for more. ... It was natural to think that, in an exchange, value was given for value, whenever each of the articles exchanged was of equal value with the same quantity of gold. ... But there is another point to be considered in our calculation. The question is, whether we both exchange something superfluous for something necessary."[1]

We see in this passage, how Condillac not only confuses use value with exchange value, but in a really childish manner assumes, that in a society, in which the production of commodities is well developed, each producer produces his own means of subsistence, and throws into circulation only the excess over his own requirements.[2] Still, Condillac's argument is frequently used by modern economists, more especially when the point is to show, that the exchange of commodities in its developed form, commerce, is productive of surplus value. For instance,

"Commerce ... adds value to products, for the same products in the hands of consumers, are worth more than in the hands of producers, and it may strictly be considered an act of production."[3]

But commodities are not paid for twice over, once on account of their use value, and again on account of their value. And though the use value of a commodity is more serviceable to the buyer than to the seller, its money form is more serviceable to the seller. Would he otherwise sell it? We might therefore just as well say that the buyer performs "strictly an act of production", by converting stockings, for example, into money.

If commodities, or commodities and money, of equal exchange value, and consequently equivalents, are exchanged, it is plain that no one abstracts more value from, than he throws into, circulation.

[1] Condillac, *Le Commerce et le Gouvernement* (1776). Edit. Daire et Molinari in the *Mélanges d'Econ. Polit.*, Paris, 1847, pp. 267, 291.

[2] Le Trosne, therefore, answers his friend Condillac with justice as follows: "In a developed society absolutely nothing is superfluous" [l. c., p. 907]. At the same time, in a bantering way, he remarks: "If both the persons who exchange receive more to an equal amount, and part with less to an equal amount, they both get the same" [p. 904]. It is because Condillac has not the remotest idea of the nature of exchange value that he has been chosen by Herr Professor Wilhelm Roscher as a proper person to answer for the soundness of his own childish notions. See Roscher's *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie*, Dritte Auflage, 1858 [pp. 102-03, 190-91].

[3] S. P. Newman, *Elements of Polit. Econ.*, Andover and New York, 1835, p. 175.

There is no creation of surplus value. And, in its normal form, the circulation of commodities demands the exchange of equivalents. But in actual practice, the process does not retain its normal form. Let us, therefore, assume an exchange of non-equivalents.

In any case the market for commodities is only frequented by owners of commodities, and the power which these persons exercise over each other, is no other than the power of their commodities. The material variety of these commodities is the material incentive to the act of exchange, and makes buyers and sellers mutually dependent, because none of them possesses the object of his own wants, and each holds in his hand the object of another's wants. Besides these material differences of their use values, there is only one other difference between commodities, namely, that between their bodily form and the form into which they are converted by sale, the difference between commodities and money. And consequently the owners of commodities are distinguishable only as sellers, those who own commodities, and buyers, those who own money.

Suppose then, that by some inexplicable privilege, the seller is enabled to sell his commodities above their value, what is worth 100 for 110, in which case the price is nominally raised 10%. The seller therefore pockets a surplus value of 10. But after he has sold he becomes a buyer. A third owner of commodities comes to him now as seller, who in this capacity also enjoys the privilege of selling his commodities 10% too dear. Our friend gained 10 as a seller only to lose it again as a buyer.[1] The net result is, that all owners of commodities sell their goods to one another at 10% above their value, which comes precisely to the same as if they sold them at their true value. Such a general and nominal rise of prices has the same effect as if the values had been expressed in weight of silver instead of in weight of gold. The nominal prices of commodities would rise, but the real relation between their values would remain unchanged.

Let us make the opposite assumption, that the buyer has the privilege of purchasing commodities under their value. In this case it is no longer necessary to bear in mind that he in his turn will become a seller. He was so before he became buyer; he had already lost 10% in selling before he gained 10% as buyer.[2] Everything is just as it was.

[1] "By the augmentation of the nominal value of the produce ... sellers not enriched, ... since what they gain as sellers, they precisely expend in the quality of buyers" ([J. Gray,] *The Essential Principles of the Wealth of Nations*, &c., London, 1797, p. 66).

[2] "If one is compelled to sell a quantity of a certain product for 18 livres when it

The creation of surplus value, and therefore the conversion of money into capital, can consequently be explained neither on the assumption that commodities are sold above their value, nor that they are bought below their value.[1]

The problem is in no way simplified by introducing irrelevant matters after the manner of Col. Torrens:

"Effectual demand consists in the power and inclination (!), on the part of consumers, to give for commodities, either by immediate or circuitous barter, some greater portion of ... capital than their production costs."[2]

In relation to circulation, producers and consumers meet only as buyers and sellers. To assert that the surplus value acquired by the producer has its origin in the fact that consumers pay for commodities more than their value, is only to say in other words: The owner of commodities possesses, as a seller, the privilege of selling too dear. The seller has himself produced the commodities or represents their producer, but the buyer has to no less extent produced the commodities represented by his money, or represents their producer. The distinction between them is, that one buys and the other sells. The fact that the owner of the commodities, under the designation of producer, sells them over their value, and under the designation of consumer, pays too much for them, does not carry us a single step further.[3]

To be consistent therefore, the upholders of the delusion that surplus value has its origin in a nominal rise of prices or in the privilege which the seller has of selling too dear, must assume the existence of a class that only buys and does not sell, i. e., only consumes and does not produce. The existence of such a class is inexplicable from the standpoint we have so far reached, viz., that of simple circulation. But let us anticipate. The money with which such a class is constantly

has a value of 24 livres, when one employs the same amount of money in buying, one will receive for 18 livres the same quantity of the product as 24 livres would have bought otherwise" (Le Trosne, l. c., p. 897).

[1] "A seller can normally only succeed in raising the prices of his commodities if he agrees to pay, by and large, more for the commodities of the other sellers; and for the same reason a consumer can normally only to pay less for his purchases if he submits to a similar reduction in the prices of the things he sells" (Mercier de la Rivière, l. c., p. 555).

[2] R. Torrens, *An Essay on the Production of Wealth*, London, 1821, p. 349.

[3] "The idea of profits being paid by the consumers, is, assuredly, very absurd. Who are the consumers?" (G. Ramsay, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth*, Edinburgh, 1836, p. 183).

making purchases, must constantly flow into their pockets, without any exchange, gratis, by might or right, from the pockets of the commodity owners themselves. To sell commodities above their value to such a class, is only to crib back again a part of the money previously given to it.[1] The towns of Asia Minor thus paid a yearly money tribute to ancient Rome. With this money Rome purchased from them commodities, and purchased them too dear. The provincials cheated the Romans, and thus got back from their conquerors, in the course of trade, a portion of the tribute. Yet, for all that, the conquered were the really cheated. Their goods were still paid for with their own money. That is not the way to get rich or to create surplus value.

Let us therefore keep within the bounds of exchange where sellers are also buyers, and buyers, sellers. Our difficulty may perhaps have arisen from treating the actors as personifications instead of as individuals.

A may be clever enough to get the advantage of B or C without their being able to retaliate. A sells wine worth £40 to B, and obtains from him in exchange corn to the value of £50. A has converted his £40 into £50, has made more money out of less, and has converted his commodities into capital. Let us examine this a little more closely. Before the exchange we had £40 worth of wine in the hands of A, and £50 worth of corn in those of B, a total value of £90. After the exchange we have still the same total value of £90. The value in circulation has not increased by one iota, it is only distributed differently between A and B. What is a loss of value to B is surplus value to A; what is "minus" to one is "plus" to the other. The same change would have taken place, if A, without the formality of an exchange, had directly stolen the £10 from B. The sum of the values in circulation can clearly not be augmented by any change in their distribution, any more than the quantity of the precious metals in a country by a Jew selling a Queen Anne's farthing for a guinea. The capitalist class, as a whole, in any country, cannot overreach themselves.[2]

[1] "When a man is in want of a demand, does Mr. Malthus recommend him to pay some other person to take off his goods?" is a question put by an angry disciple of Ricardo to Malthus, who, like his disciple, Parson Chalmers, economically glorifies this class of simple buyers or consumers. (See *An Inquiry into those Principles Respecting the Nature of Demand and the Necessity of Consumption, lately advocated by Mr. Malthus*, &c., London, 1821, p. 55.)

[2] Destutt de Tracy, although, or perhaps because, he was a member of the Institute,[140] held the opposite view. He says, industrial capitalists make profits because

Turn and twist then as we may, the fact remains unaltered. If equivalents are exchanged, no surplus value results, and if non-equivalents are exchanged, still no surplus value.[1] Circulation, or the exchange of commodities, begets no value.[2]

The reason is now therefore plain why, in analysing the standard form of capital, the form under which it determines the economic organisation of modern society, we entirely left out of consideration its most popular, and, so to say, antediluvian forms, merchants' capital and money lenders' capital.

The circuit M—C—M′, buying in order to sell dearer, is seen most clearly in genuine merchants' capital. But the movement takes place entirely within the sphere of circulation. Since, however, it is impossible, by circulation alone, to account for the conversion of money into capital, for the formation of surplus value, it would appear, that merchants' capital is an impossibility, so long as equivalents are exchanged[3]; that, therefore, it can only have its origin in the two-fold advantage gained, over both the selling and the buying producers, by the merchant who parasitically shoves himself in between them. It is in this sense that Franklin says, "war is robbery, commerce is generally cheating".[4] If the transformation of merchants' money into cap-

"they all sell for more than it has cost to produce. And to whom do they sell? In the first instance to one another" (l. c., p. 239).

[1] "The exchange of two equal values neither increases nor diminishes the amount of the values available in society. Nor does the exchange of two unequal values ... change anything in the sum of social values, although it adds to the wealth of one person what it removes from the wealth of another" (J. B. Say, l. c., t. II, pp. 443, 444). Say, not in the least troubled as to the consequences of this statement, borrows it, almost word for word, from the Physiocrats. The following example will show how Monsieur Say turned to account the writings of the Physiocrats, in his day quite forgotten, for the purpose of expanding the "value" of his own. His most celebrated saying, "Products can only be bought with products" (l. c., t. I, p. 438), runs as follows in the original Physiocratic work: "Products can only be paid for with products" (Le Trosne, l. c., p. 899).

[2] "Exchange confers no value at all upon products" (F. Wayland, *The Elements of Political Economy*, Boston, 1843, p. 169).

[3] Under the rule of invariable equivalents commerce would be impossible (G. Opdyke, *A Treatise on Polit. Economy*, New York, 1851, pp. 66-69). "The difference between real value and exchange value is based upon this fact, namely, that the value of a thing is different from the so-called equivalent given for it in trade, i. e., that this equivalent is no equivalent" (F. Engels, l. c., [p]p. [95-] 96) [present edition, Vol. 3, p. 427].

[4] Benjamin Franklin, *Works*, Vol. II, edit. Sparks in "Positions to be examined concerning National Wealth", p. 376.

ital is to be explained otherwise than by the producers being simply cheated, a long series of intermediate steps would be necessary, which, at present, when the simple circulation of commodities forms our only assumption, are entirely wanting.

What we have said with reference to merchants' capital, applies still more to moneylenders' capital. In merchants' capital, the two extremes, the money that is thrown upon the market, and the augmented money that is thrown upon the market, and the augmented money that is withdrawn from the market, are at least connected by a purchase and a sale, in other words by the movement of the circulation. In moneylenders' capital the form M—C—M′ is reduced to the two extremes without a mean, M—M′, money exchanged for more money, a form that is incompatible with the nature of money, and therefore remains inexplicable from the standpoint of the circulation of commodities. Hence Aristotle:

"Since chrematistic is a double science, one part belonging to commerce, the other to economic, the latter being necessary and praiseworthy, the former based on circulation and with justice disapproved (for it is not based on Nature, but on mutual cheating), *therefore the usurer is most rightly hated, because money itself is the source of his* gain, and is not used for the purposes for which it was invented. For it originated for the exchange of commodities, but interest makes out of money, more money. Hence its name (τόχος interest and offspring). For the begotten are like those who beget them. But interest is money of money, so that of all modes of making a living, this is the most contrary to Nature."[1]

In the course of our investigation, we shall find that both merchants' capital and interest-bearing capital are derivative forms, and at the same time it will become clear, why these two forms appear in the course of history before the modern standard form of capital.

We have shown that surplus value cannot be created by circulation, and, therefore, that in its formation, something must take place in the background, which is not apparent in the circulation itself.[2] But can surplus value possibly originate anywhere else than in circulation, which is the sum total of all the mutual relations of commodity owners, as far as they are determined by their commodities? Apart from circulation, the commodity owner is in relation only with his own commodity. So far as regards value, that relation is limited to this, that the commodity contains a quantity of his own labour, that

[1] Aristotle, l. c. [*De Republica*..., Book I,] c. 10.

[2] "Profit, in the usual condition of the market, is not made by exchanging. Had it not existed before, neither could it after that transaction" (Ramsay, l. c., p. 184).

quantity being measured by a definite social standard. This quantity is expressed by the value of the commodity, and since the value is reckoned in money of account, this quantity is also expressed by the price, which we will suppose to be £10. But his labour is not represented both by the value of the commodity, and by a surplus over that value, not by a price of 10 that is also a price of 11, not by a value that is greater than itself. The commodity owner can, by his labour, create value, but not self-expanding value. He can increase the value of his commodity, by adding fresh labour, and therefore more value to the value in hand, by making, for instance, leather into boots. The same material has now more value, because it contains a greater quantity of labour. The boots have therefore more value than the leather, but the value of the leather remains what it was; it has not expanded itself, has not, during the making of the boots, annexed surplus value. It is therefore impossible that outside the sphere of circulation, a producer of commodities can, without coming into contact with other commodity owners, expand value, and consequently convert money or commodities into capital.

It is therefore impossible for capital to be produced by circulation, and it is equally impossible for it to originate apart from circulation. It must have its origin both in circulation and yet not in circulation.

We have, therefore, got a double result.

The conversion of money into capital has to be explained on the basis of the laws that regulate the exchange of commodities, in such a way that the starting point is the exchange of equivalents.[1] Our friend, Moneybags, who as yet is only an embryo capitalist, must buy

[1] From the foregoing investigation, the reader will see that this statement only means that the formation of capital must be possible even though the price and value of a commodity be the same; for its formation cannot be attributed to any deviation of the one from the other. If prices actually differ from values, we must, first of all, reduce the former to the latter, in other words, treat the difference as accidental in order that the phenomena may be observed in their purity, and our observations not interfered with by disturbing circumstances that have nothing to do with the process in question. We know, moreover, that this reduction is no mere scientific process. The continual oscillations in prices, their rising and falling, compensate each other, and reduce themselves to an average price, which is their hidden regulator. It forms the guiding star of the merchant or the manufacturer in every undertaking that requires time. He knows that when a long period of time is taken, commodities are sold neither over nor under, but at their average price. If therefore he thought about the matter at all, he would formulate the problem of the formation of capital as follows: How can we account for the origin of capital on the supposition that prices are regulated by the average price, i. e., ultimately by the value of the commodities? I say "ultimately", because

his commodities at their value, must sell them at their value, and yet at the end of the process must withdraw more value from circulation than he threw into it at starting. His development into a full-grown capitalist must take place, both within the sphere of circulation and without it. These are the conditions of the problem. *Hic Rhodus, hic salta!* [141]

## Chapter VI

### THE BUYING AND SELLING OF LABOUR POWER

The change of value that occurs in the case of money intended to be converted into capital, cannot take place in the money itself, since in its function of means of purchase and of payment, it does no more than realise the price of the commodity it buys or pays for; and, as hard cash, it is value petrified, never varying.[1] Just as little can it originate in the second act of circulation, the re-sale of the commodity, which does no more than transform the article from its bodily form back again into its money form. The change must, therefore, take place in the commodity bought by the first act, M—C, but not in its value, for equivalents are exchanged, and the commodity is paid for at its full value. We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion that the change originates in the use value, as such, of the commodity, i. e., in its consumption. In order to be able to extract value from the consumption of a commodity, our friend, Moneybags, must be so lucky as to find, within the sphere of circulation, in the market, a commodity, whose use value possesses the peculiar property of being a source of value, whose actual consumption, therefore, is itself an embodiment of labour, and, consequently, a creation of value. The possessor of money does find on the market such a special commodity in capacity for labour or labour power.

By labour power or capacity for labour is to be understood the aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities existing in a human being, which he exercises whenever he produces a use value of any description.

average prices do not directly coincide with the values of commodities, as Adam Smith, Ricardo, and others believe.

[1] "In the form of money ... capital is productive of no profit" (Ricardo, [*On the*] *Princ. of Pol. Econ.*, p. 267).

But in order that our owner of money may be able to find labour power offered for sale as a commodity, various conditions must first be fulfilled. The exchange of commodities of itself implies no other relations of dependence than those which result from its own nature. On this assumption, labour power can appear upon the market as a commodity, only if, and so far as, its possessor, the individual whose labour power it is, offers it for sale, or sells it, as a commodity. In order that he may be able to do this, he must have it at his disposal, must be the untrammelled owner of his capacity for labour, i. e., of his person.[1] He and the owner of money meet in the market, and deal with each other as on the basis of equal rights, with this difference alone, that one is buyer, the other seller; both, therefore, equal in the eyes of the law. The continuance of this relation demands that the owner of the labour power should sell in only for a definite period, for if he were to sell it rump and stump, once for all, he would be selling himself, converting himself from a free man into a slave, from an owner of a commodity into a commodity. He must constantly look upon his labour power as his own property, his own commodity, and this he can only do by placing it at the disposal of the buyer temporarily, for a definite period of time. By this means alone can he avoid renouncing his rights of ownership over it.[2]

The second essential condition to the owner of money finding labour power in the market as a commodity is this — that the labourer,

[1] In encyclopaedias of classical antiquities [142] we find such nonsense as this — that in the ancient world capital was fully developed, "except that the free labourer and a system of credit was wanting". Mommsen also, in his *History of Rome*, commits, in this respect, one blunder after another.

[2] Hence legislation in various countries fixes a maximum for labour contracts. Wherever free labour is the rule, the laws regulate the mode of terminating this contract. In some States, particularly in Mexico (before the American Civil War,[7] also in the territories taken from Mexico, and also, as a matter of fact, in the Danubian provinces till the revolution effected by Kusa [143]), slavery is hidden under the form of *peonage*. By means of advances, repayable in labour, which are handed down from generation to generation, not only the individual labourer, but his family, become, *de facto*, the property of other persons and their families. Juarez abolished *peonage*. The so-called Emperor Maximilian re-established it by a decree, which, in the House of Representatives at Washington, was aptly denounced as a decree for the re-introduction of slavery into Mexico. "I may make over to another the use, for a limited time, of my particular bodily and mental aptitudes and capabilities; because, in consequence of this restriction, they are impressed with a character of alienation with regard to me as a whole. But by the alienation of all my labour time and the whole of my work, I should be converting the substance itself, in other words, my general activity and reality, my person, into the property of another" (Hegel, *Philosophie des Rechts*, Berlin, 1840, p. 104, § 67).

instead of being in the position to sell commodities in which his labour is incorporated, must be obliged to offer for sale as a commodity that very labour power, which exists only in his living self.

In order that a man may be able to sell commodities other than labour power, he must of course have the means of production, as raw material, implements, &c. No boots can be made without leather. He requires also the means of subsistence. Nobody — not even "a musician of the future"[144] — can live upon future products, or upon use values in an unfinished state; and ever since the first moment of his appearance on the world's stage, man always has been, and must still be a consumer, both before and while he is producing. In a society where all products assume the form of commodities, these commodities must be sold after they have been produced; it is only after their sale that they can serve in satisfying the requirements of their producer. The time necessary for their sale is superadded to that necessary of their production.

For the conversion of his money into capital, therefore, the owner of money must meet in the market with the free labourer, free in the double sense, that as a free man he can dispose of his labour power as his own commodity, and that on the other hand he has no other commodity for sale, is short of everything necessary for the realisation of his labour power.

The question why this free labourer confronts him in the market, has no interest for the owner of money, who regards the labour market as a branch of the general market for commodities. And for the present it interests us just as little. We cling to the fact theoretically, as he does practically. One thing, however, is clear — Nature does not produce on the one side owners of money or commodities, and on the other men possessing nothing but their own labour power. This relation has no natural basis, neither is its social basis one that is common to all historical periods. It is clearly the result of a past historical development, the product of many economic revolutions, of the extinction of a whole series of older forms of social production.

So, too, the economic categories, already discussed by us, bear the stamp of history. Definite historical conditions are necessary that a product may become a commodity. It must not be produced as the immediate means of subsistence of the producer himself. Had we gone further, and inquired under what circumstances all, or even the majority of products take the form of commodities, we should have found that this can only happen with production of a very specific kind, cap-

italist production. Such an inquiry, however, would have been foreign to the analysis of commodities. Production and circulation of commodities can take place, although the great mass of the objects produced are intended for the immediate requirements of their producers, are not turned into commodities, and consequently social production is not yet by a long way dominated in its length and breadth by exchange value. The appearance of products as commodities presupposes such a development of the social division of labour, that the separation of use value from exchange value, a separation which first begins with barter, must already have been completed. But such a degree of development is common to many forms of society, which in other respects present the most varying historical features. On the other hand, if we consider money, its existence implies a definite stage in the exchange of commodities. The particular functions of money which it performs, either as the mere equivalent of commodities, or as means of circulation, or means of payment, as hoard or as universal money, point, according to the extent and relative preponderance of the one function or the other, to very different stages in the process of social production. Yet we know by experience that a circulation of commodities relatively primitive, suffices for the production of all these forms. Otherwise with capital. The historical conditions of its existence are by no means given with the mere circulation of money and commodities. It can spring into life, only when the owner of the means of production and subsistence meets in the market with the free labourer selling his labour power. And this one historical condition comprises a world's history. Capital, therefore, announces from its first appearance a new epoch in the process of social production.[1]

We must now examine more closely this peculiar commodity, labour power. Like all others it has a value.[2] How is that value determined?

The value of labour power is determined, as in the case of every other commodity, by the labour time necessary for the production, and

[1] The capitalist epoch is therefore characterised by this, that labour power takes in the eyes of the labourer himself the form of a commodity which is his property, his labour consequently becomes wage labour. On the other hand, it is only from this moment that the produce of labour universally becomes a commodity.

[2] "The value or worth of a man, is as of all other things his price — that is to say, so much as would be given for the use of his power" (Th. Hobbes, *Leviathan* in *Works*, Ed. Molesworth, London, 1839-44, v. III, p. 76).

consequently also the reproduction, of this special article. So far as it has value, it represents no more than a definite quantity of the average labour of society incorporated in it. Labour power exists only as a capacity, or power of the living individual. Its production consequently presupposes his existence. Given the individual, the production of labour power consists in his reproduction of himself or his maintenance. For his maintenance he requires a given quantity of the means of subsistence. Therefore the labour time requisite for the production of labour power reduces itself to that necessary for the production of those means of subsistence; in other words, the value of labour power is the value of the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of the labourer. Labour power, however, becomes a reality only by its exercise; it sets itself in action only by working. But thereby a definite quantity of human muscle, nerve, brain, &c., is wasted, and these require to be restored. This increased expenditure demands a larger income.[1] If the owner of labour power works today, tomorrow he must again be able to repeat the same process in the same conditions as regards health and strength. His means of subsistence must therefore be sufficient to maintain him in his normal state as a labouring individual! His natural wants, such as food, clothing, fuel, and housing, vary according to the climatic and other physical conditions of his country. On the other hand, the number and extent of his so-called necessary wants, as also the modes of satisfying them, are themselves the product of historical development, and depend therefore to a great extent on the degree of civilisation of a country, more particularly on the conditions under which, and consequently on the habits and degree of comfort in which, the class of free labourers has been formed.[2] In contradistinction therefore to the case of other commodities, there enters into the determination of the value of labour power a historical and moral element. Nevertheless, in a given country, at a given period, the average quantity of the means of subsistence necessary for the labourer is practically known.

The owner of labour power is mortal. If then his appearance in the market is to be continuous, and the continuous conversion of money into capital assumes this, the seller of labour power must perpetuate himself, "in the way that every living individual perpetuates himself,

[1] Hence the Roman Villicus, as overlooker of the agricultural slaves, received "more meagre fare than working slaves, because his work was lighter" (Th. Mommsen, *Röm. Geschichte*, [Bd. 1,] 1856, p. 810).

[2] Compare W. Th. Thornton: *Over-population and Its Remedy*, London, 1846.

by procreation".[1] The labour power withdrawn from the market by wear and tear and death, must be continually replaced by, at the very least, an equal amount of fresh labour power. Hence the sum of the means of subsistence necessary for the production of labour power must include the means necessary for the labourer's substitutes, i. e., his children, in order that this race of peculiar commodity owners may perpetuate its appearance in the market.[2]

In order to modify the human organism, so that it may acquire skill and handiness in a given branch of industry, and become labour power of a special kind, a special education or training is requisite, and this, on its part, costs an equivalent in commodities of a greater or less amount. This amount varies according to the more or less complicated character of the labour power. The expenses of this education (excessively small in the case of ordinary labour power), enter *pro tanto* into the total value spent in its production.

The value of labour power resolves itself into the value of a definite quantity of the means of subsistence. It therefore varies with the value of these means or with the quantity of labour requisite for their production.

Some of the means of subsistence, such as food and fuel, are consumed daily, and a fresh supply must be provided daily. Others such as clothes and furniture last for longer periods and require to be replaced only at longer intervals. One article must be bought or paid for daily, another weekly, another quarterly, and so on. But in whatever way the sum total of these outlays may be spread over the year, they must be covered by the average income, taking one day with another. If the total of the commodities required daily for the production of labour power = A, and those required weekly = B, and those required quarterly = C, and so on, the daily average of these commodities $= \frac{365A + 52B + 4C + \&c}{365}$. Suppose that in this mass of commodities requisite for the average day there are embodied 6 hours of social labour, then there is incorporated daily in labour power half a day's

[1] Petty.

[2] "Its" (labour's) "natural price ... consists in such a quantity of necessaries and comforts of life, as, from the nature of the climate, and the habits of the country, are necessary to support the labourer, and to enable him to rear such a family as may preserve, in the market, an undiminished supply of labour" (R. Torrens, *An Essay on the External Corn Trade*, London, 1815, p. 62). The word labour is here wrongly used for labour power.

average social labour, in other words, half a day's labour is requisite for the daily production of labour power. This quantity of labour forms the value of a day's labour power or the value of the labour power daily reproduced. If half a day's average social labour is incorporated in three shillings, then three shillings is the price corresponding to the value of a day's labour power. If its owner therefore offers it for sale at three shillings a day, its selling price is equal to its value, and according to our supposition, our friend Moneybags, who is intent upon converting his three shillings into capital, pays this value.

The minimum limit of the value of labour power is determined by the value of the commodities, without the daily supply of which the labourer cannot renew his vital energy, consequently by the value of those means of subsistence that are physically indispensable. If the price of labour power fall to this minimum, it falls below its value, since under such circumstances it can be maintained and developed only in a crippled state. But the value of every commodity is determined by the labour time requisite to turn it out so as to be of normal quality.

It is a very cheap sort of sentimentality which declares this method of determining the value of labour power, a method prescribed by the very nature of the case, to be a brutal method, and which wails with Rossi that,

> "To comprehend capacity for labour (*puissance de travail*) at the same time that we make abstraction from the means of subsistence of the labourers during the process of production, is to comprehend a phantom (*être de raison*). When we speak of labour, or capacity for labour, we speak at the same time of the labourer and his means of subsistence, of labourer and wages."[1]

When we speak of capacity for labour, we do not speak of labour, any more than when we speak of capacity for digestion, we speak of digestion. The latter process requires something more than a good stomach. When we speak of capacity for labour, we do not abstract from the necessary means of subsistence. On the contrary, their value is expressed in its value. If his capacity for labour remains unsold, the labourer derives no benefit from it, but rather he will feel it to be a cruel nature-imposed necessity that this capacity has cost for its production a definite amount of the means of subsistence and that it will continue to do so for its reproduction. He will then agree with Sismondi: "that capacity for labour ... is nothing unless it is sold".[2]

[1] Rossi, *Cours d'Écon. Polit.*, Bruxelles, 1843, [p]p. 370 [, 371].
[2] Sismondi, *Nouv. Princ. etc.*, t. I, p. 114.

One consequence of the peculiar nature of labour power as a commodity is, that its use value does not, on the conclusion of the contract between the buyer and seller, immediately pass into the hands of the former. Its value, like that of every other commodity, is already fixed before it goes into circulation, since a definite quantity of social labour has been spent upon it, but its use value consists in the subsequent exercise of its force. The alienation of labour power and its actual appropriation by the buyer, its employment as a use value, are separated by an interval of time . But in those cases in which the formal alienation by sale of the use value of a commodity, is not simultaneous with its actual delivery to the buyer, the money of the latter usually functions as means of payment.[1] In every country in which the capitalist mode of production reigns, it is the custom not to pay for labour power before it has been exercised for the period fixed by the contract, as for example, the end of each week. In all cases, therefore, the use value of the labour power is advanced to the capitalist: the labourer allows the buyer to consume it before he receives payment of the price; he everywhere gives credit to the capitalist. That this credit is no mere fiction, is shown not only by the occasional loss of wages on the bankruptcy of the capitalist,[2] but also by a series of more enduring consequences.[3] Nevertheless, whether money serves as

[1] "All labour is paid after it has ceased" (*An Inquiry into Those Principles Respecting the Nature of Demand*, &c., p. 104). "The system of commercial credit had to start at the moment when the labourer, the prime creator of products, could, thanks to his savings, wait for his wages until the end of the week, the fortnight, the month, the quarter, &c." (Ch. Ganilh, *Des Systèmes d'Écon. Polit.*, 2ème edit., Paris, t. II, p. 150).

[2] "The labourer lends his industry", but adds Storch slyly: he "risks nothing" except "the loss of his wages ... the labourer does not hand over anything of a material nature" (Storch, *Cours d'Écon. Polit.*, Pétersbourg, 1815, t. II, [p]p. [36,] 37).

[3] One example. In London there are two sorts of bakers, the "full priced", who sell bread at its full value, and the "undersellers", who sell it under its value. The latter class comprises more than three-fourths of the total number of bakers ([p]p. xxxii [-xxxiv] in the Report of H. S. Tremenheere, commissioner to examine into "the grievances complained of by the journeymen bakers",[145] &c., London, 1862). The undersellers, almost without exception, sell bread adulterated with alum, soap, pearl ashes, chalk, Derbyshire stone-dust, and such like agreeable nourishing and wholesome ingredients. (See the above cited Blue Book, as also the report of "the committee of 1855 on the adulteration of bread",[146] and Dr. Hassall's *Adulterations Detected*, 2nd Ed., London, 1861.) Sir John Gordon stated before the committee of 1855, that "in consequence of these adulterations, the poor man, who lives on two pounds of bread a day, does not now get one fourth part of nourishing matter, let alone the deleterious effects on his health". Tremenheere states (l. c., p. xlviii), as the reason, why "a very large part of the working class", although well aware of this adulteration, nevertheless

a means of purchase or as a means of payment, this makes no alteration in the nature of the exchange of commodities. The price of the labour power is fixed by the contract, although it is not realised till later, like the rent of a house. The labour power is sold, although it is only paid for at a later period. It will, therefore, be useful, for a clear comprehension of the relation of the parties, to assume provisionally, that the possessor of labour power, on the occasion of each sale, immediately receives the price stipulated to be paid for it.

We now know how the value paid by the purchaser to the possessor of this peculiar commodity, labour power, is determined. The use value which the former gets in exchange, manifests itself only in the actual usufruct, in the consumption of the labour power. The money owner buys everything necessary for this purpose, such as raw material, in the market, and pays for it at its full value.[a] The consumption of labour power is at one and the same time the production of commodities and of surplus value. The consumption of labour power is completed, as in the case of every other commodity, outside the limits of

accept the alum, stone-dust, &c., as part of their purchase: that it is for them "a matter of necessity to take from their baker or from the chandler's shop, such bread as they choose to supply". As they are not paid their wages before the end of the week, they in their turn are unable "to pay for the bread consumed by their families, during the week, before the end of the week", and Tremenheere adds on the evidence of witnesses, "it is notorious that bread composed of those mixtures, is made expressly for sale in this manner". "In many English" and still more Scotch "agricultural districts, wages are paid fortnightly and even monthly; with such long intervals between the payments, the agricultural labourer is obliged to buy on credit.... He must pay higher prices, and is in fact tied to the shop which gives him credit. Thus at Horningham in Wilts, for example, where the wages are monthly, the same flour that he could buy elsewhere at ls 10d per stone, costs him 2s 4d per stone" ("Sixth Report" on "Public Health" by "The Medical Officer of the Privy Council, &c., 1864," p. 264). "The block printers of Paisley and Kilmarnock enforced, by a strike, fortnightly, instead of monthly, payment of wages" ("Reports of the Inspectors of Factories for 31st Oct., 1853," p. 34). As a further pretty result of the credit given by the workmen to the capitalist, we may refer to the method current in many English coal mines, where the labourer is not paid till the end of the month, and in the meantime, receives sums on account from the capitalist, often in goods for which the miner is obliged to pay more than the market price (Truck-system). "It is a common practice with the coal masters to pay once a month, and advance cash to their workmen at the end of each intermediate week. The cash is given in the shop" (i. e., the Tommy shop which belongs to the master); "the men take it on one side and lay it out on the other" ("Children"s Employment Commission, III. Report," London, 1864, p. 38, n. 192).

[a] In the German editions "price".

the market or of the sphere of circulation. Accompanied by Mr. Moneybags and by the possessor of labour power, we therefore take leave for a time of this noisy sphere, where everything takes place on the surface and in view of all men, and follow them both into the hidden abode of production, on whose threshold there stares us in the face "No admittance except on business". Here we shall see, not only how capital produces, but how capital is produced. We shall at last force the secret of profit making.

This sphere that we are deserting, within whose boundaries the sale and purchase of labour power goes on, is in fact a very Eden [147] of the innate rights of man. There alone rule Freedom, Equality, Property and Bentham.[148] Freedom, because both buyer and seller of a commodity, say of labour power, are constrained only by their own free will. They contract as free agents, and the agreement they come to, is but the form in which they give legal expression to their common will. Equality, because each enters into relation with the other, as with a simple owner of commodities, and they exchange equivalent for equivalent. Property, because each disposes only of what is his own. And Bentham, because each looks only to himself. The only force that brings them together and puts them in relation with each other, is the selfishness, the gain and the private interests of each. Each looks to himself only, and no one troubles himself about the rest, and just because they do so, do they all, in accordance with the pre-established harmony[149] of things, or under the auspices of an all-shrewd providence, work together to their mutual advantage, for the common weal and in the interest of all.

On leaving this sphere of simple circulation or of exchange of commodities, which furnishes the "Free-trader Vulgaris" with his views and ideas, and with the standard by which he judges a society based on capital and wages, we think we can perceive a change in the physiognomy of our *dramatis personae*. He, who before was the money owner, now strides in front as capitalist; the possessor of labour power follows as his labourer. The one with an air of importance, smirking, intent on business; the other, timid and holding back, like one who is bringing his own hide to market and has nothing to expect but—a hiding.

# Part III

# THE PRODUCTION OF ABSOLUTE SURPLUS VALUE

## Chapter VII

## THE LABOUR PROCESS AND THE PROCESS OF PRODUCING SURPLUS VALUE[a]

### SECTION 1.—THE LABOUR PROCESS OR THE PRODUCTION OF USE VALUES

The capitalist buys labour power in order to use it; and labour power in use is labour itself. The purchaser of labour power consumes it by setting the seller of it to work. By working, the latter becomes actually, what before he only was potentially, labour power in action, a labourer. In order that his labour may re-appear in a commodity, he must, before all things, expend it on something useful, on something capable of satisfying a want of some sort. Hence, what the capitalist sets the labourer to produce, is a particular use value, a specified article. The fact that the production of use values, or goods, is carried on under the control of a capitalist and on his behalf, does not alter the general character of that production. We shall, therefore, in the first place, have to consider the labour process independently of the particular form it assumes under given social conditions.

Labour is, in the first place, a process in which both man and Nature participate, and in which man of his own accord starts, regulates, and controls the material reactions between himself and Nature. He opposes himself to Nature as one of her own forces, setting in motion arms and legs, head and hands, the natural forces of his body, in order to appropriate Nature's productions in a form adapted to his own wants. By thus acting on the external world and changing it, he at the same time changes his own nature. He develops his slumbering powers and compels them to act in obedience to his sway. We are not now dealing with those primitive instinctive forms of labour that remind us of the mere animal. An immeasurable interval of time sepa-

[a] The German editions have *Verwertungsprozeß* ("valorisation process").

rates the state of things in which a man brings his labour power to market for sale as a commodity, from that state in which human labour was still in its first instinctive stage. We presuppose labour in a form that stamps it as exclusively human. A spider conducts operations that resemble those of a weaver, and a bee puts to shame many an architect in the construction of her cells. But what distinguishes the worst architect from the best of bees is this, that the architect raises his structure in imagination before he erects it in reality. At the end of every labour process, we get a result that already existed in the imagination of the labourer at its commencement. He not only effects a change of form in the material on which he works, but he also realises a purpose of his own that gives the law to his *modus operandi*, and to which he must subordinate his will. And this subordination is no mere momentary act. Besides the exertion of the bodily organs, the process demands that, during the whole operation, the workman's will be steadily in consonance with his purpose. This means close attention. The less he is attracted by the nature of the work, and the mode in which it is carried on, and the less, therefore, he enjoys it as something which gives play to his bodily and mental powers, the more close his attention is forced to be.

The elementary factors of the labour process are 1, the personal activity of man, i. e., work itself, 2, the subject of that work, and 3, its instruments.

The soil (and this, economically speaking, includes water) in the virgin state in which it supplies [1] man with necessaries or the means of subsistence ready to hand, exists independently of him, and is the universal subject of human labour. All those things which labour merely separates from immediate connection with their environment, are subjects of labour spontaneously provided by Nature. Such are fish which we catch and take from their element, water, timber which we fell in the virgin forest, and ores which we extract from their veins. If, on the other hand, the subject of labour has, so to say, been filtered through previous labour, we call it raw material; such is ore already extracted and ready for washing. All raw material is the subject of labour, but not every subject of labour is raw material; it can only become so, after it has undergone some alteration by means of labour.

[1] "The earth's spontaneous productions being in small quantity, and quite independent of man, appear, as it were, to be furnished by Nature, in the same way as a small sum is given to a young man, in order to put him in a way of industry, and of making his fortune" (James Steuart, *Principles of Polit. Econ.*, edit. Dublin, 1770, v. I, p. 116).

An instrument of labour is a thing, or a complex of things, which the labourer interposes between himself and the subject of his labour, and which serves as the conductor of his activity. He makes use of the mechanical, physical, and chemical properties of some substances in order to make other substances subservient to his aims.[1] Leaving out of consideration such ready-made means of subsistence as fruits, in gathering which a man's own limbs serve as the instruments of his labour, the first thing of which the labourer possesses himself is not the subject of labour but its instrument. Thus Nature becomes one of the organs of his activity, one that he annexes to his own bodily organs, adding stature to himself in spite of the Bible.[150] As the earth is his original larder, so too it is his original tool house. It supplies him, for instance, with stones for throwing, grinding, pressing, cutting, &c. The earth itself is an instrument of labour, but when used as such in agriculture implies a whole series of other instruments and a comparatively high development of labour.[2][a] No sooner does labour undergo the least development, than it requires specially prepared instruments. Thus in the oldest caves we find stone implements and weapons. In the earliest period of human history domesticated animals, i. e., animals which have been bred for the purpose, and have undergone modifications by means of labour, play the chief part as instruments of labour along with specially prepared stones, wood, bones, and shells.[3] The use and fabrication of instruments of labour, although existing in the germ among certain species of animals, is specifically characteristic of the human labour process, and Franklin therefore defines man as a tool-making animal.[151] Relics of bygone instruments of labour possess the same importance for the investiga-

[1] "Reason is just as cunning as she is powerful. Her cunning consists principally in her mediating activity, which, by causing objects to act and re-act on each other in accordance with their own nature, in this way, without any direct interference in the process, carries out reason's intentions" (Hegel, *Enzyklopädie*, Erster Theil, *Die Logik*, Berlin, 1840, p. 382).

[2] In his otherwise miserable work (*Théorie de l'Écon. Polit.*, Paris, 1815 [, t. 1, p. 266]), Ganilh enumerates in a striking manner in opposition to the "Physiocrats" the long series of previous processes necessary before agriculture properly so called can commence.

[3] Turgot in his *Réflexions sur la Formation et la Distribution des Richesses* (1766) [éd. E.Daire, t. 1, Paris, 1844, p. 34-35] brings well into prominence the importance of domesticated animals to early civilisation.

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[a] The German editions have "labour power".

tion of extinct economic forms of society, as do fossil bones for the determination of extinct species of animals. It is not the articles made, but how they are made, and by what instruments, that enables us to distinguish different economic epochs.[1] Instruments of labour not only supply a standard of the degree of development to which human labour has attained, but they are also indicators of the social conditions under which that labour is carried on. Among the instruments of labour, those of a mechanical nature, which, taken as a whole, we may call the bone and muscles of production, offer much more decided characteristics of a given epoch of production, than those which, like pipes, tubs, baskets, jars, &c., serve only to hold the materials for labour, which latter class, we may in a general way, call the vascular system of production. The latter first begins to play an important part in the chemical industries.

In a wider sense we may include among the instruments of labour, in addition to those things that are used for directly transferring labour to its subject, and which therefore, in one way or another, serve as conductors of activity, all such objects as are necessary for carrying on the labour process. These do not enter directly into the process, but without them it is either impossible for it to take place at all, or possible only to a partial extent. Once more we find the earth to be a universal instrument of this sort, for it furnishes a *locus standi*[b] to the labourer and a field of employment for his activity. Among instruments that are the result of previous labour and also belong to this class, we find workshops, canals, roads, and so forth.

In the labour process, therefore, man's activity, with the help of the instruments of labour, effects an alteration, designed from the commencement, in the material worked upon. The process disappears in the product; the latter is a use value, Nature's material adapted by a change of form to the wants of man. Labour has incorporated itself

[1] The least important commodities of all for the technological comparison of different epochs of production are articles of luxury, in the strict meaning of the term. However little our written histories up to this time notice the development of material production, which is the basis of all social life, and therefore of all real history, yet prehistoric times have been classified in accordance with the results, not of so-called historical, but of materialistic investigations.[a] These periods have been divided, to correspond with the materials from which their implements and weapons were made, viz., into the stone, the bronze, and the iron ages.

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[a] The German editions have "investigations of natural science".- [b] ground beneath his feet

with its subject: the former is materialised, the latter transformed. That which in the labourer appeared as movement, now appears in the product as a fixed quality without motion. The blacksmith forges and the product is a forging.

If we examine the whole process from the point of view of its result, the product, it is plain that both the instruments and the subject of labour, are means of production,[1] and that the labour itself is productive labour.[2]

Though a use value, in the form of a product, issues from the labour process, yet other use values, products of previous labour, enter into it as means of production. The same use value is both the product of a previous process, and a means of production in a later process. Products are therefore not only results, but also essential conditions of labour.

With the exception of the extractive industries, in which the material for labour is provided immediately by Nature, such as mining, hunting, fishing, and agriculture (so far as the latter is confined to breaking up virgin soil), all branches of industry manipulate raw material, objects already filtered through labour, already products of labour. Such is seed in agriculture. Animals and plants, which we are accustomed to consider as products of Nature, are in their present form, not only products of, say last year's labour, but the result of a gradual transformation, continued through many generations, under man's superintendence, and by means of his labour. But in the great majority of cases, instruments of labour show even to the most superficial observer, traces of the labour of past ages.

Raw material may either form the principal substance of a product, or it may enter into its formation only as an accessory. An accessory may be consumed by the instruments of labour, as coal under a boiler, oil by a wheel, hay by draft-horses, or it may be mixed with the raw material in order to produce some modification thereof, as chlorine into unbleached linen, coal with iron, dye-stuff with wool, or again, it may help to carry on the work itself, as in the case of the materials used for heating and lighting workshops. The distinction be-

[1] It appears paradoxical to assert, that uncaught fish, for instance, are a means of production in the fishing industry. But hitherto no one has discovered the art of catching fish in waters that contain none.

[2] This method of determining, from the standpoint of the labour process alone, what is productive labour, is by no means directly applicable to the case of the capitalist process of production.

tween principal substance and accessory vanishes in the true chemical industries, because there none of the raw material re-appears, in its original composition, in the substance of the product.[1]

Every object possesses various properties, and is thus capable of being applied to different uses. One and the same product may therefore serve as raw material in very different processes. Corn, for example, is a raw material for millers, starch-manufacturers, distillers, and cattle-breeders. It also enters as raw material into its own production in the shape of seed; coal, too, is at the same time the product of, and a means of production in, coal-mining.

Again, a particular product may be used in one and the same process, both as an instrument of labour and as raw material. Take, for instance, the fattening of cattle, where the animal is the raw material, and at the same time an instrument for the production of manure.

A product, though ready for immediate consumption, may yet serve as raw material for a further product, as grapes when they become the raw material for wine. On the other hand, labour may give us its product in such a form, that we can use it only as raw material, as is the case with cotton, thread, and yarn. Such a raw material, though itself a product, may have to go through a whole series of different processes: in each of these in turn, it serves, with constantly varying form, as raw material, until the last process of the series leaves it a perfect product, ready for individual consumption, or for use as an instrument of labour.

Hence we see, that whether a use value is to be regarded as raw material, as instrument of labour, or as product, this is determined entirely by its function in the labour process, by the position it there occupies: as this varies, so does its character.

Whenever therefore a product enters as a means of production into a new labour process, it thereby loses its character of product, and becomes a mere factor in the process. A spinner treats spindles only as implements for spinning, and flax only as the material that he spins. Of course it is impossible to spin without material and spindles; and therefore the existence of these things as products, at the commencement of the spinning operation, must be presumed: but in the process itself, the fact that they are products of previous labour, is a matter of utter indifference; just as in the digestive process,

[1] Storch calls true raw materials "matières", and accessory material "matériaux". Cherbuliez describes accessories as "matières instrumentales".[152]

it is of no importance whatever, that bread is the produce of the previous labour of the farmer, the miller, and the baker. On the contrary, it is generally by their imperfections as products, that the means of production in any process assert themselves in their character of products. A blunt knife or weak thread forcibly remind us of Mr. A., the cutler, or Mr. B., the spinner. In the finished product the labour by means of which it has acquired its useful qualities is not palpable, has apparently vanished.

A machine which does not serve the purposes of labour, is useless. In addition, it falls a prey to the destructive influence of natural forces. Iron rusts and wood rots. Yarn with which we neither weave nor knit, is cotton wasted. Living labour must seize upon these things and rouse them from their death-sleep, change them from mere possible use values into real and effective ones. Bathed in the fire of labour, appropriated as part and parcel of labour's organism, and, as it were, made alive for the performance of their functions in the process, they are in truth consumed, but consumed with a purpose, as elementary constituents of new use values, of new products, ever ready as means of subsistence for individual consumption, or as means of production for some new labour process.

If then, on the one hand, finished products are not only results, but also necessary conditions, of the labour process, on the other hand, their assumption into that process, their contact with living labour, is the sole means by which they can be made to retain their character of use values, and be utilised.

Labour uses up its material factors, its subject and its instruments, consumes them, and is therefore a process of consumption. Such productive consumption is distinguished from individual consumption by this, that the latter uses up products, as means of subsistence for the living individual; the former, as means whereby alone, labour, the labour power of the living individual, is enabled to act. The product, therefore, of individual consumption, is the consumer himself; the result of productive consumption, is a product distinct from the consumer.

In so far then, as its instruments and subjects are themselves products, labour consumes products in order to create products, or in other words, consumes one set of products by turning them into means of production for another set. But, just as in the beginning, the only participators in the labour process were man and the earth, which latter exists independently of man, so even now we still employ

in the process many means of production, provided directly by Nature, that do not represent any combination of natural substances with human labour.

The labour process, resolved as above into its simple elementary factors, is human action with a view to the production of use values, appropriation of natural substances to human requirements; it is the necessary condition for effecting exchange of matter between man and Nature; it is the everlasting Nature-imposed condition of human existence, and therefore is independent of every social phase of that existence, or rather, is common to every such phase. It was, therefore, not necessary to represent our labourer in connection with other labourers; man and his labour on one side, Nature and its materials on the other, sufficed. As the taste of the porridge does not tell you who grew the oats, no more does this simple process tell you of itself what are the social conditions under which it is taking place, whether under the slave-owner's brutal lash, or the anxious eye of the capitalist, whether Cincinnatus [153] carries it on in tilling his modest farm or a savage in killing wild animals with stones.[1]

Let us now return to our would-be capitalist. We left him just after he had purchased, in the open market, all the necessary factors of the labour process; its objective factors, the means of production, as well as its subjective factor, labour power. With the keen eye of an expert, he has selected the means of production and the kind of labour power best adapted to his particular trade, be it spinning, bootmaking, or any other kind. He then proceeds to consume the commodity, the labour power that he has just bought, by causing the labourer, the impersonation of that labour power, to consume the means of production by his labour. The general character of the labour process is evidently not changed by the fact, that the labourer works for the capitalist instead of for himself; moreover, the particular methods and operations employed in bootmaking or spinning are not immediately changed by the intervention of the capitalist. He must begin by taking the labour power as he finds it in the market, and consequently be satisfied with labour of such a kind as would be found in the period

[1] By a wonderful feat of logical acumen, Colonel Torrens has discovered, in this stone of the savage the origin of capital. "In the first stone which he [the savage] flings at the wild animal he pursues, in the first stick that he seizes to strike down the fruit which hangs above his reach, we see the appropriation of one article for the purpose of aiding in the acquisition of another, and thus discover the origin of capital" (R. Torrens, *An Essay on the Production of Wealth*, &c., pp. 70-71).

immediately preceding the rise of capitalists. Changes in the methods of production by the subordination of labour to capital, can take place only at a later period, and therefore will have to be treated of in a later chapter.

The labour process, turned into the process by which the capitalist consumes labour power, exhibits two characteristic phenomena. First, the labourer works under the control of the capitalist to whom his labour belongs; the capitalist taking good care that the work is done in a proper manner, and that the means of production are used with intelligence, so that there is no unnecessary waste of raw material, and no wear and tear of the implements beyond what is necessarily caused by the work.

Secondly, the product is the property of the capitalist and not that of the labourer, its immediate producer. Suppose that a capitalist pays for a day's labour power at its value; then the right to use that power for a day belongs to him, just as much as the right to use any other commodity, such as a horse that he has hired for the day. To the purchaser of a commodity belongs its use, and the seller of labour power, by giving his labour, does no more, in reality, than part with the use value that he has sold. From the instant he steps into the workshop, the use value of his labour power, and therefore also its use, which is labour, belongs to the capitalist. By the purchase of labour power, the capitalist incorporates labour, as a living ferment, with the lifeless constituents of the product. From his point of view, the labour process is nothing more than the consumption of the commodity purchased, i. e., of labour power; but this consumption cannot be effected except by supplying the labour power with the means of production. The labour process is a process between things that the capitalist has purchased, things that have become his property. The product of this process belongs, therefore, to him, just as much as does the wine which is the product of a process of fermentation completed in his cellar.[1]

[1] "Products are appropriated before they are converted into capital; this conversion does not secure them from such appropriation" (Cherbuliez, *Richesse ou Pauvreté*, edit. Paris, 1841, p. 54). "The Proletarian, by selling his labour for a definite quantity of the necessaries of life, renounces all claim to a share in the product. The mode of appropriation of the products remains the same as before; it is in no way altered by the bargain we have mentioned. The product belongs exclusively to the capitalist, who supplied the raw material and the necessaries of life; and this is a rigorous consequence of the law of appropriation, a law whose fundamental principle was the very opposite,

## SECTION 2.—THE PRODUCTION OF SURPLUS VALUE[a]

The product appropriated by the capitalist is a use value, as yarn, for example, or boots. But, although boots are, in one sense, the basis of all social progress, and our capitalist is a decided "progressist", yet he does not manufacture boots for their own sake. Use value is, by no means, the thing "*qu'on aime pour lui-même*"[b] in the production of commodities. Use values are only produced by capitalists, because, and in so far as, they are the material substratum, the depositories of exchange value. Our capitalist has two objects in view: in the first place, he wants to produce a use value that has a value in exchange, that is to say, an article destined to be sold, a commodity; and secondly, he desires to produce a commodity whose value shall be greater than the sum of the values of the commodities used in its production, that is, of the means of production and the labour power, that he purchased with his good money in the open market. His aim is to produce not only a use value, but a commodity also; not only use value, but value; not only value, but at the same time surplus value.

It must be borne in mind, that we are now dealing with the production of commodities, and that, up to this point, we have only considered one aspect of the process. Just as commodities are, at the same time, use values and values, so the process of producing them must be a labour process, and at the same time, a process of creating value.[1]

Let us now examine production as a creation of value.

We know that the value of each commodity is determined by the quantity of labour expended on and materialised in it, by the work-

namely, that every labourer has an exclusive right to the ownership of what he produces" (l. c., p. 58). "When the labourers receive wages for their labour ... the capitalist is then the owner not of the capital only" (he means the means of production) "but of the labour also. If what is paid as wages is included, as it commonly is, in the term capital, it is absurd to talk of labour separately from capital. The word capital as thus employed includes labour and capital both" (James Mill, *Elements of Pol. Econ.*, &c., Ed. 1821, pp. 70, 71).

[1] As has been stated in a previous note, the English language has two different expressions for these two different aspects of labour: in the Simple Labour process, the process of producing Use Values, it is *Work*; in the process of creation of Value, it is *Labour*, taking the term in its strictly economic sense.—*F. E.*

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[a] The German editions have *Verwertungsprozeß* ("valorisation process"). - [b] "desired for its own sake"

ing time necessary, under given social conditions, for its production. This rule also holds good in the case of the product that accrued to our capitalist, as the result of the labour process carried on for him. Assuming this product to be 10 lbs of yarn, our first step is to calculate the quantity of labour realised in it.

For spinning the yarn, raw material is required; suppose in this case 10 lbs of cotton. We have no need at present to investigate the value of this cotton, for our capitalist has, we will assume, bought it at its full value, say of ten shillings. In this price the labour required for the production of the cotton is already expressed in terms of the average labour of society. We will further assume that the wear and tear of the spindle, which, for our present purpose, may represent all other instruments of labour employed, amounts to the value of 2s. If, then, twenty-four hours' labour, or two working days, are required to produce the quantity of gold represented by twelve shillings, we have here, to begin with, two days' labour already incorporated in the yarn.

We must not let ourselves be misled by the circumstance that the cotton has taken a new shape while the substance of the spindle has to a certain extent been used up. By the general law of value, if the value of 40 lbs of yarn = the value of 40 lbs of cotton + the value of a whole spindle, i. e., if the same working time is required to produce the commodities on either side of this equation, then 10 lbs of yarn are an equivalent for 10 lbs of cotton, together with one-fourth of a spindle. In the case we are considering the same working time is materialised in the 10 lbs of yarn on the one hand, and in the 10 lbs of cotton and the fraction of a spindle on the other. Therefore, whether value appears in cotton, in a spindle, or in yarn, makes no difference in the amount of that value. The spindle and cotton, instead of resting quietly side by side, join together in the process, their forms are altered, and they are turned into yarn; but their value is no more affected by this fact than it would be if they had been simply exchanged for their equivalent in yarn.

The labour required for the production of the cotton, the raw material of the yarn, is part of the labour necessary to produce the yarn, and is therefore contained in the yarn. The same applies to the labour embodied in the spindle, without whose wear and tear the cotton could not be spun.[a]

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[a] In the German editions there is the following footnote here: "Not only the labour ap-

Hence, in determining the value of the yarn, or the labour time required for its production, all the special processes carried on at various times and in different places, which were necessary, first to produce the cotton and the wasted portion of the spindle, and then with the cotton and spindle to spin the yarn, may together be looked on as different and successive phases of one and the same process. The whole of the labour in the yarn is past labour; and it is a matter of no importance that the operations necessary for the production of its constituent elements were carried on at times which, referred to the present, are more remote than the final operation of spinning. If a definite quantity of labour, say thirty days, is requisite to build a house, the total amount of labour incorporated in it is not altered by the fact that the work of the last day is done twenty-nine days later than that of the first. Therefore the labour contained in the raw material and the instruments of labour can be treated just as if it were labour expended in an earlier stage of the spinning process, before the labour of actual spinning commenced.

The values of the means of production, i. e., the cotton and the spindle, which values are expressed in the price of twelve shillings, are therefore constituent parts of the value of the yarn, or, in other words, of the value of the product.

Two conditions must nevertheless be fulfilled. First, the cotton and spindle must concur in the production of a use value; they must in the present case become yarn. Value is independent of the particular use value by which it is borne, but it must be embodied in a use value of some kind. Secondly, the time occupied in the labour of production must not exceed the time really necessary under the given social conditions of the case. Therefore, if no more than 1 lb. of cotton be requisite to spin 1 lb. of yarn, care must be taken that no more than this weight of cotton is consumed in the production of 1 lb. of yarn; and similarly with regard to the spindle. Though the capitalist have a hobby, and use a gold instead of a steel spindle, yet the only labour that counts for anything in the value of the yarn is that which would be required to produce a steel spindle, because no more is necessary under the given social conditions.

We now know what portion of the value of the yarn is owing to the

plied immediately to commodities affects their value, but the labour also which is bestowed on the implements, tools, and buildings, with which such labour is assisted" (Ricardo, l. c., p. 16).

cotton and the spindle. It amounts to twelve shillings or the value of two days' work. The next point for our consideration is, what portion of the value of the yarn is added to the cotton by the labour of the spinner.

We have now to consider this labour under a very different aspect from that which it had during the labour process; there, we viewed it solely as that particular kind of human activity which changes cotton into yarn; there, the more the labour was suited to the work, the better the yarn, other circumstances remaining the same. The labour of the spinner was then viewed as specifically different from other kinds of productive labour, different on the one hand in its special aim, viz., spinning, different, on the other hand, in the special character of its operations, in the special nature of its means of production and in the special use value of its product. For the operation of spinning, cotton and spindles are a necessity, but for making rifled cannon they would be of no use whatever. Here, on the contrary, where we consider the labour of the spinner only so far as it is value-creating, i. e., a source of value, his labour differs in no respect from the labour of the man who bores cannon, or (what here more nearly concerns us), from the labour of the cotton-planter and spindle-maker incorporated in the means of production. It is solely by reason of this identity, that cotton planting, spindle making and spinning, are capable of forming the component parts, differing only quantitatively from each other, of one whole, namely, the value of the yarn. Here, we have nothing more to do with the quality, the nature and the specific character of the labour, but merely with its quantity. And this simply requires to be calculated. We proceed upon the assumption that spinning is simple, unskilled labour, the average labour of a given state of society. Hereafter we shall see that the contrary assumption would make no difference.

While the labourer is at work, his labour constantly undergoes a transformation: from being motion, it becomes an object without motion; from being the labourer working, it becomes the thing produced. At the end of one hour's spinning, that act is represented by a definite quantity of yarn; in other words, a definite quantity of labour, namely that of one hour, has become embodied in the cotton. We say labour, i. e., the expenditure of his vital force by the spinner, and not spinning labour, because the special work of spinning counts here, only so far as it is the expenditure of labour power in general, and not in so far as it is the specific work of the spinner.

In the process we are now considering it is of extreme importance, that no more time be consumed in the work of transforming the cotton into yarn than is necessary under the given social conditions. If under normal, i. e., average social conditions of production, a pounds of cotton ought to be made into b pounds of yarn by one hour's labour, then a day's labour does not count as 12 hours' labour unless 12 a pounds of cotton have been made into 12 b pounds of yarn; for in the creation of value, the time that is socially necessary alone counts.

Not only the labour, but also the raw material and the product now appear in quite a new light, very different from that in which we viewed them in the labour process pure and simple. The raw material serves now merely as an absorbent of a definite quantity of labour. By this absorption it is in fact changed into yarn, because it is spun, because labour power in the form of spinning is added to it; but the product, the yarn, is now nothing more than a measure of the labour absorbed by the cotton. If in one hour $1\frac{2}{3}$ lbs of cotton can be spun into $1\frac{2}{3}$ lbs of yarn, then 10 lbs of yarn indicate the absorption of 6 hours' labour. Definite quantities of product, these quantities being determined by experience, now represent nothing but definite quantities of labour, definite masses of crystallised labour time.They are nothing more than the materialisation of so many hours or so many days of social labour.

We are here no more concerned about the facts, that the labour is the specific work of spinning, that its subject is cotton and its product yarn, than we are about the fact that the subject itself is already a product and therefore raw material. If the spinner, instead of spinning, were working in a coal mine, the subject of his labour, the coal, would be supplied by Nature; nevertheless, a definite quantity of extracted coal, a hundredweight for example, would represent a definite quantity of absorbed labour.

We assumed, on the occasion of its sale, that the value of a day's labour-power is three shillings, and that six hours' labour is incorporated in that sum; and consequently that this amount of labour is requisite to produce the necessaries of life daily required on an average by the labourer. If now our spinner, by working for one hour, can convert $1\frac{2}{3}$ lbs of cotton into $1\frac{2}{3}$ lbs of yarn,[1] it follows that in six hours he will convert 10 lbs of cotton into 10 lbs of yarn. Hence, during the

[1] These figures are quite arbitrary.

spinning process, the cotton absorbs six hours' labour. The same quantity of labour is also embodied in a piece of gold of the value of three shillings. Consequently by the mere labour of spinning, a value of three shillings is added to the cotton.

Let us now consider the total value of the product, the 10 lbs of yarn. Two and a half day's labour has been embodied in it, of which two days were contained in the cotton and in the substance of the spindle worn away, and half a day was absorbed during the process of spinning. This two and a half days' labour is also represented by a piece of gold of the value of fifteen shillings. Hence, fifteen shillings is an adequate price for the 10 lbs of yarn, or the price of one pound is eighteenpence.

Our capitalist stares in astonishment. The value of the product is exactly equal to the value of the capital advanced. The value so advanced has not expanded, no surplus value has been created, and consequently money has not been converted into capital. The price of the yarn is fifteen shillings, and fifteen shillings were spent in the open market upon the constituent elements of the product, or, what amounts to the same thing, upon the factors of the labour process; ten shillings were paid for the cotton, two shillings for the substance of the spindle worn away, and three shillings for the labour power. The swollen value of the yarn is of no avail, for it is merely the sum of the values formerly existing in the cotton, the spindle, and the labour power: out of such a simple addition of existing values, no surplus value can possibly arise.[1] These separate values are now all concentrated in one thing; but so they were also in the sum of fifteen shillings, before it was split up into three parts, by the purchase of the commodities.

There is in reality nothing very strange in this result. The value of one pound of yarn being eighteenpence, if our capitalist buys 10 lbs of yarn in the market, he must pay fifteen shillings for them. It is clear that, whether a man buys his house ready built, or gets it built for

[1] This is the fundamental proposition on which is based the doctrine of the Physiocrats as to the unproductiveness of all labour that is not agriculture: it is irrefutable for the orthodox economist. "This method of adding to one particular object the value of a number of others" (for example, adding the living costs of the weaver to the flax), "of as it were heaping up various values in layers on top of one single value, has the result that this value grows to the same extent.... The expression 'addition' gives a very clear picture of the way in which the price of a manufactured product is formed; this price is only the sum of a number of values which have been consumed, and it is arrived at by adding them together; however, addition is not the same as multiplication" (Mercier de la Rivière, l. c., p. 599).

him, in neither case will the mode of acquisition increase the amount of money laid out on the house.

Our capitalist, who is at home in his vulgar economy, exclaims: "Oh! but I advanced my money for the express purpose of making more money." The way to Hell is paved with good intentions, and he might just as easily have intended to make money, without producing at all.[1] He threatens all sorts of things. He won't be caught napping again. In future he will buy the commodities in the market, instead of manufacturing them himself. But if all his brother capitalists were to do the same, where would he find his commodities in the market? And his money he cannot eat. He tries persuasion. "Consider my abstinence; I might have played ducks and drakes with the 15 shillings; but instead of that I consumed it productively, and made yarn with it." Very well, and by way of reward he is now in possession of good yarn instead of a bad conscience; and as for playing the part of a miser, it would never do for him to relapse into such bad ways as that; we have seen before to what results such asceticism leads. Besides, where nothing is, the king has lost his rights; whatever may be the merit of his abstinence, there is nothing wherewith specially to remunerate it, because the value of the product is merely the sum of the values of the commodities that were thrown into the process of production. Let him therefore console himself with the reflection that virtue is its own reward. But no, he becomes importunate. He says: "The yarn is of no use to me: I produced it for sale." In that case let him sell it, or, still better, let him for the future produce only things for satisfying his personal wants, a remedy that his physician MacCulloch has already prescribed as infallible against an epidemic of overproduction. He now gets obstinate. "Can the labourer," he asks, "merely with his arms and legs, produce commodities out of nothing? Did I not supply him with the materials, by means of which, and in which alone, his labour could be embodied? And as the greater part of society consists of such ne'er-do-wells, have I not rendered society incalculable service by my instruments of production, my cotton and my spindle, and not only society, but the labourer also, whom in addition I have provided with the necessaries of life? And am I to be allowed nothing in return for all this service?" Well, but has not the la-

[1] Thus from 1844-47 he withdrew part of his capital from productive employment, in order to throw it away in railway speculations; and so also, during the American Civil War, he closed his factory, and turned his work-people into the streets, in order to gamble on the Liverpool cotton exchange.

bourer rendered him the equivalent service of changing his cotton and spindle into yarn? Moreover, there is here no question of service.[1] A service is nothing more than the useful effect of a use value, be it of a commodity, or be it of labour.[2] But here we are dealing with exchange value. The capitalist paid to the labourer a value of 3 shillings, and the labourer gave him back an exact equivalent in the value of 3 shillings, added by him to the cotton: he gave him value for value. Our friend, up to this time so purse-proud, suddenly assumes the modest demeanour of his own workman, and exclaims: "Have I myself not worked? Have I not performed the labour of superintendence and of overlooking the spinner? And does not this labour, too, create value?" His overlooker and his manager try to hide their smiles. Meanwhile, after a hearty laugh, he re-assumes his usual mien. Though he chanted to us the whole creed of the economists, in reality, he says, he would not give a brass farthing for it. He leaves this and all such like subterfuges and juggling tricks to the professors of political economy, who are paid for it. He himself is a practical man; and though he does not always consider what he says outside his business, yet in his business he knows what he is about.

Let us examine the matter more closely. The value of a day's labour power amounts to 3 shillings, because on our assumption half a day's labour is embodied in that quantity of labour power, i. e., because the means of subsistence that are daily required for the production of labour power, cost half a day's labour. But the past labour that is embodied in the labour power, and the living labour that it can call into action; the daily cost of maintaining it, and its daily expenditure in work, are two totally different things. The former determines the

[1] "Extol thyself, put on finery and adorn thyself ... but whoever takes more or better than he gives, that is usury, and is not service, but wrong done to his neighbour, as when one steals and robs. All is not service and benefit to a neighbour that is called service and benefit. For an adulteress and adulterer do one another great service and pleasure. A horseman does an incendiary a great service, by helping him to rob on the highway, and pillage land and houses. The papists do ours a great service, in that they don't drown, burn, murder all of them, or let them all rot in prison; but let some live, and only drive them out, or take from them what they have. The devil himself does his servants inestimable service.... To sum up, the world is full of great, excellent, and daily service and benefit" (Martin Luther, *An die Pfarrherrn wider den Wucher zu predigen*, Wittemberg, 1540 [pp. 10-11]).

[2] In *Zur Kritik der Pol. Oek.* [present edition, Vol. 29, p. 278], p. 14, I make the following remark on this point — "It is not difficult to understand what 'service' the category 'service' must render to a class of economists like J. B. Say and F. Bastiat."

exchange value of the labour power, the latter is its use value. The fact that half a day's labour is necessary to keep the labourer alive during 24 hours, does not in any way prevent him from working a whole day. Therefore, the value of labour power, and the value which that labour power creates in the labour process, are two entirely different magnitudes; and this difference of the two values was what the capitalist had in view, when he was purchasing the labour power. The useful qualities that labour power possesses, and by virtue of which it makes yarn or boots, were to him nothing more than a *conditio sine qua non*; for in order to create value, labour must be expended in a useful manner. What really influenced him was the specific use value which this commodity possesses of being *a source not only of value, but of more value than it has itself.* This is the special service that the capitalist expects from labour power, and in this transaction he acts in accordance with the "eternal laws" of the exchange of commodities. The seller of labour power, like the seller of any other commodity, realises its exchange value, and parts with its use value. He cannot take the one without giving the other. The use value of labour power, or in other words, labour, belongs just as little to its seller, as the use value of oil after it has been sold belongs to the dealer who has sold it. The owner of the money has paid the value of a day's labour power; his, therefore, is the use of it for a day; a day's labour belongs to him. The circumstance, that on the one hand the daily sustenance of labour power costs only half a day's labour, while on the other hand the very same labour power can work during a whole day, that consequently the value which its use during one day creates, is double what he pays for that use, this circumstance is, without doubt, a piece of good luck for the buyer, but by no means an injury to the seller.

Our capitalist foresaw this state of things, and that was the cause of his laughter.[154] The labourer therefore finds, in the workshop, the means of production necessary for working, not only during six, but during twelve hours. Just as during the six hours' process our 10 lbs of cotton absorbed six hours' labour, and became 10 lbs of yarn, so now, 20 lbs of cotton will absorb 12 hours' labour and be changed into 20 lbs of yarn. Let us now examine the product of this prolonged process. There is now materialised in this 20 lbs of yarn the labour of five days, of which four days are due to the cotton and the lost steel of the spindle, the remaining day having been absorbed by the cotton during the spinning process. Expressed in gold, the labour of five days is thirty shillings. This is therefore the price of the 20 lbs of yarn, giving, as

before, eighteenpence as the price of a pound. But the sum of the values of the commodities that entered into the process amounts to 27 shillings. The value of the yarn is 30 shillings. Therefore the value of the product is $\frac{1}{9}$ greater than the value advanced for its production; 27 shillings have been transformed into 30 shillings; a surplus value of 3 shillings has been created. The trick has at last succeeded; money has been converted into capital.

Every condition of the problem is satisfied, while the laws that regulate the exchange of commodities, have been in no way violated. Equivalent has been exchanged for equivalent. For the capitalist as buyer paid for each commodity, for the cotton, the spindle and the labour power, its full value. He then did what is done by every purchaser of commodities; he consumed their use value. The consumption of the labour power, which was also the process of producing commodities, resulted in 20 lbs of yarn, having a value of 30 shillings. The capitalist, formerly a buyer, now returns to market as a seller, of commodities. He sells his yarn at eighteenpence a pound, which is its exact value. Yet for all that he withdraws 3 shillings more from circulation than he originally threw into it. This metamorphosis, this conversion of money into capital, takes place both within the sphere of circulation and also outside it; within the circulation, because conditioned by the purchase of the labour power in the market; outside the circulation, because what is done within it is only a stepping-stone to the production of surplus value, a process which is entirely confined to the sphere of production. Thus "*tout est pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes possibles*".[74]

By turning his money into commodities that serve as the material elements of a new product, and as factors in the labour process, by incorporating living labour[a] with their dead substance, the capitalist at the same time converts value, i. e., past, materialised, and dead labour into capital, into value big with value,[b] a live monster that is fruitful and multiplies.

If we now compare the two processes of producing value and of creating surplus value, we see that the latter is nothing but the continuation of the former beyond a definite point. If on the one hand the process be not carried beyond the point, where the value paid by the capitalist for the labour power is replaced by an exact equivalent, it is

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[a] The German editions have "labour power". - [b] The German editions have "into value which can perform its own valorisation" (*...sich selbstverwertender Wert*).

simply a process of producing value; if, on the other hand, it be continued beyond that point, it becomes a process of creating surplus value.

If we proceed further, and compare the process of producing value with the labour process, pure and simple, we find that the latter consists of the useful labour, the work, that produces use values. Here we contemplate the labour as producing a particular article; we view it under its qualitative aspect alone, with regard to its end and aim. But viewed as a *value-creating process*, the same labour process presents itself under its quantitative aspect alone. Here it is a question merely of the time occupied by the labourer in doing the work; of the period during which the labour power is usefully expended. Here, the commodities that take part in the process, do not count any longer as necessary adjuncts of labour power in the production of a definite, useful object. They count merely as depositories of so much absorbed or materialised labour; that labour, whether previously embodied in the means of production, or incorporated in them for the first time during the process by the action of labour power, counts in either case only according to its duration; it amounts to so many hours or days as the case may be.

Moreover, only so much of the time spent in the production of any article is counted, as, under the given social conditions, is necessary. The consequences of this are various. In the first place, it becomes necessary that the labour should be carried on under normal conditions. If a self-acting mule is the implement in general use for spinning, it would be absurd to supply the spinner with a distaff and spinning wheel. The cotton too must not be such rubbish as to cause extra waste in being worked, but must be of suitable quality. Otherwise the spinner would be found to spend more time in producing a pound of yarn than is socially necessary, in which case the excess of time would create neither value nor money. But whether the material factors of the process are of normal quality or not, depends not upon the labourer, but entirely upon the capitalist. Then again, the labour power itself must be of average efficacy. In the trade in which it is being employed, it must possess the average skill, handiness and quickness prevalent in that trade, and our capitalist took good care to buy labour power of such normal goodness. This power must be applied with the average amount of exertion and with the usual degree of intensity; and the capitalist is as careful to see that this is done, as that his workmen are not idle for a single moment. He has bought the use

of the labour power for a definite period, and he insists upon his rights. He has no intention of being robbed. Lastly, and for this purpose our friend has a penal code [155] of his own, all wasteful consumption of raw material or instruments of labour is strictly forbidden, because what is so wasted, represents labour superfluously expended, labour that does not count in the product or enter into its value.[1)]

We now see, that the difference between labour, considered on the one hand as producing utilities, and on the other hand, as creating value, a difference which we discovered by our analysis of a commodity, resolves itself into a distinction between two aspects of the process of production.

The process of production, considered on the one hand as the unity of the labour process and the process of creating value, is production

[1] This is one of the circumstances that makes production by slave labour such a costly process. The labourer here is, to use a striking expression of the ancients,[156] distinguishable only as *instrumentum vocale*,[a] from an animal as *instrumentum semi-vocale*,[b] and from an implement as *instrumentum mutum*.[c] But he himself takes care to let both beast and implement feel that he is none of them, but is a man.[157] He convinces himself with immense satisfaction, that he is a different being, by treating the one unmercifully and damaging the other *con amore*. Hence the principle, universally applied in this method of production, only to employ the rudest and heaviest implements and such as are difficult to damage owing to their sheer clumsiness. In the slave states bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, down to the date of the Civil War,[7] ploughs constructed on old Chinese models, which turned up the soil like a hog or a mole, instead of making furrows, were alone to be found. Conf. J. E. Cairnes, *The Slave Power*, London, 1862, p. 46 sqq. In his [*A Journey in the*] *Sea Board Slave States* [pp. 46-47], Olmsted tells us: "I am here shown tools that no man in his senses, with us, would allow a labourer, for whom he was paying wages, to be encumbered with; and the excessive weight and clumsiness of which, I would judge, would make work at least ten per cent greater than with those ordinarily used with us. And I am assured that, in the careless and clumsy way they must be used by the slaves, anything lighter or less rude could not be furnished them with good economy, and that such tools as we constantly give our labourers and find our profit in giving them, would not last out a day in a Virginia cornfield — much lighter and more free from stones though it be than ours. So, too, when I ask why mules are so universally substituted for horses on the farm, the first reason given, and confessedly the most conclusive one, is that horses cannot bear the treatment that they always must get from Negroes; horses are always soon foundered or crippled by them, while mules will bear cudgelling, or lose a meal or two now and then, and not be materially injured, and they do not take cold or get sick, is neglected or overworked. But I do not need to go further than to the window of the room in which I am writing, to see at almost any time, treatment of cattle that would ensure the immediate discharge of the driver by almost any farmer owning them in the North."

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[a] speaking implement - [b] semi-mute implement - [c] mute implement

of commodities; considered on the other hand as the unity of the labour process and the process of producing surplus value, it is the capitalist process of production, or capitalist production of commodities.

We stated, on a previous page, that in the creation of surplus value it does not in the least matter, whether the labour appropriated by the capitalist be simple unskilled labour of average quality or more complicated skilled labour. All labour of a higher or more complicated character than average labour is expenditure of labour power of a more costly kind, labour power whose production has cost more time and labour, and which therefore has a higher value, than unskilled or simple labour power. This power being of higher value, its consumption is labour of a higher class, labour that creates in equal times proportionally higher values than unskilled labour does. Whatever difference in skill there may be between the labour of a spinner and that of a jeweller, the portion of his labour by which the jeweller merely replaces the value of his own labour power, does not in any way differ in quality from the additional portion by which he creates surplus value. In the making of jewellery, just as in spinning, the surplus value results only from a quantitative excess of labour, from a lengthening-out of one and the same labour process, in the one case, of the process of making jewels, in the other of the process of making yarn.[1]

[1] The distinction between skilled and unskilled labour rests in part on pure illusion, or, to say the least, on distinctions that have long since ceased to be real, and that survive only by virtue of a traditional convention; in part on the helpless condition of some groups of the working class, a condition that prevents them from exacting equally with the rest the value of their labour power. Accidental circumstances here play so great a part, that these two forms of labour sometimes change places. Where, for instance, the physique of the working class has deteriorated, and is, relatively speaking exhausted, which is the case in all countries with a well developed capitalist production, the lower forms of labour, which demand great expenditure of muscle, are in general considered as skilled, compared with much more delicate forms of labour; the latter sink down to the level of unskilled labour. Take as an example the labour of a bricklayer, which in England occupies a much higher level than that of a damask-weaver. Again, although the labour of a fustian cutter demands great bodily exertion, and is at the same time unhealthy, yet it counts only as unskilled labour. And then, we must not forget, that the so-called skilled labour does not occupy a large space in the field of national labour. Laing estimates that in England (and Wales) the livelihood of 11,300,000 people depends on unskilled labour. If from the total population of 18,000,000 living at the time when he wrote, we deduct 1,000,000 for the "genteel population", and 1,500,000 for paupers, vagrants, criminals, prostitutes, &c., and 4,650,000 who compose the middle class, there remain the above mentioned 11,000,000. But in his middle class he includes people that live on the interest of small investments, officials, men of letters, artists, schoolmasters and the like, and in order to

But on the other hand, in every process of creating value, the reduction of skilled labour to average social labour, e. g., one day of skilled to six days of unskilled labour, is unavoidable.[1] We therefore save ourselves a superfluous operation, and simplify our analysis, by the assumption, that the labour of the workman employed by the capitalist is unskilled average labour.

## Chapter VIII

### CONSTANT CAPITAL AND VARIABLE CAPITAL

The various factors of the labour process play different parts in forming the value of the product.

The labourer adds fresh value to the subject of his labour by expending upon it a given amount of additional labour, no matter what the specific character and utility of that labour may be. On the other hand, the values of the means of production used up in the process are preserved, and present themselves afresh as constituent parts of the value of the product; the values of the cotton and the spindle, for instance, re-appear again in the value of the yarn. The value of the means of production is therefore preserved, by being transferred to the product. This transfer takes place during the conversion of those means into a product, or in other words, during the labour process. It is brought about by labour; but how?

The labourer does not perform two operations at once, one in order to add value to the cotton, the other in order to preserve the value of the means of production, or, what amounts to the same thing, to transfer to the yarn, to the product, the value of the cotton on which he works, and part of the value of the spindle with which he works. But, by the very act of adding new value, he preserves their former

swell the number he also includes in these 4,650,000 the better paid portion of the factory operatives! The bricklayers, too, figure amongst them (S. Laing, *National Distress*, &c., London, 1844 [pp. 51-52]). "The great class who have nothing to give for food but ordinary labour, are the great bulk of the people" (James Mill, in art. "Colony," Supplement to the *Encyclop. Brit.*, 1824 [Vol. 3, p. 259]).

[1] "Where reference is made to labour as a measure of value, it necessarily implies labour of one particular kind ... the proportion which the other kinds bear to it being easily ascertained" ([J. Cazenove,] *Outlines of Pol. Econ.*, London, 1832, pp. 22 and 23).

values. Since, however, the addition of new value to the subject of his labour, and the preservation of its former value, are two entirely distinct results, produced simultaneously by the labourer, during one operation, it is plain that this twofold nature of the result can be explained only by the twofold nature of his labour; at one and the same time, it must in one character create value, and in another character preserve or transfer value.

Now, in what manner does every labourer add new labour and consequently new value? Evidently, only by labouring productively in a particular way; the spinner by spinning, the weaver by weaving, the smith by forging. But, while thus incorporating labour generally, that is value, it is by the particular form alone of the labour, by the spinning, the weaving and the forging respectively, that the means of production, the cotton and spindle, the yarn and loom, and the iron and anvil become constituent elements of the product, of a new use value.[1] Each use value disappears, but only to re-appear under a new form in a new use value. Now, we saw, when we were considering the process of creating value, that, if a use value be effectively consumed in the production of a new use value, the quantity of labour expended in the production of the consumed article, forms a portion of the quantity of labour necessary to produce the new use value; this portion is therefore labour transferred from the means of production to the new product. Hence, the labourer preserves the values of the consumed means of production, or transfers them as portions of its value to the product, not by virtue of his additional labour, abstractedly considered, but by virtue of the particular useful character of that labour, by virtue of its special productive form. In so far then as labour is such specific productive activity, in so far as it is spinning, weaving, or forging, it raises, by mere contact, the means of production from the dead, makes them living factors of the labour process, and combines with them to form the new products.

If the special productive labour of the workman were not spinning, he could not convert the cotton into yarn, and therefore could not transfer the values of the cotton and spindle to the yarn. Suppose the same workman were to change his occupation to that of a joiner, he would still by a day's labour add value to the material he works upon. Consequently, we see, first, that the addition of new value takes place

[1] "Labour gives a new creation for one extinguished" (*An Essay on the Polit. Econ. of Nations*, London, 1821, p. 13).

not by virtue of his labour being spinning in particular, or joinering in particular, but because it is labour in the abstract, a portion of the total labour of society; and we see next, that the value added is of a given definite amount, not because his labour has a special utility, but because it is exerted for a definite time. On the one hand, then, it is by virtue of its general character, as being expenditure of human labour power in the abstract, that spinning adds new value to the values of the cotton and the spindle; and on the other hand, it is by virtue of its special character, as being a concrete, useful process, that the same labour of spinning both transfers the values of the means of production to the product, and preserves them in the product. Hence at one and the same time there is produced a twofold result.

By the simple addition of a certain quantity of labour, new value is added, and by the quality of this added labour, the original values of the means of production are preserved in the product. This twofold effect, resulting from the twofold character of labour, may be traced in various phenomena.

Let us assume, that some invention enables the spinner to spin as much cotton in 6 hours as he was able to spin before in 36 hours. His labour is now six times as effective as it was, for the purposes of useful production. The product of 6 hours' work has increased sixfold, from 6 lbs to 36 lbs. But now the 36 lbs of cotton absorb only the same amount of labour as formerly did the 6 lbs. One-sixth as much new labour is absorbed by each pound of cotton, and consequently, the value added by the labour to each pound is only one-sixth of what it formerly was. On the other hand, in the product, in the 36 lbs of yarn, the value transferred from the cotton is six times as great as before. By the 6 hours' spinning, the value of the raw material preserved and transferred to the product is six times as great as before, although the new value added by the labour of the spinner to each pound of the very same raw material is one-sixth what it was formerly. This shows that the two properties of labour, by virtue of which it is enabled in one case to preserve value, and in the other to create value, are essentially different. On the one hand, the longer the time necessary to spin a given weight of cotton into yarn, the greater is the new value added to the material; on the other hand, the greater the weight of the cotton spun in a given time, the greater is the value preserved, by being transferred from it to the product.

Let us now assume, that the productiveness of the spinner's labour, instead of varying, remains constant, that he therefore requires the

same time as he formerly did, to convert one pound of cotton into yarn, but that the exchange value of the cotton varies, either by rising to six times its former value or falling to one-sixth of that value. In both these cases, the spinner puts the same quantity of labour into a pound of cotton, and therefore adds as much value, as he did before the change in the value: he also produces a given weight of yarn in the same time as he did before. Nevertheless, the value that he transfers from the cotton to the yarn is either one-sixth of what it was before the variation, or, as the case may be, six times as much as before. The same result occurs when the value of the instruments of labour rises or falls, while their useful efficacy in the process remains unaltered.

Again, if the technical conditions of the spinning process remain unchanged, and no change of value takes place in the means of production, the spinner continues to consume in equal working times equal quantities of raw material, and equal quantities of machinery of unvarying value. The value that he preserves in the product is directly proportional to the new value that he adds to the product. In two weeks he incorporates twice as much labour, and therefore twice as much value, as in one week, and during the same time he consumes twice as much material, and wears out twice as much machinery, of double the value in each case; he therefore preserves, in the product of two weeks, twice as much value as in the product of one week. So long as the conditions of production remain the same, the more value the labourer adds by fresh labour, the more value he transfers and preserves; but he does so merely because this addition of new value takes place under conditions that have not varied and are independent of his own labour. Of course, it may be said in one sense, that the labourer preserves old value always in proportion to the quantity of new value that he adds. Whether the value of cotton rise from one shilling to two shillings, or fall to sixpence, the workman invariably preserves in the product of one hour only one half as much value as he preserves in two hours. In like manner, if the productiveness of his own labour varies by rising or falling, he will in one hour spin either more or less cotton, as the case may be, than he did before, and will consequently preserve in the product of one hour, more or less value of cotton; but, all the same, he will preserve by two hours' labour twice as much value as he will by one.

Value exists only in articles of utility, in objects: we leave out of consideration its purely symbolical representation by tokens. (Man

himself, viewed as the impersonation of labour power, is a natural object, a thing, although a living conscious thing, and labour is the manifestation of this power residing in him.) If therefore an article loses its utility, it also loses its value. The reason why means of production do not lose their value, at the same time that they lose their use value, is this: they lose in the labour process the original form of their use value, only to assume in the product the form of a new use value. But, however important it may be to value, that it should have some object of utility to embody itself in, yet it is a matter of complete indifference what particular object serves this purpose; this we saw when treating of the metamorphosis of commodities. Hence it follows that in the labour process the means of production transfer their value to the product only so far as along with their use value they lose also their exchange value. They give up to the product that value alone which they themselves lose as means of production. But in this respect the material factors of the labour process do not all behave alike.

The coal burnt under the boiler vanishes without leaving a trace; so, too, the tallow with which the axles of wheels are greased. Dye stuffs and other auxiliary substances also vanish but re-appear as properties of the product. Raw material forms the substance of the product, but only after it has changed its form. Hence raw material and auxiliary substances lose the characteristic form with which they are clothed on entering the labour process. It is otherwise with the instruments of labour. Tools, machines, workshops, and vessels, are of use in the labour process, only so long as they retain their original shape, and are ready each morning to renew the process with their shape unchanged. And just as during their lifetime, that is to say, during the continued labour process in which they serve, they retain their shape independent of the product, so, too, they do after their death. The corpses of machines, tools, workshops, &c., are always separate and distinct from the product they helped to turn out. If we now consider the case of any instrument of labour during the whole period of its service, from the day of its entry into the workshop, till the day of its banishment into the lumber room, we find that during this period its use value has been completely consumed, and therefore its exchange value completely transferred to the product. For instance, if a spinning machine lasts for 10 years, it is plain that during that working period its total value is gradually transferred to the product of the 10 years. The lifetime of an instrument of labour, therefore, is spent in the repetition of a greater or less number of similar

operations. Its life may be compared with that of a human being. Every day brings a man 24 hours nearer to his grave[158]: but how many days he has still to travel on that road, no man can tell accurately by merely looking at him. This difficulty, however, does not prevent life insurance offices from drawing, by means of the theory of averages, very accurate, and at the same time very profitable conclusions. So it is with the instruments of labour. It is known by experience how long on the average a machine of a particular kind will last. Suppose its use value in the labour process to last only six days. Then, on the average, it loses each day one-sixth of its use value, and therefore parts with one-sixth of its value to the daily product. The wear and tear of all instruments, their daily loss of use value, and the corresponding quantity of value they part with to the product, are accordingly calculated upon this basis.

It is thus strikingly clear, that means of production never transfer more value to the product than they themselves lose during the labour process by the destruction of their own use value. If such an instrument has no value to lose, if, in other words, it is not the product of human labour, it transfers no value to the product. It helps to create use value without contributing to the formation of exchange value. In this class are included all means of production supplied by Nature without human assistance, such as land, wind, water, metals *in situ*,[a] and timber in virgin forests.

Yet another interesting phenomenon here presents itself. Suppose a machine to be worth £1,000, and to wear out in 1,000 days. Then one thousandth part of the value of the machine is daily transferred to the day's product. At the same time, though with diminishing vitality, the machine as a whole continues to take part in the labour process. Thus it appears, that one factor of the labour process, a means of production, continually enters as a whole into that process, while it enters into the process of the formation of value by fractions only. The difference between the two processes is here reflected in their material factors, by the same instrument of production taking part as a whole in the labour process, while at the same time as an element in the formation of value, it enters only by fractions.[1)]

[1)] The subject of repairs of the implements of labour does not concern us here. A machine that is undergoing repair, no longer plays the part of an instrument, but that of a subject of labour. Work is no longer done with it, but upon it. It is quite permissible for our purpose to assume, that the labour expended on the repairs of instru-

[a] Lit.: in the natural position; here "in the form of ore".

On the other hand, a means of production may take part as a whole in the formation of value, while into the labour process it enters only bit by bit. Suppose that in spinning cotton, the waste for every 115 lbs used amounts to 15 lbs, which is converted, not into yarn, but into "devil's dust".[160] Now, although this 15 lbs of cotton never becomes a constituent element of the yarn, yet assuming this amount of waste to be normal and inevitable under average conditions of spinning, its value is just as surely transferred to the value of the yarn, as is the value of the 100 lbs that form the substance of the yarn. The use value of 15 lbs of cotton must vanish into dust, before 100 lbs of yarn can be made. The destruction of this cotton is therefore a necessary condition in the production of the yarn. And because it is a necessary condition, and for no other reason, the value of that cotton is transferred to the product. The same holds good for every kind of refuse resulting from a labour process, so far at least as such refuse cannot be further employed as a means in the production of new and independent use values. Such an employment of refuse may be seen in the large machine works at Manchester, where mountains of iron turnings are carted away to the foundry in the evening, in order the next morning to re-appear in the workshops as solid masses of iron.

We have seen that the means of production transfer value to the new product, so far only as during the labour process they lose value in the shape of their old use value. The maximum loss of value that

ments is included in the labour necessary for their original production. But in the text we deal with that wear and tear, which no doctor can cure, and which little by little brings about death, with "that kind of wear which cannot be repaired from time to time, and which, in the case of a knife, would ultimately reduce it to a state in which the cutler would say of it, it is not worth a new blade".[159] We have shewn in the text, that a machine takes part in every labour process as an integral machine, but that into the simultaneous process of creating value it enters only bit by bit. How great then is the confusion of ideas exhibited in the following extract! "Mr. Ricardo says a portion of the labour of the engineer in making [stocking] machines" is contained for example in the value of a pair of stockings. "Yet the total labour, that produced each single pair of stockings ... includes the whole labour of the engineer, not a portion; for one machine makes many pairs, and none of those pairs could have been done without any part of the machine" (*Obs[ervations] on Certain Verbal Disputes in Pol. Econ., Particularly Relating to Value*, p. 54). The author, an uncommonly self-satisfied wiseacre, is right in his confusion and therefore in his contention, to this extent only, that neither Ricardo nor any other economist, before or since him, has accurately distinguished the two aspects of labour, and still less, therefore, the part played by it under each of these aspects in the formation of value.

they can suffer in the process, is plainly limited by the amount of the original value with which they came into the process, or in other words, by the labour time necessary for their production. Therefore, the means of production can never add more value to the product than they themselves possess independently of the process in which they assist. However useful a given kind of raw material, or a machine, or other means of production may be, though it may cost £150, or, say, 500 days' labour, yet it cannot, under any circumstances, add to the value of the product more than £150. Its value is determined not by the labour process into which it enters as a means of production, but by that out of which it has issued as a product. In the labour process it only serves as a mere use value, a thing with useful properties, and could not, therefore, transfer any value to the product, unless it possessed such value previously.[1]

While productive labour is changing the means of production into constituent elements of a new product, their value undergoes a metempsychosis. It deserts the consumed body, to occupy the newly created one. But this transmigration takes place, as it were, behind the back of the labourer. He is unable to add new labour, to create

[1] From this we may judge of the absurdity of J. B. Say, who pretends to account for surplus value (Interest, Profit, Rent), by the "*services productifs*" which the means of production, soil, instruments, and raw material, render in the labour process by means of their use values. Mr. Wm. Roscher who seldom loses an occasion of registering, in black and white, ingenious apologetic fancies, records the following specimen:— "J. B. Say (*Traité*, t. 1, ch. 4) very truly remarks: the value produced by an oil mill, after deduction of all costs, is something new, something quite different from the labour by which the oil mill itself was erected" (l. c. [*Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie*], p. 82, note). Very true, Mr. Professor! the oil produced by the oil mill is indeed something very different from the labour expended in constructing the mill! By value, Mr. Roscher understands such stuff as "oil", because oil has value, notwithstanding that "Nature" produces petroleum, though relatively "in small quantities", a fact to which he seems to refer in his further observation: "It" (Nature) "produces scarcely any exchange value" [l.c., p. 79]. Mr. Roscher's "Nature" and the exchange value it produces are rather like the foolish virgin who admitted indeed that she had had a child, but "it was such a little one". This "*savant sérieux*"[a] in continuation remarks: "Ricardo's school is in the habit of including capital as accumulated labour under the head of labour. This is unskilful work, because, indeed, the owner of capital, after all, does something more than the merely creating and preserving of the same: namely, the abstention from the enjoyment of it, for which he demands, e. g., interest" (l. c. [p. 82]). How very "skilful" is this "anatomico-physiological method" of political economy, which, "indeed", converts a mere desire "after all" into a source of value [l. c., p. 42].

[a] "man of learning"

new value, without at the same time preserving old values, and this, because the labour he adds must be of a specific useful kind; and he cannot do work of a useful kind, without employing products as the means of production of a new product, and thereby transferring their value to the new product. The property therefore which labour power in action, living labour, possesses of preserving value, at the same time that it adds it, is a gift of Nature which costs the labourer nothing, but which is very advantageous to the capitalist inasmuch as it preserves the existing value of his capital.[1] So long as trade is good, the capitalist is too much absorbed in money-grubbing to take notice of this gratuitous gift of labour. A violent interruption of the labour process by a crisis, makes him sensitively aware of it.[2]

As regards the means of production, what is really consumed is their use value, and the consumption of this use value by labour results in the product. There is no consumption of their value,[3] and it would therefore be inaccurate to say that it is reproduced. It is rather preserved; not by reason of any operation it undergoes itself in the process; but because the article in which it originally exists, vanishes, it is true, but vanishes into some other article. Hence, in the value of the product, there is a re-appearance of the value of the means of production, but there is, strictly speaking, no reproduction of that value.

[1] "Of all the instruments of the farmers' trade, the labour of man ... is that on which he is most to rely for the repayment of his capital. The other two ... the working stock of the cattle and the ... carts, ploughs, spades, and so forth, without a given portion of the first, are nothing at all" (Edmund Burke, *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity, originally presented to the Right Hon. W. Pitt, in the month of November 1795*, Edit. London, 1800, p. 10).

[2] In *The Times* of 26th November, 1862, a manufacturer, whose mill employed 800 hands, and consumed, on the average, 150 bales of East Indian, or 130 bales of American cotton, complains, in doleful manner, of the standing expenses of his factory when not working. He estimates them at £6,000 a year. Among them are a number of items that do not concern us here, such as rent, rates, and taxes, insurance, salaries of the manager, bookkeeper, engineer, and others. Then he reckons £150 for coal used to heat the mill occasionally, and run the engine now and then. Besides this, he includes the wages of the people employed at odd times to keep the machinery in working order. Lastly, he puts down £1,200 for depreciation of machinery, because "the weather and the natural principle of decay do not suspend their operations because the steam-engine ceases to revolve". He says, emphatically, he does not estimate his depreciation at more than the small sum of £1,200, because his machinery is already nearly worn out.

[3] "Productive consumption ... where the consumption of a commodity is a part of the process of production. ... In these instances there is no consumption of value" (S. P. Newman, l. c., p. 296).

That which is produced is a new use value in which the old exchange value reappears.[1]

It is otherwise with the subjective factor of the labour process, with labour power in action. While the labourer, by virtue of his labour being of a specialised kind that has a special object, preserves and transfers to the product the value of the means of production, he at the same time, by the mere act of working, creates each instant an additional or new value. Suppose the process of production to be stopped just when the workman has produced an equivalent for the value of his own labour power, when, for example, by six hours' labour, he has added a value of three shillings. This value is the surplus, of the total value of the product, over the portion of its value that is due to the means of production. It is the only original bit of value formed during this process, the only portion of the value of the product created by this process. Of course, we do not forget that this new value only replaces the money advanced by the capitalist in the purchase of the labour power, and spent by the labourer on the necessaries of life. With regard to the money spent, the new value is merely a reproduction; but, nevertheless, it is an actual, and not, as in the case of the value of the means of production, only an apparent, reproduction. The substitution of one value for another, is here effected by the creation of new value.

We know, however, from what has gone before, that the labour process may continue beyond the time necessary to reproduce and incorporate in the product a mere equivalent for the value of the labour power. Instead of the six hours that are sufficient for the latter pur-

[1] In an American compendium that has gone through, perhaps, 20 editions, this passage occurs: "It matters not in what form capital re-appears" [F. Wayland, l. c., p. 34]; then after a lengthy enumeration of all the possible ingredients of production whose value re-appears in the product, the passage concludes thus: "The various kinds of food, clothing, and shelter, necessary for the existence and comfort of the human being, are also changed. They are consumed from time to time, and their value re-appears in that new vigour imparted to his body and mind, forming fresh capital, to be employed again in the work of production" (F. Wayland, l. c., p. 32). Without noticing any other oddities, it suffices to observe, that what re-appears in the fresh vigour, is not the bread's price, but its blood-forming substances. What, on the other hand, re-appears in the value of that vigour, is not the means of subsistence, but their value. The same necessaries of life, at half the price, would form just as much muscle and bone, just as much vigour, but not vigour of the same value. This confusion of "value" and "vigour" coupled with our author's pharisaical indefiniteness, mark an attempt, futile for all that, to thrash out an explanation of surplus value from a mere re-appearance of pre-existing values.

pose, the process may continue for twelve hours. The action of labour power, therefore, not only reproduces its own value, but produces value over and above it. This surplus value is the difference between the value of the product and the value of the elements consumed in the formation of that product, in other words, of the means of production and the labour power.

By our explanation of the different parts played by the various factors of the labour process in the formation of the product's value, we have, in fact, disclosed the characters of the different functions allotted to the different elements of capital in the process of expanding its own value. The surplus of the total value of the product, over the sum of the values of its constituent factors, is the surplus of the expanded capital over the capital originally advanced. The means of production on the one hand, labour power on the other, are merely the different modes of existence which the value of the original capital assumed when from being money it was transformed into the various factors of the labour process. That part of capital then, which is represented by the means of production, by the raw material, auxiliary material and the instruments of labour, does not, in the process of production, undergo any quantitative alteration of value. I therefore call it the constant part of capital, or, more shortly, *constant capital.*

On the other hand, that part of capital, represented by labour power, does, in the process of production, undergo an alteration of value. It both reproduces the equivalent of its own value, and also produces an excess, a surplus value, which may itself vary, may be more or less according to circumstances. This part of capital is continually being transformed from a constant into a variable magnitude. I therefore call it the variable part of capital, or, shortly, *variable capital.* The same elements of capital which, from the point of view of the labour process, present themselves respectively as the objective and subjective factors, as means of production and labour power, present themselves, from the point of view of the process of creating surplus value, as constant and variable capital.

The definition of constant capital given above by no means excludes the possibility of a change of value in its elements. Suppose the price of cotton to be one day sixpence a pound, and the next day, in consequence of a failure of the cotton crop, a shilling a pound. Each pound of the cotton bought at sixpence, and worked up after the rise in value, transfers to the product a value of one shilling; and the cotton already spun before the rise, and perhaps circulating in the mar-

ket as yarn, likewise transfers to the product twice its original value. It is plain, however, that these changes of value are independent of the increment or surplus value added to the value of the cotton by the spinning itself. If the old cotton had never been spun, it could, after the rise, be resold at a shilling a pound instead of at sixpence. Further, the fewer the processes the cotton has gone through, the more certain is this result. We therefore find that speculators make it a rule when such sudden changes in value occur, to speculate in that material on which the least possible quantity of labour has been spent: to speculate, therefore, in yarn rather than in cloth, in cotton itself, rather than in yarn. The change of value in the case we have been considering, originates, not in the process in which the cotton plays the part of a means of production, and in which it therefore functions as constant capital, but in the process in which the cotton itself is produced. The value of a commodity, it is true, is determined by the quantity of labour contained in it, but this quantity is itself limited by social conditions. If the time socially necessary for the production of any commodity alters — and a given weight of cotton represents, after a bad harvest, more labour than after a good one — all previously existing commodities of the same class are affected, because they are, as it were, only individuals of the species,[1] and their value at any given time is measured by the labour socially necessary, i. e., by the labour necessary for their production under the then existing social conditions.

As the value of the raw material may change, so, too, may that of the instruments of labour, of the machinery, &c., employed in the process; and consequently that portion of the value of the product transferred to it from them, may also change. If in consequence of a new invention, machinery of a particular kind can be produced by a diminished expenditure of labour, the old machinery becomes depreciated more or less, and consequently transfers so much less value to the product. But here again, the change in value originates outside the process in which the machine is acting as a means of production. Once engaged in this process, the machine cannot transfer more value than it possesses apart from the process.

Just as a change in the value of the means of production, even after

[1] "Properly speaking, all products of the same kind form a single mass, and their price is determined in general and without regard to particular circumstances" (Le Trosne, l. c., p. 893).

they have commenced to take a part in the labour process, does not alter their character as constant capital, so, too, a change in the proportion of constant to variable capital does not affect the respective functions of these two kinds of capital. The technical conditions of the labour process may be revolutionised to such an extent, that where formerly ten men using ten implements of small value worked up a relatively small quantity of raw material, one man may now, with the aid of one expensive machine, work up one hundred times as much raw material. In the latter case we have an enormous increase in the constant capital, that is represented by the total value of the means of production used, and at the same time a great reduction in the variable capital, invested in labour power. Such a revolution, however, alters only the quantitative relation between the constant and the variable capital, or the proportions in which the total capital is split up into its constant and variable constituents; it has not in the least degree affected the essential difference between the two.

# Chapter IX

## THE RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE

### SECTION 1.—THE DEGREE OF EXPLOITATION OF LABOUR POWER

The surplus value generated in the process of production by C, the capital advanced, or in other words, the self-expansion of the value of the capital C, presents itself for our consideration, in the first place, as a surplus, as the amount by which the value of the product exceeds the value of its constituent elements.

The capital C is made up of two components, one, the sum of money c laid out upon the means of production, and the other, the sum of money v expended upon the labour power; c represents the portion that has become constant capital, and v the portion that has become variable capital. At first then, C = c + v: for example, if £500 is the capital advanced, its components may be such that the £500 = £410 const. + £90 var. When the process of production is finished, we get a commodity whose value = (c + v) + s, where s is the surplus value; or taking our former figures, the value of this commodity may be (£410 const. + £90 var.) + £90 surpl. The original capital has now changed from C to C′, from £500 to £590. The differ-

ence is s or a surplus value of £90. Since the value of the constituent elements of the product is equal to the value of the advanced capital, it is mere tautology to say, that the excess of the value of the product over the value of its constituent elements, is equal to the expansion of the capital advanced or to the surplus value produced.

Nevertheless, we must examine this tautology a little more closely. The two things compared are, the value of the product and the value of its constituents consumed in the process of production. Now we have seen how that portion of the constant capital which consists of the instruments of labour, transfers to the product only a fraction of its value, while the remainder of that value continues to reside in those instruments. Since this remainder plays no part in the formation of value, we may at present leave it on one side. To introduce it into the calculation would make no difference. For instance, taking our former example, c = £410: suppose this sum to consist of £312 value of raw material, £44 value of auxiliary material, and £54 value of the machinery worn away in the process; and suppose that the total value of the machinery employed is £1,054. Out of this latter sum, then, we reckon as advanced for the purpose of turning out the product, the sum of £54 alone, which the machinery loses by wear and tear in the process; for this is all it parts with to the product. Now if we also reckon the remaining £1,000, which still continues in the machinery, as transferred to the product, we ought also to reckon it as part of the value advanced, and thus make it appear on both sides of our calculation.[1] We should, in this way, get &1,500 on one side and £1,590 on the other. The difference of these two sums, or the surplus value, would still be £90. Throughout this Book therefore, by constant capital advanced for the production of value, we always mean, unless the context is repugnant thereto, the value of the means of production actually consumed in the process, and that value alone.

This being so, let us return to the formula C = c + v, which we saw was transformed into C′ = (c + v) + s, C becoming C′. We know that the value of the constant capital is transferred to, and merely reappears in the product. The new value actually created in the process, the value produced, or value product, is therefore not the same as the value of the product; it is not, as it would at first sight appear

[1] "If we reckon the value of the fixed capital employed as a part of the advances, we must reckon the remaining value of such capital at the end of the year as a part of the annual returns" (Malthus, *Princ. of Pol. Econ.*, 2nd ed., London, 1836, p. 269).

(c + v) + s or £410 const. + £90 var. + £90 surpl.; but v + s or £90 var. + £90 surpl., not £590 but £180. If c = 0, or in other words, if there were branches of industry in which the capitalist could dispense with all means of production made by previous labour, whether they be raw material, auxiliary material, or instruments of labour, employing only labour power and materials supplied by Nature, in that case, there would be no constant capital to transfer to the product. This component of the value of the product, i. e., the £410 in our example, would be eliminated, but the sum of £180, the amount of new value created, or the value produced, which contains £90 of surplus value, would remain just as great as if c represented the highest value imaginable. We should have C = (0 + v) = v or C′ the expanded capital = v + s and therefore C′ − C = s as before. On the other hand, if s = 0, or in other words, if the labour power, whose value is advanced in the form of variable capital, were to produce only its equivalent, we should have C = c + v or C′ the value of the product = (c + v) + 0 or C = C′. The capital advanced would, in this case, not have expanded its value.

From what has gone before, we know that surplus value is purely the result of a variation in the value of v, of that portion of the capital which is transformed into labour power; consequently, v + s = v + v′ or v plus an increment of v. But the fact that it is v alone that varies, and the conditions of that variation, are obscured by the circumstance that in consequence of the increase in the variable component of the capital, there is also an increase in the sum total of the advanced capital. It was originally £500 and becomes £590. Therefore in order that our investigation may lead to accurate results, we must make abstraction from that portion of the value of the product, in which constant capital alone appears, and consequently must equate the constant capital to zero or make c = 0. This is merely an application of a mathematical rule, employed whenever we operate with constant and variable magnitudes, related to each other by the symbols of addition and subtraction only.

A further difficulty is caused by the original form of the variable capital. In our example, C′ = £410 const. + £90 var. + £90 surpl.; but £90 is a given and therefore a constant quantity; hence it appears absurd to treat it as variable. But in fact, the term £90 var. is here merely a symbol to show that this value undergoes a process. The portion of the capital invested in the purchase of labour power is a definite quantity of materialised labour, a constant value like the value of

the labour power purchased. But in the process of production the place of the £90 is taken by the labour power in action, dead labour is replaced by living labour, something stagnant by something flowing, a constant by a variable. The result is the reproduction of v plus an increment of v. From the point of view then of capitalist production, the whole process appears as the spontaneous variation of the originally constant value, which is transformed into labour power. Both the process and its result, appear to be owing to this value. If, therefore, such expressions as "£90 variable capital", or "so much self-expanding value", appear contradictory, this is only because they bring to the surface a contradiction immanent in capitalist production.

At first sight it appears a strange proceeding, to equate the constant capital to zero. Yet it is what we do every day. If, for example, we wish to calculate the amount of England's profits from the cotton industry, we first of all deduct the sums paid for cotton to the United States, India, Egypt and other countries; in other words, the value of the capital that merely re-appears in the value of the product, is put = 0.

Of course the ratio of surplus value, not only to that portion of the capital from which it immediately springs, and whose change of value it represents, but also to the sum total of the capital advanced, is economically of very great importance. We shall, therefore, in the third book, [161] treat of this ratio exhaustively. In order to enable one portion of a capital to expand its value by being converted into labour power, it is necessary that another portion be converted into means of production. In order that variable capital may perform its function, constant capital must be advanced in proper proportion, a proportion given by the special technical conditions of each labour process. The circumstance, however, that retorts and other vessels are necessary to a chemical process, does not compel the chemist to notice them in the result of his analysis. If we look at the means of production, in their relation to the creation of value, and to the variation in the quantity of value, apart from anything else, they appear simply as the material in which labour power, the value creator, incorporates itself. Neither the nature, nor the value of this material is of any importance. The only requisite is that there be a sufficient supply to absorb the labour expended in the process of production. That supply once given, the material may rise or fall in value, or even be, as land

and the sea, without any value in itself; but this will have no influence on the creation of value or on the variation in the quantity of value.[1]

In the first place then we equate the constant capital to zero. The capital advanced is consequently reduced from c + v to v, and instead of the value of the product (c + v) + s we have now the value produced (v + s). Given the new value produced = £180, which sum consequently represents the whole labour expended during the process, then subtracting from it £90, the value of the variable capital, we have remaining £90, the amount of the surplus value. This sum of £90 or s expresses the absolute quantity of surplus value produced. The relative quantity produced, or the increase per cent of the variable capital, is determined, it is plain, by the ratio of the surplus value to the variable capital, or is expressed by $\frac{s}{v}$. In our example this ratio is $\frac{90}{90}$, which gives an increase of 100%. This relative increase in the value of the variable capital, or the relative magnitude of the surplus value, I call, "The rate of surplus value."[2]

We have seen that the labourer, during one portion of the labour process, produces only the value of his labour power, that is, the value of his means of subsistence. Now since his work forms part of a system, based on the social division of labour, he does not directly produce the actual necessaries which he himself consumes; he produces instead a particular commodity, yarn for example, whose value is equal to the value of those necessaries or of the money with which they can be bought. The portion of his day's labour devoted to this purpose, will be greater or less, in proportion to the value of the necessaries that he daily requires on an average, or, what amounts to the same thing, in proportion to the labour time required on an average to produce them. If the value of those necessaries represent on an average the expenditure of six hours' labour, the workman must on an average work for six hours to produce that value. If instead of working for the capitalist, he worked independently on his own account, he would, other things being equal, still be obliged to labour for the same number of

[1] What Lucretius says is self-evident: "nil posse creari de nihilo," out of nothing, nothing can be created.[162] Creation of value is transformation of labour power into labour. Labour power itself is energy transferred to a human organism by means of nourishing matter.

[2] In the same way that the English use the terms "rate of profit", "rate of interest"., We shall see, in Book III, that the rate of profit is no mystery, so soon as we know the laws of surplus value. If we reverse the process, we cannot comprehend either the one or the other.

hours, in order to produce the value of his labour power, and thereby to gain the means of subsistence necessary for his conservation or continued reproduction. But as we have seen, during that portion of his day's labour in which he produces the value of his labour power, say three shillings, he produces only an equivalent for the value of his labour power already advanced by the capitalist [1]; the new value created only replaces the variable capital advanced. It is owing to this fact, that the production of the new value of three shillings takes the semblance of a mere reproduction. That portion of the working day, then, during which this reproduction takes place, I call "*necessary*" labour time, and the labour expended during that time I call "*necessary*" labour. [2] Necessary, as regards the labourer, because independent of the particular social form of his labour; necessary, as regards capital, and the world of capitalists, because on the continued existence of the labourer depends their existence also.

During the second period of the labour process, that in which his labour is no longer necessary labour, the workman, it is true, labours, expends labour power; but his labour, being no longer necessary labour, he creates no value for himself. He creates surplus value which, for the capitalist, has all the charms of a creation out of nothing. This portion of the working day, I name surplus labour time, and to the labour expended during that time, I give the name of surplus labour. It is every bit as important, for a correct understanding of surplus value, to conceive it as a mere congelation of surplus labour time, as nothing but materialised surplus labour, as it is, for a proper comprehension of value, to conceive it as a mere congelation of so many hours of labour, as nothing but materialised labour. The essential difference between the various economic forms of society, between, for instance, a society based on slave labour, and one based on wage labour, lies

[1] //*Note added in the 3rd German edition.*—The author resorts here to the economic language in current use. It will be remembered that on p. 152 (present edition, p. 184) it was shown that in reality the labourer "advances" to the capitalist and not the capitalist to the labourer.—*F. E.*//

[2] In this work, we have, up to now, employed the term "necessary labour time", to designate the time necessary under given social conditions for the production of any commodity. Henceforward we use it to designate also the time necessary for the production of the particular commodity labour power. The use of one and the same technical term in different senses is inconvenient, but in no science can it be altogether avoided. Compare, for instance, the higher with the lower branches of mathematics.

only in the mode in which this surplus labour is in each case extracted from the actual producer, the labourer.[1]

Since, on the one hand, the values of the variable capital and of the labour power purchased by that capital are equal, and the value of this labour power determines the necessary portion of the working day; and since, on the other hand, the surplus value is determined by the surplus portion of the working day, it follows that surplus value bears the same ratio to variable capital, that surplus labour does to necessary labour, or in other words, the rate of surplus value $\frac{s}{v} = \frac{\text{surplus labour}}{\text{necessary labour}}$. Both ratios, $\frac{s}{v}$ and $\frac{\text{surplus labour}}{\text{necessary labour}}$, express the same thing in different ways; in the one case by reference to materialised, incorporated labour, in the other by reference to living, fluent labour.

The rate of surplus value is therefore an exact expression for the degree of exploitation of labour power by capital, or of the labourer by the capitalist.[2]

We assumed in our example, that the value of the product = £410 const. + £90 var. + £90 surpl., and that the capital advanced = £500. Since the surplus value = £90, and the advanced capital = £500, we should, according to the usual way of reckoning, get as the rate of surplus value (generally confounded with rate of profits) 18%, a rate so low as possibly to cause a pleasant surprise to Mr. Carey and other harmonisers.[164] But in truth, the rate of surplus value is not equal to $\frac{s}{C}$ or $\frac{s}{c+v}$ but to $\frac{s}{v}$: thus it is not $\frac{90}{500}$ but $\frac{90}{90}$ or 100%, which is more than five times the apparent degree of exploitation. Although,

[1] Herr Wilhelm Thucydides Roscher [163] has found a mare's nest. He has made the important discovery that if, on the one hand, the formation of surplus value, or surplus produce, and the consequent accumulation of capital, is now-a-days due to the thrift of the capitalist, on the other hand, in the lowest stages of civilisation it is the strong who compel the weak to economise (l. c., [p] p. [77,] 78). To economise what? Labour? Or superfluous wealth that does not exist? What is it that makes such men as Roscher account for the origin of surplus value, by a mere *réchauffé* of the more or less plausible excuses by the capitalist, for his appropriation of surplus value? It is, besides their real ignorance, their apologetic dread of a scientific analysis of value and surplus value, and of obtaining a result, possibly not altogether palatable to the powers that be.

[2] Although the rate of surplus value is an exact expression for the degree of exploitation of labour power, it is, in no sense, an expression for the absolute amount of exploitation. For example, if the necessary labour = 5 hours and the surplus labour = 5 hours, the degree of exploitation is 100%. The amount of exploitation is here measured by 5 hours. If, on the other hand, the necessary labour = 6 hours and the surplus labour = 6 hours, the degree of exploitation remains, as before, 100%, while the actual amount of exploitation has increased 20%, namely from five hours to six.

in the case we have supposed, we are ignorant of the actual length of the working day, and of the duration in days or weeks of the labour process, as also of the number of labourers employed, yet the rate of surplus value $\frac{s}{v}$ accurately discloses to us, by means of its equivalent expression, $\frac{\text{surplus labour}}{\text{necessary labour}}$, the relation between the two parts of the working day. This relation is here one of equality, the rate being 100%. Hence, it is plain, the labourer, in our example, works one half of the day for himself, the other half for the capitalist.

The method of calculating the rate of surplus value is therefore, shortly, as follows. We take the total value of the product and put the constant capital which merely re-appears in it, equal to zero. What remains, is the only value that has, in the process of producing the commodity, been actually created. If the amount of surplus value be given, we have only to deduct it from this remainder, to find the variable capital. And *vice versâ*, if the latter be given, and we require to find the surplus value. If both be given, we have only to perform the concluding operation, viz., to calculate $\frac{s}{v}$, the ratio of the surplus value to the variable capital.

Though the method is so simple, yet it may not be amiss, by means of a few examples, to exercise the reader in the application of the novel principles underlying it.

First we will take the case of a spinning mill containing 10,000 mule spindles, spinning No. 32 yarn from American cotton, and producing 1 lb of yarn weekly per spindle. We assume the waste to be 6%: under these circumstances 10,600 lbs of cotton are consumed weekly, of which 600 lbs go to waste. The price of the cotton in April, 1871, was $7\frac{3}{4}$ d. per lb; the raw material therefore costs in round numbers £342. The 10,000 spindles, including preparation machinery, and motive power, cost, we will assume, £1 per spindle, amounting to a total of £10,000. The wear and tear we put at 10%, or £1,000 yearly = £20 weekly. The rent of the building we suppose to be £300 a year, or £6 a week. Coal consumed (for 100 horse power indicated, at 4 lbs of coal per horse power per hour during 60 hours, and inclusive of that consumed in heating the mill), 11 tons a week at 8s. 6 d. a ton, amounts to about £$4\frac{1}{2}$ a week: gas, £1 a week, oil, &c., £$4\frac{1}{2}$ a week. Total cost of the above auxiliary materials, £10 weekly. Therefore the constant portion of the value of the week's product is £378. Wages amount to £52 a week. The price of the yarn is $12\frac{1}{4}$ d. per lb which gives for the value of 10,000 lbs the sum of

£510. The surplus value is therefore in this case £510 − £430 = £80. We put the constant part of the value of the product = 0, as it plays no part in the creation of value. There remains £132 as the weekly value created, which = £52 var. + £80 surpl. The rate of surplus value is therefore $\frac{80}{52} = 153\frac{11}{13}\%$. In a working day of 10 hours with average labour the result is: necessary labour = $3\frac{31}{33}$ hours, and surplus labour = $6\frac{2}{33}$.[1]

One more example. Jacob gives the following calculation for the year 1815.[166] Owing to the previous adjustment of several items it is very imperfect; nevertheless for our purpose it is sufficient. In it he assumes the price of wheat to be 80s. a quarter, and the average yield per acre to be 22 bushels.

VALUE PRODUCED PER ACRE

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Seed | £1 | 9 | 0 | Tithes, Rates, and Taxes | £1 | 1 | 0 |
| Manure | 2 | 10 | 0 | Rent | 1 | 8 | 0 |
| Wages | 3 | 10 | 0 | Farmer's Profit and Interest | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Total | £7 | 9 | 0 | Total | £3 | 11 | 0 |

Assuming that the price of the product is the same as its value, we here find the surplus value distributed under the various heads of profit, interest, rent, &c. We have nothing to do with these in detail; we simply add them together, and the sum is a surplus value of £3 11s. 0d. The sum of £3 19s. 0d., paid for seed and manure, is constant capital, and we put it equal to zero. There is left the sum of £3 10s. 0d., which is the variable capital advanced: and we see that a new value of £3 10s. 0d + £3 11s. 0d. has been produced in its place. Therefore $\frac{s}{v} = \frac{£3\ 11s\ 0d.}{£3\ 10s\ 0d.}$, giving a rate of surplus value of more than 100%. The labourer employs more than one half of his working day in producing the surplus value, which different persons, under different pretexts, share amongst themselves.[2]

[1] The above data, which may be relied upon, were given me by a Manchester spinner.[165] In England the horse power of an engine was formerly calculated from the diameter of its cylinder, now the actual horse power shown by the indicator is taken.

[2] The calculations given in the text are intended merely as illustrations. We have in fact assumed that price = values. We shall, however, see, in Book III,[167] that even in the case of average prices the assumption cannot be made in this very simple manner.

## SECTION 2.—THE REPRESENTATION OF THE COMPONENTS OF THE VALUE OF THE PRODUCT BY CORRESPONDING PROPORTIONAL PARTS OF THE PRODUCT ITSELF

Let us now return to the example by which we were shown how the capitalist converts money into capital.

The product of a working day of 12 hours is 20 lbs of yarn, having a value of 30s. No less than $\frac{8}{10}$ ths of this value, or 24s., is due to mere re-appearance in it, of the value of the means of production (20 lbs of cotton, value 20s., and spindle worn away, 4s.): it is therefore constant capital. The remaining $\frac{2}{10}$ ths or 6s. is the new value created during the spinning process: of this one half replaces the value of the day's labour power, or the variable capital, the remaining half constitutes a surplus value of 3s. The total value then of the 20 lbs of yarn is made up as follows:

30s. value of yarn = 24s. const. + 3s. var. + 3s. surpl.

Since the whole of this value is contained in the 20 lbs of yarn produced, it follows that the various component parts of this value, can be represented as being contained respectively in corresponding parts of the product.

If the value of 30s. is contained in 20 lbs of yarn, then $\frac{8}{10}$ ths of this value, or the 24s. that form its constant part, is contained in $\frac{8}{10}$ ths of the product or in 16 lbs of yarn. Of the latter $13\frac{1}{3}$ lbs represent the value of the raw material, the 20s. worth of cotton spun, and $2\frac{2}{3}$ lbs represent the 4 s. worth of spindle, &c., worn away in the process.

Hence the whole of the cotton used up in spinning the 20 lbs of yarn, is represented by $13\frac{1}{3}$ lbs of yarn. This latter weight of yarn contains, it is true, by weight, no more than $13\frac{1}{3}$ lbs of cotton, worth $13\frac{1}{3}$ shillings; but the $6\frac{2}{3}$ shillings additional value contained in it, are the equivalent for the cotton consumed in spinning the remaining $6\frac{2}{3}$ lbs of yarn. The effect is the same as if these $6\frac{2}{3}$ lbs of yarn contained no cotton at all, and the whole 20 lbs of cotton were concentrated in the $13\frac{1}{2}$ lbs of yarn. The latter weight, on the other hand, does not contain an atom either of the value of the auxiliary materials and implements, or of the value newly created in the process.

In the same way, the $2\frac{2}{3}$ lbs of yarn, in which the 4s., the remainder of the constant capital, is embodied, represents nothing but the value of the auxiliary materials and instruments of labour consumed in producing the 20 lbs of yarn.

We have, therefore, arrived at this result: although eight-tenths of

the product, or 16 lbs of yarn, is, in its character of an article of utility, just as much the fabric of the spinner's labour, as the remainder of the same product, yet when viewed in this connection, it does not contain, and has not absorbed any labour expended during the process of spinning. It is just as if the cotton had converted itself into yarn, without help; as if the shape it had assumed was mere trickery and deceit: for so soon as our capitalist sells it for 24s., and with the money replaces his means of production, it becomes evident that this 16 lbs of yarn is nothing more than so much cotton and spindle-waste in disguise.

On the other hand, the remaining $\frac{2}{10}$ths of the product, or 4 lbs of yarn, represent nothing but the new value of 6s., created during the 12 hours' spinning process. All the value transferred to those 4 lbs, from the raw material and instruments of labour consumed, was, so to say, intercepted in order to be incorporated in the 16 lbs first spun. In this case, it is as if the spinner had spun 4 lbs of yarn out of air, or, as if he had spun them with the aid of cotton and spindles, that, being the spontaneous gift of Nature, transferred no value to the product.

Of this 4 lbs of yarn, in which the whole of the value newly created during the process is condensed, one half represents the equivalent for the value of the labour[a] consumed, or the 3s. variable capital, the other half represents the 3s. surplus value.

Since 12 working hours of the spinner are embodied in 6s., it follows that in yarn of the value of 30s., there must be embodied 60 working hours. And this quantity of labour time does in fact exist in the 20 lbs of yarn; for in $\frac{8}{10}$ ths or 16 lbs there are materialised the 48 hours of labour expended, before the commencement of the spinning process, on the means of production; and in the remaining $\frac{2}{10}$ ths or 4 lbs there are materialised the 12 hours' work done during the process itself.

On a former page we saw that the value of the yarn is equal to the sum of the new value created during the production of that yarn plus the value previously existing in the means of production.

It has now been shown how the various component parts of the value of the product, parts that differ functionally from each other, may be represented by corresponding proportional parts of the product itself.

To split up in this manner the product into different parts, of which

[a] In the German editions *Arbeitskraft* ("labour power").

one represents only the labour previously spent on the means of production, or the constant capital, another, only the necessary labour spent[a] during the process of production, or the variable capital, and another and last part, only the surplus labour expended during the same process, or the surplus value; to do this, is, as will be seen later on from its application to complicated and hitherto unsolved problems, no less important than it is simple.

In the preceding investigation we have treated the total product as the final result, ready for use, of a working day of 12 hours. We can however follow this total product through all the stages of its production; and in this way we shall arrive at the same result as before, if we represent the partial products, given off at the different stages, as functionally different parts of the final or total product.

The spinner produces in 12 hours 20 lbs of yarn, or in 1 hour $1\frac{2}{3}$ lbs; consequently he produces in 8 hours $13\frac{2}{3}$ lbs, or a partial product equal in value to all the cotton that is spun in a whole day. In like manner the partial product of the next period of 1 hour and 36 minutes, is $2\frac{2}{3}$ lbs of yarn: this represents the value of the instruments of labour that are consumed in 12 hours. In the following hour and 12 minutes, the spinner produces 2 lbs of yarn worth 3 shillings, a value equal to the whole value he creates in his 6 hours' necessary labour. Finally, in the last hour and 12 minutes he produces another 2 lbs of yarn, whose value is equal to the surplus value, created by his surplus labour during half a day. This method of calculation serves the English manufacturer for everyday use; it shows, he will say, that in the first 8 hours, or $\frac{2}{3}$ of the working day, he gets back the value of his cotton; and so on for the remaining hours. It is also a perfectly correct method: being in fact the first method given above with this difference, that instead of being applied to space, in which the different parts of the completed product lie side by side, it deals with time, in which those parts are successively produced. But it can also be accompanied by very barbarian notions, more especially in the heads of those who are as much interested, practically, in the process of making value beget value, as they are in misunderstanding that process theoretically. Such people may get the notion into their heads, that our spinner, for example, produces or replaces in the first 8 hours of his working day the *value* of the cotton; in the following hour and 36 minutes the *value* of the instruments of labour worn away; in the

[a] In the German editions *zugesetzte* ("added").

next hour and 12 minutes the *value* of the wages; and that he devotes to the production of surplus value for the manufacturer, only that well known "last hour". In this way the poor spinner is made to perform the twofold miracle not only of producing cotton, spindles, steam-engine, coal, oil, &c., at the same time that he spins with them, but also of turning one working day into five; for, in the example we are considering, the production of the raw material and instruments of labour demands four working days of twelve hours each, and their conversion into yarn requires another such day. That the love of lucre induces an easy belief in such miracles, and that sycophant doctrinaires are never wanting to prove them, is vouched for by the following incident of historical celebrity.

### SECTION 3.—SENIOR'S "LAST HOUR"

One fine morning, in the year 1836, Nassau W. Senior, who may be called the *bel-ésprit* of English economists, well known, alike for his economic "science", and for his beautiful style, was summoned from Oxford to Manchester, to learn in the latter place, the political economy that he taught in the former. The manufacturers elected him as their champion, not only against the newly passed Factory Act,[168] but against the still more menacing Ten-hours' agitation. With their usual practical acuteness, they had found out that the learned Professor "wanted a good deal of finishing;" it was this discovery that caused them to write for him. On his side the Professor has embodied the lecture he received from the Manchester manufacturers, in a pamphlet, entitled: "Letters on the Factory Act, as it affects the cotton manufacture." London, 1837. Here we find, amongst others, the following edifying passage:

"Under the present law, no mill in which persons under 18 years of age are employed, ... can be worked more than $11\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day, that is, 12 hours for 5 days in the week, and nine on Saturday.

"Now the following analysis (!) will show that in a mill so worked, the whole net profit is derived *from the last hour*. I will suppose a manufacturer to invest £100,000:—£80,000 in his mill and machinery, and £20,000 in raw material and wages. The annual return of that mill, supposing the capital to be turned once a year, and gross profits to be 15 per cent., ought to be goods worth £115,000.... Of this £115,000, each of the twenty-three half-hours of work produces 5-115ths or one twenty-third. Of these 23-23rds (constituting the whole £115,000) twenty, that is to say £100,000 out of the £115,000, simply replace the capital;—one twenty-third (or £5,000 out of the £115,000) makes up for the deterioration of the mill and machinery. The remaining 2-

23rds, that is, the last two of the twenty-three half-hours of every day, produce the net profit of 10 per cent. If, therefore (prices remaining the same), the factory could be kept at work thirteen hours instead of eleven and a half, with an addition of about £2,600 to the circulating capital, the net profit would be more than doubled. On the other hand, if the hours of working were reduced by one hour per day (prices remaining the same), the *net* profit would be destroyed — if they were reduced by one hour and a half, even the *gross* profit would be destroyed."[1]

And the Professor calls this an "analysis"! If, giving credence to the out-cries of the manufacturers, he believed that the workmen spend the best part of the day in the production, *i. e.*, the reproduction or replacement of the value of the buildings, machinery, cotton, coal, &c., then his analysis was superfluous. His answer would simply have been: — Gentlemen! if you work your mills for 10 hours instead of $11\frac{1}{2}$, then, other things being equal, the daily consumption of cotton, machinery, &c., will decrease in proportion. You gain just as much as you lose. Your workpeople will in future spend one hour and a half less time in reproducing or replacing the capital that has been advanced. — If, on the other hand, he did not believe them without further inquiry, but, as being an expert in such matters, deemed an analysis necessary, then he ought, in a question that is concerned exclusively

[1] Senior, l. c., pp. 12, 13. We let pass such extraordinary notions as are of no importance for our purpose; for instance, the assertion, that manufacturers reckon as part of their profit, gross or net, the amount required to make good wear and tear of machinery, or in other words, to replace a part of the capital. So, too, we pass over any question as to the accuracy of his figures. Leonard Horner has shown in "A Letter to Mr. Senior", &c., London, 1837 [Senior, l. c., pp. 30-42], that they are worth no more than the so-called "Analysis". Leonard Horner was one of the Factory Inquiry Commissioners in 1833, and Inspector, or rather Censor of Factories till 1859. He rendered undying service to the English working class. He carried on a life-long contest, not only with the embittered manufacturers, but also with the Cabinet, to whom the number of votes given by the masters in the Lower House, was a matter of far greater importance than the number of hours worked by the "hands" in the mills.

Apart from errors in principle, Senior's statement is confused. What he really intended to say was this: The manufacturer employs the workman for $11\frac{1}{2}$ hours or for 23 half-hours daily. As the working day, so, too, the working year, may be conceived to consist of $11\frac{1}{2}$ hours or 23 half-hours, but each multiplied by the number of working days in the year. On this supposition, the 23 half-hours yield an annual product of £115,000; one half-hour yields $\frac{1}{23} \times$ £115,000; 20 half-hours yield $\frac{20}{23} \times$ £115,000 = £100,000, i. e., they replace no more than the capital advanced. There remain 3 half-hours, which yield $\frac{1}{23} \times$ £115,000 = £15,000 or the gross profit. Of these 3 half-hours, one yields $\frac{1}{23} \times$ £115,000 = £5,000; i. e., it makes up for the wear and tear of the machinery; the remaining 2 half-hours, i. e., the last hour, yield $\frac{2}{23} \times$ £115,000 = £10,000 or the net profit. In the text Senior converts the last $\frac{2}{23}$ of the product into portions of the working day itself.

with the relations of net profit to the length of the working day, before all things to have asked the manufacturers, to be careful not to lump together machinery, workshops, raw material, and labour, but to be good enough to place the constant capital, invested in buildings, machinery, raw material, &c., on one side of the account, and the capital advanced in wages on the other side. If the Professor then found, that in accordance with the calculation of the manufacturers, the workman reproduced or replaced his wages in 2 half-hours, in that case, he should have continued his analysis thus:

According to your figures, the workman in the last hour but one produces his wages, and in the last hour your surplus value or net profit. Now, since in equal periods he produces equal values, the produce of the last hour but one, must have the same value as that of the last hour. Further, it is only while he labours that he produces any value at all, and the amount of his labour is measured by his labour time. This you say, amounts to $11\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day. He employs one portion of these $11\frac{1}{2}$ hours, in producing or replacing his wages, and the remaining portion in producing your net profit. Beyond this he does alsolutely nothing. But since, on your assumption, his wages, and the surplus value he yields, are of equal value, it is clear that he produces his wages in $5\frac{3}{4}$ hours, and your net profit in the other $5\frac{3}{4}$ hours. Again, since the value of the yarn produced in 2 hours, in equal to the sum of the values of his wages and of your net profit, the measure of the value of this yarn must be $11\frac{1}{2}$ working hours, of which $5\frac{3}{4}$ hours measure the value of the yarn produced in the last hour but one, and $5\frac{3}{4}$, the value of the yarn produced in the last hour. We now come to a ticklish point; therefore, attention! The last working hour but one is, like the first, an ordinary working hour, neither more nor less. How then can the spinner produce in one hour, in the shape of yarn, a value that embodies $5\frac{3}{4}$ hours' labour? The truth is that he performs no such miracle. The use value produced by him in one hour, is a definite quantity of yarn. The value of this yarn is measured by $5\frac{3}{4}$ working hours, of which $4\frac{3}{4}$ were, without any assistance from him, previously embodied in the means of production, in the cotton, the machinery, and so on; the remaining one hour alone is added by him. Therefore since his wages are produced in $5\frac{3}{4}$ hours, and the yarn produced in one hour also contains $5\frac{3}{4}$ hours' work, there is no witchcraft in the result, that the value created by his $5\frac{3}{4}$ hours' spinning, is equal to the value of the product spun in one hour. You are altogether on the wrong track, if you think that he loses a single moment of his working

day, in reproducing or replacing the values of the cotton, the machinery, and so on. On the contrary, it is because his labour converts the cotton and spindles into yarn, because he spins, that the values of the cotton and spindles go over to the yarn of their own accord. This result is owing to the quality of his labour, not to its quantity. It is true, he will in one hour transfer to the yarn more value, in the shape of cotton, than he will in half an hour; bur that is only because in one hour he spins up more cotton than in half an hour. You see then, your assertion, that the workman produces, in the last hour but one, the value of his wages, and in the last hour your net profit, amounts to no more than this, that in the yarn produced by him in 2 working hours, whether they are the 2 first or the 2 last hours of the working day, in that yarn, there are incorporated $11\frac{1}{2}$ working hours, or just a whole day's work, i. e., two hours of his own work and $9\frac{1}{2}$ hours of other people's. And my assertion that, in the first $5\frac{3}{4}$ hours, he produces his wages, an in the last $5\frac{3}{4}$ hours your net profit, amounts only to this, that you pay him for the former, but not for the latter. In speaking of payment of labour, instead of payment of labour power, I only talk your own slang. Now, gentlemen, if you compare the working time you pay for, with that which you do not pay for, you will find that they are to one another, as half a day is to half a day; this gives a rate of 100%, and a very pretty percentage it is. Further, there is not the least doubt, that if you make your "hands" toil for 13 hours, instead of $11\frac{1}{2}$, and, as may be expected from you, treat the work done in that extra one hour and a half, as pure surplus labour, then the latter will be increased from $5\frac{3}{4}$ hours' labour to $7\frac{1}{4}$ hours' labour, and the rate of surplus value from 100% to $126\frac{2}{23}$%. So that you are altogether too sanguine, in expecting that by such an addition of $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours to the working day, the rate will rise from 100% to 200% and more, in other words that it will be "more than doubled". On the other hand — man's heart is a wonderful thing, especially when carried in the purse — you take too pessimist a view, when you fear, that with a reduction of the hours of labour from $11\frac{1}{2}$ to 10, the whole of your net profit will go to the dogs. Not at all. All other conditions remaining the same, the surplus labour will fall from $5\frac{3}{4}$ hours to $4\frac{3}{4}$ hours, a period that still gives a very profitable rate of surplus value, namely $82\frac{14}{23}$%. But this dreadful "last hour", about which you have invented more stories than have the millenarians about the day of judgment, is "all bosh".[169] If it goes, it will cost neither you, your net profit,

nor the boys and girls whom you employ, their "purity of mind".[1] Whenever *your* "last hour" strikes in earnest, think of the Oxford Professor. And now, gentlemen, "farewell, and may we meet again in yonder better world, but not before".[172]

[1] If, on the one hand, Senior proved that the net profit of the manufacturer, the existence of the English cotton industry, and England's command of the markets of the world, depend on "the last working hour", on the other hand, Dr. Andrew Ure showed,[170] that if children and young persons under 18 years of age, instead of being kept the full 12 hours in the warm and pure moral atmosphere of the factory, are turned out an hour sooner into the heartless and frivolous outer world, they will be deprived, by idleness and vice, of all hope of salvation for their souls. Since 1848, the factory inspectors have never tired of twitting the masters with this "last', this "fatal hour". Thus Mr. Howell in his report of the 31st May, 1855: "Had the following ingenious calculation" (he quotes Senior) "been correct, every cotton factory in the United Kingdom would have been working at a loss since the year 1850" (Reports of the Insp. of Fact. for the half-year, ending 30th April, 1855, p. 19). In the year 1848, after the passing of the 10 hours' bill,[171] the masters of some flax spinning mills, scattered, few and far between, over the country on the borders of Dorset and Somerset, foisted a petition against the bill on to the shoulders of a few of their workpeople. One of the clauses of this petition is as follows: "Your petitioners, as parents, conceive that an additional hour of leisure will tend more to demoralise the children than otherwise, believing that idleness is the parent of vice." On this the factory report of 31st Oct., 1848, says: "The atmosphere of the flax mills, in which the children of these virtuous and tender parents work, is so loaded with dust and fibre from the raw material, that it is exceptionally unpleasant to stand even 10 minutes in the spinning rooms: for you are unable to do so without the most painful sensation, owing to the eyes, the ears, the nostrils, and mouth, being immediately filled by the clouds of flax dust from which there is no escape. The labour itself, owing to the feverish haste of the machinery, demands unceasing application of skill and movement, under the control of a watchfulness that never tires, and it seems somewhat hard, to let parents apply the term 'idling' to their own children, who, after allowing for meal times, are fettered for 10 whole hours to such an occupation, in such an atmosphere... These children work longer than the labourers in the neighbouring villages... Such cruel talk about 'idleness and vice' ought to be branded as the purest cant, and the most shameless hypocrisy... That portion of the public, who, about 12 years ago, were struck by the assurance with which, under the sanction of high authority, it was publicly and most earnestly proclaimed, that the whole net profit of the manufacturer flows from the labour of the last hour, and that, therefore, the reduction of the working day by one hour, would destroy his net profit, that portion of the public, we say, will hardly believe its own eyes, when it now finds, that the original discovery of the virtues of 'the last hour' has since been so far improved, as to include morals as well as profit; so that, if the duration of the labour of children, is reduced to a full 10 hours, their morals, together with the net profits of their employers, will vanish, both being dependent on this last, this fatal hour." (See Reports [of the] Insp. of Fact., for 31st Oct., 1848, p. 101). The same report then gives some examples of the morality and virtue of these same pure-minded manufacturers, of the tricks, the artifices, the cajoling, the threats, and the falsifications, they made use of, in order, first, to compel a few defenceless workmen to sign petitions of such a kind, and then to impose them

Senior invented the battle cry of the "last hour" in 1836.[1] In the London *Economist* of the 15th April, 1848, the same cry was again raised by James Wilson, an economic mandarin of high standing: this time in opposition to the 10 hours' bill.

## SECTION 4.—SURPLUS PRODUCE

The portion of the product that represents the surplus value, (one-tenth of the 20 lbs, or 2 lbs of yarn, in example given in Sec. 2) we call "surplus produce". Just as the rate of surplus value is determined by its relation, not to the sum total of the capital, but to its variable part; in like manner, the relative quantity of surplus produce is determined by the ratio that this produce bears, not to the remaining part of the total product, but to that part of it in which is incorporated the necessary labour. Since the production of surplus value is the chief end and aim of capitalist production, it is clear, that the greatness of a man's or a nation's wealth should be measured, not by the absolute quantity produced, but by the relative magnitude of the surplus produce.[2]

upon Parliament as the petitions of a whole branch of industry, or a whole country. It is highly characteristic of the present status of so-called economic science, that neither Senior himself, who, at a later period, to his honour be it said, energetically supported the factory legislation, nor his opponents, from first to last, have ever been able to explain the false conclusions of the "original discovery". They appeal to actual experience, but the why and wherefore remains a mystery.

[1] Nevertheless, the learned professor was not without some benefit from his journey to Manchester. In the "Letters on the Factory Act", he makes the whole net gains including "profit" and "interest", and even "something more", depend upon a single unpaid hour's work of the labourer [pp. 12-13]. One year previously, in his *Outline of [the Science of] Political Economy*, written for the instruction of Oxford students and cultivated Philistines, he had also "discovered", in opposition to Ricardo's determination of value by labour,[a] that profit is derived from the labour of the capitalist, and interest from his asceticism, in other words, from his "abstinence" [p. 153]. The dodge was an old one, but the word "abstinence" was new. Herr Roscher translates it rightly by "Enthaltung". Some of his countrymen, the Browns, Jones, and Robinsons,[173] of Germany, not so well versed in Latin as he, have, monk-like, rendered it by "Entsagung" (renunciation).

[2] "To an individual with a capital of £20,000, whose profits were £2,000 per annum, it would be a matter quite indifferent whether his capital would employ a 100 or 1,000 men, whether the commodity produced sold for £10,000 or £20,000, provided, in all cases, his profit were not diminished below £2,000. Is not the real interest of the

[a] In the German editions "labour time".

The sum of the necessary labour and the surplus labour. i. e., of the periods of time during which the workman replaces the value of his labour power, and produces the surplus value, this sum constitutes the actual time during which he works, i. e., the working day.

# Chapter X

## THE WORKING DAY

### SECTION 1.—THE LIMITS OF THE WORKING DAY

We started with the supposition that labour power is bought and sold at its value. Its value, like that of all other commodities, is determined by the working time necessary to its production. If the production of the average daily means of subsistence of the labourer takes up 6 hours, he must work, on the average, 6 hours every day, to produce his daily labour power, or to reproduce the value received as the result of its sale. The necessary part of his working day amounts to 6 hours, and is, therefore, *caeteris paribus*,[a] a given quantity. But with this, the extent of the working day itself is not yet given.

Let us assume that the line A B represents the length of the necessary working time, say 6 hours. If the labour be prolonged 1, 3 or 6 hours beyond A B, we have 3 other lines:

| Working day I. | Working day II. | Working day III. |
|---|---|---|
| A ——— B— C | A ——— B—— C | A ——— B ——— C |

representing 3 different working days of 7, 9, and 12 hours. The extension B C of the line A B represents the length of the surplus

nation similar? Provided its net real income, its rent and profits, be the same, it is of no importance whether the nation consists of 10 or of 12 millions of inhabitants" (Ricardo, l. c., p. 416). Long before Ricardo, Arthur Young, a fanatical upholder of surplus produce, for the rest, a rambling, uncritical writer, whose reputation is in the inverse ratio of his merit, says, "Of what use, in a modern kingdom, would be a whole province thus divided" //in the old Roman manner, by small independent peasants, //"however well cultivated, except for the mere purpose of breeding men, which taken singly is a most useless purpose?" (Arthur Young, *Political Arithmetic*, &c., London, 1774, p. 47).

Very curious is "the strong inclination ... to represent net wealth as beneficial to the labouring class ... though it is evidently not on account of being net" (Th. Hopkins, *On Rent of Land*, &c., London, 1828, p. 126).

[a] other things being equal

labour. As the working day is A B + B C or A C, it varies with the variable quantity B C. Since A B is constant, the ratio of B C to A B can always be calculated. In working day I, it is $\frac{1}{6}$, in working day II, $\frac{3}{6}$, in working day III, $\frac{6}{6}$ of A B. Since, further, the ratio $\frac{\text{surplus working time,}}{\text{necessary working time,}}$ determines the rate of the surplus value, the latter is given by the ratio of B C to A B. It amounts in the 3 different working days respectively to $16\frac{2}{3}$, 50 and 100 per cent. On the other hand, the rate of surplus value alone would not give us the extent of the working day. If this rate, e. g., were 100 per cent., the working day might be of 8, 10, 12, or more hours. It would indicate that the 2 constituent parts of the working day, necessary-labour and surplus-labour time, were equal in extent, but not how long each of these two constituent parts was.

The working day is thus not a constant, but a variable quantity. One of its parts, certainly, is determined by the working time required for the reproduction of the labour power of the labourer himself. But its total amount varies with the duration of the surplus labour. The working day is, therefore, determinable, but is, *per se*, indeterminate.[1]

Although the working day is not a fixed, but a fluent quantity, it can, on the other hand, only vary within certain limits. The minimum limit is, however, not determinable; of course, if we make the extension line B C or the surplus labour = 0, we have a minimum limit, i. e., the part of the day which the labourer must necessarily work for his own maintenance. On the basis of capitalist production, however, this necessary labour can form a part only on the working day; the working day itself can never be reduced to this minimum.On the other hand, the working day has a maximum limit. It cannot be prolonged beyond a certain point. This maximum limit is conditioned by two things. First, by the physical bounds of labour power. Within the 24 hours of the natural day a man can expend only a definite quantity of his vital force. A horse, in like manner, can only work from day to day, 8 hours. During part of the day this force must rest, sleep; during another part the man has to satisfy other physical needs, to feed, wash, and clothe himself. Besides these purely physical limitations, the extension of the working day encounters moral ones. The

[1] "A day's labour is vague, it may be long or short" ([J. Cunningham,] *An Essay on Trade and Commerce, Containing Observations on Taxes*, &c., London, 1770, p. 73).

labourer needs time for satisfying his intellectual and social wants, the extent and number of which are conditioned by the general state of social advancement. The variation of the working day fluctuates, therefore, within physical and social bounds. But both these limiting conditions are of a very elastic nature, and allow the greatest latitude. So we find working days of 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18 hours, i. e., of the most different lengths.

The capitalist has bought the labour power at its day rate. To him its use value belongs during one working day. He has thus acquired the right to make the labourer work for him during one day. But, what is a working day? [1]

At all events, less than a natural day. By how much? The capitalist has his own views of this *ultima Thule*,[176] the necessary limit of the working day. As capitalist, he is only capital personified. His soul is the soul of capital. But capital has one single life impulse, the tendency to create value and surplus value, to make its constant factor, the means of production, absorb the greatest possible amount of surplus labour.[2]

Capital is dead labour, that, vampire-like, only lives by sucking living labour, and lives the more, the more labour it sucks. The time during which the labourer works, is the time during which the capitalist consumes the labour power he has purchased of him.[3]

It the labourer consumes his disposable time for himself, he robs the capitalist.[4]

The capitalist then takes his stand on the law of the exchange of commodities. He, like all other buyers, seeks to get the greatest possi-

[1] This question is far more important than the celebrated question of Sir Robert Peel to the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce: What is a pound?[174] A question that could only have been proposed, because Peel was as much in the dark as to the nature of money as the "little shilling men"[175] of Birmingham.

[2] "It is the aim of the capitalist to obtain with his expended capital the greatest possible quantity of labour (*d'obtenir du capital dépensé la plus forte somme de travail possible*)." J. G. Courcelle-Seneuil, *Traité théorique et pratique des entreprises industrielles*, 2nd ed. Paris, 1857, p. 62.

[3] "An hour's labour lost in a day is a prodigious injury to a commercial State.... There is a very great consumption of luxuries among the labouring poor of this kingdom: particularly among the manufacturing populace, by which they also consume their time, the most fatal of consumptions." [J. Cunnigham,] *An Essay on Trade and Commerce*, &c., p. 47 and 153.

[4] "If the free labourer allows himself an instant of rest, the base and petty management, which follows him with wary eyes, claims he is stealing from it." N. Linguet, *Théorie des loix civiles*, &c., London, 1767, t. II, [p]p. 466[-67].

ble benefit out of the use value of his commodity. Suddenly the voice of the labourer, which had been stifled in the storm and stress [177] of the process of production, rises:

The commodity that I have sold to you differs from the crowd of other commodities, in that its use creates value, and a value greater than its own. That is why you bought it. That which on your side appears a spontaneous expansion of capital, is on mine extra expenditure of labour power. You and I know on the market only one law, that of the exchange of commodities. And the consumption of the commodity belongs not to the seller who parts with it, but to the buyer, who acquires it. To you, therefore, belongs the use of my daily labour power. But by means of the price that you pay for it each day, I must be able to reproduce it daily, and to sell it again. Apart from natural exhaustion through age, &c., I must be able on the morrow to work with the same normal amount of force, health and freshness as today. You preach to me constantly the gospel of "saving" and "abstinence". Good! I will, like a sensible saving owner, husband my sole wealth, labour power, and abstain from all foolish waste of it. I will each day spend, set in motion, put into action only as much of it as is compatible with its normal duration, and healthy development. By an unlimited extension of the working day, you may in one day use up a quantity of labour power greater than I can restore in three. What you gain in labour I lose in substance. The use of my labour power and the spoliation of it are quite different things. If the average time that (doing a reasonable amount of work) an average labourer can live, is 30 years, the value of my labour power, which you pay me from day to day, is $\frac{1}{365 \times 30}$ or $\frac{1}{10950}$ of its total value. But if you consume it in 10 years, you pay me daily $\frac{1}{10950}$ instead of $\frac{1}{3650}$ of its total value, i. e., only $\frac{1}{3}$ of its daily value, and you rob me, therefore, every day of $\frac{2}{3}$ of the value of my commodity. You pay me for one day's labour power, whilst you use that of 3 days. That is against our contract and the law of exchanges. I demand, therefore, a working day of normal length, and I demand it without any appeal to your heart, for in money matters sentiment is out of place.[178] You may be a model citizen, perhaps a member of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and in the odour of sanctity to boot; but the thing that you represent face to face with me has no heart in its breast. That which seems to throb there is my own heart-beating. I demand the normal

working day because I, like every other seller, demand the value of my commodity.[1]

We see then, that, apart from extremely elastic bounds, the nature of the exchange of commodities itself imposes no limit to the working day, no limit to surplus labour. The capitalist maintains his rights as a purchaser when he tries to make the working day as long as possible, and to make, whenever possible, two working days out of one. On the other hand, the peculiar nature of the commodity sold implies a limit to its consumption by the purchaser, and the labourer maintains his right as seller when he wishes to reduce the working day to one of definite normal duration. There is here, therefore, an antinomy, right against right, both equally bearing the seal of the law of exchanges. Between equal rights force decides. Hence is it that in the history of capitalist production, the determination of what is a working day, presents itself as the result of a struggle, a struggle between collective capital, i. e., the class of capitalists, and collective labour, i. e., the working class.

## SECTION 2.—THE GREED FOR SURPLUS LABOUR. MANUFACTURER AND BOYARD

Capital has not invented surplus labour. Wherever a part of society possesses the monopoly of the means of production, the labourer, free or not free, must add to the working time necessary for his own maintenance an extra working time in order to produce the means of subsistence for the owners of the means of production,[2] whether this proprietor be the Athenian χαλὸς χἀγαθός,[a] Etruscan theocrat, *civis Romanus*,[b] Norman baron, American slave-owner, Wallachian Boyard, modern landlord or capitalist.[3] It is, however, clear that in any

[1] During the great strike of the London builders, 1860-61, for the reduction of the working day to 9 hours, their Committee published a manifesto that contained, to some extent, the plea of our worker. The manifesto alludes, not without irony, to the fact, that the greatest profit-monger amongst the building masters, a certain Sir M. Peto, was in the odour of sanctity. (This same Peto, after 1867, came to an end *à la* Strousberg.) [179]

[2] "Those who labour ... in reality feed both the pensioners //called the rich// and themselves" (Edmund Burke, l. c., [p]p. 2[-3]).

[3] Niebuhr in his *Roman History* says very naïvely: "It is evident that works like the

[a] well-to-do man - [b] Roman citizen

given economic formation of society, where not the exchange value but the use value of the product predominates, surplus labour will be limited by a given set of wants which may be greater or less, and that here no boundless thirst for surplus labour arises from the nature of the production itself. Hence in antiquity overwork becomes horrible only when the object is to obtain exchange value in its specific independent money form; in the production of gold and silver. Compulsory working to death is here the recognised form of overwork. Only read Diodorus Siculus.[1] Still these are exceptions in antiquity. But as soon as people, whose production still moves within the lower forms of slave labour, corvée labour, &c., are drawn into the whirlpool of an international market dominated by the capitalistic mode of production, the sale of their products for export becoming their principal interest, the civilised horrors of overwork are grafted on the barbaric horrors of slavery, serfdom, &c. Hence the negro labour in the Southern States of the American Union preserved something of a patriarchal character, so long as production was chiefly directed to immediate local consumption. But in proportion, as the export of cotton became of vital interest to these states, the overworking of the negro and sometimes the using up of his life in 7 years of labour became a factor in a calculated and calculating system. It was no longer a question of obtaining from him a certain quantity of useful products. It was now a question of production of surplus labour itself. So was it also with the corvée, e. g., in the Danubian Principalities (now Roumania).

The comparison of the greed for surplus labour in the Danubian Principalities with the same greed in English factories has a special interest, because surplus labour in the corvée has an independent and palpable form.

Suppose the working day consists of 6 hours of necessary labour, and 6 hours of surplus labour. Then the free labourer gives the capi-

Etruscan, which in their ruins astound us, presuppose in little (!) states lords and vassals" [p. 74]. Sismondi says far more to the purpose that "Brussels lace" presupposes wage lords and wage slaves.

[1] "One cannot see these unfortunates" (in the gold mines between Egypt, Ethiopia, and Arabia) "who cannot even have their bodies clean, or their nakedness clothed, without pitying their miserable lot. There is no indulgence, no forbearance for the sick, the feeble, the aged, for woman's weakness. All must, forced by blows, work on until death puts an end to their sufferings and their distress" (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. Hist.*, lib. 2, c. 13).

talist every week 6 × 6 or 36 hours of surplus labour. It is the same as if he worked 3 days in the week for himself, and 3 days in the week gratis for the capitalist. But this is not evident on the surface. Surplus labour and necessary labour glide one into the other. I can, therefore, express the same relationship by saying, e. g., that the labourer in every minute works 30 seconds for himself, and 30 for the capitalist, etc. It is otherwise with the corvée. The necessary labour which the Wallachian peasant does for his own maintenance is distinctly marked off from his surplus labour on behalf of the Boyard. The one he does on his own field, the other on the seignorial estate. Both parts of the labour time exist, therefore, independently, side by side one with the other. In the corvée the surplus labour is accurately marked off from the necessary labour. This, however, can make no difference with regard to the quantitative relation of surplus labour to necessary labour. Three days' surplus labour in the week remain three days that yield no equivalent to the labourer himself, whether it be called corvée or wage labour. But in the capitalist the greed for surplus labour appears in the straining after an unlimited extension of the working day, in the Boyard more simply in a direct hunting after days of corvée.[1]

In the Danubian Principalities the corvée was mixed up with rents in kind and other appurtenances of bondage, but it formed the most important tribute paid to the ruling class. Where this was the case, the corvée rarely arose from serfdom; serfdom much more frequently on the other hand took origin from the corvée.[2] This is what took place in the Roumanian provinces. Their original mode of production was based on community of the soil, but not in the Slavonic or

[1] That which follows refers to the situation in the Roumanian provinces before the change [143] effected since the Crimean war.

[2] This holds likewise for Germany, and especially for Prussia east of the Elbe. In the 15th century the German peasant was nearly everywhere a man, who, whilst subject to certain rents paid in produce and labour was otherwise at least practically free. The German colonists in Brandenburg, Pomerania, Silesia, and Eastern Prussia, were even legally acknowledged as free men. The victory of the nobility in the peasants' war put an end to that. Not only were the conquered South German peasants again enslaved. From the middle of the 16th century the peasants of Eastern Prussia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Silesia, and soon after the free peasants of Schleswig-Holstein were degraded to the condition of serfs //Maurer, [*Geschichte der*] *Fronhöfe*, vol. iv [pp. 522-23, 530]; Meitzen, *Der Boden [und die landwirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse] des preussischen Staates*; Hanssen, [*Die Aufhebung der*] *Leibeigenschaft in Schleswig-Holstein.*— *F. E.*//

Indian form. Part of the land was cultivated in severalty as freehold by the members of the community, another part—*ager publicus*—was cultivated by them in common. The products of this common labour served partly as a reserve fund against bad harvests and other accidents, partly as a public store for providing the costs of war, religion, and other common expenses. In course of time military and clerical dignitaries usurped, along with the common land, the labour spent upon it. The labour of the free peasants on their common land was transformed into corvée for the thieves of the common land. This corvée soon developed into a servile relationship existing in point of fact, not in point of law, until Russia, the liberator of the world, made it legal under pretence of abolishing serfdom. The code of the corvée, which the Russian general Kisseleff proclaimed in 1831, was of course dictated by the Boyards themselves. Thus Russia conquered with one blow the magnates of the Danubian provinces, and the applause of liberal crétins throughout Europe.

According to the "Règlement organique",[180] as this code of the corvée is called, every Wallachian peasant owes to the so-called landlord, besides a mass of detailed payments in kind: (1), 12 days of general labour; (2), one day of field labour; (3), one day of wood carrying. In all, 14 days in the year. With deep insight into political economy, however, the working day is not taken in its ordinary sense, but as the working day necessary to the production of an average daily product; and that average daily product is determined in so crafty a way that no Cyclops would be done with it in 24 hours. In dry words, the Règlement itself declares with true Russian irony that by 12 working days one must understand the product of the manual labour of 36 days, by 1 day of field labour 3 days, and by 1 day of wood carrying in like manner three times as much. In all, 42 corvée days. To this had to be added the so-called jobagie, service due to the lord for extraordinary occasions. In proportion to the size of its population, every village has to furnish annually a definite contingent to the jobagie. This additional corvée is estimated at 14 days for each Wallachian peasant. Thus the prescribed corvée amounts to 56 working days yearly. But the agricultural year in Wallachia numbers in consequence of the severe climate only 210 days, of which 40 for Sundays and holidays, 30 on an average for bad weather, together 70 days, do not count. 140 working days remain. The ratio of the corvée to the necessary labour $\frac{56}{84}$ or $66\frac{2}{3}$ % gives a much smaller rate of surplus value than that which regulates the labour of the English agricultural

or factory labourer. This is, however, only the legally prescribed corvée. And in a spirit yet more "liberal" than the English Factory Acts, the "Règlement organique" has known how to facilitate its own evasion. After it has made 56 days out of 12, the nominal day's work of each of the 56 corvée days is again so arranged that a portion of it must fall on the ensuing day. In one day, e. g., must be weeded an extent of land, which, for this work, especially in maize plantations, needs twice as much time. The legal day's work for some kinds of agricultural labour is interpretable in such a way that the day begins in May and ends in October. In Moldavia conditions are still harder.

"The 12 corvée days of the 'Règlement organique' cried a Boyard drunk with victory, amount to 365 days in the year."[1]

If the Règlement organique of the Danubian provinces was a positive expression of the greed for surplus labour which every paragraph legalised, the English Factory Acts are the negative expression of the same greed. These acts curb the passion of capital for a limitless draining of labour power, by forcibly limiting the working day by state regulations, made by a state that is ruled by capitalist and landlord. Apart from the working-class movement that daily grew more threatening, the limiting of factory labour was dictated by the same necessity which spread guano over the English fields. The same blind eagerness for plunder that in the one case exhausted the soil, had, in the other, torn up by the roots the living force of the nation. Periodical epidemics speak on this point as clearly as the diminishing military standard in Germany and France.[2]

[1] Further details are to be found in E. Regnault's *Histoire politique et sociale des Principautés Danubiennes*, Paris, 1855 [, pp. 304 sqq.].

[2] "In general and within certain limits, exceeding the medium size of their kind, is evidence of the prosperity of organic beings. As to man, his bodily height lessens if his due growth is interfered with, either by physical or social conditions. In all European countries in which the conscription holds, since its introduction, the medium height of adult men, and generally their fitness for military service, has diminished. Before the revolution (1789), the minimum for the infantry in France was 165 centimetres; in 1818 (law of March 10th), 157; by the law of March 21, 1832, 156 c. m.; on the average in France more than half are rejected on account of deficient height or bodily weakness. The military standard in Saxony was in 1780, 178 c. m. It is now 155. In Prussia it is 157. According to the statement of Dr. Meyer in the Bavarian Gazette, May 9th, 1862, the result of an average of 9 years is, that in Prussia out of 1,000 conscripts 716 were unfit for military service, 317 because of deficiency in height, and 399 because of bodily defects.... Berlin in 1858 could not provide its contingent of recruits; it was 156 men short." J. von Liebig: *Die Chemie in ihrer Anwendung auf Agrikultur und Physiologie*, 1862, 7th Ed., Th. 1, [Einleitung,] pp. 117, 118.

The Factory Act of 1850 [181] now in force (1867) allows for the average working day 10 hours, i.e., for the first 5 days 12 hours from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., including $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour for breakfast, and an hour for dinner, and thus leaving $10\frac{1}{2}$ working hours, and 8 hours for Saturday, from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m., of which $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour is subtracted for breakfast. 60 working hours are left, $10\frac{1}{2}$ for each of the first 5 days, $7\frac{1}{2}$ for the last.[1] Certain guardians of these laws are appointed, Factory Inspectors, directly under the Home Secretary, whose reports are published half-yearly, by order of Parliament. They give regular and official statistics of the capitalistic greed for surplus labour.

Let us listen, for a moment, to the Factory Inspectors.[2]

"The fraudulent mill-owner begins work a quarter of an hour (sometimes more, sometimes less) before 6 a.m., and leaves off a quarter of an hour (sometimes more, sometimes less) after 6 p.m. He takes 5 minutes from the beginning and from the end of the half hour nominally allowed for breakfast, and 10 minutes at the beginning and end of the hour nominally allowed for dinner. He works for a quarter of an hour (sometimes more, sometimes less) after 2 p.m. on Saturday. Thus his gain is—

| | |
|---|---|
| Before 6 a.m. | 15 minutes. |
| After 6 p.m. | 15 " |
| At breakfast time | 10 " |
| At dinner time | 20 " |
| Five days—300 minutes, | 60 " |
| On Saturday before 6 a.m. | 15 minutes. |
| At breakfast time | 10 " |
| After 2 p.m. | 15 " |
| | 40 minutes. |
| Total weekly | 340 minutes. |

[1] The history of the Factory Act of 1850 will be found in the course of this chapter.

[2] I only touch here and there on the period from the beginning of modern industry in England to 1845. For this period I refer the reader to *Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England*, von Friedrich Engels, Leipzig, 1845. How completely Engels understood the nature of the capitalist mode of production is shown by the Factory Reports, Reports on Mines, &c., that have appeared since 1845, and how wonderfully he painted the circumstances in detail is seen on the most superficial comparison of his work with the official reports of Children's Employment Commission, published 18 to 20 years later (1863-1867). These deal especially with the branches of industry in which the Factory Acts had not, up to 1862, been introduced, in fact are not yet introduced. Here, then, little or no alteration had been enforced, by authority, in the conditions painted by Engels. I borrow my examples chiefly from the Free-trade period after 1848, that age of paradise, of which the commercial travellers for the great firm of Free-trade, blatant as ignorant, tell such fabulous tales. For the rest England figures here in the foreground because she is the classic representative of capitalist production, and she alone has a continuous set of official statistics of the things we are considering.

Or 5 hours and 40 minutes weekly, which multiplied by 50 working weeks in the year (allowing two for holidays and occasional stoppages) is equal to 27 working-days." [1]

"Five minutes a day's increased work, multiplied by weeks, are equal to two and a half days of produce in the year." [2]

"An additional hour a day gained by small instalments before 6 a. m., after 6 p. m., and at the beginning and end of the times nominally fixed for meals, is nearly equivalent to working 13 months in the year." [3]

Crises during which production is interrupted and the factories work "short time", i. e., for only a part of the week, naturally do not affect the tendency to extend the working day. The less business there is, the more profit has to be made on the business done. The less time spent in work, the more of that time has to be turned into surplus labour time.

Thus the Factory Inspectors report on the period of the crisis from 1857 to 1858:

"It may seem inconsistent that there should be any overworking at a time when trade is so bad; but that very badness leads to the transgression by unscrupulous men, they get the extra profit of it. ... In the last half year," says Leonard Horner, "122 mills in my district have been given up; 143 were found standing", yet, overwork is continued beyond the legal hours.[4]

"For a great part of the time," says Mr. Howell, "owing to the depression of trade, many factories were altogether closed, and a still greater number were working short time. I continue, however, to receive about the usual number of complaints that half, or three-quarters of an hour in the day, are snatched from the workers by encroaching upon the times professedly allowed for rest and refreshment." [5]

The same phenomenon was reproduced on a smaller scale during the frightful cotton crisis from 1861 to 1865.[6]

"It is sometimes advanced by way of excuse, when persons are found at work in a factory, either at a meal hour, or at some illegal time, that they will not leave the mill at the appointed hour, and that compulsion is necessary to force them to cease work" //cleaning their machinery, &c.,// "especially on Saturday afternoons. But, if the hands

[1] "Suggestions, &c. by Mr. L. Horner, Inspector of Factories", in: Factories Regulation Acts. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 9th August, 1859, pp. 4, 5.

[2] Reports of the Inspectors of Factories for the half year, October, 1856, p. 35.

[3] Reports, &c., 30th April, 1858, [p]p. 9[,10].

[4] Reports, &c., l. c., p. 10.

[5] Reports, &c., l. c., p. 25.

[6] Reports, &c., for the half year ending 30th April, 1861. See Appendix No. 2; Reports, &c., 31st October, 1862, pp. 7, 52, 53. The violations of the Acts became more numerous during the last half year 1863. Cf. Reports, &c., ending 31st October, 1863, p. 7.

remain in a factory after the machinery has ceased to revolve ... they would not have been so employed if sufficient time had been set apart specially for cleaning, &c., either before 6 p. m." //*sic!*// "or before 2 p. m. on Saturday afternoons."[1]

"The profit to be gained by it (overworking in violation of the Act) appears to be, to many, a greater temptation than they can resist; they calculate upon the chance of not being found out; and when they see the small amount of penalty and costs, which those who have been convicted have had to pay, they find that if they should be detected there will still be a considerable balance of gain....[2] In cases where the additional time is gained by a multiplication of small thefts in the course of the day, there are insuperable difficulties to the inspectors making out a case."[3]

These "small thefts" of capital from the labourer's meal and recreation time, the factory inspectors also designate as "petty pilferings of minutes"[4] "snatching a few minutes",[5] or, as the labourers technically called them, "nibbling and cribbling at meal-times".[6]

It is evident that in this atmosphere the formation of surplus value by surplus labour, is no secret.

"If you allow me," said a highly respectable master to me, "to work only ten min-

[1] Reports, &c., October 31st, 1860, p. 23. With what fanaticism, according to the evidence of manufacturers given in courts of law, their hands set themselves against every interruption in factory labour, the following curious circumstance shows. In the beginning of June, 1836, information reached the magistrates of Dewsbury (Yorkshire) that the owners of 8 large mills in the neighbourhood of Batley had violated the Factory Acts. Some of these gentlemen were accused of having kept at work 5 boys between 12 and 15 years of age, from 6 a. m. on Friday to 4 p. m. on the following Saturday, not allowing them any respite except for meals and one hour for sleep at midnight. And these children had to do the ceaseless labour of 30 hours in the "shoddyhole", as the hole is called, in which the woollen rags are pulled in pieces, and where a dense atmosphere of dust, shreds, &c., forces even the adult workman to cover his mouth continually with handkerchiefs for the protection of his lungs! The accused gentlemen affirm in lieu of taking an oath — as quakers they were too scrupulously religious to take an oath — that they had, in their great compassion for the unhappy children, allowed them four hours for sleep, but the obstinate children absolutely would not go to bed. The quaker gentlemen were mulcted in £20. Dryden anticipated these gentry:

> "Fox full fraught in seeming sanctity,
> That feared an oath, but like the devil would lie,
> That look'd like Lent, and had the holy leer,
> And durst not sin! before he said his prayer!" [182]

[2] Rep., 31st Oct., 1856, p. 34.
[3] l. c., p. 35.
[4] l. c., p. 48.
[5] l. c., p. 48.
[6] l. c., p. 48.

utes in the day overtime, you put one thousand a year in my pocket." [1] "Moments are the elements of profit." [2]

Nothing is from this point of view more characteristic than the designation of the workers who work full time as "full-timers," and the children under 13 who are only allowed to work 6 hours as "half-timers". The worker is here nothing more than personified labour time. All individual distinctions are merged in those of "full-timers" and "half-timers". [3]

## SECTION 3.—BRANCHES OF ENGLISH INDUSTRY WITHOUT LEGAL LIMITS TO EXPLOITATION

We have hitherto considered the tendency to the extension of the working day, the were-wolf's hunger for surplus labour in a department where the monstrous exactions, not surpassed, says an English bourgeois economist, by the cruelties of the Spaniards to the American red-skins,[4] caused capital at last to be bound by the chains of legal regulations. Now, let us cast a glance at certain branches of production in which the exploitation of labour is either free from fetters to this day, or was so yesterday.

Mr. Broughton Charlton, county magistrate, declared, as chairman of a meeting held at the Assembly Rooms, Nottingham, on the 14th January, 1860, "that there was an amount of privation and suffering among that portion of the population connected with the lace trade, unknown in other parts of the kingdom, indeed, in the civilised world.... Children of nine or ten years are dragged from their squalid beds at two, three, or four o'clock in the morning and compelled to work for a bare subsistence until ten, eleven, or twelve at night, their limbs wearing away, their frames dwindling, their faces whitening, and their humanity absolutely sinking into a stone-like torpor, utterly horrible to contemplate.... We are not surprised that Mr. Mallett, or any other manufacturer, should stand forward and protest against discussion.... The system, as the

[1] l. c., p. 48.

[2] Report of the Insp. &c., 30th April, 1860, p. 56.

[3] This is the official expression both in the factories and in the reports [see Reports, &c., 31st October, 1858, pp. 48-53].

[4] "The cupidity of mill-owners whose cruelties in the pursuit of gain have hardly been exceeded by those perpetrated by the Spaniards on the conquest of America in the pursuit of gold" (John Wade, *History of the Middle and Working Classes*, 3rd Ed., London, 1835, p. 114). The theoretical part of the book, a kind of hand-book of political economy, is, considering the time of its publication, original in some parts, e. g., on commercial crises. The historical part is, to a great extent, a shameless plagiarism of Sir F. M. Eden's *The State of the Poor*, [Vol. I,] London, 1797.

Rev. Montagu Valpy describes it, is one of unmitigated slavery, socially, physically, morally, and spiritually.... What can be thought of a town which holds a public meeting to petition that the period of labour for men shall be diminished to eighteen hours a day? .... We declaim against the Virginian and Carolinian cotton-planters. Is their black-market, their lash, and their barter of human flesh more detestable than this slow sacrifice of humanity which takes place in order that veils and collars may be fabricated for the benefit of capitalists?"[1]

The potteries of Staffordshire have, during the last 22 years, been the subject of three parliamentary inquiries. The result is embodied in Mr. Scriven's Report of 1841 to the "Children's Employment Commissioners", in the report of Dr. Greenhow of 1860 published by order of the medical officer of the Privy Council[183] (Public Health, 3rd Report, 102-113), lastly, in the report of Mr. Longe of 1863 in the "First Report of the Children's Employment Commission, of the 15th June, 1863". For my purpose it is enough to take, from the reports of 1860 and 1863, some depositions of the exploited children themselves. From the children we may form an opinion as to the adults, especially the girls and women, and that in a branch of industry by the side of which cotton-spinning appears an agreeable and healthful occupation.[2]

William Wood, 9 years old, was 7 years and 10 months when he began to work. He "ran moulds" (carried ready-moulded articles into the drying-room, afterwards bringing back the empty mould) from the beginning. He came to work every day in the week at 6 a. m., and left off about 9 p. m. "I work till 9 o'clock at night six days in the week. I have done so seven or eight weeks."

Fifteen hours of labour for a child 7 years old! J. Murray, 12 years of age, says: "I turn jigger, and run moulds. I come at 6. Sometimes I come at 4. I worked all night last night, till 6 o'clock this morning. I have not been in bed since the night before last. There were eight or nine other boys working last night. All but one have come this morning. I get 3 shillings and sixpence. I do not get any more for working at night. I worked two nights last week."

Fernyhough, a boy of ten:

"I have not always an hour (for dinner). I have only half an hour sometimes; on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday."[3]

[1] *Daily Telegraph*, 17th January, 1860.

[2] Cf. F. Engels' *Lage, etc.*, pp. 249-51 [present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 495-96].

[3] Children's Employment Commission. First report, etc., 1863. Evidence, pp. 16, 19, 18.

Dr. Greenhow states that the average duration of life in the pottery districts of Stoke-on-Trent and Wolstanton is extraordinarily short. Although in the district of Stoke, only 36.6% and in Wolstanton only 30.4% of the adult male population above 20 are employed in the potteries, among the men of that age in the first district more than half, in the second, nearly $\frac{2}{5}$ of the whole deaths are the result of pulmonary diseases among the potters. Dr. Boothroyd, a medical practitioner at Hanley, says:

"Each successive generation of potters is more dwarfed and less robust than the preceding one."

In like manner another doctor, Mr. M'Bean:

"Since he began to practise among the potters 25 years ago, he had observed a marked degeneration especially shown in diminution of stature and breadth."

These statements are taken from the report of Dr. Greenhow in 1860.[1]

From the report of the Commissioners in 1863, the following: Dr. J. T. Arledge, senior physician of the North Staffordshire Infirmary, says:

"The potters as a class, both men and women, represent a degenerated population, both physically and morally. They are, as a rule, stunted in growth, ill-shaped, and frequently ill-formed in the chest; they become prematurely old, and are certainly short-lived; they are phlegmatic and bloodless, and exhibit their debility of constitution by obstinate attacks of dyspepsia, and disorders of the liver and kidneys, and by rheumatism. But of all diseases they are especially prone to chest-disease, to pneumonia, phthisis, bronchitis, and asthma. One form would appear peculiar to them, and is known as potter's asthma, or potter's consumption. Scrofula attacking the glands, or bones, or other parts of the body, is a disease of two-thirds or more of the potters.... That the 'degenerescence' of the population of this district is not even greater than it is, is due to the constant recruiting from the adjacent country, and [to] intermarriages with more healthy races."[2]

Mr. Charles Parsons, late house surgeon of the same institution, writes in a letter to Commissioner Longe, amongst other things:

"I can only speak from personal observation and not from statistical data, but I do not hesitate to assert that my indignation has been aroused again and again at the sight of poor children whose health has been sacrificed to gratify the avarice of either parents or employers."

[1] Public Health, 3rd report, etc., pp. 102, 103, 105.
[2] Child. Empl. Comm. I. Report, p. x.

He enumerates the causes of the diseases of the potters, and sums them up in the phrase, "long hours". The report of the Commission trusts that

"a manufacture which has assumed so prominent a place in the whole world, will not long be subject to the remark that its great success is accompanied with the physical deterioration, widespread bodily suffering, and early death of the workpeople ... by whose labour and skill such great results have been achieved."[1]

And all that holds of the potteries in England is true of those in Scotland.[2]

The manufacture of lucifer matches dates from 1833, from the discovery of the method of applying phosphorus to the match itself. Since 1845 this manufacture has rapidly developed in England, and has extended especially amongst the thickly populated parts of London as well as in Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, Bristol, Norwich, Newcastle and Glasgow. With it has spread the form of lockjaw, which a Vienna physician in 1845 discovered to be a disease peculiar to lucifer-matchmakers. Half the workers are children under thirteen, and young persons under eighteen. The manufacture is on account of its unhealthiness and unpleasantness in such bad odour that only the most miserable part of the labouring class, half-starved widows and so forth, deliver up their children to it, "the ragged, half-starved, untaught children".[3]

Of the witnesses that Commissioner White examined (1863), 270 were under 18, 40 under 10, 10 only 8, and 5 only 6 years old. A range of the working day from 12 to 14 or 15 hours, night labour, irregular meal times, meals for the most part taken in the very workrooms that are pestilent with phosphorus. Dante would have found the worst horrors of his Inferno surpassed in this manufacture.

In the manufacture of paper-hangings the coarser sorts are printed by machine; the finer by hand (block-printing). The most active business months are from the beginning of October to the end of April. During this time the work goes on fast and furious without intermission from 6 a. m. to 10 p. m. or further into the night.

J. Leach deposes:

"Last winter six out of nineteen girls were away from ill-health at one time from over-work. I have to bawl at them to keep them awake." W. Duffy: "I have seen when

[1] Children's Employment Commission, p. 22, and xi.
[2] l. c., p. xlvii.
[3] l. c., p. liv.

the children could none of them keep their eyes open for the work; indeed, none of us could." J. Lightbourne: "Am 13 ... We worked last winter till 9 (evening), and the winter before till 10. I used to cry with sore feet every night last winter." G. Aspden: "That boy of mine ... when he was 7 years old I used to carry him on my back to and fro through the snow, and he used to have 16 hours a day.... I have often knelt down to feed him as he stood by the machine, for he could not leave it or stop." Smith, the managing partner of a Manchester factory: "We" (he means his "hands" who work for "us") "work on, with no stoppage for meals, so that the day's work of 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours is finished by 4.30 p. m., and all after that is over-time."[1] (Does this Mr. Smith take no meals himself during 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours?) "We" (this same Smith) "seldom leave off working before 6 p. m." (he means leave off the consumption of "our" labour-power machines), "so that we" (*iterum Crispinus*)[184] "are really working over-time the whole year round.... For all these, children and adults alike" (152 children and young persons and 140 adults), "the average work for the last 18 months has been at the very least 7 days, 5 hours, or 78 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours a week. For the six weeks ending May 2nd this year" (1863), "the average was higher—8 days or 84 hours a week."

Still this same Mr. Smith, who is so extremely devoted to the *pluralis majestatis*, adds with a smile, "Machine-work is not great." So the employers in the block-printing say: "Hand labour is more healthy than machine-work." On the whole, manufacturers declare with indignation against the proposal "to stop the machines at least during meal-times".

"A clause", says Mr. Otley, manager of a wall-paper factory in the Borough, "which allowed work between, say 6 a. m. and 9 p. m. ... would suit us (!) very well, but the factory hours, 6 a. m. to 6 p. m., are not suitable. Our machine is always stopped for dinner." (What generosity!) "There is no waste of paper and colour to speak of. But," he adds sympathetically, "I can understand the loss of time not being liked."

The report of the Commission opines with naïveté that the fear of some "leading firms" of losing time, i. e., the time for appropriating the labour of others, and thence losing profit is not a sufficient reason for allowing children under 13, and young persons under 18, working 12 to 16 hours per day, to lose their dinner, nor for giving it to them as coal and water are supplied to the steam-engine, soap to wool, oil to the wheel—as merely auxiliary material to the instruments of labour, during the process of production itself.[2]

[1] This is not to be taken in the same sense as our surplus-labour time. These gentlemen consider 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours of labour as the normal working day, which includes of course the normal surplus labour. After this begins "overtime" which is paid a little better. It will be seen later that the labour expended during the so-called normal day is paid below its value, so that the overtime is simply a capitalist trick in order to extort more surplus labour, which it would still be, even if the labour power expended during the normal working day were properly paid.

[2] l. c., Evidence, pp. [122,] 123, 124, 125, 140, and lxiv.

No branch of industry in England (we do not take into account the making of bread by machinery recently introduced) has preserved up to the present day a method of production so archaic, so — as we see from the poets of the Roman Empire — pre-christian, as baking. But capital, as was said earlier, is at first indifferent as to the technical character of the labour process; it begins by taking it just as it finds it.

The incredible adulteration of bread, especially in London, was first revealed by the House of Commons Committee "on the adulteration of articles of food" (1855-56), and Dr. Hassall's work, *Adulterations detected.*[1] The consequence of these revelations was the Act of August 6th, 1860, "for preventing the adulteration of articles of food and drink", an inoperative law, as it naturally shows the tenderest consideration for every Free-trader who determines by the buying or selling of adulterated commodities "to turn an honest penny".[2] The Committee itself formulated more or less naïvely its conviction that Free-trade meant essentially trade with adulterated, or as the English ingeniously put it, "sophisticated" goods. In fact this kind of sophistry knows better than Protagoras how to make white black, and black white, and better than the Eleatics [185] how to demonstrate *ad oculos*[b] that everything is only appearance.[3]

At all events the Committee had directed the attention of the public to its "daily bread", and therefore to the baking trade. At the same time in public meetings and in petitions to Parliament rose the cry of the London journeymen bakers against their over-work, &c. The cry

[1] Alum finely powdered, or mixed with salt, is a normal article of commerce bearing the significant name of "baker's stuff".

[2] Soot is a well-known and very energetic form of carbon, and forms a manure that capitalistic chimney-sweeps sell to English farmers. Now in 1862 the British juryman had in a law-suit to decide whether soot, with which, unknown to the buyer, 90% of dust and sand are mixed, is genuine soot in the commercial sense or adulterated soot in the legal sense. The "*amis du commerce*"[a] decided it to be genuine commercial soot, and non-suited the plaintiff farmer, who had in addition to pay the costs of the suit.

[3] The French chemist, Chevallier, in his treatise on the "sophistications" of commodities,[186] enumerates for many of the 600 or more articles which he passes in review, 10, 20, 30 different methods of adulteration. He adds that he does not know all the methods, and does not mention all that he knows. He gives 6 kinds of adulteration of sugar, 9 of olive oil, 10 of butter, 12 of salt, 19 of milk, 20 of bread, 23 of brandy, 24 of meal, 28 of chocolate, 30 of wine, 32 of coffee, etc. Even God Almighty does not escape this fate. See Rouard de Card, "On the Falsifications of the Materials of the Sacrament" ("De la falsification des substances sacramentelles", Paris, 1856 [pp. 89-92]).

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[a] friends of commerce - [b] before your eyes

was so urgent that Mr. H. S. Tremenheere, also a member of the Commission of 1863 [187] several times mentioned, was appointed Royal Commissioner of Inquiry. His report,[1] together with the evidence given, roused not the heart of the public but its stomach. Englishmen, always well up in the Bible, knew well enough that man, unless by elective grace a capitalist, or landlord, or sinecurist, is commanded to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow,[188] but they did not know that he had to eat daily in his bread a certain quantity of human perspiration mixed with the discharge of abscesses, cobwebs, dead black-beetles, and putrid German yeast, without counting alum, sand, and other agreeable mineral ingredients. Without any regard to his holiness, Free-trade, the free baking trade was therefore placed under the supervision of the State inspectors (Close of the Parliamentary session of 1863), and by the same Act of Parliament, work from 9 in the evening to 5 in the morning was forbidden for journeymen bakers under 18. The last clause speaks volumes as to the overwork in this old-fashioned, homely line of business.

"The work of a London journeyman baker begins, as a rule, at about eleven at night. At that hour he 'makes the dough',—a laborious process, which lasts from half an hour to three quarters of an hour, according to the size of the batch or the labour bestowed upon it. He then lies down upon the kneading-board, which is also the covering of the trough in which the dough is 'made'; and with a sack under him, and another rolled up as a pillow, he sleeps for about a couple of hours. He is then engaged in a rapid and continuous labour for about five hours—throwing out the dough, "scaling it off", moulding it, putting it into the oven, preparing and baking rolls and fancy bread, taking the batch bread out of the oven, and up into the shop, &c., &c. The temperature of a bakehouse ranges from about 75 to upwards of 90 degrees, and in the smaller bakehouses approximates usually to the higher rather than to the lower degree of heat. When the business of making the bread, rolls, &c., is over, that of its distribution begins, and a considerable proportion of the journeymen in the trade, after working hard in the manner described during the night, are upon their legs for many hours during the day, carrying baskets, or wheeling hand-carts, and sometimes again in the bakehouse, leaving off work at various hours between 1 and 6 p. m. according to the season of the year, or the amount and nature of their master's business; while others are again engaged in the bakehouse in 'bringing out' more batches until late in the afternoon.[2]... During what is called 'the London season', the operatives belonging to the 'full-priced' bakers at the West End of the town, generally begin work at 11 p. m., and are engaged in making the bread, with one or two short (sometimes very short) intervals of rest, up to 8 o'clock the next morning. They are then engaged all day long, up to 4, 5, 6, and as late as 7 o'clock in the evening carrying out bread, or sometimes in the

[1] "Report, &c., relative to the grievances complained of by the journeymen bakers, &c., London, 1862", and "Second Report, &c., London, 1863".

[2] l. c., First Report, &c., [p]p. vi [, vii].

afternoon in the bakehouse again, assisting in the biscuit-baking. They may have, after they have done their work, sometimes five or six, sometimes only four or five hours' sleep before they begin again. On Fridays they always begin sooner, some about ten o'clock, and continue in some cases, at work, either in making or delivering the bread up to 8 p. m. on Saturday night, but more generally up to 4 or 5 o'clock, Sunday morning. On Sundays the men must attend twice or three times during the day for an hour or two to make preparations for the next day's bread. ... The men employed by the underselling masters (who sell their bread under the 'full price', and who, as already pointed out, comprise three-fourths of the London bakers) have not only to work on the average longer hours, but their work is almost entirely confined to the bakehouse. The underselling masters generally sell their bread ... in the shop. If they send it out, which is not common, except as supplying chandlers' shops, they usually employ other hands for that purpose. It is not their practice to deliver bread from house to house. Towards the end of the week ...the men begin on Thursday night at 10 o'clock, and continue on with only slight intermission until late on Saturday evening."[1]

Even the bourgeois intellect understands the position of the "underselling" masters."The unpaid labour of the men was made the source whereby the competition was carried on."[2] And the "full-priced" baker denounces his underselling competitors to the Commission of Inquiry as thieves of foreign labour and adulterators.

"They only exist now by first defrauding the public, and next getting 18 hours' work out of their men for 12 hours' wages."[3]

The adulteration of bread and the formation of a class of bakers that sells the bread below the full price, date from the beginning of the 18th century, from the time when the corporate character of the trade was lost, and the capitalist in the form of the miller or flour-factor, rises behind the nominal master baker.[4] Thus was laid the foundation of capitalistic production in this trade, of the unlimited extension of the working day and of night labour, although the latter only since 1824 gained a serious footing, even in London.[5]

After what has just been said, it will be understood that the Report of the Commission classes journeymen bakers among the short-lived

[1] l. c., p. lxxi.

[2] George Read, *The History of Baking*, London, 1848, p 16.[189]

[3] Report (First) &c. Evidence of the "full-priced" baker Cheeseman, p. 108.

[4] George Read, l. c. At the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries the factors (agents) that crowded into every possible trade were still denounced as "public nuisances". Thus the Grand Jury [190] at the quarter session of the Justices of the Peace for the County of Somerset, addressed a presentment to the Lower House which, among other things, states, "that these factors of Blackwell Hall are a Public Nuisance and Prejudice to the Clothing Trade, and ought to be put down as a Nuisance". [G. Clarke,] *The Case of our English Wool*, &c., London, 1685, p. 7.

[5] First Report, &c. [Report Addressed..., London, 1862, p. xlviii].

labourers, who, having by good luck escaped the normal decimation of the children of the working class, rarely reach the age of 42. Nevertheless, the baking trade is always overwhelmed with applicants. The sources of the supply of these labour powers to London are Scotland, the western agricultural districts of England, and Germany.

In the years 1858-60, the journeymen bakers in Ireland organised at their own expense great meetings to agitate against night and Sunday work. The public — e. g., at the Dublin meeting in May, 1860 — took their part with Irish warmth. As a result of this movement, day labour alone was successfully established in Wexford, Kilkenny, Clonmel, Waterford, &c.

"In Limerick, where the grievances of the journeymen are demonstrated to be excessive, the movement has been defeated by the opposition of the master bakers, the miller bakers being the greatest opponents. The example of Limerick led to a retrogression in Ennis and Tipperary. In Cork, where the strongest possible demonstration of feeling took place, the masters, by exercising their power of turning the men out of employment, have defeated the movement. In Dublin, the master bakers have offered the most determined opposition to the movement, and by discountenancing as much as possible the journeymen promoting it, have succeeded in leading the men into acquiescence in Sunday work and night work, contrary to the convictions of the men." [1]

The Committee of the English Government, which Government, in Ireland, is armed to the teeth, and generally knows how to show it, remonstrates in mild, though funereal, tones with the implacable master bakers of Dublin, Limerick, Cork, &c.:

"The Committee believe that the hours of labour are limited by natural laws, which cannot be violated with impunity. That for master bakers to induce their workmen, by the fear of losing employment, to violate their religious convictions and their better feelings, to disobey the laws of the land, and to disregard public opinion" (this all refers to Sunday labour), "is calculated to provoke ill-feeling between workmen and masters, ... and affords an example dangerous to religion, morality, and social order. ... The Committee believe that any constant work beyond 12 hours a-day encroaches on the domestic and private life of the working-man, and so leads to disastrous moral results, interfering with each man's home, and the discharge of his family duties as a son, a brother, a husband, a father. That work beyond 12 hours has a tendency to undermine the health of the working-man, and so leads to premature old age and death, to the great injury of families of working-men, thus deprived of the care and support of the head of the family when most required." [2]

So far, we have dealt with Ireland. On the other side of the channel, in Scotland, the agricultural labourer, the ploughman, protests

[1] Report of Committee on the Baking Trade in Ireland for 1861.[191]
[2] l. c.

against his 13-14 hours' work in the most inclement climate, with 4 hours' additional work on Sunday (in this land of Sabbatarians![192]),[1] whilst, at the same time, three railway men are standing before a London coroner's jury[190]—a guard, an engine-driver, a signalman. A tremendous railway accident has hurried hundreds of passengers into another world. The negligence of the employés is the cause of the misfortune. They declare with one voice before the jury that ten or twelve years before, their labour only lasted eight hours a-day. During the last five or six years it had been screwed up to 14, 18, and 20 hours, and under a specially severe pressure of holiday makers, at times of excursion trains, it often lasted for 40 or 50 hours without a break. They were ordinary men, not Cyclops. At a certain point their labour power failed. Torpor seized them. Their brain ceased to think, their eyes to see. The thoroughly "respectable" British jurymen answered by a verdict that sent them to the next assizes on a charge of manslaughter, and, in a gentle "rider" to their verdict, expressed the pious hope that the capitalistic magnates of the railways would, in future, be more extravagant in the purchase of a sufficient quantity of labour power, and more "abstemious", more "self-denying", more "thrifty", in the draining of paid labour power.[2]

[1] Public meeting of agricultural labourers at Lasswade, near Edinburgh, January 5th, 1866. (See *Workman's Advocate*, January 13th, 1866.) The formation since the close of 1865 of a Trades' Union among the agricultural labourers at first in Scotland is a historic event. In one of the most oppressed agricultural districts of England, Buckinghamshire, the labourers, in March, 1867, made a great strike for the raising of their weekly wage from 9-10 shillings to 12 shillings.(It will be seen from the preceding passage that the movement of the English agricultural proletariat, entirely crushed since the suppression of its violent manifestations after 1830, and especially since the introduction of the new Poor Laws,[193] begins again in the sixties, until it becomes finally epoch-making in 1872. I return to this in the 2nd volume, as well as to the Blue Books[9] that have appeared since 1867 on the position of the English land labourers.[194] Addendum to the 3rd ed.)

[2] *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January, 1866.—Every week this same paper has, under the sensational headings, "Fearful and fatal accidents", "Appalling tragedies", &c., a whole list of fresh railway catastrophes. On these an employé on the North Staffordshire line comments: "Everyone knows the consequences that may occur if the driver and fireman of a locomotive engine are not continually on the look-out. How can that be expected from a man who has been at such work for 29 or 30 hours, exposed to the weather, and without rest. The following is an example which is of very frequent occurrence:—One fireman commenced work on the Monday morning at a very early hour. When he had finished what is called a day's work, he had been on duty 14 hours 50 minutes. Before he had time to get his tea, he was again called on for duty.... The next time he finished he had been on duty 14 hours 25 minutes, making a total of 29 hours

From the motley crowd of labourers of all callings, ages, sexes, that press on us more busily than the souls of the slain on Ulysses,[195] on whom — without referring to the Blue Books under their arms — we see at a glance the mark of over-work, let us take two more figures whose striking contrast proves that before capital all men are alike — a milliner and a blacksmith.

In the last week of June, 1863, all the London daily papers published a paragraph with the "sensational" heading, "Death from simple over-work". It dealt with the death of the milliner, Mary Anne Walkley, 20 years of age, employed in a highly-respectable dress-making establishment, exploited by a lady with the pleasant name of Elise. The old, often-told story,[1] was once more recounted. This girl worked, on an average, 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours, during the season often 30 hours, without a break, whilst her failing labour power was revived by occasional supplies of sherry, port, or coffee.[196] It was just now the height of the season. It was necessary to conjure up in the twinkling of an eye the gorgeous dresses for the noble ladies bidden to the ball in honour of the newly-imported Princess of Wales. Mary Anne Walkley had worked without intermission for 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours, with 60 other girls, 30 in one room, that only afforded $\frac{1}{3}$ of the cubic feet of air required for them. At night, they slept in pairs in one of the stifling holes into which the bedroom was divided by partitions of board.[2]

15 minutes without intermission. The rest of the week's work was made up as follows: — Wednesday, 15 hours; Thursday, 15 hours 35 minutes; Friday, 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours; Saturday, 14 hours 10 minutes, making a total for the week of 88 hours 30 minutes. Now, sir, fancy his astonishment on being paid 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ days for the whole. Thinking it was a mistake, he applied to the time-keeper.... and inquired what they considered a day's work, and was told 13 hours for a goods man (i. e., 78 hours).... He then asked for what he had made over and above the 78 hours per week, but was refused. However, he was at last told they would give him another quarter, i. e., 10 d.," l. c., 4th February, 1866.

[1] Cf. F. Engels, l. c., pp. 253, 254 [present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 498-500].

[2] Dr. Letheby, Consulting Physician of the Board of Health, declared: "The minimum of air for each adult ought to be in a sleeping room 300, and in a dwelling room 500 cubic feet."[197] Dr. Richardson, Senior Physician to one of the London Hospitals: "With needlewomen of all kinds, including milliners, dressmakers, and ordinary sempstresses, there are three miseries — overwork, deficient air, and either deficient food or deficient digestion.... Needlework, in the main, .... is infinitely better adapted to women than to men. But the mischiefs of the trade, in the metropolis especially, are that it is monopolised by some twenty-six capitalists, who, under the advantages that spring from capital, can bring in capital to force economy out of labour. This power

And this was one of the best millinery establishments in London. Mary Anne Walkley fell ill on the Friday, died on Sunday, without, to the astonishment of Madame Elise, having previously completed the work in hand. The doctor, Mr. Keys, called too late to the death-bed, duly bore witness before the coroner's jury that

"Mary Anne Walkley had died from long hours of work in an over-crowded work-room, and a too small and badly ventilated bedroom".

In order to give the doctor a lesson in good manners, the coroner's jury thereupon brought in a verdict that

"the deceased had died of apoplexy, but there was reason to fear that her death had been accelerated by over-work in an over-crowded workroom, &c."

"Our white slaves," cried the *Morning Star*, the organ of the Free-traders, Cobden and Bright, "our white slaves, who are toiled into the grave, for the most part silently pine and die." [1]

tells throughout the whole class. If a dressmaker can get a little circle of customers, such is the competition that, in her home, she must work to the death to hold together, and this same overwork she must of necessity inflict on any who may assist her. If she fail, or do not try independently, she must join an establishment, where her labour is not less, but where her money is safe. Placed thus, she becomes a mere slave, tossed about with the variations of society. Now at home, in one room, starving, or near to it, then engaged 15, 16, aye, even 18 hours out of the 24, in an air that is scarcely tolerable, and on food which, even if it be good, cannot be digested in the absence of pure air. On these victims, consumption, which is purely a disease of bad air, feeds." Dr. Richardson, "Work and Overwork", in *Social Science Review*, 18th July, 1863 [, p. 477].

[1] *Morning Star*, 23rd June, 1863.— *The Times* made use of the circumstance to defend the American slave-owners against Bright, &c. "Very many of us think," says a leader of July 2nd, 1863, "that, while we work our own young women to death, using the scourge of starvation, instead of the crack of the whip, as the instrument of compulsion, we have scarcely a right to hound on fire and slaughter against families who were born slave-owners, and who, at least, feed their slaves well, and work them lightly." In the same manner, the *Standard* [August 15, 1863], a Tory organ, feel foul of the Rev. Newman Hall: "He excommunicated the slave-owners, but prays with the fine folk who, without remorse, make the omnibus drivers and conductors of London, &c., work 16 hours a-day for the wages of a dog." Finally, spake the oracle, Thomas Carlyle, of whom I wrote, in 1850, "Zum Teufel ist der Genius, der Kultus ist geblieben."[198] In a short parable, he reduces the one great event of contemporary history, the American Civil War,[7] to this level, that the Peter of the North wants to break the head of the Paul of the South with all his might, because the Peter of the North hires his labour by the day, and the Paul of the South hires his by the life. (*Macmillan's Magazine*, Ilias Americana in nuce. August, 1863 [,p. 301]). Thus, the bubble of Tory sympathy for the urban workers — by no means for the rural — has burst at last. The sum of all is — slavery!

"It is not in dressmakers' rooms that working to death is the order of the day, but in a thousand other places; in every place I had almost said, where 'a thriving business' has to be done... We will take the blacksmith as a type. If the poets were true, there is no man so hearty, so merry, as the blacksmith; he rises early and strikes his sparks before the sun; he eats and drinks and sleeps as no other man. Working in moderation, he is, in fact, in one of the best of human positions, physically speaking. But we follow him into the city or town, and we see the stress of work on that strong man, and what then is his position in the death-rate of his country. In Marylebone, blacksmiths die at the rate of 31 per thousand per annum, or 11 above the mean of the male adults of the country in its entirety. The occupation, instinctive almost as a portion of human art, unobjectionable as a branch of human industry, is made by mere excess of work, the destroyer of the man. He can strike so many blows per day, walk so many steps, breathe so many breaths, produce so much work, and live an average, say of fifty years; he is made to strike so many more blows, to walk so many more steps, to breathe so many more breaths per day, and to increase altogether a fourth of his life. He meets the effort; the result is, that producing for a limited time a fourth more work, he dies at 37 for 50." [1]

## SECTION 4.—DAY AND NIGHT WORK. THE RELAY SYSTEM

Constant capital, the means of production, considered from the standpoint of the creation of surplus value,[a] only exist to absorb labour, and with every drop of labour a proportional quantity of surplus labour. While they fail to do this, their mere existence causes a relative loss to the capitalist, for they represent during the time they lie fallow, a useless advance of capital. And this loss becomes positive and absolute as soon as the intermission of their employment necessitates additional outlay at the recommencement of work. The prolongation of the working day beyond the limits of the natural day, into the night, only acts as a palliative. It quenches only in a slight degree the vampire thirst for the living blood of labour. To appropriate labour during all the 24 hours of the day is, therefore, the inherent tendency of capitalist production. But as it is physically impossible to exploit the same individual labour power constantly during the night as well as the day, to overcome this physical hindrance, an alternation becomes necessary between the workpeople whose powers are exhausted by day, and those who are used up by night. This alternation may be effected in various ways; *e. g.*, it may be so arranged that part

[1] Dr. Richardson, l. c. [,pp. 476-77].

[a] In the German editions *Verwertungsprozeß* ("valorisation process").

of the workers are one week employed on day work, the next week on night work. It is well known that this relay system, this alternation of two sets of workers, held full sway in the full-blooded youth time of the English cotton manufacture, and that at the present time it still flourishes, among others, in the cotton spinning of the Moscow district. This 24 hours' process of production exists today as a system in many of the branches of industry of Great Britain that are still "free", in the blast-furnaces, forges, plate-rolling mills, and other metallurgical establishments in England, Wales, and Scotland. The working time here includes, besides the 24 hours of the 6 working days, a great part also of the 24 hours of Sunday. The workers consist of men and women, adults and children of both sexes. The ages of the children and young persons run through all intermediate grades, from 8 (in some cases from 6) to 18.[1]

In some branches of industry, the girls and women work through the night together with the males.[2])

Placing on one side the generally injurious influence of night labour,[3] the duration of the process of production, unbroken during the

[1] Children's Employment Commission. Third Report. London, 1864, pp. iv, v, vi.

[2] "Both in Staffordshire and in South Wales young girls and women are employed on the pit banks and on the coke heaps, not only by day but also by night. This practice has been often noticed in Reports presented to Parliament, as being attended with great and notorious evils. These females employed with the men, hardly distinguishable from them in their dress, and begrimed with dirt and smoke, are exposed to the deterioration of character, arising from the loss of self-respect, which can hardly fail to follow from their unfeminine occupation" (l. c., [n.] 194, p. xxvi. Cf. Fourth Report (1865), [n.] 61, p. xiii). It is the same in glass-works.

[3] A steel manufacturer who employs children in night labour remarked: "It seems but natural that boys who work at night cannot sleep and get proper rest by day, but will be running about" (l. c., Fourth Report, [n.] 63, p. xiii). On the importance of sunlight for the maintenance and growth of the body, a physician writes: "Light also acts upon the tissues of the body directly in hardening them and supporting their elasticity. The muscles of animals, when they are deprived of a proper amount of light, become soft and inelastic, the nervous power loses its tone from defective stimulation, and the elaboration of all growth seems to be perverted.... In the case of children, constant access to plenty of light during the day, and to the direct rays of the sun for a part of it, is most essential to health. Light assists in the elaboration of good plastic blood, and hardens the fibre after it has been laid down. It also acts as a stimulus upon the organs of sight, and by this means brings about more activity in the various cerebral functions." Dr. W. Strange, Senior Physician of the Worcester General Hospital, from whose work on "Health" (1864)[199] this passage is taken, writes in a letter to Mr. White, one of the commissioners: "I have had opportunities formerly, when in Lancashire, of observing the effects of night work upon children, and I have no hesitation

24 hours, offers very welcome opportunities of exceeding the limits of the normal working day, e. g., in the branches of industry already mentioned, which are of an exceedingly fatiguing nature; the official working day means for each worker usually 12 hours by night or day. But the overwork beyond this amount is in many cases, to use the words of the English official report, "truly fearful".[1]

"It is impossible," the report continues, "for any mind to realise the amount of work described in the following passages as being performed by boys of from 9 to 12 years of age ... without coming irresistibly to the conclusion that such abuses of the power of parents and of employers can no longer be allowed to exist."[2]

"The practice of boys working at all by day and night turns either in the usual course of things, or at pressing times, seems inevitably to open the door to their not unfrequently working unduly long hours. These hours are, indeed, in some cases, not only cruelly but even incredibly long for children. Amongst a number of boys it will, of course, not unfrequently happen that one or more are from some cause absent. When this happens, their place is made up by one or more boys, who work in the other turn. That this is a well understood system is plain ... from the answer of the manager of some large rolling-mills, who, when I asked him how the place of the boys absent from their turn was made up, 'I daresay, sir, you know that as well as I do,' and admitted the fact."[3]

"At a rolling-mill where the proper hours were from 6 a. m. to $5\frac{1}{2}$ p. m., a boy worked about four nights every week till $8\frac{1}{2}$ p. m. at least ... and this for six months. Another, at 9 years old, sometimes made three 12-hour shifts running, and, when 10, has made two days and two nights running." A third, "now 10 ... worked from 6 a. m. till 12 p. m. three nights, and till 9 p. m. the other nights." "Another, now 13, ... worked from 6 p. m. till 12 noon next day, for a week together, and sometimes for three shifts together, e. g., from Monday morning till Tuesday night." "Another, now 12, has worked in an iron foundry at Stavely from 6 a. m. till 12 p. m. for a fortnight on end; could not do it any more." "George Allinsworth, age 9, came here as cellar-boy last Friday; next morning we had to begin at 3, so I stopped here all night. Live five miles off. Slept on the floor of the furnace, over head, with an apron under me, and a bit of a jacket over me. The two other days I have been here at 6 a. m. Aye! it *is* hot in here. Before I came here I was nearly a year at the same work at some works in the country. Began there, too, at 3 on Saturday morning — always did, but was very gain" //near// "home, and could sleep at home. Other days I began at 6 in the morning, and gi'en over at 6 or 7 in the evening," &c.[4]

in saying, contrary to what *some* employers were fond of asserting, those children who were subjected to it soon suffered in their health" (l. c., [n.] 284, p. 55). That such a question should furnish the material of serious controversy, shows plainly how capitalist production acts on the brain functions of capitalists and their retainers.

[1] l. c., [n.] 57, p. xii.

[2] l. c., Fourth Report (1865), [n.] 58, p. xii.

[3] l. c.

[4] l. c., p. xiii. The degree of culture of these "labour powers" must naturally be such as appears in the following dialogues with one of the commissioners: Jeremiah Haynes, age 12 — "Four times four is 8; 4 fours are 16. A king is him that has all the

Let us now hear how capital itself regards this 24 hours' system. The extreme forms of the system, its abuse in the "cruel and incredible" extension of the working day are naturally passed over in silence. Capital only speaks of the system in its "normal" form.

Messrs. Naylor & Vickers, steel manufacturers, who employ between 600 and 700 persons, among whom only 10 per cent are under 18, and of those, only 20 boys under 18 work in night sets, thus express themselves:

money and gold. We have a King (told it is a Queen), they call her the Princess Alexandra. (Told that she married the Queen's son.) The Queen's son is the Princess Alexandra. A Princess is a man." William Turner, age 12—"Don't live in England. Think it *is* a country, but didn't know before." John Morris, age 14—"Have heard say that God made the world, and that all the people was drownded but one; heard say that one was a little bird." William Smith, age 15—"God made man, man made woman." Edward Taylor, age 15—"Do not know of London." Henry Matthewman, age 17—"Had been to chapel, but missed a good many times lately. One name that they preached about was Jesus Christ, but I cannot say any others, and I cannot tell anything about him. He was not killed, but died like other people. He was not the same as other people in some ways, because he was religious in some ways, and others isn't" (l. c., p. xv[, n. 74]). "The devil is a good person. I don't know where he lives" [l. c., Third Report..., 1864, p. 133, n. 652]. "Christ was a wicked man" [l. c., p. 92, n. 273]. "This girl spelt God as dog, and did not know the name of the queen" ("Ch. Employment Comm. V. Report, 1866", p. 55, n. 278). The same system obtains in the glass and paper works as in the metallurgical, already cited. In the paper factories, where the paper is made by machinery, night work is the rule for all processes, except rag-sorting. In some cases night work, by relays, is carried on incessantly through the whole week, usually from Sunday night until midnight of the following Saturday. Those who are on day work work 5 days of 12, and 1 day of 18 hours; those on night work [work] 5 nights of 12, and 1 of 6 hours in each week. In other cases each set works 24 hours consecutively on alternate days, one set working 6 hours on Monday, and 18 on Saturday to make up the 24 hours. In other cases an intermediate system prevails, by which all employed on the paper-making machinery work 15 or 16 hours every day in the week. This system, says Commissioner Lord, "seems to combine all the evils of both the 12 hours' and the 24 hours' relays". Children under 13, young persons under 18, and women, work under this night system. Sometimes under the 12 hours' system they are obliged, on account of the non-appearance of those that ought to relieve them, to work a double turn of 24 hours. The evidence proves that boys and girls very often work overtime, which, not unfrequently, extends to 24 or even 36 hours of uninterrupted toil. In the continuous and unvarying process of glazing are found girls of 12 who work the whole month 14 hours a day, "without any regular relief or cessation beyond 2 or, at most, 3 breaks of half an hour each for meals". In some mills, where regular night work has been entirely given up, overwork goes on to a terrible extent, "and that often in the dirtiest, and in the hottest, and in the most monotonous of the various processes" ("Ch. Employment Comm. Report IV, 1865," p. xxxviii, and xxxix).

"The boys do not suffer from the heat. The temperature is probably from 86° to 90°... At the forges and in the rolling-mills the hands work night and day, in relays, but all the other parts of the work are day work, i. e., from 6 a. m. to 6 p. m. In the forge the hours are from 12 to 12. Some of the hands always work in the night, without any alternation of day and night work.... We do not find any difference in the health of those who work regularly by night and those who work by day, and probably people can sleep better if they have the same period of rest than if it is changed... About 20 of the boys under the age of 18 work in the night sets... We could not well do without lads under 18 working by night. The objection would be the increase in the cost of production... Skilled hands and the heads in every department are difficult to get, but of lads we could get any number... But from the small proportion of boys that we employ, the subject (i. e., of restrictions on night work) is of little importance or interest to us."[1]

Mr. J. Ellis, one of the firm of Messrs. John Brown & Co., steel and iron works, employing about 3,000 men and boys, part of whose operations, namely, iron and heavier steel work, goes on night and day by relays, states "that in the heavier steel work one or two boys are employed to a score or two men". Their concern employs upwards of 500 boys under 18, of whom about $\frac{1}{3}$ or 170 are under the age of 13. With reference to the proposed alteration of the law, Mr. Ellis says:

"I do not think it would be very objectionable to require that no person under the age of 18 should work more than 12 hours in the 24. But we do not think that any line could be drawn over the age of 12, at which boys could be dispensed with for night work. But we would sooner be prevented from employing boys under the age of 13, or even so high as 14, at all, than not be allowed to employ boys that we do have at night. Those boys who work in the day sets must take their turn in the night sets also, because the men could not work in the night sets only; it would ruin their health.... We think, however, that night work in alternate weeks is no harm."

(Messrs. Naylor & Vickers, on the other hand, in conformity with the interest of their business, considered that periodically changed night labour might possibly do more harm than continual night labour.)

"We find the men who do it, as well as the others who do other work only by day.... Our objections to not allowing boys under 18 to work at night, would be on account of the increase of expense, but this is the only reason."

(What cynical naïveté!) "We think that the increase would be more than the trade, with due regard to its being successfully carried out, could fairly bear." (What mealy-mouthed phraseology!) "Labour is scarce here, and might fall short if there were such a regulation" (i. e., Ellis Brown & Co. might fall into the fatal perplexity of being obliged to pay labour power its full value.).[2]

[1] Fourth Report, &c., 1865, [n.] 79, p. xvi.
[2] l. c., [n.] 80, [p]p. xvi [, xvii].

The "Cyclops Steel and Iron Works", of Messrs. Cammell & Co., are conducted on the same large scale as those of the above-mentioned John Brown & Co. The managing director had handed in his evidence to the Government Commissioner, Mr. White, in writing. Later he found it convenient to suppress the MS. when it had been returned to him for revision. Mr. White, however, has a good memory. He remembered quite clearly that for the Messrs. Cyclops the forbidding of the night labour of children and young persons "would be impossible, it would be tantamount to stopping their works", and yet their business employs little more than 6% of boys under 18, and less than 1% under 13.[1]

On the same subject Mr. E. F. Sanderson, of the firm of Sanderson, Bros., & Co., steel rolling-mills and forges, Attercliffe, says:

"Great difficulty would be caused by preventing boys under 18 from working at night. The chief would be the increase of cost from employing men instead of boys. I cannot say what this would be, but probably it would not be enough to enable the manufacturers to raise the price of steel, and consequently it would fall on them, as of course the men" (what queer-headed folk!) "would refuse to pay it."

Mr. Sanderson does not know how much he pays the children, but

"perhaps the younger boys get from 4s. to 5s. a week.... The boys' work is of a kind for which the strength of the boys is generally" ("generally", of course not always) "quite sufficient, and consequently there would be no gain in the greater strength of the men to counterbalance the loss, or it would be only in the few cases in which the metal is heavy. The men would not like so well not to have boys under them, as men would be less obedient. Besides, boys must begin young to learn the trade. Leaving day work alone open to boys would not answer this purpose."

And why not? Why could not boys learn their handicraft in the day time? Your reason?

"Owing to the men working days and nights in alternate weeks, the men would be separated half the time from their boys, and would lose half the profit which they make from them. The training which they give to an apprentice is considered as part of the return for the boys' labour, and thus enables the man to get it at a cheaper rate. Each man would want half of this profit."

In other words, Messrs. Sanderson would have to pay part of the wages of the adult men out of their own pockets instead of by the night work of the boys. Messrs. Sanderson's profit would thus fall to some extent, and this is the good Sandersonian reason why boys cannot learn their handicraft in the day.[2] In addition to this, it would

[1] l. c., [n.] 82, p. xvii.

[2] "In our reflecting and reasoning age a man is not worth much who cannot give

throw night labour on those who worked instead of the boys, which they would not be able to stand. The difficulties in fact would be so great that they would very likely lead to the giving up of night work altogether, and "as far as the work itself is concerned," says E. F. Sanderson, "this would suit as well, but—" But Messrs. Sanderson have something else to make besides steel. Steel-making is simply a pretext for surplus-value making. The smelting furnaces, rolling-mills, &c., the buildings, machinery, iron, coal, &c., have something more to do than transform themselves into steel. They are there to absorb surplus labour, and naturally absorb more in 24 hours than in 12. In fact they give, by grace of God and law, the Sandersons a cheque on the working time of a certain number of hands for all the 24 hours of the day, and they lose their character as capital, are therefore a pure loss for the Sandersons, as soon as their function of absorbing labour is interrupted.

"But then there would be the loss from so much expensive machinery, lying idle half the time, and to get through the amount of work which we are able to do on the present system, we should have to double our premises and plant, which would double the outlay."

But why should these Sandersons pretend to a privilege not enjoyed by the other capitalists who only work during the day, and whose buildings, machinery, raw material, therefore lie "idle" during the night? E. F. Sanderson answers in the name of all the Sandersons:

"It is true that there is this loss from machinery lying idle in those manufactories in which work only goes on by day. But the use of furnaces would involve a further loss in our case. If they were kept up there would be a waste of fuel" (instead of, as now, a waste of the living substance of the workers), "and if they were not, there would be loss of time in laying the fires and getting the heat up" (whilst the loss of sleeping time, even to children of 8 is a gain of working time for the Sanderson tribe), "and the furnaces themselves would suffer from the changes of temperature." (Whilst those same furnaces suffer nothing from the day and night change of labour.) [1]

a good reason for everything, no matter how bad or how crazy. Everything in the world that has been done wrong has been done wrong for the very best of reasons" (Hegel, l. c., [*Encyklopädie*, Th. 1, *Die Logik*, Berlin, 1840,] p. 249).

[1] l. c., [Children's Employment Commission, Fourth Report..., 1865, n.] 85, p. xvii. To similar tender scruples of the glass manufacturers that regular meal-times for the children are impossible because as a consequence a certain quantity of heat, radiated by the furnaces, would be "a pure loss" or "wasted", Commissioner White makes answer. His answer is unlike that of Ure, Senior, &c., and their puny German plagiarists *à la* Roscher who are touched by the "abstinence", "self-denial", "saving", of the capitalists in the expenditure of their gold, and by their Timur-Tamerlanish prodigality of human life! "A certain amount of heat beyond what is usual at present might

## SECTION 5.—THE STRUGGLE FOR A NORMAL WORKING DAY. COMPULSORY LAWS FOR THE EXTENSION OF THE WORKING DAY FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE 14TH TO THE END OF THE 17TH CENTURY

"What is a working day? What is the length of time during which capital may consume the labour power whose daily value it buys? How far may the working day be extended beyond the working time necessary for the reproduction of labour power itself?" It has been seen that to these questions capital replies; the working day contains the full 24 hours, with the deduction of the few hours of repose without which labour power absolutely refuses its services again. Hence it is self-evident that the labourer is nothing else, his whole life through, than labour power, that therefore all his disposable time is by nature and law labour time, to be devoted to the self-expansion of capital. Time for education, for intellectual development, for the fulfilling of social functions and for social intercourse, for the free-play of his bodily and mental activity, even the rest time of Sunday (and that in a country of Sabbatarians! [192]) [1] — moonshine! But in its blind unre-

also be going to waste, if meal-times were secured in these cases, but it seems likely not equal in money value to the waste of animal power now going on in glass-houses throughout the kingdom from growing boys not having enough quiet time to eat their meals at ease, with a little rest afterwards for digestion" (l. c., p. xiv). And this in the year of progress 1865! [200] Without considering the expenditure of strength in lifting and carrying, such a child, in the sheds where bottle and flint glass are made, walks during the performance of his work 15-20 miles in every 6 hours! And the work often lasts 14 or 15 hours! In many of these glass-works, as in the Moscow spinning mills, the system of 6 hours' relays is in force. "During the working part of the week six hours is the utmost unbroken period ever attained at any one time for rest, and out of this has to come the time spent in coming and going to and from work, washing, dressing, and meals, leaving a very short period indeed for rest, and none for fresh air and play, unless at the expense of the sleep necessary for young boys, especially at such hot and fatiguing work.... Even the short sleep is obviously liable to be broken by a boy having to wake himself if it is night, or by the noise, if it is day." Mr. White gives cases where a boy worked 36 consecutive hours; others where boys of 12 drudged on until 2 in the morning, and then slept in the works till 5 a. m. (3 hours!) only to resume their work. "The amount of work," say Tremenheere and Tufnell, who drafted the general report, "done by boys, youths, girls, and women, in the course of their daily or nightly spell of labour, is certainly extraordinary" (l. c., xliii, and xliv). Meanwhile, late by night perhaps, self-denying Mr. Glass-Capital, primed with port-wine, reels out of his club homeward droning out idiotically, "Britons never, never shall be slaves!" [201]

[1] In England even now occasionally in rural districts a labourer is condemned to imprisonment for desecrating the Sabbath, by working in his front garden. The same labourer is punished for breach of contract if he remains away from his metal, paper, or glass-works on the Sunday, even if it be from a religious whim. The orthodox Parlia-

strainable passion, its were-wolf hunger for surplus labour, capital oversteps not only the moral, but even the merely physical maximum bounds of the working day. It usurps the time for growth, development, and healthy maintenance of the body. It steals the time required for the consumption of fresh air and sunlight. It higgles over a meal-time, incorporating it where possible with the process of production itself, so that food is given to the labourer as to a mere means of production, as coal is supplied to the boiler, grease and oil to the machinery. It reduces the sound sleep needed for the restoration, reparation, refreshment of the bodily powers to just so many hours of torpor as the revival of an organism, absolutely exhausted, renders essential. It is not the normal maintenance of the labour power which is to determine the limits of the working day; it is the greatest possible daily expenditure of labour power, no matter how diseased, compulsory, and painful it may be, which is to determine the limits of the labourers' period of repose. Capital cares nothing for the length of life of labour power. All that concerns it is simply and solely the maximum of labour power, that can be rendered fluent in a working day. It attains this end by shortening the extent of the labourer's life, as a greedy farmer snatches increased produce from the soil by robbing it of its fertility.

The capitalistic mode of production (essentially the production of surplus value, the absorption of surplus labour), produces thus, with the extension of the working day, not only the deterioration of human labour power by robbing it of its normal, moral and physical, conditions of development and function. It produces also the premature exhaustion and death of this labour power itself.[1] It extends the labourer's time of production during a given period by shortening his actual lifetime.

ment will hear nothing of Sabbath-breaking if it occurs in the process of expanding capital. A memorial (August 1863), in which the London day labourers in fish and poultry shops asked for the abolition of Sunday labour, states that their work lasts for the first 6 days of the week on an average 15 hours a-day, and on Sunday 8-10 hours. From this same memorial we learn also that the delicate gourmands among the aristocratic hypocrites of Exeter Hall,[202] especially encourage this "Sunday labour". These "holy ones", so zealous *in cute curanda*,[203] show their Christianity by the humility with which they bear the overwork, the privations, and the hunger of others. *Obsequium ventris istis (the labourers) perniciosius est.*[204]

[1] "We have given in our previous reports the statements of several experienced manufacturers to the effect that over-hours ... certainly tend prematurely to exhaust the working power of the men" (l. c., [n.] 64, p. xiii).

But the value of the labour power includes the value of the commodities necessary for the reproduction of the worker, or for the keeping up of the working class. If then the unnatural extension of the working day, that capital necessarily strives after in its unmeasured passion for self-expansion, shortens the length of life of the individual labourer, and therefore the duration of his labour power, the forces used up have to be replaced at a more rapid rate and the sum of the expenses for the reproduction of labour power will be greater; just as in a machine the part of its value to be reproduced every day is greater the more rapidly the machine is worn out. It would seem therefore that the interest of capital itself points in the direction of a normal working day.

The slave-owner buys his labourer as he buys his horse. If he loses his slave, he loses capital that can only be restored by new outlay in the slave-mart.

But "the rice-grounds of Georgia, or the swamps of the Mississippi may be fatally injurious to the human constitution, but the waste of human life which the cultivation of these districts necessitates, is not so great that it cannot be repaired from the teeming preserves of Virginia and Kentucky. Considerations of economy, moreover, which, under a natural system, afford some security for humane treatment by identifying the master's interest with the slave's preservation, when once trading in slaves is practised, become reasons for racking to the uttermost the toil of the slave; for, when his place can at once be supplied from foreign preserves, the duration of his life becomes a matter of less moment than its productiveness while it lasts. It is accordingly a maxim of slave management, in slave-importing countries, that the most effective economy is that which takes out of the human chattel in the shortest space of time the utmost amount of exertion it is capable of putting forth. It is in tropical culture, where annual profits often equal the whole capital of plantations, that negro life is most recklessly sacrificed. It is the agriculture of the West Indies, which has been for centuries prolific of fabulous wealth, that has engulfed millions of the African race. It is in Cuba, at this day, whose revenues are reckoned by millions, and whose planters are princes, that we see in the servile class, the coarsest fare, the most exhausting and unremitting toil, and even the absolute destruction of a portion of its numbers every year." [1]

*Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur.*[4] For slave trade read labour market, for Kentucky and Virginia, Ireland and the agricultural districts of England, Scotland, and Wales, for Africa, Germany. We heard how overwork thinned the ranks of the bakers in London. Nevertheless, the London labour market is always overstocked with German and other candidates for death in the bakeries. Pottery, as we saw, is one of the shortest-lived industries. Is there any want therefore

[1] Cairnes, *The Slave Power*, pp. 110, 111.

of potters? Josiah Wedgwood, the inventor of modern pottery, himself originally a common workman, said in 1785 before the House of Commons that the whole trade employed from 15,000 to 20,000 people.[1] In the year 1861 the population alone of the town centres of this industry in Great Britain numbered 101,302.

"The cotton trade has existed for ninety years.... It has existed for three generations of the English race, and I believe I may safely say that during that period it has destroyed nine generations of factory operatives."[2]

No doubt in certain epochs of feverish activity the labour market shows significant gaps. In 1834, e. g. But then the manufacturers proposed to the Poor Law Commissioners that they should send the "surplus population" of the agricultural districts to the north, with the explanation "that the manufacturers would absorb and use it up".[3]

"Agents were appointed with the consent of the Poor Law Commissioners.... An office was set up in Manchester, to which lists were sent of those workpeople in the agricultural districts wanting employment, and their names were registered in books. The manufacturers attended at these offices, and selected such persons as they chose; when they had selected such persons as their 'wants required', they gave instructions to have them forwarded to Manchester, and they were sent, ticketed like bales of goods, by canals, or with carriers, others tramping on the road, and many of them were found on the way lost and half-starved. This system had grown up unto a regular trade. This House will hardly believe it, but I tell them, that this traffic in human flesh was as well kept up, they were in effect as regularly sold to these //Manchester// manufacturers as slaves are sold to the cotton-grower in the United States.... In 1860, 'the cotton trade was at its zenith.'... The manufacturers again found that they were short of hands.... They applied to the 'flesh agents', as they are called. Those agents sent to the southern downs of England, to the pastures of Dorsetshire, to the glades of Devonshire, to the people tending kine in Wiltshire, but they sought in vain. The surplus population was 'absorbed.' "

The *Bury Guardian* said, on the completion of the French treaty,[205] that "10,000 additional hands could be absorbed by Lancashire, and that 30,000 or 40,000 will be needed". After the "flesh agents and sub-agents" had in vain sought through the agricultural districts,

"a deputation came up to London, and waited on the right hon. gentleman //Mr. Villiers, President of the Poor Law Board// with a view of obtaining poor children from certain union houses[193] for the mills of Lancashire."[4]

[1] John Ward, *The Borough of Stoke-upon-Trent*, London, 1843, p. 42.

[2] Ferrand's Speech in the House of Commons, 27th April, 1863 ["The Cotton Famine", *The Times*, No. 24544, April 28, 1863].

[3] "Those were the very words used by the cotton manufacturers," l. c.

[4] l. c. Mr. Villiers, despite the best of intentions on his part, was "legally" obliged

What experience shows to the capitalist generally is a constant excess of population, i. e., an excess in relation to the momentary requirements of surplus-labour-absorbing capital,[a] although this excess

to refuse the requests of the manufacturers. These gentlemen, however, attained their end through the obliging nature of the local poor law boards. Mr. A. Redgrave, Inspector of Factories, asserts that this time the system under which orphans and pauper children were treated "legally" as apprentices "was not accompanied with the old abuses" (on these "abuses" see Engels, l. c. [*The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, present edition, Vol. 4]), although in one case there certainly was "abuse of this system in respect to a number of girls and young women brought from the agricultural districts of Scotland into Lancashire and Cheshire". Under this system the manufacturer entered into a contract with the workhouse authorities for a certain period. He fed, clothed, and lodged the children, and gave them a small allowance of money. A remark of Mr. Redgrave to be quoted directly seems strange, especially if we consider that even among the years of prosperity of the English cotton trade, the year 1860 stands unparalleled, and that, besides, wages were exceptionally high. For this extraordinary demand for work had to contend with the depopulation of Ireland, with unexampled emigration from the English and Scotch agricultural districts to Australia and America, with an actual diminution of the population in some of the English agricultural districts, in consequence partly of an actual breakdown of the vital force of the labourers, partly of the already effected dispersion of the disposable population through the dealers in human flesh. Despite all this Mr. Redgrave says: "This kind of labour, however, would only be sought after when none other could be procured, for it is a high-priced labour. The ordinary wages of a boy of 13 would be about 4s. per week, but to lodge, to clothe, to feed, and to provide medical attendance and proper superintendence for 50 or 100 of these boys, and to set aside some remuneration for them, could not be accomplished for 4s. a-head per week" (Reports of the Inspectors of Factories for 30th April, 1860, p. 27). Mr. Redgrave forgets to tell us how the labourer himself can do all this for his children out of their 4s. a-week wages, when the manufacturer cannot do it for the 50 or 100 children lodged, boarded, superintended all together. To guard against false conclusions from the text, I ought here to remark that the English cotton industry, since it was placed under the Factory Act of 1850 with its regulations of labour time, &c., must be regarded as the model industry of England. The English cotton operative is in every respect better off than his Continental companion in misery. "The Prussian factory operative labours at least ten hours per week more than his English competitor, and if employed at his own loom in his own house, his labour is not restricted to even those additional hours" ("Rep. of Insp. of Fact.," 31st October, 1855, p. 103). Redgrave, the Factory Inspector mentioned above, after the Industrial Exhibition in 1851, travelled on the Continent, especially in France and Germany, for the purpose of inquiring into the conditions of the factories. Of the Prussian operative he says: "He receives a remuneration sufficient to procure the simple fare, and to supply the slender comforts to which he has been accustomed ... he lives upon his coarse fare, and works hard, wherein his position is subordinate to that of the English operative" ("Rep. of Insp. of Fact.," 31st Oct., 1855, p. 85).

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[a] In the German editions *Verwertungsbedürfnis des Kapitals* ("capital's need for valorisation").

is made up of generations of human beings stunted, short-lived, swiftly replacing each other, plucked, so to say, before maturity.[1] And, indeed, experience shows to the intelligent observer with what swiftness and grip the capitalist mode of production, dating, historically speaking, only from yesterday, has seized the vital power of the people by the very root—shows how the degeneration of the industrial population is only retarded by the constant absorption of primitive and physically uncorrupted elements from the country—shows how even the country labourers, in spite of fresh air and the principle of natural selection, that works so powerfully amongst them, and only permits the survival of the strongest, are already beginning to die off.[2] Capital that has such good reasons for denying the sufferings of the legions of workers that surround it, is in practice moved as much and as little by the sight of the coming degradation and final depopulation of the human race, as by the probable fall of the earth into the sun. In every stock-jobbing swindle every one knows that some time or other the crash must come, but every one hopes that it may fall on the head of his neighbour, after he himself has caught the shower of gold and placed it in safety. *Après moi le déluge!* [206] is the watchword of every capitalist and of every capitalist nation. Hence Capital is reckless of the health or length of life of the labourer, unless under compulsion from society.[3] To the outcry as to the physical and mental degradation, the premature death, the tor-

[1] The overworked "die off with strange rapidity; but the places of those who perish are instantly filled, and a frequent change of persons makes no alteration in the scene" (*England and America*, London, 1833, vol. I, p. 55. By E. G. Wakefield).

[2] See "Public Health. Sixth Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council, 1863." Published in London, 1864. This report deals especially with the agricultural labourers. "Sutherland ... is commonly represented as a highly improved county ... but ... recent inquiry has discovered that even there, in districts once famous for fine men and gallant soldiers, the inhabitants have degenerated into a meagre and stunted race. In the healthiest situations, on hill sides fronting the sea, the faces of their famished children are as pale as they could be in the foul atmosphere of a London alley" (W. Th. Thornton, *Overpopulation and its Remedy*, pp. 74, 75). They resemble in fact the 30,000 "gallant Highlanders" whom Glasgow pigs together in its wynds and closes, with prostitutes and thieves [l. c., pp. 77-78].

[3] "But though the health of a population is so important a fact of the national capital, we are afraid it must be said that the class of employers of labour have not been the most forward to guard and cherish this treasure.... The consideration of the health of the operatives was forced upon the mill-owners" (*Times*, November 5th, 1861). "The men of the West Riding became the clothiers of mankind ... the health of the workpeople was sacrificed, and the race in a few generations must have degenerated. But a reaction set in. Lord Shaftesbury's Bill [207] limited the hours of children's

ture of overwork, it answers: Ought these to trouble us since they increase our profits? But looking at things as a whole, all this does not, indeed, depend on the good or ill will of the individual capitalist. Free competition brings out the inherent laws of capitalist production, in the shape of external coercive laws having power over every individual capitalist.[1]

The establishment of a normal working day is the result of centuries of struggle between capitalist and labourer. The history of this struggle shows two opposed tendencies. Compare, e. g., the English factory legislation of our time with the English Labour Statutes from the 14th century to well into the middle of the 18th.[2] Whilst the modern Factory Acts compulsorily shortened the working day, the earlier statutes tried to lengthen it by compulsion. Of course the pretensions of capital in embryo — when, beginning to grow, it secures the right of absorbing a *quantum sufficit* of surplus labour, not merely by the force of economic relations, but by the help of the State — appear very modest when put face to face with the concessions that, growling and struggling, it has to make in its adult condition. It takes centuries ere the "free" labourer, thanks to the development of capitalistic pro-

labour," &c., ("[Twenty-Second Annual] Report of the Registrar-General", for October 1861).

[1] We, therefore, find, e. g., that in the beginning of 1863, 26 firms owning extensive potteries in Staffordshire, amongst others, Josiah Wedgwood, & Sons, petition in a memorial for "some legislative enactment". Competition with other capitalists permits them no voluntary limitation of working time for children, &c. "Much as we deplore the evils before mentioned, it would not be possible to prevent them by any scheme of agreement between the manufacturers.... Taking all these points into consideration, we have come to the conviction that some legislative enactment is wanted" ("Children's Employment Comm." Rep. 1, 1863, p. 322). Most recently a much more striking example offers. The rise in the price of cotton during a period of feverish activity, had induced the manufacturers in Blackburn to shorten, by mutual consent, the working time in their mills during a certain fixed period. This period terminated about the end of November, 1871. Meanwhile, the wealthier manufacturers, who combined spinning with weaving, used the diminution of production resulting from this agreement, to extend their own business and thus to make great profits at the expense of the small employers. The latter thereupon turned in their extremity to the operatives, urged them earnestly to agitate for the 9 hours' system, and promised contributions in money to this end.

[2] The Labour Statutes, the like of which were enacted at the same time in France, the Netherlands, and elsewhere, were first formally repealed in England in 1813, long after the changes in methods of production[a] had rendered them obsolete.

[a] In the German editions *Produktionsverhältnisse* ("conditions of production").

duction, agrees, i. e., is compelled by social conditions, to sell the whole of his active life, his very capacity for work, for the price of the necessaries of life, his birthright for a mess of pottage.[208] Hence it is natural that the lengthening of the working day, which capital, from the middle of the 14th to the end of the 17th century, tries to impose by State measures on adult labourers, approximately coincides with the shortening of the working day which, in the second half of the 19th century, has here and there been effected by the State to prevent the coining of children's blood into capital. That which to-day, e. g., in the State of Massachusetts, until recently the freest State of the North-American Republic, has been proclaimed as the statutory limit of the labour of children under 12, was in England, even in the middle of the 17th century, the normal working day of able-bodied artisans, robust labourers, athletic blacksmiths.[1]

The first "Statute of Labourers" (23 Edward III, 1349) found its immediate pretext (not its cause, for legislation of this kind lasts centuries after the pretext for it has disappeared) in the great plague[210] that decimated the people, so that, as a Tory writer says, "The difficulty of getting men to work on reasonable terms" (i. e., at a price that left their employers a reasonable quantity of surplus labour) "grew to such a height as to be quite intolerable."[2] Reasonable wages were, therefore, fixed by law as well as the limits of the working day. The latter point, the only one that here interests us, is repeated

[1] "No child under 12 years of age shall be employed in any manufacturing establishment more than 10 hours in one day." General Statutes of Massachusetts, § 3, ch. 42.[209] (The various Statutes were passed between 1836 and 1858.) "Labour performed during a period of 10 hours on any day in all cotton, woollen, silk, paper, glass, and flax factories, or in manufactories of iron and brass, shall be considered a legal day's labour. And be it enacted, that hereafter no minor engaged in any factory shall be holden or required to work more than 10 hours in any day, or 60 hours in any week; and that hereafter no minor shall be admitted as a worker under the age of 10 years in any factory within this State." State of New Jersey. An Act to limit the hours of labour, &c., § 1 and § 2 (Law of 18th March, 1851). "No minor who has attained the age of 12 years, and is under the age of 15 years, shall be employed in any manufacturing establishment more than 11 hours in any one day, nor before 5 o'clock in the morning, nor after 7.30 in the evening" ("[The] Revised Statutes of the State of Rhode Island," &c., ch. 139, § 23, 1st July, 1857).

[2] [J. B. Byles,] *Sophisms of Free Trade*, 7th Ed. London, 1850, p. 205, 9th Ed., p. 253. This same Tory, moreover, admits that "Acts of Parliament regulating wages, but against the labourer and in favour of the master, lasted for the long period of 464 years. Population grew. These laws were then found, and really became, unnecessary and burdensome" (l. c., p. 206).

in the Statute of 1496 (Henry VII). The working day for all artificers and field labourers from March to September ought, according to this statute (which, however, could not be enforced), to last from 5 in the morning to between 7 and 8 in the evening. But the meal times consist of 1 hour for breakfast, $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours for dinner, and $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour for "noon-meate", i. e., exactly twice as much as under the factory acts now in force.[1] In winter, work was to last from 5 in the morning until dark, with the same intervals. A statute of Elizabeth of 1562 [211] leaves the length of the working day for all labourers "hired for daily or weekly wage" untouched, but aims at limiting the intervals to $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours in the summer, or to 2 in the winter. Dinner is only to last 1 hour, and the "afternoon sleep of half an hour" is only allowed between the middle of May and the middle of August. For every hour of absence 1d. is to be subtracted from the wage. In practice, however, the conditions were much more favourable to the labourers than in the statute-book. William Petty, the father of political economy, and to some extent the founder of statistics, says in a work that he published in the last third of the 17th century:

"Labouring men" (then meaning field labourers) "work 10 hours *per diem*, and make 20 meals per week, viz., 3 a day for working days, and 2 on Sundays; whereby it is plain, that if they could fast on Friday nights, and dine in one hour and an half, whereas they take two, from eleven to one; thereby thus working $\frac{1}{20}$ more, and spending $\frac{1}{20}$ less, the [$\frac{1}{10}$] above-mentioned" (tax) "might be raised."[2]

Was not Dr. Andrew Ure right in crying down the 12 hours' bill of 1833 as a retrogression to the times of the dark ages? [212] It is true, these regulations contained in the statute mentioned by Petty, apply also to apprentices. But the condition of child labour, even at the end of the 17th century, is seen from the following complaint:

"'Tis not their practice" (in Germany) "as with us in this kingdom, to bind an ap-

[1] In reference to this statute, J. Wade with truth remarks: "From the statement above" (i. e., with regard to the statute) "it appears that in 1496 the diet was considered equivalent to one-third of the income of an artificer and one-half the income of a labourer, which indicates a greater degree of independence among the working classes than prevails at present; for the board, both of labourers and artificers, would now be reckoned at a much higher proportion of their wages" (J. Wade, *History of the Middle and Working Classes*, p. 25). The opinion that this difference is due to the difference in the price relations between food and clothing then and now is refuted by the most cursory glance at *Chronicon Preciosum, &c.* By Bishop Fleetwood. 1st Ed., London, 1707; 2nd Ed., London, 1745.

[2] W. Petty, *Political Anatomy of Ireland, Verbum Sapienti*, 1672, Ed. 1691, p. 10.[130]

prentice for seven years; three or four is their common standard: and the reason is, because they are educated from their cradle to something of employment, which renders them the more apt and docile, and consequently the more capable of attaining to a ripeness and quicker proficiency in business. Whereas our youth, here in England, being bred to nothing before they come to be apprentices, make a very slow progress and require much longer time wherein to reach the perfection of accomplished artists." [1]

Still, during the greater part of the 18th century, up to the epoch of modern industry and machinism, capital in England had not succeeded in seizing for itself, by the payment of the weekly value of labour power, the whole week of the labourer, with the exception, however, of the agricultural labourers. The fact that they could live for a whole week on the wage of four days, did not appear to the labourers a sufficient reason that they should work the other two days for the capitalist. One party of English economists, in the interest of capital, denounces this obstinacy in the most violent manner, another party defends the labourers. Let us listen, e. g., to

[1] *A Discourse on the Necessity of Encouraging Mechanick Industry*, London, 1689,[213] p. 13. Macaulay, who has falsified English history in the interests of the Whigs and the bourgeoisie, declares as follows: "The practice of setting children prematurely to work ... prevailed in the 17th century to an extent which, when compared with the extent of the manufacturing system, seems almost incredible. At Norwich, the chief seat of the clothing trade, a little creature of six years old was thought fit for labour. Several writers of that time, and among them some who were considered as eminently benevolent, mention with exultation the fact that in that single city, boys and girls of very tender age create wealth exceeding what was necessary for their own subsistence by twelve thousand pounds a year. The more carefully we examine the history of the past, the more reason shall we find to dissent from those who imagine that our age has been fruitful of new social evils... That which is new is the intelligence and the humanity which remedies them" ([*The*] *History of England*, Vol. I, p. 417). Macaulay might have reported further that "extremely well-disposed" *amis du commerce* [a] in the 17th century, narrate with "exultation" how in a poorhouse in Holland a child of four was employed, and that this example of "*vertu mise en pratique*" [b] passes muster in all the humanitarian works, *à la* Macaulay, to the time of Adam Smith. It is true that with the substitution of manufacture for handicrafts, traces of the exploitation of children begin to appear. This exploitation existed always to a certain extent among peasants, and was the more developed, the heavier the yoke pressing on the husbandman. The tendency of capital is there unmistakable; but the facts themselves are still as isolated as the phenomena of two-headed children. Hence they were noted "with exultation" as especially worthy of remark and as wonders by the far-seeing "*amis du commerce*", and recommended as models for their own time and for posterity. This same Scotch sycophant and fine talker, Macaulay, says: "We hear to-day only of retrogression and see only progress." [214] What eyes, and especially what ears!

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[a] friends of commerce - [b] "applied virtue"

the contest between Postlethwayt whose Dictionary of Trade then had the same reputation as the kindred works of MacCulloch and MacGregor to-day, and the author (already quoted) of the *Essay on Trade and Commerce*.[1]

Postlethwayt says among other things:

"We cannot put an end to those few observations, without noticing that trite remark in the mouth of too many; that if the industrious poor can obtain enough to maintain themselves in five days, they will not work the whole six. Whence they infer the necessity of even the necessaries of life being made dear by taxes, or any other means, to compel the working artisan and manufacturer to labour the whole six days in the week, without ceasing. I must beg leave to differ in sentiment from those great politicians, who contend for the perpetual slavery of the working people of this kingdom; they forget the vulgar adage, all work and no play. Have not the English boasted of the ingenuity and dexterity of her working artists and manufacturers which have heretofore given credit and reputation to British wares in general? What has this been owing to? To nothing more probably than the relaxation of the working people in their own way. Were they obliged to toil the year round, the whole six days in the week, in a repetition of the same work, might it not blunt their ingenuity, and render them stupid instead of alert and dexterous; and might not our workmen lose their reputation instead of maintaining it by such eternal slavery? ... And what sort of workmanship could we expect from such hard-driven animals? ... Many of them will execute as much work in four days as a Frenchman will in five or six. But if Englishmen are to be eternal drudges, 'tis to be feared they will degenerate below the Frenchmen. As our people are famed for bravery in war, do we not say that it is owing to good English roast beef and pudding in their bellies, as well as their constitutional spirit of liberty? And why may not the superior ingenuity and dexterity of our artists and manufacturers, be owing to that freedom and liberty to direct themselves [a] in their own way, and I hope we shall never have them deprived of such privileges and that good living from whence their ingenuity no less than their courage may proceed."[2]

Thereupon the author of the *Essay on Trade and Commerce* replies:

[1] Among the accusers of the workpeople, the most angry is the anonymous author [J. Cunningham] quoted in the text of *An Essay on Trade and Commerce, containing Observations on Taxes*, &c., London, 1770. He had already dealt with this subject in his earlier work: *Considerations on Taxes*, London, 1765. On the same side follows Polonius Arthur Young, the unutterable statistical prattler. Among the defenders of the working classes the foremost are: Jacob Vanderlint, in: *Money Answers all Things*, London, 1734; the Rev. Nathaniel Forster, D. D., in *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Present [High] Price of Provisions*, London, 1767; Dr. Price, and especially Postlethwayt, as well in the supplement to his *Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*, as in his *Great Britain's Commercial Interest explained and improved*, 2nd Edition, 1755. The facts themselves are confirmed by many other writers of the time, among others by Josiah Tucker.

[2] Postlethwayt, l. c., *First Preliminary Discourse*, p. xiv.

[a] Postlethwayt has: "...and liberty they enjoy to divert themselves...".

"If the making of every seventh day an holiday is supposed to be of divine institution, as it implies the appropriating the other six days to labour" (he means capital as we shall soon see) "surely it will not be thought cruel to enforce it.... That mankind in general, are naturally inclined to ease and indolence, we fatally experience to be true, from the conduct of our manufacturing populace, who do not labour, upon an average, above four days in a week, unless provisions happen to be very dear.... Put all the necessaries of the poor under one denomination; for instance, call them all wheat, or suppose that ... the bushel of wheat shall cost five shillings and that he" (a manufacturer) "earns a shilling [a day] by his labour, he then would be obliged to work five days only in a week. If the bushel of wheat should cost but four shillings, he would be obliged to work but four days; but as wages in this kingdom are much higher in proportion to the price of necessaries ... the manufacturer, who labours four days, has a surplus of money to live idle with the rest of the week.... I hope I have said enough to make it appear that the moderate labour of six days in a week is no slavery. Our labouring people do this, and to all appearance are the happiest of all our labouring poor,[1]) but the Dutch do this in manufactories, and appear to be a very happy people. The French do so, when holidays do not intervene.[2]) But our populace have adopted a notion, that as Englishmen they enjoy a birthright privilege of being more free and independent than in any country in Europe. Now this idea, as far as it may affect the bravery of our troops, may be of some use; but the less the manufacturing poor have of it, certainly the better for themselves and for the State. The labouring people should never think themselves independent of their superiors.... It is extremely dangerous to encourage mobs in a commercial state like ours, where, perhaps, seven parts out of eight of the whole, are people with little or no property. The cure will not be perfect, till our manufacturing poor are contented to labour six days for the same sum which they now earn in four days."[3])

To this end, and for "extirpating idleness, debauchery and excess", promoting a spirit of industry, "lowering the price of labour in our manufactories, and easing the lands of the heavy burden of poor's rates", our "faithful Eckart" [215] of capital proposes this approved device: to shut up such labourers as become dependent on public support, in a word, paupers, in "an *ideal workhouse*".[193] Such ideal workhouse must be made a "House of Terror", and not an asylum for the poor, "where they are to be plentifully fed, warmly and decently clothed, and where they do but little work".[4]) In this "House of Ter-

[1]) [J. Cunningham,] *An Essay*, &c. He himself relates on p. 96 wherein the "happiness" of the English agricultural labourer already in 1770 consisted. "Their powers are always upon the stretch, they cannot live cheaper than they do, nor work harder."

[2]) Protestantism, by changing almost all the traditional holidays into workdays, plays an important part in the genesis of capital.

[3]) *An Essay*, &c., pp. 41, 15, 96, 97, 55, [56,] 57, 69.—Jacob Vanderlint, as early as 1734, declared that the secret of the outcry of the capitalists as to the laziness of the working people was simply that they claimed for the same wages 6 days' labour instead of 4.[216]

[4]) l. c., p. 242 [-43].

ror", this "ideal workhouse, the poor shall work 14 hours in a day, allowing proper time for meals, in such manner that there shall remain 12 hours of neat-labour".[1]

Twelve working hours daily in the Ideal Workhouse, in the "House of Terror" of 1770! 63 years later, in 1833[168] when the English Parliament reduced the working day for children of 13 to 18, in four branches of industry to 12 full hours, the judgment day of English Industry had dawned! In 1852, when Louis Bonaparte sought to secure his position with the bourgeoisie by tampering with the legal working day, the French working people cried out with one voice "the law that limits the working day to 12 hours is the one good that has remained to us of the legislation of the Republic!"[2] At Zürich the work of children over 10, is limited to 12 hours; in Aargau in 1862, the work of children between 13 and 16, was reduced from $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 12 hours; in Austria in 1860, for children between 14 and 16, the same reduction was made.[3] "What a progress," since 1770! Macaulay would shout with exultation!

The "House of Terror" for paupers of which the capitalistic soul of 1770 only dreamed, was realised a few years later in the shape of a gigantic "Workhouse" for the industrial worker himself. It is called the Factory. And the ideal this time fades before the reality.

[1] l. c. [, p. 260]. "The French," he says, "laugh at our enthusiastic ideas of liberty." l. c., p. 78.

[2] "They especially objected to work beyond the 12 hours per day, because the law which fixed those hours, is the only good which remains to them of the legislation of the Republic" ("Rep. of Insp. of Fact.", 31st October, 1855, p. 80). The French Twelve Hours' Bill of September 5th, 1850, a bourgeois edition of the decree of the Provisional Government of March 2nd, 1848, holds in all workshops without exceptions. Before this law the working day in France was without definite limit [l. c., pp. 78-79]. It lasted in the factories 14, 15, or more hours. See *Des classes ouvrières en France, pendant l'année 1848.* Par M. Blanqui. [P. 1, Paris, 1849, pp. 87-88.] M. Blanqui the economist, not the Revolutionist, had been entrusted by the Government with an inquiry into the condition of the working class.

[3] [Children's Employment Commission. First Report..., pp. 335, 332]. Belgium is the model bourgeois state in regard to the regulation of the working day. Lord Howard of Walden, English Plenipotentiary at Brussels, reports to the Foreign Office, May 12th, 1862: "M. Rogier, the minister, informed me that children's labour is limited neither by a general law nor by any local regulations; that the Government, during the last three years, intended in every session to propose a bill on the subject, but always found an insuperable obstacle in the jealous opposition to any legislation in contradiction with the principle of perfect freedom of labour" [l. c., p. 334].

## SECTION 6.—THE STRUGGLE FOR THE NORMAL WORKING DAY. COMPULSORY LIMITATION BY LAW OF THE WORKING TIME. THE ENGLISH FACTORY ACTS, 1833 TO 1864

After capital had taken centuries in extending the working day to its normal maximum limit, and then beyond this to the limit of the natural day of 12 hours,[1] there followed on the birth of machinism and modern industry in the last third of the 18th century, a violent encroachment like that of an avalanche in its intensity and extent. All bounds of morals and nature, age and sex, day and night, were broken down. Even the ideas of day and night, of rustic simplicity in the old statutes, became so confused that an English judge, as late as 1860, needed a quite Talmudic sagacity to explain "judicially" what was day and what was night.[2] Capital celebrated its orgies.

As soon as the working class, stunned at first by the noise and turmoil of the new system of production, recovered, in some measure, its senses, its resistance began, and first in the native land of machinism, in England. For 30 years, however, the concessions conquered by the workpeople were purely nominal. Parliament passed 5 Labour Laws between 1802 and 1833, but was shrewd enough not to vote a penny for their carrying out, for the requisite officials, &c.[3]

[1] "It is certainly much to be regretted that any class of persons should toil 12 hours a day, which, including the time for their meals and for going to and returning from their work, amounts, in fact, to 14 of the 24 hours... Without entering into the question of health, no one will hesitate, I think, to admit that, *in a moral point of view*, so entire an absorption of the time of the working classes, without intermission, from the early age of 13, and in trades not subject to restriction, much younger, must be extremely prejudicial, and is an evil greatly to be deplored.... For the sake, therefore, of public morals, of bringing up an orderly population, and of giving the great body of the people a reasonable enjoyment of life, it is much to be desired that in all trades some portion of every working day should be reserved for rest and leisure" (Leonard Horner in "Reports of Insp. of Fact. for 31st Dec., 1841" [p. 30]).

[2] See "Judgment of Mr. J. H. Otway, Belfast. Hilary Sessions, County Antrim, 1860".

[3] It is very characteristic of the régime of Louis Philippe, the bourgeois king, that the one Factory Act passed during his reign, that of March 22nd, 1841, was never put in force. And this law only dealt with child-labour. It fixed 8 hours a day for children between 8 and 12, 12 hours for children between 12 and 16, &c., with many exceptions which allow night work even for children 8 years old. The supervision and enforcement of this law are, in a country where every mouse is under police administration, left to the good will of the *amis du commerce*. Only since 1853, in one single department—the Département du Nord—has a paid government inspector been appointed. Not less characteristic of the development of French society, generally, is the fact, that Louis

They remained a dead letter. "The fact is, that prior to the Act of 1833, young persons and children were worked all night, all day, or both *ad libitum*."[1]

A normal working day for modern industry only dates from the Factory Act of 1833, which included cotton, wool, flax, and silk factories. Nothing is more characteristic of the spirit of capital than the history of the English Factory Acts from 1833 to 1864.

The Act of 1833 declares the ordinary factory working day to be from half-past five in the morning to half-past eight in the evening, and within these limits, a period of 15 hours, it is lawful to employ young persons (i. e., persons between 13 and 18 years of age), at any time of the day, provided no one individual young person should work more than 12 hours in any one day, except in certain cases especially provided for. The 6th section of the Act provided: "That there shall be allowed in the course of every day not less than one and a half hours for meals to every such person restricted as hereinbefore provided." [218] The employment of children under 9, with exceptions mentioned later, was forbidden; the work of children between 9 and 13 was limited to 8 hours a day, night work, i. e., according to this Act, work between 8.30 p. m. and 5.30 a. m., was forbidden for all persons between 9 and 18.

The law-makers were so far from wishing to trench on the freedom of capital to exploit adult labour power, or, as they called it, "the freedom of labour", that they created a special system in order to prevent the Factory Acts from having a consequence so outrageous.

"The great evil of the factory system as at present conducted," says the first report of the Central Board of the Commission of June 28th, 1833, "has appeared to us to be that it entails the necessity of continuing the labour of children to the utmost length of that of the adults. The only remedy for this evil, short of the limitation of the labour of adults, which would, in our opinion, create an evil greater than that which is sought to be remedied, appears to be the plan of working double sets of children." [219]

...Under the name of System of Relays, this "plan" was therefore carried out, so that, e. g., from 5.30 a. m. until 1.30 in the afternoon, one set of children between 9 and 13, and from 1.30 p. m. to 8.30 in the evening another set were "put to", &c.

In order to reward the manufacturers for having, in the most barefaced way, ignored all the Acts as to children's labour passed during

Philippe's law stood solitary among the all-embracing mass of French laws, till the Revolution of 1848.[217]

[1] "Report of Insp. of Fact.", 30th April, 1860, p. 50.

the last twenty-two years, the pill was yet further gilded for them. Parliament decreed that after March 1st, 1834, no child under 11, after March 1st, 1835, no child under 12, and after March 1st, 1836, no child under 13, was to work more than eight hours in a factory. This "liberalism", so full of consideration for "capital", was the more noteworthy as, Dr. Farre, Sir A. Carlisle, Sir B. Brodie, Sir C. Bell, Mr. Guthrie, &c., in a word, the most distinguished physicians and surgeons in London, had declared in their evidence before the House of Commons, that there was danger in delay.[220] Dr. Farre expressed himself still more coarsely.

> "Legislation is necessary for the prevention of death, in any form in which it can be prematurely inflicted, and certainly this" (i. e., the factory method) "must be viewed as a most cruel mode of inflicting it."[221]

That same "reformed" Parliament, which in its delicate consideration for the manufacturers, condemned children under 13, for years to come, to 72 hours of work per week in the Factory Hell, on the other hand, in the Emancipation Act,[222] which also administered freedom drop by drop, forbade the planters, from the outset, to work any negro slave more than 45 hours a week.

But in no wise conciliated, capital now began a noisy agitation that went on for several years. It turned chiefly on the age of those who, under the name of children, were limited to 8 hours' work, and were subject to a certain amount of compulsory education. According to capitalistic anthropology, the age of childhood ended at 10, or at the outside, at 11. The more nearly the time approached for the coming into full force of the Factory Act, the fatal year 1836, the more wildly raged the mob of manufacturers. They managed, in fact, to intimidate the government to such an extent that in 1835 it proposed to lower the limit of the age of childhood from 13 to 12. In the meantime the pressure from without grew more threatening. Courage failed the House of Commons. It refused to throw children of 13 under the Juggernaut Car[223] of capital for more than 8 hours a day, and the Act of 1833 came into full operation. It remained unaltered until June, 1844.

In the ten years during which it regulated factory work, first in part, and then entirely, the official reports of the factory inspectors teem with complaints as to the impossibility of putting the Act into force. As the law of 1833 left it optional with the lords of capital during the 15 hours, from 5.30 a. m. to 8.30 p. m., to make every "young

person", and "every child" begin, break off, resume, or end his 12 or 8 hours at any moment they liked, and also permitted them to assign to different persons, different times for meals, these gentlemen soon discovered a new "system of relays", by which the labour horses were not changed at fixed stations, but were constantly re-harnessed at changing stations. We do not pause longer on the beauty of this system, as we shall have to return to it later. But this much is clear at the first glance: that this system annulled the whole Factory Act, not only in the spirit, but in the letter. How could factory inspectors, with this complex bookkeeping in respect to each individual child or young person, enforce the legally determined work time and the granting of the legal meal times? In a great many of the factories, the old brutalities soon blossomed out again unpunished. In an interview with the Home Secretary (1844), the factory inspectors demonstrated the impossibility of any control under the newly invented relay system.[1] In the meantime, however, circumstances had greatly changed. The factory hands, especially since 1838, had made the Ten Hours' Bill [207] their economic, as they had made the Charter [224] their political, election-cry. Some of the manufacturers, even, who had managed their factories in conformity with the Act of 1833, overwhelmed Parliament with memorials on the immoral competition of their false brethren whom greater impudence, or more fortunate local circumstances, enabled to break the law. Moreover, however much the individual manufacturer might give the rein to his old lust for gain, the spokesmen and political leaders of the manufacturing class ordered a change of front and of speech towards the workpeople. They had entered upon the contest for the repeal of the Corn Laws, and needed the workers to help them to victory. They promised, therefore, not only a double-sized loaf of bread,[225] but the enactment of the Ten Hours' Bill in the Free-trade millennium.[2] Thus they still less dared to oppose a measure intended only to make the law of 1833 a reality. Threatened in their holiest interest, the rent of land, the Tories thundered with philanthropic indignation against the "nefarious practices"[3] of their foes.

This was the origin of the additional Factory Act of June 6th, 1844.[226] It came into effect on October 1st, 1844. It places under

[1] "Rept. of Insp. of Fact.", 31st October, 1849, p. 6.

[2] "Rept. of Insp. of Fact.", 31st October, 1848, p. 98.

[3] Leonard Horner uses the expression "nefarious practices" in his official reports ("Report of Insp. of Fact.", 31st October, 1859, p. 7).

protection a new category of workers, viz., the women over 18. They were placed in every respect on the same footing as the young persons, their work time limited to twelve hours, their night labour forbidden, &c. For the first time, legislation saw itself compelled to control directly and officially the labour of adults. In the Factory Report of 1844-1845, it is said with irony.

"No instances have come to my knowledge of adult women having expressed any regret at their *rights* being thus far interfered with."[1]

The working time of children under 13 was reduced to $6\frac{1}{2}$, and in certain circumstances to 7 hours a day.[2]

To get rid of the abuses of the "spurious relay system", the law established besides others the following important regulations:

"That the hours of work of children and young persons shall be reckoned from the time when any child or young person shall begin to work in the morning."[227]

So that if A, e. g., begins work at 8 in the morning, and B at 10, B's work-day must nevertheless end at the same hour as A's. "The time shall be regulated by a public clock", for example, the nearest railway clock, by which the factory clock is to be set. The occupier is to hang up a "legible" printed notice stating the hours for the beginning and ending of work and the times allowed for the several meals. Children beginning work before 12 noon may not be again employed after 1 p. m. The afternoon shift must therefore consist of other children than those employed in the morning. Of the hour and a half for meal times,

"one hour thereof at the least shall be given before three of the clock in the afternoon ... and at the same period of the day. No child or young person shall be employed more than five hours before 1 p. m. without an interval for meal time of at least 30 minutes. No child or young person" //or female// "shall be employed or allowed to remain in any room in which any manufacturing process is then [i. e., at meal-times] carried on," &c.[228]

It has been seen that these minutiae, which, with military uniformity, regulate by stroke of the clock the times, limits, pauses of the work, were not at all the products of Parliamentary fancy. They developed gradually out of circumstances as natural laws of the modern mode of production. Their formulation, official recognition, and proclama-

[1] "Rept.", &c., 30th Sept., 1844, p. 15.

[2] The Act allows children to be employed for 10 hours if they do not work day after day, but only on alternate days. In the main, this clause remained inoperative.

tion by the State, were the result of a long struggle of classes. One of their first consequences was that in practice the working day of the adult males in factories became subject to the same limitations, since in most processes of production the co-operation of the children, young persons, and women is indispensable. On the whole, therefore, during the period from 1844 to 1847, the 12 hours' working day became general and uniform in all branches of industry under the Factory Act.

The manufacturers, however, did not allow this "progress" without a compensating "retrogression". At their instigation the House of Commons reduced the minimum age for exploitable children from 9 to 8, in order to assure that additional supply of factory children which is due to capitalists, according to divine and human law.[1]

The years 1846-47 are epoch-making in the economic history of England. The Repeal of the Corn Laws, and of the duties on cotton and other raw material; Free-trade proclaimed as the guiding star of legislation; in a word, the arrival of the millennium. On the other hand, in the same years, the Chartist movement and the 10 hours' agitation [229] reached their highest point. They found allies in the Tories panting for revenge. Despite the fanatical opposition of the army of perjured Free-traders, with Bright and Cobden at their head, the Ten Hours' Bill, struggled for so long, went through Parliament.

The new Factory Act of June 8th, 1847,[230] enacted that on July 1st, 1847, there should be a preliminary shortening of the working day for "young persons" (from 13 to 18), and all females to 11 hours, but that on May 1st, 1848, there should be a definite limitation of the working day to 10 hours. In other respects, the Act only amended and completed the Acts of 1833 and 1844.

Capital now entered upon a preliminary campaign in order to hinder the Act from coming into full force on May 1st, 1848. And the workers themselves, under the pretence that they had been taught by experience, were to help in the destruction of their own work. The moment was cleverly chosen.

"It must be remembered, too, that there has been more than two years of great suffering (in consequence of the terrible crisis of 1846-47) among the factory operatives, from many mills having worked short time, and many being altogether closed. A considerable number of the operatives must therefore be in very narrow circumstances; ma-

[1] "As a reduction in their hours of work would cause a larger number (of children) to be employed, it was thought that the additional supply of children from 8 to 9 years of age would meet the increased demand" (l. c., p. 13).

ny, it is to be feared, in debt; so that it might fairly have been presumed that at the present time they would prefer working the longer time, in order to make up for past losses, perhaps to pay off debts, or get their furniture out of pawn, or replace that sold, or to get a new supply of clothes for themselves and their families."[1]

The manufacturers tried to aggravate the natural effect of these circumstances by a general reduction of wages by 10%. This was done, so to say, to celebrate the inauguration of the new Free-trade era. Then followed a further reduction of $8\frac{1}{3}$ % as soon as the working day was shortened to 11, and a reduction of double that amount as soon as it was finally shortened to 10 hours. Wherever, therefore, circumstances allowed it, a reduction of wages of at least 25% took place.[2] Under such favourably prepared conditions the agitation among the factory workers for the repeal of the Act of 1847 was begun. Neither lies, bribery, nor threats were spared in this attempt. But all was in vain. Concerning the half-dozen petitions in which workpeople were made to complain of "their oppression by the Act", the petitioners themselves declared under oral examination, that their signatures had been extorted from them. "They felt themselves oppressed, but not exactly by the Factory Act."[3] But if the manufacturers did not succeed in making the workpeople speak as they wished, they themselves shrieked all the louder in press and Parliament in the name of the workpeople. They denounced the Factory Inspectors as a kind of revolutionary commissioners like those of the French National Convention[231] ruthlessly sacrificing the unhappy factory workers to their humanitarian crotchet. This manoeuvre also failed. Factory Inspector Leonard Horner conducted in his own person, and through his sub-inspectors, many examinations of witnesses in the factories of Lancashire. About 70% of the workpeople examined declared in favour of 10 hours, a much smaller percentage in favour of 11, and an altogether insignificant minority for the old 12 hours.[4]

[1] "Rep. of Insp. of Fact.", 31st Oct., 1848, p. 16.

[2] "I found that men who had been getting 10s. a week, had had 1s. taken off for a reduction in the rate of 10 per cent, and 1s. 6d. off the remaining 9s. for the reduction in time, together 2s. 6d., and notwithstanding this, many of them said they would rather work 10 hours". l. c.

[3] " 'Though I signed it" //the petition//, "I said at the time I was putting my hand to a wrong thing.' 'Then why did you put your hand to it?' 'Because I should have been turned off if I had refused.' Whence it would appear that this petitioner felt himself 'oppressed', but not exactly by the Factory Act". l. c., p. 102.

[4] l. c.[, p]p. [14-]17. In Mr. Horner's district 10,270 adult male labourers were thus examined in 181 factories. Their evidence is to be found in the appendix to the

Another "friendly" dodge was to make the adult males work 12 to 15 hours, and then to blazon abroad this fact as the best proof of what the proletariat desired in its heart of hearts. But the "ruthless" Factory Inspector Leonard Horner was again to the fore. The majority of the "over-timers" declared:

"They would much prefer working ten hours for less wages, but that they had no choice; that so many were out of employment (so many spinners getting very low wages by having to work as piecers, being unable to do better), that if they refused to work the longer time, others would immediately get their places, so that it was a question with them of agreeing to work the longer time, or of being thrown out of employment altogether."[l]

The preliminary campaign of capital thus came to grief, and the Ten Hours' Act came into force May 1st, 1848. But meanwhile the fiasco of the Chartist party whose leaders were imprisoned, and whose organisation was dismembered,[232] had shaken the confidence of the English working class in its own strength. Soon after this the June insurrection in Paris[233] and its bloody suppression united, in England as on the Continent, all fractions of the ruling classes, landlords and capitalists, stock-exchange wolves and shop-keepers, Protectionists and Free-traders, government and opposition, priests and free-thinkers, young whores and old nuns,[234] under the common cry for the salvation of Property, Religion, the Family and Society. The working class was everywhere proclaimed, placed under a ban, under a virtual law of suspects.[235] The manufacturers had no need any longer to restrain themselves. They broke out in open revolt not only against the Ten Hours' Act, but against the whole of the legislation that since 1833 had aimed at restricting in some measure the "free" exploitation of labour power. It was a pro-slavery rebellion[39] in miniature, carried on for over two years with a cynical recklessness, a terrorist energy all the cheaper because the rebel capitalist risked nothing except the skin of his "hands".

To understand that which follows we must remember that the Factory Acts of 1833, 1844, and 1847 were all three in force so far as the one did not amend the other: that not one of these limited the work-

Factory Reports for the half-year ending October 1848 [, pp. 27-30]. These examinations furnish valuable material in other connections also.

[l] l. c. See the evidence collected by Leonard Horner himself, Nos. 69, 70, 71, 72, 92, 93, and that collected by Sub-Inspector A., Nos. 51, 52, 58, 59, [60,] 62, 70, of the Appendix. One manufacturer, too, tells the plain truth. See No. 14, and No. 265, l. c. [, p. 17].

ing day of the male worker over 18, and that since 1833 the 15 hours from 5.30 a. m. to 8.30 p. m. had remained the legal "day", within the limits of which at first the 12, and later the 10 hours' labour of young persons and women had to be performed under the prescribed conditions.

The manufacturers began by here and there discharging a part of, in many cases half of, the young persons and women employed by them, and then, for the adult males, restoring the almost obsolete night work. The Ten Hours' Act, they cried, leaves no other alternative.[1]

Their second step dealt with the legal pauses for meals. Let us hear the Factory Inspectors.

"Since the restriction of the hours of work to ten, the factory occupiers maintain, although they have not yet practically gone the whole length, that supposing the hours of work to be from 9 a. m. to 7 p. m. they fulfil the provisions of the statutes by allowing an hour before 9 a. m. and half an hour after 7 p. m. [for meals]. In some cases they now allow an hour, or half an hour for dinner, insisting at the same time, that they are not bound to allow any part of the hour and a half in the course of the factory working day."[2]

The manufacturers maintained therefore that the scrupulously strict provisions of the Act of 1844 with regard to meal times only gave the operatives permission to eat and drink before coming into, and after leaving the factory — i. e., at home. And why should not the workpeople eat their dinner before 9 in the morning? The crown lawyers, however, decided that the prescribed meal times

"must be in the interval during the working hours, and that it will not be lawful to work for 10 hours continuously, from 9 a. m. to 7 p. m., without any interval".[3]

After these pleasant demonstrations, Capital preluded its revolt by a step which agreed with the letter of the law of 1844, and was therefore legal.

The Act of 1844 certainly prohibited the employment after 1 p. m. of such children, from 8 to 13, as had been employed before noon. But it did not regulate in any way the $6\frac{1}{2}$ hours' work of the children whose work time began at 12 midday or later. Children of 8 might, if they began work at noon, be employed from 12 to 1, 1 hour; from 2 to 4 in the afternoon, 2 hours; from 5 to 8.30 in the evening, $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours;

[1] Reports, &c., for 31st October, 1848, pp. 133, 134.
[2] Reports, &c., for 30th April, 1848, p. 47.
[3] Reports, &c., for 31st October, 1848, p. 130.

in all, the legal $6\frac{1}{2}$ hours. Or better still. In order to make their work coincide with that of the adult male labourers up to 8.30 p. m., the manufacturers only had to give them no work till 2 in the afternoon; they could then keep them in the factory without intermission till 8.30 in the evening.

"And it is now expressly admitted that the practice exists in England from the desire of mill-owners to have their machinery at work for more than 10 hours a day, to keep the children at work with male adults after all the young persons and women have left, and until 8.30 p. m. if the factory-owners choose." [1]

Workmen and factory inspectors protested on hygienic and moral grounds, but Capital answered:

"My deeds upon my head! I crave the law,
The penalty and forfeit of my bond." [236]

In fact, according to statistics laid before the House of Commons on July 26th, 1850, in spite of all protests, on July 15th, 1850, 3,742 children were subjected to this "practice" in 257 factories.[2] Still, this was not enough. The lynx eye of Capital discovered that the Act of 1844 did not allow 5 hours' work before mid-day without a pause of at least 30 minutes for refreshment, but prescribed nothing of the kind for work after mid-day. Therefore, it claimed and obtained the enjoyment not only of making children of 8 drudge without intermission from 2 to 8.30 p. m., but also of making them hunger during that time.

"Ay, his heart,
So says the bond."[3]

This Shylock-clinging to the letter of the law of 1844, so far as it regulated children's labour, was but to lead up to an open revolt against the same law, so far as it regulated the labour of "young per-

[1] Reports, &c., l. c., p. 142.

[2] Reports, &c., for 31st October, 1850, pp. 5, 6.

[3] The nature of capital remains the same in its developed as in its undeveloped form. In the code which the influence of the slave-owners, shortly before the outbreak of the American Civil War, imposed on the territory of New Mexico, it is said that the labourer, in as much as the capitalist has bought his labour power, "is his" (the capitalist's) "money". The same view was current among the Roman patricians. The money they had advanced to the plebeian debtor had been transformed *viâ* the means of subsistence into the flesh and blood of the debtor. This "flesh and blood" were, therefore, "their money". Hence, the Shylock-law of the Ten Tables.[237] Linguet's hypothesis that the patrician creditors from time to time prepared, beyond the Tiber, banquets of debtors' flesh, may remain as undecided as that of Daumer on the Christian Eucharist.[238]

sons and women". It will be remembered that the abolition of the "false relay system" was the chief aim and object of that law. The masters began their revolt with the simple declaration that the sections of the Act of 1844 which prohibited the *ad libitum* use of young persons and women in such short fractions of the day of 15 hours as the employer chose, were "comparatively harmless" so long as the work time was fixed at 12 hours. But under the Ten Hours' Act they were a "grievous hardship".[1] They informed the inspectors in the coolest manner that they should place themselves above the letter of the law, and re-introduce the old system on their own account.[2] They were acting in the interests of the ill-advised operatives themselves, "in order to be able to pay them higher wages".

"This was the only possible plan by which to maintain, under the Ten Hours' Act, the industrial supremacy of Great Britain." "Perhaps it may be a little difficult to detect irregularities under the relay system; but what of that? Is the great manufacturing interest of this country to be treated as a secondary matter in order to save some little trouble to Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors of Factories?"[3]

All these shifts naturally were of no avail. The Factory Inspectors appealed to the Law Courts. But soon such a cloud of dust in the way of petitions from the masters overwhelmed the Home Secretary, Sir George Grey, that in a circular of August 5th, 1848, he recommends the inspectors not

"to lay informations against mill-owners for a breach of the letter of the Act, or for employment of young persons by relays in cases in which there is no reason to believe that such young persons have been actually employed for a longer period than that sanctioned by law".[239]

Hereupon, Factory Inspector J. Stuart allowed the so-called relay system during the 15 hours of the factory day throughout Scotland, where it soon flourished again as of old. The English Factory Inspectors, on the other hand, declared that the Home Secretary had no power dictatorially to suspend the law, and continued their legal proceedings against the pro-slavery rebellion.[39]

But what was the good of summoning the capitalists when the Courts, in this case the county magistrates — Cobbett's "Great Unpaid" — acquitted them? In these tribunals, the masters sat in judg-

[1] Reports, &c., for 31st October, 1848, p. 133.

[2] Thus, among others, Philanthropist Ashworth to Leonard Horner, in a disgusting Quaker letter (Reports, &c., April, 1849, p. 4).

[3] l. c., [Reports, &c., 31st October, 1848, p]p. [138,] 140.

ment on themselves. An example. One Eskrigge, cotton-spinner, of the firm of Kershaw, Leese, & Co., had laid before the Factory Inspector of his district the scheme of a relay system intended for his mill. Receiving a refusal, he at first kept quiet. A few months later, an individual named Robinson, also a cotton-spinner, and if not his Man Friday, at all events related to Eskrigge, appeared before the borough magistrates of Stockport on a charge of introducing the identical plan of relays invented by Eskrigge. Four Justices sat, among them three cotton-spinners, at their head this same inevitable Eskrigge. Eskrigge acquitted Robinson, and now was of opinion that what was right for Robinson was fair for Eskrigge. Supported by his own legal decision, he introduced the system at once into his own factory.[1] Of course, the composition of this tribunal was in itself a violation of the law.[2]

"These judicial farces," exclaims Inspector Howell, "urgently call for a remedy — either that the law should be so altered as to be made to conform to these decisions, or that it should be administered by a less fallible tribunal, whose decisions would conform to the law ... when these cases are brought forward. I long for a stipendiary magistrate."[3]

The crown lawyers declared the masters' interpretation of the Act of 1844 absurd. But the Saviours of Society would not allow themselves to be turned from their purpose. Leonard Horner reports:

"Having endeavoured to enforce the Act ... by ten prosecutions in seven magisterial divisions, and having been supported by the magistrates in one case only ... I considered it useless to prosecute more for this evasion of the law. That part of the Act of 1844 which was framed for securing uniformity in the hours of work, ... is thus no longer in force in my district (Lancashire). Neither have the sub-inspectors or myself any means of satisfying ourselves, when we inspect a mill working by shifts, that the young persons and women are not working more than 10 hours a-day.... In a return of the 30th April, ... of mill-owners working by shifts, the number amounts to 114, and has been for some time rapidly increasing. In general, the time of working the mill is extended to 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours, from 6 a. m. to 7$\frac{1}{2}$ p. m., ... in some instances it amounts to 15 hours, from 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ a. m. to 8$\frac{1}{2}$ p. m."[4]

Already, in December, 1848, Leonard Horner had a list of 65 man-

[1] Reports, &c., for 30th April, 1849, pp. 21, 22. Cf. like examples ibid., pp. 4, 5.

[2] By I and II. William IV, ch. 39, s. 10, known as Sir John Hobhouse's Factory Act, it was forbidden to any owner of a cotton-spinning or weaving mill, or the father, son, or brother of such owner, to act as Justice of the Peace in any inquiries that concerned the Factory Act [l. c., p. 22].

[3] l. c.

[4] Reports, &c., for 30th April, 1849, p. 5.

ufacturers and 29 overlookers who unanimously declared that no system of supervision could, under this relay system, prevent enormous over-work.[1] Now, the same children and young persons were shifted from the spinning-room to the weaving-room, now, during 15 hours, from one factory to another.[2] How was it possible to control a system which,

> "under the guise of relays, is some one of the many plans for shuffling 'the hands' about in endless variety, and shifting the hours of work and of rest for different individuals throughout the day, so that you may never have one complete set of hands working together in the same room at the same time."[3]

But altogether independently of actual overwork, this so-called relay system was an offspring of capitalistic fantasy, such as Fourier, in his humorous sketches of "Courtes Séances",[240] has never surpassed, except that the "attraction of labour" was changed into the attraction of capital. Look, for example, at those schemes of the masters which the "respectable" press praised as models of "what a reasonable degree of care and method can accomplish". The *personnel* of the workpeople was sometimes divided into from 12 to 14 categories, which themselves constantly changed and rechanged their constituent parts. During the 15 hours of the factory day, capital dragged in the labourer now for 30 minutes, now for an hour, and then pushed him out again, to drag him into the factory and to thrust him out afresh, hounding him hither and thither, in scattered shreds of time, without ever losing hold of him until the full 10 hours' work was done. As on the stage, the same persons had to appear in turns in the different scenes of the different acts. But as an actor during the whole course of the play belongs to the stage, so the operatives, during 15 hours, belonged to the factory, without reckoning the time for going and coming. Thus the hours of rest were turned into hours of enforced idleness, which drove the youths to the pot-house, and the girls to the brothel. At every new trick that the capitalist, from day to day, hit upon for keeping his machinery going 12 or 15 hours without increasing the number of his hands, the worker had to swallow his meals now in this fragment of time, now in that. At the time of the 10 hours' agitation,[229] the masters cried out that the working mob petitioned in the hope of obtaining 12 hours' wages for 10 hours' work. Now they

[1] Reports, &c., for 31st October, 1849, p. 6.
[2] Reports, &c., for 30th April, 1849, p. 21.
[3] Reports, &c., for 31st October, 1848, p. 95.

reversed the medal. They paid 10 hours' wages for 12 or 15 hours' lordship over labour power.[1] This was the gist of the matter, this the masters' interpretation of the 10 hours' law! These were the same unctuous Free-traders, perspiring with the love of humanity, who for full 10 years, during the anti-Corn Law agitation,[2] had preached to the operatives, by a reckoning of pounds, shillings, and pence, that with free importation of corn, and with the means possessed by English industry, 10 hours' labour would be quite enough to enrich the capitalists.[2] This revolt of capital, after two years was at last crowned with victory by a decision of one of the four highest Courts of Justice in England, the Court of Exchequer, which in a case brought before it on February 8th, 1850, decided that the manufacturers were certainly acting against the sense of the Act of 1844, but that this Act itself contained certain words that rendered it meaningless. "By this decision, the Ten Hours' Act was abolished."[3] A crowd of masters, who until then had been afraid of using the relay system for young persons and women, now took it up heart and soul.[4]

But on this apparently decisive victory of capital, followed at once a revulsion. The workpeople had hitherto offered a passive, although inflexible and unremitting resistance. They now protested in Lancashire and Yorkshire in threatening meetings. The pretended Ten Hours' Act was thus simple humbug, parliamentary cheating, had never existed! The Factory Inspectors urgently warned the Government that the antagonism of classes had arrived at an incredible tension. Some of the masters themselves murmured:

"On account of the contradictory decisions of the magistrates, a condition of things altogether abnormal and anarchical obtains. One law holds in Yorkshire, another in Lancashire; one law in one parish of Lancashire, another in its immediate neighbourhood. The manufacturer in large towns could evade the law, the manufacturer in

[1] See Reports, &c., for 30th April, 1849, p. 6, and the detailed explanation of the "shifting system", by Factory Inspectors Howell and Saunders, in "Reports, &c., for 31st October, 1848" [pp. 88-102, 105-17]. See also the petition to the Queen from the clergy of Ashton and vicinity, in the spring of 1849, against the "shift system".

[2] Cf. for example, *The Factory Question and the Ten Hours' Bill.* By R. H. Greg, 1837.

[3] F. Engels: "The English Ten Hours' Bill." (In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Politisch-oekonomische Revue.* Edited by K. Marx. April number, 1850, p. 13 [present edition, Vol. 10, p. 297]). The same "high" Court of Justice discovered, during the American Civil War, a verbal ambiguity which exactly reversed the meaning of the law against the arming of pirate ships.[241]

[4] Rep., &c., for 30th April, 1850 [, p. 44].

country districts could not find the people necessary for the relay system, still less for the shifting of hands from one factory to another," &c.

And the first birthright of capital is equal exploitation of labour power by all capitalists.

Under these circumstances a compromise between masters and men was effected that received the seal of Parliament in the additional Factory Act of August 5th, 1850.[181] The working day for "young persons and women", was raised from 10 to $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours for the first five days of the week, and shortened to $7\frac{1}{2}$ on the Saturday. The work was to go on between 6 a. m. and 6 p. m.,[1] with pauses of not less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours for meal times, these meal times to be allowed at one and the same time for all, and conformably to the conditions of 1844. By this an end was put to the relay system once for all.[2] For children's labour, the Act of 1844 remained in force.

One set of masters, this time as before, secured to itself special seigneurial rights over the children of the proletariat. These were the silk manufacturers. In 1833 they had howled out in threatening fashion, "if the liberty of working children of any age for 10 hours a day were taken away, it would stop their works".[3] It would be impossible for them to buy a sufficient number of children over 11. They extorted the privilege they desired. The pretext was shown on subsequent investigation to be a deliberate lie.[4] It did not, however, prevent them, during 10 years, from spinning silk 10 hours a day out of the blood of little children who had to be placed upon stools for the performance of their work.[5] The Act of 1844 certainly "robbed" them of the "liberty" of employing children under 11 longer than $6\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day. But it secured to them, on the other hand, the privilege of working children between 11 and 13, 10 hours a day, and of annulling in their case the education made compulsory for all other factory children. This time the pretext was

[1] In winter, from 7 a. m. to 7 p. m. may be substituted [Reports, &c., for 30th April, 1860, p. 51].

[2] "The present law" (of 1850) "was a compromise whereby the employed surrendered the benefit of the Ten Hours' Act for the advantage of one uniform period for the commencement and termination of the labour of those whose labour is restricted" (Reports, &c., for 30th April, 1852, p. 14).

[3] Reports, &c., for Sept., 1844, p. 13.

[4] l. c.

[5] l. c.

"the delicate texture of the fabric in which they were employed, requiring a lightness of touch, only to be acquired by their early introduction to these factories".[1]

The children were slaughtered out-and-out for the sake of their delicate fingers, as in Southern Russia the horned cattle for the sake of their hide and tallow. At length, in 1850, the privilege granted in 1844, was limited to the departments of silk-twisting and silk-winding. But here, to make amends to capital bereft of its "freedom", the work time for children from 11 to 13 was raised from 10 to $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours. Pretext: "Labour in silk mills was lighter than in mills for other fabrics, and less likely in other respects also to be prejudicial to health."[2] Official medical inquiries proved afterwards that, on the contrary,

"the average death-rate is exceedingly high in the silk districts and amongst the female part of the population is higher even than it is in the cotton districts of Lancashire."[3]

[1] l. c. ["Reports, &c., for 31st Oct., 1846", p. 20].

[2] Reports, &c., for 31st Oct., 1861, p. 26.

[3] l. c., p. 27. On the whole the working population, subject to the Factory Act, has greatly improved physically. All medical testimony agrees on this point, and personal observation at different times has convinced me of it. Nevertheless, and exclusive of the terrible death-rate of children in the first years of their life, the official reports of Dr. Greenhow show the unfavourable health condition of the manufacturing districts as compared with "argicultural districts of normal health". As evidence, take the following table from his 1861 report [l. c., p. 28]:

| Percentage of Adult Males Engaged in Manufactures | Death-rate from Pulmonary Affections per 100,000 Males | Name of District | Death-rate from Pulmonary Affections per 100,000 Females | Percentage of Adult Females Engaged in Manufactures | Kind of Female Occupation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14.9 | 598 | Wigan | 644 | 18.0 | Cotton |
| 42.6 | 708 | Blackburn | 734 | 34.9 | Do. |
| 37.3 | 547 | Halifax | 564 | 20.4 | Worsted |
| 41.9 | 611 | Bradford | 603 | 30.0 | Do. |
| 31.0 | 691 | Macclesfield | 804 | 26.0 | Silk |
| 14.9 | 588 | Leek | 705 | 17.2 | Do. |
| 36.6 | 721 | Stoke-upon-Trent | 665 | 19.3 | Earthenware |
| 30.4 | 726 | Woolstanton | 727 | 13.9 | Do. |
| | 305 | Eight healthy agricultural districts | 340 | | |

Despite the protests of the Factory Inspector, renewed every 6 months, the mischief continues to this hour.[1]

The Act of 1850 changed the 15 hours' time from 5.30 a. m. to 8.30 p. m., into the 12 hours from 6 a. m. to 6 p. m. for "young persons and women" only. It did not, therefore, affect children who could always be employed for half an hour before and $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours after this period, provided the whole of their labour did not exceed $6\frac{1}{2}$ hours. Whilst the bill was under discussion, the Factory Inspectors laid before Parliament statistics of the infamous abuses due to this anomaly.To no purpose. In the background lurked the intention of screwing up, during prosperous years, the working day of adult males to 15 hours by the aid of the children. The experience of the three following years showed that such an attempt must come to grief against the resistance of the adult male operatives. The Act of 1850 was therefore finally completed in 1853 [242] by forbidding the "employment of children in the morning before and in the evening after young persons and women". Henceforth with a few exceptions the Factory Act of 1850 regulated the working day of all workers in the branches of industry that come under it.[2] Since the passing of the first Factory Act half a century had elapsed.[3]

Factory legislation for the first time went beyond its original sphere in the "Printworks' Act of 1845".[244] The displeasure with which capital received this new "extravagance" speaks through every line of the Act. It limits the working day for children from 8 to 13, and for

[1] It is well known with what reluctance the English "Free-traders" gave up the protective duty on the silk manufacture. Instead of the protection against French importation, the absence of protection to English factory children now serves their turn.

[2] During 1859 and 1860, the zenith years of the English cotton industry, some manufacturers tried, by the decoy bait of higher wages for overtime, to reconcile the adult male operatives to an extension of the working day. The hand-mule spinners and self-actor minders put an end to the experiment by a petition to their employers in which they say, "Plainly speaking, our lives are to us a burthen; and, while we are confined to the mills *nearly two days a week more* than the other operatives of the country, we feel like helots [243] in the land, and that we are perpetuating a system injurious to ourselves and future generations.... This, therefore, is to give you most respectful notice that when we commence work again after the Christmas and New Year's holiday, we shall work 60 hours per week, and no more, or from six to six, with one hour and a half out" (Reports, &c., for 30th April, 1860, p. 30).

[3] On the means that the wording of this Act afforded for its violation cf. the Parliamentary Return "Factories Regulation Acts" (9th August, 1859), and in it Leonard Horner's "Suggestions for amending the Factory Acts to enable the Inspectors to prevent illegal working, now becoming very prevalent" [pp. 4-5].

women to 16 hours, between 6 a. m. and 10 p. m., without any legal pause for meal times. It allows males over 13 to be worked at will day and night.[1] It is a Parliamentary abortion.[2]

However, the principle had triumphed with its victory in those great branches of industry which form the most characteristic creation of the modern mode of production. Their wonderful development from 1853 to 1860, hand in hand with the physical and moral regeneration of the factory workers, struck the most purblind. The masters from whom the legal limitation and regulation had been wrung step by step after a civil war of half a century, themselves referred ostentatiously to the contrast with the branches of exploitation still "free".[3] The Pharisees[246] of "Political Economy" now proclaimed the discernment of the necessity of a legally fixed working day as a characteristic new discovery of their "science".[4] It will be easily understood that after the factory magnates had resigned themselves and become reconciled to the inevitable, the power of resistance of capital gradually weakened, whilst at the same time the power of attack of the working class grew with the number of its allies in the classes of society not immediately interested in the question. Hence the comparatively rapid advance since 1860.

The dye-works and bleach-works all came under the Factory Act of 1850[181] in 1860[5]; lace and stocking manufactures in 1861.[249]

[1] "Children of the age of 8 years and upwards, have, indeed, been employed from 6 a. m. to 9 p. m. during the last half year in my district" (Reports, &c., for 31st October, 1857, p. 39).

[2] "The Printworks' Act is admitted to be a failure both with reference to its educational and protective provisions" (Reports, &c., for 31st October, 1862, p. 52).

[3] Thus, e. g., E. Potter in a letter to the *Times* of March 24th, 1863. The *Times* reminded him of the manufacturers' revolt against the Ten Hours' Bill.[245]

[4] Thus, among others, Mr. W. Newmarch,[247] collaborator and editor of Tooke's *History of Prices*. Is it a scientific advance to make cowardly concessions to public opinion?

[5] The Act passed in 1860,[248] determined that, in regard to dye and bleach-works, the working day should be fixed on August 1st, 1861, provisionally at 12 hours, and definitely on August 1st, 1862, at 10 hours, i. e., at $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours for ordinary days, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ for Saturday. Now, when the fatal year, 1862, came, the old farce was repeated. Besides, the manufacturers petitioned Parliament to allow the employment of young persons and women for 12 hours during one year longer. "In the existing condition of the trade" (the time of the cotton famine), "it was greatly to the advantage of the operative to work 12 hours per day, and make wages when they could." A bill to this effect had been brought in, "and it was mainly due to the action of the operative bleachers in Scotland that the bill was abandoned" (Reports, &c., for 31st October, 1862, pp. 14-15). Thus defeated by the very workpeople, in whose name it pretended to speak, Cap-

In consequence of the first report of the Commission on the employment of children (1863) the same fate was shared by the manufacturers of all earthenwares (not merely pottery), lucifer-matches, percussion-caps, cartridges, carpets, fustian-cutting, and many processes included under the name of "finishing". In the year 1863 bleaching in the open air[1] and baking were placed under special

ital discovered, with the help of lawyer spectacles, that the Act of 1860, drawn up, like all the Acts of Parliament for the "protection of labour", in equivocal phrases, gave them a pretext to exclude from its working the calenderers and finishers. English jurisprudence, ever the faithful servant of capital, sanctioned in the Court of Common Pleas[250] this piece of pettifogging. "The operatives have been greatly disappointed ... they have complained of overwork, and it is greatly to be regretted that the clear intention of the legislature should have failed by reason of a faulty definition" (l. c., p. 18).

[1] The "open-air bleachers" had evaded the law of 1860, by means of the lie that no women worked at it in the night. The lie was exposed by the Factory Inspectors, and at the same time Parliament was, by petitions from the operatives, bereft of its notions as to the cool meadow-fragrance, in which bleaching in the open air was reported to take place. In this aerial bleaching, drying rooms were used at temperatures of from 90° to 100° Fahrenheit, in which the work was done for the most part by girls. "Cooling" is the technical expression for their occasional escape from the drying rooms into the fresh air. "Fifteen girls in stoves. Heat from 80° to 90° for linens, and 100° and upwards for cambrics. Twelve girls ironing and doing-up in a small room about 10 feet square, in the centre of which is a close stove. The girls stand round the stove, which throws out a terrific heat, and dries the cambrics rapidly for the ironers. The hours of work for these hands are unlimited. If busy, they work till 9 or 12 at night for successive nights" (Reports, &c., for 31st October, 1862, p. 56). A medical man states: "No special hours are allowed for cooling, but if the temperature gets too high, or the workers' hands get soiled from perspiration, they are allowed to go out for a few minutes.... My experience, which is considerable, in treating the diseases of stove workers, compels me to express the opinion that their sanitary condition is by no means so high as that of the operatives in a spinning factory" (and Capital, in its memorials to Parliament, had painted them as floridly healthy, after the manner of Rubens). "The diseases most observable amongst them are phthisis, bronchitis, irregularity of uterine functions, hysteria in its most aggravated forms, and rheumatism. All of these, I believe, are either directly or indirectly induced by the impure, overheated air of the apartments in which the hands are employed and the want of sufficient comfortable clothing to protect them from the cold, damp atmosphere, in winter, when going to their homes" (l. c., pp. 56-57). The Factory Inspectors remarked on the supplementary law of 1863, torn from these open-air bleachers: "The Act has not only failed to afford that protection to the workers which it appears to offer, but contains a clause ... apparently so worded that, unless persons are detected working after 8 o'clock at night they appear to come under no protective provisions at all, and if they do so work, the mode of proof is so doubtful that a conviction can scarcely follow" (l. c., p. 52). "To all intents and purposes, therefore, as an Act for any benevolent or educational purpose, it is a failure; since it can scarcely be called benevolent to permit, which is tantamount to compelling, women and children to work 14 hours a day with or without meals, as the case

Acts,[251] by which, in the former, the labour of young persons and women during the night-time (from 8 in the evening to 6 in the morning), and in the latter, the employment of journeymen bakers under 18, between 9 in the evening and 5 in the morning were forbidden. We shall return to the later proposals of the same Commission, which threatened to deprive of their "freedom" all the important branches of English Industry, with the exception of agriculture, mines, and the means of transport.[1]

## SECTION 7.—THE STRUGGLE FOR THE NORMAL WORKING DAY. REACTION OF THE ENGLISH FACTORY ACTS ON OTHER COUNTRIES

The reader will bear in mind that the production of surplus value, or the extraction of surplus labour, is the specific end and aim, the sum and substance, of capitalist production, quite apart from any changes in the mode of production, which may arise from the subordination of labour to capital. He will remember that as far as we have at present gone, only the independent labourer, and therefore only the labourer legally qualified to act for himself, enters as a vendor of a commodity into a contract with the capitalist. If, therefore, in our historical sketch, on the one hand, modern industry; on the other, the labour of those who are physically and legally minors, play important parts, the former was to us only a special department, and the latter only a specially striking example of labour exploitation. Without, however, anticipating the subsequent development of our inquiry, from the mere connection of the historic facts before us, it follows:

*First.* The passion of capital for an unlimited and reckless extension of the working day, is first gratified in the industries earliest revolutionised by water-power, steam, and machinery, in those first creations of the modern mode of production, cotton, wool, flax, and silk spinning, and weaving. The changes in the material mode of production, and the corresponding changes in the social relations of the producers[2]

may be, and perhaps for longer hours than these, without limit as to age, without reference to sex, and without regard to the social habits of the families of the neighbourhood, in which such works (bleaching and dyeing) are situated" (Reports, &c., for 30th April, 1863, p. 40).

[1] Note to the 2nd Ed. Since 1866, when I wrote the above passages, a reaction has again set in.

[2] "The conduct of each of these classes" (capitalists and workmen) "has been the

gave rise first to an extravagance beyond all bounds, and then in opposition to this, called forth a control on the part of Society which legally limits, regulates, and makes uniform the working day and its pauses. This control appears, therefore, during the first half of the nineteenth century simply as exceptional legislation.[1] As soon as this primitive dominion of the new mode of production was conquered, it was found that, in the meantime, not only had many other branches of production been made to adopt the same factory system, but that manufactures with more or less obsolete methods, such as potteries, glass-making, &c., that old-fashioned handicrafts, like baking, and, finally, even that the so-called domestic industries, such as nail-making,[2] had long since fallen as completely under capitalist exploitation as the factories themselves. Legislation was, therefore, compelled to gradually get rid of its exceptional character, or where, as in England, it proceeds after the manner of the Roman Casuists, to declare any house in which work was done to be a factory.[3]

*Second.* The history of the regulation of the working day in certain branches of production, and the struggle still going on in others in regard to this regulation, prove conclusively that the isolated labourer, the labourer as "free" vendor of his labour power, when capitalist production has once attained a certain stage, succumbs without any power of resistance. The creation of a normal working day is, therefore, the product of a protracted civil war, more or less dissembled, between the capitalist class and the working class. As the contest takes place in the arena of modern industry, it first breaks out in the home of that industry — England.[4] The English factory workers were the

result of the relative situation in which they have been placed" (Reports, &c., for 31st October, 1848, p. 113).

[1] "The employments, placed under restriction, were connected with the manufacture of textile fabrics by the aid of steam or water power. There were two conditions to which an employment must be subject to cause it to be inspected, viz., the use of steam or water power, and the manufacture of certain specified fibres" (Reports, &c., for 31st October, 1864, p. 8).

[2] On the condition of so-called domestic industries, specially valuable materials are to be found in the latest reports of the Children's Employment Commission.[252]

[3] "The Acts of last Session" (1864) "... embrace a diversity of occupations, the customs in which differ greatly, and the use of mechanical power to give motion to machinery is no longer one of the elements necessary, as formerly, to constitute, in legal phrase, a 'Factory'" (Reports, &c., for 31st October, 1864, p. 8).

[4] Belgium, the paradise of Continental Liberalism, shows no trace of this movement. Even in the coal and metal mines, labourers of both sexes, and all ages, are con-

champions, not only of the English, but of the modern working class generally, as their theorists were the first to throw down the gauntlet to the theory of capital.[1] Hence, the philosopher of the Factory, Ure, denounces as an ineffable disgrace to the English working class that they inscribed "the slavery of the Factory Acts" on the banner which they bore against capital, manfully striving for "perfect freedom of labour".[2]

France limps slowly behind England. The February revolution [255] was necessary to bring into the world the 12 hours' law,[3] which is much more deficient than its English original. For all that, the French revolutionary method has its special advantages. It once for all commands the same limit to the working day in all shops and factories without distinction, whilst English legislation reluctantly yields to the pressure of circumstances, now on this point, now on that, and is getting lost in a hopelessly bewildering tangle of contradictory

sumed, in perfect "freedom", at any period, and through any length of time. Of every 1,000 persons employed there, 733 are men, 83 women, 135 boys, and 49 girls under 16; in the blast-furnaces, &c., of every 1,000, 668 are men, 149 women, 98 boys, and 85 girls under 16. Add to this the low wages for the enormous exploitation of mature and immature labour power. The average daily pay for a man is 2s. 8d., for a woman, 1s. 8d., for a boy, 1s. $2\frac{1}{2}$d. As a result, Belgium had in 1863, as compared with 1850, nearly doubled both the amount and the value of its exports of coal, iron, &c.[253]

[1] Robert Owen, soon after 1810, not only maintained the necessity of a limitation of the working day in theory, but actually introduced the 10 hours' day into his factory at New Lanark. This was laughed at as a communistic Utopia; so were his "Combination of children's education with productive labour" and the Co-operative Societies of working men,[254] first called into being by him. To-day the first Utopia is a Factory Act, the second figures as an official phrase in all Factory Acts, the third is already being used as a cloak for reactionary humbug.

[2] Ure (French translation), *Philosophie des Manufactures*, Paris, 1836, Vol. II, pp. 39, 40, 67, 77, &c.

[3] In the *Compte Rendu* of the International Statistical Congress at Paris, 1855 [, p. 332], it is stated: "The French law, which limits the length of daily labour in factories and workshops to 12 hours, does not confine this work to definite fixed hours. For children's labour only the work time is prescribed as between 5 a.m. and 9 p.m. Therefore, some of the masters use the right which this fatal silence gives them to keep their works going, without intermission, day in, day out, possibly with the exception of Sunday. For this purpose they use two different sets of workers, of whom neither is in the workshop more than 12 hours at a time, but the work of the establishment lasts day and night. The law is satisfied, but is humanity? Besides "the destructive influence of night labour on the human organism", stress is also laid upon "the fatal influence of the association of the two sexes by night in the same badly-lighted workshops" [Reports, &c., for 31st October, 1855, p. 59].

enactments.[1] On the other hand, the French law proclaims as a principle that which in England was only won in the name of children, minors, and women, and has been only recently for the first time claimed as a general right.[2]

In the United States of North America, every independent movement of the workers was paralysed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic. Labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded. But out of the death of slavery a new life at once arose. The first fruit of the Civil War [7] was the eight hours' agitation, that ran with the seven-leagued boots of the locomotive from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California. The General Congress of Labour at Baltimore (August 1866) [256] declared:

"The first and great necessity of the present, to free the labour of this country from capitalistic slavery, is the passing of a law by which eight hours shall be the normal working day in all States of the American Union. We are resolved to put forth all our strength until this glorious result is attained."[3]

At the same time, the Congress of the International Working Men's Association at Geneva, on the proposition of the London General Council, resolved that "the limitation of the working day is a preliminary condition without which all further attempts at im-

[1] "For instance, there is within my district one occupier who, within the same curtilage, is at the same time a bleacher and dyer under the Bleaching and Dyeing Works Act, a printer under the Print Works Act, and a finisher under the Factory Act" (Report of Mr. Baker, in Reports, &c., for October 31st, 1861, p. 20). After enumerating the different provisions of these Acts, and the complications arising from them, Mr. Baker says: "It will hence appear that it must be very difficult to secure the execution of these three Acts of Parliament where the occupier chooses to evade the law." But what is assured to the lawyers by this is law-suits [l. c., p. 21].

[2] Thus the Factory Inspectors at last venture to say: "These objections" (of capital to the legal limitation of the working day) "must succumb before the broad principle of the rights of labour.... There is a time when the master's right in his workman's labour ceases, and his time becomes his own, even if there were no exhaustion in the question" (Reports, &c., for 31st Oct., 1862, p. 54).

[3] "We, the workers of Dunkirk, declare that the length of time of labour required under the present system is too great, and that, far from leaving the worker time for rest and education, it plunges him into a condition of servitude but little better than slavery. That is why we decide that 8 hours are enough for a working day, and ought to be legally recognised as enough; why we call to our help that powerful lever, the press; ... and why we shall consider all those that refuse us this help as enemies of the reform of labour and of the rights of the labourer" (Resolution of the Working Men of Dunkirk, New York State, 1866).[257]

provement and emancipation must prove abortive ... the Congress proposes eight hours as the legal limit of the working day".[258]

Thus the movement of the working class on both sides of the Atlantic, that had grown instinctively out of the conditions of production themselves, endorsed the words of the English Factory Inspector, R.J. Saunders:

"Further steps towards a reformation of society can never be carried out with any hope of success, unless the hours of labour be limited, and the prescribed limit strictly enforced."[1]

It must be acknowledged that our labourer comes out of the process of production other than he entered. In the market he stood as owner of the commodity "labour power" face to face with other owners of commodities, dealer against dealer. The contract by which he sold to the capitalist his labour power proved, so to say, in black and white that he disposed of himself freely. The bargain concluded, it is discovered that he was no "free agent", that the time for which he is free to sell his labour power is the time for which he is forced to sell it,[2] that in fact the vampire will not lose its hold on him "so long as there is a muscle, a nerve, a drop of blood to be exploited".[3] For "protection" against "the serpent of their agonies",[259] the labourers must put their heads together, and, as a class, compel the passing of a law, an all-powerful social barrier that shall prevent the very workers from selling, by voluntary contract with capital, themselves and their families into slavery and death.[4] In place of the pompous catalogue of the

[1] Reports, &c., for [31st] Oct., 1848, p. 112.

[2] "The proceedings" (the manoeuvres of capital, e. g., from 1848-50) "have afforded, moreover, incontrovertible proof of the fallacy of the assertion so often advanced, that operatives need no protection, but may be considered as free agents in the disposal of the only property which they possess — the labour of their hands and the sweat of their brows" (Reports, &c., for April 30th, 1850, p. 45)."Free labour (if so it may be termed) even in a free country, requires the strong arm of the law to protect it" (Reports, &c., for October 31st, 1864, p. 34). "To permit, which is tantamount to compelling ... to work 14 hours a day with or without meals," &c. (Repts. &c., for April 30th, 1863, p. 40).

[3] Friedrich Engels, l. c. ["The English Ten Hours' Bill"], p. 5 [present edition, Vol. 10, p. 288].

[4] The 10 Hours' Act has, in the branches of industry that come under it, "put an end to the premature decrepitude of the former long-hour workers" (Reports, &c., for 31st Oct., 1859, p. 47). "Capital" (in factories) "can never be employed in keeping the machinery in motion beyond a limited time, without certain injury to the health and morals of the labourers employed; and they are not in a position to protect themselves" (l. c., p. 8).

"inalienable rights of man" [260] comes the modest Magna Charta [261] of a legally limited working day, which shall make clear "when the time which the worker sells is ended, and when his own begins".[1] *Quantum mutatus ab illo!* [262]

## Chapter XI

### RATE AND MASS OF SURPLUS VALUE

In this chapter, as hitherto, the value of labour power, and therefore the part of the working day necessary for the reproduction or maintenance of that labour power, are supposed to be given, constant magnitudes.

This premised, with the rate, the mass is at the same time given of the surplus value that the individual labourer furnishes to the capitalist in a definite period of time. If, e. g., the necessary labour amounts to 6 hours daily, expressed in a quantum of gold = 3 shillings, then 3s. is the daily value of one labour power or the value of the capital advanced in the buying of one labour power. If, further, the rate of surplus value be = 100%, this variable capital of 3s. produces a mass of surplus value of 3s., or the labourer supplies daily a mass of surplus labour equal to 6 hours.

But the variable capital of a capitalist is the expression in money of the total value of all the labour powers that he employs simultaneously. Its value is, therefore, equal to the average value of one labour power, multiplied by the number of labour powers employed. With a given value of labour power, therefore, the magnitude of the variable capital varies directly as the number of labourers employed simultaneously. If the daily value of one labour power = 3s., then a

[1]) "A still greater boon is the distinction at last made clear between the worker's own time and his master's. The worker knows now when that which he sells is ended, and when his own begins; and by possessing a sure foreknowledge of this, is enabled to prearrange his own minutes for his own purposes" (l. c., p. 52). "By making them masters of their own time" (the Factory Acts) "have given them a moral energy which is directing them to the eventual possession of political power" (l. c., p. 47). With suppressed irony, and in very well weighed words, the Factory Inspectors hint that the actual law also frees the capitalist from some of the brutality natural to a man who is a mere embodiment of capital, and that it has given him time for a little "culture". Formerly "the master had no time for anything but money; the servant had no time for anything but labour" (l. c., p. 48).

capital of 300s. must be advanced in order to exploit daily 100 labour powers, of n times 3s., in order to exploit daily n labour powers.

In the same way, if a variable capital of 3s., being the daily value of one labour power, produce a daily surplus value of 3s., a variable capital of 300s. will produce a daily surplus value of 300s., and one of n times 3s. a daily surplus value of $n \times 3s$. The mass of the surplus value produced is therefore equal to the surplus value which the working day of one labourer supplies multiplied by the number of labourers employed. But as further the mass of surplus value which a single labourer produces, the value of labour power being given, is determined by the rate of the surplus value, this law follows: the mass of the surplus value produced is equal to the amount of the variable capital advanced, multiplied by the rate of surplus value; in other words: it is determined by the compound ratio between the number of labour powers exploited simultaneously by the same capitalist and the degree of exploitation of each individual labour power.

Let the mass of the surplus value be S, the surplus value supplied by the individual labourer in the average day s, the variable capital daily advanced in the purchase of one individual labour power v, the sum total of the variable capital V, the value of an average labour power P, its degree of exploitation $\frac{a'}{a}\left(\frac{\text{surplus labour}}{\text{necessary labour}}\right)$ and the number of labourers employed n; we have:

$$S = \begin{cases} \frac{s}{v} \times V \\ P \times \frac{a'}{a} \times n \end{cases}$$

It is always supposed, not only that the value of an average labour power is constant, but that the labourers employed by a capitalist are reduced to average labourers. There are exceptional cases in which the surplus value produced does not increase in proportion to the number of labourers exploited, but then the value of the labour power does not remain constant.

In the production of a definite mass of surplus value, therefore, the decrease of one factor may be compensated by the increase of the other. If the variable capital diminishes, and at the same time the rate of surplus value increases in the same ratio, the mass of surplus value produced remains unaltered. If on our earlier assumption the capitalist must advance 300s., in order to exploit 100 labourers a day, and if

the rate of surplus value amounts to 50%, this variable capital of 300s. yields a surplus value of 150s. or of 100 × 3 working hours. If the rate of surplus value doubles, or the working day, instead of being extended from 6 to 9, is extended from 6 to 12 hours and at the same time variable capital is lessened by half, and reduced to 150s., it yields also a surplus value of 150s. or 50 × 6 working hours. Diminution of the variable capital may therefore be compensated by a proportionate rise in the degree of exploitation of labour power, or the decrease in the number of the labourers employed by a proportionate extension of the working day. Within certain limits therefore the supply of labour exploitable by capital is independent of the supply of labourers.[1] On the contrary, a fall in the rate of surplus value leaves unaltered the mass of the surplus value produced, if the amount of the variable capital, or number of the labourers employed, increases in the same proportion.

Nevertheless, the compensation of a decrease in the number of labourers employed, or of the amount of variable capital advanced, by a rise in the rate of surplus value, or by the lengthening of the working day, has impassable limits. Whatever the value of labour power may be, whether the working time necessary for the maintenance of the labourer is 2 or 10 hours, the total value that a labourer can produce, day in, day out, is always less than the value in which 24 hours of labour are embodied, less than 12s., if 12s. is the money expression for 24 hours of realised labour. In our former assumption, according to which 6 working hours are daily necessary in order to reproduce the labour power itself or to replace the value of the capital advanced in its purchase, a variable capital of 1,500s., that employs 500 labourers at a rate of surplus value of 100% with a 12 hours' working day, produces daily a surplus value of 1,500s. or of 6 × 500 working hours. A capital of 300s. that employs 100 labourers a day with a rate of surplus value of 200% or with a working day of 18 hours, produces only a mass of surplus value of 600s. or 12 × 100 working hours; and its total value product, the equivalent of the variable capital advanced plus the surplus value, can, day in, day out, never reach the sum of 1,200s. or 24 × 100 working hours. The absolute limit of the average working day — this being by nature always less than 24 hours — sets

[1] This elementary law appears to be unknown to the vulgar economists, who, upside-down Archimedes, in the determination of the market price of labour by supply and demand, imagine they have found the fulcrum by means of which, not to move the world, but to stop its motion.

an absolute limit to the compensation of a reduction of variable capital by a higher rate of surplus value, or of the decrease of the number of labourers exploited by a higher degree of exploitation of labour power. This palpable law is of importance for the clearing up of many phenomena, arising from a tendency (to be worked out later on) of capital to reduce as much as possible the number of labourers employed by it, or its variable constituent transformed into labour power, in contradiction to its other tendency to produce the greatest possible mass of surplus value. On the other hand, if the mass of labour power employed, or the amount of variable capital, increases, but not in proportion to the fall in the rate of surplus value, the mass of the surplus value produced, falls.

A third law results from the determination, of the mass of the surplus value produced, by the two factors: rate of surplus value and amount of variable capital advanced. The rate of surplus value, or the degree of exploitation of labour power, and the value of labour power, or the amount of necessary working time being given, it is self-evident that the greater the variable capital, the greater would be the mass of the value produced and of the surplus value. If the limit of the working day is given, and also the limit of its necessary constituent, the mass of value and surplus value that an individual capitalist produces, is clearly exclusively dependent on the mass of labour that he sets in motion. But this, under the conditions supposed above, depends on the mass of labour power, or the number of labourers whom he exploits, and this number in its turn is determined by the amount of the variable capital advanced. With a given rate of surplus value, and a given value of labour power, therefore, the masses of surplus value produced vary directly as the amounts of the variable capitals advanced. Now we know that the capitalist divides his capital into two parts. One part he lays out in means of production. This is the constant part of his capital. The other part he lays out in living labour power. This part forms his variable capital. On the basis of the same mode of social production, the division of capital into constant and variable differs in different branches of production, and within the same branch of production, too, this relation changes with changes in the technical conditions and in the social combinations of the processes of production. But in whatever proportion a given capital breaks up into a constant and a variable part, whether the latter is to the former as 1:2 or 1:10 or 1:x, the law just laid down is not affected by this. For, according to our previous analysis, the value of the con-

stant capital re-appears in the value of the product, but does not enter into the newly produced value, the newly created value product. To employ 1,000 spinners, more raw material, spindles, &c., are, of course, required, than to employ 100. The value of these additional means of production however, may rise, fall, remain unaltered, be large or small; it has no influence on the process of creation of surplus value by means of the labour powers that put them in motion. The law demonstrated above now, therefore, takes this form: the masses of value and of surplus value produced by different capitals — the value of labour power being given and its degree of exploitation being equal — vary directly as the amounts of the variable constituents of these capitals, i. e., as their constituents transformed into living labour power.

This law clearly contradicts all experience based on appearance. Everyone knows that a cotton spinner, who, reckoning the percentage on the whole of his applied capital, employs much constant and little variable capital, does not, on account of this, pocket less profit or surplus value than a baker, who relatively sets in motion much variable and little constant capital. For the solution of this apparent contradiction, many intermediate terms are as yet wanted, as from the standpoint of elementary algebra many intermediate terms are wanted to understand that $\frac{0}{0}$ may represent an actual magnitude. Classical economy, although not formulating the law, holds instinctively to it, because it is a necessary consequence of the general law of value. It tries to rescue the law from collision with contradictory phenomena by a violent abstraction. It will be seen later[1] how the school of Ricardo[63] has come to grief over this stumbling-block. Vulgar economy which, indeed, "has really learnt nothing",[263] here as everywhere sticks to appearances in opposition to the law which regulates and explains them. In opposition to Spinoza, it believes that "ignorance is a sufficient reason".[264]

The labour which is set in motion by the total capital of a society, day in, day out, may be regarded as a single collective working day. If, e. g., the number of labourers is a million, and the average working day of a labourer is 10 hours, the social working day consists of ten million hours. With a given length of this working day, whether its limits are fixed physically or socially, the mass of surplus value can only be increased by increasing the number of labourers, i. e, of the

[1] Further particulars will be given in Book IV.[1]

labouring population. The growth of population here forms the mathematical limit to the production of surplus value by the total social capital. On the contrary, with a given amount of population, this limit is formed by the possible lengthening of the working day.[1] It will, however, be seen in the following chapter that this law only holds for the form of surplus value dealt with up to the present.

From the treatment of the production of surplus value, so far, it follows that not every sum of money, or of value, is at pleasure transformable into capital. To effect this transformation, in fact, a certain minimum of money or of exchange value must be presupposed in the hands of the individual possessor of money or commodities. The minimum of variable capital is the cost price of a single labour power, employed the whole year through, day in, day out, for the production of surplus value. If this labourer were in possession of his own means of production, and were satisfied to live as a labourer, he need not work beyond the time necessary for the reproduction of his means of subsistence, say 8 hours a day. He would, besides, only require the means of production sufficient for 8 working hours. The capitalist, on the other hand, who makes him do, besides these 8 hours, say 4 hours' surplus labour, requires an additional sum of money for furnishing the additional means of production. On our supposition, however, he would have to employ two labourers in order to live, on the surplus value appropriated daily, as well as, and no better than a labourer, i. e., to be able to satisfy his necessary wants. In this case the mere maintenance of life would be the end of his production, not the increase of wealth; but this latter is implied in capitalist production. That he may live only twice as well as an ordinary labourer, and besides turn half of the surplus value produced into capital, he would have to raise, with the number of labourers, the minimum of the capital advanced 8 times. Of course he can, like his labourer, take to work himself, participate directly in the process of production, but he is then only a hybrid between capitalist and labourer, a "small master". A certain stage of capitalist production necessitates that the capitalist be able to devote the whole of the time during which he functions as a capitalist, i. e., as personified capital, to the appropriation and

[1] "The Labour, that is the economic time, of society, is a given portion, say ten hours a day of a million of people, or ten million hours.... Capital has its boundary of increase. This boundary may, at any given period, be attained in the actual extent of economic time employed" (*An Essay on the Political Economy of Nations*, London, 1821, pp. 47, 49).

therefore control of the labour of others, and to the selling of the products of this labour.[1] The guilds of the Middle Ages therefore tried to prevent by force the transformation of the master of a trade into a capitalist, by limiting the number of labourers that could be employed by one master within a very small maximum. The possessor of money or commodities actually turns into a capitalist in such cases only where the minimum sum advanced for production greatly exceeds the maximum of the Middle Ages. Here, as in natural science, is shown the correctness of the law discovered by Hegel (in his *Logic*), that merely quantitative differences beyond a certain point pass into qualitative changes.[2]

The minimum of the sum of value that the individual possessor of money or commodities must command, in order to metamorphose himself into a capitalist, changes with the different stages of development of capitalist production, and is at given stages different in different spheres of production, according to their special and technical conditions. Certain spheres of production demand, even at the very outset of capitalist production, a minimum of capital that is not as yet

[1] "The farmer cannot rely on his own labour, and if he does, I will maintain that he is a loser by it. His employment should be a general attention to the whole: his thresher must be watched, or he will soon lose his wages in corn not threshed out; his mowers, reapers, &c., must be looked after; he must constantly go round his fences; he must see there is no neglect; which would be the case if he was confined to any one spot" ([J. Arbuthnot,] *An Inquiry into the Connection between the [Present] Price of Provisions, and the Size of Farms, &c.* By a Farmer, London, 1773, p. 12). This book is very interesting. In it the genesis of the "capitalist farmer" or "merchant farmer", as he is explicitly called, may be studied, and his self-glorification at the expense of the small farmer who has only to do with bare subsistence, be noted. "The class of capitalists are from the first partially, and they become ultimately completely, discharged from the necessity of the manual labour" (*Textbook of Lectures on the Political Economy of Nations.* By the Rev. Richard Jones, Hertford, 1852, Lecture III, p. 39).

[2] The molecular theory of modern chemistry first scientifically worked out by Laurent and Gerhardt rests on no other law. // (Addition to 3rd Edition.) For the explanation of this statement, which is not very clear to non-chemists, we remark that the author speaks here of the homologous series of carbon compounds, first so named by C. Gerhardt in 1843, each series of which has its own general algebraic formula. Thus the series of paraffins: $C^nH^{2n+2}$, that of the normal alcohols: $C^nH^{2n+2}O$; of the normal fatty acids: $C^nH^{2n}O^2$ and many others. In the above examples, by the simple quantitative addition of $CH^2$ to the molecular formula, a qualitatively different body is each time formed. On the share (overestimated by Marx) of Laurent and Gerhardt in the determination of this important fact see Kopp, *Entwicklung der Chemie*, München, 1873, pp. 709, 716, and Schorlemmer, [*The*] *Rise and Development of Organic Chemistry*, London, 1879, p. 55.—*F. E.* //

found in the hands of single individuals. This gives rise partly to state subsidies to private persons, as in France in the time of Colbert, and as in many German states up to our own epoch; partly to the formation of societies with legal monopoly for the exploitation of certain branches of industry and commerce, the forerunners of our modern joint-stock companies.[1]

Within the process of production, as we have seen, capital acquired the command over labour, i. e., over functioning labour power or the labourer himself. Personified capital, the capitalist takes care that the labourer does his work regularly and with the proper degree of intensity.

Capital further developed into a coercive relation, which compels the working class to do more work than the narrow round of its own life wants prescribes. As a producer of the activity of others, as a pumper-out of surplus labour and exploiter of labour power, it surpasses in energy, disregard of bounds, recklessness and efficiency, all earlier systems of production based on directly compulsory labour.

At first, capital subordinates labour on the basis of the technical conditions in which it historically finds it. It does not, therefore, change immediately the mode of production. The production of surplus value — in the form hitherto considered by us — by means of simple extension of the working day, proved, therefore, to be independent of any change in the mode of production itself. It was not less active in the old-fashioned bakeries than in the modern cotton factories.

If we consider the process of production from the point of view of the simple labour process, the labourer stands in relation to the means of production, not in their quality as capital, but as the mere means and material of his own intelligent productive activity. In tanning, e. g., he deals with the skins as his simple object of labour. It is not the capitalist whose skin he tans. But it is different as soon as we deal with the process of production from the point of view of the process of creation of surplus value.[a] The means of production are at once changed into means for the absorption of the labour of others. It is now no longer the labourer that employs the means of production, but the means of production that employ the labourer. Instead of be-

[1] Martin Luther calls these kinds of institutions: "The Company Monopolia." [265]

[a] In the German editions *Verwertungsprozeß* ("valorisation process").

ing consumed by him as material elements of his productive activity, they consume him as the ferment necessary to their own life process, and the life process of capital consists only in its movement as value constantly expanding, constantly multiplying itself. Furnaces and workshops that stand idle by night, and absorb no living labour, are "a mere loss" to the capitalist. Hence, furnaces and workshops constitute lawful claims upon the night labour of the workpeople. The simple transformation of money into the material factors of the process of production, into means of production, transforms the latter into a title and a right to the labour and surplus labour of others. An example will show, in conclusion, how this sophistication, peculiar to and characteristic of capitalist production, this complete inversion of the relation between dead and living labour, between value and the force that creates value, mirrors itself in the consciousness of capitalists. During the revolt of the English factory lords between 1848 and 1850,

"the head of one of the oldest and most respectable houses in the West of Scotland, Messrs. Carlile Sons & Co., of the linen and cotton thread factory at Paisley, a company which has now existed for about a century, which was in operation in 1752, and four generations of the same family have conducted it"...

this "very intelligent gentleman" then wrote a letter[1] in the *Glasgow Daily Mail* of April 25th, 1849, with the title, "The relay system", in which among other things the following grotesquely naïve passage occurs:

"Let us now ... see what evils will attend the limiting to 10 hours the working of the factory.... They amount to the most serious damage to the mill-owner's prospects and property. If he" (i. e., his "hands") "worked 12 hours before, and is limited to 10, then every 12 machines or spindles in his establishment shrink to 10, and should the works be disposed of, they will be valued only as 10, so that a sixth part would thus be deducted from the value of every factory in the country."[2]

To this West of Scotland bourgeois brain, inheriting the accumulated capitalistic qualities of "four generations," the value of the means of production, spindles, &c., is so inseparably mixed up with their

[1] Reports of Insp. of Fact., April 30th, 1849, p. 59.

[2] l. c., p. 60. Factory Inspector Stuart, himself a Scotchman, and in contrast to the English Factory Inspectors, quite taken captive by the capitalistic method of thinking, remarks expressly on this letter which he incorporates in his report that it is "the most useful of the communications which any of the factory-owners working with relays have given to those engaged in the same trade, and which is the most calculated to remove the prejudices of such of them as have scruples respecting any change of the arrangement of the hours of work" [l. c., p. 59].

property, as capital, to expand their own value, and to swallow up daily a definite quantity of the unpaid labour of others, that the head of the firm of Carlile & Co. actually imagines that if he sells his factory, not only will the value of the spindles be paid to him, but, in addition, their power of annexing surplus value, not only the labour which is embodied in them, and is necessary to the production of spindles of this kind, but also the surplus labour which they help to pump out daily from the brave Scots of Paisley, and for that very reason he thinks that with the shortening of the working day by 2 hours, the selling price of 12 spinning machines dwindles to that of 10!

# Part IV

## PRODUCTION OF RELATIVE SURPLUS VALUE

### Chapter XII

### THE CONCEPT OF RELATIVE SURPLUS VALUE

That portion of the working day which merely produces an equivalent for the value paid by the capitalist for his labour power, has, up to this point, been treated by us as a constant magnitude, and such in fact it is, under given conditions of production and at a given stage in the economic development of society. Beyond this, his necessary labour time, the labourer, we saw, could continue to work for 2, 3, 4, 6, &c., hours. The rate of surplus value and the length of the working day depended on the magnitude of this prolongation. Though the necessary labour time was constant, we saw, on the other hand, that the total working day was variable. Now suppose we have a working day whose length, and whose apportionment between necessary labour and surplus labour, are given. Let the whole line a c, a—b—c represent, for example, a working day of 12 hours; the portion of a b 10 hours of necessary labour, and the portion b c 2 hours of surplus labour. How now can the production of surplus value be increased, i. e., how can the surplus labour be prolonged, without, or independently of, any prolongation of a c?

Although the length of a c is given, b c appears to be capable of prolongation, if not by extension beyond its end c, which is also the end of the working day a c, yet, at all events, by pushing back its starting-point b in the direction of a. Assume that b′—b in the line a b′ b c is equal to half of b c

a——b′—b——c

or to one hour's labour time. If now, in a c, the working day of 12

hours, we move the point b to b′, b c becomes b′ c; the surplus labour increases by one half, from 2 hours to 3 hours, although the working day remains as before at 12 hours. This extension of the surplus labour time from b c to b′ c, from 2 hours to 3 hours, is, however, evidently impossible, without a simultaneous contraction of the necessary labour time from a b into a b′, from 10 hours to 9 hours. The prolongation of the surplus labour would correspond to a shortening of the necessary labour; or a portion of the labour time previously consumed, in reality, for the labourer's own benefit, would be converted into labour time for the benefit of the capitalist. There would be an alteration, not in the length of the working day, but in its division into necessary labour time and surplus labour time.

On the other hand, it is evident that the duration of the surplus labour is given, when the length of the working day, and the value of labour power, are given. The value of labour power, i. e., the labour time requisite to produce labour power, determines the labour time necessary for the reproduction of that value. If one working hour be embodied in sixpence, and the value of a day's labour power be five shillings, the labourer must work 10 hours a day, in order to replace the value paid by capital for his labour power, or to produce an equivalent for the value of his daily necessary means of subsistence. Given the value of these means of subsistence, the value of his labour power is given[1]; and given the value of his labour power , the duration of his necessary labour time is given. The duration of the surplus labour, however, is arrived at, by subtracting the necessary labour time from the total working day. Ten hours subtracted from twelve, leave two, and it is not easy to see, how, under the given conditions, the surplus labour can possibly be prolonged beyond two hours. No doubt, the capitalist can, instead of five shillings, pay the labourer four shillings

[1] The value of his average daily wages is determined by what the labourer requires "so as to live, labour, and generate" (Wm. Petty, *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, 1691, p. 64). "The price of Labour is always constituted of the price of necessaries ... whenever ... the labouring man's wages will not, suitably to his low rank and station, as a labouring man, support such a family as is often the lot of many of them to have", he does not receive proper wages (J. Vanderlint, l. c., p. 15). "The mere workman, who has only his arms and his industry, has nothing unless he succeeds in selling his labour to others.... In every kind of work it cannot fail to happen, and as a matter of fact it does happen, that the wages of the workman are limited to what is necessary to procure him his subsistence" (Turgot, "Réflexions, &c.", *Oeuvres*, ed. Daire, t. I, p. 10). "The price of the necessaries of life is, in fact, the cost of producing labour" (Malthus, *Inquiry into, &c., Rent,* London, 1815, p. 48, note).

and sixpence or even less. For the reproduction of this value of four shillings and sixpence, nine hours' labour time would suffice; and consequently three hours of surplus labour, instead of two, would accrue to the capitalist, and the surplus value would rise from one shilling to eighteenpence. This result, however, would be obtained only by lowering the wages of the labourer below the value of his labour power. With the four shillings and sixpence which he produces in nine hours, he commands one-tenth less of the necessaries of life than before, and consequently the proper reproduction of his labour power is crippled. The surplus labour would in this case be prolonged only by an overstepping of its normal limits; its domain would be extended only by a usurpation of part of the domain of necessary labour time. Despite the important part which this method plays in actual practice, we are excluded from considering it in this place, by our assumption, that all commodities, including labour power, are bought and sold at their full value. Granted this, it follows that the labour time necessary for the production of labour power, or for the reproduction of its value, cannot be lessened by a fall in the labourer's wages below the value of his labour power, but only by a fall in this value itself. Given the length of the working day, the prolongation of the surplus labour must of necessity originate in the curtailment of the necessary labour time; the latter cannot arise from the former. In the example we have taken, it is necessary that the value of labour power should actually fall by one-tenth, in order that the necessary labour time may be diminished by one-tenth, i. e., from ten hours to nine, and in order that the surplus labour may consequently be prolonged from two hours to three.

Such a fall in the value of labour power implies, however, that the same necessaries of life which were formerly produced in ten hours, can now be produced in nine hours. But this is impossible without an increase in the productiveness of labour. For example, suppose a shoe-maker, with given tools, makes in one working day of twelve hours, one pair of boots. If he must make two pairs in the same time, the productiveness of his labour must be doubled; and this cannot be done, except by an alteration in his tools or in his mode of working, or in both. Hence, the conditions of production, i. e., his mode of production, and the labour process itself, must be revolutionised. By increase in the productiveness of labour, we mean, generally, an alteration in the labour process, of such a kind as to shorten the labour time socially necessary for the production of a commodity, and to endow

a given quantity of labour with the power of producing a greater quantity of use value.[1] Hitherto in treating of surplus value, arising from a simple prolongation of the working day, we have assumed the mode of production to be given and invariable. But when surplus value has to be produced by the conversion of necessary labour into surplus labour, it by no means suffices for capital to take over the labour process in the form under which it has been historically handed down, and then simply to prolong the duration of that process. The technical and social conditions of the process, and consequently the very mode of production must be revolutionised, before the productiveness of labour can be increased. By that means alone can the value of labour power be made to sink, and the portion of the working day necessary for the reproduction of that value, be shortened.

The surplus value produced by prolongation of the working day, I call *absolute surplus value.* On the other hand, the surplus value arising from the curtailment of the necessary labour time, and from the corresponding alteration in the respective lengths of the two components of the working day, I call *relative surplus value.*

In order to effect a fall in the value of labour power, the increase in the productiveness of labour must seize upon those branches of industry, whose products determine the value of labour power, and consequently either belong to the class of customary means of subsistence, or are capable of supplying the place of those means. But the value of a commodity is determined, not only by the quantity of labour which the labourer directly bestows upon that commodity, but also by the labour contained in the means of production. For instance, the value of a pair of boots depends, not only on the cobbler's labour, but also on the value of the leather, wax, thread, &c. Hence, a fall in the value of labour power is also brought about by an increase in the productiveness of labour, and by a corresponding cheapening of commodities in those industries which supply the instruments of labour and the raw material, that form the material elements of the constant capital required for producing the necessaries of life. But an increase in the productiveness of labour in those branches of industry which supply neither the necessaries of life, nor the means of production for such necessaries, leaves the value of labour power undisturbed.

[1] "Perfection of the crafts means nothing other than the discovery of new ways of making a product with fewer people, or (which is the same thing) in less time than previously" (Galiani, l. c., p. 159). "Economies in the cost of production can only be economies in the quantity of labour employed in production" (Sismondi, *Études*, t. I, p. 22).

The cheapened commodity, of course, causes only a pro tanto fall in the value of labour power, a fall proportional to the extent of that commodity's employment in the reproduction of labour power. Shirts, for instance, are a necessary means of subsistence, but are only one out of many. The totality of the necessaries of life consists, however, of various commodities, each the product of a distinct industry; and the value of each of those commodities enters as a component part into the value of labour power. This latter value decreases with the decrease of the labour time necessary for its reproduction; the total decrease being the sum of all the different curtailments of labour time effected in those various and distinct industries. This general result is treated, here, as if it were the immediate result directly aimed at in each individual case. Whenever an individual capitalist cheapens shirts, for instance, by increasing the productiveness of labour, he by no means necessarily aims at reducing the value of labour power and shortening, pro tanto, the necessary labour time. But it is only in so far as he ultimately contributes to this result, that he assists in raising the general rate of surplus value.[1] The general and necessary tendencies of capital must be distinguished from their forms of manifestation.

It is not our intention to consider, here, the way in which the laws, immanent in capitalist production, manifest themselves in the movements of individual masses of capital, where they assert themselves as coercive laws of competition, and are brought home to the mind and consciousness of the individual capitalist as the directing motives of his operations. But this much is clear; a scientific analysis of competition is not possible, before we have a conception of the inner nature of capital, just as the apparent motions of the heavenly bodies are not intelligible to any but him, who is acquainted with their real motions, motions which are not directly perceptible by the senses. Nevertheless, for the better comprehension of the production of relative surplus value, we may add the following remarks, in which we assume nothing more than the results we have already obtained.

If one hour's labour is embodied in sixpence, a value of six shillings will be produced in a working day of 12 hours. Suppose, that with the prevailing productiveness of labour, 12 articles are produced in these

[1] "Let us suppose ... the products ... of the manufacturer are doubled by improvement in machinery ... he will be able to clothe his workmen by means of a smaller proportion of the entire return ... and thus his profit will be raised. But in no other way will it be influenced" (Ramsay, l. c., pp. 168, 169).

12 hours. Let the value of the means of production used up in each article be sixpence. Under these circumstances, each article costs one shilling: sixpence for the value of the means of production, and sixpence for the value newly added in working with those means. Now let some one capitalist contrive to double the productiveness of labour, and to produce in the working day of 12 hours, 24 instead of 12 such articles. The value of the means of production remaining the same, the value of each article will fall to ninepence, made up of sixpence for the value of the means of production and threepence for the value newly added by the labour. Despite the doubled productiveness of labour, the day's labour creates, as before, a new value of six shillings and no more, which, however, is now spread over twice as many articles. Of this value each article now has embodied in it $\frac{1}{24}$th, instead of $\frac{1}{12}$th, threepence instead of sixpence; or, what amounts to the same thing, only half an hour's instead of a whole hour's labour time, is now added to the means of production while they are being transformed into each article. The individual value of these articles is now below their social value; in other words, they have cost less labour time than the great bulk of the same article produced under the average social conditions. Each article costs, on an average, one shilling, and represents 2 hours of social labour; but under the altered mode of production it costs only ninepence, or contains only $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours' labour. The real value of a commodity is, however, not its individual value, but its social value; that is to say, the real value is not measured by the labour time that the article in each individual case costs the producer, but by the labour time socially required for its production. If therefore, the capitalist who applies the new method, sells his commodity at its social value of one shilling, he sells it for threepence above its individual value, and thus realises an extra surplus value of threepence. On the other hand, the working day of 12 hours is, as regards him, now represented by 24 articles instead of 12. Hence, in order to get rid of the product of one working day, the demand must be double what it was, i. e., the market must become twice as extensive. Other things being equal, his commodities can command a more extended market only by a diminution of their prices. He will therefore sell them above their individual but under their social value, say at tenpence each. By this means he still squeezes an extra surplus value of one penny out of each. This augmentation of surplus value is pocketed by him, whether his commodities belong or not to the class of necessary means of subsistence that participate in determining the

general value of labour power. Hence, independently of this latter circumstance, there is a motive for each individual capitalist to cheapen his commodities, by increasing the productiveness of labour.

Nevertheless, even in this case, the increased production of surplus value arises from the curtailment of the necessary labour time, and from the corresponding prolongation of the surplus labour.[1] Let the necessary labour time amount to 10 hours, the value of a day's labour power to five shillings, the surplus labour time to 2 hours, and the daily surplus value to one shilling. But the capitalist now produces 24 articles, which he sells at tenpence a-piece, making twenty shillings in all. Since the value of the means of production is twelve shillings, $14\frac{2}{5}$ of these articles merely replace the constant capital advanced. The labour of the 12 hours' working day is represented by the remaining $9\frac{3}{5}$ articles. Since the price of the labour power is five shillings, 6 articles represent the necessary labour time, and $3\frac{3}{5}$ articles the surplus labour. The ratio of the necessary labour to the surplus labour, which under average social conditions was 5:1, is now only 5:3. The same result may be arrived at in the following way. The value of the product of the working day of 12 hours is twenty shillings. Of this sum, twelve shillings belong to the value of the means of production, a value that merely re-appears. There remain eight shillings, which are the expression in money, of the value newly created during the working day. This sum is greater than the sum in which average social labour of the same kind is expressed: twelve hours of the latter labour are expressed by six shillings only. The exceptionally productive labour operates as intensified labour; it creates in equal periods of time greater values than average social labour of the same kind. (See Ch. I. Sect. 2. pp. 11-12.) But our capitalist still continues to pay as before only five shillings as the value of a day's labour power. Hence, instead of 10 hours, the labourer need now work only $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours, in order to reproduce this value. His surplus labour is, therefore, increased by $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours, and the surplus value he produces grows from one, into three shillings. Hence, the capitalist who applies the improved method of production, appropriates to surplus labour a great-

[1] "A man's profit does not depend upon his command of the produce of other men's labour, but upon his command of labour itself. If he can sell his goods at a higher price, while his workmen's wages remain unaltered, he is clearly benefited... A smaller proportion of what he produces is sufficient to put that labour into motion, and a larger proportion consequently remains for himself" ([J. Cazenove,] *Outlines of Pol. Econ.*, London, 1832, pp. 49, 50).

er portion of the working day, than the other capitalists in the same trade. He does individually, what the whole body of capitalists engaged in producing relative surplus value, do collectively. On the other hand, however, this extra surplus value vanishes, so soon as the new method of production has become general, and has consequently caused the difference between the individual value of the cheapened commodity and its social value to vanish. The law of the determination of value by labour time, a law which brings under its sway the individual capitalist who applies the new method of production, by compelling him to sell his goods under their social value, this same law, acting as a coercive law of competition, forces his competitors to adopt the new method.[1] The general rate of surplus value is, therefore, ultimately affected by the whole process, only when the increase in the productiveness of labour, has seized upon those branches of production that are connecfed with, and has cheapened those commodities that form part of, the necessary means of subsistence, and are therefore elements of the value of labour power.

The value of commodities is in inverse ratio to the productiveness of labour. And so, too, is the value of labour power, because it depends on the values of commodities. Relative surplus value is, on the contrary, directly proportional to that productiveness. It rises with rising and falls with falling productiveness. The value of money being assumed to be constant, an average social working day of 12 hours always produces the same new value, six shillings, no matter how this sum may be apportioned between surplus value and wages. But if, in consequence of increased productiveness, the value of the necessaries of life fall, and the value of a day's labour power be thereby reduced from five shillings to three, the surplus value increases from one shilling to three. Ten hours were necessary for the reproduction of the value of the labour power; now only six are required. Four hours have been set free, and can be annexed to the domain of surplus labour. Hence there is immanent in capital an inclination and constant tendency, to heighten the productiveness of labour, in order to cheap-

[1] "If my neighbour by doing much with little labour, can sell cheap, I must contrive to sell as cheap as he. So that every art, trade, or engine, doing work with labour of fewer hands, and consequently cheaper, begets in others a kind of necessity and emulation, either of using the same art, trade, or engine, or inventing something like it, that every man may be upon the square, that no man may be able to undersell his neighbour" ([H. Martyn,] *The Advantages of the East India Trade to England*, London, 1720, p. 67).

en commodities, and by such cheapening to cheapen the labourer himself.[1]

The value of a commodity is, in itself, of no interest to the capitalist. What alone interests him, is the surplus value that dwells in it, and is realisable by sale. Realisation of the surplus value necessarily carries with it the refunding of the value that was advanced. Now, since relative surplus value increases in direct proportion to the development of the productiveness of labour, while, on the other hand, the value of commodities diminishes in the same proportion; since one and the same process cheapens commodities, and augments the surplus value contained in them; we have here the solution of the riddle: why does the capitalist, whose sole concern is the production of exchange value, continually strive to depress the exchange value of commodities? A riddle with which Quesnay, one of the founders of Political Economy, tormented his opponents, and to which they could give him no answer.

"You acknowledge", he says, "that the more expenses and the cost of labour can, in the manufacture of industrial products, be reduced without injury to production, the more advantageous is such reduction, because it diminishes the price of the finished article. And yet, you believe that the production of wealth, which arises from the labour of the workpeople, consists in the augmentation of the exchange value of their products."[2]

The shortening of the working day is, therefore, by no means what is aimed at, in capitalist production, when labour is economised by

[1] "In whatever proportion the expenses of a labourer are diminished, in the same proportion will his wages be diminished, if the restraints upon industry are at the same time taken off" (*Considerations Concerning Taking off the Bounty on Corn Exported, &c.*, London, 1753, p. 7). "The interest of trade requires, that corn and all provisions should be as cheap as possible; for whatever makes them dear, must make labour dear also ... in all countries, where industry is not restrained, the price of provisions must affect the price of labour. This will always be diminished when the necessaries of life grow cheaper" (l. c., p. 3). "Wages are decreased in the same proportion as the powers of production increase. Machinery, it is true, cheapens the necessaries of life, but it also cheapens the labourer" (*An Essay, in Answer to the Question, Whether Does the Principle of Competition... Form the Most Secure Basis for the Formation of Society?*, London, 1834, p. 27).

[2] "Ils conviennet que plus on peut, sans préjudice, épargner de frais ou de travaux dispendieux dans la fabrication des ouvrages des artisans, plus cette épargne est profitable par la diminution des prix de ces ouvrages. Cependant ils croient que la production de richesse qui résulte des travaux des artisans consiste dans l'augmentation de la valeur vénale de leurs ouvrages" (Quesnay, *Dialogues sur le Commerce et les Travaux des Artisans*, pp. 188, 189).

increasing its productiveness.[1] It is only the shortening of the labour time, necessary for the production of a definite quantity of commodities, that is aimed at. The fact that the workman, when the productiveness of his labour has been increased, produces, say 10 times as many commodities as before, and thus spends one-tenth as much labour time on each, by no means prevents him from continuing to work 12 hours as before, nor from producing in those 12 hours 1,200 articles instead of 120. Nay, more, his working day may be prolonged at the same time, so as to make him produce, say 1,400 articles in 14 hours. In the treatises, therefore, of economists of the stamp of MacCulloch, Ure, Senior, and *tutti quanti*,[a] we may read upon one page, that the labourer owes a debt of gratitude to capital for developing his productiveness, because the necessary labour time is thereby shortened, and on the next page, that he must prove his gratitude by working in future for 15 hours instead of 10. The object of all development of the productiveness of labour, within the limits of capitalist production, is to shorten that part of the working day, during which the workman must labour for his own benefit, and by that very shortening, to lengthen the other part of the day, during which he is at liberty to work gratis for the capitalist. How far this result is also attainable, without cheapening commodities, will appear from an examination of the particular modes of producing relative surplus value, to which examination we now proceed.

## Chapter XIII

### CO-OPERATION

Capitalist production only then really begins, as we have already seen, when each individual capital employs simultaneously a compar-

[1] "These speculators, who are so economical of the labour of workers they would have to pay" (J. N. Bidaut, *Du Monopole qui s'établit dans les arts industriels et le commerce*, Paris, 1828, p. 13). "The employer will be always on the stretch to economise time and labour" (Dugald Stewart, *Works*, ed. by Sir W. Hamilton, Edinburgh, 1855, v. viii. *Lectures on Polit. Econ.*, p. 318). "Their" (the capitalists') "interest is that the productive powers of the labourers they employ should be the greatest possible. On promoting that power their attention is fixed and almost exclusively fixed" (R. Jones, l. c., Lecture III, [p. 39]).

[a] the like

atively large number of labourers; when consequently the labour process is carried on on an extensive scale and yields, relatively, large quantities of products. A greater number of labourers working together, at the same time, in one place (or, if you will, in the same field of labour), in order to produce the same sort of commodity under the mastership of one capitalist, constitutes, both historically and logically, the starting point of capitalist production. With regard to the mode of production itself, manufacture, in its strict meaning, is hardly to be distinguished, in its earliest stages, from the handicraft trades of the guilds, otherwise than by the greater number of workmen simultaneously employed by one and the same individual capital. The workshop of the mediaeval master handicraftsman is simply enlarged.

At first, therefore, the difference is purely quantitative. We have shown that the surplus value produced by a given capital is equal to the surplus value produced by each workman multiplied by the number of workmen simultaneously employed. The number of workmen in itself does not affect, either the rate of surplus value, or the degree of exploitation of labour power.[a] If a working day of 12 hours be embodied in six shillings, 1,200 such days will be embodied in 1,200 times 6 shillings. In one case 12 × 1,200 working hours, and in the other 12 such hours are incorporated in the product. In the production of value a number of workmen rank merely as so many individual workmen; and it therefore makes no difference in the value produced whether the 1,200 men work separately, or united under the control of one capitalist.

Nevertheless, within certain limits, a modification takes place. The labour realised in value, is labour of an average social quality; is consequently the expenditure of average labour power. Any average magnitude, however, is merely the average of a number of separate magnitudes all of one kind, but differing as to quantity. In every industry, each individual labourer, be he Peter or Paul, differs from the average labourer. These individual differences, or "errors" as they are called in mathematics, compensate one another, and vanish, whenever a certain minimum number of workmen are employed together. The celebrated sophist and sycophant, Edmund Burke, goes

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[a] The German editions further have "and, with regard to the production of commodity values in general, every qualitative alteration in the labour process appears to be irrelevant. It follows from the nature of value".

so far as to make the following assertion, based on his practical observations as a farmer; viz., that "in so small a platoon" as that of five farm labourers, all individual differences in the labour vanish, and that consequently any given five adult farm labourers taken together, will in the same time do as much work as any other five.[1] But, however that may be, it is clear, that the collective working day of a large number of workmen simultaneously employed, divided by the number of these workmen, gives one day of average social labour. For example, let the working day of each individual be 12 hours. Then the collective working day of 12 men simultaneously employed, consists of 144 hours; and although the labour of each of the dozen men may deviate more or less from average social labour, each of them requiring a different time for the same operation, yet since the working day of each is one twelfth of the collective working day of 144 hours, it possesses the qualities of an average social working day. From the point of view, however, of the capitalist who employs these 12 men, the working day is that of the whole dozen. Each individual man's day is an aliquot part of the collective working day, no matter whether the 12 men assist one another in their work, or whether the connexion between their operations consists merely in the fact, that the men are all working for the same capitalist. But if the 12 men are employed in six pairs, by as many different small masters, it will be quite a matter of chance, whether each of these masters produces the same value and consequently whether he realises the general rate of surplus value. Deviations would occur in individual cases. If one workman required considerably more time for the production of a commodity than is socially necessary, the duration of the necessary labour time would, in his case, sensibly deviate from the labour time socially necessary on an average; and consequently his labour would not count as average labour, nor his labour power as average labour power. It would either be not saleable at all, or only at something below the average

[1]) "Unquestionably, there is a good deal of difference between the value of one man's labour and that of another from strength, dexterity, and honest application. But I am quite sure, from my best observation, that any given five men will, in their total, afford a proportion of labour equal to any other five within the periods of life I have stated; that is, that among such five men there will be one possessing all the qualifications of a good workman, one bad, and the other three middling, and approximating to the first, and the last. So that in so small a platoon as that of even five, you will find the full complement of all that five men can earn" (E. Burke, l. c., pp. 15, 16). Compare Quételet on the average individual.[266]

value of labour power. A fixed minimum of efficiency in all labour is therefore assumed, and we shall see, later on, that capitalist production provides the means of fixing this minimum. Nevertheless, this minimum deviates from the average, although on the other hand the capitalist has to pay the average value of labour power. Of the six small masters, one would therefore squeeze out more than the average rate of surplus value, another less. The inequalities would be compensated for the society at large, but not for the individual masters. Thus the laws of the production of value are only fully realised for the individual producer, when he produces as a capitalist, and employs a number of workmen together, whose labour, by its collective nature, is at once stamped as average social labour.[1]

Even without an alteration in the system of working, the simultaneous employment of a large number of labourers effects a revolution in the material conditions of the labour process. The buildings in which they work, the store-houses for the raw material, the implements and utensils used simultaneously or in turns by the workmen; in short, a portion of the means of production, are now consumed in common. On the one hand, the exchange value of these means of production is not increased; for the exchange value of a commodity is not raised by its use value being consumed more thoroughly and to greater advantage. On the other hand, they are used in common, and therefore on a larger scale than before. A room where twenty weavers work at twenty looms must be larger than the room of a single weaver with two assistants. But it costs less labour to build one workshop for twenty persons than to build ten to accommodate two weavers each; thus the value of the means of production that are concentrated for use in common on a large scale does not increase in direct proportion to the expansion and to the increased useful effect of those means. When consumed in common, they give up a smaller part of their value to each single product; partly because the total value they part with is spread over a greater quantity of products, and partly because their value, though absolutely greater, is, having regard to their sphere of action in the process, relatively less than the value of isolat-

[1] Professor Roscher claims to have discovered that one needlewoman employed by Mrs. Roscher during two days, does more work than two needlewomen employed together during one day.[267] The learned professor should not study the capitalist process of production in the nursery, nor under circumstances where the principal personage, the capitalist, is wanting.

ed means of production. Owing to this, the value of a part of the constant capital falls, and in proportion to the magnitude of the fall, the total value of the commodity also falls. The effect is the same as if the means of production had cost less. The economy in their application is entirely owing to their being consumed in common by a large number of workmen. Moreover, this character of being necessary conditions of social labour, a character that distinguishes them from the dispersed and relatively more costly means of production of isolated, independent labourers, or small masters, is acquired even when the numerous workmen assembled together do not assist one another, but merely work side by side. A portion of the instruments of labour acquires this social character before the labour process itself does so.

Economy in the use of the means of production has to be considered under two aspects. First, as cheapening commodities, and thereby bringing about a fall in the value of labour power. Secondly, as altering the ratio of the surplus value to the total capital advanced, i. e., to the sum of the values of the constant and variable capital. The latter aspect will not be considered until we come to the third book,[268] to which, with the object of treating them in their proper connexion, we also relegate many other points that relate to the present question. The march of our analysis compels this splitting up of the subject-matter, a splitting up that is quite in keeping with the spirit of capitalist production. For since, in this mode of production, the workman finds the instruments of labour existing independently of him as another man's property, economy in their use appears, with regard to him, to be a distinct operation, one that does not concern him, and which, therefore, has no connexion with the methods by which his own personal productiveness is increased.

When numerous labourers work together side by side,[a] whether in one and the same process, or in different but connected processes, they are said to co-operate, or to work in co-operation.[1)]

Just as the offensive power of a squadron of cavalry, or the defensive power of a regiment of infantry, is essentially different from the sum of the offensive or defensive powers of the individual cavalry or infantry soldiers taken separately, so the sum total of the mechanical forces exerted by isolated workmen differs from the social force that is

[1)] "Concours des forces" (Destutt de Tracy, l. c., p. 80).

[a] The German editions have "side by side in accordance with a plan".

developed, when many hands take part simultaneously in one and the same undivided operation, such as raising a heavy weight, turning a winch, or removing an obstacle.[1] In such cases the effect of the combined labour could either not be produced at all by isolated individual labour, or it could only be produced by a great expenditure of time, or on a very dwarfed scale. Not only have we here an increase in the productive power of the individual, by means of co-operation, but the creation of a new power, namely, the collective power of masses.[2]

Apart from the new power that arises from the fusion of many forces into one single force, mere social contact begets in most industries an emulation and a stimulation of the animal spirits that heighten the efficiency of each individual workman. Hence it is that a dozen persons working together will, in their collective working day of 144 hours, produce far more than twelve isolated men each working 12 hours, or than one man who works twelve days in succession.[3] The reason of this is that man[a] is, if not as Aristotle contends, a political,[4] at all events a social animal.

Although a number of men may be occupied together at the same time on the same, or the same kind of work, yet the labour of each, as

[1] "There are numerous operations of so simple a kind as not to admit a division into parts, which cannot be performed without the co-operation of many pairs of hands. I would instance the lifting of a large tree on to a wain ... everything, in short, which cannot be done unless a great many pairs of hands help each other in the same undivided employment and at the same time" (E. G. Wakefield, *A View of the Art of Colonisation*, London, 1849, p. 168).

[2] "As one man cannot, and ten men must strain to lift a ton of weight, yet 100 men can do it only by the strength of a finger of each of them" (John Bellers, *Proposals for Raising a Colledge of Industry*, London, 1696, p. 21).

[3] "There is also" (when the same number of men are employed by one farmer on 300 acres, instead of by ten farmers with 30 acres a piece) "an advantage in the proportion of servants, which will not so easily be understood but by practical men; for it is natural to say, as 1 is to 4, so are 3 to 12; but this will not hold good in practice; for in harvest time and many other operations which require that kind of despatch by the throwing many hands together, the work is better and more expeditiously done: f. i. in harvest, 2 drivers, 2 loaders, 2 pitchers, 2 rakers, and the rest at the rick, or in the barn, will despatch double the work that the same number of hands would do if divided into different gangs on different farms" ([J. Arbuthnot,] *An Inquiry into the Connection between the Present Price of Provisions, and the Size of Farms*. By a Farmer, London, 1773, pp. 7, 8).

[4] Strictly, Aristotle's definition is that man is by nature a town-citizen.[269] This is quite as characteristic of ancient classical society as Franklin's definition of man, as a tool-making animal,[151] is characteristic of Yankeedom.

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[a] The German editions have here "der Mensch von Natur".

a part of the collective labour, may correspond to a distinct phase of the labour process, through all whose phases, in consequence of co-operation, the subject of their labour passes with greater speed. For instance, if a dozen masons place themselves in a row, so as to pass stones from the foot of a ladder to its summit, each of them does the same thing; nevertheless, their separate acts form connected parts of one total operation; they are particular phases, which must be gone through by each stone; and the stones are thus carried up quicker by the 24 hands of the row of men than they could be if each man went separately up and down the ladder with his burden.[1] The object is carried over the same distance in a shorter time. Again, a combination of labour occurs whenever a building, for instance, is taken in hand on different sides simultaneously; although here also the co-operating masons are doing the same, or the same kind of work. The 12 masons, in their collective working day of 144 hours, make much more progress with the building than one mason could make working for 12 days, or 144 hours. The reason is, that a body of men working in concert has hands and eyes both before and behind, and is, to a certain degree, omnipresent. The various parts of the work progress simultaneously.

In the above instances we have laid stress upon the point that the men do the same, or the same kind of work, because this, the most simple form of labour in common, plays a great part in co-operation, even in its most fully developed stage. If the work be complicated, then the mere number of the men who co-operate allows of the various operations being apportioned to different hands, and, consequently, of being carried on simultaneously. The time necessary for the completion of the whole work is thereby shortened.[2]

[1] "It should be noted further that this partial division of labour can occur even when the workers are engaged in the same task. Masons, for example, engaged in passing bricks from hand to hand to a higher stage of the building, are all performing the same task, and yet there does exist amongst them a sort of division of labour. This consists in the fact that each of them passes the brick through a given space, and, taken together, they make it arrive much more quickly at the required spot than they would do if each of them carried his brick separately to the upper storey" (F. Skarbek, *Théorie des richesses sociales*, Paris, 1839, t. I, pp. 97, 98).

[2] "Is it a question of undertaking a complex piece of labour? Many things must be done simultaneously. One person does one thing, while another does something else, and they all contribute to an effect that a single man would be unable to produce. One rows while the other holds the rudder, and a third casts the net or harpoons the fish; in this way fishing enjoys a success that would be impossible without this co-operation" (Destutt de Tracy, l.c. [p. 78]).

In many industries, there are critical periods, determined by the nature of the process, during which certain definite results must be obtained. For instance, if a flock of sheep has to be shorn, or a field of wheat to be cut and harvested, the quantity and quality of the product depends on the work being begun and ended within a certain time. In these cases, the time that ought to be taken by the process is prescribed, just as it is in herring fishing. A single person cannot carve a working day of more than, say 12 hours, out of the natural day, but 100 men co-operating extend the working day to 1,200 hours. The shortness of the time allowed for the work is compensated for by the large mass of labour thrown upon the field of production at the decisive moment. The completion of the task within the proper time depends on the simultaneous application of numerous combined working days; the amount of useful effect depends on the number of labourers; this number, however, is always smaller than the number of isolated labourers required to do the same amount of work in the same period.[1] It is owing to the absence of this kind of co-operation that, in the western part of the United States, quantities of corn, and in those parts of East India where English rule has destroyed the old communities, quantities of cotton, are yearly wasted.[2]

On the one hand, co-operation allows of the work being carried on over an extended space; it is consequently imperatively called for in certain undertakings, such as draining, constructing dykes, irrigation works, and the making of canals, roads and railways. On the other hand, while extending the scale of production, it renders possible a relative contraction of the arena. This contraction of arena simultaneous with, and arising from, extension of scale, whereby a number of useless expenses are cut down, is owing to the conglomeration of la-

[1] "The doing of it" (agricultural work) "at the critical juncture is of so much the greater consequence" ([J. Arbuthnot,] *An Inquiry into the Connection between the Present Price, &c.*, p. 7). "In agriculture, there is no more important factor than that of time" (Liebig, *Ueber Theorie und Praxis in der Landwirtschaft*, 1856, p. 23).

[2] "The next evil is one which one would scarcely expect to find in a country which exports more labour than any other in the world, with the exception, perhaps, of China and England — the impossibility of procuring a sufficient number of hands to clean the cotton. The consequence of this is that large quantities of the crop are left unpicked, while another portion is gathered from the ground where it has fallen, and is of course discoloured and partially rotted, so that for want of labour at the proper season the cultivator is actually forced to submit to the loss of a large part of that crop for which England is so anxiously looking" (*Bengal Hurkaru*. Bi-Monthly Overland Summary of News, 22nd July, 1861).

bourers, to the aggregation of various processes, and to the concentration of the means of production.[1]

The combined working day produces, relatively to an equal sum of isolated working days, a greater quantity of use values, and, consequently, diminishes the labour time necessary for the production of a given useful effect. Whether the combined working day, in a given case, acquires this increased productive power, because it heightens the mechanical force of labour, or extends its sphere of action over a greater space, or contracts the field of production relatively to the scale of production, or at the critical moment sets large masses of labour to work, or excites emulation between individuals and raises their animal spirits, or impresses on the similar operations carried on by a number of men the stamp of continuity and many-sidedness, or performs simultaneously different operations, or economises the means of production by use in common, or lends to individual labour the character of average social labour — whichever of these be the cause of the increase, the special productive power of the combined working day is, under all circumstances, the social productive power of labour, or the productive power of social labour. This power is due to co-operation itself. When the labourer co-operates systematically[a] with others, he strips off the fetters of his individuality, and develops the capabilities of his species.[2]

As a general rule, labourers cannot co-operate without being brought together: their assemblage in one place is a necessary condition of their co-operation. Hence wage labourers cannot co-operate, unless they are employed simultaneously by the same capital, the same capitalist, and unless therefore their labour powers are bought simultaneously by him. The total value of these labour powers, or the

[1] In the progress of culture "all, and perhaps more than all, the capital and labour which once loosely occupied 500 acres, are now concentrated for the more complete tillage of 100". Although "relatively to the amount of capital and labour employed, space is concentrated, it is an enlarged sphere of production, as compared to the sphere of production formerly occupied or worked upon by one single independent agent of production" [270] (R. Jones, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth*, part I. On Rent. London, 1831, p. 191).

[2] "The strength of each man is very small, but the union of a number of very small forces produces a collective force which is greater than the sum of these partial forces, so that merely by being joined together these forces can reduce the time required, and extend their field of action" (G. R. Carli, Note to P. Verri, l. c., t. XV, p. 196).

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[a] The German editions have "in a planned way".

amount of the wages of these labourers for a day, or a week, as the case may be, must be ready in the pocket of the capitalist, before the workmen are assembled for the process of production. The payment of 300 workmen at once, though only for one day, requires a greater outlay of capital, than does the payment of a smaller number of men, week by week, during a whole year. Hence the number of the labourers that co-operate, or the scale of co-operation, depends, in the first instance, on the amount of capital that the individual capitalist can spare for the purchase of labour power; in other words, on the extent to which a single capitalist has command over the means of subsistence of a number of labourers.

And as with the variable, so it is with the constant capital. For example, the outlay on raw material is 30 times as great, for the capitalist who employs 300 men, as it is for each of the 30 capitalists who employ 10 men. The value and quantity of the instruments of labour used in common do not, it is true, increase at the same rate as the number of workmen, but they do increase very considerably. Hence, concentration of large masses of the means of production in the hands of individual capitalists, is a material condition for the co-operation of wage labourers, and the extent of the co-operation or the scale of production, depends on the extent of this concentration.

We saw in a former chapter, that a certain minimum amount of capital was necessary, in order that the number of labourers simultaneously employed, and, consequently, the amount of surplus value produced, might suffice to liberate the employer himself from manual labour, to convert him from a small master into a capitalist, and thus formally to establish capitalist production. We now see that a certain minimum amount is a necessary condition for the conversion of numerous isolated and independent processes into one combined social process.

We also saw that at first, the subjection of labour to capital was only a formal result of the fact, that the labourer, instead of working for himself, works for and consequently under the capitalist. By the co-operation of numerous wage labourers, the sway of capital develops into a requisite for carrying on the labour process itself, into a real requisite of production. That a capitalist should command on the field of production, is now as indispensable as that a general should command on the field of battle.

All combined labour on a large scale requires, more or less, a directing authority, in order to secure the harmonious working of the

individual activities, and to perform the general functions that have their origin in the action of the combined organism, as distinguished from the action of its separate organs. A single violin player is his own conductor; an orchestra requires a separate one. The work of directing, superintending, and adjusting, becomes one of the functions of capital, from the moment that the labour under the control of capital, becomes co-operative. Once a function of capital, it acquires special characteristics.

The directing motive, the end and aim of capitalist production, is to extract the greatest possible amount of surplus value,[1] and consequently to exploit labour power to the greatest possible extent. As the number of the co-operating labourers increases, so too does their resistance to the domination of capital, and with it, the necessity for capital to overcome this resistance by counterpressure. The control exercised by the capitalist is not only a special function, due to the nature of the social labour process, and peculiar to that process, but it is, at the same time a function of the exploitation of a social labour process, and is consequently rooted in the unavoidable antagonism between the exploiter and the living and labouring raw material he exploits.

Again, in proportion to the increasing mass of the means of production, now no longer the property of the labourer, but of the capitalist, the necessity increases for some effective control over the proper application of those means.[2] Moreover, the co-operation of wage labourers is entirely brought about by the capital that employs them. Their union into one single productive body and the establishment of a connexion between their individual functions, are matters foreign and external to them, are not their own act, but the act of the capital that brings and keeps them together. Hence the connexion existing be-

[1] "Profits ... is the sole end of trade" (J. Vanderlint, l. c., p. 11).

[2] That Philistine paper, the *Spectator*, [May 26, 1866,] states that after the introduction of a sort of partnership between capitalist and workmen in the "Wirework Company of Manchester", "the first result was a sudden decrease in waste, the men not seeing why they should waste their own property any more than any other master's, and waste is, perhaps, next to bad debts, the greatest source of manufacturing loss". The same paper finds that the main defect in the Rochdale co-operative experiments[254] is this: "They showed that associations of workmen could manage shops, mills, and almost all forms of industry with success, and they immediately improved the condition of the men; but then they did not leave a clear place for masters." Quelle horreur!

tween their various labours appears to them, ideally, in the shape of a preconceived plan of the capitalist, and practically in the shape of the authority of the same capitalist, in the shape of the powerful will of another, who subjects their activity to his aims. If, then, the control of the capitalist is in substance twofold by reason of the twofold nature of the process of production itself,—which, on the one hand, is a social process for producing use values, on the other, a process for creating surplus value[a] in form that control is despotic. As co-operation extends its scale, this despotism takes forms peculiar to itself. Just as at first the capitalist is relieved from actual labour so soon as his capital has reached that minimum amount with which capitalist production, as such, begins, so now, he hands over the work of direct and constant supervision of the individual workmen, and groups of workmen, to a special kind of wage labourer. An industrial army of workmen, under the command of a capitalist, requires, like a real army, officers (managers), and sergeants (foremen, overlookers), who, while the work is being done, command in the name of the capitalist. The work of supervision becomes their established and exclusive function. When comparing the mode of production of isolated peasants and artisans with production by slave labour, the political economist counts this labour of superintendence among the *faux frais* of production.[1] But, when considering the capitalist mode of production, he, on the contrary, treats the work of control made necessary by the co-operative character of the labour process as identical with the different work of control, necessitated by the capitalist character of that process and the antagonism of interests between capitalist and labourer.[2] It is not because he is a leader of industry that a man is a capitalist; on the contrary, he is a leader of industry because he is a capitalist. The leadership of industry is an attribute of capital, just

[1] Professor Cairnes, after stating that the superintendence of labour is a leading feature of production by slaves in the Southern States of North America, continues: "The peasant proprietor" (of the North), "appropriating the whole produce of his toil, needs no other stimulus to exertion. Superintendence is here completely dispensed with" (Cairnes, l. c., pp. 48, 49).

[2] Sir James Steuart, a writer altogether remarkable for his quick eye for the characteristic social distinctions between different modes of production, says: "Why do large undertakings in the manufacturing way ruin private industry, but by coming nearer to the simplicity of slaves?" (*Prin. of Pol. Econ.*, London, 1767, v. I, pp. 167, 168).

[a] In the German editions "valorisation process".

as in feudal times the functions of general and judge, were attributes of landed property.[1]

The labourer is the owner of his labour power until he has done bargaining for its sale with the capitalist; and he can sell no more than what he has — i. e., his individual, isolated labour power. This state of things is in no way altered by the fact that the capitalist, instead of buying the labour power of one man, buys that of 100, and enters into separate contracts with 100 unconnected men instead of with one. He is at liberty to set the 100 men to work, without letting them co-operate. He pays them the value of 100 independent labour powers, but he does not pay for the combined labour power of the hundred. Being independent of each other, the labourers are isolated persons, who enter into relations with the capitalist, but not with one another. This co-operation begins only with the labour process, but they have then ceased to belong to themselves. On entering that process, they become incorporated with capital. As co-operators, as members of a working organism, they are but special modes of existence of capital. Hence, the productive power developed by the labourer when working in co-operation, is the productive power of capital. This power is developed gratuitously, whenever the workmen are placed under given conditions, and it is capital that places them under such conditions. Because this power costs capital nothing, and because, on the other hand, the labourer himself does not develop it before his labour belongs to capital, it appears as a power with which capital is endowed by Nature — a productive power that is immanent in capital.

The colossal effects of simple co-operation are to be seen in the gigantic structures of the ancient Asiatics, Egyptians, Etruscans, &c.

"It has happened in times past that these Oriental States, after supplying the expenses of their civil and military establishments, have found themselves in possession of a surplus which they could apply to works of magnificence or utility and in the construction of these their command over the hands and arms of almost the entire non-agricultural population has produced stupendous monuments which still indicate their power. The teeming valley of the Nile ... produced food for a swarming non-agricultural population, and this food, belonging to the monarch and the priesthood, afforded the means of erecting the mighty monuments which filled the land.... In moving the colossal statues and vast masses of which the transport creates wonder, human la-

[1] Auguste Comte and his school [271] might therefore have shown that feudal lords are an eternal necessity in the same way that they have done in the case of the lords of capital.

bour almost alone, was prodigally used.... The number of the labourers and the concentration of their efforts sufficed. We see mighty coral reefs rising from the depths of the ocean into islands and firm land, yet each individual depositor is puny, weak, and contemptible. The non-agricultural labourers of an Asiatic monarchy have little but their individual bodily exertions to bring to the task, but their number is their strength, and the power of directing these masses gave rise to the palaces and temples, the pyramids, and the armies of gigantic statues of which the remains astonish and perplex us. It is that confinement of the revenues which feed them, to one or a few hands, which makes such undertakings possible."[1]

This power of Asiatic and Egyptian kings, Etruscan theocrats, &c., has in modern society been transferred to the capitalist, whether he be an isolated, or as in joint-stock companies, a collective capitalist.

Co-operation, such as we find it at the dawn of human development, among races who live by the chase,[2] or, say, in the agriculture of Indian communities,[53] is based, on the one hand, on ownership in common of the means of production, and on the other hand, on the fact, that in those cases, each individual has no more torn himself off from the navel-string of his tribe or community, than each bee has freed itself from connexion with the hive. Such co-operation is distinguished from capitalistic co-operation by both of the above characteristics. The sporadic application of co-operation on a large scale in ancient times, in the Middle Ages, and in modern colonies, reposes on relations of dominion and servitude, principally on slavery. The capitalistic form, on the contrary, pre-supposes from first to last, the free wage labourer, who sells his labour power to capital. Historically, however, this form is developed in opposition to peasant agriculture and to the carrying on of independent handicrafts whether in guilds or not.[3] From the standpoint of these, capitalistic co-operation does not manifest itself as a particular historical form of co-operation, but

[1] R. Jones, *Textbook of Lectures*, &c., pp. 77, 78. The ancient Assyrian, Egyptian, and other collections in London, and in other European capitals, make us eyewitnesses of the modes of carrying on that co-operative labour.

[2] Linguet is probably right, when in his *Théorie des Lois Civiles* [t. 1, pp. 226, 227; t. 2, p. 497], he declares hunting to be the first form of co-operation, and man-hunting (war) one of the earliest forms of hunting.

[3] Peasant agriculture on a small scale, and the carrying on of independent handicrafts, which together form the basis of the feudal mode of production, and after the dissolution of that system, continue side by side with the capitalist mode, also form the economic foundation of the classical communities at their best, after the primitive form of ownership of land in common had disappeared, and before slavery had seized on production in earnest.

co-operation itself appears to be a historical form peculiar to, and specifically distinguishing, the capitalist process of production.

Just as the social productive power of labour that is developed by co-operation, appears to be the productive power of capital, so co-operation itself, contrasted with the process of production carried on by isolated independent labourers, or even by small employers, appears to be a specific form of the capitalist process of production. It is the first change experienced by the actual labour process, when subjected to capital. This change takes place spontaneously. The simultaneous employment of a large number of wage labourers, in one and the same process, which is a necessary condition of this change, also forms the starting-point of capitalist production. This point coincides with the birth of capital itself. If then, on the one hand, the capitalist mode of production presents itself to us historically, as a necessary condition to the transformation of the labour process into a social process, so, on the other hand, this social form of the labour process presents itself, as a method employed by capital for the more profitable exploitation of labour, by increasing that labour's productiveness.

In the elementary form, under which we have hitherto viewed it, co-operation is a necessary concomitant of all production on a large scale, but it does not, in itself, represent a fixed form characteristic of a particular epoch in the development of the capitalist mode of production. At the most it appears to do so, and that only approximately, in the handicraft-like beginnings of manufacture,[1] and in that kind of agriculture on a large scale, which corresponds to the epoch of manufacture, and is distinguished from peasant agriculture, mainly by the number of the labourers simultaneously employed, and by the mass of the means of production concentrated for their use. Simple co-operation is always the prevailing form, in those branches of production in which capital operates on a large scale, and division of labour and machinery play but a subordinate part.

Co-operation ever constitutes the fundamental form of the capitalist mode of production, nevertheless the elementary form of co-operation continues to subsist as a particular form of capitalist pro-

[1] "Whether the united skill, industry, and emulation of many together on the same work be not the way to advance it? And whether it had been otherwise possible for England, to have carried on her Woollen Manufacture to so great perfection?" (Berkeley, *The Querist*, London, 1751, p. 56, par. 521).

duction side by side with the more developed forms of that mode of production.

## Chapter XIV

## DIVISION OF LABOUR AND MANUFACTURE

### SECTION 1.—TWOFOLD ORIGIN OF MANUFACTURE

That co-operation which is based on division of labour, assumes its typical form in manufacture, and is the prevalent characteristic form of the capitalist process of production throughout the manufacturing period properly so called. That period, roughly speaking, extends from the middle of the 16th to the last third of the 18th century.

Manufacture takes its rise in two ways:—

(1.) By the assemblage, in one workshop under the control of a single capitalist, of labourers belonging to various independent handicrafts, but through whose hands a given article must pass on its way to completion. A carriage, for example, was formerly the product of the labour of a great number of independent artificers, such as wheelwrights, harness-makers, tailors, locksmiths, upholsterers, turners, fringe-makers, glaziers, painters, polishers, gilders, &c. In the manufacture of carriages, however, all these different artificers are assembled in one building where they work into one another's hands.[272] It is true that a carriage cannot be gilt before it has been made. But if a number of carriages are being made simultaneously, some may be in the hands of the gilders while others are going through an earlier process. So far, we are still in the domain of simple co-operation, which finds its materials ready to hand in the shape of men and things. But very soon an important change takes place. The tailor, the locksmith, and the other artificers, being now exclusively occupied in carriage-making, each gradually loses, through want of practice, the ability to carry on, to its full extent, his old handicraft. But, on the other hand, his activity now confined in one groove, assumes the form best adapted to the narrowed sphere of action. At first, carriage manufacture is a combination of various independent handicrafts. By degrees, it becomes the splitting up of carriage-making into its various detail processes, each of which crystallises into the exclusive function of a particular workman, the manufacture, as a whole, being carried on by the men in conjunction. In the same way, cloth

manufacture, as also a whole series of other manufactures, arose by combining different handicrafts together under the control of a single capitalist.[1]

(2.) Manufacture also arises in a way exactly the reverse of this — namely, by one capitalist employing simultaneously in one workshop a number of artificers, who all do the same, or the same kind of work, such as making paper, type, or needles. This is co-operation in its most elementary form. Each of these artificers (with the help, perhaps, of one or two apprentices), makes the entire commodity, and he consequently performs in succession all the operations necessary for its production. He still works in his old handicraft-like way. But very soon external circumstances cause a different use to be made of the concentration of the workmen on one spot, and of the simultaneousness of their work. An increased quantity of the article has perhaps to be delivered within a given time. The work is therefore re-distributed. Instead of each man being allowed to perform all the various operations in succession, these operations are changed into disconnected, isolated ones, carried on side by side; each is assigned to a different artificer, and the whole of them together are performed simultaneously by the co-operating workmen. This accidental repartition gets repeated, develops advantages of its own, and gradually ossifies into a systematic division of labour. The commodity, from being the individual product of an independent artificer, becomes the social product of a union of artificers, each of whom performs one, and only one, of the constituent partial operations. The same operations which, in the case of a papermaker belonging to a German Guild, merged one into the other as the successive acts of one artificer, became in the Dutch

[1] To give a more modern instance: The silk spinning and weaving of Lyons and Nimes "is entirely patriarchal; it employs a large number of women and children, but without exhausting or ruining them; it allows them to stay in their beautiful valleys of the Drôme, the Var, the Isère, the Vaucluse, cultivating their silkworms and unwinding their cocoons; it never becomes a true factory industry. However, the principle of the division of labour takes on a special character here. There do indeed exist winders, throwsters, dyers, sizers, and finally weavers; but they are not assembled in the same workshop, nor are they dependent on a single master; they are all independent" (A. Blanqui, *Cours d'Econ. Industrielle.* Recueilli par A. Blaise. Paris, 1838-39, p. 79). Since Blanqui wrote this, the various independent labourers have, to some extent, been united in factories. [And since Marx wrote the above, the power-loom has invaded these factories, and is now — 1886 — rapidly superseding the hand-loom. (*Added in the 4th German edition.*— The Krefeld silk industry also has its tale to tell anent this subject.) — *F. E.*]

paper manufacture so many partial operations carried on side by side by numerous co-operating labourers. The needlemaker of the Nuremberg Guild was the cornerstone on which the English needle manufacture was raised. But while in Nuremberg that single artificer performed a series of perhaps 20 operations one after another, in England it was not long before there were 20 needlemakers side by side, each performing one alone of those 20 operations, and in consequence of further experience, each of those 20 operations was again split up, isolated, and made the exclusive function of a separate workman.

The mode in which manufacture arises, its growth out of handicrafts, is therefore twofold. On the one hand, it arises from the union of various independent handicrafts, which become stripped of their independence and specialised to such an extent as to be reduced to mere supplementary partial processes in the production of one particular commodity. On the other hand, it arises from the co-operation of artificers of one handicraft; it splits up that particular handicraft into its various detail operations, isolating, and making these operations independent of one another up to the point where each becomes the exclusive function of a particular labourer. On the one hand, therefore, manufacture either introduces division of labour into a process of production, or further develops that division; on the other hand, it unites together handicrafts that were formerly separate. But whatever may have been its particular starting-point, its final form is invariably the same—a productive mechanism whose parts are human beings.

For a proper understanding of the division of labour in manufacture, it is essential that the following points be firmly grasped. First, the decomposition of a process of production into its various successive steps coincides, here, strictly with the resolution of a handicraft into its successive manual operations. Whether complex or simple, each operation has to be done by hand, retains the character of a handicraft, and is therefore dependent on the strength, skill, quickness, and sureness, of the individual workman in handling his tools. The handicraft continues to be the basis. This narrow technical basis excludes a really scientific analysis of any definite process of industrial production, since it is still a condition that each detail process gone through by the product must be capable of being done by hand and of forming, in its way, a separate handicraft. It is just because handicraft skill continues, in this way, to be the foundation of the process of production, that each workman becomes exclusively assigned to

a partial function, and that for the rest of his life, his labour power is turned into the organ of this detail function.

Secondly, this division of labour is a particular sort of co-operation, and many of its disadvantages spring from the general character of co-operation, and not from this particular form of it.

## SECTION 2.—THE DETAIL LABOURER AND HIS IMPLEMENTS

If we now go more into detail, it is, in the first place, clear that a labourer who all his life performs one and the same simple operation, converts his whole body into the automatic, specialised implement of that operation. Consequently, he takes less time in doing it, than the artificer who performs a whole series of operations in succession. But the collective labourer, who constitutes the living mechanism of manufacture, is made up solely of such specialised detail labourers. Hence, in comparison with the independent handicraft, more is produced in a given time, or the productive power of labour is increased.[1] Moreover, when once this fractional work is established as the exclusive function of one person, the methods it employs become perfected. The workman's continued repetition of the same simple act, and the concentration of his attention on it, teach him by experience how to attain the desired effect with the minimum of exertion. But since there are always several generations of labourers living at one time, and working together at the manufacture of a given article, the technical skill, the tricks of the trade thus acquired, become established, and are accumulated and handed down.[2] Manufacture, in fact, produces the skill of the detail labourer, by reproducing, and systematically driving to an extreme within the workshop, the naturally developed differentiation of trades which it found ready to hand in society at large. On the other hand, the conversion of fractional work into the life-calling of one man, corresponds to the tendency shown by earlier societies, to make trades hereditary; either to petrify them into castes, or whenever definite historical conditions beget in the individual a tendency to vary in a manner incompatible with the

[1] "The more any manufacture of much variety shall be distributed and assigned to different artists, the same must needs be better done and with greater expedition, with less loss of time and labour" (*The Advantages of the East India Trade*, Lond., 1720, p. 71).

[2] "Easy labour is transmitted skill" (Th. Hodgskin, *Popular Political Economy*, p. 48).

nature of castes, to ossify them into guilds. Castes and guilds arise from the action of the same natural law, that regulates the differentiation of plants and animals into species and varieties, except that, when a certain degree of development has been reached, the heredity of castes and the exclusiveness of guilds are ordained as a law of society.[1]

"The muslins of Dacca in fineness, the calicoes and other piece goods of Coromandel in brilliant and durable colours, have never been surpassed. Yet they are produced without capital, machinery, division of labour, or any of those means which give such facilities to the manufacturing interest of Europe. The weaver is merely a detached individual, working a web when ordered by a customer, and with a loom of the rudest construction, consisting sometimes of a few branches or bars of wood, put roughly together. There is even no expedient for rolling up the warp; the loom must therefore be kept stretched to its full length, and becomes so inconveniently large, that it cannot be contained within the hut of the manufacturer, who is therefore compelled to ply his trade in the open air, where it is interrupted by every vicissitude of the weather."[2]

It is only the special skill accumulated from generation to generation, and transmitted from father to son, that gives to the Hindu, as it does to the spider, this proficiency. And yet the work of such a Hindu weaver is very complicated, compared with that of a manufacturing labourer.

An artificer, who performs one after another the various fractional operations in the production of a finished article, must at one time change his place, at another his tools. The transition from one operation to another interrupts the flow of his labour, and creates, so to say, gaps in his working day. These gaps close up so soon as he is tied to one and the same operation all day long; they vanish in proportion as the changes in his work diminish. The resulting increased productive

[1] "The arts also have ... in Egypt reached the requisite degree of perfection. For it is the only country where artificers may not in any way meddle with the affairs of another class of citizens, but must follow that calling alone which by law is hereditary in their clan.... In other countries it is found that tradesmen divide their attention between too many objects. At one time they try agriculture, at another they take to commerce, at another they busy themselves with two or three occupations at once. In free countries, they mostly frequent the assemblies of the people... In Egypt, on the contrary, every artificer is severely punished if he meddles with affairs of State, or carries on several trades at once. Thus there is nothing to disturb their application to their calling.... Moreover, since they inherit from their forefathers numerous rules, they are eager to discover fresh advantages" (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. Hist.* I, l. c., 74).

[2] *Historical and descriptive account of Brit. India, &c.*, by Hugh Murray and James Wilson, &c., Edinburgh, 1832, v. II, p. 449, [450]. The Indian loom is upright, i. e., the warp is stretched vertically.

power is owing either to an increased expenditure of labour power in a given time — i. e., to increased intensity of labour — or to a decrease in the amount of labour power unproductively consumed. The extra expenditure of power, demanded by every transition from rest to motion, is made up for by prolonging the duration of the normal velocity when once acquired. On the other hand, constant labour of one uniform kind disturbs the intensity and flow of a man's animal spirits, which find recreation and delight in mere change of activity.

The productiveness of labour depends not only on the proficiency of the workman, but on the perfection of his tools. Tools of the same kind, such as knives, drills, gimlets, hammers, &c., may be employed in different processes; and the same tool may serve various purposes in a single process. But so soon as the different operations of a labour process are disconnected the one from the other, and each fractional operation acquires in the hands of the detail labourer a suitable and peculiar form, alterations become necessary in the implements that previously served more than one purpose. The direction taken by this change is determined by the difficulties experienced in consequence of the unchanged form of the implement. Manufacture is characterised by the differentiation of the instruments of labour — a differentiation whereby implements of a given sort acquire fixed shapes, adapted to each particular application, and by the specialisation of those instruments, giving to each special implement its full play only in the hands of a specific detail labourer. In Birmingham alone 300 varieties of hammers are produced, and not only is each adapted to one particular process, but several varieties often serve exclusively for the different operations in one and the same process. The manufacturing period simplifies, improves, and multiplies the implements of labour, by adapting them to the exclusively special functions of each detail labourer.[1] It thus creates at the same time one of the material conditions for the existence of machinery, which consists of a combination of simple instruments.

[1] Darwin in his epoch-making work on the origin of species, remarks, with reference to the natural organs of plants and animals, "So long as one and the same organ has different kinds of work to perform, a ground for its changeability may possibly be found in this, that natural selection preserves or suppresses each small variation of form less carefully than if that organ were destined for one special purpose alone. Thus, knives that are adapted to cut all sorts of things, may, on the whole, be of one shape; but an implement destined to be used exclusively in one way must have a different shape for every different use" [Ch. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species...*, London, 1859, p. 149].

The detail labourer and his implements are the simplest elements of manufacture. Let us now turn to its aspect as a whole.

## SECTION 3.—THE TWO FUNDAMENTAL FORMS OF MANUFACTURE: HETEROGENEOUS MANUFACTURE, SERIAL MANUFACTURE

The organisation of manufacture has two fundamental forms which, in spite of occasional blending, are essentially different in kind, and, moreover, play very distinct parts in the subsequent transformation of manufacture into modern industry carried on by machinery. This double character arises from the nature of the article produced. This article either results from the mere mechanical fitting together of partial products made independently, or owes its completed shape to a series of connected processes and manipulations.

A locomotive, for instance, consists of more than 5,000 independent parts. It cannot, however, serve as an example of the first kind of genuine manufacture, for it is a structure produced by modern mechanical industry. But a watch can; and William Petty used it to illustrate the division of labour in manufacture.[273] Formerly the individual work of a Nuremberg artificer, the watch has been transformed into the social product of an immense number of detail labourers, such as mainspring makers, dial makers, spiral spring makers, jewelled hole makers, ruby lever makers, hand makers, case makers, screw makers, gilders, with numerous subdivisions, such as wheel makers (brass and steel separate), pin makers, movement makers, acheveur de pignon (fixes the wheels on the axles, polishes the facets, &c.), pivot makers, planteur de finissage (puts the wheels and springs in the works), finisseur de barillet (cuts teeth in the wheels, makes the holes of the right size, &c.), escapement makers, cylinder makers for cylinder escapements, escapement wheel makers, balance wheel makers, raquette makers (apparatus for regulating the watch), the planteur d'échappement (escapement maker proper); then the repasseur de barillet (finishes the box for the spring, &c.), steel polishers, wheel polishers, screw polishers, figure painters, dial enamellers (melt the enamel on the copper), fabricant de pendants (makes the ring by which the case is hung), finisseur de charnière (puts the brass hinge in the cover, &c.), faiseur de secret (puts in the springs that open the case), graveur, ciseleur, polisseur de boîte, &c., &c., and last of all the repasseur, who fits together the whole watch and

hands it over in a going state. Only a few parts of the watch pass through several hands; and all these *membra disjecta*[274] come together for the first time in the hand that binds them into one mechanical whole. This external relation between the finished product, and its various and diverse elements makes it, as well in this case as in the case of all similar finished articles, a matter of chance whether the detail labourers are brought together in one workshop or not. The detail operations may further be carried on like so many independent handicrafts, as they are in the Cantons of Vaud and Neufchâtel; while in Geneva there exist large watch manufactories where the detail labourers directly co-operate under the control of a single capitalist. And even in the latter case the dial, the springs, and the case, are seldom made in the factory itself. To carry on the trade as a manufacture, with concentration of workmen, is, in the watch trade, profitable only under exceptional conditions, because competition is greater between the labourers who desire to work at home, and because the splitting up of the work into a number of heterogeneous processes, permits but little use of the instruments of labour in common, and the capitalist, by scattering the work, saves the outlay on workshops, &c.[1] Nevertheless the position of this detail labourer who, though he works at home, does so for a capitalist (manufacturer, établisseur), is very different from that of the independent artificer, who works for his own customers.[2]

The second kind of manufacture, its perfected form, produces ar-

[1] In the year 1854 Geneva produced 80,000 watches, which is not one-fifth of the production in the Canton of Neufchâtel. La Chaux-de-Fonds alone, which we may look upon as a huge watch manufactory, produces yearly twice as many as Geneva. From 1850-61 Geneva produced 720,000 watches. See "Report from Geneva on the Watch Trade" in "Reports by H. M.'s Secretaries of Embassy and Legation on the Manufactures, Commerce, &c., No. 6, 1863", [pp. 28, 30]. The want of connexion alone, between the processes into which the production of articles that merely consist of parts fitted together is split up, makes it very difficult to convert such a manufacture into a branch of modern industry carried on by machinery, but in the case of a watch there are two other impediments in addition, the minuteness and delicacy of its parts, and its character as an article of luxury. Hence their variety, which is such, that in the best London houses scarcely a dozen watches are made alike in the course of a year. The watch manufactory of Messrs. Vacheron & Constantin, in which machinery has been employed with success, produces at the most three or four different varieties of size and form.

[2] In watchmaking, that classical example of heterogeneous manufacture, we may study with great accuracy the above-mentioned differentiation and specialisation of the instruments of labour caused by the sub-division of handicrafts.

ticles that go through connected phases of development, through a series of processes step by step, like the wire in the manufacture of needles, which passes through the hands of 72 and sometimes even 92 different detail workmen.

In so far as such a manufacture, when first started, combines scattered handicrafts, it lessens the space by which the various phases of production are separated from each other. The time taken in passing from one stage to another is shortened, so is the labour that effectuates this passage.[1] In comparison with a handicraft, productive power is gained, and this gain is owing to the general co-operative character of manufacture. On the other hand, division of labour, which is the distinguishing principle of manufacture, requires the isolation of the various stages of production and their independence of each other. The establishment and maintenance of a connexion between the isolated functions necessitates the incessant transport of the article from one hand to another, and from one process to another. From the standpoint of modern mechanical industry, this necessity stands forth as a characteristic and costly disadvantage, and one that is immanent in the principle of manufacture.[2]

If we confine our attention to some particular lot of raw materials, of rags, for instance, in paper manufacture, or of wire in needle manufacture, we perceive that it passes in succession through a series of stages in the hands of the various detail workmen until completion. On the other hand, if we look at the workshop as a whole, we see the raw material in all the stages of its production at the same time. The collective labourer, with one set of his many hands armed with one kind of tools, draws the wire, with another set, armed with different tools, he, at the same time, straightens it, with another, he cuts it, with another, points it, and so on. The different detail processes, which were successive in time, have become simultaneous, go on side by side in space. Hence, production of greater quantum of finished commodities in a given time.[3] This simultaneity, it is true, is

[1] "In so close a cohabitation of the people, the carriage must needs be less" ([H. Martyn,] *The Advantages of the East India Trade*, p. 106).

[2] "The isolation of the different stages of manufacture, consequent upon the employment of manual labour, adds immensely to the cost of production, the loss mainly arising from the mere removals from one process to another" (*The Industry of Nations*, Lond., 1855, Part II, p. 200).

[3] "It" (the division of labour) "produces also an economy of time by separating the work into its different branches, all of which may be carried into execution at

due to the general co-operative form of the process as a whole; but manufacture not only finds the conditions for co-operation ready to hand, it also, to some extent, creates them by the sub-division of handicraft labour. On the other hand, it accomplishes this social organisation of the labour process only by riveting each labourer to a single fractional detail.

Since the fractional product of each detail labourer is, at the same time, only a particular stage in the development of one and the same finished article, each labourer, or each group of labourers, prepares the raw material for another labourer or group. The result of the labour of the one is the starting-point for the labour of the other. The one workman therefore gives occupation directly to the other. The labour time necessary in each partial process, for attaining the desired effect, is learnt by experience; and the mechanism of manufacture, as a whole, is based on the assumption that a given result will be obtained in a given time. It is only on this assumption that the various supplementary labour processes can proceed uninterruptedly, simultaneously, and side by side. It is clear that this direct dependence of the operations, and therefore of the labourers, on each other, compels each one of them to spend on his work no more than the necessary time, and thus a continuity, uniformity, regularity, order,[1] and even intensity of labour, of quite a different kind, is begotten than is to be found in an independent handicraft or even in simple co-operation. The rule, that the labour time expended on a commodity should not exceed that which is socially necessary for its production, appears, in the production of commodities generally, to be established by the mere effect of competition; since, to express ourselves superficially each single producer is obliged to sell his commodity at its market-price. In manufacture, on the contrary, the turning out of a given quantum of product in a given time is a technical law of the process of production itself.[2]

the same moment.... By carrying on all the different processes at once, which an individual must have executed separately, it becomes possible to produce a multitude of pins completely finished in the same time as a single pin might have been either cut or pointed" (Dugald Stewart, l. c., p. 319).

[1] "The more variety of artists to every manufacture ... the greater the order and regularity of every work, the same must needs be done in less time, the labour must be less" ([H. Martyn,] *The Advantages*, &c., p. 68).

[2] Nevertheless, the manufacturing system, in many branches of industry, attains this result but very imperfectly, because it knows not how to control with certainty the general chemical and physical conditions of the process of production.

Different operations take, however, unequal periods, and yield therefore, in equal times unequal quantities of fractional products. If, therefore, the same labourer has, day after day, to perform the same operation, there must be a different number of labourers for each operation; for instance, in type manufacture, there are four founders and two breakers to one rubber: the founder casts 2,000 type an hour, the breaker breaks up 4,000 and the rubber polishes 8,000. Here we have again the principle of co-operation in its simplest form, the simultaneous employment of many doing the same thing; only now, this principle is the expression of an organic relation. The division of labour, as carried out in manufacture, not only simplifies and multiplies the qualitatively different parts of the social collective labourer, but also creates a fixed mathematical relation or ratio which regulates the quantitative extent of those parts — i. e., the relative number of labourers, or the relative size of the group of labourers, for each detail operation. It develops, along with the qualitative sub-division of the social labour process, a quantitative rule and proportionality for that process.

When once the most fitting proportion has been experimentally established for the numbers of the detail labourers in the various groups when producing on a given scale, that scale can be extended only by employing a multiple of each particular group.[1] There is this to boot, that the same individual can do certain kinds of work just as well on a large as on a small scale; for instance, the labour of superintendence, the carriage of the fractional product from one stage to the next, &c. The isolation of such functions, their allotment to a particular labourer, does not become advantageous till after an increase in the number of labourers employed; but this increase must affect every group proportionally.

The isolated group of labourers to whom any particular detail function is assigned, is made up of homogeneous elements, and is one of the constituent parts of the total mechanism. In many manufactures, however, the group itself is an organised body of labour, the total mechanism being a repetition or multiplication of these elementary

[1] "When (from the peculiar nature of the produce of each manufactory) the number of processes into which it is most advantageous to divide it is ascertained, as well as the number of individuals to be employed, then all other manufactories which do not employ a direct multiple of this number will produce the article at a greater cost.... Hence arises one of the causes of the great size of manufacturing establishments" (C. Babbage, *On the Economy of Machinery*, 1st ed. London, 1832, Ch. XXI, pp. 172-73).

organisms. Take, for instance, the manufacture of glass bottles. It may be resolved into three essentially different stages. First, the preliminary stage, consisting of the preparation of the components of the glass, mixing the sand and lime, &c., and melting them into a fluid mass of glass.[1] Various detail labourers are employed in this first stage, as also in the final one of removing the bottles from the drying furnace, sorting and packing them, &c. In the middle, between these two stages, comes the glass melting proper, the manipulation of the fluid mass. At each mouth of the furnace, there works a group, called "the hole", consisting of one bottlemaker or finisher, one blower, one gatherer, one putter-up or whetter-off, and one taker-in. These five detail workers are so many special organs of a single working organism that acts only as a whole, and therefore can operate only by the direct co-operation of the whole five. The whole body is paralysed if but one of its members be wanting. But a glass furnace has several openings (in England from 4 to 6), each of which contains an earthenware melting-pot full of molten glass, and employs a similar five-membered group of workers. The organisation of each group is based on division of labour, but the bond between the different groups is simple co-operation, which, by using in common one of the means of production, the furnace, causes it to be more economically consumed. Such a furnace, with its 4-6 groups, constitutes a glass house; and a glass manufactory comprises a number of such glass houses, together with the apparatus and workmen requisite for the preparatory and final stages.

Finally, just as manufacture arises in part from the combination of various handicrafts, so, too, it develops into a combination of various manufactures. The larger English glass manufacturers, for instance, make their own earthenware melting-pots, because, on the quality of these depends, to a great extent, the success or failure of the process. The manufacture of one of the means of production is here united with that of the product. On the other hand, the manufacture of the product may be united with other manufactures, of which that product is the raw material, or with the products of which it is itself subsequently mixed. Thus, we find the manufacture of flint glass combined with that of glass cutting and brass founding, the latter for the metal settings of various articles of glass. The various manufactures so

[1] In England, the melting-furnace is distinct from the glass-furnace in which the glass is manipulated. In Belgium, one and the same furnace serves for both processes.

combined form more or less separate departments of a larger manufacture, but are at the same time independent processes, each with its own division of labour. In spite of the many advantages offered by this combination of manufactures, it never grows into a complete technical system on its own foundation. That happens only on its transformation into an industry carried on by machinery.

Early in the manufacturing period, the principle of lessening the necessary labour time in the production of commodities,[1] was accepted and formulated: and the use of machines, especially for certain simple first processes that have to be conducted on a very large scale, and with the application of great force, sprang up here and there. Thus, at an early period in paper manufacture, the tearing up of the rags was done by paper-mills; and in metal works, the pounding of the ores was effected by stamping mills.[2] The Roman Empire had handed down the elementary form of all machinery in the water-wheel.[3]

The handicraft period bequeathed to us the great inventions of the compass, of gunpowder, of type-printing, and of the automatic clock. But, on the whole, machinery played that subordinate part which Adam Smith assigns to it in comparison with division of labour.[4] The sporadic use of machinery in the 17th century was of the greatest importance, because it supplied the great mathematicians of that time with a practical basis and stimulant to the creation of the science of mechanics.

[1] This can be seen from W. Petty, John Bellers, Andrew Yarranton, [H. Martyn,] *The Advantages of the East India Trade*, and J. Vanderlint, not to mention others.

[2] Towards the end of the 16th century, mortars and sieves were still used in France for pounding and washing ores.[275]

[3] The whole history of the development of machinery can be traced in the history of the corn mill. The factory in England is still a "mill". In German technological works of the first decade of this century, the term "mühle" is still found in use, not only for all machinery driven by the forces of Nature, but also for all manufactures where apparatus in the nature of machinery is applied.[276]

[4] As will be seen more in detail in the fourth book of this work, Adam Smith has not established a single new proposition relating to division of labour.[277] What, however, characterises him as the political economist par excellence of the period of Manufacture, is the stress he lays on division of labour. The subordinate part which he assigns to machinery gave occasion in the early days of modern mechanical industry to the polemic of Lauderdale, and, at a later period, to that of Ure.[278] A. Smith also confounds differentiation of the instruments of labour, in which the detail labourers themselves took an active part, with the invention of machinery; in this latter, it is not the workmen in manufactories, but learned men, handicraftsmen, and even peasants (Brindley),[279] who play a part.

The collective labourer, formed by the combination of a number of detail labourers, is the machinery specially characteristic of the manufacturing period. The various operations that are performed in turns by the producer of a commodity, and coalesce one with another during the process of production, lay claim to him in various ways. In one operation he must exert more strength, in another more skill, in another more attention; and the same individual does not possess all these qualities in an equal degree. After manufacture has once separated, made independent, and isolated the various operations, the labourers are divided, classified, and grouped according to their predominating qualities. If their natural endowments are, on the one hand, the foundation on which the division of labour is built up, on the other hand, manufacture, once introduced, develops in them new powers that are by nature fitted only for limited and special functions. The collective labourer now possesses, in an equal degree of excellence, all the qualities requisite for production, and expends them in the most economical manner, by exclusively employing all his organs, consisting of particular labourers, or groups of labourers, in performing their special functions.[1] The one-sidedness and the deficiencies of the detail labourer become perfections when he is a part of the collective labourer.[2] The habit of doing only one thing converts him into a never failing instrument, while his connexion with the whole mechanism compels him to work with the regularity of the parts of a machine.[3]

Since the collective labourer has functions, both simple and complex, both high and low, his members, the individual labour powers, require different degrees of training, and must therefore have different values. Manufacture, therefore, develops a hierarchy of labour powers, to which there corresponds a scale of wages. If, on the one

[1] "The master manufacturer, by dividing the work to be executed into different processes, each requiring different degrees of skill or of force, can purchase exactly that precise quantity of both which is necessary for each process; whereas, if the whole work were executed by one workman, that person must possess sufficient skill to perform the most difficult, and sufficient strength to execute the most laborious of the operations into which the article is divided" (Ch. Babbage, l. c., ch. xix, [pp. 137-38]).

[2] For instance, abnormal development of some muscles, curvature of bones, &c.

[3] The question put by one of the Inquiry Commissioners, How the young persons are kept steadily to their work, is very correctly answered by Mr. Wim. Marshall, the general manager of a glass manufactory: "They cannot well neglect their work; when they once begin, they must go on; they are just the same as parts of a machine" (*Children's Empl. Comm.*, 4th Rep., 1865, p. 247).

hand, the individual labourers are appropriated and annexed for life by a limited function; on the other hand, the various operations of the hierarchy are parcelled out among the labourers according to both their natural and their acquired capabilities.[1] Every process of production, however, requires certain simple manipulations, which every man is capable of doing. They too are now severed from their connexion with the more pregnant moments of activity, and ossified into exclusive functions of specially appointed labourers. Hence, manufacture begets, in every handicraft that it seizes upon, a class of so-called unskilled labourers, a class which handicraft industry strictly excluded. If it develops a one-sided speciality into a perfection, at the expense of the whole of a man's working capacity, it also begins to make a speciality of the absence of all development. Alongside of the hierarchic gradation there steps the simple separation of the labourers into skilled and unskilled. For the latter, the cost of apprenticeship vanishes; for the former, it diminishes, compared with that of artificers, in consequence of the functions being simplified. In both cases the value of labour power falls.[2] An exception to this law holds good whenever the decomposition of the labour process begets new and comprehensive functions, that either had no place at all, or only a very modest one, in handicrafts. The fall in the value of labour power, caused by the disappearance or diminution of the expenses of apprenticeship, implies a direct increase of surplus value for the benefit of capital; for everything that shortens the necessary labour time required for the reproduction of labour power, extends the domain of surplus labour.

[1] Dr. Ure, in his apotheosis of Modern Mechanical Industry, brings out the peculiar character of manufacture more sharply than previous economists, who had not his polemical interest in the matter, and more sharply even than his contemporaries — Babbage, e. g., who, though much his superior as a mathematician and mechanician, treated mechanical industry from the standpoint of manufacture alone. Ure says, "This appropriation ... to each, a workman of appropriate value and cost was naturally assigned, forms the very essence of division of labour." On the other hand, he describes this division as "adaptation of labour to the different talents of men," and lastly, characterises the whole manufacturing system as "a system for the division or gradation of labour," as "the division of labour into degrees of skill," &c. (Ure, l. c., pp. 19-23 passim).

[2] "Each handicraftsman being ... enabled to perfect himself by practice in one point, became ... a cheaper workman" (Ure, l. c., p. 19).

## SECTION 4.—DIVISION OF LABOUR IN MANUFACTURE, AND DIVISION OF LABOUR IN SOCIETY

We first considered the origin of manufacture, then its simple elements, then the detail labourer and his implements, and finally, the totality of the mechanism. We shall now lightly touch upon the relation between the division of labour in manufacture, and the social division of labour, which forms the foundation of all production of commodities.

If we keep labour alone in view, we may designate the separation of social production into its main divisions or *genera*—viz., agriculture, industries, &c., as division of labour in general, and the splitting up of these families into species and sub-species, as division of labour in particular, and the division of labour within the workshop as division of labour in singular or in detail.[1]

Division of labour in a society, and the corresponding tying down of individuals to a particular calling, develops itself, just as does the division of labour in manufacture, from opposite starting-points. Within a family,[2] and after further development within a tribe, there springs up naturally a division of labour, caused by differences of sex and age, a division that is consequently based on a purely physiological foundation, which division enlarges its materials by the expansion of the community, by the increase of population, and more especially, by the conflicts between different tribes, and the subjugation of one tribe

[1] "Division of labour proceeds from the separation of professions the most widely different to that division, where several labourers divide between them the preparation of one and the same product, as in manufacture" (Storch, *Cours d'Econ. Pol.*, Paris Edn., t. I, p. 173). "Among peoples which have reached a certain level of civilisation, we meet with three kinds of division of labour: the first, which we shall call general, brings about the division of the producers into agriculturalists, manufacturers, and traders, it corresponds to the three main branches of the nation's labour; the second, which one could call particular, is the division of each branch of labour into species.... The third division of labour, which one should designate as a division of tasks, or of labour properly so called, is that which grows up in the individual crafts and trades ... which is established in the majority of the manufactories and workshops" (Skarbek, l. c., pp. 84, 85).

[2] *Note to the third edition.*—Subsequent very searching study of the primitive condition of man, led the author to the conclusion, that it was not the family that originally developed into the tribe, but that, on the contrary, the tribe was the primitive and spontaneously developed form of human association, on the basis of blood relationship, and that out of the first incipient loosening of the tribal bonds, the many and various forms of the family were afterwards developed.[280] (*F. E.*)

by another. On the other hand, as I have before remarked, the exchange of products springs up at the points where different families, tribes, communities, come in contact; for, in the beginning of civilisation, it is not private individuals but families, tribes, &c., that meet on an independent footing. Different communities find different means of production, and different means of subsistence in their natural environment. Hence, their modes of production, and of living, and their products are different. It is this spontaneously developed difference which, when different communities come in contact, calls forth the mutual exchange of products, and the consequent gradual conversion of those products into commodities. Exchange does not create the differences between the spheres of production, but brings what are already different into relation, and thus converts them into more or less inter-dependent branches of the collective production of an enlarged society. In the latter case, the social division of labour arises from the exchange between spheres of production, that are originally distinct and independent of one another. In the former, where the physiological division of labour is the starting-point, the particular organs of a compact whole grow loose, and break off, principally owing to the exchange of commodities with foreign communities, and then isolate themselves so far, that the sole bond, still connecting the various kinds of work, is the exchange of the products as commodities. In the one case, it is the making dependent what was before independent; in the other case, the making independent what was before dependent.

The foundation of every division of labour that is well developed, and brought about by the exchange of commodities, is the separation between town and country.[1] It may be said, that the whole economic history of society is summed up in the movement of this antithesis. We pass it over, however, for the present.

Just as a certain number of simultaneously employed labourers are the material prerequisites for division of labour in manufacture, so are the number and density of the population, which here correspond to the agglomeration in one workshop, a necessary condition for the

[1] Sir James Steuart is the economist who has handled this subject best. How little his book, which appeared ten years before the *Wealth of Nations*, is known, even at the present time, may be judged from the fact that the admirers of Malthus do not even know that the first edition of the latter's work on population contains, except in the purely declamatory part, very little but extracts from Steuart, and in a less degree, from Wallace and Townsend.[281]

division of labour in society.[1] Nevertheless, this density is more or less relative. A relatively thinly populated country, with well-developed means of communication, has a denser population than a more numerously populated country, with badly-developed means of communication; and in this sense the Northern States of the American Union, for instance, are more thickly populated than India.[2]

Since the production and the circulation of commodities are the general prerequisites of the capitalist mode of production, division of labour in manufacture demands, that division of labour in society at large should previously have attained a certain degree of development. Inversely, the former division reacts upon and develops and multiplies the latter. Simultaneously, with the differentiation of the instruments of labour, the industries that produce these instruments, become more and more differentiated.[3] If the manufacturing system seize upon an industry, which, previously, was carried on in connexion with others, either as a chief or as a subordinate industry, and by one producer, these industries immediately separate their connexion, and become independent. If it seize upon a particular stage in the production of a commodity, the other stages of its production become converted into so many independent industries. It has already been stated, that where the finished article consists merely of a number of parts fitted together, the detail operations may re-establish themselves as genuine and separate handicrafts. In order to carry out more perfectly the division of labour in manufacture, a single branch of production is, according to the varieties of its raw material, or the various forms that one and the same raw material may assume, split up into numerous, and to some extent, entirely new manufactures. Accordingly, in France alone, in the first half of the 18th century, over

[1] "There is a certain density of population which is convenient, both for social intercourse, and for that combination of powers by which the produce of labour is increased" (James Mill, l. c., [*Elements of Political Economy*,] p. 50). "As the number of labourers increases, the productive power of society augments in the compound ratio of that increase, multiplied by the effects of the division of labour" (Th. Hodgskin, l. c., p. 120).

[2] In consequence of the great demand for cotton after 1861,[282] the production of cotton, in some thickly populated districts of India, was extended at the expense of rice cultivation. In consequence there arose local famines, the defective means of communication not permitting the failure of rice in one district to be compensated by importation from another.

[3] Thus the fabrication of shuttles formed, as early as the 17th century, a special branch of industry in Holland.

100 different kinds of silk stuffs were woven, and, in Avignon, it was law, that "every apprentice should devote himself to only one sort of fabrication, and should not learn the preparation of several kinds of stuff at once".[283] The territorial division of labour, which confines special branches of production to special districts of a country, acquires fresh stimulus from the manufacturing system, which exploits every special advantage.[1] The colonial system and the opening out of the markets of the world, both of which are included in the general conditions of existence of the manufacturing period, furnish rich material for developing the division of labour in society. It is not the place, here, to go on to show how division of labour seizes upon, not only the economic, but every other sphere of society, and everywhere lays the foundation of that all engrossing system of specialising and sorting men, that development in a man of one single faculty at the expense of all other faculties, which caused A. Ferguson, the master of Adam Smith, to exclaim: "We make a nation of Helots,[243] and have no free citizens."[2]

But, in spite of the numerous analogies and links connecting them, division of labour in the interior of a society, and that in the interior of a workshop, differ not only in degree, but also in kind. The analogy appears most indisputable where there is an invisible bond uniting the various branches of trade. For instance the cattle-breeder produces hides, the tanner makes the hides into leather, and the shoemaker, the leather into boots. Here the thing produced by each of them is but a step towards the final form, which is the product of all their labours combined. There are, besides, all the various industries that supply the cattle-breeder, the tanner, and the shoemaker with the means of production. Now it is quite possible to imagine, with Adam Smith, that the difference between the above social division of labour, and the division in manufacture, is merely subjective, exists merely for the observer, who, in a manufacture, can see with one glance, all the numerous operations being performed on one spot, while in the instance given above, the spreading out of the work over great areas, and the great number of people employed in each branch of labour, obscure

[1] Whether the woollen manufacture of England is not divided into several parts or branches appropriated to particular places, where they are only or principally manufactured; fine cloths in Somersetshire, coarse in Yorkshire, long ells at Exeter, soies at Sudbury, crapes at Norwich, linseys at Kendal, blankets at Whitney, and so forth" (Berkeley, *The Querist*, 1750, p. 56, § 520).

[2] A. Ferguson, *History of Civil Society*, Edinburgh, 1767, Part iv, sect. ii, p. 285.

the connexion.[1] But what is it that forms the bond between the independent labours of the cattle-breeder, the tanner, and the shoemaker? It is the fact that their respective products are commodities. What, on the other hand, characterises division of labour in manufactures? The fact that the detail labourer produces no commodities.[2] It is only the common product of all the detail labourers that becomes a commodity.[3] Division of labour in society is brought about by the purchase and sale of the products of different branches of industry, while the connexion between the detail operations in a workshop, is due to the sale of the labour power of several workmen to one capitalist, who applies it as combined labour power. The division of labour in the workshop implies concentration of the means of production in the hands of one capitalist; the division of labour in society implies

[1] In manufacture proper, he says, the division of labour appears to be greater, because "those employed in every different branch of the work can often be collected into the same workhouse, and placed at once under the view of the spectator. In those great manufactures, (!) on the contrary, which are destined to supply the great wants of the great body of the people, every different branch of the work employs so great a number of workmen, that it is impossible to collect them all into the same workhouse ... the division is not near so obvious" (A. Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, bk. i, ch. i). The celebrated passage in the same chapter that begins with the words, "Observe the accommodation of the most common artificer or day labourer in a civilised and thriving country," &c., and then proceeds to depict what an enormous number and variety of industries contribute to the satisfaction of the wants of an ordinary labourer, is copied almost word for word from B. de Mandeville's Remarks to his *Fable of the Bees, or Private Vices, Publick Benefits* (First ed., without the remarks, 1705; with the remarks, 1714).

[2] "There is no longer anything which we can call the natural reward of individual labour. Each labourer produces only some part of a whole, and each part, having no value or utility in itself, there is nothing on which the labourer can seize, and say: It is my product, this I will keep to myself" (*Labour Defended against the Claims of Capital*, Lond., 1825, p. 25). The author of this admirable work is the Th. Hodgskin I have already cited.

[3] This distinction between division of labour in society and in manufacture, was practically illustrated to the Yankees. One of the new taxes devised at Washington during the civil war, was the duty of 6% "on all industrial products". Question: What is an industrial product? Answer of the legislature: A thing is produced "when it is made", and it is made when it is ready for sale. Now, for one example out of many. The New York and Philadelphia manufacturers had previously been in the habit of "making" umbrellas with all their belongings. But since an umbrella is a *mixtum compositum* of very heterogeneous parts, by degrees these parts became the products of various separate industries, carried on independently in different places. They entered as separate commodities into the umbrella manufactory, where they were fitted together. The Yankees have given to articles thus fitted together, the name of "assembled articles", a name they deserve, for being an assemblage of taxes. Thus the umbrella "assembles", first, 6% on the price of each of its elements, and a further 6% on its own total price.

their dispersion among many independent producers of commodities. While within the workshop, the iron law of proportionality subjects definite numbers of workmen to definite functions, in the society outside the workshop, chance and caprice have full play in distributing the producers and their means of production among the various branches of industry. The different spheres of production, it is true, constantly tend to an equilibrium: for, on the one hand, while each producer of a commodity is bound to produce a use value, to satisfy a particular social want, and while the extent of these wants differs quantitatively, still there exists an inner relation which settles their proportions into a regular system, and that system one of spontaneous growth; and, on the other hand, the law of the value of commodities ultimately determines how much of its disposable working time society can expend on each particular class of commodities. But this constant tendency to equilibrium, of the various spheres of production, is exercised, only in the shape of a reaction against the constant upsetting of this equilibrium. The *a priori* system on which the division of labour, within the workshop, is regularly carried out,[a] becomes in the division of labour within the society, an *a posteriori*, nature-imposed necessity, controlling the lawless caprice of the producers, and perceptible in the barometrical fluctuations of the market prices. Division of labour within the workshop implies the undisputed authority of the capitalist over men, that are but parts of a mechanism that belongs to him. The division of labour within the society brings into contact independent commodity producers, who acknowledge no other authority but that of competition, of the coercion exerted by the pressure of their mutual interests; just as in the animal kingdom, the *bellum omnium contra omnes*[284] more or less preserves the conditions of existence of every species. The same bourgeois mind which praises division of labour in the workshop, life-long annexation of the labourer to a partial operation, and his complete subjection to capital, as being an organisation of labour that increases its productiveness — that same bourgeois mind denounces with equal vigour every conscious attempt to socially control and regulate the process of production, as an inroad upon such sacred things as the rights of property, freedom and unrestricted play for the bent of the individual capitalist. It is very characteristic that the enthusiastic apologists of the factory system have nothing more damning to urge against a gen-

[a] The German editions have "is regularly carried out in accordance with a plan".

eral organisation of the labour of society, than that it would turn all society into one immense factory.

If, in a society with capitalist production, anarchy in the social division of labour and despotism in that of the workshop are mutual conditions the one of the other, we find, on the contrary, in those earlier forms of society in which the separation of trades has been spontaneously developed, then crystallised, and finally made permanent by law, on the one hand, a specimen of the organisation of the labour of society, in accordance with an approved and authoritative plan, and on the other, the entire exclusion of division of labour in the workshop, or at all events a mere dwarflike or sporadic and accidental development of the same.[1]

Those small and extremely ancient Indian communities, some of which have continued down to this day, are based on possession in common of the land, on the blending of agriculture and handicrafts, and on an unalterable division of labour, which serves, whenever a new community is started, as a plan and scheme ready cut and dried. Occupying areas of from 100 up to several thousand acres, each forms a compact whole producing all it requires. The chief part of the products is destined for direct use by the community itself, and does not take the form of a commodity. Hence, production here is independent of that division of labour brought about, in Indian society as a whole, by means of the exchange of commodities. It is the surplus alone that becomes a commodity, and a portion of even that, not until it has reached the hands of the State, into whose hands from time immemorial a certain quantity of these products has found its way in the shape of rent in kind. The constitution of these communities varies in different parts of India. In those of the simplest form, the land is tilled in common, and the produce divided among the members. At the same time, spinning and weaving are carried on in each family as subsidiary industries. Side by side with the masses thus occupied with one and the same work, we find the "chief inhabitant," who is judge, police, and tax-gatherer in one; the bookkeeper, who keeps the accounts of the tillage and registers everything relating thereto; another

[1] "It can ... be laid down as a general rule that the less authority presides over the division of labour inside society, the more the division of labour develops inside the workshop, and the more it is subjected there to the authority of a single person. Thus authority in the workshop and authority in society in relation to the division of labour, are in inverse ration to each other" (Karl Marx, *Misère &c.*, pp. 130-31 [present edition, Vol. 6, p. 185]).

official, who prosecutes criminals, protects strangers travelling through and escorts them to the next village; the boundary man, who guards the boundaries against neighbouring communities; the water-overseer, who distributes the water from the common tanks for irrigation; the Brahmin, who conducts the religious services; the schoolmaster, who on the sand teaches the children reading and writing; the calendar-Brahmin, or astrologer, who makes known the lucky or unlucky days for seed-time and harvest, and for every other kind of agricultural work; a smith and a carpenter, who make and repair all the agricultural implements; the potter, who makes all the pottery of the village; the barber, the washerman, who washes clothes, the silversmith, here and there the poet, who in some communities replaces the silversmith, in others the schoolmaster. This dozen of individuals is maintained at the expense of the whole community. If the population increases, a new community is founded, on the pattern of the old one, on unoccupied land. The whole mechanism discloses a systematic division of labour; but a division like that in manufactures is impossible, since the smith and the carpenter, &c., find an unchanging market, and at the most there occur, according to the sizes of the villages, two or three of each, instead of one.[1] The law that regulates the division of labour in the community acts with the irresistible authority of a law of Nature, at the same time that each individual artificer, the smith, the carpenter, and so on, conducts in his workshop all the operations of his handicraft in the traditional way, but independently, and without recognising any authority over him. The simplicity of the organisation for production in these self-sufficing communities that constantly reproduce themselves in the same form, and when accidentally destroyed, spring up again on the spot and with the same name[2]— this simplicity supplies the key to the secret of the

[1] Lieut-Col. Mark Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India.* Lond., 1810-17, v. I, pp. 118-20. A good description of the various forms of the Indian communities is to be found in George Campbell's *Modern India.* Lond., 1852.

[2] "Under this simple form ... the inhabitants of the country have lived from time immemorial. The boundaries of the villages have been but seldom altered; and though the villages themselves have been sometimes injured, and even desolated by war, famine, and disease, the same name, the same limits, the same interests, and even the same families, have continued for ages. The inhabitants give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and division of kingdoms; while the village remains entire, they care not to what power it is transferred, or to what sovereign it devolves; its internal economy remains unchanged" (Th. Stamford Raffles, late Lieut. Gov. of Java, *The History of Java.* Lond., 1817, Vol. 1, p. 285).[285]

unchangeableness of Asiatic societies, an unchangeableness in such striking contrast with the constant dissolution and refounding of Asiatic States, and the never-ceasing changes of dynasty. The structure of the economic elements of society remains untouched by the storm-clouds of the political sky.

The rules of the guilds, as I have said before, by limiting most strictly the number of apprentices and journeymen that a single master could employ, prevented him from becoming a capitalist. Moreover, he could not employ his journeymen in many other handicrafts than the one in which he was a master. The guilds zealously repelled every encroachment by the capital of merchants, the only form of free capital with which they came in contact. A merchant could buy every kind of commodity, but labour as a commodity he could not buy. He existed only on sufferance, as a dealer in the products of the handicrafts. If circumstances called for a further division of labour, the existing guilds split themselves up into varieties, or founded new guilds by the side of the old ones; all this, however, without concentrating various handicrafts in a single workshop. Hence, the guild organisation, however much it may have contributed by separating, isolating, and perfecting the handicrafts, to create the material conditions for the existence of manufacture, excluded division of labour in the workshop. On the whole, the labourer and his means of production remained closely united, like the snail with its shell, and thus there was wanting the principal basis of manufacture, the separation of the labourer from his means of production, and the conversion of these means into capital.

While division of labour in society at large, whether such division be brought about or not by exchange of commodities, is common to economic formations of society the most diverse, division of labour in the workshop, as practised by manufacture, is a special creation of the capitalist mode of production alone.

## SECTION 5.—THE CAPITALISTIC CHARACTER OF MANUFACTURE

An increased number of labourers under the control of one capitalist is the natural starting-point, as well of co-operation generally, as of manufacture in particular. But the division of labour in manufacture makes this increase in the number of workmen a technical necessity. The minimum number that any given capitalist is bound to employ is

here prescribed by the previously established division of labour. On the other hand, the advantages of further division are obtainable only by adding to the number of workmen, and this can be done only by adding multiples of the various detail groups. But an increase in the variable component of the capital employed necessitates an increase in its constant component, too, in the workshops, implements, &c., and, in particular, in the raw material, the call for which grows quicker than the number of workmen. The quantity of it consumed in a given time, by a given amount of labour, increases in the same ratio as does the productive power of that labour in consequence of its division. Hence, it is a law, based on the very nature of manufacture, that the minimum amount of capital, which is bound to be in the hands of each capitalist, must keep increasing; in other words, that the transformation into capital of the social means of production and subsistence must keep extending.[1]

In manufacture, as well as in simple co-operation, the collective working organism is a form of existence of capital. The mechanism that is made up of numerous individual detail labourers belongs to the capitalist. Hence, the productive power resulting from a combination of labours appears to be the productive power of capital. Manufacture proper not only subjects the previously independent workman to the discipline and command of capital, but, in addition, creates a hierarchic gradation of the workmen themselves. While simple co-operation leaves the mode of working by the individual for the most part unchanged, manufacture thoroughly revolutionises it, and seizes labour power by its very roots. It converts the labourer into a crippled monstrosity, by forcing his detail dexterity at the expense of a world of productive capabilities and instincts; just as in the States of La Plata [286] they butcher a whole beast for the sake of his hide or his tallow. Not only is the detail work distributed to the different indi-

[1] "It is not sufficient that the capital" (the writer should have said the necessary means of subsistence and of production) "required for the subdivision of handicrafts should be in readiness in the society: it must also be accumulated in the hands of the employers in sufficiently large quantities to enable them to conduct their operations on a large scale... The more the division increases, the more does the constant employment of a given number of labourers require a greater outlay of capital in tools, raw material, &c." (Storch, *Cours d'Econ. Polit.* Paris Ed., t. I, pp. 250, 251). "The concentration of the instruments of production and the division of labour are as inseparable one from the other, as rare, in the political sphere, the concentration of public powers and the division of private interests" (Karl Marx, l.c., p. 134 [present edition, Vol. 6, p. 187]).

viduals, but the individual himself is made the automatic motor of a fractional operation,[1] and the absurd fable of Menenius Agrippa,[287] which makes man a mere fragment of his own body, becomes realised.[2] If, at first, the workman sells his labour power to capital, because the material means of producing a commodity fail him, now his very labour power refuses its services unless it has been sold to capital. Its functions can be exercised only in an environment that exists in the workshop of the capitalist after the sale. By nature unfitted to make anything independently, the manufacturing labourer develops productive activity as a mere appendage of the capitalist's workshop.[3] As the chosen people bore in their features the sign manual of Jehovah,[288] so division of labour brands the manufacturing workman as the property of capital.

The knowledge, the judgment, and the will, which, though in ever so small a degree, are practised by the independent peasant or handicraftsman, in the same way as the savage makes the whole art of war consist in the exercise of his personal cunning — these faculties are now required only for the workshop as a whole. Intelligence in production expands in one direction, because it vanishes in many others. What is lost by the detail labourers, is concentrated in the capital that employs them.[4] It is a result of the division of labour in manufactures, that the labourer is brought face to face with the intellectual potencies of the material process of production, as the property of another, and as a ruling power. This separation begins in simple co-operation, where the capitalist represents to the single workman, the oneness and the will of the associated labour. It is developed in manufacture which cuts down the labourer into a detail labourer. It is completed in modern industry, which makes science a productive force distinct from labour and presses it into the service of capital.[5]

[1] Dugald Stewart calls manufacturing labourers "living automatons ... employed in the details of the work" (l. c., p. 318).

[2] In corals, each individual is, in fact, the stomach of the whole group; but it supplies the group with nourishment, instead of, like the Roman patrician, withdrawing it.

[3] "The worker who is the master of a whole craft can work and find means of subsistence anywhere; the other" (the manufacturing labourer) "is only an appendage who, when he is separated from his fellows, possesses neither capability nor independence, and finds himself forced to accept any law it is thought fit to impose" (Storch, l. c., Petersb. edit., 1815, t. 1, p. 204).

[4] A. Ferguson, l. c., p. 281: "The former may have gained what the other has lost."

[5] "The man of knowledge and the productive labourer come to be widely divided from each other, and knowledge, instead of remaining the handmaid of labour in the

In manufacture, in order to make the collective labourer, and through him capital, rich in social productive power, each labourer must be made poor in individual productive powers.

"Ignorance is the mother of industry as well as of superstition. Reflection and fancy are subject to err; but a habit of moving the hand or the foot is independent of either. Manufactures, accordingly, prosper most where the mind is least consulted, and where the workshop may ... be considered as an engine, the parts of which are men." [1]

As a matter of fact, some few manufacturers in the middle of the 18th century preferred, for certain operations that were trade secrets, to employ half-idiotic persons.[2]

"The understandings of the greater part of men," says Adam Smith, "are necessarily formed by their ordinary employments. The man whose whole life is spent in performing a few simple operations ... has no occasion to exert his understanding.... He generally becomes as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become."

After describing the stupidity of the detail labourer he goes on:

"The uniformity of his stationary life naturally corrupts the courage of his mind.... It corrupts even the activity of his body and renders him incapable of exerting his strength with vigour and perseverance in any other employments than that to which he has been bred. His dexterity at his own particular trade seems in this manner to be acquired at the expense of his intellectual, social, and martial virtues. But in every improved and civilised society, this is the state into which the labouring poor, that is, the great body of the people, must necessarily fall." [3]

For preventing the complete deterioration of the great mass of the

hand of the labourer to increase his productive powers ... has almost everywhere arrayed itself against labour ... systematically deluding and leading them (the labourers) astray in order to render their muscular powers entirely mechanical and obedient" (W. Thompson, *An Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth*. London, 1824, p. 274).

[1] A. Ferguson, l. c., p. 280.

[2] J. D. Tuckett, *A History of the Past and Present State of the Labouring Population*, Lond., 1846.

[3] A. Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Bk. v, ch. i, art. ii. Being a pupil of A. Ferguson who showed the disadvantageous effects of division of labour, Adam Smith was perfectly clear on this point. In the introduction to his work, where he *ex professo* praises division of labour, he indicates only in a cursory manner that it is the source of social inequalities. It is not till the 5th Book, on the Revenue of the State, that he reproduces Ferguson. In my *Misère de la Philosophie* [present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 178-90], I have sufficiently explained the historical connexion between Ferguson, A. Smith, Lemontey, and Say, as regards their criticisms of Division of Labour, and have shown, for the first time, that Division of Labour as practised in manufactures, is a specific form of the capitalist mode of production.

people by division of labour, A. Smith recommends education of the people by the State, but prudently, and in homœopathic doses. G. Garnier, his French translator and commentator, who, under the first French Empire, quite naturally developed into a senator, quite as naturally opposes him on this point. Education of the masses, he urges, violates the first law of the division of labour, and with it

"our whole social system would be proscribed". "Like all other divisions of labour," he says, "that between hand labour and head labour [1] is more pronounced and decided in proportion as society" (he rightly uses this word, for capital, landed property and their State) "becomes richer. This division of labour, like every other, is an effect of past, and a cause of future progress ... ought the government then to work in opposition to this division of labour, and to hinder its natural course? Ought it to expend a part of the public money in the attempt to confound and blend together two classes of labour, which are striving after division and separation?" [2]

Some crippling of body and mind is inseparable even from division of labour in society as a whole. Since, however, manufacture carries this social separation of branches of labour much further, and also, by its peculiar division, attacks the individual at the very roots of his life, it is the first to afford the materials for, and to give a start to, industrial pathology.[3]

"To subdivide a man is to execute him, if he deserves the sentence, to assassinate him if he does not.... The subdivision of labour is the assassination of a people." [4]

Co-operation based on divison of labour, in other words, manufacture, commences as a spontaneous formation. So soon as it attains

[1] Ferguson had already said, l. c., p. 281: "And thinking itself, in this age of separations, may become a peculiar craft."

[2] G. Garnier, vol. V of his translation of A. Smith, pp. [2,] 4-5.

[3] Ramazzini, professor of practical medicine at Padua, published in 1700 his work *De morbis artificum*, which was translated into French 1777, reprinted 1841 in the *Encyclopédie des Sciences Médicales. 7me Div. Auteurs Classiques*. The period of Modern Mechanical Industry has, of course, very much enlarged his catalogue of labour's diseases. See *Hygiène physique et morale de l'ouvrier dans les grandes villes en général et dans la ville de Lyon en particulier. Par le Dr. A. L. Fonteret, Paris, 1858* and [R. H. Rohatzsch,] *Die Krankheiten, welche verschiedenen Ständen. Altern und Geschlechtern eigenthümlich sind. 6 Vols. Ulm, 1840*, and others. In 1854 the Society of Arts [289] appointed a Commission of Inquiry into industrial pathology. The list of documents collected by this commission is to be seen in the catalogue of the *Twickenham Economic Museum*. Very important are the official *Reports on Public Health*. See also Eduard Reich, M. D. *Ueber die Entartung des Menschen*, Erlangen, 1868.

[4] (D. Urquhart, *Familiar Words*, Lond., 1855, p. 119.) Hegel held very heretical views on division of labour. In his *Rechtsphilosophie* he says: "By well educated men we understand in the first instance, those who can do everything that others do." [290]

some consistence and extension, it becomes the recognised methodical and systematic form of capitalist production. History shows how the division of labour peculiar to manufacture, strictly so called, acquires the best adapted form at first by experience, as it were behind the backs of the actors, and then, like the guild handicrafts, strives to hold fast that form when once found, and here and there succeeds in keeping it for centuries. Any alteration in this form, except in trivial matters, is solely owing to a revolution in the instruments of labour. Modern manufacture wherever it arises — I do not here allude to modern industry based on machinery — either finds the *disjecta membra poetæ*[274] ready to hand, and only waiting to be collected together, as is the case in the manufacture of clothes in large towns, or it can easily apply the principle of division, simply by exclusively assigning the various operations of a handicraft (such as book-binding) to particular men. In such cases, a week's experience is enough to determine the proportion between the number of the hands necessary for the various functions.[1)]

By decomposition of handicrafts, by specialisation of the instruments of labour, by the formation of detail labourers, and by grouping and combining the latter into a single mechanism, division of labour in manufacture creates a qualitative gradation, and a quantitative proportion in the social process of production; it consequently creates a definite organisation of the labour of society, and thereby develops at the same time new productive forces in the society. In its specific capitalist form — and under the given conditions, it could take no other form than a capitalistic one — manufacture is but a particular method of begetting relative surplus value, or of augmenting at the expense of the labourer the self-expansion of capital — usually called social wealth, "Wealth of Nations", &c. It increases the social productive power of labour, not only for the benefit of the capitalist instead of for that of the labourer, but it does this by crippling the individual labourers. It creates new conditions for the lordship of capital over labour. If, therefore, on the one hand, it presents itself historically as a progress and as a necessary phase in the economic development of

[1)] The simple belief in the inventive genius exercised a priori by the individual capitalist in division of labour, exists now-a-days only among German professors, of the stamp of Herr Roscher, who, to recompense the capitalist from whose Jovian head division of labour sprang ready formed, dedicates to him "various wages" (diverse Arbeitslöhne).[291] The more or less extensive application of division of labour depends on length of purse, not on greatness of genius.

society, on the other hand, it is a refined and civilised method of exploitation.

Political economy, which as an independent science, first sprang into being during the period of manufacture, views the social division of labour only from the standpoint of manufacture,[1] and sees in it only the means of producing more commodities with a given quantity of labour, and consequently, of cheapening commodities and hurrying on the accumulation of capital. In most striking contrast with this accentuation of quantity and exchange value, is the attitude of the writers of classical antiquity, who hold exclusively by quality and use value.[2] In consequence of the separation of the social branches of production, commodities are better made, the various bents and talents of men select a suitable field,[3] and without some restraint no important results can be obtained anywhere.[4] Hence both product and producer are improved by division of labour. If the growth of the quantity produced is occasionally mentioned, this is only done with

[1] The older writers, like Petty and the anonymous author [H. Martyn,] of *Advantages of the East India Trade*, bring out the capitalist character of division of labour as applied in manufacture more than A. Smith does.

[2] Amongst the moderns may be excepted a few writers of the 18th century, like Beccaria and James Harris, who with regard to division of labour almost entirely follow the ancients. Thus, Beccaria: "Everyone knows from experience that if the hands and the intelligence are always applied to the same kind of work and the same products, these will be produced more easily, in greater abundance, and in higher quality, than if each individual makes for himself all the things he needs.... In this way, men are divided up into various classes and conditions, to their own advantage and to that of the commodity" (Cesare Beccaria, *Elementi di Econ. Pubblica*, ed. Custodi, Parte Moderna, t. xi, p. 29). James Harris, afterwards Earl of Malmesbury, celebrated for the *Diaries* of his embassy at St. Petersburg, says in a note to his *Dialogue Concerning Happiness*, Lond., 1741,[292] reprinted afterwards in *Three Treatises, &c., 3 Ed., Lond., 1772*: "The whole argument to prove society natural" (i. e., by "division of employments") ... "is taken from the second book of Plato's Republic" [p. 292].

[3] Thus, in the Odyssey xiv, 228, "Ἄλλος γὰρ τ'ἄλλοισιν ἀνὴρ ἐπιτέρπεται ἔργοις",[a] and Archilochus in Sextus Empiricus, "ἄλλος ἄλλῳ ἐπ' ἔργῳ χαρδίην ἱαίνεται."[293]

[4] "Πολλ' ἠπίσταιο ἔργα, χαχῷς δ'ἠπίστατο πάντα."[294] Every Athenian considered himself superior as a producer of commodities to a Spartan; for the latter in time of war had men enough at his disposal but could not command money, as Thucydides makes Pericles say in the speech inciting the Athenians to the Peloponnesian war: "σῴμασι τε ἑτοιμότεροι οἱ αὐτονργοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ χρήμασι πολεμεῖν"[b] (Thuc., 1, l. c., 141). Nevertheless, even with regard to material production, αὐταρχεία,[c] as opposed to division of labour remained their ideal, "παρ'ὧν γὰρ τὸ, εὖ, παρὰ τούτων χαὶ τό αὔταρ-

[a] "For different men take joy in different works." - [b] "people producing for their own consumption will rather let war have their bodies than their money" - [c] self-sufficiency

reference to the greater abundance of use values. There is not a word alluding to exchange value or to the cheapening of commodities. This aspect, from the standpoint of use value alone, is taken as well by Plato,[1] who treats division of labour as the foundation on which the division of society into classes is based, as by Xenophon,[2] who with characteristic bourgeois instinct, approaches more nearly to division of

χες".[a] It should be mentioned here that at the date of the fall of the 30 Tyrants,[295] there were still not 5,000 Athenians without landed property.

[1] With Plato, division of labour within the community is a development from the multifarious requirements, and the limited capacities of individuals. The main point with him is, that the labourer must adapt himself to the work, not the work to the labourer; which latter is unavoidable, if he carries on several trades at once, thus making one or the other of them subordinate.[296] "For the workman must wait upon the work; it will not wait upon his leisure and allow itself to be done in a spare moment.—Yes, he must.—So the conclusion is that more will be produced of every thing and the work will be more easily and better done, when every man is set free from all other occupations to do, at the right time, the one thing for which he is naturally fitted" (Rep. 1. 2. [, 370 b-c.] Ed. Baiter, Orelli, &c.). So in Thucydides, 1. c., c. 142: "Seafaring is an art like any other, and cannot, as circumstances require, be carried on as a subsidiary occupation; nay, other subsidiary occupations cannot be carried on alongside of this one." If the work, says Plato, has to wait for the labourer, the critical point in the process is missed and the article spoiled, "ἔργου καιρὸν διόλλυται".[b] The same Platonic idea is found recurring in the protest of the English bleachers against the clause in the Factory Act [248] that provides fixed meal-times for all operatives. Their business cannot wait the convenience of the workmen, for "in the various operations of singeing, washing, bleaching, mangling, calendering, and dyeing, none of them can be stopped at a given moment without risk of damage ... to enforce the same dinner hour for all the workpeople might occasionally subject valuable goods to the risk of danger by incomplete operations" ["Reports &c., for 31st October 1861", pp. 21-22]. *Le platonisme où va-t-il se nicher!* [c]

[2] Xenophon says, it is not only an honour to receive food from the table of the King of Persia, but such food is much more tasty than other food. "And there is nothing wonderful in this, for as the other arts are brought to special perfection in the great towns, so the royal food is prepared in a special way. For in the small towns the same man makes bedsteads, doors, ploughs, and tables: often, too, he builds houses into the bargain, and is quite content if he finds custom sufficient for his sustenance. It is altogether impossible for a man who does so many things to do them all well. But in the great towns, where each can find many buyers, one trade is sufficient to maintain the man who carries it on. Nay, there is often not even need of one complete trade, but one man makes shoes for men, another for women. Here and there one man gets a living by sewing, another by cutting out shoes; one does nothing but cut out clothes, another nothing but sew the pieces together. It follows necessarily then, that he who does the

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[a] "For with the latter there is well-being, but with the former there is independence." - [b] ["If someone lets slip] the right moment for the work, it is spoiled." - [c] Where will Platonism be found next!

labour within the workshop. Plato's Republic,[296] in so far as division of labour is treated in it, as the formative principle of the State, is merely the Athenian idealisation of the Egyptian system of castes, Egypt having served as the model of an industrial country to many of his contemporaries also, amongst others to Isocrates,[1] and it continued to have this importance to the Greeks of the Roman Empire.[2]

During the manufacturing period proper, i. e., the period during which manufacture is the predominant form taken by capitalist production, many obstacles are opposed to the full development of the peculiar tendencies of manufacture. Although manufacture creates, as we have already seen, a simple separation of the labourers into skilled and unskilled, simultaneously with their hierarchic arrangement in classes, yet the number of the unskilled labourers, owing to the preponderating influence of the skilled, remains very limited. Although it adapts the detail operations to the various degrees of maturity, strength, and development of the living instruments of labour, thus conducing to exploitation of women and children, yet this tendency as a whole is wrecked on the habits and the resistance of the male labourers. Although the splitting up of handicrafts lowers the cost of forming the workman, and thereby lowers his value, yet for the more difficult detail work, a longer apprenticeship is necessary, and, even where it would be superfluous, is jealously insisted upon by the workmen. In England, for instance, we find the laws of apprenticeship,[211] with their seven years' probation, in full force down to the end of the manufacturing period; and they are not thrown on one side till the advent of modern industry. Since handicraft skill is the foundation of manufacture, and since the mechanism of manufacture as a whole

simplest kind of work, undoubtedly does it better than anyone else. So it is with the art of cooking" (Xenophon Cyropaedia, I, viii, c. 2). Xenophon here lays stress exclusively upon the excellence to be attained in use value, although he well knows that the gradations of the division of labour depend on the extent of the market.

[1] "He" (Busiris) "divided them all into special castes ... commanded that the same individuals should always carry on the same trade, for he knew that they who change their occupations become skilled in none; but that those who constantly stick to one occupation bring it to the highest perfection. In truth, we shall also find that in relation to the arts and handicrafts, they have outstripped their rivals more than a master does a bungler; and the contrivances for maintaining the monarchy and the other institutions of their State are so admirable that the most celebrated philosophers who treat of this subject praise the constitution of the Egyptian State above all others" (Isocrates, Busiris, c. [7,] 8).

[2] Cf. Diodorus Siculus [, l. c., Bk. 1, ch. 10-98].

possesses no framework, apart from the labourers themselves, capital is constantly compelled to wrestle with the insubordination of the workmen.

"By the infirmity of human nature," says friend Ure, "it happens that the more skilful the workman, the more self-willed and intractable he is apt to become, and of course the less fit a component of a mechanical system in which ... he may do great damage to the whole."[1]

Hence throughout the whole manufacturing period there runs the complaint of want of discipline among the workmen.[2] And had we not the testimony of contemporary writers, the simple facts, that during the period between the 16th century and the epoch of modern industry, capital failed to become the master of the whole disposable working time of the manufacturing labourers, that manufactures are short-lived, and change their locality from one country to another with the emigrating or immigrating workmen, these facts would speak volumes. "Order must in one way or another be established," exclaims in 1770 the oft-cited author of the *Essay on Trade and Commerce.*[297] "Order," re-echoes Dr. Andrew Ure 66 years later, "Order" was wanting in manufacture based on "the scholastic dogma of division of labour," and "Arkwright created order".[298]

At the same time manufacture was unable, either to seize upon the production of society to its full extent, or to revolutionise that production to its very core. It towered up as an economic work of art, on the broad foundation of the town handicrafts, and of the rural domestic industries. At a given stage in its development, the narrow technical basis on which manufacture rested, came into conflict with requirements of production that were created by manufacture itself.

One of its most finished creations was the workshop for the production of the instruments of labour themselves, including especially the complicated mechanical apparatus then already employed.

"A machine factory," says Ure, "displayed the division of labour in manifold gradations — the file, the drill, the lathe, having each its different workman in the order of skill". (P. 21.)

This workshop, the product of the division of labour in manufacture, produced in its turn — machines. It is they that sweep away the handicraftsman's work as the regulating principle of social produc-

[1] Ure, l. c., p. 20.

[2] This is more the case in England than in France, and more in France than in Holland.

tion. Thus, on the one hand, the technical reason for the life-long annexation of the workman to a detail function is removed. On the other hand, the fetters that this same principle laid on the dominion of capital, fall away.

# Chapter XV

## MACHINERY AND MODERN INDUSTRY

### SECTION 1.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF MACHINERY

John Stuart Mill says in his *Principles of Political Economy*:

"It is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being." [1]

That is, however, by no means the aim of the capitalistic application of machinery. Like every other increase in the productiveness of labour, machinery is intended to cheapen commodities, and, by shortening that portion of the working day, in which the labourer works for himself, to lengthen the other portion that he gives, without an equivalent, to the capitalist. In short, it is a means for producing surplus value.

In manufacture, the revolution in the mode of production begins with the labour power, in modern industry it begins with the instruments of labour. Our first inquiry then is, how the instruments of labour are converted from tools into machines, or what is the difference between a machine and the implements of a handicraft? We are only concerned here with striking and general characteristics; for epochs in the history of society are no more separated from each other by hard and fast lines of demarcation, than are geological epochs.

Mathematicians and mechanicians, and in this they are followed by a few English economists, call a tool a simple machine, and a machine a complex tool. They see no essential difference between them, and even give the name of machine to the simple mechanical powers, the lever, the inclined plane, the screw, the wedge, &c.[2] As a matter of fact, every machine is a combination of those simple pow-

[1] [Vol. 2, p. 312.] Mill should have said, "of any human being not fed by other people's labour", for, without doubt, machinery has greatly increased the number of well-to-do idlers.

[2] See, for instance, Hutton, *Course of Mathematics*.[299]

ers, no matter how they may be disguised. From the economic standpoint this explanation is worth nothing, because the historical element is wanting. Another explanation of the difference between tool and machine is that in the case of a tool, man is the motive power, while the motive power of a machine is something different from man, as, for instance, an animal, water, wind, and so on.[1] According to this, a plough drawn by oxen, which is a contrivance common to the most different epochs, would be a machine, while Claussen's circular loom, which, worked by a single labourer, weaves 96,000 picks per minute, would be a mere tool. Nay, this very loom, though a tool when worked by hand, would, if worked by steam, be a machine. And since the application of animal power is one of man's earliest inventions, production by machinery would have preceded production by handicrafts. When in 1733, John Wyatt brought out his spinning machine, and began the industrial revolution of the 18th century, not a word did he say about an ass driving it instead of a man, and yet this part fell to the ass. He described it as a machine "to spin without fingers".[2] [300]

[1] "From this point of view we may draw a sharp line of distinction between a tool and a machine: spades, hammers, chisels, &c., combinations of levers and of screws, in all of which, no matter how complicated they may be in other respects, man is the motive power, ... all this falls under the idea of a tool; but the plough, which is drawn by animal power, and wind-mills, &c., must be classed among machines" (Wilhelm Schulz, *Die Bewegung der Produktion*, Zürich, 1843, p. 38). In many respects a book to be recommended.

[2] Before his time, spinning machines, although very imperfect ones, had already been used, and Italy was probably the country of their first appearance. A critical history of technology would show how little any of the inventions of the 18th century are the work of a single individual. Hitherto there is no such book. Darwin has interested us in the history of Nature's Technology, i. e., in the formation of the organs of plants and animals, which organs serve as instruments of production for sustaining life. Does not the history of the productive organs of man, of organs that are the material basis of all social organisation, deserve equal attention? And would not such a history be easier to compile, since, as Vico says, human history differs from natural history in this, that we have made the former, but not the latter? [301] Technology discloses man's mode of dealing with Nature, the process of production by which, he sustains his life, and thereby also lays bare the mode of formation of his social relations, and of the mental conceptions that flow from them. Every history of religion, even, that fails to take account of this material basis, is uncritical. It is, in reality, much easier to discover by analysis the earthly core of the misty creations of religion, than, conversely, it is, to develop from the actual relations of life the corresponding celestialised forms of those relations. The latter method is the only materialistic, and therefore the only scientific one. The weak points in the abstract materialism of natural science, a materialism that ex-

All fully developed machinery consists of three essentially different parts, the motor mechanism, the transmitting mechanism, and finally the tool or working machine. The motor mechanism is that which puts the whole in motion. It either generates its own motive power, like the steam-engine, the caloric engine, the electromagnetic machine, &c., or it receives its impulse from some already existing natural force, like the water-wheel from a head of water, the wind-mill from wind, &c. The transmitting mechanism, composed of fly-wheels, shafting, toothed wheels, pullies, straps, ropes, bands, pinions, and gearing of the most varied kinds, regulates the motion, changes its form where necessary, as for instance, from linear to circular, and divides and distributes it among the working machines. These two first parts of the whole mechanism are there, solely for putting the working machines in motion, by means of which motion the subject of labour is seized upon and modified as desired. The tool or working machine is that part of the machinery with which the industrial revolution of the 18th century started. And to this day it constantly serves as such a starting-point, whenever a handicraft, or a manufacture, is turned into an industry carried on by machinery.

On a closer examination of the working machine proper, we find in it, as a general rule, though often, no doubt, under very altered forms, the apparatus and tools used by the handicraftsman or manufacturing workman; with this difference, that instead of being human implements, they are the implements of a mechanism, or mechanical implements. Either the entire machine is only a more or less altered mechanical edition of the old handicraft tool, as, for instance, the power-loom,[1] or the working parts fitted in the frame of the machine are old acquaintances, as spindles are in a mule, needles in a stocking-loom, saws in a sawing-machine, and knives in a chopping machine. The distinction between these tools and the body proper of the machine, exists from their very birth; for they continue for the most part to be produced by handicraft, or by manufacture, and are afterwards fitted into the body of the machine, which is the product of machinery.[2]

cludes history and its process, are at once evident from the abstract and ideological conceptions of its spokesmen, whenever they venture beyond the bounds of their own speciality.

[1] Especially in the original form of the power-loom, we recognise, at the first glance, the ancient loom. In its modern form, the power-loom has undergone essential alterations.[302]

[2] It is only during the last 15 years (i. e., since about 1850), that a constantly in-

The machine proper is therefore a mechanism that, after being set in motion, performs with its tools the same operations that were formerly done by the workman with similar tools. Whether the motive power is derived from man, or from some other machine, makes no difference in this respect. From the moment that the tool proper is taken from man, and fitted into a mechanism, a machine takes the place of a mere implement. The difference strikes one at once, even in those cases where man himself continues to be the prime mover. The number of implements that he himself can use simultaneously, is limited by the number of his own natural instruments of production, by the number of his bodily organs. In Germany, they tried at first to make one spinner work two spinning-wheels, that is, to work simultaneously with both hands and both feet. This was too difficult.[304] Later, a treddle spinning-wheel with two spindles was invented, but adepts in spinning, who could spin two threads at once, were almost as scarce as two-headed men. The Jenny,[305] on the other hand, even at its very birth, spun with 12-18 spindles, and the stocking-loom knits with many thousand needles at once. The number of tools that a machine can bring into play simultaneously, is from the very first emancipated from the organic limits that hedge in the tools of a handicraftsman.

In many manual implements the distinction between man as mere motive power, and man as the workman or operator properly so called, is brought into striking contrast. For instance, the foot is merely the prime mover of the spinning-wheel, while the hand, working with the spindle, and drawing and twisting, performs the real operation of spinning. It is this last part of the handicraftsman's implement that is first seized upon by the industrial revolution, leaving to the workman, in addition to his new labour of watching the machine with his eyes and correcting its mistakes with his hands, the merely mechanical part of being the moving power. On the other hand, implements, in regard to which man has always acted as a simple motive power, as, for instance, by turning the crank of a mill,[1] by pumping, by mov-

creasing portion of these machine tools have been made in England by machinery, and that not by the same manufacturers who make the machines. Instances of machines for the fabrication of these mechanical tools are, the automatic bobbin-making engine, the card-setting engine, shuttle-making machines, and machines for forging mule and throstle spindles.[303]

[1] Moses says: "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treads the corn." [306] The Christian philanthropists of Germany, on the contrary, fastened a wooden board round the

ing up and down the arm of a bellows, by pounding with a mortar, &c., such implements soon call for the application of animals, water, and wind [1] as motive powers. Here and there, long before the period of manufacture, and also, to some extent, during that period, these implements pass over into machines, but without creating any revolution in the mode of production. It becomes evident, in the period of modern industry, that these implements, even under their form of manual tools, are already machines. For instance, the pumps with which the Dutch, in 1836-7, emptied the Lake of Harlem, were constructed on the principle of ordinary pumps; the only difference being, that their pistons were driven by cyclopean steam-engines, instead of by men.[310] The common and very imperfect bellows of the blacksmith is, in England, occasionally converted into a blowing-engine, by connecting its arm with a steam-engine. The steam-engine itself, such as it was at its invention, during the manufacturing period at the close of the 17th century, and such as it continued to be down to 1780,[2] did not give rise to any industrial revolution. It was, on the contrary, the invention of machines that made a revolution in the form of steam-engines necessary. As soon as man, instead of working with an implement on the subject of his labour, becomes merely the motive power of an implement-machine, it is a mere accident that motive power takes the disguise of human muscle; and it may equally well take the form of wind, water or steam. Of course, this does not prevent such a change of form from producing great technical alterations in the mechanism that was originally constructed to be driven by man alone. Nowadays, all machines that have their way to make, such as sewing-machines, bread-making machines, &c., are, unless

necks of the serfs, whom they used as a motive power for grinding, in order to prevent them from putting flour into their mouths with their hands.[307]

[1] It was partly the want of streams with a good fall on them, and partly their battles with superabundance of water in other respects, that compelled the Dutch to resort to wind as a motive power. The wind-mill itself they got from Germany, where its invention was the origin of a pretty squabble between the nobles, the priests, and the emperor, as to which of those three the wind "belonged".[308] The air makes bondage, was the cry in Germany,[309] at the same time that the wind was making Holland free. What it reduced to bondage in this case, was not the Dutchman, but the land for the Dutchman. In 1836, 12,000 wind-mills of 60,000 horse power were still employed in Holland, to prevent two-thirds of the land from being reconverted into morasses.

[2] It was, indeed, very much improved by Watt's first so-called single acting engine; but, in this form, it continued to be a machine for raising water, and the liquor from salt mines.[311]

from their very nature their use on a small scale is excluded, constructed to be driven both by human and by purely mechanical motive power.

The machine, which is the starting-point of the industrial revolution, supersedes the workman, who handles a single tool, by a mechanism operating with a number of similar tools, and set in motion by a single motive power, whatever the form of that power may be.[1] Here we have the machine, but only as an elementary factor of production by machinery.

Increase in the size of the machine, and in the number of its working tools, calls for a more massive mechanism to drive it; and this mechanism requires, in order to overcome its resistance, a mightier moving power than that of man, apart from the fact that man is a very imperfect instrument for producing uniform continued motion. But assuming that he is acting simply as a motor, that a machine has taken the place of his tool, it is evident that he can be replaced by natural forces. Of all the great motors handed down from the manufacturing period, horse power is the worst, partly because a horse has a head of his own, partly because he is costly, and the extent to which he is applicable in factories is very restricted.[2] Nevertheless the horse was extensively used during the infancy of modern industry. This is proved, as well by the complaints of contemporary agriculturists, as

[1] "The union of all these simple instruments, set in motion by a single motor, constitutes a machine" (Babbage, l. c., [p. 136]).

[2] In December, 1859, John C. Morton read before the Society of Arts a paper on "The forces employed in agriculture". He there states: "Every improvement that furthers the uniformity of the land makes the steam-engine more and more applicable to the production of pure mechanical force.... Horse power is requisite wherever crooked fences and other obstructions prevent uniform action. These obstructions are vanishing day by day. For operations that demand more exercise of will than actual force, the only power applicable is that controlled every instant by the human mind — in other words, man power." Mr. Morton then reduces steam power, horse power, and man power, to the unit in general use for steam-engines, namely, the force required to raise 33,000 lbs one foot in one minute, and reckons the cost of one horse power from a steam-engine to be 3d., and from a horse to be $5\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour. Further, if a horse must fully maintain its health, it can work no more than 8 hours a day. Three at the least out of every seven horses used on tillage land during the year can be dispensed with by using steam power, at an expense not greater than that which, the horses dispensed with, would cost during the 3 or 4 months in which alone they can be used effectively. Lastly, steam power, in those agricultural operations in which it can be employed, improves, in comparison with horse power, the quality of the work. To do the work of a steam-engine would require 66 men, at a total cost of 15s. an hour, and to do the work of a horse, 32 men, at a total cost of 8s. an hour.[312]

by the term "horse power", which has survived to this day as an expression for mechanical force.

Wind was too inconstant and uncontrollable, and besides, in England, the birthplace of modern industry, the use of water power preponderated even during the manufacturing period. In the 17th century attempts had already been made to turn two pairs of millstones with a single water-wheel. But the increased size of the gearing was too much for the water power, which had now become insufficient, and this was one of the circumstances that led to a more accurate investigation of the laws of friction. In the same way the irregularity caused by the motive power in mills that were put in motion by pushing and pulling a lever, led to the theory, and the application, of the fly-wheel, which afterwards plays so important a part in modern industry.[1] In this way, during the manufacturing period, were developed the first scientific and technical elements of modern mechanical industry. Arkwright's throstle spinning mill was from the very first turned by water. But for all that, the use of water, as the predominant motive power, was beset with difficulties. It could not be increased at will, it failed at certain seasons of the year, and, above all, it was essentially local.[2] Not till the invention of Watt's second and so-called double-acting steam-engine, was a prime mover found, that begot its own force by the consumption of coal and water, whose power was entirely under man's control, that was mobile and a means of locomotion, that was urban and not, like the water-wheel, rural, that permitted production to be concentrated in towns instead of, like the water-wheels, being scattered up and down the country,[3] that was of universal technical application, and, relatively speaking, little affected in its choice of residence by local circumstances. The greatness of

[1] Faulhaber, 1625; De Cous, 1688.[313]

[2] The modern turbine frees the industrial exploitation of water power from many of its former fetters.[314]

[3] "In the early days of textile manufactures, the locality of the factory depended upon the existence of a stream having a sufficient fall to turn a water-wheel; and, although the establishment of the water-mills was the commencement of the breaking up of the domestic system of manufacture, yet the mills necessarily situated upon streams, and frequently at considerable distances the one from the other, formed part of a rural, rather than an urban system; and it was not until the introduction of the steam power as a substitute for the stream that factories were congregated in towns, and localities where the coal and water required for the production of steam were found in sufficient quantities. The steam-engine is the parent of manufacturing towns" (A. Redgrave in *Reports of the Insp. of Fact., 30th April, 1860*, p. 36).

Watt's genius showed itself in the specification of the patent that he took out in April, 1784. In that specification his steam-engine is described, not as an invention for a specific purpose, but as an agent universally applicable in mechanical industry. In it he points out applications, many of which, as for instance, the steam-hammer, were not introduced till half a century later. Nevertheless he doubted the use of steam-engines in navigation.[315] His successors, Boulton and Watt, sent to the exhibition of 1851 steam-engines of colossal size for ocean steamers.

As soon as tools had been converted from being manual implements of man into implements of a mechanical apparatus, of a machine, the motive mechanism also acquired an independent form, entirely emancipated from the restraints of human strength. Thereupon the individual machine, that we have hitherto been considering, sinks into a mere factor in production by machinery. One motive mechanism was now able to drive many machines at once. The motive mechanism grows with the number of the machines that are turned simultaneously, and the transmitting mechanism becomes a wide-spreading apparatus.

We now proceed to distinguish the co-operation of a number of machines of one kind from a complex system of machinery.

In the one case, the product is entirely made by a single machine, which performs all the various operations previously done by one handicraftsman with his tool; as, for instance, by a weaver with his loom; or by several handicraftsmen successively, either separately or as members of a system of manufacture.[1] For example, in the manufacture of envelopes, one man folded the paper with the folder, another laid on the gum, a third turned the flap over, on which the device is impressed, a fourth embossed the device, and so on; and for each of these operations the envelope had to change hands. One single envelope machine now performs all these operations at once, and makes more than 3,000 envelopes in an hour.[316] In the London exhi-

[1] From the standpoint of division of labour in manufacture, weaving was not simple, but, on the contrary, complicated manual labour; and consequently the power-loom is a machine that does very complicated work. It is altogether erroneous to suppose that modern machinery originally appropriated those operations alone, which division of labour had simplified. Spinning and weaving were, during the manufacturing period, split up into new species, and the implements were modified and improved; but the labour itself was in no way divided, and it retained its handicraft character. It is not the labour, but the instrument of labour, that serves as the starting-point of the machine.

bition of 1862, there was an American machine for making paper cornets. It cut the paper, pasted, folded, and finished 300 in a minute.[317] Here, the whole process, which, when carried on as manufacture, was split up into, and carried out by, a series of operations, is completed by a single machine, working a combination of various tools. Now, whether such a machine be merely a reproduction of a complicated manual implement, or a combination of various simple implements specialised by manufacture, in either case, in the factory, i. e., in the workshop in which machinery alone is used, we meet again with simple co-operation; and, leaving the workman out of consideration for the moment, this co-operation presents itself to us, in the first instance, as the conglomeration in one place of similar and simultaneously acting machines. Thus, a weaving factory is constituted of a number of power-looms, working side by side, and a sewing factory of a number of sewing-machines all in the same building. But there is here a technical oneness in the whole system, owing to all the machines receiving their impulse simultaneously, and in an equal degree, from the pulsations of the common prime mover, by the intermediary of the transmitting mechanism; and this mechanism, to a certain extent, is also common to them all, since only particular ramifications of it branch off to each machine. Just as a number of tools, then, form the organs of a machine, so a number of machines of one kind constitute the organs of the motive mechanism.

A real machinery system, however, does not take the place of these independent machines, until the subject of labour goes through a connected series of detail processes, that are carried out by a chain of machines of various kinds, the one supplementing the other. Here we have again the co-operation by division of labour that characterises manufacture; only now, it is a combination of detail machines. The special tools of the various detail workmen, such as those of the beaters, combers, spinners, &c., in the woollen manufacture, are now transformed into the tools of specialised machines, each machine constituting a special organ, with a special function, in the system. In those branches of industry in which the machinery system is first introduced, manufacture itself furnishes, in a general way, the natural basis for the division, and consequent organisation, of the process of production.[1] Nevertheless an essential difference at once manifests it-

[1] Before the epoch of Mechanical Industry, the wool manufacture was the predominating manufacture in England. Hence it was in this industry that, in the first half of the 18th century, the most experiments were made. Cotton, which required less

self. In manufacture it is the workmen who, with their manual implements, must, either singly or in groups, carry on each particular detail process. If, on the one hand, the workman becomes adapted to the process, on the other, the process was previously made suitable to the workman. This subjective principle of the division of labour no longer exists in production by machinery. Here, the process as a whole is examined objectively, in itself, that is to say, without regard to the question of its execution by human hands, it is analysed into its constituent phases; and the problem, how to execute each detail process, and bind them all into a whole, is solved by the aid of machines, chemistry, &c.[1] But, of course, in this case also, theory must be perfected by accumulated experience on a large scale. Each detail machine supplies raw material to the machine next in order; and since they are all working at the same time, the product is always going through the various stages of its fabrication, and is also constantly in a state of transition, from one phase to another. Just as in manufacture, the direct co-operation of the detail labourers establishes a numerical proportion between the special groups, so in an organised system of machinery, where one detail machine is constantly kept employed by another, a fixed relation is established between their numbers, their size, and their speed. The collective machine, now an organised system of various kinds of single machines, and of groups of single machines, becomes more and more perfect, the more the process as a whole becomes a continuous one, i. e., the less the raw material is interrupted in its passage from its first phase to its

careful preparation for its treatment by machinery, derived the benefit of the experience gained on wool, just as afterwards the manipulation of wool by machinery was developed on the lines of cotton-spinning and weaving by machinery. It was only during the 10 years immediately preceding 1866, that isolated details of the wool manufacture, such as wool-combing, were incorporated in the factory system. "The application of power to the process of combing wool ... extensively in operation since the introduction of the combing-machine, especially Lister's ... undoubtedly had the effect of throwing a very large number of men out of work. Wool was formerly combed by hand, most frequently in the cottage of the comber. It is now very generally combed in the factory, and hand labour is superseded, except in some particular kinds of work, in which hand-combed wool is still preferred. Many of the hand-combers found employment in the factories, but the produce of the hand-combers bears so small a proportion to that of the machine, that the employment of a very large number of combers has passed away" (*Rep. of Insp. of Fact. for 31st Oct., 1856*, p. 16).

[1] "The principle of the factory system, then, is to substitute ... the partition of a process into its essential constituents, for the division or gradation of labour among artisans" (Andrew Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures*, Lond., 1835, p. 20).

last; in other words, the more its passage from one phase to another is effected, not by the hand of man, but by the machinery itself. In manufacture the isolation of each detail process is a condition imposed by the nature of division of labour, but in the fully developed factory the continuity of those processes is, on the contrary, imperative.

A system of machinery, whether it reposes on the mere co-operation of similar machines, as in weaving, or on a combination of different machines, as in spinning, constitutes in itself a huge automaton, whenever it is driven by a self-acting prime mover. But although the factory as a whole be driven by its steam-engine, yet either some of the individual machines may require the aid of the workman for some of their movements (such aid was necessary for the running in of the mule carriage, before the invention of the self-acting mule, and is still necessary in fine-spinning mills); or, to enable a machine to do its work, certain parts of it may require to be handled by the workman like a manual tool; this was the case in machine-makers' workshops, before the conversion of the slide rest into a self-actor. As soon as a machine executes, without man's help, all the movements requisite to elaborate the raw material, needing only attendance from him, we have an automatic system of machinery, and one that is susceptible of constant improvement in its details. Such improvements as the apparatus that stops a drawing frame, whenever a sliver breaks, and the self-acting stop, that stops the power-loom so soon as the shuttle bobbin is emptied of weft, are quite modern inventions. As an example, both of continuity of production, and of the carrying out of the automatic principle, we may take a modern paper mill. In the paper industry generally, we may advantageously study in detail not only the distinctions between modes of production based on different means of production, but also the connexion of the social conditions of production with those modes: for the old German paper-making furnishes us with a sample of handicraft production; that of Holland in the 17th and of France in the 18th century with a sample of manufacturing in the strict sense [318]; and that of modern England with a sample of automatic fabrication of this article. Besides these, there still exist, in India and China, two distinct antique Asiatic forms of the same industry.

An organised system of machines, to which motion is communicated by the transmitting mechanism from a central automaton, is the most developed form of production by machinery. Here we have, in the place of the isolated machine, a mechanical monster whose

body fills whole factories, and whose demon power, at first veiled under the slow and measured motions of his giant limbs, at length breaks out into the fast and furious whirl of his countless working organs.

There were mules and steam-engines before there were any labourers, whose exclusive occupation it was to make mules and steam-engines; just as men wore clothes before there were such people as tailors. The inventions of Vaucanson, Arkwright, Watt, and others, were, however, practicable, only because those inventors found, ready to hand, a considerable number of skilled mechanical workmen, placed at their disposal by the manufacturing period. Some of these workmen were independent handicraftsmen of various trades, others were grouped together in manufactures, in which, as before mentioned, division of labour was strictly carried out. As inventions increased in number, and the demand for the newly discovered machines grew larger, the machine-making industry split up, more and more, into numerous independent branches, and division of labour in these manufactures was more and more developed. Here, then, we see in manufacture the immediate technical foundation of modern industry. Manufacture produced the machinery, by means of which modern industry abolished the handicraft and manufacturing systems in those spheres of production that it first seized upon. The factory system was therefore raised, in the natural course of things, on an inadequate foundation. When the system attained to a certain degree of development, it had to root up this ready-made foundation, which in the meantime had been elaborated on the old lines, and to build up for itself a basis that should correspond to its methods of production. Just as the individual machine retains a dwarfish character, so long as it is worked by the power of man alone, and just as no system of machinery could be properly developed before the steam-engine took the place of the earlier motive powers, animals, wind, and even water; so, too, modern industry was crippled in its complete development, so long as its characteristic instrument of production, the machine, owed its existence to personal strength and personal skill, and depended on the muscular development, the keenness of sight, and the cunning of hand, with which the detail workmen in manufactures, and the manual labourers in handicrafts, wielded their dwarfish implements. Thus, apart from the dearness of the machines made in this way, a circumstance that is ever present to the mind of the capitalist, the expansion of industries carried on by means of machinery, and

the invasion by machinery of fresh branches of production, were dependent on the growth of a class of workmen, who, owing to the almost artistic nature of their employment, could increase their numbers only gradually, and not by leaps and bounds. But besides this, at a certain stage of its development, modern industry became technologically incompatible with the basis furnished for it by handicraft and manufacture. The increasing size of the prime movers, of the transmitting mechanism, and of the machines proper, the greater complication, multiformity and regularity of the details of these machines, as they more and more departed from the model of those originally made by manual labour, and acquired a form, untrammelled except by the conditions under which they worked,[1] the perfecting of the automatic system, and the use, every day more unavoidable, of a more refractory material, such as iron instead of wood — the solution of all these problems, which sprang up by the force of circumstances, everywhere met with a stumbling-block in the personal restrictions, which even the collective labourer of manufacture could not break through, except to a limited extent. Such machines as the modern hydraulic press, the modern power-loom, and the modern carding engine, could never have been furnished by manufacture.

A radical change in the mode of production in one sphere of industry involves a similar change in other spheres. This happens at first in such branches of industry as are connected together by being separate phases of a process, and yet are isolated by the social division of labour, in such a way, that each of them produces an independent commodity. Thus spinning by machinery made weaving by machinery a necessity, and both together made the mechanical and chemical revolution that took place in bleaching, printing, and dyeing, imperative. So too, on the other hand, the revolution in cotton-spinning

[1] The power-loom was at first made chiefly of wood; in its improved modern form it is made of iron. To what an extent the old forms of the instruments of production influenced their new forms at first starting, is shown by, amongst other things, the most superficial comparison of the present power-loom with the old one, of the modern blowing apparatus of a blast-furnace with the first inefficient mechanical reproduction of the ordinary bellows, and perhaps more strikingly than in any other way, by the attempts before the invention of the present locomotive, to construct a locomotive that actually had two feet, which after the fashion of a horse, it raised alternately from the ground. It is only after considerable development of the science of mechanics, and accumulated practical experience, that the form of a machine becomes settled entirely in accordance with mechanical principles, and emancipated from the traditional form of the tool that gave rise to it.

called forth the invention of the gin, for separating the seeds from the cotton fibre; it was only by means of this invention, that the production of cotton became possible on the enormous scale at present required.[1] But more especially, the revolution in the modes of production of industry and agriculture made necessary a revolution in the general conditions of the social process of production, i. e., in the means of communication and of transport. In a society whose pivot, to use an expression of Fourier,[319] was agriculture on a small scale, with its subsidiary domestic industries, and the urban handicrafts, the means of communication and transport were so utterly inadequate to the productive requirements of the manufacturing period, with its extended division of social labour, its concentration of the instruments of labour, and of the workmen, and its colonial markets, that they became in fact revolutionised. In the same way the means of communication and transport handed down from the manufacturing period soon became unbearable trammels on modern industry, with its feverish haste of production, its enormous extent, its constant flinging of capital and labour from one sphere of production into another, and its newly-created connexions with the markets of the whole world. Hence, apart from the radical changes introduced in the construction of sailing vessels, the means of communication and transport became gradually adapted to the modes of production of mechanical industry, by the creation of a system of river steamers, railways, ocean steamers, and telegraphs. But the huge masses of iron that had now to be forged, to be welded, to be cut, to be bored, and to be shaped, demanded, on their part, cyclopean machines, for the construction of which the methods of the manufacturing period were utterly inadequate.

Modern industry had therefore itself to take in hand the machine, its characteristic instrument of production, and to construct machines by machines. It was not till it did this, that it built up for itself a fitting technical foundation, and stood on its own feet. Machinery, simultaneously with the increasing use of it, in the first decades of this century, appropriated, by degrees, the fabrication of machines proper. But it was only during the decade preceding 1866, that the construction of railways and ocean steamers on a stupendous scale

[1] Eli Whitney's cotton gin had until very recent times undergone less essential changes than any other machine of the 18th century. It is only during the last decade (i. e., since 1856) that another American, Mr. Emery, of Albany, New York, has rendered Whitney's gin antiquated by an improvement as simple as it is effective.

called into existence the cyclopean machines now employed in the construction of prime movers.

The most essential condition to the production of machines by machines was a prime mover capable of exerting any amount of force, and yet under perfect control. Such a condition was already supplied by the steam-engine. But at the same time it was necessary to produce the geometrically accurate straight lines, planes, circles, cylinders, cones, and spheres, required in the detail parts of the machines. This problem Henry Maudslay solved in the first decade of this century by the invention of the slide rest, a tool that was soon made automatic, and in a modified form was applied to other constructive machines besides the lathe, for which it was originally intended. This mechanical appliance replaces, not some particular tool, but the hand itself, which produces a given form by holding and guiding the cutting tool along the iron or other material operated upon. Thus it became possible to produce the forms of the individual parts of machinery

> "with a degree of ease, accuracy, and speed, that no accumulated experience of the hand of the most skilled workman could give." [1]

If we now fix our attention on that portion of the machinery employed in the construction of machines, which constitutes the operating tool, we find the manual implements reappearing, but on a cyclopean scale. The operating part of the boring machine is an immense drill driven by a steam-engine; without this machine, on the other hand, the cylinders of large steam-engines and of hydraulic presses could not be made. The mechanical lathe is only a cyclopean reproduction of the ordinary foot-lathe; the planing machine, an iron carpenter, that works on iron with the same tools that the human carpenter employs on wood; the instrument that, on the London wharves, cuts the veneers, is a gigantic razor; the tool of the shearing machine, which shears iron as easily as a tailor's scissors cut cloth, is a monster pair of scissors; and the steam-hammer works with an ordinary hammer head, but of such a weight that not Thor himself could

[1] *The Industry of Nations*, Lond., 1855, Part II, [p]p. [238-] 239. This work also remarks: "Simple and outwardly unimportant as this appendage to lathes may appear, it is not, we believe, averring too much to state, that its influence in improving and extending the use of machinery has been as great as that produced by Watt's improvements of the steam-engine itself. Its introduction went at once to perfect all machinery, to cheapen it, and to stimulate invention and improvement."

wield it.[1] These steam-hammers are an invention of Nasmyth, and there is one that weighs over 6 tons and strikes with a vertical fall of 7 feet, on an anvil weighing 36 tons. It is mere child's-play for it to crush a block of granite into powder, yet it is no less capable of driving, with a succession of light taps, a nail into a piece of soft wood.[2]

The implements of labour, in the form of machinery, necessitate the substitution of natural forces for human force, and the conscious application of science, instead of rule of thumb. In manufacture, the organisation of the social labour process is purely subjective; it is a combination of detail labourers; in its machinery system, modern industry has a productive organism that is purely objective, in which the labourer becomes a mere appendage to an already existing material condition of production. In simple co-operation, and even in that founded on division of labour, the suppression of the isolated, by the collective, workman still appears to be more or less accidental. Machinery, with a few exceptions to be mentioned later, operates only by means of associated labour, or labour in common. Hence the co-operative character of the labour process is, in the latter case, a technical necessity dictated by the instrument of labour itself.

## SECTION 2.—THE VALUE TRANSFERRED BY MACHINERY TO THE PRODUCT

We saw that the productive forces resulting from co-operation and division of labour cost capital nothing. They are natural forces of social labour. So also physical forces, like steam, water, &c., when appropriated to productive processes, cost nothing. But just as a man requires lungs to breathe with, so he requires something that is work of man's hand, in order to consume physical forces productively. A water-wheel is necessary to exploit the force of water, and a steam-engine to exploit the elasticity of steam.[a] Once discovered, the law of

[1] One of these machines, used for forging paddle-wheel shafts in London, is called "Thor". It forges a shaft of $16\frac{1}{2}$ tons with as much ease as a blacksmith forges a horse-shoe.[320]

[2] Wood-working machines that are also capable of being employed on a small scale are mostly American inventions.[321]

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[a] The 4th German edition further has "With science it is the same as with the powers of nature."

the deviation of the magnetic needle in the field of an electric current, or the law of the magnetisation of iron, around which an electric current circulates, cost never a penny.[1] But the exploitation of these laws for the purposes of telegraphy, &c., necessitates a costly and extensive apparatus. The tool, as we have seen, is not exterminated by the machine. From being a dwarf implement of the human organism, it expands and multiplies into the implement of a mechanism created by man. Capital now sets the labourer to work, not with a manual tool, but with a machine which itself handles the tools. Although, therefore, it is clear at the first glance that, by incorporating both stupendous physical forces, and the natural sciences, with the process of production, modern industry raises the productiveness of labour to an extraordinary degree, it is by no means equally clear, that this increased productive force is not, on the other hand, purchased by an increased expenditure of labour. Machinery, like every other component of constant capital, creates no new value, but yields up its own value to the product that it serves to beget. In so far as the machine has value, and, in consequence, parts with value to the product, it forms an element in the value of that product. Instead of being cheapened, the product is made dearer in proportion to the value of the machine. And it is clear as noon-day, that machines and systems of machinery, the characteristic instruments of labour of modern industry, are incomparably more loaded with value than the implements used in handicrafts and manufactures.

In the first place, it must be observed that the machinery, while always entering as a whole into the labour process, enters into the value-begetting process only by bits. It never adds more value than it loses, on an average, by wear and tear. Hence there is a great difference between the value of a machine, and the value transferred in a given time by that machine to the product.[a] The longer the life of

[1] Science, generally speaking, costs the capitalist nothing, a fact that by no means hinders him from exploiting it. The science of others is as much annexed by capital as the labour of others. Capitalistic appropriation and personal appropriation, whether of science or of material wealth, are, however, totally different things. Dr. Ure himself deplores the gross ignorance of mechanical science existing among his dear machinery-exploiting manufacturers, and Liebig can a tale unfold about the astounding ignorance of chemistry displayed by English chemical manufacturers.[322]

[a] The 4th German edition further has "Equally, there is a great difference between the machine as a factor in the formation of value and as a factor in the formation of the product."

the machine in the labour process, the greater is that difference. It is true, no doubt, as we have already seen, that every instrument of labour enters as a whole into the labour process, and only piecemeal, proportionally to its average daily loss by wear and tear, into the value-begetting process. But this difference between the instrument as a whole and its daily wear and tear, is much greater in a machine than in a tool, because the machine, being made from more durable material, has a longer life; because its employment, being regulated by strictly scientific laws, allows of greater economy in the wear and tear of its parts, and in the materials it consumes; and lastly, because its field of production is incomparably larger than that of a tool. After making allowance, both in the case of the machine and of the tool, for their average daily cost, that is for the value they transmit to the product by their average daily wear and tear, and for their consumption of auxiliary substance, such as oil, coal, and so on, they each do their work gratuitously, just like the forces furnished by Nature without the help of man. The greater the productive power of the machinery compared with that of the tool, the greater is the extent of its gratuitous service compared with that of the tool. In modern industry man succeeded for the first time in making the product of his past labour work on a large scale gratuitously, like the forces of Nature.[1]

In treating of co-operation and manufacture, it was shown that certain general factors of production, such as buildings, are, in comparison with the scattered means of production of the isolated workman, economised by being consumed in common, and that they therefore make the product cheaper. In a system of machinery, not only is the framework of the machine consumed in common by its numerous operating implements, but the prime mover, together with a part of the transmitting mechanism, is consumed in common by the numerous operative machines.[324]

[1] Ricardo lays such stress on this effect of machinery (of which, in other connexions, he takes no more notice than he does of the general distinction between the labour process and the process of creating surplus value), that he occasionally loses sight of the value given up by machines to the product, and puts machines on the same footing as natural forces. Thus "Adam Smith nowhere undervalues the services which the natural agents and machinery perform for us, but he very justly distinguishes the nature of the value which they add to commodities ... as they perform their work gratuitously, the assistance which they afford us, adds nothing to value in exchange" (Ric., l. c. [*On the Principles*..., London, 1821,] pp. 336, 337). This observation of Ricardo is of course correct in so far as it is directed against J. B. Say, who imagines that machines render the "service" of creating value which forms a part of "profits".[323]

Given the difference between the value of the machinery, and the value transferred by it in a day to the product, the extent to which this latter value makes the product dearer, depends in the first instance, upon the size of the product; so to say, upon its area. Mr. Baynes, of Blackburn, in a lecture published in 1858, estimates that

"each real mechanical horse power[1] will drive 450 self-acting mule spindles, with preparation, or 200 throstle spindles, or 15 looms for 40 inch cloth with the appliances for warping, sizing, &c." [325]

In the first case, it is the day's produce of 450 mule spindles, in the second, of 200 throstle spindles, in the third, of 15 power-looms, over which the daily cost of one horse power, and the wear and tear of the machinery set in motion by that power, are spread; so that only a very minute value is transferred by such wear and tear to a pound of yarn or a yard of cloth. The same is the case with the steam-hammer mentioned above. Since its daily wear and tear, its coal-consumption, &c., are spread over the stupendous masses of iron hammered by it in a day, only a small value is added to a hundred-weight of iron; but that value would be very great, if the cyclopean instrument were employed in driving in nails.

Given a machine's capacity for work, that is, the number of its operating tools, or, where it is a question of force, their mass, the amount of its product will depend on the velocity of its working parts, on the speed, for instance, of the spindles, or on the number of blows given

[1] A horse power is equal to a force of 33,000 foot-pounds per minute, i. e., to a force that raises 33,000 pounds one foot in a minute, or one pound 33,000 feet. This is the horse power meant in the text. In ordinary language, and also here and there in quotations in this work, a distinction is drawn between the "nominal" and the "commercial" or "indicated" horse power of the same engine. The old or nominal horse power is calculated exclusively from the length of piston-stroke, and the diameter of the cylinder, and leaves pressure of steam and piston speed out of consideration. It expresses practically this: This engine would be one of 50 horse power, if it were driven with the same low pressure of steam, and the same slow piston speed, as in the days of Boulton and Watt. But the two latter factors have increased enormously since those days. In order to measure the mechanical force exerted to-day by an engine, an indicator has been invented which shows the pressure of the steam in the cylinder. The piston speed is easily ascertained. Thus the "indicated" or "commercial" horse power of an engine is expressed by a mathematical formula, involving diameter of cylinder, length of stroke, piston speed, and steam pressure, simultaneously, and showing what multiple of 33,000 pounds is really raised by the engine in a minute. Hence, one "nominal" horse power may exert three, four, or even five "indicated" or "real" horse powers. This observation is made for the purpose of explaining various citations in the subsequent pages.—(The editor.)

by the hammer in a minute. Many of these colossal hammers strike seventy times in a minute, and Ryder's patent machine for forging spindles with small hammers gives as many as 700 strokes per minute.[326]

Given the rate at which machinery transfers its value to the product, the amount of value so transferred depends on the total value of the machinery.[1] The less labour it contains, the less value it imparts to the product. The less value it gives up, so much the more productive it is, and so much the more its services approximate to those of natural forces. But the production of machinery by machinery lessens its value relatively to its extension and efficacy.

An analysis and comparison of the prices of commodities produced by handicrafts or manufactures, and of the prices of the same commodities produced by machinery, shows generally, that, in the product of machinery, the value due to the instruments of labour increases relatively, but decreases absolutely. In other words, its absolute amount decreases, but its amount, relatively to the total value of the product, of a pound of yarn, for instance, increases.[2]

[1] The reader who is imbued with capitalist notions will naturally miss here the "interest" that the machine, in proportion to its capital value, adds to the product. It is, however, easily seen that since a machine no more creates new value than any other part of constant capital, it cannot add any value under the name of "interest". It is also evident that here, where we are treating of the production of surplus value, we cannot assume *a priori* the existence of any part of that value under the name of interest. The capitalist mode of calculating, which appears, *primâ facie*,[a] absurd, and repugnant to the laws of the creation of value, will be explained in the third book of this work.[327]

[2] This portion of value which is added by the machinery, decreases both absolutely and relatively, when the machinery does away with horses and other animals that are employed as mere moving forces, and not as machines for changing the form of matter. It may here be incidentally observed, that Descartes, in defining animals as mere machines, saw with eyes of the manufacturing period, while to eyes of the Middle Ages, animals were assistants to man, as they were later to Von Haller in his *Restauration der Staatswissenschaften*. That Descartes, like Bacon,[328] anticipated an alteration in the form of production, and the practical subjugation of Nature by Man, as a result of the altered methods of thought is plain from his *Discours de la Méthode*. He there says: "It is possible" (by the method he introduced in philosophy) "to attain knowledge very useful in life and, in place of the speculative philosophy taught in the schools, one can find a practical philosophy by which, given that we know the powers and the effectiveness of fire, water, air, the stars, and all the other bodies that surround us, as well and as accurately as we know the various trades of our craftsmen, we shall be able to employ them in the same manner as the latter to all uses to which they are adapted, and thus as it were make ourselves the masters and the possessors of nature", and thus "contribut-

[a] on the face of it

It is evident that whenever it costs as much labour to produce a machine as is saved by the employment of that machine, there is nothing but a transposition of labour; consequently the total labour required to produce a commodity is not lessened or the productiveness of labour is not increased. It is clear, however, that the difference between the labour a machine costs, and the labour it saves, in other words, that the degree of its productiveness does not depend on the difference between its own value and the value of the implement it replaces. As long as the labour spent on a machine, and consequently the portion of its value added to the product, remains smaller than the value added by the workman to the product with his tool, there is always a difference of labour saved in favour of the machine. The productiveness of a machine is therefore measured by the human labour power it replaces. According to Mr. Baynes, $2\frac{1}{2}$ operatives are required for the 450 mule spindles, inclusive of preparation machinery,[1] that are driven by one-horse power; each self-acting mule spindle, working ten hours, produces 13 ounces of yarn (average number of thickness); consequently $2\frac{1}{2}$ operatives spin weekly $365\frac{5}{8}$ lbs of yarn.[330] Hence, leaving waste on one side, 366 lbs of cotton absorb, during their conversion into yarn, only 150 hours' labour, or fifteen days' labour of ten hours each. But with a spinning-wheel, supposing the hand-spinner to produce thirteen ounces of yarn in sixty hours, the same weight of cotton would absorb 2,700 days' labour of ten hours each, or 27,000 hours' labour.[2] [331] Where blockprinting,

ing to the perfection of human life" [p. 69]. In the preface to Sir Dudley North's *Discourses upon Trade* (1691) it is stated, that Descartes' method had begun to free political economy from the old fables and superstitious notions of gold, trade, &c. On the whole, however, the early English economists sided with Bacon and Hobbes as their philosophers; while, at a later period, the philosopher χατ'ἐξοχήν[a] of political economy in England, France, and Italy, was Locke.

[1] According to the annual report (1863) of the Essen chamber of commerce,[329] there was produced in 1862, at the cast-steel works of Krupp, with its 161 furnaces, thirty-two steam-engines (in the year 1800 this was about the number of all the steam-engines working in Manchester), and fourteen steam-hammers (representing in all 1,236 horse power), forty-nine forges, 203 tool-machines, and about 2,400 workmen — thirteen million pounds of cast steel. Here there are not two workmen to each horse power.

[2] Babbage estimates that in Java the spinning labour alone adds 117% to the value of the cotton. At the same period (1832) the total value added to the cotton by machinery and labour in the fine-spinning industry [in England], amounted to about 33% of the value of the cotton (*On the Economy of Machinery*, [1st ed.,] pp. 165, 166).

[a] par excellence

the old method of printing calico by hand, has been superseded by machine printing, a single machine prints, with the aid of one man or boy, as much calico of four colours in one hour, as it formerly took 200 men to do.[1] Before Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin in 1793, the separation of the seed from a pound of cotton cost an average day's labour. By means of his invention one negress was enabled to clean 100 lbs daily; and since then, the efficacy of the gin has been considerably increased. A pound of cotton wool, previously costing 50 cents to produce, included after that invention more unpaid labour, and was consequently sold with greater profit, at 10 cents. In India they employ for separating the wool from the seed, an instrument, half machine, half tool, called a churka; with this one man and a woman can clean 28 lbs daily. With the churka invented some years ago by Dr. Forbes, one man and a boy produce 250 lbs daily.[332] If oxen, steam, or water, be used for driving it, only a few boys and girls as feeders are required. Sixteen of these machines driven by oxen do as much work in a day as formerly 750 people did on an average.[2]

As already stated, a steam-plough does as much work in one hour at a cost of threepence, as 66 men at a cost of 15 shillings. I return to this example in order to clear up an erroneous notion. The 15 shillings are by no means the expression in money of all the labour expended in one hour by the 66 men. If the ratio of surplus labour to necessary labour were 100%, these 66 men would produce in one hour a value of 30 shillings, although their wages, 15 shillings, represent only their labour for half an hour. Suppose, then, a machine cost as much as the wages for a year of the 150 men it displaces, say £3,000; this £3,000 is by no means the expression in money of the labour added to the object produced by these 150 men before the introduction of the machine, but only of that portion of their year's labour which was expended for themselves and represented by their wages. On the other hand, the £3,000, the money value of the machine, expresses all the labour expended on its production, no matter in what proportion this labour constitutes wages for the workman, and surplus value for the capitalist. Therefore, though a machine cost as much as the labour power displaced by it costs, yet the labour

[1] Machine printing also economises colour.

[2] See paper read by Dr. Watson, Reporter on Products to the Government of India, before the Society of Arts, 17th April, 1861.[333]

materialised in it is even then much less than the living labour it replaces.[1]

The use of machinery for the exclusive purpose of cheapening the product, is limited in this way, that less labour must be expended in producing the machinery than is displaced by the employment of that machinery. For the capitalist, however, this use is still more limited. Instead of paying for the labour, he only pays the value of the labour power employed; therefore, the limit to his using a machine is fixed by the difference between the value of the machine and the value of the labour power replaced by it. Since the division of the day's work into necessary and surplus labour differs in different countries, and even in the same country at different periods, or in different branches of industry; and further, since the actual wage of the labourer at one time sinks below the value of his labour power, at another rises above it, it is possible for the difference between the price of the machinery and the price of the labour power replaced by that machinery to vary very much, although the difference between the quantity of labour requisite to produce the machine and the total quantity replaced by it, remain constant.[2] But it is the former difference alone that determines the cost, to the capitalist, of producing a commodity, and, through the pressure of competition, influences his action. Hence the invention nowadays of machines in England that are employed only in North America; just as in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, machines were invented in Germany to be used only in Holland, and just as many a French invention of the eighteenth century was exploited in England alone. In the older countries, machinery, when employed in some branches of industry, creates such a redundancy of labour [334] in other branches that in these latter the fall of wages below the value of labour power impedes the use of machinery, and, from the standpoint of the capitalist, whose profit comes, not from a diminution of the labour employed, but of the labour paid for, renders that use superfluous and often impossible. In some branches of the woollen manufacture in England the employment of children has during recent years been considerably diminished, and in some cases has been entirely abolished. Why? Because

[1] "These mute agents (machines) are always the produce of much less labour than that which they displace, even when they are of the same money value" (Ricardo, l. c., p. 40).

[2] Hence in a communistic society there would be a very different scope for the employment of machinery than there can be in a bourgeois society.

the Factory Acts [226] made two sets of children necessary, one working six hours, the other four, or each working five hours. But the parents refused to sell the "half-timers" cheaper than the "full-timers". Hence the substitution of machinery for the "half-timers". [1] Before the labour of women and of children under 10 years of age was forbidden in mines,[335] capitalists considered the employment of naked women and girls, often in company with men, so far sanctioned by their moral code, and especially by their ledgers, that it was only after the passing of the Act that they had recourse to machinery. The Yankees have invented a stone-breaking machine. The English do not make use of it, because the "wretch" [2] who does this work gets paid for such a small portion of his labour, that machinery would increase the cost of production to the capitalist.[3] In England women are still occasionally used instead of horses for hauling canal boats,[4] because the labour required to produce horses and machines is an accurately known quantity, while that required to maintain the women of the surplus population is below all calculation. Hence nowhere do we find a more shameful squandering of human labour power for the most despicable purposes than in England, the land of machinery.

## SECTION 3.—THE PROXIMATE EFFECTS OF MACHINERY ON THE WORKMAN

The starting-point of modern industry is, as we have shown, the revolution in the instruments of labour, and this revolution attains its most highly developed form in the organised system of machinery in

[1] "Employers of labour would not unnecessarily retain two sets of children under thirteen.... In fact one class of manufacturers, the spinners of woollen yarn, now rarely employ children under thirteen years of age, i. e., half-timers. They have introduced improved and new machinery of various kinds, which altogether supersedes the employment of children (i. e., under 13 years); f. i., I will mention one process as an illustration of this diminution in the number of children, wherein by the addition of an apparatus, called a piecing machine, to existing machines, the work of six or four half-timers, according to the peculiarity of each machine, can be performed by one young person (over 13 years) ... the half-time system 'stimulated' the invention of the piecing machine" (*Reports of Insp. of Fact. for 31st Oct., 1858* [pp. 42-43]).

[2] "Wretch" is the recognised term in English political economy for the agricultural labourer.

[3] "Machinery ... can frequently not be employed until labour (he means wages) rises" (Ricardo, l. c., p. 479).

[4] See "Report of the Social Science Congress, at Edinburgh", Oct., 1863.[336]

a factory. Before we inquire how human material is incorporated with this objective organism, let us consider some general effects of this revolution on the labourer himself.

### *a. Appropriation of Supplementary Labour Power by Capital. The Employment of Women and Children*

In so far as machinery dispenses with muscular power, it becomes a means of employing labourers of slight muscular strength, and those whose bodily development is incomplete, but whose limbs are all the more supple. The labour of women and children was, therefore, the first thing sought for by capitalists who used machinery. That mighty substitute for labour and labourers was forthwith changed into a means for increasing the number of wage labourers by enrolling, under the direct sway of capital, every member of the workman's family, without distinction of age or sex. Compulsory work for the capitalists usurped the place, not only of the children's play, but also of free labour at home within moderate limits for the support of the family.[1]

The value of labour power was determined, not only by the labour time necessary to maintain the individual adult labourer, but also by that necessary to maintain his family. Machinery, by throwing every member of that family on to the labour market, spreads the value of the man's labour power over his whole family. It thus depreciates his labour power. To purchase the labour power of a family of four workers may, perhaps, cost more than it formerly did to purchase the labour power of the head of the family, but, in return, four days' labour takes the place of one, and their price falls in proportion to the excess of the surplus labour of four over the surplus labour of one. In order

[1] Dr. Edward Smith, during the cotton crisis caused by the American Civil War,[7] was sent by the English Government to Lancashire, Cheshire, and other places, to report on the sanitary condition of the cotton operatives. He reported, that from a hygienic point of view, and apart from the banishment of the operatives from the factory atmosphere, the crisis had several advantages. The women now had sufficient leisure to give their infants the breast, instead of poisoning them with "Godfrey's cordial". They had time to learn to cook. Unfortunately the acquisition of this art occurred at a time when they had nothing to cook. But from this we see how capital, for the purposes of its self-expansion, has usurped the labour necessary in the home of the family. This crisis was also utilised to teach sewing to the daughters of the workmen in sewing schools. An American revolution and a universal crisis, in order that the working girls, who spin for the whole world, might learn to sew!

that the family may live, four people must now, not only labour, but expend surplus labour for the capitalist. Thus we see, that machinery, while augmenting the human material that forms the principal object of capital's exploiting power,[1] at the same time raises the degree of exploitation.

Machinery also revolutionises out and out the contract between the labourer and the capitalist, which formally fixes their mutual relations. Taking the exchange of commodities as our basis, our first assumption was that capitalist and labourer met as free persons, as independent owners of commodities; the one possessing money and means of production, the other labour power. But now the capitalist buys children and young persons under age. Previously, the workman sold his own labour power, which he disposed of nominally as a free agent. Now he sells wife and child. He has become a slave-dealer.[2] The demand for children's labour often resembles in form the inqui-

[1] "The numerical increase of labourers has been great, through the growing substitution of female for male, and above all, of childish for adult labour. Three girls of 13, at wages of from 6 shillings to 8 shillings a week, have replaced the one man of mature age, of wages varying from 18 shillings to 45 shillings" (Th. de Quincey, *The Logic of Political Econ.*, London, 1844, Note to p. 147). Since certain family functions, such as nursing and suckling children, cannot be entirely suppressed, the mothers confiscated by capital must try substitutes of some sort. Domestic work, such as sewing and mending, must be replaced by the purchase of ready-made articles. Hence, the diminished expenditure of labour in the house is accompanied by an increased expenditure of money. The cost of keeping the family increases, and balances the greater income. In addition to this, economy and judgment in the consumption and preparation of the means of subsistence becomes impossible. Abundant material relating to these facts, which are concealed by official political economy, is to be found in the Reports of the Inspectors of Factories, of the Children's Employment Commission, and more especially in the Reports on Public Health.

[2] In striking contrast with the great fact, that the shortening of the hours of labour of women and children in English factories was exacted from capital by the male operatives, we find in the latest reports of the Children's Employment Commission traits of the operative parents in relation to the traffic in children, that are truly revolting and thoroughly like slave-dealing. But the Pharisee of a capitalist, as may be seen from the same reports, denounces this brutality which he himself creates, perpetuates, and exploits, and which he moreover baptises "freedom of labour". "Infant labour has been called into aid ... even to work for their own daily bread. Without strength to endure such disproportionate toil, without instruction to guide their future life, they have been thrown into a situation physically and morally polluted. The Jewish historian has remarked upon the overthrow of Jerusalem by Titus that it was no wonder it should have been destroyed, with such a signal destruction, when an inhuman mother sacrificed her own offspring to satisfy the cravings of absolute hunger" (*Public Economy Concentrated*, Carlisle, 1833, p. 66).

ries for negro slaves, such as were formerly to be read among the advertisements in American journals.

"My attention," says an English factory inspector, "was drawn to an advertisement in the local paper of one of the most important manufacturing towns of my district, of which the following is a copy: Wanted, 12 to 20 young persons, not younger than what can pass for 13 years. Wages, 4 shillings a week. Apply &c." [1]

The phrase "what can pass for 13 years," has reference to the fact, that by the Factory Act,[226] children under 13 years may work only 6 hours. A surgeon officially appointed must certify their age. The manufacturer, therefore, asks for children who look as if they were already 13 years old. The decrease, often by leaps and bounds in the number of children under 13 years employed in factories, a decrease that is shown in an astonishing manner by the English statistics of the last 20 years, was for the most part, according to the evidence of the factory inspectors themselves, the work of the certifying surgeons, who overstated the age of the children, agreeably to the capitalist's greed for exploitation, and the sordid trafficking needs of the parents. In the notorious district of Bethnal Green, a public market is held every Monday and Tuesday morning, where children of both sexes from 9 years of age upwards, hire themselves out to the silk manufacturers. "The usual terms are ls. 8d. a week (this belongs to the parents) and '2d. for myself and tea'. The contract is binding only for the week. The scene and language while this market is going on are quite disgraceful." [2] It has also occurred in England, that women have taken "children from the workhouse and let any one have them out for 2s. 6d. a week".[3] In spite of legislation, the number of boys sold in Great Britain by their parents to act as live chimney-sweeping machines (although there exist plenty of machines to replace them) exceeds 2,000.[4] The revolution effected by machinery in the juridical relations between the buyer and the seller of labour power, causing the transaction as a whole to lose the appearance of a contract between free persons, afforded the English Parliament an excuse, founded on juridical principles, for the interference of the state with factories.

[1] A. Redgrave in "Reports of Insp. of Fact. for 31st October, 1858", p. 41.

[2] "Children's Employment Commission, Fifth Report", London, 1866, p. 81, n. 31. [*Added in the 4th German edition.*—The Bethnal Green silk industry is now almost destroyed.—*F. E.*]

[3] "Children's Employment Commission, Third Report", London, 1864, p. 53, n. 15.

[4] l. c., Fifth Report, p. 22, n. 137.

Whenever the law limits the labour of children to 6 hours in industries not before interfered with, the complaints of the manufacturers are always renewed. They allege that numbers of the parents withdraw their children from the industry brought under the Act, in order to sell them where "freedom of labour" still rules, i. e., where children under 13 years are compelled to work like grown-up people, and therefore can be got rid of at a higher price. But since capital is by nature a leveller, since it exacts in every sphere of production equality in the conditions of the exploitation of labour, the limitation by law of children's labour, in one branch of industry, becomes the cause of its limitation in others.

We have already alluded to the physical deterioration as well of the children and young persons as of the women, whom machinery, first directly in the factories that shoot up on its basis, and then indirectly in all the remaining branches of industry, subjects to the exploitation of capital. In this place, therefore, we dwell only on one point, the enormous mortality, during the first few years of their life, of the children of the operatives. In sixteen of the registration districts into which England is divided, there are, for every 100,000 children alive under the age of one year, only 9,085 deaths in a year on an average (in one district only 7,047); in 24 districts the deaths are over 10,000, but under 11,000; in 39 districts, over 11,000, but under 12,000; in 48 districts over 12,000, but under 13,000; in 22 districts over 20,000; in 25 districts over 21,000; in 17 over 22,000; in 11 over 23,000; in Hoo, Wolverhampton, Ashton-under-Lyne, and Preston, over 24,000; in Nottingham, Stockport, and Bradford, over 25,000; in Wisbeach, 26,001; and in Manchester, 26,125.[1] As was shown by an official medical inquiry in the year 1861, the high death rates are, apart from local causes, principally due to the employment of the mothers away from their homes, and to the neglect and maltreatment, consequent on her absence, such as, amongst others, insufficient nourishment, unsuitable food, and dosing with opiates; besides this, there arises an unnatural estrangement between mother and child, and as a consequence intentional starving and poisoning of the children.[2] In those agricultural districts, "where a minimum in the employment of women exists, the death rate is on the other hand very

[1] "Sixth Report on Public Health", London, 1864, p. 34.

[2] "It (the inquiry of 1861) ... showed, moreover, that while, with the described circumstances, infants perish under the neglect and mismanagement which their mothers' occupations imply, the mothers become to a grievous extent denaturalised towards

low."[1] The Inquiry Commission of 1861 led, however, to the unexpected result, that in some purely agricultural districts bordering on the North Sea, the death rate of children under one year old almost equalled that of the worst factory districts. Dr. Julian Hunter was therefore commissioned to investigate this phenomenon on the spot. His report is incorporated with the "Sixth Report on Public Health."[2] Up to that time it was supposed, that the children were decimated by malaria, and other diseases peculiar to low-lying and marshy districts. But the inquiry showed the very opposite, namely, that the same cause which drove away malaria, the conversion of the land, from a morass in winter and a scanty pasture in summer, into fruitful corn land, created the exceptional death rate of the infants.[3] The 70 medical men, whom Dr. Hunter examined in that district, were "wonderfully in accord" on this point. In fact, the revolution in the mode of cultivation had led to the introduction of the industrial system.

Married women, who work in gangs along with boys and girls, are, for a stipulated sum of money, placed at the disposal of the farmer, by a man called the "undertaker," who contracts for the whole gang. "These gangs will sometimes travel many miles from their own village; they are to be met morning and evening on the roads, dressed in short petticoats, with suitable coats and boots, and sometimes trousers, looking wonderfully strong and healthy, but tainted with a customary immorality and heedless of the fatal results which their love of this busy and independent life is bringing on their unfortunate offspring who are pining at home."[4]

Every phenomenon of the factory districts is here reproduced, including, but to a greater extent, ill-disguised infanticide, and dosing children with opiates.[5]

"My knowledge of such evils," says Dr. Simon, the medical officer of the Privy Council [183] and editor in chief of the Reports on Public Health,[337] "may excuse the

their offspring—commonly not troubling themselves much at the death, and even sometimes ... taking direct measures to insure it" (l. c.).

[1] l. c., p. 454.

[2] l. c., pp. 454-62. "Report by Dr. Henry Julian Hunter on the excessive mortality of infants in some rural districts of England".

[3] l. c., p. 35 and pp. 455, 456.

[4] l. c., p. 456.

[5] In the agricultural as well as in the factory districts the consumption of opium among the grown-up labourers, both male and female, is extending daily. "To push the sale of opiate ... is the great aim of some enterprising wholesale merchants. By druggists it is considered the leading article" (l. c., p. 459). Infants that take opiates "shrank up into little old men", or "wizened like little monkeys" (l. c., p. 460). We here see how India and China avenged themselves on England.

profound misgiving with which I regard any large industrial employment of adult women." [1]

"Happy indeed," exclaims Mr. Baker, the factory inspector, in his official report, "happy indeed will it be for the manufacturing districts of England, when every married woman having a family is prohibited from working in any textile works at all." [2]

The moral degradation caused by the capitalistic exploitation of women and children has been so exhaustively depicted by F. Engels in his *Lage der Arbeitenden Klasse Englands*, and other writers, that I need only mention the subject in this place. But the intellectual desolation artificially produced by converting immature human beings into mere machines for the fabrication of surplus value, a state of mind clearly distinguishable from that natural ignorance which keeps the mind fallow without destroying its capacity for development, its natural fertility, this desolation finally compelled even the English Parliament to make elementary education a compulsory condition to the "productive" employment of children under 14 years, in every industry subject to the Factory Acts. The spirit of capitalist production stands out clearly in the ludicrous wording of the so-called education clauses in the Factory Acts, in the absence of an administrative machinery, an absence that again makes the compulsion illusory, in the opposition of the manufacturers themselves to these education clauses, and in the tricks and dodges they put in practice for evading them.

"For this the legislature is alone to blame, by having passed a delusive law, which, while it would seem to provide that the children employed in factories shall be *educated*, contains no enactment by which that professed end can be secured. It provides nothing more than that the children shall on certain days of the week, and for a certain number of hours (three) in each day, be inclosed within the four walls of a place called a school, and that the employer of the child shall receive weekly a certificate to that effect signed by a person designated by the subscriber as a schoolmaster or schoolmistress." [3]

Previous to the passing of the amended Factory Act, 1844,[226] it happened, not unfrequently, that the certificates of attendance at school were signed by the schoolmaster or schoolmistress with a cross, as they themselves were unable to write.

[1] l. c., p. 37.

[2] "Rep. of Insp. of Fact. for 31st Oct., 1862", p. 59. Mr. Baker was formerly a doctor.

[3] L. Horner in "Reports of Insp. of Fact. for 30th April, 1857", p. 17.

"On one occasion, on visiting a place called a school, from which certificates of school attendance had issued, I was so struck with the ignorance of the master, that I said to him: 'Pray, sir, can you read?' His reply was: 'Aye, summat!' and as a justification of his right to grant certificates, he added: 'At any rate, I am before my scholars."

The inspectors, when the Bill of 1844 was in preparation, did not fail to represent the disgraceful state of the places called schools, certificates from which they were obliged to admit as a compliance with the laws, but they were successful only in obtaining thus much, that since the passing of the Act of 1845,

"the figures in the school certificate must be filled up in the handwriting of the schoolmaster, who must also sign his Christian and surname in full." [1]

Sir John Kincaid, factory inspector for Scotland, relates experiences of the same kind.

"The first school we visited was kept by a Mrs. Ann Killin. Upon asking her to spell her name, she straightway made a mistake, by beginning with the letter C, but correcting herself immediately, she said her name began with a K. On looking at her signature, however, in the school certificate books, I noticed that she spelt it in various ways, while her handwriting left no doubt as to her unfitness to teach. She herself also acknowledged that she could not keep the register ... In a second school I found the schoolroom 15 feet long, and 10 feet wide, and counted in this space 75 children, who were gabbling something unintelligible." [2] "But it is not only in the miserable places above referred to that the children obtain certificates of school attendance without having received instruction of any value, for in many schools where there is a competent teacher, his efforts are of little avail from the distracting crowd of children of all ages, from infants of 3 years old and upwards; his livelihood, miserable at the best, depending on the pence received from the greatest number of children whom it is possible to cram into the space. To this is to be added scanty school furniture, deficiency of books, and other materials for teaching, and the depressing effect upon the poor children themselves of a close, noisome atmosphere. I have been in many such schools, where I have seen rows of children doing absolutely nothing; and this is certified as school attendance, and, in statistical returns, such children are set down as being educated." [3]

In Scotland the manufacturers try all they can to do without the children that are obliged to attend school.

"It requires no further argument to prove that the educational clauses of the Factory Act, being held in such disfavour among mill-owners, tend in a great measure to exclude that class of children alike from the employment and the benefit of education contemplated by this Act." [4]

[1] L. Horner in "Rep. of Insp. of Fact. for 31st Oct., 1855", pp. 18, 19.
[2] Sir John Kincaid in "Rep. of Insp. of Fact. for 31st Oct., 1858", pp. 31, 32.
[3] L. Horner in "Reports, &c., for 30th April, 1857", pp. 17, 18.
[4] Sir J. Kincaid in "Reports, &c., 31st Oct., 1856", p. 66.

Horribly grotesque does this appear in print works, which are regulated by a special Act.[244] By that Act,

"every child, before being employed in a print work must have attended school for at least 30 days, and not less than 150 hours, during the six months immediately preceding such first day of employment, and during the continuance of its employment in the print works, it must attend for a like period of 30 days, and 150 hours during every successive period of six months. ... The attendance at school must be between 8 a. m. and 6 p. m. No attendance of less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours, nor more than 5 hours on any one day, shall be reckoned as part of the 150 hours. Under ordinary circumstances the children attend school morning and afternoon for 30 days, for at least 5 hours each day, and upon the expiration of the 30 days, the statutory total of 150 hours having been attained, having, in their language, made up their book, they return to the print work, where they continue until the six months have expired, when another instalment of school attendance becomes due, and they again seek the school until the book is again made up.... Many boys having attended school for the required number of hours, when they return to school after the expiration of their six months' work in the print work, are in the same condition as when they first attended school as print-work boys, that they have lost all they gained by their previous school attendance.... In other print works the children's attendance at school is made to depend altogether upon the exigencies of the work in the establishment. The requisite number of hours is made up each six months, by instalments consisting of from 3 to 5 hours at a time, spreading over, perhaps, the whole six months.... For instance, the attendance on one day might be from 8 to 11 a. m., on another day from 1 p. m. to 4 p. m., and the child might not appear at school again for several days, when it would attend from 3 p. m. to 6 p. m.; then it might attend for 3 or 4 days consecutively, or for a week, then it would not appear in school for 3 weeks or a month, after that upon some odd days at some odd hours when the operative who employed it chose to spare it; and thus the child was, as it were, buffeted from school to work, from work to school, until the tale of 150 hours was told." [1]

By the excessive addition of women and children to the ranks of the workers, machinery at last breaks down the resistance which the male operatives in the manufacturing period continued to oppose to the despotism of capital.[2]

[1] A. Redgrave in "Rep. of Insp. of Fact., 31st Oct., 1857", pp. 41-42. In those industries where the Factory Act proper (not the Print Works Act referred to in the text) has been in force for some time, the obstacles in the way of the education clauses have, in recent years, been overcome. In industries not under the Act, the views of Mr. J. Geddes, a glass manufacturer, still extensively prevail. He informed Mr. White, one of the Inquiry Commissioners: "As far as I can see, the greater amount of education which a part of the working class has enjoyed for some years past is an evil. It is dangerous, because it makes them independent" ("Children's Empl. Comm., Fourth Report", Lond., 1865, p. 253).

[2] "Mr. E., a manufacturer ... informed me that he employed females exclusively at his power-looms ... gives a decided preference to married females, especially those who have families at home dependent on them for support; they are attentive, docile, more

### *b. Prolongation of the Working Day*

If machinery be the most powerful means for increasing the productiveness of labour—i. e., for shortening the working time required in the production of a commodity, it becomes in the hands of capital the most powerful means, in those industries first invaded by it, for lengthening the working day beyond all bounds set by human nature. It creates, on the one hand, new conditions by which capital is enabled to give free scope to this its constant tendency, and on the other hand, new motives with which to whet capital's appetite for the labour of others.

In the first place, in the form of machinery, the implements of labour become automatic, things moving and working independent of the workman. They are thenceforth an industrial *perpetuum mobile*, that would go on producing forever, did it not meet with certain natural obstructions in the weak bodies and the strong wills of its human attendants. The automaton, as capital, and because it is capital, is endowed, in the person of the capitalist, with intelligence and will; it is therefore animated by the longing to reduce to a minimum the resistance offered by that repellent yet elastic natural barrier, man.[1] This resistance is moreover lessened by the apparent lightness of machine work, and by the more pliant and docile character of the women and children employed on it.[2]

so than unmarried females, and are compelled to use their utmost exertions to procure the necessaries of life. Thus are the virtues, the peculiar virtues of the female character to be perverted to her injury—thus all that is most dutiful and tender in her nature is made a means of her bondage and suffering" (Ten Hours' Factory Bill. The Speech of Lord Ashley, March 15th, Lond., 1844, p. 20).

[1] "Since the general introduction of machinery, human nature has been forced far beyond its average strength" (Rob. Owen, *Observations on the Effects of the Manufacturing System*, 2nd Ed., London, 1817, [p. 16]).

[2] The English, who have a tendency to look upon the earliest form of appearance of a thing as the cause of its existence, are in the habit of attributing the long hours of work in factories to the extensive kidnapping of children, practised by capitalists in the infancy of the factory system, in workhouses and orphanages, by means of which robbery, unresisting material for exploitation was procured. Thus, for instance, Fielden, himself a manufacturer, says: "It is evident that the long hours of work were brought about by the circumstance of so great a number of destitute children being supplied from different parts of the country, that the masters were independent of the hands, and that having once established the custom by means of the miserable materials they had procured in this way, they could impose it on their neighbours with the greater facility" (J. Fielden, *The Curse of the Factory System*, Lond., 1836, p. 11). With reference to the labour of women, Saunders, the factory inspector, says in his report of 1844:

The productiveness of machinery is, as we saw, inversely proportional to the value transferred by it to the product. The longer the life of the machine, the greater is the mass of the products over which the value transmitted by the machine is spread, and the less is the portion of that value added to each single commodity. The active lifetime of a machine is, however, clearly dependent on the length of the working day, or on the duration of the daily labour process multiplied by the number of days for which the process is carried on.

The wear and tear of a machine is not exactly proportional to its working time. And even if it were so, a machine working 16 hours daily for $7\frac{1}{2}$ years, covers as long a working period as, and transmits to the total product no more value than, the same machine would if it worked only 8 hours daily for 15 years. But in the first case the value of the machine would be reproduced twice as quickly as in the latter, and the capitalist would, by this use of the machine, absorb in $7\frac{1}{2}$ years as much surplus value as in the second case he would in 15.

The material wear and tear of a machine is of two kinds. The one arises from use, as coins wear away by circulating, the other from nonuse, as a sword rusts when left in its scabbard. The latter kind is due to the elements. The former is more or less directly proportional, the latter to a certain extent inversely proportional, to the use of the machine.[1]

But in addition to the material wear and tear, a machine also undergoes, what we may call a moral depreciation. It loses exchange value, either by machines of the same sort being produced cheaper than it, or by better machines entering into competition with it.[2] In both cases, be the machine ever so young and full of life, its value is no longer determined by the labour actually materialised in it, but by the labour time requisite to reproduce either it or the better machine.

"Amongst the female operatives there are some women who, for many weeks in succession, except for a few days, are employed from 6 a. m. till midnight, with less than 2 hours for meals, so that on 5 days of the week they have only 6 hours left out of the 24, for going to and from their homes and resting in bed." [338]

[1] "Occasion ... injury to the delicate moving parts of metallic mechanism by inaction" (Ure, l. c., p. 281).

[2] The *Manchester Spinner* (*Times*, 26th Nov., 1862 [p. 12, col. 1]), before referred to [this volume, p. 217, note 2] says in relation to this subject: "It (namely, the "allowance for deterioration of machinery") is also intended to cover the loss which is constantly arising from the superseding of machines before they are worn out, by others of a new and better construction."

It has, therefore, lost value more or less. The shorter the period taken to reproduce its total value, the less is the danger of moral depreciation; and the longer the working day, the shorter is that period. When machinery is first introduced into an industry, new methods of reproducing it more cheaply follow blow upon blow,[1] and so do improvements, that not only affect individual parts and details of the machine, but its entire build. It is, therefore, in the early days of the life of machinery that this special incentive to the prolongation of the working day makes itself felt most acutely.[2]

Given the length of the working day, all other circumstances remaining the same, the exploitation of double the number of workmen demands, not only a doubling of that part of constant capital which is invested in machinery and buildings, but also of that part which is laid out in raw material and auxiliary substances. The lengthening of the working day, on the other hand, allows of production on an extended scale without any alteration in the amount of capital laid out on machinery and buildings.[3] Not only is there, therefore, an increase of surplus value, but the outlay necessary to obtain it diminishes. It is true that this takes place, more or less, with every lengthening of the working day; but in the case under consideration, the change is more marked, because the capital converted into the instruments of labour preponderates to a greater degree.[4] The development of the factory system fixes a constantly increasing portion of the

[1] "It has been estimated, roughly, that the first individual of a newly-invented machine will cost about five times as much as the construction of the second" (Babbage, l. c., pp. 211-12).

[2] "The improvements which took place not long ago in frames for making patent net were so great that a machine in good repair which had cost £1,200, sold a few years after for £60 ... improvements succeeded each other so rapidly, that machines which had never been finished were abandoned in the hands of their makers, because new improvements had superseded their utility" (Babbage, l. c., p. 233). In these stormy, go-ahead times,[177] therefore, the tulle manufacturers soon extended the working day, by means of double sets of hands, from the original 8 hours to 24.

[3] "It is self-evident, that, amid the ebbings and flowings of the markets and the alternate expansions and contractions of demand, occasions will constantly recur, in which the manufacturer may employ additional floating capital without employing additional fixed capital ... if additional quantities of raw material can be worked up without incurring an additional expense for buildings and machinery" (R. Torrens, *On Wages and Combination*, London, 1834, p. 64).

[4] This circumstance is mentioned only for the sake of completeness, for I shall not consider the rate of profit, i. e., the ratio of the surplus value to the total capital advanced, until I come to the third book.

capital in a form, in which, on the one hand, its value is capable of continual self-expansion, and in which, on the other hand, it loses both use value and exchange value whenever it loses contact with living labour. "When a labourer," said Mr. Ashworth, a cotton magnate, to Professor Nassau W. Senior, "lays down his spade, he renders useless, for that period, a capital worth eighteenpence. When one of our people leaves the mill, he renders useless a capital that has cost £100." [1] Only fancy! making "useless" for a single moment, a capital that has cost £100! It is, in truth, monstrous, that a single one of our people should ever leave the factory! The increased use of machinery, as Senior after the instruction he received from Ashworth clearly perceives, makes a constantly increasing lengthening of the working day "desirable." [2]

Machinery produces relative surplus value; not only by directly depreciating the value of labour power, and by indirectly cheapening the same through cheapening the commodities that enter into its reproduction, but also, when it is first introduced sporadically into an industry, by converting the labour employed by the owner of that machinery, into labour of a higher degree and greater efficacy, by raising the social value of the article produced above its individual value, and thus enabling the capitalist to replace the value of a day's labour power by a smaller portion of the value of a day's product. During this transition period, when the use of machinery is a sort of monopoly, the profits are therefore exceptional, and the capitalist endeavours to exploit thoroughly "the sunny time of this his first love",[339] by prolonging the working day as much as possible. The magnitude of the profit whets his appetite for more profit.

As the use of machinery becomes more general in a particular industry, the social value of the product sinks down to its individual value, and the law that surplus value does not arise from the labour power that has been replaced by the machinery, but from the labour

[1] Senior, "Letters on the Factory Act", London, 1837, p. 14.

[2] "The great proportion of fixed to circulating capital ... makes long hours of work desirable." With the increased use of machinery, &c., "the motives to long hours of work will become greater, as the only means by which a large proportion of fixed capital can be made profitable" (l. c., pp. 11-13). "There are certain expenses upon a mill which go on in the same proportion whether the mill be running short or full time, as, for instance, rent, rates, and taxes, insurance against fire, wages of several permanent servants, deterioration of machinery, with various other charges upon a manufacturing establishment, the proportion of which to profits increases as the production decreases" ("Rep. of Insp. of Fact. for 31st Oct., 1862", p. 19).

power actually employed in working with the machinery, asserts itself. Surplus value arises from variable capital alone, and we saw that the amount of surplus value depends on two factors, viz., the rate of surplus value and the number of the workmen simultaneously employed. Given the length of the working day, the rate of surplus value is determined by the relative duration of the necessary labour and of the surplus labour in a day. The number of the labourers simultaneously employed depends, on its side, on the ratio of the variable to the constant capital. Now, however much the use of machinery may increase the surplus labour at the expense of the necessary labour by heightening the productiveness of labour, it is clear that it attains this result, only by diminishing the number of workmen employed by a given amount of capital. It converts what was formerly variable capital, invested in labour power, into machinery which, being constant capital, does not produce surplus value. It is impossible, for instance, to squeeze as much surplus value out of 2 as out of 24 labourers. If each of these 24 men gives only one hour of surplus labour in 12, the 24 men give together 24 hours of surplus labour, while 24 hours is the total labour of the two men. Hence, the application of machinery to the production of surplus value implies a contradiction which is immanent in it, since of the two factors of the surplus value created by a given amount of capital, one, the rate of surplus value, cannot be increased, except by diminishing the other, the number of workmen. This contradiction comes to light, as soon as by the general employment of machinery in a given industry, the value of the machine-produced commodity regulates the value of all commodities of the same sort; and it is this contradiction, that in its turn, drives the capitalist, without his being conscious of the fact,[1] to excessive lengthening of the working day, in order that he may compensate the decrease in the relative number of labourers exploited, by an increase not only of the relative, but of the absolute surplus labour.

If, then, the capitalistic employment of machinery, on the one hand, supplies new and powerful motives to an excessive lengthening of the working day, and radically changes, as well the methods of labour, as also the character of the social working organism, in such a manner as to break down all opposition to this tendency, on the

[1] Why it is, that the capitalist, and also the political economists who are imbued with his views, are unconscious of this immanent contradiction, will appear from the first part of the third book.

other hand, it produces, partly by opening out to the capitalist new strata of the working class, previously inaccessible to him, partly by setting free the labourers it supplants, a surplus working population,[1] which is compelled to submit to the dictation of capital. Hence that remarkable phenomenon in the history of modern industry, that machinery sweeps away every moral and natural restriction on the length of the working day. Hence, too, the economic paradox, that the most powerful instrument for shortening labour time, becomes the most unfailing means for placing every moment of the labourer's time and that of his family, at the disposal of the capitalist for the purpose of expanding the value of his capital. "If," dreamed Aristotle, the greatest thinker of antiquity, "if every tool, when summoned, or even of its own accord, could do the work that befits it, just as the creations of Dædalus moved of themselves,[341] or the tripods of Hephæstos went of their own accord to their sacred work, if the weavers' shuttles were to weave of themselves, then there would be no need either of apprentices for the master workers, or of slaves for the lords."[2] And Antipatros, a Greek poet of the time of Cicero, hailed the invention of the water-wheel for grinding corn, an invention that is the elementary form of all machinery, as the giver of freedom to female slaves, and the bringer back of the golden age.[3] Oh! those

[1] It is one of the greatest merits of Ricardo to have seen in machinery not only the means of producing commodities, but of creating a "redundant population".[340]

[2] F. Biese, *Die Philosophie des Aristoteles*, Vol. 2. Berlin, 1842, p. 408.

[3] I give below the translation of this poem by Stolberg, because it brings into relief, quite in the spirit of former quotations referring to division of labour, the antithesis between the views of the ancients and the moderns. "Spare the hand that grinds the corn, Oh, miller girls, and softly sleep. Let Chanticleer announce the morn in vain! Deo has commanded the work of the girls to be done by the Nymphs, and now they skip lightly over the wheels, so that the shaken axles revolve with their spokes and pull round the load of the revolving stones. Let us live the life of our fathers, and let us rest from work and enjoy the gifts that the Goddess sends us."

"Schonet der mahlenden Hand, o Müllerinnen, und schlafet
Sanft! es verkünde der Hahn euch den Morgen umsonst!
Däo hat die Arbeit der Mädchen den Nymphen befohlen,
Und itzt hüpfen sie leicht über die Räder dahin,
Daß die erschütterten Achsen mit ihren Speichen sich wälzen,
Und im Kreise die Last drehen des wälzenden Steins.
Laßt uns leben das Leben der Väter, und laßt uns der Gaben
Arbeitslos uns freun, welche die Göttin uns schenkt."

(Gedichte aus dem Griechischen übersetzt von Christian Graf zu Stolberg, Hamburg, 1782 [p. 312]).

heathens! They understood, as the learned Bastiat,[342] and before him the still wiser MacCulloch have discovered, nothing of Political Economy and Christianity. They did not, for example, comprehend that machinery is the surest means of lengthening the working day. They perhaps excused the slavery of one on the ground that it was a means to the full development of another. But to preach slavery of the masses, in order that a few crude and half-educated parvenus, might become "eminent spinners", "extensive sausage-makers", and "influential shoe-black dealers", to do this, they lacked the bump of Christianity.

### *c. Intensification of Labour*

The immoderate lengthening of the working day, produced by machinery in the hands of capital, leads to a reaction on the part of society, the very sources of whose life are menaced; and, thence, to a normal working day whose length is fixed by law. Thenceforth a phenomenon that we have already met with, namely, the intensification of labour, develops into great importance. Our analysis of absolute surplus value had reference primarily to the extension of duration of the labour, its intensity being assumed as given. We now proceed to consider the substitution of a more intensified labour for labour of more extensive duration, and the degree of the former.

It is self-evident, that in proportion as the use of machinery spreads, and the experience of a special class of workmen habituated to machinery accumulates, the rapidity and intensity of labour increase as a natural consequence. Thus in England, during half a century, lengthening of the working day went hand in hand with increasing intensity of factory labour. Nevertheless the reader will clearly see, that where we have labour, not carried on by fits and starts, but repeated day after day with unvarying uniformity, a point must inevitably be reached, where extension of the working day and intensity of the labour mutually exclude one another, in such a way that lengthening of the working day becomes compatible only with a lower degree of intensity, and a higher degree of intensity, only with a shortening of the working day. So soon as the gradually surging revolt of the working class compelled Parliament to shorten compulsorily the hours of labour, and to begin by imposing a normal working day on factories proper, so soon consequently as an increased production of surplus

value by the prolongation of the working day was once for all put a stop to, from that moment capital threw itself with all its might into the production of relative surplus value, by hastening on the further improvement of machinery. At the same time a change took place in the nature of relative surplus value. Generally speaking, the mode of producing relative surplus value consists in raising the productive power of the workman, so as to enable him to produce more in a given time with the same expenditure of labour. Labour time continues to transmit as before the same value to the total product, but this unchanged amount of exchange value is spread over more use values; hence the value of each single commodity sinks. Otherwise, however, so soon as the compulsory shortening of the hours of labour takes place. The immense impetus it gives to the development of productive power, and to economy in the means of production, imposes on the workman increased expenditure of labour in a given time, heightened tension of labour power, and closer filling up of the pores of the working day, or condensation of labour to a degree that is attainable only within the limits of the shortened working day. This condensation of a greater mass of labour into a given period thenceforward counts for what it really is, a greater quantity of labour. In addition to a measure of its extension, i. e., duration, labour now acquires a measure of its intensity or of the degree of its condensation or density.[1] The denser hour of the ten hours' working day contains more labour, i. e., expended labour power, than the more porous hour of the twelve hours' working day. The product therefore of one of the former hours has as much or more value than has the product of $1\frac{1}{5}$ of the latter hours. Apart from the increased yield of relative surplus value through the heightened productiveness of labour, the same mass of value is now produced for the capitalist say by $3\frac{1}{3}$ hours of surplus labour, and $6\frac{2}{3}$ hours of necessary labour, as was previously produced by four hours of surplus labour and eight hours of necessary labour.

We now come to the question: How is the labour intensified?

The first effect of shortening the working day results from the self-

[1] There are, of course, always differences in the intensities of the labour in various industries. But these differences are, as Adam Smith has shown, compensated to a partial extent by minor circumstances, peculiar to each sort of labour. Labour time, as a measure of value, is not, however, affected in this case, except in so far as the duration of labour, and the degree of its intensity, are two antithetical and mutually exclusive expressions for one and the same quantity of labour.

evident law, that the efficiency of labour power is in an inverse ratio to the duration of its expenditure. Hence, within certain limits what is lost by shortening the duration is gained by the increasing tension of labour power. That the workman moreover really does expend more labour power, is ensured by the mode in which the capitalist pays him.[1] In those industries, such as potteries, where machinery plays little or no part, the introduction of the Factory Acts has strikingly shown that the mere shortening of the working day increases to a wonderful degree the regularity, uniformity, order, continuity, and energy of the labour.[2] It seemed, however, doubtful whether this effect was produced in the factory proper, where the dependence of the workman on the continuous and uniform motion of the machinery had already created the strictest discipline. Hence, when in 1844 the reduction of the working day to less than twelve hours was being debated, the masters almost unanimously declared

"that their overlookers in the different rooms took good care that the hands lost no time", that "the extent of vigilance and attention on the part of the workmen was hardly capable of being increased", and, therefore, that the speed of the machinery and other conditions remaining unaltered, "to expect in a well-managed factory any important result from increased attention of the workmen was an absurdity".[3]

This assertion was contradicted by experiments. Mr. Robert Gardner reduced the hours of labour in his two large factories at Preston, on and after the 20th April, 1844, from twelve to eleven hours a day. The result of about a year's working was that "the same amount of product for the same cost was received, and the workpeople as a whole earned in eleven hours as much wages as they did before in twelve".[4] I pass over the experiments made in the spinning and carding rooms, because they were accompanied by an increase of 2% in the speed of the machines [l. c., p. 12]. But in the weaving department, where, moreover, many sorts of figured fancy articles were woven, there was not the slightest alteration in the conditions of the work. The result was:

"From 6th January to 20th April, 1844, with a twelve hours' day, average weekly wages of each hand 10s. $1\frac{1}{2}$ d., from 20th April to 29th June, 1844, with day of eleven hours, average weekly wages 10s. $3\frac{1}{2}$ d."[5]

[1] Especially by piece-work, a form we shall investigate in Part VI of this book.[343]

[2] See "Rep. of Insp. of Fact. for 31st October, 1865".

[3] Rep. of Insp. of Fact. for 1844 and the quarter ending 30th April, 1845, pp. 20-21.

[4] l. c., p. 19. Since the wages for piece-work were unaltered, the weekly wages depended on the quantity produced.

[5] l. c., p. 20.

Here we have more produced in eleven hours than previously in twelve, and entirely in consequence of more steady application and economy of time by the workpeople. While they got the same wages and gained one hour of spare time, the capitalist got the same amount produced and saved the cost of coal, gas, and other such items, for one hour. Similar experiments, and with the like success, were carried out in the mills of Messrs. Horrocks and Jacson.[1]

The shortening of the hours of labour creates, to begin with, the subjective conditions for the condensation of labour, by enabling the workman to exert more strength in a given time. So soon as that shortening becomes compulsory, machinery becomes in the hands of capital the objective means, systematically employed for squeezing out more labour in a given time. This is effected in two ways: by increasing the speed of the machinery, and by giving the workman more machinery to tent. Improved construction of the machinery is necessary, partly because without it greater pressure cannot be put on the workman, and partly because the shortened hours of labour force the capitalist to exercise the strictest watch over the cost of production. The improvements in the steam-engine have increased the piston speed, and at the same time have made it possible, by means of a greater economy of power, to drive with the same or even a smaller consumption of coal more machinery with the same engine. The improvements in the transmitting mechanism have lessened friction, and, what so strikingly distinguishes modern from the older machinery, have reduced the diameter and weight of the shafting to a constantly decreasing minimum. Finally, the improvements in the operative machines have, while reducing their size, increased their speed and efficiency, as in the modern power-loom; or, while increasing the size of their framework, have also increased the extent and number of their working parts, as in spinning-mules, or have added to the speed of these working parts by imperceptible alterations of detail, such as those which ten years ago increased the speed of the spindles in self-acting mules by one-fifth.

The reduction of the working day to 12 hours dates in England from 1832. In 1836 a manufacturer stated:

[1] The moral element played an important part in the above experiments. The workpeople told the factory inspector: "We work with more spirit, we have the reward ever before us of getting away sooner at night, and one active and cheerful spirit pervades the whole mill, from the youngest piecer to the oldest hand, and we can greatly help each other" [Reports...,] l. c. [p. 21].

"The labour now undergone in the factories is much greater than it used to be ... compared with thirty or forty years ago ... owing to the greater attention and activity required by the greatly increased speed which is given to the machinery." [1]

In the year 1844, Lord Ashley, now Lord Shaftesbury, made in the House of Commons the following statements, supported by documentary evidence:

"The labour performed by those engaged in the processes of manufacture, is three times as great as in the beginning of such operations. Machinery has executed, no doubt, the work that would demand the sinews of millions of men; but it has also prodigiously multiplied the labour of those who are governed by its fearful movements.... In 1815, the labour of following a pair of mules spinning cotton of No. 40 — reckoning 12 hours to the working day — involved a necessity of walking 8 miles. In 1832, the distance travelled in following a pair of mules, spinning cotton yarn of the same number, was 20 miles, and frequently more. In 1835" (query — 1815 or 1825?) "the spinner put up daily, on each of these mules, 820 stretches, making a total of 1,640 stretches in the course of the day. In 1832, the spinner put up on each mule 2,200 stretches, making a total of 4,400. In 1844, 2,400 stretches, making a total of 4,800; and in some cases the amount of labour required is even still greater.... I have another document sent to me in 1842, stating that the labour is progressively increasing — increasing not only because the distance to be travelled is greater, but because the quantity of goods produced is multiplied, while the hands are fewer in proportion than before; and, moreover, because an inferior species of cotton is now often spun, which it is more difficult to work.... In the carding-room there has also been a great increase of labour. One person there does the work formerly divided between two. In the weaving-room, where a vast number of persons are employed, and principally females ... the labour has increased within the last few years fully 10 per cent., owing to the increased speed of the machinery in spinning. In 1838, the number of hanks spun per week was 18,000, in 1843 it amounted to 21,000. In 1819, the number of picks in power-loom-weaving per minute was 60 — in 1842 it was 140, showing a vast increase of labour." [2]

In the face of this remarkable intensity of labour which had already been reached in 1844 under the Twelve Hours' Act, there appeared to be a justification for the assertion made at that time by the English manufacturers, that any further progress in that direction was impossible, and therefore that every further reduction of the hours of labour meant a lessened production. The apparent correctness of their reasons will be best shown by the following contemporary statement by Leonard Horner, the factory inspector, their ever watchful censor.

"Now, as the quantity produced must, in the main, be regulated by the speed of the machinery, it must be the interest of the mill-owner to drive it at the utmost rate of

[1] John Fielden, l. c. [*The Curse of the Factory System...*], p. 32.
[2] Lord Ashley, l. c. [*Ten Hours' Factory Bill...*] pp. 6, 7, 9, passim.

speed consistent with these following conditions, viz., the preservation of the machinery from too rapid deterioration; the preservation of the quality of the article manufactured; and the capability of the workman to follow the motion without a greater exertion than he can sustain for a constancy. One of the most important problems, therefore, which the owner of a factory has to solve is to find out the maximum speed at which he can run, with a due regard to the above conditions. It frequently happens that he finds he has gone too fast, that breakages and bad work more than counterbalance the increased speed, and that he is obliged to slacken his pace. I therefore concluded, that as an active and intelligent mill-owner would find out the safe maximum, it would not be possible to produce as much in eleven hours as in twelve. I further assumed that the operative paid by piecework, would exert himself to the utmost consistent with the power of continuing at the same rate." [1]

Horner, therefore, came to the conclusion that a reduction of the working hours below twelve would necessarily diminish production.[2] He himself, ten years later, cites his opinion of 1845 in proof of how much he underestimated in that year the elasticity of machinery, and of man's labour power, both of which are simultaneously stretched to an extreme by the compulsory shortening of the working day.

We now come to the period that follows the introduction of the Ten Hours' Act in 1847 into the English cotton, woollen, silk, and flax mills.

"The speed of the spindles has increased upon throstles 500, and upon mules 1,000 revolutions a minute, i. e., the speed of the throstle spindle, which in 1839 was 4,500 times a minute, is now (1862) 5,000; and of the mule spindle, that was 5,000, is now 6,000 times a minute, amounting in the former case to one-tenth, and in the second case to one-sixth additional increase." [3]

James Nasmyth, the eminent civil engineer of Patricroft, near Manchester, explained in a letter to Leonard Horner, written in 1852, the nature of the improvements in the steam-engine that had been made between the years 1848 and 1852. After remarking that the horse-power of steam-engines, being always estimated in the official returns according to the power of similar engines in 1828,[4] is only

[1] Rep. of Insp. of Fact. for Quarter ending 30th September, 1844, and from 1st October, 1844, to 30th April, 1845, p. 20.

[2] l. c., p. 22.

[3] "Rep. of Insp. of Fact. for 31st October, 1862", p. 62.

[4] This was altered in the "Parliamentary Return" of 1862.[344] In it the actual horse power of the modern steam-engines and water-wheels appears in place of the nominal [see this volume, p. 392, Engels' note 1]. The doubling spindles, too, are no longer included in the spinning spindles (as was the case in the "Returns" [*Factories. Return to an Address...*] of 1839, 1850, and 1856); further, in the case of woollen mills, the number of "gigs" is added, a distinction made between jute and hemp mills on the one

nominal, and can serve only as an index of their real power, he goes on to say:

"I am confident that from the same weight of steam-engine machinery, we are now obtaining at least 50 per cent. more duty or work performed on the average, and that in many cases the identical steam-engines which in the days of the restricted speed of 220 feet per minute, yielded 50 horse-power, are now yielding upwards of 100...." "The modern steam-engine of 100 horse-power is capable of being driven at a much greater force than formerly, arising from improvements in its construction, the capacity and construction of the boilers, &c...." "Although the same number of hands are employed in proportion to the horse-power as at former periods, there are fewer hands employed in proportion to the machinery."[1] "In the year 1850, the factories of the United Kingdom employed 134,217 nominal horse-power to give motion to 25,638,716 spindles and 301,445 looms. The number of spindles and looms in 1856 was respectively 33,503,580 of the former, and 369,205 of the latter, which, reckoning the force of the nominal horse-power required to be the same as in 1850, would require a force equal to 175,000 horses, but the actual power given in the return for 1856 is 161,435, less by above 10,000 horses than, calculating upon the basis of the return of 1850, the factories ought to have required in 1856."[2] "The facts thus brought out by the Return (of 1856)[345] appear to be that the factory system is increasing rapidly; that although the same number of hands are employed in proportion to the horse-power as at former periods, there are fewer hands employed in proportion to the machinery; that the steam-engine is enabled to drive an increased weight of machinery by economy of force and other methods, and that an increased quantity of work can be turned off by improvements in machinery, and in methods of manufacture, by increase of speed of the machinery, and by a variety of other causes."[3]

"The great improvements made in machines of every kind have raised their productive power very much. Without any doubt, the shortening of the hours of labour ... gave the impulse to these improvements. The latter, combined with the more intense strain on the workman, have had the effect, that at least as much is produced in the shortened (by two hours or one-sixth) working day as was previously produced during the longer one."[4]

One fact is sufficient to show how greatly the wealth of the manufacturers increased along with the more intense exploitation of labour power. From 1838 to 1850, the average proportional[346] increase in English cotton and other factories was 32, while from 1850 to 1856 it amounted to 86.

But however great the progress of English industry had been dur-

hand and flax mills on the other, and finally stocking-weaving is for the first time inserted in the report.

[1] "Rep. of Insp. of Fact. for 31st October, 1856", pp. 13-14 and 20.

[2] l. c., pp. 14-15.

[3] l. c., p. 20.

[4] "Reports, &c., for 31st October, 1858", p. 9. Compare "Reports. &c., for 30th April, 1860", p. 30, sqq.

ing the 8 years from 1848 to 1856 under the influence of a working day of 10 hours, it was far surpassed during the next period of 6 years from 1856 to 1862. In silk factories, for instance, there were in 1856, spindles 1,093,799; in 1862, 1,388,544; in 1856, looms 9,260; in 1862, 10,709. But the number of operatives was, in 1856, 56,137; in 1862, 52,429. The increase in the spindles was therefore 26.9% and in the looms 15.6%, while the number of the operatives decreased 7%. In the year 1850 there were employed in worsted mills 875,830 spindles; in 1856, 1,324,549 (increase 51.2%), and in 1862, 1,289,172 (decrease 2.7%). But if we deduct the doubling spindles that figure in the numbers for 1856, but not in those for 1862, it will be found that after 1856 the number of spindles remained nearly stationary. On the other hand, after 1850, the speed of the spindles and looms was in many cases doubled. The number of power-looms in worsted mills was, in 1850, 32,617; in 1856, 38,956; in 1862, 43,048. The number of the operatives was, in 1850, 79,737; in 1856, 87,794; in 1862, 86,063; included in these, however, the children under 14 years of age were, in 1850, 9,956; in 1856, 11,228; in 1862, 13,178. In spite, therefore, of the greatly increased number of looms in 1862, compared with 1856, the total number of the workpeople employed decreased, and that of the children exploited increased.[1]

On the 27th April, 1863, Mr. Ferrand said in the House of Commons:

"I have been informed by delegates from 16 districts of Lancashire and Cheshire, in whose behalf I speak, that the work in the factories is, in consequence of the improvements in machinery, constantly on the increase. Instead of as formerly one person with two helps tenting two looms, one person now tents three looms without helps, and it is no uncommon thing for one person to tent four. Twelve hours' work, as is evident from the facts adduced, is now compressed into less than 10 hours. It is therefore self-evident, to what an enormous extent the toil of the factory operative has increased during the last 10 years."[2] [347]

[1] "Reports of Insp. of Fact. for 31st Oct., 1862", pp. 100, 103, 129 and 130.

[2] On 2 modern power-looms a weaver now makes in a week of 60 hours 26 pieces of certain quality, length, and breadth; while on the old power-looms he could make no more than 4 such pieces. The cost of weaving a piece of such cloth had already soon after 1850 fallen from 2s. 9d. to $5\frac{1}{8}$ d. [see *The Industry of Nations*. Part II. London, 1855, p. 156].

"Thirty years ago (1841) one spinner with three piecers was not required to attend to more than one pair of mules with 300-324 spindles. At the present time (1871) he has to mind with the help of 5 piecers 2,200 spindles, and produces not less than seven times as much yarn as in 1841" (Alex. Redgrave, Factory Inspector—in the *Journal [of the Society] of Arts*, 5th January, 1872 [p. 134]).

Although, therefore, the Factory Inspectors unceasingly and with justice, commend the results of the Acts of 1844 and 1850, yet they admit that the shortening of the hours of labour has already called forth such an intensification of the labour as is injurious to the health of the workman and to his capacity for work.

"In most of the cotton, worsted, and silk mills, an exhausting state of excitement necessary to enable the workers satisfactorily to mind the machinery, the motion of which has been greatly accelerated within the last few years, seems to me not unlikely to be one of the causes of that excess of mortality from lung disease, which Dr. Greenhow has pointed out in his recent report on this subject." [1]

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the tendency that urges capital, so soon as a prolongation of the hours of labour is once for all forbidden, to compensate itself, by a systematic heightening of the intensity of labour, and to convert every improvement in machinery into a more perfect means of exhausting the workman, must soon lead to a state of things in which a reduction of the hours of labour will again be inevitable.[2] On the other hand, the rapid advance of English industry between 1848 and the present time, under the influence of a day of 10 hours, surpasses the advance made between 1833 and 1847, when the day was 12 hours long, by far more than the latter surpasses the advance made during the half century after the first introduction of the factory system, when the working day was without limits.[3]

## SECTION IV.—THE FACTORY

At the commencement of this chapter we considered that which we may call the body of the factory, i. e., machinery organised into a system. We there saw how machinery, by annexing the labour of women and children, augments the number of human beings who form the material for capitalistic exploitation, how it confiscates the whole of the workman's disposable time, by immoderate extension of the hours of labour, and how finally its progress, which allows of enormous increase of production in shorter and shorter periods, serves as a means

[1] "Rep. of Insp. of Fact. for 31st Oct., 1861", pp. 25, 26.

[2] The agitation for a working day of 8 hours has now (1867) begun in Lancashire among the factory operatives.

[3] The following few figures indicate the increase in the "factories" of the United Kingdom since 1848 [348]:

of systematically getting more work done in a shorter time, or of exploiting labour power more intensely. We now turn to the factory as a whole, and that in its most perfect form.

Dr. Ure, the Pindar of the automatic factory, describes it, on the one hand, as

"Combined co-operation of many orders of workpeople, adult and young, in tending with assiduous skill, a system of productive machines, continuously impelled by a central power" (the prime mover); on the other hand, as "a vast automaton, composed of various mechanical and intellectual organs, acting in uninterrupted concert for the production of a common object, all of them being subordinate to a self-regulated moving force." [350]

These two descriptions are far from being identical. In one, the collective labourer, or social body of labour, appears as the dominant

| | Quantity Exported, 1848 | Quantity Exported, 1851 | Quantity Exported, 1860 | Quantity Exported, 1865 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| COTTON | | | | |
| | lbs | lbs | lbs | lbs |
| Cotton yarn . . . . . | 135,831,162 | 143,966,106 | 197,343,655 | 103,751,455 |
| | lbs | lbs | lbs | lbs |
| Sewing thread . . . . . | | 4,392,176 | 6,297,554 | 4,648,611 |
| | yds | yds | yds | yds |
| Cotton cloth . . . . . | 1,091,373,930 | 1,543,161,789 | 2,776,218,427 | 2,015,237,851 |
| FLAX & HEMP | | | | |
| | lbs | lbs | lbs | lbs |
| Yarn . . . . . | 11,722,182 | 18,841,326 | 31,210,612 | 36,777,334 |
| | yds | yds | yds | yds |
| Cloth . . . . . | 88,901,519 | 129,106,753 | 143,996,773 | 247,012,329 |
| SILK | | | | |
| | lbs | lbs | lbs | lbs |
| Yarn . . . . . | 194,815 [349] | 462,513 | 897,402 | 812,589 |
| | | lbs | lbs | lbs |
| Cloth . . . . . | | 1,181,455 | 1,307,293 | 2,869,837 |
| WOOL | | | | |
| | lbs | lbs | lbs | lbs |
| Woollen and Worsted yarns | | 14,670,880 | 27,533,968 | 31,669,267 |
| | yds | yds | yds | yds |
| Cloth . . . . . | | 151,231,153 | 190,371,537 | 278,837,418 |

subject, and the mechanical automaton as the object; in the other, the automaton itself is the subject, and the workmen are merely conscious organs, co-ordinate with the unconscious organs of the automation, and together with them, subordinated to the central moving-power. The first description is applicable to every possible employment of machinery on a large scale, the second is characteristic of its use by capital, and therefore of the modern factory system. Ure prefers therefore, to describe the central machine, from which the motion comes, not only as an automaton, but as an autocrat. "In these spacious halls the benignant power of steam summons around him his myriads of willing menials." [1]

Along with the tool, the skill of the workman in handling it passes

| | Value Exported, 1848 | Value Exported, 1851 | Value Exported, 1860 | Value Exported, 1865 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| COTTON | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Yarn . . . . . | 5,927,831 | 6,634,026 | 9,870,875 | 10,351,049 |
| Cloth . . . . . | 16,753,369 | 23,454,810 | 42,141,505 | 46,903,796 |
| FLAX & HEMP | | | | |
| Yarn . . . . . | 493,449 | 951,426 | 1,801,272 | 2,505,497 |
| Cloth . . . . . | 2,802,789 | 4,107,396 | 4,804,803 | 9,155,358 |
| SILK | | | | |
| Yarn . . . . . | 77,789 | 196,380 | 826,107 | 768,064 |
| Cloth . . . . . | | 1,130,398 | 1,587,303 | 1,409,221 |
| WOOL | | | | |
| Yarn . . . . . | 776,975 | 1,484,544 | 3,843,450 | 5,424,047 |
| Cloth . . . . . | 5,733,828 | 8,377,183 | 12,156,998 | 20,102,259 |

See the Blue Books "Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom", Nos. 8 and 13. Lond., 1861 and 1866. In Lancashire the number of mills increased only 4 per cent between 1839 and 1850; 19 per cent between 1850 and 1856; and 33 per cent between 1856 and 1862; while the persons employed in them during each of the above periods of 11 years increased absolutely, but diminished relatively. (See "Rep. of Insp. of Fact., for 31st Oct., 1862", p. 63.) The cotton trade preponderates in Lancashire. We may form an idea of the stupendous nature of the cotton trade in that district when we consider that, of the gross number of textile factories in the United Kingdom, it absorbs 45.2 per cent, of the spindles 83.3 per cent, of the power-looms 81.4 per cent, of the mechanical horse power 72.6 per cent, and of the total number of persons employed 58.2 per cent (l. c., pp. 62-63).

[1] Ure, l. c. [*The Philosophy of Manufactures*, London, 1835], p. 18.

over to the machine. The capabilities of the tool are emancipated from the restraints that are inseparable from human labour power. Thereby the technical foundation on which is based the division of labour in manufacture, is swept away. Hence, in the place of the hierarchy of specialised workmen that characterises manufacture, there steps, in the automatic factory, a tendency to equalise and reduce to one and the same level every kind of work that has to be done by the minders of the machines [1]; in the place of the artificially produced differentiations of the detail workmen, step the natural differences of age and sex.

So far as division of labour reappears in the factory, it is primarily a distribution of the workmen among the specialised machines; and of masses of workmen, not however organised into groups, among the various departments of the factory, in each of which they work at a number of similar machines placed together; their co-operation, therefore, is only simple. The organised group, peculiar to manufacture, is replaced by the connexion between the head workman and his few assistants. The essential division is, into workmen who are actually employed on the machines (among whom are included a few who look after the engine), and into mere attendants (almost exclusively children) of these workmen. Among the attendants are reckoned more or less all "Feeders" who supply the machines with the material to be worked. In addition to these two principal classes, there is a numerically unimportant class of persons, whose occupation it is to look after the whole of the machinery and repair it from time to time; such as engineers, mechanics, joiners, &c. This is a superior class of workmen, some of them scientifically educated, others brought up to a trade; it is distinct from the factory operative class, and merely aggregated to it.[2] This division of labour is purely technical.

To work at a machine, the workman should be taught from childhood, in order that he may learn to adapt his own movements to the uniform and unceasing motion of an automaton. When the machin-

[1] Ure, l.c., p. 31[-33].[351] See Karl Marx, l.c. [*Misère de la Philosophie...*, Paris, Bruxelles, 1847], pp. 140-141 [present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 189-90].

[2] It looks very like intentional misleading by statistics (which misleading it would be possible to prove in detail in other cases too), when the English factory legislation excludes from its operation the class of labourers last mentioned in the text, while the parliamentary returns expressly include in the category of factory operatives, not only engineers, mechanics, &c., but also managers, salesmen, messengers, warehousemen, packers, &c., in short everybody, except the owner of the factory himself.

ery, as a whole, forms a system of manifold machines, working simultaneously and in concert, the co-operation based upon it, requires the distribution of various groups of workmen among the different kinds of machines. But the employment of machinery does away with the necessity of crystallising this distribution after the manner of manufacture, by the constant annexation of a particular man to a particular function.[1] Since the motion of the whole system does not proceed from the workman, but from the machinery, a change of persons can take place at any time without an interruption of the work. The most striking proof of this is afforded by the *relays system*, put into operation by the manufacturers during their revolt from 1848-1850. Lastly, the quickness with which machine work is learnt by young people, does away with the necessity of bringing up for exclusive employment by machinery, a special class of operatives.[2] With regard to the work of the mere attendants, it can, to some extent, be replaced in the mill by machines,[3] and owing to its extreme simplicity, it allows of a rapid and constant change of the individuals burdened with this drudgery.

[1] Ure grants this. He says, "in case of need", the workmen can be moved at the will of the manager from one machine to another, and he triumphantly exclaims: "Such a change is in flat contradiction with the old routine, that divides the labour, and to one workman assigns the task of fashioning the head of a needle, to another the sharpening of the point" [A. Ure, l. c., p. 22]. He had much better have asked himself, why this "old routine" is departed from in the automatic factory, only "in case of need".

[2] When distress is very great, as, for instance, during the American Civil War, the factory operative is now and then set by the bourgeois to do the roughest of work, such as road-making, &c. The English "ateliers nationaux" of 1862 and the following years, established for the benefit of the destitute cotton operatives, differ from the French of 1848 in this, that in the latter the workmen had to do unproductive work at the expense of the state, in the former they had to do productive municipal work to the advantage of the bourgeois, and that, too, cheaper than the regular workmen, with whom they were thus thrown into competition. "The physical appearance of the cotton operatives is unquestionably improved. This I attribute ... as to the men, to outdoor labour on public works" ("Rep. of Insp. of Fact., 31st Oct., 1863", p. 59). The writer here alludes to the Preston factory operatives, who were employed on Preston Moor.

[3] An example: The various mechanical apparatus introduced since the Act of 1844 [226] into woollen mills, for replacing the labour of children. So soon as it shall happen that the children of the manufacturers themselves have to go through a course of schooling as helpers in the mill, this almost unexplored territory of mechanics will soon make remarkable progress. "Of machinery, perhaps self-acting mules are as dangerous as any other kind. Most of the accidents from them happen to little children, from their creeping under the mules to sweep the floor whilst the mules are in motion. Several 'minders' have been fined for this offence, but without much general benefit. If machine makers would only invent a self-sweeper, by whose use the necessity for these little

Although then, technically speaking, the old system of division of labour is thrown overboard by machinery, it hangs on in the factory, as a traditional habit handed down from manufacture, and is afterwards systematically re-moulded and established in a more hideous form by capital, as a means of exploiting labour power. The life-long speciality of handling one and the same tool, now becomes the life-long speciality of serving one and the same machine. Machinery is put to a wrong use, with the object of transforming the workman, from his very childhood, into a part of a detail-machine.[1] In this way, not only are the expenses of his reproduction considerably lessened, but at the same time his helpless dependence upon the factory as a whole, and therefore upon the capitalist, is rendered complete. Here as everywhere else, we must distinguish between the increased productiveness due to the development of the social process of production, and that due to the capitalist exploitation of that process. In handicrafts and manufacture, the workman makes use of a tool, in the factory, the machine makes use of him. There the movements of the instrument of labour proceed from him, here it is the movements of the machine that he must follow. In manufacture the workmen are parts of a living mechanism. In the factory we have a lifeless mechanism independent of the workman, who becomes its mere living appendage.

"The miserable routine of endless drudgery and toil in which the same mechanical process is gone through over and over again, is like the labour of Sisyphus. The burden of labour, like the rock, keeps ever falling back on the worn-out labourer."[2]

At the same time that factory work exhausts the nervous system to the uttermost, it does away with the many-sided play of the muscles,

children to creep under the machinery might be prevented, it would be a happy addition to our protective measures" ("Reports of Insp. of Fact. for 31st. Oct., 1866", p. 63).

[1] So much then for Proudhon's wonderful idea: he "construes" machinery not as a synthesis of instruments of labour, but as a synthesis of detail operations for the benefit of the labourer himself.[352]

[2] F. Engels, l. c., [*Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England*, Leipzig, 1845], p. 217 [present edition, Vol. 4, p. 467, Note]. Even an ordinary and optimist Free-trader, like Mr. Molinari, goes so far as to say, "A man becomes exhausted more quickly when he watches over the uniform motion of a mechanism for fifteen hours a day, than when he applies his physical strength over the same period of time. This labour of surveillance, which might perhaps serve as a useful exercise for the mind, if it did not go on too long, destroys both the mind and the body in the long run, through excessive application" (G. de Molinari, *Études Economiques*, Paris, 1846 [, p. 49]).

and confiscates every atom of freedom, both in bodily and intellectual activity.[1] The lightening of the labour, even, becomes a sort of torture, since the machine does not free the labourer from work, but deprives the work of all interest. Every kind of capitalist production, in so far as it is not only a labour process, but also a process of creating surplus value, has this in common, that it is not the workman that employs the instruments of labour, but the instruments of labour that employ the workman. But it is only in the factory system that this inversion for the first time acquires technical and palpable reality. By means of its conversion into an automaton, the instrument of labour confronts the labourer, during the labour process, in the shape of capital, of dead labour, that dominates, and pumps dry, living labour power. The separation of the intellectual powers of production from the manual labour, and the conversion of those powers into the might of capital over labour, is, as we have already shown, finally completed by modern industry erected on the foundation of machinery. The special skill of each individual insignificant factory operative vanishes as an infinitesimal quantity before the science, the gigantic physical forces, and the mass of labour that are embodied in the factory mechanism and, together with that mechanism, constitute the power of the "master." This "master," therefore, in whose brain the machinery and his monopoly of it are inseparably united, whenever he falls out with his "hands," contemptuously tells them:

"The factory operatives should keep in wholesome remembrance the fact that theirs is really a low species of skilled labour; and that there is none which is more easily acquired, or of its quality more amply remunerated, or which by a short training of the least expert can be more quickly, as well as abundantly, acquired.... The master's machinery really plays a far more important part in the business of production than the labour and the skill of the operative, which six months' education can teach, and a common labourer can learn."[2]

The technical subordination of the workman to the uniform motion of the instruments of labour, and the peculiar composition of the body of workpeople, consisting as it does of individuals of both sexes and of all ages, give rise to a barrack discipline, which is elaborated into a complete system in the factory, and which fully develops the before mentioned labour of overlooking, thereby dividing the work-

[1] F. Engels, l. c., p. 216 [present edition, Vol. 4, p. 466].

[2] "The Master Spinners' and Manufacturers' Defence Fund. Report of the Committee." Manchester, 1854, p. 17.[353] We shall see hereafter, that the "master" can sing quite another song, when he is threatened with the loss of his "living" automaton.

people into operatives and overlookers, into private soldiers and sergeants of an industrial army. "The main difficulty [in the automatic factory] ... lay ... above all in training human beings to renounce their desultory habits of work, and to identify themselves with the unvarying regularity of the complex automaton. To devise and administer a successful code of factory discipline, suited to the necessities of factory diligence, was the Herculean enterprise, the noble achievement of Arkwright! Even at the present day, when the system is perfectly organised and its labour lightened to the utmost, it is found nearly impossible to convert persons past the age of puberty, into useful factory hands." [1] The factory code in which capital formulates, like a private legislator, and at his own good will, his autocracy over his workpeople, unaccompanied by that division of responsibility, in other matters so much approved of by the bourgeoisie, and unaccompanied by the still more approved representative system, this code is but the capitalistic caricature of that social regulation of the labour process which becomes requisite in co-operation on a great scale, and in the employment in common, of instruments of labour and especially of machinery. The place of the slave-driver's lash is taken by the overlooker's book of penalties. All punishments naturally resolve themselves into fines and deductions from wages, and the law-giving talent of the factory Lycurgus [354] so arranges matters, that a violation of his laws is, if possible, more profitable to him than the keeping of them.[2]

[1] Ure, l. c., p. 15. Whoever knows the life history of Arkwright, will never dub this barber-genius "noble". Of all the great inventors of the 18th century, he was incontestably the greatest thiever of other people's inventions and the meanest fellow.

[2] "The slavery in which the bourgeoisie has bound the proletariat, comes nowhere more plainly into daylight than in the factory system. In it all freedom comes to an end both at law and in fact. The workman must be in the factory at half past five. If he come a few minutes late, he is punished; if he come 10 minutes late, he is not allowed to enter until after breakfast, and thus loses a quarter of a day's wage. He must eat, drink and sleep at word of command.... The despotic bell calls him from his bed, calls him from breakfast and dinner. And how does he fare in the mill? There the master is the absolute law-giver. He makes what regulations he pleases: he alters and makes additions to his code at pleasure; and if he insert the veriest nonsense, the courts say to the workman: Since you have entered into this contract voluntarily, you must now carry it out.... These workmen are condemned to live, from their ninth year till their death, under this mental and bodily torture" (F. Engels, l. c., p. 217, sq. [present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 467-68]). What, "the courts say", I will illustrate by two examples. One occurs at Sheffield at the end of 1866. In that town a workman had engaged himself for 2 years in a steelworks. In consequence of a quarrel with his employer he left the works, and declared that under no circumstances would he work for that master any more. He was prosecuted for breach of contract, and condemned to two months' imprisonment. (If

We shall here merely allude to the material conditions under which factory labour is carried on. Every organ of sense is injured in an equal degree by artificial elevation of the temperature, by the dust-laden atmosphere, by the deafening noise, not to mention danger to life and limb among the thickly crowded machinery, which, with the regularity of the seasons, issues its list of the killed and wounded in

the master break the contract, he can be proceeded against only in a civil action, and risks nothing but money damages.) After the workman has served his two months, the master invites him to return to the works, pursuant to the contract. Workman says: No, he has already been punished for the breach. The master prosecutes again, the court condemns again, although one of the judges, Mr. Shee, publicly denounces this as a legal monstrosity, by which a man can periodically, as long as he lives, be punished over and over again for the same offence or crime. This judgment was given not by the "Great Unpaid",[a] the provincial Dogberries,[355] but by one of the highest courts of justice in London — *//Added in the 4th German edition.*— This has now been done away with. With few exceptions, e. g., when public gas-works are involved, the worker in England is now put on an equal footing with the employer in case of breach of contract and can be sued only civilly.— *F. E.*// The second case occurs in Wiltshire at the end of November 1863. About 30 power-loom weavers, in the employment of one Harrup, a cloth manufacturer at Bower's Mill, Westbury Leigh, struck work because master Harrup indulged in the agreeable habit of making deductions from their wages for being late in the morning; 6d. for 2 minutes; 1s. for 3 minutes, and 1s. 6d. for ten minutes. This is at the rate of 9s. per hour, and £4 10s. 0d. per diem; while the wages of the weavers on the average of a year, never exceeded 10s. to 12s. weekly. Harrup also appointed a boy to announce the starting time by a whistle, which he often did before six o'clock in the morning: and if the hands were not all there at the moment the whistle ceased, the doors were closed, and those hands who were outside were fined: and as there was no clock on the premises, the unfortunate hands were at the mercy of the young Harrup-inspired time-keeper. The hands on strike, mothers of families as well as girls, offered to resume work if the time-keeper were replaced by a clock, and a more reasonable scale of fines were introduced. Harrup summoned 19 women and girls before the magistrates for breach of contract. To the utter indignation of all present, they were each mulcted in a fine of 6d. and 2s. 6d. for costs. Harrup was followed from the court by a crowd of people who hissed him.[356]— A favourite operation with manufacturers is to punish the workpeople by deductions made from their wages on account of faults in the material worked on. This method gave rise in 1866 to a general strike in the English pottery districts. The reports of the Ch. Empl. Com. (1863-1866), give cases where the worker not only receives no wages, but becomes, by means of his labour, and of the penal regulations, the debtor to boot, of his worthy master. The late cotton crisis also furnished edifying examples of the sagacity shown by the factory autocrats in making deductions from wages. Mr. R. Baker, the Inspector of Factories, says, "I have myself had lately to direct prosecutions against one cotton mill occupier for having in these pinching and painful times deducted 10d. a piece from some of the young workers employed by him, for the surgeon's certificate (for which he himself had only paid 6d.), when only

[a] See this volume, p. 293.

the industrial battle.[1] Economy of the social means of production, matured and forced as in a hothouse by the factory system, is turned, in the hands of capital, into systematic robbery of what is necessary for the life of the workman while he is at work, robbery of space, light, air, and of protection to his person against the dangerous and unwholesome accompaniments of the productive process, not to mention the

allowed by the law to deduct 3d., and by custom nothing at all.... And I have been informed of another, who, in order to keep without the law, but to attain the same object, charges the poor children who work for him a shilling each, as a fee for learning them the art and mystery of cotton spinning, so soon as they are declared by the surgeon fit and proper person for that occupation. There may therefore be undercurrent causes for such extraordinary exhibitions as strikes, not only wherever they arise, but particularly at such times as the present, which without explanation, render them inexplicable to the public understanding". He alludes here to a strike of power-loom weavers at Darwen, June, 1863 ("Reports of Insp. of Fact. for 30 April, 1863", pp. 50-51). The reports always go beyond their official dates.

[1] The protection afforded by the Factory Acts against dangerous machinery has had a beneficial effect. "But ... there are other sources of accident which did not exist twenty years since; one especially, viz., the increased speed of the machinery. Wheels, rollers, spindles and shuttles are now propelled at increased and increasing rates; fingers must be quicker and defter in their movements to take up the broken thread, for, if placed with hesitation or carelessness, they are sacrificed.... A large number of accidents are caused by the eagerness of the workpeople to get through their work expeditiously. It must be remembered that it is of the highest importance to manufacturers that their machinery should be in motion, i. e., producing yarns and goods. Every minute's stoppage is not only a loss of power, but of production, and the workpeople are urged by the overlookers, who are interested in the quantity of work turned off, to keep the machinery in motion; and it is no less important to those of the operatives who are paid by the weight or piece, that the machines should be kept in motion. Consequently, although it is strictly forbidden in many, nay in most factories, that machinery should be cleaned while in motion, it is nevertheless the constant practice in most, if not in all, that the workpeople do, unreproved, pick out waste, wipe rollers and wheels, &c., while their frames are in motion. Thus from this cause only, 906 accidents have occurred during the six months.... Although a great deal of cleaning is constantly going on day by day, yet Saturday is generally the day set apart for the thorough cleaning of the machinery, and a great deal of this is done while the machinery is in motion." Since cleaning is not paid for, the workpeople seek to get done with it as speedily as possible. Hence "the number of accidents which occur on Fridays, and especially on Saturdays, is much larger than on any other day. On the former day the excess is nearly 12 per cent. over the average number of the four first days of the week, and on the latter day the excess is 25 per cent. over the average of the preceding five days; or, if the number of working hours on Saturday being taken into account — $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours on Saturday as compared with $10\frac{1}{2}$ on other days — there is an excess of 65 per cent. on Saturdays over the average of the other five days" ("Rep. of Insp. of Fact., 31st Oct., 1866", pp. 9, 15, 16, 17).

robbery of appliances for the comfort of the workman.[1] Is Fourier wrong when he calls factories "tempered bagnos"?[2] [357]

## SECTION 5.—THE STRIFE BETWEEN WORKMAN AND MACHINE

The contest between the capitalist and the wage labourer dates back to the very origin of capital. It raged on throughout the whole manufacturing period.[3] But only since the introduction of machinery has the workman fought against the instrument of labour itself, the material embodiment of capital. He revolts against this particular form of the means of production, as being the material basis of the capitalist mode of production.

In the 17th century nearly all Europe experienced revolts of the workpeople against the ribbon-loom, a machine for weaving ribbons

[1] In Part I of Book III I shall give an account of a recent campaign by the English manufacturers against the Clauses in the Factory Acts that protect the "hands" against dangerous machinery. For the present, let this one quotation from the official report of Leonard Horner suffice: "I have heard some mill-owners speak with inexcusable levity of some of the accidents; such, for instance, as the loss of a finger being a trifling matter. A working man's living and prospects depend so much upon his fingers, that any loss of them is a very serious matter to him. When I have heard such inconsiderate remarks made, I have usually put this question: Suppose you were in want of an additional workman, and two were to apply, both equally well qualified in other respects, but one had lost a thumb or a forefinger, which would you engage? There never was a hesitation as to the answer...." The manufacturers have "mistaken prejudices against what they have heard represented as a pseudo-philanthropic legislation" ("Rep. of Insp. of Fact., 31st Oct., 1855" [pp. 6-7, 15]). These manufacturers are clever folk, and not without reason were they enthusiastic for the slave-holders' rebellion.[39]

[2] In those factories that have been longest subject to the Factory Acts, with their compulsory limitation of the hours of labour, and other regulations, many of the older abuses have vanished. The very improvement of the machinery demands to a certain extent "improved construction of the buildings", and this is an advantage to the workpeople (see "Rep. of Insp. of Fact. for 31st Oct., 1863", p. 109).

[3] See amongst others, John Houghton, *Husbandry and Trade Improved*, London, 1727. [H. Martyn,] *The Advantages of the East India Trade, 1720.* John Bellers, l. c. [*Proposals for raising a colledge...*]. "The masters and their workmen are, unhappily, in a perpetual war with each other. The invariable object of the former is to get their work done as cheaply as possible; and they do not fail to employ every artifice to this purpose, whilst the latter are equally attentive to every occasion of distressing their masters into a compliance with higher demands" ("An Enquiry into the Causes of the Present High Price of Provisions", pp. 61-62. Author, the Rev. Nathaniel Forster, quite on the side of the workmen).

and trimmings, called in Germany Bandmühle, Schnurmühle, and Mühlenstuhl.[358] These machines were invented in Germany. Abbé Lancellotti, in a work that appeared in Venice in 1636, but which was written in 1629,[359] says as follows:

"Anthony Müller of Danzig saw about 50 years ago in that town, a very ingenious machine, which weaves 4 to 6 pieces at once. But the Mayor being apprehensive that this invention might throw a large number of workmen on the streets, caused the inventor to be secretly strangled or drowned."

In Leyden, this machine was not used till 1629; there the riots of the ribbon-weavers at length compelled the Town Council to prohibit it.

"In this town," says Boxhorn (*Inst., Pol.*, 1883), referring to the introduction of this machine into Leyden, "about twenty years ago certain people invented an instrument for weaving, with which a single person could weave more cloth, and more easily, than many others in the same length of time. As a result there arose disturbances and complaints from the weavers, until the Town Council finally prohibited the use of this instrument."

After making various decrees more or less prohibitive against this loom in 1623, 1639, &c., the States General of Holland [360] at length permitted it to be used, under certain conditions, by the decree of the 5th December, 1661. It was also prohibited in Cologne in 1676, at the same time that its introduction into England was causing disturbances among the workpeople. By an imperial Edict of 19th Feb., 1685, its use was forbidden throughout all Germany. In Hamburg it was burnt in public by order of the Senate. The Emperor Charles VI., on 9th Feb., 1719, renewed the edict of 1685, and not till 1765 was its use openly allowed in the Electorate of Saxony. This machine, which shook Europe to its foundations, was in fact the precursor of the mule and the power-loom, and of the industrial revolution of the 18th century. It enabled a totally inexperienced boy, to set the whole loom with all its shuttles in motion, by simply moving a rod backwards and forwards, and in its improved form produced from 40 to 50 pieces at once.

About 1630, a wind-sawmill, erected near London by a Dutchman, succumbed to the excesses of the populace. Even as late as the beginning of the 18th century, sawmills driven by water overcame the opposition of the people, supported as it was by Parliament, only with great difficulty. No sooner had Everet in 1758 erected the first wool-shearing machine that was driven by water-power, than it was set on fire by 100,000 people who had been thrown out of work. Fifty

thousand workpeople, who had previously lived by carding wool, petitioned Parliament against Arkwright's scribbing mills and carding engines. The enormous destruction of machinery that occurred in the English manufacturing districts during the first 15 years of this century, chiefly caused by the employment of the power-loom, and known as the Luddite movement,[361] gave the anti-jacobin governments of a Sidmouth, a Castlereagh, and the like, a pretext for the most reactionary and forcible measures. It took both time and experience before the workpeople learnt to distinguish between machinery and its employment by capital, and to direct their attacks, not against the material instruments of production, but against the mode in which they are used.[1]

The contests about wages in manufacture, presuppose manufacture, and are in no sense directed against its existence. The opposition against the establishment of new manufactures, proceeds from the guilds and privileged towns, not from the workpeople. Hence the writers of the manufacturing period treat the division of labour chiefly as a means of virtually supplying a deficiency of labourers, and not as a means of actually displacing those in work. This distinction is self-evident. If it be said that 100 millions of people would be required in England to spin with the old spinning-wheel the cotton that is now spun with mules by 500,000 people, this does not mean that the mules took the place of those millions who never existed. It means only this, that many millions of workpeople would be required to replace the spinning machinery. If, on the other hand, we say, that in England the power-loom threw 800,000 weavers on the streets, we do not refer to existing machinery, that would have to be replaced by a definite number of workpeople, but to a number of weavers in existence who were actually replaced or displaced by the looms. During the manufacturing period, handicraft labour, altered though it was by division of labour, was yet the basis. The demands of the new colonial markets could not be satisfied owing to the relatively small number of town operatives handed down from the Middle Ages, and the manufactures proper opened out new fields of production to the rural population, driven from the land by the dissolution of the feudal system. At that time, therefore, division of labour and co-operation in the workshops,

[1] In old-fashioned manufactures the revolts of the workpeople against machinery, even to this day, occasionally assume a savage character, as in the case of the Sheffield file cutters in 1865.

were viewed more from the positive aspect, that they made the workpeople more productive.[1] Long before the period of modern industry, co-operation and the concentration of the instruments of labour in the hands of a few, gave rise, in numerous countries where these methods were applied in agriculture, to great, sudden and forcible revolutions in the modes of production, and consequentially, in the conditions of existence, and the means of employment of the rural populations. But this contest at first takes place more between the large and the small landed proprietors, than between capital and wage labour; on the other hand, when the labourers are displaced by the instruments of labour, by sheep, horses, &c., in this case force is directly resorted to in the first instance as the prelude to the industrial revolution. The labourers are first driven from the land, and then come the sheep. Land grabbing on a great scale, such as was perpetrated in England, is the first step in creating a field for the establishment of agriculture on a great scale.[2] Hence this subversion of agriculture puts on, at first, more the appearance of a political revolution.

The instrument of labour, when it takes the form of a machine, immediately becomes a competitor of the workman himself.[3] The self-expansion of capital by means of machinery is thenceforward directly proportional to the number of the workpeople, whose means of livelihood have been destroyed by that machinery. The whole system of

[1] Sir James Steuart also understands machinery quite in this sense. "Machines therefore I consider as a method of augmenting (virtually) the number of the industrious, without the expense of feeding an additional number.... Wherein does the effect of a machine differ from that of new inhabitants?" (French trans. [*Recherche des principes*...], t. I, l, I., ch. XIX [pp. 222, 221]). More naive is Petty who says, it replaces "Polygamy".[362] The above point of view is, at the most, admissible only for some parts of the United States. On the other hand, "machinery can seldom be used with success to abridge the labour of an individual; more time would be lost in its construction than could be saved by its application. It is only really useful when it acts on great masses, when a single machine can assist the work of thousands. It is accordingly in the most populous countries, where there are most idle men, that it is most abundant.... It is not called into use by a scarcity of men, but by the facility with which they can be brought to work in masses" (Piercy Ravenstone, *Thoughts on the Funding System and its Effects*, London, 1824, p. 45).

[2] //*Note in the 4th German edition.*—This applies to Germany too. Where in our country agriculture on a large scale exists, hence particularly in the East, in has become possible only in consequence of the clearing of the estates ("Bauernlegen"), a practice which became widespread in the 16th century and was particularly so since 1648.—*F. E.*//

[3] "Machinery and labour are in constant competition." Ricardo, l. c. [*Principles of Political Economy*..., London, 1821], p. 479.

capitalist production is based on the fact that the workman sells his labour power as a commodity. Division of labour specialises this labour power, by reducing it to skill in handling a particular tool. So soon as the handling of this tool becomes the work of a machine, then, with the use value, the exchange value too, of the workman's labour power vanishes; the workman becomes unsaleable, like paper money thrown out of currency by legal enactment. That portion of the working class, thus by machinery rendered superfluous, i. e., no longer immediately necessary for the self-expansion of capital, either goes to the wall in the unequal contest of the old handicrafts and manufactures with machinery, or else floods all the more easily accessible branches of industry, swamps the labour market, and sinks the price of labour power below its value. It is impressed upon the workpeople, as a great consolation, first, that their sufferings are only temporary ("a temporary inconvenience"), secondly, that machinery acquires the mastery over the whole of a given field of production, only by degrees, so that the extent and intensity of its destructive effect is diminished. The first consolation neutralises the second. When machinery seizes on an industry by degrees, it produces chronic misery among the operatives who compete with it. Where the transition is rapid, the effect is acute and felt by great masses. History discloses no tragedy more horribly than the gradual extinction of the English hand-loom weavers, an extinction that was spread over several decades, and finally sealed in 1838. Many of them died of starvation, many with families vegetated for a long time on $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. a day.[1] On the other hand,

[1] The competition between hand-weaving and power-weaving in England, before the passing of the Poor Law of 1834,[193] was prolonged by supplementing the wages, which had fallen considerably below the minimum, with parish relief. "The Rev. Mr. Turner was, in 1827, rector of Wilmstowe in Cheshire, a manufacturing district. The questions of the Committee of Emigration, and Mr. Turner's answers, show how the competition of human labour is maintained against machinery. 'Question: Has not the use of the power-loom superseded the use of the hand-loom? Answer: Undoubtedly; it would have superseded them much more than it has done, if the hand-loom weavers were not enabled to submit to a reduction of wages.' 'Question: But in submitting he has accepted wages which are insufficient to support him, and looks to parochial contribution as the remainder of his support? Answer: Yes, and in fact the competition between the hand-loom and the power-loom is maintained out of the poor-rates.' Thus degrading pauperism or expatriation, is the benefit which the industrious receive from the introduction of machinery, to be reduced from the respectable and in some degree independent mechanic, to the cringing wretch who lives on the debasing bread of charity. This they call a temporary inconvenience" ("A Prize Essay on the Comparative Merits of Competition and Co-operation", Lond., 1834, p. 29).[363]

the English cotton machinery produced an acute effect in India. The Governor General reported 1834-35:

"The misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton-weavers are bleaching the plains of India." [364]

No doubt, in turning them out of this "temporal" world, the machinery caused them no more than "a temporary inconvenience". For the rest, since machinery is continually seizing upon new fields of production, its temporary effect is really permanent. Hence, the character of independence and estrangement which the capitalist mode of production as a whole gives to the instruments of labour and to the product, as against the workman, is developed by means of machinery into a thorough antagonism.[1] Therefore, it is with the advent of machinery, that the workman for the first time brutally revolts against the instruments of labour.

The instrument of labour strikes down the labourer. This direct antagonism between the two comes out most strongly, whenever newly introduced machinery competes with handicrafts or manufactures, handed down from former times. But even in modern industry the continual improvement of machinery, and the development of the automatic system, has an analogous effect.

"The object of improved machinery is to diminish manual labour, to provide for the performance of a process or the completion of a link in a manufacture by the aid of an iron instead of the human apparatus."[2] "The adaptation of power to machinery heretofore moved by hand, is almost of daily occurrence... the minor improvements in machinery having for their object economy of power, the production of better work, the turning off more work in the same time, or in supplying the place of a child, a female, or a man, are constant, and although sometimes apparently of no great moment, have somewhat important results."[3] "Whenever a process requires peculiar dexterity and steadiness of hand, it is withdrawn, as soon as possible, from the cunning workman, who is prone to irregularities of many kinds, and it is placed in charge of a peculiar mechanism, so self-regulating that a child can superintend it."[4] "On the automatic

[1] "The same cause which may increase the revenue of the country" (i. e., as Ricardo explains in the same passage, the revenues of landlords and capitalists, whose wealth, from the economic point of view, forms the Wealth of the Nation), "may at the same time render the population redundant and deteriorate the condition of the labourer" (Ricardo, l. c., p. 469). "The constant aim and the tendency of every improvement in machinery is, in fact, to do away entirely with the labour of man, or to lessen its price by substituting the labour of women and children for that of grown-up men, or of unskilled for that of skilled workmen" (Ure, l. c., t. I., pp. 34-35).[365]

[2] "Rep. Insp. Fact. for 31st October, 1858", p. 43.

[3] "Rep. Insp. Fact. for 31st October, 1856", p. 15.

[4] Ure, l. c. [*The Philosophy of Manufactures...*, London, 1835], p. 19. "The great

plan skilled labour gets progressively superseded."[1] "The effect of improvements in machinery, not merely in superseding the necessity for the employment of the same quantity of adult labour as before, in order to produce a given result, but in substituting one description of human labour for another, the less skilled for the more skilled, juvenile for adult, female for male, causes a fresh disturbance in the rate of wages."[2] "The effect of substituting the self-acting mule for the common mule, is to discharge the greater part of the men spinners, and to retain adolescents and children."[3]

The extraordinary power of expansion of the factory system owing to accumulated practical experience, to the mechanical means at hand, and to constant technical progress, was proved to us by the giant strides of that system under the pressure of a shortened working day. But who, in 1860, the Zenith year of the English cotton industry, would have dreamt of the galloping improvements in machinery, and the corresponding displacement of working people, called into being during the following 3 years, under the stimulus of the American Civil War? A couple of examples from the Reports of the Inspectors of Factories will suffice on this point. A Manchester manufacturer states:

"We formerly had 75 carding engines, now we have 12, doing the same quantity of work.... We are doing with fewer hands by 14, at a saving in wages of £10 a-week. Our estimated saving in waste is about 10% in the quantity of cotton consumed." "In another fine-spinning mill in Manchester, I was informed that through increased speed and the adoption of some self-acting processes, a reduction had been made, in number, of a fourth in one department, and of above half in another, and that the introduction of the combing machine in place of the second carding, had considerably reduced the number of hands formerly employed in the carding-room."

Another spinning-mill is estimated to effect a saving of labour of 10%. The Messrs. Gilmour, spinners at Manchester, state:

"In our blowing-room department we consider our expense with

advantage of the machinery employed in brick-making consists in this, that the employer is made entirely independent of skilled labourers. ("Ch. Empl. Comm. V. Report", Lond., 1866, p. 130, n. 46). Mr. A. Sturrock, superintendent of the machine department of the Great Northern Railway, says, with regard to the building of locomotives, &c.: "Expensive English workmen are being less used every day. The production of the workshops of England is being increased by the use of improved tools and these tools are again served by a low class of labour.... Formerly their skilled labour necessarily produced all the parts of engines. Now the parts of engines are produced by labour with less skill, but with good tools. By tools, I mean engineer's machinery, lathes, planing machines, drills, and so on" ("Royal Com. on Railways", Lond., 1867, Minutes of Evidence, n. 17, 862 and 17, 863).

[1] Ure, l. c., p. 20.
[2] Ure, l. c., p. 321.
[3] Ure, l. c., p. 23.

new machinery is fully one-third less in wages and hands ... in the jack-frame and drawing-frame room, about one-third less in expense, and likewise one-third less in hands; in the spinning-room about one-third less in expenses. But this is not all; when our yarn goes to the manufacturers, it is so much better by the application of our new machinery, that they will produce a greater quantity of cloth, and cheaper than from the yarn produced by old machinery."[1] Mr. Redgrave further remarks in the same Report:

"The reduction of hands against increased production is, in fact, constantly taking place, in woollen mills the reduction commenced some time since, and is continuing; a few days since, the master of a school in the neighbourhood of Rochdale said to me, that the great falling off in the girls' school is not only caused by the distress, but by the changes of machinery in the woollen mills, in consequence of which a reduction of 70 short-timers had taken place."[2]

The following table [366] shows the total result of the mechanical improvements in the English cotton industry due to the American Civil War.

NUMBER OF FACTORIES

| | 1856 | 1861 | 1868 |
|---|---|---|---|
| England and Wales | 2,046 | 2,715 | 2,405 |
| Scotland | 152 | 163 | 131 |
| Ireland | 12 | 9 | 13 |
| United Kingdom | 2,210 | 2,887 | 2,549 |

NUMBER OF POWER-LOOMS

| | 1856 | 1861 | 1868 |
|---|---|---|---|
| England and Wales | 275,590 | 368,125 | 344,719 |
| Scotland | 21,624 | 30,110 | 31,864 |
| Ireland | 1,633 | 1,757 | 2,746 |
| United Kingdom | 298,847 | 399,992 | 379,329 |

[1] "Rep. Insp. Fact., 31st. Oct., 1863", pp. 108, 109.

[2] l. c., p. 109. The rapid improvement of machinery, during the crisis, allowed the English manufacturers, immediately after the termination of the American Civil War, and almost in no time, to glut the markets of the world again. Cloth, during the last six months of 1866, was almost unsaleable. Thereupon began the consignment of goods to India and China, thus naturally making the glut more intense. At the beginning of 1867 the manufacturers resorted to their usual way out of the difficulty, viz., reducing wages 5 per cent. The workpeople resisted, and said that the only remedy was to work short time, 4 days a-week; and their theory was the correct one. After holding out for

NUMBER OF SPINDLES

| | 1856 | 1861 | 1868 |
|---|---|---|---|
| England and Wales | 25,818,576 | 28,352,125 | 30,478,228 |
| Scotland | 2,041,129 | 1,915,398 | 1,397,546 |
| Ireland | 150,512 | 119,944 | 124,240 |
| United Kingdom | 28,010,217 | 30,387,467 | 32,000,014 |

NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED

| | 1856 | 1861 | 1868 |
|---|---|---|---|
| England and Wales | 341,170 | 407,598 | 357,052 |
| Scotland | 34,698 | 41,237 | 39,809 |
| Ireland | 3,345 | 2,734 | 4,203 |
| United Kingdom | 379,213 | 451,569 | 401,064 |

Hence, between 1861 and 1868, 338 cotton factories disappeared, in other words more productive machinery on a larger scale was concentrated in the hands of a smaller number of capitalists. The number of power-looms decreased by 20,663; but since their product increased in the same period, an improved loom must have yielded more than an old one. Lastly the number of spindles increased by 1,612,541, while the number of operatives decreased by 50,505. The "temporary" misery inflicted on the workpeople by the cotton crisis, was heightened, and from being temporary made permanent, by the rapid and persistent progress of machinery.

But machinery not only acts as a competitor who gets the better of the workman, and is constantly on the point of making him superfluous. It is also a power inimical to him, and as such capital proclaims it from the roof tops and as such makes use of it. It is the most powerful weapon for repressing strikes, those periodical revolts of the working class against the autocracy of capital.[1] According to Gaskell, the steam-engine was from the very first an antagonist of human power,[367] an antagonist that enabled the capitalist to tread under foot

some time, the self-elected captains of industry had to make up their minds to short time, with reduced wages in some places, and in others without.

[1] "The relation of master and man in the blown-flint [and] bottle trades amounts to a chronic strike." Hence the impetus given to the manufacture of pressed glass, in which the chief operations are done by machinery. One firm in Newcastle, who formerly produced 350,000 lbs of blown-flint glass, now produces in its place 3,000,500 lbs of pressed glass ("Ch. Empl. Comm., Fourth Rep.," 1865, pp. 262-263).

the growing claims of the workmen, who threatened the newly born factory system with a crisis.[1] It would be possible to write quite a history of the inventions, made since 1830, for the sole purpose of supplying capital with weapons against the revolts of the working class. At the head of these in importance, stands the self-acting mule, because it opened up a new epoch in the automatic system.[2]

Nasmyth, the inventor of the steam-hammer, gives the following evidence before the Trades' Union Commission, with regard to the improvements made by him in machinery and introduced in consequence of the wide-spread and long strikes of the engineers in 1851.

"The characteristic feature of our modern mechanical improvements, is the introduction of self-acting tool machinery. What every mechanical workman has now to do, and what every boy can do, is not to work himself but to superintend the beautiful labour of the machine. The whole class of workmen that depend exclusively on their skill, is now done away with. Formerly, I employed four boys to every mechanic. Thanks to these new mechanical combinations, I have reduced the number of grown-up men from 1,500 to 750. The result was a considerable increase in my profits." [369]

Ure says of a machine used in calico printing:

"At length capitalists sought deliverance from this intolerable bondage" [namely the, in their eyes, burdensome terms of their contracts with the workmen] "in the resources of science, and were speedily reinstated in their legitimate rule, that of the head over the inferior members."

Speaking of an invention for dressing warps:

"Then the combined malcontents, who fancied themselves impregnably intrenched behind the old lines of division of labour, found their flanks turned and their defences rendered useless by the new mechanical tactics, and were obliged to surrender at discretion."

With regard to the invention of the self-acting mule, he says:

"A creation destined to restore order among the industrious classes.... This invention confirms the great doctrine already propounded, that when capital enlists science into her service, the refractory hand of labour will always be taught docility." [3]

Although Ure's work appeared 30 years ago, at a time when the factory system was comparatively but little developed, it still perfectly expresses the spirit of the factory, not only by its undisguised cynicism, but also by the naïveté with which it blurts out the stupid con-

[1] Gaskell, *The Manufacturing Population of England*, London, 1833, pp. 34-35.

[2] W. Fairbairn discovered several very important applications of machinery to the construction of machines, in consequence of strikes in his own workshops.[368]

[3] Ure, l. c., pp. 367-370.

tradictions of the capitalist brain. For instance, after propounding the "doctrine" stated above, that capital, with the aid of science taken into its pay, always reduces the refractory hand of labour to docility, he grows indignant because

"it (physico-mechanical science) has been accused of lending itself to the rich capitalist as an instrument for harassing the poor."

After preaching a long sermon to show how advantageous the rapid development of machinery is to the working classes, he warns them, that by their obstinacy and their strikes they hasten that development.

"Violent revulsions of this nature," he says, "display short-sighted man in the contemptible character of a self-tormentor."

A few pages before he states the contrary.

"Had it not been for the violent collisions and interruptions resulting from erroneous views among the factory operatives, the factory system would have been developed still more rapidly and beneficially for all concerned." Then he exclaims again: "Fortunately for the state of society in the cotton districts of Great Britain, the improvements in machinery are gradual." "It" (improvement in machinery) "is said to lower the rate of earnings of adults by displacing a portion of them, and thus rendering their number superabundant as compared with the demand for their labour. It certainly augments the demand for the labour of children and increases the rate of *their* wages."

On the other hand, this same dispenser of consolation defends the lowness of the children's wages on the ground that it prevents parents from sending their children at too early an age into the factory. The whole of his book is a vindication of a working day of unrestricted length; that Parliament should forbid children of 13 years to be exhausted by working 12 hours a day, reminds his liberal soul of the darkest days of the Middle Ages. This does not prevent him from calling upon the factory operatives to thank Providence, who by means of machinery has given them the leisure to think of their "immortal interests." [1]

## SECTION 6.—THE THEORY OF COMPENSATION AS REGARDS THE WORKPEOPLE DISPLACED BY MACHINERY

James Mill, MacCulloch, Torrens, Senior, John Stuart Mill, and a whole series besides, of bourgeois political economists, insist that all

[1] Ure, l. c., pp. 368, 7, 370, 280, 322, 321, 370, 475.

machinery that displaces workmen, simultaneously and necessarily sets free an amount of capital adequate to employ the same identical workmen.[1]

Suppose a capitalist to employ 100 workmen, at £30 a year each, in a carpet factory. The variable capital annually laid out amounts, therefore, to £3,000. Suppose, also, that he discharges 50 of his workmen, and employs the remaining 50 with machinery that costs him £1,500. To simplify matters, we take no account of buildings, coal, &c. Further suppose that the raw material annually consumed costs £3,000, both before and after the change.[2] Is any capital set free by this metamorphosis? Before the change, the total sum of £6,000 consisted half of constant, and half of variable capital. After the change it consists of £4,500 constant (£3,000 raw material and £1,500 machinery), and £1,500 variable capital. The variable capital, instead of being one half, is only one quarter, of the total capital. Instead of being set free, a part of the capital is here locked up in such a way as to cease to be exchanged against labour power: variable has been changed into constant capital. Other things remaining unchanged, the capital of £6,000, can, in future, employ no more than 50 men. With each improvement in the machinery, it will employ fewer. If the newly introduced machinery had cost less than did the labour power and implements displaced by it, if, for instance, instead of costing £1,500, it had cost only £1,000, a variable capital of £1,000 would have been converted into constant capital, and locked up; and a capital of £500 would have been set free. The latter sum, supposing wages unchanged, would form a fund sufficient to employ about 16 out of the 50 men discharged; nay, less than 16, for, in order to be employed as capital, a part of this £500 must now become constant capital, thus leaving only the remainder to be laid out in labour power.

But, suppose, besides, that the making of the new machinery affords employment to a greater number of mechanics, can that be called compensation to the carpet-makers, thrown on the streets? At the best, its construction employs fewer men than its employment displaces. The sum of £1,500 that formerly represented the wages of the

[1] Ricardo originally was also of this opinion, but afterwards expressly disclaimed it, with the scientific impartiality and love of truth characteristic of him. See l. c., ch. XXXI, "On Machinery".

[2] *Nota bene*. My illustration is entirely on the lines of those given by the above named economists.

discharged carpet-makers, now represents in the shape of machinery: (1) the value of the means of production used in the construction of that machinery, (2) the wages of the mechanics employed in its construction, and (3) the surplus value falling to the share of their "master". Further, the machinery need not be renewed till it is worn out. Hence, in order to keep the increased number of mechanics in constant employment, one carpet manufacturer after another must displace workmen by machines.

As a matter of fact the apologists do not mean this sort of setting free. They have in their minds the means of subsistence of the liberated workpeople. It cannot be denied, in the above instance, that the machinery not only liberates 50 men, thus placing them at others' disposal, but, at the same time, it withdraws from their consumption, and sets free, means of subsistence to the value of £1,500. The simple fact, by no means a new one, that machinery cuts off the workmen from their means of subsistence is, therefore, in economic parlance tantamount to this, that machinery liberates means of subsistence for the workman, or converts those means into capital for his employment. The mode of expression, you see, is everything. *Nominibus mollire licet mala.*[a]

This theory implies that the £1,500 worth of means of subsistence was capital that was being expanded by the labour of the 50 men discharged. That, consequently, this capital falls out of employment so soon as they commence their forced holidays, and never rests till it has found a fresh investment, where it can again be productively consumed by these same 50 men. That sooner or later, therefore, the capital and the workmen must come together again, and that, then, the compensation is complete. That the sufferings of the workmen displaced by machinery are therefore as transient as are the riches of this world.

In relation to the discharged workmen, the £1,500 worth of means of subsistence never was capital. What really confronted them as capital, was the sum of £1,500, afterwards laid out in machinery. On looking closer it will be seen that this sum represented part of the carpets produced in a year by the 50 discharged men, which part they received as wages from their employer in money instead of in kind. With the carpets in the form of money, they bought means of subsistence to the value of £1,500. These means, therefore, were to them,

[a] "It is proper to lighten evils with words" (Ovid, *Artis amatoriae*, II, 657).

not capital, but commodities, and they, as regards these commodities, were not wage labourers, but buyers. The circumstance that they were "freed" by the machinery, from the means of purchase, changed them from buyers into non-buyers. Hence a lessened demand for those commodities — *voilà tout.*[a] If this diminution be not compensated by an increase from some other quarter, the market price of the commodities falls. If this state of things lasts for some time, and extends, there follows a discharge of workmen employed in the production of these commodities. Some of the capital that was previously devoted to production of necessary means of subsistence, has to become reproduced in another form. While prices fall, and capital is being displaced, the labourers employed in the production of necessary means of subsistence are in their turn "freed" from a part of their wages. Instead, therefore, of proving that, when machinery frees the workman from his means of subsistence, it simultaneously converts those means into capital for his further employment, our apologists, with their cut-and-dried law of supply and demand, prove, on the contrary, that machinery throws workmen on the streets, not only in that branch of production in which it is introduced, but also in those branches in which it is not introduced.

The real facts, which are travestied by the optimism of economists, are as follows: The labourers, when driven out of the workshop by the machinery, are thrown upon the labour market, and there add to the number of workmen at the disposal of the capitalists. In Part VII of this book it will be seen that this effect of machinery, which, as we have seen, is represented to be a compensation to the working class, is on the contrary a most frightful scourge. For the present I will only say this: The labourers that are thrown out of work in any branch of industry, can no doubt seek for employment in some other branch. If they find it, and thus renew the bond between them and the means of subsistence, this takes place only by the intermediary of a new and additional capital that is seeking investment; not at all by the intermediary of the capital that formerly employed them and was afterwards converted into machinery. And even should they find employment, what a poor lookout is theirs! Crippled as they are by division of labour, these poor devils are worth so little outside their old trade, that they cannot find admission into any industries, except a few of

[a] That's all.

inferior kind, that are over-supplied with underpaid workmen.[1] Further, every branch of industry attracts each year a new stream of men, who furnish a contingent from which to fill up vacancies, and to draw a supply for expansion. So soon as machinery sets free a part of the workmen employed in a given branch of industry, the reserve men are also diverted into new channels of employment, and become absorbed in other branches; meanwhile the original victims, during the period of transition, for the most part starve and perish.

It is an undoubted fact that machinery, as such, is not responsible for "setting free" the workman from the means of subsistence. It cheapens and increases production in that branch which it seizes on, and at first makes no change in the mass of the means of subsistence produced in other branches. Hence, after its introduction, the society possesses as much, if not more, of the necessaries of life than before, for the labourers thrown out of work; and that quite apart from the enormous share of the annual produce wasted by the non-workers. And this is the point relied on by our apologists! The contradictions and antagonisms inseparable from the capitalist employment of machinery, do not exist, they say, since they do not arise out of machinery, as such, but out of its capitalist employment! Since therefore machinery, considered alone, shortens the hours of labour, but, when in the service of capital, lengthens them; since in itself it lightens labour, but when employed by capital, heightens the intensity of labour; since in itself it is a victory of man over the forces of Nature, but in the hands of capital, makes man the slave of those forces; since in itself it increases the wealth of the producers, but in the hands of capital, makes them paupers — for all these reasons and others besides, says the bourgeois economist without more ado, it is clear as noonday that all these contradictions are a mere semblance of the reality, and that, as a matter of fact, they have neither an actual nor a theoretical existence. Thus he saves himself from all further puzzling of the brain, and what is more, implicitly declares his opponent to be

[1] A disciple of Ricardo, in answer to the insipidities of J. B. Say,[370] remarks on this point: "Where division of labour is well developed, the skill of the labourer is available only in that particular branch in which it has been acquired; he himself is a sort of machine. It does not therefore help matters one jot, to repeat in parrot fashion, that things have a tendency to find their level. On looking around us we cannot but see, that they are unable to find their level for a long time; and that when they do find it, the level is always lower than at the commencement of the process" (*An Inquiry into those Principles Respecting the Nature of Demand*, &c., Lond., 1821, p. 72).

stupid enough to contend against, not the capitalistic employment of machinery, but machinery itself.

No doubt he is far from denying that temporary inconvenience may result from the capitalist use of machinery. But where is the medal without its reverse! Any employment of machinery, except by capital, is to him an impossibility. Exploitation of the workman by the machine is therefore, with him, identical with exploitation of the machine by the workman. Whoever, therefore, exposes the real state of things in the capitalistic employment of machinery, is against its employment in any way, and is an enemy of social progress! [1] Exactly the reasoning of the celebrated Bill Sykes.[371] "Gentlemen of the jury, no doubt the throat of this commercial traveller has been cut. But that is not my fault, it is the fault of the knife. Must we, for such a temporary inconvenience, abolish the use of the knife? Only consider! where would agriculture and trade be without the knife? Is it not as salutary in surgery, as it is knowing in anatomy? And in addition a willing help at the festive board? If you abolish the knife — you hurl us back into the depths of barbarism." [2]

Although machinery necessarily throws men out of work in those industries into which it is introduced, yet it may, notwithstanding this, bring about an increase of employment in other industries. This effect, however, has nothing in common with the so-called theory of compensation. Since every article produced by a machine is cheaper than a similar article produced by hand, we deduce the following infallible law: If the total quantity of the article produced by machinery, be equal to the total quantity of the article previously produced by a handicraft or by manufacture, and now made by machinery, then the total labour expended is diminished. The new labour spent on the instruments of labour, on the machinery, on the coal, and so on, must necessarily be less than the labour displaced by the use of the

[1] MacCulloch, amongst others, is a past master in this pretentious cretinism. "If", he says, with the affected naïveté of a child of 8 years, "if it be advantageous, to develop the skill of the workman more and more, so that he is capable of producing, with the same or with a less quantity of labour, a constantly increasing quantity of commodities, it must also be advantageous, that he should avail himself of the help of such machinery as will assist him most effectively in the attainment of this result" (MacCulloch, *Princ. of Pol. Econ.*, Lond., 1830, p. 182).

[2] "The inventor of the spinning machine has ruined India, a fact, however, that touches us but little." A. Thiers, *De la propriété.* [Paris, 1848,] p. 275.— M. Thiers here confounds the spinning machine with the power-loom, "a fact, however, that touches us but little".

machinery; otherwise the product of the machine would be as dear, or dearer, than the product of the manual labour. But, as a matter of fact, the total quantity of the article produced by machinery with a diminished number of workmen, instead of remaining equal to, by far exceeds the total quantity of the hand-made article that has been displaced. Suppose that 400,000 yards of cloth have been produced on power-looms by fewer weavers than could weave 100,000 yards by hand. In the quadrupled product there lies four times as much raw material. Hence the production of raw material must be quadrupled. But as regards the instruments of labour, such as buildings, coal, machinery, and so on, it is different; the limit up to which the additional labour required for their production can increase, varies with the difference between the quantity of the machine-made article, and the quantity of the same article that the same number of workmen could make by hand.

Hence, as the use of machinery extends in a given industry, the immediate effect is to increase production in the other industries that furnish the first with means of production. How far employment is thereby found for an increased number of men, depends, given the length of the working day and the intensity of labour, on the composition of the capital employed, i. e., on the ratio of its constant to its variable component. This ratio, in its turn, varies considerably with the extent to which machinery has already seized on, or is then seizing on, those trades. The number of the men condemned to work in coal and metal mines increased enormously owing to the progress of the English factory system; but during the last few decades this increase of number has been less rapid, owing to the use of new machinery in mining.[1] A new type of workman springs into life along with the machine, namely, its maker. We have already learnt that machinery has possessed itself even of this branch of production on a scale that grows greater every day.[2] As to raw

[1] According to the census of 1861 (Vol. II., Lond., 1863 [p. LIII]), the number of people employed in coal mines in England and Wales, amounted to 246,613 of which 73,546 were under, and 173,067 were over 20 years. Of those under 20, 835 were between 5 and 10 years, 30,701 between 10 and 15 years, 42,010 between 15 and 19 years. The number employed in iron, copper, lead, tin, and other mines of every description, was 319,222.

[2] In England and Wales, in 1861, there were employed in making machinery, 60,807 persons, including the masters and their clerks, &c., also all agents and business people connected with this industry, but excluding the makers of small machines, such as sewing-machines, &c., as also the makers of the operative parts of machines, such as

material,[1] there is not the least doubt that the rapid strides of cotton spinning, not only pushed on with tropical luxuriance the growth of cotton in the United States, and with it the African slave trade, but also made the breeding of slaves the chief business of the border slave-states. When, in 1790, the first census of slaves was taken in the United States, their number was 697,000; in 1861 it had nearly reached four millions.[372] On the other hand, it is no less certain that the rise of the English woollen factories, together with the gradual conversion of arable land into sheep pasture, brought about the superfluity of agricultural labourers that led to their being driven in masses into the towns. Ireland, having during the last twenty years reduced its population by nearly one half, is at this moment undergoing the process of still further reducing the number of its inhabitants, so as exactly to suit the requirements of its landlords and of the English woollen manufacturers.

When machinery is applied to any of the preliminary or intermediate stages through which the subject of labour has to pass on its way to completion, there is an increased yield of material in those stages, and simultaneously an increased demand for labour in the handicrafts or manufactures supplied by the produce of the machines. Spinning by machinery, for example, supplied yarn so cheaply and so abundantly that the hand-loom weavers were, at first, able to work full time without increased outlay. Their earnings accordingly rose.[2] Hence a flow of people into the cotton-weaving trade, till at length the 800,000 weavers, called into existence by the Jenny, the throstle and the mule, were overwhelmed by the power-loom. So also, owing to the abundance of clothing materials produced by machinery, the number of tailors, seamstresses and needlewomen, went on increasing until the appearance of the sewing-machine.

In proportion as machinery, with the aid of a relatively small num-

spindles. The total number of civil engineers amounted to 3,329 [*Census*, Vol. II, pp. XLVIII, XLIII].

[1] Since iron is one of the important raw materials, let me here state that, in 1861, there were in England and Wales 125,771 operative iron founders, of whom 123,430 were males, 2,341 females. Of the former 30,810 were under, and 92,620 over 20 years [*Census*, Vol. II, pp. 39, LV].

[2] "A family of four grown-up persons, with two children as winders, earned at the end of the last, and the beginning of the present century, by ten hours' daily labour, £4 a week. If the work was very pressing, they could earn more.... Before that, they had always suffered from a deficient supply of yarn" (Gaskell, l. c. [*Artisans and Machinery*...], pp. 24-26).

ber of workpeople, increases the mass of raw materials, intermediate products, instruments of labour, &c., the working-up of these raw materials and intermediate products becomes split up into numberless branches; social production increases in diversity. The factory system carries the social division of labour immeasurably further than does manufacture, for it increases the productiveness of the industries it seizes upon, in a far higher degree.

The immediate result of machinery is to augment surplus value and the mass of products in which surplus value is embodied. And, as the substances consumed by the capitalists and their dependants become more plentiful, so too do these orders of society. Their growing wealth, and the relatively diminished number of workmen required to produce the necessaries of life beget, simultaneously with the rise of new and luxurious wants, the means of satisfying those wants. A larger portion of the produce of society is changed into surplus produce, and a larger part of the surplus produce is supplied for consumption in a multiplicity of refined shapes. In other words, the production of luxuries increases.[1] The refined and varied forms of the products are also due to new relations with the markets of the world, relations that are created by modern industry. Not only are greater quantities of foreign articles of luxury exchanged for home products, but a greater mass of foreign raw materials, ingredients, and intermediate products, are used as means of production in the home industries. Owing to these relations with the markets of the world, the demand for labour increases in the carrying trades, which split up into numerous varieties.[2]

The increase of the means of production and subsistence, accompanied by a relative diminution in the number of labourers, causes an increased demand for labour in making canals, docks, tunnels, bridges, and so on, works that can only bear fruit in the far future. Entirely new branches of production, creating new fields of labour, are also formed, as the direct result either of machinery or of the general industrial changes brought about by it. But the place occupied by these branches in the general production is, even in the most devel-

[1] F. Engels, in *Lage, &c.* [Leipzig, 1845, pp. 232-35, 253-56 (present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 481-84, 498-500)], points out the miserable condition of a large number of those who work on these very articles of luxury. See also numerous instances in the "Reports of the Children's Employment Commission".

[2] In 1861, in England and Wales, there were 94,665 sailors in the merchant service [*Census*, Vol. II, p. 34].

oped countries, far from important. The number of labourers that find employment in them is directly proportional to the demand, created by those industries, for the crudest form of manual labour. The chief industries of this kind are, at present, gas-works, telegraphs, photography, steam navigation, and railways. According to the census of 1861 for England and Wales, we find in the gas industry (gas-works, production of mechanical apparatus, servants of the gas companies, &c.), 15,211 persons; in telegraphy, 2,399; in photography, 2,366; steam navigation, 3,570; and in railways, 70,599,[373] of whom the unskilled "navvies", more or less permanently employed, and the whole administrative and commercial staff, make up about 28,000. The total number of persons, therefore, employed in these five new industries amounts to 94,145.

Lastly, the extraordinary productiveness of modern industry, accompanied as it is by both a more extensive and a more intense exploitation of labour power in all other spheres of production, allows of the unproductive employment of a larger and larger part of the working class, and the consequent reproduction, on a constantly extending scale, of the ancient domestic slaves under the name of a servant class, including men-servants, women-servants, lackeys, &c. According to the census of 1861, the population of England and Wales was 20,066,224; of these, 9,776,259 males, and 10,289,965 females. If we deduct from this population all who are too old or too young for work, all unproductive women, young persons and children, the "ideological" classes, such as government officials, priests, lawyers, soldiers, &c.; further, all who have no occupation but to consume the labour of others in the form of rent, interest, &c.; and, lastly, paupers, vagabonds, and criminals, there remain in round numbers eight millions of the two sexes of every age, including in that number every capitalist who is in any way engaged in industry, commerce, or finance. Among these 8 millions are:

| | PERSONS, |
|---|---|
| Agricultural labourers (including shepherds, farm servants, and maidservants living in the houses of farmers) . . . . . | 1,098,261 |
| All who are employed in cotton, woollen, worsted, flax, hemp, silk, and jute factories, in stocking making and lace making by machinery . . . . . | 642,607 [1] |

[1] Of these only 177,596 are males above 13 years of age.

| | |
|---|---|
| All who are employed in coal mines and metal mines | 565,835 |
| All who are employed in metal works (blast-furnaces, rolling mills, &c.), and metal manufactures of every kind . . . . . | 396,998 [1] |
| The servant class . . . . . | 1,208,648 [2] |

All the persons employed in textile factories and in mines, taken together, number 1,208,442; those employed in textile factories and metal industries, taken together, number 1,039,605; in both cases less than the number of modern domestic slaves. What a splendid result of the capitalist exploitation of machinery!

## SECTION 7.—REPULSION AND ATTRACTION OF WORKPEOPLE BY THE FACTORY SYSTEM. CRISES IN THE COTTON TRADE

All political economists of any standing admit that the introduction of new machinery has a baneful effect on the workmen in the old handicrafts and manufactures with which this machinery at first competes. Almost all of them bemoan the slavery of the factory operative. And what is the great trump-card that they play? That machinery, after the horrors of the period of introduction and development have subsided, instead of diminishing, in the long run increases the number of the slaves of labour! Yes, political economy revels in the hideous theory, hideous to every "philanthropist" who believes in the eternal Nature-ordained necessity for capitalist production, that after a period of growth and transition, even its crowning success, the factory system based on machinery, grinds down more workpeople than on its first introduction it throws on the streets.[3]

[1] Of these, 30,501 are females.

[2] Of these, 137,447 males. None are included in the 1,208,648 who do not serve in private houses. Between 1861 and 1870 the number of male servants nearly doubled itself. It increased to 267,671. In the year 1847 there were 2,694 gamekeepers (for the landlords' preserves), in 1869 there were 4,921.[374] The young servant girls in the houses of the London lower middle class are in common parlance called "slaveys".

[3] Ganilh, on the contrary, considers the final result of the factory system to be an absolutely less number of operatives, at whose expense an increased number of "decent people" live and develop their well-known "perfectible perfectibility". Little as he understands the movement of production, at least he feels, that machinery must needs be a very fatal institution, if its introduction converts busy workmen into paupers, and its development calls more slaves of labour into existence than it has suppressed. It is not possible to bring out the cretinism of his standpoint, except by his own words: "The

It is true that in some cases, as we saw from instances of English worsted and silk factories, an extraordinary extension of the factory system may, at a certain stage of its development, be accompanied not only by a relative, but by an absolute decrease in the number of operatives employed. In the year 1860, when a special census of all the factories in the United Kingdom was taken by order of Parliament, the factories in those parts of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire, included in the district of Mr. Baker, the factory inspector, numbered 652; 570 of these contained 85,622 power-looms, 6,819,146 spindles (exclusive of doubling spindles), employed 27,439 horse-power (steam), and 1,390 (water), and 94,119 persons. In the year 1865, the same factories contained, looms 95,163, spindles 7,025,031, had a steam-power of 28,925 horses, and a water-power of 1,445 horses, and employed 88,913 persons. Between 1860 and 1865, therefore, the increase in looms was 11%, in spindles 3%, and in engine-power 5%, while the number of persons employed decreased $5\frac{1}{2}$%.[1] Between 1852 and 1862, considerable extension of the English woollen manufacture took place, while the number of hands employed in it remained almost stationary,

"showing how greatly the introduction of new machines had superseded the labour of preceding periods".[2]

classes condemned to produce and to consume diminish, and the classes which direct labour, which relieve, console and enlighten the whole population, multiply ... and appropriate all the benefits which result from the diminution of the costs of labour, from the abundance of products and the cheapness of consumer goods. In this way, the human species rises to the highest creations of genius, penetrates the mysterious depths of religion, and establishes the salutary principles of morality" (which consists in the appropriation of all the benefits, &c.), "the laws for the protection of liberty" (liberty of "the classes condemned to produce"?) "and power, of obedience and justice, of obligation and humanity". For this twaddle see *Des Systèmes d'Économie Politique*, &c. Par M. Ch. Ganilh, 2ème ed., Paris, 1821, t. I, p. 224, and see p. 212.

[1] "Reports of Insp. of Fact., 31 Oct. 1865", p. 58, sq. At the same time, however, means of employment for an increased number of hands was ready in 110 new mills with 11,625 looms, 628,576 spindles and 2,695 total horse-power of steam and water (l. c.).

[2] "Reports, &c., for 31 Oct., 1862", p. 79. At the end of 1871, Mr. A. Redgrave, the factory inspector, in a lecture given at Bradford, in the New Mechanics' Institution, said: "What has struck me for some time past is the altered appearance of the woollen factories. Formerly they were filled with women and children, now machinery seems to do all the work. At my asking for an explanation of this from a manufacturer, he gave me the following: 'Under the old system I employed 63 persons; after the introduction of improved machinery I reduced my hands to 33, and lately, in consequence

In certain cases, the increase in the number of hands employed is only apparent; that is, it is not due to the extension of the factories already established, but to the gradual annexation of connected trades; for instance, the increase in power-looms, and in the hands employed by them between 1838 and 1856, was, in the cotton trade, simply owing to the extension of this branch of industry; but in the other trades to the application of steam-power to the carpet-loom, to the ribbon-loom, and to the linen-loom, which previously had been worked by the power of men.[1] Hence the increase of the hands in these latter trades was merely a symptom of a diminution in the total number employed. Finally, we have considered this question entirely apart from the fact, that everywhere, except in the metal industries, young persons (under 18), and women and children form the preponderating element in the class of factory hands.

Nevertheless, in spite of the mass of hands actually displaced and virtually replaced by machinery, we can understand how the factory operatives, through the building of more mills and the extension of old ones in a given industry, may become more numerous than the manufacturing workmen and handicraftsmen that have been displaced. Suppose, for example, that in the old mode of production, a capital of £500 is employed weekly, two-fifths being constant and three-fifths variable capital, i. e., £200 being laid out in means of production, and £300, say £1 per man, in labour power. On the introduction of machinery the composition of this capital becomes altered. We will suppose it to consist of four-fifths constant and one-fifth variable, which means that only £100 is now laid out in labour power. Consequently, two-thirds of the workmen are discharged. If now the business extends, and the total capital employed grows to £1,500 under unchanged conditions, the number of operatives employed will increase to 300, just as many as before the introduction of the machinery. If the capital further grows to £2,000, 400 men will be employed, or one-third more than under the old system. Their numbers have, in point of fact, increased by 100, but relatively, i. e., in proportion to the total capital advanced, they have diminished by 800, for the £2,000 capital would, in the old state of things, have employed 1,200 instead of 400 men. Hence, a relative decrease in the number of hands is consistent with an actual increase. We assumed above that while

of new and extensive alterations, I have been in a position to reduce those 33 to 13.'"[375]

[1] See "Reports, &c., 31 Oct., 1856", p. 16.

the total capital increases, its composition remains the same, because the conditions of production remain constant. But we have already seen that, with every advance in the use of machinery, the constant component of capital, that part which consists of machinery, raw material, &c., increases, while the variable component, the part laid out in labour power, decreases. We also know that in no other system of production is improvement so continuous, and the composition of the capital employed so constantly changing as in the factory system. These changes are, however, continually interrupted by periods of rest, during which there is a mere quantitative extension of the factories on the existing technical basis. During such periods the operatives increase in number. Thus, in 1835, the total number of operatives in the cotton, woollen, worsted, flax, and silk factories of the United Kingdom was only 354,648 [376]; while in 1861 the number of the power-loom weavers alone (of both sexes and of all ages, from eight years upwards), amounted to 230,564.[377] Certainly, this growth appears less important when we consider that in 1838 the hand-loom weavers with their families still numbered 800,000,[1] not to mention those thrown out of work in Asia, and on the Continent of Europe.

In the few remarks I have still to make on this point, I shall refer to some actually existing relations, the existence of which our theoretical investigation has not yet disclosed.

So long as, in a given branch of industry, the factory system extends itself at the expense of the old handicrafts or of manufacture, the result is as sure as is the result of an encounter between an army furnished with breach-loaders, and one armed with bows and arrows. This first period, during which machinery conquers its field of action, is of decisive importance owing to the extraordinary profits that it helps to produce. These profits not only form a source of accelerated accumulation, but also attract into the favoured sphere of production a large part of the additional social capital that is being constantly created, and is ever on the look-out for new investments. The special advantages of this first period of fast and furious [177] activity are felt in every branch of production that machinery invades. So soon, how-

[1] "The sufferings of the hand-loom weavers were the subject of an inquiry by a Royal Commission, but although their distress was asknowledged and lamented, the amelioration of their condition was left, and probably necessarily so, to the chances and changes of time, which it may now be hoped" (20 years later!) "have *nearly* obliterated those miseries, and not improbably by the present great extention of the power-loom" ("Rep. Insp. of Fact., 31 Oct., 1856", p. 15).

ever, as the factory system has gained a certain breadth of footing and a definite degree of maturity, and, especially, so soon as its technical basis, machinery, is itself produced by machinery; so soon as coal mining and iron mining, the metal industries, and the means of transport have been revolutionised; so soon, in short, as the general conditions requisite for production by the modern industrial system have been established, this mode of production acquires an elasticity, a capacity for sudden extension by leaps and bounds that finds no hindrance except in the supply of raw material and in the disposal of the produce. On the one hand, the immediate effect of machinery is to increase the supply of raw material in the same way, for example, as the cotton gin augmented the production of cotton.[1] On the other hand, the cheapness of the articles produced by machinery, and the improved means of transport and communication furnish the weapons for conquering foreign markets. By ruining handicraft production in other countries, machinery forcibly converts them into fields for the supply of its raw material. In this way East India was compelled to produce cotton, wool, hemp, jute, and indigo for Great Britain.[2] By constantly making a part of the hands "supernumerary", modern industry, in all countries where it has taken root, gives a spur to emigration and to the colonisation of foreign lands, which are thereby converted into settlements for growing the raw material of the mother country; just as Australia, for example, was converted into a colony for growing wool.[3] A new and international division of labour, a division suited to the requirements of the chief centres of modern industry springs up, and converts one part of the globe into a chiefly agricultural field of production, for supplying the other part which remains a chiefly industrial field. This revolution hangs together with radical changes in agriculture which we need not here further inquire into.[4]

[1] Other ways in which machinery affects the production of raw material will be mentioned in the third book.

[2] EXPORT OF COTTON FROM INDIA TO GREAT BRITAIN, 1846.—34,540,143 lbs. 1860—204,141,168 lbs. 1865—445,947,600 lbs.

[3] EXPORT OF WOOL FROM INDIA TO GREAT BRITAIN.[378] 1846.—4,570,581 lbs. 1860.—20,214,173 lbs. 1865.—17,105,617 lbs.

EXPORT OF WOOL FROM THE CAPE TO GREAT BRITAIN. 1846.—2,958,457 lbs. 1860.—16,574,345 lbs. 1865.—29,220,623 lbs.

EXPORT OF WOOL FROM AUSTRALIA TO GREAT BRITAIN. 1846.—21,789,346 lbs. 1860.—59,166,616 lbs. 1865.—109,734,261 lbs.

[4] The economic development of the United States is itself a product of European, more especially of English modern industry. In their present form (1866) the States

On the motion of Mr. Gladstone, the House of Commons ordered, on the 17th February, 1867, a return of the total quantities of grain, corn, and flour, of all sorts, imported into, and exported from, the United Kingdom, between the years 1831 and 1866. I give below a summary of the result.[379] The flour is given in quarters of corn. (See the Table on p. 456.)

The enormous power, inherent in the factory system, of expanding by jumps, and the dependence of that system on the markets of the world, necessarily beget feverish production, followed by overfilling of the markets, whereupon contraction of the markets brings on crippling of production. The life of modern industry becomes a series of periods of moderate activity, prosperity, overproduction, crisis and stagnation. The uncertainty and instability to which machinery subjects the employment, and consequently the conditions of existence, of the operatives become normal, owing to these periodic changes of the industrial cycle. Except in the periods of prosperity, there rages between the capitalists the most furious combat for the share of each in the markets. This share is directly proportional to the cheapness of the product. Besides the rivalry that this struggle begets in the application of improved machinery for replacing labour power, and of

must still be considered a European colony. //*Added in the 4th German edition.*—"Since then they have developed into country whose industry holds second place in the world, without on that account entirely losing their colonial character."—*F. E.*//

EXPORT OF COTTON FROM THE UNITED STATES TO GREAT BRITAIN
1846.—401,949,393 lbs. 1852.—765,630,544 lbs.
1859.—961,707,264 lbs. 1860.—1,[illegible]15,890,608 lbs.[378]

EXPORT OF CORN, &c., FROM THE UNITED STATES TO GREAT BRITAIN

| | 1850 | 1862 |
|---|---|---|
| Wheat, cwts | 16,202,312 | 41,033,503 |
| Barley " | 3,669,653 | 6,624,800 |
| Oats " | 3,174,801 | 4,426,994 |
| Rye " | 388,749 | 7,108 |
| Flour " | 3,819,440 | 7,207,113 |
| Buckwheat, cwts | 1,054 | 19,571 |
| Maize, cwts | 5,473,161 | 11,694,818 |
| Bere or Bigg (a sort of Barley), cwts | 2,039 | 7,675 |
| Peas, cwts | 811,620 | 1,024,722 |
| Beans " | 1,822,972 | 2,037,137 |
| Total exports | 35,365,801 | 74,083,441 |

QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS AND THE YEAR 1866

| ANNUAL AVERAGE | 1831-1835 | 1836-1840 | 1841-1845 | 1846-1850 | 1851-1855 | 1856-1860 | 1861-1865 | 1866 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Import (Qrs.) . . . . . | 1,096,373 | 2,389,729 | 2,843,865 | 8,776,552 | 8,345,237 | 10,913,612 | 15,009,871 | 16,457,340 |
| Export " . . . . . | 225,263 | 251,770 | 139,056 | 155,461 | 307,491 | 341,150 | 302,754 | 216,218 |
| Excess of import over export | 871,110 | 2,137,959 | 2,704,809 | 8,621,091 | 8,037,746 | 10,572,462 | 14,707,117 | 16,241,122 |
| POPULATION. | | | | | | | | |
| Yearly average in each period | 24,621,107 | 25,929,507 | 27,262,559 | 27,797,598 | 27,572,923 | 28,391,544 | 29,381,760 | 29,935,404 |
| Average quantity of corn, &c., in qrs., consumed annually per head over and above the home produce consumed . . . . . | 0.036 | 0.082 | 0.099 | 0.310 | 0.291 | 0.372 | 0.501 | 0.543 |

new methods of production, there also comes a time in every industrial cycle, when a forcible reduction of wages beneath the value of labour power, is attempted for the purpose of cheapening commodities.[1]

A necessary condition, therefore, to the growth of the number of factory hands, is a proportionally much more rapid growth of the amount of capital invested in mills. This growth, however, is conditioned by the ebb and flow of the industrial cycle. It is, besides, constantly interrupted by the technical progress that at one time virtually supplies the place of new workmen, at another, actually displaces old ones. This qualitative change in mechanical industry continually discharges hands from the factory, or shuts its doors against the fresh stream of recruits, while the purely quantitative extension of the factories absorbs not only the men thrown out of work, but also fresh contingents. The workpeople are thus continually both repelled and attracted, hustled from pillar to post, while, at the same time, constant changes take place in the sex, age, and skill of the levies.

The lot of the factory operatives will be best depicted by taking a rapid survey of the course of the English cotton industry.

[1] In an appeal made in July, 1866, to the Trade Societies of England, by the shoemakers of Leicester, who had been thrown on the streets by a lock-out, it is stated: "Ten years ago the Leicester shoe trade was revolutionised by the introduction of riveting in the place of stitching. At that time good wages could be earned. Great competition was shown between the different firms as to which could turn out the neatest article. Shortly afterwards, however, a worse kind of competition sprang up, namely, that of underselling one another in the market. The injurious consequences soon manifested themselves in reductions of wages, and so sweepingly quick was the fall in the price of labour, that many firms now pay only one half of the original wages. And yet, though wages sink lower and lower, profits appear, with each alteration in the scale of wages, to increase."[380] Even bad times are utilised by the manufacturers, for making exceptional profits by excessive lowering of wages, i. e., by a direct robbery of the labourer's means of subsistence. One example (it has reference to the crisis in the Coventry silk weaving): "From information I have received from manufacturers as well as workmen, there seems to be no doubt that wages have been reduced to a greater extent than either the competition of the foreign producers, or other circumstances have rendered necessary ... the majority of weavers are working at a reduction of 30 to 40 per cent. in their wages. A piece of ribbon for making which the weaver got 6s. or 7s. five years back, now only brings them 3s. 3d. or 3s. 6d.; other work is now priced at 2s. and 2s. 3d. which was formerly priced at 4s. and 4s. 3d. The reduction in wage seems to have been carried to a greater extent than is necessary for increasing demand. Indeed, the reduction in the cost of weaving, in the case of many descriptions of ribbons, has not been accompanied by any corresponding reduction in the selling price of the manufactured article" (Mr. F. D. Longe's Report. "Ch. Emp. Com., V. Rep., 1866", p. 114, n. 1).

From 1770 to 1815 this trade was depressed or stagnant for 5 years only. During this period of 45 years the English manufacturers had a monopoly of machinery and of the markets of the world. From 1815 to 1821 depression; 1822 and 1823 prosperity; 1824 abolition of the laws against Trades' Unions,[381] great extension of factories everywhere; 1825 crisis; 1826 great misery and riots among the factory operatives; 1827 slight improvement; 1828 great increase in power-looms, and in exports; 1829 exports, especially to India, surpass all former years; 1830 glutted markets, great distress; 1831 to 1833 continued depression, the monopoly of the trade with India and China withdrawn from the East India Company[124]; 1834 great increase of factories and machinery, shortness of hands. The new poor law furthers the migration of agricultural labourers into the factory districts. The country districts swept of children. White slave trade; 1835 great prosperity, contemporaneous starvation of the hand-loom weavers; 1836 great prosperity; 1837 and 1838 depression and crisis; 1839 revival; 1840 great depression, riots, calling out of the military; 1841 and 1842 frightful suffering among the factory operatives; 1842 the manufacturers lock the hands out of the factories in order to enforce the repeal of the Corn Laws.[21] The operatives stream in thousands into the towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire, are driven back by the military, and their leaders brought to trial at Lancaster; 1843 great misery; 1844 revival; 1845 great prosperity; 1846 continued improvement at first, then reaction. Repeal of the Corn Laws; 1847 crisis, general reduction of wages by 10 and more per cent. in honour of the "big loaf"[225]; 1848 continued depression; Manchester under military protection; 1849 revival; 1850 prosperity; 1851 falling prices, low wages, frequent strikes; 1852 improvement begins, strikes continue, the manufacturers threaten to import foreign hands; 1853 increasing exports. Strike for 8 months, and great misery at Preston; 1854 prosperity, glutted markets; 1855 news of failures stream in from the United States, Canada, and the Eastern markets; 1856 great prosperity; 1857 crisis; 1858 improvement; 1859 great prosperity, increase in factories; 1860 Zenith of the English cotton trade, the Indian, Australian, and other markets so glutted with goods that even in 1863 they had not absorbed the whole lot; the French Treaty of Commerce,[205] enormous growth of factories and machinery; 1861 prosperity continues for a time, reaction, the American Civil War, cotton famine: 1862 to 1863 complete collapse.

The history of the cotton famine is too characteristic to dispense with

dwelling upon it for a moment. From the indications as to the condition of the markets of the world in 1860 and 1861, we see that the cotton famine came in the nick of time for the manufacturers, and was to some extent advantageous to them, a fact that was acknowledged in the reports of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, proclaimed in Parliament by Palmerston and Derby, and confirmed by events.[1] No doubt, among the 2,887 cotton mills in the United Kingdom in 1861, there were many of small size.[382] According to the report of Mr. A. Redgrave, out of the 2,109 mills included in his district, 392, or 19% employed less than ten horse-power each; 345, or 16% employed [over] 10 H. P., and less than 20 H. P.; while 1,372 employed upwards of 20 H. P.[2] The majority of the small mills were weaving sheds, built during the period of prosperity after 1858, for the most part by speculators, of whom one supplied the yarn, another the machinery, a third the buildings, and were worked by men who had been overlookers, or by other persons of small means. These small manufacturers mostly went to the wall. The same fate would have overtaken them in the commercial crisis that was staved off only by the cotton famine. Although they formed one-third of the total number of manufacturers, yet their mills absorbed a much smaller part of the capital invested in the cotton trade. As to the extent of the stoppage, it appears from authentic estimates, that in October 1862, 60.3% of the spindles, and 58% of the looms were standing.[383] This refers to the cotton trade as a whole, and, of course, requires considerable modification for individual districts. Only very few mills worked full time (60 hours a week), the remainder worked at intervals. Even in those few cases where full time was worked, and at the customary rate of piece-wage, the weekly wages of the operatives necessarily shrank, owing to good cotton being replaced by bad, Sea Island by Egyptian (in fine spinning mills),[384] American and Egyptian by Surat, and pure cotton by mixings of waste and Surat. The shorter fibre of the Surat cotton and its dirty condition, the greater fragility of the thread, the substitution of all sorts of heavy ingredients for flour in sizing the warps, all these lessened the speed of the machinery, or the number of the looms that could be superintended by one weaver, increased the labour caused by defects in the machinery, and reduced the piece-wage by reducing the mass of the product turned off. Where

[1] Conf. "Reports of Insp. of Fact., 31st October, 1862", p. 30.
[2] l. c., p. 19.

Surat cotton was used, the loss to the operatives when on full time, amounted to 20, 30, and more per cent. But besides this, the majority of the manufacturers reduced the rate of piece-wage by 5, $7\frac{1}{2}$, and 10 per cent. We can therefore conceive the situation of those hands who were employed for only 3, $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 days a week, or for only 6 hours a day. Even, in 1863, after a comparative improvement had set in, the weekly wages of spinners and of weavers were 3s. 4d., 3s. 10d., 4s. 6d. and 5s. ld.[1] Even in this miserable state of things, however, the inventive spirit of the master never stood still, but was exercised in making deductions from wages. These were to some extent inflicted as a penalty for defects in the finished article that were really due to his bad cotton and to his unsuitable machinery. Moreover, where the manufacturer owned the cottages of the workpeople, he paid himself his rents by deducting the amount from these miserable wages. Mr. Redgrave tells us of self-acting minders (operatives who manage a pair of self-acting mules)

"earning at the end of a fortnight's full work 8s. 11d., and that from this sum was deducted the rent of the house, the manufacturer, however, returning half the rent as a gift. The minders took away the sum of 6s. 11d. In many places the self-acting minders ranged from 5s. to 9s. per week, and the weavers from 2s. to 6s. per week, during the latter part of 1862".[2]

Even when working short time the rent was frequently deducted from the wages of the operatives.[3] No wonder that in some parts of Lancashire a kind of famine fever broke out. But more characteristic than all this, was the revolution that took place in the process of production at the expense of the workpeople. *Experimenta in corpore vili*,[a] like those of anatomists on frogs, were formally made.

"Although," says Mr. Redgrave, "I have given the actual earnings of the operatives in the several mills, it does not follow that they earn the same amount week by week. The operatives are subject to great fluctuation from the constant experimentalising of the manufacturers ... the earnings of the operatives rise and fall with the quality of the cotton mixings; sometimes they have been within 15 per cent. of former earnings, and then, in a week or two, they have fallen off from 50 to 60 per cent."[4]

These experiments were not made solely at the expense of the

[1] "Rep. Insp. of Fact., 31st October, 1863", pp. 41-45, 51, 52.
[2] l. c., pp. 41-42.
[3] l. c., p. 57.
[4] l. c., pp. 50-51.

[a] "Experiments on a worthless body."

workman's means of subsistence. His five senses also had to pay the penalty.

"The people who are employed in making up Surat cotton complain very much. They inform me, on opening the bales of cotton there is an intolerable smell, which causes sickness.... In the mixing, scribbling and carding rooms, the dust and dirt which are disengaged, irritate the air passages, and give rise to cough and difficulty of breathing. A disease of the skin, no doubt from the irritation of the dirt contained in the Surat cotton, also prevails.... The fibre being so short, a great amount of size, both animal and vegetable, is used.... Bronchitis is more prevalent owing to the dust. Inflammatory sore throat is common, from the same cause. Sickness and dyspepsia are produced by the frequent breaking of the weft, when the weaver sucks the weft through the eye of the shuttle." [385] On the other hand, the substitutes for flour were a Fortunatus' purse [386] to the manufacturers, by increasing the weight of the yarn. They caused "15 lbs. of raw material to weigh 20 lbs. after it was woven." [1]

In the Report of Inspectors of Factories for 30th April, 1864, we read as follows:

"The trade is availing itself of this resource at present to an extent which is even discreditable. I have heard on good authority of a cloth weighing 8 lbs. which was made of $5\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. cotton and $2\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. size; and of another cloth weighing $5\frac{1}{4}$ lbs., of which 2 lbs. was size. These were ordinary export shirtings. In cloths of other descriptions, as much as 50 per cent. size is sometimes added; so that a manufacturer may, and does truly boast, that he is getting rich by selling cloth for less money per pound than he paid for the mere yarn of which they are composed." [2]

But the workpeople had to suffer, not only from the experiments of the manufacturers inside the mills, and of the municipalities outside, not only from reduced wages and absence of work, from want and from charity, and from the eulogistic speeches of lords and commons.

"Unfortunate females who, in consequence of the cotton famine, were at its commencement thrown out of employment, and have thereby become outcasts of society; and now, though trade has revived, and work is plentiful, continue members of that unfortunate class, and are likely to continue so. There are also in the borough more youthful prostitutes than I have known for the last 25 years." [3]

We find then, in the first 45 years of the English cotton trade, from 1770 to 1815, only 5 years of crisis and stagnation; but this was the period of monopoly. The second period from 1815 to 1863 counts, during its 48 years, only 20 years of revival and prosperity against 28 of depression and stagnation. [387] Between 1815 and 1830 the compe-

[1] l. c., p. 63.

[2] "Rep. &c., 30th April, 1864", p. 27.

[3] From a letter of Mr. Harris, Chief Constable of Bolton, in "Rep. of Insp. of Fact., 31st October, 1865", p. 61.

tition with the continent of Europe and with the United States sets in. After 1833, the extension of the Asiatic markets is enforced by "destruction of the human race" (the wholesale extinction of Indian hand-loom weavers).[388] After the repeal of the Corn Laws,[21] from 1846 to 1863, there are 8 years of moderate activity and prosperity against 9 years of depression and stagnation. The condition of the adult male operatives, even during the years of prosperity, may be judged from the note subjoined.[1]

## SECTION 8.—REVOLUTION EFFECTED IN MANUFACTURE, HANDICRAFTS, AND DOMESTIC INDUSTRY BY MODERN INDUSTRY

### *a. Overthrow of Co-operation Based on Handicraft and on the Division of Labour*

We have seen how machinery does away with co-operation based on handicrafts, and with manufacture based on the division of handicraft labour. An example of the first sort is the mowing-machine; it replaces co-operation between mowers. A striking example of the sec-

[1] In an appeal, dated 1863, of the factory operatives of Lancashire, &c., for the purpose of forming a society for organised emigration, we find the following: "That a large emigration of factory workers is now absolutely essential to raise them from their present prostrate condition, few will deny; but to show that a continuous stream of emigration is at all times demanded, and, without which it is impossible for them to maintain their position in ordinary times, we beg to call attention to the subjoined facts: — In 1814 the official value of cotton goods exported was £17,665,378, whilst the real marketable value was £20,070,824. In 1858 the official value of cotton goods exported, was £182,221,681; but the real or marketable value was only £43,001,322, being a ten-fold quantity sold for little more than double the former price. To produce results so disadvantageous to the country generally, and to the factory workers in particular, several causes have co-operated, which, had circumstances permitted, we should have brought more prominently under your notice; suffice it for the present to say that the most obvious one is the constant redundancy of labour, without which a trade so ruinous in its effects never could have been carried on, and which requires a constantly extending market to save it from annihilation. Our cotton mills may be brought to a stand by the periodical stagnations of trade, which, under present arrangements, are as inevitable as death itself; but the human mind is constantly at work, and although we believe we are under the mark in stating that six millions of persons have left these shores during the last 25 years, yet, from the natural increase of population, and the displacement of labour to cheapen production, a large percentage of the male adults in the most prosperous times find it impossible to obtain work in factories on any conditions whatever" ("Reports of Insp. of Fact., 30th April 1863", pp. 51-52). We shall, in a later chapter

ond kind, is the needle-making machine. According to Adam Smith, 10 men, in his day, made in co-operation, over 48,000 needles a-day.[389] On the other hand, a single needle-machine makes 145,200 in a working day of 11 hours. One woman or one girl superintends four such machines, and so produces near upon 600,000 needles in a day, and upwards of 3,000,000 in a week.[1] A single machine, when it takes the place of co-operation or of manufacture, may itself serve as the basis of an industry of a handicraft character. Still, such a return to handicrafts is but a transition to the factory system, which, as a rule, makes its appearance so soon as the human muscles are replaced, for the purpose of driving the machines, by a mechanical motive power, such as steam or water. Here and there, but in any case only for a time, an industry may be carried on, on a small scale, by means of mechanical power. This is effected by hiring steam-power, as is done in some of the Birmingham trades, or by the use of small caloric-engines, as in some branches of weaving.[2] In the Coventry silk weaving industry the experiment of "cottage factories" was tried. In the centre of a square surrounded by rows of cottages, an engine-house was built and the engine connected by shafts with the looms in the cottages.[390] In all cases the power was hired at so much per loom. The rent was payable weekly, whether the looms worked or not. Each cottage held from 2 to 6 looms; some belonged to the weaver, some were bought on credit, some were hired. The struggle between these cottage factories and the factory proper, lasted over 12 years. It ended with the complete ruin of the 300 cottage factories.[3] Wherever the nature of the process did not involve production on a large scale, the new industries that have sprung up in the last few decades, such as envelope making, steel-pen making, &c., have, as a general rule, first passed through the handicraft stage, and then the manufacturing stage, as short phases of transition to the factory stage. The transition is very difficult in those cases where the production of the article by manufacture consists, not of a series of graduated processes, but of

[this volume, pp. 574-76], see how our friends, the manufacturers, endeavoured, during the catastrophe in the cotton trade, to prevent by every means, including State interference, the emigration of the operatives.

[1] "Ch. Empl. Comm. III. Report, 1864", p. 108, n. 447.

[2] In the United States the restoration, in this way, of handicrafts based on machinery is frequent; and therefore, when the inevitable transition to the factory system shall take place, the ensuing concentration will, compared with Europe and even with England, stride on in seven-league boots.

[3] See "Rep. of Insp. of Fact., 31st Oct., 1865", p. 64.

a great number of disconnected ones. This circumstance formed a great hindrance to the establishment of steel-pen factories. Nevertheless, about 15 years ago, a machine was invented that automatically performed 6 separate operations at once. The first steel-pens were supplied by the handicraft system, in the year 1820, at £7 4s. the gross; in 1830 they were supplied by manufacture at 8s., and today the factory system supplies them to the trade at from 2s. to 6d. the gross.[1] [391]

### *b. Reaction of the Factory System on Manufacture and Domestic Industries*

Along with the development of the factory system and of the revolution in agriculture that accompanies it, production in all the other branches of industry not only extends, but alters its character. The principle, carried out in the factory system, of analysing the process of production into its constituent phases, and of solving the problems thus proposed by the application of mechanics, of chemistry, and of the whole range of the natural sciences, becomes the determining principle everywhere. Hence, machinery squeezes itself into the manufacturing industries first for one detail process, then for another. Thus the solid crystal of their organisation, based on the old division of labour, becomes dissolved, and makes way for constant changes. Independently of this, a radical change takes place in the composition of the collective labourer, a change of the persons working in combination. In contrast with the manufacturing period, the division of labour is thenceforth based, wherever possible, on the employment of women, of children of all ages, and of unskilled labourers, in one word, on cheap labour, as it is characteristically called in England. This is the case not only with all production on a large scale, whether employing machinery or not, but also with the so-called domestic industry, whether carried on in the houses of the workpeople or in small workshops. This modern so-called domestic industry has nothing, ex-

[1] Mr. Gillott erected in Birmingham the first steel-pen factory on a large scale. It produced, so early as 1851, over 180,000,000 of pens yearly, and consumed 120 tons of steel. Birmingham has the monopoly of this industry in the United Kingdom, and at present produces thousands of millions of steel-pens.[392] According to the Census of 1861 [XXXVIII] the number of persons employed was 1,428, of whom 1,268 females from 5 years of age upwards.

cept the name, in common with the old-fashioned domestic industry, the existence of which presupposes independent urban handicrafts, independent peasant farming, and above all, a dwelling-house for the labourer and his family. That old-fashioned industry has now been converted into an outside department of the factory, the manufactory, or the warehouse. Besides the factory operatives, the manufacturing workmen and the handicraftsmen, whom it concentrates in large masses at one spot, and directly commands, capital also sets in motion, by means of invisible threads, another army; that of the workers in the domestic industries, who dwell in the large towns and are also scattered over the face of the country. An example: The shirt factory of Messrs. Tillie at Londonderry, which employs 1,000 operatives in the factory itself, and 9,000 people spread up and down the country and working in their own houses.[1]

The exploitation of cheap and immature labour power is carried out in a more shameless manner in modern manufacture than in the factory proper. This is because the technical foundation of the factory system, namely, the substitution of machines for muscular power, and the light character of the labour, is almost entirely absent in manufacture, and at the same time women and over-young children are subjected, in a most unconscionable way, to the influence of poisonous or injurious substances. This exploitation is more shameless in the so-called domestic industry than in manufactures, and that because the power of resistance in the labourers decreases with their dissemination; because a whole series of plundering parasites insinuate themselves between the employer and the workman; because a domestic industry has always to compete either with the factory system, or with manufacturing in the same branch of production; because poverty robs the workman of the conditions most essential to his labour, of space, light and ventilation; because employment becomes more and more irregular; and, finally, because in these the last resorts of the masses made "redundant" by modern industry and agriculture, competition for work attains its maximum. Economy in the means of production, first systematically carried out in the factory system, and there, from the very beginning, coincident with the most reckless squandering of labour power, and robbery of the conditions normally requisite for labour — this economy now shows its antagonistic and murderous side more and more in a given branch of industry, the less

[1] "Ch. Empl. Comm. II. Rep. 1864", p. LXVIII, n. 415.

the social productive power of labour and the technical basis for a combination of processes are developed in that branch.

### *c. Modern Manufacture*

I now proceed, by a few examples, to illustrate the principles laid down above. As a matter of fact, the reader is already familiar with numerous instances given in the chapter on the working day. In the hardware manufactures of Birmingham and the neighbourhood, there are employed, mostly in very heavy work, 30,000 children and young persons, besides 10,000 women.[393] There they are to be seen in the unwholesome brass-foundries, button factories, enamelling, galvanising, and lackering works.[1] Owing to the excessive labour of their workpeople, both adult and non-adult, certain London houses where newspapers and books are printed, have got the ill-omened name of "slaughterhouses".[2] Similar excesses are practised in bookbinding, where the victims are chiefly women, girls, and children; young persons have to do heavy work in rope-walks and night-work in salt mines, candle manufactories, and chemical works; young people are worked to death at turning the looms in silk weaving, when it is not carried on by machinery.[3] One of the most shameful, the most dirty, and the worst paid kinds of labour, and one on which women and young girls are by preference employed, is the sorting of rags. It is well known that Great Britain, apart from its own immense store of rags, is the emporium for the rag trade of the whole world. They flow in from Japan, from the most remote States of South America, and from the Canary Islands. But the chief sources of their supply are Germany, France, Russia, Italy, Egypt, Turkey, Belgium, and Holland. They are used for manure, for making bedflocks, for shoddy, and they serve as the raw material of paper. The rag-sorters are the medium for the spread of small-pox and other infectious diseases, and they themselves are the first victims.[4] A classical example of overwork, of hard and inappropriate labour, and of its brutalising effects

[1] And now forsooth children are employed at file-cutting in Sheffield.[394]

[2] "Ch. Empl. Comm., V. Rep. 1866", p. 3, n. 24; p. 6, n. 55, 56; p. 7, n. 59, 60.

[3] l. c., pp. 114, 115, n. 6, 7. The commissioner justly remarks that though as a rule machines take the place of men, here literally young persons replace machines.

[4] See the Report on the rag trade, and numerous details in "Public Health, VIII. Rep." Lond., 1866, app., pp. 196-208.

on the workman from his childhood upwards, is afforded not only by coal-mining and miners generally, but also by tile and brick making, in which industry the recently invented machinery is, in England, used only here and there. Between May and September the work lasts from 5 in the morning till 8 in the evening, and where the drying is done in the open air, it often lasts from 4 in the morning till 9 in the evening. Work from 5 in the morning till 7 in the evening is considered "reduced" and "moderate". Both boys and girls of 6 and even of 4 years of age are employed. They work for the same number of hours, often longer, than the adults. The work is hard and the summer heat increases the exhaustion. In a certain tile-field at Moxley, e. g., a young woman, 24 years of age, was in the habit of making 2,000 tiles a day, with the assistance of 2 little girls, who carried the clay for her, and stacked the tiles. These girls carried daily 10 tons up the slippery sides of the clay pits, from a depth of 30 feet, and then for a distance of 210 feet.[395]

"It is impossible for a child to pass through the purgatory of a tile-field without great moral degradation ... the low language, which they are accustomed to hear from their tenderest years, the filthy, indecent, and shameless habits, amidst which, unknowing, and half wild, they grow up, make them in after-life lawless, abandoned, dissolute.... A frightful source of demoralisation is the mode of living. Each moulder, who is always a skilled labourer, and the chief of a group, supplies his 7 subordinates with board and lodging in his cottage. Whether members of his family or not, the men, boys, and girls all sleep in the cottage, which contains generally two, exceptionally 3 rooms, all on the ground floor, and badly ventilated. These people are so exhausted after the day's hard work, that neither the rules of health, of cleanliness, nor of decency are in the least observed. Many of these cottages are models of untidiness, dirt, and dust.... The greatest evil of the system that employs young girls on this sort of work, consists in this that, as a rule, it chains them fast from childhood for the whole of their after-life to the most abandoned rabble. They become rough, foul-mouthed boys, before Nature has taught them that they are women. Clothed in a few dirty rags, the legs naked far above the knees, hair and face besmeared with dirt, they learn to treat all feelings of decency and of shame with contempt. During meal-times they lie at full length in the fields, or watch the boys bathing in a neighbouring canal. Their heavy day's work at length completed, they put on better clothes, and accompany the men to the public houses."

That excessive insobriety is prevalent from childhood upwards among the whole of this class, is only natural.

"The worst is that the brickmakers despair of themselves. You might as well, said one of the better kind to a chaplain of Southallfield, try to raise and improve the devil as a brickie, sir!"[1]

[1] "Ch. Empl. Comm. V. Rep., 1866", pp. xvii, xviii, n. 96, 97, and p. 130, n. 39, p. 132, n. 61. See also "III. Rep., 1864", pp. 48, 56.

As to the manner, in which capital effects an economy in the requisites of labour, in modern manufacture (in which I include all workshops of larger size, except factories proper), official and most ample material bearing on it is to be found in the Public Health Reports IV (1862) and VI (1864). The description of the workshops, more especially those of the London printers and tailors, surpasses the most loathsome phantasies of our romance writers. The effect on the health of the workpeople is self-evident. Dr. Simon, the chief medical officer of the Privy Council [183] and the official editor of the "Public Health Reports", says:

"In my fourth Report (1862) I showed, how it is practically impossible for the workpeople to insist upon that which is their first sanitary right, viz., the right that, no matter what the work for which their employer brings them together, the labour, so far as it depends upon him, should be freed from all avoidably unwholesome conditions. I pointed out, that while the workpeople are practically incapable of doing themselves this sanitary justice, they are unable to obtain any effective support from the paid administrations of the sanitary police.... The life of myriads of workmen and workwomen is now uselessly tortured and shortened by the never-ending physical suffering that their mere occupation begets." [1]

In illustration of the way in which the workrooms influence the state of health Dr. Simon gives the following table of mortality.[2]

| Number of persons of all ages employed in the respective industries. | Industries compared as regards health. | Death-rate per 100,000 men in the respective industries between the stated ages. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Age 25-35. | Age 35-45. | Age 45-55. |
| 958,265 | Agriculture in England & Wales | 743 | 805 | 1,145 |
| 22,301 men, 12,377 women | London tailors | 958 | 1,262 | 2,093 |
| 13,803 | London printers | 894 | 1,747 | 2,367 |

### *d. Modern Domestic Industry*

I now come to the so-called domestic industry. In order to get an idea of the horrors of this sphere, in which capital conducts its exploi-

[1] "Public Health. Sixth Rep.", Lond., 1864, pp. 29, 31.

[2] l. c., p. 30. Dr. Simon remarks that the mortality among the London tailors and printers between the ages of 25 and 35 is in fact much greater, because the employers in London obtain from the country a great number of young people up to 30 years of age, as "apprentices" and "improvers", who come for the purpose of being perfected in

tation in the background of modern mechanical industry, one must go to the apparently quite idyllic trade of nail-making,[1] carried on in a few remote villages of England. In this place, however, it will be enough to give a few examples from those branches of the lace-making and straw-plaiting industries that are not yet carried on by the aid of machinery, and that as yet do not compete with branches carried on in factories or in manufactories.

Of the 150,000 persons employed in England in the production of lace, about 10,000 fall under the authority of the Factory Act, 1861.[396] Almost the whole of the remaining 140,000 are women, young persons, and children of both sexes, the male sex, however, being weakly represented. The state of health of this cheap material for exploitation will be seen from the following table, computed by Dr. Truman, physician to the Nottingham General Dispensary. Out of 686 female patients who were lace-makers, most of them between the ages of 17 and 24, the number of consumptive ones were:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1852.—1 in 45. | 1857.—1 in 13. |
| 1853.—1 in 28. | 1858.—1 in 15. |
| 1854.—1 in 17. | 1859.—1 in 9. |
| 1855.—1 in 18. | 1860.—1 in 8. |
| 1856.—1 in 15. | 1861.—1 in 8.[2] |

This progress in the rate of consumption ought to suffice for the most optimist of progressists, and for the biggest hawker of lies among the Free Trade bagmen of Germany.[38]

The Factory Act of 1861 regulates the actual making of the lace, so far as it is done by machinery, and this is the rule in England. The branches that we are now about to examine, solely with regard to those of the workpeople who work at home, and not those who work in manufactories or warehouses, fall into two divisions, viz. (1), finishing; (2), mending. The former gives the finishing touches to the machine-made lace, and includes numerous subdivisions.

their trade. These figure in the census as Londoners, they swell out the number of heads on which the London death-rate is calculated, without adding proportionally to the number of deaths in that place. The greater part of them in fact return to the country, and especially in cases of severe illness (l. c.).

[1] I allude here to hammered nails, as distinguished from nails cut out and made by machinery. See "Child. Empl. Comm., Third Rep.", pp. XI, XIX, n. 125-130, p. 52, n. 14, p. [p. 113-]114, n. 487, p. 137, n. 674.

[2] "Ch. Empl. Comm., II. Rep.", p. XXII, n. 166.

The lace finishing is done either in what are called "mistresses' houses", or by women in their own houses, with or without the help of their children. The women who keep the "mistresses' houses" are themselves poor. The workroom is in a private house. The mistresses take orders from manufacturers, or from warehousemen, and employ as many women, girls, and young children as the size of their rooms and the fluctuating demand of the business will allow. The number of the workwomen employed in these workrooms varies from 20 to 40 in some, and from 10 to 20 in others. The average age at which the children commence work is six years, but in many cases it is below five. The usual working hours are from 8 in the morning till eight in the evening, with $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours for meals, which are taken at irregular intervals, and often in the foul workrooms. When business is brisk, the labour frequently lasts from 8 or even 6 o'clock in the morning till 10, 11, or 12 o'clock at night. In English barracks the regulation space allotted to each soldier is 500-600 cubic feet, and in the military hospitals 1,200 cubic feet. But in those finishing sties there are but 67 to 100 cubic feet to each person. At the same time the oxygen of the air is consumed by gas-lights. In order to keep the lace clean, and although the floor is tiled or flagged, the children are often compelled, even in winter, to pull off their shoes.[397]

"It is not at all uncommon in Nottingham to find 15 to 20 children huddled together in a small room, of, perhaps, not more than 12 feet square, and employed for 15 hours out of the 24, at work that of itself is exhausting, from its weariness and monotony, and is besides carried on under every possible unwholesome condition.... Even the very youngest children work with a strained attention and a rapidity that is astonishing, hardly ever giving their fingers rest or slowering their motion. If a question be asked them, they never raise their eyes from their work from fear of losing a single moment."

The "long stick" is used by the mistresses as a stimulant more and more as the working hours are prolonged.

"The children gradually tire and become as restless as birds towards the end of their long detention at an occupation that is monotonous, eye-straining, and exhausting from the uniformity in the posture of the body. Their work is like slavery."[1)]

When women and their children work at home, which nowadays means in a hired room, often in a garret, the state of things is, if possible, still worse. This sort of work is given out within a circle of 80 miles radius from Nottingham. On leaving the warehouses at 9 or 10

[1)] "Ch. Empl. Comm. II. Rep., 1864", pp. XIX [No. 141], XX [No. 155], XXI [No. 157].

o'clock at night, the children are often given a bundle of lace to take home with them and finish. The Pharisee of a capitalist [246] represented by one of his servants, accompanies this action, of course, with the unctuous phrase: "That's for mother," yet he knows well enough that the poor children must sit up and help.[1]

Pillow lace-making is chiefly carried on in England in two agricultural districts; one, the Honiton lace district, extending from 20 to 30 miles along the south coast of Devonshire, and including a few places in North Devon; the other comprising a great part of the counties of Buckingham, Bedford, and Northampton, and also the adjoining portions of Oxfordshire and Huntingdonshire. The cottages of the agricultural labourers are the places where the work is usually carried on. Many manufacturers employ upwards of 3,000 of these lace-makers, who are chiefly children and young persons of the female sex exclusively. The state of things described as incidental to lace finishing is here repeated, save that instead of the "mistresses' houses", we find what are called "lace-schools", kept by poor women in their cottages. From their fifth year and often earlier, until their twelfth or fifteenth year, the children work in these schools; during the first year the very young ones work from four to eight hours, and later on, from six in the morning till eight and ten o'clock at night.[398]

"The rooms are generally the ordinary living rooms of small cottages, the chimney stopped up to keep out draughts, the inmates kept warm by their own animal heat alone, and this frequently in winter. In other cases, these so-called school-rooms are like small store-rooms without fireplaces.... The overcrowding in these dens and the consequent vitiation of the air are often extreme. Added to this is the injurious effect of drains, privies, decomposing substances, and other filth usual in the purlieus of the smaller cottages." With regard to space: "In one lace-school 18 girls and a mistress, 33 cubic feet to each person; in another, where the smell was unbearable, 18 persons and $24\frac{1}{2}$ cubic feet per head. In this industry are to be found employed children of 2 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ years."[2] [399]

Where lace-making ends in the counties of Buckingham and Bedford, straw-plaiting begins, and extends over a large part of Hertfordshire and the westerly and northerly parts of Essex. In 1861, there were 48,043 persons employed in straw-plaiting and straw-hat making; of these 3,815 were males of all ages, the rest females, of whom 14,913, including about 6,000 children, were under 20 years of age. In the place of the lace-schools we find here the "straw-plait schools".

[1] l. c., pp. XXI [No. 163], XXVI [No. 192].
[2] l. c., pp. XXIX, XXX [Nos 214, 217, 220].

The children commence their instruction in straw-plaiting generally in their 4th, often between their 3rd and 4th year. Education, of course, they get none. The children themselves call the elementary schools, "natural schools", to distinguish them from these blood-sucking institutions, in which they are kept at work simply to get through the task, generally 30 yards daily, prescribed by their half-starved mothers. These same mothers often make them work at home, after school is over, till 10, 11, and 12 o'clock at night. The straw cuts their mouths, with which they constantly moisten it, and their fingers. Dr. Ballard gives it as the general opinion of the whole body of medical officers in London, that 300 cubic feet is the minimum space proper for each person in a bedroom or workroom. But in the straw-plait schools space is more sparingly allotted than in the lace-schools, "$12\frac{2}{3}$, 17, $18\frac{1}{2}$ and below 22 cubic feet for each person".[400]

"The smaller of these numbers," says one of the commissioners, Mr. White, "represents less space than the half of what a child would occupy if packed in a box measuring 3 feet in each direction."

Thus do the children enjoy life till the age of 12 or 14. The wretched half-starved parents think of nothing but getting as much as possible out of their children. The latter, as soon as they are grown up, do not care a farthing, and naturally so, for their parents, and leave them.

"It is no wonder that ignorance and vice abound in a population so brought up.... Their morality is at the lowest ebb,... a great number of the women have illegitimate children, and that at such an immature age that even those most conversant with criminal statistics are astounded."[1]

And the native land of these model families is the pattern Christian country for Europe; so says at least Count Montalembert, certainly a competent authority on Christianity!

Wages in the above industries, miserable as they are (the maximum wages of a child in the straw-plait schools rising in rare cases to 3 shillings), are reduced far below their nominal amount by the prevalence of the truck system everywhere, but especially in the lace districts.[2]

[1] l.c., pp. XL [No. 305], XLI [No. 306].
[2] "Child. Empl. Comm., I. Rep. 1863", p. 185.

### *e. Passage of Modern Manufacture, and Domestic Industry into Modern Mechanical Industry. The Hastening of This Revolution by the Application of the Factory Acts to Those Industries*

The cheapening of labour power, by sheer abuse of the labour of women and children, by sheer robbery of every normal condition requisite for working and living, and by the sheer brutality of overwork and night-work, meets at last with natural obstacles that cannot be overstepped. So also, when based on these methods, do the cheapening of commodities and capitalist exploitation in general. So soon as this point is at last reached — and it takes many years — the hour has struck for the introduction of machinery, and for the thenceforth rapid conversion of the scattered domestic industries and also of manufactures into factory industries.

An example, on the most colossal scale, of this movement is afforded by the production of wearing apparel. This industry, according to the classification of the Children's Employment Commission, comprises straw-hat makers, ladies'-hat makers, cap-makers, tailors, milliners and dressmakers,[a] shirt-makers, corset-makers, glove-makers, shoemakers, besides many minor branches, such as the making of neckties, collars, &c. In 1861, the number of females employed in these industries, in England and Wales, amounted to 586,298, of these 115,242 at the least were under 20, and 16,560 under 15 years of age. The number of these workwomen in the United Kingdom in 1861, was 750,334.[401] The number of males employed in England and Wales, in hat-making, shoemaking, glove-making and tailoring was 437,969; of these 14,964 under 15 years, 89,285 between 15 and 20, and 333,117 over 20 years. Many of the smaller branches are not included in these figures. But take the figures as they stand; we then have for England and Wales alone, according to the census of 1861, a total of 1,024,267 persons, about as many as are absorbed by agriculture and cattle breeding. We begin to understand what becomes of the immense quantities of goods conjured up by the magic of machinery, and of the enormous masses of workpeople, which that machinery sets free.

The production of wearing apparel is carried on partly in manu-

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[a] The German editions have the following note here: "Millinery, properly speaking, is concerned only with headdress, but usually also involves ladies' coats and mantillas, while dressmakers are identical with what we call modistes."

factories in whose workrooms there is but a reproduction of that division of labour, the *membra disjecta*[274] of which were found ready to hand; partly by small master-handicraftsmen; these, however, do not, as formerly, work for individual consumers, but for manufactories and warehouses, and to such an extent that often whole towns and stretches of country carry on certain branches, such as shoemaking, as a speciality; finally, on a very great scale by the so-called domestic workers, who form an external department of the manufactories, warehouses, and even of the workshops of the smaller masters.[1]

The raw material, &c., is supplied by mechanical industry, the mass of cheap human material (*taillable à merci et miséricorde*[402]) is composed of the individuals "liberated" by mechanical industry and improved agriculture. The manufactures of this class owed their origin chiefly to the capitalist's need of having at hand an army ready equipped to meet any increase of demand.[2] These manufactures, nevertheless, allowed the scattered handicrafts and domestic industries to continue to exist as a broad foundation. The great production of surplus value in these branches of labour, and the progressive cheapening of their articles, were and are chiefly due to the minimum wages paid, no more than requisite for a miserable vegetation, and to the extension of working time up to the maximum endurable by the human organism. It was in fact by the cheapness of the human sweat and the human blood, which were converted into commodities, that the markets were constantly being extended, and continue daily to be extended; more especially was this the case with England's colonial markets, where, besides, English tastes and habits prevail. At last the critical point was reached. The basis of the old method, sheer brutality in the exploitation of the workpeople, accompanied more or less by a systematic division of labour, no longer sufficed for the extending markets and for the still more rapidly extending competition of the capitalists. The hour struck for the advent of machinery. The decisively revolutionary machine, the machine which attacks in an equal degree the whole of the numberless branches of this sphere of produc-

[1] In England millinery and dressmaking are for the most part carried on, on the premises of the employer, partly by workwomen who live there, partly by women who live off the premises.

[2] Mr. White, a commissioner, visited a military clothing manufactory that employed 1,000 to 1,200 persons, almost all females, and a shoe manufactory with 1,300 persons; of these nearly one half were children and young persons.[403]

tion, dressmaking, tailoring, shoemaking, sewing, hat-making, and many others, is the sewing-machine.

Its immediate effect on the workpeople is like that of all machinery, which, since the rise of modern industry, has seized upon new branches of trade. Children of too tender an age are sent adrift. The wage of the machine hands rises compared with that of the house-workers, many of whom belong to the poorest of the poor. That of the better situated handicraftsmen, with whom the machine competes, sinks. The new machine hands are exclusively girls and young women. With the help of mechanical force, they destroy the monopoly that male labour had of the heavier work, and they drive off from the lighter work numbers of old women and very young children. The overpowering competition crushes the weakest of the manual labourers. The fearful increase in death from starvation during the last 10 years in London runs parallel with the extension of machine sewing.[1] The new workwomen turn the machines by hand and foot, or by hand alone, sometimes sitting, sometimes standing, according to the weight, size, and special make of the machine, and expend a great deal of labour power. Their occupation is unwholesome, owing to the long hours, although in most cases they are not so long as under the old system. Wherever the sewing-machine locates itself in narrow and already overcrowded workrooms, it adds to the unwholesome influences.

"The effect," says Mr. Lord, "on entering low-ceiled workrooms in which 30 to 40 machine hands are working is unbearable.... The heat, partly due to the gas stoves used for warming the irons, is horrible.... Even when moderate hours of work, i. e., from 8 in the morning till 6 in the evening, prevail in such places, yet 3 or 4 persons fall into a swoon regularly every day."[2]

The revolution in the industrial methods which is the necessary result of the revolution in the instruments of production, is effected by a medley of transition forms. These forms vary according to the extent to which the sewing-machine has become prevalent in one branch of industry or the other, to the time during which it has been in operation, to the previous condition of the workpeople, to the preponderance of manufacture, of handicrafts or of domestic industry, to

[1] An instance. The weekly report of deaths by the Registrar-General[404] dated 26th Feb., 1864, contains 5 cases of death from starvation. On the same day *The Times* reports another case. Six victims of starvation in one week![405]

[2] "Child. Empl. Comm., Second Rep., 1864", p. LXVII, n. 406-9, p. 84, n. 124, p. LXXIII, n. 441, p. 68, n. 6, p. 84, n. 126, p. 78, n. 85, p. 76, n. 69, p. LXXII, n. 438.

the rent of the workrooms,[1] &c. In dressmaking, for instance, where the labour for the most part was already organised, chiefly by simple co-operation, the sewing-machine at first formed merely a new factor in that manufacturing industry. In tailoring, shirtmaking, shoemaking, &c., all the forms are intermingled. Here the factory system proper. There middlemen receive the raw material from the capitalist *en chef*, and group around their sewing-machines, in "chambers" and "garrets", from 10 to 50 or more workwomen. Finally, as is always the case with machinery when not organised into a system, and when it can also be used in dwarfish proportions, handicraftsmen and domestic workers, along with their families, or with a little extra labour from without, make use of their own sewing-machines.[2] The system actually prevalent in England is, that the capitalist concentrates a large number of machines on his premises, and then distributes the produce of those machines for further manipulation amongst the domestic workers.[3] The variety of the transition forms, however, does not conceal the tendency to conversion into the factory system proper. This tendency is nurtured by the very nature of the sewing-machine, the manifold uses of which push on the concentration, under one roof, and one management, of previously separated branches of a trade. It is also favoured by the circumstance that preparatory needlework, and certain other operations, are most conveniently done on the premises where the machine is at work; as well as by the inevitable expropriation of the hand sewers, and of the domestic workers who work with their own machines. This fate has already in part overtaken them. The constantly increasing amount of capital invested in sewing-machines,[4] gives the spur to the production of, and gluts the markets with, machine-made articles, thereby giving the signal to the domestic workers for the sale of their machines. The overproduction of sewing-machines themselves, causes their producers, in bad want of a sale, to let them out for so much a week, thus crushing by their

[1] "The rental of premises required for workrooms seems the element which ultimately determines the point; and consequently it is in the metropolis, that the old system of giving work out to small employers and families has been longest retained, and earliest returned to" (l. c., p. 83, n. 123). The concluding statement in this quotation refers exclusively to shoemaking.

[2] In glove-making and other industries where the condition of the work-people is hardly distinguishable from that of paupers, this does not occur.

[3] l. c., p. 83, n. 122.

[4] In the wholesale boot and shoe trade of Leicester alone, there were in 1864, 800 sewing-machines already in use.[406]

deadly competition the small owners of machines.[1] Constant changes in the construction of the machines, and their ever-increasing cheapness, depreciate day by day the older makes, and allow of their being sold in great numbers, at absurd prices, to large capitalists, who alone can thus employ them at a profit. Finally, the substitution of the steam-engine for man gives in this, as in all similar revolutions, the finishing blow. At first, the use of steam power meets with mere technical difficulties, such as unsteadiness in the machines, difficulty in controlling their speed, rapid wear and tear of the lighter machines, &c., all of which are soon overcome by experience.[2] If, on the one hand, the concentration of many machines in large manufactories leads to the use of steam power, on the other hand, the competition of steam with human muscles hastens on the concentration of workpeople and machines in large factories. Thus England is at present experiencing, not only in the colossal industry of making wearing apparel, but in most of the other trades mentioned above, the conversion of manufacture, of handicrafts, and of domestic work into the factory system, after each of those forms of production, totally changed and disorganised under the influence of modern industry, has long ago reproduced, and even overdone, all the horrors of the factory system, without participating in any of the elements of social progress it contains.[3]

This industrial revolution which takes place spontaneously, is artificially helped on by the extension of the Factory Acts to all industries in which women, young persons and children are employed. The compulsory regulation of the working day as regards its length, pauses, beginning and end, the system of relays of children, the exclusion of all children under a certain age, &c., necessitate on the one hand more machinery[4] and the substitution of steam as a motive power in the

[1] l. c., p. 84, n. 124.

[2] Instances: The Army Clothing Depot at Pimlico, London, the Shirt factory of Tillie and Henderson at Londonderry, and the clothes factory of Messrs. Tait at Limerick which employs about 1,200 hands.[407]

[3] "Tendency to Factory System" (l. c., p. LXVII). "The whole employment is at this time in a state of transition, and is undergoing the same change as that effected in the lace trade, weaving, &c." (l. c., n. 405). "A complete revolution" (l. c., p. xlvi, n. 318). At the date of the Child. Empl. Comm. of 1842 stocking making was still done by manual labour. Since 1846 various sorts of machines have been introduced, which are now driven by steam. The total number of persons of both sexes and of all ages from 3 years upwards, employed in stocking making in England, was in 1862 about 120,000. Of these only 4,063 were, according to the Parliamentary Return of the 11th February, 1862, working under the Factory Acts.[408]

[4] Thus, e. g., in the earthenware trade, Messrs. Cochrane, of the Britain Pottery,

place of muscles.[1] On the other hand, in order to make up for the loss of time, an expansion occurs of the means of production used in common, of the furnaces, buildings, &c., in one word, greater concentration of the means of production and a correspondingly greater concourse of workpeople. The chief objection, repeatedly and passionately urged on behalf of each manufacture threatened with the Factory Act, is in fact this, that in order to continue the business on the old scale a greater outlay of capital will be necessary. But as regards labour in the so-called domestic industries and the intermediate forms between them and manufacture, so soon as limits are put to the working day and to the employment of children, those industries go to the wall. Unlimited exploitation of cheap labour power is the sole foundation of their power to compete.

One of the essential conditions for the existence of the factory system, especially when the length of the working day is fixed, is certainty in the result, i. e., the production in a given time of a given quantity of commodities, or of a given useful effect. The statutory pauses in the working day, moreover, imply the assumption that periodical and sudden cessation of the work does no harm to the article undergoing the process of production. This certainty in the result, and this possibility of interrupting the work are, of course, easier to be attained in the purely mechanical industries than in those in which chemical and physical processes play a part; as, for instance, in the earthenware trade, in bleaching, dyeing, baking, and in most of the metal industries. Wherever there is a working day without restriction as to length, wherever there is night-work and unrestricted waste of human life, there the slightest obstacle presented by the nature of the work to a change for the better is soon looked upon as an everlasting barrier erected by nature. No poison kills vermin with more certainty than the Factory Act removes such everlasting barriers. No one made a greater outcry over "impossibilities" than our friends the earthenware manufacturers. In 1864, however, they were brought under the Act,[181] and within sixteen months every "impossibility" had vanished.

Glasgow, report: "To keep up our quantity we have gone extensively into machines wrought by unskilled labour, and every day convinces us that we can produce a greater quantity than by the old method" ("Rep. of Insp. of Fact., 31st Oct., 1865", p. 13). "The effect of the Fact. Acts is to force on the further introduction of machinery" (l. c., pp. 13-14).

[1] Thus, after the extension of the Factory Act to the potteries, great increase of power-jiggers in place of hand-moved jiggers.[409]

"The improved method," called forth by the Act, "of making slip by pressure instead of by evaporation, the newly-constructed stoves for drying the ware in its green state, &c., are each events of great importance in the pottery art, and mark an advance which the preceding century could not rival. ...It has even considerably reduced the temperature of the stoves themselves with a considerable saving of fuel, and with a readier effect on the ware."[1]

In spite of every prophecy, the cost-price of earthenware did not rise, but the quantity produced did, and to such an extent that the export for the twelve months, ending December, 1865, exceeded in value by £138,628 the average of the preceding three years.[410] In the manufacture of matches it was thought to be an indispensable requirement, that boys, even while bolting their dinner, should go on dipping the matches in melted phosphorus, the poisonous vapour from which rose into their faces. The Factory Act (1864)[411] made the saving of time a necessity, and so forced into existence a dipping machine, the vapour from which could not come in contact with the workers.[2] So, at the present time, in those branches of the lace manufacture not yet subject to the Factory Act, it is maintained that the meal-times cannot be regular owing to the different periods required by the various kinds of lace for drying, which periods vary from three minutes up to an hour and more. To this the Children's Employment Commissioners answer:

"The circumstances of this case are precisely analogous to that of the paper-stainers, dealt with in our first report. Some of the principal manufacturers in the trade urged that in consequence of the nature of the materials used, and their various processes, they would be unable, without serious loss, to stop for meal-times at any given moment. But it was seen from the evidence that, by due care and previous arrangement, the apprehended difficulty would be got over; and accordingly, by clause 6 of section 6 of the Factory Acts Extension Act, passed during this Session of Parliament, an interval of eighteen months is given to them from the passing of the Act before they are required to conform to the meal hours, specified by the Factory Acts."[3]

Hardly had the Act been passed when our friends the manufacturers found out:

"The inconveniences we expected to arise from the introduction of the Factory Acts into our branch of manufacture, I am happy to say, have not arisen. We do not find

[1] "Report of Insp. of Fact., 31st Oct., 1865", pp. 96 and 127.

[2] The introduction of this and other machinery into match-making caused in one department alone 230 young persons to be replaced by 32 boys and girls of 14 to 17 years of age. This saving in labour was carried still further in 1865, by the employment of steam power.

[3] "Ch. Empl. Comm., II. Rep., 1864", p. IX, n. 50.

the production at all interfered with; in short, we produce more in the same time."[1]

It is evident that the English legislature, which certainly no one will venture to reproach with being overdosed with genius, has been led by experience to the conclusion that a simple compulsory law is sufficient to enact away all the so-called impediments, opposed by the nature of the process, to the restriction and regulation of the working day. Hence, on the introduction of the Factory Act into a given industry, a period varying from six to eighteen months is fixed within which it is incumbent on the manufacturers to remove all technical impediments to the working of the Act. Mirabeau's "Impossible! ne me dites jamais ce bête de mot!"[412] is particularly applicable to modern technology. But though the Factory Acts thus artificially ripen the material elements necessary for the conversion of the manufacturing system into the factory system, yet at the same time, owing to the necessity they impose for greater outlay of capital, they hasten on the decline of the small masters, and the concentration of capital.[2]

Besides the purely technical impediments that are removable by technical means, the irregular habits of the workpeople themselves obstruct the regulation of the hours of labour. This is especially the case where piece-wage predominates, and where loss of time in one part of the day or week can be made good by subsequent over-time, or by night-work, a process which brutalises the adult workman, and ruins his wife and children.[3] Although this absence of regularity in the expenditure of labour power is a natural and rude reaction

[1] "Rep. of Insp. of Fact., 31st Oct., 1865", p. 22.

[2] "But it must be borne in mind that those improvements, though carried out fully in some establishments, are by no means general, and are not capable of being brought into use in many of the old manufactories without an expenditure of capital beyond the means of many of the present occupiers." "I cannot but rejoice," writes Sub-Insp. May, "that notwithstanding the temporary disorganisation which inevitably follows the introduction of such a measure (as the Factory Acts Extension Act), and is, indeed, directly indicative of the evils which it was intended to remedy, &c." (Rep. of Insp. of Fact., 31st Oct., 1865 [pp. 96, 97]).

[3] With blast furnaces, for instance, "work towards the end of the week being generally much increased in duration in consequence of the habit of the men of idling on Monday and occasionally during a part or the whole of Tuesday also" ("Child. Empl. Comm., III. Rep.," p. VI). "The little masters generally have very irregular hours. They lose two or three days, and then work all night to make it up.... They always employ their own children, if they have any" (l. c., p. VII). "The want of regularity in coming to work, encouraged by the possibility and practice of making up for this by working longer hours" (l. c., p. XVIII). "In Birmingham ... an enormous amount of time is lost ... idling part of the time, slaving the rest" (l. c., p. XI).

against the tedium of monotonous drudgery, it originates, also, to a much greater degree from anarchy in production, anarchy that in its turn presupposes unbridled exploitation of labour power by the capitalist. Besides the general periodic changes of the industrial cycle, and the special fluctuations in the markets to which each industry is subject, we may also reckon what is called "the season", dependent either on the periodicity of favourable seasons of the year for navigation; or on fashion, and the sudden placing of large orders that have to be executed in the shortest possible time. The habit of giving such orders becomes more frequent with the extension of railways and telegraphs.

"The extension of the railway system throughout the country has tended very much to encourage giving short notice. Purchasers now come up from Glasgow, Manchester, and Edinburgh once every fortnight or so to the wholesale city warehouses which we supply, and give small orders requiring immediate execution, instead of buying from stock as they used to do. Years ago we were always able to work in the slack times, so as to meet demand of the next season, but now no one can say beforehand what will be the demand then."[1]

In those factories and manufactories that are not yet subject to the Factory Acts, the most fearful over-work prevails periodically during what is called the season, in consequence of sudden orders. In the outside department of the factory, of the manufactory, and of the warehouse, the so-called domestic workers, whose employment is at the best irregular, are entirely dependent for their raw material and their orders on the caprice of the capitalist, who, in this industry, is not hampered by any regard for depreciation of his buildings and machinery, and risks nothing by a stoppage of work, but the skin of the worker himself. Here then he sets himself systematically to work to form an industrial reserve force that shall be ready at a moment's notice; during one part of the year he decimates this force by the most inhuman toil, during the other part, he lets it starve for want of work.

"The employers avail themselves of the habitual irregularity in the homework, when any extra work is wanted at a push, so that the work goes on till 11, and 12 p. m. or 2 a. m., or as the usual phrase is, 'all hours'," and that in localities where "the stench is enough to knock you down, you go to the door, perhaps, and open it, but shudder to go further".[2] "They are curious men," said one of the witnesses, a shoemaker, speaking of

[1] "Child. Empl. Comm., IV. Rep.", p. xxxii, "The extension of the railway system is said to have contributed greatly to this custom of giving sudden orders, and the consequent hurry, neglect of meal-times, and late hours of the workpeople" (l. c., p. xxxi).

[2] "Ch. Empl. Comm., III. Rep.", p. xxxv, n. 235, 237.

the masters, "they think it does a boy no harm to work too hard for half the year, if he is nearly idle for the other half."[1]

In the same way as technical impediments, so, too, those "usages which have grown with the growth of trade" were and still are proclaimed by interested capitalists as obstacles due to the nature of the work. This was a favourite cry of the cotton lords at the time they were first threatened with the Factory Acts.[168] Although their industry more than any other depends on navigation, yet experience has given them the lie. Since then, every pretended obstruction to business has been treated by the Factory inspectors as a mere sham.[2] The thoroughly conscientious investigations of the Children's Employment Commission prove that the effect of the regulation of the hours of work, in some industries, was to spread the mass of labour previously employed more evenly over the whole year[3]; that this regulation was the first rational bridle on the murderous, meaningless caprices of fashion,[4] caprices that consort so badly with the system of modern industry; that the development of ocean navigation and of the means of communication generally, has swept away the technical basis on which season-work was really supported,[5] and that all other so-called unconquerable difficulties vanish before larger buildings, additional machinery, increase in the number of workpeople employed,[6] and the alterations caused by all these in the mode of con-

[1] "Ch. Empl. Comm., IV. Rep.", p. 127, n. 56.

[2] "With respect to the loss of trade by non-completion of shipping orders in time, I remember that this was the pet argument of the factory masters in 1832 and 1833. Nothing that can be advanced now on this subject, could have the force that it had then, before steam had halved all distances and established new regulations for transit. It quite failed at that time of proof when put to the test, and again it will certainly fail should it have to be tried" ("Reports of Insp. of Fact., 31 Oct., 1862", pp. 54, 55).

[3] "Ch. Empl. Comm. III. Rep.", p. XVIII, n. 118.

[4] John Bellers remarked as far back as 1699: "The uncertainty of fashions does increase necessitous poor. It has two great mischiefs in it. 1st, The journeymen are miserable in winter for want of work, the mercers and master-weavers not daring to lay out their stocks to keep the journeymen employed before the spring comes, and they know what the fashion will then be; 2ndly, In the spring the journeymen are not sufficient, but the master-weavers must draw in many prentices, that they may supply the trade of the kingdom in a quarter or half a year, which robs the plough of hands, drains the country of labourers, and in a great part stocks the city with beggars, and starves some in winter that are ashamed to beg" (*Essays about the Poor, Manufactures, &c.*, p. 9).

[5] "Ch. Empl. Comm. V. Rep.", p. 171, n. 34.

[6] The evidence of some Bradford export-houses is as follows: "Under these circumstances, it seems clear that no boys need be worked longer than from 8 a. m. to 7 or 7.30

ducting the wholesale trade.[1] But for all that, capital never becomes reconciled to such changes — and this is admitted over and over again by its own representatives — except "under the pressure of a General Act of Parliament"[2] for the compulsory regulation of the hours of labour.

### SECTION 9.— THE FACTORY ACTS. SANITARY AND EDUCATIONAL CLAUSES OF THE SAME. THEIR GENERAL EXTENSION IN ENGLAND

Factory legislation, that first conscious and methodical reaction of society against the spontaneously developed form of the process of production, is, as we have seen, just as much the necessary product of modern industry as cotton yarn, self-actors, and the electric telegraph. Before passing to the consideration of the extension of that legislation in England, we shall shortly notice certain clauses contained in the Factory Acts, and not relating to the hours of work.

Apart from their wording, which makes it easy for the capitalist to evade them, the sanitary clauses are extremely meagre, and, in fact, limited to provisions for whitewashing the walls, for insuring cleanliness in some other matters, for ventilation, and for protection against dangerous machinery. In the third book we shall return again to the fanatical opposition of the masters to those clauses which imposed upon them a slight expenditure on appliances for protecting the limbs of their workpeople, an opposition that throws a fresh and glaring light on the Free-trade dogma, according to which, in a society with conflicting interests, each individual necessarily furthers the common

p. m., in making up. It is merely a question of extra hands and extra outlay. If some masters were not so greedy, the boys would not work late; an extra machine costs only £16 or £18; much of such overtime as does occur is to be referred to an insufficiency of appliances, and a want of space." "Ch. Empl. Comm. V. Rep.", p. 171, n. 36, 38.

[1] l. c. [n. 35]. A London manufacturer, who in other respects looks upon the compulsory regulation of the hours of labour as a protection for the workpeople against the manufacturers, and for the manufacturers themselves against the wholesale trade, states: "The pressure in our business is caused by the shippers, who want, e. g., to send the goods by sailing vessel so as to reach their destination at a given season, and at the same time want to pocket the difference in freight between a sailing vessel and a steamship, or who select the earlier of two steamships in order to be in the foreign market before their competitors" [l. c., p. 81, n. 32].

[2] "This could be obviated," says a manufacturer, "at the expense of an enlargement of the works under the pressure of a General Act of Parliament", l. c., p. X, n. 38.

weal by seeking nothing but his own personal advantage! One example is enough. The reader knows that during the last 20 years, the flax industry has very much extended, and that, with that extension, the number of scutching mills in Ireland has increased. In 1864 there were in that country 1,800 of these mills. Regularly in autumn and winter women and "young persons", the wives, sons, and daughters of the neighbouring small farmers, a class of people totally unaccustomed to machinery, are taken from field labour to feed the rollers of the scutching mills with flax. The accidents, both as regards number and kind, are wholly unexampled in the history of machinery. In one scutching mill, at Kildinan, near Cork, there occurred between 1852 and 1856, six fatal accidents and sixty mutilations; every one of which might have been prevented by the simplest appliances, at the cost of a few shillings.[413] Dr. W. White, the certifying surgeon for factories at Downpatrick, states in his official report, dated the 16th December, 1865:

"The serious accidents at the scutching mills are of the most fearful nature. In many cases a quarter of the body is torn from the trunk, and either involves death, or a future of wretched incapacity and suffering. The increase of mills in the country will, of course, extend these dreadful results, and it will be a great boon if they are brought under the legislature. I am convinced that by proper supervision of scutching mills a vast sacrifice of life and limb would be averted." [1]

What could possibly show better the character of the capitalist mode of production, than the necessity that exists for forcing upon it, by Acts of Parliament, the simplest appliances for maintaining cleanliness and health? In the potteries the Factory Act of 1864[411]

"has whitewashed and cleansed upwards of 200 workshops, after a period of abstinence from any such cleaning, in many cases of 20 years, and in some, entirely", (this is the "abstinence" of the capitalist!) "in which were employed 27,800 artisans, hitherto breathing through protracted days and often nights of labour, a mephitic atmosphere, and which rendered an otherwise comparatively innocuous occupation, pregnant with disease and death. The Act has improved the ventilation very much." [2]

At the same time, this portion of the Act strikingly shows that the capitalist mode of production, owing to its very nature, excludes all rational improvement beyond a certain point. It has been stated over and over again that the English doctors are unanimous in declaring that where the work is continuous, 500 cubic feet is the very least

[1] l. c., p. XV, n. 76.
[2] "Rep. Insp. Fact., 31st October, 1865", p. 127.

space that should be allowed for each person. Now, if the Factory Acts, owing to their compulsory provisions, indirectly hasten on the conversion of small workshops into factories, thus indirectly attacking the proprietary rights of the smaller capitalists, and assuring a monopoly to the great ones, so, if it were made obligatory to provide the proper space for each workman in every workshop, thousands of small employers would, at one full swoop, be expropriated directly! The very root of the capitalist mode of production, i. e., the self-expansion of all capital, large or small, by means of the "free" purchase and consumption of labour power, would be attacked. Factory legislation is therefore brought to a deadlock before these 500 cubic feet of breathing space. The sanitary officers, the industrial inquiry commissioners, the factory inspectors, all harp, over and over again, upon the necessity for those 500 cubic feet, and upon the impossibility of wringing them out of capital. They thus, in fact, declare that consumption and other lung diseases among the workpeople are necessary conditions to the existence of capital.[1]

Paltry as the education clauses of the Act appear on the whole, yet they proclaim elementary education to be an indispensable condition to the employment of children.[2] The success of those clauses proved for the first time the possibility of combining education and gymnastics[3] with manual labour, and, consequently, of combining manual

[1] It has been found out by experiment, that with each respiration of average intensity made by a healthy average individual, about 25 cubic inches of air are consumed, and that about 20 respirations are made in each minute. Hence the air inhaled in 24 hours by each individual is about 720,000 cubic inches, or 416 cubic feet. It is clear, however, that air which has been once breathed, can no longer serve for the same process until it has been purified in the great workshop of Nature. According to the experiments of Valentin and Brunner, it appears that a healthy man gives off about 1,300 cubic inches of carbonic acid per hour; this would give about 8 ounces of solid carbon thrown off from the lungs in 24 hours. "Every man should have at least 800 cubic feet" (Huxley [*Lessons in Elementary Physiology*, London, 1866, pp. 84, 97, 85-86, 105]).[414]

[2] According to the English Factory Act, parents cannot send their children under 14 years of age into Factories under the control of the Act, unless at the same time they allow them to receive elementary education. The manufacturer is responsible for compliance with the Act. "Factory education is compulsory, and it is a condition of labour" ("Rep. Insp. Fact., 31st Oct., 1865", p. 111).

[3] On the very advantageous results of combining gymnastics (and drilling in the case of boys) with compulsory education for factory children and pauper scholars, see the speech of N. W. Senior at the seventh annual congress of "The National Association for the Promotion of Social Science", in "Report of Proceedings, &c.", Lond., 1863, pp. 63, 64, also the "Rep. Insp. Fact., 31st Oct., 1865", pp. 118, 119, 120, 126, sqq.

labour with education and gymnastics. The factory inspectors soon found out by questioning the schoolmasters, that the factory children, although receiving only one half the education of the regular day scholars, yet learnt quite as much and often more.

"This can be accounted for by the simple fact that, with only being at school for one half of the day, they are always fresh, and nearly always ready and willing to receive instruction. The system on which they work, half manual labour, and half school, renders each employment a rest and a relief to the other; consequently, both are far more congenial to the child, than would be the case were he kept constantly at one. It is quite clear that a boy who has been at school all the morning, cannot (in hot weather particularly) cope with one who comes fresh and bright from his work." [1]

Further information on this point will be found in Senior's speech at the Social Science Congress at Edinburgh in 1863. He there shows, amongst other things, how the monotonous and uselessly long school hours of the children of the upper and middle classes, uselessly add to the labour of the teacher, "while he not only fruitlessly but absolutely injuriously, wastes the time, health, and energy of the children".[2] From the Factory system budded, as Robert Owen has shown us in detail, the germ of the education of the future, an education that will, in the case of every child over a given age, combine productive labour with instruction and gymnastics, not only as one of the methods of adding to the efficiency of production, but as the only method of producing fully developed human beings.[415]

Modern industry, as we have seen, sweeps away by technical means the manufacturing division of labour, under which each man

[1] "Rep. Insp. Fact., 31st Oct., 1865", p. 118. A silk manufacturer naïvely states to the Children's Employment Commissioners: "I am quite sure that the true secret of producing efficient workpeople is to be found in uniting education and labour from a period of childhood. Of course the occupation must not be too severe, nor irksome, or unhealthy. But of the advantage of the union I have no doubt. I wish my own children could have some work as well as play to give variety to their schooling" ("Ch. Empl. Comm. V. Rep.", p. 82, n. 36).

[2] Senior, l. c., pp. 65-66. How modern industry, when it has attained to a certain pitch, is capable, by the revolution it effects in the mode of production and in the social conditions of production, of also revolutionising people's minds, is strikingly shown by a comparison of Senior's speech in 1863, with his philippic against the Factory Act of 1833; or by a comparison, of the views of the congress above referred to, with the fact that in certain country districts of England poor parents are forbidden, on pain of death by starvation, to educate their children. Thus, e. g., Mr. Snell reports it to be a common occurrence in Somersetshire that, when a poor person claims parish relief, he is compelled to take his children from school. Mr. Wollaston, the clergyman at Feltham, also tells of cases where all relief was denied to certain families "because they were sending their children to school!" (l. c., p. 50).

is bound hand and foot for life to a single detail operation. At the same time, the capitalistic form of that industry reproduces this same division of labour in a still more monstrous shape; in the factory proper, by converting the workman into a living appendage of the machine; and everywhere outside the Factory, partly by the sporadic use of machinery and machine workers,[1] partly by reestablishing the division of labour on a fresh basis by the general introduction of the labour of women and children, and of cheap unskilled labour.

The antagonism between the manufacturing division of labour and the methods of modern industry makes itself forcibly felt. It manifests itself, amongst other ways, in the frightful fact that a great part of the children employed in modern factories and manufactures, are from their earliest years riveted to the most simple manipulations, and exploited for years, without being taught a single sort of work that would afterwards make them of use, even in the same manufactory or factory. In the English letter-press printing trade, for example, there existed formerly a system, corresponding to that in the old manufactures and handicrafts, of advancing the apprentices from easy to more and more difficult work. They went through a course of teaching till they were finished printers. To be able to read and write was for every one of them a requirement of their trade. All this was changed by the printing machine. It employs two sorts of labourers, one grown up, tenters, the other, boys mostly from 11 to 17 years of age whose sole business is either to spread the sheets of paper under the machine, or to take from it the printed sheets.[416] They perform this weary task, in London especially, for 14, 15, and 16 hours at a stretch, during several days in the week, and frequently for 36 hours, with only 2 hours' rest for meals and sleep.[2] A great part of them cannot read, and they are, as a rule, utter savages and very extraordinary creatures.

[1] Wherever handicraft-machines, driven by men, compete directly or indirectly with more developed machines driven by mechanical power, a great change takes place with regard to the labourer who drives the machine. At first the steam-engine replaces this labourer, afterwards he must replace the steam-engine. Consequently the tension and the amount of labour power expended become monstrous, and especially so in the case of the children who are condemned to this torture. Thus Mr. Longe; one of the commissioners, found in Coventry and the neighbourhood boys of from 10 to 15 years employed in driving the ribbon-looms, not to mention younger children who had to drive smaller machines. "It is extraordinarily fatiguing work. The boy is a mere substitute for steam power" ("Ch. Empl. Comm. V. Rep. 1866", p. 114, n. 6). As to the fatal consequences of "this system of slavery", as the official report styles it, see l. c., p. 114 sqq.

[2] l. c., p. 3, n. 24.

"To qualify them for the work which they have to do, they require no intellectual training; there is little room in it for skill, and less for judgment; their wages, though rather high for boys, do not increase proportionately as they grow up, and the majority of them cannot look for advancement to the better paid and more responsible post of machine minder, because while each machine has but one minder, it has at least two, and often four boys attached to it."[1]

As soon as they get too old for such child's work, that is about 17 at the latest, they are discharged from the printing establishments. They become recruits of crime. Several attempts to procure them employment elsewhere, were rendered of no avail by their ignorance and brutality, and their mental and bodily degradation.

As with the division of labour in the interior of the manufacturing workshops, so it is with the division of labour in the interior of society. So long as handicraft and manufacture form the general groundwork of social production, the subjection of the producer to one branch exclusively, the breaking up of the multifariousness of his employment,[2] is a necessary step in the development. On that groundwork each separate branch of production acquires empirically the form that is technically suited to it, slowly perfects it, and, so soon as a given degree of maturity has been reached, rapidly crystallises that form. The only thing, that here and there causes a change, besides new raw material supplied by commerce, is the gradual alteration of the instruments of labour. But their form, too, once definitely settled by experience, petrifies, as is proved by their being in many cases handed down in the same form by one generation to another during thousands of years. A characteristic feature is, that, even down into the eighteenth century, the different trades were called "mysteries" (mystères)[3]; into

[1] l. c., p. 7, n. 60.

[2] "In some parts of the Highlands of Scotland, not many years ago, every peasant, according to the Statistical Accounts, made his own shoes of leather tanned by himself. Many a shepherd and cottar too, with his wife and children, appeared at Church in clothes which had been touched by no hands but their own, since they were shorn from the sheep and sown in the flaxfield. In the preparation of these, it is added, scarcely a single article had been purchased, except the awl, needle, thimble, and a very few parts of the iron-work employed in the weaving. The dyes, too, were chiefly extracted by the women from trees, shrubs and herbs" (Dugald Stewart's *Works*, Hamilton's Ed., [1855,] Vol. VIII., pp. 327-328).

[3] In the celebrated *Livre des métiers* of Etienne Boileau, we find it prescribed that a journeyman on being admitted among the masters had to swear "to love his brethren with brotherly love, to support them in their respective trades, not wilfully to betray the secrets of the trade, and besides, in the interests of all, not to recommend his own wares by calling the attention of the buyer to defects in the articles made by others".[417]

their secrets none but those duly initiated could penetrate. Modern industry rent the veil that concealed from men their own social process of production, and that turned the various, spontaneously divided branches of production into so many riddles, not only to outsiders, but even to the initiated. The principle which it pursued, of resolving each process into its constituent movements, without any regard to their possible execution by the hand of man, created the new modern science of technology. The varied, apparently unconnected, and petrified forms of the industrial processes now resolved themselves into so many conscious and systematic applications of natural science to the attainment of given useful effects. Technology also discovered the few main fundamental forms of motion, which, despite the diversity of the instruments used, are necessarily taken by every productive action of the human body; just as the science of mechanics sees in the most complicated machinery nothing but the continual repetition of the simple mechanical powers.

Modern industry never looks upon and treats the existing form of a process as final. The technical basis of that industry is therefore revolutionary, while all earlier modes of production were essentially conservative.[1] By means of machinery, chemical processes and other methods, it is continually causing changes not only in the technical basis of production, but also in the functions of the labourer, and in the social combinations of the labour process. At the same time, it thereby also revolutionises the division of labour within the society, and incessantly launches masses of capital and of workpeople from one branch of production to another. But if modern industry, by its very nature, therefore necessitates variation of labour, fluency of function, universal mobility of the labourer, on the other hand, in its capitalistic form, it reproduces the old division of labour with its ossi-

[1] "The bourgeoisie cannot exist without continually revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production and all the social relations. Conservation, in an unaltered form, of the old modes of production was on the contrary the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolution in production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation, distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind" (F. Engels und Karl Marx, *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*. Lond., 1848, p. 5 [present edition, Vol. 6, p. 487]).

fied particularisations. We have seen how this absolute contradiction between the technical necessities of modern industry, and the social character inherent in its capitalistic form, dispels all fixity and security in the situation of the labourer; how it constantly threatens, by taking away the instruments of labour, to snatch from his hands his means of subsistence,[1] and, by suppressing his detail-function, to make him superfluous. We have seen, too, how this antagonism vents its rage in the creation of that monstrosity, an industrial reserve army, kept in misery in order to be always at the disposal of capital; in the incessant human sacrifices from among the working class, in the most reckless squandering of labour power, and in the devastation caused by a social anarchy which turns every economic progress into a social calamity. This is the negative side. But if, on the one hand, variation of work at present imposes itself after the manner of an overpowering natural law, and with the blindly destructive action of a natural law that meets with resistance[2] at all points, modern industry, on the other hand, through its catastrophes imposes the necessity of recognising, as a fundamental law of production, variation of work, consequently fitness of the labourer for varied work, consequently the greatest possible development of his varied aptitudes. It becomes a question of life and death for society to adapt the mode of production to the normal functioning of this law. Modern industry, indeed, compels society, under penalty of death, to replace the detail-worker of to-day, crippled by life-long repetition of one and the same trivial operation, and thus reduced to the mere fragment of a man, by the fully developed individual, fit for a variety of labours, ready to face any change of production, and to whom the different social functions

[1] "You take my life
When you do take the means whereby I live."

Shakespeare[a]

[2] A French workman, on his return from San-Francisco, writes as follows: "I never could have believed, that I was capable of working at the various occupations I was employed on in California. I was firmly convinced that I was fit for nothing but letter-press printing.... Once in the midst of this world of adventurers, who change their occupation as often as they do their shirt, egad, I did as the others. As mining did not turn out remunerative enough, I left it for the town, where in succession I became typographer, slater, plumber, &c. In consequence of thus finding out that I am fit to any sort of work, I feel less of a mollusk and more of a man" (A. Corbon, *De l'enseignement professionnel*, 2ème ed., p. 50).

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[a] *The Merchant of Venice*, Act 4, Scene 1.

he performs, are but so many modes of giving free scope to his own natural and acquired powers.

One step already spontaneously taken towards effecting this revolution is the establishment of technical and agricultural schools, and of "*écoles d'enseignement professionnel*", in which the children of the workingmen receive some little instruction in technology and in the practical handling of the various implements of labour. Though the Factory Act, that first and meagre concession wrung from capital, is limited to combining elementary education with work in the factory, there can be no doubt that when the working class comes into power, as inevitably it must, technical instruction, both theoretical and practical, will take its proper place in the working-class schools. There is also no doubt that such revolutionary ferments, the final result of which is the abolition of the old division of labour, are diametrically opposed to the capitalistic form of production, and to the economic status of the labourer corresponding to that form. But the historical development of the antagonisms, immanent in a given form of production, is the only way in which that form of production can be dissolved and a new form established. "*Ne sutor ultra crepidam*" [418]— this *nec plus ultra*[a] of handicraft wisdom became sheer nonsense, from the moment the watchmaker Watt invented the steam-engine, the barber Arkwright, the throstle, and the working-jeweller, Fulton, the steamship.[1]

So long as Factory legislation is confined to regulating the labour in factories, manufactories, &c., it is regarded as a mere interference with the exploiting rights of capital. But when it comes to regulating the so-called "home-labour",[2] it is immediately viewed as a direct at-

[1] John Bellers, a very phenomenon in the history of political economy, saw most clearly at the end of the 17th century, the necessity for abolishing the present system of education and division of labour, which beget hypertrophy and atrophy at the two opposite extremities of society. Amongst other things he says this: "An idle learning being little better than the learning of idleness.... Bodily labour, it's a primitive institution of God.... Labour being as proper for the bodies' health as eating is for its living; for what pains a man saves by ease, he will find in disease.... Labour adds oil to the lamp of life, when thinking inflames it.... A childish silly employ" (a warning this, by presentiment, against the Basedows and their modern imitators) "leaves the children's minds silly" ("Proposals for Raising a College of Industry of All Useful Trades and Husbandry", Lond., 1696, pp. 12, 14, 16, 18).

[2] This sort of labour goes on mostly in small workshops, as we have seen in the

[a] absolute summit

tack on the *patria potestas*, on parental authority. The tender-hearted English Parliament long affected to shrink from taking this step. The force of facts, however, compelled it at last to acknowledge that modern industry, in overturning the economic foundation on which was based the traditional family, and the family labour corresponding to it, had also unloosened all traditional family ties. The rights of the children had to be proclaimed. The final report of the Ch. Empl. Comm. of 1866, states:

"It is unhappily, to a painful degree, apparent throughout the whole of the evidence, that against no persons do the children of both sexes so much require protection as against their parents." The system of unlimited exploitation of children's labour in general and the so-called home labour in particular is "maintained only because the parents are able, without check or control, to exercise this arbitrary and mischievous power over their young and tender offspring. ... Parents must not possess the absolute power of making their children mere 'machines to earn so much weekly wage....' The children and young persons, therefore, in all such cases may justifiably claim from the legislature, as a natural right, that an exemption should be secured to them, from what destroys prematurely their physical strength, and lowers them in the scale of intellectual and moral beings." [1]

It was not, however, the misuse of parental authority that created the capitalistic exploitation, whether direct or indirect, of children's labour; but, on the contrary, it was the capitalistic mode of exploitation which, by sweeping away the economic basis of parental authority, made its exercise degenerate into a mischievous misuse of power. However terrible and disgusting the dissolution, under the capitalist system, of the old family ties may appear, nevertheless, modern industry, by assigning as it does an important part in the process of production, outside the domestic sphere, to women, to young persons, and to children of both sexes, creates a new economic foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relations between the sexes. It is, of course, just as absurd to hold the Teutonic-Christian form of the family to be absolute and final as it would be to apply that character to the ancient Roman, the ancient Greek, or the Eastern forms which, moreover, taken together form a series in historical development. Moreover, it is obvious that the fact of the collective working group being composed of individuals of both sexes and all ages, must necessarily, under suitable conditions, become a source of humane devel-

lace-making and straw-plaiting trades, and as could be shown more in detail from the metal trades of Sheffield, Birmingham, &c.

[1] "Ch. Empl. Comm., V. Rep.", p. xxv, n. 162, and II. Rep., p. xxxviii, n. 285, 289, pp. xxv, xxvi, n. 191.

opment; although in its spontaneously developed, brutal, capitalistic form, where the labourer exists for the process of production, and not the process of production for the labourer, that fact is a pestiferous source of corruption and slavery.[1]

The necessity for a generalisation of the Factory Acts, for transforming them from an exceptional law relating to mechanical spinning and weaving — those first creations of machinery — into a law affecting social production as a whole, arose, as we have seen, from the mode in which modern industry was historically developed. In the rear of that industry, the traditional form of manufacture, of handicraft, and of domestic industry, is entirely revolutionised; manufactures are constantly passing into the factory system, and handicrafts into manufactures; and lastly, the spheres of handicraft and of the domestic industries become, in a, comparatively speaking, wonderfully short time, dens of misery in which capitalistic exploitation obtains free play for the wildest excesses. There are two circumstances that finally turn the scale: first, the constantly recurring experience that capital, so soon as it finds itself subject to legal control at one point, compensates itself all the more recklessly at other points[2]; secondly, the cry of the capitalists for equality in the conditions of competition, i. e., for equal restraint on all exploitation of labour.[3] On this point let us listen to two heart-broken cries. Messrs. Cooksley of Bristol, nail and chain, &c., manufacturers, spontaneously introduced the regulations of the Factory Act into their business.

"As the old irregular system prevails in neighbouring works, the Messrs. Cooksley are subject to the disadvantage of having their boys enticed to continue their labour elsewhere after 6 p. m. 'This,' they naturally say, 'is an unjustice and loss to us, as it exhausts a portion of the boy's strength, of which we ought to have the full benefit'." [4]

Mr. J. Simpson (paper box and bagmaker, London) states before the commissioners of the Ch. Empl. Comm.:

"He would sign any petition for it" (legislative interference).... "As it was, he always felt restless at night, when he had closed his place, lest others should be working later than him and getting away his orders." [5]

[1] "Factory labour may be as pure and as excellent as domestic labour, and perhaps more so" ("Rep. Insp. of Fact., 31st October, 1865", p. 129).

[2] "Rep. Insp. of Fact., 31st October, 1865", pp. 27-32.

[3] Numerous instances will be found in "Rep. of Insp. of Fact."

[4] "Ch. Empl. Comm., V. Rep.", p. x, n. 35.

[5] "Ch. Empl. Comm., V. Rep.", p. ix, n. 28.

Summarising, the Ch. Empl. Comm. says:

"It would be unjust to the larger employers that their factories should be placed under regulation, while the hours of labour in the smaller places in their own branch of business were under no legislative restriction. And to the injustice arising from the unfair conditions of competition, in regard to hours, that would be created if the smaller places of work were exempt, would be added the disadvantage to the larger manufacturers, of finding their supply of juvenile and female labour drawn off to the places of work exempt from legislation. Further, a stimulus would be given to the multiplication of the smaller places of work, which are almost invariably the least favourable to the health, comfort, education, and general improvement of the people." [1]

In its final report the Commission proposes to subject to the Factory Act more than 1,400,000 children, young persons, and women, of which number about one half are exploited in small industries and by the so-called home-work.[2] It says,

"But if it should seem fit to Parliament to place the whole of that large number of children, young persons and females under the protective legislation above adverted to ... it cannot be doubted that such legislation would have a most beneficent effect, not only upon the young and the feeble, who are its more immediate objects, but upon the still larger body of adult workers, who would in all these employments, both directly and indirectly, come immediately under its influence. It would enforce upon them regular and moderate hours; it would lead to their places of work being kept in a healthy and cleanly state; it would therefore husband and improve that store of physical strength on which their own well-being and that of the country so much depends; it would save the rising generation from that over-exertion at an early age which undermines their constitutions and leads to premature decay; finally, it would ensure them — at least up to the age of 13 — the opportunity of receiving the elements of education, and would put an end to that utter ignorance ... so faithfully exhibited in the Reports of our Assistant Commissioners, and which cannot be regarded without the deepest pain, and a profound sense of national degradation." [3]

[1] l. c., p. XXV, n. 165-167. As to the advantages of large scale, compared with small scale, industries, see "Ch. Empl. Comm., III. Rep.", p. 13, n. 144, p. 25, n. 121, p. 26, n. 125, p. 27, n. 140, &c.

[2] The trades proposed to be brought under the Act were the following: Lace-making, stocking-weaving, straw-plaiting, the manufacture of wearing apparel with its numerous sub-divisions, artificial flower-making, shoemaking, hat-making, glove-making, tailoring, all metal works, from blast furnaces down to needleworks, &c., paper-mills, glassworks, tobacco factories, india-rubber works, braid-making (for weaving), hand-carpet-making, umbrella and parasol making, the manufacture of spindles and spools, letter-press printing, book-binding, manufacture of stationery (including paper bags, cards, coloured paper, &c.), rope-making, manufacture of jet ornaments, brick-making, silk manufacture by hand, Coventry weaving, salt works, tallow chandlers, cement works, sugar refineries, biscuit-making, various industries connected with timber, and other mixed trades.[419]

[3] l. c., p. XXV, n. 169.

The Tory[a] Cabinet announced in the Speech from the Throne, on February 5, 1867, that it had framed the proposals of the Industrial Commission of Inquiry[1] into Bills. To get that far, another twenty years of *experimentum in corpore vili* had been required. Already in 1840 a Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry on the labour of children had been appointed. Its Report, in 1842, unfolded, in the words of Nassau W. Senior,

"the most frightful picture of avarice, selfishness and cruelty on the part of masters and of parents, and of juvenile and infantile misery, degradation and destruction ever presented. ... It may be supposed that it describes the horrors of a past age. But there is unhappily evidence that those horrors continue as intense as they were. A pamphlet published by Hardwicke about 2 years ago states that the abuses complained of in 1842, are in full bloom at the present day. It is a strange proof of the general neglect of the morals and health of the children of the working class, that this report lay unnoticed for 20 years, during which the children, 'bred up without the remotest sign of comprehension as to what is meant by the term morals, who had neither knowledge, nor religion, nor natural affection', were allowed to become the parents of the present generation".[2]

The social conditions having undergone a change, Parliament could not venture to shelve the demands of the Commission of 1862, as it had done those of the Commission of 1840. Hence in 1864, when the Commission had not yet published more than a part of its reports, the earthenware industries (including the potteries), makers of paper-hangings, matches, cartridges, and caps, and fustian cutters were made subject to the Acts in force in the textile industries. In the Speech from the Throne, on 5th February, 1867, the Tory Cabinet of the day announced the introduction of Bills,[424] founded on the final recommendations of the Commission, which had completed its labours in 1866.

On the 15th August, 1867, the Factory Acts Extension Act, and on

[1] The Factory Acts Extension Act was passed on August 12, 1867.[420] It regulates all foundries, smithies, and metal manufactories, including machine shops; furthermore glass-works, paper mills, gutta-percha and india-rubber works, tobacco manufactories, letter-press printing and book-binding works, and, lastly, all workshops in which more than 50 persons are employed. The Hours of Labour Regulation Act, passed on August 17, 1867,[421] regulates the smaller workshops and the so-called domestic industries.

I shall revert to these Acts and to the new Mining Act of 1872 in Volume II.[422]

[2] Senior, "Social Science Congress," pp. 55, 57, 58.[423]

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[a] Here (from "The Tory Cabinet...." to "Nassau W. Senior") the English text has been altered in conformity with the 4th German edition.

the 21st August, the Workshops' Regulation Act received the Royal Assent; the former Act having reference to large industries, the latter to small.

The former applies to blast-furnaces, iron and copper mills, foundries, machine shops, metal manufactories, gutta-percha works, paper mills, glass-works, tobacco manufactories, letter-press printing (including newspapers), book-binding, in short to all industrial establishments of the above kind, in which 50 individuals or more are occupied simultaneously, and for not less than 100 days during the year.

To give an idea of the extent of the sphere embraced by the Workshops' Regulation Act in its application, we cite from its interpretation clause, the following passages:

"*Handicraft* shall mean any manual labour exercised by way of trade, or for purposes of gain in, or incidental to, the making any article or part of an article, or in, or incidental to, the altering, repairing, ornamenting, finishing, or otherwise adapting for sale any article."

"*Workshop* shall mean any room or place whatever in the open air or under cover, in which any handicraft is carried on by any child, young person, or woman, and to which and over which the person by whom such child, young person, or woman is employed, has the right of access and control."

"*Employed* shall mean occupied in any handicraft, whether for wages or not, under a master or under a parent as herein defined."

"*Parent* shall mean parent, guardian, or person, having the custody of, or control over, any ... child or young person." [425]

Clause 7, which imposes a penalty for employment of children, young persons, and women, contrary to the provisions of the Act, subjects to fines, not only the occupier of the workshop, whether parent or not, but even

"the parent of, or the person deriving any direct benefit from the labour of, or having the control over, the child, young person or woman".

The Factory Acts Extension Act, which affects the large establishments, derogates from the Factory Act by a crowd of vicious exceptions and cowardly compromises with the masters.

The Workshops' Regulation Act, wretched in all its details, remained a dead letter in the hands of the municipal and local authorities who were charged with its execution. When, in 1871, Parliament withdrew from them this power, in order to confer it on the Factory Inspectors, to whose province it thus added by a single stroke more than one hundred thousand workshops, and three hundred brick-

works, care was taken at the same time not to add more than eight assistants to their already undermanned staff.[1]

What strikes us, then, in the English legislation of 1867, is, on the one hand, the necessity imposed on the parliament of the ruling classes, of adopting in principle measures so extraordinary, and on so great a scale, against the excesses of capitalistic exploitation; and on the other hand, the hesitation, the repugnance, and the bad faith, with which it lent itself to the task of carrying those measures into practice.

The Inquiry Commission of 1862 also proposed a new regulation of the mining industry, an industry distinguished from others by the exceptional characteristic that the interests of landlord and capitalist there join hands. The antagonism of these two interests had been favourable to Factory legislation, while on the other hand the absence of that antagonism is sufficient to explain the delays and chicanery of the legislation on mines.

The Inquiry Commission of 1840 had made revelations so terrible, so shocking, and creating such a scandal all over Europe, that to salve its conscience Parliament passed the Mining Act of 1842,[335] in which it limited itself to forbidding the employment underground in mines of children under 10 years of age and females.

Then another Act, The Mines' Inspecting Act of 1860,[426] provides that mines shall be inspected by public officers nominated specially for that purpose, and that boys between the ages of 10 and 12 years shall not be employed, unless they have a school certificate, or go to school for a certain number of hours. This Act was a complete dead letter owing to the ridiculously small number of inspectors, the meagreness of their powers, and other causes that will become apparent as we proceed.

One of the most recent Blue books on mines is the "Report from the Select Committee on Mines, together with &c. Evidence, 23rd July, 1866". This Report is the work of a Parliamentary Committee selected from members of the House of Commons, and authorised to summon and examine witnesses. It is a thick folio volume in which the Report itself occupies only five lines to this effect; that the

[1] The "personnel" of this staff consisted of 2 inspectors, 2 assistant inspectors and 41 sub-inspectors. Eight additional sub-inspectors were appointed in 1871. The total cost of administering the Acts in England, Scotland, and Ireland amounted for the year 1871-72 to no more than £25,347, inclusive of the law expenses incurred by prosecutions of offending masters.

committee has nothing to say, and that more witnesses must be examined!

The mode of examining the witnesses reminds one of the cross-examination of witnesses in English courts of justice, where the advocate tries, by means of impudent, unexpected, equivocal and involved questions, put without connexion, to intimidate, surprise, and confound the witness, and to give a forced meaning to the answers extorted from him. In this inquiry the members of the committee themselves are the cross-examiners, and among them are to be found both mine-owners and mine exploiters; the witnesses are mostly working coal miners. The whole farce is too characteristic of the spirit of capital, not to call for a few extracts from this Report. For the sake of conciseness I have classified them. I may also add that every question and its answer are numbered in the English Blue books.[9]

I. Employment in mines of boys of 10 years and upwards.—In the mines the work, inclusive of going and returning, usually lasts 14 or 15 hours, sometimes even from 3, 4 and 5 o'clock a. m., till 4 and 5 o'clock p. m. (n. 6, 452, 83). The adults work in two shifts, of eight hours each; but there is no alternation with the boys, on account of the expense (n. 80, 203, 204). The younger boys are chiefly employed in opening and shutting the ventilating doors in the various parts of the mine; the older ones are employed on heavier work, in carrying coal, &c. (n. 122, 739, 740, 1717). They work these long hours underground until their 18th or 22nd year, when they are put to miner's work proper (n. 161). Children and young persons are at present worse treated, and harder worked than at any previous period (n. 1663-1667). The miners demand almost unanimously an act of Parliament prohibiting the employment in mines of children under 14.[a] And now Hussey Vivian (himself an exploiter of mines) asks:

"Would not the opinion of the workman depend upon the poverty of the workman's family?" [n. 100]. Mr. Bruce: "Do you not think it would be a very hard case, where a parent had been injured, or where he was sickly, or where a father was dead, and there was only a mother, to prevent a child between 12 and 14 earning ls. 7d. a day for the good of the family? ... You must lay down a general rule? ... Are you prepared to recommend legislation which would prevent the employment of children under 12 and 14, whatever the state of their parents might be?" "Yes." (ns. 107-110). Vivian: "Supposing that an enactment were passed preventing the employment of children under

[a] This sentence has been added to the English text in conformity with the 4th German edition.

the age of 14, would it not be probable that ... the parents of children would seek employment for their children in other directions, for instance, in manufacture?" "Not generally I think" (n. 174). Kinnaird: "Some of the boys are keepers of doors?" "Yes." "Is there not generally a very great draught every time you open a door or close it?" "Yes, generally there is." "It sounds a very easy thing, but it is in fact rather a painful one?" "He is imprisoned there just the same as if he was in a cell of a gaol." Bourgeois Vivian: "Whenever a boy is furnished with a lamp cannot he read?" "Yes, he can read, if he finds himself in candles.... I suppose he would be found fault with if he were discovered reading; he is there to mind his business, he has a duty to perform, and he has to attend to it in the first place, and I do not think it would be allowed down the pit." (ns. 139, 141, 143, 158, 160.)

II. Education.—The working miners want a law for the compulsory education of their children, as in factories. They declare the clauses of the Act of 1860, which require a school certificate to be obtained before employing boys of 10 and 12 years of age, to be quite illusory. The examination of the witnesses on this subject is truly droll.

"Is it (the Act) required more against the masters or against the parents?" "It is required against both I think." "You cannot say whether it is required against one more than against the other?" "No; I can hardly answer that question." (ns. 115, 116.) "Does there appear to be any desire on the part of the employers that the boys should have such hours as to enable them to go to school?" "No; the hours are never shortened for that purpose." (n. 137.) Mr. Kinnaird: "Should you say that the colliers generally improve their education; have you any instances of men who have, since they began to work, greatly improved their education, or do they not rather go back, and lose any advantage that they may have gained?" "They generally become worse: they do not improve; they acquire bad habits; they get on to drinking and gambling and such like, and they go completely to wreck." (n. 211.) "Do they make any attempt of the kind (for providing instruction) by having schools at night?" "There are few collieries where night schools are held, and perhaps at those collieries a few boys do go to those schools; but they are so physically exhausted that it is to no purpose that they go there." (n. 454.) "You are then," concludes the bourgeois, "against education?" "Most certainly not; but," &c. (n. 443.) "But are they (the employers) not compelled to demand them (school certificates)?" "By law they are; but I am not aware that they are demanded by the employers." "Then it is your opinion, that this provision of the Act as to requiring certificates, is not generally carried out in the collieries?" "It is not carried out." (ns. 443, 444.) "Do the men take a great interest in this question (of education)?" "The majority of them do." (n. 717.) "Are they very anxious to see the law enforced?" "The majority are." (n. 718.) "Do you think that in this country any law that you pass ... can really be effectual unless the population themselves assist in putting it into operation?" "Many a man might wish to object to employing a boy, but he would perhaps become marked by it." (n. 720.) "Marked by whom?" "By his employers." (n. 721.) "Do you think that the employers would find any fault with a man who obeyed the law...?" "I believe they would." (n. 722.) "Have you ever heard of any workman objecting to employ a boy between 10 and 12, who could not write or read?" "It is not left to men's option." (n. 723.) "Would you call for the interference of Parliament?" "I think that if anything effectual is to be done in the education of the

colliers' children, it will have to be made compulsory by Act of Parliament." (n. 1634.) "Would you lay that obligation upon the colliers only, or all the workpeople of Great Britain?" "I came to speak for the colliers." (n. 1636.) "Why should you distinguish them (colliery boys) from other boys?" "Because I think they are an exception to the rule." (n. 1638.) "In what respect?" "In a physical respect." (n. 1639.) "Why should education be more valuable to them than to other classes of lads?" "I do not know that it is more valuable; but through the over-exertion in mines there is less chance for the boys that are employed there to get education, either at Sunday schools, or at day schools." (n. 1640.) "It is impossible to look at a question of this sort absolutely by itself?" (n. 1644.) "Is there a sufficiency of schools?"—"No" ... (n. 1646). "If the State were to require that every child should be sent to school, would there be schools for the children to go to?" "No; but I think if the circumstances were to spring up, the schools would be forthcoming." (n. 1647.) "Some of them (the boys) cannot read and write at all, I suppose?" "The majority cannot.... The majority of the men themselves cannot." (ns. 705, 726.)

III. Employment of women.—Since 1842 women are no more employed underground, but are occupied on the surface in loading the coal, &c., in drawing the tubs to the canals and railway waggons, in sorting, &c. Their numbers have considerably increased during the last three or four years. (n. 1727.) They are mostly the wives, daughters, and widows of the working miners, and their ages range from 12 to 50 or 60 years. (ns. 647, 1781, 1779.)

"What is the feeling among the working miners as to the employment of women?" "I think they generally condemn it." (n. 648.) "What objection do you see to it?" "I think it is degrading to the sex." (n. 649.) "There is a peculiarity of dress?" "Yes ...it is rather a man's dress, and I believe in some cases, it drowns all sense of decency." "Do the women smoke?" "Some do." "And I suppose it is very dirty work?" "Very dirty." "They get black and grimy?" "As black as those who are down the mines ... I believe that a woman having children (and there are plenty on the banks that have) cannot do her duty to her children." (ns. 650-654, 701.) "Do you think that those widows could get employment anywhere else, which would bring them in as much wages as that (from 8s. to 10s. a week)?" "I cannot speak to that." (ns. 708, 709.) "You would still be prepared, would you", (flint-hearted fellow!) "to prevent their obtaining a livelihood by these means?" "I would." (n. 710.) "What is the general feeling in the district ... as to the employment of women?" "The feeling is that it is degrading; and we wish as miners to have more respect to the fair sex than to see them placed on the pit bank. ... Some part of the work is very hard; some of these girls have raised as much as 10 tons of stuff a day." (ns. 1715, 1717.) "Do you think that the women employed about the collieries are less moral than the women employed in the factories?" "...the percentage of bad ones may be a little more ... than with the girls in the factories." (n. 1732.) "But you are not quite satisfied with the state of morality in the factories?" "No." (n. 1733.) "Would you prohibit the employment of women in factories also?" "No, I would not." (n. 1734.) "Why not?" "I think it a more honourable occupation for them in the mills." (n. 1735.) "Still it is injurious to their morality, you think?" "Not so much as working on the pit bank; but it is more on the social position I take it; I do not take it on its moral ground alone. The degradation, in its social bearing on the girls, is deplor-

able in the extreme. When these 400 or 500 girls become colliers' wives, the men suffer greatly from this degradation, and it causes them to leave their homes and drink." (n. 1736.) "You would be obliged to stop the employment of women in the ironworks as well, would you not, if you stopped it in the collieries?" "I cannot speak for any other trade." (n. 1737.) "Can you see any difference in the circumstances of women employed in ironworks, and the circumstances of women employed above ground in collieries?" "I have not ascertained anything as to that." (n. 1740.) "Can you see anything that makes a distinction between one class and the other?" "I have not ascertained that, but I know from house to house visitation, that it is a deplorable state of things in our district...." (n. 1741.) "Would you interfere in every case with the employment of women where that employment was degrading?" "It would become injurious, I think, in this way: the best feelings of Englishmen have been gained from the instruction of a mother...." (n. 1750.) "That equally applies to agricultural employments, does it not?" "Yes, but that is only for two seasons, and we have work all the four seasons." (n. 1751.) "They often work day and night, wet through to the skin, their constitution undermined and their health ruined." "You have not inquired into that subject perhaps?" "I have certainly taken note of it as I have gone along, and certainly I have seen nothing parallel to the effects of the employment of women on the pit bank. ...It is the work of a man ... a strong man." (ns. 1753, 1783, 1784, 1786, 1790, 1793, 1794.) "Your feeling upon the whole subject is that the better class of colliers who desire to raise themselves and humanise themselves, instead of deriving help from the women, are pulled down by them?" "Yes." (n. 1808.)

After some further crooked questions from these bourgeois, the secret of their "sympathy" for widows, poor families, &c., comes out at last.

"The coal proprietor appoints certain gentlemen to take the oversight of the workings, and it is their policy, in order to receive approbation, to place things on the most economical basis they can, and these girls are employed at from ls. up to ls. 6d. a day, where a man at the rate of 2s. 6d. a day would have to be employed." (n. 1816.)

IV. Coroner's inquests.—

"With regard to coroner's inquests in your district, have the workmen confidence in the proceedings at those inquests when accidents occur?" "No; they have not." (n. 360.) "Why not?" "Chiefly because the men who are generally chosen, are men who know nothing about mines and such like." "Are not workmen summoned at all upon the juries?" "Never but as witnesses to my knowledge." "Who are the people who are generally summoned upon these juries?" "Generally tradesmen in the neighbourhood ... from their circumstances they are sometimes liable to be influenced by their employers... the owners of the works. They are generally men who have no knowledge, and can scarcely understand the witnesses who are called before them, and the terms which are used and such like." "Would you have the jury composed of persons who had been employed in mining?" "Yes, partly ... they (the workmen) think that the verdict is not in accordance with the evidence given generally." (ns. 361, 364, 366, 368, 371, 375.) "One great object in summoning a jury is to have an impartial one, is it not?" "Yes, I should think so." "Do you think that the juries would be impartial if they were composed to a considerable extent of workmen?" "I cannot see any motive which the workmen would have to act partially ... they necessarily have a better knowledge of the operations in connexion with the mine." "You do not think there would be a ten-

dency on the part of the workmen to return unfairly severe verdicts?" "No, I think not." (ns. 378, 379, 380.)

V. False weights and measures.—The workmen demand to be paid weekly instead of fortnightly, and by weight instead of by cubical contents of the tubs; they also demand protection against the use of false weights, &c. (n. 1071.)

"If the tubs were fraudulently increased, a man could discontinue working by giving 14 days' notice?" "But if he goes to another place, there is the same thing going on there." (n. 1071.) "But he can leave that place where the wrong has been committed?" "It is general; wherever he goes, he has to submit to it." (n. 1072.) "Could a man leave by giving 14 days' notice?" "Yes." (n. 1073.) And yet they are not satisfied!

VI. Inspection of mines.—Casualties from explosions are not the only things the workmen suffer from. (n. 234, sqq.)

"Our men complained very much of the bad ventilation of the collieries ... the ventilation is so bad in general that the men can scarcely breathe; they are quite unfit for employment of any kind after they have been for a length of time in connexion with their work; indeed, just at the part of the mine where I am working, men have been obliged to leave their employment and come home in consequence of that ... some of them have been out of work for weeks just in consequence of the bad state of the ventilation where there is not explosive gas ... there is plenty of air generally in the main courses, yet pains are not taken to get air into the workings where men are working." "Why do you not apply to the inspector?" "To tell the truth there are many men who are timid on that point; there have been cases of men being sacrificed and losing their employment in consequence of applying to the inspector." "Why; is he a marked man for having complained?" "Yes." "And he finds it difficult to get employment in another mine?" "Yes." "Do you think the mines in your neighbourhood are sufficiently inspected to insure a compliance with the provisions of the Act?" "No; they are not inspected at all ... the inspector has been down just once in the pit, and it has been going seven years. ... In the district to which I belong there are not a sufficient number of inspectors. We have one old man more than 70 years of age to inspect more than 130 collieries." "You wish to have a class of sub-inspectors?" "Yes." (ns. 234, 241, 251, 254, 255, 274, 275, 554, 276, 293.) "But do you think it would be possible for Government to maintain such an army of inspectors as would be necessary to do all that you want them to do, without information from the men?" "No, I should think it would be next to impossible...." "It would be desirable the inspectors should come oftener?" "Yes, and without being sent for." (n. 280, 277.) "Do you not think that the effect of having these inspectors examining the collieries so frequently would be to shift the responsibility (!) of supplying proper ventilation from the owners of the collieries to the Government officials?" "No, I do not think that, I think that they should make it their business to enforce the Acts which are already in existence." (n. 285.) "When you speak of sub-inspectors, do you mean men at a less salary, and of an inferior stamp to the present inspectors?" "I would not have them inferior, if you could get them otherwise." (n. 294.) "Do you merely want more inspectors, or do you want a lower class of men as an inspector?" "A man who would knock about, and see that things are kept right;

a man who would not be afraid of himself." (n. 295.) "If you obtained your wish in getting an inferior class of inspectors appointed, do you think that there would be no danger from want of skill, &c?" "I think not, I think that the Government would see after that, and have proper men in that position." (n. 297.)

This kind of examination becomes at last too much even for the chairman of the committee, and he interrupts with the observation:

"You want a class of men who would look into all the details of the mine, and would go into all the holes and corners, and go into the real facts ... they would report to the chief inspector, who would then bring his scientific knowledge to bear on the facts they have stated?" (ns. 298, 299.) "Would it not entail very great expense if all these old workings were kept ventilated?" "Yes, expense might be incurred, but life would be at the same time protected." (n. 531.)

A working miner objects to the 17th section of the Act of 1860; he says,

"At the present time, if the inspector of mines finds a part of the mine unfit to work in, he has to report it to the mine-owner and the Home Secretary. After doing that, there is given to the owner 20 days to look over the matter; at the end of 20 days he has the power to refuse making any alteration in the mine; but, when he refuses, the mine-owner writes to the Home Secretary, at the same time nominating five engineers, and from those five engineers named by the mine-owner himself, the Home Secretary appoints one, I think, as arbitrator, or appoints arbitrators from them; now we think in that case the mine-owner virtually appoints his own arbitrator." (n. 581.)

Bourgeois examiner, himself a mine-owner:

"But ... is this a merely speculative objection?" (n. 586.) "Then you have a very poor opinion of the integrity of mining engineers?" "It is most certainly unjust and inequitable." (n. 588.) "Do not mining engineers possess a sort of public character, and do not you think that they are above making such a partial decision as you apprehend?" "I do not wish to answer such a question as that with respect to the personal character of those men. I believe that in many cases they would act very partially indeed, and that it ought not to be in their hands to do so, where men's lives are at stake." (n. 589.)

This same bourgeois is not ashamed to put this question:

"Do you not think that the mine-owner also suffers loss from an explosion?" Finally, "Are not you workmen in Lancashire able to take care of your own interests without calling in the Government to help you?" "No." (n. 1042.)

In the year 1865 there were 3,217 coal mines in Great Britain, and 12 inspectors. A Yorkshire mine-owner himself calculates (*Times*, 26th January, 1867 [p. 6, col. 2]), that putting on one side their office work, which absorbs all their time, each mine can be visited but once in ten years by an inspector. No wonder that explosions have in-

creased progressively, both in a number and extent (sometimes with a loss of 200-300 men), during the last ten years. These are the beauties of "free" capitalist production![a]

The very[b] defective Act, passed in 1872,[422] is the first that regulates the hours of labour of the children employed in mines, and makes exploiters and owners, to a certain extent, responsible for so-called accidents.

The Royal Commission appointed in 1867 to inquire into the employment in agriculture of children, young persons, and women, has published some very important reports. Several attempts to apply the principles of the Factory Acts, but in a modified form, to agriculture have been made, but have so far resulted in complete failure. All that I wish to draw attention to here is the existence of an irresistible tendency towards the general application of those principles.

If the general extension of factory legislation to all trades for the purpose of protecting the working class both in mind and body has become inevitable, on the other hand, as we have already pointed out, that extension hastens on the general conversion of numerous isolated small industries into a few combined industries carried on upon a large scale; it therefore accelerates the concentration of capital and the exclusive predominance of the factory system. It destroys both the ancient and the transitional forms, behind which the dominion of capital is still in part concealed, and replaces them by the direct and open sway of capital; but thereby it also generalises the direct opposition to this sway. While in each individual workshop it enforces uniformity, regularity, order, and economy, it increases by the immense spur which the limitation and regulation of the working day give to technical improvement, the anarchy and the catastrophes of capitalist production as a whole, the intensity of labour, and the competition of machinery with the labourer. By the destruction of petty and domestic industries it destroys the last resort of the "redundant population", and with it the sole remaining safety-valve of the whole social mechanism. By maturing the material conditions, and the combination on a social scale of the processes of production, it matures the contradictions and antagonisms of the capitalist form of production,

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[a] This sentence has been added to the English text in conformity with the 4th German edition. - [b] The following two paragraphs were added by Engels in the 4th German edition to replace the sentence: "Finally Professor Fawcett made similar proposals in the House of Commons (1867) for the agricultural labourers."

and thereby provides, along with the elements for the formation of a new society, the forces for exploding the old one.[1]

## SECTION 10.—MODERN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE

The revolution called forth by modern industry in agriculture, and in the social relations of agricultural producers, will be investigated later on. In this place we shall merely indicate a few results by way of anticipation. If the use of machinery in agriculture is for the most part free from the injurious physical effect it has on the factory operative,[a] its action in superseding the labourers is more intense, and finds

[1] Robert Owen, the father of Co-operative Factories and Stores,[254] but who, as before remarked, in no way shared the illusions of his followers with regard to the bearing of these isolated elements of transformation, not only practically made the factory system the sole foundation of his experiments, but also declared that system to be theoretically the starting-point of the social revolution.[427] Herr Vissering, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Leyden, appears to have a suspicion of this when, in his *Handboek van Practische Staatshuishoudkunde*, 1860-62, which reproduces all the platitudes of vulgar economy, he strongly supports handicrafts against the factory system. *//Added in the 4th German edition.*—The "hopelessly bewildering tangle of contradictory enactments" (S. 314) (this volume, pp. 304-05) which English legislation called into life by means of the mutually conflicting Factory Acts, the Factory Acts Extension Act and the Workshops' Act, finally became intolerable, and thus all legislative enactments on this subject were codified in the Factory and Workshop Act of 1878.[428] Of course no detailed critique of this English industrial code now in effect can be presented here. The following remarks will have to suffice. The Act comprises:

1) Textile Mills. Here everything remains about as it was: children more than 10 years of age may work 5 1/2 hours a day; or 6 hours and Saturday off; young persons and women, 10 hours on 5 days, and at most 6 1/2 on Saturday.

2) Non-Textile Factories. Here the regulations are brought closer than before to those of No. 1, but there are still several exceptions which favour the capitalists and which in certain cases may be expanded by special permission of the Home Secretary.

3) Workshops, defined approximately as in the former Act; as for the children, young workers and women employed there, the workshops are about on a par with the non-textile factories, but again conditions are easier in details.

4) Workshops in which no children or young workers are employed, but only persons of both sexes above the age of 18; this category enjoy still easier conditions.

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[a] The German editions have here the following footnote: "An exhaustive description of the machinery employed in agriculture in England is to be found in a book by Dr. W. Hamm, *Die Landwirthschaftlichen Geräthe und Maschinen Englands*, 2. Aufl., 1856. In his sketch of the course of development of English agriculture, the author follows Léonce de Lavergne[430] too uncritically. [Added by Engels in the 4th German edition: —The book is now out of date of course.]"

less resistance, as we shall see later in detail. In the counties of Cambridge and Suffolk, for example, the area of cultivated land has extended very much within the last 20 years (up to 1868), while in the same period the rural population has diminished, not only relatively, but absolutely. In the United States it is as yet only virtually that agricultural machines replace labourers; in other words, they allow of the cultivation by the farmer of a larger surface, but do not actually expel the labourers employed. In 1861 the number of persons occupied in England and Wales in the manufacture of agricultural machines was 1,034, whilst the number of agricultural labourers employed in the use of agricultural machines and steam-engines did not exceed 1,205.[431]

In the sphere of agriculture, modern industry has a more revolutionary effect than elsewhere, for this reason, that it annihilates the peasant, that bulwark of the old society, and replaces him by the wage labourer. Thus the desire for social changes, and the class antagonisms are brought to the same level in the country as in the towns. The irrational, old-fashioned methods of agriculture are replaced by scientific ones. Capitalist production completely tears asunder the old bond of union which held together agriculture and manufacture in their infancy. But at the same time it creates the material conditions for a higher synthesis in the future, viz., the union of agriculture and industry on the basis of the more perfected forms they have each acquired during their temporary separation. Capitalist production, by collecting the population in great centres, and causing an ever-increasing preponderance of town population, on the one hand concentrates the historical motive power of society; on the other hand, it disturbs the circulation of matter between man and the soil, i. e., pre-

5) Domestic Workshops, where only members of the family are employed, in the family dwelling: still more elastic regulations and simultaneously the restriction that the inspector may, without special permission of the ministry or a court, enter only rooms not used also for dwelling purposes; and lastly unrestricted freedom for straw-plaiting and lace and glove-making by members of the family. With all its defects this Act, together with the Swiss Federal Factory Law of March 23, 1877,[429] is still by far the best piece of legislation in this field. A comparison of it with the said Swiss federal law is of particular interest because it dearly demonstrates the merits and demerits of the two legislative methods — the English, "historical" method, which intervenes when occasion requires, and the continental method, which is built up on the traditions of the French Revolution and generalises more. Unfortunately, due to insufficient inspection personnel, the English code is still largely a dead letter with regard to its application to workshops.— *F. E.*//

vents the return to the soil of its elements consumed by man in the form of food and clothing; it therefore violates the conditions necessary to lasting fertility of the soil. By this action it destroys at the same time the health of the town labourer and the intellectual life of the rural labourer.[1] But while upsetting the naturally grown conditions for the maintenance of that circulation of matter, it imperiously calls for its restoration as a system, as a regulating law of social production, and under a form appropriate to the full development of the human race. In agriculture as in manufacture, the transformation of production under the sway of capital, means, at the same time, the martyrdom of the producer; the instrument of labour becomes the means of enslaving, exploiting, and impoverishing the labourer; the social combination and organisation of labour processes is turned into an organised mode of crushing out the workman's individual vitality, freedom, and independence. The dispersion of the rural labourers over larger areas breaks their power of resistance while concentration increases that of the town operatives. In modern agriculture, as in the urban industries, the increased productiveness and quantity of the labour set in motion are bought at the cost of laying waste and consuming by disease labour power itself. Moreover, all progress in capitalistic agriculture is a progress in the art, not only of robbing the labourer, but of robbing the soil; all progress in increasing the fertility of the soil for a given time, is a progress towards ruining the lasting sources of that fertility. The more a country starts its development on the foundation of modern industry, like the United States, for example, the more rapid is this process of destruction.[2] Capitalist produc-

[1] "You divide the people into two hostile camps of clownish boors and emasculated dwarfs. Good heavens! a nation divided into agricultural and commercial interests, calling itself sane; nay, styling itself enlightened and civilised, not only in spite of, but in consequence of this monstrous and unnatural division" (David Urquhart, l. c., p. 119). This passage shows, at one and the same time, the strength and the weakness of that kind of criticism which knows how to judge and condemn the present, but not how to comprehend it.

[2] See Liebig, *Die Chemie in ihrer Anwendung auf Agricultur und Physiologie*, 7. Auflage, 1862, and especially the *Einleitung in die Naturgesetze des Feldbaus*, in the 1st Volume. To have developed from the point of view of natural science, the negative, i. e., destructive side of modern agriculture, is one of Liebig's immortal merits. His summary, too, of the history of agriculture, although not free from gross errors, contains flashes of light. It is, however, to be regretted that he ventures on such haphazard assertions as the following: "By greater pulverising and more frequent ploughing, the circulation of air in the interior of porous soil is aided, and the surface exposed to the ac-

tion, therefore, develops technology, and the combining together of various processes into a social whole, only by sapping the original sources of all wealth — the soil and the labourer.

tion of the atmosphere is increased and renewed; but it is easily seen that the increased yield of the land cannot be proportional to the labour spent on that land, but increases in a much smaller proportion. This law," adds Liebig, "was first enunciated by John Stuart Mill in his *Principles of Pol. Econ.*, Vol. I, p. 217, as follows: 'That the produce of land increases, caeteris paribus, in a diminishing ratio to the increase of the labourers employed' (Mill here introduces in an erroneous form the law enunciated by Ricardo's school, for since the 'decrease of the labourers employed', kept even pace in England with the advance of agriculture, the law discovered in, and applied to, England, could have no application to that country, at all events), 'is the universal law of agricultural industry'. This is very remarkable, since Mill was ignorant of the reason for this law" (Liebig, l. c., Bd. I, p. 143 and Note [432]). Apart from Liebig's wrong interpretation of the word "labour", by which word he understands something quite different from what political economy does, it is, in any case, "very remarkable" that he should make Mr. John Stuart Mill the first propounder of a theory which was first published by James Anderson in A. Smith's days, and was repeated in various works down to the beginning of the 19th century [433]; a theory which Malthus, that master in plagiarism (the whole of his population theory is a shameless plagiarism), appropriated to himself in 1815 [434]; which West developed at the same time as, and independently of, Anderson; which in the year 1817 was connected by Ricardo with the general theory of value, then made the round of the world as Ricardo's theory, and in 1820 was vulgarised by James Mill, the father of John Stuart Mill; and which, finally, was reproduced by John Stuart Mill and others, as a dogma already quite commonplace, and known to every schoolboy.[435] It cannot be denied that John Stuart Mill owes his, at all events, "remarkable" authority almost entirely to such *quid-pro-quos*.

# Part V

# THE PRODUCTION OF ABSOLUTE AND OF RELATIVE SURPLUS VALUE

## Chapter XVI

### ABSOLUTE AND RELATIVE SURPLUS VALUE

In considering the labour process, we began (see Chapter V)[436] by treating it in the abstract, apart from its historical forms, as a process between man and Nature. We there stated, p. 176: "If we examine the whole process from the point of view of its result, the product, it is plain that both the instruments and the subject of labour, are means of production, and that the labour itself is productive labour." And in Note 2, same page, we further added: "This method of determining, from the standpoint of the labour process alone, what is productive labour, is by no means directly applicable to the case of the capitalist process of production." We now proceed to the further development of this subject.

So far as the labour process is purely individual, one and the same labourer unites in himself all the functions, that later on become separated. When an individual appropriates natural objects for his livelihood, no one controls him but himself. Afterwards he is controlled by others. A single man cannot operate upon Nature without calling his own muscles into play under the control of his own brain. As in the natural body head and hand wait upon each other, so the labour process unites the labour of the hand with that of the head. Later on they part company and even become deadly foes. The product ceases to be the direct product of the individual, and becomes a social product, produced in common by a collective labourer, i. e., by a combination of workmen, each of whom takes only a part, greater or less, in the manipulation of the subject of their labour. As the co-operative character of the labour process becomes more and more marked, so, as a necessary consequence, does our notion of productive labour, and of

its agent the productive labourer, become extended. In order to labour productively, it is no longer necessary for you to do manual work yourself; enough, if you are an organ of the collective labourer, and perform one of its subordinate functions. The first definition given above of productive labour, a definition deduced from the very nature of the production of material objects, still remains correct for the collective labourer, considered as a whole. But it no longer holds good for each member taken individually.

On the other hand, however, our notion of productive labour becomes narrowed. Capitalist production is not merely the production of commodities, it is essentially the production of surplus value. The labourer produces, not for himself, but for capital. It no longer suffices, therefore, that he should simply produce. He must produce surplus value. That labourer alone is productive, who produces surplus value for the capitalist, and thus works for the self-expansion of capital. If we may take an example from outside the sphere of production of material objects, a schoolmaster is a productive labourer, when, in addition to belabouring the heads of his scholars, he works like a horse to enrich the school proprietor. That the latter has laid out his capital in a teaching factory, instead of in a sausage factory, does not alter the relation. Hence the notion of a productive labourer implies not merely a relation between work and useful effect, between labourer and product of labour, but also a specific, social relation of production, a relation that has sprung up historically and stamps the labourer as the direct means of creating surplus value. To be a productive labourer is, therefore, not a piece of luck, but a misfortune. In Book IV which treats of the history of the theory,[437] it will be more clearly seen, that the production of surplus value has at all times been made, by classical political economists, the distinguishing characteristic of the productive labourer. Hence their definition of a productive labourer changes with their comprehension of the nature of surplus value. Thus the Physiocrats insist that only agricultural labour is productive, since that alone, they say, yields a surplus value. And they say so because, with them, surplus value has no existence except in the form of rent.

The prolongation of the working day beyond the point at which the labourer would have produced just an equivalent for the value of his labour power, and the appropriation of that surplus labour by capital, this is production of absolute surplus value. It forms the general groundwork of the capitalist system, and the starting-point for the

production of relative surplus value. The latter presupposes that the working day is already divided into two parts, necessary labour, and surplus labour. In order to prolong the surplus labour, the necessary labour is shortened by methods whereby the equivalent for the wages is produced in less time. The production of absolute surplus value turns exclusively upon the length of the working day; the production of relative surplus value, revolutionises out and out the technical processes of labour, and the composition of society. It therefore presupposes a specific mode, the capitalist mode of production, a mode which, along with its methods, means, and conditions, arises and develops itself spontaneously on the foundation afforded by the formal subjection of labour to capital. In the course of this development, the formal subjection is replaced by the real subjection of labour to capital.

It will suffice merely to refer to certain intermediate forms, in which surplus labour is not extorted by direct compulsion from the producer, nor the producer himself yet formally subjected to capital. In such forms capital has not yet acquired the direct control of the labour process. By the side of independent producers who carry on their handicrafts and agriculture in the traditional old-fashioned way, there stands the usurer or the merchant, with his usurer's capital or merchant's capital, feeding on them like a parasite. The predominance, in a society, of this form of exploitation excludes the capitalist mode of production; to which mode, however, this form may serve as a transition, as it did towards the close of the Middle Ages. Finally, as is shown by modern "domestic industry", some intermediate forms are here and there reproduced in the background of modern industry, though their physiognomy is totally changed.

If, on the one hand, the mere formal subjection of labour to capital suffices for the production of absolute surplus value, if, e.g., it is sufficient that handicraftsmen who previously worked on their own account, or as apprentices of a master, should become wage labourers under the direct control of a capitalist; so, on the other hand, we have seen, how the methods of producing relative surplus value, are, at the same time, methods of producing absolute surplus value. Nay, more, the excessive prolongation of the working day turned out to be the peculiar product of modern industry. Generally speaking, the specifically capitalist mode of production ceases to be a mere means of producing relative surplus value, so soon as that mode has conquered an entire branch of production; and still more so, so soon as it has con-

quered all the important branches. It then becomes the general, socially predominant form of production. As a special method of producing relative surplus value, it remains effective only, first, in so far as it seizes upon industries that previously were only formally subject to capital, that is, so far as it is propagandist; secondly, in so far as the industries that have been taken over by it, continue to be revolutionised by changes in the methods of production.

From one standpoint, any distinction between absolute and relative surplus value appears illusory. Relative surplus value is absolute, since it compels the absolute prolongation of the working day beyond the labour time necessary to the existence of the labourer himself. Absolute surplus value is relative, since it makes necessary such a development of the productiveness of labour, as will allow of the necessary labour time being confined to a portion of the working day. But if we keep in mind the behaviour of surplus value, this appearance of identity vanishes. Once the capitalist mode of production established and become general, the difference between absolute and relative surplus value makes itself felt, whenever there is a question of raising the rate of surplus value. Assuming that labour power is paid for at its value, we are confronted by this alternative: given the productiveness of labour and its normal intensity, the rate of surplus value can be raised only by the actual prolongation of the working day; on the other hand, given the length of the working day, that rise can be effected only by a change in the relative magnitudes of the components of the working day, viz., necessary labour and surplus labour; a change which, if the wages are not to fall below the value of labour power, presupposes a change either in the productiveness or in the intensity of the labour.

If the labourer wants all his time to produce the necessary means of subsistence for himself and his race, he has no time left in which to work gratis for others. Without a certain degree of productiveness in his labour, he has no such superfluous time at his disposal; without such superfluous time, no surplus labour and therefore no capitalists, no slave-owners, no feudal lords, in one word, no class of large proprietors.[1]

Thus we may say that surplus value rests on a natural basis; but

[1] "The very existence of the master-capitalists, as a distinct class, is dependent on the productiveness of industry" (Ramsay, l. c., p. 206). "If each man's labour were but enough to produce his own food, there could be no property" (Ravenstone, l. c., p. 14).

this is permissible only in the very general sense, that there is no natural obstacle absolutely preventing one man from disburdening himself of the labour requisite for his own existence, and burdening another with it, any more, for instance, than unconquerable natural obstacles prevent one man from eating the flesh of another.[1] No mystical ideas must in any way be connected, as sometimes happens, with this historically developed productiveness of labour. It is only after men have raised themselves above the rank of animals, when therefore their labour has been to some extent socialised, that a state of things arises in which the surplus labour of the one becomes a condition of existence for the other. At the dawn of civilisation the productiveness acquired by labour is small, but so too are the wants which develop with and by the means of satisfying them. Further, at that early period, the portion of society that lives on the labour of others is infinitely small compared with the mass of direct producers. Along with the progress in the productiveness of labour, that small portion of society increases both absolutely and relatively.[2] Besides, capital with its accompanying relations springs up from an economic soil that is the product of a long process of development. The productiveness of labour that serves as its foundation and starting-point, is a gift, not of Nature, but of a history embracing thousands of centuries.

Apart from the degree of development, greater or less, in the form of social production, the productiveness of labour is fettered by physical conditions. These are all referable to the constitution of man himself (race, &c.), and to surrounding Nature. The external physical conditions fall into two great economic classes, (1) Natural wealth in means of subsistence, i. e., a fruitful soil, waters teeming with fish, &c., and (2), natural wealth in the instruments of labour, such as waterfalls, navigable rivers, wood, metal, coal, &c. At the dawn of civilisation, it is the first class that turns the scale; at a higher stage of development, it is the second. Compare, for example, England with India, or in ancient times, Athens and Corinth with the shores of the Black Sea.

The fewer the number of natural wants imperatively calling for satisfaction, and the greater the natural fertility of the soil and the fa-

[1] According to a recent calculation, there are yet at least 4,000,000 cannibals in those parts of the earth which have already been explored.

[2] "Among the wild Indians in America, almost everything is the labourer's, 99 parts of a hundred are to be put upon the account of labour. In England, perhaps, the labourer has not 2/3." ([H. Martyn,] *The Advantages of the East India Trade, &c.*, p. [72-]73).

vourableness of the climate, so much less is the labour time necessary for the maintenance and reproduction of the producer. So much greater therefore can be the excess of his labour for others over his labour for himself. Diodorus long ago remarked this in relation to the ancient Egyptians.

"It is altogether incredible how little trouble and expense the bringing up of their children causes them. They cook for them the first simple food at hand; they also give them the lower part of the papyrus stem to eat, so far as it can be roasted in the fire, and the roots and stalks of marsh plants, some raw, some boiled and roasted. Most of the children go without shoes and unclothed, for the air is so mild. Hence a child, until he is grown up, costs his parents not more, on the whole, than twenty drachmas. It is this, chiefly, which explains why the population of Egypt is so numerous, and, therefore, why so many great works can be undertaken."[1]

Nevertheless the grand structures of ancient Egypt are less due to the extent of its population than to the large proportion of it that was freely disposable. Just as the individual labourer can do more surplus labour in proportion as his necessary labour time is less, so with regard to the working population. The smaller the part of it which is required for the production of the necessary means of subsistence, so much the greater is the part that can be set to do other work.

Capitalist production once assumed, then, all other circumstances remaining the same, and given the length of the working day, the quantity of surplus labour will vary with the physical conditions of labour, especially with the fertility of the soil. But it by no means follows from this that the most fruitful soil is the most fitted for the growth of the capitalist mode of production. This mode is based on the dominion of man over Nature. Where Nature is too lavish, she "keeps him in hand, like a child in leading-strings".[438] She does not impose upon him any necessity to develop himself.[2] It is not the tropics with their luxuriant vegetation, but the temperate zone, that

[1] Diodorus, l. c., l. l., ch. 80, [p. 126].

[2] "The first (natural wealth) as it is most noble and advantageous, so doth it make the people careless, proud, and given to all excesses; whereas the second enforceth vigilancy, literature, arts and policy" (*England's Treasure by Foreign Trade. Or the Balance of our Foreign Trade is the Rule of our Treasure. Written by Thomas Mun of London, merchant, and now published for the common good by his son John Mun.* London, 1669, pp. 181, 182). "Nor can I conceive a greater curse upon a body of people, than to be thrown upon a spot of land, where the productions for subsistence and food were, in great measure, spontaneous, and the climate required or admitted little care for raiment and covering ... there may be an extreme on the other side. A soil incapable of produce by labour is quite as bad as a soil that produces plentifully without any labour" ([N. Forster,] *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Present High Price of Provisions.* Lond., 1767, p. 10).

is the mother-country of capital. It is not the mere fertility of the soil, but the differentiation of the soil, the variety of its natural products, the changes of the seasons, which form the physical basis for the social division of labour, and which, by changes in the natural surroundings, spur man on to the multiplication of his wants, his capabilities, his means and modes of labour. It is the necessity of bringing a natural force under the control of society, of economising, of appropriating or subduing it on a large scale by the work of man's hand, that first plays the decisive part in the history of industry. Examples are, the irrigation works in Egypt,[1] Lombardy, Holland, or in India and Persia where irrigation by means of artificial canals, not only supplies the soil with the water indispensable to it, but also carries down to it, in the shape of sediment from the hills, mineral fertilisers. The secret of the flourishing state of industry in Spain and Sicily under the dominion of the Arabs lay in their irrigation works.[2]

Favourable natural conditions alone, give us only the possibility, never the reality, or surplus labour, nor, consequently, of surplus value and a surplus product. The result of difference in the natural conditions of labour is this, that the same quantity of labour satisfies, in different countries, a different mass of requirements,[3] consequently,

[1] The necessity for predicting the rise and fall of the Nile created Egyptian astronomy, and with it the dominion of the priests, as directors of agriculture. "The solstice is the movement of the year when the Nile begins to rise, and it is the moment the Egyptians have had to watch for with the greatest attention.... It was the evolution of the tropical year which they had to establish firmly so as to conduct their agricultural operations in accordance with it. They therefore had to search the heavens for a visible sign of the solstice's return" (Cuvier, *Discours sur les révolutions du globe*, ed. Hoefer, Paris, 1863, p. 141).

[2] One of the material bases of the power of the State over the small disconnected producing organisms in India, was the regulation of the water supply. The Mahometan rulers of India understood this better than their English successors. It is enough to recall to mind the famine of 1866, which cost the lives of more than a million Hindus in the district of Orissa, in the Bengal presidency.

[3] "There are no two countries which furnish an equal number of the necessaries of life in equal plenty, and with the same quantity of labour. Men's wants increase or diminish with the severity or temperateness of the climate they live in; consequently, the proportion of trade which the inhabitants of different countries are obliged to carry on through necessity cannot be the same, nor is it practicable to ascertain the degree of variation farther than by the degrees of Heat and Cold; from whence one may make this general conclusion, that the quantity of labour required for a certain number of people is greatest in cold climates, and least in hot ones; for in the former men not only want more clothes, but the earth more cultivating than in the latter" (*An Essay on the Governing Causes of the Natural Rate of Interest*. Lond., 1750, p. 59). The author of this epoch-making anonymous work is J. Massie. Hume took his theory of interest from it.[439]

that under circumstances in other respects analogous, the necessary labour time is different. These conditions affect surplus labour only as natural limits, i. e., by fixing the points at which labour for others can begin. In proportion as industry advances, these natural limits recede. In the midst of our West European society, where the labourer purchases the right to work for his own livelihood only by paying for it in surplus labour, the idea easily takes root that it is an inherent quality of human labour to furnish a surplus product.[1] But consider, for example, an inhabitant of the eastern islands of the Asiatic Archipelago, where sago grows wild in the forests.

"When the inhabitants have convinced themselves, by boring a hole in the tree, that the pith is ripe, the trunk is cut down and divided into several pieces, the pith is extracted, mixed with water and filtered: it is then quite fit for use as sago. One tree commonly yields 300 lbs., and occasionally 500 to 600 lbs. There, then, people go into the forests, and cut bread for themselves, just as with us they cut fire-wood."[2]

Suppose now such an eastern bread-cutter requires 12 working hours a week for the satisfaction of all his wants. Nature's direct gift to him is plenty of leisure time. Before he can apply this leisure time productively for himself, a whole series of historical events is required; before he spends it in surplus labour for strangers, compulsion is necessary. If capitalist production were introduced, the honest fellow would perhaps have to work six days a week, in order to appropriate to himself the product of one working day. The bounty of Nature does not explain why he would then have to work 6 days a week, or why he must furnish 5 days of surplus labour. It explains only why his necessary labour time would be limited to one day a week. But in no case would his surplus product arise from some occult quality inherent in human labour.

Thus, not only does the historically developed social productiveness of labour, but also its natural productiveness, appear to be productiveness of the capital with which that labour is incorporated.

Ricardo never concerns himself about the origin of surplus value. He treats it as a thing inherent in the capitalist mode of production, which mode, in his eyes, is the natural form of social production. Whenever he discusses the productiveness of labour, he seeks in it, not the cause of surplus value, but the cause that determines the magni-

[1] "All labour must" (this appears also to be part of the *droits et devoirs du citoyen* [rights and duties of the citizen]) "leave a surplus." Proudhon.

[2] F. Schouw, *Die Erde, die Pflanzen und der Mensch*, 2. Ed. Leipz. 1854, p. 148.

tude of that value. On the other hand, his school has openly proclaimed the productiveness of labour to be the originating cause of profit (read: surplus value). This at all events is a progress as against the mercantilists who, on their side, derived the excess of the price over the cost of production of the product, from the act of exchange, from the product being sold above its value. Nevertheless, Ricardo's school simply shirked the problem, they did not solve it. In fact these bourgeois economists instinctively saw, and rightly so, that it is very dangerous to stir too deeply the burning question of the origin of surplus value. But what are we to think of John Stuart Mill, who, half a century after Ricardo, solemnly claims superiority over the mercantilists, by clumsily repeating the wretched evasions of Ricardo's earliest vulgarisers?

Mill says:

"The cause of profit is that labour produces more than is required for its support."

So far, nothing but the old story; but Mill wishing to add something of his own, proceeds:

"To vary the form of the theorem; the reason why capital yields a profit, is because food, clothing, materials and tools, last longer than the time which was required to produce them."

He here confounds the duration of labour time with the duration of its products. According to this view, a baker whose product lasts only a day, could never extract from his workpeople the same profit, as a machine maker whose products endure for 20 years and more. Of course it is very true, that if a bird's nest did not last longer than the time it takes in building, birds would have to do without nests.

This fundamental truth once established, Mill establishes his own superiority over the mercantilists.

"We thus see," he proceeds, "that profit arises, not from the incident of exchange, but from the productive power of labour; and the general profit of the country is always what the productive power of labour makes it, whether any exchange takes place or not. If there were no division of employments, there would be no buying or selling, but there would still be profit."

For Mill then, exchange, buying and selling, those general conditions of capitalist production, are but an incident, and there would always be profits even without the purchase and sale of labour power!

"If", he continues, "the labourers of the country collectively produce twenty per cent. more than their wages, profits will be twenty per cent., whatever prices may or may not be."

This is, on the one hand, a rare bit of tautology; for if labourers produce a surplus value of 20% for the capitalist, his profit will be to the total wages of the labourers as 20:100. On the other hand, it is absolutely false to say that "profits will be 20%". They will always be less, because they are calculated upon the *sum total* of the capital advanced. If, for example, the capitalist have advanced £500, of which £400 is laid out in means of production and £100 in wages, and if the rate of surplus value be 20%, the rate of profit will be 20:500, i. e., 4% and not 20%.

Then follows a splendid example of Mill's method of handling the different historical forms of social production.

"I assume, throughout, the state of things which, where the labourers and capitalists are separate classes, prevails, with few exceptions, universally; namely, that the capitalist advances the whole expenses, including the entire remuneration of the labourer."

Strange optical illusion to see everywhere a state of things which as yet exists only exceptionally on our earth. But let us finish — Mill is willing to concede,

"that he should do so is not a matter of inherent necessity."[a] On the contrary: "the labourer might wait, until the production is complete, for all that part of his wages which exceeds mere necessaries: and even for the whole, if he has funds in hand sufficient for his temporary support. But in the latter case, the labourer is to that extent really a capitalist in the concern, by supplying a portion of the funds necessary for carrying it on."

Mill might have gone further and have added, that the labourer who advances to himself not only the necessaries of life but also the means of production, is in reality nothing but his own wage labourer. He might also have said that the American peasant proprietor is but a serf who does enforced labour for himself instead of for his lord.

After thus proving clearly, that even if capitalist production had no existence, still it would always exist, Mill is consistent enough to show, on the contrary, that it has no existence, even when it does exist.

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[a] On the basis of a suggestion Marx made to N. F. Danielson (Nikolai — on) in his letter of November 28, 1878, the part of this paragraph which begins with the words "Strange optical illusion" and ends with the words "inherent necessity" should read as follows: "Mr. Mill is willing to concede that it is not absolutely necessary for it to be so, even under an economic system where the labourers and capitalists are separate classes."

"And even in the former case" (when the workman is a wage labourer to whom the capitalist advances all the necessaries of life, he the labourer), "may be looked upon in the same light" (i. e., as a capitalist), "since, contributing his labour at less than the market-price, (!) he may be regarded as lending the difference (?) to his employer and receiving it back with interest, &c."[1]

In reality, the labourer advances his labour gratuitously to the capitalist during, say one week, in order to receive the market-price at the end of the week, &c., and it is this which, according to Mill, transforms him into a capitalist. On the level plain, simple mounds look like hills; and the imbecile flatness of the present bourgeoisie is to be measured by the altitude of its great intellects.

## Chapter XVII

### CHANGES OF MAGNITUDE IN THE PRICE OF LABOUR POWER AND IN SURPLUS VALUE

The value of labour power is determined by the value of the necessaries of life habitually required by the average labourer. The quantity of these necessaries is known at any given epoch of a given society, and can therefore be treated as a constant magnitude. What changes, is the value of this quantity. There are, besides, two other factors that enter into the determination of the value of labour power. One, the expenses of developing that power, which expenses vary with the mode of production; the other, its natural diversity, the difference between the labour power of men and women, of children and adults. The employment of these different sorts of labour power, an employment which is, in its turn, made necessary by the mode of production, makes a great difference in the cost of maintaining the family of the labourer, and in the value of the labour power of the adult male. Both these factors, however, are excluded in the following investigation.[2]

I assume (1) that commodities are sold at their value; (2) that the price of labour power rises occasionally above its value, but never sinks below it.

[1] J. St. Mill, *Principles of Pol. Econ.*, Lond., 1868, pp. 252-53 passim. //The quoted passages are taken from the French edition of *Capital*.— *F. E.*//

[2] *Note in the 3rd German edition.*— The case considered at pages 300-302 is here of course omitted.— *F. E.*

On this assumption we have seen that the relative magnitudes of surplus value and of price of labour power are determined by three circumstances; (1) the length of the working day, or the extensive magnitude of labour; (2) the normal intensity of labour, its intensive magnitude, whereby a given quantity of labour is expended in a given time; (3) the productiveness of labour, whereby the same quantum of labour yields, in a given time, a greater or less quantum of product, dependent on the degree of development in the conditions of production. Very different combinations are clearly possible, according as one of the three factors is constant and two variable, or two constant and one variable, or lastly, all three simultaneously variable. And the number of these combinations is augmented by the fact that, when these factors simultaneously vary, the amount and direction of their respective variations may differ. In what follows the chief combinations alone are considered.

### I. LENGTH OF THE WORKING DAY AND INTENSITY OF LABOUR CONSTANT. PRODUCTIVENESS OF LABOUR VARIABLE

On these assumptions the value of labour power, and the magnitude of surplus value, are determined by three laws.

(1.) A working day of given length always creates the same amount of value, no matter how the productiveness of labour, and, with it, the mass of the product, and the price of each single commodity produced, may vary.

If the value created by a working day of 12 hours be, say, six shillings, then, although the mass of the articles produced varies with the productiveness of labour, the only result is that the value represented by six shillings is spread over a greater or less number of articles.

(2.) Surplus value and the value of labour power vary in opposite directions. A variation in the productiveness of labour, its increase or diminution, causes a variation in the opposite direction in the value of labour power, and in the same direction in surplus value.

The value created by a working day of 12 hours is a constant quantity, say, six shillings. This constant quantity is the sum of the surplus value plus the value of the labour power, which latter value the labourer replaces by an equivalent. It is self-evident, that if a constant quantity consists of two parts, neither of them can increase without the other diminishing. Let the two parts at starting be equal; 3 shil-

lings value of labour power, 3 shillings surplus value. Then the value of the labour power cannot rise from three shillings to four, without the surplus value falling from three shillings to two; and the surplus value cannot rise from three shillings to four, without the value of labour power falling from three shillings to two. Under these circumstances, therefore, no change can take place in the absolute magnitude, either of the surplus value, or of the value of labour power, without a simultaneous change in their relative magnitudes, i. e., relatively to each other. It is impossible for them to rise or fall simultaneously.

Further, the value of labour power cannot fall, and consequently surplus value cannot rise, without a rise in the productiveness of labour. For instance, in the above case, the value of the labour power cannot sink from three shillings to two, unless an increase in the productiveness of labour makes it possible to produce in 4 hours the same quantity of necessaries as previously required 6 hours to produce. On the other hand, the value of the labour power cannot rise from three shillings to four, without a decrease in the productiveness of labour, whereby eight hours become requisite to produce the same quantity of necessaries, for the production of which six hours previously sufficed. It follows from this, that an increase in the productiveness of labour causes a fall in the value of labour power and a consequent rise in surplus value, while, on the other hand, a decrease in such productiveness causes a rise in the value of labour power, and a fall in surplus value.

In formulating this law,[440] Ricardo overlooked one circumstance; although a change in the magnitude of the surplus value or surplus labour causes a change in the opposite direction in the magnitude of the value of labour power, or in the quantity of necessary labour, it by no means follows that they vary in the same proportion. They do increase or diminish by the same quantity. But their proportional increase or diminution depends on their original magnitudes before the change in the productiveness of labour took place. If the value of the labour power be 4 shillings, or the necessary labour time 8 hours, and the surplus value be 2 shillings, or the surplus labour 4 hours, and if, in consequence of an increase in the productiveness of labour, the value of the labour power fall to 3 shillings, or the necessary labour to 6 hours, the surplus value will rise to 3 shillings, or the surplus labour to 6 hours. The same quantity, 1 shilling or 2 hours, is added in one case and subtracted in the other. But the proportional change of mag-

nitude is different in each case. While the value of the labour power falls from 4 shillings to 3, i. e., by $\frac{1}{4}$ or 25%, the surplus value rises from 2 shillings to 3, i. e., by $\frac{1}{2}$ or 50%. It therefore follows that the proportional increase or diminution in surplus value, consequent on a given change in the productiveness of labour, depends on the original magnitude of that portion of the working day which embodies itself in surplus value; the smaller that portion, the greater is the proportional change; the greater that portion, the less is the proportional change.

(3.) Increase or diminution in surplus value is always consequent on, and never the cause of, the corresponding diminution or increase in the value of labour power.[1]

Since the working day is constant in magnitude, and is represented by a value of constant magnitude, since, to every variation in the magnitude of surplus value, there corresponds an inverse variation in the value of labour power, and since the value of labour power cannot change, except in consequence of a change in the productiveness of labour, it clearly follows, under these conditions, that every change of magnitude in surplus value arises from an inverse change of magnitude in the value of labour power. If, then, as we have already seen, there can be no change of absolute magnitude in the value of labour power, and in surplus value, unaccompanied by a change in their relative magnitudes, so now it follows that no change in their relative magnitudes is possible, without a previous change in the absolute magnitude of the value of labour power.

According to the third law, a change in the magnitude of surplus value, presupposes a movement in the value of labour power, which movement is brought about by a variation in the productiveness of labour. The limit of this change is given by the altered value of labour power. Nevertheless, even when circumstances allow the law to operate, subsidiary movements may occur. For example: if in consequence

[1] To this third law MacCulloch has made, amongst others, this absurd addition, that a rise in surplus value, unaccompanied by a fall in the value of labour power, can occur through the abolition of taxes payable by the capitalist. The abolition of such taxes makes no change whatever in the quantity of surplus value that the capitalist extorts at first-hand from the labourer. It alters only the proportion in which that surplus value is divided between himself and third persons. It consequently makes no alteration whatever in the relation between surplus value and value of labour power. MacCulloch's exception therefore proves only his misapprehension of the rule, a misfortune that as often happens to him in the vulgarisation of Ricardo, as it does to J. B. Say in the vulgarisation of Adam Smith.[441]

of the increased productiveness of labour, the value of labour power falls fom 4 shillings to 3, or the necessary labour time from 8 hours to 6, the price of labour power may possibly not fall below 3s. 8d., 3s. 6d., or 3s. 2d., and the surplus value consequently not rise above 3s. 4d., 3s. 6d., or 3s. 10d. The amount of this fall, the maximum limit of which is 3 shillings (the new value of labour power), depends on the relative weight, which the pressure of capital on the one side, and the resistance of the labourer on the other, throws into the scale.

The value of labour power is determined by the value of a given quantity of necessaries. It is the value and not the mass of these necessaries that varies with the productiveness of labour. It is, however, possible that, owing to an increase of productiveness, both the labourer and the capitalist may simultaneously be able to appropriate a greater quantity of these necessaries, without any change in the price of labour power or in surplus value. If the value of labour power be 3 shillings, and the necessary labour time amount to 6 hours, if the surplus value, likewise be 3 shillings, and the surplus labour 6 hours, then if the productiveness of labour were doubled without altering the ratio of necessary labour to surplus labour, there would be no change of magnitude in surplus value and price of labour power. The only result would be that each of them would represent twice as many use values as before; these use values being twice as cheap as before. Although labour power would be unchanged in price, it would be above its value. If, however, the price of labour power had fallen, not to ls. 6d., the lowest possible point consistent with its new value, but to 2s. 10d. or 2s. 6d., still this lower price would represent an increased mass of necessaries. In this way it is possible with an increasing productiveness of labour, for the price of labour power to keep on falling, and yet this fall to be accompanied by a constant growth in the mass of the labourer's means of subsistence. But even in such case, the fall in the value of labour power would cause a corresponding rise of surplus value, and thus the abyss between the labourer's position and that of the capitalist would keep widening.[1].

Ricardo was the first who accurately formulated the three laws we have above stated. But he falls into the following errors: (1) he looks

[1] "When an alteration takes place in the productiveness of industry, and that either more or less is produced by a given quantity of labour and capital, the proportion of wages may obviously vary, whilst the quantity, which that proportion represents, remains the same, or the quantity may vary, whilst the proportion remains the same" ([J. Casenove,] *Outlines of Political Economy, &c.*, p. 67).

upon the special conditions under which these laws hold good as the general and sole conditions of capitalist production. He knows no change, either in the length of the working day, or in the intensity of labour; consequently with him there can be only one variable factor, viz., the productiveness of labour; (2), and this error vitiates his analysis much more than (1), he has not, any more than have the other economists, investigated surplus value as such, i. e., independently of its particular forms, such as profit, rent, &c. He therefore confounds together the laws of the rate of surplus value and the laws of the rate of profit. The rate of profit is, as we have already said, the ratio of the surplus value to the total capital advanced, the rate of surplus value is the ratio of the surplus value to the variable part of that capital. Assume that a capital C of £500 is made up of raw material, instruments of labour, &c. (c) to the amount of £400; and of wages (v) to the amount of £100; and further, that the surplus value (s) = £100. Then we have rate of surplus value $\frac{s}{v} = \frac{£100}{£100} = 100\%$. But the rate of profit $\frac{s}{C} = \frac{£100}{£500} = 20\%$. It is, besides, obvious that the rate of profit may depend on circumstances that in no way affect the rate of surplus value. I shall show in Book III that, with a given rate of surplus value, we may have any number of rates of profit, and that various rates of surplus value may, under given conditions, express themselves in a single rate of profit.

### II. WORKING DAY CONSTANT. PRODUCTIVENESS OF LABOUR CONSTANT. INTENSITY OF LABOUR VARIABLE

Increased intensity of labour means increased expenditure of labour in a given time. Hence a working day of more intense labour is embodied in more products than is one of less intense labour, the length of each day being the same. Increased productiveness of labour also, it is true, will supply more products in a given working day. But in this latter case, the value of each single product falls, for it costs less labour than before; in the former case, that value remains unchanged, for each article costs the same labour as before. Here we have an increase in the number of products, unaccompanied by a fall in their individual prices: as their number increases, so does the sum of their prices. But in the case of increased productiveness, a given value is spread over a greater mass of products. Hence the length of the working day being constant, a day's labour of increased intensity

will be incorporated in an increased value, and, the value of money remaining unchanged, in more money. The value created varies with the extent to which the intensity of labour deviates from its normal intensity in the society. A given working day, therefore, no longer creates a constant, but a variable value; in a day of 12 hours of ordinary intensity, the value created is, say 6 shillings, but with increased intensity, the value created may be 7, 8 or more shillings. It is clear that, if the value created by a day's labour increases from, say, 6 to 8 shillings, then the two parts into which this value is divided, viz., price of labour power and surplus value, may both of them increase simultaneously, and either equally or unequally. They may both simultaneously increase from 3 shillings to 4. Here, the rise in the price of labour power does not necessarily imply that the price has risen above the value of labour power. On the contrary, the rise in price may be accompanied by a fall in value. This occurs whenever the rise in the price of labour power does not compensate for its increased wear and tear.

We know that, with transitory exceptions, a change in the productiveness of labour does not cause any change in the value of labour power, nor consequently in the magnitude of surplus value, unless the products of the industries affected are articles habitually consumed by the labourers. In the present case this condition no longer applies. For when the variation is either in the duration or in the intensity of labour, there is always a corresponding change in the magnitude of the value created, independently of the nature of the article in which that value is embodied.

If the intensity of labour were to increase simultaneously and equally in every branch of industry, then the new and higher degree of intensity would become the normal degree for the society, and would therefore cease to be taken account of. But still, even then, the intensity of labour would be different in different countries, and would modify the international application of the law of value. The more intense working day of one nation would be represented by a greater sum of money than would the less intense day of another nation.[1]

[1] "All things being equal, the English manufacturer can turn out a considerably larger amount of work in a given time than a foreign manufacturer, so much as to counterbalance the difference of the working days, between 60 hours a week here, and 72 or 80 elsewhere" ("Rep. of Insp. of Fact. for 31st Oct., 1855", p. 65). The most infallible means for reducing this qualitative difference between the English and Conti-

### III. PRODUCTIVENESS AND INTENSITY OF LABOUR CONSTANT. LENGTH OF THE WORKING DAY VARIABLE

The working day may vary in two ways. It may be made either longer or shorter.[442] From our present data, and within the limits of the assumptions made on p. 487 we obtain the following laws:

(1.) The working day creates a greater or less amount of value in proportion to its length — thus, a variable and not a constant quantity of value.

(2.) Every change in the relation between the magnitudes of surplus value and of the value of labour power arises from a change in the absolute magnitude of the surplus labour, and consequently of the surplusvalue.

(3.) The absolute value of labour power can change only in consequence of the reaction exercised by the prolongation of surplus labour upon the wear and tear of labour power. Every change in this absolute value is therefore the effect, but never the cause, of a change in the magnitude of surplus value.

We begin with the case in which the working day is shortened.

(1.) A shortening of the working day under the conditions given above, leaves the value of labour power, and with it, the necessary labour time, unaltered. It reduces the surplus labour and surplus value. Along with the absolute magnitude of the latter, its relative magnitude also falls, i. e., its magnitude relatively to the value of labour power whose magnitude remains unaltered. Only by lowering the price of labour power below its value could the capitalist save himself harmless.

All the usual arguments against the shortening of the working day, assume that it takes place under the conditions we have here supposed to exist; but in reality the very contrary is the case: a change in the productiveness and intensity of labour either precedes, or immediately follows, a shortening of the working day.[1]

(2.) Lengthening of the working day. Let the necessary labour time be 6 hours, or the value of labour power 3 shillings; also let the surplus labour be 6 hours or the surplus value 3 shillings. The whole working day then amounts to 12 hours and is embodied in a value of

nental working hour would be a law shortening quantitatively the length of the working day in Continental factories.

[1] "There are compensating circumstances ... which the working of the Ten Hours' Act has brought to light" ("Rep. of Insp. of Fact. for 31st Oct. 1848", p. 7).[443]

6 shillings. If, now, the working day be lengthened by 2 hours and the price of labour power remain unaltered, the surplus value increases both absolutely and relatively. Although there is no absolute change in the value of labour power, it suffers a relative fall. Under the conditions assumed in I there could not be a change of relative magnitude in the value of labour power without a change in its absolute magnitude. Here, on the contrary, the change of relative magnitude in the value of labour power is the result of the change of absolute magnitude in surplus value.

Since the value in which a day's labour is embodied, increases with the length of that day, it is evident that the surplus value and the price of labour power may simultaneously increase, either by equal or unequal quantities. This simultaneous increase is therefore possible in two cases, one, the actual lengthening of the working day, the other, an increase in the intensity of labour unaccompanied by such lengthening.

When the working day is prolonged, the price of labour power may fall below its value, although that price be nominally unchanged or even rise. The value of a day's labour power is, as will be remembered, estimated from its normal average duration, or from the normal duration of life among the labourers, and from corresponding normal transformations of organised bodily matter into motion,[1] in conformity with the nature of man. Up to a certain point, the increased wear and tear of labour power, inseparable from a lengthened working day, may be compensated by higher wages. But beyond this point the wear and tear increases in geometrical progression, and every condition suitable for the normal reproduction and functioning of labour power is suppressed. The price of labour power and the degree of its exploitation cease to be commensurable quantities.

## IV. SIMULTANEOUS VARIATIONS IN THE DURATION, PRODUCTIVENESS, AND INTENSITY OF LABOUR

It is obvious that a large number of combinations are here possible. Any two of the factors may vary and the third remain constant, or all

[1] "The amount of labour which a man had undergone in the course of 24 hours might be approximately arrived at by an examination of the chemical changes which had taken place in his body, changed forms in matter indicating the anterior exercise of dynamic force" (Grove, *On the Correlation of Physical Forces*, [pp. 308-09]).

three may vary at once. They may vary either in the same or in different degrees, in the same or in opposite directions, with the result that the variations counteract one another, either wholly or in part. Nevertheless the analysis of every possible case is easy in view of the results given in I, II, and III. The effect of every possible combination may be found by treating each factor in turn as variable, and the other two constant for the time being. We shall, therefore, notice, and that briefly, but two important cases.

### *(1.) Diminishing productiveness of labour with a simultaneous lengthening of the working day*

In speaking of diminishing productiveness of labour, we here refer to diminution in those industries whose products determine the value of labour power, such a diminution, for example, as results from decreasing fertility of the soil, and from the corresponding dearness of its products. Take the working day at 12 hours and the value created by it at 6 shillings, of which one half replaces the value of the labour power, the other forms the surplus value. Suppose, in consequence of the increased dearness of the products of the soil, that the value of labour power rises from 3 shillings to 4, and therefore the necessary labour time from 6 hours to 8. If there be no change in the length of the working day, the surplus labour would fall from 6 hours to 4, the surplus value from 3 shillings to 2. If the day be lengthened by 2 hours, i. e., from 12 hours to 14, the surplus labour remains at 6 hours, the surplus value at 3 shillings, but the surplus value decreases compared with the value of labour power, as measured by the necessary labour time. If the day be lengthened by 4 hours, viz., from 12 hours to 16, the proportional magnitudes of surplus value and value of labour power, of surplus labour and necessary labour, continue unchanged, but the absolute magnitude of surplus value rises from 3 shillings to 4, that of the surplus labour from 6 hours to 8, an increment of $33\frac{1}{3}\%$. Therefore, with diminishing productiveness of labour and a simultaneous lengthening of the working day, the absolute magnitude of surplus value may continue unaltered, at the same time that its relative magnitude diminishes; its relative magnitude may continue unchanged, at the same time that its absolute magnitude increases; and, provided the lengthening of the day be sufficient, both may increase.

In the period between 1799 and 1815 the increasing price of provisions led in England to a nominal rise in wages, although the real wages, expressed in the necessaries of life, fell. From this fact West and Ricardo[444] drew the conclusion, that the diminution in the productiveness of agricultural labour had brought about a fall in the rate of surplus value, and they made this assumption of a fact that existed only in their imaginations, the starting point of important investigations into the relative magnitudes of wages, profits, and rent. But, as a matter of fact, surplus value had at that time, thanks to the increased intensity of labour, and to the prolongation of the working day, increased both in absolute and relative magnitude. This was the period in which the right to prolong the hours of labour to an outrageous extent was established[1]; the period that was especially characterised by an accelerated accumulation of capital here, by pauperism there.[2]

[1] "Corn and labour rarely march quite abreast; but there is an obvious limit, beyond which they cannot be separated. With regard to the unusual exertions made by the labouring classes in periods of dearness, which produce the fall of wages noticed in the evidence" (namely, before the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry, 1814-15), "they are most meritorious in the individuals, and certainly favour the growth of capital. But no man of humanity could wish to see them constant and unremitted. They are most admirable as a temporary relief; but if they were constantly in action, effects of a similar kind would result from them, as from the population of a country being pushed to the very extreme limits of its food" (Malthus, *Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent*, Lond., 1815, p. 48, note). All honour to Malthus that he lays stress on the lengthening of the hours of labour, a fact to which he elsewhere in his pamphlet draws attention, while Ricardo and others, in face of the most notorious facts, make invariability in the length of the working day the groundwork of all their investigations. But the conservative interests, which Malthus served, prevented him from seeing that an unlimited prolongation of the working day, combined with an extraordinary development of machinery, and the exploitation of women and children, must inevitably have made a great portion of the working-class "supernumerary", particularly whenever the war should have ceased, and the monopoly of England in the markets of the world should have come to an end. It was, of course, far more convenient, and much more in conformity with the interests of the ruling classes, whom Malthus adored like a true priest, to explain this "overpopulation" by the eternal laws of Nature, rather than by the historical laws of capitalist production.[445]

[2] "A principal cause of the increase of capital, during the war, proceeded from the greater exertions, and perhaps the greater privations of the labouring classes, the most numerous in every society. More women and children were compelled by necessitous circumstances, to enter upon laborious occupations, and former workmen were, from the same cause, obliged to devote a greater portion of their time to increase production" ([G. Robertson,] *Essays on Pol. Econ., in which are Illustrated the Principal Causes of the Present National Distress*. Lond., 1830, p. 248).

### *(2.) Increasing intensity and productiveness of labour with simultaneous shortening of the working day*

Increased productiveness and greater intensity of labour, both have a like effect. They both augment the mass of articles produced in a given time. Both, therefore, shorten that portion of the working day which the labourer needs to produce his means of subsistence or their equivalent. The minimum length of the working day is fixed by this necessary but contractile portion of it. If the whole working day were to shrink to the length of this portion, surplus labour would vanish, a consummation utterly impossible under the régime of capital. Only by suppressing the capitalist form of production could the length of the working day be reduced to the necessary labour time. But, even in that case, the latter would extend its limits. On the one hand, because the notion of "means of subsistence" would considerably expand, and the labourer would lay claim to an altogether different standard of life. On the other hand, because a part of what is now surplus labour, would then count as necessary labour; I mean the labour of forming a fund for reserve and accumulation.

The more the productiveness of labour increases, the more can the working day be shortened; and the more the working day is shortened, the more can the intensity of labour increase. From a social point of view, the productiveness increases in the same ratio as the economy of labour, which, in its turn, includes not only economy of the means of production, but also the avoidance of all useless labour. The capitalist mode of production, while on the one hand, enforcing economy in each individual business, on the other hand, begets, by its anarchical system of competition, the most outrageous squandering of labour power and of the social means of production, not to mention the creation of a vast number of employments, at present indispensable, but in themselves superfluous.

The intensity and productiveness of labour being given, the time which society is bound to devote to material production is shorter, and as a consequence, the time at its disposal for the free development, intellectual and social, of the individual is greater, in proportion as the work is more and more evenly divided among all the able-bodied members of society, and as a particular class is more and more deprived of the power to shift the natural burden of labour from its own shoulders to those of another layer of society. In this direction, the shortening of the working day finds at last a limit in the generali-

sation of labour. In capitalist society spare time is acquired for one class by converting the whole life-time of the masses into labour time.

## Chapter XVIII

### VARIOUS FORMULÆ FOR THE RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE

We have seen that the rate of surplus value is represented by the following formulæ.

$$\text{I.}\quad \frac{\text{Surplus value}}{\text{Variable Capital}}\left(\frac{s}{v}\right) = \frac{\text{Surplus value}}{\text{Value of labour power}} = \frac{\text{Surplus labour}}{\text{Necessary labour}}.$$

The two first of these formulæ represent, as a ratio of values, that which, in the third, is represented as a ratio of the times during which those values are produced. These formulæ, supplementary the one to the other, are rigorously definite and correct. We therefore find them substantially, but not consciously, worked out in classical political economy. There we meet with the following derivative formulæ.

$$\text{II.}\quad \frac{\text{Surplus labour}}{\text{Working day}} = \frac{\text{Surplus value}}{\text{Value of the Product}} = \frac{\text{Surplus product}}{\text{Total Product}}.$$

One and the same ratio is here expressed as a ratio of labour times, of the values in which those labour times are embodied, and of the products in which those values exist. It is of course understood that, by "Value of the Product," is meant only the value newly created in a working day, the constant part of the value of the product being excluded.

In all of these formulæ (II), the actual degree of exploitation of labour, or the rate of surplus value, is falsely expressed. Let the working day be 12 hours. Then, making the same assumptions as in former instances, the real degree of exploitation of labour will be represented in the following proportions.

$$\frac{\text{6 hours surplus labour}}{\text{6 hours necessary labour}} = \frac{\text{Surplus value of 3 sh.}}{\text{Variable Capital of 3 sh.}} = 100\%.$$

From formulæ II we get very differently,

$$\frac{\text{6 hours surplus labour}}{\text{Working day of 12 hours}} = \frac{\text{Surplus value of 3 sh.}}{\text{Value created of 6 sh.}} = 50\%.$$

These derivative formulæ express, in reality, only the proportion in which the working day, or the value produced by it, is divided between capitalist and labourer. If they are to be treated as direct expressions of the degree of self-expansion of capital, the following erroneous law would hold good: Surplus labour or surplus value can never reach 100%.[1] Since the surplus labour is only an aliquot part of the working day, or since surplus value is only an aliquot part of the value created, the surplus labour must necessarily be always less than the working day, or the surplus value always less than the total value created. In order, however, to attain the ratio of 100:100 they must be equal. In order that the surplus labour may absorb the whole day (i. e., an average day of any week or year), the necessary labour must sink to zero. But if the necessary labour vanish, so too does the surplus labour, since it is only a function of the former. The ratio $\frac{\text{Surplus labour}}{\text{Working day}}$ or $\frac{\text{Surplus value}}{\text{Value created}}$ can therefore never reach the limit of $\frac{100}{100}$, still less rise to $\frac{100+x}{100}$. But not so the rate of surplus value, the real degree of exploitation of labour. Take, e. g., the estimate of L. de Lavergne, according to which the English agricultural labourer gets

[1] Thus, e. g., in "Dritter Brief an v. Kirchmann von Rodbertus. Widerlegung der Ricardo'schen Lehre von der Grundrente und Begründung einer neuen Rententheorie", Berlin, 1851. I shall return to this letter later on; in spite of its erroneous theory of rent, it sees through the nature of capitalist production.[2] //*Added in the 3rd German edition.*—It may be seen from this how favourably Marx judged his predecessors, whenever he found in them real progress, or new and sound ideas. The subsequent publication of Rodbertus' letters to Rud. Meyer has shown that the above acknowledgement by Marx wants restricting to some extent. In those letters this passage occurs: "Capital must be rescued not only from labour, but from itself, and that will be best effected, by treating the acts of the industrial capitalist as economic and political functions, that have been delegated to him with his capital, and by treating his profit as a form of salary, because we still know no other social organisation. But salaries may be regulated, and may also be reduced if they take too much from wages. The irruption of Marx into Society, as I may call his book, must be warded off.... Altogether, Marx's book is not so much an investigation into capital, as a polemic against the present form of capital, a form which he confounds with the concept itself of capital" (*Briefe, &c., von Dr. Rodbertus-Jagetzow, herausgg. von Dr. Rud. Meyer*, Berlin, 1881, I. Bd. p. 111, 48. Brief von Rodbertus). To such ideological commonplaces did the bold attack by Rodbertus in his "social letters" finally dwindle down.—*F. E.*//

only $\frac{1}{4}$, the capitalist (farmer) on the other hand $\frac{3}{4}$ of the product[1] or of its value,[446] apart from the question of how the booty is subsequently divided between the capitalist, the landlord and others. According to this, the surplus labour of the English agricultural labourer is to his necessary labour as 3:1, which gives a rate of exploitation of 300%.

The favourite method of treating the working day as constant in magnitude became, through the use of the formulæ II, a fixed usage, because in them surplus labour is always compared with a working day of given length. The same holds good when the repartition of the value produced is exclusively kept in sight. The working day that has already been realised in a given value, must necessarily be a day of given length.

The habit of representing surplus value and value of labour power as fractions of the value created — a habit that originates in the capitalist mode of production itself, and whose import will hereafter be disclosed — conceals the very transaction that characterises capital, namely the exchange of variable capital for living labour power, and the consequent exclusion of the labourer from the product. Instead of the real fact, we have the false semblance of an association, in which labourer and capitalist divide the product in proportion to the different elements which they respectively contribute towards its formation.[2]

Moreover, the formulæ II can at any time be reconverted into formulæ I. If, for instance, we have $\frac{\text{Surplus labour of 6 hours}}{\text{Working day of 12 hours}}$, then the necessary labour time being 12 hours less the surplus labour of 6 hours, we get the following result,

$$\frac{\text{Surplus labour of 6 hours}}{\text{Necessary labour of 6 hours}} = \frac{100}{100}.$$

[1] That part of the product which merely replaces the constant capital advanced, is of course left out in this calculation. Mr. L. de Lavergne, a blind admirer of England, is inclined to estimate the share of the capitalist too low, rather than too high.

[2] All well-developed forms of capitalist production being forms of cooperation, nothing is, of course, easier, than to make abstraction from their antagonistic character, and to transform them by a word into some form of free association, as is done by A. de Laborde in *De l'Esprit d'Association dans tous les intérêts de la communauté*, Paris 1818 [pp. 130-31]. H. Carey, the Yankee, occasionally performs this conjuring trick with like success, even with the relations resulting from slavery.[447]

There is a third formula which I have occasionally already anticipated; it is

$$\text{III.}\ \frac{\text{Surplus value}}{\text{Value of labour power}} = \frac{\text{Surplus labour}}{\text{Necessary labour}} = \frac{\text{Unpaid labour}}{\text{Paid labour}}.$$

After the investigations we have given above, it is no longer possible to be misled, by the formula $\frac{\text{Unpaid labour}}{\text{Paid labour}}$, into concluding, that the capitalist pays for labour and not for labour power. This formula is only a popular expression for $\frac{\text{Surplus labour}}{\text{Necessary labour}}$ The capitalist pays the value, so far as price coincides with value, of the labour power, and receives in exchange the disposal of the living labour power itself. His usufruct is spread over two periods. During one the labourer produces a value that is only equal to the value of his labour power: he produces its equivalent. Thus the capitalist receives in return for his advance of the price of the labour power, a product of the same price. It is the same as if he had bought the product ready made in the market. During the other period, the period of surplus labour, the usufruct of the labour power creates a value for the capitalist, that costs him no equivalent.[1] This expenditure of labour power comes to him gratis. In this sense it is that surplus labour can be called unpaid labour.

Capital, therefore, is not only, as Adam Smith says,[448] the command over labour. It is essentially the command over unpaid labour. All surplus value, whatever particular form (profit, interest, or rent), it may subsequently crystallise into, is in substance the materialisation of unpaid labour. The secret of the self-expansion of capital resolves itself into having the disposal of a definite quantity of other people's unpaid labour.

[1] Although the Physiocrats could not penetrate the mystery of surplus value, yet this much was clear to them, viz., that it is "a wealth which is independent and disposable, which he" (the possessor) "has not bought and which he sells" (Turgot, *Réflexions sur la Formation et la Distribution des Richesses*, p. 11).

# Part VI

## WAGES

## Chapter XIX

### THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE VALUE (AND RESPECTIVELY THE PRICE) OF LABOUR POWER INTO WAGES

On the surface of bourgeois society the wage of the labourer appears as the price of labour, a certain quantity of money that is paid for a certain quantity of labour. Thus people speak of the value of labour and call its expression in money its necessary or natural price. On the other hand they speak of the market-prices of labour, i. e., prices oscillating above or below its natural price.

But what is the value of a commodity? The objective form of the social labour expended in its production. And how do we measure the quantity of this value? By the quantity of the labour contained in it. How then is the value, e. g., of a 12 hours' working day to be determined? By the 12 working hours contained in a working day of 12 hours, which is an absurd tautology.[1]

In order to be sold as a commodity in the market, labour must at all events exist before it is sold. But could the labourer give it an inde-

[1] "Mr. Ricardo, ingeniously enough, avoids a difficulty which, on a first view, threatens to encumber his doctrine, that value depends on the quantity of labour employed in production. If this principle is rigidly adhered to, it follows that the value of labour depends on the quantity of labour employed in producing it—which is evidently absurd. By a dexterous turn, therefore, Mr. Ricardo makes the value of labour depend on the quantity of labour required to produce wages; or, to give him the benefit of his own language, he maintains, that the value of labour is to be estimated by the quantity of labour required to produce wages; by which he means the quantity of labour required to produce the money or commodities given to the labourer. This is similar to saying, that the value of cloth is estimated, not by the quantity of labour bestowed on its production, but by the quantity of labour bestowed on the production of the silver, for which the cloth is exchanged" ([S. Bailey,] *A Critical Dissertation on the Nature, &c., of Value*, pp. 50, 51).

pendent objective existence, he would sell a commodity and not labour.[1]

Apart from these contradictions, a direct exchange of money, i. e., of realised labour, with living labour would either do away with the law of value which only begins to develop itself freely on the basis of capitalist production, or do away with capitalist production itself, which rests directly on wage labour. The working day of 12 hours embodies itself, e. g., in a money value of 6s. Either equivalents are exchanged, and then the labourer receives 6s., for 12 hours' labour; the price of his labour would be equal to the price of his product. In this case he produces no surplus value for the buyer of his labour, the 6s. are not transformed into capital, the basis of capitalist production vanishes. But it is on this very basis that he sells his labour and that his labour is wage labour. Or else he receives for 12 hours' labour less than 6s., i. e., less than 12 hours' labour. Twelve hours' labour are exchanged against 10, 6, &c., hours' labour. This equalisation of unequal quantities not merely does away with the determination of value. Such a self-destructive contradiction cannot be in any way even enunciated or formulated as a law.[2]

It is of no avail to deduce the exchange of more labour against less, from their difference of form, the one being realised, the other living.[3] This is the more absurd as the value of a commodity is determined not by the quantity of labour actually realised in it, but by the quantity of living labour necessary for its production. A commodity repre-

[1] "If you call labour a commodity, it is not like a commodity which is first produced in order to exchange, and then brought to market where it must exchange with other commodities according to the respective quantities of each which there may be in the market at the time; labour is created the moment it is brought to market; nay, it is brought to market before it is created" (*Observations on Certain Verbal Disputes, etc.*, pp. 75, 76).

[2] "Treating labour as a commodity, and capital, the produce of labour, as another, then, if the values of these two commodities were regulated by equal quantities of labour, a given amount of labour would ... exchange for that quantity of capital which had been produced by the same amount of labour; antecedent labour would ... exchange for the same amount as present labour. But the value of labour in relation to other commodities ... is determined not by equal quantities of labour" (E. G. Wakefield in his edition of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, vol. i, London, 1835, pp. 230-31, note).

[3] "It was necessary to agree" (a new edition of the *contrat social*[449]!) "that whenever labour already performed was exchanged for labour yet to be done, the latter" (the capitalist) "would have a higher value than the former" (the worker). Simonde (i. e., Sismondi), *De la Richesse Commerciale*, Genève, 1803, t. 1, p. 37.

sents, say 6 working hours. If an invention is made by which it can be produced in 3 hours, the value, even of the commodity already produced, falls by half. It represents now 3 hours of social labour instead of the 6 formerly necessary. It is the quantity of labour required for its production, not the realised form of that labour, by which the amount of the value of a commodity is determined.

That which comes directly face to face with the possessor of money on the market, is in fact not labour, but the labourer. What the latter sells is his labour power. As soon as his labour actually begins, it has already ceased to belong to him; it can therefore no longer be sold by him. Labour is the substance, and the immanent measure of value, but *has itself no value.*[1]

In the expression "value of labour", the idea of value is not only completely obliterated, but actually reversed. It is an expression as imaginary as the value of the earth. These imaginary expressions, arise, however, from the relations of production themselves. They are categories for the phenomenal forms of essential relations. That in their appearance things often represent themselves in inverted form is pretty well known in every science except political economy.[2]

Classical political economy borrowed from everyday life the category "price of labour" without further criticism, and then simply asked the question, how is this price determined? It soon recognised

[1] "Labour the exclusive standard of value ... the creator of all wealth, no commodity." Th. Hodgskin, l. c. [*Popular Political Economy*, London, 1927,] p. 186 [note].

[2] On the other hand, the attempt to explain such expressions as merely poetic license only shows the impotence of the analysis. Hence, in answer to Proudhon's phrase; "Labour is said to have value not as a commodity itself, but in view of the values which it is supposed to contain potentially. The value of labour is a figurative expression", &c., I have remarked: "In labour-commodity, which is a grim reality, he" (Proudhon) "sees nothing but a grammatical ellipsis. Thus the whole of existing society, founded on labour-commodity, is henceforth founded on a poetic license, a figurative expression. If society wants to 'eliminate all the drawbacks' that assail it, well, let it eliminate all the ill-sounding terms, change the language; and to this end it has only to apply to the Academy for a new edition of its dictionary" (Karl Marx, *Misère de la Philosophie*, pp. 34, 35 [present edition, Vol. 6, p. 129]). It is naturally still more convenient to understand by value nothing at all. Then one can without difficulty subsume everything under this category. Thus, e. g., J. B. Say: what is "value"? Answer: "It is what a thing is worth," and what is "price"? Answer: "The value of a thing expressed in money." [450] And why has "labour on the land ... a value?" "Because a price is put upon it." [451] Therefore value is what a thing is worth, and the land has its "value", because its value is "expressed in money". This is anyhow, a very simple way of explaining the why and the wherefore of things.

that the change in the relations of demand and supply explained in regard to the price of labour, as of all other commodities, nothing except its changes, i. e., the oscillations of the market-price above or below a certain mean. If demand and supply balance, the oscillation of prices ceases, all other conditions remaining the same. But then demand and supply also cease to explain anything. The price of labour, at the moment when demand and supply are in equilibrium, is its natural price, determined independently of the relation of demand and supply. And how this price is determined, is just the question. Or a larger period of oscillations in the market-price is taken, e. g., a year, and they are found to cancel one the other, leaving a mean average quantity, a relatively constant magnitude. This had naturally to be determined otherwise than by its own compensating variations. This price which always finally predominates over the accidental market-prices of labour and regulates them, this "necessary price" (Physiocrats) or "natural price" of labour (Adam Smith) can, as with all other commodities, be nothing else than its value expressed in money.[452] In this way political economy expected to penetrate athwart the accidental prices of labour, to the value of labour. As with other commodities, this value was determined by the cost of production. But what is the cost of production — of the labourer, i. e., the cost of producing or reproducing the labourer himself? This question unconsciously substituted itself in political economy for the original one; for the search after the cost of production of labour as such turned in a circle and never left the spot. What economists therefore call value of labour, is in fact the value of labour power, as it exists in the personality of the labourer, which is as different from its function, labour, as a machine is from the work it performs. Occupied with the difference between the market-price of labour and its so-called value, with the relation of this value to the rate of profit, and to the values of the commodities produced by means of labour, &c., they never discovered that the course of the analysis had led not only from the market-prices of labour to its presumed value, but had led to the resolution of this value of labour itself into the value of labour power. Classical economy never arrived at a consciousness of the results of its own analysis; it accepted uncritically the categories "value of labour", "natural price of labour", &c., as final and as adequate expressions for the value relation under consideration, and was thus led, as will be seen later, into inextricable confusion and contradiction, while it offered to the vulgar economists a secure

basis of operations for their shallowness, which on principle worships appearances only.

Let us next see how value (and price) of labour power, present themselves in this transformed condition as wages.

We know that the daily value of labour power is calculated upon a certain length of the labourer's life, to which, again, corresponds a certain length of working day. Assume the habitual working day as 12 hours, the daily value of labour power as 3s., the expression in money of a value that embodies 6 hours of labour. If the labourer receives 3s., then he receives the value of his labour power functioning through 12 hours. If, now, this value of a day's labour power is expressed as the value of a day's labour itself, we have the formula: Twelve hours' labour has a value of 3s. The value of labour power thus determines the value of labour, or, expressed in money, its necessary price. If, on the other hand, the price of labour power differs from its value, in like manner the price of labour differs from its so-called value.

As the value of labour is only an irrational expression for the value of labour power, it follows, of course, that the value of labour must always be less than the value it produces, for the capitalist always makes labour power work longer than is necessary for the reproduction of its own value. In the above example, the value of the labour power that functions through 12 hours is 3s., a value for the reproduction of which 6 hours are required. The value which the labour power produces is, on the other hand, 6s., because it, in fact, functions during 12 hours, and the value it produces depends, not on its own value, but on the length of time it is in action. Thus, we have a result absurd at first sight — that labour which creates a value of 6s. possesses a value of 3s.[1]

We see, further: The value of 3s. by which a part only of the working day — i. e., 6 hours' labour — is paid for, appears as the value or price of the whole working day of 12 hours, which thus includes 6 hours unpaid for. The wage form thus extinguishes every trace of the division of the working day into necessary labour and surplus labour, into paid and unpaid labour. All labour appears as paid labour. In the corvée, the labour of the worker for himself, and his com-

[1] Cf. *Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie*, p. 40, where I state that, in the portion of that work that deals with Capital, this problem will be solved: "How does production, on the basis of exchange value determined simply by labour time, lead to the result that the exchange value of labour is less than the exchange value of its product?"

pulsory labour for his lord, differ in space and time in the clearest possible way. In slave labour, even that part of the working day in which the slave is only replacing the value of his own means of existence, in which, therefore, in fact, he works for himself alone, appears as labour for his master. All the slave's labour appears as unpaid labour.[1] In wage labour, on the contrary, even surplus labour, or unpaid labour, appears as paid. There the property relation conceals the labour of the slave for himself; here the money relation conceals the unrequited labour of the wage labourer.

Hence, we may understand the decisive importance of the transformation of value and price of labour power into the form of wages, or into the value and price of labour itself. This phenomenal form, which makes the actual relation invisible, and, indeed, shows the direct opposite of that relation, forms the basis of all the juridical notions of both labourer and capitalist, of all the mystifications of the capitalistic mode of production, of all its illusions as to liberty, of all the apologetic shifts of the vulgar economists.

If history took a long time to get at the bottom of the mystery of wages, nothing, on the other hand, is more easy to understand than the necessity, the *raison d'être*, of this phenomenon.

The exchange between capital and labour at first presents itself to the mind in the same guise as the buying and selling of all other commodities. The buyer gives a certain sum of money, the seller an article of a nature different from money. The jurist's consciousness recognises in this, at most, a material difference, expressed in the juridically equivalent formulæ: "Do ut des, do ut facias, facio ut des, facio ut facias."[453]

Further. Exchange value and use value, being intrinsically incommensurable magnitudes, the expressions "value of labour", "price of labour", do not seem more irrational than the expressions "value of cotton", "price of cotton". Moreover, the labourer is paid after he has given his labour. In its function of means of payment, money realises subsequently the value or price of the article supplied — i. e., in this particular case, the value or price of the labour supplied. Finally, the use value supplied by the labourer to the capitalist is not, in fact,

[1] The *Morning Star*, a London Free-trade organ, naif to silliness, protested again and again during the American Civil War,[7] with all the moral indignation of which man is capable, that the negro in the "Confederate States" worked absolutely for nothing. It should have compared the daily cost of such a negro with that of the free workman in the East End of London.

his labour power, but its function, some definite useful labour, the work of tailoring, shoemaking, spinning, &c. That this same labour is, on the other hand, the universal value-creating element, and thus possesses a property by which it differs from all other commodities, is beyond the cognisance of the ordinary mind.

Let us put ourselves in the place of the labourer who receives for 12 hours' labour, say the value produced by 6 hours' labour, say 3s. For him, in fact, his 12 hours' labour is the means of buying the 3s. The value of his labour power may vary, with the value of his usual means of subsistence, from 3 to 4 shillings, or from 3 to 2 shillings; or, if the value of his labour power remains constant, its price may, in consequence of changing relations of demand and supply, rise to 4s. or fall to 2s. He always gives 12 hours of labour. Every change in the amount of the equivalent that he receives appears to him, therefore, necessarily as a change in the value or price of his 12 hours' work. This circumstance misled Adam Smith, who treated the working day as a constant quantity,[1] to the assertion that the value of labour is constant, although the value of the means of subsistence may vary, and the same working day, therefore, may represent itself in more or less money for the labourer.

Let us consider, on the other hand, the capitalist. He wishes to receive as much labour as possible for as little money as possible. Practically, therefore, the only thing that interests him is the difference between the price of labour power and the value which its function creates. But, then, he tries to buy all commodities as cheaply as possible, and always accounts for his profit by simple cheating, by buying under, and selling over the value. Hence, he never comes to see that, if such a thing as the value of labour really existed, and he really paid this value, no capital would exist, his money would not be turned into capital.

Moreover, the actual movement of wages presents phenomena which seem to prove that not the value of labour power is paid, but the value of its function, of labour itself. We may reduce these phenomena to two great classes: (1.) Change of wages with the changing length of the working day. One might as well conclude that not the value of a machine is paid, but that of its working, because it costs more to hire a machine for a week than for a day. (2.) The individual

[1] Adam Smith only accidentally alludes to the variation of the working day when he is referring to piece wages. [454]

difference in the wages of different labourers who do the same kind of work. We find this individual difference, but are not deceived by it, in the system of slavery, where, frankly and openly, without any circumlocution, labour power itself is sold. Only, in the slave system, the advantage of a labour power above the average, and the disadvantage of a labour power below the average, affects the slave-owner; in the wage-labour system it affects the labourer himself, because his labour power is, in the one case, sold by himself, in the other, by a third person.

For the rest, in respect to the phenomenal form, "value and price of labour", or "wages", as contrasted with the essential relation manifested therein, viz., the value and price of labour power, the same difference holds that holds in respect to all phenomena and their hidden substratum. The former appear directly and spontaneously as current modes of thought; the latter must first be discovered by science. Classical political economy nearly touches the true relation of things, without, however, consciously formulating it. This it cannot so long as it sticks in its bourgeois skin.

## Chapter XX

### TIME WAGES

Wages themselves again take many forms, a fact not recognisable in the ordinary economic treatises which, exclusively interested in the material side of the question, neglect every difference of form. An exposition of all these forms however, belongs to the special study of wage labour,[455] not therefore to this work. Still the two fundamental forms must be briefly worked out here.

The sale of labour power, as will be remembered, takes place for a definite period of time. The converted form under which the daily, weekly, &c., value of labour power presents itself, is hence that of time wages, therefore day wages, &c.

Next it is to be noted that the laws set forth, in the 17th chapter, on the changes in the relative magnitudes of price of labour power and surplus value, pass by a simple transformation of form, into laws of wages. Similarly the distinction between the exchange value of labour power, and the sum of the necessaries of life into which this value is converted, now reappears as the distinction between nominal

and real wages. It would be useless to repeat here, with regard to the phenomenal form, what has been already worked out in the substantial form. We limit ourselves therefore to a few points characteristic of time wages.

The sum of money[1] which the labourer receives for his daily or weekly labour, forms the amount of his nominal wages, or of his wages estimated in value. But it is clear that according to the length of the working day, that is, according to the amount of actual labour daily supplied, the same daily or weekly wage may represent very different prices of labour, i. e., very different sums of money for the same quantity of labour.[2] We must, therefore, in considering time wages, again distinguish between the sum total of the daily or weekly wages, &c., and the price of labour. How then to find this price, i. e., the money value of a given quantity of labour? The average price of labour is found, when the average daily value of the labour power is divided by the average number of hours in the working day. If, e. g., the daily value of labour power is 3 shillings, the value of the product of 6 working hours, and if the working day is 12 hours, the price of 1 working hour is $\frac{3}{12}$ shillings = 3d.

The price of the working hour thus found serves as the unit measure for the price of labour.

It follows therefore that the daily and weekly wages, &c., may remain the same, although the price of labour falls constantly. If, e. g., the habitual working day is 10 hours and the daily value of the labour power 3s., the price of the working hour is $3\frac{3}{5}$ d. It falls to 3d. as soon as the working day rises to 12 hours, to $2\frac{2}{5}$ d. as soon as it rises to 15 hours. Daily or weekly wages remain, despite all this, unchanged. On the contrary, the daily or weekly wages may rise, although the price of labour remains constant or even falls. If, e. g., the working day is 10 hours, and the daily value of labour power 3 shillings, the price of one working hour is $3\frac{3}{5}$ d. If the labourer in consequence of increase of trade works 12 hours, the price of labour remaining the same, his daily wage now rises to 3 shillings $7\frac{1}{5}$ d.

[1] The value of money itself is here always supposed constant.

[2] "The price of labour is the sum paid for a given quantity of labour" (Sir Edward West, *Price of Corn and Wages of Labour*, London, 1826, p. 67). West is the author of the anonymous *Essay on the Application of Capital to Land. By a Fellow of the University College of Oxford*, London, 1815. An epoch-making work in the history of political economy.

without any variation in the price of labour. The same result might follow if, instead of the extensive amount of labour, its intensive amount increased.[1] The rise of the nominal daily or weekly wages may therefore be accompanied by a price of labour that remains stationary or falls. The same holds as to the income of the labourer's family, as soon as the quantity of labour expended by the head of the family is increased by the labour of the members of his family. There are, therefore, methods of lowering the price of labour independent of the reduction of the nominal daily or weekly wages.[2]

As a general law it follows that, given the amount of daily, weekly labour, &c., the daily or weekly wages depend on the price of labour which itself varies either with the value of labour power, or with the difference between its price and its value. Given, on the other hand, the price of labour, the daily or weekly wages depend on the quantity of the daily or weekly labour.

The unit measure for time wages, the price of the working hour, is the quotient of the value of a day's labour power, divided by the number of hours of the average working day. Let the latter be 12 hours, and the daily value of labour power 3 shillings, the value of the product of 6 hours of labour. Under these circumstances the price of a working hour is 3d., the value produced in it is 6d. If the labourer is now employed less than 12 hours (or less than 6 days in the week), e. g., only 6 or 8 hours, he receives, with this price of labour, only 2s.

[1] "The wages of labour depend upon the price of labour and the quantity of labour performed.... An increase in the wages of labour does not necessarily imply an enhancement of the price of labour. From fuller employment, and greater exertions, the wages of labour may be considerably increased, while the price of labour may continue the same." West, l. c., pp. 67, 68, 112. The main question: "How is the price of labour determined?" West, however, dismisses with mere banalities.

[2] This is perceived by the fanatical representative of the industrial bourgeoisie of the 18th century, the author of the *Essay on Trade and Commerce* often quoted by us, although he puts the matter in a confused way: "It is the quantity of labour and not the price of it (he means by this the nominal daily or weekly wages) that is determined by the price of provisions and other necessaries: reduce the price of necessaries very low, and of course you reduce the quantity of labour in proportion. Master-manufacturers know that there are various ways of raising and felling the price of labour, besides that of altering its nominal amount" ([J. Cunningham,] l. c., pp. 48, 61). In his *Three Lectures on the Rate of Wages*, London, 1830, in which N. W. Senior uses West's work without mentioning it, he says: "The labourer is principally interested in the amount of wages" (p. 15), that is to say the labourer is principally interested in what he receives, the nominal sum of his wages, not in that which he gives, the amount of labour!

or 1s. 6d. a day.[1] As on our hypothesis he must work on the average 6 hours daily, in order to produce a day's wage corresponding merely to the value of his labour power, as according to the same hypothesis he works only half of every hour for himself, and half for the capitalist, it is clear that he cannot obtain for himself the value of the product of 6 hours if he is employed less than 12 hours. In previous chapters we saw the destructive consequences of overwork; here we find the sources of the sufferings that result to the labourer from his insufficient employment.

If the hour's wage is fixed so that the capitalist does not bind himself to pay a day's or a week's wage, but only to pay wages for the hours during which he chooses to employ the labourer, he can employ him for a shorter time than that which is originally the basis of the calculation of the hour wage, or the unit-measure of the price of labour. Since this unit is determined by the ratio $\frac{\text{daily value of labour power}}{\text{working day of a given number of hours}}$, it, of course, loses all meaning as soon as the working day ceases to contain a definite number of hours. The connexion between the paid and the unpaid labour is destroyed. The capitalist can now wring from the labour a certain quantity of surplus labour without allowing him the labour time necessary for his own subsistence. He can annihilate all regularity of employment, and according to his own convenience, caprice, and the interest of the moment, make the most enormous overwork alternate with relative or absolute cessation of work. He can, under the pretence of paying "the normal price of labour", abnormally lengthen the working day without any corresponding compensation to the labourer. Hence the perfectly rational revolt in 1860 of the London labourers,[456] employed in the building trades, against the attempt of the capitalists to impose on them this sort of wage by the hour. The legal limitation of the working day put an end to such mischief, although not, of course, to the diminution of employment caused by the competition of machinery, by changes in the quality of the labourers employed, and by crises partial or general.

[1] The effect of such an abnormal lessening of employment is quite different from that of a general reduction of the working day, enforced by law. The former has nothing to do with the absolute length of the working day, and may occur just as well in a working day of 15, as of 6 hours. The normal price of labour is in the first case calculated on the labourer working 15 hours, in the second case on his working 6 hours a day on the average. The result is therefore the same if he in the one case is employed only for $7\frac{1}{2}$, in the other only for 3 hours.

With an increasing daily or weekly wage the price of labour may remain nominally constant, and yet may fall below its normal level. This occurs every time that, the price of labour (reckoned per working hour) remaining constant, the working day is prolonged beyond its customary length. If in the fraction: $\frac{\text{daily value of labour power}}{\text{working day}}$ the denominator increases, the numerator increases yet more rapidly. The value of labour power, as dependent on its wear and tear, increases with the duration of its functioning, and in more rapid proportion than the increase of that duration. In many branches of industry where time wage is the general rule without legal limits to the working time, the habit has, therefore, spontaneously grown up of regarding the working day as normal only up to a certain point, e. g., up to the expiration of the tenth hour ("normal working day", "the day's work", "the regular hours of work"). Beyond this limit the working time is overtime, and is, taking the hour as unit-measure, paid better ("extra pay"), although often in a proportion ridiculously small.[1] The normal working day exists here as a fraction of the actual working day, and the latter, often during the whole year, lasts longer than the former.[2] The increase in the price of labour with the extension of the working day beyond a certain normal limit, takes such a shape in various British industries that the low price of labour during the so-called normal time compels the labourer to work during the better paid overtime, if he wishes to obtain a sufficient wage at all.[3]

[1] "The rate of payment for overtime" (in lace-making) "is so small, from $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and $\frac{3}{4}$ d. to 2d. per hour, that it stands in painful contrast to the amount of injury produced to the health and stamina of the workpeople.... The small amount thus earned is also often obliged to be spent in extra nourishment" ("Child. Empl. Com., II. Rep.", p. xvi, n. 117).

[2] E. g., in paper-staining before the recent introduction into this trade of the Factory Act.[457] "We work on with no stoppage for meals, so that the day's work of 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours is finished by 4.30 p. m., and all after that is overtime, and we seldom leave off working before 6 p. m., so that we are really working overtime the whole year round" (Mr. Smith's "Evidence in Child. Empl. Com., I. Rep.", p. 125).

[3] E. g., in the Scotch bleaching-works. "In some parts of Scotland this trade //before the introduction of the Factory Act in 1862.[458] — *F. E.*// was carried on by a system of overtime, i. e., ten hours a day were the regular hours of work, for which a nominal wage of 1s. 2d. per day was paid to a man, there being every day overtime for three or four hours, paid at the rate of 3d. per hour. The effect of this system ... a man could not earn more than 8s. per week when working the ordinary hours ... without overtime they could not earn a fair day's wages" ("Rep. of Insp. of Factories", April 30th, 1863, p. 10). "The higher wages, for getting adult males to work longer hours, are

Legal limitation of the working day puts an end to these amenities.[1]

It is a fact generally known that, the longer the working days, in any branch of industry, the lower are the wages.[2] A. Redgrave, factory inspector, illustrates this by a comparative review of the 20 years from 1839-1859, according to which wages rose in the factories under the 10 hours' law, whilst they fell in the factories in which the work lasted 14 to 15 hours daily.[3]

From the law: "the price of labour being given, the daily or weekly wage depends on the quantity of labour expended," it follows, first of all, that, the lower the price of labour, the greater must be the quantity of labour, or the longer must be the working day for the labourer to secure even a miserable average wage. The lowness of the price of labour acts here as a stimulus to the extension of the labour time.[4]

On the other hand, the extension of the working time produces, in

a temptation too strong to be resisted" ("Rept. of Insp. of Fact.", April 30th, 1848, p. 5). The book-binding trade in the city of London employs very many young girls from 14 to 15 years old, and that under indentures which prescribe certain definite hours of labour. Nevertheless, they work in the last week of each month until 10, 11, 12, or 1 o'clock at night, along with the older labourers, in a very mixed company. "The masters tempt them by extra pay and supper", which they eat in neighbouring public houses. The great debauchery thus produced among these "young immortals" ("Children's Employment Comm., V. Rept.", p. 44, n. 191) is compensated by the fact that among the rest many Bibles and religious books are bound by them.

[1] See "Reports of Insp. of Fact.", 30th April, 1863, l. c. With very accurate appreciation of the state of things, the London labourers employed in the building trades declared, during the great strike and lock-out of 1860, that they would only accept wages by the hour under two conditions (1), that, with the price of the working hour, a normal working day of 9 and 10 hours respectively should be fixed, and that the price of the hour for the 10 hours' working day should be higher than that for the hour of the 9 hours' working day; (2), that every hour beyond the normal working day should be reckoned as overtime and proportionally more highly paid.[459]

[2] "It is a very notable thing, too, that where long hours are the rule, small wages are also so" ("Report of Insp. of Fact.", 31st. Oct., 1863, p. 9). "The work which obtains the scanty pittance of food, is, for the most part, excessively prolonged" ("Public Health, Sixth Report", 1864, p. 15).

[3] "Report of Inspectors of Fact.", 30th April, 1860, pp. 31, 32.

[4] The hand nail-makers in England, e. g., have, on account of the low price of labour, to work 15 hours a day in order to hammer out their miserable weekly wage. "It's a great many hours in a day (6 a. m. to 8 p. m.), and he has to work hard all the time to get 11d. or 1s., and there is the wear of the tools, the cost of firing, and something for waste iron to go out of this, which takes off altogether $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. or 3d." ("Children's Employment Com., III. Report", p. 136, n. 671). The women earn by the same working time a week's wage of only 5 shillings (l. c., p. 137, n. 674).

its turn, a fall in the price of labour, and with this a fall in the day's or week's wages.

The determination of the price of labour by:

$$\frac{\text{daily value of labour power}}{\text{working day of a given number of hours}},$$

shows that a mere prolongation of the working day lowers the price of labour, if no compensation steps in. But the same circumstances which allow the capitalist in the long run to prolong the working day, also allow him first, and compel him finally, to nominally lower the price of labour, until the total price of the increased number of hours is lowered, and, therefore, the daily or weekly wage. Reference to two circumstances is sufficient here. If one man does the work of $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 men, the supply of labour increases, although the supply of labour power on the market remains constant. The competition thus created between the labourers allows the capitalist to beat down the price of labour, whilst the falling price of labour allows him, on the other hand, to screw up still further the working time.[1] Soon, however, this command over abnormal quantities of unpaid labour, i. e., quantities in excess of the average social amount, becomes a source of competition amongst the capitalists themselves. A part of the price of the commodity consists of the price of labour. The unpaid part of the labour price need not be reckoned in the price of the commodity. It may be presented to the buyer. This is the first step to which competition leads. The second step to which it drives, is to exclude also from the selling price of the commodity, at least a part of the abnormal surplus value created by the extension of the working day. In this way an abnormally low selling price of the commodity arises, at first sporadically, and becomes fixed by degrees; a lower selling price which henceforward becomes the constant basis of a miserable wage for an excessive working time, as originally it was the product of these very circumstances. This movement is simply indicated here, as the analysis of competition does not belong to this part of our subject.[460] Nevertheless, the capitalist may, for a moment, speak for himself.

[1] If a factory hand, e. g., refused to work the customary long hours, "he would very shortly be replaced by somebody who would work any length of time, and thus be thrown out of employment" ("Reports of Inspectors of Fact.", 30th April, 1848, Evidence, p. 39, n. 58). "If one man performs the work of two ... the rate of profits will generally be raised ... in consequence of the additional supply of labour having diminished its price" (Senior, l. c., p. 15).

"In Birmingham there is so much competition of masters one against another, that many are obliged to do things as employers that they would otherwise be ashamed of; and yet no more money is made, but only the public gets the benefit." [1]

The reader will remember the two sorts of London bakers, of whom one sold the bread at its full price (the "full-priced" bakers), the other below its normal price ("the underpriced", "the undersellers").[a] The "full-priced" denounced their rivals before the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry:

"They only exist now by first defrauding the public, and next getting 18 hours' work out of their men for 12 hours' wages.... The unpaid labour of the men was made ... the source whereby the competition was carried on, and continues so to this day.... The competition among the master bakers is the cause of the difficulty in getting rid of night-work. An underseller, who sells his bread below the cost price according to the price of flour, must make it up by getting more out of the labour of the men.... If I got only 12 hours' work out of my men, and my neighbour got 18 or 20, he must beat me in the selling price. If the men could insist on payment for overwork, this would be set right.... A large number of those employed by the undersellers are foreigners and youths, who are obliged to accept almost any wages they can obtain." [2]

This jeremiad is also interesting because it shows, how the appearance only of the relations of production mirrors itself in the brain of the capitalist. The capitalist does not know that the normal price of labour also includes a definite quantity of unpaid labour, and that this very unpaid labour is the normal source of his gain. The category, surplus labour time, does not exist at all for him, since it is included in the normal working day, which he thinks he has paid for in the day's wages. But overtime does exist for him, the prolongation of the working day beyond the limits corresponding with the usual price of labour. Face to face with his underselling competitor, he even insists upon extra pay for this overtime. He again does not know that this extra pay includes unpaid labour, just as well as does the price of the customary hour of labour. For example, the price of one hour of the 12 hours' working day is 3d., say the value product of half a working hour, whilst the price of the overtime working hour is 4d., or the

[1] "Children's Employment Com., III. Rep.", Evidence, p. 66, n. 22.

[2] "Report, &c., Relative to the Grievances Complained of by the Journeymen Bakers". Lond., 1862, p. VII, and ib. Evidence, notes 479, 359, 27. Anyhow the full-priced also, as was mentioned above, and as their spokesman, Bennett, himself admits, make their men "generally begin work at 11 p. m. ... up to 8 o'clock the next morning ... they are then engaged all day long ... as late as 7 o'clock in the evening" (l. c., p. 22).

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[a] See this volume, p. 186, footnote 3.

value product of $\frac{2}{3}$ of a working hour. In the first case the capitalist appropriates to himself one-half, in the second, one-third of the working hour without paying for it.

## Chapter XXI

### PIECE WAGES

Wages by the piece are nothing else than a converted form of wages by time, just as wages by time are a converted form of the value or price of labour power.

In piece wages it seems at first sight as if the use value bought from the labourer was, not the function of his labour power, living labour, but labour already realised in the product, and as if the price of this labour was determined, not as with time wages, by the fraction:

$$\frac{\text{daily value of labour power}}{\text{working day of a given number of hours}}$$

but by the capacity for work of the producer.[1]

The confidence that trusts in this appearance ought to receive a first severe shock from the fact that both forms of wages exist side by side, simultaneously, in the same branches of industry; e. g.,

"the compositors of London, as a general rule, work by the piece, time work being the exception, while those in the country work by the day, the exception being work by the piece. The shipwrights of the port of London work by the job or piece, while those of all other parts work by the day".[2]

In the same saddlery shops of London, often for the same work, piece wages are paid to the French, time wages to the English. In the regular factories in which throughout piece wages predominate, par-

[1] "The system of piece work illustrates an epoch in the history of the working man; it is halfway between the position of the mere day labourer depending upon the will of the capitalist and the co-operative artisan, who in the not distant future promises to combine the artisan and the capitalist in his own person. Piece workers are in fact their own masters, even whilst working upon the capital of the employer" (John Watts, *Trade Societies and Strikes, Machinery and Co-operative Societies*, Manchester, 1865, pp. 52, 53). I quote this little work because it is a very sink of all long-ago-rotten, apologetic commonplaces. This same Mr. Watts earlier traded in Owenism[461] and published in 1842 another pamphlet: *Facts and Fictions of Political Economists*, in which among other things he declares that "property is robbery" [p. 5]. That is long ago.

[2] T.J. Dunning, *Trades' Unions and Strikes*, Lond., 1860, p. 22.

ticular kinds of work are unsuitable to this form of wage, and are therefore paid by time.[1] But it is moreover self-evident that the difference of form in the payment of wages alters in no way their essential nature, although the one form may be more favourable to the development of capitalist production than the other.

Let the ordinary working day contain 12 hours of which 6 are paid, 6 unpaid. Let its value product be 6 shillings, that of one hour's labour therefore 6d. Let us suppose that, as the result of experience, a labourer who works with the average amount of intensity and skill, who, therefore, gives in fact only the time socially necessary to the production of an article, supplies in 12 hours 24 pieces, either distinct products or measurable parts of a continuous whole. Then the value of these 24 pieces, after subtraction of the portion of constant capital contained in them, is 6 shillings, and the value of a single piece 3d. The labourer receives $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per piece, and thus earns in 12 hours 3 shillings. Just as, with time wages, it does not matter whether we assume that the labourer works 6 hours for himself and 6 hours for the capitalist, or half of every hour for himself, and the other half for the capitalist, so here it does not matter whether we say that each individual piece is half paid, and half unpaid for, or that the price of 12 pieces is the equivalent only of the value of the labour power, whilst in the other 12 pieces surplus value is incorporated.

The form of piece wages is just as irrational as that of time wages. Whilst in our example two pieces of a commodity, after subtraction of the value of the means of production consumed in them, are worth 6d. as being the product of one hour, the labourer receives for them a price of 3d. Piece wages do not, in fact, distinctly express any relation of value. It is not, therefore, a question of measuring the value of the piece by the working time incorporated in it, but on the contrary

[1] How the existence, side by side and simultaneously, of these two forms of wage favours the masters' cheating: "A factory employs 400 people, the half of which work by the piece, and have a direct interest in working longer hours. The other 200 are paid by the day, work equally long with the others, and get no more money for their overtime.... The work of these 200 people for half an hour a day is equal to one person's work for 50 hours, or $\frac{5}{6}$ of one person's labour in a week, and is a positive gain to the employer" ("Reports of Insp. of Fact., 31st Oct., 1860", p. 9). "Overworking to a very considerable extent still prevails; and, in most instances, with that security against detection and punishment which the law itself affords. I have in many former reports shown ... the injury to workpeople who are not employed on piece work, but receive weekly wages" (Leonard Horner in "Reports of Insp. of Fact.", 30th April, 1859, pp. 8, 9).

of measuring the working time the labourer has expended, by the number of pieces he has produced. In time wages the labour is measured by its immediate duration, in piece wages by the quantity of products in which the labour has embodied itself during a given time.[1] The price of labour time itself is finally determined by the equation; value of a day's labour = daily value of labour power. Piece wage is, therefore, only a modified form of time wage.

Let us now consider a little more closely the characteristic peculiarities of piece wages.

The quality of the labour is here controlled by the work itself, which must be of average perfection if the piece price is to be paid in full. Piece wages become, from this point of view, the most fruitful source of reductions of wages and capitalistic cheating.

They furnish to the capitalist an exact measure for the intensity of labour. Only the working time which is embodied in a quantum of commodities determined beforehand and experimentally fixed, counts as socially necessary working time, and is paid as such. In the larger workshops of the London tailors, therefore, a certain piece of work, a waistcoat, e. g., is called an hour, or half an hour, the hour at 6d. By practice it is known how much is the average product of one hour. With new fashions, repairs, etc., a contest arises between master and labourer, whether a particular piece of work is one hour, and so on, until here also experience decides. Similarly in the London furniture workshops, etc. If the labourer does not possess the average capacity, if he cannot in consequence supply a certain minimum of work per day, he is dismissed.[2]

Since the quality and intensity of the work are here controlled by the form of wage itself, superintendence of labour becomes in great part superfluous. Piece wages therefore lay the foundation of the modern "domestic labour", described above, as well as of a hierarchically organised system of exploitation and oppression. The latter has two fundamental forms. On the one hand piece wages facilitate the

[1] "Wages can be measured in two ways: either by the duration of the labour, or by its product" (*Abrégé élémentaire des principes de l'Économie Politique*, Paris, 1796, p. 32). The author of this anonymous work: G. Garnier.

[2] "So much weight of cotton is delivered to him" (the spinner), "and he has to return by a certain time, in lieu of it, a given weight of twist or yarn, of a certain degree of fineness, and he is paid so much per pound for all that he so returns. If his work is defective in quality, the penalty falls on him, if less in quantity than the minimum fixed for a given time, he is dismissed and an abler operative procured" (Ure, l. c., [*The Philosophy of Manufactures...*,] p. [316-]317).

interposition of parasites between the capitalist and the wage labourer, the "subletting of labour". The gain of these middlemen comes entirely from the difference between the labour price which the capitalist pays, and the part of that price which they actually allow to reach the labourer.[1] In England this system is characteristically called the "Sweating system". On the other hand piece wage allows the capitalist to make a contract for so much per piece with the head labourer — in manufactures with the chief of some group, in mines with the extractor of the coal, in the factory with the actual machine-worker — at a price for which the head labourer himself undertakes the enlisting and payment of his assistant workpeople. The exploitation of the labourer by capital is here effected through the exploitation of the labourer by the labourer.[2]

Given piece wage, it is naturally the personal interest of the labourer to strain his labour power as intensely as possible; this enables the capitalist to raise more easily the normal degree of intensity of labour.[3] It is moreover now the personal interest of the labourer to lengthen the working day, since with it his daily or weekly wages rise.[4]

[1] "It is when work passes through several hands, each of which is to take its share of profits, while only the last does the work, that the pay which reaches the workwoman is miserably disproportioned" ("Child. Emp. Com. II. Report", p. lxx, n. 424).

[2] Even Watts, the apologetic, remarks: "It would be a great improvement to the system of piece work, if all the men employed on a job were partners in the contract, each according to his abilities, instead of one man being interested in overworking his fellows for his own benefit" (l. c. [*Trade Societies and Strikes...*], p. 53). On the vileness of this system, cf. "Child. Emp. Com. Rep. III", p. 66, n. 22, p. 11, n. 124, pp. v, vi, n. 13; p. x, n. 53, p. xi, n. 59.

[3] This spontaneous result is often artificially helped along, e. g., in the Engineering Trade of London, a customary trick is "the selecting of a man who possesses superior physical strength and quickness, as the principal of several workmen, and paying him an additional rate, by the quarter or otherwise, with the understanding that he is to exert himself to the utmost to induce the others, who are only paid the ordinary wages, to keep up to him ... without any comment this will go far to explain many of the complaints of stinting the action, superior skill, and working power, made by the employers against the men" (in Trades-Unions. Dunning, l. c., pp. 22, 23). As the author is himself a labourer and secretary of a Trades' Union, this might be taken for exaggeration. But the reader may compare the "highly respectable" Cyclopædia of Agriculture of J. Ch. Morton, Art., "Labourer",[462] where this method is recommended to the farmers as an approved one.

[4] "All those who are paid by piece work ... profit by the transgression of the legal limits of work. This observation as to the willingness to work overtime is especially applicable to the women employed as weavers and reelers" ("Rept. of Insp. of Fact., 30th April, 1858," p. 9). "This system" (piece work), "so advantageous to the employer ...

This gradually brings on a reaction like that already described in time wages, without reckoning that the prolongation of the working day, even if the piece wage remains constant, includes of necessity a fall in the price of the labour.

In time wages, with few exceptions, the same wage holds for the same kind of work, whilst in piece wages, though the price of the working time is measured by a certain quantity of product, the day's or week's wage will vary with the individual differences of the labourers, of whom one supplies in a given time the minimum of product only, another the average, a third more than the average. With regard to actual receipts there is, therefore, great variety according to the different skill, strength, energy, staying power, etc., of the individual labourers.[1] Of course this does not alter the general relations between capital and wage labour. First, the individual differences balance one another in the workshop as a whole, which thus supplies in a given working time the average product, and the total wages paid will be the average wages of that particular branch of industry. Second, the proportion between wages and surplus value remains unaltered, since the mass of surplus labour supplied by each particular labourer corresponds with the wage received by him. But the wider scope that piece wage gives to individuality, tends to develop on the one hand that individuality, and with it the sense of liberty, independence, and self-control of the labourers, on the other, their competition one with another. Piece work has, therefore, a tendency, while raising individual wages above the average, to lower this average itself. But where a particular rate of piece wage has for a long time been fixed by tradition, and its lowering, therefore, presented especial difficulties, the masters, in such exceptional cases, sometimes had recourse to its compulsory transformation into time wages. Hence, e. g., in 1860 a great strike among the ribbon-weavers of Coventry.[2] Piece wage is finally one

tends directly to encourage the young potter greatly to overwork himself during the four or five years during which he is employed in the piece work system, but at low wages.... This is ... another great cause to which the bad constitutions of the potters are to be attributed" ("Child. Empl. Com. I. Rept.", p. xiii).

[1] "Where the work in any trade is paid for by the piece at so much per job ... wages may very materially differ in amount.... But in work by the day there is generally an uniform rate ... recognised by both employer and employed as the standard of wages for the general run of workmen in the trade" (Dunning, l. c., p. 17).

[2] "The work of the journeymen is regulated by the day or by the piece.... These master craftsmen know approximately how much work a journeyman can do per day

of the chief supports of the hour system described in the preceding chapter.[1)]

From what has been shown so far, it follows that piece wage is the form of wages most in harmony with the capitalist mode of production. Although by no means new—it figures side by side with time wages officially in the French and English labour statutes of the 14th century—it only conquers a larger field for action during the period of manufacture, properly so called. In the stormy youth[177] of modern industry, especially from 1797 to 1815, it served as a lever for the lengthening of the working day, and the lowering of wages. Very important materials for the fluctuation of wages during that period are to be found in the Blue books: "Report and Evidence from the Select Committee on Petitions respecting the Corn Laws" (Parliamentary Session of 1813-14), and "Report from the Lords' Committee, on the state of the Growth, Commerce, and Consumption of Grain, and all Laws relating thereto" (Session of 1814-15).[463] Here we find documentary evidence of the constant lowering of the price of labour from the beginning of the Anti-Jacobin War.[464] In the weaving industry, e. g., piece wages had fallen so low that in spite of the very great lengthening of the working day, the daily wages were then lower than before.

in each trade, and they often pay in proportion to the work that they do; thus these journeymen work as much as they can, in their own interests, without any other supervision" ([R.] Cantillon, *Essai sur la Nature du Commerce en général*, Amst. Ed., 1756, pp. 185 and 202. The first edition appeared in 1755). Cantillon, from whom Quesnay, Sir James Steuart & A. Smith have largely drawn, already here represents piece wage as simply a modified form of time wage. The French edition of Cantillon professes in its title to be a translation from the English, but the English edition, *The Analysis of Trade, Commerce, etc. by Philip Cantillon, late of the city of London, Merchant*, is not only of later date (1759), but proves by its contents that it is a later and revised edition; e. g., in the French edition, Hume is not yet mentioned, whilst in the English, on the other hand, Petty hardly figures any longer. The English edition is theoretically less important, but it contains numerous details referring specifically to English commerce, bullion trade, etc., that are wanting in the French text. The words on the title-page of the English edition, according to which the work is "Taken chiefly from the manuscript of a very ingenious gentleman, deceased, and adapted, etc.", seem, therefore, a pure fiction, very customary at that time.

1) "How often have we not seen many more workers taken on, in some workshops, than were needed actually to do the work? Workers are often set on in the expectation of work which is uncertain, or even completely imaginary; as they are paid piece wages, the employers say to themselves that they run no risk, because any loss of working time will be at the expense of the workers who are unoccupied" (H. Grégoir, *Les Typographes devant le Tribunal correctionnel de Bruxelles*, Bruxelles, 1865, p. 9).

The real earnings of the cotton weaver are now far less than they were; his superiority over the common labourer, which at first was very great, has now almost entirely ceased. Indeed ... the difference in the wages, of skilful and common labour is far less now than at any former period."[1]

How little the increased intensity and extension of labour through piece wages benefited the agricultural proletariat, the following passage borrowed from a work on the side of the landlords and farmers shows:

"By far the greater part of agricultural operations is done by people, who are hired for the day or on piece work. Their weekly wages are about 12s., and although it may be assumed that a man earns on piece work under the greater stimulus to labour, ls. or perhaps 2s. more than on weekly wages, yet it is found, on calculating his total income, that his loss of employment, during the year, outweighs this gain.... Further, it will generally be found that the wages of these men bear a certain proportion to the price of the necessary means of subsistence, so that a man with two children is able to bring up his family without recourse to parish relief."[2]

Malthus at that time remarked with reference to the facts published by Parliament:

"I confess that I see, with misgiving, the great extension of the practice of piece wage. Really hard work during 12 or 14 hours of the day, or for any longer time, is too much for any human being."[3]

In the workshops under the Factory Acts, piece wage becomes the general rule, because capital can there only increase the efficacy of the working day by intensifying labour.[4]

With the changing productiveness of labour the same quantum of product represents a varying working time. Therefore, piece wage also varies, for it is the money expression of a determined working time. In our example above, 24 pieces were produced in 12 hours, whilst the value of the product of the 12 hours was 6s., the daily value of the labour power 3s., the price of the labour hour 3d., and the wage for one piece $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. In one piece half an hour's labour was absorbed. If the same working day now supplies, in consequence of the doubled productiveness of labour, 48 pieces instead of 24, and all other circumstances remain unchanged, then the piece wage falls from $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. to $\frac{3}{4}$ d., as every piece now only represents $\frac{1}{4}$ instead

[1] *Remarks on the Commercial Policy of Great Britain*, London, 1815 [p. 48].

[2] *Consideration upon Corn Bill...*, London, 1815, p. 34.

[3] Malthus, *Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent*, Lond., 1815 [p. 49, note].

[4] "Those who are paid by piece work ... constitute probably four-fifths of the workers in the factories", "Report of Insp. of Fact., 30th April, 1858" [, p. 9].

of $\frac{1}{2}$ of a working hour. 24 by $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. = 3s., and in like manner 48 by $\frac{3}{4}$ d. = 3s. In other words, piece wage is lowered in the same proportion as the number of the pieces produced in the same time rises,[1] and therefore as the working time spent on the same piece falls. This change in piece wage, so far purely nominal, leads to constant battles between capitalist and labour. Either because the capitalist uses it as a pretext for actually lowering the price of labour, or because increased productive power of labour is accompanied by an increased intensity of the same. Or because the labourer takes seriously the appearance of piece wages, viz., that his product is paid for, and not his labour power, and therefore revolts against a lowering of wages, unaccompanied by a lowering in the selling price of the commodity.

"The operatives ... carefully watch the price of the raw material and the price of manufactured goods, and are thus enabled to form an accurate estimate of their master's profits."[2]

The capitalist rightly knocks on the head such pretensions as gross errors as to the nature of wage labour.[3] He cries out against this usurping attempt to lay taxes on the advance of industry, and de-

[1] "The productive power of his spinning-machine is accurately measured, and the rate of pay for work done with it decreases with, though not *as*, the increase of its productive power" (Ure, l. c., p. 317). This last apologetic phrase Ure himself again cancels. The lengthening of the mule causes some increase of labour, he admits. The labour does therefore not diminish in the same ratio as its productivity increases. Further: "By this increase the productive power of the machine will be augmented one-fifth. When this event happens the spinner will not be paid at the same rate for work done as he was before, but as that rate will not be diminished in the ratio of one-fifth, the improvement will augment his money earnings for any given number of hours' work", but "the foregoing statement requires a certain modification.... The spinner has to pay something additional for juvenile aid out of his additional sixpence, accompanied by displacing a portion of adults" (l. c., [p]p. [320-]321), which has in no way a tendency to raise wages.

[2] H. Fawcett, *The Economic Position of the British Labourer*, Cambridge and London, 1865, pp. 178-79.

[3] In the London *Standard* of October 26, 1861,[465] there is a report of proceedings of the firm of John Bright & Co., before the Rochdale magistrates "to prosecute for intimidation the agents of the Carpet Weavers Trades' Union. Bright's partners had introduced new machinery which would turn out 240 yards of carpet in the time and with the labour (!) previously required to produce 160 yards. The workmen had no claim whatever to share in the profits made by the investment of their employer's capital in mechanical improvements. Accordingly, Messrs. Bright proposed to lower the rate of pay from $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per yard to 1d., leaving the earnings of the men exactly the same as before for the same labour. But there was a nominal reduction, of which the operatives, it is asserted, had not fair warning beforehand."

clares roundly that the productiveness of labour does not concern the labourer at all.[1]

## Chapter XXII

### NATIONAL DIFFERENCES OF WAGES

In the 17th chapter we were occupied with the manifold combinations which may bring about a change in magnitude of the value of labour power — this magnitude being considered either absolutely or relatively, i. e., as compared with surplus value; whilst on the other hand, the quantum of the means of subsistence in which the price of labour is realised might again undergo fluctuations independent of, or different from, the changes of this price.[2] As has been already said, the simple translation of the value, or respectively of the price, of labour power into the exoteric form of wages transforms all these laws into laws of the fluctuations of wages. That which appears in these fluctuations of wages within a single country as a series of varying combinations, may appear in different countries as contemporaneous difference of national wages. In the comparison of the wages in different nations, we must therefore take into account all the factors that determine changes in the amount of the value of labour power; the price and the extent of the prime necessaries of life as naturally and historically developed, the cost of training the labourers, the part played by the labour of women and children, the productiveness of labour, its extensive and intensive magnitude. Even the most superficial comparison requires the reduction first of the average day wage for the same trades, in different countries, to a uniform working day. After this reduction to the same terms of the day wages, time wage must again be translated into piece wage, as the latter only can be a measure both of the productivity and the intensity of labour.

In every country there is a certain average intensity of labour, be-

[1] "Trades' Unions, in their desire to maintain wages, endeavour to share in the benefits of improved machinery." (*Quelle horreur!*) ... "the demanding higher wages, because labour is abbreviated, is in other words the endeavour to establish a duty on mechanical improvements" (*On Combination of Trades*, new ed., London, 1834, p. 42).

[2] "It is not accurate to say that wages" (he deals here with their money expression) "are increased, because they purchase more of a cheaper article" (David Buchanan in his edition of Adam Smith's *Wealth*, &c., 1814, Vol. I, p. 417, Note).

low which the labour for the production of a commodity requires more than the socially necessary time, and therefore does not reckon as labour of normal quality. Only a degree of intensity above the national average affects, in a given country, the measure of value by the mere duration of the working time. This is not the case on the universal market, whose integral parts are the individual countries. The average intensity of labour changes from country to country; here it is greater, there less. These national averages form a scale, whose unit of measure is the average unit of universal labour. The more intense national labour, therefore, as compared with the less intense, produces in the same time more value, which expresses itself in more money.

But the law of value in its international application is yet more modified by this, that on the world market the more productive national labour reckons also as the more intense, so long as the more productive nation is not compelled by competition to lower the selling price of its commodities to the level of their value.

In proportion as capitalist production is developed in a country, in the same proportion do the national intensity and productivity of labour there rise above the international level.[1] The different quantities of commodities of the same kind, produced in different countries in the same working time, have, therefore, unequal international values, which are expressed in different prices, i. e., in sums of money varying according to international values. The relative value of money will, therefore, be less in the nation with more developed capitalist mode of production than in the nation with less developed. It follows, then, that the nominal wages, the equivalent of labour power expressed in money, will also be higher in the first nation than in the second; which does not at all prove that this holds also for the real wages, i. e., for the means of subsistence placed at the disposal of the labourer.

But even apart from these relative differences of the value of money in different countries, it will be found, frequently, that the daily or weekly, &c., wage in the first nation is higher than in the second, whilst the relative price of labour, i. e., the price of labour as compared both with surplus value and with the value of the product, stands higher in the second than in the first.[2]

[1] We shall inquire, in another place, what circumstances in relation to productivity may modify this law for individual branches of industry.

[2] James Anderson remarks in his polemic against Adam Smith: "It deserves, likewise, to be remarked, that although the apparent price of labour is usually lower in

J. W. Cowell, member of the Factory Commission of 1833, after careful investigation of the spinning trade, came to the conclusion that,

"in England wages are virtually lower to the capitalist, though higher to the operative than on the Continent of Europe" (Ure, p. 314).

The English Factory Inspector, Alexander Redgrave, in his Report of Oct. 31st, 1866, proves by comparative statistics with Continental states, that in spite of lower wages and much longer working time, Continental labour is, in proportion to the product, dearer than English.[466] An English manager of a cotton factory in Oldenburg, declares that the working time there lasted from 5.30 a. m. to 8 p. m., Saturdays included, and that the workpeople there, when under English overlookers, did not supply during this time quite so much product as the English in 10 hours, but under German overlookers much less. Wages are much lower than in England, in many cases 50%, but the number of hands in proportion to the machinery was much greater, in certain departments in the proportion of 5:3 [p. 33].—Mr. Redgrave gives very full details as to the Russian cotton factories. The data were given him by an English manager until recently employed there [pp. 33-34]. On this Russian soil, so fruitful of all infamies, the old horrors of the early days of English factories are in full swing. The managers are, of course, English, as the native Russian capitalist is of no use in factory business. Despite all overwork, continued day and night, despite the most shameful underpayment of the workpeople, Russian manufacture manages to vegetate only by prohibition of foreign competition. I give, in conclusion, a comparative table of Mr. Redgrave's, on the average number of spindles per factory and per spinner in the different countries of Europe. He, himself,

poor countries, where the produce of the soil, and grain in general, is cheap; yet it is in fact for the most part really higher than in other countries. For it is not the wages that is given to the labourer per day that constitutes the real price of labour, although it is its apparent price. The real price is that which a certain quantity of work performed actually costs the employer; and considered in this light, labour is in almost all cases cheaper in rich countries than in those that are poorer, although the price of grain, and other provisions, is usually much lower in the last than in the first.... Labour estimated by the day, is much lower in Scotland than in England.... Labour by the piece is generally cheaper in England" (James Anderson, *Observations on the Means of Exciting a Spirit of National Industry, &c.*, Edin., 1777, pp. 350, 351). On the contrary, lowness of wages produces, in its turn, dearness of labour. "Labour being dearer in Ireland than it is in England ... because the wages are so much lower" (N. 2074 in "Royal Commission on Railways, Minutes", 1867, [p. 97]).

remarks that he had collected these figures a few years ago, and that since that time the size of the factories and the number of spindles per labourer in England has increased. He supposes, however, an approximately equal progress in the Continental countries mentioned, so that the numbers given would still have their value for purposes of comparison.

AVERAGE NUMBER OF SPINDLES PER FACTORY [p. 32]

| | |
|---|---|
| England, average of spindles per factory | 12,600 |
| France, " " " " | 1,500 |
| Prussia, " " " " | 1,500 |
| Belgium, " " " " | 4,000 |
| Saxony, " " " " | 4,500 |
| Austria, | 7,000 |
| Switzerland, " " " | 8,000 |

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED TO SPINDLES [p. 32]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| France, one person to | 14 | spindles |
| Russia, " " " | 28 | " |
| Prussia, " " " | 37 | " |
| Bavaria, " " " | 46 | " |
| Austria, " " " | 49 | " |
| Belgium, " " " | 50 | " |
| Saxony, " " " | 50 | " |
| Switzerland, " " | 55 | " |
| Smaller States of Germany, | 55 | " |
| Great Britain, | 74 | " |

"This comparison", says Mr. Redgrave, "is yet more unfavourable to Great Britain, inasmuch as there is so large a number of factories in which weaving by power is carried on in conjunction with spinning" (whilst in the table the weavers are not deducted), "and the factories abroad are chiefly spinning factories; if it were possible to compare like with like, strictly, I could find many cotton spinning factories in my district in which mules containing 2,200 spindles are minded by one man (the "minder") and two assistants only, turning off daily 220 lbs. of yarn, measuring 400 miles in length" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., 31st Oct., 1866, pp. 32-33, passim).

It is well known that in Eastern Europe as well as in Asia, English companies have undertaken the construction of railways, and have, in making them, employed side by side with the native labourers, a certain number of English working men. Compelled by practical necessity, they thus have had to take into account the national differ-

ence in the intensity of labour, but this has brought them no loss. Their experience shows that even if the height of wages corresponds more or less with the average intensity of labour, the relative price of labour varies generally in the inverse direction.

In an "Essay on the Rate of Wages",[1] one of his first economic writings, H. Carey tries to prove that the wages of the different nations are directly proportional to the degree of productiveness of the national working days, in order to draw from this international relation, the conclusion that wages everywhere rise and fall in proportion to the productiveness of labour. The whole of our analysis of the production of surplus value shows the absurdity of this conclusion, even if Carey himself had proved his premises, instead of, after his usual uncritical and superficial fashion, shuffling to and fro a confused mass of statistical materials. The best of it is that he does not assert that things actually are as they ought to be according to his theory. For State intervention has falsified the natural economic relations. The different national wages must be reckoned, therefore, as if that part of each that goes to the State in the form of taxes, came to the labourer himself. Ought not Mr. Carey to consider further whether those "State expenses" are not the "natural" fruits of capitalistic development? The reasoning is quite worthy of the man who first declared the relations of capitalist production to be eternal laws of Nature and reason, whose free, harmonious working is only disturbed by the intervention of the State, in order afterwards to discover that the diabolical influence of England on the world market (an influence, which, it appears, does not spring from the natural laws of capitalist production) necessitates State intervention, i. e, the protection of those laws of Nature and reason by the State, *alias* the System of Protection. He discovered further, that the theorems of Ricardo and others, in which existing social antagonisms and contradictions are formulated, are not the ideal product of the real economic movement, but on the contrary, that the real antagonisms of capitalist production in England and elsewhere are the result of the theories of Ricardo and others! Finally he discovered that it is, in the last resort, commerce that destroys the inborn beauties and harmonies of the capitalist mode of production. A step further, and he will, perhaps, discover that the

[1] "Essay on the Rate of Wages: with an Examination of the Causes of the Differences in the Condition of the Labouring Population throughout the World", Philadelphia, 1835.

one evil in capitalist production is capital itself. Only a man with such atrocious want of the critical faculty and such spurious erudition deserved, in spite of his Protectionist heresy, to become the secret source of the harmonious wisdom of a Bastiat, and of all the other Free-trade optimists of today.

# Part VII

## THE ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL

The conversion of a sum of money into means of production and labour power, is the first step taken by the quantum of value that is going to function as capital. This conversion takes place in the market, within the sphere of circulation. The second step, the process of production, is complete so soon as the means of production have been converted into commodities whose value exceeds that of their component parts, and, therefore, contains the capital originally advanced, plus a surplus value. These commodities must then be thrown into circulation. They must be sold, their value realised in money, this money afresh converted into capital, and so over and over again. This circular movement, in which the same phases are continually gone through in succession, forms the circulation of capital.

The first condition of accumulation is that the capitalist must have contrived to sell his commodities, and to reconvert into capital the greater part of the money so received. In the following pages we shall assume that capital circulates in its normal way. The detailed analysis of the process will be found in Book II.

The capitalist who produces surplus value — i. e., who extracts unpaid labour directly from the labourers, and fixes it in commodities, is, indeed, the first appropriator, but by no means the ultimate owner, of this surplus value. He has to share it with capitalists, with landowners, &c., who fulfil other functions in the complex of social production. Surplus value, therefore, splits up into various parts. Its fragments fall to various categories of persons, and take various forms, independent the one of the other, such as profit, interest, merchants'

profit, rent, &c. It is only in Book III that we can take in hand these modified forms of surplus value.[11]

On the one hand, then, we assume that the capitalist sells at their value the commodities he has produced, without concerning ourselves either about the new forms that capital assumes while in the sphere of circulation, or about the concrete conditions of reproduction hidden under these forms. On the other hand, we treat the capitalist producer as owner of the entire surplus value, or, better perhaps, as the representative of all the sharers with him in the booty. We, therefore, first of all consider accumulation from an abstract point of view — i. e., as a mere phase in the actual process of production.

So far as accumulation takes place, the capitalist must have succeeded in selling his commodities, and in reconverting the sale-money into capital. Moreover, the breaking-up of surplus value into fragments neither alters its nature nor the conditions under which it becomes an element of accumulation. Whatever be the proportion of surplus value which the industrial capitalist retains for himself, or yields up to others, he is the one who, in the first instance, appropriates it. We, therefore, assume no more than what actually takes place. On the other hand, the simple fundamental form of the process of accumulation is obscured by the incident of the circulation which brings it about, and by the splitting up of surplus value. An exact analysis of the process, therefore, demands that we should, for a time, disregard all phenomena that hide the play of its inner mechanism.

## Chapter XXIII

### SIMPLE REPRODUCTION

Whatever the form of the process of production in a society, it must be a continuous process, must continue to go periodically through the same phases. A society can no more cease to produce than it can cease to consume. When viewed, therefore, as a connected whole, and as flowing on with incessant renewal, every social process of production is, at the same time, a process of reproduction.

The conditions of production are also those of reproduction. No society can go on producing, in other words, no society can reproduce, unless it constantly reconverts a part of its products into means of production, or elements of fresh products. All other circumstances

remaining the same, the only mode by which it can reproduce its wealth, and maintain it at one level, is by replacing the means of production — i. e., the instruments of labour, the raw material, and the auxiliary substances consumed in the course of the year — by an equal quantity of the same kind of articles; these must be separated from the mass of the yearly products, and thrown afresh into the process of production. Hence, a definite portion of each year's product belongs to the domain of production. Destined for productive consumption from the very first, this portion exists, for the most part, in the shape of articles totally unfitted for individual consumption.

If production be capitalistic in form, so, too, will be reproduction. Just as in the former the labour process figures but as a means towards the self-expansion of capital, so in the latter it figures but as a means of reproducing as capital — i. e., as self-expanding value,— the value advanced. It is only because his money constantly functions as capital that the economic guise of a capitalist attaches to a man. If, for instance, a sum of £100 has this year been converted into capital, and produced a surplus value of £20, it must continue during next year, and subsequent years, to repeat the same operation. As a periodic increment of the capital advanced, or periodic fruit of capital in process, surplus value acquires the form of a revenue flowing out of capital.[1]

If this revenue[a] serve the capitalist only as a fund to provide for his consumption, and be spent as periodically as it is gained, then, *cæteris paribus*, simple reproduction will take place. And although this reproduction is a mere repetition of the process of production on the old

[1] "The rich, who consume the labour of others, can only obtain them by making exchanges" //purchases of commodities//. "By giving away their acquired and accumulated wealth in exchange for the new products which are the object of their capricious wishes, they seem to be exposed to an early exhaustion of their reserve fund; we have already said that they do not work and are unable to work; therefore it could be assumed with full justification that their former wealth would be diminishing with every day and that, finally, a day would come when they would have nothing, and they would have nothing to offer to the workers, who work exclusively for them. ...But, in the social order, wealth has acquired the power of reproducing itself through the labour of others, without the help of its owners. Wealth, like labour, and by means of labour, bears fruit every year, but this fruit can be destroyed every year without making the rich man any poorer thereby. This fruit is the *revenue* which arises out of *capital*" (Sismondi, *Nouv. Princ. d'Écon. Pol.*, Paris, 1819, t. 1, pp. 81-82).

[a] See this volume, p. 587, footnote 1.

scale, yet this mere repetition, or continuity, gives a new character to the process, or, rather, causes the disappearance of some apparent characteristics which it possessed as an isolated discontinuous process.

The purchase of labour power for a fixed period is the prelude to the process of production; and this prelude is constantly repeated when the stipulated term comes to an end, when a definite period of production, such as a week or a month, has elapsed. But the labourer is not paid until after he has expended his labour power, and realised in commodities not only its value, but surplus value. He has, therefore, produced not only surplus value, which we for the present regard as a fund to meet the private consumption of the capitalist, but he has also produced, before it flows back to him in the shape of wages, the fund out of which he himself is paid, the variable capital; and his employment lasts only so long as he continues to reproduce this fund. Hence, that formula of the economists,[76] referred to in Chapter XVIII, which represents wages as a share in the product itself.[1] What flows back to the labourer in the shape of wages is a portion of the product that is continuously reproduced by him. The capitalist, it is true, pays him in money, but this money is merely the transmuted form of the product of his labour. While he is converting a portion of the means of production into products, a portion of his former product is being turned into money. It is his labour of last week, or of last year, that pays for his labour power this week or this year. The illusion begotten by the intervention of money vanishes immediately, if, instead of taking a single capitalist and a single labourer, we take the class of capitalists and the class of labourers as a whole. The capitalist class is constantly giving to the labouring class order-notes, in the form of money, on a portion of the commodities produced by the latter and appropriated by the former. The labourers give these order-notes back just as constantly to the capitalist class, and in this way get their share of their own product. The transaction is veiled by the commodity form of the product and the money form of the commodity.

Variable capital is therefore only a particular historical form of appearance of the fund for providing the necessaries of life, or the la-

[1] "Wages as well as profits are to be considered, each of them, as really a portion of the finished product" (Ramsay, l. c., p. 142). "The share of the product which comes to the labourer in the form of wages" (J. Mill, *Eléments*, &c.[467] Translated by Parisot. Paris, 1823, p. 34).

bour fund which the labourer requires for the maintenance of himself and family, and which, whatever be the system of social production, he must himself produce and reproduce. If the labour fund constantly flows to him in the form of money that pays for his labour, it is because the product he has created moves constantly away from him in the form of capital. But all this does not alter the fact, that it is the labourer's own labour, realised in a product, which is advanced to him by the capitalist.[1] Let us take a peasant liable to do compulsory service for his lord. He works on his own land, with his own means of production, for, say, 3 days a week. The 3 other days he does forced work on the lord's domain. He constantly reproduces his own labour fund, which never, in his case, takes the form of a money payment for his labour, advanced by another person. But in return, his unpaid forced labour for the lord, on its side, never acquires the character of voluntary paid labour. If one fine morning the lord appropriates to himself the land, the cattle, the seed, in a word, the means of production of this peasant the latter will thenceforth be obliged to sell his labour power to the lord. He will, *cæteris paribus*, labour 6 days a week as before, 3 for himself, 3 for his lord, who thenceforth becomes a wages-paying capitalist. As before, he will use up the means of production as means of production, and transfer their value to the product. As before, a definite portion of the product will be devoted to reproduction. But from the moment that the forced labour is changed into wage labour, from that moment the labour fund, which the peasant himself continues as before to produce and reproduce, takes the form of a capital advanced in the form of wages by the lord. The bourgeois economist whose narrow mind is unable to separate the form of appearance from the thing that appears, shuts his eyes to the fact, that it is but here and there on the face of the earth, that even nowadays the labour fund crops up in the form of capital.[2]

Variable capital, it is true, only then loses its character of a value advanced out of the capitalist's funds,[3] when we view the process of

[1] "When capital is employed in advancing to the workman his wages, it adds nothing to the funds for the maintenance of labour" (Cazenove in note to his edition of Malthus' *Definitions in Pol. Econ.*, London, 1853, p. 22).

[2] "The wages of labour are advanced by capitalists in the case of less than one-fourth of the labourers of the earth" (Rich. Jones, *Textbook of Lectures on the Pol. Econ. of Nations*, Hertford, 1852, p. 36).

[3] "Though the manufacturer" (i. e. the labourer) "has his wages advanced to him by his master, he in reality costs him no expense, the value of these wages being gene-

capitalist production in the flow of its constant renewal. But that process must have had a beginning of some kind. From our present standpoint it therefore seems likely that the capitalist, once upon a time, became possessed of money, by some accumulation that took place independently of the unpaid labour of others, and that this was, therefore, how he was enabled to frequent the market as a buyer of labour power. However this may be, the mere continuity of the process, the simple reproduction, brings about some other wonderful changes, which affect not only the variable, but the total capital.

If a capital of £1,000 beget yearly a surplus value of £200, and if this surplus value be consumed every year, it is clear that at the end of 5 years the surplus value consumed will amount to 5 × £200 or the £1,000 originally advanced. If only a part, say one half, were consumed, the same result would follow at the end of 10 years, since 10 × £100 = £1,000. General Rule: The value of the capital advanced divided by the surplus value annually consumed, gives the number of years, or reproduction periods, at the expiration of which the capital originally advanced has been consumed by the capitalist and has disappeared. The capitalist thinks, that he is consuming the produce of the unpaid labour of others, i. e., the surplus value, and is keeping intact his original capital; but what he thinks cannot alter facts. After the lapse of a certain number of years, the capital value he then possesses is equal to the sum total of the surplus value appropriated by him during those years, and the total value he has consumed is equal to that of his original capital. It is true, he has in hand a capital whose amount has not changed, and of which a part, viz., the buildings, machinery, &c., were already there when the work of his business began. But what we have to do with here, is not the material elements, but the value, of that capital. When a person gets through all his property, by taking upon himself debts equal to the value of that property, it is clear that his property represents nothing but the sum total of his debts. And so it is with the capitalist; when he has consumed the equivalent of his original capital, the value of his present capital represents nothing but the total amount of the surplus value appropriated by him without payment. Not a single atom of the value of his old capital continues to exist.

rally restored, together with a profit, in the improved value of the subject upon which his labour is bestowed" (A. Smith, l. c., [*An Inquiry into the Nature...*, London, 1835,] Book II, ch. III, p. 355).

Apart then from all accumulation, the mere continuity of the process of production, in other words simple reproduction, sooner or later, and of necessity, converts every capital into accumulated capital, or capitalised surplus value. Even if that capital was originally acquired by the personal labour of its employer, it sooner or later becomes value appropriated without an equivalent, the unpaid labour of others materialised either in money or in some other object. We saw in Chapt. IV [468] that in order to convert money into capital something more is required than the production and circulation of commodities. We saw that on the one side the possessor of value or money, on the other, the possessor of the value-creating substance; on the one side, the possessor of the means of production and subsistence, on the other, the possessor of nothing but labour power, must confront one another as buyer and seller. The separation of labour from its product, of subjective labour power from the objective conditions of labour, was therefore the real foundation in fact, and the starting-point of capitalist production.

But that which at first was but a starting-point, becomes, by the mere continuity of the process, by simple reproduction, the peculiar result, constantly renewed and perpetuated, of capitalist production. On the one hand, the process of production incessantly converts material wealth into capital, into means of creating more wealth and means of enjoyment for the capitalist. On the other hand, the labourer, on quitting the process, is what he was on entering it, a source of wealth, but devoid of all means of making that wealth his own. Since, before entering on the process, his own labour has already been alienated from himself by the sale of his labour power, has been appropriated by the capitalist and incorporated with capital, it must, during the process, be realised in a product that does not belong to him. Since the process of production is also the process by which the capitalist consumes labour power, the product of the labourer is incessantly converted, not only into commodities, but into capital, into value that sucks up the value-creating power, into means of subsistence that buy the person of the labourer, into means of production that command the producers.[1] The labourer therefore constantly

[1] "This is a remarkably peculiar property of productive labour. Whatever is productively consumed is capital, and it becomes capital by consumption" (James Mill, l. c., p. 242).[469] James Mill, however, never got on the track of this "remarkably peculiar property".

produces material, objective wealth, but in the form of capital, of an alien power that dominates and exploits him; and the capitalist as constantly produces labour power, but in the form of a subjective source of wealth, separated from the objects in and by which it can alone be realised; in short he produces the labourer, but as a wage labourer.[1] This incessant reproduction, this perpetuation of the labourer, is the sine quâ non of capitalist production.

The labourer consumes in a two-fold way. While producing he consumes by his labour the means of production, and converts them into products with a higher value than that of the capital advanced. This is his productive consumption. It is at the same time consumption of his labour power by the capitalist who bought it. On the other hand, the labourer turns the money paid to him for his labour power, into means of subsistence: this is his individual consumption. The labourer's productive consumption, and his individual consumption, are therefore totally distinct. In the former, he acts as the motive power of capital, and belongs to the capitalist. In the latter, he belongs to himself, and performs his necessary vital functions outside the process of production. The result of the one is, that the capitalist lives; of the other, that the labourer lives.

When treating of the working day, we saw that the labourer is often compelled to make his individual consumption a mere incident of production. In such a case, he supplies himself with necessaries in order to maintain his labour power, just as coal and water are supplied to the steam-engine and oil to the wheel. His means of consumption, in that case, are the mere means of consumption required by a means of production; his individual consumption is directly productive consumption. This, however, appears to be an abuse not essentially appertaining to capitalist production.[2]

The matter takes quite another aspect, when we contemplate, not the single capitalist, and the single labourer, but the capitalist class and the labouring class, not an isolated process of production, but

[1] "It is true indeed, that the first introducing a manufacture employs many poor, but they cease not to be so, and the continuance of it makes many" (*Reasons for a Limited Exportation of Wool*, London, 1677, p. 19). "The farmer now absurdly asserts, that he keeps the poor. They are indeed kept in misery" (*Reasons for the Late Increase of the Poor Rates: or a Comparative View of the Prices of Labour and Provisions*, London, 1777, p. 31).

[2] Rossi would not declaim so emphatically against this, had he really penetrated the secret of "productive consumption".[470]

capitalist production in full swing, and on its actual social scale. By converting part of his capital into labour power, the capitalist augments the value of his entire capital. He kills two birds with one stone. He profits, not only by what he receives from but by what he gives to, the labourer. The capital given in exchange for labour power is converted into necessaries, by the consumption of which the muscles, nerves, bones, and brains of existing labourers are reproduced, and new labourers are begotten. Within the limits of what is strictly necessary, the individual consumption of the working class is, therefore, the reconversion of the means of subsistence given by capital in exchange for labour power, into fresh labour power at the disposal of capital for exploitation. It is the production and reproduction of that means of production so indispensable to the capitalist: the labourer himself. The individual consumption of the labourer, whether it proceed within the workshop or outside it, whether it be part of the process of production or not, forms therefore a factor of the production and reproduction of capital; just as cleaning machinery does, whether it be done while the machinery is working or while it is standing. The fact that the labourer consumes his means of subsistence for his own purposes, and not to please the capitalist, has no bearing on the matter. The consumption of food by a beast of burden is none the less a necessary factor in the process of production, because the beast enjoys what it eats. The maintenance and reproduction of the working class is, and must ever be, a necessary condition to the reproduction of capital. But the capitalist may safely leave its fulfilment to the labourer's instincts of self-preservation and of propagation. All the capitalist cares for, is to reduce the labourer's individual consumption as far as possible to what is strictly necessary, and he is far away from imitating those brutal South Americans, who force their labourers to take the more substantial, rather than the less substantial, kind of food.[1]

Hence both the capitalist and his ideological representative, the political economist, consider that part alone of the labourer's indivi-

[1] "The labourers in the mines of S. America, whose daily task (the heaviest perhaps in the world) consists in bringing to the surface on their shoulders a load of metal weighing from 180 to 200 pounds, from a depth of 450 feet, live on bread and beans only; they themselves would prefer the bread alone for food, but their masters, who have found out that the men cannot work so hard on bread, treat them like horses, and compel them to eat beans; beans, however, are relatively much richer in bone-earth (phosphate of lime) than is bread" (Liebig, l. c., vol. 1, p. 194, note).

dual consumption to be productive, which is requisite for the perpetuation of the class, and which therefore must take place in order that the capitalist may have labour power to consume; what the labourer consumes for his own pleasure beyond that part, is unproductive consumption.[1] If the accumulation of capital were to cause a rise of wages and an increase in the labourer's consumption, unaccompanied by increase in the consumption of labour power by capital, the additional capital would be consumed unproductively.[2] In reality, the individual consumption of the labourer is unproductive as regards himself, for it reproduces nothing but the needy individual; it is productive to the capitalist and to the State, since it is the production of the power that creates their wealth.[3]

From a social point of view, therefore, the working class, even when not directly engaged in the labour process, is just as much an appendage of capital as the ordinary instruments of labour. Even its individual consumption is, within certain limits, a mere factor in the process of production. That process, however, takes good care to prevent these self-conscious instruments from leaving it in the lurch, for it removes their product, as fast as it is made, from their pole to the opposite pole of capital. Individual consumption provides, on the one hand, the means for their maintenance and reproduction: on the other hand, it secures by the annihilation of the necessaries of life, the continued reappearance of the workman in the labour market. The Roman slave was held by fetters: the wage labourer is bound to his owner by invisible threads. The appearance of independence is kept up by means of a constant change of employers, and by the *fictio juris* of a contract.

In former times, capital resorted to legislation, whenever necessary, to enforce its proprietary rights over the free labourer. For instance, down to 1815, the emigration of mechanics employed in machine making was, in England, forbidden, under grievous pains and penalties.

[1] James Mill, l. c., p. 238.

[2] "If the price of labour should rise so high that, notwithstanding the increase of capital, no more could be employed, I should say that such increase of capital would be still unproductively consumed" (Ricardo, l. c., p. 163, [note]).

[3] "The only productive consumption, properly so called, is the consumption or destruction of wealth" (he alludes to the means of production) "by capitalists with a view to reproduction.... The workman ... is a productive consumer to the person who employs him, and to the State, but not, strictly speaking, to himself" (Malthus' *Definitions, &c.*, p. 30).

The reproduction of the working class carries with it the accumulation of skill, that is handed down from one generation to another.[1] To what extent the capitalist reckons the existence of such a skilled class among the factors of production that belong to him by right, and to what extent he actually regards it as the reality of his variable capital, is seen so soon as a crisis threatens him with its loss. In consequence of the civil war in the United States and of the accompanying cotton famine, the majority of the cotton operatives in Lancashire were, as is well known, thrown out of work.[471] Both from the working class itself, and from other ranks of society, there arose a cry for State aid, or for voluntary national subscriptions, in order to enable the "superfluous" hands to emigrate to the colonies or to the United States. Thereupon, *The Times* published on the 24th March, 1863 [p. 12, col. 2-4], a letter from Edmund Potter, a former president of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. This letter was rightly called in the House of Commons, the manufacturers' manifesto.[2] We cull here a few characteristic passages, in which the proprietary rights of capital over labour power are unblushingly asserted.

"He" (the man out of work) "may be told the supply of cotton workers is too large ... and ... must ... in fact be reduced by a third, perhaps, and that then there will be a healthy demand for the remaining two-thirds.... Public opinion ... urges emigration.... The master cannot willingly see his labour supply being removed; he may think, and perhaps justly, that it is both wrong and unsound.... But if the public funds are to be devoted to assist emigration, he has a right to be heard, and perhaps to protest."

Mr. Potter then shows how useful the cotton trade is, how the "trade has undoubtedly drawn the surplus population from Ireland and from the agricultural districts", how immense is its extent, how in the year 1860 it yielded $\frac{5}{13}$ths of the total English exports, how, after a few years, it will again expand by the extension of the market, particularly of the Indian market, and by calling forth a plentiful supply of cotton at 6d. per lb. He then continues:

"Some time ..., one, two, or three years, it may be, will produce the quantity.... The question I would put then is this — Is the trade worth retaining? Is it worth while to keep the machinery (he means the living labour machines) in order, and is it not the

[1] "The only thing, of which one can say, that it is stored up and prepared beforehand, is the skill of the labourer.... The accumulation and storage of skilled labour, that most important operation, is, as regards the great mass of labourers, accomplished without any capital whatever" (Th. Hodgskin, *Labour Defended, &c.*, p. [p. 12-] 13).

[2] "That letter might be looked upon as the manifesto of the manufacturers" (Ferrand, *Motion on the Cotton Famine*, H. o. C., 27th April, 1863).[472]

greatest folly to think of parting with that? I think it is. I allow that the workers are not a property, not the property of Lancashire and the masters; but they are the strength of both; they are the mental and trained power which cannot be replaced for a generation; the mere machinery which they work might much of it be beneficially replaced, nay improved, in a twelvemonth.[1] Encourage or allow (!) the working power to emigrate, and what of the capitalist?"[a] "...Take away the cream of the workers, and fixed capital will depreciate in a great degree, and the floating will not subject itself to a struggle with the short supply of inferior labour.... We are told the workers wish it" (emigration). "Very natural it is that they should do so.... Reduce, compress the cotton trade by taking away its working power and reducing their wages expenditure, say one-fifth, or five millions, and what then would happen to the class above, the small shopkeepers; and what of the rents, the cottage rents.... Trace out the effects upwards to the small farmer, the better householder, and ... the landowner, and say if there could be any suggestion more suicidal to all classes of the country than by enfeebling a nation by exporting the best of its manufacturing population, and destroying the value of some of its most productive capital and enrichment.... I advise a loan (of five or six millions sterling), ... extending it may be over two or three years, administered by special commissioners added to the Boards of Guardians in the cotton districts, under special legislative regulations, enforcing some occupation or labour, as a means of keeping up at least the moral standard of the recipients of the loan ... can anything be worse for landowners or masters than parting with the best of the workers, and demoralising and disappointing the rest by an extended depletive emigration, a depletion of capital and value in an entire province?"

Potter, the chosen mouthpiece of the manufacturers, distinguishes two sorts of "machinery", each of which belongs to the capitalist, and of which one stands in his factory, the other at night time and on Sundays is housed outside the factory, in cottages. The one is inanimate, the other living. The inanimate machinery not only wears out and depreciates from day to day, but a great part of it becomes so quickly superannuated, by constant technical progress, that it can be replaced with advantage by new machinery after a few months. The living

[1] It will not be forgotten that this same capital sings quite another song, under ordinary circumstances, when there is a question of reducing wages. Then the masters exclaim with one voice: "The factory operatives should keep in wholesome remembrance the fact that theirs is really a low species of skilled labour; and that there is none which is more easily acquired, or of its quality more amply remunerated, or which, by a short training of the least expert, can be more quickly, as well as abundantly, acquired.... The master's machinery" (which we now learn can be replaced with advantage in 12 months) "really plays a far more important part in the business of production than the labour and skill of the operative" (who cannot now be replaced under 30 years), "which six months' education can teach, and a common labourer can learn" (See ante, p. 423).[353]

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[a] In the German editions there follows one more sentence: "This cry from the heart reminds one of Lord Chamberlain Kalb."[473]

machinery, on the contrary, gets better the longer it lasts, and in proportion as the skill, handed from one generation to another, accumulates. *The Times*[474] answered the cotton lord as follows:

"Mr. Edmund Potter is so impressed with the exceptional and supreme importance of the cotton masters that, in order to preserve this class and perpetuate their profession, he would keep half a million of the labouring class confined in a great moral workhouse against their will. 'Is the trade worth retaining?' asks Mr. Potter. 'Certainly by all honest means it is,' we answer. 'Is it worth while keeping the machinery in order?' again asks Mr. Potter. Here we hesitate. By the 'machinery' Mr. Potter means the human machinery, for he goes on to protest that he does not mean to use them as an absolute property. We must confess that we do not think it 'worth while,' or even possible, to keep the human machinery in order — that is to shut it up and keep it oiled till it is wanted. Human machinery *will* rust under inaction, oil and rub it as you may. Moreover, the human machinery will, as we have just seen, get the steam up of its own accord, and burst or run amuck in our great towns. It might, as Mr. Potter says, require some time to reproduce the workers, but, having machinists and capitalists at hand, we could always find thrifty, hard, industrious men wherewith to improvise more master manufacturers than we can ever want. Mr. Potter talks of the trade reviving 'in one, two, or three years', and he asks us not 'to encourage or allow (!) the working power to emigrate'. He says that it is very natural the workers should wish to emigrate; but he thinks that in spite of their desire, the nation ought to keep this half million of workers with their 700,000 dependents, shut up in the cotton districts; and as a necessary consequence, he must of course think that the nation ought to keep down their discontent by force, and sustain them by alms — and upon the chance that the cotton masters may some day want them.... The time is come when the great public opinion of these islands must operate to save this 'working power' from those who would deal with it as they would deal with iron, and coal, and cotton."

*The Times*' article was only a *jeu d'esprit*. The "great public opinion" was, in fact, of Mr. Potter's opinion, that the factory operatives are part of the movable fittings of a factory. Their emigration was prevented.[1] They were locked up in that "moral workhouse", the cotton districts, and they form, as before, "the strength" of the cotton manufacturers of Lancashire.

Capitalist production, therefore, of itself reproduces the separation between labour power and the means of labour. It thereby repro-

[1] Parliament did not vote a single farthing in aid of emigration, but simply passed some Acts empowering the municipal corporations to keep the operatives in a half-starved state, i.e., to exploit them at less than the normal wages. On the other hand, when 3 years later, the cattle disease broke out, Parliament broke wildly through its usages and voted, straight off, millions for indemnifying the millionaire landlords, whose farmers in any event came off without loss, owing to the rise in the price of meat. The bull-like bellow of the landed proprietors at the opening of Parliament, in 1866, showed that a man can worship the cow Sabala without being a Hindu, and can change himself into an ox without being a Jupiter.

duces and perpetuates the condition for exploiting the labourer. It incessantly forces him to sell his labour power in order to live, and enables the capitalist to purchase labour power in order that he may enrich himself.[1] It is no longer a mere accident, that capitalist and labourer confront each other in the market as buyer and seller. It is the process itself that incessantly hurls back the labourer on to the market as a vendor of his labour power, and that incessantly converts his own product into a means by which another man can purchase him. In reality, the labourer belongs to capital before he has sold himself to capital. His economic bondage[2] is both brought about and concealed by the periodic sale of himself, by his change of masters, and by the oscillations in the market price of labour power.[3]

Capitalist production, therefore, under its aspect of a continuous connected process, of a process of reproduction, produces not only commodities, not only surplus value, but it also produces and reproduces the capitalist relation; on the one side the capitalist, on the other the wage labourer.[4]

[1] "The worker required the means of subsistence to live, the boss required labour to make a profit" (Sismondi, l. c., p. 91).

[2] A boorishly clumsy form of this bondage exists in the county of Durham. This is one of the few counties, in which circumstances do not secure to the farmer undisputed proprietary rights over the agricultural labourer. The mining industry allows the latter some choice. In this county, the farmer, contrary to the custom elsewhere, rents only such farms as have on them labourers' cottages. The rent of the cottage is a part of the wages. These cottages are known as "hinds' houses". They are let to the labourers in consideration of certain feudal services, under a contract called "bondage", which, amongst other things, binds the labourer, during the time he is employed elsewhere, to leave some one, say his daughter, &c., to supply his place. The labourer himself is called a "bondsman".[475] The relationship here set up also shows how individual consumption by the labourer becomes consumption on behalf of capital — or productive consumption — from quite a new point of view: "It is curious to observe that the very dung of the hind and bondsman is the perquisite of the calculating lord ... and the lord will allow no privy but his own to exist in the neighbourhood, and will rather give a bit of manure here and there for a garden than bate any part of his seigneurial right" ("Public Health, Report VII, 1865", p. 188).

[3] It will not be forgotten, that, with respect to the labour of children, &c., even the formality of a voluntary sale disappears.

[4] "Capital presupposes wage labour, and wage labour presupposes capital. One is a necessary condition to the existence of the other; they mutually call each other into existence. Does an operative in a cotton-factory produce nothing but cotton goods? No, he produces capital. He produces values that give fresh command over his labour, and that, by means of such command, create fresh values" (Karl Marx, "Lohnarbeit und Kapital", in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; No. 266, 7th April, 1849 [p. 1, col. 3], [present edition, Vol. 9, p. 214]). The articles published under the above title in the *Neue*

# Chapter XXIV

## CONVERSION OF SURPLUS VALUE INTO CAPITAL

### SECTION 1.—CAPITALIST PRODUCTION ON A PROGRESSIVELY INCREASING SCALE. TRANSITION OF THE LAWS OF PROPERTY THAT CHARACTERISE PRODUCTION OF COMMODITIES INTO LAWS OF CAPITALIST APPROPRIATION

Hitherto we have investigated how surplus value emanates from capital; we have now to see how capital arises from surplus value. Employing surplus value as capital, reconverting it into capital, is called accumulation of capital.[1]

First let us consider this transaction from the standpoint of the individual capitalist. Suppose a spinner to have advanced a capital of £10,000, of which four-fifths (£8,000) are laid out in cotton, machinery, &c., and one-fifth (£2,000) in wages. Let him produce 240,000 lbs. of yarn annually, having a value of £12,000. The rate of surplus value being 100%, the surplus value lies in the surplus or net product of 40,000 lbs. of yarn, one-sixth of the gross product, with a value of £2,000 which will be realised by a sale. £2,000 is £2,000. We can neither see nor smell in this sum of money a trace of surplus value. When we know that a given value is surplus value, we know how its owner came by it; but that does not alter the nature either of value or of money.

In order to convert this additional sum of £2,000 into capital, the master-spinner will, all circumstances remaining as before, advance four-fifths of it (£1,600) in the purchase of cotton, &c., and one-fifth (£400) in the purchase of additional spinners, who will find in the market the necessaries of life whose value the master has advanced to them. Then the new capital of £2,000 functions in the spinning-mill, and brings in, in its turn, a surplus value of £400.

The capital value was originally advanced in the money form. The surplus value on the contrary is, originally, the value of a definite por-

*Rheinische Zeitung* are parts of some lectures given by me on that subject, in 1847, in the German "Arbeiter-Verein" at Brussels, the publication of which was interrupted by the revolution of February.[476]

[1] "Accumulation of capital; the employment of a portion of revenue as capital" (Malthus, *Definitions, &c.*, ed. Cazenove, p. 11). "Conversion of revenue into capital" (Malthus, *Princ. of Pol. Econ.*, 2nd Ed., Lond., 1836, p. 320).

tion of the gross product. If this gross product be sold, converted into money, the capital value regains its original form. From this moment the capital value and the surplus value are both of them sums of money, and their reconversion into capital takes place in precisely the same way. The one, as well as the other, is laid out by the capitalist in the purchase of commodities that place him in a position to begin afresh the fabrication of his goods, and this time, on an extended scale. But in order to be able to buy those commodities, he must find them ready in the market.

His own yarns circulate, only because he brings his annual product to market, as all other capitalists likewise do with their commodities. But these commodities, before coming to market, were part of the general annual product, part of the total mass of objects of every kind, into which the sum of the individual capitals, i. e., the total capital of society, had been converted in the course of the year, and of which each capitalist had in hand only an aliquot part. The transactions in the market effectuate only the interchange of the individual components of this annual product, transfer them from one hand to another, but can neither augment the total annual production, nor alter the nature of the objects produced. Hence the use that can be made of the total annual product, depends entirely upon its own composition, but in no way upon circulation.

The annual production must in the first place furnish all those objects (use values) from which the material components of capital, used up in the course of the year, have to be replaced. Deducting these there remains the net or surplus product, in which the surplus value lies. And of what does this surplus product consist? Only of things destined to satisfy the wants and desires of the capitalist class, things which, consequently, enter into the consumption fund of the capitalists? Were that the case, the cup of surplus value would be drained to the very dregs, and nothing but simple reproduction would ever take place.

To accumulate it is necessary to convert a portion of the surplus product into capital. But we cannot, except by a miracle, convert into capital anything but such articles as can be employed in the labour process (i. e., means of production), and such further articles as are suitable for the sustenance of the labourer (i. e., means of subsistence). Consequently, a part of the annual surplus labour must have been applied to the production of additional means of production and subsistence, over and above the quantity of these things required to re-

place the capital advanced. In one word, surplus value is convertible into capital solely because the surplus product, whose value it is, already comprises the material elements of new capital.[1]

Now in order to allow of these elements actually functioning as capital, the capitalist class requires additional labour. If the exploitation of the labourers already employed do not increase, either extensively or intensively, then additional labour power must be found. For this the mechanism of capitalist production provides beforehand, by converting the working class into a class dependent on wages, a class whose ordinary wages suffice, not only for its maintenance, but for its increase. It is only necessary for capital to incorporate this additional labour power, annually supplied by the working class in the shape of labourers of all ages, with the surplus means of production comprised in the annual produce, and the conversion of surplus value into capital is complete. From a concrete point of view, accumulation resolves itself into the reproduction of capital on a progressively increasing scale. The circle in which simple reproduction moves, alters its form, and, to use Sismondi's expression,[477] changes into a spiral.[2]

Let us now return to our illustration. It is the old story: Abraham begat Isaac, Isaac begat Jacob, and so on.[478] The original capital of £10,000 brings in a surplus value of £2,000, which is capitalised. The new capital of £2,000 brings in a surplus value of £400, and this, too, is capitalised, converted into a second additional capital, which, in its turn, produces a further surplus value of £80. And so the ball rolls on.

We here leave out of consideration the portion of the surplus value consumed by the capitalist. Just as little does it concern us, for the moment, whether the additional capital is joined on to the original capital, or is separated from it to function independently; whether the same capitalist, who accumulated it, employs it, or whether he hands it over to another. This only we must not forget, that by the side of

[1] We here take no account of export trade, by means of which a nation can change articles of luxury either into means of production or means of subsistence, and *vice versa*. In order to examine the object of our investigation in its integrity, free from all disturbing subsidiary circumstances, we must treat the whole world as one nation, and assume that capitalist production is everywhere established and has possessed itself of every branch of industry.

[2] Sismondi's analysis of accumulation suffers from the great defect, that he contents himself, to too great an extent, with the phrase "conversion of revenue into capital", without fathoming the material conditions of this operation.[a]

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[a] See this volume, p. 587, footnote 1.

the newly-formed capital, the original capital continues to reproduce itself, and to produce surplus value, and that this is also true of all accumulated capital, and the additional capital engendered by it.

The original capital was formed by the advance of £10,000. How did the owner become possessed of it? "By his own labour and that of his forefathers", answer unanimously the spokesmen of political economy.[1] And, in fact, their supposition appears the only one consonant with the laws of the production of commodities.

But it is quite otherwise with regard to the additional capital of £2,000. How that originated we know perfectly well. There is not one single atom of its value that does not owe its existence to unpaid labour. The means of production, with which the additional labour power is incorporated, as well as the necessaries with which the labourers are sustained, are nothing but component parts of the surplus product, of the tribute annually exacted from the working class by the capitalist class. Though the latter with a portion of that tribute purchases the additional labour power even at its full price, so that equivalent is exchanged for equivalent, yet the transaction is for all that only the old dodge of every conqueror who buys commodities from the conquered with the money he has robbed them of.

If the additional capital employs the person who produced it, this producer must not only continue to augment the value of the original capital, but must buy back the fruits of his previous labour with more labour than they cost. When viewed as a transaction between the capitalist class and the working class, it makes no difference that additional labourers are employed by means of the unpaid labour of the previously employed labourers. The capitalist may even convert the additional capital into a machine that throws the producers of that capital out of work, and that replaces them by a few children. In every case the working class creates by the surplus labour of one year the capital destined to employ additional labour in the following year.[2] And this is what is called: creating capital out of capital.

The accumulation of the first additional capital of £2,000 presupposes a value of £10,000 belonging to the capitalist by virtue of his "primitive labour", and advanced by him. The second additional capital of £400 presupposes, on the contrary, only the previous accu-

[1] "The original labour, to which his capital owed its origin." Sismondi, l. c., ed. Paris, t. 1, p. 109.

[2] "Labour creates capital before capital employs labour". E. G. Wakefield, *England and America*, Lond., 1833, Vol. II, p. 110.

mulation of the £2,000, of which the £400 is the surplus value capitalised. The ownership of past unpaid labour is thenceforth the sole condition for the appropriation of living unpaid labour on a constantly increasing scale. The more the capitalist has accumulated, the more is he able to accumulate.

In so far as the surplus value, of which the additional capital, No. 1, consists, is the result of the purchase of labour power with part of the original capital, a purchase that conformed to the laws of the exchange of commodities, and that, from a legal standpoint, presupposes nothing beyond the free disposal, on the part of the labourer, of his own capacities, and on the part of the owner of money or commodities, of the values that belong to him; in so far as the additional capital, No. 2, &c., is the mere result of No. 1, and, therefore, a consequence of the above conditions; in so far as each single transaction invariably conforms to the laws of the exchange of commodities, the capitalist buying labour power, the labourer selling it, and we will assume at its real value; in so far as all this is true, it is evident that the laws of appropriation or of private property, laws that are based on the production and circulation of commodities, become by their own inner and inexorable dialectic changed into their very opposite.[1] The exchange of equivalents, the original operation with which we started, has now become turned round in such a way that there is only an apparent exchange. This is owing to the fact, first, that the capital which is exchanged for labour power is itself but a portion of the product of others' labour appropriated without an equivalent; and, secondly, that this capital must not only be replaced by its producer, but replaced together with an added surplus. The relation of exchange subsisting between capitalist and labourer becomes a mere semblance appertaining to the process of circulation, a mere form, foreign to the real nature of the transaction, and only mystifying it. The ever repeated purchase and sale of labour power is now the mere form; what really takes place is this — the capitalist again and again appropriates, without equivalent, a portion of the

[1] Just as at a given stage in its development, commodity production necessarily passes into capitalistic commodity production (in fact, it is only on the basis of capitalistic production that products take the general and predominant form of commodities), so the laws of property that are based on commodity production, necessarily turn into the laws of capitalist appropriation. We may well, therefore, feel astonished at the cleverness of Proudhon, who would abolish capitalistic property by enforcing the eternal laws of property that are based on commodity production![479]

previously materialised labour of others, and exchanges it for a greater quantity of living labour. At first the rights of property seemed to us to be based on a man's own labour. At least, some such assumption was necessary since only commodity owners with equal rights confronted each other, and the sole means by which a man could become possessed of the commodities of others, was by alienating his own commodities; and these could be replaced by labour alone. Now, however, property turns out to be the right, on the part of the capitalist, to appropriate the unpaid labour of others or its product, and to be the impossibility, on the part of the labourer, of appropriating his own product. The separation of property from labour has become the necessary consequence of a law that apparently originated in their identity.[1] 480

We have seen that even in the case of simple reproduction, all capital, whatever its original source, becomes converted into accumulated capital, capitalised surplus value. But in the flood of production all the capital originally advanced becomes a vanishing quantity (*magnitudo evanescens*, in the mathematical sense), compared with the directly accumulated capital, i. e., with the surplus value or surplus product that is reconverted into capital, whether it functions in the hands of its accumulator, or in those of others. Hence, political economy describes capital in general as "accumulated wealth" (converted surplus value or revenue), "that is employed over again in the production of surplus value"[2] and the capitalist as "the owner of surplus value".[3] It is merely another way of expressing the same thing to say that all existing capital is accumulated or capitalised interest, for interest is a mere fragment of surplus value.[4]

[1] The property of the capitalist in the product of the labour of others "is a strict consequence of the law of appropriation, the fundamental principle of which was, on the contrary, the exclusive title of every labourer to the product of his own labour" (Cherbuliez, *Richesse ou Pauvreté*, Paris, 1841, p. 58, where, however, the dialectical reversal is not properly developed).

[2] "Capital, viz., accumulated wealth employed with a view to profit" (Malthus, l. c.). "Capital ... consists of wealth saved from revenue, and used with a view to profit" (R. Jones, *An Introductory Lecture on Polit. Econ.*, Lond., 1833, p. 16).

[3] "The possessors of surplus produce or capital" ([Ch. W. Dilke,] "The Source and Remedy of the National Difficulties. A Letter to Lord John Russell," Lond., 1821).

[4] "Capital, with compound interest on every portion of capital saved, is so all engrossing that all the wealth in the world from which income is derived, has long ago become the interest on capital" (London, *Economist*, 19th July, 1851).

## SECTION 2.—ERRONEOUS CONCEPTION, BY POLITICAL ECONOMY, OF REPRODUCTION ON A PROGRESSIVELY INCREASING SCALE

Before we further investigate accumulation or the reconversion of surplus value into capital, we must brush on one side an ambiguity introduced by the classical economists.

Just as little as the commodities that the capitalist buys with a part of the surplus value for his own consumption, serve the purpose of production and of creation of value, so little is the labour that he buys for the satisfaction of his natural and social requirements, productive labour. Instead of converting surplus value into capital, he, on the contrary, by the purchase of those commodities and that labour, consumes or expends it as revenue.[a] In the face of the habitual mode of life of the old feudal nobility, which, as Hegel rightly says, "consists in consuming what is in hand",[48] and more especially displays itself in the luxury of personal retainers, it was extremely important for bourgeois economy to promulgate the doctrine that accumulation of capital is the first duty of every citizen, and to preach without ceasing, that a man cannot accumulate, if he eats up all his revenue, instead of spending a good part of it in the acquisition of additional productive labourers, who bring in more than they cost. On the other hand the economists had to contend against the popular prejudice, that confuses capitalist production with hoarding,[1] and fancies that accumulated wealth is either wealth that is rescued from being destroyed in its existing form, i. e., from being consumed, or wealth that is withdrawn from circulation. Exclusion of money from circulation would also exclude absolutely its self-expansion as capital, while accumulation of a hoard in the shape of commodities would be sheer tomfoolery.[2] The accumulation of commodities in great masses is the result either of overproduction or

[1] "No political economist of the present day can by saving mean mere hoarding: and beyond this contracted and insufficient proceeding, no use of the term in reference to the national wealth can well be imagined, but that which must arise from a different application of what is saved, founded upon a real distinction between the different kinds of labour maintained by it" (Malthus, l. c., pp. 38, 39).

[2] Thus for instance, Balzac, who so thoroughly studied every shade of avarice, represents the old usurer Gobseck as in his second childhood when he begins to heap up a hoard of commodities.

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[a] See this volume, p. 587, footnote 1.

of a stoppage of circulation.[1] It is true that the popular mind is impressed by the sight, on the one hand, of the mass of goods that are stored up for gradual consumption by the rich,[2] and on the other hand, by the formation of reserve stocks; the latter, a phenomenon that is common to all modes of production, and on which we shall dwell for a moment, when we come to analyse circulation. Classical economy is therefore quite right, when it maintains that the consumption of surplus products by productive, instead of by unproductive labourers, is a characteristic feature of the process of accumulation. But at this point the mistakes also begin. Adam Smith has made it the fashion, to represent accumulation as nothing more than consumption of surplus products by productive labourers, which amounts to saying, that the capitalising of surplus value consists in merely turning surplus value into labour power.[482]

Let us see what Ricardo, e. g., says:

"It must be understood that all the productions of a country are consumed; but it makes the greatest difference imaginable whether they are consumed by those who reproduce, or by those who do not reproduce another value. When we say that revenue is saved, and added to capital, what we mean is, that the portion of revenue, so said to be added to capital, is consumed by productive instead of unproductive labourers. There can be no greater error than in supposing that capital is increased by non-consumption."[3]

There can be no greater error than that which Ricardo and all subsequent economists repeat after A. Smith, viz., that

"the part of revenue, of which it is said, it has been added to capital, is consumed by productive labourers."

According to this, all surplus value that is changed into capital becomes variable capital. So far from this being the case, the surplus value, like the original capital, divides itself into constant capital and variable capital, into means of production and labour power. Labour power is the form under which variable capital exists during the process of production. In this process the labour power is itself consumed by the capitalist while the means of production are consumed

[1] "Accumulation of stocks ... non-exchange ... overproduction" (Th. Corbet, l. c., [*An Inquiry into the Causes*..., London, 1841,] p. 104).

[2] In this sense Necker speaks of the "things of pomp and luxury", of which "accumulation has grown with time", and which "the laws of property have brought into the hands of one class of society alone" (*Oeuvres* de M. Necker, Paris and Lausanne, 1789, t. ii, p. 291).

[3] Ricardo, l. c., p. 163, note.

by the labour power in the exercise of its function, labour. At the same time, the money paid for the purchase of the labour power, is converted into necessaries, that are consumed, not by "productive labour", but by the "productive labourer". Adam Smith, by a fundamentally perverted analysis, arrives at the absurd conclusion, that even though each individual capital is divided into a constant and a variable part, the capital of society resolves itself only into variable capital, i. e., is laid out exclusively in payment of wages. For instance, suppose a cloth manufacturer converts £2,000 into capital. One portion he lays out in buying weavers, the other in woollen yarn, machinery, &c. But the people, from whom he buys the yarn and the machinery, pay for labour with a part of the purchase money, and so on until the whole £2,000 are spent in the payment of wages, i. e., until the entire product represented by the £2,000 has been consumed by productive labourers. It is evident that the whole gist of this argument lies in the words "and so on", which send us from pillar to post. In truth, Adam Smith breaks his investigation off, just where its difficulties begin.[1]

The annual process of reproduction is easily understood, so long as we keep in view merely the sum total of the year's production. But every single component of this product must be brought into the market as a commodity, and there the difficulty begins. The movements of the individual capitals, and of the personal revenues, cross and intermingle and are lost in the general change of places, in the circulation of the wealth of society; this dazes the sight, and propounds very complicated problems for solution. In the third part of Book II[483] I shall give the analysis of the real bearings of the facts. It is one of the great merits of the Physiocrats, that in their *Tableau économique*[484] they were the first to attempt to depict the annual production in the shape in which it is presented to us after passing through the process of circulation.[2]

[1] In spite of his *Logic*, John St. Mill never detects even such faulty analysis as this when made by his predecessors, an analysis which, even from the bourgeois standpoint of the science, cries out for rectification. In every case he registers with the dogmatism of a disciple, the confusion of his master's thoughts. So here: "The capital itself in the long run becomes entirely wages, and when replaced by the sale of produce becomes wages again."[485]

[2] In his description of the process of reproduction, and of accumulation, Adam Smith, in many ways, not only made no advance, but even lost considerable ground, compared with his predecessors, especially by the Physiocrats. Connected with the illusion mentioned in the text, is the really wonderful dogma, left by him as an inheritance

For the rest, it is a matter of course, that political economy, acting in the interests of the capitalist class, has not failed to exploit the doctrine of Adam Smith, viz., that the whole of that part of the surplus product which is converted into capital, is consumed by the working class.

## SECTION 3.—SEPARATION OF SURPLUS VALUE INTO CAPITAL AND REVENUE. THE ABSTINENCE THEORY

In the last preceding chapter, we treated surplus value (or the surplus product) solely as a fund for supplying the individual consumption of the capitalist. In this chapter we have, so far, treated it solely as a fund for accumulation. It is, however, neither the one nor the other, but is both together. One portion is consumed by the capitalist as revenue,[1] the other is employed as capital, is accumulated.

Given the mass of surplus value, then, the larger the one of these parts, the smaller is the other. *Cœteris paribus*, the ratio of these parts determines the magnitude of the accumulation. But it is by the owner of the surplus value, by the capitalist alone, that the division is made. It is his deliberate act. That part of the tribute exacted by him which he accumulates, is said to be saved by him, because he does not eat it, i. e., because he performs the function of a capitalist, and enriches himself.

Except as personified capital, the capitalist has no historical value, and no right to that historical existence, which, to use an expression of the witty Lichnowsky, "hasn't got no date".[488] And so far only is the necessity for his own transitory existence implied in the transitory necessity for the capitalist mode of production. But, so far as he is per-

to political economy, the dogma, that the price of commodities is made up of wages, profit (interest) and rent, i. e., of wages and surplus value.[486] Starting from this basis, Storch naïvely confesses, "...it is impossible to resolve the necessary price into its simplest elements" (Storch, l. c. [*Cours d'économie politique*...], Petersb. Edit., 1815, t. ii, p. 141, note). A fine science of economy this, which declares it impossible to resolve the price of a commodity into its simplest elements! This point will be further investigated in the seventh part of Book iii.[487]

[1] The reader will notice that the word revenue is used in a double sense: first, to designate surplus value so far as it is the fruit periodically yielded by capital; secondly, to designate the part of that fruit which is periodically consumed by the capitalist, or added to the fund that supplies his private consumption. I have retained this double meaning because it harmonises with the language of the English and French economists.

sonified capital, it is not values in use and the enjoyment of them, but exchange value and its augmentation, that spur him into action. Fanatically bent on making value expand itself, he ruthlessly forces the human race to produce for production's sake; he thus forces the development of the productive powers of society, and creates those material conditions, which alone can form the real basis of a higher form of society, a society in which the full and free development of every individual forms the ruling principle. Only as personified capital is the capitalist respectable. As such, he shares with the miser the passion for wealth as wealth. But that which in the miser is a mere idiosyncrasy, is, in the capitalist, the effect of the social mechanism, of which he is but one of the wheels. Moreover, the development of capitalist production makes it constantly necessary to keep increasing the amount of the capital laid out in a given industrial undertaking, and competition makes the immanent laws of capitalist production to be felt by each individual capitalist, as external coercive laws. It compels him to keep constantly extending his capital, in order to preserve it, but extend it he cannot, except by means of progressive accumulation.

So far, therefore, as his actions are a mere function of capital—endowed as capital is, in his person, with consciousness and a will—his own private consumption is a robbery perpetrated on accumulation, just as in bookkeeping by double entry, the private expenditure of the capitalist is placed on the debtor side of his account against his capital. To accumulate, is to conquer the world of social wealth, to increase the mass of human beings exploited by him, and thus to extend both the direct and the indirect sway of the capitalist.[1]

[1] Taking the usurer, that old-fashioned but ever renewed specimen of the capitalist for his text, Luther shows very aptly that the love of power is an element in the desire to get rich. "The heathen were able, by the light of reason, to conclude that a usurer is a double-dyed thief and murderer. We Christians, however, hold them in such honour, that we fairly worship them for the sake of their money.... Whoever eats up, robs, and steals the nourishment of another, that man commits as great a murder (so far as in him lies) as he who starves a man or utterly undoes him. Such does a usurer, and sits the while safe on his stool, when he ought rather to be hanging on the gallows, and be eaten by as many ravens as he has stolen guilders, if only there were so much flesh on him, that so many ravens could stick their beaks in and share it. Meanwhile, we hang the small thieves.... Little thieves are put in the stocks, great thieves go flaunting in gold and silk.... Therefore is there, on this earth, no greater enemy of man (after the devil) than a gripe-money, and usurer, for he wants to be God over all men. Turks, soldiers, and tyrants are also bad men, yet must they let the people live, and confess that they are bad, and enemies, and do, nay, must, now and then show pity to some. But a usurer and money-glutton, such a one would have the whole world perish

But original sin is at work everywhere. As capitalist production, accumulation, and wealth, become developed, the capitalist ceases to be the mere incarnation of capital. He has a fellow-feeling for his own Adam, and his education gradually enables him to smile at the rage for asceticism, as a mere prejudice of the old-fashioned miser. While the capitalist of the classical type brands individual consumption as a sin against his function, and as "abstinence" from accumulating, the modernised capitalist is capable of looking upon accumulation as "abstinence" from pleasure.

> "Two souls, alas, do dwell within his breast;
> The one is ever parting from the other." [1]

At the historical dawn of capitalist production,—and every capitalist upstart has personally to go through this historical stage—avarice, and desire to get rich, are the ruling passions. But the progress of capitalist production not only creates a world of delights; it lays open, in speculation and the credit system, a thousand sources of sudden enrichment. When a certain stage of development has been reached, a conventional degree of prodigality, which is also an exhibition of wealth, and consequently a source of credit, becomes a business necessity to the "unfortunate" capitalist. Luxury enters into capital's expenses of representation. Moreover, the capitalist gets rich, not like the miser, in proportion to his personal labour and restricted consumption, but at the same rate as he squeezes out the labour pow-

of hunger and thirst, misery and want, so far as in him lies, so that he may have all to himself, and every one may receive from him as from a God, and be his serf for ever. To wear fine cloaks, golden chains, rings, to wipe his mouth, to be deemed and taken for a worthy, pious man.... Usury is a great huge monster, like a werewolf, who lays waste all, more than any Cacus, Gerion or Antus. And yet decks himself out, and would be thought pious, so that people may not see where the oxen have gone, that he drags backwards into his den. But Hercules shall hear the cry of the oxen and of his prisoners, and shall seek Cacus even in cliffs and among rocks, and shall set the oxen loose again from the villain. For Cacus means the villain that is a pious usurer, and steals, robs, eats everything. And will not own that he has done it, and thinks no one will find him out, because the oxen, drawn backwards into his den, make it seem, from their footprints, that they have been let out. So the usurer would deceive the world, as though he were of use and gave the world oxen, which he, however, rends, and eats all alone.... And since we break on the wheel, and behead highwaymen, murderers and housebreakers, how much more ought we to break on the wheel and kill ... hunt down, curse and behead all usurers" (Martin Luther, l. c. [*An die Pfarrherrn...*, Wittemberg, 1540]).

[1] See Goethe's *Faust* [Part I].

er of others, and enforces on the labourer abstinence from all life's enjoyments. Although, therefore, the prodigality of the capitalist never possesses the bona fide character of the open-handed feudal lord's prodigality, but, on the contrary, has always lurking behind it the most sordid avarice and the most anxious calculation, yet his expenditure grows with his accumulation, without the one necessarily restricting the other. But along with this growth, there is at the same time developed in his breast, a Faustian conflict between the passion for accumulation, and the desire for enjoyment.

Dr. Aikin says in a work published in 1795:

"The trade of Manchester may be divided into four periods. First, when manufacturers were obliged to work hard for their livelihood."

They enriched themselves chiefly by robbing the parents, whose children were bound as apprentices to them; the parents paid a high premium, while the apprentices were starved. On the other hand, the average profits were low, and to accumulate, extreme parsimony was requisite. They lived like misers, and were far from consuming even the interest on their capital.

"The second period, when they had begun to acquire little fortunes, but worked as hard as before,"—for direct exploitation of labour costs labour, as every slave-driver knows—"and lived in as plain a manner as before.... The third, when luxury began, and the trade was pushed by sending out riders for orders into every market town in the Kingdom.... It is probable that few or no capitals of £3,000 to £4,000 acquired by trade existed here before 1690. However, about that time, or a little later, the traders had got money beforehand, and began to build modern brick houses, instead of those of wood and plaster."

Even in the early part of the 18th century, a Manchester manufacturer, who placed a pint of foreign wine before his guests, exposed himself to the remarks and headshakings of all his neighbours. Before the rise of machinery, a manufacturer's evening expenditure at the public house where they all met, never exceeded sixpence for a glass of punch, and a penny for a screw of tobacco. It was not till 1758, and this marks an epoch, that a person actually engaged in business was seen with an equipage of his own.

"The fourth period," the last 30 years of the 18th century, "is that in which expense and luxury have made great progress, and was supported by a trade extended by means of riders and factors through every part of Europe." [1]

[1] Dr. Aikin, *Description of the Country from 30 to 40 miles round Manchester*, Lond., 1795, p. 181, sq.

What would the good Dr. Aikin say if he could rise from his grave and see the Manchester of to-day?

Accumulate, accumulate! That is Moses and the prophets![489] "Industry furnishes the material which saving accumulates."[1] Therefore, save, save, i. e., reconvert the greatest possible portion of surplus value, or surplus product into capital! Accumulation for accumulation's sake, production for production's sake: by this formula classical economy expressed the historical mission of the bourgeoisie, and did not for a single instant deceive itself over the birth-throes of wealth.[2] But what avails lamentation in the face of historical necessity? If to classical economy, the proletarian is but a machine for the production of surplus value; on the other hand, the capitalist is in its eyes only a machine for the conversion of this surplus value into additional capital. Political economy takes the historical function of the capitalist in bitter earnest. In order to charm out of his bosom the awful conflict between the desire for enjoyment and the chase after riches, Malthus, about the year 1820, advocated a division of labour, which assigns to the capitalist actually engaged in production, the business of accumulating, and to the other sharers in surplus value, to the landlords, the place-men, the beneficed clergy, &c., the business of spending. It is of the highest importance, he says,

"to keep separate the passion for expenditure and the passion for accumulation."[3]

The capitalists having long been good livers and men of the world, uttered loud cries. What, exclaimed one of their spokesmen, a disciple of Ricardo, Mr. Malthus preaches high rents, heavy taxes, &c., so that the pressure of the spur may constantly be kept on the industrious by unproductive consumers![491] By all means, production, production on a constantly increasing scale, runs the shibboleth; but

"production will, by such a process, be far more curbed in than spurred on. Nor is it quite fair thus to maintain in idleness a number of persons, only to pinch others, who are likely, from their characters, if you can force them to work, to work with success."[4]

Unfair as he finds it to spur on the industrial capitalist, by depriving his bread of its butter, yet he thinks it necessary to reduce the la-

[1] A. Smith, l. c., bk. II [t. II], ch. iii [p. 367].

[2] Even J. B. Say says: "The savings of the rich are made at the expense of the poor." [490] "The Roman proletarian lived almost entirely at the expense of society.... It can almost be said that modern society lives at the expense of the proletarians, on what it keeps out of the remuneration of labour" (Sismondi, *Etudes, &c.*, t. i, p. 24).

[3] Malthus, l. c., pp. 325-26.

[4] *An Inquiry into those Principles Respecting the Nature of Demand, &c.*, p. 67.

bourer's wages to a minimum "to keep him industrious". Nor does he for a moment conceal the fact, that the appropriation of unpaid labour is the secret of surplus value.

"Increased demand on the part of the labourers means nothing more than their willingness to take less of their own product for themselves, and leave a greater part of it to their employers; and if it be said, that this begets glut, by lessening consumption" (on the part of the labourers), "I can only reply that glut is synonymous with large profits."[1]

The learned disputation, how the booty pumped out of the labourer may be divided, with most advantage to accumulation, between the industrial capitalist and the rich idler, was hushed in face of the revolution of July.[492] Shortly afterwards, the town proletariat at Lyons sounded the tocsin of revolution, and the country proletariat in England began to set fire to farm-yards and corn-stacks.[493] On this side of the Channel Owenism began to spread; on the other side, St. Simonism and Fourierism. The hour of vulgar economy had struck. Exactly a year before Nassau W. Senior discovered at Manchester, that the profit (including interest) of capital is the product of the last hour of the twelve, he had announced to the world another discovery.

"I substitute," he proudly says, "for the word capital, considered as an instrument of production, the word abstinence."[2]

An unparalleled sample this, of the discoveries of vulgar economy! It substitutes for an economic category, a sycophantic phrase — *voilà tout.* [a]

"When the savage," says Senior, "makes bows, he exercises an industry, but he does not practise abstinence."

[1] l. c., p. 59.

[2] (Senior, *Principes fondamentaux de l'Écon. Pol.*, trad. Arrivabene. Paris, 1836, p. 309). This was rather too much for the adherents of the old classical school. "Mr. Senior has substituted for it" (the expression, labour and profit) "the expression labour and abstinence. He who converts his revenue abstains from the enjoyment which its expenditure would afford him. It is not the capital, but the use of the capital productively, which is the cause of profits" (John Cazenove, l. c.,[494] p. 130, note). John St. Mill, on the contrary, accepts on the one hand Ricardo's theory of profit, and annexes on the other hand Senior's "remuneration of abstinence". He is as much at home in absurd contradictions, as he feels at sea in the Hegelian contradiction, the source of all dialectic. It has never occurred to the vulgar economist to make the simple reflexion, that every human action may be viewed, as "abstinence" from its opposite. Eating is abstinence from fasting; walking, abstinence from standing still, working, abstinence from idling, idling, abstinence from working, &c. These gentlemen would do well, to ponder, once in a way, over Spinoza's: "Determinatio est Negatio."[495]

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[a] that's all

This explains how and why, in the earlier states of society, the implements of labour were fabricated without abstinence on the part of the capitalist.

"The more society progresses, the more abstinence is demanded,"[1]

namely, from those who ply the industry of appropriating the fruits of others' industry. All the conditions for carrying on the labour process are suddenly converted into so many acts of abstinence on the part of the capitalist. If the corn is not all eaten, but part of it also sown — abstinence of the capitalist. If the wine gets time to mature — abstinence of the capitalist.[2] The capitalist robs his own self, whenever he "lends (!) the instruments of production to the labourer", that is, whenever by incorporating labour power with them, he uses them to extract surplus value out of that labour power, instead of eating them up, steam-engines, cotton, railways, manure, horses, and all; or as the vulgar economist childishly puts it, instead of dissipating "their value" in luxuries and other articles of consumption.[3] How the capitalists as a class are to perform that feat, is a secret that vulgar economy has hitherto obstinately refused to divulge. Enough, that the world still jogs on, solely through the self-chastisement of this modern penitent of Vishnu,[223] the capitalist. Not only accumulation, but the simple "conservation of a capital requires a constant effort to resist the temptation of consuming it".[4] The simple dictates of humanity therefore plainly enjoin the release of the capitalist from this martyrdom and temptation, in the same way that the Georgian slave-owner was lately delivered, by the abolition of slavery, from the painful dilemma, whether to squander the surplus product, lashed out of his niggers, entirely in champagne, or whether to reconvert a part of it into more niggers and more land.[497]

[1] Senior, l. c., pp. 342-43.

[2] "No one ... will sow his wheat, for instance, and allow it to remain a twelve-month in the ground, or leave his wine in a cellar for years, instead of consuming these things or their equivalent at once ... unless he expects to acquire additional value, &c." (Scrope, *Polit. Econ.*, edit. by A. Potter, New York, 1841, p. 133).[496]

[3] "The deprivation the capitalist imposes on himself by lending" (this euphemism used, for the purpose of identifying, according to the approved method of vulgar economy, the labourer who is exploited, with the industrial capitalist who exploits, and to whom other capitalists lend money) "his instruments of production to the worker, instead of devoting their value to his own consumption, by transforming them into objects of utility or pleasure" (G. de Molinari, l. c., p. 36).

[4] "La conservation d'un capital exige ... un effort constant pour résister à la tentation de le consommer" (Courcelle-Seneuil, l. c., p. 20).

In economic forms of society of the most different kinds, there occurs, not only simple reproduction, but, in varying degrees, reproduction on a progressively increasing scale. By degrees more is produced and more consumed, and consequently more products have to be converted into means of production. This process, however, does not present itself as accumulation of capital, nor as the function of a capitalist, so long as the labourer's means of production, and with them, his product and means of subsistence, do not confront him in the shape of capital.[1] Richard Jones, who died a few years ago, and was the successor of Malthus in the chair of political economy at Haileybury College, discusses this point well in the light of two important facts. Since the great mass of the Hindu population are peasants cultivating their land themselves, their products, their instruments of labour and means of subsistence never take "the shape of a fund saved from revenue, which fund has, therefore, gone through a previous process of accumulation".[2] On the other hand, the non-agricultural labourers in those provinces where the English rule has least disturbed the old system, are directly employed by the magnates, to whom a portion of the agricultural surplus product is rendered in the shape of tribute or rent. One portion of this product is consumed by the magnates in kind, another is converted, for their use, by the labourers, into articles of luxury and such like things; while the rest forms the wages of the labourers, who own their implements of labour. Here, production and reproduction on a progressively increasing scale, go on their way without any intervention from that queer saint, that knight of the woeful countenance, the capitalist "abstainer".

[1] "The particular classes of income which yield the most abundantly to the progress of national capital, change at different stages of their progress, and are, therefore, entirely different in nations occupying different positions in that progress.... Profits ... unimportant source of accumulation, compared with wages and rents, in the earlier stages of society.... When a considerable advance in the powers of national industry has actually taken place, profits rise into comparative importance as a source of accumulation" (Richard Jones, *Textbook, &c.*, pp. 16, 20, 21).

[2] l. c., p. 36, sq.

## SECTION 4.—CIRCUMSTANCES THAT, INDEPENDENTLY OF THE PROPORTIONAL DIVISION OF SURPLUS VALUE INTO CAPITAL AND REVENUE, DETERMINE THE AMOUNT OF ACCUMULATION. DEGREE OF EXPLOITATION OF LABOUR POWER. PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOUR. GROWING DIFFERENCE IN AMOUNT BETWEEN CAPITAL EMPLOYED AND CAPITAL CONSUMED. MAGNITUDE OF CAPITAL ADVANCED

The proportion in which surplus value breaks up into capital and revenue being given, the magnitude of the capital accumulated clearly depends on the absolute magnitude of the surplus value. Suppose that 80 per cent were capitalised and 20 per cent eaten up, the accumulated capital will be £2,400 or £1,200, according as the total surplus value has amounted to £3,000 or £1,500. Hence all the circumstances that determine the mass of surplus value, operate to determine the magnitude of the accumulation. We sum them up once again, but only in so far as they afford new points of view in regard to accumulation.

It will be remembered that the rate of surplus value depends, in the first place, on the degree of exploitation of labour power. Political economy values this fact so highly, that it occasionally identifies the acceleration of accumulation due to increased productiveness of labour, with its acceleration due to increased exploitation of the labourer.[1] In the chapters on the production of surplus value it was constantly presupposed that wages are at least equal to the value of labour power. Forcible reduction of wages below this value plays, however, in practice too important a part, for us not to pause upon it for a moment. It, in fact, transforms, within certain limits, the labourer's necessary consumption fund into a fund for the accumulation of capital.

"Wages," says John Stuart Mill, "have no productive power; they are the price of a productive power. Wages do not contribute, along with labour, to the production of

[1] "Ricardo says: 'In different stages of society the accumulation of capital or of the means of employing' (i. e., exploiting) 'labour is more or less rapid, and must in all cases depend on the productive powers of labour. The productive powers of labour are generally greatest where there is an abundance of fertile land.' If, in the first sentence, the productive powers of labour mean the smallness of that aliquot part of any produce that goes to those whose manual labour produced it, the sentence is nearly identical, because the remaining aliquot part is the fund whence capital can, if the *owner pleases*, be accumulated. But then this does not generally happen, where there is most fertile land" (*Observations on Certain Verbal Disputes, &c.*, p. 74).

commodities, no more than the price of tools contributes along with the tools themselves. If labour could be had without purchase, wages might be dispensed with."[1]

But if the labourers could live on air they could not be bought at any price. The zero of their cost is therefore a limit in a mathematical sense, always beyond reach, although we can always approximate more and more nearly to it. The constant tendency of capital is to force the cost of labour back towards this zero. A writer of the 18th century, often quoted already, the author of the *Essay on Trade and Commerce*, only betrays the innermost secret soul of English capitalism, when he declares the historic mission of England to be the forcing down of English wages to the level of the French and the Dutch.[2] With other things he says naïvely:

"But if our poor" (technical term for labourers) "will live luxuriously ... then labour must, of course, be dear.... When it is considered what luxuries the manufacturing populace consume, such as brandy, gin, tea, sugar, foreign fruit, strong beer, printed linens, snuff, tobacco, &c."[3]

He quotes the work of a Northamptonshire manufacturer, who, with eyes squinting heavenward moans:

"Labour is one-third cheaper in France than in England, for their poor work hard, and fare hard, as to their food and clothing. Their chief diet is bread, fruit, herbs, roots, and dried fish; for they very seldom eat flesh; and when wheat is dear, they eat very little bread."[4] "To which may be added," our essayist goes on, "that their drink is either water or other small liquors, so that they spend very little money.... These things are very difficult to be brought about; but they are not impracticable, since they have been effected both in France and in Holland."[5]

[1] J. Stuart Mill, *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy*, Lond., 1844, pp. 90-91.

[2] [Cunningham, J.] *An Essay on Trade and Commerce*, Lond., 1770, pp. 43-44. *The Times* of December, 1866, and January, 1867, in like manner published certain outpourings of the heart of the English mine-owner, in which the happy lot of the Belgian miners was pictured, who asked and received no more than was strictly necessary for them to live for their "masters". The Belgian labourers have to suffer much, but to figure in *The Times* as model labourers! In the beginning of February, 1867, came the answer: strike of the Belgian miners at Marchienne, put down by powder and lead.

[3] l. c., pp. 44, 46.

[4] The Northamptonshire manufacturer commits a pious fraud, pardonable in one whose heart is so full. He nominally compares the life of the English and French manufacturing labourer, but in the words just quoted he is painting, as he himself confesses in his confused way, the French agricultural labourers.

[5] l. c., pp. 70, 71. *Note in the 3rd German edition*: To-day, thanks to the competition on the world market, established since then, we have advanced much further. "If China," says Mr. Stapleton, M. P., to his constituents, "should become a great manufacturing country, I do not see how the manufacturing population of Europe could sus-

Twenty years later, an American humbug, the baronised Yankee, Benjamin Thompson (*alias* Count Rumford) followed the same line of philanthropy to the great satisfaction of God and man. His *Essays* are a cookery book with receipts of all kinds for replacing by some succedaneum the ordinary dear food of the labourer. The following is a particularly successful receipt of this wonderful philosopher:

"5 lbs of barleymeal, $7\frac{1}{2}$ d.; 5 lbs of Indian corn, $6\frac{1}{4}$ d.; 3d. worth of red herring, 1 d. salt, 1 d. vinegar, 2d. pepper and sweet herbs, in all $20\frac{3}{4}$ d.; make a soup for 64 men, and at the medium price of barley and of Indian corn ... this soup may be provided at $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; the portion of 20 ounces."[1]

With the advance of capitalistic production, the adulteration of food rendered Thompson's ideal superfluous.[2] At the end of the 18th and during the first ten years of the 19th century, the English farmers and landlords enforced the absolute minimum of wage, by paying the agricultural labourers less than the minimum in the form of wages, and the remainder in the shape of parochial relief. An example of the waggish way in which the English Dogberries acted in their "legal" fixing of a wages tariff:

"The squires of Norfolk had dined, says Mr. Burke, when they fixed the rate of wages; the squires of Berks evidently thought the labourers ought not to do so, when they fixed the rate of wages at Speenhamland, 1795.... There they decide that 'income (weekly) should be 3s. for a man,' when the gallon or halfpeck loaf of 8 lbs 11 oz. is at

tain the contest without descending to the level of their competitors" (*The Times*, Sept. 9, 1873, p. 8). The wished-for goal of English capital is no longer continental wages but Chinese.

[1] Benjamin Thompson: *Essays, Political, Economical, and Philosophical, &c.*, 3 vols., Lond., 1796-1802, vol. i, p. 294. In his *The State of the Poor, or an History of the Labouring Classes in England, &c.*, Sir F. M. Eden strongly recommends the Rumfordian beggar-soup to workhouse overseers, and reproachfully warns the English labourers that "many poor people, particularly in Scotland, live, and that very comfortably, for months together, upon oat-meal and barley-meal, mixed with only water and salt" (l.c., vol. i, book II, ch. 2, p. 503). The same sort of hints in the 19th century. "The most wholesome mixtures of flour having been refused (by the English agricultural labourer)... in Scotland, where education is better, the prejudice is, probably, unknown" (Charles H. Parry, M. D., *The Question of the Necessity of the Existing Corn Laws Considered*, London, 1816, pp. 68, 69). This same Parry, however, complains that the English labourer is now (1815) in a much worse condition than in Eden's time (1797).[498]

[2] From the reports of the last Parliamentary Commission on adulteration of means of subsistence,[499] it will be seen that the adulteration even of medicines is the rule, not the exception in England. E. g., the examination of 34 specimens of opium, purchased of as many different chemists in London, showed that 31 were adulterated with poppy heads, wheat-flour, gum, clay, sand, &c. Several did not contain an atom of morphia.

1s., and increase regularly till bread is 1s. 5d.; when it is above that sum, decrease regularly till it be at 2s., and then his food *should be* $\frac{1}{5}$th less."[1]

Before the Committee of Inquiry of the House of Lords, 1814, a certain J. Bennett, a large farmer, magistrate, poor-law guardian, and wage regulator, was asked:

"Has any proportion of the value of daily labour been made up to the labourers out of the poors' rate?" Answer: "Yes, it has; the weekly income of every family is made up to the gallon loaf (8 lbs 11 oz.), and 3d. per head!... The gallon loaf per week is what we suppose sufficient for the maintenance of every person in the family for the week; and the 3d. is for clothes, and if the parish think proper to find clothes, the 3d. is deducted. This practice goes through all the western part of Wiltshire, and, I believe, throughout the country."[2] "For years," exclaims a bourgeois author of that time, "they (the farmers) have degraded a respectable class of their countrymen, by forcing them to have recourse to the workhouse ... the farmer, while increasing his own gains, has prevented any accumulation on the part of his labouring dependants."[3]

The part played in our days by the direct robbery from the labourer's necessary consumption fund in the formation of surplus value, and, therefore, of the accumulation fund of capital, the so-called domestic industry has served to show (Ch. xv, sect. 8, d). Further facts on this subject will be given later.

Although in all branches of industry that part of the constant capital consisting of instruments of labour must be sufficient for a certain number of labourers (determined by the magnitude of the undertaking), it by no means always necessarily increases in the same proportion as the quantity of labour employed. In a factory, suppose that 100 labourers working 8 hours a day yield 800 working hours. If the capitalist wishes to raise this sum by one half, he can employ 50 more workers; but then he must also advance more capital, not merely for wages, but for instruments of labour. But he might also let the 100 labourers work 12 hours instead of 8, and then the instruments of labour already to hand would be enough. These would then simply be more rapidly consumed. Thus additional labour, begotten of the greater tension of labour power, can augment surplus product and surplus value (i. e., the subject-matter of accumulation), without corresponding augmentation in the constant part of capital.

[1] G. L. Newnham (barrister-at-law), *A Review of the Evidence before the Committee of the two Houses of Parliament on the Corn Laws*, Lond., 1815, p. 20, *note*.

[2] l. c., pp. 19, 20.

[3] C. H. Parry, l. c., pp. 77, 69. The landlords, on their side, not only "indemnified" themselves for the Anti-Jacobin War,[464] which they waged in the name of England, but enriched themselves enormously. Their rents doubled, trebled, quadrupled, "and in one instance, increased sixfold in eighteen years" (l. c., pp. 100, 101).

In the extractive industries, mines, &c., the raw materials form no part of the capital advanced. The subject of labour is in this case not a product of previous labour, but is furnished by Nature gratis, as in the case of metals, minerals, coal, stone, &c. In these cases the constant capital consists almost exclusively of instruments of labour, which can very well absorb an increased quantity of labour (day and night shifts of labourers, e. g.). All other things being equal, the mass and value of the product will rise in direct proportion to the labour expended. As on the first day of production, the original produce formers, now turned into the creators of the material elements of capital — man and Nature — still work together. Thanks to the elasticity of labour power, the domain of accumulation has extended without any previous enlargement of constant capital.

In agriculture the land under cultivation cannot be increased without the advance of more seed and manure. But this advance once made, the purely mechanical working of the soil itself produces a marvellous effect on the amount of the product. A greater quantity of labour, done by the same number of labourers as before, thus increases the fertility, without requiring any new advance in the instruments of labour. It is once again the direct action of man on Nature which becomes an immediate source of greater accumulation, without the intervention of any new capital.

Finally, in what is called manufacturing industry, every additional expenditure of labour presupposes a corresponding additional expenditure of raw materials, but not necessarily of instruments of labour. And as extractive industry and agriculture supply manufacturing industry with its raw materials and those of its instruments of labour, the additional product the former have created without additional advance of capital, tells also in favour of the latter.

General result: by incorporating with itself the two primary creators of wealth, labour power and the land, capital acquires a power of expansion that permits it to augment the elements of its accumulation beyond the limits apparently fixed by its own magnitude, or by the value and the mass of the means of production, already produced, in which it has its being.

Another important factor in the accumulation of capital is the degree of productivity of social labour.

With the productive power of labour increases the mass of the products, in which a certain value, and, therefore, a surplus value of a given magnitude, is embodied. The rate of surplus value remaining

the same or even falling, so long as it only falls more slowly, that the productive power of labour rises, the mass of the surplus product increases. The division of this product into revenue and additional capital remaining the same, the consumption of the capitalist may, therefore, increase without any decrease in the fund of accumulation. The relative magnitude of the accumulation fund may even increase at the expense of the consumption fund, whilst the cheapening of commodities places at the disposal of the capitalist as many means of enjoyment as formerly, or even more than formerly. But hand-in-hand with the increasing productivity of labour, goes, as we have seen, the cheapening of the labourer, therefore a higher rate of surplus value, even when the real wages are rising. The latter never rise proportionally to the productive power of labour. The same value in variable capital therefore sets in movement more labour power, and, therefore, more labour. The same value in constant capital is embodied in more means of production, i. e., in more instruments of labour, materials of labour and auxiliary materials; it therefore also supplies more elements for the production both of use value and of value, and with these more absorbers of labour. The value of the additional capital, therefore, remaining the same or even diminishing, accelerated accumulation still takes place. Not only does the scale of reproduction materially extend, but the production of surplus value increases more rapidly than the value of the additional capital.

The development of the productive power of labour reacts also on the original capital already engaged in the process of production. A part of the functioning constant capital consists of instruments of labour, such as machinery, &c., which are not consumed, and therefore not reproduced, or replaced by new ones of the same kind, until after long periods of time. But every year a part of these instruments of labour perishes or reaches the limit of its productive function. It reaches, therefore, in that year, the time for its periodical reproduction, for its replacement by new ones of the same kind. If the productiveness of labour has, during the using up of these instruments of labour, increased (and it develops continually with the uninterrupted advance of science and technology), more efficient and (considering their increased efficiency), cheaper machines, tools, apparatus, &c., replace the old. The old capital is reproduced in a more productive form, apart from the constant detail improvements in the instruments of labour already in use. The other part of the constant capital, raw material and auxiliary substances, is constantly reproduced in less

than a year; those produced by agriculture, for the most part annually. Every introduction of improved methods, therefore, works almost simultaneously on the new capital and on that already in action. Every advance in chemistry not only multiplies the number of useful materials and the useful applications of those already known, thus extending with the growth of capital its sphere of investment. It teaches at the same time how to throw the excrements of the processes of production and consumption back again into the circle of the process of reproduction, and thus, without any previous outlay of capital, creates new matter for capital. Like the increased exploitation of natural wealth by the mere increase in the tension of labour power, science and technology give capital a power of expansion independent of the given magnitude of the capital actually functioning. They react at the same time on that part of the original capital which has entered upon its stage of renewal. This, in passing into its new shape, incorporates gratis the social advance made while its old shape was being used up. Of course, this development of productive power is accompanied by a partial depreciation of functioning capital. So far as this depreciation makes itself acutely felt in competition, the burden falls on the labourer, in the increased exploitation of whom the capitalist looks for his indemnification.

Labour transmits to its product the value of the means of production consumed by it. On the other hand, the value and mass of the means of production set in motion by a given quantity of labour increase as the labour becomes more productive. Though the same quantity of labour adds always to its products only the same sum of new value, still the old capital value, transmitted by the labour to the products, increases with the growing productivity of labour.

An English and a Chinese spinner, e. g., may work the same number of hours with the same intensity; then they will both in a week create equal values. But in spite of this equality, an immense difference will obtain between the value of the week's product of the Englishman, who works with a mighty automaton, and that of the Chinaman, who has but a spinning-wheel. In the same time as the Chinaman spins one pound of cotton, the Englishman spins several hundreds of pounds. A sum, many hundred times as great, of old values swells the value of his product, in which those re-appear in a new, useful form, and can thus function anew as capital.

"In 1782", as Frederick Engels teaches us, "all the wool crop in England of the three preceding years, lay untouched for want of labourers, and so it must have lain, if newly invented machinery had not come to its aid and spun it."[1]

Labour embodied in the form of machinery of course did not directly force into life a single man, but it made it possible for a smaller number of labourers, with the addition of relatively less living labour, not only to consume the wool productively, and put into it new value, but to preserve in the form of yarn, &c., its old value. At the same time, it caused and stimulated increased reproduction of wool. It is the natural property of living labour, to transmit old value, whilst it creates new. Hence, with the increase in efficacy, extent and value of its means of production, consequently with the accumulation that accompanies the development of its productive power, labour keeps up and eternises an always increasing capital value in a form ever new.[2] This natural power of labour takes the appearance of an intrin-

[1] Friedrich Engels, *Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England*, p. 20 [see present edition, Vol. 4, p. 314].

[2] Classic economy has, on account of a deficient analysis of the labour process, and of the process of creating value, never properly grasped this weighty element of reproduction, as may be seen in Ricardo; he says, e. g., whatever the change in productive power, "a million men always produce in manufactures the same value." [500] This is accurate, if the extension and degree of intensity of their labour are given. But it does not prevent (this Ricardo overlooks in certain conclusions he draws) a million men with different powers of productivity in their labour, turning into products very different masses of the means of production, and therefore preserving in their products very different masses of value; in consequence of which the values of the products yielded may vary considerably. Ricardo has, it may be noted in passing, tried in vain to make clear to J. B. Say, by that very example, the difference between use value (which he here calls wealth or material riches) and exchange value. Say answers: "As for the difficulty raised by Ricardo when he says that, by using better methods of production, a million people can produce two or three times as much wealth, without producing any more value, this difficulty disappears when one bears in mind, as one should, that production is like an exchange in which a man contributes the productive services of his labour, his land, and his capital, in order to obtain products. It is by means of these productive services that we acquire all the products existing in the world. Therefore ... we are the richer, our productive services have the more value, the greater the quantity of useful things they bring in through the exchange which is called production" (J. B. Say, *Lettres à M. Malthus*, Paris, 1820, pp. 168, 169). The "difficulté"—it exists for him, not for Ricardo—that Say means to clear up is this: Why does not the exchange value of the use values increase, when their quantity increases in consequence of increased productive power of labour? Answer: the difficulty is met by calling use value, exchange value, if you please. Exchange value is a thing that is connected one way or another with exchange. If therefore production is called an exchange of labour and means of production against the product, it is clear as day that you obtain

sic property of capital, in which it is incorporated, just as the productive forces of social labour take the appearance of inherent properties of capital, and as the constant appropriation of surplus labour by the capitalists, takes that of a constant self-expansion of capital.

With the increase of capital, the difference between the capital employed and the capital consumed increases. In other words, there is increase in the value and the material mass of the instruments of labour, such as buildings, machinery, drain-pipes, working cattle, apparatus of every kind that function for a longer or shorter time in processes of production constantly repeated, or that serve for the attainment of particular useful effects, whilst they themselves only gradually wear out, therefore only lose their value piecemeal, therefore transfer that value to the product only bit by bit. In the same proportion as these instruments of labour serve as product formers without adding value to the product, i. e., in the same proportion as they are wholly employed but only partly consumed, they perform, as we saw earlier, the same gratuitous service as the natural forces, water, steam, air, electricity, etc. This gratuitous service of past labour, when seized and filled with a soul by living labour, increases with the advancing stages of accumulation.

Since past labour always disguises itself as capital, i. e., since the

more exchange value in proportion as the production yields more use value. In other words, the more use values, e. g., stockings, a working day yields to the stocking manufacturer, the richer is he in stockings. Suddenly, however, Say recollects that "with a greater quantity" of stockings their "price" (which of course has nothing to do with their exchange value!) falls "because competition obliges them (the producers) to sell their products for what they cost to make" [l. c., p. 169]. But whence does the profit come, if the capitalist sells the commodities at cost price? Never mind! Say declares that, in consequence of increased productivity, every one now receives in return for a given equivalent two pairs of stockings instead of one as before. The result he arrives at, is precisely that proposition of Ricardo that he aimed at disproving. After this mighty effort of thought, he triumphantly apostrophises Malthus in the words: "This, Sir, is the well-founded doctrine without which it is impossible, I say, to explain the greatest difficulties in political economy, and, in particular, to explain why it is that a nation can be richer when its products fall in value, even though wealth is value" (l. c., p. 170). An English economist remarks upon the conjuring tricks of the same nature that appear in Say's *Lettres*: "Those affected ways of talking make up in general that which M. Say is pleased to call his doctrine and which he earnestly urges Malthus to teach at Hertford, as it is already taught 'in numerous parts of Europe'. He says, 'If all those propositions appear paradoxical to you, look at the things they express, and I venture to believe that they will then appear very simple and very rational' [p. 169]. Doubtless, and in consequence of the same process, they will appear everything else, except original" (*An Inquiry into those Principles Respecting the Nature of Demand, &c.*, p. 110).

passive of the labour of A, B, C, etc., takes the form of the active of the non-labourer X, bourgeois and political economists are full of praises of the services of dead and gone labour, which, according to the Scotch genius MacCulloch, ought to receive a special remuneration in the shape of interest, profit, etc.[1] The powerful and ever-increasing assistance given by past labour to the living labour process under the form of means of production is therefore, attributed to that form of past labour in which it is alienated, as unpaid labour, from the worker himself, i. e., to its capitalistic form. The practical agents of capitalistic production and their pettifogging ideologists are as unable to think of the means of production as separate from the antagonistic social mask they wear to-day, as a slave-owner to think of the worker himself as distinct from his character as a slave.

With a given degree of exploitation of labour power, the mass of the surplus value produced is determined by the number of workers simultaneously exploited; and this corresponds, although in varying proportions, with the magnitude of the capital. The more, therefore, capital increases by means of successive accumulations, the more does the sum of the value increase that is divided into consumption fund and accumulation fund. The capitalist can, therefore, live a more jolly life, and at the same time show more "abstinence". And, finally, all the springs of production act with greater elasticity, the more its scale extends with the mass of the capital advanced.

## SECTION 5.—THE SO-CALLED LABOUR FUND

It has been shown in the course of this inquiry that capital is not a fixed magnitude, but is a part of social wealth, elastic and constantly fluctuating with the division of fresh surplus value into revenue and additional capital. It has been seen further that, even with a given magnitude of functioning capital, the labour power, the science, and the land (by which are to be understood, economically, all conditions of labour furnished by Nature independently of man), embodied in it, form elastic powers of capital, allowing it, within certain limits, a field of action independent of its own magnitude. In this inquiry we have neglected all effects of the process of circulation, effects

[1] MacCulloch took out a patent for "wages of past labour",[501] long before Senior did for "wages of abstinence".

which may produce very different degrees of efficiency in the same mass of capital. And as we presupposed the limits set by capitalist production, that is to say, presupposed the process of social production in a form developed by purely spontaneous growth, we neglected any more rational combination, directly and systematically practicable with the means of production, and the mass of labour power at present disposable. Classical economy always loved to conceive social capital as a fixed magnitude of a fixed degree of efficiency. But this prejudice was first established as a dogma by the arch-Philistine, Jeremy Bentham, that insipid, pedantic, leather-tongued oracle of the ordinary bourgeois intelligence of the 19th century.[1] Bentham is among philosophers what Martin Tupper is among poets. Both could only have been manufactured in England.[2] In the light of his dogma the commonest phenomena of the process of production, as, e. g., its sudden expansions and contractions, nay, even accumulation itself, become perfectly inconceivable.[3] The dogma was used by Bentham himself, as well as by Malthus, James Mill, MacCulloch, etc., for an

[1] Compare among others, Jeremy Bentham, *Théorie des Peines et des Récompenses*, traduct. d'Et. Dumont, 3ème édit. Paris, 1826, t. II, L. IV, ch. II.

[2] Bentham is a purely English phenomenon. Not even excepting our philosopher, Christian Wolff, in no time and in no country has the most homespun commonplace ever strutted about in so self-satisfied a way. The principle of utility was no discovery of Bentham. He simply reproduced in his dull way what Helvétius and other Frenchmen had said with esprit in the 18th century. To know what is useful for a dog, one must study dog-nature. This nature itself is not to be deduced from the principle of utility. Applying this to man, he that would criticise all human acts, movements, relations, etc., by the principle of utility, must first deal with human nature in general, and then with human nature as modified in each historical epoch. Bentham makes short work of it. With the driest naïveté he takes the modern shopkeeper, especially the English shopkeeper, as the normal man. Whatever is useful to this queer normal man, and to his world, is absolutely useful. This yard-measure, then, he applies to past, present, and future. The Christian religion, e. g., is "useful", "because it forbids in the name of religion the same faults that the penal code condemns in the name of the law". Artistic criticism is "harmful", because it disturbs worthy people in their enjoyment of Martin Tupper, etc. With such rubbish has the brave fellow, with his motto, "nulla dies sine lineâ",[502] piled up mountains of books. Had I the courage of my friend, Heinrich Heine,[503] I should call Mr. Jeremy a genius in the way of bourgeois stupidity.

[3] "Political economists are too apt to consider a certain quantity of capital and a certain number of labourers as productive instruments of uniform power, or operating with a certain uniform intensity.... Those ... who maintain ... that commodities are the sole agents of production ... prove that production could never be enlarged, for it requires as an indispensable condition to such an enlargement that food, raw materials, and tools should be previously augmented; which is in fact maintaining that no increase of production can take place without a previous increase, or, in other words,

apologetic purpose, and especially in order to represent one part of capital, namely, variable capital, or that part convertible into labour power, as a fixed magnitude. The material of variable capital, i. e., the mass of the means of subsistence it represents for the labourer, or the so-called labour fund, was fabled as a separate part of social wealth, fixed by natural laws and unchangeable. To set in motion the part of social wealth which is to function as constant capital, or, to express it in a material form, as means of production, a definite mass of living labour is required. This mass is given technologically. But neither is the number of labourers required to render fluid this mass of labour power given (it changes with the degree of exploitation of the individual labour power), nor is the price of this labour power given, but only its minimum limit, which is moreover very variable. The facts that lie at the bottom of this dogma are these: on the one hand, the labourer has no right to interfere in the division of social wealth into means of enjoyment for the non-labourer and means of production.[1] On the other hand, only in favourable and exceptional cases, has he the power to enlarge the so-called labour fund at the expense of the "revenue" of the wealthy.

What silly tautology results from the attempt to represent the capitalistic limits of the labour fund as its natural and social limits may be seen, e. g., in Professor Fawcett.[2]

"The circulating capital of a country," he says, "is its wage fund. Hence, if we desire to calculate the average money wages received by each labourer, we have simply to divide the amount of this capital by the number of the labouring population."[3]

that an increase is impossible" (S. Bailey, *Money and its Vicissitudes*, pp. 58 and 70). Bailey criticises the dogma mainly from the point of view of the process of circulation.

[1] John Stuart Mill, in his *Principles of Political Economy*, says: "The really exhausting and the really repulsive labours instead of being better paid than others, are almost invariably paid the worst of all.... The more revolting the occupation, the more certain it is to receive the minimum of remuneration.... The hardships and the earnings, instead of being directly proportional, as in any just arrangements of society they would be, are generally in an inverse ratio to one another." [504] To avoid misunderstanding, let me say that although men like John Stuart Mill are to blame for the contradiction between their traditional economic dogmas and their modern tendencies, it would be very wrong to class them with the herd of vulgar economic apologists.

[2] H. Fawcett, professor of political economy at Cambridge, *The Economic Position of the British Labourer*, London, 1865, p. 120.

[3] I must here remind the reader that the categories, "variable and constant capital", were first used by me. Political economy since the time of Adam Smith has confusedly mixed up the essential distinctions involved in these categories, with the mere formal differences, arising out of the process of circulation, of fixed and circulating cap-

That is to say, we first add together the individual wages actually paid, and then we affirm that the sum thus obtained, forms the total value of the "labour fund" determined and vouchsafed to us by God and Nature. Lastly, we divide the sum thus obtained by the number of labourers to find out again how much may come to each on the average. An uncommonly knowing dodge this. It did not prevent Mr. Fawcett saying in the same breath:

"The aggregate wealth which is annually saved in England, is divided into two portions; one portion is employed as capital to maintain our industry, and the other portion is exported to foreign countries... Only a portion, and perhaps, not a large portion of the wealth which is annually saved in this country, is invested in our own industry."[1]

The greater part of the yearly accruing surplus product, embezzled, because abstracted without return of an equivalent, from the English labourer, is thus used as capital, not in England, but in foreign countries. But with the additional capital thus exported, a part of the "labour fund" invented by God and Bentham is also exported.[2]

# Chapter XXV

## THE GENERAL LAW OF CAPITALIST ACCUMULATION

### SECTION 1.—THE INCREASED DEMAND FOR LABOUR POWER THAT ACCOMPANIES ACCUMULATION, THE COMPOSITION OF CAPITAL REMAINING THE SAME

In this chapter we consider the influence of the growth of capital on the lot of the labouring class. The most important factor in this inquiry is the composition of capital and the changes it undergoes in the course of the process of accumulation.

The composition of capital is to be understood in a twofold sense.

ital. For further details on this point, see Book II, Part II[483] [H. Fawcett, *The Economic Position of the British Labourer*, London, 1865, p. 120].

[1] Fawcett, l. c., pp. 122, 123.

[2] It might be said that not only capital, but also labourers, in the shape of emigrants, are annually exported from England. In the text, however, there is no question of the peculium[505] of the emigrants, who are in great part not labourers. The sons of farmers make up a great part of them. The additional capital annually transported abroad to be put out at interest is in much greater proportion to the annual accumulation than the yearly emigration is to the yearly increase of population.

On the side of value, it is determined by the proportion in which it is divided into constant capital or value of the means of production, and variable capital or value of labour power, the sum total of wages. On the side of material, as it functions in the process of production, all capital is divided into means of production and living labour power. This latter composition is determined by the relation between the mass of the means of production employed, on the one hand, and the mass of labour necessary for their employment on the other. I call the former the *value composition*, the latter the *technical composition* of capital. Between the two there is a strict correlation. To express this, I call the value composition of capital, in so far as it is determined by its technical composition and mirrors the changes of the latter, the *organic composition* of capital. Wherever I refer to the composition of capital, without further qualification, its organic composition is always understood.

The many individual capitals invested in a particular branch of production have, one with another, more or less different compositions. The average of their individual compositions gives us the composition of the total capital in this branch of production. Lastly, the average of these averages, in all branches of production, gives us the composition of the total social capital of a country, and with this alone are we, in the last resort, concerned in the following investigation.

Growth of capital involves growth of its variable constituent or of the part invested in labour power. A part of the surplus value turned into additional capital must always be re-transformed into variable capital, or additional labour fund. If we suppose that, all other circumstances remaining the same, the composition of capital also remains constant (i.e., that a definite mass of means of production constantly needs the same mass of labour power to set it in motion), then the demand for labour and the subsistence fund of the labourers clearly increase in the same proportion as the capital, and the more rapidly, the more rapidly the capital increases. Since the capital produces yearly a surplus value, of which one part is yearly added to the original capital; since this increment itself grows yearly along with the augmentation of the capital already functioning; since lastly, under special stimulus to enrichment, such as the opening of new markets, or of new spheres for the outlay of capital in consequence of newly developed social wants, &c., the scale of accumulation may be suddenly extended, merely by a change in the division of the surplus

value or surplus product into capital and revenue, the requirements of accumulating capital may exceed the increase of labour power or of the number of labourers; the demand for labourers may exceed the supply, and, therefore, wages may rise. This must, indeed, ultimately be the case if the conditions supposed above continue. For since in each year more labourers are employed than in its predecessor, sooner or later a point must be reached, at which the requirements of accumulation begin to surpass the customary supply of labour, and, therefore, a rise of wages takes place. A lamentation on this score was heard in England during the whole of the fifteenth, and the first half of the eighteenth centuries. The more or less favourable circumstances in which the wage-working class supports and multiplies itself, in no way alter the fundamental character of capitalist production. As simple reproduction constantly reproduces the capital relation itself, i.e., the relation of capitalists on the one hand, and wage workers on the other, so reproduction on a progressive scale, i. e., accumulation, reproduces the capital relation on a progressive scale, more capitalists or larger capitalists at this pole, more wage workers at that. The reproduction of a mass of labour power, which must incessantly reincorporate itself with capital for that capital's self-expansion; which cannot get free from capital, and whose enslavement to capital is only concealed by the variety of individual capitalists to whom it sells itself, this reproduction of labour power forms, in fact, an essential of the reproduction of capital itself. Accumulation of capital is, therefore, increase of the proletariat.[1]

Classical economy grasped this fact so thoroughly that Adam Smith, Ricardo, &c., as mentioned earlier, inaccurately identified ac-

[1] Karl Marx, l. c., [*Wage Labour and Capital*, present edition, Vol. 9]. "Assuming the masses are equally oppressed, ... the more proletarians a country has the richer it is" (Colins, *L'économie politique. Sources des révolutions et des utopies prétendues socialistes*, Paris, 1857, t. III, p. 331). Our "proletarian" is economically none other than the wage labourer, who produces and increases capital, and is thrown out on the streets, as soon as he is superfluous for the needs of aggrandisement of "Monsieur capital", as Pecqueur calls this person.[506] "The sickly proletarian of the primitive forest," is a pretty Roscherian fancy.[507] The primitive forester is owner of the primitive forest, and uses the primitive forest as his property with the freedom of an orangoutang. He is not, therefore, a proletarian. This would only be the case, if the primitive forest exploited him, instead of being exploited by him. As far as his health is concerned, such a man would well bear comparison, not only with the modern proletarian, but also with the syphilitic and scrofulous upper classes. But, no doubt, Herr Wilhelm Roscher, by "primitive forest" means his native heath of Lüneburg.

cumulation with the consumption, by the productive labourers, of all the capitalised part of the surplus product, or with its transformation into additional wage labourers. As early as 1696 John Bellers says:

"For if one had a hundred thousand acres of land and as many pounds in money, and as many cattle, without a labourer, what would the rich man be, but a labourer? And as the labourers make men rich, so the more labourers there will be, the more rich men ... the labour of the poor being the mines of the rich."[1]

So also Bernard de Mandeville at the beginning of the eighteenth century:

"It would be easier, where property is well secured, to live without money than without poor; for who would do the work?... As they" (the poor) "ought to be kept from starving, so they should receive nothing worth saving. If here and there one of the lowest class by uncommon industry, and pinching his belly, lifts himself above the condition he was brought up in, nobody ought to hinder him; nay, it is undeniably the wisest course for every person in the society, and for every private family to be frugal; but it is the interest of all rich nations, that the greatest part of the poor should almost never be idle, and yet continually spend what they get. ... Those that get their living by their daily labour ... have nothing to stir them up to be serviceable but their wants which it is prudence to relieve, but folly to cure. The only thing then that can render the labouring man industrious, is a moderate quantity of money, for as too little will, according as his temper is, either dispirit or make him desperate, so too much will make him insolent and lazy. ... From what has been said, it is manifest, that, in a free nation, where slaves are not allowed of, the surest wealth consists in a multitude of laborious poor; for besides, that they are the never-failing nursery of fleets and armies, without them there could be no enjoyment, and no product of any country could be valuable. To make the society" //which of course consists of non-workers// "happy and people easier under the meanest circumstances, it is requisite that great numbers of them should be ignorant as well as poor; knowledge both enlarges and multiplies our desires, and the fewer things a man wishes for, the more easily his necessities may be supplied."[2]

What Mandeville, an honest, clear-headed man, had not yet seen, is that the mechanism of the process of accumulation itself increases, along with the capital, the mass of "labouring poor", i. e., the wage labourers, who turn their labour power into an increasing power of self-expansion of the growing capital, and even by doing so must eter-

[1] John Bellers, l. c. [*Proposals for Raising a College of Industry*, London, 1696], p. 2.

[2] Bernard de Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees*, 5th edition, London, 1728. Remarks, pp. 212, 213, 328. "Temperate living and constant employment is the direct road, for the poor, to rational happiness" //by which he most probably means long working days and little means of subsistence//, "and to riches and strength for the state" (viz., for the landlords, capitalists, and their political dignitaries and agents). ([J. Cunningham,] *An Essay on Trade and Commerce*, London, 1770, p. 54.)

nise their dependent relation on their own product, as personified in the capitalists. In reference to this relation of dependence, Sir F. M. Eden in his *The State of the Poor, an History of the Labouring Classes in England*, says,

"the natural produce of our soil is certainly not fully adequate to our subsistence; we can neither be clothed, lodged nor fed but in consequence of some previous labour. A portion at least of the society must be indefatigably employed.... There are others who, though they 'neither toil nor spin', can yet command the produce of industry, but who owe their exemption from labour solely to civilisation and order.... They are peculiarly the creatures of civil institutions,[1] which have recognised that individuals may acquire property by various other means besides the exertion of labour.... Persons of independent fortune ... owe their superior advantages by no means to any superior abilities of their own, but almost entirely ... to the industry of others. It is not the possession of land, or of money, but the command of labour which distinguishes the opulent from the labouring part of the community.... This" //scheme approved by Eden// "would give the people of property sufficient (but by no means too much) influence and authority over those who ... work for them; and it would place such labourers, not in an abject or servile condition, but in such a state of easy and liberal dependence as all who know human nature, and its history, will allow to be necessary for their own comfort."[2]

Sir F. M. Eden, it may be remarked in passing, is the only disciple of Adam Smith during the eighteenth century that produced any work of importance.[3]

[1] Eden should have asked, whose creatures then are "the civil institutions"? From his standpoint of juridical illusion, he does not regard the law as a product of the material relations of production, but conversely the relations of production as products of the law. Linguet overthrew Montesquieu's illusory "Spirit of the laws" with one word: "The spirit of the laws is property." [508]

[2] Eden, l. c., Vol. I, book I, chapter 1, pp. 1, 2, and preface, p. xx.

[3] If the reader reminds me of Malthus, whose *Essay on Population* appeared in 1798, I remind him that this work in its first form is nothing more than a schoolboyish, superficial plagiary of De Foe, Sir James Steuart, Townsend, Franklin, Wallace, &c., and does not contain a single sentence thought out by himself. The great sensation this pamphlet caused, was due solely to party interest. The French Revolution had found passionate defenders in the United Kingdom; the "principle of population", slowly worked out in the eighteenth century, and then, in the midst of a great social crisis, proclaimed with drums and trumpets as the infallible antidote to the teachings of Condorcet, &c., was greeted with jubilance by the English oligarchy as the great destroyer of all hankerings after human development. Malthus, hugely astonished at his success, gave himself to stuffing into his book materials superficially compiled, and adding to it new matter, not discovered but annexed by him. Note further: Although Malthus was a parson of the English State Church, he had taken the monastic vow of celibacy — one of the conditions of holding a Fellowship in Protestant Cambridge University: "We do not permit the Fellows of the Colleges to be married, but rather, as soon as anyone takes a wife, he ceases to be a Fellow of his College" ("Reports of Cambridge University

Commission", p. 172). This circumstance favourably distinguishes Malthus from the other Protestant parsons, who have shuffled off the command enjoining celibacy of the priesthood and have taken, "Be fruitful and multiply",[509] as their special Biblical mission in such a degree that they generally contribute to the increase of population to a really unbecoming extent, whilst they preach at the same time to the labourers the "principle of population". It is characteristic that the economic fall of man, the Adam's apple, the urgent appetite, "the checks which tend to blunt the shafts of Cupid", as Parson Townsend[510] waggishly puts it, that this delicate question was and is monopolised by the Reverends of Protestant Theology, or rather of the Protestant Church. With the exception of the Venetian monk, Ortes,[511] an original and clever writer, most of the population-theory teachers are Protestant parsons. For instance, Bruckner, *Théorie du Système animal*, Leyden, 1767, in which the whole subject of the modern population theory is exhausted, and to which the passing quarrel between Quesnay and his pupil, the elder Mirabeau,[512] furnished ideas on the same topic; then Parson Wallace, Parson Townsend, Parson Malthus and his pupil, the arch-Parson Thomas Chalmers, to say nothing of lesser reverend scribblers in this line. Originally, political economy was studied by philosophers like Hobbes, Locke, Hume; by businessmen and statesmen, like Thomas More, Temple, Sully, De Witt, North, Law, Vanderlint, Cantillon, Franklin; and especially, and with the greatest success, by medical men like Petty, Barbon, Mandeville, Quesnay. Even in the middle of the eighteenth century, the Rev. Mr. Tucker, a notable economist of his time, excused himself for meddling with the things of Mammon. Later on, and in truth with this very "Principle of population", struck the hour of the protestant parsons. Petty, who regarded the population as the basis of wealth, and was, like Adam Smith, an outspoken foe to parsons, says, as if he had a presentiment of their bungling interference, "that Religion best flourishes when the Priests are most mortified, as was before said of the Law, which best flourisheth when lawyers have least to do".[513] He advises the Protestant priests, therefore, if they, once for all, will not follow the Apostle Paul and "mortify" themselves by celibacy, "not to breed more Churchmen than the Benefices, as they now stand shared out, will receive, that is to say, if there be places for about twelve thousand in England and Wales, it will not be safe to breed up 24,000 ministers, for then the twelve thousand which are unprovided for, will seek ways how to get themselves a livelihood, which they cannot do more easily than by persuading the people that the twelve thousand incumbents do poison or starve their souls, and misguide them in their way to Heaven" (Petty, *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions*, London, 1667, p. 57). Adam Smith's position with the Protestant priesthood of his time is shown by the following. In [G. Horne,] "A Letter to A. Smith, L. L. D. On the Life, Death, and Philosophy of his Friend, David Hume. By one of the People called Christians," 4th Edition, Oxford, 1784, Dr. Horne, Bishop of Norwich, reproves Adam Smith, because in a published letter to Mr. Strahan, he "embalmed his friend David" (sc. Hume); because he told the world how "Hume amused himself on his deathbed with Lucian and Whist", and because he even had the impudence to write of Hume: "I have always considered him, both in his lifetime and since his death, as approaching as nearly to the idea of a perfectly wise and virtuous man, as, perhaps, the nature of human frailty will permit" [G. Horne, l. c., pp. 1, 7, 8, 34]. The bishop cries out, in a passion: "Is it right in you, Sir, to hold up to our view as 'perfectly wise and virtuous', the *character* and *conduct* of one, who seems to have been possessed with an incurable antipathy to all that is called *Religion*; and who strained every nerve to explode, suppress and extirpate the spirit of it among men, that its very name, if he could effect it, might no more be had in remembrance?" (l. c.,

Under the conditions of accumulation supposed thus far, which conditions are those most favourable to the labourers, their relation of dependence upon capital takes on a form endurable or, as Eden says: "easy and liberal." Instead of becoming more intensive with the growth of capital, this relation of dependence only becomes more extensive, i.e., the sphere of capital's exploitation and rule merely extends with its own dimensions and the number of its subjects. A larger part of their own surplus product, always increasing and continually transformed into additional capital, comes back to them in the shape of means of payment, so that they can extend the circle of their enjoyments; can make some additions to their consumption fund of clothes, furniture, &c., and can lay by small reserve funds of money. But just as little as better clothing, food, and treatment, and a larger peculium,[505] do away with the exploitation of the slave, so little do they set aside that of the wage worker. A rise in the price of labour, as a consequence of accumulation of capital, only means, in fact, that the length and weight of the golden chain the wage worker has already forged for himself, allow of a relaxation of the tension of it. In the controversies on this subject the chief fact has generally been overlooked, viz., the *differentia specifica* of capitalistic production. Labour power is sold to-day, not with a view of satisfying, by its service or by its product, the personal needs of the buyer. His aim is augmentation of his capital, production of commodities containing more labour than he pays for, containing therefore a portion of value that costs him nothing, and that is nevertheless realised when the commod-

p. 8)."But let not the lovers of truth be discouraged. Atheism cannot be of long continuance" (p. 17). Adam Smith, "had the atrocious wickedness to propagate atheism through the land (viz., by his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*). Upon the whole, Doctor, your meaning is good; but I think you will not succeed this time. You would persuade us, by the example of *David Hume, Esq.*, that atheism is the only cordial for low spirits, and the proper antidote against the fear of death.... You may smile over *Babylon* in ruins and congratulate the hardened *Pharaoh* on his overthrow in the Red Sea" (l. c., pp. 21, 22). One orthodox individual, amongst Adam Smith's college friends, writes after his death: "Smith's well-placed affection for Hume ... hindered him from being a Christian.... When he met with honest men whom he liked ... he would believe almost anything they said. Had he been a friend of the worthy ingenious Horrox he would have believed that the moon some times disappeared in a clear sky without the interposition of a cloud... He approached to republicanism in his political principles" (*The Bee*, by James Anderson, 18 Vols., Vol. 3, pp. 166, 165, Edinburgh, 1791-93). Parson Thomas Chalmers[514] has his suspicions as to Adam Smith having invented the category of "unproductive labourers", solely for the Protestant parsons, in spite of their blessed work in the vineyard of the Lord.[515]

ities are sold. Production of surplus value is the absolute law of this mode of production. Labour power is only saleable so far as it preserves the means of production in their capacity of capital, reproduces its own value as capital, and yields in unpaid labour a source of additional capital.[1] The conditions of its sale, whether more or less favourable to the labourer, include therefore the necessity of its constant re-selling, and the constantly extended reproduction of all wealth in the shape of capital. Wages, as we have seen, by their very nature, always imply the performance of a certain quantity of unpaid labour on the part of the labourer. Altogether, irrespective of the case of a rise of wages with a falling price of labour, &c., such an increase only means at best a quantitative diminution of the unpaid labour that the worker has to supply. This diminution can never reach the point at which it would threaten the system itself. Apart from violent conflicts as to the rate of wages (and Adam Smith has already shown that in such a conflict, taken on the whole, the master is always master),[516] a rise in the price of labour resulting from accumulation of capital implies the following alternative:

Either the price of labour keeps on rising, because its rise does not interfere with the progress of accumulation. In this there is nothing wonderful, for, says Adam Smith, "after these (profits) are diminished, stock may not only continue to increase, but to increase much faster than before.... A great stock, though with small profits, generally increases faster than a small stock with great profits" (l. c. [*Recherches*...], I, p. 189). In this case it is evident that a diminution in the unpaid labour in no way interferes with the extension of the domain of capital.—Or, on the other hand, accumulation slackens in consequence of the rise in the price of labour, because the stimulus of gain is blunted. The rate of accumulation lessens; but with its lessening, the primary cause of that lessening vanishes, i.e., the disproportion between capital and exploitable labour power. The mechanism of the process of capitalist production removes the very obstacles that it temporarily creates. The price of labour falls again to a level corresponding with the needs of the self-expansion of capital, whether the

[1] "The limit, however, to the employment of both the operative and the labourer is the same; namely, the possibility of the employer realising a *profit* on the produce of their industry. If the rate of wages is such as to reduce the master's gains below the average profit of capital, he will cease to employ them, or he will only employ them on condition of submission to a reduction of wages" (John Wade, l. c. [*History of the Middle and Working Classes*..., Ld., 1835], p. 240).

level be below, the same as, or above the one which was normal before the rise of wages took place. We see thus: In the first case, it is not the diminished rate either of the absolute, or of the proportional, increase in labour power, or labouring population, which causes capital to be in excess, but conversely the excess of capital that makes exploitable labour power insufficient. In the second case, it is not the increased rate either of the absolute, or of the proportional, increase in labour power, or labouring population, that makes capital insufficient; but, conversely, the relative diminution of capital that causes the exploitable labour power, or rather its price, to be in excess. It is these absolute movements of the accumulation of capital which are reflected as relative movements of the mass of exploitable labour power, and therefore seem produced by the latter's own independent movement. To put it mathematically: the rate of accumulation is the independent, not the dependent, variable; the rate of wages, the dependent, not the independent, variable. Thus, when the industrial cycle is in the phase of crisis, a general fall in the price of commodities is expressed as a rise in the value of money, and, in the phase of prosperity, a general rise in the price of commodities, as a fall in the value of money. The so-called currency school [134] concludes from this that with high prices too little with low prices too much money [a] is in circulation. Their ignorance and complete misunderstanding of facts [1] are worthily paralleled by the economists, who interpret the above phenomena of accumulation by saying that there are now too few, now too many wage labourers.

The law of capitalist production, that is at the bottom of the pretended "natural law of population", reduces itself simply to this: The correlation between accumulation of capital and rate of wages is nothing else than the correlation between the unpaid labour transformed into capital, and the additional paid labour necessary for the setting in motion of this additional capital. It is therefore in no way a relation between two magnitudes, independent one of the other: on the one hand, the magnitude of the capital; on the other, the number of the labouring population; it is rather, at bottom, only the relation between the unpaid and the paid labour of the same labouring popula-

[1] Cf. Karl Marx, *Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie*, pp. 165, seq. [present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 412, seq.].

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[a] The authorised French translation has "with high prices too much, with low prices too little money".

tion. If the quantity of unpaid labour supplied by the working class, and accumulated by the capitalist class, increases so rapidly that its conversion into capital requires an extraordinary addition of paid labour, then wages rise, and, all other circumstances remaining equal, the unpaid labour diminishes in proportion. But as soon as this diminution touches the point at which the surplus labour that nourishes capital is no longer supplied in normal quantity, a reaction sets in: a smaller part of revenue is capitalised, accumulation lags, and the movement of rise in wages receives a check. The rise of wages therefore is confined within limits that not only leave intact the foundations of the capitalistic system, but also secure its reproduction on a progressive scale. The law of capitalistic accumulation, metamorphosed by economists into pretended law of Nature, in reality merely states that the very nature of accumulation excludes every diminution in the degree of exploitation of labour, and every rise in the price of labour, which could seriously imperil the continual reproduction, on an ever-enlarging scale, of the capitalistic relation. It cannot be otherwise in a mode of production in which the labourer exists to satisfy the needs of self-expansion of existing values, instead of, on the contrary, material wealth existing to satisfy the needs of development on the part of the labourer. As, in religion, man is governed by the products of his own brain, so in capitalistic production, he is governed by the products of his own hand.[1]

## SECTION 2.—RELATIVE DIMINUTION OF THE VARIABLE PART OF CAPITAL SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE PROGRESS OF ACCUMULATION AND OF THE CONCENTRATION THAT ACCOMPANIES IT

According to the economists themselves, it is neither the actual extent of social wealth, nor the magnitude of the capital already functioning, that lead to a rise of wages, but only the constant growth of accumulation and the degree of rapidity of that growth. (Adam

[1] "If we now return to our first inquiry, wherein it was shown that capital itself is only the result of human labour ... it seems quite incomprehensible that man can have fallen under the domination of capital, his own product; can be subordinated to it; and as in reality this is beyond dispute the case, involuntarily the question arises: How has the labourer been able to pass from being master of capital — as its creator — to being its slave?" (Von Thünen, *Der isolierte Staat*, Part ii, Section ii, Rostock, 1863, pp. 5, 6). It is Thünen's merit to have asked this question. His answer is simply childish.

Smith, Book I, chapter 8.) So far, we have only considered one special phase of this process, that in which the increase of capital occurs along with a constant technical composition of capital. But the process goes beyond this phase.

Once given the general basis of the capitalistic system, then, in the course of accumulation, a point is reached at which the development of the productivity of social labour becomes the most powerful lever of accumulation.

"The same cause," says Adam Smith, "which raises the wages of labour, the increase of stock, tends to increase its productive powers, and to make a smaller quantity of labour produce a greater quantity of work."[517]

Apart from natural conditions, such as fertility of the soil, &c., and from the skill of independent and isolated producers (shown rather qualitatively in the goodness than quantitatively in the mass of their products), the degree of productivity of labour, in a given society, is expressed in the relative extent of the means of production that one labourer, during a given time, with the same tension of labour power, turns into products. The mass of the means of production which he thus transforms, increases with the productiveness of his labour. But those means of production play a double part. The increase of some is a consequence, that of the others a condition of the increasing productivity of labour. E. g., with the division of labour in manufacture, and with the use of machinery, more raw material is worked up in the same time, and, therefore, a greater mass of raw material and auxiliary substances enter into the labour process. That is the consequence of the increasing productivity of labour. On the other hand, the mass of machinery, beasts of burden, mineral manures, drain-pipes, &c., is a condition of the increasing productivity of labour. So also is it with the means of production concentrated in buildings, furnaces, means of transport, &c. But whether condition or consequence, the growing extent of the means of production, as compared with the labour power incorporated with them, is an expression of the growing productiveness of labour. The increase of the latter appears, therefore, in the diminution of the mass of labour in proportion to the mass of means of production moved by it, or in the diminution of the subjective factor of the labour process as compared with the objective factor.

This change in the technical composition of capital, this growth in the mass of means of production, as compared with the mass of the labour power that vivifies them, is reflected again in its value composi-

tion, by the increase of the constant constituent of capital at the expense of its variable constituent. There may be, e. g., originally 50 per cent. of a capital laid out in means of production, and 50 per cent. in labour power; later on, with the development of the productivity of labour, 80 per cent. in means of production, 20 per cent. in labour power, and so on. This law of the progressive increase in constant capital, in proportion to the variable, is confirmed at every step (as already shown) by the comparative analysis of the prices of commodities, whether we compare different economic epochs or different nations in the same epoch. The relative magnitude of the element of price, which represents the value of the means of production only, or the constant part of capital consumed, is in direct, the relative magnitude of the other element of price that pays labour (the variable part of capital) is in inverse proportion to the advance of accumulation.

This diminution in the variable part of capital as compared with the constant, or the altered value composition of the capital, however, only shows approximately the change in the composition of its material constituents. If, e. g., the capital value employed to-day in spinning is $\frac{7}{8}$ constant and $\frac{1}{8}$ variable, whilst at the beginning of the 18th century it was $\frac{1}{2}$ constant and $\frac{1}{2}$ variable, on the other hand, the mass of raw material, instruments, of labour, &c., that a certain quantity of spinning labour consumes productively to-day, is many hundred times greater than at the beginning of the 18th century.[a] The reason is simply that, with the increasing productivity of labour, not only does the mass of the means of production consumed by it increase, but their value compared with their mass diminishes. Their value therefore rises absolutely, but not in proportion to their mass. The increase of the difference between constant and variable capital, is, therefore, much less than that of the difference between the mass of the means of production into which the constant, and the mass of the labour power into which the variable, capital is converted. The former difference increases with the latter, but in a smaller degree.

But, if the progress of accumulation lessens the relative magnitude of the variable part of capital, it by no means, in doing this, excludes the possibility of a rise in its absolute magnitude. Suppose that a capital value at first is divided into 50 per cent. of constant and 50 per cent. of variable capital; later into 80 per cent. of constant and 20 per

[a] See this volume, p. 228.

cent. of variable. If in the meantime the original capital, say £6,000, has increased to £18,000, its variable constituent has also increased. It was £3,000, it is now £3,600. But whereas formerly an increase of capital by 20 per cent. would have sufficed to raise the demand for labour 20 per cent., now this latter rise requires a tripling of the original capital.

In Part IV it was shown, how the development of the productiveness of social labour presupposes co-operation on a large scale; how it is only upon this supposition that division and combination of labour can be organised, and the means of production economised by concentration on a vast scale; how instruments of labour which, from their very nature, are only fit for use in common, such as a system of machinery, can be called into being; how huge natural forces can be pressed into the service of production; and how the transformation can be effected of the process of production into a technological application of science. On the basis of the production of commodities, where the means of production are the property of private persons, and where the artisan therefore either produces commodities, isolated from and independent of others, or sells his labour power as a commodity, because he lacks the means for independent industry, co-operation on a large scale can realise itself only in the increase of individual capitals, only in proportion as the means of social production and the means of subsistence are transformed into the private property of capitalists. The basis of the production of commodities can admit of production on a large scale in the capitalistic form alone. A certain accumulation of capital, in the hands of individual producers of commodities, forms therefore the necessary preliminary of the specifically capitalistic mode of production. We had, therefore, to assume that this occurs during the transition from handicraft to capitalistic industry. It may be called primitive accumulation, because it is the historic basis, instead of the historic result of specifically capitalist production. How it itself originates, we need not here inquire as yet. It is enough that it forms the starting-point. But all methods for raising the social productive power of labour that are developed on this basis, are at the same time methods for the increased production of surplus value or surplus product, which in its turn is the formative element of accumulation. They are, therefore, at the same time methods of the production of capital by capital, or methods of its accelerated accumulation. The continual re-transformation of surplus value into capital now appears in the shape of the increasing magnitude

of the capital that enters into the process of production. This in turn is the basis of an extended scale of production, of the methods for raising the productive power of labour that accompany it, and of accelerated production of surplus value. If, therefore, a certain degree of accumulation of capital appears as a condition of the specifically capitalist mode of production, the latter causes conversely an accelerated accumulation of capital. With the accumulation of capital, therefore, the specifically capitalistic mode of production develops, and with the capitalist mode of production the accumulation of capital. Both these economic factors bring about, in the compound ratio of the impulses they reciprocally give one another, that change in the technical composition of capital by which the variable constituent becomes always smaller and smaller as compared with the constant.

Every individual capital is a larger or smaller concentration of means of production, with a corresponding command over a larger or smaller labour army. Every accumulation becomes the means of new accumulation. With the increasing mass of wealth which functions as capital, accumulation increases the concentration of that wealth in the hands of individual capitalists, and thereby widens the basis of production on a large scale and of the specific methods of capitalist production. The growth of social capital is effected by the growth of many individual capitals. All other circumstances remaining the same, individual capitals, and with them the concentration of the means of production, increase in such proportion as they form aliquot parts of the total social capital. At the same time portions of the original capitals disengage themselves and function as new independent capitals. Besides other causes, the division of property, within capitalist families, plays a great part in this. With the accumulation of capital, therefore, the number of capitalists grows to a greater or less extent. Two points characterise this kind of concentration which grows directly out of, or rather is identical with, accumulation. First: The increasing concentration of the social means of production in the hands of individual capitalists is, other things remaining equal, limited by the degree of increase of social wealth. Second: The part of social capital domiciled in each particular sphere of production is divided among many capitalists who face one another as independent commodity producers competing with each other. Accumulation and the concentration accompanying it are, therefore, not only scattered over many points, but the increase of each functioning capital is thwarted by the formation of new and the sub-division of old capi-

tals. Accumulation, therefore, presents itself on the one hand as increasing concentration of the means of production, and of the command over labour; on the other, as repulsion of many individual capitals one from another.

This splitting-up of the total social capital into many individual capitals or the repulsion of its fractions one from another, is counteracted by their attraction. This last does not mean that simple concentration of the means of production and of the command over labour, which is identical with accumulation. It is concentration of capitals already formed, destruction of their individual independence, expropriation of capitalist by capitalist, transformation of many small into few large capitals. This process differs from the former in this, that it only presupposes a change in the distribution of capital already to hand, and functioning; its field of action is therefore not limited by the absolute growth of social wealth, by the absolute limits of accumulation. Capital grows in one place to a huge mass in a single hand, because it has in another place been lost by many. This is centralisation proper, as distinct from accumulation and concentration.

The laws of this centralisation of capitals, or of the attraction of capital by capital, cannot be developed here. A brief hint at a few facts must suffice. The battle of competition is fought by cheapening of commodities. The cheapness of commodities depends, *cæteris paribus*, [a] on the productiveness of labour, and this again on the scale of production. Therefore, the larger capitals beat the smaller. It will further be remembered that, with the development of the capitalist mode of production, there is an increase in the minimum amount of individual capital necessary to carry on a business under its normal conditions. The smaller capitals, therefore, crowd into spheres of production which modern industry has only sporadically or incompletely got hold of. Here competition rages in direct proportion to the number, and in inverse proportion to the magnitudes, of the antagonistic capitals. It always ends in the ruin of many small capitalists, whose capitals partly pass into the hands of their conquerors, partly vanish. Apart from this, with capitalist production an altogether new force comes into play — the credit system.[b] Not only is this itself a new and mighty weapon in the battle of competition. By unseen threads it, moreover, draws the disposable money, scattered in larger or smaller

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[a] other things remaining equal - [b] See K. Marx, *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*. 4. Aufl. Bd. 1, Hamburg, 1890, pp. 655-57.

masses over the surface of society, into the hands of individual or associated capitalists. It is the specific machine for the centralisation of capitals.

The centralisation of capitals or the process of their attraction becomes more intense, in proportion as the specifically capitalist mode of production develops along with accumulation. In its turn, centralisation becomes one of the greatest levers of this development. It shortens and quickens the transformation of separate processes of production into processes socially combined and carried out on a large scale.

The increasing bulk of individual masses of capital becomes the material basis of an uninterrupted revolution in the mode of production itself. Continually the capitalist mode of production conquers branches of industry not yet wholly, or only sporadically, or only formally, subjugated by it. At the same time there grow up on its soil new branches of industry, such as could not exist without it. Finally, in the branches of industry already carried on upon the capitalist basis, the productiveness of labour is made to ripen, as if in a hothouse. In all these cases, the number of labourers falls in proportion to the mass of the means of production worked up by them. An ever increasing part of the capital is turned into means of production, an ever decreasing one into labour power. With the extent, the concentration and the technical efficiency of the means of production, the degree lessens progressively, in which the latter are means of employment for labourers. A steam plough is an incomparably more efficient means of production than an ordinary plough, but the capital value laid out in it is an incomparably smaller means for employing men than if it were laid out in ordinary ploughs. At first, it is the mere adding of new capital to old, which allows of the expansion and technical revolution of the material conditions of the process of production. But soon the change of composition and the technical transformation get more or less completely hold of all old capital that has reached the term of its reproduction, and therefore has to be replaced. This metamorphosis of old capital is independent, to a certain extent, of the absolute growth of social capital, in the same way as its centralisation. But this centralisation which only redistributes the social capital already to hand, and melts into one a number of old capitals, works in its turn as a powerful agent in this metamorphosis of old capital.

On the one hand, therefore, the additional capital formed in the course of accumulation attracts fewer and fewer labourers in propor-

tion to its magnitude. On the other hand, the old capital periodically reproduced with change of composition, repels more and more of the labourers formerly employed by it.

## SECTION 3.—PROGRESSIVE PRODUCTION OF A RELATIVE SURPLUS POPULATION OR INDUSTRIAL RESERVE ARMY

The accumulation of capital, though originally appearing as its quantitative extension only, is effected, as we have seen, under a progressive qualitative change in its composition, under a constant increase of its constant, at the expense of its variable constituent.[1]

The specifically capitalist mode of production, the development of the productive power of labour corresponding to it, and the change thence resulting in the organic composition of capital, do not merely keep pace with the advance of accumulation, or with the growth of social wealth. They develop at a much quicker rate, because mere accumulation, the absolute increase of the total social capital, is accompanied by the centralisation of the individual capitals of which that total is made up; and because the change in the technological composition of the additional capital goes hand in hand with a similar change in the technological composition of the original capital. With the advance of accumulation, therefore, the proportion of constant to variable capital changes. If it was originally say 1:1, it now becomes successively 2:1, 3:1, 4:1, 5:1, 7:1, &c., so that, as the capital increases, instead of $\frac{1}{2}$ of its total value, only $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, &c., is transformed into labour power, and, on the other hand, $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{4}{5}$, $\frac{5}{6}$, $\frac{7}{8}$, into means of production. Since the demand for labour is determined not by the amount of capital as a whole, but by its variable constituent alone, that demand falls progressively with the increase of the total capital, instead of, as previously assumed, rising in proportion to it. It falls relatively to the magnitude of the total capital, and at an accelerated rate, as this magnitude increases. With the growth of the total capital, its variable constituent or the labour incorporated in it, also does increase, but in a constantly dimin-

[1] *Note in the 3rd German edition.*— In Marx's copy there is here the marginal note: "Here note for working out later; if the extension is only quantitative, then for a greater and a smaller capital in the same branch of business the profits are as the magnitudes of the capitals advanced. If the quantitative extension induces qualitative change, then the rate of profit on the larger capital rises simultaneously."

ishing proportion. The intermediate pauses are shortened, in which accumulation works as simple extension of production, on a given technical basis. It is not merely that an accelerated accumulation of total capital, accelerated in a constantly growing progression, is needed to absorb an additional number of labourers, or even, on account of the constant metamorphosis of old capital, to keep employed those already functioning. In its turn, this increasing accumulation and centralisation becomes a source of new changes in the composition of capital, of a more accelerated diminution of its variable, as compared with its constant constituent. This accelerated relative diminution of the variable constituent, that goes along with the accelerated increase of the total capital, and moves more rapidly than this increase, takes the inverse form, at the other pole, of an apparently absolute increase of the labouring population, an increase always moving more rapidly than that of the variable capital or the means of employment. But in fact, it is capitalistic accumulation itself that constantly produces, and produces in the direct ratio of its own energy and extent, a relatively redundant population of labourers, i. e., a population of greater extent than suffices for the average needs of the self-expansion of capital, and therefore a surplus population.

Considering the social capital in its totality, the movement of its accumulation now causes periodical changes, affecting it more or less as a whole, now distributes its various phases simultaneously over the different spheres of production. In some spheres a change in the composition of capital occurs without increase of its absolute magnitude, as a consequence of simple centralisation[a]; in others the absolute growth of capital is connected with absolute diminution of its variable constituent, or of the labour power absorbed by it; in others again, capital continues growing for a time on its given technical basis, and attracts additional labour power in proportion to its increase, while at other times it undergoes organic change, and lessens its variable constituent; in all spheres, the increase of the variable part of capital, and therefore of the number of labourers employed by it, is always connected with violent fluctuations and transitory production of surplus population, whether this takes the more striking form of the repulsion of labourers already employed or the less evident but not less real form of the more difficult absorption of the additional labour-

[a] In the German editions "concentration".

ing population through the usual channels.[1] With the magnitude of social capital already functioning, and the degree of its increase, with the extension of the scale of production, and the mass of the labourers set in motion, with the development of the productiveness of their labour, with the greater breadth and fulness of all sources of wealth, there is also an extension of the scale on which greater attraction of labourers by capital is accompanied by their greater repulsion; the rapidity of the change in the organic composition of capital, and in its technical form increases, and an increasing number of spheres of production becomes involved in this change, now simultaneously, now alternately. The labouring population therefore produces, along with the accumulation of capital produced by it, the means by which it itself is made relatively superfluous, is turned into a relative surplus population; and it does this to an always increasing extent.[2]

[1] The census of England and Wales shows: all persons employed in agriculture (landlords, farmers, gardeners, shepherds, &c., included): 1851, 2,011,447; 1861, 1,924,110. Fall, 87,337. Worsted manufacture: 1851, 102,714 persons; 1861, 79,242. Silk weaving: 1851, 111,940; 1861, 101,678. Calico-printing: 1851, 12,098; 1861, 12,556. A small rise that, in the face of the enormous extension of this industry and implying a great fall proportionally in the number of labourers employed. Hat-making: 1851, 15,957; 1861, 13,814. Straw-hat and bonnet-making: 1851, 20,393; 1861, 18,176. Malting: 1851, 10,566; 1861, 10,677. Chandlery, 1851, 4,949; 1861, 4,686. This fall is due, besides other causes, to the increase in lighting by gas. Comb-making: 1851, 2,038; 1861, 1,478. Sawyers: 1851, 30,552; 1861, 31,647 — a small rise in consequence of the increase of sawing-machines. Nail-making: 1851, 26,940; 1861, 26,130 — fall in consequence of the competition of machinery. Tin and copper-mining: 1851, 31,360; 1861, 32,041. On the other hand: Cotton-spinning and weaving: 1851, 371,777; 1861, 456,646. Coal-mining: 1851, 183,389; 1861, 246,613 [*Census*..., pp. 35, 37, 39]. "The increase of labourers is generally greatest, since 1851, in such branches of industry in which machinery has not up to the present been employed with success" (*Census of England and Wales for 1861*, Vol. III, London, 1863, p. 36).

[2] //*Added in the 4th German edition.*— The law of progressive diminution of the relative magnitude of variable capital and its effect on the condition of the class of wage workers is conjectured rather than understood by some of the prominent economists of the classical school. The greatest service was rendered here by John Barton, although he, like all the rest, lumps together constant and fixed capital, variable and circulating capital. He says: // "The demand for labour depends on the increase of circulating, and not of fixed capital. Were it true that the proportion between these two sorts of capital is the same at all times, and in all circumstances, then, indeed, it follows that the number of labourers employed is in proportion to the wealth of the state. But such a proposition has not the semblance of probability. As arts are cultivated, and civilisation is extended, fixed capital bears a larger and larger proportion to circulating capital. The amount of fixed capital employed in the production of a piece of British muslin is at least a hundred, probably a thousand times greater than that employed in a similar piece of Indian muslin. And the proportion of circulating capital is a hundred or thou-

This is a law of population peculiar to the capitalist mode of production; and in fact every special historic mode of production has its own special laws of population, historically valid within its limits alone. An abstract law of population exists for plants and animals only, and only in so far as man has not interfered with them.

But if a surplus labouring population is a necessary product of accumulation or of the development of wealth on a capitalist basis, this surplus population becomes, conversely, the lever of capitalistic accumulation, nay, a condition of existence of the capitalist mode of production. It forms a disposable industrial reserve army, that belongs to capital quite as absolutely as if the latter had bred it at its own cost. Independently of the limits of the actual increase of population, it creates, for the changing needs of the self-expansion of capital, a mass of human material always ready for exploitation. With accumulation, and the development of the productiveness of labour that accompanies it, the power of sudden expansion of capital grows also; it grows, not merely because the elasticity of the capital already functioning increases, not merely because the absolute wealth of society expands, of which capital only forms an elastic part, not merely because credit, under every special stimulus, at once places an unusual part of this wealth at the disposal of production in the form of additional capital; it grows, also, because the technical conditions of the process of production themselves — machinery, means of transport, &c.— now admit of the rapidest transformation of masses of surplus product into additional means of production. The mass of social wealth, overflowing with the advance of accumulation, and transformable into additional capital, thrusts itself frantically into old

sand times less ... the whole of the annual savings, added to the fixed capital, would have no effect in increasing the demand for labour" (John Barton, *Observations on the Circumstances which Influence the Condition of the Labouring Classes of Society*, London, 1817, pp. 16, 17). "The same cause which may increase the net revenue of the country may at the same time render the population redundant, and deteriorate the condition of the labourer" (Ricardo, l. c., p. 469). With increase of capital, "the demand //for labour// will be in a diminishing ratio" (ibid., p. 480, note). "The amount of capital devoted to the maintenance of labour may vary, independently of any changes in the whole amount of capital.... Great fluctuations in the amount of employment, and great suffering may become more frequent as capital itself becomes more plentiful" (Richard Jones, *An Introductory Lecture on Pol. Econ.*, Lond., 1833, p. 52). "Demand //for labour// will rise ... not in proportion to the accumulation of the general capital.... Every augmentation, therefore, in the national stock destined for reproduction, comes, in the progress of society, to have less and less influence upon the condition of the labourer" (Ramsay, l. c., pp. 90, 91).

branches of production, whose market suddenly expands, or into newly formed branches, such as railways, &c., the need for which grows out of the development of the old ones. In all such cases, there must be the possibility of throwing great masses of men suddenly on the decisive points without injury to the scale of production in other spheres. Overpopulation supplies these masses. The course characteristic of modern industry, viz., a decennial cycle (interrupted by smaller oscillations), of periods of average activity, production at high pressure, crisis and stagnation, depends on the constant formation, the greater or less absorption, and the re-formation of the industrial reserve army or surplus population. In their turn, the varying phases of the industrial cycle recruit the surplus population, and become one of the most energetic agents of its reproduction. This peculiar course of modern industry, which occurs in no earlier period of human history, was also impossible in the childhood of capitalist production. The composition of capital changed but very slowly. With its accumulation, therefore, there kept pace, on the whole, a corresponding growth in the demand for labour. Slow as was the advance of accumulation compared with that of more modern times, it found a check in the natural limits of the exploitable labouring population, limits which could only be got rid of by forcible means to be mentioned later. The expansion by fits and starts of the scale of production is the preliminary to its equally sudden contraction; the latter again evokes the former, but the former is impossible without disposable human material, without an increase in the number of labourers independently of the absolute growth of the population. This increase is effected by the simple process that constantly "sets free" a part of the labourers; by methods which lessen the number of labourers employed in proportion to the increased production. The whole form of the movement of modern industry depends, therefore, upon the constant transformation of a part of the labouring population into unemployed or half-employed hands. The superficiality of political economy shows itself in the fact that it looks upon the expansion and contraction of credit, which is a mere symptom of the periodic changes of the industrial cycle, as their cause. As the heavenly bodies, once thrown into a certain definite motion, always repeat this, so is it with social production as soon as it is once thrown into this movement of alternate expansion and contraction. Effects, in their turn, become causes, and the varying accidents of the whole process, which always reproduces its own conditions, take on the form of periodicity. When

this periodicity is once consolidated, even political economy then sees that the production of a relative surplus population — i. e., surplus with regard to the average needs of the self-expansion of capital — is a necessary condition of modern industry.

"Suppose," says H. Merivale, formerly professor of political economy at Oxford, subsequently employed in the English Colonial Office, "suppose that, on the occasion of some of these crises, the nation were to rouse itself to the effort of getting rid by emigration of some hundreds of thousands of superfluous arms, what would be the consequence? That, at the first returning demand for labour, there would be a deficiency. However rapid reproduction may be, it takes, at all events, the space of a generation to replace the loss of adult labour. Now, the profits of our manufacturers depend mainly on the power of making use of the prosperous moment when demand is brisk, and thus compensating themselves for the interval during which it is slack. This power is secured to them only by the command of machinery and of manual labour. They must have hands ready by them, they must be able to increase the activity of their operations when required, and to slacken it again, according to the state of the market, or they cannot possibly maintain that pre-eminence in the race of competition on which the wealth of the country is founded."[1]

Even Malthus recognises overpopulation as a necessity of modern industry, though, after his narrow fashion, he explains it by the absolute overgrowth of the labouring population, not by their becoming relatively supernumerary. He says:

"Prudential habits with regard to marriage, carried to a considerable extent among the labouring class of a country mainly depending upon manufactures and commerce, might injure it.... From the nature of a population, an increase of labourers cannot be brought into market in consequence of a particular demand till after the lapse of 16 or 18 years, and the conversion of revenue into capital, by saving, may take place much more rapidly; a country is always liable to an increase in the quantity of the funds for the maintenance of labour faster than the increase of population."[2]

After political economy has thus demonstrated the constant production of a relative surplus population of labourers to be a necessity of capitalistic accumulation, she very aptly, in the guise of an old maid, puts in the mouth of her "beau ideal" of a capitalist the following words addressed to those supernumeraries thrown on the streets by their own creation of additional capital: —

[1] H. Merivale, *Lectures on Colonisation and Colonies*, 1841, Vol. I, p. 146.

[2] Malthus, *Principles of Political Economy*, pp. 215, 319, 320. In this work, Malthus finally discovers, with the help of Sismondi, the beautiful Trinity of capitalistic production: overproduction, overpopulation, overconsumption — three very delicate monsters, indeed. Cf. F. Engels, *Umrisse zu einer Kritik der Nationalökonomie*, l. c., p. 107, et seq. [present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 435-40].

"We manufacturers do what we can for you, whilst we are increasing that capital on which you must subsist, and you must do the rest by accommodating your numbers to the means of subsistence."[1]

Capitalist production can by no means content itself with the quantity of disposable labour power which the natural increase of population yields. It requires for its free play an industrial reserve army independent of these natural limits.

Up to this point it has been assumed that the increase or diminution of the variable capital corresponds rigidly with the increase or diminution of the number of labourers employed.

The number of labourers commanded by capital may remain the same, or even fall, while the variable capital increases. This is the case if the individual labourer yields more labour, and therefore his wages increase, and this although the price of labour remains the same or even falls, only more slowly than the mass of labour rises. Increase of variable capital, in this case, becomes an index of more labour, but not of more labourers employed. It is the absolute interest of every capitalist to press a given quantity of labour out of a smaller, rather than a greater number of labourers, if the cost is about the same. In the latter case, the outlay of constant capital increases in proportion to the mass of labour set in action; in the former that increase is much smaller. The more extended the scale of production, the stronger this motive. Its force increases with the accumulation of capital.

We have seen that the development of the capitalist mode of production and of the productive power of labour — at once the cause and effect of accumulation — enables the capitalist, with the same outlay of variable capital, to set in action more labour by greater exploitation (extensive or intensive) of each individual labour power. We have further seen that the capitalist buys with the same capital a greater mass of labour power, as he progressively replaces skilled labourers by less skilled, mature labour power by immature, male by female, that of adults by that of young persons or children.

On the one hand, therefore, with the progress of accumulation, a larger variable capital sets more labour in action without enlisting more labourers; on the other, a variable capital of the same magnitude sets in action more labour with the same mass of labour power; and, finally, a greater number of inferior labour powers by displacement of higher.

[1] Harriet Martineau, *A Manchester Strike*, 1832, p. 101.

The production of a relative surplus population, or the setting free of labourers, goes on therefore yet more rapidly than the technical revolution of the process of production that accompanies, and is accelerated by, the advance of accumulation, and more rapidly than the corresponding diminution of the variable part of capital as compared with the constant. If the means of production, as they increase in extent and effective power, become to a less extent means of employment of labourers, this state of things is again modified by the fact that in proportion as the productiveness of labour increases, capital increases its supply of labour more quickly than its demand for labourers. The overwork of the employed part of the working class swells the ranks of the reserve, whilst conversely the greater pressure that the latter by its competition exerts on the former, forces these to submit to overwork and to subjugation under the dictates of capital. The condemnation of one part of the working class to enforced idleness by the overwork of the other part, and the converse, becomes a means of enriching the individual capitalists,[1] and accelerates at the same time the production of the industrial reserve army on a scale corresponding with the advance of social accumulation. How important is this element in the formation of the relative surplus population, is shown

[1] Even in the cotton famine of 1863 we find, in a pamphlet of the operative cotton-spinners of Blackburn, fierce denunciations of overwork, which, in consequence of the Factory Acts, of course only affected adult male labourers. "The adult operatives at this mill have been asked to work from 12 to 13 hours per day, while there are hundreds who are compelled to be idle who would willingly work partial time, in order to maintain their families and save their brethren from a premature grave through being overworked... We," it goes on to say, "would ask if the practice of working overtime by a number of hands, is likely to create a good feeling between masters and servants. Those who are worked overtime feel the injustice equally with those who are condemned to forced idleness. There is in the district almost sufficient work to give to all partial employment if fairly distributed. We are only asking what is right in requesting the masters generally to pursue a system of short hours, particularly until a better state of things begins to dawn upon us, rather than to work a portion of the hands overtime, while others, for want of work, are compelled to exist upon charity" ("Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 31, 1863", p. 8). The author [Cunningham, J.] of the *Essay on Trade and Commerce* grasps the effect of a relative surplus population on the employed labourers with his usual unerring bourgeois instinct. "Another cause of idleness in this kingdom is the want of a sufficient number of labouring hands... Whenever from an extraordinary demand for manufactures, labour grows scarce, the labourers feel their own consequence, and will make their masters feel it likewise — it is amazing; but so depraved are the dispositions of these people, that in such cases a set of workmen have combined to distress the employer by idling a whole day together" (*Essay*, &*c.*, pp. 27, 28). The fellows in fact were hankering after a rise in wages.

by the example of England. Her technical means for saving labour are colossal. Nevertheless, if tomorrow morning labour generally were reduced to a rational amount, and proportioned to the different sections of the working class according to age and sex, the working population to hand would be absolutely insufficient for the carrying on of national production on its present scale. The great majority of the labourers now "unproductive" would have to be turned into "productive" ones.

Taking them as a whole, the general movements of wages are exclusively regulated by the expansion and contraction of the industrial reserve army, and these again correspond to the periodic changes of the industrial cycle. They are, therefore, not determined by the variations of the absolute number of the working population, but by the varying proportions in which the working class is divided into active and reserve army, by the increase or diminution in the relative amount of the surplus population, by the extent to which it is now absorbed, now set free. For modern industry with its decennial cycles and periodic phases, which, moreover, as accumulation advances, are complicated by irregular oscillations following each other more and more quickly, that would indeed be a beautiful law, which pretends to make the action of capital dependent on the absolute variation of the population, instead of regulating the demand and supply of labour by the alternate expansion and contraction of capital, the labour market now appearing relatively underfull, because capital is expanding, now again overfull, because it is contracting. Yet this is the dogma of the economists. According to them, wages rise in consequence of accumulation of capital. The higher wages stimulate the working population to more rapid multiplication, and this goes on until the labour market becomes too full, and therefore capital, relatively to the supply of labour, becomes insufficient. Wages fall, and now we have the reverse of the medal. The working population is little by little decimated as the result of the fall in wages, so that capital is again in excess relatively to them, or, as others explain it, falling wages and the corresponding increase in the exploitation of the labourer again accelerates accumulation, whilst, at the same time, the lower wages hold the increase of the working class in check. Then comes again the time, when the supply of labour is less than the demand, wages rise, and so on. A beautiful mode of motion this for developed capitalist production! Before, in consequence of the rise of wages, any positive increase of the population really fit for work could

occur, the time would have been passed again and again, during which the industrial campaign must have been carried through, the battle fought and won.

Between 1849 and 1859, a rise of wages practically insignificant, though accompanied by falling prices of corn, took place in the English agricultural districts. In Wiltshire, e. g., the weekly wages rose from 7s. to 8s.; in Dorsetshire from 7s. or 8s., to 9s., &c. This was the result of an unusual exodus of the agricultural surplus population caused by the demands of war,[518] the vast extension of railroads, factories, mines, &c. The lower the wages, the higher is the proportion in which ever so insignificant a rise of them expresses itself. If the weekly wage, e. g., is 20s. and it rises to 22s., that is a rise of 10 per cent., but if it is only 7s. and it rises to 9s., that is a rise of $28\frac{4}{7}$ per cent., which sounds very fine. Everywhere the farmers were howling, and the London *Economist*, with reference to these starvation wages, prattled quite seriously of "a general and substantial advance".[1] What did the farmers do now? Did they wait until, in consequence of this brilliant remuneration, the agricultural labourers had so increased and multiplied that their wages must fall again, as prescribed by the dogmatic economic brain? They introduced more machinery, and in a moment the labourers were redundant again in a proportion satisfactory even to the farmers. There was now "more capital" laid out in agriculture than before, and in a more productive form. With this the demand for labour fell, not only relatively, but absolutely.

The above economic fiction confuses the laws that regulate the general movement of wages, or the ratio between the working class — i. e., the total labour power — and the total social capital, with the laws that distribute the working population over the different spheres of production. If, e. g., in consequence of favourable circumstances, accumulation in a particular sphere of production becomes especially active, and profits in it, being greater than the average profits, attract additional capital, of course the demand for labour rises and wages also rise. The higher wages draw a larger part of the working population into the more favoured sphere, until it is glutted with labour power, and wages at length fall again to their average level or below it, if the pressure is too great. Then, not only does the immigration of labourers into the branch of industry in question cease; it gives place to their emigration. Here the political economist thinks he sees the why

[1] *Economist*, Jan. 21, 1860 [No. 856, p. 64].

and wherefore of an absolute increase of workers accompanying an increase of wages, and of a diminution of wages accompanying an absolute increase of labourers. But he sees really only the local oscillation of the labour market in a particular sphere of production — he sees only the phenomena accompanying the distribution of the working population into the different spheres of outlay of capital, according to its varying needs.

The industrial reserve army, during the periods of stagnation and average prosperity, weighs down the active labour army; during the periods of overproduction and paroxysm, it holds its pretensions in check. Relative surplus population is therefore the pivot upon which the law of demand and supply of labour works. It confines the field of action of this law within the limits absolutely convenient to the activity of exploitation and to the domination of capital.

This is the place to return to one of the grand exploits of economic apologetics. It will be remembered that if through the introduction of new, or the extension of old, machinery, a portion of variable capital is transformed into constant, the economic apologist interprets this operation which "fixes" capital and by that very act sets labourers "free", in exactly the opposite way, pretending that it sets free capital for the labourers. Only now can one fully understand the effrontery of these apologists. What are set free are not only the labourers immediately turned out by the machines, but also their future substitutes in the rising generation, and the additional contingent, that with the usual extension of trade on the old basis would be regularly absorbed. They are now all "set free", and every new bit of capital looking out for employment can dispose of them. Whether it attracts them or others, the effect on the general labour demand will be nil, if this capital is just sufficient to take out of the market as many labourers as the machines threw upon it. If it employs a smaller number, that of the supernumeraries increases; if it employs a greater, the general demand for labour only increases to the extent of the excess of the employed over those "set free". The impulse that additional capital seeking an outlet, would otherwise have given to the general demand for labour, is therefore in every case neutralised to the extent of the labourers thrown out of employment by the machine. That is to say, the mechanism of capitalistic production so manages matters that the absolute increase of capital is accompanied by no corresponding rise in the general demand for labour. And this the apologist calls a compensation for the misery, the sufferings, the possible death of the dis-

placed labourers during the transition period that banishes them into the industrial reserve army! The demand for labour is not identical with increase of capital, nor supply of labour with increase of the working class. It is not a case of two independent forces working on one another. *Les dés sont pipés.*[a] Capital works on both sides at the same time. If its accumulation, on the one hand, increases the demand for labour, it increases on the other the supply of labourers by the "setting free" of them whilst at the same time the pressure of the unemployed compels those that are employed to furnish more labour, and therefore makes the supply of labour, to a certain extent, independent of the supply of labourers. The action of the law of supply and demand of labour on this basis completes the despotism of capital. As soon, therefore, as the labourers learn the secret, how it comes to pass that in the same measure as they work more, as they produce more wealth for others, and as the productive power of their labour increases, so in the same measure even their function as a means of the self-expansion of capital becomes more and more precarious for them, as soon as they discover that the degree of intensity of the competition among themselves depends wholly on the pressure of the relative surplus population; as soon as, by Trades' Unions, &c., they try to organise a regular co-operation between employed and unemployed in order to destroy or to weaken the ruinous effects of this natural law of capitalistic production on their class, so soon capital and its sycophant, political economy, cry out at the infringement of the "eternal" and so to say "sacred" law of supply and demand. Every combination of employed and unemployed disturbs the "harmonious" action of this law. But, on the other hand, as soon as (in the colonies, e. g.) adverse circumstances prevent the creation of an industrial reserve army and, with it, the absolute dependence of the working class upon the capitalist class, capital, along with its commonplace Sancho Panza, rebels against the "sacred" law of supply and demand, and tries to check its inconvenient action by forcible means and State interference.

## SECTION 4.—DIFFERENT FORMS OF THE RELATIVE SURPLUS POPULATION. THE GENERAL LAW OF CAPITALISTIC ACCUMULATION

The relative surplus population exists in every possible form. Every labourer belongs to it during the time when he is only partially

[a] The dice are loaded.

employed or wholly unemployed. Not taking into account the great periodically recurring forms that the changing phases of the industrial cycle impress on it, now an acute form during the crisis, then again a chronic form during dull times — it has always three forms, the floating, the latent, the stagnant.

In the centres of modern industry — factories, manufactures, ironworks, mines, &c. — the labourers are sometimes repelled, sometimes attracted again in greater masses, the number of those employed increasing on the whole, although in a constantly decreasing proportion to the scale of production. Here the surplus population exists in the floating form.

In the automatic factories, as in all the great workshops, where machinery enters as a factor, or where only the modern division of labour is carried out, large numbers of boys are employed up to the age of maturity. When this term is once reached, only a very small number continue to find employment in the same branches of industry, whilst the majority are regularly discharged. This majority forms an element of the floating surplus population, growing with the extension of those branches of industry. Part of them emigrates, following in fact capital that has emigrated. One consequence is that the female population grows more rapidly than the male, *teste* England. That the natural increase of the number of labourers does not satisfy the requirements of the accumulation of capital, and yet all the time is in excess of them, is a contradiction inherent to the movement of capital itself. It wants larger numbers of youthful labourers, a smaller number of adults. The contradiction is not more glaring than that other one that there is a complaint of the want of hands, while at the same time many thousands are out of work, because the division of labour chains them to a particular branch of industry.[1]

The consumption of labour power by capital is, besides, so rapid that the labourer, half-way through his life, has already more or less completely lived himself out. He falls into the ranks of the supernumeraries, or is thrust down from a higher to a lower step in the scale. It is precisely among the workpeople of modern industry that we

[1] Whilst during the last six months of 1866, 80-90,000 working people in London were thrown out of work, the Factory Report for that same half year says: "It does not appear absolutely true to say that demand will always produce supply just at the moment when it is needed. It has not done so with labour, for much machinery has been idle last year for want of hands" ("Rep. of Insp. of Fact., 31st Oct., 1866", p. 81).

meet with the shortest duration of life. Dr. Leigh, Medical Officer of Health for Manchester, stated

"that the average age at death of the Manchester ... upper middle class was 38 years, while the average age at death of the labouring class was 17; while at Liverpool those figures were represented as 35 against 15. It thus appeared that the well-to-do classes had a lease of life which was more than double the value of that which fell to the lot of the less favoured citizens."[1]

In order to conform to these circumstances, the absolute increase of this section of the proletariat must take place under conditions that shall swell their numbers, although the individual elements are used up rapidly. Hence, rapid renewal of the generations of labourers (this law does not hold for the other classes of the population). This social need is met by early marriages, a necessary consequence of the conditions in which the labourers of modern industry live, and by the premium that the exploitation of children sets on their production.

As soon as capitalist production takes possession of agriculture, and in proportion to the extent to which it does so, the demand for an agricultural labouring population falls absolutely, while the accumulation of the capital employed in agriculture advances, without this repulsion being, as in non-agricultural industries, compensated by a greater attraction. Part of the agricultural population is therefore constantly on the point of passing over into an urban or manufacturing proletariat, and on the look-out for circumstances favourable to this transformation. (Manufacture is used here in the sense of all non-agricultural industries.)[2] This source of relative surplus population is thus constantly flowing. But the constant flow towards the towns presupposes, in the country itself, a constant latent surplus population, the extent of which becomes evident only when its channels of outlet open to exceptional width. The agricultural labourer is

[1] Opening address to the Sanitary Conference, Birmingham, January 15th, 1875, by J. Chamberlain, Mayor of the town, now (1883) President of the Board of Trade.

[2] 781 towns given in the census for 1861 for England and Wales "contained 10,960,998 inhabitants, while the villages and country parishes contained 9,105,226. In 1851, 580 towns were distinguished, and the population in them and in the surrounding country was nearly equal. But while in the subsequent ten years the population in the villages and the country increased half a million, the population in the 580 towns increased by a million and a half (1,554,067). The increase of the population of the country parishes is 6.5 per cent., and of the towns 17.3 per cent. The difference in the rates of increase is due to the migration from country to town. Three-fourths of the total increase of population has taken place in the towns" (*Census, &c.*, [Vol. III,] pp. 11 and 12).

therefore reduced to the minimum of wages, and always stands with one foot already in the swamp of pauperism.

The third category of the relative surplus population, the stagnant, forms a part of the active labour army, but with extremely irregular employment. Hence it furnishes to capital an inexhaustible reservoir of disposable labour power. Its conditions of life sink below the average normal level of the working class; this makes it at once the broad basis of special branches of capitalist exploitation. It is characterised by maximum of working time, and minimum of wages. We have learnt to know its chief form under the rubric of "domestic industry". It recruits itself constantly from the supernumerary forces of modern industry and agriculture, and specially from those decaying branches of industry where handicraft is yielding to manufacture, manufacture to machinery. Its extent grows, as with the extent and energy of accumulation, the creation of a surplus population advances. But it forms at the same time a self-reproducing and self-perpetuating element of the working class, taking a proportionally greater part in the general increase of that class than the other elements. In fact, not only the number of births and deaths, but the absolute size of the families stand in inverse proportion to the height of wages, and therefore to the amount of means of subsistence of which the different categories of labourers dispose. This law of capitalistic society would sound absurd to savages, or even civilised colonists. It calls to mind the boundless reproduction of animals individually weak and constantly hunted down.[1]

The lowest sediment of the relative surplus population finally dwells in the sphere of pauperism. Exclusive of vagabonds, criminals, prostitutes, in a word, the "dangerous" classes, this layer of society consists of three categories. First, those able to work. One need only glance superficially at the statistics of English pauperism to find that the quantity of paupers increases with every crisis, and diminishes with every revival of trade. Second, orphans and pauper children.

[1] "Poverty seems favourable to generation" (A. Smith, [*An Inquiry into the Nature...*, Vol. I, Ld., 1835, p. 195]). This is even a specially wise arrangement of God, according to the gallant and witty Abbé Galiani. "Cod ordains that men who carry on trades of primary utility are born in abundance" (Galiani, l. c. [*De la moneta*], p. 78)."Misery up to the extreme point of famine and pestilence, instead of checking, tends to increase population" (S. Laing, *National Distress*, 1844, p. 69). After Laing has illustrated this by statistics, he continues: "If the people were all in easy circumstances, the world would soon be depopulated."

These are candidates for the industrial reserve army, and are, in times of great prosperity, as 1860, e. g., speedily and in large numbers enrolled in the active army of labourers. Third, the demoralised and ragged, and those unable to work, chiefly people who succumb to their incapacity for adaptation, due to the division of labour; people who have passed the normal age of the labourer; the victims of industry, whose number increases with the increase of dangerous machinery, of mines, chemical works, &c., the mutilated, the sickly, the widows, &c. Pauperism is the hospital of the active labour army and the dead weight of the industrial reserve army. Its production is included in that of the relative surplus population, its necessity in theirs; along with the surplus population, pauperism forms a condition of capitalist production, and of the capitalist development of wealth. It enters into the *faux frais*[a] of capitalist production; but capital knows how to throw these, for the most part, from its own shoulders on to those of the working class and the lower middle class.

The greater the social wealth, the functioning capital, the extent and energy of its growth, and, therefore, also the absolute mass of the proletariat and the productiveness of its labour, the greater is the industrial reserve army. The same causes which develop the expansive power of capital, develop also the labour power at its disposal. The relative mass of the industrial reserve army increases therefore with the potential energy of wealth. But the greater this reserve army in proportion to the active labour army, the greater is the mass of a consolidated surplus population, whose misery is in inverse ratio to its torment of labour.[b] The more extensive, finally, the lazarus-layers [519] of the working class, and the industrial reserve army, the greater is official pauperism. *This is the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation.* Like all other laws it is modified in its working by many circumstances, the analysis of which does not concern us here.

The folly is now patent of the economic wisdom that preaches to the labourers the accommodation of their number to the requirements of capital. The mechanism of capitalist production and accumulation constantly effects this adjustment. The first word of this adaptation is the creation of a relative surplus population, or industrial reserve army. Its last word is the misery of constantly extending

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[a] overhead costs - [b] The authorised French translation has "in direct ratio to its torment of labour".

strata of the active army of labour, and the dead weight of pauperism.

The law by which a constantly increasing quantity of means of production, thanks to the advance in the productiveness of social labour, may be set in movement by a progressively diminishing expenditure of human power, this law, in a capitalist society — where the labourer does not employ the means of production, but the means of production employ the labourer — undergoes a complete inversion and is expressed thus: the higher the productiveness of labour, the greater is the pressure of the labourers on the means of employment, the more precarious, therefore, becomes their condition of existence, viz., the sale of their own labour power for the increasing of another's wealth, or for the self-expansion of capital. The fact that the means of production, and the productiveness of labour, increase more rapidly than the productive population, expresses itself, therefore, capitalistically in the inverse form that the labouring population always increases more rapidly than the conditions under which capital can employ this increase for its own self-expansion.

We saw in Part IV, when analysing the production of relative surplus value: within the capitalist system all methods for raising the social productiveness of labour are brought about at the cost of the individual labourer; all means for the development of production transform themselves into means of domination over, and exploitation of, the producers; they mutilate the labourer into a fragment of a man, degrade him to the level of an appendage of a machine, destroy every remnant of charm in his work and turn it into a hated toil; they estrange from him the intellectual potentialities of the labour process in the same proportion as science is incorporated in it as an independent power; they distort the conditions under which he works, subject him during the labour process to a despotism the more hateful for its meanness; they transform his lifetime into working time, and drag his wife and child beneath the wheels of the Juggernaut [182] of capital. But all methods for the production of surplus value are at the same time methods of accumulation; and every extension of accumulation becomes again a means for the development of those methods. It follows therefore that in proportion as capital accumulates, the lot of the labourer, be his payment high or low, must grow worse. The law, finally, that always equilibrates the relative surplus population, or industrial reserve army, to the extent and energy of accumulation, this law rivets the labourer to capital more firmly than the wedges of Vul-

can did Prometheus to the rock. It establishes an accumulation of misery, corresponding with accumulation of capital. Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole, i. e., on the side of the class that produces its own product in the form of capital.

This antagonistic character of capitalistic accumulation [1] is enunciated in various forms by political economists, although by them it is confounded with phenomena, certainly to some extent analogous, but nevertheless essentially distinct, and belonging to precapitalistic modes of production.

The Venetian monk Ortes, one of the great economic writers of the 18th century, regards the antagonism of capitalist production as a general natural law of social wealth.

"In the economy of a nation, advantages and evils always balance one another (il bene ed il male economico in una nazione sempre all, istessa misura): the abundance of wealth with some people, is always equal to the want of it with others (la copia dei beni in alcuni sempre eguale alla mancanza di essi in altri): the great riches of a small number are always accompanied by the absolute privation of the first necessaries of life for many others. The wealth of a nation corresponds with its population, and its misery corresponds with its wealth. Diligence in some compels idleness in others. The poor and idle are a necessary consequence of the rich and active," &c.[2]

In a thoroughly brutal way about 10 years after Ortes, the Church of England parson, Townsend, glorified misery as a necessary condition of wealth.

"Legal constraint" (to labour) "is attended with too much trouble, violence, and noise,... whereas hunger is not only a peaceable, silent, unremitted pressure, but as the most natural motive to industry and labour, it calls forth the most powerful exertions."

Everything therefore depends upon making hunger permanent

[1] "From day to day it thus becomes clearer that the production relations in which the bourgeoisie moves have not a simple, uniform character, but a dual character; that in the selfsame relations in which wealth is produced, poverty is produced also; that in the selfsame relations in which there is a development of productive forces, there is also a force producing repression; that these relations produce bourgeois wealth, i. e., the wealth of the bourgeois class, only by continually annihilating the wealth of the individual members of this class and by producing an evergrowing proletariat" (Karl Marx, *Misère de la Philosophie*, p. 116 [present edition, Vol. 6, p. 176]).

[2] G. Ortes, *Della Economia Nazionale libri sei*, 1774, in Custodi, *Parte Moderna*, t. XXI, pp. 6, [8-]9, 24[-25], etc. Ortes says, l. c., p. 32: "Instead of projecting useless systems for achieving the happiness of people, I shall limit myself to investigating the reasons for their unhappiness."

among the working class, and for this, according to Townsend, the principle of population, especially active among the poor, provides.

"It seems to be a law of Nature that the poor should be to a certain degree improvident" //i. e., so improvident as to be born *without* a silver spoon in the mouth//, "that there may always be some to fulfil the most servile, the most sordid, and the most ignoble offices in the community. The stock of human happiness is thereby much increased, whilst the more delicate are not only relieved from drudgery ... but are left at liberty without interruption to pursue those callings which are suited to their various dispositions ... it" //the Poor Law// "tends to destroy the harmony and beauty, the symmetry and order of that system which God and Nature have established in the world." [1] If the Venetian monk found in the fatal destiny that makes misery eternal, the *raison d'être* of Christian charity, celibacy, monasteries and holy houses, the Protestant prebendary finds in it a pretext for condemning the laws in virtue of which the poor possessed a right to a miserable public relief.

"The progress of social wealth," says Storch, "begets this useful class of society ... which performs the most wearisome, the vilest, the most disgusting functions, which takes, in a word, on its shoulders all that is disagreeable and servile in life, and procures thus for other classes leisure, serenity of mind and conventional" (c'est bon!) "dignity of character".[2]

Storch asks himself in what then really consists the progress of this capitalistic civilisation with its misery and its degradation of the masses, as compared with barbarism. He finds but one answer: security!

"Thanks to the advance of industry and science," says Sismondi, "every labourer can produce every day much more than his consumption requires. But at the same time, whilst his labour produces wealth, that wealth would, were he called on to consume it himself, make him less fit for labour." According to him, "men" (i. e., non-workers) "would probably prefer to do without all artistic perfection, and all the enjoyments that manufacturers procure for us, if it were necessary that all should buy them by constant toil like that of the labourer.... Exertion to-day is separated from its recompense; it is not the same man that first works, and then reposes; but it is because the one

[1] *A Dissertation on the Poor Laws. By a Well-wisher to Mankind. (The Rev. J. Townsend,) 1786*, republished, Lond., 1817, pp. 15, 39, 41. This "delicate" parson, from whose work just quoted, as well as from his *Journey through Spain*, [Ld., 1791,] Malthus often copies whole pages, himself borrowed the greater part of his doctrine from Sir James Steuart, whom he however alters in the borrowing. E. g., when Steuart says: "Here, in slavery, was a forcible method of making mankind diligent," //for the non-workers//..."Men were then forced to work" //i. e., to work gratis for others//, "because they were slaves of others; men are now forced to work" //i. e., to work gratis for non-workers// "because they are the slaves of their necessities",[520] he does not thence conclude, like the fat holder of benefices, that the wage labourer must always go fasting. He wishes, on the contrary, to increase their wants and to make the increasing number of their wants a stimulus to their labour for the "more delicate".

[2] Storch, l. c., t. iii, p. 223.

works that the other rests.... The indefinite multiplication of the productive powers of labour can then only have for result the increase of luxury and enjoyment of the idle rich." [1]

Finally Destutt de Tracy, the fish-blooded bourgeois doctrinaire, blurts out brutally:

"In poor nations the people are comfortable, in rich nations they are generally poor." [2]

## SECTION 5.—ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE GENERAL LAW OF CAPITALIST ACCUMULATION

### *(a.) England from 1846-1866*

No period of modern society is so favourable for the study of capitalist accumulation as the period of the last 20 years. It is as if this period had found Fortunatus' purse. But of all countries England again furnishes the classical example, because it holds the foremost place in the world market, because capitalist production is here alone completely developed, and lastly, because the introduction of the Free-trade millennium since 1846 [521] has cut off the last retreat of vulgar economy. The titanic advance of production — the latter half of the 20 years' period again far surpassing the former — has been already pointed out sufficiently in Part IV.

Although the absolute increase of the English population in the last half century was very great, the relative increase or rate of growth fell constantly, as the following table borrowed from the census shows.

Annual increase per cent. of the population of England and Wales in decimal numbers: [522]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1811-1821 | 1.533 | per cent. |
| 1821-1831 | 1.446 | " " |
| 1831-1841 | 1.326 | " " |
| 1841-1851 | 1.216 | " " |
| 1851-1861 | 1.141 | " " |

[1] Sismondi, l. c., [*Nouveaux Principes d'Économie Politique*, t. I,] pp. 79, 80, 85.

[2] Destutt de Tracy, l. c. [*Élémens d'ideologie*, Paris, 1826], p. 231: "The poor nations are those where the people are comfortably off; and the rich nations, those where the people are generally poor."

Let us now, on the other hand, consider the increase of wealth. Here the movement of profit, rent of land, &c., that come under the income tax, furnishes the surest basis. The increase of profits liable to income tax (farmers and some other categories not included) in Great Britain from 1853 to 1864 amounted to 50.47% or 4.58% as the annual average,[1] that of the population during the same period to about 12%.[523] The augmentation of the rent of land subject to taxation (including houses, railways, mines, fisheries, &c.), amounted for 1853 to 1864 to 38% or 3 $\frac{5}{12}$ % annually. Under this head the following categories show the greatest increase:

| | Excess of annual income of 1864 over that of 1853 | Increase per year |
|---|---|---|
| Houses | 38.60% | 3.50% |
| Quarries | 84.76% | 7.70% |
| Mines | 68.85% | 6.26% |
| Ironworks | 39.92% | 3.63% |
| Fisheries | 57.37% | 5.21% |
| Gasworks | 126.02% | 11.45% |
| Railways | 83,29% | 7.57%[2] |

If we compare the years from 1853 to 1864 in three sets of four consecutive years each, the rate of augmentation of the income increases constantly. It is, e. g., for that arising from profits between 1853 to 1857, 1.73% yearly; 1857-1861, 2.74%, and for 1861-64, 9.30% yearly. The sum of the incomes of the United Kingdom that come under the income tax was in 1856, £307,068,898; in 1859, £328,127,416; in 1862, £351,745,241; in 1863, £359,142,897; in 1864, £362,462,279; in 1865, £385,530,020.[3] [524]

The accumulation of capital was attended at the same time by its

[1] "Tenth Report of the Commissioners of H. M. Inland Revenue," Lond., 1866, p. 38.

[2] Ibidem.

[3] These figures are sufficient for comparison, but, taken absolutely, are false, since, perhaps, £100,000,000 of income are annually not declared. The complaints of the Inland Revenue Commissioners of systematic fraud, especially on the part of the commercial and industrial classes, are repeated in each of their reports. So e. g., "A Joint-stock company returns £6,000 as assessable profits, the surveyor raises the amount to £88,000, and upon that sum duty is ultimately paid. Another company which returns £190,000 is finally compelled to admit that the true return should be £250,000" (ibid., p. 42).

concentration and centralisation. Although no official statistics of agriculture existed for England (they did for Ireland), they were voluntarily given in 10 counties. These statistics gave the result that from 1851 to 1861 the number of farms of less than 100 acres had fallen from 31,583 to 26,567, so that 5,016 had been thrown together into larger farms.[1] From 1815 to 1825 no personal estate of more than £1,000,000 came under the succession duty; from 1825 to 1855, however, 8 did; and 4 from 1855 to June, 1859, i.e., in 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ years.[2] The centralisation will, however, be best seen from a short analysis of the Income Tax Schedule D (profits, exclusive of farms, &c.), in the years 1864 and 1865. I note beforehand that incomes from this source pay income tax on everything over £60. These incomes liable to taxation in England, Wales and Scotland, amounted in 1864 to £95,844,222, in 1865 to £105,435,787.[3] The number of persons taxed were in 1864, 308,416, out of a population of 23,891,009; in 1865, 332,431 out of a population of 24,127,003.[525] The following table shows the distribution of these incomes in the two years[526]:

| | Year ending April 5th, 1864 | | Year ending April 5th, 1865 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Income from profits | Persons | Income from profits | Persons |
| Total Income . . . . . | £95,844,222 | 308,416 | 105,435,787 | 332,431 |
| of these . . . . . | 57,028,290 | 22,334 | 64,554,197 | 24,075 |
| " " . . . . . | 36,415,225 | 3,619 | 42,535,576 | 4,021 |
| " " . . . . . | 22,809,781 | 832 | 27,555,313 | 973 |
| " " . . . . . | 8,744,762 | 91 | 11,077,238 | 107 |

In 1855 there were produced in the United Kingdom 61,453,079 tons of coal, of value £16,113,267; in 1864, 92,787,873 tons, of value £23,197,968; in 1855, 3,218,154 tons of pig-iron, of value £8,045,385; 1864, 4,767,951 tons, of value £11,919,877. In 1854 the length of the railroads worked in the United Kingdom was 8,054 miles, with a paid-up capital of £286,068,794; in 1864 the length was 12,789 miles, with capital paid up of £425,719,613. In 1854 the total sum of the exports and imports, of the United Kingdom was

[1] *Census, &c.*, l. c., p. 29. John Bright's assertion that 150 landlords own half of England, and 12 half the Scotch soil, has never been refuted.

[2] "Fourth Report, &c., of Inland Revenue," Lond., 1860, p. 17.

[3] These are the net incomes after certain legally authorised abatements.

£268,210,145; in 1865, £489,993,285. The following table shows the movement of the exports:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1847 | £58,842,377 |
| 1849 | 63,596,025 |
| 1856 | 115,826,948 |
| 1860 | 135,842,817 |
| 1865 | 165,862,402 |
| 1866 | 118,917,536[1] [527] |

After these few examples one understands the cry of triumph of the Registrar-General [404] of the British people:

"Rapidly as the population has increased, it has not kept pace with the progress of industry and wealth."[2]

Let us turn now to the direct agents of this industry, or the producers of this wealth, to the working class.

"It is one of the most melancholy features in the social state of this country," says Gladstone, "that while there was a decrease in the consuming powers of the people, and while there was an increase in the privations and distress of the labouring class and operatives, there was at the same time a constant accumulation of wealth in the upper classes, and a constant increase of capital."[3]

Thus spake this unctuous minister in the House of Commons on February 13th, 1843. On April 16th, 1863, 20 years later, in the speech in which he introduced his Budget:

"From 1842 to 1852 the taxable income of the country increased by 6 per cent.... In the 8 years from 1853 to 1861 it had increased from the basis taken in 1853 by 20 per cent.! The fact is so astonishing as to be almost incredible ... this intoxicating augmen-

[1] At this moment, March, 1867, the Indian and Chinese market is again overstocked by the consignments of the British cotton manufacturers. In 1866 a reduction in wages of 5 per cent. took place amongst the cotton operatives. In 1867, as consequence of a similar operation, there was a strike of 20,000 men at Preston. //*Added in the 4th German edition.*— That was the prelude to the crisis which broke out immediately afterwards.— *F. E.*// [528]

[2] *Census*, &*c.*, l. c., p. 11.

[3] Gladstone in the House of Commons, Feb. 13th, 1843. *Times*, Feb. 14th, 1843 [p.4, col. 1]. — "It is one of the most melancholy features in the social state of this country that we see, beyond the possibility of denial, that while there is at this moment a decrease in the consuming powers of the people, an increase of the pressure of privations and distress; there is at the same time a constant accumulation of wealth in the upper classes, an increase of the luxuriousness of their habits, and of their means of enjoyment" (Hansard, 13th Feb.).

tation of wealth and power ... entirely confined to classes of property ... must be of indirect benefit to the labouring population, because it cheapens the commodities of general consumption. While the rich have been growing richer, the poor have been growing less poor. At any rate, whether the extremes of poverty are less, I do not presume to say."[1] [a]

How lame an anti-climax! If the working class has remained "poor", only "less poor" in proportion as it produces for the wealthy class "an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power", then it has remained relatively just as poor. If the extremes of poverty have not lessened, they have increased, because the extremes of wealth have. As to the cheapening of the means of subsistence, the official statistics, e. g., the accounts of the London Orphan Asylum, show an increase in price of 20% for the average of the three years 1860-1862, compared with 1851-1853.[529] In the following three years, 1863-1865, there was a progressive rise in the price of meat, butter, milk, sugar, salt, coals, and a number of other necessary means of subsistence.[2] Gladstone's next Budget speech of April 7th, 1864, is a Pindaric dithyrambus on the advance of surplus-value-making and the happiness of the people "tempered by poverty". He speaks of masses "on the border" of pauperism, of branches of trade in which "wages have not increased", and finally sums up the happiness of the working class in the words:

"human life is but, in nine cases out of ten, a struggle for existence."[3]

[1] Gladstone in the House of Commons, April 16th, 1863. *Morning Star*, April 17th [p. 6, col. 2].

[2] See the official accounts in the Blue Book: *Miscellaneous Statistics of the United Kingdom*, Part vi, London, 1866, pp. 260-73, passim. Instead of the statistics of orphan asylums, &c., the declamations of the ministerial journals in recommending dowries for the Royal children might also serve. The greater dearness of the means of subsistence is never forgotten there.

[3] Gladstone, House of Commons, 7th April, 1864.— "The Hansard version runs: 'Again, and yet more at large — what is human life, but, in the majority of cases, a struggle for existence'.[530] The continual crying contradictions in Gladstone's Budget speeches of 1863 and 1864 were characterised by an English writer by the following quotation from N. Boileau-Despréaux [Satire 8]:

"Such is the man: he goes from black to white.
He condemns in the morning what he felt in the evening.
A nuisance to everyone else, and an inconvenience to himself,
he changes his way of thinking as easily as he changes his way of dressing."
([H. Roy,] *The Theory of Exchanges, &c.*, London, 1864, p. 135.)

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[a] See this volume, pp. 38-42.

Professor Fawcett, not bound like Gladstone by official considerations, declares roundly:

"I do not, of course, deny that money wages have been augmented by this increase of capital (in the last ten years), but this apparent advantage is to a great extent lost, because many of the necessaries of life are becoming dearer" (he believes because of the fall in value of the precious metals)... "the rich grow rapidly richer, whilst there is no perceptible advance in the comfort enjoyed by the industrial classes.... They" (the labourers) "become almost the slaves of the tradesman, to whom they owe money." [1]

In the chapters on the "working day" and "machinery", the reader has seen under what circumstances the British working class created an "intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power" for the propertied classes. There we were chiefly concerned with the social functioning of the labourer. But for a full elucidation of the law of accumulation, his condition outside the workshop must also be looked at, his condition as to food and dwelling. The limits of this book compel us to concern ourselves chiefly with the worst paid part of the industrial proletariat, and with the agricultural labourers, who together form the majority of the working class.

But first, one word on official pauperism, or on that part of the working class which has forfeited its condition of existence (the sale of labour power), and vegetates upon public alms. The official list of paupers numbered in England [2] 851,369 persons; in 1856, 877,767; in 1865, 971,433. In consequence of the cotton famine, it grew in the years 1863 and 1864 to 1,142,624 and 1,009,289.[531] The crisis of 1866, which fell most heavily on London, created in this centre of the world market, more populous than the kingdom of Scotland, an increase of pauperism for the year 1866 of 19.5% compared with 1865, and of 24.4% compared with 1864, and a still greater increase for the first months of 1867 as compared with 1866. From the analysis of the statistics of pauperism, two points are to be taken. On the one hand, the fluctuation up and down of the number of paupers, reflects the periodic changes of the industrial cycle. On the other, the official statistics become more and more misleading as to the actual extent of pauperism in proportion as, with the accumulation of capital, the class struggle, and, therefore, the class consciousness of the working men, develop. E. g., the barbarity in the treatment of the paupers, at

[1] H. Fawcett, l. c., pp. 67, 82. As to the increasing dependence of labourers on the retail shopkeepers, this is the consequence of the frequent oscillations and interruptions of their employment.

[2] Wales here is always included in England.

which the English Press (*The Times, Pall Mall Gazette*, etc.) have cried out so loudly during the last two years, is of ancient date. F. Engels showed in 1844 exactly the same horrors, exactly the same transient canting outcries of "sensational literature".[532] But frightful increase of "deaths by starvation"[a] in London during the last ten years proves beyond doubt the growing horror in which the working people hold the slavery of the workhouse,[193] that place of punishment for misery.[1)]

### *(b.) The Badly Paid Strata of the British Industrial Class*

During the cotton famine of 1862, Dr. Smith was charged by the Privy Council[183] with an inquiry into the conditions of nourishment of the distressed operatives in Lancashire and Cheshire. His observations during many preceding years had led him to the conclusion that "to avert starvation diseases", the daily food of an average woman ought to contain at least 3,900 grains of carbon with 180 grains of nitrogen; the daily food of an average man, at least 4,300 grains of carbon with 200 grains of nitrogen; for women, about the same quantity of nutritive elements as are contained in 2 lbs of good wheaten bread, for men $\frac{1}{9}$ more; for the weekly average of adult men and women, at least 28,600 grains of carbon and 1,330 grains of nitrogen. His calculation was practically confirmed in a surprising manner by its agreement with the miserable quantity of nourishment to which want had forced down the consumption of the cotton operatives. This was, in December, 1862, 29,211 grains of carbon, and 1,295 grains of nitrogen weekly.[534]

In the year 1863, the Privy Council ordered an inquiry into the state of distress of the worst-nourished part of the English working class. Dr. Simon, medical officer to the Privy Council, chose for this work the above-mentioned Dr. Smith. His inquiry ranges on the one hand over the agricultural labourers, on the other, over silk-weavers, needle-women, kid-glovers, stocking-weavers, glove-weavers, and

[1)] A peculiar light is thrown on the advance made since the time of Adam Smith, by the fact that by him the word "workhouse" is still occasionally used as synonymous with "manufactory"; e. g., the opening of his chapter on the division of labour: "those employed in every different branch of the work can often be collected into the same workhouse."[533]

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[a] See this volume, p. 475.

shoemakers. The latter categories are, with the exception of the stocking-weavers, exclusively town-dwellers. It was made a rule in the inquiry to select in each category the most healthy families, and those comparatively in the best circumstances.

As a general result it was found that

"in only one of the examined classes of in-door operatives did the average nitrogen-supply just exceed, while in another it nearly reached, the estimated standard of bare sufficiency //i. e., sufficient to avert starvation diseases//, and that in two classes there was defect — in one, a very large defect — of both nitrogen and carbon. Moreover, as regards the examined families of the agricultural population, it appeared that more than a fifth were with less than the estimated sufficiency of carbonaceous food, that more than one-third were with less than the estimated sufficiency of nitrogenous food, and that in three counties (Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Somersetshire), insufficiency of nitrogenous food was the average local diet."[1]

Among the agricultural labourers, those of England, the wealthiest part of the United Kingdom, were the worst fed.[2] The insufficiency of food among the agricultural labourers, fell, as a rule, chiefly on the women and children, for "the man must eat to do his work".[535] Still greater penury ravaged the town workers examined.

"They are so ill fed that assuredly among them there must be many cases of severe and injurious privation."[3]

("Privation" of the capitalist all this! i. e., "abstinence" from paying for the means of subsistence absolutely necessary for the mere vegetation of his "hands".)

The following table shows the conditions of nourishment of the above-named categories of purely town-dwelling workpeople, as compared with the minimum assumed by Dr. Smith, and with the food allowance of the cotton operatives during the time of their greatest distress:

| Both sexes | Average weekly carbon | Average weekly nitrogen |
|---|---|---|
| Five in-door occupations . . . . . | 28,876 grains | 1,192 grains |
| Unemployed Lancashire Operatives . . | 28,211 " | 1,295 " |
| Minimum quantity to be allowed to the Lancashire Operatives, equal number of males and females . . . . . | 28,600 " | 1,330 "[4] |

[1] "Public Health. Sixth Report, 1864," p. 13.
[2] l. c., p. 17.
[3] l. c., p. 13.
[4] l. c., Appendix, p. 232.

One half, or $\frac{60}{125}$ of the industrial labour categories investigated, had absolutely no beer, 28% no milk. The weekly average of the liquid means of nourishment in the families varied from seven ounces in the needle-women to 24 $\frac{3}{4}$ ounces in the stocking-makers. The majority of those who did not obtain milk were needle-women in London. The quantity of bread-stuffs consumed weekly varied from 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs for the needle-women to 11$\frac{1}{4}$ lbs for the shoemakers, and gave a total average of 9.9 lbs per adult weekly. Sugar (treacle, etc.) varied from 4 ounces weekly for the kid-glovers to 11 ounces for the stocking-makers; and the total average per week for all categories was 8 ounces per adult weekly. Total weekly average of butter (fat, etc.) 5 ounces per adult. The weekly average of meat (bacon, etc.) varied from 7$\frac{1}{4}$ ounces for the silk-weavers, to 18$\frac{1}{4}$ ounces for the kid-glovers; total average for the different categories 13.6 ounces. The weekly cost of food per adult, gave the following average figures; silk-weavers 2s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., needle-women 2s. 7d., kid-glovers 2s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., shoemakers 2s. 7$\frac{3}{4}$ d., stocking-weavers 2s. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. For the silk-weavers of Macclesfield the average was only ls. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. The worst categories were the needle-women, silk-weavers and kid-glovers.[1] Of these facts, Dr. Simon in his General Health Report says:

"That cases are innumerable in which defective diet is the cause or the aggravator of disease, can be affirmed by any one who is conversant with poor law medical practice, or with the wards and out-patient rooms of hospitals.... Yet in this point of view, there is, in my opinion, a very important sanitary context to be added. It must be remembered that privation of food is very reluctantly borne, and that as a rule great poorness of diet will only come when other privations have preceded it. Long before insufficiency of diet is a matter of hygienic concern, long before the physiologist would think of counting the grains of nitrogen and carbon which intervene between life and starvation, the household will have been utterly destitute of material comfort; clothing and fuel will have been even scantier than food — against inclemencies of weather there will have been no adequate protection — dwelling space will have been stinted to the degree in which overcrowding produces or increases disease; of household utensils and furniture there will have been scarcely any — even cleanliness will have been found costly or difficult, and if there still be self-respectful endeavours to maintain it, every such endeavour will represent additional pangs of hunger. The home, too, will be where shelter can be cheapest bought; in quarters where commonly there is least fruit of sanitary supervision, least drainage, least scavenging, least suppression of public nuisances, least or worst water supply, and, if in town, least light and air. Such are the sanitary dangers to which poverty is almost certainly exposed, when it is poverty enough to imply scantiness of food. And while the sum of them is of terrible magnitude against

[1] l. c., pp. 232, 233.

life, the mere scantiness of food is in itself of very serious moment.... These are painful reflections, especially when it is remembered that the poverty to which they advert is not the deserved poverty of idleness. In all cases it is the poverty of working populations. Indeed, as regards the in-door operatives, the work which obtains the scanty pittance of food, is for the most part excessively prolonged. Yet evidently it is only in a qualified sense that the work can be deemed self-supporting.... And on a very large scale the nominal self-support can be only a circuit, longer or shorter, to pauperism."[1]

The intimate connexion between the pangs of hunger of the most industrious layers of the working class, and the extravagant consumption, coarse or refined, of the rich, for which capitalist accumulation is the basis, reveals itself only when the economic laws are known. It is otherwise with the "housing of the poor". Every unprejudiced observer sees that the greater the centralisation of the means of production, the greater is the corresponding heaping together of the labourers, within a given space; that therefore the swifter capitalistic accumulation, the more miserable are the dwellings of the working people. "Improvements" of towns, accompanying the increase of wealth, by the demolition of badly built quarters, the erection of palaces for banks, warehouses, &c., the widening of streets for business traffic, for the carriages of luxury, and for the introduction of tramways, &c., drive away the poor into even worse and more crowded hiding places. On the other hand, every one knows that the dearness of dwellings is in inverse ratio to their excellence, and that the mines of misery are exploited by house speculators with more profit or less cost than ever were the mines of Potosi[536] The antagonistic character of capitalist accumulation, and therefore of the capitalistic relations of property generally,[2] is here so evident, that even the official English reports on this subject teem with heterodox onslaughts on "property and its rights". With the development of industry, with the accumulation of capital, with the growth and "improvement" of towns, the evil makes such progress that the mere fear of contagious diseases which do not spare even "respectability", brought into existence from

[1] l. c., pp. 14, 15.

[2] "In no particular have the rights of *persons* been so avowedly and shamefully sacrificed to the rights of *property* as in regard to the lodging of the labouring class. Every large town may be looked upon as a place of human sacrifice, a shrine where thousands pass yearly through the fire as offerings to the moloch of avarice," S. Laing, l. c., p. 150.

1847 to 1864 no less than 10 Acts of Parliament on sanitation,[537] and that the frightened bourgeois in some towns, as Liverpool, Glasgow, &c., took strenuous measures through their municipalities. Nevertheless Dr. Simon, in his report of 1865, says:

"Speaking generally, it may be said that the evils are uncontrolled in England."[538]

By order of the Privy Council, in 1864, an inquiry was made into the conditions of the housing of the agricultural labourers, in 1865 of the poorer classes in the towns. The results of the admirable work of Dr. Julian Hunter are to be found in the seventh (1865) and eighth (1866) reports on "Public Health". To the agricultural labourers, I shall come later. On the condition of town dwellings, I quote, as preliminary, a general remark of Dr. Simon.

"Although my official point of view," he says, "is one exclusively physical, common humanity requires that the other aspect of this evil should not be ignored.... In its higher degrees it //i. e., overcrowding// almost necessarily involves such negation of all delicacy, such unclean confusion of bodies and bodily functions, such exposure of animal and sexual nakedness, as is rather bestial than human. To be subject to these influences is a degradation which must become deeper and deeper for those on whom it continues to work. To children who are born under its curse, it must often be a very baptism into infamy. And beyond all measure hopeless is the wish that persons thus circumstanced should ever in other respects aspire to that atmosphere of civilisation which has its essence in physical and moral cleanliness."[1]

London takes the first place in overcrowded habitations, absolutely unfit for human beings.

"He feels clear," says Dr. Hunter, "on two points; first, that there are about 20 large colonies in London, of about 10,000 persons each, whose miserable condition exceeds almost anything he has seen elsewhere in England, and is almost entirely the result of their bad house accommodation; and second, that the crowded and dilapidated condition of the houses of these colonies is much worse than was the case 20 years ago."[2] "It is not too much to say that life in parts of London and Newcastle is infernal."[3]

[1] "Public Health. Eighth Report, 1866," p. 14, note.

[2] l. c., p. 89. With reference to the children in these colonies, Dr. Hunter says: "People are not now alive to tell us how children were brought up before this age of dense agglomerations of poor began, and he would be a rash prophet who should tell us what future behaviour is to be expected from the present growth of children, who, under circumstances probably never before paralleled in this country, are now completing their education for future practice, as 'dangerous classes' by sitting up half the night with persons of every age, half naked, drunken, obscene, and quarrelsome" (l. c., p. 56).

[3] l. c., p. 62.

Further, the better-off part of the working class, together with the small shopkeepers and other elements of the lower middle class, falls in London more and more under the curse of these vile conditions of dwelling, in proportion as "improvements", and with them the demolition of old streets and houses, advance, as factories and the afflux of human beings grow in the metropolis, and finally as house rents rise with the ground rents.

"Rents have become so heavy that few labouring men can afford more than one room." [1]

There is almost no house property in London that is not overburdened with a number of middlemen. For the price of land in London is always very high in comparison with its yearly revenue, and therefore every buyer speculates on getting rid of it again at a jury price (the expropriation valuation fixed by jurymen), or on pocketing an extraordinary increase of value arising from the neighbourhood of some large establishment. As a consequence of this there is a regular trade in the purchase of "fag-ends of leases".

"Gentlemen in this business may be fairly expected to do as they do — get all they can from the tenants while they have them, and leave as little as they can for their successors." [2]

The rents are weekly, and these gentlemen run no risk. In consequence of the making of railroads in the City,

"the spectacle has lately been seen in the East of London of a number of families wandering about some Saturday night with their scanty worldly goods on their backs, without any resting place but the workhouse." [3]

The workhouses are already overcrowded, and the "improvements" already sanctioned by Parliament are only just begun. If labourers are driven away by the demolition of their old houses, they do not leave their old parish, or at most they settle down on its borders, as near as they can get to it.

"They try, of course, to remain as near as possible to their workshops. The inhabitants do not go beyond the same or the next parish, parting their two-room tenements into single rooms, and crowding even those. ... Even at an advanced rent, the people who are displaced will hardly be able to get an accommodation so good as the meagre one they have left. ... Half the workmen ... of the Strand ... walked two miles to their work." [4]

[1] "Report of the Officer of Health of St. Martins-in-the-Fields, 1865."[539]
[2] "Public Health. Eighth Report, 1865," p. 91.
[3] l. c., p. 88.
[4] l. c., p. 88.

This same Strand, a main thoroughfare which gives strangers an imposing idea of the wealth of London, may serve as an example of the packing together of human beings in that town. In one of its parishes, the Officer of Health reckoned 581 persons per acre, although half the width of the Thames was reckoned in. It will be self-understood that every sanitary measure, which, as has been the case hitherto in London, hunts the labourers from one quarter, by demolishing uninhabitable houses, serves only to crowd them together yet more closely in another.

"Either," says Dr. Hunter, "the whole proceeding will of necessity stop as an absurdity, or the public compassion (!) be effectually aroused to the obligation which may now be without exaggeration called national, of supplying cover to those who by reason of their having no capital, cannot provide it for themselves, though they can by periodical payments reward those who will provide it for them." [1]

Admire this capitalistic justice! The owner of land, of houses, the businessman, when expropriated by "improvements" such as railroads, the building of new streets, &c., not only receives full indemnity. He must, according to law, human and divine, be comforted for his enforced "abstinence" over and above this by a thumping profit. The labourer, with his wife and child and chattels, is thrown out into the street, and—if he crowds in too large numbers towards quarters of the town where the vestries insist on decency, he is prosecuted in the name of sanitation!

Except London, there was at the beginning of the 19th century no single town in England of 100,000 inhabitants. Only five had more than 50,000. Now there are 28 towns with more than 50,000 inhabitants.

"The result of this change is not only that the class of town people is enormously increased, but the old close-packed little towns are now centres, built round on every side, open nowhere to air, and being no longer agreeable to the rich are abandoned by them for the pleasanter outskirts. The successors of these rich are occupying the larger houses at the rate of a family to each room //... and find accommodation for two or three lodgers ...// and a population, for which the houses were not intended and quite unfit, has been created, whose surroundings are truly degrading to the adults and ruinous to the children." [2]

The more rapidly capital accumulates in an industrial or commercial town, the more rapidly flows the stream of exploitable human

[1] l. c., p. 89.
[2] l. c., p. 56.

material, the more miserable are the improvised dwellings of the labourers.

Newcastle-on-Tyne, as the centre of a coal and iron district of growing productiveness, takes the next place after London in the housing inferno. Not less than 34,000 persons live there in single rooms. Because of their absolute danger to the community, houses in great numbers have lately been destroyed by the authorities in Newcastle and Gateshead. The building of new houses progresses very slowly, business very quickly. The town was, therefore, in 1865, more full than ever. Scarcely a room was to let. Dr. Embleton, of the Newcastle Fever Hospital, says:

"There can be little doubt that the great cause of the continuance and spread of the typhus has been the overcrowding of human beings, and the uncleanliness of their dwellings. The rooms, in which labourers in many cases live, are situated in confined and unwholesome yards or courts, and for space, light, air, and cleanliness, are models of insufficiency and insalubrity, and a disgrace to any civilised community; in them men, women, and children lie at night huddled together; and as regards the men, the night-shift succeeds the day-shift, and the day-shift the night-shift in unbroken series for some time together, the beds having scarcely time to cool; the whole house badly supplied with water and worse with privies; dirty, unventilated, and pestiferous." [1]

The price per week of such lodgings ranges from 8d. to 3s.

"The town of Newcastle-on-Tyne," says Dr. Hunter, "contains a sample of the finest tribe of our countrymen, often sunk by external circumstances of house and street into an almost savage degradation." [2]

As a result of the ebbing and flowing of capital and labour, the state of the dwellings of an industrial town may today be bearable, tomorrow hideous. Or the ædileship of the town may have pulled itself together for the removal of the most shocking abuses. Tomorrow, like a swarm of locusts, come crowding in masses of ragged Irishmen or decayed English agricultural labourers. They are stowed away in cellars and lofts, or the hitherto respectable labourer's dwelling is transformed into a lodging-house whose *personnel* changes as quickly as the billets in the 30 years' war.[540] Example: Bradford (Yorkshire). There the municipal philistine was just busied with urban improvements. Besides, there were still in Bradford, in 1861, 1,751 uninhabited houses. But now comes that revival of trade which the mildly liberal Mr. Forster, the negro's friend, recently crowed over with so much grace.[541] With the revival of trade came of course an overflow from

[1] l. c., p. 149 [note].
[2] l. c., p. 50.

the waves of the ever fluctuating "reserve army" or "relative surplus population". The frightful cellar habitations and rooms registered in the list,[1] which Dr. Hunter obtained from the agent of an Insurance Company, were for the most part inhabited by well-paid labourers. They declared that they would willingly pay for better dwellings if they were to be had. Meanwhile, they become degraded, they fall ill, one and all, whilst the mildly liberal Forster, M. P., sheds tears over the blessings of Free-trade, and the profits of the eminent men of Bradford who deal in worsted. In the Report of September, 1865, Dr. Bell, one of the poor law doctors of Bradford, ascribes the frightful mortality of fever-patients in his district to the nature of their dwellings.

"In one small cellar measuring 1,500 cubic feet ... there are ten persons.... Vincent Street, Green Aire Place, and the Leys include 223 houses having 1,450 inhabitants, 435 beds, and 36 privies.... The beds—and in that term I include any roll of dirty old

[1] COLLECTING AGENTS' LIST (BRADFORD)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Houses* | |
| Vulcan Street, No. 122 | 1 room | 16 persons |
| Lumley Street, No. 13 | 1 " | 11 " |
| Bower Street, No. 41 | 1 " | 11 " |
| Portland Street, No. 112 | 1 " | 10 " |
| Hardy Street, No. 17 | 1 " | 10 " |
| North Street, No. 18 | 1 " | 16 " |
| North Street, No. 17 | 1 " | 13 " |
| Wymer Street, No. 19 | 1 " | 8 adults |
| Jowett Street, No. 56 | 1 " | 12 persons |
| George Street, No. 150 | 1 " | 3 families |
| Rifle Court Marygate, No. 11 | 1 " | 11 persons |
| Marshall Street, No. 28 | 1 " | 10 " |
| Marshall Street, No. 49 | 3 " | 3 families |
| George Street, No. 128 | 1 " | 18 persons |
| George Street, No. 130 | 1 " | 16 " |
| Edward Street, No. 4 | 1 " | 17 " |
| George Street, No. 49 | 1 " | 2 families |
| York Street, No. 34 | 1 " | 2 " |
| Salt Pie Street (bottom) | 2 " | 26 persons |
| | *Cellars* | |
| Regent Square | 1 cellar | 8 persons |
| Acre Street | 1 " | 7 " |
| 33 Roberts Court | 1 " | 7 " |
| Back Pratt Street, used as a brazier's shop | 1 " | 7 " |
| 27 Ebenezer Street | 1 " | 6 " |
| | l. c., p. iii. | (no male above 18). |

rags, or an armful of shavings — have an average of 3.3 persons to each, many have 5 and 6 persons to each, and some people, I am told, are absolutely without beds; they sleep in their ordinary clothes, on the bare boards — young men and women, married and unmarried, all together. I need scarcely add that many of these dwellings are dark, damp, dirty, stinking holes, utterly unfit for human habitations; they are the centres from which disease and death are distributed amongst those in better circumstances, who have allowed them thus to fester in our midst."[1]

Bristol takes the third place after London in the misery of its dwellings.

"Bristol, where the blankest poverty and domestic misery abound in the wealthiest town of Europe."[2]

### *(c.) The Nomad Population*

We turn now to a class of people whose origin is agricultural, but whose occupation is in great part industrial. They are the light infantry of capital, thrown by it, according to its needs, now to this point, now to that. When they are not on the march, they "camp". Nomad labour is used for various operations of building and draining, brick-making, lime-burning, railway-making, &c.[542] A flying column of pestilence, it carries into the places in whose neighbourhood it pitches its camp, small-pox, typhus, cholera, scarlet fever, &c.[3] In undertakings that involve much capital outlay, such as railways, &c., the contractor himself generally provides his army with wooden huts and the like, thus improvising villages without any sanitary provisions, outside the control of the local boards, very profitable to the contractor, who exploits the labourers in two-fold fashion — as soldiers of industry and as tenants. According as the wooden hut contains 1, 2, or 3 holes, its inhabitant, navvy, or whatever he may be, has to pay 2, 3, or 4 shillings weekly.[4] One example will suffice. In September, 1864, Dr. Simon reports that the Chairman of the Nuisances Removal Committee of the parish of Sevenoaks sent the following denunciation to Sir George Grey, Home Secretary: —

"Small-pox cases were rarely heard of in this parish until about twelve months ago. Shortly before that time, the works for a railway from Lewisham to Tunbridge were

[1] l. c., p. 114.
[2] l. c., p. 50.
[3] "Public Health. Seventh Report, 1864, " p. 18.
[4] l. c., p. 165.

commenced here, and, in addition to the principal works being in the immediate neighbourhood of this town, here was also established the depôt for the whole of the works, so that a large number of persons was of necessity employed here. As cottage accommodation could not be obtained for them all, huts were built in several places along the line of the works by the contractor, Mr. Jay, for their especial occupation. These huts possessed no ventilation nor drainage, and, besides, were necessarily overcrowded, because each occupant had to accommodate lodgers, whatever the number in his own family might be, although there were only two rooms to each tenement. The consequences were, according to the medical report we received, that in the night-time these poor people were compelled to endure all the horror of suffocation to avoid the pestiferous smells arising from the filthy, stagnant water, and the privies close under their windows. Complaints were at length made to the Nuisances Removal Committee by a medical gentleman who had occasion to visit these huts, and he spoke of their condition as dwellings in the most severe terms, and he expressed his fears that some very serious consequences might ensue, unless some sanitary measures were adopted. About a year ago, Mr. Jay promised to appropriate a hut, to which persons in his employ, who were suffering from contagious diseases, might at once be removed. He repeated that promise on the 23rd July last, but although since the date of the last promise there have been several cases of small-pox in his huts, and two deaths from the same disease, yet he has taken no steps whatever to carry out his promise. On the 9th September instant, Mr. Kelson, surgeon, reported to me further cases of small-pox in the same huts, and he described their condition as most disgraceful. I should add, for your (the Home Secretary's) information that an isolated house, called the Pest-house, which is set apart for parishioners who might be suffering from infectious diseases, has been continually occupied by such patients for many months past, and is also now occupied; that in one family five children died from small-pox and fever; that from the 1st April to the 1st September this year, a period of five months, there have been no fewer than ten deaths from small-pox in the parish, four of them being in the huts already referred to; that it is impossible to ascertain the exact number of persons who have suffered from that disease although they are known to be many, from the fact of the families keeping it as private as possible."[1]

The labourers in coal and other mines belong to the best paid categories of the British proletariat. The price at which they buy their wages was shown on an earlier page.[2] Here I merely cast a hurried

[1] l. c., p. 18, note.—The Relieving Officer of the Chapel-en-le-Frith Union reported to the Registrar-General as follows: — "At Doveholes, a number of small excavations have been made into a large hillock of lime ashes (the refuse of lime-kilns), and which are used as dwellings, and occupied by labourers and others employed in the construction of a railway now in course of construction through that neighbourhood. The excavations are small and damp, and have no drains or privies about them, and not the slightest means of ventilation except up a hole pulled through the top, and used for a chimney. In consequence of this defect, small-pox has been raging for some time, and some deaths //amongst the troglodytes// have been caused by it" (l. c., note 2).

[2] The details given at the end of Part IV [this volume, pp. 497-504] refer especially to the labourers in coal mines. On the still worse condition in metal mines, see the very conscientious Report of the Royal Commission of 1864.[543]

glance over the conditions of their dwellings. As a rule, the exploiter of a mine, whether its owner or his tenant, builds a number of cottages for his hands. They receive cottages and coal for firing "for nothing" — i. e., these form part of their wages, paid in kind. Those who are not lodged in this way receive in compensation £4 per annum. The mining districts attract with rapidity a large population, made up of the miners themselves, and the artisans, shopkeepers, &c., that group themselves around them. The ground rents are high, as they are generally where population is dense. The master tries, therefore, to run up, within the smallest space possible at the mouth of the pit, just so many cottages as are necessary to pack together his hands and their families. If new mines are opened in the neighbourhood, or old ones are again set working, the pressure increases. In the construction of the cottages, only one point of view is of moment, the "abstinence" of the capitalist from all expenditure that is not absolutely unavoidable.

"The lodging which is obtained by the pitman and other labourers connected with the collieries of Northumberland and Durham," says Dr. Julian Hunter, "is perhaps, on the whole, the worst and the dearest of which any large specimens can be found in England, the similar parishes of Monmouthshire excepted.... The extreme badness is in the high number of men found in one room, in the smallness of the ground plot on which a great number of houses are thrust, the want of water, the absence of privies, and the frequent placing of one house on the top of another, or distribution into flats, ... the lessee acts as if the whole colony were encamped, not resident." [1]

"In pursuance of my instructions," says Dr. Stevens, "I visited most of the large colliery villages in the Durham Union. ... With very few exceptions, the general statement that no means are taken to secure the health of the inhabitants would be true of all of them.... All colliers are bound //'bound,' an expression which, like bondage,[a] dates from the age of serfdom// to the colliery lessee or owner for twelve months.... If the colliers express discontent, or in any way annoy the 'viewer', a mark of memorandum is made against their names, and, at the annual 'binding', such men are turned off.... It appears to me that no part of the 'truck system' could be worse than what obtains in these densely-populated districts. The collier is bound to take as part of his hiring a house surrounded with pestiferous influences; he cannot help himself, and it appears doubtful whether anyone else can help him except his proprietor (he is, to all intents and purposes, a serf), and his proprietor first consults his balance-sheet, and the result is tolerably certain. The collier is also often supplied with water by the proprietor, which, whether it be good or bad, he has to pay for, or rather he suffers a deduction for from his wages." [2]

[1] l. c., pp. 180, 182.
[2] l. c., pp. 515, 517.

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[a] See this volume, p. 577, footnote 2.

In conflict with "public opinion", or even with the Officers of Health, capital makes no difficulty about "justifying" the conditions partly dangerous, partly degrading, to which it confines the working and domestic life of the labourer, on the ground that they are necessary for profit. It is the same thing when capital "abstains" from protective measures against dangerous machinery in the factory, from appliances for ventilation and for safety in mines, &c. It is the same here with the housing of the miners. Dr. Simon, medical officer of the Privy Council,[183] in his official report says:

"In apology for the wretched household accommodation ... it is alleged that miners are commonly worked on lease; that the duration of the lessee's interest (which in collieries is commonly for 21 years), is not so long that he should deem it worth his while to create good accommodation for his labourers, and for the tradespeople and others whom the work attracts; that even if he were disposed to act liberally in the matter, this disposition would commonly be defeated by his landlord's tendency to fix on him, as ground rent, an exorbitant additional charge for the privilege of having on the surface of the ground the decent and comfortable village which the labourers of the subterranean property ought to inhabit, and that prohibitory price (if not actual prohibition) equally excludes others who might desire to build. It would be foreign to the purpose of this report to enter upon any discussion of the merits of the above apology. Nor here is it even needful to consider where it would be that, if decent accommodation were provided, the cost ... would eventually fall — whether on landlord, or lessee, or labourer, or public. But in presence of such shameful facts as are vouched for in the annexed reports" (those of Dr. Hunter, Dr. Stevens, &c.) "a remedy may well be claimed. ... Claims of landlordship are being so used as to do great public wrong. The landlord in his capacity of mine-owner invites an industrial colony to labour on his estate, and then in his capacity of surface-owner makes it impossible that the labourers whom he collects, should find proper lodging where they must live. The lessee" (the capitalist exploiter) "meanwhile has no pecuniary motive for resisting that division of the bargain; well knowing that if its latter conditions be exorbitant, the consequences fall, not on him, that his labourers on whom they fall have not education enough to know the value of their sanitary rights, that neither obscenest lodging nor foulest drinking water will be appreciable inducements towards a 'strike.'"[1]

### *(d.) Effect of Crises on the Best Paid Part of the Working Class*

Before I turn to the regular agricultural labourers, I may be allowed to show, by one example, how industrial revulsions affect even the best-paid, the aristocracy, of the working class. It will be remembered that the year 1857 brought one of the great crises with which the industrial cycle periodically ends. The next termination of the cy-

[1] l.c., p. 16.

cle was due in 1866. Already discounted in the regular factory districts by the cotton famine, which threw much capital from its wonted sphere into the great centres of the money market, the crisis assumed, at this time, an especially financial character. Its outbreak in 1866 was signalised by the failure of a gigantic London Bank,[544] immediately followed by the collapse of countless swindling companies. One of the great London branches of industry involved in the catastrophe was iron shipbuilding. The magnates of this trade had not only overproduced beyond all measure during the overtrading time, but they had, besides, engaged in enormous contracts on the speculation that credit would be forthcoming to an equivalent extent. Now, a terrible reaction set in, that even at this hour (the end of March, 1867) continues in this and other London industries.[1] To show the condition of the labourers, I quote the following from the circumstantial report of a correspondent of the *Morning Star*, who, at the end of 1866, and beginning of 1867, visited the chief centres of distress:

"In the East End districts of Poplar, Millwall, Greenwich, Deptford, Limehouse and Canning Town, at least 15,000 workmen and their families were in a state of utter destitution, and 3,000 skilled mechanics were breaking stones in the workhouse yard" (after distress of over half a year's duration).... "I had great difficulty in reaching the workhouse door, for a hungry crowd besieged it.... They were waiting for their tickets, but the time had not yet arrived for the distribution. The yard was a great square place with an open shed running all round it, and several large heaps of snow covered the paving-stones in the middle. In the middle, also, were little wicker-fenced spaces, like sheep pens, where in finer weather the men worked; but on the day of my visit the pens were so snowed up that nobody could sit in them. Men were busy, however, in the open shed breaking paving-stones into macadam. Each man had a big paving-stone for a seat, and he chipped away at the rime-covered granite with a big hammer until he had broken up, and think! five bushels of it, and then he had done his day's work, and got his day's pay — threepence and an allowance of food. In another part of the yard was a rickety little wooden house, and when we opened the door of it, we found it filled

[1] "Wholesale starvation of the London Poor.... Within the last few days the walls of London have been placarded with large posters, bearing the following remarkable announcement: — 'Fat oxen! Starving men! The fat oxen from their palace of glass have gone to feed the rich in their luxurious abode, while the starving men are left to rot and die in their wretched dens.' The placards bearing these ominous words are put up at certain intervals. No sooner has one set been defaced or covered over, than a fresh set is placarded in the former, or some equally public place.... This ... reminds one of the secret revolutionary associations which prepared the French people for the events of 1789[545].... At this moment, while English workmen with their wives and children are dying of cold and hunger, there are millions of English gold — the produce of English labour — being invested in Russian, Spanish, Italian, and other foreign enterprises.—" *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 20th, 1867 [p. 1, col. 1].

with men who were huddled together shoulder to shoulder for the warmth of one another's bodies and breath. They were picking oakum and disputing the while as to which could work the longest on a given quantity of food — for endurance was the point of honour. Seven thousand ... in this one workhouse [193] ... were recipients of relief ... many hundreds of them ... it appeared, were, six or eight months ago, earning the highest wages paid to artisans.... Their number would be more than doubled by the count of those who, having exhausted all their savings, still refuse to apply to the parish, because they have a little left to pawn. Leaving the workhouse, I took a walk through the streets, mostly of little one-storey houses, that abound in the neighbourhood of Poplar. My guide was a member of the Committee of the Unemployed.... My first call was on an ironworker who had been seven and twenty weeks out of employment. I found the man with his family sitting in a little back room. The room was not bare of furniture, and there was a fire in it. This was necessary to keep the naked feet of the young children from getting frost bitten, for it was a bitterly cold day. On a tray in front of the fire lay a quantity of oakum, which the wife and children were picking in return for their allowance from the parish. The man worked in the stone yard of the workhouse for a certain ration of food, and threepence per day. He had now come home to dinner quite hungry, as he told us with a melancholy smile, and his dinner consisted of a couple of slices of bread and dripping, and a cup of milkless tea.... The next door at which we knocked was opened by a middle-aged woman, who, without saying a word, led us into a little back parlour, in which sat all her family, silent and fixedly staring at a rapidly dying fire. Such desolation, such hopelessness was about these people and their little room, as I should not care to witness again. 'Nothing have they done, sir,' said the woman, pointing to her boys, 'for six and twenty weeks; and all our money gone — all the twenty pounds that me and father saved when times were better, thinking it would yield a little to keep us when we got past work. Look at it,' she said, almost fiercely, bringing out a bank-book with all its well-kept entries of money paid in, and money taken out, so that we could see how the little fortune had begun with the first five shilling deposit, and had grown by little and little to be twenty pounds, and how it had melted down again till the sum in hand got from pounds to shillings, and the last entry made the book as worthless as a blank sheet. This family received relief from the workhouse, and it furnished them with just one scanty meal per day. ... Our next visit was to an iron labourer's wife, whose husband had worked in the yards. We found her ill from want of food, lying on a mattress in her clothes, and just covered with a strip of carpet, for all the bedding had been pawned. Two wretched children were tending her, themselves looking as much in need of nursing as their mother. Nineteen weeks of enforced idleness had brought them to this pass, and while the mother told the history of that bitter past, she moaned as if all her faith in a future that should atone for it were dead. ... On getting outside a young fellow came running after us, and asked us to step inside his house and see if anything could be done for him. A young wife, two pretty children, a cluster of pawn-tickets, and a bare room were all he had to show." [546]

On the after pains of the crisis of 1866, the following extract from a Tory newspaper. It must not be forgotten that the East-end of London, which is here dealt with, is not only the seat of the iron shipbuilding mentioned above, but also of a so-called "home industry" always underpaid.

"A frightful spectacle was to be seen yesterday in one part of the metropolis. Although the unemployed thousands of the East-end did not parade with their black flags *en masse*, the human torrent was imposing enough. Let us remember what these people suffer. They are dying of hunger. That is the simple and terrible fact. There are 40,000 of them. ... In our presence, in one quarter of this wonderful metropolis, are packed — next door to the most enormous accumulation of wealth the world ever saw — cheek by jowl with this are 40,000 helpless, starving people. These thousands are now breaking in upon the other quarters; always half-starving, they cry their misery in our ears, they cry to Heaven, they tell us from their miserable dwellings, that it is impossible for them to find work, and useless for them to beg. The local ratepayers themselves are driven by the parochial charges to the verge of pauperism."— (*Standard*, 5th April, 1867.)

As it is the fashion amongst English capitalists to quote Belgium as the Paradise of the labourer because "freedom of labour", or what is the same thing, "freedom of capital", is there limited neither by the despotism of Trades' Unions, nor by Factory Acts, a word or two on the "happiness" of the Belgian labourer. Assuredly no one was more thoroughly initiated in the mysteries of this happiness than the late M. Ducpétiaux, inspector-general of Belgian prisons and charitable institutions, and member of the central commission of Belgian statistics. Let us take his work: "Budgets économiques des classes ouvrières de la Belgique," Bruxelles, 1855. Here we find among other matters, a normal Belgian labourer's family, whose yearly income and expenditure he calculates on very exact data, and whose conditions of nourishment are then compared with those of the soldier, sailor, and prisoner. The family "consists of father, mother, and four children". Of these 6 persons "four may be usefully employed the whole year through". It is assumed that "there is no sick person nor one incapable of work, among them", nor are there "expenses for religious, moral, and intellectual purposes, except a very small sum for church sittings", nor "contributions to savings banks or benefit societies", nor "expenses due to luxury or the result of improvidence". The father and eldest son, however, allow themselves "the use of tobacco", and on Sundays "go to the *cabaret*", for which a whole 86 centimes a week are reckoned.

"From a general compilation of wages allowed to the labourers in different trades, it follows that the highest average of daily wage is 1 franc 56c., for men, 89 centimes for women, 56 centimes for boys, and 55 centimes for girls. Calculated at this rate, the resources of the family would amount, at the maximum, to 1,068 francs a-year. ... In the family ... taken as typical we have calculated all possible resources. But in ascribing wages to the mother of the family we *raise the question of the direction of the household.* How will its internal economy be cared for? Who will look after the young children? Who will get ready the meals, do the washing and mending? This is the dilemma incessantly presented to the labourers."

According to this the budget of the family is:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The father | 300 working days at fr. | 1.56... | | fr. 468 |
| " mother | " " " " " | 89... | | " 267 |
| " boy | " " " " " | 56... | | " 168 |
| " girl | " " " " " | 55... | | " 165 |
| | | Total | | fr. 1,068 |

The annual expenditure of the family would cause a deficit upon the hypothesis that the labourer has the food of:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| The man of war's man | fr. 1,828 | Deficit fr. | 760 |
| " soldier | " 1,473 | " | 405 |
| " prisoner | " 1,112 | " | 44 |

"We see that few labouring families can reach, we will not say the average of the sailor or soldier, but even that of the prisoner. The general average (of the cost of each prisoner in the different prisons during the period 1847-1849), has been 63 centimes for all prisons. This figure, compared with that of the daily maintenance of the labourer, shows a difference of 13 centimes. It must be remarked further, that if in the prisons it is necessary to set down in the account the expenses of administration and surveillance, on the other hand, the prisoners have not to pay for their lodging; that the purchases they make at the canteens are not included in the expenses of maintenance, and that these expenses are greatly lowered in consequence of the large number of persons that make up the establishments, and of contracting for or buying wholesale, the food and other things that enter into their consumption. ... How comes it, however, that a great number, we might say, a great majority, of labourers, live in a more economical way? It is ... by adopting expedients, the secret of which only the labourer knows; by reducing his daily rations; by substituting rye-bread for wheat; by eating less meat, or even none at all, and the same with butter and condiments; by contenting themselves with one or two rooms where the family is crammed together, where boys and girls sleep side by side, often on the same pallet; by economy of clothing, washing, decency; by giving up the Sunday diversions; by, in short, resigning themselves to the most painful privations. Once arrived at this extreme limit, the least rise in the price of food, stoppage of work, illness, increases the labourer's distress and determines his complete ruin; debts accumulate, credit fails, the most necessary clothes and furniture are pawned, and finally, the family asks to be enrolled on the list of paupers" (Ducpétiaux, l. c., pp. 151-56).

In fact, in this "Paradise of capitalists" there follows, on the smallest change in the price of the most essential means of subsistence, a change in the number of deaths and crimes! (See Manifesto of the Maatschappij: "De Vlamingen Vooruit!" Brussels, 1860, pp. 13, 14.) In all Belgium are 930,000 families, of whom, according to the official statistics, 90,000 are wealthy and on the list of voters = 450,000 persons; 390,000 families of the lower middle-class in towns and villages, the greater part of them constantly sinking into the proletar-

iat, = 1,950,000 persons. Finally, 450,000 working-class families = 2,250,000 persons, of whom the model ones enjoy the happiness depicted by Ducpétiaux. Of the 450,000 working-class families, over 200,000 are on the pauper list.[547]

### *(e.) The British Agricultural Proletariat*

Nowhere does the antagonistic character of capitalistic production and accumulation assert itself more brutally than in the progress of English agriculture (including cattle-breeding) and the retrogression of the English agricultural labourer. Before I turn to his present situation, a rapid retrospect. Modern agriculture dates in England from the middle of the 18th century, although the revolution in landed property, from which the changed mode of production starts as a basis, has a much earlier date.

If we take the statements of Arthur Young, a careful observer, though a superficial thinker, as to the agricultural labourer of 1771,[548] the latter plays a very pitiable part compared with his predecessor of the end of the 14th century,

> "when the labourer ... could live in plenty, and accumulate wealth,"[1]

not to speak of the 15th century, "the golden age of the English labourer in town and country".[a] We need not, however, go back so far. In a very instructive work of the year 1777 we read:

> "The great farmer is nearly mounted to a level with him" (the gentleman); "while the poor labourer is depressed almost to the earth. His unfortunate situation will fully appear, by taking a comparative view of it, only forty years ago, and at present.... Landlord and tenant ... have both gone hand in hand in keeping the labourer down."[2]

It is then proved in detail that the real agricultural wages between 1737 and 1777 fell nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ or 25 per cent.[549]

[1] James E. Thorold Rogers (Prof. of Polit. Econ. in the University of Oxford), *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, Oxford, 1866, v. 1, pp. 689-90. This work, the fruit of patient and diligent labour, contains in the two volumes that have so far appeared, only the period from 1259 to 1400. The second volume contains simply statistics. It is the first authentic *History of Prices* of the time that we possess.

[2] *Reasons for the Late Increase of the Poor-Rates: or a comparative view of the prices of labour and provisions*, Lond., 1777, pp. 5, 11.

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[a] See this volume, p. 709.

"Modern policy," says Dr. Richard Price also, "is, indeed, more favourable to the higher classes of people; and the consequences may in time prove that the whole kingdom will consist of only gentry and beggars, or of grandees and slaves."[1]

Nevertheless, the position of the English agricultural labourer from 1770 to 1780, with regard to his food and dwelling, as well as to his self-respect, amusements, &c., is an ideal never attained again since that time. His average wage expressed in pints of wheat was from 1770 to 1771, 90 pints, in Eden's time (1797) only 65, in 1808 but 60.[2]

The state of the agricultural labourer at the end of the Anti-Jacobin War,[464] during which landed proprietors, farmers, manufacturers, merchants, bankers, stockbrokers, army-contractors, &c., enriched themselves so extraordinarily, has been already indicated above. The nominal wages rose in consequence partly of the bank-note depreciation, partly of a rise in the price of the primary means of subsistence independent of this depreciation. But the actual wage variation can be evidenced in a very simple way, without entering into details that are here unnecessary. The Poor Law[550] and its administration were in 1795 and 1814 the same. It will be remembered how this law was carried out in the country districts: in the form of alms the parish made up the nominal wage to the nominal sum required for the simple vegetation of the labourer. The ratio between the wages paid by the farmer, and the wage deficit made good by the parish, shows us two things. First, the falling of wages below their minimum; second, the degree in which the agricultural labourer was a compound of wage labourer and pauper, or the degree in which he had been turned into a serf of his parish. Let us take one county that represents the average condition of things in all counties. In Northamptonshire, in 1795, the average weekly wage was 7s. 6d.; the total yearly expenditure of a family of 6 persons, £36 12s. 5d.; their total income, £29 18s.; deficit made good by the parish, £6 14s. 5d. In 1814, in the same county, the weekly wage was 12s. 2d.; the total yearly expenditure of a family of 5 persons, £54 18s. 4d.; their total

[1] Dr. Richard Price, *Observations on Reversionary Payments*, 6th Ed. By W. Morgan, Lond., 1803, v. II, p. 158. Price remarks on p. 159: "The nominal price of day labour is at present no more than about four times, or, at most, five times higher than it was in the year 1514. But the price of corn is seven times, and of flesh-meat and raiment about fifteen times higher. So far, therefore, has the price of labour been even from advancing in proportion to the increase in the expenses of living, that it does not appear that it bears now half the proportion to those expenses that it did bear."

[2] Barton, l. c., p. 26. For the end of the 18th century cf. Eden, l. c.

income, £36 2s.; deficit made good by the parish, £18 6s. 4d.[1] In 1795 the deficit was less than $\frac{1}{4}$ the wage, in 1814, more than half. It is self-evident that, under these circumstances, the meagre comforts that Eden still found in the cottage of the agricultural labourer, had vanished by 1814.[2] Of all the animals kept by the farmer, the labourer, the *instrumentum vocale*,[a] was, thenceforth, the most oppressed, the worst nourished, the most brutally treated.

The same state of things went on quietly until

"the Swing riots, [194] in 1830, revealed to us" (i. e., the ruling classes) "by the light of blazing corn-stacks, that misery and black mutinous discontent smouldered quite as fiercely under the surface of agricultural as of manufacturing England."[3]

At this time, Sadler, in the House of Commons, christened the agricultural labourers "white slaves", and a Bishop echoed the epithet in the Upper House.[551] The most notable political economist of that period — E. G. Wakefield says:

"The peasant of the South of England ... is not a freeman, nor is he a slave; he is a pauper."[4]

The time just before the repeal of the Corn Laws [21] threw new light on the condition of the agricultural labourers. On the one hand, it was to the interest of the middle-class agitators to prove how little the Corn Laws protected the actual producers of the corn. On the other hand, the industrial bourgeoisie foamed with sullen rage at the denunciations of the factory system by the landed aristocracy, at the pretended sympathy with the woes of the factory operatives, of those utterly corrupt, heartless, and genteel loafers, and at their "diplomatic zeal" for factory legislation. It is an old English proverb that "when thieves fall out, honest men come by their own", and, in fact, the noisy, passionate quarrel between the two fractions of the ruling class about the question, which of the two exploited the labourers the more shamefully, was on each hand the midwife of the truth. Earl Shaftesbury, then Lord Ashley, was commander-in-chief in the aristocratic, philanthropic, anti-factory campaign.[552] He was, therefore, in 1845, a favourite subject in the revelations of the *Morning Chronicle*

[1] Parry, l. c., [*The Question of the Necessity*..., Ld., 1816,] p. 80.
[2] id., p. 213.
[3] S. Laing, l. c., p. 62.
[4] *England and America*, Lond., 1833, Vol. I, p. 47.

[a] See this volume, p. 207.

on the condition of the agricultural labourers. This journal, then the most important Liberal organ, sent special commissioners into the agricultural districts, who did not content themselves with mere general descriptions and statistics, but published the names both of the labouring families examined and of their landlords. The following list gives the wages paid in three villages in the neighbourhood of Blanford, Wimbourne, and Poole. The villages are the property of Mr. G. Bankes and of the Earl of Shaftesbury. It will be noted that, just like Bankes, this "low church pope", [553] this head of English pietists, pockets a great part of the miserable wages of the labourers under the pretext of house rent: —

FIRST VILLAGE

| (a) Children | (b) Number of Members in Family | (c) Weekly Wage of the Men | (d) Weekly Wage of the Children | (e) Weekly Income of the whole Family | (f) Weekly Rent | (g) Total weekly wage after deduction of Rent | (h) Weekly Income per head |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | s. d. | | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. |
| 2 | 4 | 8 0 | — | 8 0 | 2 0 | 6 0 | 1 6 |
| 3 | 5 | 8 0 | — | 8 0 | 1 6 | 6 6 | 1 3½ |
| 2 | 4 | 8 0 | — | 8 0 | 1 0 | 7 0 | 1 9 |
| 2 | 4 | 8 0 | — | 8 0 | 1 0 | 7 0 | 1 9 |
| 6 | 8 | 7 0 | 1s. 6d. | 10 6 | 2 0 | 8 6 | 1 0¾ |
| 3 | 5 | 7 0 | 2s. | 7 0 | 1 4 | 5 8 | 1 1½ |

SECOND VILLAGE

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | s. d. | | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. |
| 6 | 8 | 7 0 | 1s. 6d. | 10 0 | 1 6 | 8 6 | 1 0¾ |
| 6 | 8 | 7 0 | 1s. 6d. | 7 0 | 1 3½ | 5 8½ | 0 8½ |
| 8 | 10 | 7 0 | — | 7 0 | 1 3½ | 5 8½ | 0 7 |
| 4 | 6 | 7 0 | — | 7 0 | 1 6½ | 5 5½ | 0 11 |
| 3 | 5 | 7 0 | — | 7 0 | 1 6½ | 5 5½ | 1 1 |

THIRD VILLAGE

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | s. d. | | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. |
| 4 | 6 | 7 0 | — | 7 0 | 1 0 | 6 0 | 1 0 |
| 3 | 5 | 7 0 | 2s. | 11 6 | 0 10 | 10 8 | 2 1½ |
| 0 | 2 | 5 0 | 2s.6d. | 5 0 | 1 0 | 4 0 | 2 0[1] |

[1] London *Economist*, March 29th, 1845, p. 290.

The repeal of the Corn Laws gave a marvellous impulse to English agriculture.[1] Drainage on the most extensive scale, new methods of stall-feeding, and of the artificial cultivation of green crops, introduction of mechanical manuring apparatus, new treatment of clay soils, increased use of mineral manures, employment of the steam-engine, and of all kinds of new machinery, more intensive cultivation generally, characterised this epoch. Mr. Pusey, Chairman of the Royal Agricultural Society, declares that the (relative) expenses of farming have been reduced nearly one half by the introduction of new machinery.[554] On the other hand, the actual return of the soil rose rapidly. Greater outlay of capital per acre, and, as a consequence, more rapid concentration of farms, were essential conditions of the new method.[2] At the same time, the area under cultivation increased, from 1846 to 1856, by 464,119 acres, without reckoning the great area in the Eastern Counties which was transformed from rabbit warrens and poor pastures into magnificent corn-fields. It has already been seen that, at the same time, the total number of persons employed in agriculture fell. As far as the actual agricultural labourers of both sexes and of all ages are concerned, their number fell from 1,241,269, in 1851, to 1,163,227 in 1861.[3] If the English Registrar-General, therefore, rightly remarks:

"The increase of farmers and farm-labourers, since 1801, bears no kind of proportion ... to the increase of agricultural produce,"[4]

this disproportion obtains much more for the last period, when a positive decrease of the agricultural population went hand in hand with increase of the area under cultivation, with more intensive culti-

[1] The landed aristocracy advanced themselves to this end, of course per Parliament, funds from the State Treasury, at a very low rate of interest, which the farmers have to make good at a much higher rate.

[2] The decrease of the middle-class farmers can be seen especially in the census category: "Farmer's son, grandson, brother, nephew, daughter, grand-daughter, sister, niece"; in a word, the members of his own family, employed by the farmer. This category numbered, in 1851, 216,851 persons; in 1861, only 176,151. From 1851 to 1871, the farms under 20 acres fell by more than 900 in number; those between 50 and 75 acres fell from 8,253 to 6,370; the same thing occurred with all other farms under 100 acres. On the other hand, during the same twenty years, the number of large farms increased; those of 300-500 acres rose from 7,771 to 8,410, those of more than 500 acres from 2,755 to 3,914, those of more than 1,000 acres from 492 to 582.

[3] The number of shepherds increased from 12,517 to 25,559.[555]

[4] *Census*, l. c., p. 36.

vation, unheard-of accumulation of the capital incorporated with the soil, and devoted to its working, an augmentation in the products of the soil without parallel in the history of English agriculture, plethoric rent-rolls of landlords, and growing wealth of the capitalist farmers. If we take this, together with the swift, unbroken extension of the markets, viz., the towns, and the reign of Free-trade,[38] then the agricultural labourer was at last, *post tot discrimina rerum*,[a] placed in circumstances that ought, *secundum artem*,[b] to have made him drunk with happiness.

But Professor Rogers comes to the conclusion that the lot of the English agricultural labourer of to-day, not to speak of his predecessor in the last half of the 14th and in the 15th century, but only compared with his predecessor from 1770 to 1780,[5 6] has changed for the worse to an extraordinary extent, that "the peasant has again become a serf", and a serf worse fed and worse clothed.[1] Dr. Julian Hunter, in his epoch-making report on the dwellings of the agricultural labourers, says:

"The cost of the hind" (a name for the agricultural labourer, inherited from the time of serfdom) "is fixed at the lowest possible amount on which he can live ... the supplies of wages and shelter are not calculated on the profit to be derived from him. He is a zero in farming calculations....[2] The means //of subsistence// being always supposed to be a fixed quantity.[3] As to any further reduction of his income, he may say, *nihil habeo nihil curo*.[d] He has no fears for the future, because he has now only the spare supply necessary to keep him. He has reached the zero from which are dated the calculations of the farmer. Come what will, he has no share either in prosperity or adversity."[4]

In the year 1863, an official inquiry took place into the conditions of nourishment and labour of the criminals condemned to transportation and penal servitude. The results are recorded in two voluminous Blue Books.[9] Among other things it is said:

[1] Rogers, l. c., p. 693, p. 10. Mr. Rogers belongs to the Liberal School, is a personal friend of Cobden and Bright, and therefore no *laudator temporis acti*.[c]

[2] "Public Health. Seventh Report," 1865, p. 242. It is therefore nothing unusual either for the landlord to raise a labourer's rent as soon as he hears that he is earning a little more, or for the farmer to lower the wage of the labourer, "because his wife has found a trade", l. c.

[3] l. c., p. 135.

[4] l. c., p. 134.

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[a] after so many vicissitudes - [b] according to the orthodox rules - [c] singer of praise of time gone by (Horace, *Ars poetica*, 173). - [d] I have nothing and I do not care about anything.

"From an elaborate comparison between the diet of convicts in the convict prisons in England, and that of paupers in workhouses and of free labourers in the same country ... it certainly appears that the former are much better fed than either of the two other classes,"[1] whilst "the amount of labour required from an ordinary convict under penal servitude is about one half of what would be done by an ordinary day labourer.[2]

A few characteristic depositions of witnesses: John Smith, governor of the Edinburgh prison, deposes:

No. 5056. "The diet of the English prisons //is// superior to that of ordinary labourers in England." No. 5057. "It is the fact ... that the ordinary agricultural labourers in Scotland very seldom get any meat at all." Answer No. 3047. "Is there anything that you are aware of to account for the necessity of feeding them very much better than ordinary labourers? — Certainly not." No. 3048. "Do you think that further experiments ought to be made in order to ascertain whether a dietary might not be hit upon for prisoners employed on public works nearly approaching to the dietary of free labourers?..."[3] "He //the agricultural labourer// might say: 'I work hard, and have not enough to eat, and when in prison I did not work harder where I had plenty to eat, and therefore it is better for me to be in prison again than here.'"[4]

From the tables appended to the first volume of the Report I have compiled the annexed comparative summary.

WEEKLY AMOUNT OF NUTRIMENT

| | Quantity of Nitrogenous Ingredients | Quantity of Non-Nitrogenous Ingredients | Quantity of Mineral Matter | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Ounces* | *Ounces* | *Ounces* | *Ounces* |
| Portland (convict) . . . . | 28.95 | 150.06 | 4.68 | 183.69 |
| Sailor in the Navy . . . . | 29.63 | 152.91 | 4.52 | 187.06 |
| Soldier . . . . . | 25.55 | 114.49 | 3.94 | 143.98 |
| Working Coachmaker . . | 24.53 | 162.06 | 4.23 | 190.82 |
| Compositor . . . . . | 21.24 | 100.83 | 3.12 | 125.19 |
| Agricultural labourer . . | 17.73 | 118.06 | 3.29 | 139.08[5] |

The general result of the inquiry by the medical commission of 1863 on the food of the lowest fed classes, is already known to the reader. He will remember that the diet of a great part of the agricultural

[1] *Report of the Commissioners ... Relating to Transportation and Penal Servitude*, Lond., 1863, p. 42, n. 50.
[2] l. c., p. 77. "Memorandum by the Lord Chief Justice."
[3] l. c., Vol. II, *Minutes of Evidence* [pp. 418, 239].
[4] l. c., Vol. I, Appendix, p. 280.
[5] l. c., pp. 274, 275.

labourers' families is below the minimum necessary "to arrest starvation diseases". This is especially the case in all the purely rural districts of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Wilts, Stafford, Oxford, Berks, and Herts.

"The nourishment obtained by the labourer himself," says Dr. E. Smith, "is larger than the average quantity indicates, since he eats a larger share ... necessary to enable him to perform his labour ... of food than the other members of the family, including in the poorer districts nearly all the meat and bacon.... The quantity of food obtained by the wife and also by the children at the period of rapid growth, is in many cases, in almost every county, deficient, and particularly in nitrogen." [1]

The male and female servants living with the farmers themselves are sufficiently nourished. Their number fell from 288,272 in 1851, to 204,962 in 1861.[555]

"The labour of women in the fields," says Dr. Smith, "whatever may be its disadvantages, ... *is under present circumstances of great advantage to the family, since it* adds that amount of income which ... provides shoes and clothing and pays the rent, and thus enables the family to be better fed." [2]

One of the most remarkable results of the inquiry was that the agricultural labourer of England, as compared with other parts of the United Kingdom, "is considerably the worst fed", as the appended table shows:

Quantities of Carbon and Nitrogen weekly consumed by an average agricultural adult:

| | Carbon, grains | Nitrogen, grains |
|---|---|---|
| England . . . . . | 40,673 | 1,594 |
| Wales . . . . . | 48,354 | 2,031 |
| Scotland . . . . . | 48,980 | 2,348 |
| Ireland . . . . . | 43,366 | 2,434[3] |

[1] "Public Health. Sixth Report," 1864, pp. 238, 249, 261, 262.

[2] l. c., p. 262.

[3] l. c., p. 17. The English agricultural labourer receives only 1/4 as much milk, and 1/2 as much bread as the Irish. Arthur Young in his *Tour in Ireland*, at the beginning of this century, already noticed the better nourishment of the latter. The reason is simply this, that the poor Irish farmer is incomparably more humane than the rich English. As regards Wales, that which is said in the text holds only for the south-west. All the doctors there agree that the increase of the death-rate through tuberculosis, scrofula, etc., increases in intensity with the deterioration of the physical condition of the population, and all ascribe this deterioration to poverty. "His" (the farm labourer's) "keep is reckoned at about five pence a day, but in many districts it was said to be of much less

"To the insufficient quantity and miserable quality of the house accommodation generally had," says Dr. Simon, in his official Health Report, "by our agricultural labourers, almost every page of Dr. Hunter's report bears testimony. And gradually, for many years past, the state of the labourer in these respects has been deteriorating, house-room being now greatly more difficult for him to find, and, when found, greatly less suitable to his needs than, perhaps, for centuries had been the case. Especially within the last twenty or thirty years, the evil has been in very rapid increase, and the household circumstances of the labourer are now in the highest degree deplorable. Except in so far as they whom his labour enriches, see fit to treat him with a kind of pitiful indulgence, he is quite peculiarly helpless in the matter. Whether he shall find house-

cost to the farmer" //himself very poor//.... "A morsel of the salt meat or bacon, ... salted and dried to the texture of mahogany, and hardly worth the difficult process of assimilation ... is used to flavour a large quantity of broth or gruel, of meal and leeks, and day after day this is the labourer's dinner." The advance of industry resulted for him, in this harsh and damp climate, in "the abandonment of the solid homespun clothing in favour of the cheap and so-called cotton goods", and of stronger drinks for so-called tea. "The agriculturist, after several hours' exposure to wind and rain, gains his cottage to sit by a fire of peat or of balls of clay and small coal kneaded together, from which volumes of carbonic and sulphurous acids are poured forth. His walls are of mud and stones, his floor the bare earth which was there before the hut was built, his roof a mass of loose and sodden thatch. Every crevice is stopped to maintain warmth, and in an atmosphere of diabolic odour, with a mud floor, with his only clothes drying on his back, he often sups and sleeps with his wife and children. Obstetricians who have passed parts of the night in such cabins have described how they found their feet sinking in the mud of the floor, and they were forced (easy task) to drill a hole through the wall to effect a little private respiration. It was attested by numerous witnesses in various grades of life, that to these insanitary influences, and many more, the underfed peasant was nightly exposed, and of the result, a debilitated and scrofulous people, there was no want of evidence.... The statements of the relieving officers of Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire show in a striking way the same state of things. There is besides "a plague more horrible still, the great number of idiots". Now a word on the climatic conditions. "A strong south-west wind blows over the whole country for 8 or 9 months in the year, bringing with it torrents of rain, which discharge principally upon the western slopes of the hills. Trees are rare, except in sheltered places, and where not protected, are blown out of all shape. The cottages generally crouch under some bank, or often in a ravine or quarry, and none but the smallest sheep and native cattle can live on the pastures.... The young people migrate to the eastern mining districts of Glamorgan and Monmouth. Carmarthenshire is the breeding ground of the mining population and their hospital. The population can therefore barely maintain its numbers." Thus in Cardiganshire:

| | 1851. | 1861. |
|---|---|---|
| Males . . . . . | 45,155 | 44,446 |
| Females . . . . . | 52,459 | 52,955 |
| | 97,614 | 97,401 |

Dr. Hunter's Report in "Public Health. Seventh Report, 1864", pp. 498-502, passim.

room on the land which he contributes to till, whether the house-room which he gets shall be human or swinish, whether he shall have the little space of garden that so vastly lessens the pressure of his poverty—all this does not depend on his willingness and ability to pay reasonable rent for the decent accommodation he requires, but depends on the use which others may see fit to make of their 'right to do as they will with their own'. However large may be a farm, there is no law that a certain proportion of labourers' dwellings (much less of decent dwellings) shall be upon it; nor does any law reserve for the labourer ever so little right in that soil to which his industry is as needful as sun and rain. ... An extraneous element weighs the balance heavily against him ... the influence of the Poor Law in its provisions concerning settlement and chargeability.[1] Under this influence, each parish has a pecuniary interest in reducing to a minimum the number of its resident labourers:—for, unhappily, agricultural labour instead of implying a safe and permanent independence for the hardworking labourer and his family, implies for the most part only a longer or shorter circuit to eventual pauperism—a pauperism which, during the whole circuit, is so near, that any illness or temporary failure of occupation necessitates immediate recourse to parochial relief—and thus all residence of agricultural population in a parish is glaringly an addition to its poor rates.... Large proprietors[2] ... have but to resolve that there shall be no labourers' dwellings on their estates, and their estates will thenceforth be virtually free from half their responsibility for the poor. How far it has been intended, in the English constitution and law, that this kind of unconditional property in land should be acquirable, and that a landlord 'doing as he wills with his own', should be able to treat the cultivators of the soil as aliens, whom he may expel from his territory, is a question which I do not pretend to discuss.... For that (power) of eviction ... does not exist only in theory. On a very large scale it prevails in practice—prevails ... as a main governing condition in the household circumstances of agricultural labour.... As regards the extent of the evil, it may suffice to refer to the evidence which Dr. Hunter has compiled from the last census, that destruction of houses, notwithstanding increased local demands for them, had, during the last ten years, been in progress in 821 separate parishes or townships of England, so that irrespectively of persons who had been forced to become non-resident (that is in the parishes in which they work), these parishes and townships were receiving in 1861, as compared with 1851, a population $5\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. greater, into house-room $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. less. ... When the process of depopulation has completed itself, the result, says Dr. Hunter, is a show-village where the cottages have been reduced to a few, and where none but persons who are needed as shepherds, gardeners, or gamekeepers, are allowed to live; regular servants who receive the good treatment usual to their class.[3] But the land requires cultivation, and it will be found that the labourers

[1] In 1865 this law was improved to some extent.[557] It will soon be learnt from experience that tinkering of this sort is of no use.

[2] In order to understand that which follows, we must remember that "Close Villages" are those whose owners are one or two large landlords. "Open villages," those whose soil belongs to many smaller landlords. It is in the latter that building speculators can build cottages and lodging-houses.

[3] A show-village of this kind looks very nice, but is as unreal as the villages that Catherine II saw on her journey to the Crimea.[558] In recent times the shepherd also has often been banished from these show-villages; e.g., near Market Harboro' is a sheep-farm of about 500 acres, which only employs the labour of one man. To reduce the long trudges over these wide plains, the beautiful pastures of Leicester and North-

employed upon it are not the tenants of the owner, but that they come from a neighbouring open village, perhaps three miles off, where a numerous small proprietary had received them when their cottages were destroyed in the close villages around. Where things are tending to the above result, often the cottages which stand, testify, in their unrepaired and wretched condition, to the extinction to which they are doomed. They are seen standing in the various stages of natural decay. While the shelter holds together, the labourer is permitted to rent it, and glad enough he will often be to do so, even at the price of decent lodging. But no repair, no improvement shall it receive, except such as its penniless occupants can supply. And when at last it becomes quite uninhabitable — uninhabitable even to the humblest standard of serfdom — it will be but one more destroyed cottage, and future poor rates will be somewhat lightened. While great owners are thus escaping from poor rates through the depopulation of lands over which they have control, the nearest town or open village receive the evicted labourers: the nearest, I say, but this "nearest" may mean three or four miles distant from the farm where the labourer has his daily toil. To that daily toil there will then have to be added, as though it were nothing, the daily need of walking six or eight miles for power of earning his bread. And whatever farmwork is done by his wife and children, is done at the same disadvantage. Nor is this nearly all the toil which the distance occasions him. In the open village, cottage speculators buy scraps of land, which they throng as densely as they can with the cheapest of all possible hovels. And into those wretched habitations (which, even if they adjoin the open country, have some of the worst features of the worst town residences) crowd the agricultural labourers of England.[1] ... Nor on the other hand must it be supposed that even when the labourer is housed upon the lands which he cultivates, his household circumstances are generally such as his life of

ampton, the shepherd used to get a cottage on the farm. Now they give him a thirteenth shilling a week for lodging, that he must find far away in an open village ["Public Health. Seventh Report, 1864", p. 137].

[1] "The labourers' houses" (in the open villages, which, of course, are always overcrowded) "are usually in rows, built with their backs against the extreme edge of the plot of land which the builder could call his, and on this account are not allowed light and air except from the front" (Dr. Hunter's Report, l. c. ["Public Health. Seventh Report, 1864", Ld., 1865], p. 135). Very often the beerseller or grocer of the village is at the same time the letter of its houses. In this case the agricultural labourer finds in him a second master, besides the farmer. He must be his customer as well as his tenant. "The hind with his 10s. a week, minus a rent of £4 a year ... is obliged to buy at the seller's own terms, his modicum of tea, sugar, flour, soap, candles, and beer" (l. c., p. 132). These open villages form, in fact, the "penal settlements" of the English agricultural proletariat. Many of the cottages are simply lodging-houses, through which all the rabble of the neighbourhood passes. The country labourer and his family who had often, in a way truly wonderful, preserved, under the foulest conditions, a thoroughness and purity of character, go, in these, utterly to the devil. It is, of course, the fashion amongst the aristocratic shylocks to shrug their shoulders pharisaically at the building speculators, the small landlords, and the open villages. They know well enough that their "close villages" and "show-villages" are the birth-places of the open villages, and could not exist without them. "The labourers ... were it not for the small owners, would, for by far the most part, have to sleep under the trees of the farms on which they work" (l. c., p. 135). The system of "open" and "closed" villages obtains in all the Midland counties and throughout the East of England.

productive industry would seem to deserve. Even on princely estates ... his cottage ... may be of the meanest description. There are landlords who deem any stye good enough for their labourer and his family, and who yet do not disdain to drive with him the hardest possible bargain for rent.[1] It may be but a ruinous one-bedroomed hut, having no fire-grate, no privy, no opening window, no water supply but the ditch, no garden — but the labourer is helpless against the wrong. ... And the Nuisances Removal Acts ... are ... a mere dead letter ... in great part dependent for their working on such cottage-owners as the one from whom his (the labourer's) hovel is rented.... From brighter, but exceptional scenes, it is requisite in the interests of justice, that attention should again be drawn to the overwhelming preponderance of facts which are a reproach to the civilisation of England. Lamentable indeed, must be the case, when, notwithstanding all that is evident with regard to the quality of the present accommodation, it is the common conclusion of competent observers that even the general badness of dwellings is an evil infinitely less urgent than their mere numerical insufficiency. For years the overcrowding of rural labourers' dwellings has been a matter of deep concern, not only to persons who care for sanitary good, but to persons who care for decent and moral life. For, again and again in phrases so uniform that they seem stereotyped, reporters on the spread of epidemic disease in rural districts, have insisted on the extreme importance of that overcrowding, as an influence which renders it a quite hopeless task, to attempt the limiting of any infection which is introduced. And again and again it has been pointed out that, notwithstanding the many salubrious influences which there are in country life, the crowding which so favours the extension of contagious disease, also favours the origination of disease which is not contagious. And those who have denounced the overcrowded state of our rural population have not been silent as to a further mischief. Even where their primary concern has been only with the injury to health, often almost perforce they have referred to other relations on the subject. In showing how frequently it happens that adult persons of both sexes, married and unmarried, are huddled together in single small sleeping rooms, their reports have carried the conviction that, under the circumstances they describe, decency must always be outraged, and morality almost of necessity must suffer.[2] Thus, for instance, in

[1] "The employer ... is ... directly or indirectly securing to himself the profit on a man employed at 10s. a week, and receiving from this poor hind £4 or £5 annual rent for houses not worth £20 in a really free market, but maintained at their artificial value by the power of the owner to say 'Use my house, or go seek a hiring elsewhere, without a character from me....' Does a man wish to better himself, to go as a platelayer on the railway, or to begin quarry-work, the same power is ready with "Work for me at this low rate of wages or begone at a week's notice; take your pig with you, and get what you can for the potatoes growing in your garden.' Should his interest appear to be better served by it, an enhanced rent is sometimes preferred in these cases by the owner (i. e., the farmer) as the penalty for leaving his service" (Dr. Hunter, l. c., p. 132).

[2] "New married couples are no edifying study for grown-up brothers and sisters; and though instances must not be recorded, sufficient data are remembered to warrant the remark, that great depression and sometimes death are the lot of the female participator in the offence of incest" (Dr. Hunter, l. c., p. 137). A member of the rural police who had for many years been a detective in the worst quarters of London, says of the girls of his village: "their boldness and shamelessness I never saw equalled during some years of police life and detective duty in the worst parts of London.... They live like

the appendix of my last annual report, Dr. Ord, reporting on an outbreak of fever at Wing, in Buckinghamshire, mentions how a young man who has come thither from Wingrave with fever, "in the first days of his illness slept in a room with nine other persons. Within a fortnight several of these persons were attacked, and in the course of a few weeks five out of the nine had fever, and one died...." From Dr. Harvey, of St. George's Hospital, who, on private professional business, visited Wing during the time of the epidemic, I received information exactly in the sense of the above report.... "A young woman having fever, lay at night in a room occupied by her father and mother, her bastard child, two young men (her brothers), and her two sisters, each with a bastard child — 10 persons in all. A few weeks ago 13 persons slept in it." [1]

Dr. Hunter investigated 5,375 cottages of agricultural labourers, not only in the purely agricultural districts, but in all counties of England. Of these, 2,195 had only one bedroom (often at the same time used as living-room), 2,930 only two, and 250, more than two.[559] I will give a few specimens culled from a dozen counties.

### *(1.) Bedfordshire*

*Wrestlingworth.* Bedrooms about 12 feet long and 10 broad, although many are smaller than this. The small, one-storied cots are often divided by partitions into two bedrooms, one bed frequently in a kitchen, 5 feet 6 inches in height. Rent, £3 a year. The tenants have to make their own privies, the landlord only supplies a hole. As soon as one has made a privy, it is made use of by the whole neighbourhood. One house, belonging to a family called Richardson, was of quite unapproachable beauty. "Its plaster walls bulged very like a lady's dress in a curtsey. One gable end was convex, the other concave, and on this last, unfortunately, stood the chimney, a curved tube of clay and wood like an elephant's trunk. A long stick served as prop to prevent the chimney from falling. The doorway and window were rhomboidal." Of 17 houses visited, only 4 had more than one bedroom, and those four overcrowded. The cots with one bedroom sheltered 3 adults and 3 children, a married couple with 6 children, &c.

*Dunton.* High rents, from £4 to £5; weekly wages of the man, 10s. They hope to pay the rent by the straw-plaiting of the family. The higher the rent, the greater the number that must work together to pay it. Six adults, living with 4 children in one sleeping apartment,

pigs, great boys and girls, mothers and fathers, all sleeping in one room, in many instances" ("Child. Empl. Com. Sixth Report, 1867," p. 77 sq. [No.] 155).

[1] "Public Health. Seventh Report, 1864," pp. 9-14, passim.

pay £3 10s. for it. The cheapest house in Dunton, 15 feet long externally, 10 broad, let for £3. Only one of the houses investigated had 2 bedrooms. A little outside the village, a house whose "tenants dunged against the house-side," the lower 9 inches of the door eaten away through sheer rottenness; the doorway, a single opening closed at night by a few bricks, ingeniously pushed up after shutting and covered with some matting. Half a window, with glass and frame, had gone the way of all flesh. Here, without furniture, huddled together were 3 adults and 5 children. Dunton is not worse than the rest of Biggleswade Union.

### *(2.) Berkshire*

*Beenham.* In June, 1864, a man, his wife and 4 children lived in a cot (one-storied cottage). A daughter came home from service with scarlet fever. She died. One child sickened and died. The mother and one child were down with typhus when Dr. Hunter was called in. The father and one child slept outside, but the difficulty of securing isolation was seen here, for in the crowded market of the miserable village lay the linen of the fever-stricken household, waiting for the wash. The rent of H.'s house, 1s. a-week; one bedroom for man, wife, and 6 children. One house let for 8d. a-week, 14 feet 6 inches long, 7 feet broad, kitchen, 6 feet high; the bedroom without window, fireplace, door, or opening, except into the lobby; no garden. A man lived here for a little while, with two grown-up daughters and one grown-up son; father and son slept on the bed, the girls in the passage. Each of the latter had a child while the family was living here, but one went to the workhouse for her confinement and then came home.

### *(3.) Buckinghamshire*

30 cottages — on 1,000 acres of land — contained here about 130-140 persons. The parish of *Bradenham* comprises 1,000 acres; it numbered, in 1851, 36 houses and a population of 84 males and 54 females. This inequality of the sexes was partly remedied in 1861, when they numbered 98 males and 87 females; increase in 10 years of 14 men and 33 women. Meanwhile, the number of houses was one less.

*Winslow.* Great part of this newly built in good style; demand

for houses appears very marked, since very miserable cots let at 1s. to 1s. 3d. per week.

*Water Eaton.* Here the landlords, in view of the increasing population, have destroyed about 20 per cent. of the existing houses. A poor labourer, who had to go about 4 miles to his work, answered the question, whether he could not find a cot nearer: "No; they know better than to take a man in with my large family."

*Tinker's End*, near Winslow. A bedroom in which were 4 adults and 5 children; 11 feet long, 9 feet broad, 6 feet 5 inches high at its highest part; another 11 feet 7 inches by 9 feet, 5 feet 10 inches high, sheltered 6 persons. Each of these families had less space than is considered necessary for a convict. No house had more than one bedroom, not one of them a back-door; water very scarce; weekly rent from 1s. 4d. to 2s. In 16 of the houses visited, only 1 man that earned 10s. a-week. The quantity of air for each person under the circumstances just described corresponds to that which he would have if he were shut up in a box of 4 feet measuring each way, the whole night. But then, the ancient dens afforded a certain amount of unintentional ventilation.

### *(4.) Cambridgeshire*

*Gamblingay* belongs to several landlords. It contains the wretchedest cots to be found anywhere. Much straw-plaiting. "A deadly lassitude, a hopeless surrendering up to filth," reigns in Gamblingay. The neglect in its centre, becomes mortification at its extremities, north and south, where the houses are rotting to pieces. The absentee landlords bleed this poor rookery too freely. The rents are very high; 8 or 9 persons packed in one sleeping apartment, in 2 cases 6 adults, each with 1 or 2 children in one small bedroom.

### *(5.) Essex*

In this county, diminutions in the number of persons and of cottages go, in many parishes, hand in hand. In not less than 22 parishes, however, the destruction of houses has not prevented increase of population, or has not brought about that expulsion which, under the name "migration to towns", generally occurs. In Fingringhoe, a par-

ish of 3,443 acres, were in 1851, 145 houses; in 1861, only 110. But the people did not wish to go away, and managed even to increase under these circumstances. In 1851, 252 persons inhabited 61 houses, but in 1861, 262 persons were squeezed into 49 houses. In Basildon, in 1851, 157 persons lived on 1,827 acres, in 35 houses; at the end of ten years, 180 persons in 27 houses. In the parishes of Fingringhoe, South Farnbridge, Widford, Basildon, and Ramsden Crags, in 1851, 1,392 persons were living on 8,449 acres in 316 houses; in 1861, on the same area, 1,473 persons in 249 houses.

### *(6.) Herefordshire*

This little county has suffered more from the "eviction-spirit" than any other in England. At Madley, overcrowded cottages generally, with only 2 bedrooms, belonging for the most part to the farmers. They easily let them for £3 or £4 a-year, and paid a weekly wage of 9s.

### *(7.) Huntingdon*

*Hartford* had, in 1851, 87 houses; shortly after this, 19 cottages were destroyed in this small parish of 1,720 acres; population in 1831, 452; in 1851, 382; and in 1861, 341. 14 cottages, each with 1 bedroom, were visited. In one, a married couple, 3 grown-up sons, 1 grown-up daughter, 4 children — in all 10; in another, 3 adults, 6 children. One of these rooms, in which 8 people slept, was 12 feet 10 inches long, 12 feet 2 inches broad, 6 feet 9 inches high: the average, without making any deduction for projections into the apartment, gave about 130 cubic feet per head. In the 14 sleeping rooms, 34 adults and 33 children. These cottages are seldom provided with gardens, but many of the inmates are able to farm small allotments at 10s. or 12s. per rood. These allotments are at a distance from the houses, which are without privies. The family "must either go to the allotment to deposit their ordures", or, as happens in this place, saving your presence, "use a closet with a trough set like a drawer in a chest of drawers, and drawn out weekly and conveyed to the allotment to be emptied where its contents were wanted". In Japan, the circle of life-conditions moves more decently than this.

### *(8.) Lincolnshire*

*Langtoft.* A man lives here, in Wright's house, with his wife, her mother, and 5 children; the house has a front kitchen, scullery, bedroom over the front kitchen; front kitchen and bedroom, 12 feet 2 inches by 9 feet 5 inches; the whole ground floor, 21 feet 2 inches by 9 feet 5 inches. The bedroom is a garret: the walls run together into the roof like a sugar-loaf, a dormer-window opening in front. "Why did he live here? On account of the garden? No; it is very small. Rent? High, 1s. 3d. per week. Near his work? No; 6 miles away, so that he walks daily, to and fro, 12 miles. He lived there, because it was a tenantable cot", and because he wanted to have a cot for himself alone, anywhere, at any price, and in any conditions. The following are the statistics of 12 houses in Langtoft, with 12 bedrooms; 38 adults, and 36 children.

TWELVE HOUSES IN LANGTOFT

| Houses | Bedrooms | Adults | Children | Number of Persons | Houses | Bedrooms | Adults | Children | Number of Persons |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. 1. | 1 | 3 | 5 | 8 | No. 7. | 1 | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| " 2. | 1 | 4 | 3 | 7 | " 8. | 1 | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| " 3. | 1 | 4 | 4 | 8 | " 9. | 1 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| " 4. | 1 | 5 | 4 | 9 | " 10. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| " 5. | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | " 11. | 1 | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| " 6. | 1 | 5 | 3 | 8 | " 12. | 1 | 2 | 4 | 6 |

### *(9.) Kent*

*Kennington*, very seriously overpopulated in 1859, when diphtheria appeared, and the parish doctor instituted a medical inquiry into the condition of the poorer classes. He found that in this locality, where much labour is employed, various cots had been destroyed and no new ones built. In one district stood four houses, named birdcages; each had 4 rooms of the following dimensions in feet and inches:

Kitchen: 9 ft. 5 by 8 ft. 11 by 6 ft. 6.
Scullery: 8 ft. 6 by 4 ft. 6 by 6 ft. 6.
Bedroom: 8 ft. 5 by 5 ft. 10 by 6 ft. 3.
Bedroom: 8 ft. 3 by 8 ft. 4 by 6 ft. 3.

### *(10.) Northamptonshire*

*Brixworth, Pitsford* and *Floore*: in these villages in the winter 20-30 men were lounging about the streets from want of work. The farmers do not always till sufficiently the corn and turnip lands, and the landlord has found it best to throw all his farms together into 2 or 3. Hence want of employment. Whilst on one side of the wall, the land calls for labour, on the other side the defrauded labourers are casting at it longing glances. Feverishly overworked in summer, and half-starved in winter, it is no wonder if they say in their peculiar dialect, "the parson and gentlefolk seem frit to death at them".

At Floore, instances, in one bedroom of the smallest size, of couples with 4, 5, 6 children; 3 adults with 5 children; a couple with grandfather and 6 children down with scarlet fever, &c.; in two houses with two bedrooms, two families of 8 and 9 adults respectively.

### *(11.) Wiltshire*

*Stratton*. 31 houses visited, 8 with only one bedroom. Penhill, in the same parish: a cot let as ls. 3d. weekly with 4 adults and 4 children, had nothing good about it, except the walls, from the floor of rough-hewn pieces of stones to the roof of worn-out thatch.

### *(12.) Worcestershire*

House-destruction here not quite so excessive; yet from 1851 to 1861, the number of inhabitants to each house on the average, has risen from 4.2 to 4.6.

*Badsey*. Many cots and little gardens here. Some of the farmers declare that the cots are "a great nuisance here, because they bring the poor". On the statement of one gentleman:

> "The poor are none the better for them; if you build 500 they will let fast enough, in fact, the more you build, the more they want"

(according to him the houses give birth to the inhabitants, who then by a law of Nature press on "the means of housing"). Dr. Hunter remarks:

> "Now these poor must come from somewhere, and as there is no particular attraction, such as doles, at Badsey, it must be repulsion from some other unfit place, which

will send them here. If each could find an allotment near his work, he would not prefer Badsey, where he pays for his scrap of ground twice as much as the farmer pays for his."

The continual emigration to the towns, the continual formation of surplus population in the country through the concentration of farms, conversion of arable land into pasture, machinery, &c., and the continual eviction of the agricultural population by the destruction of their cottages, go hand in hand. The more empty the district is of men, the greater is its "relative surplus population", the greater is their pressure on the means of employment, the greater is the absolute excess of the agricultural population over the means for housing it, the greater, therefore, in the villages is the local surplus population and the most pestilential packing together of human beings. The packing together of knots of men in scattered little villages and small country towns corresponds to the forcible draining of men from the surface of the land. The continuous superseding of the agricultural labourers, in spite of their diminishing number and the increasing mass of their products, gives birth to their pauperism. Their pauperism is ultimately a motive to their eviction and the chief source of their miserable housing which breaks down their last power of resistance, and makes them mere slaves of the landed proprietors and the farmers.[1] Thus the minimum of wages becomes a law of Nature to them. On the other hand, the land, in spite of its constant "relative surplus population", is at the same time underpopulated. This is seen, not only locally at the points where the efflux of men to towns, mines, railroad-making, &c., is most marked. It is to be seen everywhere, in harvest time as well as in spring and summer, at those frequently recurring times when English agriculture, so careful and intensive, wants extra hands. There are always too many agricultural labourers for the ordi-

[1] "The heaven-born employment of the hind [see this volume, pp. 672-73] gives dignity even to his position. He is not a slave, but a soldier of peace, and deserves his place in married men's quarters to be provided by the landlord, who has claimed a power of enforced labour similar to that the country demands of the soldier. He no more receives market price for his work than does the soldier. Like the soldier he is caught young, ignorant, knowing only his own trade, and his own locality. Early marriage and the operation of the various laws of settlement affect the one as enlistment and the Mutiny Act affect the other" (Dr. Hunter, l. c., p. 132). Sometimes an exceptionally soft-hearted landlord relents at the solitude he has created. "It is a melancholy thing to stand alone in one's country," said Lord Leicester, when complimented on the completion of Hookham. "I look around and not a house is to be seen but mine. I am the giant of Giant Castle, and have eat up all my neighbours" [l. c., p. 135].

nary, and always too few for the exceptional or temporary needs of the cultivation of the soil.[1] Hence we find in the official documents contradictory complaints from the same places of deficiency and excess of labour simultaneously. The temporary or local want of labour brings about no rise in wages, but a forcing of the women and children into the fields, and exploitation at an age constantly lowered. As soon as the exploitation of the women and children takes place on a larger scale, it becomes in turn a new means of making a surplus population of the male agricultural labourer and of keeping down his wage. In the east of England thrives a beautiful fruit of this vicious circle — the so-called gang system, to which I must briefly return here.[2]

The gang system obtains almost exclusively in the counties of Lincoln, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Nottingham, here and there in the neighbouring counties of Northampton, Bedford, and Rutland. Lincolnshire will serve us as an example. A large part of this county is new land, marsh formerly, or even, as in others of the eastern counties just named, won lately from the sea. The steam-engine has worked wonders in the way of drainage. What were once fens and sandbanks, bear now a luxuriant sea of corn and the highest of rents. The same thing holds of the alluvial lands won by

[1] A similar movement is seen during the last ten years in France; in proportion as capitalist production there takes possession of agriculture, it drives the "surplus" agricultural population into the towns. Here also we find deterioration in the housing and other conditions as the source of the surplus population. On the special "prolétariat foncier",[a] to which this system of parcelling out the land has given rise, see, among others, the work of Colins, already quoted, and Karl Marx, *Der Achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte,* 2nd edition, Hamburg, 1869, pp, 56, &c. [present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 187 sqq.]. In 1846, the town population in France was represented by 24.42, the agricultural by 75.58; in 1861, the town by 28.86, the agricultural by 71.14 per cent ["Public Health. Seventh Report...," p. 129]. During the last 5 years, the diminution of the agricultural percentage of the population has been yet more marked. As early as 1846, Pierre Dupont in his *Ouvriers* sang:

> Mal vêtus, logés dans des trous,
> Sous les combles, dans les décombres,
> Nous vivons avec les hiboux
> Et les larrons, amis des ombres.[b]

[2] "Sixth and last Report of the Children's Employment Commission", published at the end of March, 1867. It deals solely with the agricultural gang system.

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[a] landowning proletariat - [b] "Badly clothed, living in holes, under the eaves, in the ruins, with the owls and the thieves, companions of the shadows."

human endeavour, as in the island of Axholme and other parishes on the banks of the Trent. In proportion as the new farms arose, not only were no new cottages built: old ones were demolished, and the supply of labour had to come from open villages, miles away, by long roads that wound along the sides of the hills. There alone had the population formerly found shelter from the incessant floods of the winter time. The labourers that dwell on the farms of 400-1,000 acres (they are called "confined labourers") are solely employed on such kinds of agricultural work as is permament, difficult, and carried on by aid of horses. For every 100 acres there is, on an average, scarcely one cottage. A fen farmer, e. g., gave evidence before the Commission of Inquiry:

"I farm 320 acres, all arable land. I have not one cottage on my farm. I have only one labourer on my farm now. I have four horsemen lodging about. We get light work done by gangs." [1]

The soil requires much light field labour, such as weeding, hoeing, certain processes of manuring, removing of stones, &c. This is done by the gangs, or organised bands that dwell in the open villages.

The gang consists of 10 to 40 or 50 persons, women, young persons of both sexes (13-18 years of age, although the boys are for the most part eliminated at the age of 13), and children of both sexes (6-13 years of age). At the head is the gang master, always an ordinary agricultural labourer, generally what is called a bad lot, a scapegrace, unsteady, drunken, but with a dash of enterprise and *savoir faire*. He is the recruiting-sergeant for the gang, which works under him, not under the farmer. He generally arranges with the latter for piece work, and his income, which on the average is not very much above that of an ordinary agricultural labourer,[2] depends almost entirely upon the dexterity with which he manages to extract within the shortest time the greatest possible amount of labour from his gang. The farmers have discovered that women work steadily only under the direction of men, but that women and children, once set going, impetuously spend their lifeforce — as Fourier knew — while the adult male labourer is shrewd enough to economise his as much as he can. The gang master goes from one farm to another, and thus employs his gang from 6 to 8 months in the year. Employment by him is, there-

[1] "Child. Emp. Comm., VI. Report", Evidence [No.] 173, p. 37.

[2] Some gang masters, however, have worked themselves up to the position of farmers of 500 acres, or proprietors of whole rows of houses.

fore, much more lucrative and more certain for the labouring families, than employment by the individual farmer, who only employs children occasionally. This circumstance so completely rivets his influence in the open villages that children are generally only to be hired through his instrumentality. The lending out of these individually, independently of the gang, is his second trade. The "drawbacks" of the system are the overwork of the children and young persons, the enormous marches that they make daily to and from the farms, 5, 6, and sometimes 7 miles distant, finally, the demoralisation of the gang. Although the gang master, who, in some districts is called "the driver", is armed with a long stick, he uses it but seldom, and complaints of brutal treatment are exceptional. He is a democratic emperor, or a kind of Pied Piper of Hamelin.[560] He must therefore be popular with his subjects, and he binds them to himself by the charms of the gipsy life under his direction. Coarse freedom, a noisy jollity, and obscenest impudence give attractions to the gang. Generally the gang master pays up in a public house; then he returns home at the head of the procession reeling drunk, propped up right and left by a stalwart virago, while children and young persons bring up the rear, boisterous, and singing chaffing and bawdy songs. On the return journey what Fourier calls "phanerogamie", is the order of the day. The getting with child of girls of 13 and 14 by their male companions of the same age, is common. The open villages which supply the contingent of the gang, become Sodoms and Gomorrahs,[1] and have twice as high a rate of illegitimate births as the rest of the kingdom. The moral character of girls bred in these schools, when married women, was shown above. Their children, when opium does not give them the finishing stroke, are born recruits of the gang.

The gang in its classical form just described, is called the public, common, or tramping gang. For there are also private gangs. These are made up in the same way as the common gang, but count fewer members, and work, not under a gang master, but under some old farm servant, whom the farmer does not know how to employ in any better way. The gipsy fun has vanished here, but according to all witnesses, the payment and treatment of the children is worse.

[1] "Half the girls of Ludford have been ruined by going out" (in gangs), l. c., p. 6, No. 32.

The gang system, which during the last years has steadily increased,[1] clearly does not exist for the sake of the gang master. It exists for the enrichment of the large farmers,[2] and indirectly of the landlords.[3] For the farmer there is no more ingenious method of keeping his labourers well below the normal level, and yet of always having an extra hand ready for extra work, of extracting the greatest possible amount of labour with the least possible amount of money,[4] and of making adult male labour "redundant". From the exposition already made, it will be understood why, on the one hand, a greater or less lack of employment for the agricultural labourer is admitted, while on the other, the gang system is at the same time declared "necessary" on account of the want of adult male labour and its migration to the towns.[5] The cleanly weeded land, and the uncleanly human weeds, of Lincolnshire, are pole and counterpole of capitalistic production.[6]

[1] "They (gangs) have greatly increased of late years. In some places they are said to have been introduced at comparatively late dates; in others where gangs ... have been known for many years ... more and younger children are employed in them" (l. c., p. 79, No. 174).

[2] "Small farmers never employ gangs." "It is not on poor land, but on land which affords rent of from 40 to 50 shillings, that women and children are employed in the greatest numbers" (l. c., pp. 17, 14 [Nos. 13, 120]).

[3] To one of these gentlemen the taste of his rent was so grateful that he indignantly declared to the Commission of Inquiry that the whole hubbub was only due to the name of the system. If instead of "gang" it were called "the Agricultural Juvenile Industrial Self-supporting Association", everything would be all right.

[4] "Gang work is cheaper than other work; that is why they are employed," says a former gang master (l. c., p. 17, No. 14). "The gang system is decidedly the cheapest for the farmer, and decidedly the worst for the children," says a farmer (l. c., p. 16, No. 3).

[5] "Undoubtedly much of the work now done by children in gangs used to be done by men and women. More men are out of work now where children and women are employed than formerly" (l. c., p. 43, n. 202). On the other hand, "the labour question in some agricultural districts, particularly the arable, is becoming so serious in consequence of emigration, and the facility afforded by railways for getting to large towns that I" (the "I" is the steward of a great lord) "think the services of children are most indispensable" (l. c., p. 80, n. 180). For the "labour question" in English agricultural districts, differently from the rest of the civilised world, means the landlords' and farmers' question, viz., how is it possible, despite an always increasing exodus of the agricultural folk, to keep up a sufficient relative surplus population in the country, and by means of it keep the wages of the agricultural labourer at a minimum?

[6] The "Public Health Report", where in dealing with the subject of children's mortality, the gang system is treated in passing, [56] remains unknown to the press, and, therefore, to the English public. On the other hand, the last report of the "Child.

### *(f.) Ireland*[563]

In concluding this section, we must travel for a moment to Ireland. First, the main facts of the case.

The population of Ireland had, in 1841, reached 8,222,664; in 1851, it had dwindled to 6,623,985; in 1861, to 5,850,309; in 1866, to $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions, nearly to its level in 1801. The diminution began with the famine year, 1846, so that Ireland, in less than twenty years, lost more than $\frac{5}{16}$ths of its people.[1] Its total emigration from May, 1851, to July, 1865, numbered 1,591,487: the emigration during the years 1861-1865 was more than half-a-million. The number of inhabited houses fell, from 1851-1861, by 52,990. From 1851-1861, the number of holdings of 15 to 30 acres increased 61,000, that of holdings over 30 acres, 109,000, whilst the total number of all farms fell 120,000, a fall, therefore, solely due to the suppression of farms under 15 acres — i. e., to their centralisation.

Empl. Comm."[562] afforded the press sensational copy always welcome. Whilst the Liberal press asked how the fine gentlemen and ladies, and the well-paid clergy of the State Church, with whom Lincolnshire swarms, could allow such a system to arise on their estates, under their very eyes, they who send out expressly missions to the Antipodes "for the improvement of the morals of South Sea Islanders" — the more refined press confined itself to reflections on the coarse degradation of the agricultural population who are capable of selling their children into such slavery! Under the accursed conditions to which these "delicate" people condemn the agricultural labourer, it would not be surprising if he ate his own children. What is really wonderful is the healthy integrity of character, he has, in great part, retained. The official reports prove that the parents, even in the gang districts, loathe the gang system. "There is much in the evidence that shows that the parents of the children would, in many instances, be glad to be aided by the requirements of a legal obligation, to resist the pressure and the temptations to which they are often subject. They are liable to be urged, at times by the parish officers, at times by employers, under threats of being themselves discharged, to be taken to work at an age when ... school attendance ... would be manifestly to their greater advantage.... All that time and strength wasted; all the suffering from extra and unprofitable fatigue produced to the labourer and to his children; every instance in which the parent may have traced the moral ruin of his child to the undermining of delicacy by the overcrowding of cottages, or to the contaminating influences of the public gang, must have been so many incentives to feelings in the minds of the labouring poor which can be well understood, and which it would be needless to particularise. They must be conscious that much bodily and mental pain has thus been inflicted upon them from causes for which they were in no way answerable; to which, had it been in their power, they would have in no way consented; and against which they were powerless to struggle" (l. c., p. xx., No. 82, and xxiii., n. 96).

[1] Population of Ireland, 1801, 5,319,867 persons; 1811, 6,084,996; 1821, 6,869,544; 1831, 7,828,347; 1841, 8,222,664.

*Table A*

LIVESTOCK

| Year | Horses | | Cattle | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total Number | Decrease | Total Number | Decrease | Increase |
| 1860 | 619,811 | | 3,606,374 | | |
| 1861 | 614,232 | 5,579 | 3,471,688 | 138,486 | |
| 1862 | 602,894 | 11,338 | 3,254,890 | 216,798 | |
| 1863 | 579,978 | 22,916 | 3,144,231 | 110,659 | |
| 1864 | 562,158 | 17,820 | 3,262,294 | | 118,063 |
| 1865 | 547,867 | 14,291 | 3,493,414 | | 231,120 |

| Year | Sheep | | | Pigs | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total Number | Decrease | Increase | Total Number | Decrease | Increase |
| 1860 | 3,542,080 | | | 1,271,072 | | |
| 1861 | 3,556,050 | | 13,970 | 1,102,042 | 169,030 | |
| 1862 | 3,456,132 | 99,918 | | 1,154,324 | | 52,282 |
| 1863 | 3,308,204 | 147,928 | | 1,067,458 | 86,866 | |
| 1864 | 3,366,941 | | 58,737 | 1,058,480 | 8,978 | |
| 1865 | 3,688,742 | | 321,801 | 1,299,893 | | 241,413 |

The decrease of the population was naturally accompanied by a decrease in the mass of products. For our purpose, it suffices to consider the 5 years from 1861-1865 during which over half-a-million emigrated, and the absolute number of people sank by more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of a million.

From the above table it results:—

| Horses | Cattle | Sheep | Pigs |
|---|---|---|---|
| Absolute Decrease | Absolute Decrease | Absolute Increase | Absolute Increase |
| 71,944 | 112,960 | 146,662 | 28,821[1] |

[1] The result would be found yet more unfavourable if we went further back. Thus: Sheep in 1865, 3,688,742, but in 1856, 3,694,294. Pigs in 1865, 1,299,863, but in 1858, 1,409,883.

Let us now turn to agriculture, which yields the means of subsistence for cattle and for men. In the following table is calculated the

*Table B*

INCREASE OR DECREASE IN THE AREA UNDER CROPS AND GRASS IN ACREAGE

| Year | Cereal Crops | Green Crops | | Grass and Clover | | Flax | | Total Cultivated Land | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Decrease | Decrease | In-crease | De-crease | In-crease | De-crease | Increase | Decrease | In-crease |
| | Acres | Acres | Acres | Acres | Acres | Acres | Acres | Acres | Acres |
| 1861 | 15,701 | 36,974 | | 47,969 | | | 19,271 | 81,373 | |
| 1862 | 72,734 | 74,785 | | | 6,623 | | 2,055 | 138,841 | |
| 1863 | 144,719 | 19,358 | | | 7,724 | | 63,922 | 92,431 | |
| 1864 | 122,437 | 2,317 | | | 47,486 | | 87,761 | | 10,493 |
| 1865 | 72,450 | | 25,421 | | 68,970 | 50,159 | | 28,218 | |
| 1861--65 | 428,041 | 108,013 | | | 82,834 | | 122,850 | 330,370 | |

INCREASE OR DECREASE IN THE AREA UNDER CULTIVATION, PRODUCT

| Product | Acres of Cultivated Land | | Increase or Decrease, 1865 | | Product per Acre | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1864 | 1865 | + | − | 1864 | |
| Wheat | 276,483 | 266,989 | | 9,494 | Wheat cwt., | 13.3 |
| Oats | 1,814,886 | 1,745,228 | | 69,658 | Oats " | 12.1 |
| Barley | 172,700 | 177,102 | 4,402 | | Barley " | 15.9 |
| Bere } Rye } | 8,894 | 10,091 | 1,197 | | Bere " | 16.4 |
| | | | | | Rye " | 8.5 |
| Potatoes | 1,039,724 | 1,066,260 | 26,536 | | Potatoes, tons | 4.1 |
| Turnips | 337,355 | 334,212 | | 3,143 | Turnips " | 10.3 |
| Mangold-wurzel | 14,073 | 14,389 | 316 | | Mangold-wurzel | 10.5 |
| Cabbages | 31,821 | 33,622 | 1,801 | | Cabbages | 9.3 |
| Flax | 301,693 | 251,433 | | 50,260 | Flax, st. (14 lb) | 34.2 |
| Hay | 1,609,569 | 1,678,493 | 68,924 | | Hay, tons | 1.6 |

decrease or increase for each separate year, as compared with its immediate predecessor. The Cereal Crops include wheat, oats, barley, rye, beans, and peas; the Green Crops, potatoes, turnips, mangolds, beet-root, cabbages, carrots, parsnips, vetches, &c.

[1] The data of the text are put together from the materials of the *Agricultural Statistics, Ireland, General Abstracts, Dublin,* for the years 1860, *et seq.*, and *Agricultural Statistics, Ireland. Tables showing the estimated average produce, &c., Dublin, 1866.*[564] These statistics are official, and laid before Parliament annually. (Note to 2nd edition. The official statistics for the year 1872 show, as compared with 1871, a decrease in area under cultivation of 134,915 acres. An increase occurred in the cultivation of green crops, turnips, mangold-wurzel, and the like; a decrease in the area under cultivation for wheat of 16,000 acres; oats, 14,000; barley and rye, 4,000; potatoes, 66,632; flax, 34,667; grass, clover, vetches, rape-seed, 30,000. The soil under cultivation for wheat shows for the last 5 years the following stages of decrease:— 1868, 285,000 acres; 1869, 280,000; 1870, 259,000; 1871, 244,000; 1872, 228,000. For 1872 we find, in round numbers, an increase of 2,600 horses, 80,000 horned cattle, 28,682 sheep, and a decrease of 236,000 pigs.)[565]

*Table C*

PER ACRE, AND TOTAL PRODUCT OF 1865 COMPARED WITH 1864

| | Increase or Decrease, 1865 | | Total Product | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1865 | + | − | 1864 | | 1865 | | Increase or Decrease, 1865 | |
| | | | | Qrs. | | Qrs. | | |
| 13.0 | | 0.3 | 875,782 | " | 826,783 | " | | 48,999 qs. |
| 12.3 | 0.2 | | 7,826,332 | " | 7,659,727 | " | | 166,605 " |
| 14.9 | | 1.0 | 761,909 | " | 732,017 | " | | 29,892 " |
| 14.8 | | 1.6 | 15,160 | " | 13,989 | " | | 1,171 " |
| 10.4 | 1.9 | | 12,680 | " | 18,364 | " | 5,684 qs. | |
| 3.6 | | 0.5 | 4,312,388 | ts. | 3,865,990 | ts. | | 446,398 ts. |
| 9.9 | | 0.4 | 3,467,659 | " | 3,301,683 | " | | 165,976 " |
| 13.3 | 2.8 | | 147,284 | " | 191,937 | " | 44,653 ts. | |
| 10.4 | 1.1 | | 297,375 | " | 350,252 | " | 52,877 " | |
| 25.2 | | 9.0 | 64,506 | st. | 39,561 | st. | | 24,945 st.[1] |
| 1.8 | 0.2 | | 2,607,153 | ts. | 3,068,707 | ts. | 461,554 " | |

THE INCOME-TAX ON THE SUBJOINED

| | 1860 | 1861 |
|---|---|---|
| Schedule A. Rent of Land | 12,893,829 | 13,003,554 |
| Schedule B. Farmers' Profits | 2,765,387 | 2,773,644 |
| Schedule D. Industrial, &c., Profits | 4,891,652 | 4,836,203 |
| Total Schedules A. to E. | 22,962,885 | 22,998,394 |

In the year 1865, 127,470 additional acres came under the heading "grass land", chiefly because the area under the heading of "bog and waste unoccupied", decreased by 101,543 acres. If we compare 1865 with 1864, there is a decrease in cereals of 246,667 qrs., of which 48,999 were wheat, 160,605 oats, 29,892 barley, &c.: the decrease in potatoes was 446,398 tons, although the area of their cultivation increased in 1865.

From the movement of population and the agricultural produce of Ireland, we pass to the movement in the purse of its landlords, larger farmers, and industrial capitalists. It is reflected in the rise and fall of the Income-tax. It may be remembered that Schedule D. (profits with the exception of those of farmers), includes also the so-called, "professional" profits—i. e., the incomes of lawyers, doctors, &c.; and the Schedules C. and E., in which no special details are given, include the incomes of employés, officers, State sinecurists, State fundholders, &c.

Under Schedule D., the average annual increase of income from 1853-1864 was only 0.93; whilst, in the same period, in Great Britain, it was 4.58.[566] The following table shows the distribution of the profits (with the exception of those of farmers) for the years 1864 and 1865:—

*Table D*

INCOMES IN POUNDS STERLING

| 1862 | 1863 | 1864 | 1865 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 13,398,938 | 13,494,091 | 13,470,700 | 13,801,616 |
| 2,937,899 | 2,938,923 | 2,930,874 | 2,946,072 |
| 4,858,800 | 4,846,497 | 4,546,147 | 4,850,199 |
| 23,597,574 | 23,658,631 | 23,236,298 | 23,930,340[1] |

*Table E*[567]

SCHEDULE D. INCOME FROM PROFITS (OVER £60) IN IRELAND

| | 1864 £ | | | 1865 £ | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total yearly income of . . . . . | 4,368,610 | divided among | 17,467 persons. | 4,669,979 | divided among | 18,081 persons. |
| Yearly income over £60 and under £100 . . . . . | 238,726 | " | 5,015 " | 222,575 | " | 4,703 " |
| Of the yearly total income . . . . . | 1,979,066 | " | 11,321 " | 2,028,571 | " | 12,184 " |
| Remainder of the total yearly income . . . . . | 2,150,818 | " | 1,131 " | 2,418,833 | " | 1,194 " |
| Of these . . . . . | 1,073,906 | " | 1,010 " | 1,097,927 | " | 1,044 " |
| | 1,076,912 | " | 121 " | 1,320,906 | " | 150 " |
| | 430,535 | " | 95 " | 584,458 | " | 122 " |
| | 646,377 | " | 26 " | 736,448 | " | 28 " |
| | 262,819 | " | 3 " | 274,528 | " | 3[2]" |

[1] Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, Lond. 1866 [pp. lviii-lix].

[2] The total yearly income under Schedule D. is different in this table from that which appears in the preceding ones, because of certain deductions allowed by law.

England, a country with fully developed capitalist production, and pre-eminently industrial, would have bled to death with such a drain of population as Ireland has suffered. But Ireland is at present only an agricultural district of England, marked off by a wide channel from the country to which it yields corn, wool, cattle, industrial and military recruits.

The depopulation of Ireland has thrown much of the land out of cultivation, has greatly diminished the produce of the soil,[1] and, in spite of the greater area devoted to cattle breeding, has brought about, in some of its branches, an absolute diminution, in others, an advance scarcely worthy of mention, and constantly interrupted by retrogressions. Nevertheless, with the fall in numbers of the population, rents and farmers' profits rose, although the latter not as steadily as the former. The reason of this is easily comprehensible. On the one hand, with the throwing of small holdings into large ones, and the change of arable into pasture land, a larger part of the whole produce was transformed into surplus produce. The surplus produce increased, although the total produce, of which it formed a fraction, decreased. On the other hand, the money value of this surplus produce increased yet more rapidly than its mass, in consequence of the rise in the English market price of meat, wool, &c., during the last 20, and especially during the last 10, years.

The scattered means of production that serve the producers themselves as means of employment and of subsistence, without expanding their own value by the incorporation of the labour of others, are no more capital than a product consumed by its own producer is a commodity. If, with the mass of the population, that of the means of production employed in agriculture also diminished, the mass of the capital employed in agriculture increased, because a part of the means of production that were formerly scattered, was concentrated and turned into capital.

The total capital of Ireland outside agriculture, employed in industry and trade, accumulated during the last two decades slowly, and with great and constantly recurring fluctuations; so much the more rapidly did the concentration of its individual constituents de-

[1] If the product also diminishes relatively per acre, it must not be forgotten that for a century and a half England has indirectly exported the soil of Ireland, without as much as allowing its cultivators the means for making up the constituents of the soil that had been exhausted.

velop. And, however small its absolute increase, in proportion to the dwindling population it had increased largely.

Here, then, under our own eyes and on a large scale, a process is revealed, than which nothing more excellent could be wished for by orthodox economy for the support of its dogma: that misery springs from absolute surplus population, and that equilibrium is re-establised by depopulation. This is a far more important experiment than was the plague in the middle of the 14th century so belauded of Malthusians.[210] Note further: If only the naïveté of the schoolmaster could apply to the conditions of production and population of the nineteenth century, the standard of the 14th, this naïveté, into the bargain, overlooked the fact that whilst, after the plague and the decimation that accompanied it, followed on this side of the Channel, in England, enfranchisement and enrichment of the agricultural population, on that side, in France, followed greater servitude and more misery.[1)]

The Irish famine of 1846 killed more than 1,000,000 people, but it killed poor devils only. To the wealth of the country it did not the slightest damage. The exodus of the next 20 years, an exodus still constantly increasing, did not, as, e. g., the Thirty Years' War,[540] decimate, along with the human beings, their means of production. Irish genius discovered an altogether new way of spiriting a poor people thousands of miles away from the scene of its misery. The exiles transplanted to the United States, send home sums of money every year as travelling expenses for those left behind. Every troop that emigrates one year, draws another after it the next. Thus, instead of costing Ireland anything, emigration forms one of the most lucrative branches of its export trade. Finally, it is a systematic process, which does not simply make a passing gap in the population, but sucks out of it every year more people than are replaced by the births, so that the absolute level of the population falls year by year.[2)]

What were the consequences for the Irish labourers left behind and freed from the surplus population? That the relative surplus popula-

[1)] As Ireland is regarded as the promised land of the "principle of population", M. T. Sadler, before the publication of his work on population, issued his famous book, *Ireland, its Evils and their Remedies*. 2nd edition, London, 1829. Here, by comparison of the statistics of the individual provinces, and of the individual counties in each province, he proves that the misery there is not, as Malthus would have it, in proportion to the number of the population, but in inverse ratio to this.

[2)] Between 1851 and 1874 the total number of emigrants amounted to 2,325,922.

tion is today as great as before 1846; that wages are just as low, that the oppression of the labourers has increased, that misery is forcing the country towards a new crisis. The facts are simple. The revolution in agriculture has kept pace with emigration. The production of relative surplus population has more than kept pace with the absolute depopulation. A glance at table B[a]. shows that the change of arable to pasture land must work yet more acutely in Ireland than in England. In England the cultivation of green crops increases with the breeding of cattle; in Ireland, it decreases. Whilst a large number of acres, that were formerly tilled, lie idle or are turned permanently into grass-land, a great part of the waste land and peat bogs that were unused formerly, become of service for the extension of cattle-breeding. The smaller and medium farmers — I reckon among these all who do not cultivate more than 100 acres — still make up about $\frac{8}{10}$ths of the whole number.[1] They are, one after the other, and with a degree of force unknown before, crushed by the competition of an agriculture managed by capital, and therefore they continually furnish new recruits to the class of wage labourers. The one great industry of Ireland, linen manufacture, requires relatively few adult men and only employs altogether, in spite of its expansion since the price of cotton rose in 1861-1866, a comparatively insignificant part of the population. Like all other great modern industries, it constantly produces, by incessant fluctuations, a relative surplus population within its own sphere, even with an absolute increase in the mass of human beings absorbed by it. The misery of the agricultural population forms the pedestal for gigantic shirt factories, whose armies of labourers are, for the most part, scattered over the country. Here, we encounter again the system described above of domestic industry, which in underpayment and overwork, possesses its own systematic means for creating supernumerary labourers. Finally, although the depopulation has not such destructive consequences as would result in a country with fully developed capitalistic production, it does not go on without constant reaction upon the home market. The gap which emigration causes here, limits not only the local demand for labour, but also the incomes of small shopkeepers, artisans, tradespeo-

[1] According to a table in Murphy's *Ireland Industrial, Political and Social,* 1870 [p. 103], 94.6 per cent. of the holdings do not reach 100 acres, 5.4 exceed 100 acres.

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[a] See this volume, p. 691.

ple generally. Hence the diminution in incomes between £60 and £100 in Table E.

A clear statement of the condition of the agricultural labourers in Ireland is to be found in the Reports of the Irish Poor Law Inspectors (1870).[1] Officials of a government which is maintained only by bayonets and by a state of siege, now open, now disguised, they have to observe all the precautions of language that their colleagues in England disdain. In spite of this, however, they do not let their government cradle itself in illusions. According to them the rate of wages in the country, still very low, has within the last 20 years risen 50-60 per cent., and stands now, on the average, at 6s. to 9s. per week. But behind this apparent rise, is hidden an actual fall in wages, for it does not correspond at all to the rise in price of the necessary means of subsistence that has taken place in the meantime. For proof, the following extract from the official accounts of an Irish workhouse.

AVERAGE WEEKLY COST PER HEAD[568]

| Year ended | Provisions and Necessaries | Clothing | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 29th Sept., 1849. | 1s. $3\frac{1}{4}$d. | 3d. | 1s. $6\frac{1}{4}$d. |
| " 1869. | 2s. $7\frac{1}{4}$d. | 6d. | 3s. $1\frac{1}{4}$d. |

The price of the necessary means of subsistence is therefore fully twice, and that of clothing exactly twice, as much as they were 20 years before.

Even apart from this disproportion, the mere comparison of the rate of wages expressed in gold would give a result far from accurate. Before the famine, the great mass of agricultural wages were paid in kind, only the smallest part in money; today, payment in money is the rule. From this it follows that, whatever the amount of the real wage, its money rate must rise.

"Previous to the famine, the labourer enjoyed his cabin ... with a rood, or half-acre or acre of land, and facilities for ... a crop of potatoes. He was able to rear his pig and keep fowl.... But they now have to buy bread, and they have no refuse upon which they can feed a pig or fowl, and they have consequently no benefit from the sale of a pig, fowl, or eggs."[2]

[1] "Reports from the Poor Law Inspectors on the Wages of Agricultural Labourers in Dublin", 1870. See also "Agricultural Labourers (Ireland). Return, etc." 8 March, 1861, London, 1862.

[2] l. c., pp. 29, 1.

In fact, formerly, the agricultural labourers were but the smallest of the small farmers, and formed for the most part a kind of rear-guard of the medium and large farms on which they found employment. Only since the catastrophe of 1846 have they begun to form a fraction of the class of purely wage labourers, a special class, connected with its wage masters only by monetary relations.

We know what were the conditions of their dwellings in 1846. Since then they have grown yet worse. A part of the agricultural labourers, which, however, grows less day by day, dwells still on the holdings of the farmers in overcrowded huts, whose hideousness far surpasses the worst that the English agricultural labourers offered us in this way. And this holds generally with the exception of certain tracts of Ulster; in the south, in the counties of Cork, Limerick, Kilkenny, &c.; in the east, in Wicklow, Wexford, &c.; in the centre of Ireland, in King's and Queen's County, Dublin, &c.; in the west, in Sligo, Roscommon, Mayo, Galway. &c.

"The agricultural labourers' huts", an inspector cries out, "are disgrace to the Christianity and to the civilisation of this country." [1]

In order to increase the attractions of these holes for the labourers, the pieces of land belonging thereto from time immemorial, are systematically confiscated.

"The mere sense that they exist subject to this species of ban, on the part of the landlords and their agents, has ... given birth in the minds of the labourers to corresponding sentiments of antagonism and dissatisfaction towards those by whom they are thus led to regard themselves as being treated as ... a proscribed race." [2]

The first act of the agricultural revolution was to sweep away the huts situated on the field of labour. This was done on the largest scale, and as if in obedience to a command from on high. Thus many labourers were compelled to seek shelter in villages and towns. There they were thrown like refuse into garrets, holes, cellars and corners, in the worst back slums. Thousands of Irish families, who according to the testimony of the English, eaten up as these are with national prejudice, are notable for their rare attachment to the domestic hearth, for their gaiety and the purity of their home-life, found themselves suddenly transplanted into hotbeds of vice. The men are now obliged to seek work of the neighbouring farmers and are only hired by the day, and therefore under the most precarious form of wage. Hence

[1] l. c., p. 12.
[2] l. c., p. 12.

"they sometimes have long distances to go to and from work, often get wet, and suffer much hardship, not unfrequently ending in sickness, disease and want".[1]

"The towns have had to receive from year to year what was deemed to be the surplus labour of the rural division"[2]; and then people still wonder "there is still a surplus of labour in the towns and villages, and either a scarcity or a threatened scarcity in *some of the country divisions*".[3] *The truth is that this want only becomes perceptible* "in harvest-time, or during spring, or at such times as agricultural operations are carried on with activity; at other periods of the year many hands are idle"[4]; that "from the digging out of the main crop of potatoes in October until the early spring following ... there is no employment for them",[5] and further, that during the active times they "are subject to broken days and to all kinds of interruptions".[6]

These results of the agricultural revolution — i. e., the change of arable into pasture land, the use of machinery, the most rigorous economy of labour, &c., are still further aggravated by the model landlords, who, instead of spending their rents in other countries, condescend to live in Ireland on their demesnes. In order that the law of supply and demand may not be broken, these gentlemen draw their

"labour-supply ... chiefly from their small tenants, who are obliged to attend when required to do the landlord's work, at rates of wages, in many instances, considerably under the current rates paid to ordinary labourers, and without regard to the inconvenience or loss to the tenant of being obliged to neglect his own business at critical periods of sowing or reaping".[7]

The uncertainty and irregularity of employment, the constant return and long duration of gluts of labour, all these symptoms of a relative surplus population, figure therefore in the reports of the Poor Law administration, as so many hardships of the agricultural proletariat. It will be remembered that we met, in the English agricultural proletariat, with a similar spectacle. But the difference is that in England, an industrial country, the industrial reserve recruits itself from the country districts, whilst in Ireland, an agricultural country, the agricultural reserve recruits itself from the towns, the cities of refuge of the expelled agricultural labourers. In the former, the supernumeraries of agriculture are transformed into factory operatives; in the latter, those forced into the towns, whilst at the same time they press

[1] l. c., p. 25.
[2] l. c., p. 27.
[3] l. c., p. 26.
[4] l. c., p. 1.
[5] l. c., pp. 31, 32.
[6] l. c., p. 25.
[7] l. c., p. 30.

on the wages in towns, remain agricultural labourers, and are constantly sent back to the country districts in search of work.

The official inspectors sum up the material condition of the agricultural labourer as follows:

"Though living with the strictest frugality, his own wages are barely sufficient to provide food for an ordinary family and pay his rent, and he depends upon other sources for the means of clothing himself, his wife, and children.... The atmosphere of these cabins, combined with the other privations they are subjected to, has made this class particularly susceptible to low fever and pulmonary consumption." [1]

After this, it is no wonder that, according to the unanimous testimony of the inspectors, a sombre discontent runs through the ranks of this class, that they long for the return of the past, loathe the present, despair of the future, give themselves up "to the evil influence of agitators", and have only one fixed idea, to emigrate to America. This is the land of Cockaigne, into which the great Malthusian panacea, depopulation, has transformed green Erin.

What a happy life the Irish factory operative leads one example will show:

"On my recent visit to the North of Ireland," says the English Factory Inspector, Robert Baker, "I met with the following evidence of effort in an Irish skilled workman to afford education to his children; and I give his evidence verbatim, as I took it from his mouth. That he was a skilled factory hand, may be understood when I say that he was employed on goods for the Manchester market. 'Johnson.—I am a beetler and work from 6 in the morning till 11 at night, from Monday to Friday. Saturday we leave off at 6 p. m., and get three hours of it (for meals and rest). I have five children in all. For this work I get 10s. 6d. a week; my wife works here also, and gets 5s. a week. The oldest girl who is 12, minds the house. She is also cook, and all the servant we have. She gets the young ones ready for school. A girl going past the house wakes me at half past five in the morning. My wife gets up and goes along with me. We get nothing (to eat) before we come to work. The child of 12 takes care of the little children all the day, and we get nothing till breakfast at eight. At eight we go home. We get tea once a week; at other times we get stirabout, sometimes of oat-meal, sometimes of Indian meal, as we are able to get it. In the winter we get a little sugar and water to our Indian meal. In the summer we get a few potatoes, planting a small patch ourselves; and when they are done we get back to stirabout. Sometimes we get a little milk as it may be. So we go on from day to day, Sunday and week day, always the same the year round. I am always very much tired when I have done at night. We may see a bit of flesh meat sometimes, but very seldom. Three of our children attend school, for whom we pay ld. a week a head. Our rent is 9d. a week. Peat for firing costs 1s. 6d. a fortnight at the very lowest.'" [2]

[1] l. c., pp. 21, 13.
[2] "Rept. of Insp. of Fact., 31st Oct., 1866", p. 96.

Such are Irish wages, such is Irish life!

In fact the misery of Ireland is again the topic of the day in England. At the end of 1866 and the beginning of 1867, one of the Irish land magnates, Lord Dufferin, set about its solution in *The Times*.[569] "Wie menschlich von solch grossem Herrn!"[570]

From Table E. we saw that, during 1864, of £4,368,610 of total profits, three surplus value makers pocketed only £262,819; that in 1865, however, out of £4,669,979 total profits, the same three virtuosi of "abstinence" pocketed £274,528; in 1864, 26 surplus value makers reached to £646,377; in 1865, 28 surplus value makers reached to £736,448; in 1864, 121 surplus value makers, £1,076,912; in 1865, 150 surplus value makers, £1,320,906; in 1864, 1,131 surplus value makers £2,150,818, nearly half of the total annual profit; in 1865, 1,194 surplus value makers, £2,418,833, more than half of the total annual profit. But the lion's share, which an inconceivably small number of land magnates in England, Scotland and Ireland swallow up of the yearly national rental, is so monstrous that the wisdom of the English State does not think fit to afford the same statistical materials about the distribution of rents as about the distribution of profits. Lord Dufferin is one of those land magnates. That rent rolls and profits can ever be "excessive", or that their plethora is in any way connected with plethora of the people's misery is, of course, an idea as "disreputable" as "unsound". He keeps to facts. The fact is that, as the Irish population diminishes, the Irish rent rolls swell; that depopulation benefits the landlords, therefore also benefits the soil, and, therefore, the people, that mere accessory of the soil. He declares, therefore, that Ireland is still overpopulated, and the stream of emigration still flows too lazily. To be perfectly happy, Ireland must get rid of at least one-third of a million of labouring men. Let no man imagine that this lord, poetic into the bargain, is a physician of the school of Sangrado,[571] who as often as he did not find his patient better, ordered phlebotomy and again phlebotomy, until the patient lost his sickness at the same time as his blood. Lord Dufferin demands a new blood-letting of one-third of a million only, instead of about two millions; in fact, without the getting rid of these, the millennium in Erin is not to be. The proof is easily given.

NUMBER AND EXTENT OF FARMS IN IRELAND IN 1864

| (1) Farms not over 1 acre | | (2) Farms over 1, not over 5 acres | | (3) Farms over 5, not over 15 acres | | (4) Farms over 15, not over 30 acres | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. | Acres | No. | Acres | No. | Acres | No. | Acres |
| 48,653 | 25,394 | 82,037 | 288,916 | 176,368 | 1,836,310 | 136,578 | 3,051,343 |

| (5) Farms over 30, not over 50 acres | | (6) Farms over 50, not over 100 acres | | (7) Farms over 100 acres | | (8) Total area |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. | Acres | No. | Acres | No. | Acres | Acres |
| 71,961 | 2,906,274 | 54,247 | 3,983,880 | 31,927 | 8,227,807 | 20,319,921[1] |

Centralisation has from 1851 to 1861 destroyed principally farms of the first three categories, under 1 and not over 15 acres. These above all must disappear. This gives 307,058 "supernumerary" farmers, and reckoning the families the low average of 4 persons, 1,228,232 persons. On the extravagant supposition that, after the agricultural revolution is complete, one-fourth of these are again absorbable, there remain for emigration 921,174 persons. Categories 4, 5, 6, of over 15 and not over 100 acres, are, as was known long since in England, too small for capitalistic cultivation of corn, and for sheep-breeding are almost vanishing quantities. On the same supposition as before, therefore, there are further 788,358 persons to emigrate; total, 1,709,532. And as l'appétit vient en mangeant,[572] Rentroll's eyes will soon discover that Ireland, with $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions, is still always miserable, and miserable because she is overpopulated. Therefore her depopulation must go yet further, that thus she may fulfil her true destiny, that of an English sheep-walk and cattle-pasture.[2]

[1] The total area includes also peat, bogs, and waste land.

[2] How the famine and its consequences have been deliberately made the most of, both by the individual landlords and by the English legislature, to forcibly carry out the agricultural revolution and to thin the population of Ireland down to the proportion satisfactory to the landlords, I shall show more fully in Vol. III of this work, in the section on landed property.[573] There also I return to the condition of the small farmers and the agricultural labourers. At present, only one quotation. Nassau W. Senior says, with other things, in his posthumous work, *Journals, Conversations and Essays relating to Ireland.* 2 vols. London, 1868; Vol. II, p. 282. "Well," said Dr. G., "we have got our Poor Law and it is a great instrument for giving the victory to the landlords. Another, and a still more powerful instrument is emigration.... No friend to Ireland can wish the war to be prolonged" (between the landlords and the small Celtic farmers) "—still less, that it should end by the victory of the tenants. The sooner it is over—the sooner Ireland becomes a grazing country, with the comparatively thin population which

Like all good things in this bad world, this profitable method has its drawbacks. With the accumulation of rents in Ireland, the accumulation of the Irish in America keeps pace. The Irishman, banished by sheep and ox, re-appears on the other side of the ocean as a Fenian,[575] and face to face with the old queen of the seas rises, threatening and more threatening, the young giant Republic:

*Acerba fata Romanos agunt*
*Scelusque fraternae necis.*[576]

a grazing country requires, the better for all classes." The English Corn Laws of 1815[21] secured Ireland the monopoly of the free importation of corn into Great Britain. They favoured artificially, therefore, the cultivation of corn. With the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846, this monopoly was suddenly removed. Apart from all other circumstances, this event alone was sufficient to give a great impulse to the turning of Irish arable into pasture land, to the concentration of farms, and to the eviction of small cultivators. After the fruitfulness of the Irish soil had been praised from 1815 to 1846, and proclaimed loudly as by Nature herself destined for the cultivation of wheat, English agronomists, economists, politicians, discover suddenly that it is good for nothing but to produce forage. M. Léonce de Lavergne has hastened to repeat this on the other side of the Channel.[574] It takes a "serious" man, à la Lavergne, to be caught by such childishness.

# Part VIII

## THE SO-CALLED PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION

### Chapter XXVI

### THE SECRET OF PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION

We have seen how money is changed into capital; how through capital surplus value is made, and from surplus value more capital. But the accumulation of capital presupposes surplus value; surplus value presupposes capitalistic production; capitalistic production presupposes the pre-existence of considerable masses of capital and of labour power in the hands of producers of commodities. The whole movement, therefore, seems to turn in a vicious circle, out of which we can only get by supposing a primitive accumulation (previous accumulation of Adam Smith [577]) preceding capitalistic accumulation; an accumulation not the result of the capitalist mode of production, but its starting point.

This primitive accumulation plays in political economy about the same part as original sin in theology. Adam bit the apple, and thereupon sin fell on the human race.[578] Its origin is supposed to be explained when it is told as an anecdote of the past. In times long gone by there were two sorts of people; one, the diligent, intelligent, and, above all, frugal élite; the other, lazy rascals, spending their substance, and more, in riotous living. The legend of theological original sin tells us certainly how man came to be condemned to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow; but the history of economic original sin reveals to us that there are people to whom this is by no means essential. Never mind! Thus it came to pass that the former sort accumulated wealth, and the latter sort had at last nothing to sell except their own skins. And from this original sin dates the poverty of the great majority that, despite all its labour, has up to now nothing to sell but itself,

and the wealth of the few that increases constantly although they have long ceased to work. Such insipid childishness is every day preached to us in the defence of property. M. Thiers, e.g., had the assurance to repeat it with all the solemnity of a statesman, to the French people, once so *spirituel*.[579] But as soon as the question of property crops up, it becomes a sacred duty to proclaim the intellectual food of the infant as the one thing fit for all ages and for all stages of development. In actual history it is notorious that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, briefly, force, play the great part. In the tender annals of political economy, the idyllic reigns from time immemorial. Right and "labour" were from all time the sole means of enrichment, the present year of course always excepted. As a matter of fact, the methods of primitive accumulation are anything but idyllic.

In themselves money and commodities are no more capital than are the means of production and of subsistence. They want transforming into capital. But this transformation itself can only take place under certain circumstances that centre in this, viz., that two very different kinds of commodity possessors must come face to face and into contact; on the one hand, the owners of money, means of production, means of subsistence, who are eager to increase the sum of values they possess, by buying other people's labour power; on the other hand, free labourers, the sellers of their own labour power, and therefore the sellers of labour. Free labourers, in the double sense that neither they themselves form part and parcel of the means of production, as in the case of slaves, bondsmen, &c., nor do the means of production belong to them, as in the case of peasant proprietors; they are, therefore, free from, unencumbered by, any means of production of their own. With this polarisation of the market for commodities, the fundamental conditions of capitalist production are given. The capitalist system presupposes the complete separation of the labourers from all property in the means by which they can realise their labour. As soon as capitalist production is once on its own legs, it not only maintaints this separation, but reproduces it on a continually extending scale. The process, therefore, that clears the way for the capitalist system, can be none other than the process which takes away from the labourer the possession of his means of production; a process that transforms, on the one hand, the social means of subsistence and of production into capital, on the other, the immediate producers into wage labourers. The so-called primitive accumulation, therefore, is nothing else than the historical process of divorcing the producer

from the means of production. It appears as primitive, because it forms the pre-historic stage of capital and of the mode of production corresponding with it.

The economic structure of capitalistic society has grown out of the economic structure of feudal society. The dissolution of the latter set free the elements of the former.

The immediate producer, the labourer, could only dispose of his own person after he had ceased to be attached to the soil and ceased to be the slave, serf, or bondman of another. To become a free seller of labour power, who carries his commodity wherever he finds a market, he must further have escaped from the regime of the guilds, their rules for apprentices and journeymen, and the impediments of their labour regulations. Hence, the historical movement which changes the producers into wage workers, appears, on the one hand, as their emancipation from serfdom and from the fetters of the guilds, and this side alone exists for our bourgeois historians. But, on the other hand, these new freedmen became sellers of themselves only after they had been robbed of all their own means of production, and of all the guarantees of existence afforded by the old feudal arrangements. And the history of this, their expropriation, is written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire.

The industrial capitalists, these new potentates, had on their part not only to displace the guild masters of handicrafts, but also the feudal lords, the possessors of the sources of wealth. In this respect their conquest of social power appears as the fruit of a victorious struggle both against feudal lordship and its revolting prerogatives, and against the guilds and the fetters they laid on the free development of production and the free exploitation of man by man. The chevaliers d'industrie, however, only succeeded in supplanting the chevaliers of the sword by making use of events of which they themselves were wholly innocent. They have risen by means as vile as those by which the Roman freedman once on a time made himself the master of his *patronus*.

The starting point of the development that gave rise to the wage labourer as well as to the capitalist, was the servitude of the labourer. The advance consisted in a change of form of this servitude, in the transformation of feudal exploitation into capitalist exploitation. To understand its march, we need not go back very far. Although we come across the first beginnings of capitalist production as early as the 14th or 15th century, sporadically, in certain towns of the Medi-

terranean, the capitalistic era dates from the 16th century. Wherever it appears, the abolition of serfdom has been long effected, and the highest development of the Middle Ages, the existence of sovereign towns, has been long on the wane.

In the history of primitive accumulation, all revolutions are epoch-making that act as levers for the capitalist class in course of formation; but, above all, those moments when great masses of men are suddenly and forcibly torn from their means of subsistence, and hurled as free and "unattached" proletarians on the labour market. The expropriation of the agricultural producer, of the peasant, from the soil, is the basis of the whole process. The history of this expropriation, in different countries, assumes different aspects, and runs through its various phases in different orders of succession, and at different periods. In England alone, which we take as our example, has it the classic form.[1]

## Chapter XXVII

### EXPROPRIATION OF THE AGRICULTURAL POPULATION FROM THE LAND

In England, serfdom had practically disappeared in the last part of the 14th century. The immense majority of the population[2]

[1] In Italy, where capitalistic production developed earliest, the dissolution of serfdom also took place earlier than elsewhere. The serf was emancipated in that country before he had acquired any prescriptive right to the soil. His emancipation at once transformed him into a free proletarian, who, moreover, found his master ready waiting for him in the towns, for the most part handed down as legacies from the Roman time. When the revolution of the world market, about the end of the 15th century, annihilated Northern Italy's commercial supremacy, a movement in the reverse direction set in. [580] The labourers of the towns were driven *en masse* into the country, and gave an impulse, never before seen, to the *petite culture*, carried on in the form of gardening.

[2] "The petty proprietors who cultivated their own fields with their own hands, and enjoyed a modest competence ... then formed a much more important part of the nation than at present. If we may trust the best statistical writers of that age, not less than 160,000 proprietors who, with their families, must have made up more than a seventh of the whole population, derived their subsistence from little freehold estates. The average income of these small landlords ... was estimated at between £60 and £70 a year. It was computed that the number of persons who tilled their own land was greater than the number of those who farmed the land of others." Macaulay, *History of England*, 10th ed., 1854, I, pp. 333, 334. Even in the last third of the 17th century, $\frac{4}{5}$ of the English people were agricultural (l. c., p. 413). I quote Macaulay, because as systematic falsifier of history he minimises as much as possible facts of this kind.

consisted then, and to a still larger extent, in the 15th century, of free peasant proprietors, whatever was the feudal title under which their right of property was hidden. In the larger seignorial domains, the old bailiff, himself a serf, was displaced by the free farmer. The wage labourers of agriculture consisted partly of peasants, who utilised their leisure time by working on the large estates, partly of an independent special class of wage labourers, relatively and absolutely few in numbers. The latter also were practically at the same time peasant farmers, since, besides their wages, they had allotted to them arable land to the extent of 4 or more acres, together with their cottages. Besides they, with the rest of the peasants, enjoyed the usufruct of the common land, which gave pasture to their cattle, furnished them with timber, fire-wood, turf, &c.[1] In all countries of Europe, feudal production is characterised by division of the soil amongst the greatest possible number of subfeudatories. The might of the feudal lord, like that of the sovereign, depended not on the length of his rent roll, but on the number of his subjects, and the latter depended on the number of peasant proprietors.[2] Although, therefore, the English land, after the Norman conquest,[581] was distributed in gigantic baronies, one of which often included some 793 of the old Anglo-Saxon lordships, it was bestrewn with small peasant properties, only here and there interspersed with great seignorial domains.[582] Such conditions, together with the prosperity of the towns so characteristic of the 15th century, allowed of that wealth of the people which Chancellor Fortescue so eloquently paints in his "*Laudibus legum Angliæ*"; but it excluded the possibility of capitalistic wealth.

The prelude of the revolution that laid the foundation of the capitalist mode of production, was played in the last third of the 15th, and the first decade of the 16th century. A mass of free proletarians was hurled on the labour market by the breaking-up of the bands of

[1] We must never forget that even the serf was not only the owner, if but a tribute-paying owner, of the piece of land attached to his house, but also a co-possessor of the common land. "The peasant" (in Silesia, under Frederick II) "is a serf." Nevertheless these serfs possess common lands. "It has not yet been possible to persuade the Silesians to partition the common lands, whereas in the Neumark there is scarcely a village where the partition has not been implemented with very great success" (Mirabeau, *De la Monarchie Prussienne,* Londres, 1788. t. ii, pp. 125, 126).

[2] Japan, with its purely feudal organisation of landed property and its developed *petite culture,* gives a much truer picture of the European Middle Ages than all our history books, dictated as these are, for the most part, by bourgeois prejudices. It is very convenient to be "liberal" at the expense of the Middle Ages.

feudal retainers, who, as Sir James Steuart well says, "everywhere uselessly filled house and castle". [583] Although the royal power, itself a product of bourgeois development, in its strife after absolute sovereignty forcibly hastened on the dissolution of these bands of retainers, it was by no means the sole cause of it. In insolent conflict with king and parliament, the great feudal lords created an incomparably larger proletariat by the forcible driving of the peasantry from the land, to which the latter had the same feudal right as the lord himself, and by the usurpation of the common lands. The rapid rise of the Flemish wool manufactures, and the corresponding rise in the price of wool in England, gave the direct impulse to these evictions. The old nobility had been devoured by the great feudal wars.[584] The new nobility was the child of its time, for which money was the power of all powers. Transformation of arable land into sheepwalks was, therefore, its cry. Harrison, in his "Description of England, prefixed to Holinshed's Chronicles", describes how the expropriation of small peasants is ruining the country.

"What care our great encroachers?" The dwellings of the peasants and the cottages of the labourers were razed to the ground or doomed to decay. "If," says Harrison, "the old records of euerie manour be sought ... it will soon appear that in some manour seventeene, eighteene, or twentie houses are shrunk ... that England was neuer less furnished with people than at the present.... Of cities and townes either utterly decaied or more than a quarter or half diminished, though some one be a little increased here or there; of townes pulled downe for sheepe-walks, and no more but the lordships now standing in them.... I could saie somewhat." [585]

The complaints of these old chroniclers are always exaggerated, but they reflect faithfully the impression made on contemporaries by the revolution in the conditions of production. A comparison of the writings of Chancellor Fortescue and Thomas More reveals the gulf between the 15th and 16th century. As Thornton rightly has it, the English working class was precipitated without any transition from its golden into its iron age.[586]

Legislation was terrified at this revolution. It did not yet stand on that height of civilisation where the "wealth of the nation" (i.e., the formation of capital, and the reckless exploitation and impoverishing of the mass of the people) figure as the *ultima Thule* [176] of all statecraft. In his history of Henry VII, Bacon says:

"Inclosures at that time (1489) began to be more frequent, whereby arable land (which could not be manured without people and families) was turned into pasture, which was easily rid by a few herdsmen; and tenancies for years, lives, and at will (whereupon much of the yeomanry lived) were turned into demesnes. This bred a decay of

people, and (by consequence) a decay of towns, churches, tithes, and the like.... In remedying of this inconvenience the king's wisdom was admirable, and the parliament's at that time ... they took a course to take away depopulating inclosures, and depopulating pasturage." [587]

An Act of Henry VII, 1488, cap. 19, [588] forbad the destruction of all "houses of husbandry" to which at least 20 acres of land belonged.[589] By an Act, 25 Henry VIII, the same law was renewed. It recites, among other things,

that many farms and large flocks of cattle, especially of sheep, are concentrated in the hands of a few men, whereby the rent of land has much risen and tillage has fallen off, churches and houses have been pulled down, and marvellous numbers of people have been deprived of the means wherewith to maintain themselves and their families. The Act, therefore, ordains the rebuilding of the decayed farmsteads, and fixes a proportion between corn land and pasture land, &c.[590]

An Act of 1533 [591] recites that some owners possess 24,000 sheep, and limits the number to be owned to 2,000.[1] [592] The cry of the people and the legislation directed, for 150 years after Henry VII, against the expropriation of the small farmers and peasants, were alike fruitless. The secret of their inefficiency Bacon, without knowing it, reveals to us.

"The device of King Henry VII," says Bacon, in his *Essays, Civil and Moral,* Essay 20, "was profound and admirable, in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard; that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and no servile condition, and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners and not mere hirelings." [2] [593]

[1] In his *Utopia,* Thomas More says, that in England "your shepe that were wont to be so meke and tame, and so smal eaters, now, as I heare saye, become so great devourers and so wylde that they eate up, and swallow downe, the very men themselfes." *Utopia,* transl. by Robinson, ed. Arber, Lond., 1869, pp. 40-41.

[2] Bacon shows the connexion between a free, well-to-do peasantry and good infantry. "This did wonderfully concern the might and mannerhood of the kingdom to have farms as it were of a standard sufficient to maintain an able body out of penury, and did in effect amortise a great part of the lands of the kingdom unto the hold and occupation of the yeomanry or middle people, of a condition between gentlemen, and cottagers and peasants.... For it hath been held by the general opinion of men of best judgment in the wars ... that the principal strength of an army consisteth in the infantry or foot. And to make good infantry it requireth men bred, not in a servile or indigent fashion, but in some free and plentiful manner. Therefore, if a state run most to noblemen and gentlemen, and that the husbandmen and ploughmen be but as their workfolk and labourers, or else mere cottagers (which are but hous'd beggars), you may have a good cavalry, but never good stable bands of foot.... And this is to be seen in France, and Italy, and some other parts abroad, where in effect all is noblesse or peasantry ... insomuch that they are inforced to employ mercenary bands of Switzers and the like, for

What the capitalist system demanded was, on the other hand, a degraded and almost servile condition of the mass of the people, the transformation of them into mercenaries, and of their means of labour into capital. During this transformation period, legislation also strove to retain the 4 acres of land by the cottage of the agricultural wage labourer, and forbad him to take lodgers into his cottage. In the reign of Charles I, 1627, Roger Crocker of Fontmill, was condemned for having built a cottage on the manor of Fontmill without 4 acres of land attached to the same in perpetuity.[594] As late as Charles I's reign, 1638, a royal commission was appointed to enforce the carrying out of the old laws, especially that referring to the 4 acres of land. Even in Cromwell's time, the building of a house within 10 miles of London was forbidden unless it was endowed with 4 acres of land.[595] As late as the first half of the 18th century complaint is made if the cottage of the agricultural labourer has not an adjunct of one or two acres of land. Nowadays he is lucky if it is furnished with a little garden, or if he may rent, far away from his cottage, a few roods.

"Landlords and farmers," says Dr. Hunter, "work here hand in hand. A few acres to the cottage would make the labourers too independent."[1]

The process of forcible expropriation of the people received in the 16th century a new and frightful impulse from the Reformation, and from the consequent colossal spoliation of the church property. The Catholic church was, at the time of the Reformation, feudal proprietor of a great part of the English land. The suppression of the monasteries, &c., hurled their inmates into the proletariat. The estates of the church were to a large extent given away to rapacious royal favourites, or sold at a nominal price to speculating farmers and citizens, who drove out, *en masse*, the hereditary subtenants and threw their holdings into one. The legally guaranteed property of the poorer folk in a part of the church's tithes was tacitly confiscated.[2] "Pauper ubique jacet", cried Queen Elizabeth, after a journey

their battalions of foot; whereby also it comes to pass that those nations have much people and few soldiers" ("The Reign of Henry VII." Verbatim reprint from Kennet's England. Ed. 1719. Lond., 1870, p. 308).

[1] Dr. Hunter, l. c. ["Public Health. Seventh report," London, 1865], p. 134. "The quantity of land assigned" (in the old laws) "would now be judged too great for labourers, and rather as likely to convert them into small farmers" (George Roberts, *The Social History of the People of the Southern Counties of England in Past Centuries*. Lond., 1856, pp. 184-185).

[2] "The right of the poor to share in the tithe, is established by the tenure of ancient statutes" (Tuckett, l. c., Vol. II., pp. 804-805).

through England.[596] In the 43rd year of her reign the nation was obliged to recognise pauperism officially by the introduction of a poor rate.[597]

"The authors of this law seem to have been ashamed to state the grounds of it, for" (contrary to traditional usage) "it has no preamble whatever."[1]

By the 16th of Charles I, ch. 4, it was declared perpetual,[598] and in fact only in 1834 did it take a new and harsher form.[2] These immediate results of the Reformation were not its most lasting ones. The

[1] William Cobbett, *A History of the Protestant Reformation*, § 471.

[2] The "spirit" of Protestantism may be seen from the following, among other things. In the south of England certain landed proprietors and well-to-do farmers put their heads together and propounded ten questions as to the right interpretation of the poor-law of Elizabeth. These they laid before a celebrated jurist of that time, Sergeant Snigge (later a judge under James I) for his opinion.[599] "Question 9—Some of the more wealthy farmers in the parish have devised a skilful mode by which all the trouble of executing this Act (the 43rd of Elizabeth) might be avoided. They have proposed that we shall erect a prison in the parish, and then give notice to the neighbourhood, that if any persons are disposed to farm the poor of this parish, they do give in sealed proposals, on a certain day, of the lowest price at which they will take them off our hands; and that they will be authorised to refuse to any one unless he be shut up in the aforesaid prison. The proposers of this plan conceive that there will be found in the adjoining counties, persons, who, being unwilling to labour and not possessing substance or credit to take a farm or ship, so as to live without labour, may be induced to make a very advantageous offer to the parish. If any of the poor perish under the contractor's care, the sin will lie at his door, as the parish will have done its duty by them. We are, however, apprehensive that the present Act (43rd of Elizabeth) will not warrant a prudential measure of this kind; but you are to learn that the rest of the freeholders of the county, and of the adjoining county of B, will very readily join in instructing their members to propose an Act to enable the parish to contract with a person to lock up and work the poor; and to declare that if any person shall refuse to be so locked up and worked, he shall be entitled to no relief. This, it is hoped, will prevent persons in distress from wanting relief, and be the means of keeping down parishes" (R. Blakey, *The History of Political Literature from the Earliest Times*. Lond., 1855, Vol. II., pp. 84-85). In Scotland, the abolition of serfdom took place some centuries later than in England. Even in 1698, Fletcher of Saltoun, declared in the Scotch parliament, "The number of beggars in Scotland is reckoned at not less than 200,000. The only remedy that I, a republican on principle, can suggest is to restore the old state of serfdom, to make slaves of all those who are unable to provide for their own subsistence".[600] Eden, l. c., Book I, ch. 1, pp. 60-61, says, "The decrease of villenage seems necessarily to have been the era of the origin of the poor. Manufactures and commerce are the two parents of our national poor". Eden, like our Scotch republican on principle, errs only in this: not the abolition of villenage, but the abolition of the property of the agricultural labourer in the soil made him a proletarian, and eventually a pauper. In France, where the expropriation was effected in another way, the ordonnance of Moulins, 1566, and the Edict of 1656, correspond to the English poor-laws.[601]

property of the church formed the religious bulwark of the traditional conditions of landed property. With its fall these were no longer tenable.[1]

Even in the last decade of the 17th century, the yeomanry, the class of independent peasants, were more numerous than the class of farmers. They had formed the backbone of Cromwell's strength, and, even according to the confession of Macaulay,[602] stood in favourable contrast to the drunken squires and to their servants, the country clergy, who had to marry their masters' cast-off mistresses.[a] About 1750, the yeomanry had disappeared,[2] and so had, in the last decade of the 18th century, the last trace of the common land of the agricultural labourer. We leave on one side here the purely economic causes of the agricultural revolution. We deal only with the forcible means employed.

After the restoration of the Stuarts, the landed proprietors carried, by legal means, an act of usurpation, effected everywhere on the Continent without any legal formality. They abolished the feudal tenure of land, i.e., they got rid of all its obligations to the State, "indemnified" the State by taxes on the peasantry and the rest of the mass of the people, vindicated for themselves the rights of modern private property in estates to which they had only a feudal title, and, finally, passed those laws of settlement, which, *mutatis mutandis*, had the same effect on the English agricultural labourer, as the edict of the Tartar Boris Godunof on the Russian peasantry.[603]

The "glorious Revolution"[604] brought into power, along with William of Orange, the landlord and capitalist appropriators of surplus

[1] Professor Rogers, although formerly Professor of political economy in the University of Oxford, the hotbed of Protestant orthodoxy, in his preface to the *History of Agriculture* lays stress on the fact of the pauperisation of the mass of the people by the Reformation.[605]

[2] "A Letter to Sir. T. C. Banbury, Bart., on the High Price of Provisions. By a Suffolk Gentleman." Ipswich, 1795, p. 4. Even the fanatical advocate of the system of large farms, the author [J. Arbuthnot] of the *Inquiry into the Connection between the Present Price of Provisions&c.,* London, 1773, p. 139, says: "I most lament the loss of our yeomanry, that set of men who really kept up the independence of this nation; and sorry I am to see their lands now in the hands of monopolising lords, tenanted out to small farmers, who hold their leases on such conditions as to be little better than vassals ready to attend a summons on every mischievous occasion."

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[a] The fourth German edition further has "Even the rural wage labourers still were co-owners of common property."

value.[1] They inaugurated the new era by practising on a colossal scale thefts of state lands, thefts that had been hitherto managed more modestly. These estates were given away, sold at a ridiculous figure, or even annexed to private estates by direct seizure.[2] All this happened without the slightest observation of legal etiquette. The Crown lands thus fraudulently appropriated, together with the robbery of the Church estates, as far as these had not been lost again during the republican revolution,[606] form the basis of the today princely domains of the English oligarchy.[3] The bourgeois capitalists favoured the operation with the view, among others, to promoting free trade in land, to extending the domain of modern agriculture on the large farm system, and to increasing their supply of the free agricultural proletarians ready to hand. Besides, the new landed aristocracy was the natural ally of the new bankocracy, of the newly-hatched *haute finance*, and of the large manufacturers, then depending on protective duties. The English bourgeoisie acted for its own interest quite as wisely as did the Swedish bourgeoisie who, reversing the process, hand in hand with their economic allies, the peasantry, helped the kings in the forcible resumption of the Crown lands from the oligarchy. This happened since 1604 under Charles X and Charles XI.

Communal property — always distinct from the State property just dealt with — was an old Teutonic institution which lived on under cover of feudalism. We have seen how the forcible usurpation of this, generally accompanied by the turning of arable into pasture land, begins at the end of the 15th and extends into the 16th century. But, at

[1] On the private moral character of this bourgeois hero, among other things: "The large grant of lands in Ireland to Lady Orkney, in 1695, is a public instance of the king's affection, and the lady's influence.... Lady Orkney's endearing offices are supposed to have been — foeda labiorum ministeria[a]." (In the Sloane Manuscript Collection, at the British Museum, No. 4224. The Manuscript is entitled: "The character and behaviour of King William, Sunderland, etc., as represented in Original Letters to the Duke of Shrewsbury from Somers Halifax, Oxford, Secretary Vernon, etc." [pp. 1, 3]. It is full of curiosa.)

[2] "The illegal alienation of the Crown Estates, partly by sale and partly by gift, is a scandalous chapter in English history ... a gigantic fraud on the nation" (F. W. Newman, *Lectures on Political Economy*, London, 1851, pp. 129, 130). //For details as to how the present large landed proprietors of England came into their possessions see *Our Old Nobility. By Noblesse Oblige*, London, 1879.— *F. E.*//

[3] Read, e.g., E. Burke's Pamphlet[607] on the ducal house of Bedford, whose offshoot was Lord John Russell, the "tomtit of Liberalism".

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[a] base services performed with the lips

that time, the process was carried on by means of individual acts of violence against which legislation, for a hundred and fifty years, fought in vain. The advance made by the 18th century shows itself in this, that the law itself becomes now the instrument of the theft of the people's land, although the large farmers make use of their little independent methods as well.[1] The parliamentary form of the robbery is that of Acts for enclosures of Commons, in other words, decrees by which the landlords grant themselves the people's land as private property, decrees of expropriation of the people. Sir F. M. Eden refutes his own crafty special pleading, in which he tries to represent communal property as the private property of the great landlords who have taken the place of the feudal lords, when he, himself, demands a "general Act of Parliament for the enclosure of Commons" (admitting thereby that a parliamentary *coup d'état* is necessary for its transformation into private property), and moreover calls on the legislature for the indemnification for the expropriated poor.[2]

Whilst the place of the independent yeoman was taken by tenants at will, small farmers on yearly leases, a servile rabble dependent on the pleasure of the landlords, the systematic robbery of the Communal lands helped especially, next to the theft of the State domains, to swell those large farms, that were called in the 18th century capital farms[3] or merchant farms,[4] and to "set free" the agricultural population as proletarians for manufacturing industry.

The 18th century, however, did not yet recognise as fully as the 19th, the identity between national wealth and the poverty of the people. Hence the most vigorous polemic, in the economic literature of that time, on the "enclosure of commons". From the mass of materials that lie before me, I give a few extracts that will throw a strong light on the circumstances of the time.[608]

[1] "The farmers forbid cottagers to keep any living creatures besides themselves and children, under the pretence that if they keep any beasts or poultry, they will steal from the farmers' barns for their support; they also say, keep the cottagers poor and you will keep them industrious, &c., but the real fact, I believe, is that the farmers may have the whole right of common to themselves" (*A Political Inquiry into the Consequences of Enclosing Waste Lands*, London, 1785, p. 75).

[2] Eden, l, c., preface [pp. XVII, XIX].

[3] "Capital Farms." Two letters on the Flour Trade and the Dearness of Corn. By a person in business. London, 1767, p. 19.

[4] "Merchant Farms." An Enquiry into the Causes of the Present High Price of Provisions, London, 1767, p. 111. Note.—This excellent work, that was published anonymously, is by the Rev. Nathaniel Forster.

"In several parishes of Hertfordshire," writes one indignant person, "24 farms, numbering on the average 50-150 acres, have been melted up into three farms."[1] "In Northamptonshire and Leicestershire the enclosure of common lands has taken place on a very large scale, and most of the new lordships, resulting from the enclosure, have been turned into pasturage, in consequence of which many lordships have not now 50 acres ploughed yearly, in which 1,500 were ploughed formerly. The ruins of former dwelling-houses, barns, stables, &c.," are the sole traces of the former inhabitants. "An hundred houses and families have in some open-field villages ... dwindled to eight or ten.... The landholders in most parishes that have been enclosed only 15 or 20 years, are very few in comparison of the numbers who occupied them in their open-field state. It is no uncommon thing for 4 or 5 wealthy graziers to engross a large enclosed lordship which was before in the hands of 20 or 30 farmers, and as many smaller tenants and proprietors. All these are hereby thrown out of their livings with their families and many other families who were chiefly employed and supported by them."[2] It was not only the land that lay waste, but often land cultivated either in common or held under a definite rent paid to the community, that was annexed by the neighbouring landlords under pretext of enclosure. "I have here in view enclosures of open fields and lands already improved. It is acknowledged by even the writers in defence of enclosures that these diminished villages increase the monopolies of farms, raise the prices of provisions, and produce depopulation ... and even the enclosure of waste lands" (as now carried on) "bears hard on the poor, by depriving them of a part of their subsistence, and only goes towards increasing farms already too large."[3] "When," says Dr. Price, "this land gets into the hands of a few great farmers, the consequence must be that the little farmers" (earlier designated by him "a multitude of little proprietors and tenants, who maintain themselves and families by the produce of the ground they occupy by sheep kept on a common, by poultry, hogs, &c., and who therefore have little occasion to purchase any of the means of subsistence") "will be converted into a body of men who earn their subsistence by working for others, and who will be under a necessity of going to market for all they want.... There will, perhaps, be more labour, because there will be more compulsion to it.... Towns and manufactures will increase, because more will be driven to them in quest of places and employment. This is the way in which the engrossing of farms naturally operates. And this is the way in which, for many years, it has been actually operating in this kingdom."[4] He sums up the effect of the enclosures thus: "Upon the whole, the circumstances of the lower ranks of men are altered in almost every respect for the worse. From little occupiers of land, they are reduced to the state of day labourers and hirelings; and, at the same time, their subsistence in that state has become more difficult."[5]

[1] Thomas Wright, "A Short Address to the Public on the Monopoly of Large Farms", 1795, pp. 2, 3.

[2] Rev. Addington, *Inquiry into the Reasons for or against Enclosing Open Fields,* London, 1772, pp. 37, 43, passim.[609]

[3] Dr. R. Price, l. c. [*Observation on Reversionary Payments...*, Ld., 1803], v. ii, pp. 155-156, Forster, Addington, Kent, Price, and James Anderson,[610] should be read and compared with the miserable prattle of Sycophant MacCulloch in his catalogue, *The Literature of Political Economy,* London, 1845 [,p. 194].

[4] Price, l. c., pp. 147-148.

[5] Price, l. c., pp. 159-160. We are reminded of ancient Rome. "The rich had got possession of the greater part of the undivided land. They trusted in the conditions of

In fact, usurpation of the common lands and the revolution in agriculture accompanying this, told so acutely on the agricultural labourers that, even according to Eden, between 1765 and 1780, their wages began to fall below the minimum, and to be supplemented by official poor-law relief. Their wages, he says, "were not more than enough for the absolute necessaries of life".

Let us hear for a moment a defender of enclosures and an opponent of Dr. Price.

"Nor is it a consequence that there must be depopulation, because men are not seen wasting their labour in the open field.... If, by converting the little farmers into a body of men who must work for others, more labour is produced, it is an advantage which the nation" (to which, of course, the "converted" ones do not belong) "should wish for ... the produce being greater when their joint labours are employed on one farm, there will be a surplus for manufactures, and by this means manufactures, one of the mines of the nation, will increase, in proportion to the quantity of corn produced."[1]

The stoical peace of mind with which the political economist regards the most shameless violation of the "sacred rights of property" and the grossest acts of violence to persons, as soon as they are necessary to lay the foundations of the capitalistic mode of production, is shown by Sir F. M. Eden, philanthropist and tory, to boot. The whole series of thefts, outrages, and popular misery, that accompa-

the time, that these possessions would not be again taken from them, and bought, therefore, some of the pieces of land lying near theirs, and belonging to the poor, with the acquiescence of their owners, and took some by force, so that they now were cultivating widely extended domains, instead of isolated fields. Then they employed slaves in agriculture and cattle-breeding, because freemen would have been taken from labour for military service. The possession of slaves brought them great gain, inasmuch as these, on account of their immunity from military service, could freely multiply and have a multitude of children. Thus the powerful men drew all wealth to themselves, and all the land swarmed with slaves. The Italians, on the other hand, were always decreasing in number, destroyed as they were by poverty, taxes, and military service. Even when times of peace came, they were doomed to complete inactivity, because the rich were in possession of the soil, and used slaves instead of freemen in the tilling of it" (Appian, *Civil Wars*, [De civilibus Romanorum bellis historiarum,] I.7). This passage refers to the time before the Licinian rogations.[611] Military service, which hastened to so great an extent the ruin of the Roman plebeians, was also the chief means by which, as in a forcing-house, Charlemagne brought about the transformation of free German peasants into serfs and bondsmen.

[1] [J. Arbuthnot,] *An Inquiry into the Connection between the Present Price of Provisions*, &c., pp. 124, [128,] 129. To the like effect, but with an opposite tendency: "Workingmen are driven from their cottages and forced into the towns to seek for employment; but then a larger surplus is obtained, and thus capital is augmented" ([R.B. Seelly,] *The Perils of the Nation*, 2nd ed., London, 1843, p. XVI).

nied the forcible expropriation of the people, from the last third of the 15th to the end of the 18th century, lead him merely to the comfortable conclusion:

"The due proportion between arable land and pasture had to be established. During the whole of the 14th and the greater part of the 15th century, there was one acre of pasture to 2, 3, and even 4 of arable land. About the middle of the 16th century the proportion was changed of 2 acres of pasture to 2, later on, of 2 acres of pasture to one of arable, until at last the just proportion of 3 acres of pasture to one of arable land was attained." [612]

In the 19th century, the very memory of the connexion between the agricultural labourer and the communal property had, of course, vanished. To say nothing of more recent times, have the agricultural population received a farthing of compensation for the 3,511,770 acres of common land which between 1801 and 1831 were stolen from them and by parliamentary devices presented to the landlords by the landlords?

The last process of wholesale expropriation of the agricultural population from the soil is, finally, the so-called clearing of estates, i. e., the sweeping men off them. All the English methods hitherto considered culminated in "clearing". As we saw in the picture of modern conditions given in a former chapter, where there are no more independent peasants to get rid of, the "clearing" of cottages begins; so that the agricultural labourers do not find on the soil cultivated by them even the spot necessary for their own housing. But what "clearing of estates" really and properly signifies, we learn only in the promised land of modern romance, the Highlands of Scotland. There the process is distinguished by its systematic character, by the magnitude of the scale on which it is carried out at one blow (in Ireland landlords have gone to the length of sweeping away several villages at once; in Scotland areas as large as German principalities are dealt with), finally by the peculiar form of property, under which the embezzled lands were held.

The Highland Celts were organised in clans, each of which was the owner of the land on which it was settled. The representative of the clan, its chief or "great man", was only the titular owner of this property, just as the Queen of England is the titular owner of all the national soil. When the English government succeeded in suppressing the intestine wars of these "great men", and their constant incursions into the Lowland plains, the chiefs of the clans by no means gave up their time-honoured trade as robbers; they only changed its form. On

their own authority they transformed their nominal right into a right of private property, and as this brought them into collision with their clansmen, resolved to drive them out by open force.

"A king of England might as well claim to drive his subjects into the sea," says Professor Newman.[1]

This revolution, which began in Scotland after the last rising of the followers of the Pretender,[613] can be followed through its first phases in the writings of Sir James Steuart[2] and James Anderson.[3] In the 18th century the hunted-out Gaels[614] were forbidden to emigrate from the country, with a view to driving them by force to Glasgow and other manufacturing towns.[4] As an example of the method[5] obtaining in the 19th century, the "clearing" made by the Duchess of Sutherland will suffice here. This person, well instructed in economy,

[1] l. c. [Fr. W. Newman, *Lectures on Political Economy*, London, 1851], p. 132.

[2] Steuart says: "If you compare the rent of these lands" (he erroneously includes in this economic category the tribute of the taksmen[615] to the clanchief) "with the extent, it appears very small. If you compare it with the numbers fed upon the farm, you will find that an estate in the Highlands maintains, perhaps, ten times as many people as another of the same value in good and fertile province" (l. c. [*An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy*, Dublin, 1770], vol. i, ch. xvi, p. 104).

[3] James Anderson, *Observations on the Means of Exciting a Spirit of National Industry, &c.* Edinburgh, 1777.

[4] In 1860 the people expropriated by force were exported to Canada under false pretences. Some fled to the mountains and neighbouring islands. They were followed by the police, came to blows with them and escaped.

[5] "In the Highlands of Scotland," says Buchanan, the commentator on Adam Smith, 1814, "the ancient state of property is daily subverted.... The landlord, without regard to the hereditary tenant" (a category used in error here), "now offers his land to the highest bidder, who, if he is an improver, instantly adopts a new system of cultivation. The land, formerly overspread with small tenants or labourers, was peopled in proportion to its produce, but under the new system of improved cultivation and increased rents, the largest possible produce is obtained at the least possible expense: and the useless hands being, with this view, removed, the population is reduced, not to what the land will maintain, but to what it will employ. The dispossessed tenants either seek a subsistence in the neighbouring towns," &c. (David Buchanan, *Observations on, &c. A. Smith's Wealth of Nations*. Edinburgh, 1814, vol. iv, p. 144). "The Scotch grandees dispossessed families as they would grub up coppice-wood, and they treated villages and their people as Indians harassed with wild beasts do, in their vengeance, a jungle with tigers.... Man is bartered for a fleece or a carcase of mutton, nay, held cheaper.... Why, how much worse is it than the intention of the Moguls, who, when they had broken into the northern provinces of China, proposed in council to exterminate the inhabitants, and convert the land into pasture. This proposal many Highland proprietors have effected in their own country against their own countrymen" (George Ensor, *An Inquiry Concerning the Population of Nations*, Lond., 1818, pp. 215, 216).

resolved, on entering upon her government, to effect a radical cure, and to turn the whole country, whose population had already been, by earlier processes of the like kind, reduced to 15,000, into a sheep-walk. From 1814 to 1820 these 15,000 inhabitants, about 3,000 families, were systematically hunted and rooted out. All their villages were destroyed and burnt, all their fields turned into pasturage. British soldiers enforced this eviction, and came to blows with the inhabitants. One old woman was burnt to death in the flames of the hut, which she refused to leave. Thus this fine lady appropriated 794,000 acres of land that had from time immemorial belonged to the clan. She assigned to the expelled inhabitants about 6,000 acres on the seashore — 2 acres per family. The 6,000 acres had until this time lain waste, and brought in no income to their owners. The Duchess, in the nobility of her heart, actually went so far as to let these at an average rent of 2s. 6d. per acre to the clansmen, who for centuries had shed their blood for her family. The whole of the stolen clanland she divided into 29 great sheep farms, each inhabited by a single family, for the most part imported English farm-servants. In the year 1821 the 15,000 Gaels were already replaced by 131,000 sheep. The remnant of the aborigines flung on the seashore, tried to live by catching fish. They became amphibious and lived, as an English author says, half on land and half on water, and withal only half on both.[1] [616]

But the brave Gaels must expiate yet more bitterly their idolatry, romantic and of the mountains, for the "great men" of the clan. The smell of their fish rose to the noses of the great men. They scented some profit in it, and let the seashore to the great fishmongers of London. For the second time the Gaels were hunted out.[2]

But, finally, part of the sheep-walks are turned into deer preserves.

[1] When the present Duchess of Sutherland entertained Mrs. Beecher Stowe, authoress of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, with great magnificence in London to show her sympathy for the negro slaves of the American republic — a sympathy that she prudently forgot, with her fellow aristocrats, during the civil war,[7] in which every "noble" English heart beat for the slaveowner — I gave in the *New York Tribune* the facts about the Sutherland slaves. (Epitomised in part by Carey in *The Slave Trade*, Philadelphia, 1853, pp. 203-204.) My article was reprinted in a Scotch newspaper, and led to a pretty polemic between the latter and the sycophants of the Sutherlands.[617]

[2] Interesting details on this fish trade will be found in Mr. David Urquhart's *Portfolio*, new series.[618] — Nassau W. Senior, in his posthumous work [*Journals, Conversations and Essays...*, London, Vol. II, 1868, p. 282], already quoted, terms "the proceedings in Sutherlandshire one of the most beneficent clearings since the memory of man" (l. c.).

Every one knows that there are no real forests in England. The deer in the parks of the great are demurely domestic cattle, fat as London aldermen. Scotland is therefore the last refuge of the "noble passion".

"In the Highlands," says Somers in 1848, "new forests are springing up like mushrooms. Here, on one side of Gaick, you have the new forest of Glenfeshie; and there on the other you have the new forest of Ardverikie. In the same line you have the Black Mount, an immense waste also recently erected. From east to west — from the neighbourhood of Aberdeen to the crags of Oban — you have now a continuous line of forests; while in other parts of the Highlands there are the new forests of Loch Archaig, Glengarry, Glenmoriston, &c. Sheep were introduced into glens which had been the seats of communities of small farmers; and the latter were driven to seek subsistence on coarser and more sterile tracks of soil. Now deer are supplanting sheep; and these are once more dispossessing the small tenants, who will necessarily be driven down upon still coarser land and to more grinding penury. Deer-forests [1] and the people cannot coexist. One or other of the two must yield. Let the forests be increased in number and extent during the next quarter of a century, as they have been in the last, and the Gaels will perish from their native soil.... This movement among the Highland proprietors is with some a matter of ambition ... with some love of sport ... while others, of a more practical cast, follow the trade in deer with an eye solely to profit. For it is a fact, that a mountain range laid out in forest is, in many cases, more profitable to the proprietor than when let as a sheep-walk.... The huntsman who wants a deer-forest limits his offers by no other calculation than the extent of his purse.... Sufferings have been inflicted in the Highlands scarcely less severe than those occasioned by the policy of the Norman kings. Deer have received extended ranges, while men have been hunted within a narrower and still narrower circle.... One after one the liberties of the people have been cloven down.... And the oppressions are daily on the increase.... The clearance and dispersion of the people is pursued by the proprietors as a settled principle, as an agricultural necessity, just as trees and brushwood are cleared from the wastes of America or Australia; and the operation goes on in a quiet, businesslike way, &c." [2]

[1] The deer-forests of Scotland contain not a single tree. The sheep are driven from, and then the deer driven to, the naked hills, and then it is called a deer-forest. Not even timber-planting and real forest culture.

[2] Robert Somers, *Letters from the Highlands; or the Famine of 1847*, London, 1848, pp. 24, 25, 26, 28, 12, passim. These letters originally appeared in *The Times*. The English economists of course explained the famine of the Gaels in 1847, by their overpopulation. At all events, they "were pressing on their food-supply". The "clearing of estates", or as it is called in Germany, "Bauernlegen", occurred in Germany especially after the 30 years' war,[540] and led to peasant revolts as late as 1790 in Kursachsen.[619] It obtained especially in East Germany. In most of the Prussian provinces, Frederick II for the first time secured right of property for the peasants. After the conquest of Silesia he forced the landlords to rebuild the huts, barns, etc., and to provide the peasants with cattle and implements.[620] He wanted soldiers for his army and tax-payers for his treasury. For the rest, the pleasant life that the peasant led under Frederick's system of finance and hodge-podge rule of despotism, bureaucracy and feudalism, may be seen from the following quotation from his admirer, Mirabeau: "Flax represents one of the greatest sources of wealth for the peasant of North Germany. Unfortunately for the hu-

man race, this is only a resource against misery and not a means towards well-being. Direct taxes, forced labour service, obligations of all kinds crush the German peasant, especially as he still has to pay indirect taxes on everything he buys ... and to complete his ruin he dare not sell his produce where and as he wishes; he dare not buy what he needs from the merchants who could sell it to him at a cheaper price. He is slowly ruined by all these factors, and when the direct taxes fall due, he would find himself incapable of paying them without his spinning-wheel; it offers him a last resort, while providing useful occupation for his wife, his children, his maids, his farm-hands, and himself; but what a painful life he leads, even with this extra resource! In summer, he works like a convict with the plough and at harvest; he goes to bed at nine o'clock and rises at two to get through all his work; in winter he ought to be recovering his strength by sleeping longer; but he would run short of corn for his bread and next year's sawing if he got rid of the products that he needs to sell in order to pay the taxes. He therefore has to spin to fill up this gap ... and indeed he must do so most assiduously. Thus the peasant goes to bed at midnight or one o'clock in winter, and gets up at five or six; or he goes to bed at nine and gets up at two, and this he does every day of his life except Sundays. These excessively short hours of sleep and long hours of work consume a person's strength, and hence it happens that men and women age much more in the country than in the towns" (Mirabeau, l. c., t. III, pp. 212 sqq.).

Note to the second edition. In March 1866, 18 years after the publication of the work of Robert Somers quoted above, Professor Leone Levi gave a lecture before the Society of Arts [289] on the transformation of sheep-walks into deer-forest, in which he depicts the advance in the devastation of the Scottish Highlands. He says, with other things: "Depopulation and transformation into sheep-walks were the most convenient means for getting an income without expenditure.... A deer-forest in place of a sheep-walk was a common change in the Highlands. The landowners turned out the sheep as they once turned out the men from their estates, and welcomed the new tenants — the wild beasts and the feathered birds.... One can walk from the Earl of Dalhousie's estates in Forfarshire to John o'Groats, without ever leaving forest land.... In many of these" (woods) "the fox, the wild cat, the marten, the polecat, the weasel and the Alpine hare are common; whilst the rabbit, the squirrel and the rat have lately made their way into the country. Immense tracts of land, much of which is described in the statistical account of Scotland as having a pasturage in richness and extent of very superior description, are thus shut out from all cultivation and improvement, and are solely devoted to the sport of a few persons for a very brief period of the year." [621] The London *Economist* of June 2, 1866, [pp. 645-46] says, "Amongst the items of news in a Scotch paper of last week, we read.... 'One of the finest sheep farms in Sutherlandshire, for which a rent of £ 1,200 a year was recently offered, on the expiry of the existing lease this year, is to be converted into a deer-forest.' Here we see the modern instincts of feudalism ... operating pretty much as they did when the Norman Conqueror ... destroyed 36 villages to create the New Forest.... Two millions of acres ... totally laid waste, embracing within their area some of the most fertile lands of Scotland. The natural grass of Glen Tilt was among the most nutritive in the country of Perth. The deer-forest of Ben Aulder was by far the best grazing ground in the wide district of Badenoch; a part of the Black Mount forest was the best pasture for black-faced sheep in Scotland. Some idea of the ground laid waste for purely sporting purposes in Scotland may be formed from the fact that it embraced an area larger than the whole county of Perth. The resources of the forest of Ben Aulder might give some idea of the loss sustained from the forced desolations. The ground would pasture 15,000 sheep, and as it was not more than one-thirtieth part of

The spoliation of the church's property, the fraudulent alienation of the State domains, the robbery of the common lands, the usurpation of feudal and clan property, and its transformation into modern private property under circumstances of reckless terrorism, were just so many idyllic methods of primitive accumulation. They conquered the field for capitalistic agriculture, made the soil part and parcel of capital, and created for the town industries the necessary supply of a "free" and outlawed proletariat.

## Chapter XXVIII

### BLOODY LEGISLATION AGAINST THE EXPROPRIATED, FROM THE END OF THE 15TH CENTURY. FORCING DOWN OF WAGES BY ACTS OF PARLIAMENT

The proletariat created by the breaking up of the bands of feudal retainers and by the forcible expropriation of the people from the soil, this "free" proletariat could not possibly be absorbed by the nascent manufactures as fast as it was thrown upon the world. On the other hand, these men, suddenly dragged from their wonted mode of life, could not as suddenly adapt themselves to the discipline of their new condition. They were turned *en masse* into beggars, robbers, vagabonds, partly from inclination, in most cases from stress of circumstances. Hence at the end of the 15th and during the whole of the 16th century, throughout Western Europe a bloody legislation against vagabondage. The fathers of the present working class were chastised for their enforced transformation into vagabonds and paupers. Legislation treated them as "voluntary" criminals, and assumed that it depended on their own good will to go on working under the old conditions that no longer existed.

In England this legislation began under Henry VII.

Henry VIII. 1530[622]: Beggars old and unable to work receive a beggar's licence. On the other hand, whipping and imprisonment for sturdy vagabonds. They are to be tied to the cart-tail and whipped until the blood streams from their bodies, then to swear an oath

the old forest ground in Scotland ... it might, &c.... All that forest land is as totally unproductive.... It might thus as well have been submerged under the waters of the German Ocean.... Such extemporised wildernesses or deserts ought to be put down by the decided interference of the Legislature."

to go back to their birthplace or to where they have lived the last three years and to "put themselves to labour". What grim irony? In 27 Henry VIII the former statute [623] is repeated, but strengthened with new clauses. For the second arrest for vagabondage the whipping is to be repeated and half the ear sliced off; but for the third relapse the offender is to be executed as a hardened criminal and enemy of the common weal.

Edward VI: A statute of the first year of his reign, 1547,[624] ordains that if anyone refuses to work, he shall be condemned as a slave to the person who has denounced him as an idler. The master shall feed his slave on bread and water, weak broth and such refuse meat as he thinks fit. He has the right to force him to do any work, no matter how disgusting, with whip and chains. If the slave is absent a fortnight he is condemned to slavery for life and is to be branded on forehead or back with the letter S; if he runs away thrice, he is to be executed as a felon. The master can sell him, bequeath him, let him out on hire as a slave, just as any other personal chattel or cattle. If the slaves attempt anything against the masters, they are also to be executed. Justices of the peace, on information, are to hunt the rascals down. If it happens that a vagabond has been idling about for three days, he is to be taken to his birthplace, branded with a redhot iron with the letter V on the breast and be set to work, in chains, in the streets or at some other labour. If the vagabond gives a false birthplace, he is then to become the slave for life of this place, of its inhabitants, or its corporation, and to be branded with an S. All persons have the right to take away the children of the vagabonds and to keep them as apprentices, the young men until the 24th year, the girls until the 20th. If they run away, they are to become up to this age the slaves of their masters, who can put them in irons, whip them, &c., if they like. Every master may put an iron ring round the neck, arms or legs of his slave, by which to know him more easily and to be more certain of him.[1] The last part of this statute provides, that certain poor people may be employed by a place or by persons, who are willing to give them food and drink and to find them work. This kind of parish-slaves was kept up in England until far into the 19th century under the name of "roundsmen".

[1] The author of the *Essay on Trade, etc.*, [J. Cunningham,] 1770, says, "In the reign of Edward VI indeed the English seem to have set, in good earnest, about encouraging manufactures and employing the poor. This we learn from a remarkable statute which runs thus: 'That all vagrants shall be branded, &c.,'" l. c., p. 5.

Elizabeth, 1572[625]: Unlicensed beggars above 14 years of age are to be severely flogged and branded on the left ear unless some one will take them into service for two years; in case of a repetition of the offence, if they are over 18, they are to be executed, unless some one will take them into service for two years; but for the third offence they are to be executed without mercy as felons. Similar statutes: 18 Elizabeth, c. 13, and another of 1597.[1)][628]

James I: Any one wandering about and begging is declared a rogue and a vagabond. Justices of the peace in petty sessions[629] are authorised to have them publicly whipped and for the first offence to imprison them for 6 months, for the second for 2 years. Whilst in prison they are to be whipped as much and as often as the justices of the peace think fit.... Incorrigible and dangerous rogues are to be branded with an R on the left shoulder and set to hard labour, and if they are

[1)] Thomas More says in his *Utopia* [London, 1869, pp. 41-42]: "Therfore that on covetous and unsatiable cormaraunte and very plage of his native countrey maye compasse aboute and inclose many thousand akers of grounde together within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust owte of their owne, or els either by coneyne and fraude, or by violent oppression they be put besydes it, or by wrongs and iniuries thei be so weried that they be compelled to sell all: by one meanes, therfore, or by other, either by hooke or crooke they muste needes departe awaye, poore, selye, wretched soules, men, women, husbands, wiues, fatherlesse children, widowes, wofull mothers with their yonge babes, and their whole householde smal in substance, and muche in numbre, as husbandrye requireth many handes. Awaye thei trudge, I say, owte of their knowen accustomed houses, fyndynge no place to reste in. All their housholde stuffe, which is very little woorthe, thoughe it might well abide the sale: yet beeynge sodainely thruste owte, they be constrayned to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they haue wandered abrode tyll that be spent, what cant they then els doe but steale, and then iustly pardy be hanged, or els go about beggyng. And yet then also they be caste in prison as vagaboundes, because they go aboute and worke not: whom no man wyl set a worke though thei neuer so willyngly profre themselues therto." Of these poor fugitives of whom Thomas More says that they were forced to thieve, "72,000 great and petty thieves were put to death", in the reign of Henry VIII (Holinshed, *Description of England*, Vol. 1, p. 186[626]). In Elizabeth's time, "rogues were trussed up apace, and that there was not two years commonly wherein three or four hundred were not devoured and eaten up by the gallowes" (Strype's *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion and other Various Occurrences in the Church of England during Queen Elizabeth's Reign*. Second ed., 1725, Vol. 2). According to this same Strype, in Somersetshire, in one year, 40 persons were executed, 35 robbers burnt in the hand, 37 whipped, and 183 discharged as "incorrigible vagabonds". Nevertheless, he is of opinion that this large number of prisoners does not comprise even a fifth of the actual criminals, thanks to the negligence of the justices and the foolish compassion of the people; and the other counties of England were not better off in this respect than Somersetshire, while some were even worse.[627]

caught begging again, to be executed without mercy. These statutes, legally binding until the beginning of the 18th century, were only repealed by 12 Anne, c. 23.[630]

Similar laws in France, where by the middle of the 17th century a kingdom of vagabonds (truands) was established in Paris. Even at the beginning of Louis XVI's reign (Ordinance of July 13th, 1777) every man in good health from 16 to 60 years of age, if without means of subsistence and not practising a trade, is to be sent to the galleys. Of the same nature are the statute of Charles V for the Netherlands (October, 1531), the first edict of the States and Towns of Holland (March 19, 1614), the "Plakaat" of the United Provinces (June 25, 1649), &c.

Thus were the agricultural people, first forcibly expropriated from the soil, driven from their homes, turned into vagabonds, and then whipped, branded, tortured by laws grotesquely terrible, into the discipline necessary for the wage system.[631]

It is not enough that the conditions of labour are concentrated in a mass, in the shape of capital, at the one pole of society, while at the other are grouped masses of men, who have nothing to sell but their labour power. Neither is it enough that they are compelled to sell it voluntarily. The advance of capitalist production develops a working class, which by education, tradition, habit, looks upon the conditions of that mode of production as self-evident laws of Nature. The organisation of the capitalist process of production, once fully developed, breaks down all resistance. The constant generation of a relative surplus population keeps the law of supply and demand of labour, and therefore keeps wages, in a rut that corresponds with the wants of capital. The dull compulsion of economic relations completes the subjection of the labourer to the capitalist. Direct force, outside economic conditions, is of course still used, but only exceptionally. In the ordinary run of things, the labourer can be left to the "natural laws of production", i. e., to his dependence on capital, a dependence springing from, and guaranteed in perpetuity by, the conditions of production themselves. It is otherwise during the historic genesis of capitalist production. The bourgeoisie, at its rise, wants and uses the power of the state to "regulate" wages, i. e., to force them within the limits suitable for surplus value making, to lengthen the working day and to keep the labourer himself in the normal degree of dependence. This is an essential element of the so-called primitive accumulation.

The class of wage labourers, which arose in the latter half of the

14th century, formed then and in the following century only a very small part of the population, well protected in its position by the independent peasant proprietary in the country and the guild organisation in the town. In country and town master and workmen stood close together socially. The subordination of labour to capital was only formal — i. e., the mode of production itself had as yet no specific capitalistic character. Variable capital preponderated greatly over constant. The demand for wage labour grew, therefore, rapidly with every accumulation of capital, whilst the supply of wage labour followed but slowly. A large part of the national product, changed later into a fund of capitalist accumulation, then still entered into the consumption fund of the labourer.

Legislation on wage labour (from the first, aimed at the exploitation of the labourer and, as it advanced, always equally hostile to him),[1] is started in England by the Statute of Labourers,[a] of Edward III, 1349. The ordinance of 1350 in France, issued in the name of King John, corresponds with it. English and French legislation run parallel and are identical in purport. So far as the labour statutes aim at compulsory extension of the working day, I do not return to them, as this point was treated earlier (Chap. X., Section 5).

The Statute of Labourers was passed at the urgent instance of the House of Commons. A Tory says naïvely:

"Formerly the poor demanded such *high* wages as to threaten industry and wealth. Next, their wages are so *low* as to threaten industry and wealth equally and perhaps more, but in another way."[2]

A tariff of wages was fixed by law for town and country, for piece work and day work. The agricultural labourers were to hire themselves out by the year, the town ones "in open market". It was forbidden, under pain of imprisonment, to pay higher wages than those fixed by the statute, but the taking of higher wages was more severely punished than the giving them. //So also in Sections 18 and 19 of the

[1] "Whenever the legislature attempts to regulate the differences between masters and their workmen, its counsellors are always the masters," says A. Smith.[632] "L'esprit des lois, c'est la propriété," says Linguet.[508]

[2] [J. B. Byles,] *Sophisms of Free Trade*. By a Barrister. Lond., 1850, p. 206. He adds maliciously: "We were ready enough to interfere for the employer, can nothing now be done for the employed?"

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[a] See this volume, p. 293.

Statute of Apprentices of Elizabeth,[211] ten days' imprisonment is decreed for him that pays the higher wages, but twenty-one days for him that receives them.// A statute of 1360[633] increased the penalties and authorised the masters to extort labour at the legal rate of wages by corporal punishment. All combinations, contracts, oaths, &c., by which masons and carpenters reciprocally bound themselves, were declared null and void. Coalition of the labourers is treated as a heinous crime from the 14th century to 1825, the year of the repeal of the laws against Trades' Unions.[381] The spirit of the Statute of Labourers of 1349 and of its offshoots, comes out clearly in the fact, that indeed a maximum of wages is dictated by the State, but on no account a minimum.[634]

In the 16th century, the condition of the labourers had, as we know, become much worse. The money wage rose, but not in proportion to the depreciation of money and the corresponding rise in the prices of commodities. Wages, therefore, in reality fell. Nevertheless, the laws for keeping them down remained in force, together with the ear-clipping and branding of those "whom no one was willing to take into service". By the Statute of Apprentices 5 Elizabeth, c. 4, the justices of the peace were empowered to fix certain wages and to modify them according to the time of the year and the price of commodities. James I extended these regulations of labour also to weavers, spinners, and all possible categories of workers.[1)] [636] George II extended the laws against coalitions of labourers to manufacturers.[637] In the man-

[1)] From a clause of Statute 1 James I, c. 6,[635] we see that certain clothmakers took upon themselves to dictate, in their capacity of justices of the peace, the official tariff of wages in their own shops. In Germany, especially after the Thirty Years' War,[540] statutes for keeping down wages were general. "The want of servants and labourers was very troublesome to the landed proprietors in the depopulated districts. All villagers were forbidden to let rooms to single men and women; all the latter were to be reported to the authorities and cast into prison if they were unwilling to become servants, even if they were employed at any other work, such as sowing seeds for the peasants at a daily wage, or even buying and selling corn (Imperial privileges and sanctions for Silesia, I., 125). For a whole century in the decrees of the small German potentates a bitter cry goes up again and again about the wicked and impertinent rabble that will not reconcile itself to its hard lot, will not be content with the legal wage; the individual landed proprietors are forbidden to pay more than the State had fixed by a tariff. And yet the conditions of service were at times better after the war than 100 years later; the farm servants of Silesia had, in 1652, meat twice a week, whilst even in our century, districts are known where they have it only three times a year. Further, wages after the war were higher than in the following century" (G. Freytag, [*Neue Bilder aus dem Leben...*, Leipzig, 1862, pp. 35-36]).

ufacturing period *par excellence*, the capitalist mode of production had become sufficiently strong to render legal regulation of wages as impracticable as it was unnecessary; but the ruling classes were unwilling in case of necessity to be without the weapons of the old arsenal. Still, 7 George III forbade a higher day's wage than 2s. $7\frac{1}{2}$d. for journeymen tailors in and around London, except in cases of general mourning; still, 13 George III, c. 68, gave the regulation of the wages of silk weavers to the justices of the peace[638]; still, in 1796, it required two judgments of the higher courts to decide, whether the mandates of justices of the peace as to wages held good also for non-agricultural labourers; still, in 1799, an act of Parliament ordered that the wages of the Scotch miners should continue to be regulated by a statute of Elizabeth[a] and two Scotch acts of 1661 and 1617. How completely in the meantime circumstances had changed, is proved by an occurrence unheard-of before in the English Lower House. In that place, where for more than 400 years laws had been made for the maximum, beyond which wages absolutely must not rise, Whitbread in 1796 proposed a legal minimum wage for agricultural labourers. Pitt opposed this, but confessed that the "condition of the poor was cruel". Finally, in 1813, the laws for the regulation of wages were repealed.[639] They were an absurd anomaly, since the capitalist regulated his factory by his private legislation, and could by the poor-rates make up the wages of the agricultural labourer to the indispensable minimum. The provisions of the labour statutes as to contracts between master and workman, as to giving notice and the like, which only allow of a civil action against the contract-breaking master, but on the contrary permit a criminal action against the contract-breaking workman, are to this hour (1873) in full force. The barbarous laws against Trades' Unions[381] fell in 1825 before the threatening bearing of the proletariat. Despite this, they fell only in part. Certain beautiful fragments of the old statute vanished only in 1859.[640] Finally, the act of Parliament of June 29, 1871,[641] made a pretence of removing the last traces of this class of legislation by legal recognition of Trades' Unions. But an act of Parliament of the same date[642] (an act to amend the criminal law relating to violence, threats, and molestation), re-established, in point of fact, the former state of things in a new shape. By this Parliamentary escamotage the means which the labourers could use in a strike or lock-out were with-

[a] See this volume, pp. 277-78.

drawn from the laws common to all citizens, and placed under exceptional penal legislation, the interpretation of which fell to the masters themselves in their capacity as justices of the peace. Two years earlier, the same House of Commons and the same Mr. Gladstone in the wellknown straightforward fashion brought in a bill for the abolition of all exceptional penal legislation against the working class. But this was never allowed to go beyond the second reading,[643] and the matter was thus protracted until at last the "great Liberal party",[644] by an alliance with the Tories, found courage to turn against the very proletariat that had carried it into power. Not content with this treachery, the "great Liberal party" allowed the English judges, ever complaisant in the service of the ruling classes, to dig up again the earlier laws against "conspiracy",[645] and to apply them to coalitions of labourers. We see that only against its will and under the pressure of the masses did the English Parliament give up the laws against Strikes and Trades' Unions, after it had itself, for 500 years, held, with shameless egoism, the position of a permanent Trades' Union of the capitalists against the labourers.

During the very first storms of the revolution, the French bourgeoisie dared to take away from the workers the right of association but just acquired. By a decree of June 14, 1791,[646] they declared all coalition of the workers as "an attempt against liberty and the declaration of the rights of man", punishable by a fine of 500 livres, together with deprivation of the rights of an active citizen for one year.[1] This law which, by means of State compulsion, confined the struggle between capital and labour within limits comfortable for capital, has outlived revolutions and changes of dynasties. Even the Reign of Terror[647] left it untouched. It was but quite recently struck out of the Penal Code.[155] Nothing is more characteristic than the pretext for this bourgeois *coup d'état.* "Granting," says Chapelier, the reporter of the Select Committee on this law, "that wages ought to be a little higher

[1] Article I of this law runs: "As the abolition of any form of association between citizens of the same estate and profession is one of the foundations of the French constitution, it is forbidden to re-establish them under any pretext and in any form, whatever this might be." Article IV declares, that if "citizens belonging to the same profession, craft, or trade have joint discussions and make joint decisions with the intention of refusing together to perform their trade or insisting together on providing the services of their trade or their labours only at a particular price, then the said deliberations and agreements ... shall be declared unconstitutional, derogatory to liberty and the declaration of their rights of man, etc.": felony, therefore, as in the old labour statutes (*Revolutions de Paris*, 1791, t. III, p. 523).

than they are, ... that they ought to be high enough for him that receives them, to be free from that state of absolute dependence due to the want of the necessaries of life, and which is almost that of slavery", yet the workers must not be allowed to come to any understanding about their own interests, nor to act in common and thereby lessen their "absolute dependence, which is almost that of slavery"; because, forsooth, in doing this they injure "the freedom of their cidevant masters, the present entrepreneurs", and because a coalition against the despotism of the quondam masters of the corporations is — guess what! — is a restoration of the corporations abolished by the French constitution.[1]

## Chapter XXIX

### GENESIS OF THE CAPITALIST FARMER

Now that we have considered the forcible creation of a class of outlawed proletarians, the bloody discipline that turned them into wage labourers, the disgraceful action of the State which employed the police to accelerate the accumulation of capital by increasing the degree of exploitation of labour, the question remains: whence came the capitalists originally? For the expropriation of the agricultural population creates, directly, none but great landed proprietors. As far, however, as concerns the genesis of the farmer, we can, so to say, put our hand on it, because it is a slow process evolving through many centuries. The serfs, as well as the free small proprietors, held land under very different tenures, and were therefore emancipated under very different economic conditions. In England the first form of the farmer is the bailiff, himself a serf. His position is similar to that of the old Roman *villicus*,[a] only in a more limited sphere of action. During the second half of the 14th century he is replaced by a farmer, whom the landlord provides with seed, cattle and implements. His condition is not very different from that of the peasant. Only he exploits more wage labour. Soon he becomes a métayer, a half-farmer. He advances one part of the agricultural stock, the landlord the other. The two di-

[1] Buchez et Roux, *Histoire Parlementaire*, t. x, [p. 193-94,] p. 195.

[a] See this volume, p. 181, footnote 1.

vide the total product in proportions determined by contract. This form quickly disappears in England, to give place to the farmer proper, who makes his own capital breed by employing wage labourers, and pays a part of the surplus product, in money or in kind, to the landlord as rent. So long, during the 15th century, as the independent peasant and the farm labourer working for himself as well as for wages, enriched themselves by their own labour, the circumstances of the farmer, and his field of production, were equally mediocre. The agricultural revolution which commenced in the last third of the 15th century, and continued during almost the whole of the 16th (excepting, however, its last decade), enriched him just as speedily as it impoverished the mass of the agricultural people.[1]

The usurpation of the common lands allowed him to augment greatly his stock of cattle, almost without cost, whilst they yielded him a richer supply of manure for the tillage of the soil. To this, was added in the 16th century, a very important element. At that time the contracts for farms ran for a long time, often for 99 years. The progressive fall in the value of the precious metals, and therefore of money, brought the farmers golden fruit. Apart from all the other circumstances discussed above, it lowered wages. A portion of the latter was now added to the profits of the farm. The continuous rise in the price of corn, wool, meat, in a word of all agricultural produce, swelled the money capital of the farmer without any action on his part, whilst the rent he paid (being calculated on the old value of money) diminished in reality.[2] Thus they grew rich at the expense both of

[1] Harrison in his *Description of England*,[648] says "although peradventure foure pounds of old rent be improved to fortie, toward the end of his term, if he have not six or seven yeares rent lieng by him, fiftie or a hundred pounds, yet will the farmer thinke his gaines verie small".

[2] On the influence of the depreciation of money in the 16th century, on the different classes of society, see *A Compendious or Briefe Examination of Certayne Ordinary Complaints of Divers of our Countrymen in these our Days*. By W. S., Gentleman. (London, 1581.) The dialogue form of this work led people for a long time to ascribe it to Shakespeare, and even in 1751, it was published under his name. Its author is William Stafford. In one place the knight reasons as follows:

"Knight: You, my neighbour, the husbandman, you Maister Mercer, and you Goodman Capper, with other artificers, may save yourselves metely well. For as much as all things are dearer than they were, so much do you arise in the pryce of your wares and occupations that ye sell agayne. But we have nothing to sell whereby we might advance ye price there of, to countervaile those things that we must buy agayne." In another place the knight asks the doctor: "I pray you, what be those sorts that ye meane. And first, of those that ye thinke should have no losse thereby?—Doctor:

their labourers and their landlords. No wonder therefore, that England, at the end of the 16th century, has a class of capitalist farmers, rich, considering the circumstances of the time.[1]

## Chapter XXX

### REACTION OF THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION ON INDUSTRY. CREATION OF THE HOME MARKET FOR INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL

The expropriation and expulsion of the agricultural population, intermittent but renewed again and again, supplied, as we saw, the

I mean all those that live by buying and selling, for as they buy deare, they sell thereafter. Knight: What is the next sort that ye say would win by it? Doctor: Marry, all such as have takings of fearmes in their owne manurance //cultivation// at the old rent, for where they pay after the olde rate they sell after the newe — that is, they paye for theire lande good cheape, and sell all things growing thereof deare. Knight: What sorte is that which, ye sayde should have greater losse hereby, than these men had profit? Doctor: It is all noblemen, gentlemen, and all other that live either by a stinted rent or stypend, or do not manure //cultivation// the ground, or doe occupy no buying and selling."

[1] In France, the régisseur, steward, collector of dues for the feudal lords during the earlier part of the Middle Ages, soon became an homme d'affaires, who by extortion, cheating, &c., swindled himself into a capitalist. These régisseurs themselves were sometimes noblemen. E.g., "This is the account given by M. Jacquer de Thoraisse, knight, and lord of a manor near Besançon, to the lord who administers the accounts at Dijon for his highness the Duke and Count of Burgundy, of the rents appurtenant to the above-mentioned manor, from the 25th day of December 1359 to the 28th day of December 1360" (Alexis Monteil, *Histoire des Materiaux manuscrits*, etc.,[649] pp. 234-35.) Already it is evident here how in all spheres of social life the lion's share falls to the middleman. In the economic domain, e.g., financiers, stock-exchange speculators, merchants, shoopkeepers skim the cream; in civil matters, the lawyer fleeces his clients; in politics the representative is of more importance than the voters, the minister than the sovereign; in religion God is pushed into the background by the "Mediator", and the latter again is shoved back by the priests, the inevitable middlemen between the good shepherd and his sheep. In France, as in England, the great feudal territories were divided into innumerable small homesteads, but under conditions incomparably more unfavourable for the people. During the 14th century arose the farms or *terriers*. Their number grew constantly, far beyond 100,000. They paid rents varying from $\frac{1}{12}$ to $\frac{1}{5}$ of the product in money or in kind. These farms were fiefs, sub-fiefs, &c., according to the value and extent of the domains, many of them only containing a few acres. But these farmers had rights of jurisdiction in some degree over the dwellers on the soil; there were four grades. The oppression of the agricultural population under all these petty tyrants will be understood. Monteil says that there were once in France 160,000 judges, where today, 4,000 tribunals, including justices of the peace, suffice.[650]

town industries with a mass of proletarians entirely unconnected with the corporate guilds and unfettered by them; a fortunate circumstance that makes old A. Anderson (not to be confounded with James Anderson) in his "History of Commerce",[651] believe in the direct intervention of Providence. We must still pause a moment on this element of primitive accumulation. The thinning-out of the independent, self-supporting peasants not only brought about the crowding together of the industrial proletariat, in the way that Geoffroy Saint Hilaire explained the condensation of cosmical matter at one place, by its rarefaction at another.[1] In spite of the smaller number of its cultivators, the soil brought forth as much or more produce, after as before, because the revolution in the conditions of landed property was accompanied by improved methods of culture, greater co-operation, concentration of the means of production, &c., and because not only were the agricultural wage labourers put on the strain more intensely,[2] but the field of production of which they worked for themselves, became more and more contracted. With the setting free of a part of the agricultural population, therefore, their former means of nourishment were also set free. They were now transformed into material elements of variable capital. The peasant, expropriated and cast adrift, must buy their value in the form of wages, from his new master, the industrial capitalist. That which holds good of the means of subsistence holds with the raw materials of industry dependent upon home agriculture. They were transformed into an element of constant capital. Suppose, e. g., a part of the Westphalian peasants, who, at the time of Frederick II, all span flax, forcibly expropriated and hunted from the soil; and the other part that remained, turned into day labourers of large farmers. At the same time arise large establishments for flax-spinning and weaving, in which the men "set free" now work for wages. The flax looks exactly as before. Not a fibre of it is changed, but a new social soul has popped into its body. It forms now a part of the constant capital of the master manufacturer. Formerly divided among a number of small producers, who cultivated it themselves and with their families spun it in retail fashion, it is now concentrated in the hand of one capitalist, who sets others to spin and weave it for him. The extra labour expended in flax-spinning realised itself formerly in extra income to numerous peasant families, or

[1] In his *Notions de Philosophie Naturelle*. Paris, 1838.
[2] A point that Sir James Steuart emphasises.[652]

maybe, in Frederick II's time, in taxes *pour le roi de Prusse*.[a] It realises itself now in profit for a few capitalists. The spindles and looms, formerly scattered over the face of the country, are now crowded together in a few great labour barracks, together with the labourers and the raw material. And spindles, looms, raw material, are now transformed, from means of independent existence for the spinners and weavers, into means for commanding them and sucking out of them unpaid labour.[1] One does not perceive, when looking at the large manufactories and the large farms, that they have originated from the throwing into one of many small centres of production, and have been built up by the expropriation of many small independent producers. Nevertheless, the popular intuition was not at fault. In the time of Mirabeau, the lion of the Revolution, the great manufactories were still called manufactures réunies, workshops thrown into one, as we speak of fields thrown into one. Says Mirabeau:

"We are only paying attention to the grand manufactories, in which hundreds of men work under a director and which are commonly called *manufactures réunies*. Those where a very large number of labourers work, each separately and on his own account, are hardly considered; they are placed at an infinite distance from the others. This is a great error, as the latter alone make a really important object of national prosperity.... The large workshop (manufacture réunie) will enrich prodigiously one or two entrepreneurs, but the labourers will only be journeymen, paid more or less, and will not have any share in the success of the undertaking. In the discrete workshop (manufacture séparée), on the contrary, no one will become rich, but many labourers will be comfortable; the saving and the industrious will be able to amass a little capital, to put by a little for a birth of a child, for an illness, for themselves or their belongings. The number of saving and industrious labourers will increase, because they will see in good conduct, in activity, a means of essentially bettering their condition, and not of obtaining a small rise of wages that can never be of any importance for the future, and whose sole result is to place men in the position to live a little better, but only from day to day.... The large workshops, undertakings of certain private persons who pay labourers from day to day to work for their gain, may be able to put these private individuals at their ease, but they will never be an object worth the attention of governments. Discrete workshops, for the most part combined with cultivation of small holdings, are the only free ones."[2]

[1] "I will allow you," says the capitalist, "to have the honour of serving me, on condition that, in return for the pains I take in commanding you, you give me the little that remains to you" (J.J. Rousseau, *Discours sur l'Économie Politique* [, p. 70]).

[2] Mirabeau, l. c., t. III, pp. 20, 21, 109, passim. That Mirabeau considers the separate workshops more economical and productive than the "combined", and sees in the latter merely artificial exotics under government cultivation, is explained by the position at that time of a great part of the continental manufactures.

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[a] "For the King of Prussia", in other words, for a man who will give nothing in return.

The expropriation and eviction of a part of the agricultural population not only set free for industrial capital, the labourers, their means of subsistence, and material for labour; it also created the home market.

In fact, the events that transformed the small peasants into wage labourers, and their means of subsistence and of labour into material elements of capital, created, at the same time, a home market for the latter. Formerly, the peasant family produced the means of subsistence and the raw materials, which they themselves, for the most part, consumed. These raw materials and means of subsistence have now become commodities; the large farmer sells them, he finds his market in manufactures. Yarn, linen, coarse woollen stuffs — things whose raw materials had been within the reach of every peasant family, had been spun and woven by it for its own use — were now transformed into articles of manufacture, to which the country districts at once served for markets. The many scattered customers, whom stray artisans until now had found in the numerous small producers working on their own account, concentrate themselves now into one great market provided for by industrial capital.[1] Thus, hand in hand with the expropriation of the self-supporting peasants, with their separation from their means of production, goes the destruction of rural domestic industry, the process of separation between manufacture and agriculture. And only the destruction of rural domestic industry can give the internal market of a country that extension and consistence which the capitalist mode of production requires. Still the manufacturing period, properly so called, does not succeed in carrying out this transformation radically and completely. It will be remembered that manufacture, properly so called, conquers but partially the domain of national production, and always rests on the handicrafts of the town and the domestic industry of the rural districts as its ultimate basis. If it destroys these in one form, in particular branches, at certain points, it calls them up again elsewhere, because it needs them

[1] "Twenty pounds of wool converted unobtrusively into the yearly clothing of a labourer's family by its own industry in the intervals of other work — this makes no show; but bring it to market, send it to the factory, thence to the broker, thence to the dealer, and you will have great commercial operations, and nominal capital engaged to the amount of twenty times its value.... The working class is thus emersed to support a wretched factory population, a parasitical shop-keeping class, and a fictitious commercial, monetary, and financial system (David Urquhart, l. c. [*Familiar Words*..., London, 1855], p. 120).

for the preparation of raw material up to a certain point. It produces, therefore, a new class of small villagers who, while following the cultivation of the soil as an accessary calling, find their chief occupation in industrial labour, the products of which they sell to the manufacturers directly, or through the medium of merchants. This is one, though not the chief, cause of a phenomenon which, at first, puzzles the student of English history. From the last third of the 15th century he finds continually complaints, only interrupted at certain intervals, about the encroachment of capitalist farming in the country districts, and the progressive destruction of the peasantry. On the other hand, he always finds this peasantry turning up again, although in diminished number, and always under worse conditions.[1] The chief reason is: England is at one time chiefly a cultivator of corn, at another chiefly a breeder of cattle, in alternate periods, and with these the extent of peasant cultivation fluctuates. Modern industry alone, and finally, supplies, in machinery, the lasting basis of capitalistic agriculture, expropriates radically the enormous majority of the agricultural population, and completes the separation between agriculture and rural domestic industry, whose roots — spinning and weaving — it tears up.[2] It therefore also, for the first time, conquers for industrial capital the entire home market.[3]

[1] Cromwell's time forms an exception. So long as the Republic lasted, the mass of the English people of all grades rose from the degradation into which they had sunk under the Tudors.[653]

[2] Tuckett is aware that the modern woollen industry has sprung, with the introduction of machinery, from manufacture proper and from the destruction of rural and domestic industries [Tuckett, l. c., vol. 1, pp. 142-43]. "The plough, the yoke, were 'the invention of gods, and the occupation of heroes;' are the loom, the spindle, the distaff, of less noble parentage. You sever the distaff and the plough, the spindle and the yoke, and you get factories and poor-houses, credit and panics, two hostile nations, agricultural and commercial" (David Urquhart, l. c., p. 122). But now comes Carey, and cries out upon England, surely not with unreason, that it is trying to turn every other country into a mere agricultural nation, whose manufacturer is to be England. He pretends that in this way Turkey has been ruined, because "the owners and occupants of land have never been permitted by England to strengthen themselves by the formation of that natural alliance between the plough and the loom, the hammer and the harrow" ([Carey,] *The Slave Trade*, p. 125). According to him, Urquhart himself is one of the chief agents in the ruin of Turkey, where he had made Free-trade propaganda in the English interest. The best of it is that Carey, a great Russophile by the way, wants to prevent the process of separation by that very system of protection[a] which accelerates it.

[3] Philanthropic English economists, like Mill, Rogers, Goldwin, Smith, Fawcett,

[a] See this volume, pp. 562, 745.

# Chapter XXXI

## GENESIS OF THE INDUSTRIAL CAPITALIST

The genesis of the industrial[1] capitalist did not proceed in such a gradual way as that of the farmer. Doubtless many small guild masters, and yet more independent small artisans, or even wage labourers, transformed themselves into small capitalists, and (by gradually extending exploitation of wage labour and corresponding accumulation) into full-blown capitalists. In the infancy of capitalist production, things often happened as in the infancy of mediæval towns, where the question, which of the escaped serfs should be master and which servant, was in great part decided by the earlier or later date of their flight. The snail's pace of this method corresponded in no wise with the commercial requirements of the new world market that the great discoveries of the end of the 15th century created.[580] But the Middle Ages had handed down two distinct forms of capital, which mature in the most different economic social formations, and which, before the era of the capitalist mode of production, are considered as capital quand même — usurer's capital and merchant's capital.

"At present, all the wealth of society goes first into the possession of the capitalist ... he pays the landowner his rent, the labourer his wages, the tax and tithe gatherer their claims, and keeps a large, indeed the largest, and a continually augmenting share, of the annual produce of labour for himself. The capitalist may now be said to be the first owner of all the wealth of the community, though no law has conferred on him the right to this property ... this change has been effected by the taking of interest on capital ... and it is not a little curious that all the law-givers of Europe endeavoured to prevent this by statutes, viz., statutes against usury.... The power of the capitalist over all the wealth of the country is a complete change in the right of property, and by what law, or series of laws, was it effected?"[2]

The author should have remembered that revolutions are not made by laws.

The money capital formed by means of usury and commerce was prevented from turning into industrial capital, in the country by the

&c., and liberal manufacturers like John Bright, & Co., ask the English landed proprietors, as God asked Cain after Abel,[654] Where are our thousands of freeholders gone? But where do *you* come from, then? From the destruction of those freeholders. Why don't you ask further, where are the independent weavers, spinners, and artisans gone?

[1] Industrial here in contradistinction to agricultural. In the "categoric" sense the farmer is an industrial capitalist as much as the manufacturer.

[2] *The Natural and Artificial Rights of Property Contrasted.* Lond., 1832, pp. 98-99. Author of the anonymous work: "Th. Hodgskin."

feudal constitution, in the towns by the guild organisation.[1] These fetters vanished with the dissolution of feudal society, with the expropriation and partial eviction of the country population. The new manufactures were established at sea-ports, or at inland points beyond the control of the old municipalities and their guilds. Hence in England an embittered struggle of the corporate towns against these new industrial nurseries.

The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of blackskins, signalised the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief momenta of primitive accumulation. On their heels treads the commercial war of the European nations, with the globe for a theatre. It begins with the revolt of the Netherlands from Spain,[655] assumes giant dimension in England's Anti-Jacobin War,[464] and is still going on in the opium wars against China, &c.[656]

The different momenta of primitive accumulation distribute themselves now, more or less in chronological order, particularly over Spain, Portugal, Holland, France, and England. In England at the end of the 17th century, they arrive at a systematical combination, embracing the colonies, the national debt, the modern mode of taxation, and the protectionist system. These methods depend in part on brute force, e. g., the colonial system. But they all employ the power of the State, the concentrated and organised force of society, to hasten, hothouse fashion, the process of transformation of the feudal mode of production into the capitalist mode, and to shorten the transition. Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one. It is itself an economic power.

Of the Christian colonial system. W. Howitt, a man who makes a speciality of Christianity, says:

"The barbarities and desperate outrages of the so-called Christian race, throughout every region of the world, and upon every people they have been able to subdue, are not to be paralleled by those of any other race, however fierce, however untaught, and however reckless of mercy and of shame, in any age of the earth."[2]

[1] Even as late as 1794, the small cloth-makers of Leeds sent a deputation to Parliament, with a petition for a law to forbid any merchant from becoming a manufacturer (Dr. Aikin, l. c. [*A Description of the Country...*, London, 1795, pp. 564-65]).

[2] William Howitt, *Colonisation and Christianity: A Popular History of the Treatment of the Natives by the Europeans in all their Colonies*. London, 1838, p. 9. On the treatment

The history of the colonial administration of Holland — and Holland was the head capitalistic nation of the 17th century —

"is one of the most extraordinary relations of treachery, bribery, massacre, and meanness".[1]

Nothing is more characteristic than their system of stealing men, to get slaves for Java. The men stealers were trained for this purpose. The thief, the interpreter, and the seller, were the chief agents in this trade, native princes the chief sellers. The young people stolen, were thrown into the secret dungeons of Celebes, until they were ready for sending to the slave-ships.[659] An official report says:

"This one town of Macassar, e. g., is full of secret prisons, one more horrible than the other, crammed with unfortunates, victims of greed and tyranny fettered in chains, forcibly torn from their families."

To secure Malacca, the Dutch corrupted the Portuguese governor. He let them into the town in 1641. They hurried at once to his house and assassinated him, to "abstain" from the payment of £21,875, the price of his treason. Wherever they set foot, devastation and depopulation followed. Banjuwangi, a province of Java, in 1750 numbered over 80,000 inhabitants, in 1811 only 8,000. Sweet commerce!

The English East India Company,[124] as is well known, obtained, besides the political rule in India, the exclusive monopoly of the tea-trade, as well as of the Chinese trade in general, and of the transport of goods to and from Europe. But the coasting trade of India and between the islands, as well as the internal trade of India, were the monopoly of the higher employés of the company. The monopolies of salt, opium, betel and other commodities, were inexhaustible mines of wealth. The employés themselves fixed the price and plundered at will the unhappy Hindus. The Governor-General took part in this private traffic. His favourites received contracts under conditions whereby they, cleverer than the alchemists, made gold out of nothing. Great fortunes sprang up like mushrooms in a day; primitive accumulation went on without the advance of a shilling. The trial of Warren Hastings swarms with such cases. Here is an instance. A con-

of the slaves there is a good compilation in Charles Comte, *Traité de la Législation.* 3me éd. Bruxelles, 1837. This subject one must study in detail, to see what the bourgeoisie makes of itself and of the labourer, wherever it can, without restraint, model the world after its own image.[657]

[1] Thomas Stamford Raffles, late Lieut-Gov. of that island, *The History of Java and its dependencies*, Lond., 1817.[658]

tract for opium was given to a certain Sullivan at the moment of his departure on an official mission to a part of India far removed from the opium district. Sullivan sold his contract to one Benn for £40,000; Benn sold it the same day for £60,000, and the ultimate purchaser who carried out the contract declared that after all he realised an enormous gain. According to one of the lists laid before Parliament, the Company and its employés from 1757-1766 got £5,940,498 from the Indians as gifts. Between 1769 and 1770, the English manufactured a famine by buying up all the rice and refusing to sell it again, except at fabulous prices.[1]

The treatment of the aborigines was, naturally, most frightful in plantation colonies destined for export trade only, such as the West Indies, and in rich and well-populated countries, such as Mexico and India, that were given over to plunder. But even in the colonies properly so called, the Christian character of primitive accumulation did not belie itself. Those sober virtuosi of Protestantism, the Puritans of New England, in 1703, by decrees of their assembly set a premium of £40 on every Indian scalp and every captured red-skin: in 1722 a premium of £100 on every scalp; in 1744, after Massachusetts-Bay had proclaimed a certain tribe as rebels, the following prices: for a male scalp of 12 years and upwards £100 (new currency), for a male prisoner £105, for women and children prisoners £55, for scalps of women and children £50. Some decades later, the colonial system took its revenge on the descendants of the pious pilgrim fathers,[660] who had grown seditious in the meantime. At English instigation and for English pay they were tomahawked by red-skins. The British Parliament proclaimed bloodhounds and scalping as "means that God and Nature had given into its hand".

The colonial system ripened, like a hothouse, trade and navigation. The "societies Monopolia" of Luther[265] were powerful levers for concentration of capital. The colonies secured a market for the budding manufactures, and, through the monopoly of the market, an increased accumulation. The treasures captured outside Europe by undisguised looting, enslavement, and murder, floated back to the mother-country and were there turned into capital. Holland, which first fully developed the colonial system, in 1648 stood already in the acme of its commercial greatness.

[1] In the year 1866 more than a million Hindus died of hunger in the province of Orissa alone. Nevertheless, the attempt was made to enrich the Indian treasury by the price at which the necessaries of life were sold to the starving people.

It was "in almost exclusive possession of the East Indian trade and the commerce between the south-east and north-west of Europe. Its fisheries, marine, manufactures, surpassed those of any other country. The total capital of the Republic was probably more important than that of all the rest of Europe put together."[661]

Gülich forgets to add that by 1648, the people of Holland were more overworked, poorer and more brutally oppressed than those of all the rest of Europe put together.

Today industrial supremacy implies commercial supremacy. In the period of manufacture properly so called, it is, on the other hand, the commercial supremacy that gives industrial predominance. Hence the preponderant rôle that the colonial system plays at that time. It was "the strange God" who perched himself on the altar cheek by jowl with the old Gods of Europe, and one fine day with a shove and a kick chucked them all of a heap. It proclaimed surplus value making as the sole end and aim of humanity.[662]

The system of public credit, i. e., of national debts, whose origin we discover in Genoa and Venice as early as the Middle Ages, took possession of Europe generally during the manufacturing period. The colonial system with its maritime trade and commercial wars served as a forcing-house for it. Thus it first took root in Holland. National debts, i. e., the alienation of the state — whether despotic, constitutional or republican — marked with its stamp the capitalistic era. The only part of the so-called national wealth that actually enters into the collective possessions of modern peoples is — their national debt.[1] Hence, as a necessary consequence, the modern doctrine that a nation becomes the richer the more deeply it is in debt. Public credit becomes the *credo* of capital. And with the rise of national debt-making, want of faith in the national debt takes the place of the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost,[663] which may not be forgiven.

The public debt becomes one of the most powerful levers of primitive accumulation. As with the stroke of an enchanter's wand, it endows barren money with the power of breeding and thus turns it into capital, without the necessity of its exposing itself to the troubles and risks inseparable from its employment in industry or even in usury. The state creditors actually give nothing away, for the sum lent is transformed into public bonds, easily negotiable, which go on functioning in their hands just as so much hard cash would. But further,

[1] William Cobbett remarks that in England all public institutions are designated "royal"; as compensation for this, however, there is the "national" debt.[664]

apart from the class of lazy annuitants thus created, and from the improvised wealth of the financiers, middlemen between the government and the nation — as also apart from the tax-farmers, merchants, private manufacturers, to whom a good part of every national loan renders the service of a capital fallen from heaven — the national debt has given rise to joint-stock companies, to dealings in negotiable effects of all kinds, and to agiotage, in a word to stock-exchange gambling and the modern bankocracy.

At their birth the great banks, decorated with national titles, were only associations of private speculators, who placed themselves by the side of governments, and, thanks to the privileges they received, were in a position to advance money to the State. Hence the accumulation of the national debt has no more infallible measure than the successive rise in the stock of these banks, whose full development dates from the founding of the Bank of England in 1694. The Bank of England began with lending its money to the Government at 8%; at the same time it was empowered by Parliament to coin money out of the same capital, by lending it again to the public in the form of banknotes. It was allowed to use these notes for discounting bills, making advances on commodities, and for buying the precious metals. It was not long ere this credit money, made by the bank itself, became the coin in which the Bank of England made its loans to the State, and paid, on account of the State, the interest on the public debt. It was not enough that the bank gave with one hand and took back more with the other; it remained, even whilst receiving, the eternal creditor of the nation down to the last shilling advanced. Gradually it became inevitably the receptacle of the metallic hoard of the country, and the centre of gravity of all commercial credit. What effect was produced on their contemporaries by the sudden uprising of this brood of bankocrats, financiers, rentiers, brokers, stock-jobbers, &c., is proved by the writings of that time, e. g., by Bolingbroke's.[1)] [665]

With the national debt arose an international credit system, which often conceals one of the sources of primitive accumulation in this or that people. Thus the villainies of the Venetian thieving system formed one of the secret bases of the capital wealth of Holland to whom Venice in her decadence lent large sums of money. So also was it with

[1)] "If the Tartars were to flood into Europe today, it would be a difficult job to make them understand what a financier is with us." Montesquieu, *Esprit des lois*, t. IV, p. 33, ed. Londres, 1769.

Holland and England. By the beginning of the 18th century the Dutch manufactures were far outstripped. Holland had ceased to be the nation preponderant in commerce and industry. One of its main lines of business, therefore, from 1701-1776, is the lending out of enormous amounts of capital, especially to its great rival England. The same thing is going on today between England and the United States.[666] A great deal of capital which appears today in the United States without any certificate of birth, was yesterday, in England, the capitalised blood of children.

As the national debt finds its support in the public revenue, which must cover the yearly payments for interest, &c., the modern system of taxation was the necessary complement of the system of national loans. The loans enable the government to meet extraordinary expenses, without the tax-payers feeling it immediately, but they necessitate, as a consequence, increased taxes. On the other hand, the raising of taxation caused by the accumulation of debts contracted one after another, compels the government always to have recourse to new loans for new extraordinary expenses. Modern fiscality, whose pivot is formed by taxes on the most necessary means of subsistence (thereby increasing their price), thus contains within itself the germ of automatic progression. Overtaxation is not an incident, but rather a principle. In Holland, therefore, where this system was first inaugurated, the great patriot, De Witt, has in his *Maxims* extolled it as the best system for making the wage labourer submissive, frugal, industrious, and overburdened with labour.[667] The destructive influence that it exercises on the condition of the wage labourer concerns us less however, here, than the forcible expropriation, resulting from it, of peasants, artisans, and in a word, all elements of the lower middle class. On this there are not two opinions, even among the bourgeois economists. Its expropriating efficacy is still further heightened by the system of protection, which forms one of its integral parts.

The great part that the public debt, and the fiscal system corresponding with it, has played in the capitalisation of wealth and the expropriation of the masses, has led many writers, like Cobbett, Doubleday and others,[668] to seek in this, incorrectly, the fundamental cause of the misery of the modern peoples.

The system of protection was an artificial means of manufacturing manufacturers, of expropriating independent labourers, of capitalising the national means of production and subsistence, of forcibly abbreviating the transition from the mediæval to the modern mode of

production. The European states tore one another to pieces about the patent of this invention, and, once entered into the service of the surplus value makers, did not merely lay under contribution in the pursuit of this purpose their own people, indirectly through protective duties, directly through export premiums. They also forcibly rooted out, in their dependent countries, all industry, as, e. g., England did with the Irish woollen manufacture. On the continent of Europe, after Colbert's example,[669] the process was much simplified. The primitive industrial capital, here, came in part directly out of the state treasury. "Why," cries Mirabeau, "why go so far to seek the cause of the manufacturing glory of Saxony before the war? 180,000,000 of debts contracted by the sovereigns!" [1]

Colonial system, public debts, heavy taxes, protection, commercial wars, &c., these children of the true manufacturing period, increase gigantically during the infancy of modern industry. The birth of the latter is heralded by a great slaughter of the innocents.[670] Like the royal navy, the factories were recruited by means of the press-gang. Blasé as Sir F. M. Eden is as to the horrors of the expropriation of the agricultural population from the soil, from the last third of the 15th century to his own time; with all the self-satisfaction with which he rejoices in this process, "essential" for establishing capitalistic agriculture and "the due proportion between arable and pasture land" [a]— he does not show, however, the same economic insight in respect to the necessity of child-stealing and child-slavery for the transformation of manufacturing exploitation into factory exploitation, and the establishment of the "true relation" between capital and labour power. He says:

"It may, perhaps, be worthy the attention of the public to consider, whether any manufacture, which, in order to be carried on successfully, requires that cottages and workhouses should be ransacked for poor children; that they should be employed by turns during the greater part of the night and robbed of that rest which, though indispensable to all, is most required by the young; and that numbers of both sexes, of different ages and dispositions, should be collected together in such a manner that the contagion of example cannot but lead to profligacy and debauchery; will add to the sum of individual or national felicity?" [2]

"In the counties of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and more particularly in Lancashire," says Fielden, "the newly-invented machinery was used in large factories built

[1] Mirabeau, l. c., [*De la monarchie prussienne...*,] t. vi, p. 101.
[2] Eden, l. c., Vol. I, Book II, Ch. I, pp. 420-422.

[a] See this volume, p. 718.

on the sides of streams capable of turning the water-wheel. Thousands of hands were suddenly required in these places, remote from towns; and Lancashire, in particular, being, till then, comparatively thinly populated and barren, a population was all that she now wanted. The small and nimble fingers of little children being by very far the most in request, the custom instantly sprang up of procuring *apprentices* from the different parish workhouses of London, Birmingham, and elsewhere. Many, many thousands of these little, hapless creatures were sent down into the north, being from the age of 7 to the age of 13 or 14 years old. The custom was for the master to clothe his apprentices and to feed and lodge them in an "apprentice house" near the factory; overseers were appointed to see to the works, whose interest it was to work the children to the utmost, because their pay was in proportion to the quantity of work that they could exact. Cruelty was, of course, the consequence.... In many of the manufacturing districts, but particularly, I am afraid, in the guilty county to which I belong //Lancashire//, cruelties the most heart-rending were practised upon the unoffending and friendless creatures who were thus consigned to the charge of master-manufacturers; they were harassed to the brink of death by excess of labour ... were flogged, fettered and tortured in the most exquisite refinement of cruelty; ... they were in many cases starved to the bone while flogged to their work and ... even in some instances ... were driven to commit suicide.... The beautiful and romantic valleys of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Lancashire, secluded from the public eye, became the dismal solitudes of torture, and of many a murder. The profits of manufacturers were enormous; but this only whetted the appetite that it should have satisfied, and therefore the manufacturers had recourse to an expedient that seemed to secure to them those profits without any possibility of limit; they began the practice of what is termed "night-working", that is, having tired one set of hands, by working them throughout the day, they had another set ready to go on working throughout the night; the day-set getting into the beds that the night-set had just quitted, and in their turn again, the night-set getting into the beds that the day-set quitted in the morning. It is a common tradition in Lancashire, that the beds *never get cold*." [1]

With the development of capitalist production during the manu-

[1] John Fielden, l. c., [*The Curse of the Factory System*..., London, 1836,] pp. 5, 6. On the earlier infamies of the factory system, cf. Dr. Aikin (1795), l. c., p. 219; and Gisborne, *Enquiry into the Duties of Men*, 1795, Vol. II.[671] When the steam-engine transplanted the factories from the country waterfalls to the middle of towns, the "abstemious" surplus value maker found the child material ready to his hand, without being forced to seek slaves from the workhouses.[193] When Sir R. Peel (father of the "minister of plausibility"), brought in his bill [672] for the protection of children, in 1815, Francis Horner, lumen of the Bullion Committee [673] and intimate friend of Ricardo, said in the House of Commons: "It is notorious, that with a bankrupt's effects, a gang, if he might use the word, of these children had been put up to sale, and were advertised publicly as part of the property. A most atrocious instance had been brought before the Court of King's Bench two years before, in which a number of these boys, apprenticed by a parish in London to one manufacturer, had been transferred to another, and had been found by some benevolent persons in a state of absolute famine. Another case more horrible had come to his knowledge while on a //Parliamentary// Committee ... that not many years ago, an agreement had been made between a London parish and a Lancashire manufacturer, by which it was stipulated, that with every 20 sound children one idiot should be taken." [674]

facturing period, the public opinion of Europe had lost the last remnant of shame and conscience. The nations bragged cynically of every infamy that served them as a means to capitalistic accumulation. Read, e. g., the naïve Annals of Commerce of the worthy A. Anderson.[651] Here it is trumpeted forth as a triumph of English statecraft that at the Peace of Utrecht,[675] England extorted from the Spaniards by the Asiento Treaty[676] the privilege of being allowed to ply the negro trade, until then only carried on between Africa and the English West Indies, between Africa and Spanish America as well. England thereby acquired the right of supplying Spanish America until 1743 with 4,800 negroes yearly. This threw, at the same time, an official cloak over British smuggling. Liverpool waxed fat on the slave trade. This was its method of primitive accumulation. And, even to the present day, Liverpool "respectability" is the Pindar of the slave trade which — compare the work of Aikin [1795] already quoted — "has coincided with that spirit of bold adventure which has characterised the trade of Liverpool and rapidly carried it to its present state of prosperity; has occasioned vast employment for shipping and sailors, and greatly augmented the demand for the manufactures of the country" (pp. 338-339). Liverpool employed in the slave trade, in 1730, 15 ships; in 1751, 53; in 1760, 74; in 1770, 96; and in 1792, 132.[677]

Whilst the cotton industry introduced child slavery in England, it gave in the United States a stimulus to the transformation of the earlier, more or less patriarchal slavery, into a system of commercial exploitation. In fact, the veiled slavery of the wage workers in Europe needed, for its pedestal, slavery pure and simple in the new world.[1]

Tantæ molis erat,[678] to establish the "eternal laws of Nature" of the capitalist mode of production, to complete the process of separation between labourers and conditions of labour, to transform, at one pole, the social means of production and subsistence into capital, at the opposite pole, the mass of the population into wage labourers, into "free labouring poor", that artificial product of modern society.[2]

[1] In 1790, there were in the English West Indies ten slaves for one free man, in the French fourteen for one, in the Dutch twenty-three for one (Henry Brougham, *An Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers*. Edin. 1803, vol. II, p. 74).

[2] The phrase, "labouring poor", is found in English legislation from the moment when the class of wage labourers becomes noticeable. This term is used in opposition, on the one hand, to the "idle poor", beggars, etc., on the other to those labourers, who, pigeons not yet plucked, are still possessors of their own means of labour. From the Stat-

If money, according to Augier,[1] "comes into the world with a congenital blood stain on one cheek, capital comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt.[2]

## Chapter XXXII

### HISTORICAL TENDENCY OF CAPITALIST ACCUMULATION

What does the primitive accumulation of capital, i. e., its historical genesis, resolve itself into? In so far as it is not immediate transformation of slaves and serfs into wage labourers, and therefore a mere change of form, it only means the expropriation of the immediate producers, i. e., the dissolution of private property based on the labour of its owner. Private property, as the antithesis to social, collective property, exists only where the means of labour and the external conditions of labour belong to private individuals. But according as

ute Book it passed into political economy, and was handed down by Culpeper, J. Child, etc., to Adam Smith and Eden. After this, one can judge of the good faith of the "execrable political cant-monger", Edmund Burke, when he called the expression, "labouring poor",— "execrable political cant". This sycophant who, in the pay of the English oligarchy, played the romantic laudator temporis acti against the French Revolution, just as, in the pay of the North American Colonies, at the beginning of the American troubles,[6] he had played the Liberal against the English oligarchy, was an out and out vulgar bourgeois. "The laws of commerce are the laws of Nature, and therefore the laws of God" (E. Burke, l. c., [*Thoughts and Details on Scarcity...*, London, 1800,] pp. 31, 32). No wonder that, true to the laws of God and of Nature, he always sold himself in the best market. A very good portrait of this Edmund Burke, during his liberal time, is to be found in the writings of the Rev. Mr. Tucker. Tucker was a parson and a Tory, but, for the rest, an honourable man and a competent political economist. In face of the infamous cowardice of character that reigns today, and believes most devoutly in "the laws of commerce", it is our bounden duty again and again to brand the Burkes, who only differ from their successors in one thing — talent.

[1] Marie Augier, *Du Crédit Public*, Paris, 1842 [, p. 265].

[2] "Capital is said by a Quarterly Reviewer to fly turbulence and strife, and to be timid, which is very true; but this is very incompletely stating the question. Capital eschews no profit, or very small profit, just as Nature was formerly said to abhor a vacuum. With adequate profit, capital is very bold. A certain 10 per cent. will ensure its employment anywhere; 20 per cent. certain will produce eagerness; 50 per cent., positive audacity; 100 per cent., will make it ready to trample on all human laws; 300 per cent., and there is not a crime at which it will scruple, nor a risk it will not run, even to the chance of its owner being hanged. If turbulence and strife will bring a profit, it will freely encourage both. Smuggling and the slave trade have amply proved all that is here stated" (T. J. Dunning, l. c., [*Trades' Union and Strikes*,] pp. 35-36).

these private individuals are labourers or not labourers, private property has a different character. The numberless shades, that it at first sight presents, correspond to the intermediate stages lying between these two extremes. The private property of the labourer in his means of production is the foundation of petty industry, whether agricultural, manufacturing, or both; petty industry, again, is an essential condition for the development of social production and of the free individuality of the labourer himself. Of course, this petty mode of production exists also under slavery, serfdom, and other states of dependence. But it flourishes, it lets loose its whole energy, it attains its adequate classical form, only where the labourer is the private owner of his own means of labour set in action by himself: the peasant of the land which he cultivates, the artisan of the tool which he handles as a virtuoso. This mode of production presupposes parcelling of the soil, and scattering of the other means of production. As it excludes the concentration of these means of production, so also it excludes co-operation, division of labour within each separate process of production, the control over, and the productive application of the forces of Nature by society, and the free development of the social productive powers. It is compatible only with a system of production, and a society, moving within narrow and more or less primitive bounds. To perpetuate it would be, as Pecqueur rightly says, "to decree universal mediocrity".[679] At a certain stage of development it brings forth the material agencies for its own dissolution. From that moment new forces and new passions spring up in the bosom of society; but the old social organisation fetters them and keeps them down. It must be annihilated; it is annihilated. Its annihilation, the transformation of the individualised and scattered means of production into socially concentrated ones, of the pigmy property of the many into the huge property of the few, the expropriation of the great mass of the people from the soil, from the means of subsistence, and from the means of labour, this fearful and painful expropriation of the mass of the people forms the prelude to the history of capital. It comprises a series of forcible methods, of which we have passed in review only those that have been epoch-making as methods of the primitive accumulation of capital. The expropriation of the immediate producers was accomplished with merciless Vandalism, and under the stimulus of passions the most infamous, the most sordid, the pettiest, the most meanly odious. Self-earned private property, that is based, so to say, on the fusing together of the isolated, independent labouring individual with

the conditions of his labour, is supplanted by capitalistic private property, which rests on exploitation of the nominally free labour of others, i. e., on wage labour.[1]

As soon as this process of transformation has sufficiently decomposed the old society from top to bottom, as soon as the labourers are turned into proletarians, their means of labour into capital, as soon as the capitalist mode of production stands on its own feet, then the further socialisation of labour and further transformation of the land and other means of production into socially exploited and, therefore, common means of production, as well as the further expropriation of private proprietors, takes a new form. That which is now to be expropriated is no longer the labourer working for himself, but the capitalist exploiting many labourers. This expropriation is accomplished by the action of the immanent laws of capitalistic production itself, by the centralisation of capital. One capitalist always kills many. Hand in hand with this centralisation, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever-extending scale, the co-operative form of the labour process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labour into instruments of labour only usable in common, the economising of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialised labour, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market, and with this, the international character of the capitalistic régime. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolise all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organised by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralisation of the means of production and socialisation of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. Thus integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated.

[1] "We are in a situation which is entirely new for society ... we are striving to separate every kind of property from every kind of labour" (Sismondi, *Nouveaux Principes de l'Econ. Polit.*, t. II, p. 434).

The capitalist mode of appropriation, the result of the capitalist mode of production, produces capitalist private property. This is the first negation of individual private property, as founded on the labour of the proprietor. But capitalist production begets, with the inexorability of a law of Nature, its own negation. It is the negation of negation. This does not re-establish private property for the producer, but gives him individual property based on the acquisitions of the capitalist era: i. e., on co-operation and the possession in common of the land and of the means of production.

The transformation of scattered private property, arising from individual labour, into capitalist private property is, naturally, a process, incomparably more protracted, violent, and difficult, than the transformation of capitalistic private property, already practically resting on socialised production, into socialised property. In the former case, we had the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurpers; in the latter, we have the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people.[1]

## Chapter XXXIII

### THE MODERN THEORY OF COLONISATION[2]

Political economy confuses on principle two very different kinds of private property, of which one rests on the producers' own labour,

[1] The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of modern industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet, the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.... Of all the classes, that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes perish and disappear in the face of modern industry, the proletariat is its special and essential product.... The lower middle classes, the small manufacturers, the shopkeepers, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class ... they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels, *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*, London, 1848, pp. 9, 11 [present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 495-96, 494].

[2] We treat here of real colonies, virgin soils, colonised by free immigrants. The United States are, speaking economically, still only a colony of Europe. Besides, to this category belong also such old plantations as those in which the abolition of slavery has completely altered the earlier conditions.

the other on the employment of the labour of others. It forgets that the latter not only is the direct antithesis of the former, but absolutely grows on its tomb only. In Western Europe, the home of political economy, the process of primitive accumulation is more or less accomplished. Here the capitalist régime has either directly conquered the whole domain of national production, or, where economic conditions are less developed, it, at least, indirectly controls those strata of society which, though belonging to the antiquated mode of production, continue to exist side by side with it in gradual decay. To this ready-made world of capital, the political economist applies the notions of law and of property inherited from a pre-capitalistic world with all the more anxious zeal and all the greater unction, the more loudly the facts cry out in the face of his ideology. It is otherwise in the colonies. There the capitalist régime everywhere comes into collision with the resistance of the producer, who, as owner of his own conditions of labour, employs that labour to enrich himself, instead of the capitalist. The contradiction of these two diametrically opposed economic systems, manifests itself here practically in a struggle between them. Where the capitalist has at his back the power of the mother country, he tries to clear out of his way by force, the modes of production and appropriation, based on the independent labour of the producer. The same interest, which compels the sycophant of capital, the political economist, in the mother country, to proclaim the theoretical identity of the capitalist mode of production with its contrary, that same interest compels him in the colonies to make a clean breast of it, and to proclaim aloud the antagonism of the two modes of production. To this end he proves how the development of the social productive power of labour, co-operation, division of labour, use of machinery on a large scale, &c., are impossible without the expropriation of the labourers, and the corresponding transformation of their means of production into capital. In the interest of the so-called national wealth, he seeks for artificial means to ensure the poverty of the people. Here his apologetic armour crumbles off, bit by bit, like rotten touchwood. It is the great merit of E. G. Wakefield to have discovered, not anything new about the Colonies,[1] but to have discovered in the Colonies the truth as to the conditions of capitalist produc-

[1] Wakefield's few glimpses on the subject of modern colonisation are fully anticipated by Mirabeau Père, the physiocrat, and even much earlier by English economists.

tion in the mother country. As the system of protection at its origin[1] attempted to manufacture capitalists artificially in the mother country, so Wakefield's colonisation theory, which England tried for a time to enforce by Acts of Parliament, attempted to effect the manufacture of wage workers in the Colonies. This he calls "systematic colonisation".

First of all, Wakefield discovered that in the Colonies, property in money, means of subsistence, machines, and other means of production, does not as yet stamp a man as a capitalist if there be wanting the correlative — the wage worker, the other man who is compelled to sell himself of his own free-will. He discovered that capital is not a thing, but a social relation between persons, established by the instrumentality of things.[2] Mr. Peel, he moans, took with him from England to Swan River, West Australia, means of subsistence and of production to the amount of £50,000. Mr. Peel had the foresight to bring with him, besides, 300 persons of the working class, men, women, and children. Once arrived at his destination, "Mr. Peel was left without a servant to make his bed or fetch him water from the river".[3] Unhappy Mr. Peel who provided for everything except the export of English modes of production to Swan River!

For the understanding of the following discoveries of Wakefield, two preliminary remarks: We know that the means of production and subsistence, while they remain the property of the immediate producer, are not capital. They become capital, only under circumstances in which they serve at the same time as means of exploitation and subjection of the labourer. But this capitalist soul of theirs is so intimately wedded, in the head of the political economist, to their material substance, that he christens them capital under all circumstances, even when they are its exact opposite. Thus is it with Wakefield. Further: the splitting up of the means of production into the individual property of many independent labourers, working on their own account, he calls equal division of capital. It is with the political econ-

[1] Later, it became a temporary necessity in the international competitive struggle. But, whatever its motive, the consequences remain the same.

[2] "A negro is a negro. In certain circumstances he becomes a slave. A mule is a machine for spinning cotton. Only under certain circumstances does it become capital. Outside these circumstances, it is no more capital than gold is intrinsically money, or sugar is the price of sugar.... Capital is a social relation of production. It is a historical relation of production" (Karl Marx, *Lohnarbeit und Kapital. N. Rh. Z.* No. 266, April 7, 1849) [present edition, Vol. 9, pp. 211, 212].

[3] E. G. Wakefield, *England and America*, vol. II, p. 33.

omist as with the feudal jurist. The latter stuck on to pure monetary relations the labels supplied by feudal law.

"If," says Wakefield, "all the members of the society are supposed to possess equal portions of capital ... no man would have a motive for accumulating more capital than he could use with his own hands. This is to some extent the case in new American settlements, where a passion for owning land prevents the existence of a class of labourers for hire." [1]

So long, therefore, as the labourer can accumulate for himself — and this he can do so long as he remains possessor of his means of production — capitalist accumulation and the capitalistic mode of production are impossible. The class of wage labourers, essential to these, is wanting. How, then, in old Europe, was the expropriation of the labourer from his conditions of labour, i. e., the co-existence of capital and wage labour, brought about? By a social contract [449] of a quite original kind. "Mankind have adopted a ... simple contrivance for promoting the accumulation of capital," which, of course, since the time of Adam, floated in their imagination as the sole and final end of their existence: "they have divided themselves into owners of capital and owners of labour. ... This division was the result of concert and combination." [2] In one word: the mass of mankind expropriated itself in honour of the "accumulation of capital". Now, one would think, that this instinct of self-denying fanaticism would give itself full fling especially in the Colonies, where alone exist the men and conditions that could turn a social contract from a dream to a reality. But why, then, should "systematic colonisation" be called in to replace its opposite, spontaneous, unregulated colonisation? But — but —

"In the Northern States of the American Union, it may be doubted whether so many as a tenth of the people would fall under the description of hired labourers.... In England ... the labouring class compose the bulk of the people." [3]

Nay, the impulse to self-expropriation, on the part of labouring humanity, for the glory of capital, exists so little, that slavery, according to Wakefield himself, is the sole natural basis of Colonial wealth. His systematic colonisation is a mere *pis aller*,[a] since he unfortunately has to do with free men, not with slaves.

[1] l. c., vol. I, p. 17.
[2] l. c., p. 18.
[3] l. c., pp. 42, 43, 44.

[a] makeshift

"The first Spanish settlers in Saint Domingo did not obtain labourers from Spain. But, without labourers, their capital must have perished, or, at least, must soon have been diminished to that small amount which each individual could employ with his own hands. This has actually occurred in the last Colony founded by Englishmen — the Swan River Settlement — where a great mass of capital, of seeds, implements, and cattle, has perished for want of labourers to use it, and where no settler has preserved much more capital than he can employ with his own hands." [1]

We have seen that the expropriation of the mass of the people from the soil forms the basis of the capitalist mode of production. The essence of a free colony, on the contrary, consists in this — that the bulk of the soil is still public property, and every settler on it therefore can turn part of it into his private property and individual means of production, without hindering the later settlers in the same operation.[2] This is the secret both of the prosperity of the colonies and of their inveterate vice — opposition to the establishment of capital.

"Where land is very cheap and all men are free, where every one who so pleases can easily obtain a piece of land for himself, not only is labour very dear, as respects the labourer's share of the produce, but the difficulty is to obtain combined labour at any price." [3]

As in the colonies the separation of the labourer from the conditions of labour and their root, the soil, does not yet exist, or only sporadically, or on too limited a scale, so neither does the separation of agriculture from industry exist, nor the destruction of the household industry of the peasantry. Whence then is to come the internal market for capital?

"No part of the population of America is exclusively agricultural, excepting slaves and their employers who combine capital and labour in particular works. Free Americans, who cultivate the soil, follow many other occupations. Some portion of the furniture and tools which they use is commonly made by themselves. They frequently build their own houses, and carry to market, at whatever distance, the produce of their own industry. They are spinners and weavers; they make soap and candles, as well as, in many cases, shoes and clothes for their own use. In America the cultivation of land is often the secondary pursuit of a blacksmith, a miller or a shopkeeper." [4]

With such queer people as these, where is the "field of abstinence" for the capitalists?

The great beauty of capitalist production consists in this — that it

[1] l. c., vol. II, p. 5.

[2] "Land, to be an element of colonisation, must not only be waste, but it must be public property, liable to be converted into private property" (l. c., Vol. II, p. 125).

[3] l. c., Vol. I, p. 247.

[4] l. c., pp. 21, 22.

not only constantly reproduces the wage worker as wage worker, but produces always, in proportion to the accumulation of capital, a relative surplus population of wage workers. Thus the law of supply and demand of labour is kept in the right rut, the oscillation of wages is penned within limits satisfactory to capitalist exploitation, and lastly, the social dependence of the labourer on the capitalist, that indispensable requisite, is secured; an unmistakable relation of dependence, which the smug political economist, at home, in the mother country, can transmogrify into one of free contract between buyer and seller, between equally independent owners of commodities, the owner of the commodity capital and the owner of the commodity labour. But in the colonies this pretty fancy is torn asunder. The absolute population here increases much more quickly than in the mother country, because many labourers enter this world as ready-made adults, and yet the labour market is always understocked. The law of the supply and demand of labour falls to pieces. On the one hand, the old world [323] constantly throws in capital, thirsting after exploitation and "abstinence"; on the other, the regular reproduction of the wage labourer as wage labourer comes into collision with impediments the most impertinent and in part invincible. What becomes of the production of wage labourers, supernumerary in proportion to the accumulation of capital? The wage worker of today is tomorrow an independent peasant, or artisan, working for himself. He vanishes from the labour market, but not into the workhouse. This constant transformation of the wage labourers into independent producers, who work for themselves instead of for capital, and enrich themselves instead of the capitalist gentry, reacts in its turn very perversely on the conditions of the labour market. Not only does the degree of exploitation of the wage labourer remain indecently low. The wage labourer loses into the bargain, along with the relation of dependence, also the sentiment of dependence on the abstemious capitalist. Hence all the inconveniences that our E. G. Wakefield pictures so doughtily, so eloquently, so pathetically.

The supply of wage labour, he complains, is neither constant, nor regular, nor sufficient.

"The supply of labour is always, not only small, but uncertain." [1] "Though the produce divided between the capitalist and the labourer be large, the labourer takes so

[1] l. c., Vol. II, p. 116.

great a share that he soon becomes a capitalist.... Few, even of those whose lives are unusually long, can accumulate great masses of wealth." [1]

The labourers most distinctly decline to allow the capitalist to abstain from the payment of the greater part of their labour. It avails him nothing, if he is so cunning as to import from Europe, with his own capital, his own wage workers.

They soon "cease ... to be labourers for hire; they ... become independent landowners, if not competitors with their former masters in the labour market." [2]

Think of the horror! The excellent capitalist has imported bodily from Europe, with his own good money, his own competitors! The end of the world has come! No wonder Wakefield laments the absence of all dependence and of all sentiment of dependence on the part of the wage workers in the colonies.

On account of the high wages, says his disciple, Merivale, there is in the colonies "the urgent desire for cheaper and more subservient labourers — for a class to whom the capitalist might dictate terms, instead of being dictated to by them. ... In ancient civilised countries the labourer, though free, is by a law of Nature dependent on capitalists; in colonies this dependence must be created by artificial means". [3]

What is now, according to Wakefield, the consequence of this un-

[1] l. c., Vol. I, p. 131.

[2] l. c., Vol. II, p. 5.

[3] Merivale, l. c., [*Lectures on Colonisation and Colonies...*, ] Vol. II, pp. 235-237, 314, passim. Even the mild, Free-trade, vulgar economist, Molinary, says: "In the colonies where slavery has been abolished without the compulsory labour being replaced with an equivalent quantity of free labour, there has occurred the opposite of what happens every day before our eyes. Simple workers have been seen to exploit in their turn the industrial entrepreneurs, demanding from them wages which bear absolutely no relation to the legitimate share in the product which they ought to receive. The planters were unable to obtain for their sugar a sufficient price to cover the increase in wages, and were obliged to furnish the extra amount, at first out of their profits, and then out of their very capital. A considerable amount of planters have been ruined as a result, while others have closed down their businesses in order to avoid the ruin which threatened them.... It is doubtless better that these accumulations of capital should be destroyed than that generations of men should perish" (how generous of Mr. Molinari!) "but would it not be better if both survived?" (Molinari, l. c., [*Études économiques...*, Paris, 1846,] pp. 51, 52). Mr. Molinari, Mr. Molinari! What then becomes of the ten commandments, of Moses and the prophets,[48 9] of the law of supply and demand, if in Europe the "entrepreneur" can cut down the labourer's legitimate part, and in the West Indies, the labourer can cut down the entrepreneur's? And what, if you please, is this "legitimate part", which on your own showing the capitalist in Europe daily neglects to pay? Over younder, in the colonies where the labourers are so "simple" as to "exploit" the capitalist, Mr. Molinari feels a strong itching to set the law of supply and demand, that works elsewhere automatically, on the right road by means of the police.

fortunate state of things in the colonies? A "barbarising tendency of dispersion" of producers and national wealth.[1] The parcelling-out of the means of production among innumerable owners, working on their own account, annihilates, along with the centralisation of capital, all the foundations of combined labour. Every long-winded undertaking, extending over several years and demanding outlay of fixed capital, is prevented from being carried out. In Europe, capital invests without hesitating a moment, for the working class constitutes its living appurtenance, always in excess, always at disposal. But in the colonies! Wakefield tells an extremely doleful anecdote. He was talking with some capitalists of Canada and the state of New York, where the immigrant wave often becomes stagnant and deposits a sediment of "supernumerary" labourers.

"Our capital," says one of the characters in the melodrama, "was ready for many operations which require a considerable period of time for their completion; but we could not begin such operations with labour which, we knew, would soon leave us. If we had been sure of retaining the labour of such emigrants, we should have been glad to have engaged it at once, and for a high price: and we should have engaged it, even though we had been sure it would leave us, provided we had been sure of a fresh supply whenever we might need it."[2]

After Wakefield has contrasted the English capitalist agriculture and its "combined" labour with the scattered cultivation of American peasants, he unwittingly gives us a glimpse at the reverse of the medal. He depicts the mass of the American people as well-to-do, independent, enterprising and comparatively cultured, whilst

"the English agricultural labourer is a miserable wretch, a pauper. ... In what country, except North America and some new colonies, do the wages of free labour employed in agriculture, much exceed a bare subsistence for the labourer?... Undoubtedly, farm-horses in England, being a valuable property, are better fed than English peasants."[3]

But, never mind, national wealth is, once again, by its very nature, identical with misery of the people.

How, then, to heal the anti-capitalistic cancer of the colonies? If men were willing, at a blow, to turn all the soil from public into private property, they would destroy certainly the root of the evil, but also the colonies. The trick is how to kill two birds with one stone. Let the Government put upon the virgin soil an artificial price, indepen-

[1] Wakefield, l. c., [*England and America*,] Vol. II, p. 52.
[2] l. c., pp. 191, 192.
[3] l. c., Vol. 1, pp. 24, 47, 246.

dent of the law of supply and demand, a price that compels the immigrant to work a long time for wages before he can earn enough money to buy land, and turn himself into an independent peasant.[1] The fund resulting from the sale of land at a price relatively prohibitory for the wage workers, this fund of money extorted from the wages of labour by violation of the sacred law of supply and demand, the Government is to employ, on the other hand, in proportion as it grows, to import have-nothings from Europe into the colonies, and thus keep the wage labour market full for the capitalists. Under these circumstances, *tout sera pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes possibles.*[74] This is the great secret of "systematic colonisation". By this plan, Wakefield cries in triumph,

"the supply of labour *must* be constant and regular, because, first, as no labourer would be able to procure land until he had worked for money, all immigrant labourers, working for a time for wages and in combination, would produce capital for the employment of more labourers; secondly, because every labourer who left off working for wages and became a landowner, would, by purchasing land, provide a fund for bringing fresh labour to the colony".[2]

The price of the soil imposed by the State must, of course, be a "sufficient price"—i. e., so high

"as to prevent the labourers from becoming independent landowners until others had followed to take their place".[3]

This "sufficient price for the land" is nothing but a euphemistic circumlocution for the ransom which the labourer pays to the capitalist for leave to retire from the wage labour market to the land. First, he must create for the capitalist "capital", with which the latter may be able to exploit more labourers; then he must place, at his own expense, a *locum tenens* on the labour market, whom the Government forwards across the sea for the benefit of his old master, the capitalist.

It is very characteristic that the English Government for years

[1] "It is, you add, a result of the appropriation of the soil and of capital that the man who has nothing but the strength of his arms finds employment and creates an income for himself ... but the opposite is true, it is thanks to the individual appropriation of the soil that there exist men who only possess the strength of their arms.... When you put a man in a vacuum, you rob him of the air. You do the same, when you take away the soil from him ... for you are putting him in a space void of wealth, so as to leave him no way of living except according to your wishes" (Colins, l. c., t. III, pp. 267-71, passim).

[2] Wakefield, l. c., Vol. II, p. 192.

[3] l. c., p. 45.

practised this method of "primitive accumulation", prescribed by Mr. Wakefield expressly for the use of the colonies. The fiasco was, of course, as complete as that of Sir Robert Peel's Bank Act.[a] The stream of emigration was only diverted from the English colonies to the United States. Meanwhile, the advance of capitalistic production in Europe, accompanied by increasing Government pressure, has rendered Wakefield's recipe superfluous. On the one hand, the enormous and ceaseless stream of men, year after year driven upon America, leaves behind a stationary sediment in the east of the United States, the wave of immigration from Europe throwing men on the labour market there more rapidly than the wave of emigration westwards can wash them away. On the other hand, the American Civil War[7] brought in its train a colossal national debt, and, with it, pressure of taxes, the rise of the vilest financial aristocracy, the squandering of a huge part of the public land on speculative companies for the exploitation of railways, mines, &c., in brief, the most rapid centralisation of capital. The great republic has, therefore, ceased to be the promised land for emigrant labourers. Capitalistic production advances there with giant strides, even though the lowering of wages and the dependence of the wage worker are yet far from being brought down to the normal European level. The shameless lavishing of uncultivated colonial land on aristocrats and capitalists by the Government, so loudly denounced even by Wakefield, has produced, especially in Australia,[1] in conjunction with the stream of men that the gold-diggings attract, and with the competition that the importation of English commodities causes even to the smallest artisan, an ample "relative surplus labouring population", so that almost every mail brings the Job's news of a "glut of the Australian labour market", and prostitution in some places there flourishes as wantonly as in the London Haymarket.

However, we are not concerned here with the condition of the colonies. The only thing that interests us is the secret discovered in the new world by the political economy of the old world, and proclaimed

[1] As soon as Australia became her own law-giver,[680] she passed, of course, laws favourable to the settlers, but the squandering of the land, already accomplished by the English Government, stands in the way. "The first and main object at which new Land Act of 1862 aims is to give increased facilities for the settlement of the people" (*The Land Law of Victoria*, by the Hon. C. G. Duffy, Minister of Public Lands, Lond., 1862).

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[a] See this volume, p. 151, footnote 1.

on the house-tops: that the capitalist mode of production and accumulation, and therefore capitalist private property, have for their fundamental condition the annihilation of self-earned private property; in other words, the expropriation of the labourer.

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] *Capital*—Marx's major work to which he devoted four decades (from the early 1840s till the end of his life).

Marx started studying political economy at the end of 1843 in Paris. His aim was to write a treatise containing a critical analysis of political economy. As a result of his research in this field appeared such works as the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, *The German Ideology*, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, *Wage Labour and Capital*, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and others.

After an interval caused by the 1848-49 revolution, Marx continued his economic studies in London, where he lived as a refugee from August 1849. Here he studied the works of different economists, the history of economic development and the economics of his time in various countries, especially in England which was then a classic example of a capitalist country. He investigated theories of money, credit and the causes of economic crises, the history of landownership and the theory of ground rent, the socio-economic condition of the working class and questions of population, the history of technology and other problems.

By 1857 he had completed his enormous preparatory work and then proceeded to the final stage—the systematisation and generalisation of the collected material.

From January 1857 to June 1858, Marx wrote a manuscript containing 50 signatures, which was, in fact, the first rough draft of *Capital*. In the present edition it was published in vols 28 and 29.

At first Marx intended to publish his work in separate instalments, and the first instalment, as he wrote, "should form a relative whole" (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 287), which embraces only the first section of Book I—the section consisting of 3 chapters: 1) The Commodity; 2) Money or Simple Circulation and 3) Capital. However, the final variant of the first instalment—*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*—does not contain the third chapter. Marx wrote the chapter on commodity especially. He wrote the chapter on money for "the first instalment" on the basis of the manuscript of 1857-58.

*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One was published in 1859 (present edition, Vol. 29). It was to be followed by "the second instalment", i. e. by the chapter on capital. However, soon afterwards, Marx had to postpone this work

for a year and a half as he was occupied in writing the pamphlet *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17) and in other urgent matters. Only in August 1861, did he begin work on "the second instalment". By the middle of 1863, he had written a new rough draft which was considerably longer than the manuscript of 1857-58—23 notebooks, having a total volume of about 200 signatures. The complete manuscript of 1861-63, which is considered to be the second rough draft of *Capital*, is reproduced in vols 30-34 of the present edition.

Later on Marx decided to divide the theoretical part of the work on capital into 3 parts. The historico-critical section was to be the fourth and concluding part, and was to be based on the part of the 1861-63 manuscript entitled "Theories of Surplus Value". In his letter to Kugelmann dated October 13, 1866, Marx writes, "The whole work is thus divided into the following parts: *Book I. The Process of Production of Capital. Book II. The Process of Circulation of Capital. Book III. Structure of the Process as a Whole. Book IV. On the History of the Theory*" (see present edition, Vol. 42, p. 328). Marx also gave up his plan to publish the work in separate instalments and decided first to complete the whole work and then to publish it.

Marx continued his work, concentrating mainly on those parts that were not sufficiently elaborated in the 1861-63 manuscript. He studied an enormous quantity of economic and technical literature, including books on agriculture, on credit and money and turnover. He also studied statistical material, various parliamentary documents, official reports on child labour in industry, on housing conditions of the British working class, etc. Marx then wrote a new manuscript (from August 1863 to the end of 1865), which constituted a more detailed variant of the three theoretical volumes of *Capital*. Only after the whole work was completed (January 1866), did Marx begin preparing it for the press, having decided, on Engels' advice, not to prepare the whole work but only Volume I of *Capital*. The final touches were made by Marx with great thoroughness and, in fact, became yet another recasting of Volume I of *Capital* as a whole. To ensure the integrity, completeness and clarity of the exposition, Marx thought it necessary to reproduce in a comparatively short form the major problems dealt with in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (published in 1859) at the beginning of Volume I of *Capital*—they now constitute the whole of the first part "Commodities and Money" (in the first edition which was not yet subdivided into parts the first chapter bore this title).

After the publication of Volume I of *Capital* (September 1867), Marx continued work on it in preparation for publication in German and translation into foreign languages. For the second edition (1872) he made more subdivisions and also a lot of changes in the text (see this volume, pp. 12-13), gave important instructions for the Russian edition, published in Petersburg in 1872 and the first foreign translation of *Capital*, once more changed the book's structure and thoroughly edited the French edition (1872-75). Marx intended to take into consideration most of the changes made in the French edition when preparing the third German edition of Volume I.

At the same time, after the publication of Volume I of *Capital* Marx continued his work on the subsequent volumes, intending to finish the whole edition as soon as possible. However, he was unable to do so. A lot of time was taken up by his activities in the General Council of the First International, and his work was increasingly hampered by poor health.

After Marx's death, Engels finished preparing the third (1883) German edition of Volume I of *Capital* for press, which was taken as the basis for the translation into English made by Samuel Moore and Eduard Aveling and edited by Engels (1887).—1, 311

[2] Marx is referring to the sections "Historical Notes on the Analysis of Commodities" and "Theories of the Medium of Circulation and of Money" in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 292-302, 389-417), which he later abandoned as he intended to prepare a special historico-critical concluding volume of *Capital* (see Note 1).—7, 532

[3] A reference to Lassalle's work *Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch der ökonomische Julian, oder: Capital und Arbeit*, Berlin, 1864, Drittes Kapitel: "III. Tausch, Werth und freie Concurrenz", especially p. 149.—8

[4] *Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur!* (It is of you that the story is told) — Horace, *Satires*, Bk. I, Satire 1.—8, 272

[5] *Le mort saisit le vif, son hoir le plus proche et habile à lui succéder* (The dead holds the living in his grasp...) — a formula of the French common law.—9

[6] *The American War of Independence* (1775-1783) — a revolutionary war fought by 13 British colonies in North America. As a result of their victory an independent state was formed, the United States of America.

This war had a great impact on the development of the European revolutionary-democratic movement, in particular on the French revolution of the end of the 18th century.—9, 748

[7] The *Civil War in America* broke out in April 1861 and ended in April 1865. It was a war of the North against the Confederacy of the Southern States. The decisive role in the victory of the North in April 1865 was played by the workers and farmers. The international democratic public and the international working-class movement sympathised with and gave all possible support to the position of the Northern States.—9, 207, 262, 398, 540, 720, 760

[8] *The Established Church* — the state national church in England, the Church of England.

The *Thirty-Nine Articles*, which enunciated the articles of faith of the Church of England, were worked out during the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603) and approved by the British Parliament in 1571.—10

[9] *Blue-Books* — periodical collections of documents of the British Parliament and Foreign Office, thus called because of the colour of the paper and the cover. The first were published in the 17th century.—10, 29, 30, 260, 498, 670

[10] See N. Lenau's poem "Die Albigenser".—11

[11] The plan outlined here was not realised by Marx. The work referred to here as Book II, was published by Engels as Volume II of *Capital* (1885) after Marx's death, and Book III as Volume III of *Capital* (1894). Book IV was not published in Marx's or Engels' lifetime. See also Note 2.—11, 565

[12] "*Segui il tuo corso, e lascia dir le genti*" ("Follow your own course, and let people talk") — Marx paraphrased Dante's words from the *Divine Comedy* ("Purgatory", Canto V, line 13): "Vien di retro a me..." ("Follow me...").—11

[13] In the third and fourth German and in the English editions of Volume I of *Capital*, the first four paragraphs of the "Afterword to the Second German edition" were omitted.—12

[14] In the English edition, reproduced in this volume, Engels omitted these instructions.— 12

[15] The French edition of Volume I of *Capital* came out in separate instalments from 1872 to 1875 in Paris.— 13, 27, 33

[16] The German Empire was formed as a result of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71.— 13

[17] See S. Mayer, *Die sociale Frage in Wien. Studie eines "Arbeitgebers"*, Wien, 1871.— 13

[18] *Cameralistics* — a university course of administrative, financial, economic and other sciences taught in the Middle Ages and later.— 14

[19] *Holy Alliance* — an association of Russian, Prussian, and Austrian monarchs founded in 1815 to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries. It lost its influence after the 1830 revolution in France. During the 1848-49 revolution and in subsequent years, counterrevolutionary regimes in Austria, Prussia and Tsarist Russia attempted to revive the Holy Alliance's activities in a modified form.— 15

[20] After Quesnay's death, his disciple Turgot, who became Controller-General under Louis XVI (1774-76), tried to carry out a number of reforms and thus to bring to life the ideas of the Physiocrats. After his resignation, all his innovations were revoked. France was swept by a political and economic crisis which culminated in the French Revolution.— 15

[21] The *Anti-Corn Law League* was founded in 1838 by the Manchester factory owners Cobden and Bright. Defending the interests of manufacturers, the League secured the repeal of the *Corn Laws* which provided for the limitation and prohibition of grain imports, which served the interests of the landed aristocracy. The Corn Law adopted in 1815 prohibited the import of corn while the price of bread in England itself remained less than 80 sh. per quarter. In 1822 this law was slightly altered, and in 1828 a sliding scale was introduced, according to which there was a rise in import duties on corn when its price fell on the home market and vice versa. Trying to achieve the repeal of corn laws and to establish trade in corn, the League aimed at reducing domestic prices for corn and thus at reducing wages for wage-workers.The slogan of free trade was widely used by the League in its advocacy of the unity of interests of workers and manufacturers. The Corn Laws were repealed in 1846.— 15, 296, 458, 462, 667, 703

[22] *Free Trade legislation* — in the 1840s British Prime Minister Robert Peel (1841-46) carried out a number of financial reforms aimed at the repeal or reduction of import duties on raw materials and semi-finished products. In 1853 all such duties were repealed.— 15

[23] Marx is referring to his book *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie. Erstes Heft*, which appeared in 1859 (see present edition, Vol. 29). Very few German newspapers published comments on this edition.— 16

[24] A reference to Dietzgen's review of *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie von Karl Marx. Hamburg, 1867*, published in *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 31 of August 1 (Supplement), No. 34 of August 22, No. 35 of August 29, No. 36 of September 5, 1868. In 1869-76 this newspaper was published under the name *Der Volksstaat*.— 16

[25] "German Literature". In: *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art*, No. 638, January 18, 1868, p. 97.—16

[26] В.[И.] П[окровскій]. [The Review of] *Капиталъ. Изд. Н. П. Полякова, 1872.* In: *С.-Петербургскія Вѣдомости*, No. 97, April 8(20), 1872.—17

[27] A reference to the journal *La philosophie positive. Revue*, which came out in 1867-83 in Paris. In its third issue for November-December 1868, pp. 508-09, there was a short review of Volume I of *Capital*, written by the Russian philosopher and sociologist Eugène De Roberty, a follower of the positivist philosophy of Auguste Comte.—17

[28] Н. Зиберъ, *Теорія цѣнности и капитала Д. Рикардо въ связи съ позднѣйшими дополненіями и разъясненіями*, Kiev, 1871, p. 170.—17

[29] A reference to the reviews of *Capital*: J. Faucher, in *Vierteljahrschrift für Volkswirthschaft und Kulturgeschichte*, Jg. 5, 1868, Bd. 20, S. 216, and E. Dühring, in *Ergänzungsblättern zur Kenntniß der Gegenwart*, Bd. 3, 1867, H. 3, S. 182.—17

[30] И.[И.] К[ауфманъ], «Точка зрѣнія политико-экономической критики у Карла Маркса». In: *Вѣстник Европы*, т. III, Санктпетербург, 1872.—17

[31] See K. Marx, *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law* (present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 3-129).—19

[32] *Epigones*—a reference to the German philosophers L. Büchner, F. A. Lange, E. K. Dühring, G. T. Fechner and others.—19

[33] Marx is not quite accurate here. The reference is to the words spoken by Lessing during his talk with Jacobi on 7 June 1780: "The people are still referring to Spinoza as a dead dog." See: F. H. Jacobi, *Werke*, Bd. IV, Abt. I, Leipzig, 1819, S. 68. See also present edition, Vol. 43, p. 528.—19

[34] Volume II of *Capital* was published in 1885.—27, 29

[35] *Neues Zweidrittel*—a silver coin equal to $^2/_3$ of a taler which circulated in a number of German states from the end of the 17th to the middle of the 19th century.—28

[36] Engels managed to publish Volume III of *Capital* in German only in 1894, not long before his death. He failed to publish volumes II and III of *Capital* in English.—34

[37] *"The Bible of the working class"*—an expression used by Johann Philipp Becker, Marx's and Engels' comrade-in-arms and friend, mentioned by Franz Mehring in his book *Geschichte der deutschen Socialdemokratie*, Th. 2, Stuttgart, 1898, S. 227.—35

[38] The *Free Traders*, or adherents of the so-called *Manchester School* advocated the abolition of protective tariffs and non-interference of the state in the economy.—35, 71, 469, 670

[39] "Pro-slavery rebellion"—a reference to a revolt by the slave-owners of the Southern states which led to the Civil War of 1861-65.—36, 290, 293, 430

[40] Compare p. 594 of this volume. See also present edition, Vol. 33, p. 341.—38

[41] Engels wrote his work *In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx* specially for the purpose of defending Marx against repeated accusations of deliberately falsifying a quotation from Gladstone's speech of 16 April 1863 (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 95-176).—38

[42] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 7-8.—38, 42

[43] See K. Marx, *Reply to Brentano's Article* (present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 164-67).—39

[44] In a polemic with August Bebel in the German Reichstag on November 8, 1871, the National-Liberal politician Lasker said that, should the German Social-Democratic workers dare to follow the example of the Paris Communards, "respectable and propertied citizens would club them to death". In the stenographic report, however, he replaced the last few words with the milder "would keep them in hand". Bebel brought this substitution to light, and Lasker became a laughing-stock among the workers. He was nicknamed "little Lasker" because of his diminutive stature.—39

[45] See K. Marx, *Reply to Brentano's Second Article* (present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 190-97).—40

[46] Engels paraphrases here the words of the braggart and coward Falstaff telling of his alleged sword fight with fifty men (Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, Part I, Act II, Scene 4).—41

[47] Paraphrased words from Butler's poem *Hudibras*:

"For what is worth in any thing,
But so much money as 'twill bring?"—46

[48] In 1785 the Englishman Edmund Cartright invented a power loom which became widespread in the 1820s-30s.—49

[49] See W. Jacob, *An Historical Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals*, London, 1831, Vol. II, p. 101. See also K. Marx, *Grundrisse...* (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 240).—50

[50] See H. Merivale, *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies*, Vol. I, London, 1841, p. 52, Note, and also K. Marx, *Grundrisse...* (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 212).—50

[51] See K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 276 sqq.).—51

[52] In the German original the term "nützlicher Arbeit" (useful work) is used here. See also footnotes on pp. 56-57 and 196 of this volume.—52

[53] Marx writes about the Indian community for the first time in his article "The British Rule in India" (present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 125-33), and also in his letter to Engels of 14 June 1853 (present edition, Vol. 39, pp. 346-48). In the '50s Marx made numerous extracts from various books on the history of India.—52, 98, 339

[54] [W. Petty,] *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions*, London, 1667, p. 47.—53

[55] Marx paraphrases a dialogue from Shakespeare's historical chronicle *King Henry IV*, Part I, Act III, Scene 3:

"*Falstaff*: Why, she's [Dame Quickly] neither fish, nor flesh; a man knows not where to have her.

*Hostess*: Thou art an unjust man in saying so: thou or any man knows where to have me, thou knave, thou!"—57

[56] A reference to Franklin's work *A Modest Inquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency*.—61

[57] John 1:29.—62

[58] "*Paris vaut bien une messe*" ("Paris is certainly worth a mass")—Henry IV's words which he allegedly uttered in 1593 in connection with the Parisians' promise to recognise him as king on his conversion from Protestantism to Roman Catholicism.—62

[59] See G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, Th. 1, *Die objektive Logik*, Abth. 2, *Die Lehre vom Wesen.*—67

[60] Marx's quotations in this paragraph are from Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, published in the book: *Aristotelis opera* ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri, Oxonii, 1837, t. IX, pp. 99, 100, according to his abstract in one of the London excerpt notebooks of 1858. See also present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 306-07, Footnote.—70

[61] *Mercantilism*—the first school of bourgeois political economy, theoretically substantiating the economic policy defended by the trade bourgeoisie. Mercantilists equated wealth with money and called for active interference by the state in the economic life.

For Marx's comments on Ferrier's and Ganilh's mercantilist views on value see the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 97-103, 151).—71, 154

[62] Marx is referring to H. D. MacLeod's book *The Theory and Practice of Banking...* In two volumes. Second edition. London, 1866. The first volume of the first edition came out in 1855.

*Lombard Street*—a street in the City of London where a number of big banks are situated, a synonym for the London money market.—71

[63] A reference to the review of Bailey's book *A Critical Dissertation...* In: *Westminster Review*, Vol. 5, No. 9, January, 1826, Art. VIII, pp. 157-72, apparently written by James Mill.

The views of Ricardo's followers (the Ricardian school) were examined in detail by Marx in the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 35-77; Vol. 32, pp. 258-373).—73, 311

[64] See K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon* (present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 111-60) and also Marx's letter to Weydemeyer dated 1 February 1859 (present edition, Vol. 40, p. 377).—79

[65] "Where thoughts are absent,
Words are brought in as convenient replacements" (J. W. von Goethe, *Faust*, Part I, Scene 3, "Faust's Study").—79

[66] The defeat of the 1848-49 revolutions was followed by a period of dismal political reaction in Europe. At that time spiritualism, especially table-turning, became the rage among the European aristocracy. In 1850-64 China was swept by an anti-feudal liberation movement in the form of a large-scale peasant war (the Taiping revolt).—82

[67] See D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, Ch. I, Sect. III.

Marx describes the Robinsonades, beloved of bourgeois political economists, in the "Introduction" (present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 17-18).—87

[68] The *parallelograms of Mr Owen* are mentioned by Ricardo in his work *On Protection to Agriculture*, London, 1822, p. 21. Developing his utopian project of social reform, Owen maintained that, from the point of view of the economy and the organisation of domestic life, it was most expedient to build a communist settlement in the form of a parallelogram or square.—87

[69] The German original has here: "Herr M. Wirth" (1822-1900), German vulgar economist and publicist. On Sedley Taylor see this volume, pp. 40-42.—88

[70] A reference to A. Haxthausen's *Studien über die innern Zustände, das Volksleben und insbesondere die ländlichen Einrichtungen Rußlands*, Parts 1-3, Hanover-Berlin, 1847-52. The author was a Prussian official and writer who travelled in Russia in the 1840s.

Marx criticises the author's attempts to attribute the remnants of communal property he discovered in the Russian agrarian system to the natural specifics of the Slavonic peoples.—88

[71] According to Epicurus, there is an endless multitude of worlds whose origin and existence is governed by their own natural laws. Gods exist too, but outside those worlds, in the spaces between them, and exert no influence whatever on the evolution of the universe or on human life. Marx analysed Epicurus' philosophic views in his doctorate thesis (see present edition, Vol. 1, pp. 25-106).—90

[72] Marx examined Ricardo's analysis of the magnitude of value in his *Theories of Surplus Value* (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 32-35). See also Notes 2, 11.—91

[73] Ricardo quotes here A. L. C. Destutt de Tracy, *Élémens d'idéologie*, Pt. IV, Paris, 1815, pp. 99-100.—91

[74] An expression used by F. M. A. Voltaire in his story *Candide, ou l'optimisme*.—92, 205, 759

[75] "Fathers of the Church"—writers of the Christian church in the 2nd-6th centuries who wrote in Greek and Latin. Their works were permeated with hostility towards "pagan" religion and classical materialism.—92, 96

[76] The "Economists"—the name given to the Physiocrats in France in the second half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century. In the middle of the 19th century this concept acquired universal meaning and no longer denoted any particular economic trend.—92

[77] Apparently a reference to the book by F. Bastiat, *Harmonies économiques*, 2 éd., Paris, 1851, pp. 329-30, 331.—92

[78] Apparently a reference to the anonymous article "Herr Karl Marx" in: *Der Pionier*, No. 26, July 12, 1859, pp. 2-3 (under the heading "Vermischtes"). Its author was probably Karl Heinzen.—92

[79] See e.g. W. Roscher, *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie...*, Stuttgart, Augsburg, 1858, pp. 4, 5 and 31-47.—93

[80] The *monetary system*, an early form of mercantilism (see Note 61), consisted of a variety of economic measures applied by European states in the 17th and 18th centuries. Its advocates equated wealth only with money, and therefore favoured policies designed to ensure the inflow of money into the country by maintaining an active trade balance and imposing protective tariffs.—93

[81] Apparently Marx used here the book by W. Roscher *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie...*, Stuttgart, Augsburg, 1858, pp. 5-7.—94

[82] W. Shakespeare, *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act III, Scene 3.—94

[83] See J. W. von Goethe, *Erlkönig*.—94

[84] A reference to a satirical poem by the medieval French poet Guillot de Paris, *Dit du Lendit*, in which the ways of the *Market of Landit* (or Lendit) (a big fair which took place every year not far from Paris in the 12th-19th centuries) were described.—95

[85] *Levellers* — representatives of a radical-democratic trend during the English revolution of the mid-17th century. Here Marx hints at the circumstance that commodities as values are equal and in that sense reflect the ideal of the Levellers, who wanted to remove all social inequalities.— 95

[86] *Maritornes* — a character from Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.— 95

[87] "In the beginning was the deed" (J. W. von Goethe, *Faust*, Part I, Scene 3, "Faust's Study").— 97

[88] "These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast. And that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name" (Revelation 17:13 and 13:17).— 97

[89] This is a reference to the proposal to introduce labour money, made by John Gray in *The Social System* (1831) and later taken up by Proudhon.— 97

[90] The *Inca State* — a state which existed at the beginning of the 15th-the middle of the 16th centuries on the territories of present-day Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia and the northern part of Chile, where the primitive communal order was considerably preserved. The predominant tribe of Incas was subdivided into 100 clan communes (*ayllu*), which gradually developed into village communes.— 98

[91] *Assignats* — paper money, issued in France in 1789-96 by the Constituent Assembly during the French Revolution as bonds on the security of property confiscated from landowning aristocrats, counter-revolutionary nobles and the Church, and proclaimed "national property". By 1796 they had greatly depreciated.— 99

[92] On the title page of the 1696 edition, 1680 is indicated as the year of the issue of the first edition of this book. In actual fact the book was published in 1677 anonymously under the title *The East-India-Trade, a Most Profitable Trade to the Kingdom*. Marx used this edition to prepare German editions of *Capital*.— 101

[93] J. Locke, *Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest, and Raising the Value of Money*, in: *The Works*, Vol. II, 1777, p. 15.— 101

[94] *Pandects* — compendium in 50 books of Roman civil law compiled by order of Justinian in the 6th century; a complete body of laws that expressed the interests of slave-owners.— 101

[95] "However, it shall not be lawful to anyone to buy money, for, as it was created for public use, it is not permissible for it to be a commodity" (*Codex Theodosianus*, IX, 23:2).

*Codex Theodosianus* — a legislative collection of the Constitutions of the Roman emperors, which was published by Emperor Theodosius II on 15 February 438 and came into force from 1 January 439. Here the decree of Emperor Constantine II (356) is quoted.— 101

[96] In the 1830s in various towns of England equitable-labour-exchange bazaars were organised by the Owenites and Ricardian socialists for fair exchange without a capitalist intermediary. The products were exchanged for labour notes, or *labour money*, certificates showing the cost of the products delivered, calculated on the basis of the amount of labour necessary for their production. The organisers saw these bazaars as a way of publicising the advantages of a non-capitalist form of exchange, and as a peaceful way — together with cooperatives — of achieving the transition to socialism. The subsequent and invariable bankruptcy of such enterprises proved their utopian character.— 104

[97] W. E. Parry, *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific: Performed in the Years 1819-20, in His Majesty's Ships Hecla and Griper, under the Orders of William Edward Parry*, 2nd ed., London, 1821, pp. 277-78.— 105

[98] A reference to *Public Health. Sixth Report...*, London, 1864, pp. 12-17, 232-33 and 248.— 105

[99] In mythology the history of mankind was divided into 5 periods: Golden Age, Silver Age, Copper Age, Heroic Age, and finally, Iron Age. The legend about 5 ages is described in the works of the Greek poet Hesiod and Roman lyric poet Ovid.— 109

[100] A reference to the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707 which led to Scotland's final unification with England. As a result, the autonomous Scottish parliament was abolished, Scots were granted seats in the English parliament and all economic barriers that existed between the two countries were removed.—109

[101] Cf. K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 310).— 109

[102] See Hieronymus, *Epistula XXII. Ad Eustochium*, 7 : 1-2 and 30 : 3-4.
Saint Jerome regarded classical Roman literature, especially the works of Cicero, as the temptation sent to him so as to alienate him from religious literature which is written in a less refined language.— 113

[103] Dante, *Divine Comedy*, "Paradise", Canto XXIV, lines 83-85.— 113

[104] Cf. Marx's letter to Engels of 25 February 1859 (present edition, Vol. 40, pp. 394-95).— 115

[105] See K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 325).— 116

[106] In his letter of 28 November 1878, to Nikolai Danielson, who was translating *Capital* into Russian, Marx recommended that this phrase be altered as follows: "And, as a matter of fact, the value of each single yard is but the materialised form of a part of the social labour expended on the whole number of yards" (present edition, Vol. 45, p. 346). The same alteration was made in Marx's copy of the 2nd German edition of Vol. I of *Capital*, though not in his handwriting.— 117

[107] See W. Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act I, Scene 1.— 117

[108] This quotation appears in: P.-S. Dupont de Nemours, *Maximes du Docteur Quesnay, ou Résumé de ses principes d'économie sociale*, printed in *Physiocrates* (avec une introduction et des commentaires par E. Daire), Part I, Paris, 1846, p. 392. Marx made an abstract of it in the so-called Notebook C in 1863.— 118

[109] Money *non olet* (has no smell) — this is alleged to have been the reply of the Roman Emperor Vespasian to his son Titus, when the latter reproached him for introducing a special tax on public lavatories.— 120

[110] See J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique...*, 3 éd., t. 2, Paris, 1817, pp. 33, 52, 459.— 124

[111] In his book *De l'économie politique moderne. Discours fondamental sur la population*, Londres, 1786, the Swiss economist J. Herrenschwand expressed his opinion that developed money circulation required relatively little metallic money.— 131

[112] On Hume's theory see Marx's work *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 391-96).— 133

[113] See N. Barbon, *A Discourse Concerning Coining the New Money Lighter...*, London, 1696, pp. 12-34.— 134

[114] Duke of Wellington commanded the allied army which defeated Napoleon at Waterloo (1815).

Williams headed the defence of Kars during the Crimean war and surrendered the fortress to the Russian troops in November 1855.— 135

[115] A. H. Müller, *Die Elemente der Staatskunst*, Th. II, Berlin, 1809, S. 280.— 135

[116] The official title of the Chinese emperor; here: Hien Fung.— 137

[117] P. Boisguillebert, *Le détail de la France*.— In: *Économistes financiers du XVIIIe siècle*, éd. E. Daire, Paris, 1843, p. 213.— 140

[118] See J. Vanderlint, *Money Answers All Things...*, London, 1734, pp. 4-5.— 141

[119] *Nexus rerum* (a connecting force) — in Roman law, the obligation of the debtor to the creditor.— 141

[120] See M. Augier, *Du crédit public et de son histoire depuis les temps anciens jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris, 1842, pp. 106-08.

*Most Christian king* (*Le Roi très chrétien*) — the official title of the kings of France. — 142

[121] The despoiling of the Delphic Temple by the Phocians in 355 B. C. served as a pretext for the beginning of the war, which lasted for 10 years and ended in the conquest by Philip II of Macedon of vast territories in the Balkans.— 142

[122] The *Holy Grail* — according to a medieval legend, the cup used by Christ at the Last Supper, the object of quests by mythical figures.— 143

[123] "Soyons riches ou paraissons riches" ("Let us be rich or let us appear rich") (D. Diderot, *Le salon de 1767, á mon ami M. Grimm*).— 144

[124] The *British East India Company* was founded at the beginning of the 17th century and existed till 1858. It enjoyed a monopoly of trade with the East Indies and played a decisive part in the establishment of the British colonial empire.— 145, 458, 740

[125] "*East India (Bullion). Return to an Address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 8 February 1864*", p. 3.— 145

[126] See F. von Schiller, *Die Bürgschaft*.— 149

[127] Psalms 42 : 1.— 149

[128] See [P.] Boisguillebert, *Le détail de la France* and *Dissertation sur la nature des richesses...* In: *Économistes financiers...*, Paris, 1843; [S. le Prestre de] Vauban, *Projet d'une dîme royale*. In: *Économistes financiers...*, Paris, 1843.— 151

[129] Apparently this is a slip of the pen by Marx: the quantity of the necessary means of periodic payment is not in inverse but in direct proportion to the length of the periods. It is this dependence which Petty establishes and Marx refers to him in footnote 2. See also this volume, p. 130.— 152

[130] Marx quotes from W. Petty's *Verbum Sapienti*, which was published as a supplement to his book *The Political Anatomy of Ireland*, London, 1691, and which had its own pagination.— 152, 156, 278

[131] This is an expression from H. Heine's *Neuer Trühling*. Prolog.— 153

[132] *Bimetallism* — a monetary system in which gold and silver serve as universal legal equivalents and constitute the basis of money circulation in a given country (16th-19th cent.). The increasing gap between the growth of production and the fall in the price of silver in the 1870s was one of the factors determining the transition to gold monometallism in a majority of countries.— 154

[133] Marx quotes Ricardo's book *The High Price of Bullion, a Proof of the Depreciation of Bank Notes*, 4th ed., London, 1811, pp. 11-12, 14.— 154

[134] The *currency principle* — one of the schools of the quantity theory of money widely subscribed to in Britain in the first half of the 19th century.

The proponents of the quantity theory sought to maintain the stability of money circulation by means of obligatory gold backing of bank notes.

Marx showed the untenability of the currency principle in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 412-15).— 154, 615

[135] J. Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy...*, Vol. II, Dublin, 1770, p. 370. Cf. K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 398).— 155

[136] In the German editions of Volume I of *Capital* chapters IV-VI of this volume correspond to one chapter (Chapter IV), which is entitled "The Transformation of Money into Capital" ("Verwandlung von Geld in Kapital").— 157

[137] "*Auri sacra fames*" — "accursed hunger for gold" (Virgil, *Aeneid*, III, 57).— 164

[138] Romans 2:29.— 165

[139] A reference to *Élémens d'idéologie*, parts IV and V, entitled *Traité de la volonté...*; the first edition appeared in 1815. *Traité d'économie politique* came out in 1823.— 168

[140] A reference to *l'Institut de France* — France's highest scientific and art centre. It comprises five leading academies, including the Académie Française, and was founded in 1795. Destutt de Tracy was a member of *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*.— 173

[141] "*Hic Rhodus, hic salta*"! ("Rhodes is here, leap here and now"!) — this is a reply made, in one of Aesop's fables, to a boaster who claimed he had once made an immense leap in Rhodes.— 177

[142] Presumably a reference to *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft in alphabetischer Ordnung*, Herausgegeben von August Pauly, Bd. 1-6, Stuttgart, 1839-1852.— 178

[143] In 1864, after the Rumanian National Assembly, dominated by the landowners (boyars), had rejected a draft land reform proposed by the government, Prince Alexander Kusa, Hospodar of the Danubian Principalities, effected a coup d'état, which led to the dissolution of the reactionary National Assembly, the publication of a new constitution, the widening of the electorate and the strengthening of the government's role. Adopted in this new political situation, the Agrarian Law of 1864 provided for the abolition of serfdom and the endowment of the peasantry with land on the basis of redemption payments.— 178, 245

[144] A hint at the composer *Richard Wagner*, the author of the book *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft*, Leipzig, 1850.— 179

[145] A reference to the *Report Addressed to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department...*— 184

[146] A reference to the *First Report from the Select Committee on Adulteration of Food...* [1855].— 184

[147] Genesis 2:8.— 186

[148] English philosopher and jurist, Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) was a proponent of *utilitarianism*. He considered that pleasure was the chief end of life and that the greatest happiness for the greatest number should be the ultimate goal of man. He saw the general welfare as a sum of the well-beings of individuals. See also this volume, p. 605, a footnote.— 186

[149] *The pre-established harmony* (of things)—according to Leibnitz's theory of monads—isolated substantial elements of the universe, the development of each of which is in divinely pre-established correspondence with the development of all the other monads and the universe as a whole.— 186

[150] Matthew 6:27; Luke 12:25.— 189

[151] Marx quotes B. Franklin's definition of man from: [T. Bentley,] *Letters on the Utility and Policy of Employing Machines to Shorten Labour...*, London, 1780, pp. 2-3. In his Excerpt Notebook VII covering 1859-63, Marx copied out the following passage from this work: "Man has been defined many ways ... a *tool-making animal, or engineer* (Franklin), has by some been adopted as the best and most characteristic definition of man."— 189, 331

[152] See H. Storch, *Cours d'économie politique, ou exposition des principes qui déterminent la prospérité des nations*. T. 1, Paris, 1823, pp. 237-38; A. Cherbuliez, *Richesse ou pauvreté. Exposition des causes et des effets de la distribution actuelle des richesses sociales*, Paris, 1841, p. 14.— 192

[153] The Roman patrician Lucius Quinctius *Cincinnatus* was reputed to have lived a simple and exemplary life, cultivating his own farm in person.— 194

[154] *The cause of his laughter*—a paraphrase of Faust's words from Goethe's *Faust*, Act I, Scene 3 ("Faust's Study").— 204

[155] *The Penal Code* (*Code pénal*), adopted in France in 1810, was notable for its highly detailed definition of legal relations. In the figurative sense, a detailed instruction.— 207, 730

[156] See Marcus Terentius Varro, *De re rustica*, I, 17, 1.— 207

[157] Apparently Marx used here the book of E. Burke, *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity...*, London, 1800, p. 10. See present edition, Vol. 34, pp. 253-54.— 207

[158] See P. Corneille, *Tite et Bérénice*, Act V, Scene 1.— 214

[159] "The Case of the Millowners. To the Editor of the *Times*". In: *The Times*, No. 24413, November 26, 1862.— 215

[160] *Devil's dust*—the name given to flock made out of cotton scraps by a machine known as the "devil".— 215

[161] See *Capital*, Vol. III, Part I, Ch. 2, "The Rate of Profit" (present edition, Vol. 37).— 224

[162] Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, I, 156-57.— 225

[163] Marx ironically calls Roscher by the name of the famous Greek historian Thucydides since "Professor Roscher ... modestly proclaimed himself to be the Thucydides of political economy" (see present edition, Vol. 32, p. 502). Roscher's presumptuous reference to Thucydides can be found in the preface to the first edition of his *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie* (1854). Cf. present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 352-54; Vol. 32, pp. 369, 502.—227

[164] See K. Marx, "The Original Text of the Second and the Beginning of the Third Chapter of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*" (present edition, Vol.29, pp. 475-77).—227

[165] The reference is to Engels. When preparing the second German edition of Volume I of *Capital*, published in 1872, Marx used additional information supplied by Engels, cited exact data and corrected a number of factual mistakes in the first edition. See Marx's letters to Engels of 7 and 16 May 1868 (present edition, Vol. 43, pp. 30-31, 36).—229

[166] W. Jacob, *A Letter to Samuel Whitbread, Esq. M. P., Being a Sequel to Considerations on the Protection Required by British Agriculture*. London, 1815, p. 33.—229

[167] See *Capital*, Vol. III, Part I, Ch. 1 "Cost-Price and Profit" (present edition, Vol. 37).—229

[168] The reference is to *An Act to Regulate the Labour of Children and Young Persons in the Mills and Factories of the United Kingdom* [29th August 1833]. See this volume, pp. 284-86.—233, 282, 482

[169] The expression "all bosh" has been taken from the novel by J.J. Morier, *Ayesha, the Maid of Kars* (1834).—236

[170] A. Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufacturers: or, An Exposition of the Scientific, Moral, and Commercial Economy of the Factory System of Great Britain*. London, 1835, p. 406.—237

[171] The reference is to *An Act to Limit the Hours of Labour of Young Persons and Females in Factories* [8th June 1847]. See this volume, pp. 288-89.—237

[172] These are paraphrased lines from Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, Act I, Scene 2.—237

[173] The German editions allude here to the German economists Max Wirth, Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch and Otto Michaelis. Engels replaced the German names with typically English ones, probably having in mind the English economists Richard Jones and Thomas Brown. Introducing the name Robinson, Engels plays upon the bourgeois political economists' passion for Robinsonades (see Note 67). —238

[174] See [J. Harlow, T.B. Wright,] *The Currency Question. The Gemini Letters*, London, 1844, p. 266 and also K. Marx, *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 185) and K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Part One (ibid., p. 319).—241

[175] *Little shilling men*, the Birmingham school of political economy formed in the first half of the 19th century. Its adherents propounded the theory of an ideal monetary unit and correspondingly viewed money only as "the names of account of money". The representatives of the Birmingham school advanced a project to reduce the gold content in the monetary unit in England. Hence the name of the school itself. See also K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 319-20).—241

[176] Literally, the farthest Thule; here the expression is used in the sense of "uttermost limit". (Thule is an island country believed by the ancients to be the most northerly in Europe.) See, for example, Publius Vergilius Maro, *Georgica* I, 30).—241, 709

[177] Marx is alluding to "Sturm und Drang", a well-known literary movement in Germany in the last three decades of the 18th century, which reflected the discontent of progressive sections of society with the feudal absolutist systems in German states.—242, 408, 453, 555

[178] This is a quotation from a speech delivered by D. Hansemann, a leader of the Rhenish Liberal bourgeoisie, in the first United Diet on June 8, 1847. See also K. Marx, *The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-Revolution* (present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 168-78).—242

[179] By the manifesto Marx probably means *The Labour Question. An Address to Capitalists, and Employers, of the Building Trades, Being a Few Reasons in Behalf of a Reduction of the Hours of Labour*, London, 1861.

S. M. Peto, British railway businessman, went bankrupt in 1866. The same fate befell the German financier and speculator B. H. Strousberg in 1873.—243

[180] The *Règlement organique*, the first constitution of the Danubian Principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia), was introduced in 1831 by P. D. Kiselev, head of the Russian administration there. The principalities had been occupied by the Russian troops after the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-29. Under the *Règlement*, legislative power in each of the principalities was granted to the assembly, elected by the big landowners, while executive power went to the *hospodars*, who were elected for life by representatives of the landed gentry, the clergy and the towns. The *Règlement* consolidated the dominant position of the top stratum of the boyars and the clergy by perpetuating the feudal order, including the *corvée*.

The data on Wallachian and Moldavian peasants, cited below, were taken by Marx from the book É. Regnault, *Histoire politique et sociale des principautés danubiennes*, Paris, 1855, pp. 304-11. Cf. also present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 214-16.—246

[181] The reference is to *An Act to Amend the Acts Relating to Labour in Factories* [5th August 1850].—248, 297, 300

[182] [G.] Chaucer, "The Cock and the Fox..." In: [J.] Dryden, *Fables Ancient and Modern...*, London, 1713, p. 280.

"Fox" in the first line presumably refers to George Fox (1624-1691), the founder of the Quaker sect.—250

[183] *The Privy Council* originated in England in the 13th century as the King's highest consultative body, and initially consisted of members of the feudal nobility and higher clergy. In the 17th century, as Parliament and the Cabinet established their ascendancy, the Privy Council's power declined, although formally it remains the supreme royal government body.—252, 468, 648, 660

[184] *Ecce iterum Crispinus* (Here again is Crispinus) is the opening line of Satire IV by Juvenal. In the figurative sense these words mean: "The same man again" or "The same thing over again".—255

[185] The *Eleatic school* in Greek philosophy emerged in the late 6th-early 5th centuries B. C. Founded by Parmenides and developed by Zeno, Xenophanes and Melissus of Samos, it held that Being was the only reality, and that motion and diversity were merely an appearance.—256

[186] Chevallier A., *Dictionnaire des altérations et falsifications des substances alimentaires, médicamenteuses et commerciales...*, t. 1-2, Paris, 1850-1852.—256

[187] The reference is to the *Children's Employment Commission.* In fact, Tremenheere was a co-author of the *First Report of the Commissioners...*, London, 1863.—257

[188] Genesis 3:19.—257

[189] Here and below Marx quotes from G. Read, *A Brief History of the Bread Baking Trade...* according to the *Report Addressed...*, London, 1862, pp. LI-LII.—258

[190] The *Grand Jury (Coroner's Jury)*—in England until 1933 a body of from 12 to 23 jurors appointed by the sheriff from among "good and loyal persons" to make a preliminary examination of cases before the accused were brought to trial. —258, 260

[191] Here and below Marx quotes from the *Second Report Addressed ... Relative to the Grievances Complained of by the Journeyman Bakers...*, London, 1863, pp. X-XII.—259

[192] The allusion is to the fact that Sunday abstention from labour, ordered by the Puritans, is reminiscent of the Jewish Sabbath.—260, 270

[193] A reference to the 1834 Poor Law ("An Act for the Amendment and Better Administration of the Laws Relating to the Poor in England and Wales") which permitted only one form of aid to needy able-bodied persons—their enrolment in prison-type *workhouses (union houses)*, where they were engaged in monotonous, exhausting and unproductive labour. The people nicknamed them Bastilles for the Poor. The law was designed to compel the poor to accept hard working conditions in industry, thus increasing the supply of cheap labour.—260, 273, 281, 434, 648, 662, 746

[194] A reference to the "swing riots", a widespread movement of farm labourers in the south and south-east of England in late 1830 and early 1831 and directed mainly against the use of threshing machines, which the labourers held responsible for growing impoverishment and unemployment, and also to the struggle of the agricultural workers of the counties in Central and East England for a shorter working day and higher wages in 1872-74, which was victorious in a number of counties. See also present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 148-49.

Marx did not return to the subject of the movement of agricultural workers in Books II and III of *Capital* which he had initially intended to include in Volume Two. Marx never carried out this plan. See also Note 11.—260, 667

[195] See Homer, *Odyssey*, XI, 34-43, 541-42.—261

[196] See "Worked to Death. To the Editor of *The Times*". In: *The Times*, No. 24597, June 29, 1863.—261

[197] See "The Workrooms of Madame Elise. To the Editor of the *Star*". In: *The Morning Star*, No. 2281, June 29, 1863; "Death in the Work-room. To the Editor of *The Daily Telegraph*". In: *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 2501, June 29, 1863. E. Lankester was an author of these notes.—261

[198] A paraphrased expression from Schiller, *Kastraten und Männer*, used by K. Marx and F. Engels in [Review.] *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, edited by Thomas Carlyle (present edition, Vol. 10, p. 302).—262

[199] W. Strange, *The Seven Sources of Health*, London, 1864, p. 84. This quotation from Strange is taken from *Children's Employment Commission. Fourth Report...*, London, 1865, p. 55.—264

200 The reference is to the upswing of trade and industry, and the creation of a number of joint-stock companies, in Great Britain before the economic crisis of 1866.—270

201 *Britons never, never shall be slaves!* from the patriotic song *Rule Britannia!* composed by T. A. Arne in 1740 to words by J. Thompson.—270

202 *Exeter Hall*—a building in London, meeting place of religious and philanthropic societies.—271

203 "In attending to their bodily pleasures" (Horace, *Epistles*, I, 2, 29).—271

204 "Gluttony is more ruinous to their (the workers') stomachs" is a paraphrase of Horace, *Satires*, II, 7, 104: "Obsequium ventris mihi perniciosius est cur?" ("Why is gluttony more ruinous to my stomach?").—271

205 A reference to the *Anglo-French commercial treaty*, signed on January 23, 1860, which signified a triumph for the advocates of free trade in both countries and served the interests of the British industrial bourgeoisie (for details see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 341-44).—273

206 *Après moi le déluge!* (After me the deluge!)—a phrase ascribed to Louis XV, King of France, in answer to his retinue's remark that his sumptuous banquets and festivities threatened the country with a massive rise in the state debt. According to another version, these were the words used by Mme de Pompadour, Louis XV's favourite, in answer to news of the crushing defeat of French troops in the battle of Rossbach (1757) against the King of Prussia, Friedrich II.—275

207 A reference to the *Ten-Hours' Bill* for which Lord Shaftesbury had fought since 1833. In 1847 the Bill was passed, and applied only to children and women. However, many factory owners ignored it.—275, 286

208 Genesis 25: 29-34.—277

209 *An Act Concerning the Employment of Children in Manufacturing Establishments.* Quoted from *Children's Employment Commission. First Report...*, London, 1863, p. 325.—277

210 The *Great Plague* (Black Death)—the bubonic plague epidemic which raged in Western Europe in 1347-1350. According to the extant information, about 25 million people—approximately a quarter of the whole population of Western Europe—died of the plague.—277, 695

211 *An Act Touching Divers Orders for Artificers, Labourers, Servants of Husbandry and Apprentices* [1562].—278, 372, 728

212 This would seem to bear reference to A. Ure, *Philosophie des manufactures...*, t. 2, Paris, 1836, p. 33. See also present edition, Vol. 34, pp. 42, 293-94.—278

213 The title page of the book bears the date of publication "1690". The date given by Marx can be explained by the fact that there is also a note on the title page, "Licens'd, Aug. 23d. 1689".—279

214 See D. Urquhart, *Familiar Words...*, London, 1855, p. 120.—279

215 *Eckart*—a hero from medieval German tales, the embodiment of the faithful man and a trustworthy guard.—281

216 See J. Vanderlint, *Money Answers All Things...*, London, 1734, p. 120.—281

217 See *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Half Year Ending 31st October 1855...*, pp. 77, 82 and *Children's Employment Commission. First Report...*, p. 330.—284

218 *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Half Year Ending 30th April 1848...*, p. 46.—284

219 *Factories Inquiry Commission. First Report..., 28 June 1833*, p. 53. Quoted from: *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ...for the Half Year Ending 31st October 1848...*, p. 141.—284

220 *Danger in delay* (Periculum in mora) — Titus Livius, *Ab urbe condita*, XXXVIII, 25, 13.—285

221 Report from the Committee on the "Bill to Regulate the Labour of Children in the Mills and Factories of the United Kingdom...", 8 August 1832, p. 602.—285

222 This would seem to be a reference to *An Act for the Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Colonies; for Promoting the Industry of the Manumitted Slaves; and for compensating the Persons Hitherto Entitled to the Services of Such Slaves* (28th August 1833).—285

223 *Juggernaut* (*Jagannath*) — a title of Krishna, the eighth avatar of Vishnu. The cult of Juggernaut was marked by sumptuous ritual and extreme religious fanaticism which manifested itself in the self-torture and suicide of believers. On feast days some believers threw themselves under the wheels of the chariot bearing the idol of Vishnu-Juggernaut.—285, 593

224 The *People's Charter*, containing the demands of the Chartists, was published on May 8, 1838 in the form of a Bill to be submitted to Parliament. It consisted of six points: universal suffrage (for men of 21 years of age and over), annual elections to Parliament, secret ballot, equal constituencies, abolition of property qualifications for candidates to Parliament, and salaries for M. P. s.—286

225 The supporters of the Anti-Corn Law League (see Note 21) claimed that with the introduction of free trade in corn, workers' real wages would rise and they would have twice as much bread (a "big loaf"). They even carried the two loaves — big and small — with the corresponding inscriptions, along the streets as a means of visual propaganda.—286, 458

226 *An Act to Amend the Laws Relating to Labour in Factories* [6th June 1844]. Below Marx quotes *An Act* according to the *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories....*—286, 397, 400, 403, 424

227 *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Half Year Ending 31st October 1848...*, p. 131.—287

228 Cf. *An Act to Amend the Laws Relating to Labour in Factories*, XXXVI.—287

229 The establishment of a 10-hour working day was a major point of the Chartists' economic programme which they actively campaigned for in the 1840s. See F. Engels, *The Ten Hours' Question* and *The English Ten Hours' Bill* (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 271-76, 288-300).—288, 295

230 *An Act to Limit the Hours of Labour of Young Persons and Females in Factories.*—288

231 The *National Convention commissioners* — during the French Revolution of the 18th century, the name given to representatives of the Convention (National Assembly of the French Republic in 1792-95) in the departments and the army, who were given special powers.—289

232 The Chartist peaceful demonstration in London, fixed for April 10, 1848, was to head for the Parliament to lodge the third petition concerning the adoption of *The People's Charter* (see Note 224). The government, however, banned the demon-

stration, and troops and police were concentrated in London in order to prevent it. The Chartist leaders, many of whom hesitated, decided to give up the idea of the demonstration and persuaded the masses of demonstrators to disperse. The reactionary forces used the failure of the demonstration to launch repressive measures against the workers and Chartists.—290

233 The reference is to the uprising of the Paris proletariat on June 23-26, 1848, which was brutally suppressed, by the troops of the reactionary French general Cavaignac. The defeat of the June uprising was the signal for a counter-revolutionary offensive in European countries.—290

234 The words "Junge Huren, alte Nonnen" (young whores and old nuns) are from J. W. Goethe's poem "v. Krüdener. Jena, den 4. April 1818".—290

235 The reference is to *La loi relatif à des mesures de sûreté générale* (Law on Public Security Measures), known as *La loi des suspects* (Law of Suspects), adopted by the Corps législatif on 19 February and promulgated on 28 February 1858. It gave the Emperor and his government unlimited power to imprison, exile to different parts of France or Algeria, or to banish altogether from French territory any person suspected of hostility to the Second Empire.—290

236 This quotation and the one below are from Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, Act 4, Scene 1.—292

237 The "Ten Tables"—the original version of the "Twelve Tables" (*leges duodecim tabularum*), the oldest legislative document of the Roman slave-owning state. Having the protection of private property as its aim, the law provided for an insolvent debtor to be imprisoned, or sold into slavery, or dismembered.—292

238 The French historian S. N. H. Linguet stated his theory in the book *Théorie des loix civiles, ou Principes fondamentaux de la société*. Londres, 1767, t. II, pp. 379-80.

In his book *Die Geheimnisse des christlichen Alterthums*, Bd. 1, Hamburg, 1847, pp. 33-34, the German philosopher G. F. Daumer put forward the theory, that the early Christians consumed human flesh when they celebrated the Lord's Supper. See also present edition, Vol. 6, p. 631.—292

239 *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Half Year Ending 31st October 1848...*, London, 1849, p. 134.—293

240 The French utopian socialist Charles Fourier sketched future society as one in which men would be engaged in several kinds of labour during the same working day, i. e. the working day would consist of several brief periods of labour ("séances courtes") no longer than one and a half to two hours each. According to Fourier, thanks to this, labour would be more attractive and labour productivity would rise so much that the poorest worker would be able to satisfy all his needs better than any capitalist in former times. Cf. Ch. Fourier, *Le nouveau monde industriel et sociétaire...*, Paris, 1829, pp. 80-82.—295

241 The reference is to the *Foreign Enlistment Act* of 1819 which prohibited fitting ships out for the waging of war against those countries with which Great Britain was not in a state of war. In November 1863 the Court of Exchequer decided that this law did not give the British government any legal grounds to seize the ship *Alexandra* intended for the confederative states.—296

242 A reference to *An Act Further to Regulate the Employment of Children in Factories* [20th August 1853].—299

[243] *Helots*—agricultural population of Southern Peloponnese enslaved by Sparta. They frequently raised revolts, which were brutally suppressed by the slave-owners.—299, 359

[244] *An Act to Regulate the Labour of Children, Young Persons, and Women, in Print Works* [30th June 1845].—299, 405

[245] See E. Potter, "The Cotton Districts and Emigration" and "In the House of Lords ... London, Tuesday, March 24, 1863". In: *The Times*, No. 24514, March 24, 1863. See also this volume, pp. 574-76 and present edition, Vol. 34, pp. 47-52.—300

[246] *Pharisees*—members of a socio-religious Jewish sect in the 2nd cent. B. C.-2nd cent. A. D., notable for its ostentatious piety. In the figurative sense, sanctimonious, self-righteous or hypocritical persons.—300, 471

[247] See the "Address of William Newmarch, F. R. S., President of the Section". In: *Report of the Thirty-First Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, London, 1862, pp. 201-03. See also present edition, Vol. 30, p. 216.—300

[248] *An Act to Place the Employment of Women, Young Persons, and Children in Bleaching Works and Dyeing Works under the Regulations of the Factories Acts* [6th August, 1860].—300, 371

[249] *An Act to Place the Employment of Women, Young Persons, Youths, and Children in Lace Factories under the Regulations of the Factories Act* [6th August, 1861].—300

[250] The *Court of Common Pleas*—one of the former three superior courts of common law in England, having jurisdiction over the ordinary civil suits between subject and subject.—301

[251] The reference is to *An Act to Prevent the Employment of Women and Children during the Night in Certain Operations Connected with Bleaching by the Open-Air Process* [11th April 1862], which took effect on January 1, 1863, and *An Act for the Regulation of Bakehouses* [13th July, 1863] (*The Bakehouse Regulation Act*, 1863).—302

[252] See *Children's Employment Commission. Third report...*, London, 1864, and also this volume, pp. 469 and 548.—303

[253] See H. H. Creed, W. Williams, "Foreign Competition with British Manufactures. To the Editor of *The Times*". In: *The Times*, No. 25682, December 15, 1866.—304

[254] In 1844, workers in the town of Rochdale (Manchester industrial region) who had been influenced by Owen's ideas took the initiative in organising a consumers' co-operative, the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers' Society, which became the prototype for workers' cooperatives in England and other countries.—304, 336, 505

[255] A reference to the February 1848 Revolution in France.—304

[256] The General Congress of Labour in Baltimore was held from 20 to 25 August 1866. It was attended by 60 delegates representing 60,000 American workers organised in trade unions. The Congress discussed such matters as the legal introduction of an eight-hour working day, political activities, cooperative societies, the unification of all workers in trade unions, strikes, and housing conditions. It was decided at the Congress to form the National Labour Union.

For the quotation that follows see "National Labor Congress. Grand Industrial Demonstration in Baltimore". In: *The International Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 6, September 1866, p. 183.—305

257 "The Eight-hours Movement in the United States". In: *The Commonwealth*, No. 153, February 10, 1866.—305

258 Quoted from the resolution of the Geneva Congress of the International Working Men's Association (September 1866), which was drawn up on the basis of Marx's "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional Central Council. The Different Questions". Here the resolution reproduces the text of the "Instructions" word for word (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 187).—306

259 "*The serpent of their agonies*"—paraphrased words from H. Heine's poem "Heinrich" from the cycle "Zeitgedicht".—306

260 The reference is to the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*, adopted by the French Constituent Assembly on August 26, 1789, during the French Revolution. It proclaimed the main principles of the revolution: sovereignty of the people and the natural rights of man—the right to freedom, equality, property, security and resistance to oppression.—307

261 *Magna Charta* (*Magna Charta Libertatum*)—a charter signed by King John of England on June 15, 1215, under pressure from the rebellious barons, who were supported by the knights and burghers. It restricted the rights of the King, mainly in the interests of the big feudal magnates, and contained some concessions to the knights and burghers. Here Marx refers to the laws limiting the working day gained by the English working class in the long, stubborn struggle with capital.—307

262 *Quantum mutatus ab illo!* (What a great change from that time!)—a quotation from Virgil's *Aeneid*, Book II, line 274.—307

263 *Ils n'ont rien appris ni rien oublié* (Nothing learnt and nothing forgotten)—this phrase is commonly thought to have been coined by Talleyrand in reference to the Bourbons. Its origin, however, goes back to Admiral de Panat, who, in 1796, wrote in a letter to Mallet du Pan about the royalists: "... Personne n'a su ni rien oublier, ni rien apprendre" ("Nobody has been able to forget anything or learn anything").—311

264 "Ignorance is not a sufficient reason" (B. de Spinoza, *Ethices*, part I. *De Deo*. Appendix)—the argument used by Spinoza against the advocates of the teleological view of nature, who regarded "God's will" as the only reason for all the phenomena and whose sole argumentation was a reference to ignorance of any other reasons.—311

265 See M. Luther, *Von Kauffshandlung und Wucher*. In: *Der Sechste Teil der Bücher des Ehrnwirdigen Herrn Doctoris Martini Lutheri...*, Wittembergk, 1589, S. 296.—314, 741

266 According to the Belgian statistician [L.] A. [J.] Quételet, an "average man" is the true type of human individual, while real people are only a deviation from this true type, its distortion. (See A. Quételet, *Sur l'homme et le développement de ses facultés, ou Essai de physique social*, Paris, 1835. T. I-II, the English translation of which—*A Treatise on Man...*, Edinburgh, 1842—was used by Marx. Cf. also his letter to Kugelmann, dated March 3, 1869, present edition, Vol. 43, p. 232).—328

267 See W. Roscher, *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie*. Dritte, vermehrte und verbesserte Aufl. Stuttgart und Augsburg, 1858, S. 88-89.—329

268 See *Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. 2, *The Rate of Profit* (present edition, Vol. 37).—330

[269] Aristotle called a man "zoon politicon", that is, a "state being", or "polis being". (*Polis*—an ancient Greek city-state.)—331

[270] Marx generalizes here the ideas of Jones set out in pp. 199-200 of his book. Cf. present edition, Vol. 30, p. 169.—334

[271] The reference is to the representatives of *positivism*, a philosophical system founded by Auguste Comte.—338

[272] Marx borrowed the data on the manufacture of carriages from J. H. M. Poppe, *Geschichte der Technologie...*, Bd. 2, Göttingen, 1810, S. 330. See also present edition, Vol. 33, p. 405.—341

[273] See W. Petty, *An Essay Concerning the Multiplication of Mankind...* In: W. Petty, *Several Essays in Political Arithmetick...*, London, 1699, p. 35 and also present edition, Vol. 30, p. 286.—347

[274] *Disjecta membra poetae* (The scattered members of the poet) is a quotation from Horace, *Satires*, Book I, Satire 4, line 62.—348, 369, 474

[275] See J. H. M. Poppe, *Geschichte der Technologie...*, Bd. 2, Göttingen, 1810, S. 381-84, 386 and also present edition, Vol. 33, p. 405.—353

[276] See J. H. M. Poppe, op. cit., Bd. 1, Göttingen, 1807, S. 104-92 and also present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 393-402; see also op. cit., S. 273-74 and also present edition, Vol. 33, p. 408.—353

[277] On the fourth book see Note 1.

On A. Smith's view of the division of labour see K. Marx, *Economic Manuscript of 1861-63* (present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 264-306).—353

[278] See [J. M.] Lauderdale, *Recherches sur la nature et l'origine de la richesse publique...*, Paris, 1808; A. Ure, *Philosophie des manufactures...*, t. 1, Paris, 1836, pp. 28-29 and also present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 78-79; Vol. 33, pp. 497-98.—353

[279] *James Brindley*—British engineer, son of a small farmer; author of a number of inventions, known mostly as a canal builder.—353

[280] Engels refers to the conspectus of L. H. Morgan's book *Ancient Society or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery, through Barbarism to Civilization*, London, 1877, written by Marx in 1880-81, which contained his own theses and critical remarks, as well as the data from other sources. Subsequently the conspectus became the basis of Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (present edition, Vol. 26).—356

[281] The reference is to J. Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy...*, Vol. 1, London, 1767, p. 46 ff.; A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, London, 1776; [T. R. Malthus,] *An Essay on the Principle of Population...*, London, 1798; [R. Wallace,] *A Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind in Ancient and Modern Times...*, Edinburgh, 1753; [R. Wallace,] *Various Prospects of Mankind, Nature, and Providence*, London, 1761; [J. Townsend,] *A Dissertation on the Poor Laws*, London, 1786; J. Townsend, *A Journey through Spain in the Years 1786 and 1787*. In 3 vols, London, 1791.—357

[282] The demand for Indian cotton grew in England in consequence of the reduced supply from the USA during the 1861-65 Civil War.—358

[283] See J. H. M. Poppe, *Geschichte der Technologie...*, Bd. 1, S. 413-14 and also present edition, Vol. 33, p. 409.—359

[284] *Bellum omnium contra omnes* (The war of all against everybody)—an expression used by English philosopher Thomas Hobbes in his *Leviathan...* In: Hobbes, *Opera philosophica*, Amstelodami, 1668, pp. 64-66, 72 and 83.—361

[285] See also T. St. Raffles, *The History of Java*, London, 1817, Vol. 1, p. 285 and K. Marx, *The British Rule in India* (present edition, Vol. 12, p. 131).—363

[286] The reference is to Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay.—365

[287] Tradition has it that the Roman patrician Menenius Agrippa persuaded the plebeians who had rebelled in 494 B. C. to submit by telling them the fable about the other parts of the human body revolting against the stomach because, they said, it consumed food and did not work, but afterwards becoming convinced that they could not exist without it.—366

[288] Revelation, 14:9-11.—366

[289] The *Society of Arts and Trades*—the cultural and philanthropic society founded in 1754 in London. The Society sought to play the role of arbitrator between workers and employers. The "Society of Arts and Tricks" was an ironical name given to it by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 12, p. 612).—368, 722

[290] G. W. F. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*. 2. Aufl., Berlin, 1840 (*Werke*, Bd. 8), S. 247.—368

[291] See W. Roscher, *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie*, S. 383-90.—369

[292] Here Marx is in error. In fact the author of the *Dialogue Concerning Happiness* was not the diplomat James Harris, Earl of Malmesbury (1746-1820), who had published a book *Diaries and Correspondence*, but his father, philologist and philosopher James Harris (1709-1780).—370

[293] "Men differ as to what things cheer their hearts". Marx cites this statement of Archilochus as quoted by Sextus Empiricus in the *Adversus mathematicos*, L. XI, 44.—370

[294] "He could do many works, but all of them badly" (Homer, *Margites*). Quoted in [Pseudo-Plato,] Alcibiades II 147 b.—370

[295] The reference is to the period of the restoration of slave-owning democracy in Ancient Athens (5th cent. B. C.) instead of the terroristic régime of thirty oligarchs into which had degenerated the special committee for the development of a new constitution formed after the end of the Peloponnesian War (404 B. C.). This was a period of the development of trade and usury capital in Athens.—371

[296] This refers to the ideal state described in the works of Greek philosopher Plato, the major principle of which must be strict division of labour between the different categories of free citizens. See Plato, *Republic*, Bk. II, par. 2.—371, 372

[297] This would seem to be a reference to the measures proposed by Cunningham in "An Essay..." to force all the workers to like hard work. See Marx's *Economic Manuscript of 1861-63* (present edition, Vol. 34, pp. 290-300).—373

[298] See A. Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures...*, London, 1835, pp. 23, 14, 15 and also present edition, Vol. 30, p. 300; Vol. 33, pp. 497, 499.—373

[299] See Ch. Hutton, *A Course of Mathematics*, London, 1841, p. 810 and also present edition, Vol. 33, p. 483.—374

[300] See J. D. Tuckett, *A History of the Past and Present State of the Labouring Population...*, Vol. I, London, 1846, p. 208.—375

[301] See [G.] Vico, *La science nouvelle*, Paris, 1844, p. 79.—375

[302] See *The Industry of Nations*, Part II, London, 1855, pp. 155-56 and also present edition, Vol. 33, p. 420.—376

[303] See *The Industry of Nations*, Part II, pp. 221-50 and also present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 449-55.—377

[304] See J. H. M. Poppe, *Geschichte der Technologie...*, Bd. 1, S. 271 and also present edition, Vol. 33, p. 408.—377

[305] The *Jenny* was a spinning machine invented by James Hargreaves between the years 1764 and 1767. He named it after his daughter, Jane.—377

[306] Deuteronomy, 25:4.—377

[307] See J. H. M. Poppe, *Geschichte der Technologie...*, Bd. 1, S. 105 and also present edition, Vol. 33, p. 400.—378

[308] See J. H. M. Poppe, *Geschichte der Technologie...*, Bd. 1, S. 131-34 and also present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 396, 400.—378

[309] This would seem to be a reference to the expression "Stadtluft macht frei" which reflected a tenet of medieval law in Germany, according to which a runaway serf became a free man if he lived in a city a year and one day.—378

[310] See *The Industry of Nations*, Part II, pp. 252-53 and also present edition, Vol. 33, p. 455.—378

[311] See A. Ure, *Technisches Wörterbuch...*, Bd. 1, Prag, 1843, S. 424-30 and also present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 445-47.—378

[312] See "Agricultural Progress and Wages". In: *The Economist*, No. 856, January 21, 1860, p. 64. This article, from which Marx took excerpts, contained quotations from Morton's report "On the Forces Used in Agriculture", read on December 7, 1859 and published in *The Journal of the Society of Arts...*, No. 368, December 9, 1859. See also present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 443-44.—379

[313] The reference is to J. Faulhaber, *Mechanische Verbesserung einer Alten Roszmühlen...*, Ulm, 1625; S. de Cous, mentioned here, was the author of an appendix to the book: Heron Alexandrinus, *Buch von Lufft- und Wasser-Kuensten...*, Franckfurt, 1688. —380

[314] See J. H. M. Poppe, *Geschichte der Technologie...*, Bd. 1, S. 173-74 and also present edition, Vol. 33, p. 399.—380

[315] See *The Industry of Nations*, Part II, p. 227 and also present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 450-51.—381

[316] See *The Industry of Nations*, Part II, pp. 198, 200 and also present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 418-19.—381

[317] See "The International Exhibition". In: *The Standard*, No. 11889, September 19, 1862 and also present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 199-200.—382

[318] See J. H. M. Poppe, *Geschichte der Technologie...*, Bd. 2, pp. 218-22 and also present edition, Vol. 33, p. 404.—384

[319] See Ch. Fourier, *Théorie de l'unité universelle*, Vol. 2. In: *Oeuvres complètes* de Ch. Fourier, 2 éd., t. 3, Paris, 1841, pp. 140, 171, 304.—387

[320] See *The Industry of Nations*, Part II, pp. 222-47 and also present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 422, 449-55.—389

[321] See *The Industry of Nations*, Part II, pp. 223, 227-28, 249-50 and also present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 450-51, 455.—389

[322] See A. Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures...*, London, 1835, pp. 42-43; J. von Liebig, *Einleitung in die Naturgesetze des Feldbaues*, pp. 83-84 (in *Die Chemie in ihrer Anwendung auf Agricultur und Physiologie*, Erster Theil, Braunschweig, 1862).—390

[323] See J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique...*, Paris, 1817, t. I, ch. IV.—391, 756

[324] See present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 447-58.—391

[325] See J. Baynes, *The Cotton Trade...*, Blackburn, London, 1857, p. 48. Quoted from *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Half Year Ending 31st October 1858...*, London, 1858, p. 59.—392

[326] See *The Industry of Nations*, Part II, London, 1855, pp. 228-31.—393

[327] The reference is to Volume III of *Capital*. See also Note 11.—393

[328] See R. Descartes, *De Homine*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1662; C. L. Haller, *Restauration der Staats-Wissenschaft...*, Winterthur, 1816, Bd. 1, S. 332, 378 (Note 8); F. Bacon, *Novum Organum*, Londini, 1620.—393

[329] *Jahresbericht der Handelskammer für Essen, Werden und Kettwig pro 1862*, Essen, 1863, p. 48.—394

[330] Marx borrowed these data from *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Half Year Ending 31st October 1858...*, London, 1858, pp. 59-60.—394

[331] See F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (present edition, Vol. 4, p. 484).—394

[332] Marx borrowed these data from *Bombay Chamber of Commerce. Report for 1859-1860*. See present edition, Vol. 30, p. 343.—395

[333] See *The Journal of the Society of Arts...*, Vol. 10, April 19,1861, p. 408. Marx copied some extracts from that journal in Notebook VII of excerpts, which he filled in London in 1859-63. See also present edition, Vol. 30, p. 343.—395

[334] See D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy...*, London, 1821, p. 472.—396

[335] Marx refers to *An Act to Prohibit the Employment of Women and Girls in Mines and Collieries...* [10th August 1842].—397, 497

[336] *The National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. Report of Proceedings...*, Edinburgh, London, 1863.—397

[337] See present edition, Vol. 46, pp. 140-41.—402

[338] See *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Quarter Ending 30th of September 1843*. Quoted from [A.] Ashley, *Ten Hours' Factory Bill*, London, 1844, p. 21.—407

[339] See Fr. Schiller, *Das Lied von der Glocke*.—409

[340] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy...*, London, 1821, p. 469. See present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 481-83.—411

[341] In ancient Greek mythology, Daedalus was a sculptor whose creations appeared to be living, spiritual and mobile.—411

[342] Marx apparently refers to Fr. Bastiat, *Harmonies économiques...*, Paris, 1851, pp. 500-01; J. R. MacCulloch, *The Principles of Political Economy...*, Edinburgh, London, 1825, pp. 17, 18.—412

[343] Presumably Marx refers here to A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature...*, London, 1776, Vol. I, B. 1, Ch. I.—414

[344] *Factories. Return to an Address ... dated 24 April 1861* ... to be printed, 11 February 1862 [London, 1862].—417

[345] *Factories. Return to an Address ... dated 15 April 1856* ... to be printed, 4 February 1857 [London, 1857].—418

[346] In the German editions "annual".—418

[347] "The Cotton Famine". In: *The Times*, No. 24544, April 28, 1863, p. 9, col. 1.—419

[348] *Statistical Abstract...*, No. 8, London, 1861, pp. 34-37; *Statistical Abstract...*, No. 13, London, 1866, pp. 52-62.—420

[349] The figure in the original is 466,825. It refers to 1846.—421

[350] A. Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures...*, London, 1835, pp. 13-14.—421

[351] A. Ure, *Philosophie des manufactures...* Tome premier, Paris, 1836. In the English edition of his book, *The Philosophy of Manufactures...*, London, 1835, pp. 21-22.—423

[352] P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques...*, t. I, Paris, 1846, p. 135. See present edition, Vol. 6, p. 183.—425

[353] *The Master Spinners...* Quoted from *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Half Year Ending 31st October 1856...*, London, 1857, pp. 53-54.—426, 575

[354] Marx refers here to Lycurgus, a legendary Spartan legislator, in a generic sense.—427

[355] Dogberries is a character in Shakespeare's comedy *Much Ado About Nothing*, a personification of the snobbery and stupidity of officialdom.—428

[356] "Labour and Wages. Strike Amongst Cloth Weavers at Westbury". In: *Reynolds's Newspaper*, No. 694, 29 November 1863, p. 5, col. 3.—428

[357] Charles Fourier used the expression "tempered bagnos" to denote factories in his book *La fausse industrie morcelée...*, Paris, 1835, p. 59. See present edition, Vol. 33, p. 497, Note 224.—430

[358] In writing this section, Marx apparently used the materials of Beckmann and Poppe. Whenever the material cited by Marx occurs in both books, the reference is to Beckmann as the original source. See J. Beckmann, *Beyträge zur Geschichte der Erfindungen*, Bd. 1, Leipzig, 1786, S. 122-29, 130-32 (12. Bandmühle); J. H. M. Poppe, *Geschichte der Technologie...*, Bd. 1, S. 37-38, 269, 290, 490.—431

[359] Marx cites here S. Lancellotti's *L'Hoggidi overo gl'ingegni non inferiori a'passati* from J. Beckmann, *Beyträge zur Geschichte...*, Bd. 1, S. 125-26. Marx also borrows from this book the information on Lancellotti's book.—431

[360] *The States General* — the supreme executive and legislative organ of the Netherlands or the Republic of the United Provinces, as the country was called from 1579 to 1795. This assembly consisted of representatives of the seven provinces. The trading bourgeoisie played a dominant part in it.—431

[361] *Luddite movement* — a movement against the use of machines in industry and against capitalist exploitation in England in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The movement was named after the legendary apprentice Ned Ludd who was said to have been the first to have destroyed stocking frames in protest against his master's abuses.—432

[362] See W. Petty, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland*..., London, 1691, p. 22.—433

[363] The reference here is to *An Essay in Answer to the Question, Whether Does the Principle of Competition ... Form*..., London, 1834.—434

[364] See *The Times*, No. 24544, April 28, 1863, p. 9, col. 1.—435

[365] A. Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures*..., London, 1835, p. 23.—435

[366] Th. Brassey, *Work and Wages*..., London, 1872, p. 125.—437

[367] P. Gaskell, *Artisans and Machinery*..., London, 1836, p. 23.—438

[368] See *The Industry of Nations*, Part II, London, 1855, p. 232.—439

[369] Th. Brassey, *Work and Wages*..., London, 1872, p. 130.—439

[370] J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique*..., t. I, Paris, 1819, p. 60.—444

[371] Bill Sykes — a character in Charles Dickens' *The Adventures of Oliver Twist, or the Parish Boy's Progress*.—445

[372] See *The Times*, No. 24544, April 28, 1863, p. 8, col. 5.—447

[373] On pp. 449-50 of this volume Marx used data from *Census of England and Wales ... Population Tables*, pp. XXXIV, XXXVII, 5-6; *Census of England and Wales. General Report*, pp. 35, 36; *Factories. Return to an Address ... dated 24 April 1861*..., p. 31 (see also present edition, Vol. 33, p. 461). Some of the figures cited by Marx are inaccurate.—449

[374] "The Progress of the Nation". In: *The Journal of the Society of Arts*..., London, Vol. XX, No. 998, January 5, 1872, p. 135.—450

[375] "The Progress of the Nation". In: *The Journal of the Society of Arts*..., London, Vol. XX, No. 998, January 5, 1872, p. 134.—452

[376] See *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Half Year Ending 31st October 1856*..., London, 1857, p. 31.—453

[377] See *Factories. Return to an Address ... dated 24 April 1861*..., [London, 1862,] p. 31. —453

[378] *Statistical Abstract*..., No. 8, London, 1861, pp. 28-29; *Statistical Abstract*..., No.13, London, 1866, pp. 46-47.—454, 455

[379] *Corn, Grain, and Meal. Return to an Order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 18 February 1867* [London, 1867], p. 5.—455

[380] "Leicester Look-Out of 300. To the Trade Societies of England". In: *The Commonwealth*, [London,] No. 174, July 7, 1866, p. 8, col. 4.—457

381 In 1799 and 1800, the British Parliament passed laws against trades unions which banned the setting up and activities of all workers' organisations. In 1824, under mass pressure, Parliament repealed the ban. However, in 1825 it passed a Bill on workers' combinations, which, while confirming the repeal of the ban on the trades unions, at the same time greatly restricted their activity.—458, 728, 729

382 The data cited by Marx in this and the preceding paragraph come from the article "The Cotton Famine", in: *The Times*, No. 24544, April 28, 1863, p. 8, col. 4-6, p. 9, col. 1.—459

383 *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Half Year Ending 31st October 1862...*, London, 1863, p. 142.—459

384 Cf. *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Half Year Ending 31st October 1863...*, London, 1864, p. 43.—459

385 *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Half Year Ending 31st October 1863...*, London, 1864, pp. 62-63.—461

386 *Fortunatus*—a character in a Teuton folk legend whose purse never became empty. —461

387 Marx borrowed these data from "The Cotton Famine", in: *The Times*, No. 24544, April 28, 1863, p. 8, col. 5-6.—461

388 Marx refers here to the British merchants actively moving in on the Chinese market after the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly on trade with China (in 1833). Contraband opium trade assumed particularly great proportions, some of its consequences being mass poisoning and general health deterioration among the Chinese. The Chinese authorities' moves to stem the smuggling in of this drug were countered by the British by starting what is known as the First Opium War (1839-42), which ended in a humiliating and extortionate treaty for the Chinese.—462

389 See A. Smith, *Recherches...*, t. 1, Paris, 1802, p. 14.—463

390 Marx borrowed these data from *Children's Employment Commission. Fifth Report...*, London, 1866, p. 114.—463

391 See *The Industry of Nations*, Part II, London, 1835, p. 394.—464

392 See *The Industry of Nations*, Part II, London, 1835, p. 392.—464

393 See *Children's Employment Commission. Third Report...*, London, 1864, p. X.—466

394 See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 492-94.—466

395 See *Children's Employment Commission. Fifth Report...*, London, 1866, p. XVI.—467

396 *An Act to Place the Employment of Women, Young Persons, Youths, and Children in Lace Factories under the Regulations of the Factories Acts* [6th August 1861].—469

397 See *Children's Employment Commission. Second Report...*, p. XVIII, No. 139; p. XX, No. 151; pp. XIX, XX, Nos. 143-50; p. XVIII, No. 140.—470

398 See *Children's Employment Commission. Second Report...*, pp. XXI, XXII, No. 165; p. XXIX, Nos. 212, 214; p. XXX, No. 215.—471

399 The data cited in the last sentence of this quote are apparently based on the material of *Children's Employment Commission. Second Report...*, p. XIX, No. 143.—471

[400] See *Children's Employment Commission. Second Report...*, p. XXXIX, Nos. 296, 299; p. XL, No. 305; p. XLI, No. 306.—472

[401] See *Children's Employment Commission. Second Report...*, p. XLVI, Nos. 315, 316.—473

[402] "Taxable at pleasure and mercy" (Fr. *taillable à merci et miséricorde*)—in medieval France,this term was applied to serfs; later, it was used to refer to restrictions on their legal rights.—474

[403] See *Children's Employment Commission. Second Report...*, p. XLVII, No. 319.—474

[404] *Registrar-General*—the title of an officer heading the General Registry Office. —475, 645

[405] The issue of *The Times* for February 26, 1864, does not contain the data cited by Marx. Cases of death are reported only in the February 20 issue (see *The Times*, No. 24803, February 20, 1864, p. 5, col. 6).—475

[406] See *Children's Employment Commission. Second Report...*, p. LXVI, No. 404.—476

[407] See *Children's Employment Commission. Second Report...*, p. LXVII, No. 405.—477

[408] See *Children's Employment Commission. Second Report...*, p. XXXII, Nos. 244-50; *Factories. Return to an Address ... dated 21 April 1861....*—477

[409] Cf. *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Half Year Ending 31st October 1865...*, London, 1866, pp. 12, 14.—478

[410] Cf. *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Half Year Ending 31st October 1865...*, London, 1866, p. 127.—479

[411] *An Act for the Extension of the Factory Acts* [25th July 1864]. (*The Factory Acts Extension Act*, 1864).—479, 484

[412] "Impossible!" cried Mirabeau to his secretary. "Never use that ridiculous word to me!" (Th. Carlyle, *Chartism*, London, 1840, p. 97).—480

[413] Cf. *Children's Employment Commission. Fifth Report...*, pp. XIV-XV, Nos. 71-75.—484

[414] Excerpts from this work are in Marx's notebook filled in 1867-68.—485

[415] Cf. R. Owen, *Six Lectures Delivered in Manchester...*, Manchester [1837], pp. 72 sqq and *The Book of the New Moral World, Containing the Rational System of Society*, Part 3, London, 1842, pp. 46 sqq.—486

[416] Cf. *Children's Employment Commission. Fifth Report...*, p. 2, No. 14.—487

[417] E. Boileau, *Règlemens sur les arts et métiers de Paris, rédigés au XXIIIe siècle, et connus sous le nom du livre des métiers...* Paris, 1837, p. 19.—488

[418] "Let the cobbler stick to his last!"—the ancient Greek painter Apelles' rejoinder to a critique of his work by a certain shoemaker.—491

[419] Cf. *Children's Employment Commission. Fifth Report...*, p. XXIII.—494

[420] *An Act for the Extension of the Factory Acts* [15th August 1867]. (*The Factory Acts Extension Act*, 1867).—495

[421] *An Act for Regulating the Hours of Labour for Children, Young Persons, and Women Employed in Workshops...* [21st August 1867].—495

[422] *An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Acts Relating to the Regulation of Coal Mines and Certain Other Mines* [10th August 1872].—495, 504

[423] The reference is to N. W. Senior's "Address" in *The National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. Report of Proceedings...*, Edinburgh, London, 1863.—495

[424] "The Opening of Parliament" [Speech of the Queen], in: *The Times*, No. 25727, February 6, 1867, p. 6, col. 2.—495

[425] *An Act for Regulating the Hours of Labour ... in Workshops...* [21 August, 1867], pp. 805, 806.—496

[426] *An Act for the Regulation and Inspection of Mines* [28th August 1860].—497

[427] R. Owen, *Six Lectures Delivered in Manchester...*, Manchester [1837], pp. 56-58.—505

[428] *Factories and Workshops Act. 1878* (41 and 42 Vict., c. 17).—505

[429] The reference is to the first factory law passed by the government of Switzerland on March 23, 1877, which became effective on March 1, 1878: *Bundesgesetz betreffend die Arbeit in den Fabriken.*—506

[430] See L. Lavergne, *The Rural Economy of England, Scotland and Ireland*, Edinburgh, London, 1855.—505

[431] See *Census of England and Wales for the Year 1861*, London, 1863, p. XXX.—506

[432] Marx used here his conspectus of Liebig's book made in 1865.—508

[433] See J. Anderson, *An Enquiry into the Nature of the Corn Laws...*, Edinburgh, 1777; *Essays. Relating to Agriculture...*, vols 1-3, Edinburgh, 1775-96; *An Inquiry into the Causes that Have Hitherto Retarded the Advancement of Agriculture...*, Edinburgh, 1779; *Recreations in Agriculture...*, London, 1799-1802. See also present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 268, 344-45.—508

[434] See T. R. Malthus, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent...*, London, 1815. See also present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 344-50, 351.—508

[435] [E. West,] *Essay on the Application of Capital to Land...*, London, 1815; D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy...*, London, 1821; J. Mill, *Elements of Political Economy...*, London, 1821; see also present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 344-45.—508

[436] The reference is to Chapter V of the third German edition. In the English edition, it is Chapter VII (see this volume, pp. 187-209).—509

[437] See Note 1. See also present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 253-54; Vol. 30, pp. 355-57; Vol. 31, pp. 7-29, 116-19.—510

[438] From Fr. L. Stolberg's poem "An die Natur".—514

[439] D. Hume, "Of Interest". In: D. Hume, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*, Vol. I, London, 1764.—515

[440] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy...*, London, 1821, p. 31.—521

[441] Marx apparently refers to J. R. MacCulloch's *The Principles of Political Economy...*, Edinburgh, London, 1825, pp. 367-70 and J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique...*, Paris, 1817.—522

[442] The passage from the words "From our present data..." to "is shortened" comes from the French edition.—526

[443] *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories ... for the Half Year Ending 31st October 1848...*, London, 1849. Marx's reference to the report of December 1 apparently relates to the date of its compilation by L. Horner cited here by Marx. The same date occurs in the published report.—526

[444] See D. Ricardo, *An Essay on the Influence of Low Price of Corn on the Profits of Stock...*, London, 1815; [E. West,] *Essay on the Application of Capital to Land...*, London, 1815.—529

[445] See present edition, Vol. 42, pp. 136-37.—529

[446] L. Lavergne, *The Rural Economy of England, Scotland and Ireland*, London, 1855, p. 87.—533

[447] Marx apparently refers to Chapters V and VI of H. Carey's book *The Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign...*, Philadelphia, 1853.—533

[448] A. Smith, *Recherches sur la nature...*, t. 1, Paris, 1802, pp. 59 ff.—534

[449] *Contrat social*—according to Rousseau's *Du Contrat social; ou Principes du droit politique...*, London, 1782, the agreement entered into by ancient people—originally living in "the state of nature"—which led to the formation of the political state. —536, 754

[450] J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique...*, t. II, Paris, 1817, pp. 484, 464.—537

[451] [H.] Colins, *L'économie politique...*, t. 3, Paris, 1857, p. 376.—537

[452] Fr. Quesnay, "Dialogues sur le commerce et sur les travaux des artisans". In: *Physiocrates*, Part I, Paris, 1846, p. XXXVI; A. Smith, *Recherches sur la nature...*, t. 1, Paris, 1802, p. 127.—538

[453] I give that you may give;

I give that you may make;

I make that you may give;

I make that you may make.

These are the four contractual formulas in Roman law. See *Corpus iuris civilis, Digesta XIX*, 5.5.—540

[454] See A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature...*, Vol. I, London, 1776, Ch. 8.—541

[455] According to Marx's plan for his work on economics (what is known as the "six books plan"), the third book was intended to encompass a special theory of wage labour. (See present edition, Vol. 29, p. 261.) However, in view of changes in that plan in the course of subsequent work, the book was never written by Marx.—542

[456] This strike began in fact in July 1859 and ended in February 1860.—545

[457] The Factory Act of 1850 was introduced in the paper-staining industry in 1864. See this volume, p. 300.—546

[458] The reference is to *An Act to Prevent the Employment...* (see Note 251).—546

[459] See *The Times* of March 28, 1861 and April 4, 1861.—547

[460] Marx apparently proposed to study this question in detail in a book on wage labour (see Note 455). See also present edition, Vol. 33, p. 386; Vol. 34, pp. 23-25.—548

[461] Presumably the reference is to J. Watts' book *Robert Owen, "The Visionary"...*, Manchester, 1843.—550

[462] Presumably the reference is to J. Ch. Morton's article in *A Cyclopedia of Agriculture...*, Vol. 2, Glasgow, Edinburgh, London, 1855, pp. 170-85.—553

[463] See *Reports Respecting Grain, and the Corn Laws...* [London, 1814].—555

[464] *Anti-Jacobin War*—a reference to the wars which England waged as a member of the European coalitions against the French Republic and Napoleonic France. During these wars, which lasted, with intervals, from 1792 to 1815, the British ruling circles established a brutal regime of terrorism in their country, several revolts were put down and laws were adopted banning workers' associations.—555, 598, 666, 739

[465] The fact cited by Marx is not mentioned in *The Standard*, No. 11610, October 26, 1861 and *The Evening Standard*, No. 11610, October 26, 1861.—557

[466] See *Reports Respecting Grain...*, p. 33. See also present edition, Vol. 34, p. 40.—560

[467] See the English edition: *Elements of Political Economy*, London, 1821, pp. 25-26.—567

[468] The reference is to Chapter IV of the third German edition (chapters IV-VI in the English edition). See this volume, pp. 157-86.—570

[469] In the English edition: *Elements of Political Economy*, London, 1821, p. 181.—570

[470] See P. Rossi, *Cours d'économie politique...*, Bruxelles, 1843, p. 370.—571

[471] See K. Marx, "The British Cotton Trade" and "On the Cotton Crisis" (present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 17-20 and 160-62).—574

[472] From an account of a House of Commons debate on April 27, 1863 published in *The Times* on April 28, 1863, p. 8, col. 4, under the headline "The Cotton Famine".—574

[473] Marx hints here at the conduct of Lord Chamberlain Kalb, a character in Schiller's tragedy *Perfidy and Love* (Act III, Scene 2).—575

[474] *The Times*, No. 24514, May 24, 1863, p. 9, col. 3.—576

[475] Marx borrowed these data from *Public Health. Seventh Report...*, London, 1865, pp. 187-88.—577

[476] The German *Arbeiter-Verein* (Workers' Society) in Brussels was founded by Marx and Engels at the end of August 1847 for the political education of German workers living in Belgium. Soon after the February Revolution of 1848 in France, the Society ceased its activities because its members were arrested and deported by the Belgian police.—578

[477] Simonde de Sismondi, J. C. L. *Nouveaux principes d'économie politique, ou de la richesse dans ses rapports avec la population*, t. I, Paris, 1819, p. 119.—580

[478] Matthew 1:2.—580

[479] Cf. K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. II, Part III (present edition, Vol. 37).—582

[480] See Marx's critique of Proudhon's view of property (present edition, Vol. 6, p. 197; Vol. 28, p. 412).—583

[481] G. W. F. Hegel, "Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts", *Werke*, 2. Auflage, Berlin, 1840, Bd. VIII, S. 259.—584

[482] See A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature...*, 1835, Vol. I, pp. 400 ff.—585

[483] The reference is to Volume II of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 36).—586, 607

[484] The *Tableau économique*—François Quesnay's chart of the reproduction and circulation of the social product. See also present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 204-40; Vol. 25, pp. 211-43; Vol. 36, Ch. XIX.—586

[485] See J. St. Mill, *Essays...*, London, 1844, p. 94.—586

[486] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature...*, Book 1, Chapter 11, Conclusion.—587

[487] In the 4th German edition: "in the second and seventh parts of Book III" (see present edition, Vol. 37). See also Note 11.—587

[488] Lichnowsky used the words "hasn't got no date" several times in his speech on August 31, 1848, in the National Assembly of Frankfurt against Poland's right to independent existence. Marx mocks here at the ungrammatical nature of the phrase. See present edition, Vol. 7, p. 369.—587

[489] Marx uses this expression here in the sense "that is the main thing", "that is the first commandment", etc.—591, 757

[490] Marx sums up here the views of Say relying on [H.] Colins, *L'économie politique...*, t. 3, Paris, 1857, p. 341, where Say's *Cours d'économie...* is quoted.—591

[491] *An Inquiry into Those Principles...*, London, 1821, pp. 66-67. The reference in the above is to the author of this work.—591

[492] This refers to the July 1830 revolution in France.—592

[493] Marx refers here to the uprising of the silk-weavers of Lyons in 1831 and the revolutionary actions of agricultural workers in England.—592

[494] See Th. R. Malthus, *Definitions in the Political Economy*. With a preface, notes, and supplementary remarks by John Cazenove, London, 1853.—592

[495] *Determinatio est negatio*—definition is negation. Marx cites here Spinoza's expression in Hegel's interpretation which became widely current. Spinoza, however, actually used this expression in the sense of "limitation is negation" (see B. Spinoza, *Correspondence*, Letter No. 50).—592

[496] Marx cites here A. Potter's book *Political Economy...*, New York, 1841, which is largely a reprinting (with some changes introduced by A. Potter) of the first ten chapters of G. Scrope's book *Principles of Political Economy* published in England in 1833.—593

[497] Lincoln's *Emancipation Proclamation* of 22 September 1862 declared all Black slaves in the rebellion-ridden states free as of 1 January 1863, and granted them the right to enrol in the army and navy. But as the freed Blacks were given no land, they continued to be exploited by their former masters, the rich planters, who had retained their dominant position in the South.—593

[498] Cf. Ch. H. Parry, *The Question of the Necessity...*, London, 1816, pp. 80-81.—597

[499] *Report from the Select Committee on the Working of the Adulteration of Food Act (1872)*, 1874.—597

[500] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy...*, London, 1821, p. 320.—602

[501] Marx apparently refers to J. R. MacCulloch's *The Principles of Political Economy...*, London, 1825, p. 291.—604

[502] "Nulla dies sine linea" (No day without a line)—the phrase is ascribed to the Greek painter Apelles who let no day go by without adding something to a painting.—605

[503] See Heinrich Heine's poem "Kobes I".—605

[504] The quote is not to be found in Mill's work in this form. Marx probably refers to J. S. Mill's *Principles of Political Economy...*, Vol. 2, London, 1848, pp. 244-47.—606

[505] The *peculium* of the emigrants—the Latin expression is used here simply in the sense of "property".

*Peculium*—in ancient Rome, the small amount of property a father allowed his child, or a master his slave, to hold as his own. Legally, the master or the father remained the owner of the peculium.—607

[506] C. Pecqueur, *Théorie nouvelle d'économie...*, Paris, 1842, p. 880.—609

[507] W. Roscher, *Die Grundlagen...*, Stuttgart, Augsburg, 1858, p. 93.—609

[508] [S. N. H. Linguet,] *Théorie des loix civiles, ou Principes fondamentaux de la société*, t. I, Londres, 1767, p. 236.—611, 727

[509] Genesis 1:28.—612

[510] [J. Townsend,] *A Dissertation on the Poor Laws*, London, 1817, pp. 57-58.—612

[511] G. Ortes, *Della economia nazionale*, Lib. 6. Veneziano. In: *Scrittori classici italiani di economia politica.* Parte moderna, t. XXI, Milano, 1804.—612

[512] Marx apparently refers to Mirabeau's *L'ami des hommes, ou traité de la population*, Paris, 1756. Mirabeau suggests there that the principal source of the wealth of nations is their population, which must be as large as possible. In a debate between Mirabeau and Quesnay, who did not share that view, on 27 July 1757, the latter included Mirabeau in the Physiocratic school.—612

[513] Marx apparently refers to J. Tucker's *A Brief Essay on the Advantages...*, 3 ed., London, 1753 and *Four Tracts...*, Glocester, 1774.—612

[514] Marx apparently refers to T. Chalmers' *On Political Economy...*, 2 ed., Glasgow, 1832, pp. 344, 346.—613

[515] Matthew 20:1.—613

[516] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature...*, London, 1776, Ch. 8, pp. 81-83.—614

[517] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature...*, Edinburgh, London, 1814, Vol. I, p. 142.—617

[518] Between 1849 and 1859 England took part in several wars: the Crimean War of 1853-56, the war against China in 1856-58 and 1859-60, and against Iran (1856-57). Besides, British troops crushed the Indian national-liberation rebellion in 1857-59.—632

[519] Luke 16:20.—638

[520] J. Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy...*, Vol. I, Dublin, 1770, pp. 39, 40.—641

[521] On Free Trade see notes 22, 38. The repeal of the Corn Laws in England in 1846 (see Note 21) eliminated an essential obstacle in the way of the development of free trade.—642

[522] See *Census of England and Wales for the Year 1861. Population Tables*, London, 1863, pp. 5-6.—642

[523] See *Census of England and Wales for the Year 1861. Population Tables*, London, 1863, p. 5.—643

[524] See *Tenth Report of the Commissioners...*, London, 1866, p. LIX.—643

[525] See *Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom ... from 1851 to 1865*, London, 1866, No. 13, p. 108.—644

[526] The data of the table are partly borrowed from, or computed on the basis of, the *Tenth Report of the Commissioners...*, London, 1866, pp. LXII-LXIII.—644

[527] See *Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom...*, London, 1861, pp. 13, 32-33; ibid., London, 1866, pp. 13, 63, 116, 117; ibid., London, 1868, p. 53.—645

[528] The reference is apparently to the economic crisis of 1866, which England's cotton textiles industry entered later than the heavy industries. The textile industry reached the lowest point of the crisis in 1869.—645

[529] [H. Roy,] *The Theory of the Exchanges...*, London, 1864, p. 135.—646

[530] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series, Vol. 174, London, 1864, col. 588.—646

[531] The data apparently come from *Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom... from 1851 to 1865*, London, 1866, No. 13, p. 111.—647

[532] See F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*.—648

[533] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature...*, Vol. 1, Edinburgh, London, 1841, p. 6.—648

[534] *Public Health. Sixth Report...*, London, 1864, pp. 13, 232.—648

[535] *Public Health. Sixth Report...*, London, 1864, p. 12.—649

[536] *Potosi*, Bolivia—in the 17th century, it was one of the most important centres of silver mining.—651

[537] See *Public Health. Eighth Report...*, London, 1866, p. 51.—652

[538] Cf. *Public Health. Eighth Report...*, London, 1866, pp. 14-15.—652

[539] Quoted from *Public Health. Eighth Report...*, London, 1866, p. 93.—653

[540] Cf. *Public Health. Eighth Report...*, pp. 50, 110.

*The Thirty Years' War* (1618-1648)—a European war, in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Hapsburgs and the Catholic German Princes, rallied under the banner of Catholicism, fought the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands and a number of Protestant German States. Germany was the main battle arena for this struggle, the object of plunder and territorial claims. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) sealed the political dismemberment of Germany. All this underlies the comparison made in the text. —655, 695, 721, 728

[541] *William Edward Forster* (1818-1886), son of a Quaker minister, leading Bradford

wool manufacturer, Liberal M. P. of that city from 1861 to 1886. He spent much of the 1850s campaigning on the issue of American slavery, and was strongly in favour of the North in the Civil War.—655

542 See *Public Health. Seventh Report...*, p. 17.—657

543 See *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Condition of All Mines...*, London, 1864.—658

544 The Overend, Gurney and Co. Bank collapsed in May 1866.—661

545 The reference is to the beginning of the French Revolution.—661

546 See R. Whiteing, "The Distress at Millwall. To the Editor of the *Star*", in: *The Morning Star*, London, No. 3385, January 7, p. 5, col. 3, 4.—662

547 See *Manifest der Maatschappij...*, p. 12.—665

548 See A. Young, *A Six Months Tour through the North of England...*, Second edition, Vol. IV, London, 1771.—665

549 Cf. *Reasons for the Late Increase of the Poor-Rates...*, London, 1777, pp. 12, 13, 19-22.—665

550 Until the passing of the Poor Act of 1834, the 1601 law (*An Act for the Reliefe of the Poore*. 43 Elizabeth. c. 2), with insignificant alterations, was effective.—666

551 [E. G. Wakefield,] *England and America...*, London, 1833, Vol. 1, p. 45.—667

552 The Earl of Shaftesbury repeatedly introduced bills on regulating the working conditions of factory labourers to the British Parliament. See Note 207.—667

553 *The Low Church*—a trend in the Anglican Church which laid special emphasis on Christian morality; its following originally consisted predominantly of members of the bourgeoisie and the lower clergy. The Earl of Shaftesbury's activities made him influential in the "Low-Church" circles.—668

554 Marx uses here W. Hamm's statement in his *Die Landwirtschaftlichen Geräthe und Maschinen Englands...*, 2. Auflage, Braunschweig, 1856, S. 41-58.—669

555 Cf. *Census...*, General Report, London, 1863, p. 35.—669, 672

556 J. E. T. Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices...*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1866, p. 10.—670

557 Cf. *An Act to Provide for the Better Distribution of the Charge for the Relief of the Poor in Unions* [1865].—674

558 Prince Potemkin, who was Governor-General of the southern provinces of Russia, built sham villages on Catherine's route to the south in 1787 to convince her that the territory entrusted to him was flourishing.—674

559 In writing the following section (this volume, pp. 677-83), Marx used *Public Health. Seventh Report...*, pp. 129, 135, 138, 147, 148, 149, 154-55, 157-58, 161, 192, 202, 204, 209, 210, 213-14, 223, 238-40, 283, 284-85.—677

560 *Pied Piper of Hamelin*—a character in a medieval German legend: a musician who drove all rats from Hamelin. When he was cheated over payment for his services, he charmed the children of the city, and lured them all to a nearby mountain.—686

561 *Public Health. Sixth Report...*, pp. 454-62, 395-96.—687

562 Marx refers here to the *Sixth Report*.—688

563 See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 189-206.—688

564 See *Agricultural Statistics, Ireland, General Abstracts...*, Dublin, 1861, p. 4; 1862, p. 4; 1863, p. 4; 1864, p. 4; 1865, pp. 4-7; *Agricultural Statistics, Ireland. Tables showing...*, 1866, pp. 3, 6.—691

565 See *Agricultural Statistics, Ireland. General Abstracts...*, Dublin, 1873, pp. 4-6.—691

566 *Tenth Report...*, London, 1866, p. 38.—692

567 The data of the table are partly borrowed from, and partly calculated on the basis of, the *Tenth Report...*, London, 1866, pp. LXII-LXIII.—693

568 *Reports from the Poor Law Inspectors...*, Dublin, 1870, p. 10.—697

569 *The Times*, No. 25678, December 11, 1866, p. 8, col. 4/5.—701

570 Cf. Goethe, *Faust*, Erster Teil, "Prolog im Himmel".—701

571 A character from Lesage's *L'Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane*, a physician who held that all ailments could be cured with hot water and blood-letting.—701

572 "Appetite grows with eating" (Fr. Rabelais, *Gargantua et Pantagruel*, Book I, Chapter 5).—702

573 This intention of Marx was never realised.—702

574 L. de Lavergne's *Essai sur l'économie rurale de l'Angleterre, de l'Ecosse et de l'Irlande*, which appeared in Paris in 1854, was published in English in 1855: *The Rural Economy of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, Edinburgh, London, 1855. Marx probably refers to *The Rural Economy...*, pp. 48, 50, 51.—703

575 *Fenians*—Irish revolutionary conspirators advocating an armed uprising to restore the independence of Ireland from England. Fenians called for a democratic republic and the handing over of land to the tenants who tilled it. The first organisations emerged in 1857 in Ireland and also among Irish emigrants in the USA. The movement was subject to repressions and in the 1870s declined.—703

576 "A cruel fate torments the Romans, and the crime of fratricide", Horace, *Epodes*, 7. —703

577 A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature...*, Vol. I, Edinburgh, 1814, pp. 434-35.—704

578 Genesis, 3:6.—704

579 A. Thiers, *De la propriété*, Paris, 1848, pp. 36, 42, 151.—705

580 *The revolution of the world market*. Marx refers here to the sharp decline, at the end of the 14th century, of the role of Genoa, Venice and other cities of Northern Italy in transit trade as a result of the great geographical discoveries of those times: the discovery of North and South America, and of the sea route to India round the southern tip of Africa. Portugal, the Netherlands, Spain and England now played the leading role in world trade.—707, 738

581 *After the Norman conquest*—the reference is to the raids of Western Normans, Danes and Norwegians against Ireland, Scotland and England.—708

582 F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor...*, Vol. I, London, 1797, p. 54.—708

583 J. Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy...*, Vol. I, Dublin, 1770, p. 52.—709

584 *Great feudal wars*—the wars of the Roses (1455-1485)—between the feudal houses of York and Lancaster fighting for the throne.—709

585 W. Harrison, *Description of England...*, quoted from F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor...*, Vol. I, London, 1797, p. 118.—709

586 Cf. W. T. Thornton, *Over-Population and Its Remedy...*, London, 1846, p. 185.—709

587 F. Bacon, *The Reign of Henry VII...*, London, 1870, p. 307.—710

588 *An Act Against Pulling Down of Towns and Houses.*—710

589 See F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor...*, Vol. I, London, 1797, p. 73.—710

590 See R. Price, *Observations on Reversionary Payments...*, Vol. II, London, 1803, p. 157.—710

591 *An Act Concerning Farms and Sheep*, Cap. 13.—710

592 The data are apparently borrowed from F. M. Eden's book *The State of the Poor...*, Vol. I, London, 1797, p. 115.—710

593 F. Bacon, *The Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral.* Quoted from R. Price, *Observations on Reversionary Payments...*, Vol. II, London, 1803, p. 156.—710

594 Marx must have borrowed these data from G. Roberts' book *The Social History of the People...*, London, 1856, pp. 184-85.—711

595 The data must have been taken from R. Price's *Observations on Reversionary Payments...*, Vol. II, London, 1803, p. 158.—711

596 Cf. W. Cobbett, *A History of the Protestant "Reformation"*, London, 1824.
"The poor man is everywhere in subjection" (Ovid, *Fasti*, Book I, verse 218).
—712

597 Marx apparently borrowed these data from G. Roberts' book *The Social History of the People...*, London, 1856, p. 172.—712

598 Marx borrowed these data from F. M. Eden's *The State of the Poor...*, Vol. I, London, 1797.—*An Act for the Further Relief of His Majesty's Army....* See notes 193, 550.
—712

599 R. Blakey, *The History of Political Literature from the Earliest Times*, Vol. II, London, 1855, pp. 83-84.—712

600 See D. Stewart, *Lectures on Political Economy*, Vol. I, Edinburgh, 1855, p. 210.—712

601 The data are borrowed from E. Buret's "De la misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France...", Paris, 1840, in: *Cours d'économie politique*, Bruxelles, 1843, p. 490.—712

602 See Macaulay, *The History of England...*, 10th ed., Vol. 1, London, 1854, pp. 333-34.—713

603 The reference is apparently to the 1597 edict on the hunting down of runaway serfs passed in the reign of Fyodor Ivanovich (1584-1598), when the country was

actually ruled by Boris Godunov. In accordance with this edict, serfs running away from their landlords could be hunted down and returned to their owners over a period of five years.

*Laws of settlement* in England — the acts of 1662, 1685 and 1691 which regulated the relations between parishes and the poor sections of the population. The laws were in fact aimed at depriving the poor of any help if they left their native parts; all this impeded the outflow of the unemployed rural population to the cities, binding it to land.—713

604 The "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 in England established a constitutional monarchy based on a compromise between the landed aristocracy and the financial bourgeoisie.—713

605 Marx apparently refers to Volume I, p. 10 and Volume II, p. XIV of Rogers' book.—713

606 The reference is to the English revolution of the mid-17th century which led to the eventual establishment of the bourgeois system in the country.—714

607 E. Burke, *A Letter from...*, London, 1796.—714

608 The quotations cited below come from what is known as a "Supplementary Notebook B", one of a series of "Supplementary notebooks" which Marx filled with excerpts as he worked on the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, vols 30-34).—715

609 Marx cites Addington's words from R. Price's *Observations on Reversionary Payments...*, Vol. II, London, 1803, pp. 153-55, the reference to the pages is incorrect. For this reason, in preparing an English edition of Volume I of *Capital*, the translators S. Moore and E. Aveling could not find the beginning of the quotation in the original and quoted these words in their own reverse translation from the German. The present edition keeps the resultant deviation from Addington's book at the beginning of the quotation.—716

610 [N. Forster,] *An Enquiry into the Causes...*, London, 1767; S. Addington, *An Inquiry into the Reasons...*, Coventry, 1772; N. Kent, *Hints to Gentlemen of Landed Property*, London, 1776; R. Price, *Observations on the Means of Exciting...*, London, 1777. —716

611 The Licinian rogations were passed in Ancient Rome in 367 B. C. They reflected a certain strengthening of the economic and political positions of the plebs, restricting the right of passage of communal lands into private ownership and a partial cancellation of debts. The Roman tradition ascribes the authorship of the rogations to the popular tribunes Licinius and Sextus.—717

612 F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor...*, Vol. I, London, 1797, pp. 48-49.—718

613 The reference is to the 1745-46 uprising of the followers of the Stewart dynasty, who fought for the enthronement of the "young Pretender" Charles Edward. The uprising reflected at the same time the protest of the popular masses of Scotland and England against their exploitation by the landlords and mass loss of land. After the suppression of the uprising by the regular army of England, the clan system in the Highlands rapidly began to disintegrate, and peasants were evicted from their lands on an even greater scale.—719

[614] *Gaels*—the natives of the mountainous regions of Northern and Western Scotland, descendants of ancient Celts.—719

[615] *Taksmen* was the term used in Scotland to denote elders directly subordinate to the laird or chief of the clan (the "great man"). The latter gave the elders the land or *tak* which was the property of the whole clan, for which the taksmen paid him a small tribute. As the clan system disintegrated, the laird became an ordinary landlord, and the taksmen, capitalist farmers.—719

[616] R. Somers, *Letters from the Highlands...*, London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, 1848, p. 84.—720

[617] Marx refers here to his article "Elections.—Financial Clouds.—The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery" (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 486-94).—720

[618] "The Highlands of Scotland", in: *The Portfolio. Diplomatic Review*, London, No. 15, October 1 [1844], pp. 360-66. Urquhart was the publisher of *The Portfolio*. —720

[619] The uprising which began in August 1790 was suppressed by regular troops early in September.—721

[620] Cf. G. Freytag, *Neue Bilder aus dem Leben des deutschen Volkes*, Leipzig, 1862, pp. 38-39.—721

[621] See *Journal of the Society of Arts...*, Vol. 15, London, March 23, 1866, p. 327.—722

[622] *An Act Directing How Aged, Poor, and Impotent Persons...* [1530]. The data quoted by Marx below, at pp. 723-25 of this volume, come from F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor...*, Vol. I, London, 1797, pp. 82, 83-87, 100-03, 127-28, 139-40.—723

[623] *An Act for the Punishment of Sturdy Vagabonds and Beggars* [1535].—724

[624] *An Act for the Punishment of Vagabonds...* [1547].—724

[625] *An Act for the Punishment of Vagabonds, and for Relief of the Poor and Impotent* [1572]. —725

[626] The reference is to W. Harrison, "The Description of England", in: *The First and Second Volumes of Chronicles*, First Collected and Published by R. Holinshed, W. Harrison, and others, London, 1587.—725

[627] J. Strype, *Brief Annals of the Church and State....* The data come from F. M. Eden's *The State of the Poor...*, Vol. I, London, 1797, pp. 111-12.—725

[628] *An Act for the Setting of the Poor on Work...* [1576]; *An Act for the Punishment of Rogues, Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggars* [1597].—725

[629] *Petty Sessions*—a court of the Justices of the Peace in England; it tries minor offences according to a simplified legal procedure.—725

[630] *An Act for Reducing the Laws Relating to Rogues, Vagabonds, Sturdy Beggars and Vagrants...* [1713].—726

[631] The factual data adduced by Marx above are borrowed from E. Buret's "De la misère des classes...", Paris, 1840, in: *Cours d'économie politique*, Bruxelles, 1843, pp. 490-91; and [J. Cunningham,] *An Essay on Trade and Commerce...*, London, 1770, pp. 220, 222, 224.—726

632 A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature...*, Vol. I, Edinburgh, London, 1814, p. 237. —727

633 *The Statute of Labourers Confirmed, Altered, and Enforced...* [1360].—728

634 The data are borrowed from F. M. Eden's *The State of the Poor...*, Vol. I, London, 1797, pp. 125-26, 36-37, 40-42.—728

635 *An Act Made for the Explanation of the Statute Made in the Fifth Year of the Late Queen Elizabeth's Reign, Concerning Labourers* [1603].—728

636 The data must have been borrowed from F M. Eden's *The State of the Poor...*, Vol.I, London, 1797, pp. 123-25, 140, 142.—728

637 Marx may have borrowed these data from *On Combinations of Trades...*, London, 1831, p. 12.—728

638 *An Act to Impower the Magistrates Therein Mentioned to Settle and Regulate the Wages...* [1773].—729

639 The data are probably borrowed from J. Wade, *History of the Middle and Working Classes...*, 3rd ed., London, 1835, pp. 84-85, 13, 90-91.—729

640 Cf. *An Act to Amend and Explain an Act of the Sixth Year of the Reign of King George the Fourth to Repeal the Laws Relating to the Combination of Workmen and to Make Other Provisions in Lieu Thereof* (22. Victoria, c. 34).—729

641 *An Act to Amend the Law Relating to Trade Unions* [29 June 1871].—729

642 *An Act to Amend the Criminal Law Relating to Violence, Threats and Molestation* [29 June 1871].—729

643 Cf. *The Times*, No. 26484, July 8, 1869, pp. 6, 8.—730

644 *Great Liberal Party*—one of the two political parties which emerged after the first parliamentary reform of 1832. It consisted of the New Whigs and Left-wing Tories and expressed the interests of commercial and industrial circles.—730

645 Laws against conspiracy: these existed in England already in the Middle Ages and banned all sorts of conspiratorial actions even if they had a lawful cause. On the basis of this law, workers' organisations and class struggle were suppressed both before the passing of the laws against coalitions (see Note 381) and after their repeal.—730

646 *Décret relatif aux assemblées d'ouvriers et artisans de même état et profession, 14-17 juin 1791.* —730

647 *The Reign of Terror*—the period from May 31, 1793 to July 26, 1794, was one of the Jacobin dictatorship in France, when the Jacobins used revolutionary terror in response to the counter-revolutionary terror of the Girondists and the Royalists. —730

648 Quoted from F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor...*, Vol. I, London, 1797, p. 120. —732

649 See A. A. Monteil, *Traité de matériaux manuscrits...*, tome premier, Paris, 1835.—733

650 The data are borrowed from A. A. Monteil, *Traité de matériaux manuscrits...*, tome premier, Paris, 1835, pp. 239, 250, 284-85, 279-80.—733

[651] Cf. A. Anderson, *An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce, from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time*, Vol. I, London, 1764, p. 226.—734, 747

[652] J. Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy...*, Vol. I, Dublin, 1770, pp. 101-08.—734

[653] To consolidate the results of the English bourgeois revolution politically, a republic was proclaimed in 1653, headed by the State Council. Cromwell became a member of the latter and also Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland; he stayed in that office until his death in 1658. The monarchy was restored in 1660.—737

[654] Genesis 4:9.—738

[655] The revolution in the Netherlands in 1566-1609 was a combination of a national-liberation war against absolutist Spain and of anti-feudal struggle. The revolution ended in a victory for the North, where Europe's first bourgeois republic—the United Provinces (the Dutch Republic)—was established, and in a defeat for the southern provinces, which remained under Spanish rule.—739

[656] The *Second Opium War*—the war of Britain and France against China in 1856-60. See Note 388.—739

[657] Marx borrowed these data, as well as the quotations here and below, from W. Howitt's *Colonization and Christianity...*, London, 1838, pp. 194-96, 197, 198, 199, 200, 256, 258, 260, 268, 269, 348, 362.—740

[658] Marx refers to the book by Raffles quoted by Howitt mentioned above. Marx had made excerpts from this book in 1853.—740

[659] Genesis 1:27.—740

[660] *Pilgrim fathers*—the English Puritan settlers in North America; they landed in America in 1620, bringing their faith with them.—741

[661] G. Gülich, *Geschichtliche Darstellung des Handels, der Gewerbe und des Ackerbaus...*, Bd.1, Jena, 1830, S. 371.—742

[662] D. Diderot, *Le Neveu de Rameau*.—742

[663] Matthew 12:31.—742

[664] Marx apparently refers to W. Cobbett's *A History of the Protestant "Reformation"...*, Letter 14, § 402. London, 1824.—742

[665] Marx probably refers here to H. S. J. Bolingbroke's "Some Reflections on the Present State of the Nation...", in: H. S. J. Bolingbroke, *The Works*, Vol. 3, London, 1777, pp. 145-46.—743

[666] Marx borrowed these data from G. Gülich, *Geschichtliche Darstellung des Handels...*, Bd. 1, Jena, 1830, S. 377.—744

[667] [J. Cunningham,] *An Essay on Trade and Commerce...*, London, 1770, p. 49. Jan de Witt, mentioned here, to whom the authorship of *Aanwysing der heilsame politike gronden en maximen...* is ascribed, wrote, as has been established, only two chapters of this book. It was primarily written by the Dutch economist and businessman P. de la Court.—744

[668] Marx probably refers to W. Cobbett's *A History of the Protestant "Reformation"...*, London, 1824; T. Doubleday, *The True Law of Population...*, London, 1842.—744

[669] Colbert, a champion of Mercantilism, was Controller-General of Finances under Louis XIV. His economic policy was criticised by the Physiocrats (Mirabeau and others), who formulated new economic and political tasks.—745

[670] Cf. Matthew 2:16-18.—745

[671] Marx borrowed these data from F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor...*, Vol. I, London, 1797, pp. 420-21, notes.—746

[672] The bill was brought in by Sir Robert Peel on June 6, 1815, and got Royal Assent from George III (Act 59, c. 66) in July 1819.—746

[673] See present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 400-01.—746

[674] Marx draws here on J. Fielden, *The Curse of the Factory System...*, [London,] 1836, pp. 8, 11-12.—746

[675] The *Treaty of Utrecht of 1713* was one of a series of peace treaties which concluded the war of the Spanish succession; this began in 1701 between France and Spain, on the one hand, and the countries of the anti-French coalition—Britain, the Netherlands, Portugal, Prussia, Savoy and Habsburg Austria—on the other.—747

[676] The *Asiento Treaty*—according to this, Spain granted special rights to sell African slaves in the 16th-18th centuries.—747

[677] Marx borrowed the data from J. Aikin's *A Description of the Country...*, London, 1795, p. 369.—747

[678] The full quotation is *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem* (so great was the effort required to found the Roman race)—an expression from Virgil's *Aeneid*, Book I, verse 33.—747

[679] C. Pecqueur, *Théorie nouvelle d'économie sociale et politique...*, Paris, 1842, p. 435.—749

[680] Beginning from 1850, the various parts of Australia received limited self-rule.—760

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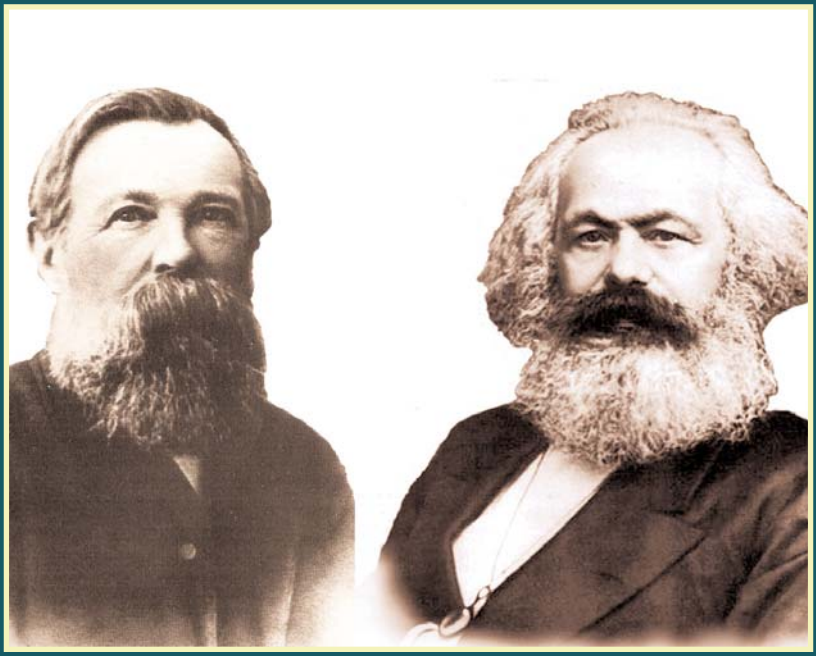

## VOLUME 36

### Karl Marx - Capital Volume II

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 36

## Karl Marx - Capital Volume II

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# Preface

Volume 36 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains the second volume of Marx's *Capital* published by Engels on the basis of the author's rough manuscripts. It also includes Engels' prefaces to the first and second German editions, as well as a short compilation of passages taken by Engels from the author's Manuscripts II-VIII.

Volume II deals with the circulation of individual and social capital, its metamorphoses and its realisation in the form of value and material objects.

Marx divides the total social production into two major departments: the production of the means of production and that of the articles of consumption. He establishes the necessary proportions between them and between their component parts (constant and variable capital and surplus value) and clarifies the general conditions of simple and expanded reproduction, that is, reproduction on the same scale and on an extended scale.

Volume II of *Capital* is a link between an analysis of the process of the production of capital made in Volume I and that of its concrete types and forms in bourgeois society (profit, ground rent, interest) in Volume III. The subject of Volume III, according to Marx himself, is the process of capitalist production as a whole.

* * *

The present English edition of Volume II follows the second German edition published in 1893 under Engels' editorship. It is based on the English edition published by Progress Publishers, which

made extensive use of the English translation of the second volume of *Capital* by Ernest Untermann printed by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, 1907.

When comparing the first and second German editions with Marx's manuscripts and with the final version edited by Engels, the editors discovered a number of misprints and printers' errors in the 1893 edition, checked factual data and calculations and corrected inaccuracies. Obvious slips of the pen in Marx's text have been corrected without comment.

Marx's and Engels' footnotes are indicated by numbers in superscript with a bracket, while the editors' footnotes are indicated by index letters, and editorial notes by numbers in superscript. The insertions made by Engels in Marx's text when preparing it for the press and in quotations are given in double oblique lines.

Foreign words and expressions are given as used by Marx, with the translation supplied in footnotes where necessary. English phrases, expressions and individual words occurring in the original are set in small capitals. Longer passages and quotations in English are enclosed within asterisks.

All quotations from English and American authors have been checked with the original sources.

In all cases the form of quotation used by Marx is respected. The language in which Marx quotes is indicated in footnotes unless it is German.

In this volume the editors have preserved the terminology used in the Engels-authorised English translation of Volume I of *Capital*, which is published in Volume 35 of the present edition.

The volume was compiled, the preface, notes and indexes written by Tatyana Vasilyeva (Russian Independent Institute of Social and National Problems) and edited by Lydia Belyakova, Mzia Pitskhelauri (Progress Publishing Group Corporation) and Alexander Malysh, scientific editor (Russian Independent Institute of Social and National Problems).

The volume was prepared for the press by Mzia Pitskhelauri (Progress Publishing Group Corporation).

# KARL MARX

# CAPITAL

## A CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY [1]

## VOLUME II

## BOOK TWO

## THE PROCESS OF CIRCULATION OF CAPITAL

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Von

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Herausgegeben von Friedrich Engels.

---

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Das Recht der Uebersetzung ist vorbehalten.

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Title page of the First German Edition
of Volume II of *Capital*

# Frederick Engels

## PREFACE TO THE FIRST GERMAN EDITION

It was no easy task to prepare the second book of *Capital* for publication, and do it in a way that on the one hand would make it a connected and as far as possible complete work, and on the other would represent exclusively the work of its author, not of its editor. The great number of available, mostly fragmentary, texts worked on added to the difficulties of this task. At best one single text (Manuscript IV) had been revised throughout and made ready for the press, but the greater part of even this manuscript had become obsolete through subsequent revision. The bulk of the material was not finally polished, in point of language, although in substance it was for the greater part fully worked out. The language was that in which Marx used to make his excerpts: careless style full of colloquialisms, often containing coarsely humorous expressions and phrases, interspersed with English and French technical terms or with whole sentences and even pages of English. Thoughts were jotted down in the form in which they developed in the brain of the author. Some parts of the argument would be treated in detail, others of equal importance only indicated. Factual material for illustration would be collected, but barely arranged, much less worked out. At conclusions of chapters, in the author's anxiety to get to the next, there would often be only a few disjointed sentences to mark the further development here left incomplete. And finally there was the well-known handwriting which the author himself was sometimes unable to decipher.

I have contented myself with reproducing these manuscripts as literally as possible, changing the style only in places where Marx

would have changed it himself and interpolating explanatory sentences or connecting statements only where this was absolutely necessary, and where, besides, the meaning was clear beyond any doubt. Sentences whose interpretation was susceptible of the slightest doubt were preferably copied word for word. The passages which I have remodelled or interpolated cover barely ten pages in print and concern only matters of form.

The mere enumeration of the manuscript material left by Marx for Book II proves the unparalleled conscientiousness and strict self-criticism with which he endeavoured to elaborate his great economic discoveries to the point of utmost completion before he published them. This self-criticism rarely permitted him to adapt his presentation of the subject, in content as well as in form, to his ever widening horizon, the result of incessant study. This material consists of the following:

First, a manuscript entitled *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, containing 1,472 quarto pages in 23 notebooks, written from August 1861 to June 1863.[a] It is the continuation of a work of the same title, the first part of which appeared in Berlin, in 1859.[b] It treats, on pages 1-220 (notebooks I-V) and again on pages 1,159-1,472 (notebooks XIX-XXIII), of the subjects examined in Book I of *Capital*, from the transformation of money into capital to the end, and is the first extant draft thereof. Pages 973-1,158 (notebooks XVI-XVIII) deal with capital and profit, rate of profit, merchant's capital and money capital, that is to say with subjects which later were developed in the manuscript for Book III. The themes treated in Book II, and very many of those which are treated later, in Book III, are not yet arranged separately. They are treated in passing, namely, in the section which makes up the main body of the manuscript, viz., pages 220-972 (notebooks VI-XV), entitled *Theories of Surplus Value*. This section contains a detailed critical history of the pith and marrow of political economy, the theory of surplus value, and develops parallel with it, in polemics against predecessors, most of the points later investigated separately and in their logical connection in the manuscript for Books II and III. After eliminating the numerous passages covered by Books II and III, I intend to publish the critical part of this manuscript as *Capital*, Book IV.[2] This manuscript, valuable though it is, could be used only very little in the present edition of Book II.

[a] See present edition, vols 30-34. - [b] Ibid., Vol. 29, pp. 257-417.

The manuscript chronologically following next is that of Book III. It was written, at least the greater part of it, in 1864 and 1865. Only after this manuscript had been completed in its essential parts did Marx undertake the elaboration of Book I, the first volume published in 1867. I am now getting this manuscript of Book III in shape for the press.

The following period — after the publication of Book I — is represented by a collection of four folio manuscripts for Book II, numbered I-IV by Marx himself. Manuscript I (150 pages), presumably written in 1865 or 1867, is the first separate, but more or less fragmentary, elaboration of Book II as now arranged. Here too nothing could be used. Manuscript III is partly a compilation of quotations and references to Marx's notebooks containing excerpts, most of them relating to Part I of Book II, partly elaborations of particular points, especially a critique of Adam Smith's propositions on fixed and circulating capital and the source of profit; furthermore an exposition of the relation of the rate of surplus value to the rate of profit, which belongs in Book III. Little that was new could be garnered from the references, while the elaborations for volumes II and III were superseded by subsequent revisions and had also to be discarded for the greater part.

Manuscript IV is an elaboration, ready for the press, of Part I and the first chapters of Part II of Book II, and has been used where suitable. Although it was found that this manuscript had been written earlier than Manuscript II, yet, being far more finished in form, it could be used with advantage for the corresponding part of this book. All that was needed was a few addenda from Manuscript II.— The latter is the only somewhat complete elaboration of Book II and dates from the year 1870. The notes for the final editing, which I shall mention immediately, say explicitly: "The second elaboration must be used as the basis."

There was another intermission after 1870, due mainly to Marx's ill health. As usual, Marx employed this time for studies; agronomics, rural relations in America and, especially, Russia, the money market and banking, and finally natural sciences such as geology and physiology, and above all independent mathematical works, form the content of the numerous excerpt notebooks of this period.[3] By the beginning of 1877 he had recovered sufficiently to resume his main work. Dating back to the end of March 1877 there are references and notes from the above-named four manuscripts intended as the basis of

a new elaboration of Book II, the beginning of which is represented by Manuscript V (56 folio pages). It comprises the first four chapters and is still little worked out. Essential points are treated in footnotes. The material is rather collected than sifted, but it is the last complete presentation of this, the most important section of Part I.

A first attempt to prepare from it a manuscript ready for the press was made in Manuscript VI (*after* October 1877 and before July 1878), embracing only 17 quarto pages, the greater part of the first chapter. A second and last attempt was made in Manuscript VII, "July 2, 1878", only 7 folio pages.

About this time Marx seems to have realised that he would never be able to finish the elaboration of the second and third books in a manner satisfactory to himself unless a complete revolution in his health took place. Indeed, manuscripts V-VIII show far too frequent traces of an intense struggle against depressing ill health. The most difficult bit of Part I had been worked over in Manuscript V. The remainder of Part I and all of Part II, with the exception of Chapter XVII, presented no great theoretical difficulties. But Part III, dealing with the reproduction and circulation of social capital, seemed to him to be very much in need of revision; for Manuscript II had first treated reproduction without taking into consideration money circulation, which mediates it, and then gone over the same matter again, but with money circulation taken into account. This was to be eliminated and the whole part to be reconstructed in such a way as to conform to the author's enlarged horizon. Thus Manuscript VIII came into existence, a notebook containing only 70 quarto pages. But the vast amount of matter Marx was able to compress into this space is clearly demonstrated when we compare that manuscript with Part III, in print, after leaving out the pieces inserted by me from Manuscript II.

This manuscript is likewise merely a preliminary treatment of the subject, its main object having been to ascertain and develop the points of view newly acquired in comparison with Manuscript II, with those points ignored about which there was nothing new to say. An essential portion of Chapter XVII, Part II, which anyhow is more or less relevant to Part III, was included and expanded. The logical sequence is frequently interrupted, the treatment of the subject gappy in places and very fragmentary, especially the conclusion. But what Marx intended to say is said there, somehow or other.

This is the material for Book II, out of which I was supposed "to

make something", as Marx remarked to his daughter Eleanor shortly before his death. I have construed this task in its narrowest meaning. So far as this was at all possible, I have confined my work to the mere selection of a text from the available versions. I always based my work on the last available edited manuscript, comparing this with the preceding ones. I only encountered real difficulties, i. e., of more than a merely technical nature, in the first and third parts, but these were indeed considerable. I have endeavoured to solve them exclusively in the spirit of the author.

I have mostly translated quotations in the text [into German] whenever they are cited in confirmation of facts or when, as in passages from Adam Smith, the original is available to everyone who wants to go thoroughly into the matter. This was impossible only in Chapter X, because it is precisely the English text that is criticised. The quotations from Book I are paged according to its second edition, the last one to appear in Marx's lifetime.[a]

For Book III, only the following materials are available, apart from the first elaboration in manuscript form of *A Contribution to the Critique...*, from the above-mentioned parts of Manuscript III, and from a few occasional short notes scattered through various excerpt notebooks: the folio manuscript of 1864-65, referred to previously, which is about as fully worked out as Manuscript II of Book II; furthermore, a notebook dated 1875: The Relation of the Rate of Surplus Value to the Rate of Profit, which treats the subject mathematically (in equations). The preparation of this book for publication is proceeding rapidly. So far as I am able to judge up to now, it will present mainly technical difficulties, with the exception, it is true, of a few very important sections.

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I consider this an opportune place to refute a certain charge which has been raised against Marx, first only in whispers, sporadically, but more recently, after his death, proclaimed an established fact by German armchair and State socialists[4] and by their followers — the charge that Marx plagiarised the work of Rodbertus. I have already

[a] In the Engels-authorised English edition of Volume I of *Capital* (Volume 35 of the present *Collected Works*) the division into parts and chapters is different from that in the German edition. Therefore references to the English edition are given in the footnotes here.

stated elsewhere [1] what was most urgent in this regard, but not until now have I been able to adduce conclusive proof.

As far as I know this charge was made for the first time in R. Meyer's *Emancipationskampf des vierten Standes*, p. 43:

"It can be *proved* that Marx has gathered the greater part of his critique from these publications" (the works of Rodbertus dating back to the last half of the thirties).

I may well assume, until further evidence is produced, that the whole "proof" of this assertion consists in Rodbertus having assured Herr Meyer that this was so.

In 1879 Rodbertus himself appears on the scene [5] and writes the following to J. Zeller (*Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatswissenschaft*, Tübingen, 1879, p. 219), with reference to his work *Zur Erkenntniss unsrer staatswirtschaftlichen Zustände*, 1842:

"You will find that this" // the line of thought developed in it // "has been very nicely used ... by Marx, without, however, giving me credit for it."

The posthumous publisher of Rodbertus' works, Th. Kozak, repeats his insinuation without further ceremony (*Das Kapital* von Rodbertus. Berlin, 1884, Introduction, p. XV).

Finally in the *Briefe und sozialpolitische Aufsätze von Dr. Rodbertus-Jagetzow*, published by R. Meyer in 1881, Rodbertus says point-blank:

"Today I find I have been *robbed* by Schäffle and Marx without having my name mentioned" (letter No. 60, p. 134).

And in another place, Rodbertus' claim assumes a more definite form:

"In my third social letter I have shown *virtually in the same way* as Marx, only more briefly and clearly, whence the *surplus value* of the capitalist *originates*" (letter No. 48, p. 111).

Marx had never heard anything about any of these charges of plagiarism. In his copy of the *Emancipationskampf* only that part had been cut open which related to the International. The remaining pages were not opened until I cut them myself after his death. He never saw

[1] In the preface to *Das Elend der Philosophie. Antwort auf Proudhons Philosophie des Elends* von Karl Marx. Deutsch von E. Bernstein und K. Kautsky. Stuttgart, 1885.[a]

[a] See present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 278-91.

the Tübingen *Zeitschrift*. The *Briefe, etc.*, to R. Meyer likewise remained unknown to him, and I did not learn of the passage referring to the "robbery" until Dr. Meyer himself was good enough to call my attention to it in 1884. However, Marx was familiar with letter No. 48. Dr. Meyer had been so kind as to present the original to the youngest daughter of Marx. When some of the mysterious whispering about the secret source of his criticism having to be sought in Rodbertus reached the ear of Marx, he showed me that letter with the remark that here he had at last authentic information as to what Rodbertus himself claimed; if that was all Rodbertus asserted he, Marx, had no objection, and he could well afford to let Rodbertus enjoy the pleasure of considering his own presentation the briefer and clearer one. In fact, Marx considered the matter settled by this letter of Rodbertus.

He could think so all the more since I know for certain that he was not in the least acquainted with the literary activity of Rodbertus until about 1859, when his own critique of political economy had been completed, not only in its fundamental outlines, but also in its more important details. Marx began his economic studies in Paris, in 1843, starting with the great Englishmen and Frenchmen. Of German economists he knew only Rau and List, and he did not want any more of them. Neither Marx nor I heard a word of Rodbertus' existence until we had to criticise, in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*,[a] 1848, the speeches he made as Berlin Deputy and his actions as Minister. We were both so ignorant that we had to ask the Rhenish deputies who this Rodbertus was that had become a Minister so suddenly. But they too could not tell us anything about the economic writings of Rodbertus. That on the other hand Marx knew very well already at that time, without the help of Rodbertus, not only whence but also *how* "the surplus value of the capitalist" originated is proved by his *Poverty of Philosophy*, 1847,[b] and by his lectures on wage labour and capital, delivered in Brussels the same year and published in Nos. 264-69 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, in 1849.[c] It was only around 1859, through Lassalle, that Marx learned of the existence of an economist named Rodbertus and thereupon Marx looked up the "third social letter" in the British Museum.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 174, 188, 195, 273, 419, 425, 427; Vol. 8, p. 4. - [b] Ibid., Vol. 6, pp. 105-212. - [c] Ibid., Vol. 9, pp. 197-228.

These were the actual circumstances. And now let us see what there is to the content, of which Marx is charged with "robbing" Rodbertus.

"In my third social letter", says Rodbertus, "I have shown in the same way as Marx, only more briefly and clearly, whence the surplus value of the capitalist originates."

This, then, is the crux of the matter: The theory of surplus value. And indeed, it would be difficult to say what else there is in Marx that Rodbertus might claim as his property. Thus Rodbertus declares here that he is the real originator of the theory of surplus value and that Marx robbed him of it.

And what has the third social letter to say about the origin of surplus value? Simply this: That "rent", his term which lumps together ground rent and profit, does not arise from an "addition of value" to the value of a commodity, but

"from a deduction of value from wages; in other words, because wages represent only a part of the value of a product",

and if labour is sufficiently productive

"wages need not be equal to the natural exchange value of the product of labour in order to leave enough of this value for the replacing of capital" (!) "and for rent".[a]

We are not informed however what sort of a "natural exchange value" of a product it is that leaves nothing for the "replacing of capital", consequently, for the replacement of raw material and the wear and tear of tools.

It is our good fortune to be able to state what impression this stupendous discovery of Rodbertus produced on Marx. In the manuscript *A Contribution to the Critique...*, Notebook X, pp. 445 et seqq. we find a "Digression. Herr Rodbertus. A New Ground-Rent Theory". This is the only point of view from which Marx considers the third social letter there. The Rodbertian theory of surplus value in general is dismissed with the ironical remark: "Mr. Rodbertus first investigates

[a] [J. K.] Rodbertus, *Sociale Briefe an von Kirchmann. Dritter Brief: Widerlegung der Ricardo'schen Lehre von der Grundrente und Begründung einer neuen Rententheorie*, Berlin, 1851, S. 87.

the situation in a country where there is no separation between land ownership and ownership of capital, and then comes to the *important*[a] conclusion that rent (by which he means the entire surplus value) is simply equal to the unpaid labour or the quantity of products which it represents."[b]

Capitalistic man has been producing surplus value for several hundred years and has gradually arrived at the point of pondering over its origin. The view first propounded derived directly from commercial practice: surplus value arises out of an addition to the value of the product. This view was current among the mercantilists.[6] But James Steuart already realised that in that case what the one gains the other necessarily loses. Nevertheless, this view persisted for a long time afterwards, especially among the socialists. But it was thrust out of classical science by Adam Smith.

He says in the *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I, Ch. VI[7]:

"As soon as STOCK[c] has accumulated in the hands of particular persons, some of them will naturally employ it in setting to work industrious people, whom they will supply with materials and subsistence, in order to make a *profit* by the sale of their work, or by *what their labour adds to the value of the materials*.... The *value* which the workmen *add to the materials*, therefore, resolves itself in this case into *two parts*, of which the one pays *their wages*, the other the *profits of their employer* upon the whole stock of materials and wages which he advanced."

And a little further on he says:

"As soon as the land of any country has all become private property, the landlords, like all other men, love to reap where they never sowed, and demand a rent even for its natural produce...." The labourer "...must *give up* to the landlord *a portion* of what his *labour* either collects or produces. This portion, or, what comes to the same thing, the price of this portion, constitutes the *rent of land*."

Marx comments on this passage in the above-named manuscript *A Contribution to the Critique..., etc.*, p. 253: "Thus Adam Smith conceives *surplus value* — that is, surplus labour, the excess of labour performed and objectified in the commodity *over and above* the paid labour, the labour which has received its equivalent in the wages — as the *general category*, of which profit proper and rent of land are merely branches."[d]

Adam Smith says furthermore (Vol. I, Ch. VIII)[8]:

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[a] Marx has "right". - [b] See present edition, Vol. 31, p. 251. - [c] Engels uses the German word *Kapital* and gives "stock" in parentheses. - [d] See present edition, Vol. 30, p. 388.

"As soon as land becomes private property, the landlord demands a share of almost all the produce which the labourer can either raise, or collect from it. His rent makes the *first deduction* from the *produce of the labour which is employed upon land.* It seldom happens that the person who tills the ground has the wherewithal to maintain himself till he reaps the harvest. His maintenance is generally advanced to him from the STOCK of a master, the farmer who employs him, and who would have no interest to employ him, unless he was to *share in the produce of his labour*, or unless his stock was to be replaced to him with a profit. This profit makes a *second deduction* from [the produce of] the labour which is employed upon land. The produce of almost all other labour is liable to the like deduction of profit. In all arts and manufactures the greater part of the workmen stand in need of a master to advance them the materials of their work, and their wages and maintenance till it be completed. He *shares* in the *produce of their labour*, or in the value which it adds to the materials upon which it is bestowed; and in this share consists his profit."

Marx's comment (manuscript, p. 256): "Here therefore Adam Smith in plain terms describes rent and profit on capital as mere *deductions* from the workman's product or the value of his product, which is equal to the quantity of labour added by him to the raw material. This deduction however, as Adam Smith has himself previously explained, can only consist of that part of the labour which the workman adds to the materials over and above the quantity of labour which only pays his wages, or which only provides an equivalent for his wages; that is, the surplus labour, the unpaid part of his labour." [a]

Thus even Adam Smith knew "whence the surplus value of the capitalist originated", and furthermore that of the landlord. Marx openly acknowledged this as early as 1861, while Rodbertus and the swarming mass of his admirers, who grew like mushrooms under the warm summer showers of state socialism, seem to have forgotten all about that.

"Nevertheless," Marx continues, "Smith does not distinguish surplus value as such as a category on its own, distinct from the specific forms it assumes in profit and rent. This is the source of much error and inadequacy in his inquiry, and of even more in the work of Ricardo." [b]

This statement fits Rodbertus to a T. His "rent" is simply the sum of ground rent and profit. He builds up an entirely erroneous theory of ground rent, and he accepts profit without any examination of it, just as he finds it among his predecessors.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 30, p. 391. - [b] Ibid., pp. 388-89.

Marx's surplus value, on the contrary, represents the *general form* of the sum of values appropriated without any equivalent by the owners of the means of production, and this form splits into the distinct, *converted* forms of profit and ground rent in accordance with very specific laws, which Marx was the first to discover. These laws will be expounded in Book III. We shall see there that many intermediate links are required to arrive from an understanding of surplus value in general at an understanding of its transformation into profit and ground rent; in other words at an understanding of the laws of the distribution of surplus value within the capitalist class.

Ricardo goes considerably further than Adam Smith. He bases his conception of surplus value on a new theory of value contained in embryo in Adam Smith, but generally forgotten when it comes to applying it. This theory of value became the starting-point of all subsequent economic science. From the determination of the value of commodities by the quantity of labour realised in them he derives the distribution, between the labourers and capitalists, of the quantity of value added by labour to the raw materials, the division of this value into wages and profit (i. e., here surplus value). He shows that the value of the commodities remains the same no matter how proportion of these two parts changes, a law which, in his opinion, has but few exceptions. He even establishes a few fundamental laws, although couched in too general terms, on the mutual relations of wages and surplus value (taken in the form of profit) (Marx, *Das Kapital*, Buch I, Kap. XV, A),[a] and shows that ground rent is an excess — accruing under certain circumstances — over and above profit.

In none of these points did Rodbertus go beyond Ricardo. He either remained wholly unaware of the internal contradictions of the Ricardian theory, which caused the downfall of that school, or they only misled him into raising utopian demands (his *Zur Erkenntniss, etc.*, p. 130) instead of inducing him to look for economic solutions.

But the Ricardian theory of value and surplus value did not have to wait for Rodbertus' *Zur Erkenntniss, etc.* in order to be utilised for socialist purposes. On page 609 of the first volume of *Das Kapital* (2nd ed.),[b] we find the following quotation, "THE POSSESSORS OF SURPLUS PRODUCE OR CAPITAL," taken from a pamphlet entitled *The Source and Remedy of the National Difficulties. A Letter to Lord John Russell*, London, 1821.[9] In this pamphlet of 40 pages, the importance of which should

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. XVII, 1 (see present edition, Vol. 35). - [b] Ibid., Vol. I, Ch. XXIV, 1.

have been noted if only on account of the one expression SURPLUS PRODUCE OR CAPITAL, and which Marx tore from oblivion, we read the following statements:

"...Whatever may be due to the capitalist" //from the standpoint of the capitalist// "he can only receive the SURPLUS LABOUR[a] of the labourer; for the labourer must live" (p. 23).

But *how* the labourer lives and hence how much the surplus labour appropriated by the capitalist can amount to are very relative things.

"If capital does not decrease in value as it increases in amount, the capitalists will exact from the labourers the produce of every hour's labour beyond what it is possible for the labourer to subsist on ... the capitalist may ... eventually say to the labourer, 'You shan't eat bread [...] because it is possible to subsist on beet root and potatoes.' And to this point have we come" (pp. 23-24). "Why, if the labourer can be brought to feed on potatoes instead of bread, it is indisputably true that more can be exacted from his labour; i. e., if when he fed on bread, he was obliged *to retain* for the maintenance of himself and family *the labour of Monday and Tuesday*, he will, on potatoes, require only the *half of Monday*; and the remaining half of Monday and the whole of Tuesday are *available* either for the service of the state or *the capitalist*" (p. 26). "IT IS ADMITTED[b] that the interest paid to the capitalists, whether in the nature of rents, interests on money, or profits of trade, is paid out of the labour of others" (p. 23).

Here we have, exactly, Rodbertus' "rent", except that "interest" is used instead of "rent".

Marx makes the following comment (manuscript *A Contribution to the Critique...*, p. 852): "This scarcely known pamphlet—which appeared at a time when the 'incredible cobbler' MacCulloch [10] began to make a stir—contains an important advance on Ricardo. It bluntly describes surplus value, or 'profit' as Ricardo calls it (often also SURPLUS PRODUCE[c]), or INTEREST, as the author of the pamphlet terms it, as SURPLUS LABOUR,[c] the labour which the worker performs gratis, which he performs over and above the quantity of labour by which the value of his labour power is replaced, i. e. by which he produces an equivalent for his wages. Important as it was to reduce *value* to *labour*, it was equally important to reduce SURPLUS VALUE,[c] which manifests itself in *SURPLUS PRODUCE*,[c] to *SURPLUS LABOUR*.[c] This was in fact *already stated by Adam Smith and constitutes one of the main elements in*

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[a] Engels gives the English term in parentheses after the German equivalent. - [b] Engels gives the English words in parentheses after their German equivalent. - [c] Both the German and the English terms are given in the text.

*Ricardo's argumentation.* But nowhere did they clearly express it and record it in an *absolute form.*"[a] We read further on, on page 859 of the manuscript: "For the rest, the author remains a captive of the economic categories as he finds them. Just as in the case of Ricardo the confusion of surplus value with profit leads to undesirable contradictions, so in his case the fact that he christens surplus value the interest of capital. To be sure, he is in advance of Ricardo in that he first of all reduces all surplus value to surplus labour, and when he calls surplus value *interest of capital*, he at the same time emphasises that by INTEREST OF CAPITAL he understands the general form of surplus labour in contrast to its particular forms — rent, interest of money and profits of trade. [...] But on the other hand, he applies the name of one of these particular forms — INTEREST — to the general form. And this suffices to make him relapse into economic gibberish //SLANG in the manuscript//."[b]

This last passage fits our Rodbertus like a glove. He, too, remains a captive of the economic categories as he finds them. He, too, applies to surplus value the name of one of its converted sub-forms, rent, and makes it quite indefinite at that. The result of these two mistakes is that he relapses into economic gibberish, that he does follow up his advance over Ricardo critically, and that instead he is misled into using his unfinished theory, even before it got rid of its egg-shell, as the basis for a utopia with which, as always, he comes too late. The pamphlet appeared in 1821 and anticipated completely Rodbertus' "rent" of 1842.

Our pamphlet is but the farthest outpost of an entire literature which in the twenties turned the Ricardian theory of value and surplus value against capitalist production in the interest of the proletariat, fought the bourgeoisie with its own weapons. The entire communism of Owen,[11] so far as it engages in polemics on economic questions, is based on Ricardo. Apart from him, there are numerous other writers, some of whom Marx quoted as early as 1847 against Proudhon (*Misère de la Philosophie*, p. 49[c]), such as Edmonds, Thompson, Hodgskin, etc., etc., "and four pages more of etceteras". I select the following at random from among this multitude of writings: *An Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth, Most Conducive to Human Happiness*, BY William Thompson; A NEW EDITION, London,

[a] See present edition, Vol. 32, p. 374. - [b] Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 388-89. - [c] See present edition, Vol. 6, p. 138.

1850.[12] This work, written in 1822, first appeared in 1824. Here likewise the wealth appropriated by the non-producing classes is described everywhere as a deduction from the product of the labourer and rather strong words are used.

"The constant effort of what has been called society, has been to deceive and induce, to terrify and compel, the productive labourer to work for the smallest possible portion of the produce of his own labour" (p. 28). "Why not give him the whole absolute produce of his labour?" (p. 32). "This amount of compensation, exacted by capitalists from the productive labourers, under the name of rent or profits, is claimed for the use of land or other articles... Since all the physical materials on which, or by means of which, the propertiless productive labourer, with no other possession than his capability of producing, can make use of this capability, are in the hands of others with interests opposed to his, and their consent is a necessary preliminary to any exertion on his part, is he not, and must he not always remain, at the mercy of these capitalists for whatever *portion of the fruits of his own labour* they may think proper to leave at his disposal in compensation for his toils?" (p. 125). "... in proportion to the amount of *products withheld*, whether these defalcations are called profits, or taxes, or theft" (p. 126), etc.

I must admit that I do not write these lines without a certain mortification. I will not make so much of the fact that the anti-capitalist literature of England of the twenties and thirties is so totally unknown in Germany, in spite of Marx's direct references to it even in his *Poverty of Philosophy*, and his repeated quotations from it, as for instance the pamphlet of 1821, Ravenstone,[13] Hodgskin, etc., in the first volume of *Capital*. But it is proof of the grave deterioration of official political economy that not only the *literatus vulgaris*,[a] who clings desperately to the coat-tails of Rodbertus and "really has not learned anything",[b] but also the officially and ceremoniously installed professor,[c] who "boasts of his erudition", has forgotten his classical political economy to such an extent that he seriously charges Marx with having purloined things from Rodbertus which may be found even in Adam Smith and Ricardo.

But what, then, is new in Marx's utterances on surplus value? How is it that Marx's theory of surplus value struck home like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky, and this in all civilised countries, while the theories of all his socialist predecessors, Rodbertus included, vanished without having produced any effect?

The history of chemistry offers an illustration which explains this.

[a] Rudolf Meyer - [b] A remark Talleyrand is supposed to have made about the Bourbons. - [c] Adolph Wagner (for Marx's critique of his book *Lehrbuch der politischen Oekonomie* see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 531-59).

We know that late in the past century the phlogistic theory still prevailed. According to it, combustion consisted essentially in this: that a certain hypothetical substance, an absolute combustible named phlogiston, separated from the burning body. This theory sufficed to explain most of the chemical phenomena then known, although it had to be considerably strained in some cases. But in 1774 Priestley described a certain kind of air

"which he found to be so pure, or so free from phlogiston, that common air seemed adulterated in comparison with it".

He called it "dephlogisticated air". Shortly after him Scheele in Sweden described the same kind of air and demonstrated its existence in the atmosphere. He also found that this kind of air disappeared when some body was burned in it or in ordinary air and therefore he called it "fire-air".

"From these facts he drew the conclusion that the combination arising from the union of phlogiston with one of the components of the atmosphere" //that is to say, from combustion// "was nothing but fire or heat which escaped through the glass."[2)]

Priestley and Scheele had described oxygen without knowing what they had laid their hands on. They "remained captives of the" phlogistic "categories as they found them". The element which was destined to upset the whole phlogistic theory and to revolutionise chemistry remained barren in their hands. But Priestley had immediately communicated his discovery to Lavoisier in Paris, and Lavoisier now analysed the entire phlogistic chemistry in the light of this new fact and discovered, first, that this new kind of air was a new chemical element, and that combustion was not a case of the mysterious phlogiston *departing* from the burning body, but of this new element *combining* with that body. Thus he placed all chemistry, which in its phlogistic form had stood on its head, squarely on its feet. And although he did not describe oxygen simultaneously and independently of the others, as he claimed later on, he nevertheless is the real *discoverer* of oxygen vis-à-vis the two, who had only *described* it without knowing *what* they had described.

Marx stands in the same relation to his predecessors in the theory of surplus value as Lavoisier stood to Priestley and Scheele. The *exist-*

[2)] Roscoe-Schorlemmer, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Chemie.* Brunswick, 1877, I, pp. 13, 18.[14]

*ence* of that part of the value of products which we now call surplus value had been ascertained long before Marx. It had also been stated more or less clearly what it consisted of, namely of the product of the labour for which its appropriator had not given any equivalent. But they did not get any further. Some — the classical bourgeois economists — investigated at most the proportion in which the product of labour was divided between the labourer and the owner of the means of production. Others — the socialists — found that this division was unjust and looked for utopian means of abolishing this injustice. They all remained captives of the economic categories as they had found them.

Now Marx appeared on the scene. And he took a view directly opposite to that of all his predecessors. Where they had seen a *solution*, he only saw a *problem*. He saw that this was a case neither of dephlogisticated air nor of fire-air, but of oxygen — that here it was not simply a matter of stating an economic fact or of pointing out the conflict between this fact and eternal justice and true morality, but of explaining a fact which was destined to revolutionise all political economy, and which offered to him who knew how to use it the key to an understanding of all capitalist production. In the light of this fact he examined all the economic categories which he found in existence, just as Lavoisier, proceeding from oxygen, had examined the existing categories of phlogistic chemistry. In order to understand what surplus value was, Marx had to find out what value was. He had to criticise above all the Ricardian theory of value. Hence he analysed labour's value-producing property and was the first to ascertain *what kind* of labour it was that created value, and why and how it did so. He found that value was nothing but congealed labour of *this* kind, and this is a point which Rodbertus never grasped to his dying day. Marx then investigated the relation between commodity and money and demonstrated how and why, owing to the property of value immanent in the commodity, the commodity and commodity exchange must engender the opposition of commodity and money. His theory of money, based on this realisation, is the first exhaustive one and has been tacitly accepted everywhere. He analysed the transformation of money into capital and demonstrated that this transformation is based on the purchase and sale of labour power. By substituting labour power, the value-creating property, for labour he solved with one stroke one of the difficulties which brought about the downfall of the Ricardian school, viz., the impossibility of harmonising the mutual

exchange of capital and labour with the Ricardian law that value is determined by labour. By stating the division of capital into constant and variable he was enabled to trace the process of the formation of surplus value in its minutest details as it really takes place, and thus to explain it — something none of his predecessors had accomplished. Thus he stated the existence of a division within capital itself with which neither Rodbertus nor the bourgeois economists knew in the least what to do, but which furnishes the key for the solution of the most complicated economic problems, as is strikingly proved again by Book II and will be proved still more by Book III. He analysed surplus value itself further and found its two forms, absolute and relative surplus value. And he showed that they had played a different, but in either case a decisive role, in the historical development of capitalist production. On the basis of surplus value he developed the first rational theory of wages we have, and for the first time gave an outline of the history of capitalist accumulation and an exposition of its historical tendency.

And Rodbertus? After he has read all this, he — like the tendentious economist he always is — declares that this is "an assault on society",[a] that he himself has said much more briefly and clearly what surplus value evolves from, and finally that all this does indeed apply to "the present form of capital", that is to say to capital as it exists historically, but not to the "concept of capital", namely the utopian idea which Mr. Rodbertus has of capital. Just like old Priestley, who swore by phlogiston to the end of his days and refused to have anything to do with oxygen. The only thing is that Priestley had actually been the first to describe oxygen, while Rodbertus had merely rediscovered a commonplace in his surplus value, or rather his "rent", and that Marx, unlike Lavoisier, disdained to claim that he was the first to discover the *fact* of the existence of surplus value.

The other economic feats performed by Rodbertus are on about the same plane. His elaboration of surplus value into a utopia has already been unintentionally criticised by Marx in his *Poverty of Philosophy*. What else may be said about it I have said in my preface to the German edition of that work.[b] Rodbertus' explanation of commercial crises as outgrowths of the underconsumption of the working class

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[a] [J. K.] Rodbertus, *Briefe und sozialpolitische Aufsätze*. Herausgegeben von Dr. R. Meyer. Berlin, Bd. I, [1881,] S. 111. - [b] See present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 278-91.

may already be found in Sismondi's *Nouveaux Principes de l'Économie Politique*, Book IV, Ch. IV.[3] However, Sismondi always had the world market in mind, while Rodbertus' horizon does not extend beyond the Prussian border. His speculations as to whether wages are derived from capital or income belong to the domain of scholasticism and are definitely settled in Part III of this second book of *Capital*. His theory of rent has remained his exclusive property and may rest in peace until the manuscript of Marx criticising it is published.[a] Finally his suggestions for the emancipation of the old Prussian landed property from the oppression of capital are also entirely utopian; for they evade the only practical question raised in this connection, viz.: How can the old Prussian landed junker have a yearly income of, say, 20,000 marks and a yearly expenditure of, say, 30,000 marks, without running into debt?

The Ricardian school suffered shipwreck about the year 1830 on the rock of surplus value. And what this school could not solve remained still more insoluble for its successor, vulgar economy. The two points which caused its failure were these:

First. Labour is the measure of value. However, living labour in its exchange with capital has a lower value than the objectified labour for which it is exchanged. Wages, the value of a definite quantity of living labour, are always less than the value of the product which this same quantity of living labour produces or in which it is embodied. The question is indeed insoluble, if put in this form. It has been correctly formulated by Marx and thereby answered. It is not labour which has a value. As an activity which creates values it can no more have any special value than gravity can have any special weight, heat any special temperature, electricity any special strength of current. It is not labour which is bought and sold as a commodity, but labour *power*. Once labour power becomes a commodity, its value is determined by the labour embodied in it as a social product. This value is equal to the labour socially necessary for its production and reproduction. Hence the purchase and sale of labour power on the basis of its value thus defined does not at all contradict the economic law of value.

[3] "Thus the concentration of wealth in the hands of a small number of proprietors narrows the home market more and more, and industry is more and more compelled to look for foreign markets to dispose of its goods, where even greater revolutions threaten it" (namely, the crisis of 1817, which is described immediately afterwards). *Nouveaux Principes*, I, ed. 1819, p. 336.

[a] See ibid., Vol. 37.

Second. According to the Ricardian law of value, two capitals employing equal quantities of equally paid living labour, all other conditions being equal, produce products of equal value, and likewise surplus value, or profit, of equal quantity, in equal periods of time. But if they employ unequal quantities of living labour, they cannot produce equal amounts of surplus value, or, as the Ricardians say, equal amounts of profit. Now in reality the opposite takes place. In actual fact, equal capitals, regardless of how much or how little living labour they employ, produce equal average profits in equal times. Here there is therefore a contradiction of the law of value which had been noticed by Ricardo himself, but which his school also was unable to resolve. Rodbertus likewise could not but note this contradiction. But instead of resolving it, he made it one of the starting-points of his utopia (*Zur Erkenntniss*, p. 131). Marx had resolved this contradiction already in the manuscript of *A Contribution to the Critique....*[a] According to the plan of *Capital*, this solution will be provided in Book III.[b] Months will pass before that will be published. Hence those economists who claim to have discovered in Rodbertus the secret source and a superior predecessor of Marx have now an opportunity to demonstrate what Rodbertus' political economy can accomplish. If they can show how an equal average rate of profit can and must come about, not only without a violation of the law of value, but rather on the very basis of it, we are willing to discuss the matter further with them. In the meantime they had better make haste. The brilliant investigations of the present Book II and their entirely new results in fields hitherto almost untrod are merely introductory to the contents of Book III, which develops the final conclusions of Marx's analysis of the process of social reproduction on a capitalist basis. When this Book III appears, little mention will be made of the economist called Rodbertus.

The second and third books of *Capital* were to be dedicated, as Marx repeatedly told me, to his wife.

*Frederick Engels*

London, on Marx's birthday, May 5, 1885

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[a] See present edition, vols 31-32. - [b] See ibid., Vol. 37 (*Capital*, Vol. III, parts I and II).

## Frederick Engels

### [PREFACE TO THE SECOND GERMAN EDITION]

The present second edition is, in the main, a faithful reprint of the first. Typographical errors have been corrected, a few stylistic blemishes eliminated, and several short paragraphs containing only repetitions struck out.

The third book, which presented quite unforeseen difficulties, is now almost finished in manuscript. If my health holds out it will be ready for the press this autumn.

*F. Engels*

London, July 15, 1893

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For the sake of convenience there follows here a short compilation of passages, each with an indication of the particular manuscript (II-VIII) taken from.

### Part I

Pp.31-32 [1] [a] from Ms. II; pp. 32-42 [2-12], Ms. VII; pp. 42-46 [12-16], Ms. VI; pp. 46-122 [16-89], Ms. V; pp. 122-25 [89-92], note found among excerpts from books; pp. 125-26 [92] to the end of this part, Ms. IV; there have, however, been inserted pp. 133-34 [100-

[a] The page numbers in square brackets refer to the 1893 German edition.

01], a passage from Ms. VIII; pp. 138 and 144 [105 and 111], notes from Ms. II.

## Part II

The beginning, pp. 156-65 [123-33], is the end of Ms. IV. From here on to the end of this part, pp. 165-348 [324], all from Ms. II.

## Part III

Chapter 18: (pp. 349-57) [324-32] from Ms. II.
Chapter 19: I and II (pp. 357-88) [332-64] from Ms. VIII; III (pp. 388-90) [364-66] from Ms. II.
Chapter 20: I (pp. 390-94) [366-69] from Ms. II, only the concluding paragraph from Ms. VIII.
II (pp. 394-97) [370-72] in the main from Ms. II.
III, IV, V (pp. 397-420) [373-97] from Ms. VIII.
VI, VII, VIII, IX (pp. 420-36) [397-412] from Ms. II.
X, XI, XII (pp. 436-80) [413-56] from Ms. VIII.
XIII (pp. 480-88) [457-65] from Ms. II.
Chapter 21: (pp. 488-523) [465-500] entirely from Ms. VIII.

# Das Kapital.

## Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.

Von

**Karl Marx.**

Zweiter Band.

**Buch II: Der Cirkulationsprocess des Kapitals.**

**Zweite Auflage.**

Herausgegeben von **Friedrich Engels.**

Das Recht der Uebersetzung ist vorbehalten.

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Title page of the Second German Edition
of Volume II of *Capital*

# BOOK II

# THE PROCESS OF CIRCULATION OF CAPITAL

# Part I

## THE METAMORPHOSES OF CAPITAL AND THEIR CIRCUITS

### Chapter I

### THE CIRCUIT OF MONEY CAPITAL

The circular movement[1] of capital takes place in three stages, which, according to the presentation in Volume I, form the following series:

*First stage*: The capitalist appears as a buyer on the commodity and the labour market; his money is transformed into commodities, or it goes through the circulation act M—C.

*Second stage*: Productive consumption of the purchased commodities by the capitalist. He acts as a capitalist producer of commodities; his capital passes through the process of production. The result is a commodity of more value than that of the elements entering into its production.

*Third stage*: The capitalist returns to the market as a seller; his commodities are turned into money, or they pass through the circulation act C—M.

Hence the formula for the circuit of money capital is: M—C ... P ... C′—M′, the dots indicating that the process of circulation is interrupted, and C′ and M′ designating C and M increased by surplus value.

The first and third stages were discussed in Book I only in so far as this was necessary for an understanding of the second stage, the process of production of capital. For this reason, the various forms which capital takes on in its different stages, and which it now assumes and now strips off in the repetition of its circuit, were not considered. These forms are now the direct object of our study.

In order to conceive these forms in their pure state, one must first of all discard all factors which have nothing to do with the changing or building of forms as such. It is therefore taken for granted here not only that the commodities are sold at their values but also that this

[1] From Manuscript II.

takes place under the same conditions throughout. Likewise disregarded therefore are any changes of value which might occur during the movement in circuits.

### I. FIRST STAGE. M—C[2]

M—C represents the conversion of a sum of money into a sum of commodities; the purchaser transforms his money into commodities, the sellers transform their commodities into money. What renders this act of the general circulation of commodities simultaneously a functionally definite section in independent circuit of some individual capital is primarily not the form of the act but its material content, the specific use character of the commodities which change place with the money. These commodities are on the one hand means of production, on the other labour power, material and personal factors in the production of commodities whose specific nature must of course correspond to the special kind of articles to be manufactured. If we call labour power L, and the means of production MP, then the sum of commodities to be bought, C, is equal to L + MP, or more briefly $C < {}^{L}_{MP}$. M—C, considered as to its substance, is therefore represented by $M—C < {}^{L}_{MP}$, that is to say M—C breaks up into M—L and M—MP. The sum of money M is separated into two parts, one of which buys labour power, the other means of production. These two series of purchases belong to entirely different markets, the one to the commodity market proper, the other to the labour market.

Aside from this qualitative division of the sum of commodities into which M is transformed, the formula $M—C < {}^{L}_{MP}$ also represents a most characteristic quantitative relation.

We know that the value, or price, of labour power is paid to its owner, who offers it for sale as a commodity, in the form of wages, that is to say as the price of a sum of labour containing surplus labour. For instance, if the daily value of labour power = the product of five hours' labour valued at 3 marks, this sum figures in the contract between the buyer and seller as the price, or wages, for, say, ten hours of labour. If such a contract is made for instance with 50 labourers, they are supposed to work altogether 500 hours per day for the purchaser, and one half of this time, or 250 hours = 25 days of labour of 10 hours each, represents nothing but surplus labour. The quantity and the volume of the means of production to be pur-

[2] Beginning of Manuscript VII, started July 2, 1878.

chased must be sufficient for the utilisation of this mass of labour.

$M—C <^{L}_{MP}$, then, does not merely express the qualitative relation indicating that a certain sum of money, say £ 422, is transformed into a corresponding sum of means of production and labour power, but also a quantitative relation between L, the part of the money spent for labour power, and MP, the part spent for means of production. This relation is determined at the outset by the quantity of excess labour, of surplus labour to be expended by a certain number of labourers.

If for instance in a spinning-mill the weekly wage of its 50 labourers amounts to £ 50, £ 372 must be spent for means of production, if this is the value of the means of production which a weekly labour of 3,000 hours, 1,500 of which are surplus labour, transforms into yarn.

It is quite immaterial here how much additional value in the form of means of production is required in the various lines of industry by the utilisation of additional labour. The point merely is that under all circumstances the part of the money spent for means of production—the means of production bought in M—MP—must be sufficient, i. e., must at the outset be calculated accordingly, must be procured in corresponding proportion. To put it another way, the quantity of means of production must suffice to absorb the amount of labour, to be transformed by it into products. If the means of production at hand were insufficient, the excess labour at the disposal of the purchaser could not be utilised; his right to dispose of it would be futile. If there were more means of production than available labour, they would not be saturated with labour, would not be transformed into products.

As soon as $M—C <^{L}_{MP}$ is completed, the purchaser has at his disposal more than simply the means of production and labour power required for the production of some useful article. He disposes of a greater capacity to set labour power in motion, or a greater quantity of labour than is necessary for the replacement of the value of this labour power, and he has at the same time the means of production requisite for the realisation or objectification of this quantity of labour. In other words, he has at his disposal the factors making for the production of articles of a greater value than that of the elements of production—the factors of production of a mass of commodities containing surplus value. Thus the value advanced by him in money form has now assumed a natural form in which it can be realised as a value generating surplus value (in the shape of commodities). In

brief, value exists here in the condition or form of *productive capital*, which has the faculty of creating value and surplus value. Let us call capital in this form P.

Now the value of P is = to that of L + MP, it is = to M transformed into L and MP. M is the same capital value as P, only it has a different mode of existence, it is capital value in the state or form of money—*money capital.*

$M—C <^{L}_{MP}$, or its general form M—C, a sum of purchases of commodities, an act of the general circulation of commodities, is therefore at the same time—as a stage in the independent circuit of capital—a transformation of capital value from its money form into its productive form or, more briefly, it is the transformation of *money capital* into *productive capital.* In the diagram of the circuit which we are here discussing, money appears as the first depository of capital value, and money capital therefore represents the form in which capital is advanced.

Capital in the form of money capital is in a state in which it can perform the functions of money, in the present case the functions of a universal means of purchase and universal means of payment. (The last-named inasmuch as labour power though first bought is not paid for until it has been put into operation. To the extent that the means of production are not found ready on the market but have to be ordered first, money in M—MP likewise serves as a means of payment.) This capacity is not due to the fact that money capital is capital but that it is money.

On the other hand capital value in the form of money cannot perform any other functions but those of money. What turns the money functions into functions of capital is the definite role they play in the movement of capital, and therefore also the interrelation of the stage in which these functions are performed with the other stages of the circuit of capital. Take, for instance, the case with which we are here dealing. Money is here converted into commodities the combination of which represents the natural form of productive capital, and this form already contains latently, potentially, the result of the process of capitalist production.

A part of the money performing the function of money capital in $M—C <^{L}_{MP}$ assumes, by consummating this act of circulation, a function in which it loses its capital character but preserves its money character. The circulation of money capital M is divided into M—MP and M—L, into the purchase of means of production and

the purchase of labour power. Let us consider the last-named process by itself. M—L is the purchase of labour power by the capitalist. It is also the sale of labour power—we may here say of labour, since the form of wages is assumed—by the labourer who owns it. What is M—C (= M—L) for the buyer, is here, as in every other purchase, L—M (= C—M) for the seller (the labourer). It is the sale of his labour power. This is the first stage of circulation, or the first metamorphosis, of the commodity (Buch I, Kap. III, 2a).[a] It is for the seller of labour a transformation of his commodity into the money form. The labourer spends the money so obtained gradually for a number of commodities required for the satisfaction of his needs, for articles of consumption. The complete circulation of his commodity therefore appears as L—M—C, that is to say first as L—M (= C—M) and secondly as M—C; hence in the general form of the simple circulation of commodities, C—M—C. Money is in this case merely a passing means of circulation, a mere medium in the exchange of one commodity for another.

M—L is the characteristic moment in the transformation of money capital into productive capital, because it is the essential condition for the real transformation of value advanced in the form of money into capital, into a value producing surplus value. M—MP is necessary only for the purpose of realising the quantity of labour bought in the process M—L, which was discussed from this point of view in Book I, Part II, under the head of "The Transformation of Money into Capital." We shall have to consider the matter at this point also from another angle, relating especially to money capital as the form in which capital manifests itself.

Generally M—L is regarded as characteristic of the capitalist mode of production. However not at all for the reason given above, that the purchase of labour power represents a contract of purchase which stipulates for the delivery of a quantity of labour in excess of that needed to replace the price of the labour power, the wages; hence delivery of surplus labour, the fundamental condition for the capitalisation of the value advanced, or for the production of surplus value, which is the same thing. On the contrary, it is so regarded because of its form, since *money* in the form of wages buys labour, and this is the characteristic feature of the money economy.

Nor is it the irrationality of the form which is taken as character-

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. III, 2a (present edition, Vol. 35).

istic. On the contrary, one overlooks the irrational. The irrationality consists in the fact that labour itself as a value-creating element cannot have any value, nor can therefore any definite amount of labour have any value expressed in its price, in its equivalence to a definite quantity of money. But we know that wages are but a disguised form, a form in which for instance the price of one day's labour power presents itself as the price of the labour set in motion by this labour power in one day. The value produced by this labour power in, say, six hours of labour is thus expressed as the value of twelve hours' functioning or operation of the labour power.

M—L is regarded as the characteristic feature, the hallmark of the so-called money economy, because labour there appears as the commodity of its owner, and money therefore as the buyer—hence on account of the money relation (i. e., the sale and purchase of human activity). Money however appears very early as a buyer of so-called services, without the transformation of M into money capital, and without any change in the general character of the economic system.

It makes no difference to money into what sort of commodities it is transformed. It is the universal equivalent form of all commodities which show, if only by their prices, that ideally they represent a certain sum of money, anticipate their transformation into money, and that they only acquire the form in which they may be converted into use values for their owners by changing places with money. Once labour power has come into the market as the commodity of its owner and its sale takes the form of payment for labour, assumes the shape of wages, its purchase and sale is no more startling than the purchase and sale of any other commodity. The characteristic thing is not that the commodity labour power is purchasable but that labour power appears as a commodity.

By means of $M—C <^{L}_{MP}$, the transformation of money capital into productive capital, the capitalist effects the combination of the objective and personal factors of production so far as they consist of commodities. If money is transformed into productive capital for the first time or if it performs for the first time the function of money capital for its owner, he must begin by buying means of production, such as buildings, machinery, etc., before he buys any labour power. For as soon as labour power passes into his control, he must have means of production to which he can apply it as labour power.

This is the capitalist's presentation of the case.

The labourer's case is as follows: The productive application of

his labour power is not possible until the moment when it is sold and brought into connection with means of production. Before its sale, labour power exists therefore separately from the means of production, from the material conditions of its application. In this state of separation it cannot be used either directly for the production of use values for its owner or for the production of commodities, by the sale of which he could live. But from the moment that as a result of its sale it is brought into connection with means of production, it forms part of the productive capital of its purchaser, the same as the means of production.

True, in the act M — L the owner of money and the owner of labour power enter only into the relation of buyer and seller, confront one another only as money owner and commodity owner. In this respect they enter merely into a money relation. Yet at the same time the buyer appears also from the outset in the capacity of an owner of means of production, which are the material conditions for the productive expenditure of labour power by its owner. In other words, these means of production are in opposition to the owner of the labour power, being property of another. On the other hand the seller of labour faces its buyer as labour power of another which must be made to do his bidding, must be integrated into his capital, in order that it may really become productive capital. The class relation between capitalist and wage labourer therefore exists, is presupposed from the moment that the two face each other in the act M — L (L — M on the part of the labourer). It is a purchase and sale, a money relation, but a purchase and sale in which the buyer is assumed to be a capitalist and the seller a wage labourer. And this relation arises out of the fact that the conditions required for the realisation of labour power, viz., means of subsistence and means of production, are separated from the owner of labour power, being the property of another.

We are not concerned here with the origin of this separation. It exists as soon as M — L goes on. The thing which interests us here is this: If M — L appears here as a function of money capital or money as the form of existence of capital, it is not for the sole reason that money here assumes the role of a means of paying for a useful human activity or service; hence by no means in consequence of the function of money as a means of payment. Money can be expended in this form only because labour power finds itself in a state of separation from its means of production (including the means of subsist-

ence as means of production of the labour power itself), and because this separation can be overcome only by the sale of the labour power to the owner of the means of production; because therefore the functioning of labour power, which is not at all limited to the quantity of labour required for the reproduction of its own price, is likewise the concern of its buyer. The capital relation only emerges during the process of production because it is inherent in the act of circulation, in the different fundamental economic conditions in which buyer and seller confront each other, in their class relation. It is not money which by its nature creates this relation; it is rather the existence of this relation which permits of the transformation of a mere money function into a capital function.

In the conception of money capital (for the time being we deal with the latter only within the confines of the special function in which it faces us here) two errors run parallel to each other or cross each other. In the first place, the functions performed by capital value in its capacity of money capital, which it can perform precisely owing to its money form, are erroneously derived from its character as capital, whereas they are due only to the money form of capital value, to its form of appearance as money. In the second place, on the contrary, the specific content of the money function, which makes it simultaneously a capital function, is traced to the nature of money (money being here confused with capital), while the money function premises social conditions, such as are here indicated by the act M—L, which do not at all exist in the mere circulation of commodities and the corresponding circulation of money.

The purchase and sale of slaves is formally also a purchase and sale of commodities. But money cannot perform this function without the existence of slavery. If slavery exists, money can be invested in the purchase of slaves. On the other hand the mere possession of money by a buyer cannot make slavery possible.

In order that the sale of one's own labour power (in the form of the sale of one's own labour or in the form of wages) may constitute not an isolated phenomenon but a socially decisive premise for the production of commodities, in order that money capital may therefore perform, on a social scale, the above-discussed function $M—C < {}^{L}_{MP}$, historical processes are assumed by which the original connection of the means of production with labour power was dissolved—processes in consequence of which the mass of the people, the labourers, have, as non-owners, come face to face with the non-

labourers as the owners of these means of production. It makes no difference in this case whether the connection before its dissolution was such in form that the labourer, being himself a means of production, belonged to the other means of production or whether he was their owner.

What underlies $M - C <^{L}_{MP}$ is distribution; not distribution in the ordinary meaning of a distribution of articles of consumption, but the distribution of the elements of production itself, the material factors of which are concentrated on one side, and labour power, isolated from them, on the other.

The means of production, the material part of productive capital, must therefore face the labourer as such, as capital, before the act M—L can become a universal, social one.

We have seen on previous occasions[a] that in its development capitalist production, once it is established, not only reproduces this separation but extends its scope further and further until it becomes the generally prevailing social condition. However, there is still another side to this question. In order that capital may be able to arise and take control of production, a definite stage in the development of trade is assumed. This applies therefore also to the circulation of commodities, and hence to the production of commodities; for no articles can enter circulation as commodities unless they are produced for sale, hence as commodities. But the production of commodities does not become the normal, dominant type of production until capitalist production serves as its basis.

The Russian landowners, who as a result of the so-called emancipation of the peasants[15] are now compelled to carry on agriculture with the help of wage labourers instead of the forced labour of serfs, complain about two things: First, about the lack of money capital. They say for instance that comparatively large sums must be paid to wage labourers before the crops are sold, and just then there is a dearth of ready cash, the prime condition. Capital in the form of money must always be available, particularly for the payment of wages, before production can be carried on capitalistically. But the landowners may take hope. Everything comes to those who wait, and in due time the industrial capitalist will have at his disposal not only his own money but also *l'argent des autres.*[b]

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[a] English edition: *Capital*, Vol. I, parts VII and VIII, especially Ch. XXXII. - [b] the money of others

The second complaint is more characteristic. It is to the effect that even if one has money, not enough labour power is to be bought at any time. The reason is that the Russian farm labourer, owing to the common ownership of land in the village community, has not yet been fully separated from his means of production and hence is not yet a "free wage labourer" in the full sense of the word. But the existence of the latter on a social scale is a *sine qua non* for M — C, the conversion of money into commodities, to be able to represent the transformation of money capital into productive capital.

It is therefore quite clear that the formula for the circuit of money capital, M — C ... P ... C′ — M′, is the matter-of-course form of the circuit of capital only on the basis of already developed capitalist production, because it presupposes the existence of a class of wage labourers on a social scale. We have seen that capitalist production does not only create commodities and surplus value, but also reproduces to an ever increasing extent the class of wage labourers, into whom it transforms the vast majority of direct producers. Since the first condition for its realisation is the permanent existence of a class of wage labourers, M — C ... P ... C′ — M′ presupposes a capital in the form of productive capital, and hence the form of the circuit of productive capital.

## II. SECOND STAGE. FUNCTION OF PRODUCTIVE CAPITAL

The circuit of capital, which we have here considered, begins with the act of circulation M — C, the transformation of money into commodities — purchase. Circulation must therefore be complemented by the antithetical metamorphosis C — M, the transformation of commodities into money — sale. But the direct result of $M - C < {}^{L}_{MP}$ is the interruption of the circulation of the capital value advanced in the form of money. By the transformation of money capital into productive capital the capital value has acquired a bodily form in which it cannot continue to circulate but must enter into consumption, viz., into productive consumption. The use of labour power, labour, can be materialised only in the labour process. The capitalist cannot resell the labourer as a commodity because he is not his chattel slave and the capitalist has not bought anything except the right to use his labour power for a certain time. On the other hand the capitalist cannot use this labour power in any other way than by

utilising means of production to create commodities with its help. The result of the first stage is therefore entrance into the second, the productive stage of capital.

The movement is represented by $M - C < {}^{L}_{MP} \ldots P$, in which the dots indicate that the circulation of capital is interrupted, while its circular movement continues, since it passes from the sphere of the circulation of commodities into that of production. The first stage, the transformation of money capital into productive capital, is therefore merely the harbinger and introductory phase of the second stage, the functioning of productive capital.

$M - C < {}^{L}_{MP}$ presupposes that the individual performing this act not only has at his disposal values in any use form, but also that he has them in the form of money, that he is the owner of money. But the act consists precisely in giving away money, and the individual can remain the owner of money only in so far as the latter flows back implicitly to him through that very act. But money can return to him only through the sale of commodities. Hence the above act presupposes his existence as a producer of commodities.

M—L. The wage labourer lives only by the sale of his labour power. Its preservation—his self-preservation—requires daily consumption. Hence payment for it must be continually repeated at rather short intervals in order that he may be able to repeat acts L—M—C or C—M—C, repeat the purchases needed for his self-preservation. For this reason the capitalist must always meet the wage labourer in the capacity of a money capitalist, and his capital as money capital. On the other hand if the wage labourers, the mass of direct producers, are to perform the act L—M—C, they must constantly be faced with the necessary means of subsistence in purchasable form, i. e., in the form of commodities. Consequently this state of affairs necessitates a high degree of development of the circulation of products in the form of commodities, hence also of the volume of commodities produced. When production by means of wage labour becomes universal, commodity production is bound to be the general form of production. The production of commodities, once it is assumed to be general, carries in its wake an ever increasing division of social labour, that is to say an ever growing differentiation of the products which are produced in the form of commodities by a definite capitalist, ever greater division of complementary processes of production into independent processes. M—MP therefore develops to the same extent as M—L does, that is to say the production of

means of production is divorced to that extent from the production of commodities whose means of production they are. And the latter themselves stand opposed to every producer of commodities as commodities which he does not produce but buys for his particular process of production. They come from branches of production which, operated independently, are entirely divorced from his own, enter into his own branch as commodities, and must therefore be bought. The material conditions of commodity production face him more and more as products of other commodity producers, as commodities. And to the same extent the capitalist must assume the role of money capitalist, in other words there is an increase in the scale on which his capital must assume the functions of money capital.

On the other hand, the same conditions which give rise to the basic condition of capitalist production, the existence of a class of wage workers, facilitate the transition of all commodity production to capitalist commodity production. As capitalist production develops, it has a disintegrating, resolvent effect on all older forms of production, which, designed mostly to meet the direct needs of the producer, transform only the excess produced into commodities. Capitalist production makes the sale of products the main interest, at first apparently without affecting the mode of production itself. Such was for instance the first effect of capitalist world commerce on such nations as the Chinese, Indians, Arabs, etc. But, secondly, wherever it takes root capitalist production destroys all forms of commodity production which are based either on the self-employment of the producers, or merely on the sale of the excess product as commodities. It first makes the production of commodities general and then, by degrees, transforms all commodity production into capitalist production.[3]

Whatever the social form of production, labourers and means of production always remain factors of it. But in a state of separation from each other either of these factors can be such only potentially. For production to go on at all they must unite. The specific manner in which this union is accomplished distinguishes the different economic epochs of the structure of society from one another. In the present case, the separation of the free worker from his means of production is the starting-point given, and we have seen how and under what conditions these two elements are united in the hands of the capitalist, namely, as the productive mode of existence of his capital. The actual

[3] End of Manuscript VII. Beginning of Manuscript VI.

process which the personal and material creators of commodities enter upon when thus brought together, the process of production, becomes therefore itself a function of capital, the capitalist process of production, the nature of which has been fully analysed in the first book of this work. Every enterprise engaged in commodity production becomes at the same time an enterprise exploiting labour power. But only the capitalist production of commodities has become an epoch-making mode of exploitation, which, in the course of its historical development, revolutionises, through the organisation of the labour process and the enormous improvement of technique, the entire economic structure of society in a manner eclipsing all former epochs.

The means of production and labour power, in so far as they are forms of existence of advanced capital value, are distinguished by the different roles assumed by them during the process of production in the creation of value, hence also of surplus value, into constant and variable capital. Being different components of productive capital they are furthermore distinguished by the fact that the means of production in the possession of the capitalist remain his capital even outside of the process of production, while labour power becomes the form of existence of an individual capital only within this process. Whereas labour power is a commodity only in the hands of its seller, the wage labourer, it becomes capital only in the hands of its buyer, the capitalist who acquires the temporary use of it. The means of production do not become the material forms of productive capital, or productive capital, until labour power, the personal form of existence of productive capital, is capable of being embodied in them. Human labour power is by nature no more capital than are the means of production. They acquire this specific social character only under definite, historically developed conditions, just as only under such conditions the character of money is stamped upon precious metals, or that of money capital upon money.

Productive capital, in performing its functions, consumes its own component parts for the purpose of transforming them into a mass of products of a higher value. Since labour power acts merely as one of its organs, the excess of the product's value engendered by its surplus labour over and above the value of productive capital's constituent elements is also the fruit of capital. The surplus labour of labour power is the gratuitous labour performed for capital and thus forms surplus value for the capitalist, a value which costs him no equivalent return. The product is therefore not only a commodity, but a commo-

dity pregnant with surplus value. Its value is equal to P + s, that is to say equal to the value of the productive capital P consumed in the production of the commodity plus the surplus value s created by it. Let us assume that this commodity consists of 10,000 lbs of yarn, and that means of production worth £372 and labour power worth £50 were consumed in the fabrication of this quantity of yarn. During the process of spinning, the spinners transmitted to the yarn the value of the means of production consumed by their labour, amounting to £372, and at the same time they created, in proportion with the labour expended by them, new value to the amount of, say, £128. The 10,000 lbs of yarn therefore represent a value of £500.

### III. THIRD STAGE. C′ –M′

Commodities become *commodity capital* as a functional form of existence—stemming directly from the process of production itself—of the already expanded capital value. If the production of commodities were carried on capitalistically throughout society, all commodities would be elements of commodity capital from the outset, whether they were crude iron, Brussels lace, sulphuric acid or cigars. The problem of what kinds of commodities out of the vast host available are destined by their nature to rank as capital and what other kinds to serve as ordinary commodities, is one of the self-created lovely ills of scholastic political economy.

Capital in the form of commodities has to perform the function of commodities. The articles of which capital is composed are produced from the outset for the market and must be sold, transformed into money, hence go through the process C—M.

Suppose the commodity of the capitalist to consist of 10,000 lbs of cotton yarn. If £372 represent the value of the means of production consumed in the spinning process, and new value to the amount of £128 has been created, the yarn has a value of £500, which is expressed in its price of the same amount. Suppose further that this price is realised by the sale C—M. What is it that makes of this simple act of all commodity circulation at the same time a capital function? No change that takes place inside of it, neither in the use character of the commodity—for it passes into the hands of the buyer as an object of use—nor in its value, for this value has not experienced any change of magnitude, but only of form. It first existed in the form of yarn, while

now it exists in the form of money. Thus a substantial distinction is evident between the first stage M—C and the last stage C—M. There the advanced money functions as money capital, because it is transformed by means of the circulation into commodities of a specific use value. Here the commodities can serve as capital only to the extent that they bring this character with them in ready shape from the process of production before their circulation begins. During the spinning process, the spinners create yarn value to the amount of £128. Of this sum, say £50 represent to the capitalist merely an equivalent for his outlay for labour power, while £78—when the degree of exploitation of labour power is 156%—form surplus value. The value of the 10,000 lbs of yarn therefore embodies first the value of the consumed productive capital P, the constant part of which = £372, the variable = £50, their sum = £422 = 8,440 lbs of yarn. Now the value of the productive capital P = C, the value of its constituent elements, which in the stage M—C confronted the capitalist as commodities in the hands of their sellers.

In the second place, however, the value of the yarn contains a surplus value of £78 = 1,560 lbs of yarn. C as an expression of the value of the 10,000 lbs of yarn is therefore = to C + ΔC, or C plus an increment of C (= £78), which we shall call c, since it exists in the same commodity form as now the original value C. The value of the 10,000 lbs of yarn, equal to £500, is therefore represented by C + c = C′. What turns C, the expression of the value of the 10,000 lbs of yarn, into C′ is not the absolute magnitude of its value (£500), for that is determined, as in the case of any other C standing for the expression of the value of some other sum of commodities, by the quantity of labour objectified in it. It is its relative value magnitude, its value magnitude as compared with that of capital P consumed in its production. This value is contained in it plus the surplus value supplied by the productive capital. Its value is greater, exceeds that of the capital value by this surplus value c. The 10,000 lbs of yarn are the bearers of the capital value expanded, enriched by this surplus value, and they are so by virtue of being the product of the capitalist process of production. C′ expresses a value relation, the relation of the value of the commodities produced to that of the capital spent on their production, in other words, expresses the fact that its value is composed of capital value and surplus value. The 10,000 lbs of yarn represent commodity capital, C′, only because they are a converted form of the productive capital P, hence in a connection which exists originally

only in the circuit of this individual capital, or only for the capitalist who produced the yarn with the help of his capital. It is, so to say, only an internal, not an external relation that turns the 10,000 lbs of yarn in their capacity of vehicles of value into a commodity capital. They exhibit their capitalist birthmark not in the absolute magnitude of their value but in its relative magnitude, in the magnitude of their value as compared with that possessed by the productive capital embodied in them before it was transformed into commodities. If, then, these 10,000 lbs of yarn are sold at their value of £ 500, this act of circulation, considered by itself, = C — M, a mere transformation of an unchanging value from the form of a commodity into that of money. But as a special stage in the circuit of an individual capital, the same act is a realisation of the capital value embodied in the commodity to the amount of £ 422 + the surplus value, likewise embodied in it, of £ 78. That is to say it represents C′—M′, the transformation of the commodity capital from its commodity form into the money form.[4)]

The function of C′ is now that of all commodities, viz.: to transform itself into money, to be sold, to go through the circulation stage C—M. So long as the capital, now expanded, remains in the form of commodity capital, lies immovable in the market, the process of production is at rest. The capital acts neither as a creator of products nor as a creator of value. A given capital value will serve, in widely different degrees, as a creator of products and value, and the scale of reproduction will be extended or reduced commensurate with the particular speed with which that capital throws off its commodity form and assumes that of money, or with the rapidity of the sale. It was shown in Book I that the degree of efficiency of any given capital is conditional on the potentialities of the productive process, which to a certain extent are independent of the magnitude of its own value.[a] Here it appears that the process of circulation sets in motion new forces independent of the capital's magnitude of value and determining its degree of efficiency, its expansion and contraction.

The mass of commodities C′, being the depository of the expanded capital, must furthermore pass in its entirety through the metamorphosis C′ — M′. The quantity sold is here a main determinant. The individual commodity figures only as an integral part of the total mass.

[4)] End of Manuscript VI. Beginning of Manuscript V.

[a] English edition: *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. XXIV, 4 (present edition, Vol. 35).

The £500 worth of value exists in the 10,000 lbs of yarn. If the capitalist succeeds in selling only 7,440 lbs at their value of £372, he has replaced only the value of his constant capital, the value of the expended means of production. If he sells 8,440 lbs he recovers only the value of the total capital advanced. He must sell more in order to realise surplus value, and he must sell the entire 10,000 lbs in order to realise the entire surplus value of £78 (= 1,560 lbs of yarn). In £500 in money he therefore receives merely an equivalent for the commodity sold. His transaction within the circulation is simply C—M. If he had paid his labourers £64 in wages instead of £50 his surplus value would be only £64 instead of 78, and the degree of exploitation would have been only 100% instead of 156. But the value of his yarn would not change; only the relation between its component parts would be different. The circulation act C—M would still represent the sale of 10,000 lbs of yarn for £500, their value.

C′ = C + c (= £422 + £78). C equals the value of P or the productive capital, and this equals the value of M, the money advanced in M—C, the purchase of the elements of production, amounting to £422 in our example. If the mass of commodities is sold at its value, then C = £422 and c = £78, the value of the surplus product of 1,560 lbs of yarn. If we call c, expressed in money, m, then C′—M′ = (C + c)—(M + m), and the circuit M—C ... P ... C′—M′, in its expanded form, is therefore represented by $M—C <^{L}_{MP} \ldots P \ldots (C + c)—(M + m)$.

In the first stage the capitalist takes articles of consumption out of the commodity market proper and the labour market. In the third stage he throws commodities back, but only into one market, the commodity market proper. However the fact that he extracts from the market, by means of his commodities, a greater value than he threw onto it originally is due only to the circumstance that he throws more commodity value back onto it than he first drew out of it. He threw in value M and drew out the equivalent C; he throws C + c back, and draws out the equivalent M + m.

In our example M was equal to the value of 8,440 lbs of yarn. But he throws 10,000 lbs of yarn onto the market, and therefore he returns a greater value than he took. On the other hand he threw this increased value onto the market only because through the exploitation of labour power in the process of production he had created surplus value (as an aliquot part of the product expressed in surplus product). It is only by virtue of being the product of this process that the

mass of commodities becomes commodity capital, the bearer of the expanded capital value. By performing C′ — M′ the advanced capital value as well as the surplus value are realised. The realisation of both takes place simultaneously in a series of sales or in a lump sale of the entire mass of commodities which is expressed by C′ — M′. But the same circulation act C′ — M′ is different for capital value and for surplus value, as it expresses for each of them a different stage of their circulation, a different section of the series of metamorphoses through which they must pass in the sphere of circulation. The surplus value c came into the world only during the process of production. It appeared for the first time in the commodity market, and moreover in the form of commodities. This is its first form of circulation, hence the act c — m is its first circulation act, or its first metamorphosis, which remains to be supplemented by the antithetical act of circulation, or the reverse metamorphosis, m — c.[5]

It is different with the circulation which the capital value C performs in the same circulation act C′ — M′, and which constitutes for it the circulation act C — M, in which C is = to P, equal to the M originally advanced. Capital value has opened its first circulation act in the form of M, money capital, and returns through the act C — M to the same form. It has therefore passed through the two antithetical stages of the circulation, 1) M — C, 2) C — M, and finds itself once more in the form in which it can begin its circular movement anew. What for surplus value constitutes the first transformation of the commodity form into that of money, constitutes for capital value its return, or retransformation, into its original money form.

By means of M — C $<^{L}_{MP}$ money capital is transformed into an equivalent sum of commodities, L and MP. These commodities no longer perform the function of commodities, of articles for sale. Their value exists now in the hands of the capitalist who bought them as the value of his productive capital P. And in the function of P, productive consumption, they are transformed into a kind of commodity differing materially from the means of production, into yarn, in which their value is not only preserved but increased, from £422 to £500. By means of this real metamorphosis, the commodities taken from the market in the first stage, M — C, are replaced by commodities of different substance and value, which now must perform the function of

[5] This is true no matter how we separate capital value and surplus value. 10,000 lbs of yarn contain 1,560 lbs = £78 worth of surplus value; likewise one lb., or one shilling's worth of yarn, contains 2.496 ounces = 1.872 pence worth of surplus value.

commodities, must be transformed into money and sold. The process of production therefore appears to be only an interruption of the process of circulation of capital value, of which up to that point only the first phase, M — C, has been passed through. It passes through the second and concluding phase, C — M, after C has been altered in substance and value. But so far as capital value, considered by itself, is concerned, it has merely suffered an alteration of its use form in the process of production. It existed in the form of £422 worth of L and MP, while now it exists in the form of £422 worth, or 8,440 lbs of yarn. If we therefore consider merely the two circulation phases of capital value, apart from its surplus value, we find that it passes through 1) M — C and 2) C — M, in which the second C has a different use form but the same value as the first C. Hence it passes through M — C — M, a form of circulation which, because the commodity here changes place twice and in the opposite direction — transformation from money into commodities and from commodities into money — necessitates the return of the value advanced in the form of money to its money form — its reconversion into money.

The same circulation act C′ — M′ that constitutes the second and concluding metamorphosis, a return to the money form, for the capital value advanced in money, represents for the surplus value — borne along by the commodity capital and simultaneously realised by its change into the money form — its first metamorphosis, its transformation from the commodity to the money form, C — M, its first circulation phase.

We have, then, two kinds of observations to make here. First, the ultimate reconversion of capital value into its original money form is a function of commodity capital. Secondly, this function includes the first transformation of surplus value from its original commodity form to its money form. The money form, then, plays a double role here. On the one hand it is the form to which a value originally advanced in money returns, hence a return to that form of value which opened the process. On the other hand it is the first converted form of a value which originally enters the circulation in commodity form. If the commodities composing the commodity capital are sold at their values, as we assume, then C + c is transformed into M + m, its equivalent. The realised commodity capital now exists in the hands of the capitalist in this form: M + m (£422 + £78 = £500). Capital value and surplus value are now present in the form of money, the form of the universal equivalent.

At the conclusion of the process capital value has therefore resumed the form in which it entered it, and as money capital can now open and go through a new process. Just because the initial and final forms of this process are those of money capital (M), we call this form of the circuit process the circuit of money capital. It is not the form but merely the magnitude of the advanced value that is changed at the close.

M + m is nothing but a sum of money of a definite magnitude, in this case £500. But as a result of the circuit of capital, as realised commodity capital, this sum of money contains the capital value and the surplus value. And these values are now no longer inseparably united as they were in the yarn; they now lie side by side. Their realisation has given both of them an independent money form; $^{211}/_{250}$ of this money represent the capital value of £422 and $^{39}/_{250}$ constitute the surplus value of £78. This separation, effected by the realisation of the commodity capital, has not only the formal content to which we shall refer presently. It becomes important in the process of the reproduction of capital, depending on whether m is entirely or partially or not at all lumped together with M, hence depending on whether or not it continues to function as a component part of the advanced capital value. Both m and M may pass through quite different processes of circulation.

In M′ capital has returned to its original form M, to its money form, a form however in which it is materialised as capital.

There is in the first place a difference of quantity. It was M, £422. It is now M′, £500, and this difference is expressed by M ... M′, the quantitatively different extremes of the circuit, whose movement is indicated only by the three dots. M′ > M, and M′ — M = s, the surplus value.— But as a result of this circular movement M ... M′ it is only M′ which exists now; it is the product in which its process of formation has become extinct. M′ now exists by itself, independently of the movement which brought it into existence. That movement is gone; M′ is there in its place.

But M′, being M + m, £500, composed of £422 advanced capital plus an increment of the same amounting to £78, represents at the same time a qualitative relation, although this qualitative relation itself exists only as a relation between the parts of one and the same sum, hence as a quantitative relation. M, the advanced capital, which is now once more present in its original form (£422), exists as realised capital. It has not only preserved itself but also realised itself as capital by being distinguished as such from m (£78), to which it

stands in the same relation as to an increase *of its own*, to a fruit *of its own*, to an increment to which it has given birth itself. It has been realised as capital because it has been realised as a value which has created value. M′ exists as a capital relation. M no longer appears as mere money, but is expressly posited as money capital, expressed as a self-expanded value, which therefore possesses the property of self-expansion, of hatching a higher value than it itself has. M became capital by virtue of its relation to the other part of M′, which it has brought about, which has been effected by it as the cause, which is the consequence of it as the ground. Thus M′ appears as a sum of values differentiated within itself, functionally (conceptually) distinguished within itself, expressing the capital relation.

But this is expressed only as a result, without the intervention of the process of which it is the result.

Parts of value as such are not qualitatively different from one another, except in so far as they appear as values of different articles, of concrete things, hence in various use forms and therefore as values of different commodities — a difference which does not originate from them themselves as mere parts of value. In money all differences between commodities are extinguished, because it is the equivalent form common to all of them. A sum of money in the amount of £ 500 consists solely of uniform elements of £ 1 each. Since the intermediate links of its origin are obliterated in the simple existence of this sum of money and every trace has been lost of the specific difference between the different component parts of capital in the process of production, there exists now only the distinction between the conceptual form of a PRINCIPAL[a] equal to £ 422, the capital advanced, and an excess value of £ 78. Let M′ be equal to, say, £ 110, of which 100 may be equal to M, the principal, and 10 equal to s, the surplus value. There is an absolute homogeneity, hence an absence of conceptual distinctions, between the two constituent parts of the sum of £ 110. Any £ 10 of this sum always constitute $^1/_{11}$ of the total sum of £ 110, whether they are $^1/_{10}$ of the advanced principal of £ 100 or the excess of £ 10 above it. Principal and excess sum, capital and surplus sum, may therefore be expressed as fractional parts of the total sum. In our illustration, $^{10}/_{11}$ form the principal, or the capital, and $^1/_{11}$ the surplus sum. In its money expression realised capital appears therefore at the end of its process as an irrational expression of the capital relation.

[a] This English term in the original is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

True, this applies also to C′ (= C + c). But there is this difference: that C′, of which C and c are only proportional value parts of the same homogeneous mass of commodities, indicates its origin in P, whose immediate product it is, while in M′, a form derived directly from circulation, the direct relation to P is obliterated.

The irrational distinction between the principal and the incremental sum, which is contained in M′, so far as that expresses the result of the movement M ... M′, disappears as soon as it once more functions actively as money capital and is therefore not fixed as a money expression of expanded industrial capital. The circuit of money capital can never begin with M′ (although M′ now performs the function of M). It can begin only with M, that is to say it can never begin as an expression of the capital relation, but only as a form of advance of capital value. As soon as the £ 500 are once more advanced as capital, in order again to produce s, they constitute a point of departure, not one of return. Instead of a capital of £ 422, a capital of £ 500 is now advanced. It is more money than before, more capital value, but the relation between its two constituent parts has disappeared. In fact a sum of £ 500 instead of the £ 422 might originally have served as capital.

It is not an active function of money capital to appear as M′; to appear as M′ is rather a function of C′. Even in the simple circulation of commodities, 1) $C_1$ — M, 2) M — $C_2$, money M does not figure actively until the second act, M — $C_2$. Its appearance in the form of M is only the result of the first act, by virtue of which it only then appears as a converted form of $C_1$. True, the capital relation contained in M′, the relation of one of its parts as the capital value to the other as its value increment, acquires functional importance in so far as, with the constantly repeated circuit M ... M′, M′ splits into two circulations, one of them a circulation of capital, the other of surplus value. Consequently these two parts perform not only quantitatively but also qualitatively different functions, M others than m. But considered by itself, the form M ... M′ does not include what the capitalist consumes, but explicitly only the self-expansion and accumulation, so far as the latter expresses itself above all as a periodical augmentation of ever renewed advances of money capital.

Although M′, = to M + m, is the irrational form of capital, it is at the same time only money capital in its realised form, in the form of money which has generated money. But this is different from the function of money capital in the first stage, M—C $<^{L}_{MP}$. In this first

stage, M circulates as money. It assumes the functions of money capital because only in its money state can it perform a money function, can it transform itself into the elements of P, into L and MP, which stand opposed to it as commodities. In this circulation act it functions only as money. But as this act is the first stage of capital value in process, it is simultaneously a function of money capital, by virtue of the specific use form of the commodities L and MP which are bought. M′, on the other hand, composed of M, the capital value, and m, the surplus value begotten of M, stands for self-expanded capital value—the purpose and the outcome, the function of the total circuit of capital. The fact that it expresses this outcome in the form of money, as realised money capital, does not derive from its being the money form of capital, *money* capital, but on the contrary from its being money *capital*, capital in the form of money, from capital having opened the process in this form, from its having been advanced in the money form. Its reconversion into the money form is, as we have seen, a function of commodity capital C′, not of money capital. As for the difference between M′ and M, it (m) is simply the money form of c, the increment of C. M′ is = to M + m only because C′ was = to C + c. In C′ therefore this difference and the relation of the capital value to the surplus value generated by it is present and expressed before both of them are transformed into M′, into a sum of money in which both parts of the value come face to face with each other independently and may, therefore, be employed in separate and distinct functions.

M′ is only the result of the realisation of C′. Both M′ and C′ are merely different forms of self-expanded capital value, one of them the commodity form, the other the money form. Both of them have this in common: that they are self-expanded capital value. Both of them are realised capital, because capital value as such exists here together with the surplus value, the fruit obtained through it and differing from it although this relation is expressed only in the irrational form of the relation between two parts of a sum of money or of a commodity value. But as expressions of capital in relation and contradistinction to the surplus value produced by it, hence as expressions of self-expanded value, M′ and C′ are the same and express the same thing, only in different forms. They do not differ as money capital and commodity capital but as money and commodities. In so far as they represent self-expanded value, capital acting as capital, they only express the result of the functioning of productive capital, the only function in which capital value generates value. What they have in common is

that both of them, money capital as well as commodity capital, are modes of existence of capital. The one is capital in money form, the other in commodity form. The specific functions that distinguish them cannot therefore be anything else but differences between the functions of money and of commodities. Commodity capital, as the direct product of the capitalist process of production, is reminiscent of its origin and is therefore more rational and less incomprehensible in form than money capital, in which every trace of this process has vanished, as in general all special use forms of commodities disappear in money. It is therefore only when M′ itself functions as commodity capital, when it is the direct product of a productive process instead of being the converted form of this product, that it loses its bizarre form, that is to say, in the production of the money material itself. In the production of gold for instance the formula would be $M - C <^{L}_{MP} \ldots P \ldots M' (M + m)$, where M′ would figure as a commodity product, because P furnishes more gold than was advanced for the elements of production of the gold in the first M, the money capital. In this case the irrational nature of the expression M ... M′ (M + m) disappears. Here a part of a sum of money appears as the mother of another part of the same sum of money.

## IV. THE CIRCUIT AS A WHOLE

We have seen that the process of circulation is interrupted at the end of its first phase, $M - C <^{L}_{MP}$, by P, in which the commodities L and MP bought in the market are consumed as the material and value components of productive capital. The product of this consumption is a new commodity, C′, altered in respect of substance and value. The interrupted process of circulation, M — C, must be completed by C — M. But the bearer of this second and concluding phase of circulation is C′, a commodity different in substance and value from the original C. The circulation series therefore appears as 1) $M - C_1$; 2) $C'_2 - M'$, where in the second phase of the first commodity, $C_1$, another commodity of greater value and different use form, $C'_2$, is substituted during the interruption caused by the functioning of P, the production of C′ from the elements of C, the forms of existence of productive capital P. However, the first form of appearance in which capital faced us (Buch I, Kap. IV, 1),[a] M — C — M′ (extended: 1) M —

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. IV (present edition, Vol. 35).

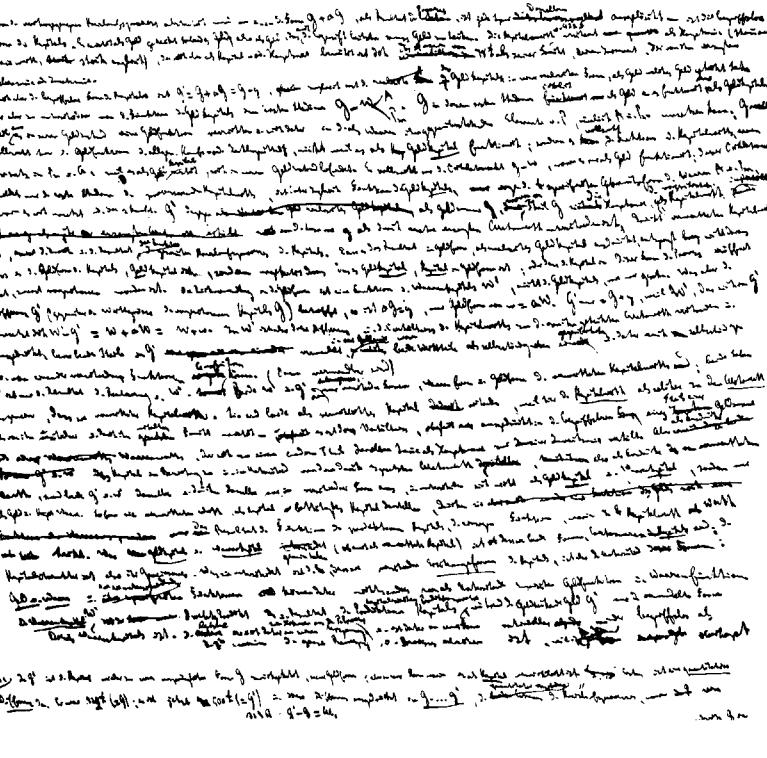

Facsimile of a page of the manuscript
of *Capital*, Volume II, by Karl Marx

$C_1$; 2) $C_1 — M'$) shows the same commodity twice. Both times it is the same commodity into which money is transformed in the first phase and reconverted into more money in the second phase. In spite of this essential difference, both circulations share this much: that in their first phase money is transformed into commodities, and in the second commodities into money, that the money spent in the first phase returns in the second. On the one hand both have in common this reflux of the money to its starting-point, on the other hand also the excess of the returning money over the money advanced. To that extent the formula $M — C \ldots C' — M'$ is contained in the general formula $M — C — M'$.

It follows furthermore that each time equally great quantities of simultaneously existing values face and replace each other in the two metamorphoses $M — C$ and $C' — M'$ belonging in circulation. The change of value pertains exclusively to the metamorphosis P, the process of production, which thus appears as a real metamorphosis of capital, as compared with the merely formal metamorphoses of circulation.

Let us now consider the total movement, $M — C \ldots P \ldots C' — M'$, or, $M — C <^{L}_{MP} \ldots P \ldots C' (C + c) — M' (M + m)$, its more expanded form. Capital here appears as a value which goes through a series of interconnected, interdependent transformations, a series of metamorphoses which form just as many phases, or stages, of the process as a whole. Two of these phases belong in the sphere of circulation, one of them in that of production. In each one of these phases capital value has a different form for which there is a correspondingly different, special function. Within this movement the advanced value does not only preserve itself but grows, increases in magnitude. Finally, in the concluding stage, it returns to the same form which it had at the beginning of the process as a whole. This process as a whole constitutes therefore the process of moving in circuits.

The two forms assumed by capital value at the various stages of its circulation are those of *money capital* and *commodity capital*. The form pertaining to the stage of production is that of *productive capital*. The capital which assumes these forms in the course of its total circuit and then discards them and in each of them performs the function corresponding to the particular form, is *industrial capital*, industrial here in the sense that it comprises every branch of industry run on a capitalist basis.

Money capital, commodity capital, and productive capital do not

therefore designate independent kinds of capital whose functions form the content of likewise independent branches of business separated from one another. They denote here only special functional forms of industrial capital, which assumes all three of them one after the other.

Capital describes its circuit normally only so long as its various phases pass uninterruptedly into one another. If capital stops short in its first phase M—C, money capital assumes the rigid form of a hoard; if it stops in the phase of production, the means of production lie without functioning on the one side, while labour power remains unemployed on the other; and if capital is stopped short in its last phase C′—M′, piles of unsold commodities accumulate and clog the flow of circulation.

However, it is in the nature of things that the circuit itself necessitates the fixation of capital for certain lengths of time in its various phases. In each of its phases industrial capital is tied up with a definite form: money capital, productive capital, commodity capital. It does not acquire the form in which it may enter a new transformation phase until it has performed the function corresponding to each particular form. To make this plain, we have assumed in our illustration that the capital value of the quantity of commodities created at the stage of production is equal to the total sum of the value originally advanced in the form of money; or, in other words, that the entire capital value advanced in the form of money passes on in bulk from one stage to the next. But we have seen (Buch I, Kap. VI) [a] that a part of the constant capital, the labour instruments proper (e.g., machinery), continually serve anew, with more or less numerous repetitions of the same processes of production, hence transfer their values piecemeal to the products. It will be seen later to what extent this circumstance modifies the circular movement of capital. For the present the following suffices: In our illustration the value of the productive capital amounting to £422 contained only the average wear and tear of factory buildings, machinery, etc., that is to say only that part of value which they transferred to the yarn in the transformation of 10,600 lbs of cotton into 10,000 lbs of yarn, which represented the product of one week's spinning of 60 hours. In the means of production, into which the advanced constant capital of £372 was transformed, the instruments of labour, buildings, machinery, etc., figured as

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. VIII (present edition, Vol. 35).

NY 30a

NY 30b

opr. Chemorpa, 70z (25131)

Facsimile of a page of the manuscript of *Capital*, Volume II, edited and copied by Frederick Engels

if they had only been rented in the market at a weekly rate. But this does not change the gist of the matter in any way. We have but to multiply the quantity of yarn produced in one week, i. e., 10,000 lbs of yarn, by the number of weeks contained in a certain number of years, in order to transfer to the yarn the entire value of the instruments of labour bought and consumed during this period. It is then plain that the advanced money capital must first be transformed into these instruments, hence must have gone through the first phase M — C before it can function as productive capital P. And it is likewise plain in our illustration that the capital value of £ 422, embodied in the yarn during the process of production, cannot become a part of the value of the 10,000 lbs of yarn and enter the circulation phase C′ — M′ until it is ready. It cannot be sold until it has been spun.

In the general formula the product of P is regarded as a material thing different from the elements of the productive capital, as an object existing apart from the process of production and having a use form different from that of the elements of production. This is always the case when the result of the productive process assumes the form of a thing, even when a part of the product re-enters the resumed production as one of its elements. Grain for instance serves as seed for its own production, but the product consists only of grain and hence has a shape different from those of related elements such as labour power, implements, fertiliser. But there are certain independent branches of industry in which the product of the productive process is not a new material product, is not a commodity. Among these only the communications industry, whether engaged in transportation proper, of goods and passengers, or in the mere transmission of communications, letters, telegrams, etc., is economically important.

A. Chuprov[6] says on this score:

"The manufacturer may first produce articles and then look for consumers".

//his product, thrust out of the process of production when finished, passes into circulation as a commodity separated from it//.

"Production and consumption thus appear as two acts separated in space and time. In the transportation industry, which does not create any new products but merely transfers men and things, these two acts coincide; its services" //change of place// "are consumed the moment they are produced. For this reason the area within which railways can sell their services extends at best 50 versts" (53 kilometres) "on either side of their tracks." [16]

The result, whether men or goods are transported, is a change in

[6] A. Čuprov: *Železnodorožnoje chozjajstvo*, Moskva, 1875, pp. 69, 70.

their whereabouts. Yarn, for instance, may now be in India instead of in England, where it was produced.

However, what the transportation industry sells is change of location. The useful effect is inseparably connected with the process of transportation, i. e., the productive process of the transport industry. Men and goods travel together with the means of transportation, and this travelling, this locomotion, constitutes the process of production effected by these means. The useful effect can be consumed only during this process of production. It does not exist as a utility different from this process, a use thing which does not function as an article of commerce, does not circulate as a commodity, until after it has been produced. But the exchange value of this useful effect is determined, like that of any other commodity, by the value of the elements of production (labour power and means of production) consumed in it plus the surplus value created by the surplus labour of the labourers employed in transportation. This useful effect also entertains the very same relations to consumption that other commodities do. If it is consumed individually its value disappears during its consumption; if it is consumed productively so as to constitute by itself a stage in the production of the commodities being transported, its value is transferred as an additional value to the commodity itself. The formula for the transport industry would therefore be $M - C <^{L}_{MP} \ldots P - M'$, since it is the process of production itself that is paid for and consumed, not a product separate and distinct from it. Hence this formula has almost the same form as that of the production of precious metals, the only difference being that in this case M′ represents the converted form of the useful effect created during the process of production, and not the bodily form of the gold or silver produced in this process and extruded from it.

Industrial capital is the only mode of existence of capital in which not only the appropriation of surplus value, or surplus product, but simultaneously its creation is a function of capital. Therefore with it the capitalist character of production is a necessity. Its existence implies the class antagonism between capitalists and wage labourers. To the extent that it seizes control of social production, the technique and social organisation of the labour process are revolutionised and with them the economico-historical type of society. The other kinds of capital, which appeared before industrial capital amid conditions of social production that have receded into the past or are now succumbing, are not only subordinated to it and the mechanism of their

functions altered in conformity with it, but move solely with it as their basis, hence live and die, stand and fall with this basis. Money capital and commodity capital, so far as they function as vehicles of particular branches of business, side by side with industrial capital, are nothing but modes of existence of the different functional forms now assumed, now discarded by industrial capital in the sphere of circulation — modes which, due to social division of labour, have attained independent existence and been developed one-sidedly.

The circuit M ... M′ on the one hand intermingles with the general circulation of commodities, proceeds from it and flows back into it, is a part of it. On the other hand it forms an independent movement of the capital value for the individual capitalist, a movement of its own which takes place partly within the general circulation of commodities, partly outside of it, but which always preserves its independent character. First, because its two phases that take place in the sphere of circulation, M — C and C′ — M′, being phases of the movement of capital, have functionally definite characters. In M — C, C is materially determined as labour power and means of production; in C′ — M′, the capital value is realised plus the surplus value. Secondly, because P, the process of production, embraces productive consumption. Thirdly, because the return of the money to its starting-point makes of the movement M ... M′ a circuit complete in itself.

Every individual capital is therefore, on the one hand, in its two circulation halves M — C and C′ — M′, an agent of the general circulation of commodities, in which it either functions or lies concatenated as money or as a commodity, thus forming a link in the general chain of metamorphoses taking place in the world of commodities. On the other hand it describes within the general circulation its own independent circuit in which the sphere of production forms a transitional stage and in which this capital returns to its starting-point in the same form in which it left that point. Within its own circuit, which includes its real metamorphosis in the process of production, it changes at the same time the magnitude of its value. It returns not simply as money value, but as augmented, increased money value.

Let us finally consider M — C ... P ... C′ — M′ as a special form of the circular course of capital, alongside the other forms which we shall analyse later. We shall find that it is distinguished by the following features:

1. It appears as the *circuit of money capital*, because industrial capital in its money form, as money capital, forms the starting-point and

the point of return of its total process. The formula itself expresses the fact that the money is not expended here as money but is merely advanced, hence is merely the money form of capital, money capital. It expresses furthermore that exchange value, not use value, is the determining aim of this movement. Just because the money form of value is the independent, tangible form in which value appears, the form of circulation M ... M′, the initial and terminal points of which are real money, expresses most graphically the compelling motive of capitalist production — money-making. The process of production appears merely as an unavoidable intermediate link, as a necessary evil for the sake of money-making. //All nations with a capitalist mode of production are therefore seized periodically by a feverish attempt to make money without the intervention of the process of production.//

2. The stage of production, the function of P, represents in this circuit an interruption between the two phases of circulation M — C ... C′ — M′, which in its turn represents only the intermediate link in the simple circulation M — C — M′. The process of production appears in the form of a circuit-describing process, formally and explicitly as that which it is in the capitalist mode of production, as a mere means of expanding the advanced value, hence enrichment as such as the purpose of production.

3. Since the series of phases is opened by M — C, the second link of the circulation is C′ — M′. In other words, the starting-point is M, the money capital that is to be self-expanded; the terminal point is M′, the self-expanded money capital M + m, in which M figures as realised capital along with its offspring m. This distinguishes the circuit of M from that of the two other circuits P and C′, and does so in two ways. On the one hand by the money form of the two extremes. And money is the independent, tangible form of existence of value, the value of the product in its independent value form, in which every trace of the use value of the commodities has been extinguished. On the other hand the form P ... P does not necessarily become P ... P′ (P + p), and in the form C′ ... C′ no difference whatever in value is visible between the two extremes.— It is, therefore, characteristic of the formula M — M′ that for one thing capital value is its starting-point and expanded capital value its point of return, so that the advance of capital value appears as the means and expanded capital value as the end of the entire operation; and that for another thing this relation is expressed in money form, in the independent value form, hence

money capital as money begetting money. The generation of surplus value by value is not only expressed as the Alpha and Omega of the process, but explicitly in the form of glittering money.

4. Since M′, the money capital realised as a result of C′ — M′, the complementary and concluding phase of M — C, has absolutely the same form as that in which it began its first circuit, it can, as soon as it emerges from the latter, begin the same circuit over again as an increased (accumulated) money capital: M′ = M + m. And at least it is not expressed in the form M ... M′ that, in the repetition of the circuit, the circulation of m separates from that of M. Considered in its one-time form, formally, the circuit of money capital expresses therefore simply the process of self-expansion and of accumulation. Consumption is expressed in it only as productive consumption, by M — $C <^{L}_{MP}$, and it is only this consumption that is included in this circuit of individual capital. M — L is L — M or C — M on the part of the labourer. It is therefore the first phase of circulation which brings about his individual consumption, thus: L — M — C (means of subsistence). The second phase, M — C, no longer falls within the circuit of individual capital, but is initiated and premised by it, since the labourer must above all live, hence maintain himself by individual consumption, in order to be always in the market as material that the capitalist can exploit. But this consumption itself is here only assumed as a condition for the productive consumption of labour power by capital, hence only to the extent that the worker maintains and reproduces himself as labour power by means of his individual consumption. However the MP, the commodities proper which enter into the circuit of capital, are nutriment for the productive consumption only. The act L — M promotes the individual consumption of the labourer, the transformation of the means of subsistence into his flesh and blood. True, the capitalist must also be there, must also live and consume to be able to perform the function of a capitalist. To this end, he has, indeed, to consume only as much as the labourer, and that is all this form of the circulation process presupposes. But even this is not formally expressed, since the formula concludes with M′, i. e., a result which can at once resume its function of money capital, now augmented.

C′ — M′ directly contains the sale of C′; but C′ — M′, a sale on the one part, is M — C, a purchase, on the other part, and in the last analysis a commodity is bought only for its use value, in order to enter (leaving intermediate sales out of consideration) the process of consump-

tion, whether this is individual or productive, according to the nature of the article bought. But this consumption does not enter the circuit of individual capital, the product of which is C′. This product is eliminated from the circuit precisely because it is a commodity for sale. C′ is expressly designed for consumption by others than the producer. Thus we find that certain exponents of the mercantile system[6] (which is based on the formula M — C ... P ... C′ — M′) deliver lengthy sermons to the effect that the individual capitalist should consume only as much as the labourer, that the nation of capitalists should leave the consumption of their own commodities, and the consumption process in general, to the other, less intelligent nations but that they themselves should make productive consumption their life's task. These sermons frequently remind one in form and content of analogous ascetic expostulations of the fathers of the church.

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Capital's movement in circuits is therefore the unity of circulation and production; it includes both. Since the two phases M — C and C′ — M′ are acts of circulation, the circulation of capital is a part of the general circulation of commodities. But as functionally they are definite sections, stages in capital's circuit, which pertains not only to the sphere of circulation but also to that of production, capital goes through its own circuit in the general circulation of commodities. The general circulation of commodities serves capital in the first stage as a means of assuming that shape in which it can perform the function of productive capital; in the second stage it serves to strip off the commodity function in which capital cannot renew its circuit; at the same time it opens up to capital the possibility of separating its own circuit from the circulation of the surplus value that accrued to it.

The circuit of money capital is therefore the most one-sided, and thus the most striking and typical form in which the circuit of industrial capital appears, the capital whose aim and compelling motive — the self-expansion of value, the making of money, and accumulation — is thus conspicuously revealed (buying to sell dearer). Owing to the fact that the first phase is M — C it is also revealed that the constituents of productive capital originate in the commodity market, and in general that the capitalist process of production depends on circulation, on commerce. The circuit of money capital is not merely the production of commodities; it is itself possible only through circulation and presupposes it. This is plain, if only from the fact that the

form M belonging in circulation appears as the first and pure form of advanced capital value, which is not the case in the other two circuit forms.

The circuit of money capital always remains the general expression of industrial capital, in so far as it always includes the self-expansion of the advanced value. In P ... P, the money expression of capital appears only as the price of the elements of production, hence only as a value expressed in money of account and is fixed in this form in bookkeeping.

M ... M′ becomes a special form of the industrial capital circuit in so far as newly active capital is first advanced in the form of money and then withdrawn in the same form, either in passing from one branch of business to another or in retiring industrial capital from a business. This includes the functioning as capital of the surplus value first advanced in the form of money, and becomes most evident when surplus value functions in some other business than the one in which it originated. M ... M′ may be the first circuit of a certain capital; it may be the last; it may be regarded as the form of the total social capital; it is the form of capital that is newly invested, either as capital newly accumulated in the form of money, or as some old capital which is entirely transformed into money for the purpose of transfer from one branch of industry to another.

Being a form always contained in all circuits, money capital performs this circuit [M ... M′] precisely for that part of capital which produces surplus value, viz., variable capital. The normal form of advancing wages is payment in money; this process must be renewed in comparatively short intervals, because the labourer lives from hand to mouth. The capitalist must therefore always confront the labourer as money capitalist, and his capital as money capital. There can be no direct or indirect balancing of accounts in this case such as we find in the purchase of means of production and in the sale of produced commodities (so that the greater part of the money capital actually figures only in the form of commodities, money only in the form of money of account and finally in cash only in the balancing of accounts). On the other hand, a part of the surplus value arising out of variable capital is spent by the capitalist for his individual consumption, which pertains to the retail trade and, however circuitous the route may be, this part is always spent in cash, in the money form of surplus value. It does not matter how large or small this part of surplus value is. Variable capital always appears anew as money capital

invested in wages (M — L) and m as surplus value spent to defray the cost of the individual consumption of the capitalist. Hence M, advanced variable capital value, and m, its increment, are necessarily held in the form of money to be spent in this form.

The formula M — C ... P ... C′ — M′, with its result M′ = M + m, is deceptive in form, is illusory in character, owing to the existence of the advanced and self-expanded value in its equivalent form, money. The emphasis is not on the self-expansion of value but on the *money form* of this process, on the fact that more value in money form is finally drawn out of the circulation than was originally advanced to it; hence on the multiplication of the mass of gold and silver belonging to the capitalist. The so-called monetary system [17] is merely an expression of the irrational form M — C — M′, a movement which takes place exclusively in circulation and therefore can explain the two acts: 1) M — C, 2) C — M′ in no other way than as a sale of C above its value in the second act and therefore as C drawing more money out of the circulation than was put into it by its purchase. On the other hand M — C ... P ... C′ — M′, fixed as the exclusive form, constitutes the basis of the more highly developed mercantile system, in which not only the circulation of commodities but also their production appears as a necessary element.

The illusory character of M — C ... P ... C′ — M′ and the correspondingly illusory interpretation exists whenever this form is fixed as occurring once, not as fluent and ever renewed; hence whenever this form is considered not as one of the forms of the circuit but as its exclusive form. But it itself points toward other forms.

In the first place this entire circuit is premised on the capitalist character of the process of production, and therefore presupposes this process together with the specific social conditions brought about by it as the basis. $M — C = M — C < {}^{L}_{MP}$; but M — L assumes the existence of the wage labourer, and hence the means of production as part of productive capital. It assumes therefore that the process of labour and self-expansion, the process of production, is a function of capital.

In the second place, if M ... M′ is repeated, the return to the money form appears just as evanescent as the money form in the first stage. M — C disappears to make room for P. The constantly recurrent advance in the form of money and its constant return in the form of money appear merely as fleeting moments in the circuit.

In the third place

$$\underbrace{\overbrace{\underbrace{M-C\ldots P\ldots C'-M'.}_{}\ M-C\ldots P\ldots C'-M'.}_{}\ M-C\ldots P\ldots}_{}\text{etc.}$$

Beginning with the first repetition of the circuit, the circuit P ... C′ — M′. M — C ... P appears before the second circuit of M is completed, and all subsequent circuits may thus be considered under the form of P ... C′ — M — C ... P, so that M — C, being the first phase of the first circuit, is merely the passing preparation for the constantly repeated circuit of the productive capital. And this indeed is so in the case of industrial capital invested for the first time in the form of money capital.

On the other hand before the second circuit of P is completed, the first circuit, that of commodity capital, C′ — M′. M — C ... P ... C′ (abridged C′... C′) has already been made. Thus the first form already contains the other two, and the money form thus disappears, so far as it is not merely an expression of value but an expression of value in the equivalent form, in money.

Finally, if we consider some newly invested individual capital describing for the first time the circuit M — C ... P ... C′ — M′, then M — C is the preparatory phase, the forerunner of the first process of production gone through by this individual capital. This phase M — C is consequently not presupposed but rather called for or necessitated by the process of production. But this applies only to this individual capital. The general form of the circuit of industrial capital is the circuit of money capital, in so far as the capitalist mode of production is taken for granted, hence in social conditions determined by capitalist production. Therefore the capitalist process of production is assumed as a *prius*,[a] if not in the first circuit of the money capital of a newly invested industrial capital, then outside of it. The continuous existence of this process of production presupposes the constantly renewed circuit P ... P. Even in the first stage, $M-C < {}^{L}_{MP}$, this premise plays a part, for this assumes on the one hand the existence of the class of wage labourers; and then, on the other, that which is M — C, the first stage, for the buyer of means of production, is C′ — M′ for their seller; hence C′ presupposes commodity capital, and thus the commodities themselves as a result of capitalist production, and thereby the function of productive capital.

[a] a precondition

## Chapter II

### THE CIRCUIT OF PRODUCTIVE CAPITAL

The circuit of productive capital has the general formula P ... C′ — M′ — C ... P. It signifies the periodical renewal of the functioning of productive capital, hence its reproduction, or its process of production as a process of reproduction aiming at the self-expansion of value; not only production but a periodical reproduction of surplus value; the function of industrial capital in its productive form, and this function performed not once but periodically repeated, so that the renewal is determined by the starting-point. A portion of C′ may (in certain cases, in various branches of investment of industrial capital) re-enter directly as means of production into the same labour process out of which it came in the shape of a commodity. This merely saves the transformation of the value of this portion into real money or token money or else the commodity finds an independent expression only as money of account. This part of value does not enter into the circulation. Thus values enter into the process of production which do not enter into the process of circulation. The same is true of that part of C′ which is consumed by the capitalist *in natura* as part of the surplus product. But this is insignificant for capitalist production. It deserves consideration, if at all, only in agriculture.

Two things are at once strikingly apparent in this form.

For one thing, while in the first form, M ... M′, the process of production, the function of P, interrupts the circulation of money capital and acts only as a mediator between its two phases M — C and C′ — M′, here the entire circulation process of industrial capital, its entire movement within the phase of circulation, constitutes only an interruption and consequently only the connecting link between the productive capital, which as the first extreme opens the circuit, and that which closes it as the other extreme in the same form, hence in the form in which it starts again. Circulation proper appears but as an instrument promoting the periodically renewed reproduction, rendered continuous by the renewal.

For another thing, the entire circulation presents itself in a form which is the opposite of that which it has in the circuit of money capital. There it was: M — C — M (M — C. C — M), apart from the de-

termination of value; here it is, again apart from the value determination: C — M — C (C — M. M — C), i. e., the form of the simple circulation of commodities.

## I. SIMPLE REPRODUCTION

Let us first consider the process C′ — M′ — C, which takes place in the sphere of circulation between the two extremes P ... P.

The starting-point of this circulation is commodity capital: C′ = C + c = P + c. The function of commodity capital C′ — M′ (the realisation of the capital value contained in it = P, which now exists as the constituent part C of C′, as well as of the surplus value contained in it, which exists as a constituent part of the same quantity of commodities and has the value c) was examined in the first form of the circuit. But there this function formed the second phase of the interrupted circulation and the concluding phase of the entire circuit. Here it forms the second phase of the circuit but the first phase of the circulation. The first circuit ends with M′, and since M′ as well as the original M can again open the second circuit as money capital, it was not necessary at first to see whether M and m (surplus value) contained in M′ continue in their course together or whether each of them pursues its own course. This would only have become necessary if we had followed up further the first circuit in its renewed course. But this point must be decided in the circuit of the productive capital, because the determination of its very first circuit depends on it and because C′ — M′ appears in it as the first phase of the circulation, which has to be complemented by M — C. It depends on this decision whether the formula represents simple reproduction or reproduction on an extended scale. The character of the circuit changes according to the decision made.

Let us, then, consider first the simple reproduction of productive capital, assuming that, as in the first chapter, conditions remain constant and that commodities are bought and sold at their values. On this assumption the entire surplus value enters into the individual consumption of the capitalist. As soon as the transformation of the commodity capital C′ into money has taken place, that part of the money which represents the capital value continues to circulate in the circuit of industrial capital; the other part, which is surplus value changed into money, enters into the general circulation of commodi-

ties, constitutes a circulation of money emanating from the capitalist but taking place outside of the circulation of his individual capital.

In our illustration we had a commodity capital C′ of 10,000 lbs of yarn, valued at £ 500; £ 422 of this represent the value of the productive capital and continue, as the money form of 8,440 lbs of yarn, the capital circulation begun by C′, while the surplus value of £ 78, the money form of 1,560 lbs of yarn, the excess of the commodity product, leaves this circulation and describes a separate course within the general circulation of commodities.

$$C' \begin{pmatrix} C \\ + \\ c \end{pmatrix} \begin{matrix} - \\ - \\ - \end{matrix} M' \begin{pmatrix} M \\ + \\ m \end{pmatrix} \begin{matrix} -C < {}^{L}_{MP} \\ \\ -c \end{matrix}$$

m—c represents a series of purchases by means of money which the capitalist spends either for commodities proper or for personal services to his cherished self or family. These purchases are made piecemeal at various times. The money therefore exists temporarily in the form of a supply, or hoard, destined for current consumption, since money whose circulation has been interrupted assumes the form of a hoard. Its function as a medium of circulation, which includes its transient form of a hoard, does not enter the circulation of capital in its money form M. This money is not advanced but spent.

We have assumed that the total advanced capital always passes wholly from one of its phases to the other; and so here too we assume that the commodities produced by P represent the total value of the productive capital P = £ 422 + £ 78 of surplus value created in the process of production. In our illustration, which deals with a discrete commodity, the surplus value exists in the form of 1,560 lbs of yarn; if computed on the basis of one pound of yarn, it would exist in the form of 2.496 ounces of yarn. But if the commodity were for instance a machine valued at £ 500 and having the same value composition, one part of the value of this machine, = £ 78, would be surplus value, but these £ 78 would exist only in the machine as a whole. This machine cannot be divided into capital value and surplus value without breaking it to pieces and thus destroying its value together with its use value. For this reason the two value components can be represented only ideally as components of the commodity, not as independent elements of the commodity C′, like any pound of yarn, which represents a separable independent element of the 10,000 lbs of com-

modity. In the first case the aggregate commodity, the commodity capital, the machine, must be sold in its entirety before m can enter upon its separate circulation. On the other hand when the capitalist has sold 8,440 lbs, the sale of the remaining 1,560 lbs would represent a wholly separate circulation of the surplus value in the form of c (1,560 lbs of yarn) — m (£ 78) — c (articles of consumption). But the elements of value of each individual portion of the 10,000 lbs of yarn, the product, can be represented by parts of the product as well as by the total product. Just as the latter, 10,000 lbs of yarn, can be divided into the value of the constant capital (c), 7,440 lbs of yarn worth £ 372, variable capital value (v) of 1,000 lbs of yarn worth £ 50, and surplus value (s) of 1,560 lbs of yarn worth £ 78, so every pound of yarn may be divided into c = to 11.904 ounces worth 8.928 d., v = to 1.600 ounces of yarn worth 1.200 d., and s = to 2.496 ounces of yarn worth 1.872 d. The capitalist might also sell various portions of the 10,000 lbs of yarn successively and successively consume the successive portions of the surplus value elements contained in them, thus realising, also successively, the sum of c + v. But in the final analysis this operation likewise premises the sale of the entire lot of 10,000 lbs, that therefore the value of c and v will be replaced by the sale of 8,440 lbs (Buch I, Kap. VII, 2[a]).

However that may be, by means of C′ — M′ both the capital value and surplus value contained in C′ acquire a separable existence, the existence of different sums of money. In both cases M and m are really a converted form of the value which originally in C′ had only a peculiar, an ideal expression as the price of the commodity.

c — m — c represents the simple circulation of commodities, the first phase of which, c — m, is included in the circulation of commodity capital, C′ — M′, i. e., included in the circuit of capital; its complementary phase m — c falls, on the contrary, outside of this circuit, being a separate act in the general circulation of commodities. The circulation of C and c, of capital value and surplus value, splits after the transformation of C′ into M′. Hence it follows:

First, while the commodity capital is realised by C′ — M′ = C′ — (M + m), the movement of capital value and surplus value, which in C′ — M′ is still united and carried on by the same quantity of commodities, becomes separable, both of them henceforth possessing independent forms as separate sums of money.

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. IX, 2 (present edition, Vol. 35).

Secondly, if this separation takes place, m being spent as the revenue of the capitalist, while M as a functional form of capital value continues its course determined by the circuit, the first act, C′ — M′, in connection with the subsequent acts, M — C and m — c, may be represented as the two different circulations C — M — C and c — m — c; and both of these series, so far as their general form is concerned, belong in the usual circulation of commodities.

By the way, in the case of continuous, indivisible commodities, it is a matter of practice to isolate the value constituents ideally. For instance in the London building business, which is carried on mainly on credit, the building contractor receives advances in accordance with the stage of construction reached. None of these stages is a house, but only a really existing constituent part of an inchoate future house; hence, in spite of its reality, it is but an ideal fraction of the entire house, but real enough to serve as security for an additional advance (see on this point Chapter XII below[a]).

Thirdly, if the movement of capital value and surplus value, which still proceeds unitedly in C and M, is separated only in part (a portion of the surplus value not being spent as revenue) or not at all, a change takes place in the capital value itself within its circuit, before it is completed. In our illustration the value of the productive capital was equal to £ 422. If that capital continues M — C, as, say, £ 480 or £ 500, then it strides through the latter stages of its circuit with an increase of £ 58 or £ 78 over its initial value. This may also go hand in hand with a change in the composition of its value.

C′ — M′, the second stage of the circulation and the final stage of circuit I (M ... M′), is the second stage in our circuit and the first in the circulation of commodities. So far as the circulation is concerned, it must be complemented by M′ — C′. But not only has C′ — M′ the process of self-expansion already behind it (in this case the function of P, the first stage), but its result, the commodity C′, has already been realised. The process of the self-expansion of capital and the realisation of the commodities representing the expanded capital value are therefore completed in C′ — M′.

And so we have premised simple reproduction, i. e., that m — c separates entirely from M — C. Since both circulations, c — m — c as well as C — M — C, belong in the circulation of commodities, so far as their general form is concerned (and for this reason do not show

[a] See this volume, pp. 235-36.

any value differences in their extremes), it is easy to conceive the process of capitalist production, after the manner of vulgar economy, as a mere production of commodities, of use values designed for consumption of some sort, which the capitalist produces for no other purpose than that of getting in their place commodities with different use values, or of exchanging them for such, as vulgar economy erroneously states.

C′ acts from the very outset as commodity capital, and the purpose of the entire process, enrichment (the production of surplus value), does not by any means exclude increasing consumption on the part of the capitalist as his surplus value (and hence his capital) increases; on the contrary, it emphatically includes it.

Indeed, in the circulation of the revenue of the capitalist, the produced commodity c (or the fraction of the produced commodity C′ ideally corresponding to it) serves only to transform it, first into money, and from money into a number of other commodities serving private consumption. But we must not, at this point, overlook the trifling circumstance that c is commodity value which did not cost the capitalist anything, an incarnation of surplus labour, for which reason it originally stepped on the stage as a component part of commodity capital C′. This c is, by the very nature of its existence, bound to the circuit of capital value in process, and if this circuit begins to stagnate or is otherwise disturbed, not only is the consumption of c restricted or entirely arrested, but also the disposal of that series of commodities which serve to replace c. The same is true when C′ — M′ ends in failure, or only a part of C′ can be sold.

We have seen that c — m — c, representing the circulation of the revenue of the capitalist, enters into the circulation of capital only so long as c is a part of the value of C′, of capital in its functional form of commodity capital; but, as soon as it acquires independence through m — c, hence throughout the form c — m — c, the circulation of that revenue does not enter into the movement of the capital advanced by the capitalist, although it stems from it. This circulation is connected with the movement of advanced capital inasmuch as the existence of capital presupposes the existence of the capitalist, and his existence is conditioned on his consuming surplus value.

Within the general circulation C′, for example yarn, functions only as a commodity; but as an element in the circulation of capital it performs the function of *commodity capital*, a form which capital value alternately assumes and discards. After the sale of the yarn to a merch-

ant, it is extruded out of the circular movement of the capital whose product it is, but nevertheless, as a commodity, it moves always in the sphere of the general circulation. The circulation of one and the same mass of commodities continues, in spite of the fact that it has ceased to be a phase in the independent circuit of the spinner's capital. Hence the real definitive metamorphosis of the mass of commodities thrown into circulation by the capitalist, C — M, their final exit into consumption may be completely separated in time and space from that metamorphosis in which this mass of commodities functions as his commodity capital. The same metamorphosis which has been accomplished in the circulation of capital still remains to be accomplished in the sphere of the general circulation.

This state of things is not changed a bit if this yarn enters the circuit of some other industrial capital. The general circulation comprises as much the intertwining of the circuits of the various independent fractions of social capital, i. e., the totality of the individual capitals, as the circulation of those values which are not thrown on the market as capital but enter into individual consumption.

The relation between a circuit of capital forming part of a general circulation and a circuit forming links in an independent circuit is shown further on when we examine the circulation of M′ = M + m. M as money capital continues capital's circuit; m, being spent as revenue (m — c), enters into the general circulation, but comes flying out of the circuit of capital. Only that part enters the latter circuit which performs the function of additional money capital. In c — m — c money serves only as coin; the object of this circulation is the individual consumption of the capitalist. It is typical of the idiocy of vulgar economy that it gives out this circulation, which does not enter into the circuit of capital — the circulation of that part of the value produced which is consumed as revenue — as the characteristic circuit of capital.

In the second phase, M — C, the capital value M = P (the value of the productive capital that at this point opens the circuit of industrial capital) is again present, delivered of its surplus value, therefore having the same magnitude of value as it had in the first stage of the circuit of money capital M — C. In spite of the difference in place the function of the money capital into which the commodity capital has now been transformed is the same: its transformation into MP and L, into means of production and labour power.

In the functioning of commodity capital C′ — M′, the capital value,

simultaneously with c — m, has consequently gone through the phase C — M and enters now into the complementary phase M — C $< {}^{L}_{MP}$. Its complete circulation is therefore C — M — C $< {}^{L}_{MP}$.

First: Money capital M appeared in Form I (circuit M ... M′) as the original form in which capital value is advanced; it appears here from the outset as a part of that sum of money into which commodity capital transformed itself in the first circulation phase C′ — M′, therefore from the outset as the transformation of P, the productive capital, through the medium of the sale of commodities, into the money form. Money capital exists here from the outset as that form of capital value which is neither its original nor its final one, since the phase M — C, which concludes the phase C — M, can only be performed by again discarding the money form. Therefore that part of M — C which is at the same time M — L appears now no longer as a mere advance of money by the purchase of labour power, but as an advance by means of which the same 1,000 lbs of yarn, valued at £50, which form a part of the commodity value created by labour power, are advanced to labour power in the form of money. The money advanced here to the labourer is only a converted equivalent form of a part of the commodity value produced by himself. And for that reason if no other the act M — C, so far as it means M — L, is by no means simply a replacement of a commodity in the form of money by a commodity in the use form, but it includes other elements which are independent of the general commodity circulation as such.

M′ appears as a converted form of C′, which is itself a product of a previous function of P, the process of production. The entire sum of money M′ is therefore a money expression of past labour. In our illustration, 10,000 lbs of yarn = £500 are the product of the spinning process. Of this quantity, 7,440 lbs of yarn are = to the advanced constant capital c = £372; 1,000 lbs of yarn are = to the advanced variable capital v = £50; and 1,560 lbs of yarn = the surplus value s = £78. If of M′ only the original capital of £422 is again advanced, other conditions remaining the same, then the labourer is advanced the following week, in M — L, only a part of the 10,000 lbs of yarn produced in the given week (the money value of 1,000 lbs of yarn). As a result of C — M, money is always the expression of past labour. If the complementary act M — C takes place at once in the commodity market, i. e., M is given in return for commodities existing in the market, this is again a transformation of past labour, from one form (money) into another form (commodities). But M — C differs in the mat-

ter of time from C — M. They may exceptionally take place at the same time, for instance when the capitalist who performs M — C and the capitalist to whom this act means C — M ship their commodities to each other at the same time and M is used only to square the balance. The difference in time between the performance of C — M and M — C may be more or less considerable. Although M, as the result of C — M, represents past labour, it may, in the act M — C, represent the converted form of commodities which are not as yet in the market, but will be thrown upon it in the future, since M — C need not take place until C has been produced anew. M may likewise stand for commodities which are produced simultaneously with the C whose money expression it is. For instance in the exchange M — C (purchase of means of production) coal may be bought before it has been mined. In so far as m figures as an accumulation of money, is not spent as revenue, it may stand for cotton which will not be produced until the following year. The same holds good on spending the revenue of the capitalist, m — c. It also applies to wages, to L = to £50. This money is not only the money form of the past labour of the labourers but at the same time a draft on simultaneous or future labour which is just being realised or should be realised in the future. The labourer may buy with his wages a coat which will not be made until the following week. This applies especially to the vast number of necessary means of subsistence which must be consumed almost as soon as they have been produced to prevent spoilage. Thus the labourer receives, in the money which is paid to him as his wages, the converted form of his own future labour or that of other labourers. By giving the labourer a part of his past labour, the capitalist gives him a draft on his own future labour. It is the labourer's own simultaneous or future labour that constitutes the not yet existing supply out of which he will be paid for his past labour. In this case the idea of hoarding disappears altogether.[a]

Secondly: In the circulation $C — M — C <^{L}_{MP}$ the same money changes place twice; the capitalist first receives it as a seller and passes it on as a buyer; the transformation of commodities into the money form serves only for the purpose of retransforming it from the money form into the commodity form; the money form of capital, its existence as money capital, is therefore only a transient phase in this movement; or, so far as the movement is fluent, money capital appears

[a] Here Marx made the following note in the manuscript (in square brackets): "All this, however, belongs to the last part of the second book."

only as a medium of circulation when it serves as a means of purchase; it acts as a paying medium proper when capitalists buy from one another and therefore only have to square accounts.

Thirdly: The function of money capital, whether it is a mere circulating medium or a paying medium, effects only the replacement of C by L and MP, i. e., the replacement of the yarn, the commodity which represents the result of the productive capital (after deducting the surplus value to be used as revenue), by its elements of production, in other words, the retransformation of capital value from its form as a commodity into the elements that build this commodity. In the last analysis, the function of money capital promotes only the retransformation of commodity capital into productive capital.

In order that the circuit may be completed normally, C′ must be sold at its value and in its entirety. Furthermore, C—M—C includes not merely replacement of one commodity by another, but replacement with value relations remaining the same. We assume that this takes place here. As a matter of fact, however, the values of the means of production vary. It is precisely capitalist production to which continuous change of value relations is peculiar, if only because of the ever changing productivity of labour that characterises this mode of production. This change in the value of the elements of production will be discussed later on,[a] and we merely mention it here. The transformation of the elements of production into commodity products, of P into C′, takes place in the sphere of production, while the retransformation from C′ into P occurs in the sphere of circulation. It is brought about by a simple metamorphosis of commodities, but its content is a phase in the process of reproduction, regarded as a whole. C—M—C, being a form of the circulation of capital, involves a functionally determined exchange of matter. The transformation C—M—C requires further that C should be equal to the elements of production of the commodity quantum C′, and that these elements should retain their original value relations to one another. It is therefore assumed that the commodities are not only bought at their respective values, but also do not undergo any change of value during the circular movement. Otherwise this process cannot run normally.

In M ... M′, M represents the original form of the capital value, which is discarded only to be resumed. In P ... C′—M′—C ... P, M represents a form which is only assumed in the process and which is discarded before this process is over. The money form appears here

[a] See Section V of Chapter XV of this volume.

only as a transient independent form of capital value. Capital in the form of C′ is just as anxious to assume the money form as it is to discard it in M′, after barely assuming that garb in order again to transform itself into productive capital. So long as it remains in the garb of money, it does not function as capital and its value does not therefore expand. The capital lies fallow. M serves here as a circulating medium, but as a circulating medium of capital.[a] The semblance of independence which the money form of capital value possesses in the first form of its circuit (the form of money capital) disappears in this second form, which thus is a criticism of Form I and reduces it to merely a special form. If the second metamorphosis, M — C, meets with any obstacles (for instance if there are no means of production in the market) the circuit, the flow of the process of reproduction, is interrupted quite as much as when capital is held fast in the form of commodity capital. But there is this difference: It can remain longer in the money form than in the transitory form of commodities. It does not cease to be money, if it does not perform the functions of money capital; but it does cease to be a commodity, or a use value in general, if it is delayed too long in the exercise of its function of commodity capital. Furthermore, in its money form it is capable of assuming another form in place of its original one of productive capital, while it cannot budge at all if held in the form of C′.

C′ — M′ — C includes acts of circulation only for C′ in accordance with its form, acts which are phases of its reproduction; but the real reproduction of C, into which C′ transforms itself, is necessary for the performance of C′ — M′ — C. This however is conditioned on processes of reproduction which lie outside of the process of reproduction of the individual capital represented by C′.

In Form I the act $M — C <^{L}_{MP}$ prepares only the first transformation of money capital into productive capital; in Form II it prepares the retransformation from commodity capital into productive capital; that is to say, so far as the investment of industrial capital remains the same, retransformation of the commodity capital into the same elements of production as those from which it originated. Consequently here as well as in Form I, that act appears as a preparatory phase of the process of production, but as a return to it, as a renewal of it, hence as a precursor of the process of reproduction, hence also of a repetition of the process of self-expansion of value.

[a] Here Marx made the following note in the manuscript: "Against Tooke."

It must be noted once more that M — L is not a simple exchange of commodities but the purchase of a commodity, L, which is to serve for the production of surplus value, just as M — MP is only a procedure which is materially indispensable for the attainment of this end.

With the completion of $M - C <^{L}_{MP}$ M is reconverted into productive capital, into P, and the circuit begins anew.

The expanded form of P ... C′ — M′ — C ... P is therefore:

$$P \ldots C' \begin{pmatrix} C \\ + \\ c \end{pmatrix} - \begin{pmatrix} M \\ + \\ m \end{pmatrix} \begin{matrix} -C <^{L}_{MP} \ldots P \\ \\ -c \end{matrix}$$

The transformation of money capital into productive capital is the purchase of commodities for the production of commodities. Consumption falls within the circuit of capital itself only in so far as it is productive consumption; its premise is that surplus value is produced by means of the commodities so consumed. And this is something very different from production and even commodity production, which has for its end the existence of the producer. A replacement — commodity by commodity — thus contingent on the production of surplus value is quite a different matter from a bare exchange of products brought about merely by means of money. But the economists take this matter as proof that no overproduction is possible.

Apart from the productive consumption of M, which is transformed into L and MP, the circuit contains the first member M — L, which signifies, from the standpoint of the labourer, L — M = C — M. In the labourer's circulation, L — M — C, which includes his consumption, only the first member falls within the circuit of the capital as a result of M — L. The second act, namely M — C, does not fall within the circulation of individual capital, although it springs from it. But the continuous existence of the working class is necessary for the capitalist class, and so is therefore the consumption of the labourer made possible by M — C.

The only condition which the act C′ — M′ stipulates for capital value to continue its circuit and for surplus value to be consumed by the capitalist is that C′ shall have been converted into money, shall have been sold. Of course, C′ is bought only because the article is a use value, hence serviceable for consumption of any kind, productive or individual. But if C′ continues to circulate for instance in the hands of the merchant who bought the yarn, this at first does not in the least affect the continuation of the circuit of the individual capital which

produced the yarn and sold it to the merchant. The entire process continues and with it the individual consumption of the capitalist and the labourer made necessary by it. This point is important in a discussion of crises.

For as soon as C′ has been sold, been converted into money, it can be reconverted into the real factors of the labour process, and thus of the reproductive process. Whether C′ is bought by the ultimate consumer or by a merchant for resale does not affect the case. The quantity of commodities created in masses by capitalist production depends on the scale of this production and on the need for constantly expanding this production, and not on a predestined circle of supply and demand, on requirements that have to be satisfied. Mass production can have no other direct buyer, apart from other industrial capitalists, than the wholesaler. Within certain limits, the process of reproduction may take place on the same or on an extended scale even when the commodities expelled from it did not really enter individual or productive consumption. The consumption of commodities is not included in the circuit of the capital from which they originated. For instance, as soon as the yarn is sold the circuit of the capital value represented by the yarn may begin anew, regardless of what may next become of the sold yarn. So long as the product is sold, everything is taking its regular course from the standpoint of the capitalist producer. The circuit of the capital value he is identified with is not interrupted. And if this process is expanded — which includes increased productive consumption of the means of production — this reproduction of capital may be accompanied by increased individual consumption (hence demand) on the part of the labourers, since this process is initiated and effected by productive consumption. Thus the production of surplus value, and with it the individual consumption of the capitalist, may increase, the entire process of reproduction may be in a flourishing condition, and yet a large part of the commodities may have entered into consumption only apparently, while in reality they may still remain unsold in the hands of dealers, may in fact still be lying in the market. Now one stream of commodities follows another, and finally it is discovered that the previous streams had been absorbed only apparently by consumption. The commodity capitals compete with one another for a place in the market. Latecomers, to sell at all, sell at lower prices. The former streams have not yet been disposed of when payment for them falls due. Their owners must declare their insolvency or sell at any price to meet their obliga-

tions. This sale has nothing whatever to do with the actual state of the demand. It only concerns the *demand for payment*, the pressing necessity of transforming commodities into money. Then a crisis breaks out. It becomes visible not in the direct decrease of consumer demand, the demand for individual consumption, but in the decrease of exchanges of capital for capital, of the reproductive process of capital.

If the commodities MP and L, into which M is transformed to perform its function of money capital, of capital value destined to be retransformed into productive capital—if those commodities are to be bought or paid for on different terms, so that M—C represents a series of successive purchases and payments, then a part of M performs the act M—C, while another part persists in the form of money and does not serve to perform simultaneous or successive acts of M—C until such time as the conditions of this process itself may determine. This part is only temporarily withheld from circulation, in order to go into action, perform its function, in due time. This storing of it is then in its turn a function determined by its circulation and intended for circulation. Its existence as a fund for purchase and payment, the suspension of its movement, the interrupted state of its circulation, will then constitute a state in which money exercises one of its functions as money capital. As money capital; for in this case the money temporarily remaining at rest is itself a part of money capital M (of $M' - m = M$), of that portion of the value of commodity capital which is = to P, to that value of productive capital from which the circuit starts. On the other hand all money withdrawn from circulation has the form of a hoard. Money in the form of a hoard therefore becomes here a function of money capital, just as in M—C the function of money as a means of purchase or payment becomes a function of money capital. This is so because capital value exists here in the form of money, because the money state here is a state in which industrial capital finds itself at one of its stages and which is prescribed by the interconnections within the circuit. At the same time it is here proved true once more that money capital within the circuit of industrial capital performs no other functions than those of money and that these money functions assume the significance of capital functions only by virtue of their interconnections with the other stages of this circuit.

The representation of M′ as a relation of m to M, as a capital relation, is not directly a function of money capital, but of commodity capital C′, which in its turn, as a relation of c and C, expresses but the

result of the process of production, of the self-expansion of capital value which took place in it.

If the continuation of the process of circulation meets with obstacles, so that M must suspend its function M — C on account of external circumstances, such as the conditions of the market, etc., and if it therefore remains for a shorter or longer time in its money form, then we have once more money in the form of a hoard, which happens also in simple commodity circulation whenever the transition from C — M to M — C is interrupted by external circumstances. It is an involuntary formation of a hoard. In the case at hand money has the form of fallow, latent money capital. But we will not discuss this point any further for the present.

In either case however persistence of money capital in its money state appears as the result of interrupted movement, no matter whether this is expedient or inexpedient, voluntary or involuntary, in accordance with its functions or contrary to them.

## II. ACCUMULATION AND REPRODUCTION ON AN EXTENDED SCALE

Since the proportions which the expansion of the productive process may assume are not arbitrary but prescribed by technology, the realised surplus value, though intended for capitalisation, frequently can only by dint of several successive circuits attain such a size (and until then must therefore be accumulated) as will suffice for its effective functioning as additional capital or for entrance into the circuit of functioning capital value. Surplus value thus congeals into a hoard and in this form constitutes latent money capital — latent because it cannot act as capital so long as it persists in the money form. [6a] The formation of a hoard thus appears here as a factor included in the process of capitalist accumulation, accompanying it but nevertheless essentially differing from it; for the process of reproduction itself is not expanded by the formation of latent money capital. On the contrary, latent money capital is formed here because the capitalist producer cannot directly expand the scale of his production. If he sells his sur-

[6a] The term "latent" is borrowed from the idea of latent heat in physics, which has now been almost replaced by the theory of the transformation of energy. Marx therefore uses in the third part (a later version) another term, borrowed from the idea of potential energy, viz: "potential", or analogous to the virtual velocities of D'Alembert, "virtual capital".—*F. E.*

plus product to a producer of gold or silver, who puts new gold or silver into circulation or, what amounts to the same thing, to a merchant who imports additional gold or silver from foreign countries for a part of the national surplus product, then his latent money capital forms an increment of the national gold or silver hoard. In all other cases, the £78 for instance, which were a circulating medium in the hands of the purchaser, assume only the form of a hoard in the hands of the capitalist. Hence all that has taken place is a different distribution of the national gold or silver hoard.

If in the transactions of our capitalist the money serves as a means of payment (the commodities having to be paid for by the buyer on longer or shorter terms), then the surplus product intended for capitalisation is not transformed into money but into creditor's claims, into titles of ownership of an equivalent which the buyer may already have in his possession or which he may expect to possess. It does not enter into the reproductive process of the circuit any more than does money invested in interest-bearing securities, etc., although it may enter into the circuits of other individual industrial capitals.

The entire character of capitalist production is determined by the self-expansion of the advanced capital value, that is to say, in the first instance by the production of as much surplus value as possible; in the second place however (see Buch I, Kap. XXII)[a] by the production of capital, hence by the transformation of surplus value into capital. Accumulation, or production on an extended scale, which appears as a means for constantly more expanded production of surplus value — hence for the enrichment of the capitalist, as his personal aim — and is comprised in the general tendency of capitalist production, becomes later, however, as was shown in the first book, by virtue of its development, a necessity for every individual capitalist. The constant augmentation of his capital becomes a condition of its preservation. But we need not revert more fully to what was previously expounded.

We considered first simple reproduction, assuming that the entire surplus value is spent as revenue. In reality under normal conditions a part of the surplus value must always be spent as revenue, and another part must be capitalised. And it is quite immaterial whether a certain surplus value produced in any particular period is entirely consumed or entirely capitalised. On the average — and the general formula can represent only the average movement — both cases oc-

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. XXIV (present edition, Vol. 35).

cur. But in order not to complicate the formula, it is better to assume that the entire surplus value is accumulated. The formula P ... C′—M′—C′ $<^{L}_{MP}$ ... P′ stands for productive capital, which is reproduced on an enlarged scale and with greater value, and which as augmented productive capital begins its second circuit, or, what amounts to the same, renews its first circuit. As soon as this second circuit is begun, we once more have P as the starting-point; only this P is a larger productive capital than the first P was. Hence, if in the formula M ... M′ the second circuit begins with M′, M′ functions as M, as an advanced money capital of a definite magnitude. It is a larger money capital than the one with which the first circular movement was opened, but all reference to its augmentation by the capitalisation of surplus value ceases as soon as it assumes the function of advanced money capital. This origin is expunged in its form of money capital, which begins its circuit. This also applies to P′ as soon as it functions as the starting-point of a new circuit.

If we compare P ... P′ with M ... M′, or with the first circuit, we find that they have not the same significance at all. M ... M′, taken by itself as an isolated circuit, expresses only that M, the money capital (or industrial capital in its circuit as money capital), is money generating money, value generating value, in other words, produces surplus value. But in the P circuit the process of producing surplus value is already completed upon the termination of the first stage, the process of production, and after going through the second stage (the first stage of the circulation), C′—M′, the capital value + surplus value already exist as realised money capital, as M′, which appeared as the last extreme in the first circuit. That surplus value has been produced is depicted in the first-considered formula P ... P (see expanded formula, p. 47)[a] by c—m—c, which, in its second stage, falls outside of the circulation of capital and represents the circulation of surplus value as revenue. In this form, where the entire movement is represented by P ... P, where consequently there is no difference in value between the two extremes, the self-expansion of the advanced value, the production of surplus value, is therefore represented in the same way as in M ... M′, except that the act C′—M′, which appears as the last stage in M ... M′ and as the second stage of the circuit, serves as the first stage of the circulation in P ... P.

In P ... P′, P′ does not indicate that surplus value has been produced

[a] See this volume, p. 81.

but that the produced surplus value has been capitalised, hence that capital has been accumulated and that therefore P′, in contrast to P, consists of the original capital value plus the value of the capital accumulated because of the capital value's movement.

M′, as the simple close of M ... M′, and also C′, as it appears within all these circuits, do not if taken by themselves express the movement but its result: the self-expansion of capital value realised in the form of commodities or money, and hence capital value as M + m, or C + c, as a relation of capital value to its surplus value, as its offspring. They express this result as various circulation forms of the self-expanded capital value. But neither in the form of C′ nor of M′ is the self-expansion which has taken place itself a function of money capital or of commodity capital. As special, differentiated forms, modes of existence corresponding to special functions of industrial capital, money capital can perform only money functions and commodity capital only commodity functions, the difference between them being merely that between money and commodity. Similarly industrial capital in its form of productive capital can consist only of the same elements as those of any other labour process which creates products: on the one hand objective conditions of labour (means of production), on the other productively (purposively) functioning labour power. Just as industrial capital can exist in the sphere of production only in a composition which corresponds to the production process in general, hence also to the non-capitalist production process, so it can exist in the sphere of circulation only in the two forms corresponding to it, viz., that of a commodity and of money. But just as the totality of the elements of production announces itself at the outset as productive capital by the fact that the labour power is labour power that belongs to others and that the capitalist purchased it from its proprietor, just as he purchased his means of production from other commodity owners; just as therefore the process of production itself appears as a productive function of industrial capital, so money and commodities appear as forms of circulation of the same industrial capital, hence their functions appear as the functions of its circulation, which either introduce the functions of productive capital or emanate from them. Here the money function and the commodity function are at the same time functions of money capital and commodity capital, but solely because they are interconnected as forms of functions which industrial capital has to perform at the different stages of its circuit. It is therefore wrong to attempt to derive the specific properties and functions

which characterise money as money and commodities as commodities from their quality as capital, and it is equally wrong to derive on the contrary the properties of productive capital from its mode of existence in means of production.

As soon as M′ or C′ have become fixed as M + m or C + c, i. e., as the relation between the capital value and surplus value, its offspring, this relation is expressed in both of them, in the first case in the money form, in the second case in the commodity form, which does not change matters in the least. Consequently this relation does not have its origin in any properties or functions inherent in money as such or commodities as such. In both cases the characteristic property of capital, that of being a value generating value, is expressed only as a result. C′ is always the product of the function of P, and M′ is always merely the form of C′ changed in the circuit of industrial capital. As soon therefore as the realised money capital resumes its special function of money capital, it ceases to express the capital relation contained in M′ = M + m. After M ... M′ has been passed through and M′ begins the circuit anew, it does not figure as M′ but as M even if the entire surplus value contained in M′ is capitalised. The second circuit begins in our case with a money capital of £ 500, instead of £ 422, as in the first circuit. The money capital, which opens the circuit, is £ 78 larger than before. This difference exists on comparing the one circuit with the other, but no such comparison is made within each particular circuit. The £ 500 advanced as money capital, £ 78 of which formerly existed as surplus value, do not play any other role than would some other £ 500 with which another capitalist inaugurates his first circuit. The same happens in the circuit of the productive capital. The increased P′ acts as P on recommencing, just as P did in the simple reproduction P ... P.

In the stage M′—C′ $<^{L}_{MP}$, the augmented magnitude is indicated only by C′, but not by L′ or MP′. Since C is the sum of L and MP, C′ indicates sufficiently that the sum of L and MP contained in it is greater than the original P. In the second place, the terms L′ and MP′ would be incorrect, because we know that the growth of capital involves a change in the constitution of its value and that as this change progresses the value of MP increases, that of L always decreasing relatively and often absolutely.

### III. ACCUMULATION OF MONEY

Whether or not m, the surplus value turned into money, is immediately added to the capital value in process and is thus enabled to enter the circuit together with capital M now having the magnitude M′, depends on circumstances which are independent of the mere existence of m. If m is to serve as money capital in a second independent business, to be run side by side with the first, it is evident that it cannot be used for this purpose unless it is of the minimum size required for it. And if it is intended to be used for the expansion of the original business, the relations between the material factors of P and their value relations likewise demand a minimum magnitude for m. All the means of production employed in this business have not only a qualitative but also a definite quantitative relation to one another, are proportionate in quantity. These material relations as well as the pertinent value relations of the factors entering into the productive capital determine the minimum magnitude m must possess to be capable of transformation into additional means of production and labour power, or only into the former, as an accretion to the productive capital. Thus the owner of a spinning-mill cannot increase the number of his spindles without at the same time purchasing a corresponding number of carders and roving frames, apart from the increased expenditure for cotton and wages which such an expansion of his business demands. To carry this out the surplus value must therefore have reached a considerable figure (generally calculated to be £1 per newly installed spindle). If m does not reach this minimum size the circuit of the capital must be repeated until the sum of m successively produced by it can function together with M, hence $M'—C' <^{L}_{MP}$. Even mere changes of detail, for instance in the spinning machinery, introduced to make it more productive, require greater expenditures for spinning material, more roving machinery, etc. In the meantime m is accumulated, and its accumulation is not its own function but the result of repeated P ... P. Its own function consists in persisting in the money state until it receives sufficient increment from the repeated surplus-value-creating circuits, i. e., from outside, to possess the minimum magnitude necessary for its active function, the magnitude in which alone it can really enter as money capital—in the case at hand as the accumulated part of the functioning money capital M—into the function of M. But in the interim it is accumulated and exists only in the shape of a hoard in process of formation, of growth. Hence the ac-

cumulation of money, hoarding, appears here as a process by which real accumulation, the extension of the scale on which industrial capital operates, is temporarily accompanied. Temporarily, for so long as the hoard remains in the condition of a hoard, it does not function as capital, does not take part in the process of creating surplus value, remains a sum of money which grows only because money, come by without its doing anything, is thrown into the same coffer.

The form of a hoard is simply the form of money not in circulation, of money whose circulation has been interrupted and which is therefore fixed in its money form. As for the process of hoarding, it is common to all commodity production and figures as an end in itself only in the undeveloped, pre-capitalist forms of this production. In the present case, however, the hoard appears as a form of money capital and the formation of a hoard as a process which temporarily accompanies the accumulation of capital because and so far as the money here figures as *latent money capital*; because the formation of a hoard, the state of being a hoard, in which the surplus value existing in money form finds itself, is a functionally determined preparatory stage gone through outside of the circuit described by the capital and required for the transformation of the surplus value into really functioning capital. By its definition it is therefore latent money capital. Hence the size it must acquire before it can take part in the process is determined in each case by the value constitution of the productive capital. But so long as it remains in the condition of a hoard it does not yet perform the functions of money capital but is still idle money capital; not money capital whose function has been interrupted, as was the case before, but money capital not yet capable of performing it.

We are here discussing the accumulation of money in its original real form of an actual hoard of money. It may also exist in the form of mere outstanding money, of claims on debtors by capitalists who have sold C′. As for other forms in which this latent money capital may exist in the meantime even in the shape of money-breeding money, such as interest-bearing bank deposits, bills of exchange or securities of any description, these do not belong here. Surplus value realised in the form of money in such cases performs special capital functions outside the circuit described by the industrial capital which originated it—functions which in the first place have nothing to do with that circuit as such but which in the second place presuppose capital functions which differ from the functions of industrial capital and which have not yet been developed here.

## IV. RESERVE FUND

In the form we have just discussed, the hoard, in which the surplus value exists, is a fund for the accumulation of money, the money form temporarily assumed by capital accumulation and to that extent a condition of this accumulation. However this accumulation fund can also perform special services of a subordinate nature, that is to say can enter into capital's movement in circuits without this process assuming the form of P ... P′, hence without an expansion of capitalist reproduction.

If the process C′ — M′ is prolonged beyond its normal duration, if therefore the commodity capital is abnormally delayed in its transformation into the money form or if, for instance, after the completion of this transformation, the price of the means of production into which the money capital must be transformed has risen above the level prevailing at the beginning of the circuit, the hoard functioning as accumulation fund can be used in the place of money capital or of part of it. Thus the money-accumulation fund serves as a reserve fund for counterbalancing disturbances in the circuit.

As such a reserve fund it differs from the fund of purchasing or paying media discussed in the circuit P ... P. These media are a part of functioning money capital (hence forms of existence of a part of capital value in general going through the process) whose parts enter upon their functions only at different times, successively. In the continuous process of production, reserve money capital is always formed, since one day money is received and no payments have to be made until later, and another day large quantities of goods are sold while other large quantities are not due to be bought until a subsequent date. In these intervals a part of the circulating capital exists continuously in the form of money. A reserve fund on the other hand is not a constituent part of capital already performing its functions, or, to be more exact, of money capital. It is rather a part of capital in a preliminary stage of its accumulation, of surplus value not yet transformed into active capital. As for the rest, it needs no explaining that a capitalist in financial straits does not concern himself about what the particular functions of the money he has on hand are. He simply employs whatever money he has for the purpose of keeping his capital circulating. For instance in our illustration M = £422, M′ = £500. If a part of the capital of £422 exists as a fund of means of payment and purchase, as a money reserve, it is intended, other conditions remaining the

same, that it should enter wholly into the circuit, and besides should suffice for this purpose. The reserve fund however is a part of the £78 of surplus value. It can enter the circular course of the capital worth £422 only to the extent that this circuit takes place under conditions not remaining the same; for it is a part of the accumulation fund, and figures here without any extension of the scale of reproduction.

Money-accumulation fund implies the existence of latent money capital, hence the transformation of money into money capital.

The following is the general formula for the circuit of productive capital. It combines simple reproduction and reproduction on a progressively increasing scale:

$$P \ldots C' \overset{1}{\frown} M'. \qquad\qquad M \overset{2}{\frown} C < {}^{L}_{MP \ldots P\,(P')}$$

If P = P, then M in 2) = M′ − m; if P = P′, then M in 2) is greater than M′ − m; that is to say m has been completely or partially transformed into money capital.

The circuit of productive capital is the form in which classical political economy examines the circular process of industrial capital.

## Chapter III

### THE CIRCUIT OF COMMODITY CAPITAL

The general formula for the circuit of commodity capital is:

$$C' — M' — C \ldots P \ldots C'.$$

C′ appears not only as the product but also as the premise of the two previous circuits, since that which M — C means for the one capital, C′ — M′ means for the other, inasmuch as at least a part of the means of production is itself the commodity product of other individual capitals describing their circuits. In our case for instance coal, machinery, etc., represent the commodity capital of the mine-owner, of the capitalist machine-manufacturer, etc. Furthermore we have shown in Chapter I, IV, that not only the circuit P ... P but also the circuit C ... C′ is assumed even in the first repetition of M ... M′, before this second circuit of money capital is completed.

If reproduction takes place on an extended scale, then the final C′ is greater than the initial C′ and should therefore be designated here as C″.

The difference between the third form and the first two is as follows: First, in this case the total circulation with its two antithetical phases opens the circuit, while in Form I the circulation is interrupted by the process of production and in Form II the total circulation with its two mutually complementary phases appears merely as a means of effecting the process of reproduction and therefore constitutes the movement mediating between P ... P. In the case of M ... M′, the form of circulation is M — C ... C′ — M′ = M — C — M. In the case of P ... P it has the inverted form C′ — M′. M — C = C — M — C. In the case of C′ — C′ it likewise has this last form.

Secondly, when circuits I and II are repeated, even if the final points M′ and P′ form the starting-points of the renewed circuit, the form in which M′ and P′ were produced disappears. M′ = M + m and P′ = P + p begin the new process as M and P. But in Form III the starting-point C must be designated as C′, even if the circuit is renewed on the same scale, for the following reason. In Form I, as soon as M′ as such opens a new circuit it functions as money capital M, as an advance in money form of the capital value that is to produce surplus value. The size of the advanced money capital, augmented by the accumulation achieved during the first circuit, has increased. But whether the size of the advanced money capital is £422 or £500 does not alter the fact that it appears as simple capital value. M′ no longer exists as self-expanded capital or a capital pregnant with surplus value, as a capital relation. Indeed, it is to expand itself only during its process. The same is true of P ... P′; P′ must steadily continue to function as P, as capital value which is to produce surplus value, and must renew its circuit.

The commodity-capital circuit, on the contrary, does not open with just capital value but with capital value augmented in the commodity form. Hence it includes from the start the circuit of not only capital value existing in the form of commodities, but also of surplus value. Consequently if simple reproduction takes place in this form, the C′ at the terminal point is equal in size to the C′ at the starting-point. If a part of the surplus value enters into the capital circuit, C″, an enlarged C′, appears at the close instead of C′, but the now succeeding circuit is once more opened by C′. This is merely a larger C′ than that of the preceding circuit, with a larger accumulated capital value. Hence it begins its new circuit with a relatively larger, newly created surplus value. In any event C′ always inaugurates the circuit as a commodity capital which is = to capital value + surplus value.

C′ as C does not appear in the circuit of an individual industrial capital as a form of this capital but as a form of some other industrial capital, so far as the means of production are the product of the latter. The act M — C (i. e., M — MP) of the first capital is C′ — M′ for this second capital.

In the circulation act $M - C <^{L}_{MP}$ L and MP bear identical relations, as they are commodities in the hands of their sellers — in the one case the labourers who sell their labour power, in the other the owner of the means of production, who sells these. For the purchaser, whose money here functions as money capital, L and MP function merely as commodities until he has bought them, hence so long as they confront his capital, existing in the form of money, as commodities of others. MP and L differ here only in this respect, that MP may be C′, hence capital, in the hands of its seller, if MP is the commodity form of his capital, while L is always nothing else but a commodity for the labourer and becomes capital only in the hands of its purchaser as a constituent part of P.

For this reason C′ can never open any circuit as a mere C, as a mere commodity form of capital value. As commodity capital it is always twofold. From the point of view of use value it is the product, in the present case yarn, of the functioning of P whose elements L and MP, coming as commodities from the sphere of circulation, have functioned only as factors in the creation of this product. Secondly, from the point of view of value, it is the capital value P plus the surplus value s produced by the functioning of P.

It is only in the circuit described by C′ itself that C equal to P and equal to the capital value can and must separate from that part of C′ in which surplus value exists, from the surplus product in which the surplus value is lodged. It does not matter whether the two things can be actually separated, as in the case of yarn, or whether they cannot, as in the case of a machine. They always become separable as soon as C′ is transformed into M′.

If the entire commodity product can be separated into independent homogeneous partial products, as in the case of our 10,000 lbs of yarn, and if therefore the act C′ — M′ can be represented by a number of successive sales, then the capital value in the form of commodities can function as C, can be separated from C′, before the surplus value, hence before C′ in its entirety, has been realised.

Of the 10,000 lbs of yarn worth £500, the value of 8,440

lbs = £422 = the capital value, independently of the surplus value. If the capitalist sells first 8,440 lbs of yarn at £422, then these 8,440 lbs of yarn represent C, the capital value in commodity form. The surplus product, of 1,560 lbs of yarn, contained besides in C′ and equal to a surplus value of £78, does not circulate until later. The capitalist could accomplish $C — M — C < {}^{L}_{MP}$ before the circulation of the surplus product c — m — c has taken place.

Or if he sells first 7,440 lbs of yarn worth £372, and then 1,000 lbs of yarn worth £50, he might replace the means of production (the constant capital c) with the first part of C, and the variable capital v, the labour power, with the second part of C, and then proceed as before.

But if such successive sales take place and the conditions of the circuit permit it, the capitalist, instead of separating C′ into c + v + s, may make such a separation also in the case of aliquot parts of C′.

For example the 7,440 lbs of yarn = £372, which as parts of C′ (10,000 lbs of yarn worth £500) represent the constant part of the capital, may themselves be separated into 5,535.360 lbs of yarn worth £276.768, which replace only the constant part, the value of the means of production used up in producing 7,440 lbs of yarn; 744 lbs of yarn worth £37.200, which replace only the variable capital; and 1,160.640 lbs of yarn worth £58.032, which, being surplus product, are the depositories of surplus value. Consequently on selling the 7,440 lbs of yarn, he can replace the capital value contained in them out of the sale of 6,279.360 lbs of yarn at the price of £313.968, and he can spend as his revenue the value of the surplus product amounting to 1,160.640 lbs, or £58.032.

In the same way, he may divide up another 1,000 lbs of yarn = £50 = the variable capital value, and sell them accordingly: 744 lbs of yarn worth £37.200, constant capital value contained in 1,000 lbs of yarn; 100 lbs of yarn worth £5.000, variable capital value ditto; hence 844 lbs of yarn worth £42.200, replacement of the capital value contained in the 1,000 lbs of yarn; finally, 156 lbs of yarn worth £7.800, representing the surplus product contained in it, which may be consumed as such.

Finally, he may divide up the remaining 1,560 lbs of yarn worth £78, in such a way, provided he succeeds in selling them, that the sale of 1,160.640 lbs of yarn, worth £58.032, replaces the value of the means of production contained in those 1,560 lbs of yarn, and that 156 lbs of yarn, worth £7.800, replaces the variable capital value; al-

together 1,316.640 lbs of yarn = £65.832, replacement of the total capital value; finally the surplus product of 243.360 lbs = £12.168, remains to be spent as revenue.

All the elements—c, v, and s—contained in the yarn are divisible into the same component parts, and so is every individual pound of yarn, worth 1 s., or 12 d.

| | |
|---|---|
| c = 0.744 lbs | of yarn = 8.928 d. |
| v = 0.100 lbs | of yarn = 1.200 d. |
| s = 0.156 lbs | of yarn = 1.872 d. |
| c + v + s = 1 lb. | of yarn = 12 d. |

If we add the results of the above three partial sales we obtain the same result on selling the entire 10,000 lbs at one sweep.

We have of constant capital

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| at the first sale: | 5,535.360 lbs | of yarn = £276.768 |
| at the second sale: | 744.000 lbs | of yarn = £ 37.200 |
| at the third sale: | 1,160.640 lbs | of yarn = £ 58.032 |
| Total . . . . . | 7,440 lbs | of yarn = £372 |

Of variable capital:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| at the first sale: | 744.000 lbs | of yarn = £37.200 |
| at the second sale: | 100.000 lbs | of yarn = £ 5.000 |
| at the third sale: | 156.000 lbs | of yarn = £ 7.800 |
| Total . . . . . | 1,000 lbs | of yarn = £50 |

Of surplus value:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| at the first sale: | 1,160.640 lbs | of yarn = £58.032 |
| at the second sale: | 156.000 lbs | of yarn = £ 7.800 |
| at the third sale: | 243.360 lbs | of yarn = £12.168 |
| Total . . . . . | 1,560 lbs | of yarn = £78 |

Grand Total:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Constant capital . . . | 7,440 lbs | of yarn = £372 |
| Variable capital . . . . . | 1,000 lbs. | of yarn = £ 50 . . |
| Surplus value . . . . . | 1,560 lbs. | of yarn = £ 78 . . |
| Total . . . . . | 10,000 lbs | of yarn = £500 |

C′—M′ in itself stands merely for the sale of 10,000 lbs of yarn. These 10,000 lbs of yarn, like all other yarn, are a commodity. The purchaser is interested in the price of 1 s. per lb., or of £500 for 10,000 lbs. If during the negotiations he goes into the value composition of the yarn, he does so simply with the insidious intention of proving that it could be sold at less than 1 s. per pound and would still be a good bargain for the seller. But the quantity purchased by him depends on his requirements. If he is for example the owner of a weaving-mill, it depends on the composition of his own capital functioning in this enterprise, not on the composition of the spinner's of whom he buys. The proportions in which C′ has to replace on the one hand the capital used up in its production (or the various component parts of this capital), and on the other to serve as surplus product either for the spending of surplus value or for the accumulation of capital, exist only in the circuit of the capital which has as its commodity form the 10,000 lbs of yarn. These proportions have nothing to do with the sale as such. In the present case it is assumed besides that C′ is sold at its value, so that it is only a question of its transformation from the commodity form into the money form. It is of course of decisive importance with regard to C′, as the functional form in the circuit of this individual capital out of which the productive capital is to be replaced, to what extent, if at all, there is a discrepancy between price and value in the sale. But this does not concern us here in the examination of mere distinctions of form.

In Form I, M ... M′, the process of production intervenes midway between the two complementary and mutually opposite phases of the circulation of capital. It is past before the concluding phase C′—M′ begins. Money is advanced as capital, is first transformed into elements of production and from these into the commodity product, and this commodity product in its turn is changed back into money. It is a full and complete business cycle that results in money, something everyone can use for everything. A new start is therefore only a possibility. M ... P ... M′ may be either the last circuit that concludes the functioning of some individual capital being withdrawn from business, or the first circuit of some new capital entering upon its function. The general movement is here M ... M′, from money to more money.

In Form II, P ... C′—M′—C ... P (P′), the entire circulation process follows after the first P and precedes the second P; but it takes place in the opposite order from that of Form I. The first P is the productive capital, and its function is the productive process, the prere-

quisite of the succeeding circulation process. The concluding P on the other hand is not the productive process; it is only the renewed existence of the industrial capital in its form of productive capital. And it is such as a result of the transformation, during the last phase of circulation, of the capital value into L + MP, into the subjective and objective factors which by combining constitute the form of existence of the productive capital. The capital, whether P or P′, is at the end once more present in a form in which it must function anew as productive capital, must again perform the productive process. The general form of the movement P ... P is the form of reproduction and, unlike M ... M′, does not indicate the self-expansion of value as the object of the process. This form makes it therefore so much easier for classical political economy to ignore the definite capitalistic form of the process of production and to depict production as such as the purpose of this process; namely that as much as possible must be produced and as cheaply as possible, and that the product must be exchanged for the greatest variety of other products, partly for the renewal of production (M — C), partly for consumption (m — c). It is then possible to overlook the peculiarities of money and money capital, for M and m appear here merely as transient media of circulation. The entire process seems simple and natural, i. e., possesses the naturalness of a shallow rationalism. In the same way profit is occasionally forgotten in commodity capital and the latter figures merely as a commodity when the production circuit as a whole is under discussion. But as soon as the constituents of value are debated, commodity capital figures as commodity capital. Accumulation, of course, is seen in the same light as production.

In Form III, C′ — M′ — C ... P ... C′, the two phases of the circulation process open the circuit, and do so in the same order which obtains in Form II, P ... P; next follows P, with its function, the productive process, the same as in Form I; the circuit closes with the result of the process of production, C′. Just as in Form II the circuit closes with P, the merely renewed existence of productive capital, so here it closes with C′, the renewed existence of commodity capital. Just as in Form II capital, in its concluding form P, must start the process over again as a process of production, so here upon the reappearance of industrial capital in the form of commodity capital the circuit must re-open with the circulation phase C′ — M′. Both forms of the circuit are incomplete because they do not close with M′, the capital value retrans-

formed into *money* and self-expanded. Both must therefore be continued and consequently include the reproduction. The total circuit in Form III is C′ ... C′.

The third form is distinguished from the first two by the fact that it is only in this circuit that the self-expanded capital value—and not the original one, the capital value that must still produce surplus value—appears as the starting-point of its expansion. C′ as a capital relation is here the starting-point and as such relation has a determining influence on the entire circuit because it includes the circuit of the capital value as well as that of the surplus value already in its first phase, and because the surplus value must at least in the average, if not in every single circuit, be expended partly as revenue, go through the circulation c—m—c, and must partly perform the function of an element of capital accumulation.

In the form C′ ... C′ the consumption of the entire commodity product is assumed as the condition of the normal course of the circuit of capital itself. The individual consumption of the labourer and the individual consumption of the unaccumulated part of the surplus product comprise the entire individual consumption. Hence consumption in its totality—individual as well as productive—enters into circuit C′ as a condition of it. Productive consumption (which essentially includes the individual consumption of the labourer, since labour power is a continuous product, within certain limits, of the labourer's individual consumption) is carried on by every individual capital. Individual consumption, except in so far as it is required for the existence of the individual capitalist, is here assumed to be only a social act, but by no means an act of the individual capitalist.

In Forms I and II the aggregate movement appears as a movement of advanced capital value. In Form III the self-expanded capital, in the shape of the total commodity product, forms the starting-point and has the form of moving capital, commodity capital. Not until its transformation into money has been accomplished does this movement branch out into movements of capital and of revenue. The distribution of the total social product, as well as the special distribution of the product for each individual commodity capital, into an individual consumption fund on the one hand and into a reproduction fund on the other, is included in this form in the circuit of capital.

In M ... M′ possible enlargement of the circuit is included, depending on the volume of m entering into the renewed circuit.

In P ... P the new circuit may be started by P with the same or perhaps even a smaller value and yet may represent a reproduction on an extended scale, for instance when certain elements of commodities become cheaper on account of increased productivity of labour. Vice versa, a productive capital which has increased in value may, in a contrary case, represent reproduction on a materially contracted scale as for instance when elements of production have become dearer. The same is true of C′ ... C′.

In C′ ... C′ capital in the form of commodities is the premise of production. It re-appears as a premise within this circuit in the second C. If this C has not yet been produced or reproduced the circuit is obstructed. This C must be reproduced, for the greater part as C′ of some other industrial capital. In this circuit C′ exists as the point of departure, of transition, and of the conclusion of the movement; hence it is always there. It is a permanent condition of the process of reproduction.

C′ ... C′ is distinguished from Forms I and II by still another feature. All three circuits have this in common, that capital begins its circular course in the same form in which it concludes it, and thus finds itself in the initial form in which it opens the circuit anew. The initial form M, P or C′ is always the one in which capital value (in III augmented by its surplus value) is advanced, in other words its original form in regard to the circuit. The concluding form M′, P or C′ is always a changed form of a functional form which preceded in the circuit and is not the original form.

Thus M′ in I is a converted form of C′, the final P in II is a converted form of M (and this transformation is accomplished in I and II by a simple act of commodity circulation, by a formal change of position of commodity and money); in III, C′ is a converted form of the productive capital P. But here, in III, the transformation, in the first place, does not merely concern the functional form of capital but also the magnitude of its value; in the second place, however, the transformation is not the result of a merely formal change of position pertaining to the circulation process, but of a real transformation experienced by the use form and value of the commodity constituents of the productive capital in the process of production.

The form of the initial extreme M, P or C′ is the premise of the corresponding circuit I, II or III. The form returning in the final ex-

treme is premised and consequently brought about by the series of metamorphoses of the circuit itself. C′, as the terminal point in the circuit of an individual industrial capital, presupposes only the non-circulation form P of the same industrial capital of which it is the product. M′, as the terminal point of I, as the converted form of C′ (C′—M′), presupposes that M is in the hands of the buyer, exists outside of the circuit M ... M′, and is drawn into it and made its own terminal form by the sale of C′. Thus the terminal P in II presupposes that L and MP (C) exist outside and are incorporated in it as its terminal form by means of M — C. But apart from the last extreme, the circuit of individual money capital does not presuppose the existence of money capital in general, nor does the circuit of individual productive capital presuppose the existence of productive capital. In I, M may be the first money capital; in II, P may be the first productive capital appearing on the historical scene. But in III,

$$C' \begin{cases} C- \\ -M' \\ c- \end{cases} \begin{cases} M-C<^{L}_{MP} \ldots P \ldots C' \\ \\ m-c \end{cases}$$

C is presupposed twice outside of the circuit. The first time in the circuit $C' - M' - C <^{L}_{MP}$. This C, so far as it consists of MP, is commodity in the hands of the seller; it is itself commodity capital, so far as it is the product of a capitalist process of production; and even if it is not, it appears as commodity capital in the hands of the merchant. The second time, in the second c of c — m — c, which must likewise be at hand as a commodity so that it can be bought. At any rate, whether they are commodity capital or not, L and MP are just as much commodities as is C′ and bear to each other the relation of commodities. The same is true of the second c in c — m — c. Inasmuch therefore as C′ = C (L + MP), it has commodities as elements for its own production and must be replaced by the same commodities in the circulation. In the same way the second c in c — m — c must be replaced by similar commodities in the circulation.

On the basis that the capitalist mode of production is the prevailing mode, all commodities in the hands of the seller must, besides, be commodity capital. And they continue to be so in the hands of the merchant or become such if they were not such before. Or they have to be commodities — such as imported articles — which replace original commodity capital and hence bestow upon it merely another form of existence.

As forms of existence of P the commodity elements L and MP, of which the productive capital P consists, do not possess the same form as in the various commodity markets where they are fetched. They are now united, and so combined they can perform the functions of productive capital.

That C appears as the premise of C only in this Form III, within the circuit itself, is due to capital in commodity form being its starting-point. The circuit is opened by the transformation of C′ (in so far as it functions as capital value, regardless of whether it has been increased by the addition of surplus value or not) into those commodities which are its elements of production. But this transformation comprises the entire process of circulation, C — M — C (= L + MP), and is its result. C here stands at both extremes, but the second extreme, which receives its form C by means of M — C from outside, the commodity market, is not the last extreme of the circuit but only of its first two stages comprising the process of circulation. Its result is P, which then performs its function, the process of production. It is only as the result of this process, hence not as that of the circulation process, that C′ appears as the terminal point of the circuit and in the same form as the starting-point, C′. On the other hand in M ... M′ and P ... P, the final extremes M′ and P are the direct results of the process of circulation. Here therefore it is presupposed only at the end that one time M′ and the other time P exist in the hands of others. In so far as the circuit is made between the extremes, neither M in the one case nor P in the other — the existence of M as the money of another person and of P as the production process of another capital — appears as the premise of these circuits. C′ ... C′ on the contrary presupposes the existence of C (= L + MP) as commodities of others in the hands of others — commodities drawn into the circuit by the introductory process of circulation and transformed into productive capital, as a result of whose functioning C′ once more becomes the concluding form of the circuit.

But just because the circuit C′ ... C′ presupposes within its sphere the existence of other industrial capital in the form of C (= L + MP) — and MP comprises diverse other capitals, in our case for instance machinery, coal, oil, etc.— it clamours to be considered not only as the *general* form of the circuit, i. e., not only as a social form in which every single industrial capital (except when first invested) can be studied, hence not merely as a form of movement common to all individual industrial capitals, but simultaneously also as a form of move-

ment of the sum of the individual capitals, consequently of the aggregate capital of the capitalist class, a movement in which that of each individual industrial capital appears as only a partial movement which intermingles with the other movements and is necessitated by them. For instance if we regard the aggregate of commodities annually produced in a certain country and analyse the movement by which a part of it replaces the productive capital in all individual businesses, while another part enters into the individual consumption of the various classes, then we consider C′ ... C′ as a form of movement of social capital as well as of the surplus value, or surplus product, generated by it. The fact that the social capital is equal to the sum of the individual capitals (including the joint-stock capital or the state capital, so far as governments employ productive wage labour in mines, railways, etc., perform the function of industrial capitalists), and that the aggregate movement of social capital is equal to the algebraic sum of the movements of the individual capitals, does not in any way preclude the possibility that this movement, as the movement of a single individual capital, may present other phenomena than the same movement does when considered from the point of view of a part of the aggregate movement of social capital, hence in its interconnection with the movements of its other parts, and that the movement simultaneously solves problems the solution of which must be assumed when studying the circuit of a separate, individual capital instead of being the result of such study.

C′ ... C′ is the sole circuit in which the capital value originally advanced constitutes only a part of the extreme that opens the movement and in which the movement from its inception thus reveals itself as the total movement of the industrial capital—as the movement of that part of the product which replaces the productive capital as well as of that part which forms surplus product and which on the average is spent in part as revenue and employed in part as an element of accumulation. Included in this circuit is the expenditure of surplus value as revenue and to that extent individual consumption is likewise included. The latter however is also included for the reason that the starting-point C, commodity, exists in the form of a useful article, of whatever kind, but every article produced by capitalist methods is commodity capital, no matter whether its use form destines it for productive or for individual consumption, or for both. M ... M′ indicates only the value side, the self-expansion of the advanced capital value, as the purpose of the entire process; P ... P (P′) indicates the

process of production of capital as a process of reproduction with a productive capital of the same or of increasing magnitude (accumulation). Revealing itself already in its initial extreme as a form of capitalist commodity production, C′ ... C′ comprises productive and individual consumption from the start; productive consumption and the self-expansion of value therein included appear only as a branch of its movement. Finally, since C′ may exist in a use form which cannot enter any more into any process of production, it is indicated at the outset that the various value constituents of C′, expressed by parts of the product, must occupy a different position, according to whether C′ ... C′ is regarded as the form of the movement of the total social capital or as the independent movement of an individual industrial capital. All these peculiarities of the circuit lead us beyond its own confines as an isolated circuit of some merely individual capital.

In the formula C′ ... C′, the movement of the commodity capital, that is to say, of the total product created capitalistically, appears not only as the premise of the independent circuit of the individual capital but also as required by it. If therefore this formula and its peculiarities are grasped, it is no longer sufficient to confine oneself to indicating that the metamorphoses C′ — M′ and M — C are on the one hand functionally defined sections in the metamorphosis of capital, on the other are links in the general circulation of commodities. It becomes necessary to elucidate the intertwining of the metamorphoses of one individual capital with those of other individual capitals and with that part of the total product which is intended for individual consumption. On analysing the circuit of an individual industrial capital, we therefore base our studies mainly on the first two forms.

The circuit C′ ... C′ appears as the form of a single individual capital, for instance in agriculture, where calculations are made from crop to crop. In Formula II, the sowing is the starting-point, in Formula III the harvest, or, to speak with the Physiocrats, Formula II starts out with the *avances*, and Formula III with the *reprises*. The movement of capital value appears in III from the outset only as a part of the movement of the general mass of products, while in I and II the movement of C′ constitutes only a phase of the movement of some isolated capital.

In Formula III commodities in the market are the continuous premise of the process of production and reproduction. Hence, if attention is fixed exclusively on this formula all elements of the process of production seem to originate in commodity circulation and to consist

only of commodities. This one-sided conception overlooks those elements of the process of production which are independent of the commodity elements.

Since in C′ ... C′ the starting-point is the total product (total value), it turns out here that (if foreign trade is disregarded) reproduction on an extended scale, productivity remaining otherwise constant, can take place only when the part of the surplus product to be capitalised already contains the material elements of the additional productive capital; that therefore, so far as the production of one year serves as the premise of the following year's production or so far as this can take place simultaneously with the process of simple reproduction within one year, surplus product is at once produced in a form which enables it to perform the functions of additional capital. Increased productivity can increase only the substance of capital but not its value; but therewith it creates additional material for the self-expansion of that value.

C′ ... C′ is the groundwork for Quesnay's *Tableau économique*, and it shows great and true discretion on his part that in contrast to M ... M′ (the isolatedly and rigidly retained form of the mercantile system) he selected this form and not P ... P.

## Chapter IV

### THE THREE FORMULAS OF THE CIRCUIT

The three formulas may be set down in the following manner, using Tc for total circulation process:

I) M—C ... P ... C′—M′
II) P ... Tc ... P
III) Tc ... P (C′).

If we combine all three forms, all premises of the process appear as its result, as a premise produced by it itself. Every element appears as a point of departure, of transit, and of return. The total process presents itself as the unity of the processes of production and circulation. The process of production becomes the mediator of the process of circulation and vice versa.

All three circuits have the following in common: The self-expansion of value as the determining purpose, as the compelling motive. In

I this is expressed in its form. Formula II begins with P, the very process of self-expansion of value. In III the circuit begins with the self-expanded value and closes with new self-expanded value, even if the movement is repeated on the same scale.

As C — M means M — C for the buyer, and M — C means C — M for the seller, the circulation of capital presents only the ordinary metamorphosis of commodities, and the laws evolved with regard to it (Buch I, Kap. III, 2)[a] on the mass of money in circulation are valid here. However, if we do not cling to this formal aspect but rather consider the actual connection between the metamorphoses of the various individual capitals, in fact, if we study the connection between the circuits of individual capitals as partial movements of the process of reproduction of the total social capital, then the mere change of form of money and commodities cannot explain the connection.

In a constantly revolving circle every point is simultaneously a point of departure and a point of return. If we interrupt the rotation, not every point of departure is a point of return. Thus we have seen that not only does every individual circuit presuppose the others (*implicite*), but also that the repetition of the circuit in one form comprises the performance of the circuit in the other forms. The entire difference thus appears to be a merely formal one, or as a merely subjective distinction existing solely for the observer.

Since every one of these circuits is considered a special form of the movement in which various individual industrial capitals are engaged, this difference always exists only as an individual one. But in reality every individual industrial capital is present simultaneously in all three circuits. These three circuits, the forms of reproduction assumed by the three forms of capital, are made continuously side by side. For instance, one part of the capital value, which now performs the function of commodity capital, is transformed into money capital, but at the same time another part leaves the process of production and enters the circulation as a new commodity capital. The circuit form C′ ... C′ is thus continuously described; and so are the other two forms. The reproduction of capital in each one of its forms and stages is just as continuous as the metamorphosis of these forms and the successive passage through the three stages. The entire circuit is thus really a unity of its three forms.

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. III, 2 (present edition, Vol. 35).

We assumed in our analysis that capital value in its entire magnitude acts either as money capital, productive capital or commodity capital. For instance, we had those £422 first entirely as money capital, then we transformed them wholly into productive capital, and finally into commodity capital, into yarn of the value of £500 (containing £78 worth of surplus value). Here the various stages are just so many interruptions. So long as, e. g., those £422 retain their money form, that is to say, until the purchases M — C (L + MP) are made, the entire capital exists and functions only as money capital. As soon as it is transformed into productive capital, it performs neither the functions of money capital nor of commodity capital. Its entire process of circulation is interrupted, just as on the other hand its entire process of production is interrupted, as soon as it functions in one of its two circulation stages, either as M or as C′. Consequently, the circuit P ... P would represent not only a periodical renewal of the productive capital but also the interruption of its function, the process of production, up to the time when the process of circulation is completed. Instead of proceeding continuously, production would take place in jerks and would be renewed only in periods of accidental duration, according to whether the two stages of the process of circulation were performed quickly or slowly. This would apply for instance to a Chinese artisan who works only for private customers and whose process of production ceases until he receives a new order.

This is indeed true of every single part of capital that is in motion, and all parts of capital go through this motion in succession. Suppose that the 10,000 lbs of yarn are the weekly product of some spinner. These 10,000 lbs of yarn leave the sphere of production entirely and enter the sphere of circulation; the capital value contained in it must all be converted into money capital, and so long as this value continues in the form of money capital it cannot enter anew into the process of production. It must first go into circulation and be reconverted into the elements of productive capital, L + MP. The circuit-describing process of capital means constant interruption, the leaving of one stage and the entering into the next, the discarding of one form and the assuming of another. Each one of these stages not only presupposes the next but also excludes it.

But continuity is the characteristic mark of capitalist production, necessitated by its technical basis, although not always absolutely attainable. Let us see then what happens in reality. While, e.g., the 10,000 lbs of yarn appear in the market as commodity capital and are

transformed into money (regardless of whether it is a paying or purchasing medium or only money of account), new cotton, coal, etc., take the place of the yarn in the process of production, have therefore already been reconverted from the money form and commodity form into that of productive capital, and begin to function as such. At the same time that these 10,000 lbs of yarn are being converted into money, the preceding 10,000 lbs of yarn are going through the second stage of their circulation and are being reconverted from money into the elements of productive capital. All parts of capital successively describe circuits, are simultaneously at its different stages. The industrial capital, continuously progressing along its orbit, thus exists simultaneously at all its stages and in the diverse functional forms corresponding to these stages. That part of capital which is converted for the first time from commodity capital into money begins the circuit C′ ... C′, while industrial capital as a moving whole has already passed through that circuit. One hand advances money, the other receives it. The inauguration of the circuit M ... M′ at one place coincides with the return of the money at another place. The same is true of productive capital.

The actual circuit of industrial capital in its continuity is therefore not only the unity of the processes of circulation and production but also the unity of all its three circuits. But it can be such a unity only if all the different parts of capital can go through the successive stages of the circuit, can pass from one phase, from one functional form to another, so that the industrial capital, being the whole of all these parts, exists simultaneously in its various phases and functions and thus describes all three circuits at the same time. The succession [*das Nacheinander*] of these parts is here governed by their co-existence [*das Nebeneinander*], that is to say, by the division of capital. In a ramified factory system the product is constantly in the various stages of its process of formation and constantly passes from one phase of production to another. As the individual industrial capital has a definite size which depends on the means of the capitalist and which has a definite minimum magnitude for every branch of industry, it follows that its division must proceed according to definite proportions. The magnitude of the available capital determines the dimensions of the process of production, and this again determines the dimensions of the commodity capital and money capital in so far as they perform their functions parallel with the process of production. However co-existence, by which continuity of production is determined, is only due to the

movement of those parts of capital in which they successively pass through their different stages. Co-existence is itself merely the result of succession. If for instance C′—M′ stagnates as far as one part is concerned, if the commodity cannot be sold, then the circuit of this part is interrupted and no replacement by its means of production takes place; the succeeding parts, which emerge from the process of production in the shape of C′, find the change of their functions blocked by their predecessors. If this lasts for some time, production is restricted and the entire process brought to a halt. Every stagnation in succession carries disorder into co-existence, every stagnation in one stage causes more or less stagnation in the entire circuit of not only the stagnant part of the capital but also of the total individual capital.

The next form in which the process presents itself is that of a succession of phases, so that the transition of capital into a new phase is made necessary by its departure from another. Every separate circuit has therefore one of the functional forms of capital for its point of departure and point of return. On the other hand the aggregate process is in fact the unity of the three circuits, which are the different forms in which the continuity of the process expresses itself. The aggregate circuit presents itself to every functional form of capital as its specific circuit and every one of these circuits is a condition of the continuity of the total process. The cycle of each functional form is dependent upon the others. It is a necessary prerequisite for the aggregate process of production, especially for the social capital, that it is at the same time a process of reproduction and hence a circuit of each one of its elements. Various fractional parts of capital pass successively through the various stages and functional forms. Thanks to this every functional form passes simultaneously with the others through its own circuit, although always a different part of capital finds its expression in it. One part of capital, continually changing, continually reproduced, exists as a commodity capital which is converted into money; another as money capital which is converted into productive capital; and a third as productive capital which is transformed into commodity capital. The continuous existence of all three forms is brought about by the circuit the aggregate capital describes in passing through precisely these three phases.

Capital as a whole, then, exists simultaneously, spatially side by side, in its different phases. But every part passes constantly and successively from one phase, from one functional form, into the next and thus functions in all of them in turn. Its forms are hence fluid and

their simultaneousness is brought about by their succession. Every form follows another and precedes it, so that the return of one capital part to a certain form is necessitated by the return of the other part to some other form. Every part describes continuously its own cycle, but it is always another part of capital which exists in this form, and these special cycles form only simultaneous and successive elements of the aggregate process.

The continuity—instead of the above-described interruption—of the aggregate process is achieved only in the unity of the three circuits. The aggregate social capital always has this continuity and its process always exhibits the unity of the three circuits.

The continuity of the reproduction is at times more or less interrupted so far as individual capitals are concerned. In the first place the masses of value are frequently distributed at various periods in unequal portions over the various stages and functional forms. In the second place these portions may be differently distributed according to the character of the commodity to be produced, hence according to the particular sphere of production in which the capital is invested. In the third place the continuity may be more or less broken in those branches of production which are dependent on the seasons, either on account of natural conditions (agriculture, herring catch, etc.) or on account of conventional circumstances, as for instance in so-called seasonal work. The process goes on most regularly and uniformly in the factories and mines. But this difference in the various branches of production does not cause any difference in the general forms of the circular process.

Capital as self-expanding value embraces not only class relations, a society of a definite character resting on the existence of labour in the form of wage labour. It is a movement, a circuit-describing process going through various stages, which itself comprises three different forms of the circuit-describing process. Therefore it can be understood only as motion, not as a thing at rest. Those who regard the gaining by value of independent existence as a mere abstraction forget that the movement of industrial capital is this abstraction *in actu*. Value here passes through various forms, various movements in which it maintains itself and at the same time expands, augments. As we are here concerned primarily with the mere form of this movement, we shall not take into consideration the revolutions which capital value may undergo during its circuit. But it is clear that in spite of all the revolutions of value, capitalist production exists and can en-

dure only so long as capital value is made to create surplus value, that is, so long as it describes its circuit as a value that has gained independence, so long therefore as the revolutions in value are overcome and equilibrated in some way. The movements of capital appear as the action of some individual industrial capitalist who performs the functions of a buyer of commodities and labour, a seller of commodities, and an owner of productive capital, who therefore promotes the circuit by his activity. If social capital experiences a revolution in value, it may happen that the capital of the individual capitalist succumbs to it and fails, because it cannot adapt itself to the conditions of this movement of values. The more acute and frequent such revolutions in value become, the more does the automatic movement of the now independent value operate with the elemental force of a natural process, against the foresight and calculation of the individual capitalist, the more does the course of normal production become subservient to abnormal speculation, and the greater is the danger that threatens the existence of the individual capitals. These periodical revolutions in value therefore corroborate what they are supposed to refute, namely, that value as capital acquires independent existence, which it maintains and accentuates through its movement.

This succession of the metamorphoses of capital in process includes continuous comparison of the change in the magnitude of value of the capital brought about in the circuit with the original value. If value's acquisition of independence of the value-creating power, labour power, is inaugurated by the act M—L (purchase of labour power) and is effected during the process of production as exploitation of labour power, this acquisition of independence on the part of value does not re-appear in that circuit, in which money, commodities, and elements of production are merely alternating forms of capital value in process, and the former magnitude of value is compared with capital's present changed magnitude of value.

* "Value," * argues Bailey [18] against the acquisition of independence by value, an independence which is characteristic of the capitalist mode of production and which he treats as an illusion of certain economists,* "value is a relation between contemporary commodities, because such only admit of being exchanged for each other." *[a]

This he says against the comparison of commodity values of differ-

[a] S. Bailey, *A Critical Dissertation on the Nature, Measures, and Causes of Value; Chiefly in Reference to the Writings of Mr. Ricardo and His Followers. By the Author of Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions*, London, 1825, p. 72 (cf. present edition, Vol. 30, p. 101).

ent epochs, a comparison which amounts only to comparing the expenditure of labour required in various periods for the production of the same sort of commodities, once the value of money has been fixed for every period. This comes from his general misunderstanding, for he thinks that exchange value = value, that the form of value is value itself; consequently commodity values can no longer be compared, if they do not function actively as exchange values and thus cannot actually be exchanged for one another. He has not the least inkling of the fact that value functions as capital value or capital only in so far as it remains identical with itself and is compared with itself in the different phases of its circuit, which are not at all "CONTEMPORARY" but succeed one another.

In order to study the formula of the circuit in its purity it is not sufficient to postulate that commodities are sold at their value; it must also be assumed that this takes place with other things being equal. Take for instance the form P ... P, disregarding all technical revolutions within the process of production by which the productive capital of a certain capitalist might be depreciated; disregarding furthermore all reactions which a change in the elements of value of the productive capital might have on the value of the existing commodity capital, which might appreciate or depreciate if a stock of it is on hand. Suppose the 10,000 lbs of yarn, C′, have been sold at their value of £500; 8,440 lbs = £422 replace the capital value contained in C′. But if the value of cotton, coal, etc., has increased (we do not consider mere fluctuations in price), these £422 may not suffice for the full replacement of the elements of productive capital; additional money capital is required, money capital is tied up. The opposite takes place when those prices fall. Money capital is set free. The process takes a wholly normal course only when the value relations remain constant; its course is practically normal so long as the disturbances during the repetitions of the circuit balance one another. But the greater these disturbances the greater the money capital which the industrial capitalist must possess to tide over the period of readjustment; and as the scale of each individual process of production and with it the minimum size of the capital to be advanced increases in the process of capitalist production, we have here another circumstance to be added to those others which transform the function of the industrial capitalist more and more into a monopoly of big money capitalists, who may operate singly or in association.

We remark incidentally that if a change in the value of the ele-

ments of production occurs, a difference appears between the form M ... M′ on one side and P ... P and C′ ... C′ on the other.

In M ... M′, the formula of newly invested capital, which first appears as money capital, a fall in the value of the means of production, such as raw material, auxiliary material, etc., will permit of a smaller expenditure of money capital than before this fall for the purpose of starting a business of a definite size, because the scale of the process of production (productive power development remaining the same) depends on the mass and volume of the means of production which a given quantity of labour power can cope with; but it does not depend on the value of these means of production nor on that of the labour power (the latter value affects only the magnitude of self-expansion). Take the reverse case. If there is a rise in the value of the elements of production of the commodities which constitute the elements of the productive capital, then more money capital is needed for the establishment of a business of definite proportions. In both cases it is only the amount of the money capital required for new investment that is affected. In the former case money capital becomes surplus, in the latter it is tied up, provided the accession of new individual industrial capital proceeds in the usual way in a given branch of production.

The circuits P ... P and C′ ... C′ present themselves as M ... M′ only to the extent that the movement of P and C′ is at the same time accumulation, hence to the extent that additional m, money, is converted into money capital. Apart from this they are affected differently from M ... M′ by a change in value of the elements of productive capital; here, too, we do not take into consideration the reaction of such changes in value on those constituent parts of capital which are engaged in the process of production. It is not the original expenditure which is directly affected here, but an industrial capital engaged in its process of reproduction and not in its first circuit; i.e., C′ ... $C <^{L}_{MP}$, the reconversion of commodity capital into its elements of production, so far as they are composed of commodities. When values (or prices) fall three cases are possible: The process of reproduction is continued on the same scale; in that event a part of the money capital existing hitherto is set free and money capital is accumulated, although no real accumulation (production on an extended scale) or transformation of m (surplus value) into an accumulation fund initiating and accompanying such accumulation has previously taken place. Or the process of reproduction is carried on on a more extensive scale than ordina-

rily would have been the case, provided the technical proportions admit it. Or, finally, a larger stock of raw materials, etc., is laid in.

The opposite occurs if the value of the elements of replacement of a commodity capital increases. In that case reproduction no longer takes place on its normal scale (e. g., the working day gets shorter); or additional money capital must be employed in order to maintain the old volume of work (money capital is tied up); or the money fund for accumulation, when one exists, is employed entirely or partially for the operation of the process of reproduction on its old scale instead of for the enlargement of this process. This is also tying up money capital, except that here the additional money capital does not come from the outside, from the money market, but from the means of the industrial capitalist himself.

However, there may be modifying circumstances in P ... P and C′ ... C′. If our spinning-mill proprietor for example has a large stock of cotton (a large proportion of his productive capital in the form of a stock of cotton), a part of his productive capital is depreciated by a fall in the prices of cotton; but if on the contrary these prices rise, this part of his productive capital appreciates. On the other hand, if he has tied up huge quantities in the form of commodity capital, for instance of cotton yarn, a part of his commodity capital, hence of his circuit-describing capital in general, is depreciated by a fall of cotton, or appreciated by a rise in its prices. Finally take the process C′—M—C$<^{L}_{MP}$. If C′—M, the realisation of the commodity capital, has taken place before a change in the value of the elements of C, then capital is affected only in the way indicated in the first case, namely in the second act of circulation, M—C$<^{L}_{MP}$; but if such a change has occurred before C′—M has been effected, then, other conditions remaining equal, a fall in the price of cotton causes a corresponding fall in the price of yarn, and a rise in the price of cotton means conversely a rise in the price of yarn. The effect on the various individual capitals invested in the same branch of production may differ widely, according to the circumstances in which they find themselves.

Money capital may also be set free or tied up on account of differences in the duration of the process of circulation, hence also in the speed of circulation. But this belongs in the discussion on turnover. At this point we are only interested in the real difference that becomes evident, with regard to changes of values of the elements of productive capital, between M ... M′ and the other two circuit forms.

In the circulation section M—C$<^{L}_{MP}$, in the epoch of the already

developed and hence prevailing capitalist mode of production, a large portion of the commodities composing MP, the means of production, is itself functioning as the commodity capital of someone else. From the standpoint of the seller, therefore, C′—M′, the transformation of commodity capital into money capital, takes place. But this is not an absolute rule. On the contrary. Within its process of circulation, in which industrial capital functions either as money or as commodities, the circuit of industrial capital, whether as money capital or as commodity capital, crosses the commodity circulation of the most diverse modes of social production, so far as they produce commodities. No matter whether commodities are the output of production based on slavery, of peasants (Chinese, Indian ryots), of communes (Dutch East Indies), of state enterprise (such as existed in former epochs of Russian history on the basis of serfdom) or of half-savage hunting tribes, etc.—as commodities and money they come face to face with the money and commodities in which the industrial capital presents itself and enter as much into its circuit as into that of the surplus value borne in the commodity capital, provided the surplus value is spent as revenue; hence they enter into both branches of circulation of commodity capital. The character of the process of production from which they originate is immaterial. They function as commodities in the market, and as commodities they enter into the circuit of industrial capital as well as into the circulation of the surplus value incorporated in it. It is therefore the universal character of the origin of the commodities, the existence of the market as world market, which distinguishes the process of circulation of industrial capital. What is true of the commodities of others is also true of the money of others. Just as commodity capital faces money only as commodities, so this money functions vis-à-vis commodity capital only as money. Money here performs the functions of world money.

However two points must be noted here.

First: As soon as act M—MP is completed, the commodities (MP) cease to be such and become one of the modes of existence of industrial capital in its functional form of P, productive capital. Thereby however their origin is obliterated. They exist henceforth only as forms of existence of industrial capital, are embodied in it. However it still remains true that to replace them they must be reproduced, and to this extent the capitalist mode of production is conditional on modes of production lying outside of its own stage of development. But it is the tendency of the capitalist mode of production to trans-

form all production as much as possible into commodity production. The mainspring by which this is accomplished is precisely the involvement of all production into the capitalist circulation process. And developed commodity production itself is capitalist commodity production. The intervention of industrial capital promotes this transformation everywhere, but with it also the transformation of all direct producers into wage labourers.

Secondly: The commodities entering into the process of circulation of industrial capital (including the requisite means of subsistence into which variable capital, after being paid to the labourers, is transformed for the purpose of reproducing their labour power), regardless of their origin and of the social form of the productive process by which they were brought into existence, come face to face with industrial capital itself already in the form of commodity capital, in the form of commodity dealer's or merchant's capital. And merchant's capital, by its very nature, comprises commodities of all modes of production.

The capitalist mode of production presupposes not only large-scale production but also, and necessarily so, sales on a large scale, hence sale to the merchant, not to the individual consumer. If this consumer is himself a productive consumer, hence an industrial capitalist, i. e., if the industrial capital of one branch of production supplies some other branch of industry with means of production, direct sale by one industrial capitalist to many others takes place (in the form of orders, etc.). To this extent every industrial capitalist is a direct seller and his own merchant, which by the way he also is when he sells to a merchant.

Trading in commodities as the function of merchant's capital is a premise of capitalist production and develops more and more in the course of development of such production. Therefore we occasionally take its existence for granted to illustrate particular aspects of the process of capitalist circulation; but in the general analysis of this process we assume direct sale, without the intervention of a merchant, because this intervention obscures various facets of the movement.

Cf. Sismondi [19] who presents the matter somewhat naively:

"Commerce employs considerable capital, which at first sight does not seem to be a part of that capital whose movement we have described in detail. The value of the cloth accumulated in the stores of the cloth-merchant seems at first to be entirely foreign to that part of the annual production which the rich gives to the poor as wages in order to make him work. However this capital has simply replaced the other of which we have spoken. For the purpose of clearly understanding the progress of wealth, we have begun with its creation and followed it to its consumption. Then the

capital employed in cloth manufacturing, for instance, always seemed the same to us; and when it was exchanged for the revenue of the consumer, it was divided into only two parts, one of them serving as revenue of the manufacturer in the form of the profit, the other serving as revenue of the labourers in the form of wages for the time they were manufacturing new cloth.

"But it was soon found that it would be to the advantage of all if the different parts of this capital were to replace one another and that, if 100,000 écus were sufficient for the entire circulation between the manufacturer and the consumer, they should be divided equally between the manufacturer, the wholesale merchant, and the retail merchant. The first then did with only one-third of this capital the same work as he had done with the entire capital, because as soon as his work of manufacturing was completed he found that a merchant would rather buy from him than a consumer would. On the other hand the capital of the wholesaler was much sooner replaced by that of the retailer... The difference between the sums advanced for wages and the purchase price paid by the ultimate consumer was considered the profit of those capitals. It was divided between the manufacturer, the merchant, and the retailer, from the moment that they had divided their functions among themselves, and the work performed was the same, although it had required three persons and three parts of capital instead of one" (*Nouveaux Principes*, I, pp. 139, 140).

"All of them" (the merchants) "contributed indirectly to the production; for having consumption for its object, production cannot be regarded as completed until the thing produced is placed within the reach of the consumer" (ibid., p. 137).[a]

In the discussion of the general forms of the circuit and in the entire second book in general, we take money to mean metallic money, with the exception of symbolic money, mere tokens of value, which are designed for specific use in certain states, and of credit money, which is not yet developed. In the first place, this is the historical order; credit money plays only a very minor role, or none at all, during the first epoch of capitalist production. In the second place, the necessity of this order is demonstrated theoretically by the fact that everything of a critical nature which Tooke and others hitherto expounded in regard to the circulation of credit money compelled them to hark back again and again to the question of what would be the aspect of the matter if nothing but metal money were in circulation. But it must not be forgotten that metal money may serve as a purchasing medium and also as a paying medium. For the sake of simplicity, we consider it in this second book generally only in its first functional form.

The process of circulation of industrial capital, which is only a part of its individual circuit, is determined by the general laws previously set forth (Buch I, Kap. III),[b] in so far as it is only a series of acts

[a] Marx quotes in French. - [b] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. III (present edition, Vol. 35).

within the general circulation of commodities. The greater the velocity of the currency of money, the more rapidly therefore every individual capital passes through the series of its commodity or money metamorphoses, the more numerous are the industrial capitals (or individual capitals in the form of commodity capitals) started circulating successively by a given mass of money, for example £500. The more the money functions as a paying medium, the more therefore — for instance in the replacement of some commodity capital by its means of production — nothing but balances have to be squared, and the shorter the periods of time when payments fall due, as for instance in paying wages, the less money a given mass of capital value therefore requires for its circulation. On the other hand, assuming that the velocity of the circulation and all other conditions remain the same, the amount of money required to circulate as money capital is determined by the sum of the prices of the commodities (price multiplied by the volume of commodities), or, if the quantity and value of the commodities are fixed, by the value of the money itself.

But the laws of the general circulation of commodities are valid only when capital's circulation process consists of a series of simple acts of circulation; they do not apply when the latter constitute functionally determined sections of the circuit of individual industrial capitals.

In order to make this plain, it is best to study the process of circulation in its uninterrupted interconnection, such as it appears in the following two forms:

$$\text{II)}\ P \ldots C' \begin{cases} C- \\ -M' \\ c- \end{cases} \begin{cases} M-C <^{L}_{MP} \ldots P\,(P') \\ m-c \end{cases}$$

$$\text{III)}\ C' \begin{cases} C- \\ -M' \\ c- \end{cases} \begin{cases} M-C <^{L}_{MP} \ldots P \ldots C' \\ m-c \end{cases}$$

As a series of acts of circulation in general, the process of circulation (whether in the form of C—M—C or of M—C—M) represents merely the two antithetical series of commodity metamorphoses, every single one of which in its turn implies an opposite metamorphosis on the part of the alien commodity or alien money confronting the commodity.

C—M on the part of the owner of a commodity means M—C on the part of its buyer; the first metamorphosis of the commodity in C—M

is the second metamorphosis of the commodity appearing in the form of M; the opposite applies to M—C. Hence, what has been shown concerning the intertwining of the metamorphosis of a certain commodity in one stage with that of another in another stage applies to the circulation of capital so far as the capitalist functions as a buyer and seller of commodities, and his capital on that account functions in the form of money opposed to the commodities of another, or in the form of commodities opposed to the money of another. But this intertwining is not to be identified with the intertwining of the metamorphoses of capitals.

In the first place M—C (MP), as we have seen, may represent an intermingling of the metamorphoses of different individual capitals. For instance the commodity capital of the spinning-mill owner, yarn, is partly replaced by coal. One part of his capital exists in the form of money and is converted into the form of commodities, while the capital of the capitalist producer of coal is in the form of commodities and is therefore converted into the form of money; the same act of circulation represents in this case opposite metamorphoses of two industrial capitals (in different branches of production), hence an intertwining of the series of metamorphoses of these capitals. But as we have seen the MP into which M is transformed need not be commodity capital in the categorical sense, i. e., need not be a functional form of industrial capital, need not be produced by a capitalist. It is always M—C on one side and C—M on the other, but not always an intermingling of metamorphoses of capitals. Furthermore M—L, the purchase of labour power, is never an intermingling of metamorphoses of capitals, for labour power, though the commodity of the labourer, does not become capital until it is sold to the capitalist. On the other hand in the process C′—M′, it is not necessary that M′ should represent converted commodity capital; it may be the realisation in money of the commodity labour power (wages), or of the product of some independent labourer, slave, serf, or community.

In the second place however it is not at all required for the discharge of the functionally determined role played by every metamorphosis occurring within the process of circulation of some individual capital that this metamorphosis should represent the corresponding opposite metamorphosis in the circuit of the other capital, provided we assume that the entire production of the world market is carried on capitalistically. For instance in the circuit P ... P, the M′ which converts C′ into money may be to the buyer only the realisation in

money of his surplus value (if the commodity is an article of consumption); or, in M′—C′ $<^{L}_{MP}$ (where therefore already accumulated capital enters) M′ may, as far as the vendor of MP is concerned, enter into the circulation of his capital only to replace his advanced capital or it may not re-enter at all by being diverted into revenue expenditure.

Therefore the manner in which the various component parts of the aggregate social capital, of which the individual capitals are but constituents functioning independently, mutually replace one another in the process of circulation — in regard to capital as well as surplus value — is not ascertained from the simple intertwinings of the metamorphoses in the circulation of commodities — intertwinings which the acts of capital circulation have in common with all other circulation of commodities. That requires a different method of investigation. Hitherto one has been satisfied with uttering phrases which upon closer analysis are found to contain nothing but indefinite ideas borrowed from the intertwining of metamorphoses common to all commodity circulation.

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One of the most obvious peculiarities of the movement in circuits of industrial capital, and therefore also of capitalist production, is the fact that on the one hand the component elements of productive capital are derived from the commodity market and must be continually renewed out of it, bought as commodities; and that on the other hand the product of the labour process emerges from it as a commodity and must be continually sold anew as a commodity. Compare for instance a modern farmer of the Scotch lowlands with an old-fashioned small peasant on the Continent. The former sells his entire product and has therefore to replace all its elements, even his seed, in the market; the latter consumes the greater part of his product directly, buys and sells as little as possible, fashions tools, makes clothing, etc., so far as possible himself.

Natural economy, money economy, and credit economy have therefore been placed in opposition to one another as being the three characteristic economic forms of movement in social production.

In the first place these three forms do not represent equivalent phases of development. The so-called credit economy is merely a form of the money economy, since both terms express functions or modes of

exchange among the producers themselves. In developed capitalist production, the money economy appears only as the basis of the credit economy. The money economy and credit economy thus correspond only to different stages in the development of capitalist production, but they are by no means independent forms of exchange vis-à-vis natural economy. With the same justification one might contrapose as equivalents the very different forms of natural economy to those two economies.

In the second place, since it is not the economy, i. e., the process of production itself that is emphasised as the distinguishing mark of the two categories, money economy and credit economy, but rather the mode of exchange — corresponding to that economy — between the various agents of production, or producers, the same should apply to the first category. Hence exchange economy instead of natural economy. A completely isolated natural economy, such as the Inca state of Peru,[20] would not come under any of these categories.

In the third place the money economy is common to all commodity production and the product appears as a commodity in the most varied organisms of social production. Consequently what characterises capitalist production would then be only the extent to which the product is created as an article of commerce, as a commodity, and hence the extent also to which its own constituent elements must enter again as articles of commerce, as commodities, into the economy from which it emerges.

As a matter of fact capitalist production is commodity production as the general form of production. But it is so and becomes so more and more in the course of its development only because labour itself appears here as a commodity, because the labourer sells his labour, that is, the function of his labour power, and our assumption is that he sells it at its value, determined by its cost of reproduction. To the extent that labour becomes wage labour, the producer becomes an industrial capitalist. For this reason capitalist production (and hence also commodity production) does not reach its full scope until the direct agricultural producer also becomes a wage labourer. In the relation of capitalist and wage labourer, the money relation, the relation between the buyer and the seller, becomes a relation inherent in production. But this relation has its foundation in the social character of production, not in the mode of exchange. The latter conversely emanates from the former. It is, however, quite in keeping with the bourgeois horizon, everyone being engrossed in the transaction of shady

business, not to see in the character of the mode of production the basis of the mode of exchange corresponding to it, but vice versa.[7]

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The capitalist throws less value in the form of money into the circulation than he draws out of it, because he throws into it more value in the form of commodities than he withdrew from it in the form of commodities. Since he functions simply as a personification of capital, as an industrial capitalist, his supply of commodity value is always greater than his demand for it. If his supply and demand in this respect covered each other it would mean that his capital had not produced any surplus value; that it had not functioned as productive capital; that the productive capital had been converted into commodity capital not big with surplus value; that it had not drawn any surplus value in commodity form out of labour power during the process of production, had not functioned at all as capital. The capitalist must indeed "sell dearer than he has bought", but he succeeds in doing so only because the capitalist process of production enables him to transform the cheaper commodity he bought — cheaper because it contains less value — into a commodity of greater value, hence a dearer one. He sells dearer, not because he sells above the value of his commodity, but because his commodity contains value in excess of that contained in the ingredients of its production.

The rate at which the capitalist makes the value of his capital expand is the greater, the greater the difference between his supply and his demand, i. e., the greater the excess of the commodity value he supplies over the commodity value he demands. His aim is not to equalise his supply and demand, but to make the inequality between them, the excess of his supply over his demand, as great as possible.

What is true of the individual capitalist applies to the capitalist class.

In so far as the capitalist merely personifies industrial capital, his own demand is confined to means of production and labour power. In point of value, his demand for MP is smaller than his advanced capital; he buys means of production of a smaller value than that of his capital, and therefore of a still smaller value than that of the commodity capital which he supplies.

[7] End of Manuscript V. What follows, to the end of the chapter, is a note contained in a notebook of 1877 or 1878 amid extracts from various books.

As regards his demand for labour power, it is determined in point of value by the relation of his variable capital to his total capital, hence = v : C. In capitalist production this demand therefore grows relatively smaller than his demand for means of production. His purchases of MP steadily rise above his purchases of L.

Since the labourer all too often converts his wages almost wholly into means of subsistence, and for the overwhelmingly larger part into absolute necessities, the demand of the capitalist for labour power is indirectly also a demand for the articles of consumption essential to the working class. But this demand is equal to v and not one iota greater (if the labourer saves a part of his wages — we necessarily discard here all credit relations — he converts part of his wages into a hoard and *pro tanto*[a] does not act as a bidder, a purchaser). The upper limit of a capitalist's demand is = to C = c + v, but his supply is c + v + s. Consequently if the composition of his commodity capital is $80_c + 20_v + 20_s$, his demand is = to $80_c + 20_v$, hence, considered from the angle of the value it contains, $^1/_5$ smaller than his supply. The greater the percentage of the mass of surplus value m produced by him (his rate of profit) the smaller becomes his demand in relation to his supply. Although with the further development of production the demand of the capitalist for labour power, and thus indirectly for necessary means of subsistence, steadily decreases compared with his demand for means of production, it must not be forgotten on the other hand that his demand for MP is always smaller than his capital. His demand for means of production must therefore always be smaller in value than the commodity product of the capitalist who, working with a capital of equal value and under equal conditions, furnishes him with those means of production. That many capitalists and not only one do the furnishing does not alter the case. Take it that his capital is £ 1,000, and its constant part = £ 800; then his demand on all these capitalists is = to £ 800. Together they supply means of production worth £ 1,200 for each £ 1,000 (regardless of what share in each £ 1,000 may fall to each one of them and of the fraction of his total capital which the share of each may represent), assuming that the rate of profit is the same. Consequently his demand covers only $^2/_3$ of their supply, while his own total demand amounts to only $^4/_5$ of his own supply, measured in value.

It still remains for us, incidentally, to investigate the problem of

[a] to that extent

turnover. Let the total capital of the capitalist be £5,000, of which £4,000 is fixed and £1,000 circulating capital; let these £1,000 be composed of $800_c + 200_v$, as assumed above. His circulating capital must be turned over five times a year for his total capital to turn over once. His commodity product is then = £6,000, i. e., £1,000 more than his advanced capital, which results in the same ratio of surplus value as above:

$5{,}000\,C : 1{,}000_s = 100_{(c+v)} : 20_s$. This turnover therefore does not change anything in the ratio of his total demand to his total supply. The former remains $^1/_5$ smaller than the latter.

Suppose his fixed capital has to be renewed in 10 years. So the capitalist pays every year $^1/_{10}$ = £400 into a sinking fund and thus has only a value of £3,600 of fixed capital left + £400 in money. If the repairs are necessary and do not exceed the average, they represent nothing but capital he has invested later. We may look at the matter the same as if he had allowed for the cost of repairs beforehand, when calculating the value of his investment capital, so far as this enters into the annual commodity product, so that it is included in that $^1/_{10}$ sinking fund payment. (If his need of repairs is below average he has done a good piece of business, and the reverse if it is above average. But this evens out for the entire class of capitalists engaged in the same branch of industry.) At any rate, although his annual demand still remains £5,000, equal to the original capital value he advanced (assuming his total capital is turned over once a year), this demand increases with regard to the circulating part of the capital, while it steadily decreases with regard to its fixed part.

We now come to reproduction. Let us assume that the capitalist consumes the entire surplus value m and reconverts only capital C of the original magnitude into productive capital. Then the demand of the capitalist is equal in value to his supply; but this does not refer to the movement of his capital. As a capitalist he exercises a demand for only $^4/_5$ of his supply (in terms of value). He consumes $^1/_5$ as a non-capitalist, not in his function as capitalist but for his private requirements or pleasures.

His calculation, expressed in percentages, is then as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Demand as capitalist | = | 100, supply | = 120 |
| Demand as man about town | = | 20, supply | = — |
| Total demand | = | 120, supply | = 120 |

This assumption is tantamount to assuming that capitalist production does not exist, and therefore that the industrial capitalist himself does not exist. For capitalism is abolished root and branch by the bare assumption that it is personal consumption and not enrichment that works as the compelling motive.

But such an assumption is impossible also technically. The capitalist must not only form a reserve capital to cushion price fluctuations and enable him to wait for favourable buying and selling conditions. He must accumulate capital in order to extend his production and build technical progress into his productive organism.

In order to accumulate capital he must first withdraw in money form from circulation a part of the surplus value which he obtained from that circulation, and must hoard it until it has increased sufficiently for the extension of his old business or the opening of a side-line. So long as the formation of the hoard continues, it does not increase the demand of the capitalist. The money is immobilised. It does not withdraw from the commodity market any equivalent in commodities for the money equivalent withdrawn from it for commodities supplied.

Credit is not considered here. And credit includes for example deposits by the capitalist of accumulating money in a bank on current account paying interest.

## Chapter V

### THE TIME OF CIRCULATION[8)]

We have seen that the movement of capital through the sphere of production and the two phases of the sphere of circulation takes place in a series of periods of time. The duration of its sojourn in the sphere of production is its time of production, that of its stay in the sphere of circulation its time of circulation or rotation. The total time during which it describes its circuit is therefore equal to the sum of its time of production and its time of circulation.

The time of production naturally comprises the period of the labour process, but is not comprised in it. It will be remembered first of all that a part of the constant capital exists in the form of instruments of labour, such as machinery, buildings, etc., which serve the same

[8)] Beginning of Manuscript IV.

constantly repeated labour processes until they are worn out. Periodical interruptions of the labour process, by night for instance, interrupt the functioning of these instruments of labour, but not their stay at the place of production. They belong to this place when they are in function as well as when they are not. On the other hand the capitalist must have a definite supply of raw material and auxiliary material in readiness, in order that the process of production may take place for a longer or shorter time on a previously determined scale, without being dependent on the accidents of daily supply from the market. This supply of raw material, etc., is productively consumed only by degrees. There is, therefore, a difference between its time of production[9] and its time of functioning. The time of production of the means of production in general comprises, therefore, 1) the time during which they function as means of production, hence serve in the production process; 2) the stops during which the process of production, and thus the functioning of the means of production embodied in it, are interrupted; 3) the time during which they are held in readiness as prerequisites of that process, hence already represent productive capital but have not yet entered into the process of production.

The difference so far considered has in each case been the difference between the time which the productive capital stays in the sphere of production and that it stays in the process of production. But the process of production may itself be responsible for interruptions of the labour process, and hence of the labour time—intervals during which the subject of labour is exposed to the action of physical processes without the further intervention of human labour. The process of production, and thus the functioning of the means of production, continue in this case, although the labour process, and thus the functioning of the means of production as instruments of labour, have been interrupted. This applies, for instance, to the grain, after it has been sown, the wine fermenting in the cellar, the labour material of many factories, such as tanneries, where the material is exposed to the action of chemical processes. The time of production is here longer than the labour time. The difference between the two consists in an excess of the production time over the labour time. This excess always arises from the *latent* existence of productive capital in the sphere of

[9] Time of production is here used in the active sense: The time of production of the means of production does not mean in this case the time required for their production, but the time during which they take part in the production process of a commodity product.—*F. E.*

production without functioning in the process of production itself or from its functioning in the production process without taking part in the labour process.

That part of the latent productive capital which is held in readiness only as a requisite for the production process, such as cotton, coal, etc., in a spinning-mill, acts as a creator of neither products nor value. It is fallow capital, although its fallowness is essential for the uninterrupted flow of the process of production. The buildings, apparatus, etc., necessary for the storage of the productive supply (latent capital) are conditions of the production process and therefore constitute component parts of the advanced productive capital. They perform their function as conservators of the productive components in the preliminary stage. Inasmuch as labour processes are necessary in this stage, they add to the cost of the raw material, etc., but are productive labour and produce surplus value, because a part of this labour, like of all other wage labour, is not paid for. The normal interruptions of the entire process of production, i. e., the intermissions during which the productive capital does not function, create neither value nor surplus value. Hence the desire to keep the work going at night, too (Buch I, Kap. VIII, 4).[a]

The intervals in the labour time which the subject of labour must endure in the process of production itself create neither value nor surplus value. But they advance the product, form a part of its life, a process through which it must pass. The value of the apparatus, etc., is transferred to the product in proportion to the entire time during which they perform their function; the product is brought to this stage by labour itself, and the employment of these apparatus is as much a condition of production as is the reduction to dust of a part of the cotton which does not enter into the product but nevertheless transfers its value to that product. The other part of the latent capital, such as buildings, machinery, etc., i. e., the instruments of labour whose functioning is interrupted only by the regular pauses of the production process—irregular interruptions caused by the restriction of production, crises, etc., are total losses—adds value without entering into the creation of the product. The total value which this part of capital adds to the product is determined by its average durability; it loses value, because it loses its use value, both during the time that it performs its functions as well as during that in which it does not.

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. X, 4 (present edition, Vol. 35).

Finally the value of the constant part of capital, which continues in the production process although the labour process is interrupted, reappears in the result of the production process. Labour itself has here placed the means of production in conditions under which they pass of themselves through certain natural processes, the result of which is a definite useful effect or a change in the form of their use value. Labour always transfers the value of the means of production to the product, in so far as it really consumes them in a suitable manner, as means of production. And it does not change the matter whether labour has to bear continually on its subject by means of the instruments of labour in order to produce this effect or whether it merely needs to give the first impulse by providing the means of production with the conditions under which they undergo the intended alteration of themselves, in consequence of natural processes, without the further assistance of labour.

Whatever may be the reason for the excess of the production time over the labour time—whether the circumstance that means of production constitute only latent productive capital and hence are still in a stage preliminary to the actual production process or that their own functioning is interrupted within the process of production by its pauses or finally that the process of production itself necessitates interruptions of the labour process—in none of these cases do the means of production function as absorbers of labour. And if they do not absorb labour, they do not absorb surplus labour, either. Hence there is no expansion of the value of productive capital so long as it stays in that part of its production time which exceeds the labour time, no matter how inseparable from these pauses the carrying on of the process of self-expansion may be. It is plain that the more the production time and labour time cover each other the greater is the productivity and self-expansion of a given productive capital in a given space of time. Hence the tendency of capitalist production to reduce the excess of the production time over the labour time as much as possible. But while the time of production of a certain capital may differ from its labour time, it always comprises the latter, and this excess is itself a condition of the process of production. The time of production, then, is always that time in which a capital produces use values and expands, hence functions as productive capital, although it includes time in which it is either latent or produces without expanding its value.

Within the sphere of circulation, capital abides as commodity capital and money capital. Its two processes of circulation consist in its

transformation from the commodity form into that of money and from the money form into that of commodities. The circumstance that the transformation of commodities into money is here at the same time a realisation of the surplus value embodied in the commodities, and that the transformation of money into commodities is at the same time a conversion or reconversion of capital value into the form of its elements of production does not in the least alter the fact that these processes, as processes of circulation, are processes of the simple metamorphosis of commodities.

Time of circulation and time of production mutually exclude each other. During its time of circulation capital does not perform the functions of productive capital and therefore produces neither commodities nor surplus value. If we study the circuit in its simplest form, as when the entire capital value passes in one bulk from one phase into another, it becomes palpably evident that the process of production and therefore also the self-expansion of the capital value are interrupted so long as its time of circulation lasts, and that the renewal of the process of production will proceed at a faster or a slower pace depending on the length of the circulation time. But if on the contrary the various parts of capital pass through the circuit one after another, so that the circuit of the entire capital value is accomplished successively in the circuits of its various component parts, then it is evident that the longer its aliquot parts stay in the sphere of circulation the smaller must be the part functioning in the sphere of production. The expansion and contraction of the time of circulation operate therefore as negative limits to the contraction or expansion of the time of production or of the extent to which a capital of a given size functions as productive capital. The more the metamorphoses of circulation of a certain capital are only ideal, i. e., the more the time of circulation is equal to zero, or approaches zero, the more does capital function, the more does its productivity and the self-expansion of its value increase. For instance, if a capitalist executes an order by the terms of which he receives payment on delivery of the product, and if this payment is made in his own means of production, the time of circulation approaches zero.

A capital's time of circulation therefore limits, generally speaking, its time of production and hence its process of generating surplus value. And it limits this process in proportion to its own duration. This duration may considerably increase or decrease and hence may

restrict capital's time of production in a widely varying degree. But political economy sees only what is *apparent*, namely the effect of the time of circulation on capital's process of the creation of surplus value in general. It takes this negative effect for a positive one, because its consequences are positive. It clings the more tightly to this appearance since it seems to furnish proof that capital possesses a mystic source of self-expansion independent of its process of production and hence of the exploitation of labour, a spring which flows to it from the sphere of circulation. We shall see later that even scientific political economy has been deceived by this appearance of things. Various phenomena, it will turn out, give colour to this semblance: 1) The capitalist method of calculating profit, in which the negative cause figures as a positive one, since with capitals in different spheres of investment, where only the times of circulation are different, a longer time of circulation tends to bring about an increase of prices, in short, serves as one of the causes of equalising profits. 2) The time of circulation is but a phase of the time of turnover; the latter however includes the time of production or reproduction. What is really due to the latter seems to be due to the time of circulation. 3) The conversion of commodities into variable capital (wages) is necessitated by their previous conversion into money. In the accumulation of capital, the conversion into additional variable capital therefore takes place in the sphere of circulation, or during the time of circulation. Consequently it seems that the accumulation thus achieved is owed to the latter.

Within the sphere of circulation capital passes through the two antithetical phases C—M and M—C; it is immaterial in what order. Hence its time of circulation is likewise divided into two parts, viz.: the time it requires for its conversion from commodities into money, and that which it requires for its conversion from money into commodities. We have already learned from the analysis of the simple circulation of commodities (Buch I, Kap. III)[a] that C—M, the sale, is the most difficult part of its metamorphosis and that therefore under ordinary conditions it takes up the greater part of its time of circulation. As money, value exists in its always convertible form. As a commodity it must first be transformed into money before it can assume this form of direct convertibility and hence of constant readiness for action. However, in capital's process of circulation, its phase M—C has to do with its transformation into commodities which constitute defi-

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. III (present edition, Vol. 35).

nite elements of productive capital in a given enterprise. The means of production may not be available in the market and must first be produced or they must be procured from distant markets or their ordinary supply has become irregular or prices have changed, etc., in short there are a multitude of circumstances which are not noticeable in the simple change of form M — C, but which nevertheless require now more, now less time also for this part of the circulation phase. C — M and M — C may be separate not only in time but also in space; the market for buying and the market for selling may be located apart. In the case of factories for instance buyer and seller are frequently different persons. In the production of commodities, circulation is as necessary as production itself, so that circulation agents are just as much needed as production agents. The process of reproduction includes both functions of capital, therefore it includes the necessity of having representatives of these functions, either in the person of the capitalist himself or of wage labourers, his agents. But this furnishes no ground for confusing the agents of circulation with those of production, any more than it furnishes ground for confusing the functions of commodity capital and money capital with those of productive capital. The agents of circulation must be paid by the agents of production. But if the capitalists, who sell to and buy from one another, create neither values nor products by these acts, this state of affairs is not changed if they are enabled or compelled by the volume of their business to shift this function on to others. In some businesses the buyers and sellers get paid in the form of percentages on the profits. All talk about their being paid by the consumer does not help matters. The consumers can pay only in so far as they themselves, as agents of production, produce an equivalent in commodities or appropriate it from production agents either on the basis of some legal title (as their co-partners, etc.) or by personal services.

There is a difference between C — M and M — C which has nothing to do with the difference in forms of commodities and money but arises from the capitalist character of production. Intrinsically both C — M and M — C are mere conversions of given value from one form into another. But C′ — M′ is at the same time a realisation of the surplus value contained in C′. M — C however is not. Hence selling is more important than buying. Under normal conditions M — C is an act necessary for the self-expansion of the value expressed in M, but it is not a realisation of surplus value; it is the introduction to its production, not an afterword.

The form in which a commodity exists, its existence as a use value, sets definite limits to the circulation of commodity capital C′—M′. Use values are perishable by nature. Hence, if they are not productively or individually consumed within a certain time, depending on what they are intended for, in other words, if they are not sold within a certain period, they spoil and lose with their use value the property of being vehicles of exchange value. The capital value contained in them, hence also the surplus value accrued in it, gets lost. The use values do not remain the carriers of perennial self-expanding capital value unless they are constantly renewed and reproduced, are replaced by new use values of the same or of some other order. The sale of the use values in the form of finished commodities, hence their entry into productive or individual consumption effected through this sale, is however the ever recurring condition of their reproduction. They must change their old use form within a definite time in order to continue their existence in a new form. Exchange value maintains itself only by means of this constant renewal of its body. The use values of various commodities spoil sooner or later; the interval between their production and consumption may therefore be comparatively long or short; hence they can persist without spoiling in the circulation phase C—M for a shorter or longer term in the form of commodity capital, can endure a shorter or a longer time of circulation as commodities. The limit of the circulation time of a commodity capital imposed by the spoiling of the body of the commodity is the absolute limit of this part of the time of circulation, or of the time of circulation of commodity capital as such. The more perishable a commodity and the sooner after its production it must therefore be consumed and hence sold, the more restricted is its capacity for removal from its place of production, the narrower therefore is the spatial sphere of its circulation, the more localised are the markets where it can be sold. For this reason the more perishable a commodity and the greater the absolute restriction of its time of circulation as commodity on account of its physical properties, the less is it suited to be an object of capitalist production. Such a commodity can come within its grasp only in thickly populated districts or to the extent that improved transportation facilities eliminate distance. But the concentration of the production of any article in the hands of a few and in a populous district may create a relatively large market even for such articles as are the products of large breweries, dairies, etc.

# Chapter VI

## THE COSTS OF CIRCULATION

### I. GENUINE COSTS OF CIRCULATION

#### 1. THE TIME OF PURCHASE AND SALE

The transformations of the forms of capital from commodities into money and from money into commodities are at the same time transactions of the capitalist, acts of purchase and sale. The time in which these transformations of forms take place constitutes subjectively, from the standpoint of the capitalist, the time of purchase and sale; it is the time during which he performs the functions of a seller and buyer in the market. Just as the time of circulation of capital is a necessary segment of its time of reproduction, so the time in which the capitalist buys and sells and scours the market is a necessary part of the time in which he functions as a capitalist, i. e., as personified capital. It is a part of his business hours.

(Since we have assumed that commodities are bought and sold at their values, these acts constitute merely the conversion of a certain value from one form into another, from the commodity form into the money form or from the money form into the commodity form—a change in the state of being. If commodities are sold at their values, then the magnitudes of value in the hands of the buyer and seller remain unchanged. Only the form of existence of value is changed. If the commodities are not sold at their values, then the sum of the converted values remains unchanged; the plus on one side is a minus on the other.

The metamorphoses C—M and M—C are transactions between buyers and sellers; they require time to conclude their bargains, the more so as a struggle goes on in which each seeks to get the best of the other, and it is businessmen who face one another here; and "WHEN GREEK MEETS GREEK THEN COMES THE TUG OF WAR".[a] To effect a change in the state of being costs time and labour power, not for the purpose of creating value, however, but in order to accomplish the conversion of value

[a] A paraphrase of "When Greeks join'd Greeks then was the tug of war!" (Nathaniel Lee, *The Rival Queens, or the Death of Alexander the Great*, Act IV, Scene 2).

from one form into another. The mutual attempt to appropriate an extra slice of this value on this occasion changes nothing. This labour, increased by the evil designs on either side, does not create any value, just as the work performed in a judicial proceeding does not increase the value of the subject-matter of the suit. Matters stand with this labour—which is a necessary element in the capitalist process of production as a whole, including circulation or included by it—as they stand, say, with the work of combustion of some substance used for the generation of heat. This work of combustion does not generate any heat, although it is a necessary element in the process of combustion. In order, e. g., to consume coal as fuel, I must combine it with oxygen, and for this purpose must transform it from the solid into the gaseous state (for in the carbonic acid gas, the result of the combustion, coal is in the gaseous state); consequently, I must bring about a physical change in the form of its existence or in its state of being. The separation of carbon molecules, which are united into a solid mass, and the splitting up of these molecules into their separate atoms must precede the new combination, and this requires a certain expenditure of energy which thus is not transformed into heat but taken from it. Therefore, if the owners of the commodities are not capitalists but independent direct producers, the time employed in buying and selling is a diminution of their labour time, and for this reason such transactions used to be deferred (in ancient and mediaeval times) to holidays.

Of course the dimensions assumed by the conversion of commodities in the hands of the capitalists cannot transform this labour—which does not create any value but is merely instrumental in changing the form of value—into labour productive of value. Nor can the miracle of this transubstantiation be accomplished by a transposition, i. e., by the industrial capitalists making this "work of combustion" the exclusive business of third persons, who are paid by them, instead of performing it themselves. These third persons will of course not tender their labour power to the capitalists out of sheer love for them. It is a matter of indifference to the rent collector of a real-estate owner or the messenger of a bank that their labour does not add one iota or tittle to the value of either the rent or the gold pieces carried to another bank by the bagful.)[10]

To the capitalist who has others working for him, buying and sell-

[10] The text in parentheses is taken from a note at the end of Manuscript VIII.

ing becomes a primary function. Since he appropriates the product of many on a large social scale, he must sell it on the same scale and then reconvert it from money into elements of production. Now as before neither the time of purchase nor of sale creates any value. The function of merchant's capital gives rise to an illusion. But without going into this at length here this much is plain from the start: If by a division of labour a function, unproductive in itself although a necessary element of reproduction, is transformed from an incidental occupation of many into the exclusive occupation of a few, into their special business, the nature of this function itself is not changed. *One* merchant (here considered a mere agent attending to the change of form of commodities, a mere buyer and seller) may by his operations shorten the time of purchase and sale for *many* producers. In such case he should be regarded as a machine which reduces useless expenditure of energy or helps to set production time free.[11)]

In order to simplify the matter (since we shall not discuss the merchant as a capitalist and merchant's capital until later) we shall assume that this buying and selling agent is a man who sells his labour. He expends his labour power and labour time in the operations C—M and M—C. And he makes his living that way, just as another does by spinning or by making pills. He performs a necessary function, because the process of reproduction itself includes unproductive functions. He works as well as the next man, but intrinsically his labour creates neither value nor product. He belongs himself to the *faux frais* of production. His usefulness does not consist in transforming an unproductive function into a productive one, nor unproductive into productive labour. It would be a miracle if such a transformation could be accomplished by the mere transfer of a function. His useful-

[11)] "The costs of commerce, although necessary, must be regarded as an onerous outlay" (Quesnay, *Analyse du Tableau économique*, in Daire, *Physiocrates*, Part I, Paris, 1846, p. 71). According to Quesnay, the "profit" which the competition among merchants produces, in that it compels them "to content themselves with a smaller reward or gain ... is, strictly speaking, nothing but a *prevention of loss* for the seller at first hand and for the buyer-consumer. Now, a prevention of loss on the costs of commerce is not a *real product* or an accession of wealth through commerce, if considered simply as an exchange, whether with or without the cost of transportation" (pp. 145, 146). "The costs of commerce are always paid by those who sell the products and who would enjoy the full prices paid for them by the buyers, if there were no intermediate expenses" (p. 163). The proprietors and producers are "*salariants*" (payers of wages), the merchants are "*salariés*" (recipients of wages) (p. 164, Quesnay, *Dialogues sur le Commerce et sur les Travaux des Artisans*, in Daire, *Physiocrates*, Part I, Paris, 1846).[21] [Marx quotes Quesnay in French.]

ness consists rather in the fact that a smaller part of society's labour power and labour time is tied up in this unproductive function. More. We shall assume that he is a mere wage labourer, maybe even one of the better paid. Whatever his pay, as a wage labourer he works part of his time for nothing. He may receive daily the value of the product of eight working hours, yet functions ten. But the two hours of surplus labour he performs do not produce value any more than his eight hours of necessary labour, although by means of the latter a part of the social product is transferred to him. In the first place, looking at it from the standpoint of society, labour power is used up now as before for ten hours in a mere function of circulation. It cannot be used for anything else, not for productive labour. In the second place, however, society does not pay for those two hours of surplus labour, although they are spent by the individual who performs this labour. Society does not appropriate any extra product or value thereby. But the costs of circulation, which he represents, are reduced by one-fifth, from ten hours to eight. Society does not pay any equivalent for one-fifth of this active time of circulation, of which he is the agent. But if this man is employed by a capitalist, then the non-payment of these two hours reduces the costs of circulation of *his* capital, which constitute a deduction from his income. For the capitalist this is a positive gain, because the negative limit for the self-expansion of his capital value is thereby reduced. So long as small independent producers of commodities spend a part of their own time in buying and selling, this represents nothing but time spent during the intervals between their productive function or diminution of their time of production.

At all events the time consumed for this purpose constitutes one of the costs of circulation which adds nothing to the converted values. It is the cost of converting them from the commodity form into the money form. The capitalist producer of commodities acting as an agent of circulation differs from the direct producer of commodities only in the fact that he buys and sells on a larger scale and therefore his function as such agent assumes greater dimensions. And if the volume of his business compels or enables him to buy (hire) circulation agents of his own to serve as wage labourers, the nature of the case is not changed thereby. A certain amount of labour power and labour time must be expended in the process of circulation (so far as it is merely a change of form). But this now appears as an additional outlay of capital. A part of the variable capital must be laid out in the pur-

chase of this labour power functioning only in circulation. This advance of capital creates neither product nor value. It reduces *pro tanto* the dimensions in which the advanced capital functions productively. It is as though one part of the product were transformed into a machine which buys and sells the rest of the product. This machine brings about a reduction of the product. It does not participate in the production process, although it can diminish the labour power, etc., spent on circulation. It constitutes merely a part of the costs of circulation.

### 2. BOOKKEEPING

Apart from the actual buying and selling, labour time is expended in bookkeeping, which besides absorbs objectified labour such as pens, ink, paper, desks, office paraphernalia. This function, therefore, exacts the expenditure on the one hand of labour power and on the other of instruments of labour. It is the same condition of things as obtains in the case of the time of purchase and sale.

As unity within its circuits, as value in motion, whether in the sphere of production or in either phase of the sphere of circulation, capital exists ideally only in the form of money of account, primarily in the mind of the producer of commodities, the capitalist producer of commodities. This movement is fixed and controlled by bookkeeping, which also includes the determination of prices, or the calculation of the prices of commodities. The movement of production, especially of the production of surplus value—in which the commodities figure only as depositories of value, as the names of things whose ideal existence as values is crystallised in money of account—thus is symbolically reflected in imagination. So long as the individual producer of commodities keeps account only in his head (for instance, a peasant; the bookkeeping tenant farmer was not produced until the rise of capitalist agriculture), or books his expenditures, receipts, due dates of payments, etc., only incidentally, outside of his production time, it is palpably clear that this function and the instruments of labour consumed by it, such as paper, etc., represent additional consumption of labour time and instruments of labour which are necessary, but constitute a deduction from the time available for productive consumption as well as from the instruments of labour which function in the real process of production, enter into the creation of products and

value.[12] The nature of the function itself is not changed — neither by the dimensions which it assumes on account of its concentration in the hands of the capitalist producer of commodities and the fact that instead of appearing as the function of many small commodity producers it appears as the function of *one* capitalist, as a function within a process of large-scale production; nor by its divorcement from those productive functions of which it formed an appendage, nor by its conversion into an independent function of special agents exclusively entrusted with it.

Division of labour and assumption of independence do not make a function one that creates products and value if it was not so intrinsically, hence before it became independent. If a capitalist invests his capital anew, he must invest a part of it in hiring a bookkeeper, etc., and in the wherewithal of bookkeeping. If his capital is already functioning, is engaged in the process of its own constant reproduction, he must continually reconvert a part of his product into a bookkeeper, clerks, and the like, by transforming that part into money. That part of his capital is withdrawn from the process of production and belongs in the costs of circulation, deductions from the total yield (including the labour power itself that is expended exclusively for this function).

But there is a certain difference between the costs incidental to bookkeeping, or the unproductive expenditure of labour time on the one hand and those of mere buying and selling time on the other. The latter arise only from the definite social form of the process of production, from the fact that it is the process of production of commodities. Bookkeeping, as the control and ideal synthesis of the process, be-

[12] In the Middle Ages we find bookkeeping for agriculture only in the monasteries. But we have seen (Buch I, S. 343)[a] that a bookkeeper was installed for agriculture as early as the primitive Indian communities. Bookkeeping is there made the independent and exclusive function of a communal officer. This division of labour saves time, effort, and expense, but production and bookkeeping in the sphere of production remain as much two different things as the cargo of a ship and the bill of lading. In the person of the bookkeeper, a part of the labour power of the community is withdrawn from production, and the costs of his function are not made good by his own labour but by a deduction from the communal product. What is true of the bookkeeper of an Indian community is true *mutatis mutandis* of the bookkeeper of the capitalist. //From Manuscript II.//

[a] This page refers to the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital* published in 1867. See present edition, Vol. 35 (*Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. XIV, 4).

comes the more necessary the more the process assumes a social scale and loses its purely individual character. It is therefore more necessary in capitalist production than in the scattered production of handicraft and peasant economy, more necessary in collective production than in capitalist production. But the costs of bookkeeping drop as production becomes concentrated and bookkeeping becomes social.

We are concerned here only with the general character of the costs of circulation, which arise out of the metamorphosis of forms alone. It is superfluous to discuss here all their forms in detail. But how forms which belong in the sphere of pure changes of the form of value and hence originate from the particular social form of the process of production, forms which in the case of the individual commodity producer are only transient, barely perceptible elements, run alongside his productive functions or become intertwined with them—how these can strike the eye as the huge costs of circulation can be seen from just the money taken in and paid out when these operations have become independent and concentrated on a large scale as the exclusive function of banks, etc., or of cashiers in individual businesses. But it must be firmly borne in mind that these costs of circulation are not changed in character by their change in appearance.

### 3. MONEY

Whether a product is fabricated as a commodity or not, it is always a material form of wealth, a use value intended for individual or productive consumption. Its value as a commodity is ideally expressed in its price, which does not change its actual use form in the least. But the fact that certain commodities like gold and silver function as money and as such reside exclusively in the process of circulation (even in the form of hoards, reserve funds, etc., they remain in the sphere of circulation, although latently) is a pure product of the particular social form of the process of production, the process of production of commodities. Since under capitalist production products assume the general form of commodities, and the overwhelming mass of products is created as commodities and must therefore assume the form of money, and since the vast bulk of the commodities, the part of social wealth functioning as commodities, grows continually, it follows that the quantity of gold and silver functioning as means of circulation, paying medium, reserve fund, etc., likewise increases. These commodities performing the function of money enter into neither in-

dividual nor productive consumption. They represent social labour fixed in a form in which it serves as a mere circulation machine. Besides the fact that a part of the social wealth has been condemned to assume this unproductive form, the wearing down of the money demands its constant replacement, or the conversion of more social labour, in the form of products, into more gold and silver. These replacement costs are considerable in capitalistically developed nations, because in general the portion of wealth tied up in the form of money is tremendous. Gold and silver as money commodities mean circulation costs to society which arise solely out of the social form of production. They are *faux frais* of commodity production in general, and they increase with the development of this production, especially of capitalist production. They represent a part of the social wealth that must be sacrificed to the process of circulation.[13)]

## II. COSTS OF STORAGE

Costs of circulation, which originate in a mere change of form of value, in circulation, ideally considered, do not enter into the value of commodities. The parts of capital expended as such costs are merely deductions from the productively expended capital so far as the capitalist is concerned. The costs of circulation which we shall consider now are of a different nature. They may arise from processes of production which are only continued in circulation, the productive character of which is hence merely concealed by the circulation form. On the other hand they may be, from the standpoint of society, mere costs, unproductive expenditure of living or objectified labour, but for that very reason they may become productive of value for the individual capitalist, may constitute an addition to the selling price of his commodities. This already follows from the fact that these costs are different in different spheres of production, and here and there even for different individual capitals in one and the same sphere of production. By being added to the prices of commodities they are distributed in proportion to the amount to be borne by each individual capitalist. But all labour which adds value can also add surplus value, and will

[13)]*"The money circulating in a country is a certain portion of the capital of the country, absolutely withdrawn from productive purposes, in order to facilitate or increase the productiveness of the remainder. A certain amount of wealth is, therefore, as necessary in order to adopt gold as a circulating medium, as it is to make a machine in order to facilitate any other production"* (*Economist*, Vol. V, p. 520).

always add surplus value under capitalist production, as the value created by labour depends on the amount of the labour itself, whereas the surplus value created by it depends on the extent to which the capitalist pays for it. Consequently costs which enhance the price of a commodity without adding to its use value, which therefore are to be classed as the *faux frais* of production so far as society is concerned, may be a source of enrichment to the individual capitalist. On the other hand, as this addition to the price of the commodity merely distributes these costs of circulation equally, they do not thereby cease to be unproductive in character. For instance insurance companies divide the losses of individual capitalists among the capitalist class. But this does not prevent these equalised losses from remaining losses so far as the aggregate social capital is concerned.

### 1. FORMATION OF SUPPLY IN GENERAL

During its existence as commodity capital or its stay in the market, in other words, during the interval between the process of production, from which it emerges, and the process of consumption, into which it enters, the product constitutes a commodity supply. As a commodity in the market, and therefore in the shape of a supply, commodity capital figures in a dual capacity in each circuit: one time as the commodity product of that capital in process whose circuit is being examined; the other time however as the commodity product of another capital, which must be available in the market to be bought and converted into productive capital. It is, indeed, possible that this last-named commodity capital is not produced until ordered. In that event an interruption occurs until it has been produced. But the flow of the process of production and reproduction requires that a certain mass of commodities (means of production) should always be in the market, should therefore form a supply. Productive capital likewise comprises the purchase of labour power, and the money form is here only the value form of the means of subsistence, the greater part of which the labourer must find at hand in the market. We shall discuss this more in detail further on in this paragraph. But at this point the following is already clear. As far as concerns capital value in process which has been transformed into a commodity and must now be sold or reconverted into money, which therefore functions for the moment as commodity capital in the market, the condition in which it constitutes a supply is to be described as an inexpedient, involuntary stay

there. The quicker the sale is effected the more smoothly runs the process of reproduction. Delay in the form conversion of C′ — M′ impedes the real exchange of matter which must take place in the circuit of capital, as well as its further functioning as productive capital. On the other hand, so far as M — C is concerned, the constant presence of commodities in the market, commodity supply, appears as a condition of the flow of the process of reproduction and of the investment of new or additional capital.

The abidance of the commodity capital as a commodity supply in the market requires buildings, stores, storage places, warehouses, in other words, an expenditure of constant capital; furthermore the payment of labour power for placing the commodities in storage. Besides, commodities spoil and are exposed to the injurious influences of the elements. Additional capital must be invested, partly in instruments of labour, in an objectified form, and partly in labour power to protect the commodities against the above.[14)]

Thus the existence of capital in its form of commodity capital and hence of commodity supply gives rise to costs which must be classed as costs of circulation, since they do not come within the sphere of production. These costs of circulation differ from those mentioned under I by the fact that they enter to a certain extent into the value of the commodities, i. e., they increase the prices of commodities. At all events the capital and labour power which serve the need of preserving and storing the commodity supply are withdrawn from the direct process of production. On the other hand the capitals thus employed, including labour power as a constituent of capital, must be replaced out of the social product. Their expenditure has therefore the effect of diminishing the productive power of labour, so that a greater amount of capital and labour is required to obtain a particular useful effect. They are *unproductive costs.*

As the costs of circulation necessitated by the formation of a commodity supply are due merely to the time required for the conversion

[14)] Corbet calculates, in 1841, that the cost of storing wheat for a season of nine months amounts to a loss of $^1/_2$% in quantity, 3% for interest on the price of wheat, 2% for warehouse rental, 1% for sifting and drayage, $^1/_2$% for delivery, together 7%, or 3 s. 6d. on a price of 50 s. per quarter (Th. Corbet, *An Inquiry into the Causes and Modes of the Wealth of Individuals, etc.*, London, 1841, [p. 140]).[22] According to the testimony of Liverpool merchants before the Railway Commission, the (net) costs of grain storage in 1865 amounted to about 2d. per quarter per month, or 9d. or 10d. a ton (*Royal Commission on Railways*, 1867. Evidence, p. 19, No. 331).

of existing values from the commodity form into the money form, hence merely to the particular social form of the production process (i. e., are due only to the fact that the product is brought forth as a commodity and must therefore undergo the transformation into money), these costs completely share the character of the circulation costs enumerated under I. On the other hand the value of the commodities is here preserved or increased only because the use value, the product itself, is placed in definite objective conditions which cost capital outlay, and is subjected to operations which bring additional labour to bear on the use values. However the computation of the values of commodities, the bookkeeping incidental to this process, the transactions of purchase and sale, do not affect the use value in which the commodity value exists. They have to do only with the form of the commodity value. Although in the case submitted here[a] the costs of forming a supply (which is here done involuntarily) arise only from a delay in the change of form and from its necessity, still these costs differ from those mentioned under I, in that their purpose is not a change in the form of the value, but the preservation of the value existing in the commodity as a product, a utility, and which cannot be preserved in any other way than by preserving the product, the use value, itself. The use value is neither raised nor increased here; on the contrary, it diminishes. But its diminution is restricted and it is preserved. Neither is the advanced value contained in the commodity increased here; but new labour, objectified and living, is added.

We have now to investigate furthermore to what extent these costs arise from the peculiar nature of commodity production in general and from commodity production in its general, absolute form, i. e., capitalist commodity production; and to what extent on the other hand they are common to all social production and merely assume a special shape, a special form of appearance, in capitalist production.

Adam Smith entertained the splendid notion that the formation of a supply was a phenomenon peculiar to capitalist production.[15)] More recent economists, for instance Lalor, insist on the contrary that it declines with the development of capitalist production. Sismondi even regards it as one of the drawbacks of the latter.[23]

As a matter of fact, supplies exist in three forms: in the form of pro-

[15)] Book II, Introduction. [A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.*]

[a] i. e., Corbet's calculations given in Footnote 14.

ductive capital, in the form of a fund for individual consumption, and in the form of a commodity supply or commodity capital. The supply in one form decreases relatively when it increases in another, although its quantity may increase absolutely in all three forms simultaneously.

It is plain from the outset that wherever production is carried on for the direct satisfaction of the needs of the producer and only to a minor extent for exchange or sale, hence where the social product does not assume the form of commodities at all or only to a rather small degree, the supply in the form of commodities, or commodity supply, forms only a small and insignificant part of wealth. But here the consumption fund is relatively large, especially that of the means of subsistence proper. One need but take a look at old-fashioned peasant economy. There the overwhelming part of the product is transformed directly into supplies of means of production or means of subsistence, without becoming supplies of commodities, for the very reason that it remains in the hands of its owner. It does not assume the form of a commodity supply and for this reason Adam Smith declares that there is no supply in societies based on this mode of production. He confuses the form of the supply with the supply itself and believes that society hitherto lived from hand to mouth or trusted to the hap of the morrow.[16] This is a naïve misunderstanding.

A supply in the form of productive capital exists in the shape of means of production, which are already in the process of production or at least in the hands of the producer, hence latently already in the process of production. It was seen previously that with the development of the productivity of labour and therefore also with the development of the capitalist mode of production—which develops the

[16] Instead of a supply arising only upon and from the conversion of the product into a commodity, and of the consumption supply into a commodity supply, as Adam Smith wrongly imagines, this change of form, on the contrary, causes most violent crises in the economy of the producers during the transition from production for one's own needs to commodity production. In India, for instance, "the disposition to hoard largely the grain for which little could be got in years of abundance" was observed until very recent times (*Return. Bengal and Orissa Famine, H. of C., 1867*, I, pp. 230-31, No. 74). The sudden increase in the demand for cotton, jute, etc., due to the American Civil War,[24] led in many parts of India to a severe restriction of rice culture, a rise in the price of rice, and a sale of the producers' old rice supplies. To this must be added the unexampled export of rice to Australia, Madagascar, etc., in 1864-66. This accounts for the acute character of the famine of 1866, which cost the lives of a million people in the district of Orissa alone (loc. cit., [pp.] 174, 175, 213, 214, and III: *Papers relating to the Famine in Behar*, pp. 32, 33, where the "DRAIN OF OLD STOCKS" is emphasised as one of the causes of the famine). //From Manuscript II.//

social productive power of labour more than all previous modes of production — there is a steady increase in the mass of means of production (buildings, machinery, etc.) which are incorporated once and for all in the process in the form of instruments of labour, and perform with steady repetition their function in it for a longer or shorter time. It was also observed that this increase is at the same time the premise and consequence of the development of the social productive power of labour. The growth, not only absolute but also relative, of wealth in this form (cf. Buch I, Kap. XXIII, 2)[a] is characteristic above all of the capitalist mode of production. The material forms of existence of constant capital, the means of production, do not however consist only of such instruments of labour but also of materials of labour in various stages of processing, and of auxiliary materials. With the enlargement of the scale of production and the increase in the productive power of labour through co-operation, division of labour, machinery, etc., grows the quantity of raw materials, auxiliary materials, etc., entering into the daily process of reproduction. These elements must be ready at hand at the place of production. The volume of this supply existing in the form of productive capital increases therefore absolutely. In order that the process may keep going — apart from the fact whether this supply can be renewed daily or only at fixed intervals — there must always be a greater accumulation of ready raw material, etc., at the place of production than is used up, say, daily or weekly. The continuity of the process requires that the presence of its conditions should not be jeopardised by possible interruptions when making purchases daily, nor depend on whether the product is sold daily or weekly, and hence is reconvertible into its elements of production only irregularly. But it is evident that productive capital may be latent or form a supply in quite different proportions. There is for instance a great difference whether a spinning-mill owner must have on hand a supply of cotton or coal for three months or for one. Patently this supply, while increasing absolutely, may decrease relatively.

This depends on various conditions, all of which practically amount to a demand for greater rapidity, regularity, and reliability in furnishing the necessary amount of raw material, so that no interruption will ever occur. The less these conditions are complied with, hence the less rapid, regular, and reliable the supplies, the greater

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. XXV, 2 (present edition, Vol. 35).

must be the latent part of the productive capital, that is to say, the supply of raw material, etc., in the hands of the producer, waiting to be worked up. These conditions are inversely proportional to the degree of development of capitalist production, and hence of the productive power of social labour. The same applies therefore to the supply in this form.

However that which appears here as a decrease of the supply (for instance, in Lalor) is in part merely a decrease of the supply in the form of commodity capital, or of the commodity supply proper; it is consequently only a change of form of the same supply. If for instance a great quantity of coal is produced every day in a certain country, and therefore the scale and the energy of operation of the coal industry are great, the spinner does not need a large store of coal in order to ensure the continuity of his production. The steady and certain renewal of the coal supply makes this unnecessary. In the second place the rapidity with which the product of one process may be transferred as means of production to another process depends on the development of the transport and communication facilities. The cheapness of transportation is of great importance in this question. The continually renewed transport of coal from the mine to the spinning-mill for instance would be more expensive than the storing up of a larger supply of coal for a longer time when the price of transportation is relatively cheaper. These two circumstances examined so far arise from the process of production itself. In the third place the development of the credit system also exerts an influence. The less the spinner is dependent on the direct sale of his yarn for the renewal of his supply of cotton, coal, etc.—and this direct dependence will be the smaller, the more developed the credit system is—the smaller relatively these supplies can be and yet ensure a continuous production of yarn on a given scale, a production independent of the hazards of the sale of yarn. In the fourth place, however, many raw materials, semi-finished goods, etc., require rather long periods of time for their production. This applies especially to all raw materials furnished by agriculture. If no interruption of the process of production is to take place, a certain amount of raw materials must be on hand for the entire period in which no new products can take the place of the old. If this supply decreases in the hands of the industrial capitalist, it proves merely that it increases in the hands of the merchant in the form of commodity supply. The development of transportation for instance makes it possible rapidly to ship the cotton lying, say, in Liverpool's import ware-

houses to Manchester, so that the manufacturer can renew his supply in comparatively small portions, as and when needed. But in that case the cotton remains in so much larger quantities as commodity supply in the hands of the Liverpool merchants. It is therefore merely a change in the form of the supply, and this Lalor and others overlooked. And if you consider the social capital, the same quantity of products exists in either case in the form of supply. The quantity required for a single country during the period of, say, one year decreases as transportation improves. If a large number of sailing vessels and steamers ply between America and England, England's opportunities to renew its cotton supply are increased while the average quantity to be held in storage in England decreases. The same effect is produced by the development of the world market and the consequent multiplication of the sources of supply of the same merchandise. The article is supplied piecemeal from various countries and at various intervals.

### 2. THE COMMODITY SUPPLY PROPER

We have already seen that under capitalist production the product assumes the general form of a commodity, and the more so the more that production grows in size and depth. Consequently, even if production retains the same volume, the far greater part of the products exists in the shape of commodities, compared with either the former modes of production or the capitalist mode of production at a less developed stage. But every commodity—therefore also every commodity capital, which is only commodity, but commodity serving as the form of existence of capital value—constitutes an element of the commodity supply, unless it passes immediately from its sphere of production into productive or individual consumption, that is, while it lies in the market in the interval. If the volume of production remains the same, the commodity supply (i. e., this isolation and fixation of the commodity form of the product) grows therefore of itself concomitantly with capitalist production. We have seen above that this is merely a change of form of the supply, that is to say, the supply in the form of commodities increases on the one hand because on the other the supply in the form intended directly for production or consumption decreases. It is merely a changed social form of the supply. If at the same time it is not only the relative magnitude of the commodity supply compared with the aggregate social product that increases but also its absolute magnitude, that is so because the mass of the aggre-

gate product grows with the growth of capitalist production.

With the development of capitalist production, the scale of production is determined less and less by the direct demand for the product and more and more by the amount of capital available in the hands of the individual capitalist, by the urge for self-expansion inherent in his capital and by the need of continuity and expansion of the process of production. Thus in each particular branch of production there is a necessary increase in the mass of products available in the market in the shape of commodities, i. e., in search of buyers. The amount of capital fixed for a shorter or longer period in the form of commodity capital grows. Hence the commodity supply also grows.

Finally the majority of the members of society are transformed into wage labourers, into people who live from hand to mouth, who receive their wages weekly and spend them daily, who therefore must have their means of subsistence made available to them in the shape of a supply. Although the separate elements of this supply may be in continuous flow, a part of them must always stagnate in order that the supply as a whole may remain in a state of flux.

All these moments have their origin in the form of production and in the incident change of form which the product must undergo in the process of circulation.

Whatever may be the social form of the products supply, its preservation requires outlays for buildings, vessels, etc., which are facilities for storing the product; also for means of production and labour, more or less of which must be expended, according to the nature of the product, in order to combat injurious influences. The more concentrated socially the supply is, the smaller relatively are the costs. These outlays always constitute a part of the social labour, in either objectified or living form — hence in the capitalist form outlays of capital — which do not enter into the formation of the product itself and thus are deductions from the product. They are necessary, these unproductive expenses of social wealth. They are the costs of preserving the social product regardless of whether its existence as an element of the commodity supply stems merely from the social form of production, hence from the commodity form and its necessary change of form, or whether we regard the commodity supply merely as a special form of the supply of products, which is common to all societies, although not in the form of a *commodity* supply, that form of products supply belonging in the process of circulation.

It may now be asked to what extent these costs enter into the values of commodities.

If the capitalist has converted the capital advanced by him in the form of means of production and labour power into a product, into a definite quantity of commodities ready for sale, and these commodities remain in stock unsold, then we have a case of not only the stagnation of the process of self-expansion of his capital value during this period. The costs of preserving this supply in buildings, of additional labour, etc., mean a positive loss. The buyer he would ultimately find would laugh in his face if he were to say to him: "I could not sell my goods for six months, and their preservation during that period did not only keep so and so much of my capital idle, but also cost me so and so much extra expense." "*Tant pis pour vous!*"[a] the buyer would say. "Right here alongside of you is another seller whose wares were completed only the day before yesterday. Your articles are shop-worn and probably more or less damaged by the ravages of time. Therefore you will have to sell cheaper than your competitor."

The conditions under which a commodity exists are not in the least affected by whether its producer is the real producer or a capitalist producer, hence actually only the representative of the real producer. He has to turn his product into money. The expenses incurred by him because of the fixation of the product in the form of commodities are a part of his individual speculations with which the buyer of the commodities has no concern. The latter does not pay him for the time of circulation of his commodities. Even when the capitalist keeps his goods intentionally off the market, in times of an actual or anticipated revolution in values, it depends on the advent of this revolution in values, on the correctness or incorrectness of his speculation, whether he will recover his additional costs or not. But the revolution in values does not ensue in consequence of his additional costs. Hence in so far as the formation of a supply entails a stagnation of circulation, the expense incurred thereby does not add to the value of the commodities. On the other hand there cannot be any supply without a stay in the sphere of circulation, without capital staying for a longer or shorter time in its commodity form; hence no supply without stagnation of circulation, just as no money can circulate without the formation of a money reserve. Hence no commodity circulation without commodity supply. If the capitalist does not come face to face with this neces-

[a] So much the worse for you!

sity in C′ — M′, he will encounter it in M — C; if not with regard to his own commodity capital, then with regard to that of other capitalists, who produce means of production for him and means of subsistence for his labourers.

Whether the formation of a supply is voluntary or involuntary, that is to say, whether the commodity producer keeps a supply intentionally or whether his products form a supply in consequence of the sales resistance offered by the conditions of the process of circulation itself cannot affect the matter essentially, it would seem. But for the solution of this problem it is useful to know what distinguishes voluntary from involuntary supply formation. Involuntary supply formation arises from, or is identical with, a stagnation of the circulation which is independent of the knowledge of the commodity producer and thwarts his will. And what characterises the voluntary formation of a supply? In both instances the seller seeks to get rid of his commodity as fast as ever. He always offers his product for sale as a commodity. If he were to withdraw it from sale, it would be only a potential (δυνάμει), not an actual (ένεργεία) element of the commodity supply. To him the commodity as such is as much a depository of exchange value as ever and as such can act only by and after stripping off its commodity form and assuming the money form.

The commodity supply must be of a certain volume in order to satisfy the demand during a given period. A continual extension of the circle of buyers is counted upon. For instance, in order to last for one day, a part of the commodities in the market must constantly remain in the commodity form while the remainder is fluent, turns into money. True, the part which stagnates while the rest is fluent decreases steadily, just as the size of the supply itself decreases until it is all sold. The stagnation of commodities thus counts as a requisite condition of their sale. The volume must furthermore be larger than the average sale or the average demand. Otherwise the excess over these averages could not be satisfied. On the other hand the supply must constantly be renewed, because it is constantly being drawn on. This renewal cannot come from anywhere in the last instance except from production, from a supply of commodities. It is immaterial whether this comes from abroad or not. The renewal depends on the periods required by the commodities for their reproduction. The commodity supply must last all that time. The fact that it does not remain in the hands of the original producer but passes through various reservoirs, from the wholesaler to the retailer, changes merely the appearance

and not the nature of the thing. From the point of view of society, a part of the capital retains in both instances the form of a commodity supply until the commodities enter productive or individual consumption. The producer himself tries to keep a stock corresponding to his average demand in order not to depend directly on production and to ensure for himself a steady clientele. Purchase periods corresponding to the periods of production are formed and the commodities constitute supplies for longer or shorter times, until they can be replaced by new commodities of the same kind. Constancy and continuity of the process of circulation, and therefore of the process of reproduction, which includes the process of circulation, are safeguarded only by the formation of such supplies.

It must be remembered that C′—M′ may have been transacted for the producer of C, even if C is still in the market. If the producer were to keep his own commodities in stock until they are sold to the ultimate consumer, he would have to set two capitals in motion, one as the producer of the commodities and one as a merchant. As far as the commodity itself is concerned, whether we look upon it as an individual commodity or as a component part of social capital, it is immaterial whether the costs of forming the supply must be borne by its producer or by a series of merchants, from A to Z.

Since the commodity supply is nothing but the commodity form of the product which at a particular level of social production would exist either as a productive supply (latent production fund) or as a consumption fund (reserve of means of consumption) if it did not exist as a commodity supply, the expenses required for its preservation, that is, the costs of supply formation—i. e., objectified or living labour spent for this purpose—are merely expenses incurred for maintaining either the social fund for production or the social fund for consumption. The increase in the value of commodities caused by them distributes these costs simply *pro rata* over the different commodities, since the costs differ with different kinds of commodities. And the costs of supply formation are as much as ever deductions from the social wealth, although they constitute one of the conditions of its existence.

Only to the extent that the commodity supply is a premise of commodity circulation and is itself a form necessarily arising in commodity circulation, only in so far as this apparent stagnation is therefore a form of the movement itself, just as the formation of a money reserve is a premise of money circulation—only to that extent is such stagna-

tion normal. But as soon as the commodities lying in the reservoirs of circulation do not make room for the swiftly succeeding wave of production, so that the reservoirs become over-stocked, the commodity supply expands in consequence of the stagnation in circulation just as the hoards increase when money circulation is clogged. It does not make any difference whether this jam occurs in the warehouses of the industrial capitalist or in the storerooms of the merchant. The commodity supply is in that case not a prerequisite of uninterrupted sale, but a consequence of the impossibility of selling the goods. The costs are the same, but since they now arise purely out of the form, that is to say, out of the necessity of transforming the commodities into money and out of the difficulty of going through this metamorphosis, they do not enter into the values of the commodities but constitute deductions, losses of value in the realisation of the value. Since the normal and abnormal forms of the supply do not differ in form and both clog circulation, these phenomena may be confused and deceive the agent of production himself so much the more since for the producer the process of circulation of his capital may continue while that of his commodities which have changed hands and now belong to merchants may be arrested. If production and consumption swell, other things being equal, then the commodity supply swells likewise. It is renewed and absorbed just as fast, but its size is greater. Hence the bulging size of the commodity supply, for which stagnant circulation is responsible, may be mistaken for a symptom of the expansion of the process of reproduction, especially when the development of the credit system makes it possible to wrap the real movement in mystery.

The costs of supply formation consist: 1) of a quantitative diminution of the mass of the products (for instance in the case of a flour supply); 2) of a deterioration of quality; 3) of the objectified and living labour required for the preservation of the supply.

### III. COSTS OF TRANSPORTATION

It is not necessary to go here into all the details of the costs of circulation, such as packing, sorting, etc. The general law is that *all costs of circulation which arise only from changes in the forms of commodities do not add to their value.* They are merely expenses incurred in the realisation of the value or in its conversion from one form into another. The

capital spent to meet those costs (including the labour done under its control) belongs among the *faux frais* of capitalist production. They must be replaced from the surplus product and constitute, as far as the entire capitalist class is concerned, a deduction from the surplus value or surplus product, just as the time a labourer needs for the purchase of his means of subsistence is lost time. But the costs of transportation play a too important part to pass them by without a few brief remarks.

Within the circuit of capital and the metamorphosis of commodities, which forms a part of that circuit, an interchange of matter takes place in social labour. This interchange of matter may necessitate a change of location of products, their real motion from one place to another. Still, circulation of commodities can take place without physical motion by them, and there can be transportation of products without circulation of commodities, and even without a direct exchange of products. A house sold by A to B does not wander from one place to another, although it circulates as a commodity. Movable commodity values, such as cotton or pig iron, may lie in the same storage dump at a time when they are passing through dozens of circulation processes, are bought and resold by speculators.[17] What really does move here is the title of ownership in goods, not the goods themselves. On the other hand, transportation played a prominent role in the land of the Incas,[20] although the social product neither circulated as a commodity nor was distributed by means of barter.

Consequently, although the transportation industry when based on capitalist production appears as a cause of circulation costs, this special form of appearance does not alter the matter in the least.

Quantities of products are not increased by transportation. Nor, with a few exceptions, is the possible alteration of their natural qualities, brought about by transportation, an intentional useful effect; it is rather an unavoidable evil. But the use value of things is realised only in their consumption, and their consumption may necessitate a change of location of these things, hence may require an additional process of production, in the transport industry. The productive capital invested in this industry imparts value to the transported products, partly by transferring value from the means of transportation, partly by adding value through the labour performed in transport.

[17] Storch calls this "circulation factice".

This last-named increment of value splits, as it does in all capitalist production, into a replacement of wages and into surplus value.

Within each process of production, a great role is played by the change of location of the subject of labour and the required instruments of labour and labour power—such as cotton trucked from the carding to the spinning room or coal hoisted from the shaft to the surface. The transition of the finished product as finished goods from one independent place of production to another located at a distance shows the same phenomenon, only on a larger scale. The transport of the products from one productive establishment to another is furthermore followed by the passage of the finished products from the sphere of production to that of consumption. The product is not ready for consumption until it has completed these movements.

As was shown above, the general law of commodity production holds: The productivity of labour is inversely proportional to the value created by it. This is true of the transport industry as well as of any other. The smaller the amount of dead and living labour required for the transportation of commodities over a certain distance, the greater the productive power of labour, and vice versa.[18)]

The absolute magnitude of the value which transportation adds to the commodities stands in inverse proportion to the productive power of the transport industry and in direct proportion to the distance travelled, other conditions remaining the same.

The relative part of the value added to the prices of commodities by the costs of transportation, other conditions remaining the same, is directly proportional to their cubic content and weight. But there are many modifying factors. Transportation requires, for instance, more or less important precautionary measures, and therefore more or less

[18)] Ricardo quotes Say, who considers it one of the blessings of commerce that by means of the costs of transportation it increases the price, or the value, of products. "Commerce," writes Say, "enables us to obtain a commodity in the place where it is to be found, and to convey it to another where it is to be consumed; it therefore gives us the power of increasing the value of the commodity, by the whole difference between its price in the first of these places, and its price in the second." [25] Ricardo remarks with reference to this: * "True, but how is this additional value given to it? By adding to the cost of production, first, the expenses of conveyance; secondly, the profit on the advances of capital made by the merchant. The commodity is only more valuable, for the same reason that every other commodity may become more valuable, because more labour is expended on its production and conveyance before it is purchased by the consumer. This must not be mentioned as one of the advantages of commerce" * (Ricardo, *Principles of Political Economy*, 3rd ed., London, 1821, pp. 309, 310).

expenditure of labour and instruments of labour, depending on how fragile, perishable, explosive, etc., the articles are. Here the railway kings show greater ingenuity in the invention of fantastic species than do botanists and zoologists. The classification of goods on English railways, for example, fills volumes and, in principle, rests on the general tendency to transform the diversified natural properties of goods into just as many ills of transportation and routine pretexts for fraudulent charges.

"Glass, which was formerly worth £11 per CRATE,[a] is now worth only £2 since the improvements which have taken place in manufactures, and since the abolition of the duty; but the rate for carriage is the same as it was formerly, and higher than it was previously, when carried by canal. Formerly, manufacturers ... had glass and glass wares for the plumbers' trade carried at about 10 s. per ton, within 50 miles of Birmingham. At the present time, the rate to cover risk of breakage is three times that amount... The companies always resist any claim that is made for breakages." [19]

The fact that furthermore the relative part of the value added to an article by the costs of transportation is inversely proportional to its value furnishes special grounds to the railway kings to tax articles in direct proportion to their values. The complaints of the industrialists and merchants on this score are found on every page of the testimony given in the report quoted.

The capitalist mode of production reduces the costs of transportation of the individual commodity by the development of the means of transportation and communication, as well as by the concentration — increasing scale — of transportation. It increases that part of the living and objectified social labour which is expended in the transport of commodities, firstly by converting the great majority of all products into commodities, secondly, by substituting distant for local markets.

The circulation, i. e., the actual locomotion of commodities in space, resolves itself into the transport of commodities. The transport industry forms on the one hand an independent branch of production and thus a separate sphere of investment of productive capital. On the other hand its distinguishing feature is that it appears as a continuation of a process of production *within* the process of circulation and *for* the process of circulation.

[19] *Royal Commission on Railways*, p. 31, No. 630.

[a] In the German original, the meaning of this English word is explained in parentheses.

# Part II

# THE TURNOVER OF CAPITAL

## Chapter VII

### THE TURNOVER TIME AND THE NUMBER OF TURNOVERS

We have seen that the entire time of turnover of a given capital is equal to the sum of its time of circulation and its time of production. It is the period of time from the moment of the advance of capital value in a definite form to the return of the functioning capital value in the same form.

The compelling motive of capitalist production is always the self-expansion of the value advanced, no matter whether this value is advanced in its independent form, i. e., in the money form, or in commodities, in which case its value form possesses only ideal independence in the price of the advanced commodities. In both cases this capital value passes through various forms of existence during its circular movement. Its identity with itself is fixed in the books of the capitalists, or in the form of money of account.

Whether we take the form M ... M′ or the form P ... P, the implication is (1) that the advanced value performs the function of capital value and has created surplus value; (2) that after completing its process it has returned to the form in which it began it. The self-expansion of the value advanced M and at the same time the return of capital to this form (the money form) is plainly visible in M ... M′. But the same takes place in the second form. For the starting-point of P is the existence of the elements of production, of commodities having a given value. The form includes the self-expansion of this value (C′ and M′) and the return to the original form, for in the second P the advanced value has again the form of the elements of production in which it was originally advanced.

We have seen previously: "If production be capitalistic in form, so, too, will be reproduction. Just as in the former the labour process figures but as a means towards the self-expansion of capital, so in the latter it figures but as a means of reproducing as capital—*i. e.*, as self-expanding value,—the value advanced" (Buch I, Kap. XXI, S. 588).[a]

The three forms (I) M ... M′, (II) P ... P, and (III) C′ ... C′, present the following distinctions: in form II, P ... P, the renewal of the process, the process of reproduction, is expressed as a reality, while in form I only as a potentiality. But both differ from form III in that with them the advanced capital value — advanced either in the form of money or of material elements of production — is the starting-point and therefore also the returning point. In M ... M′ the return is expressed by M′ = M + m. If the process is renewed on the same scale, M is again the starting-point and m does not enter into it, but shows merely that M has self-expanded as capital and hence created a surplus value, m, but cast it off. In the form P ... P capital value P advanced in the form of elements of production is likewise the starting-point. This form includes its self-expansion. If simple reproduction takes place, the same capital value renews the same process in the same form P. If accumulation takes place, then P′ (= in magnitude of value to M′ = to C′) re-opens the process as an expanded capital value. But the process begins again with the advanced capital value in its initial form, although with a greater capital value than before. In form III, on the contrary, the capital value does not begin the process as an advanced, but as a value already expanded, as the aggregate wealth existing in the form of commodities, of which the advanced capital value is but a part. This last form is important for Part III, in which the movements of the individual capitals are discussed in connection with the movement of the aggregate social capital. But it is not to be used in connection with the turnover of capital, which always begins with the advance of capital value, whether in the form of money or commodities, and which always necessitates the return of the rotating capital value in the form in which it was advanced. Of the circuits I and II, the former is of service in a study primarily of the influence of the turnover on the formation of surplus value and the latter in a study of its influence on the creation of the product.

Economists have little distinguished between the different forms of

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. XXIII (present edition, Vol. 35).

circuits, nor have they examined them individually with relation to the turnover of capital. They generally consider the form M ... M′, because it dominates the individual capitalist and aids him in his calculations, even if money is the starting-point only in the shape of money of account. Others start with outlays in the form of elements of production to the point when returns are received, without alluding at all to the form of the returns, whether made in commodities or money. For instance:

* "The Economic Cycle ... [is] the whole course of production, from the time that outlays are made till returns are received. In agriculture, seedtime is its commencement, and harvesting its ending" *[a] (S.P. Newman, *Elements of Political Economy*, Andover and New York, [1835], p. 81).[26]

Others begin with C′ (the third form):

"The world of trade may be conceived to revolve in what we shall call an economic cycle, which accomplishes one revolution, by business coming round again, through its successive transactions, to the point from which it set out. Its commencement may be dated from the point at which the capitalist has obtained those returns, by which his capital is replaced to him: whence he proceeds anew to engage his workmen; to distribute among them, in wages, their maintenance, or rather, the power of lifting it; to obtain from them, in finished work, the articles in which he specially deals; to bring these articles to market and there terminate the orbit of one set of movements, by effecting a sale, and receiving, in its proceeds, a return for the whole outlays of the period" (Th. Chalmers, *On Political Economy*, 2nd ed., Glasgow, 1832, p. 85).[27]

As soon as the entire capital value invested by some individual capitalist in any branch of production whatever has described its circuit, it finds itself once more in its initial form and can now repeat the same process. It must repeat it, if the value is to perpetuate itself as capital value and to create surplus value. An individual circuit is but a constantly repeated section in the life of a capital; hence a period. At the end of the period M ... M′ capital has once more the form of money capital, which passes anew through that series of changes of form in which its process of reproduction, or self-expansion, is included. At the end of the period P ... P capital resumes the form of elements of production, which are the prerequisites for a renewal of its circuit. A circuit performed by a capital and meant to be a periodical process, not an individual act, is called its turnover. The duration of this turnover is determined by the sum of its time of production and its time of circulation. This time total constitutes the time of turnover of the capital. It thus measures the interval of time between one cir-

[a] In the original, this quotation from Newman is given both in German and in English.

cuit period of the entire capital value and the next, the periodicity in the process of life of capital or, if you like, the time of the renewal, the repetition, of the process of self-expansion, or production, of one and the same capital value.

Apart from the individual adventures which may accelerate or shorten the time of turnover of certain capitals, this time differs in the different spheres of investment.

Just as the working day is the natural unit for measuring the function of labour power, so the year is the natural unit for measuring the turnovers of functioning capital. The natural basis of this unit is the circumstance that the most important crops of the temperate zone, which is the mother country of capitalist production, are annual products.

If we designate the year as the unit of measure of the turnover time by T, the time of turnover of a given capital by t, and the number of its turnovers by $n$, then $n = \frac{T}{t}$. If, for instance, the time of turnover t is 3 months, then $n$ is equal to $^{12}/_{3}$, or 4; capital is turned over four times per year. If t = 18 months, then $n = {}^{12}/_{18} = {}^{2}/_{3}$, or capital completes only two-thirds of its turnover in one year. If its time of turnover is several years, it is computed in multiples of one year.

From the point of view of the capitalist, the time of turnover of his capital is the time for which he must advance his capital in order to create surplus value with it and receive it back in its original shape.

Before examining more closely the influence of the turnover on the processes of production and self-expansion, we must investigate two new forms which accrue to capital from the process of circulation and affect the form of its turnover.

## Chapter VIII

### FIXED CAPITAL AND CIRCULATING CAPITAL

#### I. DISTINCTIONS OF FORM

We have seen (Buch I, Kap. VI) [a] that, in relation to the products toward the creation of which it contributes, a portion of the constant capital retains that definite use form in which it enters into the process of production. Hence it performs the same functions for a longer

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. VIII (see present edition, Vol. 35).

or shorter period, in ever repeated labour processes. This applies for instance to industrial buildings, machinery, etc.—in short to all things which we comprise under the name of *instruments of labour.* This part of constant capital yields up value to the product in proportion as it loses its own exchange value together with its own use value. This delivery of value, or this transition of the value of such a means of production to the product which it helps to create is determined by a calculation of averages. It is measured by the average duration of its function, from the moment that the means of production enters into the process of production to the moment that it is completely spent, dead and gone, and must be replaced by a new sample of the same kind, or reproduced.

This, then, is the peculiarity of this part of constant capital, of the labour instruments proper:

A part of capital has been advanced in the form of constant capital, i. e., of means of production, which function as factors of the labour process so long as they retain the independent use form in which they enter this process. The finished product, and therefore also the creators of the product, so far as they have been transformed into product, is thrust out of the process of production and passes as a commodity from the sphere of production to the sphere of circulation. But the instruments of labour never leave the sphere of production, once they have entered it. Their function holds them there. A portion of the advanced capital value becomes *fixed* in this form determined by the function of the instruments of labour in the process. In the performance of this function, and thus by the wear and tear of the instruments of labour, a part of their value passes on to the product, while the other remains fixed in the instruments of labour and thus in the process of production. The value fixed in this way decreases steadily, until the instrument of labour is worn out, its value having been distributed during a shorter or longer period over a mass of products originating from a series of constantly repeated labour processes. But so long as it is still effective and need not yet be replaced by a new one of the same kind, a certain amount of constant capital value remains fixed in it, while the other part of the value originally fixed in it is transferred to the product and therefore circulates as a component part of the commodity supply. The longer an instrument of labour lasts, the slower it wears out, the longer will its constant capital value remain fixed in this use form. But whatever may be its durability, the proportion in which it yields value is always inverse to the entire time

it functions. If of two machines of equal value one wears out in five years and the other in ten, then the first yields twice as much value in the same time as the second.

This portion of the capital value fixed in the instrument of labour circulates as well as any other. We have seen in general that all capital value is constantly in circulation, and that in this sense all capital is circulating capital. But the circulation of the portion of capital which we are now studying is peculiar. In the first place it does not circulate in its use form, but it is merely its value that circulates, and this takes place gradually, piecemeal, in proportion as it passes from it to the product, which circulates as a commodity. During the entire period of its functioning, a part of its value remains fixed in it, independently of the commodities which it helps to produce. It is this peculiarity which gives to this portion of constant capital the form of *fixed capital.* All other material parts of the capital advanced in the process of production form by way of contrast the *circulating*, or *fluid, capital.*

Some means of production do not enter materially into the product. Such are auxiliary materials, which are consumed by the instruments of labour proper in the performance of their functions, like coal consumed by a steam-engine; or which merely assist in the operation, like gas for lighting, etc. It is only their value which forms a part of the value of the products. The product circulates in its own circulation the value of these means of production. This feature they have in common with fixed capital. But they are entirely consumed in every labour process which they enter and must therefore be wholly replaced by new means of production of the same kind in every new labour process. They do not preserve their independent use form while performing their function. Hence while they function no portion of capital value remains fixed in their old use form, their bodily form, either. The circumstance that this portion of the auxiliary materials does not pass bodily into the product but enters into the value of the product only according to its own value, as a portion of that value, and what hangs together with this, namely, that the function of these substances is strictly confined to the sphere of production, has misled economists like Ramsay (who at the same time got fixed capital mixed up with constant capital) to classify them as fixed capital.[28]

That part of the means of production which bodily enters into the product, i. e., raw materials, etc., thus assumes in part forms which enable it later to enter into individual consumption as articles of use.

The instruments of labour properly so called, the material vehicles of the fixed capital, are consumed only productively and cannot enter into individual consumption, because they do not enter into the product, or the use value, which they help to create but retain their independent form with reference to it until they are completely worn out. The means of transportation are an exception to this rule. The useful effect which they produce during the performance of their productive function, hence during their stay in the sphere of production, the change of location, passes simultaneously into the individual consumption of, for instance, the passenger. He pays for their use in the same way in which he pays for the use of other articles of consumption. We have seen[a] that for instance in chemical manufacture raw and auxiliary materials blend. The same applies to instruments of labour and auxiliary and raw materials. Similarly in agriculture the substances added for the improvement of the soil pass partly into the plants raised and help to form the product. On the other hand their effect is distributed over a lengthy period, say four or five years. A portion of them therefore passes bodily into the product and thus immediately transfers its value to the product while the other portion remains fixed in its old use form and retains its value. It persists as a means of production and consequently keeps the form of fixed capital. As a beast of toil an ox is fixed capital. If he is eaten, he no longer functions as an instrument of labour, nor as fixed capital either.

What determines that a portion of the capital value invested in means of production is endowed with the character of fixed capital is exclusively the peculiar manner in which this value circulates. This specific manner of circulation arises from the specific manner in which the instrument of labour transmits its value to the product, or in which it behaves as a creator of values during the process of production. This manner again arises from the special way in which the instruments of labour function in the labour process.

We know that a use value which emerges as a product from one labour process enters into another as a means of production.[b] It is only the functioning of a product as an instrument of labour in the process of production that makes it fixed capital. But when it itself only just emerges from a process, it is in no way fixed capital. For instance a machine, as a product or commodity of the machine-manufacturer,

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 35 (*Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. VII, 1). - [b] Ibid.

belongs to his commodity capital. It does not become fixed capital until it is employed productively in the hands of its purchaser, the capitalist.

All other circumstances being equal, the degree of fixity increases with the durability of the instrument of labour. It is this durability that determines the magnitude of the difference between the capital value fixed in instruments of labour and that part of its value which it yields to the product in repeated labour processes. The slower this value is yielded — and value is given up by the instrument of labour in every repetition of the labour process — the larger is the fixed capital and the greater the difference between the capital employed in the process of production and the capital consumed in it. As soon as this difference has disappeared the instrument of labour has outlived its usefulness and has lost with its use value also its value. It has ceased to be the depository of value. Since an instrument of labour, like every other material carrier of constant capital, gives up value to the product only to the extent that together with its use value it loses its value, it is evident that the more slowly its use value is lost, the longer it lasts in the process of production, the longer is the period in which constant capital value remains fixed in it.

If a means of production which is not an instrument of labour strictly speaking, such as auxiliary substances, raw material, partly finished articles, etc., behaves with regard to value yield and hence manner of circulation of its value in the same way as the instruments of labour, then it is likewise a material depository, a form of existence, of fixed capital. This is the case with the above-mentioned improvements of the soil, which add to it chemical substances whose influence is distributed over several periods of production or years. Here a portion of the value continues to exist alongside the product, in its independent form or in the form of fixed capital, while another portion of the value has been delivered to the product and therefore circulates with it. In this case it is not only a portion of the value of the fixed capital which enters into the product, but also the use value, the substance, in which this portion of value exists.

Apart from the fundamental mistake — the mixing up of the categories of fixed and circulating capital with the categories of constant and variable capital — the confusion of the economists hitherto in the definitions of concepts is based first of all on the following points:

One turns certain properties materially inherent in instruments of labour into direct properties of fixed capital; for instance physical im-

mobility, say, of a house. However it is always easy to prove in such case that other instruments of labour, which as such are likewise fixed capital, possess the opposite property; for instance physical mobility, say, of a ship.

Or one confuses the economic definiteness of form which arises from the circulation of value with an objective property; as if things which in themselves are not capital at all but rather become so only under definite social conditions could *in themselves* and in their very nature be capital in some definite form, fixed or circulating. We have seen (Buch I, Kap. V) [a] that the means of production in every labour process, regardless of the social conditions in which it takes place, are divided into instruments of labour and subjects of labour. But both of them become capital only under the capitalist mode of production, when they become "productive capital", as shown in the preceding part. Thus the distinction between instruments of labour and subject of labour, which is grounded on the nature of the labour process, is reflected in a new form: the distinction between fixed capital and circulating capital. It is only then that a thing which performs the function of an instrument of labour becomes fixed capital. If owing to its material properties it can function also in other capacities than that of instrument of labour, it may be fixed capital or not, depending on the specific function it performs. Cattle as beasts of toil are fixed capital; as beef cattle they are raw material which finally enters into circulation as a product; hence they are circulating, not fixed capital.

The mere fixation of a means of production for a considerable length of time in repeated labour processes, which however are connected, continuous, and therefore form a production period—i. e., the entire time of production required to finish a certain product—obliges the capitalist, just as fixed capital does, to make his advances for a longer or shorter term, but this does not make his capital fixed capital. Seeds for instance are not fixed capital, but only raw material which is held for about a year in the process of production. All capital is held in the process of production so long as it functions as productive capital, and so are therefore all elements of productive capital, whatever their material forms, their functions and the modes of circulation of their values. Whether this period of fixation lasts a long or

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. VII (present edition, Vol. 35).

a short time — a matter depending on the kind of process of production involved or the useful effect aimed at — this does not effect the distinction between fixed and circulating capital.[20]

A part of the instruments of labour, which includes the general conditions of labour, is either localised as soon as it enters the process of production as an instrument of labour, i. e., is prepared for its productive function, such as for instance machinery, or is produced from the outset in its immovable, localised form, such as improvements of the soil, factory buildings, blast furnaces, canals, railways, etc. The constant attachment of the instrument of labour to the process of production in which it is to function is here also due to its physical mode of existence. On the other hand an instrument of labour may physically change continually from place to place, may move about, and nevertheless be constantly in the process of production; for instance a locomotive, a ship, beasts of burden, etc. Neither does immobility in the one case bestow upon it the character of fixed capital, nor does mobility in the other case deprive it of this character. But the fact that some instruments of labour are localised, attached to the soil by their roots, assigns to this portion of fixed capital a peculiar role in the economy of nations. They cannot be sent abroad, cannot circulate as commodities in the world market. Title to this fixed capital may change, it may be bought and sold, and to this extent may circulate ideally. These titles of ownership may even circulate in foreign markets, for instance in the form of stocks. But a change of the persons owning this class of fixed capital does not alter the relation of the immovable, materially fixed part of the national wealth to its movable part.[21]

The peculiar circulation of fixed capital results in a peculiar turnover. That part of the value which it loses in its bodily form by wear and tear circulates as a part of the value of the product. The product converts itself by means of its circulation from a commodity into money; hence the same applies to the value part of the instrument of labour circulated by the product, and this value drips down in the form of money from the process of circulation in proportion as this in-

[20] On account of the difficulty of determining what is fixed and what circulating capital, Herr Lorenz Stein thinks that this distinction is meant only to facilitate the treatment of the subject.

[21] End of Manuscript IV, beginning of Manuscript II.

strument of labour ceases to be a depository of value in the process of production. Its value thus acquires a double existence. One part of it remains attached to its use form or bodily form belonging in the process of production. The other part detaches itself from that form in the shape of money. In the performance of its function that part of the value of an instrument of labour which exists in its bodily form constantly decreases, while that which is transformed into money constantly increases until the instrument of labour is at last exhausted and its entire value, detached from its corpse, is converted into money. Here the peculiarity in the turnover of this element of productive capital becomes apparent. The transformation of its value into money keeps pace with the pupation into money of the commodity which is the carrier of its value. But its reconversion from the money form into a use form proceeds separately from the reconversion of the commodities into other elements of their production and is determined rather by its own period of reproduction, that is, by the time during which the instrument of labour wears out and must be replaced by another of the same kind. If a machine worth £10,000 lasts for, say, a period of ten years, then the period of turnover of the value originally advanced for it amounts to ten years. It need not be renewed and continues to function in its bodily form until this period has expired. In the meantime its value circulates piecemeal as a part of the value of the commodities whose continuous production it serves, and it is thus gradually transformed into money until finally at the end of ten years it entirely assumes the form of money and is reconverted from money into a machine, in other words, has completed its turnover. Until this time of reproduction arrives, its value is gradually accumulated, in the form of a money reserve fund to start with.

The remaining elements of productive capital consist partly of those elements of constant capital which exist as auxiliary and raw materials, partly of variable capital invested in labour power.

The analysis of the labour process and of the process of producing surplus value (Buch I, Kap. V)[a] showed that these different components behave quite differently as creators of products and as creators of values. The value of that part of constant capital which consists of auxiliary and raw materials — the same as of that part which consists of instruments of labour — re-appears in the value of the product as

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. VII (present edition, Vol. 35).

only transferred value, while labour power adds an equivalent of its value to the product by means of the labour process, in other words, actually reproduces its value. Furthermore, one part of the auxiliary substances — fuel, lighting gas, etc.— is consumed in the process of labour without entering bodily into the product, while the other part of them enters bodily into the product and forms its material substance. But all these differences are immaterial so far as the circulation and therefore the mode of turnover is concerned. Since auxiliary and raw materials are entirely consumed in the creation of the product, they transfer their value entirely to the product. Hence this value is circulated in its entirety by the product, transforms itself into money and from money back into the elements of production of the commodity. Its turnover is not interrupted, as is that of fixed capital, but passes uninterruptedly through the entire circuit of its forms, so that these elements of productive capital are continually renewed *in natura.*

As for the variable component of productive capital, which is invested in labour power, be it noted that labour power is purchased for a definite period of time. As soon as the capitalist has bought it and embodied it in the process of production, it forms a component part of his capital, its variable component. Labour power acts daily during a period of time in which it adds to the product not only its own value for the whole day but also a surplus value in excess of it. We shall not consider this surplus value for the present. After labour power has been bought and it has performed its function, say for a week, its purchase must be constantly renewed within the customary intervals of time. The equivalent of its value, which the labour power adds to the product during its functioning and which is transformed into money in consequence of the circulation of the product, must continually be reconverted from money into labour power or continually pass through the complete circuit of its forms, that is, must be turned over, if the circuit of continuous production is not to be interrupted.

Hence that part of the value of the productive capital which has been advanced for labour power is entirely transferred to the product (we constantly leave the question of surplus value out of consideration here), passes with it through the two metamorphoses belonging in the sphere of circulation and always remains incorporated in the process of production by virtue of this continuous renewal. Hence, however different otherwise may be the relation between labour power, so far as the creation of value is concerned, and the component parts of constant capital which *do not constitute fixed* capital, this kind of

turnover of its value labour power shares with them, in contradistinction to fixed capital. These components of the productive capital—the parts of its value invested in labour power and in means of production which do not constitute fixed capital—by reason of their common turnover characteristics confront the fixed capital as *circulating* or *fluid* capital.

We have already seen[a] that the money which the capitalist pays to the labourer for the use of his labour power is in fact only the general equivalent form of the means of subsistence required by the labourer. To this extent, the variable capital consists in substance of means of subsistence. But in this case, where we are discussing turnover, it is a question of form. The capitalist does not buy the labourer's means of subsistence but his labour power. And that which forms the variable part of his capital is not the labourer's means of subsistence but his labour power in action. What the capitalist consumes productively in the labour process is the labour power itself and not the labourer's means of subsistence. It is the labourer himself who converts the money received for his labour power into means of subsistence, in order to reconvert them into labour power, to keep alive, just as the capitalist for instance converts a part of the surplus value of the commodities he sells for money into means of subsistence for himself without thereby warranting the statement that the purchaser of his commodities pays him in means of subsistence. Even if the labourer is paid a part of his wages in means of subsistence, *in natura*, this nowadays amounts to a second transaction. He sells his labour power at a certain price, with the understanding that he shall receive a part of this price in means of subsistence. This changes merely the form of the payment, but not the fact that what he actually sells is his labour power. It is a second transaction, which does not take place between the labourer and the capitalist, but between the labourer as a buyer of commodities and the capitalist as a seller of commodities, while in the first transaction the labourer is a seller of a commodity (his labour power) and the capitalist its buyer. It is exactly the same as if a capitalist, on selling his commodity, say, a machine, to an iron works, has it replaced by some other commodity, say, iron. It is therefore not the labourer's means of subsistence which acquire the definite character of circulating capital as opposed to fixed capital. Nor is it his labour power. It is rather that part of the value of productive capital which

[a] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. VI (present edition, Vol. 35).

is invested in labour power and which, by virtue of the form of its turnover, receives this character in common with some, and in contrast with other, component parts of the constant capital.

The value of the circulating capital — in labour power and means of production — is advanced only for the time during which the product is in process of production, in accordance with the scale of production determined by the volume of the fixed capital. This value enters entirely into the product, is therefore fully returned by its sale from the sphere of circulation, and can be advanced anew. The labour power and means of production, in which the circulating component of capital exists, are withdrawn from circulation to the extent required for the creation and sale of the finished product, but they must be continually replaced and renewed by purchasing them back, by reconverting them from the money form into the elements of production. They are withdrawn from the market in smaller quantities at a time than the elements of fixed capital, but they must be withdrawn again from it so much the more frequently and the advance of capital invested in them must be renewed at shorter intervals. This constant renewal is effected by the continuous conversion of the product which circulates their entire value. And finally, they pass through the entire circuit of metamorphoses, not only so far as their value is concerned but also their material form. They are perpetually reconverted from commodities into the elements of production of the same commodities.

Together with its own value, labour power always adds to the product surplus value, the embodiment of unpaid labour. This is continuously circulated by the finished product and converted into money just as are other elements of its value. But here, where we are primarily concerned with the turnover of capital value, and not with that of the surplus value occurring at the same time, we dismiss the latter for the present.

From the foregoing one may conclude the following:

1. The definiteness of form of fixed and circulating capital arises merely from the different turnovers of the capital value, functioning in the process of production, or of the *productive capital*. This difference in turnover arises in its turn from the different manner in which the various components of productive capital transfer their value to the product; it is not due to the different parts played by these components in the generation of product value, nor to their characteristic behaviour in the process of self-expansion. Finally the difference in the delivery of value to the product — and therefore the different

manner in which this value is circulated by the product and is renewed in its original bodily form through the metamorphoses of the product—arises from the difference of the material shapes in which the productive capital exists, one portion of it being entirely consumed during the creation of an individual product and the other being used up only gradually. Hence it is only the productive capital which can be divided into fixed and circulating capital. But this antithesis does not apply to the other two modes of existence of industrial capital, that is to say, commodity capital and money capital, nor does it exist as an antithesis of these two modes to productive capital. It exists only *for productive capital and within its sphere.* No matter how much money capital and commodity capital may function as capital and no matter how fluently they may circulate, they cannot become circulating capital as distinct from fixed capital until they are transformed into circulating components of productive capital. But because these two forms of capital dwell in the sphere of circulation, political economy, as we shall see, has been misled since the time of Adam Smith into lumping them together with the circulating part of productive capital and assigning them to the category of circulating capital. They are indeed circulation capital in contrast to productive capital, but they are not circulating capital in contrast to fixed capital.

2. The turnover of the fixed component part of capital, and therefore also the time of turnover necessary for it, comprises several turnovers of the circulating constituents of capital. In the time during which the fixed capital turns over once, the circulating capital turns over several times. One of the component parts of the value of the productive capital acquires the definiteness of form of fixed capital only in case the means of production in which it exists is not wholly worn out in the time required for the fabrication of the product and its expulsion from the process of production as a commodity. One part of its value must remain tied up in the form of the still preserved old use form, while the other part is circulated by the finished product, and this circulation on the contrary simultaneously circulates the entire value of the fluid component parts of the capital.

3. The value part of the productive capital, the part invested in fixed capital, is advanced in one lump sum for the entire period of employment of that part of the means of production of which the fixed capital consists. Hence this value is thrown into the circulation by the capitalist all at one time. But it is withdrawn again from the circula-

tion only piecemeal and gradually by realising the parts of value which the fixed capital adds piecemeal to the commodities. On the other hand the means of production themselves, in which a component part of the productive capital becomes fixed, are withdrawn from the circulation all at one time to be embodied in the process of production for the entire period in which they function. But they do not require for this period any replacement by new samples of the same kind, do not require reproduction. They continue for a longer or shorter period to contribute to the creation of the commodities thrown into circulation without withdrawing from circulation the elements of their own renewal. Hence they do not require from the capitalist a renewal of his advance during this period. Finally the capital value invested in fixed capital does not pass bodily through the circuit of its forms, during the functioning period of the means of production in which this capital value exists, but only as concerns its value, and even this it does only in parts and gradually. In other words, a portion of its value is continually circulated and converted into money as a part of the value of the commodities, without being reconverted from money into its original bodily form. This reconversion of money into the bodily form of the means of production does not take place until the end of its functioning period, when the means of production has been completely consumed.

4. The elements of circulating capital are as permanently fixed in the process of production—if it is to be uninterrupted—as the elements of fixed capital. But the elements of circulating capital thus fixed are continually renewed *in natura* (the means of production by new products of the same kind, labour power by constantly renewed purchases) while in the case of the elements of fixed capital neither they themselves are renewed nor need their purchases be renewed so long as they continue to exist. There are always raw and auxiliary materials in the process of production, but always new products of the same kind, after the old elements have been consumed in the creation of the finished product. Labour power likewise always exists in the process of production, but only by means of ever new purchases, frequently involving changes of persons. But the same identical buildings, machines, etc., continue to function, during repeated turnovers of the circulating capital, in the same repeated processes of production.

## II. COMPONENTS, REPLACEMENT, REPAIR, AND ACCUMULATION OF FIXED CAPITAL

In any investment of capital the separate elements of the fixed capital have different lifetimes, and therefore different turnover times. In a railway, for instance, the rails, sleepers, earthworks, terminals, bridges, tunnels, locomotives, and carriages have different functional periods and times of reproduction, hence the capital advanced for them has different times of turnover. For a great number of years, buildings, platforms, water tanks, viaducts, tunnels, cuttings, dams, in short everything called WORKS OF ART in the English railway industry do not require any renewal. The things which wear out most are the tracks and the ROLLING STOCK.[a]

Originally in the construction of modern railways it was the prevailing opinion, nursed by the most prominent practical engineers, that a railway would last a century and that the wear and tear of the rails was so imperceptible that it could be ignored for all financial and other practical purposes; 100 to 150 years was supposed to be the life of good rails. But it was soon found that the life of a rail, which naturally depends on the speed of the locomotives, the weight and number of trains, the diameter of the rails, and on a multitude of other attendant circumstances, did not exceed an average of 20 years. In some railway terminals, great traffic centres, the rails even wear out every year. About 1867 began the introduction of steel rails, which cost about twice as much as iron rails but which last more than twice as long. The lifetime of wooden sleepers was from 12 to 15 years. It was also ascertained with regard to the rolling stock that freight cars wear out much faster than passenger cars. The life of a locomotive was estimated in 1867 to be about 10 to 12 years.

The wear and tear is first of all a result of use. As a rule "the wear of the rails is proportionate to the number of trains" (R. C., No. 17645).[22] With increased speed the wear and tear of a railway increased in a higher ratio than the square of the speed; that is to say, if you doubled the speed of the engine, you more than quadrupled the cost of wear and tear of the road (R. C., No 17046).

[22] The quotations marked R. C. are from: *Royal Commission on Railways. Minutes of Evidence taken before the Commissioners. Presented to both Houses of Parliament,* London, 1867.—The questions and answers are numbered and the numbers given here.

[a] In the original, this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

Wear and tear is furthermore caused by the action of natural forces. For instance sleepers suffer not only from actual wear but also from rot.

"The cost of maintaining the road does not depend so much upon the wear and tear of the traffic passing over it, as upon the quality of wood, iron, bricks and mortars exposed to the atmosphere. A month of severe winter would do more damage to the road of a railway than a year's traffic" (R. P. Williams, "On the Maintenance of Permanent Way." Paper read at the Institution of Civil Engineers, Autumn, 1867 [29]).

Finally, here as everywhere else in modern industry, the moral depreciation plays a role. After the lapse of ten years, one can generally buy the same number of cars and locomotives for £30,000 that would previously have cost £40,000. Depreciation in the rolling stock must be set at 25 per cent of the market price even when there is no depreciation whatever in its use value (Lardner, *Railway Economy*, [p. 120]).

"Tube bridges will not be replaced in their present form."

(Because now there are better forms for such bridges.)

"Ordinary repairs, taking away gradually, and replacing are not practicable" (W. B. Adams, *Roads and Rails*, London, 1862, [p. 136]). [30]

The instruments of labour are largely modified all the time by the progress of industry. Hence they are not replaced in their original, but in their modified form. On the one hand the mass of the fixed capital invested in a certain bodily form and endowed in that form with a certain average life constitutes one reason for the only gradual pace of the introduction of new machinery, etc., and therefore an obstacle to the rapid general introduction of improved instruments of labour. On the other hand competition compels the replacement of the old instruments of labour by new ones before the expiration of their natural life, especially when decisive changes occur. Such premature renewals of factory equipment on a rather large social scale are mainly enforced by catastrophes or crises.

By wear and tear (moral depreciation excepted) is meant that part of value which the fixed capital, on being used, gradually transmits to the product, in proportion to its average loss of use value.

This wear and tear takes place partly in such a way that the fixed capital has a certain average durability. It is advanced for this entire period in one sum. After the termination of this period it must be to-

tally replaced. So far as living instruments of labour are concerned, for instance horses, their reproduction is timed by nature itself. Their average lifetime as instruments of labour is determined by laws of nature. As soon as this term has expired the worn-out items must be replaced by new ones. A horse cannot be raplaced piecemeal; it must be replaced by another horse.

Other elements of fixed capital permit of a periodical or partial renewal. In this instance partial or periodical replacement must be distinguished from gradual extension of the business.

The fixed capital consists in part of homogeneous constituents which do not however last the same length of time but are renewed piecemeal at various intervals. This is true for instance of the rails in railway stations, which must be replaced more often than those of the remainder of the trackage. It also applies to the sleepers, which on the Belgian railways had to be renewed in the forties at the rate of 8% annually, according to Lardner, so that all the sleepers were renewed in the course of $12^1/_2$ years. Hence we have here the following situation: a certain sum is advanced for a certain kind of fixed capital for say ten years. This expenditure is made at one time. But a definite part of this fixed capital, the value of which has entered into the value of the product and been converted with it into money, is replaced *in natura* every year, while the remainder continues to exist in its original bodily form. It is this advance in one sum and the only partial reproduction in bodily form which distinguish this capital, as fixed, from circulating capital.

Other pieces of the fixed capital consist of heterogeneous components, which wear out in unequal periods of time and must so be replaced. This applies particularly to machines. What we have just said concerning the different durabilities of different constituent parts of a fixed capital applies in this case to the durability of different component parts of any machine figuring as a piece of this fixed capital.

With regard to the gradual extension of the business in the course of the partial renewal, we make the following remarks. Although, as we have seen, the fixed capital continues to perform its functions in the process of production *in natura*, a part of its value, proportionate to the average wear and tear, has circulated with the product, has been converted into money, and forms an element in the money reserve fund intended for the replacement of the capital pending its reproduction *in natura*. This part of the value of the fixed capital transformed into money may serve to extend the business or to make im-

provements in the machinery which will increase the efficiency of the latter. Thus reproduction takes place in larger or smaller periods of time, and this is, from the standpoint of society, reproduction on an enlarged scale—extensive if the field of production is extended; intensive if the means of production is made more effective. This reproduction on an extended scale does not result from accumulation—transformation of surplus value into capital—but from the reconversion of the value which has branched off, detached itself in the form of money from the body of the fixed capital into new additional or at least more effective fixed capital of the same kind. Of course it depends partly on the specific nature of the business, to what extent and in what proportions it is capable of such gradual addition, hence also in what amount a reserve fund must be collected to be reinvested in this way, and what period of time this requires. To what extent furthermore improvements in the details of existing machinery can be made, depends of course on the nature of these improvements and the construction of the machine itself. How well this point is considered at the very outset in the construction of railways is shown by Adams:

"The whole structure should be set out on the principle which governs the beehive—capacity for indefinite extension. Any fixed and decided symmetrical structure is to be deprecated, as needing subsequent pulling down in case of enlargement" (p. 123).

This depends largely on the available space. In the case of some buildings additional storeys may be built; in the case of others lateral extension, hence more land, is required. Within capitalist production there is on the one side much waste of material, on the other much impracticable lateral extension of this sort (partly to the injury of the labour power) in the gradual expansion of the business, because nothing is undertaken according to a social plan, but everything depends on the infinitely different conditions, means, etc., with which the individual capitalist operates. This results in a great waste of the productive forces.

This piecemeal re-investment of the money reserve fund (i. e., of that part of the fixed capital which has been reconverted into money) is easiest in agriculture. A field of production of a given area is here capable of the greatest possible gradual absorption of capital. The same applies to where there is natural reproduction, as in cattle breeding.

Fixed capital entails special maintenance costs. A part of this main-

tenance is provided by the labour process itself; fixed capital spoils, if it is not employed in the labour process (see Buch I, Kap. VI, S. 196 and Kap. XIII, S. 423,[a] on wear and tear of machinery when not in use). The English law therefore explicitly treats it as WASTE,[b] if rented lands are not cultivated according to the custom of the land (W. A. Holdsworth, Barrister at Law, *The Law of Landlord and Tenant*, London, 1857, p. 96).

This maintenance resulting from use in the labour process is a free gift inherent in the nature of living labour. Moreover the preservative power of labour is of a two-fold character. On the one hand it preserves the value of the materials of labour by transferring it to the product, on the other hand it preserves the value of the instruments of labour without transferring this value to the product, by preserving their use value through their activity in the process of production.

The fixed capital however requires also a positive expenditure of labour for its maintenance in good repair. The machinery must be cleaned from time to time. It is a question here of additional labour without which the machinery becomes useless, of merely warding off the noxious influences of the elements, which are inseparable from the process of production; hence it is a question of keeping the machinery literally in working order. It goes without saying that the normal durability of fixed capital is calculated on the supposition that all the conditions under which it can perform its functions normally during that time are fulfilled, just as we assume, in placing a man's life at 30 years on the average, that he will wash himself. It is here not a question of replacing the labour contained in the machine, but of constant additional labour made necessary by its use. It is not a question of labour performed by the machine, but of labour spent on it, of labour in which it is not an agent of production but raw material. The capital expended for this labour must be classed as circulating capital, although it does not enter into the labour process proper to which the product owes its existence. This labour must be continually expended in production, hence its value must be continually replaced by that of the product. The capital invested in it belongs in that part of circulating capital which has to cover the unproductive costs and is to be distributed over the produced values according to an annual average calculation. We have seen[c] that in industry proper this labour of

[a] English edition: Vol. I, chapters VIII and XV. - [b] In the original, this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent. - [c] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. XV, 4 (present edition, Vol. 35).

cleaning is performed by the working men gratis, during the rest periods, and for that very reason often also during the process of production itself, and most accidents can be traced to this source. This labour does not figure in the price of the product. As far as that goes the consumer receives it gratis. On the other hand the capitalist thus does not pay the maintenance costs of his machine. The labourer pays *in persona*, and this is one of the mysteries of the self-preservation of capital, which in point of fact constitute a legal claim by the labourer on the machinery, on the strength of which he is a co-owner of the machine even from the standpoint of bourgeois law. [31] However, in various branches of production, in which the machinery must be removed from the process of production for the purpose of cleaning and where therefore the cleaning cannot be performed inbetween, as for instance in the case of locomotives, this maintenance work counts as current expenses and is therefore an element of circulating capital. For instance a goods engine should not run more than 3 days without being kept one day in the shed. If you attempt to wash out the boiler before it has cooled down that is very injurious (R. C., No. 17823).

The actual repairs or patchwork require expenditures of capital and labour which are not contained in the originally advanced capital and cannot therefore be replaced and covered, at least not always, by the gradual replacement of the value of the fixed capital. For instance if the value of the fixed capital = £10,000 and its total life = 10 years, then these £10,000, having been entirely converted into money after the lapse of ten years, will replace only the value of the capital originally invested, but they do not replace the capital, or labour, added in the meantime for repairs. This is an additional component part of the value, which is not advanced all at one time but whenever a need for it arises, and the various times for advancing it are in the very nature of things accidental. All fixed capital demands such subsequent, dosed out, additional outlay of capital for instruments of labour and labour power.

The damage which separate parts of the machinery, etc., may incur is naturally accidental and so are therefore the repairs involved. Nevertheless two kinds of repairs are to be distinguished in the general mass, which are of a more or less fixed character and fall within various periods of the life of fixed capital. These are the ailments of childhood and the far more numerous ailments of the post-middle durability period. A machine for instance may be commissioned in ever

so perfect a condition, still actual use will reveal shortcomings which must be remedied by subsequent labour. On the other hand the more a machine passes beyond the mid-durability point, the more therefore the normal wear and tear has accumulated and the more the material of which it is made has been worn out and become decrepit, the more numerous and considerable will be the repairs required to keep it going for the remainder of its average durability. It is the same with an old man, who incurs more medical expenses to keep from dying prematurely than a young and strong man. So in spite of its accidental character repair work is unevenly distributed over the various periods of life of fixed capital.

From the foregoing and from the generally accidental character of repair work on machines it follows:

In one respect the actual expenditure of labour power and instruments of labour on repairs is accidental, like the circumstances which necessitate these repairs; the amount of the repairs needed is unevenly distributed over the different periods of fixed capital's life. In other respects it is taken for granted in estimating the average life of fixed capital that it is constantly kept in good working order, partly by cleaning (including the cleaning of the premises), partly by repairs as often as required. The transfer of value through wear and tear of fixed capital is calculated on its average life, but this average life itself is based on the assumption that the additional capital required for maintenance purposes is continually advanced.

But then it is also evident that the value added by this extra expenditure of capital and labour cannot enter into the price of the commodities concerned at the same time as it is incurred. For example, a cotton spinner cannot sell his yarn dearer this week than last, because one of his wheels broke or a belt tore this week. The general costs of spinning have not been changed in any way by this accident in some individual factory. Here, as in all determinations of value, the average decides. Experience shows the average occurrence of such accidents and the average volume of the maintenance and repair work necessary during the average life of the fixed capital invested in a given branch of business. This average expense is distributed over the average life and added to the price of the product in corresponding aliquot parts; hence it is replaced by means of its sale.

The additional capital which is thus replaced belongs to the circulating capital, although the manner of its expenditure is irregular. As it is of paramount importance to remedy every damage to machinery

immediately, every comparatively large factory employs in addition to the regular factory force special personnel — engineers, carpenters, mechanics, lock-smiths, etc. Their wages are a part of the variable capital and the value of their labour is distributed over the product. On the other hand the required expenses for means of production are calculated on the basis of the above-mentioned average, according to which they form continually a part of the value of the product, although they are actually advanced in irregular periods and therefore enter into the product or the fixed capital in irregular periods. This capital, expended in repairs properly so called, is in many respects a capital *sui generis*, which can be classed neither as circulating nor as fixed capital, but belongs with greater justification to the former, since it figures among the running expenses.

The manner of bookkeeping does not of course change in any way the actual state of affairs booked. But it is important to note that customarily many lines of business figure the costs of repairs together with the actual wear and tear of the fixed capital in the following manner: Let the advanced fixed capital be £10,000 and its durability 15 years. The annual wear and tear is then £$666^2/_3$. But the depreciation is calculated on a durability of only ten years; in other words, £1,000 are added annually to the price of the produced commodities for wear and tear of the fixed capital, instead of £$666^2/_3$. Thus £$333^1/_3$ are reserved for repairs, etc. (The figures 10 and 15 are chosen only by way of illustration.) This amount is spent on an average for repairs, so that the fixed capital may last 15 years. Such a calculation naturally does not prevent the fixed capital and the additional capital spent on repairs from belonging to different categories. On the strength of this mode of calculation it was assumed for instance that the lowest cost estimate for the maintenance and replacement of steamships was 15% annually, the time of reproduction being therefore $6^2/_3$ years. In the sixties, the English government indemnified the Peninsular and Oriental Co. at the annual rate of 16%, corresponding to a reproduction time of $6^1/_4$ years. On railways the average life of a locomotive is 10 years, but the depreciation, counting in repairs, is taken as $12^1/_2$%, which brings down its durability to 8 years. In the case of passenger and goods cars, the estimate is 9%, or a durability of $11^1/_9$ years.

Legislation has everywhere drawn a distinction, in leases of houses and other objects which represent fixed capital to their owners and are leased as such, between normal depreciation which is the result of

time, the action of the elements, and normal wear, and between those occasional repairs which are required from time to time for maintenance during the normal life of the house and during its normal use. As a rule, the former are borne by the owner, the latter by the tenant. Repairs are further divided into ordinary and substantial ones. The last-named are partly a renewal of the fixed capital in its bodily form, and they fall likewise on the shoulders of the owner, unless the lease explicitly states the contrary. Take for instance the English law:

"A tenant from year to year [...] is not bound to do more than keep the premises wind and watertight, when that can be done without 'substantial' repairs; and generally to do repairs coming fairly under the head 'ordinary'. Even with respect to those parts of the premises which are the subject of 'ordinary' repairs, regard must be had to their age and general state, and condition, when he took possession, for he is not bound to replace old and worn-out materials with new ones, nor to make good the inevitable depreciation resulting from time and ordinary wear and tear" (Holdsworth, *Law of Landlord and Tenant*, pp. 90-91).

Entirely different from the replacement of wear and tear and from the work of maintenance and repair is *insurance*, which relates to destruction caused by extraordinary phenomena of nature, fire, flood, etc. This must be made good out of the surplus value and is a deduction from it. Or, considered from the point of view of society as a whole, there must be continuous overproduction, that is, production on a larger scale than is necessary for the simple replacement and reproduction of the existing wealth, quite apart from the increase in population, so as to be in possession of the means of production required to compensate for the extraordinary destruction caused by accidents and natural forces.

In point of fact only the smallest part of the capital needed for replacement consists of the money reserve fund. The most substantial part consists in the extension of the scale of production itself, which partly is actual expansion and partly belongs to the normal volume of production in those branches of industry which produce the fixed capital. For instance a machine factory must arrange things so that the factories of its customers can annually be extended and that a number of them will always stand in need of total or partial reproduction.

On determining the wear and tear as well as the costs of repairs, according to the social average, great disparity necessarily appears, even in the case of capital investments of equal size, operating otherwise under equal conditions and in the same branch of production. In practice a machine, etc., lasts with one capitalist longer than the average period, while with another it does not last so long. With the one

the costs of repairs are above, with the other below average, etc. But the addition to the price of the commodities resulting from wear and tear and from costs of repairs is the same and is determined by the average. The one therefore gets more out of this additional price than he really added, the other less. The circumstance, as well as all others which result in different gains for different capitalists in the same line of business with the same degree of exploitation of labour power, tends to enhance the difficulty of understanding the true nature of surplus value.

The boundary-line between repairs proper and replacement, between costs of maintenance and costs of renewal, is somewhat fluid. Hence the eternal dispute, for instance on the railways, as to whether certain expenses are for repairs or for replacement, whether they must be defrayed from current expenditures or from the original stock. A transfer of expenses for repairs to capital account instead of revenue account is the well-known method by which railway directors artificially inflate their dividends. However, here too experience has already furnished the most important bases for estimation. The subsequent labour required during the early life of a railway for example

"ought not to be denominated repairs, but should be considered as an essential part of the construction of the railway, and in the financial accounts should be debited to capital, [...] not being expenses due to wear and tear, or to the legitimate operation of the traffic, but to the original and inevitable incompleteness of the construction of the line" (Lardner, loc. cit., p. 40).

"The only sound way is to charge each year's revenue with the depreciation necessarily suffered to earn the revenue, whether the amount is actually spent or not" (Captain Fitzmaurice, "Committee of Inquiry on Caledonian Railway," published in *Money Market Review*, 1868).[32]

The separation of the replacement and maintenance of fixed capital becomes practically impossible and purposeless in agriculture, at least when not operated by steam.

"Wherever there is a complete, though not excessive, supply of implements" (of agricultural and other implements and farm appliances of every description) "it is the custom to estimate the annual wear and tear and maintenance of the implements, according to the different existing conditions, at a general average of 15 to 25 per cent of the original stock" (Kirchhof, *Handbuch der landwirthschaftlichen Betriebslehre*, Dessau, 1852, p. 137).[33]

In the case of the rolling stock of a railway, repairs and replacement cannot be separated at all.

"We maintain our stock by number. Whatever number of engines we have we maintain that. If one is destroyed by age, and it is better to build a new one, we build it

at the expense of revenue, of course, taking credit for the materials of the old one as far as they go.... There is a great deal left; there are the wheels, the axles, the boilers, and in fact a great deal of the old engine is left" (D. Gooch, Chairman of Great Western Railway Co., R. C., Nos. 17327, 17329). "Repairing means renewing; I do not believe in the word replacement...; once a railway company has bought a vehicle or an engine, it ought to be repaired, and in that way admit of going on for ever" (No. 17784). "We calculate $8^1/_2$ d. per English train mile for the cost of the locomotives. The engines are maintained for ever out of this $8^1/_2$ d. We rebuild our engines. If you purchase an engine entirely it would be spending more money than is necessary ... yet there is always a pair of wheels or an axle or some portion of the engine which comes in, and hence it cheapens the cost of producing a practically new engine" (No. 17790). "I am at this moment turning out a new engine every week, or practically a new engine, for it has a new boiler, cylinder, or framing" (No. 17823. Archibald Sturrock, LOCOMOTIVE SUPERINTENDENT OF GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY, IN R. C., 1867).

The same with coaches:

"In the course of time the stock of engines and vehicles is continually repaired. New wheels are put on at one time, and a new body at another. The different moving parts most subject to wear are gradually renewed; and the engines and vehicles may be conceived even to be subject to such a succession of repairs, that in many of them not a vestige of the original materials remains.... Even in this case, however, the old materials of coaches or engines are more or less worked up into other vehicles or engines, and never totally disappear from the road. The movable capital therefore may be considered to be in a state of continual reproduction; and that which, in the case of the permanent way, must take place altogether at a future epoch, when the entire road will have to be relaid, takes place in the rolling stock gradually from year to year. Its existence is perennial, and it is in a constant state of rejuvenescence" (Lardner, op. cit, pp. 115-16).

This process, which Lardner here describes relative to a railway, does not fit the case of an individual factory, but may well serve as an illustration of continuous, partial reproduction of fixed capital intermingled with repairs within an entire branch of industry or even within the aggregate production considered on a social scale.

Here is proof of the lengths to which adroit boards of directors may go in manipulating the terms repairs and replacement for the purpose of extracting dividends. According to the above-quoted paper read by R. P. Williams, various English railway companies wrote off the following sums from the revenue account, as averages over a number of years, for repairs and maintenance of the permanent way and buildings (per English mile of track annually).

| | |
|---|---|
| London & North Western . . . . . | £370 |
| Midland . . . . . | £225 |
| London & South Western . . . . . | £257 |
| Great Northern . . . . . | £360 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Lancashire & Yorkshire | £377 |
| South Eastern | £263 |
| Brighton | £266 |
| Manchester & Sheffield | £200 [34] |

These differences arise only to a very minor degree from differences in the actual expenses; they are due almost exclusively to different methods of calculation, according to whether items of expense are debited to the capital or the revenue account. Williams says in so many words:

"A smaller charge is adopted because its adoption is necessary for a good dividend, and the larger charge is put forward because it can be supported by reason of revenue being superior." [29]

In certain cases the wear and tear, and therefore its replacement, is practically infinitesimal so that nothing but costs of repairs have to be charged. Lardner's statements below relative to WORKS OF ART in the railway apply in general to all such durable structures as canals, docks, iron and stone bridges, etc.

"That wear and tear which, being due to the slow operation of time acting upon the more solid structures, produces an effect altogether insensible when observed through short periods, but which, after a long interval of time, such, for example, as centuries, must necessitate the reconstruction of some or all even of the most solid structures. These changes may not unaptly be assimilated to the periodical and secular inequalities which take place in the movements of the great bodies of the universe. The operation of time upon the more massive works of art upon the railway, such as the bridges, tunnels, viaducts, etc., afford examples of what may be called the secular wear and tear. The more rapid and visible deterioration, which is made good by repairs or reconstruction effected at shorter intervals, is analogous to the periodic inequalities. In the annual repairs is included the casual damage which the exterior of the more solid and durable works may from time to time sustain; but, independently of these repairs, age produces its effects even on these structures, and an epoch must arrive, however remote it be, at which they would be reduced to a state which will necessitate their reconstruction. For financial and economical purposes such an epoch is perhaps too remote to render it necessary to bring it into practical calculation" (Lardner, loc. cit., pp. 38, 39).

This applies to all similar structures of secular duration, in which cases therefore the capital advanced need not be gradually replaced commensurate with their wear and tear, but only the annual average costs of maintenance and repair need be transferred to the prices of the product.

Although, as we have seen, a greater part of the money returning for the replacement of the wear and tear of the fixed capital is an-

nually, or even in shorter intervals, reconverted into its bodily form, nevertheless every single capitalist requires a sinking fund for that part of his fixed capital which falls due for reproduction only after a lapse of years but must then be entirely replaced. A considerable component part of the fixed capital precludes piecemeal reproduction because of its peculiar properties. Besides, in cases where the reproduction takes place piecemeal in such a way that at short intervals new stock is added to the depreciated old stock, a previous accumulation of money of a greater or smaller amount, depending on the specific character of the branch of production is necessary before the replacement can be effected. Not just any sum of money will suffice for this purpose; a definite amount is needed.

If we study this question on the assumption of simple circulation of money, without regard to the credit system, of which we shall treat later,[35] then the mechanism of this movement is as follows: It was shown in the first book (Kap. III, 3a)[a] that the proportion in which the aggregate mass of money is distributed over a hoard and means of circulation varies steadily, if one part of the money available in society constantly lies fallow as a hoard, while another performs the functions of a medium of circulation or of an immediate reserve fund of the directly circulating money. Now in our case money that must be accumulated as a hoard in the hands of a relatively big capitalist in rather large amounts is thrown all at once into circulation on the purchase of the fixed capital. It then divides again in society into medium of circulation and hoard. By means of the sinking fund, in which the value of the fixed capital flows back to its starting-point in proportion to its wear and tear, a part of the circulating money again forms a hoard, for a longer or shorter period, in the hands of the same capitalist whose hoard had, upon the purchase of the fixed capital, been transformed into a medium of circulation and passed away from him. It is a continually changing distribution of the hoard which exists in society and alternately functions as a medium of circulation and then is separated again, as a hoard, from the mass of the circulating money. With the development of the credit system, which necessarily runs parallel with the development of modern industry and capitalist production, this money no longer serves as a hoard but as capital; however not in the hands of its owner but of other capitalists at whose disposal it has been placed.

[a] English edition: Ch. III, 3a (present edition, Vol. 35).

# Chapter IX

## THE AGGREGATE TURNOVER OF ADVANCED CAPITAL. CYCLES OF TURNOVER

We have seen that the fixed and circulating component parts of productive capital are turned over in various ways and at various periods, also that the different constituents of the fixed capital of a business have different periods of turnover, depending on their different durabilities and therefore on their different times of reproduction. (On the real or apparent difference in the turnover of different constituents of circulating capital in the same business, see the close of this chapter, under 6.)

1) The aggregate turnover of an advanced capital is the average turnover of its various constituent parts; the mode of its calculation is given later. Inasmuch as it is merely a question of different periods of time, nothing is easier than to compute their average. But

2) we have here not alone quantitative but also qualitative difference.

The circulating capital entering into the process of production transfers its entire value to the product and must therefore be continually replaced *in natura* by the sale of the product, if the process of production is to proceed without interruption. The fixed capital entering into the process of production transfers only a part of its value (the wear and tear) to the product and despite this wear and tear continues functioning in the process of production. Therefore it need not be replaced *in natura* until the lapse of intervals of various duration, at any rate not as frequently as the circulating capital. This necessity of replacement, the reproduction term, is not only quantitatively different for the various constituent parts of fixed capital, but, as we have seen, a part of the perennial fixed capital, that which lasts longer, may be replaced annually or at shorter intervals and added *in natura* to the old fixed capital. In the case of fixed capital of different properties the replacement can take place only all at once at the end of its period of durability.

It is therefore necessary to reduce the specific turnovers of the various parts of fixed capital to a homogeneous form of turnover, so that

they will remain different only quantitatively, namely, according to duration of turnover.

This qualitative identity does not come about if we take as our starting-point P ... P, the form of the continuous process of production. For definite elements of P must be constantly replaced *in natura* while others need not. However the form M ... M′ undoubtedly yields this identity of turnover. Take for instance a machine worth £10,000, which lasts ten years of which $^1/_{10}$ = £1,000 is annually reconverted into money. These £1,000 have been converted in the course of one year from money capital into productive capital and commodity capital, and then reconverted from this into money capital. They have returned to their original form, the money form, just like the circulating capital, if we study the latter in this form, and it is immaterial here whether this money capital of £1,000 is once more converted at the end of the year into the bodily form of a machine or not. In calculating the aggregate turnover of the advanced productive capital we therefore fix all its elements in the money form, so that the return to that form concludes the turnover. We assume that value is always advanced in money, even in the continuous process of production, where this money form of value is only that of money of account. Thus we can compute the average.

3) It follows that even if by far the greater part of the advanced productive capital consists of fixed capital whose period of reproduction, hence also of turnover, comprises a cycle of many years, the capital value turned over during the year may, on account of the repeated turnovers of the circulating capital within the same year, be larger than the aggregate value of the advanced capital.

Suppose the fixed capital = £80,000 and its period of reproduction = 10 years, so that £8,000 of it annually return to their money form, or it completes $^1/_{10}$ of its turnover. Suppose further the circulating capital = £20,000, and its turnover is completed five times per year. The total capital would then be £100,000. The turned-over fixed capital = £8,000, the turned-over circulating capital = 5 x £20,000 = £100,000. Then the capital turned over during one year = £108,000, or £8,000 more than the advanced capital. 1 + $^2/_{25}$ of the capital have been turned over.

4) Therefore the *turnover time of the value* of the advanced capital differs from its actual time of reproduction or from the actual time of turnover of its component parts. Take for instance a capital of £4,000 and let it turn over, say, five times a year. The turned-over capital is

then 5 x £4,000 = £20,000. But what returns at the end of each turnover to be advanced anew is the originally advanced capital of £4,000. Its magnitude is not changed by the number of turnover periods, during which it performs anew its functions as capital. (Apart from surplus value.)

In the illustration under No. 3, then, the sums assumedly returned into the hands of the capitalist at the end of one year are (a) a sum of values amounting to £20,000 which he invests again in the circulating constituents of the capital, and (b) a sum of £8,000 which has been set free by wear and tear from the value of the advanced fixed capital; simultaneously this same fixed capital remains in the process of production, but with the reduced value of £72,000 instead of £80,000. The process of production therefore would have to be continued for nine years more, before the advanced fixed capital outlived its term and ceased to function as a creator of products and values, so that it would have to be replaced. The advanced capital value, then, has to pass through a cycle of turnovers, in the present case a cycle of ten annual ones, and this cycle is determined by the lifetime, hence the reproduction or turnover time, of the applied fixed capital.

As the magnitude of the value and the durability of the applied fixed capital develop with the development of the capitalist mode of production, the lifetime of industry and of industrial capital lengthens in each particular field of investment to a period of many years, say of ten years on an average. Whereas the development of fixed capital extends this life on the one hand it is shortened on the other by the continuous revolution in the means of production, which likewise incessantly gains momentum with the development of the capitalist mode of production. This involves a change in the means of production and the necessity of their constant replacement, on account of moral depreciation, long before they expire physically. One may assume that in the essential branches of large-scale industry this life cycle now averages ten years. However we are not concerned here with the exact figure. This much is evident: the cycle of interconnected turnovers embracing a number of years, in which capital is held fast by its fixed constituent part, furnishes a material basis for the periodic crises. During this cycle business undergoes successive periods of depression, medium activity, precipitancy, crisis. True, periods in which capital is invested differ greatly and far from coincide in time.

But a crisis always forms the starting-point of large new investments. Therefore, from the point of view of society as a whole, more or less, a new material basis for the next turnover cycle.[22a)]

5) On the way to calculate the turnovers, an American economist states[37]:

"In some trades the whole capital embarked is turned or circulated several times within the year. In others a part is turned oftener than once a year, another part less often. It is the average period which his entire capital takes in passing through his hands, or making one revolution, from which a capitalist must calculate his profits. Suppose, for example, that a person engaged in a particular business has one half of his capital invested in buildings and machinery, so as to be turned only once in ten years; that one-fourth more, the cost of his tools, etc., is turned once in two years; and the remaining fourth, employed in paying wages and purchasing material, is turned twice in one year. Say that his entire capital is $50,000. Then his annual expenditure will be:

$$\frac{50{,}000}{2} = \$25{,}000 : 10 = \$\ 2{,}500$$

$$\frac{50{,}000}{4} = 12{,}500 : 2 = 6{,}250$$

$$\frac{50{,}000}{4} = 12{,}500 \times 2 = 25{,}000$$

$$\$33{,}750$$

... the mean term in which his capital is turned being sixteen months[38] ....

"Take another case, ... say that one-fourth of the entire capital circulates in ten years, one-fourth in one year, and one half twice in the year. Then the annual expenditure will be,

$$\$12{,}500 : 10 = \$\ 1{,}250$$

$$12{,}500 = 12{,}500$$

$$25{,}000 \times 2 = 50{,}000$$

Turned over in 1 year $63,750 "

(Scrope, *Pol. Econ.*, edit. Alonzo Potter, New York, 1841, pp. 142, 143).

6) Real and apparent differences in the turnover of the various parts of capital.

The same Scrope says in the same passage:

"The capital laid out by a manufacturer, farmer, or tradesman in the payment of his labourer's wages, circulates most rapidly, being turned perhaps once a week (if his men are paid weekly), by the weekly receipts on his bills or sales. That invested in his materials and stock in hand circulates less quickly, being turned perhaps twice, per-

[22a)] "Urban production is bound to a cycle of days, rural production on the contrary to one of years" (Adam H. Müller, *Die Elemente der Staatskunst*, Berlin, 1809, III, p. 178).[36] This is the naïve conception of industry and agriculture held by the romantic school.

haps four times in the year, according to the time consumed between his purchases of the one and sales of the other, supposing him to buy and sell on equal credits. The capital invested in his implements and machinery circulates still more slowly, being turned, that is, consumed and renewed, on the average, perhaps but once in five or ten years; though there are many tools that are worn out in one set of operations. The capital which is embarked in buildings, as mills, shops, warehouses, barns, in roads, irrigation, etc., may appear scarcely to circulate at all. But, in truth, these things are, to the full, as much as those we have enumerated, consumed in contributing to production, and must be reproduced in order to enable the producer to continue his operations; with this only difference, that they are consumed and reproduced by slower degrees than the rest ... and the capital invested in them may be turned perhaps every twenty or fifty years" [pp. 141-42].

Scrope confuses here the difference in the flow of certain parts of the circulating capital, brought about for the individual capitalist by terms of payment and conditions of credit, with the difference in the turnovers due to the nature of capital. He says that wages must be paid weekly out of the weekly receipts from paid sales or bills. It must be noted here in the first place that certain differences occur relative to wages themselves, depending on the length of the term of payment, that is, the length of time for which the labourer must give credit to the capitalist, whether wages are payable every week, month, three months, six months, etc. In this case, the law expounded before, holds good, to the effect that "the quantity of the means of payment required for all periodical payments" (hence of the money capital to be advanced at one time) "is in inverse proportion to the length of their periods" (Buch I, Kap. III, 3b, Seite 124).[39]

In the second place, it is not only the new value added in the process of production by the week's labour which enters completely into the weekly product, but also the value of the raw and auxiliary materials consumed by the weekly product. This value circulates with the product containing it. It assumes the form of money through the sale of the product and must be reconverted into the same elements of production. This applies as much to the labour power as to the raw and auxiliary materials. But we have already seen (Chapter VI, II, 1) that continuity of production requires a supply of means of production different for different branches of business, and different within one and the same branch of business for different component parts of this element of the circulating capital, for instance, for coal and cotton. Hence, although these materials must be continually replaced *in natura*, they need not always be bought anew. The frequency of purchases depends on the size of the available stock, on the time it

takes to exhaust it. In the case of labour power there is no such storing of a supply. The reconversion into money of the part of capital laid out in labour power goes hand in hand with that of the capital invested in raw and auxiliary materials. But the reconversion of the money, on the one hand into labour power, on the other into raw materials, proceeds separately on account of the special terms of purchase and payment of these two constituents, one of them being bought as a productive supply for long periods, the other, labour power, for shorter periods, for instance a week. On the other hand the capitalist must keep a stock of finished commodities besides a stock of materials for production. Let us leave sales difficulties, etc. aside. A certain quantity of goods must be produced, say, on order. While the last portion of this lot is being produced, the finished products are waiting in the warehouse until the order can be completely filled. Other differences in the turnover of circulating capital arise whenever some of its separate elements must stay in some preliminary stage of the process of production (drying of wood, etc.) longer than others.

The credit system, to which Scrope here refers, as well as commercial capital, modifies the turnover for the individual capitalist. On a social scale it modifies the turnover only in so far as it does not accelerate merely production but also consumption.

## Chapter X

### THEORIES OF FIXED AND CIRCULATING CAPITAL. THE PHYSIOCRATS AND ADAM SMITH

In Quesnay the distinction between fixed and circulating capital presents itself as *avances primitives* and *avances annuelles*. He correctly represents this distinction as one existing within productive capital, capital directly engaged in the process of production. As he regards the capital employed in agriculture, the capital of the farmer, as the only really productive capital, he draws these distinctions only for the capital of the farmer. This also accounts for the annual period of turnover of one part of the capital, and the more than annual (decennial) period of the other part. In the course of the development the Physiocrats incidentally applied these distinctions also to other kinds of capital and to industrial capital in general. The distinction between annual advances and others of two or more years' duration has

retained such importance for society that many economists, even after Adam Smith, return to this definition.

The difference between these two kinds of advances does not arise until advanced money has been transformed into the elements of productive capital. It is a difference that exists solely within productive capital. It therefore never occurs to Quesnay to classify money either among the original or the annual advances. As advances for production, i. e., as productive capital, both of them stand opposed to money as well as the commodities existing in the market. Furthermore the difference between these two elements of productive capital is correctly reduced in Quesnay to the different manner in which they enter into the value of the finished product, hence to the different manner in which their values are circulated together with those of the products, and hence to the different manner of their replacement or their reproduction, the value of the one being wholly replaced annually, that of the other partly and at longer intervals.[23)]

The only progress made by Adam Smith is the generalisation of the categories. With him it no longer applies to one special form of capital, the farmer's capital, but to every form of productive capital. Hence it follows as a matter of course that the distinction derived from agriculture between an annual turnover and one of two or more years' duration is superseded by the general distinction into different periods of turnover, one turnover of the fixed capital always comprising more than one turnover of the circulating capital, regardless of the periods of turnover of the circulating capital, whether they be annual, more than annual, or less than annual. Thus in Adam Smith

[23)] Cf. Quesnay, *Analyse du Tableau économique* (*Physiocrates*, éd. Daire, 1. partie, Paris, 1846). There we read, for instance: "The annual advances consist of the expenses incurred annually for the labour of cultivation; these advances must be distinguished from the original advances, which form the fund for the establishment of the farming enterprise" (p. 59). In the works of the later Physiocrats these advances are sometimes termed directly capital: *Capital ou avances*. Dupont de Nemours, *Maximes du docteur Quesnay, ou Résumé de ses principes d'économie sociale* (Daire, I, p. 391); furthermore Le Trosne writes: "As a result of the greater or smaller durability of the works of human labour, a nation possesses a substantial fund of wealth independent of its annual reproduction, this fund forming a capital—accumulated over a long period and originally paid with products—which is continually preserved and augmented" (Daire, II, pp. 928-29).[a] Turgot employs the term capital more regularly for *avances*, and identifies the *avances* of the manufacturers still more with those of the farmers (Turgot, *Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses*, 1766).[40]

[a] Marx quotes Quesnay and Le Trosne in French.

the *avances annuelles* transform themselves into circulating capital, and the *avances primitives* into fixed capital. But his progress is confined to this generalisation of the categories. His implementation is far inferior to that of Quesnay.

The crudely empirical manner in which Smith broaches the investigation engenders at the very outset a lack of clarity:

* "There are two different ways in which a capital may be employed so as to yield a revenue or profit to its employer" (*Wealth of Nations*, Book II, Chap. I, p. 189, Aberdeen edition, 1848).*

The ways in which value may be invested so as to perform the functions of capital, to yield surplus value to its owner, are as different and varied as the spheres of investment of capital. It is a question of the different branches of production in which capital may be invested. If put in this way, the question implies still more. It includes the question of the way in which value, even if it is not invested as productive capital, can function as capital for its owner, for instance as interest-bearing capital, merchants' capital, etc. At this point we are already miles away from the real subject of the analysis, viz., the question of how the division of *productive* capital into its different elements, apart from their different spheres of investment, affects their turnover.

Adam Smith immediately continues:

* "First, it may be employed in raising, manufacturing, or purchasing goods, and selling them again with a profit." *

Adam Smith does not tell us anything else here than that capital may be employed in agriculture, manufacture, and commerce. He speaks therefore only of the different spheres of investment of capital, including such in which, as in commerce, capital is not directly embodied in the process of production, hence does not function as productive capital. In so doing he abandons the foundation on which the Physiocrats base the distinctions within productive capital and their effect on the turnover. More. He uses merchants' capital as an illustration in a problem which concerns exclusively differences within the *productive* capital in the product- and value-creating process, which in turn cause differences in its turnover and reproduction.

He continues:

* "The capital employed in this manner yields no revenue or profit to its employer, while it either remains in his possession or continues in the same shape." *

"THE CAPITAL EMPLOYED IN THIS MANNER!" But Smith speaks of capital invested in agriculture, in industry, and he tells us later that a capital so employed divides into fixed and circulating capital! Hence investment of capital in this manner cannot make fixed or circulating capital of it.

Or does he mean to say that capital employed in order to produce goods and to sell these at a profit must be sold after its transformation into goods and by means of the sale must in the first place pass from the possession of the seller into that of the buyer, and in the second place change from its bodily form, goods, into its money form, so that it is of no use to its owner so long as it either remains in his possession or continues in the same shape? In that case, the whole thing amounts to this: The capital value that formerly functioned in the form of productive capital, in a form peculiar to the process of production, now functions as commodity capital and money capital, in forms peculiar to the process of circulation, where it is no longer either fixed or circulating capital. And this applies equally to those elements of value which are added by raw and auxiliary material, i. e., by circulating capital, and to those which are added by the wear and tear of instruments of labour, hence by fixed capital. We do not get any nearer to the difference between fixed and circulating capital in this way.

Further:

* "The goods of the merchant yield him no revenue or profit till he sells them for money, and the money yields him as little till it is again exchanged for goods. His capital is continually going from him in one shape, and returning to him in another, and it is only by means of such circulation, or successive exchanges, that it can yield him any profit. Such capitals therefore may very properly be called circulating capitals." *

What Adam Smith here defines as circulating capital is what I want to call *capital of circulation*, capital in a form pertinent to the process of circulation, to a change of form by means of exchange (a change of substance and change of hands), hence commodity capital and money capital, as distinguished from its form pertinent to the process of production, that of productive capital. These are not different kinds into which the industrial capitalist divides his capital, but different forms over and over again assumed and stripped off successively by the same advanced capital value during its *curriculum vitae*. Adam Smith lumps this together—and this is a big step back com-

pared to the Physiocrats — with the distinctions in form which arise in the sphere of circulation of capital value, in its circular course through its successive forms, while the capital value exists in the form of *productive* capital; and they arise because of the different ways in which the different elements of productive capital take part in the formation of values and transfer their value to the product. We shall see below the consequences of this basic confusion of productive capital and capital in the sphere of circulation (commodity capital and money capital) on the one hand, with fixed and circulating capital on the other. The capital value advanced in fixed capital is as much circulated by the product as that which has been advanced in the circulating capital, and both are equally converted into money capital by the circulation of the commodity capital. The difference evolves only from the fact that the value of the fixed capital circulates piecemeal and therefore must likewise be replaced piecemeal, at shorter or longer intervals, must be reproduced in its bodily form.

That by circulating capital Adam Smith means here nothing but capital of circulation, i. e., capital value in the forms pertaining to the process of circulation (commodity capital and money capital) is shown by his singularly ill-chosen illustration. He selects for this purpose a kind of capital which does not belong at all in the process of production, but whose abode is exclusively the sphere of circulation, which consists solely of capital of circulation — merchants' capital.

How absurd it is to start out with an illustration in which capital does not figure altogether as productive capital is stated right afterwards by him himself:

* "The capital of a merchant [...] is altogether a circulating capital." *

Yet we are told later on that the difference between circulating and fixed capital evolves out of essential differences within the productive capital itself. On the one hand Adam Smith has the distinction of the Physiocrats in mind, on the other the different forms assumed by capital value in its circuit. And both these things are higgledy-piggledy jumbled together.

But how a profit is to come into existence by changes of form of money and commodities, by a mere transformation of value from one of these forms into another is more than anyone can tell. And an explanation becomes absolutely impossible because he starts out here

with merchants' capital, which moves only in the sphere of circulation. We shall return to this later. Let us first hear what he has to say about fixed capital.

* "Secondly, it" (capital) "may be employed in the improvement of land, in the purchase of useful machines and instruments of trade, or in suchlike things as yield a revenue or profit without changing masters, or circulating any further. Such capitals, therefore, may very properly be called fixed capitals. Different occupations require very different proportions between the fixed and circulating capitals employed in them.... Some part of the capital of every master artificer or manufacturer must be fixed in the instruments of his trade. This part, however, is very small in some, and very great in others.... The far greater part of the capital of all such master artificers" (such as tailors, shoemakers, weavers) "however is circulated, either in the wages of their workmen, or in the price of their materials, and to be repaid with a profit by the price of the work." *

Apart from the naïve determination of the source of profit, weakness and confusion become at once apparent from the following: To a machine manufacturer for example the machine is his product, which circulates as commodity capital, or in Adam Smith's words, "IS PARTED WITH, CHANGES MASTERS, CIRCULATES FURTHER". According to his own definition therefore this machine would not be fixed but circulating capital. This confusion is again due to the fact that Smith mixes up the distinction between fixed and circulating capital evolved out of the manifold circulation of the various elements of productive capital, with differences in the form assumed by the same capital which functions as *productive* capital within the process of production and as circulation capital, that is to say, as commodity capital or as money capital, within the sphere of circulation. Consequently with Adam Smith things can function as fixed capital (as instruments of labour, elements of productive capital), or as "circulating" capital, commodity capital (as products thrust out of the sphere of production into that of circulation), all depending on the position they occupy in the life process of capital.

But Adam Smith suddenly changes the entire basis of his classification, and contradicts the text with which he had opened the entire investigation a few lines previously. This refers particularly to the statement:

* "There are two different ways in which a capital may be employed so as to yield a revenue or a profit to its employer," *

namely as circulating or as fixed capital. According to that, these are therefore different methods of employing different capitals independent of one another, such as capitals that can be employed either in industry or in agriculture. And then we read:

* "Different occupations require very different proportions between the fixed and circulating capitals employed in them." *

Fixed and circulating capital are now no longer different, independent investments of capital but different portions of the same productive capital, which form different parts of the total value of this capital in different spheres of investment. Hence we have here differences arising from an appropriate division of the *productive* capital itself and therefore valid only with respect to it. But this runs counter to the circumstance that merchants' capital, being merely circulating capital, is opposed to fixed capital, for Adam Smith says himself:

"The capital of a merchant [...] is altogether a circulating capital."

It is indeed a capital performing its functions solely within the sphere of circulation and as such stands opposed in general to productive capital, the capital embodied in the process of production. But for this very reason it cannot be contrasted as the fluid (circulating) component part of productive capital to its fixed component part.

In the illustrations Smith gives he designates the "INSTRUMENTS OF TRADE" as fixed capital, and the portion of capital laid out in wages and raw materials, including auxiliary materials, as circulating capital ("REPAID WITH A PROFIT BY THE PRICE OF THE WORK").

And so he starts out, in the first place, from the various constituents of the labour process, from labour power (labour) and raw materials on the one hand, and instruments of labour on the other. But these are constituents of capital, because a sum of value which is to function as capital is invested in them. To this extent they are material elements, modes of existence of *productive* capital, that is to say, of capital functioning in the process of production. But why is one of these parts called fixed? Because

* "some part of the capital [...] must be fixed in the instruments of trade".*

But the other part is also fixed—in wages and raw materials. Machines however and

* "instruments of trade ... suchlike things ... yield a revenue or profit without changing masters, or circulating any further. Such capitals, therefore, may very properly be called fixed capitals." *

Take for instance the mining industry. No raw material at all is used there, because the subject of labour, such as copper, is a product of nature, which must first be appropriated by labour. The copper to be first appropriated, the product of the process, which circulates later as a commodity, or commodity capital, does not form an element of productive capital. No part of its value is invested in it. On the other hand the other elements of the productive process, labour power and auxiliary materials such as coal, water, etc., do not enter materially into the product, either. The coal is entirely consumed and only its value enters into the product, just as a part of the value of the machine, etc., enters into it. Finally, the labourer remains as independent vis-à-vis the product, the copper, as the machine; except that the value which he produces by means of his labour is now a component part of the value of the copper. Hence in this illustration not a single constituent of productive capital changes "MASTERS",[a] nor is any of them circulated further, because none of them enter materially into the product. What becomes of the circulating capital in this case? According to Adam Smith's own definition the entire capital employed in a copper mine consists of fixed capital and nothing else.

Let us take on the other hand a different industry, one which utilises raw materials that form the substance of its product, and auxiliary materials that enter into the product bodily and not only as so much value, as is the case with fuel coal. The product, for instance the yarn, changes hands together with the raw material, the cotton, composing it, and passes from the process of production into that of consumption. But so long as the cotton functions as an element of productive capital, its owner does not sell it, but processes it, has it made into yarn. He does not part with it. Or, to use Smith's crudely erroneous and trivial terms, he does not make any profit BY PARTING WITH IT, BY ITS CHANGING MASTERS, OR BY CIRCULATING IT. He does not permit his materials to circulate any more than his machines. They are fixed in the process of production, the same as the spinning machines and the factory buildings. Indeed, a part of the productive capital must be just as continually fixed in the form of coal, cotton, etc., as in the form of instruments of labour. The difference is only that for instance the cot-

[a] Marx gives this English term in parentheses after its German equivalent.

ton, coal, etc., required for one week's yarn production, are always entirely consumed in the manufacture of the weekly product, so that new cotton, coal, etc., must be supplied in their place; in other words, these elements of productive capital, although remaining identical in kind, always consist of new specimens of the same kind, while the same individual spinning machine or the same individual factory building continues its participation in a whole series of weekly productions without being replaced by a new specimen of its kind. As elements of the productive capital all its constituent parts are continually fixed in the process of production, for it cannot proceed without them. And all the elements of productive capital, whether fixed or circulating, equally confront, as productive capital, the capital of circulation, i. e., commodity capital and money capital.

It is the same with labour power. A part of the productive capital must be continually fixed in it, and it is the same identical labour powers, just as it is the same machines, that are everywhere employed for a certain length of time by the same capitalist. The difference between labour power and machines in this case is not that the machines are bought once and for all (which is not so when they are paid for in instalments), while the labourer is not. The difference is rather that the labour expended by the labourer enters wholly into the value of the product, while the value of the machines enters only piecemeal.

Smith confuses different definitions when he says of circulating capital as opposed to fixed:

* "The capital employed in this manner yields no revenue or profit to its employer, while it either remains in his possession or continues in the same shape." *

He places the merely formal metamorphosis of the commodity, which the product, the commodity capital, undergoes in the sphere of circulation and which brings about the change of hands of the commodities, on the same level as the bodily metamorphosis, which the various elements of productive capital undergo during the process of production. He indiscriminately jumbles together the transformation of commodities into money and of money into commodities, or purchase and sale, with the transformation of elements of production into products. His illustration for circulating capital is merchants' capital, which is converted from commodities into money and from money into commodities — the change of form C—M—C pertaining to the circulation of commodities. But this change of form within the cir-

culation signifies for the industrial capital in action that the commodities into which the money is reconverted are elements of production (instruments of labour and labour power), that, therefore, the change of form renders the function of industrial capital continuous, renders the process of production a continuous one, or a process of reproduction. This entire change of form takes place in *circulation.* It is this change of form that brings about the real passage of the commodities from hand to hand. But the metamorphoses gone through by productive capital within its process of production are on the contrary metamorphoses that pertain to the *labour process* and are necessary to transform the elements of production into the desired product. Adam Smith clings to the fact that a part of the means of production (the instruments of labour proper) serve in the labour process ("YIELD A PROFIT TO THEIR MASTER," as he erroneously expresses it) without changing their bodily form and wear out only by degrees; while the other part, the materials, change and by virtue of this very change attain their destination as means of production. This difference in the behaviour of the elements of productive capital in the labour process forms however only the point of departure of the difference between fixed and non-fixed capital, not this difference itself. That follows from the fact alone that this different behaviour exists in equal measure under all modes of production, capitalist and non-capitalist. To this different behaviour of material elements corresponds however the *transmission of value* to the product, and to this in turn corresponds the replacement of value by the sale of the product. That and that alone is what constitutes the difference in question. Hence capital is not called fixed because it is fixed in the instruments of labour but because a part of its value laid out in instruments of labour remains fixed in them, while the other part circulates as a component part of the value of the product.

*"If it" (the stock) "is employed in procuring future profit, it must procure this profit either by staying with him" (the employer), "or by going from him. In the one case it is a fixed, in the other it is a circulating capital" (p. 189).*

What strikes one here above all is the crudely empirical conception of profit derived from the outlook of the ordinary capitalist, which wholly contradicts the better esoteric understanding of Adam Smith. Not only the price of the materials and that of the labour power is replaced in the price of the product, but also that part of value which is

transferred by wear and tear from the instruments of labour to the product. Under no circumstances does this replacement yield profit. Whether a value advanced for the production of a commodity is replaced entirely or piecemeal, at one time or gradually, by the sale of that commodity, cannot change anything except the manner and time of replacement. But in no event can it transform that which is common to both, the replacement of value, into a creation of surplus value. At the bottom of it all lies the commonly held idea that, because surplus value is not realised until the product is sold, until it circulates, it originates only from sales, from the circulation. Indeed the different manner of origination of profit is in this case but a wrong way of expressing the fact that the different elements of productive capital serve differently, that as productive elements they act differently in the labour process. It the end, the difference is not derived from the process of labour or self-expansion, not from the function of productive capital itself, but it is supposed to apply only subjectively to the individual capitalist, to whom one part of capital serves a useful purpose in one way, while another part does so in another way.

Quesnay, on the other hand, had derived these differences from the process of reproduction and its necessities. In order that this process may be continuous, the value of the annual advances must annually be replaced in full out of the value of the annual product, while the value of the investment capital need be replaced only piecemeal, so that it requires complete replacement and therefore complete reproduction only in a period of, say, ten years (by new material of the same kind). Consequently Adam Smith falls far below Quesnay.

So there is therefore absolutely nothing left to Adam Smith for a definition of fixed capital except that it is instruments of labour which do not change their shape in the process of production and continue to serve in production until they are worn out, as opposed to the products in the formation of which they assist. He forgets that all elements of productive capital continually confront in their bodily form (as instruments of labour, materials, and labour power) the product and the product circulating as a commodity, and that the difference between the part consisting of materials and labour power and that consisting of instruments of labour is only this: with regard to labour power, that it is always purchased afresh (not bought for the time it lasts, as are the instruments of labour); with regard to the materials, that it is not the same identical materials that function in the labour process throughout, but always new materials of the same

kind. At the same time the false impression is created that the value of the fixed capital does not participate in the circulation, although of course Adam Smith previously explained the wear and tear of fixed capital as a part of the price of the product.

In opposing circulating capital to fixed, no emphasis is placed on the fact that this opposition exists solely because it is that constituent part of productive capital which must be *wholly* replaced out of the value of the product and must therefore fully share in its metamorphoses,while this is not so in the case of the fixed capital. Instead the circulating capital is jumbled together with those forms which capital assumes on passing from the sphere of production to that of circulation, as commodity capital and money capital. But both forms, commodity capital as well as money capital, are carriers of the value of both the fixed and the circulating component parts of productive capital. Both of them are capital of circulation, as distinguished from productive capital, but not circulating (fluid) capital as distinguished from fixed capital.

Finally, owing to the wholly erroneous explanation that profit is made by fixed capital staying in the process of production, and by circulating capital leaving it and being circulated, and also on account of the identity of form assumed in the *turnover* by the variable capital and the circulating constituent of the constant capital, their essential difference in the *process of self-expansion* and of the formation of surplus value is hidden, so that the entire secret of capitalist production is obscured still more. The common designation "circulating capital" abolishes this essential difference. Political economy subsequently went still farther by holding fast not to the antithesis between variable and constant capital but to the antithesis between fixed and circulating capital as the essential and sole delimitation.

After Adam Smith has designated fixed and circulating capital as two particular ways of investing capital, each of which yields a profit by itself, he says:

*"No fixed capital can yield any revenue but by means of a circulating capital. The most useful machines and instruments of trade will produce nothing without the circulating capital which affords the materials they are employed upon, and the maintenance of the workmen who employ them" (p. 188).*

Here it becomes apparent what the previously used expressions

"YIELD A REVENUE", "MAKE A PROFIT", etc., signify, viz., that both parts of capital serve as creators of product.

Adam Smith then gives the following illustration:

*"That part of the capital of the farmer which is employed in the instruments of agriculture is a fixed, that which is employed in the wages and maintenance of his labouring servants is a circulating capital." *

(Here the difference between fixed and circulating capital is correctly applied only to difference in circulation, to the turnovers of different constituent parts of productive capital.)

*"He makes a profit of the one by keeping it in his own possession, and of the other by parting with it. The price or value of his labouring cattle is a fixed capital"*

(here he is again correct when he says it is the value, not the material element, to which the difference applies)

*"in the same manner as that of the instruments of husbandry; their maintenance" (that of the labouring cattle) "is a circulating capital in the same manner as that of the labouring servants. The farmer makes his profit by keeping the labouring cattle, and by parting with their maintenance."*

(The farmer keeps the fodder of the cattle, he does not sell it. He uses it to feed the cattle, while he uses up the cattle themselves as instruments of labour. The difference is only this: The fodder that goes for the maintenance of the labouring cattle is consumed wholly and must be continually replaced by new cattle fodder out of the products of agriculture or by their sale; the cattle themselves are replaced only as each head becomes incapacitated for work.)

*"Both the price and the maintenance of the cattle which are bought in and fattened, not for labour but for sale, are a circulating capital. The farmer makes his profit by parting with them." *

(Every producer of commodities, hence likewise the capitalist producer, sells his product, the result of his process of production, but this is no reason why this product should form a part of either the fixed or the circulating component of his *productive* capital. The product now exists rather in that form in which it is thrust out of the process of production and must function as commodity capital. The fattened stock function in the process of production as raw material, not as in-

struments of labour like the labouring cattle. Hence the fattened cattle enter into the product as substance, and their whole value enters into it, just as that of the auxiliary material //its fodder//. The fattened cattle are therefore a circulating part of the productive capital, but not because the sold product, the fattened cattle, have the same bodily form as the raw material, the cattle not yet fattened. This is accidental. At the same time Adam Smith might have seen by this illustration that it is not the material form of the element of production but its function within the process of production that determines the value contained in it as fixed or circulating.)

* "The whole value of the seed too is properly a fixed capital. Though it goes backwards and forwards between the ground and the granary, it never changes masters, and therefore it does not properly circulate. The farmer makes his profit not by its sale, but by its increase." *

At this point the utter thoughtlessness of the Smithian distinction reveals itself. According to him seed would be fixed capital, if there would be no "CHANGE OF MASTERS", that is to say, if the seed is directly replaced out of the annual product, is deducted from it. On the other hand it would be circulating capital, if the entire product were sold and with a part of its value seed of another owner were bought. In the one case there is a "CHANGE OF MASTERS", in the other there is not. Smith once more confuses here circulating and commodity capital. The product is the material vehicle of the commodity capital, but of course only that part of it which actually enters into the circulation and does not re-enter directly into the process of production from which it emerged as a product.

Whether the seed is directly deducted from the product as a part of it or the entire product is sold and a part of its value converted in the purchase of another man's seed — in either case it is mere replacement that takes place and no profit is made by this replacement. In the one case the seed enters into circulation as a commodity together with the remainder of the product; in the other it figures only in bookkeeping as a component part of the value of the advanced capital. But in both cases it remains a circulating constituent of the productive capital. The seed is entirely consumed to get the product ready, and it must be entirely replaced out of the product to make reproduction possible.

"Hence raw material and auxiliary substances lose the character-

istic form with which they are clothed on entering the labour process. It is otherwise with the instruments of labour. Tools, machines, workshops, and vessels, are of use in the labour process, only so long as they retain their original shape, and are ready each morning to renew the process with their shape unchanged. And just as during their lifetime, that is to say, during the continued labour process in which they serve, they retain their shape independent of the product, so too, they do after their death. The corpses of machines, tools, workshops, etc., are always separate and distinct from the product they helped to turn out" (Buch I, Kap. VI, S. 192).[a]

These different ways in which means of production are consumed to form the product, some of them preserving their independent shape vis-à-vis the product, others changing or losing it entirely—this difference pertaining to the labour process as such and therefore just as well to labour processes aimed at satisfying merely one's own needs, e. g., the needs of the patriarchal family, without any exchange, without production of commodities—are falsified by Adam Smith. He does so 1) by introducing here the totally irrelevant definition of profit, claiming that some of the means of production yield a profit to their owner by preserving their form, while the others do so by losing it; 2) by jumbling together the alterations of a part of the elements of production in the labour process with the change of form (purchase and sale) that is characteristic of the exchange of products, of commodity circulation, and which at the same time includes a change in the ownership of the circulating commodities.

The turnover presupposes reproduction effected by circulation, hence by the sale of the product, by its conversion into money and its reconversion from money into its elements of production. But since a part of the capitalist producer's own product again directly serves him as means of production, he appears as a seller of it to himself, and that is how the matter figures in his books. In that case this part of the reproduction is not brought about by circulation but proceeds directly. However the part of the product thus serving again as means of production replaces circulating, not fixed capital, since 1) its value passes wholly into the product, and 2) it itself has been wholly replaced *in natura* by a new specimen out of the new product.

Adam Smith tells us now what circulating and fixed capital consist of. He enumerates the things, the material elements, which form

[a] *Capital,* Vol. I, Ch. VIII (present edition, Vol. 35).

fixed, and those which form circulating capital, as if this definiteness were inherent in these things materially, by nature, and did not rather spring from their definite function within the capitalist process of production. And yet in the same chapter (Book II, Chapter I) he makes the remark that although a certain thing, e.g., a dwelling, which is reserved for "immediate consumption,"

*"may yield a revenue to its proprietor, and thereby serve *in the function of a capital* to him, it cannot yield any to the public, nor serve in the function of a capital to it, and the revenue of the whole body of the people can never be in the smallest degree increased by it" (p. 186).*

Here, then, Adam Smith clearly states that the property of being capital is not inherent in things as such and in any case, but is a function with which they may or may not be invested, according to circumstances. But what is true of capital in general is also true of its subdivisions.

The same things form constituent parts of the circulating or fixed capital, depending on what function they perform in the labour process. A head of cattle for instance, as labouring cattle (instrument of labour), represents the material mode of existence of fixed capital, while as cattle for fattening (raw material) it is a constituent part of the farmer's circulating capital. On the other hand the same thing may now function as a constituent part of productive capital and now belong to the fund for direct consumption. A house for instance when performing the function of a workshop, is a fixed component part of productive capital; when serving as a dwelling it is in no wise a form of capital. The same instruments of labour may in many cases serve either as means of production or as means of consumption.

It was one of the errors following from Adam Smith's idea that the property of being fixed or circulating capital was conceived as inherent in the things themselves. The mere analysis of the labour process (Buch I, Kap. V) [a] shows that the definitions of instruments of labour, materials of labour, and product change according to the various roles played by one and the same thing in the process. The definitions of fixed and non-fixed capital are based in their turn on the definite roles played by these elements in the labour process, and therefore also in the value formation process.

In the second place, on enumerating the things fixed and circulating

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. VII (present edition, Vol. 35).

capitals consist of, it becomes fully apparent that Smith lumps together the distinction — valid and making sense only with regard to productive capital (capital in its productive form) — between the fixed and circulating components of the same, with the distinction between productive capital and those forms which pertain to capital in its process of circulation, viz., commodity capital and money capital. He says in the same passage (pp. 187, 188):

* "The circulating capital consists ... of the provisions, materials, and finished work of all kinds that are in the hands of their respective dealers, and of the money that is necessary for circulating and distributing them, etc." *

Indeed, if we look more closely we observe that here, contrary to his previous statements, circulating capital is again equated to commodity capital and money capital, that is to say, to two forms of capital which do not belong in the process of production at all, which do not form circulating (fluid) capital as opposed to fixed, but capital of circulation as opposed to productive capital. It is only *alongside* these that the constituents of productive capital advanced in materials (raw materials or semi-finished products) and really incorporated in the process of production then play a role again. He says:

* "... The third and last of the three portions into which the general stock of the society naturally divides itself, is the circulating capital, of which the characteristic is, that it affords a revenue only by circulating or changing masters. It is composed likewise of four parts: first of the money..." *

(but money is never a form of productive capital, of capital functioning in the productive process; it is always only one of the forms assumed by capital within its process of circulation);

* "secondly, of the stock of provisions which are in the possession of the butcher, the grazier, the farmer ... from the sale of which they expect to derive a profit.... Fourthly and lastly, of the work which is made up and completed, but which is still in the hands of the merchant and manufacturer". And, "thirdly, of the materials, whether altogether rude, or more or less manufactured, of clothes, furniture, and buildings, which are not yet made up into any of those three shapes, but which remain in the hands of the growers, the manufacturers, the mercers and drapers, the timber-merchants, the carpenters and joiners, the brick-makers, etc." *

Nos. 2 and 4 contain nothing but products which have been thrust out as such from the process of production and must be sold, in short, which now function as commodities, hence as commodity capital,

and which therefore have a form and occupy a place in the process in which they are not elements of productive capital, no matter what may be their eventual destination, i. e., whether, in order to answer their purpose (use value), they should finally be allotted to individual or productive consumption. The products mentioned in 2 are foodstuffs, in 4 all other finished products, which in turn consist only of finished instruments of labour or finished articles of consumption (foodstuffs other than those mentioned under 2).

The fact that Smith at the same time speaks of the merchant shows his confusion. Once the producer sells his product to the merchant, it no longer constitutes any form of his capital. From the point of view of society, it is indeed still commodity capital, although in other hands than those of its producer; but for the very reason that it is a commodity capital it is neither fixed nor circulating capital.

In every kind of production not meant for the satisfaction of the producer's direct needs, the product must circulate as a commodity, i. e., it must be sold, not in order to make a profit on it, but that the producer may be able to live at all. Under capitalist production there is to be added the circumstance that when a commodity is sold the surplus value embodied in it is also realised. The product emerges as a commodity from the process of production and is therefore neither a fixed nor a circulating element of this process.

Incidentally, Smith here argues against himself. The finished products, whatever their material form or their use value, their useful effect, are all commodity capital here, hence capital in a form characteristic of the process of circulation. Being in this form, they are not constituent parts of any productive capital their owner may have. This does not in the least prevent them from *becoming*, right after their sale, in the hands of their purchaser, constituent parts of productive capital, either fixed or circulating. Here it is evident that things which for a certain time appear in the market as commodity capital, as opposed to productive capital, may or may not function as circulating or fixed constituents of productive capital after they have been removed from the market.

The product of the cotton spinner, yarn, is the commodity form of his capital, is commodity capital as far as he is concerned. It cannot function again as a constituent part of his productive capital, neither as material of labour nor as an instrument of labour. But in the hands of the weaver who buys it, it is incorporated in the productive capital of the latter as one of its circulating constituent parts. For the spinner,

however, the yarn is the depository of the value of part of his fixed as well as circulating capital (apart from the surplus value). In the same way a machine, the product of a machine manufacturer, is the commodity form of his capital, is commodity capital to him. And so long as it stays in this form it is neither circulating nor fixed capital. But if sold to a manufacturer for use it becomes a fixed component part of a productive capital. Even if by virtue of its use form the product can partly re-enter as means of production into the process from which it originated, e. g., coal into coal production, precisely that part of the output of coal which is intended for sale represents neither circulating nor fixed capital but commodity capital.

On the other hand a product, due to its use form, may be wholly incapable of forming any element of productive capital, either as material of labour or as an instrument of labour. For instance any means of subsistence. Nevertheless it is commodity capital for its producer, is the carrier of the value of his fixed as well as circulating capital; and of the one or the other according to whether the capital employed in its production has to be replaced in whole or in part, has transferred its value to the product in whole or in part.

With Smith, in No. 3, the raw material (material not worked up, semi-finished products, auxiliary substances) does not figure on the one hand as a component part embodied in the productive capital, but actually only as a special kind of use values of which the social product can at all consist, as a special kind of commodities existing alongside the other material constituent parts, means of subsistence, etc., enumerated under Nos. 2 and 4. On the other hand these materials are indeed cited as incorporated in the productive capital and therefore as elements of it in the hands of the producer. The confusion is evidenced by the fact that they are partly conceived as functioning in the hands of the producer ("IN THE HANDS OF THE GROWERS, THE MANUFACTURERS, ETC."), and partly in the hands of merchants ("MERCERS, DRAPERS, TIMBER-MERCHANTS"), where they are merely commodity capital, not component parts of productive capital.

Indeed, Adam Smith wholly forgets here, in enumerating the elements of circulating capital, the distinction—applying only to the productive capital—between fixed and circulating capital. He rather places commodity capital and money capital, i. e., the two forms of capital typical of the process of circulation, in opposition to the productive capital, but that quite unconsciously.

Finally, it is a striking fact that Adam Smith forgets to mention la-

bour power when counting off the constituent parts of circulating capital. There are two reasons for this.

We have just seen that, apart from money capital, circulating capital is only another name for commodity capital. But to the extent that labour power circulates in the market, it is not capital, no form of commodity capital. It is not capital at all; the labourer is not a capitalist, although he brings a commodity to market, namely his own skin. Not until labour power has been sold, been incorporated in the process of production, hence not until it has ceased to circulate as a commodity, does it become a constituent of productive capital—variable capital as the source of surplus value, a circulating component part of productive capital with reference to the turnover of the capital value invested in it. Since Smith here confuses the circulating capital with commodity capital, he cannot bring labour power under the head of circulating capital. Hence the variable capital here appears in the form of the commodities the labourer buys with his wages, viz., means of subsistence. In this form the capital value invested in wages is supposed to belong to circulating capital. That which is incorporated in the process of production is labour power, the labourer himself, not the means of subsistence wherewith the labourer maintains himself. True, we have seen (Buch I, Kap. XXI)[a] that from the point of view of society the reproduction of the labourer himself by means of his individual consumption is likewise part of the process of reproduction of social capital. But this does not apply to the individual, isolated process of production which we are studying here. The "ACQUIRED AND USEFUL ABILITIES" (p. 187) which Smith mentions under the head of fixed capital are on the contrary component parts of circulating capital, since they are ABILITIES of the wage labourer and he has sold his labour together with its ABILITIES.

It is a great mistake on the part of Adam Smith to divide the entire social wealth into 1) a fund for immediate consumption, 2) fixed capital, and 3) circulating capital. According to the above, wealth would have to be divided into 1) a consumption fund which does not form any part of functioning social capital although parts of it *can* continually function as capital; and 2) capital. Accordingly one part of the wealth functions as capital, the other as non-capital, or consumption fund. And here appears the absolute necessity that all capital be either fixed or circulating, somewhat like the natural necessity that

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. XXIII (present edition, Vol. 35).

a mammal be male or female. But we have seen that the antithesis between fixed and circulating capital applies solely to the elements of *productive* capital, that consequently there is besides these a considerable amount of capital—commodity capital and money capital—that exists in a form in which it *can be* neither fixed nor circulating.

Inasmuch as under capitalist production the entire mass of social products circulates in the market as commodity capital, with the exception of that part of the products which is directly used up again by the individual capitalist producers in its bodily form as means of production without being sold or bought, it is evident that not only the fixed and circulating elements of productive capital, but likewise all the elements of the consumption fund are derived from the commodity capital. This is tantamount to saying that on the basis of capitalist production both means of production and articles of consumption first appear as commodity capital, even though they are intended for later use as means of production or articles of consumption, just as labour power itself is found in the market as a commodity, although not as commodity capital.

This accounts for the following new confusion in Adam Smith. He says:

* "Of these four parts" *

(of the circulating capital, i. e., of capital in its forms of commodity capital and money capital belonging in the process of circulation, two parts which are turned into four by the material distinctions Adam Smith makes between the constituent parts of commodity capital)

* "three—provisions, materials, and finished work, are either annually or in a longer or shorter period, regularly withdrawn from it and placed either in the fixed capital, or in the stock reserved for immediate consumption. Every fixed capital is both originally derived from, and requires to be continually supported by, a circulating capital. All useful machines and instruments of trade are originally derived from a circulating capital which furnishes the materials of which they are made and the maintenance of the workmen who make them. They require, too, a capital of the same kind to keep them in constant repair" (p. 188).*

With the exception of that part of the product which is constantly consumed again as means of production directly by its producers, the following general proposition applies to capitalist production: All products reach the market as commodities and therefore circulate for the capitalist as the commodity form of his capital, as commodity cap-

ital, regardless of whether these products must or can function in their bodily form, in accordance with their use values, as elements of productive capital (of the process of production), as means of production and therefore as fixed or circulating elements of productive capital; or whether they can serve only as means of individual, not of productive, consumption. All products are thrown upon the market as commodities; all means of production or consumption, all elements of productive and individual consumption, must therefore be extracted from the market by purchasing them as commodities. This truism is of course correct. It applies for this reason to the fixed as well as the circulating elements of productive capital, to instruments of labour as well as material of labour in all forms. (This, moreover, ignores the fact that there are elements of productive capital which are furnished by nature, are not products.) A machine is bought in the market, as is cotton. But it does not follow from this by any means that every fixed capital stems originally from some circulating capital; that follows only from the Smithian confusion of capital of circulation with circulating or fluid, i. e., non-fixed capital. Besides, Smith actually refutes himself. According to him himself, machines, as commodities, form a part of No. 4 of the circulating capital. Hence to say that they come from the circulating capital means only that they functioned as commodity capital before they functioned as machines, but that materially they are derived from themselves; so is cotton, as the circulating element of some spinner's capital, derived from the cotton in the market. But if Adam Smith in his further exposition derives fixed capital from circulating capital for the reason that labour and raw material are required to build machines, it must be borne in mind that in the first place, instruments of labour, hence fixed capital, are also required to build machines, and in the second place fixed capital, such as machinery, etc., is likewise required to make raw materials, since productive capital always includes instruments of labour, but not always material of labour. He himself says immediately afterwards:

* "Land, mines, and fisheries, require all both a fixed and a circulating capital to cultivate them;" *

(thus he admits that not only circulating but also fixed capital is required for the production of raw material)

* "and" * (new error at this point) * "their produce replaces with a profit, not only those capitals, but *all the others in the society*" (p. 188).*

This is entirely wrong. Their produce furnishes the raw material, auxiliary material, etc., for all other branches of industry. But their value does not replace the value of all other social capitals; it replaces only their own capital value (+ the surplus value). Adam Smith is here again in the grip of his physiocratic reminiscences.

Considered socially it is true that that part of the commodity capital which consists of products that can serve only as instruments of labour must — unless they have been produced to no purpose, cannot be sold — sooner or later function as instruments of labour, i. e., with capitalist production as their basis, they must, whenever they cease to be commodities, form real, as before they formed prospective, elements of the fixed part of the social productive capital.

There is a distinction here, arising from the bodily form of the product.

A spinning machine for instance has no use value, unless it is used for spinning, unless therefore it functions as an element of production and consequently, from the point of view of the capitalist, as a fixed component part of a productive capital. But a spinning machine is movable. It may be exported from the country in which it was produced and sold abroad directly or indirectly for raw materials, etc., or for champagne. In that case it has functioned only as commodity capital in the country in which it was produced, but never as fixed capital, not even after its sale.

Products however which are localised by being anchored in the soil, and can therefore be used only locally, such as factory buildings, railways, bridges, tunnels, docks, etc., soil improvements, etc., cannot be exported bodily, neck and crop. They are not movable. They are either useless, or as soon as they have been sold must function as fixed capital in the country that produced them. To their capitalist producer, who builds factories or improves land for speculative sale, these things are forms of his commodity capital, or, according to Adam Smith, forms of circulating capital. But viewed socially these things — if they are not to be useless — must ultimately function as fixed capital in that very country, in some local process of production. From this it does not follow in the least that immovables are in themselves fixed capital. They may belong, as dwelling houses, etc., to the consumption fund, and in that case they are no part whatever of the

social capital, although they constitute an element of the social wealth of which capital is only a part. The producer of these things, to speak in the language of Adam Smith, makes a profit by their sale. And so they are circulating capital! Their practical utiliser, their ultimate purchaser, can use them only by applying them in the process of production. And so they are fixed capital!

Titles to property, for instance railway shares, may change hands every day, and their owner may make a profit by their sale even in foreign countries, so that titles to property are exportable, although the railway itself is not. Nevertheless these things must either lie fallow in the very country in which they are localised, or function as a fixed component of some productive capital. In the same way manufacturer A may make a profit by selling his factory to manufacturer B, but this does not prevent the factory from functioning as fixed capital the same as before.

Therefore, while the locally fixed instruments of labour, which cannot be detached from the soil, will nevertheless, in all probability, have to function as fixed capital in that very country, though they may function as commodity capital for their producer and not constitute any elements of *his* fixed capital (which is made up as far as he is concerned of the instruments of labour he needs for the construction of buildings, railways, etc.), one should not by any means draw the contrary conclusion that fixed capital necessarily consists of immovables. A ship and a locomotive are effective only through their motion; yet they function, not for him who produced them, but for him who applies them as fixed capital. On the other hand things which are most decidedly fixed in the process of production, live and die in it and never leave it any more after once entering it, are circulating component parts of the productive capital. Such are for instance the coal consumed to drive the machine in the process of production, the gas used to light the factory, etc. They are circulating capital not because they bodily leave the process of production together with the product and circulate as commodities, but because their value enters wholly into that of the commodity which they help to produce and which therefore must be entirely replaced out of the proceeds of the sale of the commodity.

In the passage last quoted from Adam Smith, notice must also be taken of the following phrase:

* "A circulating capital which furnishes ... the maintenance of the workmen who make them" * (machines, etc.).

With the Physiocrats that part of capital which is advanced for wages figures correctly under the *avances annuelles* as distinguished from the *avances primitives*. On the other hand it is not the labour power itself that appears with them as a constituent part of the productive capital employed by the farmer, but the means of subsistence (THE MAINTENANCE OF THE WORKMEN, as Smith calls it) given to the farm labourers. This hangs together exactly with their specific doctrine. For according to them the value part added to the product by labour (quite like the value part added to the product by raw material, instruments of labour, etc., in short, by all the material components of constant capital) is equal only to the value of the means of subsistence paid to the labourers and necessarily consumed for the maintenance of their ability to function as labour power. Their very doctrine stands in the way of their discovering the distinction between constant and variable capital. If it is labour that produces surplus value (in addition to reproducing its own price), then it does so in industry as well as in agriculture. But since, according to their system, labour produces surplus value only in one branch of production, namely agriculture, it does not arise out of labour but out of the special activity (assistance) of nature in this branch. And only for this reason agricultural labour is to them productive labour, as distinct from the other kinds of labour.

Adam Smith classifies the means of subsistence of labourers as circulating capital in contradistinction to fixed capital:

1) Because he confuses circulating as distinguished from fixed capital with forms of capital pertaining to the sphere of circulation, with capital of circulation — a confusion uncritically accepted by his successors. He therefore mixes up commodity capital and the circulating component of productive capital, and in that case it is a matter of course that whenever the social product assumes the form of commodities, the means of subsistence of the labourers as well as those of the non-labourers, the materials as well as the instruments of labour themselves, must be supplied out of the commodity capital.

2) But the physiocratic conception too lurks in Smith's analysis, although it contradicts the esoteric — really scientific — part of his own exposition.

Generally speaking the advanced capital is converted into productive capital, i. e., it assumes the form of elements of production which are themselves the products of past labour. (Among them labour power.) Capital can function in the process of production only in this

form. Now, if instead of labour power itself, into which the variable part of capital has been converted, we take the labourer's means of subsistence, it is evident that these means as such do not differ, so far as the formation of value is concerned, from the other elements of productive capital, from the raw materials and the food of the labouring cattle, on which ground Smith in one of the passages quoted above places them, after the manner of the Physiocrats, on the same level. The means of subsistence cannot themselves expand their own value or add any surplus value to it. Their value, like that of the other elements of the productive capital, can re-appear only in the value of the product. They cannot add any more to its value than they have themselves. Like raw materials, semi-finished goods, etc., they differ from fixed capital composed of instruments of labour only in that they are entirely consumed in the product (at least as far as concerns the capitalist who pays for them) in the formation of which they participate and that therefore their value must be replaced as a whole, while in the case of the fixed capital this takes place only gradually, piecemeal. The part of productive capital advanced in labour power (or in the labourer's means of subsistence) differs here only materially and not in respect of the process of labour and production of surplus value from the other material elements of productive capital. It differs only in so far as it falls into the category of circulating capital together with one part of the objective creators of the product (MATERIALS Adam Smith calls them generally), as opposed to the other part of these objective product creators, which belongs in the category of fixed capital.

The fact that the capital laid out in wages belongs in the circulating part of productive capital and, unlike the fixed component of productive capital, shares the quality of fluidity with a part of the objective product creators, the raw materials, etc., has nothing whatever to do with the role played in the process of self-expansion by this variable part, as distinct from the constant part of capital. This refers only to how this part of the advanced capital value is to be replaced, renewed, hence reproduced out of the value of the product by means of the circulation. The purchase and repurchase of labour power belong in the process of circulation. But it is only within the process of production that the value laid out in labour power is converted (not for the labourer but for the capitalist) from a definite, constant magnitude into a variable one, and only thus the advanced value is converted altogether into capital value, into capital, into self-expanding

value. But by classing, like Smith, the value expended for the means of subsistence of the labourers, instead of the value laid out in labour power, as the circulating component of productive capital, the understanding of the distinction between variable and constant capital, and thus the understanding of the capitalist process of production in general, is rendered impossible. This part of capital's character as variable capital in contrast to the constant capital, spent for material creators of the product, is buried beneath the determination that the part of the capital invested in labour power belongs, as far as the turnover is concerned, in the circulating part of productive capital. And the burial is brought to completion by enumerating the labourer's means of subsistence instead of his labour power as an element of productive capital. It is immaterial whether the value of the labour power is advanced in money or directly in means of subsistence. However under capitalist production the latter can be but an exception.[24)]

By thus establishing the definition of circulating capital as being the determinant of the capital value laid out for labour power — this physiocratic definition without the premise of the Physiocrats — Adam Smith fortunately killed among his followers the understanding that that part of capital which is spent on labour power is variable capital. The more profound and correct ideas developed by him elsewhere did not prevail, but this blunder of his did. Indeed, other writers after him went even further. They were not content to make it the decisive definition of the part of capital invested in labour power to be circulating as opposed to fixed capital; they made it the essential definition of circulating capital to be invested in means of subsistence for labourers. Naturally associated with this is the doctrine that the labour fund,[a] consisting of the necessary means of subsistence, is of a definite magnitude, which on the one hand physically limits the share of the labourers in the social product, but on the other has to be fully expended in the purchase of labour power.

[24)] To what extent Adam Smith has blocked his own way to an understanding of the role of labour power in the process of self-expansion of value is proven by the following sentence, which in the manner of the Physiocrats places the labour of labourers on a level with that of labouring cattle. "NOT ONLY HIS" (THE FARMER'S) "LABOURING SERVANTS, BUT HIS LABOURING CATTLE ARE PRODUCTIVE LABOURERS" ([A. Smith, *Wealth of Nations*,] Book II, Ch. V, p. 243).

[a] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. XXIV, 5 (present edition, Vol. 35).

# Chapter XI

## THEORIES OF FIXED AND CIRCULATING CAPITAL. RICARDO

Ricardo introduces the distinction between fixed and circulating capital merely for the purpose of illustrating the exceptions to the rule of value, namely, cases where the rate of wages affects prices. The discussion of this point is reserved for Book III.[a]

But the original lack of clarity is apparent at the outset in the following immaterial juxtaposition:

"This difference in the degree of durability of fixed capital, *and* this variety in the proportions in which the two sorts of capital may be combined."[25][b]

And if we ask him which two sorts of capital he is referring to, we are told:

"The proportions, too, in which the capital that is to support labour, and the capital that is invested in tools, machinery, and buildings, may be variously combined."[26]

In other words, fixed capital = instruments of labour and circulating capital = capital laid out in labour. "Capital that is to support labour" is a senseless expression culled from Adam Smith. On the one hand the circulating capital is here lumped together with the variable capital, i. e., with that part of productive capital which is laid out in labour. But on the other hand doubly erroneous definitions arise for the reason that the antithesis is not derived from the process of self-expansion of value — constant and variable capital — but from the process of circulation (Adam Smith's old confusion).

First: The differences in the degree of durability of fixed capital and the differences arising from capital being composed of constant and variable capital are conceived as being of equal significance. But the last-named difference determines the difference in the production of surplus value; the first-named on the other hand, so far as the process of self-expansion is concerned, refers only to the manner in which a particular value is transferred from a means of production to the product; so far as the process of circulation is concerned, this difference refers only to the period of the renewal of the expended capital,

[25] *Principles*, p. 25.
[26] l. c.

[a] *Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. XI (present edition, Vol. 37).- [b] Here and below Marx quotes Ricardo in German in the text and gives English original in the footnotes.

or, from another point of view, to the time for which it has been advanced. If instead of seeing through the internal machinery of the capitalist process of production one considers merely the accomplished phenomena, then these distinctions actually coincide. In the distribution of the social surplus value among the various capitals invested in different branches of industry, the differences in the different periods of time for which capital is advanced (for instance the various degrees of durability of fixed capital) and the different organic compositions of capital (and therefore also the different circulations of constant and variable capital) contribute equally toward an equalisation of the general rate of profit and the conversion of values into prices of production.

Secondly: From the point of view of the process of circulation, we have on one side the instruments of labour—fixed capital, on the other the material of labour and wages—circulating capital. But from the point of view of the process of labour and self-expansion, we have on one side means of production (instruments of labour and material of labour)—constant capital; on the other, labour power—variable capital. It is wholly immaterial for the organic composition of capital (Buch I, Kap. XXIII, 2, S. 647)[a] whether a specified quantity of value of constant capital consists of many instruments of labour and little material of labour or of much material of labour and few instruments of labour, while everything depends on the ratio of the capital laid out in means of production to that laid out in labour power. Vice versa: from the point of view of the process of circulation, of the distinction between fixed and circulating capital, it is just as immaterial in what proportions a particular quantity of value of circulating capital divides into material of labour and wages. From one of these points of view the material of labour is classed in the same category with the instruments of labour, as opposed to the capital value laid out in labour power; from the other viewpoint the part of capital laid out in labour power ranges with that laid out in material of labour, as opposed to that laid out in instruments of labour.

For this reason the part of the capital value laid out in material of labour (raw and auxiliary materials) does not appear on either side in Ricardo. It disappears entirely; for it will not do to class it with fixed capital, because its mode of circulation coincides entirely with that of the part of capital laid out in labour power. And on the other hand it should not be placed alongside circulating capital, because in that

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. XXV, 2 (see present edition, Vol. 35).

event the identification of the antithesis of fixed and circulating capital with that of constant and variable capital, which had been handed down by Adam Smith and is tacitly retained, would abolish itself. Ricardo has too much logical instinct not to feel this, and for this reason that part of capital vanishes entirely from his sight.

It is to be noted at this point that the capitalist, to use the jargon of political economy, advances the capital laid out in wages for various periods of time, according to whether he pays these wages weekly, monthly, or quarterly. But as a matter of fact the reverse takes place. It is the labourer who advances his labour to the capitalist for a week, a month, or three months, according to whether he is paid by the week, by the month, or every three months. If the capitalist *bought* labour power instead of paying for it, in other words, if he paid the labourer his wages in advance for a day, a week, a month, or a quarter, he would be justified in claiming that he advanced wages for those periods. But since he pays after the labour *has* lasted for days, weeks, or months, instead of buying it and paying for the time which it *is* to last, the whole thing amounts to a capitalist *quid pro quo*, and the advance which the labourer gives to the capitalist in labour is turned into an advance of money given to the labourer by the capitalist. It does not alter the case in the least that the capitalist gets back the product itself or its value (together with the surplus value embodied in it) from circulation, or realises it, only after a relatively long or short period of time, according to the different periods required for its manufacture or for its circulation. The seller of a commodity does not care a rap what its buyer is going to do with it. The capitalist does not get a machine cheaper because he must advance its entire value at one shot, while this value returns to him only gradually and piecemeal from circulation; nor does he pay more for cotton because its value enters entirely into the value of the product into which it is made and is therefore replaced fully and at one time by the sale of the product.

Let us return to Ricardo.

1. The characteristic feature of variable capital is that a definite, given (and as such constant) part of capital, a given sum of values (assumed to be equal in value to the labour power, although it does not matter here whether the wages are equal, more or less than the value of the labour power), is exchanged for a self-expanding, value-creating power, viz., labour power, which not only reproduces its value, paid by the capitalist, but simultaneously produces a surplus value, a value not existing previously and not paid for by any equiva-

lent. This characteristic property of the part of capital laid out for wages, which distinguishes it *toto coelo* as variable capital from constant capital, disappears whenever the part of capital expended on wages is considered solely from the point of view of the process of circulation and thus appears as circulating capital in contradistinction to the fixed capital laid out in instruments of labour. This is apparent if only from the fact that it is then brought under one head — that of circulating capital — together with the component part of the constant capital laid out in material of labour and opposed to the other component of the constant capital — that laid out in instruments of labour. Surplus value, hence the very circumstance which converts the laid-out sum of value into capital, is entirely ignored thereby. Similarly the fact is ignored that the part of the value added to the product by the capital laid out in wages is newly produced (and therefore really reproduced), while the part of the value which the raw material adds to the product is not newly produced, not really reproduced, but only preserved in the value of the product, conserved, and hence merely reappears as a component part of the value of the product. The distinction, as now seen from the point of view of the contrast between fixed and circulating capital, consists simply in this: The value of the instruments of labour used for the production of a commodity enters only partially into the value of the commodity and is therefore only partially replaced by its sale, hence is replaced altogether only piecemeal and gradually. On the other hand the value of the labour power and subjects of labour (raw materials, etc.) used for the production of a commodity entirely enters into it and is therefore entirely replaced by its sale. In this respect, as far as the process of circulation is concerned, one part of capital presents itself as fixed, the other as fluid, or circulating. In both cases it is a matter of transferring given, advanced values to the product and of their replacement by the sale of the product. The difference now depends only on whether the transfer of value, and consequently the replacement of the value, takes place piecemeal and gradually, or in bulk. The absolutely decisive distinction between the variable and constant capital is thereby blotted out, hence the whole secret of the production of surplus value and of capitalist production, the circumstances which transform certain values and the things in which they present themselves into capital, are obliterated. All constituent parts of capital are then distinguished merely by their mode of circulation (and, of course, circulation of commodities concerns itself solely with already existing, given

values); and the capital laid out in wages shares a peculiar mode of circulation with the part of capital laid out in raw materials, semi-finished products, auxiliary materials, as opposed to the part of capital laid out in instruments of labour.

It is therefore understandable why bourgeois political economy instinctively clung to Adam Smith's confusion of the categories "constant and variable capital" with the categories "fixed and circulating", and repeated it parrotlike, without criticism, from generation to generation for a century. The part of capital laid out for wages is no longer in the least distinguished by bourgeois political economy from the part of capital laid out for raw materials, and differs only formally from constant capital — on the point of whether it is circulated piecemeal or in one lump by the product. Thereby the basis for an understanding of the real movement of capitalist production, and hence of capitalist exploitation, is buried at one stroke. It is but a question of the reappearance of advanced values.

Ricardo's uncritical adoption of the Smithian confusion is not only more disturbing than it is in the later apologists, in whom the confusion of ideas is rather something not disturbing, but also than in Adam Smith himself, because Ricardo, in contrast to Smith, is more consistent and incisive in his analysis of value and surplus value, and indeed upholds the esoteric Adam Smith against the exoteric Adam Smith.

Among the Physiocrats there is no such confusion. The distinction between *avances annuelles* and *avances primitives* refers only to the different periods of reproduction of the different components of capital, especially of agricultural capital, while their views on the production of surplus value form a part of their theory that is independent of these distinctions, a part they hold up as the strong point of the theory. The formation of surplus value is not explained as originating from capital as such, but is attributed to one particular sphere of the production of capital, agriculture.

2. The essential point in the definition of variable capital — and therefore for the conversion of any sum of values into capital — is that the capitalist exchanges a definite, given (and in this sense constant) magnitude of value for value-creating power, a magnitude of value for the production, self-expansion, of value. Whether the capitalist pays the labourer in money or in means of subsistence does not affect this basic definition. It only alters the mode of existence of the value advanced by the capitalist which in one case exists in the form of

money for which the labourer buys himself his means of subsistence in the market, in the other case in the form of means of subsistence which he consumes directly. Developed capitalist production rests indeed on the assumption that the labourer is paid in money, just as in general it presupposes the process of production brought about by the process of circulation, hence presupposes the monetary system. But the creation of surplus value — and consequently the capitalisation of the advanced sum of values — has its source neither in the money form of wages nor in the form of wages paid in kind, nor in the capital laid out in the purchase of labour power. It arises out of the exchange of value for value-creating power, out of the conversion of a constant into a variable magnitude.

The greater or smaller fixity of the instruments of labour depends on their degree of durability, hence on a physical property. Other circumstances being equal, they will wear out sooner or later, will therefore function a longer or a shorter time as fixed capital, according to their durability. But it is by no means solely on account of this physical property of durability that they function as fixed capital. The raw material in metal factories is just as durable as the machines used in manufacturing, and more durable than many component parts of these machines, such as leather and wood. Nevertheless the metal serving as raw material forms a part of the circulating capital, while the instrument of labour, although probably built of the same metal, is a part of the fixed capital when in use. Consequently it is not because of the material, physical nature, nor the relatively great or small speed with which it wears out that a metal is put now in the category of fixed, now in that of circulating capital. This distinction is rather due to the role played by it in the process of production, being a subject of labour in one case and an instrument of labour in the other.

The function of an instrument of labour in the process of production requires that on the average it should serve for a longer or shorter period in ever renewed labour processes. Its very function therefore prescribes that the stuff of which it is composed should be more or less durable. But it is not the durability of the material of which it is fabricated that by itself makes it fixed capital. The same stuff, when raw material, becomes circulating capital, and among economists who confuse the distinction between commodity capital and productive capital with the distinction between circulating and fixed capital, the same stuff, the same machine, is circulating capital as product and fixed capital as instrument of labour.

Although it is not the durability of the material of which it is fabricated that makes an instrument of labour fixed capital, nevertheless its role as such an instrument requires that it should be composed of relatively durable material. The durability of its material is therefore a condition of its function as an instrument of labour, and consequently the material basis of the mode of circulation which renders it fixed capital. Other things being equal, the higher or lower degree of wear and tear of the stuff it is made of impresses upon it in a higher or lower degree the stamp of fixedness, is therefore very closely interwoven with its quality of being fixed capital.

If the part of capital laid out in labour power is considered exclusively from the point of view of circulating capital, hence in contrast with fixed capital, and if consequently the distinctions between constant and variable capital are lumped with those between fixed and circulating capital, then it is natural—supposing that material reality of the instrument of labour forms an essential basis of its character of fixed capital—to derive its character of circulating capital, in contrast with the fixed capital, from the material reality of the capital invested in labour power, and then again to determine the circulating capital with the aid of the material reality of the variable capital.

The real substance of the capital laid out in wages is labour itself, active, value-creating labour power, living labour, which the capitalist exchanges for dead, objectified labour and embodies in his capital, by which means, and by which alone, the value in his hands turns into self-expanding value. But this power of self-expansion is not sold by the capitalist. It is always only a constituent part of his productive capital, the same as his instruments of labour, it is never a part of his commodity capital, as for instance the finished product which he sells. In the process of production the instruments of labour, as components of the productive capital, are not opposed to labour power as fixed capital any more than materials of labour and auxiliary substances are identified with it as circulating capital. Labour power confronts both of them as a personal factor, while those are objective factors—speaking from the point of view of the labour process. Both of them stand opposed to labour power, as constant capital to variable capital—speaking from the point of view of the process of self-expansion of value. Or, if mention is to be made here of a material difference, so far as it affects the process of circulation, it is only this: It follows from the nature of value, which is nothing but objectified labour, and from the nature of active labour power, which is nothing but labour in pro-

cess of objectification, that labour power continually creates value and surplus value during the time it functions; that what on the part of labour power appears as motion, as a creation of value, appears on the part of its product in a state of rest, as created value. If the labour power has performed its function, capital no longer consists of labour power on the one side and means of production on the other. The capital value that was invested in labour power is now value which (+ surplus value) was added to the product. In order to repeat the process, the product must be sold and new labour power constantly bought with the proceeds and incorporated in the productive capital. This then gives to the part of capital invested in labour power, and to that invested in material of labour, etc., the character of circulating capital as opposed to the capital remaining fixed in the instruments of labour.

But if, on the contrary, the secondary definition of the circulating capital, which it shares with a part of the constant capital (raw and auxiliary materials), is made the essential definition of the part of capital laid out in labour power, to wit, that the value laid out in it is transferred in full to the product in whose creation it is consumed, and not gradually and piecemeal as in the case of the fixed capital, and that consequently it must be replaced in full by the sale of the product — then the part of the capital laid out in wages must likewise consist, materially, not of active labour power but of the material elements which the labourer buys with his wages, i. e., it must consist of that part of the social commodity capital which passes into the consumption of the labourer, viz., of means of subsistence. In that case the fixed capital consists of the more slowly perishable instruments of labour which therefore have to be replaced more slowly, and the capital laid out in labour power consists of the means of subsistence, which must be replaced more rapidly.

However, the borderline between greater or lesser perishableness is very vague and indistinct.

* "The food and clothing consumed by the labourer, the buildings in which he works, the implements with which his labour is assisted, are all of a perishable nature. There is however a vast difference in the time for which these different capitals will endure: a steam-engine will last longer than a ship, a ship than the clothing of the labourer, and the clothing of the labourer longer than the food which he consumes." * [27)a]

[27)] Ricardo, [*Principles*,] *etc.*, p. 26.

[a] Here and below Marx quotes Ricardo in German in the text and gives English original in the footnotes.

Ricardo forgets to mention the house in which the labourer lives, his furniture, his tools of consumption, such as knives, forks, dishes, etc., all of which have the same quality of durability as the instruments of labour. The same things, the same kinds of things, appear in one place as articles of consumption and in another as instruments of labour.

The difference, as stated by Ricardo, is this:

* "According as capital is rapidly perishable and requires to be frequently reproduced, or is of slow consumption, it is classed under the heads of circulating, or fixed capital." *[28]

And he adds this note:

*"A division not essential, and in which the line of demarcation cannot be accurately drawn." *[29]

Thus we have once more happily arrived in the camp of the Physiocrats, where the distinction between *avances annuelles* and *avances primitives* was one referring to the time of consumption, and consequently also to the different times of reproduction of the capital employed. Only, what with them constitutes an important phenomenon of social production and is described in the *Tableau économique* in connection with the process of circulation, becomes here a subjective and, in Ricardo's own words, superfluous distinction.

Once the part of capital invested in labour differs from that invested in instruments of labour only by its period of reproduction and hence its term of circulation, and once one part consists of means of subsistence and the other of instruments of labour so that those differ from these only in being more rapidly perishable, there being various degrees of durability within the first group itself, all *differentia specifica* between capital invested in labour power and capital invested in means of production is naturally obliterated.

This wholly contradicts Ricardo's doctrine of value, likewise his theory of profit, which is in fact a theory of surplus value. In general he considers the distinction between fixed and circulating capital only to the extent that different proportions of both of them in equally large capitals invested in different branches of production influence the law of value, particularly the extent to which an increase or decrease of wages in consequence of these conditions affects prices. But even within this restricted investigation he commits the gravest errors on account of his confusing fixed and circulating with constant and

[28] [Ibid.]
[29] [Ibid.]

variable capital. Indeed, he starts his analysis on an entirely wrong basis. In the first place, in so far as the part of the capital value laid out in labour power has to be classified under the head of circulating capital, the definitions of circulating capital itself are wrongly developed, particularly the circumstances which place the part of capital laid out in labour under this head. In the second place there is a confusion of the definition according to which the part of capital invested in labour is variable capital with the definition according to which it is circulating capital, as opposed to fixed capital.

It is evident at the outset that the definition of capital invested in labour power as circulating or fluid capital is a secondary one, obliterating its *differentia specifica* in the process of production. For in this definition, on the one hand, the capitals invested in labour are of the same importance as those invested in raw material, etc. A classification which identifies a part of the constant capital with the variable capital does not deal with the *differentia specifica* of variable capital in opposition to constant capital. On the other hand the parts of capital laid out in labour are indeed opposed to those invested in instruments of labour, but not in the least with reference to the fact that these parts enter into the production of value in quite different ways, but with reference to the fact that both transfer their value to the product, but in different periods of time.

In all of these cases the point at issue is *how* a given value, laid out in the process of production of commodities, whether it be wages, the price of raw materials, or that of instruments of labour, is transferred to the product, hence is circulated by the product, and returned to its starting-point by the sale of the product, or is replaced. The only difference lies here in the "*how*", in the particular manner of the transfer, and therefore also of the circulation of this value.

Whether the price of labour power previously stipulated by contract in each individual case is paid in money or means of subsistence does not alter in any way its character of being a definite and given price. However it is evident in the case of wages paid in money that the money itself does not pass into the process of production in the way that the value as well as the material of the means of production do. But if on the other hand the means of subsistence which the labourer buys with his wages are directly classed in the same category, alongside raw materials, etc., as the material form of circulating capital and are opposed to the instruments of labour, then the matter assumes a different aspect. If the value of these things, of the means of

production, is transferred to the product in the labour process, the value of those other things, the means of subsistence, reappears in the labour power that consumes them and is likewise transferred to the product by the functioning of this power. In both these cases it is equally a question of the mere reappearance, in the product, of the values advanced during production. (The Physiocrats took this seriously and therefore denied that industrial labour created surplus value.) Thus the previously quoted[a] passage from Wayland.

"It matters not in what form capital reappears... The various kinds of food, clothing, and shelter, necessary for the existence and comfort of the human being, are also changed. They are consumed, from time to time, and their value reappears, etc." (*Elements of Pol. Econ.*, pp. 31, 32).[41]

The capital values advanced for production in the form of both means of production and means of subsistence reappear here equally in the value of the product. Thus the transformation of the capitalist process of production into a complete mystery is happily accomplished and the origin of the surplus value existing in the product is entirely withdrawn from view.

Furthermore this brings to completion the fetishism peculiar to bourgeois political economy, the fetishism which metamorphoses the social, economic character impressed on things in the process of social production into a natural character stemming from the material nature of those things. For instance, "instruments of labour are fixed capital", is a scholastic definition, which leads to contradictions and confusion. Just as was demonstrated in the case of the labour process (Buch I, Kap. V),[b] that it depends wholly on the role which the material components play in a particular labour process, on their function — whether they function as instruments of labour, material of labour, or products — so instruments of labour are fixed capital only if the process of production is really a capitalist process of production and the means of production are therefore really capital and possess economic definiteness, the social character of capital. And in the second place, they are fixed capital only if they transfer their value to the product in a particular way. If not, they remain instruments of labour without being fixed capital. In the same way if auxiliary materials like manure give up value in the same peculiar manner as the greater part of the instruments of labour, they become fixed capital although they are not instruments of labour. It is not a question here

[a] See *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. VIII, Note 4 (present edition, Vol. 35).
[b] Ibid., Ch. VII.

of definitions, which things must be made to fit. We are dealing here with definite functions which must be expressed in definite categories.

If to be capital laid out in wages is considered one of the qualities of means of subsistence as such under all circumstances, then it will also be a quality of this "circulating" capital "TO SUPPORT LABOUR"[a] //Ricardo, p. 25//. If the means of subsistence were not "capital" they would not support labour power; whereas it is precisely their quality of capital that endows them with the faculty of supporting *capital* by the labour of others.

If means of subsistence as such are circulating capital—after the latter has been converted into wages—it follows further that the magnitude of wages depends on the ratio of the number of labourers to the given amount of circulating capital—a favourite economic proposition—while as a matter of fact the quantity of means of subsistence withdrawn from the market by the labourer, and the quantity of means of subsistence available for the consumption of the capitalist, depend on the ratio of the surplus value to the price of labour.

Ricardo, like Barton,[29a] everywhere confounds the relation of variable to constant capital with that of circulating to fixed capital. We shall see later to what extent this vitiates his investigation of the rate of profit.[b]

Ricardo furthermore identifies the differences which arise in the turnover from other causes than the distinction between fixed and circulating capital with this distinction:

"It is also to be observed that the circulating capital may circulate, or be returned to its employer, in very unequal times. The wheat bought by a farmer to sow is comparatively a fixed capital to the wheat purchased by a baker to make into loaves. The one leaves it in the ground, and can obtain no return for a year; the other can get it ground into flour, sell it as bread to his customers, and have his capital free, to renew the same, or commence any other employment in a week."[30]

It is characteristic here that wheat, although not serving as a means of subsistence but as raw material when used for sowing, is in the first place circulating capital, because in itself it is a means of sub-

[29a] *Observations on the Circumstances Which Influence the Condition of the Labouring Classes of Society*, London, 1817.[42] A pertinent passage is quoted in Book I, p. 655, Note 79. [See *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. XXV, 3 (present edition, Vol. 35).]

[30] [D. Ricardo, *Principles, etc.*,] pp. 26, 27.

[a] In the original the English phrase is given after its German equivalent. - [b] See present edition, Vol. 37 (*Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. I-III).

sistence, and in the second place fixed capital, because its return takes over a year. However it is not only the more or less slow or rapid return which makes a fixed capital of a means of production, but also the definite manner in which it transfers its value to the product.

The confusion created by Adam Smith has brought about the following results:

1. The distinction between fixed and circulating capital is confused with that between productive capital and commodity capital. For instance the same machine is considered circulating capital when in the market as a commodity, and fixed capital when incorporated in the process of production. Moreover, it is absolutely impossible to ascertain why one kind of capital should be more fixed or circulating than another.

2. All circulating capital is identified with capital laid out or to be laid out in wages. This is so in John Stewart Mill,[a] [43] and others.

3. The distinction between variable and constant capital, which was previously mistaken by Barton, Ricardo, and others for that between circulating and fixed capital, is finally wholly reduced to this last-named distinction, for instance in Ramsay, [28] where all means of production, raw materials, etc., as well as instruments of labour are fixed capital, and only capital laid out in wages is circulating capital.[b] But because the reduction takes place in this form, the real distinction between constant and variable capital is not understood.

4. The latter-day British, especially Scottish, economists, who look upon all things from the inexpressibly narrow-minded point of view of a bank clerk, such as MacLeod,[c] Patterson,[d] and others, transform the distinction between fixed and circulating capital into one between MONEY AT CALL and MONEY NOT AT CALL ([between] deposit money that can be withdrawn without prior notification and money, whose withdrawal requires such notification).

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[a] J. St. Mill, *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy*, London, 1844, p. 164. - [b] G. Ramsay, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth*, Edinburgh, 1836, pp. 21-24. - [c] H. D. MacLeod, *The Elements of Political Economy*, London, 1858, pp. 76-80. - [d] R. H. Patterson, *The Science of Finance. A Practical Treatise*, Edinburgh and London, 1868, pp. 129-44.

## Chapter XII

### THE WORKING PERIOD

Let us take two branches of business with working days of equal length, say, of ten hours each, one of them a cotton spinning-mill, the other a locomotive works. In one of these branches a definite quantity of finished product, cotton yarn, is turned out daily or weekly; in the other, the labour process has to be repeated for perhaps three months in order to manufacture a finished product, a locomotive. In one case the product is discrete in nature, and each day or week the same labour starts over again. In the other case the labour process is continuous and extends over a rather great number of daily labour processes which, in their interconnection, in the continuity of their operation, bring forth a finished product only after a rather long period of time. Although the duration of the daily labour process is the same here, there is a very marked difference in the duration of the productive act, i. e., in the duration of the repeated labour processes required to get out a finished product, to market it as a commodity, hence to convert it from productive into commodity capital. The distinction between fixed and circulating capital has nothing to do with this. The distinction indicated would exist even if the very same proportions of fixed and circulating capital were employed in both branches of business.

These differences in the duration of the productive act can be observed not only between different spheres of production, but also within one and the same sphere of production, depending on the amount of product to be turned out. An ordinary dwelling house is built in less time than a large factory and therefore requires fewer continuous labour processes. While the building of a locomotive takes three months, that of an armoured man-of-war requires one year or more. It takes nearly a year to produce grain and several years to raise big cattle, while timber growing needs from 12 to 100 years. A few months will suffice for a country road, while a railway is a job of years. An ordinary carpet is made in about a week, but a *Gobelin* takes years, etc. Hence the time consumed in the performance of the productive act varies infinitely.

The difference in the duration of the productive act must evidently give rise to a difference in the velocity of the turnover, if invested capitals are equal, in other words, must make a difference in the time for which a certain capital is advanced. Assume that a spinning-mill and a locomotive works employ the same amount of capital, that the ratio of their constant to their variable capital is the same, likewise the proportion between the fixed and circulating parts of the capitals, and that lastly their working day is of equal length and its division into necessary and surplus labour the same. In order to eliminate, furthermore, all the circumstances arising out of the process of circulation and having no bearing on the present case, let us suppose that both the yarn and the locomotive are made to order and will be paid on delivery of the finished product. At the end of the week, on delivery of the finished yarn, the spinning-mill owner recovers his outlay for circulating capital (leaving the surplus value out of consideration), likewise the fixed capital's wear and tear incorporated in the value of the yarn. He can therefore repeat the same circuit anew with the same capital. It has completed its turnover. The locomotive manufacturer on the other hand must lay out ever new capital for wages and raw material every week for three months in succession, and it is only after three months, after the delivery of the locomotive, that the circulating capital, meanwhile gradually laid out in one and the same productive act for the manufacture of one and the same commodity, once more exists in a form in which it can renew its circuit. The wear and tear of his machinery during these three months is likewise replaced only now. The expenditure of the one is made for one week, that of the other is the weekly expenditure multiplied by 12. All other circumstances being assumed as equal, the one must have twelve times as much circulating capital at his disposal as the other.

It is however immaterial here that the capitals advanced weekly are equal. Whatever the amount of the advanced capital, it is advanced for only one week in the one case and for twelve weeks in the other, and the above periods must respectively elapse before it can be used for a new operation, before the same operation can be repeated with it, or a different one inaugurated.

The difference in the velocity of the turnover, or in the length of time for which the individual capital must be advanced before the same capital value can be employed in a new labour or self-expansion process, arises here from the following circumstances:

Granted the manufacture of a locomotive or of any other machine

requires 100 working days. So far as the labourers employed in the manufacture of yarn or the building of locomotives are concerned, the 100 working days constitute in either case a discontinuous (discrete) magnitude, consisting, according to our assumption, of 100 consecutive separate ten-hour labour processes. But so far as the product—the machine—is concerned, these 100 working days form a continuous magnitude, a working day of 1,000 working hours, one single connected act of production. I call such a working day which is composed of a more or less numerous succession of connected working days a *working period.* When we speak of a working day we mean the length of working time during which the labourer must daily spend his labour power, must work day by day. But when we speak of a working period we mean the number of connected working days required in a certain branch of industry for the manufacture of a finished product. In this case the product of every working day is but a partial one, which is further worked upon from day to day and only at the end of the longer or shorter working period receives its finished form, is a finished use value.

Interruptions, disturbances of the process of social production, in consequence for instance of crises, have therefore very different effects on labour products of a discrete nature and on those that require for their production a prolonged connected period. In the one case all that happens is that today's production of a certain quantity of yarn, coal, etc., is not followed by tomorrow's new production of yarn, coal, etc. Not so in the case of ships, buildings, railways, etc. Here it is not only the day's work but an entire connected act of production that is interrupted. If the job is not continued, the means of production and labour already consumed in its production are wasted. Even if it is resumed, a deterioration has inevitably set in in the meantime.

For the entire length of the working period, the part of the value daily transferred to the product by the fixed capital accumulates in layers, as it were, until the product is finished. And here the difference between fixed and circulating capital is revealed at the same time in its practical significance. Fixed capital is advanced in the process of production for a comparatively long period; it need not be renewed until after the expiration of perhaps a period of several years. Whether a steam-engine transfers its value daily piecemeal to some yarn, the product of a discrete labour process, or for three months to a locomotive, the product of a continuous act of production, is imma-

terial as far as laying out the capital required for the purchase of the steam-engine is concerned. In the one case its value flows back in small doses, for instance weekly, in the other case in larger quantities, for instance quarterly. But in either case the renewal of the steam-engine may take place only after some 20 years. So long as every individual period within which the value of the steam-engine is returned piecemeal by the sale of the product is shorter than the lifetime of the engine itself, the latter continues to function in the process of production for several working periods.

It is different with the circulating components of the advanced capital. The labour power bought for a definite week is expended in the course of the same week and is objectified in the product. It must be paid for at the end of the week. And this investment of capital in labour power is repeated every week during the three months; yet the expenditure of this part of the capital during the one week does not enable the capitalist to settle for the purchase of the labour the following week. Every week additional capital must be expended to pay for labour power, and, leaving aside the question of credit, the capitalist must be able to lay out wages for three months, even if he pays them only in weekly doses. It is the same with the other portion of circulating capital, the raw and auxiliary materials. One layer of labour after another is piled up on the product. It is not alone the value of the expended labour power that is continually being transferred to the product during the labour process, but also surplus value. This product, however, is unfinished, it has not yet the form of a finished commodity, hence it cannot yet circulate. This applies likewise to the capital value transferred in layers from the raw and auxiliary materials to the product.

Depending on the length of the working period exacted by the specific nature of the product or by the useful effect to be achieved in its manufacture, a continuous additional investment of circulating capital (wages and raw and auxiliary materials) is required, no part of which is in a form capable of circulation and hence of promoting a renewal of the same operation. Every part is on the contrary held fast successively in the sphere of production as a component of the nascent product, tied up in the form of productive capital. Now, the time of turnover is equal to the sum of the time of production and the time of circulation of the capital. Hence a prolongation of the time of production reduces the velocity of the turnover quite as much as a prolonga-

tion of the time of circulation. In the present case however the following two points must be noted:

Firstly: The prolonged stay in the sphere of production. The capital advanced for instance for labour, raw material, etc., during the first week, as well as the portions of value transferred to the product by the fixed capital, are held fast in the sphere of production for the entire term of three months, and, being incorporated in an only nascent, still unfinished product, cannot pass into circulation as commodities.

Secondly: Since the working period required for the performance of the productive act lasts three months, and forms in fact only one connected labour process, a new dose of circulating capital must be continually added week after week to the preceding amount. The total of the successively advanced additional capital grows therefore with the length of the working period.

We have assumed that capitals of equal size are invested in spinning and machine-building, that these capitals contain equal proportions of constant and variable, fixed and circulating capital, that the working days are of equal length, in brief, that all conditions are equal except the duration of the working period. In the first week, the outlay for both is the same, but the product of the spinner can be sold and the proceeds of the sale used to buy new labour power, new raw materials, etc.; in short, production can be resumed on the same scale. The machine-manufacturer on the other hand cannot reconvert the circulating capital expended in the first week into money and resume operations with it until three months later, when his product is finished. There is therefore first a difference in the return of the identical quantities of capital invested. But in the second place identical amounts of productive capital are employed during the three months in both spinning and machine-building. However the magnitude of the outlay of capital in the case of the yarn manufacturer is quite different from that of the machine-builder; for in the one case the same capital is rapidly renewed and the same operation can therefore be repeated, while in the other case the renewal of the capital is relatively slow, so that ever new quantities of capital must be added to the old up to the time of its renewal. Consequently there is a difference not only in the length of time of renewal of definite portions of capital, or in the length of time for which the capital is advanced, but also in the quantity of the capital to be advanced according to the duration of the labour process (although the capitals employed

daily or weekly are equal). This circumstance is worthy of note for the reason that the term of the advance may be prolonged, as we shall see in the cases treated in the next chapter, without thereby necessitating a corresponding increase in the amount of the capital to be advanced. The capital must be advanced for a longer time, and a larger amount of capital is tied up in the form of productive capital.

At the less developed stages of capitalist production, undertakings requiring a long working period, and hence a large investment of capital for a long time, such as the building of roads, canals, etc., especially when they can be carried out only on a large scale, are either not carried out on a capitalist basis at all, but rather at communal or state expense (in earlier times generally by forced labour, so far as the labour power was concerned). Or objects whose production requires a lengthy working period are fabricated only for the smallest part by recourse to the private means of the capitalist himself. For instance, in the building of a house, the private person for whom it is built makes a number of partial advance payments to the building contractor. He therefore actually pays for the house piecemeal, in proportion as the productive process progresses. But in the advanced capitalist era, when on the one hand huge capitals are concentrated in the hands of single individuals, while on the other the associated capitalist (joint-stock companies) appears side by side with the individual capitalist and a credit system has simultaneously been developed, a capitalist building contractor builds only in exceptional cases on the order of private individuals. His business nowadays is to build whole rows of houses and entire sections of cities for the market, just as it is the business of individual capitalists to build railways as contractors.

To what extent capitalist production has revolutionised the building of houses in London is shown by the testimony of a builder before the Bank Acts Committee of 1857. When he was young, he said, houses were generally built to order and the payments made in instalments to the contractor as certain stages of the building were being completed. Very little was built on speculation. Contractors used to assent to such operations mainly to keep their men in constant employment and thus hold them together. In the last 40 years all that has changed. Very little is now built to order. Anyone wanting a new house picks one from among those built on speculation or still in process of construction. The builder no longer works for his customers but for the market. Like every other industrial capitalist he is compelled to have finished articles in the market. While formerly a builder

had perhaps three or four houses building at a time on speculation, he must now buy a large plot of ground (which in continental language means rent it for 99 years, as a rule), build from 100 to 200 houses on it, and thus embark on an enterprise which exceeds his resources twenty to fifty times. The funds are procured through mortgaging and the money is placed at the disposal of the contractor as the buildings proceed. Then, if a crisis comes along and interrupts the payment of the advance instalments, the entire enterprise generally collapses. At best, the houses remain unfinished until better times arrive; at the worst they are sold at auction for half their cost. Without speculative building, and on a large scale at that, no contractor can get along today. The profit from just building is extremely small. His main profit comes from raising the ground rent, from careful selection and skilled utilisation of the building terrain. It is by this method of speculation anticipating the demand for houses that almost the whole of Belgravia and Tyburnia, and the countless thousands of villas round London have been built. (Abbreviated from the Report of the Select Committee on Bank Acts, Part I, 1857, Evidence, Questions 5413-18; 5435-36.)

The execution of enterprises requiring working periods of considerable length and operations on a large scale does not fall fully within the province of capitalist production until the concentration of capital becomes very pronounced, and the development of the credit system offers to the capitalist, on the other hand, the convenient expedient of advancing and thus risking other people's capital instead of his own. It goes without saying that whether the capital advanced in production belongs to him who uses it or does not has no effect on the velocity or time of turnover.

Conditions such as co-operation, division of labour, application of machinery, which augment the product of the individual working day, shorten at the same time the working period of connected acts of production. Thus machinery shortens the building time of houses, bridges, etc.; mowers, threshers, etc., reduce the working period required to transform ripe grain into the finished product. Greater speed due to improved shipbuilding cuts the turnover time of capital invested in shipping. But improvements that shorten the working period and thereby the time during which circulating capital must be advanced generally go hand in hand with an increased outlay of fixed capital. On the other hand the working period in certain branches of production may be diminished by the mere extension of co-operation.

The completion of a railway is expedited by setting afoot huge armies of labourers and thus tackling the job in many spots at once. The time of turnover is lessened in that case by an increase of the advanced capital. More means of production and more labour power must be united under the command of the capitalist.

Whereas the shortening of the working period is thus mostly connected with an increase of the capital advanced for this abbreviated time — the shorter the term of advance the greater the capital advanced — it must here be recalled that regardless of the existing amount of social capital, the essential point is the degree in which the means of production and subsistence, or the disposal of them, are scattered or concentrated in the hands of individual capitalists, in other words, the degree of concentration of capitals already attained. Inasmuch as credit promotes, accelerates and enhances the concentration of capital in one hand, it contributes to the shortening of the working period and thus of the turnover time.

In branches of production in which the working period, whether continuous or discontinuous, is prescribed by definite natural conditions, no shortening by the above-mentioned means can take place.

"In regard to quicker returns, this term cannot be made to apply to corn crops, as one return only can be made per annum. In respect to stock, we will simply ask, how is the return of two- and three-year-old sheep, and four- and five-year-old oxen to be quickened"(W. Walter Good, *Political, Agricultural, and Commercial Fallacies*, London, 1866, p. 325).[44]

The necessity of securing ready money as soon as possible (for instance to meet fixed obligations, such as taxes, ground rent, etc.) solves this problem, e.g., by selling or slaughtering cattle before they have reached the economically normal age, to the great detriment of agriculture. This also brings about in the end a rise in the price of meat.

"Men who have mainly reared cattle for supplying the pastures of the Midland counties in summer, and the yards of the eastern counties in winter ... have become so crippled through the uncertainty and lowness in the prices of corn that they are glad to take advantage of the high prices of butter and cheese; the former they take to market weekly to help to pay current expenses, and draw on the other from some factor, who takes the cheese when fit to move, and, of course, nearly at his own price. For this reason, remembering that farming is governed by the principles of political economy, the calves which used to come south from the dairying counties for rearing, are now largely sacrificed at times at a week and ten days old, in the shambles of Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, and other large neighbouring towns. If, however, malt had been free from duty, not only would farmers have made more profit and therefore been able

to keep their stock till it got older and heavier, but it would have been substituted for milk for rearing by men who did not keep cows, and thus the present alarming scarcity of young cattle which has befallen the nation would have been largely averted. What these little men now say, in reply to recommendations to rear, is, 'We know very well it would pay to rear on milk, but it would first require us to put our hands in our purse, which we cannot do, and then we should have to wait a long time for a return, instead of getting it at once by dairying'" (ibid., pp. 11 and 12).

If the prolongation of the turnover has such consequences even for the small English farmers, it is easy to see what disarrangement it must produce among the small peasants of the continent.

The part of the value transferred in layers by the fixed capital to the product accumulates, and the return of this part is delayed, in proportion to the length of the working period and thus also of the period of time required for the completion of the commodity capable of circulation. But this delay does not cause a renewed outlay of fixed capital. The machine continues to function in the process of production, whether the replacement of its wear and tear in the form of money returns slowly or rapidly. It is different with the circulating capital. Not only must capital be tied up for a rather long time, in proportion to the length of the working period, but new capital must be continually advanced in the shape of wages, and raw and auxiliary materials. A delayed return has therefore a different effect on each. No matter whether the return is rapid or slow, the fixed capital continues to function. But the circulating capital becomes unable to perform its functions, if the return is delayed, if it is tied up in the form of unsold, or unfinished and as yet unsalable products, and if no additional capital is at hand for its renewal *in natura*.

"While the peasant farmer starves, his cattle thrive. Repeated showers had fallen in the country, and the forage was abundant. The Hindoo peasant will perish by hunger beside a fat bullock. The prescriptions of superstition, which appear cruel to the individual, are conservative for the community; and the preservation of the labouring cattle secures the power of cultivation, and the sources of future life and wealth. It may sound harsh and sad to say so, but in India it is more easy to replace a man than an ox" (Return, East India. Madras and Orissa Famine. No. 4, p. 44).

Compare with the preceding the utterance of Manava Dharma Sastra,[45] Chapter X, § 62.

"Desertion of life, without reward, for the sake of preserving a priest or a cow ... may cause the beatitude of those base-born tribes."

Naturally, it is impossible to deliver a five-year-old animal before

the lapse of five years. But what *is* possible, within certain limits, is getting animals ready for their destination in less time by changing the way of treating them. This is precisely what Bakewell accomplished. Formerly English sheep, like the French as late as 1855, were not fit for the butcher until four or five years old. According to the Bakewell system, sheep may be fattened when only one year old and in every case have reached their full growth before the end of the second year. By careful selection, Bakewell, a Dishley Grange farmer, reduced the skeleton of sheep to the minimum required for their existence. His sheep are called the New Leicesters.

"The breeder can now send three to market in the same space of time that it formerly took him to prepare one; and if they are not taller, they are broader, rounder, and have a greater development in those parts which give most flesh. [...] Almost all their weight is pure meat" (Lavergne, *The Rural Economy of England, etc.*, 1855, p. 20).

The methods which shorten the working period are applicable in various branches of industry to a widely varying extent and do not eliminate the time differences of the various working periods. To stick to our illustration, the working period required for the building of a locomotive may be absolutely shortened by the employment of new machine-tools. But if at the same time the finished product turned out daily or weekly by a cotton-spinning mill is still more rapidly increased by improved processes, then the working period in machine-building, compared with that in spinning, has nevertheless grown relatively in length.

## Chapter XIII

### THE TIME OF PRODUCTION

Working time is always production time, that is to say, time during which capital is held fast in the sphere of production. But vice versa, not all time during which capital is engaged in the process of production is necessarily working time.

It is here not a question of interruptions of the labour process necessitated by natural limitations of the labour power itself, although we have seen to what extent the mere circumstance that fixed capital—factory buildings, machinery, etc.—lies idle during pauses in

the labour process,[a] became one of the motives for an unnatural prolongation of the labour process and for day and night work. We are dealing here rather with interruptions independent of the length of the labour process, brought about by the very nature of the product and its fabrication, during which the subject of labour is for a longer or shorter time subjected to natural processes, must undergo physical, chemical and physiological changes, during which the labour process is entirely or partially suspended.

For instance grape after being pressed must ferment awhile and then rest for some time in order to reach a certain degree of perfection. In many branches of industry the product must pass through a drying process, for instance in pottery, or be exposed to certain conditions in order to change its chemical properties, as for instance in bleaching. Winter grain needs about nine months to mature. Between the time of sowing and harvesting the labour process is almost entirely suspended. In timber-raising, after the sowing and the incidental preliminary work are completed, the seed requires about 100 years to be transformed into a finished product and during all that time it stands in comparatively very little need of the action of labour.

In all these cases additional labour is drawn on only occasionally during a large portion of the time of production. The condition described in the previous chapter, where additional capital and labour must be supplied to the capital already tied up in the process of production, obtains here only with longer or shorter intervals.

In all these cases therefore the production time of the advanced capital consists of two periods: one period during which the capital is engaged in the labour process and a second period during which its form of existence — that of an unfinished product — is abandoned to the sway of natural processes, without being at that time in the labour process. Nor does it matter in the least that these two periods of time may cross or wedge into one another here and there. The working period and the production period do not coincide in these cases. The production period is longer than the working period. But the product is not finished, not ready, hence not fit to be converted from the form of productive into that of commodity capital until the production period is completed. Consequently the length of the turnover period increases in proportion to the length of the production time that does not consist of working time. In so far as the production time in excess

[a] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. X, 4, 5 (see present edition, Vol. 35).

of the working time is not fixed by natural laws given once and for all, such as govern the maturing of grain, the growth of an oak, etc., the period of turnover can often be more or less shortened by an artificial reduction of the production time. Such instances are the introduction of chemical bleaching instead of bleaching on the green and more efficient drying apparatus. Or, in tanning, where the penetration of the tannic acid into the skins, by the old method, took from six to eighteen months, while the new method, by means of an air-pump, does it in only one and a half to two months (J. G. Courcelle-Seneuil, *Traité théorique et pratique des entreprises industrielles, etc.*, Paris, 1857, 2-me éd. [p. 49] [46]). The most magnificent illustration of an artificial abbreviation of the time of production taken up exclusively with natural processes is furnished by the history of iron manufacture, more especially the conversion of pig iron into steel during the last 100 years, from the puddling process discovered about 1780 to the modern Bessemer process and the latest methods introduced since. The time of production has been brought down tremendously, but the investment of fixed capital has increased in proportion.

A peculiar illustration of the divergence of the production time from the working time is furnished by the American manufacture of shoe-lasts. In this case a considerable portion of the unproductive costs arises from having to hold the timber at least eighteen months before it is dry enough to work, so as to prevent subsequent warping. During this time the wood does not pass through any other labour process. The period of turnover of the invested capital is therefore not determined solely by the time required for the manufacture of the lasts but also by the time during which it lies unproductive in the shape of drying wood. It stays 18 months in the process of production before it can enter into the labour process proper. This example shows at the same time that the times of turnover of different parts of the aggregate circulating capital may differ in consequence of conditions which do not arise within the sphere of circulation but owe their origin to the production process.

The difference between production time and working time becomes especially apparent in agriculture. In our moderate climates the land bears grain once a year. Shortening or lengthening the period of production (for winter grain it averages nine months) itself depends on the alternation of good and bad seasons, and for this reason cannot be accurately determined and controlled beforehand as in industry proper. Only such by-products as milk, cheese, etc., can steadily be

produced and sold in comparatively short periods. On the other hand, working time data are as follows:

"The number of working days in the various regions of Germany, with due regard to the climatic and other determining conditions, will for the three main working periods presumably be: For the spring period, from the middle of March or beginning of April to the middle of May, about 50 to 60 working days; for the summer period, from the beginning of June to the end of August, 65 to 80; and for the autumn period, from the beginning of September to the end of October, or the middle or end of November, 55 to 75 working days. For the winter, only the jobs customary for that time, such as the hauling of manure, wood, market goods, building materials, etc., are to be noted" (F. Kirchhof, *Handbuch der landwirthschaftlichen Betriebslehre*, Dessau, 1852, S. 160).[33]

The more unfavourable the climate, the more congested is the working period in agriculture, and hence the shorter is the time in which capital and labour are expended. Take Russia for instance. In some of the northern districts of that country field labour is possible only from 130 to 150 days throughout the year, and it may be imagined what a loss Russia would sustain if 50 out of the 65 millions of her European population remained without work during the six or eight months of the winter, when agricultural labour is at a standstill. Apart from the 200,000 peasants who work in the 10,500 factories of Russia, local domestic industries have everywhere developed in the villages. There are villages in which all the peasants have been for generations weavers, tanners, shoemakers, locksmiths, cutlers, etc. This is particularly the case in the gubernias of Moscow, Vladimir, Kaluga, Kostroma, and Petersburg. By the way, this domestic industry is being pressed more and more into the service of capitalist production. The weavers for instance are supplied with warp and woof directly by merchants or through middlemen. (Abbreviated from the Reports by H. M. Secretaries of Embassy and Legation, on the Manufactures, Commerce, etc., No. 8, 1865, pp. 86 and 87.) We see here that the divergence of the production period from the working period, the latter being but a part of the former, constitutes the natural basis for the combination of agriculture with subsidiary rural industries, and that these subsidiary industries in turn offer points of vantage to the capitalist, who intrudes first in the person of the merchant. When capitalist production later accomplishes the separation of manufacture and agriculture, the rural labourer becomes ever more dependent on merely casual accessory employment and his con-

dition deteriorates thereby. For capital, as will be seen later, all differences in the turnover are evened out. Not so for the labourer.

In most branches of industry proper, of mining, transportation, etc., operations proceed evenly, the working time being the same year in year out and the outlay of capital passing daily into the circulation process being uniformly distributed, apart from such abnormal interruptions as fluctuations of prices, business dislocations, etc. Likewise the return of the circulating capital or its renewal is evenly distributed throughout the year, market conditions otherwise remaining the same. Yet there is in the course of the various periods of the year the greatest inequality in the outlay of circulating capital in such capital investments in which the working time constitutes only a part of the production time, while the return takes place only in bulk at a time fixed by natural conditions. If the scale of business is the same, i. e., if the amount of advanced circulating capital is the same, it must be advanced in larger quantities at a time and for longer periods than in enterprises with continuous working periods. There is also a considerably greater difference here between the life of the fixed capital and the time in which it really functions productively. Due to the difference between working time and production time, the time of employment of the applied fixed capital is of course likewise continually interrupted for a longer or shorter time, for instance in agriculture in the case of labouring cattle, implements and machines. In so far as this fixed capital consists of draught animals, it requires continually the same, or nearly the same, expenditure for feed, etc., as it does during the time they work. In the case of dead stock non-use also brings on a certain amount of depreciation. Hence the product is in general increasing in price, since the transfer of value to it is not calculated according to the time during which the fixed capital functions but according to the time during which it depreciates in value. In branches of production such as these, the idling of the fixed capital, whether combined with current expenses or not, forms as much a condition of its normal employment as for instance the loss of a certain quantity of cotton in spinning; and in the same way the labour power expended unproductively but unavoidably in any labour process under normal technical conditions counts just as well as that expended productively. Every improvement which reduces the unproductive expenditure of instruments of labour, raw material, and labour power also reduces the value of the product.

In agriculture we have a combination of both the longer working

period and the great difference between working time and production time. Hodgskin rightly remarks:

"The difference of time" //although he does not differentiate here between working time and production time// "required to complete the products of agriculture, and of other species of labour," is "the main cause of the great dependence of the agriculturists. They cannot bring their commodities to market in less time than a year. For that whole period they are obliged to borrow of the shoemaker, the tailor, the smith, the wheelwright, and the various other labourers, whose products they cannot dispense with, but which are completed in a few days or weeks. Owing to this natural circumstance, and owing to the more rapid increase of the wealth produced by other labour than that of agriculture, the monopolisers of all the land, though they have also monopolised legislation, have not been able to save themselves and their servants, the farmers, from becoming the most dependent class of men in the community" (Thomas Hodgskin, *Popular Political Economy*, London, 1827, p. 147, note).[47]

All methods by which in agriculture on the one hand the expenditures for wages and instruments of labour are distributed more evenly over the entire year, while on the other the turnover is shortened by raising a greater variety of crops, thus making different harvests possible throughout the year, require an increase of the circulating capital advanced in production, invested in wages, fertilisers, seed, etc. This is the case in the transition from the three-field system with fallow land to the system of crop rotation without fallow. It applies furthermore to the *cultures dérobées* of Flanders.

"The root crops are planted in *culture dérobée*; the same field yields in succession first grain, flax, colza, for the wants of man, and after they are harvested root crops are sown for the maintenance of cattle. This system, which permits the keeping of horned cattle in the stables, yields a considerable amount of manure and thus becomes the pivot of crop rotation. More than a third of the cultivated area in sandy districts is taken up with *cultures dérobées*; it is just as if the cultivated area had been increased by one-third."

Apart from root crops, clover and other fodder plants are likewise used for this purpose.

"Agriculture, being thus carried to a point where it turns into horticulture, naturally requires a considerable investment of capital. This capital, estimated in England at 250 francs per hectare, must be almost 500 francs in Flanders, a figure which good farmers will undoubtedly consider far too low, judging by their own lands" (*Essai sur l'économie rurale de la Belgique*, par Émile de Laveleye, Bruxelles, 1863, pp. 59, 60, 63).[48]

Take finally timber-growing.

"The production of timber differs from most of the other branches of production essentially in that here the forces of nature act independently and do not require the power of man or capital when the increase is natural. Even in places where forests are

propagated artificially the expenditure of human and capital energy is inconsiderable compared with the action of the natural forces. Besides, a forest will still thrive in soils and on sites where grain no longer gets along or where its cultivation no longer pays. Furthermore forestry engaged in as a regular economy requires a larger area than grain culture, because small plots do not permit of proper forestry methods, largely prevent the enjoyment of the secondary uses to which the land can be put, make forest protection more difficult, etc. But the productive process extends over such long periods that it exceeds the planning of an individual farm and in certain cases surpasses the entire span of a human life. The capital invested in the purchase of forest land"

//in the case of communal production this capital becomes unnecessary, the question then being simply what acreage the community can spare from its sowing and grazing area for forestry//

"will not yield substantial returns until after a long period, and even then is turned over only partially. With forests producing certain species of trees the complete turnover takes as much as 150 years. Besides, a properly managed timber-growing establishment itself demands a supply of standing timber which amounts to ten to forty times the annual yield. Unless a man has therefore still other sources of income and owns vast tracts of forest land, he cannot engage in regular forestry" (Kirchhof, p. 58).

The long production time (which comprises a relatively small period of working time) and the great length of the periods of turnover entailed make forestry an industry of little attraction to private and therefore capitalist enterprise, the latter being essentially private even if the associated capitalist takes the place of the individual capitalist. The development of culture and of industry in general has ever evinced itself in such energetic destruction of forests that everything done by it conversely for their preservation and restoration appears infinitesimal.

The following passage in the above quotation from Kirchhof is particularly worthy of note:

"Besides, a properly managed timber-growing establishment itself demands a supply of standing timber which amounts to ten to forty times the annual yield."

In other words, a turnover occurs once in ten to forty or more years.

The same applies to stock raising. A part of the herd (supply of cattle) remains in the process of production, while another part is sold annually as a product. In this case only a part of the capital is turned over every year, just as in the case of fixed capital: machinery, labouring cattle, etc. Although this capital is a capital fixed in the process of production for a long time, and thus prolongs the turnover of the total capital, it is not a fixed capital in the strict definition of the term.

What is here called a supply—a certain amount of standing tim-

ber or livestock — exists relatively in the process of production (simultaneously as instruments of labour and material of labour); in accordance with the natural conditions of its reproduction under proper management, a considerable part of this supply must always be available in this form.

A similar influence on the turnover is exerted by another kind of supply, which is productive capital only potentially, but which, owing to the nature of this economy, must be accumulated in more or less considerable quantities and hence advanced for purposes of production for a long term, although it enters into the actual process of production only gradually. In this class belongs for instance manure before it is hauled to the field, furthermore grain, hay, etc., and such supplies of means of subsistence as are employed in the production of cattle.

"A considerable part of the working capital is contained in the farm's supplies. But these may lose more or less of their value, if the precautionary measures necessary for their preservation in good condition are not properly observed. Lack of attention may even result in the total loss of a part of the produce supplies for the farm. For this reason, a careful inspection of the barns, feed and grain lofts, and cellars becomes indispensable, the store rooms must always be well closed, kept clean, ventilated, etc. The grain and other crops held in storage must be thoroughly turned over from time to time; potatoes and beets must be protected against frost, rain, and rot" (Kirchhof, p. 292). "In calculating one's own requirements, especially for the keeping of cattle, the distribution must be made according to the product obtained and its intended use. One must not only consider covering one's ordinary needs but also see to it that there is a proportionate reserve for extraordinary cases. If it is then found that the demand cannot be fully met by one's own production, it becomes necessary to reflect first whether the deficiency cannot be covered by other products (substitutes), or by the cheaper procurement of such in place of the deficient ones. For instance if there should happen to be a shortage of hay, this might be made good by roots and an admixture of straw. In general, the intrinsic value and market price of the various crops must always be kept in mind in such cases, and consumption regulated accordingly. If for instance oats are high, while peas and rye are relatively low, it will pay to substitute peas or rye for a part of the oats intended for horses and to sell the oats thus saved" (ibid., p. 300).

It was previously stated, when discussing the formation of a supply,[a] that a definite quantity, big or small, of potential productive capital is required, i. e., of means of production intended for use in production, which must be available in bigger or smaller quantities for the purpose of entering by and by into the productive process. The remark was incidentally made that, given a certain business or capi-

[a] See this volume, pp. 141-47.

talist enterprise of definite proportions, the magnitude of this productive supply depends on the greater or lesser difficulties of its renewal, the relative nearness of markets of supply, the development of transportation and communication facilities, etc. All these circumstances affect the minimum of capital which must be available in the form of a productive supply, hence affect the length of time for which the capital must be advanced and the amount of capital to be advanced at one time. This amount, which affects also the turnover, is determined by the longer or shorter time during which a circulating capital is tied up in the form of a productive supply as merely potential productive capital. On the other hand, inasmuch as this stagnation depends on the greater or smaller possibility of rapid replacement, on market conditions, etc., it arises itself out of the time of circulation, out of circumstances that belong in the sphere of circulation.

"Furthermore, all such implements and accessories as hand tools, sieves, baskets, ropes, wagon grease, nails, etc., must be the more available for immediate replacement, the less there is opportunity for purchasing them nearby without delay. Finally, the entire supply of implements must be carefully overhauled every winter, and new purchases or repairs found necessary must be provided for at once. Whether or not one is to keep a great or small supply of articles of equipment is to be settled mainly by local conditions. Wherever there are no artisans or stores in the vicinity, it is necessary to keep larger supplies than in places where these are to be had on the spot or nearby. But if the necessary supplies are procured in large quantities at a time, then, other circumstances being equal, one generally gets the benefit of cheaper purchases, provided an appropriate time has been chosen to make them. True, the rotating working capital is thereby shorn of a correspondingly larger sum, all at once, which cannot always be well spared in the business" (Kirchhof, p. 301).

The difference between production time and working time admits of many variations, as we have seen. For the circulating capital it may be production time before it enters into the labour process proper (production of lasts); or it may be production time after it has passed through the labour process proper (wine, seed grain); or the production time is occasionally interrupted by working time (agriculture, timber-growing). A large portion of the product fit for circulation remains incorporated in the active process of production, while a much smaller part enters into annual circulation (timber-growing and cattle raising); the longer or shorter period of time for which a circulating capital must be invested in the form of potential productive capital, hence also the larger or smaller amount of this capital to

be advanced at one time, depends partly on the kind of productive process (agriculture), and partly on the proximity of markets, etc., in short, on circumstances pertinent to the sphere of circulation.

We shall see later (Book III), what senseless theories MacCulloch, James Mill, etc., arrived at as a result of the attempt to identify the production time diverging from working time with the latter, an attempt which in turn is due to a misapplication of the theory of value.

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The turnover cycle which we considered above is determined by the durability of the fixed capital advanced for the process of production. Since this cycle extends over a number of years, it comprises a series of either annual turnovers of fixed capital or of turnovers repeated during the year.

In agriculture such a cycle of turnovers arises out of the system of crop rotation.

"The duration of the lease must in no case be less than the time of completion of the adopted system of crop rotation. Hence one always calculates 3, 6, 9, etc., in the three-field system. In that system with clean fallow, a field is cultivated only four times in six years, being sown to winter and summer grain in the years of cultivation, and, if the properties of the soil require or permit it, to wheat and rye, barley and oats successively. Every species of grain differs in its yield from the others on the same soil, every one of them has a different value and is sold at a different price. For this reason the yield of a field is different every year it is cultivated, and different in the first half of the rotation (the first three years) from that of the second. Even the average yield of one period of rotation is not equal to that of another, for fertility does not depend solely on the good quality of the soil, but also on the weather each year, just as prices depend on a multitude of changing conditions. If one now calculates the income from a field by taking into account the average fertility and the average prices for the entire six-year rotation period, one finds the total income of one year in either period of the rotation. But this is not so if the proceeds are calculated only for half of the time of rotation, that is to say, for three years; for then the total income figures would not coincide. It follows from the foregoing that a lease of land worked by the three-field system should run for at least six years. It is however always still more desirable for lessor and lessee that the duration of the lease should be a multiple of the duration of the lease" //*sic!*//; "hence that it should be 12, 18, and ever more years instead of 6 years in a system of three fields and 14, 28 years instead of 7 in a system of seven fields" (Kirchhof, pp. 117, 118).

//At this place the manuscript contains the note: "The English system of crop rotation. Give a note here."//

# Chapter XIV

## THE TIME OF CIRCULATION

All circumstances considered so far which distinguish the periods of turnover of different capitals invested in different branches of industry and hence also the periods for which capital must be advanced, originate in the process of production itself, such as the difference between fixed and circulating capital, the difference in the working periods, etc. But the time of turnover of capital is equal to the sum of its production time plus its circulation, or rotation, time. It is therefore a matter of course that a difference in the time of circulation causes a difference in the time of turnover and hence in the length of the period of turnover. This becomes most evident either on comparing two different investments of capital in which all circumstances modifying the turnover are equal except the time of circulation, or on selecting a given capital with a given proportion of fixed and circulating capital, a given working period, etc., with only the times of circulation varying hypothetically.

One of the sections of the time of circulation — relatively the most decisive — consists of the time of selling, the period during which capital exists in the state of commodity capital. The time of circulation, and hence the period of turnover in general, are long or short depending on the relative length of this selling time. An additional outlay of capital may become necessary as a result of expenses of storage, etc. It is clear at the very start that the time required for the sale of finished goods may differ considerably for the individual capitalists in one and the same branch of production. Hence it may differ not only for the aggregate capitals invested in the various branches of industry, but also for the various independent capitals, which are in fact merely parts of the aggregate capital invested in the same sphere of production but which have made themselves independent. Other circumstances remaining equal, the period of selling will vary for the same individual capital with the general fluctuations of the market or with its fluctuations in that particular line of business. We shall not dwell on this point any longer. We merely state this simple fact: All circumstances which in general give rise to differences in the periods of turnover of the capitals invested in different branches of industry bring in their train differences also in the turnover of the various indi-

vidual capitals operating in the same business, provided these circumstances operate individually (for instance, if one capitalist has an opportunity to sell more rapidly than his competitor, if one employs more methods shortening the working periods than the other, etc.).

One cause which acts permanently in differentiating the times of selling, and thus the periods of turnover in general, is the distance of the market in which a commodity is sold from its place of production. During the entire trip to the market, capital finds itself fettered in the state of commodity capital. If goods are made to order, up to the time of delivery; if they are not made to order, there must be added to the time of the trip to the market the time during which the goods are in the market waiting to be sold. The improvement of the means of communication and transportation cuts down absolutely the wandering period of the commodities but does not eliminate the relative difference in the time of circulation of different commodity capitals arising from their peregrinations, nor that of different portions of the same commodity capital which migrate to different markets. For instance the improved sailing vessels and steamships, which shorten travelling, do so equally for near and distant ports. The relative difference remains, although often diminished. But the relative differences may be displaced by the development of the means of transportation and communication in a way that does not correspond to the geographical distances. For instance a railway which leads from a place of production to an inland centre of population may relatively or absolutely lengthen the distance to a nearer inland point not connected by rail, as compared to the one which geographically is more remote. In the same way the same circumstances may alter the relative distance of places of production from the larger markets, which explains the deterioration of old and the rise of new centres of production because of changes in communication and transportation facilities. (To this must be added the circumstances that long hauls are relatively cheaper than short ones.) Simultaneously with the development of transport facilities not only is the velocity of movement in space accelerated and thereby the spatial distance shortened in terms of time. Not only is there a development of the mass of communication facilities, so that for instance many vessels sail simultaneously for the same port, or several trains travel simultaneously on different railways between the same two points, but freight vessels may clear on consecutive days of the same week from Liverpool for New York for example, or goods trains may start at different hours of the same day from Manchester

to London. True, the absolute velocity—hence this part of the time of circulation—is not altered by this latter circumstance, a certain definite capacity of the means of transportation being given. But successive shipments of commodities can start their passage at shorter intervals of time and thus reach the market one after another without accumulating in large quantities as potential commodity capital before actual shipment. Hence the return of capital likewise is distributed over shorter successive periods of time, so that a part is continually transformed into money capital, while the other circulates as commodity capital. By distributing the return over several successive periods the total time of circulation and hence also the turnover are abridged. The first to increase is the frequency with which the means of transportation function, for instance the number of railway trains, as existing places of production produce more and become greater centres of production. The development tends in the direction of the already existing market, that is to say, towards the great centres of production, and population, towards ports of export, etc. On the other hand these particularly great traffic facilities and the resultant acceleration of the capital turnover (since it is conditional on the time of circulation) give rise to quicker concentration of both the centres of production and the markets. Along with this concentration of masses of men and capital thus accelerated at certain points, there is the concentration of these masses of capital in the hands of a few. Simultaneously one may note again a shifting and relocation of places of production and of markets as a result of the changes in their relative positions caused by the transformations in transport facilities. A place of production which once had a special advantage by being located on some highway or canal may now find itself relegated to a single sidetrack, which runs trains only at relatively long intervals, while another place, which formerly was remote from the main arteries of traffic, may now be situated at the junction of several railways. This second locality is on the upgrade, the former on the downgrade. Changes in the means of transportation thus engender local differences in the time of circulation of commodities, in the opportunity to buy, sell, etc., or an already existing local differentiation is distributed differently. The importance of this circumstance for the turnover of capital is evidenced by the wrangling of the commercial and industrial representatives of the various localities with the railway manage-

ments. (See for instance the above-quoted Bluebook of the Railway Committee.[a])

All branches of production which by the nature of their product are dependent mainly on local consumption, such as breweries, are therefore developed to the greatest extent in the principal centres of population. The more rapid turnover of capital compensates here in part for the circumstance that a number of conditions of production, building lots, etc., are more expensive.

Whereas on the one hand the improvement of the means of transportation and communication brought about by the progress of capitalist production reduces the time of circulation of particular quantities of commodities, the same progress and the opportunities created by the development of transport and communication facilities make it imperative, conversely, to work for ever more remote markets, in a word — for the world market. The mass of commodities in transit for distant places grows enormously, and with it therefore grows, both absolutely and relatively, that part of social capital which remains continually for long periods in the stage of commodity capital, within the time of circulation. There is a simultaneous growth of that portion of social wealth which, instead of serving as direct means of production, is invested in means of transportation and communication and in the fixed and circulating capital required for their operation.

The mere relative length of the transit of the commodities from their place of production to their market produces a difference not only in the first part of the circulation time, the selling time, but also in its second part, the reconversion of the money into the elements of the productive capital, the buying time. Suppose a commodity is shipped to India. This requires, say, four months. Let us assume that the selling time is equal to zero, i. e., the commodities are made to order and are paid for on delivery to the agent of the producer. The return of the money (no matter in what form) requires another four months. Thus it takes altogether eight months before a capital can again function as productive capital, renew the same operation. The differences in the turnover thus occasioned form one of the material bases of the various terms of credit, just as oversea commerce in general, for instance in Venice and Genoa, is one of the sources of the credit system, properly speaking.

[a] See this volume, pp. 154-55.

"The crisis of 1847 enabled the banking and mercantile community of that time to reduce the India and China usance" (time allowed for the currency of bills of exchange between there and Europe) "from ten months' date to six months' sight, and the lapse of twenty years with all the accelerations of speed and establishment of telegraphs [...] renders necessary [...] a further reduction" from six months' sight to four months' date as a first step to four months' sight. "The voyage of a sailing vessel *via* the Cape from Calcutta to London is, on the average, under 90 days. An usance of four months' sight would be equal to a currency of say 150 days. The present usance of six months' sight is equal to a currency of say 210 days" (*London Economist*, June 16, 1866).

On the other hand:

"The Brazilian usance remains at two and three months' sight, bills from Antwerp are drawn" (on London) "at three months' date, and even Manchester and Bradford draw upon London at three months and longer dates. By tacit consent, a fair opportunity is afforded to the merchant of realising the proceeds of his merchandise, not indeed before, but within a reasonable time of, the bills drawn against it fall due. In this view, the present usance for Indian bills cannot be considered excessive. Indian produce for the most part being sold in London with three months' prompt, and allowing for loss of time in effecting sales, cannot be realised much within five months, while another period of five months will have previously elapsed (on an average) between the time of purchase in India and of delivery in the English warehouse. We have here a period of ten months, whereas the bill drawn against the goods does not live beyond seven months" (ibid., June 30, 1866).

"On July 2, 1866, five big London banks dealing mainly with India and China, and the Paris *Comptoir d'Escompte*, gave notice that from the 1st January, 1867, their branches and agencies in the East will only buy and sell bills of exchange at a term not exceeding four months' sight" (ibid., July 7, 1866).

However this reduction miscarried and had to be abandoned. //Since then the Suez Canal has revolutionised all this.//

It is a matter of course that with the longer time of commodity circulation the risk of a change of prices in the market increases, since the period in which price changes can take place is lengthened.

Differences in the time of circulation, partly individual between the various separate capitals of the same branch of business, partly between different branches of business according to the different usances, when payment is not made in spot cash, arise from the different terms of payment in buying and selling. We shall not dwell any longer here on this point, which is of importance to the credit system.

Differences in the turnover time arise also from the size of contracts for the delivery of goods, and their size grows with the extent and scale of capitalist production. A contract of delivery, being a transaction between buyer and seller, is an operation pertaining to

the market, the sphere of circulation. The differences in the time of turnover arising here stem therefore from the sphere of circulation, but react immediately on the sphere of production, and do so apart from all terms of payment and conditions of credit, hence also in the case of cash payment. For instance coal, cotton, yarn, etc., are discrete products. Every day supplies its quantum of finished product. But if the master-spinner or the mine-owner accepts contracts for the delivery of such large quantities of products as require, say, a period of four or six weeks of consecutive working days, then this is quite the same, so far as the time of advancement of capital is concerned, as if a continuous working period of four or six weeks had been introduced in this labour process. It is of course assumed here that the entire quantity ordered is to be delivered in one bulk, or at least is paid for only after total delivery. Individually considered, every day has thus furnished its definite quantum of finished product. But this finished quantum is only a part of the quantity contracted for. While in this case the portion finished so far is no longer in the process of production, still it lies in the warehouse as potential capital only.

Now let us take up the second stage of the time of circulation, the buying time, or that period in which capital is reconverted from the money form into the elements of productive capital. During this period it must persist for a shorter or longer time in its condition of money capital, hence a certain portion of the total capital advanced must all the time be in the condition of money capital, although this portion consists of constantly changing elements. For instance, of the total capital advanced in a certain business, $n \times £100$ must be available in the form of money capital, so that, while all the constituent parts of these $n \times £100$ are continually converted into productive capital, this sum is nevertheless just as continually replenished by the influx from the circulation, from the realised commodity capital. A definite part of the advanced capital value is therefore continually in the condition of money capital, i. e., a form not pertaining to its sphere of production but its sphere of circulation.

We have already seen that the prolongation of the time for which capital is fettered in the form of commodity capital on account of the distance of the market results in direct delay of the return of the money and consequently also of the transformation of the capital from money capital into productive capital.

We have furthermore seen (Chapter VI) with reference to the purchase of commodities, that the time of buying, the greater or smaller

distance from the main sources of the raw material, makes it necessary to purchase raw material for a longer period and have it available in the form of a productive supply, of latent or potential productive capital; that in consequence it increases the amount of capital to be advanced at one time, and the time for which it must be advanced, if the scale of production remains otherwise the same.

A similar effect is produced in various branches of business by the more or less prolonged periods in which rather large quantities of raw material are thrown on the market. In London for example great auction sales of wool take place every three months, and the wool market is controlled by them. The cotton market on the other hand is on the whole restocked continuously, if not uniformly, from harvest to harvest. Such periods determine the principal dates when these raw materials are bought. Their effect is particularly great on speculative purchases necessitating advances for longer or shorter periods for these elements of production, just as the nature of the produced commodities acts on the speculative, intentional withholding of a product for a longer or shorter term in the form of potential commodity capital.

"The agriculturist must also be a speculator to a certain extent and therefore hold back the sale of his products if prevailing conditions so suggest..."

Here follow a few general rules.

"However in the sale of the products, it all depends mainly on the person, the product itself, and the locality. Anyone who, besides being skilful and lucky"(!), "is provided with sufficient working capital will not be blamed if for once he keeps his grain crop stored as long as a year when prices are unusually low. On the other hand a man who lacks working capital or is altogether devoid"(!) "of speculative spirit will try to get the current average prices and will be compelled to sell as soon and as often as opportunity presents itself. It will almost always mean a loss to keep wool stored longer than a year, while corn and oil seed may be stored for several years without detriment to their properties and high quality. Products generally subject to severe fluctuation at short intervals, for instance oil seed, hops, teasel and the like, may be stored to good advantage during years in which the selling price is far below the price of production. It is least permissible to postpone the sale of articles whose preservation involves daily expense, such as fatted cattle, or which are perishable, such as fruit, potatoes, etc. In various localities a certain product fetches its lowest average price in certain seasons, its highest in others. Thus, in some parts the average price of corn is lower around St. Martin's Day than between Christmas and Easter. Furthermore some products sell well in certain localities only at certain times, as is the case with wool in the wool markets of those localities where the wool trade at other times is dull, etc." (Kirchhof, p. 302).

In the study of the second half of the time of circulation, during which money is reconverted into the elements of productive capital, it is not only this transformation, taken by itself, that should be given consideration, not only the time within which the money returns, according to the distance of the market in which the product is sold. What must also be considered, and primarily so, is the amount of that part of the advanced capital which is always to be available in the form of money, in the condition of money capital.

Apart from all speculation, the volume of the purchases of those commodities which must always be available as a productive supply depends on the times of the renewal of this supply, hence on circumstances which in their turn are dependent on market conditions and which therefore are different for different raw materials. In these cases money must be advanced from time to time in rather large quantities and in lump sums. It returns more or less rapidly, but always in instalments, according to the turnover of the capital. One portion of it, namely the part reconverted into wages, is just as continually expended again at short intervals. But another portion, namely that which is to be reconverted into raw material, etc., must be accumulated for rather long periods, as a reserve fund for either buying or paying. Therefore it exists in the form of money capital, although the volume in which it exists as such changes.

We shall see in the next chapter that other circumstances arising either from the process of production or that of circulation make it necessary for a certain portion of the advanced capital to be available in the form of money. In general it must be noted that the economists are very prone to forget not only that a part of the capital required in a business passes successively through the three stages of money capital, productive capital, and commodity capital, but also that different portions of it continuously and simultaneously possess these forms, although the relative magnitudes of these portions vary all the time. It is especially the part always available as money capital that is forgotten by the economists, although precisely this circumstance is highly essential for an understanding of bourgeois economy and consequently makes its importance felt as such also in practice.

# Chapter XV

## EFFECT OF THE TIME OF TURNOVER ON THE MAGNITUDE OF ADVANCED CAPITAL

In this chapter and in the next, the sixteenth, we deal with the influence of the time of turnover on the self-expansion of capital.

Take the commodity capital which is the product of a working period of, say, nine weeks. Let us, for the time being, leave aside that portion of the value of the product which is added to it by the average wear and tear of the fixed capital, and also the surplus value added to the product during the process of production. The value of this product is then equal to that of the circulating capital advanced for its production, i.e., of the wages and the raw and auxiliary materials consumed in its production. Let this value be £900, so that the weekly outlay is £100. The period of production, which here coincides with the working period, is therefore 9 weeks. It is immaterial whether it is assumed that this is the working period of a continuous product, or whether it is a continuous working period for a discrete product, so long as the quantity of discrete product brought to market at one time costs 9 weeks' labour. Let the time of circulation be 3 weeks. Then the entire period of turnover is 12 weeks. At the end of 9 weeks the advanced productive capital is converted into commodity capital, but now it stays for three weeks in the period of circulation. The new period of production therefore cannot start before the beginning of the 13th week, and production would be at a standstill for three weeks, or for a quarter of the entire period of turnover. It again does not make any difference whether it is assumed that it takes so long on an average to sell the product, or that this length of time is bound up with the remoteness of the market or the terms of payment for the goods sold. Production would be standing still for 3 weeks every 3 months, making it $4 \times 3 = 12$ weeks in a year, which means 3 months, or one-quarter, of the annual period of turnover. Hence, if production is to be continuous and carried along on the same scale week after week, there is only this alternative:

Either the scale of production must be reduced, so that the £900 suffice to keep the work going both during the working period and the time of circulation of the first turnover. A second working period, hence also a second period of turnover, is then commenced with the

10th week, before the first period of turnover is completed, for the period of turnover is twelve weeks, and the working period nine weeks. A sum of £900 distributed over 12 weeks makes £75 per week. It is evident in the first place that such a reduced scale of business presupposes changed dimensions of the fixed capital and therefore, on the whole, a curtailment of the business. In the second place, it is questionable whether such a reduction can take place at all, for in each business there exists, commensurate with the development of its production, a normal minimum of invested capital essential to maintain its capacity to compete. This normal minimum grows steadily with the advance of capitalist production, and hence it is not fixed. There are numerous intermediate grades between the normal minimum existing at any particular time and the ever increasing normal maximum, a medium which permits of many different scales of capital investment. Within the limits of this medium reductions may take place, their lowest limit being the prevailing normal minimum.

When there is a hitch in production, when the markets are overstocked, and when raw materials rise in price, etc., the normal outlay of circulating capital is restricted — once the pattern of the fixed capital has been set — by cutting down working time to, say, one half. On the other hand, in times of prosperity, the pattern of the fixed capital given, there is an abnormal expansion of the circulating capital, partly through the extension of working time and partly through its intensification. In businesses which have, from the outset, to reckon with such fluctuations, the situation is relieved partly by recourse to the above measures and partly by employing simultaneously a greater number of labourers, in combination with the application of reserve fixed capital, such as reserve locomotives on railways, etc. However, such abnormal fluctuations are not considered here, where we assume normal conditions.

In order to make production continuous, therefore, the expenditure of the same circulating capital is here distributed over a longer period, over 12 weeks instead of 9. In every section of time there consequently functions a reduced productive capital. The circulating portion of the productive capital is reduced from 100 to 75, or one-quarter. The total amount by which the productive capital functioning for a working period of 9 weeks is reduced $= 9 \times 25 =$ £225, or $^1/_4$ of £900. But the ratio of the time of circulation to that of turnover is likewise $^3/_{12} = {}^1/_4$. It follows therefore: If production is not to be interrupted during the time of circulation of the productive capital

transformed into commodity capital, if it is rather to be carried on simultaneously and continuously week after week, and if no special circulating capital is available for this purpose, it can be done only by curtailing productive operations, by reducing the fluid component of the functioning productive capital. The portion of fluid capital thus set free for production during the time of circulation is to the total advanced fluid capital as the time of circulation is to the period of turnover. This applies, as has already been stated, only to branches of production in which the labour process is carried on on the same scale week after week, where therefore no varying amounts of capital are to be invested in different working periods, as for instance in agriculture.

If on the other hand we assume that the nature of the business excludes a reduction of the scale of production, and thus of the fluid capital to be advanced each week, then continuity of production can be secured only by additional fluid capital, in the above-named case of £300. During the twelve-week turnover period, £1,200 are successively invested, and £300 are one-quarter of this sum as 3 weeks are of 12. At the end of the working period of 9 weeks the capital value of £900 has been converted from the form of productive into that of commodity capital. Its working period is concluded, but it cannot be re-opened with the same capital. During the three weeks in which it stays in the sphere of circulation, functioning as commodity capital, it is in the same state, so far as the process of production is concerned, as if it did not exist at all. We rule out in the present case all credit relations and take for granted that the capitalist operates only with his own money. But during the time the capital advanced for the first working period, having completed its process of production, stays 3 weeks in the process of circulation, there functions an additional capital investment of £300, so that the continuity of production is not broken.

Now, the following must be noted in this connection:

Firstly: The working period of the capital of £900 first advanced is completed at the close of 9 weeks and it does not return until after 3 weeks are up, that is to say, at the beginning of the 13th week. But a new working period is immediately begun with the additional capital of £300. By this means continuity of production is maintained.

Secondly: The functions of the original capital of £900 and of the capital of £300 newly added at the close of the first nine-week working period, inaugurating the second working period after the conclusion

of the first without any interruption, are, or at least could be, clearly distinguished in the first period of turnover, while they cross each other in the course of the second period of turnover.

Let us make this matter plainer.

First period of turnover of 12 weeks. First working period of 9 weeks; the turnover of the capital advanced for this is completed at the beginning of the 13th week. During the last 3 weeks the additional capital of £300 functions, opening the second working period of 9 weeks.

Second period of turnover. At the beginning of the 13th week, £900 have returned and are able to begin a new turnover. But the second working period has already been opened in the 10th week by the additional £300. At the start of the 13th week, thanks to this, one-third of the working period is already over and £300 has been converted from productive capital into product. Since only 6 weeks more are required for the completion of the second working period, only two-thirds of the returned capital of £900, or only £600, can enter into the productive process of the second working period. £300 of the original £900 are set free to play the same role which the additional capital of £300 played in the first working period. At the close of the 6th week of the second period of turnover the second working period is up. The capital of £900 advanced in it returns after 3 weeks, or at the end of the 9th week of the second 12-week period of turnover. During the 3 weeks of its period of circulation, the freed capital of £300 comes into action. This begins the third working period of a capital of £900 in the 7th week of the second period of turnover, or the 19th week of the year.

Third period of turnover. At the close of the 9th week of the second period of turnover there is a new reflux of £900. But the third working period has already commenced in the 7th week of the previous period of turnover, and 6 weeks have already elapsed. The third working period, then, lasts only another 3 weeks. Hence only £300 of the returned £900 enter into the productive process. The fourth working period fills out the remaining 9 weeks of this period of turnover and thus the 37th week of the year begins simultaneously the fourth period of turnover and the fifth working period.

In order to simplify the calculation in this case let us assume a working period of 5 weeks and a period of circulation of 5 weeks, making a turnover period of 10 weeks. Figure the year as composed of 50 weeks and the capital outlay per week as £100. A working period

then requires a circulating capital of £500 and the time of circulation an additional capital of £500. The working periods and times of turnover then are as follows:

| Working period | Week | £ in goods | Returned |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1st | 1st-5th | 500 | End of 10th week |
| 2nd | 6th-10th | 500 | ,, ,, 15th ,, |
| 3rd | 11th-15th | 500 | ,, ,, 20th ,, |
| 4th | 16th-20th | 500 | ,, ,, 25th ,, |
| 5th | 21st-25th | 500 | ,, ,, 30th ,, |
| | | | and so forth |

If the time of circulation is zero, so that the period of turnover is equal to the working period, then the number of turnovers is equal to the number of working periods of the year. In the case of a 5-week working period this would make $^{50}/_{5} = 10$ weeks, and the value of the capital turned over would be $500 \times 10 = 5{,}000$. In our table, in which we have assumed a circulation time of 5 weeks, the total value of the commodities produced per year would also be £5,000, but $^{1}/_{10}$ of this = £500 would always be in the form of commodity capital, and would not return until after 5 weeks. At the end of the year the product of the tenth working period (the 46th to the 50th working week) would have completed its time of turnover only by half, and its time of circulation would fall within the first 5 weeks of the next year.

Now let us take a third illustration: Working period 6 weeks, time of circulation 3 weeks, weekly advance during labour process £100.

1st working period: 1st-6th week. At the end of the 6th week a commodity capital of £600, returned at the end of the 9th week.

2nd working period: 7th-12th week. During the 7th-9th week £300 of additional capital is advanced. At the end of the 9th week, return of £600. Of this, £300 are advanced during the 10th-12th week. At the end of the 12th week therefore £300 are free and £600 are in the form of commodity capital, returnable at the end of the 15th week.

3rd working period: 13th-18th week. During the 13th-15th week, advance of above £300, then reflux of £600, of which £300 are advanced for the 16th-18th week. At the end of the 18th week, £300 are free in money form; £600 on hand as commodity capital which returns at the end of the 21st week. (See the more detailed presentation of this case under II, below.)

In other words during 9 working periods ( = 54 weeks) 600 × 9 = £5,400 worth of commodities are produced. At the end of the ninth working period the capitalist has £300 in money and £600 in commodities which have not yet completed their time of circulation.

A comparison of these three illustrations shows, first, that a successive release of capital I of £500 and of additional capital II of likewise £500 takes place only in the second illustration, so that these two portions of capital move separately and apart from each other. But this is so only because we have made the very exceptional assumption that the working period and the time of circulation form two equal halves of the turnover period. In all other cases, whatever the difference between the two constituents of the period of turnover, the movements of the two capitals cross each other, as in illustrations I and III, beginning with the second period of turnover. The additional capital II, with a portion of capital I, then forms the capital functioning in the second turnover period, while the remainder of capital I is set free to perform the original function of capital II. The capital operating during the circulation time of the commodity capital is not identical, in this case, with the capital II originally advanced for this purpose, but it is of the same value and forms the same aliquot part of the total capital advanced.

Secondly: The capital which functioned during the working period lies idle during the time of circulation. In the second illustration the capital functions during the 5 weeks of the working period and lies idle during the 5 weeks of the circulation time. Therefore the entire time during which capital I lies idle here amounts to one half of the year. It is the additional capital II that appears during this time having, in the case before us, also in its turn lain idle half a year. But the additional capital required to ensure the continuity of production during the time of circulation is not determined by the aggregate amount, or sum total, of the times of circulation during the year, but only by the ratio of the time of circulation to the period of turnover. (We assume, of course, that all the turnovers take place under the same conditions.) For this reason £500 of additional capital, and not £2,500, are required in the second illustration. This is simply due to the fact that the additional capital enters just as well into the turnover as the capital originally advanced, and that it therefore makes up its magnitude just as the other by the number of its turnovers.

Thirdly: The circumstances here considered are not affected by whether the time of production is longer than the working time or not. True, the aggregate of the periods of turnover is prolonged thereby, but this extension does not necessitate any additional capital for the labour process. The additional capital serves merely the purpose of filling the gaps in the labour process that arise on account of the time of circulation. Hence it is there simply to protect production against interruptions, originating in the time of circulation. Interruptions arising from the specific conditions of production are to be eliminated in another way, which need not be discussed at this point. There are however establishments in which work is carried on only intermittently, to order, so that there may be intervals between the working periods. In such cases, the need for additional capital is *pro tanto* eliminated. On the other hand in most cases of seasonal work there is a certain limit for the time of reflux. The same work cannot be renewed next year with the same capital, if the circulation time of this capital has not, in the meantime, run out. On the contrary the time of circulation may also be shorter than the interval between two periods of production. In that event the capital lies fallow, unless it is meanwhile employed otherwise.

Fourthly: The capital advanced for a certain working period — for instance the £600 in the third illustration — is invested partly in raw and auxiliary materials, in a productive supply for the working period, in constant circulating capital, and partly in variable circulating capital, in the payment of labour itself. The portion laid out in constant circulating capital may not exist for the same length of time in the form of a productive supply; the raw material for instance may not be on hand for the entire working period, coal may be procured only every two weeks. However, as credit is still out of the question here, this portion of capital, in so far as it is not available in the form of a productive supply, must be kept on hand in the form of money so that it can be converted into a productive supply as and when needed. This does not alter the magnitude of the constant circulating capital value advanced for 6 weeks. On the other hand — regardless of the money supply for unforeseen expenses, the reserve fund proper for the elimination of disturbances — wages are paid in shorter intervals, mostly weekly. Therefore unless the capitalist compels the labourer to advance his labour for a longer time, the capital required for wages must be on hand in the form of money. During the reflux of the capital a portion must therefore be retained in money form for the pay-

ment of the labour, while the remaining portion may be converted into productive supply.

The additional capital is divided exactly like the original. But it is distinguished from capital I by the fact that (apart from credit relations) in order to be available for its own working period it must be advanced during the entire duration of the first working period of capital I, into which it does not enter. During this time it can already be converted, at least in part, into constant circulating capital, having been advanced for the entire period of turnover. To what extent it assumes this form or how long it persists in the form of additional money capital until this conversion becomes necessary, will depend partly on the special conditions of production of definite lines of business, partly on local conditions, partly on the price fluctuations of raw material, etc. If social capital is viewed in its entirety, a more or less considerable part of this additional capital will always be for a rather long time in the state of money capital. But as for that portion of capital II which is to be advanced for wages, it is always converted only gradually into labour power, as small working periods expire and are paid for. This portion of capital II, then, is available in the form of money capital during the entire working period, until by its conversion into labour power it takes part in the function of productive capital.

Consequently, the accession of the additional capital required for the transformation of the circulation time of capital I into time of production, increases not only the magnitude of the advanced capital and the length of time for which the aggregate capital must necessarily be advanced, but also, and specifically so, that portion of the advanced capital which exists as money supply, which hence exists in the state of money capital and has the form of potential money capital.

The same thing also takes place — as far as it concerns both the advance in the form of a productive supply and in that of a money supply — when the separation of capital into two parts made necessary by the time of circulation, namely, into capital for the first working period and replacement capital for the time of circulation, is not caused by the increase of the capital laid out but by a decrease of the scale of production. The amount of capital tied up in the money form grows here still more in relation to the scale of production.

What is achieved in general by this separation of capital into an

originally productive and an additional capital is a continuous succession of the working periods, the constant function of an equal portion of the advanced capital as productive capital.

Let us look at the second illustration. The capital continuously employed in the process of production amounts to £500. As the working period = 5 weeks it operates ten times during 50 weeks (taken as a year). Hence its product, apart from surplus value, is 10 × £500 = £5,000. From the standpoint of a capital working directly and uninterruptedly in the process of production—a capital value of £500—the time of circulation seems to be brought to nought. The period of turnover coincides with the working period, and the time of circulation is assumed to be equal to zero.

But if the capital of £500 were regularly interrupted in its productive activity by a 5-week circulation time, so that it would again become capable of production only after the close of the entire 10-week turnover period, we should have 5 turnovers of ten weeks each in the 50 weeks of the year. These would comprise five 5-week periods of production, or a sum of 25 productive weeks with a total product worth 5 × £500 = £2,500, and five 5-week periods of circulation, or a total circulation time of likewise 25 weeks. If we say in this case that the capital of £500 has been turned over five times in the year, it will be clear and obvious that during half of each period of turnover this capital of £500 did not function at all as a productive capital and that, all in all, it performed its function only during one half of the year, but did not function at all during the other half.

In our illustration the replacement capital of £500 appears on the scene during those five periods of circulation and the turnover is thus expanded from £2,500 to £5,000. But now the advanced capital is £1,000 instead of £500. 5,000 divided by 1,000 is 5. Hence, there are five turnovers instead of ten. And that is just the way people figure. But when it is said that the capital of £1,000 has been turned over five times during the year, the recollection of the time of circulation disappears from the hollow skulls of the capitalists and a confused idea is formed that this capital has served continuously in the production process during the five successive turnovers. But if we say that the capital of £1,000 has been turned over five times this includes both the time of circulation and the time of production. Indeed, if £1,000 had really been continuously active in the process of production, the

product would, according to our assumptions, have to be £10,000 instead of £5,000. But in order to have £1,000 continuously in the process of production, £2,000 would have to be advanced. The economists, who as a general rule have nothing clear to say in reference to the mechanism of the turnover, always overlook this main point, to wit, that only a part of the industrial capital can actually be engaged in the process of production if production is to proceed uninterruptedly. While one part is in the period of production, another must always be in the period of circulation. Or in other words, one part can perform the function of productive capital only on condition that another part is withdrawn from production proper in the form of commodity or money capital. In overlooking this, the significance and role of money capital is entirely ignored.

We have now to ascertain what differences in the turnover arise if the two sections of the period of turnover, the working period and the circulation period, are equal, or if the working period is greater or smaller than the circulation period, and, furthermore, what effect this has on the tie-up of capital in the form of money capital.

We assume the capital advanced weekly to be in all cases £100, and the period of turnover 9 weeks, so that the capital to be advanced for each period of turnover is £900.

### I. THE WORKING PERIOD EQUAL TO THE CIRCULATION PERIOD

Although this case occurs in reality only as an accidental exception, it must serve as our point of departure in this investigation, because here relations shape themselves in the simplest and most intelligible way.

The two capitals (capital I advanced for the first working period, and additional capital II, which functions during the circulation period of capital I) relieve one another in their movements without crossing. With the exception of the first period, either of the two capitals is therefore advanced only for its own period of turnover. Let the period of turnover be 9 weeks, as indicated in the following illustrations, so that the working period and the circulation period are each $4\,^1/_2$ weeks. Then we have the following annual diagram.

Table I

CAPITAL I

| Periods of Turnover | Working Periods | Advance | Periods of Circulation |
|---|---|---|---|
| I. 1st-9th week | 1st-4th $^1/_2$ week | £ 450 | 4th $^1/_2$-9th week |
| II. 10th-18th ,, | 10th-13th $^1/_2$ ,, | £ 450 | 13th $^1/_2$-18th ,, |
| III. 19th-27th ,, | 19th-22nd $^1/_2$ ,, | £ 450 | 22nd $^1/_2$-27th ,, |
| IV. 28th-36th ,, | 28th-31st $^1/_2$ ,, | £ 450 | 31st $^1/_2$-36th ,, |
| V. 37th-45th ,, | 37th-40th $^1/_2$ ,, | £ 450 | 40th $^1/_2$-45th ,, |
| VI. 46th-(54th) ,, | 46th-49th $^1/_2$ ,, | £ 450 | 49th $^1/_2$-(54th) ,, [31] |

CAPITAL II

| Periods of Turnover | Working Periods | Advance | Periods of Circulation |
|---|---|---|---|
| I. 4th $^1/_2$-13th $^1/_2$ week | 4th $^1/_2$-9th week | £ 450 | 10th-13th $^1/_2$ week |
| II. 13th $^1/_2$-22nd $^1/_2$ ,, | 13th $^1/_2$-18th ,, | £ 450 | 19th-22nd $^1/_2$ ,, |
| III. 22nd $^1/_2$-31st $^1/_2$ ,, | 22nd $^1/_2$-27th ,, | £ 450 | 28th-31st $^1/_2$ ,, |
| IV. 31st $^1/_2$-40th $^1/_2$ ,, | 31st $^1/_2$-36th ,, | £ 450 | 37th-40th $^1/_2$ ,, |
| V. 40th $^1/_2$-49th $^1/_2$ ,, | 40th $^1/_2$-45th ,, | £ 450 | 46th-49th $^1/_2$ ,, |
| VI. 49th $^1/_2$-(58th $^1/_2$) ,, | 49th $^1/_2$-(54th) ,, | £ 450 | (55th-58th $^1/_2$) ,, |

Within the 51 weeks which here stand for one year, capital I runs through six full working periods, producing 6 × 450 = £2,700 worth of commodities, and capital II producing in five full working periods 5 × 450 = £2,250 worth of commodities. In addition, capital II produced, within the last 1 $^1/_2$ weeks of the year (middle of the 50th to the end of the 51st week), an extra £150 worth. The aggregate product in 51 weeks is worth £5,100. So far as the direct production of surplus value is concerned, which takes place only during the working period, the aggregate capital of £900 would have been turned over 5 $^2/_3$ times (5 $^2/_3$ × 900 = £5,100). But if we consider the real turnover, capital I has been turned over 5 $^2/_3$ times, since at the close of the 51st week it still has 3 weeks to go of its sixth period of turnover; 5 $^2/_3$ × 450 = £2,550; and capital II turned over 5 $^1/_6$ times, since it has completed only 1 $^1/_2$ weeks of its sixth period of turnover, so that 7 $^1/_2$ weeks of it run into the next year; 5 $^1/_6$ × 450 = £2,325; real aggregate turnover: £4,875.

[31] The weeks falling within the second year of turnover are put in parentheses.

Let us consider capital I and capital II as two capitals wholly independent of one another. They are entirely independent in their movements; these movements complement one another merely because their working and circulating periods directly relieve one another. They may be regarded as two totally independent capitals belonging to different capitalists.

Capital I has completed five full turnovers and two-thirds of its sixth turnover period. At the end of the year it has the form of commodity capital, which is 3 weeks short of its normal realisation. During this time it cannot enter into the process of production. It functions as commodity capital, it circulates. It has completed only $^2/_3$ of its last period of turnover. This is expressed as follows: It has been turned over only $^2/_3$ of a time, only $^2/_3$ of its total value have performed a complete turnover. We say that £450 complete their turnover in 9 weeks, hence £300 do in 6 weeks. But in this mode of expression the organic relations between the two specifically different components of the turnover time are ignored. The exact meaning of the expression that the advanced capital of £450 has made $5\,^2/_3$ turnovers is merely that it has accomplished five turnovers fully and only $^2/_3$ of the sixth. On the other hand the expression that the turned-over capital = $5\,^2/_3$ times the advanced capital—hence, in the above case, $5\,^2/_3 \times$ £450 = £2,550—is correct, meaning that unless this capital of £450 were complemented by another capital of £450, one portion of it would have to be in the process of production while another in the process of circulation. If the time of turnover is to be expressed in terms of the quantity of capital turned over, it can always be expressed only in terms of a quantity of existing value (in fact, of finished product). The circumstance that the advanced capital is not in a condition in which it may re-open the process of production finds expression in the fact that only a part of it is in a state capable of production or that, in order to be in a state of uninterrupted production, the capital would have to be divided into a portion which would be continually in the period of production and into another which would be continually in the period of circulation, depending upon the relation of these periods to each other. It is the same law which determines the quantity of the constantly functioning productive capital by the ratio of the time of circulation to the time of turnover.

By the end of the 51st week, which we regard here as the end of the year, £150 of capital II have been advanced to the production of an unfinished lot of goods. Another part of it exists in the form of cir-

culating constant capital—raw materials, etc.—i. e., in a form in which it can function as productive capital in the production process. But a third part of it exists in the form of money, at least the amount of the wages for the remainder of the working period (3 weeks), which is not paid, however, until the end of each week. Now, although at the beginning of a new year, hence of a new turnover cycle, this portion of the capital is not in the form of productive capital but in that of money capital, in which it cannot take part in the process of production, at the opening of the new turnover circulating variable capital, i. e., living labour power, is nevertheless active in the process of production. This is due to the fact that labour power is not paid until the end of the week, although bought at the beginning of the working period, say, per week, and so consumed. Money serves here as a means of payment. For this reason it is still as money in the hands of the capitalist, on the one hand, while, on the other hand, labour power, the commodity into which money is being transformed, is already active in the process of production, so that the same capital value appears here doubly.

If we look merely at the working periods,

| | |
|---|---|
| capital I produces | $6 \times 450 = £2{,}700$ |
| capital II " | $5\,^1/_3 \times 450 = £2{,}400$ |
| hence together | $5\,^2/_3 \times 900 = £5{,}100.$ |

Hence the total advanced capital of £900 has functioned $5\,^2/_3$ times throughout the year as productive capital. It is immaterial for the production of surplus value whether there are always £450 in the production process and always £450 in the circulation process, or whether £900 function $4\,^1/_2$ weeks in the process of production and the following $4\,^1/_2$ weeks in the process of circulation.

On the other hand, if we consider the periods of turnover, there has been turned over:

| | |
|---|---|
| capital I, | $5\,^2/_3 \times 450 = £2{,}550$ |
| capital II, | $5\,^1/_6 \times 450 = £2{,}325$ |
| hence the total capital | $5\,^5/_{12} \times 900 = £4{,}875.$ |

For the number of turnovers of the total capital is equal to the sum of the amounts turned over by I and II, divided by the sum of I and II.

It is to be noted that if capitals I and II were independent of each other they would nevertheless form merely different independent portions of the social capital advanced in the same sphere of production. Hence if the social capital within this sphere of production were composed *solely* of I and II, the same calculation would apply to the turnover of the social capital in this sphere as applies here to the two constituent parts I and II of the same private capital. Going further, every portion of the entire social capital invested in any particular sphere of production may be so calculated. But in the last analysis, the number of turnovers made by the entire social capital is equal to the sum of the capitals turned over in the various spheres of production divided by the sum of the capitals advanced in those spheres.

It must further be noted that just as capitals I and II in the same private business have here, strictly speaking, different turnover years (the cycle of turnover of capital II beginning $4\,^1/_2$ weeks later than that of capital I, so that the year of I ends $4\,^1/_2$ weeks earlier than that of II), so the various private capitals in the same sphere of production begin their operations at totally different periods and therefore conclude their turnover years at different times of the year. The same calculation of averages that we employed above for I and II suffices also here to bring down the turnover years of the various independent portions of the social capital to one uniform turnover year.

## II. THE WORKING PERIOD GREATER THAN THE PERIOD OF CIRCULATION

The working and turnover periods of capitals I and II cross one another instead of relieving one another. Simultaneously some capital is set free. This was not so in the previously considered case.

But this does not alter the fact that, as before, 1) the number of working periods of the total capital advanced is equal to the sum of the value of the annual product of both advanced portions of capital divided by the total capital advanced, and 2) the number of turnovers made by the total capital is equal to the sum of the two amounts turned over divided by the sum of the two advanced capitals. Here too we must consider both portions of capital as if they performed turnover movements entirely independent of each other.

Thus, we assume once more that £100 are to be advanced weekly to the labour process. Let the working period last 6 weeks, requiring therefore every time an advance of £600 (capital I). Let the period of circulation be 3 weeks, so that the period of turnover is 9 weeks, as before. Let capital II of £300 step in during the three-week circulation period of capital I. Considering both capitals as independent of each other, we find the schedule of the annual turnover to be as follows:

Table II

CAPITAL I, £600

| Periods of Turnover | Working Periods | Advance | Periods of Circulation |
|---|---|---|---|
| I. 1st-9th week | 1st-6th week | £ 600 | 7th-9th week |
| II. 10th-18th ,, | 10th-15th ,, | £ 600 | 16th-18th ,, |
| III. 19th-27th ,, | 19th-24th ,, | £ 600 | 25th-27th ,, |
| IV. 28th-36th ,, | 28th-33rd ,, | £ 600 | 34th-36th ,, |
| V. 37th-45th ,, | 37th-42nd ,, | £ 600 | 43rd-45th ,, |
| VI. 46th-(54th) ,, | 46th-51st ,, | £ 600 | (52nd-54th) ,, |

ADDITIONAL CAPITAL II, £ 300

| Periods of Turnover | Working Periods | Advance | Periods of Circulation |
|---|---|---|---|
| I. 7th-15th week | 7th-9th week | £ 300 | 10th-15th week |
| II. 16th-24th ,, | 16th-18th ,, | £ 300 | 19th-24th ,, |
| III. 25th-33rd ,, | 25th-27th ,, | £ 300 | 28th-33rd ,, |
| IV. 34th-42nd ,, | 34th-36th ,, | £ 300 | 37th-42nd ,, |
| V. 43rd-51st ,, | 43rd-45th ,, | £ 300 | 46th-51st ,, |

The process of production continues uninterruptedly the whole year round on the same scale. The two capitals I and II remain entirely separate. But in order to represent them as separate, we had to tear apart their real intersections and intertwinings, and thus also to change the number of turnovers. For according to the above table the amounts turned over would be:

by capital I, $5\,^2/_3 \times 600 =$ £3,400 and
by capital II, $5 \times 300 =$ £1,500

hence by the total capital $5\,^4/_9 \times 900 =$ £4,900.

But this is not correct, for, as we shall see, the actual periods of production and circulation do not absolutely coincide with those of the above schedule, in which it was mainly a question of presenting capitals I and II as independent of each other.

In reality, for example, capital II has no working and circulating periods separate and distinct from those of capital I. The working period is 6 weeks, the circulation period 3 weeks. Since capital II amounts to only £300, it can suffice only for a part of the working period. This is indeed the case. At the end of the 6th week a product valued at £600 passes into circulation and returns in money form at the close of the 9th week. Then, at the opening of the 7th week, capital II begins its activity, and covers the requirements of the next working period, the 7th to 9th week. But according to our assumption the working period is only half up at the end of the 9th week. Hence capital I of £600 having just returned, at the beginning of the 10th week, once more enters into operation and with its £300 supplies the advances needed for the 10th to 12th week. This disposes of the second working period. A product value of £600 is in circulation and will return at the close of the 15th week. At the same time, £300, the amount of the original capital II, are set free and are able to function in the first half of the following working period, that is to say, in the 13th to 15th week. After the lapse of these weeks the £600 return; £300 of them suffice for the remainder of the working period, and £300 remain for the following working period.

The thing therefore works as follows:

First period of turnover: 1st-9th week.

1st working period: 1st-6th week. Capital I, £600, performs its function.

1st period of circulation: 7th-9th week. End of 9th week, £600 return.

Second period of turnover: 7th-15th week.

2nd working period: 7th-12th week.

First half: 7th-9th week. Capital II, £300, performs its function. End of 9th week, £600 return in money form (capital I).

Second half: 10th-12th week. £300 of capital I perform their function.

The other £300 of capital I remain freed.

2nd period of circulation: 13th-15th week.

End of 15th week, £600 (half taken from capital I, half from capital II) return in the form of money.

Third period of turnover: 13th-21st week.

3rd working period: 13th-18th week.

First half: 13th-15th week. The freed £300 perform their function. End of 15th week, £600 return in money form.

Second half: 16th-18th week, £300 of the returned £600 function, the other £300 again remain freed.

3rd period of circulation: 19th-21st week at the close of which £600 again return in money form. In these £600 capital I and capital II are now indistinguishably fused.

And so there are eight full turnover periods of a capital of £600 (I: 1st-9th week; II: 7th-15th; III: 13th-21st; IV: 19th-27th; V: 25th-33rd; VI: 31st-39th; VII: 37th-45th; VIII: 43rd-51st week) to the end of the 51st week. But as the 49th-51st weeks fall within the eighth period of circulation, the £300 of freed capital must step in and keep production going. Thus the turnover at the end of the year is as follows: £600 have completed their circuit eight times, making £4,800. In addition we have the product of the last 3 weeks (49th-51st), which, however, has completed only one-third of its circuit of 9 weeks, so that in the sum turned over it counts for only one-third of its amount, £100. If, then, the annual product of 51 weeks = £5,100, the capital turned over is only 4,800 + 100 = £4,900. The total capital advanced, £900, has therefore been turned over $5\,^4/_9$ times, a trifle more than in the first case.

In the present example we assumed a case in which the working time = $^2/_3$ and the circulation time = $^1/_3$ of the period of turnover, i. e., the working time was a simple multiple of the circulation time. The question now is whether capital is likewise set free, in the way shown above, when this assumption is not made.

Let us assume a working time = 5 weeks, a circulation time = 4 weeks, and a capital advance = £100 per week.

First period of turnover: 1st-9th week.

1st working period: 1st-5th week. Capital I = £500 performs its function.

1st circulation period: 6th-9th week. End of 9th week, £500 return in money form.

Second period of turnover: 6th-14th week.

2nd working period: 6th-10th week.

First section: 6th-9th week. Capital II = £400, performs its function. End of 9th week, capital I = £500 returns in money form.

Second section: 10th week. £100 of the returned £500 perform their function. The remaining £400 are set free for the following working period.

2nd circulation period: 11th-14th week. End of 14th week, £500 return in money form.

Up to the end of the 14th week (11th-14th), the £400 set free above perform their function; £100 of the £500 then returned fill the requirements of the third working period (11th-15th week), so that £400 are once more released for the fourth working period. The same thing is repeated in every working period; at its beginning £400 are ready at hand, sufficing for the first 4 weeks. End of the 4th week, £500 return in money form, only £100 of which are needed for the last week, while the other £400 remain free for the next working period.

Let us further assume a working period of 7 weeks, with a capital I of £700; a circulation period of 2 weeks, with a capital II of £200.

In that case the first period of turnover lasts from the 1st to the 9th week; its first working period from the 1st to the 7th week, with an advance of £700, its first circulation period from the 8th to the 9th week. End of the 9th week, £700 flow back in money form.

The second period of turnover, from the 8th to the 16th week, contains the second working period of the 8th to the 14th week. The requirements of the 8th and 9th weeks of this period are covered by capital II. End of the 9th week, the above £700 return. Up to the close of this working period (10th-14th week), £500 of this sum are used up; £200 remain free for the next working period. The second circulation period lasts from the 15th to the 16th week. End of the 16th week, £700 return once more. From now on, the same thing is repeat-

ed in every working period. The need for capital during the first two weeks is covered by the £200 set free at the close of the preceding working period; at the close of the second week £700 return; but only 5 weeks remain of the working period, so that it can consume only £500; therefore £200 always remain free for the next working period.

We find, then, that in the given case, where the working period has been assumed to be greater than the circulation period, a money capital will at all events have been set free at the close of each working period, which is of the same magnitude as capital II advanced for the circulation period. In our three illustrations capital II was £300 in the first, £400 in the second, and £200 in the third. Accordingly, the capital set free at the close of each working period was £300, £400 and £200 respectively.

### III. THE WORKING PERIOD SMALLER THAN THE CIRCULATION PERIOD

We begin by assuming once more a period of turnover of 9 weeks, of which 3 weeks are assigned to the working period with an available capital I of £300. Let the circulation period be 6 weeks. For these 6 weeks, an additional capital of £600 is required, which we may divide in turn into two capitals of £300, each of them meeting the requirements of one working period. We then have three capitals of £300 each, of which £300 are always engaged in production, while £600 circulate.

Table III
CAPITAL I

| Periods of Turnover | | Working Periods | | Periods of Circulation | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. 1st-9th | week | 1st-3rd | week | 4th-9th | week |
| II. 10th-18th | ,, | 10th-12th | ,, | 13th-18th | ,, |
| III. 19th-27th | ,, | 19th-21st | ,, | 22nd-27th | ,, |
| IV. 28th-36th | ,, | 28th-30th | ,, | 31st-36th | ,, |
| V. 37th-45th | ,, | 37th-39th | ,, | 40th-45th | ,, |
| VI. 46th-(54th) | ,, | 46th-48th | ,, | 49th-(54th) | ,, |

CAPITAL II

| Periods of Turnover | | Working Periods | | Periods of Circulation | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. 4th-12th | week | 4th-6th | week | 7th-12th | week |
| II. 13th-21st | ,, | 13th-15th | ,, | 16th-21st | ,, |
| III. 22nd-30th | ,, | 22nd-24th | ,, | 25th-30th | ,, |
| IV. 31st-39th | ,, | 31st-33rd | ,, | 34th-39th | ,, |
| V. 40th-48th | ,, | 40th-42nd | ,, | 43rd-48th | ,, |
| VI. 49th-(57th) | ,, | 49th-51st | ,, | (52nd-57th) | ,, |

CAPITAL III

| Periods of Turnover | | Working Periods | | Periods of Circulation | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. 7th-15th | week | 7th-9th | week | 10th-15th | week |
| II. 16th-24th | ,, | 16th-18th | ,, | 19th-24th | ,, |
| III. 25th-33rd | ,, | 25th-27th | ,, | 28th-33rd | ,, |
| IV. 34th-42nd | ,, | 34th-36th | ,, | 37th-42nd | ,, |
| V. 43rd-51st | ,, | 43rd-45th | ,, | 46th-51st | ,, |

We have here the exact counterpart of Case I, with the only difference that now three capitals relieve one another instead of two. There is no intersection or intertwining of capitals. Each one of them can be traced separately to the end of the year. Just as in Case I, no capital is set free at the close of a working period. Capital I is completely laid out at the end of the 3rd week, returns entirely at the end of the 9th, and resumes its functions at the beginning of the 10th week. Similarly with capitals II and III. The regular and complete relief excludes any release of capital.

The total turnover is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| capital I | £300 × 5 $^2/_3$ = £1,700 |
| capital II | £300 × 5 $^1/_3$ = £1,600 |
| capital III | £300 × 5 = £1,500 |
| Total capital | £900 × 5 $^1/_3$ = £4,800. |

Let us now also take an illustration in which the circulation period is not an exact multiple of the working period. For instance, working period — 4 weeks, circulation period — 5 weeks. The corresponding amounts of capital would then be: capital I — £400; capital II — £400; capital III — £100. We present only the first three turnovers.

Table IV

CAPITAL I

| Periods of Turnover | | Working Periods | | Periods of Circulation | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. 1st-9th | week | 1st-4th | week | 5th-9th | week |
| II. 9th-17th | ,, | 9th, 10th-12th | ,, | 13th-17th | ,, |
| III. 17th-25th | ,, | 17th, 18th-20th | ,, | 21st-25th | ,, |

CAPITAL II

| Periods of Turnover | | Working Periods | | Periods of Circulation | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. 5th-13th | week | 5th-8th | week | 9th-13th | week |
| II. 13th-21st | ,, | 13th, 14th-16th | ,, | 17th-21st | ,, |
| III. 21st-29th | ,, | 21th, 22nd-24th | ,, | 25th-29th | ,, |

CAPITAL III

| Periods of Turnover | | Working Periods | | Periods of Circulation | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. 9th-17th | week | 9th | week | 10th-17th | week |
| II. 17th-25th | ,, | 17th | ,, | 18th-25th | ,, |
| III. 25th-33rd | ,, | 25th | ,, | 26th-33rd | ,, |

There is in this case an intertwining of capitals in so far as the working period of capital III, which has no independent working period, because it suffices for only one week, coincides with the first working week of capital I. On the other hand an amount of £100, equal to capital III, is set free at the close of the working period of both capital I and II. For if capital III fills up the first week of the second and all succeeding working periods of capital I and £400, the entire capital I, return at the close of this first week, then only 3 weeks and a corresponding capital investment of £300 will remain for the rest of the working period of capital I. The £100 thus set free suffice for the first week of the immediately following working period of capital II; at the end of that week the entire capital II of £400 returns. But since the working period already started can absorb only another £300, £100 are once more disengaged at its close. And so forth. We have, then, a release of capital at the close of a working period whenever the circulation period is not a simple multiple of the working

period. And this liberated capital is equal to that portion of the capital which has to fill up the excess of the circulation period over the working period or over a multiple of working periods.

In all cases investigated it was assumed that both the working period and the circulation period remain the same throughout the year in any of the businesses here examined. This assumption was necessary if we wished to ascertain the influence of the time of circulation on the turnover and advancement of capital. That in reality this assumption is not so unconditionally valid, and that it frequently is not valid at all does not alter the case in the least.

In this entire part we have discussed only the turnovers of the circulating capital, not those of the fixed, for the simple reason that the question at issue has nothing to do with fixed capital. The instruments of labour, etc., employed in the process of production form only fixed capital, inasmuch as their time of employment exceeds the period of turnover of the circulating capital; inasmuch as the period of time during which these instruments of labour continue to serve in perpetually repeated labour processes is greater than the period of turnover of the circulating capital, and hence equal to *n* periods of turnover of the circulating capital. Regardless of whether the total time represented by these *n* periods of turnover of the circulating capital is longer or shorter, that portion of the productive capital which was advanced for this time in fixed capital is not advanced anew during its course. It continues its functions in its old use form. The difference is merely this: In proportion to the varying length of a single *working period* of each period of turnover of the circulating capital, the fixed capital gives up a greater or smaller part of its original value to the product of that working period, and, proportionally to the duration of the circulation time of each period of turnover, this value part of the fixed capital given up to the product returns quicker or slower in money form. The nature of the subject we are discussing in this part — the turnover of the circulating portion of productive capital — derives from the very nature of this portion. The circulating capital employed in a working period cannot be applied in a new working period until it has completed its turnover, until it has been transformed into commodity capital, from that into money capital, and from that back into productive capital. Hence, in order that the first working period may be immediately followed by a second, capital must be advanced anew and converted into the circulating elements of productive capital, and its quantity must be sufficient to fill the void oc-

casioned by the circulation period of the circulating capital advanced for the first working period. This is the source of the influence exerted by the length of the working period of the circulating capital over the scale of the labour process and over the division of the advanced capital or the addition of new portions of capital. This was precisely what we had to examine in this part.

## IV. CONCLUSIONS

From the preceding investigation it follows that

*A.* The different portions into which capital must be divided in order that one part of it may be continually in the working period while others are in the period of circulation, relieve one another, like different independent individual capitals, in two cases: (1) when the working period is equal to the period of circulation, so that the period of turnover is divided into two equal sections; (2) when the period of circulation is longer than the working period, but at the same time is a simple multiple of the working period, so that one period of circulation = $n$ working periods, in which case $n$ must be a whole number. In these cases no portion of the successively advanced capital is set free.

*B.* On the other hand in all cases in which (1) the period of circulation is longer than the working period without being a simple multiple of it, and (2) in which the working period is longer than the circulation period, a portion of the total circulating capital is set free continually and periodically at the close of each working period, beginning with the second turnover. This freed capital is equal to that portion of the total capital which has been advanced for the circulation period, provided the working period is longer than the period of circulation; and equal to that portion of the capital which has to fill up the excess of the circulation period over the working period or over a multiple of working periods, provided the circulation period is longer than the working period.

*C.* It follows that for the aggregate social capital, so far as its circulating part is concerned, the release of capital must be the rule, while the mere alternation of portions of capital functioning successively in the production process must be the exception. For the equality of the working and circulation periods, or the equality of the period of circulation and a simple multiple of the working period, this regular

proportionality of the two components of the period of turnover has absolutely nothing to do with the nature of the case and for this reason it can occur on the whole only as a matter of exception.

A very considerable portion of the social circulating capital, which is turned over several times a year, will therefore periodically exist in the form of released capital during the annual turnover cycle.

It is furthermore evident that, all other circumstances being equal, the magnitude of the released capital grows with the volume of the labour process or with the scale of production, hence with the development of capitalist production in general. In the case cited under *B*, (2), because the total advanced capital increases; in *B*, (1), because with the development of capitalist production the length of the period of circulation grows, hence also the period of turnover in those cases where the working period is less than the period of circulation, and there is no regular ratio between the two periods.

In the first case for instance we had to invest £100 per week. This required £600 for a working period of 6 weeks, £300 for a circulation period of 3 weeks, totalling £900. In that case £300 are released continually. On the other hand if £300 are invested weekly, we have £1,800 for the working period and £900 for the circulation period. Hence £900 instead of £300 are periodically set free.

*D*. A total capital of, say, £900 must be divided into two portions, as above, £600 for the working period and £300 for the period of circulation. That portion which is really invested in the labour process is thus reduced by one-third, from £900 to £600; consequently, the scale of production is diminished by one-third. On the other hand the £300 function only to make the working period continuous, in order that £100 may be invested every week of the year in the labour process.

Abstractly speaking, it is all the same whether £600 work during $6 \times 8 = 48$ weeks (product = £4,800) or whether the total capital of £900 is expended during 6 weeks in the labour process and then lies idle during the 3-week period of circulation. In the latter case, it would be working in the course of the 48 weeks, $5^1/_3 \times 6 = 32$ weeks (product = $5^1/_5 \times 900$ = £4,800), and lie idle for 16 weeks. But, apart from the greater spoilage of the fixed capital during the idle 16 weeks and apart from the appreciation of labour, which must be paid during the entire year, even if employed only during a part of it, such a regular interruption of the process of production is altogether irre-

concilable with the operations of modern big industry. This continuity is itself a productive power of labour.

Now, if we take a closer look at the released, or rather suspended, capital, we find that a considerable part of it must always be in the form of money capital. Let us adhere to our illustration: Working period—6 weeks, period of circulation—3 weeks, investment per week—£100. In the middle of the second working period, end of the 9th week, £600 return, and only £300 of them must be invested for the remainder of the working period. At the end of the second working period, £300 are therefore released. In what state are these £300? We shall assume that $^1/_3$ is invested for wages and $^2/_3$ for raw and auxiliary materials. Then £200 of the returned £600 exist in the form of money for wages and £400 in the form of a productive supply, in the form of elements of the constant circulating productive capital. But since only one half of this productive supply is required for the second half of the second working period, the other half exists for 3 weeks in the form of an excessive productive supply, i. e., of a supply exceeding the requirements of one working period. But the capitalist knows that he needs only one half, or £200, of this portion (= £400) of the returned capital for the current working period. It will therefore depend on market conditions whether he will immediately reconvert these £200, in whole or in part, into an excessive productive supply, or keep them entirely or partially in the form of money capital in anticipation of a more favourable market. On the other hand it goes without saying that the portion to be laid out for wages (= £200) is retained in the form of money. The capitalist cannot store labour power in warehouses after he has bought it, as he may do with the raw material. He must incorporate it in the process of production and pay for it at the end of the week. At any rate these £100 of the released capital of £300 will therefore have the form of money capital set free, i. e., not required for the working period. The capital released in the form of money capital must therefore be at least equal to the variable portion of capital invested in wages. At a maximum, it may comprise the entire released capital. In reality it fluctuates constantly between this minimum and maximum.

The money capital thus released by the mere mechanism of the turnover movement (together with the money capital freed by the successive reflux of fixed capital and the money capital required in every labour process for variable capital) must play an important role

as soon as the credit system develops and must at the same time form one of the latter's foundations.

Let us assume that the time of circulation in our illustration is shortened from 3 to 2 weeks. This is not to be a normal change, but due, say, to prosperous times, shorter terms of payment, etc. The capital of £600, which is laid out during the working period, returns one week earlier than needed. It is therefore released for this week. Furthermore, in the middle of the working period, as before, £300 are released (a portion of those £600), but for 4 weeks instead of 3. There are, then, on the money market £600 for one week and £300 for 4 instead of 3 weeks. As this concerns not one capitalist alone but many and occurs in various periods in different businesses, more available money capital makes its appearance in the market. If this condition lasts for some time, production will be expanded wherever feasible. Capitalists operating on borrowed money will exercise less demand on the money market, which eases it as much as increased supply; or finally the sums which have become superfluous for the mechanism are thrown definitely on the money market.

In consequence of the contraction of the time of circulation from 3 weeks to 2, and consequently of the period of turnover from 9 weeks to 8, one-ninth of the total capital advanced becomes superfluous. The 6-week working period can now be kept going as continuously with £800 as formerly with £900. One portion of the value of the commodity capital, equal to £100, once it has been reconverted into money, persists therefore in the state of money capital without performing any more functions as a part of the capital advanced for the process of production. While the scale of production and other conditions, such as prices, etc., remain the same, the sum of value of the advanced capital is reduced from £900 to £800. The remainder of the originally advanced value amounting to £100 is eliminated in the form of money capital. As such it enters the money market and forms an additional portion of the capitals functioning here.

This shows the way in which a plethora of money capital may arise—and not only in the sense that the supply of money capital is greater than the demand; this is always only a relative plethora, which occurs for instance in the "melancholy period" opening a new cycle after the end of a crisis. But also in the sense that a definite portion of the capital value advanced becomes superfluous for the operation of the entire process of social reproduction (which includes the process of circulation) and is therefore eliminated in the form of

money capital—a plethora brought about by the mere contraction of the period of turnover, while the scale of production and prices remain the same. The amount of money in circulation, whether great or small, does not influence it in the least.

Let us assume on the contrary that the period of circulation is prolonged from, say, 3 weeks to 5. In that case at the very next turnover the reflux of the advanced capital takes place 2 weeks too late. The last part of the process of production of this working period cannot be carried on further by the mechanism of the turnover of the advanced capital itself. Should this condition last any length of time, a contraction of the process of production, a reduction of its volume, might take place, just as an extension occurred in the previous case. But in order to continue the process on the same scale, the advanced capital would have to be increased by $^2/_9 = £200$ for the entire term of the prolongation of the circulation period. This additional capital can be obtained only from the money market. If the lengthening of the period of circulation applies to one or several big branches of business, it may exert pressure on the money market, unless this effect is paralysed by some counter-effect. In this case it is likewise evident and obvious that this pressure, like that plethora before, had nothing whatever to do with a movement either of prices of the commodities or the mass of the existing circulating medium.

//The preparation of this chapter for publication presented no small number of difficulties. Firmly grounded as Marx was in algebra, he did not get the knack of handling figures, particularly commercial arithmetic, although there exists a thick batch of copybooks containing numerous examples of all kinds of commercial computations which he had solved himself. But knowledge of the various methods of calculation and exercise in daily practical commercial arithmetic are by no means the same, and consequently Marx got so tangled up in his computations of turnovers that besides places left uncompleted a number of things were incorrect and contradictory. In the tables reproduced above I have preserved only the simplest and arithmetically correct data. My reason for doing so was mainly the following.

The uncertain results of these painstaking calculations led Marx to attach unwarranted importance to a circumstance, which, in my opinion, has actually little significance. I refer to what he calls the "release" of money capital. The actual state of affairs, based on the above assumptions, is this:

No matter what may be the ratio between the working period and circulation time, hence between capital I and capital II, the capital required for one working period, i. e., a sum equal to capital I, returns to the capitalist, in the form of money, after the end of the first turnover and thereafter at regular intervals equal to the duration of one working period.

If the working period = 5 weeks, the circulation time = 4 weeks, and capital I = £500, then a sum of money equal to £500 returns each time at the end of the 9th, 14th, 19th, 24th, 29th week, etc.

If the working period = 6 weeks, the circulation time = 3 weeks, and capital I = £600, then £600 return at the end of the 9th, 15th, 21st, 27th, 33rd week, etc.

Finally, if the working period = 4 weeks, the circulation time = 5 weeks, and capital I = £400, then £400 are returned at the end of the 9th, 13th, 17th, 21st, 25th week, etc.

Whether any, and if so how much, of this returned money is superfluous for the current working period, and thus released, is immaterial. It is assumed that production continues uninterruptedly on the current scale, and in order that this may come about money must be available and must therefore return, whether "released" or not. If production is interrupted, release stops likewise.

In other words: There is indeed a release of money, a formation therefore of latent, merely potential, capital in the form of money. But it takes place under all circumstances and not only under the special conditions set forth in the text; and it comes about on a larger scale than that assumed in the text. So far as circulating capital I is concerned, the industrial capitalist is in the same situation at the end of each turnover as when he established his business: he has all of it in his hands in one bulk, while he can convert it back into productive capital only gradually.

The essential point in the text is the proof that on the one hand a considerable portion of the industrial capital must always be available in the form of money and that on the other hand a still more considerable portion must temporarily assume the form of money. The proof is, if anything, rendered stronger by these additional remarks of mine.—*F. E.* //

## V. THE EFFECT OF A CHANGE OF PRICES

We have just assumed unaltered prices and an unaltered scale of production on the one hand, and a contraction or expansion of the time of circulation on the other. Now let us suppose on the contrary an unaltered period of turnover and an unaltered scale of production, and on the other hand price changes, i. e., rise or fall of prices of raw materials, auxiliary substances, and labour, or of the two first-named elements alone. Take it that the price of raw and auxiliary materials, as well as wages, fall by one half. In that case the capital to be advanced in our example would be £50 instead of £100 per week, and that for the 9-week turnover period would be £450 instead of £900. £450 of the advanced capital value are eliminated first of all in the form of money capital, but the process of production continues on the same scale, with the same period of turnover, and with the previous division of the latter. The annual output likewise remains the same but its value has been cut in half. This change, which is accompanied by a change in the supply and demand of money capital, is brought about neither by an acceleration of the circulation, nor by a change in the quantity of circulating money. On the contrary. A fall by half in the value, or price, of the elements of productive capital would first have the effect of diminishing by half the capital value to be advanced for the continuation of Business X on the same scale as before, and hence only one half of the money would have to be thrown on the market by Business X, since Business X advances this capital value first in the form of money, i. e., as money capital. The amount of money thrown into circulation would decrease because the prices of the elements of production fell. This would be the first effect.

In the second place however one half of the originally advanced capital value of £900 = £450, which (a) passed successively through the forms of money capital, productive capital, and commodity capital, and (b) existed simultaneously and constantly side by side partly in the form of money capital, partly in that of productive capital, and partly in that of commodity capital, would be eliminated from the circuit of Business X and thus come into the money market as additional money capital, affecting it as an additional constituent. These released £450 act as money capital, not because they have become superfluous money for the operation of Business X but because they are a constituent part of the original capital value, and hence are intended to function further as capital and not to be expended as mere

means of circulation. The best method of letting them operate as capital is that of throwing them as money capital on the money market. On the other hand the scale of production (apart from fixed capital) might be doubled. In that case a productive process of double the previous volume would be carried on with the same advanced capital of £900.

If on the other hand the prices of the fluid elements of productive capital were to increase by one half, £150 instead of £100 or £1,350 instead of £900 would be required per week. It would take an additional capital of £450 to carry on the business on the same scale, and this would exert a *pro tanto* pressure on the money market, big or small depending on its condition. If all the capital available on this market were then already engaged, there would be increased competition for available capital. If a portion of it were unemployed, it would *pro tanto* be called into action.

But, in the third place, given a certain scale of production, the turnover velocity and the prices of the elements of the circulating productive capital remaining the same, the price of the products of Business X may rise or fall. If the price of the commodities supplied by Business X falls, the price of its commodity capital of £600, which it constantly threw into circulation, drops to, say, £500. Hence one-sixth of the value of the advanced capital does not return from the process of circulation. (The surplus value contained in the commodity capital is not considered here.) It is lost in that process. But since the value, or price, of the elements of production remains the same, this reflux of £500 suffices only to replace $^5/_6$ of the capital of £600 constantly engaged in the process of production. It would therefore require an additional money capital of £100 to continue production on the same scale.

Vice versa, if the price of the product of Business X were to rise, then the price of the £600 commodity capital would be increased, say, to £700. One-seventh of this price = £100 does not originate in the process of production, is not advanced in this process, but derives from the process of circulation. But only £600 are needed to replace the elements of production. Hence, release of £100.

It does not fall within the scope of the investigation hitherto made to ascertain why, in the first case, the period of turnover is shortened or lengthened, and why in the second case the prices of raw materials and labour, and in the third, the prices of the products supplied, rise or fall.

But the following does belong in it:

*First Case. Unchanged Scale of Production, Unchanged Prices of the Elements of Production and of Products, a Change in the Period of Circulation and Thus of Turnover.*

According to the assumptions of our example, $^1/_9$ less of the total advanced capital is needed as a result of the contraction of the period of circulation, so that the total capital is reduced from £900 to £800 and £100 of money capital is eliminated.

Business X supplies, just as before, the same six weeks' product of the same value of £600, and as work continues year in year out without interruption, it supplies in 51 weeks the same quantity of products, valued at £5,100. There is, then, no change so far as the quantity and price of the product thrown into circulation by this business are concerned, nor in the time when it throws its product on the market. But £100 are eliminated because due to the contraction of the circulation period the requirements of the process are satisfied with only £800 instead of the former £900. The £100 of eliminated capital exist in the form of money capital. But they do not by any means represent that portion of the advanced capital which would have to function constantly in the form of money capital. Let us assume that $^4/_5$ = £480 of the advanced circulating capital I = £600 are constantly invested in productive materials and $^1/_5$ = £120 in wages. Then the weekly investment in materials of production would be £80 and in wages £20. Capital II = £300 should then also be divided into $^4/_5$ = £240 for materials of production and $^1/_5$ = £60 for wages. The capital invested in wages must always be advanced in the form of money. As soon as the commodity product, worth £600, has been reconverted into the money form, or sold, £480 of it can be transformed into materials of production (productive supply), but £120 retain their money form in order to serve for the payment of wages for 6 weeks. These £120 are the minimum of the returning capital of £600, which must always be renewed and replaced in the form of money capital and therefore must always be kept on hand as that portion of the advanced capital which functions in the form of money.

Now, if £100 of the £300 periodically released for three weeks, and likewise divisible into £240 for productive supply and £60 for wages, are eliminated, completely thrust out of the turnover mecha-

nism, in the form of money capital by shortening the circulation time, where does the money for this money capital of £100 come from? Only one-fifth of this amount consists of money capital periodically set free within the turnovers. But $^4/_5$ = £80 are already replaced by an additional productive supply of the same value. In what manner is this additional productive supply converted into money, and where does the money for this conversion come from?

If the abridged period of circulation has become a fact, then only £400 of the above £600, instead of £480, are reconverted into productive supply. The remainder, £80, is retained in its money form and constitutes, together with the above £20 for wages, the £100 of eliminated capital. Although these £100 come from the sphere of circulation through the sale of the £600 worth of commodity capital and are now withdrawn from it by not being re-invested in wages and elements of production, it must not be forgotten that, being in the money form, they are once more in that form in which they were originally thrown into circulation. In the beginning £900 were invested in productive supply and wages. Now only £800 are necessary to carry out the same productive process. The £100 thus released in money now form a new, employment-seeking money capital, a new constituent part of the money market. True, they have already previously been periodically in the form of released money capital and of additional productive capital, but these latent states were themselves the requisites for the execution of the process of production, because they were the requisites for its continuity. Now they are no longer needed for that purpose and for this reason form new money capital and a constituent part of the money market, although they by no means form either an additional element of the available social money supply (for they existed at the beginning of the business and were thrown by it into the circulation), or a newly accumulated hoard.

These £100 are now in actual fact withdrawn from circulation inasmuch as they are a part of the advanced money capital that is no longer employed in the same business. But this withdrawal is possible only because the conversion of the commodity capital into money, and of this money into productive capital, C′ — M — C, is accelerated by one week, so that the circulation of the money operating in this process is likewise hastened. They have been withdrawn from it because they are no longer needed for the turnover of capital X.

It has been assumed here that the advanced capital belongs to him

who employs it. Had he borrowed it nothing would be changed. With the shortening of the time of circulation he would have to borrow only £800 instead of £900. The £100, if returned to the lender, would as before form £100 of new money capital, only in the hands of Y instead of X. Should capitalist X receive £480 worth of materials of production on credit, so that he has to advance only £120 in money for wages out of his own pocket, he would now have to procure £80 worth of productive materials less on credit and this sum would constitute superfluous commodity capital for the capitalist granting the credit, while capitalist X would have eliminated £20 in money.

The additional supply for production is now reduced by $^1/_3$. It consisted of £240 constituting $^4/_5$ of £300, the additional capital II, but now it is only £160, i. e., additional supply for 2 instead of 3 weeks. It is now renewed every 2 weeks instead of every 3, but only for 2 instead of 3 weeks. The purchases, for instance in the cotton market, are thus more frequent and smaller. The same amount of cotton is withdrawn from the market, for the quantity of the product remains the same. But the withdrawals are distributed differently in time, extending over a longer period. Supposing that it is a question of 3 months or 2. If the annual consumption of cotton amounts to 1,200 bales, the sales in the first case will be:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| January | 1 | 300 bales, left in storage | 900 bales |
| April | 1 | 300 ,, ,, ,, ,, | 600 ,, |
| July | 1 | 300 ,, ,, ,, ,, | 300 ,, |
| October | 1 | 300 ,, ,, ,, ,, | 0 ,, |

But in the second case:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| January | 1 | sold 200, in storage | 1,000 bales |
| March | 1 | ,, 200, ,, ,, | 800 ,, |
| May | 1 | ,, 200, ,, ,, | 600 ,, |
| July | 1 | ,, 200, ,, ,, | 400 ,, |
| September | 1 | ,, 200, ,, ,, | 200 ,, |
| November | 1 | ,, 200, ,, ,, | 0 ,, |

So the money invested in cotton only returns completely one month later, in November instead of October. If therefore $^1/_9$ of the advanced capital = £100 is eliminated in the form of money capital by the contraction of the circulation time and thus of the turnover, and if these £100 are composed of £20 worth of periodically superflu-

ous money capital for the payment of weekly wages, and of £80 which existed as periodically superfluous productive supply for one week, then the diminished superfluous productive supply in the hands of the manufacturer corresponds, so far as these £80 are concerned, to an enlarged commodity supply in the hands of the cotton dealer. The longer this cotton lies in the latter's warehouse as a commodity, the less it lies in the storeroom of the manufacturer as a productive supply.

Hitherto we presupposed that the contraction of the time of circulation in Business X was due to the fact that X sold his commodities quicker, received his money for them sooner, or, in the event of credit, was given shorter terms of payment. The contraction was therefore attributed to a quicker sale of the commodities, to a quicker transformation of commodity capital into money capital, C′—M, the first phase of the process of circulation. But it might also derive from the second phase, M—C, and hence from a simultaneous change, be it in the working period or in the time of circulation of capitals Y, Z, etc., which supply capitalist X with the productive elements of his circulating capital.

For instance if cotton, coal, etc., with the old methods of transport, are 3 weeks in transit from their place of production or storage to the place of production of capitalist X, then X's productive supply must last at least for 3 weeks, until the arrival of new supplies. So long as cotton and coal are in transit, they cannot serve as means of production. They are then rather a subject of labour for the transport industry and the capital employed in it; they are also commodity capital in process of circulation for the producer of coal or the dealer in cotton. Suppose improvements in transport reduce the transit to 2 weeks. Then the productive supply can be changed from a three-weekly into a fortnightly supply. This releases the additional advanced capital of £80 set aside for this purpose and likewise the £20 for wages, because the turned-over capital of £600 returns one week sooner.

On the other hand if for instance the working period of the capital which supplies the raw materials is cut down (examples of which were given in the preceding chapters), so that the possibility arises of renewing the supply of raw materials in less time, then the productive supply may be reduced and the interval between periods of renewal shortened.

If, vice versa, the time of circulation, and thus the period of turnover, are prolonged, then it is necessary to advance additional capital.

This must come out of the pocket of the capitalist himself if he has any additional capital. But it will then be invested in some form or other as a part of the money market. To make it available, it must be stripped of its old form. For instance stocks must be sold, deposits withdrawn, so that in this case too the money market is indirectly affected. Or he must borrow it. As for that part of the additional capital which is needed for wages, it must under normal conditions always be advanced in the form of money capital, and for that purpose the capitalist X exerts his share of direct pressure on the money market. But this is indispensable for the part which must be invested in materials of production only if he must pay for them in cash. If he can get them on credit, this does not have any direct influence on the money market, because the additional capital is then advanced directly as a productive supply and not in the first instance as money capital. But if the lender throws the bill of exchange received from X directly on the money market, discounts it, etc., this would influence the money market indirectly, through someone else. If, however, he uses this note to cover a debt not yet due for instance, this additional advanced capital does not affect the money market either directly or indirectly.

*Second Case. A Change in the Price of Materials of Production, All Other Circumstances Remaining the Same.*

We have just assumed that the total capital of £900 was $^4/_5$ invested in materials of production (= £720) and $^1/_5$ in wages (= £180).

If the materials of production drop to half, they require for the 6-week working period only £240 instead of £480, and for the additional capital No. II only £120 instead of £240. Capital I is thus reduced from £600 to £240 + £120 = £360, and capital II from £300 to £120 + £60 = £180. The total capital of £900 is therefore reduced to £360 + £180 = £540. A sum of £360 is therefore released.

This eliminated and now unemployed capital, or money capital seeking employment in the money market, is nothing but a portion of the capital of £900 originally advanced as money capital, which, due to the fall in the prices of the elements of production, into which it is periodically reconverted, has become superfluous if the business is not to be expanded but carried on on the same scale. If this fall in prices were not due to accidental circumstances (a particularly rich harvest, over-supply, etc.) but to an increase of productive power in the branch of production which furnishes the raw materials, then this

money capital would be an absolute addition to the money market, and to the capital available in the form of money capital in general, because it would no longer constitute an integral part of the capital already invested.

*Third Case. A Change in the Market Price of the Product Itself.*

In the case of a fall in prices a portion of the capital is lost, and must consequently be made good by a new advance of money capital. This loss of the seller may be a gain to the buyer. Directly, if the market price of the product has fallen merely because of an accidental fluctuation, and afterwards rises once more to its normal level. Indirectly, if the change of prices is caused by a change of value reacting on the old product and if this product passes again, as an element of production, into another sphere of production and there releases capital *pro tanto.* In either case the capital lost by X, and for whose replacement he exerts pressure on the money market, may be supplied to him by his business friends as new additional capital. All that takes place then is a transfer.

If, on the contrary, the price of the product rises, a portion of the capital which was not advanced is taken out of circulation. This is not an organic part of the capital advanced in the process of production and unless production is expanded therefore constitutes money capital eliminated. As we have assumed here that the prices of the elements of the product were given before it was brought to market as commodity capital, a real change of value might have caused the rise of prices since it acted retroactively, causing a subsequent rise in the price of, say, raw materials. In that event capitalist X would realise a gain on his product circulating as commodity capital and on his available productive supply. This gain would give him an additional capital, which would now be needed for the continuation of his business with the new and higher prices of the elements of production.

Or the rise of prices is but temporary. What capitalist X then needs by way of additional capital becomes released capital for the other side, in so far as X's product forms an element of production for other branches of business. What the one has lost the other has gained.

# Chapter XVI

## THE TURNOVER OF VARIABLE CAPITAL

### I. THE ANNUAL RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE

Let us assume a circulating capital of £2,500, $^4/_5$ of which, or £2,000, are constant capital (materials of production) and $^1/_5$ = £500 is variable capital invested in wages.

Let the period of turnover be 5 weeks; the working period 4 weeks, the period of circulation 1 week. Then capital I = £2,000, consisting of £1,600 of constant capital and £400 of variable capital; capital II = £500, £400 of which are constant and £100 variable. In every working week a capital of £500 is invested. In a year of 50 weeks an annual product of 50 × 500 = £25,000 is manufactured. Capital I of £2,000, constantly employed in the working period, is therefore turned over 12 $^1/_2$ times. 12 $^1/_2$ × 2,000 = £25,000. Of these £25,000 $^4/_5$ = £20,000 are constant capital laid out in means of production, and $^1/_5$ = £5,000 is variable capital laid out in wages. The total capital of £2,500 is thus turned over $\frac{25,000}{2,500} = 10$ times.

The variable circulating capital expended in production can serve afresh in the process of circulation only to the extent that the product in which its value is reproduced has been sold, converted from a commodity capital into a money capital, in order to be once more laid out in payment of labour power. But the same is true of the constant circulating capital (materials of production) invested in production, the value of which reappears in the product as a portion of its value. What these two portions—the variable and the constant part of the circulating capital—have in common and what distinguishes them from the fixed capital is not that the value transferred from them to the product is circulated by the commodity capital, i. e., through the circulation of the product as a commodity. One portion of the value of the product, and thus of the product circulating as a commodity, of the commodity capital, always consists of the wear and tear of the fixed capital, that is to say, of that portion of the value of the fixed capital which is transferred to the product during the process of production. The difference is really this: The fixed capital continues to function in the process of production in its old use form for a longer or shorter cycle of turnover periods of the circulating capital (= constant circulating + variable circulating capital), while every turnover is conditioned on the replacement of the entire circulating capi-

tal passing from the sphere of production — in the form of commodity capital — into the sphere of circulation. The constant circulating and variable circulating capital have the first phase of circulation, C′—M′, in common. In the second phase they separate. The money into which the commodity is reconverted is in part transformed into a productive supply (constant circulating capital). Depending on the different terms of purchase of its constituent parts, one portion of the money may sooner, another later, be converted from money into materials of production, but finally it is wholly consumed that way. Another portion of the money realised by the sale of the commodity is held in the form of a money supply, in order to be gradually expended in payment of the labour power incorporated in the process of production. This part constitutes the variable circulating capital. Nevertheless the entire replacement of either portion always originates from the turnover of the capital, from its conversion into a product, from a product into a commodity, from a commodity into money. This is the reason why, in the preceding chapter, the turnover of the circulating capital, constant and variable, was treated jointly and separately without paying any regard to the fixed capital.

In the question which we shall now take up, we must go a step farther and proceed with the variable portion of the circulating capital as though it alone constituted the circulating capital. In other words, we leave out of consideration the constant circulating capital which is turned over together with it.

A sum of £2,500 has been advanced and the value of the annual product is £25,000. But the variable portion of the circulating capital is £500; therefore the variable capital contained in £25,000 amounts to $\frac{25,000}{5}$ = £5,000. If we divide these £5,000 by £500, we find that the number of turnovers is 10, just as it is in the case of the total capital of £2,500.

Here, where it is only a question of the production of surplus value, it is absolutely correct to make this average calculation, according to which the value of the annual product is divided by the value of the advanced capital and not by the value of that portion of this capital which is employed constantly in one working period (thus, in the present case not by 400 but by 500, not by capital I but by capital I + capital II). We shall see later that, from another point of view, the calculation is not quite exact, just as this average calculation generally is not quite exact. That is to say, it serves well enough for the

practical purposes of the capitalist, but it does not express exactly or properly all the real circumstances of the turnover.

We have hitherto ignored one part of the value of the commodity capital, namely the surplus value contained in it, which was produced during the process of production and incorporated in the product. To this we have now to direct our attention.

Suppose the variable capital of £100 invested weekly produces a surplus value of 100% = £100, then the variable capital of £500 invested over a 5-week turnover period produces £500 of surplus value, i. e., one half of the working day consists of surplus labour.

But if £500 of variable capital produce a surplus value of £500, then £5,000 produce 10 × 500 = £5,000 in surplus value. But the advanced variable capital amounts to £500. The ratio of the total surplus value produced during one year to the sum of value of the advanced variable capital is what we call the annual rate of surplus value. In the case at hand it is $\frac{5,000}{500} = 1,000\%$. If we analyse this rate more closely, we find that it is equal to the rate of surplus value produced by the advanced variable capital during one period of turnover, multiplied by the number of turnovers of the variable capital (which coincides with the number of turnovers of the entire circulating capital).

The variable capital advanced in the case before us for one period of turnover is £500; the surplus value produced during this period is likewise £500. The rate of surplus value for one period of turnover is therefore $\frac{500s}{500v} = 100\%$. This 100%, multiplied by 10, the number of turnovers in one year, makes $\frac{5,000s}{500v} = 1,000\%$.

That refers to the annual rate of surplus value. As for the amount of surplus value obtained during a specified period of turnover, it is equal to the value of the variable capital advanced during this period, or £500 in the present case, multiplied by the rate of surplus value, in the present case therefore $500 \times \frac{100}{100} = 500 \times 1 =$ £500. If the advanced capital were £1,500, then with the same rate of surplus value the amount of surplus value would be $1,500 \times \frac{100}{100} =$ £1,500.

We shall apply the term capital A to the variable capital of £500, which is turned over ten times per year, producing an annual surplus value of £5,000 for which, therefore, the yearly rate of surplus value = 1,000%.

Now let us assume that another variable capital, B, of £5,000, is

advanced for one whole year (i. e., here for 50 weeks), so that it is turned over only once a year. We assume furthermore that at the end of the year the product is paid for on the same day that it is finished, so that the money capital, into which it is converted, returns on the same day. The circulation period is then zero, the period of turnover = the working period, namely = 1 year. As in the preceding case there is to be found in the labour process each week a variable capital of £100, or of £5,000 in 50 weeks. Let the rate of surplus value be the same, or 100%, i. e., let one half of the working day of the same length consist of surplus labour. If we consider 5 weeks, the invested variable capital is £500, the rate of surplus value 100% and therefore the amount of surplus value produced in 5 weeks £500. The quantity of labour power here exploited, and the intensity of its exploitation, are assumed to be exactly the same as those of capital A.

Each week the invested variable capital of £100 produces a surplus value of £100, hence in 50 weeks the invested capital of $50 \times 100 =$ £5,000 produces a surplus value of £5,000. The amount of surplus value produced annually is the same as in the previous case, £5,000, but the yearly rate of surplus value is entirely different. It is equal to the surplus value produced in one year divided by the advanced variable capital: $\frac{5{,}000s}{5{,}000v} = 100\%$, while in the case of capital A it was 1,000%.

In the case of both capitals A and B, we have invested a variable capital of £100 a week. The degree of self-expansion, or the rate of surplus value, is likewise the same, 100%, and so is the magnitude of the variable capital, £100. The same quantity of labour power is exploited, the volume and degree of exploitation are equal in both cases, the working days are the same and equally divided into necessary labour and surplus labour. The amount of variable capital employed in the course of the year is £5,000 in either case; it sets the same amount of labour in motion, and extracts the same amount of surplus value, £5,000, from the labour power set in motion by these two equal capitals. Nevertheless there is a difference of 900% in the annual rate of surplus value of the two capitals A and B.

This phenomenon creates the impression, at all events, that the rate of surplus value depends not only on the quantity and intensity of exploitation of the labour power set in motion by the variable capital, but besides on inexplicable influences arising from the process of circulation. And it has indeed been so interpreted, and has — if not in this its pure form, then at least in its more complicated and disguised

form, that of the annual rate of profit—completely routed the Ricardian school since the beginning of the twenties.[a]

The strangeness of this phenomenon disappears at once when we place capitals A and B in exactly the same conditions, not only seemingly but actually. These equal conditions exist only when the variable capital B in its entire volume is expended for the payment of labour power in the same period of time as capital A.

In that case the £5,000 of capital B are invested for 5 weeks, £1,000 per week makes an investment of £50,000 per year. The surplus value is then likewise £50,000, according to our premises. The turned-over capital of £50,000 divided by the advanced capital of £5,000 makes the number of turnovers 10. The rate of surplus value $= \frac{5{,}000s}{5{,}000v} = 100\%$, multiplied by the number of turnovers, 10, makes the annual rate of surplus value $= \frac{50{,}000s}{5{,}000v} = \frac{10}{1} = 1{,}000\%$. Now the annual rates of surplus value are alike for A and B, namely, 1,000%, but the amounts of the surplus value are £50,000 in the case of B, and £5,000 in the case of A. The amounts of the surplus value produced are now in the same proportion to one another as the advanced capital values B and A, to wit: 5,000:500 = 10:1. But capital B has set in motion ten times as much labour power as capital A within the same time.

Only the variable capital actually employed in the labour process produces surplus value and to it apply all laws relating to surplus value, including therefore the law according to which the quantity of surplus value, its rate being given, is determined by the relative magnitude of the variable capital.[b]

The labour process itself is measured by time. If the length of the working day is given (as here, where we assume all conditions relating to A and B to be equal, in order to elucidate the difference in the annual rate of surplus value), the working week consists of a definite number of working days. Or we may consider any working period, for instance this working period of 5 weeks, as one single working day of, say, 300 hours, if the working day = 10 hours and the week = 6 days. We must further multiply this number by the number of labourers who are employed conjointly every day simultaneously in the same labour process. If that number is taken as 10, there will be 60 × 10 = 600 hours in one week, and a working period of 5 weeks

[a] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 36-77 and Vol. 32, pp. 258-373. - [b] Ibid., Vol. 35 (*Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. XI).

would have 600 × 5 = 3,000 hours. The rate of surplus value and the length of the working day being the same, variable capitals of equal magnitude are therefore employed, if equal quantities of labour power (a labour power of the same price multiplied by the number of labourers) are set in motion in the same time.

Let us now return to our original examples. In both cases, A and B, equal variable capitals of £100 per week are invested every week throughout the year. The invested variable capitals actually functioning in the labour process are therefore equal, but the advanced variable capitals are very unequal. In the case of A, £500 are advanced for every 5 weeks, of which £100 are employed every week. In the case of B, £5,000 must be advanced for the first 5-week period, of which only £100 per week, or only £500 in 5 weeks, or $^1/_{10}$ of the advanced capital, is employed. In the second 5-week period £4,500 must be advanced, but only £500 of this are employed, etc. The variable capital advanced for a definite period of time is converted into employed, hence actually functioning and operative variable capital only to the extent that it really steps into the sections of that period of time taken up by the labour process, to the extent that it really functions in the labour process. In the intermediate time, in which a portion of it is advanced in order to be employed later, this portion is practically non-existent for the labour process and has therefore no influence on the formation of either value or surplus value. Take for instance capital A, of £500. It is advanced for 5 weeks, but every week only £100 enter successively into the labour process. In the first week $^1/_5$ of this capital is employed; $^4/_5$ are advanced without being employed, although they must be in stock, and therefore advanced, for the labour processes of the following 4 weeks.

The circumstances which differentiate the relation between the advanced and the employed variable capital affect the production of surplus value — the rate of surplus value being given — only to the extent, and only by reason of the fact that they differentiate the quantity of variable capital which can be really employed in a stated period of time, for instance in one week, 5 weeks, etc. The advanced variable capital functions as variable capital only to the extent and only during the time that it is actually employed, and not during the time in which it remains in stock, is advanced, without being employed. But all the circumstances which differentiate the relation between the advanced and the employed variable capital come down to the difference of the periods of turnover (determined by the difference

of either the working period, or the circulation period, or both). The law of the production of surplus value states that equal quantities of functioning variable capital produce equal quantities of surplus value if the rate of surplus value is the same. If, then, equal quantities of variable capital are employed by the capitals A and B in equal periods of time with equal rates of surplus value, they must generate equal quantities of surplus value in equal periods of time, no matter how different the ratio of this variable capital employed during a definite period of time to the variable capital advanced during the same time, and no matter therefore how different the ratio of the quantities of surplus value produced, not to the employed but to the advanced variable capital in general. The difference of this ratio, far from contradicting the laws of the production of surplus value that have been demonstrated, rather corroborates them and is one of their inevitable consequences.

Let us consider the first 5-week productive period of capital B. At the end of the fifth week £500 have been employed and consumed. The value of the product is £1,000, hence $\frac{500s}{500v} = 100\%$. Just the same as with capital A. The fact that, in the case of capital A, the surplus value is realised together with the advanced capital, while in the case of B it is not, does not concern us here, where it is only a question of the production of surplus value and of its ratio to the variable capital advanced during its production. But if on the contrary we calculate the ratio of surplus value in B, not to that portion of the advanced capital of £5,000 which has been employed and hence consumed during its production, but to this total advanced capital itself, we find that it is $\frac{500s}{5{,}000v} = \frac{1}{10} = 10\%$. Hence it is 10% for capital B and 100% for capital A, i. e., tenfold. If it were said that this difference in the rate of surplus value for equal capitals, which have set in motion equal quantities of labour equally divided at that into paid and unpaid labour, is contrary to the laws of the production of surplus value, the answer would be simple and prompted by a mere glance at the actual relations: In the case of A, the actual rate of surplus value is expressed, i. e., the relation of a surplus value produced in 5 weeks by a variable capital of £500, to this variable capital of £500. In the case of B on the other hand the calculation is of a kind which has nothing to do either with the production of surplus value or with the determination of its corresponding rate of surplus value. For the £500 of sur-

plus value produced by a variable capital of £500 are not calculated with reference to the £500 of variable capital advanced during their production, but with reference to a capital of £5,000, $^9/_{10}$ of which, or £4,500, have nothing whatever to do with the production of this surplus value of £500, but are on the contrary intended to function gradually in the course of the following 45 weeks, so that they do not exist at all so far as the production of the first 5 weeks is concerned, which alone is at issue in this instance. Hence in this case the difference in the rates of surplus value of A and B presents no problem at all.

Let us now compare the annual rates of surplus value for capitals B and A. For capital B it is $\frac{5{,}000s}{5{,}000v} = 100\%$; for capital A it is $\frac{5{,}000s}{500v} = 1{,}000\%$. But the ratio of the rates of surplus value is the same as before. There we had

$$\frac{\text{Rate of Surplus Value of Capital B}}{\text{Rate of Surplus Value of Capital A}} = \frac{10\%}{100\%}$$

Now we have

$$\frac{\text{Annual Rate of Surplus Value of Capital B}}{\text{Annual Rate of Surplus Value of Capital A}} = \frac{100\%}{1{,}000\%}$$

But $10\% : 100\% = 100\% : 1{,}000\%$, so that the proportion is the same.

But now the problem has changed. The annual rate of capital B, $\frac{5{,}000s}{5{,}000v} = 100\%$, offers not the slightest deviation—not even the semblance of a deviation—from the laws of production known to us and of the rate of surplus value corresponding to them. During the year 5,000v have been advanced and productively consumed, and they have produced 5,000s. The rate of surplus value therefore equals the above fraction, $\frac{5{,}000s}{5{,}000v} = 100\%$. The annual rate agrees with the actual rate of surplus value. In this case it is therefore not capital B but capital A which presents an anomaly that has to be explained.

We have here the rate of surplus value $\frac{5{,}000s}{500v} = 1{,}000\%$. But while in the first case 500s, the product of 5 weeks, was calculated for

an advanced capital of £5,000, $^{9}/_{10}$ of which were not employed in its production, we have now 5,000s calculated for 500v, i. e., for only $^{1}/_{10}$ of the variable capital actually employed in the production of 5,000s; for the 5,000s are the product of a variable capital of £5,000 productively consumed during 50 weeks, not that of a capital of £500 consumed in one single period of 5 weeks. In the first case the surplus value produced in 5 weeks had been calculated for a capital advanced for 50 weeks, a capital ten times as large as the one consumed during the 5 weeks. Now the surplus value produced in 50 weeks is calculated for a capital advanced for 5 weeks, a capital ten times smaller than the one consumed in 50 weeks.

Capital A, of £500, is never advanced for more than 5 weeks. At the end of this time it returns and can renew the same process in the course of the year ten times, as it makes ten turnovers. Two conclusions follow from this.

*Firstly*: The capital advanced in the case of A is only five times larger than that portion of capital which is constantly employed in the productive process of one week. On the other hand capital B which is turned over only once in 50 weeks and must therefore be advanced for 50 weeks, is 50 times larger than that one of its portions which can constantly be employed for one week. The turnover therefore modifies the relation between the capital advanced during the year for the process of production and the capital constantly employable for a definite period of production, say, a week. Here we have, then, the first case, in which the surplus value of 5 weeks is not calculated for the capital employed during these 5 weeks, but for a capital ten times larger, employed for 50 weeks.

*Secondly*: The 5-week period of turnover of capital A comprises only $^{1}/_{10}$ of the year, so that one year contains ten such turnover periods, in which capital A of £500 is successively re-invested. The employed capital is here equal to the capital advanced for 5 weeks, multiplied by the number of periods of turnover per year. The capital employed during the year is 500 × 10 = £5,000. The capital advanced during the year $= \frac{5,000}{10} =$ £500. Indeed, although the £500 are always re-employed, the sum advanced every 5 weeks never exceeds these same £500. On the other hand in case of capital B only £500 are employed during 5 weeks and advanced for these 5 weeks. But as the period of turnover in this case = 50 weeks, the capital employed in one year is equal to the capital advanced for 50 weeks and

not to that advanced for every 5 weeks. The annually produced quantity of surplus value, given the rate of surplus value, is however commensurate with the capital employed during the year, not with the capital advanced during the year. Hence it is not larger for this capital of £5,000, which is turned over once a year, than it is for the capital of £500, which is turned over ten times a year. And it is so big only because the capital turned over once a year is itself ten times larger than the capital turned over ten times a year.

The variable capital turned over during one year—hence the portion of the annual product, or of the annual expenditure equal to that portion—is the variable capital actually employed, productively consumed, during that year. It follows therefore that if the variable capital A turned over annually and the variable capital B turned over annually are equal and employed under equal conditions of self-expansion, so that the rate of surplus value is the same for both of them, then the quantity of surplus value produced annually must likewise be the same for both of them. Hence the rate of surplus value calculated for a year must also be the same, since the amounts of capital employed are the same, so far as the rate is expressed by $\frac{\text{quantity of surplus value produced annually}}{\text{variable capital turned over annually}}$. Or, expressed generally: Whatever the relative magnitude of the turned-over variable capitals, the rate of the surplus value produced by them in the course of the year is determined by the rate of surplus value at which the respective capitals have worked in average periods (say, the average of a week or day).

This is the only consequence of the laws of production of surplus value and of the determination of the rate of surplus value.

Let us now see further what is expressed by the ratio:

$$\frac{\text{capital turned over annually}}{\text{capital advanced}}$$

(taking into account, as we have said before, only the variable capital). The division shows the number of turnovers made by the capital advanced in one year.

In the case of capital A we have:

$$\frac{\text{£5,000 of capital turned over annually.}}{\text{£500 of capital advanced}}$$

In the case of capital B we have:

$$\frac{\text{£5,000 of capital turned over annually.}}{\text{£5,000 of capital advanced}}$$

In both ratios the numerator expresses the advanced capital multiplied by the *number* of turnovers; in the case of A, 500 × 10; in the case of B, 5,000 × 1. Or it may be multiplied by the inverted *time* of turnover calculated for one year. The time of turnover for A is $^1/_{10}$ of a year; the inverted time of turnover is $^{10}/_1$ years; hence 500 × $^{10}/_1$ = 5,000. In the case of B, 5,000 × $^1/_1$ = 5,000. The denominator expresses the turned-over capital multiplied by the inverted *number* of turnovers; in the case of A, 5,000 × $^1/_{10}$; in the case of B, 5,000 × $^1/_1$.

The respective quantities of labour (the sum of the paid and unpaid labour), which are set in motion by the two variable capitals turned over annually, are equal in this case, because the turned-over capitals themselves are equal and their rates of self-expansion are likewise equal.

The ratio of the variable capital turned over annually to the variable capital advanced indicates 1) the ratio of the capital to be advanced to the variable capital employed during a definite working period. If the number of turnovers is 10, as in the case of A, and the year assumed to have 50 weeks, then the period of turnover is 5 weeks. For these 5 weeks variable capital must be advanced and the capital advanced for 5 weeks must be 5 times as large as the variable capital employed during one week. That is to say, only $^1/_5$ of the advanced capital (in this case £ 500) can be employed in the course of one week. On the other hand, in the case of capital B, where the number of turnovers = $^1/_1$, the time of turnover is 1 year, or 50 weeks. The ratio of the advanced capital to the capital employed weekly is therefore 50 : 1. If matters were the same for B as they are for A, then B would have to invest £ 1,000 per week instead of £ 100. 2) It follows that B has employed ten times as much capital (£ 5,000) as A to set in motion the same quantity of variable capital and hence — the rate of surplus value being given — of labour (paid and unpaid), and thus to produce also the same quantity of surplus value during the year. The real rate of surplus value expresses nothing but the ratio of the variable capital employed during a definite period to the surplus value produced in the same time; or the quantity of unpaid labour set in motion by the variable capital employed during this time. It has absolutely nothing to do with that portion of the variable capital which is advanced during the time in which it is not employed. Hence it has likewise nothing to do with the ratio between that portion of variable capital which is advanced during a definite period of time and

that portion which is employed during the same period of time—a ratio that is modified and differentiated for different capitals by the turnover period.

It follows rather from what has been set forth above that the annual rate of surplus value coincides only in one single case with the real rate of surplus value which expresses the degree of exploitation of labour; namely in the case when the advanced capital is turned over only once a year and the capital advanced is thus equal to the capital turned over in the course of the year, when therefore the ratio of the quantity of the surplus value produced during the year to the capital employed during the year in this production coincides and is identical with the ratio of the quantity of surplus value produced during the year to the capital advanced during the year.

A) The annual rate of surplus value is equal to the

$$\frac{\text{quantity of surplus value produced during the year}}{\text{variable capital advanced}}.$$

But the quantity of the surplus value produced during the year is equal to the real rate of surplus value multiplied by the variable capital employed in its production. The capital employed in the production of the annual quantity of surplus value is equal to the advanced capital multiplied by the number of its turnovers, which we shall call $n$. Formula A is therefore transformed into the following:

B) The annual rate of surplus value is equal to the

$$\frac{\text{real rate of surplus value} \times \text{variable capital advanced} \times n}{\text{variable capital advanced}}$$

For instance, in the case of capital $B = \frac{100 \times 5{,}000 \times 1}{5{,}000}$, or 100%

Only when $n$ is equal to 1, that is, when the variable capital advanced is turned over only once a year, and hence equal to the capital employed or turned over during a year, the annual rate of surplus value is equal to its real rate.

Let us call the annual rate of surplus value $S'$, the real rate of surplus value $s'$, the advanced variable capital v, the number of turnovers $n$. Then $S' = \frac{s'vn}{v} = s'n$. In other words, $S' = s'n$, and $= s'$ only when $n = 1$, and hence $S' = s' \times 1 = s'$.

It follows furthermore that the annual rate of surplus value is always equal to $s'n$, i. e., to the real rate of surplus value produced in one period of turnover by the variable capital consumed during that

period, multiplied by the number of turnovers of this variable capital during one year, or (what amounts to the same) multiplied by its inverted *time* of turnover calculated for one year. (If the variable capital is turned over ten times per year, then its time of turnover is $^{1}/_{10}$ of a year, its inverted time of turnover therefore $^{10}/_{1}$ or 10.)

It follows furthermore that S′ = s′ when $n = 1$. S′ is greater than s′ when $n$ is greater than 1; i. e., when the advanced capital is turned over more than once a year or the turned-over capital is greater than the capital advanced.

Finally, S′ is smaller than s′ when $n$ is smaller than 1, that is, when the capital turned over during the year is only a part of the advanced capital, so that the period of turnover is longer than one year.

Let us dwell a moment on this last case.

We retain all the premises of our former illustration, except that the period of turnover is lengthened to 55 weeks. The labour process requires a variable capital of £100 per week, hence £5,500 for the period of turnover, and produces every week 100s; s′ is therefore 100%, as before. The number of turnovers, $n$, is here $^{50}/_{55}$ or $^{10}/_{11}$, because the time of turnover is $1 + {}^{1}/_{10}$ of the year (of 50 weeks), or $^{11}/_{10}$ years.

$$S' = \frac{100\% \times 5{,}500 \times {}^{10}/_{11}}{5{,}500} = 100 \times {}^{10}/_{11} = \frac{1{,}000}{11} = 90\,{}^{10}/_{11}\,\%.$$

It is therefore smaller than 100%. Indeed, if the annual rate of surplus value were 100%, then during the year 5,500v would produce 5,500s, whereas $^{11}/_{10}$ years are required for that. The 5,500v produce only 5,000s during one year, therefore the annual rate of

$$\text{surplus value} = \frac{5{,}000\text{s}}{5{,}500\text{v}} = {}^{10}/_{11} = 90\,{}^{10}/_{11}\,\%.$$

The annual rate of surplus value, or the comparison between the surplus value produced during one year and the variable capital *advanced* in general (as distinguished from the variable capital *turned over* during the year), is therefore not merely a subjective comparison; the actual movement of the capital itself gives rise to this contraposition. So far as the owner of capital A is concerned, his advanced variable capital of £500 has returned to him at the end of the year, and £5,000 of surplus value in addition. It is not the quantity of capital employed by him during the year, but the quantity returning to him periodically that expresses the magnitude of his advanced capital. It is immaterial for the present issue whether at the end of the year the capital exists partly as a productive supply, or partly as money or commodity capital, and in what proportions it may have been divided into

these different parts. So far as the owner of capital B is concerned, £5,000, his advanced capital, has returned to him besides £5,000 in surplus value. For the owner of capital C (the last considered, worth £5,500) surplus value to the amount of £5,000 has been produced during the year (£5,000 invested and rate of surplus value 100%), but his advanced capital has not yet returned to him, nor has his produced surplus value.

$S' = s'n$ indicates that the rate of surplus value valid for the variable capital employed during one period of turnover, to wit,

$$\frac{\text{quantity of surplus value produced in one turnover period,}}{\text{variable capital employed in one turnover period}}$$

must be multiplied by the number of turnover periods, or of the periods of reproduction of the advanced variable capital, by the number of periods in which it renews its circuit.

We have already seen (Buch I, Kap. IV[a]) (The Transformation of Money into Capital), and furthermore (Buch I, Kap. XXI[b]) (Simple Reproduction), that the capital value is in general advanced, not expended, as this value, having passed through the various phases of its circuit, returns to its point of departure, and at that enriched by surplus value. This characterises it as advanced. The time that elapses from the moment of its departure to the moment of its return is the time for which it was advanced. The entire circular movement described by capital value, measured by the time from its advance to its return, constitutes its turnover, and the duration of this turnover is a period of turnover. When this period has expired and the circuit is completed, the same capital value can renew the same circuit, can therefore expand anew, can create surplus value. If the variable capital is turned over ten times in one year, as in the case of capital A, then the same advance of capital begets in the course of one year ten times the quantity of surplus value that corresponds to one period of turnover.

One must get a clear conception of the nature of this advance from the standpoint of capitalist society.

Capital A, which is annually turned over ten times, is advanced ten times during one year. It is advanced anew for every new period of turnover. But at the same time, during the year A never advances more than this same capital value of £500 and in actual fact never disposes of more than these £500 for the productive process exam-

[a] English edition: Vol. I, chapters IV-VI (present edition, Vol. 35). - [b] Ibid., Ch. XXIII.

ined by us. As soon as these £ 500 have completed one circuit A makes them start anew the same circuit; by its very nature capital preserves its character of capital only because it always functions as capital in successive production processes. It is, moreover, never advanced for more than 5 weeks. Should the turnover last longer, it proves inadequate. Should the turnover be curtailed, a part becomes superfluous. Not ten capitals of £ 500 are advanced, but *one* capital of £ 500 is advanced ten times at successive intervals. The annual rate of surplus value is therefore not calculated for ten advances of a capital of £ 500 or for £ 5,000, but for one advance of a capital of £ 500. It is the same as if 1 taler circulates ten times and yet never represents more than one single taler in circulation, although it performs the function of 10 talers. But in the pocket which holds it after each change of hands it retains the same identical value of 1 taler as before.

In the same way capital A indicates at each successive return, and likewise on its return at the end of the year, that its owner has operated always with the same capital value of £ 500. Hence only £ 500 return to him each time. His advanced capital is therefore never more than £ 500. Hence the advanced capital of £ 500 forms the denominator of the fraction which expresses the annual rate of surplus value. We had for it the above formula $S' = \frac{s'vn}{v} = s'n$. Since the real rate of surplus value $s' = \frac{s}{v}$, the quantity of surplus value divided by the variable capital which produced it, we may substitute $\frac{s}{v}$ for the value of $s'$ in $s'n$, and get the other formula $S' = \frac{sn}{v}$.

But by its ten-fold turnover and thus the ten-fold renewal of its advance, the capital of £ 500 performs the function of a ten times larger capital, of a capital of £ 5,000, just as 500 talers which circulate ten times per year perform the same function as 5,000 talers which circulate only once.

## II. THE TURNOVER OF THE INDIVIDUAL VARIABLE CAPITAL

"Whatever the form of the process of production in a society, it must be a continuous process, must continue to go periodically through the same phases... When viewed, therefore, as a connected whole, and as flowing on with incessant renewal, every social process of production is, at the same time, a process of reproduction... As a periodic increment of the capital advanced, or periodic fruit of capi-

tal in process, surplus value acquires the form of a *revenue* flowing out of capital" (Buch I, Kap. XXI, pp. 588, 589).[a]

In the case of capital A we have 10 five-week turnover periods. In the first period of turnover £500 of variable capital are advanced; i. e., £100 are weekly converted into labour power, so that £500 are spent on labour power at the end of the first turnover period. These £500, originally a part of the total capital advanced, have ceased to be capital. They are paid out in wages. The labourers in their turn pay them out in the purchase of means of subsistence, consuming means of subsistence worth £500. A quantity of commodities of that value is therefore annihilated (what the labourer may save up in money, etc., is not capital either). As far as concerns the labourer, this quantity of commodities has been consumed unproductively, except inasmuch as it preserves the efficacy of his labour power, an instrument indispensable to the capitalist.

In the second place, however, these £500 have been transformed, for the capitalist, into labour power of the same value (or price). Labour power is consumed by him productively in the labour process. At the end of 5 weeks a product valued at £1,000 has been created. Half of this, £500, is the reproduced value of the variable capital expended in payment of labour power. The other half, £500, is newly produced surplus value. But the 5-weekly labour power, through exchange for which a portion of the capital was converted into variable capital, is likewise expended, consumed, although productively. The labour which was active yesterday is not the same that is active today. Its value plus that of the surplus value created by it exists now as the value of a thing distinct from labour power, to wit, of a product. But by converting the product into money, that portion of its value which is equal to the value of the variable capital advanced can once more be exchanged for labour power and thus again function as variable capital. The fact that the same workmen, i. e., the same bearers of labour power, are given employment not only by the reproduced capital value but also by that which has been reconverted into the form of money is immaterial. It is possible for the capitalist to hire different workmen for the second period of turnover.

In actual fact therefore a capital of £5,000, and not of £500, is expended successively in wages during the ten periods of turnover of 5 weeks each, and these wages will again be spent by the labourers to

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. XXIII (present edition, Vol. 35).

buy means of subsistence. The capital of £5,000 so advanced is consumed. It ceases to exist. On the other hand labour power worth £5,000, not £500, is incorporated successively in the productive process and reproduces not only its own value of £5,000, but produces over and above that a surplus value of £5,000. The variable capital of £500 advanced during the second period of turnover is not the identical capital of £500 that had been advanced during the first period of turnover. That has been consumed, spent in wages. But it is *replaced* by new variable capital of £500, which was produced in the first period of turnover in the form of commodities, and reconverted into money. This new money capital of £500 is therefore the money form of the quantity of commodities newly produced in the first period of turnover. The fact that an identical sum of money, £500, is again in the hands of the capitalist, i. e., apart from the surplus value, precisely as much money capital as he had originally advanced, conceals the circumstance that he is operating with a newly produced capital. (As for the other constituents of value of the commodity capital, which replace the constant parts of capital, their value is not newly produced, but only the form is changed in which this value exists.)

Let us take the third period of turnover. Here it is evident that the capital of £500, advanced for a third time, is not an old but a newly produced capital, for it is the money form of the quantity of commodities produced in the second, not the first, period of turnover, i. e., of that portion of this quantity of commodities whose value is equal to that of the advanced variable capital. The quantity of commodities produced in the first period of turnover is sold. A part of its value equal to the variable portion of the value of the advanced capital was transformed into the new labour power of the second period of turnover; it produced a new quantity of commodities, which were sold in their turn and a portion of whose value constitutes the capital of £500 advanced in the third turnover period.

And so forth during the ten periods of turnover. In the course of these, newly produced quantities of commodities (whose value, inasmuch as it replaces variable capital, is also newly produced, and does not merely re-appear as in the case of the constant circulating part of the capital) are thrown upon the market every 5 weeks, in order to incorporate ever new labour power in the process of production.

Therefore what is accomplished by the ten-fold turnover of the advanced variable capital of £500 is not that this capital of £500 can be productively consumed ten times, or that a variable capital lasting

for 5 weeks can be employed for 50 weeks. Rather, 10 × £500 of variable capital is employed in the 50 weeks, and the capital of £500 always lasts only for 5 weeks and must be replaced at the end of the 5 weeks by a newly produced capital of £500. This applies equally to capitals A and B. But at this point the difference begins.

At the end of the first period of 5 weeks a variable capital of £500 has been advanced and expended by B as well as A. Both A and B have converted its value into labour power and replaced it by that portion of the value of the product newly created by this labour power which is equal to the value of the advanced variable capital of £500. For both B and A the labour power has not only replaced the value of the expended variable capital of £500 by a new value of the same amount, but also added a surplus value which, according to our assumption, is of the same magnitude.

But in the case of B the value product, which replaces the advanced variable capital and adds to it a surplus value, is not in the form in which it can function anew as productive, or variable, capital. It is in such a form in the case of A. And up to the end of the year B does not possess the variable capital expended in the first 5 and every subsequent 5 weeks, although it has been replaced by newly produced value plus surplus value, in the form in which it can again function as productive, or variable, capital. True, its *value* is replaced by new value, hence renewed, but the *form* of its value (in this case the absolute form of value, its money form) is not renewed.

For the second period of 5 weeks (and thus for every succeeding 5 weeks of the year) another £500 must again be available, the same as for the first period. Hence, regardless of credit relations, £5,000 must be available at the beginning of the year as a latent advanced money capital, although they are really expended, turned into labour power, only gradually, in the course of the year.

But because in the case of A the circuit, the turnover of the advanced capital, is consummated, the replacement value after the lapse of the first 5 weeks is already in the form in which it can set new labour power in motion for a term of 5 weeks—in its original form, the money form.

In the cases of both A and B new labour power is consumed in the second 5-week period and a new capital of £500 is spent in payment of this labour power. The means of subsistence of the labourers, paid with the first £500, are gone; at all events their value had vanished from the hands of the capitalist. With the second £500 new labour

power is bought, new means of subsistence withdrawn from the market. In short, it is a new capital of £500 that is being expended, not the old. But in the case of A this new capital of £500 is the money form of the newly produced substitute for the value of the formerly expended £500, while in the case of B, this substitute is in a form in which it cannot function as variable capital. It is there, but not in the form of variable capital. For the continuation of the process of production for the next 5 weeks an additional capital of £500 must therefore be available and advanced in the here indispensable form of money. Thus, during 50 weeks, both A and B expend an equal amount of variable capital, pay for and consume an equal quantity of labour power. But B must pay for it with an advanced capital equal to its total value of £5,000, while A pays for it successively with the ever renewed money form of the value substitute, produced every 5 weeks, for the capital of £500 advanced for every 5 weeks. In no case is more money capital advanced here than is required for 5 weeks, i. e., never more than that advanced for the first 5 weeks, viz., £500. These £500 last for the entire year. It is therefore clear that, the degree of exploitation of labour and the real rate of surplus value being the same, the annual rates [of surplus value] of A and B must be inversely proportional to the magnitudes of the variable money capitals which have to be advanced in order to set in motion the same amount of labour power during the year.

$$\text{A: } \frac{5{,}000\text{s}}{500\text{v}} = 1{,}000\%; \qquad \text{B: } \frac{5{,}000\text{s}}{5{,}000\text{v}} = 100\%.$$

But $500\text{v} : 5{,}000\text{v} = 1 : 10 = 100\% : 1{,}000\%$.

The difference is due to the difference in the periods of turnover, i. e., the periods in which the value substitute of the variable capital employed for a definite time can function anew as capital, hence as a new capital. In the case of B as well as A, there is the same replacement of value for the variable capital employed during the same periods. There is also the same increment of surplus value during the same periods. But in the case of B, while every 5 weeks there is a replacement of the value of £500 and a surplus value of £500, this value substitute does not constitute a new capital, because it does not exist in the form of money. In the case of A the old capital value is not only replaced by a new one, but is rehabilitated in its money form, hence replaced as a new capital capable of performing its function.

The conversion, sooner or later, of the value substitute into money, and thus into the form in which variable capital is advanced, is obviously an immaterial circumstance, so far as the production of surplus value itself is concerned. This production depends on the magnitude of the variable capital employed and the degree of exploitation of labour. But that circumstance modifies the magnitude of the money capital which must be advanced in order to set a definite quantum of labour power in motion during the year, and therefore it determines the annual rate of surplus value.

### III. THE TURNOVER OF THE VARIABLE CAPITAL FROM THE SOCIAL POINT OF VIEW

Let us look at this matter for a moment from the point of view of society. The labourer costs, say, £1 per week, the working day is 10 hours. In case of A as well as B 100 labourers are employed during a year (£100 for 100 labourers per week, or £500 for 5 weeks, or £5,000 for 50 weeks), and each one of them works 60 hours per week of 6 days. So 100 labourers work 6,000 hours per week and 300,000 hours in 50 weeks. This labour power is taken hold of by A and B and therefore cannot be expended by society for anything else. To this extent the matter is the same socially with both A and B. Furthermore: In the cases of both A and B the 100 labourers employed by either side receive a yearly wage of £5,000 (or, together for the 200 labourers, £10,000) and withdraw from society means of subsistence to that amount. So far the matter is therefore socially the same in the case of both A and B. Since the labourers in either case are paid by the week, they weekly withdraw their means of subsistence from society and, in either case, throw a weekly equivalent in money into circulation. But here the difference begins.

*First.* The money which the A labourer throws into circulation is not only, as it is for the B labourer, the money form of the value of his labour power (in fact a means of payment for labour already performed); it is, counting from the second turnover period after the opening of the business, the money form *of his own value* (= the price of the labour power plus the surplus value) created during the first period of turnover, by which his labour is paid during the second period of turnover. This is not the case with the B labourer. As far as the latter is concerned, the money is here, true enough, a medium of payment for work already done by him, but this work done is not

paid for with the value which it itself produced and which was turned into money (not with the money form of the value the labour itself has produced). This cannot be done until the beginning of the second year, when the B labourer is paid with the value produced by him in the preceding year and turned into money.

The shorter the period of turnover of capital — the shorter therefore the intervals at which it is reproduced throughout the year — the quicker is the variable portion of the capital, originally advanced by the capitalist in the form of money, transformed into the money form of the value (including, besides, surplus value) created by the labourer to replace this variable capital; the shorter is the time for which the capitalist must advance money out of his own funds, and the smaller is the capital advanced by him in general in proportion to the given scale of production; and the greater comparatively is the quantity of surplus value which he extracts during the year with a given rate of surplus value, because he can buy the labourer so much more frequently with the money form of the value created by that labourer and can so much more frequently set his labour into motion again.

If the scale of production is given, the absolute magnitude of the advanced variable money capital (and of the circulating capital in general) decreases proportionately to the decrease of the turnover period, while the annual rate of surplus value increases. If the magnitude of the advanced capital is given, the scale of production grows; hence, if the rate of surplus value is given, the absolute quantity of surplus value created in one period of turnover likewise grows, simultaneously with the rise in the annual rate of surplus value effected by the shortening of the periods of reproduction. It generally follows from the foregoing investigation that the different lengths of the turnover periods make it necessary for money capital to be advanced in very different amounts in order to set in motion the same quantity of productive circulating capital and the same quantity of labour with the same degree of exploitation of labour.

*Second* — and this is interlinked with the first difference — the B and A labourers pay for the means of subsistence which they buy with the variable capital that has been transformed in their hands into a medium of circulation. For instance they not only withdraw wheat from the market, but also replace it with an equivalent in money. But since the money wherewith the B labourer pays for his means of subsistence, which he withdraws from the market, is not the money form of

a value produced and thrown by him on the market during the year, as it is in the case of the A labourer, he supplies the seller of the means of subsistence with money, but not with commodities—be they means of production or means of subsistence—which this seller could buy with the proceeds of the sale, as he can in the case of A. The market is therefore stripped of labour power, means of subsistence for this labour power, fixed capital in the form of instruments of labour used in the case of B, and of materials of production, and to replace them an equivalent in money is thrown on the market; but during the year no product is thrown on the market with which to replace the material elements of productive capital withdrawn from it. If we conceive society as being not capitalist but communist, there will be no money capital at all in the first place, nor the disguises cloaking the transactions arising on account of it. The question then comes down to the need of society to calculate beforehand how much labour, means of production, and means of subsistence it can invest, without detriment, in such lines of business as for instance the building of railways, which do not furnish any means of production or subsistence, nor produce any useful effect for a long time, a year or more, while they extract labour, means of production and means of subsistence from the total annual production. In capitalist society however where social reason always asserts itself only *post festum* great disturbances may and must constantly occur. On the one hand pressure is brought to bear on the money market, while on the other, an easy money market calls such enterprises into being *en masse*, thus creating the very circumstances which later give rise to pressure on the money market. Pressure is brought to bear on the money market, since large advances of money capital are constantly needed here for long periods of time. And this regardless of the fact that industrialists and merchants throw the money capital necessary to carry on their business into speculative railway schemes, etc., and make it good by borrowing in the money market.

On the other hand pressure on society's available productive capital. Since elements of productive capital are for ever being withdrawn from the market and only an equivalent in money is thrown on the market in their place, the effective demand rises without itself furnishing any element of supply. Hence a rise in the prices of productive materials as well as means of subsistence. To this must be added that stock-jobbing is a regular practice and capital is transferred on a large scale. A band of speculators, contractors, engineers, lawyers,

etc., enrich themselves. They create a strong demand for articles of consumption on the market, wages rising at the same time. So far as foodstuffs are involved, agriculture too is stimulated. But as these foodstuffs cannot be suddenly increased in the course of the year, their import grows, just as that of exotic foods in general (coffee, sugar, wine, etc.) and of articles of luxury. Hence excessive imports and speculation in this line of the import business. Meanwhile, in those branches of industry in which production can be rapidly expanded (manufacture proper, mining, etc.), climbing prices give rise to sudden expansion soon followed by collapse. The same effect is produced in the labour market, attracting great numbers of the latent relative surplus population, and even of the employed labourers, to the new lines of business. In general such large-scale undertakings as railways withdraw a definite quantity of labour power from the labour market, which can come only from such lines of business as agriculture, etc., where only strong lads are needed. This still continues even after the new enterprises have become established lines of business and the migratory working class needed for them has already been formed, as for instance in the case of a temporary rise above the average in the scale of railway construction. A portion of the reserve army of labourers, which kept wages down, is absorbed. A general rise in wages ensues, even in the hitherto well employed sections of the labour market. This lasts until the inevitable crash again releases the reserve army of labour and wages are once more depressed to their minimum, and lower.[32)]

Inasmuch as the length, great or small, of the period of turnover depends on the working period proper, that is, the period necessary to get the product ready for the market, it is based on the existing material conditions of production specific for the various investments of capital. In agriculture they assume more of the character of natural

[32)] In the manuscript, the following note is here inserted for future amplification: "Contradiction in the capitalist mode of production: the labourers as buyers of commodities are important for the market. But as sellers of their own commodity — labour power — capitalist society tends to keep them down to the minimum price.— Further contradiction: the periods in which capitalist production exerts all its forces regularly turn out to be periods of overproduction, because production potentials can never be utilised to such an extent that more value may not only be produced but also realised; but the sale of commodities, the realisation of commodity capital and thus of surplus value, is limited, not by the consumer requirements of society in general, but by the consumer requirements of a society in which the vast majority are always poor and must always remain poor. However, this pertains to the next part."

conditions of production, in manufacture and the greater part of the mining industry they vary with the social development of the process of production itself.

Inasmuch as the length of the working period depends on the size of the supply (the quantitative volume in which the product is generally thrown upon the market as commodities), it is conventional in character. But the convention itself has its material basis in the scale of production, and is therefore accidental only when examined singly.

Finally, inasmuch as the length of the turnover period hinges on that of the period of circulation, it is partly dependent on the incessant change of market conditions, the greater or lesser ease of selling, and the resultant necessity of throwing part of the product on nearer or remoter markets. Apart from the volume of the demand in general, the movement of prices is here of cardinal importance since sales are intentionally restricted when prices are falling, while production proceeds; vice versa, production and sales keep pace when prices are rising or sales can be made in advance. But we must consider the actual distance of the place of production from the market as the real material basis.

For instance English cotton goods or yarn are sold to India. Suppose the export merchant himself pays the English cotton manufacturer (the export merchant does so willingly only if the money market is strong. But when the manufacturer himself replaces his money capital by some credit transaction, things are not so good). The exporter sells his cotton goods later in the Indian market, from where his advanced capital is remitted to him. Up to this remittance the case runs the very same course as when the length of the working period necessitated the advance of new money capital to maintain the production process on a given scale. The money capital with which the manufacturer pays his labourers and renews the other elements of his circulating capital is not the money form of the yarn produced by him. This cannot be the case until the value of this yarn has returned to England in the form of money or products. It is additional money capital as before. The only difference is that, instead of the manufacturer, it is advanced by the merchant, who in turn may well have obtained it by means of credit operations. Similarly, before this money is thrown on the market, or simultaneously with this, no additional product has been put on the English market that could be bought with this money and would enter the sphere of productive or individual consumption. If this situation continues for a rather long period of

time and on a rather large scale, it must have the same effect as the previously mentioned prolongation of the working period.

Now it may be that in India the yarn is again sold on credit. With this credit products are bought in India and sent as return shipment to England or drafts remitted for this amount. If this condition is protracted, the Indian money market comes under pressure and the reaction on England may here produce a crisis. This crisis, in its turn, even if combined with the export of precious metals to India, calls forth a new crisis in that country on account of the bankruptcy of English firms and their Indian branches, which had received credit from Indian banks. Thus a crisis occurs simultaneously in the market in which the balance of trade is *favourable*, as well as in the one in which it is *unfavourable*. This phenomenon may be still more complicated. Assume for instance that England has sent silver bullion to India but India's English creditors are now urgently collecting their debts in that country, and India will soon after have to ship its silver bullion back to England.

It is possible that the export trade to India and the import trade from India may approximately balance each other, although the volume of the import trade (except under special circumstances, such as an increase in cotton prices, etc.) is determined and stimulated by the export trade. The balance of trade between England and India may seem equilibrated or may disclose slight oscillations in either direction. But as soon as the crisis breaks out in England it turns out that unsold cotton goods are stored in India (hence have not been transformed from commodity capital into money capital—an overproduction to this extent), and that on the other hand there are stored up in England unsold supplies of Indian goods, and, moreover, a great portion of the sold and consumed supplies is not yet paid. Hence what appears as a crisis on the money market is in reality an expression of abnormal conditions in the very process of production and reproduction.

*Third.* So far as the employed circulating capital itself (constant and variable) is concerned, the length of the period of turnover, since it derives from the working period, makes this difference: In the case of several turnovers during one year, an element of the variable or constant circulating capital may be supplied through its own product, for instance in the production of coal, the ready-made clothes business, etc. In other cases this cannot occur, at least not within the year.

## Chapter XVII

### THE CIRCULATION OF SURPLUS VALUE

We have just seen that a difference in the period of turnover causes a difference in the annual rate of surplus value, even if the mass of the annually produced surplus value is the same.

But there are furthermore necessarily differences in the capitalisation of surplus value, in *accumulation*, and also in the quantity of surplus value produced during the year, while the rate of surplus value remains the same.

To begin with, we note that capital A (in the illustration of the preceding chapter) has a current periodical revenue, so that with the exception of the period of turnover inaugurating the business, it pays for its own consumption within the year out of its production of surplus value, and need not cover it by advances out of its own funds. But the latter has to be done in the case of B. While it produces as much surplus value in the same intervals of time as A, the surplus value is not realised and therefore cannot be consumed either productively or individually. So far as individual consumption is concerned, the surplus value is anticipated. Funds for that purpose must be advanced.

One portion of the productive capital, which it is difficult to classify, namely the additional capital required for the repair and maintenance of the fixed capital, is now likewise seen in a new light.[a]

In the case of A this portion of capital is not advanced — in full or for the greater part — at the beginning of production. It need not be available or even in existence. It comes out of the business itself by a direct transformation of surplus value into capital, i. e., by its direct employment as capital. A part of the surplus value which is not only periodically generated but also realised during the year can defray the expenditures that must be incurred for repairs, etc. A portion of the capital needed to carry on the business on its original scale is thus produced in the course of business by the business itself by means of capitalising part of the surplus value. This is impossible for the capitalist B. The portion of the capital in question must in his case form a part of the capital originally advanced. In both cases this portion will figure in the books of the capitalists as an advanced capital, which it really is, since according to our assumption it forms a part of the productive capital required for maintaining the business on a certain

[a] See this volume, pp. 178-79.

scale. But it makes all the difference in the world out of which funds it is advanced. In the case of B it is really a part of the capital to be originally advanced or held available. In the case of A on the other hand it is a part of the surplus value used as capital. This last case shows us that not only the accumulated capital but also a portion of the originally advanced capital may simply be capitalised surplus value.

As soon as the development of credit interferes, the relation between originally advanced capital and capitalised surplus value becomes still more complicated. For instance from not having sufficient capital of his own at the very outset for this purpose, A borrows from banker C a portion of the productive capital with which he starts in business or continues it during the year. Banker C lends him a sum of money which consists only of surplus value deposited with the banker by capitalists D, E, F, etc. As far as A is concerned there is as yet no question of accumulated capital. But with regard to D, E, F, etc., A is, in fact, nothing but an agent capitalising surplus value appropriated by them.

We have seen (Buch I, Kap. XXII[a]) that accumulation, the conversion of surplus value into capital, is essentially a process of reproduction on a progressively increasing scale, whether this expansion is expressed extensively in the form of an addition of new factories to the old, or intensively by the enlargement of the existing scale of operation.

The expansion of the scale of production may proceed in small portions, a part of the surplus value being used for improvements which either simply increase the productive power of the labour employed or permit at the same time of its more intensive exploitation. Or, where the working day is not legally limited, an additional expenditure of circulating capital (in materials of production and wages) suffices to enhance the production scale without an expansion of the fixed capital, whose daily time of employment is thus merely lengthened, while its period of turnover is correspondingly shortened. Or the capitalised surplus value may, under favourable market conditions, permit of speculation in raw materials, operations for which the capital originally advanced would not have been sufficient, etc.

However it is clear that in cases where the greater number of periods of turnover brings with it a more frequent realisation of surplus value during the year, there will be periods in which there can be nei-

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. XXIV (present edition, Vol. 35).

ther a prolongation of the working day nor an introduction of improvements in details; on the other hand a proportional expansion of the whole business, partly by expanding its entire plant, the buildings for example, partly by enlarging the cultivated areas in agriculture, is possible only within certain more or less narrow limits and, besides, requires such a volume of additional capital as can be supplied only by several years' accumulation of surplus value.

Along with the real accumulation or conversion of surplus value into productive capital (and a corresponding reproduction on an extended scale), there is, then, an accumulation of money, a raking together of a portion of the surplus value in the form of latent money capital, which is not intended to function as additional active capital until later, when it swells to a certain volume.

That is how the matter looks from the standpoint of the individual capitalist. But simultaneously with the development of capitalist production the credit system also develops. The money capital which the capitalist cannot as yet employ in his own business is employed by others, who pay him interest for its use. It serves him as money capital in its specific meaning, as a kind of capital distinguished from productive capital. But it serves as capital in another's hands. It is plain that with the more frequent realisation of surplus value and the rising scale on which it is produced, there is an increase in the proportion of new money capital or money as capital thrown upon the money market and then absorbed — at least the greater part of it — by extended production.

The simplest form in which the additional latent money capital may be represented is that of a hoard. It may be that this hoard is additional gold or silver secured directly or indirectly in exchange with countries producing precious metals. And only in this manner does the hoarded money in a country grow absolutely. On the other hand it may be — and is so in the majority of cases — that this hoard is nothing but money which has been withdrawn from circulation at home and has assumed the form of a hoard in the hands of individual capitalists. It is furthermore possible that this latent money capital consists only of tokens of value — we still ignore credit money at this point — or of mere claims of capitalists (titles) against third persons conferred by legal documents. In all such cases, whatever may be the form of existence of this additional money capital, it represents, so far as it is capital *in spe*, nothing but additional and reserved legal titles of capitalists to future annual additional social production.

"The mass of real accumulated wealth, in point of magnitude ... is so utterly insignificant when compared with the powers of production of the same society in whatever state of civilisation, or even compared with the actual consumption for even a few years of that society, that the great attention of legislators and political economists should be directed to 'productive powers' and their future free development, and not, as hitherto, to the mere accumulated wealth that strikes the eye. Of what is called accumulated wealth, by far the greater part is only nominal, consisting not of any real things, ships, houses, cottons, improvements on land, but of mere demands on the future annual productive powers of society, engendered and perpetuated by the expedients or institutions of insecurity... The use of such articles" (accumulations of physical things or actual wealth) "as a mere means of appropriating to their possessors the wealth to be created by the future productive powers of society, being that alone of which the natural laws of distribution would, without force, gradually deprive them, or, if aided by co-operative labour, would in a very few years deprive them" (William Thompson, *An Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth*, London, 1850, p. 453. This book originally appeared in 1824).

"It is little thought, by most persons not at all suspected, how very small a proportion, either in extent or influence, the actual accumulations of society bear to human productive powers, even to the ordinary consumption of a few years of a single generation. The reason is obvious; but the effect very pernicious. The wealth that is annually consumed, disappearing with its consumption, is seen but for a moment, and makes no impression but during the act of enjoyment or use. But that part of wealth which is of slow consumption, furniture, machinery, buildings, from childhood to old age stand out before the eye, the durable monuments of human exertion. By means of the possession of this fixed, permanent, or slowly consumed, part of national wealth, of the land and materials to work upon, the tools to work with, the houses to shelter whilst working, the holders of these articles command for their own benefit the yearly productive powers of all the really efficient productive labourers of society, though these articles may bear ever so small a proportion to the recurring products of that labour. The population of Britain and Ireland being twenty millions, the average consumption of each individual, man, woman, and child, is probably about twenty pounds, making four hundred millions of wealth, the product of labour annually consumed. The whole amount of the accumulated capital of these countries, it has been estimated, does not exceed twelve hundred millions, or three times the year's labour of the community; or, if equally divided, sixty pounds capital for every individual. 'Tis with the proportions, rather than with the absolute accurate amount of these estimated sums, we are concerned. The interest of this capital stock would support the whole population in the same comfort in which they now exist, for about two months of one year, and the whole accumulated capital itself would maintain them in idleness (could purchasers be found) for three years! at the end of which time, without houses, clothes, or food, they must starve, or become the slaves of those who supported them in the three years' idleness. As three years to the life of one healthy generation, say forty years, so is the magnitude and importance of the actual wealth, the accumulated capital of even the wealthiest community, to their productive powers, to the productive powers of only one generation; not of what, under judicious arrangements of equal security, they might produce, particularly with the aid of co-operative labour, but of what, under the defective and depressing expedients of insecurity, they do absolutely produce!.. The seeming mighty

mass of existing capital to maintain and perpetuate which (or rather the command of the products of yearly labour which it serves as the means of engrossing)... in its present state of forced division, are all the horrible machinery, the vices, crimes, and miseries of insecurity, sought to be perpetuated. As nothing can be accumulated without first supplying necessaries, and as the great current of human inclination is to enjoyment; hence the comparatively trifling amount of the actual wealth of society at any particular moment. 'Tis an eternal round of production and consumption. From the amount of this immense mass of annual consumption and production, the handful of actual accumulation would hardly be missed; and yet it is to this handful, and not to the mass of productive powers that attention has chiefly been directed. This handful, however, having been seized upon by a few, and been made the instrument of converting to their use the constantly recurring annual products of the labour of the great majority of their fellow creatures; hence, in the opinion of these few, the paramount importance of such an instrument... About one-third part of the annual products of the labour of these countries is now abstracted from the producers, under the name of public burdens, and unproductively consumed by those who give no equivalent, that is to say, none satisfactory to the producers... With the accumulated masses, particularly when held forth in the hands of a few individuals, the vulgar eye has been always struck. The annually produced and consumed masses, like the eternal and incalculable waves of a mighty river, roll on and are lost in the forgotten ocean of consumption. On this eternal consumption, however, are dependent, not only for almost all gratifications, but even for existence, the whole human race. The quantity and distribution of these yearly products ought to be the paramount objects of consideration. The actual accumulation is altogether of secondary importance, and derives almost the whole of that importance from its influence on the distribution of the yearly productions... Actual accumulations and distributions have been always considered" (in Thompson's works) "in reference, and subordinate, to the power of producing. In almost all other systems, the power of producing has been considered in reference, and subordinate, to actual accumulations, and to the perpetuating of the existing modes of distribution. In comparison to the preservation of this actual distribution, the ever recurring misery or happiness of the whole human race has been considered as unworthy of regard. To perpetuate the results of force, fraud, and chance, has been called security; and to the support of this spurious security, have all the productive powers of the human race been unrelentingly sacrificed" (ibid., pp. 440-43).

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For reproduction only two normal cases are possible, apart from disturbances, which interfere with reproduction even on a fixed scale.

There is either reproduction on a simple scale.

Or there is capitalisation of surplus value, accumulation.

## I. SIMPLE REPRODUCTION

In the case of simple reproduction the surplus value produced and realised annually, or periodically, if there are several turnovers dur-

ing the year, is consumed individually, i. e., unproductively, by its owner, the capitalist.

The circumstance that the value of the product consists in part of surplus value and in part of that portion of value which is formed by the variable capital reproduced in the product plus the constant capital consumed by it, does not alter anything whatever either in the quantity or in the value of the total product, which constantly steps into circulation as commodity capital and is just as constantly withdrawn from it, in order to be productively or individually consumed, i. e., to serve as means of production or consumption. If constant capital is left aside, only the distribution of the annual product between the labourers and the capitalists is affected thereby.

Even if simple reproduction is assumed, a portion of the surplus value must therefore always exist in the form of money and not of products, because otherwise it could not be converted for purposes of consumption from money into products. This conversion of the surplus value from its original commodity form into money must be further analysed at this place. In order to simplify the matter, we shall presuppose the most elementary form of the problem, namely the exclusive circulation of metal coin, of money which is a real equivalent.

According to the laws of the simple circulation of commodities (developed in Buch I, Kap. III[a]), the mass of the metal coin existing in a country must not only be sufficient to circulate the commodities, but must also suffice to meet the currency fluctuations, which arise partly from fluctuations in the velocity of the circulation, partly from a change in the prices of commodities, partly from the various and varying proportions in which the money functions as a medium of payment or as a medium of circulation proper. The proportion in which the existing quantity of money is split into a hoard and money in circulation varies continually, but the total quantity of money is always equal to the sum of the money hoarded and the money circulating. This quantity of money (quantity of precious metal) is a gradually accumulated hoard of society. Since a portion of this hoard is consumed by wear and tear, it must be replaced annually, the same as any other product. This takes place in reality by a direct or indirect exchange of a part of the annual product of a particular country for the product of countries producing gold and silver. However, this

[a] See present edition, Vol. 35.

international character of the transaction conceals its simple course. In order to reduce the problem to its simplest and most lucid expression, it must be assumed that the production of gold and silver takes place in that particular country itself, that therefore the production of gold and silver constitutes a part of the total social production within every country.

Apart from the gold and silver produced for articles of luxury, the minimum of their annual production must be equal to the wear of metal coin annually occasioned by the circulation of money. Furthermore, if the sum of the values of the annually produced and circulating quantity of commodities increases, the annual production of gold and silver must likewise increase, inasmuch as the increased sum of the values of the circulating commodities and the quantity of money required for their circulation (and the corresponding formation of a hoard) are not made good by a greater velocity of money currency and a more comprehensive function of money as a medium of payment, i. e., by a greater mutual balancing of purchases and sales without the intervention of actual money.

A portion of the social labour power and a portion of the social means of production must therefore be expended annually in the production of gold and silver.

The capitalists who are engaged in the production of gold and silver and who, according to our assumption of simple reproduction, carry on their production only within the bounds of the annual average wear and tear and the annual average consumption of gold and silver entailed thereby, throw their surplus value — which they consume annually, according to our assumption, without capitalising any of it — directly into circulation in the money form, which is its natural form; unlike the other branches of production, where it is the converted form of the product.

Furthermore, as far as wages are concerned — the money form in which the variable capital is advanced — they are also not replaced by the sale of the product, by its conversion into money, but by a product itself whose natural form is from the outset that of money.

Finally, the same applies also to that portion of the product of precious metals which is equal to the value of the periodically consumed constant capital, both the constant circulating and the constant fixed capital consumed during the year.

Let us consider the circuit, or turnover, of the capital invested in the production of precious metals first in the form of M — C...

P ... M′. Since C in M — C consists not only of labour power and means of production but also of fixed capital, only a part of whose value is consumed in P, it is evident that M′, the product, is a sum of money equal to the variable capital laid out in wages plus the circulating constant capital laid out in means of production plus a portion of the value equivalent to the worn-out fixed capital plus the surplus value. If the sum were smaller, the general value of gold remaining the same, then the mine would be unproductive or, if this got to be generally the case, the value of gold compared with the value of commodities that remains unchanged would subsequently rise; i. e., the prices of commodities would fall, so that henceforth the amount of money laid out in M — C would be smaller.

If we consider at first only the circulating portion of capital advanced in M, the starting-point of M — C ... P ... M′, we find that a certain sum of money is advanced, thrown into circulation for the payment of labour power and the purchase of materials of production. But this sum is not withdrawn from circulation by the circuit of *this* capital, in order to be thrown into it anew. The product is money even in its natural form; there is no need therefore of transforming it into money by means of exchange, by a process of circulation. It passes from the process of production into the sphere of circulation, not in the form of commodity capital which has to be reconverted into money capital, but as a money capital which is to be reconverted into productive capital, i. e., which is to buy fresh labour power and materials of production. The money form of the circulating capital consumed in labour power and means of production is replaced, not by the sale of the product, but by the natural form of the product itself; hence, not by once more withdrawing its value from circulation in money form, but by additional, newly produced money.

Let us suppose that this circulating capital is £500, the period of turnover 5 weeks, the working period 4 weeks, the period of circulation only 1 week. From the outset, money for 5 weeks must be partly advanced for a productive supply and partly be ready to be paid out gradually in wages. At the beginning of the 6th week, £400 will have returned and £100 will have been released. This is constantly repeated. Here, as in previous cases, £100 will always be found in released form during a certain time of the turnover. But they consist of additional, newly produced, money, the same as the other £400. We have in this case 10 turnovers per year and the annual product is £5,000 in gold. (The period of circulation is not constituted, in this case, by the

time required for the conversion of commodities into money, but by that required for the conversion of money into the elements of production.)

In the case of every other capital of £500 turned over under the same conditions, the ever renewed money form is the converted form of the commodity capital produced, a capital which is thrown into circulation every 4 weeks and which by its sale — that is to say, by a periodical withdrawal of the quantity of money it represented when it originally entered into the process — assumes this money form anew over and over again. Here, on the contrary, in every turnover period a new additional sum of £500 in money is thrown from the process of production itself into circulation in order to withdraw from it continually materials of production and labour power. This money thrown into circulation is not withdrawn from it again by the circuit which this capital describes, but is rather increased by quantities of gold constantly produced anew.

Let us look at the variable portion of this circulating capital and assume that it is, as before, £100. Then these £100 would be sufficient in the ordinary production of commodities, with 10 turnovers, to pay continually for the labour power. Here, in the production of gold, the same amount is sufficient. But the £100 of the reflux, with which the labour power is paid every 5 weeks, are not a converted form of its product but a portion of this ever renewed product itself. The producer of gold pays his labourers directly with a portion of the gold they themselves produced. The £1,000 thus expended annually in labour power and thrown by the labourers into circulation do not return therefore via this circulation to their starting-point.

Furthermore, so far as the fixed capital is concerned, it requires the investment of a comparatively large money capital on the original establishment of the business, and this capital is thus thrown into circulation. Like all fixed capital it returns only piecemeal in the course of years. But it returns as a direct portion of the product, of the gold, not by the sale of the product and its consequent conversion into money. In other words, it gradually assumes its money form not by a withdrawal of money from the circulation but by an accumulation of a corresponding portion of the product. The money capital so restored is not a quantity of money gradually withdrawn from the circulation to compensate for the sum originally thrown into it for the fixed capital. It is an additional sum of money.

Finally, as concerns the surplus value, it is likewise equal to a cer-

tain portion of the new gold product, which is thrown into circulation in every new period of turnover in order to be unproductively expended, according to our assumption, on means of subsistence and articles of luxury.

But according to our assumption, the entire annual production of gold—which continually withdraws labour power and materials of production, but no money, from the market, while continuously adding fresh quantities of money to it—merely replaces the money worn out during the year, hence only keeps intact the quantity of social money which exists constantly, although in varying portions, in the two forms of hoarded money and money in circulation.

According to the law of the circulation of commodities, the quantity of money must be equal to the amount of money required for circulation plus a certain amount held in the form of a hoard, which increases or decreases as the circulation contracts or expands, and serves especially for the formation of the requisite reserve funds of means of payment. What must be paid in money in so far as there is no balancing of accounts—is the value of the commodities. The fact that a portion of this value consists of surplus value, that is to say, did not cost the seller of the commodities anything, does not alter the matter in any way. Let us suppose that the producers are all independent owners of their means of production, so that circulation takes place between the immediate producers themselves. Apart from the constant portion of their capital, their annual value product might then be divided into two parts, analogous with capitalist conditions: Part a, replacing only the necessary means of subsistence, and part b, consumed partly in articles of luxury, partly for an expansion of production. Part a then represents the variable capital, part b the surplus value. But this division would remain without influence on the magnitude of the sum of money required for the circulation of their total product. Other circumstances remaining equal, the value of the circulating mass of commodities would be the same, and thus also the amount of money required for that value. They would also have to have the same money reserves if the turnover periods are equally divided, i. e., the same portion of their capital would always have to be held in the form of money, because their production, according to our assumption, would be commodity production, the same as before. Hence the fact that a portion of the value of the commodities consists of surplus value would change absolutely nothing in the quantity of the money required for the running of the business.

An opponent of Tooke, who clings to the formula M — C — M′, asks him how the capitalist manages always to withdraw more money from circulation than he throws into it. Mind you! The question at issue here is not the *formation* of surplus value. This, the only secret, is a matter of course from the capitalist standpoint. The sum of values employed would not be capital if it did not enrich itself by means of surplus value. But as it is capital by assumption, surplus value is taken for granted.

The question, then, is not where the surplus value comes from but whence the money comes into which it is turned.

But in bourgeois economics, the existence of surplus value is self-understood. It is therefore not only assumed but also connected with the further assumption that a part of the mass of commodities thrown into circulation is a surplus product, hence representing a value which the capitalist did not throw into circulation as part of his capital; that, consequently, with his product the capitalist throws into circulation a surplus over and above his capital, and that he withdraws this surplus from it.

The commodity capital, which the capitalist throws into circulation, has a greater value (it is not explained and remains obscure where this comes from, but from the standpoint of this capitalist *c'est un fait*[a]) than the productive capital which he withdrew from circulation in the form of labour power plus means of production. On the basis of this assumption it is evident why not only capitalist A, but also B, C, D, etc., are always able to withdraw more value from circulation by the exchange of their commodities than the value of the capital originally and repeatedly advanced by them. A, B, C, D, etc., continuously throw a greater commodity value into circulation in the form of commodity capital — this operation is as many-sided as the various independently functioning capitals — than they withdraw from it in the form of productive capital. Hence they have constantly to divide among themselves a sum of values (i. e., everyone, on his part, has to withdraw from circulation a productive capital) equal to the sum of values of the productive capitals they respectively advanced; and just as constantly they have to divide among themselves a sum of values which they all, from all sides, throw into circulation in the form of commodities representing the respective excesses of the commodity values above the values of their elements of production.

[a] it is a fact

But the commodity capital must be turned into money before its reconversion into productive capital and before the surplus value contained in it is spent. Where does the money for this purpose come from? This question seems difficult at the first glance, and neither Tooke nor any one else has answered it so far.

Let the circulating capital of £500 advanced in the form of money capital, whatever its period of turnover, now stand for the total circulating capital of society, that is, of the capitalist class. Let the surplus value be £100. How can the entire capitalist class manage to draw continually £600 out of circulation, when it continually throws only £500 into it?

After the money capital of £500 has been converted into productive capital, the latter transforms itself within the process of production into commodities worth £600 and there are in circulation not only commodities valued at £500, equal to the money capital originally advanced, but also a newly produced surplus value of £100.

This additional surplus value of £100 is thrown into circulation in the form of commodities. No doubt about that. But such an operation does not by any means furnish the additional money for the circulation of this additional commodity value.

It will not do to obviate this difficulty by plausible subterfuges.

For instance: So far as the constant circulating capital is concerned, it is obvious that not all invest it simultaneously. While capitalist A sells his commodities, so that his advanced capital assumes the form of money, there is on the other hand the available money capital of the buyer B which assumes the form of his means of production—precisely what A is producing. By the same act through which A restores the money form to his produced commodity capital, B returns his capital to its productive form, transforms it from money form into means of production and labour power; the same amount of money functions in the two-sided process as in every simple purchase C—M. On the other hand when A reconverts his money into means of production, he buys from C, and this man pays B with it, etc., and thus the transaction would be explained. But:

None of the laws established with reference to the quantity of the circulating money in the circulation of commodities (Buch I, Kap. III[a]), are changed in any way by the capitalist character of the process of production.

[a] See present edition, Vol. 35.

Hence, when one says that the circulating capital of society to be advanced in the form of money amounts to £500, one has already taken into account that this is on the one hand the sum simultaneously advanced, and that on the other hand it sets in motion more productive capital than £500 because it serves alternately as the money fund of various productive capitals. This manner of explanation, then, assumes the money, whose existence it is called upon to explain, as already existing.—

It might be further said: Capitalist A produces articles which capitalist B consumes individually, unproductively. B's money therefore turns A's commodity capital into money and thus the same sum of money serves to realise B's surplus value and A's circulating constant capital. But in that case the question that still awaits solution is assumed still more directly to have been solved, namely: where does B get the money that makes up his revenue? How did he himself realise this portion of the surplus value of his product?

It might also be said that the part of the circulating variable capital which A steadily advances to his labourers returns to him steadily from the circulation, and only a varying part of it always stays with him for the payment of wages. But a certain time elapses between the expenditure and the reflux, and meanwhile the money paid out for wages might, among other uses, serve for the realisation of surplus value.

But we know in the first place that the longer this time the greater must be the supply of money which capitalist A has to keep constantly *in petto*. In the second place the labourer spends the money, buys commodities for it and thus converts into money *pro tanto* the surplus value contained in them. Consequently the same money that is advanced in the form of variable capital serves *pro tanto* also the purpose of turning surplus value into money. Without penetrating any further into the question at this point, let this suffice: the consumption of the entire capitalist class and its retainers keeps step with that of the working class; hence simultaneously with the money thrown into circulation by the labourers the capitalists too must throw money into it, in order to spend their surplus value as revenue; hence money must be withdrawn from circulation for it. This explanation would serve merely to reduce, but not eliminate, the quantity of money required.

Finally, it might be said: A large amount of money is constantly thrown into circulation when fixed capital is first invested, and it is recovered from the circulation only gradually, piecemeal, after

a lapse of years, by him who threw it into circulation. Cannot this sum suffice to convert the surplus value into money?

The answer to this must be that perhaps the sum of £500 (which includes hoard formation for needed reserve funds) implies its employment as fixed capital, if not by him who threw it into circulation, then by somebody else. Besides, it is already assumed in regard to the amount expended for the procurement of products serving as fixed capital that the surplus value contained in them is also paid, and the question is precisely where this money comes from.

The general reply has already been given: If a mass of commodities worth x times £1,000 has to circulate, it changes absolutely nothing in the quantity of the money required for this circulation whether the value of this mass of commodities contains any surplus value or not, whether this mass of commodities has been produced capitalistically or not. *The problem itself therefore does not exist.* All other conditions being given, such as velocity of the currency of money, etc., a definite sum of money is required in order to circulate commodities worth x times £1,000 quite independently of how much or how little of this value falls to the share of the direct producers of these commodities. So far as any problem exists here, it coincides with the general problem: Where does the money required for the circulation of the commodities of a country come from?

However, from the point of view of capitalist production, the *semblance* of a special problem does indeed exist. In the present case it is the capitalist who appears as the point of departure, who throws money into circulation. The money which the labourer expends for the payment of his means of subsistence existed previously as the money form of the variable capital and was therefore thrown originally into circulation by the capitalist as a means of buying or paying for labour power. The capitalist furthermore throws into circulation the money which constitutes originally the money form of his constant, fixed and circulating, capital; he expends it as a means of purchase or payment for instruments of labour and materials of production. But beyond this the capitalist no longer appears as the starting-point of the quantity of money in circulation. Now, there are only two points of departure: the capitalist and the labourer. All third categories of persons must either receive money for their services from these two classes or, to the extent that they receive it without any services in return, they are joint owners of the surplus value in the form of rent, interest, etc. That the surplus value does not all stay in the

pocket of the industrial capitalist but must be shared by him with other persons, has nothing to do with the present question. The question is how he turns his surplus value into money, not how the proceeds are later divided. For our purposes the capitalist may as well still be regarded as the sole owner of the surplus value. As for the labourer, it has already been said that he is but the secondary, while the capitalist is the primary, starting-point of the money thrown by the labourer into circulation. The money first advanced as variable capital is going through its second circulation when the labourer spends it to pay for means of subsistence.

The capitalist class remains consequently the sole point of departure of the circulation of money. If it needs £400 for the payment of means of production and £100 for the payment of labour power, it throws £500 into circulation. But the surplus value incorporated in the product, with a rate of surplus value of 100%, is equal in value to £100. How can the capitalist class continually draw £600 out of circulation, when it continually throws only £500 into it? Nothing comes from nothing. The capitalist class as a whole cannot draw out of circulation what was not previously thrown into it.

We disregard here the fact that the sum of £400 may suffice, when turned over ten times, to circulate means of production valued at £4,000 and labour power valued at £1,000, and that the other £100 may likewise suffice for the circulation of £1,000 worth of surplus value. The ratio of the sum of money to the value of the commodities circulated by it is immaterial here. The problem remains the same. Unless the same pieces of money circulate several times, a capital of £5,000 must be thrown into circulation, and £1,000 is required to convert the surplus value into money. The question is where this money comes from, whether it is £1,000 or £100. In any event it is in excess of the money capital thrown into circulation.

Indeed, paradoxical as it may appear at first sight, it is the capitalist class itself that throws the money into circulation which serves for the realisation of the surplus value incorporated in the commodities. But, *nota bene*, it does not throw it into circulation as advanced money, hence not as capital. It spends it as a means of purchase for its individual consumption. The money is not therefore advanced by the capitalist class, although it is the point of departure of its circulation.

Let us take some individual capitalist who is starting in business, a farmer for instance. During the first year, he advances a money capital of, say, £5,000, paying £4,000 for means of production, and

£1,000 for labour power. Let the rate of surplus value be 100%, the amount of surplus value appropriated by him £1,000. The above £5,000 comprise all the money he advances as money capital. But the man must also live, and he does not take in any money until the end of the year. Take it that his consumption amounts to £1,000. These he must have in his possession. He may say that he has to advance himself these £1,000 during the first year. But this advance, which here has only a subjective meaning, denotes nothing else but that he must pay for his individual consumption during the first year out of his own pocket instead of defraying it out of the gratuitous production of his labourers. He does not advance this money as capital. He spends it, pays it out for an equivalent in means of subsistence which he consumes. This value has been spent by him in money, thrown into circulation and withdrawn from it in the form of commodity values. These commodity values he has consumed. He has thus ceased to bear any relation to their value. The money with which he paid for this value exists now as an element of the circulating money. But he has withdrawn the value of this money from circulation in the form of products, and this value is now destroyed together with the products in which it existed. It's all gone. But at the end of the year he throws commodities worth £6,000 into circulation and sells them. By this means he recovers: 1) his advanced money capital of £5,000; 2) the surplus value of £1,000 turned into money. He has advanced as capital, has thrown into circulation, £5,000, and he withdraws from it £6,000—£5,000 of which cover his capital, and £1,000 his surplus value. The last £1,000 are turned into money with the money which he himself has thrown into circulation, which he did not advance, but spent as a consumer, not as a capitalist. They now return to him as the money form of the surplus value produced by him. And henceforth this operation is repeated every year. But beginning with the second year, the £1,000 which he spends are constantly the converted form, the money form, of the surplus value produced by him. He spends them annually and they return to him annually.

If his capital were turned over more frequently a year, it would not alter this state of affairs, but would affect the length of time, and hence the amount which he would have to throw into circulation for his individual consumption over and above his advanced money capital.

This money is not thrown into circulation by the capitalist as capi-

tal. But it is a decided trait of the capitalist to be able to live on means in his possession until surplus value begins to return.

In the present case we assumed that the sum of money which the capitalist throws into circulation to pay for his individual consumption until the first return of his capital is exactly equal to the surplus value which he produced and hence must turn into money. This is obviously an arbitrary assumption so far as the individual capitalist is concerned. But it must be correct when applied to the entire capitalist class if simple reproduction is assumed. It only expresses the same thing as the assumption, namely that the entire surplus value, and it alone — hence no fraction of the original capital stock — is consumed unproductively.

It had been previously assumed that the total production of precious metals (taken to be equal to £500) sufficed only for the replacement of the wear and tear of the money.

The capitalists producing gold possess their entire product in gold — that portion which replaces constant capital as well as that which replaces variable capital, and also that consisting of surplus value. A portion of the social surplus value therefore consists of gold, and not of a product which is turned into gold only in the process of circulation. It consists from the outset of gold and is thrown into circulation in order to draw products out of it. The same applies here to wages, to variable capital, and to the replacement of the advanced constant capital. Hence, whereas one part of the capitalist class throws into circulation commodities greater in value (greater by the amount of the surplus value) than the money capital advanced by them, another part of the capitalists throws into circulation money of greater value (greater by the amount of the surplus value) than that of the commodities which they constantly withdraw from circulation for the production of gold. Whereas one part of the capitalists constantly pumps more money out of circulation than it pours into it, the part that produces gold constantly pumps more money into it than it takes out in means of production.

Although a part of this product of £500 in gold is surplus value of the gold producers, the entire sum is, nonetheless, intended only to replace the money necessary for the circulation of the commodities. It is immaterial for this purpose how much of this sum turns into money the surplus value incorporated in the commodities, and how much of it their other value constituents.

Transferring the production of gold from one country to another

produces no change whatever in the matter. One part of the social labour power and the social means of production of country A is converted into a product, for instance linen, valued at £500, which is exported to country B in order to buy gold there. The productive capital thus employed in the country A throws no more commodities — as distinct from money — upon the market of country A than it would if it were employed directly in the production of gold. This product of A represents £500 in gold and enters into the circulation of this country only as money. That portion of the social surplus value which is contained in this product exists for country A directly in the form of money, and never in any other form. Although for the gold-producing capitalists only a part of the product represents surplus value, and another part the replacement capital, still the question of how much of this gold, outside the circulating constant capital, replaces variable capital and how much of it represents surplus value depends exclusively on the respective ratios of wages and surplus value to the value of the circulating commodities. The part which forms surplus value is distributed among the diverse members of the capitalist class. Although that part is continually spent by them for individual consumption and recovered by the sale of new products — it is precisely this purchase and sale that circulates among them the money required for the conversion of the surplus value into money — there is nevertheless a portion of the social surplus value in the form of money, even if in varying proportions, in the pockets of the capitalists, just as a portion of the wages stays at least during part of the week in the pockets of the labourers in the form of money. And this part is not limited by that part of the money product which originally forms the surplus value of the gold-producing capitalists, but, as we have said, is limited by the proportion in which the above product of £500 is generally distributed between capitalists and labourers, and in which the commodity supply to be circulated consists of surplus value and the other constituents of value.

However, that portion of surplus value which does not exist in other commodities but alongside of them in the form of money, consists of a portion of the annually produced gold only to the extent that a portion of the annual production of gold circulates for the realisation of the surplus value. The other portion of money, which is continually in the hands of the capitalist class in varying portions, as the money form of their surplus value, is not an element of the annually pro-

duced gold, but of the mass of money previously accumulated in the country.

According to our assumption the annual production of gold, £500, just covers the annual wear of money. If we keep in mind only these £500, and ignore that portion of the annually produced mass of commodities which is circulated by means of previously accumulated money, the surplus value produced in commodity form will find in the circulation process money for its conversion into money for the simple reason that on the other side surplus value is annually produced in the form of gold. The same applies to the other parts of the gold product of £500 which replace the advanced money capital.

Now, two things are to be noted here.

In the first place, it follows that the surplus value spent by the capitalists as money, as well as the variable and other productive capital advanced by them in money, is actually the product of labourers, namely of the labourers engaged in the production of gold. They produce anew not only that portion of the gold product which is "advanced" to them as wages but also that portion of the gold product in which the surplus value of the capitalist gold producers is directly represented. Finally, as for that portion of the gold product which replaces only the constant capital value advanced for its production, it re-appears in the form of money (or product in general) only through the annual work of the labourers. When the business started, it was originally expended by the capitalist in the form of money, which was not newly produced but formed a part of the circulating mass of social money. But to the extent that it is replaced by a new product, by additional gold, it is the annual product of the labourer. The advance on the part of the capitalist appears here, too, merely as a form which owes its existence to the fact that the labourer is neither the owner of his own means of production nor able to command, during production, the means of subsistence produced by other labourers.

In the second place, however, as far as concerns that mass of money which exists independently of this annual replacement of £500, partly in the form of a hoard and partly in the form of circulating money, things must be, i. e., must have been originally, with it just as they are annually with regard to these £500. We shall return to this point at the close of this sub-section.[a] But before then we wish to make a few additional remarks.

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[a] See this volume, p. 342.

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We have seen during our study of the turnover that, other circumstances remaining equal, changes in the length of the periods of turnover require changes in the amounts of money capital, in order to carry on production on the same scale. The elasticity of the money circulation must therefore be sufficient to adapt itself to this alternation of expansion and contraction.

If we furthermore assume other circumstances as remaining equal—including the length, intensity, and productivity of the working day—but *a different division of the value of the product* between wages and surplus value, so that either the former rises and the latter falls, or vice versa, the mass of the circulating money is not affected thereby. This change can take place without any expansion or contraction of the mass of money in circulation. Let us consider particularly the case in which there is a general rise in wages, so that, under the assumptions made, there will be a general fall in the rate of surplus value, but besides this, also according to our assumption, there will be no change in the value of the circulating mass of commodities. In this case there naturally is an increase in the money capital which must be advanced as variable capital, hence in the amount of money which performs this function. But the surplus value, and therefore also the amount of money required for its realisation, decreases by exactly the same amount by which the amount of money required for the function of variable capital increases. The amount of money required for the realisation of the commodity value is not affected thereby, any more than this commodity value itself. The cost price of the commodity rises for the individual capitalist but its social price of production remains unchanged. What is changed is the proportion in which, apart from the constant part of the value, the price of the production of commodities is divided into wages and profit.

But, it is argued, a greater outlay of variable money capital (the value of the money is, of course, considered constant) implies a larger amount of money in the hands of the labourers. This causes a greater demand for commodities on the part of the labourers. This, in turn, leads to a rise in the price of commodities.—Or it is said: If wages rise, the capitalists raise the prices of their commodities.—In either case, the general rise in wages causes a rise in commodity prices.

Hence a greater amount of money is needed for the circulation of the commodities, no matter how the rise in prices is explained.

Reply to the first formulation: in consequence of a rise in wages, the demand of the labourers for the necessities of life will rise particularly. Their demand for articles of luxury will increase to a lesser degree, or a demand will develop for things which formerly did not come within the scope of their consumption. The sudden and large-scale increase in the demand for the necessary means of subsistence will doubtless raise their prices immediately. The consequence: a greater part of the social capital will be employed in the production of necessities of life and a smaller in the production of luxuries, since these fall in price on account of the decrease in surplus value and the consequent decrease in the demand of the capitalists for these articles. On the other hand as the labourers themselves buy articles of luxury, the rise in their wages—within these limits—does not promote an increase in the prices of the necessities of life but simply displaces buyers of luxuries. More luxuries than before are consumed by labourers, and relatively fewer by capitalists. *Voilà tout.*[a] After some oscillations the value of the mass of circulating commodities is the same as before.—As for the momentary fluctuations, they will not have any other effect than to throw unemployed money capital into domestic circulation, capital which hitherto sought employment in speculative deals on the stock-exchange or in foreign countries.

Reply to the second formulation: If it were in the power of the capitalist producers to raise the prices of their commodities at will, they could and would do so without a rise in wages. Wages would never rise if commodity prices fell. The capitalist class would never resist the Trade-Unions, if it could always and under all circumstances do what it is now doing by way of exception, under definite, special, so to say, local, circumstances, to wit, avail itself of every rise in wages in order to raise prices of commodities much higher yet and thus pocket greater profits.

The assertion that the capitalists can raise the prices of luxuries, because the demand for them decreases (in consequence of the reduced demand of the capitalists whose means for purchasing such articles have decreased) would be a very unique application of the law of supply and demand. Since it is not a mere displacement of luxury buyers, a displacement of capitalists by labourers—and so far as this dis-

[a] That's all.

placement does occur, the demand of the labourers does not stimulate a rise in the prices of the necessities of life, for the labourers cannot spend that portion of their increased wages for necessities which they spend for luxuries — the prices of luxuries fall in consequence of reduced demand. Capital is therefore withdrawn from the production of luxury articles, until their supply is reduced to dimensions corresponding to their altered role in the process of social production. With their production thus reduced, they rise in price — their value otherwise unchanged — to their normal level. So long as this contraction, or this process of levelling, lasts and the prices of necessities rise, as much capital is supplied to the production of the latter as is withdrawn from the other branch of production, until the demand is satisfied. Then the equilibrium is restored and the end of the whole process is that the social capital, and therefore also the money capital, is divided in a different proportion between the production of the necessities of life and that of luxury articles.

The entire objection is a bugbear set up by the capitalists and their economic sycophants.

The facts which serve as the pretext for this bugbear are of three kinds:

1) It is a general law of money circulation that, other things being equal, the quantity of money in circulation increases with a rise in the sum of the prices of circulating commodities, irrespective of whether this augmentation of the totality of prices applies to the same quantity of commodities or to a greater quantity. The effect is then confused with the cause. Wages rise (although the rise is rare, and proportional only in exceptional cases) with the rising prices of the necessities of life. Wage advances are the consequence, not the cause, of advances in the prices of commodities.

2) In the case of a partial, or local, rise of wages — that is, a rise only in some branches of production — a local rise in the prices of the products of these branches may follow. But even this depends on many circumstances. For instance that wages were not abnormally depressed and that therefore the rate of profit was not abnormally high; that the market for these goods is not narrowed by the rise in prices (hence a contraction of their supply previous to raising their prices is not necessary), etc.

3) In the case of a general rise in wages the price of the produced commodities rises in branches of industry where the variable capital

preponderates, but falls on the other hand in branches where the constant, or fixed, capital preponderates.

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We found in our study of the simple circulation of commodities (Buch I, Kap. III, 2[a]) that, though the money form of any definite quantity of commodities is only transient within the process of circulation, still the money transiently in the hands of one man during the metamorphosis of a certain commodity necessarily passes into the hands of another, so that in the first instance commodities are not only exchanged all-sidedly, or replace one another, but this replacement is promoted and accompanied by an all-sided precipitation of money. "When one commodity replaces another, the money commodity always sticks to the hands of some third person. Circulation sweats money from every pore" (Buch I, S. 92[a]). The same identical fact is expressed, on the basis of the capitalist production of commodities, by a portion of capital constantly existing in the form of money capital, and a portion of surplus value constantly being found in the hands of its owners, likewise in the form of money.

Apart from this, the *circuit of money* — that is, the *return* of money to its point of departure — being a phase of the turnover of capital, is a phenomenon entirely different from, and even the opposite of, the *currency of money*,[33] which expresses its steady *departure* from the starting-point by changing hands again and again (Buch I, S. 94.[b])

[33] Although the Physiocrats still confuse these two phenomena, they were the first to emphasise the reflux of money to its starting-point as the essential form of circulation of capital, as that form of circulation which promotes reproduction. "Cast a glance at the *Tableau Économique* and you will see that the productive class provides the money with which the other classes buy products from it, and that they return this money to it when they come back next year to make the same purchases... You see, then, no other circle here but that of expenditure followed by reproduction, and of reproduction followed by expenditure, a circle described by the circulation of money, which measures expenditure and reproduction" (Quesnay, *Dialogues sur le Commerce et sur les Travaux des Artisans*, Daire édition, *Physiocrates*, I, pp. 208, 209). "It is this continual advance and return of capitals which should be called the circulation of money, this useful and fertile circulation which gives life to all the labours of society, which maintains the activity and life of the body politic, and which is quite rightly compared to the circulation of blood in the animal body" (Turgot, *Réflexions, etc., Oeuvres*, Daire édition, I, p. 45). [Marx quotes in French.]

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[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. III., 2a (present edition, Vol. 35). - [b] Ibid., 2b.

Nevertheless, an accelerated turnover implies *eo ipso* an accelerated currency.

First concerning the variable capital: If a certain money capital of, say, £500 is turned over in the form of variable capital ten times a year, it is evident that this aliquot part of the quantity of money in circulation circulates ten times its value, or £5,000. It circulates ten times a year between the capitalist and the labourer. The labourer is paid, and pays, ten times a year with the same aliquot part of the circulating quantity of money. If the same variable capital were turned over only once a year, the scale of production remaining the same, there would be only one turnover of £5,000.

Furthermore: Let the constant portion of the circulating capital be equal to £1,000. If the capital is turned over ten times, the capitalist sells his commodity, and therefore also the constant circulating portion of its value, ten times a year. The same aliquot part of the circulating quantity of money (equal to £1,000) passes ten times per annum from the hands of its owners into those of the capitalist. This money changes hands ten times. Secondly, the capitalist buys means of production ten times a year. This again makes ten circulations of the money from one hand into another. With a sum of money amounting to £1,000, the industrial capitalist sells £10,000 worth of commodities, and again buys £10,000 worth of commodities. By means of 20 circulations of £1,000 in money a commodity supply of £20,000 is circulated.

Finally, with an acceleration of the turnover, the portion of money which realises the surplus value also circulates faster.

But, conversely, an acceleration in money circulation does not necessarily imply a more rapid turnover of capital, and therefore of money, i. e., it does not necessarily imply a contraction and more rapid renewal of the reproduction process.

A more rapid circulation of money takes place whenever a larger number of transactions are performed with the same amount of money. This may also take place under the same periods of capital reproduction as a result of changes in the technical facilities for the circulation of money. Furthermore, there may be an increase in the number of transactions in which money circulates without representing actual exchanges of commodities (marginal transactions on the stock-exchange, etc.). On the other hand some circulations of money may be entirely eliminated. For instance where the agriculturist is himself a landowner, there is no circulation of money between the

farmer and the landlord; where the industrial capitalist is himself the owner of the capital, there is no circulation of money between him and creditors.

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As for the primitive formation of a money hoard in a country, and its appropriation by a few, it is unnecessary to discuss it in detail at this point.

The capitalist mode of production—its basis being wage labour, the payment of the labourer in money, and in general the transformation of payments in kind into money payments—can assume greater dimensions and achieve greater perfection only where there is available in the country a quantity of money sufficient for circulation and the formation of a hoard (reserve fund, etc.) promoted by it. This is the historical premise, although it is not to be taken to mean that first a sufficient hoard is formed and then capitalist production begins. It develops simultaneously with the development of the conditions necessary for it, and one of these conditions is a sufficient supply of precious metals. Hence the increased supply of precious metals since the sixteenth century is an essential element in the history of the development of capitalist production. But so far as the necessary further supply of money material on the basis of capitalist production is concerned, we see surplus value incorporated in products thrown into circulation without the money required for their conversion into money, on the one hand, and on the other surplus value in the form of gold without previous transformation of products into money.

The additional commodities to be converted into money find the necessary amount of money at hand, because on the other side additional gold (and silver) intended for conversion into commodities is thrown into circulation, not by means of exchange, but by production itself.

## II. ACCUMULATION AND REPRODUCTION ON AN EXTENDED SCALE

Since accumulation takes place in the form of reproduction on an extended scale, it is evident that it does not offer any new problem with regard to money circulation.

In the first place, as far as the additional money capital required for the functioning of the increasing productive capital is concerned, that is supplied by the portion of the realised surplus value thrown

into circulation by the capitalists as money capital, not as the money form of the revenue. The money is already in the hands of the capitalists. Only its employment is different.

Now, however, in consequence of the additional productive capital, its product, an additional mass of commodities is thrown into circulation. Together with this additional quantity of commodities, a part of the additional money needed for its realisation is thrown into circulation, inasmuch as the value of this mass of commodities is equal to that of the productive capital consumed in their production. This additional amount of money has been advanced precisely as additional money capital, and therefore returns to the capitalist through the turnover of his capital. Here the same question as above re-appears. Where does the additional money come from with which to realise the additional surplus value now contained in the form of commodities?

The general reply is again the same. The sum total of the prices of the circulating commodities has been increased, not because the prices of a given quantity of commodities have risen, but because the mass of the commodities now circulating is greater than that of the previously circulating commodities, without it being offset by a fall in prices. The additional money required for the circulation of this greater quantity of commodities of greater value must be secured either by greater economy in the use of the circulating quantity of money—whether by balancing the payments, etc., by measures which accelerate the circulation of the same coins—or by the transformation of money from the form of a hoard into that of a circulating medium. The latter does not only imply that idle money capital begins to function as a means of purchase or payment, or that money capital, already functioning as a reserve fund while performing this function for its owner, actively circulates for society (as is the case with bank deposits which are continually lent), thus performing a double function. It also implies that the stagnating reserve funds of coins are economised.

"So that money as coin may flow continuously, coin must continuously congeal into money. The continual movement of coin implies its perpetual stagnation in larger or smaller amounts in reserve funds of coin which arise everywhere within the framework of circulation and which are at the same time a condition of circulation. The formation, distribution, dissolution and re-formation of these funds constantly changes; existing funds disappear continuously and their dis-

apperance is a continuous fact. This unceasing transformation of coin into money and of money into coin was expressed by Adam Smith when he said that, in addition to the particular commodity he sells, every commodity owner must always keep in stock a certain amount of the general commodity with which he buys. We have seen that M—C, the second member of the circuit C—M—C, splits up into a series of purchases, which are not effected all at once but successively over a period of time, so that one part of M circulates as coin, while the other part remains at rest as money. In this case, money is in fact only suspended coin and the various component parts of the coinage in circulation appear, constantly changing, now in one form, now in another. The first transformation of the medium of circulation into money constitutes therefore merely a technical aspect of the circulation of money" (Karl Marx, *Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie*, 1859, S. 105, 106.[a]—"Coin" as distinguished from money is here employed to indicate money in its function of a mere medium of circulation in contrast with its other functions.)

To the extent that all these measures do not suffice, additional gold must be produced, or, what amounts to the same, a part of the additional product exchanged, directly or indirectly, for gold—the product of countries in which precious metals are mined.

The entire amount of labour power and social means of production expended in the annual production of gold and silver intended as instruments of circulation constitutes a bulky item of the *faux frais*[b] of the capitalist mode of production, of the production of commodities in general. It is an equivalent abstraction from social utilisation of as many additional means of production and consumption as possible, i. e., of real wealth. To the extent that the costs of this expensive machinery of circulation are decreased, the given scale of production or the given degree of its extension remaining constant, the productive power of social labour is *eo ipso* increased. Hence, so far as the expediences developing with the credit system have this effect, they increase capitalist wealth directly, either by performing a large portion of the social production and labour process without any intervention of real money, or by raising the functional capacity of the quantity of money really functioning.

This disposes also of the absurd question whether capitalist production in its present volume would be possible without the credit system

[a] See present edition, Vol. 29. p. 360. - [b] overhead costs

(even if regarded only from this point of view), that is, with the circulation of metallic coin alone. Evidently this is not the case. It would rather have encountered barriers in the volume of production of precious metals. On the other hand one must not entertain any fantastic illusions on the productive power of the credit system, so far as it supplies or sets in motion money capital. A further analysis of this question is out of place here.

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We have now to investigate the case in which there takes place no real accumulation, i. e., no direct expansion of the scale of production, but where a part of the realised surplus value is accumulated for a longer or shorter time as a money reserve fund, in order to be transformed later into productive capital.

Inasmuch as the money so accumulating is additional money, the matter needs no explanation. It can only be a portion of the excessive gold brought from gold-producing countries. In this connection it must be noted that the home product, in exchange for which this gold is imported, is no longer available in the country in question. It has been exported to foreign countries in exchange for gold.

But if we assume that the same amount of money is still in the country as before, then the accumulated and accumulating money has accrued from the circulation. Only its function is changed. It has been converted from money in currency into latent money capital gradually taking shape.

The money which is accumulated in this case is the money form of sold commodities, and moreover of that part of their value which constitutes surplus value for their owner. (The credit system is here assumed to be non-existent.) The capitalist who accumulates this money has sold *pro tanto* without buying.

If we look upon this process merely as an individual phenomenon, there is nothing to explain. A part of the capitalists keeps a portion of the money realised by the sale of its product without withdrawing products from the market in return. Another part of them on the other hand transforms its money wholly into products, with the exception of the constantly recurring money capital required for running the business. One portion of the products thrown upon the market as vehicles of surplus value consists of means of production, or of the real elements of variable capital, the necessary means of subsistence. It can therefore serve immediately for the expansion of produc-

tion. For it has not been premised in the least that one part of the capitalists accumulates money capital, while the other consumes its surplus value entirely, but only that one part does its accumulating in the shape of money, forms latent money capital, while the other part accumulates genuinely, that is to say, enlarges the scale of production, genuinely expands its productive capital. The available quantity of money remains sufficient for the requirements of circulation, even if, alternately, one part of the capitalists accumulates money, while the other enlarges the scale of production, and vice versa. Moreover, the accumulation of money on one side may proceed even without cash money by the mere accumulation of outstanding claims.

But the difficulty arises when we assume not an individual, but a general accumulation of money capital on the part of the capitalist class. Apart from this class, according to our assumption — the general and exclusive domination of capitalist production — there is no other class at all except the working class. All that the working class buys is equal to the sum total of its wages, equal to the sum total of the variable capital advanced by the entire capitalist class. This money flows back to the capitalist class by the sale of its product to the working class. Its variable capital thus resumes its money form. Let the sum total of the variable capital be x times £100, i. e., the sum total of the variable capital employed, not advanced, during the year. The question now under consideration is not affected by how much or how little money, depending on the velocity of the turnover, is needed to advance this variable capital value during the year. The capitalist class buys with these x times £100 of capital a certain amount of labour power, or pays wages to a certain number of labourers — first transaction. The labourers buy with this same sum a certain quantity of commodities from the capitalists, whereby the sum of x times £100 flows back into the hands of the capitalists — second transaction. And this is constantly repeated. This amount of x times £100, therefore, can never enable the working class to buy the part of the product which represents the constant capital, not to mention the part which represents the surplus value of the capitalist class. With these x times £100 the labourers can never buy more than a part of the value of the social product equal to that part of the value which represents the value of the advanced variable capital.

Apart from the case in which this universal accumulation of money expresses nothing but the distribution of the precious metal additionally introduced, in whatever proportion, among the various indi-

vidual capitalists, how is the entire capitalist class then supposed to accumulate money?

They would all have to sell a portion of their product without buying anything in return. There is nothing mysterious about the fact that they all have a certain fund of money which they throw into circulation as a medium of circulation for their consumption, and a certain portion of which returns to each one of them from the circulation. But in that case this money fund exists precisely as a fund for circulation, as a result of the conversion of the surplus value into money, and does not by any means exist as latent money capital.

If we view the matter as it takes place in reality, we find that the latent money capital, which is accumulated for future use, consists:

1) Of deposits in banks; and it is a comparatively trifling sum which is really at the disposal of the bank. Money capital is accumulated here only nominally. What is actually accumulated is outstanding claims which can be converted into money (if ever) only because a certain balance arises between the money withdrawn and the money deposited. It is only a relatively small sum that the bank holds in its hands in money.

2) Of government securities. These are not capital at all, but merely outstanding claims on the annual product of the nation.

3) Of stocks. Those which are not fakes are titles of ownership of some corporative real capital and drafts on the surplus value accruing annually from it.

There is no accumulation of money in any of these cases. What appears on the one side as an accumulation of money capital appears on the other as a continual actual expenditure of money. It is immaterial whether the money is spent by him who owns it, or by others, his debtors.

On the basis of capitalist production the formation of a hoard as such is never an end in itself but the result either of a stagnation of the circulation — larger amounts of money than is generally the case assuming the form of a hoard — or of accumulations necessitated by the turnover; or, finally, the hoard is merely the creation of money capital existing temporarily in latent form and intended to function as productive capital.

If therefore on the one hand a portion of the surplus value realised in money is withdrawn from circulation and accumulated as a hoard, another part of the surplus value is at the same time continually converted into productive capital. With the exception of the distribution

of additional precious metals among the members of the capitalist class, accumulation in the form of money never takes place simultaneously at all points.

What is true of the portion of the annual product which represents surplus value in the form of commodities, is also true of the other portion of it. A certain sum of money is required for its circulation. This sum of money belongs to the capitalist class quite as much as the annually produced quantity of commodities which represents surplus value. It is originally thrown into circulation by the capitalist class itself. It is constantly redistributed among its members by means of the circulation itself. Just as in the case of the circulation of coin in general, a portion of this sum stagnates at ever varying points, while another portion continually circulates. Whether a part of this accumulation is intentional, for the purpose of forming money capital, or not, does not alter things.

No notice has been taken here of those adventures of circulation in which one capitalist grasps a portion of the surplus value, or even of the capital, of another, thereby bringing about one-sided accumulation and centralisation of money capital as well as of productive capital. For instance a part of the snatched surplus value accumulated by A as money capital may be a part of the surplus value of B which does not return to him.

# Part III

## THE REPRODUCTION AND CIRCULATION OF THE AGGREGATE SOCIAL CAPITAL

## Chapter XVIII [34]

### INTRODUCTION

#### I. THE SUBJECT INVESTIGATED

The direct process of the production of capital is its labour and self-expansion process, the process whose result is the commodity product and whose compelling motive is the production of surplus value.

The process of reproduction of capital comprises this direct process of production as well as the two phases of the circulation process proper, i. e., the entire circuit which, as a periodic process — a process which constantly repeats itself in definite periods — constitutes the turnover of capital.

Whether we study the circuit in the form of M ... M′ or that of P ... P, the direct process of production P itself always forms but one link in this circuit. In the one form it appears as a promoter of the process of circulation; in the other the process of circulation appears as its promoter. Its continuous renewal, the continuous re-appearance of capital as productive capital, is in either case determined by its transformations in the process of circulation. On the other hand the continuously renewed process of production is the condition of the transformations which the capital undergoes ever anew in the sphere of circulation, of its alternate appearance as money capital and commodity capital.

Every individual capital forms, however, but an individualised fraction, a fraction endowed with individual life, as it were, of the aggregate social capital, just as every individual capitalist is but an individual element of the capitalist class. The movement of the social capital consists of the totality of the movements of its individualised fractional parts, the turnovers of the individual capitals. Just as the

[34] From Manuscript II.

metamorphosis of the individual commodity is a link in the series of metamorphoses of the commodity world — the circulation of commodities — so the metamorphosis of the individual capital, its turnover, is a link in the circuit described by social capital.

This total process comprises both the productive consumption (the direct process of production) together with the conversions of form (materially considered, exchanges) which bring it about, and the individual consumption together with the conversions of form or exchanges by which it is brought about. It includes on the one hand the conversion of variable capital into labour power, and therefore the incorporation of labour power in the process of capitalist production. Here the labourer acts as the seller of his commodity, labour power, and the capitalist as its buyer. But on the other hand the sale of the commodities embraces also their purchase by the working class, hence their individual consumption. Here the working class appears as buyer and the capitalists as sellers of commodities to the labourers.

The circulation of the commodity capital includes the circulation of surplus value, hence also the purchases and sales by which the capitalists effect their individual consumption, the consumption of surplus value.

The circuit of the individual capitals in their aggregate as social capital, hence considered in its totality, comprises not only the circulation of capital but also the general circulation of commodities. The latter can originally consist of only two components: 1) the circuit of capital proper and 2) the circuit of the commodities which enter into individual consumption, consequently of the commodities for which the labourer expends his wages and the capitalist his surplus value (or a part of it). At any rate, the circuit of capital comprises also the circulation of the surplus value, since the latter is a part of the commodity capital, and likewise the conversion of the variable capital into labour power, the payment of wages. But the expenditure of this surplus value and wages for commodities does not form a link in the circulation of capital, although at least the expenditure of wages is essential for this circulation.

In Book I the process of capitalist production was analysed as an individual act as well as a process of reproduction: the production of surplus value and the production of capital itself. The changes of form and substance experienced by capital in the sphere of circulation were assumed without dwelling upon them. It was presupposed therefore that on the one hand the capitalist sells the product at its

value and on the other that he finds within the sphere of circulation the objective means of production for restarting or continuing the process. The only act within the sphere of circulation on which we dwelt there was the purchase and sale of labour power as the fundamental condition of capitalist production.

In the first part of this Book II, the various forms were considered which capital assumes in its circuit, and the various forms of this circuit itself. The circulation time must now be added to the working time discussed in Book I.

In the second part, the circuit was studied as being periodic, i. e., as a turnover. It was shown on the one hand in what manner the various constituents of capital (fixed and circulating) accomplish the circuit of forms in different periods of time and in different ways; on the other hand the circumstances were examined by which the different lengths of the working period and circulation period are conditioned. The influence was shown which the period of the circuit and the different proportions of its component parts exert upon the dimensions of the production process itself and upon the annual rate of surplus value. Indeed, while it was the successive forms continually assumed and discarded by capital in its circuit that were studied in Part I, it was shown in Part II how a capital of a given magnitude is simultaneously, though in varying proportions, divided, within this flow and succession of forms, into different forms: productive capital, money capital, and commodity capital, so that they not only alternate with one another, but different portions of the total capital value are constantly side by side and function in these different states. Especially money capital came forward with distinctive features not shown in Book I. Certain laws were found according to which diverse large components of a given capital must be continually advanced and renewed — depending on the conditions of the turnover — in the form of money capital in order to keep a productive capital of a given size constantly functioning.

But in both the first and the second parts it was always only a question of some individual capital, of the movement of some individualised part of social capital.

However the circuits of the individual capitals intertwine, presuppose and necessitate one another, and form, precisely in this interlacing, the movement of the total social capital. Just as in the simple circulation of commodities the total metamorphosis of a commodity appeared as a link in the series of metamorphoses of the world of com-

modities, so now the metamorphosis of the individual capital appears as a link in the series of metamorphoses of the social capital. But while simple commodity circulation by no means necessarily comprises the circulation of the capital—since it may take place on the basis of non-capitalist production—the circuit of the total social capital, as was noted, comprises also the commodity circulation lying outside the circuit of the individual capital, i. e., the circulation of commodities which do not represent capital.

We have now to study the process of circulation (which in its entirety is a form of the process of reproduction) of the individual capitals as components of the total social capital, that is to say, the process of circulation of this total social capital.

## II. THE ROLE OF MONEY CAPITAL

//Although the following belongs in a later section of this part, we shall analyse it immediately, namely, the money capital considered as a constituent part of the aggregate social capital.//

In the study of the turnover of the individual capital money capital revealed two aspects.

In the first place, it constitutes the form in which every individual capital appears upon the scene and opens its process as capital. It therefore appears as the *primus motor*, lending impetus to the entire process.

In the second place, that portion of the advanced capital value which must be continually advanced and renewed in the form of money differs in its ratio to the productive capital which it sets in motion, i. e., in its ratio to the continuous scale of production, depending on the particular length of the period of turnover and the particular ratio between its two component parts—the working period and the period of circulation. But whatever this ratio may be, the portion of the capital value in process which can continually function as productive capital is limited in any event by that portion of the advanced capital value which must always exist beside the productive capital in the form of money. It is here merely a question of the normal turnover, an abstract average. Additional money capital required to compensate for interruptions of the circulation is excepted.

*On the first point.* Commodity production presupposes commodity circulation, and commodity circulation presupposes the expression of commodities in money, the circulation of money; the splitting of a commodity into commodity and money is a law of the expression of

the product as a commodity.[a] Similarly the capitalist production of commodities — whether considered socially or individually — presupposes capital in the form of money, or money capital, both as the *primus motor* of every incipient business, and as its continual motor. The circulating capital especially implies that the money capital acts with constant repetition at short intervals as a motor. The entire advanced capital value, that is to say, all the elements of capital, consisting of commodities, labour power, instruments of labour, and materials of production, must be bought over and over again with money. What is true here of the individual capital is also true of the social capital, which functions only in the form of many individual capitals. But as we showed in Book I, it does not at all follow from this that capital's field of operation, the scale of production, depends — even on a capitalist basis — for its *absolute* limits on the amount of functioning money capital.

Incorporated in capital are elements of production whose expansion within certain limits is independent of the magnitude of the advanced money capital. Though payment of labour power be the same, it can be exploited more or less extensively or intensively. If the money capital is increased with this greater exploitation (that is, if wages are raised), it is not increased proportionately, hence not at all *pro tanto*.

The productively exploited natural materials — the soil, the seas, ores, forests, etc.— which do not constitute elements of capital value, are more intensively or extensively exploited with a greater exertion of the same amount of labour power, without an increased advance of money capital. The real elements of productive capital are thus multiplied without requiring an additional money capital. But so far as such an addition becomes necessary for additional auxiliary materials, the money capital in which the capital value is advanced is not increased proportionately to the augmented effectiveness of the productive capital, hence is *pro tanto* not at all increased.

The same instruments of labour, and thus the same fixed capital, can be used more effectively by an extension of the time they are daily[b] used and by a greater intensity of their employment, without an additional outlay of money for fixed capital. There is, in that case, only a more rapid turnover of the fixed capital, but then the elements of its reproduction are supplied more rapidly.

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[a] See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. II-III (present edition, Vol. 35). - [b] More precisely: annually.

Apart from the natural materials, it is possible to incorporate in the production process natural forces, which do not cost anything, to act as agents with more or less heightened effect. The degree of their effectiveness depends on methods and scientific developments which cost the capitalist nothing.

The same is true of the social combination of labour power in the process of production and of the accumulated skill of the individual labourers. Carey calculates that the landowner never receives enough, because he is not paid for all the capital or labour put into the soil since time immemorial in order to give it its present productivity. (Of course, no mention is made of the productivity of which the soil is robbed.) Accordingly each individual labourer would have to be paid in conformity with the work which it cost the entire human race to evolve a modern mechanic out of a savage. On the contrary one should think that if all the unpaid labour put into the soil and converted into money by the landowner and capitalist is totalled up, all the capital ever invested in this soil has been paid back over and over again with usurious interest, so that society has long ago redeemed landed property over and over again.

True enough, the increase in the productive power of labour, so far as it does not imply an additional investment of capital value, augments in the first instance only the quantity of the product, not its value, except in so far as it makes it possible to reproduce more constant capital with the same labour and thus to preserve its value. But it forms at the same time new material for capital, hence the basis of increased accumulation of capital.

So far as the organisation of social labour itself, and thus the increase in the social productive power of labour, requires large-scale production and therefore the advance of large quantities of money capital by individual capitalists, we have shown in Book I [a] that this is accomplished in part by the centralisation of capitals in a few hands, without necessitating an absolute increase in the magnitude of the functioning capital values, and consequently also in the magnitude of the money capital in which they are advanced. The magnitude of the individual capitals can increase by centralisation in the hands of a few without a growth of their social sum total. It is only a changed distribution of the individual capitals.

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[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. XXV, 2 and Ch. XXXII (present edition, Vol. 35).

Finally, we have shown in the preceding part that a shortening of the period of turnover permits of setting in motion either the same productive capital with less money capital or more productive capital with the same money capital.

But evidently all this has nothing to do with the question of money capital itself. It shows only that the advanced capital — a given sum of values consisting in its free form, in its value form, of a certain sum of money — includes, after its conversion into productive capital, productive powers whose limits are not set by the limits of its value, but which on the contrary may operate within certain bounds with differing degrees of extensiveness or intensiveness. If the prices of the elements of production — the means of production and labour power — are given, the magnitude of the money capital required for the purchase of a definite quantity of these elements of production existing as commodities is determined. Or the magnitude of value of the capital to be advanced is determined. But the extent to which this capital acts as a creator of values and products is elastic and variable.

*On the second point.* It is self-evident that the part of the social labour and means of production which must be annually expended for the production or purchase of money in order to replace worn-off coin is *pro tanto* a diminution of the volume of social production. But as for the money value which functions partly as a medium of circulation, partly as a hoard, it is simply there, acquired, present alongside the labour power, the produced means of production, and the natural sources of wealth. It cannot be regarded as a limit set to these things. By its transformation into elements of production, by its exchange with other nations, the scale of production might be extended. This presupposes, however, that money continues as before to play its role of universal money. [a]

To set the productive capital in motion requires more or less money capital, depending on the length of the period of turnover. We have also seen that the division of the period of turnover into working time and circulation time requires an increase of the capital latent or suspended in the form of money.

Inasmuch as the period of turnover is determined by the length of the working period, it is determined, other conditions remaining equal, by the material nature of the process of production, hence not by the specific social character of this process of production. How-

[a] Cf. K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. III, 3c (present edition, Vol. 35).

ever, on the basis of capitalist production, more extensive operations of comparatively long duration necessitate large advances of money capital for a rather long time. Production in such spheres depends therefore on the magnitude of the money capital which the individual capitalist has at his disposal. This barrier is broken down by the credit system and the associations connected with it, e. g., the stock companies. Disturbances in the money market therefore put such establishments out of business, while these same establishments, in their turn, produce disturbances in the money market.

When social production is the basis, the scale must be ascertained on which those operations—which withdraw labour power and means of production for a long time without supplying any product as a useful effect in the interim—can be carried on without injuring branches of production which not only withdraw labour power and means of production continually, or several times a year, but also supply means of subsistence and of production. Under social as well as capitalist production, the labourers in branches of business with shorter working periods will as before withdraw products only for a short time without giving any products in return; while branches of business with long working periods continually withdraw products for a longer time before they return anything. This circumstance, then, arises from the material conditions of the particular labour process, not from its social form. In the case of social production, money capital is eliminated. Society distributes labour power and means of production to the different branches of production. The producers may, for all it matters, receive paper vouchers entitling them to withdraw from the social supplies of consumer goods a quantity corresponding to their labour time. These vouchers are not money. They do not circulate.

We see that inasmuch as the need for money capital originates in the length of the working period, it is conditioned by two things: *First*, that money in general is the form in which every individual capital (apart from credit) must make its appearance in order to transform itself into productive capital; this follows from the nature of capitalist production and of commodity production in general.—*Second*, the magnitude of the required money advance is due to the circumstance that labour power and means of production are continually withdrawn from society for a comparatively long time without any return to it, during that period, of products convertible into money. The first condition, that the capital to be advanced must be advanced in the

form of money, is not eliminated by the form of this money itself, whether it is metal money, credit money, token money, etc. The second condition is in no way affected by what money medium or in what form of production labour, means of subsistence, and means of production are withdrawn without the return of some equivalent to the circulation.

# Chapter XIX[35)]

## FORMER PRESENTATIONS OF THE SUBJECT

### I. THE PHYSIOCRATS

Quesnay's *Tableau économique*[49] shows in a few broad outlines how the annual result of the national production, representing a definite value, is distributed by means of the circulation in such a way that, other things being equal, simple reproduction, i. e., reproduction on the same scale, can take place. The starting-point of the period of production is properly the preceding year's harvest. The innumerable individual acts of circulation are at once brought together in their characteristic social mass movement — the circulation between great functionally determined economic classes of society. We are here interested in the following: A portion of the total product — being, like every other portion of it, a use object, it is a new result of last year's labour — is at the same time only the depository of old capital value re-appearing in the same natural form. It does not circulate but remains in the hands of its producers, the class of farmers, in order to resume there its service as capital. In this portion of the year's product, the constant capital, Quesnay includes impertinent elements, but he strikes upon the main thing, thanks to the limitations of his horizon, within which agriculture is the only sphere of investment of human labour producing surplus value, hence the only really productive one from the capitalist point of view. The economic process of reproduction, whatever may be its specific social character, always becomes intertwined in this sphere (agriculture) with a natural process of reproduction. The obvious conditions of the latter throw light on those of the former, and keep off a confusion of thought which is called forth by the mirage of circulation.

35) Beginning of Manuscript VIII.

The label of a system differs from that of other articles, among other things, by the fact that it cheats not only the buyer but often also the seller. Quesnay himself and his immediate disciples believed in their feudal shop-sign. So do our academic pedants even this day and hour. But as a matter of fact the system of the Physiocrats is the first systematic conception of capitalist production. The representative of industrial capital — the class of farmers — directs the entire economic movement. Agriculture is carried on capitalistically, that is to say, it is the enterprise of a capitalist farmer on a large scale; the direct cultivator of the soil is the wage labourer. Production creates not only articles of use but also their value; its compelling motive is the procurement of surplus value, whose birthplace is the sphere of production, not of circulation. Among the three classes which figure as the vehicles of the social process of reproduction brought about by the circulation, the immediate exploiter of "productive" labour, the producer of surplus value, the capitalist farmer, is distinguished from those who merely appropriate the surplus value.

The capitalist character of the physiocratic system excited opposition even during its florescence: on the one side it was challenged by Linguet [50] and Mably, on the other by the champions of the small freeholders.

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Adam Smith's retrogression [36] in the analysis of the process of reproduction is so much the more remarkable because he not only elaborates upon Quesnay's correct analyses, generalising his "*avances primitives*" and "*avances annuelles*" for instance and calling them respectively "fixed" and "circulating" capital,[37] but even relapses in spots entirely into physiocratic errors. For instance in order to demonstrate that the farmer produces more value than any other sort of capitalist, he says:

[36] *Kapital*, Band I, 2. Ausgabe, S. 612, Note 32.[a]

[37] Some Physiocrats had paved the way for him even here, especially Turgot. The latter uses the term capital for *avances* more frequently than Quesnay and the other Physiocrats and identifies still more the *avances*, or *capitaux*, of the manufacturers with those of the farmers. For instance: "Like these" (the *entrepreneurs-manufacturers*), "they" (*les fermiers*, i. e., the capitalist farmers) "must receive in addition to returning capitals, etc." (Turgot, *Oeuvres*, Daire édition, Paris, 1844, Vol. I, p. 40).

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[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. XXIV, 2 (present edition, Vol. 35).

"No equal capital puts into motion a greater quantity of productive labour than that of the farmer. Not only his labouring servants, but his labouring cattle are productive labourers." //Fine compliment for the labouring servants!// "In agriculture too nature *labours* along with man; and though *her labour costs no expense*, its produce has *its value, as well as that of the most expensive workmen*. The most important operations of agriculture seem intended not so much to increase, though they do that too, as to direct the fertility of nature towards the production of the plants most profitable to man. A field overgrown with briars and brambles may frequently produce as great a quantity of vegetables as the best cultivated vineyard or corn field. Planting and tillage frequently regulate more than they animate the active fertility of nature; and after all their labour, a great part of the work always remains to be done by her. The labourers and labouring cattle" (!), "therefore, employed in agriculture, not only occasion, like the workmen in manufactures, the reproduction of a value equal to their own consumption, or to the capital which employs them, together with its owners' profits; but of a much greater value. Over and above the capital of the farmer and all its profits, they regularly occasion the reproduction of the rent of the landlord. This rent may be considered as the produce of those powers of nature the use of which the landlord lends to the farmer. It is greater or smaller according to the supposed extent of those powers, or, in other words, according to the supposed natural or improved fertility of the land. It is the work of nature which remains after deducting or compensating everything which can be regarded as the work of man. It is seldom less than a fourth, and frequently more than a third of the whole produce. No equal quantity of productive labour employed in manufactures can ever occasion so great a reproduction. In them nature does nothing; man does all; and the reproduction must always be in proportion to the strength of the agents that occasion it. The capital employed in agriculture, therefore, not only puts into motion a greater quantity of productive labour than any equal capital employed in manufactures, but in proportion, too, to the quantity of productive labour which it employs, it adds a much greater value to the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, to the real wealth and revenue of its inhabitants" (Book II, Ch. 5, p. 242).

Adam Smith says in Book II, Ch. 1:

"The whole value of the seed, too, is properly a fixed capital.

Here, then, capital = capital value; it exists in a "fixed" form.

"Though it [the seed] goes backwards and forwards between the ground and the granary, it never changes masters, and therefore does not properly circulate. The farmer makes his profit, not by its sale, but by its increase" (p. 186).

The absurdity of the thing lies here in the fact that Smith does not, like Quesnay before him, see the re-appearance of the value of constant capital in a renewed form, and hence fails to see an important element of the process of reproduction, but merely offers one more illustration, and a wrong one at that, of his distinction between circulating and fixed capital.—In Smith's translation of "*avances primitives*" and "*avances annuelles*" as "fixed capital" and "circulating capital",

the progress consists in the word "capital", the concept of which is generalised, and becomes independent of the special consideration for the "agricultural" sphere of application of the Physiocrats; the retrogression consists in the fact that "fixed" and "circulating" are regarded as the over-riding distinction, and are so maintained.

## II. ADAM SMITH

### 1. SMITH'S GENERAL POINTS OF VIEW

Adam Smith says in Book I, Ch. 6, p. 42:

"In every society the price of every commodity finally resolves itself into some one or other, or all of those three parts" (wages, profit, rent); "and in every improved society, all the three enter more or less, as component parts, into the price of the far greater part of commodities." [38]

Or, as he continues, p. 43:

"Wages, profit, and rent, are the *three original sources* of all revenue as well as of *all exchangeable value*."

Below we shall discuss in greater detail this doctrine of Adam Smith concerning "the component parts of the price of commodities", or of "all exchangeable value".

He says furthermore:

"Since this is the case, it has been observed, with regard to every particular commodity, taken separately; it must be so with regard to all the commodities which compose the *whole annual produce* of the land and labour of every country, taken complexly. The *whole price or exchangeable value* of that annual produce, must *resolve itself* into the same three parts, and *be parcelled out* among the different inhabitants of the country, either as the *wages* of their labour, the *profits* of their stock, or the *rent* of their land" (Book II, Ch. 2, p. 190).

[38] In order that the reader may not misconstrue the meaning of the phrase "the price of the far greater part of commodities", the following shows how Adam Smith himself explains this term. For instance, no rent enters into the price of sea fish, only wages and profit; only wages enter into the price of Scotch pebbles. He says: "In some parts of Scotland a few poor people make a trade of gathering, along the sea-shore, those little variegated stones commonly known by the name of Scotch Pebbles. The price which is paid to them by the stone-cutter is altogether the wages of their labour; neither rent nor profit makes any part of it."

After Adam Smith has thus resolved the price of all commodities individually, as well as "the whole price or exchangeable value ... of the annual produce of the land and labour of every country", into wages, profit and rent, the three sources of revenue for wage labourers, capitalists and landowners, he must needs smuggle in a fourth element by a circuitous route, namely the element of capital. This is accomplished by drawing a distinction between gross and net revenue:

"The *gross* revenue of all the inhabitants of a great country comprehends the *whole annual produce* of their land and labour; the *neat* revenue, what remains free to them *after deducting the expense of maintaining*; first, their *fixed*; and secondly, their *circulating capital*; or what, without encroaching upon their capital, they can place in their stock reserved for immediate consumption, or spend upon their subsistence, conveniences, and amusements. Their real wealth too is in proportion, not to their gross, but to their neat revenue" (ibid., p. 190).

On this we comment as follows:

1) Adam Smith expressly deals here only with simple reproduction, not reproduction on an extended scale, or accumulation. He speaks only of expenses for MAINTAINING [a] the capital in operation. The "neat" income is equal to that portion of the annual product, whether of society or of the individual capitalist, which can pass into the "fund for consumption", but the size of this fund must not ENCROACH UPON CAPITAL [b] in operation. One portion of the value of both the individual and the social product, then, is resolved neither into wages nor into profit nor into rent, but into capital.

2) Adam Smith flees from his own theory by means of a play upon words, the distinction between gross and net revenue. The individual capitalist as well as the entire capitalist class, or the so-called nation, receive in place of the capital consumed in production a commodity product whose value — it can be represented by the proportional parts of this product — replaces on the one hand the expended capital value and thus forms an income, or still more literally, revenue (*revenu*, past participle of *revenir* — to come back), but, *nota bene*, a revenue upon capital, or income upon capital; on the other hand components of the value product which are "parcelled out among the different inhabitants of the country, either as the wages of their labour,

[a] In the original, this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent. - [b] In the original, these English words are given in parentheses after their German equivalent.

the profits of their stock, or the rent of their land", a thing commonly called income. Hence the value of the entire product constitutes somebody's income—either of the individual capitalist or of the whole country, but it is on the one hand an income upon capital, and on the other a "revenue" different from the latter. Consequently, the thing which is eliminated in the analysis of the value of the commodity into its component parts is brought back through a side door—the ambiguity of the word "revenue". But only such value constituents of the product can be "taken in" as already exist in it. If the *capital* is to come in as revenue, capital must first have been expended.

Adam Smith says furthermore:

"The lowest ordinary rate of profit must always be something more than what is sufficient to compensate the occasional losses to which every employment of stock is exposed. It is this surplus only which is neat or clear profit."

//What capitalist understands by profit, necessary expenditure of capital?//

"What is called gross profit comprehends frequently, not only this surplus, but what is retained for compensating such extraordinary losses" (Book I, Ch. 9, p. 72).

But this means nothing else than that a part of the surplus value, considered as a part of the gross profit, must form an insurance fund for the production. This insurance fund is created by a portion of the surplus labour, which to that extent produces capital directly, that is to say, the fund intended for reproduction. As regards the expense for "maintaining" the fixed capital, etc. (see the above quotations), the replacement of the consumed fixed capital by a new one is not a new outlay of capital, but only a renewal of the old capital value in a new form. And as far as the repair of the fixed capital is concerned, which Adam Smith counts likewise among the costs of maintenance, this expense goes in with the price of the capital advanced. The fact that the capitalist, instead of having to invest this all at one time, invests it gradually, as required, during the functioning of the capital, and can invest it out of profits already pocketed, does not change the source of this profit. The value constituent from which it derives proves only that the labourer delivers surplus labour for the insurance fund as well as for the repair fund.[51]

Adam Smith then tells us that one should exclude from the net revenue, i. e., from the revenue in its specific meaning, the entire fixed cap-

ital, and also the entire portion of the circulating capital which is required for the maintenance and repair of the fixed capital, and for its renewal, in fact all capital not in a bodily form intended for the consumption fund.

"The whole expense of maintaining the fixed capital, must evidently be excluded from the neat revenue of the society. Neither the materials necessary for supporting their useful machines and instruments of trade ... nor the produce of the labour necessary for fashioning those materials into the proper form, can ever make any part of it. The *price* of that labour may indeed make a part of it; as the workmen so employed may place the whole value of their wages in their stock reserved for immediate consumption. But in other sorts of labour, both the *price*" //i. e., the wages paid for this labour// "and the *produce*" //in which this labour is incorporated// "go to this stock, the price to that of the workmen, the produce to that of other people, whose subsistence, conveniences, and amusements, are augmented by the labour of those workmen" (Book II, Ch. 2, pp. 190, 191).

Adam Smith comes here upon a very important distinction between the labourers employed in the production of *means of production* and those employed in the immediate production of *articles of consumption*. The value of the commodities produced by the first-named contains a constituent part which is equal to the sum of the wages, i. e., equal to the value of the part of capital invested in the purchase of labour power. This part of value exists bodily as a certain quota of the means of production produced by the labourers. The money received by them as wages is their revenue, but their labour has not produced any goods which are consumable, either for themselves or for others. Hence these products are not an element of that part of the annual product which is intended to form a social consumption fund, in which alone a "neat revenue" can be realised. Adam Smith forgets to add here that the same thing that applies to wages is also true of that constituent of the value of the means of production which, being surplus value, forms the revenue (first and foremost) of the industrial capitalist under the categories of profit and rent. These value components likewise exist in means of production, articles which cannot be consumed. They cannot raise articles of consumption produced by the second kind of labourers in a quantity corresponding to their price until they have been converted into money; only then can they transfer those articles to the individual consumption fund of their owners. But so much the more should Adam Smith have seen that that part of the value of the annually begotten means of production which is equal to the value of the means of production functioning

within this sphere of production — the means of production with which means of production are made — hence a portion of value equal to the value of the constant capital employed here, is absolutely excluded from being a value constituent forming revenue, not only on account of the natural form in which it exists, but also on account of its functioning as capital.

With regard to the second kind of labourers — who directly produce articles of consumption — Adam Smith's definitions are not quite exact. For he says that in these kinds of labour, both the price of labour and the product GO TO [a] the stock reserved for immediate consumption,

"the *price*" (i. e., the money received in wages) "to that of the *workmen*, the *produce* to THAT OF *OTHER PEOPLE*[a] whose subsistence, conveniences and amusements, are augmented by the labour of those workmen".

But the labourer cannot live on the "*price*" of his labour, the money in which his wages are paid; he realises this money by buying articles of consumption with it. These may in part consist of classes of commodities produced by himself. On the other hand his own product may be such as goes only into the consumption of the exploiters of labour.

After Adam Smith has thus entirely excluded the fixed capital from the "neat revenue" of a country, he continues:

"But though the whole expense of maintaining the fixed capital is thus necessarily excluded from the neat revenue of the society, it is not the same case with that of maintaining the circulating capital. Of the four parts of which this latter capital is composed, money, provisions, materials, and finished work, the three last, it has already been observed, are regularly withdrawn from it, and placed either in the fixed capital of the society, or in their stock reserved for immediate consumption. Whatever portion of those consumable goods is not employed in maintaining the former" //the fixed capital// "goes all to the latter" // the fund for immediate consumption//, "and makes a part of the neat revenue of the society. The maintenance of those three parts of the circulating capital, therefore, withdraws no portion of the annual produce from the neat revenue of the society, besides what is necessary for maintaining the fixed capital" (Book II, Ch. 2, pp. [191,] 192).

It is sheer tautology to say that that portion of the circulating capital which does not serve for the production of means of production

[a] In the original, these English words are given in parentheses after their German equivalent.

goes into that of articles of consumption, in other words, into that part of the annual product which is intended to form society's consumption fund. However, the immediately following passage is important:

"The circulating capital of a society is in this respect different from that of an individual. That of an individual is totally excluded from making any part of his neat revenue, which must consist altogether in his profits. But though the circulating capital of every individual makes a part of that of the society to which he belongs, it is not upon that account totally excluded from making a part likewise of their neat revenue. Though the whole goods in a merchant's shop must by no means be placed in his own stock reserved for immediate consumption, they may in that of other people, who, from a revenue derived from other funds, may regularly replace their value to him, together with its profits, without occasioning any diminution either of his capital or of theirs" (ibid).

And so we learn here that:

1) Just as the fixed capital, and the circulating capital required for its reproduction (he forgets the function) and maintenance, are totally excluded from the net revenue of every individual capitalist, which can consist only of his profit, so is the circulating capital employed in the production of articles of consumption. Hence that portion of his commodity product which replaces his capital cannot resolve itself into constituents of value which form any revenue for him.

2) The circulating capital of every individual capitalist constitutes a part of society's circulating capital, the same as every individual fixed capital.

3) The circulating capital of society, while representing only the sum of the individual circulating capitals, has a character different from that of the circulating capital of every individual capitalist. The latter circulating capital can never form a part *of his own revenue*; however a portion of the first-named circulating capital (namely that consisting of consumable goods) may at the same time form a portion of the *revenue of society* or, as he has expressed it above, it must not necessarily reduce the net revenue of society by a portion of the annual product. Indeed, that which Adam Smith here calls circulating capital consists of the annually produced commodity capital, which is thrown into circulation annually by the capitalists producing articles of consumption. This entire annual commodity product of theirs consists of consumable goods and therefore forms the fund in which the net revenues of society (including wages) are realised or expended. Instead of choosing for his illustration the goods in a merchant's shop,

Adam Smith should have selected the masses of goods stored away in the warehouses of the industrial capitalists.

Now if Adam Smith had welded together the snatches of thought which forced themselves upon him at first in the study of the reproduction of that which he calls fixed, and now of that which he calls circulating capital, he would have arrived at the following result:

I. The annual product of society consists of two departments; one of them comprises the means of production, the other the articles of consumption. Each must be treated separately.

II. The aggregate value of that part of the annual product which consists of *means of production* is divided as follows: One portion of the value represents only the value of the means of production consumed in the fabrication of these means of production; it is but capital value re-appearing in a renewed form; another portion is equal to the value of the capital laid out in labour power, or equal to the sum of the wages paid by the capitalists in this sphere of production. Finally, a third portion of the value is the source of profits, including ground rent, of the industrial capitalists in this category.

The first constituent part, according to Adam Smith the reproduced portion of the fixed capital of all the individual capitals employed in this first department, is "totally excluded from making any part of the neat revenue", either of the individual capitalist or of society. It always functions as capital, never as revenue. To that extent the "fixed capital" of every individual capitalist is in no way different from the fixed capital of society. But the other portions of the value of the annual product of society consisting of means of production—portions of value which therefore exist in aliquot parts of this aggregate quantity of means of production—form indeed simultaneously *revenues for all agents engaged in this production*, wages for the labourers, profits and rents for the capitalists. But they form *capital*, not revenue, *for society*, although the annual product of society consists only of the sums of the products of the individual capitalists who belong to that society. By nature they are generally fit to function only as means of production, and even those which, if need be, might be able to function as articles of consumption are intended for service as raw or auxiliary materials of new production. But they serve as such—hence as capital—not in the hands of their producers, but in those of their users, namely:

III. The capitalists of the second department, the direct producers of *articles of consumption*. They replace for these capitalists the capital

consumed in the production of articles of consumption (so far as this capital is not converted into labour power, and hence is not the sum of the wages of the labourers of this second department), while this consumed capital, which now exists in the form of articles of consumption in the hands of the capitalists producing them, in its turn —socially speaking— *forms the consumption fund in which the capitalists and labourers of the first department realise their revenue.*

If Adam Smith had continued his analysis to this point but little would have been lacking for the solution of the whole problem. He almost hit the nail on the head, for he had already observed that certain value parts of *one* kind (means of production) of the commodity capitals constituting the total annual product of society indeed form revenue for the individual labourers and capitalists engaged in their production, but do not form a constituent part of the revenue of society; while a value part of the *other* kind (articles of consumption), although representing capital value for its individual owners, the capitalists engaged in this sphere of investment, is only a part of the social revenue.

But this much is evident from the foregoing:

*First*: Although the social capital is only equal to the sum of the individual capitals, and for this reason the annual commodity product (or commodity capital) of society is equal to the sum of commodity products of these individual capitals; and although therefore the analysis of the value of the commodities into its component parts, valid for every individual commodity capital, must also be valid for the commodity capital of all society—and actually proves valid in the end—the form of appearance which these component parts assume in the aggregate social process of reproduction is *different.*

*Second*: Even on the basis of simple reproduction there takes place not merely a production of wages (variable capital) and surplus value, but direct production of new constant capital value, although the working day consists of only two parts, one in which the labourer replaces the variable capital, in fact producing an equivalent for the purchase of his labour power, and another in which he produces surplus value (profit, rent, etc.).

The daily labour which is expended in the reproduction of means of production—and whose value is composed of wages and surplus value—realises itself in new means of production which replace the constant part of capital laid out in the production of articles of consumption.

The main difficulties, the greater part of which has been solved in the preceding text, are not encountered in studying accumulation but simple reproduction. For this reason, Adam Smith (Book II) and Quesnay (*Tableau économique*) before him make simple reproduction their starting-point, whenever it is a question of the movement of the annual product of society and its reproduction through circulation.

### 2. ADAM SMITH RESOLVES EXCHANGE VALUE INTO V + S

Adam Smith's dogma that the price or "EXCHANGEABLE VALUE" [a] of any single commodity—and therefore of all commodities in the aggregate constituting the annual product of society (he rightly assumes capitalist production everywhere)—is made up of three "COMPONENT PARTS" [a] or "RESOLVES ITSELF INTO" [a] wages, profit, and rent, can be reduced to this: that the commodity value = v + s, i. e., is equal to the value of the advanced variable capital plus the surplus value. And we may undertake this reduction of profit and rent to a common unit called s with the express permission of Adam Smith, as shown by the following quotations, in which we at first leave aside all minor points, i. e., any apparent or real deviation from the dogma that commodity value consists exclusively of those elements which we call v + s.

In manufacture:

"The value which the workmen add to the materials ... resolves itself ... into two parts, of which the one pays their wages, the other the profits of their employer upon the whole stock of materials and wages which he advanced" (Book I, Ch. 6, p. 41).

"Though the manufacturer //the manufacturing worker// has his wages advanced to him by his master, he, in reality, costs him no expense, the value of those wages being generally restored" (RESERVED), "together with a profit, in the improved value of the subject upon which his labour is bestowed" (Book II, Ch. 3, p. 221).

That portion of the capital (STOCK) which is laid out

"in maintaining productive hands ... after having served in the function of a capital to him //the employer// "...constitutes a revenue to them" //the labourers// (Book II, Ch. 3, p. 223).

Adam Smith says explicitly in the chapter just quoted:

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[a] In the original, these English words are given in parentheses after their German equivalent.

"The whole annual produce of the land and labour of every country ... NATURALLY[a] divides itself into two parts. One of them, and frequently the largest, is, in the first place, destined for replacing a capital, or for renewing the provisions, materials, and finished work, which had been withdrawn from a capital; the other for constituting a revenue either to the owner of this capital, as the *profit of his stock*; or to some other person, as the rent of his *land*" (p. 222).

Only one part of the capital, so Adam Smith has just informed us, forms at the same time a revenue for somebody, namely that which is invested in the purchase of productive hands. This part — the variable capital — first "serves in the function of a capital" in the hands of its employer and for him and then it "constitutes a revenue" for the productive labourer himself. The capitalist transforms a portion of his capital value into labour power and precisely thereby into variable capital; it is only due to this transformation that not alone this portion of capital but his entire capital functions as industrial capital. The labourer — the seller of labour power — receives its value in the form of wages. In his hands labour power is but a saleable commodity, a commodity by the sale of which he lives, which therefore is the sole source of his revenue; labour power functions as a variable capital only in the hands of its buyer, the capitalist, and the capitalist advances its purchase price only apparently, since its value has been previously supplied to him by the labourer.

After Adam Smith has thus shown us that the value of a product in manufacture = v + s (s standing for the profit of the capitalist), he tells us that in agriculture the labourers besides

"the reproduction of a value equal to their own consumption, or to the " //variable// "capital which employs them, together with its owners' profits..." — furthermore, "over and above the capital of the farmer and all its *profits* regularly occasion the reproduction of the *rent* of the landlord" (Book II, Ch. 5, p. 243).

The fact that the rent passes into the hands of the landlord is wholly immaterial for the question under consideration. Before it can pass into his hands, it must be in those of the farmer, i. e., of the industrial capitalist. It must form a component part of the value of the product before it becomes a revenue for anyone. Rent as well as profit are therefore, according to Adam Smith himself, but component parts of surplus value and these the productive labourer reproduces continually together with his own wages, i. e., with the value of the variable capital. Hence rent and profit are parts of the surplus value s,

[a] In the original, this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

and thus, with Adam Smith, the price of all commodities resolves itself into v + s.

The dogma that the price of all commodities (hence also of the annual commodity product) resolves itself into wages plus profit plus ground rent, assumes even in the intermittent esoteric constituents of Smith's work the form that the value of every commodity, hence also that of society's annual commodity product, = v + s, = the capital value laid out in labour power and continually reproduced by the labourers, plus the surplus value added by the labourers through their work.

This final result of Adam Smith reveals to us at the same time—see further down—the source of his one-sided analysis of the component parts into which the value of a commodity resolves itself. The circumstance that they are at the same time different sources of revenue for different classes engaged in production has nothing to do with the determination of the magnitude of each of these component parts and of the sum of their values.

All kinds of *quid pro quo*'s are jumbled together when Adam Smith says:

> "Wages, profit, and rent, are the three original sources of all revenue as well as of all exchangeable value. All other revenue is ultimately derived from some one or other of these" (Book I, Ch. 6, p. 43).

1) All members of society not directly engaged in reproduction, with or without labour, can obtain their share of the annual commodity product—in other words, their articles of consumption—primarily only out of the hands of those classes to which the product first accrues—productive labourers, industrial capitalists, and landlords. To that extent their revenues are materially derived from wages (of the productive labourers), profit, and rent, and appear therefore as derivative vis-à-vis those primary revenues. But on the other hand the recipients of these revenues, derived in this sense, draw them by virtue of their social functions—as a king, priest, professor, prostitute, soldier, etc., and they may, therefore, regard these functions as the original sources of their revenue.

2)—and here Adam Smith's ridiculous blunder reaches its climax. After starting by correctly defining the component parts of the value of the commodities and the sum of the value product incorporated in them, and then demonstrating how these component parts form so

many different sources of revenue,[39] after thus deriving the revenues from the value, he proceeds in the opposite direction—and this remains the predominant conception with him—and turns the revenues from "COMPONENT PARTS"[a] into "*original sources* of all exchangeable value", thereby throwing the doors wide open to vulgar economy. (See our Roscher.[b])[52]

### 3. THE CONSTANT PART OF CAPITAL

Let us now see how Adam Smith tries to spirit the constant part of the capital value away from the commodity value.

"In the price of corn, for example, one part pays the rent of the landlord."

The origin of this constituent of value has no more to do with the circumstance that it is paid to the landlord and forms a revenue for him in the shape of rent than the origin of the other constituents of value has to do with the fact that as profit and wages they form sources of revenue.

"Another [part] pays the wages or maintenance of the labourers" //"and labouring cattle!" he adds// "employed in producing it, and the third pays the profit of the farmer. These three parts seem" //they seem indeed// "either immediately or ultimately to make up the whole price of corn."[40]

This entire price, i. e., the determination of its magnitude, is absolutely independent of its distribution among three kinds of people.

"A fourth part, it may perhaps be thought, is necessary for replacing the stock of the farmer, or for compensating the wear and tear of his labouring cattle, and other in-

[39] I reproduce this sentence verbatim from the manuscript, although it seems to contradict, in its present context, both what precedes and immediately follows. This apparent contradiction is resolved further down in No. 4: Capital and Revenue in Adam Smith.—*F. E.*

[40] We ignore the fact that Adam Smith was here particularly unfortunate in the choice of his example. The value of the corn resolves itself into wages, profit, and rent only because the food consumed by the labouring cattle is depicted as wages of the labouring cattle, and the labouring cattle as wage labourers, so that the wage labourer on his part is also depicted as labouring cattle. //Added from Manuscript II.//

[a] In the original, these English words are given in parentheses after their German equivalent. - [b] W. Roscher, *System der Volkswirtschaft*. Band I: *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie*. Dritte, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage, Stuttgart und Augsburg, 1858.

struments of husbandry. But it must be considered that the price of any instrument of husbandry, such as a labouring horse, is itself made up of the same three parts: the rent of the land upon which he is reared, the labour of tending and rearing him, and the profits of the farmer who advances both the rent of this land, and the wages of this labour. Though the price of the corn, therefore, may pay the price as well as the maintenance of the horse, the whole price still resolves itself either immediately or ultimately into the same three parts of rent, labour" //he means wages//, "and profit" (Book I, Ch. 6, p. 42).

This is verbatim all that Adam Smith has to say in support of his astonishing doctrine. His proof consists simply in the repetition of the same assertion. He admits, for instance, that the price of corn does not only consist of v + s, but also of the price of the means of production consumed in the production of corn, hence of a capital value not invested in labour power by the farmer. But, he says, the prices of all these means of production resolve themselves into v + s, the same as the price of corn. He forgets, however, to add: and, moreover, into the prices of the means of production consumed in their own creation. He refers us from one branch of production to another, and from that to a third. The contention that the entire price of commodities resolves itself "immediately" or "ULTIMATELY"[a] into v + s would not be a hollow subterfuge only if he were able to demonstrate that the commodities whose price resolves itself immediately into c (price of consumed means of production) + v + s, are ultimately compensated by commodities which completely replace those "consumed means of production", and which are themselves produced by the mere outlay of variable capital, i. e., by a mere investment of capital in labour power. The price of these last commodity products would then be immediately v + s. Consequently the price of the former, c + v + s, where c stands for the constant part of capital, would also be ultimately resolvable into v + s. Adam Smith himself did not believe that he had furnished such a proof by his example of the collectors of SCOTCH PEBBLES[b], who, according to him, 1) do not generate surplus value of any description, but produce only their own wages, and 2) do not employ any means of production (they do, however, employ them, such as baskets, sacks, and other containers for carrying the pebbles).

We have already seen above that Adam Smith himself later on overthrows his own theory, without however being conscious of his contradictions. But their source is to be found precisely in his scien-

[a] In the original, this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent. - [b] See this volume, p. 360, footnote [38]).

tific premises. The capital converted into labour produces a greater value than its own. How? Says Adam Smith: by the labourers imparting during the process of production to the things on which they work a value which forms not only an equivalent for their own purchase price, but also a surplus value (profit and rent) apportioned not to them but to their employers. But that is all they accomplish, and all they can accomplish. And what is true of the industrial labour of one day is true of the labour set in motion by the entire capitalist class during one year. Hence the aggregate mass of the annual value produced by society can resolve itself only into v + s, into an equivalent by which the labourers replace the capital value expended for the purchase of their own labour power, and into an additional value which they must deliver over and above this to their employers. But these two elements of commodity value form at the same time sources of revenue for the various classes engaged in reproduction: the first is the source of wages, the revenue of the labourers; the second that of surplus value, a portion of which is retained by the industrial capitalist in the form of profit, while another is given up by him as rent, the revenue of the landlord. Where, then, should yet another part of value come from, when the annual value product contains no other elements than v + s? We are proceeding here from simple reproduction. Since the entire quantity of annual labour resolves itself into labour needed for the reproduction of the capital value laid out in labour power, and into labour needed for the creation of surplus value, where should the labour for the production of a capital value not laid out in labour power come from?

The case is as follows:

1) Adam Smith determines the value of a commodity by the amount of labour which the wage labourer ADDS[a] to the subject of labour. He says literally: "to the materials", since he is dealing with manufacture, which itself is working up products of labour. But this does not alter the matter. The value which the labourer adds to a thing (and this "ADDS" is the expression of Adam Smith) is entirely independent of whether or not this object to which value is added had itself any value *before* this addition. The labourer therefore produces a value in the form of a commodity. This, according to Adam Smith, is partly an equivalent for his wages, and this part, then, is determined by the magnitude of value of his wages; depending on that mag-

[a] In the original, this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

nitude he has to add labour in order to produce or reproduce a value equal to that of his wages. On the other hand the labourer adds more labour over and above the limit so drawn, and this creates surplus value for the capitalist employing him. Whether this surplus value remains entirely in the hands of the capitalist or parts of it are yielded by him to third persons, does not in the least alter either the qualitative (that it is at all surplus value) or the quantitative (magnitude) determination of the surplus value added by the wage labourer. It is value the same as any other portion of the value of the product, but it differs in that the labourer has not received any equivalent for it, nor will receive any later on, in that, on the contrary, this value is appropriated by the capitalist without any equivalent. The total value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labour expended by the labourer in its production; one portion of this total value is determined by the fact that it is equal to the value of the wages, i. e., an equivalent for them. The second part, the surplus value, is, therefore, necessarily likewise determined as equal to the total value of the product minus that part of its value which is equivalent to the wages; hence equal to the excess of the value produced in the making of the commodity over that part of the value contained in it which is an equivalent for his wages.

2) That which is true of a commodity produced in some individual industrial establishment by any individual labourer is true of the annual product of all branches of business as a whole. That which is true of the day's work of some individual productive labourer is true of the year's work set in motion by the entire class of productive labourers. It "fixes" (Adam Smith's expression) in the annual product a total value determined by the quantity of the annual labour expended, and this total value resolves itself into one portion determined by that part of the annual labour wherewith the working class creates an equivalent of its annual wages, in fact, these wages themselves; and into another portion determined by the additional annual labour by which the labourer creates surplus value for the capitalist class. The annual value product contained in the annual product consists therefore of but two elements: namely, the equivalent of the annual wages received by the working class, and the surplus value annually provided for the capitalist class. Now, the annual wages are the revenue of the working class, and the annual quantity of surplus value the revenue of the capitalist class; hence both of them represent the relative shares in the annual fund for consumption (this view is correct when

describing simple reproduction) and are realised in it. There is, then, no room left anywhere for the constant capital value, for the reproduction of the capital functioning in the form of means of production. And Adam Smith states explicitly in the introduction to his work that all portions of the value of commodities which serve as revenue coincide with the annual product of labour intended for the social fund for consumption:

"To explain in what has consisted the revenue of the great body of the people, or what has been the nature of those funds, which... have SUPPLIED[a] their annual consumption, is the object of these first Four Books" (p. 12).

And in the very first sentence of the introduction we read:

"The annual labour of every nation is the fund, which originally supplies it with all the necessaries and conveniences of life which it annually consumes, [and] which consists always either in the immediate produce of that labour, or in what is purchased with that produce from other nations" (p. 11).

Now Adam Smith's first mistake consists in equating the *value* of the annual *product* to the *newly produced annual value*. The latter is *only* the product of labour of the past year; the former includes, besides, all elements of value consumed in the making of the annual product, but which *were produced in the preceding and partly even earlier years*: means of production whose value merely *re-appears*—which, as far as their value is concerned, have been neither produced nor reproduced by the labour expended in the past year. By this confusion Adam Smith spirits away the constant portion of the value of the annual product. This confusion rests on another error in his fundamental conception: he does not distinguish the two-fold nature of labour itself: of labour which creates value by expending labour power, and of labour as concrete, useful work which creates articles of use (use values). The total quantity of the commodities fabricated annually, in other words, the *total annual product* is the product of the *useful* labour active during the past year; it is only due to the fact that socially employed labour was spent in a ramified system of useful kinds of labour that all these commodities exist; it is due to this fact alone that the value of the means of production consumed in the production of commodities and re-appearing in a new natural form is preserved in their total value. The total *annual product*, then, is the result of the *useful* labour expended during the year; but only a part of the *value* of the

[a] In the original, this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

annual *product* has been created during the year; this part is the annual *value product*, in which the quantity of labour set in motion during the year is represented.

Hence, if Adam Smith says in the passage just cited:

> "The annual labour of every nation is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessaries and conveniences of life which it annually consumes, etc.",

he takes the one-sided standpoint of solely useful labour, which has indeed given all these means of subsistence their consumable form. But he forgets that this was impossible without the assistance of instruments and subjects of labour supplied by former years, and that, therefore, the "annual labour", while it created value, did not create all the value of the products fabricated by it; that the value newly produced is smaller than the value of the product.

While we cannot reproach Adam Smith for going in this analysis no farther than all his successors (although a step in the right direction could already be discerned among the Physiocrats), he subsequently gets lost in a chaos and this mainly because his "esoteric" conception of the value of commodities in general is constantly contravened by exoteric conceptions, which on the whole prevail with him, and yet his scientific instinct permits the esoteric standpoint to re-appear from time to time.

### 4. CAPITAL AND REVENUE IN ADAM SMITH

That portion of the value of every commodity (and therefore also of the annual product) which is but an equivalent of the wages is equal to the capital advanced by the capitalist for labour power, i. e., is equal to the variable portion of the total capital advanced. The capitalist recovers this portion of the capital value through a portion of the newly produced value of the commodities supplied by the wage labourers. Whether the variable capital is advanced in the sense that the capitalist pays the labourer in money for his share in a product which is not yet ready for sale or which, though ready, has not yet been sold by the capitalist, or whether he pays him with money already obtained by the sale of commodities previously supplied by the labourer, or whether he has drawn this money in advance by means of credit — in all these cases the capitalist expends variable capital, which passes into the hands of the labourers in the form of money, and on the other hand he possesses the equivalent of this capital value

in that portion of the value of his commodities in which the labourer has produced anew his share of its total value, in other words, in which he has produced the value of his own wages. Instead of giving him this portion of the value in the bodily form of his own product, the capitalist pays it to him in money. For the capitalist the variable portion of his advanced capital value now exists in the form of commodities, while the labourer has received the equivalent for his sold labour power in the form of money.

Now while that portion of the capital advanced by the capitalist, which has been converted by the purchase of labour power into variable capital, functions in the process of production itself as operative labour power and by the expenditure of this power is produced anew as a new value, in the form of commodities, i. e., is reproduced — hence a reproduction, or new production, of advanced capital value — the labourer spends the value, or price, of his sold labour power on means of subsistence, on means for the reproduction of his labour power. An amount of money equal to the variable capital forms his income, hence his revenue, which lasts only so long as he can sell his labour power to the capitalist.

The commodity of the wage labourer — his own labour power — serves as a commodity only to the extent that it is incorporated in the capital of the capitalist, acts as capital; on the other hand the capital expended by the capitalist as money capital in the purchase of labour power functions as a revenue in the hands of the seller of labour power, the wage labourer.

Various processes of circulation and production intermingle here, which Adam Smith does not distinguish.

First: Acts pertaining to the process of *circulation*. The labourer sells his commodity — labour power — to the capitalist; the money with which the capitalist buys it is from his point of view money invested for the production of surplus value, hence money capital; it is not spent but advanced. (This is the real meaning of "advance" — the *avance* of the Physiocrats — no matter where the capitalist gets the money. Every value which the capitalist pays out for the purposes of the production process is advanced from his point of view, regardless of whether this takes place before or *post festum*; it is advanced to the process of production itself.) The same takes place here as in every other sale of commodities: The seller gives away a use value (in this case his labour power) and receives its value (realises its price) in

money; the buyer gives away his money and receives in return the commodity itself—in this case labour power.

Second: In the process of *production* the purchased labour power now forms a part of the functioning capital, and the labourer himself serves here merely as a special natural form of this capital, distinguished from its elements existing in the natural form of means of production. During the process, by expending his labour power, the labourer adds value to the means of production which he converts into products equal to the value of his labour power (exclusive of surplus value); he therefore reproduces for the capitalist in the form of commodities that portion of his capital which has been, or has to be, advanced by him for wages, produces for him an equivalent of the latter; hence he produces for the capitalist that capital which the latter can "advance" once more for the purchase of labour power.

Third: In the sale of a commodity one portion of its selling price replaces the variable capital advanced by the capitalist, whereby on the one hand he is enabled anew to buy labour power, and the labourer on the other hand to sell it anew.

In all purchases and sales of commodities—so far as only these transactions are under discussion—it is quite immaterial what becomes of the proceeds the seller receives for his commodities, and what becomes of the bought articles of use in the hands of the buyer. Hence, so far as the mere process of circulation is concerned, it is quite immaterial that the labour power bought by the capitalist reproduces capital value for him, and that on the other hand the money received by the labourer as the purchase price of his labour power constitutes his revenue. The magnitude of value of the labourer's article of commerce, his labour power, is not affected either by its forming "revenue" for him or by the fact that the use of this article of commerce by the buyer reproduces capital value for this buyer.

Since the value of the labour power—i. e., the adequate selling price of this commodity—is determined by the quantity of labour required for its reproduction, and this quantity of labour itself is here determined by that needed for the production of the necessary means of subsistence of the labourer, hence for the maintenance of his existence, the wages become the revenue on which the labourer has to live.

It is entirely wrong, when Adam Smith says (p. 223):

"*That portion of the stock* which is laid out in maintaining productive hands ... after

having served in the function of a capital to him" //the capitalist// "...constitutes a revenue to them" //the labourers//.

The *money* with which the capitalist pays for the labour power purchased by him "serves in the function of a capital to him", since he thereby incorporates labour power in the material constituents of his capital and thus enables his capital to function altogether as productive capital. We must make this distinction: The labour power is a *commodity*, not capital, in the hands of the labourer, and it constitutes for him a revenue so long as he can continuously repeat its sale; it functions as capital *after* its sale, in the hands of the capitalist, during the process of production itself. That which here serves twice is labour power: as a commodity which is sold at its value, in the hands of the labourer; as a power-producing value and use value, in the hands of the capitalist who has bought it. But the labourer does not receive the money from the capitalist until after he has given him the use of his labour power, after it has already been realised in the value of the product of labour. The capitalist possesses this value before he pays for it. Hence it is not the money which functions twice: first, as the money form of the variable capital, and then as wages. On the contrary it is labour power which has functioned twice: first, as a *commodity* in the sale of labour power (in stipulating the amount of wages to be paid, money acts merely as an ideal measure of value and need not even be in the hands of the capitalist); secondly, in the process of production, in which it functions as *capital*, i. e., as an element, in the hands of the capitalist, creating use value and value. Labour power already supplied, in the form of commodities, the equivalent which is to be paid to the labourer, before it is paid by the capitalist to the labourer in money form. Hence the labourer himself creates the fund out of which the capitalist pays him. But this is not all.

The money which the labourer receives is spent by him in order to maintain his labour power, or—viewing the capitalist class and the working class in their totality—in order to preserve for the capitalist the instrument by means of which alone he can remain a capitalist.

Thus the continuous purchase and sale of labour power perpetuates on the one hand labour power as an element of capital, by virtue of which the latter appears as the creator of commodities, articles of use having value, by virtue of which, furthermore, that portion of capital which buys labour power is continually restored by labour power's own product, and consequently the labourer himself constantly

creates the fund of capital out of which he is paid. On the other hand the constant sale of labour power becomes the source, ever renewing itself, of the maintenance of the labourer, and hence his labour power appears as that faculty through which he secures the revenue by which he lives. Revenue in this case signifies nothing else than an appropriation of values effected by ever repeated sales of a commodity (labour power), these values serving only for the continual reproduction of the commodity to be sold. And to this extent Smith is right when he says that the portion of the value of the product created by the labourer himself, for which the capitalist pays him an equivalent in the form of wages, becomes the source of revenue for the labourer. But this does not alter the nature or magnitude of this portion of the value of the commodity any more than the value of the means of production is changed by the fact that they function as capital values, or the nature and length of a straight line are changed by the fact that it serves as the base of some triangle or as the diameter of some ellipse. The value of labour power remains quite as independently definite as that of those means of production. This portion of the value of a commodity neither *consists of* revenue as an independent factor constituting this value part nor does it *resolve itself* into revenue. While this new value constantly reproduced by the labourer constitutes a source of revenue for him, his revenue conversely is not a constituent of the new value produced by him. The magnitude of the share paid to him of the new value created by him determines the value magnitude of his revenue, not vice versa. The fact that this part of the newly created value forms a revenue for him, indicates merely what becomes of it, shows the character of its application, and has no more to do with its formation than with that of any other value. If my receipts are ten talers a week that changes nothing in the *nature* of the value of the ten talers, nor in the *magnitude* of their value. As in the case of every other commodity so in that of labour power its value is determined by the amount of labour necessary for its reproduction; that the amount of this labour is determined by the value of the labourer's necessary means of subsistence, hence is equal to the labour required for the reproduction of the very conditions of his life — that is peculiar for this commodity (labour power), but no more peculiar than the fact that the value of labouring cattle is determined by the value of the means of subsistence necessary for its maintenance, i. e., by the amount of human labour necessary to produce these means of subsistence.

But it is this category of "revenue" which is to blame for all the harmful confusion in Adam Smith. The various kinds of revenue form with him the "COMPONENT PARTS"[a] of the annually produced, newly created commodity value, while, vice versa, the two parts into which this commodity value resolves itself *for the capitalist*—the equivalent of his variable capital advanced in the form of money when purchasing labour, and the other portion of the value, the surplus value, which likewise belongs to him but did not cost him anything—form sources of revenue. The equivalent of the variable capital is advanced again for labour power and to that extent forms a revenue for the labourer in the shape of wages; since the other portion, the surplus value, does not serve to replace any advance of capital for the capitalist, it may be spent by him in articles of consumption (both necessities and luxuries) or consumed as revenue instead of forming capital value of any description. Commodity value itself is the preliminary condition of this revenue, and its component parts differ, from the point of view of the capitalist, only to the extent that they constitute either an equivalent *for* or an excess *over* the variable capital value advanced by him. Both of them consist of nothing but labour power expended during the production of commodities, rendered fluent in labour. They consist of outlay, not income or revenue—of outlay of labour.

In accordance with the *quid pro quo*, by which the revenue becomes the source of commodity value instead of the commodity value being the source of revenue, the value of commodities now has the appearance of being "composed" of the various kinds of revenue; these revenues are determined independently of one another, and the total value of commodities is determined by the addition of the values of these revenues. But now the question is how to determine the value of each of these revenues which are supposed to form commodity value. In the case of wages it can be done, for wages represent the value of their commodity, labour power, and this value is determinable (the same as that of all other commodities) by the labour required for the reproduction of this commodity. But surplus value, or, as Adam Smith has it, its two forms, profit and rent, how are they determined? Here Adam Smith has but empty phrases to offer. At one time he represents wages and surplus value (or wages and profit) as component parts of the value, or price, of commodities; at another, and almost

[a] After these English words Marx gives their German equivalent.

in the same breath, as parts into which the price of commodities "RESOLVES ITSELF"[a]; but this means on the contrary that the commodity value is the thing given first and that different parts of this given value fall in the form of different revenues to the share of different persons engaged in the production process. This is by no means identical with the notion that value is composed of these three "component parts". If I determine the lengths of three different straight lines independently, and then form out of these three lines as "component parts" a fourth straight line equal to their sum, it is by no means the same procedure as when I have some given straight line before me and for some purpose divide it, "resolve" it, so to say, into three different parts. In the first case, the length of the line changes throughout with the lengths of the three lines whose sum it is; in the second case, the lengths of the three parts of the line are from the outset limited by the fact that they are parts of a line of the given length.

As a matter of fact, if we adhere to that part of Smith's exposition which is correct, namely, that *the value newly created by the annual labour* and contained in the annual social commodity product (the same as in every individual commodity, or every daily, weekly, etc., product) is equal to the value of the variable capital advanced (i. e., to the value part intended to purchase new labour power) plus the surplus value which the capitalist can realise in means of his individual consumption — simple reproduction being assumed and other circumstances remaining the same; if we furthermore keep in mind that Adam Smith lumps together labour, so far as it creates value and is an expenditure of labour power, and labour, so far as it creates use value, i. e., is expended in a useful, appropriate manner — then the entire conception amounts to this: The value of every commodity is the product of labour; hence this is also true of the value of the product of the annual labour or of the value of society's annual commodity product. But since all labour resolves itself 1) into necessary labour time, in which the labourer reproduces merely an equivalent for the capital advanced in the purchase of his labour power, and 2) into surplus labour, by which he supplies the capitalist with a value for which the latter does not give any equivalent, hence surplus value, it follows that all commodity value can resolve itself only into these two component parts, so that ultimately it forms a revenue for the work-

[a] In the original, these English words are given in parentheses after their German equivalent.

ing class in the form of wages, and for the capitalist class in the form of surplus value. As for the constant capital value, i. e., the value of the means of production consumed in the creation of the annual product, it cannot be explained how this value gets into that of the new product (except for the phrase that the capitalist charges the buyer with it in the sale of his goods), but ULTIMATELY,[a] since the means of production are themselves products of labour, this portion of value can, in turn, consist only of an equivalent of the variable capital and of surplus value, of a product of necessary labour and of surplus labour. The fact that the values of these means of production function in the hands of their employers as capital values does not prevent them from having "originally", in the hands of others if we go to the bottom of the matter—even though at some previous time—resolved themselves into the same two portions of value, hence into two different sources of revenue.

One point herein is correct: that the matter presents itself differently in the movement of social capital, i. e., of the totality of individual capitals, from the way it presents itself for each individual capital considered separately, hence from the standpoint of each individual capitalist. For the latter the value of commodities resolves itself into 1) a constant element (a fourth one, as Adam Smith says), and 2) the sum of wages and surplus value, or wages, profit, and ground rent. But from the point of view of society the fourth element of Adam Smith, the constant capital value, disappears.

### 5. RECAPITULATION

The absurd formula that the three revenues, wages, profit, and rent, form the three "component parts" of the value of commodities originates with Adam Smith from the more plausible idea that the value of commodities "RESOLVES ITSELF"[b] into these three component parts. This is likewise incorrect, even granted that the value of commodities is divisible only into an equivalent of the consumed labour power and the surplus value created by it. But the mistake rests here too on a deeper, a true foundation. Capitalist production is based on the fact that the productive labourer sells his own labour power, as

[a] In the original, this English word is given after its German equivalent. - [b] In the original, these English words are given before their German equivalent.

his commodity, to the capitalist, in whose hands it then functions merely as an element of his productive capital. This transaction, which pertains to circulation — the sale and purchase of labour power — not only inaugurates the process of production, but also determines implicitly its specific character. The production of a use value, and even that of a commodity (for this can be carried on also by independent productive labourers), is here only a means of producing absolute and relative surplus value for a capitalist. For this reason we have seen in the analysis of the process of production that the production of absolute and relative surplus value determines 1) the duration of the daily labour process and 2) the entire social and technical configuration of the capitalist process of production. Within this process there is realised the distinction between the mere conservation of value (of the constant capital value), the actual reproduction of advanced value (equivalent of labour power), and the production of surplus value, i. e., of value for which the capitalist has neither advanced an equivalent previously nor will advance one *post festum*.

The appropriation of surplus value — a value in excess of the equivalent of the value advanced by the capitalist — although inaugurated by the purchase and sale of labour power, is an act performed within the process of production itself, and forms an essential element of it.

The introductory act, which constitutes an act of circulation — the purchase and sale of labour power — itself rests on a distribution of the *elements* of production which preceded and presupposed the distribution of the social *products*, namely on the separation of labour power as a commodity of the labourer from the means of production as the property of non-labourers.

However this appropriation of surplus value, or this separation of the production of value into a reproduction of advanced value and a production of new value (surplus value) which does not replace any equivalent, does not alter in any way the substance of value itself or the nature of the production of value. The substance of value is and remains nothing but expended labour power — labour independent of the specific, useful character of this labour — and the production of value is nothing but the process of this expenditure. A serf for instance expends his labour power for six days, labours for six days, and the fact of this expenditure as such is not altered by the circumstance that he may be working three days for himself, on his own field, and three days for his lord, on the field of the latter. Both his voluntary labour

for himself and his forced labour for his lord are equally labour; so far as this labour is considered with reference to the values, or to the useful articles created by it, there is no difference in his six days of labour. The difference refers merely to the different conditions by which the expenditure of his labour power during both halves of his labour time of six days is called forth. The same applies to the necessary and surplus labour of the wage labourer.

The process of production expires in the commodity. The fact that labour power was expended in its fabrication now appears as a material property of the commodity, as the property of possessing value. The magnitude of this value is measured by the amount of labour expended; the value of a commodity resolves itself into nothing else besides and is not composed of anything else. If I have drawn a straight line of definite length, I have, to start with, "produced" a straight line (true, only symbolically, as I know beforehand) by resort to the art of drawing, which is practised in accordance with certain rules (laws) independent of myself. If I divide this line into three sections (which may correspond to a certain problem), every one of these sections remains a straight line, and the entire line, whose sections they are, does not resolve itself by this division into anything different from a straight line, for instance into some kind of curve. Neither can I divide a line of a given length in such a way that the sum of its parts is greater than the undivided line itself; hence the length of the undivided line is not determined by any arbitrarily fixed lengths of its parts. Vice versa, the relative lengths of these parts are limited from the outset by the size of the line whose parts they are.

In this a commodity produced by a capitalist does not differ in any way from that produced by an independent labourer or by communities of working people or by slaves. But in the present case the entire product of labour, as well as its entire value, belongs to the capitalist. Like every other producer he has to convert his commodity by sale into money before he can manipulate it further; he must convert it into the form of the universal equivalent.

Let us examine the commodity product before it is converted into money. It belongs wholly to the capitalist. On the other hand as a useful product of labour, a use value, it is entirely the product of a past labour process. Not so its value. One portion of this value is but the value of the means of production expended in the production of the commodity and re-appearing in a new form. This value has not been produced during the process of production of this commodity, for the

means of production possessed this value before the process of production, independently of it; they entered into this process as the vehicles of this value; it is only its form of appearance that has been renewed and altered. This portion of the value of the commodity constitutes for the capitalist an equivalent of the portion of his constant capital value advanced and consumed in the production of the commodity. It existed previously in the form of means of production; it exists now as a component part of the value of the newly produced commodity. As soon as this commodity has been turned into money, the value now existing in the form of money must be reconverted into means of production, into its original form determined by the process of production and its function in it. Nothing is altered in the character of the value of a commodity by the function of this value as capital.

A second portion of the value of a commodity is the value of the labour power which the wage labourer sells to the capitalist. It is determined, the same as the value of the means of production, independently of the process of production into which labour power is to enter, and it is fixed in an act of circulation, the purchase and sale of labour power, before the latter enters the process of production. By means of his function — the expenditure of his labour power — the wage labourer produces a commodity value equal to the value which the capitalist has to pay him for the use of his labour power. He gives this value to the capitalist in the form of a commodity and is paid for it by him in money. That this portion of the commodity value is for the capitalist but an equivalent for the variable capital which he has to advance in wages does not alter in any way the fact that it is a commodity value newly created during the process of production and consisting of nothing but what surplus value consists of, namely, past expenditure of labour power. Nor is this truth affected by the fact that the value of the labour power paid by the capitalist to the labourer in the form of wages assumes the form of a revenue for the labourer, and that not only labour power is continually reproduced thereby but also the class of wage labourers as such, and thus the basis of the entire capitalist production.

However, the sum of these two portions of value does not comprise the whole of commodity value. There remains an excess over both of them — the surplus value. This, like the portion of value which replaces the variable capital advanced in wages, is a value newly created by the labourer during the process of production — congealed labour. But it does not cost the owner of the entire product, the capitalist,

anything. This circumstance actually permits the capitalist to consume the surplus value entirely as revenue, unless he has to surrender parts of it to other participants—such as ground rent to the landlord, in which case such portions constitute a revenue of such third persons. This same circumstance was the compelling motive that induced our capitalist to engage at all in the manufacture of commodities. But neither his original benevolent intention of snatching surplus value, nor its subsequent expenditure as revenue by him or others affects the surplus value as such. They do not impair the fact that it is congealed unpaid labour, nor the magnitude of this surplus value, which is determined by entirely different conditions.

However, if Adam Smith wanted to occupy himself, as he did, with the role of the various parts of this value in the total process of reproduction, even while he was investigating the value of commodities, it would be evident that while some particular parts function as revenue, others function just as continually as capital—and consequently, according to his logic, should have been designated as constituent parts of the commodity value, or parts into which this value resolves itself.

Adam Smith identifies the production of commodities in general with capitalist commodity production; the means of production are to him from the outset "capital", labour is from the outset wage labour, and therefore

> "the number of useful and productive labourers ... is everywhere in proportion TO THE QUANTITY OF CAPITAL STOCK WHICH IS EMPLOYED IN SETTING THEM TO WORK [a]" (Introduction, p. 12).

In short, the various factors of the labour process—both objective and personal—appear from the first with the masks characteristic of the period of capitalist production. The analysis of the value of commodities therefore coincides directly with the consideration of the extent to which this value is on the one hand a mere equivalent of capital laid out, and on the other, to what extent it forms "free" value, value not replacing any advanced capital value, or surplus value. Compared from this point of view, parts of commodity value thus transform themselves imperceptibly into its independent "component parts", and finally into the "sources of all value". A further conclu-

[a] In the original, these English words are given in parentheses after their German equivalent.

sion is that commodity value is composed of, or "resolves itself" into, revenues of various kinds, so that the revenues do not consist of commodity values but the commodity value consists of "revenues". As little, however, as the nature of a commodity value as such, or of money as such, is changed through their functioning as capital value, just so little is the nature of a commodity value changed on account of its functioning later as a revenue for some particular person. The commodity with which Adam Smith has to deal is from the outset commodity capital (which comprises surplus value in addition to the capital value consumed in the production of the commodity); it is therefore a commodity produced capitalistically, the result of the capitalist process of production. It would have been necessary, then, to analyse first this process, and also the process of self-expansion and of the formation of value, which it includes. Since this process is in its turn premised by the circulation of commodities, its description requires also a preliminary and independent analysis of the commodity. However, even where Adam Smith at times hits "esoterically" upon the correct thing he always takes into consideration the formation of value only as incidental to the analysis of commodities, i. e., to the analysis of commodity capital.

## III. LATER ECONOMISTS [41]

Ricardo reproduces the theory of Adam Smith almost verbatim:

"It must be understood that all the productions of a country are consumed; but it makes the greatest difference imaginable whether they are consumed by those who reproduce, or by those who do not reproduce another value. When we say that revenue is saved, and added to capital, what we mean is, that the portion of revenue, so said to be added to the capital, is consumed by productive instead of unproductive labourers" (*Principles*, p. 163).

In fact Ricardo fully accepted the theory of Adam Smith concerning the resolution of the price of commodities into wages and surplus value (or variable capital and surplus value). The points of dispute with him are 1) the component parts of the surplus value: he eliminates ground rent as an essential element of it; 2) Ricardo *splits* the price of the commodity into these component parts. The magnitude of value is, then, the *prius*. The sum of component parts is assumed as

[41] From here to the end of the chapter, a supplement from Manuscript II.

a given magnitude, it is the starting-point, while Adam Smith frequently acts to the contrary, against his own better judgement, by *post festum* deducing the magnitude of value of the commodity through the sum of the component parts.

Ramsay makes the following remark against Ricardo:

"He seems always to consider the whole produce as divided between wages and profits, forgetting the part necessary for replacing fixed capital" (*An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth*, Edinburgh, 1836, p. 174).

By fixed capital Ramsay means the same thing that I mean by constant capital:

"Fixed capital exists in a form in which, though assisting to raise the future commodity, it does not maintain labourers" (p 59).

Adam Smith opposed the necessary conclusion of his resolution of the value of commodities, and therefore also of the value of the social annual product into wages and surplus value and therefore into mere revenue—the conclusion that in this event the entire annual product might be consumed. It is never the original thinkers that draw the absurd conclusions. They leave that to the Says and MacCullochs.

Say, indeed, settles the matter easy enough. That which is an advance of capital for one, is or was a revenue and net product for another. The difference between the gross and the net product is purely subjective, and

"thus the total value of all products has been distributed in society as revenue" (Say, *Traité d'Economie Politique*, 1817, II, p. 64). "The total value of every product is composed of the profits of the landowners, the capitalists, and those who ply industrial trades" //wages figure here as *profits des industrieux!*//, "who have contributed towards its production. This makes the revenue of society equal to the *gross value produced*, not equal to the net product of the soil, as was believed by the sect of the economists" //the Physiocrats// (p. 63).

Among others, Proudhon has appropriated this discovery of Say.

Storch, who likewise accepts Adam Smith's doctrine in principle, finds however that Say's practical application of it does not hold water.

"If it is admitted that the revenue of a nation is equal to its gross product, i. e., that no capital" //it should say: no constant capital// "is to be deducted, then it must also be admitted that this nation may consume unproductively the entire value of its annual

product without the least detriment to its future revenue.... The products which represent the" //constant// "capital of a nation are not consumable" (Storch, *Considérations sur la nature du revenu national*, Paris, 1824, pp. 147, 150).[53]

However, Storch forgot to tell us how the existence of this constant portion of capital harmonises with the Smithian analysis of prices accepted by him, according to which the value of commodities contains only wages and surplus value, but no part of any constant capital. He realises only through Say that this analysis of prices leads to absurd results, and his own last word on the subject is

"that it is impossible to resolve the necessary price into its simplest elements" (*Cours d'Économie Politique*, Pétersbourg, 1815, II, p. 141).

Sismondi, who occupies himself particularly with the relation of capital to revenue, and in actual fact makes the peculiar formulation of this relation the *differentia specifica* of his *Nouveaux Principes*, did not say *one* scientific word, did not contribute one iota to the clarification of the problem.

Barton, Ramsay, and Cherbuliez[54] attempt to go beyond Smith's formulation. They founder because they pose the problem one-sidedly from the outset by failing to make clear the distinction between constant and variable capital value and between fixed and circulating capital.

John Stuart Mill likewise reproduces, with his usual pomposity, the doctrine handed down by Adam Smith to his followers.

As a result, the Smithian confusion of thought persists to this hour, and his dogma is one of the orthodox articles of faith of political economy.

# Chapter XX

## SIMPLE REPRODUCTION

### I. THE FORMULATION OF THE QUESTION

If we study[42)] the annual function of social capital—hence of the total capital of which the individual capitals form only fractional parts, whose movement is their individual movement and simultaneously an integrating link in the movement of the total capital—and

[42)] From Manuscript II.

its results, i. e., if we study the commodity product furnished by society during the year, then it must become apparent how the process of reproduction of the social capital takes place, what characteristics distinguish this process of reproduction from the process of reproduction of an individual capital, and what characteristics are common to both. The annual product includes those portions of the social product which replace capital, namely social reproduction, as well as those which go to the consumption fund, those which are consumed by labourers and capitalists, hence both productive and individual consumption. It comprises also the reproduction (i. e., maintenance) of the capitalist class and the working class, and thus the reproduction of the capitalist character of the entire process of production.

It is evidently the circulation formula $C' - \begin{cases} M - C \ldots P \ldots C' \\ m - c \end{cases}$ which we have to analyse, and consumption necessarily plays a role in it; for the point of departure, $C' = C + c$, the commodity capital, embraces both the constant and variable capital value, and the surplus value. Its movement therefore includes both individual and productive consumption. In the circuits $M - C \ldots P \ldots C' - M'$ and $P \ldots C' - M' - C \ldots P$, the movement of the *capital* is the starting and finishing point. And of course this includes consumption, for the commodity, the product, must be sold. When this has assumedly been done it is immaterial for the movement of the individual capital what becomes of this commodity subsequently. On the other hand in the movement of $C' \ldots C'$ the conditions of social reproduction are discernible precisely from the fact that it must be shown what becomes of every portion of value of this total product, $C'$. In this case the total process of reproduction includes the process of consumption brought about by the circulation quite as much as the process of reproduction of the capital itself.

For our present purpose this process of reproduction must be studied from the point of view of the replacement of the value as well as the substance of the individual component parts of $C'$. We cannot rest content any longer, as we did in the analysis of the value of the product of the individual capital, with the *assumption* that the individual capitalist can first convert the component parts of his capital into money by the sale of his commodities, and then reconvert them into productive capital by renewed purchase of the elements of production in the commodity market. Inasmuch as those elements of pro-

duction are by nature material, they represent as much a constituent of the social capital as the individual finished product, which is exchanged for them and replaced by them. Contrariwise the movement of that portion of the social commodity product which is consumed by the labourer in expending his wages, and by the capitalist in expending his surplus value, not only forms an integral part of the movement of the total product but intermingles with the movements of the individual capitals, and therefore this process cannot be explained by merely assuming it.

The question that confronts us directly is this: How is the *capital* consumed in production replaced in value out of the annual product and how does the movement of this replacement intertwine with the consumption of the surplus value by the capitalists and of the wages by the labourers? It is then first a matter of reproduction on a simple scale. It is furthermore assumed that products are exchanged at their values and also that there is no revolution in the values of the component parts of productive capital. The fact that prices diverge from values cannot, however, exert any influence on the movement of the social capital. On the whole, there is the same exchange of the same quantities of products, although the individual capitalists are involved in value relations no longer proportional to their respective advances and to the quantities of surplus value produced singly by every one of them. As for revolutions in value, they do not alter anything in the relations between the value components of the total annual product, provided they are universally and evenly distributed. To the extent however that they are partially and unevenly distributed, they represent disturbances which, in the *first* place, can be understood as such only as far as they are regarded as *divergences* from unchanged value relations; but, in the *second* place, once there is proof of the law according to which one portion of the value of the annual product replaces constant, and another portion variable capital, a revolution either in the value of the constant or that of the variable capital would not alter anything in this law. It would change merely the relative magnitudes of the portions of value which function in the one or the other capacity, because other values would have taken the places of the original ones.

So long as we looked upon the production of value and the value of the product of capital individually, the bodily form of the commodities produced was wholly immaterial for the analysis, whether it was machines, for instance, corn, or looking glasses. It was always but

a matter of illustration, and any branch of production could have served that purpose equally well. What we dealt with was the immediate process of production itself, which presents itself at every point as the process of some individual capital. So far as the reproduction of capital was concerned, it was sufficient to assume that that portion of the product in commodities which represents capital value finds an opportunity in the sphere of circulation to reconvert itself into its elements of production and thus into its form of productive capital; just as it sufficed to assume that both the labourer and the capitalist find in the market those commodities on which they spend wages and surplus value. This merely formal manner of presentation is no longer adequate in the study of the total social capital and of the value of its products. The reconversion of one portion of the value of the product into capital and the passing of another portion into the individual consumption of the capitalist as well as the working class form a movement within the value of the product itself in which the result of the aggregate capital finds expression; and this movement is not only a replacement of value, but also a replacement in material and is therefore as much bound up with the relative proportions of the value components of the total social product as with their use value, their material shape.

Simple[43] reproduction, reproduction on the same scale, appears as an abstraction, inasmuch as on the one hand the absence of all accumulation or reproduction on an extended scale is a strange assumption in capitalist conditions, and on the other hand conditions of production do not remain exactly the same in different years (and this is assumed). The assumption is that a social capital of a given magnitude produces the same quantity of commodity value this year as last, and supplies the same quantum of wants, although the forms of the commodities may change in the process of reproduction. However, as far as accumulation does take place, simple reproduction is always a part of it, and can therefore be studied by itself, and is an actual factor of accumulation. The value of the annual product may decrease, although the quantity of use values may remain the same; or the value may remain the same although the quantity of the use values may decrease; or the quantity of value and of the reproduced use values may decrease simultaneously. All this amounts to reproduction

[43] From Manuscript VIII.

taking place either under more favourable conditions than before or under more difficult ones, which may result in imperfect—defective—reproduction. All this can refer only to the quantitative aspect of the various elements of reproduction, not to the role which they play as reproducing capital or as a reproduced revenue in the entire process.

## II. THE TWO DEPARTMENTS OF SOCIAL PRODUCTION[44]

The total product, and therefore the total production, of society may be divided into two major departments:

I. *Means of production*, commodities having a form in which they must, or at least may, pass into productive consumption.

II. *Articles of consumption*, commodities having a form in which they pass into the individual consumption of the capitalist and the working class.

All the various branches of production pertaining to each of these two departments form one single great branch of production, that of the means of production in the one case, and that of articles of consumption in the other. The aggregate capital employed in each of these two branches of production constitutes a separate large department of the social capital.

In each department the capital consists of two component parts:

1) *Variable capital.* This capital, so far as its *value* is concerned, is equal to the value of the social labour power employed in this branch of production; in other words, it is equal to the sum of the wages paid for this labour power. So far as its substance is concerned, it consists of the labour power in action, i. e., of the living labour set in motion by this capital value.

2) *Constant capital.* This is the value of all the means of production employed for productive purposes in this branch. These, again, are divided into *fixed* capital, such as machines, instruments of labour, buildings, labouring cattle, etc., and *circulating* constant capital, such as materials of production: raw and auxiliary materials, semi-finished products, etc.

The value of the total annual product created with the aid of this capital in each of the two departments consists of one portion which represents the constant capital c consumed in the process of produc-

[44] Mainly from Manuscript II, the scheme from Manuscript VIII.

tion and only transferred to the product in accordance with its value, and of another portion added by the entire labour of the year. This latter portion is divided in turn into the replacement of the advanced variable capital v and the excess over and above it, which forms the surplus value s. And just as the value of every individual commodity, that of the entire annual product of each department consists of c + v + s.

Portion c of the value, representing the constant capital *consumed* in production, does not coincide with the value of the constant capital *employed* in production. True, the materials of production are entirely consumed and their values completely transferred to the product. But only a portion of the employed *fixed* capital is wholly consumed and its value thus transferred to the product. Another part of the fixed capital, such as machines, buildings, etc., continues to exist and function the same as before, though depreciated to the extent of the annual wear and tear. This persistent portion of the fixed capital does not exist for us, when we consider the value of the product. It is a portion of the capital value, which exists independently and alongside of this newly produced commodity value. This was shown previously in the analysis of the value of the product of individual capital (Buch I, Kap. VI, S. 192).[a] However, for the present we must leave aside the method of analysis employed there. We saw in the study of the value of the product of individual capital that the value of which the fixed capital was shorn through wear and tear is transferred to the commodity product created during the time of wear, irrespective of whether or not any portion of this fixed capital is replaced *in natura* during this time out of the value thus transferred. At this point in the study of the total social product and of its value, however, we are compelled, at least for the present, to leave out of account that portion of value which is transferred from the fixed capital to the annual product by wear and tear, unless this fixed capital is replaced *in natura* during the year. In one of the following sections of this chapter we shall discuss this point in particular.

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We shall base our study of simple reproduction on the following scheme, in which c = constant capital, v = variable capital, and

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. VIII (see present edition, Vol. 35).

s = surplus value, assuming the rate of surplus value $\frac{s}{v}$ to be 100%. The figures may indicate millions of marks, francs, or pounds sterling.

I. Production of means of production:

Capital . . . . . $4{,}000_c + 1{,}000_v = 5{,}000$

Commodity product $4{,}000_c + 1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s = 6{,}000$,

existing in means of production.

II. Production of articles of consumption:

Capital . . . . . $2{,}000_c + 500_v = 2{,}500$

Commodity product $2{,}000_c + 500_v + 500_s = 3{,}000$,

existing in articles of consumption.

Recapitulation: Total annual commodity product:

I. $4{,}000_c + 1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s = 6{,}000$ means of production.

II. $2{,}000_c + 500_v + 500_s = 3{,}000$ articles of consumption.

Total value = 9,000, exclusive of the fixed capital persisting in its natural form, according to our assumption.

If we were now to examine the transformations necessary on the basis of simple reproduction, where the entire surplus value is unproductively consumed, and leave aside for the present the money circulation that brings them about, we should obtain at the outset three great points of support.

1) The $500_v$, representing wages of the labourers, and $500_s$, representing surplus value of the capitalists, in department II, must be spent for articles of consumption. But their value exists in articles of consumption worth 1,000, held by the capitalists of department II, which replace the advanced $500_v$ and represent the $500_s$. Consequently the wages and surplus value of department II are exchanged within this department for products of this same department. Thereby articles of consumption to the amount of $(500_v + 500_s)$ II = 1,000 drop out of the total product.

2) The $1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s$ of department I must likewise be spent for articles of consumption; in other words, for the product of department II. Hence they must be exchanged for the remainder of this product equal to the constant capital part, $2{,}000_c$. Department II receives in return an equal quantity of means of production, the product of I, in which the value of $1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s$ of I is incorporated. Thereby 2,000 $\text{II}_c$ and $(1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s)$ I drop out of the calculation.

3) There still remain 4,000 $\text{I}_c$. These consist of means of production which can be used only in department I to replace its consumed constant capital, and are therefore disposed of by mutual exchange between the individual capitalists of I, just as the $(500_v + 500_s)$ II by an

exchange between the labourers and capitalists, or between the individual capitalists of II.

Let this serve for the moment to facilitate the understanding of what follows.

### III. EXCHANGE BETWEEN THE TWO DEPARTMENTS $I_{(V+S)}$ versus $II_C$ [45]

We begin with the great exchange between the two classes. ($1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s$) I — these values consisting, in the hands of their producers, of means of production in their bodily form, are exchanged for 2,000 $II_c$, for values consisting of articles of consumption in their bodily form. The capitalist class of II thereby reconverts its constant capital of 2,000 from the form of articles of consumption into that of means of production of articles of consumption, into a form in which it can once more function as a factor of the labour process and for purposes of self-expansion of value as constant capital value. On the other hand the equivalent of the labour power of I ($1{,}000_v$) and the surplus value of the capitalists of I ($1{,}000_s$) are realised thereby in articles of consumption; both of them are converted from their bodily form of means of production into a bodily form in which they can be consumed as revenue.

Now, this mutual exchange is accomplished by means of a circulation of money, which promotes it just as much as it renders its understanding difficult, but which is of decisive importance because the variable portion of capital must ever resume the form of money, as money capital converting itself from the form of money into labour power. The variable capital must be advanced in the form of money in all branches of production carried on at the entire periphery of society simultaneously alongside each other, regardless of whether they belong to category I or II. The capitalist buys the labour power before it enters into the process of production, but pays for it only at stipulated times, after it has been expended in the production of use values. He owns, together with the remainder of the value of the product, also that portion of it which is only an equivalent for the money expended in the payment of labour power, that portion of the value of the product which represents variable capital. In this portion of value the labourer has already supplied the capitalist with the equiv-

[45] Here Manuscript VIII is resumed.

alent of his wages. But it is the reconversion of commodities into money, their sale, which restores to the capitalist his variable capital in the form of money capital, which he may advance once more for the purchase of labour power.

In department I, then, the aggregate capitalist has paid £1,000 (I say £ solely to indicate that it is value in the *form of money*) equal to $1,000_v$, to the labourers for the value of product I already existing as the v-portion, i. e., of the means of production created by them. With these £1,000 the labourers buy articles of consumption of the same value from capitalists II, thereby converting one half of the constant capital II into money; capitalists II, in their turn, buy with these £1,000 means of production, valued at 1,000, from capitalists I; thereby, as far as the latter are concerned, the variable capital value equal to $1,000_v$, which, being part of their product, existed in the bodily form of means of production, is thus reconverted into money and can now function anew in the hands of capitalists I as money capital, which is transformed into labour power, hence into the most essential element of productive capital. In this way their variable capital flows back to them in the form of money, as a result of the realisation of some of their commodity capital.

As for the money required to exchange the s-portion of commodity capital I for the second half of constant capital II, it may be advanced in various ways. In reality this circulation embraces innumerable separate purchases and sales by the individual capitalists of both categories, the money coming in any event from these capitalists, since we have already accounted for the money put into circulation by the labourers. A capitalist of category II can buy, with the money capital he has besides his productive capital, means of production from capitalists of category I, and, vice versa, a capitalist of category I can buy, with money funds assigned for personal and not for capital expenditure, articles of consumption from capitalists of category II. A certain supply of money, to be used either for the advancement of capital or for the expenditure of revenue, must under all circumstances be assumed to exist beside the productive capital in the hands of the capitalists, as we have shown above in parts I and II. Let us assume — the proportion is wholly immaterial for our purpose — that one half of the money is advanced by capitalists II in the purchase of means of production for the replacement of their constant capital, while the other half is spent by capitalists I for articles of consumption. In that case department II advances £500 for the purchase of means of pro-

duction from department I, thereby replacing (inclusive of the above £1,000 coming from the labourers of department I) $^3/_4$ of its constant capital *in natura*; with the £500 so obtained department I buys articles of consumption from II, thereby completing for one half of the s-portion of its commodity capital the circulation c—m—c, and thus realising its product in the consumption fund. By means of this second process the £500 return to the hands of II as money capital existing beside its productive capital. On the other hand I expends money to the amount of £500 for the purchase of II's articles of consumption in anticipation of the sale of that half of the s-portion of its commodity capital which is still lying in store as product. With the same £500 II buys from I means of production, thereby replacing *in natura* its entire constant capital (1,000 + 500 + 500 = 2,000), while I realises its entire surplus value in articles of consumption. On the whole, the entire exchange of commodities in the amount of £4,000 would be effected with a money circulation of £2,000, which amount is attained only because the entire annual product is described as exchanged in bulk, in a few large lots. The important point here is that II has not only reconverted its constant capital, reproduced in the form of articles of consumption, into the form of means of production, but has besides recovered the £500 which it had advanced to the circulation for the purchase of means of production; and that, similarly, I again possesses not only its variable capital, which it had reproduced in the form of means of production, in money form, as money capital once more directly convertible into labour power, but also the £500 expended in the purchase of articles of consumption in anticipation of the sale of the s-portion of its capital. But these £500 flow back to it not because of the expenditure incurred, but because of the subsequent sale of a part of its commodity product incorporating one half of its surplus value.

In both cases it is not only that the constant capital of II is reconverted from the form of a product into the bodily form of means of production, in which alone it can function as capital; and likewise it is not only that the variable portion of the capital of I is converted into its money form, and the surplus-value portion of the means of production of I into its consumable form, the form in which it can be used as revenue. It is also that the £500 of money capital, advanced by II in the purchase of means of production prior to selling the corresponding compensating portion of the value of its constant capital—existing in the form of means of consumption—flow back to II; and

furthermore back to I flow the £500 which were expended *anticipando* by it for the purchase of articles of consumption. If the money advanced by II at the expense of the constant portion of its commodity product, and by I at the expense of the surplus-value portion of its commodity product, flows back to them, this is solely because the one class of capitalists throws £500 into circulation over and above the constant capital existing in the form of commodities in II, and the other class a like amount over and above the surplus value existing in the form of commodities in I. In the last analysis the two departments have mutually paid one another in full by the exchange of equivalents in the shape of their respective commodities. The money thrown into circulation by them in excess of the values of their commodities, as a means of effecting the exchange of these commodities, returns to each one of them out of the circulation in proportion to the quota which each of the two had thrown into circulation. Neither has grown a farthing richer thereby. II possessed a constant capital of 2,000 in the form of articles of consumption and 500 in money; now it possesses 2,000 in means of production + 500 in money, the same as before; in the same way I possesses, as before, a surplus value of 1,000 (consisting of commodities, means of production, now converted into a consumption fund) + 500 in money.

The general conclusion is this: Of the money which the industrial capitalists throw into circulation to accomplish their own commodity circulation, whether at the expense of the constant part of the commodity value or at the expense of the surplus value existing in the commodities to the extent that it is laid out as revenue, as much returns into the hands of the respective capitalists as was advanced by them for the money circulation.

As for the reconversion of the variable capital of class I into the form of money, this capital, after the capitalists of I invested it in wages, exists for them first in the form of commodities in which the labourers delivered it to them. They paid this capital in the form of money to these labourers as the price of their labour power. To this extent the capitalists have paid for that constituent part of the value of their commodity product which is equal to the variable capital expended in the form of money. They are, for this reason, the owners of this portion of the commodity product as well. But that part of the working class which is employed by them does not buy the means of production created by it; these labourers buy articles of consumption produced by II. Hence the variable capital advanced by the capital-

ists of I in the payment of labour power in money form does not return to them directly. It passes by means of purchases made by the labourers into the hands of the capitalist producers of the commodities necessary for and within the reach of working folks; in other words, it passes into the hands of capitalists II. And not until these expend the money in the purchase of means of production does it return by this circuitous route into the hands of capitalists I.

It follows that, on the basis of simple reproduction, the sum of the values of v + s of the commodity capital of I (and therefore a corresponding proportional part of the total commodity product of I) must be equal to the constant capital $II_c$, which is likewise taken as a proportional part of the total commodity product of department II; $I_{(v+s)} = II_c$.

## IV. EXCHANGE WITHIN DEPARTMENT II. NECESSITIES OF LIFE AND ARTICLES OF LUXURY

Of the value of the commodity product of department II there still remain to be studied the constituents v + s. This analysis has nothing to do with the most important question which occupies our attention here, namely to what extent the division of the value of every individual capitalist commodity product into c + v + s—even if brought about by different forms of appearance—applies also to the value of the total annual product. This question finds its answers on the one hand in the exchange of $I_{(v+s)}$ for $II_c$, and on the other hand in the investigation, to be made later,[a] of the reproduction of $I_c$ in the annual product of I. Since $II_{(v+s)}$ exists in the bodily form of articles of consumption, since the variable capital advanced to the labourers in payment of their labour power must generally speaking be spent by them for articles of consumption, and since the s-portion of the value of commodities, on the assumption of simple reproduction, is practically spent as revenue for articles of consumption, it is *prima facie* evident that the labourers II buy back, with the wages received from the capitalists II, a portion of their own product, corresponding to the amount of the money value received as wages. Thereby the capitalist class II reconverts the money capital advanced by it in the payment of labour power into the form of money. It is quite the same as if it had paid the labourers in mere value tokens. As soon as the labourers

[a] See this volume, pp. 420-23.

would realise these value tokens by the purchase of a part of the commodities produced by them but belonging to the capitalists, these tokens would return into the hands of the capitalists. Only, these tokens do not merely represent value but possess it, in golden or silver embodiment. We shall analyse in greater detail later on this sort of reflux of variable capital advanced in the form of money by means of a process in which the working class appears as the purchaser and the capitalist class as the seller. Here however a different point is at issue, which must be discussed in connection with this return of the variable capital to its point of departure.

Category II of the annual production of commodities consists of a great variety of branches of production, which may, however, be divided into two great sub-divisions by their products:

a) Articles of consumption, which enter into the consumption of the working class, and, to the extent that they are necessities of life — even if frequently different in quality and value from those of the labourers — also form a portion of the consumption of the capitalist class. For our purposes we may call this entire sub-division consumer *necessities*, regardless of whether such a product as tobacco is really a consumer necessity from the physiological point of view. It suffices that it is habitually such.

b) Articles of *luxury*, which enter into the consumption of only the capitalist class and can therefore be exchanged only for spent surplus value, which never falls to the share of the labourer.

As far as the first category is concerned it is obvious that the variable capital advanced in the production of the commodities belonging in it must flow back in money form directly to that portion of the capitalist class II (i. e., the capitalists IIa) who have produced these necessities of life. They sell them to their own labourers to the amount of the variable capital paid to them in wages. This reflux is *direct* so far as this entire sub-division a of the capitalist class II is concerned, no matter how numerous the transactions may be between the capitalists of the various pertinent branches of industry, by means of which the returning variable capital is distributed *pro rata*. These are processes of circulation, whose means of circulation are supplied directly by the money expended by the labourers. It is different, however, with subdivision IIb. The entire portion of the value produced in this subdivision, $IIb_{(v+s)}$, exists in the bodily form of articles of luxury, i. e., articles which the labouring class can buy no more than it can buy commodity value $I_v$ existing in the form of means of production, not-

withstanding the fact that both the articles of luxury and the means of production are the products of these labourers. Hence the reflux by which the variable capital advanced in this sub-division returns to the capitalist producers in its money form cannot be direct but must be mediated, as in the case of $I_v$.

Let us assume for instance that v = 500 and s = 500, as we did in the case of the entire class II; but that the variable capital and the corresponding surplus value are distributed as follows:

Sub-division a, necessities of life: v = 400, s = 400; hence a quantity of commodities in consumer necessities of the value of $400_v + 400_s = 800$, or IIa $(400_v + 400_s)$.

Sub-division b, articles of luxury: of the value of $100_v + 100_s = 200$, or IIb $(100_v + 100_s)$.

The labourers of IIb have received 100 in money as payment for their labour power, or say £100. With this money they buy articles of consumption from capitalists IIa to the same amount. This class of capitalists buys with the same money £100 worth of the IIb commodities, and in this way the variable capital of capitalists IIb flows back to them in the form of money.

In IIa there are available once more $400_v$ in money, in the hands of the capitalists, obtained by exchange with their own labourers. Besides, a fourth of the part of the product representing surplus value has been transferred to the labourers of IIb, and in exchange IIb $(100_v)$ have been received in the form of articles of luxury.

Now, assuming that the capitalists of IIa and IIb divide the expenditure of their revenue in the same proportion between necessities of life and luxuries—$^3/_5$ for necessities of life, for instance, and $^2/_5$ for luxuries—the capitalists of sub-class IIa will spend $^3/_5$ of their revenue from surplus value, amounting to $400_s$, or 240, for their own products, necessities of life, and $^2/_5 = 160$ for articles of luxury. The capitalists of sub-class IIb will divide their surplus value of $100_s$ in the same way: $^3/_5 = 60$ for necessities, and $^2/_5 = 40$ for articles of luxury, the latter being produced and exchanged in their own sub-class.

The 160 in articles of luxury received by $(IIa)_s$ pass into the hands of the IIa capitalists in the following manner: As we have seen, 100 of the (IIa) $400_s$ were exchanged in the form of necessities of life for an equal amount of $(IIb)_v$, which exists as articles of luxury, and another 60, consisting of necessities of life, for (IIb) $60_s$, consisting of luxuries. The total calculation then stands as follows:

$$\text{IIa: } 400_v + 400_s; \quad \text{IIb: } 100_v + 100_s.$$

1) $400_v$ (a) are consumed by the labourers of IIa, a part of whose product (necessities of life) they form. The labourers buy them from the capitalist producers of their own sub-division. These capitalists thereby recover £400 in money, which is the value of their variable capital of 400 paid by them to these same labourers as wages; they can now once more buy labour power with it.

2) A part of the $400_s$ (a), equal to the $100_v$ (b), $^1/_4$ of the surplus value (a), is realised in luxuries in the following way: The labourers (b) received from the capitalists of their sub-division (b) £100 in wages. With this amount they buy $^1/_4$ of the surplus value (a), i. e., commodities consisting of necessities of life. With this money the capitalists of (a) buy articles of luxury to the same amount, which equals $100_v$ (b), or one half of the entire output of luxuries. In this way the b capitalists get back their variable capital in the form of money and are enabled to resume reproduction by again purchasing labour power, since the entire constant capital of the whole category II has already been replaced by the exchange of $I_{(v+s)}$ for $II_c$. The labour power of the luxury workers is therefore saleable anew only because the part of their own product created as an equivalent for their wages is drawn by capitalists IIa into their consumption fund, is turned into money. (The same applies to the sale of the labour power of I, since the $II_c$ for which $I_{(v+s)}$ is exchanged consists of both articles of luxury and necessities of life, and that which is renewed by means of $I_{(v+s)}$ constitutes the means of production of both luxuries and necessities.)

3) We now come to the exchange between a and b, which is merely exchange between the capitalists of the two sub-divisions. So far we have disposed of the variable capital ($400_v$) and part of the surplus value ($100_s$) in a, and the variable capital ($100_v$) in b. We have furthermore assumed that the average proportion of the expenditure of the capitalist revenue was in both classes $^2/_5$ for luxuries and $^3/_5$ for necessities. Apart from the 100 already expended for luxuries, the entire sub-division a still has to be allotted 60 for luxuries, and b has proportionately to be allotted 40.

$(IIa)_s$ is then divided into 240 for necessities and 160 for luxuries, or $240 + 160 = 400_s$ (IIa).

$(IIb)_s$ is divided into 60 for necessities and 40 for luxuries:

$60 + 40 = 100_s$ (IIb). The last 40 are consumed by this class out of its own product ($^2/_5$ of its surplus value); the 60 in necessities are obtained by this class through the exchange of 60 of its surplus value for $60_s$ (a).

We have, then, for the entire capitalist class II the following (v + s in sub-division a consisting of necessities, in b of luxuries):

IIa $(400_v + 400_s)$ + IIb $(100_v + 100_s) = 1{,}000$; by this movement there is thus realised: $500_v$ (a + b) //realised in $400_v$ (a) and $100_s$ (a)// + $500_s$ (a + b) //realised in $300_s$ (a) + $100_v$ (b) + $100_s$ (b)// = 1,000.

For a and b, each considered by itself, we obtain the following realisation:

$$\text{a)}\ \frac{v}{400_v\,(a)} + \frac{s}{240_s\,(a) + 100_s\,(b) + 60_s\,(b)} = 800$$

$$\text{b)}\ \frac{v}{100_s\,(a)} + \frac{s}{60_s\,(a) + 40_s\,(b)} \ldots = \frac{200}{1{,}000}.$$

If, for the sake of simplicity, we assume the same proportion between the variable and constant capital (which, by the way, is not at all necessary), we obtain for $400_v$ (a) a constant capital of 1,600, and for $100_v$ (b) a constant capital of 400. We then have the following two sub-divisions, a and b, in II:

$$\begin{aligned} &\text{IIa)}\ 1{,}600_c + 400_v + 400_s = 2{,}400 \\ &\text{IIb)}\ \ \ 400_c + 100_v + 100_s = \ \ 600, \end{aligned}$$

adding up to

$$2{,}000_c + 500_v + 500_s = 3{,}000.$$

Accordingly 1,600 of the 2,000 $II_c$ in articles of consumption, which are exchanged for 2,000 $I_{(v+s)}$, are exchanged for means of production of necessities of life and 400 for means of production of luxuries.

The 2,000 $I_{(v+s)}$ would therefore break up into $(800_v + 800_s)$ I for a, equal to 1,600 means of production of necessities of life, and $(200_v + 200_s)$ I for b, equal to 400 means of production of luxuries.

A considerable part of the instruments of labour as such, as well as of the raw and auxiliary materials, etc., is the same for both departments. But so far as the exchange of the various portions of value of

the total product $I_{(v+s)}$ is concerned, such a division would be wholly immaterial. Both the above $800_v$ of I and the $200_v$ of I are realised because the wages are spent for articles of consumption 1,000 $II_c$; hence the money capital advanced for this purpose is distributed evenly on its return among the capitalist producers of I, their advanced variable capital is replaced *pro rata* in money. On the other hand, so far as the realisation of the 1,000 $I_s$ is concerned, the capitalists will here likewise draw uniformly (in proportion to the magnitude of their s) 600 IIa and 400 IIb in means of consumption out of the entire second half of $II_c$ = 1,000; consequently those who replace the constant capital of IIa will draw:

480 ($^3/_5$) out of $600_c$ (IIa) and 320 ($^2/_5$) out of $400_c$ (IIb) = 800; those who replace the constant capital of IIb will draw:

120 ($^3/_5$) out of $600_c$ (IIa) and 80 ($^2/_5$) out of $400_c$ (IIb) = 200. Grand total = 1,000.

What is arbitrary here is the ratio of the variable to the constant capital of both I and II and so is the identity of this ratio for I and II and their sub-divisions. As for this identity, it has been assumed here merely for the sake of simplification, and it would not alter in any way the conditions of the problem and its solution if we were to assume different proportions. However, the necessary result of all this, on the assumption of simple reproduction, is the following:

1) That the new value created by the labour of one year (divisible into v + s) in the natural form of means of production is equal to the value of the constant capital c contained in the value of the product created by the other part of the annual labour and reproduced in the form of articles of consumption. If it were smaller than $II_c$, it would be impossible for II to replace its constant capital entirely; if it were greater, a surplus would remain unused. In either case, the assumption of simple reproduction would be violated.

2) That in the case of annual product which is reproduced in the form of articles of consumption, the variable capital v advanced in the form of money can be realised by its recipients, inasmuch as they are labourers producing luxuries, only in that portion of the necessities of life which embodies for their capitalist producers *prima facie* their surplus value; hence that v, laid out in the production of luxuries, is equal in value to a corresponding portion of s produced in the form of necessities of life, and hence must be smaller than the whole of this s, namely $(IIa)_s$, and that the variable capital advanced by the capitalist producers of luxuries returns to them in the form of money

only by means of the realisation of that v in this portion of s. This phenomenon is quite analogous to the realisation of $I_{(v+s)}$ in $II_c$, except that in the second case $(IIb)_v$ realises itself in a *part* of $(IIa)_s$ of the same value. These proportions remain qualitatively determinant in every distribution of the total annual product, since it actually enters into the process of the annual reproduction brought about by circulation. $I_{(v+s)}$ can be realised only in $II_c$, just as $II_c$ can only be renewed in its function as a component part of productive capital by means of this realisation; in the same way, $(IIb)_v$ can be realised only in a portion of $(IIa)_s$ and $(IIb)_v$ can only thus be reconverted into the form of money capital. It goes without saying that this applies only to the extent that it all is really a result of the process of reproduction itself, i. e., to the extent that the capitalists of IIb, for instance, do not obtain money capital for v on credit from others. Quantitatively however the exchanges of the various portions of the annual product can take place in the proportions indicated above only so long as the scale and value relations in production remain stationary and so long as these strict relations are not altered by foreign commerce.

Now, if we were to say after the manner of Adam Smith that $I_{(v+s)}$ resolve themselves into $II_c$, and $II_c$ resolves itself into $I_{(v+s)}$, or, as he used to say more frequently and still more absurdly, $I_{(v+s)}$ constitute component parts of the price (or "VALUE IN EXCHANGE", as he has it) of $II_c$ and $II_c$ constitutes the entire component part of the value of $I_{(v+s)}$, then one could and should likewise say that $(IIb)_v$ resolves itself into $(IIa)_s$, or $(IIa)_s$ into $(IIb)_v$, or $(IIb)_v$ forms a component part of the surplus value of IIa, and, vice versa, the surplus value thus resolves itself into wages, or into variable capital, and the variable capital forms a "component part" of the surplus value. This absurdity is indeed found in Adam Smith, since with him wages are determined by the value of the necessities of life, and these commodity values in their turn by the value of the wages (variable capital) and surplus value contained in them. He is so absorbed in the fractional parts into which the value product of one working day is divided on the basis of capitalism — namely into v + s — that he quite forgets that it is immaterial in simple commodity exchange whether the equivalents existing in various natural forms consist of paid or unpaid labour, since their production costs in either case the same amount of labour; and that it is also immaterial whether the commodity of A is a means of production and that of B an article of consumption and whether one commodity has to serve as a component

part of capital after its sale while another passes into the consumption fund and, *secundum*[a] Adam, is consumed as revenue. The use to which the individual buyer puts his commodity does not come within the scope of commodity exchange, the sphere of circulation, and does not affect the value of the commodity. This is in no wise altered by the fact that in the analysis of the circulation of the total annual social product, the definite use for which it is intended, the factor of consumption of the various component parts of that product, must be taken into consideration.

In the exchange established above of $(IIb)_v$ for a portion of $(IIa)_s$ of the same value, and in the further exchanges between $(IIa)_s$ and $(IIb)_s$ it is by no means assumed that either the individual capitalists of IIa and IIb or their respective totalities divide their surplus value in the same proportion between necessary articles of consumption and articles of luxury. The one may spend more on this consumption, the other more on that. On the basis of simple reproduction it is merely assumed that a sum of values equal to the entire surplus value is realised in the consumption fund. The limits are thus given. Within each department the one may spend more in a, the other in b. But this may compensate itself mutually, so that the capitalist groups of a and b, taken as a whole, each participate in the same proportion in both. The value relations — the proportional shares of the two kinds of producers a and b in the total value of product II — consequently also a definite quantitative relation between the branches of production supplying those products — are however necessarily given in each concrete case; only the proportion chosen as an illustration is a hypothetical one. It would not alter the qualitative aspects if another illustration were selected; only the quantitative determinations would be altered. But if on account of any circumstances there arises an actual change in the relative magnitude of a and b, the conditions of simple reproduction would also change accordingly.

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Since $(IIb)_v$ is realised in an equivalent part of $(IIa)_s$, it follows that in proportion as the luxury part of the annual product grows, as therefore an increasing share of the labour power is absorbed in the production of luxuries, the reconversion of the variable capital ad-

[a] according to

vanced in $(IIb)_v$ into money capital functioning anew as the money form of the variable capital, and thereby the existence and reproduction of the part of the working class employed in IIb — the supply to them of consumer necessities — depends upon the prodigality of the capitalist class, upon the exchange of a considerable portion of their surplus value for articles of luxury.

Every crisis at once lessens the consumption of luxuries. It retards, delays the reconversion of $(IIb)_v$ into money capital, permitting it only partially and thus throwing a certain number of the labourers employed in the production of luxuries out of work, while on the other hand it thus clogs the sale of consumer necessities and reduces it. And this without mentioning the unproductive labourers who are dismissed at the same time, labourers who receive for their services a portion of the capitalists' luxury expense fund (these labourers are themselves *pro tanto* luxuries) and who take part to a very considerable extent in the consumption of the necessities of life, etc. The reverse takes place in periods of prosperity, particularly during the times of bogus prosperity, in which the relative value of money, expressed in commodities, decreases also for other reasons (without any actual revolution in values), so that the prices of commodities rise independently of their own values. It is not alone the consumption of necessities of life which increases. The working class (now actively reinforced by its entire reserve army) also enjoys momentarily articles of luxury ordinarily beyond its reach, and those articles which at other times constitute for the greater part consumer "necessities" only for the capitalist class. This on its part calls forth a rise in prices.

It is sheer tautology to say that crises are caused by the scarcity of effective consumption, or of effective consumers. The capitalist system does not know any other modes of consumption than effective ones, except that of *sub forma pauperis* or of the "thief". That commodities are unsaleable means only that no effective purchasers have been found for them, i. e., consumers (since commodities are bought in the final analysis for productive or individual consumption). But if one were to attempt to give this tautology the semblance of a profounder justification by saying that the working class receives too small a portion of its own product and the evil would be remedied as soon as it receives a larger share of it and its wages increase in consequence, one could only remark that crises are always prepared by precisely a period in which wages rise generally and the working class actually gets a larger share of that part of the annual product which is intend-

ed for consumption. From the point of view of these advocates of sound and "simple" (!) common sense, such a period should rather remove the crisis. It appears, then, that capitalist production comprises conditions independent of good or bad will, conditions which permit the working class to enjoy that relative prosperity only momentarily, and at that always only as the harbinger of a coming crisis.[47]

We saw a while ago that the proportion between the production of consumer necessities and that of luxuries requires the division of $II_{(v+s)}$ between IIa and IIb, and thus of $II_c$ between $(IIa)_c$ and $(IIb)_c$. Hence this division affects the character and the quantitative relations of production to their very roots, and is an essential determining factor of its general structure.

Simple reproduction is essentially directed toward consumption as an end, although the grabbing of surplus value appears as the compelling motive of the individual capitalists; but surplus value, whatever its relative magnitude may be, is after all supposed to serve here only for the individual consumption of the capitalist.

As simple reproduction is a part, and the most important one at that, of all annual reproduction on an extended scale, this motive remains as an accompaniment of and contrast to the self-enrichment motive as such. In reality the matter is more complicated, because PARTNERS[a] in the loot—the surplus value of the capitalist—figure as consumers independent of him.

## V. THE MEDIATION OF EXCHANGE BY THE CIRCULATION OF MONEY

So far as we have analysed circulation up to the present, it proceeded between the various classes of producers as indicated in the following scheme:

1) Between class I and class II:

$$\text{I. } 4{,}000_c + \underline{1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s}$$

$$\text{II. } \ldots\ldots\ldots \; 2{,}000_c \ldots\ldots + 500_v + 500_s.$$

This disposes of the circulation of $II_c = 2{,}000$, which is exchanged for I $(1{,}000_v + 1000_s)$.

[47] *Ad notam* for possible followers of the Rodbertian theory of crises.—*F. E.*

[a] In the original, this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

Leaving aside for the present the 4,000 $I_c$ there still remains the circulation of v + s within class II. Now $II_{(v+s)}$ is divided between the sub-classes IIa and IIb in the following manner:

2) II. $500_v + 500_s = a\ (400_v + 400_s) + b\ (100_v + 100_s)$.

The $400_v$ (a) circulate within its own sub-class; the labourers paid with it buy from their employers, the capitalists IIa, necessary means of subsistence produced by themselves.

Since the capitalists of both sub-classes spend $^3/_5$ of their surplus value in products of IIa (necessities) and $^2/_5$ in products of IIb (luxuries), the $^3/_5$ of the surplus value of a, or 240, are consumed within the sub-class IIa itself; likewise, $^2/_5$ of the surplus value of b (produced and existing in the form of articles of luxury), within the sub-class IIb.

There remains to be exchanged between IIa and IIb:
on the side of IIa: $160_s$,
on the side of IIb: $100_v + 60_s$. These cancel each other. With their 100, received in the form of money wages, the labourers of IIb buy necessities of life in that amount from IIa. The IIb capitalists likewise buy necessities from IIa to the amount of $^3/_5$ of their surplus value, or 60. The IIa capitalists thus obtain the money required for investing, as above assumed, $^2/_5$ of their surplus value, or $160_s$, in luxuries produced by IIb ($100_v$ held by the IIb capitalists as a product replacing the wages paid by them, and $60_s$). The scheme for this is therefore:

3) IIa. $//400_v// + //240_s// + \overline{160_s}$
b. . . . . $\overline{100_v + 60_s} + //40_s//$,

the bracketed items circulating and being consumed only within their own sub-class.

The direct reflux of the money capital advanced in variable capital, which takes place only in the case of the capitalist department IIa producing necessities of life, is but an expression, modified by special conditions, of the previously mentioned general law that money advanced to the circulation by producers of commodities returns to them in the normal course of commodity circulation. From this it incidentally follows that if any money capitalist at all stands behind the producer of commodities and advances to the industrial capitalist money capital (in the strictest meaning of the word, i. e., capital value in the form of money), the real point of reflux for this money is the pocket of this money capitalist. Thus the mass of the circulating money belongs to that department of money capital which is organ-

ised and concentrated in the form of banks, etc., although the money circulates more or less through all hands. The way in which this department advances its capital necessitates the continual final reflux to it in the form of money, although this is once again brought about by the reconversion of the industrial capital into money capital.

The circulation of commodities always requires two things: Commodities which are thrown into circulation and money which is likewise thrown into it. "The process of circulation ... does not, like direct barter of products, become extinguished upon the use values changing places and hands. The money does not vanish on dropping out of the circuit of the metamorphosis of a given commodity. It is constantly being precipitated into new places in the arena of circulation vacated by other commodities," etc. (Buch I, Kap. III, S. 92).[a]

For instance in the circulation between $II_c$ and $I_{(v+s)}$ we assumed that II had advanced £500 in money for it. In the innumerable processes of circulation, into which the circulation between large social groups of producers resolves itself, representatives of the various groups will at various times be the first to appear as buyers, and hence throw money into circulation. Quite apart from particular circumstances, this is necessitated by the difference, if nothing else, in the periods of production, and thus of the turnovers, of the various commodity capitals. So with these £500 II buys from I means of production of the same value and I buys from II articles of consumption valued at £500. Hence the money flows back to II, but this department does not in any way grow richer by this reflux. It had first thrown £500 in money into circulation and drew commodities of the same value out of it; then it sells £500 worth of commodities and draws the same amount of money out of circulation; thus the £500 flow back to it. As a matter of fact, II has thrown into circulation £500 in money and £500 in commodities, which is equal to £1,000. It draws out of the circulation £500 in commodities and £500 in money. The circulation requires for the handling of £500 in I commodities and £500 in II commodities only £500 in money; hence whoever advanced the money in the purchase of commodities from other producers recovers it when selling his own. Consequently if I had at first bought commodities from II for £500, and later sold to II commodities of the value of £500, these £500 would have returned to I instead of to II.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 35.

In class I the money invested in wages, i. e., the variable capital advanced in the form of money, does not return directly in this form but indirectly, by a detour. On the contrary, in II the £500 of wages return directly from the labourers to the capitalists, and this return is always direct in the case where purchase and sale take place repeatedly between the same persons in such a way that they are acting alternately as buyers and sellers of commodities. The capitalist of II pays for the labour power in money; he thereby incorporates labour power in his capital and assumes the role of an industrial capitalist in relation to his labourers as wage earners, but does so only by means of this act of circulation, which is for him merely a conversion of money capital into productive capital. Thereupon the labourer, who in the first instance was a seller, a dealer in his own labour power, appears in the second instance as a buyer, a possessor of money, in relation to the capitalist, who now acts as a seller of commodities. In this way the capitalist recovers the money invested by him in wages. As the sale of these commodities does not imply cheating, etc., but is an exchange of equivalents in commodities and money, it is not a process by which the capitalist enriches himself. He does not pay the labourer twice, first in money and then in commodities. His money returns to him as soon as the labourer exchanges it for his commodities.

However, the money capital converted into variable capital, i. e., the money advanced for wages, plays a prominent role in the circulation of money itself, since the labourers must live from hand to mouth and cannot give the industrial capitalists credit for any length of time. For this reason variable capital must be advanced in the form of money simultaneously at innumerable territorially different points in society at certain short intervals, such as a week, etc.— in periods of time that repeat themselves rather quickly (and the shorter these periods, the smaller relatively is the total amount of money thrown at one time into circulation through this channel) — whatever the various periods of turnover of the capitals in the different branches of industry. In every country with a capitalist production the money capital so advanced constitutes a relatively decisive share of the total circulation, the more so as the same money, before its reflux to its point of departure, passes through the most diverse channels and functions as a medium of circulation for countless other businesses.

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Now let us consider the circulation between $I_{(v+s)}$ and $II_c$ from a different angle.

Capitalists I advance £1,000 in the payment of wages. With this money the labourers buy £1,000 worth of means of subsistence from capitalists II. These in turn buy for the same money means of production from capitalists I. Capitalists I thus get back their variable capital in the form of money, while capitalists II have reconverted one half of their constant capital from the form of commodity capital into that of productive capital. Capitalists II advance another £500 in money to get means of production from I. The capitalists I spend this money on articles of consumption from II. These £500 thus return to capitalists II. They advance this amount again in order to reconvert the last quarter of their constant capital, converted into commodities, into its productive natural form. This money flows back to I and once more withdraws articles of consumption of the same amount from II. Thus the £500 return to II. The capitalists II are now as before in possession of £500 in money and £2,000 in constant capital, the latter having been newly converted from the form of commodity capital into that of productive capital. By means of £1,500 a quantity of commodities worth £5,000 has been circulated, namely: 1) I pays £1,000 to his labourers for their labour power of the same value; 2) with these same £1,000 the labourers buy means of subsistence from II; 3) with the same money II buys means of production from I, thereby restoring to I variable capital to the amount of £1,000 in the form of money; 4) II buys £500 worth of means of production from I; 5) with the same £500 I buys articles of consumption from II; 6) with the same £500 II buys means of production from I; 7) with the same £500 I buys means of subsistence from II. Thus £500 have returned to II, which had thrown them into circulation besides its £2,000 in commodities and for which it did not withdraw from circulation any equivalent in commodities.[48)]

The exchange therefore takes the following course:

1) I pays £1,000 in money for labour power, hence for commodities = £1,000.

[48)] This presentation differs somewhat from that given above (p. 374[a]). There I likewise throws an independent amount of £ 500 into circulation. Here II alone supplies the additional money for the circulation. But this does not alter the final result.—*F. E.*

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[a] See this volume, p. 331.

2) The labourers buy with their wages amounting in money to £1,000 articles of consumption from II; hence commodities = £1,000.

3) With the £1,000 received from the labourers II buys means of production of the same value from I; hence commodities = £1,000.

In this way the £1,000 have returned to I as the money form of its variable capital.

4) II buys £500 worth of means of production from I, hence commodities = £500.

5) With the same £500 I buys articles of consumption from II; hence commodities = £500.

6) With the same £500 II buys means of production from I; hence commodities = £500.

7) With the same £500 I buys articles of consumption from II; hence commodities = £500.

Total amount of commodity values exchanged = £5,000.

The £500 advanced by II for the purchase have returned to it.

The result is as follows:

1) I possesses variable capital in the form of money to the amount of £1,000, which it originally advanced to the circulation. It furthermore expended £1,000 for its individual consumption, in the shape of its own products; i. e., it has spent the money which it had received for the sale of means of production to the amount of £1,000.

On the other hand the natural form into which the variable capital existing in the form of money must be transformed, i. e., labour power, has been maintained, reproduced and again made available by consumption as the sole article of trade of its owners, which they must sell in order to live. The relation of wage labourers and capitalists has likewise been reproduced.

2) The constant capital of II is replaced *in natura*, and the £500 advanced by the same II to the circulation have returned to it.

As for the labourers I, the circulation is the simple one of C—M—C:C′ (labour power) —$M^2$ (£1,000, money form of variable capital I) —$C^3$ (necessities of life to the amount of £1,000); these £1,000 convert into money to the same amount of value the constant capital II existing in the form of commodities, of means of subsistence.

As for the capitalists II, the process is C — M, the transformation of a portion of their commodity product into the money form, from which it is reconverted into the constituents of productive capital, namely into a portion of the means of production required by them.

In the money advance M (£500) made by capitalists II for the

purchase of the other parts of the means of production, the money form of that portion of $II_c$ which exists as yet in the form of commodities (articles of consumption) is anticipated; in the act M—C, in which II buys with M, and C is sold by I, the money (II) is converted into a portion of the productive capital, while C (I) passes through the act C—M, changes into money, which however does not represent any component part of capital value for I, but surplus value converted into money and expended solely for articles of consumption.

In the circuit M—C ... P ... C′—M′, the first act, M—C, is that of one capitalist, the last, C′—M′ (or part of it), is that of another; whether the C, by which M is converted into productive capital, represents a component of constant capital, of variable capital, or surplus value for the seller of C (who exchanges this C for money), is wholly immaterial for the commodity circulation itself.

Class I, so far as concerns the component v + s of its commodity product, draws more money out of the circulation than it has thrown in. In the first place, the £1,000 of variable capital return to it; in the second place, it sells means of production worth £500 (see above, exchange No. 4); one half of its surplus value is thus turned into money; then (exchange No. 6) it sells once more £500 worth of means of production, the second half of its surplus value, and thus the entire surplus value is withdrawn from circulation in the shape of money. Hence in succession: 1) variable capital reconverted into money = £1,000; 2) one half of the surplus value turned into money = £500; 3) the other half of the surplus value = £500; altogether $1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s$ turned into money = £2,000. Although I threw only £1,000 into circulation (aside from those exchanges which promote the reproduction of $I_c$ and which we shall have to analyse later), it has withdrawn double that amount from it. Of course s passes into other hands, (II), as soon as it has been converted into money, by being spent for articles of consumption. The capitalists of I withdrew only as much *in money* as they threw into it in value in the form of *commodities*; the fact that this value is surplus value, i. e., that it does not cost the capitalists anything, does not alter the value of these commodities in any way; so far as the exchange of values in commodity circulation is concerned, that fact is of no consequence at all. The existence of surplus value in money is of course transient, the same as all other forms which the advanced capital assumes in its metamorphoses. It lasts no longer than the interval between the conver-

sion of commodities I into money and the subsequent conversion of the money I into commodities II.

If the turnovers had been assumed to be shorter—or, from the point of view of the simple circulation of commodities, the circulation of money more rapid—even less money would be ample to circulate the exchanged commodity values; the amount is always determined—if the number of successive exchanges is given—by the sum of the prices, or the sum of values, of the circulating commodities. It is immaterial in what proportion this sum of values consists of surplus value on the one hand, and of capital value on the other.

If the wages of I, in our illustration, were paid four times per year, we should have $4 \times 250 = 1{,}000$. Hence £250 in money would suffice for the circulation $I_v - {}^1/_2\, II_c$ and for that between the variable capital $I_v$ and the labour power I. Likewise, if the circulation between $I_s$ and $II_c$ were to take place in four turnovers, it would require only £250, or in the aggregate a sum of money, or a money capital, of £500 for the circulation of commodities amounting to £5,000. In that case the surplus value would be converted into money four times successively, ${}^1/_4$ each time, instead of twice successively, one half each time.

If I instead of II should act as buyer in exchange No. 4 and expend £500 for articles of consumption of the same value, II would buy means of production with the same £500 in exchange No. 5; 6) I buys articles of consumption with the same £500; 7) II buys means of production with the same £500 so that the £500 finally return to I, the same as before to II. The surplus value is here converted into money by means of the money spent by the capitalist producers themselves for their individual consumption. This money represents the anticipated revenue, the anticipated receipts from the surplus value contained in the commodities still to be sold. The surplus value is not converted into money by the reflux of the £500; for aside from £1,000 in the form of commodities $I_v$, I threw £500 in money into circulation at the close of exchange No. 4, and this was additional money, so far as we know, and not the proceeds from the sale of commodities. If this money flows back to I, I merely gets back its additional money, and does not thereby convert its surplus value into money. The conversion of the surplus value I into money takes place only by the sale of the commodities $I_s$, in which it is incorporated, and lasts each time only until the money obtained by the sale of the commodities is expended anew in the purchase of articles of consumption.

With additional money (£500) I buys articles of consumption from II; this money was spent by I, which holds its equivalent in II commodities; the money returns for the first time by the purchase from I by II of commodities to the amount of £500; in other words, it returns as the equivalent of the commodities sold by I, but these commodities do not cost I anything, they constitute surplus value for I, and *thus the money thrown into circulation by this very department turns its own surplus value into money.* On buying for the second time (No. 6) I has likewise obtained its equivalent in II commodities. Take it, now, that II does not buy (No. 7) means of production from I. In that case I would have actually paid £1,000 for articles of consumption, thereby consuming its entire surplus value as revenue, namely 500 in its own I commodities (means of production) and 500 in money; on the other hand, it would still have £500 in its own commodities (means of production) in stock, and would have got rid of £500 in money.

On the contrary II would have reconverted three-fourths of its constant capital from the form of commodity capital into that of productive capital; but one-fourth (£500) would be held by it in the form of money capital, actually in the form of idle money, or of money which has suspended its function and is held in abeyance. Should this state of affairs last for any length of time, II would have to cut down its scale of reproduction by one-fourth.

However the 500 in means of production, which I has on its hands, are not surplus value existing in the form of commodities; they occupy the place of the £500 advanced in money, which I possessed aside from its £1,000 of surplus value in commodity form. In the form of money, they are always convertible; as commodities they are momentarily unsaleable. So much is evident: that simple reproduction — in which every element of productive capital must be replaced in both II and I — remains possible in this case only if the 500 golden birds, which I first sent flying, return to it.

If a capitalist (we have only industrial capitalists still to deal with here, who are the representatives of all others) spends money for articles of consumption, he is through with it, it goes the way of all flesh. It can flow back to him only if he fishes it out of circulation in exchange for commodities, i. e., for his commodity capital. As the value of his entire annual commodity product (his commodity capital), so that of every one of its elements, i. e., the value of every individual commodity, is divisible, as far as he is concerned, into constant capital

value, variable capital value, and surplus value. The conversion into money of every individual commodity (as elements constituting the commodity product) is consequently at the same time such a conversion of a certain portion of the surplus value contained in the entire commodity product. In this case, then, it is literally true that the capitalist himself threw the money into circulation — when he spent it on articles of consumption — by which his surplus value is converted into money, or realised. Of course it is not a question of the identical coins but of a certain amount of hard cash equal to the one (or to a portion of the one) which he had previously thrown into circulation to satisfy his personal wants.

In practice this occurs in two ways: If the business has just been opened, in the current year, it will take quite a while, at least a few months, before the capitalist is able to use any portion of the receipts of his business for his personal consumption. But for all that he does not suspend his consumption for a single moment. He advances to himself (immaterial whether out of his own pocket or by means of credit from the pocket of somebody else) money in anticipation of surplus value still to be snatched by him; but in doing so he also advances a circulating medium for the realisation of surplus value to be realised later. If, on the contrary, the business has been running regularly for a longer period, payments and receipts are distributed over different terms throughout the year. But one thing continues uninterruptedly, namely, the consumption of the capitalist, which anticipates, and whose volume is computed on a definite proportion of, the customary or estimated revenue. With every portion of commodities sold, a portion of the surplus value to be produced annually is also realised. But if during the entire year only as much of the produced commodities is sold as is required to replace the constant and variable capital values contained in them, or if prices were to fall to such an extent that only the advanced capital value contained in the entire annual commodity product should be realised on its sale, then the anticipatory character of the expenditure of money in expectation of future surplus value would be clearly revealed. If our capitalist fails, his creditors and the court investigate whether his anticipated private expenditures were in proper proportion to the volume of his business and to the receipt of surplus value usually or normally corresponding to it.

So far as the entire capitalist class is concerned, the proposition that it must itself throw into circulation the money required for the

realisation of its surplus value (correspondingly also for the circulation of its capital, constant and variable) not only fails to appear paradoxical, but stands forth as a necessary condition of the entire mechanism. For there are here only two classes: the working class disposing only of its labour power, and the capitalist class, which has a monopoly of the social means of production and money. It would rather be a paradox if the working class were to advance in the first instance from its own resources the money required for the realisation of the surplus value contained in the commodities. But the individual capitalist makes this advance only by acting as a buyer, *expending* money in the purchase of articles of consumption or *advancing* money in the purchase of elements of his productive capital, whether of labour power or means of production. He never parts with his money unless he gets an equivalent for it. He advances money to the circulation only in the same way as he advances commodities to it. He acts in both instances as the initial point of their circulation.

The actual process is obscured by two circumstances:

1) The appearance in the process of circulation of industrial capital of *merchant's capital* (the first form of which is always money, since the merchant as such does not create any "product" or "commodity") and of *money capital* as an object of manipulation by a special kind of capitalists.

2) The division of surplus value—which must always be first in the hands of the industrial capitalist—into various categories, the vehicles of which there appear, aside from the industrial capitalist, as the landlord (for ground rent), the usurer (for interest), etc., as well as the government and its employees, rentiers, etc. These gentry appear as buyers vis-à-vis the industrial capitalist and to that extent as converters of his commodities into money; they too throw "money" *pro parte* into the circulation and he gets it from them. But it is always forgotten from what source they derived it originally, and continue deriving it ever anew.

## VI. THE CONSTANT CAPITAL OF DEPARTMENT I[48a]

It remains for us to analyse the constant capital of department I = $4{,}000_c$. This value is equal to the value—appearing anew in the

[48a] From here, Manuscript II.

commodity product I — of the means of production consumed in the creation of this quantity of commodities. This re-appearing value, which was not produced in the process of production of I, but entered into it during the preceding year as constant value, as the given value of its means of production, exists now in the entire part of commodity mass I not absorbed by category II. And the value of this quantity of commodities thus left in the hands of the I capitalists = $^2/_3$ of the value of their entire annual commodity product. In the case of the individual capitalist producing some particular means of production we could say: He sells his commodity product; he converts it into money. By converting it into money he has also reconverted into money the constant portion of the value of his product. With this portion of value converted into money he then buys his means of production once more from other sellers of commodities or transforms the constant portion of the value of his product into a natural form in which it can resume its function of productive constant capital. But now this assumption becomes impossible. The capitalist class of I comprises the totality of the capitalists producing means of production. Besides, the commodity product of 4,000, which is left in their hands, is a portion of the social product which cannot be exchanged for any other, because no such other portion of the annual product remains. With the exception of these 4,000, all the remainder has been disposed of. One portion has been absorbed by the social consumption fund, and another portion has to replace the constant capital of department II, which has already exchanged everything it could dispose of in an exchange with department I.

The difficulty is solved very easily if we remember that the entire commodity product I in its natural form consists of means of production, i. e., of the material elements of the constant capital itself. We meet here the same phenomenon which we witnessed before under II, only in a different aspect. In the case of II the entire commodity product consisted of articles of consumption. Hence one portion of it, measured by the wages plus surplus value contained in this product, could be consumed by its own producers. Here, in the case of I, the entire product consists of means of production, of buildings, machinery, vessels, raw and auxiliary materials, etc. One portion of them, namely that replacing the constant capital employed in this sphere, can therefore immediately function anew in its natural form as a component of the productive capital. So far as it goes into circulation, it circulates within class I. In II a part of the commodity product is in-

dividually consumed *in natura* by its own producers while in I a portion of the product is productively consumed *in natura* by its capitalist producers.

In the part of the commodity product I = $4{,}000_c$ the constant capital value consumed in this category re-appears, and does so in a natural form in which it can immediately resume its function of productive constant capital. In II that portion of the commodity product of 3,000 whose value is equal to the wages plus the surplus value (= 1,000) passes directly into the individual consumption of the capitalists and labourers of II, while on the other hand the constant capital value of this commodity product (= 2,000) cannot re-enter the productive consumption of the II capitalists but must be replaced by exchange with I.

In I, on the contrary, that portion of its commodity product of 6,000 whose value is equal to the wages plus the surplus value (= 2,000) does not pass into the individual consumption of its producers, and cannot do so on account of its natural form. It must first be exchanged with II. Contrariwise the constant portion of the value of this product = 4,000 exists in a natural form in which—taking the capitalist class I as a whole—it can immediately resume its function of constant capital of that class. In other words, the entire product of department I consists of use values which, on account of their natural form, can under a capitalist mode of production serve only as elements of constant capital. Hence one-third (2,000) of this product of 6,000 replaces the constant capital of department II, and the other two-thirds the constant capital of department I.

The constant capital I consists of a great number of different groups of capital invested in the various branches of production of means of production, so much in iron works, so much in coal-mines, etc. Every one of these groups of capital, or every one of these social group capitals, is in its turn composed of a larger or smaller number of independently functioning individual capitals. In the first place, the capital of society, for instance 7,500 (which may mean millions, etc.), is composed of various groups of capital; the social capital of 7,500 is divided into separate parts, every one of which is invested in a special branch of production; each portion of the social capital value invested in some particular branch of production consists, so far as its natural form is concerned, partly of means of production required in that particular sphere of production, partly of the labour power needed in that business and trained accordingly, variously modi-

fied by division of labour, according to the specific kind of labour to be performed in each individual sphere of production. The portion of social capital invested in each particular branch of production in its turn consists of the sum of the individual capitals invested in it and functioning independently. This patently applies to both departments, I as well as II.

As for the constant capital value re-appearing in I in the form of its commodity product, it re-enters in part as means of production into the particular sphere of production (or even into the individual business) from which it emerges as product; for instance corn into the production of corn, coal into the production of coal, iron in the form of machines into the production of iron, etc.

However since the partial products constituting the constant capital value I do not return directly to their particular or individual sphere of production, they merely change their place. They pass in their natural form to some other sphere of production of department I, while the product of other spheres of production of department I replaces them *in natura*. It is merely a change of place of these products. All of them re-enter as factors replacing constant capital in I, only instead of the same group of I they enter another. Since an exchange takes place here between the individual capitalist of I, it is an exchange of one natural form of constant capital for another natural form of constant capital, of one kind of means of production for other kinds of means of production. It is an exchange of the different individual parts of constant capital I among themselves. Products which do not serve directly as means of production in their own sphere are transferred from their place of production to another and thus mutually replace one another. In other words (similarly to what happens in the case of the surplus value II), every capitalist I draws from this quantity of commodities, proportionally to his share in the constant capital of 4,000, the means of production required by him. If production were social instead of capitalist, these products of department I would evidently just as regularly be redistributed as means of production to the various branches of this department, for purposes of reproduction, one portion remaining directly in that sphere of production from which it emerged as a product, another passing over to other places of production, thereby giving rise to a constant to-and-fro movement between the various places of production in this department.

## VII. VARIABLE CAPITAL AND SURPLUS VALUE IN BOTH DEPARTMENTS

The total value of the annually produced articles of consumption is thus equal to the variable capital value II reproduced during the year plus the newly produced surplus value II (i. e., equal to the value produced by II during the year) plus the variable capital value I reproduced during the year and the newly produced surplus value I (i. e., plus the value created by I during the year).

On the assumption of simple reproduction the total value of the annually produced articles of consumption is therefore equal to the annual value product, i. e., equal to the total value produced during the year by social labour, and this must be so, because in simple reproduction this entire value is consumed.

The total social working day is divided into two parts: 1) necessary labour, which creates in the course of the year a value of $1{,}500_v$; 2) surplus labour, which creates an additional value, or surplus value, of $1{,}500_s$. The sum of these values, 3,000, is equal to the value of the annually produced articles of consumption — 3,000. The total value of the articles of consumption produced during the year is therefore equal to the total value produced by the total social working day during the year, equal to the value of the social variable capital plus the social surplus value, equal to the total new product of the year.

But we know that even if these two magnitudes of value are equal, this in no way means that the total value of commodities II, the articles of consumption, has been produced in this department of social production. They are equal because the constant capital value reappearing in II is equal to the value newly produced by I (value of variable capital plus surplus value); therefore $I_{(v+s)}$ can buy the part of the product of II which represents the constant capital value for its producers (in department II). This shows, then, why the value of the product of capitalists II, from the point of view of society, may be resolved into $v + s$ although for these capitalists it is divided into $c + v + s$. This is so only because $II_c$ is here equal to $I_{(v+s)}$, and because these two components of the social product interchange their natural forms by exchange, so that after this transformation $II_c$ exists once more in means of production and $I_{(v+s)}$ in articles of consumption.

And it is this circumstance which induced Adam Smith to maintain that the value of the annual product resolves itself into v + s. This is true 1) only for that part of the annual product which consists of articles of consumption, and 2) it is not true in the sense that this total value is produced in II and that the value of its product is equal to the value of the variable capital advanced in II plus the surplus value produced in II. It is true only in the sense that $II_{(c+v+s)} = II_{(v+s)} + I_{(v+s)}$, or because $II_c = I_{(v+s)}$.

It follows furthermore:

The social working day (i. e., the labour expended by the entire working class during the whole year), like every individual working day, breaks up into only two parts, namely into necessary labour and surplus labour, and the value produced by this working day consequently likewise resolves itself into only two parts, namely into the value of the variable capital, or that portion of the value with which the labourer buys the means of his own reproduction, and the surplus value which the capitalist may spend for his own individual consumption. Nevertheless, from the point of view of society, one part of the social working day is spent exclusively on the *production of new constant capital*, namely of products exclusively intended to function as means of production in the labour process and hence as constant capital in the accompanying process of self-expansion of value. According to our assumption the total social working day presents itself as a money value of 3,000, of which only $^1/_3$ = 1,000 is produced in department II which manufactures articles of consumption, that is, the commodities in which the entire value of the variable capital and the entire surplus value of society are ultimately realised. Thus, according to this assumption, $^2/_3$ of the social working day are employed in the production of new constant capital. Although from the standpoint of the individual capitalists and labourers of department I these $^2/_3$ of the social working day serve merely for the production of variable capital value plus surplus value, the same as the last third of the social working day in department II, still from the point of view of society and likewise of the use value of the product, these $^2/_3$ of the social working day produce only replacement of constant capital in the process of productive consumption or already so consumed. Also when viewed individually, these $^2/_3$ of the working day, while producing a total value equal only to the value of the variable capital plus surplus value for the producer, nevertheless do not produce any use

values of a kind on which wages or surplus value could be expended; for their products are means of production.

It must be noted in the first place that no portion of the social working day, whether in I or in II, serves for the production of the value of the constant capital employed and functioning in these two great spheres of production. They produce only additional value, $2{,}000\ I_{(v+s)} + 1{,}000\ II_{(v+s)}$, in addition to the value of the constant capital $= 4{,}000\ I_c + 2{,}000\ II_c$. The new value produced in the form of means of production is not yet constant capital. It merely is intended to function as such in the future.

The entire product of II — the articles of consumption — viewed concretely as a use value, in its natural form, is a product of the one-third of the social working day spent by II. It is the product of labour in its concrete form — such as the labour of weaving, baking, etc., performed in this department — the product of this labour, inasmuch as it functions as the subjective element of the labour process. As to the constant portion of the value of this product II, it re-appears only in a new use value, in a new natural form, the form of articles of consumption, while it existed previously in the form of means of production. Its value has been transferred by the labour process from its old natural form to its new natural form. But the *value* of these $^2/_3$ of the product value $= 2{,}000$ has not been produced in this year's self-expansion process of II.

Just as from the point of view of the labour process, the product of II is the result of newly functioning living labour and of the assumed means of production assigned to it, in which that labour materialises itself as in its objective conditions, so, from the point of view of the process of self-expansion, the value of the product of II $= 3{,}000$ is composed of a new value $(500_v + 500_s = 1{,}000)$ produced by the newly added $^1/_3$ of the social working day and of a constant value in which are objectified $^2/_3$ of a past social working day that had elapsed before the present process of production of II here under consideration. This portion of the value of the II product finds expression in a portion of the product itself. It exists in a quantity of articles of consumption worth $2{,}000 = {}^2/_3$ of a social working day. This is the new use form in which this value portion re-appears. The exchange of part of the articles of consumption equal to $2{,}000\ II_c$ for means of production of $I = I\ (1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s)$ thus really represents an exchange of two-thirds of an aggregate working day — which do not constitute any portion of this year's labour, and elapsed before this year — for $^2/_3$ of

the working day newly added this year. Two-thirds of this year's social working day could not be employed in the production of constant capital and at the same time constitute variable capital value plus surplus value for their own producers unless they were to be exchanged for a portion of the value of the annually consumed articles of consumption, in which are incorporated $^2/_3$ of a working day spent and realised before this year. It is an exchange of $^2/_3$ of this year's working day for $^2/_3$ of a working day spent before this year, an exchange of this year's labour time for last year's. This therefore explains the riddle of how the value product of an entire social working day can resolve itself into variable capital value plus surplus value, although $^2/_3$ of this working day were not expended in the production of articles in which variable capital or surplus value can be realised, but rather in the production of means of production for the replacement of the capital consumed during the year. The explanation is simply that $^2/_3$ of the value of the product of II, in which the capitalists and labourers of I realise the variable capital value plus surplus value produced by them (and which constitute $^2/_9$ of the value of the entire annual product), are, so far as their value is concerned, the product of $^2/_3$ of a social working day of a year prior to the current one.

The sum of the social product I and II — means of production and articles of consumption — is indeed, viewed from the standpoint of their use value, in their concrete, natural form, the product of this year's labour, but only to the extent that this labour itself is regarded as useful and concrete and not as an expenditure of labour power, as value-creating labour. And even the first is true only in the sense that the means of production have transformed themselves into new products, into this year's products, solely by dint of the living labour added on to them, operating on them. On the contrary, this year's labour could not have transformed itself into products without means of production independent of it, without instruments of labour and materials of production.

## VIII. THE CONSTANT CAPITAL IN BOTH DEPARTMENTS

The analysis of the total value of the product of 9,000, and of the categories into which it is divided, does not present any greater difficulty than that of the value produced by an individual capital. On the contrary, they are identical.

The entire annual social product here contains three social working days, each of one year. The value expressed by each one of these working days is 3,000, so that the value expressed by the total product = 3 × 3,000 = 9,000.

Furthermore, the following portions of this working time have elapsed *prior* to the one-year process of production, the product of which we are now analysing: In department I $^4/_3$ of a working day (with a product worth 4,000), and in department II $^2/_3$ of a working day (with a product worth 2,000), making a total of 2 social working days with a product = 6,000. For this reason 4,000 $I_c$ + 2,000 $II_c$ = 6,000$_c$ figure as the value of the means of production, or the constant capital value re-appearing in the total value of the social product.

Furthermore, $^1/_3$ of the social working day of one year newly added in department I is necessary labour, or labour replacing the value of the variable capital of 1,000 $I_v$ and paying the price of the labour employed by I. In the same way $^1/_6$ of a social working day in II is necessary labour with a value of 500. Hence 1,000 $I_v$ + 500 $II_v$ = 1,500$_v$, expressing the value of one half of the social working day, is the value expression of the first half of the aggregate working day added this year and consisting of necessary labour.

Finally, in department I $^1/_3$ of the aggregate working day, with a product = 1,000, is surplus labour, and in department II $^1/_6$ of the working day, with a product = 500, is surplus labour. Together they constitute the other half of the added aggregate working day. Hence the total surplus value produced = 1,000 $I_s$ + 500 $II_s$ = 1,500$_s$.

Thus:

The constant capital portion of the value of the social product (c):
Two working days expended prior to the process of production; value expression = 6,000.

Necessary labour (v) expended during the year:
One half of a working day expended on the annual production; value expression = 1,500.

Surplus labour (s) expended during the year:
One half of a working day expended on the annual production; value expression = 1,500.

Value produced by annual labour (v + s) = 3,000.
Total value of product (c + v + s) = 9,000.

The difficulty, then, does not consist in the analysis of the value of the social product itself. It arises in the comparison of the compo-

nent parts of the *value* of the social product with its *material* constituents.

The constant, merely re-appearing portion of value is equal to the value of that part of this product which consists of means of *production* and is incorporated in that part.

The new value product of the year, equal to v + s, is equal to the value of that part of this product which consists of *articles of consumption* and is incorporated in it.

But with exceptions of no consequence here, means of production and articles of consumption are wholly different kinds of commodities, products of entirely different natural or use forms, and, therefore, products of wholly different classes of concrete labour. The labour which employs machinery in the production of means of subsistence is vastly different from the labour which makes machinery. The entire aggregate annual working day, whose value expression = 3,000, seems spent in the production of articles of consumption = 3,000, in which no constant portion of value re-appears, since these $3{,}000 = 1{,}500_v + 1{,}500_s$ resolve themselves only into variable capital value + surplus value. On the other hand the constant capital value of 6,000 re-appears in a class of products quite different from articles of consumption, namely in means of production, while as a matter of fact no part of the social working day seems spent in the production of these new products. It seems rather that the entire working day consists only of classes of labour which do not result in means of production but in articles of consumption. This mystery has already been cleared up. The value product of the year's labour is equal to the value of the products of department II, to the total value of the newly produced articles of consumption. But the value of these products is greater by $^2/_3$ than that portion of the annual labour which has been expended in the sphere of production of articles of consumption (department II). Only $^1/_3$ of the annual labour has been expended in their production. Two-thirds of this annual labour have been expended in the production of means of production, that is to say, in department I. The value product created during this time in I, equal to the variable capital value plus surplus value produced in I, is equal to the constant capital value of II re-appearing in articles of consumption of II. Hence they may be mutually exchanged and replaced *in natura*. The total value of the articles of consumption of II is therefore equal to the sum of the new value product of I + II, or $II_{(c+v+s)} =$

$I_{(v+s)} + II_{(v+s)}$, hence equal to the sum of the new values produced by the year's labour in the form of v plus s.

On the other hand the total value of the means of production (I) is equal to the sum of the constant capital value re-appearing in the form of means of production (I) and in that of articles of consumption (II); in other words, equal to the sum of the constant capital value re-appearing in the total product of society. This total value is equal in terms of value to $^4/_3$ of a working day preceding the process of production of I and $^2/_3$ of a working day preceding the process of production of II, in all equal to two aggregate working days.

The difficulty with the annual social product arises therefore from the fact that the constant portion of value is represented by a wholly different class of products—means of production—than the new value v + s added to this constant portion of value and represented by articles of consumption. Thus the appearance is created, so far as value is concerned, that $^2/_3$ of the consumed mass of products are found again in a new form as new product, without any labour having been expended by society in their production. This is not so in the case of an individual capital. Every individual capitalist employs some particular concrete kind of labour, which transforms the means of production peculiar to it into a product. Let, for instance, the capitalist be a machine-builder, the constant capital expended during the year = $6{,}000_c$, the variable = $1{,}500_v$, the surplus value = $1{,}500_s$; the product = 9,000, the product, say, 18 machines of 500 each. The entire product here exists in the same form, that of machines. (If he produces various kinds, each kind is calculated separately.) The entire commodity product is the result of the labour expended during the year in machine-building; it is a combination of the same concrete kind of labour with the same means of production. The various portions of the value of the product therefore present themselves in the same natural form: 12 machines embody $6{,}000_c$, 3 machines $1{,}500_v$, 3 machines $1{,}500_s$. In the present case it is evident that the value of the 12 machines = $6{,}000_c$, not because there is incorporated in these 12 machines only labour performed previously to the manufacture of these machines and not labour expended on building them. The value of the means of production for 18 machines did not of itself become transformed into 12 machines but the value of these 12 machines (consisting itself of $4{,}000_c + 1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s$) is equal to the total value of the constant capital contained in the 18 machines. The

machine-manufacturer must therefore sell 12 of the 18 machines in order to replace his expended constant capital, which he requires for the reproduction of 18 new machines. On the contrary, the thing would be inexplicable if, in spite of the fact that the labour expended was employed solely in the manufacture of machines, the result were to be: On the one hand 6 machines = $1{,}500_v + 1{,}500_s$, on the other iron, copper, screws, belts, etc., of a value amounting to $6{,}000_c$, i. e., the means of production of the machines in their natural form, which, as we know, the individual machine-building capitalist does not produce himself but must replace by way of the process of circulation. And yet it seems at first glance that the reproduction of the annual product of society takes place in this absurd way.

The product of an individual capital, i. e., of every fraction of the social capital endowed with a life of its own and functioning independently, has a natural form of one kind or another. The only condition is that this product must really have a use form, a use value, which gives it the imprint of a member of the world of commodities capable of circulation. It is completely immaterial and accidental whether or not it can re-enter as a means of production into the same process of production from which it emerged as a product; in other words, whether the portion of its value representing the constant part of the capital has a natural form in which it can actually function again as constant capital. If not, this portion of the value of the product is reconverted into the form of its material elements of production by means of sale and purchase and thus the constant capital is reproduced in the natural form capable of functioning.

It is different with the product of the aggregate social capital. All the material elements of reproduction must in their natural form constitute parts of this product. The consumed constant part of capital can be replaced by the aggregate production only to the extent that the entire constant part of the capital re-appearing in the product reappears in the natural form of new means of production which can really function as constant capital. Hence, simple reproduction being assumed, the value of that portion of the product which consists of means of production must be equal to the constant portion of the value of social capital.

Furthermore: Considered individually, the capitalist produces in the value of his product by means of the newly added labour only his

variable capital plus surplus value, while the constant part of the value is transferred to the product owing to the concrete character of the newly added labour.

Considered socially, that portion of the social working day which produces means of production, hence adding new value to them as well as transferring to them the value of the means of production consumed in their manufacture, creates nothing but new *constant capital* intended to replace that consumed in the shape of old means of production in both departments I and II. It creates only product intended for productive consumption. The entire value of this product, then, is only value which can function anew as constant capital, which can only buy back constant capital in its natural form, and which, for this reason, resolves itself, considered socially, neither into variable capital nor surplus value.

On the other hand that part of the social working day which produces articles of consumption does not create any portion of the social replacement capital. It creates only products intended, in their natural form, to realise the value of the variable capital and surplus value of I and II.

Speaking from the point of view of society, and therefore considering the aggregate product of society, which comprises both the reproduction of social capital and individual consumption, we must not lapse into the manner copied by Proudhon from bourgeois economy and look upon this matter as though a society with a capitalist mode of production, if viewed *en bloc*, as a totality, would lose this its specific historical and economic character. No, on the contrary. We have, in that case, to deal with the aggregate capitalist. The aggregate capital appears as the capital stock of all individual capitalists combined. This joint-stock company has in common with many other stock companies that everyone knows what he puts in, but *not* what he will get out of it.

## IX. A RETROSPECT TO ADAM SMITH, STORCH, AND RAMSAY

The aggregate value of the social product amounts to $9{,}000 = 6{,}000_c + 1{,}500_v + 1{,}300_s$; in other words: 6,000 reproduce the value of the means of production and 3,000 that of the articles of consumption. The value of the social revenue (v + s) amounts there-

fore to only $^1/_3$ of the value of the aggregate product, and the totality of consumers, labourers as well as capitalists, can draw commodities, products out of the total social product and incorporate them in their consumption fund only to the amount of this $^1/_3$. On the other hand 6,000, or $^2/_3$ of the value of the product, are the value of the constant capital which must be replaced *in natura*. Means of production to this amount must therefore again be incorporated in the production fund. Storch recognised this as essential without being able to prove it:

"It is clear that the value of the annual product is divided partly into capital and partly into profits, and that each one of these portions of the value of the annual product is regularly employed in buying the products which the nation needs both for the maintenance of its capital and for replacing its consumption fund.... The products which constitute the *capital* of a nation *are not to be consumed*"[a] (Storch, *Considérations sur la nature du revenu national*, Paris, 1824, pp. 134-35, 150).

Adam Smith, however, has promulgated this astounding dogma, which is believed to this day, not only in the previously mentioned form, according to which the entire value of the social product resolves itself into revenue, into wages plus surplus value, or, as he expresses it, into wages plus profit (interest) plus ground rent, but also in the still more popular form, according to which the *consumers* must "ULTIMATELY"[b] pay to the producers the *entire value of the product*. This is to this day one of the best-established commonplaces, or rather eternal truths, of the so-called science of political economy. This is illustrated in the following plausible manner: Take any article, for instance a linen shirt. First, the spinner of linen yarn has to pay the flax-grower the entire value of the flax, i. e., the value of flax-seed, fertilisers, labouring cattle feed, etc., plus that part of the value which the fixed capital, such as buildings, agricultural implements, etc., of the flax-grower gives up to the product; the wages paid in the production of the flax; the surplus value (profit, ground rent) embodied in the flax; finally the carriage costs of the flax from its place of production to the spinnery. Next, the weaver has to reimburse the spinner of the linen yarn not only for the price of the flax, but also for that portion of the value of machinery, buildings, etc., in short of the fixed capital, which is transferred to the flax; furthermore, all the auxiliary materials consumed in the spinning process, the wages of the spinners, the surplus value, etc., and so the thing goes on with the

[a] Marx quotes Storch in French. - [b] In the original, this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

bleacher, the transportation costs of the finished linen, and finally the shirt manufacturer, who has to pay the entire price of all preceding producers, who supplied him only with his raw material. In his hands a further addition of value takes place, partly through the value of constant capital consumed in the manufacture of shirts in the shape of instruments of labour, auxiliary materials, etc., and partly through the labour expended, which adds the value of the shirt makers' wages plus the surplus value of the shirt manufacturer. Now let this entire product in shirts cost ultimately £100 and let this be the aliquot part of the value of the total annual product expended by society on shirts. The consumers of the shirts pay these £100, i. e., the value of all the means of production contained in the shirts, and of the wages plus surplus value of the flax-grower, spinner, weaver, bleacher, shirt manufacturer, and all carriers. This is absolutely correct. Indeed, every child can see that. But then it says: That's how matters stand with regard to the value of all other commodities. It should say: That's how matters stand with regard to the value of *all articles of consumption*, with regard to the value of that portion of the social product which passes into the consumption fund, i. e., with regard to that portion of the value of the social product which can be expended as revenue. True enough, the sum of the values of all these commodities is equal to the value of all the means of production (constant portions of capital) used up in them plus the value created by the labour last added (wages plus surplus value). Hence the totality of the consumers can pay for this entire sum of values because, although the value of each individual commodity is made up of c + v + s, nevertheless the sum of the values of all commodities passing into the consumption fund, taken at its maximum, can be equal only to that portion of the value of the social product which resolves itself into v + s, in other words, equal to that value which the labour expended during the year has added to the existing means of production — to the value of the constant capital. As for the value of the constant capital, we have seen that it is replaced out of the mass of social products in a two-fold way. First, through an exchange by capitalists II, who produce articles of consumption, with capitalists I, who produce the means of production for them. And here is the source of the saying that what is capital for the one is revenue for the other.[55] But this is not the actual state of affairs. The 2,000 $II_c$ existing in the shape of articles of consumption worth 2,000 constitute a constant capital value for the capi-

talist class of II. They therefore cannot consume this value themselves, although the product in accordance with its natural form is intended for consumption. On the other hand, the 2,000 $I_{(v+s)}$ are wages plus surplus value produced by capitalist and working class I. They exist in the natural form of means of production, of things in which their own value cannot be consumed. We have here, then, a sum of values to the amount of 4,000, one half of which, before and after the exchange, replaces only constant capital, while the other half forms only revenue.

In the second place, the constant capital of department I is replaced *in natura*, partly by exchange among capitalists I, partly by replacement *in natura* in each individual business.

The phrase that the value of the entire annual product must ultimately be paid by the consumer [56] would be correct only if consumer were taken to comprise two vastly different kinds: individual consumers and productive consumers. However that one portion of the product must be consumed *productively* means nothing but that it must *function as capital* and not be *consumed as revenue.*

If we divide the value of the aggregate product = 9,000 into $6{,}000_c + 1{,}500_v + 1{,}500_s$ and look upon the $3{,}000_{(v+s)}$ only in its quality of revenue, then, on the contrary, the variable capital seems to disappear and capital, socially speaking, to consist only of constant capital. For that which appeared originally as $1{,}500_v$ has resolved itself into a portion of the social revenue, into wages, the revenue of the working class, and its character of capital has thus vanished. This conclusion is actually drawn by Ramsay. According to him, capital, socially considered, consists only of fixed capital, but by fixed capital he means the constant capital, that quantity of values which consists of means of production, whether these means of production are instruments or materials of labour, such as raw materials, semi-finished products, auxiliary materials, etc. He calls the variable capital circulating capital:

* "Circulating capital consists exclusively of subsistence and other necessaries advanced to the workmen, previous to the completion of the produce of their labour... Fixed capital alone, not circulating, is properly speaking a source of national wealth... Circulating capital is not an immediate agent in production, nor even essential to it at all, but merely a convenience rendered necessary by the deplorable poverty of the mass of the people... Fixed capital alone constitutes an element of cost of production in a national point of view" * (Ramsay, l. c., pp. 23-26, *passim*).

Ramsay defines fixed capital, by which he means constant capital, more closely in the following words:

* "The length of time during which any portion of the product of that labour" * (namely LABOUR BESTOWED ON ANY COMMODITY) *"has existed as fixed capital; that is, in a form in which, though assisting to raise the future commodity, *it does not maintain labourers*" * (ibid., p. 59).

Here we see once more the calamity Adam Smith brings on by submerging the distinction between constant and variable capital in that between fixed capital and circulating capital. Ramsay's constant capital consists of instruments of labour, his circulating capital of means of subsistence. Both of them are commodities of a given value. The one can no more create surplus value than the other.

## X. CAPITAL AND REVENUE: VARIABLE CAPITAL AND WAGES [49]

The entire annual reproduction, the entire product of the year is the product of the useful labour of that year. But the value of this total product is greater than that portion of the value in which the annual labour, the labour power expended during the current year, is incorporated. The *value product* of this year, the value newly created during this period in the form of commodities, is smaller than the *value of the product*, the aggregate value of the mass of commodities fabricated during the entire year. The difference obtained by deducting from the total value of the annual product that value which was added to it by the labour of the current year, is not really reproduced value but only value re-appearing in a new form of existence. It is value transferred to the annual product from value existing prior to it, which may be of an earlier or later date, according to the durability of the components of the constant capital which have participated in that year's social labour process, a value which may originate from the value of means of production which came into the world the previous year or in a number of years even previous to that. It is by all means a value transferred from means of production of former years to the product of the current year.

Take our scheme. We have, after the exchange of the elements hitherto considered between I and II, and within II:

[49] The following is from Manuscript VIII.

I. $4{,}000_c + 1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s$ (the latter 2,000 realised in articles of consumption of $II_c$) = 6,000.

II. $2{,}000_c$ (reproduced by exchange with $I_{(v+s)}$) + $500_v + 500_s$ = 3,000.

Sum of values = 9,000.

Value newly produced during the year is contained only in v and s. The sum of the value product of this year is therefore equal to the sum of v + s, or 2,000 $I_{(v+s)}$ + 1,000 $II_{(v+s)}$ = 3,000. All remaining value parts of the product of this year are merely value transferred from the value of earlier means of production consumed in the annual production. The current annual labour has not produced any value other than that of 3,000. That represents its entire annual value product.

Now, as we have seen, the 2,000 $I_{(v+s)}$ replace for class II its 2,000 $II_c$ in the natural form of means of production. Two-thirds of the annual labour, then, expended in category I, have newly produced constant capital II, both its entire value and its natural form. From the standpoint of society, two-thirds of the labour expended during the year have created new constant capital value realised in the natural form appropriate for department II. Thus the greater portion of the annual labour of society has been spent in the production of new constant capital (capital value existing in the form of means of production) in order to replace the value of the constant capital expended in the production of articles of consumption. What distinguishes capitalist society in this case from the savage is not, as Senior[50] thinks, the privilege and peculiarity of the savage to expend his labour at times in a way that does not procure him any products resolvable (exchangeable) into revenue, i. e., into articles of consumption. No, the distinction consists in the following:

a) Capitalist society employs more of its available annual labour in the production of means of production (ergo, of constant capital) which are not resolvable into revenue in the form of wages or surplus value, but can function only as capital.

[50] "When the savage makes bows, he exercises an industry, but he does not practise abstinence" (Senior, *Principes fondamentaux de l'Economie Politique*,[57] trad. Arrivabene, Paris, 1836, pp. 342-43). "The more society progresses, the more abstinence is demanded" (ibid., p. 343). (Cf. *Das Kapital*, Buch I, Kap. XXII, 3, S. 619.[a])

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. XXIV, 3 (present edition, Vol. 35).

b) When a savage makes bows, arrows, stone hammers, axes, baskets, etc., he knows very well that he did not spend the time so employed in the production of articles of consumption, but that he has thus stocked up the means of production he needs, and nothing else. Furthermore, a savage commits a grave economic sin by his utter indifference to waste of time, and, as Tyler[51] tells us, takes sometimes a whole month to make one arrow.

The current conception whereby some political economists seek to extricate themselves from the theoretical difficulty, i. e., the understanding of the real interconnections — that what is capital to one is revenue to another, and vice versa — is only partially correct and becomes utterly wrong (harbours therefore a complete misunderstanding of the entire process of exchange taking place in annual reproduction, hence also a misunderstanding of the actual basis of the partially correct) as soon as the character of universality is attributed to it.

We now summarise the actual relations on which the partial correctness of this conception rests, and in doing so the wrong conception of these relations will come to the surface at once.

1) The variable capital functions as capital in the hands of the capitalist and as revenue in the hands of the wage worker.

The variable capital exists at first in the hands of the capitalist as *money capital*; it performs the function of *money capital*, by his buying labour power with it. So long as it persists in his hands in the form of money, it is nothing but a given value existing in the form of money; hence a constant and not a variable magnitude. It is a variable capital only potentially, owing to its convertibility into labour power. It becomes real variable capital only after divesting itself of its money form, after being converted into labour power functioning as a component part of productive capital in the capitalist process.

*Money*, which first functioned as the money form of the variable capital for the capitalist, now functions in the hands of the labourer as the money form of his wages, which he exchanges for means of subsistence, hence as the money form of *revenue* derived from the constantly repeated sale of his labour power.

We have here but the simple fact that the *money* of the buyer, in this

[51] E. B. Tyler, *Forschungen über die Urgeschichte der Menschheit*, übersetzt von H. Müller, Leipzig, ohne Datum, S. 240. [58]

case the capitalist, passes from his hands into those of the seller, in this case the seller of labour power, the labourer. It is not a case of the variable *capital* functioning in a dual capacity, as capital for the capitalist and as revenue for the labourer. It is the same *money* which exists first in the hands of the capitalist as the money form of his variable capital, hence as potential variable capital, and which serves in the hands of the labourer as an equivalent for sold labour power as soon as the capitalist converts it into labour power. But the fact that the same money serves another useful purpose in the hands of the seller than in those of the buyer is a phenomenon peculiar to the purchase and sale of all commodities.

Apologetic economists present the matter in a wrong light, as is best seen if we keep our eyes fixed exclusively, without taking for the time being any notice of what follows, on the act of circulation M—L (= M—C), the conversion of money into labour power on the part of the capitalist buyer, which is L—M (equal to C—M), the conversion of the commodity labour power into money on the part of the seller, the labourer. They say: Here the same money realises two capitals; the buyer—the capitalist—converts his money capital into living labour power, which he incorporates in his productive capital; on the other hand the seller, the labourer, converts his commodity, labour power, into money, which he spends as revenue, and this enables him to keep on reselling his labour power and thereby to maintain it. His labour power, then, represents his capital in commodity form, which yields him a continuous revenue. Labour power is indeed his property (ever self-renewing, reproductive), not his capital. It is the only commodity which he can and must sell continually in order to live, and which acts as capital (variable) only in the hands of the buyer, the capitalist. The fact that a man is continually compelled to sell his labour power, i. e., himself, to another man proves, according to those economists, that he is a capitalist, because he constantly has "commodity" (himself) for sale. In that sense a slave is also a capitalist, although he is sold by another once and for all as a commodity; for it is in the nature of this commodity, a labouring slave, that its buyer does not only make it work anew every day, but also provides it with the means of subsistence that enable it to work ever anew. (Compare on this point Sismondi and Say in the letters to Malthus.[59]

2) And so, in the exchange of 1,000 $I_v$ + 1,000 $I_s$ for 2,000 $II_c$, what is constant capital for some (2,000 $II_c$) becomes variable capital

and surplus value, hence generally revenue, for the others; and what is variable capital and surplus value (2,000 $I_{(v+s)}$), hence generally revenue, for some becomes constant capital for the others.

Let us first look at the exchange of $I_v$ for $II_c$, beginning with the point of view of the labourer.

The collective labourer of I has sold his labour power to the collective capitalist of I for 1,000; he receives this value in money, paid in the form of wages. With this money he buys from II articles of consumption for the same amount of value. Capitalist II confronts him only as a seller of commodities, and nothing else, even if the labourer buys from his own capitalist, as he does for instance in the exchange of 500 $II_v$, as we have seen above (p. 400[a]) [60]. The form of circulation through which his commodity, labour power, passes, is that of the simple circulation of commodities for the mere satisfaction of needs, for the purpose of consumption: C (labour power) — M — C (articles of consumption, commodities II). The result of this act of circulation is that the labourer maintains himself as labour power for capitalist I, and in order to continue maintaining himself as such he must continually renew the process L(C) — M — C. His wages are realised in articles of consumption, they are spent as revenue, and, taking the working class as a whole, are spent again and again as revenue.

Now let us look at the same exchange of $I_v$ for $II_c$ from the point of view of the capitalist. The entire commodity product of II consists of articles of consumption, hence of things intended to enter into annual consumption, hence to serve in the realisation of revenue for someone, in the present case for the collective labourer I. But for the collective capitalist II one portion of his commodity product, 2,000, is now the form of the constant capital value of his productive capital converted into commodities. This productive capital must be reconverted from this commodity form into its natural form, in which it may act again as the constant portion of a productive capital. What capitalist II has accomplished so far is that he has reconverted by means of sales to labourers I one half ( = 1,000) of his constant capital value, which had been reproduced in the shape of commodities (articles of consumption), into the form of money. Hence it is not the variable capital $I_v$, which has been converted into this first half of the constant capital value $II_c$, but simply the money which functioned for I as money capital in the exchange for labour power and thus came into

[a] See this volume, pp. 403-04.

the possession of the seller of labour power, to whom it does not represent capital but revenue in the form of money, i. e., it is spent as a means of purchase of articles of consumption. Meanwhile, the money = 1,000, which has come into the hands of the II capitalists from labourers of I, cannot function as the constant element of productive capital II. It is only as yet the money form of his commodity capital to be commuted into fixed or circulating constituents of constant capital. So II buys with the money received from the labourers of I, the buyers of its commodities, means of production from I to the amount of 1,000. In this way the constant capital value II is renewed to the extent of one half of its total amount in its natural form, in which it can function once more as an element of productive capital II. The circulation in this instance took the course C—M—C: articles of consumption worth 1,000—money = 1,000—means of production worth 1,000.

But C—M—C represents here the movement of capital. C, when sold to the labourers, is converted into M, and this M is converted into means of production. It is the reconversion of commodities into the material elements of which this commodity is made. On the other hand just as capitalist II acts vis-à-vis I only as a buyer of commodities, so capitalist I acts only as a seller of commodities vis-à-vis II. I originally bought labour power worth 1,000 with 1,000 in money intended to function as variable capital. It has therefore received an equivalent for the $1{,}000_v$ which it expended in money form. This money now belongs to the labourer who spends it in purchases from II; I cannot get back this money, which thus found its way into the II treasury, unless it fishes it out of it again by the sale of commodities of the same value.

Department I first had a definite sum of money = 1,000 destined to function as variable capital; it functions as such by its conversion into labour power of the same value. But the labourer supplied it as a result of the process of production with a quantity of commodities (means of production) worth 6,000, of which $^1/_6$, or 1,000, are equivalent to the variable portion of capital advanced in money. The variable capital value functions no more as variable capital now in its commodity form than it did before in its form of money. It can do so only after its conversion into living labour power, and only so long as this labour power functions in the process of production. As money the variable capital value was only potential variable capital. But it had a form in which it was directly convertible into labour power. As

a commodity the same variable capital value is still potential money value; it is restored to its original money form only by the sale of the commodities, and therefore by II buying for 1,000 commodities from I. The movement of the circulation is here as follows: $1{,}000_v$ (money) — labour power worth 1,000 — 1,000 in commodities (equivalent of the variable capital) — $1{,}000_v$ (money); hence M — C... C — M ( = M — L ... C — M). The process of production intervening between C ... C does not itself belong in the sphere of circulation. It does not figure in the mutual exchange of the various elements of the annual reproduction, although this exchange includes the reproduction of all the elements of productive capital, the constant elements as well as the variable element (labour power). All the participants in this exchange appear either as buyers or sellers or both. The labourers appear only as buyers of commodities, the capitalists alternately as buyers and sellers, and within certain limits either only as buyers of commodities or only as sellers of commodities.

Result: I possesses once more the variable value constituent of its capital in the form of money, from which alone it is directly convertible into labour power, i. e., it once more possesses the variable capital value in the sole form in which it can really be advanced as a variable element of its productive capital. On the other hand the labourer must again act as a seller of commodities, of his labour power, before he can act again as a buyer of commodities.

So far as the variable capital of category II (500 $II_v$) is concerned, the process of circulation between the capitalists and labourers of the same class of production takes place directly, since we look upon it as taking place between the collective capitalist II and the collective labourer II.

The collective capitalist II advances $500_v$ for the purchase of labour power of the same value. In this case the collective capitalist is a buyer, the collective labourer a seller. Thereupon the labourer appears with the proceeds of the sale of his labour power to act as a buyer of a part of the commodities produced by himself. Here the capitalist is therefore a seller. The labourer has replaced to the capitalist the money paid in the purchase of his labour power by means of a portion of commodity capital II produced, namely $500_v$ in commodities. The capitalist now holds in the form of commodities the same v which he had in the form of money before its conversion into labour power, while the labourer on the other hand has realised the value of his labour power in money and now, in his turn, realises this money

by spending it as his revenue to defray his consumption in the purchase of part of the articles of consumption produced by himself. It is an exchange of the revenue of the labourer in money for a portion of commodities he has himself reproduced, namely $500_v$ of the capitalist. In this way this money returns to capitalist II as the money form of his variable capital. An equivalent value of revenue in the form of money here replaces variable capital value in the form of commodities.

The capitalist does not increase his wealth by taking away again the money paid by him to the labourer in the purchase of labour power when he sells him an equivalent quantity of commodities. He would indeed be paying the labourer twice if he were to pay him first 500 in the purchase of his labour power, and then in addition give him gratis a quantity of commodities worth 500, which the labourers produced for him. Vice versa, if the labourer were to produce for him nothing but an equivalent in commodities worth 500 for the price of his labour power of 500, the capitalist would be no better off after the transaction than before. But the labourer has reproduced a product of 3,000. He has preserved the constant portion of the value of the product, i.e., the value of the means of production used up in it = 2,000 by converting them into a new product. He has furthermore added to this given value a value of $1{,}000_{(v+s)}$. (The idea that the capitalist grows richer in the sense that he wins a surplus value by the reflux of the 500 in money is developed by Destutt de Tracy, as shown in detail in section XIII of this chapter.[61])

Through the purchase of 500 worth of articles of consumption by labourer II, capitalist II recovers the value of 500 $II_v$ — which he just possessed in commodities — in money, the form in which he advanced it originally. The immediate result of this transaction, as of any other sale of commodities, is the conversion of a given value from the form of commodities into that of money. Nor is there anything special in the reflux thus effected of the money to its point of departure. If capitalist II had bought, with 500 in money, commodities from capitalist I, and then in turn sold to capitalist I commodities to the amount of 500, then 500 would have likewise returned to him in money. This sum of 500 in money would merely have served for the circulation of a quantity of commodities (1,000), and according to the general law previously expounded, the money would have returned to the one who put it into circulation for the purpose of exchanging this quantity of commodities.

But the 500 in money which flowed back to capitalist II are at one and the same time renewed potential variable capital in money form. Why is this so? Money, and therefore money capital, is potential variable capital only because and to the extent that it is convertible into labour power. The return of £500 in money to capitalist II is accompanied by the return of labour power II to the market. The return of both of these at opposite poles—hence also the re-appearance of 500 in money not only as money but also as variable capital in the form of money—is conditional on one and the same process. The money = 500 returns to capitalist II because he sold to labourer II articles of consumption amounting to 500, i. e., because the labourer spends his wages to maintain himself and his family and thus his labour power. In order to be able to live on and act again as a buyer of commodities he must again sell his labour power. The return of 500 in money to capitalist II is therefore at the same time a return, or an abiding, of the labour power in the capacity of a commodity purchasable with 500 in money, and thereby a return of 500 in money as potential variable capital.

As for category IIb, which produces articles of luxury, the case with $v$—$(IIb)_v$—is the same as with $I_v$. The money, which renews for capitalists IIb their variable capital in the form of money, flows back to them in a roundabout way through capitalists IIa. But it nevertheless makes a difference whether the labourers buy their means of subsistence directly from the capitalist producers to whom they sell their labour power or whether they buy them from capitalists of another category, through whose agency the money returns to the former only by a circuitous route. Since the working class lives from hand to mouth, it buys as long as it has the means to buy. It is different with the capitalist, as for instance in the exchange of 1,000 $II_c$ for 1,000 $I_v$. The capitalist does not live from hand to mouth. His compelling motive is the utmost self-expansion of his capital. Now, if circumstances of any description seem to promise greater advantages to capitalist II in case he holds on to his money, or to part of it at least, for a while, instead of immediately renewing his constant capital, then the return of 1,000 $II_c$ (in money) to I is delayed; and so is the restoration of $1{,}000_v$ to the form of money, and capitalist I can continue his business on the same scale only if he disposes of reserve money; and, generally speaking, reserve capital in the form of money is necessary to be able to work without interruption, regardless of the rapid or slow reflux of the variable capital value in money.

If the exchange of the various elements of the current annual reproduction is to be investigated, so are the results of the labour of the preceding year, of the labour of the year that has already come to a close. The process of production which resulted in this yearly product lies behind us; it is a thing of the past, incorporated in its product, and so much the more is this the case with the process of circulation, which precedes the process of production or runs parallel with it, the conversion of potential into real variable capital, i. e., the sale and purchase of labour power. The labour market is no longer a part of the commodity market, such as we have here before us. The labourer has here not only already sold his labour power, but besides the surplus value also supplied an equivalent of the price of his labour power in the shape of commodities. He has furthermore pocketed his wages and figures during the exchange only as a buyer of commodities (articles of consumption). On the other hand the annual product must contain all the elements of reproduction, restore all the elements of productive capital, above all its most important element, the variable capital. And we have seen indeed that the result of the exchange in regard to the variable capital is this: By spending his wages and consuming the purchased commodities, the labourer as a buyer of commodities maintains and reproduces his labour power, this being the only commodity which he has to sell. Just as the money advanced by the capitalist in the purchase of his labour power returns to him, so labour power returns to the labour market in its capacity of a commodity exchangeable for money. The result in the special case of 1,000 $I_v$ is that the capitalists of I hold $1{,}000_v$ in money and the labourers of I offer them 1,000 in labour power, so that the entire process of reproduction of I can be renewed. This is one result of the process of exchange.

On the other hand the expenditure of the wages of the labourers of I relieved II of articles of consumption to the amount of $1{,}000_c$, thus transforming them from the commodity form into the money form. Department II reconverted them into the bodily form of its constant capital by purchasing from I commodities = $1{,}000_v$ and thus restoring to I in money form the value of its variable capital.

The variable capital of I passes through three metamorphoses, which do not appear at all in the exchange of the annual product or do so only suggestively.

1) The first form is 1,000 $I_v$ in money, which is converted into labour power of the same value. This conversion does not itself appear

in the exchange of commodities between I and II, but its result is seen in the fact that working class I confronts commodity seller II with 1,000 in money, just as working class II with 500 in money confronts commodity seller of 500 $II_v$ in commodity form.

2) The second form, the only one in which variable capital actually varies, functions as variable capital, where value-creating force appears in the place of given value exchanged for it; it belongs exclusively to the process of production which is behind us.

3) The third form, in which the variable capital has justified itself as such in the result of the process of production, is the annual value product, which in the case of $I = 1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s = 2{,}000\ I_{(v+s)}$. In the place of its original value of 1,000 in money we have a value of double this amount, or 2,000, in commodities. The variable capital value of 1,000 in commodities is therefore only one half of the value produced by the variable capital as an element of the productive capital. The 1,000 $I_v$ in commodities are an exact equivalent of the $1{,}000_v$ in money originally advanced by I and intended to be the variable part of the aggregate capital. But in the form of commodities they are money only potentially (they do not become so actually until they are sold), and still less directly are they variable money capital. They eventually become variable money capital by the sale of the commodity 1,000 $I_v$ to $II_c$ and by the early re-appearance of labour power as a purchasable commodity, as a material for which $1{,}000_v$ in money may be exchanged.

During all these transformations capitalist I continually holds the variable capital in his hands; 1) to start with as money capital; 2) then as an element of his productive capital; 3) still later as a portion of the value of his commodity capital, hence in the form of commodity value; 4) finally once more in money which is again confronted by the labour power for which it can be exchanged. During the labour process the capitalist is in possession of the variable capital as active value-creating labour power, but not as a value of a given magnitude. But since he never pays the labourer until his power has acted for a certain length of time, he already has in hand the value created by that power to replace itself plus the surplus value before he pays him.

*As the variable capital always stays in the hands of the capitalist in some form or other, it cannot be claimed in any way that it converts itself into revenue for anyone.* On the contrary, 1,000 $I_v$ in commodities converts

itself into money by its sale to II half of whose constant capital it replaces *in natura*.

What resolves itself into revenue is not variable capital I, or $1{,}000_v$ in money. This money has ceased to function as the money form of variable capital I as soon as it is converted into labour power, just as the money of any other buyer of commodities has ceased to represent anything belonging to him as soon as he has exchanged it for commodities of still other sellers. The conversions which the money received in wages goes through in the hands of the working class are not conversions of variable capital, but of the value of their labour power converted into money; just as the conversion of the value (2,000 $I_{(v+s)}$) created by the labourer is only the conversion of a commodity belonging to the capitalist, which does not concern the labourer. However, the capitalist—and still more his theoretical interpreter, the political economist—can rid himself only with the greatest difficulty of the idea that the money paid to the labourer is still his, the capitalist's. If the capitalist is a producer of gold, then the variable portion of value—i. e., the equivalent in commodities which replaces for him the purchasing price of the labour—appears itself directly in the form of money and can therefore function anew as variable money capital without the circuitous route of a reflux. But so far as labourer II is concerned—aside from the labourer who produces articles of luxury—$500_v$ exists in commodities intended for the consumption of the labourer which he, considered as the collective labourer, buys directly again from the same collective capitalist to whom he sold his labour power. The variable portion of capital value II, so far as its natural form is concerned, consists of articles of consumption intended mostly for consumption by the working class. But it is not the variable capital which is spent in this form by the labourer; it is the wages, the money of the labourer, which precisely by its realisation in the articles of consumption restores to the capitalist the variable capital 500 $II_v$ in its money form. The variable capital $II_v$ is reproduced in articles of consumption, the same as the constant capital 2,000 $II_c$. The one resolves itself no more into revenue than the other does. In either case it is the wages which resolve themselves into revenue.

However it is a momentous fact in the exchange of the annual product that by the expenditure of the wages as revenue there is restored to the form of money capital in the one case 1,000 $II_c$, likewise, by this circuitous route, 1,000 $I_v$ and ditto 500 $II_v$, hence constant and vari-

able capital. (In the case of the variable capital partly by means of a direct and partly by means of an indirect reflux.)

## XI. REPLACEMENT OF THE FIXED CAPITAL

In the analysis of the exchanges of the annual reproduction the following presents great difficulty. If we take the simplest form in which the matter may be presented, we get:

$$\begin{aligned}(\mathrm{I})\ & 4{,}000_c + 1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s + \\ (\mathrm{II})\ & 2{,}000_c + 500_v + 500_s = 9{,}000.\end{aligned}$$

This resolves itself finally into:

$$\begin{aligned}& 4{,}000\ \mathrm{I}_c + 2{,}000\ \mathrm{II}_c + 1{,}000\ \mathrm{I}_v + 500\ \mathrm{II}_v + 1{,}000\ \mathrm{I}_s + \\ & + 500\ \mathrm{II}_s = 6{,}000_c + 1{,}500_v + 1{,}500_s = 9{,}000.\end{aligned}$$

One portion of the value of the constant capital, which consists of instruments of labour in the strict meaning of the term (as a distinct section of the means of production), is transferred from the instruments of labour to the product of labour (the commodity); these instruments of labour continue to function as elements of the productive capital, doing so in their old natural form. It is their wear and tear, the diminution in value gradually experienced by them during their continual functioning for a definite period, which re-appears as an element of the value of the commodities produced by means of them, which is transferred from the instrument of labour to the product of labour. With regard to the annual reproduction therefore only such component parts of fixed capital will from the first be given consideration as last longer than a year. If they are completely worn out within the year they must be completely replaced and renewed by the annual reproduction, and the point at issue does not concern them at all. It may happen in the case of machines and other more durable forms of fixed capital—and it frequently does happen—that certain parts of them must be replaced lock, stock and barrel within one year, although the building or machine in its entirety lasts much longer. These parts belong in one category with the elements of fixed capital which are to be replaced within one year.

This element of the value of commodities must not be confused with the costs of repair.[a] If a commodity is sold, this value element is turned into money, the same as all others. But after it has been turned

[a] See this volume, pp. 172-84.

into money, its difference from the other elements of value becomes apparent. The raw and auxiliary materials consumed in the production of commodities must be replaced *in natura* in order that the reproduction of commodities may begin (or that the process of production of commodities in general may be continuous). The labour power spent on them must also be replaced by fresh labour power. Consequently the money realised on the commodities must be continually reconverted into these elements of the productive capital, from the money form into the commodity form. It does not alter the matter if raw and auxiliary materials for instance are bought at certain intervals in larger quantities—so that they constitute productive supplies—and need not be bought anew during certain periods; and therefore—as long as they last—the money coming in through the sale of commodities, inasmuch as it is meant for this purpose, may accumulate and this portion of constant capital thus appears temporarily as money capital whose active function has been suspended. It is not a revenue capital; it is productive capital suspended in the form of money. The renewal of the means of production must go on all the time, although the form of this renewal—with reference to the circulation—may vary. The new purchase, the circulation operation by which they are renewed or replaced, may take place at more or at less prolonged intervals: then a large amount may be invested at one stroke, compensated by a corresponding productive supply. Or the intervals between purchases may be small: then follows a rapid succession of money expenditures in small doses, of small productive supplies. This does not alter the matter itself. The same applies to labour power. Where production is carried on continuously throughout the year on the same scale—continuous replacement of consumed labour power by new. Where work is seasonable, or different portions of labour are applied at different periods, as in agriculture—corresponding purchases of labour power, now in small, now in large amounts. But the money proceeds realised from the sale of commodities, so far as they turn into money that part of the commodity value which is equal to the wear and tear of fixed capital, are not reconverted into that component part of the productive capital whose diminution in value they cover. They settle down beside the productive capital and persist in the form of money. This precipitation of money is repeated, until the period of reproduction consisting of great or small numbers of years has elapsed, during which the fixed element of constant capital continues to function in the process of production in its

old natural form. As soon as the fixed element, such as buildings, machinery, etc., has been worn out, and can no longer function in the process of production, its value exists alongside it fully replaced by money, by the sum of money precipitations, the values which had been gradually transferred from the fixed capital to the commodities in whose production it participated and which had assumed the form of money as a result of the sale of these commodities. This money then serves to replace the fixed capital (or its elements, since its various elements have different durabilities) *in natura* and thus really to renew this component part of the productive capital. This money is therefore the money form of a part of the constant capital value, of its fixed part. The formation of this hoard is thus itself an element of the capitalist process of reproduction; it is the reproduction and storing up—in the form of money—of the value of fixed capital, or its several elements, until the fixed capital has ceased to live and in consequence has given off its full value to the commodities produced and must now be replaced *in natura*. But this money loses only its form of a hoard and hence resumes its activity in the process of reproduction of capital brought about by the circulation as soon as it is reconverted into new elements of fixed capital to replace those that died off.

Just as simple commodity circulation is in no way identical with a mere exchange of products, the conversion of the annual commodity product can in no way resolve itself into a mere unmediated mutual exchange of its various components. Money plays a specific role in it, which finds expression particularly in the manner in which the value of the fixed capital is reproduced. (How different the matter would present itself if production were collective and no longer possessed the form of commodity production is left to a later analysis.)

Should we now return to our fundamental scheme, we shall get the following for class II: $2{,}000_c + 500_v + 500_s$. All the articles of consumption produced in the course of the year are in that case equal in value to 3,000; and every one of the different commodity elements in the total sum of the commodities is composed, so far as its value is concerned, of $^2/_{3c} + {}^1/_{6v} + {}^1/_{6s}$, or, in percentages, $66^2/_{3c} + 16^2/_{3v} + 16^2/_{3s}$. The various kinds of commodities of class II may contain different proportions of constant capital. Likewise the fixed portion of the constant capital may be different. The duration of the parts of the fixed capital and hence the annual wear and tear, or that portion of value which they transfer *pro rata* to the commodities

in the production of which they participate, may also differ. But that is immaterial here. As to the process of social reproduction, it is only a question of exchange between classes II and I. These two classes here confront each other only in their social, mass relations. Therefore the proportional magnitude of part c of the value of commodity product II (the only one of consequence in the question now being discussed) gives the average proportion if all the branches of production classed under II are embraced.

Every kind of commodity (and they are largely the same kinds) whose aggregate value is classed under $2{,}000_c + 500_v + 500_s$ is therefore equal in value to $66^2/_3\%_c + 16^2/_3\%_v + 16^2/_3\%_s$. This applies to every 100 of the commodities, whether classed under c, v or s.

The commodities in which the $2{,}000_c$ are incorporated may be further divided, in value, into:

1) $1{,}333^1/_{3c} + 333^1/_{3v} + 333^1/_{3s} = 2{,}000_c$;

similarly $500_v$ may be divided into:

2) $333^1/_{3c} + 83^1/_{3v} + 83^1/_{3s} = 500_v$;

and finally $500_s$ may be divided into:

3) $333^1/_{3c} + 83^1/_{3v} + 83^1/_{3s} = 500_s$.

Now, if we add the c's in 1, 2 and 3 we get $1{,}333^1/_{3c} + 333^1/_{3c} + 333^1/_{3c} = 2{,}000$. Similarly, $333^1/_{3v} + 83^1/_{3v} + 83^1/_{3v} = 500$. And the same in the case of s. The addition gives the same total value of 3,000, as above.

The entire constant capital value contained in the commodity mass II representing a value of 3,000 is therefore comprised in $2{,}000_c$, and neither $500_v$ nor $500_s$ hold an atom of it. The same is true of v and s respectively.

In other words, the entire share of commodity mass II that represents constant capital value and therefore is reconvertible either into its natural or its money form, exists in $2{,}000_c$. Everything referring to the exchange of the constant value of commodities II is therefore confined to the movement of 2,000 $II_c$. And this exchange can be made only with I ($1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s$).

Similarly, as regards class I, everything that bears on the exchange of the constant capital value of that class is to be confined to a consideration of 4,000 $I_c$.

### *1. REPLACEMENT OF THE WEAR AND TEAR PORTION OF THE VALUE IN THE FORM OF MONEY*

Now, if to start with we take

$$\text{I. } 4{,}000_c + \underbrace{1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s}$$

$$\text{II. } \ldots \quad 2{,}000_c + 500_v + 500_s,$$

the exchange of the commodities 2,000 $II_c$ for commodities of the same value I ($1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s$) would presuppose that the entire 2,000 $II_c$ are reconverted *in natura* into the natural elements of the constant capital of II, produced by I. But the commodity value of 2,000, in which the latter exists, contains an element making good the diminution in value of the fixed capital, which is not to be replaced immediately *in natura* but converted into money, which gradually accumulates into a sum total until the time for the renewal of the fixed capital in its natural form arrives. Every year registers the demise of fixed capital which must be replaced in this or that individual business, or in this or that branch of industry. In the case of one and the same individual capital, this or that portion of its fixed capital must be replaced (since its different parts have different durabilities). On examining annual reproduction, even on a simple scale, i. e., disregarding all accumulation, we do not begin *ab ovo*. The year which we study is one in the course of many; it is not the first year after the birth of capitalist production. The various capitals invested in the manifold lines of production of class II therefore differ in age, and just as people functioning in these lines of production die annually, so a host of fixed capitals expire annually and must be renewed *in natura* out of the accumulated money fund. Therefore the exchange of 2,000 $II_c$ for 2,000 $I_{(v+s)}$ includes a conversion of 2,000 $II_c$ from its commodity form (articles of consumption) into natural elements which consist not only of raw and auxiliary materials but also of natural elements of fixed capital, such as machinery, tools, buildings, etc. The wear and tear, which must be replaced *in money* in the value of 2,000 $II_c$, therefore by no means corresponds to the amount of the functioning fixed capital, since a portion of this must be replaced *in natura* every year. But this assumes that the money necessary for this replacement was accumulated in former years by the capitalists of class II. However that very

condition holds good in the same measure for the current year as for the preceding ones.

In the exchange between I ($1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s$) and 2,000 $II_c$ it must be first noted that the sum of values $I_{(v+s)}$ does not contain any constant element of value, hence also no element of value to replace wear and tear, i. e., value that has been transmitted from the fixed component of the constant capital to the commodities in whose natural form v + s exist. On the other hand this element exists in $II_c$, and it is precisely a part of this value element that owes its existence to fixed capital which is not to be converted immediately from the money form into its natural form, but has first to persist in the form of money. The exchange between I ($1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s$) and 2,000 $II_c$, therefore, at once presents the difficulty that the means of production of I, in whose natural form the $2{,}000_{(v+s)}$ exist, are to be exchanged to the full value of 2,000 for an equivalent in articles of consumption II, while on the other hand the 2,000 $II_c$ of articles of consumption cannot be exchanged at their full value for means of production I ($1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s$) because an aliquot part of their value — equal to the wear and tear, or the value depreciation of the fixed capital that is to be replaced — must first be precipitated in the form of money that will not function any more as a medium of circulation during the current period of annual reproduction, which alone we are examining. But the money paying for this element of wear and tear incorporated in the commodity value 2,000 $II_c$ can come only from class I, since II cannot pay for itself but effects payment precisely by selling its goods, and since presumably $I_{(v+s)}$ buys the whole of the commodities 2,000 $II_c$. Hence class I must by means of this purchase convert that wear and tear into money for II. But according to the law previously evolved, money advanced to the circulation returns to the capitalist producer who later on throws an equal amount of commodities into circulation. It is evident that in buying $II_c$, I cannot give II commodities worth 2,000 and an additional amount of money on top of that once and for all (without any return of the same by way of the operation of exchange). Otherwise I would buy the commodity mass $II_c$ above its value. If II actually exchanges its $2{,}000_c$ for I ($1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s$), it has no further claims on I, and the money circulating in this exchange returns to either I or II, depending on which of them threw it into circulation, i. e., which of them acted first as buyer. At the same time, in this case, II would have reconverted the entire value of its commodity capital into the natural form of means of production, while our as-

sumption is that after its sale it would not reconvert an aliquot portion of it during the current period of annual reproduction from money into the natural form of fixed components of its constant capital. A money balance in favour of II could arise only if it sold 2,000 worth to I and bought less than 2,000 from I, say only 1,800. In that case I would have to make good the debit balance by 200 in money, which would not flow back to it, because it would not have withdrawn from circulation the money it had advanced to it by throwing into it commodities equal to 200. In such an event we would have a money fund for II, placed to the credit of the wear and tear of its fixed capital. But then we would have an overproduction of means of production to the amount of 200 on the other side, the side of I, and the basis of our scheme would be destroyed, namely reproduction on the same scale, where complete proportionality between the various systems of production is assumed. We would only have done away with one difficulty in order to create another one, much worse.

As this problem offers peculiar difficulties and has hitherto not been treated at all by the political economists, we shall examine *seriatim* all possible (at least seemingly possible) solutions, or rather formulations of the problem.

In the first place, we have just assumed that II sells commodities of the value of 2,000 to I, but buys from it only 1,800 worth. The commodity value 2,000 $II_c$ contains 200 for replacement of wear and tear, which must be stored up in the form of money. The value of 2,000 $II_c$ would thus be divided into 1,800, to be exchanged for means of production I, and 200, to replace wear and tear, which are to be kept in the form of money (after the sale of the $2{,}000_c$ to I). Expressed in terms of value, 2,000 $II_c = 1{,}800_c + 200_c(d)$, this d standing for *déchet* / /depreciation / /.

We would then have to study

Exchange

$$\text{I. } \underbrace{1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s}$$

$$\text{II. } 1{,}800_c + 200_c\ (d).'$$

I buys with £1,000, which has gone to the labourers in wages for their labour power, 1,000 $II_c$ of articles of consumption. II buys with the same £1,000 means of production 1,000 $I_v$. Capitalists I thus recover their variable capital in the form of money and can employ it next year in the purchase of labour power to the same amount, i. e.,

they can replace the variable portion of their productive capital *in natura*.

Furthermore, II buys with advanced £400 means of production $I_s$, and $I_s$ buys with the same £400 articles of consumption $II_c$. The £400 advanced to the circulation by the capitalists of II have thus returned to them, but only as an equivalent for sold commodities. I now buys articles of consumption for advanced £400; II buys from I £400 worth of means of production, whereupon these £400 flow back to I. So far, then, the account is as follows:

I throws into circulation $1{,}000_v + 800_s$ in commodities; it furthermore throws into circulation, in money, £1,000 in wages and £400 for exchange with II. After the exchange has been made, I has $1{,}000_v$ in money, $800_s$ exchanged for 800 $II_c$ (articles of consumption) and £400 in money.

II throws into circulation $1{,}800_c$ in commodities (articles of consumption) and £400 in money. On the completion of the exchange it has 1,800 in commodities I (means of production) and £400 in money.

There still remain, on the side of I, $200_s$ (in means of production) and, on the side of II, $200_c$(d) (in articles of consumption).

According to our assumption I buys with £200 the articles of consumption c (d) of the value of 200. But II holds on to these £200 since $200_c$(d) represent wear and tear, and are not to be immediately reconverted into means of production. Therefore 200 $I_s$ cannot be sold; $^1/_5$ of the surplus value I to be replaced cannot be realised, or converted, from its natural form of means of production into that of articles of consumption.

This not only contradicts our assumption of reproduction on a simple scale; it is by itself not a hypothesis which would explain the transformation of $200_c$(d) into money. It means rather that it cannot be explained. Since it cannot be demonstrated in what manner $200_c$(d) can be converted into money, it is assumed that I is obliging enough to do the conversion just because it is not able to convert its own remainder of $200_s$ into money. To conceive this as a normal operation of the exchange mechanism is tantamount to the notion that £200 fall every year from the clouds in order regularly to convert $200_c$(d) into money.

But the absurdity of such a hypothesis does not strike one at once if $I_s$, instead of appearing, as it does in this case, in its primitive mode of existence — namely as a component part of the value of means of pro-

duction, hence as a component part of the value of commodities which their capitalist producers must convert into money by sale—appears in the hands of the partners of the capitalists, for instance as ground rent in the hands of landowners or as interest in the hands of money lenders. But if that portion of the surplus value of commodities which the industrial capitalist has to yield as ground rent or interest to other co-owners of the surplus value cannot be realised for a long time by the sale of the commodities, then there is also an end to the payment of rent and interest, and the landowners or recipients of interest cannot therefore serve as *dei ex machina*[a] to convert at pleasure definite portions of the annual reproduction into money by spending rent and interest. The same is true of the expenditures of all so-called unproductive labourers—government officials, physicians, lawyers, etc., and others who as members of the "general public" "serve" the political economists by explaining what they left unexplained.

Nor does it improve matters if instead of direct exchange between I and II—between the two major departments of capitalist producers—the merchant is drawn in as mediator and helps to overcome all difficulties with his "money". In the present case for instance 200 $I_s$ must be definitively disposed of to the industrial capitalists of II. It may pass through the hands of a number of merchants, but the last of them will find himself, according to the hypothesis, in the same predicament, vis-à-vis II, in which the capitalist producers of I were at the outset, i. e., they cannot sell the 200 $I_s$ to II. And this stalled purchase sum cannot renew the same process with I.

We see here that, aside from our real purpose, it is absolutely necessary to view the process of reproduction in its basic form—in which obscuring minor circumstances have been eliminated—in order to get rid of the false subterfuges which furnish the semblance of "scientific" analysis when the process of social reproduction is immediately made the subject of the analysis in its complicated concrete form.

The law that, when reproduction proceeds normally (whether it be on a simple or on an extended scale), the money advanced by the capitalist producer to the circulation must return to its point of departure (whether the money is his own or borrowed) excludes once and for all the hypothesis that 200 $II_c$(d) is converted into money by means of money advanced by I.

[a] The plural of *deus ex machina* ("a deity from a machine"). In the ancient Greek and Roman theatre, the intervention of a god, brought in suddenly by stage machinery, to resolve an apparently insoluble conflict.

### 2. REPLACEMENT OF FIXED CAPITAL IN NATURA

Having disposed of the hypothesis considered above, only such possibilities remain as, besides replacing the wear and tear portion in money, include also the replacement *in natura* of the wholly defunct fixed capital.

We assumed hitherto

a) that £1,000 paid in wages by I are spent by the labourers for $II_c$ to the same amount, i. e., that they buy articles of consumption with them.

It is merely a statement of fact that these £1,000 are advanced by I in money. Wages must be paid in money by the respective capitalist producers. This money is then spent by the labourers for articles of consumption and serves the sellers of the articles of consumption as a medium of circulation in the conversion of their constant capital from commodity capital into productive capital. True, it passes through many channels (shopkeepers, house owners, tax collectors, unproductive labourers, such as physicians, etc., who are needed by the labourer himself) and hence it flows only in part directly from the hands of labourers I into those of capitalist class II. Its flow may be retarded more or less and the capitalist may therefore require a new money reserve. All this does not come under consideration in this basic form.

b) We assumed that at one time I advances another £400 in money for purchases from II and that this money returns to it, while at some other time II advances £400 for purchases from I and likewise recovers this money. This assumption must be made, for it would be arbitrary to presuppose the contrary, that capitalist class I or II should one-sidedly advance to the circulation the money necessary for the exchange of their commodities. Since we have shown under subtitle 1 that one should reject as absurd the hypothesis that I would throw additional money into the circulation in order to turn 200 $II_c$(d) into money, it would appear that there was left only the seemingly still more absurd hypothesis that II itself was throwing the money into circulation, by which that constituent portion of the value of its commodities is converted into money which has to compensate the wear and tear of its fixed capital. For instance that portion of value which is lost by the spinning-machine of Mr. X in the process of production re-appears as a portion of the value of the yarn. The loss which his

spinning-machine suffers in value, i. e., in wear and tear, on the one hand, should accumulate in his hands as money on the other. Now supposing that X buys for example £200 worth of cotton from Y and thus advances to the circulation £200 in money. Y then buys from him £200 worth of yarn, and these £200 now serve X as a fund to compensate the wear and tear of his machine. The thing would simply come down to this—that X, aside from his production, its product, and the sale of this product, keeps £200 *in petto* to make good to himself the depreciation of his spinning-machine, i. e., that in addition to losing £200 through the depreciation of his machine, he must also put up another £200 in money every year out of his own pocket in order to be able eventually to buy a new spinning-machine.

But the absurdity is only apparent. Class II consists of capitalists whose fixed capital is in the most diverse stages of its reproduction. In the case of some of them it has arrived at the stage where it must be entirely replaced *in natura*. In the case of the others it is more or less remote from that stage. All the members of the latter group have this in common, that their fixed capital is not actually reproduced, i. e., is not renewed *in natura*, is not replaced by a new specimen of the same kind, but that its value is successively accumulated in money. The first group is in quite the same (or almost the same, it does not matter here) position as when it started in business, when it came on the market with its money capital in order to convert it into constant (fixed and circulating) capital on the one hand and into labour power, into variable capital, on the other. They have once more to advance this money capital to the circulation, i. e., the value of constant fixed capital as well as that of the circulating and variable capital.

Hence, if we assume that half of the £400 thrown into circulation by capitalist class II for exchange with I comes from those capitalists of II who have to renew not only by means of their commodities their means of production pertaining to the circulating capital, but also, by means of their money, their fixed capital *in natura*, while the other half of capitalists II replaces *in natura* with its money only the circulating portion of its constant capital, but does not renew *in natura* its fixed capital, then there is no contradiction in the statement that these returning £400 (returning as soon as I buys articles of consumption for it) are variously distributed among these two sections of II. They return to class II, but they do not come back into the same hands and

are distributed variously within this class, passing from one of its sections to another.

One section of II has, besides the part of the means of production covered in the long run by its commodities, converted £200 in money into new elements of fixed capital *in natura*. As was the case at the start of the business, the money thus spent returns to this section from the circulation only gradually over a number of years as the wear and tear portion of the value of the commodities to be produced by this fixed capital.

The other section of II however did not get any commodities from I for £200. But I pays it with the money which the first section of II spent for elements of its fixed capital. The first section of II has its fixed capital value once more in renewed natural form, while the second section is still engaged in accumulating it in money form for the subsequent replacement of its fixed capital *in natura*.

The basis on which we now have to proceed after the previous exchanges is the remainder of the commodities still to be exchanged by both sides: $400_s$ on the part of I, and $400_c$ on the part of II.[52] We assume that II advances 400 in money for the exchange of these commodities amounting to 800. One half of the 400 (= 200) must be laid out under all circumstances by that section of $II_c$ which has accumulated 200 in money as the wear and tear value and which has to reconvert this money into the natural form of its fixed capital.

Just as constant capital value, variable capital value, and surplus value—into which the value of commodity capital II as well as I is divisible—may be represented by special proportional shares of commodities II and I respectively, so may, within the value of the constant capital itself, that portion of the value which is not yet to be converted into the natural form of the fixed capital, but is rather to be gradually accumulated for the time being in the form of money. A certain quantity of commodities II (in the present case therefore one half of the remainder = 200) is here only a vehicle of this wear and tear value, which has to be precipitated in money by means of exchange. (The first section of capitalists II, which renews fixed capital *in natura*, may already have realised in this way—with the wear and tear part of the mass of commodities of which here only the re-

[52] These figures again do not coincide with those previously assumed. But this is immaterial since it is merely a question of proportions.—*F. E.*

mainder still figures—a part of its wear and tear value, but it still has to realise 200 in money.)

As for the second half (= 200) of the £400 thrown into circulation by II in this final operation, it buys circulating components of constant capital from I. A portion of these £200 may be thrown into circulation by both sections of II, or only by the one which does not renew its fixed component of value *in natura*.

With these £400 there is thus extracted from I: 1) commodities amounting to £200, consisting only of elements of fixed capital; 2) commodities amounting to £200, replacing only natural elements of the circulating portion of the constant capital of II. So I has sold its entire annual commodity product, so far as it is to be sold to II; but the value of one-fifth of it, £400, is now held by I in the form of money. This money however is surplus value converted into money which must be spent as revenue for articles of consumption. Thus I buys with these £400 II's entire commodity value = 400. Hence this money flows back to II by setting its commodities in motion.

We shall now suppose three cases, in which we shall call the section of capitalists II which replaces its fixed capital *in natura* "section 1", and that section which stores up depreciation value of fixed capital in money form, "section 2". The three cases are the following: a) that a share of the 400 still existing with II as a remnant in the shape of commodities must replace certain shares of the circulating parts of the constant capital for sections 1 and 2 (say, $^1/_2$ for each); b) that section 1 has already sold all its commodities, while section 2 still has to sell 400; c) that section 2 has sold all but the 200 which are the bearers of the depreciation value.

Then we have the following distributions:

a) Of the commodity value = $400_c$, still in the hands of II, section 1 holds 100 and section 2—300; 200 out of the 300 represent depreciation. In that case section 1 originally laid out 300 of the £400 in money now returned by I to get commodities from II, namely 200 in money, for which it secured elements of fixed capital *in natura* from I, and 100 in money for the promotion of its exchange of commodities with I. Section 2 on the other hand advanced only $^1/_4$ of the 400, i. e., 100, likewise for the promotion of its commodity exchange with I.

Section 1, then, advanced 300, and section 2—100 of the 400 in money.

Of these 400 there return however:

To section 1—100, i. e., only $^1/_3$ of the money advanced by it. But

it has in place of the other $^2/_3$ a renewed fixed capital to the value of 200. Section 1 has given money to I for this element of fixed capital to the value of 200, but no subsequent commodities. So far as the 200 in money are concerned, section 1 confronts department I only as buyer, but not later on as seller. This money cannot therefore return to section 1; otherwise it would have received the elements of fixed capital from I as a gift.

With reference to the last third of the money advanced by it, section 1 first acted as a buyer of circulating constituent parts of its constant capital. With the same money I buys from it the remainder of its commodities worth 100. This money, then, flows back to it (section 1 of department II) because it acts as a vendor of commodities directly after having acted as a buyer. If this money did not return, then II (section 1) would have given to I, for commodities amounting to 100, first 100 in money, and then into the bargain, 100 in commodities, i. e., II would have given away its commodities to I as a present.

On the other hand section 2, which laid out 100 in money, receives back 300 in money: 100 because first as a buyer it threw 100 in money into circulation, and receives them back as a seller; 200, because it functions only as a seller of commodities to that amount, but not as a buyer. Hence the money cannot flow back to I. The fixed capital depreciation is thus balanced by the money thrown into circulation by II (section 1) in the purchase of elements of fixed capital. But it reaches the hands of section 2 not as money of section 1, but as money belonging to class I.

b) On this assumption the remainder of $II_c$ is so distributed that section 1 has 200 in money and section 2 has 400 in commodities.

Section 1 has sold all of its commodities, but 200 in money are a transformed shape of the fixed component part of its constant capital which it has to renew *in natura*. Hence it acts here only as a buyer and receives instead of its money commodity I to the same value in natural elements of its fixed capital. Section 2 has to throw only £200 into circulation, as a maximum (if I does not advance any money for commodity exchange between I and II), since for half of its commodity value it is only a seller to I, not a buyer from I.

There return to section 2 from the circulation £400: 200, because it 'as advanced them as a buyer and receives them back as a seller of ) in commodities; 200, because it sells commodities to the value of to I without obtaining an equivalent in commodities from I.

c) Section 1 has 200 in money and $200_c$ in commodities. Section 2 has $200_c$ (d) in commodities.

On this supposition section 2 does not have any advance to make in money, because vis-à-vis I it no longer acts at all as buyer but only as seller, hence has to wait until someone buys from it.

Section 1 advances £400 in money: 200 for mutual commodity exchange with I, 200 as mere buyer from I. With the last £200 in money it purchases the elements of fixed capital.

With £200 in money I buys from section 1 commodities for 200, so that the latter thus recovers the £200 in money it had advanced for this commodity exchange. And I buys with the other £200, which it has likewise received from section 1, commodities to the value of 200 from section 2, whereby the latter's wear and tear of fixed capital is precipitated in the form of money.

The matter is not altered in the least if it is assumed that, in case c), class I instead of II (section 1) advances the 200 in money to promote the exchange of the existing commodities. If I buys in that event first 200 in commodities from II, section 2, on the assumption that this section has only this commodity remnant left to sell—then the £200 do not return to I, since II, section 2, does not act again as buyer. But II, section 1, has in that case £200 in money to spend in buying and 200 in commodities for exchange purposes, thus making a total of 400 for trading with I. £200 in money then return to I from II, section 1. If I again lays them out in the purchase of 200 in commodities from II, section 1, they return to I as soon as II, section 1, takes the second half of the 400 in commodities off I's hands. Section 1 (II) has spent £200 in money as a mere buyer of elements of fixed capital; they therefore do not return to it, but serve to turn the $200_c$, the commodity remnant of II, section 2, into money, while the £200, the money laid out by I for the exchange of commodities, return to I via II, section 1, not via II, section 2. In the place of its commodities of 400 there has returned to it a commodity equivalent amounting to 400; the £200 in money advanced by it for the exchange of 800 in commodities have likewise returned to it. Everything is therefore all right.

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The difficulty encountered in the exchange:

I. $\underbrace{1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s}$ has been reduced to the difficulty in exchanging

II. $2{,}000_c$

remainders:

I. ..... $400_s$.

II. (1) 200 in money + $200_c$ in commodities + (2) $200_c$ in commodities. Or, to make the matter still clearer:

I. $200_s + 200_s$.

II. (1) 200 in money + $200_c$ in commodities + (2) $200_c$ in commodities.

Since in II, section 1, $200_c$ in commodities are exchanged for 200 $I_s$ (in commodities) and since all the money circulating in this exchange of 400 in commodities between I and II returns to him who advanced it, I or II, this money, being an element of the exchange between I and II, is actually not an element of the problem which is troubling us here. Or, to present it differently: Supposing in the exchange between 200 $I_s$ (commodities) and 200 $II_c$ (commodities of II, section 1) the money functions as a means of payment, not as a means of purchase and therefore also not as a "medium of circulation" in the strictest sense of the words. It is then clear, since the commodities 200 $I_s$ and 200 $II_c$ (section 1) are equal in magnitude of value, that means of production worth 200 are exchanged for articles of consumption worth 200, that money functions here only ideally, and that neither side really has to throw any money into circulation for the payment of any balance. Hence the problem presents itself in its pure form only when we strike off on both sides, I and II, the commodities 200 $I_s$ and their equivalent, the commodities 200 $II_c$ (section 1).

After the elimination of these two amounts of commodities of equal value (I and II), which balance each other, there is left for exchange a remainder in which the problem evinces its pure form, namely:

I. $200_s$ in commodities.

II. (1) $200_c$ in money plus (2) $200_c$ in commodities.

It is evident here that II, section 1, buys with 200 in money the component parts of its fixed capital, 200 $I_s$. The fixed capital of II, section 1, is thereby renewed *in natura*, and the surplus value of I, worth 200, is converted from the commodity form (means of production, or, more precisely, elements of fixed capital) into the money form. With this money I buys articles of consumption from II, section 2, and the result for II is that for section 1 a fixed component part of its constant capital has been renewed *in natura*, and that for section 2 another component part (which compensates for the depreciation

of its fixed capital) has been precipitated in money form. And this continues every year until this last component part, too, has to be renewed *in natura.*

The condition precedent is here evidently that this fixed component part of constant capital II, which is reconverted into money to the full extent of its value and therefore must be renewed *in natura* each year (section 1), should be equal to the annual depreciation of the other fixed component part of constant capital II, which continues to function in its old natural form and whose wear and tear, depreciation in value, which it transfers to the commodities in whose production it is engaged, is first to be compensated in money. Such a balance would seem to be a law of reproduction on the same scale, which means in other words that in class I, which puts out the means of production, the proportional division of labour must remain unchanged, since it produces on the one hand circulating and on the other fixed component parts of the constant capital of department II.

Before we analyse this more closely we must see what turn the matter takes if the remainder of $II_c$ (1) is not equal to the remainder of $II_c$ (2), and may be larger or smaller. Let us study the two cases one after the other.

## First Case

I. $200_s$.

II. (1) $220_c$ (in money) + (2) $200_c$ (in commodities).

In this case $II_c$ (1) buys with £200 in money the commodities 200 $I_s$, and I buys with the same money the commodities 200 $II_c$ (2), i. e., that portion of the fixed capital which is to be precipitated in money.This portion is thus converted into money. But 20 $II_c$ (1) in money cannot be reconverted into fixed capital *in natura.*

It seems this misfortune can be remedied by setting the remainder of $I_s$ at 220 instead of at 200, so that only 1,780 instead of 1,800 of the 2,000 I would be disposed of by former exchange. We should then have:

I. $220_s$.

II. (1) $220_c$ (in money) + (2) $200_c$ (in commodities).

$II_c$, section 1, buys with £220 in money the 220 $I_s$ and I buys then with £200 the 200 $II_c$ (2) in commodities. But now £20 in money remain on the side of I, a portion of surplus value which it can hold on

to only in the form of money, without being able to spend it for articles of consumption. The difficulty is thus merely transferred from $II_c$, section 1, to $I_s$.

Let us now assume on the other hand that $II_c$, section 1, is smaller than $II_c$, section 2; then we have:

## Second Case

I. $200_s$ (in commodities).

II. (1) $180_c$ (in money) + (2) $200_c$ (in commodities).

With £180 in money II (section 1) buys commodities, 180 $I_s$. With this money I buys commodities of the same value from II (section 2), hence 180 $II_c$ (2). There remain 20 $I_s$ unsaleable on one side, and also 20 $II_c$ (2) on the other—commodities worth 40, not convertible into money.

It would not help us to make the remainder of I equal to 180. True, no surplus would then be left in I, but now as before an excess of 20 would remain in $II_c$ (section 2), unsaleable, inconvertible into money.

In the first case, where II (1) is greater than II (2), there remains on the side of $II_c$ (1) an excess in money not reconvertible into fixed capital; or, if the remainder $I_s$ is assumed to be equal to $II_c$ (1), there remains on the side of $I_s$ the same excess in money, not convertible into articles of consumption.

In the second case, where $II_c$ (1) is smaller than $II_c$ (2), there remains a money deficit on the side of 200 $I_s$ and $II_c$ (2), and an equal excess of commodities on both sides, or, if the remainder of $I_s$ is assumed to be equal to $II_c$ (1), there remains a money deficit and an excess of commodities on the side of $II_c$ (2).

If we assume the remainders of $I_s$ always to be equal to $II_c$ (1)—since production is determined by orders and reproduction is not altered in any way if one year there is a greater output of fixed component parts and the next a greater output of circulating component parts of constant capitals II and I—then in the first case $I_s$ can be reconverted into articles of consumption only if I buys with it a portion of the surplus value of II and II accumulates it in money instead of consuming it; in the second case matters can be remedied only if I spends the money itself, an assumption we have already rejected.

If $II_c$ (1) is greater than $II_c$ (2), foreign commodities must be im-

ported to realise the money excess in $I_s$. If, conversely, $II_c$ (1) is smaller than $II_c$ (2), commodities II (articles of consumption) will have to be exported to realise the depreciation part of $II_c$ in means of production. Consequently in either case foreign trade is necessary.

Even granted that for a study of reproduction on an unchanging scale it is to be supposed that the productivity of all lines of industry, hence also the proportional value relations of their commodities, remain constant, the two last-named cases, in which $II_c$ (1) is either greater or smaller than $II_c$ (2), will nevertheless always be of interest for production on an enlarged scale where these cases may infallibly be encountered.

### 3. RESULTS

The following is to be noted with reference to replacement of fixed capital:

If—all other things, and not only the scale of production, but above all the productivity of labour, remaining the same—a greater part of the fixed element of $II_c$ expires than did the year before, and hence a greater part must be renewed *in natura*, then that part of the fixed capital which is as yet only on the way to its demise and is to be replaced meanwhile in money until its day of expiry, must shrink in the same proportion, inasmuch as it was assumed that the sum (and the sum of the value) of the fixed part of capital functioning in II remains the same. This however brings with it the following circumstances. *First*: If the greater part of commodity capital I consists of elements of the fixed capital of $II_c$, then a correspondingly smaller portion consists of circulating component parts of $II_c$, because the total production of I for $II_c$ remains unchanged. If one of these parts increases the other decreases, and vice versa. On the other hand the total production of class II also retains the same volume. But how is this possible if its raw materials, semi-finished products, and auxiliary materials (i. e., the circulating elements of constant capital II) decrease? *Second*: The greater part of fixed capital $II_c$, restored in its money form, flows to I to be reconverted from its money form into its natural form. So there is a greater flow of money to I, aside from the money circulating between I and II merely for the exchange of their commodities; more money which is not instrumental in effecting mutual commodity exchange, but acts only one-sidedly in the function of a means of

purchase. But then the mass of commodities of $II_c$, which is the bearer of the wear and tear equivalent—and thus the mass of commodities II that must only be exchanged for money I and not for commodities I—would also shrink proportionately. More money would have flown from II to I as mere means of purchase, and there would be fewer commodities II in relation to which I would have to function as a mere buyer. A greater portion of $I_s$—for $I_v$ is already converted into commodities II—would not therefore be convertible into commodities II, but would persist in the form of money.

The opposite case, in which the reproduction of demises of fixed capital II in a certain year is less and on the contrary the depreciation part greater, needs no further discussion.

There would be a crisis—a crisis of overproduction—in spite of reproduction on an unchanging scale.

In short, if under simple reproduction and other unchanged conditions—particularly under unchanged productive power, total volume and intensity of labour—no constant proportion is assumed between expiring fixed capital (to be renewed) and fixed capital still continuing to function in its old natural form (merely adding to the products value in compensation of its depreciation), then, in the one case the mass of circulating component parts to be reproduced would remain the same while the mass of fixed component parts to be reproduced would be increased. Therefore the total production I would have to grow or, even aside from money relations, there would be a deficit in reproduction.

In the other case, if the size of fixed capital II to be reproduced *in natura* should proportionately decrease and hence the component part of fixed capital II, which must now be replaced only in money, should increase in the same ratio, then the quantity of the circulating component parts of constant capital II reproduced by I would remain unchanged, while that of the fixed component parts to be reproduced would decrease. Hence either decrease in aggregate production of I, or excess (as previously deficit) and excess that is not to be converted into money.

True, the same labour can, in the first case, turn out a greater product through increasing productivity, extension or intensity, and the deficit could thus be covered in that case. But such a change would not take place without a shifting of capital and labour from one line of production of I to another, and every such shift would call forth momentary disturbances. Furthermore (in so far as extension and in-

tensification of labour would mount), I would have for exchange more of its own value for less of II's value. Hence there would be a depreciation of the product of I.

The reverse would take place in the second case, where I must curtail its production, which implies a crisis for its labourers and capitalists, or produce an excess, which again spells crisis. Such excess is not an evil in itself, but an advantage; however it is an evil under capitalist production.

Foreign trade could help out in either case: in the first case in order to convert commodities I held in the form of money into articles of consumption, and in the second case to dispose of the commodity excess. But since foreign trade does not merely replace certain elements (also with regard to value), it only transfers the contradictions to a wider sphere and gives them greater latitude.

Once the capitalist form of reproduction is abolished, it is only a matter of the volume of the expiring portion — expiring and therefore to be reproduced *in natura* — of fixed capital (the capital which in our illustration functions in the production of articles of consumption) varying in various successive years. If it is very large in a certain year (in excess of the average mortality, as is the case with human beings), then it is certainly so much smaller in the next year. The quantity of raw materials, semi-finished products, and auxiliary materials required for the annual production of the articles of consumption — provided other things remain equal — does not decrease in consequence. Hence the aggregate production of means of production would have to increase in the one case and decrease in the other. This can be remedied only by a continuous relative overproduction. There must be on the one hand a certain quantity of fixed capital produced in excess of that which is directly required; on the other hand, and particularly, there must be a supply of raw materials, etc., in excess of the direct annual requirements (this applies especially to means of subsistence). This sort of overproduction is tantamount to control by society over the material means of its own reproduction. But within capitalist society it is an element of anarchy.

This illustration of fixed capital, on the basis of an unchanged scale of reproduction, is striking. A disproportion in the production of fixed and circulating capital is one of the favourite arguments of the economists in explaining crises. That such a disproportion can and must arise even when the fixed capital is merely *preserved*, that it can and must do so on the assumption of ideal normal production on the basis

of simple reproduction of the already functioning social capital is something new to them.

## XII. THE REPRODUCTION OF THE MONEY MATERIAL

One factor has so far been entirely disregarded, namely the annual reproduction of gold and silver. As mere material for articles of luxury, gilding, etc., there is as little occasion for special mention of them as there is of mentioning any other products. But they play an important role as money material and hence as potential money. For the sake of simplicity we here regard only gold as material for money.

According to older data the entire annual production of gold amounted to 800,000-900,000 lbs, equal roundly to 1,100 or 1,250 million marks. But according to Soetbeer[53] it amounted to only 170,675 kilograms, valued at roundly 476 million marks, based on the average for 1871 to 1875. Of this amount Australia supplied roundly 167, the United States 166, and Russia 93 million marks. The remainder is distributed over various countries in amounts of less than 10 million marks each. During the same period, the annual production of silver amounted to somewhat less than 2 million kilograms, valued at $354^1/_2$ million marks. Of this amount, Mexico supplied roundly 108, the United States 102, South America 67, Germany 26 million, etc.

Among the countries with predominantly capitalist production only the United States is a producer of gold and silver. The capitalist countries of Europe obtain almost all their gold, and by far the greater part of their silver, from Australia, the United States, Mexico, South America, and Russia.

But we take it that the gold mines are in a country with capitalist production whose annual reproduction we are here analysing, and for the following reasons:

Capitalist production does not exist at all without foreign commerce. But when one assumes normal annual reproduction on a given scale one also assumes that foreign commerce only replaces home products by articles of other use or natural form, without affecting value relations, hence without affecting either the value relations in which the two categories, "means of production" and "articles of consump-

[53] Ad. Soetbeer, *Edelmetall-Produktion*, Gotha, 1879 [S. 112].

tion", mutually exchange, or the relations between constant capital, variable capital, and surplus value, into which the value of the product of each of these categories may be divided. The involvement of foreign commerce in analysing the annually reproduced value of products can therefore only confuse without contributing any new element of the problem, or of its solution. For this reason it must be entirely discarded. And consequently gold too is to be treated here as a direct element of annual reproduction and not as a commodity element imported from abroad by means of exchange.

The production of gold, like that of metals generally, belongs in class I, the category which embraces the production of means of production. Supposing the annual production of gold is equal to 30 (for convenience's sake; actually the figure is much too high compared to the other figures of our scheme). Let this value be divisible into $20_c + 5_v + 5_s$; $20_c$ are to be exchanged for other elements of $I_c$ and this is to be studied later[a]; but the $5_v + 5_s$ (I) are to be exchanged for elements of $II_c$, i. e., articles of consumption.

As for the $5_v$, every gold-producing establishment begins by buying labour power. This is done not with gold produced by this particular enterprise, but with a portion of the money supply in the country. The labourers buy with these $5_v$ articles of consumption from II, and the latter buys with this money means of production from I. Let II buy gold from I to the amount of 2 as commodity material, etc. (component part of its constant capital), then $2_v$ flow back to gold producers I in money which has already belonged to the circulation. If II does not buy any more material from I, then I buys from II by throwing its gold into circulation as money, since gold can buy any commodity. The difference is only that I does not act here as a seller, but only as a buyer. Gold miners I can always get rid of their commodity; it is always in a directly exchangeable form.

Let us assume that some producer of yarn has paid $5_v$ to his labourers, who create for him in return — aside from the surplus value — a yarn product = 5. For 5 the labourers buy from $II_c$, and the latter buys yarn from I for 5 in money, and thus $5_v$ flow back in money to the spinner of yarn. Now in the case assumed I g (as we shall designate the producers of gold) advances to his labourers $5_v$ in money which previously belonged to the circulation. The labourers spend it for necessities of life, but only 2 of the 5 return from II to I g. How-

[a] See Engels' footnote 55) on p. 472 of this volume.

ever I g can begin the process of reproduction anew, just as well as the producer of yarn. For his labourers have supplied him with 5 in gold, 2 of which he sold and 3 of which he still has, so that he has but to coin[54] them, or turn them into banknotes to have his entire variable capital again directly in his hands in money form, without the further intervention of II.

Even this first process of annual reproduction has wrought a change in the quantity of money actually or virtually belonging to the circulation. We assumed that $II_c$ bought $2_v$ (I g) as material, and that I g has again laid out 3 — as the money form of his variable capital — within II. Hence 3 of the mass of money supplied by the new gold production remained within II and did not return to I. According to our assumption, II has satisfied its requirements in gold material. The 3 remain in its hands as a gold hoard. Since they cannot constitute any element of its constant capital, and since II had previously enough money capital for the purchase of labour power; since furthermore these additional 3 g, with the exception of the depreciation element, have no function to perform within $II_c$, for a portion of which they were exchanged (they could only serve to cover the depreciation element *pro tanto*, if $II_c$ (1) should be smaller than $II_c$ (2), which would be accidental); on the other hand, however, namely with the exception of the depreciation element, the entire commodity product $II_c$, must be exchanged for means of production $I_{(v+s)}$ — this money must be transferred in its entirety from $II_c$ to $II_s$, no matter whether it exists in necessities of life or articles of luxury, and vice versa, corresponding commodity value must be transferred from $II_s$ to $II_c$. Result: A portion of the surplus value is stored up as a money hoard.

In the second year of reproduction, provided the same proportion of annually produced gold continues to be used as material, 2 will again flow back to I g, and 3 will be replaced *in natura*, i. e., will be released again in II as a hoard, etc.

With reference to the variable capital in general: The capitalist I g, like every other capitalist, must continually advance this capital in money for the purchase of labour power. But so far as this v is concerned, it is not he but his labourers who have to buy from II. It can

[54] "A considerable quantity of GOLD BULLION[a] ... is taken direct to the mint at San Francisco by the owners." Reports of H. M. Secretaries of Embassy and Legation, 1879, Part III, p. 337.

[a] In the original, this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

therefore never happen that he should act as a buyer, throwing gold into II without the initiative of II. But to the extent that II buys material from him, and must convert constant capital $II_c$ into gold material, a portion of $(I\ g)_v$ flows back to him from II in the same way that it does to other capitalists of I. And so far as this is not the case, he replaces his v in gold directly from his product. But to the extent that the v advanced in money does not flow back to him from II, a portion of the already available means of circulation (received from I and not returned to I) is converted in II into a hoard and for that reason a portion of its surplus value is not expended for articles of consumption. Since new gold-mines are continually opened or old ones reopened, a certain portion of the money to be laid out by I g in v is always part of the money existing prior to the new gold production; it is thrown by I g through his labourers into II, and unless it returns from II to I g it forms there an element of hoard formation.

But as for $(I\ g)_s$, I g can always act here as buyer. He throws his s in the shape of gold into circulation and withdraws from it in return articles of consumption $II_c$. In II the gold is used in part as material, and thus functions as a real element of the constant constituent portion c of the productive capital. When this is not the case it becomes once more an element of hoard formation as a part of $II_s$ persisting in the form of money. We see, then, aside from $I_c$ which we reserve for a later analysis,[55] that even simple reproduction, excluding accumulation proper, namely reproduction on an extended scale, necessarily includes the storing up, or hoarding, of money. And as this is annually repeated, it explains the assumption from which we started in the analysis of capitalist production, namely, that at the beginning of the reproduction a supply of money corresponding to the exchange of commodities is in the hands of capitalist classes I and II. Such an accumulation takes place even after deducting the amount of gold being lost through the depreciation of money in circulation.

It goes without saying that the more advanced capitalist production, the more money is accumulated in all hands, and therefore the smaller the quantity annually added to this hoard by the production of new gold, although the absolute quantity thus added may be considerable. We revert once more in general terms to the objection[a] raised

[55] The study of the exchange of newly produced gold within the constant capital of department I is not contained in the manuscript.—*F. E.*

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[a] See this volume, p. 328-29.

against Tooke: How is it possible that every capitalist draws a surplus value in money out of the annual product, i. e., draws more money out of the circulation than he throws into it, since in the long run the capitalist class itself must be regarded as the source of all the money thrown into circulation?

We note on this point by summarising the ideas developed previously (in Chapter XVII):

1) The only assumption essential here, namely, that in general there is money enough for the exchange of the various elements of the mass of the annual reproduction, is not affected in any way by the fact that a portion of the commodity value consists of surplus value. Supposing that the entire production belonged to the labourers themselves and that their surplus labour were therefore only surplus labour for themselves, not for the capitalists, then the quantity of circulating commodity values would be the same and, other things being equal, would require the same amount of money for their circulation. The question in either case is therefore only: Where does the money come from to make possible the exchange of this total of commodity values? It is not at all: Where does the money come from to turn the surplus value into money?

It is true, to revert to it once more, that every individual commodity consists of c + v + s, and the circulation of the entire quantity of commodities therefore requires on the one hand a definite sum of money for the circulation of the capital c + v and on the other hand another sum for the circulation of the revenue of the capitalists, the surplus value s. For the individual capitalist, as well as for the entire capitalist class, the money in which they advance capital is different from the money in which they spend their revenue. Where does the latter money come from? Simply from the mass of money in the hands of the capitalist class, hence by and large from the total mass of money in society, a portion of which circulates the revenue of the capitalists. We have already seen above that every capitalist establishing a new business recoups the money which he spent for his maintenance in articles of consumption as money serving to convert his surplus value into money, once his business is fairly under way. But generally speaking the whole difficulty has two sources:

In the first place, if we analyse only the circulation and the turnover of capital, thus regarding the capitalist merely as a personification of capital, not as a capitalist consumer and man about town, we see indeed that he is continually throwing surplus value into circulation

as a component part of his commodity capital, but we never see money as a form of revenue in his hands. We never see him throwing money into circulation for the consumption of surplus value.

In the second place, if the capitalist class throws a certain amount of money into circulation in the shape of revenue, it looks as if it were paying an equivalent for this portion of the total annual product, and this portion thereby ceases to represent surplus value. But the surplus product in which the surplus value is represented does not cost the capitalist class anything. As a class, the capitalists possess and enjoy it gratuitously, and the circulation of money cannot alter this fact. The alteration brought about by this circulation consists merely in the fact that every capitalist, instead of consuming his surplus product *in natura*, a thing which is generally impossible, draws commodities of all sorts up to the amount of the surplus value he has appropriated out of the general stock of the annual surplus product of society and appropriates them. But the mechanism of the circulation has shown that while the capitalist class throws money into circulation for the purpose of spending its revenue, it also withdraws this money from the circulation, and can continue the same process over and over again; so that, considered as a class, capitalists remain as before in possession of the amount of money necessary for the conversion of surplus value into money. Hence, if the capitalist not only withdraws his surplus value from the commodity market in the form of commodities for his consumption fund, but at the same time gets back the money with which he has paid for these commodities, he has evidently withdrawn the commodities from circulation without paying an equivalent for them. They do not cost him anything, although he pays money for them. If I buy commodities for one pound sterling and the seller of the commodities gives me the pound back for surplus product which I got for nothing, it is obvious that I received the commodities gratis. The constant repetition of this operation does not alter the fact that I constantly withdraw commodities and constantly remain in possession of the pound, although I part with it temporarily to purchase commodities. The capitalist constantly gets this money back as a money equivalent of surplus value that has not cost him anything.

We have seen that with Adam Smith the entire value of the social product resolves itself into revenue, into v + s, so that the constant capital value is set down as zero. It follows necessarily that the money required for the circulation of the yearly revenue must also suffice for the circulation of the entire annual product, that therefore in our il-

lustration the money required for the circulation of the articles of consumption worth 3,000 also suffices for the circulation of the entire annual product worth 9,000. This is indeed the opinion of Adam Smith, and it is repeated by Th. Tooke. This erroneous conception of the ratio of the quantity of money required for the realisation of revenue to the quantity of money required to circulate the entire social product is the necessary result of the uncomprehended, thoughtlessly conceived manner in which the various elements of material and value of the total annual product are reproduced and annually replaced. It has therefore already been refuted.

Let us listen to Smith and Tooke themselves.

Smith says in Book II, Ch. 2:

"The circulation of every country may be considered as divided into two different branches: the circulation of the dealers with one another, and the circulation between the dealers and the consumers. Though the same pieces of money, whether paper or metal, may be employed sometimes in the one circulation and sometimes in the other; yet as both are constantly going on at the same time, each requires a certain stock of money of one kind or another, to carry it on. The value of the goods circulated between the different dealers never can exceed the value of those circulated between the dealers and the consumers; whatever is bought by the dealers, being ultimately destined to be sold to the consumers. The circulation between the dealers, as it is carried on by wholesale, requires generally a pretty large sum for every particular transaction. That between the dealers and the consumers, on the contrary, as it is generally carried on by retail, frequently requires but very small ones, a shilling, or even a halfpenny, being often sufficient. But small sums circulate much faster than large ones... Though the annual purchases of all the consumers, therefore, are at least" //this "at least" is rich// "equal in value to those of all the dealers, they can generally be transacted with a much smaller quantity of money;" etc.

Th. Tooke remarks to this passage from Adam Smith (in *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle*, London, 1844, pp. 34 to 36 *passim*[62]):

"There can be no doubt that the distinction here made is substantially correct ... the interchange between dealers and consumers including the payment of wages, which constitute the PRINCIPAL MEANS[a] of the consumers... All the transactions between dealers and dealers, by which are to be understood all sales from the producer or importer, through all the stages of intermediate processes of manufacture or otherwise to the retail dealer or the exporting merchant, are resolvable into movements or transfers of capital. Now transfers of capital do not necessarily suppose, nor do actually as a matter of fact entail, in the great majority of transactions, a passing of money, that is, banknotes or coin — I mean bodily, and not by fiction — at the time of transfer... The total amount of the transactions between dealers and dealers must, in the last resort, be determined and limited by the amount of those between dealers and consumers."

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[a] In the original, the words "principal means" are given in parentheses after their German equivalent.

If this last sentence stood by itself, one might think Tooke simply stated the fact that there was a ratio between the exchanges among dealers and those among dealers and consumers, in other words, between the value of the total annual revenue and the value of the capital with which it is produced. But this is not the case. He explicitly endorses the view of Adam Smith. A special criticism of his theory of circulation is therefore superfluous.

2) Every industrial capital, on beginning its career, throws at one fling money into circulation for its entire fixed constituent part, which it recovers but gradually, in the course of years, by the sale of its annual product. Thus it throws at first more money into circulation than it draws from it. This is repeated at every renewal of the entire capital *in natura*. It is repeated every year for a certain number of enterprises whose fixed capital is to be renewed *in natura*. It is repeated piecemeal at every repair, every only partial renewal of the fixed capital. While, then, on the one hand more money is withdrawn from circulation than is thrown into it, the opposite takes place on the other hand.

In all lines of industry whose production period — as distinguished from its working period — extends over a longer term, money is continually thrown into circulation during this period by the capitalist producers, partly in payment for labour power employed, partly in the purchase of means of production to be consumed. Means of production are thus directly withdrawn from the commodity market, and articles of consumption, partly indirectly, by the labourers spending their wages, and partly directly, by the capitalists, who do not by any means suspend their consumption, although they do not simultaneously throw any equivalent in commodities on the market. During this period the money thrown by them into circulation serves to convert commodity value, including the surplus value embodied in it, into money. This factor becomes very important at an advanced stage of capitalist production in the case of long-drawn out enterprises, such as are undertaken by stock companies, etc., for instance the construction of railways, canals, docks, large municipal buildings, iron shipbuilding, large-scale drainage of land, etc.

3) While the other capitalists, aside from the investment in fixed capital, draw more money out of the circulation than they threw into it on purchasing the labour power and the circulating elements, the gold- and silver-producing capitalists throw only money into the circulation, aside from the precious metal which serves as raw material,

while they withdraw only commodities from it. The constant capital, with the exception of the depreciated portion, the greater portion of the variable capital and the entire surplus value, save the hoard which may be accumulating in their own hands, are all thrown into circulation as money.

4) On the one hand all kinds of things circulate as commodities which were not produced during the given year, such as land lots, houses, etc.; furthermore goods whose period of production exceeds one year, such as cattle, timber, wine, etc. For this and other phenomena it is important to establish that aside from the quantity of money required for the immediate circulation there is always a certain quantity in a latent non-functioning state which may start functioning if the impulse is given. Furthermore, the value of such products circulates often piecemeal and gradually, like the value of houses in the rents over a number of years.

On the other hand not all movements of the process of reproduction are effected through the circulation of money. The entire process of production, once its elements have been procured, is excluded from circulation. All products which the producer himself consumes directly, whether individually or productively, are also excluded. Under this head comes also the feeding of agricultural labourers in kind.

Therefore the quantity of money which circulates the annual product, exists in society, having been gradually accumulated. It does not belong to the value produced during the given year, except perhaps the gold used to make good the loss of depreciated coins.

This exposition presupposes the exclusive circulation of precious metals as money, and in this circulation the simplest form of cash purchases and sales; although money can function also as a means of payment, and has actually done so in the course of history, even on the basis of circulating plain metal coin, and though a credit system and certain aspects of its mechanism have developed upon that basis.

This assumption is not made from mere considerations of method, although these are important enough, as demonstrated by the fact that Tooke and his school, as well as their opponents, were continually compelled in their controversies concerning the circulation of banknotes to revert to the hypothesis of a purely metallic circulation. They were forced to do so *post festum*[a] and did so very superficially,

[a] See this volume, p. 314.

which was unavoidable, because the point of departure in their analysis thus played merely the role of an incidental point.

But the simplest study of money circulation presented in its *primitive* form — and this is here an immanent element of the process of annual reproduction — demonstrates:

a) Developed capitalist production, and hence the domination of the wage system, being assumed, money capital obviously plays a prominent role, since it is the form in which the variable capital is advanced. In step with the development of the wage system, all products are transformed into commodities and must therefore — with a few important exceptions — pass in their entirety through the transformation into money as one phase of their movement. The quantity of circulating money must suffice for this conversion of commodities into money, and the greater part of this mass is furnished in the form of wages, of the money which is advanced by the industrial capitalists as the money form of the variable capital in payment for labour power, and which mainly functions in the hands of the labourers only as a medium of circulation (means of purchase). It is quite the opposite of natural economy[a] such as is predominant under every form of bondage (including serfdom), and still more so in more or less primitive communities, whether or not they are attended by conditions of bondage or slavery.

In the slave system, the money capital invested in the purchase of labour power plays the role of the money form of the fixed capital, which is but gradually replaced as the active period of the slave's life expires. Among the Athenians, therefore, the gain realised by a slave owner directly through the industrial employment of his slave, or indirectly by hiring him out to other industrial employers (e. g., for mining), was regarded merely as interest (plus amortisation) on the advanced money capital, just as the industrial capitalist under capitalist production places a portion of the surplus value plus the depreciation of his fixed capital to the account of interest and replacement of his fixed capital. This is also the rule with capitalists offering fixed capital (houses, machinery, etc.) for rent. Mere household slaves, whether they perform necessary services or are kept as luxuries for show, are not considered here. They correspond to the modern servant class. But the slave system too — so long as it is the dominant form of pro-

[a] "Natural economy" in the sense of the relative absence of commodity exchange; see this volume, pp. 120-22.

ductive labour in agriculture, manufacture, navigation, etc., as it was in the developed states of Greece and in Rome — preserves an element of natural economy. The slave market maintains its supply of the commodity labour power by war, piracy, etc., and this rapine is not promoted by a process of circulation, but by the actual appropriation of the labour power of others by direct physical compulsion. Even in the United States, after the conversion of the buffer territory between the wage labour states of the North and the slavery states of the South into a slave-breeding region for the South, where the slave thrown on the market thus became himself an element of the annual reproduction, this did not suffice for a long time, so that the African slave trade was continued as long as possible to satisfy the market.

b) The fluxes and refluxes of money taking place spontaneously on the basis of capitalist production in the exchange of the annual product; the one-time advances of fixed capitals to the full extent of their value and the successive extraction of this value from the circulation in the course of years, in other words, their gradual reconstitution in money form by the annual formation of hoards, a hoarding which is essentially different from the parallel accumulation of hoards based on the annual production of new gold; the different lengths of time for which, depending on the duration of the production period of the commodities, money must be advanced, and consequently always hoarded anew before it can be recovered from the circulation by the sale of the commodities; the different lengths of time for which money must be advanced, if only resulting from the different distances of the places of production from their markets; furthermore the differences in the magnitude and period of the reflux according to the condition or relative size of the productive supplies in the various lines of business and in the individual businesses of the same line, and hence the lengths of periods for which the elements of constant capital are bought, and all this during the year of reproduction — all these different aspects of spontaneous movement had only to be noted, and made conspicuous, through experience, in order to give rise to a methodical use of the mechanical appliances of the credit system and to a real fishing out of available loanable capitals.

To this must be added the difference between those lines of business whose production proceeds under otherwise normal conditions contin-

uously on the same scale, and those which apply varying quantities of labour power in different periods of the year, such as agriculture.

## XIII. DESTUTT DE TRACY'S THEORY OF REPRODUCTION[56]

Let us illustrate the confused and at the same time boastful thoughtlessness of political economists analysing social reproduction, with the example of the great logician Destutt de Tracy (cf. Buch I, p. 147, Note 30[a]), whom even Ricardo took seriously and called a VERY DISTINGUISHED WRITER (*Principles*, p. 333).

This "distinguished writer" gives the following explanations concerning the entire process of social reproduction and circulation:

"I will be asked how these industrial entrepreneurs can make such large profits, and whence they can draw them. I reply that it is through their selling everything that they produce at a higher price than it has cost them to produce; and that they sell it,

"1) to one another for the whole part of their consumption destined for the satisfaction of their needs, which they pay with a portion of their profits;

"2) to the wage labourers, both those whom they pay and those paid by the idle capitalists; in this way they draw back from these labourers their total wages, apart from their small savings;

"3) to the idle capitalists, who pay them with the part of their revenue which they have not already given to the labourers directly employed by them; so that all the rent which they annually pay them comes back to them in one or other of these ways" (Destutt de Tracy, *Traité de la volonté et de ses effets*, Paris, 1826, p. 239).

In other words, the capitalists enrich themselves firstly by mutually getting the best of one another in the exchange of the portion of their surplus value which they set apart for their individual consumption or consume as revenue. For instance, if this portion of their surplus value or of their profits is equal to £400, this sum of £400 is supposed to grow to, say, £500 by each stockholder of the £400 selling his share to another 25% in excess. But since all do the same, the result will be the same as if they had sold to one another at the real values. They merely need £500 in money for the circulation of commodities worth £400, and this would seem to be rather a method of impoverishing than of enriching themselves since it compels them to keep a large portion of their total wealth unproductively in the useless

[56] From Manuscript II.

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. V (present edition, Vol. 35).

form of circulation media. The whole thing boils down to this, that despite the all-round nominal rise in the price of their commodities the capitalist class has only £400 worth of commodities to divide among themselves for their individual consumption, but that they do one another the favour of circulating £400 worth of commodities by means of a quantity of money which is required to circulate £500 worth of commodities.

And this quite aside from the fact that a "portion of their profits", and therefore in general a supply of commodities in which profit is represented, is here assumed. But Destutt undertook precisely to tell us where those profits come from. The quantity of money required to circulate the profit is a very subordinate question. The quantity of commodities in which the profit is represented seems to have its origin in the circumstance that the capitalists not only sell these commodities to one another, although even this much is quite fine and profound, but sell them to one another at prices which are too high. So we now know one source of the enrichment of the capitalists. It is on a par with the secret of the "Entspektor Bräsig" that the great poverty is due to the great *pauvreté*.

2) The same capitalists furthermore sell

> "to the wage labourers, both those whom they pay and those paid by the idle capitalists; in this way they draw back from these labourers their total wages, apart from their small savings".

According to Monsieur Destutt, then, the reflux of the money capital, the form in which the capitalists have advanced wages to the labourers, is the second source of the enrichment of these capitalists.

If therefore the capitalists paid for instance £100 to their labourers as wages and if these same labourers then buy from the same capitalists commodities of this same value, of £100, so that the sum of £100 which the capitalists had advanced as buyers of labour power returns to the capitalists when they sell to the labourers £100 worth of commodities, the capitalists *get richer* thereby. It would appear to anyone endowed with ordinary common sense that they find themselves once more in possession of their £100, which they owned before this procedure. At the beginning of the procedure they have £100 in money. For these £100 they buy labour power. The labour bought produces for these £100 in money commodities of a value which, so far as we now know, amounts to £100. By selling the £100 worth of

commodities to their labourers the capitalists recover £100 in money. The capitalists then have once more £100 in money, and the labourers have £100 worth of commodities which they have themselves produced. It is hard to understand how that can make the capitalists any richer. If the £100 in money did not flow back to them they would first have to pay to the labourers £100 in money for their labour and secondly to give them the product of this labour, £100 worth of articles of consumption, for nothing. The reflux of this money might therefore at best explain why the capitalists do not get poorer by this transaction, but by no means why they get richer by it.

To be sure it is another question how the capitalists come into possession of the £100 in money and why the labourers, instead of producing commodities for their own account, are compelled to exchange their labour power for these £100. But this, for a thinker of Destutt's calibre, is self-explanatory.

Destutt himself is not quite satisfied with the solution. After all, he did not tell us that one gets richer by spending a sum of money, £100, and then taking in again a sum of money amounting to £100; hence, by the reflux of £100 in money, which merely shows why the £100 in money do not get lost. He tells us that the capitalists get richer

"through their selling everything that they produce at a higher price than it has cost them to produce".

Consequently the capitalists must get richer also in their transactions with the labourers by selling to them too dear. Very well!

"They pay wages ... and all this flows back to them through the expenditures of all these people who pay them more" //for the products// "than they cost them" //the capitalists// "in wages" (ibid., p. 240).

In other words, the capitalists pay £100 in wages to the labourers, and then they sell to these labourers their own product at £120, so that they not only recover their £100 but also gain £20? That is impossible. The labourers can pay only with the money which they have received in the form of wages. If they get £100 in wages from the capitalists they can buy only £100 worth, not £120 worth. So this will not work. But there is still another way. The labourers buy from the capitalists commodities for £100, but actually receive commodities worth only £80. Then they are certainly cheated out of £20. And the capitalist has certainly gained £20, because he actually paid for the la-

bour power 20% less than its value, or cut nominal wages 20% by a circuitous route.

The capitalist class would accomplish the same end if it paid the labourers at the start only £80 in wages and afterwards gave them for these £80 in money actually £80 worth of commodities. This seems to be the normal way, considering the class of capitalists as a whole, for according to Monsieur Destutt himself the labouring class must receive a "sufficient wage" (p. 219), since their wages must at least be adequate to maintain their existence and capacity to work, "to procure the barest subsistence" (p. 180). If the labourers do not receive such sufficient wages, that means, according to the same Destutt, "the death of industry" (p. 208), which does not seem therefore to be a way in which the capitalists can get richer. But whatever may be the scale of wages paid by the capitalists to the working class, they have a definite value, e. g., £80. If the capitalist class pays the labourers £80, then it has to supply them with commodities worth £80 for these £80, and the reflux of the £80 does not enrich it. If it pays them £100 in money and sells them £80 worth of commodities for £100, it pays them in money 25% more than their normal wage and supplies them in return with 25% less in commodities.

In other words, the fund from which the capitalist class in general derives its profits is supposedly made up of deductions from the normal wages by paying less than its value for labour power, i. e., less than the value of the means of subsistence required for their normal reproduction as wage labourers. If therefore normal wages were paid, which is supposed to be the case according to Destutt, there could be no profit fund for either the industrial or the idle capitalists.

Hence Monsieur Destutt would be compelled to reduce the entire secret of how the capitalist class gets richer to the following: by a deduction from wages. In that case the other surplus value funds, which he mentions under 1) and 3), would not exist.

Hence in all countries, in which the money wages of the labourers should be reduced to the value of the articles of consumption necessary for their subsistence as a class, there would be no consumption fund and no accumulation fund for the capitalists, and hence also no existence fund for the capitalist class, and hence also no capitalist class. And, according to Destutt, this should be the case in all wealthy and developed countries with an old civilisation, for in them,

"in our ancient societies, the fund for the maintenance of wage labourers is ... an almost constant magnitude" (ibid., p. 202).

Even with a deduction from the wages, the capitalist does not enrich himself by first paying the labourer £100 in money and then supplying him with £80 worth of commodities for these £100, thus actually circulating £80 worth of commodities by means of £100, an excess of 25%. The capitalist gets richer by appropriating, besides the surplus value — that portion of the product in which surplus value is represented — 25% of that portion of the product which the labourer should receive in the form of wages. The capitalist class would not gain anything by the silly method Destutt conceived. It pays £100 in wages and gives back to the labourer for these £100 £80 worth of his own product. But in the next transaction it must again advance £100 for the same procedure. It would thus be indulging in the useless sport of advancing £100 in money and giving in exchange £80 in commodities, instead of advancing £80 in money and supplying in exchange for it £80 in commodities. That is to say, it would be continually advancing to no purpose a money capital which is 25% in excess of that required for the circulation of its variable capital, which is a very peculiar method of getting rich.

3) Finally the capitalist class sells

"to the idle capitalists, who pay them with the part of their revenue which they have not already given to the labourers directly employed by them, so that all the rent which they annually pay them" (the idle ones) "comes back to them in one or other of these ways".

We have seen above that the industrial capitalists

"pay with a portion of their profits the whole part of their consumption destined for the satisfaction of their needs"

Take it, then, that their profits are equal to £200. And let them use up, say, £100 of this in their individual consumption. But the other half = £100 does not belong to them; it belongs to the idle capitalists, i. e., to those who receive the ground rent, and to capitalists who lend money on interest. So they have to pay £100 in money to these people. Let us assume that the latter need £80 of this money for their individual consumption, and £20 for the hire of servants, etc. With those £80 they buy articles of consumption from the industrial capitalists. Thus while these capitalists part with products to the value of

£80, they receive back £80 in money, or $^4/_5$ of the £100 paid by them to the idle capitalists under the name of rent, interest, etc. Furthermore the servant class, the direct wage labourers of the idle capitalists, have received £20 from their masters. These servants likewise buy articles of consumption from the industrial capitalists to the amount of £20. In this way, while parting with products worth £20, these capitalists have £20 in money come back to them, the last fifth of the £100 which they paid to the idle capitalists for rent, interest, etc.

At the close of the transaction the industrial capitalists have recovered in money the £100 which they remitted to the idle capitalists in payment of rent, interest, etc. But one half of their surplus product = £100 passed meanwhile from their hands into the consumption fund of the idle capitalists.

It is evidently quite superfluous for the question now under discussion to bring in somehow or other the division of the £100 between the idle capitalists and their direct wage labourers. The matter is simple: their rent, interest, in short, their share in the surplus value = £200, is paid to them by the industrial capitalists in money to the amount of £100. With these £100 they buy directly or indirectly articles of consumption from the industrial capitalists. Thus they pay back to them the £100 in money and take from them articles of consumption worth £100.

This completes the reflux of the £100 paid by the industrial capitalists in money to the idle capitalists. Is this reflux of money a means of enriching the industrial capitalists, as Destutt imagines? Before the transaction they had a sum of values amounting to £200, 100 being money and 100 articles of consumption. After the transaction they have only one half of the original sum of values. They have once more the £100 in money, but they have lost the £100 in articles of consumption which have passed into the hands of the idle capitalists. Hence they are poorer by £100 instead of richer by £100. If instead of taking the circuitous route of first paying out £100 in money and then receiving this £100 in money back in payment of articles of consumption worth £100, they had paid rent, interest, etc., directly in the natural form of their products, there would be no £100 in money flowing back to them from the circulation, because they would not have thrown that amount of money into the circulation. *Via* payment in kind the matter would simply have taken this course: they would keep one half of the surplus product worth £200 for themselves and

give the other half to the idle capitalists without any equivalent in return. Even Destutt would not have been tempted to declare this a means of getting richer.

Of course the land and capital borrowed by the industrial capitalists from the idle capitalists and for which they have to pay a portion of their surplus value in the form of ground rent, interest, etc., are profitable for them, for this constitutes one of the conditions of production of commodities in general and of that portion of the product which constitutes surplus product or in which surplus value is represented. This profit accrues from the use of the borrowed land and capital, not from the price paid for them. This price rather constitutes a deduction from it. Otherwise one would have to contend that the industrial capitalists would not get richer but poorer, if they were able to keep the other half of their surplus value for themselves instead of having to give it away. This is the confusion which results from mixing up such phenomena of circulation as a reflux of money with the distribution of the product, which is merely promoted by these phenomena of circulation.

And yet the same Destutt is shrewd enough to remark:

> "Whence come the revenues of these idle men? Do the revenues not come out of the rent paid to them out of their profits by those who set the capitals of the former to work, i.e., by those who use the funds of the former to pay a labour which produces more than it costs, in a word, the men of industry? It is always necessary to hark back to them to find the source of all wealth. It is these who really feed the wage labourers employed by the former" (p. 246).

So now the payment of this rent, etc., is a deduction from the profit of the men of industry. Before it was a means wherewith they could enrich themselves.

But at least one consolation is left to our Destutt. These good industrialists handle the idle capitalists the same way they have been handling one another and the labourers. They sell them all commodities too dear, for instance, by 20%. Now there are two possibilities. The idlers either have other money resources aside from the £100 which they receive annually from the industrial capitalists, or they have not. In the first case the industrial capitalists sell them commodities worth £100 at a price of, say, £120. Consequently on selling their commodities they recover not only the £100 paid to the idlers but £20 besides, which constitute really new value for them. How does the account look now? They have given away £100 in commodities for

nothing, because the £100 in money that they were paid in part for their commodities were their own money. Thus their own commodities have been paid with their own money. Hence they have lost £100. But they have also received an excess of £20 in the price of their commodities over and above their value, which makes £20 to the good. Balance this against the loss of £100, and you still have a loss of £80. Never a plus, always a minus. The cheating practised against the idlers has reduced the loss of the industrial capitalists, but for all that it has not transformed a diminution of their wealth into a means of enrichment. But this method cannot go on indefinitely, for the idlers cannot possibly pay year after year £120 in money if they take in only £100 in money year after year.

There remains the other method: The industrial capitalists sell commodities worth £80 in exchange for the £100 in money they paid to the idlers. In this case, the same as before, they still give away £80 for nothing, in the form of rent, interest, etc. By this fraudulent means the industrial capitalists have reduced their tribute to the idlers, but it still exists nevertheless and the idlers are in a position — according to the same theory proclaiming that prices depend on the good will of the sellers — to demand in the future £120 instead of £100, as formerly, for rent, interest, etc., on their land and capital.

This brilliant analysis is quite worthy of that deep thinker who copies on the one hand from Adam Smith that

> "labour is the source of all wealth" (p. 242),

that the industrial capitalists

> "employ their capital to pay labour which reproduces it with a profit" (p. 246),

and who concludes on the other hand that these industrial capitalists

> "maintain all the others and alone augment the public fortune and create all our means of enjoyment" (p. 242),

that it is not the capitalists who are fed by the labourers, but the labourers who are fed by the capitalists, for the brilliant reason that the money with which the labourers are paid does not remain in their hands, but continually returns to the capitalists in payment of the commodities produced by the labourers.

> "All they do is receive with one hand and return with the other. Their consumption must therefore be regarded as having been made by those who hire them" (p. 235).

After this exhaustive analysis of social reproduction and consumption, as being brought about by the circulation of money, Destutt continues:

"This is what perfects this *perpetuum mobile* of wealth, a movement which, though badly understood" (*mal connu*, I should say so!), "has justly been named circulation; for it is indeed a circuit and always returns to its point of departure. This is the point where production is consummated" (pp. 239, 240).

Destutt, THAT VERY DISTINGUISHED WRITER, *membre de l'Institut de France et de la Société Philosophique de Philadelphie*,[63] and in fact to a certain extent a luminary among the vulgar economists, finally requests his readers to admire the wonderful lucidity with which he has presented the course of social process, the flood of light which he has poured over the matter, and is even condescending enough to communicate to his readers, where all this light comes from. This must be read in the original:

"On remarquera, j'espère, combien cette manière de considérer la consommation de nos richesses est concordante avec tout ce que nous avons dit à propos de leur production et de leur distribution, et en même temps *quelle clarté elle répand sur toute la marche de la société*. D'où viennent cet accord et cette *lucidité*? De ce que nous avons rencontré la vérité. Cela rappelle l'effet de ces miroirs où les objets se peignent nettement et dans leurs justes proportions, quand on est placé dans leur vrai point-de-vue, et où tout paraît confus et désuni, quand on en est trop près ou trop loin"[a] (pp. 242, 243).

Voilà le crétinisme bourgeois dans toute sa béatitude![b]

## Chapter XXI[57]

### ACCUMULATION AND REPRODUCTION ON AN EXTENDED SCALE

It has been shown in Book I how accumulation works in the case of the individual capitalist. By the conversion of the commodity capital

[57] From here to the end Manuscript VIII.

[a] "It will be noted, I hope, how much this manner of viewing the consumption of our wealth is in accord with all we have been saying concerning its production and distribution, and at the same time *how much light it throws on the entire course of society*. Whence this accord and this *lucidity*? From the fact that we have met truth face to face. This recalls the effect of those mirrors in which things are reflected accurately and in their true proportions when correctly focussed, but in which everything appears confused and disjointed when one is too close or too far away from them."—[b] There you have the bourgeois idiocy in all its beatitude!

into money the surplus product, in which the surplus value is represented, is also turned into money. The capitalist reconverts the so metamorphosed surplus value into additional natural elements of his productive capital. In the next cycle of production the increased capital furnishes an increased product. But what happens in the case of the individual capital must also show in the annual reproduction as a whole, just as we have seen it happen on analysing simple reproduction, namely, that the successive precipitation — in the case of individual capital — of its used-up fixed component parts in money which is being hoarded, also finds expression in the annual reproduction of society.

If a certain individual capital is equal to $400_c + 100_v$, and the annual surplus value is equal to 100, then the commodity product amounts to $400_c + 100_v + 100_s$. These 600 are converted into money. Of this money, again, $400_c$ are converted into the natural form of constant capital, $100_v$ into labour power, and — provided the entire surplus value is being accumulated — $100_s$ are converted besides into additional constant capital by transformation into natural elements of the productive capital. It is assumed in this case: 1) that this amount is sufficient under the given technical conditions either to expand the functioning constant capital or to establish a new industrial business. But it may also happen that surplus value must be converted into money and this money hoarded for a much longer time before this process, i. e., before real accumulation, expansion of production, can take place; 2) that production on an extended scale has actually been in process previously. For in order that the money (the surplus value hoarded in money form) may be converted into elements of productive capital, one must be able to buy these elements on the market as commodities. It makes no difference if they are not bought as finished products but made to order. They are not paid for until they are in existence and at any rate not until actual reproduction on an extended scale, an expansion of hitherto normal production, has taken place so far as they are concerned. They had to exist potentially, i. e., in their elements, as it requires only the impulse of an order, that is, the purchase of commodities before they actually exist and their anticipated sale, for their production really to take place. The money on the one side then calls forth extended reproduction on the other, because the possibility of it exists *without* money. For money in itself is not an element of real reproduction.

For instance, if capitalist A sells during one year or during a number of years certain quantities of commodities successively produced by him, he thereby converts into money also that portion of the commodities which is the vehicle of surplus value—the surplus product—or in other words the very surplus value produced by him in commodity form, accumulates it gradually, and thus forms for himself new potential money capital—potential because of its capacity and mission to be converted into elements of productive capital. But in actual fact he only engages in simple hoarding, which is not an element of actual reproduction. His activity at first consists only in successively withdrawing circulating money out of the circulation. Of course it is not impossible that the circulating money thus kept under lock and key by him was itself, before it entered into circulation, a portion of some other hoard. This hoard of A, which is potentially new money capital, is not additional social wealth, any more than it would be if it were spent in articles of consumption. But money withdrawn from circulation, which therefore previously existed in circulation, may have been stored up at some prior time as a component part of a hoard, may have been the money form of wages, may have converted means of production or other commodities into money or may have circulated portions of constant capital or the revenue of some capitalist. It is no more new wealth than money, considered from the standpoint of the simple circulation of commodities, is the vehicle not only of its actual value but also of its ten-fold value, because it was turned over ten times a day, realised ten different commodity values. The commodities exist without it, and it itself remains what it is (or becomes even less by depreciation) whether in one turnover or in ten. Only in the production of gold—inasmuch as the gold product contains a surplus product, a depository of surplus value—is new wealth (potential money) created, and it increases the money material of new potential money capitals only so far as the entire new money product enters into circulation.

Although this surplus value hoarded in the form of money is not additional new social wealth, it represents new potential money capital, on account of the function for which it is hoarded. (We shall see later that new money capital may arise also in a way other than the gradual conversion of surplus value into money.)

Money is withdrawn from circulation and stored up as a hoard by selling commodities without subsequent buying. If this operation is therefore conceived as a general process, it seems inexplicable where

the buyers are to come from, since in that process everybody would want to sell in order to hoard, and none would want to buy. And it must be conceived as a general one, since every individual capital may be in the process of accumulation.

If we were to conceive the process of circulation between the various parts of the annual reproduction as taking place in a straight line — which would be wrong as it always consists with a few exceptions of mutually opposite movements — then we should have to start from the producer of gold (or silver) who buys without selling, and to assume that all others sell to him. In that case the entire yearly social surplus product (the bearer of the entire surplus value) would pass into his hands, and all the other capitalists would distribute among themselves *pro rata* his surplus product, which naturally exists in the form of money, the natural embodiment in gold of his surplus value. For that portion of the product of the gold producer which has to make good his active capital is already tied up and disposed of. The surplus value of the gold producer, created in the form of gold, would then be the sole fund from which all other capitalists would draw the material for the conversion of their annual surplus product into money. The magnitude of its value would then have to be equal to the entire annual surplus value of society, which must first assume the guise of a hoard. Absurd as these assumptions would be, they would do nothing more than explain the possibility of a universal simultaneous formation of a hoard, and would not get reproduction itself one step further, except on the part of the gold producer.

Before we resolve this seeming difficulty we must distinguish between the accumulation in department I (production of means of production) and in department II (production of articles of consumption). We shall start with I.

## I. ACCUMULATION IN DEPARTMENT I

### 1. THE FORMATION OF A HOARD

It is evident that both the investments of capital in the numerous branches of industry constituting class I and the different individual investments of capital within each of these branches of industry, according to their age, i. e., the space of time during which they already have functioned, quite aside from their volumes, technical conditions,

market conditions, etc., are in different stages of the process of successive transformation from surplus value into potential money capital, whether this money capital is to serve for the expansion of the active capital or for the establishment of new industrial enterprises—the two forms of expansion of production. One part of the capitalists therefore is continually converting its potential money capital, grown to an appropriate size, into productive capital, i. e., with the money hoarded by the conversion of surplus value into money it buys means of production, additional elements of constant capital. Another part of the capitalists is meanwhile still engaged in hoarding its potential money capital. Capitalists belonging to these two categories confront each other: some as buyers, the others as sellers, and each one of the two exclusively in one of these roles.

For instance, let A sell 600 ($= 400_c + 100_v + 100_s$) to B (who may represent more than one buyer). A sells 600 in commodities for 600 in money, of which 100 are surplus value which he withdraws from circulation and hoards in the form of money. But these 100 in money are but the money form of the surplus product, which was the bearer of a value of 100. The formation of a hoard is no production at all, hence not an increment of production, either. The action of the capitalist consists here merely in withdrawing from circulation the 100 in money he grabbed by the sale of his surplus product, holding on to it and impounding it. This operation is carried on not alone by A, but at numerous points along the periphery of circulation by other capitalists, A′, A″, A‴, all of them working with equal zeal at this sort of hoard formation. These numerous points at which money is withdrawn from circulation and accumulated in numerous individual hoards or potential money capitals appear as so many obstacles to circulation, because they immobilise the money and deprive it of its capacity to circulate for a certain length of time. But it must be borne in mind that hoarding takes place in the simple circulation of commodities long before this is based on capitalist commodity production. The quantity of money existing in society is always greater than the part of it in actual circulation, although this swells or subsides according to circumstances. We find here again the same hoards, and the same formation of hoards, but now as an element immanent in the capitalist process of production.

One can understand the pleasure experienced when all these potential capitals within the credit system, by their concentration in the hands of banks, etc., become disposable, "LOANABLE CAPITAL", money cap-

ital, which indeed is no longer passive and music of the future,[64] but active capital growing rank.

However, A accomplishes the formation of a hoard only to the extent that he acts only as a seller, so far as his surplus product is concerned, and not afterward as a buyer. His successive production of surplus products, the vehicles of his surplus value to be converted into money, is therefore the premise of his forming a hoard. In the present case, where we are examining only the circulation within category I, the natural form of the surplus product, as that of the total product of which it is a part, is the natural form of an element of constant capital I, that is to say, it belongs in the category of means of production creating means of production. We shall see presently what becomes of it, what function it performs, in the hands of buyers B, B′, B″, etc.

It must be noted at this point first and foremost that although withdrawing money to the amount of his surplus value from circulation and hoarding it, A on the other hand throws commodities into it without withdrawing other commodities in return. The capitalists B, B′, B″, etc., are thereby enabled to throw money into circulation and withdraw only commodities from it. In the present case these commodities, according to their natural form and their destination, enter into the constant capital of B, B′, etc., as fixed or circulating element. We shall hear more about this anon when we deal with the buyers of the surplus product, with B, B′, etc.

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Let us note by the way: Once more we find here, as we did in the case of simple reproduction, that the exchange of the various component parts of the annual product, i. e., their circulation (which must comprise at the same time the reproduction of the capital, and indeed its restoration in its various determinations, such as constant, variable, fixed, circulating, money and commodity capital) does not by any means presuppose mere purchase of commodities supplemented by a subsequent sale, or a sale supplemented by a subsequent purchase, so that there would actually be a bare exchange of commodity for commodity, as political economy assumes, especially the free-trade school since the Physiocrats and Adam Smith. We know that the fixed capital, once the expenditure for it is made, is not renewed during the entire period of its function, but continues to act in its old form, while its value is gradually precipitated in the form of money. Now we have seen that the periodical renewal of fixed capital $II_c$ (the

entire capital value $II_c$ being converted into elements worth $I_{(v+s)}$) presupposes on the one hand the *mere purchase* of the fixed part of $II_c$, reconverted from the form of money into its natural form, to which corresponds the mere sale of $I_s$; and presupposes on the other hand the *mere sale* on the part of $II_c$, the sale of its fixed (depreciation) part of the value precipitated in money, to which corresponds the mere purchase of $I_s$. In order that the exchange may take place normally in this case, it must be assumed that the mere purchase on the part of $II_c$ is equal in magnitude of value to the mere sale on the part of $II_c$, and that in the same way the mere sale of $I_s$ to $II_c$, section 1, is equal to its mere purchase from $II_c$, section 2 (p. 440).[a] Otherwise simple reproduction is disturbed. A mere purchase here must be offset by a mere sale there. It must likewise be assumed in this case that the mere sale of that portion of $I_s$ which forms the hoards of A, A′, A″ is balanced by the mere purchase of that portion of $I_s$ which converts the hoards of B, B′ and B″ into elements of additional productive capital.

So far as the balance is restored by the fact that the buyer acts later on as a seller to the same amount of value, and vice versa, the money returns to the side that advanced it on purchasing, and which sold before it bought again. But the actual balance, so far as the exchange of commodities itself, the exchange of the various portions of the annual product is concerned, demands that the values of the commodities exchanged for one another be equal.

But inasmuch as only one-sided exchanges are made, a number of mere purchases on the one hand, a number of mere sales on the other — and we have seen that the normal exchange of the annual product on the basis of capitalism necessitates such one-sided metamorphoses — the balance can be maintained only on the assumption that in amount the value of the one-sided purchases and that of the one-sided sales tally. The fact that the production of commodities is the general form of capitalist production implies the role which money is playing in it not only as a medium of circulation, but also as money capital, and engenders certain conditions of normal exchange peculiar to this mode of production and therefore of the normal course of reproduction, whether it be on a simple or on an extended scale — conditions which change into so many conditions of abnormal course, into so many possibilities of crises, since a balance is itself an accident owing to the spontaneous nature of this production.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 462-64.

We have also seen that in the exchange of $I_v$ for a corresponding amount of value of $II_c$, there takes place in the end, precisely for $II_c$, a replacement of commodities II by an equivalent commodity value I, that therefore on the part of aggregate capitalist II the sale of his own commodities is subsequently supplemented by the purchase of commodities from I of the same amount of value. This replacement takes place. But what does not take place is an exchange between capitalists I and II of their respective goods. $II_c$ sells its commodities to working class I. The latter confronts it one-sidedly, as a buyer of commodities, and it confronts that class one-sidedly as a seller of commodities. With the money proceeds so obtained $II_c$ confronts aggregate capitalist I one-sidedly as a buyer of commodities, and aggregate capitalist I confronts it one-sidedly as a seller of commodities up to the amount of $I_v$. It is only by means of this sale of commodities that I finally reproduces its variable capital in the form of money capital. If capital I faces that of II one-sidedly as a seller of commodities to the amount of $I_v$, it faces working class I as a buyer of commodities purchasing their labour power. And if working class I faces capitalist II one-sidedly as a buyer of commodities (namely, as a buyer of means of subsistence), it faces capitalist I one-sidedly as a seller of commodities, namely, as a seller of its labour power.

The constant supply of labour power on the part of working class I, the reconversion of a portion of commodity capital I into the money form of variable capital, the replacement of a portion of commodity capital II by natural elements of constant capital $II_c$—all these necessary premises demand one another, but they are brought about by a very complicated process, including three processes of circulation which occur independently of one another but intermingle. This process is so complicated that it offers ever so many occasions for running abnormally.

### 2. THE ADDITIONAL CONSTANT CAPITAL

The surplus product, the bearer of surplus value, does not cost its appropriators, capitalists I, anything. They are by no manner of means obliged to advance any money or commodities in order to obtain it. Even among the Physiocrats an advance (*avance*) was the general form of value embodied in elements of productive capital. Hence what capitalists I advance is nothing but their constant and variable capital. The labourer not only preserves by his labour their

constant capital; he not only replaces the value of their variable capital by a corresponding newly created portion of value in the form of commodities; by his surplus labour he supplies them with a surplus value existing in the form of surplus product. By the successive sale of this surplus product they form a hoard, additional potential money capital. In the case under consideration, this surplus product consists from the outset of means of production of means of production. It is only when it reaches the hands of B, B′, B″, etc. (I) that this surplus product functions as additional constant capital. But it is this *virtualiter* even before it is sold, even in the hands of the accumulators of hoards, A, A′, A″ (I). If we consider merely the amount of value of the reproduction on the part of I, we are still moving within the bounds of simple reproduction, for no additional capital has been set in motion to create this *virtualiter* additional constant capital (the surplus product), nor has any greater amount of surplus labour been expended than that on the basis of simple reproduction. The difference is here only in the form of the surplus labour performed, in the concrete nature of its particular useful character. It has been expended in means of production for $I_c$ instead of $II_c$, in means of production of means of production instead of means of production of articles of consumption. In the case of simple reproduction it was assumed that the entire surplus value I is spent as revenue, hence in commodities II. Hence the surplus value consisted only of such means of production as have to replace constant capital $II_c$ in its natural form. In order that the transition from simple to extended reproduction may take place, production in department I must be in a position to fabricate fewer elements of constant capital for II and so many the more for I. This transition, which does not always take place without difficulties, is facilitated by the fact that some of the products of I may serve as means of production in either department.

It follows, then, that, considering the matter merely from the angle of volume of values, the material substratum of extended reproduction is produced within simple reproduction. It is simply surplus labour of working class I expended directly in the production of means of production, in the creation of virtual additional capital I. The formation of virtual additional money capital on the part of A, A′ and A″ (I) — by the successive sale of their surplus product which was formed without any capitalist expenditure of money — is therefore simply the money form of additionally produced means of production I.

Consequently production of virtual additional capital expresses in

our case (we shall see that it may also be formed in a quite different way) nothing but a phenomenon of the process of production itself, production, in a particular form, of elements of productive capital.

The production of additional virtual money capital on a large scale, at numerous points of the periphery of circulation, is therefore but a result and expression of multifarious production of virtually additional productive capital, whose rise does not itself require additional expenditure of money on the part of the industrial capitalist.

The successive transformation of this virtually additional productive capital into virtual money capital (hoard) on the part of A, A′, A″, etc. (I), occasioned by the successive sale of their surplus product — hence by repeated one-sided sale of commodities without a supplementing purchase — is accomplished by a repeated withdrawal of money from circulation and a corresponding formation of a hoard. Except in the case where the buyer is a gold producer, this hoarding does not in any way imply additional wealth in precious metals, but only a change in the function of money previously circulating. A while ago it functioned as a medium of circulation, now it functions as a hoard, as virtually new money capital in the process of formation. Thus the formation of additional money capital and the quantity of the precious metals existing in a country are not in any causal relation to each other.

Hence it follows furthermore: The greater the productive capital already functioning in a country (including the labour power, the producer of the surplus product, incorporated in it), the more developed the productive power of labour and thereby also the technical means for the rapid expansion of the production of means of production — the greater therefore the quantity of the surplus product both as to its value and as to the quantity of use values in which it is represented — so much the greater is

1) the virtually additional productive capital in the form of a surplus product in the hands of A, A′, A″, etc., and

2) the quantity of this surplus product transformed into money, and hence that of the virtually additional money capital in the hands of A, A′, A″. The fact that Fullarton for instance does not want to hear of overproduction in the ordinary sense but only of the overproduction of capital, meaning money capital, again shows how extremely little of the mechanism of their own system even the best bourgeois economists understand.

Whereas the surplus product, directly produced and appropriated

by the capitalists A, A′, A″ (I), is the real basis of the accumulation of capital, i. e., of extended reproduction, although it does not actually function in this capacity until it reaches the hands of B, B′, B″, etc. (I), it is on the contrary absolutely unproductive in its chrysalis stage of money — as a hoard and virtual money capital in process of gradual formation — runs parallel with the process of production in this form, but lies outside of it. It is a DEAD WEIGHT[a] of capitalist production. The eagerness to utilise this surplus value accumulating as virtual money capital for the purpose of deriving profits or revenue from it finds its object accomplished in the credit system and "papers". Money capital thereby gains in another form an enormous influence on the course and the stupendous development of the capitalist system of production.

The surplus product converted into virtual money capital will grow so much more in volume, the greater was the total amount of already functioning capital whose functioning brought it into being. With the absolute increase of the volume of the annually reproduced virtual money capital its segmentation also becomes easier, so that it is more rapidly invested in any particular business, either in the hands of the same capitalist or in those of others (for instance members of the family, in the case of a partition of inherited property, etc.). By segmentation of money capital is meant here that it is wholly detached from the parent stock in order to be invested as a new money capital in a new and independent business.

While the sellers of the surplus product, A, A′, A″, etc. (I), have obtained it as a direct outcome of the process of production, which does not envisage any additional acts of circulation except the advance of constant and variable capital required also in simple reproduction; and while they thereby construct the real basis for reproduction on an extended scale, and in actual fact manufacture virtually additional capital, the attitude of B, B′, B″, etc. (I), is different. 1) Not until it reaches the hands of B, B′, B″, etc. (I), will the surplus product of A, A′, A″, etc., actually function as additional constant capital (we leave out of consideration for the present the other element of productive capital, the additional labour power, in other words, the additional variable capital). 2) In order that that surplus product may reach their hands an act of circulation is wanted — they must buy it.

[a] In the original, these English words are given in parentheses after their German equivalent.

In regard to point 1, it should be noted here that a major portion of the surplus product (virtually additional constant capital), although produced by A, A′, A″ (I) in a given year, may not function as industrial capital in the hands of B, B′, B″ (I) until the following year or still later. With reference to point 2, the question arises: Whence comes the money needed for the process of circulation?

Since the products created by B, B′, B″, etc. (I), re-enter *in natura* into their own process, it goes without saying that *pro tanto* a portion of their own surplus product is transferred directly (without any intervention of circulation) to their productive capital and becomes an additional element of constant capital. And *pro tanto* they do not effect the conversion of the surplus product of A, A′, etc. (I), into money. Aside from this, where does the money come from? We know that B, B′, B″, etc. (I), have formed their hoard in the same way as A, A′, etc., by the sale of their respective surplus products. Now they have arrived at the point where their hoarded, only virtual, money capital is to function effectively as additional money capital. But this is merely going round in circles. The question still remains: Where does the money come from which the B's (I) before withdrew from circulation and accumulated?

We know from the analysis of simple reproduction that capitalists I and II must have a certain amount of money at hand in order to be able to exchange their surplus product. In that case the money which served only as revenue to be spent for articles of consumption returned to the capitalists in the same measure in which they had advanced it for the exchange of their respective commodities. Here the same money re-appears, but performing a different function. The A's and B's (I) supply one another alternately with the money for converting surplus product into additional virtual money capital, and throw the newly formed money capital alternately back into circulation as a means of purchase.

The only assumption made in this case is that the amount of money in the country in question (the velocity of circulation, etc., being constant) should suffice for both the active circulation and the reserve hoard. As we have seen this is the same assumption as had to be made in the case of the simple circulation of commodities. Only the function of the hoards is different in the present case. Furthermore, the available amount of money must be larger, (1) because under capitalist production all the products (with the exception of newly produced precious metals and the few products consumed by the producer him-

self) are created as commodities and must therefore pass through the pupation stage of money; (2) because on a capitalist basis the quantity of the commodity capital and the magnitude of its value is not only absolutely greater but also grows with incomparably greater rapidity; (3) because an ever expanding variable capital must always be converted into money capital; (4) because the formation of new money capitals keeps pace with the extension of production, so that the material for corresponding hoard formation must be available.

If this is generally true of the first phase of capitalist production, in which even the credit system is mostly accompanied by metallic circulation, so it applies to the most developed phase of the credit system as well, to the extent that metallic circulation remains its basis. On the one hand an additional production of precious metals, being alternately abundant or scarce, may here exert a disturbing influence on the prices of commodities not only at long, but also at very short intervals. On the other hand the entire credit mechanism is continually occupied in reducing the actual metallic circulation to a relatively more and more decreasing minimum by means of sundry operations, methods, and technical devices. The artificiality of the entire machinery and the possibility of disturbing its normal course increase to the same extent.

The different B's, B″'s, B‴'s, etc. (I), whose virtual new money capital enters upon its function as active capital, may have to buy their products (portions of their surplus product) from one another, or to sell them to one another. *Pro tanto* the money advanced by them for the circulation of their surplus product flows back under normal conditions to the different B's in the same proportion in which they had advanced it for the circulation of their respective commodities. If the money circulates as a means of payment, then only balances are to be squared so far as the mutual purchases and sales do not cover one another. But it is important first and foremost to assume here, as everywhere, metallic circulation in its simplest, most primitive form, because then the flux and reflux, the squaring of balances, in short all elements appearing under the credit system as consciously regulated processes, present themselves as existing independently of the credit system, and the matter appears in primitive form instead of the later, reflected form.

### 3. THE ADDITIONAL VARIABLE CAPITAL

Hitherto we have been dealing only with additional constant capital. Now we must direct our attention to a consideration of the additional variable capital.

We have explained at great length in Book I that labour power is always available under the capitalist system of production, and that more labour can be rendered fluid, if necessary, without increasing the number of labourers or the quantity of labour power employed. We therefore need not go into this any further, but shall rather assume that the portion of the newly created money capital capable of being converted into variable capital will always find at hand the labour power into which it is to transform itself. It has also been explained in Book I that a given capital may expand its volume of production within certain limits without any accumulation. But here we are dealing with the accumulation of capital in its specific meaning, so that the expansion of production implies the conversion of surplus value into additional capital, and thus also an expansion of the capital forming the basis of production.

The gold producer can accumulate a portion of his golden surplus value as virtual money capital. As soon as it becomes sufficient in amount, he can transform it directly into new variable capital, without first having to sell his surplus product. He can likewise convert it into elements of the constant capital. But in the latter case he must find at hand the material elements of his constant capital. It is immaterial whether, as was assumed in our presentation hitherto, each producer works to stock up and then brings his finished product to the market or fills orders. The actual expansion of production, i. e., the surplus product, is assumed in either case, in the one case as actually available, in the other as virtually available, capable of delivery.

## II. ACCUMULATION IN DEPARTMENT II

We have hitherto assumed that A, A′, A″ (I) sell their surplus product to B, B′, B″, etc., who belong to the same department I. But supposing A (I) converts his surplus product into money by selling it to one B in department II. This can be done only by A (I) selling means of production to B (II) without subsequently buying articles of con-

sumption, i. e., only by a one-sided sale on A's part. Now whereas $II_c$ cannot be converted from the commodity-capital form into the natural form of productive constant capital unless not only $I_v$ but also at least a portion of $I_s$ is exchanged for a portion of $II_c$, which $II_c$ exists in the form of articles of consumption; but now A converts his $I_s$ into money by not making this exchange but rather withdrawing from circulation the money obtained from II on the sale of his $I_s$ instead of exchanging it in the purchase of articles of consumption $II_c$ — then what we have on the part of A (I) is indeed a formation of additional virtual money capital, but on the other hand a portion of the constant capital of B (II) of equal magnitude of value is tied up in the form of commodity capital, unable to transform itself into the natural form of productive, constant capital. In other words, a portion of the commodities of B (II), and indeed *prima facie* a portion without the sale of which he cannot reconvert his constant capital entirely into its productive form, has become unsaleable. As fas as this portion is concerned there is therefore an overproduction, which, likewise as far as the same portion is concerned, clogs reproduction, even on the same scale.

In this case the additional virtual money capital on the side of A (I) is indeed a moneyed form of surplus product (surplus value), but the surplus product (surplus value) considered as such is here a phenomenon of simple reproduction, not yet of reproduction on an extended scale. $I_{(v+s)}$, for which this is true at all events of one portion of s, must ultimately be exchanged for $II_c$, in order that the reproduction of $II_c$ may take place on the same scale. By the sale of his surplus product to B (II), A (I) has supplied to the latter a corresponding portion of the value of constant capital in its natural form. But at the same time he has rendered an equivalent portion of the commodities of B (II) unsaleable by withdrawing the money from circulation — by failing to complement his sale through subsequent purchase. Hence, if we survey the entire social reproduction, which comprises the capitalists of both I and II, the conversion of the surplus product of A (I) into virtual money capital expresses the impossibility of reconverting commodity capital of B (II) representing an equal amount of value into productive (constant) capital; hence not virtual production on an extended scale but an obstruction of simple reproduction, and so a deficit in simple reproduction. As the formation and sale of the surplus product of A (I) are normal phenomena of simple reproduction, we have here even on the basis of simple repro-

duction the following interdependent phenomena: Formation of virtual additional money capital in class I (hence underconsumption from the viewpoint of II); piling up of commodity supplies in class II which cannot be reconverted into productive capital (hence relative overproduction in II); excess of money capital in I and reproduction deficit in II.

Without pausing any longer at this point, we simply remark that we had assumed in the analysis of simple reproduction that the entire surplus value of I and II is spent as revenue. As a matter of fact however one portion of the surplus value is spent as revenue, and the other is converted into capital. Actual accumulation can take place only on this assumption. That accumulation should take place at the expense of consumption is, couched in such general terms, an illusion contradicting the nature of capitalist production. For it takes for granted that the aim and compelling motive of capitalist production is consumption, and not the snatching of surplus value and its capitalisation, i. e., accumulation.

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Let us now take a closer look at the accumulation in department II.

The first difficulty with reference to $II_c$, i. e., its reconversion from a component part of commodity capital II into the natural form of constant capital II, concerns simple reproduction. Let us take the former scheme:

$(1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s)$ I are exchanged for

$2{,}000\ II_c$.

Now, if for instance one half of the surplus product of I, hence $\frac{1{,}000}{2}$ s or 500 $I_s$ is reincorporated in department I as constant capital, then this portion of the surplus product, being detained in I, cannot replace any part of $II_c$. Instead of being converted into articles of consumption (and here in this section of the circulation between I and II the exchange is actually mutual, that is, there is a double change of position of the commodities, unlike the replacement of 1,000 $II_c$ by 1,000 $I_v$ effected by the labourers of I), it is made to serve as an additional means of production in I itself. It cannot perform this function simultaneously in I and II. The capitalist cannot spend the value of his surplus product for articles of consumption and at the same time consume the surplus product itself productively, i. e., incorporate it in his productive capital. Instead of 2,000 $I_{(v+s)}$, only

1,500, namely ($1{,}000_v + 500_s$) I, are therefore exchangeable for 2,000 $II_c$; 500 $II_c$ cannot be reconverted from the commodity form into productive (constant) capital II. Hence there would be an overproduction in II, exactly equal in volume to the expansion of production in I. This overproduction in II might react to such an extent on I that even the reflux of the 1,000 spent by the labourers of I for articles of consumption of II might take place but partially, so that these 1,000 would not return to the hands of capitalists I in the form of variable money capital. These capitalists would thus find themselves hampered even in reproduction on an unchanging scale, and this by the bare attempt to expand it. And in this connection it must be taken into consideration that in I only simple reproduction had actually taken place and that its elements, as represented in our scheme, are only differently grouped with a view to expansion in the future, say, next year.

One might attempt to circumvent this difficulty in the following way: Far from being overproduction, the 500 $II_c$ which are kept in stock by the capitalists and cannot be immediately converted into productive capital represent, on the contrary, a necessary element of reproduction, which we have so far neglected. We have seen that a money supply must be accumulated at many points, hence money must be withdrawn from circulation, partly for the purpose of making it possible to form new money capital in I, and partly to hold fast temporarily the value of the gradually depreciating fixed capital in the form of money. But since we placed all money and commodities from the very start exclusively into the hands of capitalists I and II when we drew up our scheme and since neither merchants, nor money changers, nor bankers, not merely consuming and not directly producing classes exist here, it follows that the constant formation of commodity stores in the hands of their respective producers is here indispensable to keep the machinery of reproduction going. The 500 $II_c$ held in stock by capitalists II therefore represent the commodity supply of articles of consumption which ensures the continuity of the process of consumption implied in reproduction, here meaning the passage of one year to the next. The consumption fund, which is as yet in the hands of its sellers who are at the same time its producers, cannot fall one year to the point of zero in order to begin the next with zero, any more than such a thing can take place in the transition from today to tomorrow. Since such supplies of commodities must

constantly be built up anew, though varying in volume, our capitalist producers II must have a reserve money capital, which enables them to continue their process of production although one portion of their productive capital is temporarily tied up in the shape of commodities. Our assumption is that they combine the whole business of trading with that of producing. Hence they must also have at their disposal the additional money capital, which is in the hands of the merchants when the individual functions in the process of reproduction are separated and distributed among the various kinds of capitalists.

To this one may object: 1) that the forming of such supplies and the necessity of doing so applies to all capitalists, those of I as well as of II. Considered as mere sellers of commodities, they differ only in that they sell different kinds of commodities. A supply of commodities II implies a previous supply of commodities I. If we neglect this supply on one side, we must also do so on the other. But if we take them into account on both sides, the problem is not altered in any way.

2) Just as a certain year closes on the part of II with a supply of commodities for the following year, so it was opened with a supply of commodities on the same part, taken over from the preceding year. In an analysis of annual reproduction, reduced to its most abstract form, we must therefore strike it out in both cases. If we leave to the given year its entire production, including the commodity supply to be yielded up for next year, and simultaneously take from it the supply of commodities transferred to it from the preceding year, we have before us the actual aggregate product of an average year as the subject of our analysis.

3) The simple circumstance that in the analysis of simple reproduction we did not stumble across the difficulty which is now to be surmounted proves that we are confronted by a specific phenomenon due solely to the different grouping (with reference to reproduction) of elements I, a changed grouping without which reproduction on an extended scale cannot take place at all.

### III. SCHEMATIC PRESENTATION OF ACCUMULATION

We shall now study reproduction according to the following scheme:

$$\text{Scheme a)} \quad \left.\begin{array}{l} \text{I. } 4{,}000_c + 1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s = 6{,}000 \\ \text{II. } 1{,}500_c + \phantom{1}376_v + \phantom{1}376_s = 2{,}252 \end{array}\right\} \text{Total} = 8{,}252.$$

We note in the first place that the sum total of the annual social product, = 8,252, is smaller than that of the first scheme, where it was 9,000. We might just as well assume a much larger sum, for instance one ten times larger. We have chosen a smaller sum than in our scheme I in order to make it conspicuously clear that reproduction on an enlarged scale (which is here regarded merely as production carried on with a larger investment of capital) has nothing to do with the absolute volume of the product, that for a given quantity of commodities it implies merely a different arrangement or a different definition of the functions of the various elements of a given product, so that it is but a simple reproduction so far as the value of the product is concerned. It is not the quantity but the qualitative determination of the given elements of simple reproduction which is changed, and this change is the material premise of a subsequent reproduction on an extended scale.[58]

We might vary the scheme by changing the ratio between the variable and constant capital. For instance as follows:

$$\text{Scheme b)} \quad \left.\begin{array}{l} \text{I. } 4{,}000_c + 875_v + 875_s = 5{,}750 \\ \text{II. } 1{,}750_c + 376_v + 376_s = 2{,}502 \end{array}\right\} \text{Total} = 8{,}252.$$

This scheme seems arranged for reproduction on a simple scale, the surplus value being entirely consumed as revenue and not accumulated. In either case, both a) and b), we have an annual product of the same magnitude of value, only under b) functionally its elements are

[58] This puts an end, once and for all, to the feud over the accumulation of capital between James Mill and S. Bailey, which we have discussed from another point of view in Book I (Kap. XXII, 5, S. 634, Note 65),[a] namely the feud concerning the possibility of extending the operation of industrial capital without changing its magnitude. We shall revert to this later.

[a] English edition, Vol. I, Ch. XXIV, 5 (present edition, Vol. 35).

grouped in such a way that reproduction is resumed on the same scale, while under a) the functional grouping forms the material basis of reproduction on an extended scale. Under b) $(875_v + 875_s)$ I = 1,750 $I_{(v+s)}$ are exchanged without any surplus for 1,750 $II_c$, while under a) the exchange of $(1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s)$ I = 2,000 $I_{(v+s)}$ for 1,500 $II_c$ leaves a surplus of 500 $I_s$ for accumulation in class I.

Now let us analyse scheme a) more closely. Let us suppose that both I and II accumulate one half of their surplus value, that is to say, convert it into an element of additional capital, instead of spending it as revenue. As one half of 1,000 $I_s$ = 500 are to be accumulated in one form or another, invested as additional money capital, i. e., converted into additional productive capital, only $(1{,}000_v + 500_s)$ I are spent as revenue. Hence only 1,500 figure here as the normal size of $II_c$. We need not further examine the exchange between 1,500 $I_{(v+s)}$ and 1,500 $II_c$, because this has already been done under the head of process of simple reproduction. Nor do 4,000 $I_c$ require any attention, since their re-arrangement for the newly commencing reproduction (which this time occurs on an extended scale) was likewise discussed as a process of simple reproduction.

The only thing that remains to be examined by us is 500 $I_s$ and $(376_v + 376_s)$ II, inasmuch as it is a matter on the one hand of the internal relations of both I and II and on the other of the movement between them. Since we have assumed that in II likewise one half of the surplus value is to be accumulated, 188 are to be converted here into capital, of which $^1/_4$[a] = 47, or, to round it off, 48, are to be variable capital, so that 140 remain to be converted into constant capital.

Here we come across a new problem, whose very existence must appear strange to the current view that commodities of one kind are exchanged for commodities of another kind, or commodities for money and the same money again for commodities of another kind. The 140 $II_s$ can be converted into productive capital only by replacing them with a portion of commodities of $I_s$ of the same value. It is a matter of course that that portion of $I_s$ which must be exchanged for $II_s$ must consist of means of production, which may enter either into the production of both I and II, or exclusively into that of II. This replacement can be made feasible only by means of a one-sided purchase on the part of II, as the entire surplus product of 500 $I_s$, which we still

[a] This is an obvious slip of the pen; it should be one-fifth; this, however, does not affect the final conclusions.

have to examine, is to serve the purposes of accumulation within I, hence cannot be exchanged for commodities II; in other words, it cannot be simultaneously accumulated and consumed by I. Therefore II must buy 140 $I_s$ for cash without recovering this money by a subsequent sale of its commodities to I. And this is a process which is continually repeating itself in every new annual production, so far as it is reproduction on an extended scale. Where in II is the source of the money for this?

It would rather seem that II is a very unprofitable field for the formation of new money capital which accompanies actual accumulation and necessitates it under capitalist production, and which at first actually presents itself as simple hoarding.

We have first 376 $II_v$. The money capital of 376, advanced in labour power, continually returns through the purchase of commodities II as variable capital in money form to capitalist II. This constant repetition of departure from and return to the starting-point, the pocket of the capitalist, does not add in any way to the money roving over this circuit. This, then, is not a source of the accumulation of money. Nor can this money be withdrawn from circulation in order to form hoarded, virtually new money capital.

But stop! Isn't there a chance here to make a little profit?

We must not forget that class II has this advantage over class I, that its labourers have to buy back from it the commodities produced by themselves. Class II is a buyer of labour power and at the same time a seller of the commodities to the owners of the labour power employed by it. Class II can therefore:

1) — and this it shares with the capitalists of class I — simply depress wages below their normal average level. By this means a portion of the money functioning as the money form of variable capital is released, and if this process is continually repeated, it might become a normal source of hoarding, and thus of virtually additional money capital in class II. Of course we are not referring to a casual swindle profit here, since we are treating of a normal formation of capital. But it must not be forgotten that the normal wages actually paid (which *ceteris paribus* determine the magnitude of the variable capital) are not paid by the capitalists out of the goodness of their hearts, but must be paid under given relations. This eliminates the above method of explanation. If we assume that $376_v$ is the variable capital to be laid out by class II, we have no right suddenly to sneak in the hy-

pothesis that it may pay only $350_v$ instead of $376_v$, merely to elucidate a problem that has newly arisen.

2) On the other hand class II, taken as a whole, has the above-mentioned advantage over I that it is at the same time a buyer of labour power and a seller of its commodities to its own labourers. Every industrial country (for instance Britain and the U. S. A.) furnishes the most tangible proofs of the way in which this advantage may be exploited — by paying nominally the normal wages but grabbing, alias stealing, back part of them without an equivalent in commodities; by accomplishing the same thing either through the TRUCK SYSTEM or through a falsification of the medium of circulation (perhaps in a way too elusive for the law). (Take this opportunity to expatiate on this idea with some appropriate examples.) This is the same operation as under 1), only disguised and carried out by a detour. Therefore it must likewise be rejected, the same as the other. We are dealing here with actually paid, not nominally paid wages.

We see that in an objective analysis of the mechanism of capitalism certain stains still sticking to it with extraordinary tenacity cannot be used as a subterfuge to get over some theoretical difficulties. But strange to say, the great majority of my bourgeois critics upbraid me as though I have wronged the capitalists by assuming, for instance in Book I of *Capital*, that the capitalist pays labour power at its real value, a thing which he mostly does not do! (Here, exercising some of the magnanimity attributed to me, it would be appropriate to quote Schäffle.)

So with the 376 $II_v$ we cannot get any nearer the goal we have mentioned.

But the 376 $II_s$ seem to be in a still more precarious position. Here only capitalists of the same class, mutually buying and selling the articles of consumption they produced, confront one another. The money required for these transactions functions only as a medium of circulation and in the normal course of things must flow back to the interested parties in the same proportion in which they advanced it to the circulation, in order to cover the same route over and over again.

There seem to be only two ways by which this money can be withdrawn from circulation to form virtually additional money capital. Either one part of capitalists II cheats the other and thus robs them of their money. We know that no preliminary expansion of the circulating medium is necessary for the formation of new money capital. All that is necessary is that the money should be withdrawn from circula-

tion by certain parties and hoarded. It would not alter the case if this money were stolen, so that the formation of additional money capital by one part of capitalists II would entail a positive loss of money by another part. The cheated capitalists II would have to live a little less gaily, that would be all.

Or a part of $II_s$ represented by necessities of life is directly converted into new variable capital within department II. How that is done we shall examine at the close of this chapter (under No. IV).

### 1. FIRST ILLUSTRATION

*A) Scheme of Simple Reproduction*

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} \text{I. } 4{,}000_c + 1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s = 6{,}000 \\ \text{II. } 2{,}000_c + \phantom{0}500_v + \phantom{0}500_s = 3{,}000 \end{array}\right\} \text{Total} = 9{,}000.$$

*B) Initial Scheme for Reproduction on an Extended Scale*

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} \text{I. } 4{,}000_c + 1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s = 6{,}000 \\ \text{II. } 1{,}500_c + \phantom{0}750_v + \phantom{0}750_s = 3{,}000 \end{array}\right\} \text{Total} = 9{,}000.$$

Assuming that in scheme B one half of surplus value I, i. e., 500, is accumulated, we first receive $(1{,}000_v + 500_s)$ I, or 1,500 $I_{(v+s)}$ to be replaced by 1,500 $II_c$. There then remains in I:$4{,}000_c + 500_s$, the latter having to be accumulated. The replacement of $(1{,}000_v + 500_s)$ I by 1,500 $II_c$ is a process of simple reproduction, which has been examined previously.

Let us now assume that 400 of the 500 $I_s$ are to be converted into constant capital, and 100 into variable capital. The exchange within I of the $400_s$ which are thus to be capitalised, has already been discussed. They can therefore be annexed to $I_c$ without more ado and in that case we get for I:

$4{,}400_c + 1{,}000_v + 100_s$ (the latter to be converted into $100_v$).

II in turn buys from I for the purpose of accumulation the 100 $I_s$ (existing in means of production) which now form additional constant capital II, while the 100 in money which it pays for them are converted into the money form of the additional variable capital of I. We then have for I a capital of $4{,}400_c + 1{,}100_v$ (the latter in money) = 5,500.

II has now $1{,}600_c$ for its constant capital. In order to put them to

work, it must advance a further $50_v$ in money for the purchase of new labour power, so that its variable capital grows from 750 to 800. This expansion of the constant and variable capital of II by a total of 150 is supplied out of its surplus value. Hence only $600_s$ of the 750 $II_s$ remain as a consumption fund for capitalists II, whose annual product is now divided as follows:

$$\text{II. } 1{,}600_c + 800_v + 600_s \text{ (consumption fund)} = 3{,}000.$$

The $150_s$ produced in articles of consumption, which have been converted here into $(100_c + 50_v)$ II, go entirely in their natural form for the consumption of the labourers, 100 being consumed by the labourers of I $(100\ I_v)$, and 50 by the labourers of II $(50\ II_v)$, as explained above. As a matter of fact in II, where its total product is prepared in a form suitable for accumulation, a part greater by 100 of the surplus value in the form of *necessary* articles of consumption must be reproduced. If reproduction really starts on an extended scale, then the 100 of variable money capital I flow back through the hands of its working class to II, while II transfers $100_s$ in commodity supply to I and at the same time 50 in commodity supply to its own working class.

The arrangement changed for the purpose of accumulation is now as follows:

$$\begin{array}{lll} \text{II. } 4{,}400_c + 1{,}100_v + 500 \text{ consumption fund} & = & 6{,}000 \\ \text{II. } 1{,}600_c + \phantom{1}800_v + 600 \text{ consumption fund} & = & 3{,}000 \\ \hline \qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \text{Total,} & & 9{,}000 \text{ as above.} \end{array}$$

Of these amounts, the following are capital:

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} \text{I. } 4{,}400_c + 1{,}100_v \text{ (money)} = 5{,}500 \\ \text{II. } 1{,}600_c + \phantom{1}800_v \text{ (money)} = 2{,}400 \end{array}\right\} = 7{,}900,$$

while production started out with

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} \text{I. } 4{,}000_c + 1{,}000_v = 5{,}000 \\ \text{II. } 1{,}500_c + \phantom{1}750_v = 2{,}250 \end{array}\right\} = 7{,}250.$$

Now, if actual accumulation takes place on this basis, that is to say, if production really goes on with this augmented capital, we obtain at the end of the following year:

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} \text{I. } 4{,}400_c + 1{,}100_v + 1{,}100_s = 6{,}600 \\ \text{II. } 1{,}600_c + \phantom{1}800_s + \phantom{1}800_s = 3{,}200 \end{array}\right\} = 9{,}800.$$

Then let accumulation in I continue in the same proportion, so that $550_s$ are spent as revenue and $550_s$ accumulated. In that case 1,100 $I_v$ are first replaced by 1,100 $II_c$, and 550 $I_s$ must be realised in an equal amount of commodities of II, making a total of 1,650 $I_{(v+s)}$. But the constant capital II, which is to be replaced, is equal to only 1,600; hence the remaining 50 must be supplemented out of 800 $II_s$. Leaving aside the money aspect for the present, we have as a result of this transaction:

I. $4{,}400_c + 550_s$ (to be capitalised); furthermore, realised in commodities $II_c$, the consumption fund of the capitalists and labourers $1{,}650_{(v+s)}$.

II. $1{,}650_c$ (50 added from $II_s$ as indicated above) $+ 800_v + 750_s$ (consumption fund of the capitalists).

But if the old ratio of vic is maintained in II, then additional $25_v$ must be laid out for $50_c$, and these are to be taken from the $750_s$. Then we have

$$\text{II. } 1{,}650_c + 825_v + 725_s.$$

In I, $550_s$ must be capitalised. If the former ratio is maintained, 440 of this amount form constant capital and 110 variable capital. These 110 might be taken out of the 725 $II_s$, i. e., articles of consumption to the value of 110 are consumed by labourers I instead of capitalists II, so that the latter are compelled to capitalise these $110_s$ which they cannot consume. This leaves 615 $II_s$ of the 725 $II_s$. But if II thus converts these 110 into additional constant capital, it requires an additional variable capital of 55. This again must be supplied by its surplus value. Subtracting this amount from 615 $II_s$ leaves 560 for the consumption of capitalists II, and we now obtain the following capital value after accomplishing all actual and potential transfers:

$$\text{I. } (4{,}400_c + 440_c) + (1{,}100_v + 110_v) = 4{,}840_c + 1{,}210_v = 6{,}050$$

$$\text{II. } (1{,}600_c + 50_c + 110_c) + (800_v + 25_v + 55_v) =$$

$$= 1{,}760_c + 880_v = \frac{2{,}640}{8{,}690}$$

If things are to proceed normally, accumulation in II must take place more rapidly than in I, because otherwise the portion $I_{(v+s)}$ which must be converted into commodities $II_c$ will grow more rapidly than $II_c$, for which alone it can be exchanged.

If reproduction is continued on this basis and conditions otherwise remain unchanged, we obtain at the end of the succeeding year:

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} \text{I. } 4{,}840_c + 1{,}210_v + 1{,}210_s = 7{,}260 \\ \text{II. } 1{,}760_c + \phantom{1}880_v + \phantom{1}880_s = 3{,}520 \end{array}\right\} = 10{,}780.$$

If the rate of division of the surplus value remains unchanged, there is first to be expended as revenue by I: $1{,}210_v$ and one half of $s = 605$, a total of 1,815. This consumption fund is again larger than $II_c$ by 55. These 55 must be deducted from $880_s$, leaving 825. Furthermore, the conversion of 55 $II_s$ into $II_c$ implies another deduction from $II_s$ for a corresponding variable capital $= 27^1/_2$, leaving for consumption $797^1/_2$ $II_s$.

I has now to capitalise $605_s$. Of these 484 are constant and 121 variable. The last named are to be deducted from $II_s$, which is still equal to $797^1/_2$, leaving $676^1/_2$ $II_s$. II, then, converts another 121 into constant capital and requires another variable capital of $60^1/_2$ for it, which likewise comes out of $676^1/_2$, leaving 616 for consumption.

Then we have the following capital:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| I. | Constant | $4{,}840 + 484 = 5{,}324.$ |
| | Variable | $1{,}210 + 121 = 1{,}331.$ |
| II. | Constant | $1{,}760 + 55 + 121 = 1{,}936.$ |
| | Variable | $880 + 27^1/_2 + 60^1/_2 = 968.$ |

$$\text{Totals: } \left.\begin{array}{l} \text{I. } 5{,}324_c + 1{,}331_v = 6{,}655 \\ \text{II. } 1{,}936_c + \phantom{1}968_v = 2{,}904 \end{array}\right\} = 9{,}559.$$

And at the end of the year the product is

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} \text{I. } 5{,}324_c + 1{,}331_v + 1{,}331_s = 7{,}986 \\ \text{II. } 1{,}936_c + \phantom{1}968_v + \phantom{1}968_s = 3{,}872 \end{array}\right\} = 11{,}858.$$

Repeating the same calculation and rounding off the fractions, we get at the end of the succeeding year the following product:

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} \text{I. } 5{,}856_c + 1{,}464_v + 1{,}464_s = 8{,}784 \\ \text{II. } 2{,}129_c + 1{,}065_v + 1{,}065_s = 4{,}259 \end{array}\right\} = 13{,}043.$$

And at the end of the next succeeding year:

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} \text{I. } 6{,}442_c + 1{,}610_v + 1{,}610_s = 9{,}662 \\ \text{II. } 2{,}342_c + 1{,}172_v + 1{,}172_s = 4{,}686 \end{array}\right\} = 14{,}348.$$

In the course of five years of reproduction on an extended scale the aggregate capital of I and II has risen from $5{,}500_c + 1{,}750_v = 7{,}250$

to $8{,}784_c + 2{,}782_v = 11{,}566$; in other words, in the ratio of 100:160. The total surplus value was originally 1,750; it is now 2,782. The consumed surplus value was originally 500 for I and 600 for II, a total of 1,100. The previous year it was 732 for I and 745 for II, a total of 1,477. It has therefore grown in the ratio of 100:134.[65]

### 2. SECOND ILLUSTRATION

Now take the annual product of 9,000, which is altogether a commodity capital in the hands of the class of industrial capitalists in a form in which the general average ratio of the variable to the constant capital is that of 1:5. This presupposes a considerable development of capitalist production and accordingly of the productivity of social labour, a considerable previous increase in the scale of production, and finally a development of all the circumstances which produce a relative surplus population among the working class. The annual product will then be divided as follows, after rounding off the various fractions:

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} \text{I. } 5{,}000_c + 1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s = 7{,}000 \\ \text{II. } 1{,}430_c + \phantom{0}285_v + \phantom{0}285_s = 2{,}000 \end{array}\right\} = 9{,}000.$$

Now take it that capitalist class I consumes one half of its surplus value = 500, and accumulates the other half. In that case $(1{,}000_v + 500_s)$ I = 1,500 would have to be converted into 1,500 $II_c$. Since $II_c$ here amounts to only 1,430, it is necessary to add 70 from the surplus value. Subtracting this sum from 285 $II_s$ leaves 215 $II_s$. Then we have:

$$\text{I. } 5{,}000_c + 500_s \text{ (to be capitalised)} + 1{,}500_{(v+s)}$$

in the consumption fund of the capitalists and labourers.

$$\text{II. } 1{,}430_c + 70_s \text{ (to be capitalised)} + 285_v + 215_s.$$

As 70 $II_s$ are directly annexed here to $II_c$, a variable capital of $^{70}/_5 = 14$ is required to set this additional constant capital in motion. These 14 must also come out of the 215 $II_s$, so that 201 $II_s$ remain, and we have:

$$\text{II. } (1{,}430_c + 70_c) + (285_v + 14_v) + 201_s.$$

The exchange of 1,500 $I_{(v + 1/2s)}$ for 1,500 $II_c$ is a process of simple reproduction, and nothing further need be said about it. However a few

peculiarities remain to be noted here, which arise from the fact that in accumulating reproduction $I_{(v + 1/2s)}$ is not replaced solely by $II_c$, but by $II_c$ plus a portion of $II_s$.

It goes without saying that as soon as we assume accumulation, $I_{(v + s)}$ is greater than $II_c$, not equal to $II_c$, as in simple reproduction. For in the first place, I incorporates a portion of its surplus product in its own productive capital and converts $^5/_6$ of it into constant capital, therefore cannot replace these $^5/_6$ simultaneously by articles of consumption II. In the second place, I has to supply out of its surplus product the material for the constant capital required for accumulation within II, just as II has to supply I with the material for the variable capital, which is to set in motion the portion of I's surplus product employed by I itself as additional constant capital. We know that the actual, and therefore also the additional, variable capital consists of labour power. It is not capitalist I who buys from II a supply of necessities of life or accumulates them for the additional labour power to be employed by him, as the slaveholder had to do. It is the labourers themselves who trade with II. But this does not prevent the articles of consumption of his additional labour power from being viewed by the capitalist as only so many means of production and maintenance of his eventual additional labour power, hence as the natural form of his variable capital. His own immediate operation, in the present case that of I, consists in merely storing up the new money capital required for the purchase of additional labour power. As soon as he has incorporated this in his capital, the money becomes a means of purchase of commodities II for this labour power, which must find these articles of consumption at hand.

By the by. Mr. Capitalist, as well as his press, is often dissatisfied with the way in which the labour power spends its money and with the commodities II in which it realises this money. On such occasions he philosophises, babbles of culture, and dabbles in philanthropical talk, for instance after the manner of Mr. Drummond, the Secretary of the British Embassy in Washington. According to him, *The Nation* //a journal// carried last October 1879 an interesting article, which contained among other things the following passages:

"The working people have not kept up in culture with the growth of invention, and they have had things showered on them which they do not know how to use, and thus make no market for." //Every capitalist naturally wants the labourer to buy his commodities.// "There is no reason why the working man should not desire as many com-

forts as the minister, lawyer, and doctor, who is earning the same amount as himself." //This class of lawyers, ministers, and doctors have indeed to be satisfied with the mere desire of many comforts!// "He does not do so, however. The problem remains, how to raise him as a consumer by rational and healthful processes, not an easy one, as his ambition does not go beyond a diminution of his hours of labour, the demagogues rather inciting him to this than to raising his condition by the improvement of his mental and moral powers" (Reports of H. M.'s Secretaries of Embassy and Legation on the Manufactures, Commerce, etc., of the Countries in which they reside. London, 1879, p. 404).

Long hours of labour seem to be the secret of the rational and healthful processes, which are to raise the condition of the labourer by an improvement of his mental and moral powers and to make a rational consumer of him. In order to become a rational consumer of the commodities of the capitalist, he should above all begin to let his own capitalist consume his labour power irrationally and unhealthfully—but the demagogue prevents him! What the capitalist means by a rational consumption is evident wherever he is condescending enough to engage directly in the trade with his own labourers, in the TRUCK SYSTEM, which includes also the supplying of homes to the labourers, so that the capitalist is at the same time a landlord for them—a branch of business among many others.

The same Drummond, whose beautiful soul is enamoured of the capitalist attempts to uplift the working class, tells in the same report among other things of the cotton goods manufacture of the Lowell and Lawrence Mills. The boarding and lodging houses for the factory girls belong to the corporation or company owning the mills. The stewardesses of these houses are in the employ of the same company which prescribes them rules of conduct. No girl is permitted to stay out after 10 p. m. Then comes a gem: a special police patrol the grounds for the purpose of guarding against an infringement of those rules. After 10 p. m. no girl can leave or enter. No girl may live anywhere but on the premises of the company, and every house on it brings the company about 10 dollars per week in rent. And now we see the rational consumer in his full glory:

"As the ever present piano is however to be found in many of the best appointed working girls' boarding houses, music, song, and dance come in for a considerable share of the operatives' attention at least among those who, after 10 hours' steady work at the looms, need more relief from monotony than actual rest" (p. 412).

But the main secret of making a rational consumer out of the la-

bourer is yet to be told. Mr. Drummond visits the cutlery works of Turner's Falls (Connecticut River), and Mr. Oakman, the treasurer of the concern, after telling him that especially American table cutlery beat the English in quality, continues:

"The time is coming that we will beat England as to prices also, we are ahead in quality now, that is acknowledged, but we must have lower prices, and shall have it the moment we get our steel at lower prices and have our labour down" (p. 427).

A reduction of wages and long hours of labour — that is the essence of the "rational and healthful processes" which are to raise the labourer to the dignity of a rational consumer, so that "he make a market for things showered upon him" by culture and growth of invention.

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Consequently, just as I has to supply the additional constant capital for II out of its surplus product, so II likewise supplies the additional variable capital for I. II accumulates for I and for itself, so far as the variable capital is concerned, by reproducing a greater portion of its total product, and hence especially of its surplus product, in the shape of necessary articles of consumption.

In production on the basis of increasing capital, $I_{(v+s)}$ must be equal to $II_c$ plus that portion of the surplus product which is reincorporated as capital, plus the additional portion of constant capital required for the expansion of the production in II; and the minimum of this expansion is that without which real accumulation, i. e., a real expansion of production in I itself, is unfeasible.

Reverting now to the case which we examined last, we find in it the peculiarity that $II_c$ is smaller than $I_{(v+1/2s)}$, than that portion of product I which is spent as revenue for articles of consumption, so that on exchanging the 1,500 $I_{(v+s)}$ a portion of surplus product II = 70 is at once realised. As for $II_c$ = 1,430, it must, all other conditions remaining the same, be replaced by an equal magnitude of value out of $I_{(v+s)}$, in order that simple reproduction may take place in II, and to that extent we need not pay any more attention to it here. It is different with the additional 70 $II_s$. What for I is merely a replacement of revenue by articles of consumption, merely commodity exchange meant for consumption, is for II not a mere reconversion of its constant capital from the form of commodity capital into its natural form, as it is in simple reproduction, but a direct process of

accumulation, a transformation of a part of its surplus product from the form of articles of consumption into that of constant capital. If with £70 in money (money reserve for the conversion of surplus value) I buys the 70 $II_s$, and if II does not buy in exchange 70 $I_s$, but accumulates the £70 as money capital, then the latter is indeed always an expression of additional product (precisely of the surplus product of II, of which it is an aliquot part), although this is not a product which re-enters production; but in that case this accumulation of money on the part of II would at the same time express that 70 $I_s$ in means of production are unsaleable. There would be a relative overproduction in I, corresponding to the simultaneous non-expansion of reproduction on the part of II.

But apart from this: Until the 70 in money, which came from I, return to it, wholly or in part, through the purchase of 70 $I_s$ by II, this 70 in money figures wholly or in part as additional virtual money capital in the hands of II. This is true of every exchange between I and II, until the mutual replacement of their respective commodities has effected the return of the money to its starting-point. But in the normal course of things the money figures here only transiently in this role. In the credit system, however, where all temporarily released additional money is supposed to function at once actively as an additional money capital, such only temporarily released money capital may be enthralled, for instance, serve in new enterprises of I, while it should have to realise additional product held there in other enterprises. It must also be noted that the annexation of 70 $I_s$ to constant capital II requires at the same time an expansion of variable capital II by 14. This implies—about the way it did in I, in the direct incorporation of surplus product $I_s$ in capital $I_c$—that the reproduction in II is already in process with a tendency toward further capitalisation; in other words, it implies expansion of that portion of the surplus product which consists of necessary means of subsistence.

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The product of 9,000 in the second illustration must, as we have seen, be distributed in the following manner for the purpose of reproduction, if 500 $I_s$ are to be capitalised. In doing so we merely consider the commodities and neglect the money circulation.

I. $5{,}000_c + 500_s$ (to be capitalised) $+ 1{,}500_{(v+s)}$ consumption fund = 7,000 in commodities.

II. $1{,}500_c + 299_v + 201_s = 2{,}000$ in commodities. Grand total, 9,000 in commodities.

Capitalisation takes place in the following manner:

In I the $500_s$ which are being capitalised divide into $^5/_6 = 417_c + {}^1/_6 = 83_v$. The $83_v$ draw an equal amount out of $II_s$, which buys elements of constant capital and adds them to $II_c$. An increase of $II_c$ by 83 implies an increase of $II_v$ by $^1/_5$ of 83 = 17. We have, then, after this exchange:

$$\begin{array}{lll} \text{I.} & (5{,}000_c + 417_s)_c + (1{,}000_v + 83_s)_v = 5{,}417_c + 1{,}083_v = 6{,}500 \\ \text{II.} & (1{,}500_c + \ \ 83_s)_c + \ \ (299_v + 17_s)_v = 1{,}583_c + \ \ 316_v = 1{,}899 \\ \hline & \text{Total...} \quad 8{,}399. \end{array}$$

The capital in I has grown from 6,000 to 6,500, or by $^1/_{12}$. That of II has grown from 1,715 to 1,899, or by not quite $^1/_9$.

The reproduction on this basis in the second year brings the capital at the end of that year to:

I. $(5{,}417_c + 452_s)_c + (1{,}083_v + 90_s)_v = 5{,}869_c + 1{,}173_v = 7{,}042$

II. $(1{,}583_c + 42_s + 90_s)_c + (316_v + 8_s + 18_s)_v = 1{,}715_c + 342_v = 2{,}057$,

and at the end of the third year, we have a product of

$$\begin{array}{ll} \text{I.} & 5{,}869_c + 1{,}173_v + 1{,}173_s \\ \text{II.} & 1{,}715_c + \ \ 342_v + \ \ 342_s. \end{array}$$

If I accumulates one half of its surplus value, as before, we find that $I_{(v + 1/2s)}$ yields $1{,}173_v + 587_{(1/2s)} = 1{,}760$, i. e., more than the entire 1,715 $II_c$, an excess of 45. This must again be balanced by transferring an equal amount of means of production to $II_c$, which thus grows by 45, necessitating an addition of $^1/_5 = 9$ to $II_v$. Furthermore, the capitalised 587 $I_s$ divide into $^5/_6$ and $^1/_6$, i. e., $489_c$ and $98_v$. The 98 imply in II a new addition of 98 to the constant capital, and this again an increase of variable capital II by $^1/_5 = 20$. Then we have:

II. $(5{,}869_c + 489_s)_c + (1{,}173_v + 98_s)_v = 6{,}358_c + 1{,}271_v = 7{,}629$

II. $(1{,}715_c + 45_s + 98_s)_c + (342_v + 9_s + 20_s)_v = 1{,}858_c + 371_v = 2{,}229$

Total capital = 9,858.

In three years of growing reproduction the total capital of I has increased from 6,000 to 7,629 and that of II from 1,715 to 2,229, the aggregate social capital from 7,715 to 9,858.

### 3. REPLACEMENT OF II, IN ACCUMULATION

In the exchange of $I_{(v+s)}$ for $II_c$ we thus meet with various cases.

In simple reproduction both of them must be equal and replace one another, since otherwise simple reproduction cannot proceed without disturbance, as we have seen above.

In accumulation it is above all the rate of accumulation that must be considered. In the preceding cases we assumed that the rate of accumulation in $I = {}^1/_2 s\ I$, and also that it remained constant from year to year. We changed only the proportion in which this accumulated capital was divided into variable and constant capital. We then had three cases:

1) $I_{(v+1/2s)} = II_c$, which is therefore smaller than $I_{(v+s)}$. This must always be so, otherwise I does not accumulate.

2) $I_{(v+1/2s)}$ is greater than $II_c$. In this case the replacement is effected by adding a corresponding portion of $II_s$ to $II_c$, so that this sum $= I_{(v+1/2s)}$. Here the replacement for II is not a simple reproduction of its constant capital, but accumulation, an augmentation of its constant capital by that portion of its surplus product which it exchanges for means of production of I. This augmentation implies at the same time a corresponding addition to variable capital II out of its own surplus product.

3) $I_{(v+1/2s)}$ is smaller than $II_c$. In this case II does not fully reproduce its constant capital by means of exchange and must make good the deficit by purchase from I. But this does not entail any further accumulation of variable capital II, since its constant capital is fully reproduced only by this operation. On the other hand that part of capitalists I, who accumulate only additional money capital, have already accomplished a portion of this accumulation by this transaction.

The premise of simple reproduction, that $I_{(v+s)} = II_c$, is not only incompatible with capitalist production, although this does not exclude the possibility that in an industrial cycle of 10-11 years some year may show a smaller total production than the preceding year, so that not even simple reproduction takes place compared to the preceding year. Besides that, considering the natural annual increase in population, simple reproduction could take place only to the extent that a correspondingly larger number of unproductive servants would partake of the 1,500 representing the aggregate surplus value. But accumulation of capital, real capitalist production, would be im-

possible under such circumstances. The fact of capitalist accumulation therefore excludes the possibility of $II_c$ being equal to $I_{(v+s)}$. Nevertheless it might occur even with capitalist accumulation that, in consequence of the course taken by the processes of accumulation during a preceding series of periods of production, $II_c$ might become not only equal but even bigger than $I_{(v+s)}$. This would mean an overproduction in II and could not be adjusted in any other way than by a great crash, in consequence of which some capital of II would get transferred to I.

Nor does it alter the relation of $I_{(v+s)}$ to $II_c$ if a portion of constant capital II reproduces itself, as happens for instance in the use of home-grown seeds in agriculture. This portion of $II_c$ is no more to be taken into consideration in the exchange between I and II than is $I_c$. Nor does it change matters if a part of the products of II is capable of entering into I as means of production. It is covered by a part of the means of production supplied by I, and this part must be deducted on both sides at the outset, if we wish to examine in pure and unobscured form the exchange between the two large classes of social production, the producers of means of production and the producers of articles of consumption.

Hence under capitalist production $I_{(v+s)}$ cannot be equal to $II_c$, in other words, the two cannot balance in mutual exchange. On the other hand, if $I_{\frac{s}{x}}$ is taken as that portion of $I_s$ which is spent by capitalists I as revenue, $I_{(v+\frac{s}{x})}$ may be equal to, larger, or smaller than $II_c$. But $I_{(v+\frac{s}{x})}$ must always be smaller than $II_{(c+s)}$ by as much as that portion of $II_s$ which must be consumed under all circumstances by capitalist class II.

It must be noted that in this exposition of accumulation the value of the constant capital is not presented accurately so far as that capital is a part of the value of the commodity capital it helped to produce. The fixed portion of the newly accumulated constant capital enters into the commodity capital only gradually and periodically, according to the different natures of these fixed elements. Therefore whenever raw materials, semi-finished goods, etc., enter in huge quantities into the production of commodities, the commodity capital consists for the most part of replacements of the circulating constant components and of the variable capital. (On account of the turnover of the circulating component parts this way of presenting the matter may nevertheless be adopted. It is then assumed that the circulating portion together with the portion of value of the fixed capital

transferred to it is turned over so often during the year that the aggregate sum of the commodities supplied is equal in value to all the capital entering into the annual production.) But wherever only auxiliary materials are used for mechanical industry, and no raw material, there the labour element = v must re-appear in the commodity capital as its larger constituent. While in the calculation of the rate of profit the surplus value is figured on the total capital, regardless of whether the fixed components periodically transfer much or little value to the product, the fixed portion of constant capital is to be included in the calculation of the value of any periodically created commodity capital only to the extent that on an average it yields value to the product on account of wear and tear.

## IV. SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS

The original source of the money for II is v + s of the gold production I exchanged for a part of $II_c$. The v + s of the producer of gold does not enter into II only to the extent that he accumulates surplus value or converts it into means of production I, i. e., to the extent that he expands his production. On the other hand, since the accumulation of money on the part of the gold producer himself leads ultimately to reproduction on an extended scale, a portion of the surplus value of gold production not spent as revenue passes as additional variable capital of the gold producer into II, promotes here the formation of new hoards or supplies new means with which to buy from I without selling to it direct. From the money derived from this $I_{(v+s)}$ of the production of gold that portion of the gold must be deducted which certain branches of production II need as raw material, etc., in short as an element for the replacement of their constant capital. An element for the preliminary formation of hoards—for the purpose of future extended reproduction—exists in the exchange between I and II: for I only if part of $I_s$ is sold one-sidedly, without a balancing purchase, to II and serves here as additional constant capital II; for II, when the same is the case on the part of I for additional variable capital; furthermore, if a part of the surplus value spent by I as revenue is not covered by $II_c$, hence a part of $II_s$ is bought with it and thus converted into money. If $I_{(v+\frac{s}{x})}$ is greater than $II_c$, then $II_c$ need not for its simple reproduction replace in commodities from I what I consumed out of $II_s$. The question arises to what extent hoarding can take place within the sphere of exchange of capitalists II among

themselves, an exchange which can consist only of a mutual exchange of $II_s$. We know that direct accumulation takes place within II by the direct conversion of a portion of $II_s$ into variable capital (just as in I a portion of $I_s$ is directly converted into constant capital). In the various age categories of accumulation within the various lines of business of II, and for the individual capitalists in each line of business, the matter is explained *mutatis mutandis* in the same way as in I. Some are still in the stage of hoarding, and sell without buying; the others are on the point of actual expansion of reproduction, and buy without selling. The additional variable money capital is, true enough, first invested in additional labour power, but this buys means of subsistence from the hoarding owners of the additional articles of consumption entering into the consumption of the labourers. From these owners, *pro rata* to their hoard formation, the money does not return to its point of departure. They hoard it.

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] In the second half of the 1850s Marx began to study the problems to be dealt with in Volume II of *Capital*, and continued this work in the 1860s, as is shown, amongst other things, by the Economic Manuscripts of 1861-63 and 1864-65 where the results of these investigations were still, in his words, in the form of preparatory outlines.

Later stages in Marx's work on this volume are described at length by Engels in his Preface to the First Edition, which he prepared for the press and published after Marx's death.

Manuscript I, written in the early half of 1865, was, in effect, the first composite version of the volume. According to Engels, "Some parts of the argument would be treated in detail, others of equal importance only indicated" in this manuscript (see this volume, p. 5).

From the end of 1868 to the middle of 1870 Marx prepared the second version of the volume — Manuscript II — which comprises all three parts (three sections, according to Engels) and "is the only somewhat complete elaboration of Book II" (see this volume, p.7).

After 1870 there followed a long interruption in the work on the volume, mainly as a result of the author's illness. Marx was able to resume his work only in 1877. Prior to 1881 he wrote several more manuscripts of varying size; most of them were versions of the beginning of the volume, and only the last represented a revised version of the third chapter of Manuscript II.

During the last two years of his life Marx did not work on Volume II.

After studying the content of Marx's manuscripts and considering the volume of material involved, Engels decided to divide Volume II into two portions and publish two separate volumes — Vol. II and Vol. III.

Engels edited the text with great discretion: according to his own words, he contented himself "with reproducing these manuscripts as literally as possible, changing the style only in places where Marx would have changed it himself, and interpolating explanatory sentences or connecting statements only where this was absolutely necessary, and where, besides, the meaning was clear beyond any doubt" (see this

volume, pp. 5-6). Structural division was made according to the model used in the Second Edition of *Capital*, Vol. I (1872). The titles of parts and chapters were also provided by Engels.

The first German edition of Vol. II appeared in 1885, the second edition—in 1893.

Soon after the publication of the volume the newspaper *Le Socialiste* printed a review of it in its first number for August 29, 1885.

"The second volume of Marx's *Capital* has just been published in German thanks to the work done by Frederick Engels, his old friend and staunch associate. It was compiled on the basis of manuscripts left by Marx.

"In the first volume Marx examined the question of the production of capital; on the basis of a broad and comprehensive analysis he demonstrated that capital was just unpaid labour, in other words, labour stolen from the working class. Although many economists in Germany, France, Italy, Russia and America tried to criticise his book, not one of them could refute Marx's scientific proposition. To this day *Capital* remains the most formidable indictment written against capitalist society; and the fact that capital is a product of theft is now proved beyond doubt.

"In the second volume, which is expected so impatiently, Marx analyses the circulation of capital, that is, the manner in which the bourgeois divide among themselves the products they have stolen from the working class. After making a comprehensive study of all economic theories of ground rent he refuted all of them and formulated a new theory of rent.

"Marx's works are not text-books consisting of repetitions, neither are they volumes filled with the banal talk of representatives of various schools, such as the works of Mr. Leroy-Beaulieu and Co.; they are scientific books that must be studied thoroughly as mathematical treatises and works on physics or chemistry; for the moment, therefore, we are merely announcing the fact of publication, and after reading and re-reading it with a clear head we shall return to discuss it with our readers."

The first English edition of *Capital*, Vol. II was published in Chicago in 1907 by the Charles H. Kerr & Company in the translation of Ernest Untermann.—1

[2] Engels did not have time to publish Marx's *Theories of Surplus Value* as the fourth volume of *Capital*. It was first published in 1905-10 by Karl Kautsky. In 1954-61 and 1962-64, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU in Moscow published in Russian a new edition of *Theories...* which differed from that of Kautsky. In 1956-62 this Russian edition was used by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC SUPG as the basis for the publication of *Theories...* in German.

In the present edition *Theories of Surplus Value* is published, according to MEGA [2], Abt. II, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1976-82, as part of the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, vols 30-34).—6

[3] From the numerous notebooks compiled by Marx in the period indicated by Engels, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU published nearly all the passages from Russian sources (see *Marx-Engels Archives*, vols XI-XII, XVI, Moscow, 1948, 1952, 1955, 1982) as well as *Mathematical Manuscripts* (Moscow, 1968). Marx's notebooks are published in full in Section IV of Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe.—7

[4] *State socialism*—a bourgeois-reformist and opportunist conception whose adherents reduced the essence of socialism to bourgeois state interference in economics and to a certain degree of regulation of social relations. Among its theoreticians were Louis

Blanc (France), Ferdinand Lassalle, Karl Rodbertus-Jagetzow (Germany) and others.

*Armchair socialism* (Kathedersozialismus) — a trend in German bourgeois political economy that emerged in Germany at the close of 1860s as a reaction to the growth of the working-class movement and the dissemination within it of the ideas of scientific socialism propounded by Marx and Engels. Under the banner of socialism its exponents (L. Brentano, A. Wagner, W. Zombart and others) preached bourgeois reformism; they asserted that any state, including the German Empire, had a superclass character and that with its help it was possible to achieve a considerable improvement in the condition of the working class through social reforms effected by governments. The armchair socialists called upon the workers to refrain from economic and political revolutionary struggle.— 9

[5] Engels is referring to the letter written by K. Rodbertus to J. Zeller on March 14, 1875. Rodbertus died in 1875 but his letter to Zeller was not published until 1879.

A copy of *Briefe und Sozialpolitische Aufsätze* mentioned below (ed. by R. Meyer, Berlin, 1881), with Engels' remarks, was kept in Marx's personal library.— 10

[6] *Mercantilism* — a school of bourgeois political economy, that emerged in the last third of the fifteenth century; it expressed the interests of the merchant bourgeoisie in the period of the primitive accumulation of capital, identified the wealth of the country with the accumulation of money, and attached primary importance in this to the state. Marx called the early period of mercantilism the monetary system.— 13, 66

[7] In the 1861-63 manuscript Marx quotes Adam Smith in French according to *Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations* trad. par G. Garnier, Paris, 1802, t. 1, pp. 96-97, 99-100. Marx copied out passages from this book in his Paris notebook compiled in 1844. See MEGA [2], Bd. IV/2, Berlin, 1981, S. 332-86. Marx had this French edition in his personal library.— 13

[8] In the 1861-63 manuscript Marx gives this quotation from Adam Smith in English according to McCulloch's edition of 1828, Vol. I, pp. 109-10. Marx copied out passages from this book in notebooks VII and VIII, which he compiled in London in 1851 (MEGA [2], Bd. IV/8, Berlin, 1986, S. 272, 279, 284-86), and in Notebook VII (London, 1859-63).— 13

[9] Marx copied out passages from this pamphlet in Notebook XII (London, 1851).— 15

[10] "This most incredible cobbler" — was the way John Wilson, the author of the pamphlet *Some Illustrations of Mr. McCulloch's Principles of Political Economy* (Edinburgh, 1826, p. 31), described McCulloch. See present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 374-400. Marx copied out passages from this pamphlet in Notebook VII (London, 1859-63).— 16

[11] This refers to the social utopian theory expounded by Robert Owen in *The Book of the New Moral World* (Parts I-VII, London, 1836-44) and in other of his works. Owen was the only one among great utopian socialists who sought to realise socialist ideals with the participation of workers themselves, and he founded a number of communist colonies in the USA and Great Britain. Appraising the importance of Owen's activity for the English working-class movement in the first decades of the 19th century, Engels wrote: "Every social movement, every real advance in Eng-

land on behalf of the workers links itself unto the name of Robert Owen" (see present edition, Vol. 25, p. 251).— 17

[12] A copy of this book, which belonged to Engels (1850 edition) and contained Marx's remarks, has survived. From the 1824 edition Marx copied out passages in one of his Manchester notebooks for 1845.— 18

[13] Passages from Ravenstone's *Thoughts on the Funding System, and Its Effects* copied out by Marx in London in 1851 are to be found in Notebook IX (MEGA [2], Bd. IV/8, Berlin, 1986, S. 542-48).— 18

[14] Marx had this book by Roscoe and Schorlemmer in his personal library.— 19

[15] A reference to the *Peasant Reform* of 1861, which abolished serfdom in Russia and brought "freedom" to about 22.5 million peasants. Even after the official abolition of serfdom, however, part of the peasantry remained dependent on its former landlords. For the use of land these so-called temporarily obligated peasants had to perform corvée services and pay quit-rent. Under the law of December 28, 1881, peasants could redeem their allotments as of January 1, 1883, and corvée and quit-rent as they had previously existed were officially abolished. In actual fact, however, they continued to the beginning of the 20th century.— 39

[16] Marx had both volumes of this book by A. Chuprov in his personal library. His extracts from the first volume are extant.— 61

[17] The *monetary system*, an early form of mercantilism, consisting of a variety of economic measures applied by European states in the 17th and 18th centuries. Its advocates equated wealth with money and favoured policies designed to ensure an inflow of money into the country by maintaining an active trade balance and imposing protective tariffs. See also Note 6.— 68

[18] Marx quotes S. Bailey's book according to Notebook VII, which he compiled in London between 1859 and 1863.— 111

[19] Marx quotes S. de Sismondi from the notebook which he compiled between 1844 and 1847. MEGA [2], Bd. IV/3.— 116

[20] The *Inca state* existed between the early 15th and the mid-16th centuries on the territory that is now occupied by Peru, Equador, Bolivia and the northern part of Chile. It was a slave-owning state with considerable remnants of the primitive-communal system. The dominant tribe of the Incas was subdivided into 100 gentile communities which gradually assumed the character of rural (neighbouring) communities with a self-sustained natural economy. Social product was not produced as a commodity, but the movement of its various kinds between communities, though not in the form of trade, already played an important role.— 121, 153

[21] Marx copied out passages from Quesnay's work *Analyse du Tableau économique* in one of his notebooks compiled in London between 1859 and 1863 and in Notebook C (Beiheft C); the latter also contains excerpts from *Dialogues sur le commerce et sur les travaux des artisans*.— 135

[22] Passages from Th. Corbet's book, *An Inquiry into the Causes and Modes of the Wealth of Individuals; or the Principles of Trade and Speculation Explained*, were copied out by Marx in Notebook XVI, compiled in London in 1851.— 142

[23] See Lalor, *Money and Morals: a Book for the Times*, London, 1852, pp. 43, 44; Sis-

mondi, *Études sur l'économie politique*, t. 1, Bruxelles, 1837, p. 49, etc. Marx copied out passages from Lalor's book in Notebook VII (London, 1859-63); passages from Sismondi's book are quoted in one of his notebooks compiled in Brussels in 1845.— 143

[24] *The Civil War in America* broke out in April 1861. The Southern slaveholders rose against the Union and formed the Confederacy of the Southern States. The war was caused mainly by the conflict between the two social systems: the capitalist system of wage labour established in the North and the slave system dominant in the South. The Civil War, which had the nature of a bourgeois-democratic revolution, passed two stages in its development: the period of a constitutional war to maintain the Union, and the period of a revolutionary war to abolish slavery. The decisive role in the defeat of the Southern slaveholders and the victory of the North in April 1865 was played by the workers and farmers. Marx analysed the causes and the nature of the Civil War in America in articles published in the Vienna newspaper *Die Presse* (see present edition, Vol. 19).

The interruption of cotton imports from America as a result of the blockade of the Southern States by the Northern fleet caused a crisis in the cotton industry of several European countries. In England, for two or three years beginning in 1862, over 75 per cent of spinners and weavers in Lancashire, Cheshire and other counties were fully or partly unemployed. Despite privation and distress, the European proletariat gave all possible support to the American fighters against slavery.— 144

[25] D. Ricardo quotes the third edition of Say's *Traité d'économie politique, ou simple exposition de la manière dont se forment, se distribuent et se consomment, les richesses*, Paris, 1817, p. 433. Marx copied out passages from this book in one of his Paris notebooks for 1844 (MEGA [2], Bd. IV/2, Berlin, 1981, S. 301-27). Passages from the third edition of Ricardo's book are quoted by Marx in London notebooks IV (1850) (MEGA [2], Bd. IV/7, Berlin, 1983, S. 316-28) and VII (1851).

Marx had both books in his personal library.— 154

[26] Marx copied out passages from S. P. Newman's *Elements of Political Economy* in notebooks XV (1851) and XVII (1851-52), which he compiled in London.— 158

[27] Passages from Chalmers' book, *On Political Economy in Connexion with the Moral State and Moral Prospects of Society*, 2nd ed., Glasgow, 1832, are quoted by Marx in his London Notebook for 1851.— 158

[28] A reference to George Ramsay's work *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth*, Edinburgh, London, 1836. Marx copied out passages from it in notebooks IX and X, compiled in London in 1851. MEGA [2], Bd. IV/8, Berlin, 1986, S. 643-47, 651-67. For details see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 255-84.— 161, 229

[29] This quotation from R. P. Williams' work is given on p. 76 of the London Notebook for 1867-68, and is taken from *The Money Market Review*, December 21, 1867.— 173, 183

[30] Marx had this book by W. B. Adams in his personal library.— 173

[31] *Bourgeois law* — a reference to the general meaning, content and purpose of bourgeois legislation protecting, above all, its main institute — private capitalist property in the instruments and means of production.— 177

[32] Marx's excerpts from *The Money Market Review* for January 25, 1868, are exant.— 181

[33] Marx had this book by Friedrich Kirchhof in his personal library.— 181, 242

[34] In his excerpts from *The Money Market Review* Marx also mentions: North-eastern 206; in the column "Great Northern" he gives 310 instead of 360.— 183

[35] Marx investigates the system of capitalist credit in Parts IV and V of *Capital*, Vol. III (see present edition, Vol. 37).— 184

[36] Passages from H. Müller's book are quoted by Marx in one of his notebooks compiled in London in 1858.— 188

[37] This passage is taken from A. Potter's book *Political Economy: Its Objects, Uses, and Principles: Considered with Reference to the Condition of the American People*, New York, 1841. As is seen from the introduction, the greater part of this book is a reprint (with changes introduced by A. Potter) of the first ten chapters of J. P. Scrope's book *Principles of Political Economy...*, published in England in 1833.

Passages from Scrope's book as given by Potter are copied out by Marx in his London Notebook VII for 1859-63. Passages taken directly from Scrope's book are quoted in Marx's Notebook IX (1851). See MEGA [2], Abt. IV, Bd. 8, Berlin, 1986, S. 592-96.— 188

[38] In the manuscript Marx points to the fallacy of such a method of calculating the period of the turnover of capital. The mean term of turnover (16 months) given in the quotation was calculated on the basis of a profit of 7.5 per cent on an aggregate capital of $50,000. Excluding profit, the turnover of capital is equal to 18 months.— 188

[39] Marx has, presumably, made a slip of the pen, since the quantity of the means of payment required for all periodical payments is not in inverse but in direct proportion to the length of their periods. Just such a proportion is established by William Petty, whom Marx quotes in Note 107 to Chapter 3 of Capital, Vol. I. The meaning of the concept "the period of payment" is also defined in this concrete example. In all German editions of *Capital*, Vol. II, published in recent years, including *Complete Works of K. Marx and F. Engels* in the languages of the original (Marx-Engels, Gesamtausgabe (MEGA), Zweite Abteilung, Band 5, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1983, S. 97), this passage has been corrected and reads as follows. "From the law of the rapidity of circulation of the means of payment, it follows that the quantity of the means of payment required for all periodical payments, whatever their source, is in *direct* proportion to the length of their periods."

See also present edition, Vol. 35.— 189

[40] Passages from Turgot's work *Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses* are to be found in Notebook VII, which Marx compiled in London between 1859 and 1863; excerpts from Dupont de Nemours' works are given in Notebook C (Beiheft C); excerpts from Le Trosne— in notebooks D and E (Beiheften); concerning passages copied out from Quesnay's works see Note 21.— 191

[41] Marx copied out passages from Wayland's book in Notebook VII (London, 1859-63).— 227

[42] Excerpts from Barton's book are to be found in Notebook IX, which Marx compiled in London in 1851. See MEGA [2], Bd. IV/8, Berlin, 1986, S. 518-21.— 228

[43] Marx copied out passages from the book by J. St. Mill, *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy*, London, 1844, in his Manchester Notebook for 1845. See MEGA [2], Bd. IV/4, Berlin, 1988, S. 329-54.—229

[44] Marx had a copy of this book in his personal library.—237

[45] *Manava Dharma Sastra* (Manu laws) —an ancient Indian religious, legal and ritual code, similar to the Bible and the Koran, which determined the duties of every Hindu in keeping with the tenets of Brahmanism. The compilation of these laws, dating back to approximately the 3 cent. B. C., is attributed to Manu, the mythical "progenitor of men".

Marx is quoting from: *Manava Dharma Sastra, or the Institutes of Manu According to the Gloss of Kulluka Comprising the Indian System of Duties, Religious and Civil.* Third edition, Madras, 1863, p. 281.—238

[46] Passages which Marx copied out from J. G. Courcelle-Seneuil's book are to be found in Notebook VII (London, 1859-63).—241

[47] Marx copied out passages from Thomas Hodgskin's book in Notebook IX (London, 1851), MEGA [2], Bd. IV/8, Berlin, 1986, S. 549-62.—244

[48] Marx is referring to the Brussels edition of this book. In his personal library there was a copy of it with remarks made on the indicated pages.—244

[49] *Tableau économique*—a scheme of the reproduction and circulation of the total social product worked out by Quesnay. A more detailed analysis of the *Tableau économique* is given in Marx's Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 204-40) and in Chapter X, Part II of *Anti-Dühring*, which Engels wrote on the basis of Marx's manuscript (present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 211-43).—357

[50] Concerning Linguet see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 241-45.—358

[51] In the first edition of Volume II of *Capital* there followed one more paragraph: "As to the explanation of constant capital given by Smith, it is reduced to an assertion that constant capital is part of advanced industrial capital which is fixed in the process of production or, as Smith says on p. 187, 'gives revenue or profit without circulation or change of owner' or, as it is said on p. 185, 'remains in his [owner's] possession or petrifies in an unchanged form'."—362

[52] Marx copied out passages from the book by W. Roscher, *System der Volkswirtschaft.* Band I: *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie*, Stuttgart und Augsburg, 1858, in Notebook VII, which he compiled in London between 1859 and 1863.—371

[53] Passages which Marx copied out from Storch's works are to be found in his Brussels notebooks (see MEGA [2], Bd. IV/3).—390

[54] Concerning Cherbuliez see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 285-320.—390

[55] Marx is referring to Smith's assertion that part of capital for an entrepreneur forms workers' revenue. For a detailed criticism of this proposition see this volume, pp. 378-79.—434

[56] Marx is referring to the following phrase from A. Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*: "the whole annual produce of the land and labour of every country is, no doubt, ultimately destined for supplying the consumption of its inhabitants" (Vol. II, Book II, Ch. III).—435

[57] Marx copied out passages from this book by Senior in one of his Brussels notebooks compiled in 1845. See MEGA [2], Bd. IV/3.—437

[58] In his personal library Marx had the book by E. Tyler (Tylor) *Forschungen über die Urgeschichte der Menschheit und die Entwickelung der Civilisation.* Aus dem Engl. von H. Müller, Leipzig, 1847, in which he made his remarks. Compare with E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilisation*, London, 1865, pp. 198-99.—438

[59] Marx is alluding to J. B. Say's *Lettres à Malthus sur differents sujets d'économie politique, notamment sur les causes de la stagnation générale du commerce.* Paris, London, 1820. (Marx had this book in his personal library.)—439

[60] In the original: "p. 400" should read "p. 380"; a reference to the page of the first edition of *Capital*, Vol. II.—440

[61] Marx is alluding to *Éléments d'idéologie* 4-e et 5-e parties par Destutt de Tracy; the text of this book which he had in his personal library, carries Marx's crossings-out and underlinings. Passages from it are to be found in the Paris notebook which Marx compiled in 1844 (see MEGA [2], Bd. IV/2, Berlin, 1981, S. 489-92).—443

[62] Marx copied out passages from Th. Tooke's book, *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle* (London, 1844), in Notebook VII, which he compiled in London in 1851. See MEGA [2], Bd. IV/8, Berlin, 1986, pp. 199-211.—475

[63] The *Institute of France* (l'Institute de France)—the country's most authoritative centre dealing with the arts and sciences; it comprises a number of leading academies and has existed since 1795. Destutt de Tracy was a member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques.

The *Philosophic Society of Philadelphia* (la Société Philosophique de Philadelphie)—one of the oldest scientific societies in the USA, dating back to 1740.—488

[64] The expression "music of the future" came into use after the publication in 1850 of Richard Wagner's book *An Artistic Work of the Future*; opponents of Wagner's views in the sphere of music adduced an ironical sense to this expression.—493

[65] In the first and second editions of *Capital*, Vol. II, this paragraph reads as follows: "In the course of four years of reproduction on an extended scale, the aggregate capital of I and II has risen from 5,400 c + 7,250 to 8,784 c + 2,782 = 11,566, in other words, in the ratio of 100:160. The total surplus value was originally 1,750, it is now 2,782. The consumed surplus value was originally 500 for I and 535 for II, a total of 1,035; in the last year it was 732 for I and 958 for II, a total of 1,690. It has therefore grown in the ratio 100:163."

In the present edition this paragraph has been corrected.—514

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*The Money Market Review. A Weekly Commercial and Financial Journal* — English weekly, published under this title from 1860 to 1921.— 173, 181, 183

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie* — a daily newspaper of the revolutionary-proletarian wing of the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; it was published in Cologne under Marx's editorship from June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849 (with an interval between 27 September and 12 October 1848); Engels was among its editors.— 11

*Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatswissenschaft* — liberal political and economic review, published from 1844 to 1943 (with intervals) in Tübingen.— 10-11

# MARX & ENGELS
# COLLECTED WORKS

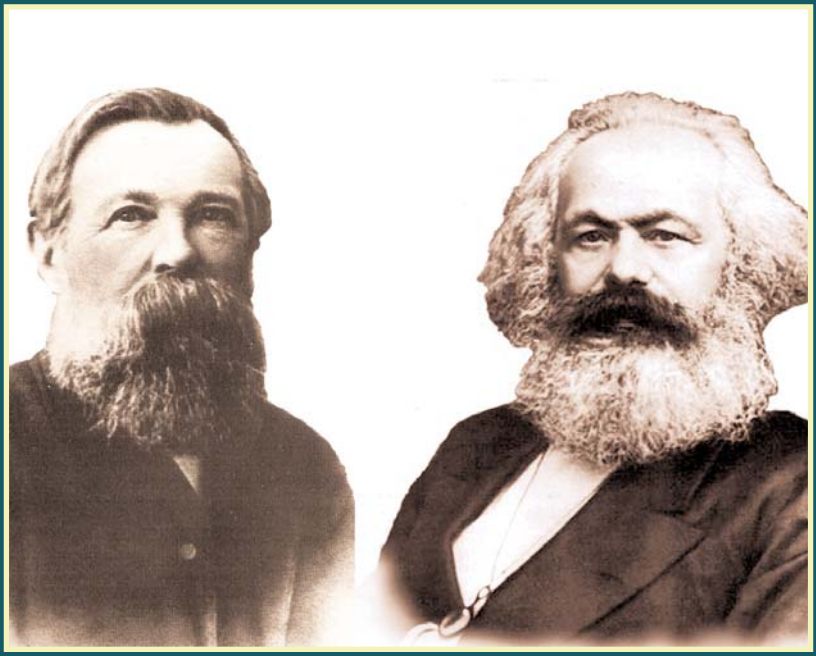

## VOLUME 37

### Karl Marx - Capital Volume III

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 37

## Karl Marx - Capital Volume III

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# Preface

Volume 37 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains Volume III of *Capital*, and Preface and Supplement to *Capital*, Volume Three, by Engels.

Volume III deals with the process of capitalist production as a whole.

The present English edition follows the first German edition of 1894 edited by Engels. Errors and misprints found in the first German edition have been corrected. Figures and other data have been checked and set right where necessary. Quotations from different sources have been ascertained; those from English and American authors were checked with the original publications and given according to the 1894 German edition. Quotations in French, Latin and Greek are given in English translation. Bibliographical footnotes are based on Marx's excerpts and preparatory material.

The author's footnotes are marked by superior numbers with a round bracket, as distinct from editors' notes marked merely by numbers and footnotes indicated by index letters. Engels' insertions and footnotes are, as a rule, marked by his initials and placed into double oblique lines.

Foreign words and expressions are italicised and retained in the form used in the original with translation in the footnote where necessary. English words and expressions used by Marx and Engels are set in small caps, longer passages are placed in asterisks.

The volume was compiled and the preface, notes and indexes written by Tatyana Andrushchenko and Izora Kazmina; Mikhail Ter-

novsky took part in editing the volume (Russian Independent Institute of Social and National Problems).

The present English edition is based on the 1958 publication of *Capital* by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, in which extensive use was made of the English translation by Ernest Untermann printed by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, 1909.

The volume was prepared for the press by Yelena Chistyakova, Margarita Lopukhina and Maria Shcheglova (Progress Publishing Group Corporation).

# KARL MARX

# CAPITAL

## A CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

## VOLUME III

### BOOK THREE

### THE PROCESS OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION AS A WHOLE

*Edited by Frederick Engels*

# Das Kapital.

## Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.

Von

**Karl Marx.**

Dritter Band, erster Theil.

**Buch III:**
**Der Gesammtprocess der kapitalistischen Produktion.**
Kapitel I bis XXVIII.

Herausgegeben von **Friedrich Engels.**

Das Recht der Uebersetzung ist vorbehalten.

Meinem August Bebel
Ld. 7/12/94 F. Engels

**Hamburg**
Verlag von Otto Meissner.
1894.

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Title page of the first German edition
of Vol. III, I, of *Capital*

# Frederick Engels

## PREFACE

At last I have the privilege of making public this third book of Marx's main work, the conclusion of the theoretical part.[1] When I published the second volume, in 1885, I thought that except for a few, certainly very important, sections the third volume would probably offer only technical difficulties. This was indeed the case. But I had no idea at the time that these sections, the most important parts of the entire work, would give me as much trouble as they did, just as I did not anticipate the other obstacles, which were to retard completion of the work to such an extent.

Next and most important of all, it was my eye weakness which for years restricted my writing time to a minimum, and which, even now, permits me to write by artificial light only in exceptional cases. Furthermore, there were other pressing labours which could not be turned down, such as new editions and translations of Marx's and my own earlier works, hence reviews, prefaces, and supplements, often impossible without fresh study, etc. Above all, there was the English edition of the first volume of this work, for whose text I am ultimately responsible and which consequently consumed much of my time.[2] Whoever has in any way followed the colossal growth of international socialist literature during the last ten years, particularly the great number of translations of Marx's and my own earlier works, will agree with me that I have been lucky that the number of languages in which I could be of help to the translators, and therefore could not refuse in all conscience to review their work, is very limited. But the growth of literature was merely indicative of a corresponding growth of the international working-class movement itself. And this imposed

new obligations upon me. From the first days of our public activity it was Marx and I who shouldered the main burden of the work as go-betweens for the national movements of socialists and workers in the various countries. This work expanded in proportion to the expansion of the movement as a whole. Up to the time of his death, Marx had borne the brunt of the burden in this as well. But after his death the ever-increasing bulk of work had to be done by myself alone. Since then it has become the rule for the various national workers' parties to establish direct contacts, and this is fortunately ever more the case. Yet requests for my assistance are still far more frequent than I would wish in view of my theoretical work. But if a man has been active in the movement for more than fifty years, as I have been, he regards the work connected with it as a bounden duty that brooks no delay. In our eventful time, just as in the 16th century, pure theorists on social affairs are found only on the side of reaction and for this reason these gentlemen are not even theorists in the full sense of the word, but simply apologists of reaction.

In view of the fact that I live in London my party contacts are limited to correspondence in winter, while in summer they are largely personal. This fact, and the necessity of following the movement in a steadily growing number of countries and a still more rapidly growing number of press organs, have compelled me to reserve matters which permit no interruption for completion during the winter months, and primarily the first three months of the year. When a man is past seventy his Meynert's association fibres of the brain function with a certain annoying prudence. He no longer surmounts interruptions in difficult theoretical problems as easily and quickly as before. It came about therefore that the work of one winter, if it was not completed, had to be largely begun anew the following winter. This was the case with the most difficult fifth part.

As the reader will observe from the following, the work of editing the third volume was essentially different from that of editing the second. In the case of the third volume there was nothing to go by outside a first extremely incomplete draft. The beginnings of the various parts were, as a rule, pretty carefully done and even stylistically polished. But the farther one went, the more sketchy and incomplete was the analysis, the more excursions it contained into arising side-issues whose proper place in the argument was left for later decision, and the longer and more complex the sentences, in which thoughts

were recorded *in statu nascendi*.[a] In some places handwriting and presentation betrayed all too clearly the outbreak and gradual progress of the attacks of ill health, caused by overwork, which at the outset rendered the author's work increasingly difficult and finally compelled him periodically to stop work altogether. And no wonder. Between 1863 and 1867, Marx not only completed the first draft of the two last volumes of *Capital* and prepared the first volume for the printer, but also performed the enormous work connected with the founding and expansion of the International Workingmen's Association. As a result, already in 1864 and 1865 ominous signs of ill health appeared which prevented Marx from personally putting the finishing touches to the second and third volumes.

I began my work by dictating into readable copy the entire manuscript, which was often hard to decipher even for me. This alone required considerable time. It was only then that I could start on the actual editing. I limited this to the essential. I tried my best to preserve the character of the first draft wherever it was sufficiently clear. I did not even eliminate repetitions, wherever they, as was Marx's custom, viewed the subject from another standpoint or at least expressed the same thought in different words. Wherever my alterations or additions exceeded the bounds of editing, or where I had to apply Marx's factual material to independent conclusions of my own, if even as faithful as possible to the spirit of Marx, I have enclosed the entire passage in brackets and affixed my initials. Some of my footnotes are not enclosed in brackets; but wherever I have initialled them I am responsible for the entire note.

As is only to be expected in a first draft, there are numerous allusions in the manuscript to points which were to have been expanded upon later, without these promises always having been kept. I have left them, because they reveal the author's intentions relative to future elaboration.

Now as to details.

As regards the first part, the main manuscript was serviceable only with substantial limitations. The entire mathematical calculation of the relation between the rate of surplus value and the rate of profit (which makes up our Chapter III) is introduced in the very beginning, while the subject treated in our Chapter I is considered later and as the occasion arises. Two attempts at revising, each of them

---

[a] at the moment of formation

eight pages *in folio*, were useful here. But even these did not possess the desired continuity throughout. They furnished the substance for what is now Chapter I. Chapter II is taken from the main manuscript. There was a series of uncompleted mathematical calculations for Chapter III, as well as a whole, almost complete, notebook dating from the seventies, which presents the relation of the rate of surplus value to the rate of profit in the form of equations. My friend Samuel Moore, who has also translated the greater portion of the first volume into English, undertook to edit this notebook for me, a work for which he was far better equipped, being an old Cambridge mathematician. It was from his summary, with occasional use of the main manuscript, that I then compiled Chapter III. Nothing but the title was available for Chapter IV. But since its subject-matter, the influence of turnover on the rate of profit, is of vital importance, I have written it myself, for which reason the whole chapter has been placed in brackets. It developed in the course of this work that the formula for the rate of profit given in Chapter III required modification to be generally valid. Beginning with Chapter V, the main manuscript is the sole source for the remainder of the part, although many transpositions and supplements were also essential.

As for the following three parts, aside from stylistic editing I was able to follow the original manuscript almost throughout. A few passages dealing mostly with the influence of turnover had to be brought into agreement with Chapter IV, which I had inserted, and are likewise placed in brackets[a] and marked by my initials.

The greatest difficulty was presented by Part V which dealt with the most complicated subject in the entire volume. And it was just at this point that Marx was overtaken by one of the above-mentioned serious attacks of illness. Here, then, was no finished draft, not even a scheme whose outlines might have been filled out, but only the beginning of an elaboration — often just a disorderly mass of notes, comments and extracts. I tried at first to complete this part, as I had done to a certain extent with the first one, by filling in the gaps and expanding upon passages that were only indicated, so that it would at least approximately contain everything the author had intended. I tried this no less than three times, but failed in every attempt, and the time lost in this is one of the chief causes that held up this volume. At last I realised that I was on the wrong track. I should have had to

[a] In this volume they are replaced by two oblique lines.

go through the entire voluminous literature in this field, and would in the end have produced something that would nevertheless not have been a book by Marx. I had no other choice but to more or less cut the Gordian knot by confining myself to as orderly an arrangement of available matter as possible, and to making only the most indispensable additions. And so it was that I succeeded in completing the principal labours for this part in the spring of 1893.

As for the various chapters, chapters XXI to XXIV were, in the main, complete. Chapters XXV and XXVI required a sifting of the references and an interpolation of material found elsewhere. Chapters XXVII and XXIX could be taken almost completely from the original manuscript, but Chapter XXVIII had to be re-arranged in places. The real difficulty, however, began with Chapter XXX. From here on it was not only a matter of properly arranging the references, but of putting the train of thought into proper order, interrupted as it was at every point by intervening clauses and deviations, etc., and resumed elsewhere, often just casually. Thus, Chapter XXX was put together by means of transpositions and excisions which were utilised, however, in other places. Chapter XXXI, again, possessed greater continuity. But then follows a long section in the manuscript, entitled "The Confusion", containing nothing but extracts from parliamentary reports on the crises of 1847 and 1857, in which are compiled statements of twenty-three businessmen and economists, largely on money and capital, gold drain, over-speculation, etc., and supplied here and there with short facetious comments. Practically all the then current views concerning the relation of money to capital are represented therein, either in the answers or in the questions, and it was the "confusion" revealed in identifying money and capital in the money market that Marx meant to treat with criticism and sarcasm. After many attempts I convinced myself that this chapter could not be put into shape. Its material, particularly that supplied with Marx's comments, was used wherever I found an opportune place for it.

Next, in tolerable order, comes what I placed in Chapter XXXII. But this is immediately followed by a new batch of extracts from parliamentary reports on every conceivable thing pertinent to this part, intermingled with the author's comments. Toward the end these extracts and comments are focussed more and more on the movement of monetary metals and on exchange rates, and close with all kinds of miscellaneous remarks. On the other hand, the "Precapitalist" chapter (Chap. XXXVI) was quite complete.

Of all this material beginning with the "Confusion", save that which had been previously inserted, I made up chapters XXXIII to XXXV. This could not, of course, be done without considerable interpolations on my part for the sake of continuity. Unless they are merely formal in nature, the interpolations are expressly indicated as belonging to me. In this way I have finally succeeded in working into the text *all* the author's relevant statements. Nothing has been left out but a small portion of the extracts, which either repeated what had already been said, or touched on points which the manuscript did not treat any further.

The part on ground rent was much more fully treated, although by no means properly arranged, if only for the fact that Marx found it necessary to recapitulate the plan of the entire part in Chapter XLIII (the last portion of the part on rent in the manuscript). This was all the more desirable, since the manuscript opens with Chapter XXXVII, followed by chapters XLV to XLVII, and only thereafter chapters XXXVIII to XLIV. The tables for the differential rent II involved the greatest amount of work and so did the discovery that the third case of this class of rent had not at all been analysed in Chapter XLIII, where it belonged.

In the seventies Marx engaged in entirely new special studies for this part on ground rent. For years he had studied the Russian originals of statistical reports inevitable after the "reform" of 1861 in Russia and other publications on landownership, had taken extracts from these originals, placed at his disposal in admirably complete form by his Russian friends, and had intended to use them for a new version of this part. Owing to the variety of forms both of landownership and of exploitation of agricultural producers in Russia, this country was to play the same role in the part dealing with ground rent that England played in Book I in connection with industrial wage labour.[3] He was unfortunately denied the opportunity of carrying out this plan.

Lastly, the seventh part was available complete, but only as a first draft, whose endlessly involved periods had first to be dissected to be made printable. There exists only the beginning of the final chapter. It was to treat of the three major classes of developed capitalist society — the landowners, capitalists and wage labourers — corresponding to the three great forms of revenue, ground rent, profit and wages, and the class struggle, an inevitable concomitant of their existence, as the actual consequence of the capitalist period.[4] Marx used to leave such concluding summaries until the final editing, just before going to

press, when the latest historical developments furnished him with unfailing regularity with proofs of the most laudable timeliness for his theoretical propositions.

Citations and proofs illustrating his statements are, as in the second volume, considerably less numerous than in the first. Quotations from Book I refer to pages in the 2nd and 3rd editions. Wherever the manuscript refers to theoretical statements of earlier economists, the name alone is given as a rule, and the quotations were to be added during the final editing. Of course, I had to leave this as it was. There are only four parliamentary reports, but these are abundantly used. They are the following:

1) Reports from Committees (of the Lower House), Volume VIII, Commercial Distress, Volume II, Part I, 1847-48. Minutes of Evidence.—Quoted as Commercial Distress, 1847-48.

2) Secret Committee of the House of Lords on Commercial Distress 1847. Report printed in 1848. Evidence printed in 1857 (because considered too compromising in 1848).—Quoted as C. D. 1848/57.[5]

3) Report: Bank Acts, 1857.—Ditto, 1858.—Reports of the Committee of the Lower House on the Effect of the Bank Acts of 1844 and 1845. With evidence.—Quoted as: B. A. (also as B. C.) 1857 or 1858.[6]

I am going to start on the fourth volume—the history of the theory of surplus value—as soon as it is in any way possible.[7]

---

In the preface to the second volume of *Capital* I had to square accounts with the gentlemen who raised a hue and cry at the time because they fancied to have discovered "in Rodbertus the secret source and a superior predecessor of Marx". I offered them an opportunity to show "what the economics of a Rodbertus can accomplish"; I defied them to show "how an equal average rate of profit can and must come about, not only without a violation of the law of value, but rather on the very basis of it".[a] These same gentlemen who for either subjective or objective, but as a rule anything but scientific reasons were then lionising the brave Rodbertus as an economic star of the first magnitude, have without exception failed to furnish an answer.

[a] See present edition, Vol. 36, p. 23.

However, other people have thought it worth their while to occupy themselves with the problem.

In his critique of the second volume (*Conrads Jahrbücher*, XI, 5, 1885, S. 452-65), Professor *W. Lexis* took up the question, although he did not care to offer a direct solution.[a] He says:

"The solution of the contradiction" (between the Ricardo-Marxian law of value and an equal average rate of profit) "is impossible if the various classes of commodities are considered *individually* and if their value is to be equal to their exchange value, and the latter equal or proportional to their price."

According to him, the solution is only possible if

"we cease measuring the value of individual commodities according to labour, and consider only the production of commodities *as a whole* and their distribution among the aggregate classes of capitalists and workers.... The working class receives but a certain portion of the total product,... the other portion, which falls to the share of the capitalist class, represents the surplus product in Marxian sense, and accordingly ... the surplus value. Then the members of the capitalist class divide this total surplus value among themselves *not* in accordance with the number of workers employed by them, but in proportion to the capital invested by each, the land also being accounted for as capital value."

The Marxian ideal values determined by units of labour incorporated in the commodities do not correspond to prices but may be

"regarded as points of departure of a shift which leads to the actual prices. The latter depend on the fact that equal sums of capital demand equal profits."

For this reason some capitalists will secure prices higher than the ideal values for their commodities, and others will secure lower prices.

"But since the losses and gains of surplus value balance one another within the capitalist class, the total amount of the surplus value is the same as it would be if all prices were proportional to the ideal values."

It is evident that the problem has not in any way been solved here, but has, though somewhat loosely and shallowly, been on the whole correctly *formulated.* And this is, indeed, more than we could have expected from a man who, like the above author, takes a certain pride in being a "vulgar economist". It is really surprising when compared with the handiwork of other vulgar economists, which we shall later discuss. Lexis' vulgar economy is, anyhow, in a class of its own. He says that capital gains *might*, at any rate, be derived in the way indicated by Marx, but that nothing *compels* one to accept this view.

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[a] W. Lexis, "Die Marx'sche Kapitaltheorie".

On the contrary. Vulgar economy, he says, has at least a more plausible explanation, namely:

> "The capitalist sellers, such as the producer of raw materials, the manufacturer, the wholesale dealer, and the retail dealer, all make a gain on their transactions by selling at a price higher than the purchase price, thus adding a certain percentage to the price they themselves pay for the commodity. The worker alone is unable to obtain a similar additional value for his commodity; he is compelled by reason of his unfavourable condition vis-à-vis the capitalist to sell his labour at the price it costs him, that is to say, for the essential means of his subsistence.... Thus, these additions to prices retain their full impact with regard to the buying wage-worker, and cause the transfer of a part of the value of the total product to the capitalist class."

One need not strain his thinking powers to see that this explanation for the profits of capital, as advanced by "vulgar economy", amounts in practice to the same thing as the Marxian theory of surplus value; that the workers are in just the same "unfavourable condition" according to Lexis as according to Marx; that they are just as much the victims of swindle because every non-worker can sell commodities above price, while the worker cannot do so; and that it is just as easy to build up an at least equally plausible vulgar socialism on the basis of this theory, as that built in England on the foundation of Jevons's and Menger's theory of use value and marginal utility.[8] I even suspect that if Mr. George Bernard Shaw had been familiar with this theory of profit, he would have likely fallen to with both hands, discarding Jevons and Karl Menger, to build anew the Fabian church of the future[9] upon this rock.

In reality, however, this theory is merely a paraphrase of the Marxian. What defrays all the price additions? It is the workers' "total product". And this is due to the fact that the commodity "labour", or, as Marx has it, labour power, has to be sold below its price. For if it is a common property of all commodities to be sold at a price higher than their cost of production, with labour being the sole exception since it is always sold at the cost of production, then labour is simply sold below the price that rules in this world of vulgar economy. Hence the resultant extra profit accruing to the capitalist, or capitalist class, arises, and can only arise, in the last analysis, from the fact that the worker, after reproducing the equivalent for the price of his labour power, must produce an additional product for which he is not paid — i. e., a surplus product, a product of unpaid labour, or surplus value. Lexis is an extremely cautious man in the choice of his terms. He does not say anywhere outright that the above is his own conception. But if it is, it is plain as day that we are not dealing with one of

those ordinary vulgar economists, of whom he says himself that every one of them is "at best only a hopeless idiot" in Marx's eyes, but with a Marxist disguised as a vulgar economist. Whether this disguise has occurred consciously or unconsciously is a psychological question which does not interest us at this point. Whoever would care to investigate this, might also probe how a man as shrewd as Lexis undoubtedly is, could at one time defend such nonsense as bimetallism.[10]

The first to really attempt an answer to the question was Dr. Conrad Schmidt in his pamphlet entitled *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marx'schen Werthgesetzes*, Stuttgart, Dietz, 1889. Schmidt seeks to reconcile the details of the formation of market prices with both the law of value and with the average rate of profit. The industrial capitalist receives in his product, first, an equivalent of the capital he has advanced, and, second, a surplus product for which he has paid nothing. But to obtain a surplus product he must advance capital to production. That is, he must apply a certain quantity of objectified labour to be able to appropriate this surplus product. For the capitalist, therefore, the capital he advances represents the quantity of objectified labour socially necessary for him to obtain this surplus product. This applies to every industrial capitalist. Now, since products are mutually exchanged, according to the law of value, in proportion to the labour socially necessary for their production, and since, as far as the capitalist is concerned, the labour necessary for the manufacture of the surplus product happens to be past labour accumulated in his capital, it follows that surplus products are exchanged in proportion to the sums of capital required for their production, and not in proportion to the labour *actually* incorporated in them. Hence the share of each unit of capital is equal to the sum of all produced surplus values divided by the sum of the capitals expended in production. Accordingly, equal sums of capital yield equal profits in equal time spans, and this is accomplished by adding the cost price of the surplus product so calculated, i. e., the average profit, to the cost price of the paid product and by selling both the paid and unpaid product at this increased price. The average rate of profit takes shape in spite of average commodity prices being determined, as Schmidt holds, by the law of value.

The construction is extremely ingenious. It is completely patterned after the Hegelian model, but like the majority of Hegelian constructions it is not correct. Surplus product or paid product, makes no difference. If the law of value is also to be *directly* valid for the average

prices, both of them must be sold at prices proportionate to the socially necessary labour required and expended in producing them. The law of value is aimed from the first against the idea derived from the capitalist mode of thought that accumulated labour of the past, which comprises capital, is not merely a certain sum of finished value, but that, because a factor in production and the formation of profit, it also produces value and is hence a source of more value than it has itself; it establishes that living labour alone possesses this faculty. It is well known that capitalists expect equal profits proportionate to their capitals and regard their advances of capital as a sort of cost price of their profits. But if Schmidt utilises this conception as a means of reconciling prices based on the average rate of profit with the law of value, he repudiates the law of value itself by attributing to it as one of its co-determinative factors a conception with which the law is wholly at variance.

Either accumulated labour creates value the same as living labour. In that case the law of value does not apply.

Or, it does not create value. In that case Schmidt's demonstration is incompatible with the law of value.

Schmidt strayed into this bypath when quite close to the solution, because he believed that he needed nothing short of a mathematical formula to demonstrate the conformance of the average price of every individual commodity with the law of value. But while on the wrong track in this instance, in the immediate proximity of the goal, the rest of his booklet is evidence of the understanding with which he drew further conclusions from the first two volumes of *Capital*. His is the honour of independently finding the correct explanation developed by Marx in the third part of the third volume for the hitherto inexplicable sinking tendency of the rate of profit, and, similarly, of explaining the derivation of commercial profit out of industrial surplus value, and of making a great number of observations concerning interest and ground rent, in which he anticipates ideas developed by Marx in the fourth and fifth parts of the third volume.

In a subsequent article (*Neue Zeit*, 1892-93, Nos. 3 and 4), Schmidt takes a different tack in his effort to solve the problem.[a] He contends that it is competition which produces the average rate of profit by causing the transfer of capital from branches of production with under-average profit to branches with above-average profit. It is not a

[a] C. Schmidt, "Die Durchschnittsprofitrate und das Marx'sche Werthgesetz".

revelation that competition is the great equaliser of profits. But now Schmidt tries to prove that this levelling of profits is identical with a reduction of the selling price of commodities in excess supply to a magnitude of value which society can pay for them according to the law of value. Marx's analyses in the book itself are ample evidence why this way, too, could not lead to the goal.

After Schmidt P. Fireman tackled the problem (*Conrads Jahrbücher*, dritte Folge, III, 1891, S. 793).[a] I shall not go into his remarks on other aspects of the Marxian analysis. They rest upon the false assumption that Marx wishes to define where he only investigates, and that in general one might expect fixed, cut-to-measure, once and for all applicable definitions in Marx's works. It is self-evident that where things and their interrelations are conceived, not as fixed, but as changing, their mental images, the ideas, are likewise subject to change and transformation; and they are not encapsulated in rigid definitions, but are developed in their historical or logical process of formation. This makes clear, of course, why in the beginning of his first book Marx proceeds from the simple production of commodities as the historical premise, ultimately to arrive from this basis to capital — why he proceeds from the simple commodity instead of a logically and historically secondary form — from an already capitalistically modified commodity. To be sure, Fireman positively fails to see this. These and other side-issues, which could give rise to still other diverse objections, are better left by the wayside, while we go on forthwith to the gist of the matter.[b] While theory teaches Fireman that at a given rate of surplus value the latter is proportional to the labour power employed, he learns from experience that at a given average rate of profit, profit is proportional to the total capital employed. He explains this by saying that profit is merely a conventional phenomenon (which means in his language that it belongs to a definite social formation with which it stands and falls). Its existence is simply tied up with capital. The latter, provided it is strong enough to secure a profit for itself, is compelled by competition also to secure for itself a rate of profit equal for all sums of capital. Capitalist production is simply impossible without an equal rate of profit. Given this mode of production, the quantity of profit for the individual capitalist can, at

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[a] P. Fireman, "Kritik der Marx'schen Werttheorie".-[b] See also F. Engels, Supplement to *Capital*, Volume Three, 1. Law of Value and Rate of Profit (this volume, pp. 876-94).

a certain rate of profit, depend only on the magnitude of his capital. On the other hand, profit consists of surplus value, of unpaid labour. But how is surplus value, whose magnitude hinges upon the degree of labour exploitation, transformed into profit, whose magnitude depends upon the amount of the capital employed?

"Simply by selling commodities above their value in all branches of production in which the ratio between ... constant and variable capital is greatest; but this also implies that commodities are sold below their value in those branches of production in which the ratio between constant and variable capital = c:v is smallest, and that commodities are sold at their true value only in branches in which the ratio of c:v represents a certain mean figure.... Is this discrepancy between individual prices and their respective values a refutation of the value principle? By no means. For since the prices of some commodities rise above their value as much as the prices of others fall below it, the total sum of prices remains equal to the total sum of values ... in the end this incongruity disappears." This incongruity is a "disturbance"; "however, in the exact sciences it is not customary to regard a predictable disturbance as a refutation of a law".

On comparing the relevant passages in Chapter IX with the above, it will be seen that Fireman has indeed placed his finger on the salient point. But the undeservedly cool reception of his able article shows how many interconnecting links would still be needed even after this discovery to enable Fireman to work out a full and comprehensive solution. Although many were interested in this problem, they were all still fearful of getting their fingers burnt. And this is explained not only by the incomplete form in which Fireman left his discovery, but also by the undeniable faultiness of both his conception of the Marxian analysis and of his own general critique of the latter, based as it was on his misconception.

Whenever there is a chance of making a fool of himself over some difficult matter, Herr Professor Julius Wolf, of Zurich, never fails to do so. He tells us (*Conrads Jahrbücher*, dritte Folge, II, S. 352 and following)[a] that the entire problem is resolved in relative surplus value. The production of relative surplus value rests on the increase of constant capital vis-à-vis variable capital.

"A plus in constant capital presupposes a plus in the productive power of the labourers. Since this plus in productive power (by way of lowering the worker's cost of living) produces a plus in surplus value, a direct relation is established between the increasing surplus value and the increasing share of constant capital in total capital. A plus in constant capital indicates a plus in the productive power of labour. With variable capital remaining the same and constant capital increasing, surplus value must therefore, in accordance with Marx, increase as well. This was the problem presented to us."

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[a] J. Wolf, "Das Rätsel der Durchschnittsprofitrate bei Marx".

True, Marx says the very opposite in a hundred places in the first book; true, the assertion that, according to Marx, when variable capital shrinks, relative surplus value increases in proportion to the increase in constant capital, is so astounding that it puts to shame all parliamentary declamation; true, Herr Julius Wolf demonstrates in his every line that he does not in the least understand, be it relatively or absolutely, the concepts of relative or absolute surplus value; to be sure he says himself that

"at first glance one seems really to be in a nest of incongruities",

which, by the way, is the only true statement in his entire article. But what does all that matter? Herr Julius Wolf is so proud of his brilliant discovery that he cannot refrain from bestowing posthumous praise on Marx for it and from extolling his own fathomless nonsense as a

"new proof of the keen and far-sighted way his" (Marx's) "system of criticism of capitalist economy is set forth".

But now comes the choicest bit of all. Herr Wolf says:

"Ricardo has likewise claimed that an equal investment of capital yielded equal surplus value (profit), just as the same expenditure of labour created the same surplus value (as regards its quantity). And the question now was how the one agreed with the other. But Marx has refused to accept this way of putting the problem. *He has proved beyond a doubt (in the third volume)* that the second statement was not necessarily a consequence of the law of value, that it even contradicted his law of value and should therefore ... be forthwith repudiated."

And thereupon Wolf probes who of us two, Marx or I, had made a mistake. It does not occur to him, naturally, that it is he who is groping in the dark.

I should offend my readers and fail to see the humour of the situation if I were to waste a single word on this choice morsel. I shall only add that his audacity in using the opportunity to report the ostensible gossip among professors that Conrad Schmidt's above-named work was "directly inspired by Engels" matches the audacity with which he dared to say at one time what "Marx has proved beyond a doubt in the third volume". Herr Julius Wolf! It may be customary in the world in which you live and strive for the man who publicly poses a problem to others to acquaint his close friends on the sly with its solution. I am quite prepared to believe that you are capable of this sort of thing. But that a man need not stoop to such shabby tricks in my world is proved by the present preface.

No sooner had Marx died than Mr. Achille Loria hastened to publish an article about him in the *Nuova Antologia* (April 1883).[a] To begin with, a biography brimming with misinformation, followed by a critique of public, political and literary work. He falsifies Marx's materialist conception of history and distorts it with an assurance that bespeaks a great purpose. And this purpose was eventually carried out. In 1886, the same Mr. Loria published a book, *La teoria economica della constituzione politica*, in which he announced to his astounded contemporaries that Marx's conception of history, so completely and purposefully misrepresented by him in 1883, was his own discovery. To be sure, the Marxian theory is reduced in this book to a rather philistine level, and the historical illustrations and proofs abound in blunders which would never be tolerated in a fourth-form boy. But what does that matter? The discovery that political conditions and events are everywhere invariably explained by corresponding economic conditions was, as is herewith demonstrated, not made by Marx in 1845, but by Mr. Loria in 1886. At least he has happily convinced his countrymen of this, and, after his book appeared in French,[b] also some Frenchmen, and can now pose in Italy as the author of a new epoch-making theory of history until the Italian socialists find time to strip the *illustre* Loria of his stolen peacock feathers.

But this is just a sample of Mr. Loria's style. He assures us that all Marx's theories rest on *conscious* sophistry (*un consaputo sofisma*); that Marx did not stop at paralogisms even when he *knew them to be paralogisms* (*sapendoli tali*), etc. And after thus impressing the necessary upon his readers with a series of similar contemptible insinuations, so that they should regard Marx as an unprincipled upstart *à la* Loria who achieves his little effects by the same wretched humbug as our professor from Padua, he reveals an important secret to them, and thereby takes us back to the rate of profit.

Mr. Loria says: According to Marx, the amount of surplus value (which Mr. Loria here identifies with profit) produced in a capitalist industrial establishment should depend on the variable capital employed in it, since constant capital does not yield profit. But this is contrary to fact. For in practice profit does not depend on variable, but on total capital. And Marx himself recognises this (Buch I, Kap. XI [11]) and admits that on the surface facts appear to contradict his

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[a] A. Loria, "Karl Marx". - [b] A. Loria, *Les Bases économiques de la constitution soziale*, Paris, 1893.

theory. But how does he get around this contradiction? He refers his readers to an as yet unpublished subsequent volume. Loria has already told *his* readers about this volume that he did not believe Marx had ever entertained the thought of writing it, and now exclaims triumphantly:

"I have not been wrong in contending that this second volume, which Marx always flings at his adversaries without it ever appearing, might very well have been a shrewd expedient applied by Marx whenever scientific arguments failed him (*un ingegnoso spediente ideato dal Marx a sostituzione degli argomenti scientifici*)."

And whosoever is not convinced after this that Marx stands in the same class of scientific swindlers as *l'illustre* Loria, is past all redemption.

We have at least learned this much: According to Mr. Loria, the Marxian theory of surplus value is absolutely incompatible with the existence of a general equal rate of profit. Then, there appeared the second volume and therewith my public challenge precisely on this very point.[a] If Mr. Loria had been one of us diffident Germans, he would have experienced a certain degree of embarrassment. But he is a cocky southerner, coming from a hot climate, where, as he can testify, cool nerve is a natural requirement. The question of the rate of profit has been publicly put. Mr. Loria has publicly declared it insoluble. And for this very reason he is now going to outdo himself by publicly solving it.

This miracle is accomplished in *Conrads Jahrbücher*, neue Folge, Buch XX, S. 272 and following, in an article dealing with Conrad Schmidt's already cited pamphlet.[b] After Loria learned from Schmidt how commercial profit was made, he suddenly saw daylight.

"Since determining value by means of labour time is to the advantage of those capitalists who invest a greater portion of their capital in wages, the unproductive" (read commercial) "capital can derive a higher interest" (read profit) "from these privileged capitalists and thus bring about an equalisation between the individual industrial capitalists... For instance, if each of the industrial capitalists A, B, C uses 100 working days and 0, 100, 200 constant capital respectively in production, and if the wages for 100 working days amount to 50 working days, then each receives a surplus value of 50 working days, and the rate of profit is 100% for the first, 33.3% for the second, and 20% for the third capitalist. But if a fourth capitalist D accumulates an unproductive capital of 300, which claims an interest" (profit) "equal in value to 40 working days from A, and an interest of 20 working days from B, then the rate of profit of capitalists A and B

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 36, p. 23. - [b] A. Loria, *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marx'schen Wertgesetzes.*

will sink to 20%, just as that of C, while D with his capital of 300 receives profit of 60, or a rate of profit of 20%, the same as the other capitalists."

With such astonishing dexterity, *l'illustre* Loria solves by sleight of hand the question which he had declared insoluble ten years previously. Unfortunately, he did not let us into the secret wherefrom the "unproductive capital" obtained the power to squeeze out of the industrialists their extra profit in excess of the average rate of profit, and to retain it in its own pocket, just as the landlord pockets the tenant's surplus profit as ground rent. Indeed, according to him it would be the merchants who would raise a tribute analogous to ground rent from the industrialists, and would thereby bring about an average rate of profit. Commercial capital is indeed a very essential factor in producing the general rate of profit, as nearly everybody knows. But only a literary adventurer who in his heart sneezes at political economy, can venture the assertion that it has the magic power to absorb all surplus value in excess of the general rate of profit even before this general rate has taken shape, and to convert it into ground rent for itself without, moreover, even having need to do with any real estate. No less astonishing is the assertion that commercial capital manages to discover the particular industrialists, whose surplus value just covers the average rate of profit, and that it considers it a privilege to mitigate the lot of these luckless victims of the Marxian law of value to a certain extent by selling their products gratis for them, without asking as much as a commission for it. What a mountebank one must be to imagine that Marx had need to resort to such miserable tricks!

But it is not until we compare him with his northern competitors, for instance with Herr Julius Wolf, who was not born yesterday either, that *l'illustre* Loria shines in his full glory. What a yelping pup Herr Wolf appears even in his big volume on *Sozialismus und kapitalistische Gesellschaftsordnung*, alongside the Italian! How awkward, I am almost tempted to say modest, he appears beside the noble audacity of the *maestro* who takes it for granted that Marx, neither more nor less than other people, was as much a conscious sophist, paralogist, humbug and mountebank as Mr. Loria himself—that Marx took in the public with the promise of rounding out his theory in a subsequent volume whenever he was in a difficult position, knowing full well that he neither could nor ever would write it. Boundless nerve coupled with a flair for slipping like an eel through impossible situations, a heroic contempt for pummellings received, hasty plagia-

rism of other people's accomplishments, importunate and fanfaronading advertising, spreading his fame by means of a chorus of friends — who can equal him in all this?

Italy is the land of classicism. Ever since the great era when the dawn of modern times rose there, it has produced magnificent characters of unequalled classic perfection, from Dante to Garibaldi. But the period of its degradation and foreign domination also bequeathed it classic character-masks, among them two particularly clear-cut types, that of Sganarelle and Dulcamara. The classic unity of both is embodied in our *illustre* Loria.

In conclusion I must take my readers across the Atlantic. Dr. (Med.) George C. Stiebeling, of New York, has also found a solution to the problem, and a very simple one. So simple, indeed, that no one either here, or there, took him seriously. This aroused his ire, and he complained bitterly about the injustice of it in an endless stream of pamphlets and newspaper articles appearing on both sides of the great water. He was told in the *Neue Zeit*[a] that his entire solution rested on a mathematical error. But this could scarcely disturb him. Marx had also made mathematical errors, and was yet right in many things. Let us then take a look at Dr. Stiebeling's solution.

"I take two factories working with equal capitals for an equal length of time, but with a different ratio of constant and variable capitals. I make the total capital $(c + v) = y$, and the difference in the ratio of the constant and variable capital $= x$. For factory I, $y = c + v$, for factory II, $y = (c - x) + (v + x)$. Therefore the rate of surplus value for factory I $= \frac{s}{v}$, and for factory II $= \frac{s}{v+x}$. Profit (p) is what I call the total surplus value (s) by which the total capital y, or $c + v$, is augmented in the given time; thus, $p = s$. Hence, the rate of profit for factory I $= \frac{p}{y}$, or $\frac{s}{c+v}$, and for factory II it is also $\frac{p}{y}$, or $\frac{s}{(c-x)+(v+x)}$, i. e. it is also $= \frac{s}{c+v}$. The... problem thus resolves itself in such a way that, on the basis of the law of value, with equal capital and equal time, but unequal quantities of living labour, a change in the rate of surplus value causes the equalisation of an average rate of profit" (G. C. Stiebeling, *Das Werthgesetz und die Profitrate*, New York, John Heinrich).

However pretty and revealing the above calculation may be, we are compelled to ask Dr. Stiebeling *one* question: How does he know that the sum of surplus value produced by factory I is exactly equal to the sum of the surplus value produced by factory II? He states explic-

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[a] [A. Luxenberg,] "Bemerkung zu dem Aufsatze des Herrn Stiebeling", *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 3, 1887, S. 123-27.

itly that c, v, y and x, that is, all the other factors in the calculation, are the same for both factories, but makes no mention of s. It does not by any means follow from the fact that he designated both of the above-mentioned quantities of surplus value algebraically with s. Rather, it is just the thing that has to be proved, since Mr. Stiebeling without further ado also identifies profit p with the surplus value. Now there are just two possible alternatives. Either the two s's are equal, both factories produce equal quantities of surplus value, and therefore also equal quantities of profit, since both capitals are equal. In that case Mr. Stiebeling has from the start taken for granted what he was really called upon to prove. Or, one factory produces more surplus value than the other, in which case his entire calculation tumbles about his ears.

Mr. Stiebeling spared neither pains nor money to build mountains of calculations upon this mathematical error, and to exhibit them to the public. I can assure him, for his own peace of mind, that they are nearly all equally wrong, and that in the exceptional cases when this is not so, they prove something entirely different from what he set out to prove. He proves, for instance, by comparing U. S. census figures for 1870 and 1880 that the rate of profit has actually fallen, but interprets it wrongly and assumes that Marx's theory of a constantly stable rate of profit should be corrected on the basis of experience. Yet it follows from the third part of the present third book that this Marxian "stable rate of profit" is purely a figment of Mr. Stiebeling's imagination, and that the tendency for the rate of profit to fall is due to circumstances which are just the reverse of those indicated by Dr. Stiebeling. No doubt Dr. Stiebeling has the best intentions, but when a man wants to deal with scientific questions he should above all learn to read the works he wishes to use just as the author had written them, and above all without reading anything into them that they do not contain.

The outcome of the entire investigation shows again with reference to this question as well that it is the Marxian school alone which has accomplished something. If Fireman and Conrad Schmidt read this third book, each one, for his part, may well be satisfied with his own work.

London, October 4, 1894 *Fr. Engels*

# BOOK III

# THE PROCESS OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION AS A WHOLE

## I

# Part I

## THE CONVERSION OF SURPLUS VALUE INTO PROFIT AND OF THE RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE INTO THE RATE OF PROFIT

### Chapter I

### COST PRICE AND PROFIT

In Book I we analysed the phenomena which constitute the capitalist *process of production* as such, as the immediate production process, with no regard for any of the secondary effects of outside influences. But this immediate process of production does not exhaust the life span of capital. It is supplemented in the actual world by the *process of circulation*, which was the object of study in Book II. In the latter, namely in Part III, which treated the process of circulation as a medium for the social process of reproduction, it developed that the capitalist process of production taken as a whole represents a synthesis of the processes of production and circulation. Considering what this third book treats, it cannot confine itself to general reflection relative to this synthesis. On the contrary, it must locate and describe the concrete forms which grow out of the *movements of capital as a whole.* In their actual movement capitals confront each other in such concrete shape, for which the form of capital in the immediate process of production, just as its form in the process of circulation, appear only as special instances. The various forms of capital, as evolved in this book, thus approach step by step the form which they assume on the surface of society, in the action of different capitals upon one another, in competition, and in the ordinary consciousness of the agents of production themselves.

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The value of every commodity (C) produced in the capitalist way is represented in the formula: $C = c + v + s$. If we subtract surplus

value s from this value of the product there remains a bare equivalent or a substitute value in goods, for the capital value c + v expended in the elements of production.

For example, if the production of a certain article requires a capital outlay of £500, of which £20 are for the wear and tear of means of labour, £380 for the materials of production, and £100 for labour power, and if the rate of surplus value is 100%, then the value of the product = $400_c + 100_v + 100_s$ = £600.

After deducting the surplus value of £100, there remains a commodity value of £500 which only replaces the expended capital of £500. This portion of the value of the commodity, which replaces the price of the consumed means of production and labour power, only replaces what the commodity costs the capitalist himself. For him it, therefore, represents the cost price of the commodity.

What the commodity costs the capitalist and its actual production cost are two quite different magnitudes. The portion of the commodity value making up the surplus value does not cost the capitalist anything simply because it costs the labourer unpaid labour. Yet, on the basis of capitalist production, after the labourer enters the production process he himself constitutes an ingredient of operating productive capital, which belongs to the capitalist. Therefore, the capitalist is the actual producer of the commodity. For this reason the cost price of the commodity necessarily appears to the capitalist as the actual cost of the commodity. If we take k to be the cost price, the formula C = c + v + s turns into the formula C = k + s, that is, the commodity value = cost price + surplus value.

The grouping of the various value portions of a commodity which only replace the value of the capital expended in its production under the head of cost price expresses, on the one hand, the specific character of capitalist production. The capitalist cost of the commodity is measured by the expenditure of *capital*, while the actual cost of the commodity is measured by the expenditure of *labour*. Thus, the capitalist cost price of the commodity differs in quantity from its value, or its actual cost price. It is smaller than the value of the commodity, because, with C = k + s, it is evident that k = C − s. On the other hand, the cost price of a commodity is by no means simply a category which exists only in capitalist bookkeeping. The individualisation of this portion of value is continually manifest in practice in the actual production of the commodity, because it has ever to be reconverted from its commodity form by way of the process of circulation into the

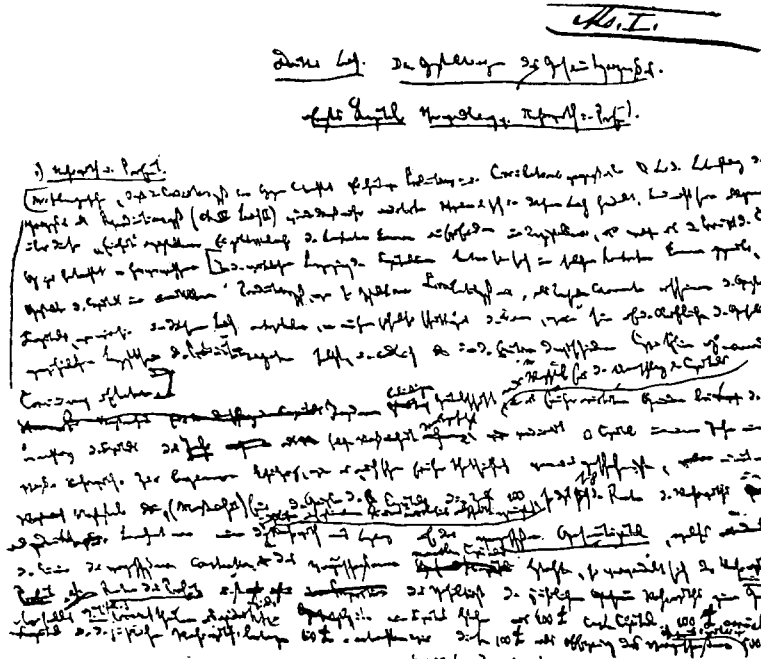

First page of Marx's manuscript of the third volume of *Capital*, marked by Engels as "Ms. I"

A page of Vol. III of *Capital*, copied by a secretary, with alterations by Engels. The insertion at the top of the page is by Engels

(Reduced)

form of productive capital, so that the cost price of the commodity always must repurchase the elements of production consumed in its manufacture.

The category of cost price, on the other hand, has nothing to do with the formation of commodity value, or with the process of self-expansion of capital. When I know that of the value of a commodity worth £600, $\frac{5}{6}$, or £500, represent no more than an equivalent of the capital of £500 consumed in its production and that it can therefore suffice only to repurchase the material elements of this capital, I know nothing as yet either of the way in which these $\frac{5}{6}$ of the value of the commodity, which represent its cost price, are produced, or about the way in which the last sixth, which constitutes its surplus value, was produced. The investigation will show, however, that in capitalist economics the cost price assumes the false appearance of a category of value production itself.

To return to our example. Suppose the value produced by one labourer during an average social working day is represented by a money sum of 6s. = 6M. Then the advanced capital of £500 = $400_c + 100_v$ represents a value produced in 1,666 $\frac{2}{3}$ ten-hour working days, of which 1,333 $\frac{1}{3}$ working days are crystallised in the value of the means of production = $400_c$, and 333 $\frac{1}{3}$ working days are crystallised in the value of labour power = $100_v$. Having assumed a rate of surplus value of 100%, the production of the commodity to be newly formed entails a labour expenditure = $100_v + 100_s$ = 666 $\frac{2}{3}$ ten-hour working days.

We know, then (see Buch I, Kap. VII, S. 201/193[a]) that the value of the newly created product of £600 is composed of 1) the reappearing value of the constant capital of £400 expended for means of production, and 2) a newly produced value of £200. The cost price of the commodity = £500 comprises the reappearing $400_c$ and one-half of the newly produced value of £200 (= $100_v$), that is, two elements of the commodity value which are of entirely different origin.

Owing to the purposive nature of the labour expended during 666 $\frac{2}{3}$ ten-hour working days, the value of the consumed means of production amounting to £400 is transferred from these means of production to the product. This previously existing value thus reap-

[a] English edition: Ch. IX (see present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 221-22).

pears as a component part of the value of the product, but is not created in the process of production of *this* commodity. It exists as a component of the value of the commodity only because it previously existed as an element of the advanced capital. The expended constant capital is therefore replaced by that portion of the value of the commodity which this capital itself adds to that value. This element of the cost price, therefore, has a double meaning. On the one hand, it goes into the cost price of the commodity, because it is part of the commodity value which replaces consumed capital. And on the other hand, it forms an element of the commodity value only because it is the value of expended capital or because the means of production cost so and so much.

It is quite the reverse in the case of the other element of the cost price. The $666\frac{2}{3}$ working days expended in the production of the commodity create a new value of £200. One portion of this new value merely replaces the advanced variable capital of £100, or the price of the labour power employed. But this advanced capital value does not in any way go into the creation of the new value. So far as the advance of capital is concerned, labour power counts as a *value*. But in the process of production it acts as the *creator of value*. The place of the value of the labour power that obtains within the advanced capital is taken in the actually *functioning* productive capital by living value-creating labour power itself.

The difference between these various elements of the commodity value, which together make up the cost price, leaps to the eye whenever a change takes place in the size of the value of either the expended constant, or the expended variable, part of the capital. Let the price of the same means of production, or of the constant part of capital, rise from £400 to £600, or, conversely, let it fall to £200. In the first case it is not only the cost price of the commodity which rises from £500 to $600_c + 100_v =$ £700, but also the value of the commodity which rises from £600 to $600_c + 100_v + 100_s =$ £800. In the second case, it is not only the cost price which falls from £500 to $200_c + 100_v =$ £300, but also the value of the commodity which falls from £600 to $200_c + 100_v + 100_s =$ £400. Since the expended constant capital transfers its own value to the product, the value of the product rises or falls with the absolute magnitude of that capital value, other conditions remaining equal. Assume, on the other hand, that, other circumstances remaining unchanged, the price of the same amount of labour power rises from £100 to £150, or, conversely, that

it falls from £100 to £50. In the first case, the cost price rises from £500 to $400_c + 150_v$ = £550, and falls in the second case from £500 to $400_c + 50_v$ = £450. But in either case the commodity value remains unchanged = £600; one time it is $400_c + 150_v + 50_s$, and the other time, $400_c + 50_v + 150_s$. The advanced variable capital does not add its own value to the product. The place of its value is taken in the product rather by a new value created by labour. Therefore, a change in the absolute magnitude of the variable capital, so far as it expresses merely a change in the price of labour power, does not in the least alter the absolute magnitude of the commodity value, because it does not alter anything in the absolute magnitude of the new value created by living labour power. Such a change rather affects only the relative proportion of the two component parts of the new value, of which one forms surplus value and the other makes good the variable capital and therefore passes into the cost price of the commodity.

The two elements of the cost price, in the present case $400_c + 100_v$, have only this in common that they are both parts of the commodity value that replace advanced capital.

But this true state of affairs necessarily appears reversed from the standpoint of capitalist production.

The capitalist mode of production differs from the mode of production based on slavery, among other things, by the fact that in it the value, and accordingly the price, of labour power appears as the value, or price, of labour itself, or as wages (Buch I, Kap. XVII[a]). The variable part of the advanced capital, therefore, appears as capital expended in wages, as a capital value which pays for the value, and accordingly the price, of all the labour expended in production. Let us assume, for instance, that an average ten-hour social working day is incorporated in a sum of money amounting to 6 shillings. In that case the advance of a variable capital of £100 represents the money expression of a value produced in $333\frac{1}{3}$ ten-hour working days. But this value, representing purchased labour power in the capital advanced, does not, however, form a part of the actually functioning capital. Its place in the process of production is taken by living labour power. If, as in our illustration, the degree of exploitation of the latter is 100%, then it is expended during $666\frac{2}{3}$ ten-hour working days, and thereby adds to the product a new value of £200. But in the capi-

[a] English edition: Ch. XIX (see present edition, Vol. 35, p. 535-42).

tal advanced the variable capital of £100 figures as capital invested in wages, or as the price of labour performed during 666 $\frac{2}{3}$ ten-hour days. The sum of £100 divided by 666 $\frac{2}{3}$ gives us 3 shillings as the price of a ten-hour working day, which is equal in value to the product of five hours' labour.

Now, if we compare the capital advanced on the one hand with the commodity value on the other, we find:

I. Capital advanced £500 = £400 of capital expended in means of production (price of means of production) + £100 of capital expended in labour (price of 666 $\frac{2}{3}$ working days, or wages for same).

II. Value of commodities £600 = £500 representing the cost price (£400 price of expended means of production + £100 price of expended 666 $\frac{2}{3}$ working days) + £100 surplus value.

In this formula, the portion of capital invested in labour differs from that invested in means of production, such as cotton or coal, only by serving as payment for a materially different element of production, but not by any means because it serves a functionally different purpose in the process of creating commodity value, and thereby also in the process of the self-expansion of capital. The price of the means of production reappears in the cost price of the commodities, just as it figured in the capital advanced, and it does so because these means of production have been purposively consumed. The price, or wages, for the 666 $\frac{2}{3}$ working days consumed in the production of these commodities likewise reappears in the cost price of the commodities just as it has figured in the capital advanced, and also because this amount of labour has been purposively expended. We see only finished and existing values—the portions of the value of the advanced capital which go into the making of the value of the product—but not the element creating new values. The distinction between constant and variable capital has disappeared. The entire cost price of £500 now has the double meaning that, first, it is that portion of the commodity value of £600 which replaces the capital of £500 expended in the production of the commodity; and that, secondly, this component of the commodity value exists only because it existed previously as the cost price of the elements of production employed, namely means of production and labour, i. e., as advanced capital. The capital value reappears as the cost price of a commodity because, and in so far as, it has been expended as a capital value.

*The next text page is 37. See note on p. X*

The fact that the various components of the value of the advanced capital have been expended for materially different elements of production, namely for means of labour, raw materials, auxiliary materials, and labour, requires only that the cost price of the commodity must buy back these materially different elements of production. So far as the formation of the cost price is concerned, however, only one distinction is appreciable, namely that between fixed and circulating capital. In our example we have set down £20 for wear and tear of means of labour ($400_c$ = £20 for depreciation of means of labour + £380 for materials of production). Before the production process the value of these means of labour was, say, £1,200. After the commodities have been produced it exists in two forms, the £20 as part of the value of the commodity, and 1,200—20, or £1,180, as the remaining value of the means of labour which, as before, are in the possession of the capitalist; in other words, as an element of his productive, not of his commodity capital. Materials of production and wages, as distinct from means of labour, are entirely consumed in the production of the commodity and thus their entire value goes into that of the produced commodity. We have seen how these various components of the advanced capital assume the forms of fixed and circulating capital in relation to the turnover.[a]

Accordingly, the capital advanced = £1,680: fixed capital = = £1,200 plus circulating capital = £480 (= £380 in materials of production plus £100 in wages).

But the cost price of the commodity only = £500 (£20 for the wear and tear of the fixed capital, and £480 for circulating capital).

This difference between the cost price of the commodity and the capital advanced merely proves, however, that the cost price of the commodity is formed exclusively by the capital actually consumed in its production.

Means of labour valued at £1,200 are employed in producing the commodity, but only £20 of this advanced capital value are lost in production. Thus, the employed fixed capital goes only partially into the cost price of the commodity, because it is only partially consumed in its production. The employed circulating capital goes entirely into the cost price of the commodity, because it is entirely consumed in its production. But does not this only prove that the consumed portions of the fixed and circulating capital pass uniformly, *pro rata* to the mag-

[a] See present edition, Vol. 36, pp. 159-84.

nitude of their values, into the cost price of the commodity and that this component of the value of the commodity originates solely with the capital expended in its production? If this were not so, it would be inexplicable why the advanced fixed capital of £1,200 should not, aside from the £20 which it loses in the production process, also contribute the other £1,180 which it does not lose.

This difference between fixed and circulating capital with reference to the calculation of the cost price, therefore, only confirms the seeming origination of the cost price from the expended capital value, or the price paid by the capitalist himself for the expended elements of production, including labour. On the other hand, so far as the formation of value is concerned, the variable portion of capital invested in labour power is here emphatically identified under the head of circulating capital with constant capital (that part of capital which consists of materials of production), and this completes the mystification of the self-expansion process of capital.[1]

So far we have considered just one element of the value of commodities, namely the cost price. We must now turn also to the other component of the value of commodities, namely the excess over the cost price, or the surplus value. In the first place, then, surplus value is the excess value of a commodity over and above its cost price. But since the cost price equals the value of the consumed capital, into whose material elements it is continually reconverted, this excess value is an accretion in the value of the capital expended in the production of the commodity and returning by way of its circulation.

We have already seen earlier that, though s, the surplus value, springs merely from a change in the value of the variable capital v and is, therefore, originally but an increment of variable capital, after the process of production is over it nevertheless also forms a value increment of c + v, the expended total capital. The formula c + (v + s), which indicates that s is produced through the conversion of a definite capital value v advanced for labour power into a fluctuating magnitude, i. e., of a constant magnitude into a variable one, may also be represented as (c + v) + s. Before production took place we had a capital of £500. After production

[1] In Book I (Kap. VII, 3, S. 216/206 ff.)[a] we have given the example of N. W. Senior to show what confusion this may create in the mind of the economist.

[a] English edition: Ch. IX, 3 (present edition, Vol. 35, p. 233).

is completed we have the capital of £500 plus a value increment of £100.[2]

However, surplus value forms an increment not only of the portion of the advanced capital which goes into the self-expansion process, but also of the portion which does not go into it. In other words, it is an accretion not only to the consumed capital made good out of the cost price of the commodity, but to all the capital invested in production. Before the production process we had a capital valued at £1,680, namely £1,200 of fixed capital invested in means of labour, only £20 of which go into the value of the commodity for wear and tear, plus £480 of circulating capital in materials of production and wages. After the production process we have £1,180 as the constituent element of the value of the productive capital plus a commodity capital of £600. By adding these two sums of value we find that the capitalist now has a value of £1,780. After deducting his advanced total capital of £1,680 there remains a value increment of £100. The £100 of surplus value thus form as much of a value increment in relation to the invested £1,680 as to its fraction of £500 expended during production.

It is now clear to the capitalist that this increment of value springs from the productive processes undertaken with the capital, that it therefore springs from the capital itself, because it is there after the production process, while it is not there before it. As for the capital consumed in production, the surplus value seems to spring equally from all its different elements of value consisting of means of production and labour. For all these elements contribute equally to the formation of the cost price. All of them add their values, obtaining as advanced capital, to the value of the product, and are not differentiated as constant and variable magnitudes of value. This becomes obvious if we assume for a moment that all the expended capital consisted either exclusively of wages, or exclusively of the value of

[2] "From what has gone before, we know that surplus value is purely the result of a variation in the value of v, of that portion of the capital which is transformed into labour power; consequently, $v + s = \Delta v$ (or v plus an increment of v). But the fact that it is v alone that varies, and the conditions of that variation, are obscured by the circumstance that in consequence of the increase in the variable component of the capital, there is also an increase in the sum total of the advanced capital. It was originally £500, and becomes £590" (Buch I, Kap. VII, 1, S. 203/195).[a]

[a] English edition: Ch. IX, 1 (ibid., p. 221).

the means of production. In the first case, we should then have the commodity value of $500_v + 100_s$ instead of the commodity value of $400_c + 100_v + 100_s$. The capital of £500 laid out in wages represents the value of all the labour expended in the production of the commodity value of £600, and for just this reason forms the cost price of the entire product. But the formation of this cost price, whereby the value of the expended capital is reproduced as a constituent part of the value of the product, is the only process in the formation of this commodity value that is known to us. We do not know how its surplus value portion of £100 is formed. The same is true in the second case, in which the commodity value = $500_c + 100_s$. We know in both cases that surplus value is derived from a given value, because this value was advanced in the form of productive capital, be it in the form of labour or of means of production. On the other hand, this advanced capital value cannot form surplus value for the reason that it has been expended and therefore constitutes the cost price of the commodity. Precisely because it forms the cost price of the commodity, it does not form any surplus value, but merely an equivalent, a value replacing the expended capital. So far, therefore, as it forms surplus value, it does so not in its specific capacity as expended, but rather as advanced, and hence utilised, capital. For this reason, the surplus value arises as much out of the portion of the advanced capital which goes into the cost price of the commodity as out of the portion which does not. In short, it arises equally out of the fixed and the circulating components of the utilised capital. The aggregate capital serves materially as the creator of products, the means of labour as well as the materials of production, and the labour. The total capital materially enters into the actual labour process, even though only a portion of it enters the process of self-expansion. This is, perhaps, the very reason why it contributes only in part to the formation of the cost price, but totally to the formation of surplus value. However that may be, the outcome is that surplus value springs simultaneously from all portions of the invested capital. This deduction may be substantially abbreviated, by saying pointedly and concisely in the words of Malthus:

"The capitalist ... *expects* an equal profit upon all the parts of the capital which he advances." [3]

In its assumed capacity of offspring of the aggregate advanced

[3] Malthus, *Principles of Political Economy*, 2nd ed., London, 1836, p. 268.

capital, surplus value takes the converted form of *profit*. Hence, a certain value is capital when it is invested with a view to producing profit,[4] or, there is profit because a certain value was employed as capital. Suppose profit is p. Then the formula $C = c + v + s = k + s$ turns into the formula $C = k + p$, or the *value of a commodity = cost price + profit.*

The profit, such as it is represented here, is thus the same as surplus value, only in a mystified form that is nonetheless a necessary outgrowth of the capitalist mode of production. The genesis of the mutation of values that occurs in the course of the production process must be transferred from the variable portion of the capital to the total capital, because there is no apparent distinction between constant and variable capital in the assumed formation of the cost price. Because at one pole the price of labour power assumes the converted form of wages, surplus value appears at the opposite pole in the converted form of profit.

We have seen that the cost price of a commodity is smaller than its value. Since $C = k + s$, it follows that $k = C - s$. The formula $C = k + s$ reduces itself to $C = k$, or commodity value = commodity cost price only if $s = 0$, a case which never occurs on the basis of capitalist production, although peculiar market conditions may reduce the selling price of commodities to the level of, or even below, their cost price.

Hence, if a commodity is sold at its value, a profit is realised which is equal to the excess of its value over its cost price, and therefore equal to the entire surplus value incorporated in the value of the commodity. But the capitalist may sell a commodity at a profit even when he sells it below its value. So long as its selling price is higher than its cost price, though it may be lower than its value, a portion of the surplus value incorporated in it is always realised, thus always yielding a profit. In our illustration the value of the commodity is £600, and the cost price £500. If the commodity is sold at £510, 520, 530, 560 or 590, it is sold respectively £90, 80, 70, 40, or 10 below its value. Yet a profit of £10, 20, 30, 60, or 90 respectively is realised in its sale. There is obviously an indefinite number of selling prices possible between the value of a commodity and its cost price. The greater the surplus-value element of the value of a commodity, the greater the practical range of these intermediate prices.

[4] "CAPITAL IS THAT WHICH IS EXPENDED WITH A VIEW TO PROFIT." Malthus, *Definitions in Political Economy*, London, 1827, p. 86.

This explains more than just the everyday phenomena of competition, such as certain cases of UNDERSELLING,[a] abnormally low commodity prices in certain lines of industry,[5] etc. The fundamental law of capitalist competition, which political economy had not hitherto grasped, the law which regulates the general rate of profit and the so-called prices of production determined by it, rests, as we shall later see, on this difference between the value and the cost price of commodities, and on the resulting possibility of selling a commodity at a profit under its value.

The minimal limit of the selling price of a commodity is its cost price. If it is sold under its cost price, the expended constituent elements of productive capital cannot be fully replaced out of the selling price. If this process continues, the value of the advanced capital disappears. From this point of view alone, the capitalist is inclined to regard the cost price as the true *inner* value of the commodity, because it is the price required for the bare conservation of his capital. But there is also this, that the cost price of a commodity is the purchase price paid by the capitalist himself for its production, therefore the purchase price determined by the production process itself. For this reason, the excess value, or the surplus value, realised in the sale of a commodity appears to the capitalist as an excess of its selling price over its value, instead of an excess of its value over its cost price, so that accordingly the surplus value incorporated in a commodity is not realised through its sale, but springs out of the sale itself. We have given this illusion closer consideration in Book I (Kap. IV, 2) ("Contradictions in the General Formula of Capital"),[c] but revert here for a moment to the form in which it was reaffirmed by Torrens, among others, as an advance of political economy beyond Ricardo.

"The natural price, consisting of the cost of production, or, in other words, of the capital expended in raising or fabricating commodities, cannot include the profit.... The farmer, we will suppose, expends one hundred quarters of corn in cultivating his fields, and obtains in return one hundred and twenty quarters. In this case, twenty quarters, being the excess of produce above expenditure, constitute the farmer's profit; but it would be absurd to call this excess, or profit, a part of the expenditure.... The

[5] Cf. Buch I, Kap. XVIII, S. 571/561 ff.[b]

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent. - [b] English edition: Ch. XX, (see present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 542-50). - [c] English edition: Ch. V, (see present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 166-77).

master manufacturer expends a certain quantity of raw material, of tools and implements of trade, and of subsistence for labour, and obtains in return a quantity of finished work. This finished work must possess a higher exchangeable value than the materials, tools, and subsistence, by the advance of which it was obtained."

Torrens concludes therefrom that the excess of the selling price over the cost price, or profit, is derived from the fact that the consumers,

"either by immediate or CIRCUITOUS[a] barter give some greater portion of all the ingredients of capital than their production costs".[6]

Indeed, the excess over a given magnitude cannot form a part of this magnitude, and therefore the profit, the excess value of a commodity over the capitalist's expenditures, cannot form a part of these expenditures. Hence, if no other element than the value advance of the capitalist enters into the formation of the value of a commodity, it is inexplicable how more value should come out of production than went into it, for something cannot come out of nothing. But Torrens only evades this creation out of nothing by transferring it from the sphere of commodity production to that of commodity circulation. Profit cannot come out of production, says Torrens, for otherwise it would already be contained in the cost of production, and there would not be a surplus over this cost. Profit cannot come out of the exchange of commodities, replies Ramsay,[b] unless it already existed before this exchange. The sum of the value of the exchanged products is evidently not altered in the exchange of these products, whose sum of value it is. It is the same before and after the exchange. It should be noted here that Malthus refers expressly to the authority of Torrens,[7] although he himself has a different explanation for the sale of commodities above their value, or rather has no explanation at all, since all arguments of this sort never, in effect, fail to be reduced to the same thing as the once-famed negative weight of phlogiston.[12]

In a social order dominated by capitalist production even the non-capitalist producer is gripped by capitalist conceptions. Balzac, who

[6] R. Torrens, *An Essay on the Production of Wealth*, London, 1821, pp. 51-53, and 349.

[7] Malthus, *Definitions in Political Economy*, London, 1853, pp. 70, 71.

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent. - [b] G. Ramsay, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth*, Edinburgh, London, 1836, pp. 183-84.

is generally remarkable for his profound grasp of reality, aptly describes in his last novel, *Les Paysans*, how a petty peasant performs many small tasks gratuitously for his usurer, whose goodwill he is eager to retain, and how he fancies that he does not give the latter something for nothing because his own labour does not cost him any cash outlay. As for the usurer, he thus fells two dogs with one stone. He saves the cash outlay for wages and enmeshes the peasant, who is gradually ruined by depriving his own field of labour, deeper and deeper in the spider-web of usury.

The thoughtless conception that the cost price of a commodity constitutes its actual value, and that surplus value springs from selling the product above its value, so that commodities would be sold at their value if their selling price were to equal their cost price, i. e., if it were to equal the price of the consumed means of production plus wages, has been heralded to the world as a newly discovered secret of socialism by Proudhon with his customary quasi-scientific chicanery. Indeed, this reduction of the value of commodities to their cost price is the basis of his People's Bank.[13] It was earlier shown that the various constituent elements of the value of a product may be represented in proportional parts of the product itself. For instance (Buch I, Kap. VII, 2, S. 211/203[a]), if the value of 20 lbs of yarn is 30 shillings—namely 24 shillings of means of production, 3 shillings of labour power, and 3 shillings of surplus value—then this surplus value may be represented as $\frac{1}{10}$ of the product = 2 lbs of yarn. Should these 20 lbs of yarn now be sold at their cost price, at 27 shillings, then the purchaser receives 2 lbs of yarn for nothing, or the article is sold $\frac{1}{10}$ below its value. But the labourer has, as before, performed his surplus labour, only this time for the purchaser of the yarn instead of the capitalist yarn producer. It would be altogether wrong to assume that if all commodities were sold at their cost price, the result would really be the same as if they had all been sold above their cost price, but at their value. For even if the value of the labour power, the length of the working day, and the degree of exploitation of labour were the same everywhere, the quantities of surplus value contained in the values of the various kinds of commodities would be unequal, depending on the different organic composition of the capitals advanced for their production.[8])

[8]) "The masses of value and of surplus value produced by different capitals—the

[a] English edition: Ch. IX, 2 (see present edition, Vol. 35, p. 230).

# Chapter II

## THE RATE OF PROFIT

The general formula of capital is M — C — M′. In other words, a sum of value is thrown into circulation to extract a larger sum out of it. The process which produces this larger sum is capitalist production. The process that realises it is circulation of capital. The capitalist does not produce a commodity for its own sake, nor for the sake of its use value, or his personal consumption. The product in which the capitalist is really interested is not the palpable product itself, but the excess value of the product over the value of the capital consumed by it. The capitalist advances the total capital without regard to the different roles played by its components in the production of surplus value. He advances all these components uniformly, not just to reproduce the advanced capital, but rather to produce value in excess of it. The only way in which he can convert the value of his advanced variable capital into a greater value is by exchanging it for living labour and exploiting living labour. But he cannot exploit this labour unless he makes a simultaneous advance of the conditions for performing this labour, namely means of labour and subjects of labour, machinery and raw materials, i. e., unless he converts a certain amount of value in his possession into the form of conditions of production; for he is a capitalist and can undertake the process of exploiting labour only because, being the owner of the conditions of labour, he confronts the labourer as the owner of only labour power.[b] As already shown in the first book,[c] it is precisely the fact that nonworkers own the means of production which turns labourers into wage workers and nonworkers into capitalists.

The capitalist does not care whether it is considered that he advances constant capital to make a profit out of his variable capital, or that he advances variable capital to enhance the value of the constant capital; that he invests money in wages to raise the value of his machinery and raw materials, or that he invests money in machinery and raw materials to be able to exploit labour. Although it is only the var-

value of labour power being given and its degree of exploitation being equal — vary directly as the amounts of the variable constituents of these capitals, i. e., as their constituents transformed into living labour power" (Buch I, Kap. IX, S. 312/303).[a]

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[a] English edition: Ch. XI (ibid., p. 311). - [b] Cf. *Economic Manuscript of 1861-63* (present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 78-79). - [c] Ibid., Vol. 35, p. 179.

riable portion of capital which creates surplus value, it does so only if the other portions, the conditions of production, are likewise advanced. Seeing that the capitalist can exploit labour only by advancing constant capital and that he can turn his constant capital to good account only by advancing variable capital, he lumps them all together in his imagination, and much more so since the actual rate of his gain is not determined by its proportion to the variable, but to the total capital, not by the rate of surplus value, but by the rate of profit. And the latter, as we shall see, may remain the same and yet express different rates of surplus value.[a]

The costs of the product include all the elements of its value paid by the capitalist or for which he has thrown an equivalent into production. These costs must be made good to preserve the capital or to reproduce it in its original magnitude.

The value contained in a commodity is equal to the labour time expended in its production, and the sum of this labour consists of paid and unpaid portions. But for the capitalist the costs of the commodity consist only of that portion of the labour objectified in it for which he has paid. The surplus labour contained in the commodity costs the capitalist nothing, although, like the paid portion, it costs the labourer his labour, and although it creates value and enters into the commodity as a value-creating element quite like paid labour. The capitalist's profit is derived from the fact that he has something to sell for which he has paid nothing. The surplus value, or profit, consists precisely in the excess value of a commodity over its cost price, i. e., the excess of the total labour embodied in the commodity over the paid labour embodied in it. The surplus value, whatever its origin, is thus a surplus over the advanced total capital. The proportion of this surplus to the total capital is therefore expressed by the fraction $\frac{s}{C}$, in which C stands for total capital. We thus obtain the *rate of profit* $\frac{s}{C} = \frac{s}{c+v}$, as distinct from the rate of surplus value $\frac{s}{v}$.

The rate of surplus value measured against the variable capital is called rate of surplus value. The rate of surplus value measured against the total capital is called rate of profit. These are two different measurements of the same entity, and owing to the difference of the two standards of measurement they express different proportions or relations of this entity.

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[a] Ibid., Vol. 33, pp. 79-80.

The transformation of surplus value into profit must be deduced from the transformation of the rate of surplus value into the rate of profit, not vice versa. And in fact it was rate of profit which was the historical point of departure. Surplus value and rate of surplus value are, relatively, the invisible and unknown essence that wants investigating, while rate of profit and therefore the appearance of surplus value in the form of profit are revealed on the surface of the phenomenon.

So far as the individual capitalist is concerned, it is evident that he is only interested in the relation of the surplus value, or the excess value at which he sells his commodities, to the total capital advanced for the production of the commodities, while the specific relationship and inner connection of this surplus with the various components of capital fail to interest him, and it is, moreover, rather in his interests to draw the veil over this specific relationship and this intrinsic connection.

Although the excess value of a commodity over its cost price is shaped in the immediate process of production, it is realised only in the process of circulation, and appears all the more readily to have arisen from the process of circulation, since in reality, under competition, in the actual market, it depends on market conditions whether or not and to what extent this surplus is realised. There is no need to waste words at this point about the fact that if a commodity is sold above or below its value, there is merely another kind of division of surplus value, and that this different division, this changed proportion in which various persons share in the surplus value, does not in any way alter either the magnitude or the nature of that surplus value. It is not alone the metamorphoses discussed by us in Book II that take place in the process of circulation; they fall in with actual competition, the sale and purchase of commodities above or below their value, so that the surplus value realised by the individual capitalist depends as much on the sharpness of his business wits as on the direct exploitation of labour.[a]

In the process of circulation the time of circulation comes to exert its influence alongside the working time, thereby limiting the amount of surplus value realisable within a given time span. Still other elements derived from circulation intrude decisively into the actual production process. The actual process of production and the process of

[a] Ibid., p. 75.

circulation intertwine and intermingle continually, and thereby invariably adulterate their typical distinctive features. The production of surplus value, and of value in general, receives new definition in the process of circulation, as previously shown. Capital passes through the circuit of its metamorphoses. Finally, stepping beyond its inner organic life, so to say, it enters into relations with outer life, into relations in which it is not capital and labour which confront one another, but capital and capital in one case, and individuals, again simply as buyers and sellers, in the other. The time of circulation and working time cross paths and thus both seem to determine the surplus value. The original form in which capital and wage labour confront one another is disguised through the intervention of relationships seemingly independent of it. Surplus value itself does not appear as the product of the appropriation of labour time, but as an excess of the selling price of commodities over their cost price, the latter thus being easily represented as their actual value (*valeur intrinsèque*), while profit appears as an excess of the selling price of commodities over their immanent value.[a]

True, the nature of surplus value impresses itself constantly upon the consciousness of the capitalist during the direct process of production, as his greed for the labour time of others, etc., has revealed in our analysis of surplus value. But: 1) The direct process of production is only a fleeting stage which continually merges with the process of circulation, just as the latter merges with the former, so that in the process of production, the more or less clearly dawning notion of the source of the gain made in it, i. e., the inkling of the nature of surplus value, stands at best as a factor equally valid as the idea that the realised surplus originates in a movement that is independent of the production process, that it arises in circulation, and that it belongs to capital irrespective of the latter's relation to labour. Even such modern economists as Ramsay, Malthus, Senior, Torrens, etc., identify these phenomena of circulation directly as proofs that capital in its bare material existence, independent of its social relation to labour which makes capital of it, is, as it were, an independent source of surplus value alongside labour and independent of labour.[14]—2) Under the item of expenses, which embrace wages as well as the price of raw materials, wear and tear of machinery, etc., the extortion of unpaid labour figures only as a saving in paying for

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[a] Ibid., Vol. 33, pp. 72-73.

an article which is included in expenses, only as a smaller payment for a certain quantity of labour, similar to the saving when raw materials are bought more cheaply, or the depreciation of machinery decreases. In this way the extortion of surplus labour loses its specific character. Its specific relationship to surplus value is obscured. This is greatly furthered and facilitated, as shown in Book I (Abschn. VI),[a] by representing the value of labour power in the form of wages.

The relationships of capital are obscured by the fact that all parts of capital appear equally as the source of excess value (profit).

The way in which surplus value is transformed into the form of profit by means of the rate of profit is, however, a further development of the inversion of subject and object that takes place already in the process of production. In the latter, we have seen, the subjective productive forces of labour appear as productive forces of capital.[b] On the one hand, the value, or the past labour, which dominates living labour, is incarnated in the capitalist. On the other hand, the labourer appears as bare material labour power, as a commodity. Even in the simple relations of production this inverted relationship necessarily produces certain correspondingly inverted conceptions, a transposed consciousness which is further developed by the metamorphoses and modifications of the actual circulation process.

It is altogether erroneous, as a study of the Ricardian school shows, to try to identify the laws of the rate of profit with the laws of the rate of surplus value, or vice versa.[c] The capitalist naturally does not see the difference between them. In the formula $\frac{s}{C}$ the surplus value is measured by the value of the total capital advanced for its production, of which a part was totally consumed in this production and a part was merely employed in it. In fact, the formula $\frac{s}{C}$ expresses the degree of self-expansion of the total capital advanced, or, taken in conformity with inner conceptual connections and the nature of surplus value, it indicates the ratio of the amount of variation of variable capital to the magnitude of the advanced total capital.

In itself, the magnitude of value of total capital has no inner relationship to the magnitude of surplus value, at least not directly. So far as its material elements are concerned, the total capital minus the variable capital, that is, the constant capital, consists of the material

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[a] English edition: Part VI (see present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 535-42). - [b] Ibid., pp. 338-39. - [c] Ibid., Vol. 32, pp. 60-72.

requisites — the means of labour and materials of labour — needed to materialise labour. It is necessary to have a certain quantity of means and materials of labour for a specific quantity of labour to materialise in commodities and thereby to produce value. A definite technical relation depending on the special nature of the labour added is established between the quantity of labour and the quantity of means of production to which this living labour is to be added. Hence there is also to that extent a definite relation between the quantity of surplus value, or surplus labour, and the quantity of means of production. For instance, if the labour necessary for the production of the wage amounts to a daily 6 hours, the labourer must work 12 hours to do 6 hours of surplus labour, or produce a surplus value of 100%. He uses up twice as much of the means of production in 12 hours as he does in 6. Yet this is no reason for the surplus value added by him in 6 hours to be directly related to the value of the means of production used up in those 6, or in 12 hours. This value is here altogether immaterial; it is only a matter of the technically required quantity. It does not matter whether the raw materials or means of labour are cheap or dear, as long as they have the required use value and are available in technically prescribed proportion to the living labour to be absorbed. If I know that x lbs of cotton are consumed in an hour of spinning and that they cost a shillings, then, of course, I also know that 12 hours' spinning consumes 12x lbs of cotton = 12a shillings, and can then calculate the proportion of the surplus value to the value of the 12 as well as to that of the 6. But the relation of living labour to the *value* of means of production obtains here only to the extent that a shillings serve as a name for x lbs of cotton; because a definite quantity of cotton has a definite price, and therefore, conversely, a definite price may also serve as an index for a definite quantity of cotton, so long as the price of cotton does not change. If I know that the labourer must work 12 hours for me to appropriate 6 hours of surplus labour, that therefore I must have a 12-hour supply of cotton ready for use, and if I know the price of this quantity of cotton needed for 12 hours, then I have an indirect relation between the price of cotton (as an index of the required quantity) and the surplus value. But, conversely, I can never conclude the quantity of the raw material that may be consumed in, say, one hour, and not 6, of spinning from the price of the raw material. There is, then, no necessary inner relation between the value of the constant capital, nor, therefore, between the value of the total capital ($= c + v$) and the surplus value.

If the rate of surplus value is known and its magnitude given, the rate of profit expresses nothing but what it actually is, namely a different way of measuring surplus value, its measurement according to the value of the total capital instead of the value of the portion of capital from which surplus value directly originates by way of its exchange for labour. But in reality (i. e., in the world of phenomena) the matter is reversed. Surplus value is given, but given as an excess of the selling price of the commodity over its cost price; and it remains a mystery where this excess originated — from the exploitation of labour in the process of production, or from outwitting the purchaser in the process of circulation, or from both. What is also given is the proportion of this excess to the value of the total capital, or the rate of profit. The calculation of this excess of the selling price over the cost price in relation to the value of the advanced total capital is very important and natural, because in effect it yields the ratio in which total capital has been expanded, i. e., the degree of its self-expansion. If we proceed from this rate of profit, we cannot therefore conclude the specific relations between the surplus and the portion of capital invested in wages. We shall see in a subsequent chapter what amusing somersaults Malthus makes when he tries in this way to get at the secret of the surplus value and of its specific relation to the variable part of the capital. [15] What the rate of profit actually shows is rather a uniform relation of the excess to equal portions of the capital, which, from this point of view, does not show any inner difference at all, unless it be between the fixed and circulating capital. And it shows this difference, too, only because the excess is calculated in two ways; namely, first, as a simple magnitude — as excess over the cost price. In this, its initial, form, the entire circulating capital goes into the cost price, while of the fixed capital only the wear and tear goes into it. Second, the relation of this excess in value to the total value of the advanced capital. In this case, the value of the total fixed capital enters into the calculation, quite the same as the circulating capital. Therefore, the circulating capital goes in both times in the same way, while the fixed capital goes in differently the first time, and in the same way as circulating capital the second time. Under the circumstances the difference between fixed and circulating capital is the only one which obtrudes itself.

If, as Hegel would put it, the excess therefore re-reflects itself in itself out of the rate of profit, or, put differently, the excess is more closely characterised by the rate of profit, it appears as an excess pro-

duced by capital above its own value over a year, or in a given period of circulation.

Although the rate of profit thus differs numerically from the rate of surplus value, while surplus value and profit are actually the same thing and numerically equal, profit is nevertheless a converted form of surplus value, a form in which its origin and the secret of its existence are obscured and extinguished. In effect, profit is the form in which surplus value presents itself to the view, and must initially be stripped by analysis to disclose the latter. In surplus value, the relation between capital and labour is laid bare; in the relation of capital to profit, i. e., of capital to surplus value that appears on the one hand as an excess over the cost price of commodities realised in the process of circulation and, on the other, as an excess more closely determined by its relation to the total capital, *the capital* appears *as a relation to itself*, a relation in which it, as the original sum of value, is distinguished from a new value which it generated. One is conscious that capital generates this new value by its movement in the processes of production and circulation. But the way in which this occurs is cloaked in mystery and appears to originate from hidden qualities inherent in capital itself.[a]

The further we follow the process of the self-expansion of capital, the more mysterious the relations of capital will become, and the less the secret of its internal organism will be revealed.

In this part, the rate of profit is numerically different from the rate of surplus value; while profit and surplus value are treated as having the same numerical magnitude but only a different form. In the next part we shall see how the alienation goes further, and how profit represents a magnitude differing also numerically from surplus value.

## Chapter III

### THE RELATION OF THE RATE OF PROFIT TO THE RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE

Here, as at the close of the preceding chapter, and generally in this entire first part, we presume the amount of profit falling to a given capital to be equal to the total amount of surplus value produced by

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 70-71.

means of this capital during a certain period of circulation. We thus leave aside for the present the fact that, on the one hand, this surplus value may be broken up into various subforms, such as interest on capital, ground rent, taxes, etc., and that, on the other, it is not, as a rule, identical with profit as appropriated by virtue of a general average rate of profit, which will be discussed in the second part.

So far as the quantity of profit is assumed to be equal to that of surplus value, its magnitude, and that of the rate of profit, is determined by ratios of simple figures given or ascertainable in every individual case. The analysis, therefore, first is carried on purely in the mathematical field.

We retain the designations used in Books I and II. Total capital C consists of constant capital c and variable capital v, and produces a surplus value s. The ratio of this surplus value to the advanced variable capital, or $\frac{s}{v}$, is called the rate of surplus value and designated s′. Therefore $\frac{s}{v} = s'$, and consequently $s = s'v$. If this surplus value is related to the total capital instead of the variable capital, it is called profit, p, and the ratio of the surplus value s to the total capital C, or $\frac{s}{C}$, is called the rate of profit, p′. Accordingly,

$$p' = \frac{s}{C} = \frac{s}{c+v}.$$

Now, substituting for s its equivalent s′v, we find

$$p' = s'\frac{v}{C} = s'\frac{v}{c+v}$$

which equation may also be expressed by the proportion

$$p' : s' = v : C;$$

the rate of profit is related to the rate of surplus value as the variable capital is to the total capital.

It follows from this proportion that the rate of profit, p′, is always smaller than s′, the rate of surplus value, because v, the variable capital, is always smaller than C, the sum of v + c, or the variable plus the constant capital; the only, practically impossible case excepted, in which v = C, that is, no constant capital at all, no means of production, but only wages are advanced by the capitalist.

However, our analysis also considers a number of other factors which have a determining influence on the magnitude of c, v, and s, and must therefore be briefly examined.

First, the *value of money*. We may assume this to be constant throughout.

Second, the *turnover*. We shall leave this factor entirely out of consideration for the present, since its influence on the rate of profit will be treated specially in a later chapter. //Here we anticipate just one point, that the formula $p' = s'\frac{v}{C}$ is strictly correct only for *one* period of turnover of the variable capital. But we may correct it for an annual turnover by substituting for the simple rate of surplus value, s′, the annual rate of surplus value, s′n. In this, n is the number of turnovers of the variable capital within one year. (Cf. Book II, Chapter XVI, 1.)—*F. E.*//[a]

Third, due consideration must be given to *productivity of labour*, whose influence on the rate of surplus value has been thoroughly discussed in Book I (Abschn. IV).[b] Productivity of labour may also exert a direct influence on the rate of profit, at least of an individual capital, if, as has been demonstrated in Book I (Kap. X, S. 323/314),[c] this individual capital operates with a higher than the average social productivity and produces commodities at a lower value than their average social value, thereby realising an extra profit. However, this case will not be considered for the present, since in this part of the work we also proceed from the premiss that commodities are produced under normal social conditions and are sold at their values. Hence, we assume in each case that the productivity of labour remains constant. In effect, the value composition of a capital invested in a branch of industry, that is, a certain proportion between the variable and constant capital, always expresses a definite degree of labour productivity. As soon, therefore, as this proportion is altered by means other than a mere change in the value of the material elements of the constant capital, or a change in wages, the productivity of labour must likewise undergo a corresponding change, and we shall often enough see, for this reason, that changes in the factors c, v, and s also imply changes in the productivity of labour.

The same applies to the three remaining factors—the *length of the working day, intensity of labour, and wages*. Their influence on the quantity and rate of surplus value has been exhaustively discussed in Book I.[d] It will be understood, therefore, that notwithstanding the assump-

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 36. - [b] English edition: Part IV (ibid., Vol. 35). - [c] English edition: Ch. XII (ibid., pp. 321-24). - [d] Ibid., pp. 519-31.

tion, which we make for the sake of simplicity, that these three factors remain constant, the changes that occur in v and s may nevertheless imply changes in the magnitude of these, their determining elements. In this respect we must briefly recall that the wage influences the quantity of surplus value and the rate of surplus value in inverse proportion to the length of the working day and the intensity of labour; that an increase in wages reduces the surplus value, while a lengthening of the working day and an increase in the intensity of labour add to it.

Suppose a capital of 100 produces a surplus value of 20 employing 20 labourers working a 10-hour day for a total weekly wage of 20. Then we have:

$$80_c + 20_v + 20_s;\ s' = 100\%,\ p' = 20\%.$$

Now the working day is lengthened to 15 hours without raising the wages. The total value produced by the 20 labourers will thereby increase from 40 to 60 (10 : 15 = 40 : 60). Since v, the wages paid to the labourers, remains the same, the surplus value rises from 20 to 40, and we have:

$$80_c + 20_v + 40_s;\ s' = 200\%,\ p' = 40\%.$$

If, conversely, the ten-hour working day remains unchanged, while wages fall from 20 to 12, the total value product amounts to 40 as before, but is differently distributed; v falls to 12, leaving a remainder of 28 for s. Then we have:

$$80_c + 12_v + 28_s;\ s' = 233\tfrac{1}{3}\ \%,\ p' = \tfrac{28}{92} = 30\tfrac{10}{23}\ \%.$$

Hence, we see that a prolonged working day (or a corresponding increase in the intensity of labour) and a fall in wages both increase the amount, and thus the rate, of surplus value. Conversely, a rise in wages, other things being equal, would lower the rate of surplus value. Hence, if v rises through a rise in wages, it does not express a greater, but only a dearer quantity of labour, in which case s′ and p′ do not rise, but fall.

This indicates that changes in the working day, intensity of labour and wages cannot take place without a simultaneous change in v and s and their ratio, and therefore also p′, which is the ratio of s to the total capital c + v. And it is also evident that changes in the ratio of s to v also imply corresponding changes in at least one of the three above-mentioned labour conditions.

Precisely this reveals the specific organic relationship of variable

capital to the movement of the total capital and to its self-expansion, and also its difference from constant capital. So far as generation of value is concerned, the constant capital is important only for the value it has. And it is immaterial to the generation of value whether a constant capital of £1,500 represents 1,500 tons of iron at, say, £1, or 500 tons of iron at £3. The quantity of actual material, in which the value of the constant capital is incorporated, is altogether irrelevant to the formation of value and the rate of profit, which varies inversely to this value no matter what the ratio of the increase or decrease of the value of constant capital to the mass of material use value which it represents.

It is different with variable capital. It is not the value it has, not the labour objectified in it, that matter at this point, but this value as a mere index of the total labour that it sets in motion and which is not expressed in it—the total labour, whose difference from the labour expressed in the value of the variable capital, hence the paid labour, i. e., that portion of the total labour which produces surplus value, is all the greater, the less labour is contained in that variable capital itself. Suppose, a 10-hour working day is equal to ten shillings = ten marks. If the labour necessary to replace the wages, and thus the variable capital = 5 hours = 5 shillings, then the surplus labour = 5 hours and the surplus value = 5 shillings. Should the necessary labour = 4 hours = 4 shillings, then the surplus labour = 6 hours and the surplus value = 6 shillings.

Hence, as soon as the value of the variable capital ceases to be an index of the quantity of labour set in motion by it, and, moreover, the measure of this index is altered, the rate of surplus value will change in the opposite direction and inversely.

Let us now go on to apply the above-mentioned equation of the rate of profit, $p' = s'\frac{v}{C}$, to the various possible cases. We shall successively change the value of the individual factors of $s'\frac{v}{C}$ and determine the effect of these changes on the rate of profit. In this way we shall obtain different series of cases, which we may regard either as successive altered conditions of operation for one and the same capital, or as different capitals existing side by side and introduced for the sake of comparison, taken, as it were, from different branches of industry or different countries. In cases, therefore, where the conception of some of our examples as successive conditions for one and the same capital appears to be forced or impracticable, this objection falls

away the moment they are regarded as comparisons of independent capitals.

Hence, we now separate the product $s'\frac{v}{C}$ into its two factors $s'$ and $\frac{v}{C}$. At first we shall treat $s'$ as constant and analyse the effect of the possible variations of $\frac{v}{C}$. After that we shall treat the fraction $\frac{v}{C}$ as constant and let $s'$ pass through its possible variations. Finally we shall treat all factors as variable magnitudes and thereby exhaust all the cases from which laws concerning the rate of profit may be derived.

### I. S′ CONSTANT, $\frac{v}{C}$ VARIABLE

This case, which embraces a number of subordinate cases, may be covered by a general formula. Take two capitals, C and $C_1$, with their respective variable components, v and $v_1$, with a common rate of surplus value $s'$, and rates of profit $p'$ and $p'_1$. Then:

$$p' = s'\frac{v}{C}\,;\; p'_1 = s'\frac{v_1}{C_1}\,.$$

Now let us make a proportion of C and $C_1$, and of v and $v_1$. For instance, let the value of the fraction $\frac{C_1}{C} = E$, and that of $\frac{v_1}{v} = e$. Then $C_1 = EC$, and $v_1 = ev$. Substituting in the above equation these values for $p'_1$, $C_1$ and $v_1$, we obtain

$$p'_1 = s'\frac{ev}{EC}\,.$$

Again, we may derive a second formula from the above two equations by transforming them into the proportion:

$$p' : p'_1 = s'\frac{v}{C} : s'\frac{v_1}{C_1} = \frac{v}{C} : \frac{v_1}{C_1}.$$

Since the value of a fraction is not changed if we multiply or divide its numerator and denominator by the same number, we may reduce $\frac{v}{C}$ and $\frac{v_1}{C_1}$ to percentages, that is, we may make C and $C_1$ both = 100. Then we have $\frac{v}{C} = \frac{v}{100}$ and $\frac{v_1}{C_1} = \frac{v_1}{100}$, and may then drop the denominators in the above proportion, obtaining:

$$p' : p'_1 = v : v_1, \text{ or:}$$

Taking any two capitals operating with the same rate of surplus value, the rates of profit are to each other as the variable portions

of the capitals calculated as percentages of their respective total capitals.

These two formulas embrace all the possible variations of $\frac{v}{C}$.

One more remark before we analyse these various cases singly. Since C is the sum of c and v, of the constant and variable capitals, and since the rates of surplus value, as of profit, are usually expressed in percentages, it is convenient to assume that the sum of c + v is also equal to 100, i. e., to express c and v in percentages. For the determination of the rate of profit, if not of the amount, it is immaterial whether we say that a capital of 15,000, of which 12,000 is constant and 3,000 is variable, produces a surplus value of 3,000, or whether we reduce this capital to percentages.

$$15{,}000\ C = 12{,}000_c + 3{,}000_v\ (+\ 3{,}000_s)$$
$$100\ C = 80_c + 20_v\ (+\ 20_s).$$

In either case the rate of surplus value $s' = 100\%$, and the rate of profit $= 20\%$.

The same is true when we compare two capitals, say, the foregoing capital with another, such as

$$12{,}000\ C = 10{,}800_c + 1{,}200_v\ (+1{,}200_s)$$
$$100\ C = 90_c + 10_v\ (+10_s)$$

in both of which $s' = 100\%$, $p' = 10\%$, and in which the comparison with the foregoing capital is clearer in percentage form.

On the other hand, if it is a matter of changes taking place in one and the same capital, the form of percentages is rarely to be used, because it almost always obscures these changes. If a capital expressed in the form of percentages:

$$80_c + 20_v + 20_s$$

assumes the form of percentages:

$$90_c + 10_v + 10_s,$$

we cannot tell whether the changed composition in percentages, $90_c + 10_v$, is due to an absolute decrease of v or an absolute increase of c, or to both. We would need the absolute magnitudes in figures to ascertain this. In the analysis of the following individual cases of variation, however, everything depends on how these changes have come about; whether $80_c + 20_v$ changed into $90_c + 10_v$ through an increase of the constant capital without any change in the variable capital, for instance through $12{,}000_c + 3{,}000_v$ changing into

$27{,}000_c + 3{,}000_v$ (corresponding to a percentage of $90_c + 10_v$); or whether they took this form through a reduction of the variable capital, with the constant capital remaining unchanged, that is, through a change into $12{,}000_c + 1{,}333\frac{1}{3}{}_v$ (also corresponding to a percentage of $90_c + 10_v$); or, lastly, whether both of the terms changed into $13{,}500_c + 1{,}500_v$ (corresponding once more to a percentage of $90_c + 10_v$). But it is precisely these cases which we shall have to successively analyse, and in so doing dispense with the convenient form of percentages, or at least employ these only as a secondary alternative.

### 1) *s′ and C constant, v variable*

If v changes in magnitude, C can remain unaltered only if c, the other component of C, that is, the constant capital, changes by the same amount as v, but in the opposite direction. If C originally $= 80_c + 20_v = 100$, and if v is then reduced to 10, then C can $= 100$ only if c is increased to 90; $90_c + 10_v = 100$. Generally speaking, if v is transformed into $v \pm d$, into v increased or decreased by d, then c must be transformed into $c \mp d$, into c varying by the same amount, but in the opposite direction, so that the conditions of the present case are satisfied.

Similarly, if the rate of surplus value s′ remains the same, while the variable capital v changes, the amount of surplus value s must change, since $s = s'v$, and since one of the factors of $s'v$, namely v, is given another value.

The assumptions of the present case produce, alongside the original equation,

$$p' = s'\frac{v}{C},$$

still another equation through the variation of v:

$$p'_1 = s'\frac{v_1}{C},$$

in which v has become $v_1$ and $p'_1$, the resultant changed rate of profit, is to be found.

It is determined by the following proportion:

$$p' : p'_1 = s'\frac{v}{C} : s'\frac{v_1}{C}, = v : v_1$$

Or: with the rate of surplus value and total capital remaining the

same, the original rate of profit is to the new rate of profit produced by a change in the variable capital as the original variable capital is to the changed variable capital.

If the original capital was, as above:

I. $15{,}000\ C = 12{,}000_c + 3{,}000_v\ (+3{,}000_s)$, and if it is now:

II. $15{,}000\ C = 13{,}000_c + 2{,}000_v\ (+2{,}000_s)$, then $C = 15{,}000$ and $s' = 100\%$ in either case, and the rate of profit of I, 20%, is to that of II, $13\frac{1}{3}\%$, as the variable capital of I, 3,000, is to that of II, 2,000, i.e., $20\% : 13\frac{1}{3}\% = 3{,}000 : 2{,}000$.

Now, the variable capital may either rise or fall. Let us first take an example in which it rises. Let a certain capital be originally constituted and employed as follows:

$$\text{I. } 100_c + 20_v + 10_s;\ C = 120,\ s' = 50\%,\ p' = 8\tfrac{1}{3}\%.$$

Now let the variable capital rise to 30. In that case, according to our assumption, the constant capital must fall from 100 to 90 so that total capital remains unchanged at 120. The rate of surplus value remaining constant at 50%, the surplus value produced will then rise from 10 to 15. We shall then have:

$$\text{II. } 90_c + 30_v + 15_s;\ C = 120,\ s' = 50\%,\ p' = 12\tfrac{1}{2}\%.$$

Let us first proceed from the assumption that wages remain unchanged. Then the other factors of the rate of surplus value, i.e., the working day and the intensity of labour, must also remain unchanged. In that event the rise of v (from 20 to 30) can signify only that another half as many labourers are employed. Then the total value produced also rises one-half, from 30 to 45, and is distributed, just as before, $\frac{2}{3}$ for wages and $\frac{1}{3}$ for surplus value. But at the same time, with the increase in the number of labourers, the constant capital, the value of the means of production, has fallen from 100 to 90. We have, then, a case of decreasing productivity of labour combined with a simultaneous shrinkage of constant capital. Is such a case economically possible?

In agriculture and the extractive industries, in which a decrease in labour productivity and, therefore, an increase in the number of employed labourers is quite comprehensible, this process is—on the basis and within the scope of capitalist production—attended by an increase, instead of a decrease, of constant capital. Even if the above fall of c were due merely to a fall in prices, an individual capital would be able to accomplish the transition from I to II only under

very exceptional circumstances. But in the case of two independent capitals invested in different countries, or in different branches of agriculture or extractive industry, it would be nothing out of the ordinary if in one of the cases more labourers (and therefore more variable capital) were employed and worked with less valuable or scantier means of production than in the other case.

But let us drop the assumption that the wage remains the same, and let us explain the rise of the variable capital from 20 to 30 through a rise of wages by one-half. Then we shall have an entirely different case. The same number of labourers — say, 20 — continue to work with the same or only slightly reduced means of production. If the working day remains unchanged — say, 10 hours — then the total value produced also remains unchanged. It was and remains = 30. But all of this 30 is now required to make good the advanced variable capital of 30; the surplus value would disappear. We have assumed, however, that the rate of surplus value should remain constant, that is, the same as in I, at 50%. This is possible only if the working day is prolonged by one-half, to 15 hours. Then the 20 labourers would produce a total value of 45 in 15 hours, and all conditions would be satisfied:

$$\text{II. } 90_c + 30_v + 15_s;\ C = 120,\ s' = 50\%,\ p' = 12\tfrac{1}{2}\%.$$

In this case, the 20 labourers do not require any more means of labour, tools, machines, etc., than in case I. Only the raw materials or auxiliary materials would have to be increased by one-half. In the event of a fall in the prices of these materials, the transition from I to II might be more possible economically, even for an individual capital in keeping with our assumption. And the capitalist would be somewhat compensated by increased profits for any loss incurred through the depreciation of his constant capital.

Now let us assume that the variable capital falls, instead of rising. Then we have but to reverse our example, taking II as the original capital, and passing from II to I.

II. $90_c + 30_v + 15_s$ then changes into

I. $100_c + 20_v + 10_s$, and it is evident that this transposition does not in the least alter any of the conditions regulating the respective rates of profit and their mutual relation.

If v falls from 30 to 20 because $\frac{1}{3}$ fewer labourers are employed with the growing constant capital, then we have before us the normal case of modern industry, namely, an increasing productivity of

labour, and the operation of a larger quantity of means of production by fewer labourers. That this movement is necessarily connected with a simultaneous drop in the rate of profit will be developed in the third part of this book.

If, on the other hand, v falls from 30 to 20, because the same number of labourers is employed at lower wages, the total value produced would, with the working day unchanged, as before $= 30_v + 15_s = 45$. Since v fell to 20, the surplus value would rise to 25, the rate of surplus value from 50% to 125%, which would be contrary to our assumption. To comply with the conditions of our case, the surplus value, with its rate at 50%, must rather fall to 10, and the total value produced must, therefore, fall from 45 to 30, and this is possible only if the working day is reduced by $\frac{1}{3}$. Then, as before, we have:

$$100_c + 20_v + 10_s;\ s' = 50\%,\ p' = 8\tfrac{1}{3}\%.$$

It need hardly be said that this reduction of the working time, in the case of a fall in wages, would not occur in practice. But that is immaterial. The rate of profit is a function of several variable magnitudes, and if we wish to know how these variables influence the rate of profit, we must analyse the individual effect of each in turn, regardless of whether such an isolated effect is economically practicable with one and the same capital.

### 2) *s′ constant, v variable, C changes through the variation of v*

This case differs from the preceding one only in degree. Instead of decreasing or increasing by as much as v increases or decreases, c remains constant. Under present-day conditions in the major industries and agriculture the variable capital is only a relatively small part of the total capital. For this reason, its increase or decrease, so far as either is due to changes in the variable capital, are likewise relatively small. Let us again proceed with a capital:

$$\text{I. } 100_c + 20_v + 10_s;\ C = 120,\ s' = 50\%,\ p' = 8\tfrac{1}{3}\%,$$

which would then change, say, into:

$$\text{II. } 100_c + 30_v + 15_s;\ C = 130,\ s' = 50\%,\ p' = 11\tfrac{7}{13}\%.$$

The opposite case, in which the variable capital decreases, would again be illustrated by the reverse transition from II to I.

The economic conditions would be essentially the same as in

the preceding case, and therefore they need not be discussed again. The transition from I to II implies a decrease in the productivity of labour by one-half; for II the utilisation of $100_c$ requires an increase of labour by one-half over that of I. This case may occur in agriculture.[9]

But while the total capital remains constant in the preceding case, owing to the conversion of constant into variable capital, or vice versa, there is in this case a tie-up of additional capital if the variable capital increases, and a release of previously employed capital if the variable capital decreases.

### 3) *s′ and v constant, c and therefore C variable*

In this case the equation changes from:

$$p' = s'\frac{v}{C} \text{ into } p'_1 = s'\frac{v}{C_1}$$

and after reducing the same factors on both sides, we have:

$$p'_1 : p' = C : C_1;$$

with the same rate of surplus value and equal variable capitals, the rates of profit are inversely proportional to the total capitals.

Should we, for example, have three capitals, or three different conditions of the same capital:

$$\text{I. } 80_c + 20_v + 20_s;\ C = 100,\ s' = 100\%,\ p' = 20\%;$$
$$\text{II. } 100_c + 20_v + 20_s;\ C = 120,\ s' = 100\%,\ p' = 16\tfrac{2}{3}\%;$$
$$\text{III. } 60_c + 20_v + 20_s;\ C = 80,\ s' = 100\%,\ p' = 25\%.$$

Then we obtain the proportions:

$$20\% : 16\tfrac{2}{3}\% = 120 : 100 \text{ and } 20\% : 25\% = 80 : 100.$$

The previously given general formula for variations of $\frac{v}{C}$ with a constant s′ was:

$$p'_1 = s'\frac{ev}{EC};\ \text{now it becomes: } p'_1 = s'\frac{v}{EC},$$

since v does not change, the factor $e = \frac{v_1}{v}$ becomes = 1.

Since $s'v = s$, the quantity of surplus value, and since both s′ and v remain constant, it follows that s, too, is not affected by

[9] The manuscript has the following note at this point: "Investigate later in what manner this case is connected with ground rent." [*F. E.*]

any variation of C. The amount of surplus value is the same after the change as it was before it.

If c were to fall to zero, p′ would = s′, i.e., the rate of profit would equal the rate of surplus value.

The alteration of c may be due either to a mere change in the value of the material elements of constant capital, or to a change in the technical composition of the total capital, that is, a change in the productivity of labour in the given branch of industry. In the latter case, the productivity of social labour mounting due to the development of industry and agriculture on a large scale would bring about a transition (in the above illustration) in the sequence from III to I and from I to II. A quantity of labour which is paid with 20 and produces a value of 40 would first utilise means of labour to a value of 60; if productivity mounted and the value remained the same, the used up means of labour would rise first to 80, and then to 100. An inversion of this sequence would imply a decrease in productivity. The same quantity of labour would put a smaller quantity of means of production into motion and the operation would be curtailed, as may occur in agriculture, mining, etc.

A saving in constant capital increases the rate of profit on the one hand, and, on the other, sets free capital, for which reason it is of importance to the capitalist. We shall make a closer study of this, and likewise of the influence of a change in the prices of the elements of constant capital, particularly of raw materials, at a later point.[a]

It is again evident here that a variation of the constant capital equally affects the rate of profit, regardless of whether this variation is due to an increase or decrease of the material elements of c, or merely to a change in their value.

### 4) *s′ constant, v, c, and C all variable*

In this case, the general formula for the changed rate of profit, given at the outset, remains in force:

$$p'_1 = s'\frac{ev}{EC}.$$

[a] See this volume, chapters V and VI.

It follows from this that with the rate of surplus value remaining the same:

a) The rate of profit falls if E is greater than e, that is, if the constant capital is augmented to such an extent that the total capital grows at a faster rate than the variable capital. If a capital of $80_c + 20_v + 20_s$ changes into $170_c + 30_v + 30_s$, then s′ remains = 100%, but $\frac{v}{C}$ falls from $\frac{20}{100}$ to $\frac{30}{200}$, in spite of the fact that both v and C have grown, and the rate of profit falls correspondingly from 20% to 15%.

b) The rate of profit remains unchanged only if e = E, that is, if the fraction $\frac{v}{C}$ retains the same value in spite of a seeming change, i.e., if its numerator and denominator are multiplied or divided by the same factor. The capitals $80_c + 20_v + 20_s$ and $160_c + 40_v + 40_s$ obviously have the same rate of profit of 20%, because s′ remains = 100% and $\frac{v}{C} = \frac{20}{100} = \frac{40}{200}$ represents the same value in both examples.

c) The rate of profit rises when e is greater than E, that is, when the variable capital grows at a faster rate than the total capital. If $80_c + 20_v + 20_s$ turns into $120_c + 40_v + 40_s$, the rate of profit rises from 20% to 25%, because with an unchanged s′ $\frac{v}{C} = \frac{20}{100}$ rises to $\frac{40}{160}$, or from $^1/_5$ to $^1/_4$.

If the changes of v and C are in the same direction, we may view this change of magnitude as though, to a certain extent, both of them varied in the same proportion, so that $\frac{v}{C}$ remained unchanged up to that point. Beyond this point, only one of them would vary, and we shall have thereby reduced this complicated case to one of the preceding simpler ones.

Should, for instance, $80_c + 20_v + 20_s$ become $100_c + 30_v + 30_s$, then the proportion of v to c, and also to C, remains the same in this variation up to: $100_c + 25_v + 25_s$. Up to that point, therefore, the rate of profit likewise remains unchanged. We may then take $100_c + 25_v + 25_s$ as our point of departure; we find that v increased by 5 to become $30_v$, so that C rose from 125 to 130, thus giving us the second case, that of the simple variation of v and the consequent variation of C. The rate of profit, which was originally 20%, rises through this addition of $5_v$ to $23^1/_{13}$%, provided the rate of surplus value remains the same.

The same reduction to a simpler case can also take place if

v and C change their magnitudes in opposite directions. For instance, let us again start with $80_c + 20_v + 20_s$, and let this become: $110_c + 10_v + 10_s$. In that case, with the change going as far as $40_c + 10_v + 10_s$, the rate of profit would remain the same 20%. By adding $70_c$ to this intermediate form, it will drop to $8^1/_3$%. Thus, we have again reduced the case to an instance of change of one variable, namely of c.

Simultaneous variation of v, c, and C, does not, therefore, offer any new aspects and in the final analysis leads back to a case in which only one factor is a variable.

Even the sole remaining case has actually been exhausted, namely that in which v and C remain numerically the same, while their material elements undergo a change of value, so that v stands for a changed quantity of labour put in motion and c for a changed quantity of means of production put in motion.

In $80_c + 20_v + 20_s$, let $20_v$ originally represent the wages of 20 labourers working 10 hours daily. Then let the wages of each rise from 1 to $1^1/_4$. In that case the $20_v$ will pay only 16 labourers instead of 20. But if 20 labourers produce a value of 40 in 200 working hours, 16 labourers working 10 hours daily will in 160 working hours produce a value of only 32. After deducting $20_v$ for wages, only 12 of the 32 would then remain for surplus value. The rate of surplus value would have fallen from 100% to 60%. But since we have assumed the rate of surplus value to be constant, the working day would have to be prolonged by one-quarter, from 10 to $12^1/_2$ hours. If 20 labourers working 10 hours daily = 200 working hours produce a value of 40,[a] then 16 labourers working $12^1/_2$ hours daily = 200 hours will produce the same value, and the capital of $80_c + 20_v$ would as before yield the same surplus value of 20.

Conversely, if wages were to fall to such an extent that $20_v$ would represent the wages of 30 labourers, then s′ would remain constant only if the working day were reduced from 10 to $6^2/_3$ hours. For $20 \times 10 = 30 \times 6^2/_3 = 200$ working hours.

We have already in the main discussed to what extent c may in these divergent examples remain unchanged in terms of value expressed in money and yet represent different quantities of means of production changed in accordance with changing conditions. In its pure form this case would be possible only by way of an exception.

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[a] In Marx's manuscript: 80.

As for a change in the value of the elements of c which increases or decreases their mass but leaves the sum of the value of c unchanged, it does not affect either the rate of profit or the rate of surplus value, so long as it does not lead to a change in the magnitude of v.

We have herewith exhausted all the possible cases of variation of v, c, and C in our equation. We have seen that the rate of profit may fall, remain unchanged, or rise, while the rate of surplus value remains the same, with the least change in the proportion of v to c, or to C, being sufficient to change the rate of profit as well.

We have seen, furthermore, that in variations of v there is a certain limit everywhere beyond which it is economically impossible for s′ to remain constant. Since every one-sided variation of c must also reach a certain limit where v can no longer remain unchanged, we find that there are limits for every possible variation of $\frac{v}{C}$, beyond which s′ must likewise become variable. In the variations of s′ which we shall now discuss, this interaction of the different variables of our equation will stand out still clearer.

## II. S′ VARIABLE

We obtain a general formula for the rates of profit with different rates of surplus value, no matter whether $\frac{v}{C}$ remains constant or not, by converting the equation:

$$p' = s'\frac{v}{C}$$

into

$$p'_1 = s'_1\frac{v_1}{C_1},$$

in which $p'_1$, $s'_1$, $v_1$ and $C_1$ denote the changed values of p′, s′, v and C. Then we have:

$$p' : p'_1 = s'\frac{v}{C} : s'_1\frac{v_1}{C_1},$$

and hence:

$$p'_1 = \frac{s'_1}{s'} \times \frac{v_1}{v} \times \frac{C}{C_1} \times p'.$$

### 1) *s′ variable,* $\frac{v}{C}$ *constant*

In this case we have the equations:

$$p' = s'\frac{v}{C}\,;\; p'_1 = s'_1\frac{v}{C},$$

in both of which $\frac{v}{C}$ is equal. Therefore:

$$p' : p'_1 = s' : s'_1.$$

The rates of profit of two capitals of the same composition are to each other as the two corresponding rates of surplus value. Since in the fraction $\frac{v}{C}$ it is not a question of the absolute magnitudes of v and C, but only of their ratio, this applies to all capitals of equal composition whatever their absolute magnitude.

$$80_c + 20_v + 20_s;\; C = 100,\; s' = 100\%,\; p' = 20\%$$
$$160_c + 40_v + 20_s;\; C = 200,\; s' = 50\%,\; p' = 10\%$$
$$100\% : 50\% = 20\% : 10\%.$$

If the absolute magnitudes of v and C are the same in both cases, the rates of profit are moreover also related to one another as the amounts of surplus value:

$$p' : p'_1 = s'v : s'_1v = s : s_1.$$

For instance:

$$80_c + 20_v + 20_s;\; s' = 100\%,\; p' = 20\%$$
$$80_c + 20_v + 10_s;\; s' = 50\%,\; p' = 10\%$$
$$20\% : 10\% = 100 \times 20 : 50 \times 20 = 20_s : 10_s.$$

It is now clear that with capitals of equal absolute or percentage composition the rate of surplus value can differ only if either the wages, or the length of the working day, or the intensity of labour, differ. In the following three cases:

$$\text{I.}\;\; 80_c + 20_v + 10_s;\; s' = 50\%,\; p' = 10\%$$
$$\text{II.}\;\; 80_c + 20_v + 20_s;\; s' = 100\%,\; p' = 20\%$$
$$\text{III.}\;\; 80_c + 20_v + 40_s;\; s' = 200\%,\; p' = 40\%$$

the total value produced in I is 30 ($20_v + 10_s$); in II it is 40; in III it is 60. This may come about in three different ways.

*First*, if the wages are different, and $20_v$ stands for a different number of labourers in every individual case. Suppose capital I employs 15 labourers 10 hours daily at a wage of £1 $\frac{1}{3}$, who produce a value

of £30, of which £20 replace the wages and £10 are surplus value. If wages fall to £1, then 20 labourers may be employed for 10 hours; they will produce a value of £40, of which £20 will replace the wages and £20 will be surplus value. Should wages fall still more, to £2/3, thirty labourers may be employed for 10 hours. They will produce a value of £60, of which £20 will be deducted for wages and £40 will represent surplus value.

This case—a constant composition of capital in per cent, a constant working day and constant intensity of labour, and the rate of surplus value varying because of variation in wages—is the only one in which Ricardo's assumption is correct:

*"Profit would be high or low, *exactly in proportion* as wages were low or high"* (*Principles*, Ch. I, Sect. III, p. 18 of the *Works* of D. Ricardo, ed. by MacCulloch, 1852).

Or *second*, if the intensity of labour varies. In that case, say, 20 labourers working 10 hours daily with the same means of labour produce 30 pieces of a certain commodity in I, 40 in II, and 60 in III, of which every piece, aside from the value of the means of production incorporated in it, represents a new value of £1. Since every 20 pieces = £20 make good the wages, there remain 10 pieces = £10 for surplus value in I, 20 pieces = £20 in II, and 40 pieces = £40 in III.

Or *third*, the working day differs in length. If 20 labourers work with the same intensity for 9 hours in I, 12 hours in II, and 18 hours in III, their total products, 30 : 40 : 60 vary as 9 : 12 : 18. And since wages = 20 in every case, 10, 20, and 40 respectively again remain as surplus value.

A rise or fall in wages, therefore, influences the rate of surplus value inversely, and a rise or fall in the intensity of labour, and a lengthening or shortening of the working day, act the same way on the rate of surplus value and thereby, with $\frac{v}{C}$ constant, on the rate of profit.

### 2) *s′ and v variable, C constant*

The following proportion applies in this case:

$$p' : p'_1 = s'\frac{v}{C} : s'_1\frac{v_1}{C} = s'v : s'_1v_1 = s : s_1.$$

The rates of profit are related to one another as the respective amounts of surplus value.

Changes in the rate of surplus value with the variable capital remaining constant meant a change in the magnitude and distribution of the produced value. A simultaneous variation of v and s′ also always implies a different distribution, but not always a change in the magnitude of the produced value. Three cases are possible:

a) Variation of v and s′ takes place in opposite directions, but by the same amount; for instance:

$$80_c + 20_v + 10_s;\ s' = 50\%,\ p' = 10\%$$
$$90_c + 10_v + 20_s;\ s' = 200\%,\ p' = 20\%.$$

The produced value is equal in both cases, hence also the quantity of labour performed; $20_v + 10_s = 10_v + 20_s = 30$. The only difference is that in the first case 20 is paid out for wages and 10 remains as surplus value, while in the second case wages are only 10 and surplus value is therefore 20. This is the only case in which the number of labourers, the intensity of labour, and the length of the working day remain unchanged, while v and s′ vary simultaneously.

b) Variation of s′ and v also takes place in opposite directions, but not by the same amount. In that case the variation of either v or s′ outweighs the other.

$$\text{I. } 80_c + 20_v + 20_s;\ s' = 100\%,\ p' = 20\%$$
$$\text{II. } 72_c + 28_v + 20_s;\ s' = 71\tfrac{3}{7}\%,\ p' = 20\%$$
$$\text{III. } 84_c + 16_v + 20_s;\ s' = 125\%,\ p' = 20\%.$$

Capital I pays for produced value amounting to 40 with $20_v$, II a value of 48 with $28_v$, and III a value of 36 with $16_v$. Both the produced value and the wages have changed. But a change in the produced value means a change in the amount of labour performed, hence a change either in the number of labourers, the hours of labour, the intensity of labour, or in more than one of these.

c) Variation of s′ and v takes place in the same direction. In that case the one intensifies the effect of the other.

$$90_c + 10_v + 10_s;\ s' = 100\%,\ p' = 10\%$$
$$80_c + 20_v + 30_s;\ s' = 150\%,\ p' = 30\%$$
$$92_c + 8_v + 6_s;\ s' = 75\%,\ p' = 6\%.$$

Here too the three values produced are different, namely 20, 50, and 14. And this difference in the magnitude of the respective quantities of labour reduces itself once more to a difference in the number of labourers, the hours of labour, and the intensity of labour, or several or all of these factors.

### 3) *s′, v and C variable*

This case offers no new aspects and is solved by the general formula given under II, in which s′ is variable.

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The effect of a change in the magnitude of the rate of surplus value on the rate of profit hence yields the following cases:

1) p′ increases or decreases in the same proportion as s′ if $\frac{v}{C}$ remains constant.

$$80_c + 20_v + 20_s;\ s' = 100\%,\ p' = 20\%$$
$$80_c + 20_v + 10_s;\ s' = 50\%,\ p' = 10\%$$
$$100\% : 50\% = 20\% : 10\%.$$

2) p′ rises or falls at a faster rate than s′ if $\frac{v}{C}$ moves in the same direction as s′, that is, if it increases or decreases when s′ increases or decreases.

$$80_c + 20_v + 10_s;\ s' = 50\%,\ p' = 10\%$$
$$70_c + 30_v + 20_s;\ s' = 66\tfrac{2}{3}\%,\ p' = 20\%$$
$$50\% : 66\tfrac{2}{3}\% < 10\% : 20\%.$$

3) p′ rises or falls at a slower rate than s′ if $\frac{v}{C}$ changes inversely to s′, but at a slower rate.

$$80_c + 20_v + 10_s;\ s' = 50\%,\ p' = 10\%$$
$$90_c + 10_v + 15_s;\ s' = 150\%,\ p' = 15\%$$
$$50\% : 150\% > 10\% : 15\%.$$

4) p′ rises while s′ falls, or falls while s′ rises if $\frac{v}{C}$ changes inversely to, and at a faster rate than, s′.

$$80_c + 20_v + 20_s;\ s' = 100\%,\ p' = 20\%$$
$$90_c + 10_v + 15_s;\ s' = 150\%,\ p' = 15\%.$$

s′ has risen from 100% to 150%, p′ has fallen from 20% to 15%.

5) Finally, p′ remains constant whereas s′ rises or falls, while $\frac{v}{C}$ changes inversely to, but in exactly the same proportion as, s′.

It is only this last case which still requires some explanation. We have observed earlier in the variations of $\frac{v}{C}$ that one and the same rate of surplus value may be expressed in very much different rates of profit. Now we see that one and the same rate of profit may be based on very much different rates of surplus value. But while any change in

the proportion of v to C is sufficient to produce a difference in the rate of profit so long as s′ is constant, a change in the magnitude of s′ must lead to a corresponding inverse change of $\frac{v}{C}$ in order that the rate of profit remain the same. In the case of one and the same capital, or in that of two capitals in one and the same country this is possible but in exceptional cases. Assume, for example, that we have a capital of

$$80_c + 20_v + 20_s;\ C = 100,\ s' = 100\%,\ p' = 20\%;$$

and let us suppose that wages fall to such an extent that the same number of labourers is obtainable for $16_v$ instead of $20_v$. Then, other things being equal, and $4_v$ being released, we shall have:

$$80_c + 16_v + 24_s;\ C = 96,\ s' = 150\%,\ p' = 25\%.$$

In order that p′ may now = 20% as before, the total capital would have to increase to 120, the constant capital therefore rising to 104:

$$104_c + 16_v + 24_s;\ C = 120,\ s' = 150\%,\ p' = 20\%.$$

This would only be possible if the fall in wages were attended simultaneously by a change in the productivity of labour which required such a change in the composition of capital. Or, if the value in money of the constant capital increased from 80 to 104. In short, it would require an accidental coincidence of conditions such as occurs in exceptional cases. In fact, a variation of s′ that does not call for the simultaneous variation of v, and thus of $\frac{v}{C}$ is conceivable only under very definite conditions, namely in such branches of industry in which only fixed capital and labour are employed, while the materials of labour are supplied by Nature.

But this is not so when the rates of profit of two different countries are compared. For in that case the same rate of profit is, in effect, based largely on different rates of surplus value.

It follows from all these five cases, therefore, that a rising rate of profit may correspond to a falling or rising rate of surplus value, a falling rate of profit to a rising or falling rate of surplus value, and a constant rate of profit to a rising or falling rate of surplus value. And we have seen in I that a rising, falling, or constant rate of profit may also accord with a constant rate of surplus value.

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The rate of profit, therefore, depends on two main factors—the

rate of surplus value and the value composition of capital. The effects of these two factors may be briefly summed up as follows, by giving the composition in per cent, for it is immaterial which of the two portions of the capital causes the variation:

The rates of profit of two different capitals, or of one and the same capital in two successive different conditions,

*are equal*

1) if the per cent composition of the capitals is the same and their rates of surplus value are equal;

2) if their per cent composition is not the same, and the rates of surplus value are unequal, provided the products of the rates of surplus value by the percentages of the variable portions of capitals ($s'$ by $v$) are the same, i. e., if the *masses* of surplus value ($s = s'v$) calculated in per cent of the total capital are equal; in other words, if the factors $s'$ and $v$ are inversely proportional to one another in both cases.

*They are unequal*

1) if the per cent composition is equal and the rates of surplus value are unequal, in which case they are related as the rates of surplus value;

2) if the rates of surplus value are the same and the per cent composition is unequal, in which case they are related as the variable portions of the capitals;

3) if the rates of surplus value are unequal and the per cent composition not the same, in which case they are related as the products $s'v$, i. e., as the quantities of surplus value calculated in per cent of the total capital.[10]

## Chapter IV

### THE EFFECT OF THE TURNOVER ON THE RATE OF PROFIT

//The effect of the turnover on the production of surplus value, and

[10] The manuscript contains also very detailed calculations of the difference between the rate of surplus value and the rate of profit ($s' - p'$), which has very interesting peculiarities, and whose movement indicates where the two rates draw apart or approach one another. These movements may also be represented by curves. I am not reproducing this material because it is of less importance to the immediate purposes of this work, and because it is enough here to call attention to this fact for readers who wish to pursue this point further.—*F. E.*

consequently of profit, has been discussed in Book II.[a] Briefly summarised it signifies that owing to the time span required for turnover, not all the capital can be employed all at once in production; some of the capital always lies idle, either in the form of money capital, of raw material supplies, of finished but still unsold commodity capital, or of outstanding claims; that the capital in active production, i. e., in the production and appropriation of surplus value, is always short by this amount, and that the produced and appropriated surplus value is always curtailed to the same extent. The shorter the period of turnover, the smaller this idle portion of capital as compared with the whole, and the larger, therefore, the appropriated surplus value, provided other conditions remain the same.

It has already been shown in detail in Book II how the quantity of produced surplus value is augmented by reductions in the period of turnover, or of one of its two sections, in the time of production and the time of circulation.[b] But since the rate of profit only expresses the relation of the produced quantity of surplus value to the total capital employed in its production, it is evident that any such reduction increases the rate of profit. Whatever has been said earlier in Part II of Book II in regard to surplus value, applies equally to profit and the rate of profit and needs no repetition here. We wish only to stress a few of the principal points.

The chief means of reducing the time of production is higher labour productivity, which is commonly called industrial progress. If this does not involve a simultaneous considerable increase in the outlay of total capital resulting from the installation of expensive machinery, etc., and thus a reduction of the rate of profit, which is calculated on the total capital, this rate must rise. And this is decidedly true in the case of many of the latest improvements in metallurgy and in the chemical industry. The recently discovered methods of producing iron and steel, such as the processes of Bessemer, Siemens, Gilchrist-Thomas, etc., cut to a minimum at relatively small costs the formerly arduous processes. The making of alizarin, a red dye-stuff extracted from coal-tar, requires but a few weeks, and this by means of already existing coal-tar dye-producing installations, to yield the same results which formerly required years. It took a year for the madder to mature, and it was customary to let the roots grow a few years more before they were processed.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 36, pp. 293-98. - [b] Ibid., chapters XIII and XIV.

The chief means of reducing the time of circulation is improved communications. The last fifty years have brought about a revolution in this field, comparable only with the industrial revolution of the latter half of the 18th century. On land the macadamised road has been displaced by the railway, on sea the slow and irregular sailing vessel has been pushed into the background by the rapid and regular steamboat line, and the entire globe is being girdled by telegraph wires. The Suez Canal has fully opened East Asia and Australia to steamer traffic. The time of circulation of a shipment of commodities to East Asia, at least twelve months in 1847 (cf. Buch II, S. 235[a]), has now been reduced to almost as many weeks. The two large centres of the crises of 1825-57, America and India, have been brought from 70 to 90% nearer to the European industrial countries by this revolution in transport, and have thereby lost a good deal of their explosive nature. The period of turnover of the total world commerce has been reduced to the same extent, and the efficacy of the capital involved in it has been more than doubled or trebled. It goes without saying that this has not been without effect on the rate of profit.

To single out the effect of the turnover of total capital on the rate of profit we must assume all other conditions of two capitals to be compared as equal. Aside from the rate of surplus value and the working day it is also notably the per cent composition which we must assume to be the same. Now let us take a capital A composed of $80_c + 20_v = 100$ C, which makes two turnovers yearly at a rate of surplus value of 100%. The annual product is then:

$160_c + 40_v + 40_s$. However, to determine the rate of profit we do not calculate the $40_s$ on the turned-over capital value of 200, but on the advanced capital of 100, and thus obtain $p' = 40\%$.

Now let us compare this with a capital $B = 160_c + 40_v = 200$ C, which has the same rate of surplus value of 100%, but which is turned over only once a year. The annual product of this capital is, therefore, the same as that of A:

$160_c + 40_v + 40_s$. But this time the $40_s$ are to be calculated on an advance of capital amounting to 200, which yields a rate of profit of only 20%, or one-half that of A.

We find, then, that for capitals with an equal per cent composition, with equal rates of surplus value and equal working days, the rates of profit of the two capitals are related inversely as their periods of

[a] Ibid., pp. 251-52.

turnover. If either the composition, the rates of surplus value, the working day, or the wages, are unequal in the two compared cases, this would naturally produce further differences in the rates of profit; but these are independent of the turnover and, for this reason, do not concern us at this point. They have already been discussed in Chapter III.

The direct effect of a reduced period of turnover on the production of surplus value, and consequently of profit, consists of an increased efficiency imparted thereby to the variable portion of capital, as shown in Book II, Chapter XVI, "The Turnover of Variable Capital". This chapter demonstrated that a variable capital of 500 turned over ten times a year produces as much surplus value in this time as a variable capital of 5,000 with the same rate of surplus value and the same wages, turned over just once a year.

Take capital I, consisting of 10,000 fixed capital whose annual depreciation is 10% = 1,000, of 500 circulating constant and 500 variable capital. Let the variable capital turn over ten times per year at a 100% rate of surplus value. For the sake of simplicity we assume in all the following examples that the circulating constant capital is turned over in the same time as the variable, which is generally the case in practice. Then the product of one such period of turnover will be:

$$100_c \text{ (depreciation)} + 500_c + 500_v + 500_s = 1{,}600$$

and the product of one entire year, with ten such turnovers, will be

$$1{,}000_c \text{ (depreciation)} + 5{,}000_c + 5{,}000_v + 5{,}000_s = 16{,}000,$$
$$C = 11{,}000,\ s = 5{,}000,\ p' = \frac{5{,}000}{11{,}000} = 45\tfrac{5}{11}\%.$$

Now let us take capital II: 9,000 fixed capital, 1,000 annual wear and tear, 1,000 circulating constant capital, 1,000 variable capital, 100% rate of surplus value, 5 turnovers of variable capital per year. Then the product of each of the turnovers of the variable capital will be:

$$200_c \text{ (depreciation)} + 1{,}000_c + 1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s = 3{,}200,$$

and the total annual product after five turnovers:

$$1{,}000_c \text{ (depreciation)} + 5{,}000_c + 5{,}000_v + 5{,}000_s = 16{,}000,$$
$$C = 11{,}000,\ s = 5{,}000,\ p' = \frac{5{,}000}{11{,}000} = 45\tfrac{5}{11}\%.$$

Further, take capital III with no fixed capital, 6,000 circulating constant capital and 5,000 variable capital. Let there be one turnover

per year at a 100% rate of surplus value. Then the total annual product is:

$$6{,}000_c + 5{,}000_v + 5{,}000_s = 16{,}000,$$
$$C = 11{,}000,\ s = 5{,}000,\ p' = \frac{5{,}000}{11{,}000} = 45\frac{5}{11}\%.$$

In all the three cases we therefore have the same annual quantity of surplus value = 5,000, and, since the total capital is likewise equal in all three cases, namely = 11,000, also the same rate of profit of $45\frac{5}{11}\%$.

But should capital I have only 5 instead of 10 turnovers of its variable part per year, the result would be different. The product of one turnover would then be:

$$200_c \text{ (depreciation)} + 500_c + 500_v + 500_s = 1{,}700.$$

And the annual product:

$$1{,}000_c \text{ (depreciation)} + 2{,}500_c + 2{,}500_v + 2{,}500_s = 8{,}500,$$
$$C = 11{,}000,\ s = 2{,}500,\ p' = \frac{2{,}500}{11{,}000} = 22\frac{8}{11}\%.$$

The rate of profit has fallen one-half, because the period of turnover has doubled.

The quantity of surplus value appropriated in one year is therefore equal to the quantity of surplus value appropriated in one turnover of the *variable* capital multiplied by the number of such turnovers per year. Suppose we call the surplus value, or profit, appropriated in one year S, the surplus value appropriated in one period of turnover s, the number of turnovers of the variable capital in one year n, then $S = sn$, and the annual rate of surplus value $S' = s'n$, as already demonstrated in Book II, Chapter XVI, I.[a]

It goes without saying that the formula $p' = s'\frac{v}{C} = s'\frac{v}{c+v}$, is correct only so long as the v in the numerator is the same as that in the denominator. In the denominator v stands for the entire portion of the total capital used on an average as variable capital for the payment of wages. The v of the numerator is primarily only determined by the fact that a certain quantity of surplus value = s is produced and appropriated by it, whose relation to it $\frac{s}{v}$ is s′, the rate of surplus value. It is only along these lines that the formula $p' = \frac{s}{c+v}$ is transformed into the other: $p' = s'\frac{v}{c+v}$. The v of the numerator will now

[a] See present edition, Vol. 36, pp. 293-307.

be more accurately determined by the fact that it must equal the v of the denominator, that is, the entire variable portion of capital C. In other words, the equation $p' = \frac{s}{C}$ may be correctly transformed into the equation $p' = s'\frac{v}{c+v}$ only if s stands for surplus value produced in *one* turnover of the variable capital. Should s be only a portion of this surplus value, then $s = s'v$ is still correct, but this v is then smaller than the v in $C = c + v$, because it is smaller than the entire variable capital expended for wages. But should s stand for more than the surplus value of one turnover of v, then a portion of this v, or perhaps the whole of it, serves twice, namely in the first and in the second turnover, and eventually in subsequent turnovers. The v which produces the surplus value and represents the sum of all paid wages, is therefore greater than the v in $c + v$ and the calculation falls into error.

To make the formula precise for the annual rate of profit, we must substitute the annual rate of surplus value for the simple rate of surplus value, that is, substitute $S'$ or $s'n$ for $s'$. In other words, we must multiply the rate of surplus value $s'$, or, what amounts to the same thing, the variable capital v contained in C, by n, the number of turnovers of this variable capital in one year. Thus we obtain $p' = s'n\frac{v}{C}$, which is the formula for calculating the annual rate of profit.

The amount of variable capital invested in his business is something the capitalist himself does not know in most cases. We have seen in Chapter VIII of Book II, and shall see further along, that the only essential distinction within his capital which impresses itself upon the capitalist is that of fixed and circulating capital. He takes money to pay wages from his cash-box containing the part of the circulating capital he has on hand in the form of money, so far as it is not deposited in a bank; he takes money from the same cash-box for raw and auxiliary materials, and credits both items to the same cash account. And even if he should keep a separate account for wages, at the close of the year this would only show the sum paid out for this item, hence vn, but not the variable capital v itself. In order to ascertain this, he would have to make a special calculation, of which we propose here to give an illustration.

For this purpose we select the cotton spinnery of 10,000 mule spindles described in Book I (S. 209/201)[a] and assume that the data given

[a] Ibid., Vol. 35, pp. 228-29.

there for one week of April 1871, are in force during the whole year. The fixed capital incorporated in the machinery was £10,000. The circulating capital was not given. We assume it to have been £2,500. This is a rather high estimate, but justified by the assumption, which we must always make here, that no credit operations were effected, hence no permanent or temporary employment of other people's capital. The value of the weekly product was composed of £20 for depreciation of machinery, £358 circulating constant advanced capital (rent £6; cotton £342; coal, gas, oil, £10), £52 variable capital paid out for wages, and £80 surplus value. Therefore,

$$20_c \text{ (depreciation)} + 358_c + 52_v + 80_s = 510.$$

The weekly advance of circulating capital therefore was $358_c + 52_v = 410$. In terms of per cent this was $87.3_c + 12.7_v$. For the entire circulating capital of £2,500 this would be £2,182 constant and £318 variable capital. Since the total expenditure for wages in one year was 52 times £52, or £2,704, it follows that in a year the variable capital of £318 was turned over almost exactly $8\frac{1}{2}$ times. The rate of surplus value was $\frac{80}{52} = 153\frac{11}{13}$. We calculate the rate of profit on the basis of these elements by inserting the above values in the formula $p' = s'n\frac{v}{C}$ : $s' = 153\frac{11}{13}$, $n = 8\frac{1}{2}$, $v = 318$, $C = 12{,}500$; hence:

$$p' = 153\tfrac{11}{13} \times 8\tfrac{1}{2} \times \frac{318}{12{,}500} = 33.27\%.$$

We test this by means of the simple formula $p' = \frac{s}{C}$. The total annual surplus value or profit amounts to 52 times £80, or £4,160, and this divided by the total capital of £12,500 gives us 33.28%, or almost an identical result. This is an abnormally high rate of profit, which may only be explained by extraordinarily favourable conditions of the moment (very low prices of cotton along with very high prices of yarn), and could certainly not have obtained throughout the year.

The s′n in the formula $p' = s'n\frac{v}{C}$ stands, as has been said, for the thing called in Book II[a] the annual rate of surplus value. In the above case it is $153\frac{11}{13}\%$ multiplied by $8\frac{1}{2}$, or in exact figures, $1{,}307\frac{9}{13}\%$. Thus, if a certain philistine was shocked by the abnormity of an annual rate of surplus value of 1,000% used as an illustration in

[a] Ibid., Vol. 36, p. 295.

Book II, he will now perhaps be pacified by this annual rate of surplus value of more than 1,300% taken from the living experience of Manchester.[16] In times of greatest prosperity, such as we have not indeed seen for a long time, such a rate is by no means a rarity.

For that matter we have here an illustration of the actual composition of capital in modern large-scale industry. The total capital is broken up into £12,182 constant and £318 variable capital, a sum of £12,500. In terms of per cent this is $97\frac{1}{2}_c + 2\frac{1}{2}_v = 100$ C. Only one-fortieth of the total, but in more than an eightfold annual turnover, serves for the payment of wages.

Since very few capitalists ever think of making calculations of this sort with reference to their own business, statistics is almost completely silent about the relation of the constant portion of the total social capital to its variable portion. Only the American census gives what is possible under modern conditions, namely the sum of wages paid in each line of business and the profits realised. Questionable as they may be, being based on the industrialist's own uncontrolled statements, they are nevertheless very valuable and the only records available to us on this subject. In Europe we are far too delicate to expect such revelations from our major industrialists.—*F. E.*//

## Chapter V

### ECONOMY IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF CONSTANT CAPITAL

#### I. IN GENERAL

The increase of absolute surplus value, or the prolongation of surplus labour, and thus of the working day, while the variable capital remains the same and thus employs the same number of labourers at the same nominal wages, regardless of whether overtime is paid or not, reduces relatively the value of the constant capital as compared to the total and the variable capital, and thereby increases the rate of profit, again irrespective of the growth of the quantity of surplus value and a possibly rising rate of surplus value. The volume of the fixed portion of constant capital, such as factory buildings, machinery, etc., remains the same, no matter whether these serve the labour process 16 or 12 hours. A prolongation of the working day does not entail any fresh expenditures in this, the most expensive portion of constant

capital. Furthermore, the value of the fixed capital is thereby reproduced in a smaller number of turnover periods, so that the time for which it must be advanced to make a certain profit is abbreviated. A prolongation of the working day therefore increases the profit, even if overtime is paid, or even if, up to a certain point, it is better paid than the normal hours of labour. The ever-mounting need to increase fixed capital in modern industry was therefore one of the main reasons prompting profit-mad capitalists to lengthen the working day.[11]

The same conditions do not obtain if the working day is constant. Then it is necessary either to increase the number of labourers, and with them to a certain extent the amount of fixed capital, the buildings, machinery, etc., in order to exploit a greater quantity of labour (for we leave aside deductions from wages or the depression of wages below their normal level), or, if the intensity and, consequently, the productive power, of labour increase and, generally, more relative surplus value is produced, the magnitude of the circulating portion of constant capital increases in such industrial branches which use raw materials, since more raw material, etc., is processed in a given time; and, secondly, the amount of machinery set in motion by the same number of labourers, therefore also this part of constant capital, increases as well. Hence, an increase in surplus value is accompanied by an increase in constant capital, and the growing exploitation of labour by greater outlays in the conditions of production through which labour is exploited, i. e., by a greater investment of capital. Therefore, the rate of profit is thereby reduced on the one hand while it increases on the other.

Quite a number of current expenses remain almost or entirely the same whether the working day is longer or shorter. The cost of supervision is less for 500 working men during 18 working hours than for 750 working men during 12 working hours.

"The expense of working a factory 10 hours almost equals that of working it 12" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., October 1848, p. 37).

State and municipal taxes, fire insurance, wages of various permanent employees, depreciation of machinery, and various other expenses of a factory, remain unchanged whether the working time is long or short. To the extent to which production decreases, these

[11] "Since in all factories there is a very large amount of fixed capital in buildings and machinery, the greater the number of hours that machinery can be kept at work the greater will be the return" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., 31st October, 1858, p. 8).

expenses rise as compared to the profit (Reports of Insp. of Fact., October 1862, p. 19).

The period in which the value of the machinery and of the other components of fixed capital is reproduced is determined in practice not by their mere lifetime, but by the duration of the entire labour process during which they serve and wear out. If the labourers must work 18 instead of 12 hours, this makes a difference of three days more per week, so that one week is stretched into one and a half, and two years into three. If this overtime is unpaid the labourers give away gratis a week out of every three and a year out of every three on top of the normal surplus labour time. In this way, the reproduction of the value of the machinery is speeded up 50% and accomplished in $\frac{2}{3}$ of the usually required time.

To avoid useless complications, we proceed in this analysis, and in that of price fluctuations for raw materials (Chap. VI), from the assumption that the mass and rate of surplus value are given.

As already shown in the presentation of co-operation, division of labour and machinery,[a] the economy of production conditions found in large-scale production is essentially due to the fact that these conditions prevail as conditions of social, or socially combined, labour, and therefore as social conditions of labour. They are commonly consumed in the process of production by the aggregate labourer, instead of being consumed in small fractions by a mass of labourers operating disconnectedly or, at best, directly co-operating on a small scale. In a large factory with one or two central motors the cost of these motors does not increase in the same ratio as their horse-power and, hence, their possible sphere of activity. The cost of the transmission equipment does not grow in the same ratio as the number of working machines which it sets in motion. The frame of a machine does not become dearer in the same ratio as the mounting number of tools which it employs as its organs, etc. Furthermore, the concentration of means of production yields a saving on buildings of various kinds not only for the actual workshops, but also for storage, etc. The same applies to expenditures for fuel, lighting, etc. Other conditions of production remain the same, whether used by many or by few.

This total economy, arising as it does from the concentration of means of production and their use *en masse*, imperatively requires, however, the accumulation and co-operation of labourers, i. e., a social

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 329-30.

combination of labour. Hence, it originates quite as much from the social nature of labour, just as surplus value originates from the surplus labour of the individual labourer considered singly. Even the continual improvements, which are here possible and necessary, are due solely to the social experience and observation ensured and made possible by production of aggregate labour combined on a large scale.

The same is true of the second big source of economy in the conditions of production. We refer to the reconversion of the excretions of production, the so-called waste, into new elements of production, either of the same, or of some other line of industry; to the processes by which this so-called excretion is thrown back into the cycle of production and, consequently, consumption, whether productive or individual. This line of savings, which we shall later examine more closely, is likewise the result of large-scale social labour. It is the attendant abundance of this waste which renders it available again for commerce and thereby turns it into new elements of production. It is only as waste of combined production, therefore of large-scale production, that it becomes important to the production process and remains a bearer of exchange value. This waste, aside from the services which it performs as a new element of production, reduces the cost of the raw material to the extent to which it is again saleable, for this cost always includes the normal waste, namely the quantity ordinarily lost in processing. The reduction of the cost of this portion of constant capital increases *pro tanto*[a] the rate of profit, assuming the magnitude of the variable capital and the rate of surplus value to be given.

If the surplus value is given, the rate of profit can be increased only by reducing the value of the constant capital required for commodity production. So far as constant capital enters into the production of commodities, it is not its exchange value, but its use value alone, which matters. The quantity of labour which flax can absorb in a spinnery does not depend on its value, but on its quantity, assuming the productivity of labour, i. e., the level of technical development, to be given. In like manner the assistance rendered by a machine to, say, three labourers does not depend on its value, but on its use value as a machine. On one level of technical development a bad machine may be expensive and on another a good machine may be cheap.

The increased profit received by a capitalist through the cheapening of, say, cotton and spinning machinery, is the result of higher

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[a] for so much

labour productivity, not in the spinnery, to be sure, but in cotton cultivation and construction of machinery. It requires smaller outlays of the conditions of labour to objectify a given quantity of labour, and hence to appropriate a given quantity of surplus labour. The costs required to appropriate a certain quantity of surplus labour diminish.[a]

We have already mentioned savings yielded in the production process through co-operative use of means of production by the aggregate, or socially combined, labour. Other savings of constant capital arising from the shortening of the time of circulation in which the development of means of communication is a dominant material factor will be discussed later. At this point we shall deal with the savings yielded by continuous improvements of machinery, namely 1) of its material, e. g., the substitution of iron for wood; 2) the cheapening of machinery due to the general improvement of machine-building; so that, although the value of the fixed portion of constant capital increases continually with the development of labour on a large scale, it does not increase at the same rate[12]; 3) special improvements enabling existing machinery to work more cheaply and effectively; for instance, improvements of steam-boilers, etc., which will be discussed later on in greater detail; 4) reduction of waste through better machinery.

Whatever reduces the wear of machinery, and of fixed capital in general, for any given period of production, cheapens not only the individual commodity, in view of the fact that in its price every individual commodity reproduces its aliquot share of this depreciation, but reduces also the aliquot portion of the invested capital for this period. Repair work, etc., to the extent that it becomes necessary, is added to the original cost of the machinery. A reduction in repair costs, due to greater durability of the machinery, lowers *pro tanto* the price of this machinery.

It may again be said of all these savings that they are largely possible only for combined labour, and are often not realised until production is carried forward on a still larger scale, so that they require an even greater combination of labour in the immediate process of production.

[12] Cf. Ure on the progress in factory construction.[b]

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, p. 84. - [b] A. Ure, *Philosophie des manufactures...*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1836, pp. 61-63 (Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 363-64).

However, on the other hand, the development of the productive power of labour in any *one* line of production, e. g., the production of iron, coal, machinery, in architecture, etc., which may again be partly connected with progress in the field of intellectual production, notably natural science and its practical application, appears to be the premiss for a reduction of the value, and consequently of the cost, of means of production in *other* lines of industry, e. g., the textile industry, or agriculture. This is self-evident, since a commodity which is the product of a certain branch of industry enters another as a means of production. Its greater or lesser price depends on the productivity of labour in the line of production from which it issues as a product, and is at the same time a factor that not only cheapens the commodities into whose production it goes as a means of production, but also reduces the value of the constant capital whose element it here becomes, and thereby one that increases the rate of profit.

The characteristic feature of this kind of saving of constant capital arising from the progressive development of industry is that the rise in the rate of profit in *one* line of industry depends on the development of the productive power of labour in *another*. Whatever falls to the capitalist's advantage in this case is once more a gain produced by social labour, if not a product of the labourers he himself exploits. Such a development of productive power is again traceable in the final analysis to the social nature of the labour engaged in production; to the division of labour in society; and to the development of intellectual labour, especially in the natural sciences. What the capitalist thus utilises are the advantages of the entire system of the social division of labour. It is the development of the productive power of labour in its exterior department, in that department which supplies it with means of production, whereby the value of the constant capital employed by the capitalist is relatively lowered and consequently the rate of profit is raised.

Another rise in the rate of profit is produced, not by savings in the labour creating the constant capital, but by savings in the application of this capital itself. On the one hand, the concentration of labourers, and their large-scale co-operation, saves constant capital. The same buildings, and heating and lighting appliances, etc., cost relatively less for the large-scale than for small-scale production. The same is true of power and working machinery. Although their absolute value increases, it falls in comparison to the increasing extension of production and the magnitude of the variable capital, or the quantity of

labour power set in motion. The economy realised by a certain capital within its own line of production is first and foremost an economy in labour, i. e., a reduction of the paid labour of its own labourers. The previously mentioned economy, on the other hand, is distinguished from this one by the fact that it accomplishes the greatest possible appropriation of other people's unpaid labour in the most economical way, i. e., with as little expense as the given scale of production will permit. Inasmuch as this economy does not rest with the previously mentioned exploitation of the productivity of the social labour employed in the production of constant capital, but with the economy in the constant capital itself, it springs either directly from the co-operation and social form of labour within a certain branch of production, or from the production of machinery, etc., on a scale in which its value does not grow at the same rate as its use value.[a]

Two points must be borne in mind here: If the value of c = zero, then $p' = s'$, and the rate of profit would be at its maximum. Second, however, the most important thing for the direct exploitation of labour itself is not the value of the employed means of exploitation, be they fixed capital, raw or auxiliary materials. In so far as they serve as means of absorbing labour, as media in or by which labour and, hence, surplus labour are objectified, the exchange value of machinery, buildings, raw materials, etc., is quite immaterial. What is ultimately essential is, on the one hand, the quantity of them technically required for combination with a certain quantity of living labour, and, on the other, their suitability, i e., not only good machinery, but also good raw and auxiliary materials. The rate of profit depends partly on the good quality of the raw material. Good material produces less waste. Less raw materials are then needed to absorb the same quantity of labour. Furthermore, the resistance to be overcome by the working machine is also less. This partly affects even the surplus value and the rate of surplus value. The labourer needs more time when using bad raw materials to process the same quantity. Assuming wages remain the same, this causes a reduction in surplus labour. This also substantially affects the reproduction and accumulation of capital, which depend more on the productivity than on the amount of labour employed, as shown in Book I (S. 627/619 ff.).[b]

The capitalist's fanatical insistence on economy in means of production is therefore quite understandable. That nothing is lost or

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, p. 89. - [b] Ibid., Vol. 35, pp. 599-600.

wasted and the means of production are consumed only in the manner required by production itself, depends partly on the skill and intelligence of the labourers and partly on the discipline enforced by the capitalist for the combined labour. This discipline will become superfluous under a social system in which the labourers work for their own account, as it has already become practically superfluous in piece-work. This fanatical insistence comes to the surface also conversely in the adulteration of the elements of production, which is one of the principal means of lowering the relation of the value of the constant capital to the variable capital, and thus of raising the rate of profit. Whereby the sale of these elements of production above their value, so far as this reappears in the product, acquires a marked element of cheating. This practice plays an essential part particularly in German industry, whose maxim is: People will surely appreciate if we send them good samples at first, and then inferior goods afterward. However, as these matters belong to the sphere of competition they do not concern us here.

It should be noted that this raising of the rate of profit by means of lowering the value of the constant capital, i. e., by reducing its expensiveness, does not in any way depend on whether the branch of industry in which it takes place produces luxuries, or necessities for the consumption of labourers, or means of production generally. This last circumstance would only be of material importance if it were a question of the rate of surplus value, which depends essentially on the value of labour power, i. e., on the value of the customary necessities of the labourer. But in the present case the surplus value and the rate of surplus value have been assumed as given. The relation of surplus value to total capital — and this determines the rate of profit — depends under these circumstances exclusively on the value of the constant capital, and in no way on the use value of the elements of which it is composed.

A relative cheapening of the means of production does not, of course, exclude the possible increase of their absolute aggregate value, for the absolute volume in which they are employed grows tremendously with the development of the productive power of labour and the attendant growth of the level of production. Economy in the use of constant capital, from whatever angle it may be viewed, is, in part, the exclusive result of the fact that the means of production function and are consumed as joint means of production of the combined labourer, so that the resulting saving appears as a product

of the social nature of directly productive labour; in part, however, it is the result of developing productivity of labour in spheres which supply capital with its means of production, so that if we view the total labour in relation to total capital, and not simply the labourers employed by capitalist X in relation to capitalist X, this economy presents itself once more as a product of the development of the productive forces of social labour, with the only difference that capitalist X enjoys the advantage not only of the productivity of labour in his own establishment, but also of that in other establishments. Yet the capitalist views economy of his constant capital as a condition wholly independent of, and entirely alien to, his labourers. He is always well aware, however, that the labourer has something to do with the employer buying much or little labour with the same amount of money (for this is how the transaction between the capitalist and labourer appears in his mind). This economy in the application of the means of production, this method of obtaining a certain result with a minimum outlay appears more than any other inner power of labour as an inherent power of capital and a method peculiar and characteristic of the capitalist mode of production.

This conception is so much the less surprising since it appears to accord with fact, and since the relationship of capital actually conceals the inner connection behind the utter indifference, isolation, and estrangement in which they place the labourer vis-à-vis the conditions of realising his labour.

*First*, the means of production that make up the constant capital represent only the money belonging to the capitalist (just as the body of the Roman debtor represented the money of his creditor, according to Linguet[a]) and are related to him alone, while the labourer, who comes in contact with them only in the direct process of production, deals with them as use values of production only, as means of labour and materials of labour. Increase or decrease of their value, therefore, has as little bearing on his relations to the capitalist as the circumstance whether he may be working with copper or iron. For that matter, the capitalist likes to view this point differently, as we shall later indicate, whenever the means of production gain in value and thereby reduce his rate of profit.

*Second*, in so far as these means of production in the capitalist production process are at the same time means of exploiting labour, the

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[a] [S. N. H. Linguet,] *Théorie des loix civiles...*, Vol. II, London, 1767, Book V, Ch. XX.

labourer is no more concerned with their relative dearness or cheapness than a horse is concerned with the dearness or cheapness of its bit and bridle.

*Finally*, we have earlier seen[a] that, in fact, the labourer looks at the social nature of his labour, at its combination with the labour of others for a common purpose, as he would at an alien power; the condition of realising this combination is alien property, whose dissipation would be totally indifferent to him if he were not compelled to economise with it. The situation is quite different in factories owned by the labourers themselves, as in Rochdale, for instance.[17]

It scarcely needs to be mentioned, then, that as far as concerns the productivity of labour in one branch of industry as a lever for cheapening and improving the means of production in another, and thereby raising the rate of profit, the general interconnection of social labour affects the labourers as a matter alien to them, a matter that actually concerns the capitalist alone, since it is he who buys and appropriates these means of production. The fact that he buys the product of labourers in another branch of industry with the product of labourers in his own, and that he therefore disposes of the product of the labourers of another capitalist only by gratuitously appropriating that of his own, is a development that is fortunately concealed by the process of circulation, etc.

Moreover, since production on a large scale develops for the first time in its capitalist form, the thirst for profits on the one hand, and competition on the other, which compels the cheapest possible production of commodities, make this economy in the employment of constant capital appear as something peculiar to the capitalist mode of production and therefore as a function of the capitalist.

Just as the capitalist mode of production promotes the development of the productive powers of social labour, on the one hand, so does it whip on to economy in the employment of constant capital on the other.

However, it is not only the estrangement and indifference that arise between the labourer, the bearer of living labour, and the economical, i. e., rational and thrifty, use of the material conditions of his labour. In line with its contradictory and antagonistic nature, the capitalist mode of production proceeds to count the prodigious dissipation of the labourer's life and health, and the lowering of his

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 35, p. 330.

living conditions, as an economy in the use of constant capital and thereby as a means of raising the rate of profit.

Since the labourer passes the greater portion of his life in the process of production, the conditions of the production process are largely the conditions of his active life process, or his living conditions, and economy in these living conditions is a method of raising the rate of profit; just as we saw earlier[a] that overwork, the transformation of the labourer into a work horse, is a means of increasing capital, or speeding up the production of surplus value. Such economy extends to overcrowding close and unsanitary premises with labourers, or, as capitalists put it, to space saving; to crowding dangerous machinery into close quarters without using safety devices, to neglecting safety rules in production processes pernicious to health, or, as in mining, bound up with danger, etc. Not to mention the absence of all provisions to render the production process human, agreeable, or at least bearable. From the capitalist point of view this would be quite a useless and senseless waste. The capitalist mode of production is generally, despite all its niggardliness, altogether too prodigal with its human material, just as, conversely, thanks to its method of distribution of products through commerce and manner of competition, it is very prodigal with its material means, and loses for society what it gains for the individual capitalist.

Just as capital has the tendency to reduce the direct employment of living labour to no more than the necessary labour, and always to cut down the labour required to produce a commodity by exploiting the social productive power of labour and thus to save a maximum of directly applied living labour, so it has also the tendency to employ this labour, reduced to a minimum, under the most economical conditions, i. e., to reduce to its minimum the value of the employed constant capital. If it is the necessary labour which determines the value of commodities, instead of all the labour time contained in them, so it is the capital which realises this determination and, at the same time, continually reduces the labour time socially necessary to produce a given commodity. The price of the commodity is thereby lowered to its minimum since every portion of the labour required for its production is reduced to its minimum.[b]

We must make a distinction in economy as regards use of constant capital. If the quantity, and consequently the sum of the value of

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[a] Ibid., pp. 239-307. - [b] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, p. 90.

employed capital, increases, this is primarily only a concentration of more capital in a single hand. Yet it is precisely this greater quantity applied by a single source—attended, as a rule, by an absolutely greater but relatively smaller amount of employed labour—which permits economy of constant capital. To take an individual capitalist, the volume of the necessary investment of capital, especially of its fixed portion, increases. But its value decreases relative to the mass of worked-up materials and exploited labour.

This is now to be briefly illustrated by a few examples. We shall begin at the end—the economy in the conditions of production, in so far as these also constitute the living conditions of the labourer.

## II. SAVINGS IN LABOUR CONDITIONS AT THE EXPENSE OF THE LABOURERS

### *Coal mines. Neglect of indispensable outlays.*

"Under the competition which exists among the coal-owners and coal-proprietors ... no more outlay is incurred than is sufficient to overcome the most obvious physical difficulties; and under that which prevails among the labouring colliers, who are ordinarily more numerous than the work to be done requires, a large amount of danger and exposure to the most noxious influences will gladly be encountered for wages a little in advance of the agricultural population round them, in an occupation, in which they can moreover make a profitable use of their children. This double competition is quite sufficient ... to cause a large proportion of the pits to be worked with the most imperfect drainage and ventilation; often with ill-constructed shafts, bad gearing, incompetent engineers; and ill-constructed and ill-prepared bays and roadways; causing a destruction of life, and limb, and health, the statistics of which would present an appalling picture" (First Report on Children's Employment in Mines and Collieries, etc., April 21, 1829, p. 102).[18]

About 1860, a weekly average of 15 men lost their lives in the English collieries. According to the report on Coal Mines Accidents (February 6, 1862), a total of 8,466 were killed in the ten years 1852-61.[a] But the report admits that this number is far too low, because in the first few years, when the inspectors had just been installed and their districts were far too large, a great many accidents and deaths were not reported. The very fact that the number of accidents, though still very high, has decreased markedly since the inspection system was established, and this in spite of the limited powers and insufficient numbers of the inspectors, demonstrates the natural tendency of capi-

[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 30, p. 168.

talist exploitation.—These human sacrifices are mostly due to the inordinate avarice of the mine owners. Very often they had only one shaft sunk, so that apart from the lack of effective ventilation there was no escape were this shaft to become obstructed.

Capitalist production, when considered in isolation from the process of circulation and the excesses of competition, is very economical with the materialised labour objectified in commodities. Yet, more than any other mode of production, it squanders human lives, or living labour, and not only blood and flesh, but also nerve and brain. Indeed, it is only by dint of the most extravagant waste of individual development that the development of the human race is at all safeguarded and maintained in the epoch of history immediately preceding the conscious reorganisation of society. Since all of the economising here discussed arises from the social nature of labour, it is indeed just this directly social nature of labour which causes the waste of life and health. The following question suggested by factory inspector R. Baker is characteristic in this respect:

*"The whole question is one for serious consideration, and in what way *this sacrifice of infant life occasioned by congregational labour* can be best averted?"* (Reports of Insp. of Fact., October 1863, p. 157).

*Factories.* Here we have to deal with the disregard for every measure aimed at ensuring the safety, convenience, and health of labourers also in the actual factories. It is to blame for a large portion of the casualty lists containing the wounded and killed of the industrial army (cf. the annual factory reports). Similarly, lack of space, ventilation, etc.[a]

As far back as October 1855, Leonard Horner complained about the resistance of very many manufacturers to the legal requirements concerning safety devices on horizontal shafts, although the danger was continually emphasised by accidents, many of them fatal, and although these safety devices did not cost much and did not interfere with production (Reports of Insp. of Fact., October 1855, p. 6).[b] In their resistance against these and other legal requirements the manufacturers were openly seconded by the unpaid justices of the peace, who were themselves mostly manufacturers or friends of manufacturers, and handed down their decisions accordingly. What sort of verdicts these gentlemen handed down was revealed by Superior Judge

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[a] Ibid., Vol. 33, pp. 152-53. - [b] Cf. present edition, Vol. 35, p. 430.

Campbell, who said with reference to one of them, against which an appeal had been made to him:

"It is not an interpretation of the Act of Parliament, it is a repeal of the Act of Parliament" (l. c., p. 11).

Horner states in the same report that in many factories labourers are not warned when machinery is about to be started up. Since there is always something to be done about machinery even when it is not operating, fingers and hands are always occupied with it, and accidents happen continually due to the mere omission of a warning signal (l. c., p. 44). The manufacturers had formed a TRADES-UNION at the time to oppose factory legislation, the so-called NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE AMENDMENT OF THE FACTORY LAWS in Manchester, which in March 1855 collected more than £50,000 by assessing 2 shillings per horse-power, to pay for the court proceedings against its members started by factory inspectors, and to conduct the cases in the name of the union. It was a matter of proving that KILLING WAS NO MURDER [19] when it occurred for the sake of profit. A factory inspector for Scotland, Sir John Kincaid, tells about a certain firm in Glasgow which used the iron scrap at its factory to make protective shields for all its machinery, the cost amounting to £9 ls. Joining the manufacturers' union would have cost it an assessment of £11 for its 110 horse-power, which was more than the cost of all its protective appliances. But the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION had been organised in 1854 for the express purpose of opposing the law which prescribed such protection. The manufacturers had not paid the least heed to it during the whole period from 1844 to 1854. When the factory inspectors, at instructions from Palmerston, then informed the manufacturers that the law would be enforced in earnest, the manufacturers instantly founded their association, many of whose most prominent members were themselves justices of the peace and in this capacity were supposed to enforce the law. When in April 1855 the new Home Secretary, Sir George Grey, offered a compromise under which the government would be content with practically nominal safety appliances the Association indignantly rejected even this. In various lawsuits the famous engineer William Fairbairn threw the weight of his reputation behind the principle of economy and in defence of the freedom of capital which had been violated. The head of factory inspection, Leonard Horner, was persecuted and maligned by the manufacturers in every conceivable manner.

But the manufacturers did not rest until they obtained a writ of the COURT OF QUEEN'S BENCH, [20] according to which the Law of 1844 did

not prescribe protective devices for horizontal shafts installed more than 7 feet above the ground and, finally, in 1856 they succeeded in securing an Act of Parliament [21] entirely satisfactory to them in the circumstances, through the services of the bigot Wilson Patten, one of those pious souls whose display of religion is always ready to do the dirty work for the knights of the money-bag. This Act practically deprived the labourers of all special protection and referred them to the common courts for compensation in the event of industrial accidents (sheer mockery in view of the excessive cost of English lawsuits), while it made it almost impossible for the manufacturer to lose the lawsuit by providing in a finely-worded clause for expert testimony. The result was a rapid increase of accidents. In the six months from May to October 1858, Inspector Baker reported that accidents increased by 21% compared with the preceding half-year. In his opinion 36.7% of these accidents might have been avoided. It is true that the number of accidents in 1858 and 1859 was considerably below that of 1845 and 1846. It was actually 29% less although the number of labourers in the industries subject to inspection had increased 20%. But what was the reason for this? In so far as this issue has been settled now (1865), it was mainly accomplished through the introduction of new machinery already provided with safety devices to which the manufacturer did not object because they cost him no extra expense. Furthermore, a few labourers succeeded in securing heavy damages for their lost arms, and had this judgment upheld even by the highest courts (Reports of Insp. of Fact., April 30, 1861, p. 31, ditto April 1862, p. 17).

So much for economy in devices protecting the life and limbs of labourers (among whom many children) against the dangers of handling and operating machinery.

*Work in enclosed places generally.* It is well known to what extent economy of space, and thus of buildings, crowds labourers into close quarters. In addition, there is also economy in means of ventilation. Coupled with the long working hours, the two cause a large increase in diseases of the respiratory organs, and an attendant increase in mortality. The following illustrations have been taken from Reports on Public Health, 6th report, 1863. This report was compiled by Dr. John Simon, well known from our Book I.[a]

Just as combination and co-operation of labour permits large-scale employment of machinery, concentration of means of production,

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 35, p. 468.

and economy in their use, it is this very working together *en masse* in enclosed places and under conditions rather determined by ease of manufacture than by health requirements—it is this mass concentration in one and the same workshop that acts, on the one hand, as a source of greater profits for the capitalist and, on the other, unless counteracted by a reduced number of hours and special precautions, as the cause of the squandering of the lives and health of the labourers.

Dr. Simon formulates the following rule and backs it up with abundant statistics:

"In proportion as the people of a district are attracted to any collective indoor occupation, in such proportion, other things being equal, the district death rate by lung diseases will be increased" (p. 23). The cause is bad ventilation. "And probably in all England there is no exception to the rule, that, in every district which has a large indoor industry, the increased mortality of the workpeople is such as to colour the death return of the whole district with a marked excess of lung disease" (p. 23).

Mortality figures for industries carried on in enclosed places, collected by the Board of Health in 1860 and 1861, indicate that for the same number of men between the ages of 15 and 55, for which the death rate from consumption and other pulmonary diseases in English agricultural districts is 100, the death rate in Coventry is 163, in Blackburn and Skipton 167, Congleton and Bradford 168, Leicester 171, Leek 182, Macclesfield 184, Bolton 190, Nottingham 192, Rochdale 193, Derby 198, Salford and Ashton-under-Lyne 203, Leeds 218, Preston 220, and Manchester 263 (p. 24). The following table presents a still more striking illustration.

| District | Chief industry | Deaths from pulmonary diseases between the ages of 15 and 25, per 100,000 population | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Men | Women |
| Berkhampstead | Straw plaiting (women) | 219 | 578 |
| Leighton Buzzard | Straw plaiting (women) | 309 | 554 |
| Newport Pagnell | Lace manufacture (women) | 301 | 617 |
| Towcester | Lace manufacture (women) | 239 | 577 |
| Yeovil | Manufacture of gloves (mainly women) | 280 | 409 |
| Leek | Silk industry (predominantly women) | 437 | 856 |
| Congleton | Silk industry (predominantly women) | 566 | 790 |
| Macclesfield | Silk industry (predominantly women) | 593 | 890 |
| Healthy country district | Agriculture | 331 | 333 |

It shows the death rate for pulmonary diseases separately for both sexes between the ages of 15 and 25 computed for every 100,000 population. In the districts selected only women are employed in industries carried on in enclosed places, while men work in all other possible lines.[a]

In the silk districts, where more men are employed in the factory, their mortality is also higher. The death rate from consumption, etc., for both sexes, reveals, as the report says,

"the ATROCIOUS[b] sanitary circumstances under which much of our silk industry is conducted".

And it is in this same silk industry that the manufacturers, pleading exceptionally favourable and sanitary conditions in their establishments, demanded by way of an exception, and partially obtained, long working hours for children under 13 years of age (Buch I, Kap. VIII, 6, S. 296/286[c]).

"Probably no industry which has yet been investigated has afforded a worse picture than that which Dr. Smith gives of tailoring:—'Shops vary much in their sanitary conditions, but almost universally are overcrowded and ill-ventilated, and in a high degree unfavourable to health.... Such rooms are necessarily warm; but when the gas is lit, as during the day-time on foggy days, and at night during the winter, the heat increases to 80° and even to upwards of 90°' (Fahrenheit, = 27-33° C), 'causing profuse perspiration, and condensation of vapour upon the panes of glass, so that it runs down in streams or drops from the roof, and the operatives are compelled to keep some windows open, at whatever risk to themselves of taking cold.' And he gives the following account of what he found in 16 of the most important West End shops.— 'The largest cubic space in these ill-ventilated rooms allowed to each operative is 270 feet, and the least 105 feet, and in the whole averages only 156 feet per man. In one room, with a gallery running round it, and lighted only from the roof, from 92 to upwards of 100 men are employed, where a large number of gaslights burn, and where the urinals are in the closest proximity, the cubic space does not exceed 150 feet per man. In another room, which can only be called a kennel in a yard, lighted from the roof, and ventilated by a small skylight opening, five to six men work in a space of 112 cubic feet per man.' ... Tailors, in those ATROCIOUS[d] workshops which Dr. Smith describes, work generally for about 12 or 13 hours a day, and at some times the work will be continued for 15 or 16 hours" (pp. 25, 26, 28).

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 475-76. - [b] In the 1894 German edition this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent. - [c] English edition: Ch. X, 6 (see present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 297-98). - [d] In the 1894 German edition this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

| Number of persons employed | Branches of industry and locality | Death rate per 100,000 between the ages of | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 25-35 | 35-45 | 45-55 |
| 958,265 | Agriculture, England and Wales . . . . . | 743 | 805 | 1,145 |
| 22,301 men and 12,377 women | Tailoring, London . . . . . | 958 | 1,262 | 2,093 |
| 13,803 | Type-setters and printers, London . . . . . | 894 | 1,747 | 2,367 |

(p. 30). It must be noted, and has in fact been remarked by John Simon, chief of the Medical Department and author of the report, that the mortality rate for tailors, type-setters, and printers of London between the ages of 25 and 35 was cited lower than the real figure, because London employers in both lines of business have a large number of young people (probably up to 30 years of age) from the country engaged as apprentices and "IMPROVERS", i. e., men getting additional training. These swell the number of hands for which the London industrial death rates are computed. But they do not proportionally contribute to the number of deaths in London because their stay there is only temporary. If they fall ill during this period, they return to their homes in the country, where their death is registered if they die. This circumstance affects the earlier ages still more and renders the London death rates for these age groups completely valueless as indexes of the ill-effects of industry on health (p. 30).

The case of the type-setters is similar to that of the tailors. In addition to lack of ventilation, to poisoned air, etc., there is still nightwork to be mentioned. Their regular working time is 12 to 13 hours, sometimes 15 to 16.

"Great heat and foulness which begin when the gas-jets are lit. ... It not infrequently happens that fumes from a foundry, or foul odours from machinery or sinks, rise from the lower room, and aggravate the evils of the upper one. The heated air of the lower rooms always tends to heat the upper by warming the floor, and when the rooms are low, and the consumption of gas great, this is a serious evil, and one only surpassed in the case where the steam-boilers are placed in the lower room, and supply unwished-for heat to the whole house.... As a general expression, it may be stated that universally the ventilation is defective, and quite insufficient to remove the heat and the products of the combustion of gas in the evening and during the night, and that in many offices, and particularly in those made from dwelling-houses, the condition is most deplorable. ... And in some offices (especially those of weekly newspapers) there will be work — work too, in which boys between 12 and 16 years of age take equal part — for almost uninterrupted periods of two days and a night at a time; — while, in other

printing-offices which lay themselves out for the doing of 'urgent' business, Sunday gives no relaxation to the workman, and his working days become seven instead of six in every week" (pp. 26, 28).

The MILLINERS and DRESSMAKERS[a] have already attracted our attention in Book I (Kap. VIII, 3, S. 249/241)[b] in respect to overwork. Their workshops are described in our report by Dr. Ord. Even if better during the day, they become overheated, FOUL,[c] and unhealthy during the hours in which gas is burned. Dr. Ord found in 34 shops of the better sort that the average number of cubic feet per worker was as follows:

"... In four cases more than 500, in four other cases from 400 to 500, ... in seven others from 200 to 250, in four others from 150 to 200, and in nine others only from 100 to 150. The largest of these allowances would but be scanty for continuous work, unless the space were thoroughly well ventilated; and, except with extraordinary ventilation, its atmosphere could not be tolerably wholesome during gas-light."

And here is Dr. Ord's remark about one of the minor workshops which he visited, operated for the account of a MIDDLEMAN[c]:

"One room, area in cubical feet, 1,280; persons present, 14; area to each, in cubical feet, 91.5. The women here were weary-looking and squalid; their earnings were stated to be 7s. to 15s. a week, and their tea. ... Hours 8 a. m. to 8 p. m. The small room into which these 14 persons were crowded was ill-ventilated. There were two movable windows and a fire-place, but the latter was blocked up, and there was no special ventilation of any kind" (p. 27).

The same report states with reference to the overwork of milliners and dressmakers:

"... The overwork of the young women in fashionable dressmaking establishments does not, for more than about four months of the year, prevail in that monstrous degree which has on many occasions excited momentary public surprise and indignation; but for the indoor hands during these months it will, as a rule, be of full 14 hours a day, and will, when there is pressure, be, for days together, of 17 or even 18 hours. At other times of the year the work of the indoor hands ranges probably from 10 to 14 hours; and uniformly the hours for outdoor hands are 12 or 13. For mantle-makers, collar-makers, shirt-makers, and various other classes of needleworkers (including persons who work at the sewing-machine) the hours spent in the common workroom are fewer—generally not more than 10 to 12 hours; but, says Dr. Ord, the regular hours of work are subject to considerable extension in certain houses at certain times, by the practice of working extra hours for extra pay, and in other houses by the practice of taking work away

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[a] In the 1894 German edition these English words are given in parentheses after their German equivalents. - [b] English edition: Ch. X, 3 (see present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 261-62). - [c] In the 1894 German edition this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

from houses of business, to be done after hours at home, both practices being, it may be added, often compulsory" (p. 28).

John Simon remarks in a footnote to this page:

"Mr. Radcliffe, ... the Honorary Secretary of the EPIDEMIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, ... happening to have unusual opportunities for questioning the young women employed in first-class houses of business ... has found that in only one out of twenty girls examined who called themselves 'quite well' could the state of health be pronounced good; the rest exhibiting in various degrees evidences of depressed physical power, nervous exhaustion, and numerous functional disorders thereupon dependent. He attributes these conditions in the first place to the length of the hours of work — the minimum of which he estimates at 12 hours a day out of the season; and secondarily to ... crowding and bad ventilation of workrooms, gas-vapours, insufficiency or bad quality of food, and inattention to domestic comfort."

The conclusion arrived at by the chief of the English Board of Health is that

"it is practically impossible for workpeople to insist upon that which in theory is their first sanitary right — the right that whatever work their employer assembles them to do, shall, so far as depends upon him, be, at his cost, divested of all needlessly unwholesome circumstances; ... while workpeople are practically unable to exact that sanitary justice for themselves, they also (notwithstanding the presumed intentions of the law) cannot expect any effectual assistance from the appointed administrators of the NUISANCES REMOVAL ACTS" (p. 29).— "Doubtless there may be some small technical difficulty in defining the exact line at which employers shall become subject to regulation. But ... in principle, the sanitary claim is universal. And in the interest of myriads of labouring men and women, whose lives are now needlessly afflicted and shortened by the infinite physical suffering which their mere employment engenders, I would venture to express my hope, that universally the sanitary circumstances of labour may, at least so far, be brought within appropriate provisions of law, that the effective ventilation of all indoor workplaces may be ensured, and that in every naturally insalubrious occupation the specific health-endangering influence may as far as practicable be reduced" (p. 31).

### III. ECONOMY IN THE GENERATION AND TRANSMISSION OF POWER, AND IN BUILDINGS

In his October 1852 report L. Horner quotes a letter of the famous engineer James Nasmyth of Patricroft, the inventor of the steam-hammer, which, among other things, contains the following[a]:

"... The public are little aware of the vast increase in driving power which has been obtained by such changes of system and improvements" (of steam-engines) "as I allude

[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, p. 470.

to. The engine power of this district" (Lancashire) "lay under the incubus of timid and prejudiced traditions for nearly forty years, but now we are happily emancipated. During the last fifteen years, but more especially in the course of the last four years" (since 1848), "some very important changes have taken place in the system of working condensing steam-engines. ... The result ... has been to realise a much greater amount of duty or work performed by the identical engines, and that again at a very considerable reduction of the expenditure of fuel. ... For a great many years after the introduction of steam-power into the mills and manufactories of the above-named districts, the velocity of which it was considered proper to work condensing steam-engines was about 220 feet per minute of the piston; that is to say, an engine with a 5-feet stroke was restricted by 'rule' to make 22 revolutions of the crankshaft per minute. Beyond this speed it was not considered prudent or desirable to work the engine; and as all the mill gearing ... were made suitable to this 220 feet per minute speed of piston, this slow and absurdly restricted velocity ruled the working of such engines for many years. However, at length, either through fortunate ignorance of the 'rule', or by better reasons on the part of some bold innovator, a greater speed was tried, and as the result was highly favourable, others followed the example, by, as it is termed, 'letting the engine away', namely, by so modifying the proportions of the first motion wheels of the mill gearing as to permit the engine to run at 300 feet and upwards per minute, while the mill gearing generally was kept at its former speed.... This 'letting the engine away'... has led to the almost universal 'speeding' of engines, because it was proved that not only was there available power gained from the identical engines, but also as the higher velocity of the engine yielded a greater momentum in the fly-wheel the motion was found to be much more regular.... We ... obtain more power from a steam-engine by simply permitting its piston to move at a higher velocity (pressure of steam and vacuum in the condenser remaining the same).... Thus, for example, suppose any given engine yields 40 horse-power when its piston is travelling at 200 feet per minute, if by suitable arrangement or modification we can permit this same engine to run at such a speed as that its piston will travel through space at 400 feet per minute (pressure of steam and vacuum, as before said, remaining the same), we shall then have just double the power ... and as the pressure by steam and vacuum is the same in both cases, the strain upon the parts of this engine will be no greater at 400 than at 200 feet speed of piston, so that the risk of 'break-down' does not materially increase with the increase of speed. All the difference is, that we shall in such case consume steam at a rate proportional to the speed of piston, or nearly so; and there will be some small increase in the wear and tear of 'the brasses' or rubbing-parts, but so slight as to be scarcely worth notice.... But in order to obtain increase of power from the same engine by permitting its piston to travel at a higher velocity it is requisite ... to burn more coal per hour under the same boiler, or employ boilers of greater evaporating capabilities, i. e., greater steam-generating powers. This accordingly was done, and boilers of greater steam-generating or water-evaporating powers were supplied to the old 'speeded' engines, and in many cases near 100 per cent more work was got out of the identical engines by means of such changes as above named. About ten years ago the extraordinary economical production of power as realised by the engines employed in the mining operations of Cornwall began to attract attention; and as competition in the spinning trade forced manufacturers to look to 'savings' as the chief source of profits, the remarkable difference in the consumption of coal per horse-power per hour, as indicated by the performance of the Cornish engines, as also the extraordinary economical performance of Woolf's double-cylinder engines, began to attract increased attention to the subject of economy of fuel

in this district, and as the Cornish and double-cylinder engines gave a horse-power for every $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 pounds of coal per hour, while the generality of cotton-mill engines were consuming 8 or 12 pounds per horse per hour, so remarkable a difference induced mill-owners and engine-makers in this district to endeavour to realise, by the adoption of similar means, such extraordinary economical results as were proved to be common in Cornwall and France, where the high price of coal had compelled manufacturers to look more sharply to such costly departments of their establishments. The result of this increased attention to economy of fuel has been most important in many respects. In the first place, many boilers, the half of whose surface had been in the good old times of high profits left exposed quite naked to the cold air, began to get covered with thick blankets of felt, and brick and plaster, and other modes and means whereby to prevent the escape of that heat from their exposed surface which had cost so much fuel to maintain. Steam-pipes began to be 'protected' in the same manner, and the outside of the cylinder of the engine felted and cased in with wood in like manner. Next came the use of 'high steam', namely, instead of having the safety-valve loaded so as to blow off at 4, 6, or 8 lbs to the square inch, it was found that by raising the pressure to 14 or 20 lbs ... a very decided economy of fuel resulted; in other words, the work of the mill was performed by a very notable reduced consumption of coals, ... and those who had the means and the boldness carried the increased pressure and 'expansion system' of working to the full extent, by employing properly constructed boilers to supply steam of 30, 40, 50, 60, and 70 lbs to the square inch; pressures which would have frightened an engineer of the old school out of his wits. But as the economic results of so increasing the pressure of steam ... soon appeared in most unmistakable £ s. d. forms, the use of high-pressure steam-boilers for working condensing engines became almost general. And those who desired to go to the full extent ... soon adopted the employment of the Woolf engine in its full integrity, and most of our mills lately built are worked by the Woolf engines, namely, those on which there are two cylinders to each engine, in one of which the high-pressure steam from the boiler exerts or yields power by its excess of pressure over that of the atmosphere, which, instead of the said high-pressure steam being let pass off at the end of each stroke free into the atmosphere, is caused to pass into a low-pressure cylinder of about four times the area of the former, and after due expansion passes to the condenser, the economic result obtained from engines of this class is such that the consumption of fuel is at the rate of from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 lbs of coal per horse per hour; while in the engines of the old system the consumption used to be on the average from 12 to 14 lbs per horse per hour. By an ingenious arrangement, the Woolf system of double cylinder or combined low- and high-pressure engine has been introduced extensively to already existing engines, whereby their performance has been increased both as to power and economy of fuel. The same result ... has been in use these eight or ten years, by having a high-pressure engine so connected with a condensing engine as to enable the waste steam of the former to pass on to and work the latter. This system is in many cases very convenient.

"It would not be very easy to get an exact return as to the increase of performance or work done by the identical engines to which some or all of these improvements have been applied; I am confident, however, ... that from the same weight of steam-engine machinery we are now obtaining at least 50 per cent more duty or work performed on the average, and that ... in many cases, the identical steam-engines which, in the days of the restricted speed of 220 feet per minute, yielded 50 horse-power, are now yielding upwards of 100. The very economical results derived from the employment

of high-pressure steam in working condensing steam-engines, together with the much higher power required by mill extensions from the same engines, has within the last three years led to the adoption of tubular boilers, yielding a much more economical result than those formerly employed in generating steam for mill engines" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., October 1852, pp. 23-27).

What applies to power generation also applies to power transmission and working machinery.

"The rapid strides with which improvement in machinery has advanced within these few years have enabled manufacturers to increase production without additional moving power. The more economical application of labour has been rendered necessary by the diminished length of the working day, and in most well-regulated mills an intelligent mind is always considering in what manner production can be increased with decreased expenditure. I have before me a statement, kindly prepared by a very intelligent gentleman in my district, showing the number of hands employed, their ages, the machines at work, and the wages paid from 1840 to the present time. In October 1840, his firm employed 600 hands, of whom 200 were under 13 years of age. In October last, 350 hands were employed, of whom 60 only were under 13; the same number of machines, within very few, were at work, and the same sum in wages was paid at both periods" (Redgrave's Report in Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 1852, pp. 58-59).

These improvements of the machinery do not show their full effect until they are used in new, appropriately arranged factories.

"As regards the improvement made in machinery, I may say in the first place that a great advance has been made in the construction of mills adapted to receive improved machinery.... In the bottom room I double all my yarn, and upon that single floor I shall put 29,000 doubling spindles. I effect a saving of labour in the room and shed of at least 10%, not so much from any improvement in the principle of doubling yarn, but from a concentration of machinery under a single management; and I am enabled to drive the said number of spindles by one single shaft, a saving in shafting, compared with what other firms have to use to work the same number of spindles, of 60%, in some cases 80%. There is a large saving in oil, and shafting, and in grease.... With superior mill arrangements and improved machinery, at the lowest estimate I have effected a saving in labour of 10%, a great saving in power, coal, oil, tallow, shafting and strapping" (Evidence of a cotton spinner, Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 1863, pp. 109, 110).

## IV. UTILISATION OF THE EXCRETIONS OF PRODUCTION

The capitalist mode of production extends the utilisation of the excretions of production and consumption. By the former we mean the waste of industry and agriculture, and by the latter partly the excretions produced by the natural exchange of matter in the human body and partly the form of objects that remains after their consump-

tion. In the chemical industry, for instance, excretions of production are such by-products as are wasted in production on a smaller scale; iron filings accumulating in the manufacture of machinery and returning into the production of iron as raw material, etc. Excretions of consumption are the natural waste matter discharged by the human body, remains of clothing in the form of rags, etc. Excretions of consumption are of the greatest importance for agriculture.[a] So far as their utilisation is concerned, there is an enormous waste of them in the capitalist economy. In London, for instance, they find no better use for the excretion of $4\frac{1}{2}$ million human beings than to contaminate the Thames with it at heavy expense.

Rising prices of raw materials naturally stimulate the utilisation of waste products.

The general requirements for the re-employment of these excretions are: large quantities of such waste, such as are available only in large-scale production; improved machinery whereby materials, formerly useless in their prevailing form, are put into a state fit for new production; scientific progress, particularly of chemistry, which reveals the useful properties of such waste. It is true that great savings of this sort are also observed in small-scale agriculture, as prevails in, say, Lombardy, southern China, and Japan. But on the whole, the productivity of agriculture under this system obtains from the prodigal use of human labour power, which is withheld from other spheres of production.

The so-called waste plays an important role in almost every industry. Thus, the Factory Report for December 1863 mentions as one of the principal reasons why the English and many of the Irish farmers do not like to grow flax, or do so but rarely,

> "the great waste ... which has taken place at the little water SCUTCH MILLS[b] ... the waste in cotton is comparatively small, but in flax very large. The efficiency of water steeping and of good machine scutching will reduce this disadvantage very considerably.... Flax, scutched in Ireland in a most shameful way, and a large percentage actually lost by it, equal to 28 or 30%" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., Dec. 1863, pp. 139, 142),

whereas all this might be avoided through the use of better machinery. So much tow fell by the wayside that the factory inspector reports:

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 34, pp. 218-19. - [b] In the 1894 German edition these English words are given in parentheses after their German equivalents.

"I have been informed with respect to some of the scutch mills in Ireland, that the waste made at them has often been used by the scutchers to burn on their fires at home, and yet it is very valuable" (l. c., p. 140).

We shall speak of cotton waste later, when we deal with the price fluctuations of raw materials.

The wool industry was shrewder than the flax manufacturers.

"It was once the common practice to decry the preparation of waste and woollen rags for re-manufacture, but the prejudice has entirely subsided as regards the SHODDY TRADE,[a] which has become an important branch of the woollen trade of Yorkshire, and doubtless the cotton waste trade will be recognised in the same manner as supplying an admitted want. Thirty years since, woollen rags, i. e., pieces of cloth, old clothes, etc., of nothing but wool, would average about £4 4s. per ton in price: within the last few years they have become worth £44 per ton, and the demand for them has so increased that means have been found for utilising the rags of fabrics of cotton and wool mixed by destroying the cotton and leaving the wool intact, and now thousands of operatives are engaged in the manufacture of shoddy, from which the consumer has greatly benefited in being able to purchase cloth of a fair and average quality at a very moderate price" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 1863, p. 107).

By the end of 1862 the rejuvenated shoddy made up as much as one-third of the entire consumption of wool in English industry (Reports of Insp. of Fact., October 1862, p. 81). The "big benefit" for the "consumer" is that his shoddy clothes wear out in just one-third of the previous time and turn threadbare in one-sixth of this time.

The English silk industry moved along the same downward path. The consumption of genuine raw silk decreased somewhat between 1839 and 1862, while that of silk waste doubled. Improved machinery helped to manufacture a silk useful for many purposes from this otherwise rather worthless stuff.

The most striking example of utilising waste is furnished by the chemical industry. It utilises not only its own waste, for which it finds new uses, but also that of many other industries. For instance, it converts the formerly almost useless gas-tar into aniline dyes, alizarin, and, more recently, even into drugs.

This economy of the excretions of production through their re-employment is to be distinguished from economy through the prevention of waste, that is to say, the reduction of excretions of production to a minimum, and the immediate utilisation to a maximum of all raw and auxiliary materials required in production.

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[a] In the 1894 German edition these English words are given in parentheses after their German equivalents.

Reduction of waste depends in part on the quality of the machinery in use. Economy in oil, soap, etc., depends on how well the mechanical parts are machined and polished. This refers to the auxiliary materials. In part, however, and this is most important, it depends on the quality of the employed machines and tools whether a larger or smaller portion of the raw materials is turned into waste in the production process. Finally, this depends on the quality of the raw material itself. This, in turn, depends partly on the development of the extractive industry and agriculture which produce the raw material (strictly speaking on the progress of civilisation), and partly on the improvement of processes through which raw materials pass before they enter into manufacture.

"Parmentier has demonstrated that the art of grinding grain has improved very materially in France since a none too distant epoch, for instance the time of Louis XIV, so that the new mills, compared to the old, can make up to half as much more bread from the same amount of grain. The annual consumption of a Parisian, indeed, has first been estimated at 4 *setiers* of grain, then at 3, finally at 2, while nowadays it is only $1\frac{1}{3}$ *setiers*, or about 342 lbs per capita.... In the Perche, where I have lived for a long time, the crude mills of granite and trap rock millstones have been mostly rebuilt according to the rules of mechanics which has made such rapid progress in the last 30 years. They have been provided with good millstones from La Ferté, have ground the grain twice, the milling sack has been given a circular motion, and the output of flour from the same amount of grain has increased $\frac{1}{6}$. The enormous discrepancy between the daily grain consumption of the Romans and ourselves is therefore easily explained. It is due simply to imperfect methods of milling and bread-making. This is the way I feel I must explain a remarkable observation made by Pliny, XVIII, Ch. 20, 2: ...'The flour was sold in Rome, depending on its quality, at 40, 48 or 96 *as* per modius. These prices, so high in proportion to the contemporaneous grain prices, are due to the imperfect state of the mills of that period, which were still in their infancy, and the resultant heavy cost of milling'" (Dureau de la Malle, *Économie politique des Romains*, Paris, 1840, I, pp. 280-81).

## V. ECONOMY THROUGH INVENTIONS

These savings in the application of fixed capital are, we repeat, due to the employment of the conditions of labour on a large scale; in short, are due to the fact that these serve as conditions of directly social, socialised labour or direct co-operation within the process of production. On the one hand, this is the indispensable requirement for the utilisation of mechanical and chemical inventions without increasing the price of the commodity, and this is always the *conditio sine qua non*. On the other hand, only production on a large scale

permits the savings derived from co-operative productive consumption. Finally, it is only the experience of the combined labourer which discovers and reveals the where and how of saving, the simplest methods of applying the discoveries, and the ways to overcome the practical frictions arising from carrying out the theory—in its application to the production process—etc.

Incidentally, a distinction should be made between universal labour and co-operative labour. Both kinds play their role in the process of production, both flow one into the other, but both are also differentiated. Universal labour is all scientific labour, all discovery and all invention. This labour depends partly on the co-operation of the living, and partly on the utilisation of the labours of those who have gone before. Co-operative labour, on the other hand, is the direct co-operation of individuals.

The foregoing is corroborated by frequent observation, to wit:

1) The great difference in the cost of the first model of a new machine and that of its reproduction (regarding which, see Ure[a] and Babbage[b]).

2) The far greater cost of operating an ESTABLISHMENT based on a new invention as compared to later ESTABLISHMENTS arising out of their ruins, *ex suis ossibus*. This is so very true that the trail-blazers generally go bankrupt, and only those who later buy the buildings, machinery, etc., at a cheaper price, make money out of it. It is, therefore, generally the most worthless and miserable sort of money capitalists who draw the greatest profit out of all new developments of the universal labour of the human spirit and their social application through combined labour.

## Chapter VI

### THE EFFECT OF PRICE FLUCTUATIONS

#### I. FLUCTUATIONS IN THE PRICE OF RAW MATERIALS, AND THEIR DIRECT EFFECTS ON THE RATE OF PROFIT

The assumption in this case, as in previous ones, is that no change takes place in the rate of surplus value. It is necessary to analyse

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[a] See this volume, p.84. - [b] Ch. Babbage, *Traité sur l'economie des machines et des manufactures*, Paris, 1833, pp. 377-78 (cf. present edition, Vol. 33, p. 350 and Vol. 35, p. 408).

the case in its pure form. However, it might be possible for a specific capital, whose rate of surplus value remains unchanged, to employ an increasing or decreasing number of labourers, in consequence of contraction or EXPANSION caused by such fluctuations in the price of raw materials as we are to analyse here. In that case the quantity of surplus value might vary, while the rate of surplus value remains the same. Yet this should also be disregarded here as a side-issue. If improvements of machinery and changes in the price of raw materials simultaneously influence either the number of labourers employed by a definite capital, or the level of wages, one has but to put together 1) the effect caused by the variations of constant capital on the rate of profit, and 2) the effect caused by variations in wages on the rate of profit. The result is then obtained of itself.

But in general, it should be noted here, as in the previous case, that if variations take place, either due to savings in constant capital, or due to fluctuations in the price of raw materials, they always affect the rate of profit, even if they leave the wage, hence the rate and amount of surplus value, untouched. They change the magnitude of C in $s' \frac{v}{C}$, and thus the value of the whole fraction. It is therefore immaterial, in this case as well—in contrast to what we found in our analysis of surplus value—in which sphere of production these variations occur; whether or not the production branches affected by them produce necessities for labourers, or constant capital for the production of such necessities. The deductions made here are equally valid for variations occurring in the production of luxury articles, and by luxury articles we here mean all production that does not serve the reproduction of labour power.

The raw materials here include auxiliary materials as well, such as indigo, coal, gas, etc. Furthermore, so far as machinery is concerned under this head, its own raw material consists of iron, wood, leather, etc. Its own price is therefore affected by fluctuations in the price of raw materials used in its construction. To the extent that its price is raised through fluctuations, either in the price of the raw materials of which it consists, or of the auxiliary materials consumed in its operation, the rate of profit falls *pro tanto*. And vice versa.

In the following analysis we shall confine ourselves to fluctuations in the price of raw materials, not so far as they go to make up the raw materials of machinery serving as means of labour or as auxiliary materials applied in its operation, but in so far as they are raw mate-

rials entering the process in which commodities are produced. There is just one thing to be noted here: the natural wealth in iron, coal, wood, etc., which are the principal elements used in the construction and operation of machinery, presents itself here as a natural fertility of capital and is a factor determining the rate of profit irrespective of the high or low level of wages.

Since the rate of profit is $\frac{s}{C}$, or $\frac{s}{c+v}$, it is evident that everything causing a variation in the magnitude of c, and thereby of C, must also bring about a variation in the rate of profit, even if s and v, and their mutual relation, remain unaltered. Now, raw materials are one of the principal components of constant capital. Even in industries which consume no actual raw materials, these enter the picture as auxiliary materials or components of machinery, etc., and their price fluctuations thus *pro tanto* influence the rate of profit. Should the price of raw material fall by an amount = d, then $\frac{s}{C}$, or $\frac{s}{c+v}$, becomes $\frac{s}{C-d}$, or $\frac{s}{(c-d)+v}$. Thus, the rate of profit rises. Conversely, if the price of raw material rises, then $\frac{s}{C}$, or $\frac{s}{c+v}$, becomes $\frac{s}{C+d}$, or $\frac{s}{(c+d)+v}$, and the rate of profit falls. Other conditions being equal, the rate of profit, therefore, falls and rises inversely to the price of raw material. This shows, among other things, how important the low price of raw material is for industrial countries, even if fluctuations in the price of raw materials are not accompanied by variations in the sales sphere of the product, and thus quite aside from the relation of demand to supply. It follows furthermore that foreign trade influences the rate of profit, regardless of its influence on wages through the cheapening of the necessities of life. The point is that it affects the prices of raw or auxiliary materials consumed in industry and agriculture. It is due to an as yet imperfect understanding of the nature of the rate of profit and of its specific difference from the rate of surplus value that, on the one hand, economists (like Torrens[a]) wrongly explain the marked influence of the prices of raw material on the rate of profit, which they note through practical experience, and that, on the other, economists like Ricardo,[b] who cling to general principles, do not recognise the influence of, say, world trade on the rate of profit.

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[a] R. Torrens, *An Essay on the Production of Wealth*, London, 1821, p. 28 et seq. Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 262-63. - [b] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, Third edition, London, 1821, pp. 131-38. Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 71-72.

This makes clear the great importance to industry of the elimination or reduction of customs duties on raw materials. The rational development of the protective tariff system made the utmost reduction of import duties on raw materials one of its cardinal principles. This, and the abolition of the duty on corn,[22] was the main object of the English FREE-TRADERS, who were primarily concerned with having the duty on cotton lifted as well.

The use of flour in the cotton industry may serve as an illustration of the importance of a price reduction for an article which is not strictly a raw material but an auxiliary and at the same time one of the principal elements of nourishment. As far back as 1837, R. H. Greg [13] calculated that the 100,000 power-looms and 250,000 hand-looms then operating in the cotton-mills of Great Britain annually consumed 41 million lbs of flour to smooth the warp. He added a third of this quantity for bleaching and other processes, and estimated the total annual value of the flour so consumed at £342,000 for the preceding 10 years. A comparison with flour prices on the continent showed that the higher flour price forced upon manufacturers by corn tariffs alone amounted to £170,000 per year. Greg estimated the sum at a minimum of £200,000 for 1837 and cited a firm for which the flour price difference amounted to £1,000 annually. As a result,

"great manufacturers, thoughtful, calculating men of business, have said that ten hours' labour would be quite sufficient, if the Corn Laws were repealed" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 1848, p. 98).

The Corn Laws were repealed. So were the duties on cotton and other raw materials. But no sooner had this been accomplished than the opposition of the manufacturers to the Ten Hours' Bill [23] became more violent than ever. And when the ten-hour factory day nevertheless became a law soon after, the first result was a general attempt to reduce wages.

The value of raw and auxiliary materials passes entirely and all at one time into the value of the product in the manufacture of which they are consumed, while the elements of fixed capital transfer their value to the product only gradually in proportion to their wear and tear. It follows that the price of the product is influenced far more by the price of raw materials than by that of fixed capital, although the

[13] *The Factory Question and the Ten Hours' Bill* by R. H. Greg, London, 1837, p. 115.

rate of profit is determined by the total value of the capital applied no matter how much of it is consumed in the making of the product. But it is evident — although we merely mention it in passing, since we here still assume that commodities are sold at their values, so that price fluctuations caused by competition do not as yet concern us — that the expansion or contraction of the market depends on the price of the individual commodity and is inversely proportional to the rise or fall of this price. It actually develops, therefore, that the price of the finished product does not rise in proportion to that of the raw material, and that it does not fall in proportion to that of raw material. Consequently, the rate of profit falls lower in one instance, and rises higher in the other than would have been the case if commodities were sold at their value.

Further, the quantity and value of the employed machinery grows with the development of the productive power of labour but not in the same proportion as this productive power, i. e., not in the proportion in which this machinery increases its output. In those branches of industry, therefore, which do consume raw materials, i. e., in which the subject of labour is itself a product of previous labour, the growing productive power of labour is expressed precisely in the proportion in which a larger quantity of raw material absorbs a definite quantity of labour, hence in the increasing amount of raw material converted in, say, one hour into products, or processed into commodities. The value of raw material, therefore, forms an ever-growing component of the value of the commodity product in proportion to the development of the productive power of labour, not only because it passes wholly into this latter value, but also because in every aliquot part of the aggregate product the portion representing depreciation of machinery and the portion formed by the newly added labour — both continually decrease. Owing to this falling tendency, the other portion of the value representing raw material increases proportionally, unless this increase is counterbalanced by a proportionate decrease in the value of the raw material arising from the growing productivity of the labour employed in its own production.

Further, raw and auxiliary materials, just like wages, form parts of the circulating capital and must, therefore, be continually replaced in their entirety through the sale of the product, while only the depreciation is to be renewed in the case of machinery, and first of all in the form of a reserve fund. It is, moreover, in no way essential for each individual sale to contribute its share to this reserve fund, so long as

the total annual sales contribute their annual share. This shows again how a rise in the price of raw material can curtail or arrest the entire process of reproduction if the price realised by the sale of the commodities should not suffice to replace all the elements of these commodities. Or, it may make it impossible to continue the process on the scale required by its technical basis, so that only a part of the machinery will remain in operation, or all the machinery will work for only a fraction of the usual time.

Finally, the expense incurred through waste varies in direct proportion to the price fluctuations of the raw material, rising when they rise and falling when they fall. But there is a limit here as well. In 1850 it was still maintained:

"One source of considerable loss arising from an advance in the price of the raw material would hardly occur to any one but a practical spinner, viz., that from waste. I am informed that when cotton advances, the cost to the spinner, of the lower qualities especially, is increased in a ratio beyond the advance actually paid, because the waste made in spinning coarse yarns is fully 15 per cent; and this rate, while it causes a loss of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. on cotton at $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb., brings up the loss to ld. per lb. when cotton advances to 7d" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., April 1850, p. 17).

But when, as a result of the American Civil War, the price of cotton rose to a level unequalled in almost 100 years, the report read differently:

"The price now given for waste, and its re-introduction in the factory in the share of cotton waste, go some way to compensate for the difference in the loss by waste, between Surat cotton and American cotton, about $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

"The waste in working Surat cotton being 25 per cent, the cost of the cotton to the spinner is enhanced one-fourth before he has manufactured it. The loss by waste used not to be of much moment when American cotton was 5d. or 6d. per lb., for it did not exceed $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per lb., but it is now of great importance when upon every lb. of cotton which costs 2s. there is a loss by waste equal to 6d." [14] (Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 1863, p. 106).

[14] The report errs in the final sentence. Instead of 6d. it should be 3d. for loss through waste. This loss amounts to 25% in the case of Surat, and only $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 15% in the case of American cotton, and this latter is meant, the same percentage having been correctly calculated for the price of 5 to 6d. It is true, however, that also in the case of American cotton brought to Europe during the latter years of the Civil War the proportion of waste often rose considerably higher than before.—*F. E.*

## II. APPRECIATION, DEPRECIATION, RELEASE AND TIE-UP OF CAPITAL

The phenomena analysed in this chapter require for their full development the credit system and competition on the world market, the latter being the basis and the vital element of capitalist production. These more definite forms of capitalist production can only be comprehensively presented, however, after the general nature of capital is understood. Furthermore, they do not come within the scope of this work and belong to its eventual continuation.[1] Nevertheless the phenomena listed in the above title may be discussed in a general way at this stage. They are interrelated, first with one another and, secondly, also with the rate and amount of profit. They are to be briefly discussed here if only because they create the impression that not only the rate, but also the amount of profit—which is actually identical with the amount of surplus value—could increase or decrease independently of the movements of the quantity or rate of surplus value.

Are we to consider release and tie-up of capital, on the one hand, and its appreciation and depreciation, on the other, as different phenomena?

The question is what we mean by release and tie-up of capital? Appreciation and depreciation are self-explanatory. All they mean is that a given capital increases or decreases in value as a result of certain general economic conditions, for we are not discussing the particular fate of an individual capital. All they mean, therefore, is that the value of a capital invested in production rises or falls, irrespective of its self-expansion by virtue of the surplus labour employed by it.

By tie-up of capital we mean that certain portions of the total value of the product must be reconverted into elements of constant and variable capital if production is to proceed on the same scale. By release of capital we mean that a portion of the total value of the product which had to be reconverted into constant or variable capital up to a certain time, becomes disposable and superfluous, should production continue on the previous scale. This release or tie-up of capital is different from the release or tie-up of revenue. If the annual surplus value of an individual capital C is, let us say, equal to x, then a reduction in the price of commodities consumed by the capitalists would make x — a sufficient to procure the same enjoyments, etc., as before. A portion of the revenue = a is released, therefore, and may

serve either to increase consumption or to be reconverted into capital (for the purpose of accumulation). Conversely, if x + a is needed to continue to live as before, then this standard of living must either be reduced or a portion of the previously accumulated income = a, expended as revenue.

Appreciation and depreciation may affect either constant or variable capital, or both, and in the case of constant capital it may, in turn, affect either the fixed, or the circulating portion, or both.

Under constant capital we must consider the raw and auxiliary materials, including semi-finished products, all of which we here include under the term of raw materials, machinery, and other fixed capital.

In the preceding analysis we referred especially to VARIATIONS in the price, or the value, of raw materials in respect to their influence on the rate of profit, and determined the general law that with other conditions being equal, the rate of profit is inversely proportional to the value of the raw materials. This is absolutely true for capital newly invested in a business enterprise, in which the investment, i. e., the conversion of money into productive capital, is only just taking place.

But aside from this capital, which is being newly invested, a large portion of the already functioning capital is in the sphere of circulation, while another portion is in the sphere of production. One portion is in the market in the shape of commodities waiting to be converted into money; another is on hand as money, in whatever form, waiting to be reconverted into elements of production; finally, a third portion is in the sphere of production, partly in its original form of means of production such as raw and auxiliary materials, semi-finished products purchased in the market, machinery and other fixed capital, and partly in the form of products which are in the process of manufacture. The effect of appreciation or depreciation depends here to a great extent on the relative proportion of these component parts. Let us, for the sake of simplicity, leave aside all fixed capital and consider only that portion of constant capital which consists of raw and auxiliary materials, and semi-finished products, and both finished commodities in the market and commodities still in the process of production.

If the price of raw material, for instance of cotton, rises, then the price of cotton goods — both semi-finished goods like yarn and finished goods like cotton fabrics — manufactured while cotton was cheaper, rises also. So does the value of the unprocessed cotton held

in stock and of the cotton in the process of manufacture. The latter because it comes to represent more labour time in retrospect and thus adds more than its original value to the product which it enters, and more than the capitalist paid for it.

Hence, if the price of raw materials rises, and there is a considerable quantity of available finished commodities in the market, no matter what the stage of their manufacture, the value of these commodities rises, thereby enhancing the value of the existing capital. The same is true for the supply of raw materials, etc., in the hands of the producer. This appreciation of value may compensate, or more than compensate, the individual capitalist, or even an entire separate sphere of capitalist production, for the drop in the rate of profit attending a rise in the price of raw materials. Without entering into the detailed effects of competition, we might state for the sake of thoroughness that 1) if available supplies of raw material are considerable, they tend to counteract the price increase which occurred at the place of their origin; 2) if the semi-finished and finished goods press very heavily upon the market, their price is thereby prevented from rising proportionately to the price of their raw materials.

The reverse takes place when the price of raw materials falls. Other circumstances remaining the same, this increases the rate of profit. The commodities in the market, the articles in the process of production, and the available supplies of raw material, depreciate in value and thereby counteract the attendant rise in the rate of profit.

The effect of price variations for raw materials is the more pronounced, the smaller the supplies available in the sphere of production and in the market at, say, the close of a business year, i. e., after the harvest in agriculture, when great quantities of raw materials are delivered anew.

We proceed in this entire analysis from the assumption that the rise or fall in prices expresses actual fluctuations in value. But since we are here concerned with the effects such price variations have on the rate of profit, it matters little what is at the bottom of them. The present statements apply equally if prices rise or fall under the influence of the credit system, competition, etc., and not on account of fluctuations in value.

Since the rate of profit equals the ratio of the excess over the value of the product to the value of the total capital advanced, a rise caused in the rate of profit by a depreciation of the advanced capital would

be associated with a loss in the value of capital. Similarly, a drop caused in the rate of profit by an appreciation of the advanced capital might possibly be associated with a gain.

As for the other portion of constant capital, such as machinery and fixed capital in general, the appreciation of value taking place in it with respect mainly to buildings, real estate, etc., cannot be discussed without the theory of ground rent, and does not therefore belong in this chapter. But of a general importance to the question of depreciation are:

The continual improvements which lower the use value, and therefore the value, of existing machinery, factory equipment, etc. This process has a particularly dire effect during the first period of newly introduced machinery, before it attains a certain stage of maturity, when it continually becomes antiquated before it has time to reproduce its own value. This is one of the reasons for the flagrant prolongation of the working time usual in such periods, for alternating day and night shifts, so that the value of the machinery may be reproduced in a shorter time without having to place the figures for wear and tear too high. If, on the other hand, the short period in which the machinery is effective (its short life vis-à-vis the anticipated improvements) is not compensated in this manner, it gives up so much of its value to the product through moral depreciation that it cannot compete even with hand labour. [15]

After machinery, equipment of buildings, and fixed capital in general, attain a certain maturity, so that they remain unaltered for some length of time at least in their basic construction, there arises a similar depreciation due to improvements in the methods of reproducing this fixed capital. The value of the machinery, etc., falls in this case not so much because the machinery is rapidly crowded out or depreciated to a certain degree by new and more productive machinery, etc., but because it can be reproduced more cheaply. This is one of the reasons why large enterprises frequently do not flourish until they pass into other hands, i. e., after their first proprietors have been bankrupted, and their successors, who buy them cheaply, therefore begin from the outset with a smaller outlay of capital.

It leaps to the eye, particularly in the case of agriculture, that the

[15] For examples see Babbage,[24] among others. The usual expedient — a reduction of wages — is also employed in this instance, so that this continual depreciation acts quite contrary to the dreams of Mr. Carey's "harmonious brain".[25]

causes which raise or lower the price of a product, also raise or lower the value of capital, since the latter consists to a large degree of this product, whether as grain, cattle, etc. (Ricardo[a]).

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There is still variable capital to be considered.

Inasmuch as the value of labour power rises because there is a rise in the value of the means of subsistence required for its reproduction, or falls because there is a reduction in their value — and the appreciation and depreciation of variable capital are really nothing more than expressions of these two cases — a drop in surplus value corresponds to such appreciation and an increase in surplus value to such depreciation, provided the length of the working day remains the same. But other circumstances — the release and tie-up of capital — may also be associated with such cases, and since we have not analysed them so far, we shall briefly mention them now.

If wages fall in consequence of a depreciation in the value of labour power (which may even be attended by a rise in the real price of labour), a portion of the capital hitherto invested in wages is released. Variable capital is set free. In the case of new investments of capital, this has simply the effect of its operating with a higher rate of surplus value. It takes less money than before to set in motion the same amount of labour, and in this way the unpaid portion of labour increases at the expense of the paid portion. But in the case of already invested capital, not only does the rate of surplus value rise but a portion of the capital previously invested in wages is also released. Until this time it was tied up and formed a regular portion which had to be deducted from the proceeds for the product and advanced for wages, acting as variable capital if the business were to continue on its former scale. Now this portion becomes disposable and may be used as a new investment, be it to extend the same business or to operate in some other sphere of production.

Let us assume, for instance, that £500 per week were required at first to employ 500 labourers, and that now only £400 are needed for the same purpose. If the quantity of value produced in either case = £1,000, the amount of weekly surplus value in the first case = £500 and the rate of surplus value $\frac{500}{500} = 100\%$. But after the

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[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, Third edition, London, 1821, pp. 123-24. Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 172-73.

wage reduction the quantity of surplus value £1,000 − £400 = £600, and its rate $\frac{600}{400}$ = 150%. And this increase in the rate of surplus value is the only effect for one who starts a new enterprise in this sphere of production with a variable capital of £400 and a corresponding constant capital. But when this takes place in a business already in operation, the depreciation of the variable capital does not only increase the quantity of surplus value from £500 to £600, and the rate of surplus value from 100 to 150%, but releases £100 of the variable capital for the further exploitation of labour. Hence, the same amount of labour is exploited to greater advantage, and, what is more, the release of £100 makes it possible to exploit more labourers than before at the higher rate with the same variable capital of £500.

Now the reverse situation. Suppose, with 500 employed labourers, the original proportion in which the product is divided = $400_v + 600_s = 1{,}000$, making the rate of surplus value = 150%. In that case, the labourer receives £4/5, or 16 shillings per week. Should 500 labourers cost £500 per week, due to an appreciation of variable capital, each one of them will receive a weekly wage = £1, and £400 can employ only 400 labourers. If the same number of labourers as before is put to work, therefore, we have $500_v + 500_s = 1{,}000$. The rate of surplus value would fall from 150 to 100%, which is $\frac{1}{3}$. In the case of new capital the only effect would be this lower rate of surplus value. Other conditions being equal, the rate of profit would also have fallen accordingly, although not in the same proportion. For instance, if c = 2,000, we have in the one case $2{,}000_c + 400_v + 600_s = 3{,}000$; $s' = 150\%$, $p' = \frac{600}{2{,}400} = 25\%$. In the second case, $2{,}000_c + 500_v + 500_s = 3{,}000$; $s' = 100\%$, $p' = \frac{500}{2{,}500} = 20\%$. In the case of already engaged capital, however, there would be a dual effect. Only 400 labourers could be employed with a £400 variable capital, and that at a rate of surplus value of 100%. They would therefore produce an aggregate surplus value of only £400. Furthermore, since a constant capital of £2,000 requires 500 labourers for its operation, 400 labourers can put into motion only a constant capital of £1,600. For production to continue on the same scale, so that $\frac{1}{5}$ of the machinery does not stand idle, £100 must be added to the variable capital in order to employ 500 labourers as before. And this can be accomplished only by tying up hitherto disposable capital, so that part of the accumulation intended to extend production serves

merely to stop a gap, or a portion reserved for revenue is added to the old capital. Then a variable capital increased by £100 produces £100 less surplus value. More capital is required to employ the same number of labourers, and at the same time the surplus value produced by each labourer is reduced.

The advantages resulting from a release and the disadvantages resulting from a tie-up of variable capital both exist only for capital already engaged and reproducing itself under certain given conditions. For newly invested capital the advantages on the one hand, and the disadvantages on the other, are confined to an increase or drop in the rate of surplus value, and to a corresponding, if in no way proportionate, change in the rate of profit.

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The release and tie-up of variable capital, just analysed, is the result of a depreciation or appreciation of the elements of variable capital, that is, of the cost of reproducing labour power. But variable capital could also be released if, with the wage rate unchanged, fewer labourers were required due to the development of the productive power of labour to set in motion the same amount of constant capital. In like manner, there may reversely be a tie-up of additional variable capital if more labourers are required for the same quantity of constant capital due to a drop in productivity. If, on the other hand, a portion of capital formerly employed as variable capital is employed in the form of constant capital, so that merely a different distribution exists between the components of the same capital, this has an influence on both the rate of surplus value and the rate of profit, but does not belong under the heading of tie-up and release of capital, which is here being discussed.

We have already seen that constant capital may also be tied up or released by the appreciation or depreciation of its component elements. Aside from this, it can be tied up only if the productive power of labour increases (provided a portion of the variable is not converted into constant capital), so that the same amount of labour creates a greater product and therefore sets in motion a larger constant capital. The same may occur under certain circumstances if productive power decreases, for instance in agriculture, so that the same quantity of labour requires more means of production, such as seeds or manure, drainage, etc., in order to produce the same output. Constant capital may be released without depreciation if

improvements, utilisation of the forces of Nature, etc., enable a constant capital of smaller value to technically perform the same services as were formerly performed by a constant capital of greater value.

We have seen in Book II[a] that once commodities have been converted into money, or sold, a certain portion of this money must be reconverted into the material elements of constant capital, and in the proportions required by the technical nature of the particular sphere of production. In this respect, the most important element in all branches—aside from wages, i. e., variable capital—is raw material, including auxiliary material, which is particularly important in such lines of production as do not involve raw materials in the strict sense of the term, for instance in mining and the extractive industries in general. That portion of the price which is to make good the wear and tear of machinery enters the accounts chiefly nominally so long as the machinery is at all in an operating condition. It does not greatly matter whether it is paid for and replaced by money one day or the next, or at any other stage of the period of turnover of the capital. It is quite different in the case of the raw material. If the price of raw material rises, it may be impossible to make it good fully out of the price of the commodities after wages are deducted. Violent price fluctuations therefore cause interruptions, great collisions, even catastrophes, in the process of reproduction. It is especially agricultural produce proper, i. e., raw materials taken from organic nature, which—leaving aside the credit system for the present[1]—is subject to such fluctuations of value in consequence of changing yields, etc. Due to uncontrollable natural conditions, favourable or unfavourable seasons, etc., the same quantity of labour may be represented in very different quantities of use values, and a definite quantity of these use values may therefore have very different prices. If the value x is represented by 100 lbs of the commodity a, then the price of one lb. of a $= \frac{x}{100}$; if it is represented by 1,000 lbs of a, the price of one lb. of a $= \frac{x}{1,000}$, etc. This is therefore one of the elements of these fluctuations in the price of raw materials. A second element, mentioned at this point only for the sake of completeness—since competition and the credit system are still outside the scope of our analysis—is this: It is the nature of things that vegetable and

[a] See present edition, Vol. 36, pp. 390-432.

animal substances whose growth and production are subject to certain organic laws and bound up with definite natural time periods, cannot be suddenly augmented in the same degree as, for instance, machines and other fixed capital, or coal, ore, etc., whose augmentation can, provided the natural conditions do not change, be rapidly accomplished in an industrially developed country. It is therefore quite possible, and under a developed system of capitalist production even inevitable, that the production and increase of the portion of constant capital consisting of fixed capital, machinery, etc., should considerably outstrip the portion consisting of organic raw materials, so that demand for the latter grows more rapidly than their supply, causing their price to rise. Rising prices actually cause 1) these raw materials to be shipped from greater distances, since the mounting prices suffice to cover greater freight rates; 2) an increase in their production, which circumstance, however, will probably not, for natural reasons, multiply the quantity of products until the following year; 3) the use of various previously unused substitutes and greater utilisation of waste. When this rise of prices begins to exert a marked influence on production and supply it indicates in most cases that the turning-point has been reached at which demand drops on account of the protracted rise in the price of the raw material and of all commodities of which it is an element, causing a reaction in the price of raw material. Aside from the convulsions which this causes in various forms through depreciation of capital, there are also other circumstances, which we shall mention shortly.

But so much is already evident from the foregoing: The greater the development of capitalist production, and, consequently, the greater the means of suddenly and permanently increasing that portion of constant capital consisting of machinery, etc., and the more rapid the accumulation (particularly in times of prosperity), so much greater the relative overproduction of machinery and other fixed capital, so much more frequent the relative underproduction of vegetable and animal raw materials, and so much more pronounced the previously described rise of their prices and the attendant reaction. And so much more frequent are the convulsions caused as they are by the violent price fluctuations of one of the main elements in the process of reproduction.

If, however, a collapse of these high prices occurs because their rise caused a drop in demand on the one hand, and, on the other, an expansion of production in one place and in another importation

from remote and previously less resorted to, or entirely ignored, production areas, and, in both cases, a supply of raw materials exceeding the demand—particularly at the old high prices—then the result may be considered from different points of view. The sudden collapse of the price of raw materials checks their reproduction, and the monopoly of the original producing countries, which enjoy the most favourable conditions of production, is thereby restored—possibly with certain limitations, but restored nevertheless. True, due to the impetus it has had, reproduction of raw material proceeds on an extended scale, especially in those countries which more or less possess a monopoly of this production. But the basis on which production carries on after the extension of machinery, etc., and which, after some fluctuations, is to serve as the new normal basis, the new point of departure, is very much extended by the developments in the preceding cycle of turnover. In the meantime, the barely increased reproduction again experiences considerable impediments in some of the secondary sources of supply. For instance, it is easily demonstrated on the basis of the export tables that in the last 30 years (up to 1865) the production of cotton in India increases whenever there has been a drop in American production, and subsequently it drops again more or less permanently. During the period in which raw materials become dear, industrial capitalists join hands and form associations to regulate production. They did so after the rise of cotton prices in 1848 in Manchester, for example, and similarly in the case of flax production in Ireland. But as soon as the immediate impulse is over and the general principle of competition to "buy in the cheapest market" (instead of stimulating production in the countries of origin, as the associations attempt to do, without regard to the immediate price at which these may happen at that time to be able to supply their product)—as soon as the principle of competition again reigns supreme, the regulation of the supply is left once again to "prices". All thought of a common, all-embracing and far-sighted control of the production of raw materials gives way once more to the faith that demand and supply will mutually regulate one another. And it must be admitted that such control is on the whole irreconcilable with the laws of capitalist production, and remains for ever a pious wish, or is limited to exceptional co-operation in times of great stress and confusion.[16] The superstition of the capitalists in this

[16] Since the above was written (1865), competition on the world market has been considerably intensified by the rapid development of industry in all civilised countries,

respect is so deep that in their reports even factory inspectors again and again throw up their hands in astonishment. The alternation of good and bad years naturally also provides for cheaper raw materials. Aside from the direct effect this has on raising the demand, there is also the added stimulus of the previously mentioned influence on the rate of profit. The aforesaid process of production of raw materials being gradually overtaken by the production of machinery, etc., is then repeated on a larger scale. An actual improvement of raw materials satisfying not only the desired quantity, but also the quality desired, such as cotton from India of American quality, would require a prolonged, regularly growing and steady European demand (regardless of the economic conditions under which the Indian producer labours in his country). As it is, however, the sphere of production of raw materials is, by fits, first suddenly enlarged, and then again violently curtailed. All this, and the spirit of capitalist production in general, may be very well studied in the cotton shortage of 1861-65, [26] further characterised as it was by the fact that a raw material, one of the principal elements of reproduction, was for a time entirely unavailable. To be sure, the price may also rise in the event of an abundant supply, provided the conditions for this abundance are more knotty. Or, there may be an actual shortage of raw material. It was this last situation which originally prevailed in the cotton crisis.

The closer we approach our own time in the history of production, the more regularly do we find, especially in the essential lines of industry, the ever-recurring alternation between relative appreciation and the subsequent resulting depreciation of raw materials obtained from organic nature. What we have just

especially in America and Germany. The fact that the rapidly and enormously expanding productive forces today outgrow the control of the laws of the capitalist mode of commodity exchange, within which they are supposed to operate, impresses itself more and more even on the minds of the capitalists. This is disclosed especially by two symptoms. First, by the new and general mania for a protective tariff, which differs from the old protectionism in that now articles fit for export are those best protected. And secondly, by the trusts of manufacturers of whole spheres of production which regulate production, and thus prices and profits. It goes without saying that these experiments are practicable only so long as the economic climate is relatively favourable. The first storm must upset them and prove that, although production assuredly needs regulation, it is certainly not the capitalist class which is fitted for that task. Meanwhile, the trusts have no other mission but to see to it that the little fish are swallowed by the big fish still more rapidly than before.—*F. E.*

analysed will be illustrated by the following examples taken from reports of factory inspectors.

The moral of history, also to be deduced from other observations concerning agriculture, is that the capitalist system works against a rational agriculture, or that a rational agriculture is incompatible with the capitalist system (although the latter promotes technical improvements in agriculture), and needs either the hand of the small farmer living by his own labour or the control of associated producers.

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Herewith follow the illustrations referred to above, taken from the English Factory Reports.

"The state of trade is better; but the cycle of good and bad times diminishes as machinery increases, and the changes from the one to the other happen oftener, as the demand for raw materials increases with it.... At present, confidence is not only restored after the panic of 1857, but the panic itself seems to be almost forgotten. Whether this improvement will continue or not depends greatly upon the price of raw materials. There appear to me evidences already, that in some instances the maximum has been reached, beyond which their manufacture becomes gradually less and less profitable, till it ceases to be so altogether. If we take, for instance, the lucrative years in the WORSTED trade of 1849 and 1850, we see that the price of Englsh combing wool stood at 1s.1d., and of Australian at between 1s. 2d. and 1s. 5d. per lb., and that on the average of the ten years from 1841 to 1850, both inclusive, the average price of English wool never exceeded 1s. 2d. and of Australian wool 1s. 5d. per lb. But that in the commencement of the disastrous year of 1857, the price of Australian wool began with 1s. 11d., falling to 1s. 6d. in December, when the panic was at its height, but has gradually risen again to 1s. 9d. through 1858, at which it now stands; whilst that of English wool, commencing with 1s. 8d., and rising in April and September 1857 to 1s. 9d., falling in January 1858 to 1s. 2d., has since risen to 1s. 5d., which is 3d. per lb. higher than the average of the ten years to which I have referred.... This shows, I think, ... either that the bankruptcies which similar prices occasioned in 1857 are forgotten; or that there is barely the wool grown which the existing spindles are capable of consuming; or else, that the prices of manufactured articles are about to be permanently higher.... And as in past experience I have seen spindles and looms multiply both in numbers and speed in an incredibly short space of time, and our exports of wool to France increase in an almost equal ratio, and as both at home and abroad the average age of sheep seems to be getting less and less, owing to rapidly increasing populations and to what the agriculturalists call 'a quick return in stock', so I have often felt anxious for persons whom, without this knowledge, I have seen embarking skill and capital in undertakings, wholly reliant for their success on a product which can only be increased according to organic laws. ... The ... state of supply and demand of all raw materials ... seems to account for many of the fluctuations in the cotton trade ..., as well as for the condition of the English wool market in the autumn of 1857, and the subsequent

commercial crisis[a]" [17] (R. Baker in Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 1858, pp. 56-61).

The halcyon days of the West-Riding WORSTED industry, of Yorkshire, were 1849-50. This industry employed 29,246 persons in 1838; 37,000 persons in 1843; 48,097 in 1845; and 74,891 in 1850. The same district had 2,768 mechanical looms in 1838[b]; 11,458 in 1841; 16,870 in 1843; 19,121 in 1845 and 29,539 in 1850 (Reports of Insp. of Fact., 1850, p. 60). This prosperity of the carded wool industry excited certain forebodings as early as October 1850. In his report of April 1851, Sub-Inspector Baker said in regard to Leeds and Bradford:

"The state of trade is, and has been for some time, very unsatisfactory. The worsted spinners are fast losing the profits of 1850, and, in the majority of cases, the manufacturers are not doing much good. I believe, at this moment, there is more woollen machinery standing than I have almost ever known at one time, and the flax spinners are also turning off hands and stopping frames. The cycles of trade, in fact, in the textile fabrics, are now extremely uncertain, and I think we shall shortly find to be true ... that there is no comparison made between the producing power of the spindles, the quantity of raw material, and the growth of the population" (p. 52).

The same is true of the cotton industry. In the cited report for October 1858, we read:

"Since the hours of labour in factories have been fixed, the amounts of consumption, produce, and wages in all textile fabrics have been reduced to a rule of three. ... I quote from a recent lecture delivered by ... the present Mayor of Blackburn, Mr. Baynes, on the cotton trade, who by such means has reduced the cotton statistics of his own neighbourhood to the closest approximation[c]:—

"'Each real and mechanical horse-power will drive 450 self-acting mule spindles with preparation, or 200 THROSTLE spindles, or 15 looms for 40 inches cloth, with winding, warping, and sizing. Each horse-power in spinning will give employment to $2\frac{1}{2}$ operatives, but in weaving to 10 persons, at wages averaging full 10s. 6d. a week to each person. ... The average counts of yarn spun and woven are from 30s. to 32s. twist, and 34s. to 36s. weft yarns; and taking the spinning production at 13 ounces per spindle per week, will give 824,700 lbs yarn spun per week, requiring 970,000 lbs or 2,300 bales of cotton, at a cost of £28,300. ... The total cotton consumed in this district (within a five-mile radius round Blackburn) per week is 1,530,000 lbs, or 3,650 bales, at a cost of £44,625.... This is one-eighteenth of the whole cotton spinning of the United Kingdom, and one-sixth of the whole power-loom weaving.'

[17] It goes without saying that we do not, like Mr. Baker, *explain* the wool crisis of 1857 on the basis of the disproportion between the prices of raw material and finished product. This disproportion was itself but a symptom, and the crisis was a general one.— *F. E.*

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[a] The Report has: "with its overwhelming consequences". - [b] The Report has: "1836". - [c] [J.] Baynes, *The Cotton Trade...*, Blackburn, London, 1857, pp. 48-49.

"Thus we see that, according to Mr. Baynes's calculations, the total number of cotton spindles in the United Kingdom is 28,800,000, and supposing these to be always working full time, that the annual consumption of cotton ought to be 1,432,080,000 lbs. But as the import of cotton, less the export in 1856 and 1857, was only 1,022,576,832 lbs, there must necessarily be a deficiency of supply equal to 409,503,168 lbs. Mr. Baynes, however, who has been good enough to communicate with me on this subject, thinks that an annual consumption of cotton based upon the quantity used in the Blackburn district would be liable to be overcharged, owing to the difference, not only in the counts spun, but in the excellence of the machinery. He estimates the total annual consumption of cotton in the United Kingdom at 1,000,000,000 lbs. But if he is right, and there really is an excess of supply equal to 22,576,832 lbs, supply and demand seem to be nearly balanced already, without taking into consideration those additional spindles and looms which Mr. Baynes speaks of as getting ready for work in his own district, and, by parity of reasoning, probably in other districts also" (pp. 59, 60, 61).

## III. GENERAL ILLUSTRATION. THE COTTON CRISIS OF 1861-65

### Preliminary History. 1845-60

*1845.* The golden age of cotton industry. Price of cotton very low. L. Horner says on this point:

"For the last eight years I have not known so active a state of trade as has prevailed during the last summer and autumn, particularly in cotton spinning. Throughout the half-year I have been receiving notices every week of new investments of capital in factories, either in the form of new mills being built, of the few that were untenanted finding occupiers, of enlargements of existing mills, of new engines of increased power, and of manufacturing machinery" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 1845, p. 13).

*1846.* The complaints begin:

"For a considerable time past I have heard from the occupiers of cotton mills very general complaints of the depressed state of their trade ... for within the last six weeks several mills have begun to work short time, usually eight hours a day instead of twelve; this appears to be on the increase.... There has been a great advance in the price of the raw material,... there has been not only no advance in the manufactured articles, but ... prices are lower than they were before the rise in cotton began. From the great increase in the number of cotton mills within the last four years, there must have been, on the one hand, a greatly increased demand for the raw material, and, on the other, a greatly increased supply in the market of the manufactured articles; causes that must concurrently have operated against profits, supposing the supply of the raw material and the consumption of the manufactured article to have remained unaltered; but, of course, in the greater ratio by the late short supply of cotton, and the falling off in the demand for the manufactured articles in several markets, both home and foreign" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 1846, p. 10).

The rising demand for raw materials naturally went hand in hand

with a market flooded with manufactures.—By the way, the expansion of industry at that time and the subsequent stagnation were not confined to the cotton districts. The carded wool district of Bradford had only 318 factories in 1836 and 490 in 1846. These figures do not by any means express the actual growth of production, since the existing factories were also considerably enlarged. This was particularly true of the flax spinning-mills.

"All have contributed more or less, during the last ten years, to the over-stocking of the market, to which a great part of the present stagnation of trade must be attributed.... The depression ... naturally results from such rapid increase of mills and machinery" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 1846, p. 30).

*1847.* In October, a money panic. Discount 8%. This was preceded by the debacle of the railway swindle and the East Indian speculation in accommodation bills. But:

"Mr. Baker enters into very interesting details respecting the increased demand, in the last few years, for cotton, wool, and flax, owing to the great extension of these trades. He considers the increased demand for these raw materials, occurring, as it has, at a period when the produce has fallen much below an average supply, as almost sufficient, even without reference to the monetary derangement, to account for the present state of these branches. This opinion is fully confirmed, by my own observations, and conversation with persons well acquainted with trade. Those several branches were all in a very depressed state, while discounts were readily obtained at and under 5 per cent. The supply of raw silk has, on the contrary, been abundant, the prices moderate, and the trade, consequently, very active, till ... the last two or three weeks, when there is no doubt the monetary derangement has affected not only the persons actually engaged in the manufacture, but more extensively still, the manufacturers of fancy goods, who were great customers to the throwster. A reference to published returns shows that the cotton trade had increased nearly 27 per cent in the last three years. Cotton has consequently increased, in round numbers, from 4d. to 6d. per lb., while twist, in consequence of the increased supply, is yet only a fraction above its former price. The woollen trade began its increase in 1836, since which Yorkshire has increased its manufacture of this article 40 per cent, but Scotland exhibits a yet greater increase. The increase of the worsted trade [18] is still larger. Calculations give a result of upwards of 74 per cent increase within the same period. The consumption of raw wool has therefore been immense. Flax has increased since 1839 about 25 per cent in England, 22 per cent in Scotland, and nearly 90 per cent in Ireland [19]; the consequence of this,

[18] A sharp distinction is made in England between woollen manufacture, which spins carded yarn from short wool and weaves it (main centre Leeds), and worsted manufacture, which makes worsted yarn from long wool and weaves it (main seat Bradford, in Yorkshire).—*F. E.*

[19] This rapid expansion of output of machine-made linen yarn in Ireland dealt a death-blow to exports of linen made of hand-made yarn in Germany (Silesia, Lusatia, and Westphalia).—*F. E.*

in connexion with bad crops, has been that the raw material has gone up £10 per ton, while the price of yarn has fallen 6d. a bundle" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 1847, pp. 30-31).

*1849.* Since late in 1848 business revived.

"The price of flax which has been so low as to almost guarantee a reasonable profit under any future circumstances, has induced the manufacturers to carry on their work very steadily.... The woollen manufacturers were exceedingly busy for a while in the early part of the year.... I fear that consignments of woollen goods often take the place of real demand, and that periods of apparent prosperity, i. e., of full work, are not always periods of legitimate demand. In some months the WORSTED has been exceedingly good, in fact flourishing.... At the commencement of the period referred to, wool was exceedingly low; what was bought by the spinners was well bought, and no doubt in considerable quantities. When the price of wool rose with the spring wool sales, the spinner had the advantage, and the demand for manufactured goods becoming considerable and imperative, they kept it" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., [April] 1849, p. 42).

"If we look at the variations in the state of trade, which have occurred in the manufacturing districts ... for a period now of between three and four years, I think we must admit the existence of a great disturbing cause somewhere ... but may not the immensely productive power of increased machinery have added another element to the same cause?" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., April 1849, pp. 42, 43).

In November 1848, and in May and summer of 1849, right up to October, business flourished.

"The worsted stuff trade, of which Bradford and Halifax are the great hives of industry, has been the one most active; this trade has never before reached anything like the extent, to which it has now attained.... Speculation, and uncertainty as to the probable supply of cotton wool, have ever had the effect of causing greater excitement, and more frequent alterations in the state of that branch of manufacture, than any other. There is ... at present an accumulation in stock of the coarser kinds of cotton goods, which creates anxiety on the part of the smaller spinners, and is already acting to their detriment, having caused several of them to work their mills short time" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 1849, pp. 64-65).

*1850.* April. Business continued brisk. The exception:

"The great depression in a part of the cotton trade ... attributable to the scarcity in the supply of the raw material more especially adapted to the branch engaged in spinning low numbers of cotton yarns, or manufacturing heavy cotton goods. A fear is entertained that the increased machinery built recently for the WORSTED trade, may be followed with a similar reaction. Mr. Baker computes that in the year 1849 alone the worsted looms have increased their produce 40 per cent, and the spindles 25 or 30 per cent, and they are still increasing at the same rate" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., April 1850, p. 54).

*1850.* October.

"The high price of raw cotton continues ... to cause a considerable depression in this branch of manufacture, especially in those descriptions of goods in which the raw

material constitutes a considerable part of the cost of production.... The great advance in the price of raw silk has likewise caused a depression in many branches of that manufacture" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 1850, p. 14).

From the same report we learn that the Committee of the Royal Society for the Promotion and Improvement of the Growth of Flax in Ireland predicted that the high price of flax, together with the low level of prices for other agricultural products, ensured a considerable increase in flax production in the ensuing year (p. 33).

*1853.* April. Great prosperity. L. Horner says in his report:

"At no period during the last seventeen years that I have been officially acquainted with the manufacturing districts in Lancashire have I known such general prosperity; the activity in every branch is extraordinary" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., April 1853, p. 19).

*1853.* October. Depression in the cotton industry."Over-production" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 1853, p. 15).

*1854.* April.

"The woollen trade, although not brisk, has given full employment to all the factories engaged upon that fabric, and a similar remark applies to the cotton factories. The WORSTED trade generally has been in an uncertain and unsatisfactory condition during the whole of the last half-year.... The manufacture of flax and hemp are ... seriously impeded, by reason of the diminished supplies of the raw materials from Russia due to the Crimean war" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., [April] 1854, p. 37).

*1859.*

"The trade in the Scottish flax districts still continues depressed — the raw material being scarce, as well as high in price; and the inferior quality of the last year's crop in the Baltic, from whence come our principal supplies, will have an injurious effect on the trade of the district; jute, however, which is gradually superseding flax in many of the coarser fabrics, is neither unusually high in price, nor scarce in quantity ... about one-half of the machinery in Dundee is now employed in jute spinning" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., April 1859, p. 19).— "Owing to the high price of the raw material, flax spinning is still far from remunerating, and while all the other mills are going full time, there are several instances of the stoppage of flax machinery.... Jute spinning is ... in a rather more satisfactory state, owing to the recent decline in the price of material, which has now fallen to a very moderate point" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 1859, p. 20).

## 1861-64. American Civil War. Cotton Famine. The Greatest Example of an Interruption in the Production Process through Scarcity and Dearness of Raw Material

### *1860*. April.

"With respect to the state of trade, I am happy to be able to inform you that, notwithstanding the high price of raw material, all the textile manufactures, with the exception of silk, have been fairly busy during the past half-year.... In some of the cotton districts hands have been advertised for, and have migrated thither from Norfolk and other rural counties.... There appears to be, in every branch of trade, a great scarcity of raw material. It is ... the want of it alone, which keeps us within bounds. In the cotton trade, the erection of new mills, the formation of new systems of extension, and the demand for hands, can scarcely, I think, have been at any time exceeded. Everywhere there are new movements in search of raw material" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., April 1860 [p.57]).

### *1860*. October.

"The state of trade in the cotton, woollen, and flax districts has been good; indeed in Ireland, it is stated to have been 'very good' for now more than a year; and that it would have been still better, but for the high price of raw material. The flax spinners appear to be looking with more anxiety than ever to the opening out of India by railways, and to the development of its agriculture, for a supply of flax which may be commensurate with their wants" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 1860, p. 37).

### *1861*. April.

"The state of trade is at present depressed.... A few cotton mills are running short time, and many silk mills are only partially employed. Raw material is high. In almost every branch of textile manufacture it is above the price at which it can be manufactured for the masses of the consumers" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., April 1861, p. 33).

It had become evident that in 1860 the cotton industry had overproduced. The effect of this made itself felt during the next few years.

"It has taken between two and three years to absorb the overproduction of 1860 in the markets of the world" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., December 1863, p. 127). "The depressed state of the markets for cotton manufactures in the East, early in 1860, had a corresponding effect upon the trade of Blackburn, in which 30,000 power-looms are usually employed almost exclusively in the production of cloth to be consumed in the East. There was consequently but a limited demand for labour for many months prior to the effects of the cotton blockade being felt.... Fortunately this preserved many of the spinners and manufacturers from being involved in the common ruin. Stocks increased in value so long as they were held, and there had been consequently nothing like that alarming depreciation in the value of property which might not unreasonably have been looked for in such a crisis" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 1862, pp. 28-29, 30).

*1861.* October.

"Trade has been for some time in a very depressed state.... It is not improbable indeed that during the winter months many establishments will be found to work very short time. This might, however, have been anticipated ... irrespective of the causes which have interrupted our usual supplies of cotton from America and our exports, short time must have been kept during the ensuing winter in consequence of the great increase of production during the last three years, and the unsettled state of the Indian and Chinese markets" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 1861, p. 19).

### *Cotton Waste. East Indian Cotton* (SURAT). *Influence on the Wages of Labourers. Improvement of Machinery. Adding Starch Flour and Mineral Substitutes to Cotton. Effect of Starch Flour Sizing on Labourers. Manufacturers of Finer Yarn Grades. Manufacturers' Fraud*

"A manufacturer writes to me thus: 'As to estimates of consumption per spindle, I doubt if you take sufficiently into calculation the fact that when cotton is high in price, every spinner of ordinary yarns (say up to 40s.) (principally 12s. to 32s.) will raise his counts as much as he can, that is, will spin 16s. where he used to spin 12s., or 22s.in the place of 16s., and so on; and the manufacturer using these fine yarns will make his cloth the usual weight by the addition of so much more size. The trade is availing itself of this resource at present to an extent which is even discreditable. I have heard on good authority of ordinary export SHIRTING weighing 8 lbs of which $2\frac{3}{4}$ lbs were size.... In cloths of other descriptions as much as 50 per cent size is sometimes added; so that a manufacturer may and does truly boast that he is getting rich by selling cloth for less money per pound than he paid for the mere yarn of which they are composed' " (Reports of Insp. of Fact., April 1864, p. 27).

"I have also received statements that the weavers attribute increased sickness to the size which is used in dressing the warps of Surat cotton, and which is not made of the same material as formerly, viz., flour. This substitute for flour is said, however, to have the very important advantage of increasing greatly the weight of the cloth manufactured, making 15 lbs of the raw material to weigh 20 lbs, when woven into cloth." (Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 1863, p. 63. This substitute was ground talcum, called CHINA CLAY, or gypsum, called FRENCH CHALK.) — "The earnings of the weavers" (meaning the operatives) "are much reduced from the employment of substitutes for flour as sizing for warps. This sizing, which gives weight to the yarn, renders it hard and brittle. Each thread of the warp in the loom passes through a part of the loom called 'a heald', which consists of strong threads to keep the warp in its proper place, and the hard state of the warp causes the threads of the heald to break frequently; and it is said to take a weaver five minutes to tie up the threads every time they break; and a weaver has to piece these ends at least ten times as often as formerly, thus reducing the productive powers of the loom in the working-hours" (ibid., pp. 42-43).

"In Ashton, Stalybridge, Mossley, Oldham, etc., the reduction of time has been fully one-third, and the hours are lessening every week.... Simultaneously with this diminution of time there is also a reduction of wages in many departments" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 1861, pp. 12-13).

Early in 1861 there was a strike among the mechanical weavers in some parts of Lancashire. Several manufacturers had announced a wage reduction of 5 to 7.5%. The operatives insisted that the wage scale remain the same while working hours were reduced. This was not granted, and a strike was called. A month later, the operatives had to give in. But then they got both.

"In addition to the reduction of wages to which the operatives at last consented, many mills are now running short time" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., April 1861, p. 23).

*1862.* April.

"The sufferings of the operatives since the date of my last report have greatly increased; but at no period of the history of manufactures, have sufferings so sudden and so severe been borne with so much silent resignation and so much patient self-respect" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., April 1862, p. 10). "The proportionate number of operatives wholly out of employment at this date appears not to be much larger than it was in 1848, when there was an ordinary panic of sufficient consequences to excite alarm amongst the manufacturers, so much so as to warrant the collection of similar statistics of the state of the cotton trade as are now issued weekly.... In May 1848, the proportion of cotton operatives out of work in Manchester out of the whole number usually employed was 15 per cent, on short time 12 per cent, whilst 70 per cent were in full work. On the 28th of May of the present year, of the whole number of persons usually employed 15 per cent were out of work, 35 per cent were on short time, and 49 per cent were working full time.... In some other places, Stockport for example, the averages of short time and of non-employment are higher, whilst those of full time are less", because coarser numbers are spun there than in Manchester (p. 16).

*1862.* October.

"I find by the last return to Parliament that there were 2,887 cotton factories in the United Kingdom in 1861, 2,109 of them being in my district" (Lancashire and Cheshire). "I was aware that a very large proportion of the 2,109 factories in my district were small establishments, giving employment to few persons, but I have been surprised to find how large that proportion is. In 392, or 19 per cent, the steam-engine or water-wheel is under 10 horse-power; in 345, or 16 per cent, the horse-power is above 10 and under 20; and in 1,372 the power is 20 horses and more.... A very large proportion of these small manufacturers—being more than a third of the whole number—were operatives themselves at no distant period; they are men without command of capital.... The brunt of the burden then would have to be borne by the remaining two-thirds" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 1862, pp. 18, 19).

According to the same report, 40,146, or 11.3%, of the cotton operatives in Lancashire and Cheshire were then working full time; 134,767, or 38%, were working short time; and 179,721, or 50.7%, were unemployed. After deducting the returns from Manchester and Bolton, where mainly fine grades were spun, a line relatively little affected by the cotton famine, the matter looks still more unfavourable;

namely, fully employed 8.5%, partly employed 38%, and unemployed 53.5% (pp. 19 and 20).

"Working up good or bad cotton makes a material difference to the operatives. In the earlier part of the year, when manufacturers were endeavouring to keep their mills at work by using up all the moderately priced cotton they could obtain, much bad cotton was brought into mills in which good cotton was ordinarily used, and the difference to the operatives in wages was so great that many strikes took place on the ground that they could not make a fair day's wages at the old rates.... In some cases, although working full time, the difference in wages from working bad cotton was as much as one-half" (p. 27).

*1863.* April.

"During the present year there will not be full employment for much more than one-half of the cotton operatives in the country" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., April 1863, p. 14).

"A very serious objection to the use of Surat cotton, as manufacturers are now compelled to use it, is that the speed of the machinery must be greatly reduced in the processes of manufacture. For some years past every effort has been made to increase the speed of machinery, in order to make the same machinery produce more work; and the reduction of the speed becomes therefore a question which affects the operative as well as the manufacturer; for the chief part of the operatives are paid by the work done; for instance, spinners are paid per lb. for the yarn spun, weavers per piece for the number of pieces woven; and even with the other classes of operatives paid by the week there would be a diminution of wages in consideration of the less amount of goods produced. From inquiries I have made, and statements placed in my hands, of the earnings of cotton operatives during the present year, I find there is a diminution averaging 20 per cent upon their former earnings, in some instances the diminution has been as much as 50 per cent, calculated upon the same rate of wages as prevailed in 1861" (p. 13). "...The sum earned depends upon ... the nature of the material operated upon.... The position of the operatives in regard to the amount of their earnings is very much better now" (October 1863) "than it was this time last year. Machinery has improved, the material is better understood, and the operatives are able better to overcome the difficulties they had to contend with at first. I remember being in a sewing school" (a charity institution for unemployed) "at Preston last spring, when two young women, who had been sent to work at a weaving shed the day before, upon the representation of the manufacturer that they could earn 4s. per week, returned to the school to be readmitted, complaining that they could not have earned 1s. per week. I have been informed of 'SELF-ACTING MINDERS', ... men who manage a pair of self-acting mules, earning at the end of a fortnight's full work 8s. 11d., and that from this sum was deducted the rent of the house, the manufacturer, however, returning half the rent as a gift." (How generous!) "The MINDERS took away the sum of 6s. 11d. In many places the SELF-ACTING MINDERS ranged from 5s. to 9s. per week, and the weavers from 2s. to 6s. per week in the last months of 1862.... At the present time a much more healthy state of things exists, although there is still a great decrease in the earnings in most districts.... There are several causes which have tended to the reduction of earnings, besides the shorter staple of the Surat cotton and its dirty condition; for instance, it is now the practice to mix 'waste' largely with Surat, which consequently increases the difficulties of the spin-

ner or minder. The threads, from their shortness of fibre, are more liable to break in the drawing out of the mule and in the twisting of the yarn, and the mule cannot be kept so continuously in motion.... Then, from the great attention required in watching the threads in weaving, many weavers can only mind one loom, and very few can mind more than two looms.... There has been a direct reduction of 5, $7\frac{1}{2}$ and 10 per cent upon the wages of the operatives.... In the majority of cases the operative has to make the best of his material, and to earn the best wages he can at the ordinary rates.... Another difficulty the weavers have sometimes to contend with is, that they are expected to produce well-finished cloth from inferior materials, and are subject to fine for the flaws in their work" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 1863, pp. 41-43).

Wages were miserable, even where work was full time. The cotton workers willingly offered themselves for all public works such as drainage, road-building, stone-breaking and street-paving, in which they were employed, to get their keep from the local authorities (although this practically amounted to assistance to the manufacturer. See Book I, S. 598/589[a]). The whole bourgeoisie stood guard over the labourers. Were the worst dog's wages offered, and a labourer refused to accept them, the Relief Committee[27] would strike him from its lists.It was in a way a golden age for the manufacturers, for the labourers had either to starve or work at a price most profitable for the bourgeois. The Relief Committees acted as watchdogs. At the same time, the manufacturers acted in secret agreement with the government to hinder emigration as much as possible, partly to retain in readiness the capital invested in the flesh and blood of the labourers, and partly to safeguard the house rent squeezed out of the labourers.

"The Relief Committees acted with great strictness upon this point. If work was offered, the operatives to whom it was proposed were struck off the lists, and thus compelled to accept the offer. When they objected to accept work... the cause has been that their earnings would have been merely nominal, and the work exceedingly severe" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct. 1863, p. 97).

The operatives were willing to perform any work given to them under the PUBLIC WORKS ACT.

"The principle upon which industrial employments were organised varied considerably in different towns, but in those places even in which the outdoor work was not absolutely a LABOUR TEST[b] the manner in which labour was remunerated by its being paid for either at the exact rate of relief, or closely approximating the rate, it became in fact a labour test" (p. 69). "The PUBLIC WORKS ACT of 1863 was intended to remedy this inconvenience, and to enable the operative to earn his day's wages as an independent labourer. The purpose of this Act was three-fold: firstly, to enable local authorities

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 574-77. - [b] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

to borrow money of the Exchequer Loan Commissioners" (with consent of the President of the Central Relief Committee); "secondly, to facilitate the improvement of the towns of the cotton districts; thirdly, to provide work and REMUNERATIVE WAGES[a] to the unemployed operatives." Loans to the amount of £883,700 had been granted under this Act up to the end of October 1863 (p. 70).

The works undertaken were mainly canalisation, road-building, street-paving, water-works reservoirs, etc.

Mr. Henderson, Chairman of the committee in Blackburn, wrote with reference to this to factory inspector Redgrave:

"Nothing in my experience, during the present period of suffering and distress, has struck me more forcibly or given me more satisfaction, than the cheerful alacrity with which the unemployed operatives of this district have accepted of the work offered to them through the adoption of the Public Works Act, by the Corporation of Blackburn. A greater contrast than that presented between the cotton spinner as a skilled workman in a factory, and as a labourer in a sewer 14 or 18 feet deep, can scarcely be conceived."

(Depending on the size of his family, he earned 4 to 12s. per week, this enormous amount providing sometimes for a family of eight. The townsmen derived a double profit from this. In the first place, they secured money to improve their smoky and neglected cities at exceptionally low interest. In the second place, they paid the labourers far less than the regular wage.)

"Accustomed as he had been to a temperature all but tropical, to work at which agility and delicacy of manipulation availed him infinitely more than muscular strength and to double and sometimes treble the remuneration which it is possible for him now to obtain, his ready acceptance of the proffered employment involved an amount of self-denial and consideration the exercise of which is most creditable. In Blackburn the men have been tested at almost every variety of outdoor work; in excavating a stiff heavy clay soil to a considerable depth, in draining, in stone-breaking, in road-making, and in excavating for street sewers to a depth of 14, 16, and sometimes 20 feet. In many cases while thus employed they are standing in mud and water to the depth of 10 or 12 inches, and in all they are exposed to a climate which, for chilly humidity is not surpassed I suppose, even if it is equalled, by that of any district in England" (pp. 91-92).—"The conduct of the operatives has been almost blameless, and their readiness to accept and make the best of outdoor labour" (p. 69).

*1864*. April.

"Complaints are occasionally made in different districts of the scarcity of hands, but this deficiency is chiefly felt in particular departments, as, for instance, of weavers.... These complaints have their origin as much from the low rate of wages which

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

the hands can earn owing to the inferior qualities of yarn used, as from any positive scarcity of workpeople even in that particular department. Numerous differences have taken place during the past month between the masters of particular mills and their operatives in respect of the wages. Strikes, I am sorry to say, are but too frequently resorted to. ... The effect of the PUBLIC WORKS ACT is felt as a competition by the mill-owners. The local committee at Bacup has suspended operations, for although all the mills are not running, yet a scarcity of hands has been experienced" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., April 1864, p. 9).

It was indeed high time for the manufacturers. Due to the PUBLIC WORKS ACT the demand for labour grew so strong that many a factory hand was earning 4 to 5 shillings daily in the quarries of Bacup. And so the public works were gradually suspended—this new edition of the *Ateliers nationaux* of 1848,[28] but this time instituted in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

### *Experiments in corpore vili*[a]

"Although I have given the very reduced wages" (of the fully employed), "the actual earnings of the operatives in several mills, it does not follow that they earn the same amount week by week. The operatives are subject to great fluctuation, from the constant experimentalising of the manufacturers upon different kinds and proportions of cotton and waste in the same mill, the 'mixings' as it is called, being frequently changed; and the earnings of the operatives rise and fall with the quality of the cotton mixings; sometimes they have been within 15 per cent of former earnings, and then in a week or two, they have fallen from 50 to 60 per cent."

Inspector Redgrave, who makes this report, then proceeds to cite wage figures taken from actual practice, of which the following examples may suffice:

A, weaver, family of 6, employed 4 days a week, 6s. 8.5d.; B, TWISTER, employed 4.5 days a week, 6s.; C, weaver, family of 4, employed 5 days a week, 5s. 1d.; D, SLUBBER, family of 6, employed 4 days a week, 7s. 10d.; E, weaver, family of 7, employed 3 days a week, 5s., etc. Redgrave continues:

"The above returns are deserving of consideration, for they show that work would become a misfortune in many a family, as it not merely reduces the income, but brings it so low as to be utterly insufficient to provide more than a small portion of the absolute wants, were it not that supplemental relief is granted to operatives when the wages of the family do not reach the sum that would be given to them as relief, if they were all unemployed" (Reports of Insp. of Fact., Oct.1863, pp. 50, 53).

"In no week since the 5th of June last was there more than two days seven hours and a few minutes employment for all the workers" (ibid., p. 121).

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[a] on a useless thing

From the beginning of the crisis to March 25, 1863, nearly three million pounds sterling were expended by the guardians, the Central Relief Committee, and the London Mansion House Committee (ibid., p. 13).

"In a district in which the finest yarn is spun ... the spinners suffer an indirect reduction of 15 per cent in consequence of the change from South SEA ISLAND to Egyptian cotton.... In an extensive district, in many parts of which waste is largely used as a mixture with Surat ... the spinners have had a reduction of 5 per cent, and have lost from 20 to 30 per cent in addition, through working SURAT and waste. The weavers are reduced from 4 looms to 2 looms. In 1860, they averaged 5s. 7d. per loom, in 1863, only 3s. 4d. The fines, which formerly varied from 3d. to 6d." (for the weaver) "on American, now run up to from 1s. to 3s. 6d."

In one district, where Egyptian cotton was used with an admixture of East Indian

"the average of the MULE SPINNERS, which was in 1860 18s. to 25s., now averages from 10s. to 18s. per week, caused, in addition to inferior cotton, by the reduction of the speed of the mule to put an extra amount of twist in the yarn, which in ordinary times would be paid for according to list" (pp. 43, 44). "Although the Indian cotton may have been worked to profit by the manufacturer, it will be seen" (see the wage list on pp. 51-52) "that the operatives are sufferers compared with 1861, and if the use of SURAT be confirmed, the operatives will want to earn the wages of 1861, which would seriously affect the profits of the manufacturer, unless he obtain compensation either in the price of the raw cotton or of his products" (p. 105).

*House Rent.*

"The rent is frequently deducted from the wages of operatives, even when working short time, by the manufacturers whose COTTAGES they may be occupying. Nevertheless the value of this class of property has diminished, and houses may be obtained at a reduction of from 25 to 50 per cent upon the rent of the houses in ordinary times; for instance, a COTTAGE which would have cost 3s. 6d. per week can now be had for 2s. 4d. per week, and sometimes even for less" (p. 57).

*Emigration.* The manufacturers were naturally opposed to emigration of labourers, because, on the one hand,

"looking forward to the recovery of the cotton trade from its present depression, they keep within their reach the means whereby their mills can be worked in the most advantageous manner". On the other hand, "many manufacturers are owners of the houses in which operatives employed in their mills reside, and some unquestionably expect to obtain a portion of the back rent owing" (p. 96).

Mr. Bernall Osborne said in a speech to his parliamentary constituents on October 22, 1864, that the labourers of Lancashire had behaved like the ancient philosophers (Stoics).[a] Not like sheep?

[a] See *The Times*, No. 25011, October 24, 1864, p. 8.

# Chapter VII

## SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS

Suppose, as is assumed in this part, the amount of profit in any particular sphere of production equals the sum of the surplus value produced by the total capital invested in that sphere. Even then the bourgeois will not consider his profit as identical with surplus value, i. e., with unpaid surplus labour, and, to be sure, for the following reasons:

1) In the process of circulation he forgets the process of production. He thinks that surplus value is made when he realises the value of commodities, which includes realisation of their surplus value. //A blank space which follows in the manuscript, indicates that Marx intended to dwell in greater detail on this point.—*F. E.*//

2) Assuming a uniform degree of exploitation, we have seen that regardless of all modifications originating in the credit system, regardless of the capitalists' efforts to outwit and cheat one another, and, lastly, regardless of any favourable choice of the market—the rate of profit may differ considerably, depending on the low or high prices of raw materials and the experience of the buyer, on the relative productivity, efficiency and cheapness of the machinery, on the greater or lesser efficiency of the aggregate arrangement in the various stages of the productive process, elimination of waste, the simplicity and efficiency of management and supervision, etc. In short, given the surplus value for a certain variable capital, it still depends very much on the individual business acumen of the capitalist, or of his managers and salesmen, whether this same surplus value is expressed in a greater or smaller rate of profit, and accordingly yields a greater or smaller amount of profit. Let the same surplus value of £1,000, the product of £1,000 in wages, obtain in enterprise A for a constant capital of £9,000, and in enterprise B for £11,000. In case A we have $p' = \frac{1,000}{10,000}$, or 10%. In case B we have $p' = \frac{1,000}{12,000}$, or $8\frac{1}{3}$ %. The total capital produces relatively more profit in enterprise A than in B, because of a higher rate of profit, although the variable capital advanced in both cases = 1,000 and the surplus value produced by each likewise = 1,000, so that in both cases there exists the same degree of exploitation of the same number of labourers. This difference in the presentation of the same mass of surplus value, or the difference in the rates of profit, and therefore in the profit itself, while

the exploitation of labour is the same, may also be due to other causes. Still, it may also be due wholly to a difference in the business acumen with which both establishments are run. And this circumstance misleads the capitalist, convinces him that his profits are not due to exploiting labour, but, at least in part, to other independent circumstances, and particularly his individual activity.

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The analyses in this first part demonstrate the incorrectness of the view (Rodbertus[a]) according to which (as distinct from ground rent, in which case, for example, the area of real estate remains the same and yet the rent rises) a change in the magnitude of an individual capital is supposed to have no influence on the ratio of profit to capital, and thus on the rate of profit, because if the mass of profit should grow, so does the mass of capital upon which it is calculated, and vice versa.

This is true only in two cases. First, when — assuming that all other circumstances, especially the rate of surplus value, remain unchanged — there is a change in the value of that commodity which is a money commodity. (The same occurs in a merely nominal change of value, the rise or fall of mere tokens of value, other conditions being equal.) Let the total capital = £100, and the profit = £20, the rate of profit being = 20%. Should gold fall by half, or double, the same capital previously worth only £100, will be worth £200 if it falls and the profit will be worth £40, i. e., it will be expressed in so much money instead of the former £20; if it rises, the capital of £100 will be worth only £50, and the profit will be represented by a product, whose value will be £10. But in either case 200:40 = 50:10 = 100:20 = 20%. In all these examples there would, however, have been no actual change in the magnitude of capital value, and only in the money expression of the same value and the same surplus value. For this reason $\frac{s}{C}$, or the rate of profit, could not be affected.

In the second case there is an actual change of magnitude in the value, but unaccompanied by a change in the ratio of v to c; in other words, with a constant rate of surplus value the relation of capital invested in labour power (variable capital considered as an index of

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[a] [J. K.] Rodbertus, *Sociale Briefe an von Kirchmann*, Dritter Brief, Berlin, 1851, p. 125. Cf. present edition, Vol. 31, p. 320.

the amount of labour power set in motion) to the capital invested in means of production remains the same. Under these circumstances, no matter whether we have C, or nC, or $\frac{C}{n}$, e. g., 1,000, or 2,000, or 500, and the rate of profit being 20%, the profit = 200 in the first case, = 400 in the second, and = 100 in the third. But 200:1,000 = 400:2,000 = 100:500 = 20%. That is to say, the rate of profit is unchanged, because the composition of capital remains the same and is not affected by the change in magnitude. Therefore, an increase or decrease in the amount of profit shows merely an increase or decrease in the magnitude of the applied capital.

In the first case there is, therefore, but the appearance of a change in the magnitude of the employed capital, while in the second case there is an actual change in magnitude, but no change in the organic composition of the capital, i. e., in the relative proportions of its variable and constant portions. But with the exception of these two cases, a change in the magnitude of the employed capital is either the *result* of a preceding change in the value of one of its components, and therefore of a change in the relative magnitude of these components (as long as the surplus value itself does not change with the variable capital); or, this change of magnitude (as in labour processes on a large scale, introduction of new machinery, etc.) is the *cause* of a change in the relative magnitude of its two organic components. In all these cases, other circumstances remaining the same, a change in the magnitude of the employed capital must therefore be accompanied simultaneously by a change in the rate of profit.

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A rise in the rate of profit is always due to a relative or absolute increase of the surplus value in relation to its cost of production, i. e., to the advanced total capital, or to a decrease in the difference between the rate of profit and the rate of surplus value.

Fluctuations in the rate of profit may occur irrespective of changes in the organic components of the capital, or of the absolute magnitude of the capital, through a rise or fall in the value of the fixed or circulating advanced capital caused by an increase or a reduction of the working time required for its reproduction, this increase or reduction taking place independently of the already existing capital. The value of every commodity — thus also of the commodities making up the capital — is determined not by the necessary labour time

contained in it, but by the *social* labour time required for its reproduction. This reproduction may take place under unfavourable or under propitious circumstances, distinct from the conditions of original production. If, under altered conditions, it takes double or, conversely, half the time, to reproduce the same material capital, and if the value of money remains unchanged, a capital formerly worth £100 would be worth £200, or £50 respectively. Should this appreciation or depreciation affect all parts of capital uniformly, then the profit would also be accordingly expressed in double, or half, the amount of money. But if it involves a change in the organic composition of the capital, if the ratio of the variable to the constant portion of capital rises or falls, then, other circumstances remaining the same, the rate of profit will rise with a relatively rising variable capital and fall with a relatively falling one. If only the money value of the advanced capital rises or falls (in consequence of a change in the value of money), then the money expression of the surplus value rises, or falls, in the same proportion. The rate of profit remains unchanged.[a]

[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 105-06.

# Part II

## CONVERSION OF PROFIT INTO AVERAGE PROFIT

### Chapter VIII

### DIFFERENT COMPOSITIONS OF CAPITALS IN DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF PRODUCTION AND RESULTING DIFFERENCES IN RATES OF PROFIT

In the preceding part we demonstrated, among other things, that the rate of profit may vary — rise or fall — while the rate of surplus value remains the same. In the present chapter we assume that the intensity of labour exploitation, and therefore the rate of surplus value and the length of the working day, are the same in all the spheres of production into which the social labour of a given country is divided. Adam Smith has already comprehensively shown[a] that the numerous differences in the exploitation of labour in various spheres of production balance one another by means of all kinds of existing compensations, or compensations accepted as such on the basis of current prejudice, so that they are merely evanescent distinctions and are of no moment in a study of the general relations. Other differences, for instance those in the wage scale, rest largely on the difference between simple and complicated labour mentioned in the beginning of Book I (S. 19),[b] and have nothing to do with the intensity of exploitation in the different spheres of production, although they render the lot of the labourer in those spheres very unequal. For instance, if the labour of a goldsmith is better paid than that of a day labourer, the former's surplus labour produces proportionately more surplus value than the latter's. And although the equalising of wages and working days, and thereby of the rates of surplus value, among different spheres of production, and even among different investments of capital in the same

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[a] A. Smith, *Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations*, Vol. I, Paris, 1802. Cf. present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 451-57. - [b] See present edition, Vol. 35, p. 54.

sphere of production, is checked by all kinds of local obstacles, it is nevertheless taking place more and more with the advance of capitalist production and the subordination of all economic conditions to this mode of production. The study of such frictions, while important to any special work on wages, may be dispensed with as incidental and irrelevant in a general analysis of capitalist production. In a general analysis of this kind it is usually always assumed that the actual conditions correspond to their conception, or, what is the same, that actual conditions are represented only to the extent that they are typical of their own general case.

The difference in the rates of surplus value in different countries, and consequently the national differences in the degree of exploitation of labour, are immaterial for our present analysis. What we want to show in this part is precisely the way in which a general rate of profit takes shape in any given country. It is evident, however, that a comparison of the various national rates of profit requires only a collation of the previously studied with that which is here to be studied. First one should consider the differences in the national rates of surplus value, and then, on the basis of these given rates, a comparison should be made of the differences in the national rates of profit. In so far as those differences are not due to differences in the national rates of surplus value, they must be due to circumstances in which the surplus value is assumed, just as in the analysis of this chapter, to be universally the same, i. e., constant.

We demonstrated in the preceding chapter that, assuming the rate of surplus value to be constant, the rate of profit obtaining for a given capital may rise or fall in consequence of circumstances which raise or lower the value of one or the other portion of constant capital, and so affect the proportion between the constant and variable components of capital in general. We further observed that circumstances which prolong or reduce the time of turnover of an individual capital may similarly influence the rate of profit. Since the mass of the profit is identical with the mass of the surplus value, and with the surplus value itself, it was also seen that the *mass* of the profit — as distinct from the *rate* of profit — is not affected by the aforementioned fluctuations of value. They only modify the rate in which a given surplus value, and therefore a profit of a given magnitude, express themselves; in other words, they modify only the relative magnitude of profit, i. e., its magnitude compared with the magnitude of the advanced capital. Inasmuch as capital was tied up or released by such fluctuations of

value, it was not only the rate of profit, but the profit itself, which was likely to be affected in this indirect manner. However, this has then always applied only to such capital as was already used, and not to new investments. Besides, the increase or reduction of profit always depended on the extent to which the same capital could, in consequence of such fluctuation of value, set in motion more or less labour; in other words, it depended on the extent to which the same capital could, with the rate of surplus value remaining the same, obtain a larger or smaller amount of surplus value. Far from contradicting the general rule, or from being an exception to it, this seeming exception was really but a special case in the application of the general rule.

It was seen in the preceding part that, the degree of exploitation remaining constant, changes in the value of the component parts of constant capital and in the time of turnover of capital are attended by changes in the rate of profit. The obvious conclusion is that the rates of profit in different spheres of production existing side by side have to differ when, other circumstances remaining unchanged, the time of turnover of capitals employed in the different spheres differs, or when the value relation of the organic components of these capitals differs in the various branches of production. What we previously regarded as changes occurring successively with one and the same capital is now to be regarded as simultaneous differences among capital investments existing side by side in different spheres of production.

In these circumstances we shall have to analyse: 1) the difference in the *organic composition* of capitals, and 2) the difference in their period of turnover.

The premiss in this entire analysis is naturally that by speaking of the composition or turnover of a capital in a certain line of production we always mean the average normal proportions of capital invested in this sphere, and generally the average in the total capital employed in that particular sphere, and not the accidental differences of the individual capitals in it.

Since it is further assumed that the rate of surplus value and the working day are constant, and since this assumption also implies constant wages, a certain quantity of variable capital represents a definite quantity of labour power set in motion, and therefore a definite quantity of objectified labour. If, therefore, £100 represent the weekly wage of 100 labourers, indicating 100 actual labour powers, then n times £100 indicate the labour powers of n times 100

labourers, and $\frac{£100}{n}$ those of $\frac{100}{n}$ labourers. The variable capital thus serves here (as is always the case when the wage is given) as an index of the amount of labour set in motion by a definite total capital. Differences in the magnitude of the employed variable capitals serve, therefore, as indexes of the difference in the amount of employed labour power. If £100 indicate 100 labourers per week, and represent 6,000 working hours at 60 working hours per week, then £200 represent 12,000, and £50 only 3,000 working hours.

By composition of capital we mean, as stated in Book I, the proportion of its active and passive components, i. e., of variable and constant capital. Two proportions enter into consideration under this heading. They are not equally important, although they may produce similar effects under certain circumstances.

The first proportion rests on a technical basis, and must be regarded as given at a certain stage of development of the productive forces. A definite quantity of labour power represented by a definite number of labourers is required to produce a definite quantity of products in, say, one day, and — what is self-evident — thereby to consume productively, i. e., to set in motion, a definite quantity of means of production, machinery, raw materials, etc. A definite number of labourers corresponds to a difinite quantity of means of production, and hence a definite quantity of living labour to a definite quantity of labour already objectified in means of production. This proportion differs greatly in different spheres of production, and frequently even in different branches of one and the same industry, although it may by coincidence be entirely or approximately the same in entirely separate lines of industry.

This proportion forms the technical composition of capital and is the real basis of its organic composition.

However, it is also possible that this first proportion may be the same in different lines of industry, provided variable capital is merely an index of labour power and constant capital merely an index of the mass of means of production set in motion by this labour power. For instance, certain work in copper and iron may require the same ratio of labour power to mass of means of production. But since copper is more expensive than iron, the value relation between variable and constant capital is different in each case, and hence also the value composition of the two total capitals. The difference between the technical composition and the value composition is manifested in each branch of industry in that the value relation of the two portions of

capital may vary while the technical composition is constant, and the value relation may remain the same while the technical composition varies. The latter case will, of course, be possible only if the change in the ratio of the employed masses of means of production and labour power is compensated by a reverse change in their values.

The value composition of capital, inasmuch as it is determined by, and reflects, its technical composition, is called the *organic* composition of capital. [20]

In the case of variable capital, therefore, we assume that it is the index of a definite quantity of labour power, or of a definite number of labourers, or a definite quantity of living labour set in motion. We have seen in the preceding part that a change in the magnitude of the value of variable capital might eventually indicate nothing but a higher or lower price of the same mass of labour. But here, where the rate of surplus value and the working day are taken to be constant, and the wages for a definite working period are given, this is out of the question. On the other hand, a difference in the magnitude of the constant capital may likewise be an index of a change in the mass of means of production set in motion by a definite quantity of labour power. But it may also stem from a difference in value between the means of production set in motion in one sphere and those of another. Both points of view must therefore be examined here.

Finally, we must take note of the following essential facts:

Let £100 be the weekly wage of 100 labourers. Let the weekly working hours = 60. Furthermore, let the rate of surplus value = 100%. In this case, the labourers work 30 of the 60 hours for themselves and 30 hours gratis for the capitalist. In fact, the £100 of wages represent just the 30 working hours of 100 labourers, or altogether 3,000 working hours, while the other 3,000 hours worked by the labourers are incorporated in the £100 of surplus value, or in the profit pocketed by the capitalist. Although the wage of £100 does not, therefore, express the value in which the weekly labour of the 100 labourers is incorporated it indicates nevertheless (since the length of the working day and the rate of surplus value are given) that this capital sets

[20] The above has already been briefly developed in the third edition of Book I in the beginning of Kap. XXIII, S. 628. [a] Since the two first editions do not contain that passage, its repetition here is all the more desirable.—*F. E.*

[a] English edition: Ch. XXV (see present edition, Vol. 35, p. 607).

in motion 100 labourers for 6,000 working hours. The capital of £100 indicates this, first, because it indicates the number of labourers set in motion, with £1 = 1 labourer per week, hence £100 = 100 labourers; and, secondly, because, since the rate of surplus value is given as 100%, each of these labourers performs twice as much work as is contained in his wages, so that £1, i. e., his wage, which is the expression of half a week of labour, actuates a whole week's labour, just as £100 sets in motion 100 weeks of labour, although it contains only 50. A very essential distinction is thus to be made in regard to variable capital laid out in wages. Its value as the sum of wages, i. e., as a certain amount of objectified labour, is to be distinguished from its value as a mere index of the mass of living labour which it sets in motion. The latter is always greater than the labour which it incorporates, and is, therefore, represented by a greater value than that of the variable capital. This greater value is determined, on the one hand, by the number of labourers set in motion by the variable capital and, on the other, by the quantity of surplus labour performed by them.

It follows from this manner of looking upon variable capital that:

When a capital invested in production sphere A expends only 100 in variable capital for each 700 of total capital, leaving 600 for constant capital, while a capital invested in production sphere B expends 600 for variable and only 100 for constant capital, then capital A of 700 sets in motion only 100 of labour power, or, in the terms of our previous assumption, 100 weeks of labour, or 6,000 hours of living labour, while the same amount of capital B will set in motion 600 weeks of labour, or 36,000 hours of living labour. The capital in A would then appropriate only 50 weeks of labour, or 3,000 hours of surplus labour, while the same amount of capital in B would appropriate 300 weeks of labour, or 18,000 hours. Variable capital is not only the index of the labour embodied in it. When the rate of surplus value is known it is also an index of the amount of labour set in motion over and above that embodied in itself, i. e., of surplus labour. Assuming the same intensity of exploitation, the profit in the first case would be $\frac{100}{700} = \frac{1}{7} = 14\frac{2}{7}\%$, and in the second case, $\frac{600}{700} = 85\frac{5}{7}\%$, or a sixfold rate of profit. In this case, the profit itself would actually be six times as great, 600 in B as against 100 in A, because the same capital set in motion six times as much living labour, which at the same level of exploitation means six times as much surplus value, and thus six times as much profit.

But if the capital invested in A were not 700 but £7,000, while that invested in B were only £700, and the organic composition of both were to remain the same, then the capital in A would employ £1,000 of the £7,000 as variable capital, that is, 1,000 labourers per week = 60,000 hours of living labour, of which 30,000 would be surplus labour. Yet each £700 of the capital in A would continue to set in motion only $\frac{1}{6}$ as much living labour, and hence only $\frac{1}{6}$ as much surplus labour, as the capital in B, and would produce only $\frac{1}{6}$ as much profit. If we consider the rate of profit, then in A $\frac{1,000}{7,000} = \frac{100}{700} = 14\frac{2}{7}\%$, as compared with $\frac{600}{700}$, or $85\frac{5}{7}\%$, in B. Taking equal amounts of capital, the rates of profit differ because, owing to the different masses of living labour set in motion, the masses of surplus value, and thus of profit, differ, although the rates of surplus value are the same.

We get practically the same result if the technical conditions are the same in both spheres of production, but the value of the elements of the employed constant capital is greater or smaller in the one than in the other. Let us assume that both invest £100 as variable capital and therefore employ 100 labourers per week to set in motion the same quantity of machinery and raw materials. But let the latter be more expensive in B than in A. For instance, let the £100 of variable capital set in motion £200 of constant capital in A, and £400 in B. With the same rate of surplus value, of 100%, the surplus value produced is in either case equal to £100. Hence, the profit is also equal to £100 in both. But the rate of profit in A is $\frac{100}{200_c+100_v} = \frac{1}{3} = 33\frac{1}{3}\%$, while in B it is $\frac{100}{400_c+100_v} = \frac{1}{5} = 20\%$. In fact, if we select a certain aliquot part of the total capital in either case, we find that in every £100 of B only £20, or $\frac{1}{5}$, constitute variable capital, while in every £100 of A £$33\frac{1}{3}$, or $\frac{1}{3}$, form variable capital. B produces less profit for each £100, because it sets in motion less living labour than A. The difference in the rates of profit thus resolves itself once more, in this case, into a difference of the masses of profit, i.e., in effect, the masses of surplus value, produced by each 100 of invested capital.

The difference between this second example and the first is just this: The equalisation between A and B in the second case would require only a change in the value of the constant capital of either A or B, provided the technical basis remained the same. But in the first case the technical composition itself is different in the two spheres

of production and would have to be completely changed to achieve an equalisation.

The different organic composition of various capitals is thus independent of their absolute magnitude. It is always but a question of how much of every 100 is variable and how much constant capital.

Capitals of different magnitude, calculated in percentages, or, what amounts to the same in this case, capitals of the same magnitude operating for the same working time and with the same degree of exploitation may produce very much different amounts of profit, because of surplus value, for the reason that a difference in the organic composition of capital in different spheres of production implies a difference in their variable part, thus a difference in the quantities of living labour set in motion by them, and therefore also a difference in the quantities of surplus labour appropriated by them. And this surplus labour is the substance of surplus value, and thus of profit. In different spheres of production equal portions of the total capital comprise unequal sources of surplus value, and the sole source of surplus value is living labour. Assuming the same degree of labour exploitation, the mass of labour set in motion by a capital of 100, and consequently the mass of surplus labour appropriated by it, depend on the magnitude of its variable component. If a capital, consisting in per cent of $90_c + 10_v$, produced as much surplus value, or profit, at the same degree of exploitation as a capital consisting of $10_c + 90_v$, it would be as plain as day that the surplus value, and thus value in general, must have an entirely different source than labour, and that political economy would then be deprived of every rational basis. If we are to assume all the time that £1 stands for the weekly wage of a labourer working 60 hours, and that the rate of surplus value = 100%, then it is evident that the total value product of one labourer in a week = £2. Ten labourers would then produce no more than £20. And since £10 of the £20 replace the wages, the ten labourers cannot produce more surplus value than £10. On the other hand, 90 labourers, whose total product = £180, and whose wages = £90, would produce a surplus value of £90. The rate of profit in the first case would thus be 10%, and in the other 90%. If this were not so, then value and surplus value would be something else than objectified labour. Since capitals in different spheres of production viewed in percentages—or as capitals of equal magnitude—are divided differently into variable and constant capital, setting in motion unequal quantities of living labour and producing different surplus

values, and therefore profits, it follows that the rate of profit, which consists precisely of the ratio of surplus value to total capital in per cent, must also differ.

Now, if capitals in different spheres of production, calculated in per cent, i. e., capitals of equal magnitude, produce unequal profits in consequence of their different organic composition, then it follows that the profits of unequal capitals in different spheres of production cannot be proportional to their respective magnitudes, or that profits in different spheres of production are not proportional to the magnitude of the respective capitals invested in them. For if profits were to grow *pro rata* to the magnitude of invested capital, it would mean that in per cent the profits would be the same, so that in different spheres of production capitals of equal magnitude would have equal rates of profit, in spite of their different organic composition. It is only in the same sphere of production, where we have a given organic composition of capital, or in different spheres with the same organic composition of capital, that the amounts of profits are directly proportional to the amounts of invested capitals. To say that the profits of unequal capitals are proportional to their magnitudes would only mean that capitals of equal magnitude yield equal profits, or that the rate of profit is the same for all capitals, whatever their magnitude and organic composition.

These statements hold good on the assumption that the commodities are sold at their values. The value of a commodity is equal to the value of the constant capital contained in it, plus the value of the variable capital reproduced in it, plus the increment — the surplus value produced — of this variable capital. At the same rate of surplus value, its quantity evidently depends on the quantity of the variable capital. The value of the product of an individual capital of 100 is, in one case, $90_c + 10_v + 10_s = 110$; and in the other, $10_c + 90_v + 90_s = 190$. If the commodities go at their values, the first product is sold at 110, of which 10 represent surplus value, or unpaid labour, and the second at 190, of which 90 represent surplus value, or unpaid labour.

This is particularly important in comparing rates of profit in different countries. Let us assume that the rate of surplus value in one European country = 100%, so that the labourer works half of the working day for himself and the other half for his employer. Let us further assume that the rate of surplus value in an Asian country = 25%, so that the labourer works $\frac{4}{5}$ of the working day for him-

self, and $\frac{1}{5}$ for his employer. Let $84_c + 16_v$ be the composition of the national capital in the European country, and $16_c + 84_v$ in the Asian country, where little machinery, etc., is used, and where a given quantity of labour power consumes relatively little raw material productively in a given time. Then we have the following calculation:

In the European country the value of the product $= 84_c + 16_v + 16_s = 116$; rate of profit $= \frac{16}{100} = 16\%$.

In the Asian country the value of the product $= 16_c + 84_v + 21_s = 121$; rate of profit $= \frac{21}{100} = 21\%$.

The rate of profit in the Asian country is thus more than 25% higher than in the European country although the rate of surplus value in the former is one-fourth that of the latter. Men like Carey, Bastiat, and *tutti quanti*,[a] would arrive at the very opposite conclusion.[b]

By the way, different national rates of profit are mostly based on different national rates of surplus value. But in this chapter we compare unequal rates of profit derived from the same rate of surplus value.

Aside from differences in the organic composition of capitals, and therefore aside from the different masses of labour—and consequently, other circumstances remaining the same, from different masses of surplus labour set in motion by capitals of the same magnitude in different spheres of production, there is yet another source of inequality in rates of profit. This is the different period of turnover of capital in different spheres of production. We have seen in Chapter IV that, other conditions being equal, the rates of profit of capitals of the same organic composition are inversely proportional to their periods of turnover. We have also seen that the same variable capital turned over in different periods of time produces different quantities of annual surplus value. The difference in the periods of turnover is therefore another reason why capitals of equal magnitude in different spheres of production do not produce equal profits in equal periods, and why, consequently, the rates of profit in these different spheres differ.

As far as the ratio of the fixed and circulating capital in the composition of capitals is concerned, however, it does not in itself affect the rate of profit in the least. It can affect the rate of profit only if, in one case, this difference in composition coincides with a different ratio of

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[a] all the rest - [b] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, p. 107.

the variable and constant parts, so that the difference in the rate of profit is due to this latter difference, and not to the different ratio of fixed and circulating capital; and, in the other case, if the difference in the ratio of the fixed and circulating parts of capital is responsible for a difference in the period of turnover in which a certain profit is realised. If capitals are divided into fixed and circulating capital in different proportions, this will naturally always influence the period of turnover and cause differences in it. But this does not imply that the period of turnover, in which the same capitals realise certain profits, is different. For instance, A may continually have to convert the greater part of its product into raw materials, etc., while B may use the same machinery, etc., for a longer time, and may need less raw material, but both A and B, being occupied in production, always have a part of their capital engaged, the one in raw materials, i. e., in circulating capital, and the other in machinery, etc., or in fixed capital. A continually converts a portion of its capital from the form of commodities into that of money, and the latter again into the form of raw material, while B employs a portion of its capital for a longer time as an instrument of labour without any such conversions. If both of them employ the same amount of labour, they will indeed sell quantities of products of unequal value in the course of the year, but both quantities of products will contain equal amounts of surplus value, and their rates of profit, calculated on the entire capital advanced, will be the same, although their composition of fixed and circulating capital, and their periods of turnover, are different. Both capitals realise equal profits in equal periods, although their periods of turnover are different.[21] The difference in the period of turnover is in itself of no importance, except so far as it affects the mass of surplus labour appropriated and realised by the same capital in a given time. If, therefore, a different division into fixed and circulating capital does

[21] //It follows from Chapter IV that the above statement correctly applies only when capitals A and B are differently composed in respect to their values, but that the percentages of their variable parts are proportionate to their periods of turnover, i. e., inversely proportionate to their number of turnovers. Let capital A have the following percentages of composition: $20_c$ fixed + $70_c$ circulating, and thus $90_c + 10_v = 100$. At a rate of surplus value of 100% the $10_v$ produce $10_s$ in one turnover, yielding a rate of profit for one turnover = 10%. Let capital B = $60_c$ fixed + $20_c$ circulating, and thus $80_c + 20_v = 100$. The $20_v$ produce $20_s$ in one turnover at the above rate of surplus value, yielding a rate of profit for one turnover = 20%, which is double that of A. But if A is turned over twice per year, and B only once, then 2 × 10 also make $20_s$ per year, and the annual rate of profit is the same for both, namely 20%.—*F. E.*//

not necessarily imply a different period of turnover, which would in its turn imply a different rate of profit, it is evident that if there is any such difference in the rates of profit, it is not due to a different ratio of fixed to circulating capital as such, but rather to the fact that this different ratio indicates an inequality in the periods of turnover affecting the rate of profit.

It follows, therefore, that the different composition of constant capital in respect to its fixed and circulating portions in various branches of production has in itself no bearing on the rate of profit, since it is the ratio of variable to constant capital which decides this question, while the value of the constant capital, and therefore also its magnitude in relation to the variable is entirely unrelated to the fixed or circulating nature of its components. Yet it may be found — and this often leads to incorrect conclusions — that wherever fixed capital is considerably advanced this but expresses the fact that production is on a large scale, so that constant capital greatly outweighs the variable, or that the living labour power it employs is small compared to the mass of the means of production which it operates.

We have thus demonstrated that different lines of industry have different rates of profit, which correspond to differences in the organic composition of their capitals and, within indicated limits, also to their different periods of turnover; given the same time of turnover, the law (as a general tendency) that profits are related to one another as the magnitudes of the capitals, and that, consequently, capitals of equal magnitude yield equal profits in equal periods, applies only to capitals of the same organic composition, even with the same rate of surplus value. These statements hold good on the assumption which has been the basis of all our analyses so far, namely that the commodities are sold at their values. There is no doubt, on the other hand, that aside from unessential, incidental and mutually compensating distinctions, differences in the average rate of profit in the various branches of industry do not exist in reality, and could not exist without abolishing the entire system of capitalist production. It would seem, therefore, that here the theory of value is incompatible with the actual process, incompatible with the real phenomena of production, and that for this reason any attempt to understand these phenomena should be given up.

It follows from the first part of this volume that the cost prices of products in different spheres of production are equal if equal portions of capital have been advanced for their production, however different

the organic composition of such capitals. The distinction between variable and constant capital escapes the capitalist in the cost price. A commodity for whose production he must advance £100 costs him just as much, whether he invests $90_c + 10_v$, or $10_c + 90_v$. It costs him £100 in either case—no more and no less. The cost prices are the same for equal invested capitals in different spheres, no matter how much the produced values and surplus values may differ. The equality of cost prices is the basis for competition among invested capitals whereby an average profit is brought about.

## Chapter IX

### FORMATION OF A GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT (AVERAGE RATE OF PROFIT) AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE VALUES OF COMMODITIES INTO PRICES OF PRODUCTION

The organic composition of capital depends at any given time on two circumstances: first, on the technical relation of labour power employed to the mass of the means of production employed; secondly, on the price of these means of production. This composition, as we have seen, must be examined on the basis of percentage ratios. We express the organic composition of a certain capital consisting $\frac{4}{5}$ of constant and $\frac{1}{5}$ of variable capital, by the formula $80_c + 20_v$. It is furthermore assumed in this comparison that the rate of surplus value is unchangeable. Let it be any rate picked at random; say, 100%. The capital of $80_c + 20_v$ then produces a surplus value of $20_s$, and this yields a rate of profit of 20% on the total capital. The magnitude of the actual value of its product depends on the magnitude of the fixed part of the constant capital, and on the portion which passes from it through wear and tear into the product. But since this circumstance has absolutely no bearing on the rate of profit, and hence, in the present analysis, we shall assume, for the sake of simplicity, that the constant capital is everywhere uniformly and entirely transferred to the annual product of the capitals. It is further assumed that the capitals in the different spheres of production annually realise the same quantities of surplus value proportionate to the magnitude of their variable parts. For the present, therefore, we disregard the difference which may be produced in this respect by variations in the duration of turnovers. This point will be discussed later.

Let us take five different spheres of production, and let the capital in each have a different organic composition as follows:

| Capitals | Rate of Surplus Value | Surplus Value | Value of Product | Rate of Profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. $80_c + 20_v$ | 100% | 20 | 120 | 20% |
| II. $70_c + 30_v$ | 100% | 30 | 130 | 30% |
| III. $60_c + 40_v$ | 100% | 40 | 140 | 40% |
| IV. $85_c + 15_v$ | 100% | 15 | 115 | 15% |
| V. $95_c + 5_v$ | 100% | 5 | 105 | 5% |

Here, in different spheres of production with the same degree of exploitation of labour, we find considerably different rates of profit corresponding to the different organic composition of these capitals.

The sum total of the capitals invested in these five spheres of production = 500; the sum total of the surplus value produced by them = 110; the aggregate value of the commodities produced by them = 610. If we consider the 500 as a single capital, and capitals I to V merely as its component parts (as, say, different departments of a cotton mill, which has different ratios of constant to variable capital in its carding, preparatory spinning, spinning, and weaving shops, and in which the average ratio for the factory as a whole has still to be calculated), the mean composition of this capital of 500 would = $390_c + 110_v$, or, in per cent, = $78_c + 22_v$. Should each of the capitals of 100 be regarded as $\frac{1}{5}$ of the total capital, its composition would equal this average of $78_c + 22_v$; for every 100 there would be an average surplus value of 22; thus, the average rate of profit would = 22%, and, finally, the price of every fifth of the total product produced by the 500 would = 122. The product of each fifth of the advanced total capital would then have to be sold at 122.

But to avoid entirely erroneous conclusions it must not be assumed that all cost prices = 100.

With $80_c + 20_v$ and a rate of surplus value = 100%, the total value of commodities produced by capital I = 100 would be $80_c + 20_v + 20_s = 120$, provided the entire constant capital went into the annual product. Now, this may under certain circumstances be the case in some spheres of production. But hardly in cases where the proportion of c : v = 4 : 1. We must, therefore, remember in com-

paring the values produced by each 100 of the different capitals, that they will differ in accordance with the different composition of c as to its fixed and circulating parts, and that, in turn, the fixed portions of each of the different capitals depreciate slowly or rapidly as the case may be, thus transferring unequal quantities of their value to the product in equal periods of time. But this is immaterial to the rate of profit. No matter whether the $80_c$ give up a value of 80, or 50, or 5, to the annual product, and the annual product consequently $= 80_c + 20_v + 20_s = 120$, or $50_c + 20_v + 20_s = 90$, or $5_c + 20_v + 20_s = 45$; in all these cases the excess of the product's value over its cost price = 20, and in calculating the rate of profit these 20 are related to the capital of 100 in all of them. The rate of profit of capital I, therefore, is 20% in every case. To make this still plainer, we let different portions of constant capital go into the value of the product of the same five capitals in the following table:

| Capitals | Rate of Surplus Value | Surplus Value | Rate of Profit | Used up c | Value of Commodities | Cost Price | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. $80_c + 20_v$ | 100% | 20 | 20% | 50 | 90 | 70 | |
| II. $70_c + 30_v$ | 100% | 30 | 30% | 51 | 111 | 81 | |
| III. $60_c + 40_v$ | 100% | 40 | 40% | 51 | 131 | 91 | |
| IV. $85_c + 15_v$ | 100% | 15 | 15% | 40 | 70 | 55 | |
| V. $95_c + 5_v$ | 100% | 5 | 5% | 10 | 20 | 15 | |
| $390_c + 110_v$ | — | 110 | — | — | — | — | Total |
| $78_c + 22_v$ | — | 22 | 22% | — | — | — | Average |

If we now again consider capitals I to V as a single total capital, we shall see that, in this case as well, the composition of the sums of these five capitals $= 500 = 390_c + 110_v$, so that we get the same average composition $= 78_c + 22_v$, and, similarly, the average surplus value remains 22.[a] If we divide this surplus value uniformly among capitals I to V, we get the following commodity prices:

[a] In the 1894 German edition "22%"; corrected after Marx's manuscript.

| Capitals | Surplus Value | Value of Commodities | Cost Price of Commodities | Price of Commodities | Rate of Profit | Deviation of Price from Value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. $80_c + 20_v$ | 20 | 90 | 70 | 92 | 22% | + 2 |
| II. $70_c + 30_v$ | 30 | 111 | 81 | 103 | 22% | − 8 |
| III. $60_c + 40_v$ | 40 | 131 | 91 | 113 | 22% | − 18 |
| IV. $85_c + 15_v$ | 15 | 70[a] | 55 | 77 | 22% | + 7 |
| V. $95_c + 5_v$ | 5 | 20 | 15 | 37 | 22% | + 17 |

Taken together, the commodities are sold at 2 + 7 + 17 = 26 above, and 8 + 18 = 26 below their value, so that the deviations of price from value balance out one another through the uniform distribution of surplus value, or through addition of the average profit of 22 per 100 units of advanced capital to the respective cost prices of the commodities I to V. One portion of the commodities is sold above its value in the same proportion in which the other is sold below it. And it is only the sale of the commodities at such prices that enables the rate of profit for capitals I to V to be uniformly 22%, regardless of their different organic composition. The prices which obtain as the average of the various rates of profit in the different spheres of production added to the cost prices of the different spheres of production, constitute the *prices of production.* They have as their prerequisite the existence of a general rate of profit, and this, again, presupposes that the rates of profit in every individual sphere of production taken by itself have previously been reduced to just as many average rates. These particular rates of profit $= \frac{s}{C}$ in every sphere of production, and must, as occurs in Part I of this book, be deduced out of the values of the commodities. Without such deduction the general rate of profit (and consequently the price of production of commodities) remains a vague and senseless conception. Hence, the price of production of a commodity is equal to its cost price plus the profit, added to it in per cent, in accordance with the general rate of profit, or, in other words, to its cost price plus the average profit.

Owing to the different organic compositions of capitals invested in different lines of production, and, hence, owing to the circumstance that —depending on the different percentage which the variable part makes up in a total capital of a given magnitude—capitals of equal

[a] In the 1894 German edition "40"; corrected after Marx's manuscript.

magnitude put into motion very different quantities of labour, they also appropriate very different quantities of surplus labour or produce very different quantities of surplus value. Accordingly, the rates of profit prevailing in the various branches of production are originally very different. These different rates of profit are equalised by competition to a single general rate of profit, which is the average of all these different rates of profit. The profit accruing in accordance with this general rate of profit to any capital of a given magnitude, whatever its organic composition, is called the average profit. The price of a commodity, which is equal to its cost price plus the share of the annual average profit on the capital advanced (not merely consumed) in its production that falls to it in accordance with the conditions of turnover, is called its price of production. Take, for example, a capital of 500, of which 100 is fixed capital, and let 10% of this wear out during one turnover of the circulating capital of 400. Let the average profit for the period of turnover be 10%. In that case the cost price of the product created during this turnover will be $10_c$ for wear plus 400 (c + v) circulating capital = 410, and its price of production will be 410 cost price plus (10% profit on 500) 50 = 460.

Thus, although in selling their commodities the capitalists of the various spheres of production recover the value of the capital consumed in their production, they do not secure the surplus value, and consequently the profit, created in their own sphere by the production of these commodities. What they secure is only as much surplus value, and hence profit, as falls, when uniformly distributed, to the share of every aliquot part of the total capital from the total surplus value, or total profit, produced in a given time by the total social capital in all spheres of production. Every 100 of an advanced capital, whatever its composition, draws as much profit in a year, or any other period of time, as falls to the share of every 100, the n'th part of the total capital, during the same period. So far as profits are concerned, the various capitalists are just so many stockholders in a stock company in which the shares of profit are uniformly divided per 100, so that profits differ in the case of the individual capitalists only in accordance with the amount of capital invested by each in the aggregate enterprise, i. e., according to his investment in social production as a whole, according to the number of his shares. Therefore, the portion of the price of commodities which replaces the elements of capital consumed in the production of these commodities, the portion, therefore, which will have to be used to buy back these consumed capital values, i. e., their

cost price, depends entirely on the outlay of capital within the respective spheres of production. But the other element of the price of commodities, the profit added to this cost price, does not depend on the amount of profit produced in a given sphere of production by a given capital in a given period of time. It depends on the mass of profit which falls as an average for any given period to each individual capital as an aliquot part of the total social capital invested in social production. [22]

When a capitalist sells his commodities at their price of production, therefore, he recovers money in proportion to the value of the capital consumed in their production and secures profit in proportion to his advanced capital as the aliquot part in the total social capital. His cost prices are specific. But the profit added to them is independent of his particular sphere of production, being a simple average per 100 units of invested capital.

Let us assume that the five different investments I to V of the foregoing illustration belong to one man. The quantity of variable and constant capital consumed per 100 of the invested capital in each of the departments I to V in the production of commodities would be known, and this portion of the value of the commodities I to V would, needless to say, make up a part of their price, since at least this price is required to recover the advanced and consumed portions of the capital. These cost prices would therefore be different for each class of the commodities I to V, and would as such be set differently by the owner. But as regards the different quantities of surplus value, or profit, produced by I to V, they might easily be regarded by capitalist as profit on his advanced aggregate capital, so that each 100 units would get their definite aliquot part. Hence, the cost prices of the commodities produced in the various departments I to V would be different; but that portion of their selling price derived from the profit added per 100 capital would be the same for all these commodities. The aggregate price of the commodities I to V would therefore equal their aggregate value, i. e., the sum of the cost prices I to V plus the sum of the surplus values, or profits, produced in I to V. It would hence actually be the money expression of the total quantity of past

[22] Cherbuliez.[a]

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[a] *Richesse ou pauvreté*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1841, pp. 71-72. See also present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 292-99.

and newly added labour incorporated in commodities I to V. And in the same way the sum of the prices of production of all commodities produced in society — the totality of all branches of production — is equal to the sum of their values.

This statement seems to conflict with the fact that under capitalist production the elements of productive capital are, as a rule, bought on the market, and that for this reason their prices include profit which has already been realised, hence, include the price of production of the respective branch of industry together with the profit contained in it, so that the profit of one branch of industry goes into the cost price of another. But if we place the sum of the cost prices of the commodities of an entire country on one side, and the sum of its surplus values, or profits, on the other, the calculation must evidently be right. For instance, take a certain commodity A. Its cost price may contain the profits of B, C, D, etc., just as the cost prices of B, C, D, etc., may contain the profits of A. Now, as we make our calculation the profit of A will not be included in its cost price, nor will the profits of B, C, D, etc., be included in theirs. Nobody ever includes his own profit in his cost price. If there are, therefore, n spheres of production, and if each makes a profit amounting to p, then their aggregate cost price = k − np. Considering the calculation as a whole we see that since the profits of one sphere of production pass into the cost price of another, they are therefore included in the calculation as constituents of the total price of the end product, and so cannot appear a second time on the profit side. If any do appear on this side, however, then only because the commodity in question is itself an ultimate product, whose price of production does not pass into the cost price of some other commodity.

If the cost price of a commodity includes a sum = p, which stands for the profits of the producers of the means of production, and if a profit = $p_1$ is added to this cost price, the aggregate profit $P = p + p_1$. The aggregate cost price of the commodity, considered without the profit portions, is then its own cost price minus P. Let this cost price be k. Then, obviously, $k + P = k + p + p_1$. In dealing with surplus values, we have seen in Book I (Kap. VII, 2, S. 211/203)[a] that the product of every capital may be so treated, as though a part of it replaces only capital, while the other part represents only surplus

[a] English edition: Ch. IX, 2 (see present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 230-33).

value. In applying this approach to the aggregate product of society, we must make some rectifications. Looking upon society as a whole, the profit contained in, say, the price of flax cannot appear twice —not both as a portion of the linen price and as the profit of the flax.

There is no difference between surplus value and profit, as long as, e. g., A's surplus value passes into B's constant capital. It is, after all, quite immaterial to the value of the commodities, whether the labour contained in them is paid or unpaid. This merely shows that B pays for A's surplus value. A's surplus value cannot be entered twice in the total calculation.

But the difference is this: Aside from the fact that the price of a particular product, let us say that of capital B, differs from its value because the surplus value realised in B may be greater or smaller than the profit added to the price of the products of B, the same circumstance applies also to those commodities which form the constant part of capital B, and indirectly also its variable part, as the labourers' necessities of life. So far as the constant portion is concerned, it is itself equal to the cost price plus the surplus value, here therefore equal to cost price plus profit, and this profit may again be greater or smaller than the surplus value for which it stands. As for the variable capital, the average daily wage is indeed always equal to the value produced in the number of hours the labourer must work to produce the necessities of life. But this number of hours is in its turn obscured by the deviation of the prices of production of the necessities of life from their values. However, this always resolves itself to one commodity receiving too little of the surplus value while another receives too much, so that the deviations from the value which are embodied in the prices of production compensate one another. Under capitalist production, the general law acts as the prevailing tendency only in a very complicated and approximate manner, as a never ascertainable average of ceaseless fluctuations.

Since the general rate of profit is formed by taking the average of the various rates of profit for each 100 of capital advanced in a definite period, e. g., a year, it follows that in it the difference brought about by different periods of turnover of different capitals is also effaced. But these differences have a decisive bearing on the different rates of profit in the various spheres of production whose average forms the general rate of profit.

In the preceding illustration concerning the formation of the general rate of profit we assumed each capital in each sphere of produc-

tion = 100, and we did so to show the difference in the rates of profit in per cent, and thus also the difference in the values of commodities produced by equal amounts of capital. But it goes without saying that the actual amounts of surplus value produced in each sphere of production depend on the magnitude of the employed capitals, since the composition of capital is given in each sphere of production. Yet the actual *rate* of profit in any particular sphere of production is not affected by the fact that the capital invested is 100, or m times 100, or xm times 100. The rate of profit remains 10%, whether the total profit is 10:100, or 1,000:10,000.

However, since the rates of profit differ in the various spheres of production, with very much different quantities of surplus value, or profit, being produced in them, depending on the proportion of the variable to the total capital, it is evident that the average profit per 100 of the social capital, and hence the average, or general, rate of profit, will differ considerably in accordance with the respective magnitudes of the capitals invested in the various spheres. Let us take four capitals A, B, C, D. Let the rate of surplus value for all = 100%. Let the variable capital for each 100 of the total be 25 in A, 40 in B, 15 in C, and 10 in D. Then each 100 of the total capital would yield a surplus value, or profit, of 25 in A, 40 in B, 15 in C, and 10 in D. This would total 90, and if these four capitals are of the same magnitude, the average rate of profit would then be $\frac{90}{4}$ or 22 $^1/_2$%.

Suppose, however, the total capitals are as follows: A = 200, B = 300, C = 1,000, D = 4,000. The profits produced would then respectively = 50, 120, 150, and 400. This makes a profit of 720, and an average rate of profit of 13 $^1/_{11}$% for 5,500, the sum of the four capitals.

The masses of the total value produced differ in accordance with the magnitudes of the total capitals invested in A, B, C, D, respectively. The formation of the general rate of profit is, therefore, not merely a matter of obtaining the simple average of the different *rates* of profit in the various spheres of production, but rather one of the relative weight which these different rates of profit have in forming this average. This, however, depends on the relative magnitude of the capital invested in each particular sphere, or on the aliquot part which the capital invested in each particular sphere forms in the aggregate social capital. There will naturally be a very great difference, depending on whether a greater or smaller part of the total capital produces

a higher or lower rate of profit. And this, again, depends on how much capital is invested in spheres, in which the variable capital is relatively small or large compared to the total capital. It is just like the average interest obtained by a usurer who lends various quantities of capital at different interest rates; for instance, at 4, 5, 6, 7%, etc. The average rate will depend entirely on how much of his capital he has loaned out at each of the different rates of interest.

The general rate of profit is, therefore, determined by two factors:

1) The organic composition of the capitals in the different spheres of production, and thus, the different rates of profit in the individual spheres.

2) The distribution of the total social capital in these different spheres, and thus, the relative magnitude of the capital invested in each particular sphere at the specific rate of profit prevailing in it; i. e., the relative share of the total social capital absorbed by each individual sphere of production.

In Books I and II we dealt only with the *value* of commodities. On the one hand, the *cost price* has now been singled out as a part of this value, and, on the other, the *price of production* of commodities has been developed as its converted form.

Suppose the composition of the average social capital is $80_c + 20_v$, and the annual rate of surplus value, $s'$, $= 100\%$. In that case the average annual profit for a capital of $100 = 20$, and the general annual rate of profit $= 20\%$. Whatever the cost price, k, of the commodities annually produced by a capital of 100, their price of production would then $= k + 20$. In those spheres of production in which the composition of capital would $= (80 - x)_c + (20 + x)_v$, the actually produced surplus value, or the annual profit produced in that particular sphere, would $= 20 + x$, that is, greater than 20, and the value of the produced commodities $= k + 20 + x$, that is, greater than $k + 20$, or greater than their price of production. In those spheres, in which the composition of the capital $= (80 + x)_c + (20 - x)_v$, the annually produced surplus value, or profit, would $= 20 - x$, or less than 20, and consequently the value of the commodities $k + 20 - x$ less than the price of production, which $= k + 20$. Aside from possible differences in the periods of turnover, the price of production of the commodities would then equal their value only in spheres, in which the composition of capital would happen to be $80_c + 20_v$.

The specific development of the social productive power of labour

in each particular sphere of production varies in degree, higher or lower, depending on how large a quantity of means of production are set in motion by a definite quantity of labour, hence in a given working day by a definite number of labourers, and, consequently, on how small a quantity of labour is required for a given quantity of means of production. Such capitals as contain a larger percentage of constant and a smaller percentage of variable capital than the average social capital are, therefore, called capitals of *higher* composition, and, conversely, those capitals in which the constant is relatively smaller, and the variable relatively greater than in the average social capital, are called capitals of *lower* composition. Finally, we call those capitals whose composition coincides with the average, capitals of average composition. Should the average social capital be composed in per cent of $80_c + 20_v$, then a capital of $90_c + 10_v$ is *higher*, and a capital of $70_c + 30_v$ *lower* than the social average. Generally speaking, if the composition of the average social capital $= m_c + n_v$, in which m and n are constant magnitudes and $m + n = 100$, the formula $(m + x)_c + (n - x)_v$ represents the higher composition, and $(m - x)_c + (n + x)_v$ the lower composition of an individual capital or group of capitals. The way in which these capitals perform their functions after establishment of an average rate of profit and assuming one turnover per year, is shown in the following tabulation, in which I represents the average composition with an average rate of profit of 20%.

I) $80_c + 20_v + 20_s$. Rate of profit = 20%.
Price of product = 120. Value = 120.

II) $90_c + 10_v + 10_s$. Rate of profit = 20%.
Price of product = 120. Value = 110.

III) $70_c + 30_v + 30_s$. Rate of profit = 20%.
Price of product = 120. Value = 130.

The value of the commodities produced by capital II would, therefore, be smaller than their price of production, the price of production of the commodities of III smaller than their value, and only in the case of capital I in branches of production in which the composition happens to coincide with the social average, would value and price of production be equal. In applying these terms to any particular cases note must, however, be taken whether a deviation of the ratio between c and v from the general average is simply due to a change in the value of the elements of constant capital, rather than to a difference in the technical composition.

The foregoing statements have at any rate modified the original assumption concerning the determination of the cost price of commodities. We had originally assumed that the cost price of a commodity equalled the *value* of the commodities consumed in its production.But for the buyer the price of production of a specific commodity is its cost price, and may thus pass as cost price into the prices of other commodities. Since the price of production may differ from the value of a commodity, it follows that the cost price of a commodity containing this price of production of another commodity may also stand above or below that portion of its total value derived from the value of the means of production consumed by it. It is necessary to remember this modified significance of the cost price, and to bear in mind that there is always the possibility of an error if the cost price of a commodity in any particular sphere is identified with the value of the means of production consumed by it. Our present analysis does not necessitate a closer examination of this point. It remains true, nevertheless, that the cost price of a commodity is always smaller than its value. For no matter how much the cost price of a commodity may differ from the value of the means of production consumed by it, this past mistake is immaterial to the capitalist. The cost price of a particular commodity is a definite condition which is given, and independent of the production of our capitalist, while the result of his production is a commodity containing surplus value, therefore an excess of value over and above its cost price. For all other purposes, the statement that the cost price is smaller than the value of a commodity has now changed practically into the statement that the cost price is smaller than the price of production. As concerns the total social capital, in which the price of production is equal to the value, this statement is identical with the former, namely that the cost price is smaller than the value. And while it is modified in the individual spheres of production, the fundamental fact always remains that in the case of the total social capital the cost price of the commodities produced by it is smaller than their value, or, in the case of the total mass of social commodities, smaller than their price of production, which is identical with their value. The cost price of a commodity refers only to the quantity of paid labour contained in it, while its value refers to all the paid and unpaid labour contained in it. The price of production refers to the sum of the paid labour plus a certain quantity of unpaid labour determined for any particular sphere of production by conditions over which it has no control.

The formula that the price of production of a commodity = k + p, i. e., equals its cost price plus profit, is now more precisely defined with p = kp′ (p′ being the general rate of profit). Hence the price of production = k + kp′. If k = 300 and p′ = 15%, then the price of production is k + kp′ = 300 + 300 × $\frac{15}{100}$, or 345.

The price of production of the commodities in any particular sphere may change in magnitude:

1) If the general rate of profit changes independently of this particular sphere, while the value of the commodities remains the same (the same quantities of congealed and living labour being consumed in their production as before).

2) If there is a change of value, either in this particular sphere in consequence of technical changes, or in consequence of a change in the value of those commodities which form the elements of its constant capital, while the general rate of profit remains unchanged.

3) Finally, if a combination of the two aforementioned circumstances takes place.

In spite of the great changes occurring continually, as we shall see, in the actual rates of profit within the individual spheres of production, any real change in the general rate of profit, unless brought about by way of an exception by extraordinary economic events, is the belated effect of a series of fluctuations extending over very long periods, fluctuations which require much time before consolidating and equalising one another to bring about a change in the general rate of profit. In all shorter periods (quite aside from fluctuations of market prices), a change in the prices of production is, therefore, always traceable *prima facie* to actual changes in the value of commodities, i. e., to changes in the total amount of labour time required for their production. Mere changes in the money expression of the same values are, naturally, not at all considered here.[23)]

On the other hand, it is evident that from the point of view of the total social capital the value of the commodities produced by it (or, expressed in money, their price) = value of constant capital + value of variable capital + surplus value. Assuming the degree of labour exploitation to be constant, the rate of profit cannot change so long as

[23)] Corbet, p. 174.[a]

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[a] *An Inquiry into the Causes and Modes of the Wealth of Individuals...*, London, 1841. Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, p. 250.

the mass of surplus value remains the same, unless there is a change in either the value of the constant capital, the value of the variable capital, or the value of both, so that C changes, and thereby $\frac{s}{C}$, which represents the general rate of profit. In each case, therefore, a change in the general rate of profit implies a change in the value of commodities which form the elements of the constant or variable capital, or of both.

Or, the general rate of profit may change, while the value of the commodities remains the same, when the degree of labour exploitation changes.

Or, if the degree of labour exploitation remains the same, the general rate of profit may change through a change in the amount of labour employed relative to the constant capital as a result of technical changes in the labour process. But such technical changes must always show themselves in, and be attended by, a change in the value of the commodities, whose production would then require more or less labour than before.

We saw in Part I that surplus value and profit are identical from the standpoint of their mass. But the rate of profit is from the very outset distinct from the rate of surplus value, which appears at first sight as merely a different form of calculating. But at the same time this serves, also from the outset, to obscure and mystify the actual origin of surplus value, since the rate of profit can rise or fall while the rate of surplus value remains the same, and vice versa, and since the capitalist is in practice solely interested in the rate of profit. Yet there was difference of magnitude only between the rate of surplus value and the rate of profit and not between the surplus value itself and profit. Since in the rate of profit the surplus value is calculated in relation to the total capital and the latter is taken as its standard of measurement, the surplus value itself appears to originate from the total capital, uniformly derived from all its parts, so that the organic difference between constant and variable capital is obliterated in the conception of profit. Disguised as profit, surplus value actually denies its origin, loses its character, and becomes unrecognisable. However, hitherto the distinction between profit and surplus value applied solely to a qualitative change, or change of form, while there was no real difference of magnitude in this first stage of the change between profit and surplus value, but only between the rate of profit and the rate of surplus value.

But it is different, as soon as a general rate of profit, and thereby an average profit corresponding to the magnitude of employed capital given in the various spheres of production, have been established.

It is then only an accident if the surpuls value, and thus the profit, actually produced in any particular sphere of production, coincides with the profit contained in the selling price of a commodity. As a rule, surplus value and profit and not their rates alone, are then different magnitudes. At a given degree of exploitation, the mass of surplus value produced in a particular sphere of production is then more important for the aggregate average profit of social capital, and thus for the capitalist class in general, than for the individual capitalist in any specific branch of production. It is of importance to the latter [24] only in so far as the quantity of surplus value produced in his branch helps to regulate the average profit. But this is a process which occurs behind his back, one he does not see, nor understand, and which indeed does not interest him. The actual difference of magnitude between profit and surplus value—not merely between the rate of profit and the rate of surplus value—in the various spheres of production now completely conceals the true nature and origin of profit not only from the capitalist, who has a special interest in deceiving himself on this score, but also from the labourer. The transformation of values into prices of production serves to obscure the basis for determining value itself. Finally, since the mere transformation of surplus value into profit distinguishes the portion of the value of a commodity forming the profit from the portion forming its cost price, it is natural that the conception of value should elude the capitalist at this juncture, for he does not see the total labour put into the commodity, but only that portion of the total labour for which he has paid in the shape of means of production, be they living or not, so that his profit appears to him as something outside the immanent value of the commodity. Now this idea is fully confirmed, fortified, and ossified in that, from the standpoint of his particular sphere of production, the profit added to the cost price is not actually determined by the limits of the formation of value within his own sphere, but through completely outside influences.

The fact that this intrinsic connection is here revealed for the first time; that up to the present time political economy, as we shall see in

[24] We naturally leave aside for the moment the possibility of securing a temporary extra profit through wage reductions, monopoly prices, etc. [*F. E.*]

the following and in Book IV,[7] either forcibly abstracted itself from the distinctions between surplus value and profit, and their rates, so it could retain value determination as a basis, or else abandoned this value determination and with it all vestiges of a scientific approach, in order to cling to the differences that strike the eye in this phenomenon — this confusion of the theorists best illustrates the utter incapacity of the practical capitalist, blinded by competition as he is, and incapable of penetrating its phenomena, to recognise the inner essence and inner structure of this process behind its outer appearance.

In fact, all the laws evolved in Part I concerning the rise and fall of the rate of profit have the following twofold meaning:

1) On the one hand, they are the laws of the general rate of profit. In view of the many different causes which make the rate of profit rise or fall one would think, after everything that has been said and done, that the general rate of profit must change every day. But a trend in one sphere of production compensates for that in another, their effects cross and paralyse one another. We shall later examine to which side these fluctuations ultimately gravitate. But they are slow. The suddenness, multiplicity, and different duration of the fluctuations in the individual spheres of production make them compensate for one another in the order of their succession in time, a fall in prices following a rise, and vice versa, so that they remain limited to local, i. e., individual, spheres. Finally, the various local fluctuations neutralise one another. Within each individual sphere of production, there take place changes, i. e., deviations from the general rate of profit, which counterbalance one another in a difinite time on the one hand, and thus have no influence upon the general rate of profit, and which, on the other, do not react upon it, because they are balanced by other simultaneous local fluctuations. Since the general rate of profit is not only determined by the average rate of profit in each sphere, but also by the distribution of the total capital among the different individual spheres, and since this distribution is continually changing, it becomes another constant cause of change in the general rate of profit. But it is a cause of change which mostly paralyses itself, owing to the uninterrupted[a] and many-sided nature of this movement.

2) Within each sphere, there is some room for play for a longer or shorter space of time, in which the rate of profit of this sphere may fluctuate, before this fluctuation consolidates sufficiently after rising

[a] In the 1894 German edition "interrupted"; corrected after Marx's manuscript.

or falling to gain time for influencing the general rate of profit and therefore assuming more than local importance. The laws of the rate of profit, as developed in Part I of this book, likewise remain applicable within these limits of space and time.

The theoretical conception concerning the first transformation of surplus value into profit, that every part of a capital yields a uniform profit, [25] expresses a practical fact. Whatever the composition of an industrial capital, whether it sets in motion one-quarter of congealed labour and three-quarters of living labour, or three-quarters of congealed labour and one-quarter of living labour, whether in one case it absorbs three times as much surplus labour, or produces three times as much surplus value than in another—in either case it yields the same profit, given the same degree of labour exploitation and leaving aside individual differences, which, incidentally, disappear because we are dealing in both cases with the average composition of the entire sphere of production. The individual capitalist (or all the capitalists in each individual sphere of production), whose outlook is limited, rightly believes that his profit is not derived solely from the labour employed by him, or in his line of production. This is quite true, as far as his average profit is concerned. To what extent this profit is due to the aggregate exploitation of labour on the part of the total capital, i. e., by all his capitalist colleagues—this interrelation is a complete mystery to the individual capitalist; all the more so, since no bourgeois theorists, the political economists, have so far revealed it. A saving of labour—not only labour necessary to produce a certain product, but also the number of employed labourers—and the employment of more congealed labour (constant capital), appear to be very sound operations from the economic standpoint and do not seem to exert the least influence on the general rate of profit and the average profit. How could living labour be the sole source of profit, in view of the fact that a reduction in the quantity of labour required for production appears not to exert any influence on profit? Moreover, it even seems in certain circumstances to be the nearest source of an increase of profits, at least for the individual capitalist.

If in any particular sphere of production there is a rise or fall of the

[25] Malthus.[a]

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[a] *Principles of Political Economy*, 2nd ed., London, 1836, p. 268. Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, p. 71.

portion of the cost price which represents the value of constant capital, this portion comes from the circulation and, either enlarged or reduced, passes from the very outset into the process of production of the commodity. If, on the other hand, the same number of labourers produces more or less in the same time, so that the quantity of labour required for the production of a definite quantity of commodities varies while the number of labourers remains the same, that portion of the cost price which represents the value of the variable capital may remain the same, i. e., contribute the same amount to the cost price of the total product. But every one of the individual commodities whose sum makes up the total product, shares in more or less labour (paid and therefore also unpaid), and shares consequently in the greater or smaller outlay for this labour, i. e., a larger or smaller portion of the wage. The total wages paid by the capitalist remain the same, but wages differ if calculated per piece of the commodity. Thus, there is a change in this portion of the cost price of the commodity. But no matter whether the cost price of the individual commodity (or, perhaps, the cost price of the sum of commodities produced by a capital of a given magnitude) rises or falls, be it due to such changes in its own value, or in that of its elements, the average profit of, e. g., 10% remains 10%. Still, 10% of an individual commodity may represent very different amounts, depending on the change of magnitude caused in the cost price of the individual commodity by such changes of value as we have assumed.[26]

So far as the variable capital is concerned—and this is most important, because it is the source of surplus value, and because anything which conceals its relation to the enrichment of the capitalist serves to mystify the entire system—matters get cruder or appear to the capitalist in the following light: A variable capital of £100 represents the weekly wage of, say, 100 labourers. If these 100 labourers weekly produce 200 pieces of a commodity = 200C in a given working time, then 1C—abstracted from that portion of its cost price which is added by the constant capital, costs $\frac{£100}{200}$ = 10 shillings, since £100 = 200C. Now suppose that a change occurs in the productive power of labour. Suppose it doubles, so that the same number of

[26] Corbet.[a]

[a] *An Inquiry into the Causes and Modes of the Wealth of Individuals...*, London, 1841, p. 20. Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 241-42.

labourers now produces twice 200C in the time which it previously took to produce 200C. In that case (considering only that part of the cost price which consists of wages) $1C = \frac{£100}{400} = 5$ shillings, since now £100 = 400C. Should the productive power decrease one-half, the same labour would produce only $\frac{200C}{2}$ and since $£100 = \frac{200C}{2}$, $1C = \frac{£200}{200} = £1$. The changes in the labour time required for the production of the commodities, and hence the changes in their value, thus appear in regard to the cost price, and hence to the price of production, as a different distribution of the same wage for more or fewer commodities, depending on the greater or smaller quantity of commodities produced in the same working time for the same wage. What the capitalist, and consequently also the political economist, see is that the part of the paid labour per piece of commodity changes with the productivity of labour, and that the value of each piece also changes accordingly. What they do not see is that the same applies to unpaid labour contained in every piece of the commodity, and this is perceived so much less since the average profit actually is only accidentally determined by the unpaid labour absorbed in the sphere of the individual capitalist. It is only in such crude and meaningless form that we can glimpse that the value of commodities is determined by the labour contained in them.

## Chapter X

### EQUALISATION OF THE GENERAL RATE OF PROFIT THROUGH COMPETITION. MARKET PRICES AND MARKET VALUES. SURPLUS PROFIT

The capital employed in some spheres of production has a mean, or average, composition, that is, it has the same, or almost the same composition as the average social capital.

In these spheres the price of production of the produced commodities is exactly or almost the same as their value expressed in money. If there were no other way of reaching a mathematical limit, this would be the one. Competition so distributes the social capital among the various spheres of production that the prices of production in each sphere take shape according to the model of the prices of production in

these spheres of average composition, i.e., they = k + kp′ (cost price plus the average rate of profit multiplied by the cost price). This average rate of profit, however, is the percentage of profit in that sphere of average composition in which profit, therefore, coincides with surplus value. Hence, the rate of profit is the same in all spheres of production, for it is equalised on the basis of those average spheres of production which has the average composition of capital. Consequently, the sum of the profits in all spheres of production must equal the sum of the surplus values, and the sum of the prices of production of the total social product equal the sum of its value. But it is evident that the balance among spheres of production of different composition must tend to equalise them with the spheres of average composition, be it exactly or only approximately the same as the social average. Between the spheres more or less approximating the average there is again a tendency toward equalisation, seeking the ideal average, i.e., an average that does not really exist, i.e., a tendency to take this ideal as a standard. In this way the tendency necessarily prevails to make the prices of production merely converted forms of value, or to turn profits into mere portions of surplus value. However, these are not distributed in proportion to the surplus value produced in each special sphere of production, but rather in proportion to the mass of capital employed in each sphere, so that equal masses of capital, whatever their composition, receive equal aliquot shares of the total surplus value produced by the total social capital.

In the case of capitals of average, or approximately average, composition, the price of production is thus the same or almost the same as the value, and the profit the same as the surplus value produced by them. All other capitals, of whatever composition, tend toward this average under pressure of competition. But since the capitals of average composition are of the same, or approximately the same, structure as the average social capital, all capitals have the tendency, regardless of the surplus value produced by them, to realise the average profit, rather than their own surplus value in the price of their commodity, i.e., to realise the prices of production.

On the other hand, it may be said that wherever an average profit, and therefore a general rate of profit, are produced—no matter by what means—such an average profit cannot be anything but the profit on the average social capital, whose sum is equal to the sum of surplus value. Moreover, the prices obtained by adding this average profit to the cost prices cannot be anything but the values converted

into prices of production. Nothing would be altered if capitals in certain spheres of production would not, for some reason, be subject to the process of equalisation. The average profit would then be computed on that portion of the social capital which enters the equalisation process. It is evident that the average profit can be nothing but the total mass of surplus values allotted to the various quantities of capital proportionally to their magnitudes in the different spheres of production. It is the total realised unpaid labour, and this total mass, like the paid, congealed or living, labour, obtains in the total mass of commodities and money that falls to the capitalists.

The really difficult question is this: how is this equalisation of profits into a general rate of profit brought about, since it is obviously a result rather than a point of departure?

To begin with, an estimate of the values of commodities, for instance in terms of money, can obviously only be the result of their exchange. If, therefore, we assume such an estimate, we must regard it as the outcome of an actual exchange of commodity value for commodity value. But how does this exchange of commodities at their real values come about?

Let us first assume that all commodities in the different branches of production are sold at their real values. What would then be the outcome? According to the foregoing, very different rates of profit would then reign in the various spheres of production. It is *prima facie* two entirely different matters whether commodities are sold at their values (i. e., exchanged in proportion to the value contained in them at prices corresponding to their value), or whether they are sold at such prices that their sale yields equal profits for equal masses of the capitals advanced for their respective production.

The fact that capitals employing unequal amounts of living labour produce unequal amounts of surplus value, presupposes at least to a certain extent that the degree of exploitation or the rate of surplus value are the same, or that any existing differences in them are equalised by real or imaginary (conventional) grounds of compensation. This would assume competition among labourers and equalisation through their continual migration from one sphere of production to another. Such a general rate of surplus value — viewed as a tendency, like all other economic laws — has been assumed by us for the sake of theoretical simplification. But in reality it is an actual premiss of the capitalist mode of production, although it is more or less obstructed by practical frictions causing more or less considerable local differ-

ences, such as the SETTLEMENT LAWS[a] [29] for farm labourers in Britain. But in theory it is assumed that the laws of capitalist mode of production operate in their pure form. In reality there exists only approximation; but, this approximation is the greater, the more developed the capitalist mode of production and the less it is adulterated and amalgamated with survivals of former economic conditions.

The whole difficulty arises from the fact that commodities are not exchanged simply as *commodities*, but as *products of capitals*, which claim participation in the total amount of surplus value, proportional to their magnitude, or equal if they are of equal magnitude. And this claim is to be satisfied by the total price for commodities produced by a given capital in a certain space of time. This total price is, however, only the sum of the prices of the individual commodities produced by this capital.

The *punctum saliens*[b] will be best brought out if we approach the matter as follows: Suppose, the labourers themselves are in possession of their respective means of production and exchange their commodities with one another. In that case these commodities would not be products of capital. The value of the various means of labour and raw materials would differ in accordance with the technical nature of the labours performed in the different branches of production. Furthermore, aside from the unequal value of the means of production employed by them, they would require different quantities of means of production for given quantities of labour, depending on whether a certain commodity can be finished in one hour, another in one day, and so forth. Also suppose the labourers work an equal average length of time, allowing for compensations that arise from the different labour intensities, etc. In such a case, two labourers would, first, both have replaced their outlays, the cost prices of the consumed means of production, in the commodities which make up the product of their day's work. These outlays would differ, depending on the technical nature of their labour. Secondly, both of them would have created equal amounts of new value, namely the working day added by them to the means of production. This would comprise their wages plus the surplus value, the latter representing surplus labour over and above their necessary wants, the product of which would however belong to them. To put it the capitalist way, both of them receive the same

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent. - [b] the essential point

wages plus the same profit, = the value, expressed, say, by the product of a ten-hour working day. But in the first place, the values of their commodities would have to differ. In commodity I, for instance, the portion of value corresponding to the consumed means of production might be higher than in commodity II. And, to introduce all possible differences, we might assume right now that commodity I absorbs more living labour, and consequently requires more labour time to be produced, than commodity II. The values of commodities I and II are, therefore, very different. So are the sums of the values of the commodities, which represent the product of the labour performed by labourers I and II in a given time. The rates of profit would also differ considerably for I and II if we take the rate of profit to be the proportion of the surplus value to the total value of the invested means of production. The means of subsistence daily consumed by I and II during production, which take the place of wages, here form the part of the invested means of production ordinarily called variable capital. But for equal working periods the surplus values would be the same for I and II, or, more precisely, since I and II each receive the value of the product of a day's work, both of them receive equal values after the value of the invested "constant" elements has been deducted, and one portion of these equal values may be regarded as a substitute for the means of subsistence consumed in production, and the other as surplus value in excess of it. If labourer I has greater expenses, they are made good by a greater portion of the value of his commodity, which replaces this "constant" part, and he therefore has to reconvert a larger portion of the total value of his product into the material elements of this constant part, while labourer II, if he receives less for this, has so much less to reconvert. In these circumstances, a difference in the rates of profit would therefore be immaterial, just as it is immaterial to the wage labourer today what rate of profit may express the amount of surplus value filched from him, and just as in international commerce the difference in the various national rates of profit is immaterial to commodity exchange.

The exchange of commodities at their values, or approximately at their values, thus requires a much lower stage than their exchange at their prices of production, which requires a definite level of capitalist development.

Whatever the manner in which the prices of various commodities are first mutually fixed or regulated, their movements are always governed by the law of value. If the labour time required for their

production happens to shrink, prices fall; if it increases, prices rise, provided other conditions remain the same.

Apart from the domination of prices and price movement by the law of value, it is quite appropriate to regard the values of commodities as not only theoretically but also historically *prius*[a] to the prices of production. This applies to conditions in which the labourer owns his means of production, and this is the condition of the land-owning farmer living off his own labour and the craftsman, in the ancient as well as in the modern world. This agrees also with the view[27] we expressed previously, that the evolution of products into commodities arises through exchange between different communities, not between the members of the same community.[b] It holds not only for this primitive condition, but also for subsequent conditions, based on slavery and serfdom, and for the guild organisation of handicrafts, so long as the means of production involved in each branch of production can be transferred from one sphere to another only with difficulty and therefore the various spheres of production are related to one another, within certain limits, as foreign countries or communist communities.

For prices at which commodities are exchanged to approximately correspond to their values, nothing more is necessary than 1) for the exchange of the various commodities to cease being purely accidental or only occasional; 2) so far as direct exchange of commodities is concerned, for these commodities to be produced on both sides in approximately sufficient quantities to meet mutual requirements, something learned from mutual experience in trading and therefore a natural outgrowth of continued trading; and 3) so far as selling is concerned, for no natural or artificial monopoly to enable either of the contracting sides to sell commodities above their value or to compel them to undersell. By accidental monopoly we mean a monopoly which a buyer or seller acquires through an accidental state of supply and demand.

The assumption that the commodities of the various spheres of production are sold at their value merely implies, of course, that their

[27] In 1865, this was merely Marx's "view". Today, after the extensive research ranging from Maurer to Morgan into the nature of primitive communities, it is an accepted fact which is hardly anywhere denied.—*F. E.*

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[a] prior - [b] See present edition, Vol. 29, p. 290 and Vol. 35, p. 98.

value is the centre of gravity around which their prices fluctuate, and their continual rises and drops tend to equalise. There is also the *market value*—of which later—to be distinguished from the individual value of particular commodities produced by different producers. The individual value of some of these commodities will be below their market value (that is, less labour time is required for their production than expressed in the market value) while that of others will exceed the market value. On the one hand, market value is to be viewed as the average value of commodities produced in a single sphere, and, on the other, as the individual value of the commodities produced under average conditions of their respective sphere and forming the bulk of the products of that sphere. It is only in extraordinary combinations that commodities produced under the worst, or the most favourable, conditions regulate the market value, which, in turn, forms the centre of fluctuation for market prices. The latter, however, are the same for commodities of the same kind. If the ordinary demand is satisfied by the supply of commodities of average value, hence of a value midway between the two extremes, then the commodities whose individual value is below the market value realise an extra surplus value, or surplus profit, while those, whose individual value exceeds the market value, are unable to realise a portion of the surplus value contained in them.

It does no good to say that the sale of commodities produced under the least favourable conditions proves that they are required to satisfy the demand.[a] If in the assumed case the price were higher than the average market value, the demand would be smaller.[b] At a certain price, a commodity occupies just so much place on the market. This place remains the same in case of a price change only if the higher price is accompanied by a drop in the supply of the commodity, and a lower price by an increase of supply. And if the demand is so great that it does not contract when the price is regulated by the value of commodities produced under the least favourable conditions, then these determine the market value. This is not possible unless demand is greater than usual, or if supply drops below the usual level. Finally, if the mass of the produced commodities exceeds the quantity disposed of at average market values, the commodities produced under the most favourable conditions regulate the market value. They may, for

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[a] In the 1894 German edition "supply"; corrected after Marx's manuscript. - [b] In the 1894 German edition "greater"; corrected after Marx's manuscript.

example, be sold exactly or approximately at their individual value, in which case the commodities produced under the least favourable conditions may not even realise their cost price, while those produced under average conditions realise only a portion of the surplus value contained in them. What has been said here of market value applies to the price of production as soon as it takes the place of market value. The price of production is regulated in each sphere, and likewise regulated by special circumstances. And this price of production is, in its turn, the centre around which the daily market prices fluctuate and tend to equalise one another within definite periods. (See Ricardo on determining the price of production through those working under the least favourable conditions.[a])

No matter how the prices are regulated, we arrive at the following:

1) The law of value dominates price movements since reduction or increase in the labour time required for production makes prices of production fall or rise. It is in this sense that Ricardo (who doubtlessly realised that his prices of production deviated from the value of commodities) says that

* "the inquiry to which I wish to draw the reader's attention relates to the effect of the variations in the relative value of commodities, and not in their absolute value".* [b]

2) The average profit determining the prices of production must always be approximately equal to that quantity of surplus value which falls to the share of individual capital in its capacity of an aliquot part of the total social capital. Suppose that the general rate of profit, and therefore the average profit, are expressed by money value greater than the money value of the actual average surplus value. So far as the capitalists are concerned, it is then immaterial whether they reciprocally charge 10 or 15% profit. Neither of these percentages covers more actual commodity value than the other, since the overcharge in money is mutual. As for the labourer (the assumption being that he receives his normal wage and the rise in the average profit does not therefore imply an actual deduction from his wage, i. e., something entirely different from the normal surplus value of the capitalist), the rise in commodity prices caused by an increase of the

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[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, 3rd ed., London, 1821, pp. 60-61. Cf. present edition, Vol. 31, p. 428. - [b] D. Ricardo, op. cit., p. 15. Cf. present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 394-400.

average profit must correspond to the rise of the money expression of the variable capital. Such a general nominal increase in the rate of profit and the average profit above the limit provided by the ratio of the actual surplus value to the total invested capital is not, in effect, possible without causing an increase in wages, and also an increase in the prices of commodities forming the constant capital. The reverse is true in case of a reduction. Since the total value of the commodities regulates the total surplus value, and this in turn regulates the level of average profit and thereby the general rate of profit—as a general law or a law governing fluctuations—it follows that the law of value regulates the prices of production.

What competition, first in a single sphere, achieves is a single market value and market price derived from the various individual values of commodities. And it is competition of capitals in different spheres, which first brings out the price of production equalising the rates of profit in the different spheres. The latter process requires a higher development of capitalist production than the previous one.

For commodities of the same sphere of production, the same kind, and approximately the same quality, to be sold at their values, the following two requirements are necessary:

*First*, the different individual values must be equalised at *one* social value, the above-named market value, and this implies competition among producers of the same kind of commodities and, likewise, the existence of a common market in which they offer their articles for sale. For the market price of identical commodities, each, however, produced under different individual circumstances, to correspond to the market value and not to deviate from it either by rising above or falling below it, it is necessary that the pressure exerted by different sellers upon one another be sufficient to bring enough commodities to market to fill the social requirements, i. e., a quantity for which society is capable of paying the market value. Should the mass of products exceed this demand, the commodities would have to be sold below their market value; and conversely, above their market value if the mass of products were not large enough to meet the demand, or, what amounts to the same, if the pressure of competition among sellers were not strong enough to bring this mass of commodities to market. Should the market value change, this would also entail a change in the conditions on which the total mass of commodities could be sold. Should the market value fall, this would entail a rise in

the average social demand (this always taken to mean the effective demand), which could, within certain limits, absorb larger masses of commodities. Should the market value rise, this would entail a drop in the social demand, and a smaller mass of commodities would be absorbed. Hence, if supply and demand regulate the market price, or rather the deviations of the market price from the market value, then, in turn, the market value regulates the ratio of supply to demand, or the centre round which fluctuations of supply and demand cause market prices to oscillate.

Looking closer, we find that the conditions applicable to the value of an individual commodity are here reproduced as conditions governing the value of the aggregate of a certain kind of commodity. Capitalist production is mass production from the very outset. But even in other, less developed, modes of production that which is produced in relatively small quantities as a common product by small-scale, even if numerous, producers, is concentrated in the market in large quantities—at least in the case of the vital commodities—in the hands of relatively few merchants. The latter accumulate them and sell them as the common product of an entire branch of production, or of a more or less considerable contingent of it.

It should be here noted in passing that the "social demand", i. e., the factor which regulates the principle of demand, is essentially subject to the mutual relationship of the different classes and their respective economic position, notably therefore to, firstly, the ratio of total surplus value to wages, and, secondly, to the relation of the various parts into which surplus value is split up (profit, interest, ground rent, taxes, etc.). And this thus again shows how absolutely nothing can be explained by the relation of supply to demand before ascertaining the basis on which this relation rests.

Although both commodity and money represent a unity of exchange value and use value, we have already seen (Buch I, Kap. I, 3) that in buying and selling both of these functions are polarised at the two extremes, the commodity (seller) representing the use value, and the money (buyer) representing the exchange value. One of the first premisses of selling was that a commodity should have use value and should therefore satisfy a social need. The other premiss was that the quantity of labour contained in the commodity should represent socially necessary labour, i. e., its individual value (and, what amounts

to the same under the present assumption, its selling price) should coincide with its social value. [28]

Let us apply this to the mass of commodities available in the market, which represents the product of a whole sphere.

The matter will be most readily pictured by regarding this whole mass of commodities, produced by *one* branch of industry, as *one* commodity, and the sum of the prices of the many identical commodities as *one* price. Then, whatever has been said of a single commodity applies literally to the mass of commodities of an entire branch of production available in the market. The requirement that the individual value of a commodity should correspond to its social value is now realised, or further determined, in that the mass contains social labour necessary for its production, and that the value of this mass = its market value.

Now suppose that the bulk of these commodities is produced under approximately similar normal social conditions, so that this value is at the same time the individual value of the individual commodities which make up this mass. If a relatively small portion of these commodities may now have been produced below, and another above, these conditions, so that the individual value of one portion is greater, and that of the other smaller, than the average value of the bulk of the commodities, but in such proportions that these extremes balance one another, so that the average value of the commodities at these extremes is equal to the value of commodities in the centre, then the market value is determined by the value of the commodities produced under average conditions. [29] The value of the entire mass of commodities is equal to the actual sum of the values of all individual commodities taken together, whether produced under average conditions, or under conditions above or below the average. In that case, the market value, or social value, of the mass of commodities — the necessary labour time contained in them — is determined by the value of the preponderant mean mass.

Suppose, on the contrary, that the total mass of the commodities in question brought to market remains the same, while the value of the commodities produced under less favourable conditions fails

[28] K. Marx, *Zur Kritik der pol. Oek.*, Berlin, 1859. [a]
[29] K. Marx, *Zur Kritik etc.* [b]

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 273-74. - [b] Ibid., p. 302.

to balance out the value of commodities produced under more favourable conditions, so that the part of the mass produced under less favourable conditions forms a relatively weighty quantity as compared with the average mass and with the other extreme. In that case, the mass produced under less favourable conditions regulates the market, or social, value.

Suppose, finally, that the mass of commodities produced under better than average conditions considerably exceeds that produced under worse conditions, and is large even compared with that produced under average conditions. In that case, the part produced under the most favourable conditions determines the market value. We ignore here the overstocked market, in which the part produced under most favourable conditions always regulates the market price. We are not dealing here with the market price, in so far as it differs from the market value, but with the various determinations of the market value itself.[30]

In fact, strictly speaking (which, of course, occurs in reality only in approximation and with a thousand modifications) the market value of the entire mass, regulated as it is by the average values, is in case I equal to the sum of their individual values; although in the case of the commodities produced at the extremes, this value is represented as an average value which is forced upon them. Those who produce at the worst extreme must then sell their commodities below the individual value; those producing at the best extreme sell them above it.

In case II the individual lots of commodity values produced at the

[30] The controversy between Storch and Ricardo with regard to ground rent (a controversy pertaining only to the subject; in fact, the two opponents pay no attention to one another), whether the market value (or rather what they call market price and price of production respectively) was regulated by the commodities produced under unfavourable conditions (Ricardo), or by those produced under favourable conditions (Storch),[30] resolves itself in the final analysis in that both are right and both wrong, and that both of them have failed to consider the average case. Compare Corbet on the cases in which the price is regulated by commodities produced under the most favourable conditions[31] — "It is not meant to be asserted by him" (Ricardo) "that two particular lots of two different articles, as a hat and a pair of shoes, exchange with one another when those two particular lots were produced by equal quantities of labour. By 'commodity' we must here understand the 'description of commodity', not a particular individual hat, pair of shoes, etc. The whole labour which produces all the hats in England is to be considered, to this purpose, as divided among all the hats. This seems to me not to have been expressed at first, and in the general statements of this doctrine." (*Observations on Certain Verbal Disputes in Pol. Econ., etc.*, London, 1821, pp. 53-54.)

two extremes do not balance one another. Rather, the lot produced under the worse conditions decides the issue. Strictly speaking, the average price, or the market value, of each individual commodity, or each aliquot part of the total mass, would now be determined by the total value of the mass as obtained by adding up the values of the commodities produced under different conditions, and in accordance with the aliquot part of this total value falling to the share of each individual commodity. The market value thus obtained would exceed the individual value not only of the commodities belonging to the favourable extreme, but also of those belonging to the average lot. Yet it would still be below the individual value of those commodities produced at the unfavourable extreme. How close the market value approaches, or finally coincides with, the latter would depend entirely on the volume occupied by commodities produced at the unfavourable extreme of the commodity sphere in question. If demand is only slightly greater than supply, the individual value of the unfavourably produced commodities regulates the market price.

Finally, if the lot of commodities produced at the favourable extreme occupies greater place than the other extreme, and also than the average lot, as it does in case III, then the market value falls below the average value. The average value, computed by adding the sums of values at the two extremes and at the middle, stands here below the value of the middle, which it approaches, or vice versa, depending on the relative place occupied by the favourable extreme. Should demand be weaker than supply, the favourably situated part, whatever its size, makes room for itself forcibly by contracting its price down to its individual value. The market value cannot ever coincide with this individual value of the commodities produced under the most favourable conditions, except when supply far exceeds demand.

This mode of determining market values, which we have here outlined *abstractly*, is promoted in the real market by competition among the buyers, provided the demand is large enough to absorb the mass of commodities at values so fixed. And this brings us to the other point.

*Second*, to say that a commodity has a use value is merely to say that it satisfies some social want. So long as we dealt with individual commodities only, we could assume that there was a need for a particular commodity—its quantity already implied by its price—without inquiring further into the quantity required to satisfy this want. This

quantity is, however, of essential importance, as soon as the product of an entire branch of production is placed on one side, and the social need for it on the other. It then becomes necessary to consider the extent, i. e., the amount of this social want.

In the foregoing determinations of market value it was assumed that the mass of the produced commodities is given, i. e., remains the same, and that there is a change only in the proportions of its constituent elements, which are produced under different conditions, and that, hence, the market value of the same mass of commodities is differently regulated. Suppose, this mass corresponds in size to the usual supply, leaving aside the possibility that a portion of the produced commodities may be temporarily withdrawn from the market. Should demand for this mass now also remain the same, this commodity will be sold at its market value, no matter which of the three aforementioned cases regulates this market value. This mass of commodities does not merely satisfy a need, but satisfies it to its full social extent. Should their quantity be smaller or greater, however, than the demand for them, there will be deviations of the market price from the market value. And the first deviation is that if the supply is too small, the market value is always regulated by the commodities produced under the least favourable circumstances and, if the supply is too large, always by the commodities produced under the most favourable conditions; that therefore it is one of the extremes which determines the market value, in spite of the fact that in accordance with the mere proportion of the commodity masses produced under different conditions, a different result should obtain. If the difference between demand and the available quantity of the product is more considerable, the market price will likewise be considerably above or below the market value. Now, the difference between the quantity of the produced commodities and that quantity of them at which they are sold at market value may be due to two reasons. Either the quantity itself changes, becoming too small or too large, so that reproduction would have taken place on a different scale than that which regulated the given market value. In that case the supply changed, although demand remained the same, and there was, therefore, relative overproduction or underproduction. Or else reproduction, and thus supply, remained the same, while demand shrank or increased, which may be due to several reasons. Although the absolute magnitude of the supply was the same, its relative magnitude, its magnitude relative to, or measured by, the demand, had changed. The effect is the

same as in the first case, but in the reverse direction. Finally, if changes take place on both sides, but either in reverse directions, or, if in the same direction, then not to the same extent, if therefore there are changes on both sides, but these alter the former proportion between the two sides, then the final result must always lead to one of the two above-mentioned cases.

The real difficulty in formulating the general definition of supply and demand is that it seems to take on the appearance of a tautology. First consider the supply—the product available in the market, or that which can be delivered to it. To avoid dwelling upon useless detail, we shall here consider only the mass annually reproduced in every given branch of production and ignore the greater or lesser faculty possessed by the different commodities to be withdrawn from the market and stored away for consumption, say, until next year. This annual reproduction is expressed by a certain quantity—in weight or numbers—depending on whether this mass of commodities is measured in discrete elements or continuously. They are not only use values satisfying human wants, but these use values are available in the market in definite quantities. Secondly, however, this quantity of commodities has a specific market value, which may be expressed by a multiple of the market value of the commodity, or of its measure, which serves as unit. Thus, there is no necessary connection between the quantitative volume of the commodities in the market and their market value, since, for instance, many commodities have a specifically high value, and others a specifically low value, so that a given sum of values may be represented by a very large quantity of one commodity, and a very small quantity of another. There is only the following connection between the quantity of the articles available in the market and the market value of these articles: On a given basis of labour productivity the production of a certain quantity of articles in every particular sphere of production requires a definite quantity of social labour time; although this proportion varies in different spheres of production and has no inner relation to the usefulness of these articles or the special nature of their use values. Assuming all other circumstances to be equal, and a certain quantity a of some commodity to cost b labour time, a quantity na of the same commodity will cost nb labour time. Further, if society wants to satisfy some want and have an article produced for this purpose, it must pay for it. Indeed, since commodity production necessitates a division of labour, society buys this article by devoting a portion of the avail-

able labour time to its production. Therefore, society buys it with a definite quantity of its disposable labour time. That part of society which through the division of labour happens to employ its labour in producing this particular article, must receive an equivalent in social labour incorporated in articles which satisfy its own wants. However, there exists an accidental rather than a necessary connection between the total amount of social labour applied to a social article, i. e., between the aliquot part of society's total labour power allocated to producing this article, or between the volume which the production of this article occupies in total production, on the one hand, and the volume whereby society seeks to satisfy the want gratified by the article in question, on the other. Every individual article, or every definite quantity of a commodity may, indeed, contain no more than the social labour required for its production, and from this point of view the market value of this entire commodity represents only necessary labour, but if this commodity has been produced in excess of the existing social needs, then so much of the social labour time is squandered and the mass of the commodity comes to represent a much smaller quantity of social labour in the market than is actually incorporated in it. (It is only where production is under the actual, predetermining control of society that the latter establishes a relation between the volume of social labour time applied in producing definite articles, and the volume of the social want to be satisfied by these articles.) For this reason, these commodities must be sold below their market value, and a portion of them may even be altogether unsaleable. The reverse applies if the quantity of social labour employed in the production of a certain kind of commodity is too small to meet the social demand for that commodity. But if the quantity of social labour expended in the production of a certain article corresponds to the social demand for that article, so that the produced quantity corresponds to the usual scale of reproduction and the demand remains unchanged, then the commodity is sold at its market value. The exchange, or sale, of commodities at their value is the rational state of affairs, i. e., the natural law of their equilibrium. It is this law that explains the deviations, and not vice versa, the deviations that explain the law.

Now let us look at the other side—the demand.

Commodities are bought either as means of production or means of subsistence to enter productive or individual consumption. It does not alter matters that some commodities may serve both purposes. There is, then, a demand for them on the part of producers (here cap-

italists, since we have assumed that means of production have been transformed into capital) and of consumers. Both appear at first sight to presuppose a given quantity of social want on the side of demand, corresponding on the other side to a definite quantity of social output in the various lines of production. If the cotton industry is to accomplish its annual reproduction on a given scale, it must have the usual supply of cotton, and, other circumstances remaining the same, an additional amount of cotton corresponding to the annual extension of reproduction caused by the accumulation of capital. This is equally true with regard to means of subsistence. The working class must find at least the same quantity of necessities on hand if it is to continue living in its accustomed average way, although they may be more or less differently distributed among the different kinds of commodities. Moreover, there must be an additional quantity to allow for the annual increase of population. The same, with more or less modification, applies to other classes.

It would seem, then, that there is on the side of demand a certain magnitude of definite social wants which require for their satisfaction a definite quantity of a commodity on the market. But quantitatively, the definite social needs are very elastic and changing. Their fixedness is only apparent. If the means of subsistence were cheaper, or money wages higher, the labourers would buy more of them, and a greater "social need" would arise for them, leaving aside the paupers, etc., whose "demand" is even below the narrowest limits of their physical wants. On the other hand, if cotton were cheaper, for example, the capitalists' demand for it would increase, more additional capital would be thrown into the cotton industry, etc. We must never forget that the demand for productive consumption is, under our assumption, a demand of the capitalist, whose essential purpose is the production of surplus value, so that he produces a particular commodity to this sole end. Still, this does not hinder the capitalist, so long as he appears in the market as a buyer of, say, cotton, from representing the need for this cotton, just as it is immaterial to the seller of cotton whether the buyer converts it into shirting or gun-cotton, or whether he intends to turn it into wads for his own, and the world's ears. But this does exert a considerable influence on the kind of buyer the capitalist is. His demand for cotton is substantially modified by the fact that it disguises his real need for making profit. The limits within which the need for commodities in the *market*, the demand, differs quantitatively from the *actual social* need, naturally vary consider-

ably for different commodities; what I mean is the difference between the demanded quantity of commodities and the quantity which would have been in demand at other money prices of commodities or other money or living conditions of the buyers.

Nothing is easier than to realise the inconsistencies of demand and supply, and the resulting deviation of market prices from market values. The real difficulty consists in determining what is meant by the equation of supply and demand.

Supply and demand coincide when their mutual proportions are such that the mass of commodities of a definite line of production can be sold at their market value, neither above nor below it. That is the first thing we hear.

The second is this: If commodities are sold at their market values, supply and demand coincide.

If supply equals demand, they cease to act, and for this very reason commodities are sold at their market values. Whenever two forces operate equally in opposite directions, they balance one another, exert no outside influence, and any phenomena taking place in these circumstances must be explained by causes other than the effect of these two forces. If supply and demand balance one another, they cease to explain anything, do not affect market values, and therefore leave us so much more in the dark about the reasons why the market value is expressed in just this sum of money and no other. It is evident that the real inner laws of capitalist production cannot be explained by the interaction of supply and demand (quite aside from a deeper analysis of these two social motive forces, which would be out of place here), because these laws cannot be observed in their pure state, until supply and demand cease to act, i. e., are equated. In reality, supply and demand never coincide, or, if they do, it is by mere accident, hence scientifically = 0, and to be regarded as not having occurred. But political economy assumes that supply and demand coincide with one another.[a] Why? To be able to study phenomena in their fundamental relations, in the form corresponding to their conception, that is, to study them independent of the appearances caused by the movement of supply and demand. The other reason is to find the actual tendencies of their movements and to some extent to record them. Since the inconsistencies are of an antagonistic nature, and since they conti-

[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 338-39.

nually succeed one another, they balance out one another through their opposing movements, and their mutual contradiction. Since, therefore, supply and demand never equal one another in any given case, their differences follow one another in such a way—and the result of a deviation in one direction is that it calls forth a deviation in the opposite direction—that supply and demand are always equated when the whole is viewed over a certain period, but only as an average of past movements, and only as the continuous movement of their contradiction. In this way, the market prices which have deviated from the market values adjust themselves, as viewed from the standpoint of their average number, to equal the market values, in that deviations from the latter cancel each other as plus and minus. And this average is not merely of theoretical, but also of practical importance to capital, whose investment is calculated on the fluctuations and compensations of a more or less fixed period.

On the one hand, the relation of demand and supply, therefore, only explains the deviations of market prices from market values. On the other, it explains the tendency to eliminate these deviations, i. e., to eliminate the effect of the relation of demand and supply. (Such exceptions as commodities which have a price without having a value are not considered here.) Supply and demand may eliminate the effect caused by their difference in many different ways. For instance, if the demand, and consequently the market price, fall, capital may be withdrawn, thus causing supply to shrink. It may also be that the market value itself shrinks and balances with the market price as a result of inventions which reduce the necessary labour time. Conversely, if the demand increases, and consequently the market price rises above the market value, this may lead to too much capital flowing into this line of production and production may swell to such an extent that the market price will even fall below the market value. Or, it may lead to a price increase, which cuts the demand. In some lines of production it may also bring about a rise in the market value itself for a shorter or longer period, with a portion of the desired products having to be produced under worse conditions during this period.

Supply and demand determine the market price, and so does the market price, and the market value in the further analysis, determine supply and demand. This is obvious in the case of demand, since it moves in a direction opposite to prices, swelling when prices fall, and vice versa. But this is also true of supply. Because the prices of means of production incorporated in the offered commodities determine the

demand for these means of production, and thus the supply of commodities whose supply embraces the demand for these means of production. The prices of cotton are determinants in the supply of cotton goods.

To this confusion—determining prices through demand and supply, and, at the same time, determining supply and demand through prices—must be added that demand determines supply, just as supply determines demand, and production determines the market, as well as the market determines production.[31]

Even the ordinary economist (see footnote) agrees that the proportion between supply and demand may vary in consequence of a change in the market value of commodities, without a change being brought about in demand or supply by extraneous circumstances. Even he must admit that, whatever the market value, supply and demand must coincide in order for it to be established. In other words, the ratio of supply to demand does not explain the market value, but

[31] The following subtility is sheer nonsense: "Where the quantity of wages, capital, and land, required to produce an article, are become different from what they were, that which Adam Smith calls the natural price of it, is also different, and that price, which was previously its natural price, becomes, with reference to this alteration, its market price; because, though neither the supply, nor the quantity wanted, may have been changed"—both of them change here, just because the market value, or in the case of Adam Smith, the price of production, changes in consequence of a change of value—"that supply is not now exactly enough for those persons who are able and willing to pay what is now the cost of production, but is either greater or less than that; so that the proportion between the supply and what is with reference to the new cost of production the effectual demand, is different from what it was. An alteration in the rate of supply will then take place, if there is no obstacle in the way of it, and at last bring the commodity to its new natural price. It may then seem good to some persons to say that, as the commodity gets to its natural price by an alteration in its supply, the natural price is as much owing to one proportion between the demand and supply, as the market price is to another; and consequently, that the natural price, just as much as the market price, depends on the proportion that demand and supply bear to each other." ("The great principle of demand and supply is called into action to determine what A. Smith calls natural prices as well as market prices."—Malthus.[a]) (*Observations on Certain Verbal Disputes, etc.*, London, 1821, pp. 60-61.) The good man does not grasp the fact that it is precisely the change in the cost of production, and thus in the value, which caused a change in the demand, in the present case, and thus in the proportion between demand and supply, and that this change in the demand may bring about a change in the supply. This would prove just the reverse of what our good thinker wants to prove. It would prove that the change in the cost of production is by no means due to the proportion of demand and supply, but rather regulates this proportion.

[a] *Principles of Political Economy*, London, 1820, p. 75.

conversely, the latter rather explains the fluctuations of supply and demand. The author of the *Observations* continues after the passage quoted in the footnote:

*"This proportion" * (between demand and supply), * "however, if we still mean by 'demand' and 'natural price', what we meant just now, when referring to Adam Smith, must always be a proportion of equality; for it is only when the supply is equal to the effectual demand, that is, to that demand which will neither more nor less than pay the natural price, that the natural price is in fact paid; consequently, there may be two very different natural prices, at different times, for the same commodity, and yet the proportion, which the supply bears to the demand, be in both cases the same, namely, the proportion of equality." *

It is admitted, then, that with two different NATURAL PRICES of the same commodity, at different times, demand and supply are always able to, and must, balance one another if the commodity is to be sold at its NATURAL PRICE in both instances. Since there is no difference in the ratio of supply to demand in either case, but a difference in the magnitude of the NATURAL PRICE itself, it follows that this price is obviously determined independently of demand and supply, and thus that it can least of all be determined by them.

For a commodity to be sold at its market value, i. e., proportionally to the necessary social labour contained in it, the total quantity of social labour used in producing the total mass of this commodity must correspond to the quantity of the social want for it, i. e., the effective social want. Competition, the fluctuations of market prices which correspond to the fluctuations in the ratio of demand to supply, tend continually to reduce to this scale the total quantity of labour devoted to each kind of commodity.

The proportion of supply and demand recapitulates, first, the relation of use value to exchange value, of commodity to money, and of buyer to seller; and, second, that of producer to consumer, although both of them may be represented by third parties, the merchants. In considering buyer and seller, it suffices to counterpose them individually in order to present their relationship. Three individuals are enough for the complete metamorphosis of a commodity, and therefore for the process of sale and purchase taken as a whole. A converts his commodity into the money of B, to whom he sells his commodity, and reconverts his money again into commodities, when he uses it to make purchases from C; the whole process takes place among these three. Further, in the study of money it had been assumed that the commodities are sold at their values because there was absolutely no

reason to consider prices divergent from values, it being merely a matter of changes of form which commodities undergo in their transformation into money and their reconversion from money into commodities.[a] As soon as a commodity has been sold and a new commodity bought with the receipts, we have before us the entire metamorphosis, and to this process as such it is immaterial whether the price of the commodity lies above or below its value. The value of the commodity remains important as a basis, because the concept of money cannot be developed on any other foundation, and price, in its general meaning, is but value in the form of money. At any rate, it is assumed in the study of money as a medium of circulation that there is not just *one* metamorphosis of a certain commodity. It is rather the social interrelation of these metamorphoses which is studied. Only thus do we arrive at the circulation of money and the development of its function as a medium of circulation. But however important this connection may be for the conversion of money into a circulating medium, and for its resulting change of form, it is of no moment to the transaction between individual buyers and sellers.

In the case of supply and demand, however, the supply is equal to the sum of sellers, or producers, of a certain kind of commodity, and the demand equals the sum of buyers, or consumers (both productive and individual) of the same kind of commodity. The sums react on one another as units, as aggregate forces. The individual counts here only as part of a social force, as an atom of the mass, and it is in this form that competition brings out the *social* character of production and consumption.

The side of competition which happens for the moment to be weaker is also the side in which the individual acts independently of, and often directly against, the mass of his competitors, and precisely in this manner is the dependence of one upon the other impressed upon them, while the stronger side acts always more or less as a united whole against its antagonist. If the demand for this particular kind of commodity is greater than the supply, one buyer outbids another — within certain limits — and so raises the price of the commodity for all of them above the market value,[b] while on the other hand the sellers unite in trying to sell at a high market price. If, conversely, the supply exceeds the demand, one begins to dispose of his

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 113-14. - [b] In the 1894 German edition "market price".

goods at a cheaper rate and the others must follow, while the buyers unite in their efforts to depress the market price as much as possible below the market value. The common interest is appreciated by each only so long as he gains more by it than without it. And unity of action ceases the moment one or the other side becomes the weaker, when each tries to extricate himself on his own as advantageously as he possibly can. Again, if one produces more cheaply and can sell more goods, thus possessing himself of a greater place in the market by selling below the current market price, or market value, he will do so, and will thereby begin a movement which gradually compels the others to introduce the cheaper mode of production, and one which reduces the socially necessary labour to a new, and lower, level. If one side has the advantage, all belonging to it gain. It is as though they exerted their common monopoly. If one side is weaker, then one may try on his own hook to become the stronger (for instance, one who works with lower costs of production), or at least to get off as lightly as possible, and in such cases each for himself and the devil take the hindmost, although his actions affect not only himself, but also all his boon companions.[32]

Demand and supply imply the conversion of value into market value, and so far as they proceed on a capitalist basis, so far as the commodities are products of capital, they are based on capitalist production processes, i. e., on quite different relationships than the mere purchase and sale of goods. Here it is not a question of the formal conversion of the value of commodities into prices, i. e., not of a mere change of form. It is a question of definite deviations in quantity of the market prices from the market values, and, further, from the prices of production. In simple purchase and sale it suffices to have the producers of commodities as such counterposed to one another. In further analysis supply and demand presuppose the existence of different classes and sections of classes which divide the total revenue of a society and consume it among themselves as revenue, and, therefore, make up the demand created by revenue. While on the other hand it

[32] "If each man of a class could never have more than a given share, or aliquot part, of the gains and possessions of the whole, he would readily combine to raise the gain"; (he does it as soon as the proportion of demand to supply permits it) "this is monopoly. But where each man thinks that he may anyway increase the absolute amount of his own share, though by a process which lessens the whole amount, he will often do it; this is competition" (*An Inquiry into Those Principles Respecting the Nature of Demand, etc.*, London, 1821, p. 105).

requires an insight into the overall structure of the capitalist production process for an understanding of the supply and demand created among themselves by producers as such.

Under capitalist production it is not merely a matter of obtaining an equal mass of value in another form — be it that of money or some other commodity — for a mass of values thrown into circulation in the form of a commodity, but it is rather a matter of realising as much surplus value, or profit, on capital advanced for production, as any other capital of the same magnitude, or *pro rata* to its magnitude in whichever line it is applied. It is, therefore, a matter, at least as a minimum, of selling the commodities at prices which yield the average profit, i. e., at prices of production. In this form capital becomes conscious of itself as a *social power* in which every capitalist participates proportionally to his share in the total social capital.

First, capitalist production is in itself indifferent to the particular use value, and distinctive features of any commodity it produces. In every sphere of production it is only concerned with producing surplus value, and appropriating a certain quantity of unpaid labour incorporated in the product of labour. And it is likewise in the nature of the wage labour subordinated by capital that it is indifferent to the specific character of its labour and must submit to being transformed in accordance with the requirements of capital and to being transferred from one sphere of production to another.

Second, one sphere of production is, in fact, just as good or just as bad as another. Every one of them yields the same profit, and every one of them would be useless if the commodities it produced did not satisfy some social need.

Now, if the commodities are sold at their values, then, as we have shown, very different rates of profit arise in the various spheres of production, depending on the different organic composition of the masses of capital invested in them. But capital withdraws from a sphere with a low rate of profit and invades others, which yield a higher profit. Through this incessant outflow and influx, or, briefly, through its distribution among the various spheres, which depends on how the rate of profit falls here and rises there, it creates such a ratio of supply to demand that the average profit in the various spheres of production becomes the same, and values are, therefore, converted into prices of production. Capital succeeds in this equalisation, to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the extent of capitalist development in the given nation; i. e., on the extent the conditions in the country in

question are adapted for the capitalist mode of production. With the progress of capitalist production, it also develops its own conditions and subordinates to its specific character and its immanent laws all the social prerequisites on which the production process is based.

The incessant equilibration of constant divergences is accomplished so much more quickly, 1) the more mobile the capital, i. e., the more easily it can be shifted from one sphere and from one place to another; 2) the more quickly labour power can be transferred from one sphere to another and from one production locality to another. The first condition implies complete freedom of trade within the society and the removal of all monopolies with the exception of the natural ones, those, that is, which naturally arise out of the capitalist mode of production. It implies, furthermore, the development of the credit system, which concentrates the inorganic mass of the disposable social capital vis-à-vis the individual capitalist. Finally, it implies the subordination of the various spheres of production to the control of capitalists. This last implication is included in our premisses, since we assumed that it was a matter of converting values into prices of production in all capitalistically exploited spheres of production. But this equilibration itself runs into greater obstacles, whenever numerous and large spheres of production not operated on a capitalist basis (such as soil cultivation by small farmers), filter in between the capitalist enterprises and become linked with them. A great density of population is another requirement.— The second condition implies the abolition of all laws preventing the labourers from transferring from one sphere of production to another and from one local centre of production to another; indifference of the labourer to the nature of his labour; the greatest possible reduction of labour in all spheres of production to simple labour; the elimination of all vocational prejudices among labourers; and last but not least, a subjugation of the labourer to the capitalist mode of production. Further reference to this belongs to a special analysis of competition.

It follows from the foregoing that in each particular sphere of production the individual capitalist, as well as the capitalists as a whole, take direct part in the exploitation of the total working class by the totality of capital and in the degree of that exploitation, not only out of general class sympathy, but also for direct economic reasons. For, assuming all other conditions — among them the value of the total advanced constant capital — to be given, the average rate of profit

depends on the intensity of exploitation of the sum total of labour by the sum total of capital.

The average profit coincides with the average surplus value produced for each 100 of capital, and so far as the surplus value is concerned the foregoing statements apply as a matter of course. In the case of the average profit the value of the advanced capital becomes an additional element determining the rate of profit. In fact, the direct interest taken by the capitalist, or the capital, of any individual sphere of production in the exploitation of the labourers who are directly employed is confined to making an extra gain, a profit exceeding the average, either through exceptional overwork, or reduction of the wage below the average, or through the exceptional productivity of the labour employed. Aside from this, a capitalist who would not in his line of production employ any variable capital, and therefore any labourer (in reality an exaggerated assumption), would nonetheless be as much interested in the exploitation of the working class by capital, and would derive his profit quite as much from unpaid surplus labour, as, say, a capitalist who would employ only variable capital (another exaggeration), and who would thus invest his entire capital in wages. But the degree of exploitation of labour depends on the average intensity of labour if the working day is given, and on the length of the working day if the intensity of exploitation is given. The degree of exploitation of labour determines the rate of surplus value, and therefore the mass of surplus value for a given total mass of variable capital, and consequently the magnitude of the profit. The individual capitalist, as distinct from his sphere as a whole, has the same special interest in exploiting the labourers he personally employs as the capital of a particular sphere, as distinct from the sum total of capital, has in exploiting the labourers directly employed in that sphere.

On the other hand, every particular sphere of capital, and every individual capitalist, have the same interest in the productivity of the social labour employed by the sum total of capital. For two things depend on this productivity: First, the mass of use values in which the average profit is expressed; and this is doubly important, since this average profit serves as a fund for the accumulation of new capital and as a fund for revenue to be spent for consumption. Second, the value of the total capital advanced (constant and variable), which, the amount of surplus value, or profit, for the whole capitalist class being given, determines the rate of profit, or the profit on a certain quantity of capital. The special productivity of labour in any particu-

lar sphere, or in any individual enterprise of this sphere, is of interest only to those capitalists who are directly engaged in it, since it enables that particular sphere, vis-à-vis the total capital, or that individual capitalist, vis-à-vis his sphere, to make an extra profit.

Here, then, we have a mathematically precise proof why capitalists form a veritable freemason society vis-à-vis the whole working class, while there is little love lost between them in competition among themselves.

The price of production includes the average profit. We call it price of production. It is really what Adam Smith calls NATURAL PRICE, Ricardo calls PRICE OF PRODUCTION, OR COST OF PRODUCTION, and the Physiocrats call *prix nécessaire*, because in the long run it is a prerequisite of supply, of the reproduction of commodities in every individual sphere.[33] But none of them has revealed the difference between price of production and value. We can well understand why the same economists who oppose determining the value of commodities by labour time, i. e., by the quantity of labour contained in them, why they always speak of prices of production as centres around which market prices fluctuate. They can afford to do it because the price of production is an utterly external and *prima facie* meaningless form of the value of commodities, a form as it appears in competition, therefore in the mind of the vulgar capitalist, and consequently in that of the vulgar economist.

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Our analysis has revealed how the market value (and everything said concerning it applies with appropriate modifications to the price of production) embraces a surplus profit for those who produce in any particular sphere of production under the most favourable conditions. With the exception of crises, and of overproduction in general, this applies to all market prices, no matter how much they may deviate from market values or market prices of production. For the market price signifies that the same price is paid for commodities of the same kind, although they may have been produced under very different individual conditions and hence may have considerably different cost prices. (We do not speak at this point of any surplus profits due

[33] Malthus.[a]

[a] *Principles of Political Economy*, London, 1836, p. 77 et seq.

to monopolies in the usual sense of the term, whether artificial or natural.)

A surplus profit may also arise if certain spheres of production are in a position to evade the conversion of the values of their commodities into prices of production, and thus the reduction of their profits to the average profit. We shall devote more attention to the further modifications of these two forms of surplus profit in the part dealing with ground rent.

## Chapter XI

### EFFECTS OF GENERAL WAGE FLUCTUATIONS ON PRICES OF PRODUCTION

Let the average composition of social capital be $80_c + 20_v$, and the profit 20%. The rate of surplus value is then 100%. A general increase of wages, all else remaining the same, is tantamount to a reduction in the rate of surplus value. In the case of average capital, profit and surplus value are identical. Let wages rise 25%. Then the same quantity of labour, formerly set in motion with 20, will cost 25. We shall then have a turnover value of $80_c + 25_v + 15_p$ instead of $80_c + 20_v + 20_p$. As before, the labour set in motion by the variable capital produces a value of 40. If v rises from 20 to 25, the surplus s, or p, will amount to only 15. The profit of 15 on 105 is $14\frac{2}{7}$%, and this would be the new average rate of profit. Since the price of production of commodities produced by the average capital coincides with their value, the price of production of these commodities would have remained inchanged. A wage increase would therefore have caused a drop in profit, but no change in the value and price of the commodities.

Formerly, as long as the average profit was 20%, the price of production of commodities produced in one period of turnover was equal to their cost price plus a profit of 20% on this cost price, therefore $= k + kp' = k + \frac{20k}{100}$. In this formula k is a variable magnitude, changing in accordance with the value of the means of production that go into the commodities, and with the amount of depreciation given up to the product by the fixed capital employed in its production. The price of production would then amount to $k + \frac{14\frac{2}{7}k}{100}$.

Let us now select a capital, whose composition is lower than the original composition of the average social capital of $80_c + 20_v$ (which has now changed into $76\frac{4}{21}{}_c + 23\frac{17}{21}{}_v$); say, $50_c + 50_v$. In this case, the price of production of the annual product before the wage increase would have been $50_c + 50_v + 20_p = 120$, assuming for the sake of simplicity that the entire fixed capital passes through depreciation into the annual product and that the period of turnover is the same as in the first case. For the same quantity of labour set in motion a wage increase of 25% means an increase of the variable capital from 50 to $62\frac{1}{2}$. If the annual product were sold at the former price of production of 120, this would give us $50_c + 62\frac{1}{2}{}_v + 7\frac{1}{2}{}_p$, or a rate of profit of $6\frac{2}{3}$ %. But the new average rate of profit is $14\frac{2}{7}$ %, and since we assume all other circumstances to remain the same, the capital of $50_c + 62\frac{1}{2}{}_v$ must also make this profit. Now, a capital of $112\frac{1}{2}$ makes a profit of $16\frac{1}{14}$ at a rate of profit of $14\frac{2}{7}$ %. Therefore, the price of production of the commodities produced by this capital is now $50_c + 62\frac{1}{2}{}_v + 16\frac{1}{14}{}_p = 128\frac{8}{14}$. Owing to a wage rise of 25%, the price of production of the same quantity of the same commodities, therefore, has here risen from 120 to $128\frac{8}{14}$, or more than 7%.

Conversely, suppose we take a sphere of production of a higher composition than the average capital; say, $92_c + 8_v$. The original average profit in this case would still be 20, and if we again assume that the entire fixed capital passes into the annual product and that the period of turnover is the same as in cases I and II, the price of production of the commodity is here also 120.

Owing to the rise in wages of 25% the variable capital for the same quantity of labour rises from 8 to 10, the cost price of the commodities from 100 to 102, while the average rate of profit falls from 20% to $14\frac{2}{7}$ %. But $100:14\frac{2}{7} = 102:14\frac{4}{7}$. The profit now falling to the share of 102 is therefore $14\frac{4}{7}$. For this reason, the total product sells at $k + kp' = 102 + 14\frac{4}{7} = 116\frac{4}{7}$. The price of production has therefore fallen from 120 to $116\frac{4}{7}$, or $3\frac{3}{7}$.

Consequently, if wages are raised 25%:

1) the price of production of the commodities of a capital of average social composition does not change;

2) the price of production of the commodities of a capital of lower composition rises, but not in proportion to the fall in profit;

3) the price of production of the commodities of a capital of higher composition falls, but also not in the same proportion as profit.

Since the price of production of the commodities of the average capital remained the same, equal to the value of the product, the sum of the prices of production of the products of all capitals remained the same as well, and equal to the sum total of the values produced by the aggregate capital. The increase on one side and the decrease on the other balance for the aggregate capital on the level of the average social capital.

If the price of production rises in case II and falls in case III, these opposite effects alone, which are brought about by a fall in the rate of surplus value or by a general wage increase, show that this cannot be a matter of compensation in the price for the rise in wages, since the fall in the price of production in case III cannot compensate the capitalist for the fall in profit, and since the rise of the price in case II does not prevent a fall in profit. Rather, in either case, whether the price rises or falls, the profit remains the same as that of the average capital, in which case the price remains unchanged. It is the same average profit which has fallen by $5\frac{5}{7}$, or somewhat over 25%, in the case of II as well as III. It follows from this that if the price did not rise in II and fall in III, II would have to sell below and III above the new reduced average profit. It is self-evident that, depending on whether 50, 25, or 10 per 100 units of capital are laid out for labour, the effect of a wage increase on a capitalist who has invested $\frac{1}{10}$ of his capital in wages must be quite different from that on one who has invested $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$. An increase in the price of production on the one side, a fall on the other, depending on a capital being below or above the average social composition, occurs solely by virtue of the process of levelling the profit to the new reduced average profit.

How would a general reduction in wages, and a corresponding general rise of the rate of profit, and thus of the average profit, now affect the prices of production of commodities produced by capitals deviating in opposite directions from the average social composition? We have but to reverse the foregoing exposition to obtain the result (which Ricardo fails to analyse).

I. Average capital = $80_c + 20_v = 100$; rate of surplus value = 100%; price of production = value of commodities = $80_c + 20_v + 20_p = 120$; rate of profit = 20%. Suppose wages fall by one-fourth. Then the same constant capital is set in motion by $15_v$, instead of $20_v$. Then the

value of commodities = $80_c + 15_v + 25_p = 120$. The quantity of labour performed by v remains unchanged, except that the value newly created by it is distributed differently between the capitalist and the labourer. The surplus value rises from 20 to 25 and the rate of surplus value from $\frac{20}{20}$ to $\frac{25}{15}$ or from 100% to $166\frac{2}{3}$%. The profit on 95 now = 25, so that the rate of profit per 100 = $26\frac{6}{19}$. The new composition of the capital in per cent is now $84\frac{4}{19}{}_c + 15\frac{15}{19}{}_v = 100$.

II. Lower composition. Originally $50_c + 50_v$, as above. Due to the fall of wages by $\frac{1}{4}$ v is reduced to $37\frac{1}{2}$, and consequently the advanced total capital to $50_c + 37\frac{1}{2}{}_v = 87\frac{1}{2}$. If we apply the new rate of profit of $26\frac{6}{19}$% to this, we get $100 : 26\frac{6}{19} = 87\frac{1}{2} : 23\frac{1}{38}$. The same mass of commodities which formerly cost 120, now costs $87\frac{1}{2} + 23\frac{1}{38} = 110\frac{10}{19}$, this being a price reduction of almost 10.

III. Higher composition. Originally $92_c + 8_v = 100$. The reduction of wages by $\frac{1}{4}$ reduces $8_v$ to $6_v$, and the total capital to 98. Consequently, $100:26\frac{6}{19} = 98:25\frac{15}{19}$. The price of production of the commodity, formerly 100 + 20 = 120, is now, after the fall in wages, $98 + 25\frac{15}{19} = 123\frac{15}{19}$, this being a rise of almost 4.

It is evident, therefore, that we have but to follow the same development in the opposite direction with the appropriate modifications; that a general reduction of wages is attended by a general rise of surplus value, of the rate of surplus value and, other circumstances remaining the same, of the rate of profit, even if expressed in a different proportion; a fall in the prices of production for commodities produced by capitals of lower composition, and a rise in the prices of production for commodities produced by capitals of higher composition. The result is just the reverse of that observed for a general rise of wages.[34] In both cases—rise or fall of wages—it is assumed that the

[34] It is very peculiar that Ricardo[a] (who naturally proceeds differently from us, since he did not understand the levelling of values to prices of production) did not once consider this eventuality, but only the first case, that of a wage rise and its influence on the prices of production of commodities. And the *servum pecus imitatorum*[b] did not even attempt to make this extremely self-evident, actually tautological, practical application.

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[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy...*, pp. 36-41. Cf. present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 421-22. - [b] Horace, *Epistles*, I, 19.

working day remains the same, and also the prices of all the necessary means of subsistence. In these circumstances a fall in wages is possible only if they stood higher than the normal price of labour, or if they are depressed below this price. The way in which the matter is modified if the rise or fall of wages is due to a change in value, and consequently the price of production of commodities usually consumed by the labourer, will be analysed at some length in the part dealing with ground rent. At this point, however, the following remarks are to be made once and for all:

Should the rise or fall in wages be due to a change in the value of the necessities of life, a modification of the foregoing findings can take place only to the extent that commodities, whose change of price raises or lowers the variable capital, also go into the constant capital as constituent elements and therefore affect more than just the wages alone. But if they affect only wages, the above analysis contains all that needs to be said.

In this entire chapter, the establishment of the general rate of profit and the average profit, and consequently, the transformation of values into prices of production, are assumed as given. The question merely was, how a general rise or fall in wages affected the assumed prices of production of commodities. This is but a very secondary question compared with the other important points analysed in this part. But it is the only relevant question treated by Ricardo, and, as we shall see,[32] he treated it one-sidedly and unsatisfactorily.

## Chapter XII

### SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS

#### I. CAUSES IMPLYING A CHANGE IN THE PRICE OF PRODUCTION

There are just two causes that can change the price of production of a commodity:

*First.* A change in the general rate of profit. This can solely be due to a change in the average rate of surplus value, or, if the average rate of surplus value remains the same, to a change in the ratio of the sum of the appropriated surplus values to the sum of the advanced total social capital.

If the change in the rate of surplus value is not due to a depression

of wages below normal, or their rise above normal — and movements of that kind are to be regarded merely as oscillations — it can only occur either through a rise, or fall, in the value of labour power, the one being just as impossible as the other unless there is a change in the productivity of the labour producing means of subsistence, i. e., in the value of commodities consumed by the labourer.

Or, through a change in the proportion of the sum of appropriated surplus values to the advanced total capital of society. Since the change in this case is not caused by the rate of surplus value, it must be caused by the total capital, or rather its constant part. The mass of this part, technically considered, increases or decreases in proportion to the quantity of labour power bought by the variable capital, and the mass of its value thus increases or decreases with the increase or decrease of its own mass. It also increases or decreases, therefore, proportionately to the mass of the value of the variable capital. If the same labour sets more constant capital in motion, it has become more productive. If the reverse, then less productive. Thus, there has been a change in the productivity of labour, and there must have occurred a change in the value of certain commodities.

The following law, then, applies to both cases: If the price of production of a commodity changes in consequence of a change in the general rate of profit, its own value may have remained unchanged. However, a change must have occurred in the value of other commodities.

*Second.* The general rate of profit remains unchanged. In this case the price of production of a commodity can change only if its own value has changed. This may be due to more, or less, labour being required to reproduce the commodity in question, either because of a change in the productivity of labour which produces this commodity in its final form, or of the labour which produces those commodities that go into its production. The price of production of cotton yarn may fall, either because raw cotton is produced cheaper than before, or because the labour of spinning has become more productive due to improved machinery.

The price of production, as we have seen, $= k + p$, equal to cost price plus profit. This, however, $= k + kp'$, in which k, the cost price, is a variable magnitude, which changes for different spheres of production and is everywhere equal to the value of the constant and variable capital consumed in the production of the commodity, and $p'$ is the average rate of profit in percentage form. If $k = 200$,

and $p' = 20\%$, the price of production $k + kp' = 200 + 200 \cdot \frac{20}{100} = 200 + 40 = 240$. This price of production may clearly remain the same, in spite of a change in the value of the commodities.

All changes in the price of production of commodities are reduced, in the last analysis, to changes in value. But not all changes in the value of commodities need express themselves in changes in the price of production. The price of production is not determined by the value of any one commodity alone, but by the aggregate value of all commodities. A change in commodity A may therefore be balanced by an opposite change in commodity B, so that the general relation remains the same.

## II. PRICE OF PRODUCTION OF COMMODITIES OF AVERAGE COMPOSITION

We have seen how a deviation in prices of production from values arises from:

1) adding the average profit instead of the surplus value contained in a commodity to its cost price;

2) the price of production, which so deviates from the value of a commodity, entering into the cost price of other commodities as one of its elements, so that the cost price of a commodity may already contain a deviation from the value of the means of production consumed by it, quite aside from a deviation of its own which may arise through a difference between the average profit and the surplus value.

It is therefore possible that even the cost price of commodities produced by capitals of average composition may differ from the sum of the values of the elements which make up this component of their price of production. Suppose, the average composition is $80_c + 20_v$. Now, it is possible that in the actual capitals of this composition $80_c$ may be greater or smaller than the value of c, i. e., the constant capital, because this c may be made up of commodities whose price of production differs from their value. In the same way, $20_v$ might diverge from its value if the consumption of the wage includes commodities whose price of production diverges from their value; in which case the labourer would work a longer, or shorter, time to buy them back (to replace them) and would thus perform more, or less, necessary labour than would be required if the price of production of such necessities of life coincided with their value.

However, this possibility does not detract in the least from the correctness of the theorems demonstrated which hold for commodities of average composition. The quantity of profit falling to these commodities is equal to the quantity of surplus value contained in them. For instance, in a capital of the given composition $80_c + 20_v$, the most important thing in determining surplus value is not whether these figures are expressions of actual values, but how they are related to one another, i. e., whether $v = \frac{1}{5}$ of the total capital, and $c = \frac{4}{5}$. Whenever this is the case, the surplus value produced by v is, as was assumed, equal to the average profit. On the other hand, since it equals the average profit, the price of production = cost price + profit = k + p = k + s; i. e., in practice it is equal to the value of the commodity. This implies that a rise or fall in wages would not change k + p any more than it would change the value of the commodities, and would merely effect a corresponding opposite movement, a fall or a rise, in the rate of profit. For if a rise or fall of wages were here to bring about a change in the price of commodities, the rate of profit in these spheres of average composition would rise above, or fall below, the level prevailing in other spheres. The sphere of average composition maintains the same level of profit as the other spheres only so long as the price remains unchanged. The practical result is therefore the same as it would be if its products were sold at their real value. For if commodities are sold at their actual values, it is evident that, other conditions being equal, a rise, or fall, in wages will cause a corresponding fall or rise in profit, but no change in the value of commodities, and that under all circumstances a rise or fall in wages can never affect the value of commodities, but only the magnitude of the surplus value.

### III. THE CAPITALIST'S GROUNDS FOR COMPENSATING

It has been said that competition levels the rates of profit of the different spheres of production into an average rate of profit and thereby turns the values of the products of these different spheres into prices of production. This occurs through the continual transfer of capital from one sphere to another, in which, for the moment, the profit happens to lie above average. The fluctuations of profit caused by the cycle of fat and lean years succeeding one another in any given branch of industry within given periods must, however, receive due

consideration. This incessant outflow and inflow of capital between the different spheres of production creates trends of rise and fall in the rate of profit, which equalise one another more or less and thus have a tendency to reduce the rate of profit everywhere to the same common and general level.

This movement of capitals is primarily caused by the level of market prices, which lift profits above the general average in one place and depress them below it in another. Merchant's capital is left out of consideration as it is irrelevant at this point, for we know from the sudden paroxysms of speculation appearing in certain popular articles that it can withdraw masses of capital from one line of business with extraordinary rapidity and throw them with equal rapidity into another. Yet with respect to each sphere of actual production—industry, agriculture, mining, etc.—the transfer of capital from one sphere to another offers considerable difficulties, particularly on account of the existing fixed capital. Experience shows, moreover, that if a branch of industry, such as, say, the cotton industry, yields unusually high profits at one period, it makes very little profit, or even suffers losses, at another, so that in a certain cycle of years the average profit is much the same as in other branches. And capital soon learns to take this experience into account.

What competition does *not* show, however, is the determination of value, which dominates the movement of production; and the values that lie beneath the prices of production and that determine them in the last instance. Competition, on the other hand, shows: 1) the average profits, which are independent of the organic composition of capital in the different spheres of production, and therefore also of the mass of living labour appropriated by any given capital in any given sphere of exploitation; 2) the rise and fall of prices of production caused by changes in the level of wages, a phenomenon which at first glance completely contradicts the value relation of commodities; 3) the fluctuations of market prices, which reduce the average market price of commodities in a given period of time, not to the market *value*, but to a very different market price of production, which diverges considerably from this market value. All these phenomena *seem* to contradict the determination of value by labour time as much as the nature of surplus value consisting of unpaid surplus labour. *Thus everything appears reversed in competition.* The final pattern of economic relations as seen on the surface, in their real existence and consequently in the conceptions by which the bearers and agents of these

relations seek to understand them, is very much different from, and indeed quite the reverse of, their inner but concealed essential pattern and the conception corresponding to it.[a]

Further. As soon as capitalist production reaches a certain level of development, the equalisation of the different rates of profit in individual spheres to general rate of profit no longer proceeds solely through the play of attraction and repulsion, by which market prices attract or repel capital. After average prices, and their corresponding market prices, become stable for a time it reaches the *consciousness* of the individual capitalists that this equalisation balances *definite differences*, so that they include these in their mutual calculations. The differences exist in the mind of the capitalist and are taken into account as grounds for compensating.

Average profit is the basic conception, the conception that capitals of equal magnitude must yield equal profits in equal time spans. This, again, is based on the conception that the capital in each sphere of production must share *pro rata* to its magnitude in the total surplus value squeezed out of the labourers by the total social capital; or, that every individual capital should be regarded merely as a part of the total capital, and every capitalist actually as a shareholder in the total enterprise, each sharing in the total profit *pro rata* to the magnitude of his share of capital.

This conception serves as a basis for the capitalist's calculations, for instance, that a capital whose turnover is slower than another's because its commodities take longer to be produced, or because they are sold in remoter markets, nevertheless charges the profit it loses in this way, and compensates itself by raising the price. Or else, that investments of capital in lines exposed to greater hazards, for instance in shipping, are compensated by higher prices. As soon as capitalist production, and with it the insurance business, are developed, the hazards are, in effect, made equal for all spheres of production (cf. Corbet[b]); but the more hazardous lines pay higher insurance rates, and recover them in the prices of their commodities. In practice all this means that every circumstance, which renders one line of production — and all of them are considered equally necessary within certain limits — less profitable, and another more profitable, is taken in-

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, p. 102. - [b] Th. Corbet, *An Inquiry into the Causes and Modes of the Wealth of Individuals...*, London, 1841, pp. 100-02. Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 243 and 281.

to account once and for all as valid ground for compensation, without always requiring the renewed action of competition to justify the motives or factors for calculating this compensation. The capitalist simply forgets—or rather fails to see, because competition does not point it out to him—that all these grounds for compensation mutually advanced by capitalists in calculating the prices of commodities of different lines of production merely come down to the fact that they all have an equal claim, *pro rata* to the magnitude of their respective capitals, to the common loot, the total surplus value. It rather *seems* to them that since the profit pocketed by them differs from the surplus value they squeezed out, these grounds for compensation do not level out their participation in the total surplus value, but *create the profit itself*, which seems to be derived from the additions made on one or another ground to the cost price of their commodities.

In other respects the statements made in Chapter VII, p. 116,[a] concerning the capitalists' assumptions as to source of surplus value, apply also to average profit. The present case appears different only in so far as a saving in cost price depends on individual business acumen, alertness, etc., assuming the market price of commodities and the exploitation of labour to be given.

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[a] See this volume, p. 137.

# Part III

## THE LAW OF THE TENDENCY OF THE RATE OF PROFIT TO FALL

### Chapter XIII

#### THE LAW AS SUCH

Assuming a given wage and working day, a variable capital, for instance of 100, represents a certain number of employed labourers. It is the index of this number. Suppose £100 are the wages of 100 labourers for, say, one week. If these labourers perform equal amounts of necessary and surplus labour, if they work daily as many hours for themselves, i. e., for the reproduction of their wage, as they do for the capitalist, i. e., for the production of surplus value, then the value of their total product = £200, and the surplus value they produce would amount to £100. The rate of surplus value, $\frac{s}{v}$, would = 100%. But, as we have seen, this rate of surplus value would nonetheless express itself in very different rates of profit, depending on the different volumes of constant capital c and consequently of the total capital C, because the rate of profit = $\frac{s}{C}$. The rate of surplus value is 100%:

If c = 50, and v = 100, then $p' = \frac{100}{150} = 66\,^2/_3\%$;

" c = 100, and v = 100, then $p' = \frac{100}{200} = 50\%$;

" c = 200, and v = 100, then $p' = \frac{100}{300} = 33\,^1/_3\%$;

" c = 300, and v = 100, then $p' = \frac{100}{400} = 25\%$;

" c = 400, and v = 100, then $p' = \frac{100}{500} = 20\%$.

This is how the same rate of surplus value would express itself under the same degree of labour exploitation in a falling rate of profit, because the material growth of the constant capital implies also

a growth — albeit not in the same proportion — in its value, and consequently in that of the total capital.[a]

If it is further assumed that this gradual change in the composition of capital is not confined only to individual spheres of production, but that it occurs more or less in all, or at least in the key spheres of production, so that it involves changes in the average organic composition of the total capital of a certain society, then the gradual growth of constant capital in relation to variable capital must necessarily lead to *a gradual fall of the general rate of profit*, so long as the rate of surplus value, or the intensity of exploitation of labour by capital, remain the same. Now we have seen that it is a law of capitalist production that its development is attended by a relative decrease of variable in relation to constant capital, and consequently to the total capital set in motion.[b] This is just another way of saying that owing to the distinctive methods of production developing in the capitalist system the same number of labourers, i. e., the same quantity of labour power set in motion by a variable capital of a given value, operate, work up and productively consume in the same time span an ever-increasing quantity of means of labour, machinery and fixed capital of all sorts, raw and auxiliary materials — and consequently a constant capital of an ever-increasing value. This continual relative decrease of the variable capital vis-à-vis the constant, and consequently the total capital, is identical with the progressively higher organic composition of the social capital in its average. It is likewise just another expression for the progressive development of the social productive power of labour, which is demonstrated precisely by the fact that the same number of labourers, in the same time, i. e., with less labour, convert an ever-increasing quantity of raw and auxiliary materials into products, thanks to the growing application of machinery and fixed capital in general. To this growing quantity of value of the constant capital — although indicating the growth of the real mass of use values of which the constant capital materially consists only approximately — corresponds a progressive cheapening of products. Every individual product, considered by itself, contains a smaller quantity of labour than it did on a lower level of production, where the capital invested in labour occupies a far greater place compared to the capital invested in means of production. The hypothetical se-

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 76-78. - [b] Ibid., Vol. 35, pp. 616-20.

ries drawn up at the beginning of this chapter expresses, therefore, the actual tendency of capitalist production. This mode of production produces a progressive relative decrease of the variable capital as compared to the constant capital, and consequently a continuously rising organic composition of the total capital. The immediate result of this is that the rate of surplus value, at the same, or even a rising, degree of labour exploitation, is represented by a continually falling general rate of profit. (We shall see later[a] why this fall does not manifest itself in an absolute form, but rather as a tendency toward a progressive fall.) The progressive tendency of the general rate of profit to fall is, therefore, just *an expression peculiar to the capitalist mode of production* of the progressive development of the social productive power of labour. This does not mean to say that the rate of profit may not fall temporarily for other reasons. But proceeding from the nature of the capitalist mode of production, it is thereby proved a logical necessity that in its development the general average rate of surplus value must express itself in a falling general rate of profit. Since the mass of the employed living labour is continually on the decline as compared to the mass of objectified labour set in motion by it, i. e., to the productively consumed means of production, it follows that the portion of living labour, unpaid and congealed in surplus value, must also be continually on the decrease compared to the amount of value represented by the invested total capital. Since the ratio of the mass of surplus value to the value of the invested total capital forms the rate of profit, this rate must constantly fall.

Simple as this law appears from the foregoing statements, all of political economy has so far had little success in discovering it, as we shall see in a later part.[1] The economists perceived the phenomenon and cudgelled their brains in tortuous attempts to interpret it. Since this law is of great importance to capitalist production, it may be said to be a mystery whose solution has been the goal of all political economy since Adam Smith, the difference between the various schools since Adam Smith having been in the divergent approaches to a solution. When we consider, on the other hand, that up to the present political economy has been running in circles round the distinction between constant and variable capital, but has never known how to define it accurately; that it has never separated surplus value from profit, and never even considered profit in its pure form as distinct

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[a] See this volume, Ch. XIV.

from its different, self-established components, such as industrial profit, commercial profit, interest, and ground rent; that it has never thoroughly analysed the differences in the organic composition of capital, and, for this reason, has never thought of analysing the formation of the general rate of profit—if we consider all this, the failure to solve this riddle is no longer surprising.

We intentionally present this law before going on to the division of profit into different self-established categories. The fact that this analysis is made independently of the division of profit into different parts, which fall to the share of different categories of people, shows from the outset that this law is, in its entirety, independent of this division, and just as independent of the mutual relations of the resultant categories of profit. The profit to which we are here referring is but another name for surplus value itself, which is presented only in its relation to total capital rather than to variable capital, from which it arises. The drop in the rate of profit, therefore, expresses the falling relation of surplus value to advanced total capital, and is for this reason independent of any division whatsoever of this surplus value among the various categories.

We have seen that at a certain stage of capitalist development, where the composition of capital c : v was 50 : 100, a rate of surplus value of 100% was expressed in a rate of profit of $66\frac{2}{3}$ %, and that at a higher stage, where c : v was 400 : 100, the same rate of surplus value was expressed in a rate of profit of only 20%. What is true of different successive stages of development in one country, is also true of different coexisting stages of development in different countries. In an undeveloped country, in which the former composition of capital is the average, the general rate of profit would = $66\frac{2}{3}$ %, while in a country with the latter composition and a much higher stage of development it would = 20%.

The difference between the two national rates of profit might disappear, or even be reversed, if labour were less productive in the less developed country, so that a larger quantity of labour were to be represented in a smaller quantity of the same commodities, and a larger exchange value were represented in less use value. The labourer would then spend more of his time in reproducing his own means of subsistence, or their value, and less time in producing surplus value; consequently, he would perform less surplus labour, with the result that the rate of surplus value would be lower. Suppose, the labourer of the less developed country were to work $\frac{2}{3}$ of the working

day for himself and $\frac{1}{3}$ for the capitalist; in accordance with the above illustration, the same labour power would then be paid with $133\frac{1}{3}$ and would furnish a surplus of only $66\frac{2}{3}$. A constant capital of 50 would correspond to a variable capital of $133\frac{1}{3}$. The rate of surplus value would amount to $66\frac{2}{3} : 133\frac{1}{3} = 50\%$, and the rate of profit to $66\frac{2}{3} : 183\frac{1}{3}$, or approximately $36\frac{1}{2}\%$.

Since we have not so far analysed the different component parts of profit, i. e., they do not for the present exist for us, we make the following remarks beforehand merely to avoid misunderstanding: In comparing countries in different stages of development it would be a big mistake to measure the level of the national rate of profit by, say, the level of the national rate of interest, namely when comparing countries with a developed capitalist production with countries in which labour has not yet been formally subjected to capital, although in reality the labourer is exploited by the capitalist (as, for instance, in India, where the ryot manages his farm as an independent producer whose production as such is not, therefore, as yet subordinated to capital, although the usurer may not only rob him of his entire surplus labour by means of interest, but may also, to use a capitalist term, hack off a part of his wage).[a] This interest comprises all the profit, and more than the profit, instead of merely expressing an aliquot part of the produced surplus value, or profit, as it does in countries with a developed capitalist production. On the other hand, the rate of interest is, in this case, mostly determined by relations (loans granted by usurers to owners of larger estates who draw ground rent) which have nothing to do with profit, and rather indicate to what extent usury appropriates ground rent.

As regards countries with capitalist production in different stages of development, and consequently capitals of different organic composition, a country where the normal working day is shorter than another's may have a higher rate of surplus value (one of the factors which determines the rate of profit). *First*, if the English ten-hour working day is, on account of its higher intensity, equal to an Austrian working day of 14 hours, then, dividing the working day equally in both instances, 5 hours of English surplus labour may represent a greater value on the world market than 7 hours of Austrian surplus labour.

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 34, pp. 118-19.

*Second*, a larger portion of the English working day than of the Austrian may represent surplus labour.

The law of the falling rate of profit, which expresses the same, or even a higher, rate of surplus value, states, in other words, that any quantity of the average social capital, say, a capital of 100, comprises an ever larger portion of means of labour, and an ever smaller portion of living labour. Therefore, since the aggregate mass of living labour added to the means of production decreases in relation to the value of these means of production, it follows that the unpaid labour and the portion of value in which it is expressed must decline as compared to the value of the advanced total capital. Or: An ever smaller aliquot part of invested total capital is converted into living labour, and this total capital, therefore, absorbs in proportion to its magnitude less and less surplus labour, although the unpaid part of the labour applied may at the same time grow in relation to the paid part. The relative decrease of the variable and increase of the constant capital, however much both parts may grow in absolute magnitude, is, as we have said, but another expression for greater productivity of labour.

Let a capital of 100 consist of $80_c + 20_v$, and the latter = 20 labourers. Let the rate of surplus value be 100%, i. e., the labourers work half the day for themselves and the other half for the capitalist. Now let the capital of 100 in a less developed country = $20_c + 80_v$, and let the latter = 80 labourers. But these labourers require $\frac{2}{3}$ of the day for themselves, and work only $\frac{1}{3}$ for the capitalist. Everything else being equal, the labourers in the first case produce a value of 40, and in the second of 120. The first capital produces $80_c + 20_v + 20_s = 120$; rate of profit = 20%. The second capital, $20_c + 80_v + 40_s = 140$; rate of profit = 40%. In the second case the rate of profit is, therefore, double the first, although the rate of surplus value in the first = 100%, which is double that of the second, where it is only 50%. But then, a capital of the same magnitude appropriates the surplus labour of only 20 labourers in the first case, and of 80 labourers in the second case.

The law of the progressive falling of the rate of profit, or the relative decline of appropriated surplus labour compared to the mass of objectified labour set in motion by living labour, does not rule out in any way that the absolute mass of exploited labour set in motion by the social capital, and consequently the absolute mass of the surplus labour it appropriates, may grow; nor, that the capitals controlled by

individual capitalists may dispose of a growing mass of labour and, hence, of surplus labour, the latter even though the number of labourers they employ does not increase.

Take a certain working population of, say, two million. Assume, furthermore, that the length and intensity of the average working day, and the level of wages, and thereby the proportion between necessary and surplus labour, are given. In that case the aggregate labour of these two million, and their surplus labour expressed in surplus value, always produces the same magnitude of value. But with the growth of the mass of the constant (fixed and circulating) capital set in motion by this labour, this produced quantity of value declines in relation to the value of this capital, which value grows with its mass, even if not in quite the same proportion. This ratio, and consequently the rate of profit, shrinks in spite of the fact that the mass of commanded living labour is the same as before, and the same amount of surplus labour is absorbed by the capital. It changes because the mass of objectified labour set in motion by living labour increases, and not because the mass of living labour has shrunk. It is a relative decrease, not an absolute one, and has, in fact, nothing to do with the absolute magnitude of the labour and surplus labour set in motion. The drop in the rate of profit is not due to an absolute, but only to a relative decrease of the variable part of the total capital, i. e., to its decrease in relation to the constant part.

What applies to any given mass of labour and surplus labour, also applies to a growing number of labourers, and, thus, under the above assumption, to any growing mass of commanded labour in general, and to its unpaid part, the surplus labour, in particular. If the working population increases from two million to three, and if the variable capital paid out in wages also rises to three million from its former two million, while the constant capital rises from 4 million to 15 million, then, under the above assumption of a constant working day and a constant rate of surplus value, the mass of surplus labour, and of surplus value, rises by one-half, i. e., 50%, from 2 million to 3. Nevertheless, in spite of this growth of the absolute mass of surplus labour, and hence of surplus value, by 50%, the ratio of variable to constant capital would fall from 2 : 4 to 3 : 15, and the ratio of surplus value to total capital would be (in millions)

$$\text{I. } 4_c + 2_v + 2_s;\ C = 6,\ p' = 33\tfrac{1}{3}\%.$$

$$\text{II. } 15_c + 3_v + 3_s;\ C = 18,\ p' = 16\tfrac{2}{3}\%.$$

While the mass of surplus value has increased by one-half, the rate of profit has fallen by one-half. However, the profit is only the surplus value calculated in relation to the social capital, and the mass of profit, its absolute magnitude, is socially equal to the absolute magnitude of the surplus value. The absolute magnitude of the profit, its total amount, would, therefore, have grown by 50%, in spite of its enormous relative decrease compared to the advanced total capital, or in spite of the enormous decrease in the general rate of profit. The number of labourers employed by capital, hence the absolute mass of the labour set in motion by it, and therefore the absolute mass of surplus labour absorbed by it, the mass of the surplus value produced by it, and therefore the absolute mass of the profit produced by it, *can*, consequently, increase, and increase progressively, in spite of the progressive drop in the rate of profit. And this not only *can* be so. Aside from temporary fluctuations it *must* be so, on the basis of capitalist production.

Essentially, the capitalist production process is simultaneously a process of accumulation. We have shown that with the development of capitalist production the mass of values to be simply reproduced, or maintained, increases and grows as the productivity of labour grows, even if the labour power employed should remain constant.[a] But with the development of social productivity of labour the mass of produced use values, of which the means of production form a part, grows still more. And the additional labour, through whose appropriation this additional wealth can be reconverted into capital, does not depend on the value, but on the mass of these means of production (including means of subsistence), because in the production process the labourers have nothing to do with the value, but with the use value, of the means of production. Accumulation itself, however, and the concentration of capital that goes with it, is a material means of increasing productive power. Now, this growth of the means of production includes the growth of the working population, the creation of a working population, which corresponds to the surplus capital, or even exceeds its general requirements, thus leading to an overpopulation of workers. A momentary excess of surplus capital over the working population it has commandeered, would have a two-fold effect. It would, on the one hand, by raising wages, mitigate the adverse

[a] See present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 623-34.

conditions which decimate the offspring of the labourers and would make marriages easier among them, so as gradually to increase the population. On the other hand, by applying methods which yield relative surplus value (introduction and improvement of machinery) it would produce a far more rapid, artificial, relative overpopulation, which in its turn, would be a breeding ground for a really swift propagation of the population, since under capitalist production misery produces population.[a] It therefore follows of itself from the nature of the capitalist process of accumulation, which is but one facet of the capitalist production process, that the increased mass of means of production that is to be converted into capital always finds a correspondingly increased, even excessive, exploitable worker population. As the process of production and accumulation advances therefore, the mass of available and appropriated surplus labour, and hence the absolute mass of profit appropriated by the social capital, *must* grow. Along with the volume, however, the same laws of production and accumulation increase also the value of the constant capital in a mounting progression more rapidly than that of the variable part of capital, invested as it is in living labour. Hence, the same laws produce for the social capital a growing absolute mass of profit, and a falling rate of profit.

We shall entirely ignore here that with the advance of capitalist production and the attendant development of the productive power of social labour and multiplication of production branches, hence products, the same amount of value represents a progressively increasing mass of use values and enjoyments.

The development of capitalist production and accumulation lifts labour processes to an increasingly enlarged scale and thus imparts to them ever greater dimensions, and involves accordingly larger investments of capital for each individual establishment. A mounting concentration of capitals (accompanied, though on a smaller scale, by an increase in the number of capitalists) is, therefore, one of its material prerequisites as well as one of its results. Hand in hand with it, mutually interacting, there occurs a progressive expropriation of the more or less direct producers. It is, then, natural for the individual capitalists to command increasingly large armies of labourers (no matter how much the variable capital may decrease in relation to

[a] Ibid., Vol. 34, p. 165.

the constant), and natural, too, that the mass of surplus value, and hence profit, appropriated by them, should grow simultaneously with, and in spite of, the fall in the rate of profit. The causes which concentrate masses of labourers under the command of individual capitalists, are the very same that swell the mass of the employed fixed capital, and auxiliary and raw materials, in mounting proportion as compared to the mass of employed living labour.

It requires no more than a passing remark at this point to indicate that, given a certain labouring population, the mass of surplus value, hence the absolute mass of profit, must grow if the rate of surplus value increases, be it through a lengthening or intensification of the working day, or through a drop in the value of wages due to an increase in the productive power of labour, and that it must do so in spite of the relative decrease of variable capital in respect to constant.

The same development of the productive power of social labour, the same laws which express themselves in a relative decrease of variable as compared to total capital, and in the thereby facilitated accumulation, while this accumulation in its turn becomes a starting point for the further development of the productive power and for a further relative decrease of variable capital—this same development manifests itself, aside from temporary fluctuations, in a progressive increase of the total employed labour power and a progressive increase of the absolute mass of surplus value, and hence of profit.

Now, what must be the form of this double-edged law of a decrease in the *rate* of profit and a simultaneous increase in the absolute *mass* of profit arising from the same causes? A law based on the fact that under given conditions the appropriated mass of surplus labour, hence of surplus value, increases, and that, so far as the total capital is concerned, or the individual capital as an aliquot part of the total capital, profit and surplus value are identical magnitudes?

Let us take an aliquot part of capital upon which we calculate the rate of profit, e. g., 100. These 100 represent the average composition of the total capital, say, $80_c + 20_v$. We have seen in the second part of this book that the average rate of profit in the various branches of production is determined not by the particular composition of each individual capital, but by the average social composition. As the variable capital decreases relative to the constant, hence the total capital of 100, the rate of profit, or the relative magnitude of surplus value, i. e., its ratio to the advanced total capital of 100, falls even though the intensity of labour exploitation were to remain the same, or even

to increase. But it is not this relative magnitude alone which falls. The magnitude of the surplus value or profit absorbed by the total capital of 100 also falls absolutely. At a rate of surplus value of 100%, a capital of $60_c + 40_v$ produces a mass of surplus value, and hence of profit, amounting to 40; a capital of $70_c + 30_v$ a mass of profit of 30; and for a capital of $80_c + 20_v$ the profit falls to 20. This falling applies to the mass of surplus value, and hence of profit, and is due to the fact that the total capital of 100 employs less living labour, and, the intensity of labour exploitation remaining the same, sets in motion less surplus labour, and therefore produces less surplus value.Taking any aliquot part of the social capital, i. e., a capital of average social composition, as a standard by which to measure surplus value — and this is done in all calculations of profit — a relative fall of surplus value is generally identical with its absolute fall. In the cases given above, the rate of profit sinks from 40% to 30% and to 20%, because, in fact, the mass of surplus value, and hence of profit, produced by the same capital falls absolutely from 40 to 30 and to 20. Since the magnitude of the value of the capital, by which the surplus value is measured, is given as 100, a fall in the proportion of surplus value to this given magnitude can be only another expression for the decrease of the absolute magnitude of surplus value and profit. This is, indeed, a tautology. But, as shown, the fact that this decrease occurs at all, arises from the nature of the development of the capitalist process of production.

On the other hand, however, the same causes which bring about an absolute decrease of surplus value, and hence profit, on a given capital, and consequently of the rate of profit calculated in per cent, produce an increase in the absolute mass of surplus value, and hence of profit, appropriated by the social capital (i. e., by all capitalists taken as a whole). How does this occur, what is the only way in which this can occur, or what are the conditions obtaining in this seeming contradiction?

If any aliquot part = 100 of the social capital, and hence any 100 of average social composition, is a given magnitude, for which therefore a fall in the rate of profit coincides with a fall in the absolute magnitude of the profit because the capital which here serves as a standard of measurement is a constant magnitude, then the magnitude of the total social capital like that of the capital in the hands of individual capitalists, is variable, and in keeping with our assumptions it must vary inversely with the decrease of its variable portion.

In our former illustration, when the percentage of composition was

$60_c + 40_v$, the corresponding surplus value, or profit, was 40, and hence the rate of profit 40%. Suppose, the total capital in this stage of composition was one million. Then the total surplus value, and hence the total profit, amounted to 400,000. Now, if the composition later $= 80_c + 20_v$, while the degree of labour exploitation remained the same, then the surplus value or profit for each 100 = 20. But since the absolute mass of surplus value or profit increases, as demonstrated, in spite of the decreasing rate of profit or the decreasing production of surplus value by every 100 of capital—increases, say, from 400,000 to 440,000, then this occurs solely because the total capital which formed at the time of this new composition has risen to 2,200,000. The mass of the total capital set in motion has risen to 220%, while the rate of profit has fallen by 50%. Had the capital no more than doubled, it would have to produce as much surplus value and profit to obtain a rate of profit of 20% as the old capital of 1,000,000 produced at 40%. Had it grown to less than double, it would have produced less surplus value, or profit, than the old capital of 1,000,000, which, in its former composition, would have had to grow from 1,000,000 to no more than 1,100,000 to raise its surplus value from 400,000 to 440,000.

We again meet here the previously defined law [33] that the relative decrease of the variable capital, hence the development of the social productive power of labour, involves an increasingly large mass of total capital to set in motion the same quantity of labour power and absorb the same quantity of surplus labour. Consequently, the possibility of a relative surplus of labouring people develops proportionately to the advances made by capitalist production not because the productive power of social labour *decreases*, but because it *increases*. It does not therefore arise out of an absolute disproportion between labour and the means of subsistence, or the means for the production of these means of subsistence, but out of a disproportion occasioned by capitalist exploitation of labour, a disproportion between the progressive growth of capital and its relatively shrinking need for an increasing population.

Should the rate of profit fall by 50%, it would shrink one-half. If the mass of profit is to remain the same, the capital must be doubled. For the mass of profit made at a declining rate of profit to remain the same, the multiplier indicating the growth of the total capital must be equal to the divisor indicating the fall of the rate of profit. If the rate of profit falls from 40 to 20, the total capital must rise inversely at the

rate of 20:40 to obtain the same result. If the rate of profit falls from 40 to 8, the capital would have to increase at the rate of 8:40, five-fold. A capital of 1,000,000 at 40% produces 400,000, and a capital of 5,000,000 at 8% likewise produces 400,000. This applies if we want the result to remain the same. But if the result is to be higher, then the capital must grow at a greater rate than the rate of profit falls. In other words, for the variable portion of the total capital not to remain the same in absolute terms, but to increase absolutely, in spite of its falling in percentage of the total capital, the total capital must grow at a faster rate than the percentage of the variable capital falls. It must grow so considerably that in its new composition it should require more than the old portion of variable capital to purchase labour power. If the variable portion of a capital = 100 should fall from 40 to 20, the total capital must rise higher than 200 to be able to employ a larger variable capital than 40.

Even if the exploited mass of the working population were to remain constant, and only the length and intensity of the working day were to increase, the mass of the employed capital would have to increase, since it would have to be greater in order to employ the same mass of labour under the old conditions of exploitation after the composition of capital changes.

Thus, the same development of the social productive power of labour expresses itself with the progress of capitalist production on the one hand in a tendency of the rate of profit to fall progressively and, on the other, in a constant growth of the absolute mass of the appropriated surplus value, or profit; so that on the whole a relative decrease of variable capital and profit is accompanied by an absolute increase of both. This two-fold effect, as we have seen, can express itself only in a growth of the total capital at a pace more rapid than that at which the rate of profit falls. For an absolutely increased variable capital to be employed in a capital of higher composition, or one in which the constant capital has increased relatively more, the total capital must not only grow proportionately to its higher composition, but still more rapidly. It follows, then, that as the capitalist mode of production develops, an ever larger quantity of capital is required to employ the same, let alone an increased, amount of labour power. Thus, on a capitalist foundation, the increasing productive power of labour necessarily and permanently creates a seeming overpopulation of labouring people. If the variable capital forms just $\frac{1}{6}$ of the total capital instead of the former $\frac{1}{2}$, the total capital must be trebled

to employ the same amount of labour power. And if twice as much labour power is to be employed, the total capital must increase six-fold.

Political economy, which has until now been unable to explain the law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall, pointed self-consolingly to the increasing mass of profit, i. e., to the growth of the absolute magnitude of profit, be it for the individual capitalist or for the social capital, but this was also based on mere platitude and speculation.

To say that the mass of profit is determined by two factors—first, the rate of profit, and, secondly, the mass of capital invested at this rate, is mere tautology. It is therefore but a corollary of this tautology to say that there is a possibility for the mass of profit to grow even though the rate of profit may fall at the same time. It does not help us one step farther, since it is just as possible for the capital to increase without the mass of profit growing, and for it to increase even while the mass of profit falls. For 100 at 25% yields 25, and 400 at 5% yields only 20.[35] But if the same causes which make the rate of profit fall, entail the accumulation, i. e., the formation, of additional capital, and if each additional capital employs additional labour and produces additional surplus value; if, on the other hand, the mere fall

[35] "We should also expect that, however the rate of the profits of stock might diminish in consequence of the accumulation of capital on the land and the rise of wages, yet the aggregate amount of profits would increase. Thus, supposing that, with repeated accumulations of £100,000, the rate of profit should fall from 20 to 19, to 18, to 17%, a constantly diminishing rate, we should expect that the whole amount of profits received by those successive owners of capital would be always progressive; that it would be greater when the capital was £200,000, than when £100,000; still greater when £300,000; and so on, increasing, though at a diminishing rate, with every increase of capital. This progression, however, is only true for a certain time; thus 19% on £200,000 is more than 20% on £100,000; again 18% on £300,000 is more than 19% on £200,000; but after capital has accumulated to a large amount, and profits have fallen, the further accumulation diminishes the aggregate of profits. Thus, suppose the accumulation should be £1,000,000, and the profits 7%, the whole amount of profits will be £70,000; now if an addition of £100,000 capital be made to the million, and profits should fall to 6%, £66,000 or a diminution of £4,000 will be received by the owners of the stock, although the whole amount of stock will be increased from 1,000,000 to 1,100,000."—Ricardo, *Political Economy*, Chap. VI (*Works*, ed. by MacCulloch, 1852, pp. 68-69).—The fact is, that the assumption has here been made that the capital increases from 1,000,000 to 1,100,000, that is, by 10%, while the rate of profit falls from 7 to 6, hence by 14 $\frac{2}{7}$%. *Hinc illae lacrimae!* [a]

[a] Hence those tears (Terence, *Andria*, I, 1, 99).

in the rate of profit implies that the constant capital, and with it the total old capital, have increased, then this process ceases to be mysterious. We shall see later [1] to what deliberate falsifications some people resort in their calculations to spirit away the possibility of an increase in the mass of profit simultaneous with a decrease in the rate of profit.[a]

We have shown how the same causes that bring about a tendency for the general rate of profit to fall necessitate an accelerated accumulation of capital and, consequently, an increase in the absolute magnitude, or total mass, of the surplus labour (surplus value, profit) appropriated by it. Just as everything appears reversed in competition, and thus in the consciousness of the agents of competition, so also this law, this inner and necessary connection between two seeming contradictions. It is evident that within the proportions indicated above a capitalist disposing of a large capital will receive a larger mass of profit than a small capitalist making seemingly high profits. Even a cursory examination of competition shows, furthermore, that under certain circumstances, when the greater capitalist wishes to make room for himself on the market, and to crowd out the smaller ones, as happens in times of crises, he makes practical use of this, i. e., he deliberately lowers his rate of profit in order to drive the smaller ones to the wall. Merchant's capital, which we shall describe in detail later, also notably exhibits phenomena which appear to attribute a fall in profit to an expansion of business, and thus of capital. The scientific expression for this false conception will be given later. Similar superficial observations result from a comparison of rates of profit in individual lines of business, distinguished either as subject to free competition, or to monopoly. The utterly shallow conception existing in the minds of the agents of competition is found in Roscher, namely, that a reduction in the rate of profit is "more prudent and humane".[b] The fall in the rate of profit appears in this case as an *effect* of an increase in capital and of the concomitant calculation of the capitalist that the mass of profits pocketed by him will be greater at a smaller rate of profit. This entire conception (with the exception of Adam Smith's, which we shall mention later [34]) rests on an utter misapprehension of what the general rate of profit is, and on the crude notion that prices are actually determined by adding a more or less arbitrary

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 170-74. - [b] W. Roscher, *Die Grundlage der Nationalökonomie*, 3rd edition, Stuttgart and Augsburg, 1858, §108, p. 192.

quota of profit to the true value of commodities. Crude as these ideas are, they arise necessarily out of the inverted aspect which the immanent laws of capitalist production represent in competition.

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The law that a fall in the rate of profit due to the development of productiveness is accompanied by an increase in the mass of profit, also expresses itself in the fact that a fall in the price of commodities produced by a capital is accompanied by a relative increase of the masses of profit contained in them and realised by their sale.

Since the development of the productive power and the correspondingly higher composition of capital sets in motion an ever-increasing quantity of means of production through a constantly decreasing quantity of labour, every aliquot part of the total product, i. e., every single commodity, or each particular lot of commodities in the total mass of products, absorbs less living labour, and also contains less objectified labour, both in the depreciation of the fixed capital applied and in the raw and auxiliary materials consumed. Hence every single commodity contains a smaller sum of labour objectified in means of production and of labour newly added during production. This causes the price of the individual commodity to fall. But the mass of profits contained in the individual commodities may nevertheless increase if the rate of the absolute or relative surplus value grows. The commodity contains less newly added labour, but its unpaid portion grows in relation to its paid portion. However, this is the case only within certain limits. With the absolute amount of living labour newly incorporated in individual commodities decreasing enormously as production develops, the absolute mass of unpaid labour contained in them will likewise decrease, however much it may have grown as compared to the paid portion. The mass of profit on each individual commodity will shrink considerably with the development of the productive power of labour, in spite of a growth in the rate of surplus value. And this reduction, just as the fall in the rate of profit, is only delayed by the cheapening of the elements of constant capital and by the other circumstances set forth in the first part of this book, which increase the rate of profit at a given, or even falling, rate of surplus value.

That the price of individual commodities whose sum makes up the total product of capital falls, means simply that a certain quantity of labour is realised in a larger quantity of commodities, so that each

individual commodity contains less labour than before. This is the case even if the price of one part of constant capital, such as raw material, etc., should rise. Outside of a few cases (for instance, if the productiveness of labour uniformly cheapens all elements of the constant, and the variable, capital), the rate of profit will fall, in spite of the higher rate of surplus value, 1) because even a larger unpaid portion of the smaller total amount of newly added labour is smaller than a smaller aliquot unpaid portion of the former larger amount, and 2) because the higher composition of capital is expressed in the individual commodity by the fact that the portion of its value in which newly added labour is represented decreases in relation to the portion of its value which represents raw and auxiliary material, and the wear and tear of fixed capital. This change in the proportion of the various component parts in the price of individual commodities, i. e., the decrease of that portion of the price in which newly added living labour is objectified and the increase of that portion of it in which formerly objectified labour is represented, is the form which expresses the decrease of the variable in relation to the constant capital through the price of the individual commodities. Just as this decrease is absolute for a certain amount of capital, say of 100, it is also absolute for every individual commodity as an aliquot part of the reproduced capital. However, the rate of profit, if calculated merely on the elements of the price of an individual commodity, would be different from what it actually is. And for the following reason:

//The rate of profit is calculated on the total capital invested, but for a definite time, actually a year. The rate of profit is the ratio of the surplus value, or profit, produced and realised in a year, to the total capital calculated in per cent. It is, therefore, not necessarily equal to a rate of profit calculated for the period of turnover of the invested capital rather than for a year. It is only if the capital is turned over exactly in one year that the two coincide.

On the other hand, the profit made in the course of a year is merely the sum of profits on commodities produced and sold during that same year. Now, if we calculate the profit on the cost price of commodities, we obtain a rate of profit $= \frac{p}{k}$ in which p stands for the profit realised during one year, and k for the sum of the cost prices of commodities produced and sold within the same period. It is evident that this rate of profit $\frac{p}{k}$ will not coincide with the actual rate of profit $\frac{p}{C}$, mass of profit divided by total capital, unless $k = C$, that is, unless the capital is turned over in exactly one year.

Let us take three different conditions of an industrial capital.

I. A capital of £8,000 produces and sells annually 5,000 pieces of a commodity at 30s. per piece, thus making an annual turnover of £7,500. It makes a profit of 10s. on each piece, or £2,500 per year. Every piece, then, contains 20s. advanced capital and 10s. profit, so that the rate of profit per piece is $\frac{10}{20} = 50\%$. The turned-over sum of £7,500 contains £5,000 advanced capital and £2,500 profit. Rate of profit per turnover, $\frac{p}{k}$, likewise $= 50\%$. But calculated on the total capital the rate of profit $\frac{p}{C} = \frac{2,500}{8,000} = 31\frac{1}{4}\%$.

II. The capital rises to £10,000. Owing to increased productivity of labour it is able to produce annually 10,000 pieces of the commodity at a cost price of 20s. per piece. Suppose, the commodity is sold at a profit of 4s., hence at 24s. per piece. In that case the price of the annual product = £12,000, of which £10,000 is advanced capital and £2,000 is profit. The rate of profit $\frac{p}{k} = \frac{4}{20}$ per piece, and $\frac{2,000}{10,000}$ for the annual turnover, or in both cases $= 20\%$. And since the total capital is equal to the sum of the cost prices, namely £10,000 it follows that $\frac{p}{C}$, the actual rate of profit, is in this case also $20\%$.

III. Let the capital rise to £15,000 owing to a constant growth of the productive power of labour, and let it annually produce 30,000 pieces of the commodity at a cost price of 13s. per piece, each piece being sold at a profit of 2s., or at 15s. The annual turnover therefore $= 30,000 \times 15$s. = £22,500, of which £19,500 is advanced capital and £3,000 profit. The rate of profit $\frac{p}{k}$ then $= \frac{2}{13} = \frac{3,000}{19,500} = 15\frac{5}{13}\%$. But $\frac{p}{C} = \frac{3,000}{15,000} = 20\%$.

We see, therefore, that only in case II, where the turned-over capital value is equal to the total capital, the rate of profit per piece, or per total amount of turnover, is the same as the rate of profit calculated on the total capital. In case I, in which the amount of the turnover is smaller than the total capital, the rate of profit calculated on the cost price of the commodity is higher; and in case III, in which the total capital is smaller than the amount of the turnover, it is lower than the actual rate of profit calculated on the total capital. This is a general rule.

In commercial practice, the turnover is generally calculated inaccurately. It is assumed that the capital has been turned over once as soon as the sum of the realised commodity prices equals the sum of

the invested total capital. But the *capital* can complete one whole turnover only when the sum of the *cost prices* of the realised commodities equals the sum of the total capital.—*F. E.*//

This again shows how important it is in capitalist production to regard individual commodities, or the commodity product of a certain period, as products of advanced capital and in relation to the total capital which produces them, rather than in isolation, by themselves, as mere commodities.[a]

The *rate* of profit must be calculated by measuring the mass of produced and realised surplus value not only in relation to the consumed portion of capital reappearing in the commodities, but also to this part plus that portion of unconsumed but applied capital which continues to operate in production. However, the *mass* of profit cannot be equal to anything but the mass of profit or surplus value, contained in the commodities themselves, and to be realised by their sale.

If the productivity of industry increases, the price of individual commodities falls. There is less labour in them, less paid and unpaid labour. Suppose, the same labour produces, say, triple its former product. Then $\frac{2}{3}$ less labour yields individual product. And since profit can make up but a portion of the amount of labour contained in an individual commodity, the mass of profit in the individual commodity must decrease, and this takes place within certain limits, even if the rate of surplus value should rise. In any case, the mass of profit on the total product does not fall below the original mass of profit so long as the capital employs the same number of labourers at the same degree of exploitation. (This may also occur if fewer labourers are employed at a higher rate of exploitation.) For the mass of profit on the individual product decreases proportionately to the increase in the number of products. The mass of profit remains the same, but it is distributed differently over the total amount of commodities. Nor does this alter the distribution between the labourers and capitalists of the amount of value created by newly added labour. The mass of profit cannot increase so long as the same amount of labour is employed, unless the unpaid surplus labour increases, or, should intensity of exploitation remain the same, unless the number of labourers grows. Or, both these causes may combine to produce this result. In all these cases—which, however, in accordance with our assumption, presup-

[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 34, pp. 355-84.

pose an increase of constant capital as compared to variable, and an increase in the magnitude of total capital invested — the individual commodity contains a smaller mass of profit and the rate of profit falls even if calculated on the individual commodity. A given quantity of newly added labour materialises in a larger quantity of commodities. The price of the individual commodity falls. Considered abstractly the rate of profit may remain the same, even though the price of the individual commodity may fall as a result of greater productive power and a simultaneous increase in the number of this cheaper commodity if, for instance, the increase in productive power acts uniformly and simultaneously on all the elements of the commodity, so that its total price falls in the same proportion in which the productivity of labour increases, while, on the other hand, the mutual relation of the different elements of the price of the commodity remains the same. The rate of profit could even rise if a rise in the rate of surplus value were accompanied by a substantial reduction in the value of the elements of constant, and particularly of fixed, capital. But in reality, as we have seen, the rate of profit will fall in the long run. In no case does a fall in the price of any individual commodity by itself give a clue to the rate of profit. Everything depends on the magnitude of the total capital invested in its production. For instance, if the price of one yard of fabric falls from 3s. to $1\frac{2}{3}$ s., if we know that before this price reduction it contained $1\frac{2}{3}$ s. constant capital, yarn, etc., $\frac{2}{3}$ s. wages, and $\frac{2}{3}$ s. profit, while after the reduction it contains 1s. constant capital, $\frac{1}{3}$ s. wages, and $\frac{1}{3}$ s. profit, we cannot tell if the rate of profit has remained the same or not. This depends on whether, and by how much, the advanced total capital has increased, and how many yards more it produces in a given time.

The phenomenon, springing from the nature of the capitalist mode of production, that increasing productivity of labour implies a drop in the price of the individual commodity, or of a certain mass of commodities, an increase in the number of commodities, a reduction in the mass of profit on the individual commodity and in the rate of profit on the aggregate of commodities, and an increase in the mass of profit on the total quantity of commodities — this phenomenon appears on the surface only in a reduction of the mass of profit on the individual commodity, a fall in its price, an increase in the mass of profit on the augmented total number of commodities produced by

the total social capital or an individual capitalist. It then appears as if the capitalist adds less profit to the price of the individual commodity of his own free will, and makes up for it through the greater number of commodities he produces. This conception rests upon the notion of PROFIT UPON ALIENATION,[a] [35] which, in its turn, is deduced from the conception of merchant capital.[b]

We have previously seen in Book I (4 and 7 Abschnitt[c]) that the mass of commodities growing along with the productive power of labour and the cheapening of the individual commodity as such (as long as these commodities do not enter the price of labour power as determinants) do not affect the proportion between paid and unpaid labour in the individual commodity, in spite of the falling price.

Since all things appear distorted, namely, reversed in competition, the individual capitalist may imagine: 1) that he is reducing his profit on the individual commodity by cutting its price, but still making a greater profit by selling a larger quantity of commodities; 2) that he fixes the price of the individual commodities and that he determines the price of the total product by multiplication, while the original process is really one of division (see Book I, Kap. X, S. 314/323[d]), and multiplication is only correct secondarily, since it is based on that division. The vulgar economist does practically no more than translate the singular concepts of the capitalists, who are in the thrall of competition, into a seemingly more theoretical and generalised language, and attempt to substantiate the justice of those conceptions.[e]

The fall in commodity prices and the rise in the mass of profit on the augmented mass of these cheapened commodities is, in fact, but another expression for the law of the falling rate of profit attended by a simultaneously increasing mass of profit.

The analysis of how far a falling rate of profit may coincide with rising prices no more belongs here than that of the point previously discussed in Book I (S. 314/323), concerning relative surplus value. A capitalist working with improved but not as yet generally adopted methods of production sells below the market price, but above his individual price of production; his rate of profit rises until competition levels it out. During this equalisation period the second requisite,

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent. - [b] Cf. present edition, Vol. 34, pp. 368-70. - [c] English edition: Vol. I, parts IV and VII. - [d] English edition: Ch. XII (cf. present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 321-22). - [e] Ibid., Vol. 32, p. 395.

increase of the invested capital, makes its appearance. According to the degree of this expansion the capitalist will be able to employ a part of his former labourers, actually perhaps all of them, or even more, under the new conditions, and hence to produce the same, or a greater, mass of profit.[a]

## Chapter XIV

### COUNTERACTING INFLUENCES

If we consider the enormous development of the productive forces of social labour in the last 30 years alone as compared with all preceding periods; if we consider, in particular, the enormous mass of fixed capital, aside from the actual machinery, which goes into the process of social production as a whole, then the difficulty which has hitherto troubled the economists, namely to explain the falling rate of profit, gives place to its opposite, namely to explain why this fall is not greater and more rapid. There must be some counteracting influences at work, which cross and annul the effect of the general law, and which give it merely the characteristic of a tendency, for which reason we have referred to the fall of the general rate of profit as a tendency to fall. The following are the most general counterbalancing forces:

#### I. INCREASING INTENSITY OF EXPLOITATION

The degree of exploitation of labour, the appropriation of surplus labour and surplus value, is raised notably by lengthening the working day and intensifying labour. These two points have been comprehensively treated in Book I as incidental to the production of absolute and relative surplus value. There are many ways of intensifying labour which imply an increase of constant, as compared to variable, capital, and hence a fall in the rate of profit, such as compelling a labourer to operate a larger number of machines. In such cases—and in most procedures serving the production of relative surplus values—the same causes which increase the rate of surplus value, may also, from the standpoint of given quantities of invested total capital,

[a] Ibid., Vol. 33, pp. 35-36.

involve a fall in the mass of surplus value. But there are other aspects of intensification, such as the greater velocities of machinery, which consume more raw material in the same time, but, so far as the fixed capital is concerned, wear out the machinery so much faster, and yet do not in any way affect the relation of its value to the price of the labour which sets it in motion. But notably, it is prolongation of the working day, this invention of modern industry, which increases the mass of appropriated surplus labour without essentially altering the proportion of the employed labour power to the constant capital set in motion by it, and which rather tends to reduce this capital relatively. Moreover, it has already been demonstrated—and this constitutes the real secret of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall—that the manipulations to produce relative surplus value amount, on the whole, to transforming as much as possible of a certain quantity of labour into surplus value, on the one hand, and employing as little labour as possible in proportion to the advanced capital, on the other, so that the same reasons which permit raising the intensity of exploitation rule out exploiting the same quantity of labour as before by the same capital. These are the counteracting tendencies, which, while effecting a rise in the rate of surplus value, also tend to decrease the mass of surplus value, and hence the rate of profit produced by a certain capital. Mention should also be made here of the widespread introduction of female and child labour, in so far as the whole family must now perform more surplus labour for capital than before, even when the total amount of their wages increases, which is by no means always the case.[a]—Everything that promotes the production of relative surplus value by mere improvement in methods, as in agriculture, without altering the magnitude of the invested capital, has the same effect. The constant capital, it is true, does not, in such cases, increase in relation to the variable, inasmuch as we regard the variable capital as an index of the amount of labour power employed, but the mass of the product does increase in proportion to the labour power employed. The same occurs, if the productive power of labour (no matter, whether its product goes into the labourer's consumption or into the elements of constant capital) is freed from hindrances in communications, from arbitrary or other restrictions which have become obstacles in the course of time; from

[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 332-35; Vol. 33, pp. 123-24; Vol. 34, pp. 24-25.

fetters of all kinds, without directly affecting the ratio of variable to constant capital.

It might be asked whether the factors that check the fall of the rate of profit, but that always hasten its fall in the last analysis, whether these include the temporary, but always recurring, elevations in surplus value above the general level, which keep occurring now in this and now in that line of production redounding to the benefit of those individual capitalists, who make use of inventions, etc., before these are introduced elsewhere. This question must be answered in the affirmative.

The mass of surplus value produced by a capital of a given magnitude is the product of two factors—the rate of surplus value multiplied by the number of labourers employed at this rate. At a given rate of surplus value it therefore depends on the number of labourers, and it depends on the rate of surplus value when the number of labourers is given. Generally, therefore, it depends on the composite ratio of the absolute magnitudes of the variable capital and the rate of surplus value. Now we have seen that, on the average, the same factors which raise the rate of relative surplus value lower the mass of the employed labour power. It is evident, however, that this will occur to a greater or lesser extent, depending on the definite proportion in which this conflicting movement obtains, and that the tendency towards a reduction in the rate of profit is notably weakened by a rise in the rate of absolute surplus value, which originates with the lengthening of the working day.

We saw in the case of the rate of profit that a drop in the rate was generally accompanied by an increase in the mass of profit, due to the increasing mass of total capital employed. From the standpoint of the total variable capital of society, the surplus value it has produced is equal to the profit it has produced. Both the absolute mass and the rate of surplus value have increased; the one because the quantity of labour power employed by society has grown, and the other, because the intensity of exploitation of this labour has increased. But in the case of a capital of a given magnitude, e.g., 100, the rate of surplus value may increase, while the average mass may decrease; for the rate is determined by the proportion, in which the variable capital produces value, while the mass is determined by the proportion of variable capital to the total capital.

The rise in the rate of surplus value is a factor which determines the mass of surplus value, and hence also the rate of profit, for it takes

place especially under conditions, in which, as we have previously seen, the constant capital is either not increased at all, or not proportionately increased, in relation to the variable capital. This factor does not abolish the general law. But it causes that law to act rather as a tendency, i. e., as a law whose absolute action is checked, retarded, and weakened, by counteracting circumstances. But since the same influences which raise the rate of surplus value (even a lengthening of the working time is a result of large-scale industry) tend to decrease the labour power employed by a certain capital, it follows that they also tend to reduce the rate of profit and to retard this reduction.[a] If one labourer is compelled to perform as much labour as would rationally be performed by at least two, and if this is done under circumstances in which this one labourer can replace three, then this one labourer will perform as much surplus labour as was formerly performed by two, and the rate of surplus value will have risen accordingly. But he will not perform as much as three had performed, and the mass of surplus value will have decreased accordingly. But this reduction in mass will be compensated, or limited, by the rise in the rate of surplus value. If the entire population is employed at a higher rate of surplus value, the mass of surplus value will increase, in spite of the population remaining the same. It will increase still more if the population increases. And although this is tied up with a relative reduction of the number of employed labourers in proportion to the magnitude of the total capital, this reduction is moderated, or checked, by the rise in the rate of surplus value.

Before leaving this point, it is to be emphasised once more that with a capital of a given magnitude the *rate* of surplus value may rise, while its *mass* is decreasing, and vice versa. The mass of surplus value is equal to the rate multiplied by the number of labourers; however, the rate is never calculated on the total, but only on the variable capital, actually only for every working day. On the other hand, with a given magnitude of capital value, the *rate of profit* can neither rise nor fall without the *mass of surplus value* also rising or falling.

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[a] Ibid., Vol. 35, p. 408.

## II. DEPRESSION OF WAGES BELOW THE VALUE OF LABOUR POWER

This is mentioned here only empirically, since, like many other things which might be enumerated, it has nothing to do with the general analysis of capital, but belongs in an analysis of competition, which is not presented in this work.[1] However, it is one of the most important factors checking the tendency of the rate of profit to fall.

## III. CHEAPENING OF ELEMENTS OF CONSTANT CAPITAL

Everything said in Part I of this book about factors which raise the rate of profit while the rate of surplus value remains the same, or regardless of the rate of surplus value, belongs here. Hence also, with respect to the total capital, that the value of the constant capital does not increase in the same proportion as its material volume. For instance, the quantity of cotton worked up by a single European spinner in a modern factory has grown tremendously compared to the quantity formerly worked up by a European spinner with a spinning-wheel. Yet the value of the worked-up cotton has not grown in the same proportion as its mass. The same applies to machinery and other fixed capital. In short, the same development which increases the mass of the constant capital in relation to the variable reduces the value of its elements as a result of the increased productivity of labour, and therefore prevents the value of constant capital, although it continually increases, from increasing at the same rate as its material volume, i. e., the material volume of the means of production set in motion by the same amount of labour power. In isolated cases the mass of the elements of constant capital may even increase, while its value remains the same, or even falls.

The foregoing is bound up with the depreciation of existing capital (that is, of its material elements), which occurs with the development of industry. This is another continually operating factor which checks the fall of the rate of profit, although it may under certain circumstances encroach on the mass of profit by reducing the mass of the capital yielding a profit. This again shows that the same influences which tend to make the rate of profit fall, also moderate the effects of this tendency.

## IV. RELATIVE OVERPOPULATION

Its propagation is inseparable from, and hastened by, the development of the productivity of labour as expressed by a fall in the rate of profit. The relative overpopulation becomes so much more apparent in a country, the more the capitalist mode of production is developed in it. This, again, is the reason why, on the one hand, the more or less imperfect subordination of labour to capital continues in many branches of production, and continues longer than seems at first glance compatible with the general stage of development. This is due to the cheapness and abundance of disposable or unemployed wage labourers, and to the greater resistance, which some branches of production, by their very nature, render to the transformation of manual work into machine production. On the other hand, new lines of production are opened up, especially for the production of luxuries, and it is these that take as their basis this relative overpopulation, often set free in other lines of production through the increase of their constant capital. These new lines start out predominantly with living labour, and by degrees pass through the same evolution as the other lines of production. In either case the variable capital makes up a considerable portion of the total capital and wages are below the average, so that both the rate and mass of surplus value in these lines of production are unusually high. Since the general rate of profit is formed by levelling the rates of profit in the individual branches of production, however, the same factor which brings about the tendency in the rate of profit to fall, again produces a counterbalance to this tendency and more or less paralyses its effects.

## V. FOREIGN TRADE

Since foreign trade partly cheapens the elements of constant capital, and partly the necessities of life into which the variable capital is converted, it tends to raise the rate of profit by increasing the rate of surplus value and lowering the value of constant capital. It generally acts in this direction by permitting an expansion of the scale of production. It thereby hastens the process of accumulation, on the one hand, but causes the variable capital to shrink in relation to the constant capital, on the other, and thus hastens a fall in the rate of profit. In the same way, the expansion of foreign trade, although the basis of the capitalist mode of production in its infancy, has become its own

product, however, with the further progress of the capitalist mode of production, through the innate necessity of this mode of production, its need for an ever-expanding market. Here we see once more the dual nature of this effect. (Ricardo has entirely overlooked this side of foreign trade.[a])

Another question—really beyond the scope of our analysis [1] because of its special nature—is this: Is the general rate of profit raised by the higher rate of profit produced by capital invested in foreign, and particularly colonial, trade?

Capitals invested in foreign trade can yield a higher rate of profit, because, in the first place, there is competition with commodities produced in other countries with inferior production facilities, so that the more advanced country sells its commodities above their value even though cheaper than the competing countries. In so far as the labour of the more advanced country is here realised as labour of a higher specific weight, the rate of profit rises, because labour which has not been paid as being of a higher quality is sold as such. The same may obtain in relation to the country, to which commodities are exported and to that from which commodities are imported; namely, the latter may offer more objectified labour *in natura* than it receives, and yet thereby receive commodities cheaper than it could produce them. Just as a manufacturer who employs a new invention before it becomes generally used, undersells his competitors and yet sells his commodity above its individual value, that is, realises the specifically higher productiveness of the labour he employs as surplus labour. He thus secures a surplus profit. As concerns capitals invested in colonies, etc., on the other hand, they may yield higher rates of profit for the simple reason that the rate of profit is higher there due to backward development, and likewise the exploitation of labour, because of the use of slaves, coolies, etc. It is hard to see why these higher rates of profit, realised by capitals invested in certain lines and sent home by them, should not, unless monopolies stand in the way, enter here into the equalisation of the general rate of profit and thus tend, *pro tanto*, to raise it.[36] It is

[36] Adam Smith[b] was right in this respect, contrary to Ricardo, who said: "They contend that the equality of profits will be brought about by the general rise of profits; and I am of the opinion that the profits of the favoured trade will speedily submit to the general level." (*Works*, ed. by MacCulloch, p. 73.)

[a] See D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, 3rd edition, Ch. VII; cf. present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 73-74. - [b] *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I, London, 1776, Ch. 9.

hard to see this in particular if these spheres of investment of capital are subject to the laws of free competition. What Ricardo fancies, in contrast, is mainly this: with the higher prices realised abroad commodities are bought there and sent home. These commodities are thus sold on the home market, so that the result can at best be but a temporary extra advantage for these favoured spheres of production over others. This illusion falls away as soon as it is divested of its money form. The favoured country recovers more labour in exchange for less labour, although this difference, this excess is pocketed, as in any exchange between labour and capital, by a certain class. Since the rate of profit is higher, therefore, because it is generally higher in a colonial country, it may, provided natural conditions are favourable, go hand in hand with low commodity prices. A levelling takes place but not a levelling to the old level, as Ricardo feels.

This same foreign trade develops the capitalist mode of production in the home country, which implies the decrease of variable capital in relation to constant, and, on the other hand, causes overproduction in respect to foreign markets, so that in the long run it again has an opposite effect.

We have thus seen in a general way that the same influences which produce a tendency in the general rate of profit to fall, also call forth countereffects, which hamper, retard, and partly paralyse this fall. The latter do not do away with the law, but impair its effect. Otherwise, it would not be the fall of the general rate of profit, but rather its relative slowness, that would be incomprehensible. Thus, the law acts only as a tendency. And it is only under certain circumstances and only after long periods that its effects become strikingly pronounced.

Before we go on, in order to avoid misunderstandings, we should recall two, repeatedly treated, points.

*First*: The same process which brings about a cheapening of commodities in the course of the development of the capitalist mode of production, causes a change in the organic composition of the social capital invested in the production of commodities, and consequently lowers the rate of profit. We must be careful, therefore, not to identify the reduction in the relative cost of an individual commodity, including that portion of it which represents wear and tear of machinery, with the rise in the value of the constant in relation to variable capital, although, conversely, every reduction in the relative cost of the

constant capital assuming the volume of its material elements remains the same, or increases, tends to raise the rate of profit, i. e., to reduce *pro tanto* the value of the constant capital in relation to the shrinking proportions of the employed variable capital.

*Second*: The fact that the newly added living labour contained in the individual commodities, which taken together make up the product of capital, decreases in relation to the materials they contain and the means of labour consumed by them; the fact, therefore, that an ever-decreasing quantity of newly added living labour is objectified in them, because their production requires less labour with the development of the social productiveness — this fact does not affect the ratio, in which the living labour contained in the commodities breaks up into paid and unpaid labour. Quite the contrary. Although the total quantity of newly added living labour contained in the commodities decreases, the unpaid portion increases in relation to the paid portion, either by an absolute or a relative shrinking of the paid portion; for the same mode of production which reduces the total quantity of newly added living labour in a commodity is accompanied by a rise in the absolute and relative surplus value. The tendency of the rate of profit to fall is bound up with a tendency of the rate of surplus value to rise, hence with a tendency for the rate of labour exploitation to rise. Nothing is more absurd, for this reason, than to explain the fall in the rate of profit by a rise in the rate of wages, although this may be the case by way of an exception.[a] Statistics is not able to make actual analyses of the rates of wages in different epochs and countries, until the conditions which shape the rate of profit are thoroughly understood. The rate of profit does not fall because labour becomes less productive, but because it becomes more productive. Both the rise in the rate of surplus value and the fall in the rate of profit are but specific forms through which growing productivity of labour is expressed under capitalism.

## VI. THE INCREASE OF STOCK CAPITAL

The foregoing five points may still be supplemented by the following, which, however, cannot be more fully treated for the present. With the progress of capitalist production, which goes hand in hand

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[a] See D. Ricardo, op. cit., pp. 120-21; cf. present edition, Vol. 32, p. 73.

with accelerated accumulation, a portion of capital is calculated and applied only as interest-bearing capital. Not in the sense in which every capitalist who lends out capital is satisfied with interest, while the industrial capitalist pockets the investor's profit. This has no bearing on the level of the general rate of profit, because for the latter profit = interest + profit of all kinds + ground rent, the division into these particular categories being immaterial to it. But in the sense that these capitals, although invested in large productive enterprises, yield only large or small amounts of interest, so-called dividends, after all costs have been deducted. In railways, for instance. These do not therefore go into levelling the general rate of profit, because they yield a lower than average rate of profit. If they did enter into it, the general rate of profit would fall much lower. Theoretically, they may be included in the calculation, and the result would then be a lower rate of profit than the seemingly existing rate, which is decisive for the capitalists; it would be lower, because the constant capital particularly in these enterprises is largest in its relation to the variable capital.

# Chapter XV

## EXPOSITION OF THE INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS OF THE LAW

### I. GENERAL

We have seen in the first part of this book that the rate of profit expresses the rate of surplus value always lower than it actually is. We have just seen that even a rising rate of surplus value has a tendency to express itself in a falling rate of profit. The rate of profit would equal the rate of surplus value only if $c = 0$, i. e., if the total capital were paid out in wages. A falling rate of profit does not express a falling rate of surplus value, unless the proportion of the value of the constant capital to the quantity of labour power which sets it in motion remains unchanged or the amount of labour power increases in relation to the value of the constant capital.

On the plea of analysing the rate of profit, Ricardo actually analyses the rate of surplus value alone, and this only on the assumption

that the working day is intensively and extensively a constant magnitude.[a]

A fall in the rate of profit and accelerated accumulation are different expressions of the same process only in so far as both reflect the development of the productive power. Accumulation, in turn, hastens the fall of the rate of profit, inasmuch as it implies concentration of labour on a large scale, and thus a higher composition of capital. On the other hand, a fall in the rate of profit again hastens the concentration of capital and its centralisation through expropriation of minor capitalists, the few direct producers who still have anything left to be expropriated. This accelerates accumulation with regard to mass, although the rate of accumulation falls with the rate of profit.

On the other hand, the rate of self-expansion of the total capital, the rate of profit, being the goad of capitalist production (just as self-expansion of capital is its only purpose), its fall checks the formation of new independent capitals and thus appears as a threat to the development of the capitalist production process. It breeds overproduction, speculation, crises, and surplus capital alongside surplus population. Those economists, therefore, who, like Ricardo, regard the capitalist mode of production as absolute, feel at this point that it creates a barrier to itself, and for this reason attribute the barrier to Nature (in the theory of rent), not to production. But the main thing about their horror of the falling rate of profit is the feeling that the capitalist mode of production meets in the development of its productive forces a barrier which has nothing to do with the production of wealth as such; and this peculiar barrier testifies to the limitations and to the merely historical, transitory character of the capitalist mode of production; testifies that for the production of wealth, it is not an absolute mode, moreover, that at a certain stage it rather conflicts with its further development.[b]

True, Ricardo and his school considered only industrial profit, which includes interest. But the rate of ground rent likewise has a tendency to fall, although its absolute mass increases, and may also increase proportionately more than industrial profit. (See Ed. West,[c] who developed the law of ground rent *before* Ricardo). If we consider the total social capital C, and use $p_1$ for the industrial profit that

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 44, 51-52 and 60-67. - [b] Ibid., Vol. 33, p. 114. - [c] [E. West,] *Essay on the Application of Capital to Land...*, London, 1815; cf. present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 344-45.

remains after deducting interest and ground rent, i for interest, and r for ground rent, then $\frac{s}{C} = \frac{p}{C} = \frac{p_1+i+r}{C} = \frac{p_1}{C} + \frac{i}{C} + \frac{r}{C}$. We have seen that while s, the total amount of surplus value, is continually increasing in the course of capitalist development, $\frac{s}{C}$ is just as steadily declining, because C grows still more rapidly than s. Therefore it is by no means a contradiction for $p_1$, i, and r to be steadily increasing, each individually, while $\frac{s}{C} = \frac{p}{C}$, as well as $\frac{p_1}{C}$, $\frac{i}{C}$, and $\frac{r}{C}$, should each by itself be steadily shrinking, or that $p_1$ should increase in relation to i, or r in relation to $p_1$, or to $p_1$ and i. With a rising total surplus value or profit s = p, and a simultaneously falling rate of profit $\frac{s}{C} = \frac{p}{C}$, the proportions of the parts $p_1$, i, and r, which make up s = p, may change at will within the limits set by the total amount of s without thereby affecting the magnitude of s or $\frac{s}{C}$.

The mutual variation of $p_1$, i, and r is merely a varying distribution of s among different classes. Consequently, $\frac{p_1}{C}$, $\frac{i}{C}$, or $\frac{r}{C}$, the rate of individual industrial profit, the rate of interest, and the ratio of ground rent to the total capital, may rise in relation to one another, while $\frac{s}{C}$, the general rate of profit, falls. The only condition is that the sum of all three $= \frac{s}{C}$. If the rate of profit falls from 50% to 25%, because the composition of a certain capital with, say, a rate of surplus value = 100% has changed from $50_c + 50_v$ to $75_c + 25_v$, then a capital of 1,000 will yield a profit of 500 in the first case, and in the second a capital of 4,000 will yield a profit of 1,000. We see that s or p have doubled, while p′ has fallen by one-half. And if that 50% was formerly divided into 20 profit, 10 interest, and 20 rent, then $\frac{p_1}{C} = 20\%$, $\frac{i}{C} = 10\%$, and $\frac{r}{C} = 20\%$. If the proportions had remained the same after the change from 50% to 25%, then $\frac{p_1}{C} = 10\%$, $\frac{i}{C} = 5\%$, and $\frac{r}{C} = 10\%$. If, however, $\frac{p_1}{C}$ should fall to 8% and $\frac{i}{C}$ to 4%, then $\frac{r}{C}$ would rise to 13%. The relative magnitude of r would have risen as against $p_1$ and i, while p′ would have remained the same. Under both assumptions, the sum of $p_1$, i, and r would have increased, because produced by a capital four times as large. Furthermore, Ricardo's assumption that originally industrial profit (plus interest) contains the entire surplus value is historically and logically false.[a] It

[a] Ibid., Vol. 31, p. 265.

is rather the progress of capitalist production which 1) gives the whole profit directly to the industrial and commercial capitalists for further distribution, and 2) reduces rent to the excess over the profit. On this capitalist basis, again, the rent grows, being a portion of profit (i. e., of the surplus value viewed as the product of the total capital), but not that specific portion of the product, which the capitalist pockets.

Given the necessary means of production, i. e., a sufficient accumulation of capital, the creation of surplus value is only limited by the labouring population if the rate of surplus value, i. e., the intensity of exploitation, is given; and no other limit but the intensity of exploitation if the labouring population is given. And the capitalist process of production consists essentially of the production of surplus value, represented in the surplus product or the aliquot portion of the produced commodities in which unpaid labour is objectified. It must never be forgotten that the production of this surplus value—and the reconversion of a portion of it into capital, or the accumulation, forms an integrate part of this production of surplus value—is the immediate purpose and compelling motive of capitalist production. It will never do, therefore, to represent capitalist production as something which it is not, namely as production whose immediate purpose is enjoyment or the manufacture of the means of enjoyment for the capitalist. This would be overlooking its specific character, which is revealed in all its inner essence.[a]

The creation of this surplus value makes up the direct process of production, which, as we have said, has no other limits but those mentioned above. As soon as all the surplus labour it was possible to squeeze out has been objectified in commodities, surplus value has been produced. But this production of surplus value completes but the first act of the capitalist process of production—the direct production process. Capital has absorbed so and so much unpaid labour. With the development of the process, which expresses itself in a drop in the rate of profit, the mass of surplus value thus produced swells to immense dimensions. Now comes the second act of the process. The entire mass of commodities, i. e., the total product, including the portion which replaces the constant and variable capital, and that representing surplus value, must be sold. If this is not done, or done only in part, or only at prices below the prices of production, the labourer

[a] Ibid., Vol. 28, pp. 339-40 and Vol. 32, p. 126.

has been indeed exploited, but his exploitation is not realised as such for the capitalist, and this can be bound up with a total or partial failure to realise the surplus value pressed out of him, indeed even with the partial or total loss of the capital. The conditions of direct exploitation, and those of realising it, are not identical. They diverge not only in place and time, but also logically. The first are only limited by the productive power of society, the latter by the proportional relation of the various branches of production and the consumer power of society. But this last-named is not determined either by the absolute productive power, or by the absolute consumer power, but by the consumer power based on antagonistic conditions of distribution, which reduce the consumption of the bulk of society to a minimum varying within more or less narrow limits. It is furthermore restricted by the tendency to accumulate, the drive to expand capital and produce surplus value on an extended scale. This is law for capitalist production, imposed by incessant revolutions in the methods of production themselves, by the depreciation of existing capital always bound up with them, by the general competitive struggle and the need to improve production and expand its scale merely as a means of self-preservation and under penalty of ruin. The market must, therefore, be continually extended, so that its interrelations and the conditions regulating them assume more and more the form of a natural law working independently of the producer, and become ever more uncontrollable. This internal contradiction seeks to resolve itself through expansion of the outlying field of production. But the more the productive power develops, the more it finds itself at variance with the narrow basis on which the conditions of consumption rest. It is no contradiction at all on this self-contradictory basis that there should be an excess of capital simultaneously with a growing surplus of population. For while a combination of these two would, indeed, increase the mass of produced surplus value, it would at the same time intensify the contradiction between the conditions under which this surplus value is produced and those under which it is realised.

If a certain rate of profit is given, the mass of profit will always depend on the magnitude of the advanced capital. The accumulation, however, is then determined by that portion of this mass which is reconverted into capital. As for this portion, being equal to the profit minus the revenue consumed by the capitalists, it will depend not merely on the value of this mass, but also on the cheapness of the commodities which the capitalist can buy with it, commodities which

pass partly into his consumption, his revenue, and partly into his constant capital. (Wages are here assumed to be given.)

The mass of capital set in motion by the labourer, whose value he preserves by his labour and reproduces in his product, is quite different from the value which he adds to it. If the mass of the capital = 1,000 and the added labour = 100, the reproduced capital = 1,100. If the mass = 100 and the added labour = 20, the reproduced capital = 120. In the first case the rate of profit = 10%, in the second = 20%. And yet more can be accumulated out of 100 than out of 20. And thus the river of capital rolls on (aside from its depreciation through increase of the productive power), or its accumulation does, not in proportion to the rate of profit, but in proportion to the impetus it already possesses. So far as it is based on a high rate of surplus value, a high rate of profit is possible when the working day is very long, although labour is not productive. It is possible, because the wants of the labourers are very small, hence average wages very low, although the labour itself is unproductive. The low wages will correspond to the labourer's lack of energy. Capital then accumulates slowly, in spite of the high rate of profit. Population is stagnant and the working time which the product costs, is great, while the wages paid to the labourer are small.[a]

The rate of profit does not sink because the labourer is exploited any less, but because generally less labour is employed in proportion to the employed capital.

If, as shown, a falling rate of profit is bound up with an increase in the mass of profit, a larger portion of the annual product of labour is appropriated by the capitalist under the category of capital (as a replacement for consumed capital) and a relatively smaller portion under the category of profit. Hence the fantastic idea of priest Chalmers,[b] that the less of the annual product is expended by capitalists as capital, the greater the profits they pocket. In which case the state church comes to their assistance, to care for the consumption of the greater part of the surplus product, rather than having it used as capital. The preacher confounds cause with effect. Furthermore, the mass of profit increases in spite of its slower rate with the growth of the invested capital. However, this requires a simultaneous concentration

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[a] Ibid., Vol. 32, pp. 434-35. - [b] Th. Chalmers, *On Political Economy in Connexion with the Moral State and Moral Prospects of Society*, Second edition, Glasgow, 1832, pp. 88-92; cf. present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 434-35.

of capital, since the conditions of production then demand employment of capital on a larger scale. It also requires its centralisation, i. e., the swallowing up of the small capitalists by the big and their deprivation of capital. It is again but an instance of separating — raised to the second power — the conditions of labour from the producers to whose number these small capitalists still belong, since their own labour continues to play a role in their case. The labour of a capitalist stands altogether in inverse proportion to the size of his capital, i. e., to the degree in which he is a capitalist. It is this same severance of the conditions of labour, on the one hand, from the producers, on the other, that forms the conception of capital. It begins with primitive accumulation (Buch I, Kap. XXIV[a]), appears as a permanent process in the accumulation and concentration of capital, and expresses itself finally as centralisation of existing capitals in a few hands and a deprivation of many of their capital (to which expropriation is now changed). This process would soon bring about the collapse of capitalist production if it were not for counteracting tendencies, which have a continuous decentralising effect alongside the centripetal one.

## II. CONFLICT BETWEEN EXPANSION OF PRODUCTION AND PRODUCTION OF SURPLUS VALUE

The development of the social productive power of labour is manifested in two ways: First, in the magnitude of the already produced productive forces, the value and mass of the conditions of production under which new production is carried on, and in the absolute magnitude of the already accumulated productive capital; secondly, in the relative smallness of the portion of total capital laid out in wages, i. e., in the relatively small quantity of living labour required for the reproduction and self-expansion of a given capital, for mass production. This also implies concentration of capital.

In relation to employed labour power the development of the productive power again reveals itself in two ways: First, in the increase of surplus labour, i. e., the reduction of the necessary labour time required for the reproduction of labour power. Secondly, in the decrease of the quantity of labour power (the number of labourers) generally employed to set in motion a given capital.

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[a] Ibid., Vol. 35, Ch. XXVI-XXVII.

The two movements not only go hand in hand, but mutually influence one another and are phenomena in which the same law expresses itself. Yet they affect the rate of profit in opposite ways. The total mass of profit is equal to the total mass of surplus value, the rate of profit $= \frac{s}{C} = \frac{\text{surplus value}}{\text{advanced total capital}}$. The surplus value, however, as a total, is determined first by its rate, and second by the mass of labour simultaneously employed at this rate, or, what amounts to the same, by the magnitude of the variable capital. One of these factors, the rate of surplus value, rises, and the other, the number of labourers, falls (relatively or absolutely). Inasmuch as the development of the productive power reduces the paid portion of employed labour, it raises the surplus value, because it raises its rate; but inasmuch as it reduces the total mass of labour employed by a given capital, it reduces the factor of the number by which the rate of surplus value is multiplied to obtain its mass. Two labourers, each working 12 hours daily, cannot produce the same mass of surplus value as 24 who work only 2 hours, even if they could live on air and hence did not have to work for themselves at all. In this respect, then, the compensation of the reduced number of labourers by intensifying the degree of exploitation has certain insurmountable limits. It may, for this reason, well check the fall in the rate of profit, but cannot prevent it altogether.[a]

With the development of the capitalist mode of production, therefore, the rate of profit falls, while its mass increases with the growing mass of the capital employed. Given the rate, the absolute increase in the mass of capital depends on its existing magnitude. But, on the other hand, if this magnitude is given, the proportion of its growth, i. e., the rate of its increment, depends on the rate of profit. The increase in the productive power (which, moreover, we repeat, always goes hand in hand with a depreciation of the available capital) can directly only increase the value of the existing capital if by raising the rate of profit it increases that portion of the value of the annual product which is reconverted into capital. As concerns the productive power of labour, this can only occur (since this productive power has nothing direct to do with the *value* of the existing capital) by raising the relative surplus value, or reducing the value of the constant capital, so that the commodities which enter either the reproduction of

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 108-11.

labour power, or the elements of constant capital, are cheapened. Both imply a depreciation of the existing capital, and both go hand in hand with a reduction of the variable capital in relation to the constant. Both cause a fall in the rate of profit, and both slow it down. Furthermore, inasmuch as an increased rate of profit causes a greater demand of labour, it tends to increase the working population and thus the material, whose exploitation makes real capital out of capital.

Indirectly, however, the development of the productive power of labour contributes to the increase of the value of the existing capital by increasing the mass and variety of use values in which the same exchange value is represented and which form the material substance, i. e., the material elements of capital, the material objects making up the constant capital directly, and the variable capital at least indirectly. More products which may be converted into capital, whatever their exchange value, are created with the same capital and the same labour. These products may serve to absorb additional labour, hence also additional surplus labour, and therefore create additional capital. The amount of labour which a capital can command does not depend on its value, but on the mass of raw and auxiliary materials, machinery and elements of fixed capital and necessities of life, all of which it comprises, whatever their value may be. As the mass of the labour employed, and thus of surplus labour increases, there is also a growth in the value of the reproduced capital and in the surplus value newly added to it.

These two elements embraced by the process of accumulation, however, are not to be regarded merely as existing side by side in repose, as Ricardo does. They contain a contradiction which manifests itself in contradictory tendencies and phenomena.[a] These antagonistic agencies counteract each other simultaneously.

Alongside the stimulants of an actual increase of the labouring population, which spring from the increase of the portion of the total social product serving as capital, there are agencies which create a merely relative overpopulation.

Alongside the fall in the rate of profit mass of capitals grows, and hand in hand with this there occurs a depreciation of existing capitals which checks the fall and gives an accelerating motion to the accumulation of capital values.

Alongside the development of productivity there develops a higher

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[a] Ibid., Vol. 32, pp. 167-74 and 158.

composition of capital, i. e., the relative decrease of the ratio of variable to constant capital.

These different influences may at one time operate predominantly side by side in space, and at another succeed each other in time. From time to time the conflict of antagonistic agencies finds vent in crises. The crises are always but momentary and forcible solutions of the existing contradictions. They are violent eruptions which for a time restore the disturbed equilibrium.

The contradiction, to put it in a very general way, consists in that the capitalist mode of production involves a tendency towards absolute development of the productive forces, regardless of the value and surplus value it contains, and regardless of the social conditions under which capitalist production takes place; while, on the other hand, its aim is to preserve the value of the existing capital and promote its self-expansion to the highest limit (i. e., to promote an ever more rapid growth of this value). The specific feature about it is that it uses the existing value of capital as a means of increasing this value to the utmost. The methods by which it accomplishes this include the fall of the rate of profit, depreciation of existing capital, and development of the productive forces of labour at the expense of already created productive forces.

The periodical depreciation of existing capital — one of the means immanent in capitalist production to check the fall of the rate of profit and hasten accumulation of capital value through formation of new capital — disturbs the given conditions, within which the process of circulation and reproduction of capital takes place, and is therefore accompanied by sudden stoppages and crises in the production process.

The decrease of variable in relation to constant capital, which goes hand in hand with the development of the productive forces, stimulates the growth of the labouring population, while continually creating an artificial overpopulation. The accumulation of capital in terms of value is slowed down by the falling rate of profit, to hasten still more the accumulation of use values, while this, in its turn, adds new momentum to accumulation in terms of value.

Capitalist production seeks continually to overcome these immanent barriers, but overcomes them only by means which again place these barriers in its way and on a more formidable scale.

The *real barrier* of capitalist production is *capital itself*. It is that capital and its self-expansion appear as the starting and the closing

point, the motive and the purpose of production; that production is only production for *capital* and not vice versa, the means of production are not mere means for a constant expansion of the living process of the *society* of producers. The limits within which the preservation and self-expansion of the value of capital resting on the expropriation and pauperisation of the great mass of producers can alone move —these limits come continually into conflict with the methods of production employed by capital for its purposes, which drive towards unlimited extension of production, towards production as an end in itself, towards unconditional development of the social productivity of labour. The means—unconditional development of the productive forces of society—comes continually into conflict with the limited purpose, the self-expansion of the existing capital. The capitalist mode of production is, for this reason, a historical means of developing the material forces of production and creating an appropriate world market and is, at the same time, a continual conflict between this its historical task and its corresponding social relations of production.[a]

### III. EXCESS CAPITAL AND EXCESS POPULATION

A drop in the rate of profit is attended by a rise in the minimum capital required by an individual capitalist for the productive employment of labour; required both for its exploitation generally, and for making the consumed labour time suffice as the labour time necessary for the production of the commodities, so that it does not exceed the average social labour time required for the production of the commodities. Concentration increases simultaneously, because beyond certain limits a large capital with a small rate of profit accumulates faster than a small capital with a large rate of profit. At a certain high point this increasing concentration in its turn causes a new fall in the rate of profit. The mass of small dispersed capitals is thereby driven along the adventurous road of speculation, credit frauds, stock swindles, and crises. The so-called plethora of capital always applies essentially to a plethora of the capital for which the fall in the rate of profit is not compensated through the mass of profit[b]—this is always

[a] Ibid., Vol. 28, p. 23 and Vol. 34, pp. 24-25. - [b] Ibid., Vol. 33, p. 112.

true of newly developing fresh offshoots of capital—or to a plethora which places capitals incapable of action on their own at the disposal of the managers of large enterprises in the form of credit. This plethora of capital arises from the same causes as those which call forth relative overpopulation, and is, therefore, a phenomenon supplementing the latter, although they stand at opposite poles—unemployed capital at one pole, and unemployed worker population at the other.

Overproduction of capital, not of individual commodities—although overproduction of capital always includes overproduction of commodities—is therefore simply overaccumulation of capital. To appreciate what this overaccumulation is (its closer analysis follows later), one need only assume it to be absolute. When would overproduction of capital be absolute? Overproduction which would affect not just one or another, or a few important spheres of production, but would be absolute in its full scope, hence would extend to all fields of production?

There would be absolute overproduction of capital as soon as additional capital for purposes of capitalist production = 0. The purpose of capitalist production, however, is self-expansion of capital, i. e., appropriation of surplus labour, production of surplus value, of profit. As soon as capital would, therefore, have grown in such a ratio to the labouring population that neither the absolute working time supplied by this population, nor the relative surplus working time, could be expanded any further (this last would not be feasible at any rate in the case when the demand for labour were so strong that there were a tendency for wages to rise); at a point, therefore, when the increased capital produced just as much, or even less, surplus value than it did before its increase, there would be absolute overproduction of capital; i. e., the increased capital $C + \Delta C$ would produce no more, or even less, profit than capital C before its expansion by $\Delta C$. In both cases there would be a steep and sudden fall in the general rate of profit, but this time due to a change in the composition of capital not caused by the development of the productive power, but rather by a rise in the money value of the variable capital (because of increased wages) and the corresponding reduction in the proportion of surplus labour to necessary labour.

In reality, it would appear that a portion of the capital would lie completely or partially idle (because it would have to crowd out some of the active capital before it could expand its own value), and the other portion would produce values at a lower rate of profit, owing to

the pressure of unemployed or but partly employed capital. It would be immaterial in this respect if a part of the additional capital were to take the place of the old capital, and the latter were to take its position in the additional capital. We should still always have the old sum of capital on one side, and the sum of additional capital on the other. The fall in the rate of profit would then be accompanied by an absolute decrease in the mass of profit, since the mass of employed labour power could not be increased and the rate of surplus value raised under the conditions we had assumed, so that the mass of surplus value could not be increased either. And the reduced mass of profit would have to be calculated on an increased total capital. But even if it is assumed that the employed capital continues to self-expand at the old rate of profit, and the mass of profit hence remains the same, this mass would still be calculated on an increased total capital, this likewise implying a fall in the rate of profit. If a total capital of 1,000 yielded a profit of 100, and after being increased to 1,500 still yielded 100, then, in the second case, 1,000 would yield only $66\frac{2}{3}$. Self-expansion of the old capital, in the absolute sense, would have been reduced. The capital = 1,000 would yield no more under the new circumstances than formerly a capital = $666\frac{2}{3}$.

It is evident, however, that this actual depreciation of the old capital could not occur without a struggle, and that the additional capital $\Delta C$ could not assume the functions of capital without a struggle. The rate of profit would not fall under the effect of competition due to overproduction of capital. It would rather be the reverse; it would be the competitive struggle which would begin because the fallen rate of profit and overproduction of capital originate from the same conditions. The part of $\Delta C$ in the hands of old functioning capitalists would be allowed to remain more or less idle to prevent a depreciation of their own original capital and not to narrow its place in the field of production. Or they would employ it, even at a momentary loss, to shift the need of keeping additional capital idle on newcomers and on their competitors in general.

That portion of $\Delta C$ which is in new hands would seek to assume a place for itself at the expense of the old capital, and would accomplish this in part by forcing a portion of the old capital to lie idle. It would compel the old capital to give up its old place and withdraw to join completely or partially unemployed additional capital.

A portion of the old capital has to lie unused under all circumstances;

it has to give up its characteristic quality as capital, so far as acting as such and producing value is concerned. The competitive struggle would decide what part of it would be particularly affected. So long as things go well, competition effects an operating fraternity of the capitalist class, as we have seen in the case of the equalisation of the general rate of profit, so that each shares in the common loot in proportion to the size of his respective investment. But as soon as it no longer is a question of sharing profits, but of sharing losses, everyone tries to reduce his own share to a minimum and to shove it off upon another. The class, as such, must inevitably lose. How much the individual capitalist must bear of the loss, i. e., to what extent he must share in it at all, is decided by strength and cunning, and competition then becomes a fight among hostile brothers. The antagonism between each individual capitalist's interests and those of the capitalist class as a whole, then comes to the surface, just as previously the identity of these interests operated in practice through competition.

How is this conflict settled and the conditions restored which correspond to the "sound" operation of capitalist production? The mode of settlement is already indicated in the very emergence of the conflict whose settlement is under discussion. It implies the withdrawal and even the partial destruction of capital amounting to the full value of additional capital $\Delta C$, or at least a part of it. Although, as the description of this conflict shows, the loss is by no means equally distributed among individual capitals, its distribution being rather decided through a competitive struggle in which the loss is distributed in very different proportions and forms, depending on special advantages or previously captured positions, so that one capital is left unused, another is destroyed, and a third suffers but a relative loss, or is just temporarily depreciated, etc.

But the equilibrium would be restored under all circumstances through the withdrawal or even the destruction of more or less capital. This would extend partly to the material substance of capital, i. e., a part of the means of production, of fixed and circulating capital, would not operate, not act as capital; some of the operating establishments would then be brought to a standstill. Although, in this respect, time attacks and worsens all means of production (except land), the stoppage would in reality cause far greater damage to the means of production. However, the main effect in this case would be that these means of production would cease to function as such, that

their function as means of production would be disturbed for a shorter or longer period.

The main damage, and that of the most acute nature, would occur in respect to capital, and in so far as the latter possesses the characteristic of value it would occur in respect to the *values* of capitals. That portion of the value of a capital which exists only in the form of claims on prospective shares of surplus value, i. e., profit, in fact in the form of promissory notes on production in various forms, is immediately depreciated by the reduction of the receipts on which it is calculated. A part of the gold and silver lies unused, i. e., does not function as capital. Part of the commodities on the market can complete their process of circulation and reproduction only through an immense contraction of their prices, hence through a depreciation of the capital which they represent. The elements of fixed capital are depreciated to a greater or lesser degree in just the same way. It must be added that definite, presupposed, price relations govern the process of reproduction, so that the latter is halted and thrown into confusion by a general drop in prices. This confusion and stagnation paralyses the function of money as a medium of payment, whose development is geared to the development of capital and is based on those presupposed price relations. The chain of payment obligations due at specific dates is broken in a hundred places. The confusion is augmented by the attendant collapse of the credit system, which develops simultaneously with capital, and leads to violent and acute crises, to sudden and forcible depreciations, to the actual stagnation and disruption of the process of reproduction, and thus to a real falling off in reproduction.[a]

But there would have been still other agencies at work at the same time. The stagnation of production would have laid off a part of the working class and would thereby have placed the employed part in a situation where it would have to submit to a reduction of wages even below the average. This has the very same effect on capital as an increase of the relative or absolute surplus value at average wages would have had. Prosperity would have led to more marriages among labourers and reduced the decimation of offspring. While implying a real increase in population, this does not signify an increase in the actual working population. But it affects the relations of the labourer

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 127-28.

to capital in the same way as an increase of the number of actually working labourers would have affected them. On the other hand, the fall in prices and the competitive struggle would have driven every capitalist to lower the individual value of his total product below its general value by means of new machines, new and improved working methods, new combinations, i. e., to increase the productive farmer of a given quantity of labour, to lower the proportion of variable to constant capital, and thereby to release some labourers; in short, to create an artificial overpopulation. Ultimately, the depreciation of the elements of constant capital would itself tend to raise the rate of profit. The mass of employed constant capital would have increased in relation to variable, but its value could have fallen. The ensuing stagnation of production would have prepared — within capitalistic limits — a subsequent expansion of production.

And thus the cycle would run its course anew. Part of the capital, depreciated by its functional stagnation, would recover its old value. For the rest, the same vicious circle would be described once more under expanded conditions of production, with an expanded market and increased productive forces.

However, even under the extreme conditions assumed by us this absolute overproduction of capital is not absolute overproduction, not absolute overproduction of means of production. It is overproduction of means of production only in so far as the latter *serve as capital*, and consequently include a self-expansion of value, must produce an additional value in proportion to the increased mass.

Yet it would still be overproduction, because capital would be unable to exploit labour to the degree required by a "sound", "normal" development of the process of capitalist production, to a degree which would at least increase the mass of profit along with the growing mass of the employed capital; to a degree which would, therefore, prevent the rate of profit from falling as much as the capital grows, or even more rapidly.

Overproduction of capital is never anything more than overproduction of means of production — of means of labour and necessities of life — which may serve as capital, i. e., may serve to exploit labour at a given degree of exploitation; a fall in the intensity of exploitation below a certain point, however, calls forth disturbances, and stoppages in the capitalist production process, crises, and destruction of capital. It is no contradiction that this overproduction of capital is accompanied by more or less considerable relative overpopulation. The

circumstances which increased the productive power of labour, augmented the mass of produced commodities, expanded markets, accelerated accumulation of capital both in terms of its mass and its value, and lowered the rate of profit—these same circumstances have also created, and continuously create, a relative overpopulation, an overpopulation of labourers not employed by the surplus capital owing to the low degree of exploitation at which alone they could be employed, or at least owing to the low rate of profit which they would yield at the given degree of exploitation.

If capital is sent abroad, this is not done because it absolutely could not be applied at home, but because it can be employed at a higher rate of profit in a foreign country. But such capital is absolute excess capital for the employed labouring population and for the home country in general. It exists as such alongside the relative overpopulation, and this is an illustration of how both of them exist side by side, and mutually influence one another.

On the other hand, a fall in the rate of profit connected with accumulation necessarily calls forth a competitive struggle. Compensation of a fall in the rate of profit by a rise in the mass of profit applies only to the total social capital and to the big, firmly placed capitalists. The new additional capital operating independently does not enjoy any such compensating conditions. It must still win them, and so it is that a fall in the rate of profit calls forth a competitive struggle among capitalists, not vice versa. To be sure, the competitive struggle is accompanied by a temporary rise in wages and a resultant further temporary fall of the rate of profit. The same occurs when there is an overproduction of commodities, when markets are overstocked. Since the aim of capital is not to minister to certain wants, but to produce profit, and since it accomplishes this purpose by methods which adapt the mass of production to the scale of production, not vice versa, a rift must continually ensue between the limited dimensions of consumption under capitalism and a production which forever tends to exceed this immanent barrier. Furthermore, capital consists of commodities, and therefore overproduction of capital implies overproduction of commodities. Hence the peculiar phenomenon of economists who deny overproduction of commodities, admitting overproduction of capital.[a] To say that there is no general overproduction, but rather a disproportion within the various branches of production, is no more than to say

[a] Ibid., Vol. 32, pp. 132-35 and Vol. 33, pp. 113-14.

that under capitalist production the proportionality of the individual branches of production springs as a continual process from disproportionality, because the cohesion of the aggregate production imposes itself as a blind law upon the agents of production, and not as a law which, being understood and hence controlled by their common mind, brings the production process under their joint control. It amounts furthermore to demanding that countries in which the capitalist mode of production is not developed, should consume and produce at a rate which suits the countries with the capitalist mode of production. If it is said that overproduction is only relative, this is quite correct; but the entire capitalist mode of production is only a relative one, whose barriers are not absolute. They are absolute only for this mode, i. e., on its basis. How could there otherwise be a shortage of demand for the very commodities which the mass of the people lack, and how would it be possible for this demand to be sought abroad, in foreign markets, to pay the labourers at home the average amount of necessities of life? This is possible only because in this specific capitalist interrelation the surplus product assumes a form in which its owner cannot offer it for consumption, unless it first reconverts itself into capital for him. If it is finally said that the capitalists have only to exchange and consume their commodities among themselves, then the entire nature of the capitalist mode of production is lost sight of; and also forgotten is the fact that it is a matter of expanding the value of the capital, not consuming it. In short, all these objections to the obvious phenomena of overproduction (phenomena which pay no heed to these objections) amount to the contention that the barriers of *capitalist* production are not barriers of *production generally*, and therefore not barriers of this specific, capitalist mode of production. The contradiction of the capitalist mode of production, however, lies precisely in its tendency towards an absolute development of the productive *forces*, which continually comes into conflict with the specific *conditions* of production in which capital moves, and alone can move.

There are not too many necessities of life produced, in proportion to the existing population. Quite the reverse. Too little is produced to decently and humanely satisfy the wants of the great mass.

There are not too many means of production produced to employ the able-bodied portion of the population. Quite the reverse. In the first place, too large a portion of the produced population is not really capable of working, and is through force of circumstances made de-

pendent on exploiting the labour of others, or on labour which can pass under this name only under a miserable mode of production. In the second place, not enough means of production are produced to permit the employment of the entire able-bodied population under the most productive conditions, so that their absolute working period could be shortened by the mass and effectiveness of the constant capital employed during working hours.

On the other hand, too many means of labour and necessities of life are produced at times to permit of their serving as means for the exploitation of labourers at a certain rate of profit. Too many commodities are produced to permit of a realisation and conversion into new capital of the value and surplus value contained in them under the conditions of distribution and consumption peculiar to capitalist production, i. e., too many to permit of the continuation of this process without constantly recurring explosions.

Not too much wealth is produced. But at times too much wealth is produced in its capitalistic, self-contradictory forms.

The limitations of the capitalist mode of production come to the surface:

1) In that the development of the productive power of labour creates out of the falling rate of profit a law which at a certain point comes into antagonistic conflict with this development and must be overcome constantly through crises.

2) In that the expansion or contraction of production are determined by the appropriation of unpaid labour and the proportion of this unpaid labour to objectified labour in general, or, to speak the language of the capitalists, by profit and the proportion of this profit to the employed capital, thus by a definite rate of profit, rather than by the relation of production to social requirements, i. e., to the requirements of socially developed human beings. It is for this reason that the capitalist mode of production meets with barriers at a certain expanded stage of production which, if viewed from the other premiss, would reversely have been altogether inadequate. It comes to a standstill at a point fixed by the production and realisation of profit, and not by the satisfaction of requirements.

If the rate of profit falls, there follows, on the one hand, an exertion of capital in order that the individual capitalists, through improved methods, etc., may depress the value of their individual commodity below the social average value and thereby realise an extra profit at the prevailing market price. On the other hand, there appears swin-

dling and a general promotion of swindling by recourse to frenzied ventures with new methods of production, new investments of capital, new adventures, all for the sake of securing a shred of extra profit which is independent of the general average and rises above it.

The rate of profit, i. e., the relative increment of capital, is above all important to all new offshoots of capital seeking to find an independent place for themselves. And as soon as formation of capital were to fall into the hands of a few established big capitals, for which the mass of profit compensates for the falling rate of profit, the vital flame of production would be altogether extinguished. It would die out. The rate of profit is the motive power of capitalist production. Things are produced only so long as they can be produced with a profit. Hence the concern of the English economists over the decline of the rate of profit.[a] The fact that the bare possibility of this happening should worry Ricardo, shows his profound understanding of the conditions of capitalist production. It is that which is held against him, it is his unconcern about "human beings", and his having an eye solely for the development of the productive forces, whatever the cost in human beings and capital *values*—it is precisely that which is the important thing about him.[b] Development of the productive forces of social labour is the historical task and justification of capital. This is just the way in which it unconsciously creates the material conditions of a higher mode of production. What worries Ricardo is the fact that the rate of profit, the stimulating principle of capitalist production, the fundamental premiss and driving force of accumulation, should be endangered by the development of production itself. And here the quantitative proportion means everything. There is, indeed, something deeper behind it, of which he is only vaguely aware. It comes to the surface here in a purely economic way—i. e., from the bourgeois point of view, within the limitations of capitalist understanding, from the standpoint of capitalist production itself—that it has its barrier, that it is relative, that it is not an absolute, but only a historical mode of production corresponding to a definite limited epoch in the development of the material conditions of production.

## IV. SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS

Since the development of the productive power of labour proceeds very disproportionately in the various lines of industry, and not only

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[a] Ibid., Vol. 33, p. 112. - [b] Ibid., p. 114.

disproportionately in degree but frequently also in opposite directions, it follows that the mass of average profit (= surplus value) must be substantially below the level one would naturally expect after the development of the productive power in the most advanced branches of industry. The fact that the development of the productive power in different lines of industry proceeds at substantially different rates and frequently even in opposite directions, is not due merely to the anarchy of competition and the peculiarity of the bourgeois mode of production. Productivity of labour is also bound up with natural conditions, which frequently become less productive as productivity grows—inasmuch as the latter depends on social conditions. Hence the opposite movements in these different spheres—progress here, and retrogression there. Consider the mere influence of the seasons, for instance, on which the bulk of raw materials depends for its mass, the exhaustion of forest lands, coal and iron mines, etc.[a]

While the circulating part of constant capital, such as raw materials, etc., continually increases its mass in proportion to the productivity of labour, this is not the case with fixed capital, such as buildings, machinery, and lighting and heating facilities, etc. Although in absolute terms a machine becomes dearer with the growth of its bodily mass, it becomes relatively cheaper. If five labourers produce ten times as much of a commodity as before, this does not increase the outlay for fixed capital ten-fold; although the value of this part of constant capital increases with the development of the productive power it does not by any means increase in the same proportion.[b] We have frequently pointed out the difference in the ratio of constant to variable capital as expressed in the fall of the rate of profit, and the difference in the same ratio as expressed in relation to the individual commodity and its price with the development of the productivity of labour.

//The value of a commodity is determined by the total labour time of past and living labour incorporated in it.[c] The increase in labour productivity consists precisely in that the share of living labour is reduced while that of past labour is increased, but in such a way that the total quantity of labour incorporated in that commodity declines; in such a way, therefore, that living labour decreases more than past labour increases. The past labour contained in the value of a commodity—the constant part of capital—consists partly of the wear and tear of fixed, partly of circulating, constant capital entirely consumed

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[a] Ibid., pp. 131 and 135. - [b] Ibid., pp. 131-32. - [c] Ibid., pp. 136-37.

by that commodity, such as raw and auxiliary materials. The portion of value deriving from raw and auxiliary materials must decrease with the increased productivity of labour, because with regard to these materials the productivity expresses itself precisely by reducing their value. On the other hand, it is most characteristic of the rising productive power of labour that the fixed part of constant capital is strongly augmented, and with it that portion of its value which is transferred by wear and tear to the commodities. For a new method of production to represent a real increase in productivity, it must transfer a smaller additional portion of the value of fixed capital to each unit of the commodity in wear and tear than the portion of value deducted from it through the saving in living labour; in short, it must reduce the value of the commodity. It must obviously do so even if, as it occurs in some cases, an additional value goes into the value of the commodity for more or dearer raw or auxiliary materials over and above the additional portion for wear and tear of the fixed capital. All additions to the value must be more than offset by the reduction in value resulting from the decrease in living labour.

This reduction of the total quantity of labour going into a commodity seems, accordingly, to be the essential criterion of increased productive power of labour, no matter under what social conditions production is carried on. Productivity of labour, indeed, would always be measured by this standard in a society, in which producers regulate their production according to a preconceived plan, or even under simple commodity production. But how does the matter stand under capitalist production?

Suppose, a certain branch of capitalist industry produces a normal unit of its commodity under the following conditions: The wear and tear of fixed capital amounts to $\frac{1}{2}$ shilling per piece; raw and auxiliary materials go into it to the amount of $17\frac{1}{2}$ shillings per piece; wages, 2 shillings; and surplus value, 2 shillings at a rate of surplus value of 100%. Total value = 22 shillings. We assume for the sake of simplicity that the capital in this branch of production has the average composition of social capital, so that the price of production of the commodity is identical with its value, and the profit of the capitalist with the created surplus value. Then the cost price of the commodity $= \frac{1}{2} + 17\frac{1}{2} + 2 = 20$s., the average rate of profit $\frac{2}{20} = 10\%$, and the price of production per piece of the commodity, like its value = 22s.

Suppose a machine is invented which reduces by half the living labour required per piece of the commodity, but trebles that portion of its value accounted for by the wear and tear of the fixed capital. In that case, the calculation is: Wear and tear = $1\frac{1}{2}$ s., raw and auxiliary materials, as before, $17\frac{1}{2}$ s., wages, 1s., surplus value 1s., total 21s. The commodity then falls 1s. in value; the new machine has certainly increased the productivity of labour. But the capitalist sees the matter as follows: his cost price is now $1\frac{1}{2}$ s. for wear, $17\frac{1}{2}$ s. for raw and auxiliary materials, 1s. for wages, total 20s., as before. Since the rate of profit is not immediately altered by the new machine, he will receive 10% over his cost price, that is, 2s. The price of production, then, remains unaltered = 22s., but is 1s. above the value. For a society producing under capitalist conditions the commodity has *not* cheapened. The new machine is *no* improvement for it. The capitalist is, therefore, not interested in introducing it. And since its introduction would make his present, not as yet worn-out, machinery simply worthless, would turn it into scrap-iron, hence would cause a positive loss, he takes good care not to commit this, what is for him a utopian, mistake.

The law of the increased productive power of labour is not, therefore, absolutely valid for capital. So far as capital is concerned, this productive power does not increase through a saving in living labour in general, but only through a saving in the *paid* portion of living labour, as compared to labour expended in the past, as we have already indicated in passing in Book I (Kap. XIII, 2, S. 409/398).[a] Here the capitalist mode of production is beset with another contradiction. Its historical mission is unconstrained development in geometrical progression of the productivity of human labour. It goes back on its mission whenever, as here, it checks the development of productivity. It thus demonstrates again that it is becoming senile and that it is more and more outlived.// [37)]

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Under competition, the increasing minimum of capital required with the increase in productivity for the successful operation of an in-

[37)] The foregoing is placed in two oblique lines, because, though a rehash of the notes of the original manuscript, it goes in some points beyond the scope of the material found in the original.—*F. E.*

[a] English edition: Vol. I, Ch. XV, 2 (present edition, Vol. 35).

dependent industrial establishment, assumes the following aspect: As soon as the new, more expensive equipment has become universally established, smaller capitals are henceforth excluded from this industry. Smaller capitals can carry on independently in the various spheres of production only in the infancy of mechanical inventions. Very large undertakings, such as railways, on the other hand, which have an unusually high proportion of constant capital, do not yield the average rate of profit, but only a portion of it, only an interest. Otherwise the general rate of profit would have fallen still lower. But this offers direct employment to large concentrations of capital in the form of stocks.

Growth of capital, hence accumulation of capital, does not imply a fall in the rate of profit, unless it is accompanied by the aforementioned changes in the proportion of the organic constituents of capital. Now it so happens that in spite of the constant daily revolutions in the mode of production, now this and now that larger or smaller portion of the total capital continues to accumulate for certain periods on the basis of a given average proportion of those constituents, so that there is no organic change with its growth, and consequently no cause for a fall in the rate of profit. This constant expansion of capital, hence also an expansion of production, on the basis of the old method of production which goes quietly on while new methods are already being introduced at its side, is another reason, why the rate of profit does not decline as much as the total capital of society grows.

The increase in the absolute number of labourers does not occur in all branches of production, and not uniformly in all, in spite of the relative decrease of variable capital laid out in wages. In agriculture, the decrease of the element of living labour may be absolute.

At any rate, it is but a requirement of the capitalist mode of production that the number of wage workers should increase absolutely, in spite of its relative decrease. Labour power becomes redundant for it as soon as it is no longer necessary to employ it for 12 to 15 hours daily. A development of productive forces which would diminish the absolute number of labourers, i. e., enable the entire nation to accomplish its total production in a shorter time span, would cause a revolution, because it would put the bulk of the population out of the running. This is another manifestation of the specific barrier of capitalist production, showing also that capitalist production is by no means an absolute form for the development of the productive forces and for the creation of wealth, but rather that at a certain point it comes into

collision with this development. This collision appears partly in periodical crises, which arise from the circumstance that now this and now that portion of the labouring population becomes redundant under its old mode of employment. The limit of capitalist production is the excess time of the labourers. The absolute spare time gained by society does not concern it. The development of the productive power concerns it only in so far as it increases the surplus labour time of the working class, not because it decreases the labour time for material production in general. It moves thus in a contradiction.[a]

We have seen that the growing accumulation of capital implies its growing concentration. Thus grows the power of capital, the alienation of the conditions of social production personified in the capitalist from the real producers. Capital comes more and more to the fore as a social power, whose agent is the capitalist. This social power no longer stands in any possible relation to that which the labour of a single individual can create. It becomes an estranged, independent, social power, which stands opposed to society as an object, and as an object that is the capitalist's source of power. The contradiction between the general social power into which capital develops, on the one hand, and the private power of the individual capitalists over these social conditions of production, on the other, becomes ever more irreconcilable, and yet contains the solution of the problem, because it implies at the same time the transformation of the conditions of production into general, common, social, conditions. This transformation stems from the development of the productive forces under capitalist production, and from the ways and means by which this development takes place.

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No capitalist ever voluntarily introduces a new method of production, no matter how much more productive it may be, and how much it may increase the rate of surplus value, so long as it reduces the rate of profit. Yet every such new method of production cheapens the commodities. Hence, the capitalist sells them originally above their prices of production, or, perhaps, above their value. He pockets the difference between their costs of production and the market prices of the same commodities produced at higher costs of production. He can do this, because the average labour time required socially for the pro-

[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 141-42.

duction of these latter commodities is higher than the labour time required for the new methods of production. His method of production stands above the social average. But competition makes it general and subject to the general law. There follows a fall in the rate of profit — perhaps first in this sphere of production, and eventually it achieves a balance with the rest — which is, therefore, wholly independent of the will of the capitalist.

It is still to be added to this point, that this same law also governs those spheres of production, whose product passes neither directly nor indirectly into the consumption of the labourers, or into the conditions under which their necessities are produced; it applies, therefore, also to those spheres of production, in which there is no cheapening of commodities to increase the relative surplus value or cheapen labour power. (At any rate, a cheapening of constant capital in all these branches may increase the rate of profit, with the exploitation of labour remaining the same.) As soon as the new production method begins to spread, and thereby to furnish tangible proof that these commodities can actually be produced more cheaply, the capitalists working with the old methods of production must sell their product below its full price of production, because the value of this commodity has fallen, and because the labour time required by them to produce it is greater than the social average. In one word — and this appears as an effect of competition — these capitalists must also introduce the new method of production, in which the proportion of variable to constant capital has been reduced.[a]

All the circumstances which lead to the use of machinery cheapening the price of a commodity produced by it, come down in the last analysis to a reduction of the quantity of labour absorbed by a single piece of the commodity; and secondly, to a reduction in the wear-and-tear portion of the machinery, whose value goes into a single piece of the commodity. The less rapid the wear of machinery, the more the commodities over which it is distributed, and the more living labour it replaces before its term of reproduction arrives. In both cases the quantity and value of the fixed constant capital increase in relation to the variable.

* "All other things being equal, the power of a nation to save from its profits varies with the rate of profits: is great when they are high, less, when low; but as the rate of

[a] Ibid., pp. 144-49.

profit declines, all other things do not remain equal.... A low rate of profit is ordinarily accompanied by a rapid rate of accumulation, relatively to the numbers of the people, as in England ... a high rate of profit by a slower rate of accumulation, relatively to the numbers of the people." * Examples: Poland, Russia, India, etc. (Richard Jones, *An Introductory Lecture on Political Economy*, London, 1833, p. 50 ff.)

Jones emphasises correctly that in spite of the falling rate of profit the INDUCEMENTS AND FACULTIES TO ACCUMULATE are augmented[a]; first, on account of the growing relative overpopulation; second, because the growing productivity of labour is accompanied by an increase in the mass of use values represented by the same exchange value, hence in the material elements of capital; third, because the branches of production become more varied; fourth, due to the development of the credit system, the stock companies, etc., and the resultant case of converting money into capital without becoming an industrial capitalist; fifth, because the wants and the greed for wealth increase; and, sixth, because the mass of investments in fixed capital grows, etc.

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Three cardinal facts of capitalist production:

1) Concentration of means of production in few hands, whereby they cease to appear as the property of the immediate labourers and turn into social production capacities. Even if initially they are the private property of capitalists. These are the trustees of bourgeois society, but they pocket all the proceeds of this trusteeship.

2) Organisation of labour itself into social labour: through cooperation, division of labour, and the uniting of labour with the natural sciences.

In these two senses, the capitalist mode of production abolishes private property and private labour, even though in contradictory forms.[b]

3) Creation of the world market.

The stupendous productive power developing under the capitalist mode of production relative to population, and the increase, if not in the same proportion, of capital values (not just of their material substance), which grow much more rapidly than the population, contradict the basis, which constantly narrows in relation to the expanding wealth, and for which all this immense productive power works. They also contradict the conditions under which this swelling capital augments its value. Hence the crises.

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[a] Ibid., p. 336. - [b] Ibid., pp. 342-43.

# Part IV

# CONVERSION OF COMMODITY CAPITAL AND MONEY CAPITAL INTO COMMERCIAL CAPITAL AND MONEY-DEALING CAPITAL (MERCHANT'S CAPITAL)

## Chapter XVI

### COMMERCIAL CAPITAL

Merchant's, or trading, capital breaks up into two forms or subdivisions, namely, commercial capital and money-dealing capital, which we shall now define more closely, in so far as this is necessary for our analysis of capital in its basic structure. This is all the more necessary, because modern political economy, even in the persons of its best exponents, throws trading capital and industrial capital indiscriminately together and, in effect, wholly overlooks the characteristic peculiarities of the former.[a]

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The movements of commodity capital have been analysed in Book II.[b] To take the total capital of society, one part of it — always made up of different elements and even changing in magnitude — always exists in the form of commodities on the market, to be converted into money. Another part exists on the market in the form of money, to be converted into commodities. It is always in the process of this transition, of this formal metamorphosis. Inasmuch as this function of capital in the process of circulation is at all set apart as a special function of a special capital, as a function established by virtue of the division of labour to a special group of capitalists, commodity capital becomes commercial capital.

We have explained (Book II, Chapter VI, "The Costs of Circulation," 2 and 3) to what extent the transport industry, storage and dis-

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 63-64. - [b] Ibid., Vol. 36, pp. 92-105.

tribution of commodities in a distributable form, may be regarded as production processes continuing within the process of circulation. These episodes incidental to the circulation of commodity capital are sometimes confused with the distinct functions of merchant's or commercial capital. Sometimes they are, indeed, practically bound up with these distinct, specific functions, although with the development of the social division of labour the function of merchant's capital evolves in a pure form, i. e., divorced from those real functions, and independent of them. Those functions are therefore irrelevant to our purpose, which is to define the specific difference of this special form of capital. In so far as capital solely employed in the circulation process, special commercial capital, partly combines those functions with its specific ones, it does not appear in its pure form. We obtain its pure form after stripping it of all these functions.

We have seen that the existence of capital as commodity capital and the metamorphosis it undergoes within the sphere of circulation, in the market, as commodity capital—a metamorphosis which resolves itself into buying and selling, converting commodity capital into money capital and money capital into commodity capital—that this forms a phase in the reproduction process of industrial capital, hence in its process of production as a whole. We have also seen, however, that it is distinguished in its function as a capital of circulation from its function as productive capital. These are two different and separate forms of existence of the same capital. One portion of the total social capital is continually on the market in the form of capital of circulation, passing through this process of transmutation, although for each individual capital its existence as commodity capital, and its metamorphosis as such, merely represent ever-vanishing and ever renewed points of transition—i. e., stages of transition in the continuity of its production process, and although the elements of commodity capital in the market vary continuously for this reason, being constantly withdrawn from the commodity market and equally periodically returned to it as new products of the process of production.

Commercial capital is nothing but a converted form of a part of this capital of circulation constantly to be found in the market, ever in the process of its metamorphosis, and always encompassed by the sphere of circulation. We say a part, because a part of the selling and buying of commodities always takes place directly between industrial capitalists. We leave this part entirely out of consideration in this

analysis, because it contributes nothing to defining the conception, or to understanding the specific nature of merchant's capital, and because it has furthermore been exhaustively treated for our purpose in Book II.[a]

The dealer in commodities, as a capitalist generally, appears on the market primarily as the representative of a certain sum of money, which he advances as a capitalist, i. e., which he wants to turn from x (its original value) into $x + \Delta x$ (the original sum plus profit). But it is evident to him — not being just a capitalist in general, but rather a special dealer in commodities — that his capital must first enter the market in the form of money capital, for he does not produce commodities. He merely trades in them, promotes their movement, and to operate with them he must first buy them, and, therefore, must be in possession of money capital.

Suppose that a dealer in commodities owns £3,000 which he invests as a trading capital. With these £3,000 he buys, say, 30,000 yards of linen from some linen manufacturer at 2s. per yard. He then sells the 30,000 yards. If the annual average rate of profit = 10% and he makes an annual profit of 10% after deducting all incidental expenses, then by the end of the year he has converted his £3,000 into £3,300. How he makes this profit is a question which we shall discuss later. At present, we intend to consider solely the form of the movement of his capital. With his £3,000 he keeps buying linen and selling it; he constantly repeats this operation of buying in order to sell, M — C — M′, the simple form of capital as it obtains entirely in the process of circulation, uninterrupted by the production process, which lies outside its own movement and function.

What is now the relation of this commercial capital to commodity capital as a mere form of existence of industrial capital? So far as the linen manufacturer is concerned, he has realised the value of his linen with the merchant's money and thereby completed the first phase in the metamorphosis of his commodity capital — its conversion into money. Other conditions being equal, he can now proceed to reconvert this money into yarn, coal, wages, etc., and into means of subsistence, etc., for the consumption of his revenue. Hence, leaving aside the revenue expenditure, he can go on with his process of reproduction.

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[a] Ibid., Ch. III.

But while the sale of the linen, its metamorphosis into money, has taken place for him, as producer, it has not yet taken place for the linen itself. It is still on the market as commodity capital awaiting to undergo its first metamorphosis — to be sold. Nothing has happened to this linen besides a change in the person of its owner. As concerns its purpose, as concerns its place in the process, it is still commodity capital, a saleable commodity, with the only difference that it is now in the merchant's hands instead of the manufacturer's. The function of selling it, of effecting the first phase of its metamorphosis, has passed from the manufacturer to the merchant, has become the special business of the merchant, whereas previously it was a function which the producer had to perform himself after having completed the function of its production.

Let us assume that the merchant fails to sell the 30,000 yards of linen during the interval required by the linen manufacturer to bring another 30,000 yards to market at a value of £3,000. The merchant cannot buy them again, because he still has in stock the unsold 30,000 yards which have not as yet been reconverted into money capital. A stoppage ensues, i. e., an interruption of reproduction. The linen producer might, of course, have additional money capital at his disposal, which he could convert into productive capital, regardless of the sale of the 30,000 yards, in order to continue the production process. But this would not alter the situation. So far as the capital tied up in the 30,000 yards of linen is concerned, its process of reproduction is, and remains, interrupted. It is, indeed, easily seen here that the merchant's operations are really nothing but operations that must be performed at all events to convert the producer's commodity capital into money. They are operations which effect the functions of commodity capital in the circulation and reproduction processes. If it devolved upon the producer's clerk to attend exclusively to the sale, and also the purchase, instead of an independent merchant, this connection would not be obscured for a single moment.

Commercial capital is, therefore, nothing but the producer's commodity capital which has to undergo the process of conversion into money — to perform its function of commodity capital on the market — the only difference being that instead of representing an incidental function of the producer, it is now the exclusive operation of a special kind of capitalist, the dealer in commodities, and is set apart as the business of a special investment of capital.

This becomes evident, furthermore, in the specific form of circula-

tion of commercial capital. The merchant buys a commodity and then sells it: M — C — M′. In the simple circulation of commodities, or even in the circulation of commodities as it appears in the circulation process of industrial capital, C′ — M — C, circulation is effected by each piece of money changing hands twice. The linen manufacturer sells his commodity — linen, converting it into money; the buyer's money passes into his hands. With this same money he buys yarn, coal, labour, etc.— expends the money for reconverting the value of linen into the commodities which make up its production elements. The commodity he buys is not the same commodity, not the same kind of commodity which he sells. He has sold products and bought means of production. But it is different with respect to the movement of merchant's capital. With his £3,000 the linen merchant buys 30,000 yards of linen; he sells the same 30,000 yards of linen in order to retrieve his money capital (£3,000 and the profit) from circulation. It is not the same pieces of money, but rather the same commodity which here changes places twice; the commodity passes from the seller into the hands of the buyer, and from the hands of the buyer, who now becomes seller, into those of another buyer. It is sold twice, and may be sold repeatedly through the medium of a series of merchants. And it is precisely through this repeated sale, through this two-fold change of place of the same commodity, that the money advanced for its purchase by the first buyer is retrieved, its reflux to him effected. In one case, C′ — M — C effects the two-fold change of place of the same money, the sale of a commodity in one form and the purchase of a commodity in another. In the other case, M — C — M′ effects the two-fold change of place of the same commodity, the withdrawal of advanced money from circulation. It is evident that the commodity has not been finally sold when it passes from the producer into the hands of the merchant and that the latter merely carries on the operation of selling — or effects the function of commodity capital. But at the same time it is evident that what is C — M, a mere function of his capital in its transient form of commodity capital, for the productive capitalist, is M — C — M′, a specific increase in the value of his advanced money capital, for the merchant. One phase of the metamorphosis of commodities appears here in respect to the merchant in the form of M — C — M′, hence as evolution of a distinct kind of capital.

The merchant finally sells his commodity, that is, the linen, to the consumer, be it a productive consumer (for instance, a bleacher), or

an individual who acquires the linen for his private use. The merchant thereby recovers his advanced capital (with a profit), and can repeat his operation anew. Had the money served merely as a means of payment in purchasing the linen, so that the merchant would have had to pay only after six weeks, and had he succeeded in selling before this term was out, he could have paid the linen manufacturer without advancing any money capital of his own. Had he not sold it, he would have had to advance his £3,000 on the date of expiration, instead of on delivery of the linen. And if a drop in the market prices had compelled him to sell below the purchase price, he would have had to make good the shortage out of his own capital.

What is it, then, that lends to commercial capital the character of an independently operating capital, whereas in the hands of the producer who does his own selling it is obviously merely a special form of his capital in a specific phase of the reproduction process during its sojourn in the sphere of circulation?

*First*: The fact that commodity capital is finally converted into money, that it performs its initial metamorphosis, i.e., its appropriate function on the market qua commodity capital while in the hands of an agent other than the producer, and that this function of commodity capital is effected by the merchant in his operations, his buying and selling, so that these operations assume the appearance of a separate undertaking distinct from the other functions of industrial capital—and hence of an independent undertaking. It is a distinct form of the social division of labour, so that part of the function ordinarily performed as a special phase of the reproduction process of capital, in this case—circulation, appears as the exclusive function of specific circulation agent distinct from the producer. But this alone would by no means give this particular business the aspect of a function of a specific capital distinct from, and independent of, industrial capital engaged in the process of reproduction; indeed, it does not so appear in cases where trade is carried on by travelling salesmen or other direct agents of the industrial capitalist. Therefore, there must be a second element involved.

*Second*: This arises from the fact that in his capacity as an independent circulation agent, the merchant advances money capital (his own or borrowed). The transaction which for industrial capital in the reproduction process amounts merely to C—M, i.e., converting commodity capital into money capital, or mere sale, assumes for the merchant the form of M—C—M′, or purchase and sale of the same

commodity, and thus of a reflux of money capital which leaves him in the purchase, and returns to him in the sale.

It is always C — M, the conversion of commodity capital into money capital, which for the merchant assumes the form of M — C — M, inasmuch as he advances capital to purchase commodities from their producers; it is always the first metamorphosis of commodity capital, although for a producer, or for industrial capital in process of reproduction, the same transaction may amount to M — C, to a reconversion of money into commodities (means of production), to the second phase of the metamorphosis. For the linen producer, the first metamorphosis was C — M, the conversion of his commodity capital into money capital. For the merchant the same act appears as M — C, as a conversion of his money capital into commodity capital. Now, if he sells this linen to a bleacher, it will mean M — C, i. e., the conversion of money capital into productive capital, this being the second metamorphosis of his commodity capital for the bleacher, while for the merchant it means C — M, the sale of the linen he had bought. But in fact it is only at this point that the commodity capital produced by the linen manufacturer has been finally sold. In other words, this M — C — M of the merchant represents no more than a middleman's function for C — M between two manufacturers. Or let us assume that the linen manufacturer buys yarn from a yarn dealer with a portion of the value of the sold linen. This is M — C for him. But for the merchant selling the yarn it is C — M, the resale of the yarn. As concerning the yarn in its capacity of commodity capital, it is no more than its final sale, whereby it passes from the sphere of circulation into that of consumption; it is C — M, the consummation of its first metamorphosis. Whether the merchant buys from, or sells to the industrial capitalist, his M — C — M, the circuit of merchant's capital, always expresses what is just C — M, or simply the completion of its first metamorphosis, with regard to the commodity capital, a transient form of industrial capital in process of reproduction. The M — C of merchant's capital is C — M only for the industrial capitalist, not for the commodity capital produced by him. It is but the transfer of commodity capital from the industrialist to the circulation agent. It is not until the merchant's capital closes C — M that functioning commodity capital performs its final C — M. M — C — M amounts solely to two C — M's of the same commodity capital, two successive sales of it, which merely effect its last and final sale.

Thus, commodity capital assumes in commercial capital the form

of an independent type of capital because the merchant advances money capital, which is expanded and functions as capital only by serving exclusively to mediate the metamorphosis of commodity capital, its function as commodity capital, i. e., its conversion into money, and it accomplishes this by the continual purchase and sale of commodities. This is its exclusive operation. This activity of effecting the circulation process of industrial capital is the exclusive function of the money capital with which the merchant operates. By means of this function he converts his money into money capital, moulds his M into M—C—M′, and by the same process converts commodity capital into commercial capital.

So long and so far as commercial capital exists in the form of commodity capital, it is obviously nothing else—from the standpoint of the reproduction process of the total social capital—but a portion of industrial capital in the market in process of metamorphosis, which exists and functions as commodity capital. It is therefore only the *money* capital advanced by the merchant which is exclusively destined for purchase and sale and for this reason never assumes any other form but that of commodity capital and money capital, never that of productive capital, and is always confined to the sphere of circulation of capital—it is only this money capital which is now to be regarded with reference to the entire reproduction process of capital.

As soon as the producer, the linen manufacturer, has sold his 30,000 yards to the merchant for £3,000, he uses the money so obtained to buy the necessary means of production, so that his capital returns to the production process. His process of production continues without interruption.[a] So far as he is concerned, the conversion of his commodity into money is accomplished. But for the linen itself, as we have seen, its metamorphosis has not yet taken place. It has not yet been finally reconverted into money, has not yet passed as a use value into either productive or individual consumption. It is now the linen merchant who represents on the market the same commodity capital originally represented by the linen manufacturer. For the latter the process of transformation has been curtailed, only to be continued in the merchant's hands.

Had the linen producer been obliged to wait until his linen had really ceased being a commodity, until it has passed into the hands of its ultimate buyer, its productive or individual consumer, his process of

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 50-51.

reproduction would have been interrupted. Or, to avoid interrupting it, he would have had to curtail his operations, to convert a smaller portion of his linen into yarn, coal, labour, etc., in short, into the elements of productive capital, and to retain a larger portion of it as a money reserve, so that with one portion of his capital on the market in the shape of commodities, another would continue the process of production; one portion would be on the market in the form of commodities, while the other returned in the form of money. This division of his capital is not abolished by the merchant's intervention. But without it the portion of money reserve in the capital of circulation would always have to be greater in relation to the part employed in the form of productive capital, and the scale of reproduction would have to be restricted accordingly. Instead, however, the manufacturer is enabled to constantly employ a larger portion of his capital in the actual process of production, and a smaller portion as money reserve.

On the other hand, however, another portion of the social capital, in the form of merchant's capital, is kept continually within the sphere of circulation. It is employed all the time for the sole purpose of buying and selling. Hence there seems to have been no more than a replacement of persons holding this capital in their hands.

If, instead of buying £3,000 worth of linen with the purpose of selling it again, the merchant had applied these £3,000 productively, the productive capital of society would have increased. True, the linen manufacturer would then have been obliged to hold back a larger portion of his capital as money reserve, and likewise the merchant, now transformed into an industrial capitalist. On the other hand, if the merchant remains merchant, the manufacturer saves time in selling, which he can devote to supervising the production process, while the merchant must apply all his time to selling.

If merchant's capital does not overstep its necessary proportions, it is to be inferred:

1) that as a result of the division of labour the capital devoted exclusively to buying and selling (and this includes not only the money required to buy commodities, but also the money which must be invested in labour to maintain the merchant's establishment, and in his constant capital — the storehouses, transport, etc.) is smaller than it would be if the industrial capitalist were constrained to carry on the entire commercial part of his business on his own;

2) that because the merchant devotes all his time exclusively to

this business, the producer is able to convert his commodities more rapidly into money, and, moreover, the commodity capital itself passes more rapidly through its metamorphosis than it would in the hands of the producer;

3) that in viewing the aggregate merchant's capital in its relation to industrial capital, one turnover of merchant's capital may represent not only the turnovers of many capitals in one sphere of production, but the turnovers of a number of capitals in different spheres of production. The former is the case when, for instance, the linen merchant, after buying the product of some linen manufacturer with his £3,000, sells it before the same manufacturer brings another lot of the same quantity to market, and buys, and again sells, the product of another, or several other, linen manufacturers, thus effecting the turnovers of different capitals in the same sphere of production. The latter is the case if, for example, the merchant after selling his linen buys silk, thus effecting the turnover of a capital in a different sphere of production.[a]

In general, it may be noted that the turnover of industrial capital is limited not by the time of circulation alone, but also by the time of production. The turnover of merchant's capital dealing in one kind of commodity is not merely limited by the turnover of a single industrial capital, but by that of all industrial capitals in the same branch of production. After the merchant has bought and sold the linen of one producer he can buy and sell that of another, before the first brings another lot to the market. The same merchant's capital may, therefore, successively promote the different turnovers of capitals invested in a certain branch of production, with the effect that its turnover is not identical with the turnovers of a sole industrial capital, and does not therefore replace just the single money reserve which that one industrial capitalist would have had to hold *in petto*.[b] The turnover of merchant's capital in one sphere of production is naturally restricted by the total production of that sphere. But it is not restricted by the scale of production, or the period of turnover, of any one capital of the same sphere, so far as its period of turnover is qualified by its time of production. Suppose, A supplies a commodity requiring three months for its production. After the merchant has bought and sold it, say, in one month, he can buy and sell the same product of some other manufacturer. Or after he has sold, say, the corn of one farmer, he

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[a] Ibid., pp. 51-53. - [b] within the breast, in reserve

can buy and sell that of another with the same money, etc. The turnover of his capital is restricted by the mass of corn he is able to buy and sell successively within a certain period, for instance, in one year, while the turnover of the farmer's capital is, regardless of the time of turnover, restricted by the time of production, which lasts one year.

However, the turnover of the same merchant's capital may equally well effect the turnovers of capitals in different branches of production.

In so far as the same merchant's capital serves in different turnovers to transform different commodity capitals successively into money, buying and selling them one after another, it performs the same function in its capacity of money capital with regard to commodity capital, which money in general performs by means of the number of its turnovers in a given period with regard to commodities.

The turnover of merchant's capital is not identical with the turnover, or a single reproduction, of an industrial capital of equal size; it is rather equal to the sum of the turnovers of a number of such capitals, whether in the same or in different spheres of production. The more quickly merchant's capital is turned over, the smaller the portion of total money capital serving as merchant's capital; and conversely, the more slowly it is turned over, the larger this portion. The less developed production, the larger the sum of merchant's capital in its relation to the sum of the commodities thrown into circulation; but the smaller in absolute terms, or in comparison with more developed conditions, and vice versa. In such undeveloped conditions, therefore, the greater part of the actual money capital is in the hands of merchants, whose fortune constitutes money wealth vis-à-vis the others.

The velocity of circulation of the money capital advanced by the merchant depends 1) on the speed with which the process of production is renewed and the different processes of production are linked together; and 2) on the velocity of consumption.[a]

To accomplish the turnover we have examined above, merchant's capital does not first have to buy commodities for its full amount of value, and then to sell them. Instead, the merchant performs both movements simultaneously. His capital then breaks up into two parts. One of them consists of commodity capital, and the other of money capital. He buys and converts his money into commodities at one place. Elsewhere, he sells and converts another part of his commodity

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 57-58.

capital into money. On one side, his capital returns to him in the form of money capital, while on the other he gets commodity capital. The larger the portion in one form, the smaller the portion in the other. This alternates and balances itself. If the use of money as a medium of circulation combines with its use as a means of payment and the attendant development of the credit system, then the money capital part of merchant's capital is reduced still more in relation to the volume of the transactions this merchant's capital effects. If I buy £3,000 worth of wine on 3 months' credit and sell all the wine for cash before this term expires, I do not need to advance a single penny for these transactions. In this case it is also quite obvious that the money capital, which here acts as merchant's capital, is nothing more than industrial capital in its money capital form, in its process of reflux in the form of money. (The fact that the manufacturer who sold £3,000 worth of wine on 3 months' credit may discount his promissory note at the banker's does not alter the matter at all and has nothing to do with the merchant's capital.) If market prices should fall in the meantime by, say, $\frac{1}{10}$, the merchant, far from making a profit, would recover only £2,700 instead of £3,000. He would have to put up £300 out of his own pocket. These £300 would serve merely as a reserve to balance the difference in price. But the same applies to the manufacturer. If he himself had sold at falling prices, he would likewise have lost £300, and would not be able to resume production on the same scale without reserve capital.

The linen dealer buys £3,000 worth of linen from the manufacturer. The latter pays, say, £2,000 of the £3,000 for yarn. He buys this yarn from a yarn dealer. The money which the manufacturer pays to the yarn dealer is not the linen dealer's money, for the latter has received commodities to this amount. It is the money form of the manufacturer's own capital. Now in the hands of the yarn dealer these £2,000 appear as returned money capital. But to what extent are they that as distinct from the £2,000 representing the discarded money form of the linen and the assumed money form of the yarn? If the yarn dealer bought on credit and sold for cash before the expiration of his term of payment, then these £2,000 do not contain one penny of merchant's capital as distinct from the money form which the industrial capital itself assumes in the course of its circuit. In so far as commercial capital is not, therefore, just a form of industrial capital in the merchant's hands as commodity capital or money capital, it is nothing but that portion of money capital which belongs to the mer-

chant himself and circulates in the purchase and sale of commodities. On a reduced scale this portion represents that part of capital advanced for production which should always have to be in the hands of the industrialist as money reserve and means of purchase, and which should always have to circulate as his money capital. This portion, on a reduced scale, is now in the hands of merchant capitalists and always performs its functions as such in the process of circulation. It is that portion of the total capital which, aside from what is expended as revenue, must continually circulate on the market as a means of purchase in order to maintain the continuity of the process of reproduction. The more rapid the process of reproduction, and the more developed the function of money as a means of payment, i. e., the more developed the credit system,[38] the smaller that portion is in relation to the total capital.

Merchant's capital is simply capital functioning in the sphere of circulation. The process of circulation is a phase of the total process of

[38] To be able to classify merchant's capital as production capital, Ramsay confounds it with the transportation industry and calls commerce "the transport of commodities from one place to another" (*An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth*, p. 19). The same confusion by Verri (*Meditazioni sulla Economia Politica*, § 4[a] and by Say (*Traité d'économie politique*, I, pp. 14, 15). In his *Elements of Political Economy* (Andover and New York, 1835) S. P. Newman says: "In the existing economical arrangements of society, the very act, which is performed by the merchant, of standing between the producer and the consumer, advancing to the former capital and receiving products in return, and then handing over these products to the latter, receiving back capital in return, is a transaction which both facilitates the economical processes of the community, and adds value to the products in relation to which it is performed" (p. 174). Producer and consumer thus save time and money through the intervention of the merchant. This service requires an advance of capital and labour, and must be rewarded, "since it adds value to products, for the same products in the hands of consumers are worth more than in the hands of producers". And so commerce appears to him, as it does to M. Say, as "strictly an act of production" (p. 175). This Newman's view is fundamentally wrong. The *use value* of a commodity is greater in the hands of the consumer than in those of the producer, because it is first realised by the consumer. For the use value of a commodity does not serve its end, does not begin to function until the commodity enters the sphere of consumption. So long as it is in the hands of the producer, it exists only in potential form.But one does not pay twice for a commodity—first for its exchange value, and then for its use value. By paying for its exchange value, I appropriate its use value. And its exchange value is not in the least augmented by transferring the commodity from the producer or middleman to the consumer.[b]

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[a] In *Scrittori Classici Italiani di Economia Politica*. Parte moderna, t. XV, p. 32.
[b] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, p. 239.

reproduction. But no value is produced in the process of circulation, and, therefore, no surplus value. Only changes of form of the same mass of value take place. In fact, nothing occurs there outside the metamorphosis of commodities, and this has nothing to do as such either with the creation or change of values. If a surplus value is realised in the sale of produced commodities, then this is only because it already existed in them. In the second act, the re-exchange of money capital against commodities (elements of production), the buyer therefore does not realise any surplus value either. He merely initiates the production of surplus value through exchanging his money for means of production and labour power. But so far as these metamorphoses require circulation time — time during which capital does not produce at all, least of all surplus value — it restricts the creation of values, and the surplus value expresses itself through the rate of profit in inverse ratio to the duration of the circulation period. Merchant's capital, therefore, does not create either value or surplus value, at least not directly. In so far as it contributes to shortening the time of circulation, it may help indirectly to increase the surplus value produced by the industrial capitalists. In so far as it helps to expand the market and effects the division of labour between capitals, hence enabling capital to operate on a larger scale, its function promotes the productivity of industrial capital, and its accumulation. In so far as it shortens circulation time, it raises the ratio of surplus value to advanced capital, hence the rate of profit. And to the extent that it confines a smaller portion of capital to the sphere of circulation in the form of money capital, it increases that portion of capital which is engaged directly in production.[a]

## Chapter XVII

### COMMERCIAL PROFIT

We have seen in Book II [b]that the pure functions of capital in the sphere of circulation — the operations which the industrial capitalist must perform, first, to realise the value of his commodities, and second, to reconvert this value into elements of production, operations effecting the metamorphosis of commodity capital, C′— M — C, hence

[a] Ibid., pp. 58-63.- [b] See present edition, Vol. 36, pp. 133-37.

the acts of selling and buying — produce neither value nor surplus value. It was rather seen that the time required for this purpose, objectively in regard to commodities and subjectively in regard to the capitalist, sets the limit to the production of value and surplus value. What is true of the metamorphosis of commodity capital in general, is, of course, not in the least altered by the fact that a part of it may assume the shape of commercial capital, or that the operations, effecting the metamorphosis of commodity capital, appear as the special concern of a special group of capitalists, or as the exclusive function of a portion of the money capital. If selling and buying commodities—and that is what the metamorphosis of commodity capital C′—M — C amounts to — by industrial capitalists themselves are not operations which create value or surplus value, they will certainly not create either of these when carried out by persons other than the industrial capitalists. Furthermore, if that portion of the total social capital, which must continually be on hand as money capital, in order that the process of reproduction is not interrupted by the process of circulation and proceeds continuously — if this money capital creates neither value nor surplus value, it cannot acquire the properties of creating them by being continually thrown into circulation by some section of capitalists other than the industrial capitalists, to perform the same function. We have already indicated to what extent merchant's capital may be indirectly productive, and we shall later discuss this point at greater length.

Commercial capital, therefore — stripped of all heterogeneous functions, such as storing, expressing, transporting, distributing, retailing, which may be connected with it, and confined to its true function of buying in order to sell — creates neither value nor surplus value, but acts as middleman in their realisation and thereby simultaneously in the actual exchange of commodities, i. e., in their transfer from hand to hand, in the social metabolism. Nevertheless, since the circulation phase of industrial capital is just as much a phase of the reproduction process as production is, the capital operating independently in the process of circulation must yield the average annual profit just as well as capital operating in the various branches of production. Should merchant's capital yield a higher percentage of average profit than industrial capital, then a portion of the latter would transform itself into merchant's capital. Should it yield a lower average profit, then the converse would result. A portion of the merchant's capital would then be transformed into industrial capital.

No species of capital changes its purpose, or function, with greater ease than merchant's capital.

Since merchant's capital does not itself produce surplus value, it is evident than the surplus value which it pockets in the form of average profit must be a portion of the surplus value produced by the total productive capital. But now the question arises: How does merchant's capital attract its share of the surplus value or profit produced by the productive capital? [a]

It is just an illusion that commercial profit is a mere addition to, or a nominal rise of, the prices of commodities above their value.

It is plain that the merchant can draw his profit only out of the price of the commodities he sells, and plainer still that the profit he makes in selling his commodities must be equal to the difference between his purchase price and his selling price, i. e., equal to the excess of the latter over the former.

It is possible that additional costs (costs of circulation) may enter into the commodities after their purchase and before their sale, and it is also possible that this may not happen. If such costs should occur, it is plain that the excess of the selling price over the purchase price would not be all profit. To simplify the analysis, we shall assume at this point that no such costs occur.

For the industrial capitalist the difference between the selling price and the purchase price of his commodities is equal to the difference between their price of production and their cost price, or, from the standpoint of the total social capital, equal to the difference between the value of the commodities and their cost price for the capitalists, which again comes down to the difference between the total quantity of labour objectified in them and the quantity of paid labour objectified in them. Before the commodities bought by the industrial capitalist are thrown back on the market as saleable commodities, they pass through the process of production, in which alone the portion of their price to be realised as profit is created. But it is different with the dealer in commodities. The commodities are in his hands only so long as they are in the process of circulation. He merely continues their sale, the realisation of their price which was begun by the productive capitalist, and therefore does not cause them to pass through any intermediate process in which they could again absorb surplus value. While the industrial capitalist merely realises the previously produced sur-

[a] Ibid., Vol. 33, pp. 64-68.

plus value, or profit, in the process of circulation, the merchant has not only to realise his profit during and through circulation, but must first make it. There appears to be no other way of doing this outside of selling the commodities bought by him from the industrial capitalist at their prices of production, or, from the standpoint of the total commodity capital, at their values in excess of their prices of production, making a nominal extra charge to their prices, hence, selling them, from the standpoint of the total commodity capital, above their value, and pocketing this excess of their nominal value over their real value; in short, selling them for more than they are worth.

This method of adding an extra charge is easy to grasp. For instance, one yard of linen costs 2s. If I want to make a 10% profit in reselling it, I must add $\frac{1}{10}$ to the price, hence sell the yard at 2s. $2\frac{2}{5}$ d. The difference between its actual price of production and its selling price is then = $2\frac{2}{5}$ d., and this represents a profit of 10% on 2s. This amounts to my selling the yard to the buyer at a price which is in reality the price of $1\frac{1}{10}$ yard. Or, what amounts to the same, it is as though I sold to the buyer only $\frac{10}{11}$ of a yard for 2s. and kept $\frac{1}{11}$ of a yard for myself. In fact I can buy back $\frac{1}{11}$ of a yard for $2\frac{2}{5}$ d. at the price of 2s. $2\frac{2}{5}$ d. per yard. This would, therefore, be just a roundabout way of sharing in the surplus value and surplus product by a nominal rise in the price of commodities.

This is realisation of commercial profit by raising the price of commodities, as it appears at first glance. And, indeed, this whole notion that profit originates from a nominal rise in the price of commodities, or from their sale above their value, springs from the observations of commercial capital.

But it is quickly apparent on closer inspection that this is mere illusion. Assuming capitalist production to be predominant, commercial profit cannot be realised in this manner. (It is here always a question of averages, not of isolated cases.) Why do we assume that the dealer in commodities can realise a profit of no more than, say, 10% on his commodities by selling them 10% above their price of production? Because we assume that the producer of these commodities, the industrial capitalist (who appears as "*the producer*" before the outside world, being the personification of industrial capital), had sold them to the merchant at their prices of production. If the purchase price of commodities paid by the dealer is equal to their price of production, or, in the last instance, equal to their value, so that the price of produc-

tion or, in the last instance, the value, represent the merchant's cost price, then, indeed, the excess of his selling price over his purchase price—and this difference alone is the source of his profit—must be an excess of their commercial price over their price of production, so that in the final analysis the merchant sells all commodities above their values. But why was it assumed that the industrial capitalist sells his commodities to the merchant at their prices of production? Or rather, what was taken for granted in that assumption? It was that merchant's capital (we are dealing with it as yet only in its capacity of commercial capital) did not go into forming the general rate of profit. We proceeded necessarily from this premiss in discussing the general rate of profit, first, because merchant's capital as such did not exist for us at the time, and, second, because average profit, and hence the general rate of profit, had first to be developed as a levelling of profits or surplus values actually produced by the industrial capitals in the different spheres of production. But in the case of merchant's capital we are dealing with a capital which shares in the profit without participating in its production. Hence, it is now necessary to supplement our earlier exposition.

Suppose, the total industrial capital advanced in the course of the year $= 720_c + 180_v = 900$ (say million £), and that $s' = 100\%$. The product therefore $= 720_c + 180_v + 180_s$. Let us call this product or the produced commodity capital, C, whose value, or price of production (since both are identical for the totality of commodities) = 1,080, and the rate of profit for the total capital of 900 = 20%. These 20% are, according to our earlier analyses, the average rate of profit, since the surplus value is not calculated here on this or that capital of any particular composition, but on the total industrial capital of average composition. Thus, C = 1,080, and the rate of profit = 20%. Let us now assume, however, that aside from these £900 of industrial capital, there are still £100 of merchant's capital, which shares in the profit *pro rata* to its magnitude just as the former. According to our assumption, it is $\frac{1}{10}$ of the total capital of 1,000. Therefore, it participates to the extent of $\frac{1}{10}$ in the total surplus value of 180, and thus secures a profit of 18%. Actually, then, the profit to be distributed among the other $\frac{9}{10}$ of the total capital is only = 162, or on the capital of 900 likewise = 18%. Hence, the price at which C is sold by the owners of the industrial capital of 900 to the dealers in commodities $= 720_c + 180_v + 162_s = 1{,}062$. If the merchant then adds the average profit of 18% to his capital of 100, he sells the commodities at

1,062 + 18 = 1,080, i.e., at their price of production, or, from the standpoint of the total commodity capital, at their value, although he makes his profit only during and through the circulation process, and only from an excess of his selling price over his purchase price. Yet he does not sell the commodities above their value, or above their price of production, precisely because he has bought them from the industrial capitalist below their value, or below their price of production.

Thus, merchant's capital enters the formation of the general rate of profit as a determinant *pro rata* to its part in the total capital. Hence, if we say in the given case that the average rate of profit = 18%, it would = 20%, if it were not that $\frac{1}{10}$ of the total capital was merchant's capital and the general rate of profit thereby lowered by $\frac{1}{10}$. This leads to a closer and more comprehensive definition of the price of production. By price of production we mean, just as before, the price of a commodity = its costs (the value of the constant + variable capital contained in it) + the average profit. But this average profit is now determined differently. It is determined by the total profit produced by the total productive capital; but not as calculated on the total productive capital alone, so that if this = 900, as assumed above, and the profit = 180, then the average rate of profit = $\frac{180}{900}$ = 20%. But, rather, as calculated on the total productive + merchant's capital, so that with 900 productive and 100 merchant's capital, the average rate of profit = $\frac{180}{1,000}$ = 18%. The price of production is, therefore = k (the costs) + 18, instead of k + 20. The share of the total profit falling to merchant's capital is thus included in the average rate of profit. The actual value, or price of production, of the total commodity capital is therefore = k + p + m (where m is commercial profit). The price of production, or the price at which the industrial capitalist as such sells his commodities, is thus smaller than the actual price of production of the commodity; or in terms of all commodities taken together, the prices at which the class of industrial capitalists sell their commodities are lower than their value. Hence, in the above case, 900 (costs) + 18% on 900, or 900 + 162 = 1,062. It follows, then, that in selling a commodity at 118 for which he paid 100 the merchant does, indeed, add 18% to the price. But since this commodity, for which he paid 100, is really worth 118, he does not sell it above its value. We shall henceforth use the term price of production in this, its more precise, sense. It is evident, therefore, that the profit of the industrial capitalist equals the excess of the price of production of the commodity over its cost price, and that commercial profit, as distinct

from this industrial profit, equals the excess of the selling price over the price of production of the commodity which, for the merchant, is its purchase price; but that the actual price of the commodity = its price of production + the commercial profit. Just as industrial capital realises only such profits as already exist in the value of commodities as surplus value, so merchant's capital realises profits only because the entire surplus value, or profit, has not as yet been fully realised in the price charged for the commodities by the industrial capitalist.[39] The merchant's selling price thus exceeds the purchase price not because the former exceeds the total value, but because the latter is below this value.

Merchant's capital, therefore, participates in levelling surplus value to average profit, although it does not take part in the production of this surplus value. Thus, the general rate of profit contains a deduction from surplus value due to merchant's capital, hence a deduction from the profit of industrial capital.[b]

It follows from the foregoing:

1) The larger the merchant's capital in proportion to the industrial capital, the smaller the rate of industrial profit, and vice versa.

2) It was demonstrated in the first part that the rate of profit is always lower than the rate of the actual surplus value, i. e., it always understates the intensity of exploitation, as in the above case, $720_c + 180_v + 180_s$, the rate of surplus value of 100% and a rate of profit of only 20%. And the difference becomes still greater, inasmuch as the average rate of profit appears smaller again, dropping from 20% to 18%, if the share falling to merchant's capital is also taken into account. The average rate of profit of the direct capitalist exploiter, therefore, expresses a rate of profit smaller than it actually is.

Assuming all other circumstances remaining the same, the relative volume of merchant's capital (with the exception of the small dealer who represents a hybrid form) is in inverse proportion to the velocity of its turnover, hence in inverse proportion to the energy of the process of reproduction in general. In the course of scientific analysis, the formation of a general rate of profit appears to result from industrial

[39] John Bellers.[a]

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[a] *Essays About the Poor, Manufactures, Trade, Plantations, and Immorality...*, London, 1699, p. 10. - [b] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, p. 154.

capitals and their competition, and is only later corrected, supplemented, and modified by the intervention of merchant's capital. In the course of its historical development, however, the process is really reversed. It is the commercial capital which first determines the prices of commodities more or less in accordance with their values, and it is the sphere of circulation, the sphere that promotes the process of reproduction, in which a general rate of profit initially takes shape. It is originally the commercial profit which determines the industrial profit. Not until the capitalist mode of production has asserted itself and the producer himself has become merchant, is commercial profit reduced to that aliquot part of the total surplus value falling to the share of merchant's capital as an aliquot part of the total capital engaged in the social process of reproduction.[a]

It was seen in the supplementary equalisation of profit through the intervention of merchant's capital that no additional element entered the value of commodities with the merchant's advanced money capital, and that the extra charge to the price, whereby the merchant makes his profit, was merely equal to that portion of the value of the commodities, which productive capital had not calculated in the price of production, i. e., had left out. The case of this money capital is similar to that of the industrial capitalist's fixed capital, since it is not consumed and its value, therefore, does not make up an element of the value of commodity. It is in the purchase price of commodity capital that the merchant replaces its price of production = M, in money. His own selling price, as previously shown, is = M + ΔM, where ΔM stands for the addition to the price of commodities determined by the general rate of profit. Once he sells the commodities, his original money capital, which he advanced for their purchase, returns to him together with this ΔM. We see once more that his money capital is nothing but the industrial capitalist's commodity capital transformed into money capital, which affects the magnitude of the value of this commodity capital no more than would a direct sale of the latter to the ultimate consumer, instead of to the merchant. In fact, it merely anticipates the payment of the consumer. However, this is correct only on the condition hitherto assumed, that the merchant has no overhead expenses, or that aside from the money capital which he must advance to buy commodities from the producer he need not advance any other capital, circulating or fixed, in the process of commodity meta-

[a] Ibid., p. 155.

morphosis, the process of buying and selling. But this is not so in reality, as we have seen in the analysis of the costs of circulation (Book II, Chap. VI).[a] These costs of circulation are partly expenses which the merchant has to reclaim from other agents of circulation, and partly expenses arising directly from his specific business.

No matter what the nature of these costs of circulation—whether they arise from the purely commercial nature of the merchant's establishment as such and hence belong to the merchant's specific costs of circulation, or represent items which are charges for subsequent processes of production added in the process of circulation, such as expressage, transport, storage, etc.—they always require of the merchant, aside from his money capital, advanced to the purchase of commodities, some additional capital for the purchase and payment of such means of circulation. As much of this element of cost as consists of circulating capital passes wholly as an additional element into the selling price of the commodities; and as much of it as consists of fixed capital only to the extent of its wear and tear. But only as an element which forms a nominal value, even if as the purely commercial costs of circulation, it does not add any real value to the commodities. But whether fixed or circulating, this entire additional capital participates in forming the general rate of profit.

The purely commercial costs of circulation (hence, excluding costs of expressage, shipping, storage, etc.) resolve themselves into costs required to realise the value of commodities, to transform it from commodities into money, or from money into commodities, to effect their exchange. We leave entirely out of consideration all possible processes of production which may continue in the process of circulation, and from which the merchant's business can be altogether separated; as, in fact, the actual transport industry and expressage may be, and are, industrial branches entirely distinct from commercial; and purchaseable and saleable commodities may be stored in DOCKS or in other public premises, with the resultant cost of storage being charged to the merchant by third persons inasmuch as he has to advance it. All this takes place in actual wholesale commerce, where merchant's capital appears in its purest form, unmixed with other functions. The express company owner, the railway director, and the shipowner, are not "merchants". The costs which we consider here are those of buying and selling. We have already remarked earlier that these resolve

[a] See present edition, Vol. 36.

themselves into accounting, book-keeping, marketing, correspondence, etc. The constant capital required for this purpose consists of offices, paper, postage, etc. The other costs break up into variable capital advanced for the employment of mercantile wage workers. (Expressage, transport costs, advances for customs duties, etc., may partly be considered as being advanced by the merchant in purchasing commodities and thus enter the purchase price as far as he is concerned.)

All these costs are not incurred in producing the use value of commodities, but in realising their value. They are pure costs of circulation. They do not enter into the immediate process of production, but since they are part of the process of circulation they are also part of the total process of reproduction.

The only portion of these costs of interest to us at this point is that advanced as variable capital. (The following questions should also be analysed: First, how does the law that only necessary labour enters the value of commodities operate in the process of circulation? Second, how does accumulation obtain in merchant's capital? Third, how does merchant's capital function in the actual aggregate reproduction process of society?)

These costs arise due to the product having the economic form of a commodity.[a]

If the labour time which the industrial capitalists themselves lose while directly selling commodities to one another—hence, speaking objectively, the circulation time of the commodities—does not add value to these commodities, it is evident that this labour time does not change its nature in the least by falling to the merchant instead of the industrial capitalist. The conversion of commodities (products) into money, and of money into commodities (means of production) is a necessary function of industrial capital and, therefore, a necessary operation of the capitalist—who is actually but personified capital endowed with a consciousness of its own and a will. But these functions neither increase value, nor produce surplus value. By performing these operations and carrying on the functions of capital in the sphere of circulation after the productive capitalist has ceased to be involved the merchant merely takes the place of the industrial capitalist. The labour time required in these operations is devoted to certain necessary operations of the reproduction process of capital, but

[a] Ibid., Vol. 33, pp. 157-58.

yields no additional value. If the merchant did not perform these operations (hence, did not expend the labour time entailed), he would not be applying his capital as a circulation agent of industrial capital; he would not then be continuing the interrupted function of the industrial capitalist, and consequently could not participate as a capitalist, *pro rata* to his advanced capital, in the mass of profit produced by the class of industrial capitalists. In order to share in the mass of surplus value, to expand the value of his advance as capital, the commercial capitalist need not employ wage workers. If his business and capital are small, he may be the only worker in it. He is paid with that portion of the profit which falls to him through the difference between the purchase price paid by him for commodities and their actual price of production.

But, on the other hand, the profit realised by the merchant on a small amount of advanced capital may be no larger, or may even be smaller, than the wages of one of the better-paid skilled wage workers. In fact, he brushes shoulders with many direct commercial agents of the productive capitalist, such as buyers, sellers, travellers, who enjoy the same or a higher income either in the form of wages, or in the form of a share in the profit (percentages, bonuses) made from each sale. In the first case, the merchant pockets the mercantile profit as an independent capitalist; in the other, the salesman, the industrial capitalist's wage labourer, receives a portion of the profit either in the form of wages, or as a proportional share in the profit of the industrial capitalist, whose direct agent he is, while his employer pockets both the industrial and the commercial profit. But in all these cases, although his income may appear to the circulation agent as an ordinary wage, as payment for work performed, and although, where it does not so appear, the profit may be no larger than the wage of a better-paid labourer, his income is derived solely from the mercantile profit. This follows from his labour not being labour which produces value.

The lengthening of the act of circulation represents for the industrial capitalist 1) a personal loss of time, since it prevents him from performing in person his function as manager of the productive process; 2) a longer stay of his product in money or commodity form, in the circulation process, hence in a process where it does not expand value and where the direct production process is interrupted. If this process is not to be interrupted, production must either be curtailed, or more money capital must be advanced to maintain the process of

production on the same scale. This means that each time either a smaller profit is made on the capital hitherto invested, or that additional money capital must be advanced to make the previous profit. All this remains unchanged when the merchant takes the place of the industrial capitalist. Instead of the industrial capitalist devoting more time to the process of circulation, it is the merchant who is so engaged; instead of the industrial capitalist it is the merchant who advances additional capital for circulation; or, what amounts to the same thing, instead of a large portion of the industrial capital being continually diverted into the process of circulation, it is the merchant's capital which is wholly tied up in it; and instead of making a smaller profit, the industrial capitalist must yield a portion of his profit wholly to the merchant. So long as merchant's capital remains within the bounds in which it is necessary, the only difference is that this division of the functions of capital reduces the time exclusively used up in the process of circulation, that less additional capital is advanced for this purpose, and that the loss in total profit, represented by mercantile profit, is smaller than it would otherwise have been. If in the above example, $720_c + 180_v + 180_s$, assisted by a merchant's capital of 100, produces a profit of 162, or 18%, for the industrial capitalist, hence implying a deduction of 18, then, but for this independent merchant's capital, the additional capital required would probably be 200, and we should have a total advance by the industrial capitalist of 1,100 instead of 900, which, based upon a surplus value of 180, would yield a rate of profit of only $16\frac{4}{11}\%$.

If the industrial capitalist who acts as his own merchant advances not only the additional capital to buy new commodities before his product in the process of circulation has been reconverted into money, but also capital (office expenses and wages for commercial employees) to realise the value of his commodity capital, or, in other words, for the process of circulation, then these supplements form additional capital, but do not create surplus value. They must be made good out of the value of the commodities, because a portion of the value of these commodities must be reconverted into these circulation costs. But no additional surplus value is created thereby. So far as this concerns the total capital of society, it means in fact that a portion of it must be set aside for secondary operations which are no part of the self-expansion process, and that this portion of the social capital must be continually reproduced for this purpose. This reduces the rate of profit for the individual capitalist and for the entire class of industrial

capitalists, an effect arising from every new investment of additional capital whenever such capital is required to set in motion the same mass of variable capital.

In so far as these additional costs connected with the business of circulation are transferred from the industrial to the commercial capitalist, there takes place a similar reduction in the rate of profit, but to a lesser degree and in a different way. It now develops that the merchant advances more capital than would be necessary if these costs did not exist, and that the profit on this additional capital increases the amount of the commercial profit, so that more of the merchant's capital joins industrial capital in levelling the average rate of profit and thereby the average profit falls. If in our above example an additional capital of 50 is advanced besides the merchant's capital of 100 to cover the costs in question, then the total surplus value of 180 is distributed with respect to a productive capital of 900 plus a merchant's capital of 150, together = 1,050. The average rate of profit, therefore, sinks to $17\frac{1}{7}\%$. The industrial capitalist sells his commodities to the merchant at $900 + 154\frac{2}{7} = 1{,}054\frac{2}{7}$, and the merchant sells them at 1,130 (1,080 + 50 for costs which he must recover). Moreover, it must be admitted that the division between merchant's and industrial capital is accompanied by a centralisation of the commercial expenses and, consequently, by their reduction.

The question now arises: What about the commercial wage workers employed by the commercial capitalist, here the dealer in commodities?

In one respect, such a commercial employee is a wage worker like any other. In the first place, his labour is bought with the variable capital of the merchant, not with money expended as revenue, and consequently it is not bought for private service, but for the purpose of expanding the value of the capital advanced for it. In the second place, the value of his labour power, and thus his wages, are determined as those of other wage workers, i. e., by the cost of production and reproduction of his specific labour power, not by the product of his labour.[a]

However, we must make the same distinction between him and the workers directly employed by industrial capital which exists between industrial capital and merchant's capital, and thus between the industrial capitalist and the merchant. Since the merchant, as a mere

[a] Ibid., Vol. 33, p. 156.

agent of circulation, produces neither value nor surplus value (for the additional value which he adds to the commodities through his expenses resolves itself into an addition of previously existing values, although the question here poses itself, how he preserves this value of his constant capital?) it follows that the mercantile workers employed by him in these same functions cannot directly create surplus value for him. Here, as in the case of productive labourers, we assume that wages are determined by the value of the labour power, and that, hence, the merchant does not enrich himself by depressing wages, so that he does not enter into his cost account an advance for labour which he has paid only in part; in other words, that he does not enrich himself through cheating his clerks, etc.

The difficulty as concerns mercantile wage workers is by no means to explain how they produce direct profits for their employer without creating any direct surplus value (of which profit is but a converted form). This question has, indeed, already been solved in the general analysis of commercial profits. Just as industrial capital makes profit by selling labour embodied and realised in commodities, for which it has not paid any equivalent, so merchant's capital derives profit from not paying in full to productive capital for all the unpaid labour contained in the commodities (in commodities, in so far as capital invested in their production functions as an aliquot part of the total industrial capital), and by demanding payment for this unpaid portion still contained in the commodities when making a sale. The relation of merchant's capital to surplus value is different from that of industrial capital. The latter produces surplus value by directly appropriating the unpaid labour of others. The former appropriates a portion of this surplus value by having this portion transferred from industrial capital to itself.

It is only through its function of realising values that merchant's capital acts as capital in the process of reproduction, and hence as functioning capital draws on the surplus value produced by the total capital. The mass of the individual merchant's profits depends on the mass of capital that he can apply in this process, and he can apply so much more of it in buying and selling, the more the unpaid labour of his clerks. The very function, by virtue of which the merchant's money becomes capital, is largely done through his employees. The unpaid labour of these clerks, while it does not create surplus value, enables him to appropriate surplus value, which, in effect, amounts to the same thing with respect to this capital. It is, therefore, a source of prof-

it for him. Otherwise commercial business could never be conducted on a large scale, capitalistically.[a]

Just as the labourer's unpaid labour directly creates surplus value for productive capital, so the unpaid labour of the commercial wage worker secures a share of this surplus value for merchant's capital.

The difficulty lies here: Since the merchant's labour time and labour do not create value, although they secure for him a share of already produced surplus value, how does the matter stand with the variable capital which he lays out in purchasing commercial labour power? Is this variable capital to be included in the cost outlays of the advanced merchant's capital? If not, this appears to conflict with the law of equalisation of the rate of profit; what capitalist would advance 150 if he could charge only 100 to advanced capital? If so, it seems to conflict with the nature of merchant's capital, since this kind of capital does not act as capital by setting in motion the labour of others, as industrial capital does, but rather by doing its own work, i. e., performing the functions of buying and selling, this being precisely the means and the reason why it transfers to itself a portion of the surplus value produced by the industrial capital.

(We must therefore analyse the following points: the merchant's variable capital; the law of necessary labour in the sphere of circulation; how the merchant's labour maintains the value of his constant capital; the part played by merchant's capital in the process of reproduction as a whole; and, finally, the duplication in commodity capital and money capital, on the one hand, and in commercial capital and money-dealing capital on the other.)

If every merchant had only as much capital as he himself were able to turn over by his own labour, there would be infinite fragmentation of merchant's capital. This fragmentation would increase in the same proportion as productive capital raised production and operated with greater masses in the forward march of the capitalist mode of production. Hence, an increasing disproportion of the two. Capital in the sphere of circulation would become decentralised in the same proportion as it became centralised in the sphere of production. The purely commercial business of the industrial capitalist, and thus his purely commercial expenses, would expand infinitely thereby, for he would have to deal with, say, 1,000 merchants, instead of 100. Thus, the advantages of independently operating merchant's capital would large-

[a] Ibid., pp. 156 and 165-66.

ly be lost. And not the purely commercial expenses alone, but also the other costs of circulation, such as sorting, expressage, etc., would grow. This, as far as the industrial capital is concerned. Now let us consider merchant's capital. Firstly, the purely commercial operations. It does not take more time to deal with large figures than with small ones. It takes ten times as much time to make 10 purchases at £100 each as it does to make *one* purchase at £1,000. It takes ten times as much correspondence, paper, and postage, to correspond with 10 small merchants as it does with *one* large merchant. The clearly defined division of labour in a commercial office, in which one keeps the books, another looks after money matters, a third has charge of correspondence, one buys, another sells, a third travels, etc., saves immense quantities of labour time, so that the number of workers employed in wholesale commerce are in no way related to the comparative size of the establishment. This is so, because in commerce much more than in industry the same function requires the same labour time, whether performed on a large or a small scale. This is the reason why concentration appears earlier historically in the merchant's business than in the industrial workshop. Further, regarding outlays in constant capital. One hundred small offices cost incomparably more than one large office, 100 small warehouses more than a large one, etc. The costs of transport, which enter the accounts of a commercial establishment at least as costs to be advanced, grow with the fragmentation.

The industrial capitalist would have to lay out more in labour and in circulation costs in the commercial part of his business. The same merchant's capital, when divided among many small merchants, would, owing to this fragmentation, require more labourers to perform its functions, and more merchant's capital would, furthermore, be needed to turn over the same commodity capital.

Suppose B is the entire merchant's capital directly applied in buying and selling commodities, and b the corresponding variable capital paid out in wages to the commercial employees. Then B + b is smaller than the total merchant's capital, B, would be if every merchant had to get along without assistants, hence would invest nothing in b. However, we have not yet overcome the difficulty.

The selling price of the commodities must suffice 1) to pay the average profit on B + b. This is explained if only by the fact that B + b is generally a reduction of the original B, representing a smaller merchant's capital than would be required without b. But this selling price

must suffice 2) to cover not only the additional profit on b, but to replace also the paid wages, the merchant's variable capital = b.This last consideration gives rise to the difficulty. Does b represent a new constituent of the price, or is it merely a part of the profit made by means of B + b, which appears as wages only so far as the mercantile worker is concerned, and as concerns the merchant simply replaces variable capital? In the latter case, the merchant's profit on his advanced capital B + b would just equal the profit due to B by virtue of the general rate, plus b, which he pays out in the form of wages, but which does not itself yield a profit.

The crux of the matter is, indeed, to find the limits (mathematically speaking) of b. Let us first accurately define the problem. Let B stand for capital invested directly in buying and selling commodities, K for the constant capital (actual handling costs) consumed in this function, and b for the variable capital invested by the merchant.

Recovering B offers no difficulties at all. For the merchant it is simply the realised purchase price, and the price of production for the manufacturer. It is the price paid by the merchant, and in reselling he recovers B as part of his selling price; in addition to this B, he makes a profit on B, as previously explained. For example, let the commodity cost £100. Suppose the profit is 10%. In that case, the commodity is sold at 110. The commodity previously cost 100, and the merchant's capital of 100 merely adds 10 to it.

Now if we look at K, it is at most as large as, but in fact smaller than, the portion of constant capital which the producer would use up in buying and selling, but then it would form an addition to the constant capital he requires directly in production. This portion, nonetheless, must be continually recovered in the price of the commodity, or, what amounts to the same, a corresponding portion of the commodity must be continually expended in this form, or, from the standpoint of the total capital of society, must be continually reproduced in this form. This portion of the advanced constant capital would have a limiting effect on the rate of profit, just as the entire mass of it directly invested in production. In so far as the industrial capitalist leaves the commercial part of his business to the merchant, he need not advance this part of the capital. The merchant advances it in his stead. In a way, he does this but nominally, since a merchant neither produces, nor reproduces, the constant capital consumed by him (the actual handling costs). Its production appears a separate business, or at least a part of the business, of some industrial capital-

ists who thus play a role similar to those who supply constant capital to producers of necessities of life. First, therefore, the merchant has this constant capital recovered for him and, secondly, receives his profit on it. Through both of these, therefore, the industrial capitalist's profit is reduced. But owing to economising and concentration which are bound up with division of labour, it shrinks less than it would if he himself had to advance this capital. The reduction in the rate of profit is less, because the capital thus advanced is less.

So far, then, the selling price is made up of B + K + the profit on B + K. This portion of it offers no further difficulties. But now b, the variable capital advanced by the merchant, enters into it.

The resultant selling price is B + K + b + the profit on B + K, + the profit on b.

B merely recovers the purchase price and adds nothing to it but the profit on B. K adds the profit on K, and K itself; but K + the profit on K, the part of the circulation costs advanced in the form of constant capital + the corresponding average profit, would be larger in the hands of the industrial capitalist than in the merchant's. The shrinking of the average profit appears in the form of the full average profit calculated after deducting B + K from the advanced industrial capital, with the deduction from the average profit on B + K paid to the merchant, so that this deduction appears as the profit of a specific capital, merchant's capital.

But the situation is different with respect to b + the profit on b, or, in the present case, where the rate of profit is assumed = 10% with $b + \frac{1}{10}b$. And the real difficulty lies here.

What the merchant buys with b is, according to our assumption, nothing but commercial labour, hence labour required to perform the functions of circulating capital, C — M and M — C. But commercial labour is the labour generally necessary for a capital to operate as merchant's capital, to help convert commodities into money and money into commodities. It is labour which realises, but does not create, values. And only in so far as a capital performs these functions — hence a capitalist performs these operations, or this work with his capital — does it serve as merchant's capital and participate in regulating the general rate of profit, i. e., draw its dividends out of the total profit. But (b + the profit on b) appears to include, first, payment for labour (for it makes no difference whether the industrial capitalist pays the merchant for his own labour, or the labour of the clerks paid by the merchant), and, secondly, the profit on the payment for this

labour, which the merchant would have to perform in person. First, merchant's capital gets its b refunded, and, secondly, he makes the profit on it. This arises from the fact, therefore, that, first, it requires payment for the work whereby it operates as *merchant's* capital, and that, secondly, it demands the profit, because it operates as *capital*, i. e., because it performs work for which profit is paid to it as functioning capital. This is, therefore, the question to be solved.

Let us assume that B = 100, b = 10, and the rate of profit = 10%. We take it that K = 0, in order to leave out of consideration this element of the purchase price, which does not belong here and has already been accounted for. Hence, the selling price would = B + p + b + p (= B + Bp′ + b + bp′; where p′ stands for the rate of profit) = 100 + 10 + 10 + 1 = 121.

But if b were not invested by the merchant in wages — since b is paid only for commercial labour, hence labour required to realise the value of the commodity capital thrown on the market by industrial capital — the matter would stand as follows: to buy or sell for B = 100, the merchant would devote his time, and we wish to assume that this is the only time at his disposal. The commercial labour represented by b, or 10, if paid for by profit instead of wages, would presuppose another merchant's capital = 100, since at 10% this makes b = 10. This second B = 100 would not additionally go into the price of commodities, but the 10% would. There would, hence, be two operations at 100 = 200, that would buy commodities at 200 + 20 = 220.

Since merchant's capital is absolutely nothing but self-established form of a portion of industrial capital engaged in the process of circulation, all questions referring to it must be solved by representing the problem primarily in a form, in which the phenomena peculiar to merchant's capital do not yet appear independently, but still in direct connection with industrial capital, as a branch of it. As an office, distinct from a workshop, mercantile capital operates continually in the circulation process. It is here — in the office of the industrial capitalist himself — that we must first analyse the b now under consideration.[a]

The office is from the outset always infinitesimally small compared to the industrial workshop. As for the rest, it is clear that as the scale of production is extended, commercial operations required constantly for the circulation of industrial capital, in order to sell the product

[a] Ibid., p. 159.

existing as commodity capital, to reconvert the money so received into means of production, and to keep account of the whole process, multiply accordingly. Calculation of prices, book-keeping, managing funds, correspondence — all belong under this head. The more developed the scale of production, the greater, even if not proportionately greater, the commercial operations of the industrial capital, and consequently the labour and other costs of circulation involved in realising value and surplus value. This necessitates the employment of commercial wage workers who make up the actual office staff. The outlay for these, although made in the form of wages, differs from the variable capital laid out in purchasing productive labour. It increases the outlay of the industrial capitalist, the mass of the capital to be advanced, without directly increasing surplus value. Because it is an outlay for labour employed solely in realising value already created. Like every other outlay of this kind, it reduces the rate of profit because the advanced capital increases, but not the surplus value. If surplus value s remains constant while advanced capital C increases to $C + \Delta C$, then the rate of profit $\frac{s}{C}$ is replaced by the smaller rate of profit $\frac{s}{C + \Delta C}$. The industrial capitalist endeavours, therefore, to cut these expenses of circulation down to a minimum, just as his expenses for constant capital. Hence, industrial capital does not maintain the same attitude to its commercial wage labourers as it does to its productive wage labourers. The more productive wage labourers it employs under otherwise equal circumstances, the greater the output, and the greater the surplus value, or profit. Conversely, however, the larger the scale of production, the greater the quantity of value and surplus value to be realised, the greater the produced commodity capital, the greater are the absolute, if not relative, office costs, giving rise to a kind of division of labour. To what extent profit is the precondition for these outlays, is seen, among other things, from the fact that with the increase of commercial salaries, a part of them is frequently paid by a share in the profit. It is in the nature of things that labour consisting merely of intermediate operations connected partly with calculating values, partly with realising them, and partly with reconverting the realised money into means of production, is a labour whose magnitude therefore depends on the quantity of the produced values that have to be realised, and does not act as the cause, like directly productive labour, but rather as an effect, of the respective magnitudes and masses of these values. The same applies to the other costs of circulation. To do much measuring, weighing, packing, and

transporting, much must be on hand. The amount of packing, transporting, etc., depends on the quantity of commodities which are the objects of this activity, not vice versa.

The commercial worker produces no surplus value directly. But the price of his labour is determined by the value of his labour power, hence by its costs of production, while the application of this labour power, its exertion, expenditure of energy, and wear and tear, is as in the case of every other wage labourer by no means limited by its value. His wage, therefore, is not necessarily proportionate to the mass of profit which he helps the capitalist to realise. What he costs the capitalist and what he brings in for him, are two different things. He creates no direct surplus value, but adds to the capitalist's income by helping him to reduce the cost of realising surplus value, inasmuch as he performs partly unpaid labour. The commercial worker, in the strict sense of the term, belongs to the better-paid class of wage workers — to those whose labour is classed as skilled and stands above average labour. Yet the wage tends to fall, even in relation to average labour, with the advance of the capitalist mode of production. This is due partly to the division of labour in the office, implying a one-sided development of the labour capacity, the cost of which does not fall entirely on the capitalist, since the labourer's skill develops by itself through the exercise of his function, and all the more rapidly as division of labour makes it more one-sided. Secondly, because the necessary training, knowledge of commercial practices, languages, etc., is more and more rapidly, easily, universally and cheaply reproduced with the progress of science and public education the more the capitalist mode of production directs teaching methods, etc., towards practical purposes. The universality of public education makes it possible to recruit such labourers from classes that formerly had no access to such trades and were accustomed to a lower standard of living. Moreover, this increases supply, and hence competition. With few exceptions, the labour power of these people is therefore devaluated with the progress of capitalist production. Their wage falls, while their labour capacity increases.[a] The capitalist increases the number of these labourers whenever he has more value and profits to realise. The increase of this labour is always a result, never a cause of more surplus value.[39a)]

[39a)] How well this forecast of the fate of the commercial proletariat, written in 1865, has stood the test of time can be corroborated by hundreds of German clerks,

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There is duplication, therefore. On the one hand, the functions as commodity capital and money capital (hence further designated as merchant's capital) are general definite forms assumed by industrial capital. On the other hand, specific capitals, and therefore specific groups of capitalists, are exclusively devoted to these functions; and these functions thus develop into specific spheres of self-expansion of capital.[b]

In the case of mercantile capital, the commercial functions and circulation costs are found only in a self-established form. That side of industrial capital which is devoted to circulation, continuously exists not only in the shape of commodity capital and money capital, but also in the office alongside the workshop. But it becomes independent in the case of mercantile capital. In the latter's case, the office is its only workshop. The portion of capital employed in the form of circulation costs appears much larger in the case of the big merchant than in that of the industrialist, because besides their own offices connected with every industrial workshop, that part of capital which would have to be so applied by the entire class of industrial capitalists is concentrated in the hands of a few merchants, who in carrying out the functions of circulation also provide for the growing expenses incidental to their continuation.

To industrial capital the costs of circulation appear as unproductive expenses, and so they are. To the merchant they appear as a source of his profit, proportional, given the general rate of profit, to their size. The outlay to be made for these circulation costs is, therefore, a productive investment of mercantile capital. And for this reason, the commercial labour which it buys is likewise immediately productive for it.[c]

who are trained in all commercial operations and acquainted with three or four languages, and offer their services in vain in London City at 25 shillings per week, which is far below the wages of a skilled fitter. A blank of two pages in the manuscript indicates that this point was to have been treated at greater length. For the rest, we refer the reader to Book II (Kap. VI, S. 105-13)[a] ("The Costs of Circulation"), where various matters belonging under this head have already been discussed.—*F. E.*

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[a] Ibid., Vol. 36, pp. 133-39. - [b] Ibid., Vol. 33, p. 48. - [c] Ibid., pp. 163-66.

# Chapter XVIII

## THE TURNOVER OF MERCHANT'S CAPITAL. PRICES

The turnover of industrial capital is a combination of its period of production and time of circulation, and therefore embraces the entire process of production. The turnover of merchant's capital, on the other hand, being in reality nothing but an independent movement of commodity capital, represents only the first phase in the metamorphosis of a commodity, C — M, as the refluent movement of a specific capital; M — C, C — M, is, from the mercantile point of view, the turnover of merchant's capital. The merchant buys, converting his money into commodities, then sells, converting the latter back into money, and so forth in constant repetition. Within circulation, the metamorphosis of industrial capital always presents itself in the form of $C_1$ — M — $C_2$; the money realised by the sale of the produced commodity $C_1$ is used to purchase new means of production, $C_2$. This amounts to a practical exchange of $C_1$ for $C_2$, and the same money thus changes hands twice. Its movement mediates the exchange of two different kinds of commodities, $C_1$ and $C_2$, But in the case of the merchant, it is, conversely, the same commodity which changes hands twice in M — C — M′. It merely promotes the reflux of his money.

If, for example, a certain merchant's capital is £100, and for these £100 the merchant buys commodities and sells them for £110, then his capital of £100 has completed one turnover, and the number of such turnovers per year depends on the number of times this movement M — C — M′ is repeated.

We here leave entirely out of consideration the costs which may be concealed in the difference between the purchase price and the selling price, since these do not alter in any way the form, which we are now analysing.

The number of turnovers of a given merchant's capital, therefore, is analogous in this case to the repeated cycles of money as a mere medium of circulation. Just as the same thaler buys ten times its value in commodities in making ten cycles, so the same money capital of the merchant, when turned over ten times, buys ten times its value in commodities, or realises, a total commodity capital of ten times its value; a merchant's capital of 100, for instance, a ten-fold value

= 1,000. But there is this difference: In the cycle of money as a medium of circulation it is the same piece of money that passes through different hands, thus repeatedly performing the same function and hence making up for the mass of the circulating pieces of money by its velocity. But in the merchant's case it is the same money capital, the same money value, regardless of what pieces of money it may be composed, which repeatedly buys and sells commodity capital to the amount of its value and which therefore returns to the same hands, the same point of departure as M + ΔM, i. e., value plus surplus value.[a] This characterises its turnover as a capital turnover. It always withdraws more money from circulation than it throws in. It is self-evident, at any rate, that an accelerated turnover of merchant's capital (given a developed credit system, the function of money as a means of payment predominates) implies a more rapid circulation of the same quantity of money.

A repeated turnover of commercial capital, however, never connotes more than repeated buying and selling; while a repeated turnover of industrial capital connotes the periodicity and renovation of the entire reproduction process (which includes the process of consumption). For merchant's capital, on the other hand, this appears merely as an external condition. Industrial capital must continually bring commodities to the market and withdraw them from it, in order that rapid turnover of merchant's capital may remain possible. If the process of reproduction is slow, then so is the turnover of merchant's capital. True, merchant's capital promotes the turnover of productive capital, but only in so far as it shortens its time of circulation. It has no direct influence on the time of production, which is also a barrier to the period of turnover of industrial capital. This is the first barrier for the turnover of merchant's capital. Secondly, aside from the barrier formed by reproductive consumption, the turnover of merchant's capital is ultimately limited by the velocity and volume of the total individual consumption, since the entire part of the commodity capital which enters the consumption fund depends on it.

However (aside from the turnovers in the world of commerce, in which one merchant always sells the same commodity to another, and this sort of circulation may appear highly prosperous in times of speculation), the merchant's capital, in the first place, curtails phase C—M for productive capital. Secondly, under the modern credit sys-

[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 48-49.

tem it disposes of a large portion of the total social money capital, so that it can repeat its purchases even before it has definitely sold what has previously been purchased. And it is immaterial in this case, whether our merchant sells directly to the ultimate consumer, or there are a dozen other intermediate merchants between them. Owing to the immense elasticity of the reproduction process, which may always be pushed beyond any given bounds, it does not encounter any obstacle in production itself, or at best a very elastic one. Aside from the separation of C—M and M—C, which follows from the nature of the commodities, a fictitious demand is then created. In spite of its independent status, the movement of merchant's capital is never more than the movement of industrial capital within the sphere of circulation. But by virtue of its independent status it moves, within certain limits, independently of the bounds of the reproduction process and thereby even drives the latter beyond its bounds. This internal dependence and external independence push merchant's capital to a point where the internal connection is violently restored through a crisis.

Hence the phenomenon that crises do not come to the surface, do not break out, in the retail business first, which deals with direct consumption, but in the spheres of wholesale trade, and of banking, which places the money capital of society at the disposal of the former.

The manufacturer may actually sell to the exporter, and the exporter, in his turn, to his foreign customer; the importer may sell his raw materials to the manufacturer, and the latter may sell his products to the wholesale merchant, etc. But at some particular imperceptible point the goods lie unsold, or else, again, all producers and middlemen may gradually become overstocked. Consumption is then generally at its highest, either because one industrial capitalist sets a succession of others in motion; or because the labourers employed by them are fully employed and have more to spend than usual. The capitalists' expenditures increase together with their growing income. Besides, as we have seen (Book II, Part III[a]), continuous circulation takes place between constant capital and constant capital (even regardless of accelerated accumulation). It is at first independent of individual consumption because it never enters the latter. But this consumption definitely limits it nevertheless, since constant capital is never produced for its own sake but solely because more of it is needed

[a] Ibid., Vol. 36, pp. 427-32.

in spheres of production whose products go into individual consumption. However, this may go on undisturbed for some time, stimulated by prospective demand, and in such branches, therefore, the business of merchants and industrialists goes briskly forth. The crisis occurs when the returns of merchants who sell in distant markets (or whose supplies have also accumulated on the home market) become so slow and meagre that the banks press for payment, or promissory notes for purchased commodities become due before the latter have been resold. Then forced sales take place, sales in order to meet payments. Then comes the crash, which brings the illusory prosperity to an abrupt end.

But the superficiality and meaninglessness of the turnover of merchant's capital are still greater, because the turnover of one and the same merchant's capital may simultaneously or successively promote the turnovers of several productive capitals.

The turnover of merchant's capital does not just promote the turnovers of several industrial capitals, it can also mediate the opposite phases of the metamorphosis of commodity capital. For instance, the merchant buys linen from the manufacturer and sells it to the bleacher. In this case therefore the turnover of the same merchant's capital — in fact, the same C — M, a realisation of the linen — represents two opposite phases for two different industrial capitals. Inasmuch as the merchant sells for productive consumption, his C — M is always M — C for one industrial capitalist, and his M — C always C — M for another industrial capitalist.

If we leave out K, the circulation costs, as we do in this chapter, if, in other words, we leave aside that portion of capital which the merchant advances along with the money required to purchase commodities, it follows that we also omit $\Delta K$, the additional profit made on this additional capital. This is thus the strictly logical and mathematically correct mode of analysis if we want to see how profit and turnover of merchant's capital affect prices.

If the price of production of 1 lb. of sugar were £1, the merchant could buy 100 lbs of sugar with £100. If he buys and sells this quantity in the course of the year, and if the average annual rate of profit is 15%, he would add £15 to the £100, and 3s. to £1, the price of production of 1 lb. of sugar. That is, he would sell 1 lb. of sugar at £1 3s. But if the price of production of 1 lb. of sugar should fall to 1s., the merchant could buy 2,000 lbs of sugar with £100, and sell the sugar at 1s. $1\frac{4}{5}$d. per lb. The annual profit on capital invested in the sugar

business would still be £15 on each £100. But the merchant has to sell 100 lbs in the first case, and 2,000 lbs in the second. The high or low level of the price of production has nothing to do with the rate of profit. But it would greatly and decisively affect that aliquot part of the selling price of each lb. of sugar, which resolves itself in mercantile profit, i. e., the addition to the price which the merchant makes on a certain quantity of commodities or products. If the price of production of a commodity is small, so, too, the amount the merchant advances in its purchase price, i. e., for a certain quantity of it. Hence, with a given rate of profit, the amount of profit he makes on this quantity of cheap commodities is small as well. Or, what amounts to the same, he can then buy with a certain amount of capital, say, 100, a larger quantity of these cheap commodities, and the total profit of 15, which he makes per 100, breaks up into small fractions over each individual piece or portion of this mass of commodities. If the opposite takes place, then the reverse is true. This depends entirely on the greater or smaller productivity of the industrial capital in whose products he trades. If we except the cases in which the merchant is a monopolist and simultaneously monopolises production, as did the Dutch East India Company [36] in its day, nothing can be more ridiculous than the current idea that it depends on the merchant whether he sells many commodities at a small profit or few commodities at a large profit on each individual piece of the commodities. The two limits of his selling price are: on the one hand, the price of production of the commodities, over which he has no control; on the other hand, the average rate of profit, over which he has just as little control. The only thing up to him to decide is whether he wants to deal in dear or in cheap commodities, and even here the size of his available capital and other circumstances also have their effect. Therefore, it depends wholly on the degree of development of the capitalist mode of production, not on the merchant's goodwill, what course he shall follow. A purely commercial company like the old Dutch East India Company, which had a monopoly of production, believed that it could continue a method adapted at best to the beginnings of capitalist production, under entirely changed conditions.[40)]

The following circumstances, among others, help to maintain that

[40)] "Profit, on the general principle, is always the same, whatever be price; keeping its place like an incumbent body on the swelling or sinking tide. As, therefore, prices rise, a tradesman raises price; as prices fall, a tradesman lowers price" (Corbet, *An In-*

popular prejudice, which, like all false conceptions of profit, etc., arises from the observation of pure commerce and merchants' prejudice:

*First*: phenomena of competition, which, however, apply merely to the distribution of mercantile profit among individual merchants, the shareholders of the total merchant's capital; if one, for example, sells cheaper, in order to drive his competitors off the field.

*Secondly*: an economist of the calibre of Professor Roscher may still imagine in Leipzig that it was "common sense and humanitarian" [b] grounds, which produced the change in selling prices, and that it was not a result of a revolutionised mode of production.

*Thirdly*: if production prices fall due to greater productive power of labour, and selling prices fall for the same reason, the demand, and with it the market prices, often rise even faster than the supply, so that selling prices yield more than the average profit.

*Fourthly*: a merchant may reduce his selling price (which is never more than a reduction of the usual profit that he adds to the price) so as to turn over a larger capital more rapidly. All these are matters that only concern competition between the merchants themselves.

We have already shown in Book I that high or low commodity prices do not determine either the mass of surplus value produced by a given capital, or the rate of surplus value; although the unit price of a commodity, and with it the share of surplus value in this price, are greater or smaller, depending on the relative quantity of commodities produced by a given quantity of labour.[c] The prices of every specified quantity of a commodity are, so far as they correspond to the values, determined by the total quantity of labour objectified in this commodity. If little labour is objectified in much commodity, the unit price of the commodity is low and the surplus value in it is small. How this labour incorporated in a commodity breaks up into paid and unpaid labour and what portion of its price, therefore, represents surplus value, has nothing to do with this total quantity of labour, nor, conse-

*quiry into the Causes and Modes of the Wealth of Individuals...*, London, 1841, p. 20.[a]) — Here, as in the text generally, it is only a matter of ordinary commerce, not of speculation. The analysis of speculation, as well as everything else pertaining to the division of mercantile capital, falls outside the field of our inquiry. "The profit of trade is a value added to capital which is independent of price, the second" (speculation profit) "is founded on the variation in the value of capital or in price itself" (l. c., p. 128).

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[a] Ibid., Vol. 33, p. 242. - [b] W. Roscher, *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie...*, p. 192. - [c] See present edition, Vol. 34, pp. 369-70.

quently, with the price of the commodity. But the rate of surplus value *does not depend on the absolute magnitude of the surplus value* contained in the unit price of the commodity. It depends on its relative magnitude, its proportion to the wages contained in the same commodity. The rate of surplus value may therefore be large, while the absolute magnitude of surplus value in each unit of the commodity is small. This absolute magnitude of surplus value in each piece of the commodity depends primarily on the productivity of labour, and only secondarily on its division into paid and unpaid labour.

Now, in the case of the commercial selling price, the price of production is a given external precondition.

The high commercial commodity prices in former times were due 1) to the high prices of production, i. e., the unproductiveness of labour; 2) to the absence of a general rate of profit, with merchant's capital absorbing a much larger quota of surplus value than would have fallen to its share if capitals enjoyed greater general mobility. The ending of this situation, in both its aspects, is therefore the result of the development of the capitalist mode of production.

The turnovers of merchant's capital vary in duration, their annual number consequently being greater or smaller, in different branches of commerce. Within the same branch the turnover is more or less rapid in the different phases of the economic cycle. Yet there is an average number of turnovers, determined by experience.

We have already seen that the turnover of merchant's capital differs from that of industrial capital. This is in the nature of things. One single phase in the turnover of industrial capital appears as a complete turnover of an independently constituted merchant's capital, or yet of its part. It also stands in a different relation to the determination of profit and price.

In the case of industrial capital, its turnover expresses, on the one hand, the periodicity of reproduction, and, therefore, the mass of commodities thrown on the market in a certain period depends on it. On the other hand, its time of circulation creates a barrier, an extensible one, and exerts more or less of a restraint on the creation of value and surplus value, because it affects the volume of the production process. The turnover, therefore, acts as a determining element on the mass of annually produced surplus value, and hence on the formation of the general rate of profit, but it acts as a limiting, rather than positive, element. For merchant's capital, on the contrary, the average rate of profit is a given magnitude. The merchant's capital

does not directly participate in creating profit or surplus value, and joins in shaping the general rate of profit only in so far as it draws a dividend proportionate to its share in the total capital, out of the mass of profit produced by industrial capital.

The greater the number of turnovers of an industrial capital under conditions described in Book II, Part II, the greater the mass of profit it creates. True, through the formation of a general rate of profit, the total profit is distributed among the different capitals not in proportion to their actual part in its production, but in proportion to the aliquot part they make up of the total capital, i. e., in proportion to their magnitude. But this does not alter the essence of the matter. The greater the number of turnovers of the total industrial capital, the greater the mass of profit, the mass of annually produced surplus value, and, therefore, other circumstances remaining unchanged, the rate of profit. It is different with merchant's capital. The rate of profit is a given magnitude with respect to it, determined on the one hand by the mass of profit produced by industrial capital, and on the other by the relative magnitude of the total merchant's capital, by its quantitative relation to the sum of capital advanced in the processes of production and circulation. The number of its turnovers does, indeed, decisively affect its relation to the total capital, or the relative magnitude of merchant's capital required for the circulation, for it is evident that the absolute magnitude of the required merchant's capital and the velocity of its turnovers stand in inverse proportion. But, all other conditions remaining equal, the relative magnitude of merchant's capital, or the part it makes up of the total capital, is determined by its absolute magnitude. If the total capital is 10,000, and the merchant's capital $\frac{1}{10}$ of that sum, it is = 1,000; if the total capital is 1,000 then $\frac{1}{10}$ of it = 100. The absolute magnitude of merchant's capital varies, depending on the magnitude of the total capital, although its relative magnitude remains the same. But here we assume that its relative magnitude, say, $\frac{1}{10}$ of the total capital, is given. This relative magnitude, however, is again determined by the turnover. If it is turned over rapidly, its absolute magnitude, for example, will = = £1,000 in the first case, = 100 in the second, and hence its relative magnitude = $\frac{1}{10}$. With a slower turnover its absolute magnitude is, say, = 2,000 in the first case, and = 200 in the second. Its relative magnitude will then have increased from $\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{1}{5}$ of the total capital. Circumstances which reduce the average turnover of merchant's cap-

ital, like the development of means of transportation, for instance, reduce *pro tanto* the absolute magnitude of merchant's capital, and thereby increase the general rate of profit. If the opposite takes place, then the reverse is true. A developed capitalist mode of production, compared with earlier conditions, exerts a two-fold influence on merchant's capital. On the one hand, the same quantity of commodities is turned over with a smaller mass of actually functioning merchant's capital; owing to the more rapid turnover of merchant's capital, and the more rapid reproduction process, on which this depends, the relation of merchant's capital to industrial capital diminishes. On the other hand, with the development of the capitalist mode of production all production becomes the production of commodities, which places all products into the hands of agents of circulation. It is to be added that under the previous mode of production, which produced on a small scale, a very large portion of the producers sold their goods directly to the consumers, or worked on their personal orders, save for the mass of products consumed directly, *in natura,* by the producer himself, and the mass of services performed *in natura.* While, therefore, under former modes of production commercial capital was greater in relation to the commodity capital which it turned over, it was:

1) absolutely smaller, because a disproportionately smaller part of the total product was produced as commodities, and passed as commodity capital into circulation, falling into the hands of merchants. It was smaller, because the commodity capital was smaller. But at the same time it was proportionately larger, not only because its turnover was slower and not only in relation to the mass of commodities turned over by it. It was larger also because the price of this mass of commodities, and hence the merchant's capital to be advanced for it, were greater than under capitalist production on account of a lower productivity of labour, so that the same value was incorporated in a smaller mass of commodities.

2) It is not only that a larger mass of commodities is produced on the basis of the capitalist mode of production (taking into account also the reduced value of this mass of commodities), but the same mass of products, for instance, of corn, also forms a greater commodity mass, i. e., more and more of it becomes an object of commerce. As a consequence, there is an increase not only of the mass of merchant's capital, but of all capital applied in circulation, such as in marine shipping, railways, telegraph, etc.

3) However, and this is an aspect which belongs to the discussion of "competition among capitals" [1]: idle or only half-functioning merchant's capital grows with the progress of the capitalist mode of production, with the ease of entering retail trade, with speculation, and the redundance of released capital.

But, assuming the relative magnitude of merchant's capital to total capital to be given, the difference of turnovers in the various branches of commerce does not affect either the magnitude of the total profit falling to the share of merchant's capital, or the general rate of profit. The merchant's profit is not determined by the mass of commodity capital turned over by him, but by the dimensions of the money capital advanced by him to promote this turnover. If the general annual rate of profit is 15%, and the merchant advances £100, which he turns over once a year, he will sell his commodities at 115. If his capital turns over five times a year, he will sell a commodity capital he bought at 100 at 103 five times a year, hence in a year a commodity capital of 500 at 515. This gives the same annual profit of 15 on his advanced capital of 100. If this were not so, merchant's capital would yield a much higher profit, proportionate to the number of its turnovers, than industrial capital, which would be in conflict with the law of the general rate of profit.

Hence, the number of turnovers of merchant's capital in the various branches of commerce has a direct influence on the mercantile prices of commodities. The amount added to the mercantile price, the aliquot part of mercantile profit of a given capital, which falls upon the price of production of an individual commodity, is in inverse proportion to the number of turnovers, or the velocity of turnover, of merchants' capitals in the various branches of commerce. If a certain merchant's capital is turned over five times a year, it will add to a commodity capital of equal value but $\frac{1}{5}$ of what another merchant's capital, which turns over just once a year, adds to a commodity capital of equal value.

The modification of selling prices by the average period of turnover of capitals in different branches of commerce amounts to this: The same mass of profits, determined for any given magnitude of merchant's capital by the general annual rate of profit, hence determined independently of the specific character of the commercial operations of this capital, is differently distributed—proportionately to the velocity of turnover—over masses of commodities of equal value, so that, for instance, if a merchant's capital is turned over five times a

year, $\frac{15}{5} = 3\%$, and if once a year, 15%, is added to the price of the commodities.

The same percentage of commercial profit in different branches of commerce, therefore, increases the selling prices of commodities by quite different percentages of their values, all depending on their periods of turnover.

On the other hand, in the case of industrial capital, the period of turnover does not in any way affect the magnitude of the value of individual commodities produced, although it does affect the mass of values and surplus values produced in a given time by a given capital, because it affects the mass of exploited labour. This is concealed, to be sure, and seems to be otherwise as soon as one turns to prices of production. But this is due solely to the fact that, according to previously analysed laws, the prices of production of various commodities deviate from their values. If we look upon the process of production as a whole, and upon the mass of commodities produced by the total industrial capital, we shall at once find the general law vindicated.

While, therefore, a closer inspection of the influence of the period of turnover on the formation of values by industrial capital leads us back to the general law and to the basis of political economy, that the values of commodities are determined by the labour time contained in them, the influence of the turnovers of merchant's capital on mercantile prices reveals phenomena which, without benefit of a very far-reaching analysis of the connecting links, seem to point to a purely arbitrary determination of prices; namely, that they are fixed by a capital simply bent upon pocketing a certain quantity of profit in a year. Due particularly to this influence of turnovers, it appears that within certain limits the process of circulation as such determines commodity prices independently of the process of production. All superficial and false conceptions of the process of reproduction as a whole are derived from examinations of merchant's capital and from the conceptions which its peculiar movements call forth in the minds of circulation agents.

If, as the reader will have realised to his great dismay, the analysis of the actual intrinsic relations of the capitalist process of production is a very complicated matter and a very extensive work; if it is a work of science to resolve the visible, merely external movement into the true intrinsic movement, it is self-evident that conceptions which arise about the laws of production in the minds of agents of capitalist production and circulation will diverge drastically from these real laws

and will merely be the conscious expression of the apparent movement. The conceptions of the merchant, stockbroker, and banker, are necessarily quite distorted. Those of the manufacturers are vitiated by the acts of circulation to which their capital is subject, and by the levelling of the general rate of profit.[41] Competition likewise assumes a completely distorted role in their minds. If the limits of value and surplus value are given, it is easy to grasp how competition of capitals transforms values into prices of production and further into mercantile prices, and surplus value into average profit. But without these limits, it is absolutely unintelligible why competition should reduce the general rate of profit to one level instead of another, e. g., make it 15% instead of 1,500%. Competition can at best only reduce the general rate of profit to *one* level. But it contains no element by which it could determine this level itself.

From the standpoint of merchant's capital, therefore, it is the turnover which appears to determine prices. On the other hand, while the velocity of turnover of industrial capital, in so far as it enables a certain capital to exploit more or less labour, exerts a determining and limiting influence on the mass of profit, and thus on the general rate of profit, this rate of profit obtains for merchant's capital as an external fact, its internal connection with the production of surplus value being entirely obliterated. If, under otherwise equal circumstances and particularly the same organic composition, the same industrial capital is turned over four times a year instead of twice, it produces twice as much surplus value and, consequently, profit. And this is apparent as soon, and as long, as this capital has a monopoly on an improved method of production, which makes this accelerated turnover possible. Conversely, differences in the periods of turnover in different branches of commerce manifest themselves in the fact that profit made on the turnover of a given commodity capital is in inverse proportion to the number of times the money capital turns over this commodity capital. SMALL PROFITS AND QUICK RETURNS appear to the SHOPKEEPER to be the principle which he follows out of sheer principle.

For the rest, it is self-evident that regardless of alternating, mutually compensating, speedier and slower turnovers, this law of turnover of

[41] This is a very naive, but also a very correct remark: "Surely the fact that one and the same commodity may be had from different sellers at considerably different prices is frequently due to mistakes of calculation" (Feller and Odermann, *Das Ganze der kaufmännischen Arithmetik*, 7th ed., 1859, [p. 451]). This shows how purely theoretical, that is, abstract, becomes the determination of prices.

merchant's capital holds good in each branch of commerce only for the average turnovers made by the entire merchant's capital invested in each particular branch. The capital of A, who deals in the same branch as B, may make more or less than the average number of turnovers. In this case the others make less or more. This does not alter the turnover of the total mass of merchant's capital invested in this branch. But it is of decisive moment for the individual merchant or shopkeeper. In this case he makes an extra profit, just as industrial capitalists make extra profits if they produce under better than average conditions. If competition compels him, he can sell cheaper than his companions without lowering his profit below the average. If the conditions which would enable him to turn over his capital more rapidly, are themselves for sale, such as a favourable shop location, he can pay extra rent for it, i. e., convert a portion of his surplus profit into ground rent.

## Chapter XIX

### MONEY-DEALING CAPITAL

The purely technical movements performed by money in the circulation process of industrial, and, as we may now add, of commercial capital (since it takes over a part of the circulation movement of industrial capital as its own, peculiar movement), if individualised as a function of some particular capital performing just these, and only these, operations as its specific operations, convert this capital into money-dealing capital. A portion of industrial capital, and, more precisely, also of commercial capital, not only obtains all the time in the form of money, as money capital in general, but as money capital, engaged precisely in these technical functions. A definite part of the total capital dissociates itself from the rest and stands apart in the form of money capital, whose capitalist function consists exclusively in performing these operations for the entire class of industrial and commercial capitalists. As in the case of commercial capital, a portion of industrial capital engaged in the circulation process in the form of money capital separates from the rest and performs these operations of the reproduction process for all the other capital. The movements of this money capital are, therefore, once more merely movements of an individualised part of industrial capital engaged in the reproduction process.

It is only when, and in so far as, capital is newly invested — which also applies to accumulation — that capital in money form appears as the starting-point and the end result of the movement. But for all capitals already engaged in the process, these first and last points appear merely as points of transit. Since, as already seen in the case of simple commodity circulation, from the moment of leaving the sphere of production to the moment of its re-entry industrial capital undergoes the metamorphosis C′ — M — C, M in fact represents the end result of one phase of the metamorphosis, just to become the starting-point of the reverse phase, which supplements it. And although the C — M of industrial capital is always M — C — M for merchant's capital, the actual process for the latter is continually also C — M — C once it has begun to function. But merchant's capital performs the acts C — M and M — C simultaneously. This is to say that there is not just *one* capital in the stage C — M while another is in the stage M — C, but that the same capital buys continually and sells continually at one and the same time because of the continuity of the production process. It is to be found always in both stages at one and the same time. While one of its parts turns into money, later to be reconverted into commodities, another turns simultaneously into commodities, to be reconverted into money.

It all depends on the form of the commodity exchange whether the money serves here as a means of circulation or of payment. In both cases the capitalist has to pay out money constantly to many persons, and to receive money continually from many persons. This purely technical operation of disbursing and receiving money is in itself labour which, as long as the money serves as a means of payment, necessitates drawing up payment balances and acts of balancing accounts. This labour is a cost of circulation, i. e., not labour creating value. It is shortened in being carried out by a special section of agents, or capitalists, for the rest of the capitalist class.

A definite portion of the capital must be on hand constantly as a hoard, as potential money capital — a reserve of means of purchase, a reserve of means of payment, and idle capital in the form of money waiting to be put to work. Another portion streams back continually in this form. Aside from collecting, paying, and book-keeping, this entails safekeeping the hoard, which is an operation all in itself. It is, indeed, a continuous conversion of the hoard into means of circulation and means of payment, and its restoration by means of money secured through sales and from payments due. This constant movement

of the part of capital existing as money, dissociated from the function of capital itself, this purely technical function, causes its own labour and expense, classified as costs of circulation.

The division of labour brings it about that these technical operations, dependent upon the functions of capital, should be performed for the entire capitalist class as much as possible by a special section of agents or capitalists as their exclusive function—or that these operations should be concentrated in their hands. We have here, as in merchant's capital, division of labour in a twofold sense. It becomes a specialised business, and because performed as a specialised business for the money mechanism of the whole class, it is concentrated and conducted on a large scale. A further division of labour takes place within it, both through division into various independent branches, and through segmentation of work within these branches (large offices, numerous book-keepers and cashiers, and far-reaching division of labour). Paying and receiving money, settling accounts, keeping current accounts, storing money, etc.—all this, dissociated from the acts necessitating these technical operations, makes money-dealing capital of the capital advanced for these functions.[a]

The various operations, whose individualisation into specific businesses gives rise to the money trade, spring from the different purposes of money itself and from its functions, which capital in its money form must therefore likewise carry out.

I have pointed out earlier that finance developed originally from the exchange of products between different communities.[42]

Trading in money, commerce in the money commodity, first developed therefore out of international commerce. Even since different national coins have existed merchants buying in foreign countries have had to exchange their national coins for local coins, and vice versa, or to exchange different coins for uncoined pure silver or gold—the world money. Hence the exchange business which is to be regarded as one of the natural foundations of modern finance.[43] Out of it devel-

[42] *Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, S. 27.[b]

[43] "The great differences among coins as concerns their grain and coinage by many princes and towns that were privileged to coin money, necessitated the creation of business establishments to enable merchants to use local money wherever compensation for the different coins was required. To be able to make cash payments, merchants who travelled to a foreign market provided themselves with uncoined pure silver, or

[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 166-68. - [b] Ibid., Vol. 29, pp. 282-83.

oped banks of exchange, in which silver (or gold) serves as world money — now called bank money or commercial money — as distinct from currency. Exchange transactions, in the sense of mere notes of payment to travellers from a money changer in one country to a changer in another country, developed back in Rome and Greece out of the actual money-changing.

Trading in gold and silver as commodities (raw materials for the making of luxury articles) is the natural basis of the BULLION TRADE,[a] or the trade which acts as a medium for the functions of money as world money. These functions, as previously explained (Buch I, Kap. III, 3, c[b]), are two-fold: currency movement back and forth between the various national spheres of circulation in order to balance international payments and in connection with the migrations of capital in quest of interest; simultaneously, flow of precious metals from their sources of production via the world market and their distribution among the various national spheres of circulation. Goldsmiths acted as bankers still during the greater part of the 17th century in England. We shall completely disregard the way in which the balancing of international accounts developed further in the bill jobbing, etc., and everything referring to transactions in valuable papers; in short, we shall leave

gold. In the same way they exchanged money received in local markets for uncoined silver or gold when returning home. The business of exchanging money, the exchange of uncoined precious metals for local coins, and vice versa, thus became a widespread and paying business" (Hüllmann, *Städtewesen des Mittelalters*, Bonn, 1826-29, I, S. 437-38). "Banks of exchange do not owe their name to the fact that they issue bills of exchange ... but to the fact that they used to exchange coins. Long before the establishment of the Amsterdam Bank of Exchange in 1609, there existed in the Dutch merchant towns money changers and exchange houses, even exchange banks.... The business of these money changers consisted in exchanging the numerous varieties of coin brought into the country by foreign traders for the currency of the realm. Gradually their circle of activity extended.... They became the bankers and cashiers of their times. But the government of Amsterdam viewed as dangerous the combination of cashier and exchange businesses, and to meet this danger it was resolved to establish a large chartered institution able to perform both the cashier and exchange operations. This institution was the famous Amsterdam Bank of Exchange of 1609. In like manner, the exchange banks of Venice, Genoa, Stockholm, Hamburg, owe their origin to the continual necessity of changing money. Of all these, the Hamburg Exchange is the only one today still doing business, because the need for such an institution is still felt in that merchants' town, which has no Mint of its own, etc." (S. Vissering, *Handboek van Praktische Staathuishoudkunde*, Amsterdam, 1860-61, I, 247-48).

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent. - [b] See present edition, Vol. 35.

out of consideration all special forms of the credit system, which do not as yet concern us here.[a]

National money discards its local character in the capacity of world money; one national currency is expressed in another, and thus all of them are reduced to their content of gold or silver, while the latter, being the two commodities circulating as world money, are simultaneously reduced to their reciprocal value ratio, which changes continually. It is this intermediate operation which the money trader makes his special occupation. Money-changing and the bullion trade are thus the original forms of the money trade, and spring from the two-fold functions of money — as national money and world money.[b]

The capitalist process of production, just as commerce in general, even under precapitalist methods, imply:

*First*, the accumulation of money as a hoard, i. e., here as that part of capital which must always be on hand in the form of money as a reserve fund of means of payment and purchase. This is the first form of a hoard, as it reappears under the capitalist mode of production, and as it appears generally with the development of merchant's capital, at least for the purposes of this capital. Both remarks apply to national, as well as international, circulation. The hoard is in continuous flux, pours ceaselessly into circulation, and returns ceaselessly from it. The second form of a hoard is that of idle, temporarily unemployed capital in the shape of money, including newly accumulated and not yet invested money capital. The functions entailed by this formation of a hoard are primarily those of safekeeping, bookkeeping, etc.[c]

*Secondly*, however, this involves outlays of money for purchases, collecting money from sales, making and receiving payments, balancing payments, etc. The money dealer performs all these services at first as a simple *cashier* of the merchants and industrial capitalists.[44)]

[44)] "The institution of cashier has probably nowhere preserved its original independent character so pure as in the Dutch merchant towns (cf. on the origin of the cashier business in Amsterdam, E. Luzac, *Holland's Rijkdom*, Part III). Its functions coincide in part with those of the old Amsterdam Bank of Exchange. The cashier receives from the merchants, who employ his services, a certain amount of money, for which he opens a 'credit' for them in his books. Later, they send him their claims, which he collects for them and credits to their account. At the same time, he makes payments on their drafts (*kassiers briefjes*) and charges the amounts to their account. He makes a small charge for these receipts and payments, which yields him a remuneration for his labours only corresponding to the size of the turnover accomplished between the two

[a] Ibid., Vol. 33, pp. 169-70. - [b] Ibid., p. 46. - [c] Ibid., p. 43.

The money trade becomes fully developed, even in its first stages, as soon as its ordinary functions are supplemented by lending and borrowing and by credit. Of this more in the next part, which deals with interest-bearing capital.

The bullion trade itself, the transfer of gold or silver from one country to another, is merely the result of trading in commodities. It is determined by the rate of exchange which expresses the standing of international payments and the interest rates in the different markets. The bullion trader as such acts merely as an intermediary of the results.

In discussing money and the way its movements and forms develop out of simple commodity circulation, we saw (Buch I, Kap. III) that the movements of the mass of money circulating as means of purchase and payment depend on the metamorphosis of commodities, on the volume and velocity of this metamorphosis, which we now know to be but a phase in the entire process of reproduction. As for securing the money materials—gold and silver—from their sources of production, this resolves itself into a direct exchange of commodities, an exchange of gold and silver as commodities for other commodities. Hence, it is itself as much a phase of the exchange of commodities as the securing of iron or other metals. However, so far as the movement of precious metals on the world market is concerned (we here leave aside movements expressing the transfer of capital by loans—a type of transfer which also obtains in the shape of commodity capital), it is quite as much determined by the international exchange of commodities as the movement of money as a national means of purchase and

parties. If payments are to be balanced between two merchants, who both deal with the same cashier, such payments are settled very simply by mutual entries in the books, for the cashiers balance their mutual claims from day to day. The cashier's actual business thus consists basically of this mediation in payments. Therefore, it excludes industrial enterprises, speculation, and opening of unlimited credits; for it must be the rule in this business that the cashier makes no payment over and above the credit of any one keeping an account with him" (Vissering, l. c., p. 243-244). Re the banking associations of Venice: "The requirements and locality of Venice, where carrying bullion was less convenient than in other places, induced the large merchants of that city to found banking associations under due safeguards, supervision and management. Members of such associations deposited certain sums, on which they drew drafts for their creditors, whereupon the paid sum was deducted from the debtor's account on the page of the book reserved for that purpose and added to the sum credited in the same book to the creditor. This is the earliest beginning of the so-called giro banks. These associations are indeed old. But if attributed to the 12th century, they are being confounded with the State Loan Institute established in 1171" (Hüllmann, l. c., pp. 453-54).

payment is determined by the exchange of commodities in the home market. The inflow and outflow of precious metals from one national sphere of circulation to another, inasmuch as this is caused merely by a depreciation of the national currency, or by a double standard,[10] are alien to money circulation as such and merely represent corrections of deviations brought about arbitrarily by state decrees. Finally, as concerns the formation of hoards which constitute reserve funds for means of purchase and payment, be it for home or foreign trade, and which also merely represent a form of temporarily idle capital, they are in both cases necessary precipitates of the circulation process.

If the entire circulation of money is in volume, form and movement purely a result of commodity circulation, which, in its turn, from the capitalist point of view, is only the circulation process of capital (also embracing the exchange of capital for revenue, and of revenue for revenue, so far as outlay of revenue is effected through retail trade), it is self-evident that dealing in money does not merely promote the circulation of money, a mere result and phenomenon of commodity circulation. This circulation of money itself, a phase in commodity circulation, is taken for granted in money-dealing. What the latter promotes is merely the technical operations of money circulation which it concentrates, shortens, and simplifies. Dealing in money does not form the hoards. It provides the technical means by which the formation of hoards may, so far as it is voluntary (hence, not an expression of unemployed capital or of disturbances in the reproduction process), be reduced to its economic minimum because, if managed for the capitalist class as a whole, the reserve funds of means of purchase and payment need not be as large as they would have to be if each capitalist were to manage his own. The money dealers do not buy the precious metals. They merely handle their distribution as soon as the commodity trade has bought them. They facilitate the settling of balances, inasmuch as money serves as the means of payment, and reduce through the artificial mechanism of these settlements the amount of money required for this purpose. But they do not determine either the connections, or the volume, of the mutual payments. The bills of exchange and the cheques, for instance, which are exchanged for one another in banks and CLEARING HOUSES, represent quite independent transactions and are the results of given operations, and it is merely a question of a better technical settlement of these results. So far as money circulates as a means of purchase, the volume and number of purchases and sales have no connection whatever with money-

dealing. The latter can do no more than shorten the technical operations that go with buying and selling, and thus reduce the amount of cash money required to turn over the commodities.

Money-dealing in its pure form, which we consider here, i. e., set apart from the credit system, is thus concerned only with the technique of a certain phase of commodity circulation, namely, that of money circulation and the different functions of money arising in its circulation.

This substantially distinguishes dealing in money from the dealing in commodities, which promotes the metamorphosis of commodities and their exchange, or even gives this process of the commodity capital the appearance of a process of a capital set apart from industrial capital. While, therefore, commercial capital has its own form of circulation, M — C — M, in which the commodity changes hands twice and thus provides a reflux of money, as distinct from C — M — C, in which money changes hands twice and thus promotes commodity exchange, there is no such special form in the case of money-dealing capital.

In so far as money capital is advanced by a separate class of capitalists in this technical promotion of money circulation — a capital which on a reduced scale represents the additional capital the merchants and industrial capitalists would otherwise have to advance themselves for these purposes — the general form of capital, M — M′, occurs here as well. By advancing M, the advancing capitalist secures M + ΔM. But promotion of M — M′ does not here concern the material, but only the technical, processes of the metamorphosis.

It is evident that the mass of money capital with which the money dealers operate is the money capital of merchants and industrialists in the process of circulation, and that the money dealers' operations are actually operations of merchants and industrialists, in which they act as mediators.

It is equally evident that the money dealers' profit is nothing but a deduction from the surplus value, since they operate with already realised values (even when realised in the form of creditors' claims).

Just as in the commodity trade, there is a duplication of functions, because a part of the technical operations connected with money circulation must be carried out by the dealers and producers of commodities themselves.

# Chapter XX

## HISTORICAL FACTS ABOUT MERCHANT'S CAPITAL

The particular form in which commercial and money-dealing capitals accumulate money will be discussed in the next part.

It is self-evident from what has gone before that nothing could be more absurd than to regard merchant's capital, whether in the shape of commercial or of money-dealing capital, as a particular variety of industrial capital, such as, say, mining, agriculture, cattle-raising, manufacturing, transport, etc., which are side lines of industrial capital occasioned by the division of social labour, and hence different spheres of investment. The simple observation that in the circulation phase of its reproduction process every industrial capital performs as commodity capital and as money capital the very functions which appear as the exclusive functions of the two forms of merchant's capital, should rule out such a crude notion. On the other hand, in commercial and money-dealing capital the differences between industrial capital as productive capital and the same capital in the sphere of circulation are individualised through the fact that the definite forms and functions which capital assumes for the moment appear as independent forms and functions of a separate portion of the capital and are exclusively bound up with it. The converted form of industrial capital and the material differences between productive capitals applied in different branches of industry, which arise from the nature of these various branches, are worlds apart.[a]

Aside from the crudity with which the economist generally considers distinctions of form, which really concern him only from their material side, this misconception by the vulgar economist is explained on two additional counts. First, his inability to explain the peculiar nature of mercantile profit; and, secondly, his apologetic endeavours to deduce commodity capital and money capital, and later commercial capital and money-dealing capital as forms arising necessarily from the process of production as such, whereas they are due to the specific form of the capitalist mode of production, which above all presupposes the circulation of commodities, and hence of money, as its basis.

If commercial capital and money-dealing capital do not differ from

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 47-48.

grain production any more than this differs from cattle-raising and manufacturing, it is plain as day that production and capitalist production are altogether identical, and that, among other things, the distribution of the social products among the members of a society, be it for productive or individual consumption, must just as consistently be handled by merchants and bankers as the consumption of meat by cattle-raising and that of clothing by their manufacture.[45]

The great economists, such as Smith, Ricardo, etc., are perplexed over mercantile capital being a special variety, since they consider the basic form of capital, capital as industrial capital, and circulation capital (money capital and commodity capital) solely because it is a phase in the reproduction process of every capital. The rules concerning the formation of value, profit, etc., immediately deduced by them from their study of industrial capital, do not extend directly to merchant's capital. For this reason, they leave merchant's capital entirely aside and mention it only as a kind of industrial capital. Wherever they make a special analysis of it, as Ricardo[b] does in dealing with foreign trade, they seek to demonstrate that it creates no value (and consequently no surplus value). But whatever is true of foreign trade, is also true of home trade.[c]

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Hitherto we have considered merchant's capital merely from the

[45] The sage Mr. Roscher has figured out[a] that, since certain people designate trade as "mediation" between producers and consumers, "one" might just as well designate production itself as "mediation" of consumption (between whom?), and this implies, of course, that merchant's capital is as much a part of productive capital as agricultural and industrial capital. In other words, because I can say, that man can mediate his consumption only by means of production (and he has to do this even without getting his education at Leipzig), or that labour is required for the appropriation of the products of Nature (which might be called "mediation"), it follows, of course, that social "mediation" arising from a specific social form of production — *because* mediation — has the same absolute character of necessity, and the same rank. The word "mediation" settles everything. By the way, the merchants are not mediators between producers and consumers (consumers as distinct from producers, consumers, that is, who do not produce, are left aside for the moment), but mediators in the exchange of the products of these producers among themselves. They are but middlemen in an exchange, which in thousands of cases proceeds without them.

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[a] *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie*, § 60, S. 103. - [b] See D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy...*, 3rd ed., p. 413; cf. also present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 70-72. - [c] Ibid., Vol. 33, p. 64.

standpoint, and within the limits, of the capitalist mode of production. However, not commerce alone, but also merchant's capital, is older than the capitalist mode of production, is, in fact, historically the oldest free mode of existence of capital.

Since we have already seen that money-dealing and the capital advanced for it require nothing more for their development than the existence of wholesale commerce, and further of commercial capital, it is only the latter which we must occupy ourselves with here.

Since merchant's capital is penned in the sphere of circulation, and since its function consists exclusively in promoting the exchange of commodities, it requires no other conditions for its existence — aside from the undeveloped forms arising from direct barter — outside those necessary for the simple circulation of commodities and money. Or rather, the latter is the condition of *its* existence. No matter what the basis on which products are produced, which are thrown into circulation as commodities — whether the basis of the primitive community, of slave production, of small peasant and petty bourgeois, or the capitalist basis, the character of products as commodities is not altered, and as commodities they must pass through the process of exchange and its attendant changes of form. The extremes between which merchant's capital acts as mediator exist for it as given, just as they are given for money and for its movements. The only necessary thing is that these extremes should be on hand as commodities, regardless of whether production is wholly a production of commodities, or whether only the surplus of the independent producers' immediate needs, satisfied by their own production, is thrown on the market. Merchant's capital promotes only the movements of these extremes, of these commodities, which are preconditions of its own existence.

The extent to which products enter trade and go through the merchants' hands depends on the mode of production, and reaches its maximum under the full development of capitalist production, where the product is produced solely as a commodity, and not as a direct means of subsistence. On the other hand, on the basis of every mode of production, trade facilitates the production of surplus products destined for exchange, in order to increase the enjoyments, or the wealth, of the producers (here meant are the owners of the products). Hence, commerce imparts to production a character directed more and more towards exchange value.[a]

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[a] Ibid., Vol. 29, pp. 233-34 and 480-81.

The metamorphosis of commodities, their movement, consists 1) materially, of the exchange of different commodities for one another, and 2) formally, of the conversion of commodities into money by sale, and of money into commodities by purchase. And the function of merchant's capital resolves itself into these very acts of buying and selling commodities. It therefore merely promotes the exchange of commodities; yet this exchange is not to be conceived at the outset as a bare exchange of commodities between direct producers. Under slavery, feudalism and vassalage (so far as primitive communities are concerned) it is the slave-owner, the feudal lord, the tribute-collecting state, who are the owners, hence sellers, of the products. The merchant buys and sells for many. Purchases and sales are concentrated in his hands and consequently are no longer bound to the direct requirements of the buyer (as merchant).

But whatever the social organisation of the spheres of production whose commodity exchange the merchant promotes, his wealth exists always in the form of money, and his money always serves as capital. Its form is always M — C — M′. Money, the independent form of exchange value, is the point of departure, and increasing the exchange value an end in itself. Commodity exchange as such and the operations effecting it — separated from production and performed by non-producers — are just a means of increasing wealth not as mere wealth, but as wealth in its most universal social form, as exchange value. The compelling motive and determining purpose are the conversion of M into M + ΔM. The transactions M — C and C — M′, which promote M—M′, appear merely as stages of transition in this conversion of M into M + ΔM. This M — C — M′, the characteristic movement of merchant's capital, distinguishes it from C — M — C, trade in commodities directly between producers, which has for its ultimate end the exchange of use values.

The less developed the production, the more wealth in money is concentrated in the hands of merchants or appears in the specific form of merchants' wealth.

Within the capitalist mode of production — i. e., as soon as capital has established its sway over production and imparted to it a wholly changed and specific form — merchant's capital appears merely as a capital with a *specific* function. In all previous modes of production, and all the more, wherever production ministers to the immediate wants of the producer, merchant's capital appears to perform the function *par excellence* of capital.

There is, therefore, not the least difficulty in understanding why merchant's capital appears as the historical form of capital long before capital established its own domination over production. Its existence and development to a certain level are in themselves historical premisses for the development of capitalist production 1) as a precondition for the concentration of money wealth, and 2) because the capitalist mode of production presupposes production for trade, selling on a large scale, and not to the individual customer, hence also a merchant who does not buy to satisfy his personal wants but concentrates the purchases of many buyers in his one purchase. On the other hand, all development of merchant's capital tends to give production more and more the character of production for exchange value and to turn products more and more into commodities. Yet its development, as we shall presently see, is incapable by itself of promoting and explaining the transition from one mode of production to another.

Within capitalist production merchant's capital is reduced from its former independent existence to a special phase in the investment of capital in general, and the levelling of profits reduces its rate of profit to the general average. It functions only as an agent of productive capital. The special social conditions that take shape with the development of merchant's capital, are here no longer paramount. On the contrary, wherever merchant's capital still predominates we find obsolete conditions. This is true even within one and the same country, in which, for instance, the specifically merchant towns present far more striking analogies with past conditions than manufacturing towns.[46]

The independent and predominant development of capital as mer-

[46] Herr W. Kiesselbach (in his *Der Gang des Welthandels im Mittelalter*, 1860) is indeed still enwrapped in the ideas of a world, in which merchant's capital is the general form of capital. He has not the least idea of the modern meaning of capital, any more than Herr Mommsen when he speaks in his *Römische Geschichte* of "capital"and the rule of capital. In modern English history, the commercial estate proper and the merchant towns are also politically reactionary and in league with the landed and financial aristocracy against industrial capital. Compare, for instance, the political role of Liverpool with that of Manchester and Birmingham. The complete rule of industrial capital was not acknowledged by English merchant's capital and MONEYED INTEREST[a] until after the abolition of the corn duties,[22] etc.

[a] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

chant's capital is tantamount to the non-subjection of production to capital, and hence to capital developing on the basis of an alien social mode of production which is also independent of it. The independent development of merchant's capital, therefore, stands in inverse proportion to the general economic development of society.

Independent mercantile wealth as a predominant form of capital represents the separation of the circulation process from its extremes, and these extremes are the exchanging producers themselves. These extremes remain independent of the circulation process, just as the latter remains independent of them. The product becomes a commodity by way of commerce. It is commerce which here turns products into commodities, not the produced commodity which by its movements gives rise to commerce. Thus, capital appears here first as capital in the process of circulation. It is in the circulation process that money develops into capital. It is in circulation that products first develop as exchange values, as commodities and as money. Capital can, and must, form in the process of circulation, before it learns to control its extremes — the various spheres of production between which circulation mediates. Money and commodity circulation can mediate between spheres of production of widely different organisation, whose internal structure is still chiefly adjusted to the output of use values. This individualisation of the circulation process, in which spheres of production are interconnected by means of a third, has a two-fold significance. On the one hand, that circulation has not as yet established a hold on production, but is related to it as to a given premiss. On the other hand, that the production process has not as yet absorbed circulation as a mere phase of production. Both, however, are the case in capitalist production. The production process rests wholly upon circulation, and circulation is a mere transitional phase of production, in which the product created as a commodity is realised and its elements of production, likewise created as commodities, are replaced. That form of capital — merchant's capital — which developed directly out of circulation appears here merely as one of the forms of capital occurring in its reproduction process.[a]

The law that the independent development of merchant's capital is inversely proportional to the degree of development of capitalist production is particularly evident in the history of the CARRYING TRADE,[b] as

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 14-15. - [b] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

among the Venetians, Genoese, Dutch, etc., where the principal gains were not thus made by exporting domestic products, but by promoting the exchange of products of commercially and otherwise economically undeveloped societies, and by exploiting both producing countries.[47] Here, merchant's capital is in its pure form, separated from the extremes — the spheres of production between which it mediates. This is the main source of its formation. But this monopoly of the carrying trade disintegrates, and with it this trade itself, proportionately to the economic development of the peoples, whom it exploits at both ends of its course, and whose lack of development was the basis of its existence. In the case of the carrying trade this appears not only as the decline of a special branch of commerce, but also that of the predominance of the purely trading nations, and of their commercial wealth in general, which rested upon the carrying trade. This is but a special form, in which is expressed the subordination of commercial to industrial capital with the advance of capitalist production. The behaviour of merchant's capital wherever it directly rules over production is strikingly illustrated not only by the colonial economy (the so-called colonial system) in general, but quite specifically by the methods of the old Dutch East India Company.[36]

Since the movement of merchant's capital is M — C — M′, the merchant's profit is made, first, in acts which occur only within the circulation process, hence in the two acts of buying and selling; and, secondly, it is realised in the last act, the sale. It is therefore PROFIT UPON ALIENATION.[b 35] *Prima facie*, a pure and independent commercial profit seems impossible so long as products are sold at their value. To buy cheap in order to sell dear is the rule of trade. Hence, not the exchange of equivalents. The conception of value is included in it in so

[47] "The inhabitants of trading cities, by importing the improved manufactures and expensive luxuries of richer countries afforded some food to the vanity of the great proprietors, who eagerly purchased them with great quantities of the rude produce of their own lands. The commerce of a great part of Europe in those times, accordingly consisted chiefly, in the exchange of their own rude produce for the manufactured produce of more civilised nations.... When this taste became so general as to occasion a considerable demand, the merchants, in order to save the expense of carriage, naturally endeavoured to establish some manufactures of the same kind in their own country" (Adam Smith, Book III, Ch. III).[a]

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[a] *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I, London, 1776, pp. 489 and 490; cf. also present edition, Vol. 33, p. 19. - [b] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

far as the various commodities are all values, and therefore money. In respect to quality they are all expressions of social labour. But they are not values of equal magnitude. The quantitative ratio in which products are exchanged is at first quite arbitrary. They assume the form of commodities inasmuch as they are exchangeables, i. e., expressions of one and the same third. Continued exchange and more regular reproduction for exchange reduces this arbitrariness more and more. But at first not for the producer and consumer, but for their go-between, the merchant, who compares money prices and pockets the difference. It is through his own movements that he establishes equivalence.

Merchant's capital is originally merely the intervening movement between extremes which it does not control, and between premisses which it does not create.

Just as money originates from the bare form of commodity circulation, C—M—C, not only as a measure of value and a medium of circulation, but also as the absolute form of commodity, and hence of wealth, as hoard, so that its conservation and accumulation as money becomes an end in itself, so, too, does money, the hoard, as something that preserves and increases itself through mere alienation, originate from the bare form of the circulation of merchant's capital, M—C—M′.[a]

The trading nations of ancient times existed like the gods of Epicurus in the intermediate worlds of the universe,[37] or rather like the Jews in the pores of Polish society. The trade of the first independent flourishing merchant towns and trading nations rested as a pure carrying trade upon the barbarism of the producing nations, between whom they acted the middleman.

In the precapitalist stages of society commerce ruled industry. In modern society the reverse is true. Of course, commerce will have more or less of a countereffect on the communities between which it is carried on. It will subordinate production more and more to exchange value by making luxuries and subsistence more dependent on sale than on the immediate use of the products. Thereby it dissolves the old relationships. It multiplies money circulation. It encompasses no longer merely the surplus of production, but bites deeper and deeper into the latter, and makes entire branches of production dependent upon it. Nevertheless this disintegrating effect depends very much on the nature of the producing community.[b]

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 9-10. - [b] Ibid., p. 20.

So long as merchant's capital promotes the exchange of products between undeveloped societies, commercial profit not only appears as outbargaining and cheating, but also largely originates from them. Aside from the fact that it exploits the difference between the prices of production of various countries (and in this respect it tends to level and fix the values of commodities), those modes of production bring it about that merchant's capital appropriates an overwhelming portion of the surplus product partly as a mediator between communities which still substantially produce for use value, and for whose economic organisation the sale of the portion of their product entering circulation, or for that matter any sale of products at their value, is of secondary importance; and partly, because under those earlier modes of production the principal owners of the surplus product with whom the merchant dealt, namely, the slave-owner, the feudal lord, and the state (for instance, the oriental despot) represent the consuming wealth and luxury which the merchant seeks to trap, as Adam Smith correctly scented in the passage on feudal times quoted earlier. Merchant's capital, when it holds a position of dominance, stands everywhere for a system of robbery,[48] so that its development among the

[48] "Now there is among merchants much complaint about the nobles, or robbers, because they must trade under great danger and run the risk of being kidnapped, beaten, blackmailed, and robbed. If they would suffer these things for the sake of justice, the merchants would be saintly people.... But since such great wrong and unchristian thievery and robbery are committed all over the world by merchants, and even among themselves, is it any wonder that God should procure that such great wealth, gained by wrong, should again be lost or stolen, and they themselves be hit over the head or made prisoner?... And the princes should punish such unjust bargains with due rigour and take care that their subjects shall not be so outrageously abused by merchants. Because they fail to do so, God employs knights and robbers, and punishes the merchants through them for the wrongs they committed, and uses them as his devils, just as he plagues Egypt and all the world with devils, or destroys through enemies. He thus pits one against the other, without thereby insinuating that knights are any the less robbers than merchants, although the merchants daily rob the whole world, while a knight may rob one or two once or twice a year." "Go by the word of Isaiah[a]: Thy princes have become the companions of robbers. For they hang the thieves, who have stolen a gulden or a half gulden, but they associate with those, who rob all the world and steal with greater assurance than all others, so that the proverb remains true: Big thieves hang little thieves; and as the Roman senator Cato said: Mean thieves lie in prisons and stocks, but public thieves are clothed in gold and silks. But what will God say finally? He will do as he said to Ezekiel[b]; he will amalgamate princes and merchants, one thief with another, like lead and iron, as when a city burns down, leaving neither princes nor merchants" (Martin Luther, *Von Kauffshandlung und Wucher*, 1524, S. 296-97).[c]

[a] Isaiah 1 : 23. - [b] Ezekiel 22 : 18-22. - [c] Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 531-32.

trading nations of old and modern times is always directly connected with plundering, piracy, kidnapping slaves, and colonial conquest; as in Carthage, Rome, and later among the Venetians, Portuguese, Dutch, etc.

The development of commerce and merchant's capital gives rise everywhere to the tendency towards production of exchange values, increases its volume, multiplies it, makes it cosmopolitan, and develops money into world money. Commerce, therefore, has a more or less dissolving influence everywhere on the producing organisation, which it finds at hand and whose different forms are mainly carried on with a view to use value. To what extent it brings about a dissolution of the old mode of production depends on its solidity and internal structure. And whither this process of dissolution will lead, in other words, what new mode of production will replace the old, does not depend on commerce, but on the character of the old mode of production itself. In the ancient world the effect of commerce and the development of merchant's capital always resulted in a slave economy; depending on the point of departure, only in the transformation of a patriarchal slave system devoted to the production of immediate means of subsistence into one devoted to the production of surplus value. However, in the modern world, it results in the capitalist mode of production. It follows therefrom that these results spring in themselves from circumstances other than the development of merchant's capital.

It is in the nature of things that as soon as urban industry as such separates from agricultural industry, its products are from the outset commodities and thus require the mediation of commerce for their sale. The leaning of commerce towards the development of towns, and, on the other hand, the dependence of towns upon commerce, are so far natural. However, it depends on altogether different circumstances to what measure industrial development will go hand in hand with this development. Ancient Rome, in its later republican days, developed merchant's capital to a higher degree than ever before in the ancient world, without showing any progress in the development of crafts, while in Corinth and other Grecian towns in Europe and Asia Minor the development of commerce was accompanied by highly developed crafts. On the other hand, quite contrary to the growth of towns and attendant conditions, the trading spirit and the development of merchant's capital occur frequently among unsettled nomadic peoples.

There is no doubt—and it is precisely this fact which has led to wholly erroneous conceptions—that in the 16th and 17th centuries the great revolutions, which took place in commerce with the geographical discoveries[38] and speeded the development of merchant's capital, constitute one of the principal elements in furthering the transition from feudal to capitalist mode of production. The sudden expansion of the world market, the multiplication of circulating commodities, the competitive zeal of the European nations to possess themselves of the products of Asia and the treasures of America, and the colonial system—all contributed materially toward destroying the feudal fetters on production. However, in its first period—the manufacturing period—the modern mode of production developed only where the conditions for it had taken shape within the Middle Ages. Compare, for instance, Holland with Portugal.[49] And when in the 16th, and partially still in the 17th, century the sudden expansion of commerce and emergence of a new world market overwhelmingly contributed to the fall of the old mode of production and the rise of capitalist production, this was accomplished conversely on the basis of the already existing capitalist mode of production. The world market itself forms the basis for this mode of production. On the other hand, the immanent necessity of this mode of production to produce on an ever-enlarged scale tends to extend the world market continually, so that it is not commerce in this case which revolutionises industry, but industry which constantly revolutionises commerce. Commercial supremacy itself is now linked with the prevalence to a greater or lesser degree of conditions for a large industry. Compare, for instance, England and Holland. The history of the decline of Holland as the ruling trading nation is the history of the subordination of

[49] How predominant fishery, manufacture and agriculture, aside from other circumstances, were as the basis for Holland's development, has already been explained by 18th-century writers, such as Massie.[a] In contradistinction to the former view, which underrated the volume and importance of commerce in Asia, in Antiquity, and in the Middle Ages, it has now come to be the custom to extremely overrate it. The best antidote against this conception is to study the imports and exports of England in the early 18th century and to compare them with modern imports and exports. And yet they were incomparably greater than those of any former trading nation. (See Anderson, *History of Commerce.*)[b]

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[a] [J. Massie,] *An Essay on the Governing Causes of the Natural Rate of Interest...*, London, 1750, p. 60; cf. also present edition, Vol. 34, pp. 91-93. - [b] [A. Anderson,] *An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce...*, Vol. 1, London, 1764, p. 261.

merchant's capital to industrial capital. The obstacles presented by the internal solidity and organisation of precapitalistic, national modes of production to the corrosive influence of commerce are strikingly illustrated in the intercourse of the English with India and China. The broad basis of the mode of production here is formed by the unity of small-scale agriculture and home industry, to which in India we should add the form of village communities resting upon the common ownership of land, which, incidentally, was the original form in China as well. In India the English lost no time in exercising their direct political and economic power, as rulers and landlords, to disrupt these small economic communities.[50] English commerce exerted here a revolutionising influence on the mode of production only in so far as the low prices of its goods served to destroy the spinning and weaving industries, which were an ancient integrating element of this unity of industrial and agricultural production, and thus tore the community apart. And even so this work of dissolution proceeds very gradually. And still more slowly in China, where it is not reinforced by direct political power. The substantial economy and saving in time afforded by the association of agriculture with manufacture put up a stubborn resistance to the products of the big industries, whose prices include the *faux frais*[a] of the circulation process which pervades them. Unlike the English, Russian commerce, on the other hand, leaves the economic groundwork of Asiatic production untouched.[51]

The transition from the feudal mode of production is two-fold. The producer becomes merchant and capitalist, in contrast to the natural agricultural economy and the guild-bound handicrafts of the medieval urban industries. This is the really revolutionising path. Or else, the merchant establishes direct sway over production. However much this serves historically as a stepping-stone — witness the English 17th-century CLOTHIER, who brings the weavers, independent as they

[50] If any nation's history is a string of futile and really absurd (in practice infamous) economic experiments, then it is the history of the English management in India. In Bengal they created a caricature of large-scale English landed estates; in south-eastern India a caricature of small parcelled property; in the north-west they did all they could to transform the Indian economic community with common ownership of the soil into a caricature of itself.

[51] Since Russia has been making frantic exertions to develop its own capitalist production, which is exclusively dependent upon its domestic and the neighbouring Asiatic market, this is also beginning to change.—*F. E.*

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[a] overhead costs

are, under his control by selling their wool to them and buying their cloth—it cannot by itself contribute to the overthrow of the old mode of production, but tends rather to preserve and retain it as its precondition. The manufacturer in the French silk industry and in the English hosiery and lace industries, for example, was thus mostly but nominally a manufacturer until the middle of the 19th century. In point of fact, he was merely a merchant, who let the weavers carry on in their old unorganised way and exerted only a merchant's control, for that was for whom they really worked.[52] This system presents everywhere an obstacle to the real capitalist mode of production and goes under with its development. Without revolutionising the mode of production, it only worsens the condition of the direct producers, turns them into mere wage workers and proletarians under conditions worse than those under the immediate control of capital, and appropriates their surplus labour on the basis of the old mode of production. The same conditions exist in somewhat modified form in part of the London handicraft furniture industry. It is practised notably in the Tower Hamlets on a very large scale. The whole production is divided into very numerous separate branches of business independent of one another. One establishment makes only chairs, another only tables, a third only bureaus, etc. But these establishments themselves are run more or less like handicrafts by a single minor master and a few journeymen. Nevertheless, production is too large to work directly for private persons. The buyers are the owners of furniture stores. On Saturdays the master visits them and sells his product, the transaction being closed with as much haggling as in a pawnshop over a loan. The masters depend on this weekly sale, if for no other reason than to be able to buy raw materials for the following week and to pay out wages. Under these circumstances, they are really only middlemen between the merchant and their own labourers. The merchant is the actual capitalist who pockets the lion's share of the surplus value.[53] Almost the same applies in the transition to manufacture of branches formerly carried on as handicrafts or side lines to

[52] The same is true of the ribbon and basting makers and the silk weavers of the Rhine. Even a railway has been built near Krefeld for the intercourse of these rural hand-weavers with the town "manufacturers". But this was later put out of business, together with the hand-weavers, by the mechanical weaving industry.—*F. E.*

[53] This system has been developed since 1865 on a still larger scale. For details see the First Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Sweating System, London, 1888.—*F. E.*

rural industries. The transition to large-scale industry depends on the technical development of these small owner-operated establishments—wherever they employ machinery that admits of a handicraft-like operation. The machine is driven by steam, instead of by hand. This is of late the case, for instance, in the English hosiery industry.[a]

There is, consequently, a three-fold transition. *First*, the merchant becomes directly an industrialist. This is true in crafts based on trade, especially crafts producing luxuries, which are imported by merchants together with the raw materials and labourers from foreign lands, as in Italy from Constantinople in the 15th century. *Second*, the merchant turns the small masters into his MIDDLEMEN,[b] or buys directly from the independent producer, leaving him nominally independent and his mode of production unchanged. *Third*, the industrialist becomes merchant and produces directly for the wholesale market.

In the Middle Ages, the merchant was merely one who, as Poppe rightly says, "transferred" the goods produced by guilds or peasants.[c] The merchant becomes industrialist, or rather, makes craftsmen, particularly the small rural producers, work for him. Conversely, the producer becomes merchant. The master weaver, for instance, buys his wool or yarn himself and sells his cloth to the merchant, instead of receiving his wool from the merchant piecemeal and working for him together with his journeymen. The elements of production pass into the production process as commodities bought by himself. And instead of producing for some individual merchant, or for specified customers, he produces for the world of trade. The producer is himself a merchant. Merchant's capital does no more than carry on the process of circulation. Originally, commerce was the precondition for the transformation of the crafts, the rural domestic industries, and feudal agriculture, into capitalist enterprises. It develops the product into a commodity, partly by creating a market for it, and partly by introducing new commodity equivalents and supplying production with new raw and auxiliary materials, thereby opening new branches of production based from the first upon commerce, both as concerns production for the home and world-market, and as concerns conditions of production originating in the world market. As soon as manufacture gains sufficient strength, and particularly large-scale industry,

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, p. 369. - [b] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent. - [c] J. H. M. Poppe, *Geschichte der Technologie...*, Band I, Göttingen, 1807, S. 70.

it creates in its turn a market for itself, by capturing it through its commodities. At this point commerce becomes the servant of industrial production, for which continued expansion of the market becomes a vital necessity. Ever more extended mass production floods the existing market and thereby works continually for a still greater expansion of this market, for breaking out of its limits. What restricts this mass production is not commerce (in so far as it expresses the existing demand), but the magnitude of employed capital and the level of development of the productive power of labour. The industrial capitalist always has the world market before him, compares, and must constantly compare, his own cost prices with the market prices at home, and throughout the world. In the earlier period such comparison fell almost entirely to the merchants, and thus secured the predominance of merchant's capital over industrial capital.[a]

The first theoretical treatment of the modern mode of production — the mercantile system — proceeded necessarily from the superficial phenomena of the circulation process as individualised in the movement of merchant's capital, and therefore grasped only the appearance of matters. Partly because merchant's capital is the first free state of existence of capital in general. And partly because of the overwhelming influence which it exerted during the first revolutionising period of feudal production — the genesis of modern production. The real science of modern economy only begins when the theoretical analysis passes from the process of circulation to the process of production. Interest-bearing capital is, indeed, likewise a very old form of capital. But we shall see later why mercantilism does not take it as its point of departure, but rather carries on a polemic against it.

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 465-66.

# Part V

# DIVISION OF PROFIT INTO INTEREST AND PROFIT OF ENTERPRISE. INTEREST-BEARING CAPITAL

## Chapter XXI

### INTEREST-BEARING CAPITAL

In our first discussion of the general, or average, rate of profit (Part II of this book) we did not have this rate before us in its complete form, the equalisation of profit appearing only as equalisation between industrial capitals invested in different spheres. This was supplemented in the preceding part, which dealt with the participation of merchant's capital in this equalisation, and also commercial profit. The general rate of profit and the average profit now appeared in narrower limits than before. It should be remembered in the course of our analysis that in any future reference to the general rate of profit or to average profit we mean this latter connotation, hence only the final form of average rate. And since this rate is the same for mercantile, as well as industrial, capital, it is no longer necessary, so far as this average profit is concerned, to make a distinction between industrial and commercial profit. Whether industrially invested in the sphere of production, or commercially in the sphere of circulation, capital yields the same average annual profit *pro rata*[a] to its magnitude.

Money — here taken as the independent expression of a certain amount of value existing either actually as money or as commodities — may be converted into capital on the basis of capitalist production, and may thereby be transformed from a given value to a self-expanding, or increasing, value. It produces profit, i. e., it enables the capitalist to extract a certain quantity of unpaid labour, surplus product and surplus value, from the labourers, and to appropriate it. In this way, aside from its use value as money, it acquires an additional

[a] in proportion to

use value, namely that of serving as capital. Its use value then consists precisely in the profit it produces when converted into capital. In this capacity of potential capital, of a means of producing profit, it becomes a commodity, but a commodity *sui generis*. Or, what amounts to the same, capital as capital becomes a commodity.[54]

Suppose the annual average rate of profit is 20%. In that case a machine valued at £100, employed as capital under average conditions and an average amount of intelligence and purposive effort, would yield a profit of £20. A man in possession of £100, therefore, possesses the power to make £120 out of £100, or to produce a profit of £20. He possesses a potential capital of £100. If he gives these £100 to another for one year, so the latter may use them as real capital, he gives him the power to produce a profit of £20—a surplus value which costs this other nothing, and for which he pays no equivalent. If this other should pay, say, £5 at the close of the year to the owner of the £100 out of the profit produced, he would thereby pay the use value of the £100—the use value of its function as capital, the function of producing a profit of £20. The part of the profit paid to the owner is called interest, which is just another name, or special term, for a part of the profit given up by capital in the process of functioning to the owner of the capital, instead of putting it into its own pocket.

It is plain that the possession of £100 gives their owner the power to pocket the interest—that certain portion of profit produced by means of his capital. If he had not given the £100 to the other person, the latter could not have produced any profit, and could not at all have acted as a capitalist with reference to these £100.[55]

To speak here of natural justice, as Gilbart does (see note), is nonsense. The justice of the transactions between agents of production rests on the fact that these arise as natural consequences out of the production relationships. The juristic forms in which these economic transactions appear as wilful acts of the parties concerned, as expressions of their common will and as contracts that may be enforced by

[54] At this point certain passages may be quoted, in which the economists so conceive the matter.—"You" (the Bank of England): "are very large dealers in the *commodity of capital?*" is the question posed to a director of this bank when he was interrogated for the Report on Bank Acts on the witness stand. (H. of C. 1857, [p. 104].)

[55] "That a man who borrows money with a view of making a profit by it, should give some portion of his profit to the lender, is a self-evident principle of natural justice" (Gilbart, *The History and Principles of Banking*, London, 1834, p. 163).

law against some individual party, cannot, being mere forms, determine this content. They merely express it. This content is just whenever it corresponds, is appropriate, to the mode of production. It is unjust whenever it contradicts that mode. Slavery on the basis of capitalist production is unjust; likewise fraud in the quality of commodities.

The £100 produce the profit of £20 because they function as capital, be it industrial or mercantile. But the *sine qua non*[a] of this function as capital is that they are expended as capital, i. e., are expended in purchasing means of production (in the case of industrial capital) or commodities (in the case of mercantile capital). But to be expended, they must be available. If A, the owner of the £100, were either to spend them for personal consumption, or to keep them as a hoard, they could not have been invested as capital by B in his capacity of functioning capitalist. B does not expend his own capital, but A's; however, he cannot expend A's capital without A's consent. Therefore, it is really A who originally expends the £100 as capital, albeit his function as capitalist is limited to this outlay of £100 as capital. In respect to these £100, B acts as capitalist only because A lends him the £100, thus expending them as capital.

Let us first consider the singular circulation of interest-bearing capital. We shall then secondly have to analyse the peculiar manner in which it is sold as a commodity, namely loaned instead of relinquished once and for all.

The point of departure is the money which A advances to B. This may be done with or without security. The first-named form, however, is the more ancient, save advances on commodities or paper, such as bills of exchange, shares, etc. These special forms do not concern us at this point. We are dealing here with interest-bearing capital in its usual form.

In B's possession the money is actually converted into capital, passes through M — C — M′ and returns to A as M′, as M + ΔM, where ΔM represents the interest. For the sake of simplicity we shall not consider here the case, in which capital remains in B's possession for a longer term and interest is paid at regular intervals.

The movement, therefore, is

$$M — M — C — M' — M'.$$

[a] the indispensable condition

What appears duplicated here, is 1) the outlay of money as capital, and 2) its reflux as realised capital, as M′ or M + ΔM.

In the movement of merchant's capital, M — C — M′, the same commodity changes hands twice, or more than twice, if merchant sells to merchant. But every such change of place of the same commodity indicates a metamorphosis, a purchase or sale of the commodity, no matter how often the process may be repeated, until it finally enters consumption.

On the other hand, the same money changes hands twice in C — M — C, but this indicates the complete metamorphosis of the commodity, which is first converted into money and then from money back into another commodity.

But in interest-bearing capital the first time M changes hands is by no means a phase either of the commodity metamorphosis, or of reproduction of capital. It first becomes one when it is expended a second time, in the hands of the functioning capitalist who carries on trade with it, or transforms it into productive capital. M's first change of hands does not express anything here, beyond its transfer from A to B — a transfer which usually takes place under certain legal forms and stipulations.

This double outlay of money as capital, of which the first is merely a transfer from A to B, is matched by its double reflux. As M′, or M + ΔM, it flows back out of the process to B, the person acting as capitalist. The latter then transfers it back to A, but together with a part of the profit, as realised capital, as M + ΔM, in which ΔM is not the entire profit, but only a portion of the profit — the interest. It flows back to B only as what he had expended, as functioning capital, but as the property of A. To make its reflux complete, B must consequently return it to A. But in addition to the capital, B must also turn over to A a portion of the profit, a part which goes under the name of interest, which he had made with this capital since A had given him the money only as a capital, i. e., as value which is not only preserved in its movement, but also creates surplus value for its owner. It remains in B's hands only so long as it is functioning capital. And with its reflux — on the stipulated date — it ceases to function as capital. When no longer acting as capital, however, it must again be returned to A, who had never ceased being its legal owner.

The form of lending, which is peculiar to this commodity, to capital as commodity, and which also occurs in other transactions, instead of that of sale, follows from the simple definition that capital ob-

tains here as a commodity, or that money as capital becomes a commodity.

A distinction should be made here.

We have seen (Book II, Chap. I),[a] and recall briefly at this point, that in the process of circulation capital serves as commodity capital and money capital. But in neither form does capital become a commodity as capital.

As soon as productive capital turns into commodity capital it must be placed on the market to be sold as a commodity. There it acts simply as a commodity. The capitalist then appears only as the seller of commodities, just as the buyer is only the buyer of commodities. As a commodity the product must realise its value, must assume its converted form, the form of money, in the process of circulation by its sale. It is also quite immaterial for this reason whether this commodity is bought by a consumer as a necessity of life, or by a capitalist as means of production, i. e., as a component part of his capital. In the act of circulation commodity capital acts only as a commodity, not as a capital. It is commodity *capital*, as distinct from an ordinary commodity, 1) because it is weighted with surplus value, the realisation of its value, therefore, being simultaneously the realisation of surplus value, but this alters nothing about its simple existence as a commodity, as a product with a certain price; 2) because its function as a commodity is a phase in its process of reproduction as capital, and therefore its movement as a commodity being only a partial movement of its process, is simultaneously its movement as capital. Yet it does not become that through the sale as such, but only through the connection of the sale with the whole movement of this specific quantity of value in the capacity of capital.

In the same way as money capital it really acts simply as money, i. e., as a means of buying commodities (the elements of production). The fact that this money is simultaneously money capital, a form of capital, does not emerge from the act of buying, the actual function which it here performs as money, but from the connection of this act with the total movement of capital, since this act, performed by capital as money, initiates the capitalist production process.

But in so far as they actually function, actually play a role in the process, commodity capital acts here only as a commodity and money capital only as money. At no time during the metamorphosis, viewed

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 36.

by itself, does the capitalist sell his commodities as *capital* to the buyer, although to him they represent capital; nor does he give up money as capital to the seller. In both cases he gives up his commodities simply as commodities, and money simply as money, as a means of purchasing commodities.

It is only in connection with the entire process, at the moment where the point of departure appears simultaneously as the point of return, in M — M′ or C — C′, that capital in the process of circulation appears as capital (whereas in the process of production it appears as capital through the subordination of the labourer to the capitalist and the production of surplus value). In this moment of return, however, the connection disappears. What we have then is M′, or M + ΔM, a sum of money equal to the sum originally advanced plus an increment — the realised surplus value (regardless of whether the amount of value increased by ΔM exists in the form of money, or commodities, or elements of production). And it is precisely at this point of return where capital exists as realised capital, as an expanded value, that it never enters the circulation in this form — in so far as this point is fixed as a point of rest, whether real or imaginary — but rather appears to have been withdrawn from circulation as a result of the whole process. Whenever it is again expended, it is never given up to another *as capital*, but is sold to him as an ordinary commodity, or given to him as ordinary money in exchange for commodities. It never appears as capital in its process of circulation, only as commodity or money, and at this point this is the only form of its existence *for others*. Commodities and money are here capital not because commodities change into money, or money into commodities, not in their actual relations to sellers or buyers, but only in their ideal relations to the capitalist himself (subjectively speaking), or as phases in the process of reproduction (objectively speaking). Capital exists as capital in actual movement, not in the process of circulation, but only in the process of production, in the process by which labour power is exploited.

The matter is different with interest-bearing capital, however, and it is precisely this difference which lends it its specific character. The owner of money who desires to enhance his money as interest-bearing capital, turns it over to a third person, throws it into circulation, turns it into a commodity as *capital*; not just capital for himself, but also for others. It is not capital merely for the man who gives it up, but is from the very first given to the third person as capital, as a val-

ue endowed with the use value of creating surplus value, of creating profit; as a value which preserves itself in its movement and returns to its original owner, in this case the owner of money, after performing its function. Hence it leaves him only for a specified time, passes but temporarily out of the possession of its owner into the possession of a functioning capitalist; it is therefore neither given up in payment nor sold, but merely loaned, merely relinquished with the understanding that, first, it shall return to its point of departure after a definite time interval, and, second, that it shall return as realised capital—a capital having realised its use value, its power of creating surplus value.

Commodities loaned out as capital are loaned either as fixed or as circulating capital, depending on their properties. Money may be loaned out in either form. It may be loaned as fixed capital, for instance, if it is paid back in the form of an annuity, whereby a portion of the capital always flows back together with the interest. Certain commodities, such as houses, ships, machines, etc., can be loaned out only as fixed capital by the nature of their use values. Yet all loaned capital, whatever its form, and no matter how the nature of its use value may modify its return, is always only a specific form of money capital. Because what is loaned out here is always a definite sum of money, and it is this sum on which interest is calculated. Should whatever is loaned out be neither money nor circulating capital, it is also paid back in the way fixed capital returns. The lender periodically receives interest and a portion of the consumed value of the fixed capital itself, this being an equivalent for the periodic wear and tear. And at the end of the stipulated term the unconsumed portion of the loaned fixed capital is returned in kind. If the loaned capital is circulating capital, it is likewise returned to the lender in the manner peculiar to circulating capital.[a]

The *manner* of reflux is, therefore, always determined by the actual circuit described by capital in the act of reproduction and by its specific varieties. But as for loaned capital, its reflux assumes the *form* of return payments, because its advance, by which it is alienated, possesses the form of a loan.

In this chapter we treat only of actual money capital, from which the other forms of loaned capital are derived.

The loaned capital flows back in two ways. In the process of repro-

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, p. 522.

duction it returns to the functioning capitalist, and then its return repeats itself once more as transfer to the lender, the money capitalist, as return payment to the real owner, its legal point of departure.

In the actual process of circulation, capital appears always as a commodity or as money, and its movement is broken up into a series of purchases and sales. In short, the process of circulation resolves itself into the metamorphosis of commodities. It is different, when we consider the process of reproduction as a whole. If we start out with money (and the same is true if we start out with commodities, since in this case we begin with their value, hence view them *sub specie* as money), we shall see that a certain sum of money is expended and returns after a certain period with an increment. The advanced sum of money returns together with a surplus value. It has preserved and expanded itself in making a certain cycle. But now, being loaned out as capital, money is loaned as just a sum of money which preserves and expands itself, which returns after a certain period with an increment, and is always ready to perform the same process over again. It is expended neither as money nor as a commodity, thus, neither exchanged against a commodity when advanced in the form of money, nor sold in exchange for money when advanced as a commodity; rather, it is expended as capital. This relation to itself, in which capital presents itself when the capitalist production process is viewed as a whole and a totality, and in which capital appears as money that begets money, is here embodied in it as its character, its designation, without any intermediary movement. And it is alienated in this designation when loaned out as money capital.

A queer conception of the role of money capital is held by Proudhon (*Gratuité du Crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon*, Paris, 1850).[a] Loaning seems an evil to Proudhon because it is not selling.

Loaning for an interest

> "is the ability of selling the same object over and over again, and receiving the price of it, over and over again, without ever giving up the ownership of what is sold" (p. 9).[b]

The object—money, a house, etc.—does not change owners as in selling and buying. But Proudhon does not see that no equivalent is

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[a] Ibid., Vol. 32, pp. 529-30 and Vol. 29, pp. 219-21. - [b] *Gratuité du crédit*, First Letter of Chevé, one of the editors of *La Voix du peuple*. Marx is quoting in French. Below, when analysing Proudhon's views, he uses quite a few French expressions.

received in return for money given away in the form of interest-bearing capital. True, the object is given away in every act of buying and selling, so far as there are processes of exchange at all. Ownership of the sold article is always relinquished. But its value is not given up. In a sale the commodity is given away, but not its value, which is returned in the form of money, or in what is here just another form of it—promissory notes, or titles of payment. When purchasing, the money is given away, but not its value, which is replaced in the form of commodities. The industrial capitalist retains the same value in his hands throughout the process of reproduction (excluding surplus value), but in different forms.

Inasmuch as there is an exchange, i. e., an exchange of articles, there is no change in the value. The same capitalist always retains the same value. But so long as surplus value is produced by the capitalist, there is no exchange. As soon as an exchange occurs, the surplus value is already incorporated in the commodities. If we view the entire circuit made by capital, M—C—M′, rather than individual acts of exchange, we shall see that a definite amount of value is continually advanced, and that this same amount plus surplus value, or profit, is withdrawn from circulation. The simple acts of exchange do not, at any rate, reveal how this process is promoted. And it is precisely this process of M as capital, on which the interest of the money-lending capitalist rests, and from which it is derived.

"Actually," says Proudhon, "the hatter who sells hats... obtains the value of them, neither more nor less. But the capitalist who loans out his capital ... not merely gets his capital back in full; he gets back more than his capital, more than he brought to the exchange; over and above his capital, he gets an interest" (p. 69).

Here the hatter represents the productive capitalist as distinct from the loan capitalist. Proudhon has obviously failed to grasp the secret of how the productive capitalist can sell commodities at their value (equalisation through prices of production is here immaterial to his conception) and precisely by doing so receive a profit over and above the capital he flings into exchange. Suppose the price of production of 100 hats = £115, and that this price of production happens to coincide with the value of the hats, which means that the capital producing the hats is of the same composition as the average social capital. Should the profit = 15%, the hatter makes a profit of £15 by selling his commodities at their value of £115. They cost him only £100. If he produced them with his own capital, he pockets the entire surplus

of £15 but if with borrowed capital, he may have to give up £5 as interest. This alters nothing in the value of the hats, only in the distribution among different persons of the surplus value already contained in this value. Since, therefore, the value of the hats is not affected by the payment of interest, it is nonsense on Proudhon's part to say:

"It is impossible, with interest on capital being added in commerce to the workers' wages to make up the price of the commodity, for the worker to be able to buy back what he himself has produced. *Vivre en travaillant*[a] is a principle which, under the rule of interest, is implicitly self-contradictory" (p. 105).[56]

How little Proudhon understood the nature of capital is shown in the following statement, in which he describes the movement of capital in general as a movement peculiar to interest-bearing capital:

"As, by the accumulation of interest, capital-money, from exchange to exchange, always returns to its source, it follows that the re-lending, always done by the same hand, always profits the same person" [p. 154].[c]

What is it that still puzzles him in the peculiar movement of interest-bearing capital? The categories: buying, price, giving up articles, and the immediate form in which surplus value appears here; in short, the phenomenon that capital as such has become a commodity, that selling, consequently, has turned into lending and price into a share of the profit.

The return of capital to its point of departure is generally the characteristic movement of capital in its total circuit. This is by no means a feature of interest-bearing capital alone. What singles it out is rather the external form of its return without the intervention of any circuit. The loaning capitalist gives away his capital, transfers it to the industrial capitalist, without receiving any equivalent. His transfer is not an act belonging to the real circulation process of capital at all. It serves merely to introduce this circuit, which is effected by the

[56] "A house", "money", etc., are not to be loaned as "capital" if Proudhon is to have his way, but are to be sold as "commodities ... at cost price" (pp. 43, 44). Luther stood somewhat above Proudhon. He knew that profit-making does not depend on the manner of lending or buying: "They also make a usury out of buying and selling. But this is too much to deal with in one single bite. We must deal with one thing now, with usury as regards loans; when we have put a stop to this (as on the Day of Judgement), then we will surely read the lesson with regard to *usurious trade*" (Martin Luther, *An die Pfarrherrn wider den Wucher zu predigen*, Wittenberg, 1540).[b]

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[a] To live by working - [b] See present edition, Vol. 32, p. 536. - [c] Marx is quoting Proudhon in French.

industrial capitalist. This first change of position of money does not express any act of the metamorphosis—neither buying nor selling. Ownership is not relinquished, because there is no exchange and no equivalent is received. The return of the money from the hands of the industrial capitalist to those of the loaning capitalist merely supplements the first act of giving away the capital. Advanced in the form of money, the capital again returns to the industrial capitalist through the circular process in the form of money. But since it did not belong to him when he invested it, it cannot belong to him on its return. Passing through the process of reproduction cannot by any means turn the capital into his property. He must therefore restore it to the lender. The first expenditure, which transfers the capital from the lender to the borrower, is a legal transaction which has nothing to do with the actual process of reproduction of capital. It is merely a prelude to this process. The return payment, which again transfers the capital that has flowed back from the borrower to the lender, is another legal transaction, a supplement of the first. One introduces the actual process, the other is an act supplementary to this process. Point of departure and point of return, the giving away and the recovery of the loaned capital, thus appear as arbitrary movements promoted by legal transactions, which take place before and after the actual movement of capital and have nothing to do with it as such. It would have been all the same as concerns this actual movement if the capital had from the first belonged to the industrial capitalist and had returned to him, therefore, as his own.[a]

In the first introductory act the lender gives his capital to the borrower. In the supplemental and closing act the borrower returns the capital to the lender. As concerns the transaction between these two—and aside from the interest for the present—as concerns the movement of the loaned capital between lender and borrower, therefore, the two acts (separated by a longer or shorter time interval, during which the actual reproduction process of the capital takes place) embrace the entire movement. And this movement, disposing on condition of returning, constitutes *per se* the movement of lending and borrowing, that specific form of conditionally alienating money or commodities.

The characteristic movement of capital in general, the return of the money to the capitalist, i. e., the return of capital to its point of

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 453-54.

departure, assumes in the case of interest-bearing capital a wholly external appearance, separated from the actual movement, of which it is a form. A gives away his money not as money, but as capital. No transformation occurs in the capital. It merely changes hands. Its real transformation into capital does not take place until it is in the hands of B. But for A it becomes capital as soon as he gives it to B. The actual reflux of capital from the processes of production and circulation takes place only for B. But for A the reflux assumes the same form as the alienation. The capital returns from B to A. Giving away, i. e., loaning money for a certain time and receiving it back with interest (surplus value) is the complete form of the movement peculiar to interest-bearing capital as such. The actual movement of loaned money as capital is an operation lying outside the transactions between lender and borrower. In these transactions the intermediate act is obliterated, invisible, not directly included. A special sort of commodity, capital has its own peculiar mode of alienation. Neither does its return, therefore, express itself as the consequence and result of some definite series of economic processes, but as the effect of a specific legal agreement between buyer and seller. The time of return depends on the progress of the process of reproduction; in the case of interest-bearing capital, its return as capital *seems* to depend on the mere agreement between lender and borrower. So that in regard to this transaction the return of capital no longer appears as a result arising out of the process of production; it appears as if the loaned capital never lost the form of money. To be sure, these transactions are really determined by the actual reproductive returns. But this is not evident in the transaction itself.[a] Nor is it by any means always the case in practice. If the actual return does not take place in due time, the borrower must look for other resources to meet his obligations vis-à-vis the lender. The bare *form* of capital — money expended as a certain sum, A, which returns as sum $A + \frac{1}{x} A$ after a given lapse of time without any other intermediate act save this lapse of time — is only a meaningless form of the actual movement of capital.

In the actual movement of capital its return is a phase in the process of circulation. The money is first converted into means of production; the production process converts it into commodities; through the sale of the commodities it is reconverted into money and returns

[a] Ibid., pp. 453-54.

in this form into the hands of the capitalist who had originally advanced the capital in the form of money. But in the case of interest-bearing capital, the return, like alienation, is merely the result of a legal transaction between the owner of the capital and a second party. We see only the alienation and the return payment. Whatever passes in the interim is obliterated.

But since money advanced as capital has the property of returning to the person who advanced it, to the one who expended it as capital, and since M — C — M′ is the immanent form of the movement of capital, the owner of the money can, for this very reason, loan it out as capital, as something that has the property of returning to its point of departure, of preserving, and increasing, its value in the course of its movement. He gives it away as capital, because it returns to its point of departure after having been employed as capital, hence can be restored by the borrower after a certain period precisely because it has come back to him.

Loaning money as capital—its alienation on the condition of it being returned after a certain time—presupposes, therefore, that it will be actually employed as capital, and that it actually flows back to its starting-point. The real cycle made by money as capital is, therefore, the premise for the legal transaction by which the borrower must return the money to the lender. If the borrower does not use the money as capital, that is his own business. The lender loans it as capital, and as such it is supposed to perform the functions of capital, which include the circuit of money capital until it returns to its starting-point in the form of money.

The acts of circulation, M — C and C — M′, in which a certain amount of value functions as money or as commodities, are but intermediate processes, mere phases of the total movement. As capital, it performs the entire movement M — M′. It is advanced as money or a sum of values in one form or another, and returns as a sum of values. The lender of money does not expend it in purchasing commodities, or, if this sum of values is in commodity form, does not sell it for money. He advances it as capital, as M — M′, as a value, which returns to its point of departure after a certain term. He lends instead of buying or selling. This lending, therefore, is the appropriate form of alienating value as *capital*, instead of alienating it as money or commodities. It does not follow, however, that lending cannot also take the form of transactions which have nothing to do with the capitalist process of reproduction.

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We have so far only considered the movements of loaned *capital* between its owner and the industrial capitalist. Now we must inquire into *interest.*

The lender expends his money as capital; the amount of value, which he relinquishes to another, is capital, and consequently returns to him. But the mere return of it would not be the reflux of the loaned sum of value *as capital*, but merely the return of a loaned sum of value. To return as capital, the advanced sum of value must not only be preserved in the movement but must also expand, must increase in value, i. e., must return with a surplus value, as $M + \Delta M$, the latter being interest or a portion of the average profit, which does not remain in the hands of the functioning capitalist, but falls to the share of the money capitalist.

The fact that the latter has relinquished it as capital implies that it must be restored to him as $M + \Delta M$. Later, we shall also have to turn our attention to the form in which interest is paid in the meantime at fixed intervals, but without the capital, whose return follows at the end of a lengthy period.

What does the money capitalist give to the borrower, the industrial capitalist? What does he really turn over to him? It is only this act of alienating money which changes lending money into alienation of money as capital, i. e., alienation of capital as a commodity.

It is only by this act of alienating that capital is loaned by the money lender as a commodity, or that the commodity at his disposal is given to another as capital.

What is alienated in an ordinary sale? Not the value of the sold commodity, for this merely changes its form. The value exists ideally in a commodity as its price before it actually passes as money into the hands of the seller. The same value and the same amount of value merely change their form here. In the one instance they exist in commodity form, in the other in the form of money. What is really alienated by the seller, and, therefore, passes into the individual or productive consumption of the buyer, is the use value of the commodity—the commodity as a use value.

What, now, is the use value which the money capitalist gives up for the period of the loan and relinquishes to the productive capitalist—the borrower? It is the use value which the money acquires by being capable of becoming capital, of performing the functions of capital, and creating a definite surplus value, the average profit

(whatever is above or below it appears here as a mere accident) during its process, besides preserving its original magnitude of value. In the case of the other commodities the use value is ultimately consumed. Their substance disappears, and with it their value. In contrast, the commodity capital is peculiar in that its value and use value not only remain intact but also increase, through consumption of its use value.

It is this use value of money as capital — this faculty of producing an average profit — which the money capitalist relinquishes to the industrial capitalist for the period, during which he places the loaned capital at the latter's disposal.

Money thus loaned has in this respect a certain similarity with labour power in its relation to the industrial capitalist. With the difference that the latter pays for the value of labour power, whereas he simply pays back the value of the loaned capital. The use value of labour power for the industrial capitalist is that labour power creates more value (profit) in its consumption than it possesses itself, and than it costs. This additional value is use value for the industrial capitalist. And in like manner the use value of loaned capital appears as its faculty of begetting and increasing value.

The money capitalist, in fact, alienates a use value, and thus whatever he gives away is given as a commodity. It is to this extent that the analogy with a commodity *per se* is complete. In the first place, it is a value which passes from one hand to another. In the case of an ordinary commodity, a commodity as such, the same value remains in the hands of the buyer and seller, only in different forms; both have the same value which they had before and after the transaction, and which they had alienated — the one in the form of a commodity, the other in the form of money. The difference is that in a loan the money capitalist is the only one in the transaction who gives away value; but he preserves it through the prospective return. In the loan transaction just one party receives value, since only one party relinquishes value.— In the second place, a real use value is alienated on the one side, and received and consumed on the other. But in contrast to ordinary commodities this use value is value in itself, namely the excess over the original value realised through the use of money as capital. The profit is this use value.

The use value of the loaned money lies in its being able to serve as capital and, as such, to produce the average profit under average conditions.[57]

[57] "The equitableness of taking interest depends not upon a man's making or not

What, now, does the industrial capitalist pay, and what is, therefore, the price of the loaned capital?

*"*That which men pay as interest for the use of what they borrow*"* is, according to Massie, *"a part of the profit it is capable of producing."* [58]

What the buyer of an ordinary commodity buys is its use value; what he pays for is its value. What the borrower of money buys is likewise its use value as capital; but what does he pay for? Surely not its price, or value, as in the case of other commodities. No change of form occurs in the value passing between borrower and lender, as occurs between buyer and seller when it exists in one instance in the form of money, and in another in the form of a commodity. The sameness of the given away and returned value is revealed here in an entirely different way. The sum of value, i. e., the money, is given away without an equivalent, and is returned after a certain period. The lender always remains the owner of the same value, even after it passes from his hands into those of the borrower. In an ordinary exchange of commodities money always comes from the buyer's side; but in a loan it comes from the side of the seller. He is the one who gives away money for a certain period, and the buyer of capital is the one who receives it as a commodity. But this is only possible as long as the money acts as capital and is therefore advanced. The borrower borrows money as capital, as a value producing more value. But at the moment when it is advanced it is still only potential capital, like any other capital at its starting-point, the moment it is advanced. It is only through its employment that it expands its value and realises itself as capital. However, it has to be returned by the borrower as *realised* capital, hence as value plus surplus value (interest). And the latter can only be a portion of the realised profit. Only a portion, not all of it. For the use value of the loaned capital to the borrower consists in producing profit for him. Otherwise there would not have been any alienation of use value on the lender's part. On the other hand, not all the profit can fall to the borrower's share. Otherwise he

making profit, but upon its" (the borrowed) "being capable of producing profit if rightly employed" (*An Essay on the Governing Causes of the Natural Rate of Interest, wherein the sentiments of Sir W. Petty and Mr. Locke, on that head, are considered*, London, 1750, p. 49. The author of this anonymous work is J. Massie).

[58] [Ibid., p. 49.] "Rich people, instead of employing their money themselves ... let it out to other people for them to make profit of, reserving for the owners a proportion of the profits so made" (l. c., pp. 23, 24).

would pay nothing for the alienated use value, and would return the advanced money to the lender as ordinary money, not as capital, as realised capital, for it is realised capital only as $M + \Delta M$.

Both of them, lender and borrower, expend the same sum of money as capital. But it is only in the hands of the latter that it serves as capital. The profit is not doubled by the double existence of the same sum of money as capital for two persons. It can serve as capital for both of them only by dividing the profit. The portion which falls to the lender is called interest.

The entire transaction, as assumed, takes place between two kinds of capitalists—the money capitalist and the industrial or merchant capitalist.

It must always be borne in mind that here capital as capital is a commodity, or that the commodity here discussed is capital. All the relations in evidence here would therefore be irrational from the standpoint of an ordinary commodity, or from that of capital in so far as it acts as a commodity capital in the process of reproduction. Lending and borrowing, instead of selling and buying, is a distinction which here springs from the specific nature of the commodity—capital. Similarly, the fact that it is interest, not the price of the commodity, which is paid here. If we want to call interest the price of money capital, then it is an irrational form of price quite at variance with the conception of the price of commodities.[59] The price is here reduced to its purely abstract and meaningless form, signifying that it is a certain sum of money paid for something serving in one way or another as a use value; whereas the conception of price really signifies the value of some use value expressed in money.

Interest, signifying the price of capital, is from the outset quite an irrational expression. The commodity in question has a double value, first a value, and then a price different from this value, while price represents the expression of value in money. Money capital is nothing

[59] "The term 'VALUE',[a] when applied to CURRENCY, has three meanings ... 2) CURRENCY ACTUALLY IN HAND... compared with the same amount of CURRENCY to be received upon a future day. In this case the value of currency is measured by the rate of interest, and the rate of interest being determined BY THE RATIO BETWEEN THE AMOUNT OF LOANABLE CAPITAL AND THE DEMAND FOR IT" (Colonel R. Torrens, *On the Operation of the Bank Charter Act of 1844, etc.*, 2nd ed., 1847, [pp. 5, 6]).

[a] In the 1894 German edition this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

but a sum of money, or the value of a certain quantity of commodities fixed in a sum of money. If a commodity is loaned out as capital, it is only a disguised form of a sum of money. Because what is loaned out as capital is not so and so many pounds of cotton, but so much and so much money existing in the form of cotton as its value. The price of capital, therefore, refers to it as to a sum of money, even if not currency, as Mr. Torrens thinks (see Footnote [59]). How, then, can a sum of value have a price besides its own price, besides the price expressed in its own money form? Price, after all, is the value of a commodity (this is also true of the market price, whose difference from value is not one of quality, but only one of quantity, referring only to the magnitude of value) as distinct from its use value. A price which differs from value in quality is an absurd contradiction.[60]

Capital manifests itself as capital through self-expansion. The degree of its self-expansion expresses the quantitative degree in which it realises itself as capital. The surplus value or profit produced by it—its rate or magnitude—is measurable only by comparison with the value of the advanced capital. The greater or lesser self-expansion of interest-bearing capital is, therefore, likewise only measurable by comparing the amount of interest, its share in the total profits, with the value of the advanced capital. If, therefore, price expresses the value of the commodity, then interest expresses the self-expansion of money capital and thus appears as the price paid for it to the lender. This shows how absurd it is from the very first to apply hereto the simple relations of exchange through the medium of money in buying and selling, as Proudhon does. The basic premise is precisely that money functions as capital and may thus be transferred as such, i. e., as potential capital, to a third person.

Capital, however, appears here as a commodity, inasmuch as it is offered on the market, and the use value of money is actually alienated as capital. Its use value, however, lies in producing profit. The value of money or of commodities employed as capital does not depend on their value as money or as commodities, but on the quantity of surplus value they produce for their owner. The product of capital is profit. On the basis of capitalist production it is merely a dif-

[60] "The ambiguity of the term 'value of money' or 'of the currency', when employed indiscriminately as it is, to signify both value in exchange for commodities and value in use of capital, is a constant source of confusion" (Tooke, *Inquiry into the Currency Principle*, p. 77).The main confusion (implied in the matter itself) that value as such (interest) becomes the use value of capital, has escaped Tooke.

ferent use of money — whether it is expended as money, or advanced as capital. Money, or commodities, is in itself potentially capital, just as labour power is potential capital. Because, 1) money may be converted into elements of production and is, as is, merely an abstract expression of them — their existence as value; 2) the material elements of wealth have the property of potentially becoming capital, because their supplementary opposite, which makes them into capital, namely wage labour, is available on the basis of capitalist production.

The antithetical social features of material wealth — its antagonism to labour as wage labour — are already expressed in capitalist property as such, independently of the production process. This particular moment — separated from the capitalist production process itself of which it is the constant result, and as its constant result it is also its constant prerequisite — manifests itself in the fact that money, commodities are as such, latently, potentially capital, that they can be sold as capital, and that in this form they command the labour of others, claim to appropriate the labour of others, and therefore represent self-expanding values. It also becomes clearly apparent that this relationship, and not the labour offered as an equivalent on the part of the capitalist, supplies the title and the means to appropriate the labour of others.[a]

Furthermore, capital appears as a commodity, inasmuch as the division of profit into interest and profit proper is regulated by supply and demand, that is, by competition, just as the market prices of commodities. But the difference here is just as apparent as the analogy. If supply and demand coincide, the market price of commodities corresponds to their price of production, i. e., their price then appears to be regulated by the immanent laws of capitalist production, independently of competition, since the fluctuations of supply and demand explain nothing but deviations of market prices from prices of production. These deviations mutually balance one another, so that in the course of certain longer periods the average market prices equal the prices of production. As soon as supply and demand coincide, these forces cease to operate, i. e., compensate one another, and the general law determining prices then also comes to apply to individual cases. The market price then corresponds even in its immediate form, and not only as the average of market price movements, to the price of production, which is regulated by the immanent laws of the mode of

[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, p. 474.

production itself. The same applies to wages. If supply and demand coincide, they neutralise each other's effect, and wages equal the value of labour power. But it is different with the interest on money capital. Competition does not, in this case, determine the deviations from the rule. There is rather no law of division except that enforced by competition, because, as we shall later see, no such thing as a "natural" rate of interest exists. By the natural rate of interest people merely mean the rate fixed by free competition. There are no "natural" limits for the rate of interest. Whenever competition does not merely determine the deviations and fluctuations, whenever, therefore, the neutralisation of opposing forces puts a stop to any and all determination, the thing to be determined becomes something arbitrary and lawless. More on this in the next chapter.

In the case of interest-bearing capital everything appears superficial: the advance of capital as mere transfer from lender to borrower; the reflux of realised capital as mere transfer back, as a return payment with interest, by borrower to lender. The same is true of the fact, immanent in the capitalist mode of production, that the rate of profit is not only determined by the relation of profit made in one single turnover to advanced capital value, but also by the length of this period of turnover, hence determined as profit yielded by industrial capital within definite spans of time. In the case of interest-bearing capital this likewise appears on the surface to mean that a definite interest is paid to the lender for a definite time span.

With his usual insight into the internal connection of things, the romantic Adam Müller says (*Elemente der Staatskunst*, Berlin, 1809, [Dritter Theil,] S. 138):

> "In determining the prices of things, time is not considered; while in determining interest, time is the principal factor."

He does not see how the time of production and the time of circulation enter into the determination of commodity prices, and how this is just what determines the rate of profit for a given period of turnover of capital, whereas interest is determined by precisely this determination of profit for a given period. His sagacity here, as elsewhere, consists in observing the clouds of dust on the surface and presumptuously declaring this dust to be something mysterious and important.[a]

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 225-26.

## Chapter XXII

### DIVISION OF PROFIT. RATE OF INTEREST. "NATURAL" RATE OF INTEREST

The subject of this chapter, like all the other phenomena of credit we shall come across later on, cannot be analysed here in detail. The competition between lenders and borrowers and the resultant minor fluctuations of the money market fall outside the scope of our inquiry. The circuit described by the rate of interest during the industrial cycle requires for its presentation the analysis of this cycle itself, but this likewise cannot be given here. The same applies to the greater or lesser approximate equalisation of the rate of interest in the world market. We are here concerned with the independent form of interest-bearing capital and the individualisation of interest, as distinct from profit.

Since interest is merely a part of profit paid, according to our earlier assumption, by the industrial capitalist to the money capitalist, the maximum limit of interest is the profit itself, in which case the portion pocketed by the functioning capitalist would = 0. Aside from exceptional cases, in which interest might actually be larger than profit, but then could not be paid out of the profit, one might consider as the maximum limit of interest the total profit minus the portion (to be subsequently analysed) which resolves itself into WAGES OF SUPERINTENDENCE.[a] The minimum limit of interest is altogether indeterminable. It may fall to any level. Yet in that case there will always be counteracting influences to raise it again above this relative minimum.

"The relation between the sum paid for the use of capital and the capital itself expresses the rate of interest as measured in money."—"The rate of interest depends 1) on the rate of profit; 2) on the proportion in which the entire profit is divided between the lender and borrower" (*Economist*, January 22, 1853, [p. 89]). "If that which men pay as interest for the use of what they borrow, be a part of the profits it is capable of producing, this interest must always be governed by those profits" (Massie, l. c., p. 49).

Let us first assume that there is a fixed relation between the total profit and that part of it which has to be paid as interest to the money capitalist. It is then clear that the interest will rise or fall with the total profit, and the latter is determined by the general rate of profit

[a] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

and its fluctuations. For instance, if the average rate of profit were = 20% and the interest = $\frac{1}{4}$ of the profit, the rate of interest would = 5%; if the average rate of profit were = 16%, the rate of interest would = 4%. With the rate of profit at 20%, the rate of interest might rise to 8%, and the industrial capitalist would still make the same profit as he would at a rate of profit = 16% and a rate of interest = 4%, namely 12%. Should the interest rise only to 6% or 7%, he would still keep a larger share of the profit. If the interest amounted to a constant quota of the average profit, it would follow that the higher the general rate of profit, the greater the absolute difference between the total profit and the interest, and the greater the portion of the total profit pocketed by the functioning capitalist, and vice versa. Take it that the interest = $\frac{1}{5}$ of the average profit. One-fifth of 10 is 2; the difference between the total profit and the interest = 8. One-fifth of 20 = 4; difference = 20 − 4 = 16; $\frac{1}{5}$ of 25 = 5; difference = 25 − 5 = 20; $\frac{1}{5}$ of 30 = 6; difference = 30 − 6 = 24; $\frac{1}{5}$ of 35 = 7; difference = 35 − 7 = 28. The different rates of interest of 4, 5, 6, 7% would here always represent no more than $\frac{1}{5}$, or 20% of the total profit. If the rates of profit are different, therefore, different rates of interest may represent the same aliquot parts of the total profit, or the same percentage of the total profit. With such constant proportions of interest, the industrial profit (the difference between the total profit and the interest) would rise proportionately to the general rate of profit, and conversely.

All other conditions taken as equal, i. e., assuming the proportion between the interest and the total profit to be more or less constant, the functioning capitalist is able and willing to pay a higher or lower interest directly proportional to the level of the rate of profit.[61] Since we have seen that the rate of profit is inversely proportional to the development of capitalist production, it follows that the higher or lower rate of interest in a country is in the same inverse proportion to the degree of industrial development, at least in so far as the difference in the rate of interest actually expresses the difference in the rates of profit. It shall later develop that this need not always be the case. In this sense it may be said that interest is regulated through profit, or, more precisely, the general rate of profit. And this mode of regulating interest applies even to its average.

[61] "The natural rate of interest is governed by the profits of trade to particulars" (Massie, l. c., p. 51).

In any event the average rate of profit is to be regarded as the ultimate determinant of the maximum limit of interest.

The fact that interest is to be related to average profit will be considered presently at greater length. Whenever a specified entity, such as profit, is to be divided between two parties, the matter naturally hinges above all on the magnitude of the entity which is to be divided, and this, the magnitude of profit, is determined by its average rate. Suppose the general rate of profit, hence the magnitude of profit, for a capital of given size, say, = 100, is assumed as given. Then the variations of interest will obviously be inversely proportional to those of the part of profit remaining in the hands of the producing capitalist, working with a borrowed capital. And the circumstances determining the amount of profit to be distributed, of the value produced by unpaid labour, differ widely from those which determine its distribution between these two kinds of capitalists, and frequently produce entirely opposite effects.[62]

If we observe the cycles in which modern industry moves — state of inactivity, mounting revival, prosperity, overproduction, crisis, stagnation, state of inactivity, etc., cycles which fall beyond the scope of our analysis — we shall find that a low rate of interest generally corresponds to periods of prosperity or extra profit, a rise in interest separates prosperity and its reverse, and a maximum of interest up to a point of extreme usury corresponds to the period of crisis.[63] The summer of 1843 ushered in a period of remarkable prosperity; the rate of interest, still $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ in the spring of 1842, fell to 2% in the spring and summer of 1843[64]; in September it fell as low as $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ (Gilbart, l. c., I, p. 166); whereupon it rose to 8% and higher during the crisis of 1847.

[62] At this point the manuscript contains the following remark: "The course of this chapter shows that it is preferable, before analysing the laws of the distribution of profits, to ascertain first the way in which the division of quantity becomes one of quality. To make a transition from the previous chapter, we need but assume that interest is a certain indefinite portion of profit." [*F. E.*]

[63] "In the first period, immediately after pressure, money is abundant without speculation; in the second period, money is abundant and speculations abound; in the third period, speculation begins to decline and money is in demand; in the fourth period, money is scarce and a pressure arrives" (Gilbart, *A Practical Treatise on Banking*, 5th ed., Vol. I, London, 1849, p. 149).

[64] Tooke explains this "by the accumulation of surplus capital necessarily accompanying the scarcity of profitable employment for it in previous years, by the release of hoards, and by the revival of confidence in commercial prospects" (*History of Prices from 1839 to 1847*, London, 1848, p. 54).

It is possible, however, for low interest to go along with stagnation, and for moderately rising interest to go along with revived activity.

The rate of interest reaches its peak during crises, when money is borrowed to meet payments at any cost. Since a rise in interest implies a fall in the price of securities, this simultaneously offers a fine opportunity to people with available money capital, to acquire at ridiculously low prices such interest-bearing securities as must, in the regular course of things, at least regain their average price as soon as the rate of interest falls again.[65]

However, the rate of interest also has a tendency to fall quite independently of the fluctuations in the rate of profit. And, indeed, due to two main causes:

I. "Were we even to suppose that capital was never borrowed with any view but to productive employment, I think it very possible that interest might vary without any change in the rate of gross profits. For, as a nation advances in the career of wealth, a class of men springs up and increases more and more, who by the labours of their ancestors find themselves in the possession of funds sufficiently ample to afford a handsome maintenance from the interest alone. Very many also who during youth and middle age were actively engaged in business, retire in their latter days to live quietly on the interest of the sums they have themselves accumulated. This class, as well as the former, has a tendency to increase with the increasing riches of the country, for those who begin with a tolerable stock are likely to make an independence sooner than they who commence with little. Thus it comes to pass, that in old and rich countries, the amount of national capital belonging to those who are unwilling to take the trouble of employing it themselves, bears a larger proportion to the whole productive stock of the society, than in newly settled and poorer districts. How much more numerous in proportion to the population is the class of *rentiers* ... in England! As the class of *rentiers* increases, so also does that of lenders of capital, for they are one and the same" (Ramsay, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth*, pp. 201, 202).

II. The development of the credit system and the attendant ever-growing control of industrialists and merchants over the money savings of all classes of society that is effected through the bankers, and the progressive concentration of these savings in amounts which can serve as money capital, must also depress the rate of interest. More about this later.

With reference to the determination of the rate of interest, Ramsay says that it

[65] "An old customer of a banker was refused a loan upon a £200,000 bond; when about to leave to make known his suspension of payment, he was told there was no necessity for the step, under the circumstances the banker would buy the bond at £150,000" ([H. Roy], *The Theory of the Exchanges. The Bank Charter Act of 1844, etc.*, London, 1864, p. 80).

"depends partly upon the rate of gross profits, partly on the proportion in which these are separated into PROFITS of capital and those OF ENTERPRISE.[a] This proportion again depends upon the competition between the lenders of capital and the borrowers; which competition is influenced, though by no means entirely regulated, by the rate of gross profits expected to be realised.[66] And the reason why competition is not exclusively regulated by this cause, is, because, on the one hand, many borrow without any view to productive employment; and, on the other, because the proportion of the whole capital to be lent, varies with the riches of the country independently of any change in gross profits" (Ramsay, l. c., pp. 206-07).

To determine the average rate of interest we must 1) calculate the average rate of interest during its variations in the major industrial cycles; and 2) find the rate of interest for investments which require long-term loans of capital.

The average rate of interest prevailing in a certain country — as distinct from the continually fluctuating market rates — cannot be determined by any law. In this sphere there is no such thing as a natural rate of interest in the sense in which economists speak of a natural rate of profit and a natural rate of wages. Massie has rightly said in this respect:

*"The only thing which any man can be in doubt about on this occasion, is, what proportion of these profits do of right belong to the borrower, and what to the lender; and this there is no other method of determining than by the opinions of borrowers and lenders in general; for right and wrong, in this respect, are only what common consent makes so" * (Massie, l. c., p. 49).

Equating supply and demand — assuming the average rate of profit as given — is of no consequence at all here. Wherever else this formula is resorted to (and this is then practically correct), it serves as a formula to find the fundamental rule (the regulating limits or limiting magnitudes) which is independent of, and rather determines, competition; notably as a formula for those who are held captive by the practice of competition, and by its phenomena and the conceptions arising out of them, to arrive at what is again but a superficial idea of the inner connection of economic relations obtaining within competi-

[66] Since the rate of interest is on the whole determined by the average rate of profit, inordinate swindling is often bound up with a low rate of interest. For instance, the railway swindle in the summer of 1844. The rate of interest of the Bank of England was not raised to 3% until 16th October, 1844.

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[a] In the 1894 German edition the term "profits of enterprise" is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

tion. It is a method to pass from the variations that go with competition to the limits of these variations. This is not the case with the average rate of interest. There is no good reason why average conditions of competition, the balance between lender and borrower, should give the lender an interest rate of 3, 4, 5%, etc., or else a certain percentage of the gross profits, say 20% or 50%, on his capital. Where competition as such is the determining factor, the particular rate fixed is accidental, purely empirical, and only pedantry or fantasy would seek to represent this accident as a necessity.[67] Nothing is more amusing in the reports of Parliament for 1857 and 1858 concerning bank legislation and commercial crises than to hear of "THE REAL RATE PRODUCED" as the directors of the Bank of England, London bankers, country bankers, and professional theorists chatter back and forth, never getting beyond such commonplaces as that "the price paid for the use of loanable capital should vary with the supply of such capital", that "a high rate and a low profit cannot permanently exist", and similar platitudes.[68] Customs, juristic tradition, etc., have as much to do with determining the average rate of interest as competition itself, in so far as it exists not merely as an average, but rather as actual magnitude. In many law disputes, where interest has to be calculated, an average rate of interest has to be assumed as the legal rate. If we

[67] J. G. Opdyke, for instance, in his *Treatise on Political Economy*, New York, 1851, [pp. 86-87], makes a very unsuccessful attempt to explain the universality of a 5% rate of interest by eternal laws. Mr. Karl Arnd is still more naive in *Die naturgemässe Volkswirtschaft, gegenüber dem Monopoliengeist und dem Kommunismus, etc.*, Hanau, 1845. It is stated there: "In the natural course of goods production there is just *one* phenomenon, which, in the fully settled countries, seems in some measure to regulate the rate of interest; this is the proportion in which the timber in European forests is augmented through their annual growth. This new growth occurs quite independently of their exchange value, at the rate of 3 or 4 to 100." (How queer that trees should see to their new growth independently of their exchange value!) "According to this a drop in the rate of interest below its present level in the richest countries cannot be expected" (pp. 124-25). (He means, because the new growth of the trees is independent of their exchange value, however much their exchange value may depend on their new growth.) This deserves to be called "the primordial forest rate of interest". Its discoverer makes a further laudable contribution in this work to "our science" as the "philosopher of the dog tax".[39]

[68] The Bank of England raises and lowers the rate of its discount, always, of course, with due consideration to the rate prevailing in the open market, in accordance with imports and exports of gold. "By which gambling in discounts, by anticipation of the alterations in the bank rate, has now become half the trade of the great heads of the money centre"—i. e., of the London money market. ([H. Roy], *The Theory of the Exchanges, etc.*, p. 113.)

inquire further as to why the limits of an average rate of interest cannot be deduced from general laws, we find the answer lies simply in the nature of interest. It is merely a part of the average profit. The same capital appears in two roles — as loanable capital in the lender's hands and as industrial, or commercial, capital in the hands of the functioning capitalist. But it functions just once, and produces profit just once. In the production process itself the nature of capital as loanable capital plays no role. How the two parties who have claim to it divide the profit is in itself just as purely empirical a matter belonging to the realm of accident as the distribution of percentage shares of a common profit in a business partnership. Two entirely different elements — labour power and capital — act as determinants in the division between surplus value and wages, which division essentially determines the rate of profit; these are functions of two independent variables, which limit one another; and it is their *qualitative difference* that is the source of the *quantitative division* of the produced value. We shall see later that the same occurs in the division of surplus value into rent and profit. Nothing of the kind occurs in the case of interest. Here the *qualitative differentiation*, as we shall presently see, proceeds rather from the *purely quantitative division* of the same sum of surplus value.

It follows from the aforesaid that there is no such thing as a "natural" rate of interest. But if, on the one hand, unlike in the case of the general rate of profit, there is no general law to determine the limits of the average interest, or average rate of interest, as distinct from the continually fluctuating market rates of interest, because it is merely a question of dividing the gross profit between two owners of capital under different titles, the rate of interest, be it the average or the market rate prevalent in each particular case, on the other hand, appears as a uniform, definite and tangible magnitude in a quite different way from the general rate of profit.[69]

The rate of interest is similarly related to the rate of profit as the market price of a commodity is to its value. In so far as the rate of interest is determined by the rate of profit, this is always the general rate

[69] "'The price of commodities fluctuates' continually; they are all made for different uses; the money serves for all purposes. The commodities, even those of the same kind, differ according to quality; cash money is always of the same value, or at least is assumed to be so. Thus it is that the price of money, which we designate by the term interest, has a greater stability and uniformity than that of any other thing" (J. Steuart, *Principles of Political Economy*, French translation, 1789, IV, p. 27).

of profit and not any specific rate of profit prevailing in some particular branch of industry, and still less any extra profit which an individual capitalist may make in a particular sphere of business.[70] It is a fact, therefore, that the general rate of profit appears as an empirical, given reality in the average rate of interest, although the latter is not a pure or reliable expression of the former.

It is indeed true that the rate of interest itself varies continually in accordance with the different classes of securities offered by borrowers, and in accordance with the length of time for which the money is borrowed; but it is uniform in each of these classes at a given moment. This distinction, then, does not militate against a fixed and uniform appearance of the rate of interest.[71]

The average rate of interest appears in every country over fairly long periods as a constant magnitude, because the general rate of profit varies only at longer intervals — in spite of constant variations in specific rates of profit, in which a change in one sphere is offset by an opposite change in another. And its relative constancy is revealed

[70] "This rule of dividing profits is not, however, to be applied particularly to every lender and borrower, but to lenders and borrowers in general ... remarkably great and small gains are the reward of skill and the want of understanding, which lenders have nothing at all to do with; for as they will not suffer by the one, they ought not to benefit by the other. What has been said of particular men in the same business is applicable to particular sorts of business; if the merchants and tradesmen employed in any one branch of trade get more by what they borrow than the common profits made by other merchants and tradesmen of the same country, the extraordinary gain is theirs, though it required only common skill and understanding to get it; and not the lenders', who supplied them with money ... for the lenders would not have lent their money to carry on any branch of trade upon lower terms than would admit of paying so much as the common rate of interest; and therefore they ought not to receive more than that, whatever advantages may be made by their money" (Massie, l. c., pp. 50, 51).

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|---|---|
| Bank rate | 5% |
| Market rate of discount, 60 days'drafts | $3\frac{5}{8}$% |
| Ditto, 3 months' | $3\frac{1}{2}$% |
| Ditto, 6 months' | $3\frac{5}{16}$% |
| Loans to bill-brokers, day to day | 1 to 2% |
| Ditto, for one week | 3% |
| Last rate for fortnight, loans to stockbrokers | $4\frac{3}{4}$ to 5% |
| Deposit allowance (banks) | $3\frac{1}{2}$% |
| Ditto (discount houses) | 3 to $3\frac{1}{4}$% * |

How large this difference may be for one and the same day is shown in the preceding figures of the rate of interest of the London money market on December 9, 1889, taken from the City article of the *Daily News* of December 10. The minimum is 1%, the maximum 5%. [*F. E.*]

precisely in this more or less constant nature of the AVERAGE, OR COMMON, RATE OF INTEREST.[a]

As concerns the perpetually fluctuating market rate of interest, however, it exists at any moment as a fixed magnitude, just as the market price of commodities, because in the money market all loanable capital continually faces functioning capital as an aggregate mass, so that the relation between the supply of loanable capital on one side, and the demand for it on the other, decides the market level of interest at any given time. This is all the more so, the more the development, and the attendant concentration, of the credit system gives to loanable capital a general social character and throws it all at once on the money market. On the other hand, the general rate of profit is never anything more than a tendency, a movement to equalise specific rates of profit. The competition between capitalists—which is itself this movement toward equilibrium—consists here of their gradually withdrawing capital from spheres in which profit is for an appreciable length of time below average, and gradually investing capital into spheres in which profit is above average. Or it may also consist in additional capital distributing itself gradually and in varying proportions among these spheres. It is continual variation in supply and withdrawal of capital in regard to these different spheres, and never a simultaneous mass effect, as in the determination of the rate of interest.

We have seen that interest-bearing capital, although a category which differs absolutely from a commodity, becomes a commodity *sui generis*,[b] so that interest becomes its price, fixed at all times by supply and demand like the market price of an ordinary commodity. The market rate of interest, while fluctuating continually, appears therefore at any given moment just as constantly fixed and uniform as the market price of a commodity prevailing in each individual case. Money capitalists supply this commodity, and functioning capitalists buy it, creating the demand for it. This does not occur when equalisation creates a general rate of profit. If prices of commodities in one sphere are below or above the price of production (wherein we leave aside the fluctuations attendant upon the various phases of the industrial cycle in each and every enterprise) equalisation occurs through the expansion or curtailment of production, i. e., the expansion or

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent. - [b] peculiar

curtailment of the masses of commodities thrown on the market by industrial capitals—caused by inflow or outflow of capital to and from individual spheres of production. It is by this equalisation of the average market prices of commodities to prices of production that deviations of specific rates of profit from the general, or average, rate of profit are corrected. It cannot be that in this process industrial or mercantile capital *as such* should ever assume the appearance of commodities vis-à-vis the buyer, as in the case of interest-bearing capital. If perceptible at all, this process is so only in the fluctuations and equalisations of market prices of commodities to prices of production, not as a direct fixation of the average profit. The general rate of profit is, indeed, determined 1) by the surplus value produced by the total capital, 2) by the proportion of this surplus value to the value of the total capital, and 3) by competition, but only in so far as this is a movement whereby capitals invested in particular production spheres seek to draw equal dividends out of this surplus value in proportion to their relative magnitudes. The general rate of profit, therefore, derives actually from causes far different and far more complicated than the market rate of interest, which is directly and immediately determined by the proportion between supply and demand, and hence is not as tangible and obvious a fact as the rate of interest. The specific rates of profit in various spheres of production are themselves more or less uncertain; but in so far as they appear, it is not their uniformity but their differences which are perceptible. The general rate of profit, however, appears only as the lowest limit of profit, not as an empirical, directly visible form of the actual rate of profit.

In emphasising this difference between the rate of interest and the rate of profit, we still omit the following two points, which favour consolidation of the rate of interest: 1) the historical preexistence of interest-bearing capital and the existence of a traditional general rate of interest; 2) the far greater direct influence exerted by the world market on establishing the rate of interest, irrespective of the economic conditions of a country, as compared with its influence on the rate of profit.

The average profit does not appear as a directly established fact, but rather is to be determined as an end result of the equalisation of opposite fluctuations. Not so with the rate of interest. It is a thing fixed daily in its general, at least local, validity—a thing which serves industrial and mercantile capitals even as a prerequisite and a factor in the calculation of their operations. It becomes the general

endowment of every sum of money of £100 to yield 2, 3, 4, 5%. Meteorological reports never denote the readings of the barometer and thermometer with greater accuracy than stock exchange reports denote the rate of interest, not for one or another capital, but for capital in the money market, i. e., for loanable capital generally.[a]

In the money market only lenders and borrowers face one another. The commodity has the same form — money. All specific forms of capital in accordance with its investment in particular spheres of production or circulation are here obliterated. It exists in the undifferentiated homogeneous form of independent value — money. The competition of individual spheres does not affect it. They are all thrown together as borrowers of money, and capital confronts them all in a form in which it is as yet indifferent to the particular manner of its employment. Here, in the supply and demand of capital, it appears most emphatically as *essentially the common capital of a class* — something industrial capital does only in the movement and competition between the individual spheres. On the other hand, money capital in the money market actually possesses the form, in which, indifferent to its specific employment, it is divided as a common element among the various spheres, among the capitalist class, as the requirements of production in each individual sphere may dictate. Moreover, with the development of large-scale industry money capital, so far as it appears on the market, is not represented by some individual capitalist, not the owner of one or another fraction of the capital in the market, but assumes the nature of a concentrated, organised mass, which, quite different from actual production, is subject to the control of bankers, i. e., the representatives of social capital. So that, as concerns the form of demand, loanable capital is confronted by the class as a whole, whereas in the province of supply it is loanable capital which obtains *en masse*.

These are some of the reasons why the general rate of profit appears blurred and hazy alongside the definite interest rate, which may fluctuate in magnitude, but always confronts borrowers as given and fixed because it varies uniformly for all of them. Just as variations in the value of money do not prevent it from having the same value vis-à-vis all commodities. Just as the daily fluctuations in market prices of commodities do not prevent them from being daily reported in

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 459-60.

the papers. So the rate of interest is regularly reported as "the price of money". It is so, because capital itself is being offered here in the form of money as a commodity. The fixation of its price is thus a fixation of its market price, as with all other commodities. The rate of interest, therefore, always appears as the general rate of interest, as so much money for so much money, as a definite quantity. The rate of profit, on the other hand, may vary even within the same sphere for commodities with the same market prices, depending on different conditions under which individual capitals produce the same commodity, because the rate of profit of an individual capital is not determined by the market price of a commodity, but rather by the difference between market price and cost price. And these different rates of profit can strike a balance—first within the same sphere and then between different spheres—only through continual fluctuations.[a]

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(Note for later elaboration.) A specific form of credit: It is known that when money serves as a means of payment instead of a means of purchase, the commodity is alienated, but its value is realised only later. If payment is not made until after the commodity has again been sold, this sale does not appear as the result of the purchase; rather it is through this sale that the purchase is realised. In other words, the sale becomes a means of purchase. Secondly: titles to debts, bills of exchange, etc., become means of payment for the creditor. Thirdly: the compensation of titles to debts replaces money.

## Chapter XXIII

### INTEREST AND PROFIT OF ENTERPRISE

Interest, as we have seen in the two preceding chapters, appears originally, is originally, and remains in fact merely a portion of the profit, i. e., of the surplus value, which the functioning capitalist, industrialist or merchant has to pay to the owner and lender of money capital whenever he uses loaned capital instead of his own. If he employs only his own capital, no such division of profit takes place; the latter is then entirely his. Indeed, as long as the owners of the capital employ it on their own in the reproduction process, they do not compete in determining the rate of interest. This alone shows that the

[a] Ibid., pp. 461-62.

category of interest—impossible without determining the rate of interest—is alien to the movements of industrial capital as such.

* The rate of interest may be defined to be that proportional sum which the lender is content to receive, and the borrower to pay, for a year or for any longer or shorter period, for the use of a certain amount of moneyed capital.... When the owner of a capital employs it actively in reproduction, he does not come under the head of those capitalists, the proportion of whom, to the number of borrowers, determines the rate of interest" * (Th. Tooke, *A History of Prices*, London, 1838, II, pp. 355-56.)

It is indeed only the division of capitalists into money capitalists and industrial capitalists that transforms a portion of the profit into interest, that generally creates the category of interest; and it is only the competition between these two kinds of capitalists which creates the rate of interest.

As long as capital functions in the process of reproduction—even assuming that it belongs to the industrial capitalist and he has no need of paying it back to a lender—the capitalist, as a private individual, does not have at his disposal this capital itself, but only the profit, which he may spend as revenue. As long as his capital functions as capital, it belongs to the process of reproduction, is tied up in it. He is, indeed, its owner, but this ownership does not enable him to dispose of it in any other way, so long as he uses it as capital for the exploitation of labour. The same is true of the money capitalist. So long as his capital is loaned out and thereby serves as money capital, it brings him interest, a portion of the profit, but he cannot dispose of the principal. This is evident whenever he loans out his capital for, say, a year, or more, and receives interest at certain stipulated times without the return of his principal. But even the return of the principal makes no difference here. If he gets it back, he must always loan it out again, so long as it is to function for him as capital—here as money capital. As long as he keeps it in his own hands, it does not collect interest and does not act as capital; and as long as it does gather interest and does serve as capital, it is out of his hands. Hence the possibility of loaning out capital for all time. The following remarks by Tooke directed against Bosanquet are, therefore, entirely wrong. He quotes Bosanquet (*Metallic, Paper, and Credit Currency*, p. 73):

"Were the rate of interest reduced as low as 1%, capital borrowed would be placed nearly ON A PAR[a] with capital possessed."

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this English expression is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

To this Tooke adds the following marginal note:

"That a capital borrowed at that, or even a lower rate, should be considered nearly on a par with capital possessed, is a proposition so strange as hardly to warrant serious notice were it not advanced by a writer so intelligent, and, on some points of the subject, so well informed. Has he overlooked the circumstance, or does he consider it of little consequence, that there must, by the supposition, be a condition of repayment?" (Th. Tooke, *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle*, 2nd ed., London, 1844, p. 80.)

If interest were = 0, the industrial capitalist operating on borrowed capital would stand on a par with a capitalist using his own capital. Both would pocket the same average profit, and capital, whether borrowed or owned, serves as capital only as long as it produces profit. The condition of return payment would alter nothing. The nearer the rate of interest approaches zero, falling, for instance, to 1%, the nearer borrowed capital is to being on a par with owner's capital. So long as money capital is to exist as money capital, it must always be loaned out, and indeed at the prevailing rate of interest, say of 1%, and always to the same class of industrial and commercial capitalists. So long as these function as capitalists, the sole difference between the one working with borrowed capital and the other with his own is that the former must pay interest and the latter must not; the one pockets the entire profit p, and the other p — i, the profit minus the interest. The nearer interest approaches zero, the nearer p — i approaches p, and hence the nearer the two capitals are to being on a par. The one must pay back the capital and borrow anew; yet the other must likewise advance it again and again to the production process, so long as his capital is to function, and cannot dispose of it freely, independent of this process. The sole remaining difference between the two is the obvious difference that one is the owner of his capital, and the other is not.

The question which now arises is this. How does this purely quantitative division of profit into net profit and interest turn into a qualitative one? In other words, how is it that a capitalist who employs solely his own, not borrowed capital, classifies a portion of his gross profit under the specific category of interest and as such calculates it separately? And, furthermore, how is it that all capital, whether borrowed or not, is differentiated as interest-bearing capital from itself as capital producing a net profit?

It is understood that not every accidental quantitative division of profit turns in this manner into a qualitative one. For instance, some

industrial capitalists join hands to operate a business and then divide the profit among themselves in accordance with some legal agreement. Others do their business, each on his own, without any partners. These last do not calculate their profit under two heads—one part as individual profit, and the other as company profit for their non-existent partners. In this case the quantitative division therefore does not become a qualitative one. This occurs whenever ownership happens to be vested in several juridical persons. It does not occur whenever this is not the case.

In order to answer this question, we must dwell somewhat longer on the actual point of departure in the formation of interest; that is, we must proceed from the assumption that the money capitalist and the productive capitalist really confront one another not just as legally different persons, but as persons playing entirely different roles in the reproduction process, or as persons in whose hands the same capital really performs a two-fold and wholly different movement. The one merely loans it, the other employs it productively.

For the productive capitalist who works on borrowed capital, the gross profit falls into two parts—the interest, which he is to pay the lender, and the surplus over and above the interest, which makes up his own share of the profit. If the general rate of profit is given, this latter portion is determined by the rate of interest; and if the rate of interest is given, then by the general rate of profit. And furthermore: no matter how the gross profit, the actual value of the total profit, may diverge in each individual case from the average profit, the portion which belongs to the functioning capitalist is determined by the interest, since this is fixed by the general rate of interest (leaving aside any special legal stipulations) and assumed to be given beforehand, before the process of production begins, hence before its result, the gross profit, is achieved. We have seen that the actual specific product of capital is surplus value, or, more precisely, profit. But for the capitalist working on borrowed capital it is not profit, but profit minus interest, that portion of profit which remains to him after paying interest. This portion of the profit, therefore, necessarily appears to him to be the product of a capital as long as it is operative; and this it is, as far as he is concerned, because he represents capital only as functioning capital. He is its personification as long as it functions, and it functions as long as it is profitably invested in industry or commerce and such operations are undertaken with it through its employer as are prescribed by the branch of industry concerned. As distinct from

interest, which he has to pay to the lender out of the gross profit, the portion of profit which falls to his share necessarily assumes the form of industrial or commercial profit, or, to use a German term embracing both, the form of *Unternehmergewinn* (profit of enterprise). If the gross profit equals the average profit, the size of the profit of enterprise is determined exclusively by the rate of interest. If the gross profit deviates from the average profit, its difference from the average profit (after interest is deducted from both) is determined by all the circumstances which cause a temporary deviation, be it of the rate of profit in any particular sphere of production from the general rate of profit, or the profit of some individual capitalist in a certain sphere from the average profit of this particular sphere. We have seen however that the rate of profit within the production process itself does not depend on surplus value alone, but also on many other circumstances, such as purchase prices of the means of production, methods more productive than the average, savings of constant capital, etc. And aside from the price of production, it depends on special circumstances, and in every single business transaction on the greater or lesser shrewdness and industry of the capitalist, whether, and to what extent, he buys or sells above or below the price of production and thus appropriates a greater or smaller portion of the total surplus value in the process of circulation. In any case, the quantitative division of the gross profit turns here into a qualitative one, and all the more so because the quantitative division itself depends on *what* is to be divided, the *manner* in which the active capitalist manages his capital, and what gross profit it yields to him as a functioning capital, i. e., in consequence of his functions as an active capitalist. The functioning capitalist is here assumed as a non-owner of capital. Ownership of the capital is represented in relation to him by the money capitalist, the lender. The interest he pays to the latter thus appears as that portion of gross profit which is due to the ownership of capital as such. As distinct from this, that portion of profit which falls to the active capitalist appears now as profit of enterprise, deriving solely from the operations, or functions, which he performs with the capital in the process of reproduction, hence particularly those functions which he performs as entrepreneur in industry or commerce. In relation to him interest appears therefore as the mere fruit of owning capital, of capital as such abstracted from the reproduction process of capital, inasmuch as it does not "work", does not function; while profit of enterprise appears to him as the exclusive fruit of the functions which he performs

with the capital, as the fruit of the movement and performance of capital, of a performance which appears to him as his own activity, as opposed to the inactivity, the non-participation of the money capitalist in the production process. This qualitative distinction between the two portions of gross profit that interest is the fruit of capital as such, of the ownership of capital irrespective of the production process, and that profit of enterprise is the fruit of performing capital, of capital functioning in the production process, and hence of the active role played by the employer of the capital in the reproduction process — this qualitative distinction is by no means merely a subjective notion of the money capitalist, on the one hand, and the industrial capitalist, on the other. It rests upon an objective fact, for interest flows to the money capitalist, to the lender, who is the mere owner of capital, hence represents only ownership of capital before the production process and outside of it; while the profit of enterprise flows to the functioning capitalist alone, who is non-owner of the capital.

The merely quantitative division of the gross profit between two different persons who both have different legal claims to the same capital, and hence to the profit produced by it, thus turns into a qualitative division for both the industrial capitalist in so far as he is operating on borrowed capital, and for the money capitalist, in so far as he does not himself apply his capital. One portion of the profit appears now as fruit due as such to capital in *one* form, as interest; the other portion appears as a specific fruit of capital in an opposite form, and thus as profit of enterprise. One appears exclusively as the fruit of owning the capital, the other as the fruit of operating with the capital, the fruit of performing capital, or of the functions performed by the active capitalist. And this ossification and individualisation of the two parts of the gross profit in respect to one another, as though they originated from two essentially different sources, must now take firm shape for the entire capitalist class and the total capital. And, indeed, regardless of whether the capital employed by the active capitalist is borrowed or not, and whether the capital belonging to the money capitalist is employed by himself or not. The profit of every capital, and consequently also the average profit established by the equalisation of capitals, splits, or is separated, into two qualitatively different, mutually independent and self-established parts, to wit — interest and profit of enterprise — both of which are determined by particular laws. The capitalist operating with his own capital, like the one oper-

ating with borrowed capital, divides the gross profit into interest due to himself as owner, as his own lender, and into profit of enterprise due to him as to an active capitalist performing his function. As concerns this division, therefore, as a qualitative one, it is immaterial whether the capitalist really has to share with another, or not. The employer of capital, even when working with his own capital, splits into two personalities — the owner of capital and the employer of capital; with reference to the categories of profit which it yields, his capital also splits into capital-*property*, capital *outside* the production process, yielding interest of itself, and capital *in* the production process which yields a profit of enterprise through its function.

Interest, therefore, becomes firmly established in a way that it no longer appears as a division of gross profit of indifference to production, which occurs occasionally when the industrial capitalist operates with someone else's capital. His profit splits into interest and profit of enterprise even when he operates with his own capital. A merely quantitative division thus turns into a qualitative one. It occurs regardless of the fortuitous circumstance whether the industrial capitalist is, or is not, the owner of his capital. It is not only a matter of different quotas of profit assigned to different persons, but two different categories of profit which are differently related to the capital, hence related to different aspects of the capital.

Now that this division of gross profit into interest and profit of enterprise has become a qualitative one, it is very easy to discover the reasons why it acquires this character of a qualitative division for the total capital and the entire class of capitalists.[a]

*Firstly*, this follows from the simple empirical circumstance that the majority of industrial capitalists, even if in different numerical proportions, work with their own and with borrowed capital, and that at different times the proportion between one's own and borrowed capital changes.

*Secondly*, the transformation of a portion of the gross profit into the form of interest converts its other portion into profit of enterprise. The latter is, indeed, but the opposite form assumed by the excess of gross profit over interest as soon as this exists as a special category. The entire analysis of the problem how gross profit is differentiated into interest and profit of enterprise, resolves itself into the inquiry of

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, p. 493.

how a portion of the gross profit becomes universally ossified and individualised as interest. Yet historically interest-bearing capital existed as a completed traditional form, and hence interest as a completed subdivision of surplus value produced by capital, long before the capitalist mode of production and its attendant conceptions of capital and profit. Thus it is that to the popular mind money capital, or interest-bearing capital, is still capital as such, as capital *par excellence*. Thus it is, on the other hand, that up to the time of Massie the notion prevailed that it is money as such which is paid in interest. The fact that loaned capital yields interest whether actually employed as capital or not—even when borrowed only for consumption—lends strength to the idea that this form of capital exists independently. The best proof of the independence which interest possessed during the early periods of the capitalist mode of production in reference to profit, and which interest-bearing capital possessed in reference to industrial capital, is that it was discovered (by Massie and after him by Hume [a]) as late as the middle of the 18th century, that interest is but a portion of the gross profit, and that such a discovery was at all necessary.

*Thirdly*, whether the industrial capitalist operates with his own or with borrowed capital does not alter the fact that the class of money capitalists confronts him as a special kind of capitalists, money capital as an independent kind of capital, and interest as an independent form of surplus value peculiar to this specific capital.

*Qualitatively* speaking, interest is surplus value yielded by the mere ownership of capital; it is yielded by capital as such, even though its owner remains outside the reproduction process. Hence it is surplus value yielded by capital outside of its process.

*Quantitatively* speaking, that portion of profit which forms interest does not seem to be related to industrial or commercial capital as such, but to money capital, and the rate of this portion of surplus value, the rate of interest, reinforces this relation. Because, in the first place, the rate of interest is independently determined despite its dependence upon the general rate of profit, and, in the second place, like the market price of commodities, it appears in contrast to the intangible rate of profit as a fixed, uniform, tangible and always given

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[a] [J. Massie,] *An Essay on the Governing Causes of the Natural Rate of Interest....* D. Hume, "Of Interest" in: D. Hume, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*, Vol. I, London, 1764. See also present edition, Vol. 34, pp. 89-92.

relation for all its variations. If all capital were in the hands of the industrial capitalists there would be no such thing as interest and rate of interest. The independent form assumed by the quantitative division of gross profit creates the qualitative one. If the industrial capitalist were to compare himself with the money capitalist, it would be his profit of enterprise alone, the excess of his gross profit over the average interest — the latter appearing to be empirically given by virtue of the rate of interest — that would distinguish him from the other person. If, on the other hand, he compares himself with the industrial capitalist working with his own, instead of borrowed, capital, the latter differs from him only as a money capitalist in pocketing the interest instead of paying it to someone else. The portion of gross profit distinguished from interest appears to him in either case as profit of enterprise, and interest itself as a surplus value yielded by capital as such, which it would yield even if not applied productively.

This is correct in the practical sense for the individual capitalist. He has the choice of making use of his capital by lending it out as interest-bearing capital, or of expanding its value on his own by using it as productive capital, regardless of whether it exists as money capital from the very first, or whether it still has to be converted into money capital. But to apply it to the total capital of society, as some vulgar economists do, and to go so far as to define it as the cause of profit, is, of course, preposterous.[a] The idea of converting all the capital into money capital, without there being people who buy and put to use means of production, which make up the total capital outside of a relatively small portion of it existing in money, is, of course, sheer absurdity. It would be still more absurd to presume that capital would yield interest on the basis of the capitalist mode of production without performing any productive function, i. e., without creating surplus value, of which interest is just a part; that the capitalist mode of production would run its course without capitalist production. If an untowardly large section of capitalists were to convert their capital into money capital, the result would be a frightful depreciation of money capital and a frightful fall in the rate of interest; many would at once face the impossibility of living on their interest, and would hence be compelled to reconvert into industrial capitalists. But we repeat that it is a fact for the individual capitalist. For this reason, even when operating with his own capital, he necessarily considers the part

[a] Ibid., p. 475.

of his average profit which equals the average interest as fruit of his capital as such, set apart from the process of production; and as distinct from this portion singled out as interest, he considers the excess of the gross profit as mere profit of enterprise.

*Fourthly*: [A blank in the manuscript.]

We have seen, therefore, that the portion of profit which the functioning capitalist has to pay to the owner of borrowed capital is transformed into an independent form for a portion of the profit, which all capital as such, whether borrowed or not, yields under the name of interest. How large this portion is depends on the average rate of interest. Its origin is only revealed in the fact that the functioning capitalist, when owner of his capital, does not compete—at least not actively—in determining the interest rate. The purely quantitative division of the profit between two persons who have different legal titles to it has turned into a qualitative division, which seems to spring from the very nature of capital and profit. Because, as we have seen, as soon as a portion of profit universally assumes the form of interest, the difference between average profit and interest, or the portion of profit over and above the interest, assumes a form opposite to interest—the form of profit of enterprise. These two forms, interest and profit of enterprise, exist only as opposites. Hence, they are not related to surplus value, of which they are but parts placed under different categories, heads or names, but rather to one another. It is because one portion of profit turns into interest, that the other appears as profit of enterprise.

By profit we here always mean average profit, since variations do not concern us in this analysis, be they of individual profits or of profits in different spheres of production—hence variations caused by the competitive struggle and other circumstances affecting the distribution of the average profit, or surplus value. This applies generally to this entire inquiry.

Interest is then net profit, as Ramsay calls it,[a] which the ownership of capital yields as such, either simply to the lender, who remains outside the reproduction process, or to the owner who employs his capital productively. But in the latter's case, too, capital yields this net profit to him not in his capacity of functioning capitalist, but of money capitalist, of lender of his own capital as interest-bearing capital to himself as to a functioning capitalist. Just as the conversion of mon-

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[a] See this volume, pp. 360 and 377.

ey, and of value in general, into capital is the constant result of capitalist production, so is its existence as capital its constant precondition. By its ability to be transformed into means of production it continually commands unpaid labour and thereby transforms the processes of production and circulation of commodities into the production of surplus value for its owner. Interest is, therefore, the expression of the fact that value in general — objectified labour in its general social form — value which assumes the form of means of production in the actual process of production, confronts living labour power as an independent power, and is a means of appropriating unpaid labour; and that it is such a power because it confronts the labourer as the property of another. But on the other hand, this antithesis to wage labour is obliterated in the form of interest, because interest-bearing capital as such has not wage labour, but productive capital for its opposite. The lending capitalist as such faces the capitalist performing his actual function in the process of reproduction, not the wage worker, who, precisely under capitalist production, is expropriated of the means of production. Interest-bearing capital is capital as *property* as distinct from capital as a *function*. But so long as capital does not perform its function, it does not exploit labourers and does not come into opposition to labour.

On the other hand, profit of enterprise is not related as an opposite to wage labour, but only to interest.

*Firstly*, assuming the average profit to be given, the rate of the profit of enterprise is not determined by wages, but by the rate of interest. It is high or low in inverse proportion to it.[72]

*Secondly*, the functioning capitalist derives his claim to profits of enterprise, hence the profit of enterprise itself, not from his ownership of capital, but from the function of capital, as distinct from the definite form in which it is only inert property. This stands out as an immediately apparent contrast whenever he operates with borrowed capital, and interest and profit of enterprise therefore go to two different persons. The profit of enterprise springs from the function of capital in the reproduction process, hence as a result of the operations, the acts by which the functioning capitalist promotes these functions of industrial and commercial capital. But to represent functioning capi-

[72] * "The profits of enterprise depend upon the net profits of capital, not the latter upon the former." * (Ramsay, *Essay on the Distribution of Wealth*, p. 214. For Ramsay net profits always mean interest.)

tal is not a sinecure, like representing interest-bearing capital. On the basis of capitalist production, the capitalist directs the processes of production and circulation. Exploiting productive labour entails exertion, whether he exploits it himself or has it exploited by someone else on his behalf. Therefore, as distinct from interest, his profit of enterprise appears to him as independent of the ownership of capital, but rather as the result of his functions as a non-proprietor—a *labourer*.

He necessarily conceives the idea for this reason that his profit of enterprise, far from being counterposed to wage labour and far from being the unpaid labour of others, is itself rather a *wage* or WAGES OF SUPERINTENDENCE OF LABOUR,[a] higher than a common labourer's, 1) because the work is far more complicated, and 2) because he pays them to himself. The fact that his function as a capitalist consists in creating surplus value, i. e., unpaid labour, and creating it under the most economical conditions, is entirely lost sight of in the contrast that interest falls to the share of the capitalist even when he does not perform the function of a capitalist and is merely the owner of capital; and that, on the other hand, profit of enterprise does fall to the share of the functioning capitalist even when he is not the owner of the capital with which he operates. He forgets, due to the antithetical form of the two parts into which profit, hence surplus value, is divided, that both are merely parts of the surplus value, and that this division alters nothing in the nature, origin, and way of existence of surplus value.

In the process of reproduction the functioning capitalist represents capital as the property of another vis-à-vis the wage labourers, and the money capitalist, represented by the functioning capitalist, takes a hand in exploiting labour. The fact that the investing capitalist can perform his function of making the labourers work for him, or of employing means of production as capital, only as the personification of the means of production vis-à-vis the labourers, is forgotten over the contradiction between the function of capital in the reproduction process and the mere ownership of capital outside of the reproduction process.

In fact, the form of interest and profit of enterprise assumed by the two parts of profit, i. e., of surplus value, expresses no relation to labour, because this relation exists only between labour and profit, or

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

rather the surplus value as a sum, a whole, the unity of these two parts. The proportion in which the profit is divided, and the different legal titles by which this division is sanctioned, are based on the assumption that profit is already in existence. If, therefore, the capitalist is the owner of the capital with which he operates, he pockets the whole profit, or surplus value. It is absolutely immaterial to the labourer whether the capitalist does this, or whether he has to pay a part of it to a third person as its legal proprietor. The reasons for dividing the profit among two kinds of capitalists thus turn imperceptibly into the reasons for the existence of the profit, the surplus value, that is to be divided, and which capital as such derives from the reproduction process regardless of any subsequent division. Since interest is opposed to profit of enterprise, and profit of enterprise to interest, and since they are both counterposed to one another, but not to labour, it follows that profit of enterprise plus interest, i. e., profit, and further surplus value, are derived—from what? From the antithetical form of its two parts! But profit is produced before its division is undertaken, and before there can be any thought of it.

Interest-bearing capital remains as such only so long as the loaned money is actually converted into capital and a surplus is produced with it, of which interest is a part. But this does not rule out that drawing interest, regardless of the process of production, is its organic property. So does labour power preserve its property of producing value only so long as it is employed and realised in the labour process; yet this does not argue against the fact that it is potentially, as a power, an activity which creates value, and that as such it does not spring from the process of production, but rather antecedes it. It is bought as such a capacity for creating value. One might also buy it without setting it to work productively; for purely personal ends, for instance, for personal services, etc. The same applies to capital. It is the borrower's affair whether he employs it as capital, hence actually sets in motion its inherent property of producing surplus value. What he pays for, is in either case the potential surplus value inherently contained in capital as a commodity.[a]

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Let us now consider profit of enterprise in greater detail.

Since the specific social attribute of capital under the capitalist mode

[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 487-89.

of production — that of being property commanding the labour power of another — becomes fixed, so that interest appears as a part of surplus value produced by capital in this interrelation, the other part of surplus value — profit of enterprise — must necessarily appear as coming not from capital as such, but from the process of production, separated from its specific social attribute, whose distinct mode of existence is already expressed by the term interest on capital. But the process of production, separated from capital, is simply a labour process. Therefore, the industrial capitalist, as distinct from the owner of capital, does not appear as operating capital, but rather as a functionary irrespective of capital, or, as a simple agent of the labour process in general, as a labourer, and indeed as a wage labourer.[a]

Interest as such expresses precisely the existence of the conditions of labour as capital, in their social antithesis to labour, and in their transformation into personal power vis-à-vis and over labour. It represents the ownership of capital as a means of appropriating the products of the labour of others. But it represents this characteristic of capital as something which belongs to it outside the production process and by no means is the result of the specifically capitalist attribute of this production process itself. Interest represents this characteristic not as directly counterposed to labour, but rather as unrelated to labour, and simply as a relationship of one capitalist to another. Hence, as an attribute outside of and irrelevant to the relation of capital to labour. In interest, therefore, in that specific form of profit in which the antithetical character of capital assumes a self-established form, this is done in such a way that the antithesis is completely obliterated and abstracted. Interest is a relationship between two capitalists, not between capitalist and labourer.

On the other hand, this form of interest lends the other portion of profit the qualitative form of profit of enterprise, and further of wages of superintendence. The specific functions which the capitalist as such has to perform, and which fall to him as distinct from and opposed to the labourer, are presented as mere functions of labour. He creates surplus value not because he works *as a capitalist*, but because he *also* works, regardless of his capacity of capitalist. This portion of surplus value is thus no longer surplus value, but its opposite, an equiv-

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[a] Ibid., pp. 492-93.

alent for labour performed. Due to the estranged character of capital, its antithesis to labour, being relegated to a place outside the actual process of exploitation, namely to the interest-bearing capital, this process of exploitation itself appears as a simple labour process in which the functioning capitalist merely performs a different kind of labour than the labourer. So that the labour of exploiting and the exploited labour both appear identical as labour. The labour of exploiting is just as much labour as exploited labour.[a] The social form of capital falls to interest, but expressed in a neutral and indifferent form.The economic function of capital falls to profit of enterprise, but abstracted from the specific capitalist character of this function.

The same thing passes through the mind of the capitalist in this case as in the case of the reasons indicated in Part II of this book for compensation in the equalisation to average profit. These reasons for compensation which enter the distribution of surplus value as determinants are distorted in a capitalist's mind to appear as bases of origin and the (subjective) justifications of profit itself.

The conception of profit of enterprise as the wages of superintendence, arising from the antithesis of profit of enterprise to interest, is further strengthened by the fact that a portion of profit may, indeed, be separated, and is separated in reality, as wages, or rather the reverse, that a portion of wages appears under the capitalist mode of production as integral part of profit. This portion, as Adam Smith correctly deduced,[b] presents itself in pure form, independently and wholly separated from profit (as the sum of interest and profit of enterprise), on the one hand, and on the other, from that portion of profit which remains, after interest is deducted, as profit of enterprise in the salary of management of those branches of business whose size, etc., permits of a sufficient division of labour to justify a special salary for a manager.[c]

The labour of superintendence and management is naturally required wherever the direct process of production assumes the form of a combined social process, and not of the isolated labour of independent producers.[73] However, it has a double nature.

[73] "Superintendence is here" (in the case of the farm owner) "completely dispensed with" (J. E. Cairnes, *The Slave Power*, London, 1862, pp. 48, 49).

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, p. 495. - [b] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Book I, Ch. VI. - [c] Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 495-96.

On the one hand, all labour in which many individuals cooperate necessarily requires a commanding will to coordinate and unify the process, and functions which apply not to partial operations but to the total activity of the workshop, much as that of an orchestra conductor. This is a productive job, which must be performed in every combined mode of production.

On the other hand—quite apart from any commercial department—this supervision work necessarily arises in all modes of production based on the antithesis between the labourer, as the direct producer, and the owner of the means of production. The greater this antithesis, the greater the role played by supervision. Hence it reaches its peak in the slave system.[74] But it is indispensable also in the capitalist mode of production, since the production process in it is simultaneously a process by which the capitalist consumes labour power. Just as in despotic states, supervision and all-round interference by the government involves both the performance of common activities arising from the nature of all communities, and the specific functions arising from the antithesis between the government and the mass of the people.

In the works of ancient writers, who had the slave system before them, both sides of the work of supervision are as inseparably combined in theory as they were in practice. Likewise in the works of modern economists, who regard the capitalist mode of production as absolute. On the other hand, as I shall presently illustrate with an example, the apologists of the modern slave system utilise the work of supervision quite as much as a justification of slavery, as the other economists do to justify the wage system.

The *villicus* in Cato's time:

"At the head of the estate with slave economy (*familia rustica*) stands the manager (*villicus*, derived from *villa*), who receives and expends, buys and sells, takes instructions from the master, in whose absence he gives orders and metes out punishment.... The manager naturally had more freedom of action than the other slaves; the Magonian books advise that he be permitted to marry, raise children, and have his own funds, and Cato recommends that he be married to the female manager; he alone probably had the prospect of winning his freedom from the master in the event of good behaviour. As for the rest, all formed a common household.... Every slave, including the

[74] * "If the nature of the work requires that the workmen" (viz., the slaves) "should be dispersed over an extended area, the number of overseers, and, therefore, the cost of the labour which requires this supervision, will be proportionately increased" * (Cairnes, l. c., p. 44).

manager himself, was supplied his necessities at his master's expense at definite intervals and fixed rates, and had to get along on them...The quantity varied in accordance with labour, which is why the manager, for example, whose work was lighter than the other slaves', received a smaller ration than they" (Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, 2nd ed., 1856, I, pp. 809-10).

Aristotle:

"'Ο γὰρ δεσπότης οὐχ ἐν τῷ κτᾶσθαι τοὺς δούλους, ἀλλ'ἐν τῷ χρῆσθαι δούλους." ("For the master" — the capitalist — "proves himself such not by obtaining slaves" — ownership of capital which gives him power to buy labour power — "but in employing slaves" — using labourers, nowadays wage labourers, in the production process.) "'Εστὶ δε αὐτῇ ἡ ἐπιστὴμη οὐδὲν μέγα ἔχουσα οὐδὲ σεμνόν" ("But there is nothing great or sublime about this science") "ἃ γὰρ τὸν δοῦλον ἐπίστασθαι δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἐκεῖνον δεῖ ταῦτα επίστασθαι ἐπιτάττειν." ("But whatever the slave must be able to perform, the master must be able to order." "Διὸ ὅσοις ἐξουσία μὴ αὐτοὺς χαχοπαθεῖν, ἐπὶτροπος λαμβάνει ταυτήν τὴν τιμήν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολιτεὐονται ἢ φιλοσοφοῦσιν." ("Whenever the masters are not compelled to plague themselves with supervision, the manager assumes *this honour*, while the masters attend to affairs of state or study philosophy." (Aristotle, *De republica*, Bekker edition, Book I, 7.).

Aristotle says in just so many words that supremacy in the political and economic fields imposes the functions of government upon the ruling powers, and hence that they must, in the economic field, know the art of consuming labour power. And he adds that this supervisory work is not a matter of great moment and that for this reason the master leaves the "honour" of this drudgery to an overseer as soon as he can afford it.

The labour of management and superintendence — so far as it is not a special function determined by the nature of all combined social labour, but rather by the antithesis between the owner of means of production and the owner of mere labour power, regardless of whether this labour power is purchased by buying the labourer himself, as it is under the slave system, or whether the labourer himself sells his labour power, so that the production process also appears as a process by which capital consumes his labour — this function arising out of the servitude of the direct producers has all too often been quoted to justify this relationship. And exploitation, the appropriation of the unpaid labour of others, has quite as often been represented as the reward justly due to the owner of capital for his work; but never better than by a champion of slavery in the United States, a lawyer named O'Connor, at a meeting held in New York on December 19, 1859, under the slogan of "Justice for the South".

"NOW, GENTLEMEN," he said amid thunderous applause, "to that condition of

bondage the Negro is assigned by Nature... He has strength, and has the power to labour; but the Nature which created the power denied to him either the intellect to govern, or willingness to work." (Applause.) "Both were denied to him. And that Nature, which deprived him of the will to labour, gave him a master to coerce that will, and to make him a useful... servant in the clime in which he was capable of living useful for himself and for the master who governs him... I maintain that it is not injustice to leave the Negro in the condition in which Nature placed him, to give him a master to govern him ... nor is it depriving him of any of his rights to compel him to labour in return, and afford to that master just compensation for the labour and talent employed in governing him and rendering him useful to himself and to the society."[a]

Now, the wage labourer, like the slave, must have a master who puts him to work and rules over him. And assuming the existence of this relationship of lordship and servitude, it is quite proper to compel the wage labourer to produce his own wages and also the wages of supervision, as compensation for the labour of ruling and supervising him, or

"just compensation for the labour and talent employed in governing him and rendering him useful to himself and to the society".

The labour of superintendence and management, arising as it does out of an antithesis, out of the supremacy of capital over labour, and being therefore common to all modes of production based on class contradictions like the capitalist mode, is directly and inseparably connected, also under the capitalist system, with productive functions which all combined social labour assigns to individuals as their special tasks. The wages of an *epitropos*, or *régisseur*, as he was called in feudal France, are entirely divorced from profit and assume the form of wages for skilled labour whenever the business is operated on a sufficiently large scale to warrant paying for such a MANAGER,[b] although, for all that, our industrial capitalists are far from "attending to affairs of state or studying philosophy".

It has already been remarked by Mr. Ure[75] that it is not the industrial capitalists, but the industrial MANAGERS who are "the soul of our industrial system". Whatever concerns the commercial part of an

[75] A. Ure, *Philosophy of Manufactures*, French translation, 1836, I, p. 67, where this Pindar of the manufacturers at the same time testifies that most manufacturers have not the slightest understanding of the mechanism which they set in motion.[c]

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[a] *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5852, December 20, 1859, pp. 7-8. - [b] In the 1894 German edition this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent. - [c] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 495 and 501.

establishment we have already said all that is necessary in the preceding part.[a]

The capitalist mode of production itself has brought matters to a point where the labour of superintendence, entirely divorced from the ownership of capital, is always readily obtainable. It has, therefore, come to be useless for the capitalist to perform it himself. An orchestra conductor need not own the instruments of his orchestra, nor is it within the scope of his duties as conductor to have anything to do with the "wages" of the other musicians. Cooperative factories furnish proof that the capitalist has become no less redundant as a functionary in production as he himself, looking down from his high perch, finds the big landowner redundant. Inasmuch as the capitalist's labour does not originate in the purely capitalistic process of production, and hence does not cease on its own when capital ceases; inasmuch as it does not confine itself solely to the function of exploiting the labour of others; inasmuch as it therefore originates from the social form of the labour process, from combination and cooperation of many in pursuance of a common result, it is just as independent of capital as that form itself as soon as it has burst its capitalistic shell. To say that this labour is necessary as capitalistic labour, or as a function of the capitalist, only means that the *vulgus* is unable to conceive the forms developed in the lap of the capitalist mode of production, separate and free from their antithetical capitalist character.[b] The industrial capitalist is a worker, compared to the money capitalist, but a worker in the sense of capitalist, i. e., an exploiter of the labour of others. The wage which he claims and pockets for this labour is exactly equal to the appropriated quantity of another's labour and depends directly upon the rate of exploitation of this labour, in so far as he undertakes the effort required for exploitation; it does not, however, depend on the degree of exertion that such exploitation demands, and which he can shift to a manager for moderate pay. After every crisis there are enough ex-manufacturers in the English factory districts who will supervise, for low wages, what were formerly their own factories in the capacity of managers of the new owners, who are frequently their creditors.[76]

[76] In a case known to me, following the crisis of 1868, a bankrupt manufacturer became the paid wage labourer of his own former labourers. The factory was operated after the bankruptcy of its owner by a labourers' cooperative, and its former owner was employed as manager.—*F. E.*

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[a] See this volume, pp. 287-89. - [b] Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 497-98 and 504.

The wages of management both for the commercial and industrial manager are completely isolated from the profits of enterprise in the cooperative factories of labourers, as well as in capitalist stock companies. The separation of wages of management from profits of enterprise, purely accidental at other times, is here constant. In a cooperative factory the antagonistic nature of the labour of supervision disappears, because the manager is paid by the labourers instead of representing capital counterposed to them. Stock companies in general—developed with the credit system—have an increasing tendency to separate this work of management as a function from the ownership of capital, be it self-owned or borrowed. Just as the development of bourgeois society witnessed a separation of the functions of judges and administrators from landownership, whose attributes they were in feudal times. But since, on the one hand, the mere owner of capital, the money capitalist, has to face the functioning capitalist, while money capital itself assumes a social character with the advance of credit, being concentrated in banks and loaned out by them instead of by its direct owners, and since, on the other hand, the mere manager who has no title whatever to the capital, whether through borrowing it or otherwise, performs all the real functions pertaining to the functioning capitalist as such, only the functionary remains and the capitalist disappears as superfluous from the production process.

It is manifest from the public accounts of the cooperative factories in England [77] that—after deducting the manager's wages, which form a part of the invested variable capital much the same as wages of other labourers—the profit was higher than the average profit, although at times they paid a much higher interest than did private manufacturers. The source of greater profits in all these cases was greater economy in the application of constant capital. What interests us in this, however, is the fact that here the average profit (= interest + profit of enterprise) presents itself actually and palpably as a magnitude wholly independent of the wages of management. Since the profit was higher here than average profit, the profit of enterprise was also higher than usual.

The same situation is observed in relation to some capitalist stock

[77] The accounts quoted here go no further than 1864, since the above was written in 1865.—*F. E.*

companies, such as JOINT-STOCK BANKS[a]. The London and Westminster Bank paid an annual dividend of 30% in 1863, while the Union Bank of London and others paid 15%. Aside from the directors' salary the interest paid for deposits is here deducted from gross profit. The high profit is to be explained here by the moderate proportion of paid-in capital to deposits. For instance, in the case of the London and Westminster Bank, in 1863: paid-in capital, £1,000,000; deposits, £14,540,275. As for the Union Bank of London, in 1863: paid-in capital, £600,000; deposits, £12,384,173.

Profit of enterprise and wages of supervision, or management, were confused originally due to the antagonistic form assumed in respect to interest by the excess of profit. This was further promoted by the apologetic aim of representing profit not as a surplus value derived from unpaid labour, but as the capitalist's wages for work performed by him. This was met on the part of socialists by a demand to reduce profit actually to what it pretended to be theoretically, namely, mere wages of superintendence.[b] And this demand was all the more obnoxious to theoretical embellishment, the more these wages of superintendence, like any other wage, found their definite level and definite market price, on the one hand, with the development of a numerous class of industrial and commercial managers,[78] and the more they fell, on the other, like all wages for skilled labour, with the general development which reduces the cost of production of specially trained labour power.[79] With the development of cooperation on the part of the labourers, and of stock enterprises on the part of the bourgeoisie, even the last pretext for the confusion of profit of enterprise and wages of management was removed, and profit appeared also in practice

[78] "Masters are labourers as well as their journeymen. In this character their interest is precisely the same as that of their men. But they are also either capitalists, or the agents of the capitalists, and in this respect their interest is decidedly opposed to the interests of the workmen" (p. 27). "The wide spread of education among the journeymen mechanics of this country diminishes daily the value of the labour and skill of almost all masters and employers by increasing the number of persons who possess their peculiar knowledge" (p. 30, Hodgskin, *Labour Defended Against the Claims of Capital, etc.*, London, 1825).

[79] "The general relaxation of conventional barriers, the increased facilities of education tend to bring down the wages of skilled labour instead of raising those of the unskilled" (J. St. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, 2nd ed., London, 1849, I, p. 479).

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent. - [b] Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, p. 497.

as it undeniably appeared in theory, as mere surplus value, a value for which no equivalent was paid, as realised unpaid labour. It was then seen that the functioning capitalist really exploits labour, and that the fruit of his exploitation, when working with borrowed capital, was divided into interest and profit of enterprise, an excess of profit over interest.

On the basis of capitalist production a new swindle develops in stock enterprises with respect to wages of management, in that boards of numerous managers or directors are placed next and above the actual director, for whom supervision and management serve only as a pretext to plunder the stockholders and amass wealth. Very curious details concerning this are to be found in *The City or the Physiology of London Business; with Sketches on 'Change, and the Coffee Houses*, London, 1845.

> What bankers and merchants gain by the direction of eight or nine different companies, may be seen from the following illustration: The private balance sheet of Mr. Timothy Abraham Curtis, presented to the Court of Bankruptcy when that gentleman failed, exhibited a sample of the income netted from directorship ... between £800 and £900 a year. Mr. Curtis having been associated with the Courts of the Bank of England, and the East India House, it was considered quite a plum for a public company to acquire his services in the boardroom" (pp. [81,] 82).

The remuneration of the directors of such companies for each weekly meeting is at least one guinea. The proceedings of the Court of Bankruptcy show that these wages of supervision were, as a rule, inversely proportional to the actual supervision performed by these nominal directors.

## Chapter XXIV

### EXTERNALISATION OF THE RELATIONS OF CAPITAL IN THE FORM OF INTEREST-BEARING CAPITAL

The relations of capital assume their most external and most fetish-like form in interest-bearing capital. We have here M — M′, money creating more money, self-expanding value, without the process that mediates these two extremes. In merchant's capital, M — C — M′, there is at least the general form of the capitalistic movement, although it confines itself solely to the sphere of circulation, so that profit appears merely as profit derived from alienation; but it is at least seen to be the product of a social *relation*, not the product of a mere

*thing*. The form of merchant's capital at least presents a process, a unity of opposing phases, a movement that breaks up into two opposite actions — the purchase and the sale of commodities. This is obliterated in M — M′, the form of interest-bearing capital. For instance, if £1,000 are loaned out by a capitalist at a rate of interest of 5%, the value of £1,000 as a capital for one year = C + Ci′; where C is the capital and i′ the rate of interest. Hence, $5\% = \frac{5}{100} = \frac{1}{20}$, and $1{,}000 + 1{,}000 \times \frac{1}{20} =$ £1,050. The value of £1,000 as capital = £1,050, i. e., capital is not a simple magnitude. It is a *relationship* of magnitudes, a relationship of the principal sum, as a given value, to itself as a self-expanding value, as a principal sum which has produced a surplus value.[a] And capital as such, as we have seen, assumes this form of a directly self-expanding value for all active capitalists, whether they operate with their own or borrowed capital.

M — M′. We have here the original starting-point of capital, money in the formula M — C — M′ reduced to its two extremes M — M′, in which M′ = M + ΔM, money creating more money. It is the primary and general formula of capital reduced to a meaningless condensation. It is ready capital, a unity of the process of production and the process of circulation, and hence capital yielding a definite surplus value in a particular period of time. In the form of interest-bearing capital this appears directly, unassisted by the processes of production and circulation. Capital appears as a mysterious and self-creating source of interest — the source of its own increase. The *thing* (money, commodity, value) is now capital even as a mere thing, and capital appears as a mere thing. The result of the entire process of reproduction appears as a property inherent in the thing itself. It depends on the owner of the money, i. e., of the commodity in its continually exchangeable form, whether he wants to spend it as money or loan it out as capital. In interest-bearing capital, therefore, this automatic fetish, self-expanding value, money generating money, is brought out in its pure state and in this form it no longer bears the birthmarks of its origin. The social relation is consummated in the relation of a thing, of money, to itself.[b] Instead of the actual transformation of money into capital, we see here only form without content. As in the case of labour power, the use value of money here is its capacity of creating value — a value greater than it contains. Money as

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 476-77. - [b] Ibid., p. 451.

money is potentially self-expanding value and is loaned out as such—which is the form of sale for this singular commodity. It becomes a property of money to generate value and yield interest, much as it is an attribute of pear-trees to bear pears. And the money lender sells his money as just such an interest-bearing thing. But that is not all. The actually functioning capital, as we have seen, presents itself in such a light, that it seems to yield interest not as a functioning capital, but as capital in itself, as money capital.[a]

This, too, becomes distorted. While interest is only a portion of the profit, i.e., of the surplus value, which the functioning capitalist squeezes out of the labourer, it appears now, on the contrary, as though interest were the typical product of capital, the primary matter, and profit, in the shape of profit of enterprise, were a mere accessory and by-product of the process of reproduction. Thus we get the fetish form of capital and the conception of fetish capital. In M—M′ we have the meaningless form of capital, the perversion and materialisation of production relations in their highest degree, the interest-bearing form, the simple form of capital, in which it antecedes its own process of reproduction. It is the capacity of money, or of a commodity, to expand its own value independently of reproduction—which is a mystification of capital in its most flagrant form.

For vulgar political economy, which seeks to represent capital as an independent source of value, of value creation, this form is naturally a veritable find, a form in which the source of profit is no longer discernible, and in which the result of the capitalist process of production—divorced from the process—acquires an independent existence.[b]

It is not until capital is money capital that it becomes a commodity, whose capacity for self-expansion has a definite price quoted in every prevailing rate of interest.

As interest-bearing capital, and particularly in its direct form of interest-bearing money capital (the other forms of interest-bearing capital, which do not concern us here, are derivatives of this form and presuppose its existence), capital assumes its pure fetish form, M—M′ being the subject, the saleable thing. *Firstly*, through its continual existence as money, a form, in which all its specific attributes are obliterated and its real elements invisible. For money is precisely that form in which the distinctive features of commodities as use

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[a] Ibid., p. 457. - [b] Ibid., p. 458.

values are obscured, and hence also the distinctive features of the industrial capitals which consist of these commodities and conditions of their production. It is that form, in which value—in this case capital—exists as an independent exchange value. In the reproduction process of capital, the money form is but transient—a mere point of transit. But in the money market capital always exists in this form. *Secondly*, the surplus value produced by it, here again in the form of money, appears as an inherent part of it. As the growing process is to trees, so generating money (τόκος)[a] appears innate in capital in its form of money capital.[b]

In interest-bearing capital the movement of capital is contracted. The intervening process is omitted. In this way, a capital = 1,000 is fixed as a thing, which in itself = 1,100, and which is transformed after a certain period into 1,100 just as wine stored in a cellar improves its use value after a certain period. Capital is now a thing, but as a thing it is capital. Money now has love in its body.[c] As soon as it is loaned out, or invested in the reproduction process (inasmuch as it yields interest to the functioning capitalist as its owner, separate from profit of enterprise), interest on it grows, no matter whether it is awake or asleep, is at home or abroad, by day or by night. Thus interest-bearing money capital (and all capital is money capital in terms of its value, or is considered as the expression of money capital) fulfils the most fervent wish of the hoarder.

It is this ingrown existence of interest in money capital as in a thing (this is how the production of surplus value through capital appears here), which occupies Luther's attention so thoroughly in his naïve onslaught against usury.[d] After demonstrating that interest may be demanded if the failure to repay a loan on a definite date caused a loss to a lender, who himself required it to make some payment, or resulted in his missing an opportunity to make a profit on a bargain, for instance, in buying a garden, Luther continues:

"But since I lent you the hundred guilders, you have caused me to suffer two-fold damage because I cannot pay on the one hand and cannot buy on the other and thus must suffer loss on both sides. This is called *duplex interesse, damni emergentis et lucri cessantis*...[e] Having heard that Hans has suffered loss on the hundred guilders which he

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[a] *Tokos*—to bear, produce, product; figuratively: interest on money lent. - [b] Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 462-63. - [c] Allusion to a passage in Goethe's *Faust*, Part I, Scene 5, "Auerbach's Cellar in Leipzig"; cf. present edition, Vol. 30, p.112 and Vol. 32, p. 526. - [d] Ibid., pp. 535-38. - [e] Twofold compensation, for the loss incurred and for the gain missed.

lent and demands just recompense for this loss, they rush in and charge such double compensation on every 100 guilders, namely, for expenses incurred and for the inability to buy the garden, just *as though every hundred guilders could grow double interest naturally*, so that whenever they have a hundred guilders, they loan them out and charge for two such losses which however they have not incurred at all... Therefore thou art a usurer, who makes good thine own imagined losses with your neighbour's money, losses which no one has caused thee and which thou canst neither prove nor calculate.The lawyers call such losses *non verum, sed phantasticum interesse*.[a] A loss which each man dreams up for himself... It will not do to say I might incur a loss because I might not have been able to pay or buy. That would mean *ex contingente necessarium*,[b] making something that must be out of something which is not, to turn a thing which is uncertain into a thing which is absolutely sure. Would such usury not eat up the world in a few years?... If the lender accidentally incurs a loss through no fault of his own, he must be recompensed, but it is different in such deals and just the reverse. There he seeks and invents losses to the detriment of his needy neighbours; thus he wants to maintain himself and get rich, to be lazy and idle and to live in luxury and splendour on other people's labour and worry, danger and loss. So that I sit behind the stove and let my hundred guilders gather wealth for me throughout the land, and, because they are only loaned, I keep them safely in my purse without any risk or worry; my friend, who would not like that?" (Martin Luther, *An die Pfarrherrn wider den Wucher zu predigen, etc.*, Wittenberg, 1540).

The conception of capital as a self-reproducing and self-expanding value, lasting and growing eternally by virtue of its innate properties — hence by virtue of the hidden quality of scholasticists — has led to the fabulous fancies of Dr. Price, which outdo by far the fantasies of the alchemists; fancies, in which Pitt[c] believed in all earnest, and which he used as pillars of his financial administration in his laws concerning the sinking fund.[40]

"Money bearing compound interest increases at first slowly. But, the rate of increase being continually accelerated, it becomes in some time so rapid, as to mock all the powers of the imagination. One penny, put out at our Saviour's birth to 5 per cent compound interest, would, before this time, have increased to a greater sum, than would be contained in a hundred and fifty millions of earths, all solid gold. But if put out to simple interest, it would, in the same time, have amounted to no more than seven shillings and four pence half-penny. Our government has hitherto chosen to improve money in the last, rather than the first of these ways."[80]

[80] Richard Price, *An Appeal to the Public on the Subject of the National Debt*, London, 1772, [pp. 18-19]. He cracks the naïve joke: "It is borrowing money at simple interest, in order to improve it at compound interest" (R. Hamilton, *An Inquiry Concerning the Rise and Progress of the National Debt of Great Britain*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh, 1814, [p. 133]). According to this, borrowing would be the safest means also for private people to gather wealth. But if I borrow £100 at 5% annual interest, I have to pay £5 at

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[a] not real but imagined losses. - [b] making a necessity out of accident. - [c] See present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 222-24.

His fancy flies still higher in his *Observations on Reversionary Payments, etc.*, London, 1772.

"A shilling put out to 6% compound interest at our Saviour's birth" (presumably in the Temple of Jerusalem) "would ... have increased to a greater sum than the whole solar system could hold, supposing it a sphere equal in diameter to the diameter of Saturn's orbit." "A state need never therefore be under any difficulties; for with the smallest savings it may in as little time as its interest can require pay off the largest debts" [pp. XIII, XIV].

What a pretty theoretical introduction to the national debt of England!

Price was simply dazzled by the gargantuan dimensions obtained in a geometrical progression. Since he took no note of the conditions of reproduction and labour, and regarded capital as a self-regulating automaton, as a mere number that increases itself (just as Malthus did with respect to population in his geometrical progression),[a] he was struck by the thought that he had found the law of its growth in the formula $s = c(1 + i)^n$, in which s = the sum of capital + compound interest, c = advanced capital, i = rate of interest (expressed in aliquot parts of 100) and n stands for the number of years in which this process takes place.

Pitt takes Dr. Price's mystification quite seriously. In 1786 the House of Commons had resolved to raise £1 million for the public weal. According to Price, in whom Pitt believed, there was, of course, no better way than to tax the people, so as to "accumulate" this sum after raising it, and thus to spirit away the national debt through the mystery of compound interest. The above resolution of the House of

the end of the year, and even if the loan lasts for 100 million years, I have meanwhile only £100 to loan every year and £5 to pay every year. I can never manage by this process to loan £105 when borrowing £100. And how am I going to pay 5%? By new loans, or, if it is the state, by new taxes. Now, if the industrial capitalist borrows money, and his profit amounts to, say, 15%, he may pay 5% interest, spend 5% for his private expenses (although his appetite grows with his income), and capitalise 5%. In this case, 15% is the precondition for paying continually 5% interest. If this process continues, the rate of profit, for the reasons indicated in former chapters, will fall from 15% to, say, 10%. But Price entirely forgets that the interest of 5% presupposes a rate of profit of 15%, and assumes it to continue with the accumulation of capital. He has nothing whatsoever to do with the actual process of accumulation, but rather only with lending money and getting it back with compound interest. How that is accomplished is immaterial to him, since it is the innate property of interest-bearing capital.

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[a] [Th. R. Malthus], *An Essay on the Principle of Population...*, London, 1798, pp. 25-26.

Commons was soon followed up by Pitt with a law which ordered the accumulation of £250,000

"until, with the expired annuities, the fund should have grown to £4,000,000 annually" (Act 26, George III, Chap. 31).[a]

In his speech of 1792, in which Pitt proposed that the amount devoted to the sinking fund be increased, he mentioned machines, credit, etc., among the causes of England's commercial supremacy, but as

"the most wide-spread and enduring cause, that of accumulation. This principle, he said, was completely developed in the work of Smith, that genius ... and this accumulation, he continued, was accomplished by laying aside at least a portion of the annual profit for the purpose of increasing the principal, which was to be employed in the same manner the following year, and which thus yielded a continual profit" [pp. 178-79].

With Dr. Price's aid Pitt thus converts Smith's theory of accumulation into enrichment of a nation by means of accumulating debts, and thus arrives at the pleasant progression of an infinity of loans—loans to pay loans.[b]

It had already been noted by Josiah Child, the father of modern banking, that " £100 at 10% would produce in 70 years by compound interest £102,400". (*Traités sur le commerce, etc.*, par J. Child, traduit, etc., Amsterdam et Berlin, 1754, p. 115. Written in 1669.) [41]

How thoughtlessly Dr. Price's conception is applied by modern economists, is shown in the following passage from the *Economist:*

*Capital, with compound interest on every portion of capital saved, is so all-engrossing that all the wealth in the world from which income is derived, has long ago become the interest of capital... All rent is now the payment of interest on capital previously invested in the land."* (*Economist*, July 19, 1851.)

In its capacity of interest-bearing capital, capital claims the ownership of all wealth which can ever be produced, and everything it has received so far is but an instalment for its all-engrossing appetite. By its innate laws, all surplus labour which the human race can ever perform belongs to it. Moloch.

In conclusion, the following hodge-podge by the romantic Müller:

"Dr. Price's enormous increase of compound interest, or of the self-accelerating

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[a] "An Act for vesting certain sums in commissioners, at the end of every quarter of a year, to be by them applied to the reduction of the national debt" (Anno 26 Georgii III, Regis, cap. 31). - [b] Cf. present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 223-24.

forces of man, presupposes, if it is to produce such enormous effects, an undivided, or uninterrupted, uniform order for several centuries. As soon as capital is divided, cut up into several independently growing shoots, the total process of accumulating forces begins anew. Nature has distributed over a span of about 20 to 25 years the progression of energy which falls on an average to the share of every labourer (!). After the lapse of this time the labourer leaves his career and must transfer the capital accumulated by the compound interest of labour to a new labourer, mostly distributing it among several labourers or children. These must first learn to activate and apply their share of capital, before they can draw any actual compound interest on it. Furthermore, an enormous quantity of capital gained by civil society even in the most restless communities, is gradually accumulated over many years and not employed for any immediate expansion of labour. Instead, as soon as an appreciable sum is gathered together, it is transferred to another individual, a labourer, bank or state, under the head of a loan. And the receiver then sets the capital into actual motion and draws compound interest on it, so that he can easily pledge to pay simple interest to the lender. Finally, the law of consumption, greed, and waste opposes those huge progressions, in which man's powers and their products would multiply if the law of production, or thrift, were alone effective" (A. Müller, *Elemente der Staatskunst,* 1809, Part III, pp. 147-49).

It is impossible to concoct a more hair-raising absurdity in so few lines. Leaving aside the droll confusion of labourer and capitalist, value of labour power and interest on capital, etc., the charging of compound interest is supposed to be explained by the fact that capital is "loaned out" to bring in "compound interest". The method employed by our Müller is characteristic of the romanticism in all walks of life. It is made up of current prejudices, skimmed from the most superficial semblance of things. This incorrect and trite content should then be "exalted" and rendered sublime through a mystifying mode of expression.[a]

The process of accumulation of capital may be conceived as an accumulation of compound interest in the sense that the portion of profit (surplus value) which is reconverted into capital, i. e., serves to absorb more surplus labour, may be called interest. But:

1) Aside from all incidental interference, a large part of available capital is constantly more or less depreciated in the course of the reproduction process, because the value of commodities is not determined by the labour time originally expended in their production, but by the labour time expended in their reproduction, and this decreases continually owing to the development of the social productivity of labour. On a higher level of social productivity, all available capital appears, for this reason, to be the result of a relatively short period

[a] Ibid., pp. 225-26.

of reproduction, instead of a long process of accumulation of capital.[81]

2) As demonstrated in Part III of this book, the rate of profit decreases in proportion to the mounting accumulation of capital and the correspondingly increasing productivity of social labour, which is expressed precisely in the relative and progressive decrease of the variable as compared to the constant portion of capital. To produce the same rate of profit after the constant capital set in motion by one labourer increases ten-fold, the surplus labour time would have to increase ten-fold, and soon the total labour time, and finally the entire 24 hours of a day, would not suffice, even if wholly appropriated by capital. The idea that the rate of profit does not shrink is, however, the basis of Price's progression and in general the basis of "ALL-ENGROSSING CAPITAL, WITH COMPOUND INTEREST".[82]

The identity of surplus value and surplus labour imposes a qualitative limit upon the accumulation of capital. This consists of the *total working day*, and the prevailing development of the productive forces and of the population, which limits the number of simultaneously exploitable working days. But if one conceives of surplus value in the meaningless form of interest, the limit is merely quantitative and defies all fantasy.

Now, the conception of capital as a fetish reaches its height in interest-bearing capital, being a conception which attributes to the accumulated product of labour, and at that in the fixed form of money, the inherent secret power, as an automaton, of creating surplus value in geometrical progression, so that the accumulated product of labour, as the *Economist* thinks, has long discounted all the wealth of the world for all time as belonging to it and rightfully coming to it. The

[81] See Mill and Carey, and Roscher's mistaken commentary on this score.[a]

[82] "It is clear that no labour, no productive power, no ingenuity, and no art, can answer the overwhelming demands of compound interest. But all saving is made from the revenue of the capitalist, so that actually these demands are constantly made and as constantly the productive power of labour refuses to satisfy them. A sort of balance is, therefore, constantly struck" (*Labour Defended Against the Claims of Capital*, p. 23. By Hodgskin).[b]

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[a] Marx, presumably, refers to the following works: J. St. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, Vol. I, London, 1849, pp. 91-92; H. Ch. Carey, *Principles of Social Science*, Vol. III, Philadelphia, London, Paris, 1859, pp. 71-73; W. Roscher, *Die Grundlagen der Nationalö konomie*, Stuttgart und Augsburg, 1858, pp. 77-79. - [b] Cf. present edition, Vol. 32, p. 431.

product of past labour, the past labour itself, is here pregnant in itself with a portion of present or future living surplus labour. We know, however, that in reality the preservation, and to that extent also the reproduction of the value of products of past labour is *only* the result of their contact with living labour; and secondly, that the domination of the products of past labour over living surplus labour lasts only as long as the relations of capital, which rest on those particular social relations in which past labour independently and overwhelmingly dominates over living labour.

## Chapter XXV

### CREDIT AND FICTITIOUS CAPITAL

An exhaustive analysis of the credit system and of the instruments which it creates for its own use (credit money, etc.) lies beyond our plan.[1] We merely wish to dwell here upon a few particular points, which are required to characterise the capitalist mode of production in general. We shall deal only with commercial and bank credit. The connection between the development of this form of credit and that of public credit will not be considered here.

I have shown earlier (Buch I, Kap. III, 3, b[a]) how the function of money as a means of payment, and therewith a relation of creditor and debtor between the producer and trader of commodities, develop from the simple circulation of commodities. With the development of commerce and of the capitalist mode of production, which produces solely with an eye to circulation, this natural basis of the credit system is extended, generalised, and worked out. Money serves here, by and large, merely as a means of payment, i. e., commodities are not sold for money, but for a written promise to pay for them at a certain date. For brevity's sake, we may put all these promissory notes under the general head of bills of exchange. Such bills of exchange, in their turn, circulate as means of payment until the day on which they fall due; and they form the actual commercial money. Inasmuch as they ultimately neutralise one another through the balancing of claims and debts, they act absolutely as money, although there is no eventual transformation into actual money. Just as these mutual advances of producers and merchants make up the real foundation of credit, so

[a] See present edition, Vol. 35.

does the instrument of their circulation, the bill of exchange, form the basis of credit money proper, of banknotes, etc. These do not rest upon the circulation of money, be it metallic or government-issued paper money, but rather upon the circulation of bills of exchange.

W. Leatham (banker of Yorkshire) writes in his *Letters on the Currency*, 2nd ed., London, 1840:

"I find, then, the amount for the whole of the year of 1839 ... to be £528,493,842" (he assumed that the foreign bills of exchange made up about one-fifth of the total) "and the amount of bills out at one time in the above year, to be £132,123,460" (pp. 55, 56). The bills of exchange make up "one component part greater in amount than all the rest put together" (pp. 3, 4). "This enormous superstructure of bills of exchange rests (!) upon the base formed by the amount of banknotes and gold, and when, by events, this base becomes too much narrowed, its solidity and very existence is endangered" (p. 8). "If I estimate the whole currency"

//he means the banknotes//

"and the amount of the liabilities of the Bank and country bankers, payable on demand, I find a sum of 153 million, which, by law, can be converted into gold ... and the amount of gold to meet this demand only 14 million" (p. 11). "The bills of exchange are not ... placed under any control, except by preventing the abundance of money, and low rates of interest or discount, which create a part of them, and encourage their great and dangerous expansion. It is impossible to decide what part arises out of real *bonâ fide* transactions, such as actual bargain and sale, or what part is FICTITIOUS[a] and mere accommodation paper, that is, where one bill of exchange is drawn to take up another running, in order to raise a fictitious capital, by creating so much currency. In times of abundance and cheap money this I know reaches an enormous amount" (pp. 43-44).

J. W. Bosanquet, *Metallic, Paper, and Credit Currency*, London, 1842:

"An average amount of payments to the extent of upwards of £3,000,000 is settled through the CLEARING HOUSE

//where the London bankers exchange due bills and filed cheques//

every day of business in the year, and the daily amount of money required for the purpose is little more than £200,000" (p. 86).

//In 1889, the total turnover of the CLEARING HOUSE amounted to £7,618 $\frac{3}{4}$ million, which, in roughly 300 business days, averages £25 $\frac{1}{2}$ million daily. —*F. E.*//

"Bills of exchange act undoubtedly as CURRENCY,[a] independent of money, inasmuch as they transfer property from hand to hand by endorsement" (pp. 92-93). "It

[a] In the 1894 German edition this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

may be assumed that upon an average there are two endorsements upon every bill in circulation, and ... each bill performs two payments before it becomes due. Upon this assumption it would appear, that by endorsement alone property changed hands, by means of bills of exchange, to the value of twice five hundred and twenty-eight million, or £1,056,000,000, being at the rate of more than £3,000,000 per day, in the course of the year 1839. We may safely therefore conclude, that deposits and bills of exchange together, perform the functions of money, by transferring property from hand to hand without the aid of money, to an extent daily of not less than £18,000,000" (p. 93).

Tooke says the following about credit in general:

"Credit, in its most simple expression, is the confidence which, well, or ill-founded, leads a person to entrust another with a certain amount of capital, in money, or in goods computed at a value in money agreed upon, and in each case payable at the expiration of a fixed term. In the case where the capital is lent in money, that is whether in banknotes, or in a cash credit, or in an order upon a correspondent, an addition for the use of the capital of so much upon every £100 is made to the amount to be repaid. In the case of goods the value of which is agreed in terms of money, constituting a sale, the sum stipulated to be repaid includes a consideration for the use of the capital and for the risk, till the expiration of the period fixed for payment. Written obligations of payment at fixed dates mostly accompany these credits, and the obligations or promissory notes after date being transferable, form the means by which the lenders, if they have occasion for the use of their capital, in the shape whether of money or goods, before the expiration of the term of the bills they hold, are mostly enabled to borrow or to buy on lower terms, by having their own credit strengthened by the names on the bills in addition to their own" (*Inquiry into the Currency Principle*, p. 87).

Ch. Coquelin, *Du Crédit et des Banques dans l'Industrie, Revue des deux Mondes*, 1842, tome 31 [p. 797]:

"In every country the majority of credit transactions takes place within the circle of industrial relations... The producer of the raw material advances it to the processing manufacturer, and receives from the latter a promise to pay on a certain day. The manufacturer, having completed his share of the work, in his turn advances his product on similar terms to another manufacturer, who has to process it further, and in this way credit stretches on and on, from one to the other, right up to the consumer. The wholesale dealer gives the retailer commodities on credit, while receiving credit from a manufacturer or commission agent. All borrow with one hand and lend with the other, sometimes money, but more frequently products. In this manner an incessant exchange of advances, which combine and intersect in all directions, takes place in industrial relations. The development of credit consists precisely in this multiplication and growth of mutual advances, and therein is the real seat of its power."

The other side of the credit system is connected with the development of money-dealing, which, of course, keeps step under capitalist production with the development of dealing in commodity. We have seen in the preceding part (Chap. XIX) how the care of the reserve funds of businessmen, the technical operations of receiving and dis-

bursing money, of international payments, and thus of the bullion trade, are concentrated in the hands of the money dealers. The other side of the credit system — the management of interest-bearing capital, or money capital, develops alongside this money-dealing as a special function of the money dealers. Borrowing and lending money becomes their particular business. They act as middlemen between the actual lender and the borrower of money capital. Generally speaking, this aspect of the banking business consists of concentrating large amounts of the loanable money capital in the bankers' hands, so that, in place of the individual money lender, the bankers confront the industrial and commercial capitalists as representatives of all money lenders. They become the general managers of money capital. On the other hand by borrowing for the entire world of commerce, they concentrate all the borrowers vis-à vis all the lenders. A bank represents a centralisation of money capital, of the lenders, on the one hand, and on the other a centralisation of the borrowers. Its profit is generally made by borrowing at a lower rate of interest than it receives in loaning.

The loanable capital which the banks have at their disposal streams to them in various ways. In the first place, being the cashiers of the industrial capitalists, all the money capital which every producer and merchant keeps as a reserve fund, or receives in payment, is concentrated in their hands. These funds are thus converted into loanable money capital. In this way, the reserve fund of the commercial world, because it is concentrated in a common treasury, is reduced to its necessary minimum, and a portion of the money capital which would otherwise have to lie slumbering as a reserve fund, is loaned out and serves as interest-bearing capital. In the second place, the loanable capital of the banks is formed by the deposits of money capitalists who entrust them with the business of loaning them out. Furthermore, with the development of the banking system, and particularly as soon as banks come to pay interest on deposits, money savings and the temporarily idle money of all classes are deposited with them. Small amounts, each in itself incapable of acting in the capacity of money capital, merge together into large masses and thus form a money power. This aggregation of small amounts must be distinguished as a specific function of the banking system from its mediatory activities between the money capitalists proper and the borrowers. In the final analysis, the revenues, which are but gradually consumed, are also deposited with the banks.

The loan is made (we refer here strictly to commercial credit) by discounting bills of exchange — by converting bills of exchange into money before they come due — and by advances of various kinds: direct advances on personal credit, loans against securities, such as interest-bearing paper, government paper, stocks of all sorts, and, notably, overdrafts against bills of lading, DOCK WARRANTS, and other certified titles of ownership of commodities and overdrawing deposits, etc.

The credit given by a banker may assume various forms, such as bills of exchange on other banks, cheques on them, credit accounts of the same kind, and finally, if the bank is entitled to issue notes — banknotes of the bank itself. A banknote is nothing but a draft upon a banker, payable at any time to the bearer, and given by the banker in place of private drafts. This last form of credit appears particularly important and striking to the layman, first, because this form of credit money breaks out of the confines of mere commercial circulation into general circulation, and serves there as money; and because in most countries the principal banks issuing notes, being a peculiar mixture of national and private banks, actually have the national credit to back them, and their notes are more or less legal tender; because it is apparent here that the banker deals in credit itself, a banknote being merely a circulating token of credit. But the banker also deals in credit in all its other forms, even when he advances the cash money deposited with him. In fact, a banknote simply represents the coin of wholesale trade, and it is always the deposit which carries the most weight with banks. The best proof of this is furnished by the Scottish banks.

Special credit institutions, like special forms of banks, need no further consideration for our purpose.

"The business of bankers ... may be divided into two branches... One branch of the banker's business is to collect capital from those who have not immediate employment for it, and to distribute or transfer it to those who have. The other branch is to receive deposits of the incomes of their customers, and to pay out the amount, as it is wanted for expenditure by the latter in the objects of their consumption... The former being a circulation of *capital*, the latter of CURRENCY.[a]"—"One relates to the concentration of capital on the one hand and the distribution of it on the other, the other is employed in administering the circulation for local purposes of the district." Tooke, *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle*, pp. 36, 37.

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

//We shall revert to this passage later, in Chapter XXVIII.[a]//

Reports of Committees, Vol. VIII. Commercial Distress, Vol. II, Part I, 1847-48, Minutes of Evidence. (Further quoted as Commercial Distress, 1847-48.) In the forties, when discounting bills of exchange in London, 21-day drafts of one bank on another were often accepted in lieu of banknotes. (Testimony of J. Pease, country banker, Nos. 4636 and 4645.) According to the same report, bankers were in the habit of giving such bills of exchange regularly in payment to their customers whenever money was tight. If the receiver wanted banknotes, he had to rediscount this bill. For the banks this amounted to a privilege of coining money. Messrs. Jones, Loyd and Co. made payments in this way "from time immemorial", as soon as money was scarce and the rate of interest rose above 5%. The customer was glad to get such banker's bills because bills from Jones, Loyd and Co. were easier discounted than his own; besides, they often passed through twenty to thirty hands (Ibid., Nos. 901 to 905, 992).

All these forms serve to make the payments claim transferable.

"There is scarcely any shape into which credit can be cast, in which it will not at times be called to perform the functions of money; and whether that shape be a banknote, or a bill of exchange, or a banker's cheque, the process is in every essential particular the same, and the result is the same." Fullarton, *On the Regulation of Currencies*, 2nd ed., London, 1845, p. 38.—"Banknotes are the small change of credit" (p. 51).

The following from J. W. Gilbart's *The History and Principles of Banking*, London, 1834:

"The trading capital of a bank may be divided into two parts: the invested capital, and the borrowed BANKING CAPITAL[b]" (p. 117). "There are three ways of raising a banking or borrowed capital. First, by receiving deposits; secondly, by the issuing of notes; thirdly, by the drawing of bills. If a person will lend me £100 for nothing, and I lend that £100 to another person at four per cent interest, then, in the course of a year, I shall gain £4 by the transaction. Again, if a person will take my 'promise to pay'" ("I PROMISE TO PAY" is the usual formula for English banknotes) "and bring it back to me at the end of the year, and pay me four per cent for it, just the same as though I had lent him 100 sovereigns, then I shall gain £4 by that transaction; and again, if a person in a country town brings me £100 on condition that, twenty-one days afterwards, I shall pay the same amount to a person in London, then whatever interest I can make of the money during the twenty-one days, will be my profit. This is a fair representation of the operations of banking, and of the way in which a banking capital is created by means of deposits, notes, and bills" (p. 117)."The profits of a banker are generally in proportion to the amount of his banking or borrowed capital... To ascertain the real

[a] See this volume, p. 439. - [b] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

profit of a bank, the interest upon the invested capital should be deducted from the gross profit, and what remains is the banking profit" (p. 118). "*The advances of bankers to their customers are made with other people's money*" (p. 146). "Precisely those bankers who do not issue notes, create a banking capital by the discounting of bills. They render their discounts subservient to the increase of their deposits. The London bankers will not discount except for those houses who have deposit accounts with them" (p. 119). "A party who has had bills discounted, and has paid interest on the whole amount, must leave some portion of that amount in the hands of the banker without interest. By this means the banker obtains more than the current rate of interest on the money actually advanced, and raises a banking capital to the amount of the balance left in his hands" (p. 120).

Economising on reserve funds, deposits, cheques:

"Banks of deposit serve to economise the use of the circulating medium. This is done upon the principle of transfer of titles.... Thus it is that banks of deposit ... are enabled to settle a large amount of transactions with a small amount of money. The money thus liberated, is employed by the banker in making advances, by discount or otherwise, to his customers. Hence the principle of transfer gives additional efficiency to the deposit system..." (p. 123). "It matters not whether the two parties, who have dealings with each other, keep their accounts with the same banker or with different bankers; for, as the bankers exchange their cheques with each other at the clearing house.... The deposit system might thus, by means of transfers, be carried to such an extent as wholly to supersede the use of a metallic currency. Were every man to keep a deposit account at a bank, and make all his payments by cheques... cheques become the sole circulating medium. In this case, however, it must be supposed that the banker has the money in his hands, or the cheques would have no value" (p. 124).

Centralisation of local transactions in the hands of the banks is effected 1) through branch banks. Country banks have branch establishments in the smaller towns of their district, and London banks in different districts of the city. 2) Through agencies.

"Each country banker employs a London agent to pay his notes or bills ... and to receive sums that may be lodged by parties residing in London for the use of parties residing in the country" (p. 127). "Each banker accepts the notes of others, but does not reissue them. In all larger cities they come together once or twice a week and exchange their notes. The balance is paid by a draft on London" (p. 134). "It is the object of banking to give facilities to trade, and whatever gives facilities to trade gives facilities to speculation. Trade and speculation are in some cases so nearly allied, that it is impossible to say at what precise point trade ends and speculation begins.... Wherever there are banks, capital is more readily obtained, and at a cheaper rate. The cheapness of capital gives facilities to speculation, just in the same way as the cheapness of beef and of beer gives facilities to gluttony and drunkenness" (pp. 137, 138). "As banks of circulation always issue their own notes, it would seem that their discounting business was carried on exclusively with this last description of capital, but it is not so. It is very possible for a banker to issue his own notes for all the bills he discounts, and yet nine-tenths of the bills in his possession shall represent real capital. For, although in the first instance, the banker's notes are given for the bill, yet these notes may not stay in circulation until

the bill becomes due — the bill may have three months to run, the notes may return in three days" (p. 172). "The overdrawing of a cash credit account is a regular matter of business; it is, in fact, the purpose for which the cash credit has been granted.... Cash credits are granted not only upon personal security, but also upon the security of the Public Funds" (pp. 174, 175). "Capital advanced, by way of loan, on the securities of merchandise, would produce the same effects as if advanced in the discounting of bills. If a party borrows £100 on the security of his merchandise, it is the same as though he had sold his merchandise for a £100 bill, and got it discounted with the banker. By obtaining this advance he is enabled to hold over this merchandise for a better market, and avoids a sacrifice which, otherwise, he might be induced to make, in order to raise the money for urgent purposes" (pp. 180-81).

*The Currency Theory Reviewed, etc.*, pp. 62-63:

"It is unquestionably true that the £1,000 which you deposit at A today may be reissued tomorrow, and form a deposit at B. The day after that, reissued from B, it may form a deposit at C ... and so on to infinitude; and that the same £1,000 in money may thus, by a succession of transfers, multiply itself into a sum of deposits absolutely indefinite. It is possible, therefore, that *nine-tenths of all the deposits in the United Kingdom may have no existence beyond their record in the books of the bankers* .... Thus in Scotland, for instance, currency //mostly paper money at that!// has never exceeded £3 million, the deposits in the banks are estimated at £27 million.... Unless A RUN ON THE BANKS[a] be made, the same £1,000 would, if sent back upon its travels, cancel with the same facility a sum equally indefinite. As the same £1,000 with which you cancel your debt to a tradesman today, may cancel his debt to the merchant tomorrow, the merchant's debt to the bank the day following, and so on without end; so the same £1,000 may pass from hand to hand, and bank to bank, and cancel any conceivable sum of deposits."

//We have seen that Gilbart knew even in 1834 that

"whatever gives facilities to trade gives facilities to speculation. Trade and speculation are in some cases so nearly allied, that it is impossible to say at what precise point trade ends and speculation begins".

The easier it is to obtain advances on unsold commodities, the more such advances are taken, and the greater the temptation to manufacture commodities, or dump already manufactured commodities in distant markets, just to obtain advances of money on them. To what extent the entire business world of a country may be seized by such swindling, and what it finally comes to, is amply illustrated by the history of English trade during 1845-47. It shows us what credit can accomplish. Before passing on to the following examples, a few preliminary remarks.

At the close of 1842 the pressure which English industry suffered almost uninterruptedly since 1837, began to abate. During the follow-

[a] In the 1894 German edition this English expression is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

ing two years foreign demand for English manufactured goods increased still more; 1845 and 1846 marked a period of greatest prosperity. In 1843 the Opium War had opened China to English commerce.[42] The new market gave a new impetus to the further expansion of industry, particularly the cotton industry. "How can we ever produce too much? We have to clothe 300 million people," a Manchester manufacturer said to this writer at the time. But all the newly erected factory buildings, steam-engines, and spinning and weaving machines did not suffice to absorb the surplus value pouring in from Lancashire. With the same zeal as was shown in expanding production, people engaged in building railways. The thirst for speculation of manufacturers and merchants at first found gratification in this field, and as early as in the summer of 1844. Stock was fully underwritten, i. e., so far as there was money to cover the initial payments. As for the rest, time would show! But when further payments were due—Question 1059, C. D. 1848/57, indicates that the capital invested in railways in 1846-47 amounted to £75 million—recourse had to be taken to credit, and in most cases the basic enterprises of the firm had also to bleed.

And in most cases these basic enterprises were already overburdened. The enticingly high profits had led to far more extensive operations than justified by the available liquid resources. Yet there was credit—easy to obtain and cheap. The bank discount rate stood low: $1\frac{3}{4}$ to $2\frac{3}{4}$ % in 1844, less than 3% until October 1845, rising to 5% for a while (February 1846), then dropping again to $3\frac{1}{4}$ % in December 1846. The Bank of England had an unheard-of supply of gold in its vaults. All inland quotations were higher than ever before. Why then allow this splendid opportunity to escape? Why not go in for all one was worth? Why not send all one could manufacture to foreign markets which pined for English goods? And why should not the manufacturer himself pocket the double gain arising from selling yarn and fabrics in the Far East, and the return cargo in England?

Thus arose the system of mass consignments to India and China against advance payments, and this very soon developed into a system of consignments purely for the sake of getting advances, as described in greater detail in the following notes, which led inevitably to overflooding the markets and a crash.

The crash was precipitated by the crop failure of 1846. England, and particularly Ireland, required enormous imports of foodstuffs,

notably corn and potatoes. But the countries which supplied them could be paid with the products of English industry only to a very limited extent. Precious metals had to be given out. Gold worth at least nine million was sent abroad. Of this amount no less than seven and a half million came from the treasury of the Bank of England, whose freedom of action on the money market was thereby considerably impaired. Other banks, whose reserves were deposited with the Bank of England and were practically identical with those of that Bank, were thus also compelled to curtail accommodation of money. The rapid and easy flow of payments was obstructed, first here and there, then generally. The banking discount rate, still 3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$% in January 1847, rose to 7% in April, when the first panic broke out. The situation eased somewhat in the summer ($6\frac{1}{2}$%, 6%), but when the new crop failed as well panic broke out afresh and even more violently. The official minimum bank discount rose in October to 7 and in November to 10%; i. e., the overwhelming mass of bills of exchange was discountable only at outrageous rates of interest, or no longer discountable at all. The general cessation of payments caused the failure of several leading and very many medium-sized and small firms. The Bank itself was in danger due to the limitations imposed by the artful Bank Act of 1844.[a] The government yielded to the general clamour and suspended the Bank Act on October 25, thereby eliminating the absurd legal fetters imposed on the Bank. Now it could throw its supply of banknotes into circulation without hindrance. The credit of these banknotes being in practice guaranteed by the credit of the nation, and thus unimpaired, the money stringency was thus instantly and decisively relieved. Naturally, quite a number of hopelessly enmeshed large and small firms failed nevertheless, but the peak of the crisis was overcome, the banking discount dropped to 5% in December, and in the course of 1848 a new wave of business activity began which took the edge off the revolutionary movements on the continent in 1849, and which inaugurated in the fifties an unprecedented industrial prosperity, but then ended again—in the crash of 1857.—*F. E.*//

I. A document issued by the House of Lords in 1848 deals with the colossal depreciation of government paper and bonds during the 1847 crisis. According to it the depreciation of October 23, 1847, compared with the level in February of the same year, amounted to:

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[a] See this volume, Chapter XXXIV.

| | |
|---|---|
| On English government bonds ..... | £93,824,217 |
| On dock and canal stock ..... | £1,358,288 |
| On railway stock ..... | £19,579,820 |
| Total ..... | £114,762,325 |

II. With reference to the swindle in East Indian trade, in which drafts were no longer drawn because commodities were being bought, but rather commodities were bought to be able to make out discountable drafts convertible into money, the *Manchester Guardian* of November 24, 1847, remarks:

Mr. A in London instructs a Mr. B. to buy from the manufacturer C in Manchester commodities for shipment to a Mr. D in East India. B pays C in six months' drafts to be made out by C on B. B secures himself by six months' drafts on A. As soon as the goods are shipped A makes out six months' drafts on D against the mailed bill of lading.

"The shipper and the co-signee were thus both put in possession of funds — months before they actually paid for the goods; and, very commonly, these bills were renewed at maturity, on pretence of affording time for the returns in a 'long trade'. Unfortunately, losses by such a trade, instead of leading to its contraction, led directly to its increase. The poorer men became, the greater need they had to purchase, in order to make up, by new advances, the capital they had lost on the past adventures. Purchases thus became, not a question of supply and demand, but the most important part of the finance operations of a firm labouring under difficulties. But this is only one side of the picture. What took place in reference to the export of goods at home, was taking place in the purchase and shipment of produce abroad. Houses in India, who had credit to pass their bills, were purchasers of sugar, indigo, silk, or cotton — not because the prices advised from London by the last overland mail promised a profit on the prices current in India, but because former drafts upon the London house would soon fall due, and must be provided for. What was so simple as to purchase a cargo of sugar, pay for it in bills upon the London house at ten months' date, transmit the shipping documents by the overland mail; and, in less than two months the goods on the high seas...were pawned in Lombard Street — putting the London house in funds eight months before the drafts against those goods fell due. And all this went on without interruption or difficulty, as long as bill-brokers had abundance of money 'at call,' to advance on bills of lading and dock warrants, and to discount, without limit, the bills of India houses drawn upon the eminent firms in Mincing Lane."

//This fraudulent procedure remained in vogue so long as goods to and from India had to round the Cape in sailing vessels. But ever since they are being shipped in steamboats via the Suez Canal this method of fabricating fictitious capital has been deprived of its basis — the long freight voyage. And ever since the telegraph informs the English businessman about the Indian market and the Indian merchant about the English market, on the same day this method has become totally impracticable.— *F. E.*//

III. The following is taken from the quoted Report on Commercial Distress, 1847-48:

"In the last week of April 1847, the Bank of England advised the Royal Bank of Liverpool that it would thereafter reduce its discount business with the latter bank by one-half. The announcement operated with peculiar hardship on this account, that the payments into Liverpool had latterly been much more in bills than in cash; and the merchants who generally brought to the Bank a large proportion of cash with which to pay their acceptances, had latterly been able to bring only bills which they had received for their cotton and other produce, and that increased very rapidly as the difficulties increased.... The acceptances ... which the Bank had to pay for the merchants, were acceptances drawn chiefly upon them from abroad, and they have been accustomed to meet those acceptances by whatever payment they received for their produce.... The bills that the merchants brought ... in lieu of cash... were of various dates, and of various descriptions; a considerable number of them were bankers' bills, of three months' date, the large bulk being cotton bills. These bills of exchange, when bankers' bills, were accepted by London bankers, and by merchants in every trade that we could mention — the Brazilian, the American, the Canadian, the West Indian.... The merchants did not draw upon each other; but the parties in the interior, who had purchased produce from the merchants, remitted to the merchants bills on London bankers, or bills on various parties in London, or bills upon anybody. The announcement of the Bank of England caused a reduction of the maturity terms of bills drawn against sales of foreign products, frequently extending to over three months" (pp. 26, 27).

The period of prosperity in England from 1844 to 1847, was, as described above, connected with the first great railway swindle. The above-named report makes the following reference to the effect of this swindle on business in general:

In April 1847 "almost all mercantile houses had begun TO STARVE THEIR BUSINESS[a] more or less ... by taking part of their commercial capital for railways" (p. 42). "Loans were made on railway shares at a high rate of interest, say, 8%, by private individuals, by bankers and by fire-offices" (p. 66). "Loans to so great an extent by commercial houses to railways induced them to lean too much upon banks by the discount of paper, whereby to carry on their commercial operations" (p. 67). (Question:) "Should you say that the railway calls had had a great effect in producing the pressure which there was" //on the money market// "in April and October" //1847//? — (Answer:) "I should say that they had had hardly any effect at all in producing the pressure in April; I should imagine that up to April, and up, perhaps, to the summer, they had increased the power of bankers in some respects rather than diminished it; for the expenditure had not been nearly so rapid as the calls; the consequence was, that most of the banks had rather a large amount of railway money in their hands in the beginning of the year."

//This is corroborated in numerous statements made by bankers in C. D. 1848-57.//

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this English expression is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

"In the summer that melted gradually away, and on the 31st of December it was materially less. One cause ... of the pressure in October was the gradual diminution of the railway money in the bankers' hands; between the 22nd of April and the 31st of December the railway balances in our hands were reduced one-third; and the railway calls have also had this effect ... throughout the Kingdom; they have been gradually draining the deposits of bankers" (pp. 43, 44).

Samuel Gurney //head of the ill-famed firm of Overend, Gurney and Co.// similarly says:

"During the year 1846 ... there had been a considerable demand for capital, for the establishment of railways ... but it did not increase the value of money.... There was a condensation of small sums into large masses, and those large masses were used in our market; so that, upon the whole, the effect was to throw more money into the money market of the City than to take it out" [p. 159].

A. Hodgson, Director of the Liverpool Joint-Stock Bank, shows how much bills of exchange may constitute a reserve for bankers:

"It has been our habit to keep at least nine-tenths of all our deposits, and all money we have of other persons, in our bill case, in bills that are falling due from day to day... so much so, that during the time of the run, the bills falling due were almost equal to the amount of the run upon us day by day" (p. 53).

*Speculative bills.*

"5092. Who were those bills" (against sold cotton) generally accepted by?"— //R.Gardner, the cotton manufacturer repeatedly mentioned in this work:// "Produce brokers: a person buys cotton, and places it in the hands of a broker, and draws upon that broker, and gets the bills discounted."—"5094. And they are taken to the banks at Liverpool, and discounted?—Yes, and in other parts besides.... I believe if it had not been for the accommodation thus granted, and principally by the Liverpool banks, cotton would never have been so high last year as it was by $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. or 2d. a pound."— "600. You have stated that a vast amount of bills were put in circulation, drawn by speculators upon cotton brokers in Liverpool; does that system extend to your advance on acceptances upon colonial and foreign produce as well as on cotton?" //A. Hodgson, a Liverpool banker:// "It refers to all kinds of colonial produce, but to cotton most especially."—"601. Do you, as a banker, discourage as far as you can that description of paper?—We do not; we consider it a very legitimate description of paper, when kept in moderation. This description of paper is frequently renewed."

*Swindling in the East Indian and Chinese Market, 1847.*—Charles Turner (head of one of the leading East Indian houses in Liverpool):

"We are all aware of the events which have taken place as regards the Mauritius trade, and other trades of that kind. The brokers have been in the habit ... not only of advancing upon goods after their arrival to meet the bills drawn against those goods, which is perfectly legitimate, and upon the bills of lading ... but ... they have advanced upon the produce before it was shipped, and in some cases before it was manufactured. Now, to speak of my own individual instance: I have bought bills in Calcutta to the ex-

tent of six or seven thousand pounds in one particular instance; the proceeds of the bills went down to the Mauritius, to help in the growth of sugar; those bills came to England, and above half of them were protested; for when the shipments of sugar came forward, instead of being held to pay those bills, it had been mortgaged to third parties... before it was shipped, in fact almost before it was boiled" (p. 78). "Now manufacturers are insisting upon cash but it does not amount to much, because if a buyer has any credit in London, he can draw upon the house, and get the bill discounted; he goes to London, where discounts now are cheap; he gets the bill discounted, and pays cash to the manufacturer.... It takes twelve months, at least, for the shipper of goods to get his return from India ... a man with ten or fifteen thousand pounds would go into the Indian trade; he would open a credit with a house in London, to a considerable extent, giving that house one per cent; he, drawing upon the house in London, on the understanding that the proceeds of the goods that go out are to be returned to the house in London, but it being perfectly understood by both parties that the man in London is to be kept out of a cash advance; that is to say, in other words, the bills are to be renewed till the proceeds come home. The bills were discounted at Liverpool, Manchester ... or in London ... many of them lie in the Scotch banks" (p. 79).—"786. There is one house which failed in London the other day, and in examining their affairs, a transaction of this sort was proved to have taken place; there is a house of business at Manchester, and another at Calcutta; they opened a credit account with a house in London to the extent of £200,000; that is to say, the friends of this house in Manchester, who consigned goods to the East India House from Glasgow and from Manchester, had the power of drawing upon the house in London to the extent of £200,000; at the same time, there was an understanding that the corresponding house in Calcutta were to draw upon the London house to the extent of £200,000; with the proceeds of those bills sold in Calcutta, they were to buy other bills, and remit them to the house in London, to take up the first bills drawn from Glasgow or Manchester... There would have been £600,000 of bills created upon that transaction." — "971. At present, if a house in Calcutta purchase a cargo" //for England//, "and give their own bills upon their correspondent in London in payment, and they send the bills of lading home to this country, those bills of lading ... immediately become available to them in Lombard Street for advances, and they have eight months' use of the money before their correspondents are called upon to pay."

IV. In 1848 a secret committee of the House of Lords investigated the causes of the 1847 crisis. The evidence given to the committee was not published, however, until 1857 (Minutes of Evidence, taken before the Secret Committee of the H. of L. appointed to inquire into the Causes of Distress, etc., 1857; quoted as C. D. 1848/57). Here Mr. Lister, Director of the Union Bank of Liverpool, testified, among other things, to the following:

"2444. In the spring of 1847 there was an undue extension of credit... because a man transferred property from business into railways and was still anxious to carry on the same extent of business. He probably first thought that he could sell the railway shares at a profit and replace the money in his business. Perhaps he found that could not be done, and he then got credit in his business where formerly he paid in cash. There was an extension of credit from that circumstance."

"2500. Were those bills ... upon which the banks had sustained a loss by holding them, principally bills upon corn or bills upon cotton?" — "They were bills upon all kinds of produce, corn and cotton and sugar, all foreign produce of all descriptions. There was scarcely any thing perhaps with the exception of oil, that did not go down." — "2506. A broker who accepts a bill will not accept it without a good margin as to the value."

"2512. There are two kinds of bills drawn against produce; the first is the original bill drawn abroad upon the merchant, who imports it.... The bills which are drawn against produce frequently fall due before the produce arrives. The merchant, therefore, when it arrives, if he has not sufficient capital, has to pledge that produce with the broker till he has time to sell that produce. Then a new species of bill is immediately drawn by the merchant in Liverpool upon the broker, on the security of that produce.... Then it is the business of the banker to ascertain from the broker whether he has the produce, and to what extent he has advanced upon it. It is his business to see that the broker has property to protect himself if he makes a loss."

"2516. We also receive bills from abroad.... A man buys a bill abroad on England, and sends it to a house in England; we cannot tell whether that bill is drawn prudently or imprudently, whether it is drawn for produce or for wind."

"2533. You said that almost every kind of foreign produce was sold at a great loss. Do you think that that was in consequence of undue speculation in that produce? — It arose from a very large import, and there not being an equal consumption to take it off. It appears that consumption fell off a great deal." — "2534. In October produce was almost unsaleable."

How a general *sauve qui peut*[a] develops at the height of a crisis is revealed in the same report by a first-rate expert, the esteemed crafty Quaker, Samuel Gurney, of Overend, Gurney and Co.:

"1262. ... When a panic exists a man does not ask himself what he can get for his banknotes, or whether he shall lose one or two per cent by selling his exchequer bills, or three per cent. If he is under the influence of alarm he does not care for the profit or loss, but makes himself safe and allows the rest of the world to do as they please."

V. Concerning the mutual satiation of the two markets Mr. Alexander, a merchant in the East India trade, testifies before the Committee of the Lower House on the Bank Act of 1857 (quoted as B. C. 1857):

"4330. At the present moment, if I lay out 6s. in Manchester, I get 5s. back in India; if I lay out 6s. in India, I get 5s. back in London."

So that the Indian market is, therefore, drugged by England, and the English by India. This was, indeed, the case in the summer of 1857, barely ten years after the bitter experience of 1847!

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[a] save yourself if you can

# Chapter XXVI

## ACCUMULATION OF MONEY CAPITAL. ITS INFLUENCE ON THE INTEREST RATE

"In England there takes place a steady accumulation of additional wealth, which has a tendency ultimately to assume the form of money. Now next in urgency, perhaps, to the desire to acquire money, is the wish to part with it again for some species of investment that shall yield either interest or profit; for money itself, as money, yields neither. Unless, therefore, concurrently with this ceaseless influx of surplus capital, there is a gradual and sufficient extension of the field for its employment, we must be subject to periodical accumulations of money seeking investment, of more or less volume, according to the movement of events. For a long series of years, the grand absorbent of the surplus wealth of England was our public debt.... As soon as in 1816 the debt reached its maximum, and operated no longer as an absorbent, a sum of at least seven-and-twenty million per annum was necessarily driven to seek other channels of investment. What was more, various return payments of capital were made.... Enterprises which entail a large capital and create an opening from time to time for the excess of unemployed capital ... are absolutely necessary, at least in our country, so as to take care of the periodical accumulations of the superfluous wealth of society, which is unable to find room in the usual fields of application" (*The Currency Theory Reviewed*, Edinburgh, 1845, pp. 32-34).

Of 1845 the same work says:

"Within a very recent period prices have sprung upwards from the lowest point of depression.... Consols touch par.... The bullion in the vaults of the Bank of England has ... exceeded in amount the treasure held by that establishment since its institution. Shares of every description range at prices on the average wholly unprecedented, and interest has declined to rates which are all but nominal. If these be not evidences that another heavy accumulation of unemployed wealth exists at this hour in England, that another period of speculative excitement is at hand" (ibid., p. 36).

"Although ... the import of bullion is no sure sign of gain upon the foreign trade, yet, in the absence of any explanatory cause, it does *prima facie* represent a portion of it" (J. G. Hubbard, *The Currency and the Country*, London, 1843, p. 41). "Suppose ... that at a period of steady trade, fair prices ... and full, but not redundant circulation, a deficient harvest should give occasion for an import of corn, and an export of gold to the value of five million. The circulation"

//meaning, as we shall presently see, idle money capital rather than means of circulation—*F. E.*//

"would of course be reduced by the same amount. An equal quantity of the circulation might still be held by individuals, but the deposits of merchants at their bankers, the balances of bankers with their money brokers, and the reserve in their till, will all be diminished, and the immediate result of this reduction in the amount of unemployed capital will be a rise in the rate of interest. I will assume from 4 per cent to 6. Trade being in a sound state, confidence will not be shaken, but credit will be more highly valued" (ibid., p. 42). "But imagine ... that all prices fall.... The superfluous currency returns to the bankers in increased deposits—the abundance of unemployed capital

lowers the rate of interest to a minimum, and this state of things lasts until either a return of higher prices or a more active trade call the dormant currency into service, or until it is absorbed by investments in foreign stocks or foreign goods" (p. 68).

The following extracts are also taken from the Parliamentary Report on Commercial Distress, 1847-48.—Owing to the crop failure and famine of 1846-47 large-scale imports of foodstuffs became necessary.

"These circumstances caused the imports of the country to be very largely in excess over ... exports ... a considerable drain upon the banks, and an increased application to the discount brokers ... for the discount of bills.... They began to scrutinise the bills. ...The facilities of houses then began to be very seriously curtailed, and the weak houses began to fail. Those houses which ... relied upon their credit... went down. This increased the alarm that had been previously felt; and the bankers and others finding that they would not rely with the same degree of confidence that they had previously done upon turning their bills and other money securities into banknotes, for the purpose of meeting their engagements, still further curtailed their facilities, and in many cases refused them altogether; they locked up their banknotes, in many instances to meet their own engagements; they were afraid of parting with them.... The alarm and confusion were increased daily; and unless Lord John Russell .... had issued the letter to the Bank ... universal bankruptcy would have been the issue" (pp. 74-75).

Russell's letter suspended the Bank Act.—The previously mentioned Charles Turner testifies:

"Some houses had large means, but not available. The whole of their capital was locked up in estates in the Mauritius, or indigo factories, or sugar factories. Having incurred liabilities to the extent of £500,000 or £600,000 they had no available assets to pay their bills, and eventually it proved that to pay their bills they were entirely dependent upon their credit" (p. 81).

The aforementioned S. Gurney said:

[1664]: "At present" (1848) "there is a limitation of transaction and a great superabundance of money."—"1763. I do not think it was owing to the want of capital; it was owing to THE ALARM[a] that existed that the rate of interest got so high."

In 1847 England paid at least £9 million gold to foreign countries of imported foodstuffs. Of this amount £7$\frac{1}{2}$ million came from the Bank of England and 1$\frac{1}{2}$ million from other sources (p. 245). —Morris, Governor of the Bank of England:

"The public stocks in the country and canal and railway shares had already by the 23rd of October 1847 been depreciated in the aggregate to the amount of £114,752,225" (p. 312).

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

Again Morris, when questioned by Lord G. Bentinck:

"Are you not aware that all property invested in stocks and produce of every description was depreciated in the same way; that raw cotton, raw silk and unmanufactured wool were sent to the continent at the same depreciated price... and that sugar, coffee and tea were sacrificed as at forced sales?—It was ... inevitable that the country should make a considerable sacrifice for the purpose of meeting the efflux of bullion which had taken place in consequence of the large importation of food."—[3848] "Do not you think it would have been better to trench upon the £8,000,000 lying in the coffers of the Bank than to have endeavoured to get the gold back again at such a sacrifice?—*No, I do not.*"—

Now to the commentaries on such heroism. Disraeli questions Mr. W. Cotton, a Director and former Governor of the Bank of England:

"What was the rate of dividend paid to the Bank proprietors in 1844?—It was 7 per cent for the year."—"What is the dividend ... for 1847?—Nine per cent."—"Does the Bank pay the income tax for its proprietors in this year?—It does."—"Did it do so in 1844?—It did not."[83]—"Then this Bank Act" (of 1844) "has worked very well for the proprietors?... The result is, that since the passing of the Act, the dividend to the proprietors has been raised from 7 per cent to 9 per cent, and the income tax, that previously to the Act was paid by the proprietors, is now paid by the Bank?—*It is so.*" (Nos. 4356-61).

Mr. Pease, a country banker, had the following to say concerning hoarding in banks during the crisis of 1847:

"4605. As the Bank was obliged still to raise its rate of interest, every one seemed apprehensive; country bankers increased the amount of bullion in their hands, and increased their reserve of notes, and many of us who were in the habit of keeping, perhaps, a few hundred pounds of gold and banknotes, immediately laid up thousands in our desks and drawers, as there was an uncertainty about discounts, and about our bills being current in the market, a general hoarding ensued."

A member of the Committee remarks:

"4691. Then, whatever may have been the cause during the last 12 years, the result has been rather in favour of the Jew and money dealer, than the productive classes generally."

How much a money dealer takes advantage of times of crisis is revealed by Tooke:

[83] In other words, formerly they first fixed the dividend, and then deducted the income tax as the dividend was paid to the individual stockholder; after 1844, however, the Bank first paid the income tax on its total profit, and then paid the dividend "FREE OF INCOME TAX". The same nominal percentages are, therefore, higher in the latter case by the amount of the tax.—*F. E.*

"In the hardware districts of Warwickshire and Staffordshire, a great many orders for goods were declined to be accepted in 1847, because the rate of interest which the manufacturer had to pay for discounting his bills more than absorbed all his profit" (No. 5451).

Let us now take another parliamentary report cited earlier: Report from the Select Committee on Bank Acts, communicated from the Commons to the Lords, 1857 (quoted further as B. C. 1857). In it Mr. Norman, Director of the Bank of England and a leading figure among the champions of the CURRENCY PRINCIPLE,[43] is interrogated as follows:

"3635. You stated, that you consider that the rate of interest depends, not upon the amount of notes, but upon the supply and demand of capital. Will you state what you include in 'capital', besides notes and coin? — I believe that the ordinary definition of 'capital' is commodities or services used in production." — "3636. Do you mean to include all commodities in the word 'capital' when you speak of the rate of interest? — All commodities used in production." — "3637. You include all that in the word 'capital', when you speak of what regulates the rate of interest? — Yes. Supposing a cotton manufacturer to want cotton for his factory, the way in which he goes to work to obtain it is, probably, by getting an advance from his banker, and with the notes so obtained he goes to Liverpool, and makes a purchase. What he really wants is the cotton; he does not want the notes or the gold, except as a means of getting the cotton. Or he may want the means of paying his workmen; then again, he borrows the notes, and he pays the wages of the workmen with the notes; and the workmen, again, require food and lodging, and the money is the means of paying for those." — "3638. But interest is paid for the money? — It is, in the first instance; but take another case. Supposing he buys the cotton on credit, without going to the bank for an advance, then the difference between the ready-money price and the credit price at the time at which he is to pay for it is the measure of the interest. Interest would exist if there was no money at all."

This self-complacent rubbish is quite fitting for this pillar of the CURRENCY PRINCIPLE. First, the brilliant discovery that banknotes or gold are means of buying something, and that they are not borrowed for their own sake. And this is advanced to explain that the rate of interest is regulated — but by what? By the demand and supply of commodities, which heretofore were known to regulate only the market prices of commodities. However, very different rates of interest are compatible with the same market prices of commodities.— But now this cunning. He is confronted with the correct remark: "But interest is paid for the money," which, of course, contains the implication: "What has interest received by the banker, who does not deal in commodities at all, to do with these commodities? And do not manufacturers receive money at the same rate of interest, although they invest it in widely different markets, hence in markets with widely different

conditions of demand and supply for the commodities used in production?" All that this celebrated genius has to say in reply to these questions is that if the manufacturer buys cotton on credit "the difference between the price and the credit price at the time at which he is to pay for it is the measure of the interest". Quite the contrary. The prevailing rate of interest whose regulation the great intellect Norman was asked to explain is the measure of the difference between the cash price and the credit price until payment is due. First the cotton is to be sold at its cash price, and this is determined by the market price, itself regulated by the state of supply and demand. Say the price = £1,000. This concludes the transaction between the manufacturer and the cotton broker so far as buying and selling is concerned. Now comes a second transaction. This is one between lender and borrower. The value of £1,000 is advanced to the manufacturer in cotton, and he has to repay it in money, say, in three months. And three months' interest for £1,000, determined by the market rate of interest, makes up the extra charge over and above the cash price. The price of cotton is determined by supply and demand. But the price of the advanced value of cotton, of £1,000 advanced for three months, is determined by the rate of interest. And this fact, that cotton is thus transformed into money capital, proves to Mr. Norman that interest would exist even if there had been no money. If there were no money at all, there would certainly be no general rate of interest.

There is, to begin with, a vulgar conception of capital as "commodities used in production". In so far as these commodities serve as capital, their value as *capital*, as distinct from their value as *commodities*, is expressed in the profit which is derived from their productive or mercantile employment. And the rate of profit under all circumstances has something to do with the market price of the purchased commodities and with their supply and demand, but is determined by entirely different circumstances. And there is no doubt that the interest rate is generally limited by the rate of profit. But Mr. Norman should tell us just how this limit is determined. And it is determined by the supply and demand of money capital *as distinguished* from the other forms of capital. It could be further asked: How are demand and supply of money capital determined? It is doubtlessly true that a tacit connection exists between the supply of material capital and the supply of money capital, and, likewise, that the demand of industrial capitalists for money capital is determined by conditions of actual production. Instead of enlightening us on this point, Norman offers us

the sage opinion that the demand for money capital is not identical with the demand for money as such; and this sagacity alone, because he, Overstone, and the other CURRENCY prophets, constantly have pricks of conscience since they are striving to make capital out of means of circulation as such through the artificial intervention of legislation, and to raise the interest rate.

Now to Lord Overstone, alias Samuel Jones Loyd, as he is asked to explain why he takes 10% for his "money" because "capital" is so scarce in his country.

"3653. The fluctuations in the rate of interest arise from one of two causes: an alteration in the value of capital"

(excellent! Value of capital, generally speaking, signifies precisely the rate of interest! A change in the rate of interest is thus made to spring from a change in the rate of interest. "Value of capital", as we have shown elsewhere, is never conceived otherwise in theory. Or else, if Lord Overstone means the rate of profit by the phrase value of capital, then the profound thinker returns to the notion that the interest rate is regulated by the rate of profit!)

"or an alteration in the amount of money in the country. All great fluctuations of interest, great either in their duration or in the extent of the fluctuation, may be distinctly traced to alterations in the value of capital. Two more striking practical illustrations of that fact cannot be furnished than the rise in the rate of interest in 1847 and during the last two years (1855-56); the minor fluctuations in the rate of interest, which arise from an alteration in the quantity of money, are small both in extent and in duration. They are frequent, and the more rapid and frequent they are, the more effectual they are for accomplishing their destined purpose",

which is to enrich bankers like Overstone. Friend Samuel Gurney expresses it very naïvely before the Committee of Lords, C. D. 1848 [1857]:

"1324. Do you think that the great fluctuations in the rate of interest which have taken place in the last year are advantageous or not to bankers or dealers in money? — I think they are advantageous to dealers in money. All fluctuations in trade are advantageous TO THE KNOWING MAN." [a]

"1325. May not the banker suffer eventually from the high rates of interest, by impoverishing his best customers? — No; I do not think it has that effect perceptibly."

*Voilà ce que parler veut dire.*[b]

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[a] In the 1894 German edition these English words are given in parentheses after their German equivalents. - [b] This is what had to be said.

We shall eventually return to the influence of the quantity of available money on the rate of interest. But it is to be noted right here that Overstone again makes a *quid pro quo*.[a] The demand for money capital in 1847 (before October there was no anxiety over money stringency, or the "quantity of money", as he called it) increased for various reasons, such as rising prices for corn and cotton, lack of buyers of sugar due to overproduction, railway speculation and the crash, overcrowding of foreign markets with cotton goods, and the forced export to, and import from, India for the purpose of speculation in bills of exchange, which was described above.[b] All these things, overproduction in industry and underproduction in agriculture—in other words, greatly differing causes—gave rise to an increased demand for money capital, i. e., for credit and money. The increased demand for money capital had its origin in the course of the production process itself. But whatever may have been the cause, it was the demand for *money* capital which made the interest rate, the value of money capital, climb. If Overstone means to say that the value of money capital rose *because* it rose, then it is tautology. But if, by "value of capital", he means a rise in the rate of profit as the cause of the rise in the rate of interest, we shall immediately see that this is wrong. The demand for money capital, and consequently the "value of capital", may rise even though the profit may decrease; as soon as the relative supply of money capital shrinks, its "value" increases. What Overstone wished to prove is that the crisis of 1847, and the attendant high interest rate, had nothing to do with the "quantity of money", i. e., with the regulations of the Bank Act of 1844 which he had inspired; although it was, indeed, connected with them, inasmuch as the fear of exhausting the bank reserve—a creation of Overstone—contributed a money panic to the crisis of 1847-48. But this is not the issue here. There was a dearth of money capital, caused by the excessive volume of operations compared to the available means and precipitated by the disturbance in the reproduction process due to a crop failure, overinvestment in railways, overproduction, particularly of cotton goods, swindling operations in trade with India and China, speculation, superfluous sugar imports, etc. What the people, who had bought corn at 120 shillings per quarter, lacked when it fell to 60 shillings, were the 60 shillings which they had overpaid and the corresponding credit for that amount in Lombard Street advances on the

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[a] takes one thing for another - [b] See this volume, pp. 409-10.

corn. It was by no means a lack of banknotes that prevented them from converting their corn into money at its old price of 120 shillings. The same applied to those who had imported an excess of sugar, which became almost unsaleable. It applied likewise to the gentlemen who had tied up their FLOATING CAPITAL[a] in railways and relied on credit to replace it in their "legitimate" business. To Overstone all this signifies "A MORAL SENSE OF THE ENHANCED VALUE OF HIS MONEY".[a] But this enhanced value of money capital corresponded directly on the other hand to the depreciated money value of real capital (commodity capital and productive capital). The value of capital in the one form rose because the value of capital in the other fell. Overstone, however, seeks to identify these two values of different sorts of capital in a single value of capital in general, and he tries to do so by opposing both of them to a scarcity of the medium of circulation, of available money. But the same amount of money capital may be loaned with very different quantities of the circulation medium.

Take his example of 1847. The official bank rate of interest stood at 3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ % in January; 4 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ % in February. In March it was generally 4%. April (panic) 4 to $7\frac{1}{2}$ %. May 5 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ %, June, on the whole, 5%. July 5%. August 5 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ %. September 5% with trifling variations of $5\frac{1}{4}$, $5\frac{1}{2}$, 6%. October 5, $5\frac{1}{2}$, 7%. November 7-10%. December 7 to 5%.—In this case the interest rose because profits decreased and the money values of commodities fell enormously. If, therefore, Overstone says here that the rate of interest rose in 1847 because the value of capital rose, he cannot mean anything by value of capital but the value of money capital, and the value of money capital is the rate of interest, and nothing else. But later he showed the cloven hoof and identified the value of capital with the rate of profit.

As for the high rate of interest paid in 1856, Overstone was indeed ignorant of the fact that this was partially a symptom that the credit jobbers were coming to the fore, who paid interest not from their profit, but with the capital of others; he maintained just a few months before the crisis of 1857 that "business is quite sound".

He testified furthermore:

"3722. That idea of the profits of trade being destroyed by a rise in the rate of interest is most erroneous. In the first place, a rise in the rate of interest is seldom of any long

[a] In the 1894 German edition these English phrases are given in parentheses after their German equivalents.

duration; in the second place, if it is of long duration, and of great extent, it is really a rise in the value of capital, and why does value of capital rise? Because the rate of profit is increased."

Here, then, we learn, at last, what the meaning of "value of capital" is. Furthermore, the rate of profit may be high for a lengthy period, and yet the profit of enterprise may fall and the rate of interest rise to a point where it swallows the greater portion of the profit.

"3724. The rise in the rate of interest has been in consequence of the great increase in the trade of the country, and the great rise in the rate of profits; and to complain of the rise in the rate of interest as being destructive of the two things, which have been its own cause, is a sort of logical absurdity, which one does not know how to deal with."

This is just as logical as if he were to say: The rise in the rate of profit has been in consequence of the rise in commodity prices by speculation, and to complain that the rise in prices destroys its own cause, namely, speculation, is a logical absurdity, etc. That anything can ultimately destroy its own cause is a logical absurdity only for the usurer enamoured of the high interest rate. The greatness of the Romans was the cause of their conquests, and their conquests destroyed their greatness. Wealth is the cause of luxury and luxury has a destructive effect on wealth. The wiseacre! The idiocy of the present-day bourgeois world cannot be better described than by the respect, which the "logic" of the millionaire — the DUNGHILL ARISTOCRAT — inspired in all England. Furthermore, if a high rate of profit and an expansion of business may be causes of a high interest rate, a high rate of interest is, therefore, by no means a cause of high profit. The question is precisely whether such a high interest (as was actually discovered during the crisis) continued or, what is more, reached its climax after the high rate of profit had long gone the way of all flesh.

"3718. With regard to a great rise in the rate of discount, that is a circumstance entirely arising from the increased value of capital, and the cause of that increased value of capital I think any person may discover with perfect clearness. I have already alluded to the fact that during the 13 years this Act has been in operation, the trade of this country has increased from £45,000,000 to £120,000,000. Let any person reflect upon all the events which are involved in that short statement; let him consider the enormous demand upon capital for the purpose of carrying on such a gigantic increase of trade, and let him consider at the same time that the natural source from which that great demand should be supplied, namely, the annual savings of this country, has for the last three or four years been consumed in the unprofitable expenditure of war. I confess that my surprise is, that the rate of interest is not much higher than it is; or, in other words, my surprise is, that the pressure for capital to carry on these gigantic operations, is not far more stringent than you have found it to be."

What an amazing jumble of words by our logician of usury! Here he comes again with his increased value of capital! He seems to think that this enormous expansion of the reproduction process, hence accumulation of real capital, took place on one side, and that on the other there existed a "capital", for which there arose an "enormous demand", in order to accomplish this gigantic increase of commerce! Was not this enormous increase of production an increase of capital itself, and if it created a demand, did it not also create the supply, and, simultaneously, an increased supply of money capital? If the interest rate rose very high, then merely because the demand for money capital increased still more rapidly than its supply, which implies, in other words, that with the expansion of industrial production its operation on a credit basis expanded as well. That is to say, the actual industrial expansion caused an increased demand for "accommodation", and the latter demand is evidently what our banker means by the "enormous demand for capital". It was surely not the expansion of this *demand* for capital alone, which raised the export business from £45 to £120 million. And furthermore, what does Overstone mean when he says that the country's annual savings swallowed by the Crimean War form the natural source of supply for this big demand? In the first place, how did England achieve accumulation in 1792-1815, which was a far different war from the little Crimean one [44]? In the second place, if the natural source was dry, from what source did capital flow at all? It is well known that England did not request loans from foreign countries. Yet if there is an artificial source besides the natural one, it would have been best for a nation to utilise the natural source in war and the artificial one in business. But if only the old money capital was available, could it double its effectiveness through a high rate of interest? Mr. Overstone evidently thinks that the country's annual savings (which, however, were supposed to have been consumed in this case) are converted only into money capital. But if no real accumulation, i. e., expansion of production and augmentation of the means of production, had taken place, what good would there be from the accumulation of debtor's money claims on this production?

The increase in the "value of capital" springing from a high rate of profit is identified by Overstone with an increase caused by a greater demand for money capital. This demand may climb for reasons quite independent of the rate of profit. He himself cites the example of its rise in 1847 as a result of the depreciation of real capital. Depending on

what suits his purpose, he ascribes the value of capital to real capital or money capital.

The dishonesty of our banking lord, and his narrow-minded banker's point of view with its didactic flavouring are further revealed in the following:

3728. (Question:) "You have stated that the rate of discount is of no material moment you think to the merchant; will you be kind enough to state what you consider the ordinary rate of profit?"

Mr. Overstone declares that it is "impossible" to answer this question.

"3729. Supposing the average rate of profit to be, say, from 7 to 10%, a variation of from 2 to 7 or 8% in the rate of discount must materially affect the rate of profit, must it not?"

(This question itself lumps together the rate of profit of enterprise with the rate of profit, and passes over the fact that the rate of profit is the common source of interest and profit of enterprise. The interest rate may leave the rate of profit untouched, but not the profit of enterprise. Overstone replied:)

"In the first place parties will not pay a rate of discount which seriously interrupts their profits; they will discontinue their business rather than do that."

(Yes, if they can do so without ruining themselves. So long as their profit is high, they pay the discount because they wish to, and when it is low, because they have to.)

"What is the meaning of discount? Why does a person discount a bill?... Because he wants to obtain the command of a greater quantity of capital."

(*Halte-là*! [a] Because he wants to anticipate the return in money of his tied-up capital and to prevent his business from stopping; because he must meet payments due. He demands more capital only when business is good, or when he speculates on another's capital, though business may be bad. The discount is by no means simply a device to expand business.)

"And why does he want to obtain the command of a greater quantity of capital? Because he wants to employ that capital; and why does he want to employ that capital? Because it is profitable to him to do so; it would not be profitable to him to do so if the discount destroyed his profit."

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[a] Hold on!

This smug logician assumes that bills of exchange are discounted only for the purpose of expanding business, and that business is expanded because it is profitable. The first assumption is wrong. The ordinary businessman discounts, in order to anticipate the money form of his capital and thereby to keep his process of reproduction in flow; not in order to expand his business or secure additional capital, but in order to balance the credit he gives by the credit he receives. And if he wants to expand his business on credit, discounting bills will do him little good because it is merely conversion of the money capital which he already has in his hands from one form into another; he will rather take a direct loan for a longer period. The credit swindler will get his accommodation bills discounted to expand his business activity, to cover one squalid business deal by another; not to make profits but to obtain possession of another's capital.

After Mr. Overstone has thus identified discounting with borrowing additional capital (instead of with converting bills representing capital into hard cash), he beats an instant retreat as soon as the screws are applied to him.

3730. (Question:) "Merchants being engaged in business, must they not for a certain period carry on their operations in spite of any temporary increase in the rate of discount?" — (Overstone:) "There is no doubt that in any particular transaction, if a person can get his command of capital at a low rate of interest rather than at a high rate of interest, taken in that limited view of the matter, that is convenient to him."

But it is a very unlimited point of view, on the other hand, which enables Mr. Overstone quite suddenly to understand only his, banker's capital, as "capital", and to assume that the man who discounts a bill of exchange with him is a man without capital, just because his capital exists in the form of commodities, or because the money form of his capital is a bill of exchange, which Mr. Overstone converts into another money form.

"3732. With reference to the Act of 1844, can you state what has been about the average rate of interest in proportion to the amount of bullion in the Bank; would it be a fact that when the amount of bullion has been about £9,000,000 or £10,000,000 the rate of interest has been 6 or 7 per cent, and that when it has been £16,000,000, the rate of interest has been, say, from 3 to 4 per cent?"

(The examiner wishes to press him to explain the rate of interest, so far as it is influenced by the amount of bullion in the Bank, on the basis of the rate of interest, so far as it is influenced by the value of capital.)

"I do not apprehend that that is so... but if it is, then I think we must take still more stringent measures than those adopted by the Act of 1844, because if it be true that the greater the store of bullion, the lower the rate of interest, we ought to set to work, according to that view of the matter, to increase the store of bullion to an indefinite amount, and then we should get the interest down to nothing."

The examiner, Cayley, unmoved by this poor joke, continues:

"3733. If that be so, supposing that £5,000,000 of bullion was to be restored to the Bank, in the course of the next six months the bullion then would amount, say, to £16,000,000, and supposing that the rate of interest was thus to fall to 3 or 4 per cent, how could it be stated that that fall in the rate of interest arose from a great decrease of the trade of the country? — I said that the recent rise in the rate of interest, not that the fall in the rate of interest, was closely connected with the great increase in the trade of the country."

But what Cayley says is this: If a rise of interest rate together with a contraction of the gold reserve, is an indication of an expansion in business, then a fall of the interest rate together with an expansion of the gold reserve, must be an indication of a contraction of business. Overstone has no answer to this.

3736. (Question:) "I observed you" (in the text always "YOUR LORDSHIP") "to say that money was the instrument for obtaining capital."

(Precisely this is the mistake, to conceive money as an instrument; it is a form of capital.)

"Under a drain of bullion//of the Bank of England//is not the great strain, on the contrary, for *capitalists* to obtain money?" —//Overstone://"No, it is not the capitalists, it is those who are not capitalists, who want to obtain money and why do they want to obtain money?... Because through the money they obtain the command of the capital of the capitalist to carry on the business of the persons who are not capitalists."

Here he declares point-blank that manufacturers and merchants are not capitalists, and that the capitalist's capital is only money capital.

"3737. Are not the parties who draw bills of exchange capitalists? — The parties who draw bills of exchange may be, and may not be, capitalists."

Here he is stuck.

He is then asked whether merchants' bills of exchange represent commodities which have been sold or shipped. He denies that these bills represent the value of commodities in the same way that a banknote represents gold (3740, 3741). This is somewhat insolent.

"3742. Is it not the merchant's object to get money?—No; getting money is not the object in drawing the bill; getting money is the object in discounting the bill."

Drawing bills of exchange is converting commodities into a form of credit money, just as discounting bills of exchange is converting this credit money into another, namely banknotes. At any rate, Mr. Overstone admits here that the purpose of discounting is to obtain money. A while ago he said that discounting was a way not of converting capital from one form into another, but of obtaining additional capital.

"3743. What is the great desire of the mercantile community under pressure of panic, such as you state to have occurred in 1825, 1837 and 1839; is their object to get possession of capital or the legal tender?—Their object is to get the command of capital to support their business."

Their purpose is to obtain means of payment for due bills of exchange on themselves, on account of the prevailing lack of credit, so that they will not have to let their commodities go below price. If they have no capital at all themselves, they receive it, naturally, along with the means of payment, because they receive value without an equivalent. The urge to obtain money as such consists always in the wish to convert value from the form of commodities or creditor's claims into the form of money. Hence, even aside from the crises, the great difference between borrowing capital and discount, the latter being a mere conversion of money claims from one form into another, or into real money.

//I take the liberty at this point in my capacity of editor to interpolate a few remarks.

With respect to Norman, as well as Loyd-Overstone, the banker is always the one who "advances capital" to others, and his customers are those who demand "capital" from him. Thus, Overstone says that people have bills of exchange discounted through him, "because they wish to obtain the command of *capital*" (3729), and that it is pleasant for such people if they can "get *command of capital* at a low rate of interest" (3730). "Money is the instrument for obtaining *capital*" (3736), and during a panic the great desire of the mercantile community is to "get the command of *capital*" (3743). For all of Loyd-Overstone's confusion over what capital is, it is at least clear that he designates what the banker gives to his client as capital, as a capital which the client did not formerly possess, but which was advanced to him to supplement what he already possessed.

The banker has become so accustomed to act as distributor (through loans) of the social capital available in money form that he considers every function whereby he hands out money, as loaning. All the money he pays out appears to him as a loan. If the money is directly loaned, this is literally true. If it is invested in the bill-discounting business, it is in fact advanced by himself until the bill becomes due. The notion thus grows on him that all the payments he makes are advances; furthermore, that they are advances not merely in the sense that every investment of money with the object of deriving interest or profit, is economically considered an advance of money which the owner of money concerned, in his capacity of private individual, makes to himself in his capacity as entrepreneur, but advances in the definite sense that the banker lends his client a sum of money which augments the capital already at the latter's disposal.

It is this conception, which, transferred from the banker's office to political economy, has created the confusing controversy, whether that which the banker places at his client's disposal in hard cash is capital or mere money, a medium of circulation, or CURRENCY. To decide this—fundamentally simple—controversy, we must put ourselves in the place of a bank client. It all depends on what this customer requests and receives.

If the bank allows its client a loan simply on his personal credit, without any security on his part, then the matter is clear. He then certainly receives an advance of definite value as a supplement to the capital he has already invested. He receives it in the form of money; hence, not merely money, but also money *capital.*

If, on the other hand, he receives the advance against securities, etc., then it is an advance in the sense of money paid to him on condition that he pay it back. But it is not an advance of capital. For the securities also represent capital, and a larger amount at that than the advance. The recipient therefore receives less capital value than he deposits as security; this represents for him no acquisition of additional capital. He does not enter into the transaction because he needs capital—he has that in his securities—but because he needs money. Here we, therefore, have an advance of *money*, not of capital.

If the loan is granted by discounting bills, then even the *form* of an advance disappears. Then it is purely a matter of buying and selling. The bill passes by endorsement into the possession of the bank, while the money passes into the possession of the client; there is no question of any return payment on his part. If the client buys hard cash with a

bill of exchange or some similar instrument of credit, it is no more and no less an advance than were he to buy cash money with his other commodities, such as cotton, iron, or corn. Still less can this be called an advance of *capital*. Every purchase and sale between one merchant and another is a transfer of capital. But an advance occurs only when the transfer of capital is not reciprocal, but unilateral and for a period of time. An advance of capital through discount can, therefore, only occur when a bill is a speculative one, which does not represent any sold commodities, and no banker will take such a bill if he is aware of its nature. In the regular discounting business the bank client does not, therefore, receive an advance, either of capital or of money. What he receives is money for sold commodities.

The cases in which the customer demands and receives capital from a bank are thus clearly distinguished from those, in which he merely receives an advance of money, or buys money from the bank. And since least of all Mr. Loyd-Overstone ever advanced his funds without collateral except on the rarest occasions (he was the banker of my firm [a] in Manchester), it is likewise evident that his lyric descriptions of the great quantities of capital loaned by generous bankers to manufacturers in need of capital are gross inventions.

By the way, in Chapter XXXII Marx says essentially the same thing: "The demand for means of payment is a mere demand for *convertibility into money*, so far as merchants and producers have good securities to offer; it is a demand for *money capital* whenever there is no collateral, so that an advance of means of payment gives them not only the *form of money*, but also the *equivalent* they lack, whatever its form, with which to make payment." [b]—And again in Chapter XXXIII: "Under a developed system of credit, with the money concentrated in the hands of bankers, it is they, *at least nominally*, who advance it. This advance refers only to money in circulation. It is an advance of *circulation*, not an advance of capitals which it circulates." [c] Mr. Chapman, who should know, likewise corroborates this conception of the discounting business, B. C. 1857:

"The banker has the bill, the banker has *bought the bill*." Evid. Question 5139.

We shall, however, return to this subject in Chapter XXVIII.[d]—*F. E.*//

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[a] A reference to Ermen and Engels firm. - [b] See this volume, p. 513. - [c] Ibid., p. 528. - [d] Ibid., pp. 452-54.

"3744. Will you be good enough to describe what you actually mean by the term 'capital'?" — //Overstone://"CAPITAL CONSISTS OF VARIOUS COMMODITIES; BY THE MEANS OF WHICH TRADE IS CARRIED ON [a]; there is fixed capital and there is circulating capital. Your ships, your docks, your wharves ... are fixed capital; your provisions, your clothes, etc., are circulating capital."

"3745. Is the country oppressed under a drain of bullion? — Not in the rational sense of the word."

(Then comes the old Ricardian theory of money.[b])

"In the natural state of things the money of the world is distributed amongst the different countries of the world in certain proportions, those proportions being such that under that distribution//of money//the intercourse between any one country and all the other countries of the world jointly will be an intercourse of barter; but disturbing circumstances will arise from time to time to affect that distribution, and when those arise, a certain portion of the money of any given country passes to other countries." — "3746. Your Lordship now uses the term 'money'. I understood you before to say that it was a loss of capital.— That what was a loss of capital?" — "3747. The export of bullion? — No, I did not say so. If you treat bullion as capital, no doubt it is a loss of capital; it is parting with a certain proportion of those precious metals which constitute the money of the world." — "3748. I understood Your Lordship to say that an alteration in the rate of discount was a mere sign of an alteration in the value of capital? — I did." — "3749. And that the rate of discount generally alters with the state of the store of bullion in the Bank of England? — Yes, but I have already stated that the fluctuations in the rate of interest, which arise from an alteration in the quantity of money" (what he therefore means here is the quantity of actually existing gold) "in a country, are very small..."

"3750. Then, does Your Lordship mean that there is less capital than there was, when there is a more continuous yet temporary increase in the rate of discount than usual? — Less, in one sense of the word. The proportion between capital and the demand for it is altered; it may be by an increased demand, not by a diminution of the quantity of capital."

(But a moment ago it was capital = money or gold, and a little before that he had explained the rise in interest rate by a high rate of profit, due to an expansion rather than a contraction of business or capital.)

"3751. What is the capital which you particularly allude to? — That depends entirely upon what the capital is which each person wants. It is the capital which the country has at its command for conducting its business, and when that business is doubled, there must be a great increase in the demand for the capital with which it is to be carried on."

(This shrewd banker doubles first the business activity and then the

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this English phrase is given in parentheses after its German equivalent. - [b] See present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 400-09.

demand for capital with which it is to be doubled. All he sees is his client, who asks Mr. Loyd for more capital by which to double the volume of his business.)

"Capital is like any other commodity" (but according to Mr. Loyd capital is nothing but the totality of commodities), "it will vary in its price" (hence, commodities change their price twice, one time as commodities and the second as capital), "according to the supply and demand."

"3752. The changes in the rate of discount are generally connected with the changes in the amount of gold which there is in the coffers of the Bank. Is it that capital to which Your Lordship refers?—No."—"3753. Can Your Lordship point to any instance in which there has been a large store of capital in the Bank of England connected with a high rate of discount?—The Bank of England is not a place for the deposit of capital, it is a place for the deposit of money."—"3754. Your Lordship has stated that the rate of interest depends upon the amount of capital; will you be kind enough to state what capital you mean, and whether you can point to any instance in which there has been a large store of bullion in the Bank and at the same time a high rate of interest?—It is very probable" (aha!) "that the accumulation of bullion in the Bank may be coincident with a low rate of interest, because a period in which there is a diminished demand for capital"

(namely, money capital; the period to which reference is made here, 1844 and 1845, was a period of prosperity)

"is a period, during which, of course, the means or instrument through which you command capital may accumulate."—"3755. Then you think that there is no connection between the rate of discount and the amount of bullion in the coffers of the Bank?—There may be a connection, but it is not a connection of principle" (his Bank Act of 1844, however, made it a principle of the Bank of England to regulate the interest rate by the quantity of bullion in its possession), "THERE MAY BE A COINCIDENCE OF TIME."[a]—"3758. Do I rightly understand you to say, that the difficulty of merchants in this country, under a state of pressure, in consequence of a high rate of discount, is in getting capital, and not in getting money?—You are putting two things together which I do not join in that form; their difficulty is in getting capital, and their difficulty also is in getting money.... The difficulty of getting money and the difficulty of getting capital is the same difficulty taken in two successive stages of its progress."

Here the fish is caught in the net again. The first difficulty is to discount a bill of exchange, or to obtain a loan against the security of commodities. It is the difficulty of converting capital, or a commercial token of capital, into money. And this difficulty is manifested, among other things, in a high rate of interest. But as soon as the money is obtained, what is the second difficulty? Does anyone ever find any difficulty in getting rid of his money when it is merely a matter of

[a] In the 1894 German edition this English phrase is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

paying? And if it is a matter of buying, has anyone ever had any difficulty in purchasing during times of crisis? And, for the sake of argument, should this refer to a specific dearth in corn, cotton, etc., this difficulty could only appear in the price of these commodities, not in the value of money capital, i. e., not in the rate of interest; and this difficulty is overcome, in the final analysis, by the fact that our man now has the money to buy them."

"3760. But a higher rate of discount is an increased difficulty of getting money?—It is an increased difficulty of getting money, but it is not because you want to have the money; it is only the form" (and this form brings profit into the banker's pocket) "in which the increased difficulty of getting capital presents itself according to the complicated relations of a civilised state."

"3763.//Overstone's reply://The banker is the go-between who receives deposits on the one side, and on the other applies those deposits, entrusting them, *in the form of capital*, to the hands of persons, who, etc."

At last we have what he means by capital. He converts money into capital by "entrusting" it, less euphemistically, by loaning it at interest.

After Mr. Overstone has stated that a change in the rate of discount is not essentially connected with a change in quantity of the gold reserve in a bank, or in the quantity of available money, but that there is at best only a coincidence in time, he repeats:

"3805. When the money in the country is diminished by a drain, its value increases, and the Bank of England must conform to that alteration in the value of money"

(hence, the value of money *as capital*; in other words, the rate of interest, for the value of money *as money*, compared with commodities, remains the same),

"which is meant by the technical term of raising the rate of interest."

"3819. I never confound those two."

Meaning money and capital, and for the simple reason that he never differentiates between them.

"3834. The very large sum, which had to be paid" (for corn in 1847), "which was *in point of fact capital*, for the supply of the necessary provisions of the country."

"3841. The variations in the rate of discount have no doubt a very close relation to the state of the reserve"//of the Bank of England//"because the state of the reserve is the indicator of the increase or the decrease of the quantity of money in the country; and in proportion as the money in the country increases or decreases, the value of that money will increase or decrease, and the bankrate of discount will conform to that change."

Thus, Overstone admits here what he emphatically denied in No. 3755.

"3842. There is an intimate connection between them."

Meaning the quantity of bullion in the ISSUE DEPARTMENT, on the one hand, and the reserve of notes in the BANKING DEPARTMENT, on the other. Here he explains the change in the rate of interest by the change in the quantity of money. But this statement is wrong. The reserve may shrink because the circulating money in the country increases. This is the case when the public takes more notes and the hoard of metal does not decrease. But in such case the interest rate rises, because then the banking capital of the Bank of England is limited by the Act of 1844. But he dare not mention this, because due to this law the two departments have nothing to do with one another.

"3859. A high rate of profit will always create a great demand for capital; a great demand for capital will raise the value of it."

Here, at last, we have the connection between a high rate of profit and a demand for capital as Overstone conceives it. Now, a high rate of profit prevailed in, for example, 1844-45 in the cotton industry, because raw cotton was cheap, and remained so, whereas the demand for cotton goods was strong. The value of capital (and in an earlier statement Overstone calls capital that which everyone needs in his business), in this case therefore the value of raw cotton, was not increased for the manufacturer. The high rate of profit may have induced some cotton manufacturer to obtain money on credit for the purpose of expanding his business. Thereby his demand rose for *money* capital, but for nothing else.

"3889. Bullion may or may not be money, just as paper may or may not be a banknote."

"3896. Do I correctly understand Your Lordship that you give up the argument, which you used in 1840, that the fluctuations in the notes out of the Bank of England ought to conform to the fluctuations in the amount of bullion? — I give it up so far as this... that now with the means of information which we possess, the notes out of the Bank of England must have added to them the notes which are in the banking reserve of the Bank of England."

This is superlative. The arbitrary provision that the Bank may make out as many paper notes as it has gold in the treasury and 14 million more, implies, of course, that its issue of notes fluctuates with the fluctuations of the gold reserve. But since the present "means of information which we possess" clearly showed that the mass of notes,

which the Bank can thus manufacture (and which the ISSUE DEPARTMENT transfers to the BANKING DEPARTMENT) — that this circulation between the two departments of the Bank of England, fluctuating with the fluctuations of the gold reserve, does not determine the fluctuations in the circulation of banknotes outside the Bank of England, then the latter — the real circulation — becomes a matter of indifference to the bank administration, and the circulation between the two departments of the Bank, whose difference from the real circulation is mirrored in the reserve, alone becomes decisive. To the outside world this circulation is significant only because the reserve indicates how close the Bank is approaching the legal maximum of its note issue, and how much its clients can still receive from the BANKING DEPARTMENT.

The following is a brilliant example of Overstone's *mala fides*[a]:

"4243. Does the quantity of capital, do you think, oscillate from month to month to such a degree as to alter its value in the way exhibited of late years in the oscillations in the rate of discount? — The relation between the demand and the supply of capital may undoubtedly fluctuate, even within short periods.... If France tomorrow put out a notice that she wishes to borrow a very large loan, there is no doubt that it would immediately cause a great alteration *in the value of money*, that is to say, *in the value of capital*, in this country."

"4245. If France announces, that she wants suddenly, for any purpose, 30 million's worth of commodities there will be a great demand for *capital*, to use the more scientific and the simpler term."

"4246. The *capital*, which France would wish to buy with her loan, is *one* thing, and the *money* with which she buys it is *another*, is it the *money*, which alters in value, or not? — We seem to be reviving the old question, which I think is more fit for the chamber of a student than for this committee room."

And with this he retires, but not into the chamber of a student.[84)]

## Chapter XXVII

### THE ROLE OF CREDIT IN CAPITALIST PRODUCTION

The general remarks, which the credit system so far elicited from us, were the following:

I. Its necessary development to effect the equalisation of the rate of

[84)] More on Overstone's confusion of terms in matters concerning capital at the close of Chapter XXXII.[b]

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[a] dishonesty - [b] See this volume, p. 517.

profit, or the movements of this equalisation, upon which the entire capitalist production rests.

II. Reduction of the costs of circulation.

1) One of the principal costs of circulation is money itself, being value in itself. It is economised through credit in three ways.

A. By dropping it away entirely in a great many transactions.

B. By the accelerated circulation of the circulating medium.[85] This corresponds in part with what is to be said under 2). On the one hand, the acceleration is technical; i. e., with the same magnitude and number of actual turnovers of commodities for consumption, a smaller quantity of money or money tokens performs the same service. This is bound up with the technique of banking. On the other hand, credit accelerates the velocity of the metamorphosis of commodities and thereby the velocity of money circulation.

C. Substitution of paper for gold money.

2) Acceleration, by means of credit, of the individual phases of circulation or of the metamorphosis of commodities, later the metamorphosis of capital, and with it an acceleration of the process of reproduction in general. (On the other hand, credit helps to keep the acts of buying and selling longer apart and serves thereby as a basis for speculation.) Contraction of reserve funds, which may be viewed in two ways: as a reduction of the circulating medium, on the one hand, and, on the other, as a reduction of that part of capital which must always exist in the form of money.[86]

[85] "The average of notes in circulation during the year was, in 1812, 106,538,000 francs; in 1818, 101,205,000 francs; whereas the movement of the currency, or the annual aggregate of disbursements and receipts upon all accounts, was, in 1812, 2,837,712,000 francs; in 1818, 9,665,030,000 francs. The activity of the currency in France, therefore, during the year 1818, as compared with its activity in 1812, was in the proportion of three to one. The great regulator of the velocity of circulation is credit.... This explains, why a severe pressure upon the money market is generally coincident with a full circulation" (*The Currency Theory Reviewed, etc.*, p. 65).—"Between September 1833 and September 1843 nearly 300 banks were added to the various issuers of notes throughout the United Kingdom; the result was a reduction in the circulation to the extent of two million and a half; it was £36,035,244 at the close of September 1833, and £33,518,554 at the close of September 1843" (l. c., p. 53).—"The prodigious activity of Scottish circulation enables it, with £100, to effect the same quantity of monetary transactions, which in England it requires £420 to accomplish" (l. c., p. 55. This last refers only to the technical side of the operation).

[86] "Before the establishment of the banks ... the amount of capital withdrawn for the purposes of currency was greater, at all times, than the actual circulation of commodities required" (*Economist*, [March 15,] 1845, p. 238).

III. Formation of stock companies. Thereby:

1) An enormous expansion of the scale of production and of enterprises, that was impossible for individual capitals. At the same time, enterprises that were formerly government enterprises, become public.

2) The capital, which in itself rests on a social mode of production and presupposes a social concentration of means of production and labour power, is here directly endowed with the form of social capital (capital of directly associated individuals) as distinct from private capital, and its undertakings assume the form of social undertakings as distinct from private undertakings. It is the abolition of capital as private property within the framework of the capitalist mode of production itself.

3) Transformation of the actually functioning capitalist into a mere manager, administrator of other people's capital, and of the owner of capital into a mere owner, a mere money capitalist. Even if the dividends which they receive include the interest and the profit of enterprise, i. e., the total profit (for the salary of the manager is, or should be, simply the wage of a specific type of skilled labour, whose price is regulated in the labour market like that of any other labour), this total profit is henceforth received only in the form of interest, i. e., as mere compensation for owning capital that now is entirely divorced from the function in the actual process of reproduction, just as this function in the person of the manager is divorced from ownership of capital. Profit thus appears (no longer only that portion of it, the interest, which derives its justification from the profit of the borrower) as a mere appropriation of the surplus labour of others, arising from the conversion of means of production into capital, i. e., from their estrangement vis-à-vis the actual producer, from their antithesis as another's property to every individual actually at work in production, from manager down to the last day labourer. In stock companies the function is divorced from capital ownership, hence also labour is entirely divorced from ownership of means of production and surplus labour. This result of the ultimate development of capitalist production is a necessary transitional phase towards the reconversion of capital into the property of producers, although no longer as the private property of the individual producers, but rather as the property of associated producers, as direct social property. On the other hand, the stock company is a transition toward the conversion of all functions in the reproduction process which still remain linked with

capitalist property, into mere functions of associated producers, into social functions.

Before we go any further, there is still the following economically important fact to be noted: Since profit here assumes the pure form of interest, undertakings of this sort are still possible if they yield bare interest, and this is one of the causes, stemming the fall of the general rate of profit, since such undertakings, in which the ratio of constant capital to the variable is so enormous, do not necessarily enter into the equalisation of the general rate of profit.

//Since Marx wrote the above, new forms of industrial enterprises have developed, as we know, representing the second and third degree of stock companies. The daily growing speed with which production may be enlarged in all fields of large-scale industry today, is offset by the ever-greater slowness with which the market for these increased products expands. What the former turns out in months, can scarcely be absorbed by the latter in years. Add to this the protective tariff policy, by which every industrial country shuts itself off from all others, particularly from England, and also artificially increases domestic production capacity. The results are a general chronic overproduction, depressed prices, falling and even wholly disappearing profits; in short, the old boasted freedom of competition has reached the end of its tether and must itself announce its obvious, scandalous bankruptcy. And in every country this is taking place through the big industrialists of a certain branch joining in a cartel for the regulation of production. A committee fixes the quantity to be produced by each establishment and is the final authority for distributing the incoming orders. Occasionally even international cartels were established, as between the English and German iron industries. But even this form of association in production did not suffice. The antagonism of interests between the individual firms broke through it only too often, restoring competition. This led in some branches, where the scale of production permitted, to the concentration of the entire production of that branch of industry in *one* big joint-stock company under single management. This has been repeatedly effected in America; in Europe the biggest example so far is the United Alkali Trust, which has brought all British alkali production into the hands of a single business firm. The former owners of the more than thirty individual plants have received shares for the appraised value of their entire establishments, totalling about £5 million, which represent the fixed capital of the trust. The technical management remains in the same hands as

before, but business control is concentrated in the hands of the general management. The FLOATING CAPITAL,[a] totalling about £1 million, was offered to the public for subscription. The total capital is, therefore, £6 million. Thus, in this branch, which forms the basis of the whole chemical industry, competition has been replaced by monopoly in England, and the road has been paved, most gratifyingly, for future expropriation by the whole of society, the nation.—*F. E.*//

This is the abolition of the capitalist mode of production within the capitalist mode of production itself, and hence a self-dissolving contradiction, which *prima facie* represents a mere phase of transition to a new form of production. It manifests itself as such a contradiction in its effects. It establishes a monopoly in certain spheres and thereby requires state interference. It reproduces a new financial aristocracy, a new variety of parasites in the shape of promoters, speculators and simply nominal directors; a whole system of swindling and cheating by means of corporation promotion, stock issuance, and stock speculation. It is private production without the control of private property.

IV. Aside from the stock-company business, which represents the abolition of capitalist private industry on the basis of the capitalist system itself and destroys private industry as it expands and invades new spheres of production, credit offers to the individual capitalist, or to one who is regarded a capitalist, absolute control within certain limits over the capital and property of others, and thereby over the labour of others.[87] The control over social capital, not the individual

[87] See, for instance, in the *Times* the list of business bankruptcies in a crisis year such as 1857 and compare the private property of those bankrupt with the amount of their debts. "The truth is that the power of purchase by persons having capital and credit is much beyond anything that those who are unacquainted practically with speculative markets have any idea of" (Tooke, *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle*, p. 79). "A person having the reputation of capital enough for his regular business, and enjoying good credit in his trade, if he takes a sanguine view of the prospect of a rise of price of the article in which he deals, and is favoured by circumstances in the outset and progress of his speculation, may effect purchases to an extent perfectly enormous compared with his capital" (ibid, p. 136). "Merchants, manufacturers, etc., carry on operations much beyond these which the use of their own capital alone would enable them to do.... Capital is rather the foundation upon which a good credit is built than the limit of the transactions of any commercial establishment" (*Economist*, [November 20,] 1847, p. 1333).

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

capital of his own, gives him control over social labour. The capital itself, which a man really owns or is supposed to own in the opinion of the public, becomes purely a basis for the superstructure of credit. This is particularly true of wholesale commerce, through which the greatest portion of the social product passes. All standards of measurement, all excuses more or less still justified under capitalist production, disappear here. What the speculating wholesale merchant risks is social property, not *his own*. Equally sordid becomes the phrase relating the origin of capital to savings, for what he demands is that *others* should save for him. //Just as all France recently saved up one and a half billion francs for the Panama Canal swindlers.[45] In fact, a description of the entire Panama swindle is here correctly anticipated, fully twenty years before it occurred.—*F. E.*// The other phrase concerning abstention is squarely refuted by his luxury, which is now itself a means of credit. Conceptions which have some meaning on a less developed stage of capitalist production, become quite meaningless here. Success and failure both lead here to a centralisation of capital, and thus to expropriation on the most enormous scale. Expropriation extends here from the direct producers to the smaller and the medium-sized capitalists themselves. It is the point of departure for the capitalist mode of production; its accomplishment is the goal of this production. In the last instance, it aims at the expropriation of the means of production from all individuals. With the development of social production the means of production cease to be means of private production and products of private production, and can thereafter be only means of production in the hands of associated producers, i. e., the latter's social property, much as they are their social products. However, this expropriation appears within the capitalist system in a contradictory form, as appropriation of social property by a few; and credit lends the latter more and more the aspect of pure adventurers. Since property here exists in the form of stock, its movement and transfer become purely a result of gambling on the stock exchange, where the little fish are swallowed by the sharks and the lambs by the stock-exchange wolves. There is antagonism against the old form in the stock companies, in which social means of production appear as individual property; but the conversion to the form of stock still remains ensnared in the trammels of capitalism; hence, instead of overcoming the antithesis between the character of wealth as social and as private wealth, the stock companies merely develop it in a new form.

The cooperative factories of the labourers themselves represent within the old form the first sprouts of the new, although they naturally reproduce, and must reproduce, everywhere in their actual organisation all the shortcomings of the prevailing system. But the antithesis between capital and labour is overcome within them, if at first only by way of making the associated labourers into their own capitalist, i. e., by enabling them to use the means of production for the employment of their own labour. They show how a new mode of production naturally grows out of an old one, when the development of the material forces of production and of the corresponding forms of social production have reached a particular stage. Without the factory system arising out of the capitalist mode of production there could have been no cooperative factories. Nor could these have developed without the credit system arising out of the same mode of production. The credit system is not only the principal basis for the gradual transformation of capitalist private enterprises into capitalist stock companies, but equally offers the means for the gradual extension of cooperative enterprises on a more or less national scale. The capitalist stock companies, as much as the cooperative factories, should be considered as transitional forms from the capitalist mode of production to the associated one, with the only distinction that the antagonism is resolved negatively in the one and positively in the other.

So far we have considered the development of the credit system — and the implicit latent abolition of capitalist property — mainly with reference to industrial capital. In the following chapters we shall consider credit with reference to interest-bearing capital as such, and to its effect on this capital, and the form it thereby assumes; and there are generally a few more specifically economic remarks still to be made.

But first this:

The credit system appears as the main lever of overproduction and overspeculation in commerce solely because the reproduction process, which is elastic by nature, is here forced to its extreme limits, and is so forced because a large part of the social capital is employed by people who do not own it and who consequently tackle things quite differently than the owner, who anxiously weighs the limitations of his private capital in so far as he handles it himself. This simply demonstrates the fact that the self-expansion of capital based on the contradictory nature of capitalist production permits an actual free devel-

opment only up to a certain point, so that in fact it constitutes an immanent fetter and barrier to production, which are continually broken through by the credit system.[88] Hence, the credit system accelerates the material development of the productive forces and the establishment of the world market. It is the historical mission of the capitalist mode of production to raise these material foundations of the new form of production to a certain degree of perfection. At the same time credit accelerates the violent eruptions of this contradiction — crises — and thereby the elements of disintegration of the old mode of production.

The two characteristics immanent in the credit system are, on the one hand, to develop the incentive of capitalist production, enrichment through exploitation of the labour of others, to the purest and most colossal form of gambling and swindling, and to reduce more and more the number of the few who exploit the social wealth; on the other hand, to constitute the form of transition to a new mode of production. It is this ambiguous nature, which endows the principal spokesmen of credit from Law to Isaac Péreire with the pleasant character mixture of swindler and prophet.

## Chapter XXVIII

### MEDIUM OF CIRCULATION AND CAPITAL; VIEWS OF TOOKE AND FULLARTON

The distinction between currency and capital, as Tooke,[89] Wilson, and others draw it, whereby the differences between medium of circu-

[88] Th. Chalmers.[a]

[89] We here give the related passage from Tooke in the original, which was cited in German on p. 390[b]: * "The business of bankers, setting aside the issue of promissory notes payable on demand, may be divided into two branches, corresponding with the distinction pointed out by Dr. (Adam) Smith of the transactions between dealers and dealers, and between dealers and consumers. One branch of the bankers' business is to collect *capital* from those who have not immediate employment for it, and to distribute or transfer it to those who have. The other branch is to receive deposits of the *incomes* of their customers, and to pay out the amount, as it is wanted for expenditure by the latter in the objects of their consumption ... the former being a circulation of *capital*, the latter of *currency*" * (Tooke, *Inquiry into the Currency Principle*, p. 36). The first is

[a] *On Political Economy etc.*, Glasgow, 1832, Ch. V. "On the Possibility of Overproduction or of a General Glut." - [b] See this volume, p. 401.

lation as money, as money capital generally, and as interest-bearing capital (MONEYED CAPITAL in the English sense) are thrown together pell-mell, comes down to two things.

Currency circulates on the one hand as *coin* (money), so far as it promotes the *expenditure of revenue*, hence the traffic between the individual consumers and the retail merchants, to which category belong all merchants who sell to the consumers — to the individual consumers as distinct from productive consumers or producers. Here money circulates in the function of coin, although it continually *replaces capital*. A certain portion of money in a particular country is continually devoted to this function, although this portion consists of perpetually changing individual coins. In so far as money promotes the *transfer of capital*, however, either as a means of purchase (medium of circulation) or as a means of payment, it is *capital*. It is, therefore, neither its function as a means of purchase, nor that as a means of payment, which distinguishes it from coin, for it may also act as a means of purchase between one dealer and another so far as they buy from one another in hard cash, and also as a means of payment between dealer and consumer so far as credit is given and the revenue consumed before it is paid. The difference is, therefore, that in the second case this money not only replaces the capital for one side, the seller, but is expended, advanced, by the other side, the buyer, as capital. The difference, then, is in fact that between *the money form of revenue*

* "the concentration of capital on the one hand and the distribution of it on the other"; * the latter is * "administering the circulation for local purposes of the district" * (ibid., p. 37). A far more correct conception is outlined in the following passage by Kinnear: "Money ... is employed to perform two operations essentially distinct.... As a medium of exchange between dealers and dealers, it is the instrument by which transfers of capital are effected; that is, the exchange of a certain amount of capital in money for an equal amount of capital in commodities. But money employed in the payment of wages and in purchase and sale between dealers and consumers is not capital, but income; that portion of the incomes of the community, which is devoted to daily expenditure. It circulates in constant daily use, and is that alone which can, with strict propriety, be termed CURRENCY.[a] Advances of capital depend entirely on the will of the Bank and other possessors of capital, for borrowers are always to be found; but the amount of the currency depends on the wants of the community, among whom the money circulates, for the purposes of daily expenditure" (J. G. Kinnear, *The Crisis and the Currency*, London, 1847, [pp. 3-4]).

[a] In the 1894 German edition this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

and *the money form of capital*, but not that between currency and capital, for a certain quantity of money *circulates* in the transactions between dealers as well as in the transactions between consumers and dealers. It is, therefore, equally *currency* in *both* functions. Tooke's conception introduces confusion into this question in various ways:

1) by confusing the functional distinctions;

2) by introducing the question of the quantity of money circulating together in both functions;

3) by introducing the question of the relative proportions of the quantities of currency circulating in both functions and thus in both spheres of the reproduction process.

Ad 1) Confusing the functional distinctions that money in one form is CURRENCY,[a] and capital in the other. In so far as money serves in one or another function, be it to realise revenue or transfer capital, it functions in buying and selling, or in paying, as a means of purchase or a means of payment, and, in the wider sense of the word, as currency. The further purpose which it has in the calculations of its spender or recipient, of being capital or revenue for him, alters absolutely nothing, and this is doubly demonstrated. Although the kinds of money circulating in the two spheres are different, the same piece of money, for instance a five-pound note, passes from one sphere into the other and alternately performs both functions; which is inevitable, if only because the retail merchant can give his capital the form of money only in the shape of the coin which he receives from his customers. It may be assumed that the actual small change has its circulation centre of gravity in the domain of retail trade; the retail dealer needs it continually to make change and receives it back continually in payment from his customers. But he also receives money, i. e., coin, in that metal which serves as a standard of value, hence in England one-pound coins, or even banknotes, particularly notes of small denominations, such as five- and ten-pound notes. These gold coins and notes, with whatever small change he has to spare, are deposited by the retail dealer every day, or every week, in his bank, and he pays for his purchases by drawing cheques on his bank deposit. But the same gold coins and banknotes are just as continually withdrawn from the bank, directly or indirectly (for instance, small change by manufac-

[a] In the 1894 German edition this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

turers for the payment of wages), as the money form of its revenue by the entire public in its capacity of consumer, and flow continually back to the retail dealers, for whom they thus again realise a portion of their capital, but at the same time also a portion of their revenue. This last circumstance is important, and is wholly overlooked by Tooke. Only where money is expended as money capital, early in the reproduction process (Book II, Part I [a]), does capital value exist purely as such. For the produced commodities contain not merely capital, but also surplus value; they are not only capital in themselves, but already capital realised as capital, capital with the source of revenue incorporated in it. What the retail dealer gives away for the money returning to him, his commodities, therefore, is for him capital plus profit, capital plus revenue.

Furthermore, in returning to the retailer, circulating money restores the money form of his capital.

To reduce the difference between circulation as circulation of revenue and circulation of capital into a difference between currency and capital is, therefore, altogether wrong. This mode of expression is in Tooke's case due to his simply assuming the standpoint of a banker issuing his own banknotes. Those of his notes which are continually in the public's hands (even if consisting of ever different notes) and serving as currency cost him nothing, save the cost of the paper and the printing. They are circulating certificates of indebtedness (bills of exchange) made out in his own name, but they bring him money and thus serve as a means of expanding his capital. They differ from his capital, however, whether it be his own or borrowed. That is why there is a special distinction for him between currency and capital, which, however, has nothing to do with the definition of these terms as such, least of all with that made by Tooke.

The distinct attribute — whether it serves as the money form of revenue or of capital — changes nothing in the character of money as a medium of circulation; it retains this character no matter which of the two functions it performs. True, money serves more as an actual medium of circulation (coin, means of purchase) when acting as the money form of revenue, due to the dispersion of purchases and sales, and because the majority of disbursers of revenue, the labourers, can buy relatively little on credit; whereas in the traffic of the business world, where the medium of circulation is the money form of capital, money

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 36, pp. 31-40.

serves mainly as a means of payment, partly on account of the concentration, and partly on account of the prevailing credit system. But the distinction between money as a means of payment and money as a means of purchase (medium of circulation) is a distinction that refers to the money itself. It is not a distinction between money and capital. More copper and silver circulate in the retail business, and more gold in the wholesale business. Yet the distinction between silver and copper on the one hand, and gold on the other, is not the distinction between currency and capital.

Ad 2) Introducing the question of the quantity of money circulating together in both functions: So far as money circulates, be it as a means of purchase or as a means of payment — no matter in which of the two spheres and independently of its function of realising revenue or capital — the quantity of its circulating mass comes under the laws developed previously in discussing the simple circulation of commodities (Book I, Chap. III, 2, b[a]). The velocity of circulation, hence the number of repetitions of the same function as means of purchase and means of payment by the same pieces of money in a given term, the mass of simultaneous purchases and sales, or payments, the sum of the prices of the circulating commodities, and finally the balances of payments to be settled in the same period, determine in either case the mass of circulating money, of CURRENCY. Whether money so employed represents capital or revenue for the payer or receiver, is immaterial, and in no way alters the matter. Its mass is simply determined by its function as a means of purchase and payment.

Ad 3) On the question of the relative proportions of the quantities of currency circulating in both functions and thus in both spheres of the reproduction process. Both spheres of circulation are connected internally, for, on the one hand, the mass of revenues to be spent expresses the volume of consumption, and, on the other, the magnitude of the masses of capital circulating in production and commerce expresses the volume and velocity of the reproduction process. Nevertheless, the same circumstances have a different effect, working even in opposite directions, upon the quantities of money circulating in both functions or spheres, or on the amount of currency, as the English put it in banking parlance. And this gives new cause for Tooke's vulgar distinction between capital and currency. The fact that the

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[a] Ibid., Vol. 35.

gentlemen of the CURRENCY Theory[43] confuse two different things is no reason to present them as two different concepts.

In times of prosperity, intense expansion, acceleration and vigour of the reproduction process, labourers are fully employed. Generally, there is also a rise in wages which makes up in some measure for their fall below average during other periods of the commercial cycle. At the same time, the revenues of the capitalists grow considerably. Consumption increases generally. Commodity prices also rise regularly, at least in the various vital branches of business. Consequently, the quantity of circulating money grows at least within definite limits, since the greater velocity of circulation, in turn, sets up certain barriers to the growth of the amount of currency. Since that portion of the social revenue which consists of wages is originally advanced by the industrial capitalist in the form of variable capital, and always in money-form, it requires more money for its circulation in times of prosperity. But we must not count this twice—first as money required for the circulation of variable capital, and then as money required for the circulation of the labourers' revenue. The money paid to the labourers as wages is spent in retail trade and returns about once a week to the banks as the retailers' deposits, after negotiating miscellaneous intermediary transactions in smaller cycles. In times of prosperity the reflux of money proceeds smoothly for the industrial capitalists, and thus the need for money accommodation does not increase because more wages have to be paid and more money is required for the circulation of their variable capital.

The total result is that the mass of circulating medium serving the expenditure of revenue grows decidedly in periods of prosperity.

As concerns the circulation required for the transfer of capital, hence required exclusively between capitalists, a period of brisk business is simultaneously a period of the most elastic and easy credit. The velocity of circulation between capitalist and capitalist is regulated directly by credit, and the mass of circulating medium required to settle payments, and even in cash purchases, decreases accordingly. It may increase in absolute terms, but decreases relatively under all circumstances compared to the expansion of the reproduction process. On the one hand, greater mass payments are settled without the mediation of money; on the other, owing to the vigour of the process, there is a quicker movement of the same amounts of money, both as means of purchase and of payment. The same quantity of money promotes the reflux of a greater number of individual capitals.

On the whole, the circulation of money in such periods appears FULL,[a] although its Department II (transfer of capital) is, at least relatively, contracted, while its Department I (expenditure of revenue) expands in absolute terms.

The refluxes express the reconversion of commodity capital into money, M — C — M′, as we have seen in the discussion of the reproduction process, Book II, Part I. Credit renders the reflux in money form independent of the time of actual reflux both for the industrial capitalist and the merchant. Both of them sell on credit; their commodities are thus alienated before they are reconverted into money for them, hence before they flow back to them in money form. On the other hand, they buy on credit, and in this way the value of their commodities is reconverted, be it into productive capital or commodity capital, even before this value has really been transformed into money, i. e., before the commodity price is due and paid for. In such times of prosperity the reflux passes off smoothly and easily. The retailer securely pays the wholesaler, the wholesaler pays the manufacturer, the manufacturer pays the importer of raw materials, etc. The appearance of rapid and reliable refluxes always keeps up for a longer period after they are over in reality by virtue of the credit that is under way, since credit refluxes take the place of the real ones. The banks scent danger as soon as their clients deposit more bills of exchange than money. See the above-mentioned testimony of the Liverpool bank director, p. 398.[b]

To insert what I have noted earlier: "In periods of expanding credit the velocity of currency increases faster than the prices of commodities, whereas in periods of contracting credit the velocity of currency declines faster than the prices of commodities." (*Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, 1859, S. 83, 84.)[c]

The reverse is true in a period of crisis. Circulation No. I contracts, prices fall, similarly wages; the number of employed labourers is reduced, the mass of transactions decreases. On the contrary, the need for money accommodation increases in circulation No. II with the contraction of credit. We shall examine this point in greater detail immediately.

There is no doubt that with the decrease of credit which goes hand

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent. - [b] See this volume, pp. 410-11. - [c] See present edition, Vol. 29, p. 340.

in hand with stagnation in the reproduction process, the circulation mass required for No. I, the expenditure of revenue, contracts, while that required for No. II, the transfer of capital, expands. But to what extent this statement coincides with what is maintained by Fullarton and others still remains to be analysed:

* "A demand for capital on loan and a demand for additional circulation are quite distinct things, and not often found associated." * (Fullarton, l. c., p. 82, title of Chapter 5.) [90]

[90] "It is a great error, indeed, to imagine that the demand for pecuniary accommodation" (that is, for the loan of capital) "is identical with a demand for additional means of circulation, or even that the two are frequently associated. Each demand originates in circumstances peculiarly affecting itself, and very distinct from each other. It is when everything looks prosperous, when wages are high, prices on the rise, and factories busy, that an additional supply of *currency* is usually required to perform the additional functions inseparable from the necessity of making larger and more numerous payments; whereas it is chiefly in a more advanced stage of the commercial cycle, when difficulties begin to present themselves, when markets are overstocked, and returns delayed, that interest rises, and a pressure comes upon the Bank for advances of *capital.* It is true that there is no medium through which the Bank is accustomed to advance capital except that of its promissory notes; and that to refuse the notes, therefore, is to refuse the accommodation. But the accommodation once granted, everything adjusts itself in conformity with the necessities of the market; the loan remains, and the currency, if not wanted, finds its way back to the issuer. Accordingly, a very slight examination of the Parliamentary Returns may convince any one, that the securities in the hands of the Bank of England fluctuate more frequently in an opposite direction to its circulation than in concert with it, and that the example, therefore, of that great establishment furnishes no exception to the doctrine so strongly pressed by the country bankers, to the effect that no bank can enlarge its circulation, if that circulation be already adequate to the purposes to which a banknote currency is commonly applied; but that every addition to its advances, after that limit is passed, must be made from its capital, and supplied by the sale of some of its securities in reserve, or by abstinence from further investment in such securities. The table compiled from the Parliamentary Returns for the interval between 1833 and 1840, to which I have referred in a preceding page, furnishes continued examples of this truth; but two of these are so remarkable that it will be quite unnecessary for me to go beyond them. On the 3rd of January, 1837, when the resources of the Bank were strained to the uttermost to sustain credit and meet the difficulties of the money market, we find its advances on loan and discount carried to the enormous sum of £17,022,000, an amount scarcely known since the war, and almost equal to the entire aggregate issues which, in the meanwhile, remain unmoved at so low a point as £17, 076, 000. On the other hand, we have on the 4th of June, 1833, a circulation of £18,892,000, with a return of private securities in hand, nearly, if not the very lowest on record for the last half-century, amounting to no more than £972,000" (Fullarton, l. c., pp. 97, 98). That a DEMAND FOR PECUNIARY ACCOMMODATION need not be identical by any means with a DEMAND FOR GOLD (what Wilson, Tooke and others call capital) is seen from the following testimony of Mr. We-

In the first place it is evident that in the first of the two cases mentioned above, during times of prosperity, when the mass of the circulating medium must increase, the demand for it increases. But it is likewise evident that, when a manufacturer draws more or less of his deposit out of a bank in gold or banknotes because he has to expend more capital in the form of money, his demand for capital does not thereby increase. What increases is merely his demand for this particular form in which he expends his capital. The demand refers only to the technical form, in which he throws his capital into circulation. Just as in the case of a different development of the credit system, the same variable capital, for example, or the same quantity of wages, requires a greater mass of means of circulation in one country than in another; in England more than in Scotland, for instance, and in Germany more than in England. Likewise in agriculture, the same capital active in the reproduction process requires different quantities of money in different seasons for the performance of its function.

But the contrast drawn by Fullarton is not correct. It is by no means the strong demand for loans, as he says, which distinguishes the period of depression from that of prosperity, but the ease with which this demand is satisfied in periods of prosperity, and the difficulties which it meets in periods of depression. It is precisely the enormous development of the credit system during a prosperity period, hence also the enormous increase in the demand for loan capital and the readiness with which the supply meets it in such periods, which brings about a shortage of credit during a period of depression. It is not, therefore, the difference in volume of demand for loans which characterises both periods.

guelin, Governor of the Bank of England: "The discounting of bills to that extent" (one million daily for three successive days) "would not reduce the reserve" (of banknotes), "unless the public demanded a greater amount of active circulation. The notes issued on the discount of bills would be returned through the medium of the bankers and through deposits. Unless these transactions were for the purpose of exporting bullion, and unless there were an amount of internal panic which induced people to lock up their notes, and not to pay them into the hands of the bankers ... the reserve would not be affected by the magnitude of the transactions."—"The Bank may discount a million and a half a day, and that is done constantly, without its reserve being in the slightest degree affected, the notes coming back again as deposits, and no other alteration taking place than the mere transfer from one account to another" (Report on Bank Acts, 1857, Evidence Nos. 241, 500). The notes therefore serve here merely as means of transferring credits.

As we have previously remarked, both periods are primarily distinguished by the fact that the demand for currency between consumers and dealers predominates in periods of prosperity, and the demand for currency between capitalists predominates in periods of depression. During a depression the former decreases, and the latter increases.

What strikes Fullarton and others as decisively important is the phenomenon that in such periods when SECURITIES in possession of the Bank of England are on the increase, its circulation of notes decreases, and vice versa. The level of the SECURITIES, however, expresses the volume of the pecuniary accommodation, the volume of discounted bills of exchange and of advances made against marketable collateral. Thus Fullarton says in the above passage (Footnote 90, p. 435[a]) that the SECURITIES[b] in the hands of the Bank of England fluctuate more frequently in an opposite direction to its circulation, and this corroborates the view long held by private banks that no bank can increase its issue of banknotes beyond a certain point determined by the needs of its public; but if a bank wants to make advances beyond this limit, it must make them out of its capital, hence it must either realise on securities or utilise money deposits which it would otherwise have invested in securities.

This, however, reveals also what Fullarton means by capital. What does capital signify here? That the Bank can no longer make advances with its own banknotes, or promissory notes, which, of course, cost it nothing. But what does it make advances with in that case? With the sums realised from the sale of SECURITIES IN RESERVE, i. e., government bonds, stocks, and other interest-bearing paper. And what does it get in payment for the sale of such paper? Money — gold or banknotes, so far as the latter are legal tender, such as those of the Bank of England. What the bank advances, therefore, is under all circumstances money. This money, however, now constitutes a part of its capital. If it advances gold, this is understandable. If it advances notes, then these notes represent capital, because it has given up some actual value for them, such as interest-bearing paper. In the case of private banks the notes secured by them through the sale of securities cannot be anything else, in the main, but Bank of England notes or their own notes, since others would hardly be taken in payment for securities. If it is

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[a] See this volume, pp. 446-47. - [b] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

the Bank of England itself, then its own notes, which it receives in return, cost it capital, that is, interest-bearing paper. Besides, it thereby withdraws its own notes from circulation. Should it reissue these notes, or issue new notes in their stead to the same amount, they now represent capital. And they do so equally well, when used for advances to capitalists, or when used later, when the demand for such pecuniary accommodation decreases, for reinvestment in securities. In all these cases the term capital is employed only from the banker's point of view, and means that the banker is compelled to loan more than his mere credit.

As is known, the Bank of England makes all its advances in its own notes. Now, if despite this, as a rule, the banknote circulation of the Bank decreases in proportion as the discounted bills of exchange and collateral in its hands, and thus its advances increase—what becomes of the notes thrown into circulation? How do they return to the Bank?

To begin with, if the demand for money accommodation arises from an unfavourable national balance of payments and thereby implies a drain of gold, the matter is very simple. The bills of exchange are discounted in banknotes. The banknotes are exchanged for gold by the Bank itself, in its ISSUE DEPARTMENT, and this gold is exported. It is as though the Bank paid out gold directly, without the mediation of notes, on discounting bills. Such an increased demand, which may in certain cases be £7 to £10 million, naturally does not add a single five-pound note to the country's domestic circulation. If it is now said that the Bank advances capital, and not currency, this means two things. First, that it does not advance credit, but actual values, a part of its own capital or of capital deposited with it. Secondly, that it does not advance money for inland, but for international circulation, that it advances world money; and for this purpose money must always exist in its form of a hoard, in its metallic state; in the form in which it is not merely a form of value, but value itself, whose money form it is. Although this gold now represents capital, both for the Bank and for the exporting gold dealer, i. e., banking or merchant's capital, the demand for it arises not as demand for capital, but for the absolute form of money capital. This demand arises precisely at the moment when foreign markets are overcrowded with unsaleable English commodity capital. What is wanted, therefore, is capital, not as *capital*, but capital as *money*, in the form in which money serves as a universal world-market commodity; and this is its original form of precious metal.

The drain of gold is not, therefore, as Fullarton, Tooke, etc., claim, "A MERE QUESTION OF CAPITAL". Rather, it is "A QUESTION OF MONEY", even if in a specific function. The fact that it is not a question of *inland* circulation, as the advocates of the CURRENCY Theory maintain, does not prove at all, as Fullarton and others think, that it is merely A QUESTION OF CAPITAL. It is A QUESTION OF MONEY in the form in which money is an international means of payment.

* "Whether that capital" * (the purchase price for the million of quarters of foreign wheat after a crop failure in the home country) * "is transmitted in merchandise or in specie, is a point which in no way affects the nature of the transaction" * (Fullarton, l c., p. 131).

But it significantly affects the question, whether there is a drain of gold, or not. Capital is transferred in the form of precious metal, because it either cannot be transferred at all, or only at a great loss in the shape of commodities. The fear which the modern banking system has of gold drain exceeds anything ever imagined by the monetary system, which considered precious metals as the only true wealth.[a] Take, for instance, the following evidence of the Governor of the Bank of England, Morris, before the Parliamentary Committee on the crisis of 1847-48:

3846. //Question.// When I spoke of the depreciation of STOCKS[b] and fixed capital, are you not aware that all property invested in stocks and produce of every description was depreciated in the same way; that raw cotton, raw silk, and unmanufactured wool were sent to the continent at the same depreciated price, and that sugar, coffee and tea were sacrificed as at forced sales?—It was inevitable that the country should make *a considerable sacrifice* for the purpose of meeting the *efflux of bullion* which had taken place in consequence of the large importation of food."—"3848. Do not you think it would have been better to trench upon the £8 million lying in the coffers of the Bank, than to have endeavoured to get the gold back again at such a sacrifice?—*No, I do not.*"

It is gold which here stands for the only true wealth.
Fullarton quotes the discovery by Tooke that

* "with only one or two exceptions, and those admitting of satisfactory explanation, every remarkable fall of the exchange, followed by a drain of gold, that has occurred during the last half-century, has been coincident throughout with a comparatively low state of the circulating medium, and vice versa" * (Fullarton, p. 121).

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[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 164-65. - [b] In the 1894 German edition this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

This discovery proves that such drains of gold occur generally after a period of animation and speculation, as

* "a signal of a collapse already commenced ... an indication of overstocked markets, of a cessation of the foreign demand for our productions, of delayed returns, and, as the necessary sequel of all these, of commercial discredit, manufactories shut up, artisans starving, and a general stagnation of industry and enterprise" * (p. 129).

This, naturally, is at once the best refutation of the claim of the advocates of the CURRENCY Theory, that

* "a full circulation drives out bullion and a low circulation attracts it" *.

On the contrary, while the Bank of England generally carries a strong gold reserve during a period of prosperity, this hoard is generally formed during the slack period, which follows after a storm.

All this sagacity concerning the drain of gold, then, amounts to saying that the demand for *international* media of circulation and payment differs from the demand for *internal* media of circulation and payment (and it goes without saying, therefore, that "THE EXISTENCE OF A DRAIN DOES NOT NECESSARILY IMPLY ANY DIMINUTION OF THE INTERNAL DEMAND FOR CIRCULATION", as Fullarton has it on page 112 of his work) and that the export of precious metal and its being thrown into international circulation is not the same as throwing notes or specie into internal circulation. As for the rest, I have shown on a previous occasion[a] that the movements of a hoard concentrated as a reserve fund for international payments have as such nothing to do with the movements of money as a medium of circulation. At any rate, the question is complicated by the fact that the different functions of a hoard, which I have developed from the nature of money — such as its function as a reserve fund of means of payment to cover due bills in domestic business; the function of a reserve fund of currency; and finally, the function of a reserve fund of world money — are here attributed to one sole reserve fund. It also follows from this that under certain circumstances a drain of gold from the Bank to the home market may combine with a drain abroad. The question is further complicated, however, by the fact that this hoard is arbitrarily burdened with the additional function of serving as a fund guaranteeing the convertibility of banknotes in countries, in which the credit system and credit money are developed. And in addition to all this comes 1) the concentration of the national reserve fund in one single central bank,

[a] See present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 382-84.

and 2) its reduction to the smallest possible minimum. Hence, also, Fullarton's complaint (p. 143):

* "One cannot contemplate the perfect silence and facility with which variations of the exchange usually pass off in continental countries, compared with the state of feverish disquiet and alarm always produced in England whenever the treasure in the Bank seems to be at all approaching to exhaustion, without being struck with the great advantage in this respect which a metallic currency possesses." *

However, if we now leave aside the drain of gold, how can a bank that issues notes, like the Bank of England, increase the amount of money accommodation granted by it without increasing its issue of banknotes?

So far as the bank itself is concerned, all the notes outside its walls, whether circulating or in private hoards, are in circulation, i. e., are out of its hands. Hence, if the bank extends its discounting and money-lending business, its advances on SECURITIES, all the banknotes issued by it for that purpose must return, for otherwise they would increase the volume of circulation, something which is not supposed to happen. This return may take place in two ways.

*First*: The bank pays A notes against securities; A uses them to pay for bills of exchange due to B, and B deposits notes once more in the bank. This brings to a close the circulation of these notes, but the loan remains.

* "The loan remains, and the currency, if not wanted, finds its way back to the issuer" * (Fullarton, p. 97).

The notes, which the bank advanced to A, have now returned to it; but it is the creditor of A, or whoever may have been the drawer of the bill discounted by A, and the debtor of B for the amount of value expressed in these notes, and B thus disposes of a corresponding portion of the capital of the bank.

*Secondly*: A pays to B, and B himself, or C, to whom he pays the notes, uses these notes to pay bills due to the bank, directly or indirectly. In that case the bank is paid in its own notes. This concludes the transaction (pending A's return payment to the bank).

To what extent, now, shall the bank's advance to A be regarded as an advance of capital, or as a mere advance of means of payment? [91]

[91] The passage that follows in the original is unintelligible in this context and has been rewritten by the editor to the end of the oblique lines. In another context this point has already been touched upon in Chapter XXVI.[a]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 425-27.

//This depends on the nature of the loan itself. Three cases must be distinguished.

*First case.*—A receives from the bank amounts loaned on his own personal credit, without giving any security for them. In this case he does not merely receive means of payment, but also unquestionably a new capital, which he may employ in his business and realise as an additional capital until the maturity date.

*Second case.*—A has given to the bank securities, national bonds, or stocks as collateral, and received for them, say, up to two-thirds of their momentary value as a cash loan. In this case he has received the means of payment he needed, but no additional capital, for he entrusted to the bank a larger capital value than he received from it. But this larger capital value was, on the one hand, unavailable for his momentary needs (means of payment), because invested in a particular interest-bearing form; on the other hand, A had his own reasons for not wanting to convert this capital value directly into means of payment by selling it. His securities served, among other things, as a reserve capital, and he set them in motion as such. The transaction between A and the bank, therefore, consists in a temporary mutual transfer of capital, so that A does not receive any additional capital (quite the contrary!) although he receives the desired means of payment. For the bank, on the other hand, this transaction constitutes a temporary lodgement of money capital in the form of a loan, a conversion of money capital from one form into another, and this conversion is precisely the essential function of the banking business.

*Third case.*—A had the bank discount a bill of exchange and received its value in cash after the deduction of discount. In this case he sold a non-convertible money capital to the bank for the amount of value in convertible form. He sold his still running bill for cash money. The bill is now the property of the bank. It does not alter the matter that A as the last endorser of the bill is responsible for it to the bank in default of payment. He shares this responsibility with the other endorsers and with the drawer of the bill, all of whom are duly responsible to him. In this case, therefore, we do not have a loan, but only an ordinary purchase and sale. For this reason, A has nothing to pay back to the bank. It reimburses itself by cashing the bill when it becomes due. Here, too, a transfer of capital has taken place between A and the bank, and in exactly the same manner as in the sale and purchase of any other commodity, and for this very reason A did not receive any additional capital. What he needed and received were

means of payment, and he received them by having the bank convert one form of his money capital—his bill—into another—money.

It is therefore only in the first case that there is any question of a real advance of capital; in the second and third cases, the matter can be so regarded only in the sense that every investment of capital implies an "advance of capital". In this sense the bank advances money capital to A; but for A it is *money capital* at best in the sense that it is a portion of his capital in general. And he requires it and uses it not specifically as capital, but rather as specifically a means of payment. Otherwise, every ordinary sale of commodities by which means of payment are secured might be considered as receiving an advance of capital.—*F. E.*//

In the case of the private bank which issues its own notes we have this difference, that if its notes remain neither in local circulation, nor return to it in the form of deposits, or in payment for due bills of exchange, they fall into the hands of persons who compel the private bank to cash these notes in gold or in notes of the Bank of England. In this event, therefore, its loan in fact represents an advance of notes of the Bank of England, or, what amounts to the same thing for the private bank, of gold, hence a portion of its banking capital. The same holds good in case the Bank of England itself, or some other bank, which has a fixed legal maximum for its issue of notes, must sell securities to withdraw its own notes from circulation and then issue them once more in the shape of advances; in that case, the bank's own notes represent a portion of its mobilised banking capital.

Even if the circulation were purely metallic, it would be possible 1) for a drain of gold //Marx evidently refers here to a drain of gold that would, at least partially, go abroad—*F. E.*// to empty the treasury, and 2) since gold would be chiefly wanted by the bank to make payments (in settlement of erstwhile transactions), the advance against collateral could grow considerably, but would flow back to it in the form of deposits or in payment of due bills of exchange; so that, on one side, the total treasure of the bank would decrease with an increase of the securities in its hands, while on the other, it would now be holding the same amount, which it possessed formerly as owner, as debtor of its depositors, and finally the total mass of currency would decrease.

Our assumption so far has been that the loans are made in notes, so that they carry with them at least a fleeting, even if instantly disappearing, increase in the issue of notes. But this is not necessary. In-

stead of a paper note, the bank may open a credit account for A, in which case this A, the bank's debtor, becomes its imaginary depositor. He pays his creditors with cheques on the bank, and the recipient of these cheques passes them on to his own banker, who exchanges them for the cheques outstanding against him in the CLEARING HOUSE. In this case no mediation of notes takes place at all, and the entire transaction is confined to the fact that the bank settles its own debt with a cheque drawn on itself, and its actual recompense consists in its claim on A. In this case the bank has loaned a portion of its banking capital, because its own debt claims, to A.

In so far as this demand for pecuniary accommodation is a demand for capital, it is so only for money capital; capital from the standpoint of the banker, namely for gold (in the case of gold exports abroad) or notes of the National Bank, which a private bank can obtain only by purchase against an equivalent, and which, therefore, represent capital for it. Or, again, it is a case of interest-bearing papers, government bonds, stocks, etc., which must be sold in order to obtain gold or banknotes. Such papers, however, if in government bonds, are capital only for the buyer, for whom they represent the purchase price, the capital he invested in them. In themselves they are not capital, but merely debt claims. If mortgages, they are mere titles on future ground rent. And if they are shares of stock, they are mere titles of ownership, which entitle the holder to a share in future surplus value. All of these are not real capital. They do not form constituent parts of capital, nor are they values in themselves. By way of similar transactions money belonging to the bank may be transformed into deposits, so that the bank becomes the debtor instead of owner of this money, and holds it under a different title of ownership. However important this may be to the bank itself, it alters nothing in the mass of reserve capital, or even of money capital available in a particular country. Capital, therefore, represents here only money capital, and, if not available in the actual form of money, it represents a mere title on capital. This is very important, since a scarcity of, and pressing demand for, *banking* capital is confounded with a decrease of *actual* capital, which, conversely, is in such cases rather abundant in the form of means of production and products, and swamps the markets.

It is, therefore, easy to explain how the mass of securities held by a bank as collateral increases, hence how the growing demand for pecuniary accommodation can be satisfied by the bank, while the total mass of currency remains the same or decreases. This total mass is

held in check during such periods of money stringency in two ways: 1) by a drain of gold; 2) by a demand for money in its capacity as a mere means of payment, when the issued banknotes return immediately; or when the transactions take place without the mediation of notes by means of book credit; when, therefore, payments are made simply through a credit transaction, the settlement of these payments being the sole purpose of the operation. It is a peculiarity of money, when it serves merely to settle accounts (and in times of crises loans are taken up to pay, rather than to buy; to wind up previous transactions, not to initiate new ones), that its circulation is no more than fleeting, even where balances are not settled by mere credit operations, without any intervention of money, so that, when there is a strong demand for pecuniary accommodation, an enormous quantity of such transactions can take place without expanding the circulation. But the mere fact that the circulation of the Bank of England remains stable or even decreases simultaneously with an extensive accommodation of money on its part, does not *prima facie* prove, as Fullarton, Tooke and others assume (owing to their erroneous notion that pecuniary accommodation is identical with receiving CAPITAL ON LOAN as additional capital), that the circulation of money (of banknotes) in its function as a means of payment is not increased and extended. Since the circulation of notes as means of purchase decreases during a business depression, when such extensive accommodation is necessary, their circulation as means of payment may increase, and the aggregate amount of the circulation, the sum of notes functioning as means of purchase and payment, may remain stable or may even decrease. The circulation as a means of payment of banknotes immediately returning to the bank that issues them is simply not circulation in the eyes of those economists.

Should circulation as a means of payment increase at a higher rate than it decreases as a means of purchase, the aggregate circulation would increase, although the money serving as a means of purchase would decrease considerably in quantity. And this actually occurs in certain periods of crisis, namely, when credit collapses completely and when not only commodities and securities are unsaleable but bills of exchange are undiscountable and nothing counts any more but money payment, or, as the merchant puts it, cash. Since Fullarton *et al.* do not understand that the circulation of notes as a means of payment is the characteristic feature of such periods of money shortage, they treat this phenomenon as accidental.

* "With respect again to those examples of eager competition for the possession of banknotes, which characterise seasons of panic and which may sometimes, as at the close of 1825, lead to a sudden, though only temporary, enlargement of the issues, even while the efflux of bullion is still going on, these, I apprehend, are not to be regarded as among the natural or necessary concomitants of a low exchange; the demand in such cases is not for circulation" * (read circulation as a means of purchase), * "but for hoarding, a demand on the part of alarmed bankers and capitalists which arises generally in the last act of the crisis" * (hence, for a reserve of means of payment), * "after a long continuation of the drain, and is the precursor of its termination" * (Fullarton, p. 130).

In the discussion of money as a means of payment (Book I, Chap. III, 3, b[a]) we have already explained, in what manner, when the chain of payments is suddenly interrupted, money turns from its ideal form into a material and, at the same time, absolute form of value vis-à-vis the commodities. This was illustrated by some examples (footnotes 100 and 101[b]). This interruption itself is partly an effect, partly a cause of the instability of credit and of the circumstances accompanying it, such as overstocking of markets, depreciation of commodities, interruption of production, etc.

It is evident, however, that Fullarton transforms the distinction between money as a means of purchase and money as a means of payment into a false distinction between CURRENCY and capital. This is again due to the narrow-minded banker's conception of circulation.

It might yet be asked: which is it, capital or money in its specific function as a means of payment, that is in short supply in such periods of stringency? And this is a well-known controversy.

In the first place, so far as the stringency is marked by a drain of gold, it is evidently international means of payment that are demanded. But money in its specific capacity of international means of payment is gold in its metallic actuality, as a valuable substance in itself, as a quantity of value. It is at the same time capital, not capital as commodity capital, but as money capital, capital not in the form of commodities but in the form of money (and, at that, of money in the eminent sense of the word, in which it exists as universal world-market commodity). It is not a contradiction here between a demand for money as a means of payment and a demand for capital. The contradiction is rather between capital in its money form and capital in its commodity form; and the form in which it is here demanded and in which alone it can function, is its money form.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 35. - [b] Ibid., p. 149, notes 1, 2.

Aside from this demand for gold (or silver) it cannot be said that there is any dearth whatever of capital in such periods of crisis. Under extraordinary circumstances, such as rise in the price of corn, or a cotton famine, etc., this may be the case; but these phenomena are not necessary or regular accompaniments of such periods; and the existence of such a lack of capital cannot be assumed beforehand without further ado from the mere fact that there is a heavy demand for pecuniary accommodation. On the contrary. The markets are overstocked, swamped with commodity capital. Hence, it is not, in any case, a lack of *commodity* capital which causes the stringency. We shall return to this question later.

# BOOK III

# THE PROCESS OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION AS A WHOLE

## II

# Part V

## DIVISION OF PROFIT INTO INTEREST AND PROFIT OF ENTERPRISE. INTEREST-BEARING CAPITAL (*CONTINUED*)

## Chapter XXIX

### COMPONENT PARTS OF BANK CAPITAL

It is now necessary to examine the component parts of bank capital in greater detail.

We have just seen that Fullarton and others transform the distinction between money as a medium of circulation and money as a means of payment — also world money in so far as it concerns a drain of gold — into a distinction between CURRENCY[a] and capital.

The peculiar role played by capital in this instance is the reason why bankers' economics teaches that money is indeed capital *par excellence* as insistently as enlightened economics taught that money is not capital.[46]

In subsequent analyses, we shall demonstrate that money capital is being confused here with MONEYED CAPITAL in the sense of interest-bearing capital, while in the former sense, money capital is always merely a transient form of capital — in contradistinction to the other forms of capital, namely, commodity capital and productive capital.

Bank capital consists of 1) cash money, gold or notes; 2) securities. The latter can be subdivided into two parts: commercial paper or bills of exchange, which run for a period, become due from time to time, and whose discounting constitutes the essential business of the banker; and public securities, such as government bonds, treasury notes, stocks of all kinds, in short, interest-bearing paper which is however significantly different from bills of exchange. Mortgages may

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

also be included here. The capital composed of these tangible component parts can again be divided into the banker's invested capital and into deposits, which constitute his BANKING CAPITAL, or borrowed capital. In the case of banks which issue notes, these must also be included. We shall leave the deposits and notes out of consideration for the present. It is evident at any rate that the actual component parts of the banker's capital (money, bills of exchange, deposit currency) remain unaffected whether the various elements represent the banker's own capital or deposits, i. e., the capital of other people. The same division would remain, whether he were to carry on his business with only his own capital or only with deposited capital.

The form of interest-bearing capital is responsible for the fact that every definite and regular money REVENUE appears as interest on some capital, whether it arises from some capital or not. The money income is first converted into interest, and from the interest one can determine the capital from which it arises. In like manner, in the case of interest-bearing capital, every sum of value appears as capital as long as it is not expended as REVENUE; that is, it appears as PRINCIPAL[a] in contrast to possible or actual interest which it may yield.

The matter is simple. Let the average rate of interest be 5% annually. A sum of £500 would then yield £25 annually if converted into interest-bearing capital. Every fixed annual income of £25 may then be considered as interest on a capital of £500. This, however, is and remains a purely illusory conception, except in the case where the source of the £25, whether it be a mere title of ownership or claim, or an actual element of production such as real estate, is directly transferable or assumes a form in which it becomes transferable. Let us take the national debt and wages as illustrations.

The state has to annually pay its creditors a certain amount of interest for the capital borrowed from them. In this case, the creditor cannot recall his investment from his debtor, but can only sell his claim, or his title of ownership. The capital itself has been consumed, i. e., expended by the state. It no longer exists. What the creditor of the state possesses is 1) the state's promissory note, amounting to, say, £100; 2) this promissory note gives the creditor a claim upon the annual revenue of the state, that is, the annual tax proceeds, for a certain amount, e. g., £5 or 5%; 3) the creditor can sell this promissory

[a] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

note of £100 at his discretion to some other person. If the rate of interest is 5%, and the security given by the state is good, the owner A can sell this promissory note, as a rule, to B for £100; for it is the same to B whether he lends £100 at 5% annually, or whether he secures for himself by the payment of £100 an annual tribute from the state amounting to £5. But in all these cases, the capital, as whose offshoot (interest) state payments are considered, is illusory, fictitious capital. Not only that the amount loaned to the state no longer exists, but it was never intended that it be expended as capital, and only by investment as capital could it have been transformed into a self-preserving value. To the original creditor A, the share of annual taxes accruing to him represents interest on his capital, just as the share of the spendthrift's fortune accruing to the usurer appears to the latter, although in both cases the loaned amount was not invested as capital. The possibility of selling the state's promissory note represents for A the potential means of regaining his principal. As for B, his capital is invested, from his individual point of view, as interest-bearing capital. So far as the transaction is concerned, B has simply taken the place of A by buying the latter's claim on the state's revenue. No matter how often this transaction is repeated, the capital of the state debt remains purely fictitious, and, as soon as the promissory notes become unsaleable, the illusion of this capital disappears. Nevertheless, this fictitious capital has its own laws of motion, as we shall presently see.

We shall now consider labour power in contrast to the capital of the national debt, where a negative quantity appears as capital—just as interest-bearing capital, in general, is the fountain-head of all manner of insane forms, so that debts, for instance, can appear to the banker as commodities. Wages are conceived here as interest, and therefore labour power as the capital yielding this interest. For example, if the wage for one year amounts to £50 and the rate of interest is 5%, the annual labour power is equal to a capital of £1,000. The insanity of the capitalist mode of conception reaches its climax here, for instead of explaining the expansion of capital on the basis of the exploitation of labour power, the matter is reversed and the productivity of labour power is explained by attributing this mystical quality of interest-bearing capital to labour power itself. In the second half of the 17th century, this used to be a favourite conception (for example, of Petty),[47] but it is used even nowadays in all seriousness by some vulgar economists and more particularly by some German stati-

sticians.[1] Unfortunately two disagreeably frustrating facts mar this thoughtless conception. In the first place, the labourer must work in order to obtain this interest. In the second place, he cannot transform the capital value of his labour power into cash by transferring it. Rather, the annual value of his labour power is equal to his average annual wage, and what he has to give the buyer in return through his labour is this same value plus a surplus value, i. e., the increment added by his labour. Under a slave system, the labourer has a capital value, namely, his purchase price. And when he is hired out, the hirer must pay, in the first place, the interest on this purchase price, and, in addition, replace the annual wear and tear of the capital.

The formation of a fictitious capital is called capitalisation. Every regularly repeated income is capitalised by calculating it on the basis of the average rate of interest, as an income which would be yielded by a capital loaned at this rate of interest. For example, if the annual income = £100 and the rate of interest = 5%, then the £100 would represent the annual interest on £2,000, and the £2,000 is regarded as the capital value of the legal title of ownership on the £100 annually. For the person who buys this title of ownership, the annual income of £100 represents indeed the interest on his capital invested at 5%. All connection with the actual expansion process of capital is thus completely lost, and the conception of capital as something with automatic self-expansion properties is thereby strengthened.

Even when the promissory note—the security—does not represent a purely fictitious capital, as it does in the case of state debts, the capital value of such paper is nevertheless wholly illusory. We have previously seen[a] in what manner the credit system creates associated capital. The paper serves as title of ownership which represents this capital. The stocks of railways, mines, navigation companies, and the like, represent actual capital, namely, the capital invested and functioning in such enterprises, or the amount of money advanced by the stockholders for the purpose of being used as capital in such enterprises. This does not preclude the possibility that these may re-

[1] "The labourer possesses [...] capital value, which is arrived at by considering the money value of his annual wage as income from interest.... Capitalising ... the average daily wage at 4%, we obtain the average value of a male agricultural labourer to be: German Austria, 1,500 taler; Prussia, 1,500; England, 3,750; France, 2,000; inner Russia, 750 taler" (Von Reden, *Vergleichende Kultur-Statistik*, Berlin, 1848, p. 434).

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[a] See this volume, pp. 433-34.

# Das Kapital.

## Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.

Von

Karl Marx.

Drittes Buch

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**Der Gesammtprocess der kapitalistischen Produktion.**

Zweiter Theil.

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**Das Recht der Uebersetzung ist vorbehalten.**

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present pure swindle. But this capital does not exist twice, once as the capital value of titles of ownership (stocks) and the other time as the actual capital invested, or to be invested, in those enterprises. It exists only in the latter form, and a share of stock is merely a title of ownership to a certain portion of the surplus value to be realised by it. A may sell this title to B, and B may sell it to C. These transactions do not alter anything in the nature of the problem. A or B then has his title in the form of capital, but C has transformed his capital into a mere title of ownership to the anticipated surplus value from the stock capital.

The independent movement of the value of these titles of ownership, not only of government bonds but also of stocks, adds weight to the illusion that they constitute real capital alongside of the capital or claim to which they may have title. For they become commodities, whose price has its own characteristic movement and is established in its own way. Their market value is determined differently from their nominal value, without any change in the value (even though the expansion may change) of the actual capital. On the one hand, their market value fluctuates with the amount and reliability of the proceeds to which they afford legal title. If the nominal value of a share of stock, that is, the invested sum originally represented by this share, is £100, and the enterprise pays 10% instead of 5%, then its market value, everything else remaining equal, rises to £200, as long as the rate of interest is 5%, for when capitalised at 5%, it now represents a fictitious capital of £200. Whoever buys it for £200 receives a revenue of 5% on this investment of capital. The converse is true when the proceeds from the enterprise diminish. The market value of this paper is in part speculative, since it is determined not only by the actual income, but also by the anticipated income, which is calculated in advance. But assuming the expansion of the actual capital as constant, or where no capital exists, as in the case of state debts, the annual income to be fixed by law and otherwise sufficiently secured, the price of these securities rises and falls inversely as the rate of interest. If the rate of interest rises from 5% to 10%, then securities guaranteeing an income of £5 will now represent a capital of only £50. Conversely, if the rate of interest falls to $2\frac{1}{2}$ %; the same securities will represent a capital of £200. Their value is always merely capitalised income, that is, the income calculated on the basis of a fictitious capital at the prevailing rate of interest. Therefore, when the money market is tight these securities will fall in price for two reasons: first, because the rate

of interest rises, and secondly, because they are thrown on the market in large quantities in order to convert them into cash. This drop in price takes place regardless of whether the income that this paper guarantees its owner is constant, as is the case with government bonds, or whether the expansion of the actual capital, which it represents, as in industrial enterprises, is possibly affected by disturbances in the reproduction process. In the latter event, there is only still another depreciation added to that mentioned above. As soon as the storm is over, this paper again rises to its former level, in so far as it does not represent a business failure or swindle. Its depreciation in times of crisis serves as a potent means of centralising fortunes.[2)]

To the extent that the depreciation or increase in value of this paper is independent of the movement of value of the actual capital that it represents, the wealth of the nation is just as great before as after its depreciation or increase in value.

"The public stocks and canal and railway shares had already by the 23rd of October, 1847, been depreciated in the aggregate to the amount of £114,752,225" (Morris, Governor of the Bank of England, testimony in the Report on Commercial Distress, 1847-48).[b]

Unless this depreciation reflected an actual stoppage of production and of traffic on canals and railways, or a suspension of already initiated enterprises, or squandering capital in positively worthless ventures, the nation did not grow one cent poorer by the bursting of this soap bubble of nominal money capital.

All this paper is actually nothing more than accumulated claims, or legal titles, to future production whose money or capital value represents either no capital at all, as in the case of state debts, or is regulated independently of the value of real capital which it represents.

[2)] //Immediately after the February Revolution, when commodities and securities were extremely depreciated and utterly unsaleable in Paris, a Swiss merchant in Liverpool, Mr. R. Zwilchenbart — who told this to my father — cashed all his belongings, travelled with cash in hand to Paris and sought out Rothschild, offering to participate in a joint enterprise with him. Rothschild looked at him fixedly, rushed towards him, grabbed him by his shoulders and asked: "*Avez-vous de l'argent sur vous?*" — "*Oui, M. le baron.*" — "*Alors vous êtes mon homme!*"[a] — And they did a thriving business together.— *F. E.*//

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[a] "Have you money in your possession?" — "Yes, Baron." — "Then you are my man!" - [b] First Report from the Secret Committee on Commercial Distress with the Minutes of Evidence, p. 288, No. 3800.

In all countries based on capitalist production, there exists in this form an enormous quantity of so-called interest-bearing capital, or MONEYED CAPITAL. And by accumulation of money capital nothing more, in the main, is connoted than an accumulation of these claims on production, an accumulation of the market price, the illusory capital value of these claims.

A part of the banker's capital is now invested in this so-called interest-bearing paper. This is itself a portion of the reserve capital, which does not perform any function in the actual business of banking. The most important portion of this paper consists of bills of exchange, that is, promises to pay made by industrial capitalists or merchants. For the money lender these bills of exchange are interest-bearing papers, in other words, when he buys them, he deducts interest for the time which they still have to run. This is called discounting. It depends on the prevailing rate of interest, how much of a deduction is made from the sum represented by the bill of exchange.

Finally, the last part of the capital of a banker consists of his money reserve in gold and notes. The deposits, unless tied up by agreement for a certain time, are always at the disposal of the depositors. They are in a state of continual fluctuation. But while one depositor draws on his account, another deposits, so that the general average sum total of deposits fluctuates little during periods of normal business.

The reserve funds of the banks, in countries with developed capitalist production, always express on the average the quantity of money existing in the form of a hoard, and a portion of this hoard in turn consists of paper, mere drafts upon gold, which have no value in themselves. The greater portion of banker's capital is, therefore, purely fictitious and consists of claims (bills of exchange), government securities (which represent spent capital), and stocks (drafts on future revenue). And it should not be forgotten that the money value of the capital represented by this paper in the safes of the banker is itself fictitious, in so far as the paper consists of drafts on guaranteed revenue (e. g., government securities), or titles of ownership to real capital (e. g., stocks), and that this value is regulated differently from that of the real capital, which the paper represents at least in part; or, when it represents mere claims on revenue and no capital, the claim on the same revenue is expressed in continually changing fictitious money capital. In addition to this, it must be noted that this fictitious banker's capital represents largely, not his own capital, but that of the public, which makes deposits with him, either interest-bearing or not.

Deposits are always made in money, in gold or notes, or in drafts upon these. With the exception of the reserve fund, which contracts or expands in accordance with the requirements of actual circulation, these deposits are in fact always in the hands of the industrial capitalists and merchants, on the one hand, whose bills of exchange are thereby discounted and who thus receive advances; on the other hand, they are in the hands of dealers in securities (exchange brokers), or in the hands of private parties who have sold their securities, or in the hands of the government (in the case of treasury notes and new loans). The deposits themselves play a double role. On the one hand, as we have just mentioned, they are loaned out as interest-bearing capital and are, therefore, not in the safes of the banks, but figure merely on their books as credits of the depositors. On the other hand, they function merely as such book entries, in so far as the mutual claims of the depositors are balanced by cheques on their deposits and can be written off against each other. In this connection, it is immaterial whether these deposits are entrusted to the same banker, who can thus balance the various accounts against each other, or whether this is done in different banks, which mutually exchange cheques and pay only the balances to one another.

With the development of interest-bearing capital and the credit system, all capital seems to double itself, and sometimes treble itself, by the various modes in which the same capital, or perhaps even the same claim on a debt, appears in different forms in different hands.[3] The greater portion of this "money capital" is purely fictitious. All the deposits, with the exception of the reserve fund, are merely claims

[3] //This doubling and trebling of capital has developed considerably further in recent years, for instance, through FINANCIAL TRUSTS, which already occupy a heading of their own in the report of the London Stock Exchange. A company is organised for the purchase of a certain class of interest-bearing paper, e. g., of foreign government securities, English municipal or American public bonds, railway stocks, etc. The capital, for example, £2 million, is raised by stock subscriptions. The Board of Directors buys up the values in question or speculates more or less actively therein, and after deducting the expenses distributes among the stockholders the annual interest as dividends. Furthermore, some stock companies have adopted the custom of dividing the common stock into two classes, PREFERRED and DEFERRED. The PREFERRED receive a fixed rate of interest, say, 5%, provided that the total profit permits it; if there is anything left after that, the DEFERRED receive it. In this manner, the "solid" investment of capital in PREFERRED shares is more or less separated from actual speculation — with DEFERRED shares. Since a few large enterprises have been unwilling to adopt this new custom, the expedient has been resorted to of organising new companies which invest a million or several million pounds sterling in shares of the former companies and then issue new

on the banker, which, however, never exist as deposits. To the extent that they serve in clearing-house transactions, they perform the function of capital for the bankers—after the latter have loaned them out. They pay one another their mutual drafts upon the non-existing deposits by balancing their mutual accounts.

Adam Smith says with regard to the role played by capital in the loaning of money:

"Even in the moneyed interest, however, the money is, as it were, but the deed of assignment which conveys from one hand to another those capitals which the owners do not care to employ themselves. Those capitals may be greater in almost any proportion than the amount of the money which serves as the instrument of their conveyance, the same pieces of money successively serving for many different loans, as well as for many different purchases. A, for example, lends to W £1,000, with which W immediately purchases of B £1,000 worth of goods. B, having no occasion for the money himself, lends the identical pieces to X, with which X immediately purchases of C another £1,000 worth of goods. C, in the same manner, and for the same reason, lends them to Y, who again purchases goods with them of D. In this manner the same pieces, either of coin or of paper, may, in the course of a few days, serve as the instrument of three different loans, and of three different purchases, each of which is, in value, equal to the whole amount of those pieces. What the three moneyed men, A, B and C, assign to the three borrowers, W, X and Y, is the power of making those purchases. In this power consist both the value and the use of the loans. The stock lent by the three moneyed men is equal to the value of the goods which can be purchased with it, and is three times greater than that of the money with which the purchases are made. Those loans, however, may be all perfectly well secured, the goods purchased by the different debtors being so employed, as, in due time, to bring back, with a profit, an equal value either of coin or of paper. And as the same pieces of money can thus serve as the instrument of different loans to three, or for the same reason, to thirty times their value, so they may likewise successively serve as the instrument of repayment" (BOOK II, CHAP. IV).[a]

Since the same piece of money can be used for various purchases, corresponding to its velocity of circulation, it can similarly be used for various loans, since the purchases take it from one person to another, and a loan is but a transfer from one person to another without the mediation of a purchase. To every seller, money represents the converted form of his commodities. Nowadays, when every value is expressed as capital value, it represents in the various loans various ca-

shares amounting to the nominal value of the purchased shares, but half of them are issued as PREFERRED and the other half as DEFERRED. In such cases the original shares are doubled, since they serve as a basis for a new issue of shares.—*F. E.*//

[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I, pp. 428-29.

pitals in succession. This is simply another way of expressing the earlier statement that it can successively realise various commodity values. At the same time it serves as a medium of circulation, in order to transfer the material capitals from person to person. In the case of loans, it does not pass from person to person as a medium of circulation. As long as it remains in the hands of the lender, it is in his hands not a medium of circulation, but the value existence of his capital. And in this form he transfers it when lending it to a third party. If A had lent the money to B, and B to C, without the mediation of purchases, the same money would not represent three capitals, but only one — a *single* capital value. The number of capitals which it actually represents depends on the number of times that it functions as the value form of various commodity capitals.

The same thing that Adam Smith says about loans in general also applies to deposits, which are merely another name for the loans which the public makes to the bankers. The same pieces of money serve as the instruments for any number of deposits.

"It is unquestionably true that the £1,000 which you deposit at A today may be reissued tomorrow, and form a deposit at B. The day after that, reissued from B, it may form a deposit at C... and so on to infinitude; and that the same £1,000 in money may, thus, by a succession of transfers, multiply itself into a sum of deposits absolutely indefinite. It is possible, therefore, that nine-tenths of all the deposits in the United Kingdom may have no existence beyond their record in the books of the bankers.... Thus in Scotland, for instance, currency has never exceeded £3 million, the deposits in the banks are estimated at £27 million. Unless a run on the banks be made, the same £1,000 would, if sent back upon its travels, cancel with the same facility a sum equally indefinite. As the same £1,000, with which you cancel your debt to a tradesman today, may cancel his debt to the merchant tomorrow, the merchant's debt to the bank the day following, and so on without end; so the same £1,000 may pass from hand to hand, and bank to bank, and cancel any conceivable sum of deposits" (*The Currency Theory Reviewed*, pp. 62-63).

Just as everything in this credit system is doubled and trebled and transformed into a mere phantom of the imagination, so it is with the "reserve fund", where one would at last hope to grasp on to something solid.

Let us listen once more to Mr. Morris, Governor of the Bank of England:

"The reserves of the private bankers are in the hands of the Bank of England in the shape of deposits.... An export of gold acts exclusively, in the first instance, upon the reserve of the Bank of England; but it would also be acting upon the reserves of the bankers, inasmuch as it is a withdrawal of a portion of the reserves which they have in the

Bank of England. It would be acting upon the reserves of all the bankers throughout the country" (Commercial Distress, 1847-48).[a]

Ultimately, then, the reserve funds actually merge with the reserve fund of the Bank of England.[4] However, this reserve fund also has a double existence. The reserve fund of the BANKING DEPARTMENT is equal to the surplus of notes which the Bank is authorised to issue over and above the notes in circulation. The legal maximum of the note issue = £14 million (for which no bullion reserve is required; it is the approximate amount owed by the state to the Bank) plus the amount of the Bank's supply of precious metal. If the supply of precious metal in the Bank = £14 million, the Bank can thus issue £28 million in notes, and if £20 million of these are in circulation, the reserve fund of the BANKING DEPARTMENT = £8 million. These £8 million's worth of notes

[4] //To what extent this has intensified since then is shown by the following official tabulation of the bank reserves of the fifteen largest London banks in November 1892, taken from the *Daily News* of December 15, 1892:

| Name of Bank | Liabilities | Cash Reserves | Percentages |
|---|---|---|---|
| City | £9,317,629 | £746,551 | 8.01 |
| Capital and Counties | 11,392,744 | 1,307,483 | 11.47 |
| Imperial | 3,987,400 | 447,157 | 11.22 |
| Lloyds | 23,800,937 | 2,966,806 | 12.46 |
| London & Westminster | 24,671,559 | 3,818,885 | 15.50 |
| London & S. Western | 5,570,268 | 812,353 | 14.58 |
| London Joint Stock | 12,127,993 | 1,288,977 | 10.62 |
| London and Midland | 8,814,499 | 1,127,280 | 12.79 |
| London and County | 37,111,035 | 3,600,374 | 9.70 |
| National | 11,163,829 | 1,426,225 | 12.77 |
| National Provincial | 41,907,384 | 4,614,780 | 11.01 |
| Parrs and the Alliance | 12,794,489 | 1,532,707 | 11.98 |
| Prescott & Co | 4,041,058 | 538,517 | 13.07 |
| Union of London | 15,502,618 | 2,300,084 | 14.84 |
| Williams, Deacon & Manchester & Co | 10,452,381 | 1,317,628 | 12.60 |
| Total | £232,655,823 | £27,845,807 | 11.97 |

Of this total reserve of almost 28 million, at least 25 million are deposited in the Bank of England, and at most 3 million are in cash in the safes of the 15 banks themselves. But the cash reserve of the banking department of the Bank of England amounted to less than 16 million during that same month of November 1892!—*F. E.*//

[a] First Report from the Secret Committee on Commercial Distress..., p. 277, Nos 3641 and 3642, testimony of J. Morris and H. Prescott (paraphrased).

are then legally the banker's capital at the disposal of the Bank, and at the same time the reserve fund for its deposits. Now, if a drain of gold takes place, whereby the supply of precious metal in the Bank is reduced by £6 million — requiring the destruction of an equivalent number of notes — the reserve of the BANKING DEPARTMENT would fall from £8 million to £2 million. On the one hand, the Bank would raise its rate of interest considerably; on the other hand, the banks having deposits with it, and the other depositors, would observe a large decrease in the reserve fund covering their own credits in the Bank. In 1857, the four largest stock banks of London threatened to call in their deposits, and thereby bankrupt the BANKING DEPARTMENT, unless the Bank of England would secure a "government letter" suspending the Bank Act of 1844.[5] In this way the BANKING DEPARTMENT could fail, as in 1847, while any number of millions (e. g., 8 million in 1847) are held in its ISSUE DEPARTMENT to guarantee the convertibility of the circulating notes. But this is again illusory.

"That large portion (of deposits) for which the bankers themselves have no immediate demand passes into the hands of the BILL-BROKERS, who give to the banker in return commercial bills already discounted by them for persons in London and in different parts of the country as a security for the sum advanced by the banker. The BILL-BROKER is responsible to the banker for payment of this MONEY AT CALL[a]; and such is the magnitude of these transactions, that Mr. Neave, the present Governor of the Bank //of England//, stated in evidence, 'We know that one BROKER had 5 million, and we were led to believe that another had between 8 and 10 million; there was one with 4, another with $3\frac{1}{2}$, and a third with above 8. I speak of deposits with the brokers'" (Report of Committee on Bank Acts, 1857-58, p. V, Section 8).

"The London BILL-BROKERS carried on their enormous transactions without any cash reserve, relying on the run off of their bills falling due, or in extremity, on the power of obtaining advances from the Bank of England on the security of bills under discount" [Ibid., p. VIII, Section 17]. "Two BILL-BROKING houses in London suspended payment in 1847; both afterwards resumed business. In 1857, both suspended again. The liabilities of one house in 1847 were, in round numbers, £2,683,000, with a capital of £180,000; the liabilities of the same house, in 1857, were £5,300,000, the capital probably not more than one-fourth of what it was in 1847. The liabilities of the other firm were between £3,000,000 and £4,000,000 at each period of stoppage, with a capital not exceeding £45,000" (Ibid., p. XXI, Section 52).

[5]) //The suspension of the Bank Act of 1844[48] permits the Bank to issue any quantity of banknotes regardless of the gold reserve backing in its possession; thus, to create an arbitrary quantity of fictitious paper money capital, and to use it for the purpose of making loans to banks, exchange brokers, and through them to commerce.—*F. E.*//

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[a] In 1894 German edition this English term is explained in German in parentheses.

# Chapter XXX

## MONEY CAPITAL AND REAL CAPITAL. I

The only difficult questions, which we are now approaching in connection with the credit system, are the following:

*First*: The accumulation of the actual money capital. To what extent is it, and to what extent is it not, an indication of an actual accumulation of capital, i. e., of reproduction on an extended scale? Is the so-called PLETHORA of capital — an expression used only with reference to the interest-bearing capital, i. e., money capital — only a special way of expressing industrial overproduction, or does it constitute a separate phenomenon alongside of it? Does this PLETHORA, or excessive supply of money capital, coincide with the existence of stagnating masses of money (bullion, gold coin and banknotes), so that this superabundance of actual money is the expression and external form of that PLETHORA of loan capital?

*Secondly*: To what extent does a scarcity of money, i. e., a shortage of loan capital, express a shortage of real capital (commodity capital and productive capital)? To what extent does it coincide, on the other hand, with a shortage of money as such, a shortage of the medium of circulation?

In so far as we have hitherto considered the peculiar form of accumulation of money capital and of money wealth in general, it has resolved itself into an accumulation of claims of ownership upon labour. The accumulation of the capital of the national debt has been revealed to mean merely an increase in a class of state creditors, who have the privilege of a firm claim upon a certain portion of the tax revenue.[6] By means of these facts, whereby even an accumulation of

[6] "The public fund is nothing but imaginary capital, which represents that portion of the annual revenue, which is set aside to pay the debt. An equivalent amount of capital has been spent; it is this which serves as a denominator for the loan, but it is not this which is represented by the public fund; for the capital no longer exists. New wealth must be created by the work of industry; a portion of this wealth is annually set aside in advance for those who have loaned that wealth which has been spent; this portion is taken by means of taxes from those who produce it, and is given to the creditors of the state, and, according to the customary proportion between capital and interest in the country, an imaginary capital is assumed equivalent to that which could give rise to the annual income which these creditors are to receive" (Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes*, II, p. 230).[a]

[a] The footnote is written in French.

debts may appear as an accumulation of capital, the height of distortion taking place in the credit system becomes apparent. These promissory notes, which are issued for the originally loaned capital long since spent, these paper duplicates of consumed capital, serve for their owners as capital to the extent that they are saleable commodities and may, therefore, be reconverted into capital.

Titles of ownership to public works, railways, mines, etc., are indeed, as we have also seen, titles to real capital. But they do not place this capital at one's disposal. It is not subject to withdrawal. They merely convey legal claims to a portion of the surplus value to be obtained by it. But these titles likewise become paper duplicates of the real capital; it is as though a bill of lading were to acquire a value separate from the cargo, both concomitantly and simultaneously with it. They come to nominally represent non-existent capital. For the real capital exists side by side with them and does not change hands as a result of the transfer of these duplicates from one person to another. They assume the form of interest-bearing capital, not only because they guarantee a certain income, but also because, through their sale, their repayment as capital values can be obtained. To the extent that the accumulation of this paper expresses the accumulation of railways, mines, steamships, etc., to that extent does it express the extension of the actual reproduction process—just as the extension of, for example, a tax list on movable property indicates the expansion of this property. But as duplicates which are themselves objects of transactions as commodities, and thus able to circulate as capital values, they are illusory, and their value may fall or rise quite independently of the movement of value of the real capital for which they are titles. Their value, that is, their quotation on the Stock Exchange, necessarily has a tendency to rise with a fall in the rate of interest—in so far as this fall, independent of the characteristic movements of money capital, is due merely to the tendency for the rate of profit to fall; therefore, this imaginary wealth expands, if for this reason alone, in the course of capitalist production in accordance with the expressed value for each of its aliquot parts of specific original nominal value.[7]

Gain and loss through fluctuations in the price of these titles of

[7] A portion of the accumulated loanable money capital is indeed merely an expression of industrial capital. For instance, when England, in 1857, had invested £80 million in American railways and other enterprises, this investment was transacted almost completely by the export of English commodities for which the Americans did not have to make payment in return. The English exporter drew bills of exchange for these

ownership, and their centralisation in the hands of railway kings, etc., become, by their very nature, more and more a matter of gamble, which appears to take the place of labour as the original method of acquiring capital wealth and also replaces naked force. This type of imaginary money wealth not only constitutes a very considerable part of the money wealth of private people, but also of banker's capital, as we have already indicated.

In order to quickly settle this question, let us point out that one could also mean by the accumulation of money capital the accumulation of wealth in the hands of bankers (money lenders by profession), acting as middlemen between private money capitalists on the one hand, and the state, communities, and reproducing borrowers on the other. For the entire vast extension of the credit system, and all credit in general, is exploited by them as their private capital. These fellows always possess capital and incomes in money form or in direct claims on money. The accumulation of the wealth of this class may take place completely differently than actual accumulation, but it proves at any rate that this class pockets a good deal of the real accumulation.

Let us reduce the scope of the problem before us. Government securities, like stocks and other securities of all kinds, are spheres of investment for loanable capital — capital intended for bearing interest. They are forms of loaning such capital. But they themselves are not the loan capital, which is invested in them. On the other hand, in so far as credit plays a direct role in the reproduction process, what the industrialist or merchant needs when he wishes to have a bill discounted or a loan granted is neither stocks nor government securities. What he needs is money. He, therefore, pledges or sells those securities if he cannot secure money in any other way. It is the accumulation of *this* loan capital with which we have to deal here, and more particularly accumulation of loanable money capital. We are not concerned here with loans of houses, machines, or other fixed capital. Nor are we concerned with the advances industrialists and merchants make to one another in commodities and within the compass of the reproduction process; although we must also investigate this point beforehand in more detail. We are concerned exclusively with money loans, which are made by bankers, as middlemen, to industrialists and merchants.

commodities on America, which the English stock subscribers bought up and which were sent to America for purchasing the stock subscriptions.

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Let us then, to begin with, analyse commercial credit, that is, the credit which the capitalists engaged in reproduction give to one another. It forms the basis of the credit system. It is represented by the bill of exchange, a promissory note with a definite term of payment, i. e., a DOCUMENT OF DEFERRED PAYMENT. Everyone gives credit with one hand and receives credit with the other. Let us completely disregard, for the present, banker's credit, which constitutes an entirely different sphere. To the extent that these bills of exchange circulate among the merchants themselves as means of payment again, by endorsement from one to another—without, however, the mediation of discounting—it is merely a transfer of the claim from A to B and does not change the picture in the least. It merely replaces one person by another. And even in this case, the liquidation can take place without the intervention of money. Spinner A, for example, has to pay a bill to cotton broker B, and the latter to importer C. Now, if C also exports yarn, which happens often enough, he may buy yarn from A on a bill of exchange and the spinner A may pay the broker B with the broker's own bill which was received in payment from C. At most, a balance will have to be paid in money. The entire transaction then consists merely in the exchange of cotton and yarn. The exporter represents only the spinner, and the cotton broker, the cotton planter.

Two things are now to be noted in the circuit of this purely commercial credit.

*First*: The settlement of these mutual claims depends upon the return flow of capital, that is, on C—M, which is merely deferred. If the spinner has received a bill of exchange from a cotton goods manufacturer, the manufacturer can pay if the cotton goods which he has on the market have been sold in the interim. If the corn speculator has a bill of exchange drawn upon his agent, the agent can pay the money if the corn has been sold in the interim at the expected price. These payments, therefore, depend on the fluidity of reproduction, that is, the production and consumption processes. But since the credits are mutual, the solvency of one depends upon the solvency of another; for in drawing his bill of exchange, one may have counted either on the return flow of the capital in his own business or on the return flow of the capital in a third party's business whose bill of exchange is due in the meantime. Aside from the prospect of the return flow of capital, payment can only be possible by means of reserve capital at the disposal of the person drawing the bill of exchange, in

order to meet his obligations in case the return flow of capital should be delayed.

*Secondly*: This credit system does not do away with the necessity for cash payments. For one thing, a large portion of expenses must always be paid in cash, e. g., wages, taxes, etc. Furthermore, capitalist B, who has received from C a bill of exchange in place of cash payment, may have to pay a bill of his own which has fallen due to D before C's bill becomes due, and so he must have ready cash. A complete circuit of reproduction as that assumed above, i. e., from cotton planter to cotton spinner and back again, can only constitute an exception; it will be constantly interrupted at many points. We have seen in the discussion of the reproduction process (Book II, Part III[a]) that the producers of constant capital exchange, in part, constant capital among themselves. As a result, the bills of exchange can, more or less, balance each other out. Similarly, in the ascending line of production, where the cotton broker draws on the cotton spinner, the spinner on the manufacturer of cotton goods, the manufacturer on the exporter, the exporter on the importer (perhaps of cotton again). But the circuit of transactions, and, therefore, the turn about of the series of claims, does not take place at the same time. For example, the claim of the spinner on the weaver is not settled by the claim of the coal-dealer on the machine-builder. The spinner never has any counter-claims on the machine-builder, in his business, because his product, yarn, never enters as an element in the machine-builder's reproduction process. Such claims must, therefore, be settled by money.

The limits of this commercial credit, considered by themselves, are 1) the wealth of the industrialists and merchants, that is, their command of reserve capital in case of delayed returns; 2) these returns themselves. These returns may be delayed, or the prices of commodities may fall in the meantime or the commodities may become momentarily unsaleable due to a stagnant market. The longer the bills of exchange run, the larger must be the reserve capital, and the greater the possibility of a diminution or delay of the returns through a fall in prices or a glut on the market. And, furthermore, the returns are so much less secure, the more the original transaction was conditioned upon speculation on the rise or fall of commodity prices. But it is evident that with the development of the productive power of labour, and thus of production on a large scale: 1) the markets expand and

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 36.

become more distant from the place of production; 2) credits must, therefore, be prolonged; 3) the speculative element must thus more and more dominate the transactions. Production on a large scale and for distant markets throws the total product into the hands of commerce; but it is impossible that the capital of a nation should double itself in such a manner that commerce should itself be able to buy up the entire national product with its own capital and to sell it again. Credit is, therefore, indispensable here; credit, whose volume grows with the growing volume of value of production and whose time duration grows with the increasing distance of the markets. A mutual interaction takes place here. The development of the production process extends the credit, and credit leads to an extension of industrial and commercial operations.

When we examine this credit detached from banker's credit, it is evident that it grows with an increasing volume of industrial capital itself. Loan capital and industrial capital are identical here. The loaned capital is commodity capital which is intended either for ultimate individual consumption or for the replacement of the constant elements of productive capital. What appears here as loan capital is always capital existing in some definite phase of the reproduction process, but which by means of purchase and sale passes from one person to another, while its equivalent is not paid by the buyer until some later stipulated time. For example, cotton is transferred to the spinner for a bill of exchange, yarn to the manufacturer of cotton goods for a bill of exchange, cotton goods to the merchant for a bill, from whose hands they go to the exporter for a bill, and then, for a bill to some merchant in India, who sells the goods and buys indigo instead, etc. During this transfer from hand to hand the transformation of cotton into cotton goods is effected, and the cotton goods are finally transported to India and exchanged for indigo, which is shipped to Europe and there enters into the reproduction process again. The various phases of the reproduction process are promoted here by credit, without any payment on the part of the spinner for the cotton, the manufacturer of cotton goods for the yarn, the merchant for the cotton goods, etc. In the first stages of the process, the commodity, cotton, goes through its various production phases, and this transition is promoted by credit. But as soon as the cotton has received in production its ultimate form as a commodity, the same commodity capital passes only through the hands of various merchants who promote its transportation to distant markets, and the last of whom finally sells these

commodities to the consumer and buys other commodities in their stead, which either become consumed or go into the reproduction process. It is necessary, then, to differentiate between two stages here: in the first stage, credit promotes the actual successive phases in the production of the same article; in the second, credit merely promotes the transfer of the article, including its transportation, from one merchant to another, in other words, the process C — M. But here also the commodity is at least in the act of circulation, that is, in a phase of the reproduction process.

It follows, then, that it is never idle capital which is loaned here, but capital which must change its form in the hands of its owner; it exists in a form that for him is merely commodity capital, i. e., capital which must be retransformed, and, to begin with, at least converted into money. It is, therefore, the metamorphosis of commodities that is here promoted by credit; not merely C — M, but also M — C and the actual production process. A large quantity of credit within the reproductive circuit (banker's credit excepted) does not signify a large quantity of idle capital, which is being offered for loan and is seeking profitable investment. It means rather a large employment of capital in the reproduction process. Credit, then, promotes here 1) as far as the industrial capitalists are concerned, the transition of industrial capital from one phase into another, the connection of related and dovetailing spheres of production; 2) as far as the merchants are concerned, the transportation and transition of commodities from one person to another until their definite sale for money or their exchange for other commodities.

The maximum of credit is here identical with the fullest employment of industrial capital, that is, the utmost exertion of its reproductive power without regard to the limits of consumption. These limits of consumption are extended by the exertions of the reproduction process itself. On the one hand, this increases the consumption of revenue on the part of labourers and capitalists, on the other hand, it is identical with an exertion of productive consumption.

As long as the reproduction process is continuous and, therefore, the return flow assured, this credit exists and expands, and its expansion is based upon the expansion of the reproduction process itself. As soon as a stoppage takes place, as a result of delayed returns, glutted markets, or fallen prices, a superabundance of industrial capital becomes available, but in a form in which it cannot perform its functions. Huge quantities of commodity capital, but unsaleable. Huge quanti-

ties of fixed capital, but largely idle due to stagnant reproduction. Credit is contracted 1) because this capital is idle, i. e., blocked in one of its phases of reproduction because it cannot complete its metamorphosis; 2) because confidence in the continuity of the reproduction process has been shaken; 3) because the demand for this commercial credit diminishes. The spinner, who curtails his production and has a large quantity of unsold yarn in stock, does not need to buy any cotton on credit; the merchant does not need to buy any commodities on credit because he has more than enough of them.

Hence, if there is a disturbance in this expansion or even in the normal flow of the reproduction process, credit also becomes scarce; it is more difficult to obtain commodities on credit. However, the demand for cash payment and the caution observed toward sales on credit are particularly characteristic of the phase of the industrial cycle following a crash. During the crisis itself, since everyone has products to sell, cannot sell them, and yet must sell them in order to meet payments, it is not the mass of idle and investment-seeking capital, but rather the mass of capital impeded in its reproduction process, that is greatest just when the shortage of credit is most acute (and therefore the rate of discount highest for banker's credit). The capital already invested is then, indeed, idle in large quantities because the reproduction process is stagnant. Factories are closed, raw materials accumulate, finished products flood the market as commodities. Nothing is more erroneous, therefore, than to blame a scarcity of productive capital for such a condition. It is precisely at such times that there is a superabundance of productive capital, partly in relation to the normal, but temporarily reduced scale of reproduction, and partly in relation to the paralysed consumption.

Let us suppose that the whole of society is composed only of industrial capitalists and wage workers. Let us furthermore disregard price fluctuations, which prevent large portions of the total capital from replacing themselves in their average proportions and which, owing to the general interrelations of the entire reproduction process as developed in particular by credit, must always call forth general stoppages of a transient nature. Let us also disregard the sham transactions and speculations, which the credit system favours. Then, a crisis could only be explained as the result of a disproportion of production in various branches of the economy, and as a result of a disproportion between the consumption of the capitalists and their accumulation. But as matters stand, the replacement of the capital invested in pro-

duction depends largely upon the consuming power of the non-producing classes; while the consuming power of the workers is limited partly by the laws of wages, partly by the fact that they are used only as long as they can be profitably employed by the capitalist class. The ultimate reason for all real crises always remains the poverty and restricted consumption of the masses as opposed to the drive of capitalist production to develop the productive forces as though only the absolute consuming power of society constituted their limit.

A real lack of productive capital, at least among capitalistically developed nations, can be said to exist only in times of general crop failures, either in the principal foodstuffs or in the principal industrial raw materials.

However, in addition to this commercial credit we have actual money credit. The advances of the industrialists and merchants among one another are amalgamated with the money advances made to them by the bankers and money lenders. In discounting bills of exchange the advance is only nominal. A manufacturer sells his product for a bill of exchange and gets this bill discounted by some BILL-BROKER. In reality, the latter advances only the credit of his banker, who in turn advances to the broker the money capital of his depositors. The depositors consist of the industrialists and merchants themselves and also of workers (through savings banks) — as well as ground rent recipients and other unproductive classes. In this way every individual industrial manufacturer and merchant gets around the necessity of keeping a large reserve capital and being dependent upon his actual returns. On the other hand, the whole process becomes so complicated, partly by simply manipulating bills of exchange, partly by commodity transactions for the sole purpose of manufacturing bills of exchange, that the semblance of a very solvent business with a smooth flow of returns can easily persist even long after returns actually come in only at the expense partly of swindled money lenders and partly of swindled producers. Thus business always appears almost excessively sound right on the eve of a crash. The best proof of this is furnished, for instance, by the Reports on Bank Acts of 1857 and 1858, in which all bank directors, merchants, in short all the invited experts with Lord Overstone at their head, congratulated one another on the prosperity and soundness of business — just one month before the outbreak of the crisis in August 1857.[a] And, strange-

[a] See Report from the Select Committee on Bank Acts, Part I, 1857, pp. 327-419.

ly enough, Tooke in his *History of Prices* succumbs to this illusion once again as historian for each crisis.[a] Business is always thoroughly sound and the campaign in full swing, until suddenly the debacle takes place.

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We revert now to the accumulation of money capital.

Not every augmentation of loanable money capital indicates a real accumulation of capital or expansion of the reproduction process. This becomes most evident in the phase of the industrial cycle immediately following a crisis, when loan capital lies idle in great quantities. And such times, when the production process is curtailed (production in the English industrial districts was reduced by one-third after the crisis of 1847), when the prices of commodities are at their lowest level, when the spirit of enterprise is paralysed, the rate of interest is low, which in this case indicates nothing more than an increase in loanable capital precisely as a result of contraction and paralysation of industrial capital. It is quite obvious that a smaller quantity of a circulation medium is required when the prices of commodities have fallen, the number of transactions decreased, and the capital laid out for wages reduced; that, on the other hand, no additional money is required to function as world money after foreign debts have been liquidated either by the export of gold or as a result of bankruptcies; that, finally, the volume of business connected with discounting bills of exchange diminishes in proportion with the reduced number and magnitudes of the bills of exchange themselves. Hence the demand for loanable money capital, either to act as a medium of circulation or as a means of payment (the investment of new capital is still out of the question), decreases and this capital, therefore, becomes relatively abundant. Under such circumstances, however, the supply of loanable money capital also increases, as we shall later see.

Thus, the situation after the crisis of 1847 was characterised by "a limitation of transaction and a great superabundance of money" (Commercial Distress, 1847-48, Evidence No. 1664). The rate of interest was very low because of the "almost perfect destruction of commerce and the almost total want of means of employing money" (l. c., p. 45, tes-

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[a] Th. Tooke, *A History of Prices, and of the State of the Circulation, from 1839 to 1847 Inclusive*, pp. 329-48 and *A History of Prices, and of the State of the Circulation, During the Nine Years 1848-1856*, Vol. VI, pp. 218-29.

timony of Hodgson, Director of the ROYAL BANK OF LIVERPOOL).[a] What nonsense these gentlemen concocted (and Hodgson is, moreover, one of the best of them) in order to explain these facts, can be seen from the following remark:

"The pressure" (1847) "arose from the real diminution of the moneyed capital of the country, caused partly by the necessity of paying in gold for imports from all parts of the world, and partly by the absorption of FLOATING into fixed CAPITAL."[b]

How the conversion of floating capital into fixed capital reduces the money capital of a country is unintelligible. For, in the case of railways, e. g., in which capital was mainly invested at that time, neither gold nor paper is used for viaducts and rails, and the money for the railway stocks, to the extent that it had been deposited solely in payment, performed exactly the same functions as any other money deposited in banks and even increased the loanable money capital temporarily, as already shown above[c]; but to the extent that it had actually been spent for construction, it circulated in the country as a medium of purchase and of payment. Only in so far as fixed capital cannot be exported, so that with the impossibility of its export the available capital secured from returns for exported articles also drops out of the picture — including the returns in cash or bullion — only to that extent could the money capital be affected. But at that time English export articles were also piled up in huge quantities on the foreign markets without being able to be sold. It is true, the FLOATING CAPITAL of the merchants and manufacturers of Manchester, etc., who had a portion of their normal business capital tied up in railway stocks and were therefore dependent upon borrowed capital for running their business, had become fixed, and they, therefore, had to suffer the consequences. But it would have been the same, if the capital belonging to their business, but withdrawn from it, had been invested, say, in mines instead of railways — mining products like iron, coal, copper being themselves in turn FLOATING CAPITAL. The actual reduction of available money capital through crop failures, corn imports, and gold exports constituted, naturally, an event that had nothing to do with the railway swindle.

"Almost all mercantile houses had begun to starve their business more or less ... by taking part of their commercial capital for railways" [l.c., p. 42].—"Loans to so great

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[a] Op. cit., p. 21, No. 231. The page given in the text is wrong. - [b] See First Report from the Select Committee..., p. 39, No. 466, paraphrased. - [c] See this volume, pp. 464-67.

an extent by commercial houses to railways induced them to lean too much upon ... banks by the discount of paper, whereby to carry on their commercial operations" (the same Hodgson, l. c., p. 67). "In Manchester there have been immense losses in consequence of the speculation in railways" (R. Gardner, previously cited in Buch I, Kap. XIII, 3, c.[a] and in several other places; Evidence No. 4884, l. c.).

One of the principal causes of the crisis of 1847 was the colossal flooding of the market and the fabulous swindle in the East Indian trade with commodities. But there were also other circumstances which bankrupted very rich firms in this line:

"They had large means, but not available. The whole of their capital was locked up in estates in the Mauritius, or indigo factories, or sugar factories. Having incurred liabilities to the extent of £500,000-600,000, they had no available assets to pay their bills, and eventually it proved that to pay their bills they were entirely dependent upon their credit" (Ch. Turner, big East Indian merchant in Liverpool, No. 730, l. c.).

See also Gardner (No. 4872, l. c.):

"Immediately after the China treaty, so great a prospect was held out to the country of a great extension of our commerce with China, that there were many large mills built with a view to that trade exclusively, in order to manufacture that class of cloth which is principally taken for the China market, and our previous manufactures had the addition of all those."—"4874. How has that trade turned out?—Most ruinous, almost beyond description; I do not believe that of the whole of the shipments that were made in 1844 and 1845 to China, above two-thirds of the amount have ever been returned; in consequence of tea being the principal article of repayment and of the expectation that was held out, we, as manufacturers, fully calculated upon a great reduction in the duty on tea."

And now, naïvely expressed, comes the characteristic credo of the English manufacturer:

"Our commerce with no foreign market is limited by their power to purchase the commodity, but it is limited in this country by our capability of consuming that which we receive in return for our manufactures."

(The relatively poor countries, with whom England trades, are, of course, able to pay for and consume any amount of English products, but unfortunately wealthy England cannot assimilate the products sent in return.)

"4876. I sent out some goods in the first instance, and the goods sold at about 15 per cent loss, from the full conviction that the price at which my agents could purchase tea would leave so great a profit in this country as to make up the deficiency... but instead of profit I lost in some instances 25 and up to 50 per cent."—"4877. Did the manufacturers generally export on their own account?—Principally; the merchants, I think, very soon saw that the thing would not answer, and they rather encouraged the manufacturers to consign than take a direct interest themselves."

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[a] English edition: Ch. XV, 3, c (present edition, Vol. 35).

In 1857, on the other hand, the losses and failures fell mainly upon the merchants, since the manufacturers left them the task of flooding the foreign markets "on their own account".

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An expansion of money capital, which arises out of the fact that, in view of the expansion of banking (see, below, the example of Ipswich, where in the course of a few years immediately preceding 1857 the deposits of the farmers quadrupled [a]), what was formerly a private hoard or coin reserve is always converted into loanable capital for a definite time, does not indicate a growth in productive capital any more than the increasing deposits with the London stock banks when the latter began to pay interest on deposits. As long as the scale of production remains the same, this expansion leads only to an abundance of loanable money capital as compared with the productive. Hence the low rate of interest.

After the reproduction process has again reached that state of prosperity which precedes that of overexertion, commercial credit becomes very much extended; this forms, indeed, the "sound" basis again for a ready flow of returns and extended production. In this state the rate of interest is still low, although it rises above its minimum. This is, in fact, the *only* time that it can be said a low rate of interest, and consequently a relative abundance of loanable capital, coincides with a real expansion of industrial capital. The ready flow and regularity of the returns, linked with extensive commercial credit, ensures the supply of loan capital in spite of the increased demand for it, and prevents the level of the rate of interest from rising. On the other hand, those cavaliers who work without any reserve capital or without any capital at all and who thus operate completely on a money credit basis begin to appear for the first time in considerable numbers. To this is now added the great expansion of fixed capital in all forms, and the opening of new enterprises on a vast and far-reaching scale. The interest now rises to its average level. It reaches its maximum again as soon as the new crisis sets in. Credit suddenly stops then, payments are suspended, the reproduction process is paralysed, and with the previously mentioned exceptions, a superabundance of idle industrial capital appears side by side with an almost absolute absence of loan capital.

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[a] See this volume, p. 495.

On the whole, then, the movement of loan capital, as expressed in the rate of interest, is in the opposite direction to that of industrial capital. The phase wherein a low rate of interest, but above the minimum, coincides with the "improvement" and growing confidence after a crisis, and particularly the phase wherein the rate of interest reaches its average level, exactly midway between its minimum and maximum, are the only two periods during which an abundance of loan capital is available simultaneously with a great expansion of industrial capital. But at the beginning of the industrial cycle, a low rate of interest coincides with a contraction, and at the end of the industrial cycle, a high rate of interest coincides with a superabundance of industrial capital.The low rate of interest that accompanies the "improvement" shows that the commercial credit requires bank credit only to a slight extent because it is still self-supporting.

The industrial cycle is of such a nature that the same circuit must periodically reproduce itself, once the first impulse has been given.[8] During a period of slack, production sinks below the level, which it

[8] //As I have already stated elsewhere, a change has taken place here since the last major general crisis. The acute form of the periodic process, with its former ten-year cycle, appears to have given way to a more chronic, long drawn out, alternation between a relatively short and slight business improvement and a relatively long, indecisive depression — taking place in the various industrial countries at different times. But perhaps it is only a matter of a prolongation of the duration of the cycle. In the early years of world commerce, 1815-47, it can be shown that these cycles lasted about five years; from 1847 to 1867 the cycle is clearly ten years; is it possible that we are now in the preparatory stage of a new world crash of unparalleled vehemence? Many things seem to point in this direction. Since the last general crisis of 1867 profound changes have taken place. The colossal expansion of the means of transportation and communication — ocean liners, railways, electrical telegraphs, the Suez Canal — has made a real world market a fact. The former monopoly of England in industry has been challenged by a number of competing industrial countries; infinitely greater and varied fields have been opened in all parts of the world for the investment of surplus European capital, so that it is far more widely distributed and local overspeculation may be more easily overcome. By means of all this, most of the old breeding-grounds of crises and opportunities for their development have been eliminated or strongly reduced. At the same time, competition in the domestic market recedes before the cartels and trusts, while in the foreign market it is restricted by protective tariffs, with which all major industrial countries, England excepted, surround themselves. But these protective tariffs are nothing but preparations for the ultimate general industrial war, which shall decide who has supremacy on the world market. Thus every factor, which works against a repetition of the old crises, carries within itself the germ of a far more powerful future crisis.—*F. E.*//

had attained in the preceding cycle and for which the technical basis has now been laid. During prosperity—the middle period—it continues to develop on this basis. In the period of overproduction and swindle, it strains the productive forces to the utmost, even beyond the capitalistic limits of the production process.

It is self-evident that there is a shortage of means of payment during a period of crisis. The convertibility of bills of exchange replaces the metamorphosis of commodities themselves, and so much more so exactly at such times the more a portion of the firms operates on pure credit. Ignorant and mistaken bank legislation, such as that of 1844-45,[a] can intensify this money crisis. But no kind of bank legislation can eliminate a crisis.

In a system of production, where the entire continuity of the reproduction process rests upon credit, a crisis must obviously occur—a tremendous rush for means of payment—when credit suddenly ceases and only cash payments have validity. At first glance, therefore, the whole crisis seems to be merely a credit and money crisis. And in fact it is only a question of the convertibility of bills of exchange into money. But the majority of these bills represent actual sales and purchases, whose extension far beyond the needs of society is, after all, the basis of the whole crisis. At the same time, an enormous quantity of these bills of exchange represents plain swindle, which now reaches the light of day and collapses; furthermore, unsuccessful speculation with the capital of other people; finally, commodity capital which has depreciated or is completely unsaleable, or returns that can never more be realised again. The entire artificial system of forced expansion of the reproduction process cannot, of course, be remedied by having some bank, like the Bank of England, give to all the swindlers the deficient capital by means of its paper and having it buy up all the depreciated commodities at their old nominal values. Incidentally, everything here appears distorted, since in this paper world, the real price and its real basis appear nowhere, but only bullion, metal coin, notes, bills of exchange, securities. Particularly in centres where the entire money business of the country is concentrated, like London, does this distortion become apparent; the entire process becomes incomprehensible; it is less so in centres of production.

Incidentally in connection with the superabundance of industrial

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[a] See this volume, pp. 542-59.

capital which appears during crises the following should be noted: commodity capital is in itself simultaneously money capital, that is, a definite amount of value expressed in the price of the commodities. As use value it is a definite quantum of objects of utility, and there is a surplus of these available in times of crises. But as money capital in itself, as potential money capital, it is subject to continual expansion and contraction. On the eve of a crisis, and during it, commodity capital in its capacity as potential money capital is contracted. It represents less money capital for its owner and his creditors (as well as security for bills of exchange and loans) than it did at the time when it was bought and when the discounts and mortgages based on it were transacted. If this is the meaning of the contention that the money capital of a country is reduced in times of stringency, this is identical with saying that the prices of commodities have fallen. Such a collapse in prices merely balances out their earlier inflation.

The incomes of the unproductive classes and of those who live on fixed incomes remain in the main stationary during the inflation of prices which goes hand in hand with overproduction and overspeculation. Hence their consuming capacity diminishes relatively, and with it their ability to replace that portion of the total reproduction which would normally enter into their consumption. Even when their demand remains nominally the same, it decreases in reality.

It should be noted in regard to imports and exports, that, one after another, all countries become involved in a crisis and that it then becomes evident that all of them, with few exceptions, have exported and imported too much, so that *they all have an unfavourable balance of payments*. The trouble, therefore, does not actually lie with the balance of payments. For example, England suffers from a drain of gold. It has imported too much. But at the same time all other countries are oversupplied with English goods. They have thus also imported too much, or have been made to import too much. (There is, indeed, a difference between a country which exports on credit and those which export little or nothing on credit. But the latter then import on credit; and this is only then not the case when commodities are sent to them on consignment.) The crisis may first break out in England, the country which advances most of the credit and takes the least, because the balance of payments, the balance of payments due, which must be settled immediately, is *unfavourable*, even though the general balance of trade is *favourable*. This is explained partly as a result of the credit which it has granted, and partly as a result of the huge

quantity of capital loaned to foreign countries, so that a large quantity of returns flow back to it in commodities, in addition to the actual trade returns. (However, the crisis has at times first broken out in America, which takes most of the commercial and capital credit from England.) The crash in England, initiated and accompanied by a gold drain, settles England's balance of payments, partly by a bankruptcy of its importers (about which more below), partly by disposing of a portion of its commodity capital at low prices abroad, and partly by the sale of foreign securities, the purchase of English securities, etc. Now comes the turn of some other country. The balance of payments was momentarily in its favour; but now the time lapse normally existing between the balance of payments and balance of trade has been eliminated or at least reduced by the crisis: all payments are supposed to be made at once. The same thing is now repeated here. England now has a return flow of gold, the other country a gold drain. What appears in one country as excessive imports, appears in the other as excessive exports, and vice versa. But overimports and overexports have taken place in all countries (we are not speaking here about crop failures, etc., but about a general crisis); that is overproduction promoted by credit and the general inflation of prices that goes with it.

In 1857, the crisis broke out in the United States. A flow of gold from England to America followed. But as soon as the bubble in America burst, the crisis broke out in England and the gold flowed from America to England. The same took place between England and the continent. The balance of payments is in times of general crisis unfavourable to every nation, at least to every commercially developed nation, but always to each country in succession, as in volley firing, i. e., as soon as each one's turn comes for making payments; and once the crisis has broken out, e. g., in England, it compresses the series of these terms into a very short period. It then becomes evident that all these nations have simultaneously overexported (thus overproduced) and overimported (thus overtraded), that prices were inflated in all of them, and credit stretched too far. And the same breakdown takes place in all of them. The phenomenon of a gold drain then takes place successively in all of them and proves precisely by its general character 1) that gold drain is just a phenomenon of a crisis, not its cause; 2) that the sequence in which it hits the various countries indicates only when their judgment-day has come, i. e., when the crisis started and its latent elements come to the fore there.

It is characteristic of the English economic writers — and the eco-

nomic literature worth mentioning since 1830 resolves itself mainly into a literature on CURRENCY, credit, and crises — that they look upon the export of precious metals in times of crisis, in spite of the alteration in the rates of exchange, only from the standpoint of England, as a purely national phenomenon, and resolutely close their eyes to the fact that all other European banks raise their rate of interest when their bank raises its own in times of crisis, and that, when the cry of distress over the drain of gold is raised in their country today, it is taken up in America tomorrow and in Germany and France the day after.

In 1847 "the engagements running upon this country had to be met" //mostly for corn//. "Unfortunately, they were met to a great extent by failures" //wealthy England secured relief by bankruptcies in its obligations toward the continent and America//, "but to the extent to which they were not met by failures, they were met by the exportation of bullion" (Report of Committee on Bank Acts, 1857).

In other words, in so far as a crisis in England is intensified by bank legislation, this legislation is a means of cheating the corn-exporting countries in periods of famine, first on their corn and then on the money for the corn. A prohibition on the export of corn during such periods for countries which are themselves labouring more or less under scarcities, is, therefore, a very rational measure to thwart this plan of the Bank of England to "meet obligations" for corn imports "by bankruptcies". It is after all much better that the corn producers and speculators lose a portion of their profit for the good of their own country than their capital for the good of England.

It follows from the above that commodity capital, during crises and during periods of business depression in general, loses to a large extent its capacity to represent potential money capital. The same is true of fictitious capital, interest-bearing paper, in so far as it circulates on the stock exchange as money capital. Its price falls with rising interest. It falls, furthermore, as a result of the general shortage of credit, which compels its owners to dump it in large quantities on the market in order to secure money. It falls, finally, in the case of stocks, partly as a result of the decrease in revenues for which it constitutes drafts and partly as a result of the spurious character of the enterprises which it often enough represents. This fictitious money capital is enormously reduced in times of crisis, and with it the ability of its owners to borrow money on it on the market. However, the reduction of the money equivalents of these securities on the stock exchange list has nothing to do with the actual capital which they represent, but very much indeed with the solvency of their owners.

# Chapter XXXI

## MONEY CAPITAL AND REAL CAPITAL. II (*CONTINUED*)

We are still not finished with this question: to what extent does the accumulation of capital in the form of loanable money capital coincide with actual accumulation, i. e., the expansion of the reproduction process.

The transformation of money into loanable money capital is a much simpler matter than the transformation of money into productive capital. But two things should be distinguished here:

1) the mere transformation of money into loan capital;

2) the transformation of capital or revenue into money, which is transformed into loan capital.

It is only the latter point which can involve a positive accumulation of loan capital connected with an actual accumulation of industrial capital.

### 1. TRANSFORMATION OF MONEY INTO LOAN CAPITAL

We have already seen that a large build-up or superabundance of loan capital can occur, which is connected with productive accumulation only to the extent that it is inversely proportional to it. This is the case in two phases of the industrial cycle, namely, first, when industrial capital in both its forms of productive and commodity capital is contracted, i. e., at the beginning of the cycle after the crisis; and, secondly, when the improvement begins, but when commercial credit still does not use banking credit to a great extent. In the first case, money capital, which was formerly employed in production and commerce, appears as idle loan capital; in the second case, it appears used to an increasing extent, but at a very low rate of interest, because the industrial and commercial capitalists now prescribe terms to the money capitalist. The excess of loan capital expresses, in the first case, a stagnation of industrial capital, and in the second, a relative independence of commercial credit from banking credit — based on the fluidity of the returns, short-term credit, and a preponderance of operations with one's own capital. The speculators, who count on the credit capital of other people, have not yet appeared on the field; the people who work with their own capital are still far removed from

approximately pure credit operations. In the former phase, the surplus of loan capital is directly opposite to expressing actual accumulation. In the second phase, it coincides with a renewed expansion of the reproduction process — it accompanies it, but is not its cause. The surplus of loan capital is already decreasing, i. e., it is still only relative compared to the demand. In both cases, the expansion of the actual process of accumulation is promoted by the fact that the low interest — which coincides in the first case with low prices and in the second, with slowly rising prices — increases that portion of the profit which is transformed into profit of enterprise. This takes place to an even greater extent when interest rises to its average level during the height of the period of prosperity, when it has indeed grown, but not relative to profit.

We have seen, on the other hand, that an accumulation of loan capital can take place without any actual accumulation, i. e., by mere technical means such as an expansion and concentration of the banking system; and a saving in the circulation reserve, or in the reserve fund of private means of payment, which are then always transformed into loan capital for a short time. Although this loan capital, which, for this reason, is also called FLOATING CAPITAL,[a] always retains the form of loan capital only for short periods of time (and should indeed also be used for discounting only for short periods of time), there is a continual ebb and flow of it. If one draws some away, another adds to it. The mass of loanable money capital thus grows quite independently of the actual accumulation (we are not speaking here at all about loans for a number of years but only of short-term ones on bills of exchange and deposits).

Bank Committee, 1857. Question 501. "What do you mean by 'FLOATING CAPITAL'?" — //Answer of Mr. Weguelin, Governor of the Bank of England:// "It is capital applicable to loans of money for short periods.... (502) The Bank of England notes ... the country banks circulation, and the amount of coin which is in the country." — //Question:// "It does not appear from the returns before the Committee, if by FLOATING CAPITAL you mean the active circulation" //of the notes of the Bank of England//, "that there is any very great variation in the active circulation?" //But there is a very great difference whether this active circulation is advanced by the money lender or by the reproductive capitalist himself. Weguelin's answer:// "I include in FLOATING CAPITAL the reserves of the bankers, in which there is a considerable fluctuation."

That is to say, there is considerable fluctuation in that portion of

[a] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

the deposits which the bankers have not loaned out again, but which figures as their reserve and for the greater part also as the reserve of the Bank of England, where they are deposited. Finally, the same gentleman says: FLOATING CAPITAL may be BULLION, that is, bar and coin (503). It is truly wonderful how in this credit gibberish of the money market all categories of political economy receive a different meaning and a different form. FLOATING CAPITAL is the expression there for CIRCULATING CAPITAL, which is, of course, something quite different, and MONEY IS CAPITAL, and BULLION IS CAPITAL, and banknotes are CIRCULATION, and capital is a COMMODITY, and debts are COMMODITIES, and FIXED CAPITAL is money invested in hard-to-sell paper!

"The joint-stock banks of London ... have increased their deposits from £8,850,774 in 1847 to £43,100,724 in 1857.... The evidence given to your Committee leads to the inference that of this vast amount, a large part has been derived from sources not heretofore made available for this purpose; and that the practice of opening accounts and depositing money with bankers has extended to numerous classes who did not formerly employ their capital(!) in that way. It is stated by Mr. Rodwell, the Chairman of the Association of the Private Country Bankers" //distinguished from joint-stock banks//, "and delegated by them to give evidence to your Committee, that in the neighbourhood of Ipswich this practice has lately increased four-fold among the farmers and shopkeepers of that district; that almost every farmer, even those paying only £50 per annum rent, now keeps deposits with bankers. The aggregate of these deposits of course finds its way to the employments of trade, and especially gravitates to London, the centre of commercial activity, where it is employed first in the discount of bills, or in other advances to the customers of the London bankers. That large portion, however, for which the bankers themselves have no immediate demand passes into the hands of the BILL-BROKERS, who give to the banker in return commercial bills already discounted by them for persons in London and in different parts of the country, as a security for the sum advanced by the banker" (Bank Committee, 1858, p. 8[a]).

By making advances to the BILL-BROKER on bills of exchange which this BILL-BROKER has already discounted once, the banker does, in fact, rediscount them; but in reality, very many of these bills have already been rediscounted by the BILL-BROKER, and with the same money that the banker uses to rediscount the bills of the BILL-BROKER, the latter rediscounts new bills. What this leads to is shown by the following:

"Extensive fictitious credits have been created by means of accommodation bills, and open credits, great facilities for which have been afforded by the practice of joint-stock country banks discounting such bills, and rediscounting them with the BILL-BROKERS in the London market, upon the credit of the bank alone, without reference to the quality of the bills otherwise"(l. c.).[b]

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[a] Should be: p. V, No. 8. - [b] Should be: p. XXI, No. 54.

Concerning this rediscounting and the assistance which this purely technical increase of loanable money capital gives to credit swindles, the following extract from the *Economist* is of interest:

"For some years past capital" //namely, loanable money capital// "has accumulated in some districts of the country more rapidly than it could be used, while, in others, the means of employing capital have increased more rapidly than the capital itself. While the bankers in the purely agricultural districts throughout the kingdom found no sufficient means of profitably and safely employing their deposits in their own districts, those in the large mercantile towns, and in the manufacturing and mining districts, have found a larger demand for capital than their own means could supply. The effect of this relative state of different districts has led, of late years, to the establishment and rapid extension of a new class of houses in the distribution of capital, who, though usually called BILL-BROKERS, are in reality bankers upon an immense scale. The business of these houses has been to receive, for such periods, and at such rates of interest as were agreed upon, the surplus capital of bankers in those districts where it could not be employed, as well as the temporary unemployed moneys of public companies and extensive mercantile establishments, and advance them at higher rates of interest to bankers in those districts where capital was more in demand, generally by rediscounting the bills taken from their customers ... and in this way Lombard Street has become the great centre in which the transfer of spare capital has been made from one part of the country, where it could not be profitably employed, to another, where a demand existed for it, as well as between individuals similarly circumstanced. At first these transactions were confined almost exclusively to borrowing and lending of banking securities. But as the capital of the country rapidly accumulated, and became more economised by the establishment of banks, the funds at the disposal of these discount houses became so large that they were induced to make advances first on DOCK WARRANTS of merchandise (storage bills on commodities in docks), and next on bills of lading, representing produce not even arrived in this country, though sometimes, if not generally, secured by bills drawn by the merchant upon his broker. This practice rapidly changed the whole character of English commerce. The facilities thus afforded in Lombard Street gave extensive powers to the brokers in Mincing Lane, who on their part ... offered the full advantage of them to the importing merchant; who so far took advantage of them, that, whereas 25 years ago, the fact that a merchant received advances on his bills of lading, or even his DOCK WARRANTS, would have been fatal to his credit, the practice has become so common of late years that it may be said to be now the general rule, and not the rare exception, as it was 25 years ago. Nay, so much further has this system been carried, that large sums have been raised in Lombard Street on bills drawn against the *forthcoming* crops of distant colonies. The consequence of such facilities being thus granted to the importing merchants led them to extend their transactions abroad, and to invest their FLOATING[a] capital with which their business has hitherto been conducted, in the most objectionable of all fixed securities—foreign plantations—over which they could exercise little or no control. And thus we see the direct chain of credits through which the capital of the country, collected in our rural districts, and in small amounts in the shape of deposits in country banks, and centred in Lombard Street for employ-

[a] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

ment, has been, first, made available for the extending operations in our mining and manufacturing districts, by the rediscount of bills to banks in those localities; next, for granting greater facilities for the importation of foreign produce by advances upon DOCK WARRANTS and bills of lading, and thus liberating the 'legitimate' mercantile capital of houses engaged in foreign and colonial trade, and inducing to its most objectionable advances on foreign plantations" (*Economist*, 1847, p. 1334).[a]

This is how credits are "nicely" chained. The rural depositor fancies that he deposits only with his banker, and fancies furthermore that when his banker lends to others, it is done to private persons whom he knows. He has not the slightest suspicion that this banker places his deposit at the disposal of some London BILL-BROKER, over whose operations neither of them has the slightest control.

We have already seen how large public enterprises, such as railways, may momentarily increase loan capital, owing to the circumstance that the deposited amounts always remain at the disposal of the bankers for a certain length of time until they are really used.

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Incidentally, the mass of loan capital is quite different from the quantity of circulation. By the quantity of circulation we mean here the sum of all the banknotes and coin, including bars of precious metals, existing and circulating in a country. A portion of this quantity constitutes the reserve of the banks which continuously vary in magnitude.

"On November 12, 1857" //the date of the suspension of the Bank Act of 1844//, "the entire reserve of the Bank of England was only £580,751 (including London and all its branches); their deposits at the same time amounting to £22,500,000; of which near six and a half million belonged to London bankers" (Bank Acts, 1858, p. LVII[b]).

The variations in the interest rate (aside from those occurring over longer periods or the variation in the interest rate among various countries; the former are dependent upon variations in the general rate of profit, the latter on differences in the rates of profit and in the development of credit) depend upon the supply of loan capital (all other circumstances, state of confidence, etc., being equal), that is, of capital loaned in the form of money, coin and notes; in contradistinction to industrial capital, which, as such—in commodity form—is loaned by means of commercial credit among the agents of reproduction themselves.

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[a] "The Changed Distribution of Capital", *The Economist*, No. 221, November 20, 1847.

[b] Should be: p. VIII.

However, the mass of this loanable money capital is different from, and independent of, the mass of circulating money.

For example, if £20 were loaned five times per day, a money capital of £100 would be loaned, and this would imply at the same time that this £20 would have served, moreover, at least four times as a means of purchase or payment; for, if no purchase and payment intervened — so that it would not have represented at least four times the converted form of capital (commodities, including labour power) — it would not constitute a capital of £100, but only five claims of £20 each.

In countries with a developed credit, we can assume that all money capital available for lending exists in the form of deposits with banks and money lenders. This is at least true for business as a whole. Moreover, in times of flourishing business, before the real speculation gets underway — when credit is easy and confidence is growing — most of the functions of circulation are settled by a simple transfer of credit, without the help of coin or paper money.

The mere possibility of large sums of deposits existing when a relatively small quantum of a medium of circulation is available, depends solely on:

1) the number of purchases and payments which the same coin performs;

2) the number of return excursions, whereby it goes back to the banks as deposits, so that its repeated function as a means of purchase and payment is promoted through its renewed transformation into deposits. For example, a small dealer deposits weekly with his banker £100 in money; the banker pays out a portion of the deposit of a manufacturer with this; the latter pays it to his workers; and the workers use it to pay the small dealer, who deposits it in the bank again. The £100 deposited by this small dealer have served, therefore, first, to pay the manufacturer a deposit of his; secondly, to pay the workers; thirdly, to pay the dealer himself; fourthly, to deposit another portion of the money capital of the same small dealer; thus at the end of 20 weeks, if he himself did not have to draw against this money, he would have deposited £2,000 in the bank by means of the same £100.

To what extent this money capital is idle, is shown only by the ebb and flow in the reserve fund of the banks. Therefore, Mr. Weguelin, Governor of the Bank of England in 1857, concludes that the gold of the Bank of England is the "only" reserve capital:

"1258. Practically, I think, the rate of discount is governed by the amount of unemployed capital which there is in the country. The amount of unemployed capital is represented by the reserve of the Bank of England, which is practically a reserve of bullion. When, therefore, the bullion is drawn upon, it diminishes the amount of unemployed capital in the country, and consequently raises the value of that which remains."—"1364. The reserve of bullion in the Bank of England is, in truth, the central reserve or hoard of treasure upon which the whole trade of the country is carried on... And it is upon that hoard or reservoir that the action of the foreign exchanges always falls"[a] (Report on Bank Acts, 1857).

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The statistics of exports and imports furnish a measure of the accumulation of real, i. e., productive and commodity capital. These always show that, during the ten-year cyclical periods of development of British industry (1815 to 1870), the maximum of the last prosperity *before* the crisis always reappears as the minimum of the following prosperity, whereupon it rises to a new and far higher peak.

The actual or declared value of the exported products from Great Britain and Ireland in the prosperity year of 1824 was £40,396,300. With the crisis of 1825, the amount of exports then falls below this sum and fluctuates between 35 and 39 million annually. With the return of prosperity in 1834, it rises above the former maximum to £41,649,191, and reaches in 1836 the new maximum of £53,368,571. Beginning with 1837, it falls again to 42 million, so that the new minimum is already higher than the old maximum, and then fluctuates between 50 and 53 million. The return of prosperity lifts the amount of exports in 1844 to £58,500,000, whereby the peak of 1836 is again already far exceeded. In 1845, it reaches £60,111,082; it then falls to something over 57 million in 1846, reaches in 1847 almost 59 million, in 1848 almost 53 million, rises in 1849 to 63,500,000, in 1853 to nearly 99 million, in 1854 to 97 million, in 1855 to 94,500,000, in 1856 almost 116 million and reaches a peak of 122 million in 1857. It falls in 1858 to 116 million, rises already in 1859 to 130 million, in 1860 to nearly 136 million, in 1861 only 125 million (the new minimum is here again higher than the former maximum), in 1863 to 146,500,000.

Of course, the same thing could be demonstrated in the case of imports, which show the expansion of the market; here it is only a mat-

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[a] The last testimony is by W. Newmarch.

ter of the scale of production. //Of course, this holds true of England only for the time of its actual industrial monopoly; but it applies in general to the whole complex of countries with modern large-scale industries, as long as the world market is still expanding.—*F. E.*//

### 2. TRANSFORMATION OF CAPITAL OR REVENUE INTO MONEY THAT IS TRANSFORMED INTO LOAN CAPITAL

We will consider here the accumulation of money capital, in so far as it is not an expression either of a stoppage in the flow of commercial credit or of an economy—whether it be an economy in the actual circulating medium or in the reserve capital of the agents engaged in reproduction.

Aside from these two cases, an accumulation of money capital can arise through an unusual inflow of gold, as in 1852 and 1853 as a result of the new Australian and Californian gold mines. This gold was deposited in the Bank of England. The depositors received notes for it, which they did not directly redeposit with bankers. By this means the circulating medium was unusually increased. (Testimony of Weguelin, Bank Committee, 1857, No. 1329.) The Bank strove to utilise these deposits by lowering its discount to 2%. The mass of gold accumulated in the Bank rose during six months of 1853 to 22-23 million.

The accumulation of all money-lending capitalists naturally always takes place directly in money form, whereas we have seen that the actual accumulation of industrial capitalists is accomplished, as a rule, by an increase in the elements of reproductive capital itself. Hence, the development of the credit system and the enormous concentration of the money-lending business in the hands of large banks must, by themselves alone, accelerate the accumulation of loanable capital, as a form distinct from actual accumulation. This rapid development of loan capital is, therefore, a result of actual accumulation, for it is a consequence of the development of the reproduction process, and the profit which forms the source of accumulation for these money capitalists is only a deduction from the surplus value which the reproductive ones filch (and it is at the same time the appropriation of a portion of the interest from the savings *of others*). Loan capital accumulates at the expense of both the industrial and commercial capitalists. We have seen that in the unfavourable phases of the industrial

cycle the rate of interest may rise so high that it temporarily consumes the whole profit of some lines of business which are particularly handicapped. At the same time, prices of government and other securities fall. It is at such times that the money capitalists buy this depreciated paper in huge quantities which in the later phases soon regains its former level and rises above it. It is then sold again and a portion of the money capital of the public is thus appropriated. That portion which is not sold yields a higher interest because it was bought below par. But the money capitalists convert all profits made, and reconverted by them into capital, first into loanable money capital. The accumulation of the latter—as distinct from the actual accumulation, although its offshoot—thus takes place, even when we consider only the money capitalists, bankers, etc., by themselves, as an accumulation of this particular class of capitalists. And it must grow with every expansion of the credit system which accompanies the actual expansion of the reproduction process.

If the interest rate is low, this depreciation of the money capital falls principally upon the depositors, not upon the banks. Before the development of stock banks, $\frac{3}{4}$ of all the deposits in England lay in the banks without yielding interest. While interest is now paid on them, it amounts to at least 1% less than the current rate of interest.

As for the money accumulation of the other classes of capitalists, we desregard that portion of it which is invested in interest-bearing paper and accumulates in this form. We consider only that portion which is thrown upon the market as loanable money capital.

In the first place, we have here that portion of the profit which is not spent as revenue, but is set aside for accumulation—for which, however, the industrial capitalists have no use in their own business at the moment. This profit exists directly in commodity capital, a part of whose value it constitutes, and along with which it is realised in money. Now, if it is not reconverted into the production elements of commodity capital (we leave out of consideration for the present the merchant, whom we shall discuss separately), it must remain for a length of time in the form of money. This amount increases with the amount of capital itself, even when the rate of profit declines. That portion which is to be spent as revenue is gradually consumed, but, in the meantime, as deposits, it constitutes loan capital with the banker. Thus, even the growth of that portion of profit which is spent as revenue expresses itself as a gradual and continually repeated accumulation of loan capital. The same is true of the other portion, which is in-

tended for accumulation. Therefore, with the development of the credit system and its organisation, even an increase in revenue, i.e., the consumption of the industrial and commercial capitalists, expresses itself as an accumulation of loan capital. And this holds true for all revenues so far as they are consumed gradually, in other words, for ground rent, wages in their higher form, incomes of unproductive classes, etc. All of them assume for a certain time the form of money revenue and are, therefore, convertible into deposits and thus into loan capital. All revenue — whether it be intended for consumption or accumulation — as long as it exists in some form of money, is a part of the value of commodity capital transformed into money, and is, for this reason, an expression and result of actual accumulation, but is not productive capital itself. When a spinner has exchanged his yarn for cotton — but that portion which constitutes revenue for money — the real existence of his industrial capital is the yarn, which has passed into the hands of the weaver or, perhaps, of some private consumer, and the yarn is, in fact, the existence — whether it is for reproduction or consumption — of the capital value as well as the surplus value contained in it. The magnitude of the surplus value transformed into money depends upon the magnitude of the surplus value contained in the yarn. But as soon as it has been transformed into money, this money is only the value existence of this surplus value. And as such it becomes a moment of loan capital. For this purpose, nothing more is required than that it be transformed into a deposit, if it has not already been loaned out by its owner. But in order to be reconverted into productive capital, it must, on the other hand, already have reached a certain minimum limit.

## Chapter XXXII

### MONEY CAPITAL AND REAL CAPITAL. III
### (*CONCLUDED*)

The mass of money reconverted into capital in this manner is a result of the enormous reproduction process, but considered by itself, as loanable money capital, it is not itself a mass of reproductive capital.

The most important point of our presentation so far is that the expansion of the part of the revenue intended for consumption (leaving out of consideration the worker, because his revenue is = to the variable capital) shows itself at first as an accumulation of money capital.

A factor, therefore, enters into the accumulation of money capital that is essentially different from the actual accumulation of industrial capital; for the portion of the annual product which is intended for consumption does not by any means become capital. A portion of it *replaces* capital, i. e., the constant capital of the producers of means of consumption, but to the extent that it is actually transformed into capital, it exists in the natural form of the revenue of the producers of this constant capital. The same money, which represents the revenue and serves merely for the promotion of consumption, is regularly transformed into loanable money capital for a period of time. In so far as this money represents wages, it is at the same time the money form of the variable capital; and in so far as it replaces the constant capital of the producers of means of consumption, it is the money form temporarily assumed by their constant capital and serves to purchase the components of their constant capital to be replaced in kind. Neither in the one nor in the other form does it express in itself accumulation, although its quantity increases with the growth of the reproduction process. But it performs temporarily the function of loanable money, i. e., of money capital. In this respect, therefore, the accumulation of money capital must always reflect a greater accumulation of capital than actually exists, owing to the fact that the extension of individual consumption, because it is promoted by means of money, appears as an accumulation of money capital, since it furnishes the money form for actual accumulation, i. e., for money which permits new investments of capital.

Thus, the accumulation of loanable money capital expresses in part only the fact that all money into which industrial capital is transformed in the course of its circuit assumes the form not of money *advanced* by the reproductive capitalists, but of money *borrowed* by them; so that indeed the advance of money that must take place in the reproduction process appears as an advance of borrowed money. In fact, on the basis of commercial credit, one person lends to another the money required for the reproduction process. But this now assumes the following form: the banker, who receives the money as a loan from one group of the reproductive capitalists, lends it to another group of reproductive capitalists, so that the banker appears in the role of a supreme benefactor; and at the same time, the control over this capital falls completely into the hands of the banker in his capacity as middleman.

A few special forms of accumulation of money capital still remain

to be mentioned. For example, capital is released by a fall in the price of the elements of production, raw materials, etc. If the industrial capitalist cannot expand his reproduction process immediately, a portion of his money capital is expelled from the circuit as superfluous and is transformed into loanable money capital. Secondly, however, capital in the form of money is released especially by the merchant, whenever interruptions in his business take place. If the merchant has completed a series of transactions and cannot begin a new series because of such interruptions until later, the money realised represents for him only a hoard, surplus capital. But at the same time, it represents a direct accumulation of loanable money capital. In the first case, the accumulation of money capital expresses a repetition of the reproduction process under more favourable conditions, an actual release of a portion of formerly tied-up capital; in other words, an opportunity for expanding the reproduction process with the same amount of money. But in the other case, it expresses merely an interruption in the flow of transactions. However, in both cases it is converted into loanable money capital, represents its accumulation, influences equally the money market and the rate of interest—although it expresses a promotion of the actual accumulation process in one case and its obstruction in the other. Finally, accumulation of money capital is influenced by the number of people who have feathered their nests and have withdrawn from reproduction. Their number increases as more profits are made in the course of the industrial cycle. In this case, the accumulation of loanable money capital expresses, on the one hand, an actual accumulation (in accordance with its relative extent), and, on the other hand, only the extent of the transformation of the industrial capitalists into mere money capitalists.

As for the other portion of profit, which is not intended to be consumed as revenue, it is converted into money capital only when it is not immediately able to find a place for investment in the expansion of business in the productive sphere in which it has been made. This may be due to two causes. Either because this sphere of production is saturated with capital, or because accumulation must first reach a certain volume before it can serve as capital, depending on the investment magnitudes of new capital required in this particular sphere. Hence it is converted for a while into loanable money capital and serves in the expansion of production in other spheres. Assuming all other conditions being equal, the quantity of profits intended for

transformation back into capital will depend on the quantity of profits made and thus on the extension of the reproduction process itself. But if this new accumulation meets with difficulties in its employment, through a lack of spheres for investment, i. e., due to a surplus in the branches of production and an oversupply of loan capital, this PLETHORA of loanable money capital merely shows the limitations of *capitalist* production. The subsequent credit swindle proves that no real obstacle stands in the way of the employment of this surplus capital. However, an obstacle is indeed immanent in its laws of expansion, i. e., in the limits in which capital can realise itself as capital. A PLETHORA of money capital as such does not necessarily indicate overproduction, not even a shortage of spheres of investment for capital.

The accumulation of loan capital consists simply in the fact that money is precipitated as loanable money. This process is very different from an actual transformation into capital; it is merely the accumulation of money in a form in which it can be transformed into capital. But this accumulation can reflect, as we have shown, events which are greatly different from actual accumulation. As long as actual accumulation is continually expanding, this extended accumulation of money capital may be partly its result, partly the result of circumstances which accompany it but are quite different from it, and, finally, even partly the result of impediments to actual accumulation. If for no other reason than that accumulation of loan capital is inflated by such circumstances, which are independent of actual accumulation but nevertheless accompany it, there must be a continuous PLETHORA of money capital in definite phases of the cycle and this PLETHORA must develop with the expansion of credit. And simultaneously with it, the necessity of driving the production process beyond its capitalistic limits must also develop: overtrade, overproduction, and excessive credit. At the same time, this must always take place in forms that call forth a reaction.

As far as accumulation of money capital from ground rent, wages, etc., is concerned, it is not necessary to discuss that matter here. Only one aspect should be emphasised and that is that the business of actual saving and abstinence (by hoarders), to the extent that it furnishes elements of accumulation, is left by the division of labour, which comes with the progress of capitalist production, to those who receive the minimum of such elements, and who frequently enough lose even their savings, as do the labourers when banks fail. On the one hand, the capital of the industrial capitalist is not "saved" by himself, but

he has command of the savings of others in proportion to the magnitude of his capital; on the other hand, the money capitalist makes of the savings of others his own capital, and of the credit, which the reproductive capitalists give to one another and which the public gives to them, a private source for enriching himself. The last illusion of the capitalist system, that capital is the fruit of one's own labour and savings, is thereby destroyed. Not only does profit consist in the appropriation of other people's labour, but the capital, with which this labour of others is set in motion and exploited, consists of other people's property, which the money capitalist places at the disposal of the industrial capitalist, and for which he in turn exploits the latter.

A few remarks remain to be made about credit capital.

How often the same piece of money can figure as loan capital wholly depends, as we have already previously shown, on:

1) how often it realises commodity values in sale or payment, thus transfers capital, and furthermore how often it realises revenue. How often it gets into other hands as realised value, either of capital or of revenue, obviously depends, therefore, on the extent and magnitude of the actual transactions;

2) this depends on the economy of payments and the development and organisation of the credit system;

3) finally, on the concatenation and velocity of action of credits, so that when a deposit is made at one point it immediately starts off as a loan at another.

Even assuming that the form in which loan capital exists is exclusively that of real money, gold or silver — the commodity whose substance serves as a measure of value — a large portion of this money capital is always necessarily purely fictitious, that is, a title to value — just as tokens of value. In so far as money functions in the circuit of capital, it constitutes indeed, for a moment, money capital; but it does not transform itself into loanable money capital; it is rather exchanged for the elements of productive capital, or paid out as a medium of circulation in the realisation of revenue, and cannot, therefore, transform itself into loan capital for its owner. But in so far as it is transformed into loan capital, and the same money repeatedly represents loan capital, it is evident that it exists only at *one* point in the form of metallic money; at all other points it exists only in the form of claims to capital. With the assumption made, the accumulation of these claims arises from actual accumulation, that is, from the transformation of the value of commodity capital, etc., into money;

but nevertheless the accumulation of these claims or titles as such differs from the actual accumulation from which it arises, as well as from the future accumulation (the new production process), which is promoted by the lending of this money.

*Prima facie* loan capital always exists in the form of money,[9] later as a claim to money, since the money in which it originally exists is now in the hands of the borrower in actual money form. For the lender it has been transformed into a claim to money, into a title of ownership. The same mass of actual money can, therefore, represent very different masses of money capital. Mere money, whether it represents realised capital or realised revenue, becomes loan capital through the simple act of lending, through its transformation into a deposit, if we consider the general form in a developed credit system. The deposit is money capital for the depositor. But in the hands of the banker it may be only potential money capital, which lies idle in his safe instead of in its owner's.[10]

[9] B. A. 1857. Testimony of Twells, banker: "4516. As a banker, do you deal in capital or in money? — We deal in money." — "4517. How are the deposits paid into your bank? — In money." — "4518. How are they paid out? — In money." — "Then can they be called anything else but money? — No."[a]

Overstone (see Chapter XXVI) confuses continually "CAPITAL" and "MONEY". "VALUE OF MONEY" also means interest to him, but in so far as it is determined by the mass of money, "VALUE OF CAPITAL" is supposed to be interest, in so far as it is determined by the demand for productive capital and the profit made by it. He says: "4140. The use of the word 'capital' is very dangerous." — "4148. The export of bullion from this country is a diminution of the quantity of money in this country, and a diminution of the quantity of money in this country must of course create a pressure upon the money market generally" //but not in the capital market, according to this//.— "4112. As the money goes out of the country, the quantity in the country is diminished. That diminution of the quantity remaining in the country produces an increased value of that money" //this originally means in his theory an increase in the value of money as such through a contraction of circulation, as compared to the values of commodities; in other words, an increase in the value of money is the same as a fall in the value of commodities. But since in the meantime even he has been convinced beyond peradventure that the mass of circulating money *does not* determine prices, it is now the diminution in money as a medium of circulation which is supposed to raise its value as interest-bearing capital, and thus the rate of interest//. "And that increased value of what remains stops the exit of money, and is kept up until it has brought back that quantity of money which is necessary to restore the equilibrium." — More of Overstone 's contradictions later on.

[10] At this point the confusion starts: both of these things are supposed to be "money", namely, the deposit as a claim to payment from the banker, and the deposit-

[a] No. 4519.

With the growth of material wealth the class of money capitalists grows; on the one hand, the number and the wealth of retiring capitalists, rentiers, increases; and on the other hand, the development of the credit system is promoted, thereby increasing the number of bankers, money lenders, financiers, etc. With the development of the available money capital, the quantity of interest-bearing paper, government securities, stocks, etc., also grows as we have previously shown. However, at the same time the demand for available money capital also grows, the jobbers, who speculate with this paper, playing a prominent role on the money market. If all the purchases and sales of this paper were only an expression of actual investments of capital, it would be correct to say that they could have no influence on the demand for loan capital, since when A sells his paper, he draws exactly as much money as B puts into the paper. But even if the paper itself exists, though not the capital (at least not as money capital) originally represented by it, it always creates *pro tanto* a new demand for such money capital. But at any rate it is then money capital, which was previously at the disposal of B but is now at the disposal of A.

B. A. 1857. No. 4886. "Do you consider that it is a correct description of the causes which determined the rate of discount, to say that it is fixed by the quantity of capital

ed money in the hands of the banker. Banker Twells, before the Banking Committee of 1857, offers the following example: "If I begin business with £10,000, I buy with £5,000 commodities and put them into a warehouse. I deposit the other £5,000 with a banker, to draw upon it and use it as I require it. I consider it still £10,000 capital to me, though £5,000 is in the shape of deposits or money" (4528).—This now gives rise to the following peculiar debate.—"4531. You have parted with your £5,000 of notes to somebody else?—Yes."—"4532. Then he has £5,000 of deposits?—Yes."—"4533. And you have £5,000 of deposits left?—Exactly."—"4534. He has £5,000 in money, and you have £5,000 in money?—Yes."—"4535. But it is nothing but money at last?—No." This confusion is due partly to the circumstance that A, who has deposited £5,000, can draw on it and dispose of it as though he still had it. To that extent it serves him as potential money. However, in all cases in which he draws on it he destroys his deposit *pro tanto*. If he draws out real money, and his own money has already been lent to someone else, he is not paid with his own money, but with that of some other depositor. If he pays a debt to B with a cheque on his banker, and B deposits this cheque with his banker, and the banker of A also has a cheque on the banker of B, so that the two bankers merely exchange cheques, the money deposited by A has performed the function of money twice; first, in the hands of the one who has received the money deposited by A; secondly, in the hands of A himself. In the second function, it is a balancing of claims (the claim of A on his banker, and the claim of the latter on the banker of B) without using money. Here the deposit acts twice as money, namely, as real money and then as a claim on money. Mere claims on money can take the place of money only by a balancing of claims.

in the market which is applicable to the discount of mercantile bills, as distinguished from other classes of securities?"— //Chapman:// "No; I think that the question of interest is affected by ALL CONVERTIBLE SECURITIES OF A CURRENT CHARACTER [a]; it would be wrong to limit it simply to the discount of bills, because it would be absurd to say that when there is a great demand for money upon" //the deposit of// "consols, or even upon Exchequer bills, as has ruled very much of late, at a rate much higher than the commercial rate, our commercial world is not affected by it; it is very materially affected by it."—"4890. When sound and current securities, such as bankers acknowledge to be so, are in the market, and people want to borrow money upon them, it certainly has its effect upon commercial bills; for instance, I can hardly expect a man to let me have money at 5% upon commercial bills, if he can lend his money at the same moment at 6% upon consols, or whatever it may be; it affects us in the same manner; a man can hardly expect me to discount bills at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$%, if I can lend my money at 6%." —"4892. We do not talk of investors who buy their £2,000, or £5,000, or £10,000 as affecting the money market materially. If you ask me as to the rate of interest upon" //a deposit of// "consols, I allude to people, who deal in hundreds of thousands of pounds, who are what are called jobbers, who take large portions of loans, or make purchases in the market, and have to hold that stock till the public take it off their hands at a profit; these men, therefore, want money."

With the development of the credit system, great concentrated money markets are created, such as London, which are at the same time the main seats of trade in this paper. The bankers place huge quantities of the public's money capital at the disposal of this unsavoury crowd of dealers, and thus this brood of gamblers multiplies.

"Money upon the Stock Exchange is, generally speaking, cheaper than it is elsewhere," says the incumbent of the Governor's chair of the Bank of England [b] in 1848 before the Secret Committee of Lords (C. D. 1848, PRINTED 1857, No. 219).

In the discussion on interest-bearing capital, we have already shown that the average interest over a long period of years, other conditions remaining equal, is determined by the average rate of profit; not profit of enterprise, which is nothing more than profit minus interest.[c]

It has also been mentioned, and will be further analysed in another place, that also for the variations in commercial interest, that is, interest calculated by the money lenders for discounts and loans within the commercial world, a phase is reached, in the course of the industrial cycle, in which the rate of interest exceeds its minimum and reaches its mean level (which it exceeds later) and that this movement is a result of a rise in profits.

In the meantime, two things are to be noted here.

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this English phrase is given in parentheses after its German equivalent. - [b] James Morris. - [c] See this volume, pp. 363-64.

*First*: When the rate of interest stays up for a long time (we are speaking here of the rate of interest in a given country like England, where the average rate of interest is given over a lengthy period of time, and also shows itself in the interest paid on long-term loans—what could be called private interest), it is *prima facie* proof that the rate of profit is high during this period, but it does not prove necessarily that the rate of profit of enterprise is high. This latter distinction is more or less removed for capitalists, who operate mainly with their own capital; they realise the high rate of profit, since they pay the interest to themselves. The possibility of a high rate of interest of long duration is present when the rate of profit is high; this does not refer, however, to the phase of actual squeeze. But it is possible that this high rate of profit may leave only a low rate of profit of enterprise, after the high rate of interest has been deducted. The rate of profit of enterprise may shrink, while the high rate of profit continues. This is possible because the enterprises must be continued, once they have been started. During this phase, operations are carried on to a large extent with pure credit capital (capital of other people); and the high rate of profit may be partly speculative and prospective. A high rate of interest can be paid with a high rate of profit but decreasing profit of enterprise. It can be paid (and this is done in part during times of speculation), not out of the profit, but out of the borrowed capital itself, and this can continue for a while.

*Secondly*: The statement that the demand for money capital, and therefore the rate of interest, grows, because the rate of profit is high, is not identical with the statement that the demand for industrial capital grows and therefore the rate of interest is high.

In times of crisis, the demand for loan capital, and therefore the rate of interest, reaches its maximum; the rate of profit, and with it the demand for industrial capital, has to all intents and purposes disappeared. During such times, everyone borrows only for the purpose of paying, in order to settle previously contracted obligations. On the other hand, in times of renewed activity after a crisis, loan capital is demanded for the purpose of buying and for the purpose of transforming money capital into productive or commercial capital. And then it is demanded either by the industrial capitalist or the merchant. The industrial capitalist invests it in means of production and in labour power.

The rising demand for labour power can never by itself be a cause for a rising rate of interest, in so far as the latter is determined by the

rate of profit. Higher wages are never a cause for higher profits, although they may be one of the consequences of higher profits during some particular phases of the industrial cycle.

The demand for labour power can increase because the exploitation of labour takes place under especially favourable circumstances, but the rising demand for labour power, and thus for variable capital, does not in itself increase the profit; it, on the contrary, lowers it *pro tanto*. But the demand for variable capital can nevertheless increase at the same time, thus also the demand for money capital—which can raise the rate of interest. The market price of labour power then rises above its average, more than the average number of labourers are employed, and the rate of interest rises at the same time because under such circumstances the demand for money capital rises. The rising demand for labour power raises the price of this commodity, as every other, increases its price; but not the profit, which depends mainly upon the relative cheapness of this commodity in particular. But it raises at the same time—under the assumed conditions—the rate of interest, because it increases the demand for money capital. If the money capitalist, instead of lending the money, should transform himself into an industrialist, the fact that he has to pay more for labour would not increase his profit but would rather decrease it *pro tanto*. The state of business may be such that his profit may nevertheless rise, but it would never be so because he pays more for labour. The latter circumstance, in so far as it increases the demand for money capital, is, however, sufficient to raise the rate of interest. If wages should rise for some reason during an otherwise unfavourable state of business, the rise in wages would lower the rate of profit, but raise the rate of interest to the extent that it increased the demand for money capital.

Leaving labour aside, the thing called "demand for capital" by Overstone consists only in a demand for commodities. The demand for commodities raises their price, either because it rises above average, or because the supply of commodities falls below average. If the industrial capitalist or merchant must now pay, e.g., £150 for the same amount of commodities for which he used to pay £100, he would now have to borrow £150 instead of the former £100, and if the rate of interest were 5%, he would now have to pay an interest of £7 $\frac{1}{2}$ as compared with £5 formerly. The amount of interest to be paid by him would rise because he now has to borrow more capital.

The whole endeavour of Mr. Overstone consists in representing the

interests of loan capital and industrial capital as being identical, whereas his Bank Act is precisely calculated to exploit this very difference of interests to the advantage of money capital.

It is possible that the demand for commodities, in case their supply has fallen below average, does not absorb any more money capital than formerly. The same sum, or perhaps a smaller one, has to be paid for their total value, but a smaller quantity of use values is received for the same sum. In this case, the demand for loanable capital will be unchanged and therefore the rate of interest will not rise, although the demand for commodities would have risen as compared to their supply and consequently the price of commodities would have become higher. The rate of interest cannot be affected, unless the total demand for loan capital increases, and this is not the case under the above assumptions.

The supply of an article can also fall below average, as it does when crop failures in corn, etc., occur; and the demand for loan capital can increase because speculation in these commodities counts on further rise in prices and the easiest way to make them rise is to temporarily withdraw a portion of the supply from the market. But in order to pay for the purchased commodities without selling them, money is secured by means of the commercial "bill of exchange operations". In this case, the demand for loan capital increases, and the rate of interest can rise as a result of this attempt to artificially prevent the supply of this commodity from reaching the market. The higher rate of interest then reflects an artificial reduction in the supply of commodity capital.

On the other hand, the demand for an article can grow because its supply has increased and the article sells below its average price.

In this case, the demand for loan capital can remain the same, or even fall, because more commodities can be had for the same sum of money. Speculative stock-piling could also occur, either for the purpose of taking advantage of the most favourable moment for production purposes, or in expectation of a future rise in prices. In this case, the demand for loan capital could grow, and the rise in the rate of interest would then be a reflection of capital investment in surplus stock-piling of elements of productive capital. We are only considering here the demand for loan capital as it is influenced by the demand for, and supply of, commodity capital. We have already discussed how the varying state of the reproduction process in the phases of the industrial cycle influences the supply of loan capital. The trivial pro-

position that the market rate of interest is determined by the supply and demand of (loan) capital is shrewdly jumbled up by Overstone with his own postulate, namely, that loan capital is identical with capital in general; and in this way he tries to transform the usurer into the only capitalist and his capital into the only capital.

In times of stringency, the demand for loan capital is a demand for means of payment and nothing else; it is by no means a demand for money as a means of purchase. At the same time, the rate of interest may rise very high, regardless whether real capital, i. e., productive and commodity capital, exists in abundance or is scarce. The demand for means of payment is a mere demand for convertibility into *money*, so far as merchants and producers have good securities to offer; it is a demand for *money capital* whenever there is no collateral, so that an advance of means of payment gives them not only the *form of money* but also the *equivalent* they lack, whatever its form, with which to make payment. This is the point where both sides of the controversy on the prevalent theory of crises are at the same time right and wrong. Those who say that there is merely a lack of means of payment, either have only the owners of *bona fide* securities in mind, or they are fools who believe that it is the duty and power of banks to transform all bankrupt swindlers into solvent and respectable capitalists by means of pieces of paper. Those who say that there is merely a lack of capital, are either just quibbling about words, since precisely at such times there is a mass of *inconvertible* capital as a result of over-imports and overproduction, or they are referring only to such cavaliers of credit who are now, indeed, placed in the position where they can no longer obtain other people's capital for their operations and now demand that the bank should not only help them to pay for the lost capital, but also enable them to continue with their swindles.

It is a basic principle of capitalist production that money, as an independent form of value, stands in opposition to commodities, or that exchange value must assume a self-established form in money; and this is only possible when a definite commodity becomes the material whose value becomes a measure of all other commodities, so that it thus becomes the general commodity, the commodity *par excellence*—as distinguished from all other commodities. This must manifest itself in two respects, particularly among capitalistically developed nations, which to a large extent replace money, on the one hand, by credit operations, and on the other, by credit money. In times of a squeeze, when credit contracts or ceases entirely, money suddenly

stands as the only means of payment and true existence of value in absolute opposition to all other commodities. Hence the universal depreciation of commodities, the difficulty or even impossibility of transforming them into money, i. e., into their own purely fantastic form. Secondly, however, credit money itself is only money to the extent that it absolutely takes the place of actual money to the amount of its nominal value. With a drain of gold its convertibility, i. e., its identity with actual gold, becomes problematic. Hence coercive measures, raising the rate of interest, etc., for the purpose of safeguarding the conditions of this convertibility. This can be carried more or less to extremes by mistaken legislation, based on false theories of money and enforced upon the nation by the interests of the money dealers, the Overstones and their ilk. The basis, however, is given with the basis of the mode of production itself. A depreciation of credit money (not to mention, incidentally, a purely imaginary depreciation) would unsettle all existing relations. Therefore, the value of commodities is sacrificed for the purpose of safeguarding the fantastic and independent existence of this value in money. As money value, it is secure only as long as money is secure. For a few millions in money, many millions in commodities must therefore be sacrificed. This is inevitable under capitalist production and constitutes one of its beauties. In former modes of production, this does not occur because, on the narrow basis upon which they move, neither credit nor credit money can develop greatly. As long as the *social* character of labour appears as the *money existence* of commodities, and thus as a *thing* external to actual production, money crises — independent of or as an intensification of actual crises — are inevitable. On the other hand, it is clear that as long as the credit of a bank is not shaken, it will alleviate the panic in such cases by increasing credit money and intensify it by contracting the latter. The entire history of modern industry shows that metal would indeed be required only for the balancing of international commerce, whenever its equilibrium is momentarily disturbed, if only domestic production were organised. That the domestic market does not need any metal money even now is shown by the suspension of the cash payments of the so-called national banks, which resort to this expedient in all extreme cases as the sole relief.

In the case of two individuals, it would be ridiculous to say that in their transactions with one another both have an unfavourable balance of payments. If they are reciprocally creditor and debtor of one another, it is evident that when their claims do not balance, one must

be the creditor and the other the debtor for the balance. With nations this is by no means the case. And that this is not the case is acknowledged by all economists when they admit that the balance of payments can be favourable or unfavourable for a nation, though its trade balance must ultimately be settled. The balance of payments differs from the balance of trade in that it is a balance of trade which must be settled at a definite time. What the crises now accomplish is to narrow the difference between the balance of payments and the balance of trade to a short interval; and the specific conditions which develop in the nation suffering from a crisis and, therefore, having its payments become due — these conditions already lead to such a contraction of the time of settlement. First, shipping away precious metals; then selling consigned commodities at low prices; exporting commodities to dispose of them or to obtain money advances on them at home; increasing the rate of interest, recalling credit, depreciating securities, disposing of foreign securities, attracting foreign capital for investment in these depreciated securities, and finally bankruptcy, which settles a mass of claims. At the same time, metal is still often sent to the country where a crisis has broken out, because the drafts drawn on it are insecure and payment in specie is most trustworthy. Furthermore, in regard to Asia, all capitalist nations are usually simultaneously — directly or indirectly — its debtors. As soon as these various circumstances exert their full effect upon the other involved nation, it likewise begins to export gold and silver, in short, its payments become due and the same phenomena are repeated.

In commercial credit, the interest — as the difference between credit price and cash price — enters into the price of commodities only in so far as the bills of exchange have a longer than ordinary running time. Otherwise it does not. And this is explained by the fact that everyone takes credit with one hand and gives it with the other.//This does not agree with my experience.— *F. E.*// But in so far as discount in this form enters here, it is not regulated by this commercial credit, but by the money market.

If supply and demand of money capital, which determine the rate of interest, were identical with supply and demand of actual capital, as Overstone maintains, the interest would be simultaneously low and high, depending on whether various commodities or various phases (raw material, semi-finished product, finished product) of the same commodity were being considered. In 1844, the rate of interest of the Bank of England fluctuated between 4% (from January to Sep-

tember) and $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3% (from November to the end of the year). In 1845, it was $2\frac{1}{2}$, $2\frac{3}{4}$, and 3% from January to October, and between 3 and 5% during the remaining months. The average price of FAIR ORLEANS cotton was $6\frac{1}{4}$ d. in 1844 and $4\frac{7}{8}$ d. in 1845. On March 3, 1844, the cotton supply in Liverpool was 627,042 bales, and on March 3, 1845, it was 773,800 bales. To judge by the low price of cotton, the rate of interest should have been low in 1845, and it was indeed for the greater part of this time. But to judge by the yarn, the rate of interest should have been high, for the prices were relatively high and the profits absolutely high. From cotton at 4d. per pound, yarn could be spun in 1845 with a spinning cost of 4d. (good SECUNDA MULE TWIST No. 40), or a total cost of 8d. to the spinner, which he could sell in September and October 1845 at $10\frac{1}{2}$ or $11\frac{1}{2}$ d. per pound. (See the testimony of Wylie below.)

The entire matter can be resolved as follows:

Supply and demand of loan capital would be identical with supply and demand of capital generally (although this last statement is absurd; for the industrialist or merchant a commodity is a form of his capital, yet he never asks for capital as such, but only for the particular commodity as such, he buys and pays for it as a commodity, e. g., corn or cotton, regardless of the role that it has to play in the circuit of his capital), if there were no money lenders, and if in their stead the lending capitalists were in possession of machinery, raw materials, etc., which they would lend or hire out, as houses are rented out now, to the industrial capitalists, who are themselves owners of some of these objects. Under such circumstances, the supply of loan capital would be identical with the supply of elements of production for the industrial capitalist and commodities for the merchant. But it is clear that the division of profit between the lender and borrower would then, to begin with, completely depend on the relation of the capital which is lent to that which is the property of the one who employs it.

According to Mr. Weguelin (B. A. 1857), the rate of interest is determined by "the amount of unemployed capital" (252); it is "but an indication of a large amount of capital which is seeking employment" (271); later this unemployed capital becomes "FLOATING CAPITAL" (485) and by this he means "the Bank of England notes and other kinds of circulation in the country, for instance, the country banks circulation and the amount of coin which is in the country ... I include in FLOATING CAPITAL the reserves of the bankers" (502, 503), and later also gold

bullion (503). Thus the same Mr. Weguelin says that the Bank of England exerts great influence upon the rate of interest in times, when "we" //the Bank of England// "are holders of the greater portion of the unemployed capital" (1198), while, according to the above testimony of Mr. Overstone, the Bank of England "is no place for capital." Mr. Weguelin further says:

"I think the rate of discount is governed by the amount of unemployed capital which there is in the country. The amount of unemployed capital is represented by the reserve of the Bank of England, which is practically a reserve of bullion. When, therefore, the bullion is drawn upon, it diminishes the amount of unemployed capital in the country and consequently raises the value of that which remains" (1258).

J. Stuart Mill says (2102):

"The Bank is obliged to depend for the solvency of its BANKING DEPARTMENT upon what it can do to replenish the reserve in that department; and therefore as soon as it finds that there is any drain in progress, it is obliged to look to the safety of its reserve, and to commence contracting its discounts or selling securities."

The reserve, in so far as only the BANKING DEPARTMENT is considered, is a reserve for the deposits only. According to the Overstones, the BANKING DEPARTMENT is supposed to act only as a banker, without regard to the "automatic" issue of notes. But in times of actual stringency the Bank, independently of the reserve of the BANKING DEPARTMENT, which consists only of notes, keeps a sharp eye on the bullion reserve, and must do so if it does not wish to fail. For, to the extent that the bullion reserve dwindles, so the reserve of banknotes also dwindles, and no one should be better informed of this than Mr. Overstone, who precisely by his Bank Act of 1844 has so sagaciously arranged this.

## Chapter XXXIII

### THE MEDIUM OF CIRCULATION IN THE CREDIT SYSTEM

"The great regulator of the velocity of the currency is credit. This explains why a severe pressure upon the money market is generally coincident with a full circulation" (*The Currency Theory Reviewed,* p. 65).

This is to be taken in a double sense. On the one hand, all methods which save on medium of circulation are based upon credit. On the other hand, however, take, for example, a 500-pound note. A gives it to B on a certain day in payment for a bill of exchange; B deposits it on the same day with his banker; the latter discounts a bill of ex-

change with it on the very same day for C; C pays it to his bank, the bank gives it to the BILL-BROKER as an advance, etc. The velocity with which the note circulates here, to serve for purchases and payments, is effected by the velocity with which it repeatedly returns to someone in the form of a deposit and passes over to someone else again in the form of a loan. The pure economy in medium of circulation appears most highly developed in the CLEARING HOUSE — in the simple exchange of bills of exchange that are due — and in the preponderant function of money as a means of payment for merely settling balances. But the very existence of these bills of exchange depends in turn on credit, which the industrialists and merchants mutually give one another. If this credit declines, so does the number of bills, particularly long-term ones, and consequently also the effectiveness of this method of balancing accounts. And this economy, which consists in eliminating money from transactions and rests entirely upon the function of money as a means of payment, which in turn is based upon credit, can only be of two kinds (aside from the more or less developed technique in the concentration of these payments): mutual claims, represented by bills of exchange or cheques, are balanced out either by the same banker, who merely transcribes the claim from the account of one to that of another, or by the various bankers among themselves.[11] The concentration of 8 to 10 million bills of exchange in the hands of one BILL-BROKER, such as the firm of Overend, Gurney & Co., was one of the principal means of expanding the scale of such balancing locally. The effectiveness of the medium of circulation is increased through this economy in so far as a smaller quantity of it is required simply to balance accounts. On the other hand the velocity of the money flowing as medium of circulation (by which it is also economised) depends entirely upon the flow of purchases and sales, and on the chain of payments, in so far as they occur successively in money. But credit pro-

[11] Average number of days during which a banknote remained in circulation:

| Year | £5 Note | £10 Note | £20-100 | £200-500 | £1,000 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1792 | — | 236 | 209 | 31 | 22 |
| 1818 | 148 | 137 | 121 | 18 | 13 |
| 1846 | 79 | 71 | 34 | 12 | 8 |
| 1856 | 70 | 58 | 27 | 9 | 7 |

(Compilation by Marshall, Cashier of the Bank of England, in Report on Bank Acts, 1857. II. Appendix, pp. 300-01.)

motes and thereby increases the velocity of circulation. A single piece of money, for instance, can effect only five moves, and remains longer in the hands of each individual as mere medium of circulation without credit mediating—when A, its original owner, buys from B, B from C, C from D, D from E, and E from F, that is, when its transition from one hand to another is due only to actual purchases and sales. But when B deposits the money received in payment from A with his banker and the latter uses it in discounting bills of exchange for C, C in turn buys from D, D deposits it with his banker and the latter lends it to E, who buys from F, then even its velocity as mere medium of circulation (means of purchase) is promoted by several credit operations: B's depositing with his banker and the latter's discounting for C, D's depositing with his banker, and the latter's discounting for E; in other words through four credit operations. Without these credit operations, the same piece of money would not have performed five purchases successively in the given period of time. The fact that it changed hands without mediation of actual sales and purchases, through depositing and discounting, has here accelerated its change of hands in the series of actual transactions.

We have seen previously that one and the same banknote can constitute deposits in several banks. Similarly, it can also constitute various deposits in the same bank. The banker discounts, with the note which A has deposited, B's bill of exchange, B pays C, and C deposits the same note in the same bank that issued it.

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We have already demonstrated in the discussion of simple money circulation (Buch I, Kap. III, 2 [a]) that the mass of actual circulating money, assuming the velocity of circulation and economy of payments as given, is determined by the prices of commodities and the quantity of transactions. The same law governs the circulation of notes.

In the following table, the annual average number of notes of the Bank of England, in so far as they were in the hands of the public, are recorded, namely, the 5- and 10-pound notes, the 20- to 100-pound notes, and the larger denominations between 200 and 1,000 pounds sterling; also the percentages of the total circulation that each one of these groupings constitutes. The amounts are in thousands, i. e., the last three figures are omitted.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 35.

| Year | £5-10 Notes | % | £20-100 Notes | % | £200-1,000 Notes | % | Totals in £ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1844 | 9,263 | 45.7 | 5,735 | 28.3 | 5,253 | 26.0 | 20,241 |
| 1845 | 9,698 | 46.9 | 6,082 | 29.3 | 4,942 | 23.8 | 20,722 |
| 1846 | 9,918 | 48.9 | 5,778 | 28.5 | 4,590 | 22.6 | 20,286 |
| 1847 | 9,591 | 50.1 | 5,498 | 28.7 | 4,066 | 21.2 | 19,155 |
| 1848 | 8,732 | 48.3 | 5,046 | 27.9 | 4,307 | 23.8 | 18,085 |
| 1849 | 8,692 | 47.2 | 5,234 | 28.5 | 4,477 | 24.3 | 18,403 |
| 1850 | 9,164 | 47.2 | 5,587 | 28.8 | 4,646 | 24.0 | 19,398 |
| 1851 | 9,362 | 48.1 | 5,554 | 28.5 | 4,557 | 23.4 | 19,473 |
| 1852 | 9,839 | 45.0 | 6,161 | 28.2 | 5,856 | 26.8 | 21,856 |
| 1853 | 10,699 | 47.3 | 6,393 | 28.2 | 5,541 | 24.5 | 22,653 |
| 1854 | 10,565 | 51.0 | 5,910 | 28.5 | 4,234 | 20.5 | 20,709 |
| 1855 | 10,628 | 53.6 | 5,706 | 28.9 | 3,459 | 17.5 | 19,793 |
| 1856 | 10,680 | 54.4 | 5,645 | 28.7 | 3,323 | 16.9 | 19,648 |
| 1857 | 10,659 | 54.7 | 5,567 | 28.6 | 3,241 | 16.7 | 19,467 |

(B. A. 1858, p. XXVI.)

The total sum of circulating banknotes, therefore, positively decreased from 1844 to 1857, although commercial business, as indicated by exports and imports, had more than doubled. The smaller banknotes of £5 and £10 increased, as the table shows, from £9,263,000 in 1844 to £10,659,000 in 1857. And this took place simultaneously with the particularly heavy increase in gold circulation at that time. On the other hand, there was a decrease in the notes of higher denominations (£200 to £1,000) from £5,856,000 in 1852 to £3,241,000 in 1857, i. e., a decrease of more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ million. This is explained as follows:

"On the 8th June 1854, the private bankers of London admitted the joint-stock banks to the arrangements of the CLEARING HOUSE, and shortly afterwards the final CLEARING was adjusted in the Bank of England. The daily clearances are now effected by transfers in the accounts which the several banks keep in that establishment. In consequence of the adoption of this system, the large notes which the bankers formerly employed for the purpose of adjusting their accounts are no longer necessary" (B. A. 1858, p. V).

To what small minimum the use of money in wholesale trade has been reduced, can be deduced from the table reprinted in Book I (Ch. III, Note 103),[a] which was presented to the Bank Committee by Morrison, Dillon & Co., one of the largest of those London firms from which a small dealer can buy his entire assortment of commodities.

[a] Ibid.

According to the testimony of W. Newmarch before the Bank Committee 1857, No. 1741, other circumstances also contributed to economy in the circulating medium: penny postage, railways, telegraphy, in short, the improved means of communication; thus England can now carry on five to six times more business with about the same circulation of banknotes. This is also essentially due to the withdrawal from circulation of notes of higher denomination than £10. Here Newmarch sees a natural explanation for the phenomenon that in Scotland and Ireland, where one-pound notes also circulate, note circulation has risen by about 31% (1747). The total circulation of banknotes in the United Kingdom, including one-pound notes, is said to be £39 million (1749). The gold circulation = £70 million (1750). In Scotland, the circulation of notes was £3,120,000 in 1834; £3,020,000 in 1844; and £4,050,000 in 1854 (1752).

From these figures alone, it is evident that banks issuing notes can by no means increase the number of circulating notes at will, as long as these notes are at all times exchangeable for money. //Inconvertible paper money is not considered here at all; inconvertible banknotes can become a universal medium of circulation only where they are actually backed by state credit, as is the case in Russia at present.[49] They then fall under the laws of inconvertible paper money issued by the state, which have already been developed (Buch I, Kap. III, 2, c: "Coin and Symbols of Value").—*F. E.*//

The quantity of circulating notes is regulated by the turnover requirements, and every superfluous note wends its way back immediately to the issuer. Since in England only the notes of the Bank of England circulate universally as legal means of payment, we can disregard at this point the insignificant, and merely local, note circulation of the country banks.

Before the Bank Committee 1858, Mr. Neave, Governor of the Bank of England, testifies:

No. 947. (Question:) "Whatever measures you resort to, the amount of notes with the public, you say, remains the same; that is somewhere about £20,000,000?—In ordinary times, the uses of the public seem to want about £20,000,000. There are special periodical moments when, through the year, they rise to another £1,000,000 or £1,500,000. I stated that, if the public wanted more, they could always take it from the Bank of England."—"948. You stated that during the panic the public would not allow you to diminish the amount of notes; I want you to account for that.—In moments of panic, the public have, as I believe, the full power of helping themselves as to notes; and of course, as long as the Bank has a liability, they may use that liability to take the notes from the Bank."—"949. Then there seems to be required, at all times,

somewhere about £20,000,000 of legal tender?—£20,000,000 of notes with the public; it varies. It is £18,500,000, £19,000,000, £20,000,000, and so on; but taking the average, you may call it from £19,000,000 to £20,000,000."

Testimony of Thomas Tooke before the Committee of Lords on Commercial Distress (C. D. 1848/57):

No. 3094. "The Bank has no power of its own volition to extend the amount of its circulation in the hands of the public; but it has the power of reducing the amount of the notes in the hands of the public, not however without a very violent operation."

J. C. Wright, a banker for 30 years in Nottingham, having explained at length the impossibility for a country bank to be able to keep more notes in circulation than the public needs and wants, says about notes of the Bank of England (C. D. 1848/57):

No. 2844. "I am not aware that there is any check" (for note issue) "upon the Bank of England, but any excess of circulation will go into the deposits and thus assume a different name."

The same holds true for Scotland, where almost nothing but paper circulates, because there as well as in Ireland one-pound notes are also in use and "THE SCOTCH HATE GOLD". Kennedy, Director of a Scottish bank, declares that banks could not even contract their circulation of notes and

"conceives that so long as there are internal transactions requiring notes or gold to perform them, bankers must, either through the demands of their depositors or in one shape or another, furnish as much currency as those transactions require.... The Scottish banks can restrict their transactions, but they cannot control their currency" (ibid., Nos. 3446, 3448).

Similarly, Anderson, Director of the UNION BANK OF SCOTLAND, states (ibid., No. 3578):

"The system of exchanges between yourselves" //among the Scottish banks// "prevents any over-issue on the part of any one bank?—Yes; there is a more powerful preventive than the system of exchanges"

//which has really nothing to do with this, but does indeed guarantee the ability of the notes of each bank to circulate throughout Scotland//,

"the universal practice in Scotland of keeping a bank account; everybody who has any money at all has a bank account and puts in every day the money which he does not immediately want, so that at the close of the business of the day there is no money scarcely out of the banks except what people have in their pockets."

The same applies to Ireland, as indicated in the testimony of the Governor of the Bank of Ireland, MacDonnell, and the Director of

the PROVINCIAL BANK OF IRELAND, Murray, before the same Committee.

Note circulation is just as independent of the state of the gold reserve in the vaults of the bank which guarantees the convertibility of these notes, as it is of the will of the Bank of England.

"On September 18, 1846, the circulation of the Bank of England was £20,900,000 and the bullion in the Bank £16,273,000; and on April 5, 1847, the notes in circulation were £20,815,000 and the bullion £10,246,000.... It is evident that six million of gold were exported, without any contraction of the currency of the country" (J. G. Kinnear, *The Crisis and the Currency*, London, 1847, p. 5).

Of course, this applies only under present conditions prevailing in England, and even here only in so far as legislation does not decree a different relationship between the note issue and metal reserve.

Hence only the requirements of business itself exert an influence on the quantity of circulating money—notes and gold. To be noted here, in the first instance, are the periodic fluctuations, which repeat themselves annually regardless of the general condition of business, so that for the past 20 years

"the circulation is high in one month, and it is low in another month, and in a certain other month occurs a medium point" (Newmarch, B. A. 1857, No. 1650).

Thus, in August of every year a few millions, generally in gold, pass from the Bank of England into domestic circulation to pay the harvest expenses; since wages are the principal payments to be made here, banknotes are less serviceable in England for this purpose. By the close of the year this money has streamed back to the Bank. In Scotland, there are almost nothing but one-pound notes instead of sovereigns; here, then, the note circulation is expanded in the corresponding situation, namely, twice a year—in May and November—from 3 million to 4 million; after a fortnight the return flow begins, and is almost completed in one month (Anderson, l. c., Nos. 3595-3600).[a]

The note circulation of the Bank of England also experiences a momentary fluctuation every three months because of the quarterly payment of "dividends", that is, interest on the national debt, whereby banknotes are first withdrawn from circulation and then again released to the public; but they flow back very soon again. Weguelin (B. A. 1857, No. 38) states that this fluctuation in the note circulation amounts to $2\frac{1}{2}$ million. Mr. Chapman of the notorious firm of

[a] See Report from the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, Appointed to Inquire into the Causes of the Distress...

Overend, Gurney & Co., however, estimates the amount of disturbance thus created in the money market as being much higher.

"When you abstract from the circulation £6,000,000 or £7,000,000 of revenue in anticipation of dividends, somebody must be the medium of supplying that in the intermediate times" (B. A. 1857, No. 5196).

Far more significant and enduring are the fluctuations in quantity of circulating medium corresponding to the various phases of the industrial cycle. Let us listen to another *associé* of that firm on this question, the esteemed Quaker Samuel Gurney (C. D. 1848/57, No. 2645):

"At the end of October (1847) the amount of banknotes in the hands of the public was £20,800,000. At that period there was great difficulty in getting possession of banknotes in the money market. This arose from the alarm of not being able to get them in consequence of the restriction of the Act of 1844. At present //March 1848// the amount of banknotes in the hands of the public is ... £17,700,000, but there being now no commercial alarm whatsoever, it is much beyond what is required. There is no banking house or money dealer in London, but what has a larger amount of banknotes than they can use."—"2650. The amount of banknotes ... out of the custody of the Bank of England affords a totally insufficient exponent of the active state of the circulation, without taking into consideration likewise ... the state of the commercial world and the state of credit."—"2651. The feeling of surplus that we have under the present amount of circulation in the hands of the public arises in a large degree from our present state of great stagnation. In a state of high prices and excitement of transaction £17,700,000 would give us a feeling of restriction."

//As long as the state of business is such that returns of loans made come in regularly and credit thus remains unshaken, the expansion and contraction of circulation depend simply upon the requirements of industrialists and merchants. Since gold, at least in England, does not come into question in the wholesale trade and the circulation of gold, aside from seasonal fluctuations, may be regarded as rather constant over a long period of time, the note circulation of the Bank of England constitutes a sufficiently accurate measure of these changes. In the period of stagnation following a crisis, circulation is smallest; with the renewed demand, a greater need for circulating medium develops, which increases with rising prosperity; the quantity of circulating medium reaches its apex in the period of overtension and overspeculation—the crisis precipitously breaks out and overnight banknotes which yesterday were still so plentiful disappear from the market and with them the discounters of bills, lenders of money on securities, and buyers of commodities. The Bank of England is called upon for help—but even its powers are soon exhausted, for the Bank Act of 1844 compels it to contract its note circulation at the very moment

when the whole world cries out for notes; when owners of commodities cannot sell, yet are called upon to pay and are prepared for any sacrifice, if only they can secure banknotes.

"During an alarm," says the earlier mentioned banker Wright (l. c., No. 2930), "the country requires twice as much circulation as in ordinary times, because the circulation is hoarded by bankers and others."

Once the crisis has broken out, it becomes from then on only a question of means of payment. But since every one is dependent upon someone else for the receipt of these means of payment, and no one knows whether the next one will be able to meet his payments when due, a regular stampede ensues for those means of payment available on the market, that is, for banknotes. Everyone hoards as many of them as he can lay hand on, and thus the notes disappear from circulation on the very day when they are most needed. Samuel Gurney (C. D. 1848/57, No. 1116) estimates the amount of banknotes brought under lock and key in October 1847, at a time of such alarm, to have reached £4 to £5 million.—*F. E.*//

In this connection, the cross-examination of Chapman, Gurney's *associé* who has been previously mentioned, before the Bank Committee of 1857 is especially interesting. I present here its principal contents in context, although certain points are touched upon which we shall not examine until later.

Mr. Chapman has the following to say:

"4963. I have also no hesitation in saying that I do not think it is a proper condition of things that the money market should be under the power of any individual capitalist (such as does exist in London), to create a tremendous scarcity and pressure, when we have a very low state of circulation out.... That is possible ... there is more than one capitalist, who can withdraw from the circulating medium £1,000,000 or £2,000,000 of notes, if they have an object to attain by it."

4965. A big speculator can sell £1,000,000 or £2,000,000 of consols and thus take the money out of the market. Something similar to this has happened quite recently, "it creates a most violent pressure".

4967. The notes are then indeed unproductive.

"But that is nothing, if it effects his great object; his great object is to knock down the funds, to create a scarcity, and he has it perfectly in his power to do so."

An illustration: One morning there was a great demand for money in the Stock Exchange; nobody knew its cause; somebody asked Chapman to lend him £50,000 at 7%. Chapman was astonished, for his rate of interest was much lower; he accepted. Soon after that the

man returned, borrowed another £50,000 at $7\frac{1}{2}$ %, then £100,000 at 8%, and wanted still more at $8\frac{1}{2}$ %. Then even Chapman became uneasy. Later it turned out that a considerable sum of money had been suddenly withdrawn from the market. But, says Chapman,

"I did lend a large sum at 8%; I was afraid to go beyond; I did not know what was coming."

It must never be forgotten that, although £19 to £20 million in notes are almost constantly supposed to be in the hands of the public, nevertheless, the portion of these notes which actually circulates, and, on the other hand, the portion which is held idle by the banks as a reserve, continually and significantly vary with respect to each other. If this reserve is large, and therefore the actual circulation small, it means, from the point of view of the money market, that THE CIRCULATION IS FULL, MONEY IS PLENTIFUL[a]; if the reserve is small, and therefore the actual circulation full, in the language of the money market THE CIRCULATION IS LOW, MONEY IS SCARCE[a]—in other words, the portion representing idle loan capital is small. A real expansion or contraction of the circulation, that is independent of the phases of the industrial cycle—with the amount needed by the public, however, remaining the same—occurs only for technical reasons, for instance, on the dates when taxes or the interest on the national debt are due. When taxes are paid, more notes and gold than usual flow into the Bank of England and, in effect, contract the circulation without regard to its needs. The reverse takes place when the dividends on the national debt are paid out. In the former case, loans are made from the Bank in order to obtain circulating medium. In the latter case, the rate of interest falls in private banks because of the momentary growth of their reserves. This has nothing to do with the absolute quantity of circulating medium; it does, however, concern the banking firm which sets this circulating medium in motion and for which this process consists in the alienation of loan capital and for which it pockets the profits thereby.

In the one case, there is merely a temporary displacement of circulating medium, which the Bank of England balances by short-term loans at low interest shortly before the quarterly taxes and also before the quarterly dividends on the national debt become due; the issue of these supernumerary notes first fills up the gap caused by the pay-

[a] In the 1894 German edition this English phrase is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

ment of taxes, while their return payment to the Bank soon thereafter brings back the excess of notes obtained by the public through the payment of dividends.

In the other case, low or full circulation is always simply a matter of different distribution of the same quantity of circulating medium into active circulation and deposits, i. e., an instrument of loans.

On the other hand, if, for example, the number of notes issued is increased on the basis of a flow of gold into the Bank of England, these notes assist in discounting bills outside of the Bank and return to it through the repayment of loans, so that the absolute quantity of circulating notes is only momentarily increased.

If the circulation is full because of business expansion (which may take place even though prices are relatively low), then the rate of interest can be relatively high because of the demand for loan capital as a result of rising profits and increased new investments. If it is low, because of business contraction, or perhaps because credit is very plentiful, the rate of interest can be low even though prices are high. (See Hubbard.[a])

The absolute amount of circulation has a determining influence on the rate of interest only in times of stringency. The demand for full circulation can either reflect merely a demand for a hoarding medium (disregarding the reduced velocity of the money circulation and the continuous conversion of the same identical pieces of money into loan capital) owing to lack of credit, as was the case in 1847 when the suspension of the Bank Act did not cause any expansion of the circulation, but sufficed to draw forth the hoarded notes and to channel them into circulation; or it may be that more means of circulation are actually required under the circumstances, as was the case in 1857 when the circulation actually expanded for some time after the suspension of the Bank Act.

Otherwise, the absolute quantity of circulation has no influence whatever upon the rate of interest, since—assuming the economy and velocity of currency to be constant—it is determined in the first place by commodity prices and the quantity of transactions (whereby one of these generally neutralises the effect of the other), and finally by the state of credit, whereas it by no means exerts the reverse effect upon the latter; and, secondly, since commodity prices and interest do not necessarily stand in any direct correlation to each other.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 546-47.

During the life of the BANK RESTRICTION ACT (1797-1819)[50] a surplus of CURRENCY existed and the rate of interest was always much higher than after the resumption of cash payments. Later, it fell rapidly with the restriction of the note issue and rising bill quotations. In 1822, 1823, and 1832, the general circulation was low, and so was the rate of interest. In 1824, 1825, and 1836, the circulation was full and the rate of interest rose. In the summer of 1830 the circulation was full and the rate of interest low. Since the gold discoveries, money circulation throughout Europe has expanded, and the rate of interest risen. Therefore, the rate of interest does not depend upon the quantity of circulating money.

The difference between the issue of circulating medium and the lending of capital is best demonstrated in the actual reproduction process. We have seen (Book II, Part III) in what manner the different component parts of production are exchanged for one another. For example, variable capital consists materially of the means of subsistence of the labourers, a portion of their own product. But this is paid out to them piecemeal in money. The capitalist has to advance this, and it is very greatly dependent on the credit system organisation whether he can pay out the new variable capital the following week with the old money which he paid out in the previous week. The same holds for exchange among various component parts of the total social capital, for instance, between means of consumption and means of production of means of consumption. The money for their circulation, as we have seen, must be advanced by one or both of the exchanging parties. It remains thereupon in circulation, but returns after the exchange has been completed to the one who advanced it, since it had been advanced by him over and above his actually employed industrial capital (Book II, Chap. XX[a]). Under a developed system of credit, with the money concentrated in the hands of bankers, it is they, at least nominally, who advance it. This advance refers only to money in circulation. It is an advance of circulation, not an advance of capitals which it circulates.

Chapman: "5062. There may be times when the notes in the hands of the public, though they may be large, are not to be had."

Money also exists during a panic; but everyone takes good care not to convert it into loanable capital, i. e., loanable money; everyone holds on to it for the purpose of meeting real payment needs.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 36, pp. 410-20.

"5099. The country bankers in rural districts send up their unemployed balances to yourselves and other houses?—Yes."—"5100. On the other hand, the Lancashire and Yorkshire districts require discounts from you for the use of their trades?—Yes."—"5101. Then by that means the surplus money of one part of the country is made available for the demands of another part of the country?—Precisely so."

Chapman states that the custom of banks to invest their surplus money capital for short periods in consols and treasury notes has decreased considerably of late, ever since it has become customary to lend this money AT CALL, i. e., payable on demand. He personally considers the purchase of such paper for his business very impractical. He, therefore, invests his money in reliable bills of exchange, some of which become due every day, so that he always knows how much ready money he can count on from day to day //5101 to 5105//.

Even the growth of exports expresses itself more or less for every country, but particularly for the country granting credit, as an increasing demand on the domestic money market, which is not felt, however, until a period of stringency. When exports increase, British manufacturers usually draw long-term bills of exchange on the export merchants against consignments of British goods (5126).

"5127. Is it not frequently the case that an understanding exists that those bills are to be redrawn from time to time?"—//Chapman://"That is a thing which they keep from us; we should not admit any bill of that sort. ...I dare say it is done, but I cannot speak to a thing of the kind." //The innocent Chapman// "5129. If there is a large increase of the exports of the country, as there was last year, of £20 million, will not that naturally lead to a great demand for capital for the discount of bills representing those exports?—No doubt."—"5130. Inasmuch as this country gives credit, as a general rule, to foreign countries for all exports, it would be an absorption of a corresponding increase of capital for the time being?—This country gives an immense credit; but then it takes credit for its raw material. We are drawn upon from America always at 60 days, and from other parts at 90 days. On the other hand we give credit; if we send goods to Germany, we give two or three months."

Wilson inquires of Chapman (5131), whether bills of exchange on England are not drawn simultaneously with the loading of these imported raw materials and colonial goods and whether these bills of exchange do not arrive simultaneously with the bills of lading. Chapman believes so, but does not profess to know anything about such "commercial" transactions and suggests that experts in this field be questioned.—In exporting to America, remarks Chapman, "the goods are symbolised *in transitu*"; this gibberish is supposed to mean that the English export merchant draws against his commodities bills of exchange with a four-month term on one of the big Amer-

ican banking houses in London and this firm receives collateral from America.[a]

"5136. As a general rule, are not the more remote transactions conducted by the merchant, who waits for his capital until the goods are sold?—There may be houses of great private wealth, who can afford to lay out their own capital and not take any advance upon the goods; but the most part are converted into advances by the acceptances of some well-known established houses."—"5137. Those houses are resident in ... London, or Liverpool, or elsewhere."—"5138. There, it makes no difference, whether the manufacturer lays out his money, or whether he gets a merchant in London or Liverpool to advance it; it is still an advance in this country?—Precisely. The manufacturer in few cases has anything to do with it" //but in 1847 in almost every case//. "A man dealing in manufactured goods, for instance, at Manchester, will buy his goods and ship them through a house of respectability in London; when the London house is satisfied that they are all packed according to the understanding, he draws upon this London house for six months against these goods to India or China, or wherever they are going; then the banking world comes in and discounts that bill for him; so that, by the time he has to pay for those goods, he has the money all ready by the discount of that bill."—"5139. Although he has the money, the banker is laying out of his money?—*The banker has the bill; the banker has bought the bill*[b]; he uses his banking capital in that form, namely, in discounting commercial bills."

//Hence even Chapman does not regard the discounting of bills as an advance of money, but as a purchase of commodities.—*F. E.*//

"5140. Still that forms part of the demand upon the money market in London?—No doubt; it is the substantial occupation of the money market and of the Bank of England. The Bank of England are as glad to get these bills as we are, because they know them to be good property."—"5141. In that way, as the export trade increases, the demand upon the money market increases also?—As the prosperity of the country increases, we" //the Chapmans// "partake of it."—"5142. Then when these various fields for the employment of capital increase suddenly, of course, the natural consequence is that the rate of interest is higher?—No doubt about it."

In 5143 Chapman cannot "quite understand, that under our large exports we have had such occasion for bullion".

In 5144 the esteemed Wilson asks:

"May it not be that we give larger credits upon our exports than we take credits upon our imports?—I rather doubt that point myself. If a man accepts against his Manchester goods sent to India, you cannot accept for less than 10 months. We have had to pay America for her cotton (that is perfectly true) some time before India pays us; but still it is rather refined in its operation."—"5145. If we have had an increase, as we had last year, of £20 million in our exports of manufactures, we must have had a very large increase of imports of raw material previously to that" //and in this way overexports are already identified with overimports, and overproduction with overtrading//, "in order to make up that increased quantity of goods?—No

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[a] See Report from the Select Committee on Bank Acts..., 1857, No. 5133. - [b] Italicised by Marx.

doubt."—"We should have to pay a very considerable balance, that is to say, the balance, no doubt, would run against us during that time, but in the long run, with America ... the exchanges are in our favour, and we have been receiving for some time past large supplies of bullion from America."[a]

5148. Wilson asks the arch-usurer Chapman, whether he does not regard his high rate of interest as a sign of great prosperity and high profits. Chapman, evidently surprised at the naïveté of this sycophant, affirms this, of course, but has enough integrity to add the following:

"There are some, who cannot help themselves; they have engagements to meet, and they must fulfil them, whether it is profitable or not; but, for a continuance" //of the high rate of interest//, "it would indicate prosperity."

Both forget that a high rate of interest can also indicate, as it did in 1857, that the country is undermined by the roving cavaliers of credit who can afford to pay a high interest because they pay it out of other people's pockets (whereby, however, they help to determine the rate of interest for all), and meanwhile they live in grand style on anticipated profits. Simultaneously, precisely this can incidentally provide a very profitable business for manufacturers and others. Returns become wholly deceptive as a result of the loan system. This also explains the following, which should require no explanation so far as the Bank of England is concerned, since it discounts at a lower rate than others when the interest rate is high.

"5156. I should say," says Chapman, "that our discounts, taking the present moment, when we have had for so long a high rate of interest, are at their maximum."

//Chapman made this statement on July 21, 1857, a couple of months before the crash.//

"5157. In 1852" //when the interest rate was low// "they were not nearly so large."

For business was indeed a great deal sounder then.

"5159. If there was a great flood of money in the market ... and the bank rate low, we should get a decrease of bills. ... In 1852 there was a totally different phase of things. The exports and imports of the country were as nothing then compared to the present."—"5161. Under this high rate of discount our discounts are as large as they were in 1854." //When the rate of interest was between 5 and $5\frac{1}{2}$%.//

A very amusing part of Chapman's testimony reveals how these people really regard public money as their own and assume for

[a] Op. cit., No. 5146.

themselves the right to constant convertibility of the bills of exchange discounted by them. The questions and replies show great naïveté. It becomes the obligation of legislation to make those bills which are accepted by large firms convertible at all time; to ensure that the Bank of England should under all circumstances continue to rediscount them for BILL-BROKERS. And yet three of such BILL-BROKERS went bankrupt in 1857, owing about 8 million and their own infinitesimally small capital compared with these debts.

"5177. Do you mean by that that you think that they" //that is bills accepted by Barings or Loyds// "ought to be discountable on compulsion, in the same way that a Bank of England note is now exchangeable against gold by compulsion?—I think it would be a very lamentable thing that they should not be discountable; a most extraordinary position, that a man should stop payment who had the acceptances of Smith, Payne & Co., or Jones, Loyd & Co. in his hands, because he could not get them discounted."—"5178. Is not the engagement of Messrs. Baring an engagement to pay a certain sum of money when the bill is due?—That is perfectly true; but Messrs. Baring, when they contract that engagement, and every other merchant who contracts an engagement, never dream that they are going to pay it in sovereigns; they expect that they are going to pay it at the CLEARING HOUSE."—"5180. Do you think that there should be any machinery contrived by which the public would have a right to claim money before that bill was due by calling upon somebody to discount it?—No, not from the acceptor; but if you mean by that that we are not to have the possibility of getting commercial bills discounted, we must alter the whole constitution of things." —"5182. Then you think that it" //commercial bill// "ought to be convertible into money, exactly in the same way that a Bank of England note ought to be convertible into gold?—Most decidedly so, under certain circumstances."—"5184. Then you think that the provisions of the CURRENCY should be so shaped that a bill of exchange of undoubted character ought at all times to be as readily exchangeable against money as a banknote?—I do."—"5185. You do not mean to say that either the Bank of England or any individual should, by law, be compelled to exchange it?—I mean to say this, that in framing a bill for the CURRENCY, we should make provision to prevent the possibility of an inconvertibility of the bills of exchange of the country arising, assuming them to be undoubtedly solid and legitimate."

This is the convertibility of the commercial bill as compared with the convertibility of banknotes.

"5190. The money dealers of the country only, in point of fact, represent the public."

As did Mr. Chapman later before the court of assizes in the Davidson case. See the *Great City Frauds.*[51]

"5196. During the quarters" //when the dividends are paid// "it is ... absolutely necessary that we should go to the Bank of England. When you abstract from the circulation £6,000,000 or £7,000,000 of revenue in anticipation of the dividends, somebody must be the medium of supplying that in the intermediate time."

//In this case it is then a question of a supply of money, not of capital or loan capital.//

"5169. Everybody acquainted with our commercial circle must know that when we are in such a state that we find it impossible to sell Exchequer bills, when India bonds are perfectly useless, when you cannot discount the first commercial bills, there must be great anxiety on the part of those whose business renders them liable to pay the circulating medium of the realm on demand, which is the case with all bankers. Then the effect of that is to make every man double his reserve. Just see what the result of that is throughout the country, that every country banker, of whom there are about 500, has to send up to his London correspondent to remit him £5,000 in banknotes. Taking such a limited sum as that as the average, which is quite absurd, you come to £2,500,000 taken out of the circulation. How is that to be supplied?"

On the other hand, the private capitalists, etc., who have money do not let go of it at any interest, for they say after the manner of Chapman,

"5195. We would rather have no interest at all, than have a doubt about our getting the money in case we require it."

"5173. Our system is this: That we have £300,000,000 of liabilities which may be called for at a single moment to be paid in the coin of the realm, and that coin of the realm, if the whole of it is substituted, amounts to £23,000,000, or whatever it may be; is not that a state which may throw us into convulsions at any moment?"

Hence the sudden change of the credit system into a monetary system during crises.

Aside from the domestic panic during crises, one can speak of the quantity of money only in so far as it concerns bullion, universal money. And this is precisely what Chapman excludes, he speaks only of 23 million in *banknotes*.

The same Chapman:

"5218. The primary cause of the derangement of the money market" //in April and later in October 1847// "no doubt was in the quantity of money which was required to regulate our exchanges, in consequence of the extraordinary importations of the year."

In the first place, this reserve of world-market money had then been reduced to its minimum. Secondly, it served at the same time as security for the convertibility of credit money, banknotes. It combined in this manner two quite different functions, both of which, however, stem from the nature of money, since real money is always world-market money, and credit money always rests upon world-market money.

In 1847, without the suspension of the Bank Act of 1844,

"the CLEARING HOUSES could not have been settled" (5221).

That Chapman had an inkling of the imminent crisis, after all:

"5236. There are certain conditions of the money market (and the present is not very far from it) where money is exceedingly difficult, and recourse must be had to the Bank."

"5239. With reference to the sums which we took from the Bank on the Friday, Saturday and Monday, the 19th, 20th, and 22nd of October, 1847, ... we should only have been too thankful to have got the bills back on the Wednesday following; the money reflowed to us directly the panic was over."

On Tuesday, October 23, the Bank Act was suspended and the crisis was thus broken.

Chapman believes (5274) that the bills of exchange running simultaneously on London amount to £100 or £120 million. This does not include local bills made on provincial firms.

"5287. Whereas in October 1856, the amount of the notes in the hands of the public ran up to £21,155,000, there was an extraordinary difficulty in obtaining money; notwithstanding that the public held so much, we could not touch it."

This was due to the fear caused by the squeeze in which the EASTERN BANK found itself for a period of time (March 1856).

5290. As soon as the panic is over,

"all bankers deriving their profit from interest begin to employ the money immediately".

5302. Chapman does not explain the uneasiness that exists when the bank reserve decreases as being due to apprehension concerning deposits, but rather that all those who suddenly may be compelled to pay large sums of money are well aware they may be driven to seek their last refuge in the bank when there is a stringency in the money market; and

"if the banks have a very small reserve, they are not glad to receive us; but on the contrary".

It is pretty, incidentally, to observe how the reserve as a real magnitude dwindles away. Bankers hold a minimum for current business needs either in their own hands or the Bank of England. BILL-BROKERS hold the "loose bank money of the country" without any reserve. And the Bank of England has nothing to offset its liabilities for deposits but the reserves of bankers and others, together with some PUBLIC DEPOSITS, etc., which it permits to drop to a very low level, for instance, to £2 million. Aside from these £2 million in paper, then, this whole swindle has absolutely no other reserve but the bullion reserve in times of stringency (and this reduces the reserve, because the notes which

come in to replace outgoing bullion must be cancelled), and thus every reduction of this reserve by drain of gold increases the crisis.

"5306. If there should not be currency to settle the transactions at the CLEARING HOUSE, the only next alternative which I can see is to meet together, and to make our payments in first-class bills, bills upon the Treasury, and Messrs. Smith, Payne, and so forth."—"5307. Then, if the government failed to supply you with a circulating medium, you would create one for yourselves?—What can we do? The public come in, and take the circulating medium out of our hands; it does not exist."—"5308. You would only then do in London what they do in Manchester every day of the week?—Yes."

Particularly clever is Chapman's reply to a question posed by Cayley (a Birmingham man of the Attwood school [52]) regarding Overstone's conception of capital:

"5315. It has been stated before this Committee, that in a pressure like that of 1847, men are not looking for money, but are looking for capital; what is your opinion in that respect?—I do not understand it; we only deal in money; I do not understand what you mean by it."—"5316. If you mean thereby" (commercial capital) "the quantity of money which a man has of his own in his business, if you call that capital, it forms, in most cases, a very small proportion of the money which he wields in his affairs through the credit which is given him by the public"—through the mediation of the Chapmans.

"5339. Is it the want of property that makes us give up our specie payments?—Not at all.... It is not that we want property, but it is that we are moving under a highly artificial system; and if we have an immense SUPERINCUMBENT[a] demand upon our currency, circumstances may arise to prevent our obtaining that currency. Is the whole commercial industry of the country to be paralysed? Shall we shut up all the avenues of employment?"—"5338. If the question should arise whether we should maintain specie payments, or whether we should maintain the industry of the country, I have no hesitation in saying which I should drop."

Concerning the hoarding of banknotes "with a view to aggravate the pressure and to take advantage of the consequences" //5358//, he says that this can very easily occur. Three large banks would be sufficient.

"5383. Must it not be within your knowledge, as a man conversant with the great transactions of this metropolis, that capitalists do avail themselves of these crises to make enormous profit out of the ruin of the people who fall victims to them?—There can be no doubt about it."

And we may well believe Mr. Chapman on this score, although he finally broke his own neck, commercially speaking, in an attempt at

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[a] *In the 1894 German edition this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.*

making "enormous profit out of the ruin of victims". For while his *associé* Gurney says: Every change in business is advantageous for one who is well informed, Chapman says:

"The one section of the community knows nothing of the other; one is the manufacturer, for instance, who exports to the continent, or imports his raw commodity; he knows nothing of the man who deals in bullion" (5046).

And thus it happened that one fine day Gurney and Chapman themselves "were not well informed" and went into ill-famed bankruptcy.

We have previously seen that note issue does not in all cases signify an advance of capital. The following testimony by Tooke before the C. D. Committee of Lords, 1848, indicates merely that an advance of capital, even if accomplished by the bank through an issue of new notes, does not unqualifiedly signify an increase in the number of circulating notes:

"3099. Do you think that the Bank of England for instance might enlarge its advances greatly, and yet lead to no additional issue of notes?—There are facts in abundance to prove it; one of the most striking instances was in 1835, when the Bank made use of the West India deposits and of the loan from the East India Company [53] in extended advances to the public. At that time the amount of notes in the hands of the public was actually rather diminished.... And something like the same discrepancy is observable in 1846 at the time of the payment of the railway deposits into the Bank; the securities" //in discount and deposits// "were increased to about thirty million, while there was no perceptible effect upon the amount of notes in the hands of the public."

Aside from banknotes, wholesale trade has another medium of circulation, which is far more important to it, namely, bills of exchange. Mr. Chapman showed us how essential it is for the regular flow of business that good bills of exchange be accepted in payment everywhere and under all conditions.

"*Gilt nicht mehr der Tausves Jontof, was soll gelten, Zeter, Zeter!*"[a]

How are these two media of circulation related to one another? Gilbart writes on this score:

"The reduction of the amount of the note circulation uniformly increases the amount of the bill circulation. These bills are of two classes—commercial bills and bankers' bills ... when money becomes scarce, the money lenders say, 'draw upon us and we will accept'. And when a country banker discounts a bill for his customer, instead of giving him the cash, he will give him his own draft at twenty-one days upon

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[a] "If the Tausves-Jontof's nothing, What is left? O vile detractor!" (Heine, *Disputation*).

his London agent. These bills serve the purpose of a currency" (J. W. Gilbart, *An Inquiry into the Causes of the Pressure, etc.*, p. 31).

This is corroborated in somewhat modified form by Newmarch, B. A. 1857, No.1426:

"There is no connection between the variations in the amount of bill circulation and the variations in the banknote circulation ... the only pretty uniform result is ...that whenever there is any pressure upon the money market, as indicated by a rise in the rate of discount, then the volume of the bill circulation is very much increased, and vice versa."

However, the bills of exchange drawn at such times are by no means only the short-term bank bills mentioned by Gilbart. On the contrary, they are largely bills of accommodation, which represent no real transaction at all, or simply transactions made for the sole purpose of drawing bills of exchange on them; we have presented sufficient illustrations of both. Hence the *Economist* (Wilson) says in comparing the security of such bills with that of banknotes:

"Notes payable on demand can never be kept out in excess, because the excess would always return to the bank for payment, while bills at two months may be issued in great excess, there being no means of checking the issue till they have arrived at maturity, when they may have been replaced by others. For a people to admit the safety of the circulation of bills payable only on a distant day, and to object to the safety of a circulation of paper payable on demand, is, to us, perfectly unaccountable" (*Economist*, 1847, p. 575).

The quantity of circulating bills of exchange, therefore, like that of banknotes, is determined solely by the requirements of commerce; in ordinary times, there circulated in the fifties in the United Kingdom, in addition to 39 million in banknotes, about 300 million in bills of exchange—of which 100-120 million were made out on London alone. The volume of circulating bills of exchange has no influence on note circulation and is influenced by the latter only in times of money tightness, when the quantity of bills increases and their quality deteriorates. Finally, in a period of crisis, the circulation of bills collapses completely; nobody can make use of a promise to pay since everyone will accept only cash payment; only the banknote retains, at least thus far in England, its ability to circulate, because the nation with its total wealth backs up the Bank of England.

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We have seen that even Mr. Chapman, who after all was himself a magnate on the money market in 1857, complains bitterly that there were several large money capitalists in London strong enough

to disrupt the whole money market at any given moment and thereby bleed white the smaller money dealers. There were several such money sharks, he said, who could considerably intensify a stringency by selling one or two million's worth of consols and thereby withdrawing an equal amount of banknotes (and simultaneously available loan capital) from the market. The joint action of three large banks would suffice to transform a stringency into a panic by a similar manoeuvre.

The largest capital power in London is, of course, the Bank of England, which, however, is prevented by its status as a semi-government institution from showing its domination in such a brutal manner. Nevertheless it also knows enough about ways and means of feathering its nest, particularly since the Bank Act of 1844.[48]

The Bank of England has a capital of £14,553,000, and in addition has at its disposal about £3 million "balance", that is, undistributed profits, as well as all money collected by the government for taxes, etc., which must be deposited with the Bank until it is needed. If we add to this the sum of other deposits (about £30 million in ordinary times), and the banknotes issued without reserve backing, we shall find that Newmarch made a rather conservative estimate in stating (B. A. 1857, No. 1889):

> "I satisfied myself that the amount of funds constantly employed in the //London// money market may be described as something like £120,000,000; and of that £120,000,000 a very considerable proportion, something like 15 or 20 per cent, is wielded by the Bank of England."

In so far as the Bank issues notes which are not covered by the bullion reserve in its vaults, it creates symbols of value that constitute for it not only circulating medium, but also additional—even if fictitious—capital to the nominal amount of these unbacked notes. And this additional capital yields additional profit.—In B. A. 1857, Wilson questions Newmarch:

> "1563. The circulation of a banker, so far as it is kept out upon the average, is an addition to the effective capital of that banker, is it not?—Certainly."—"1564. Then whatever profit he derives from that circulation is a profit derived from credit, and not from a capital which he actually possesses?—Certainly."

The same is true, of course, for private banks issuing notes. In his replies Nos. 1866 to 1868, Newmarch considers two-thirds of all banknotes issued by them (the last third has to be covered by bullion reserve in these banks) as "the creation of so much capital", because this amount of coin is saved. The profit of the banker as a result of

this may not be larger than that of other capitalists. The fact remains that he draws the profit out of this national saving of coin. The fact that a national saving becomes a private profit does not shock the bourgeois economist in the least, since profit is generally the appropriation of national labour. Is there anything more absurd, for instance, than the Bank of England (1797 to 1817) — whose notes have credit only thanks to the state — taking payment from the state, i. e., from the public, in the form of interest on government loans, for the power granted it by the state to transform these same notes from paper into money and then to lend it back to the state?

The banks, incidentally, have still other means of creating capital. Again according to Newmarch, the country banks, as mentioned above, are accustomed to send their superfluous funds (that is, Bank of England notes) to London BILL-BROKERS, in return for discounted bills of exchange. With these bills of exchange, the bank serves its customers, since it follows a rule not to reissue bills of exchange received from its local customers, in order to prevent their business transactions from becoming known in their own neighbourhood. These bills, received from London, not only serve the purpose of being issued to customers who have to make direct payments in London, in the event they do not prefer to get the bank's own draft on London; they also serve to settle payments locally, since the banker's endorsement secures local credit for them. Thus, in Lancashire, for instance, all the local banks' own notes and a large portion of the Bank of England notes have been pushed out of circulation by such bills (ibid., 1568 to 1574).

Thus we see here how banks create credit and capital by 1) issuing their own notes, 2) writing out drafts on London running up to 21 days, but paid in cash to them immediately on issue and 3) paying out discounted bills of exchange, which are endowed with credit primarily and essentially by endorsement through the bank — at least as far as concerns the local district.

The power of the Bank of England is revealed by its regulation of the market rate of interest. In times of normal activity, it may happen that the Bank cannot prevent a moderate drain of gold from its bullion reserve by raising the discount rate [12] because the demand for

[12] At the general meeting of stockholders of the UNION BANK OF LONDON on January 17, 1894, President Ritchie relates that the Bank of England raised the discount in 1893 from $2\frac{1}{2}$ % in July to 3 and 4% in August, and since it lost within four weeks fully £$4\frac{1}{2}$ million in gold despite this, it raised the bank rate to 5%, whereupon gold flowed

means of payment is satisfied by private banks, stock banks and BILL-BROKERS, who have gained considerably in capital power during the last thirty years. In such cases, the Bank of England must have recourse to other means. But the statement made by banker Glyn (of Glyn, Mills, Currie & Co.) before the C. D. 1848/57 still holds good for critical periods:

"1709. Under circumstances of great pressure upon the country the Bank of England commands the rate of interest."—"1710. In times of extraordinary pressure ... whenever the discounts of the private bankers or brokers become comparatively limited, they fall upon the Bank of England, and then it is that the Bank of England has the power of commanding the market rate."

Nevertheless, the Bank of England, being a public institution under government protection and enjoying corresponding privileges, cannot exploit its power as ruthlessly as does private business. For this reason Hubbard remarks before the Banking Committee B. A. 1857:

"2844. //Question://Is not it the case that when the rate of discount is highest, the Bank is the cheapest place to go, and that when it is the lowest, the bill-brokers are the cheapest parties?"—//Hubbard://"That will always be the case, because the Bank of England never goes quite so low as its competitors, and when the rate is highest, it is never quite as high."

But it is a serious event in business life nevertheless when, in time of stringency, the Bank of England puts on the screw, as the saying goes, that is, when it raises still higher the interest rate which is already above average.

"As soon as the Bank puts on the screw, all purchases for foreign exportation immediately cease ... the exporters wait until prices have reached the lowest point of depression, and then, and not till then, they make their purchases. But when this point has arrived, the exchanges have been rectified—gold ceases to be exported before the lowest point of depression has arrived. Purchases of goods for exportation may have the effect of bringing back some of the gold which has been sent abroad, but they come too late to prevent the drain" (J. M. Gilbart, *An Inquiry into the Causes of the Pressure on the Money Market*, p. 35). "Another effect of regulating the currency by the foreign exchanges is that it leads in seasons of pressure to an enormous rate of interest" (l. c., p. 40). "The cost of rectifying the exchanges falls upon the productive industry of the country, while during the process the profits of the Bank of England are actually aug-

back to it and the bank rate was reduced to 4% in September and then to 3% in October. But this bank rate was not recognised in the market. "When the bank rate was 5%, the market rate was $3\frac{1}{2}$%, and the rate for money $2\frac{1}{2}$%; when the bank rate fell to 4%, the discount rate was $2\frac{3}{8}$% and the money rate $1\frac{3}{4}$%, when the bank rate was 3%, the discount rate fell to $1\frac{1}{2}$% and the money rate to something below that" (*Daily News*, January 18, 1894).—*F. E.*

mented in consequence of carrying on her business with a less amount of treasure" (l. c., p. 52).

But, says friend Samuel Gurney,

"The great fluctuations in the rate of interest are advantageous to bankers and dealers in money—all fluctuations in trade are advantageous to the knowing man."

And even though the Gurneys skim off the cream by ruthlessly exploiting the precarious state of business, whereas the Bank of England cannot do so with the same liberty, nevertheless it also makes a very pretty profit—not to mention the personal profits falling into the laps of its directors, as a result of their exceptional opportunity for ascertaining the general state of business. According to data submitted to the LORDS' COMMITTEE of 1817 when cash payments were resumed, these profits accruing to the Bank of England for the entire period from 1797 to 1817 were as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Bonuses and increased dividends | 7,451,136 |
| New stock divided among proprietors | 7,276,500 |
| Increased value of capital | 14,553,000 |
| Total | 29,280,636 |

This, on a capital of £11,642,400 over a period of 19 years (D. Hardcastle, *Banks and Bankers*, 2nd ed., London, 1843, p. 120).

If we estimate the total gain of the Bank of Ireland, which also suspended cash payments in 1797, by the same method, we obtain the following result:

| | |
|---|---|
| Dividends as by returns due 1821 | 4,736,085 |
| Declared bonus | 1,225,000 |
| Increased assets | 1,214,800 |
| Increased value of capital | 4,185,000 |
| Total | 11,360,885 |

This, on a capital of £3 million (ibid., pp. 363-64).

Talk about centralisation! The credit system, which has its focus in the so-called national banks and the big money lenders and usurers surrounding them, constitutes enormous centralisation, and gives to this class of parasites the fabulous power, not only to periodically despoil industrial capitalists, but also to interfere in actual production in a most dangerous manner—and this gang knows nothing about production and has nothing to do with it. The Acts of 1844 and 1845

are proof of the growing power of these bandits, who are joined by financiers and STOCK-JOBBERS.

Should anyone still doubt that these esteemed bandits exploit the national and world production solely in the interests of production and the exploited themselves, he will surely learn better from the following homily on the high moral worth of bankers:

"Banking establishments are ... moral and religious institutions.... How often has the fear of being seen by the watchful and reproving eye of his banker deterred the young tradesman from joining the company of riotous and extravagant friends?... What has been his anxiety to stand well in the estimation of his banker?... Has not the frown of his banker been of more influence with him than the jeers and discouragements of his friends? Has he not trembled to be supposed guilty of deceit or the slightest misstatement, lest it should give rise to suspicion, and his accommodation be in consequence restricted or discontinued? ... And has not that friendly advice been of more value to him than that of priest?" (G. M. Bell, a Scottish bank director, in *The Philosophy of Joint Stock Banking*, London, 1840, pp. 46, 47).

## Chapter XXXIV

### THE CURRENCY PRINCIPLE AND THE ENGLISH BANK LEGISLATION OF 1844

//In a former work,[13] Ricardo's theory on the value of money as related to commodity prices has been analysed; we can, therefore, confine ourselves here to the indispensable. According to Ricardo, the value of metallic money is determined by the labour time objectified in it, but only as long as the quantity of money stands in correct relationship to amount and price of commodities to be exchanged. If the quantity of money rises above this ratio, its value falls and commodity prices rise; if it falls below the correct ratio, its value rises and commodity prices fall—assuming all other conditions equal. In the first case, the country in which this excess gold exists will export the gold whose value has depreciated and import commodities; in the second case, gold will flow to those countries in which it is assessed above its value, while the under-assessed commodities flow from these countries to other markets, where they command normal prices. Since under these circumstances "even gold in the form of coin or bullion

[13] K. Marx, *Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, Berlin, 1859, s. 150 ff.[a]

[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 404-15).

can become a value token representing a larger or smaller metallic value than its own, it is obvious that any convertible banknotes that are in circulation must share the same fate. Although banknotes are convertible, and their real value accordingly corresponds to their nominal value, THE AGGREGATE CURRENCY CONSISTING OF METAL AND OF CONVERTIBLE NOTES[a] may appreciate or depreciate if, for reasons described earlier, the total quantity either rises above or falls below the level which is determined by the exchange value of the commodities in circulation and the metallic value of gold.... This depreciation, not of notes in relation to gold, but of gold and notes taken together, i. e., of the aggregate means of circulation of a country, is one of Ricardo's main discoveries, which Lord Overstone and Co. pressed into their service and turned into a fundamental principle of Sir Robert Peel's bank legislation of 1844 and 1845" (l. c., p. 155).[b]

We need not here repeat a demonstration of the incorrectness of this Ricardian theory which is given in the cited work. We are merely interested in the way Ricardo's theses were elaborated by that school of bank theorists who dictated Peel's above-mentioned Bank Acts.

"The commercial crises of the nineteenth century, and in particular the great crises of 1825 and 1836, did not lead to any further development of Ricardo's currency theory, but rather to new practical applications of it. It was no longer a matter of single economic phenomena — such as the depreciation of precious metals in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries confronting Hume, or the depreciation of paper currency during the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth confronting Ricardo — but of big storms on the world market, in which the antagonism of all elements in the bourgeois process of production explodes; the origin of these storms and the means of defence against them were sought within the sphere of currency, the most superficial and abstract sphere of this process. The theoretical assumption which actually serves the school of economic weather experts as their point of departure is the dogma that Ricardo had discovered the laws governing purely metallic currency. It was thus left to them to subsume the circulation of credit money or banknotes under these laws.

"The most common and conspicuous phenomenon accompanying commercial crises is a sudden fall in the general level of commodity

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this English phrase is given in parentheses after its German equivalent. - [b] See present edition, Vol. 29, p. 404.

prices occurring after a prolonged general rise of prices. A general fall of commodity prices may be expressed as a rise in the value of money relative to all other commodities, and, on the other hand, a general rise of prices may be defined as a fall in the relative value of money. Either of these statements describes the phenomenon but does not explain it.... The different terminology has just as little effect on the task itself as a translation of the terms from German into English would have. Ricardo's monetary theory proved to be singularly apposite since it gave to a tautology the semblance of a causal relation. What is the cause of the general fall in commodity prices which occurs periodically? It is the periodically occurring rise in the relative value of money. What on the other hand is the cause of the recurrent general rise in commodity prices? It is the recurrent fall in the relative value of money. It would be just as correct to say that the recurrent rise and fall of prices is brought about by their recurrent rise and fall. ...Once the transformation of the tautology into a causal relationship is taken for granted, everything else follows easily. The rise in commodity prices is due to a fall in the value of money, the fall in the value of money, however, as we know from Ricardo, is due to excessive currency, that is to say, to the fact that the amount of money in circulation rises above the level determined by its own intrinsic value and the intrinsic value of commodities. Similarly in the opposite case, the general fall of commodity prices is due to the value of money rising above its intrinsic value as a result of an insufficient amount of currency. Prices therefore rise and fall periodically, because periodically there is too much or too little money in circulation. If it is proved, for instance, that the rise of prices coincided with a decreased amount of money in circulation, and the fall of prices with an increased amount, then it is nevertheless possible to assert that, in consequence of some reduction or increase—which can in no way be ascertained statistically—of commodities in circulation, the amount of money in circulation has relatively, though not absolutely, increased or decreased. We have seen that, according to Ricardo, even when a purely metallic currency is employed, these variations in the level of prices must take place, but, because they occur alternately, they neutralise one another. For example, an insufficient amount of currency brings about a fall in commodity prices, the fall of commodity prices stimulates an export of commodities to other countries, but this export leads to an influx of money into the country, the influx of money causes again a rise in commodity prices. When there is an excessive amount of currency

the reverse occurs: commodities are imported and money exported. Since notwithstanding these general price movements, which arise from the very nature of Ricardo's metallic currency, their severe and vehement form, the form of crisis, belongs to periods with developed credit systems, it is clear that the issue of banknotes is not exactly governed by the laws of metallic currency. The remedy applicable to metallic currency is the import and export of precious metals, which are immediately thrown into circulation as coin, their inflow or outflow thus causing commodity prices to fall or to rise. The banks must now artificially exert the same influence on commodity prices by imitating the laws of metallic currency. If gold is flowing in from abroad, it is a proof that there is an insufficient amount of currency, that the value of money is too high and commodity prices too low, and banknotes must therefore be thrown into circulation in accordance with the newly imported gold. On the other hand, banknotes must be taken out of circulation in accordance with an outflow of gold from the country. In other words the issue of banknotes must be regulated according to the import and export of the precious metals or according to the rate of exchange. Ricardo's wrong assumption that gold is simply specie and that consequently the whole of the imported gold is used to augment the money in circulation thus causing prices to rise, and that the whole of the gold exported represents a decrease in the amount of specie and thus causes prices to fall — this theoretical assumption is now turned *into a practical experiment by making the amount of specie in circulation correspond always to the quantity of gold in the country*. Lord Overstone (Jones Loyd, the banker), Colonel Torrens, Norman, Clay, Arbuthnot and numerous other writers known in England as the "CURRENCY PRINCIPLE"[43] school have not only preached this doctrine, but have made it the basis of the present English and Scottish banking legislation by means of Sir Robert Peel's Bank Acts of 1844 and 1845.[48] The analysis of the ignominious fiasco they suffered both in theory and practice, after experiments on the largest national scale, can only be made in the section dealing with the theory of credit"[54] (l. c., pp. 165-68).[a]

The critique of this school was furnished by Thomas Tooke, James Wilson (in the *Economist* of 1844 to 1847) and John Fullarton. But we have seen on several occasions, particularly in Chapter XXVIII of this book, how incompletely they, too, saw through the nature of

[a] Ibid., pp. 412-14.

gold, and how unclear they were about the relationship of money and capital. We quote here merely a few instances in connection with the transactions of the Committee of the Lower House of 1857 concerning Peel's Bank Acts (B. C. 1857).—*F. E.*//

J. G. Hubbard, former Governor of the Bank of England, testifies:

"2400. The effect of the export of bullion ... has no reference whatever to the prices of commodities. It has an effect, and a very important one, upon the price of interest-bearing securities, because, as the rate of interest varies, the value of commodities which embodied that interest is necessarily powerfully affected."

He presents two tables covering the years 1834 to 1843, and 1844 to 1853,[a] which show that the price variations of fifteen major commercial articles were quite independent of the export and import of gold and the interest rate. On the other hand, they show a close connection between the export and import of gold, which is, indeed, the "representative of our uninvested capital", and the interest rate.

"In 1847, a very large amount of American securities were retransferred to America, and Russian securities to Russia, and other continental securities were transferred to those places from which we drew our supplies of grain."[b]

The fifteen major articles on which the following tables of Hubbard are based include cotton, cotton yarn, cotton fabrics, wool, woolen cloth, flax, linen, indigo, pig-iron, tin, copper, tallow, sugar, coffee, and silk.

I. 1834-1843

| Date | Bullion Reserve of Bank | Market Rate of Discount | Of Fifteen Major Articles | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Price Increase | Price Decrease | Unchanged |
| 1834, March 1 | £9,104,000 | 2¾% | — | — | — |
| 1835, March 1 | 6,274,000 | 3¾% | 7 | 7 | 1 |
| 1836, March 1 | 7,918,000 | 3¼% | 11 | 3 | 1 |
| 1837, March 1 | 4,077,000 | 5% | 5 | 9 | 1 |
| 1838, March 1 | 10,471,000 | 2¾% | 4 | 11 | — |
| 1839, Sept. 1 | 2,684,000 | 6% | 8 | 5 | 2 |
| 1840, June 1 | 4,571,000 | 4¾% | 5 | 9 | 1 |
| 1840, Dec. 1 | 3,642,000 | 5¾% | 7 | 6 | 2 |
| 1841, Dec. 1 | 4,873,000 | 5% | 3 | 12 | — |
| 1842, Dec. 1 | 10,603,000 | 2½% | 2 | 13 | — |
| 1843, June 1 | 11,566,000 | 2¼% | 1 | 14 | — |

[a] In the 1894 German edition: "1845-56". - [b] Report from the Select Committee on Bank Acts. Part I, No. 2402.

II. 1844-1853

| Date | Bullion Reserve of Bank | Market Rate of Discount | Of Fifteen Major Articles | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Price Increase | Price Decrease | Unchanged |
| 1844, March 1 | £16,162,000 | 2¼% | — | — | — |
| 1845, Dec. 1 | 13,237,000 | 4½% | 11 | 4 | — |
| 1846, Sept. 1 | 16,366,000 | 3% | 7 | 8 | — |
| 1847, Sept. 1 | 9,140,000 | 6% | 6 | 6 | 3 |
| 1850, March 1 | 17,126,000 | 2½% | 5 | 9 | 1 |
| 1851, June 1 | 13,705,000 | 3% | 2 | 11 | 2 |
| 1852, Sept. 1 | 21,853,000 | 1¾% | 9 | 5 | 1 |
| 1853, Dec. 1 | 15,093,000 | 5% | 14 | — | 1 |

Hubbard comments in this regard:

"As in the 10 years 1834-43, so in 1844-53, movements in the bullion of the Bank were invariably accompanied by a decrease or increase in the loanable value of money advanced on discount; and the variations in the prices of commodities in this country exhibit an entire independence of the amount of circulation as shown in the fluctuations in bullion at the Bank of England" (Bank Acts Report, 1857, II, pp. 290, 291).

Since the demand and supply of commodities regulate their market prices, it becomes evident here how wrong Overstone is in identifying the demand for loanable money capital (or rather the deviations of supply therefrom), as expressed by the discount rate, with the demand for actual "capital". The contention that commodity prices are regulated by fluctuations in the quantity of currency is now concealed by the phrase that discount rate fluctuations express fluctuations in the demand for actual material capital, as distinct from money capital. We have seen that before the same Committee both Norman and Overstone actually contended this, and that the latter especially was compelled to resort to very lame subterfuges, until he was finally cornered (Chap. XXVI). It is indeed an old humbug that changes in the existing quantity of gold in a particular country must raise or lower commodity prices within this country by increasing or decreasing the quantity of the medium of circulation. If gold is exported, then, according to this Currency Theory, commodity prices must rise in the country importing this gold, and thereby the value of exports from the gold-exporting country on the gold-importing country's market; on the other hand, the value of the gold-importing country's exports would fall on the gold-exporting country's market while it would rise

on the domestic market, i. e., the country receiving the gold. But, in fact, a decrease in the quantity of gold raises only the interest rate, whereas an increase in the quantity of gold lowers the interest rate; and if not for the fact that the fluctuations in the interest rate enter into the determination of cost prices, or in the determination of demand and supply, commodity prices would be wholly unaffected by them.

In the same report, N. Alexander, head of a large firm doing business with India, expresses the following views on the heavy drain of silver to India and China in the mid-fifties. This was partly due to the Chinese Civil War,[55] which checked the sale of English fabrics in China, and partly due to the disease among silkworms in Europe, which sharply reduced silkworm breeding in Italy and France:

"4337. Is the drain for China or for India?—You send the silver to India, and you buy opium with a great deal of it, all of which goes on to China to lay down funds for the purchase of the silk; and the state of the markets in India" (in spite of the accumulation of silver there) "makes it a more profitable investment for the merchant to lay down silver than to send piece-goods or English manufactures."—"4338. In order to obtain the silver, has there not been a great drain from France?—Yes, very large."—"4344. Instead of bringing in silk from France and Italy, we are sending it there in large quantities, both from Bengal and from China."

In other words, silver, the money metal of that continent, was sent to Asia instead of commodities, not because commodity prices had risen in the country which produced them (England), but because prices had fallen as a result of overimports in the country which imported them; and this despite the fact that the silver was received by England from France and had to be paid for partly in gold. According to the CURRENCY Theory, prices should have fallen in England and risen in India and China as a result of such imports.

Another illustration. Before the Lords' Committee (C. D. 1848/57), Wylie, one of the first Liverpool merchants, testifies as follows:

"1994. At the close of 1845 there was no trade that was more remunerating, and in which there were such large profits //than cotton spinning//. The stock of cotton was large and good, useful cotton could be bought at 4d. per pound, and from such cotton good SECUNDA MULE TWIST No. 40 was made at an expense not exceeding a like amount, say at a cost of 8d. per pound in all to the spinner. This yarn was largely sold and contracted for in September and October 1845 at $10\frac{1}{2}$ and $11\frac{1}{2}$ d. per pound, and in some instances the spinners realised a profit equal to the first cost of the cotton."—"1996. The trade continued to be remunerative until the beginning of 1846."—"2000. On March 3, 1844, the stock of cotton //627,042 bales// was more than double what it is this day //on March 7, 1848, when it was 301,070 bales// and yet the price then was $1\frac{1}{4}$ d. per pound dearer." //$6\frac{1}{4}$ d. as against 5d.//—At the same time

yarn, good SECUNDA MULE TWIST No. 40, had fallen from $11\frac{1}{2}$-12d. to $9\frac{1}{2}$d. per lb. in October, and to $7\frac{3}{4}$ d. at the end of December 1847; yarn was sold at the purchase price of the cotton from which it had been spun (ibid., Nos. 2021 and 2023).

This shows the self-interest of Overstone's sagacity according to which money should be "dear" because capital is "scarce". On March 3, 1844, the bank interest rate stood at 3%; in October and November of 1847 it rose to 8 and 9%, and was still 4% on March 7, 1848. The prices of cotton were depressed far below the price which corresponded to the state of supply by the complete stoppage of sales and the panic with its ensuing high rate of interest. As a result, there was an enormous decrease in imports in 1848, on the one hand, and, on the other, a decrease in production in America; hence a new rise in cotton prices in 1849. According to Overstone, the commodities were too dear because there was too much money in the country.

"2002. The late decline in the condition of the cotton manufactories is not to be ascribed to the want of the raw material, as the price seems to have been lower, though the stock of the raw material is very much diminished."

How nicely Overstone confuses prices, or the value of commodities, with the value of money, that is, the interest rate. In his reply to Question 2026, Wylie sums up his general judgement of the CURRENCY Theory, based on which Cardwell and Sir Charles Wood, in May 1847,

"asserted the necessity of carrying out the Bank Act of 1844 in its full and entire integrity". "These principles seemed to me to be of a nature that would give an artificial high value to money and an artificial and ruinously low value to all commodities and produce."

He says, furthermore, concerning the effects of this Bank Act on business in general:

"As bills at four months, which is the regular course of drafts, from manufacturing towns on merchants and bankers for the purchase of goods going to the United States, could not be discounted except at great sacrifices, the execution of orders was checked to a great extent, until after the Government Letter of October 25" (suspension of the Bank Act), "when those four months' bills became discountable" (2097).

We see, then, that the suspension of this Bank Act was received with relief in the provinces as well.

"2102. Last October //1847// there was scarcely an American buyer purchasing goods here who did not at once curtail his orders as much as he possibly could; and when our advices of the dearness of money reached America, all fresh orders ceased."—"2134. Corn and sugar were special. The corn market was affected by the prospects of the harvest, and sugar was affected by the immense stocks and imports. "—" 2163. Of our

indebtedness to America ... much was liquidated by forced sales of consigned goods, and I fear that much was cancelled by the failures here."—"2196. If I recollect rightly, *70 per cent was paid* on our Stock Exchange *in October 1847*."[a]

//The crisis of 1837 with its protracted aftermath, followed in 1842 by a regular post-crisis, and the self-interested blindness of industrialists and merchants, who absolutely refused to see any overproduction—for such a thing was absurd and impossible according to vulgar economy—had ultimately achieved that confusion of thought which enabled the Currency School to put its dogma into practice on a national scale. The bank legislation of 1844 and 1845 was passed.

The Bank Act of 1844 divides the Bank of England into an issue department and a banking department. The former receives securities—principally government obligations—amounting to 14 million, and the entire metal hoard, of which not more than one-quarter is to consist of silver, and issues notes to the full amount of the total. In so far as these notes are not in the hands of the public, they are held in the banking department and, together with the small amount of coin required for daily use (about one million), constitute its ever ready reserve. The issue department gives the public gold for notes and notes for gold; the remaining transactions with the public are carried on by the banking department. Private banks in England and Wales authorised in 1844 to issue their own notes retained this privilege, but their note issue was fixed; if one of these banks ceases to issue its own notes, the Bank of England can increase its unbacked notes by two-thirds of the quota thus made available; in this way its issue was increased by 1892 from £14 to £16 $\frac{1}{2}$ million (to be exact, £16,450,000).

Thus, for every five pounds in gold which leave the bank treasury, a five-pound note returns to the issue department and is destroyed; for every five sovereigns going into the treasury a new five-pound note comes into circulation. In this manner, Overstone's ideal paper circulation, which strictly follows the laws of metallic circulation, is carried out in practice, and by this means, according to the advocates of the Currency Theory, crises are made impossible for all time.

But in reality the separation of the Bank into two independent departments deprived its management of the possibility of freely utilising its entire available means at critical times, so that situations could arise in which the banking department might be on the verge of

[a] Italicised by Marx.

bankruptcy while the issue department still had intact several millions in gold and, in addition, its entire 14 million in securities. And this could take place so much more easily since there is a period in almost every crisis when heavy exports of gold take place which must be covered in the main by the metal reserve of the bank. But for every five pounds in gold which then go abroad, the domestic circulation is deprived of a five-pound note, so that the quantity of circulating medium is reduced precisely at a time when the largest quantity is most needed. The Bank Act of 1844 thus directly induces the entire commercial world forthwith to hoard a reserve fund of banknotes at the outbreak of a crisis; in other words, to accelerate and intensify the crisis. By such artificial intensification of demand for money accommodation, that is, for means of payment at the decisive moment, and the simultaneous restriction of the supply the Bank Act drives the rate of interest to a hitherto unknown height during a crisis. Hence, instead of eliminating crises, the Act, on the contrary, intensifies them to a point where either the entire industrial world must go to pieces, or else the Bank Act. Both on October 25, 1847, and on November 12,[a] the crisis reached such a point; the government then lifted the restriction for the Bank in issuing notes by suspending the Act of 1844, and this sufficed in both cases to overcome the crisis. In 1847, the assurance that banknotes would again be issued for first-class securities sufficed to bring to light the £4 to £5 million of hoarded notes and put them back into circulation; in 1857, the issue of notes exceeding the legal amount reached almost one million, but this lasted only for a very short time.

It should also be mentioned that the 1844 legislation still shows traces recalling the first twenty years of the 19th century, the period when specie payments were suspended and notes devaluated. The fear that notes may lose their credit is still plainly in evidence. But this fear is quite groundless, since even in 1825 the issue of a discovered old supply of one-pound notes, which had been taken out of circulation, broke the crisis and proved thereby that the credit of the notes remained unshaken even in times of the most general and deepest mistrust. And this is quite understandable; for, after all, the entire nation backs up these symbols of value with its credit.—*F. E.*//

Let us now turn to a few comments on the effect of the Bank Act. John Stuart Mill believes that the Bank Act of 1844 kept down overspeculation. Happily this sage spoke on June 12, 1857. Four months

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[a] 1857

later the crisis broke out. He literally congratulated the "bank directors and the commercial public generally" on the fact that they

"understand much better than they did the nature of a commercial crisis, and the extreme mischief which they do both to themselves and to the public by upholding overspeculation" (B. C. 1857, No. 2031).

The sagacious Mr. Mill thinks that if one-pound notes are issued

"as advances to manufacturers and others, who pay wages ... the notes may get into the hands of others who expend them for consumption, and in that case the notes do constitute in themselves a demand for commodities and may for some time tend to promote a rise of prices".[a]

Does Mr. Mill assume, then, that manufacturers will pay higher wages because they pay them in paper instead of gold? Or does he believe that if a manufacturer receives his loan in £100 notes and exchanges them for gold, these wages would constitute less demand than if paid immediately in one-pound notes? And does he not know that, for instance, in certain mining districts wages were paid in the notes of local banks, so that several labourers together received one five-pound note? Does this increase their demand? Or will bankers advance money to manufacturers more easily and in larger quantities in small notes than in large ones?

//This singular fear which Mill has for one-pound notes would be inexplicable if his whole work on political economy did not reveal an eclecticism which shows no hesitation in the face of any contradiction. On the one hand, he agrees on many points with Tooke as opposed to Overstone; on the other, he believes that commodity prices are determined by the quantity of available money. He is thus by no means convinced that, all other conditions being equal, a sovereign will find its way into the coffers of the Bank for every one-pound note issued. He fears that the quantity of circulating medium could be increased and thereby devaluated, that is, commodity prices might rise. This and nothing more is concealed behind the above-mentioned apprehension.—*F. E.*//

Tooke expresses the following views before the C. D. 1848/57 concerning the division of the Bank into two departments and the excessive precautions taken to safeguard the cashing of notes:

The greater fluctuations of the interest rate in 1847, as compared with 1837 and 1839, are due solely to the separation of the Bank into two departments (3010).—The

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[a] Ibid., No. 2066.

safety of banknotes was affected neither in 1825 nor in 1837 and 1839 (3015).—The demand for gold in 1825 was aimed only at filling the vacuum created by the complete discredit of the one-pound notes of country banks; this vacuum could be filled only by gold, until such time as the Bank of England also issued one-pound notes (3022).—In November and December 1825 not the slightest demand existed for gold for export purposes (3023).

"In point of discredit at home as well as abroad, a failure in paying the dividends and the deposits would be of far greater consequence than the suspending of the payment of the banknotes (3028)."

"3035. Would you not say that any circumstance, which had the effect of ultimately endangering the convertibility of the note, would be one likely to add serious difficulty in a moment of commercial pressure?—Not at all."

"In the course of 1847 ... an increased issue from the circulating department might have contributed to replenish the coffers of the Bank, as it did in 1825" (3058).

Before the Committee on B. A. 1857, Newmarch testifies:

"1357. The first mischievous effect ... of that separation of departments" (of the Bank) "and ... a necessary consequence from the cutting in two of the reserve of bullion has been that the banking business of the Bank of England, that is to say, the whole of that part of the operation of the Bank of England which brings it more immediately into contact with the commerce of the country, has been carried on upon a moiety only of its former amounts of reserve. Out of that division of the reserve has arisen, therefore, this state of things, that whenever the reserve of the banking department has been diminished, even to a small extent, it has rendered necessary an action by the Bank upon its rate of discount. That diminished reserve, therefore, has produced a frequent succession of changes and jerks in the rate of discount."—"1358. The alterations since 1844" (until June 1857) "have been some 60 in number, whereas the alterations prior to 1844 in the same space of time certainly did not amount to a dozen."

Of special interest is the testimony of Palmer, a Director of the Bank of England since 1811 and for a while its Governor, before the Lords' Committee on C. D. 1848/57:

"828. In December 1825, there was about £1,100,000 of bullion remaining in the Bank. At that period it must undoubtedly have failed *in toto*, if this Act had been in existence" (meaning the Act of 1844). "The issue in December, I think, was 5 or 6 millions of notes in a week, which relieved the panic that existed at that period."

"825. The first period" (since July 1, 1825) "when the present Act would have failed, if the Bank had attempted to carry out the transactions then undertaken, was on the 28th of February 1837; at that period there were £3,900,000 to £4,000,000 of bullion in the possession of the Bank, and then the Bank would have been left with £650,000 only in the reserve. Another period is in the year 1839, which continued from the 9th of July to the 5th of December."—"826. What was the amount of the reserve in that case?—THE RESERVE WAS MINUS ALTOGETHER £200,000[a] upon the 5th of September. On the 5th of November it rose to about a million or a million and a half."—"830. The Act of 1844 would have prevented the Bank giving assistance to the

[a] In the 1894 German edition this English phrase is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

American trade in 1837."—"831. There were three of the principal American houses that failed. ... Almost every house connected with America was in a state of discredit, and unless the Bank had come forward at that period, I do not believe that there would have been more than one or two houses that could have sustained themselves."—"836.The pressure in 1837 is not to be compared with that of 1847. The pressure in the former year was chiefly confined to the American trade."—838. (Early in June 1837 the management of the Bank discussed the question of overcoming the pressure.) "Some gentlemen alvocated the opinion ... that the correct principle was to raise the rate of interest, by which the price of commodities would be lowered; in short, to make money dear and commodities cheap, BY WHICH THE FOREIGN PAYMENT WOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED." [a]—"906. The establishment of an artificial limitation of the powers of the Bank under the Act of 1844, instead of the ancient and natural limitation of the Bank's powers, namely, the actual amount of its specie, tends to create artificial difficulty, and therefore an operation upon the prices of merchandise that would have been unnecessary but for the provisions of the Act."—"968. You cannot, by the working of the Act of 1844, materially reduce the bullion, under ordinary circumstances, below nine million and a half. It would then cause a pressure upon prices and credit which would occasion such an advance in the exchange with foreign countries as to increase the import of bullion, and to that extent add to the amount in the issue department."—"996. Under the limitation that you" (the Bank) "are now subject to, you have not the command of silver to an extent that you require at a time when silver would be required for an action upon the foreign exchanges."—"999. What was the object of the regulation restricting the Bank as to the amount of silver to one-fifth?—I cannot answer that question."

The purpose was to make money dear; aside from the CURRENCY Theory, the separation of the two bank departments and the requirement for Scottish and Irish banks to hold gold in reserve for backing notes issued beyond a certain amount had the same purpose. This brought about a decentralisation of the national metal reserve, which decreased its capability of correcting unfavourable exchange rates. All the following stipulations aim to raise the interest rate: that the Bank of England shall not issue notes exceeding 14 million except against gold reserve; that the banking department shall be administered as an ordinary bank, forcing the interest rate down when money is plentiful and driving it up when money is scarce; limiting the silver reserve, the principal means of rectifying the rates of exchange with the continent and Asia; the regulations concerning the Scottish and Irish banks, which never require gold [b] for export but must now keep it under the pretence of ensuring an actually illusory convertibility of their notes. The fact is that the Act of 1844 caused a run on the Scottish banks for gold in 1857 for the first time. Nor does

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this English phrase is given in parentheses after its German equivalent. - [b] In the original: "money"; corrected after Marx's manuscript.

the new bank legislation make any distinction between a drain of gold abroad or for domestic purposes, although it goes without saying that their effects are quite different. Hence the continual large fluctuations in the market rate of interest. With reference to silver, Palmer says on two separate occasions, 992 and 994, that the Bank can buy silver for notes only when the rate of exchange is favourable for England, i. e., silver is superfluous; for:

"1003. The only object in holding a considerable amount of bullion in silver is to facilitate making the foreign payment so long as the exchanges are against the country."—"1004. Silver is ... a commodity which, being money in every other part of the world, is therefore the most direct commodity ... for the purpose" (payments abroad). "The United States latterly have taken gold alone."

In his opinion, the Bank did not have to raise the interest rate above its old level of 5% in times of stringency, so long as unfavourable exchange rates do not drain gold to foreign countries. Were it not for the Act of 1844, the Bank would be able to discount all FIRST-CLASS BILLS[a] presented to it without difficulty. (1018-20). But under the Act of 1844 and in the state in which the Bank found itself in October 1847,

"there was no rate of interest which the Bank could have charged to houses of credit, which they would not have been willing to pay to carry on their payments".[b]

And this high interest rate was precisely the purpose of the Act.

"1029. ... Great distinction which I wish to draw between the action of the rate of interest upon a foreign demand" (for precious metal) "and an advance in the rate for the object of checking a demand upon the Bank during a period of internal discredit."—"1023. Previously to the Act of 1844 ... when the exchanges were in favour of the country, and positive panic and alarm existed through the country, there was no limit put upon the issue, by which alone that state of distress could be relieved."

So speaks a man who has occupied a post for 39 years in the administration of the Bank of England. Let us now listen to a private banker, Twells, an associate of Spooner, Attwood & Co. since 1801. He is alone among the witnesses before the B. C. 1857 who provides us with an insight into the country's actual state of affairs and who sees the crisis approaching. In other respects, however, he is a sort of LITTLE-SHILLING MAN from Birmingham,[52] like his associates, the Attwood brothers, who are the founders of this school. (See *Zur Kritik der pol. Oek.*, S. 59.)[c] He testifies:

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[a] In the 1894 German edition these English words are given in parentheses after their German equivalent. - [b] Ibid., No. 1022. - [c] See present edition, Vol. 29, p. 319.

"4488. How do you think that the Act of 1844 has operated? — If I were to answer you as a banker, I should say that it has operated exceedingly well, for it has afforded a rich harvest to bankers and" (money) "capitalists of all kinds. But it has operated very badly to the honest industrious tradesman who requires steadiness in the rate of discount, that he may be enabled to make his arrangements with confidence.... It has made money lending a most profitable pursuit."—"4489. It" (the Bank Act) "enables the London joint-stock banks to return from 20 to 22% to their proprietors? — The other day one of them was paying 18% and I think another 20%; they ought to support the Act of 1844 very strongly."—"4490. The little tradesmen and respectable merchants, who have not a large capital ... it pinches them very much indeed.... The only means that I have of knowing is that I observe such an amazing quantity of their acceptances unpaid. They are always small, perhaps ranging from £20 to £100, a great many of them are unpaid and go back unpaid to all parts of the country, which is always an indication of suffering amongst ... little shopkeepers."

4494. He declares that business is not profitable now. The following remarks of his are important because they show that he saw the latent existence of the crisis when none of the others had even an inkling of it.

"4494. Things keep their prices in Mincing Lane, but we sell nothing, we cannot sell upon any terms; we keep the nominal price."

4495. He relates the following case: A Frenchman sends a broker in Mincing Lane commodities for £3,000 to be sold at a certain price. The broker cannot obtain the requested price, and the Frenchman cannot sell below this price. The commodities remain unsold, but the Frenchman needs money. The broker therefore makes him an advance of £1,000 and has the Frenchman draw a bill of exchange of £1,000 for three months on the broker against his commodities as security. At the end of the three months the bill becomes due, but the commodities still remain unsold. The broker must then pay the bill, and although he possesses security for £3,000, he cannot convert it into cash and as a result faces difficulties. In this manner, one person drags another down with him.

"4496. With regard to the large exports ... where there is a depressed state of trade at home, it necessarily forces large exportation."—"4497. Do you think that the home consumption has been diminished? — *Very much indeed ... immensely* ... the shopkeepers are the best authorities."—"4498. Still the importations are very large; does not that indicate a large consumption? — It does, *if you can sell*; but many of the warehouses are full of these things; in this very instance which I have been relating, there is £3,000 worth imported, which cannot be sold."

"4514. When money is dear, would you say that capital would be cheap? — Yes."

This man, then, is by no means of Overstone's opinion that a high rate of interest is the same as dear capital.

The following shows how business is now conducted:

"4616. Others are going to a very great extent, carrying on a prodigious trade in exports and imports, to an extent far beyond what their capital justifies them in doing; there can be no doubt of all of that. These men may succeed; they may by some lucky venture get large fortunes, and put themselves right. That is very much the system in which a great deal of trade is now carried on. Persons will consent to lose 20, 30, and 40 per cent upon a shipment; the next venture may bring it back to them. If they fail in one after another, then they are broken up; and that is just the case which we have often seen recently; mercantile houses have broken up, without one shilling of property being left."

"4791. The low rate of interest" (during the last ten years) "operates against bankers, it is true, but I should have very great difficulty in explaining to you, unless I could show you the books, how much higher the profits" (his own) "are now than they used to be formerly. When interest is low, from excessive issues, we have large deposits; when interest is high, we get the advantage in that way."—"4794. When money is at a moderate rate, we have more demand for it; we lend more; it operates in that way" (for us, the bankers). "When it gets higher, we get more than a fair proportion for it; we get more than we ought to do."

We have seen that the credit of the Bank of England notes is considered beyond question by all experts. Nevertheless, the Bank Act completely ties up nine to ten million in gold for the convertibility of these notes. The sacredness and inviolability of this reserve is thereby carried much farther than among hoarders of olden times. Mr. Brown (Liverpool) testifies, C. D. 1847/57:

"2311: This money" (the metal reserve in the issue department) might as well have been thrown into the sea from any use that it was of at that time, there being no power to employ any of it without violating the Act of Parliament."

The building contractor E. Capps, already cited earlier, whose testimony is also used to illustrate the modern building system in London (Book II, Chap. XII [a]), sums up his opinion of the Bank Act of 1844 as follows (B. A. 1857):

"5508. Then upon the whole ... you think that the present system" (of bank legislation) "is a somewhat adroit scheme for bringing the profits of industry periodically into the usurer's bag? — I think so. I know that it has operated so in the building trade."

As mentioned before, the Scottish banks were forced by the Bank Act of 1845 into a system resembling that of the English. They were obliged to hold gold in reserve for their note issue beyond the limit fixed for each bank. The effect of this may be seen from the following testimony before the C. D. 1848/57.

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[a] Ibid., Vol. 36, pp. 235-36.

Kennedy, Director of a Scottish bank:

"3375. Was there anything that you can call a circulation of gold in Scotland previously to the passing of the Act of 1845?—None whatever."—"3376. Has there been any additional circulation of gold since?—None whatever; THE PEOPLE DISLIKE GOLD."[a]

3450. The sum of about £900,000 in gold, which the Scottish banks are compelled to keep since 1845, can only be injurious in his opinion and

"absorbs unprofitably so much of the capital of Scotland".

Furthermore, Anderson, Director of the UNION BANK OF SCOTLAND:

"3588. The only pressure upon the Bank of England by the banks in Scotland for gold was for foreign exchanges?—It was; and that is not to be relieved by holding gold in Edinburgh."—"3590. Having the same amount of securities in the Bank of England" (or in the private banks of England) "we have the same power that we had before of making a drain upon the Bank of England."

Finally, we quote an article from the *Economist* (Wilson):

"The Scotch banks keep unemployed amounts of cash with their London agents; these keep them in the Bank of England. This gives to the Scotch banks, within the limits of these amounts, command over the metal reserve of the Bank, and here it is always in the place where it is needed, when foreign payments are to be made."

This system was disturbed by the Act of 1845:

"In consequence of the Act of 1845 for Scotland of late a large drain of the coin of the Bank has taken place, to supply a mere contingent demand in Scotland, which may never occur... Since that period there has been a large sum uniformly locked up in Scotland, and another considerable sum constantly travelling back and forward between London and Scotland. If a period arrives when a Scotch bank expects an increased demand for its notes, a box of gold is brought down from London; when this period is past, the same box, generally unopened, is sent back to London" (*Economist*, October 23, 1847).[b]

//And what does the father of the Bank Act, banker Samuel Jones Loyd, alias Lord Overstone, say to all this?

Already in 1848 he repeated before the Lords' Committee (C. D. 1848/57) that

"pressure, and a high rate of interest caused by the want of sufficient capital, cannot be relieved by an extra issue of banknotes" (1514),

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this English phrase is given in parentheses after its German equivalent. - [b] "The Scotch Bank Bill—1845", *The Economist*, No. 217, October 23, 1847.

in spite of the fact that the mere *authority* to increase the note issue, given by the Government's Letter of October 25, 1847, had sufficed to take the edge off the crisis.

He holds to the view that

"the high rate of interest and the depression of the manufacturing interests was the necessary result of the diminution of the *material* capital applicable to manufacturing and trading purposes" (1604).

And yet the depressed condition of the manufacturing industry had for months consisted in material commodity capital filling the warehouses to overflowing and being actually unsaleable; so that for precisely this reason, material productive capital lay wholly or partly idle, in order not to produce still more unsaleable commodity capital.

And before the Bank Committee of 1857 he says:

"By strict and prompt adherence to the principles of the Act of 1844, everything has passed off with regularity and ease, the monetary system is safe and unshaken, the prosperity of the country is undisputed, the public confidence in the wisdom of the Act of 1844 is daily gaining strength, and if the Committee wish for further practical illustration of the soundness of the principles on which it rests, or of the beneficial results which it has ensured, the true and sufficient answer to the Committee is, look around you, look at the present state of the trade of this country, ... look at the contentment of the people, look at the wealth and prosperity which pervades every class of the community, and then having done so, the Committee may be fairly called upon to decide whether they will interfere with the continuance of an Act under which those results have been developed." (B. C. 1857, No. 4189.)

To this song of praise by Overstone before the Committee on July 14, the antistrophe was given on November 12 of the same year in the shape of a letter to the Bank's management, in which the government suspended the miracle-working law of 1844 to save what could still be saved.—*F. E.*//

## Chapter XXXV

### PRECIOUS METAL AND RATE OF EXCHANGE

#### I. MOVEMENT OF THE GOLD RESERVE

It should be noted in regard to the accumulation of notes in times of stringency, that it is a repetition of the hoarding of precious metal as used to take place in troubled times in the most primitive conditions of society. The Act of 1844 is interesting in its operation because it seeks to transform all precious metal existing in the country into

a circulating medium; it seeks to equate a drain of gold with a contraction of the circulating medium and a return flow of gold with an expansion of the circulating medium. As a result, the experiment proved the contrary to be the case. With a single exception, which we shall mention shortly, the quantity of circulating notes of the Bank of England has never, since 1844, reached the maximum which it was authorised to issue. The crisis of 1857 proved on the other hand that this maximum does not suffice under certain circumstances. From November 13 to 30, 1857, a daily average of £488,830 above this maximum was circulating (B. A. 1858, p. XI). The legal maximum was at that time £14,475,000, plus the amount of metal reserve in the vaults of the Bank.

Concerning the outflow and inflow of precious metal, the following is to be noted:

*First*, a distinction should be made between the back and forth movement of metal within a region which does not produce any gold and silver, on the one hand, and, on the other, the flow of gold and silver from their sources of production to various other countries and the distribution of this additional metal among them.

Before the gold mines of Russia,[56] California and Australia made their influence felt, the supply since the beginning of the 19th century sufficed only for the replacement of worn-out coins, for general use in articles of luxury, and for the export of silver to Asia.

However, in the first place, silver exports to Asia have since increased extraordinarily, owing to the Asiatic trade of America and Europe. The silver exported from Europe was largely replaced by the additional supply of gold. Secondly, a portion of the newly imported gold was absorbed by internal money circulation. It is estimated that up to 1857 about 30 million in gold were added to England's internal circulation.[14] Furthermore, the average level of metal reserves in all

[14] The effect this had on the money market is indicated by the following testimony of Newmarch[a]: "1509. At the close of 1853, there was a considerable apprehension in the public mind, and in September of that year the Bank of England raised its discount on three occasions... In the early part of October there was a considerable degree of apprehension and alarm in the public mind. That apprehension and alarm was relieved to a very great extent before the end of November, and was almost wholly removed, in consequence of the arrival of nearly £5,000,000 of treasure from Australia... The same thing happened in the autumn of 1854, by the arrival in the months of October and November of nearly £6,000,000 of treasure. The same thing happened again in the

[a] Report from the Select Committee on Bank Acts... 1857.

the central banks of Europe and North America increased since 1844. The expansion of domestic money circulation resulted at the same time in bank reserves growing more rapidly in the period of stagnation following upon the panic, because of the larger quantity of gold coins thrust out of domestic circulation and immobilised. Finally, the consumption of precious metal for luxury articles increased since the discovery of new gold deposits as a consequence of the increased wealth.

*Secondly*, precious metal flows back and forth between countries which do not produce any gold or silver, the same country continually importing, and also exporting. It is only the preponderance of this movement in one or another direction which, in the final analysis, determines whether a drain or an augmentation has taken place, since the mere oscillations and frequently parallel movements largely neutralise one another. But for this reason, in so far as the result is concerned, the continuity and, in the main, the parallel course of both movements is overlooked. A greater import or a greater export of precious metal is always interpreted to be solely the effect and expression of the relation between the imports and exports of commodities, whereas it is simultaneously indicative of the relation between exports and imports of precious metal itself, quite independent of commodity trade.

*Thirdly*, the preponderance of imports over exports, and vice versa, is measured on the whole by the increase or decrease in metal reserves of the central banks. The greater or lesser precision of this criterion naturally depends primarily on the degree of centralisation of the banking business in general. For on this depends the extent that precious metal in general accumulated in the so-called national banks represents the national metal reserve. But assuming this to be the case, the criterion is not accurate because an additional import may be absorbed under certain circumstances by domestic circulation and the growing consumption of gold and silver in producing luxury articles; furthermore, because without additional import, a withdrawal of gold coin for domestic circulation could take place,

autumn of 1855, which we know was a period of excitement and alarm, by the arrivals, in the three months of September, October and November, of nearly £8,000,000 of treasure; and then at the close of last year, 1856, we find exactly the same occurrence. In truth, I might appeal to the observation almost of any member of the Committee, whether the natural and complete solvent to which we have got into the habit of looking for any financial pressure, is not the arrival of a gold ship".

and thus the metal reserve could decrease even without a simultaneous increase in exports.

*Fourthly*, an export of metal assumes the aspect of a DRAIN[a] when the movement of decrease continues for a long time, so that the decrease represents a tendency of movement and depresses the metal reserve of the bank considerably below its average level, down to approximately its average minimum. This minimum is more or less arbitrarily fixed, in so far as it is differently determined in every individual case by legislation concerning backing for the cashing of notes, etc. Concerning the quantitative limits which such a drain can reach in England, Newmarch testified before the Committee on B. A. 1857, Evidence No. 1494:

"Judging from experience, it is very unlikely that the efflux of treasure arising from any oscillation in the foreign trade will proceed beyond £3,000,000 or £4,000,000."

In 1847, the lowest gold reserve level of the Bank of England, occurring on October 23, showed a decrease of £5,198,156 as compared with that of December 26, 1846, and a decrease of £6,453,748 as compared with the highest level of 1846 (August 29).

*Fifthly*, the determination of the metal reserve of the so-called national bank, a determination, however, which does not by itself regulate the magnitude of this metal hoard, for it can grow solely by the paralysis of domestic and foreign trade, is threefold: 1) reserve fund for international payments, in other words, reserve fund of world money; 2) reserve fund for alternately expanding and contracting domestic metal circulation; 3) reserve fund for the payment of deposits and for the convertibility of notes (this is connected with the function of the bank and has nothing to do with the functions of money as such). The reserve fund can, therefore, also be influenced by conditions which affect every one of these three functions. Thus, as an international fund it can be influenced by the balance of payments, no matter by what factors the latter may be determined and whatever its relation to the balance of trade may be. As a reserve fund for domestic metal circulation it can be influenced by the latter's expansion or contraction. The third function — that of a security fund — does not, admittedly, determine the independent movement of the metal reserve, but has a two-fold effect. If notes are issued which

[a] In the 1894 German edition this English term is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

replace metallic money (also including silver coins in countries where silver is a measure of value) in domestic circulation, the function of the reserve fund under 2) drops away. And a portion of the precious metal, which served to perform this function, will for a long time find its way abroad. In this case metallic coins are not withdrawn for domestic circulation, and thus the temporary augmentation of the metal reserve by immobilising a part of the circulating coined metal simultaneously falls away. Furthermore, if a minimum metal reserve must be maintained under all circumstances for the payment of deposits and for the convertibility of notes, this affects in its own way the results of a drain or return flow of gold; it affects that part of the reserve which the bank is obliged to maintain under all circumstances, or that part which it seeks to get rid of as useless at certain times. If the circulation were purely metallic and the banking system concentrated, the bank would likewise have to consider its metal reserve as security for the payment of its deposits, and a drain of metal could cause a panic such as was witnessed in Hamburg in 1857.

*Sixthly,* with the exception of perhaps 1837, the real crisis always broke out only after a change in the rates of exchange, that is, as soon as the import of precious metal had again gained preponderance over its export.

In 1825, the real crash came after the drain of gold had ceased. In 1839, there was a drain of gold, but it did not bring about a crash. In 1847, the drain of gold ceased in April and the crash came in October. In 1857, the drain of gold to foreign countries had ceased in early November, and the crash did not come until later that same month.

This is particularly evident in the crisis of 1847, when the drain of gold ceased in April after causing a slight preliminary crisis, and the real business crisis did not come until October.

The following testimony was presented at the SECRET COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS ON COMMERCIAL DISTRESS, 1848, This EVIDENCE[a] was not printed until 1857 (also cited as C. D. 1848/57).

Evidence of Tooke:

In April 1847, a stringency arose, which, strictly speaking, equalled a panic, but was of relatively short duration and not accompanied by any commercial failures of importance. In October the stringency was far more intensive than at any time during

[a] In the 1894 German edition this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

April, an almost unheard-of number of commercial failures taking place (2996).—In April the rates of exchange, particularly with America, compelled us to export a considerable amount of gold in payment for unusually large imports; only by an extreme effort did the Bank stop the drain and drive the rates higher (2997).—In October the rates of exchange favoured England (2998).—The change in the rates of exchange had begun in the third week of April (3000).—They fluctuated in July and August; since the beginning of August they always favoured England (3001).—The drain on gold in August arose from a demand for internal circulation.[a]

J. Morris, Governor of the Bank of England:

Although the rate of exchange favoured England since August 1847, and an import of gold had taken place in consequence, the bullion reserve of the Bank decreased. "£2,200,000 went out into the country in consequence of the internal demand" (137).—This is explained on the one hand by an increased employment of labourers in railway construction, and on the other by the "circumstance of the bankers wishing to provide themselves with gold in times of distress" (147).

Palmer, ex-Governor and a Director of the Bank of England since 1811:

"684. During the whole period from the middle of April 1847 to the day of withdrawing the restrictive clause in the Act of 1844 the foreign exchanges were in favour of this country."

The drain of bullion, which created an independent money panic in April 1847, was here therefore, as always, but a precursor of the crisis, and a turn had already taken place before it broke out. In 1839, a heavy drain of bullion took place for grain, etc., while business was strongly depressed, but there was no crisis or money panic.

*Seventhly*, as soon as general crises have spent themselves, gold and silver—leaving aside the inflow of new precious metal from the producing countries—distribute themselves once more in the proportions in which they existed in a state of equilibrium as individual hoards of the various countries. Other conditions being equal, the relative magnitude of a hoard in each country will be determined by the role of that country in the world market. They flow from the country which had more than its normal share to other countries. These movements of outgoing and incoming metal merely restore the original distribution among the various national reserves. This redistribution, however, is brought about by the effects of various circumstances, which will be taken up in our treatment of rates of exchange. As soon as the normal distribution is once more re-

[a] Ibid., No. 3003.

stored — beginning with this moment — a stage of growth sets in and then again a drain.//This last statement applies, of course, only to England, as the centre of the world money market.— *F. E.*//

*Eighthly*, a drain of metal is generally the symptom of a change in the state of foreign trade, and this change in turn is a premonition that conditions are again approaching a crisis.[15]

*Ninthly*, the balance of payments can favour Asia against Europe and America.[16]

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An import of precious metal takes place mainly during two periods. On the one hand, it takes place in the first phase of a low interest rate, which follows upon a crisis and reflects a restriction of production; and then in the second phase, when the interest rate rises, but before it attains its average level. This is the phase during which returns come quickly, commercial credit is abundant, and therefore the demand for loan capital does not grow in proportion to the expansion of production. In both phases, with loan capital relatively abundant, the superfluous addition of capital existing in the form of gold and silver, i. e., a form in which it can primarily serve only as loan capital, must seriously affect the rate of interest and concomitantly the atmosphere of business in general.

On the other hand, a drain, a continued and heavy export of precious metal, takes place as soon as returns no longer flow, markets are overstocked, and an illusory prosperity is maintained only by means of credit; in other words, as soon as a greatly increased demand for loan capital exists and the interest rate, therefore, has reached at least its average level. Under such circumstances, which are reflected pre-

[15] According to Newmarch,[a] a drain of gold to foreign countries can arise from three causes: 1) from purely commercial conditions, that is, if imports have exceeded exports, as was the case in 1836 to 1844, and again in 1847 — principally a heavy import of grain; 2) in order to secure the means for investing English capital in foreign countries, as in 1857 for railways in India, and 3) for definite expenditures abroad, as in 1853 and 1854 for war purposes in the Orient.

[16] 1918. Newmarch. "When you combine India and China, when you bring into account the transactions between India and Australia, and the still more important transactions between China and the United States, the trade being a triangular one, and the adjustment taking place through us ... then it is true that the balance of trade was not merely against this country, but against France, and against the United States." — (B. A. 1857.)

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[a] Ibid., Nos. 1498-1509.

cisely in a drain of precious metal, the effect of continued withdrawal of capital, in a form in which it exists directly as loanable money capital, is considerably intensified. This must have a direct influence on the interest rate. But instead of restricting credit transactions, the rise in interest rate extends them and leads to an overstraining of all their auxiliary resources. This period, therefore, precedes the crash.

Newmarch is asked (B. A. 1857):

"1520. But then the volume of bills in circulation increases with the rate of discount?—It seems to do so."—"1522. In quiet ordinary times the ledger is the real instrument of exchange; but when any difficulty arises; when, for example, under such circumstances as I have suggested, there is a rise in the bank rate of discount ... then the transactions naturally resolve themselves into drawing bills of exchange, those bills of exchange being not only more convenient as regards legal proof of the transaction which has taken place, but also being more convenient in order to effect purchases elsewhere, and being pre-eminently convenient as a means of credit by which capital can be raised."

Furthermore, as soon as somewhat threatening conditions induce the bank to raise its discount rate—whereby the probability exists at the same time that the bank will cut down the running time of the bills to be discounted by it—the general apprehension spreads that this will rise in crescendo. Everyone, and above all the credit swindler, will therefore strive to discount the future and have as many means of credit as possible at his command at the given time. These reasons, then, amount to this: it is not that the mere quantity of imported or exported precious metal as such which makes its influence felt, but that it exerts its effect, firstly, by virtue of the specific character of precious metal as capital in money form, and secondly, by acting like a feather which, when added to the weight on the scales, suffices to tip the oscillating balance definitely to one side; it acts because it arises under conditions when any addition decides in favour of one or the other side. Without these grounds, it would be quite inexplicable why a drain of gold amounting to, say, £5,000,000 to £8,000,000—and this is the limit of experience to date—should have any appreciable effect. This small decrease or increase of capital, which seems insignificant even compared to the £70 million in gold which circulate on an average in England, is really a negligibly small magnitude when compared to production of such volume as that of the English.[17] But it is precisely the development of the credit and

[17] See, for instance, the ridiculous reply of Weguelin, where he states that a drain of five million in gold is so much capital less, and thus attempts to explain certain phe-

banking system, which tends, on the one hand, to press all money capital into the service of production (or what amounts to the same thing, to transform all money income into capital), and which, on the other hand, reduces the metal reserve to a minimum in a certain phase of the cycle, so that it can no longer perform the functions for which it is intended—it is this developed credit and banking system which creates this over-sensitiveness of the whole organism. At less developed stages of production, the decrease or increase of the hoard below or above its average level is a relatively insignificant matter. Similarly, on the other hand, even a very considerable drain of gold is relatively ineffective if it does not occur in the critical period of the industrial cycle.

In the given explanation we have not considered cases in which a drain of gold takes place as a result of crop failures, etc. In such cases the large and sudden disturbance of the equilibrium of production, which is expressed by this drain, requires no further explanation as to its effect. This effect is that much greater the more such a disturbance occurs in a period when production is in full swing.

We have also omitted from consideration the function of the metal reserve as a security for banknote convertibility and as the pivot of the entire credit system. The central bank is the pivot of the credit system. And the metal reserve, in turn, is the pivot of the bank.[18] The changeover from the credit system to the monetary system is necessary, as I have already shown in Book I, Ch. III in discussing means of payment.[a] That the greatest sacrifices of real wealth are necessary to maintain the metallic basis in a critical moment has been admitted by both Tooke and Loyd-Overstone. The controversy revolves merely round a plus or a minus and round the more or less

nomena which do *not* take place when there is an infinitely greater increase in prices or depreciation, expansion or contraction of real industrial capital. On the other hand, it is just as ridiculous to attempt to explain these phenomena directly as symptoms of an expansion or contraction of the mass of real capital (considered from the viewpoint of its material elements).

[18] Newmarch (B. A. 1857): "1364. The reserve of bullion in the Bank of England is, in truth ... the central reserve or hoard of treasure upon which the whole trade of the country is made to turn; all the other banks in the country look to the Bank of England as the central hoard or reservoir from which they are to draw their reserve of coin; and it is upon that hoard or reservoir that the action of the foreign exchanges always falls."

[a] See present edition, Vol. 35.

rational treatment of the inevitable.[19] A certain quantity of metal, insignificant compared with the total production, is admitted to be the pivotal point of the system. Hence the superb theoretical dualism, aside from the appalling manifestation of this characteristic that it possesses as the pivotal point during crises. So long as enlightened economy treats "of capital" *ex professo*, it looks down upon gold and silver with the greatest disdain, considering them as the most indifferent and useless form of capital. But as soon as it treats of the banking system, everything is reversed, and gold and silver become capital *par excellence*, for whose preservation every other form of capital and labour is to be sacrificed. But how are gold and silver distinguished from other forms of wealth? Not by the magnitude of their value, for this is determined by the quantity of labour incorporated in them; but by the fact that they represent independent incarnations, expressions of the *social* character of wealth. //The wealth of society exists only as the wealth of private individuals, who are its private owners. It preserves its social character only in that these individuals mutually exchange qualitatively different use values for the satisfaction of their wants. Under capitalist production they can do so only by means of money. Thus the wealth of the individual is realised as social wealth only through the medium of money. It is in money, in this thing, that the social nature of this wealth is incarnated.—*F. E.*// This social existence of wealth therefore assumes the aspect of a world beyond, of a thing, matter, commodity, alongside of and external to the real elements of social wealth. So long as production is in a state of flux this is forgotten. Credit, likewise a social form of wealth, crowds out money and usurps its place. It is faith in the social character of production which allows the money form of products to assume the aspect of something that is only evanescent and ideal, something merely imaginative. But as soon as credit is shaken—and this phase of necessity always appears in the modern industrial cycle—all the real wealth is to be actually and suddenly transformed into money, into

[19] "Practically, then, both Mr. Tooke and Mr. Loyd would meet an additional demand for gold ... by an early ... contraction of credit by raising the rate of interest, and restricting advances of capital.... But the principles of Mr. Loyd lead to certain" (legal) "restrictions and regulations which ... produce the most serious inconvenience" (*Economist*, 1847, p. 1418).[a]

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[a] "Conformity of Convertible Notes with a Metallic Currency", *The Economist*, No. 224, December 11, 1847.

gold and silver — a mad demand, which, however, grows necessarily out of the system itself. And all the gold and silver which is supposed to satisfy these enormous demands amounts to but a few millions in the vaults of the Bank.[20] Among the effects of the gold drain, then, the fact that production as social production is not really subject to social control, is strikingly emphasised by the existence of the social form of wealth as a *thing* external to it. The capitalist system of production, in fact, has this feature in common with former systems of production, in so far as they are based on trade in commodities and private exchange. But only in the capitalist system of production does this become apparent in the most striking and grotesque form of absurd contradiction and paradox, because, in the first place, production for direct use value, for consumption by the producers themselves, is most completely eliminated under the capitalist system, so that wealth exists only as a social process expressed as the intertwining of production and circulation; and, secondly, because with the development of the credit system, capitalist production continually strives to overcome the metal barrier, which is simultaneously a material and imaginative barrier of wealth and its movement, but again and again it breaks its back on this barrier.

In the crisis, the demand is made that all bills of exchange, securities and commodities shall be simultaneously convertible into bank money, and all this bank money, in turn, into gold.

## II. THE RATE OF EXCHANGE

//The rate of exchange is known to be the barometer for the international movement of money metals. If England has more payments to make to Germany than Germany to England, the price of marks, expressed in sterling, rises in London, and the price of sterling, expressed in marks, falls in Hamburg and Berlin. If this preponderance of England's payment obligations towards Germany is not balanced again, for instance, by a preponderance of purchases by Germany in

[20] "You quite agree that there is no mode by which you can modify the demand for bullion except by raising the rate of interest?" — Chapman (associate member of the great bill-brokers' firm of Overend, Gurney & Co.): "I should say so.... When our bullion falls to a certain point, we had better sound the tocsin at once and say we are drooping, and every man sending money abroad must do it at his own peril." B. A. 1857, Evid. No. 5057.

England, the sterling price of bills of exchange in marks on Germany must rise to the point where it will pay to send metal (gold coin or bullion) from England to Germany in payment of obligations, instead of sending bills of exchange. This is the typical course of events.

If this export of precious metal assumes a larger scope and lasts for a longer period, then the English bank reserve is affected, and the English money market, particularly the Bank of England, must take protective measures. These consist mainly, as we have already seen, in raising the interest rate. When the drain of gold is considerable, the money market as a rule becomes tight, that is, the demand for loan capital in the form of money significantly exceeds the supply and the higher interest rate follows quite naturally from this; the discount rate fixed by the Bank of England corresponds to this situation and asserts itself on the market. However there are cases when the drain of bullion is due to other than ordinary combinations of business transactions (for instance, loans to foreign states, investment of capital in foreign countries, etc.), and the London money market as such does not justify an effective rise in the interest rate; the Bank of England must then first "make money scarce", as the phrase goes, through heavy loans in the "open market" and thus artificially create a situation which justifies, or renders necessary, a rise in the interest rate; such a manoeuvre becomes more difficult from year to year.—*F. E.*//

How this raising of the interest rate affects the rates of exchange is shown by the following testimony before the Committee of the Lower House concerning bank legislation in 1857 (quoted as B. A. or B. C. 1857).

John Stuart Mill:

"2176. When there is a state of commercial difficulty there is always ... a considerable fall in the price of securities ... foreigners send over to buy railway shares in this country, or English holders of foreign railway shares sell their foreign railway shares abroad ... there is so much transfer of bullion prevented."—"2182. A large and rich class of bankers and dealers in securities, through whom the equalisation of the rate of interest and the equalisation of commercial PRESSURE[a] between different countries usually takes place ... are always on the look out to buy securities which are likely to rise.... The place for them to buy securities will be the country which is sending bullion away."—"2184. These investments of capital took place to a very considerable extent in 1847, to a sufficient extent to have relieved the drain considerably."

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this English word is given in parentheses after its German equivalent.

J. G. Hubbard, ex-Governor, and a Director of the Bank of England since 1838:

"2545. There are great quantities of European securities ... which have a European currency in all the different money markets, and those bonds, as soon as their value is ... reduced by 1 or 2 per cent in one market, are immediately purchased for transmission to those markets where their value is still unimpaired."—"2565. Are not foreign countries considerably in debt to the merchants of this country?—Very largely."—"2566. Therefore, the cashment of those debts might be sufficient to account for a very large accumulation of capital in this country?—In 1847, the ultimate restoration of our position was effected by our striking off so many millions previously due by America, and so many millions due by Russia to this country."

//At the same time, England owed these same countries "so and so many millions" for grain and also did not fail to "draw a line" through the greater portion of these millions via the bankruptcy of the English debtors. See the report on Bank Acts, 1857, Chapter XXX, p. 31[a] above.

"2572. In 1847, the exchange between this country and St. Petersburg was very high. When the Government Letter came out authorising the Bank to issue irrespectively of the limitation of £14,000,000" (above and beyond the gold reserve), "the stipulation was that the rate of discount should be 8%. At that moment, with the then rate of discount, it was a profitable operation to order gold to be shipped from St. Petersburg to London and on its arrival to lend it at 8% up to the maturity of the three months' bills drawn against the purchase of gold."—"2573. In all bullion operations there are many points to be taken into consideration; there is the rate of exchange and the rate of interest, which is available for the investment during the period of the maturity of the bill" (drawn against it).

### RATE OF EXCHANGE WITH ASIA

The following points are important because, on the one hand, they show how England recoups its losses, when its rate of exchange with Asia is unfavourable, at the expense of other countries, whose imports from Asia are paid through English middlemen. On the other hand, they are important because Mr. Wilson once again makes the foolish attempt here to identify the effect of the export of precious metal on the rates of exchange with the effect of the export of capital in general upon these rates; the export being in both cases not as a means of paying or buying, but for capital investment. In the first place, it goes without saying that whether so many millions of pounds sterling are

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[a] See this volume, pp. 491-92.

sent to India in precious metal or iron rails, to be invested in railways there, these are merely two different forms of transferring the same amount of capital to another country; namely, a transfer which does not enter the calculation of ordinary mercantile business, and for which the exporting country expects no other return than the future annual revenue from the income of these railways. If this export is made in the form of precious metal, it will exert a direct influence upon the money market and with it upon the interest rate of the country exporting this precious metal; if not necessarily under all circumstances, then under the previously outlined conditions, since it is precious metal and as such is directly loanable money capital and the basis of the entire money system. Similarly, this export also directly affects the rate of exchange. Precious metal is exported only for the reason, and to the extent, that bills of exchange, say on India, which are offered in the London money market, do not suffice to make these extra remittances. In other words, there is a demand for Indian bills of exchange which exceeds their supply, and so the rates turn for a time against England, not because it is in debt to India, but because it has to send extraordinary sums to India. In the long run, such a shipment of precious metal to India must have the effect of increasing the Indian demand for English commodities, because it indirectly increases the consuming power of India for European goods. But if the capital is shipped in the form of rails, etc., it cannot have any influence on the rates of exchange, since India has no return payment to make for it. Precisely for this reason, it need not have any influence on the money market. Wilson seeks to establish the existence of such an influence by declaring that such an extra expenditure would bring about an additional demand for money accommodation and would thus influence the interest rate. This may be the case; but to maintain that it must take place under all circumstances is totally wrong. No matter where the rails are shipped and whether laid on English or Indian soil, they represent nothing but a definite expansion of English production in a particular sphere. To contend that an expansion of production, even within very broad limits, cannot take place without driving up the interest rate, is absurd. Money accommodation, i. e., the amount of business transacted which includes credit operations, may grow; but these credit operations can increase while the interest rate remains unchanged. This was actually the case during the railway mania in England in the forties. The interest rate did not rise. And it is evident that, so far as actual capital is concerned, in this case commod-

ities, the effect on the money market will be just the same, whether these commodities are destined for foreign countries or for domestic consumption. It could only make a difference when capital investments by England in foreign countries exerted a restraining influence upon its commercial exports, i. e., exports for which payment must be made, thus giving rise to a return flow, or to the extent that these capital investments are already general symptoms indicating the overexertion of credit and the initiation of swindling operations.

In the following, Wilson puts the questions and Newmarch replies.

"1786. On a former day you stated, with reference to the demand for silver for the East, that you believed that the exchanges with India were in favour of this country, notwithstanding the large amount of bullion that is continually transmitted to the East; have you any ground for supposing the exchanges to be in favour of this country? — Yes, I have.... I find that the real value of the exports from the United Kingdom to India in 1851 was £7,420,000; to that is to be added the amount of India House drafts, that is, the funds drawn from India by the East India Company for the purpose of their own expenditure. Those drafts in that year amounted to £3,200,000, making, therefore, the total export from the United Kingdom to India £10,620,000. In 1855 ... the actual value of the export of goods from the United Kingdom had risen to £10,350,000 and the India House drafts were £3,700,000, making, therefore, the total export from this country £14,050,000. Now as regards 1851, I believe there are no means of stating what was the real value of the import of goods from India to this country, but in 1854 and 1855 we have a statement of the real value; in 1855, the total real value of the imports of goods from India to this country was £12,670,000 and that sum, compared with the £14,050,000 I have mentioned, left a balance in favour of the United Kingdom, as regards the direct trade between the two countries, of £1,380,000." [a]

Thereupon Wilson remarks that the rates of exchange are also affected by indirect commerce. For instance, exports from India to Australia and North America are covered by drafts on London, and therefore affect the rate of exchange just as though the commodities had gone directly from India to England. Furthermore, when India and China are considered together, the balance is against England, since China has constantly to make heavy payments to India for opium, and England has to make payments to China, so that the sums go by this circuitous route to India (1787, 1788).

1791. Wilson now asks if the effect on the rates of exchange will not be the same whether capital

"*went in the form of iron rails and locomotives, or whether it went in the form of coin*".

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[a] See Report from the Select Committee on Bank Acts.... 1857.

Newmarch correctly answers:

The £12 million which have been sent during the last few years to India for railway construction served to purchase an annuity which India has to pay at regular intervals to England.

"But as far as regards the immediate operation on the bullion market, the investments of the £12 million would only be operative as far as bullion was required to be sent out for actual money disbursements." [1792]

1797. //Weguelin asks:// "If no return is made for this iron" (rails), "how can it be said to affect the exchanges?—I do not think that that part of the expenditure which is sent out in the form of commodities affects the computation of the exchange.... The computation of the exchange between two countries is affected, one might say, solely by the quantity of obligations or bills offering in one country, as compared with the quantity offering in the other country against it; that is the rationale of the exchange. Now, as regards the transmission of those £12,000,000, the money in the first place is subscribed in this country ... now, if the nature of the transaction was such that the whole of that £12,000,000 was required to be laid down in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras in treasure ... a sudden demand would very violently operate upon the price of silver, and upon the exchange, just the same as if the India Company were to give notice tomorrow that their drafts were to be raised from £3,000,000 to £12,000,000. But half of those £12,000,000 is spent ... in buying commodities in this country ... iron rails and timber, and other materials ... it is an expenditure in this country of the capital of this country for a particular kind of commodity to be sent out to India, and there is an end of it."—"1798. //Weguelin:// But the production of those articles of iron and timber necessary for the railways produces a large consumption of foreign articles, which might affect the exchange?—Certainly."

Wilson now thinks that iron represents labour to a large extent, and that the wage paid for this labour largely represents imported goods (1799), and then questions further:

"1801. But speaking quite generally, it would have the effect of turning the exchanges against this country if you sent abroad the articles which were produced by the consumption of the imported articles without receiving any remittance for them either in the shape of produce or otherwise?—That principle is exactly what took place in this country during the time of the great railway expenditure" (1845). "For three or four or five years, you spent upon railways £30,000,000, nearly the whole of which went in the payment of wages. You sustained in three years a larger population employed in constructing railways, and locomotives, and carriages, and stations than you employed in the whole of the factory districts. The people ... spent those wages in buying tea and sugar and spirits and other foreign commodities; those commodities were imported; but it was a fact, that during the time this great expenditure was going on the foreign exchanges between this country and other countries were not materially deranged. There was no efflux of bullion, on the contrary, there was rather an influx."

1802. Wilson insists that with an equalised trade balance and par rates between England and India the extra shipment of iron and locomotives "would affect the exchanges with India". Newmarch cannot see it that way so long as the rails are sent out as capital invest-

ment and India has no payment to make for them in one form or another; he adds:

"I agree with the principle that no one country can have permanently against itself an adverse state of exchange with all the other countries, with which it deals; an adverse exchange with one country necessarily produces a favourable exchange with another."

Wilson retorts with this triviality:

"1803. But would not a transfer of capital be the same whether it was sent in one form or another? — As regards the obligation it would."—"1804. The effect therefore of making railways in India, whether you send bullion or whether you send materials, would be the same upon the capital market here in increasing the value of capital as if the whole was sent out in bullion?"

If iron prices did not rise, it was in any case proof that the "value" of "capital" contained in the rails had not been increased. What we are here concerned with is the value of money capital, i. e., the interest rate. Wilson would like to identify money capital with capital in general. The simple fact is essentially that 12 million were subscribed in England for Indian railways. This is a matter which has nothing directly to do with the rates of exchange, and the designation of the £12 million is also the same to the money market. If the money market is in good shape, it need not produce any effect at all on it, just as the English railway subscriptions in 1844 and 1845 left the money market unaffected. If the money market is already in somewhat difficult straits, the interest rate might indeed be affected by it, but certainly only in an upward direction, and this, according to Wilson's theory, would favourably affect the rates of exchange for England, that is, it would work against the tendency to export precious metal; if not to India, then to some other country. Mr. Wilson jumps from one thing to another. In Question 1802 it is the rates of exchange that are supposed to be affected, and in Question 1804 the "value of capital"—which are two very different things. The interest rate may affect the rates of exchange, and the rates of exchange may affect the interest rate, but the latter can be stable while the rates of exchange fluctuate, and the rates of exchange can be stable while the interest rate fluctuates. Wilson cannot get it through his head that the mere form in which capital is shipped abroad makes such a difference in the effect, i. e., that the difference in the form of capital is of such importance, and particularly its money form, which runs very much counter to the explanations of economists. Newmarch replies to Wilson one-sidedly in that he does not indicate that he has jumped so

suddenly and without reason from rate of exchange to interest rate. Newmarch answers Question 1804 with uncertainty and equivocation:

"No doubt, if there is a demand for £12,000,000 to be raised, it is immaterial, as regards the general rate of interest, whether that £12 million is required to be sent in bullion or in materials. I think, however"

//a fine transition, this "however", when he intends to say the exact opposite//

"it is not quite immaterial"

//it is immaterial, but, nevertheless, it is not immaterial//

"because in the one case the £6 million would be returned immediately; in the other case it would not be returned so rapidly. Therefore it would make some"

//what definiteness!//

"difference, whether the £6 million was expended in this country or sent wholly out of it."

What does he mean when he says six million would return immediately? In so far as the £6 million have been expended in England, they exist in rails, locomotives, etc., which are to be shipped to India, whence they do not return; their value returns very slowly through amortisation, whereas the six million in precious metal may perhaps return very quickly in kind. In so far as the six million have been expended in wages, they have been consumed; but the money used for payment circulates in the country the same as ever, or forms a reserve. The same holds true for the profits of rail producers and that portion of the six million which replaces their constant capital. Thus, this ambiguous statement about returns is used by Newmarch only to avoid saying directly: The money has remained in the country, and in so far as it serves as loanable money capital the difference for the money market (aside from the possibility that circulation could have absorbed more coin) is only that it is charged to the account of A instead of B. An investment of this kind, where capital is transferred to other countries in commodities, not in precious metal, can affect the rate of exchange (but not the rate of exchange with the country in which the exported capital is invested) only in so far as the production of these exported commodities requires an additional import of other foreign commodities. This production then cannot balance out the additional import. However, the same thing happens with every export on credit, no matter whether intended for capital investment

or ordinary commercial purposes. Moreover, this additional import can also call forth by way of reaction an additional demand for English goods, for instance, on the part of the colonies or the United States.

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Previously,[a] Newmarch stated that, owing to drafts of the East India Company, exports from England to India were larger than imports. Sir Charles Wood cross-examines him on this score. This preponderance of English exports to India over imports from India is actually brought about by imports from India for which England does not pay any equivalent. The drafts of the East India Company (now the East India government) resolve themselves into a tribute levied on India. For instance, in 1855, imports from India to England amounted to £12,670,000; English exports to India amounted to £10,350,000; balance in India's favour £2,250,000.

"If that was the whole state of the case, that £2,250,000 would have to be remitted in some form to India. But then come in the advertisements from the India House. The India House advertise to this effect that they are prepared to grant drafts on the various presidencies in India to the extent of £3,250,000."

//This amount was levied for the London expenses of the East India Company and for the dividends to be paid to stockholders.//

"And that not merely liquidates the £2,250,000 which arose out of the course of trade, but it presents £1,000,000 of surplus" (1917).

"1922. //Wood://Then the effect of those India House drafts is not to increase the exports to India, but *pro tanto* to diminish them?"

//This should read: to reduce the necessity of covering the imports from India by exports to that country to the same amount.// Mr. Newmarch explains this by saying that the British import "good government" into India for these £3,700,000 (1925). Wood, as Minister for India, knows full well the kind of "good government" which the British import to India, and correctly replies with irony:

"1926. Then the export, which, you state, is caused by the East India drafts, is an export of good government, and not of produce."

Since England exports a good deal "in this way" for "good government" and as capital investment in foreign countries — thus obtaining imports which are completely independent of the ordinary run of

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[a] See Report from the Select Committee on Bank Acts... 1857. No. 1786.

business, tribute partly for exported "good government" and partly in the form of revenues from capital invested in the colonies or elsewhere, i. e., tribute for which it does not have to pay any equivalent—it is evident that the rates of exchange are not affected when England simply consumes this tribute without exporting anything in return. Hence, it is also evident that the rates of exchange are not affected when it reinvests this tribute, not in England, but productively or unproductively in foreign countries; for instance, when it sends munitions for it to the Crimea.[a] Moreover, to the extent that imports from abroad enter into the revenue of England—of course, they must be paid for in the form of tribute, for which no equivalent return is necessary, or by exchange for this unpaid tribute or in the ordinary course of commerce—England can either consume them or reinvest them as capital. In neither case are the rates of exchange affected, and this is overlooked by the sage Wilson. Whether a domestic or a foreign product constitutes a part of the revenue—whereby the latter case merely requires an exchange of domestic for foreign products—the consumption of this revenue, be it productive or unproductive, alters nothing in the rates of exchange, even though it may alter the scale of production. The following should be read with the foregoing in mind:

1934. Wood asks Newmarch how the shipment of war supplies to the Crimea would affect the rate of exchange with Turkey. Newmarch replies:

> "I do not see that the mere transmission of warlike stores would necessarily affect the exchange, but certainly the transmission of treasure would affect the exchange."

In this case he thus distinguishes capital in the form of money from capital in other forms. But now Wilson asks:

> "1935. If you make an export of any article to a great extent, for which there is to be no corresponding import"

//Mr. Wilson forgets that there are very considerable imports into England for which corresponding exports have never taken place, except in the form of "good government" or of previously exported investment capital; in any case imports which do not enter into normal commercial movement. But these imports are again exchanged, for instance, for American products, and the circumstance that Amer-

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[a] Shipment of munitions during the Crimean War of 1853-56.

ican goods are exported without corresponding imports does not alter the fact that the value of these imports can be consumed without an equivalent flow abroad; they have been received without reciprocal exports and can therefore be consumed without entering into the balance of trade//,

"you do not discharge the foreign debt you have created by your imports"

//but, if you have previously paid for these imports, for instance, by credit given abroad, then no debt is contracted thereby, and the question has nothing to do with the international balance; it resolves itself into productive and unproductive expenditures, no matter whether the products so consumed are domestic or foreign//,

"and therefore you must by that transaction affect the exchanges by not discharging the foreign debt, by reason of your export having no corresponding imports?—That is true as regards countries generally."

This lecture by Wilson amounts to saying that every export with no corresponding import is simultaneously an import with no corresponding export, because foreign, i. e., imported, commodities enter into the production of the exported article. The assumption is that every export of this kind is based on, or creates, an unpaid import and thus presupposes a debt abroad. This is wrong, even when the following two circumstances are disregarded: 1) England receives certain imports free of charge for which it pays no equivalent, e. g., a portion of its Indian imports. It can exchange these for American imports and export the latter without importing in return; in any case, so far as the value is concerned, it has only exported something that has cost it nothing. 2) England may have paid for imports, for instance, American imports, which constitute additional capital; if it consumes these unproductively, for instance, as war materials, this does not constitute any debt towards America and does not affect the rate of exchange with America. Newmarch contradicts himself in Nos. 1934 and 1935, and Wood calls this to his attention in No. 1938:

"If no portion of the goods which are employed in the manufacture of the articles exported without return" (war materials) "came from the country to which those articles are sent, how is the exchange with that country affected; supposing the trade with Turkey to be in an ordinary state of equilibrium, how is the exchange between this country and Turkey affected by the export of warlike stores to the Crimea?"

Here Newmarch loses his equanimity; he forgets that he has answered the same simple question correctly in No. 1934, and says:

"We seem, I think, to have exhausted the practical question, and to have now attained a very elevated region of metaphysical discussion."

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//Wilson has still another version of his claim that the rate of exchange is affected by every transfer of capital from one country to another, no matter whether in the form of precious metal or commodities. Wilson knows, of course, that the rate of exchange is affected by the interest rate, particularly by the relation of the rates of interest prevailing in the two countries whose mutual rates of exchange are under discussion. If he can now demonstrate that surpluses of capital in general, i. e., in the first place, of commodities of all kinds including precious metal, have a hand in influencing the interest rate, then he is a step closer to his goal; a transfer of any considerable portion of this capital to some other country must then change the interest rate in both countries, with the change taking place in opposite directions. Thereby, in a secondary way, the rate of exchange between both countries is also altered.—*F. E.*//

He then says in the *Economist*, 1847, page 574, which he edited at the time[a]:

"No doubt, however, such abundance of capital as is indicated by large stocks of commodities of all kinds, including bullion, would necessarily lead, not only to low prices of commodities in general, but also to a lower rate of interest for the use of capital (1). If we have a stock of commodities on hand, which is sufficient to serve the country for two years to come, a command over those commodities would be obtained for a given period at a much lower rate than if the stocks were barely sufficient to last us two months (2). All loans of money, in whatever shape they are made, are simply a transfer of a command over commodities from one to another. Whenever, therefore, commodities are abundant, the interest of money must be low, and when they are scarce, the interest of money must be high (3). As commodities become abundant, the number of sellers, in proportion to the number of buyers, increases, and, in proportion as the quantity is more than is required for immediate consumption, so must a larger portion be kept for future use. Under these circumstances, the terms on which a holder becomes willing to sell for a future payment, or on credit, become lower than if he were certain that his whole stock would be required within a few weeks" (4).

In regard to statement (1), it is to be noted that a large *influx* in precious metal can take place simultaneously with a *contraction* in production, as is always the case in the period following a crisis. In the

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[a] "A Reply to Further Remarks on the Proposed Substitution of One-Pound Notes for Gold", *The Economist*, No. 195, May 22, 1847.

subsequent phase, precious metal may come in from countries which mainly produce precious metal; imports of other commodities are generally balanced by exports during this period. In these two phases, the interest rate is low and rises but slowly; we have already discussed the reason for this. This low interest rate could always be explained without recourse to the influence of any "large stocks of commodities of all kinds". And how is this influence to take place? The low price of cotton, for instance, renders possible the high profits of the spinners, etc. Now why is the interest rate low? Surely not because the profit, which may be made on borrowed capital, is high. But simply and solely because, under existing conditions, the demand for loan capital does not grow in proportion to this profit; in other words, because loan capital has a movement different from industrial capital. What the *Economist* wants to prove is exactly the reverse, namely, that the movements of loan capital are identical with those of industrial capital.

In regard to statement (2), if we reduce the absurd assumption of stocks for two years in advance to the point where it begins to take on some meaning, it signifies that the commodity market is overstocked. This would cause a fall in prices. Less would have to be paid for a bale of cotton. This would by no means justify the conclusion that money for the purchase of a bale of cotton is more easily borrowed. This depends on the state of the money market. If money can be borrowed more easily, it is only because commercial credit is in a state requiring it to make less use than usual of bank credit. The commodities glutting the market are either means of subsistence or means of production. The low price of both increases the industrial capitalist's profit. Why should it depress the interest rate, unless it be through the antithesis, rather than the identity, between the abundance of industrial capital and the demand for money accommodation? Circumstances are such that the merchant and the industrial capitalist can more easily advance credit to one another; owing to this facilitation of commercial credit, both industrialist as well as merchant need less bank credit; hence the interest rate can be low. This low interest rate has nothing to do with the influx in precious metal, although both may run parallel to each other, and the same causes bringing about low prices of imported articles may also produce a surplus of imported precious metal. If the import market were really glutted, it would prove that a decrease in the demand for imported articles had taken place, and this would be inexplicable at low prices, unless it were attributed to a contraction of domestic industrial production; but this,

again, would be inexplicable, so long as there is excessive importing at low prices. A mass of absurdities—in order to prove that a fall in prices = a fall in the interest rate. Both may simultaneously exist side by side. But if they do, it will be a reflection of the opposition in the directions of the movement of industrial and the movement of loanable money capital. It will not be a reflection of their identity.

In regard to statement (3), it is hard to understand even after this exposition why money interest should be low when commodities are available in abundance. If commodities are cheap, then I may need only £1,000 instead of the previous £2,000 to buy a definite quantity. But perhaps I nevertheless invest £2,000, and thus buy twice the quantity which I could have bought formerly. In this way, I expand my business by advancing the same capital, which I may have to borrow. I buy £2,000 worth of commodities, the same as before. My demand on the money market therefore remains the same, even though my demand on the commodity market rises with the fall in commodity prices. But if this demand for commodities should decrease, that is, if production should not expand with the fall in commodity prices, an event which would contradict all the laws of the *Economist*, then the demand for loanable money capital would decrease, although the profit would increase. But this increasing profit would create a demand for loan capital. Incidentally, a low level of commodity prices may be due to three causes. First, to lack of demand. In such a case, the interest rate is low because production is paralysed and not because commodities are cheap, for the low prices are but a reflection of that paralysis. Second, it may be due to supply exceeding demand. This may be the result of a glut on the market, etc., which leads to a crisis and may coincide with a high interest rate during the crisis itself; or, it may be the result of a fall in the value of commodities, so that the same demand can be satisfied at lower prices. Why should the interest rate fall in the last case? Because profits increase? If this were due to less money capital being required for obtaining the same productive or commodity capital, it would merely prove that profit and interest are inversely proportional to each other. In any case, the general statement of the *Economist* is false. Low money prices for commodities and a low interest rate do not necessarily go together. Otherwise, the interest rate would be lowest in the poorest countries, where money prices for produce are lowest, and highest in the richest countries, where money prices for agricultural products are highest. In general, the *Economist* admits: If the value of

money falls, it exerts no influence on the interest rate. £100 bring £105 the same as ever. If the £100 are worth less, so are the £5 interest. This relation is not affected by the appreciation or depreciation of the original sum. Considered from the point of view of value, a definite quantity of commodities is equal to a definite sum of money. If this value increases, it is equal to a larger sum of money. The opposite is true when it falls. If the value is equal to 2,000, then 5% = 100; if it is equal to 1,000, then 5% = 50. But this does not alter the interest rate in any way. The rational part of this matter is merely that greater money accommodation is required when it takes £2,000 to sell the same quantity of commodities than when only £1,000 are required. But this merely shows that profit and interest are here inversely proportional to each other. For the lower the prices of the components of constant and variable capital, the higher the profit and the lower the interest. But the opposite can also be and is often the case. For instance, cotton may be cheap because no demand exists for yarn and fabrics; and cotton may be relatively expensive because a large profit in the cotton industry creates a great demand for it. On the other hand, the profits of industrialists may be high precisely because the price of cotton is low. Hubbard's table proves that the interest rate and the prices of commodities execute completely independent movements, whereas the movements of the interest rate adhere closely to those of the metal reserve and the rates of exchange.[a]

The *Economist* states:

> "Whenever, therefore, commodities are abundant, the interest of money must be low."

Precisely the opposite obtains during crises. Commodities are superabundant, inconvertible into money, and therefore the interest rate is high; in another phase of the cycle the demand for commodities is great and therefore quick returns are made, but at the same time, prices of commodities are rising and because of the quick returns the interest rate is low.

> "When they //the commodities// are scarce, the interest of money must be high."

The opposite is again true in the slack period following a crisis. Commodities are scarce, absolutely speaking, not with reference to demand; and the interest rate is low.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 546-47.

In regard to statement (4), it is pretty evident that an owner of commodities, provided he can sell the latter at all, will get rid of them at a lower price when the market is glutted than he would when there is a prospect of the existing supply becoming rapidly exhausted. But why the interest rate should fall because of that is not so clear.

If the market is glutted with imported commodities, the interest rate may rise as a result of an increased demand on the part of the owners for loan capital, in order to avoid dumping their commodities on the market. The interest rate may fall, because the fluidity of commercial credit may keep the demand for bank credit relatively low.

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The *Economist*[a] mentions the rapid effect on the rates of exchange in 1847 of the raising of the interest rate and other circumstances exerting pressure on the money market. But it should be borne in mind that the gold drain continued until the end of April in spite of the change in the rates of exchange; a turn did not take place here until early May.

On January 1, 1847, the metal reserve of the Bank was £15,066,691; the interest rate $3\frac{1}{2}$%; three months' rates of exchange on Paris 25.75; on Hamburg 13.10; on Amsterdam $12.3\frac{1}{4}$. On March 5, the metal reserve had fallen to £11,595,535; the discount had risen to 4%; the rate of exchange fell to $25.67\frac{1}{2}$ on Paris; $13.9\frac{1}{4}$ on Hamburg; and $12.2\frac{1}{2}$ on Amsterdam. The drain of gold continued.

See the following table:

| 1847 | Bullion Reserve of the Bank of England (£) | Money Market | Highest Three-Month Rates | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Paris | Hamburg | Amsterdam |
| March 20 | 11,231,630 | Bank disc. 4% . . . . . | 25.67½ | 13,9¾ | 12.2½ |
| April 3 | 10,246,410 | ,, ,, 5% . . . . . | 25.80 | 13.10 | 12.3½ |
| April 10 | 9,867,053 | Money very scarce . . . | 25.90 | 13.10½ | 12.4½ |
| April 17 | 9,329,941 | Bank disc. 5.5% . . . . . | 26.02½ | 13.10¾ | 12.5½ |
| April 24 | 9,213,890 | Pressure . . . . . | 26.05 | 13.12 | 12.6 |
| May 1 | 9,337,716 | Increasing pressure . . . | 26.15 | 13.12¾ | 12.6½ |
| May 8 | 9,588,759 | Highest pressure . . . . . | 26.27½ | 13.15½ | 12.7¾ |

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[a] The foregoing table is given in the article "The Present Crisis and the Bank Bill", *The Economist*, No. 208, August 21, 1847.

In 1847, the total export of precious metal from England amounted to £8,602,597.

| | |
|---|---|
| Of this to the United States . . | £3,226,411 |
| France . . . . . | £2,479,892 |
| Hanse towns . . . | £ 958,781 |
| Holland . . . . . | £ 247,743 |

In spite of the change in the rates at the end of March, the drain of gold continued for another full month, probably to the United States.

"We thus see" //says the *Economist*, 1847, p. 954// "how rapid and striking was the effect of a rise in the rate of interest, and the pressure which ensued in correcting an adverse exchange, and in turning the tide of bullion back to this country. This effect was produced entirely independent of the balance of trade. A higher rate of interest caused a lower price of securities, both foreign and English, and induced large purchases to be made on foreign account, which increased the amount of bills to be drawn from this country, while, on the other hand, the high rate of interest and the difficulty of obtaining money was such that the demand of those bills fell off, while their amount increased.... For the same cause orders for imports were countermanded, and investments of English funds abroad were realised and brought home for employment here. Thus, for example, we read in the *Rio de Janeiro Price Current* of the 10th May, 'Exchange //on England// has experienced a further decline, principally caused by a pressure on the market for remittance of the proceeds of large sales of //Brazilian// government stock, on English account.'[a] Capital belonging to this country, which has been invested in public and other securities abroad, when the interest was very low here, was thus again brought back when the interest became high."

## ENGLAND'S BALANCE OF TRADE

India alone has to pay 5 million in tribute for "good government", interest and dividends on British capital, etc., not counting the sums sent home annually by officials as savings from their salaries, or by English merchants as part of their profit to be invested in England. Every British colony continually has to make large remittances for the same reason. Most of the banks in Australia, the West Indies, and Canada, have been founded with English capital, and the dividends are payable in England. In the same way, England owns many foreign securities—European, North American and South American—on which it draws interest. In addition to this it has interests in foreign railways, canals, mines, etc., with corresponding dividends. Remittance on all these items is made almost exclusively in products

[a] Ibid.

over and above the amount of English exports. On the other hand, what is sent from England to owners of English securities abroad and for consumption by Englishmen abroad, is insignificant in comparison.

The question, so far as it concerns the balance of trade and the rates of exchange, is "at any particular moment one of time".

"Practically speaking ... England gives long credits upon her exports, while the imports are paid for in ready money. At particular moments this difference of practice has a considerable effect upon the exchanges. At a time when our exports are very considerably increasing, e. g., 1850, a continual increase of investment of British capital must be going on ... in this way remittances of 1850 may be made against goods exported in 1849. But if the exports of 1850 exceed those of 1849 by more than 6 million, the practical effect must be that more money is sent abroad, to this amount, than returned in the same year. And in this way an effect is produced on the rates of exchange and the rate of interest. When, on the contrary, our trade is depressed after a commercial crisis, and when our exports are much reduced, the remittances due for the past years of larger exports greatly exceed the value of our imports; the exchanges become correspondingly in our favour, capital rapidly accumulates at home, and the rate of interest becomes less." (*Economist*, January 11, 1851.[a])

The foreign rates of exchange can change:

1) In consequence of the immediate balance of payments, no matter what the cause—a purely mercantile one, or capital investment abroad, or government expenditures for wars, etc., in so far as cash payments thereby are made to foreign countries.

2) In consequence of money depreciation—whether metal or paper—in a particular country. This is purely nominal. If £1 should represent only half as much money as formerly, it would naturally be counted as 12.5 francs instead of 25 francs.

3) When it is a matter of a rate of exchange between countries, of which one uses silver and the other gold as "money", the rate of exchange depends upon the relative fluctuations of the value of these two metals, since these necessarily alter the parity between them. This is illustrated by the rates of exchange in 1850; they were unfavourable to England, although that country's export rose enormously. Yet no drain of gold took place. This was a result of a momentary rise in the value of silver as against gold. (See *Economist*, November 30, 1850.[b])

Parity for the rate of exchange of £1 is: Paris, 25 francs 20 cent.;

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[a] See "The Balance of Trade. England with the World". - [b] See "The Remarkable Phenomena of the Foreign Exchanges."

Hamburg, 13 marks banko 10.5 shillings; Amsterdam, 11 florins 97 cent. To the extent that the Paris rate of exchange exceeds 25.20 francs, it becomes more favourable to the English debtor of France, or the buyer of French commodities. In both cases he needs fewer pounds sterling in order to accomplish his purpose.—In remoter countries, where precious metal is not easily obtained when bills of exchange are scarce and insufficient for remittances to be made to England, the natural effect is to drive up the prices of such products as are generally shipped to England since a greater demand arises for them, in order to send them to England in place of bills of exchange; this is often the case in India.

An unfavourable rate of exchange, or even a drain of gold, can take place when there is a great abundance of money in England, the interest rate is low and the price for securities is high.

In the course of 1848 England received large quantities of silver from India, since good bills of exchange were rare and mediocre ones were not readily accepted in consequence of the crisis of 1847 and the general lack of credit in business with India. All this silver had barely arrived before it found its way to the continent, where the revolution led to the formation of many hoards. The bulk of the same silver made the trip back to India in 1850, since the rate of exchange now made this profitable.

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The monetary system is essentially a Catholic institution, the credit system essentially Protestant. "THE SCOTCH HATE GOLD." In the form of paper the monetary existence of commodities is only a social one. It is *Faith* that brings salvation.[a] Faith in money value as the immanent spirit of commodities, faith in the mode of production and its predestined order, faith in the individual agents of production as mere personifications of self-expanding capital. But the credit system does not emancipate itself from the basis of the monetary system any more than Protestantism has emancipated itself from the foundations of Catholicism.

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[a] Mark 16:16.

## Chapter XXXVI

### PRECAPITALIST RELATIONSHIPS

Interest-bearing capital, or, as we may call it in its antiquated form, usurer's capital, belongs together with its twin brother, merchant's capital, to the antediluvian forms of capital, which long precede the capitalist mode of production and are to be found in the most diverse economic formations of society.

The existence of usurer's capital requires that at least a portion of products should be transformed into commodities, and that money should have developed in its various functions along with trade in commodities.

The development of usurer's capital is bound up with the development of merchant's capital and especially that of money-dealing capital. In ancient Rome, beginning with the last years of the Republic, when manufacturing stood far below its average level of development in the ancient world, merchant's capital, money-dealing capital, and usurer's capital developed to their highest point within the ancient form.

We have seen that hoarding necessarily appears along with money. But the professional hoarder does not become important until he is transformed into a usurer.

The merchant borrows money in order to make a profit with it, in order to use it as capital, that is, to expend it. Hence in earlier forms of society the money lender stands in the same relation to him as to the modern capitalist. This specific relation was also experienced by the Catholic universities.

"The universities of Alcalá, Salamanca, Ingolstadt, Freiburg in Breisgau, Mayence, Cologne, Trèves, one after another recognised the legality of interest for commercial loans. The first five of these approbations were deposited in the archives of the Consulate of the city of Lyons and published in the appendix to the *Traité de l'usure et des intérêts*, by Bruyset-Ponthus, Lyons." (M. Augier, *Le Crédit public, etc.*, Paris, 1842, p. 206.)

In all the forms in which slave economy (not the patriarchal kind, but that of later Grecian and Roman times) serves as a means of amassing wealth, where money therefore is a means of appropriating the labour of others through the purchase of slaves, land, etc., money can be expanded as capital, i. e., bear interest, for the very reason that it can be so invested.

The characteristic forms, however, in which usurer's capital exists in periods antedating capitalist production are of two kinds. I purposely say characteristic forms. The same forms repeat themselves on the basis of capitalist production, but as mere subordinate forms. They are then no longer the forms which determine the character of interest-bearing capital. These two forms are: *first*, usury by lending money to extravagant members of the upper classes, particularly landowners; *secondly*, usury by lending money to small producers who possess their own conditions of labour—this includes the artisan, but mainly the peasant, since particularly under precapitalist conditions, in so far as they permit of small independent individual producers, the peasant class necessarily constitutes the overwhelming majority of them.

Both the ruin of rich landowners through usury and the impoverishment of the small producers lead to the formation and concentration of large amounts of money capital. But to what extent this process does away with the old mode of production, as happened in modern Europe, and whether it puts the capitalist mode of production in its stead, depends entirely upon the stage of historical development and the attendant circumstances.

Usurer's capital as the characteristic form of interest-bearing capital corresponds to the predominance of small-scale production of the self-employed peasant and small master craftsman. When the labourer is confronted by the conditions of labour and by the product of labour in the shape of capital, as under the developed capitalist mode of production, he has no occasion to borrow any money as a producer. When he does any money borrowing, he does so, for instance, at the pawnshop to secure personal necessities. But wherever the labourer is the owner, whether actual or nominal, of his conditions of labour and his product, he stands as a producer in relation to the money lender's capital, which confronts him as usurer's capital. Newman expresses the matter insipidly when he says the banker is respected, while the usurer is hated and despised, because the banker lends to the rich, whereas the usurer lends to the poor. (F. W. Newman, *Lectures on Pol. Econ.*, London, 1851, p. 44). He overlooks the fact that a difference between two modes of social production and their corresponding social orders lies at the heart of the matter and that the situation cannot be explained by the distinction between rich and poor. Moreover, the usury which sucks dry the small producer goes hand in hand with the usury which sucks dry the rich owner of

a large estate. As soon as the usury of the Roman patricians had completely ruined the Roman plebeians, the small peasants, this form of exploitation came to an end and a pure slave economy replaced the small-peasant economy.

In the form of interest, the entire surplus above the barest means of subsistence (the amount that later becomes wages of the producers) can be consumed by usury (this later assumes the form of profit and ground rent), and hence it is highly absurd to compare the level of *this* interest, which assimilates *all* the surplus value excepting the share claimed by the state, with the level of the modern interest rate, where interest constitutes at least normally only a part of the surplus value. Such a comparison overlooks that the wage worker produces and gives to the capitalist who employs him, profit, interest and ground rent, i. e., the entire surplus value. Carey makes this absurd comparison in order to show how advantageous the development of capital, and the fall in the interest rate that accompanies it, are for the labourer.[57] Furthermore, while the usurer, not content with squeezing the surplus labour out of his victim, gradually acquires possession even of his very conditions of labour, land, house, etc., and is continually engaged in thus expropriating him, it is again forgotten that, on the other hand, this complete expropriation of the labourer from his conditions of labour is not a result which the capitalist mode of production seeks to achieve, but rather the established prerequisite for its point of departure. The wage slave, just like the real slave, cannot become a creditor's slave due to his position—at least in his capacity as producer; the wage slave, it is true, can become a creditor's slave in his capacity as consumer. Usurer's capital in the form whereby it indeed appropriates all of the surplus labour of the direct producers, without altering the mode of production; whereby the ownership or possession by the producers of the conditions of labour—and small-scale production corresponding to this—is its essential prerequisite; whereby, in other words, capital does not directly subordinate labour to itself, and does not, therefore, confront it as industrial capital—this usurer's capital impoverishes the mode of production, paralyses the productive forces instead of developing them, and at the same time perpetuates the miserable conditions in which the social productivity of labour is not developed at the expense of labour itself, as in the capitalist mode of production.

Usury thus exerts, on the one hand, an undermining and destructive influence on ancient and feudal wealth and ancient and feudal

property.[a] On the other hand, it undermines and ruins small-peasant and small-burgher production, in short, all forms in which the producer still appears as the owner of his means of production. Under the developed capitalist mode of production, the labourer is not the owner of the conditions of production, i. e., the field which he cultivates, the raw materials which he processes, etc. But under this system estrangement of the producer from the conditions of production reflects an actual revolution in the mode of production itself. The isolated labourers are brought together in large workshops for the purpose of carrying out separate but interconnected activities; the tool becomes a machine. The mode of production itself no longer permits the dispersion of the instruments of production associated with small property; nor does it permit the isolation of the labourer himself. Under the capitalist mode of production usury can no longer separate the producer from his conditions of production, for they have already been separated.

Usury centralises money wealth where the means of production are dispersed. It does not alter the mode of production, but attaches itself firmly to it like a parasite and makes it wretched. It sucks out its blood, enervates it and compels reproduction to proceed under ever more pitiable conditions. Hence the popular hatred against usurers, which was most pronounced in the ancient world where ownership of the conditions of production by the producer himself was at the same time the basis for political status, the independence of the citizen.

To the extent that slavery prevails, or in so far as the surplus product is consumed by the feudal lord and his retinue, while either the slave-owner or the feudal lord fall into the clutches of the usurer, the mode of production still remains the same; it only becomes harder on the labourer. The indebted slave-holder or feudal lord becomes more oppressive because he is himself more oppressed. Or he finally makes way for the usurer, who becomes a landed proprietor or a slave-holder himself, like the knights in ancient Rome. The place of the old exploiter, whose exploitation was more or less patriarchal because it was largely a means of political power, is taken by a hard, money-mad parvenu. But the mode of production itself is not altered thereby.

Usury has a revolutionary effect in all precapitalist modes of pro-

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[a] The passage beginning with this paragraph and up to the quotation from Hüllmann, is to be compared with *The Economic Manuscript of 1861-63.* See present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 534-41.

duction only in so far as it destroys and dissolves those forms of property on whose solid foundation and continual reproduction in the same form the political organisation is based. Under Asian forms, usury can continue a long time, without producing anything more than economic decay and political corruption. Only where and when the other prerequisites of the capitalist mode of production are present does usury become one of the means assisting in establishment of the new mode of production by ruining the feudal lord and small-scale producer, on the one hand, and centralising the conditions of labour into capital, on the other.

In the Middle Ages, no country had a general rate of interest. The Church forbade, from the outset, all lending at interest. Laws and courts offered little protection for loans. The interest rate was so much the higher in individual cases. The limited circulation of money, the need to make most payments in cash, compelled people to borrow money, and all the more so when the exchange business was still undeveloped. Therefore wide divergences in interest rates and in the concept of usury. In Charlemagne's time, it was considered usurious to charge 100%. In Lindau on Lake Constance, local burghers took $216\frac{2}{3}$ % in 1344. In Zurich, the City Council fixed the legal interest rate at $43\frac{1}{3}$ %. In Italy, 40% had to be paid sometimes, although the usual rate from the 12th to the 14th century did not exceed 20%. Verona decreed that $12\frac{1}{2}$ % should be the legal rate. Frederick II fixed the rate at 10%, but only for Jews. He did not wish to speak for Christians. In Rhenish Germany, 10% was the usual rate as early as the 13th century (Hüllmann, *Geschichte des Städtewesens*, II, S. 55-57).

Usurer's capital employs the method of exploitation characteristic of capital yet without the latter's mode of production. This condition also repeats itself within bourgeois economy, in backward branches of industry or in those branches which resist the transition to the modern mode of production.[a] For instance, if we wish to compare the English interest rate with the Indian, we should not take the interest rate of the Bank of England, but rather, e. g., that charged by lenders of small machinery to small producers in domestic industry.

Usury, in contradistinction to consuming wealth, is historically important, inasmuch as it is in itself a process generating capital. Usurer's capital and merchant's wealth promote the formation of moneyed wealth independent of landed property. The less products assume the character of commodities, and the less intensively and extensively exchange value has taken hold of production, the more does money appear as actual wealth as such, as wealth in general — in contrast to its limited representation in use values. This is the basis of hoarding. Aside from money as world money and as hoard, it is, in particular, the form of means of payment whereby it appears as

[a] Ibid., p. 535.

the absolute form of commodities. And it is especially its function as a means of payment which develops interest and thereby money capital. What squandering and corrupting wealth desires is money as such, money as a means of buying everything (also as a means of paying debts). The small producer needs money above all for making payments. (The transformation of services and taxes in kind to landlords and the state into money rent and money taxes plays a great role here.) In either case, money is needed as such. On the other hand, it is in usury that hoarding first becomes reality and that the hoarder fulfils his dream. What is sought from the owner of a hoard is not capital, but money as such; but by means of interest he transforms this hoard of money into capital, that is, into a means of appropriating surplus labour in part or in its entirety, and similarly of securing a hold on a part of the conditions of production themselves, even though they may nominally remain the property of others. Usury lives in the pores of production, as it were, just as the gods of Epicurus lived in the space between worlds. Money is so much harder to obtain, the less the commodity form constitutes the general form of products. Hence the usurer knows no other barrier but the capacity of those who need money to pay or to resist. In small-peasant and small-burgher production money serves as a means of purchase, mainly, whenever the conditions of production of the labourer (who is still predominantly their owner under these modes of production) are lost to him either by accident or through extraordinary upheavals, or at least are not replaced in the normal course of reproduction. Means of subsistence and raw materials constitute an essential part of these conditions of production. If these become more expensive, it may make it impossible to replace them out of the returns for the product, just as ordinary crop failures may prevent the peasant from replacing his seed in kind. The same wars through which the Roman patricians ruined the plebeians by compelling them to serve as soldiers and which prevented them from reproducing their conditions of labour, and therefore made paupers of them (and pauperisation, the crippling or loss of the conditions of reproduction is here the predominant form) — these same wars filled the store-rooms and coffers of the patricians with looted copper, the money of that time. Instead of directly giving plebeians the necessary commodities, i.e., grain, horses, and cattle, they loaned them this copper for which they had no use themselves, and took advantage of this situation to exact enormous usurious interest, thereby turning the plebeians into their debtor

slaves. During the reign of Charlemagne, the Frankish peasants were likewise ruined by wars, so that they faced no choice but to become serfs instead of debtors. In the Roman Empire, as is known, extreme hunger frequently resulted in the sale of children and also in free men selling themselves as slaves to the rich. So much for general turning-points. In individual cases the maintenance or loss of the conditions of production on the part of small producers depends on a thousand contingencies, and every one of these contingencies or losses signifies impoverishment and becomes a crevice into which a parasitic usurer may creep. The mere death of his cow may render the small peasant incapable of renewing his reproduction on its former scale. He then falls into the clutches of the usurer, and once in the usurer's power he can never extricate himself.

The really important and characteristic domain of the usurer, however, is the function of money as a means of payment. Every payment of money, ground rent, tribute, tax, etc., which becomes due on a certain date, carries with it the need to secure money for such a purpose. Hence from the days of ancient Rome to those of modern times, wholesale usury relies upon tax collectors, *fermiers généraux, receveurs généraux*. Then, there develops with commerce and the generalisation of commodity production the separation, in time, of purchase and payment. The money has to be paid on a definite date. How this can lead to circumstances in which the money capitalist and usurer, even nowadays, merge into one is shown by modern money crises. This same usury, however, becomes one of the principal means of further developing the necessity for money as a means of payment — by driving the producer ever more deeply into debt and destroying his usual means of payment, since the burden of interest alone makes his normal reproduction impossible. At this point, usury sprouts up out of money as a means of payment and extends this function of money as its very own domain.

The credit system develops as a reaction against usury. But this should not be misunderstood, nor by any means interpreted in the manner of the ancient writers, the church fathers, Luther or the early socialists. It signifies no more and no less than the subordination of interest-bearing capital to the conditions and requirements of the capitalist mode of production.

On the whole, interest-bearing capital under the modern credit system is adapted to the conditions of capitalist production. Usury as such does not only continue to exist, but is even freed, among nations

with a developed capitalist production, from the fetters imposed upon it by all previous legislation. Interest-bearing capital retains the form of usurer's capital in relation to persons or classes, or in circumstances where borrowing does not, nor can, take place in the sense corresponding to the capitalist mode of production; where borrowing takes place as a result of individual need, as at the pawnshop; where money is borrowed by wealthy spendthrifts for the purpose of squandering; or where the producer is a non-capitalist producer, such as a small farmer or craftsman, who is thus still, as the immediate producer, the owner of his own conditions of production; finally where the capitalist producer himself operates on such a small scale that he resembles those self-employed producers.

What distinguishes interest-bearing capital—in so far as it is an essential element of the capitalist mode of production—from usurer's capital is by no means the nature or character of this capital itself. It is merely the altered conditions under which it operates, and consequently also the totally transformed character of the borrower who confronts the money lender. Even when a man without fortune receives credit in his capacity of industrialist or merchant, it occurs with the expectation that he will function as capitalist and appropriate unpaid labour with the borrowed capital. He receives credit in his capacity of potential capitalist. The circumstance that a man without fortune but possessing energy, solidity, ability and business acumen may become a capitalist in this manner—and the commercial value of each individual is pretty accurately estimated under the capitalist mode of production—is greatly admired by apologists of the capitalist system. Although this circumstance continually brings an unwelcome number of new soldiers of fortune into the field and into competition with the already existing individual capitalists, it also reinforces the supremacy of capital itself, expands its base and enables it to recruit ever new forces for itself out of the substratum of society. In a similar way, the circumstance that the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages formed its hierarchy out of the best brains in the land, regardless of their estate, birth or fortune, was one of the principal means of consolidating ecclesiastical rule and suppressing the laity. The more a ruling class is able to assimilate the foremost minds of a ruled class, the more stable and dangerous becomes its rule.

The initiators of the modern credit system take as their point of departure not an anathema against interest-bearing capital in

general, but, on the contrary, its explicit recognition.

We are not referring here to such reactions against usury which attempted to protect the poor against it, like the *Monts-de-piété* (1350 in Sarlins in Franche-Comté, later in Perugia and Savona in Italy, 1400 and 1479).[58] These are noteworthy mainly because they reveal the irony of history, which turns pious wishes into their very opposite during the process of realisation. According to a moderate estimate, the English working class pays 100% to the pawnshops, the modern successors of *Monts-de-piété.*[21] We are also not referring to the credit fantasies of such men as Dr. Hugh Chamberleyne or John Briscoe, who attempted during the last decade of the 17th century to emancipate the English aristocracy from usury by means of a farmers' bank using paper money based on real estate.[22]

The credit associations established in the 12th and 14th centuries in Venice and Genoa arose from the need for marine commerce and the wholesale trade based on it to emancipate themselves from the domination of outmoded usury and the monopolisation of the money business. While the actual banks founded in those city-republics assumed simultaneously the shape of public credit institutions from which the state received loans on future tax revenues, it should not be forgotten that the merchants founding those associations were themselves prominent citizens of those states and as much interested in emancipating their government as they were in emancipating

[21] "It is by frequent fluctuations within the month, and by pawning one article to relieve another, where a small sum is obtained, that the premium for money becomes so excessive. There are about 240 licensed pawnbrokers in the metropolis, and nearly 1,450 in the country. The capital employed is supposed somewhat to exceed a million pounds sterling; and this capital is turned round thrice in the course of a year, and yields each time about $33\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on an average; according to which calculation, the inferior orders of society in England pay about one million a year for the use of a temporary loan, exclusive of what they lose by goods being forfeited" (J. D. Tuckett, *A History of the Past and Present State of the Labouring Population*, London, 1846, I, p. 114).

[22] Even in the titles of their works[a] they state as their principal purpose "the general good of the landed men, the great increase of the value of land, the exemption of the nobility, gentry, etc., from taxes, enlarging their yearly estates, etc." Only the usurers would stand to lose, those worst enemies of the nation who had done more injury to the nobility and yeomanry than an army of invasion from France could have done.

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[a] See H. Chamberlayne, *A Proposal by Dr. Hugh Chamberlayne in Essex Street, for a Bank of Secure Current Credit to be Founded upon Land...*, [London], 1695; and J. Briscoe, *A Discourse on the Late Funds of the Million, Lottery-Act, and Bank of England*, London, 1696.

themselves from the exactions of usurers,[23] and at the same time in getting tighter and more secure control over the state. Hence, when the Bank of England was to be established, the Tories also protested:

"Banks are republican institutions. Flourishing banks existed in Venice, Genoa, Amsterdam, and Hamburg. But who ever heard of a Bank of France or Spain?"

The Bank of Amsterdam, in 1609, was not epoch-making in the development of the modern credit system any more than that of Hamburg in 1619. It was purely a bank for deposits. The cheques issued by the bank were indeed merely receipts for the deposited coined and uncoined precious metal, and circulated only with the endorsement of the acceptors. But in Holland commercial credit and dealing in money developed hand in hand with commerce and manufacture, and interest-bearing capital was subordinated to industrial and commercial capital by the course of development itself. This could already be seen in the low interest rate. Holland, however, was considered in the 17th century the model of economic development, as England is now. The monopoly of old-style usury, based on poverty, collapsed in that country of its own weight.

During the entire 18th century there is the cry, with Holland referred to as an example, for a compulsory reduction of the rate of interest (and legislation acts accordingly), in order to subordinate interest-bearing capital to commercial and industrial capital, instead of the reverse. The main spokesman for this movement is Sir Josiah Child, the father of ordinary English private banking. He declaims against the monopoly of usurers in much the same way as the wholesale clothing manufacturers, Moses & Son, do when leading the fight against the monopoly of "private tailors". This same Josiah Child is simultaneously the father of English stock-jobbing. Thus, this

[23] "The rich goldsmith" (the precursor of the banker), "for example, made Charles II of England pay twenty and thirty per cent for accommodation. A business so profitable, induced the goldsmith 'more and more to become lender to the King, to anticipate all the revenue, to take every grant of Parliament into pawn as soon as it was given; also to outvie each other in buying and taking to pawn BILLS, ORDERS, and TALLIES, so that, in effect, all the revenue passed through their hands'" (John Francis, *History of the Bank of England*, London, 1848, I, p. 31). "The erection of a bank had been suggested several times before that. It was at last a necessity" (l. c., p. 38). "The bank was a necessity for the government itself, sucked dry by usurers, in order to obtain money at a reasonable rate, on the security of parliamentary grants" (l. c., pp. 59, 60).

autocrat of the East India Company defends its monopoly in the name of free trade. Versus Thomas Manley (INTEREST OF MONEY MISTAKEN)[59] he says:

"As the champion of the timid and trembling band of usurers he erects his main batteries at that point which I have declared to be the weakest ... he denies point-blank that the low rate of interest is the cause of wealth and vows that it is merely its effect." (*Traités sur le Commerce*, etc., 1669, trad. Amsterdam et Berlin, 1754.)[a] "If it is commerce that enriches a country, and if a lowering of interest increases commerce, then a lowering of interest or a restriction of usury is doubtless a fruitful primary cause of the wealth of a nation. It is not at all absurd to say that the same thing may be simultaneously a cause under certain circumstances, and an effect under others" (l. c., p. 155). "The egg is the cause of the hen, and the hen is the cause of the egg. The lowering of interest may cause an increase of wealth, and the increase of wealth may cause a still greater reduction of interest" (l. c., p. 156). "I am the defender of industry and my opponent defends laziness and sloth" (p. 179).

This violent battle against usury, this demand for the subordination of interest-bearing capital to industrial capital, is but the herald of the organic creations that establish these prerequisites of capitalist production in the modern banking system, which on the one hand robs usurer's capital of its monopoly by concentrating all idle money reserves and throwing them on the money market, and on the other hand limits the monopoly of the precious metal itself by creating credit money.

The same opposition to usury, the demand for the emancipation of commerce, industry and the state from usury, which are observed here in the case of Child, will be found in all writings on banking in England during the last third of the 17th and the early 18th centuries. We also find colossal illusions about the miraculous effects of credit, abolition of the monopoly of precious metal, its displacement by paper, etc. The Scotsman William Paterson, founder of the Bank of England and the Bank of Scotland, is by all odds Law the First.[60]

Against the Bank of England "all goldsmiths and pawnbrokers set up a howl of rage". (Macaulay, *History of England*, IV, p. 499.)

"During the first ten years the Bank had to struggle with great difficulties; great foreign feuds; its notes were only accepted far below their nominal value ... the goldsmiths" (in whose hands the trade in precious metals served as a basis of a primitive

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[a] l. c., p. 120.

banking business) "were jealous of the Bank, because their business was diminished, their discounts were lowered, their transactions with the government had passed to their opponents" (J. Francis, l. c., p. 73).[a]

Even before the establishment of the Bank of England a plan was proposed in 1683 for a National BANK OF CREDIT, which had for its purpose, among others,

"that tradesmen, when they have a considerable quantity of goods, may, by the help of this bank, deposit their goods, by raising a credit on their own dead stock, employ their servants, and increase their trade, till they get a good market instead of selling them at a loss".[b]

After many endeavours this BANK OF CREDIT was established in Devonshire House on Bishopsgate Street. It made loans to industrialists and merchants on the security of deposited goods to the amount of three-quarters of their value, in the form of bills of exchange. In order to make these bills of exchange capable of circulating, a number of people in each branch of business were organised into a society, from which every possessor of such bills would be able to obtain goods with the same facility as if he were to offer them cash payment. This bank's business did not flourish. Its machinery was too complicated, and the risk too great in case of a commodity depreciation.

If we go by the actual content of those records which accompany and theoretically promote the formation of the modern credit system in England, we shall not find anything in them but—as one of its conditions—the demand for a subordination of interest-bearing capital and of loanable means of production in general to the capitalist mode of production. On the other hand, if we simply cling to the phraseology, we shall be frequently surprised by the agreement—including the mode of expression—with the illusions of the followers of Saint-Simon about banking and credit.

Just as in the writings of the physiocrats the *cultivateur* does not stand for the actual tiller of the soil, but for the big farmer, so the *travailleur* with Saint-Simon, and continuing on through his disciples, does not stand for the labourer, but for the industrial and commercial capitalist.

"*Un travailleur a besoin d'aides, de seconds, d'ouvriers; il les cherche intelligents,*

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[a] The quotation is paraphrased. - [b] J. Francis, *History of the Bank of England...* Vol. I, p. 40.

*habiles, dévoués; il les met à l'oeuvre, et leurs travaux sont productifs.*"[a] (*Religion saint-simonienne. Économie politique et Politique*, Paris, 1831, p. 104.)

In fact, one should bear in mind that only in his last work, *Le Nouveau christianisme*, Saint-Simon speaks directly for the working class and declares their emancipation to be the goal of his efforts. All his former writings are, indeed, mere encomiums of modern bourgeois society in contrast to the feudal order, or of industrialists and bankers in contrast to marshals and juristic law manufacturers of the Napoleonic era. What a difference compared with the contemporaneous writings of Owen! [24] For the followers of Saint-Simon, the industrial capitalist likewise remains the *travailleur par excellence*, as the above-quoted passage indicates. After reading their writings critically, one will not be surprised that their credit and bank fantasies materialised in the *Crédit mobilier*, founded by an ex-follower of Saint-Simon, Emile Péreire.[61] This form, incidentally, could become dominant only in a country like France, where neither the credit system nor large-scale industry had reached the modern level of development. This was not at all possible in England and America.—The embryo of *Crédit mobilier* is already contained in the following passages from *Doctrine de St. Simon. Exposition. Première année, 1828-29*, 3me éd., Paris, 1831. It is understandable that bankers can lend money more cheaply than the capitalists and private usurers. These bankers are, therefore,

"able to supply tools to the industrialists far more cheaply, that is, at *lower interest*, than the real estate owners and capitalists, who may be more easily mistaken in their choice of borrowers" (p. 202).

[24] Marx would surely have modified this passage considerably, had he reworked his manuscript. It was inspired by the role of the ex-followers of Saint-Simon under France's Second Empire, where, just at the time that Marx wrote the above, the world-redeeming credit fantasies of this school, through the irony of history, were being realised in the form of a swindle on a scale never seen before. Later Marx spoke only with admiration of the genius and encyclopaedic mind of Saint-Simon. When in his earlier works the latter ignores the antithesis between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat which was just then coming into existence in France, when he includes among the *travailleurs* that part of the bourgeoisie which was active in production, this corresponds to Fourier's conception of attempting to reconcile capital and labour and is explained by the economic and political situation of France in those days. The fact that Owen was more far-sighted in this respect is due to his different environment, for he lived in a period of industrial revolution and of acutely sharpening class antagonisms.—*F. E.*

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[a] "A *travailleur* needs helpers, supporters, *labourers*; he looks for such as are intelligent, able, devoted; he puts them to work, and their labour is productive."

But the authors themselves add in a footnote:

"The advantage that would accrue from the mediation of bankers between the idle rich and the *travailleurs* is often counterbalanced, or even cancelled, by the opportunities offered in our disorganised society to egoism, which may manifest itself in various forms of fraud and charlatanism. The bankers often worm their way between the *travailleurs* and idle rich for the purpose of exploiting both to the detriment of society."

*Travailleur* here means *capitaliste industriel.* Incidentally, it is wrong to regard the means at the command of the modern banking system merely as the means of idle people. In the first place, it is the portion of capital which industrialists and merchants temporarily hold in the form of idle money, as a money reserve or as capital to be invested. Hence it is idle capital, but not capital of the idle. In the second place, it is the portion of all revenue and savings in general which is to be temporarily or permanently accumulated. Both are essential to the nature of the banking system.

But it should always be borne in mind that, in the first place, money—in the form of precious metal—remains the foundation from which the credit system, by its very nature, can *never* detach itself. Secondly, that the credit system presupposes the monopoly of social means of production by private persons (in the form of capital and landed property), that it is itself, on the one hand, an immanent form of the capitalist mode of production, and, on the other, a driving force in its development to its highest and ultimate form.

The banking system, so far as its formal organisation and centralisation is concerned, is the most artificial and most developed product turned out by the capitalist mode of production, a fact already expressed in 1697 in *Some Thoughts of the Interests of England.* This accounts for the immense power of an institution such as the Bank of England over commerce and industry, although their actual movements remain completely beyond its province and it is passive toward them. The banking system possesses indeed the form of universal book-keeping and distribution of the means of production on a social scale, but solely the form. We have seen that the average profit of the individual capitalist, or of every individual capital, is determined not by the surplus labour appropriated at first hand by each capital, but by the quantity of total surplus labour appropriated by the total capital, from which each individual capital receives its dividend only proportional to its aliquot part of the total capital. This social

character of capital is first promoted and wholly realised through the full development of the credit and banking system. On the other hand this goes farther. It places all the available and even potential capital of society that is not yet actively employed at the disposal of the industrial and commercial capitalists so that neither the lenders nor users of this capital are its owners or producers. It thus does away with the private character of capital and thus contains in itself, but only in itself, the abolition of capital itself. By means of the banking system the distribution of capital as a special business, a social function, is taken out of the hands of the private capitalists and usurers. But at the same time, banking and credit thus become the most potent means of driving capitalist production beyond its own limits, and one of the most effective vehicles of crises and swindle.

The banking system shows, furthermore, by substituting various forms of circulating credit in place of money, that money is in reality nothing but a particular expression of the social character of labour and its products, which, however, as antithetical to the basis of private production, must always appear in the last analysis as a thing, a special commodity, alongside other commodities.

Finally, there is no doubt that the credit system will serve as a powerful lever during the transition from the capitalist mode of production to the mode of production of associated labour; but only as one element in connection with other great organic revolutions of the mode of production itself. On the other hand, the illusions concerning the miraculous power of the credit and banking system, in the socialist sense, arise from a complete lack of familiarity with the capitalist mode of production and the credit system as one of its forms. As soon as the means of production cease being transformed into capital (which also includes the abolition of private property in land), credit as such no longer has any meaning. This, incidentally, was even understood by the followers of Saint-Simon. On the other hand, as long as the capitalist mode of production continues to exist, interest-bearing capital, as one of its forms, also continues to exist and constitutes in fact the basis of its credit system. Only that sensational writer, Proudhon, who wanted to perpetuate commodity production and abolish money,[25]

[25] Karl Marx, *Misère de la Philosophie*, Bruxelles et Paris, 1847.[a]—Karl Marx, *Kritik der Polit. Oekonomie*, S. 64.[b]

[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 105-212. - [b] Ibid, Vol. 29, p. 323.

was capable of dreaming up the monstrous *crédit gratuit,*[62] the ostensible realisation of the pious wish of the petty-bourgeois estate.

In *Religion saint-simonienne. Économie politique et Politique,* we read on page 45:

"Credit serves the purpose, in a society in which some own the instruments of industry without the ability or will to employ them, and where other industrious people have no instruments of labour, of transferring these instruments in the easiest manner possible from the hands of the former, their owners, to the hands of the others who know how to use them. Note that this definition regards credit as a result of the way in which *property* is constituted."

Therefore, credit disappears with this constitution of property. We read, furthermore, on page 98, that the present banks

"consider it their business to follow the movement initiated by transactions taking place outside of their domain, but not themselves to provide an impulse to this movement; in other words, the banks perform the role of capitalists in relation to the *travailleurs*, whom they loan money".

The notion that the banks themselves should take over the management and distinguish themselves

"through the number and usefulness of their managed establishments and of promoted works" (p. 101)

contains the *Crédit mobilier* in embryo. In the same way, Charles Pecqueur demands that the banks (which the followers of Saint-Simon call a *Système général des banques*) "should rule production". Pecqueur is essentially a follower of Saint-Simon, but much more radical. He wants

"the credit institution ... to control the entire movement of national production."—"Try to create a national credit institution, which shall advance the wherewithal to needy people of talent and merit, without, however, forcibly tying these borrowers together through close solidarity in production and consumption, but on the contrary enabling them to determine their own exchange and production. In this way, you will only accomplish what the private banks already accomplish now, that is, anarchy, disproportion between production and consumption, the sudden ruin of one person, and the sudden enrichment of another; so that your institution will never get any farther than producing a certain amount of benefits for one person, corresponding to an equivalent amount of misfortune to be endured by another ... and you will have only provided the wage labourers assisted by you with the means to complete with one another just as their capitalist masters now do" (C. Pecqueur, *Théorie nouvelle d'économie soc. et pol.*, Paris, 1842, p. 434).[a]

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[a] l. c., pp. 433-34.

We have seen that merchant's capital and interest-bearing capital are the oldest forms of capital. But it is in the nature of things that interest-bearing capital assumes in popular conception the form of capital *par excellence*. In merchant's capital there takes place the work of middleman, no matter whether considered as cheating, labour, or anything else. But in the case of interest-bearing capital the self-reproducing character of capital, the self-expanding value, the production of surplus value, appears purely as an occult property. This accounts for the fact that even some political economists, particularly in countries where industrial capital is not yet fully developed, as in France, cling to interest-bearing capital as the fundamental form of capital and regard ground rent, for example, merely as a modified form of it, since the loan form also predominates here. In this way, the internal organisation of the capitalist mode of production is completely misunderstood, and the fact is entirely overlooked that land, like capital, is loaned only to capitalists. Of course, means of production in kind, such as machines and business offices, can also be loaned instead of money. But they then represent a definite sum of money, and the fact that in addition to interest a part is paid for wear and tear is due to their use value, i. e., the specific natural form of these elements of capital. The decisive factor here is again whether they are loaned to direct producers, which would presuppose the non-existence of the capitalist mode of production — at least in the sphere in which this occurs — or whether they are loaned to industrial capitalists, which is precisely the assumption based upon the capitalist mode of production. It is still more irrelevant and meaningless to drag the lending of houses, etc., for individual use into this discussion. That the working class is also swindled in this form, and to an enormous extent, is self-evident; but this is also done by the retail dealer, who sells means of subsistence to the worker. This is secondary exploitation, which runs parallel to the primary exploitation taking place in the production process itself. The distinction between selling and loaning is quite immaterial in this case and merely formal, and, as already indicated,[a] cannot appear as essential to anyone, unless he be wholly unfamiliar with the actual nature of the problem.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 345-48.

Usury, like commerce, exploits a given mode of production. It does not create it, but is related to it outwardly. Usury tries to maintain it directly, so as to exploit it ever anew; it is conservative and makes this mode of production only more pitiable. The less elements of production enter into the production process as commodities, and emerge from it as commodities, the more does their origination from money appear as a separate act. The more insignificant the role played by circulation in the social reproduction, the more usury flourishes.

That money wealth develops as a special kind of wealth, means in respect to usurer's capital that it possesses all its claims in the form of money claims. It develops that much more in a given country, the more the main body of production is limited to natural services, etc., that is, to use values.

Usury is a powerful lever in developing the preconditions for industrial capital in so far as it plays the double role, first, building up, in general, an independent money wealth alongside that of the merchant, and, secondly, appropriating the conditions of labour, that is, ruining the owners of the old conditions of labour.

## INTEREST IN THE MIDDLE AGES

"In the Middle Ages the population was purely agricultural. Under such a government as was the feudal system there can be but little traffic, and hence but little profit. Hence the laws against usury were justified in the Middle Ages. Besides, in an agricultural country a person seldom wants to borrow money except he be reduced to poverty or distress.... In the reign of Henry VIII, interest was limited to 10 per cent. James I reduced it to 8 per cent. ... Charles II reduced it to 6 per cent; in the reign of Queen Anne, it was reduced to 5 per cent.... In those times, the lenders ... had, in fact, though not a legal, yet an actual monopoly, and hence it was necessary that they, like other monopolists, should be placed under restraint. In our times, it is the rate of profit which regulates the rate of interest. In those times, it was the rate of interest which regulated the rate of profit. If the money lender charged a high rate of interest to the merchant, the merchant must have charged a higher rate of profit on his goods. Hence, a large sum of money would be taken from the pockets of the purchasers to be put into the pockets of the money lenders" (Gilbart, *The History and Princ. of Banking*, pp. 164, 165).

"I have been told that 10 gulden are now taken annually at every Leipzig Fair,[63] that is, 30 on each hundred; some add the Neuenburg Fair, thus making 40 per hundred; whether that is so, I don't know. For shame! What will be the infernal outcome of this?... Whoever now has 100 florins at Leipzig, takes 40 annually, which is the same as devouring one peasant or burgher each year. If one has 1,000 florins, he takes 400 annually, which means devouring a knight or a rich nobleman per year. If one has 10,000 florins, he takes 4,000 per year, which means devouring a rich count each year. If one has 100,000 florins, as the big merchants must possess, he takes 40,000 annually, which

means devouring one affluent prince each year. If one has 1,000,000 florins, he takes 400,000 annually, which means devouring one mighty king every year. And he does not risk either his person or his wares, does not work, sits near his fire-place and roasts apples; so might a lowly robber sit at home and devour a whole world in ten years." (Quoted from *Bücher vom Kaufhandel und Wucher* vom Jahre 1524, Luther's *Werke*, Wittenberg, 1589, Teil 6.[a])

"Fifteen years ago I took pen in hand against usury, when it had spread so alarmingly that I could scarcely hope for any improvement. Since then it has become so arrogant that it deigns not to be classed as vice, sin or shame, but achieves praise as pure virtue and honour, as though it were performing a great favour and Christian service for the people. What will help deliver us now that shame has turned into honour and vice into virtue?" (*An die Pfarrherrn wider den Wucher zu predigen*, Wittenberg, 1540.)

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"Jews, Lombards, usurers and extortioners were our first bankers, our primitive traffickers in money, their character little short of infamous.... They were joined by London goldsmiths. As a body ... our primitive bankers ... were a very bad set, they were gripping usurers, iron-hearted extortioners." (D. Hardcastle, *Banks and Bankers*, 2nd ed., London, 1843, pp. 19, 20.)

"The example shown by Venice" (in establishing a bank) "was thus quickly imitated; all sea-coast towns, and in general all towns which had earned fame through their independence and commerce, founded their first banks. The return voyage of their ships, which often was of long duration, inevitably led to the custom of lending on credit. This was further intensified by the discovery of America and the ensuing trade with that continent." (This is the main point.) "The chartering of ships made large loans necessary — a procedure already obtaining in ancient Athens and Greece. In 1308, the Hanse town of Bruges possessed an insurance company" (M. Augier, l. c., pp. 202, 203).

To what extent the granting of loans to landowners, and thus to the pleasure-seeking wealthy in general, still prevailed in the last third of the 17th century, even in England, before the development of modern credit, may be seen, among others, in the works of Sir Dudley North. He was not only one of the first English merchants, but also one of the most prominent theoretical economists of his time: [64]

"The moneys employed at interest in this nation, are not near the tenth part; disposed to trading people, wherewith to manage their trades; but are for the most part lent for the supplying of luxury, and to support the expense of persons, who though great owners of lands, yet spend faster than their lands bring in; and being loath to sell, choose rather to mortgage their estates" (*Discourses upon Trade*, London, 1691, pp. 6, 7).

Poland in the 18th century:

"Warsaw carried on a large bustling business in bills of exchange which, however, had as its principal basis and aim the usury of its bankers. In order to secure money, which they could lend to spendthrift gentry at 8% and more, they sought and obtained

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[a] S. 312-13.

abroad open exchange credit, that is, credit that had no commodity trade as its basis, but which the foreign drawee continued to accept as long as the returns from these manipulations did not fail to come in. However, they paid heavily for this through bankruptcies of men like Tepper and other highly respected Warsaw bankers" (J. G. Büsch, *Theoretisch-praktische Darstellung der Handlung, etc.*, 3rd ed., Hamburg, 1808, Vol. II, pp. 232, 233).

## ADVANTAGES DERIVED BY THE CHURCH FROM THE PROHIBITION OF INTEREST

"Taking interest had been interdicted by the Church. But selling property for the purpose of finding succour in distress had not been forbidden. It had not even been prohibited to transfer property to the money lender as security for a certain term, until a debtor repaid his loan, leaving the money lender free to enjoy the usufruct of the property as a reward for his abstinence from his money.... The Church itself, and its associated communes and *pia corpora*,[a] derived much profit from this practice, particularly during the crusades. This brought a very large portion of national wealth into possession of the so-called 'dead hand',[65] all the more so because the Jews were barred from engaging in such usury, the possession of such fixed liens not being concealable.... Without the ban on interest churches and cloisters would never have become so affluent" (l. c., p. 55).

[a] pious corporations

# Part VI

# TRANSFORMATION OF SURPLUS PROFIT INTO GROUND RENT

## Chapter XXXVII

### INTRODUCTION

The analysis of landed property in its various historical forms is beyond the scope of this work.[66] We shall be concerned with it only in so far as a portion of the surplus value produced by capital falls to the share of the landowner. We assume, then, that agriculture is dominated by the capitalist mode of production, just as manufacture is; in other words, that agriculture is carried on by capitalists who differ from other capitalists primarily in the manner in which their capital, and the wage labour set in motion by this capital, are invested. So far as we are concerned, the farmer produces wheat, etc., in much the same way as the manufacturer produces yarn or machines. The assumption that the capitalist mode of production has encompassed agriculture implies that it rules over all spheres of production and bourgeois society, i. e., that its prerequisites, such as free competition among capitals, the possibility of transferring the latter from one production sphere to another, and a uniform level of the average profit, etc., are fully matured. The form of landed property which we shall consider here is a specifically historical one, a form *transformed* through the influence of capital and of the capitalist mode of production, either of feudal landownership, or of small-peasant agriculture as a means of livelihood, in which the *possession* of the land constitutes one of the prerequisites of production for the direct producer, and in which his *ownership* of land appears as the most advantageous condition for the prosperity of *his* mode of production. Just as the capitalist mode of production in general is based on the expropriation of the conditions of labour from the labourers, so does it in agriculture presuppose the expropriation of the rural labourers from the land and their subordination to a capitalist, who carries on agriculture for the

sake of profit. Thus, for the purpose of our analysis, the objection that other forms of landed property and of agriculture have existed, or still exist, is quite irrelevant. Such an objection can only apply to those economists who treat the capitalist mode of production in agriculture, and the form of landed property corresponding to it, not as historical but rather as eternal categories.[67]

For our purposes it is necessary to study the modern form of landed property, because our task is to consider the specific conditions of production and circulation which arise from the investment of capital in agriculture. Without this, our analysis of capital would not be complete. We therefore confine ourselves exclusively to the investment of capital in agriculture itself, that is, in producing the principal agricultural crop which feeds a given people. We can use wheat for this purpose, because it is the principal means of subsistence in modern capitalistically developed nations. (Or, instead of agriculture, we can use mining because the laws are the same for both.)

One of the big contributions of Adam Smith was to have shown that ground rent for capital invested in the production of such agricultural products as flax and dye-stuffs, and in independent cattle-raising, etc., is determined by the ground rent obtained from capital invested in the production of the principal article of subsistence.[a] In fact, no further progress has been made in this regard since then. Any limitations or additions would belong in an independent study of landed property, not here.[68] Hence, we shall not speak of landed property *ex professo*—in so far as it does not refer to land destined for wheat production—but shall merely refer to it on occasion by way of illustration.

It should be noted for the sake of completeness that we also include water, etc., in the term land, in so far as it belongs to someone as an accessory to the land.

Landed property is based on the monopoly by certain persons over definite portions of the globe, as exclusive spheres of their private will to the exclusion of all others.[26)] With this in mind, the problem is to ascertain the economic value, that is, the realisation of this monopoly

[26)] Nothing could be more comical than Hegel's development of private landed property. According to this, man as an individual must endow his will with reality as the soul of external nature, and must therefore take possession of this nature and make

[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, London, 1776, pp. 182-202.

on the basis of capitalist production. With the legal power of these persons to use or misuse certain portions of the globe, nothing is decided. The use of this power depends wholly upon economic conditions, which are independent of their will. The legal view itself only means that the landowner can do with the land what every owner of commodities can do with his commodities. And this view, this legal view of free private ownership of land, arises in the ancient world only with the dissolution of the organic order of society, and in the modern world only with the development of capitalist production. It has been imported by Europeans to Asia only here and there. In the section dealing with primitive accumulation (Buch I, Kap. XXIV[b]), we saw that this mode of production presupposes, on the one hand, the separation of the direct producers from their position as mere ac-

it his private property. If this were the destiny of the "*individual*", of man as an individual, it would follow that every human being must be a landowner, in order to become a real individual. Free private ownership of land, a very recent product, is, according to Hegel, not a definite social relation, but a relation of man as an individual to "nature", "an absolute right of man to appropriate all things" (Hegel, *Philosophie des Rechts*, Berlin, 1840, S. 79). This much, at least, is evident: the individual cannot maintain himself as a landowner by his mere "will" against the will of another individual, who likewise wants to become a real individual by virtue of the same strip of land. It definitely requires something other than goodwill. Furthermore, it is absolutely impossible to determine where the "individual" draws the line for realising his will—whether this will requires for its realisation a whole country, or whether it requires a whole group of countries by whose appropriation "the supremacy of my will over the thing can be manifested".[a] Here Hegel comes to a complete impasse. "The appropriation is of a very particular kind; I do not take possession of more than I touch with my body; but it is clear, on the other hand, that external things are more extensive that I can grasp. By thus having possession of such a thing, some other is thereby connected to it. I carry out the act of appropriation by means of my hand, but its scope can be extended" (p. 90). But this other thing is again linked with still another, and so the boundary within which my will, as the soul, can pour into the soil, disappears. "When I possess something, my mind at once passes over to the idea that not only this property in my immediate possession, but what is associated with it is also mine. Here positive right must decide, for nothing more can be deduced from the concept" (p. 91). This is an extraordinarily naïve admission "of the concept", and proves that this concept which makes the blunder at the very outset of regarding as absolute a very definite legal view of landed property—belonging to bourgeois society—understands "nothing" of the actual nature of this landed property. This contains at the same time the admission that "positive right" can, and must, alter its determinations as the requirements of social, i. e., economic, development change.

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[a] Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, S. 80. - [b] English edition: Part VIII (see present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 704-61).

cessories to the land (in the form of vassals, serfs, slaves, etc.), and, on the other hand, the expropriation of the mass of the people from the land. To this extent the monopoly of landed property is a historical premise, and continues to remain the basis of the capitalist mode of production, just as in all previous modes of production which are based on the exploitation of the masses in one form or another. But the form of landed property with which the incipient capitalist mode of production is confronted does not suit it. It first creates for itself the form required by subordinating agriculture to capital. It thus transforms feudal landed property, clan property, small-peasant property in mark communes — no matter how divergent their juristic forms may be — *into the economic form corresponding to the requirements* of this mode of production. One of the major results of the capitalist mode of production is that, on the one hand, it transforms agriculture from a mere empirical and mechanical self-perpetuating process employed by the least developed part of society into the conscious scientific application of agronomy, in so far as this is at all feasible under conditions of private property[27]; that it completely divorces landed

[27] Very conservative agricultural chemists, such as Johnston, admit that a really rational agriculture is confronted everywhere with insurmountable barriers stemming from private property.[a] So do writers who are *ex professo* advocates of the monopoly of private property in the world, for instance, Charles Comte in his two-volume work,[b] which has as its special aim the defence of private property. "A nation," he says, "cannot attain to the degree of prosperity and power compatible with its nature, unless every portion of the soil nourishing it is assigned to that purpose which agrees best with the general interest. In order to give to its wealth a strong development, one sole and above all highly enlightened will should, if possible, take it upon itself to assign each piece of its domain its task and make every piece contribute to the prosperity of all others. But the existence of such a will ... would be incompatible with the division of the land into private plots ...and with the authority guaranteed each owner to dispose of his property in an almost absolute manner."[c] Johnston, Comte, and others, only have in mind the necessity of tilling the land of a certain country as a whole, when they speak of a contradiction between property and a rational system of agronomy. But the dependence of the cultivation of particular agricultural products upon the fluctuations of market prices, and the continual changes in this cultivation with these price fluctuations — the whole spirit of capitalist production, which is directed toward the immediate gain of money — are in contradiction to agriculture, which has to minister to the entire range of permanent necessities of life required by the chain of successive generations. A striking illustration of this is furnished by the forests, which are only rarely managed in a way more or less corresponding to the interests of society as a whole, i. e., when they are not private property, but subject to the control of the state.

[a] J. Johnston, *Notes on North America. Agricultural, Economical and Social*, Vol. I, Edinburgh and London, 1851. - [b] *Traité de la propriété*, Tome 1, Paris, 1834. - [c] Ibid., p. 228.

property from the relations of dominion and servitude, on the one hand, and, on the other, totally separates land as a condition of labour from landed property and landowner—for whom the land merely represents a certain money assessment which he collects by virtue of his monopoly from the industrial capitalist, the tenant farmer; it dissolves the connection between landownership and the land so thoroughly that the landowner may spend his whole life in Constantinople, while his estates lie in Scotland. Landed property thus receives its purely economic form by discarding all its former political and social embellishments and associations, in brief all those traditional accessories, which are denounced, as we shall see later, as useless and absurd superfluities by the industrial capitalists themselves, as well as their theoretical spokesmen, in the heat of their struggle with landed property. The rationalising of agriculture, on the one hand, which makes it for the first time capable of operating on a social scale, and the reduction *ad absurdum* of property in land, on the other, are the great achievements of the capitalist mode of production. Like all of its other historical advances, it also attained these by first completely impoverishing the direct producers.

Before we proceed to the problem itself, several more preliminary remarks are necessary to avoid misunderstanding.

The prerequisites for the capitalist mode of production therefore are the following: The actual tillers of the soil are wage labourers employed by a capitalist, the tenant farmer who is engaged in agriculture merely as a particular field of exploitation for capital, as investment for his capital in a particular sphere of production. This capitalist farmer pays the landowner, the owner of the land exploited by him, a sum of money at definite periods fixed by contract, for instance, annually (just as the borrower of money capital pays a fixed interest), for the right to invest his capital in this specific sphere of production. This sum of money is called ground rent, no matter whether it is paid for agricultural land, building lots, mines, fishing grounds, or forests, etc. It is paid for the entire time for which the landowner has contracted to rent his land to the tenant farmer. Ground rent, therefore, is here that form in which property in land is realised economically, that is, produces value. Here, then, we have all three classes—wage labourers, industrial capitalists, and landowners—constituting together, and in their mutual opposition, the framework of modern society.

Capital may be fixed in the land, incorporated in it either in a

transitory manner, as through improvements of a chemical nature, fertilisation, etc., or more permanently, as in drainage canals, irrigation works, levelling, farm buildings, etc. Elsewhere I have called the capital thus applied to land *la terre-capital.*[28] It belongs to the category of fixed capital. The interest on capital incorporated in the land and the improvements thus made in it as an instrument of production can constitute a part of the rent paid by the farmer to the landowner,[29] but it does not constitute the actual ground rent, which is paid for the use of the land as such — be it in a natural or cultivated state. In a systematic treatment of landed property, which is not within our scope, this part of the landowner's revenue would have to be discussed at length.[66] But a few words about it will suffice here. The more transitory capital investments, which accompany the ordinary production processes in agriculture, are all made without exception by the farmer. These investments, like cultivation proper in general, improve the land,[30] increase its output, and transform the land from mere material into land-capital when the cultivation is carried on more or less rationally, i. e., when it is not reduced to a brutal spoliation of the soil, as was in vogue, e. g., among the former slave-holders in the United States; however, the gentlemen landowners secure themselves against such practice by contract. A cultivated field is worth more than an uncultivated one of the same natural quality. The more permanent fixed capital investments, which are incorporated in the soil and used up in a longer period of time, are also in the main, and in some spheres often exclusively, made by the farmer. But as soon as the time stipulated by contract has expired — and this is one of the reasons why with the development of capitalist production the

[28] *Misère de la Philosophie.*[a] There I have made a distinction between *terre-matière* and *terre-capital.* "The very fact of applying further outlays of capital to land already transformed into means of production increases land as capital without adding anything to land as matter, that is, to the extent of the land.... Land as capital is no more eternal than any other capital... Land as capital is fixed capital; but fixed capital gets used up just as much as circulating capital."

[29] I say "can" because under certain circumstances this interest is regulated by the law of ground rent and, therefore, can disappear, as in the case of competition between virgin lands of great natural fertility.

[30] See James Anderson and Carey.[b]

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, p. 205. - [b] J. Anderson, *A Calm Investigation of the Circumstances that Have Led to the Present Scarcity of Grain in Britain*, pp. 35-36, 38; H. Ch. Carey, *The Past, the Present, and the Future*, pp. 129-31.

landowners seek to shorten the contract period as much as possible — the improvements incorporated in the soil become the property of the landowner as an inseparable feature of the substance, the land. In the new contract made by the landowner he adds the interest for capital incorporated in the land to the ground rent itself. And he does this whether he now leases the land to the farmer who made these improvements or to some other farmer. His rent is thus inflated; and should he wish to sell his land (we shall see immediately how its price is determined), its value is now higher. He sells not merely the land but the improved land, the capital incorporated in the land for which he paid nothing. Quite aside from the movements of ground rent itself, here lies one of the secrets of the increasing enrichment of landowners, the continuous inflation of their rents, and the constantly growing money value of their estates along with progress in economic development. Thus they pocket a product of social development created without their help—*fruges consumere nati.*[a] But this is at the same time one of the greatest obstacles to a rational development of agriculture, for the tenant farmer avoids all improvements and outlays for which he cannot expect complete returns during the term of his lease. We find this situation denounced as such an obstacle again and again, not only in the 18th century by James Anderson, the actual discoverer of the modern theory of rent[b] — who was also a practical farmer and an advanced agronomist for his time — but also in our own day by opponents of the present constitution of landed property in England.

A. A. Walton, in his *History of the Landed Tenures of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1865, says on this score (pp. 96, 97):

"All the efforts of the numerous agricultural associations throughout the country must fail to produce any very extensive or really appreciable results in the real advancement of agricultural improvement, so long as such improvements mean in a far higher degree increased value to the estate and rent-roll of the landlord, than bettering the condition of the tenant farmer or the labourer. The farmers, generally, are as well aware as either the landlord or his agent, or even the president of the Agricultural Association, that good drainage, plenty of manure, and good management, combined with the increased employment of labour, to thoroughly cleanse and work the land, will produce wonderful results both in improvement and production. To do all this, however, considerable outlay is required, and the farmers are also aware, that however much they may improve the land or enhance its value, the landlords will, in

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[a] Horace, *Epistles*, Book I, 2, 27. - [b] On J. Anderson's theory of rent see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 344-46, 351-54, 371-76.

the long run, reap the principal benefit, in higher rents and the increased value of their estates.... They are shrewd enough to observe what those orators" (landowners and their agents speaking at agricultural festivities), "by some singular inadvertence, omit to tell them — namely, that the lion's share of any improvements they may make is sure to go into the pockets of the landlords in the long run.... However much the former tenant may have improved the farm, his successor will find that the landlord will always increase the rent in proportion to the increased value of the land from former improvements."

In agriculture proper this process does not yet appear quite as plainly as when the land is used for building purposes. By far the largest portion of land used in England for building purposes but not sold as a FREEHOLD is leased by the landowners for 99 years or, if possible, for a shorter term. After the lapse of this period the buildings fall into the hands of the landowner together with the land itself.

"They" (the tenants) "are bound to deliver up the house at the expiration of the lease, in good tenantable condition, to the great landlord, after having paid an exorbitant ground rent up to the expiration of the lease. No sooner is the lease expired, than the agent or surveyor will come and examine your house, and see that you put it into good repair, and then take possession of it, and annex it to his lord's domains.... The fact is, if this system is permitted to be in full operation for any considerable period longer, the whole of the house property in the kingdom will be in the hands of the great landlords, as well as the land. The whole of the West End of London, north and south from Temple Bar,[69] may be said to belong to about half a dozen great landlords, all let at enormous rents, and where the leases have not quite expired they are fast falling due. The same may be said either more or less of every town in the kingdom. Nor does this grasping system of exclusion and monopoly stop even here. Nearly the whole of the dock accommodation in our seaport towns is by the same process of usurpation in the hands of the great leviathans of the land" (l. c., p. 93).[a]

It is evident in these circumstances that when the census for England and Wales in 1861 gives the total population as 20,066,224 and the number of landlords as 36,032, the proportion of owners to the number of houses and to population would look completely different if the large owners were placed on one side and the small ones on the other.

This illustration of ownership in buildings is important. In the first place, it clearly shows the difference between actual ground rent and interest on fixed capital incorporated in the land, which may constitute an addition to ground rent. Interest on buildings, like that on capital incorporated in the land by the tenant in agriculture, falls into the hands of the industrial capitalist, the building speculator,

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[a] Pp. 92-93.

or the tenant, so long as the lease lasts, and has in itself nothing to do with ground rent, which must be paid on stated dates annually for the use of the land. Secondly, it shows that capital incorporated in the land by others ultimately passes into the hands of the landlord together with the land, and that the interest for it inflates his rent.

Some writers, acting either as spokesmen of landed property and taking up the cudgels against the attacks of bourgeois economists, or in an endeavour to transform the capitalist system of production from a system of contradictions into one of "harmonies", like Carey, have tried to represent ground rent, the specific economic expression of landed property, as identical with interest.[a] This would eliminate the opposition between landlords and capitalists. The opposite method was employed in the early stages of capitalist production. In those days, landed property was still regarded by popular conception as the pristine and respectable form of private property, while interest on capital was decried as usury. Dudley North, Locke and others, therefore, represented interest on capital as a form analogous to ground rent,[70] just as Turgot deduced the justification for interest from the existence of ground rent.[b]—Aside from the fact that ground rent may, and does, exist in its pure form without any addition for interest on capital incorporated in the land, those more recent writers forget that, in this way, the landlord not only receives interest on other persons' capital that costs him nothing, but also pockets this capital of others without recompense. The justification of landed property, like that of all other forms of property corresponding to a certain mode of production, is that the mode of production itself is a transient historical necessity, and this includes the relations of production and exchange which stem from it. It is true, as we shall see later, that landed property differs from other kinds of property in that it appears superfluous and harmful at a certain stage of development, even from the point of view of the capitalist mode of production.[c]

Ground rent may in another form be confused with interest and thereby its specific character overlooked. Ground rent assumes the form of a certain sum of money, which the landlord draws annually by leasing a certain plot on our planet. We have seen that every

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[a] H. Ch. Carey, *Principles of Political Economy*. Part the first, pp. 129-30. -
[b] A. R. J. Turgot, *Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses*, §§ 73, 85. -
[c] See this volume, pp. 798-800.

particular sum of money may be capitalised, that is, considered as the interest on an imaginary capital. For instance, if the average rate of interest is 5%, then an annual ground rent of £200 may be regarded as interest on a capital of £4,000. Ground rent so capitalised constitutes the purchase price or value of the land, a category which like the price of labour is *prima facie* irrational, since the earth is not the product of labour and therefore has no value. But on the other hand, a real relation in production is concealed behind this irrational form. If a capitalist buys land yielding a rent of £200 annually and pays £4,000 for it, then he draws the average annual interest of 5% on his capital of £4,000, just as if he had invested this capital in interest-bearing papers or loaned it directly at 5% interest. It is the expansion of a capital of £4,000 at 5%. On this assumption, he would recover the purchase price of his estate through its revenues in twenty years. In England, therefore, the purchase price of land is calculated in so many YEARS' PURCHASE which is merely another way of expressing the capitalisation of ground rent. It is in fact the purchase price — not of the land, but of the ground rent yielded by it — calculated in accordance with the usual interest rate. But this capitalisation of rent assumes the existence of rent, while rent cannot inversely be derived and explained from its own capitalisation. Its existence, independent of its sale, is rather the starting-point for the inquiry.

It follows, then, that the price of land may rise or fall inversely as the interest rate rises or falls if we assume ground rent to be a constant magnitude. If the ordinary interest rate should fall from 5% to 4%, then the annual ground rent of £200 would represent the annual realisation from a capital of £5,000 instead of £4,000. The price of the same piece of land would thus have risen from £4,000 to £5,000, or from 20 years' to 25 YEARS' PURCHASE. The converse would take place in the opposite case. This is a movement of the price of land which is independent of the movement of ground rent itself and regulated only by the interest rate. But as we have seen that the rate of profit has a tendency to fall in the course of social progress, and, therefore, the interest rate has the same tendency, so far as it is regulated by the rate of profit; and that, furthermore, the interest rate shows a tendency to fall in consequence of the growth of loanable capital, apart from the influence of the rate of profit, it follows that the price of land has a tendency to rise, even independently of the movement of ground rent and the prices of the products of the land, of which rent constitutes a part.

The confusion of ground rent itself with the interest form which it assumes for the buyer of the land — a confusion resulting from complete lack of familiarity with the nature of ground rent — must necessarily lead to the most absurd conclusions. Since landed property is considered in all ancient countries as a particularly genteel form of property, and its purchase also as an eminently safe capital investment, the interest rate at which ground rent is bought is generally lower than that of other long-term investments of capital, so that a buyer of real estate draws, for instance, only 4% on his purchase price, whereas he would draw 5% for the same capital in other investments. In other words, he pays more capital for ground rent than he would for the same annual amount of income from other investments. This leads Mr. Thiers to conclude in his generally very poor work on *La Propriété*[a] (a reprint of his speech in the French National Assembly in 1848 directed against Proudhon) [71] that ground rent is low, whereas it merely proves that its purchase price is high.

The fact that capitalised ground rent appears as the price or value of land, so that land, therefore, is bought and sold like any other commodity, serves some apologists as a justification for landed property since the buyer pays an equivalent for it, the same as for other commodities; and the major portion of landed property has changed hands in this way. The same reason in that case would also serve to justify slavery, since the returns from the labour of the slave, whom the slave-holder has bought, merely represent the interest on the capital invested in this purchase. To derive a justification for the existence of ground rent from its sale and purchase means in general to justify its existence by its existence.

As important as it may be for a scientific analysis of ground rent — that is, the independent and specific economic form of landed property on the basis of the capitalist mode of production — to study it in its pure form free of all distorting and obfuscating irrelevancies, it is just as important for an understanding of the practical effects of landed property — even for a theoretical comprehension of a multitude of facts which contradict the concept and nature of ground rent and yet appear as modes of existence of ground rent — to learn the sources which give rise to such muddling in theory.

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[a] L. A. Thiers, *Rapport du citoyen Thiers, précédé de la proposition du citoyen Proudhon relative à l'impôt sur le revenu, et suivi de son discours prononcé à l'Assemblée nationale, le 31 juillet 1848*, Paris, 1848.

In practice, naturally, everything appears as ground rent that is paid as lease money by tenant to landlord for the right to cultivate the soil. No matter what the composition of this tribute and no matter what its sources, it has this in common with the actual ground rent — that the monopoly of the so-called landed proprietor of a portion of our planet enables him to levy such tribute and impose such an assessment. It has this in common with the actual ground rent — that it determines the price of land, which, as we have indicated earlier, is nothing but the capitalised income from the lease of the land.

We have already seen that interest for the capital incorporated in the land may constitute such an extraneous component of ground rent, a component which must become a continually growing extra charge on the total rent of a country as economic development progresses. But aside from this interest, it is possible that the lease money may conceal in part, and in certain cases in its entirety, i. e., in complete absence of the actual ground rent — when the land is, therefore, actually worthless — a deduction from the average profit or from the normal wages, or both. This portion, whether of profit or wages, appears here as ground rent, because instead of falling to the industrial capitalist or the wage worker, as would normally be the case, it is paid to the landlord in the form of lease money. Economically speaking, neither the one nor the other of these portions constitutes ground rent; but, in practice, it constitutes the landlord's revenue, an economic realisation of his monopoly, much as actual ground rent, and it has just as determining an influence on land prices.

We are not speaking now of conditions in which ground rent, the manner of expressing landed property in the capitalist mode of production, formally exists without the existence of the capitalist mode of production itself, i. e., without the tenant himself being an industrial capitalist, nor the type of his management being a capitalist one. Such is the case, e. g., in *Ireland*. The tenant there is generally a small farmer. What he pays to the landlord in the form of rent frequently absorbs not merely a part of his profit, that is, his own surplus labour (to which he is entitled as possessor of his own instruments of labour), but also a part of his normal wage, which he would otherwise receive for the same amount of labour. Besides, the landlord, who does nothing at all for the improvement of the land, also expropriates his small capital, which the tenant for the most part incorporates in the land through his own labour. This is precisely

what a usurer would do under similar circumstances, with just the difference that the usurer would at least risk his own capital in the operation. This continual plunder is the core of the dispute over the Irish Tenancy Rights Bill. The main purpose of this Bill is to compel the landlord when ordering his tenant off the land to indemnify the latter for his improvements on the land, or for his capital incorporated in the land.[72] Palmerston used to wave this demand aside with the cynical answer:

"The House of Commons is a house of landed proprietors."

Nor are we referring to exceptional circumstances in which the landlord may enforce a high rental—even in countries with capitalist production—that stands in no relation to the yield from the soil. Of such a nature, for example, is the leasing of small patches of land to labourers in English factory districts, either as small gardens or for amateur spare-time farming (Reports of Inspectors of Factories).

We are referring to ground rent in countries with developed capitalist production. Among English tenants, for instance, there are a number of small capitalists who are destined and compelled by education, training, tradition, competition, and other circumstances to invest their capital as tenants in agriculture. They are forced to be satisfied with less than the average profit, and to turn over part of it to the landlords as rent. This is the only condition under which they are permitted to invest their capital in the land, in agriculture. Since landlords everywhere exert considerable, and in England even overwhelming, influence on legislation, they are able to exploit this situation for the purpose of victimising the entire class of tenants. For instance, the Corn Laws of 1815[73]—a bread tax, admittedly imposed upon the country to secure for the idle landlords a continuation of their abnormally increased rentals during the anti-Jacobin war[74]—had indeed the effect, excluding cases of a few extraordinarily rich harvests, of maintaining prices of agricultural products above the level to which they would have fallen had corn imports been unrestricted. But they did not have the effect of maintaining prices at the level decreed by the law-making landlords to serve as normal prices in such manner as to constitute the legal limit for imports of foreign corn. But the leaseholds were contracted in an atmosphere created by these normal prices. As soon as the illusion was dispelled, a new law was passed, containing new normal prices, which were as much the impotent expression of a greedy landlord's fantasy as the

old ones. In this way, tenants were defrauded from 1815 up to the thirties. Hence the standing problem of AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS during this entire period. Hence the expropriation and the ruin of a whole generation of tenants during this period and their replacement by a new class of capitalists.[31]

A much more general and important fact, however, is the depression of the actual farm labourer's wage below its normal average, so that part of it is deducted to become part of the lease money and thus, in the guise of ground rent, it flows into the pocket of the landlord rather than the labourer. This is, for example, quite generally the case in England and Scotland, with the exception of a few favourably situated counties. The inquiries into the level of wages by the parliamentary investigating committees,[75] which were appointed before the passage of the Corn Laws in England—so far the most valuable and almost unexploited contributions to the history of wages in the 19th century, and at the same time a pillory erected for themselves by the English aristocracy and bourgeoisie—proved convincingly and beyond a doubt that the high rates of rent, and the corresponding rise in land prices during the anti-Jocobin war, were due in part to no other cause but deductions from wages and their depression to a level that was even below the physical minimum requirement; in other words, to part of the normal wage being handed over to the landlords. Various circumstances, such as the depreciation of money and the manipulation of the Poor Laws in the agricultural districts,[76] had made this operation possible at a time when the incomes of the tenants were enormously increasing and the landlords were amassing fabulous riches. Indeed, one of the main arguments of both tenants and landlords for the introduction of duties on corn was that it was physically impossible to depress farm labourers' wages any lower. This state of affairs has not significantly changed, and in England, as in all European countries, a portion of the normal wage is absorbed by ground rent just as ever. When Count Shaftesbury, then Lord Ashley, one of the philanthropic aristocrats, was so extraordinarily moved by the condition of English factory operatives and acted as

[31] See the Anti-Corn Law Prize Essays.[a] However, the Corn Laws always kept prices at an artificially higher level. For the better placed tenants this was favourable. They profited from the passivity in which the protective duties kept the great mass of tenants who relied, with or without good reason, on the exceptional average price.

[a] *The Three Prize Essays on Agriculture and the Corn Law.* Manchester-London, 1842.

their spokesman in Parliament during the agitation for a ten-hour day, the spokesmen of the industrialists took their revenge by publishing wage statistics of agricultural labourers in the villages belonging to him (see Buch I, Kap. XXIII, 5, e[a]) ("The British Agricultural Proletariat"), which clearly showed that a portion of the ground rent of this philanthropist consisted merely of loot filched for him by his tenants out of the wages of agricultural labourers. This publication is also interesting for the fact that its revelations may bravely take their place beside the worst exposures made by the committees in 1814 and 1815.[b] As soon as circumstances force a temporary increase in the wage of agricultural labourers a cry goes up from the tenant farmers that raising wages to the normal level, as done in other branches of industry, would be impossible and would ruin them, unless ground rent were reduced at the same time. Therein lies the confession that under the head of ground rent there is a deduction of the labourers' wages which is handed over to the landlords. For instance, from 1849 to 1859 the wages of agricultural labourers rose in England through a combination of momentous events: the exodus from Ireland, which cut off the supply of agricultural labourers coming from there; an extraordinary absorption of the agricultural population by factories; a war-time demand for soldiers; an exceptionally large emigration to Australia and the United States (California), and other circumstances which need not be dwelt upon here. At the same time, average prices of grain fell by more than 16% during this period, with the exception of the poor agricultural years 1854 to 1856. The tenant farmers clamoured for a reduction in rents. They were successful in individual cases, but on the whole failed to achieve this demand. They had recourse to a decrease in production costs, among other things by the mass introduction of steam-engines and new machinery, which to some extent replaced horses and pushed them out of the economy, but also brought about, in part, an artificial overpopulation by throwing agricultural day labourers out of work, and thereby caused a new drop in wages. And this took place in spite of the overall relative decrease in agricultural population during that decade as compared with the growth of total population, and in spite of an absolute decrease in agricultural population in

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[a] English edition: Ch. XXV, 5, e (see present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 665-88). - [b] The reference is to The House of Lords investigating committees which made inquiries into the level of wages.

some purely agricultural districts.[32] Thus Fawcett, then professor of political economy at Cambridge, who died in 1884 while Postmaster General, stated at the Social Science Congress on October 12, 1865:[78]

"The labourers were beginning to emigrate, and the farmers were already beginning to complain that they would not be able to pay such high rents as they have been accustomed to pay, because labour was becoming dearer in consequence of emigration."

Here, then, high ground rent is directly identified with low wages. And in so far as the level of land prices is determined by this circumstance — increasing rent — a rise in the value of land is identical with a depreciation of labour, the high price of land is identical with the low price of labour.

The same is true of France.

"The rental rises because the prices of bread, wine, meat, vegetables and fruit rise, on the one hand, while, on the other hand, the price of labour remains unchanged. If the older people examine the accounts of their fathers, taking us back about 100 years, they will find that the price of a day's labour in rural France was the same as it is now. The price of meat has trebled since then.... Who is the victim of this revolution? Is it the rich man, who is the proprietor of an estate, or the poor man who works it?... The increase in rental is evidence of a public disaster" (*Du Mécanisme de la Société en France et en Angleterre*, by M. Rubichon, 2nd ed., Paris, 1837, p. 101).

Illustrations of rent representing deductions, on the one hand, from average profit and, on the other, from average wages:

Morton,[b] real estate agent and agricultural mechanic who was previously quoted, states that it has been observed in many localities that rent for large estates is lower than for small ones because

"the competition is usually greater for the latter than for the former, and as few small farmers are able to turn their attention to any other business than that of farming, their anxiety to get a suitable occupation leads them in many instances to give more rent than their judgement can approve of" (John L. Morton, *The Resources of Estates*, London, 1858, p. 116).

However, this difference is supposed to be gradually disappearing in England; this he attributes largely to the emigration precisely

[32] John Ch. Morton, *The Forces Used in Agriculture*. Lecture read in the London SOCIETY OF ARTS,[77] in 1859,[a] was based upon authentic documents collected from about 100 tenants in 12 Scottish and 35 English counties.

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[a] Under the title: "On the Forces Used in Agriculture". - [b] Here Marx quotes John Lockart Morton and not John Chalmers Morton who was quoted above.

of the class of small tenants. The same Morton illustrates with an example in which clearly the wage of the tenant himself, and even more surely that of his labourers, suffers a deduction for ground rent. This takes place in the case of leaseholds with less than 70 to 80 acres (30-34 ha.) where a two-horse plough cannot be maintained.

"Unless the tenant works with his own hands as laboriously as any labourer, his farm will not keep him. If he entrusts the performance of his work to workmen while he continues merely to observe them, the chances are, that at no distant period, he will find he is unable to pay his rent" (l. c., p. 118).

Morton concludes, therefore, that unless the tenants of a certain locality are very poor, the leaseholds should not be smaller than 70 acres, so that the tenants may keep two or three horses.

Extraordinary sagacity on the part of Monsieur Léonce de Lavergne, *Membre de l'Institut et de la Société Centrale d'Agriculture.*[79] In his *Economie Rurale de l'Angleterre* (quoted from the English translation, London, 1855), he makes the following comparison of the annual advantage derived from cattle which is employed in France but not in England where it is replaced by horses (p. 42):

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FRANCE: | Milk . . . . . | £4 million | ENGLAND: | Milk . . . | £16 million |
| | Meat . . . . | £16 million | | Meat . . . | £20 million |
| | Labour . . . | £8 million | | Labour . . | — |
| | | £28 million | | | £36 million |

But the greater total for England is obtained here because according to his own testimony milk is twice as expensive in England as in France whereas he assumes the same prices for meat in both countries (p. 35); therefore, English milk production shrinks to £8 million and the total to £28 million, which is the same as in France. It is indeed rather too much when Mr. Lavergne allows the quantities and price differences to enter simultaneously into his calculations so that when England produces certain articles more dearly than France, this appears to be an advantage of English agriculture, whereas at best it signifies a larger profit for the tenants and landlords.

That Mr. Lavergne is not only familiar with the economic achievements of English agriculture, but also subscribes to the prejudices of the English tenants and landlords, is shown on page 48:

"One great drawback attends cereals generally ... they exhaust the soil which bears them."

Not only does Mr. Lavergne believe that other plants do not do so, but also believes that fodder crops and root crops enrich the soil:

"Forage plants derive from the atmosphere the principal elements of their growth, while they give to the soil more than they take from it; thus both directly and by their conversion into animal manure contributing in two ways to repair the mischief done by cereals and exhausting crops generally; one principle, therefore, is that they should at least alternate with these crops; in this consists the Norfolk rotation" (pp. 50, 51).

No wonder that Mr. Lavergne, who believes these English rustic fairy-tales, also believes that the wages of English farm labourers have lost their former abnormality since the duties on corn have been lifted. (See what has been previously said on this point. Buch I, Kap. XXIII, 5, pp. 701 to 729.[a]) But let us also listen to Mr. John Bright's speech in Birmingham, December 13, 1865. After mentioning the 5 million families entirely unrepresented in Parliament, he continues:

"There is among them one million, or rather more than one million, in the United Kingdom who are classed in the unfortunate list of paupers. There is another million just above pauperism, but always in peril lest they should become paupers. Their condition and prospects are not more favourable than that. Now look at the ignorant and lower strata of this portion of the community. Look to their abject condition, to their poverty, to their suffering, to their utter hopelessness of any good. Why, in the United States — even in the Southern States during the reign of slavery — every Negro had an idea that there was a day of jubilee for him. But to these people — to this class of the lowest strata in this country — I am here to state that there is neither the belief of anything better nor scarcely an aspiration after it. Have you read a paragraph which lately appeared in the newspapers about John Cross, a Dorsetshire labourer? He worked six days in the week, had an excellent character from his employer for whom he had worked twenty-four years at the rate of eight shillings per week. John Cross had a family of seven children to provide for out of these wages in his hovel — for a feeble wife and an infant child. He took — legally, I believe he stole — a wooden hurdle of the value of sixpence. For this offence he was tried before the magistrates and sentenced to 14 or 20 days' imprisonment.... I can tell you that many thousands of cases like that of John Cross are to be found throughout the country, and especially in the south, and that their condition is such that hitherto the most anxious investigator has been unable to solve the mystery as to how they keep body and soul together. Now cast your eye over the country and look at these five million of families and the desperate condition of this strata of them. Is it not true that the unenfranchised nation may be said to toil and toil and knowing almost no rest? Compare it with the ruling class — but if I do I shall be charged with communism.... But compare this great toiling and unenfranchised nation with the section who may be considered the governing classes. Look at its wealth; look at its ostentation — look at its luxury. Behold its weariness — for there is weariness amongst them, but it is the weariness of satiety — and see how they rush from place to place, as it were, to discover some new pleasure" (*Morning Star*, December 14, 1865).

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[a] English edition: Ch. XXV, 5 (see present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 642-703).

It is shown in what follows how surplus labour, and consequently surplus product, is generally confused with ground rent — that qualitatively and quantitatively specifically determined, at least on the basis of the capitalist mode of production, part of the surplus product.[a] The natural basis of surplus labour in general, that is, a natural prerequisite without which such labour cannot be performed, is that Nature must supply — in the form of animal or vegetable products of the land, in fisheries, etc.— the necessary means of subsistence under conditions of an expenditure of labour which does not consume the entire working day. This natural productivity of agricultural labour (which includes here the labour of simple gathering, hunting, fishing and cattle-raising) is the basis of all surplus labour, as all labour is primarily and initially directed toward the appropriation and production of food. (Animals also supply at the same time skins for warmth in colder climates; also cave-dwellings, etc.)

The same confusion between surplus product and ground rent is found differently expressed by Mr. Dove.[b] Originally agricultural and industrial labour were not separated; the latter was an adjunct of the former. The surplus labour and the surplus product of the land-cultivating tribe, house commune, or family included both agricultural and industrial labour. Both went hand in hand. Hunting, fishing and agriculture were impossible without suitable tools. Weaving, spinning, etc., were first carried on as an agrarian side line.

We have previously shown that just as the labour of an individual workman breaks up into necessary and surplus labour, the aggregate labour of the working class may be so divided that the portion which produces the total means of subsistence for the working class (including the means of production required for this purpose) performs the necessary labour for the whole of society. The labour performed by the remainder of the working class may then be regarded as surplus labour. But the necessary labour consists by no means only of agricultural labour, but also of that labour which produces all other products necessarily included in the average consumption of the labourer. Furthermore, from the social standpoint, some perform only necessary labour because others perform only surplus labour, and vice versa. It is but a division of labour between them. The same holds for the division of labour between agricultural and industrial

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[a] See this volume, pp. 768-76. - [b] P. E. Dove, *The Elements of Political Science*, pp. 264, 273.

labourers in general. The purely industrial character of labour, on the one hand, corresponds to the purely agricultural character on the other. This purely agricultural labour is by no means natural, but is rather a product—and a very modern one at that, which has not yet been achieved everywhere—of social development—and corresponds to a very definite stage of the development of production. Just as a portion of agricultural labour is objectified in products which either minister only to luxury or serve as raw materials in industry, but by no means serve as food, let alone as food for the masses, so on the other hand a portion of industrial labour is objectified in products which serve as necessary means of consumption for both agricultural and non-agricultural labourers. It is a mistake, from a social point of view, to regard this industrial labour as surplus labour. It is, in part, as much necessary labour as the necessary portion of the agricultural labour. It is also but a form rendered independent of a part of industrial labour which was formerly naturally connected with agricultural labour, a necessary mutual supplement to the specifically agricultural labour now separated from it. (From a purely material point of view, 500 mechanical weavers, e. g., produce surplus fabrics to a far greater degree, that is, more than is required for their own clothing.)

Finally, it should be borne in mind in considering the forms of manifestation of ground rent, that is, the lease money paid under the heading of ground rent to the landlord for the use of the land for purposes of production or consumption, that the price of things which have in themselves no value, i. e., are not the product of labour, such as land, or which at least cannot be reproduced by labour, such as antiques and works of art by certain masters, etc., may be determined by many fortuitous combinations. In order to sell a thing, nothing more is required than its capacity to be monopolised and alienated.

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There are three main errors to be avoided in studying ground rent, and which obscure its analysis.

1) Confusing the various forms of rent pertaining to different stages of development of the social production process.

Whatever the specific form of rent may be, all types have this in common: the appropriation of rent is that economic form in which landed property is realised, and ground rent, in turn, presupposes the existence of landed property, the ownership of certain portions of

our planet by certain individuals. The owner may be an individual representing the community, as in Asia, Egypt, etc.; or this landed property may be merely incidental to the ownership of the immediate producers themselves by some individuals as under slavery or serfdom; or it may be a purely private ownership of Nature by non-producers, a mere title to land; or, finally, it may be a relationship to the land which, as in the case of colonists and small peasants owning land, seems to be directly included — in the isolated and not socially developed labour — in the appropriation and production of the products of particular plots of land by the direct producers.

This *common element* in the various forms of rent, namely that of being the economic realisation of landed property, of legal fiction by grace of which certain individuals have an exclusive right to certain parts of our planet — makes it possible for the differences to escape detection.

2) All ground rent is surplus value, the product of surplus labour. In its undeveloped form as rent in kind it is still directly the surplus product itself. Hence, the mistaken idea that the rent corresponding to the capitalist mode of production — which is always a surplus over and above profit, i. e., above a value portion of commodities which itself consists of surplus value (surplus labour) — that this special and specific component of surplus value is explained by merely explaining the general conditions for the existence of surplus value and profit in general. These conditions are: the direct producers must work beyond the time necessary for reproducing their own labour power, for their own reproduction. They must perform surplus labour in general. This is the subjective condition. The objective condition is that they must be *able* to perform surplus labour. The natural conditions must be such that a *part* of their available labour time suffices for their reproduction and self-maintenance as producers, that the production of their necessary means of subsistence shall not consume their whole labour power. The fertility of Nature establishes a limit here, a starting-point, a basis. On the other hand, the development of the social productive power of their labour forms the other limit. Examined more closely, since the production of means of subsistence is the very first condition of their existence and of all production in general, labour used in this production, that is, agricultural labour in the broadest economic sense, must be fruitful enough so as not to absorb the entire available labour time in the production of means of subsistence for the direct producers, that is, agricultural surplus labour and there-

fore agricultural surplus product must be possible. Developed further, the total agricultural labour, both necessary and surplus labour, of a segment of society must suffice to produce the necessary subsistence for the whole of society, that is, for non-agricultural labourers too. This means therefore that the major division of labour between agricultural and industrial labourers must be possible; and similarly between tillers of the soil producing means of subsistence and those producing raw materials. Although the labour of the direct producers of means of subsistence breaks up into necessary and surplus labour as far as they themselves are concerned, it represents from the social standpoint only the necessary labour required to produce the means of subsistence. Incidentally, the same is true for all division of labour within society as a whole, as distinct from the division of labour within individual workshops. It is the labour necessary for the production of particular articles, for the satisfaction of some particular need of society for these particular articles. If this division is proportional, then the products of various groups are sold at their values (at a later stage of development they are sold at their prices of production), or at prices which are certain modifications of these values or prices of production determined by general laws. It is indeed the effect of the law of value, not with reference to individual commodities or articles, but to each total product of the particular social spheres of production made independent by the division of labour; so that not only is no more than the necessary labour time used up for each specific commodity, but only the necessary proportional quantity of the total social labour time is used up in the various groups. For the condition remains that the commodity represents use value. But if the use value of individual commodities depends on whether they satisfy a particular need then the use value of the mass of the social product depends on whether it satisfies the quantitatively definite social need for each particular kind of product in an adequate manner, and whether the labour is therefore proportionately distributed among the different spheres of production in keeping with these social needs, which are quantitatively circumscribed. (This point is to be noted in connection with the distribution of capital among the various spheres of production.) The social need, that is, the use value on a social scale, appears here as a determining factor for the amount of total social labour time which is expended in various specific spheres of production. But it is merely the same law which is already applied in the case of single commodities, namely, that the use value of a commodity is

the basis of its exchange value and thus of its value. This point has a bearing upon the relationship between necessary and surplus labour only in so far as a violation of this proportion makes it impossible to realise the value of the commodity and thus the surplus value contained in it. For instance, let us assume that proportionally too much cotton goods have been produced, although only the labour time necessary under the prevailing conditions is incorporated in this total cloth production. But in general too much social labour has been expended in this particular line; in other words, a portion of this product is useless. The whole of it is therefore sold solely as if it had been produced in the necessary proportion. This quantitative limit to the quota of social labour time available for the various particular spheres of production is but a more developed expression of the law of value in general, although the necessary labour time assumes a different meaning here. Only just so much of it is required for the satisfaction of social needs. The limitation occurring here is due to the use value. Society can use only so much of its total labour time for this particular kind of product under prevailing conditions of production.[a] But the subjective and objective conditions of surplus labour and surplus value in general have nothing to do with the particular form of either the profit or the rent. These conditions apply to surplus value as such, no matter what special form it may assume. Hence they do not explain ground rent.

3) It is precisely in the economic realisation of landed property, in the development of ground rent, that the following characteristic peculiarity comes to the fore, namely that its amount is by no means determined by the actions of its recipient, but rather by the independent development of social labour in which the recipient takes no part. It may easily happen, therefore, that something is regarded as a peculiarity of rent (and of the product of agriculture in general), which is really a common feature of all branches of production and all their products where the basis is commodity production — and, in particular, capitalist production, which is in its entirety commodity production.

The amount of ground rent (and with it the value of land) grows with social development as a result of the total social labour. On the one hand, this leads to an expansion of the market and of the demand for products of the soil, and, on the other, it stimulates the demand

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 28, p. 332.

for land itself, which is a prerequisite of competitive production in all lines of business activity, even those which are not agricultural. More exactly—if one considers only the actual agricultural rent—rent, and thereby the value of the land, develops with the market for the products of the soil, and thus with the increase in the non-agricultural population, with its need and demand partly for means of subsistence and partly for raw materials. It is in the nature of the capitalist mode of production to continually reduce the agricultural population as compared with the non-agricultural, because in industry (in the strict sense) the increase of constant capital in relation to variable capital goes hand in hand with an absolute increase, though relative decrease, in variable capital; on the other hand, in agriculture the variable capital required for the exploitation of a certain plot of land decreases absolutely; it can thus only increase to the extent that new land is taken into cultivation, but this again requires as a prerequisite a still greater growth of the non-agricultural population.

In fact, we are not dealing here with a characteristic peculiarity of agriculture and its products. On the contrary, the same applies to all other branches of production and products where the basis is commodity production and its absolute form, capitalist production.

These products are commodities, or use values, which have an exchange value that is to be realised, to be converted into money, only in so far as other commodities form an equivalent for them, that is, other products confront them as commodities and values; thus, in so far as they are not produced as immediate means of subsistence for the producers themselves, but as commodities, as products which become use values only by their transformation into exchange values (money), by their alienation. The market for these commodities develops through the social division of labour; the division of productive labour mutually transforms their respective products into commodities, into equivalents for each other, making them mutually serve as markets. This is in no way peculiar to agricultural products.

Rent can develop as money rent only on the basis of commodity production, in particular capitalist production, and it develops to the same extent that agricultural production becomes commodity production, that is, to the same extent that non-agricultural production develops independently of agricultural production, for to that degree the agricultural product becomes commodity, exchange value, and value. In so far as commodity production and thus the production of value develops with capitalist production so does the production of

surplus value and surplus product. But in the same proportion as the latter develops, landed property acquires the capacity of capturing an ever-increasing portion of this surplus value by means of its land monopoly and thereby, of raising the value of its rent and the price of the land itself. The capitalist still performs an active function in the development of this surplus value and surplus product. But the landowner need only appropriate the growing share in the surplus product and the surplus value, without having contributed anything to this growth. This is the characteristic peculiarity of his position, and not the fact that the value of the products of the land, and thus of the land itself, increases to the degree that the market for them expands, the demand grows and with it the world of commodities which confronts the products of the land — in other words, the mass of non-agricultural commodity producers and non-agricultural commodity production. But since this takes place without any action on his part, it appears to him as something unique that the mass of value, the mass of surplus value, and the transformation of a portion of surplus value into ground rent should depend upon the social production process, on the development of commodity production in general. For this reason, Dove, for instance, tries to evolve rent from this. He says that rent does not depend upon the mass of the agricultural product, but upon its value [a]; however, this depends upon the mass and productivity of the non-agricultural population. But it is also true of every other product that it can only develop as a commodity partly as the mass and partly as the variety of other commodities, which form equivalents for it, increase. This has already been demonstrated in connection with the general presentation of value.[b] On the one hand, the exchangeability of a product in general depends on the multiplicity of commodities existing in addition to it. On the other hand, on it depends in particular the quantity in which this product can be produced as a commodity.

No producer, whether industrial or agricultural, when considered by himself alone, produces value or commodities. His product becomes a value and a commodity only in the context of definite social interrelations. In the first place, in so far as it appears as the expression of social labour, hence in so far as the individual producer's labour time counts as a part of the social labour time in general; and, second-

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[a] P. E. Dove, *The Elements of Political Science*, p. 279. - [b] See present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 280-81.

ly, this social character of his labour appears impressed upon his product through its pecuniary character and through its general exchangeability determined by its price.

Therefore, if, on the one hand, surplus value or, still more narrowly, the surplus product in general is explained instead of rent, the mistake is made, on the other hand, of ascribing exclusively to agricultural products a characteristic which belongs to all products in their capacity as commodities and values. This is vulgarised still more by those who pass from the general determination of value over to the *realisation* of the value of a specific commodity. Every commodity can realise its value only in the process of circulation, and whether it realises its value, or to what extent it does so, depends on prevailing market conditions.

It is not a singularity of ground rent, then, that agricultural products develop into, and as, values, i. e., that they confront other commodities as commodities, and that non-agricultural products confront them as commodities; or that they develop as specific expressions of social labour. The singularity of ground rent is rather that together with the conditions in which agricultural products develop as values (commodities), and together with the conditions in which their values are realised, there also grows the power of landed property to appropriate an increasing portion of these values, which were created without its assistance; and so an increasing portion of surplus value is transformed into ground rent.

## Chapter XXXVIII

### DIFFERENTIAL RENT: GENERAL REMARKS

In the analysis of ground rent we shall begin with the assumption that products paying such a rent, products in which a portion of the surplus value, and therefore also a portion of the total price, resolves itself into ground rent, i. e., that agricultural as well as mining products are sold at their prices of production like all other commodities. (It suffices for our purposes to confine ourselves to agricultural and mining products.) In other words, their selling prices are made up of the elements of their cost (the value of consumed constant and variable capital) plus a profit determined by the general rate of profit and calculated on the total advanced capital, whether consumed or not. We assume, then, that average selling prices of these products

are equal to their prices of production. The question now arises how it is possible for ground rent to develop under these conditions, i. e., how it is possible for a portion of the profit to become transformed into ground rent, so that a portion of the commodity price falls to the landlord.

In order to demonstrate the general character of this form of ground rent, let us assume that most of the factories of a certain country derive their power from steam-engines, while a smaller number derive it from natural waterfalls. Let us further assume that the price of production in the former amounts to 115 for a quantity of commodities which have consumed a capital of 100. The 15% profit is calculated not solely on the consumed capital of 100, but on the total capital employed in the production of this commodity value. We have previously shown[a] that this price of production is not determined by the individual cost price of every single industrial producer, but by the average cost price of the commodity under average conditions of capital in the entire sphere of production. It is, in fact, the market price of production, the average market price as distinct from its oscillations. It is in general in the form of the market price, and, furthermore, in the form of the regulating market price, or market price of production, that the nature of the value of commodities asserts itself, its determination not by the labour time necessary in the case of any individual producer for the production of a certain quantity of commodities, or of some individual commodity, but by the socially necessary labour time; that is, by the labour time, required for the production of the socially necessary total quantity of commodity varieties on the market under the existing average conditions of social production.

As definite numerical proportions are immaterial in this case, we shall assume furthermore that the cost price in factories run on water power is only 90 instead of 100. Since the regulating market price of production of this quantity of commodities = 115, with a profit of 15%, the manufacturers who operate their machines on water power will also sell their commodities at 115, i. e., the average price regulating the market price. Their profit would then be 25 instead of 15; the regulating price of production would allow them a surplus profit of 10% not because they sell their commodities above the price of

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[a] See this volume, pp. 171-98.

production, but because they sell them at the price of production, because their commodities are produced, or their capital operates, under exceptionally favourable conditions, i. e., under conditions which are more favourable than the average prevailing in this sphere.

Two things become evident at once:

*First*, the surplus profit of the producers who use a natural waterfall as motive power is, to begin with, in the same class with all surplus profit (and we have already analysed this category when discussing prices of production)[a] which is not the fortuitous result of transactions in the circulation process, of the fortuitous fluctuations in market prices. This surplus profit, then, is likewise equal to the difference between the individual price of production of these favoured producers and the general social price of production regulating the market in this entire production sphere. This difference is equal to the excess of the general price of production of the commodities over their individual price of production. The two regulating limits of this excess are, on the one hand, the individual cost price, and thus the individual price of production, and, on the other hand, the general price of production. The value of commodities produced with water power is smaller because a smaller total quantity of labour is required for their production, i. e., less labour — in an objectified form — enters into the constant capital as part of the latter. The labour employed here is more productive, its individual productive power is greater than that employed in the majority of factories of the same kind. Its greater productive power is shown in the fact that in order to produce the same quantity of commodities, it requires a smaller quantity of constant capital, a smaller quantity of objectified labour, than the other. It also requires less living labour, because the water-wheel need not be heated. This greater individual productive power of employed labour reduces the value, but also the cost price and thereby the price of production of the commodity. For the industrial capitalist this expresses itself in a lower cost price for his commodities. He has to pay for less objectified labour, and also less wages for less living labour power employed. Since the cost price of his commodities is lower, his individual price of production is also lower. His cost price is 90 instead of 100. His individual price of production would therefore be only $103\frac{1}{2}$ instead of 115 ($100:115 = 90:103\frac{1}{2}$). The difference between his individual price of production and the general price of production

[a] See this volume, pp. 196-97.

is limited by the difference between his individual cost price and the general cost price. This is one of the magnitudes which form the limits to his surplus profit. The other is the magnitude of the general price of production into which the general rate of profit enters as one of the regulating factors. Were coal to become cheaper, the difference between his individual cost price and the general cost price would decrease, and with it his surplus profit. Should he be compelled to sell his commodities at their individual value, or at the price of production determined by their individual value, then the difference would disappear. It is, on the one hand, a result of the fact that the commodities are sold at their general market price, the price brought about by the equalisation of individual prices through competition, and, on the other, a result of the fact that the greater individual productive power of labour set in motion by him does not benefit the labourer, but the employer, as does all productive power of labour; that it appears as the productive power of capital.

Since the level of the general price of production is one of the limits of this surplus profit, the level of the general rate of profit being one of its factors, this surplus profit can only arise from the difference between the general and the individual price of production, and consequently from the difference between the general and the individual rate of profit. An excess above this difference presupposes the sale of products above, not at, the price of production regulated by the market.

*Secondly*, thus far, the surplus profit of the manufacturer using natural water power instead of steam does not differ in any way from any other surplus profit. All normal surplus profit, that is, all surplus profit not due to fortuitous sales or market price fluctuations is determined by the difference between the individual price of production of the commodities of a particular capital and the general price of production, which regulates the market prices of the commodities produced by the capital in this sphere of production in general, or, in other words, the market prices of commodities of the total capital invested in this sphere of production.

But now we come to the difference.

To what circumstance does the manufacturer in the present case owe his surplus profit, the surplus resulting for him personally from the price of production regulated by the general rate of profit?

He owes it in the first instance to a natural force—the motive power of the waterfall—which is found readily available in Nature and

is not itself a product of labour like the coal which transforms water into steam. The coal, therefore, has value, must be paid for by an equivalent, and has a cost. The waterfall is a natural production agent in the production of which no labour enters.

But this is not all. The manufacturer who operates with steam also employs natural forces which cost him nothing yet make the labour more productive and increase the surplus value and thereby the profit, inasmuch as they thus cheapen the manufacture of the means of subsistence required for the labourers. These natural forces are thus quite as much monopolised by capital as the social natural forces of labour arising from co-operation, division of labour, etc. The manufacturer pays for coal, but not for the capacity of water to alter its physical state, to turn into steam, not for the elasticity of the steam, etc. This monopolisation of natural forces, that is, of the increase in labour power produced by them, is common to all capital operating with steam-engines. It may increase that portion of the product of labour which represents surplus value in relation to that portion which is transformed into wages. In so far as it does this, it raises the general rate of profit, but it does not create any surplus profit, for this consists precisely of the excess of individual profit over average profit. The fact that the application of a natural force, a waterfall, creates surplus profit in this case, cannot therefore be due solely to the circumstance that the increased productive power of labour here results from the application of a natural force. Other modifying circumstances are necessary.

Conversely. The mere application of natural forces in industry may influence the level of the general rate of profit because it affects the quantity of labour required to produce the necessary means of subsistence. But in itself it does not create any deviation from the general rate of profit, and this is precisely the point in which we are interested here. Furthermore, the surplus profit which some individual capital otherwise realises in a particular sphere of production—for deviations of the rates of profit in various spheres of production are continually balanced out into an average rate—is due, aside from purely fortuitous deviations, to a reduction in cost price, in production costs. This reduction arises either from the fact that capital is used in greater than average quantities, so that the *faux frais*[a] of production are reduced, while the general causes increasing the productive power of

[a] unproductive costs

labour (co-operation, division of labour, etc.) can become effective to a higher degree, with more intensity, because their field of activity has become larger; or it may arise from the fact that, aside from the amount of functioning capital, better methods of labour, new inventions, improved machinery, chemical manufacturing secrets, etc., in short, new and improved, better than average means of production and methods of production are used. The reduction in cost price and the surplus profit arising from it are here the result of the manner in which the functioning capital is invested. They result either from the fact that the capital is concentrated in the hands of one person in extraordinarily large quantities (a condition that is cancelled out as soon as equal magnitudes of capital are used on the average), or from the fact that a certain magnitude of capital functions in a particularly productive manner (a condition that disappears as soon as the exceptional method of production becomes general or is surpassed by a still more developed one).

The cause of the surplus profit, then, arises here from the capital itself (which includes the labour set in motion by it) whether it be due to the greater magnitude of capital employed or to its more efficient application; and, as a matter of fact, there is no particular reason why all capital in the same production sphere should not be invested in the same manner. On the contrary, the competition between capitals tends to cancel these differences more and more. The determination of value by the socially necessary labour time asserts itself through the cheapening of commodities and the compulsion to produce commodities under the same favourable conditions. But matters are different with the surplus profit of a manufacturer who makes use of the waterfall. The increased productive power of the labour used by him comes neither from the capital and labour itself, nor from the mere application of some natural force different from capital and labour but incorporated in the capital. It arises from the greater natural productive power of labour bound up with the application of a force of Nature, but not a force of Nature that is at the command of all capital in the same sphere of production, as for example the elasticity of steam. In other words, its application is not to be taken for granted whenever capital is generally invested in this sphere of production. On the contrary, it is a monopolisable force of Nature which, like the waterfall, is only at the command of those who have at their disposal particular portions of the earth and its appurtenances. It is by no means within the power of capital to call into existence this natural premise for a

greater productive power of labour in the same manner as any capital may transform water into steam. It is found only locally in Nature and, wherever it does not exist, it cannot be established by a definite investment of capital. It is not bound to goods which labour can produce, such as machines and coal, but to specific natural conditions prevailing in certain portions of land. Those manufacturers who own waterfalls exclude those who do not from using this natural force, because land, and particularly land endowed with water power, is scarce. This does not prevent the amount of water power available for industrial purposes from being increased, even though the number of natural waterfalls in a given country is limited. The waterfall may be harnessed by man in order to fully exploit its motive force. If such exists, the water-wheel may be improved so as to make use of as much of the water power as possible; where the ordinary wheel is not suitable for the water supply, turbines may be used, etc. The possession of this natural force constitutes a monopoly in the hands of its owner; it is a condition for an increase in the productive power of the invested capital that cannot be established by the production process of the capital itself[33]; this natural force, which can be monopolised in this manner, is always bound to the land. Such a natural force does not belong to the general conditions of the sphere of production in question, nor to those conditions of the latter which may be generally established.

Now let us assume that the waterfalls, along with the land to which they belong, are held by individuals who are regarded as owners of these portions of the earth, i. e., who are landowners. These owners prevent the investment of capital in the waterfalls and their exploitation by capital. They can permit or forbid such utilisation. But a waterfall cannot be created by capital out of itself. Therefore, the surplus profit which arises from the employment of this waterfall is not due to capital, but to the utilisation of a natural force which can be monopolised, and has been monopolised, by capital. Under these circumstances, the surplus profit is transformed into ground rent, that is, it falls into possession of the owner of a waterfall. If the manufacturer pays the owner of a waterfall £10 annually, then his profit is £15, that

[33] Concerning extra profit, see the *Inquiry* (against Malthus).[a]

[a] Reference to *An Inquiry into Those Principles, Respecting the Nature of Demand and the Necessity of Consumption, lately advocated by Mr. Malthus*, London, 1821.

is, 15% on the £100 which then make up his cost of production; and he is just as well or possibly better off than all other capitalists in his sphere of production who operate with steam. It would not alter matters one bit if the capitalist himself should be the owner of a waterfall. He would, in such a case, pocket as before the surplus profit of £10 in his capacity as waterfall owner, and not in his capacity as capitalist; and precisely because this surplus does not stem from his capital as such, but rather from the control of a limited natural force distinct from his capital which can be monopolised, is it transformed into ground rent.

*First*, it is evident that this rent is always a differential rent, for it does not enter as a determining factor into the general production price of commodities, but rather is based on it. It invariably arises from the difference between the individual production price of a particular capital having command over the monopolised natural force and the general production price of the total capital invested in the sphere of production concerned.

*Secondly*, this ground rent does not arise from the absolute increase in the productive power of employed capital, or labour appropriated by it, since this can only reduce the value of commodities; it is due to the greater relative fruitfulness of specific separate capitals invested in a certain production sphere, as compared with investments of capital which are excluded from these exceptional and natural conditions favouring productive power. For instance, if the use of steam should offer overwhelming advantages not offered by the use of water power, despite the fact that coal has value and the water power has not, and if these advantages more than compensated for the expense, then, the water power would not be used and could not produce any surplus profit, and therefore could not produce any rent.

*Thirdly*, the natural force is not the source of surplus profit, but only its natural basis, because this natural basis permits an exceptional increase in the productive power of labour. In the same way, use value is in general the bearer of exchange value, but not its cause. If the same use value could be obtained without labour, it would have no exchange value, yet it would retain, as before, the same natural usefulness as use value. On the other hand, nothing can have exchange value unless it has use value, i. e., unless it is a natural bearer of labour. Were it not for the fact that the various values are averaged out into prices of production, and the various individual prices of production into a general price of production regulating the market, the

mere increase in the productive power of labour through utilisation of the waterfall would merely lower the price of commodities produced with the aid of this waterfall, without increasing the share of profit contained in these commodities. Similarly, on the other hand, this increased productive power of labour itself would not be converted into surplus value were it not for the fact that capital appropriates the natural and social productive power of the labour used by it as its own.

*Fourthly*, the private ownership of the waterfall in itself has nothing to do with the creation of the surplus value (profit) portion, and therefore, of the price of the commodity in general, which is produced by means of the waterfall. This surplus profit would also exist if landed property did not exist; for instance, if the land on which the waterfall is situated were used by the manufacturer as unclaimed land. Hence landed property does not create the portion of value which is transformed into surplus profit, but merely enables the landowner, the owner of the waterfall, to coax this surplus profit out of the pocket of the manufacturer and into his own. It is not the cause of the creation of such surplus profit, but is the cause of its transformation into the form of ground rent, and therefore of the appropriation of this portion of the profit, or commodity price, by the owner of the land or waterfall.

*Fifthly*, it is evident that the price of the waterfall, that is, the price which the landowner would receive were he to sell it to a third party or even to the manufacturer himself, does not immediately enter into the production price of the commodities, although it does enter into the individual cost price of the manufacturer; because the rent arises here from the price of production of similar commodities produced by steam machinery, and this price is regulated independently of the waterfall. Furthermore, this price of the waterfall on the whole is an irrational expression, but behind it is hidden a real economic relationship. The waterfall, like land in general, and like any natural force, has no value because it does not represent any objectified labour, and therefore, it has no price, which is normally no more than the expression of value in money terms. Where there is no value, there is also *eo ipso* nothing to be expressed in money. This price is nothing more than the capitalised rent. Landed property enables the owner to appropriate the difference between the individual profit and average profit. The profit thus acquired, which is renewed every year, may be capitalised, and appears then as the price of the natural force itself.

If the surplus profit realised by the manufacturer using the waterfall amounts to £10 per year, and the average interest is 5%, then these £10 represent the annual interest on a capital of £200 and the capitalisation of the annual £10 which the waterfall enables its owner to appropriate from the manufacturer, appears then as the capital value of the waterfall itself. That it is not the waterfall itself which has value, but that its price is a mere reflection of the appropriated surplus profit capitalistically calculated, becomes at once evident from the fact that the price of £200 represents merely the product obtained by multiplying a surplus profit of £10 by 20 years, whereas, other conditions remaining equal, the same waterfall will enable its owner to appropriate these £10 every year for an indefinite number of years — 30 years, 100 years, or *x* years; and, whereas, on the other hand, should some new method of production not applicable with water power reduce the cost price of commodities produced by steam machinery from £100 to £90, the surplus profit, and thereby the rent, and thus the price of the waterfall, would disappear.

Now that we have described the general concept of differential rent, we shall pass on to its consideration in agriculture proper. What applies to agriculture will also apply on the whole to mining.

## Chapter XXXIX

### FIRST FORM OF DIFFERENTIAL RENT (DIFFERENTIAL RENT I)

Ricardo is quite right in the following observations:

"RENT IS ALWAYS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE PRODUCE OBTAINED BY THE EMPLOYMENT OF TWO EQUAL QUANTITIES OF CAPITAL AND LABOUR" (*Principles*, p. 59).[a]

//He means differential rent, for he assumes that no other rent but differential rent exists.//

He should have added, "on equal areas of land" in so far as it is a matter of ground rent and not surplus profit in general.

In other words, surplus profit, if normal and not due to accidental occurrences in the circulation process, is always produced as a difference between the products of two equal quantities of capital and labour, and this surplus profit is transformed into ground rent when

[a] A reference to: *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, London, 1821.

two equal quantities of capital and labour are employed on equal areas of land with unequal results. Moreover, it is by no means absolutely necessary for this surplus profit to arise from the unequal results of equal quantities of invested capital. The various investments may also employ unequal quantities of capital. Indeed, this is generally the case. But equal proportions, for instance £100 of each, produce unequal results; that is, their rates of profit are different. This is the general prerequisite for the existence of surplus profit in any sphere of capital investment. The second prerequisite is the transformation of this surplus profit into the form of ground rent (of rent in general as a form distinct from profit); it must be investigated in each case: when, how, under what conditions this transformation takes place.

Ricardo is also right in the following observation, provided it is limited to differential rent:

"WHATEVER DIMINISHES THE INEQUALITY IN THE PRODUCE OBTAINED ON THE SAME OR ON NEW LAND, TENDS TO LOWER RENT, AND WHATEVER INCREASES THAT INEQUALITY, NECESSARILY PRODUCES AN OPPOSITE EFFECT AND TENDS TO RAISE IT" (p. 74).

However, among these causes are not merely the general ones (fertility and location), but also 1) the distribution of taxes, depending on whether it operates uniformly or not; the latter is always the case when, as in England, it is not centralised and when the tax is levied on land, not on rent; 2) the inequalities arising from a difference in agricultural development in different parts of the country, since this line of production, owing to its traditional character, evens out with more difficulty than manufacture; and 3) the inequality in distribution of capital among tenants. Since the invasion of agriculture by the capitalist mode of production, transformation of independently producing peasants into wage-workers, is in fact the last conquest of this mode of production, these inequalities are greater here than in any other line of production.

Having made these preliminary remarks, I will first present a brief summary of the characteristic features of my analysis in contradistinction to that of Ricardo, etc.

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We shall first consider the unequal results of equal quantities of capital applied to different plots of land of equal size; or, in the case of unequal size, results calculated on the basis of equal areas.

The two general causes of these unequal results — quite independent of capital — are: 1) *Fertility*. (With reference to this first point,

it will be necessary to discuss what is meant by natural fertility of land and what diverse factors are involved.) 2) The *location* of the land. This is a decisive factor in the case of colonies and in general determines the sequence in which plots of land can be cultivated. Furthermore, it is evident that these two different causes of differential rent—fertility and location—may work in opposite directions. A certain plot of land may be very favourably located and yet be very poor in fertility, and vice versa. This circumstance is important, for it explains how it is possible that bringing into cultivation the land of a certain country may equally well proceed from the better to the worse land as vice versa. Finally, it is clear that the progress of social production in general has, on the one hand, the effect of evening out differences due to location as a cause of differential rent, by creating local markets and improving locations through establishing communication and transportation facilities; on the other hand, it increases the differences in individual locations of plots of land by separating agriculture from manufacture and by forming large centres of production, on the one hand, while relatively isolating agricultural districts, on the other.

For the present, however, we shall leave this point concerning location out of consideration and confine ourselves to natural fertility. Aside from climatic factors, etc., the difference in natural fertility depends on the difference in the chemical composition of the top soil, that is, on its different plant nutrition content. However, assuming the chemical composition and natural fertility in this respect to be the same for two plots of land, the actual effective fertility differs depending on whether these elements of plant nutrition are in a form which may be more or less easily assimilated and immediately utilised for nourishing the crops. Hence, it will depend partly upon chemical and partly upon mechanical developments in agriculture to what extent the same natural fertility may be made available on plots of land of similar natural fertility. Fertility, although an objective property of the soil, always implies an economic relation, a relation to the existing chemical and mechanical level of development in agriculture, and, therefore, changes with this level of development. Whether by chemical means (such as the use of certain liquid fertilisers on stiff clay soil and calcination of heavy clayey soils) or mechanical means (such as special ploughs for heavy soils), the obstacles which made a soil of equal fertility actually less fertile can be eliminated (drainage also belongs under this head). Or even the sequence in types of soils taken

under cultivation may be changed thereby, as was the case, for instance, with light sandy soil and heavy clayey soil at a certain period of development in English agriculture. This shows once again that historically, in the sequence of soils taken under cultivation, one may pass over from more fertile to less fertile soils as well as vice versa. The same results may be obtained by an artificially created improvement in soil composition or by a mere change in agricultural methods. Finally, the same result may be brought about by a change in the hierarchical arrangement of the soil types due to different conditions of the subsoil, as soon as the latter likewise begins to be tilled and turned over into top layers. This is in part dependent on the employment of new agricultural methods (such as the cultivation of fodder grass) and in part on the employment of mechanical means which either turn the subsoil over into top layers, mix it with top soil, or cultivate the subsoil without turning it up.

All these influences upon the differential fertility of various plots of land are such that from the standpoint of economic fertility the level of the productive power of labour, in this case the capacity of agriculture to make the natural soil fertility immediately exploitable—a capacity which differs in various periods of development—is as much a factor in so-called natural soil fertility as its chemical composition and other natural properties.

We assume, then, the existence of a particular stage of development in agriculture. We assume furthermore that the hierarchical arrangement of soil types accords with this stage of development, as is, of course, always the case for simultaneous capital investments on different plots of land. Differential rent may then form either an ascending or a descending sequence, for although the sequence is given for the totality of actually cultivated plots of land, a series of movements leading to its formation has invariably taken place.

Let us assume the existence of four kinds of soil: A, B, C, D. Let us furthermore assume the price of one quarter of wheat = £3, or 60 shillings. Since the rent is solely differential rent, this price of 60 shillings per quarter for the worst soil is equal to the price of production,[80] that is, equal to the capital plus average profit.

Let A be this worst soil, which yields 1 quarter = 60 shillings for each 50 shillings spent; hence the profit amounts to 10 shillings, or 20%.

Let B yield 2 quarters = 120 shillings for the same expenditure. This would mean 70 shillings of profit, or a surplus profit of 60 shillings.

Let C yield 3 quarters = 180 shillings for the same expenditure; total profit = 130 shillings; surplus profit = 120 shillings.

Let D yield 4 quarters = 240 shillings = 180 shillings of surplus profit.

We would then have the following sequence:

*TABLE I*

| Type of Soil | Product | | Capital Advanced | Profit | | Rent | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Quarters | Shillings | | Quarters | Shillings | Quarters | Shillings |
| A | 1 | 60 | 50 | 1/6 | 10 | — | — |
| B | 2 | 120 | 50 | 1 1/6 | 70 | 1 | 60 |
| C | 3 | 180 | 50 | 2 1/6 | 130 | 2 | 120 |
| D | 4 | 240 | 50 | 3 1/6 | 190 | 3 | 180 |
| Total. . . | 10 qrs | 600sh. | | | | 6 qrs | 360sh. |

The respective rents are: D = 190sh.—10sh., or the difference between D and A; C = 130sh.—10sh., or the difference between C and A; B = 70sh.—10sh., or the difference between B and A; and the total rent for B, C, D = 6 quarters = 360 shillings, equal to the sum of the differences between D and A, C and A, B and A.

This sequence, which represents a given product in a given condition may, considered abstractly (we have already offered the reasons why this may be the case in reality), descend from D to A, from fertile to less and less fertile soil, or rise from A to D, from relatively poor to more and more fertile soil, or, finally, may fluctuate, i. e., now rising, now descending—for instance from D to C, from C to A, and from A to B.

The process in the case of a descending sequence was as follows: The price of a quarter of wheat rose gradually from, say, 15 shillings to 60 shillings. As soon as the 4 quarters produced by D (we may consider these 4 quarters as so many million quarters) no longer sufficed, the price of wheat rose to a point where the supply shortage could be produced by C. That is to say, the price of wheat must have risen to 20 shillings per quarter. When it had risen to 30 shillings per quarter, B could be taken under cultivation, and when it reached 60 shillings A could be taken under cultivation; and the capital invested did not have to content itself with a rate of profit lower than 20%. In this manner, a rent was established for D, first of 5 shillings per quarter = 20 shillings for the 4 quarters produced by it; then of 15 shil-

lings per quarter = 60 shillings, then of 45 shillings per quarter = 180 shillings for 4 quarters.

If the rate of profit of D originally was similarly = 20%, then its total profit on 4 quarters of wheat was also but 10 shillings, but this represented more grain when the price was 15 shillings than it does when the price is 60 shillings. But since the grain enters into the reproduction of labour power, and part of each quarter has to make good some portion of wages and another constant capital, the surplus value under these conditions was higher, and thus other things being equal the rate of profit too. (The matter of the rate of profit will have to be specially analysed, and in greater detail.)

On the other hand, if the sequence were in the reverse order, that is, if the process initiated from A, then the price of wheat at first would rise above 60 shillings per quarter when new land would have to be taken under cultivation. But since the necessary supply would be produced by B, a supply of 2 quarters, the price would fall to 60 shillings again; for B produced wheat at a cost of 30 shillings per quarter, but sold it at 60 shillings because his supply just sufficed to cover the demand. Thus a rent was formed, first of 60 shillings for B, and in the same way for C and D; it is assumed throughout that the market price remained at 60 shillings, although C and D produced wheat having an actual value of 20 and 15 shillings per quarter respectively, because the supply of the one quarter produced by A was needed as much as ever to satisfy the total demand. In this case, the increase in demand above supply, which was first satisfied by A, then by A and B, would not have made it possible to cultivate B, C and D successively, but would merely have caused a general extension of the sphere of cultivation, and the more fertile lands might only later come under cultivation.

In the first sequence, an increase in price would raise the rent and decrease the rate of profit. Such a decrease might be entirely or partially checked by counteracting circumstances. This point will have to be treated later in more detail. It should not be forgotten that the general rate of profit is not determined uniformly in *all* spheres of production by the surplus value. It is not the agricultural profit which determines industrial profit, but vice versa.[81] But of this more anon.

In the second sequence the rate of profit on invested capital would remain the same. The amount of profit would be represented by less grain; but the relative price of grain, compared with that of other com-

modities, would have risen. However, the increase in profit wherever such an increase takes place, becomes separated from the profit in the form of rent, instead of flowing into the pockets of the capitalist tenant farmer and appearing as a growing profit. The price of grain, however, would remain unchanged under the conditions assumed here.

The development and growth of differential rent would remain the same for fixed as well as for increasing prices, and for a continuous progression from worse to better soils as well as for a continuous retrogression from better to worse soils.

Thus far we have assumed: 1) that the price rises in one sequence and remains stationary in the other; 2) that there is a continuous progression from better to worse soil, or from worse to better soil.

But now let us assume that the demand for grain rises from its original figure of 10 to 17 quarters; furthermore, that the worst soil A is displaced by another soil A, which produces $1\frac{1}{3}$ quarters at a price of production of 60 shillings (50sh. cost plus 10sh. for 20% profit), so that its price of production per quarter = 45 shillings; or, perhaps, the old soil A may have improved through continuous rational cultivation, or be cultivated more productively at the same cost, for instance through the introduction of clover, etc., so that its output with the investment of capital rises to $1\frac{1}{3}$ quarters. Let us also assume that soil types B, C and D yield the same output as previously, but that new soil types have been introduced, for instance, A′ with a fertility lying between A and B, and also B′ and B″ with a fertility between B and C. We should then observe the following phenomena:

*First*: The price of production of a quarter of wheat, or its regulating market price, falls from 60 shillings to 45 shillings, or by 25%.

*Second*: The cultivation proceeds simultaneously from more fertile to less fertile soil, and from less fertile to more fertile soil. Soil A′ is more fertile than A, but less fertile than the hitherto cultivated soils B, C and D. B′ and B″ are more fertile than A, A′ and B, but less fertile than C and D. The sequence thus proceeds in crisscross fashion. Cultivation does not proceed to soil absolutely less fertile than A, etc., but to relatively less fertile soil with respect to the hitherto most fertile soil types C and D; on the other hand, cultivation does not proceed to soil absolutely more fertile, but to relatively more fertile soil with respect to the hitherto least fertile soil A, or A and B.

*Thirdly*: The rent on B falls; likewise the rent on C and D; but the total rental in grain rises from 6 quarters to $7\frac{2}{3}$; the amount of cultivated and rent-yielding land increases, and the amount of produce

rises from 10 quarters to 17. The profit, although it remains the same for A, rises if expressed in grain, but the rate of profit itself might rise, because the relative surplus value does. In this case, the wage, i. e., the investment of variable capital and therefore the total outlay, is reduced because of the cheapening of means of subsistence. This total rental expressed in money falls from 360 shillings to 345 shillings.

Let us draw up the new sequence. //Table II.//

*TABLE II*

| Type of Soil | Product | | Capital Invested | Profit | | Rent | | Price of Production per Quarter |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Quarters | Shillings | | Quarters | Shillings | Quarters | Shillings | |
| A | $1^1/_3$ | 60 | 50 | $^2/_9$ | 10 | — | — | 45 sh. |
| A′ | $1^2/_3$ | 75 | 50 | $^5/_9$ | 25 | $^1/_3$ | 15 | 36 sh. |
| B | 2 | 90 | 50 | $^8/_9$ | 40 | $^2/_3$ | 30 | 30 sh. |
| B′ | $2^1/_3$ | 105 | 50 | $1^2/_9$ | 55 | 1 | 45 | $25^5/_7$ sh. |
| B″ | $2^2/_3$ | 120 | 50 | $1^5/_9$ | 70 | $1^1/_3$ | 60 | $22^1/_2$ sh. |
| C | 3 | 135 | 50 | $1^8/_9$ | 85 | $1^2/_3$ | 75 | 20 sh. |
| D | 4 | 180 | 50 | $2^8/_9$ | 130 | $2^2/_3$ | 120 | 15 sh. |
| Total... | 17 | | | | | $7^2/_3$ | 345 | |

Finally, if only soil types A, B, C and D were cultivated as before, but their productiveness rose in such a way that A produced 2 quarters instead of 1 quarter, B—4 quarters instead of 2, C—7 quarters instead of 3, and D—10 quarters instead of 4, so that the same causes affect the various types of soil differently, the total production increases from 10 quarters to 23. Assuming that demand absorbs these 23 quarters through an increase in population and a fall in prices, we should obtain the following result:

*TABLE III*

| Type of Soil | Product | | Capital Invested | Price of Production per Quarter | Profit | | Rent | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Quarters | Shillings | | | Quarters | Shillings | Quarters | Shillings |
| A | 2 | 60 | 50 | 30 | $^1/_3$ | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| B | 4 | 120 | 50 | 15 | $2^1/_3$ | 70 | 2 | 60 |
| C | 7 | 210 | 50 | $8^4/_7$ | $5^1/_3$ | 160 | 5 | 150 |
| D | 10 | 300 | 50 | 6 | $8^1/_3$ | 250 | 8 | 240 |
| Total... | 23 | | | | | | 15 | 450 |

The numerical proportions in this and in other tables are chosen at random but the assumptions are quite rational.

The first and principal assumption is that an improvement in agriculture acts differently upon different soils, and in this case affects the best types of soil, C and D, more than types A and B. Experience has shown that this is generally the case, although the opposite may also take place. If the improvement affected the poorer soils more than the better ones, rent on the latter would have fallen instead of risen.—But in our table, we have assumed that the absolute growth in fertility of all soil types is simultaneously accompanied by an increase in greater relative fertility of the better soil types, C and D; this means an increase in the difference between the product at the same capital investment, and thus an increase in differential rent.

The second assumption is that total demand keeps pace with the increase in the total product. *First*, one need not imagine such an increase coming about abruptly, but rather gradually — until sequence III is established. *Secondly*, it is not true that the consumption of necessities of life does not increase as they become cheaper. The abolition of the Corn Laws [73] in England proved the reverse to be the case (see Newman[a]); the opposite view stems solely from the fact that large and sudden differences in harvests, which are mere results of weather, bring about at one time an extraordinary fall, at another an extraordinary rise, in grain prices. While in such a case the sudden and short-lived reduction in price does not have time to exert its full effect upon the extension of consumption, the opposite is true when a reduction arises from the lowering of the regulating price of production itself, i. e., is of a long-term nature. *Thirdly*, a part of the grain may be consumed in the form of brandy or beer; and the increasing consumption of both of these items is by no means confined within narrow limits. *Fourthly*, the matter depends in part upon the increase in population and in part on the fact that the country may be grain-exporting, as England still was long after the middle of the 18th century, so that the demand is not solely regulated within the confines of national consumption. *Finally*, the increase and the cheapness of wheat production may result in making wheat, instead of rye or oats, the principal article of consumption for the masses, so that the demand for it may grow if only for this reason, just as the opposite may take place when production decreases and prices rise.—Thus, under these assump-

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[a] F. W. Newman, *Lectures on Political Economy*, p. 158.

tions, and with the previously selected ratios, sequence III yields the result that the price per quarter falls from 60 to 30 shillings, that is, by 50%; that production, compared to sequence I, increases from 10 to 23 quarters, i. e., by 130%; that the rent remains fixed for soil B, increases by 25%[a] for C, and by $33\frac{1}{3}$ %[b] for D; and that the total rental increases from £18 to £$22\frac{1}{2}$,[c] i. e., by 25%.[d]

A comparison of these three tables (whereby sequence I is to be taken twice, rising from A to D, and descending from D to A), which may be considered either as given gradations under some stage of society, for instance, as existing side by side in three different countries, or as succeeding one another in different periods of development within the same country, shows:

1) The sequence, when complete, whatever the course of its formative process may have been, invariably appears as being in a descending line; for when analysing rent the point of departure will always be land yielding the maximum rent, and only finally do we come to land yielding no rent.

2) The price of production on the worst soil, i. e., which yields no rent, is always the one regulating the market price, although the latter in Table I, if its sequence were formed in an ascending line, only remained fixed because better and better soil was constantly drawn into cultivation. In such a case, the price of grain produced on the best soil is a regulating one in so far as it depends upon the quantity produced on such soil to what extent soil type A remains the regulator. If B, C and D should produce more than demand requires, A would cease to be the regulator. Storch has this point in mind when he adopts the best soil type as the regulating one.[e] In this manner, the American price of grain regulates the English price.

3) Differential rent arises from differences in the natural fertility of the soil which is given for every given stage of agricultural development (leaving aside for the present the question of location); in other words, from the limited area of the best land, and from the circumstance that equal amounts of capital must be invested on unequal types of soil, so that an unequal product results from the same amount of capital.

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[a] In the 1894 German edition this reads: doubles. - [b] Ibid.: more than doubles. - [c] Ibid.: 22. - [d] Ibid.: $22^1/_9$%. - [e] H. Storch, *Cours d'économie politique, ou Exposition des principes qui déterminent la prospérité des nations*, Tome II, pp. 78-79. See also this volume, p. 182.

4) The existence of a differential rent and of a graduated differential rent can develop equally well in a descending sequence, which proceeds from better to worse soils, as in an ascending one, which progresses in the opposite direction from worse to better soils; or it may be brought about in checkered fashion by alternating movements. (Sequence I may be formed by proceeding from D to A, or from A to D; sequence II comprises both types of movement.)

5) Depending on its mode of formation, differential rent may develop along with a stationary, rising or falling price of the products of the land. In the case of a falling price, total production and total rental may rise, and rent may develop on hitherto rentless land, even though the worst soil A may have been displaced by a better one or may itself have improved, and even though the rent may decrease on other land which is better, or even the best (Table II); this process may also be connected with a fall in total rent (in money). Finally, at a time when prices fall on account of a general improvement in cultivation, so that the product of the worst soil and its price decrease, the rent on some of the better soils may remain the same, or may fall, while it may rise on the best ones. Nevertheless, the differential rent of every soil, compared with the worst soil, depends, if the difference in quantity of products is given, upon the price, say, of a quarter of wheat. But when the price is given, differential rent depends upon the magnitude of the difference in quantity of products, and if with an increasing absolute fertility of all soils that of the better ones grows relatively more than that of the worse ones, the magnitude of this difference grows proportionately. In this way (Table I), when the price is 60 shillings, the rent on D is determined by its differential product as compared with A; in other words, by the surplus of 3 quarters. The rent is therefore $= 3 \times 60 = 180$ shillings. But in Table III, where the price $= 30$ shillings, the rent is determined by the quantity of surplus product of D as compared with A $= 8$ quarters; we therefore obtain $8 \times 30 = 240$ shillings.

This takes care of the first false assumption regarding differential rent—still found among West, Malthus, and Ricardo—namely, that it necessarily presupposes a movement toward worse and worse soil, or an ever-decreasing fertility of the soil.[82] It can be formed, as we have seen, with a movement toward better and better soil; it can be formed when a better soil takes the lowest position that was formerly occupied by the worst soil; it can be connected with a progressive improvement in agriculture. The precondition is merely the inequal-

ity of different kinds of soil. So far as the increase in productivity is concerned, it assumes that the increase in absolute fertility of the total area does not eliminate this inequality, but either increases it, leaves it unchanged, or merely reduces it.

From the beginning to the middle of the 18th century, England's grain prices constantly fell in spite of the falling prices of gold and silver, while at the same time (viewing this entire period as a whole) there was an increase in rent, in the over-all amount of rent, in the area of cultivated land, in agricultural production, and in population. This corresponds to Table I taken in conjunction with Table II in an ascending line, but in such a way that the worst land A is either improved or eliminated from the grain-producing area; however, this does not mean that it was not used for other agricultural or industrial purposes.

From the early 19th century (date to be specified more precisely) until 1815 there is a constant rise in grain prices, accompanied by a steady increase in rent, in the over-all amount of rent, in the area of cultivated land, in agricultural production, and in population. This corresponds to Table I in a descending line. (Cite some sources here on the cultivation of inferior land in that period.)

In Petty's and Davenant's time, farmers and landowners complained about improvements and the bringing into cultivation of new land; the rent on better lands decreased, and the total amount of rent increased through the extension of the area of land yielding rent.

(These three points should be illustrated later by further quotations; likewise the difference in fertility of various cultivated sections of land in a particular country.)

Regarding differential rent in general, it is to be noted that the market value is always above the total price of production of the total quantity of products. As an example, let us take Table I. Ten quarters of total product are sold for 600 shillings because the market price is determined by the price of production of A, which amounts to 60 shillings per quarter. But the actual price of production is:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A . . . . . | 1 qr = 60 sh. | 1 qr = 60 sh. |
| B . . . . . | 2 qrs = 60 sh. | 1 qr = 30 sh. |
| C . . . . . | 3 qrs = 60 sh. | 1 qr = 20 sh. |
| D . . . . . | 4 qrs = 60 sh. | 1 qr = 15 sh. |
| | 10 qrs = 240 sh. | Average 1 qr = 24 sh. |

The actual price of production of these 10 quarters is 240 shillings; but they are sold for 600 shillings, i. e., at 250% of the price of production. The actual average price for 1 quarter is 24 shillings; the market price is 60 shillings, i. e., also 250% of the production price.

This is determination by market value as it asserts itself on the basis of the capitalist mode of production through competition; the latter creates a false social value. This arises from the law of market value, to which the products of the soil are subject. The determination of the market value of products, including therefore agricultural products, is a social act, albeit a socially unconscious and unintentional one. It is based necessarily upon the exchange value of the product, not upon the soil and the differences in its fertility. If we suppose the capitalist form of society to be abolished and society organised as a conscious and planned association, then the 10 quarters would represent a quantity of independent labour time equal to that contained in 240 shillings. Society would not then buy this agricultural product at two and a half times the actual labour time embodied in it and the basis for a class of landowners would thus be destroyed. This would have the same effect as a reduction in price of the product to the same amount resulting from foreign imports. While it is, therefore, true that, by retaining the present mode of production, but assuming that the differential rent is paid to the state, prices of agricultural products would, everything else being equal, remain the same, it is equally wrong to say that the value of the products would remain the same if capitalist production were superseded by association. The identity of the market price for commodities of the same kind is the manner whereby the social character of value asserts itself on the basis of the capitalist mode of production and, in general, any production based on the exchange of commodities between *individuals*. What society overpays for agricultural products in its capacity of consumer, what is a minus in the realisation of its labour time in agricultural production, is now a plus for a portion of society, for the landlords.

A second circumstance, important for the analysis to be given under II in the next chapter, is the following:

It is not merely a matter of rent per acre, or per hectare, nor generally of a difference between the price of production and the market price, nor between the individual and the general price of production per acre, but it is also a question of how many acres of each type of soil are under cultivation. The point of importance here relates directly only to the magnitude of the rental, that is, the total rent of the

entire cultivated area; but it serves us at the same time as a stepping-stone to the consideration of a rise in the *rate of rent* although there is no rise in prices, nor increase in the differences in relative fertility of the various types of soil if prices fall. We had above:

*TABLE I*

| Type of Soil | Acres | Price of Production | Product | Rent in Grain | Rent in Money |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 1 | £3 | 1 qr | 0 | 0 |
| B | 1 | £3 | 2 qrs | 1 qr | £3 |
| C | 1 | £3 | 3 qrs | 2 qrs | £6 |
| D | 1 | £3 | 4 qrs | 3 qrs | £9 |
| Total | 4 acres | | 10 qrs | 6 qrs | £18 |

Now let us assume that the number of cultivated acres is doubled in every category. We then have:

*TABLE Ia*

| Type of Soil | Acres | Price of Production | Product | Rent in Grain | Rent in Money |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 2 | £6 | 2 qrs | 0 | 0 |
| B | 2 | £6 | 4 qrs | 2 qrs | £6 |
| C | 2 | £6 | 6 qrs | 4 qrs | £12 |
| D | 2 | £6 | 8 qrs | 6 qrs | £18 |
| Total | 8 acres | | 20 qrs | 12 qrs | £36 |

Let us assume two more cases. Suppose in the first case production expands on the two poorest types of soil in the following manner:

*TABLE Ib*

| Type of Soil | Acres | Price of Production | | Product | Rent in Grain | Rent in Money |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Per Acre | Total | | | |
| A | 4 | £3 | £12 | 4 qrs | 0 | 0 |
| B | 4 | £3 | £12 | 8 qrs | 4 qrs | £12 |
| C | 2 | £3 | £6 | 6 qrs | 4 qrs | £12 |
| D | 2 | £3 | £6 | 8 qrs | 6 qrs | £18 |
| Total | 12 acres | | £36 | 26 qrs | 14 qrs | £42 |

and, finally, let us assume an unequal expansion of production and cultivated area for the four soil categories:

*TABLE Ic*

| Type of Soil | Acres | Price of Production | | Product | Rent in Grain | Rent in Money |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Per Acre | Total | | | |
| A | 1 | £3 | £3 | 1 qr | 0 | 0 |
| B | 2 | £3 | £6 | 4 qrs | 2 qrs | £6 |
| C | 5 | £3 | £15 | 15 qrs | 10 qrs | £30 |
| D | 4 | £3 | £12 | 16 qrs | 12 qrs | £36 |
| Total | 12 acres | | £36 | 36 qrs | 24 qrs | £72 |

In the first place, the rent per acre remains the same in all these cases — I, Ia, Ib and Ic — for, in fact, the result of the same investment of capital per acre of the same soil type has remained unchanged. We have only assumed what is true of any country at any given moment; namely, that various soil types exist in definite ratios to the total cultivated area. And we also assumed what is always true of any two countries being compared, or of the same country at different periods, namely, that the proportions in which the total cultivated area is distributed among the different soil types vary.

In comparing Ia with I we see that if the area under cultivation in all four categories increases in the same proportion a doubling of the cultivated acreage doubles the total production, and that the same applies to the rent in grain and money.

However, if we compare Ib and then Ic with I, we see that in both cases a tripling of the area under cultivation occurs. It increases in both cases from 4 acres to 12, but in Ib classes A and B contribute most to the increase, with A yielding no rent and B yielding the smallest amount of differential rent. Thus, out of the 8 newly cultivated acres, A and B account for 3 each, i e., 6 together, whereas C and D account for 1 each, i. e., 2 together. In other words, three-quarters of the increase is accounted for by A and B, and only one-quarter by C and D. With this premise, in Ib compared with I the trebled area of cultivation does not result in a trebled product, for the product does not increase from 10 to 30, but only to 26. On the other hand, since a considerable part of the increase concerns A, which does not yield any rent, and since the major part of the increase on better soils con-

cerns B, the rent in grain rises only from 6 to 14 quarters, and the rent in money from £18 to £42.

But if we compare Ic with I, where the land yielding no rent does not increase in area and the land yielding a minimum rent increases but slightly, while C and D account for the major part of the increase, we find that when the cultivated area is trebled production increases from 10 to 36 quarters, i. e., to more than three times its original amount. The rent in grain increases from 6 to 24 quarters or to four times its original amount; and similarly money rent, from £18 to £72.

In all these cases it is in the nature of things that the price of the agricultural product remains unchanged. The total rental increases in all cases with the extension of cultivation, unless it takes place exclusively on the worst soil, which does not yield any rent. But this increase varies. Should this extension involve the better soil types and the total output, consequently, increase not merely in proportion to the extension of the area, but rather more rapidly, then the rent in grain and money increases to the same extent. Should it be the worst soil, and the types of soil close to it, that are principally involved in the extension (whereby it is assumed that the worst soil represents a constant type), the total rental does not increase in proportion to the extension of cultivation. Thus, given two countries in which soil A, yielding no rent, is of the same quality, the rental is inversely proportional to the aliquot part represented by the worst soil and the inferior soil types in the total area under cultivation, and therefore inversely proportional to the output, assuming equal capital investments on equal total land areas. A relationship between the quantity of the worst and the quantity of the better cultivated land in the total land area of a given country thus has an opposite influence on the total rental than the relationship between the quality of the worst cultivated land and the quality of the better and best has on the rent per acre and—other circumstances remaining the same—on the total rental. Confusion between these two points has given rise to all kinds of erroneous objections raised against differential rent.

The total rental, then, increases by the mere extension of cultivation, and by the consequent greater investment of capital and labour in the land.

But the most important point is this: Although it is our assumption that the ratio of rents per acre for the various kinds of soil remains the same, and therefore also the rate of rent considered with reference to capital invested in each acre, yet the following is to be observed: If we

compare Ia with I, the case in which the number of cultivated acres and the capital invested in them have been proportionately increased, we find that as the total production has increased proportionately to the expanded cultivated area, i. e., as both have been doubled, so has the rental. It has risen from £18 to £36, just as the number of acres has risen from 4 to 8.

If we take the total area of 4 acres, we find that the total rental amounted to £18 and thus the average rent, including the land which does not yield any rent is £4 $\frac{1}{2}$. Such a calculation might be made, say, by a landlord owning all 4 acres; and in this way the average rent is statistically computed for a whole country. The total rental of £18 is obtained by the investment of a capital of £10. We call the ratio of these two figures the rate of rent; in the present case it is therefore 180%.

The same rate of rent obtains in Ia, where 8 instead of 4 acres are cultivated, but all types of land have contributed to the increase in the same proportion. The total rental of £36 yields for 8 acres and an invested capital of £20 an average rent of £4$\frac{1}{2}$ per acre and a rate of rent of 180%.

But if we consider Ib, where the increase has taken place mainly upon two inferior categories of soil, we obtain a rent of £42 for 12 acres, or an average rent of £3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per acre. The total invested capital is £30, and therefore the rate of rent = 140%. The average rent per acre has thus decreased by £1, and the rate of rent has fallen from 180 to 140%. Here then we have a rise in the total rental from £18 to £42, but a drop in the average rent calculated per acre as well as on the basis of capital; the drop takes place parallel to an increase in production, but not proportionately. This occurs even though the rent for all types of soil, calculated per acre as well as on the basis of capital outlay, remains the same. This occurs because three-quarters of the increase is accounted for by soil A, which does not yield any rent, and soil B, which yields only minimum rent.

If the total extension in Case Ib had taken place solely on soil A, we should have 9 acres on A, 1 acre on B, 1 acre on C and 1 acre on D. The total rental would be £18, the same as before; the average rent for the 12 acres therefore would be £1 $\frac{1}{2}$ per acre; and a rent of £18 on an invested capital of £30 would give a rate of rent of 60%. The average rent, calculated per acre as well as on the basis of the invested capital, would have greatly decreased, while the total rental would not have increased.

Finally, let us compare Ic with I and Ib. Compared with I, the area has been trebled, and also the invested capital. The total rental is £72 for 12 acres, or £6 per acre—as against £4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in Case I. The rate of rent on the invested capital (£72:£30) is 240% instead of 180%. The total output has risen from 10 to 36 quarters.

Compared with Ib, where the total number of cultivated acres, the invested capital, and the differences between the cultivated soil types are the same, but the distribution different, the output is 36 quarters instead of 26 quarters, the average rent per acre is £6 instead of £3 $\frac{1}{2}$, and the rate of rent with reference to the same total advanced capital is 240% instead of 140%.

No matter whether we regard the various conditions in tables Ia, Ib and Ic as existing simultaneously side by side in different countries, or as existing successively in the same country, we come to the following conclusions: So long as the price of grain remains unchanged because the yield on the worst, rentless soil remains the same; so long as the difference in the fertility of the various cultivated types of soil remains the same; so long as the respective outputs remain the same, hence, given equal capital investments on equal aliquot parts (acres) of cultivated area in every type of soil; so long as the ratio, therefore, between the rents per acre on each category of soil is constant, and the rate of rent on the capital invested in each plot of the same kind of soil is constant: *First*, the rental constantly increases with the extension of cultivated area and with the consequent increased capital investment, except for the case where the entire increase is accounted for by rentless land. *Secondly*, the average rent per acre (total rental divided by the total number of cultivated acres) as well as the average rate of rent (total rental divided by the invested total capital) may vary very considerably; and, indeed, both change in the same direction, but in different proportions to each other. If we leave out of consideration the case in which the expansion takes place only on the rentless soil A, we find that the average rent per acre and the average rate of rent on the capital invested in agriculture depend on the proportions which the various classes of soil constitute in the total cultivated area; or, what amounts to the same thing, on the distribution of the total employed capital among the kinds of soil of varying fertility. Whether much or little land is cultivated, and whether the total rental is therefore larger or smaller (with the exception of the case in which the expansion is confined to A), the average rent per acre, or the average rate of rent on the invested capital, remains the same as

long as the proportions of the various categories of soil in the total cultivated area remain unchanged. In spite of an increase, even a very considerable one, in the total rental with the extension of cultivation and expansion of capital investment, the average rent per acre and the average rate of rent on capital decrease when the extension of rentless land, and land yielding only little differential rent, is greater than the extension of the superior one yielding greater rent. Conversely, the average rent per acre and the average rate of rent on capital increase proportionately to the extent that better land constitutes a relatively greater part of the total area and therefore employs a relatively greater share of the invested capital.

Hence, if we consider the average rent per acre, or hectare, of the total cultivated land, as is generally done in statistical works, in comparing either different countries in the same period, or different periods in the same country, we find that the average level of rent per acre, and consequently total rental, corresponds to a certain extent (although by no means identical, but rather a more rapidly increasing extent) to the absolute, not to the relative, fertility of the soil in a given country; that is, to the average amount of produce which it yields from the same area. For the larger the share of superior soils in the total cultivated area, the greater the output for equal capital investments on equally large areas of land; and the higher the average rent per acre. In the reverse case the opposite takes place. Thus, rent does not appear to be determined by the ratio of differential fertility, but by the absolute fertility, and the law of differential rent appears invalid. For this reason certain phenomena are disputed, or an attempt is made to explain them by non-existing differences in average prices of grain and in the differential fertility of cultivated land, whereas such phenomena are merely due to the fact that the ratio of the total rental to the total area of cultivated land or to the total capital invested in the land — as long as the fertility of the rentless soil remains the same and therefore the prices of production, and the differences between the various kinds of soil remain unchanged — is determined not merely by the rent per acre or the rate of rent on capital, but quite as much by the relative number of acres of each type of soil in the total number of cultivated acres; or, what amounts to the same thing, by the distribution of the total invested capital among the various types of soil. Curiously enough, this fact has been completely overlooked thus far. At any rate, we see (and this is important for our further analysis) that the relative level of the average rent per acre,

and the average rate of rent (or the ratio of the total rental to the total capital invested in the land), may rise or fall by merely extensively expanding cultivation, as long as prices remain the same, the differential fertilities of the various soils remain unaltered, and the rent per acre, or rate of rent for capital invested per acre in every type of soil actually yielding rent, i. e., for all capital actually yielding rent, remains unchanged.

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It is necessary to make the following additional points with reference to the form of differential rent considered under heading I; they also apply in part to differential rent II:

*First*, it was seen that the average rent per acre, or the average rate of rent on capital, may increase with an extension of cultivation when prices are stationary and the differential fertility of the cultivated plots of land remains unaltered. As soon as all the land in a given country has been appropriated, and investments of capital in land, cultivation, and population have reached a definite level — all given conditions as soon as the capitalist mode of production becomes the prevailing one and also encompasses agriculture — the price of uncultivated land of varying quality (merely assuming differential rent to exist) is determined by the price of the cultivated plots of land of the same quality and equivalent location. The price is the same — after deducting the cost of bringing the new land into cultivation — even though this land does not yield any rent. The price of the land is, indeed, nothing but the capitalised rent. But even in the case of cultivated land, the price pays only for future rents, as, for instance, when the prevalent interest rate is 5% and the rent for twenty years is paid at one time in advance. When land is sold, it is sold as land yielding rent, and the prospective character of the rent (which is here considered as a product of the soil, but it only seems to be that) does not distinguish the uncultivated from the cultivated land. The price of the uncultivated land, like its rent — the price of which represents the contracted form of the latter — is quite illusory as long as the land is not actually used. But it is thus determined *a priori* and is realised as soon as a purchaser is found. Hence, while the actual average rent in a given country is determined by its actual average annual rental and the relation of the latter to the total cultivated area, the price of the uncultivated land is determined by the price of the cultivated land, and is therefore but a reflection of the capital invested in the cultivated

land and the results obtained therefrom. Since all land with the exception of the worst yields rent (and this rent, as we shall see under the head of differential rent II, increases with the quantity of capital and corresponding intensity of cultivation), the nominal price of uncultivated plots of land is thus formed, and they thus become commodities, a source of wealth for their owners. This explains at the same time, why the price of land increases in a whole region, even in the uncultivated part (Opdyke[a]). Land speculation, for instance, in the United States, is based solely on this reflection thrown by capital and labour on uncultivated land.

*Secondly*, progress in extending cultivated land generally takes place either toward inferior soil or on the various given types of soil in varying proportions depending on the manner in which they are met. Progress to inferior soil is naturally never made voluntarily, but can only result from rising prices, assuming a capitalist mode of production, and can only result from necessity under any other mode of production. However, this is not absolutely so. Poor soil may be preferred to a relatively better soil on account of location, which is of decisive importance for every extension of cultivation in young countries; furthermore, even though the soil formation in a certain region may generally be classified as fertile, it may nevertheless consist of a motley confusion of better and worse soils, so that the inferior soil may have to be cultivated if only because it is found in the immediate vicinity of the superior soil. If inferior soil is surrounded by superior soil, then the latter gives it the advantage of location in comparison with more fertile soil which is not yet, or is about to become, part of the cultivated area.

Thus, the State of Michigan was one of the first Western States to become an exporter of grain. Yet its soil on the whole is poor. But its proximity to the State of New York and its water-ways via the Lakes and Erie Canal initially gave it the advantage over the States endowed by Nature with more fertile soil, but situated farther to the West. The example of this State, as compared with the State of New York, also demonstrates the transition from superior to inferior soil. The soil of the State of New York, particularly its western part, is incomparably more fertile, especially for the cultivation of wheat. This fertile soil was transformed into infertile soil by rapacious methods of cultivation, and now the soil of Michigan appeared as the more fertile.

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[a] Reference to G. Opdyke, *A Treatise on Political Economy*.

"In 1838, wheaten flour was shipped at Buffalo for the West; and the wheat-region of New York, with that of Upper Canada, were the main sources of its supply. Now, after only twelve years, an enormous supply of wheat and flour is brought from the West, along Lake Erie, and shipped upon the Erie Canal for the East, at Buffalo and the adjoining port of Blackrock... The effect of these large arrivals from the Western States—which were unnaturally stimulated during the years of European famine ... has been to render wheat less valuable in western New York, to make the wheat culture less remunerative, and to turn the attention of the New York farmers more to grazing and dairy husbandry, fruit culture, and other branches of rural economy, in which they think the North-West will be unable so directly to compete with them" (J. W. Johnston, *Notes on North America*, London, 1851, I, p. 222[a]).

*Thirdly*, it is a mistaken assumption that the land in colonies and, in general, in young countries which can export grain at cheaper prices, must of necessity be of greater natural fertility. The grain is not only sold below its value in such cases, but below its price of production, i. e., below the price of production determined by the average rate of profit in the older countries.

The fact that we, as Johnston says (p. 223),

"are accustomed to attach the idea of great natural productiveness and of boundless tracts of rich land, to those new States from which come the large supplies of wheat that are annually poured into the port of Buffalo,"

is primarily the result of economic conditions. The entire population of such an area as Michigan, for instance, is at first almost exclusively engaged in farming, and particularly in producing agricultural mass products, which alone can be exchanged for industrial products and tropical goods. Its entire surplus production appears, therefore, in the form of grain. This from the outset sets apart the colonial states founded on the basis of the modern world market from those of earlier, particularly ancient, times. They receive through the world market finished products, such as clothing and tools which they would have to produce themselves under other circumstances. Only on such a basis were the Southern States of the Union enabled to make cotton their staple crop. The division of labour on the world market makes this possible. Hence, if they *seem* to have a large surplus production considering their youth and relatively small population, this is not so much due to the fertility of their soil, nor the fruitfulness of their labour, but rather to the one-sided form of their lalour, and therefore of the surplus produce in which such labour is incorporated.

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[a] l. c., pp. 222-23.

Furthermore, a relatively inferior soil which is newly cultivated and never before touched by civilisation provided the climatic conditions are then not completely unfavourable, has accumulated a great deal of plant food that is easily assimilated—at least in the upper layers of the soil—so that it will yield crops for a long time without the application of fertilisers and even with very superficial cultivation. The western prairies have the additional advantage of hardly requiring any clearing expenses since Nature has made them arable.[33a)] In less fertile areas of this kind, the surplus is not produced as a result of the high fertility of the soil, i. e., the yield per acre, but as a result of the large acreage which may be superficially cultivated, since such land costs the cultivator nothing, or next to nothing as compared with older countries. This is the case, for instance, where share cropping exists, as in parts of New York, Michigan, Canada, etc. A family superficially cultivates, say, 100 acres, and although the output per acre is not large, the output from 100 acres yields a considerable surplus for sale. In addition to this, cattle may be grazed on natural pastures at almost no cost, without requiring artificial grass meadows. It is the quantity of the land, not its quality, which is decisive here. The possibility of such superficial cultivation is naturally more or less rapidly exhausted, namely, in inverse proportion to the fertility of the new soil and in direct proportion to the export of its products.

"And yet such a country will give excellent first crops, even of wheat, and will supply to those who skim the first cream off the country, a large surplus of this grain to send to market" (l.c., p. 224).

Property relations in countries with maturer civilisations, with their determination of the price of uncultivated soil by that of the cultivated, etc., make such an extensive economy impossible.

[33a)] //It is precisely the rapidly growing cultivation of such prairie or steppe regions which of late has turned the renowned statement of Malthus, that "the population is a burden upon the means of subsistence",[a] into ridicule, and produced in its stead the agrarian lament that agriculture, and with it Germany, will be ruined, unless the means of subsistence which are a burden upon the population are forcibly kept away from them. The cultivation of these steppes, prairies, pampas, llanos, etc., is nevertheless only in its beginning; its revolutionising effect on European agriculture will, therefore, make itself felt in the future even more so than hitherto.—*F. E.*//

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[a] [T. R. Malthus], *An Essay on the Principles of Population.*

That this soil, therefore, need not be exceedingly rich, as Ricardo imagines, nor that soils of equal fertility need be cultivated, may be seen from the following: In the State of Michigan 465,900 acres were planted in 1848 to wheat which yielded 4,739,300 bushels, or an average of 10 $\frac{1}{5}$ bushels per acre; after deducting seed grain, this leaves less than 9 bushels per acre. Of the 29 counties of this State, 2 produced an average of 7 bushels, 3 an average of 8 bushels, 2—9, 7—10, 6—11, 3—12, 4—13 bushels, and only one county produced an average of 16 bushels, and another 18 bushels per acre (l.c., p. 225).

For practical cultivation higher soil fertility coincides with greater capability of immediate exploitation of such fertility. The latter may be greater in a naturally poor soil than in a naturally rich one; but it is the kind of soil which a colonist will take up first, and must take up when capital is wanting.

*Finally*, the extension of cultivation to larger areas—aside from the case just mentioned, in which recourse must be had to soil inferior than that cultivated hitherto—to the various kinds of soil from A to D, thus, for instance, the cultivation of larger tracts of B and C does not by any means presuppose a previous rise in grain prices any more than the preceding annual expansion of cotton spinning, for instance, requires a constant rise in yarn prices. Although a considerable rise or fall in market prices affects the volume of production, nevertheless, regardless of it there is in agriculture (just as in all other capitalistically operated branches of production) a continuous relative overproduction, in itself identical with accumulation, even at those average prices whose level has neither a retarding nor exceptionally stimulating effect on production. Under other modes of production this relative overproduction is effected directly by the population increase, and in colonies by steady immigration. The demand increases constantly, and, in anticipation of this, new capital is continually invested in new land, although this varies with the circumstances for different agricultural products. It is the formation of new capitals which in itself brings this about. But so far as the individual capitalist is concerned, he measures the volume of his production by that of his available capital, to the extent that he can still control it himself. His aim is to capture as big a portion as possible of the market. Should there be any overproduction, he will not take the blame upon himself, but places it upon his competitors. The individual capitalist may expand his production by appropriating a larger aliquot share of the existing market or by expanding the market itself.

## Chapter XL

### SECOND FORM OF DIFFERENTIAL RENT (DIFFERENTIAL RENT II)

Thus far we have considered differential rent only as the result of varying productivity of equal amounts of capital invested in equal areas of land of different fertility, so that differential rent was determined by the difference between the yield from the capital invested in the worst, rentless soil and that from the capital invested in superior soil. We had side by side capitals invested in different plots of land, so that every new investment of capital signified a more extensive cultivation of the soil, an expansion of cultivated area. In the last analysis, however, differential rent was by its nature merely the result of the different productivity of equal capitals invested in land. But can it make any difference if capitals of different productivity are invested successively in the same plot of land or side by side in different plots of land, provided the results are the same?

To begin with, there is no denying that, in so far as the formation of surplus profit is concerned, it is immaterial whether £3 in production price per acre of A yield 1 qr, so that £3 is the price of production and the regulating market price of 1 qr, while £3 in production price per acre of B yield 2 qrs, and thereby £3 of surplus profit, similarly, £3 in production price per acre of C yield 3 qrs and £6 of surplus profit, and, finally, £3 in production price per acre of D yield 4 qrs and £9 of surplus profit; or whether the same result is achieved by applying these £12 in production price, or £10 of capital, with the same success in the same sequence upon one and the same acre. It is in both cases a capital of £10, whose value portions of £2 $\frac{1}{2}$ each are successively invested—whether in four acres of varying fertility side by side, or successively in one and the same acre of land—and because of their varying outputs, one portion yields no surplus profit, whereas the other portions yield surplus profit proportionate to their difference in yield with respect to rentless investment.

The surplus profits and the various rates of surplus profit for the different value portions of capital are formed in the same manner in both cases. And the rent is nothing but a form of this surplus profit, which constitutes its substance. But at any rate, in the second method, there are some difficulties concerning the transformation of surplus profit into rent, this change of form, which includes the transfer of surplus profit from the capitalist tenant farmer to the landowner.

This accounts for the obstinate resistance of English tenant farmers to official agricultural statistics. And it accounts for their struggle against the landlords over the determination of actual results derived from their capital investments (Morton). For rent is fixed when land is leased, and after that the surplus profit arising from successive investments of capital flows into the pockets of the tenant as long as the lease lasts. This is why the tenants have fought for long leases, and, on the other hand, due to the greater power of the LANDLORDS, an increase in the number of TENANCIES AT WILL has taken place, i. e., leases which can be cancelled annually.

It is therefore evident from the very outset that, even if immaterial for the law of formation of surplus profit, it makes a considerable difference for the transformation of surplus profit into ground rent whether equal capitals are invested side by side in equal areas of land with unequal results, or whether they are invested successively in the same land. The latter method confines this transformation, on the one hand, within narrower limits, on the other hand, within more variable limits. For this reason, the work of the tax-assessor, as Morton shows in his *Resources of Estates*, becomes a very important, complicated and difficult profession in countries practising intensive cultivation (and, economically speaking, we mean nothing more by intensive cultivation than the concentration of capital upon the same plot rather than its distribution among several adjoining pieces of land). If soil improvements are of a more permanent nature the artificially increased differential fertility of the soil coincides with its natural differential fertility as soon as the lease expires, and therefore the assessment of the rent corresponds to the determination of the rent on plots of different fertilities in general. On the other hand, in so far as the formation of surplus profit is determined by the magnitude of operating capital, the amount of rent for a certain amount of operating capital is added to the average rent of the country and thus provision is made for the new tenant to command sufficient capital to continue cultivation in the same intensive manner.

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In the study of differential rent II, the following points are still to be emphasised.

*First*, its basis and point of departure, not just historically, but also in so far as concerns its movement at any given period of time, is differential rent I, that is, the simultaneous cultivation side by side of

soils of unequal fertility and location; in other words, the simultaneous application, side by side, of unequal portions of the total agricultural capital upon plots of land of unequal quality.

Historically this is self-evident. In the colonies, colonists have but little capital to invest; the principal production agents are labour and land. Every individual head of family seeks for himself and his kin an independent field of employment alongside his fellow-colonists. This must generally be the case in agriculture proper even under precapitalist modes of production. In the case of sheep-herding and cattle-raising, in general, as independent lines of production, exploitation of the soil is more or less common and extensive from the very outset. The capitalist mode of production has for its point of departure former modes of production in which the means of production were, in fact or legally, the property of the tiller himself, in a word, a handicraft-like pursuit of agriculture. It is in the nature of things that the latter gives way but gradually to the concentration of the means of production and their transformation into capital, as against direct producers transformed into wage labourers. In so far as the capitalist mode of production is manifested here typically, it occurs at first particularly in sheep-herding and cattle-raising. But it is thus manifested not in a concentration of capital upon a relatively small area of land, but in production on a larger scale, economising in the expense of keeping horses, and in other production costs; but, in fact, not by investing more capital in the same land. Furthermore, in accordance with the natural laws of field husbandry, capital—used here, at the same time, in the sense of means of production already produced—becomes the decisive element in soil cultivation when cultivation has reached a certain level of development and the soil has been correspondingly exhausted. So long as the tilled area is small in comparison with the untilled, and so long as the soil strength has not been exhausted (and this is the case when cattle-raising and meat consumption prevail in the period before agriculture proper and plant nutrition have become dominant), the new developing mode of production is opposed to peasant production mainly in the extensiveness of the land being tilled at the expense of a capitalist, in other words, again in the extensive application of capital to larger areas of land. It should therefore be remembered from the outset that differential rent I is the historical basis which serves as a point of departure. On the other hand, the movement of differential rent II at any given moment occurs only within a sphere which is itself but the variegated basis of differential rent I.

*Secondly*, in the differential rent in form II, the differences in distribution of capital (and ability to obtain credit) among tenants are added to the differences in fertility. In manufacture proper, each line of business rapidly develops its own minimum volume of business and a corresponding minimum of capital, below which no individual business can be conducted successfully. In the same way, each line of business develops a normal average amount of capital above this minimum, which the bulk of producers should, and do, command. A larger volume of capital can produce extra profit; a smaller volume does not so much as yield the average profit. The capitalist mode of production spreads in agriculture but slowly and unevenly, as may be observed in England, the classic land of the capitalist mode of production in agriculture. In so far as the free importation of grain does not exist, or its effect is but limited because its volume is small, producers working inferior soil, and thus under worse than average conditions of production, determine the market price. A larger portion of the total mass of capital invested in husbandry, and in general available to it, is in their hands.

It is true that the peasant, for example, expends much labour on his small plot of land. But it is labour isolated from objective social and material conditions of productivity, labour robbed and stripped of these conditions.

This circumstance enables the actual capitalist tenant farmers to appropriate a portion of surplus profit—a fact which would not obtain, at least so far as this point is concerned, if the capitalist mode of production were as evenly developed in agriculture as in manufacture.

Let us first consider just the formation of surplus profit with differential rent II, without for the present bothering about the conditions under which the transformation of this surplus profit into ground rent may take place.

It is then evident that differential rent II is merely differently expressed differential rent I, but identical to it in substance. The variation in fertility of various soil types exerts its influence in the case of differential rent I only in so far as unequal results are attained by capitals invested in the soil, i. e., the amount of products obtained either with respect to equal magnitudes of capital, or proportionate amounts. Whether this inequality takes place for various capitals invested successively in the same land or for capitals invested in several plots of differing soil type—this can change nothing in the difference

in fertility nor in its product and can therefore change nothing in the formation of differential rent for the more productively invested portions of capital. It is still the soil which, now as before, shows different fertility with the same investment of capital, save that here the same soil performs for a capital successively invested in different portions what various kinds of soil do in the case of differential rent I for different equal portions of social capital invested in them.

If the same capital of £10, which is shown in Table I[a] to be invested in the form of independent capitals of £2 $\frac{1}{2}$ each by various tenants in each acre of the four soil types A, B, C and D, were instead successively invested in one and the same acre D, so that the first investment yielded 4 qrs, the second 3, the third 2, and the fourth 1 qr (or in the reverse order), then the price of the quarter furnished by the least productive capital, namely = £3, would not yield any differential rent, but would determine the price of production, so long as the supply of wheat whose price of production is £3 were needed. And since our assumption is that the capitalist mode of production prevails, so that the price of £3 includes the average profit made by a capital of £2 $\frac{1}{2}$ generally, the other three portions of £2 $\frac{1}{2}$ each will yield surplus profit in accordance with the difference in output, since this output is not sold at its own price of production, but at the price of production of the least productive investment of £2 $\frac{1}{2}$; the latter investment does not yield any rent and the price of its products is determined by the general law of prices of production. The formation of surplus profit would be the same as in Table I.

Once again it is seen here that differential rent II presupposes differential rent I. The minimum output obtained from a capital of £2 $\frac{1}{2}$, i. e., from the worst soil, is here assumed to be 1 qr. Assumed, also, is that aside from the £2 $\frac{1}{2}$ which yield him 4 qrs and for which he pays a differential rent of 3 qrs, the tenant operating with soil type D invests in this same soil £2 $\frac{1}{2}$ which yield him only 1 qr, like the same capital upon the worst soil A. This would be an investment of capital which does not yield rent, since it returns to him only average profit. There would be no surplus profit which could be transformed into rent. On the other hand, this decreasing yield of the second investment of capital in D would have no influence on the rate of profit. It would be the same as though £2 $\frac{1}{2}$ had been invested anew in an additional acre of soil type A, a circumstance which would in no way af-

[a] See this volume, p. 646.

fect the surplus profit and, therefore, the differential rent of soils A, B, C and D. But for the tenant, this additional investment of £2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in D would have been quite as profitable as, in accordance with our assumption, the investment of the original £2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per acre of D, although the latter yields 4 qrs. Furthermore, if two other investments of £2 $\frac{1}{2}$ each should yield an additional output of 3 qrs and 2 qrs respectively, a decrease would have taken place again compared with the output from the investment of £2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in D, which yielded 4 qrs, i. e., a surplus profit of 3 qrs. But it would be merely a decrease in the amount of surplus profit, and would not affect either the average profit or the regulating price of production. The latter would be the case only if the additional production yielding this decreasing surplus profit made the production upon A superfluous, and threw acre A out of cultivation. In this case, the decreasing productiveness of the additional investment of capital in acre D would be accompanied by a fall in the price of production, for instance, from £3 to £1 $\frac{1}{2}$, if acre B would become the rentless soil and regulator of the market price.

The output from D would now be = 4 + 1 + 3 + 2 = 10 qrs whereas formerly it was = 4 qrs. But the price per quarter as regulated by B would have fallen to £1 $\frac{1}{2}$. The difference between D and B would be = 10 − 2 = 8 qrs, at £1 $\frac{1}{2}$ per quarter = £12, whereas the money rent from D was previously = £9. This should be noted. Calculated per acre, the magnitude of rent would have risen by 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ % in spite of the decreasing rate of surplus profit on the two additional capitals of £2 $\frac{1}{2}$ each.

We see from this to what highly complicated combinations differential rent in general, and in form II coupled with form I, in particular, may give rise, whereas Ricardo, for instance, treats it very one-sidedly and as though it were a simple matter. As in the above case, a fall in the regulating market price and at the same time rise in rent from fertile soils may take place so that both the absolute product and the absolute surplus product increase. (In differential rent I, in descending order, the relative surplus product and thus the rent per acre may increase, although the absolute surplus product per acre remains constant or even decreases.) But at the same time, productiveness of the investments of capital made successively in the same soil decreases, although a large portion of them falls to the more fertile soils. From a certain point of view — as concerns both output and prices of production — the productivity of labour has risen. But from another point of view, it has decreased because the rate of surplus profit

and the surplus product per acre decrease for the various investments of capital in the same land.

Differential rent II, with decreasing productiveness of successive investments of capital, would necessarily be accompanied by a rise in price of production and an absolute decrease in productivity only if investments of capital could be made in none but the worst soil A. If an acre of A, which with an investment of capital of £2 $\frac{1}{2}$ yielded 1 qr at a price of production of £3, should only yield a total of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ qrs with an additional outlay of £2 $\frac{1}{2}$, i e., a total investment of £5, then the price of production of this 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ qrs = £6, or that of 1 qr = £4. Every decrease in productivity with a growing investment of capital would here mean a relative decrease in output per acre, whereas upon superior soils it would only signify a decrease in the additional surplus product.

But by the nature of things, with the development of intensive cultivation, i. e., with successive investments of capital in the same soil, this will take place more advantageously, or to a greater extent on better soils. (We are not referring to permanent improvements by which a hitherto useless soil is converted into useful soil.) The decreasing productiveness of successive investments of capital must, therefore, have principally the effect indicated above. The better soil is selected because it affords the best promise that capital invested in it will be profitable, since it contains the most natural elements of fertility, which need but be utilised.

When, after the abolition of the Corn Laws, cultivation in England became still more intensive, a great deal of former wheat land was devoted to other purposes, particularly cattle pastures, while the fertile land best suited for wheat was drained and otherwise improved. The capital for wheat cultivation was thus concentrated in a more limited area.

In this case—and all possible surplus rates between the greatest surplus product of the best soil and the output of rentless soil A coincide here with an absolute, rather than a relative, increase in surplus product per acre—the newly formed surplus profit (potential rent) does not represent a portion of a former average profit transformed into rent (a portion of the output in which the average profit formerly was expressed) but an additional surplus profit, which is transformed out of this form into rent.

On the other hand, only in the case where the demand for grain increased to such an extent that the market price rose above the price of

production of A, so that the surplus product of A, B, or any other kind of soil could be supplied only at a price higher than £3 would the decrease in yield from an additional investment of capital in any of the soil types A, B, C and D be accompanied by a rise in the price of production and the regulating market price. In so far as this lasted for a lengthy period of time without resulting in the cultivation of additional soil A (of at least the quality of A), or without a cheaper supply resulting from other circumstances, wages would rise in consequence of the increase in the price of bread, everything else being equal, and the rate of profit would fall accordingly. In this case, it would be immaterial, whether the increased demand were satisfied by bringing under cultivation soil of inferior quality than A, or by additional investments of capital, in any of the four types of soil. Differential rent would then increase together with a falling rate of profit.

This one case, in which the decreasing productiveness of subsequent additional capitals invested in already cultivated soils may lead to an increase in the price of production, a fall in the rate of profit, and the formation of higher differential rent—for the latter would increase under the given circumstances upon all kinds of soil just as though soil of inferior quality than A were regulating the market price—has been labelled by Ricardo as the only case, the normal case—to which he reduces the entire formation of differential rent II.

This would also be the case if only type A soil were cultivated and successive investments of capital in it were not accompanied by a proportional increase in produce.

Here then, in the case of differential rent II, one completely loses sight of differential rent I.

Except for this case, in which the supply from the cultivated soils is either insufficient and the market price thus continually higher than the price of production until new additional soil of inferior quality is taken under cultivation or until the total product from the additional capital invested in various kinds of soil can be supplied only at a higher price of production than that hitherto prevailing—except for this case, the proportional drop in productivity of the additional capitals leaves the regulating price of production and the rate of profit unchanged. For the rest, three more cases are possible:

a) If the additional capital invested in any one of the types of soil A, B, C or D yields only the rate of profit determined by the price of production of A, then no surplus profit, and therefore no potential

rent, is formed, any more than there would be if additional type A soil had been cultivated.

b) If the additional capital yields a larger product, new surplus profit (potential rent) is, of course, formed provided the regulating price remains the same. This is not necessarily the case; it is not the case, in particular, when this additional production throws soil A out of cultivation and thus out of the sequence of competing soils. In this case, the regulating price of production falls. If this were accompanied by a fall in wages, or if the cheaper product were to enter into the constant capital as one of its elements, the rate of profit would rise. If the increased productivity of the additional capital had taken place upon the best soils C and D, it would depend entirely upon the degree of increased productivity and the amount of additional new capital to what extent the formation of increased surplus profit (and thus increased rent) would be associated with the fall in prices and the rise in the rate of profit. The latter may also rise without a fall in wages, through a cheapening of the elements of constant capital.

c) If the additional investment of capital takes place with decreasing surplus profit, but in such manner that the yield from this investment still leaves a surplus above the yield from the same capital invested in A, a new formation of surplus profit takes place under all circumstances, unless the increased supply excludes soil A from cultivation. This may take place simultaneously upon D, C, B and A. But, on the other hand, if the worst soil A is squeezed out of cultivation, then the regulating price of production falls and it will depend upon the relation between the reduced price of 1 qr and the increased number of quarters forming surplus profit whether the surplus profit expressed in money, and consequently the differential rent, rises or falls. But at any rate, it is noteworthy here that with decreasing surplus profit from successive investments of capital the price of production may fall, instead of rising, which it seemingly should do at first sight.

These additional investments of capital with decreasing surplus yields correspond entirely to the case in which, e.g., four new independent capitals of £$2\frac{1}{2}$ each would be invested in soils with fertility between A and B, B and C, C and D, and yielding $1\frac{1}{2}$, $2\frac{1}{3}$, $2\frac{2}{3}$, and 3 qrs respectively. Surplus profit (potential rent) would take shape on all these soils for all four additional capitals, although the rate of surplus profit, compared with that for the same investment of capital on the correspondingly better soil, would have decreased. And it would

be quite immaterial whether these four capitals were invested in D, etc., or distributed between D and A.

We now come to an essential difference between the two forms of differential rent.

Under differential rent I, with constant price of production and constant differences, the average rent per acre, or the average rate of rent on capital, may increase together with the rental. But the average is a mere abstraction. The actual amount of rent, calculated per acre or with respect to capital, remains the same here.

On the other hand, under the same conditions, the amount of rent calculated per acre may increase although the rate of rent, measured relative to invested capital, remains the same.

Let us assume that production is doubled by the investment of £5 instead of £$2\frac{1}{2}$ in each of the soils A, B, C and D, i. e., a total of £20 instead of £10, and that the relative fertility remains unchanged. This would be tantamount to cultivating 2 instead of 1 acre of each of these kinds of soil at the same cost. The rate of profit would remain the same; also its relation to surplus profit or rent. But if A were now to yield 2 qrs, B—4, C—6, and D—8, the price of production would nevertheless remain £3 per quarter because this increase is not due to doubled fertility with the same capital, but to the same proportional fertility with a doubled capital. The two quarters of A would now cost £6 just as 1 qr cost £3 before. The profit would have doubled on all four soils, but only because the invested capital was doubled. In the same proportion, however, the rent would also have been doubled; it would be 2 qrs for B instead of 1, 4 qrs for C instead of 2, and 6 for D instead of 3; and correspondingly, the money rent for B, C and D would now be £6, £12, and £18 respectively. Like the yield per acre, the rent in money per acre would be doubled, and, consequently, also the price of the land whereby this money rent is capitalised. Calculated in this manner, the amount of rent in grain and money increases, and thus the price of land, because the standard used in its computation, i. e., the acre, is an area of constant magnitude. On the other hand, calculated as rate of rent on invested capital, there is no change in the proportional amount of rent. The total rental of 36 is to the invested capital of 20 as the rental of 18 is to the invested capital of 10. The same holds true for the ratio of money rent from each type of soil to the capital invested in it; for instance, in C, £12 rent is to £5 capital as £6 rent was formerly to £$2\frac{1}{2}$ capital. No new differences arise here between the invested capitals, but new surplus prof-

its do, merely because the additional capital is invested in one of the rent-bearing soils, or in all of them, with the same proportional yield as previously. If this double investment took place, for example, only in C, the differential rent between C, B and D, calculated with respect to capital, would remain the same: for when the amount of rent obtained from C is doubled, so is the invested capital.

This shows that the amount of rent in produce and money per acre, and therefore the price of land, may rise, while the price of production, the rate of profit, and the differences remain unchanged (and therefore the rate of surplus profit or of rent, calculated with respect to capital, remains unchanged).

The same may take place with decreasing rates of surplus profit, and therefore of rent, that is, with decreasing productivity of the additional investments of capital that still yield rent. If the second investments of capital of £$2\frac{1}{2}$ had not doubled the output, but B had yielded only $3\frac{1}{2}$ qrs, C—5 qrs, and D—7 qrs, then the differential rent for the second £$2\frac{1}{2}$ of capital in B would be only $\frac{1}{2}$ qr instead of 1, on C—1 qr instead of 2 and on D—2 qrs instead of 3. The proportions between rent and capital for the two successive investments would then be as follows:

| | First Investment | | | | Second Investment | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| B: | Rent | £3, | Capital | £2½ | Rent | £1½, | Capital | £2½ |
| C: | " | £6, | " | £2½ | " | £3, | " | £2½ |
| D: | " | £9, | " | £2½ | " | £6, | " | £2½ |

In spite of this decreased rate of relative productivity of capital, and thus of the surplus profit calculated on capital, the rent in grain and money would have increased on B from 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ qrs (from £3 to £$4\frac{1}{2}$, on C— from 2 to 3 qrs (from £6 to £9), and on D—from 3 to 5 qrs (from £9 to £15). In this case, the differences for the additional capitals, compared with the capital invested in A, would have decreased, the price of production would have remained the same, but the rent per acre, and consequently the price of land per acre, would have risen.

The combinations of differential rent II, which presupposes differential rent I as its basis, will now be taken up.

# Chapter XLI

## DIFFERENTIAL RENT II.—FIRST CASE: CONSTANT PRICE OF PRODUCTION

The assumption here implies that the market price is regulated as before by the capital invested in the worst soil A.

I. If the additional capital invested in any one of the rent-bearing soils—B, C, D—produces only as much as the same capital upon soil A, i. e., if it yields only the average profit at the regulating price of production, but no surplus profit, then the effect upon the rent is nil. Everything remains as before. It is the same as though an arbitrary number of acres of A quality, i. e., of the worst soil, has been added to the cultivated area.

II. The additional capitals yield additional produce proportional to their magnitude on every one of the various soils; in other words, the volume of production grows according to the specific fertility of each soil type—in proportion to the magnitude of the additional capital. In Chapter XXXIX, we started with the following Table I:

| Type of Soil | Acres | Capital £ | Profit £ | Price of Prod. £ | Output Qrs | Selling Price £ | Proceeds £ | Rent | | Rate of Surplus Profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | Qrs | £ | |
| A | 1 | 2½ | ½ | 3 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| B | 1 | 2½ | ½ | 3 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 120% |
| C | 1 | 2½ | ½ | 3 | 3 | 3 | 9 | 2 | 6 | 240% |
| D | 1 | 2½ | ½ | 3 | 4 | 3 | 12 | 3 | 9 | 360% |
| Total . . | 4 | 10 | | 12 | 10 | | 30 | 6 | 18 | |

This is now transformed into:

*TABLE II*

| Type of Soil | Acres | Capital £ | Profit £ | Price of Prod. £ | Output Qrs | Selling Price £ | Proceeds £ | Rent | | Rate of Surplus Profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | Qrs | £ | |
| A | 1 | 2½ + 2½ = 5 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 0 | 0 | |
| B | 1 | 2½ + 2½ = 5 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 12 | 2 | 6 | 120% |
| C | 1 | 2½ + 2½ = 5 | 1 | 6 | 6 | 3 | 18 | 4 | 12 | 240% |
| D | 1 | 2½ + 2½ = 5 | 1 | 6 | 8 | 3 | 24 | 6 | 18 | 360% |
| | 4 | 20 | | | 20 | | 60 | 12 | 36 | |

It is not necessary in this case that the investment of capital be doubled in all soils, as in the table. The law is the same so long as additional capital is invested in one, or several, of the rent-bearing soils, no matter in what proportion. It is only necessary that production should increase upon every soil in the same ratio as the capital. The rent increases here merely in consequence of an increased investment of capital in the soil, and in proportion to this increase. This increase in produce and rent in consequence of, and proportionately to, the increased outlay of capital is just the same as regards the quantity of produce and rent, as when the cultivated area of the rent-bearing plots of land of the same quality had been increased and taken under cultivation with the same outlay of capital as that previously invested in the same types of soils. In the case of Table II, for instance, the result would remain the same, if the additional capital of £$2\frac{1}{2}$ per acre were invested in an additional acre of B, C and D.

Furthermore, this assumption does not imply a more productive investment of capital, but only an outlay of more capital upon the same area with the same success as before.

All relative proportions remain the same here. Of course, if we do not consider the proportional differences, but consider the purely arithmetic ones, then the differential rent may change upon the various soils. Let us assume, for instance, that additional capital has been invested only in B and D. The difference between D and A is then = 7 qrs whereas previously it was = 3; the difference between B and A = 3 qrs, whereas previously it was = 1; that between C and B = $-1$, whereas previously it was = $+1$, etc. But this arithmetic difference, which is decisive in differential rent I in so far as it expresses the difference in productivity with equal investment of capital, is here quite immaterial, because it is merely a consequence of different additional investments of capital, or of no additional investments, while the difference for each equal portion of capital upon the various plots of land remains unchanged.

III. The additional capitals yield surplus produce and thus form surplus profit, but at a decreasing rate, not in proportion to their increase.

In the case of this third assumption, it is again immaterial whether the additional second investments of capital are uniformly distributed among the various soils or not; whether the decreasing production of surplus profit takes place proportionately or not; whether the additional investments of capital are all in the same rent-bearing type of

*TABLE III*

| Type of Soil | Acres | Capital £ | Profit £ | Price of Prod. £ | Output Qrs | Selling Price £ | Proceeds £ | Rent | | Rate of Surplus Profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | Qrs | £ | |
| A | 1 | 2½ | ½ | 3 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| B | 1 | 2½ + 2½ = 5 | 1 | 6 | 2 + 1½ = 3½ | 3 | 10½ | 1½ | 4½ | 90% |
| C | 1 | 2½ + 2½ = 5 | 1 | 6 | 3 + 2 = 5 | 3 | 15 | 3 | 9 | 180% |
| D | 1 | 2½ + 2½ = 5 | 1 | 6 | 4 + 3½ = 7½ | 3 | 22½ | 5½ | 16½ | 330% |
| | | 17½ | 3½ | 21 | 17 | | 51 | 10 | 30 | |

soil, or whether they are distributed equally or unequally among rent-bearing plots of land of varying quality. All these circumstances are immaterial for the law that is to be developed. The only assumption is that additional investments of capital yield surplus profit upon any one of the rent-bearing soils, but in decreasing proportion to the amount of the increase in capital. The limits of this decrease, in the table before us, are between 4 quarters = £12, the output from the first outlay of capital on the best soil D, and 1 quarter = £3, the output from the same outlay of capital in the worst soil A. The output from the best soil in case of the investment of capital I constitutes the top limit, and the output from the same outlay of capital in the worst soil A, which yields neither rent nor surplus profit, is the bottom limit of output, which successive investments of capital yield upon any of the soil types producing surplus profit with decreasing productivity of successive investments of capital. Just as assumption II corresponds to the case in which new plots of the same quality are added from the better soils to the cultivated area, in which the quantity of any one of the cultivated soils is increased, so assumption III corresponds to the case in which additional plots are cultivated whose various degrees of fertility are distributed among soils ranging from D to A, i. e., from the best to the worst soils. If the successive outlays of capital are made exclusively in soil D, they may include the existing differences between D and A, then differences between D and C, and likewise between D and B. If they are all made in soil C, then only differences between C and A, and C and B; if exclusively in B, then only differences between B and A.

But this is the law: the rent increases absolutely upon all these soils, even if not in proportion to the additional capital invested.

The rate of surplus profit, considering both the additional capital and the total capital invested in the soil, decreases; but the absolute magnitude of the surplus profit increases; just as the decreasing rate of profit on capital in general is, in the main, accompanied by an increase in the absolute amount of profit. Thus the average surplus profit of a capital invested in B = 90% on the capital, whereas it was = 120% for the first outlay of capital. But the total surplus profit increases from 1 qr to $1\frac{1}{2}$ qrs, or from £3 to £$4\frac{1}{2}$. The total rent—considered by itself rather than in relation to the doubled magnitude of the advanced capital—has risen absolutely. The differences in rents from various soils and their relative proportions may vary here; but this variation in differences is a consequence, not cause, of the increase in rents in relation to one another.

IV. The case in which additional investments of capital in the better soils yield more produce than the original ones requires no further analysis. It goes without saying that under this assumption the rent per acre will increase, and proportionately more than the additional capital, no matter in which kind of soil the outlay has been made. In this case, the additional investment of capital is accompanied by improvements. This includes the cases in which an additional outlay of less capital produces the same or a greater effect than an additional outlay of more capital did formerly. This case is not quite identical with the former one, and the distinction is important in all investments of capital. For instance, if 100 yields a profit of 10, and 200 employed in a certain form yields a profit of 40, then the profit has risen from 10% to 20%, and to that extent it is the same as though 50 employed in a more effective form yields a profit of 10 instead of 5. We assume here that the profit is associated with a proportional increase in output. But the difference is that I must double the capital in the one case, whereas in the other, the effect I produce is doubled with the capital employed hitherto. It is by no means the same whether I produce: 1) the same output as before with half as much living and objectified labour, or 2) twice the output as before with the same labour, or 3) four times the former output with twice the labour. In the first case, labour—in a living or objectified form—is released, and may be employed otherwise; the power to dispose of capital and labour increases. The release of capital (and labour) is in itself an augmentation of wealth; it has exactly the same effect as though this additional capital has been obtained by accumulation, but it saves the labour of accumulation.

Assume that a capital of 100 has produced an output of ten metres. The 100 includes constant capital, living labour and profit. Thus a metre costs 10. Now, if I can produce 20 metres with the same capital of 100, then a metre costs 5. If, on the other hand, I can produce 10 metres with a capital of 50, then a metre likewise costs 5, and should the former supply of commodities suffice a capital of 50 is released. If I have to invest a capital of 200 in order to produce 40 metres, then a metre also costs 5. The determination of value, and also the price, does not permit any difference to be discerned here; no more than the amount of output proportional to the advance of capital. But in the first case, capital is released; in the second case additional capital is saved to be used perhaps to double production if necessary; in the third case, the increased output can only be obtained by augmenting the advanced capital, although not in the same proportion as when the increased output was to have been supplied by the old productive power. (This belongs in Part I.)

From the viewpoint of capitalist production, the employment of constant capital is always cheaper than that of variable capital, not as regards increasing the surplus value, but rather as regards reducing the cost price—and saving of costs even in the element creating surplus value, in labour, performs this service for the capitalist and makes profit for him so long as the regulating price of production remains the same. This presupposes, in fact, the development of credit and an abundance of loan capital corresponding to the capitalist mode of production. On the one hand, I employ £100 additional constant capital, if £100 is the output of five labourers during the year; on the other hand, £100 in variable capital. If the rate of surplus value = 100%, then the value created by the five labourers = £200; on the other hand, the value of £100 constant capital = £100 and as capital it is perhaps = £105, if the interest rate = 5%. The same sums of money express very different values, from the viewpoint of the output they produce, depending on whether they are advanced to production as magnitudes of value of constant or of variable capital. Furthermore, as regards the cost of the commodities from the viewpoint of the capitalist, there is also this difference, that of the £100 constant capital only the wear and tear enters into the value of the commodity in so far as this money is invested in fixed capital, whereas the £100 invested in wages must be completely reproduced in the commodity.

In the case of colonists, and independent small producers in gener-

al, who have no access to capital at all or only at high interest rates, that part of the output which represents wages is their revenue, whereas for the capitalist it constitutes an advance of capital. The former, therefore, regards this expenditure of labour as the indispensable prerequisite for the labour product, which is the thing that interests him above all. But, as regards his surplus labour, after deducting the necessary labour, it is evidently realised in the surplus product; and as soon as he can sell the latter, or use it for himself, he looks upon it as something that cost him nothing, because it cost him no objectified labour. It is only the expenditure of the latter which appears to him as alienation of wealth. Of course, he tries to sell as high as possible; but even a sale below value and below the capitalist price of production still appears to him as profit, unless this profit is anticipated by debts, mortgages, etc. For the capitalist, on the other hand, the investment of both variable and constant capital represents an advance of capital. The relatively larger advance of the latter reduces the cost price, and in fact the value of the commodities, everything else being equal. Hence, although profit arises only from surplus labour, consequently only from the employment of variable capital, it may still seem to the individual capitalist that living labour is the most expensive element in his price of production which should be reduced to a minimum before all else. This is but a capitalistically distorted form of the fact that the relatively greater use of congealed labour, as compared with living labour, signifies an increase in the productivity of social labour and a greater social wealth. From the viewpoint of competition, everything appears thus distorted and turned topsy-turvy.

Assuming prices of production to remain unchanged, the additional investments of capital in the better soils, that is, in all soils from B upward, may be made with unaltered, increasing, or decreasing productivity. For soil A this would only be possible under the conditions assumed by us, if productivity remains the same — whereby the land continues to yield no rent — and also if productivity increases; a portion of the capital invested in A would then yield rent, while the remainder would not. But it would be impossible if productivity on A were to decrease, for then the price of production would not remain unchanged, but would rise. Yet in all these cases, i. e., whether the surplus product yielded by the additional investments is proportional to the latter or is greater or smaller than this proportion — whether, therefore, the rate of surplus profit on the capital remains constant, rises or falls when this capital increases, the surplus product and the

corresponding surplus profit per acre increases, and hence also the potential rent in grain and money. The growth in the mere quantity of surplus profit or rent, calculated per acre, that is, an increasing quantity calculated on the basis of some constant unit—in the present case on a definite quantity of land such as an acre or a hectare—expresses itself as an increasing ratio. Hence the magnitude of the rent, calculated per acre, increases under such circumstances simply in consequence of the increase in the capital invested in the land. This takes place, to be sure, assuming the prices of production remain the same, and, on the other hand, regardless of whether the productivity of the additional capital remains unaltered, or whether it decreases or increases. The latter circumstances modify the range in which the magnitude of rent per acre increases but not the existence of this increase itself. This is a phenomenon peculiar to differential rent II, and distinguishing it from differential rent I. If the additional investments of capital were made successively in space, side by side in new additional soil of corresponding quality, rather than successively in time in the same soil, the quantity of the rental would have increased, and, as previously shown, so would the average rent from the total cultivated area, but not the magnitude of the rent per acre. Given the same result so far as quantity and value of total production and surplus product are concerned, the concentration of capital upon a smaller area of land increases the amount of rent per acre, whereas under the same conditions, its dispersion over a larger area, all other conditions being equal, does not produce this effect. But the more the capitalist mode of production develops, the more does the concentration of capital upon the same area of land develop, and, therefore, the more does the rent, calculated per acre, increase. Consequently, given two countries in which the prices of production are identical, the differences in soil type are identical, and the same amount of capital is invested—but in the one country more in the form of successive outlays upon a limited area of land, whereas in the other more in the form of co-ordinated outlays upon a larger area—then the rent per acre, and thereby the price of land, would be higher in the first country and lower in the second, although the total rent would be the same for both countries. The difference in magnitude of rent could thus not be explained here to be a result of a difference in the natural fertility of the various soils, nor a result of a difference in the quantity of employed labour, but solely a result of different ways in which the capital is invested.

When we refer to surplus product here, this should always be understood to mean that aliquot part of the output which represents surplus profit. Ordinarily, we mean by excess product or surplus product that portion of the output which represents the total surplus value, or in some cases that portion which represents the average profit. The specific meaning which this term assumes in the case of rent-bearing capital gives rise to misunderstanding, as previously pointed out.[a]

## Chapter XLII

### DIFFERENTIAL RENT II.—SECOND CASE: FALLING PRICE OF PRODUCTION

The price of production may fall when additional investments of capital take place with an unaltered, falling or rising rate of productivity.

*I. Productivity of the additional investment of capital remains the same*

In this case, the assumption, therefore, is that the output increases proportionally to the capital invested in the various soils and in accordance with their respective qualities. This means for constant differences in soils that the surplus product increases in proportion to the increased investment of capital. This case, then, excludes any additional investment of capital in soil A which might affect the differential rent. For this soil, the rate of surplus profit = 0; thus, it remains = 0 since we have assumed that the productiveness of the additional capital, and therefore the rate of surplus profit, remain the same.

But under these conditions the regulating price of production can only fall, because it is the price of production of the next best soil, of B, or any better soil than A, rather than that of A, which becomes the regulator; so that the capital is withdrawn from A, or perhaps from A and B if the price of production of C should become the regulating one, and thus all soil inferior to C would be eliminated from the competition among grain-producing soils. The prerequisite for this is, under the assumed conditions, that the additional yield from the

[a] See this volume, pp. 627-33.

additional investments of capital satisfy the demand, so that the output from the inferior soil A, etc., become superfluous for the re-establishment of a full supply.

Thus, let us take, for instance, Table II, but in such a way that 18 qrs instead of 20 satisfy the demand. Soil A would drop out; B and its price of production of 30 shillings per quarter would become regulating. The differential rent then assumes the following form:

*TABLE IV*

| Type of Soil | Acres | Capital £ | Profit £ | Price of Production £ | Output Qrs | Selling Price per qr £ | Proceeds £ | Rent | | Rate of Surplus Profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | in Grain Qrs | in Money £ | |
| B | 1 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 1½ | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| C | 1 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 6 | 1½ | 9 | 2 | 3 | 60% |
| D | 1 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 8 | 1½ | 12 | 4 | 6 | 120% |
| Total | 3 | 15 | 3 | 18 | 18 | | 27 | 6 | 9 | |

Compared with Table II, the total rent would hence have fallen from £36 to £9, and in grain from 12 qrs to 6 qrs; total output would have fallen only by 2 qrs, from 20 to 18. The rate of surplus profit calculated on the capital would have fallen to one-third, i. e., from 180% to 60%.[a] Thus, the fall in the price of production is accompanied here by a decrease of the rent in grain and money.

Compared with Table I, there is merely a decrease in money rent; the rent in grain is in both cases 6 qrs; but in the one case it = £18, and in the other £9. For soil C, the rent in grain, compared with Table I, has remained the same. In fact, it is owing to the additional production resulting from the uniformly acting additional capital that the yield from A has been excluded from the market, and thereby soil A has been eliminated as a competing producing agent, and it is owing to this fact that a new differential rent I has been formed in which the better soil B plays the same role as did formerly the inferior soil A. Consequently, on the one hand, the rent from B has disappeared; on the other hand, nothing has been altered in the differences

[a] In the 1894 German edition "one-half, from 180% to 90%".

between B, C and D by the investment of additional capital — in accordance with our assumption. For this reason, that part of the output which is transformed into rent is reduced.

If the above result — the satisfaction of the demand with A excluded — had been accomplished, perchance, by the investment of more than double the capital in C or D, or in both, then the matter would assume a different aspect. For example, if the third investment of capital were made in C:

*TABLE IVa*

| Type of Soil | Acres | Capital £ | Profit £ | Price of Production £ | Output Qrs | Selling Price £ | Proceeds £ | Rent | | Rate of Surplus Profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | in Grain Qrs | in Money £ | |
| B | 1 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 1½ | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| C | 1 | 7½ | 1½ | 9 | 9 | 1½ | 13½ | 3 | 4½ | 60% |
| D | 1 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 8 | 1½ | 12 | 4 | 6 | 120% |
| Total | 3 | 17½ | 3½ | 21 | 21 | | 31½ | 7 | 10½ | |

In this case, compared with Table IV, the output from C has risen from 6 to 9 qrs, the surplus product from 2 to 3 qrs, and the money rent from £3 to £4½. Compared with Table II, where the latter was £12, and Table I, where it was £6, the money rent has, on the other hand, decreased. The total rental in grain = 7 qrs and has fallen compared with Table II (12 qrs) and risen compared with Table I (6 qrs); in money (£10½) it has fallen compared with both (£18 and £36).

If the third investment of capital of £2½ had been employed on soil B, it would indeed have altered the quantity of production, but would not have affected the rent, since, according to our assumption, the successive investments do not produce any differences upon the same soil and soil B does not yield any rent.

If we assume, on the other hand, that the third investment of capital takes place upon D instead of C, we have the following:

*TABLE IVb*

| Type of Soil | Acres | Capital £ | Profit £ | Price of Production £ | Output Qrs | Selling Price £ | Proceeds £ | Rent | | Rate of Surplus Profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | Qrs | £ | |
| B | 1 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 1½ | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| C | 1 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 6 | 1½ | 9 | 2 | 3 | 60% |
| D | 1 | 7½ | 1½ | 9 | 12 | 1½ | 18 | 6 | 9 | 120% |
| Total | 3 | 17½ | 3½ | 21 | 22 | | 33 | 8 | 12 | |

Here the total product = 22 qrs, more than double that of Table I, although the invested capital = only £17½ as against £10, that is, not twice the amount. The total product is also larger by 2 qrs than that of Table II, although the advanced capital in the latter is larger—namely, £20.

Compared with Table I, the rent in grain from soil D has increased from 3 to 6 qrs, whereas the money rent, £9, has remained the same. Compared with Table II, the grain rent from D is the same, namely, 6 qrs, but the money rent has fallen from £18 to £9.

Comparing the total rents, the grain rent from Table IVb = 8 qrs is larger than that from Table I = 6 qrs and than that from Table IVa = 7 qrs; but it is smaller than that from Table II = 12 qrs. The money rent from Table IVb = £12 is larger than that from Table IVa = £10½, and smaller than that from Table I = £18 and that from Table II = £36.

In order that the total rental may, under the conditions of Table IVb (with the elimination of rent from B), be equal to that of Table I, we need £6 more of surplus product, that is, 4 qrs at £1½, which is the new price of production. We then have a total rental of £18 again as in Table I. The magnitude of the required additional capital will vary according to whether we invest it in C or D, or divide it between the two.

On C, £5 capital yields 2 qrs of surplus product; consequently, £10 additional capital yields 4 qrs of additional surplus product. On D, £5 additional capital would suffice to produce 4 qrs of additional grain rent under the conditions assumed here, namely that the productivity of the additional investments of capital remains the same. We should then obtain the following results:

*TABLE IVc*

| Type of Soil | Acres | Capital £ | Profit £ | Price of Production £ | Output Qrs | Selling Price £ | Proceeds £ | Rent | | Rate of Surplus Profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | Qrs | £ | |
| B | 1 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 1½ | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| C | 1 | 15 | 3 | 18 | 18 | 1½ | 27 | 6 | 9 | 60% |
| D | 1 | 7½ | 1½ | 9 | 12 | 1½ | 18 | 6 | 9 | 120% |
| Total | 3 | 27½ | 5½ | 33 | 34 | | 51 | 12 | 18 | |

*TABLE IVd*

| Type of Soil | Acres | Capital £ | Profit £ | Price of Production £ | Output Qrs | Selling Price £ | Proceeds £ | Rent | | Rate of Surplus Profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | Qrs | £ | |
| B | 1 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 1½ | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| C | 1 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 6 | 1½ | 9 | 2 | 3 | 60% |
| D | 1 | 12½ | 2½ | 15 | 20 | 1½ | 30 | 10 | 15 | 120% |
| Total | 3 | 22½ | 4½ | 27 | 30 | | 45 | 12 | 18 | |

The total money rental would be exactly one-half of what it was in Table II, where the additional capitals were invested at constant prices of production.

The most important thing is to compare the above tables with Table I.

We find that while the price of production has fallen by one-half, i. e., from 60 shillings to 30 shillings per quarter, the total money rental has remained the same, namely = £18, and the grain rent has correspondingly doubled from 6 to 12 qrs. Upon B the rent has disappeared; upon C the money rent has risen by one-half in IVc, but has fallen by one-half in IVd; upon D in IVc, it has remained the same, = £9, and has risen from £9 to £15 in IVd. The production has risen from 10 to 34 qrs in IVc, and to 30 qrs in IVd; the profit from £2 to £5½ in IVc and to £4½ in IVd. The total investment of capital has risen in the one case from £10 to £27½, and in the other from £10 to £22½;

i. e., in both cases it has more than doubled. The rate of rent, that is, the rent calculated on the advanced capital, is in all tables from IV to IVd everywhere the same for each kind of soil—which was already implied in the assumption that the rate of productivity for the two successive investments of capital remains the same for each soil type. But compared with Table I this rate has fallen, both for the average of all kinds of soil and for each one of them individually. In Table I it was = 180% on an average, whereas in IVc it = $\frac{18}{27^1/_2} \times 100 = 65^5/_{11}\%$ and in IVd it = $\frac{18}{22^1/_2} \times 100 = 80\%$. The average money rent per acre has risen. Formerly, in Table I, its average was £$4^1/_2$ per acre from all four acres, whereas in IVc and IVd it is £6 per acre upon the 3 acres. Its average upon the rent-bearing land was formerly £6, whereas now it is £9 per acre. Hence the money value of the rent per acre has risen and now represents twice as much grain as it did formerly; but the 12 qrs of grain rent are now less than one-half of the total output of 34 and 30[a] qrs respectively, whereas in Table I the 6 qrs represent $\frac{3}{5}$ the total output of 10 qrs. Consequently, although the rent as an aliquot part of the total output has fallen, and has also fallen when calculated on the invested capital, its money value calculated per acre has risen, and still more its value as a product. If we take soil D in Table IVd, we find that the price of production corresponding to the capital outlay here = £15, of which £$12^1/_2$ is invested capital. The money rent = £15. In Table I, for the same soil D, the price of production was = £3, the invested capital = £$2^1/_2$ and the money rent = £9; that is, the latter was three times the price of production and almost four times the capital. In Table IVd, the money rent for D, £15, is exactly equal to the price of production and larger than the capital by only $\frac{1}{5}$. Nevertheless, the money rent per acre is $\frac{2}{3}$ larger, namely, £15 instead of £9. In Table I, the grain rent of 3 qrs = $\frac{3}{4}$ of the total product of 4 qrs; in Table IVd it is 10 qrs, or one-half the total product (20 qrs) per acre of D. This shows that the money value and grain value of the rent per acre may rise, although it constitutes a smaller aliquot part of the total yield and has fallen in proportion to the advanced capital.

The value of the total product in Table I = £30, the rent = £18, or more than one-half of it. The value of the total product in IVd = £45, of which the rent = £18, or less than one-half.

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[a] In the 1894 German edition "33 and 27".

Now, the reason why in spite of the fall in price by £1½ per quarter, i. e., a fall of 50%, and in spite of the reduction in competing soil from 4 to 3 acres, the total money rent remains the same and the total grain rent is doubled, while, calculated per acre, both the grain rent and money rent rise, is that more quarters of surplus product are produced. The price of grain falls by 50%, and the surplus product increases by 100%. But in order to obtain this result, the total production under the conditions assumed by us must be trebled, and the investment of capital in the superior soils must be more than doubled. At what rate the latter must increase depends in the first place upon the distribution of additional capital investments among the better and best soils, always assuming that the productivity of the capital invested in each soil type increases proportionately to its magnitude.

If the fall in price of production were smaller, less additional capital would be required to produce the same money rent. If the supply required to throw soil A out of cultivation — and this depends not merely upon the output per acre of A, but also upon the share held by A in the entire cultivated area — thus, if the supply required for this purpose were larger, and thereby also the amount of additional invested capital required in soils better than A, then, other circumstances remaining the same, the money and grain rents would have increased still more, although soil B would have ceased yielding money and grain rents.

If the capital eliminated from A had been = £5, the tables to be compared for this case would be tables II and IVd. The total product would have increased from 20 to 30 qrs. The money rent would be only half as large, or £18 instead of £36; the grain rent would be the same, namely = 12 qrs.

If a total product of 44 qrs = £66 could be produced upon D with a capital = £27½ — corresponding to the old rate for D, 4 qrs per £2½ capital — then the total rental would once more reach the level attained in Table II, and the table would appear as follows:

| Type of Soil | Capital £ | Output Qrs | Grain Rent Qrs | Money Rent £ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| B | 5 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| C | 5 | 6 | 2 | 3 |
| D | 27½ | 44 | 22 | 33 |
| Total | 37½ | 54 | 24 | 36 |

The total production would be 54 qrs as against 20 qrs in Table II, and the money rent would be the same, = £36. But the total capital would be £37½, whereas in Table II it was = 20. The total advanced capital would be double almost, while production would be nearly treble; the grain rent would be double and the money rent would remain the same. Hence, if the price falls—while productivity remains the same—as a result of the investment of additional money capital in the better soils which yield rent, that is, all soils better than A, then the total capital has a tendency not to increase at the same rate as production and grain rent; thus the increase in grain rent may compensate for the loss in money rent due to the falling price. The same law also manifests itself in that the advanced capital must be proportionately larger as more is invested in C than D, i. e., in soils yielding less rent rather than in soils yielding more rent. The point is simply this: in order that the money rent may remain the same or rise, a definite additional quantity of surplus product must be produced, and the greater the fertility of the soils yielding surplus product, the less capital this requires. If the difference between B and C, and C and D, were still greater, still less additional capital would be required. The specific proportion is determined by 1) the ratio of fall in price, in other words, by the difference between soil B, which does not yield rent now, and soil A, which formerly was the soil not yielding rent; 2) the ratio of the differences between the soils better than B upwards; 3) the amount of newly invested additional capital, and 4) its distribution among the soils of varying quality.

In fact, we see that this law merely expresses what was already ascertained in the first case: When the price of production is given, no matter what its magnitude, the rent may increase as a result of additional capital investment. For owing to the elimination of A, we now have a new differential rent I with B as the worst soil and £1½ per quarter as the new price of production. This applies to Table IV as well as to Table II. It is the same law, except that our point of departure is soil B instead of A, and our price of production is taken as £1½ instead of £3.

The important thing here is this: To the extent that so much and so much additional capital was necessary in order to withdraw the capital from soil A and create the supply without it, we find that this may be accompanied by an unaltered, rising, or falling rent per acre, if not from all plots of land then at least from some, and so far as the average of the cultivated plots is concerned. We have seen that grain rent

and money rent do not maintain a uniform relation to one another. It is merely due to tradition that grain rent is still of any importance in economics. One might demonstrate equally well that, e. g., a manufacturer can buy much more of his yarn with his profit of £5 than he could formerly with a profit of £10. It shows at any rate, that messieurs landlords, when they are simultaneously owners or shareholders in manufacturing establishments, sugar refineries, distilleries, etc., may in their capacity as producers of their own raw materials still make a considerable profit when the money rent is falling.[34]

### *II. Decreasing rate of productivity of the additional capital*

This introduces nothing new into the problem, in so far as the price of production may also fall in this case, as in the case just considered, only when additional investments of capital in better soils than A render the output from A superfluous and the capital is therefore withdrawn from A, or A is employed for the production of other products. This case has been exhaustively discussed above. It was shown that the rent in grain and money per acre may increase, decrease, or remain unchanged.

For convenience in making comparisons we reproduce the following table:

*TABLE I*

| Type of Soil | Acres | Capital £ | Profit £ | Price of Production per Qr | Output Qrs | Grain Rent Qrs | Money Rent Qrs | Rate of Surplus Profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 1 | 2½ | ½ | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| B | 1 | 2½ | ½ | 1½ | 2 | 1 | 3 | 120% |
| C | 1 | 2½ | ½ | 1 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 240% |
| D | 1 | 2½ | ½ | ¾ | 4 | 3 | 9 | 360% |
| Total | 4 | 10 | | | 10 | 6 | 18 | 180% average |

[34] The above tables IVa to IVd had to be recalculated due to an error in computation which ran through all of them. While this did not affect the theoretical conclusions drawn from these tables, it introduced, in part, quite monstrous numerical values for production per acre. Even these are not objectionable in principle. For all relief and topographical maps it is customary to choose a much larger scale for the vertical than for the horizontal. Nevertheless, should anyone feel that his agrarian feelings have been injured thereby, he is at liberty to multiply the number of acres by any numerical value that will satisfy him. One might also choose 10, 12, 14, 16 bushels (8 bushels = 1 quarter)

Now let us assume that a quantity of 16 qrs[a] supplied by B, C, and D at a decreasing rate of productivity suffices to exclude A from cultivation. In such case, Table III is transformed into the following:

*TABLE V*

| Type of Soil | Acres | Investment of Capital £ | Profit £ | Output Qrs | Selling Price £ | Proceeds £ | Grain Rent Qrs | Money Rent £ | Rate of Surplus Profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| B | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2$ | 1 | $2 + 1^1/_2 = 3^1/_2$ | $1^5/_7$ | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| C | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2$ | 1 | $3 + 2 = 5$ | $1^5/_7$ | $8^4/_7$ | $1^1/_2$ | $2^4/_7$ | $51^3/_7\%$ [b] |
| D | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2$ | 1 | $4 + 3^1/_2 = 7^1/_2$ | $1^5/_7$ | $12^6/_7$ | 4 | $6^6/_7$ | $137^1/_7\%$ [c] |
| Total | 3 | 15 | | 16 | | $27^3/_7$ | $5^1/_2$ | $9^3/_7$ | $94^2/_7\%$ [d] average |

Here, at a decreasing rate of productivity of the additional capital, and a varying decrease for the various soil types, the regulating price of production has fallen from £3 to £$1^5/_7$. The investment of capital has risen by one-half—from £10 to £15. The money rent has fallen by almost one-half—from 18 to £$9^3/_7$, but the grain rent has fallen by only $\frac{1}{12}$ —from 6 qrs to $5\frac{1}{2}$ qrs. The total output has risen from 10 to 16, or by 60%. The grain rent constitutes a little more than one-third of the total product. The advanced capital is to the money rent as $15:9\frac{3}{7}$ , whereas formerly this ratio was 10:18.

*III. Rising rate of productivity of the additional capital*

This differs from Variant I at the beginning of this chapter, where the price of production falls while the rate of productivity remains the same, merely in that when a given amount of additional produce is required to exclude soil A this occurs here more quickly.

The effect may vary in accordance with the distribution of investments among the various soils for a falling, as well as an increasing,

per acre in Table I instead of 1, 2, 3, 4 quarters, and the derived numerical values in the other tables would remain within the limits of probability; it will be found that the result, i. e., the ratio of rent increase to capital increase, is exactly the same. This has been done in the tables included by the editor in the next chapter.—*F. E.*

[a] In Table III. - [b] In the 1894 German edition "$51^2/_5$". - [c] Ibid.: "$137^1/_5$". - [d] Ibid.: "$94^3/_{10}\%$". Here, as well as in tables VI, VII, VIII, IX and X the land which yields no rent is left out of consideration.

productivity of the additional capital investments. In so far as this varying effect balances out the differences, or accentuates them, the differential rent of the better soils, and thereby the total rental too, will fall or rise, as was already the case in differential rent I. In other respects, everything depends upon the magnitude of the land area and capital excluded together with A, and upon the relative magnitude of advanced capital required with a rising productivity in order to produce the additional output to meet the demand.

The only point worth while analysing here, and which really takes us back to the investigation of the way in which this differential profit is transformed into differential rent, is the following:

In the first case, where the price of production remains the same the additional capital which may be invested in soil A does not affect the differential rent as such, since soil A, as before, does not yield any rent, the price of its produce remains the same, and it continues to regulate the market.

In the second case, Variant I, where the price of production falls while the rate of productivity remains the same, soil A will necessarily be excluded, and still more so in Variant II (falling price of production with falling rate of productivity), since otherwise the additional capital invested is soil A would have had to raise the price of production. But here, in Variant III of the second case, where the price of production falls because the productivity of the additional capital rises, this additional capital may under certain circumstances be invested in soil A as well as in the better soils.

Let us assume that when invested in soil A an additional capital of £$2\frac{1}{2}$ produces $1\frac{1}{5}$ qrs instead of 1 qr.

*TABLE VI*

| Type of Soil | Acres | Capital £ | Profit £ | Price of Production £ | Output Qrs | Selling Price £ | Proceeds £ | Rent | | Rate of Surplus Profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | Qrs | £ | |
| A | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2 = 5$ | 1 | 6 | $1 + 1^1/_5 = 2^1/_5$ | $2^8/_{11}$ | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| B | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2 = 5$ | 1 | 6 | $2 + 2^2/_5 = 4^2/_5$ | $2^8/_{11}$ | 12 | $2^1/_5$ | 6 | 120% |
| C | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2 = 5$ | 1 | 6 | $3 + 3^3/_5 = 6^3/_5$ | $2^8/_{11}$ | 18 | $4^2/_5$ | 12 | 240% |
| D | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2 = 5$ | 1 | 6 | $4 + 4^4/_5 = 8^4/_5$ | $2^8/_{11}$ | 24 | $6^3/_5$ | 18 | 360% |
| | 4 | 20 | 4 | 24 | 22 | | 60 | $13^1/_5$ | 36 | 240% |

Aside from being compared with the basic Table I, this table should be compared with Table II, where a two-fold investment of capital is associated with a constant productivity, proportional to the investment of capital.

In accordance with our assumption, the regulating price of production falls. If it were to remain constant, = £3, then the worst soil A, which used to yield no rent with an investment of only £2 $\frac{1}{2}$, would now yield rent without worse soil being brought under cultivation. This would have occurred due to an increase in the productivity of this soil, but only for a part of the capital, not for the original capital invested. The first £3 of production price yield 1 qr; the second yield 1 $\frac{1}{5}$ qrs; but the entire output of 2 $\frac{1}{5}$ qrs is now sold at its average price. Since the rate of productivity increases with the additional investment of capital, this presupposes an improvement. The latter may consist of a general increase in capital invested per acre (more fertiliser, more mechanised labour, etc.), or it may be that only through this additional capital it is at all possible to bring about a qualitatively different more productive investment of the capital. In both cases, the investment of £5 of capital per acre yields an output of 2 $\frac{1}{5}$ qrs, whereas the investment of one-half of this capital, i. e., £2 $\frac{1}{2}$, yields only 1 qr of produce. The produce from soil A could, regardless of transient market conditions, only continue to be sold at a higher price of production instead of at the new average price, as long as a considerable area of type A soil continued to be cultivated with a capital of only £2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per acre. But as soon as the new relation of £5 of capital per acre, and thereby the improved management, becomes universal, the regulating price of production would have to fall to £2 $\frac{8}{11}$. The difference between the two portions of capital would disappear, and then, in fact, the cultivation of an acre of soil A with a capital of only £2 $\frac{1}{2}$ would be abnormal, i. e., would not correspond to the new conditions of production. It would then no longer be a difference between the yields from different portions of capital invested in the same acre, but between a sufficient and an insufficient total investment of capital per acre. This shows, *first of all,* that insufficient capital in the hands of a large number of tenant farmers (it must be a large number, for a small number would simply be compelled to sell below their price of production) produces the same effect as a differentiation of the soils themselves in a descending line. The inferior cultivation of inferior soil increases the rent from superior soils; it may

even lead to rent being yielded from better cultivated soil of equally poor quality, which would otherwise not be yielded. It shows, *secondly*, that differential rent, in so far as it arises from successive investments of capital in the same total area, resolves itself in reality into an average, in which the effects of the various investments of capital are no longer recognisable and distinguishable, and therefore do not result in rent being yielded from the worst soil, but rather: 1) make the average price of the total yield for, say, an acre of A, the new regulating price and 2) appear as alteration in the total quantity of capital per acre required under the new conditions for the adequate cultivation of the soil; and in which the individual successive investments of capital, as well as their respective effects, will appear indistinguishably blended together. It is exactly the same with the individual differential rents from the superior soils. In each case, they are determined by the difference between the average output from the soil in question and the output from the worst soil at the increased capital investment—which has now become normal.

No soil yields any produce without an investment of capital. This is the case even for simple differential rent, differential rent I; when it is said that one acre of soil A, which regulates the price of production, yields so much and so much produce at such and such a price, and that superior soils B, C and D yield so much differential produce, and therefore so much and so much money rent at the regulating price of production, it is always assumed that a definite amount of capital is invested which, under the prevailing conditions of production, is considered normal. In the same way, a certain minimum capital is required for every individual branch of industry in order that the commodities may be produced at their price of production.

If this minimum is altered as a result of succesive investments of capital associated with improvements on the same soil, it occurs gradually. So long as certain number of acres, say, of A, do not receive this additional working capital, a rent is produced upon the better cultivated acres of A due to the unaltered price of production, and the rent from all superior soils, B, C and D, is increased. But as soon as the new method of cultivation has become general enough to be the normal one, the price of production falls; the rent from the superior plots declines again, and that portion of soil A that does not possess the working capital, which has now become the average, must sell its

produce below its individual price of production, i. e., below the average profit.

In the case of a falling price of production, this also occurs even with decreasing productivity of the additional capital—as soon as the required total product is supplied, in consequence of increased investment of capital, by the superior soils, and thus, e. g., the working capital is withdrawn from A, i. e., A no longer competes in the production of this particular product, e. g., wheat. The quantity of capital which is now required, on an average, to be invested in the better soil B, the new regulator, now becomes normal: and when one speaks of the varying fertility of plots of land, it is assumed that this new normal quantity of capital per acre is employed.

On the other hand, it is evident that this average investment of capital, say, in England, of £8 per acre prior to 1848, and £12 subsequent to that year, will constitute the standard in concluding leases. For the farmer expending more than this, the surplus profit is not transformed into rent for the duration of the contract. Whether this takes place after expiration of the contract or not will depend upon the competition among the farmers who are in a position to make the same extra capital advance. We are not referring here to such permanent soil improvements that continue to provide the increased output with the same or even with a decreasing outlay of capital. Such improvements, although products of capital, have the same effect as natural differences in the quality of the land.

We see, then, that a factor comes into consideration in the case of differential rent II which does not appear in the case of differential rent I as such, since the latter can continue to exist independently of any change in the normal investment of capital per acre. It is, on the one hand, the blurring of results from various investments, of capital in regulating soil A, whose output now simply appears as a normal average output per acre. It is, on the other hand, the change in the normal minimum, or in the average magnitude of invested capital per acre, so that this change appears as a property of the soil. It is, finally, the difference in the manner of transforming surplus profit into the form of rent.

Table VI shows, furthermore, compared with tables I and II, that the grain rent has more than doubled in relation to I, and has increased by $1\frac{1}{5}$ qrs in relation to II; while the money rent has doubled in relation to I, but has not changed in relation to II. It would have increased considerably if (other conditions remaining the same) more of

the additional capital had been allocated to the superior soils, or if on the other hand the effect of the additional capital on A had been less appreciable, and thus the regulating average price per quarter from A had been higher.

If the increase in fertility by means of additional capital should produce varying results for the various soils, this would produce a change in their differential rents.

In any case, it has been shown that the rent per acre, for instance with a doubled investment of capital, may not only double, but may more than double—while the price of production falls in consequence of an increased rate of productivity of the additional capital invested, i. e., when this productivity grows at a higher rate than the advanced capital. But it may also fall if the price of production should fall much lower as a result of a more rapid increase in productiveness of soil A.

Let us assume that the additional investments of capital, for instance in B and C, do not increase the productivity at the same rate as they do for A, so that the proportional differences decrease for B and C and the increase in output does not make up for the fall in price. Then, compared with Table II, the rent from D would remain unchanged, and that from B and C would fall.

*TABLE VIa*

| Type of Soil | Acres | Capital £ | Profit £ | Output per Acre Qrs | Selling Price £ | Proceeds £ | Grain Rent Qrs | Money Rent £ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2 = 5$ | 1 | $1 + 3 = 4$ | $1^1/_2$ | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| B | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2 = 5$ | 1 | $2 + 2^1/_2 = 4^1/_2$ | $1^1/_2$ | $6^3/_4$ | $^1/_2$ | $^3/_4$ |
| C | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2 = 5$ | 1 | $3 + 5 = 8$ | $1^1/_2$ | 12 | 4 | 6 |
| D | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2 = 5$ | 1 | $4 + 12 = 16$ | $1^1/_2$ | 24 | 12 | 18 |
| Total | 4 | 20 | | $32^1/_2$ | | | $16^1/_2$ | $24^3/_4$ |

Finally, the money rent would rise if more additional capital were invested in the superior soils with the same proportional increase in fertility than in A, or if the additional investments of capital in the superior soils were effective at an increasing rate of productivity. In both cases the differences would increase.

The money rent falls when the improvement due to additional in-

vestment of capital reduces the differences completely or in part, and affects A more than B and C. The smaller the increase in productivity of the superior soils, the more it falls. It depends upon the extent of inequality produced, whether the grain rent shall rise, fall or remain stationary.

The money rent rises, and similarly the grain rent, either when — the proportional difference in additional fertility of the various soils remaining unaltered — more capital is invested in the rent-bearing soils than in rentless soil A, and more in soils yielding higher rent than in those yielding lower rents; or when the fertility — the additional capital remaining equal — increases more on the better and best soils than on A, i. e., the money and grain rents rise in proportion to this increase in fertility of the better soils above that of the poorer ones.

But under all circumstances, there is a relative rise in rent when increased productive power is the result of an addition of capital, and not merely the result of increased fertility with unaltered investment of capital. This is the absolute point of view, which shows that here, as in all former cases, the rent and increased rent per acre (as in the case of differential rent I on the entire cultivated area — the magnitude of the average rental) are the result of an increased investment of capital in land, no matter whether this capital functions with a constant rate of productivity at constant or decreasing prices or with a decreasing rate of productivity at constant or falling prices, or with an increasing rate of productivity at falling prices. For our assumption: constant prices with a constant, falling, or rising rate of productivity of the additional capital, and falling prices with a constant, falling, or rising rate of productivity, resolves itself into: a constant rate of productivity of the additional capital at constant or falling prices, a falling rate of productivity at constant or falling prices, and a rising rate of productivity at constant and falling prices. Although the rent may remain stationary, or may fall, in all these cases, it would fall more if the additional investment of capital, other circumstances remaining the same, were not a prerequisite for the increased fertility. The additional capital, then, is always the cause for the relatively high rent, although absolutely it may have decreased.

# Chapter XLIII

## DIFFERENTIAL RENT II.—THIRD CASE: RISING PRICE OF PRODUCTION

//A rising price of production presupposes that the productivity of the poorest quality land yielding no rent decreases. The assumed regulating price of production cannot rise above £3 per quarter unless the £$2\frac{1}{2}$ invested in soil A produce less than 1 qr, or the £5—less than 2 qrs, or unless an even poorer soil than A has to be taken under cultivation.

For constant, or even increasing, productivity of the second investment of capital this would only be possible if the productivity of the first investment of capital of £$2\frac{1}{2}$ had decreased. This case occurs often enough. For instance, when with superficial ploughing the exhausted top soil yields ever smaller crops, under the old method of cultivation, and then the subsoil, turned up through deeper ploughing, produces better crops than before with more rational cultivation. But, strictly speaking, this special case does not apply here. The decrease in productivity of the *first* £$2\frac{1}{2}$ of invested capital signifies for the superior soils, even when the conditions are assumed to be analogous there, a decrease in differential rent I; yet here we are considering only differential rent II. But since this special case cannot occur without presupposing the existence of differential rent II, and represents in fact the reaction of a modification of differential rent I upon II, we shall give an illustration of it.

The money rent and proceeds are the same as in Table II. The increased regulating price of production makes good what has been lost in quantity of produce; since this price and the quantity of produce are inversely proportional, it is evident that their mathematical product will remain the same.

*TABLE VII*

| Type of Soil | Acres | Invested Capital £ | Profit £ | Price of Production £ | Output Qrs | Selling Price £ | Proceeds £ | Grain Rent Qrs | Money Rent £ | Rate of Rent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2$ | 1 | 6 | $^1/_2 + 1^1/_4 = 1^3/_4$ | $3^3/_7$ | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| B | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2$ | 1 | 6 | $1 + 2^1/_2 = 3^1/_2$ | $3^3/_7$ | 12 | $1^3/_4$ | 6 | 120% |
| C | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2$ | 1 | 6 | $1^1/_2 + 3^3/_4 = 5^1/_4$ | $3^3/_7$ | 18 | $3^1/_2$ | 12 | 240% |
| D | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2$ | 1 | 6 | $2 + 5 = 7$ | $3^3/_7$ | 24 | $5^1/_4$ | 18 | 360% |
| | | 20 | | | $17^1/_2$ | | 60 | $10^1/_2$ | 36 | 240% |

In the above case, it was assumed that the productive power of the second investment of capital was greater than the original productivity of the first investment. Nothing changes if we assume the second investment to have only the same productivity as the first, as shown in the following table:

*TABLE VIII*

| Type of Soil | Acres | Invested Capital £ | Profit £ | Price of Prod. £ | Output Qrs | Selling Price £ | Proceeds £ | Rent | | Rate of Surplus Profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | in Grain Qrs | in Money £ | |
| A | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2 = 5$ | 1 | 6 | $^1/_2 + 1 = 1^1/_2$ | 4 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| B | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2 = 5$ | 1 | 6 | $1 + 2 = 3$ | 4 | 12 | $1^1/_2$ | 6 | 120% |
| C | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2 = 5$ | 1 | 6 | $1^1/_2 + 3 = 4^1/_2$ | 4 | 18 | 3 | 12 | 240% |
| D | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2 = 5$ | 1 | 6 | $2 + 4 = 6$ | 4 | 24 | $4^1/_2$ | 18 | 360% |
| | | 20 | | | 15 | | 60 | 9 | 36 | 240% |

Here, too, the price of production rising at the same rate compensates in full for the decrease in productivity in the case of yield as well as money rent.

The third case appears in its pure form only when the productivity of the second investment of capital declines, while that of the first remains constant—which was always assumed in the first and second cases. Here differential rent I is not affected, i. e., the change affects only that part which arises from differential rent II. We shall give two illustrations: in the first we assume that the productivity of the second investment of capital has been reduced to $\frac{1}{2}$, in the second to $\frac{3}{4}$.

*TABLE IX*

| Type of Soil | Acres | Invested Capital £ | Profit £ | Price of Prod. £ | Output Qrs | Selling Price £ | Proceeds £ | Rent | | Rate of Rent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | in Grain Qrs | in Money £ | |
| A | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2 = 5$ | 1 | 6 | $1 + ^1/_2 = 1^1/_2$ | 4 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| B | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2 = 5$ | 1 | 6 | $2 + 1 = 3$ | 4 | 12 | 1 | 6 | 120% |
| C | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2 = 5$ | 1 | 6 | $3 + 1^1/_2 = 4^1/_2$ | 4 | 18 | 3 | 12 | 240% |
| D | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2 = 5$ | 1 | 6 | $4 + 2 = 6$ | 4 | 24 | $4^1/_2$ | 18 | 360% |
| | | 20 | | | 15 | | 60 | 9 | 36 | 240% |

Table IX is the same as Table VIII, except for the fact that the decrease in productivity in VIII occurs for the first, and in IX for the second investment of capital.

*TABLE X*

| Type of Soil | Acres | Invested Capital £ | Profit £ | Price of Prod. £ | Output Qrs | Selling Price £ | Proceeds £ | Rent | | Rate of Rent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | in Grain Qrs | in Money £ | |
| A | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2 = 5$ | 1 | 6 | $1 + {}^1/_4 = 1^1/_4$ | $4^4/_5$ | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| B | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2 = 5$ | 1 | 6 | $2 + {}^1/_2 = 2^1/_2$ | $4^4/_5$ | 12 | $1^1/_4$ | 6 | 120% |
| C | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2 = 5$ | 1 | 6 | $3 + {}^3/_4 = 3^3/_4$ | $4^4/_5$ | 18 | $2^1/_2$ | 12 | 240% |
| D | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2 = 5$ | 1 | 6 | $4 + 1 = 5$ | $4^4/_5$ | 24 | $3^3/_4$ | 18 | 360% |
| | | 20 | | 24 | $12^1/_2$ | | 60 | $7^1/_2$ | 36 | 240% |

In this table, too, the total proceeds, the money rent and rate of rent remain the same as in tables II, VII and VIII, because produce and selling price are again inversely proportional, while the invested capital remains the same.

But how do matters stand in the other possible case when the price of production rises, namely, in the case of a poor quality soil not worth cultivating until then that is taken under cultivation?

Let us suppose that a soil of this sort, which we shall designate by a, enters into competition. Then the hitherto rentless soil A would yield rent, and the foregoing tables VII, VIII and X would assume the following forms:

*TABLE VIIa*

| Type of Soil | Acres | Capital £ | Profit £ | Price of Prod. £ | Output Qrs | Selling Price £ | Proceeds £ | Rent | | Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | Qrs | £ | |
| a | 1 | 5 | 1 | 6 | $1^1/_2$ | 4 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2$ | 1 | 6 | ${}^1/_2 + 1^1/_4 = 1^3/_4$ | 4 | 7 | ${}^1/_4$ | 1 | 1 |
| B | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2$ | 1 | 6 | $1 + 2^1/_2 = 3^1/_2$ | 4 | 14 | 2 | 8 | $1 + 7$ |
| C | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2$ | 1 | 6 | $1^1/_2 + 3^3/_4 = 5^1/_4$ | 4 | 21 | $3^3/_4$ | 15 | $1 + 2 \times 7$ |
| D | 1 | $2^1/_2 + 2^1/_2$ | 1 | 6 | $2 + 5 = 7$ | 4 | 28 | $5^1/_2$ | 22 | $1 + 3 \times 7$ |
| | | | | 30 | 19 | | 76 | $11^1/_2$ | 46 | |

*TABLE VIIIa*

| Type of Soil | Acres | Capital £ | Profit £ | Price of Prod. £ | Output Qrs | Selling Price £ | Proceeds £ | Rent | | Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | Qrs | £ | |
| a | 1 | 5 | 1 | 6 | $1\frac{1}{4}$ | $4\frac{4}{5}$ | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A | 1 | $2\frac{1}{2} + 2\frac{1}{2}$ | 1 | 6 | $\frac{1}{2} + 1 = 1\frac{1}{2}$ | $4\frac{4}{5}$ | $7\frac{1}{5}$ | $\frac{1}{4}$ | $1\frac{1}{5}$ | $1\frac{1}{5}$ |
| B | 1 | $2\frac{1}{2} + 2\frac{1}{2}$ | 1 | 6 | $1 + 2 = 3$ | $4\frac{4}{5}$ | $14\frac{2}{5}$ | $1\frac{3}{4}$ | $8\frac{2}{5}$ | $1\frac{1}{5} + 7\frac{1}{5}$ |
| C | 1 | $2\frac{1}{2} + 2\frac{1}{2}$ | 1 | 6 | $1\frac{1}{2} + 3 = 4\frac{1}{2}$ | $4\frac{4}{5}$ | $21\frac{3}{5}$ | $3\frac{1}{4}$ | $15\frac{3}{5}$ | $1\frac{1}{5} + 2 \times 7\frac{1}{5}$ |
| D | 1 | $2\frac{1}{2} + 2\frac{1}{2}$ | 1 | 6 | $2 + 4 = 6$ | $4\frac{4}{5}$ | $28\frac{4}{5}$ | $4\frac{3}{4}$ | $22\frac{4}{5}$ | $1\frac{1}{5} + 3 \times 7\frac{1}{5}$ |
| | 5 | | | 30 | $16\frac{1}{4}$ | | 78 | 10 | 48 | |

*TABLE Xa*

| Type of Soil | Acres | Capital £ | Profit £ | Price of Prod. £ | Output Qrs | Selling Price £ | Proceeds £ | Rent | | Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | Qrs | £ | |
| a | 1 | 5 | 1 | 6 | $1\frac{1}{8}$ | $5\frac{1}{3}$ | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A | 1 | $2\frac{1}{2} + 2\frac{1}{2}$ | 1 | 6 | $1 + \frac{1}{4} = 1\frac{1}{4}$ | $5\frac{1}{3}$ | $6\frac{2}{3}$ | $\frac{1}{8}$ | $\frac{2}{3}$ | $\frac{2}{3}$ |
| B | 1 | $2\frac{1}{2} + 2\frac{1}{2}$ | 1 | 6 | $2 + \frac{1}{2} = 2\frac{1}{2}$ | $5\frac{1}{3}$ | $13\frac{1}{3}$ | $1\frac{3}{8}$ | $7\frac{1}{3}$ | $\frac{2}{3} + 6\frac{2}{3}$ |
| C | 1 | $2\frac{1}{2} + 2\frac{1}{2}$ | 1 | 6 | $3 + \frac{3}{4} = 3\frac{3}{4}$ | $5\frac{1}{3}$ | 20 | $2\frac{5}{8}$ | 14 | $\frac{2}{3} + 2 \times 6\frac{2}{3}$ |
| D | 1 | $2\frac{1}{2} + 2\frac{1}{2}$ | 1 | 6 | $4 + 1 = 5$ | $5\frac{1}{3}$ | $26\frac{2}{3}$ | $3\frac{7}{8}$ | $20\frac{2}{3}$ | $\frac{2}{3} + 3 \times 6\frac{2}{3}$ |
| | | | | 30 | $13\frac{5}{8}$ | | $72\frac{2}{3}$ | 8 | $43\frac{2}{3}$ | |

By interpolating soil a there arises a new differential rent I; upon this new basis, differential rent II likewise develops in an altered form. Soil a has different fertility in each of the above three tables; the sequence of proportionally increasing fertilities begins only with soil A. The sequence of rising rents also behaves similarly. The rent of the worst rent-bearing soil, previously rentless, is a constant which is simply added to all higher rents; only after deducting this constant does the sequence of differences clearly become evident for the higher rents, and similarly its parallel in the fertility sequence of the different soils. In all the tables, the fertilities from A to D are related as 1 : 2 : 3 : 4, and correspondingly the rents:

in VIIa, as $1 : (1 + 7) : (1 + 2 \times 7) : (1 + 3 \times 7)$,

in VIIIa, as $1\frac{1}{5} : (1\frac{1}{5} + 7\frac{1}{5}) : (1\frac{1}{5} + 2 \times 7\frac{1}{5}) : (1\frac{1}{5} + 3 \times 7\frac{1}{5})$, and in Xa, as $\frac{2}{3} : (\frac{2}{3} + 6\frac{2}{3}) : (\frac{2}{3} + 2 \times 6\frac{2}{3}) : (\frac{2}{3} + 3 \times 6\frac{2}{3})$.

In brief, if the rent from A = n, and the rent from the soil of next higher fertility = n + m, then the sequence is as follows: n : (n + m) : : (n + 2m) : (n + 3m), etc.—*F. E.*//

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//Since the foregoing third case had not been elaborated in the manuscript—only the title is there—it was the task of the editor to fill in the gap, as above, to the best of his ability. However, in addition, it still remains for him to draw the general conclusions from the entire foregoing analysis of differential rent II, consisting of three principal cases and nine subcases. The illustrations presented in the manuscript, however, do not suit this purpose very well. In the first place, they compare plots of land whose yields for equal areas are related as 1 : 2 : 3 : 4; i. e., differences, which exaggerate greatly from the very first, and which lead to utterly monstrous numerical values in the further development of the assumptions and calculations made upon this basis. Secondly, they create a completely erroneous impression. If for degrees of fertility related as 1 : 2 : 3 : 4, etc., rents are obtained in the sequence 0 : 1 : 2 : 3, etc., one feels tempted to derive the second sequence from the first, and to explain the doubling, tripling, etc., of rents by the doubling, tripling, etc., of the total yields. But this would be wholly incorrect. The rents are related as 0 : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 even when the degrees of fertility are related as n : (n + 1) : (n + 2) : (n + 3) : : (n + 4). The rents are not related as the *degrees* of fertility, but as the *differences* of fertility—beginning with the rentless soil as the zero point.

The original tables had to be offered to illustrate the text. But in order to obtain a perceptual basis for the following results of the investigation, I present below a new series of tables in which the yields are indicated in bushels ($\frac{1}{8}$ quarter, or 36.35 litres) and shillings (= marks).

The first of these, Table XI, corresponds to the former Table I. It shows the yields and rents for soils of five different qualities, A to E, with a *first* capital investment of 50 shillings, which added to 10 shillings profit = 60 shillings total price of production per acre. The yields in grain are made low: 10, 12, 14, 16, 18 bushels per acre. The resulting regulating price of production is 6 shillings per bushel.

The following 13 tables correspond to the three cases of differential rent II treated in this and the two preceding chapters with an *addi-*

*tional* invested capital of 50 shillings per acre in the same soil with constant, falling and rising prices of production. Each of these cases, in turn, is presented as it takes shape for: 1) constant, 2) falling, and 3) rising productivity of the second investment of capital in relation to the first. This yields a few other variants, which are especially useful for illustration purposes.

For case I: Constant price of production — we have:

Variant 1: Productivity of the second investment of capital remains the same (Table XII).

2: Productivity declines. This can take place only when no second investment of capital is made in soil A, i. e., in such a way that

a) soil B likewise yields no rent (Table XIII) or

b) soil B does not become completely rentless (Table XIV).

Variant 3: Productivity increases (Table XV). This case likewise excludes a second investment of capital in soil A.

For case II. Falling price of production — we have:

Variant 1: Productivity of the second investment of capital remains the same (Table XVI).

2: Productivity declines (Table XVII). These two variants require that soil A be eliminated from competition, and that soil B become rentless and regulate the price of production.

3: Productivity increases (Table XVIII). Here soil A remains the regulator.

For case III: Rising price of production — two eventualities are possible: soil A may remain rentless and continue to regulate the price, or poorer soil than A enters into competition and regulates the price, in which case A yields rent.

First eventuality: Soil A remains the regulator.

Variant 1: Productivity of the second investment remains the same (Table XIX). This is admissible under the conditions assumed by us, provided the productivity of the first investment decreases.

2: Productivity of the second investment decreases (Table XX). This does not exclude the possibility that the first investment may retain the same productivity.

3: Productivity of the second investment increases (Table XXI). This, again, presupposes falling productivity of the first investment.

Second eventuality: An inferior quality soil (designated as a) enters into competition; soil A yields rent.

Variant 1: Productivity of the second investment remains the same (Table XXII).

Variant 2: Productivity declines (Table XXIII).

3: Productivity increases (Table XXIV).

These three variants conform to the general conditions of the problem and require no further comment.

The tables now follow:

*TABLE XI*

| Type of Soil | Price of Production Sh. | Output Bushels | Selling Price Sh. | Proceeds Sh. | Rent Sh. | Rent Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 60 | 10 | 6 | 60 | 0 | 0 |
| B | 60 | 12 | 6 | 72 | 12 | 12 |
| C | 60 | 14 | 6 | 84 | 24 | 2 × 12 |
| D | 60 | 16 | 6 | 96 | 36 | 3 × 12 |
| E | 60 | 18 | 6 | 108 | 48 | 4 × 12 |
| | | | | | 120 | 10 × 12 |

For second capital invested in the same soil.

First Case: Price of production remains unaltered.

Variant 1: Productivity of the second investment of capital remains the same.

*TABLE XII*

| Type of Soil | Price of Production Sh. | Output Bushels | Selling Price Sh. | Proceeds Sh. | Rent Sh. | Rent Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 60 + 60 = 120 | 10 + 10 = 20 | 6 | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| B | 60 + 60 = 120 | 12 + 12 = 24 | 6 | 144 | 24 | 24 |
| C | 60 + 60 = 120 | 14 + 14 = 28 | 6 | 168 | 48 | 2 × 24 |
| D | 60 + 60 = 120 | 16 + 16 = 32 | 6 | 192 | 72 | 3 × 24 |
| E | 60 + 60 = 120 | 18 + 18 = 36 | 6 | 216 | 96 | 4 × 24 |
| | | | | | 240 | 10 × 24 |

Variant 2: Productivity of the second investment of capital declines; no second investment in soil A.

1) Soil B ceases to yield rent.

*TABLE XIII*

| Type of Soil | Price of Production Sh. | Output Bushels | Selling Price Sh. | Proceeds Sh. | Rent Sh. | Rent Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 60 | 10 | 6 | 60 | 0 | 0 |
| B | 60 + 60 = 120 | 12 + 8 = 20 | 6 | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| C | 60 + 60 = 120 | 14 + 9⅓ = 23⅓ | 6 | 140 | 20 | 20 |
| D | 60 + 60 = 120 | 16 + 10⅔ = 26⅔ | 6 | 160 | 40 | 2 × 20 |
| E | 60 + 60 = 120 | 18 + 12 = 30 | 6 | 180 | 60 | 3 × 20 |
| | | | | | 120 | 6 × 20 |

2) Soil B does not become completely rentless.

*TABLE XIV*

| Type of Soil | Price of Production Sh. | Output Bushels | Selling Price Sh. | Proceeds Sh. | Rent Sh. | Rent Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 60 | 10 | 6 | 60 | 0 | 0 |
| B | 60 + 60 = 120 | 12 + 9 = 21 | 6 | 126 | 6 | 6 |
| C | 60 + 60 = 120 | 14 + 10½ = 24½ | 6 | 147 | 27 | 6 + 21 |
| D | 60 + 60 = 120 | 16 + 12 = 28 | 6 | 168 | 48 | 6 + 2 × 21 |
| E | 60 + 60 = 120 | 18 + 13½ = 31½ | 6 | 189 | 69 | 6 + 3 × 21 |
| | | | | | 150 | 4×6+6×21 |

Variant 3: Productivity of the second investment of capital increases; here, too, no second investment in soil A.

*TABLE XV*

| Type of Soil | Price of Production Sh. | Output Bushels | Selling Price Sh. | Proceeds Sh. | Rent Sh. | Rent Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 60 | 10 | 6 | 60 | 0 | 0 |
| B | 60 + 60 = 120 | 12 + 15 = 27 | 6 | 162 | 42 | 42 |
| C | 60 + 60 = 120 | 14 + 17½ = 31½ | 6 | 189 | 69 | 42 + 27 |
| D | 60 + 60 = 120 | 16 + 20 = 36 | 6 | 216 | 96 | 42 + 2 × 27 |
| E | 60 + 60 = 120 | 18 + 22½ = 40½ | 6 | 243 | 123 | 42 + 3 × 27 |
| | | | | | 330 | 4×42+6×27 |

Second Case: Price of production declines.

Variant 1: Productivity of the second investment of capital remains the same. Soil A is excluded from competition and soil B becomes rentless.

*TABLE XVI*

| Type of Soil | Price of Production | Output Bushels | Selling Price Sh. | Proceeds Sh. | Rent Sh. | Rent Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| B | 60 + 60 = 120 | 12 + 12 = 24 | 5 | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| C | 60 + 60 = 120 | 14 + 14 = 28 | 5 | 140 | 20 | 20 |
| D | 60 + 60 = 120 | 16 + 16 = 32 | 5 | 160 | 40 | 2 × 20 |
| E | 60 + 60 = 120 | 18 + 18 = 36 | 5 | 180 | 60 | 3 × 20 |
| | | | | | 120 | 6 × 20 |

Variant 2: Productivity of the second investment of capital declines; soil A is excluded from competition and soil B becomes rentless.

*TABLE XVII*

| Type of Soil | Price of Production Sh. | Output Bushels | Selling Price Sh. | Proceeds Sh. | Rent Sh. | Rent Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| B | 60 + 60 = 120 | 12 + 9 = 21 | $5^5/_7$ | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| C | 60 + 60 = 120 | 14 + $10^1/_2$ = $24^1/_2$ | $5^5/_7$ | 140 | 20 | 20 |
| D | 60 + 60 = 120 | 16 + 12 = 28 | $5^5/_7$ | 160 | 40 | 2 × 20 |
| E | 60 + 60 = 120 | 18 + $13^1/_2$ = $31^1/_2$ | $5^5/_7$ | 180 | 60 | 3 × 20 |
| | | | | | 120 | 6 × 20 |

Variant 3: Productivity of the second investment of capital increases; soil A remains in competition; soil B yields rent. [See Table XVIII on p. 709.]

Third Case: Price of production rises.

A) Soil A remains rentless and continues to regulate the price.

Variant 1: Productivity of the second investment of capital remains the same: this requires decreasing productivity of the first investment of capital.

*TABLE XVIII*

| Type of Soil | Price of Production Sh. | Output Bushels | Selling Price Sh. | Proceeds Sh. | Rent Sh. | Rent Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 60 + 60 = 120 | 10 + 15 = 25 | $4^4/_5$ | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| B | 60 + 60 = 120 | 12 + 18 = 30 | $4^4/_5$ | 144 | 24 | 24 |
| C | 60 + 60 = 120 | 14 + 21 = 35 | $4^4/_5$ | 168 | 48 | 2 × 24 |
| D | 60 + 60 = 120 | 16 + 24 = 40 | $4^4/_5$ | 192 | 72 | 3 × 24 |
| E | 60 + 60 = 120 | 18 + 27 = 45 | $4^4/_5$ | 216 | 96 | 4 × 24 |
| | | | | | 240 | 10 × 24 |

*TABLE XIX*

| Type of Soil | Price of Production Sh. | Output Bushels[a] | Selling Price Sh. | Proceeds Sh. | Rent Sh. | Rent Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 60 + 60 = 120 | $7^1/_2 + 10 = 17^1/_2$ | $6^6/_7$ | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| B | 60 + 60 = 120 | 9 + 12 = 21 | $6^6/_7$ | 144 | 24 | 24 |
| C | 60 + 60 = 120 | $10^1/_2 + 14 = 24^1/_2$ | $6^6/_7$ | 168 | 48 | 2 × 24 |
| D | 60 + 60 = 120 | 12 + 16 = 28 | $6^6/_7$ | 192 | 72 | 3 × 24 |
| E | 60 + 60 = 120 | $13^1/_2 + 18 = 31^1/_2$ | $6^6/_7$ | 216 | 96 | 4 × 24 |
| | | | | | 240 | 10 × 24 |

Variant 2: Productivity of the second investment of capital decreases; which does not exclude constant productivity of the first investment.

*TABLE XX*

| Type of Soil | Price of Production Sh. | Output Bushels | Selling Price Sh. | Proceeds Sh. | Rent Sh. | Rent Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 60 + 60 = 120 | 10 + 5 = 15 | 8 | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| B | 60 + 60 = 120 | 12 + 6 = 18 | 8 | 144 | 24 | 24 |
| C | 60 + 60 = 120 | 14 + 7 = 21 | 8 | 168 | 48 | 2 × 24 |
| D | 60 + 60 = 120 | 16 + 8 = 24 | 8 | 192 | 72 | 3 × 24 |
| E | 60 + 60 = 120 | 18 + 9 = 27 | 8 | 216 | 96 | 4 × 24 |
| | | | | | 240 | 10 × 24 |

[a] In the 1894 German edition figures from Table XXI were erroneously inserted under this head.

Variant 3: Productivity of the second investment of capital rises; under the assumed conditions this presupposes declining productivity of the first investment.

*TABLE XXI*

| Type of Soil | Price of Production Sh. | Output Bushels | Selling Price Sh. | Proceeds Sh. | Rent Sh. | Rent Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 60 + 60 = 120 | 5 + 12½ = 17½ | 6⁶/₇ | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| B | 60 + 60 = 120 | 6 + 15 = 21 | 6⁶/₇ | 144 | 24 | 24 |
| C | 60 + 60 = 120 | 7 + 17½ = 24½ | 6⁶/₇ | 168 | 48 | 2 × 24 |
| D | 60 + 60 = 120 | 8 + 20 = 28 | 6⁶/₇ | 192 | 72 | 3 × 24 |
| E | 60 + 60 = 120 | 9 + 22½ = 31½ | 6⁶/₇ | 216 | 96 | 4 × 24 |
| | | | | | 240 | 10 × 24 |

B) An inferior soil (designated as a) becomes the price regulator and soil A thus yields rent. This makes admissible for all variants constant productivity of the second investment.

Variant 1: Productivity of the second investment of capital remains the same.

*TABLE XXII*

| Type of Soil | Price of Production Sh. | Output Bushels | Selling Price Sh. | Proceeds Sh. | Rent Sh. | Rent Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | 120 | 16 | 7½ | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| A | 60 + 60 = 120 | 10 + 10 = 20 | 7½ | 150 | 30 | 30 |
| B | 60 + 60 = 120 | 12 + 12 = 24 | 7½ | 180 | 60 | 2 × 30 |
| C | 60 + 60 = 120 | 14 + 14 = 28 | 7½ | 210 | 90 | 3 × 30 |
| D | 60 + 60 = 120 | 16 + 16 = 32 | 7½ | 240 | 120 | 4 × 30 |
| E | 60 + 60 = 120 | 18 + 18 = 36 | 7½ | 270 | 150 | 5 × 30 |
| | | | | | 450 | 15 × 30 |

Variant 2: Productivity of the second investment of capital declines. [See Table XXIII on p. 711.]

Variant 3: Productivity of the second investment increases. [See Table XXIV on p. 711.]

These tables lead to the following conclusions:

In the first place, the sequence of rents behaves exactly as the sequence of fertility differences — taking the rentless regulating soil as

*TABLE XXIII*

| Type of Soil | Price of Production Sh. | Output Bushels | Selling Price Sh. | Proceeds Sh. | Rent Sh. | Rent Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | 120 | 15 | 8 | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| A | 60 + 60 = 120 | 10 + 7½ = 17½ | 8 | 140 | 20 | 20 |
| B | 60 + 60 = 120 | 12 + 9 = 21 | 8 | 168 | 48 | 20 + 28 |
| C | 60 + 60 = 120 | 14 + 10½ = 24½ | 8 | 196 | 76 | 20 + 2 × 28 |
| D | 60 + 60 = 120 | 16 + 12 = 28 | 8 | 224 | 104 | 20 + 3 × 28 |
| E | 60 + 60 = 120 | 18 + 13½ = 31½ | 8 | 252 | 132 | 20 + 4 × 28 |
| | | | | | 380 | 5 × 20 + 10 × 28 |

*TABLE XXIV*

| Type of Soil | Price of Production Sh. | Output Bushels | Selling Price Sh. | Proceeds Sh. | Rent Sh. | Rent Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | 120 | 16 | 7½ | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| A | 60 + 60 = 120 | 10 + 12½ = 22½ | 7½ | 168¾ | 48¾ | 15 + 33¾ |
| B | 60 + 60 = 120 | 12 + 15 = 27 | 7½ | 202½ | 82½ | 15 + 2 × 33¾ |
| C | 60 + 60 = 120 | 14 + 17½ = 31½ | 7½ | 236¼ | 116¼ | 15 + 3 × 33¾ |
| D | 60 + 60 = 120 | 16 + 20 = 36 | 7½ | 270 | 150 | 15 + 4 × 33¾ |
| E | 60 + 60 = 120 | 18 + 22½ = 40½ | 7½ | 303¾ | 183¾ | 15 + 5 × 33¾ |
| | | | | | 581¼ | 5 × 15 + 15 × 33¾ |

the zero point. It is not the absolute yield, but only the differences in yield which are the factors determining rent. Whether the various soils yield 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 bushels, or whether they yield 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 bushels per acre, the rents in both cases form the sequence 0, 1, 2, 3, 4 bushels, or their equivalent in money.

But far more important is the result with respect to the total rent yields for repeated investment of capital in the same land.

In five out of the thirteen analysed cases, the total rent *doubles* when the investment of capital is doubled; instead of 10 × 12 shillings it becomes 10 × 24 shillings = 240 shillings. These cases are:

Case I, constant price, variant 1: corresponding production rise (Table XII).

Case II, falling price, variant 3: increasing production rise (Table XVIII).

Case III, increasing price, first eventuality (where soil A remains the regulator), in all three variants (tables XIX, XX and XXI).

In four cases the rent *more than doubles*, namely:

Case I, variant 3, constant price, but increasing production rise (Table XV). The total rent climbs to 330 shillings.

Case III, second eventuality (where soil A yields rent), in all three variants (Table XXII, rent = 15 × 30 = 450 shillings; Table XXIII, rent = 5 × 20 + 10 × 28 = 380 shillings; Table XXIV, rent = 5 × 15 + 15 × $33^3/_4$ = $581^1/_4$ shillings).

In one case the rent *rises*, but not to twice the amount yielded by the first investment of capital.

Case I, constant price, variant 2: falling productivity of the second investment, under conditions whereby B does not become completely rentless (Table XIV, rent = 4 × 6 + 6 × 21 = 150 shillings).

Finally, only in three cases does the total rent remain at the same level with a second investment — for all soils taken together — as with the first investment (Table XI); these are the cases in which soil A is excluded from competition and B becomes the regulator and thereby rentless soil. Thus, the rent for B not only vanishes but is also deducted from every succeeding term of the rent sequence; the result is thus determined. These cases are:

Case I, variant 2, when the conditions are such that soil A is excluded (Table XIII). The total rent is 6 × 20, or 10 × 12 = 120, as in Table XI.

Case II, variants 1 and 2. Here soil A is necessarily excluded in accordance with the assumptions (tables XVI and XVII) and the total rent is again 6 × 20 = 10 × 12 = 120 shillings.

Thus, this means: In the great majority of all possible cases the rent rises — per acre of rent-bearing land as well as particularly in its total amount — as a result of an increased investment of capital in the land. Only in three out of the thirteen analysed cases does its total remain unaltered. These are the cases in which the lowest quality soil — hitherto the regulator and rentless — is eliminated from competition and the next quality soil takes its place, i. e., becomes rentless. But even in these cases, the rents upon the superior soils rise in comparison with the rents due to the first capital investment; when the rent for C falls from 24 to 20, then those for D and E rise from 36 and 48 to 40 and 60 shillings respectively.

A fall in the total rents below the level for the first investment of capital (Table XI) would be possible only if soil B as well as soil A were to be excluded from competition and soil C were to become regulating and rentless.

Thus, the more capital is invested in the land, and the higher the development of agriculture and civilisation in general in a given country, the more rents rise per acre as well as in total amount, and the more immense becomes the tribute paid by society to the big landowners in the form of surplus profits—so long as the various soils, once taken under cultivation, are all able to continue competing.

This law accounts for the amazing vitality of the class of big landlords. No social class lives so sumptuously, no other class claims the right it does to traditional luxury in keeping with its "estate," regardless of where the money for this purpose may be derived, and no other class piles debt upon debt so light-heartedly. And yet it always lands again on its feet—thanks to the capital invested by other people in the land, which yields it a rent, completely out of proportion to the profits reaped therefrom by the capitalist.

However, the same law also explains why the vitality of the big landlord is gradually being exhausted.

When the English corn duties were abolished in 1846, the English manufacturers believed that they had thereby turned the landowning aristocracy into paupers. Instead, they became richer than ever. How did this occur? Very simply. In the first place, the farmers were now compelled by contract to invest £12 per acre annually instead of £8. And secondly, the landlords, being strongly represented in the Lower House too, granted themselves a large government subsidy for drainage projects and other permanent improvements on their land. Since no total displacement of the poorest soil took place, but rather, at worst, it became employed for other purposes—and mostly only temporarily—rents rose in proportion to the increased investment of capital, and the landed aristocracy consequently was better off than ever before.

But everything is transitory. Transoceanic steamships and the railways of North and South America and India enabled some very singular tracts of land to compete in European grain markets. These were, on the one hand, the North American prairies and the Argentine pampas—plains cleared for the plough by Nature itself, and virgin soil which offered rich harvests for years to come even with primitive cultivation and without fertilisers. And, on the other hand, there

were the land holdings of Russian and Indian communist communities which had to sell a portion of their produce, and a constantly increasing one at that, for the purpose of obtaining money for taxes wrung from them—frequently by means of torture—by a ruthless and despotic state. These products were sold without regard to price of production, they were sold at the price which the dealer offered, because the peasant perforce needed money without fail when taxes became due. And in face of this competition—coming from virgin plains as well as from Russian and Indian peasants ground down by taxation—the European tenant farmer and peasant could not prevail at the old rents. A portion of the land in Europe fell decisively out of competition as regards grain cultivation, and rents fell everywhere; our second case, variant 2—falling prices and falling productivity of the additional investment of capital—became the rule for Europe; and therefore the lament of farmers from Scotland to Italy and from southern France to East Prussia. Fortunately, the plains are far from being entirely brought under cultivation; there are enough left to ruin all the big landlords of Europe and the small ones into the bargain.—*F. E.*//

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The headings under which rent should be analysed are:

A. Differential rent.

1) Conception of differential rent. Water-power as an illustration. Transition to agricultural rent proper.

2) Differential rent I, arising from the varying fertility of various plots of land.

3) Differential rent II, arising from successive investments of capital in the same land. Differential rent II should be analysed:

a) with a stationary,

b) falling,

c) and rising price of production.

And also

d) transformation of surplus profit into rent.

4) Influence of this rent upon the rate of profit.

B. Absolute rent.

C. The price of land.

D. Final remarks concerning ground rent.

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Overall conclusions to be drawn from the consideration of differential rent in general are the following:

*First*, the formation of surplus profit may take place in various ways. On the one hand, based on differential rent I, that is, on the investment of the entire agricultural capital in land consisting of soils of varying fertility. Or, in the form of differential rent II, based on the varying differential productivity of successive investments of capital in the same land, i. e., a greater productivity — expressed, e. g., in quarters of wheat — than is secured with the same investment of capital in the worst land — rentless, but which regulates the price of production. But no matter how this surplus profit may arise, its transformation into rent, i. e., its transfer from farmer to landlord, always presupposes that the various actual individual production prices of the partial outputs of the individual successive investments of capital (i. e., independent of the general price of production by which the market is regulated) have previously been reduced to an individual average price of production. The excess of the general regulating production price of the output per acre over this individual average production price constitutes and is a measure of the rent per acre. In the case of differential rent I, the differential results are in themselves distinguishable because they take place upon different portions of land — distinct from one another and existing side by side — given an investment of capital per acre and a degree of cultivation considered normal. In the case of differential rent II, they must first be made distinguishable; they must in fact be transformed back into differential rent I, and this can only take place in the indicated way. For example, let us take Table III, S. 226.[a]

Soil B yields for the first invested capital of £$2\frac{1}{2}$—2 quarters per acre, and for the second investment of equal magnitude — $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters; together — $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters from the same acre. It is not possible to distinguish which part of these $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters is a product of invested capital I and which part a product of invested capital II, for it is all grown upon the same soil. In fact, the $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters is the yield from the total capital of £5; and the actual fact of the matter is simply this: a capital of £$2\frac{1}{2}$ yielded 2 quarters, and a capital of £5 yielded $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters rather than 4 quarters. The situation would be just the same

[a] See this volume, p. 679.

if the £5 yielded 4 quarters, i. e., if the yield from both investments of capital were equal; similarly, if the yield were even 5 quarters, i. e., if the second investment of capital were to yield a surplus of 1 quarter. The price of production of the first 2 quarters is £$1\frac{1}{2}$ per quarter, and that of the second $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters is £2 per quarter. Consequently the $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters together cost £6. This is the individual price of production of the total product, and, on the average, amounts to £1 $14\frac{2}{7}$ sh. per quarter, i. e., approximately £$1\frac{3}{4}$. With the general price of production determined by soil A, namely £3, this results in a surplus profit of £$1\frac{1}{4}$ per quarter, and thus for the $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters, a total of £$4\frac{3}{8}$. At the average price of production of B this corresponds to about $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters. In other words, the surplus profit from B is represented by an aliquot portion of the output from B, i. e., by the $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters, which express the rent in terms of grain, and which sell — in accordance with the general price of production — for £$4\frac{1}{2}$. But on the other hand, the excess product from an acre of B over that from an acre of A does not automatically represent surplus profit, and thereby surplus product. According to our assumption, an acre of B yields $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters, whereas an acre of A yields only 1 quarter. Excess product from B is, therefore, $2\frac{1}{2}$ quarters but the surplus product is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters; for the capital invested in B is twice that invested in A, and thus its price of production is double. If an investment of £5 were also to take place in A, and the rate of productivity were to remain the same, then the output would be 2 quarters instead of 1 quarter, and it would then be seen that the actual surplus product is determined by comparing $3\frac{1}{2}$ with 2, not $3\frac{1}{2}$ with 1; i. e., it is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters, not $2\frac{1}{2}$ quarters. Furthermore, if a third investment of capital, amounting to £$2\frac{1}{2}$, were made in B, and this were to yield only 1 quarter — this quarter would then cost £3 as in A — its selling price of £3 would only cover the price of production, would provide only the average profit, but no surplus profit, and would thus yield nothing that could be transformed into rent. The comparison of the output per acre from any given soil type with the output per acre from soil A does not show whether it is the output from an equal or from a larger investment of capital, nor whether the additional output only covers the price of production or is due to greater productivity of the additional capital.

*Secondly*, assuming a decreasing rate of productivity for the additional investments of capital whose limit, so far as the new formation of surplus profit is concerned, is that investment of capital which just covers the price of production, i. e., which produces a quarter as dearly as the same investment of capital in an acre of soil A, namely, at £3, according to our assumption—it follows from what has just been said: that the limit, where the total investment of capital in an acre of B would no longer yield any rent, is reached when the individual average production price of output per acre of B would rise to the price of production per acre of A.

If only investments of capital are made in B that yield the price of production, i. e., yield no surplus profit nor new rent, then this indeed raises the individual average price of production per quarter, but does not affect the surplus profit, and eventually the rent, formed by previous investments of capital. For the average price of production always remains below that of A, and when the price excess per quarter decreases, the number of quarters increases proportionately, so that the total excess in price remains unaltered.

In the case assumed, the first two investments of capital in B amounting to £5 yield $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters, thus according to our assumption $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters of rent = £$4\frac{1}{2}$. Now, if a third investment of £$2\frac{1}{2}$ is made, but one which yields only an additional quarter, then the total price of production (including 20% profit) of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ quarters = £9; thus the average price per quarter = £2. The average price of production per quarter upon B has thus risen from £$1\frac{5}{7}$ to £2, and the surplus profit per quarter, compared with the regulating price of A, has fallen from £$1\frac{2}{7}$ to £1. But $1 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ = £$4\frac{1}{2}$ just as formerly $1\frac{2}{7} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ = £$4\frac{1}{2}$.

Let us assume that a fourth and fifth additionalinvestment of capital, amounting to £$2\frac{1}{2}$ each, are made in B, which do no more than produce a quarter at its general price of production. The total product per acre would then be $6\frac{1}{2}$ quarters and their price of production £15. The average price of production per quarter for B would have risen again—from £2 to £$2\frac{4}{13}$—and the surplus profit per quarter, compared with the regulating price of production of A, would have dropped again—from £1 to £$\frac{9}{13}$. But these £$\frac{9}{13}$ would now have to be calculated upon the basis of $6\frac{1}{2}$ quarters instead of $4\frac{1}{2}$ quarters. And $\frac{9}{13} \times 6\frac{1}{2} = 1 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ = £$4\frac{1}{2}$.

It follows from this, firstly, that no increase in the regulating price of production is necessary under these circumstances, in order to make possible additional investments of capital in the rent-bearing soil—even to the point where the additional capital completely ceases to produce surplus profit and continues to yield only the average profit. It follows furthermore that the total surplus profit per acre remains the same here, no matter how much surplus profit per quarter may decrease; this decrease is always balanced by a corresponding increase in the number of quarters produced per acre. In order that the average price of production might reach the level of the general price of production (hence £3 for soil B), it is necessary that supplementary investments be made whose output has a higher price of production than the regulating one of £3. But we shall see that this alone does not suffice without further ado to raise the average price of production per quarter of B to the general price of production of £3.

Let us assume that soil B produced:

1) $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters whose price of production is, as before, £6, i.e., two investments of capital amounting to £$2\frac{1}{2}$ each both yielding surplus profit, but of decreasing amount.

2) 1 quarter at £3; an investment of capital in which the individual price of production is equal to the regulating price of production.

3) 1 quarter at £4; an investment of capital in which the individual price of production is higher by 33% [a] than the regulating price.

We should then have $5\frac{1}{2}$ quarters per acre for £13 with an investment of a capital of £$10\frac{7}{10}$ [b]; this is four times the original invested capital, but not quite three times the output of the first investment of capital.

$5\frac{1}{2}$ quarters at £13 gives an average price of production of £$2\frac{4}{11}$ per quarter, i.e., an excess of £$\frac{7}{11}$ per quarter, assuming the regulating price of production of £3. This excess may be transformed into rent. $5\frac{1}{2}$ quarters sold at the regulating price of production of £3 yield £$16\frac{1}{2}$. After deducting the production price of £13, a surplus profit, or rent, of £$3\frac{1}{2}$ remains, which, calculated at the present average price of production per quarter of B, that is, at £$2\frac{4}{11}$ per quarter, represents $1\frac{25}{52}$ [c] quarters. The money rent would be lower by £1

[a] In the 1894 German edition "25%". - [b] Ibid., "10". - [c] Ibid., "$1^5/_{72}$".

and the grain rent by about $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter, but in spite of the fact that the fourth additional investment of capital in B not only fails to yield surplus profit, but yields less than the average profit, surplus profit, and rent still continue to exist. Let us assume that, in addition to investment 3), investment 2) also produces at a price exceeding the regulating price of production. Then the total production is: $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters for £6 + 2 quarters for £8; total $5\frac{1}{2}$ quarters for £14 production price. The average price of production per quarter would be £$2\frac{6}{11}$ and would leave an excess of £$\frac{5}{11}$. The $5\frac{1}{2}$ quarters, sold at £3, give £$16\frac{1}{2}$; deducting the £14 production price leaves £$2\frac{1}{2}$ for rent. At the present average price of production upon B, this would be equivalent to $\frac{55}{56}$ of a quarter. In other words, rent is still yielded although less than before.

This shows, at any rate, that with additional investments of capital in the better soils whose output costs more than the regulating price of production the rent does not disappear—at least not within the bounds of admissible practice—although it must decrease. It will decrease in proportion, on the one hand, to the aliquot part formed by this less productive capital in the total investment of capital, and on the other hand, in proportion to the decrease in its productiveness. The average price of its produce would still lie below the regulating price and would thus still permit surplus profit to be formed that could be transformed into rent.

Let us now assume that, as a result of four successive investments of capital (£$2\frac{1}{2}$; £$2\frac{1}{2}$, £5 and £5) with decreasing productivity, the average price per quarter of B coincides with the general price of production.

| Capital £ | | Profit £ | Output Qrs | Price of Production | | Selling Price £ | Proceeds £ | Surplus for Rent | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | per Qr £ | Total £ | | | Qrs | £ |
| 1) | 2½ | ½ | 2 | 1½ | 3 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 3 |
| 2) | 2½ | ½ | 1½ | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4½ | ½ | 1½ |
| 3) | 5 | 1 | 1½ | 4 | 6 | 3 | 4½ | − ½ | − 1½ |
| 4) | 5 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 6 | 3 | 3 | − 1 | − 3 |
| | 15 | 3 | 6 | | 18 | | 18 | 0 | 0 |

The farmer, in this case, sells every quarter at its individual price of production, and consequently the total number of quarters at their average price of production per quarter, which coincides with the regulating price of £3. Hence he still makes a profit of 20% = £3 upon his capital of £15. But the rent is gone. What has become of the excess in this equalisation of the individual prices of production per quarter with the general price of production?

The surplus profit from the first $£2\frac{1}{2}$ was £3, from the second $£2\frac{1}{2}$ it was $£1\frac{1}{2}$; total surplus profit from $\frac{1}{3}$ of the invested capital, that is, from $£5 = £4\frac{1}{2} = 90\%$.

In the case of investment 3), the £5 not only fails to yield surplus profit, but its output of $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters, sold at the general price of production, gives a deficit of $£1\frac{1}{2}$. Finally, in the case of investment 4), which likewise amounts to £5, its output of 1 quarter, sold at the general price of production, gives a deficit of £3. Both investments of capital together thus give a deficit of $£4\frac{1}{2}$, which is equal to the surplus profit of $£4\frac{1}{2}$, realised from investments 1) and 2).

The surplus profit and deficit balance out. Therefore the rent disappears. In fact, this is possible only because the elements of surplus value, which formed surplus profit or rent, now enter into the formation of the average profit. The farmer makes this average profit of £3 on £15, or 20%, at the expense of the rent.

The equalisation of the individual average price of production of B to the general price of production of A, which regulates the market price, presupposes that the difference of the individual price of the produce from the first investments of capital below the regulating price is more and more compensated and finally balanced out by the difference of the price of the produce from the subsequent investments of capital above the regulating price. What appears as surplus profit, so long as the produce from the first investments of capital is sold by itself, thus gradually becomes part of its average price of production, and thereby enters into the formation of the average profit, until it is finally completely absorbed by it.

If only £5 are invested in B instead of £15 and the additional $2\frac{1}{2}$ quarters of the last table are produced by taking $2\frac{1}{2}$ new acres of A under cultivation with an investment of $£2\frac{1}{2}$ per acre, then the additional invested capital would amount to only $£6\frac{1}{4}$, i. e., the total investment in A and B for the production of these 6 quarters would be

only £$11\frac{1}{4}$, instead of £15, and their total price of production, including profit, £$13\frac{1}{2}$. The 6 quarters would still be sold for £18, but the investment of capital would have decreased by £$3\frac{3}{4}$, and the rent from B would be £$4\frac{1}{2}$ per acre, as before. It would be different if the production of the additional $2\frac{1}{2}$ quarters required that a soil inferior to A, for instance, $A_{-1}$ and $A_{-2}$, be taken under cultivation, so that the price of production per quarter would be: for $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters on soil $A_{-1}$ = £4, and for the last quarter on soil $A_{-2}$ = £6. In this case, £6 would be the regulating price of production per quarter. The $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters from B would then be sold for £21 instead of £$10\frac{1}{2}$, which would mean a rent of £15 instead of £$4\frac{1}{2}$, or, a rent in grain of $2\frac{1}{2}$ quarters instead of $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters. Similarly, a quarter on A would now yield a rent of £3 = $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter.

Before discussing this point further, another observation:

The average price of a quarter from B is equalised, i. e., coincides with the general production price of £3 per quarter, regulated by A, as soon as that portion of the total capital which produces the excess of $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters is balanced by that portion of the total capital which produces the deficit of $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters. How soon this equalisation is effected, or how much capital with underproductiveness must be invested in B for this purpose, will depend, assuming the surplus productivity of the first investments of capital to be given, upon the relative underproductiveness of the later investments compared with an investment of the same amount in the worst, regulating soil A, or upon the individual price of production of their produce, compared with the regulating price.

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The following conclusions can now be drawn from the foregoing:

*First*: So long as the additional capitals are invested in the same land with surplus productivity, even if the surplus productivity is decreasing, the absolute rent per acre in grain and money increases, although it decreases relatively, in proportion to the advanced capital (in other words, the rate of surplus profit or rent). The limit is established here by that additional capital which yields only the average profit, or for whose produce the individual price of production coincides with the general price of production. The price of production

remains the same under these circumstances, unless the production from the poorer soils becomes superfluous as a result of increased supply. Even when the price is falling, these additional capitals may within certain limits still produce surplus profit, though less of it.

*Secondly*: The investment of additional capital yielding only the average profit, whose surplus productivity therefore = 0, does not alter in any way the amount of the existing surplus profit, and consequently of rent. The individual average price per quarter increases thereby upon the superior soils; the excess per quarter decreases, but the number of quarters which contain this decreased excess increases, so that the mathematical product remains the same.

*Thirdly:* Additional investments of capital, the produce of which has an individual price of production exceeding the regulating price — the surplus productivity is therefore not merely = 0, but less than zero, or a negative quantity, that is, less than the productivity of an equal investment of capital in the regulating soil A — bring the individual average price of production of the total output from the superior soil closer and closer to the general price of production, i. e., reduce more and more the difference between them which constitutes the surplus profit, or rent. An increasingly greater part of what constituted surplus profit or rent enters into the formation of the average profit. But nevertheless, the total capital invested in an acre of B continues to yield surplus profit, although the latter decreases as the amount of capital with underproductiveness increases and to the extent of this underproductiveness. The rent, with increasing capital and increasing production, in this case decreases absolutely per acre, not merely relatively with reference to the increasing magnitude of the invested capital, as in the second case.

The rent can be eliminated only when the individual average price of production of the total output from the better soil B coincides with the regulating price, so that the entire surplus profit from the first more productive investments of capital is consumed in the formation of average profit.

The minimum limit of the drop in rent per acre is that point at which it disappears. But this point does not occur as soon as the additional investments of capital are underproductive, but rather as soon as the additional investment of underproductive capital becomes so large in magnitude that its effect is to cancel the overproductiveness of the first investments of capital, so that the productiveness of the total invested capital becomes the same as that of the capital invested in

A, and the individual average price per quarter of B becomes therefore the same as that per quarter of A.

In this case too, the regulating price of production, £3 per quarter, would remain the same, although the rent had disappeared. Only beyond this point would the price of production have to rise in consequence of an increase either in the extent of underproductiveness of the additional capital or in the magnitude of the additional capital of equal underproductiveness. For instance, if, in the above table (S. 265[a]) $2\frac{1}{2}$ quarters were produced instead of $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters upon the same soil at £4 per quarter, we would have had a total of 7 quarters for £22 price of production; a quarter would have cost £$3\frac{1}{7}$; it would thus be £$\frac{1}{7}$ above the general price of production, and the latter would therefore have to rise.

For a long time, then, additional capital with underproductiveness, or even increasing underproductiveness, might be invested until the individual average price per quarter from the best soils became equal to the general price of production, until the excess of the latter over the former — and thereby the surplus profit and the rent — entirely disappeared.

And even then, the disappearance of rent from the better soils would only signify that the individual average price of their produce coincides with the general price of production, so that an increase in the latter would not yet be required.

In the above illustration, upon better soil B — which is however the lowest in the sequence of better or rent-bearing soils — $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters were produced by a capital of £5 with surplus productiveness and $2\frac{1}{2}$ quarters by a capital of £10 with underproductiveness, i. e., a total of 6 quarters; $\frac{5}{12}$ of this total is thus produced by the latter portions of capital with underproductiveness. And it is only at this point that the individual average price of production of the 6 quarters rises to £3 per quarter and thus coincides with the general price of production.

Under the law of landed property, however, the latter $2\frac{1}{2}$ quarters could not have been produced in this way at £3 per quarter, except when they could be produced upon $2\frac{1}{2}$ new acres of soil A. The case

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[a] See this volume, p. 719.

in which the additional capital produces only at the general price of production, would have constituted the limit. Beyond this point, the additional investment of capital in the same land would have had to cease.

Indeed, if the farmer once pays £$4\frac{1}{2}$ rent for the first two investments of capital, he must continue to pay it, and every investment of capital which produced a quarter for more than £3 [a] would result in a deduction from his profit. The equalisation of the individual average price, in the case of underproductiveness, is thereby prevented.

Let us take this case in the previous illustration, where the price of production for soil A, £3 per quarter, regulates the price for B.

| Capital £ | Profit £ | Price of Production £ | Output Qrs | Price of Production per Qr £ | Selling Price | | Surplus Profit £ | Loss £ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | per Qr £ | Total £ | | |
| 2½ | ½ | 3 | 2 | 1½ | 3 | 6 | 3 | — |
| 2½ | ½ | 3 | 1½ | 2 | 3 | 4½ | 1½ | — |
| 5 | 1 | 6 | 1½ | 4[b] | 3 | 4½ | — | 1½ |
| 5 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 3 | — | 3 |
| 15 | 3 | 18 | | | | 18 | 4½ | 4½ |

The price of production for the $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters in the first two investments of capital is likewise £3 per quarter for the farmer, since he has to pay a rent of £$4\frac{1}{2}$; thus the difference between his individual price of production and the general price of production is not pocketed by him. For him, then, the excess in produce price for the first two investments of capital cannot serve to balance out the deficit incurred by the produce in the third and fourth investments of capital.

The $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters from investment 3) cost the farmer £6, profit included; but at the regulating price of £3 per quarter, he can sell them for only £$4\frac{1}{2}$. In other words, he would not only lose his whole profit, but £$\frac{1}{2}$, or 10% of his invested capital of £5, over and above it. The loss of profit and capital in the case of investment 3) would amount to £$1\frac{1}{2}$, and in the case of investment 4) to £3, i. e., a total of £$4\frac{1}{2}$, or just as much as the rent from the better investments of cap-

[a] In the 1894 German edition: "for less than £3". - [b] In the 1894 German edition: "3".

ital; the individual price of production for the latter, however, cannot take part in equalising the individual average price of production of the total product from B, because the excess is paid out as rent to a third party.

If it were necessary, to meet the demand, to produce the additional $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters by the third investment of capital the regulating market price would have to rise to £4 per quarter. In consequence of this rise in the regulating market price, the rent from B would rise for the first and second investments, and rent would be formed upon A.

Thus although differential rent is but a formal transformation of surplus profit into rent, and property in land merely enables the owner in this case to transfer the surplus profit of the farmer to himself, we find nevertheless that successive investment of capital in the same land, or, what amounts to the same thing, the increase in capital invested in the same land, reaches its limit far more rapidly when the rate of productivity of the capital decreases and the regulating price remains the same; in fact a more or less artificial barrier is reached as a consequence of the mere formal transformation of surplus profit into ground rent, which is the result of landed property. The rise in the general price of production, which becomes necessary here within more narrow limits than otherwise, is in this case not merely the cause of the increase in differential rent, but the existence of differential rent as rent is at the same time the reason for the earlier and more rapid rise in the general price of production—in order to ensure thereby the increased supply of produce that has become necessary.

The following should furthermore be noted:

By an additional investment of capital in soil B, the regulating price could not, as above, rise to £4 if soil A were to supply the additional produce below £4 by a second investment of capital, or if new and worse soil than A, whose price of production were indeed higher than £3 but lower than £4, were to enter into competition. We see, then, that differential rent I and differential rent II, while the first is the basis of the second, serve simultaneously as limits for one another, whereby now a successive investment of capital in the same land, now an investment of capital side by side in new additional land, is made. In like manner they limit each other in other cases; for instance, when better soil is taken up.

## Chapter XLIV

### DIFFERENTIAL RENT ALSO ON THE WORST CULTIVATED SOIL

Let us assume the demand for grain is rising, and the supply can only result from successive investments of capital under conditions of underproductiveness in the rent-bearing soils, or by additional investment of capital, also with decreasing productivity, in soil A, or by the investment of capital in new lands of inferior quality than A.

Let us take soil B as representative of the rent-bearing soils.

The additional investment of capital demands an increase in the market price above the hitherto regulating price of production of £3 per quarter, in order to make possible the increased production upon B of one quarter (which may here stand for one million quarters, just as every acre may stand for one million acres). Increased output may also be yielded by soils C and D, etc., the soils bearing the highest rent, but only with decreasing surplus productiveness; but it is assumed that the quarter from B is necessary in order to meet the demand. If this quarter is more cheaply produced by investing more capital in B than with the same addition of capital to A, or by descending to soil $A_{-1}$, which may, e. g., require £4 to produce a quarter, whereas the addition to capital A might do so for £$3\frac{3}{4}$, then the additional capital on B will regulate the market price.

A produces a quarter for £3, as heretofore. Similarly B, as before, produces a total of $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters at an individual price of production of £6 for its total output. Now, if an additional £4 of production price (including profit) becomes necessary on B in order to produce an additional quarter, whereas it could have been produced on A for £$3\frac{3}{4}$, then it would naturally be produced on A, rather than on B. Let us assume, then, that it can be produced on B with the additional price of production of £$3\frac{1}{2}$. In this case, £$3\frac{1}{2}$ would become the regulating price for the entire output. B would now sell its present output of $4\frac{1}{2}$ quarters for £$15\frac{3}{4}$. Of this £6 is the price of production for the first $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters and the £$3\frac{1}{2}$ for the last quarter, i. e., a total of £$9\frac{1}{2}$. This leaves a surplus profit for rent = £$6\frac{1}{4}$ as against the former £$4\frac{1}{2}$. In this case, an acre of A would also yield a rent of £$\frac{1}{2}$; but it would not be the worst soil A, but rather the better soil B that would regulate the price of production of £$3\frac{1}{2}$. Of course, we assume

here that new soil of quality A and equally favourable location as that hitherto cultivated is not available, but that either a second investment of capital in the already cultivated plot A at a higher price of production, or the cultivation of an even poorer soil $A_{-1}$, is required. As soon as differential rent II comes into force through successive investments of capital, the limits of the rising price of production may be regulated by better soil; and the worst soil, the basis of differential rent I, may also yield rent. Thus, even barely with a differential rent, all cultivated land would yield rent. We would then have the following two tables, where by price of production we mean the sum of the invested capital plus 20% profit; in other words, on every £$2\frac{1}{2}$ of capital £$\frac{1}{2}$ of profit or a total of £3.

| Type of Soil | Acres | Price of Production £ | Output Qrs | Selling Price £ | Proceeds £ | Grain Rent Qrs | Money Rent £ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| B | 1 | 6 | $3\frac{1}{2}$ | 3 | $10\frac{1}{2}$ | $1\frac{1}{2}$ | $4\frac{1}{2}$ |
| C | 1 | 6 | $5\frac{1}{2}$ | 3 | $16\frac{1}{2}$ | $3\frac{1}{2}$ | $10\frac{1}{2}$ |
| D | 1 | 6 | $7\frac{1}{2}$ | 3 | $22\frac{1}{2}$ | $5\frac{1}{2}$ | $16\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Total | 4 | 21 | $17\frac{1}{2}$ | | $52\frac{1}{2}$ | $10\frac{1}{2}$ | $31\frac{1}{2}$ |

This is the state of affairs before the new capital of £$3\frac{1}{2}$, which yields only one quarter, is invested in B. After this investment, the situation looks as follows:

| Type of Soil | Acres | Price of Production £ | Output Qrs | Selling Price £ | Proceeds £ | Grain Rent Qrs | Money Rent £ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 1 | 3 | 1 | $3\frac{1}{2}$ | $3\frac{1}{2}$ | $\frac{1}{7}$ | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| B | 1 | $9\frac{1}{2}$ | $4\frac{1}{2}$ | $3\frac{1}{2}$ | $15\frac{3}{4}$ | $1\frac{11}{14}$ | $6\frac{1}{4}$ |
| C | 1 | 6 | $5\frac{1}{2}$ | $3\frac{1}{2}$ | $19\frac{1}{4}$ | $3\frac{11}{14}$ | $13\frac{1}{4}$ |
| D | 1 | 6 | $7\frac{1}{2}$ | $3\frac{1}{2}$ | $26\frac{1}{4}$ | $5\frac{11}{14}$ | $20\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Total | 4 | $24\frac{1}{2}$ | $18\frac{1}{2}$ | | $64\frac{3}{4}$ | $11\frac{1}{2}$ | $40\frac{1}{4}$ |

//This, again, is not quite correctly calculated. First of all, the cost of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ qrs for farmer B is £$9\frac{1}{2}$ in price of production and, secondly, £$4\frac{1}{2}$ in rent, i. e., a total of £14; average per quarter = = £$3\frac{1}{9}$. This average price of his total production thus becomes the

regulating market price. Thus, the rent on A would amount to £$\frac{1}{9}$ instead of £$\frac{1}{2}$, and that on B would remain £$4\frac{1}{2}$ as heretofore; $4\frac{1}{2}$ qrs at £$3\frac{1}{9}$ = £14 and, if we deduct £$9\frac{1}{2}$ in price of production, £$4\frac{1}{2}$ remain for surplus profit. We see, then, that in spite of the required change in numerical values this illustration shows how, by means of differential rent II, better soil, already yielding rent, may regulate the price and thus transform *all* soil, even hitherto rentless, into rent-bearing soil.—*F. E.*//

The grain rent must rise as soon as the ragulating price of production of the grain rises, i. e., as soon as the price of production of a quarter of grain from the regulating soil, or the regulating invested capital in one of the various soil types, rises. It is the same as though all soils had become less productive and produced, e. g., only $\frac{5}{7}$ quarter instead of 1 quarter with every new investment of £$2\frac{1}{2}$. Whatever else they produce in grain with the same investment of capital is transformed into surplus product, which represents the surplus profit and therefore the rent. Assuming the rate of profit remains the same, the farmer can buy less grain with his profit. The rate of profit may remain the same if wages do not rise—either because they are depressed to the physical minimum i. e., below the normal value of labour power; or because the other articles of consumption needed by the labourer and supplied by manufacture have become relatively cheaper; or because the working day has become longer or more intensive, so that the rate of profit in nonagricultural lines of production, which, however, regulates the agricultural profit, has remained the same or has risen; or, finally, because more constant and less variable capital is employed in agriculture, even though the amount of capital invested is the same.

We have thus considered the first method by which rent may arise on the hitherto worst soil A without taking still worse soil under cultivation; that is, rent may arise from the difference between its individual, hitherto regulating, price of production and the new, higher price of production, whereby the last additional capital employed under conditions of underproductiveness upon the better soil supplies the necessary additional produce.

If the additional produce had to be supplied by soil $A_{-1}$, which cannot produce a quarter for less than £4, then the rent per acre of A would have risen to £1. But, in this case, soil $A_{-1}$ would have taken the place of A as the worst cultivated soil, and the latter would have

moved into the lowest position in the sequence of rent-bearing soils. Differential rent I would have changed. This case, then, is not included in the consideration of differential rent II, which arises from the varying productiveness of successive investments of capital in the same piece of land.

But aside from this, differential rent may arise on soil A in two other ways.

With the price unchanged — any given price, even a lower one compared to former ones — when the additional investment of capital results in surplus productiveness, which *prima facie*, and up to a certain point must always be the case precisely on the worst soil.

Secondly, however, when the productiveness of successive investments of capital in soil A decreases.

It is assumed in both cases that the increased production is required to meet demand.

But from the point of view of differential rent, a peculiar difficulty arises here owing to the previously developed law — according to which it is always the individual average price of production per quarter for the total production (or the total outlay of capital) which acts as the determining factor. In the case of soil A, however, there is not, as in the cases of the better soils, another price of production which limits for new investments of capital the equalisation of the individual with the general price of production. For the individual price of production of A is precisely the general price of production regulating the market price.

Let us assume:

1) *When the productive power of successive investments of capital is increasing*, 1 acre of A will produce 3 qrs instead of 2 qrs given an investment of £5 — corresponding to a price of production of £6. The first investment of £2 $\frac{1}{2}$ yielded 1 qr, the second — 2 qrs. In this case, a price of production of £6 will yield 3 qrs, so that the average cost of a quarter will be £2; i. e., if the 3 qrs are sold at £2 per quarter, then A, as heretofore, does not yield any rent, but only the basis of differential rent II has been altered; the regulating price of production is now £2 instead of £3; a capital of £2 $\frac{1}{2}$ now produces an average of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ qrs on the worst soil, instead of 1 qr, and now this is the official productivity for all better soils given an investment of £2 $\frac{1}{2}$. From now on, a portion of their former surplus product enters into the formation of their necessary output, just as a portion of their surplus profit enters into forming the average profit.

On the other hand, if the calculation is made upon the basis of better soils, where the average calculation does not alter the absolute surplus at all, because for them the general price of production is the limit for the investment of capital, then a quarter from the first investment of capital costs £3 and the 2 qrs from the second investment cost only £1 $\frac{1}{2}$ each. This would thereby give rise to a grain rent of 1 qr and a money rent of £3 on A, but the 3 qrs would be sold for the old price of £9. If a third investment of £2 $\frac{1}{2}$ were made under conditions of the same productiveness as the second investment, then the total would be 5 qrs for a price of production of £9. If the individual average price of production of A should remain the regulating price, then a quarter would now be sold at £1 $\frac{4}{5}$. The average price would have fallen once more—not through a new rise in productiveness of the third investment of capital, but merely through the addition of a new investment of capital having the same additional productiveness as the second. Instead of raising the rent as on the rent-bearing soils, the successive investments of capital in soil A of higher, but constant productiveness would proportionally lower the price of production and thereby, everything else being equal, the differential rent on all other soils. On the other hand, if the first investment of capital which produces 1 qr at a price of production of £3 should in itself remain regulating, then 5 qrs would be sold for £15, and the differential rent of the later investments of capital in soil A would amount to £6. The additional capital per acre of soil A, however it is applied, would be an improvement in this case, and would make the original portion of capital more productive. It would be ridiculous to say that $\frac{1}{3}$ of the capital had produced 1 qr and the other $\frac{2}{3}$—4 qrs. For £9 per acre would always produce 5 qrs, while £3 would produce only 1 qr. Whether or not a rent would arise here, whether or not a surplus profit would be derived, would depend wholly upon the circumstances. Normally the regulating price of production would have to fall. This would be the case, if this improved but more expensive cultivation of soil A should occur only because it also takes place on the better soils, in other words, if a general revolution in agriculture should occur; so that when we now refer to the natural fertility of soil A, it is assumed that it is worked with £6 or £9 instead of £3. This would particularly apply if the bulk of cultivated acres of soil A, which furnish the main supply of a given country, should employ this new method. But if the improvement should at first extend only to a small area of A, then this better cultivated portion would yield a surplus

profit, which the landlord would be quick to transform wholly or in part into rent, and to fix in the form of rent. In this way—if the demand kept pace with the increasing supply—as more and more of soil A began to employ the new method of cultivation, rent might be gradually formed on all soil of quality A, and the surplus productivity might be eliminated wholly or in part, depending on market conditions. The equalisation of the price of production of A to the average price of its produce obtained under conditions of increased outlay of capital might thus be prevented by fixing the surplus profit of this increased investment of capital in the form of rent. Thus, as was previously seen to be the case for the better soils when the productive power of the additional capital decreased, it would again be the transformation of surplus profit into ground rent, i. e., the intervention of property in land, which would raise the price of production, instead of the differential rent merely being the result of the difference between the individual and the general price of production. It would prevent, in the case of soil A, the coincidence of both prices because it would interfere with the regulation of the price of production by the average price of production on A; it would thus maintain a higher price of production than necessary and thereby create rent. Even if grain were freely imported from abroad, the same result could be brought about or perpetuated by compelling farmers to use soil capable of competing in grain cultivation without yielding rent, at the price of production regulated from abroad, for other purposes, e. g., pasturage, so that only rent-bearing soils would be used for grain cultivation, i. e., only soils whose individual average price of production per quarter were below that determined from abroad. On the whole, it is to be assumed that in the given case, the price of production will fall, but not to the level of its average; it will be higher than the average, but below the price of production of the worst cultivated soil A, so that the competition from new soil A is limited.

2) *When the productive power of additional capitals is decreasing.*

Let us assume that soil $A_{-1}$ requires £4 to produce the additional quarter, whereas soil A produces it for £$3\frac{3}{4}$, i. e., more cheaply, but still £$\frac{3}{4}$ more dearly than the quarter produced by its first investment of capital. In this case, the total price of the two quarters produced upon A would = £$6\frac{3}{4}$; thus the average price per quarter = £$3\frac{3}{8}$. The price of production would rise, but only by £$\frac{3}{8}$, whereas it would rise by another £$\frac{3}{8}$, or to £$3\frac{3}{4}$, if the additional capital were invested in new land which produced at £$3\frac{3}{4}$, and it

would thus bring about a proportional increase in all other differential rents.

The price of production of £3 $\frac{3}{8}$ per quarter for A would thus be equalised to its average price of production with an increased investment of capital, and would be the regulating price; thus, it would not yield any rent, since it would not produce any surplus profit.

However, if this quarter, produced by the second investment of capital, were sold for £3$\frac{3}{4}$, soil A would now yield a rent of £$\frac{3}{4}$, and indeed, on all acres of A in which no additional investment of capital had taken place and which thus would still produce at £3 per quarter. So long as any uncultivated field of A remain, the price could rise only temporarily to £3 $\frac{3}{4}$. Competition from new fields of A would hold the price of production at £3 until all land of type A, whose favourable location enables it to produce a quarter at less than £3 $\frac{3}{4}$, would be exhausted. This is then what we would assume, although the landlord, so long as an acre of land yields rent, will not let a tenant farmer have another acre rent-free.

It would again depend to what extent a second investment of capital in the available soil A had become general, whether the price of production is equalised at the average price or whether the individual price of production of the second investment of capital becomes regulating at £3 $\frac{3}{4}$. The latter occurs only when the landowner has sufficient time until demand is satisfied to fix as rent the surplus profit derived at the price of £3 $\frac{3}{4}$ per qr.

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Concerning decreasing productiveness of the soil with successive investments of capital, see Liebig.[83] We have observed that the successive decrease in surplus productive power of invested capital invariably increases the rent per acre, so long as the price of production remains constant, and that this may occur even with a falling price of production.

But, in general, the following is to be noted.

From the standpoint of the capitalist mode of production, a relative increase in the price of products always takes place when these products cannot be secured unless an expenditure or payment not previously made is incurred. For by the replacement of capital consumed in production we mean only the replacement of values represented by certain means of production. Natural elements entering as agents into production, and which cost nothing, no matter what role

they play in production, do not enter as components of capital, but as a free gift of Nature to capital, that is, as a free gift of Nature's productive power to labour, which, however, appears as the productive power of capital, as all other productivity under the capitalist mode of production. Therefore, if such a natural power, which originally costs nothing, takes part in production, it does not enter into the determination of price, so long as the product which it helped to produce suffices to meet the demand. But if in the course of development, a larger output is demanded than that which can be supplied with the help of this natural power, i. e., if this additional output must be created without the help of this natural power, or by assisting it with human labour power, then a new additional element enters into capital. A relatively larger investment of capital is thus required in order to secure the same output. All other circumstances remaining the same, a rise in the price of production takes place.

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(From a notebook "begun in mid-February 1876".[a])

*Differential rent and rent as mere interest on capital incorporated in the soil.*

The so-called permanent improvements — which change the physical, and, in part, also the chemical conditions of the soil by means of operations requiring an expenditure of capital, and which may be regarded as an incorporation of capital in the soil — nearly all amount to giving a particular piece of land in a certain limited locality such properties as are naturally possessed by some other piece of land elsewhere, sometimes quite near by. One piece of land is naturally level, another has to be levelled; one possesses natural drainage, another requires artificial drainage; one is endowed by Nature with a deep layer of top soil, another needs artificial deepening; one clay soil is naturally mixed with the proper amount of sand, another has to be treated to obtain this proportion; one meadow is naturally irrigated or covered with layers of silt, another requires labour to obtain this condition, or, in the language of bourgeois economics, it requires capital.

It is indeed a truly amusing theory, whereby here, in the case of one piece of land whose comparative advantages have been acquired, rent is interest, whereas in the case of another piece of land which possesses these advantages naturally, it is not interest.[b] (In fact, this is so

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[a] Inserted by Engels. - [b] See this volume, p. 616.

distorted in practice that since rent really coincides in the one case with interest, in the other cases, where this is positively not the case, it must be called interest, it is falsely also called interest.) However, land yields rent after capital is invested not because capital is invested, but because the invested capital makes this land more productive than it formerly was. Assuming that all the land of a given country requires this investment of capital, every piece of land which has not received it must first pass through this stage, and the rent (interest yielded in the given case) borne by land already provided with investment of capital constitutes differential rent just as though it naturally possessed this advantage and the other land had first to acquire it artificially.

This rent too, which may be resolved into interest, becomes pure differential rent as soon as the invested capital is redeemed. Otherwise, one and the same capital would have to exist twice as capital.

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A most amusing phenomenon is that all opponents of Ricardo who oppose the idea that value determination is based exclusively on labour rather than regarding differential rent as arising from differences in soil, point out that here Nature rather than labour determines value; but at the same time they credit this determination to the location of the land, or — and to an even greater extent — the interest on capital put into the land during its cultivation. The same labour produces the same value in a product created during a given period of time; but the magnitude or quantum of this product, and consequently also the portion of value associated with some aliquot part of this product, depends for a given quantity of labour solely upon the quantum of product, and the latter, in turn, depends upon the productivity of the given quantum of labour rather than the absolute magnitude of this quantum. It is immaterial whether this productivity is due to Nature or to society. Only in the case when the productivity itself costs labour, and consequently capital, does it increase the price of production by a new element — which Nature by itself does not do.

## Chapter XLV

### ABSOLUTE GROUND RENT

In the analysis of differential rent we proceeded from the assump-

tion that the worst soil does not pay any ground rent; or, to put it more generally, only such land pays ground rent whose product has an individual price of production below the price of production regulating the market, so that in this manner a surplus profit arises which is transformed into rent. It is to be noted, to begin with, that the law of differential rent as such is entirely independent of the correctness or incorrectness of this assumption.

Let us call the general price of production, by which the market is regulated, P. Then, P coincides with the individual price of production of the output of the worst soil A; i. e., its price pays for the constant and variable capital consumed in production plus the average profit (= profit of enterprise plus interest).

The rent in this case is equal to zero. The individual price of production of the next better soil B is = P′, and P > P′; that is, P pays for more than the actual price of production of the product of soil B. Let us now assume that P − P′ = d; d, the excess of P over P′, is therefore the surplus profit which the farmer of soil type B realises. This d is converted into rent, which must be paid to the landlord. Let P″ be the actual price of production of the third type of soil C, and P − P″ = 2d; then this 2d is converted into rent; similarly, let P‴ be the individual price of production of the fourth type of soil D, and P − P‴ = 3d, which is converted into ground rent, etc. Now let us assume the premiss for soil A, that rent = 0 and therefore the price of its product = P + 0, is erroneous. Assume rather that it, too, yields rent = r. In that case, two different conclusions follow.

*First*: The price of the product of soil A would not be regulated by the price of production on the latter, but would include an excess above this price, i. e., would be = P + r. Because assuming the capitalist mode of production to be functioning normally, that is, assuming that the excess r which the farmer pays to the landlord represents neither a deduction from wages nor from the average profit of capital, the farmer can only pay it by selling the product above its price of production, thus, yielding him surplus profit if he did not have to turn over this excess to the landlord in the form of rent. The regulating market price of the total output on the market derived from all soils would then not be the price of production which capital generally yields in all spheres of production, i. e., a price equal to costs plus average profit, but rather the price of production plus the rent, P + r, and not P. For the price of the product of soil A represents generally the limit of the regulating general market price, i. e., the price at

which the total product can be supplied, and to that extent it regulates the price of this total product.

But *secondly*: Although the general price of agricultural products would in this case be significantly modified, the law of differential rent would nevertheless in no way lose its force. For if the price of the product of soil A, and thereby the general market price = P + r, the price for soils B, C, D, etc., would likewise = P + r. But since P − P′ = d for soil B, then (P + r) − (P′ + r) would likewise = d, and P − P″ = (P + r) − (P″ + r) = 2d for soil C; and finally P − P‴ = (P + r) − (P‴ + r) = 3d for soil D, etc. Thus the differential rent would be the same as before and would be regulated by the same law, although the rent would include an element independent of this law and would show a general increase together with the price of the agricultural product. It follows, then, that no matter what the case may be as regards the rent of the least fertile soils, the law of differential rent is not only independent of it, but that the only manner of grasping differential rent in keeping with its character is to let the rent on soil A = 0. Whether this actually = 0 or > 0 is immaterial so far as the differential rent is concerned, and, in fact, does not come into consideration.

The law of differential rent, then, is independent of the results of the following study.

If we were now to inquire more deeply into the basis of the assumption that the product of the worst soil A does not yield any rent, the answer would of necessity be as follows: If the market price of the agricultural product, say grain, attains that level where an additional investment of capital in soil A results in the usual price of production, i. e., the usual average profit on the capital is yielded, then this condition suffices for investing the additional capital in soil A. In other words, this condition is sufficient for the capitalist to invest new capital yielding the usual profit and to employ it in the normal manner.

It should be noted here that in this case, too, the market price must be higher than the price of production of A. For as soon as the additional supply is created, it is evident that the relation between supply and demand becomes altered. Formerly the supply was insufficient. Now it is sufficient. Hence the price must fall. In order to fall, it must have been higher than the price of production of A. But due to the fact that soil A newly taken under cultivation is less fertile, the price does not fall again as low as when the price of production of soil B regulated the market. The price of production of A constitutes the limit,

not for the temporary but for the relatively permanent rise of the market price. On the other hand, if the new soil taken under cultivation is more fertile than the hitherto regulating soil A, and yet only suffices to meet the increased demand, then the market price remains unchanged. The investigation of the question whether the poorest type of soil yields rent, however, coincides in this case too with our present inquiry, for here too the assumption that soil A does not yield any rent would be explained by the fact that the market price is sufficient for the capitalist farmer to exactly cover, with this price, the invested capital plus the average profit; in brief, it would be explained by the fact that the market price yields him the price of production of his commodities.

At any rate, the capitalist farmer can cultivate soil A under these conditions, inasmuch as he, as capitalist, has such power of decision. The prerequisite for the normal expansion of capital in soil A is now present. But from the premiss that the farmer can now invest capital in soil A under average conditions for the expansion of capital, even if he did not have to pay any rent, it nowise follows that this land, belonging to category A, is now at the disposal of the farmer without further ado. The fact that the tenant farmer could realise the usual profit on his capital did he not have to pay any rent, is by no means a basis for the landlord to lend his land gratis to the farmer and to become so philanthropic as to grant *crédit gratuit* for the sake of a business friendship. Such an assumption would mean the abstraction of landed property, the elimination of landownership, and it is precisely the existence of the latter that constitutes a limitation to the investment of capital and the free expansion of capital in the land. This limitation does not at all disappear before the simple reflection of the farmer that the level of grain prices would enable him to realise the usual profit from the investment of his capital in the exploitation of soil A did he not have to pay any rent; in other words, if he could proceed in effect as though landed property did not exist. But differential rent presupposes the existence of a monopoly in landownership, landed property as a limitation to capital, for without it surplus profit would not be transformed into ground rent nor fall to the share of the landlord instead of the farmer. And landed property as a limitation continues to exist even when rent in the form of differential rent disappears, i. e., on soil A. If we consider the cases in a country with capitalist production, where the investment of capital in the land can take place without payment of rent, we shall find that they are all

based on a *de facto* abolition of landed property, if not also the legal abolition; this, however, can only take place under very specific circumstances which are by their very nature accidental.

*First*: When the landlord is himself a capitalist, or the capitalist is himself a landlord. In this case he may *himself manage* his land as soon as market price has risen sufficiently to enable him to get, from what is now soil A, the price of production, that is, replacement of capital plus average profit. But why? Because for him landed property does not constitute an obstacle to the investment of his capital. He can treat his land simply as an element of Nature and therefore be guided solely by considerations of expansion of his capital, by capitalist considerations. Such cases occur in practice, but only as exceptions. Just as capitalist cultivation of the soil presupposes the separation of functioning capital from landed property, so does it as a rule exclude self-management of landed property. It is immediately evident that this case is a purely accidental one. If the increased demand for grain requires the cultivation of a larger area of soil type A than is in the hands of self-managing proprietors, in other words, if a part of it must be rented to be at all cultivated, then this hypothetical lifting[a] of the limitation created by landed property to the investment of capital at once collapses. It is an absurd contradiction to start out with the differentiation under the capitalist mode of production between capital and land, farmers and landlords, and then to turn round and assume that landlords, as a rule, manage their own land wherever and whenever capital would not draw rent from the cultivation of the soil if landed property were not separate and distinct from it. (See the passage by Adam Smith concerning mining rent, quoted below.[b]) This abolition of landed property is fortuitous. It may or may not occur.

*Secondly*: In the total area of a leasehold there may be certain pieces which do not yield any rent at the existing level of market prices, so that they are in fact loaned gratis; but the landlord does not look upon it in that light, because he sees the total rental of the leased land, not the specific rent of the individual component plots. In this case, as regards the rentless component plots of the leasehold, landed property as a limitation to the investment of capital is eliminated for the farmer; and this, indeed, by contract with the landlord himself. But he does not pay rent for these plots merely because he pays rent

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[a] In the 1894 German edition "Auffassung"; corrected after Marx's manuscript. - [b] See this volume, p. 761.

for the land associated with them. A combination is here presupposed whereby poorer soil A does not have to be resorted to as a distinctly new field of production in order to produce the deficit supply, but rather whereby it merely constitutes an inseparable part of the better land. But the case to be investigated is precisely that in which certain pieces of land of soil type A must be independently managed, i. e., for the conditions generally prevailing under the capitalist mode of production, they must be independently leased.

*Thirdly*: A farmer may invest additional capital in the same leasehold even if the additional product secured in this manner yields him only the price of production at the prevailing market prices, i. e., provides him with the usual profit but does not enable him to pay any additional rent. He thus pays ground rent with one portion of the capital invested in the land, but not with the other. How little this assumption helps to solve the problem, however, is seen from the following: If the market price (and the fertility of the soil) enables him to obtain an additional yield with his additional capital, which, as in the case of the old capital, yields a surplus profit in addition to the price of production, he is able to pocket this surplus profit so long as his lease does not expire. But why? Because the limitation placed by landed property on the investment of his capital in land has been eliminated for the duration of the lease. But the simple fact that additional soil of poorer quality must be independently cleared and independently leased in order for him to secure this surplus profit proves irrefutably that the investment of additional capital in the old soil no longer suffices to produce the required increased supply. One assumption excludes the other. It is true that now one might say: The rent on the worst soil A is itself differential rent — whether the comparison is made with respect to the land cultivated by the owner himself (this occurs, however, as a purely chance exception) or with respect to the additional investment of capital in the old leaseholds which do not yield any rent. However, this would be 1) a differential rent which does not arise from the difference in fertility of the various categories of soil, and which therefore would *not* presuppose that soil A does not yield any rent and its produce sells at the price of production; and 2) the circumstance whether additional investments of capital in the same leasehold yield rent or not is just as irrelevant to the question as to whether the new soil of class A to be taken under cultivation pays rent or not, as it is irrelevant to, say, the establishment of a new and independent manufacturing business whether another man-

ufacturer in the same line invests a portion of his capital in interest-bearing papers because he cannot use all of it in his business, or whether he makes certain improvements which do not yield him the full profit, but nevertheless do yield more than interest. This is of secondary importance to him. The additional new establishments, on the other hand, must yield the average profit and are organised in the hope of obtaining this average profit. It is true, to be sure, that the additional investments of capital in the old leaseholds and the additional cultivation of new land of soil type A mutually restrict one another. The limit, up to which additional capital may be invested in the same leasehold under less favourable conditions of production, is determined by the competing new investments in soil A; on the other hand, the rent which this category of soil can yield is limited by the competing additional investments of capital in the old leaseholds.

But all this dubious subterfuge does not solve the problem, which, simply stated, is this: Assume the market price of grain (which in this inquiry stands for products of the soil in general) to be sufficient to permit taking portions of soil A under cultivation and that the capital invested in these new fields could return the price of production of the produce, i. e., replace capital plus average profit. Thus assume that conditions exist for the normal expansion of capital on soil A. Is this sufficient? Can this capital then really be invested? Or must the market price rise to the point where even the worst soil A yields rent? In other words, does the landowner's monopoly hinder the investment of capital which would not be the case from the purely capitalist standpoint in the absence of this monopoly? It follows from the way in which the question itself is posed that if, e. g., additional capitals are invested in the old leaseholds, yielding the average profit at the given market price, but no rent, this circumstance in no way answers the question whether capital may now really be invested in soil A, which also yields the average profits but no rent. But this is precisely the question before us. The fact that additional investments of capital not yielding any rent do not satisfy the demand is proved by the necessity of taking new land of soil type A under cultivation. Just two alternatives are possible if the additional cultivation of soil A takes place only in so far as it yields rent, that is, yields more than the price of production. Either the market price must be such that even the last additional investments of capital in the old leaseholds yield surplus profit, whether pocketed by the farmer or by the landlord. This rise in price and this surplus profit from the last additional investments of capital

would then result from the fact that soil A cannot be cultivated without yielding rent. For if the price of production were sufficient for cultivation to take place, merely yielding average profit, the price would not have risen so high, and competition from new plots would have been felt as soon as they just yielded this price of production. Competing with the additional investments in old leaseholds not yielding any rent would then be investments in soil A, which likewise do not yield any rent.—Or, the last investments in the old leaseholds do not yield any rent, but nevertheless the market price has risen sufficiently to make it possible for soil A to be taken under cultivation and to yield rent. In this case, the additional investment of capital not yielding any rent was only possible because soil A cannot be cultivated until the market price permits it to pay rent. Without this condition, its cultivation would have already begun at a lower price level; and those later investments of capital in the old leaseholds, which require the high market price in order to yield the usual profit without rent, could not have taken place. At the high market price, it is true, they yield only the average profit. At a lower market price, which would have become the regulating price of production from the time soil A came under cultivation, they would thus not have yielded this average profit, i. e., the investments would thus not have taken place at all under such conditions. In this way, the rent from soil A would indeed constitute differential rent compared with the investments in the old leaseholds not yielding any rent. But that such differential rent is formed on the land areas of A is but a consequence of the fact that the latter are not at all available to cultivation, unless they yield rent; i. e., that the necessity for this rent exists, which, in itself, is not determined by any differences in soil types, and which constitutes the barrier to possible investment of additional capitals in the old leaseholds. In either case, the rent from soil A would not be simply a consequence of the rise in grain prices, but, conversely, the fact that the worst soil must yield rent in order to make its cultivation at all possible, would be the cause for the rise in the grain price to the point where this condition may be fulfilled.

Differential rent has the peculiarity that landed property here merely intercepts the surplus profit which would otherwise flow into the pocket of the farmer, and which the latter may actually pocket under certain circumstances during the period of his lease. Landed property is here merely the cause for transferring a portion of the commodity price which arises without the property having anything to do with it

(indeed, in consequence of the fact that the price of production which regulates the market price is determined by competition) and which resolves itself into surplus profit — the cause for transferring this portion of the price from one person to another, from the capitalist to the landlord. But landed property is not the cause which *creates* this portion of the price, or the rise in price upon which this portion of the price is premised. On the other hand, if the worst soil A cannot be cultivated — although its cultivation would yield the price of production — until it produces something in excess of the price of production, rent, then landed property is the creative cause of *this* rise in price. *Landed property itself has created rent.* This fact is not altered, if, as in the second case mentioned, the rent now paid on soil A constitutes differential rent compared with the last additional investment of capital in old leaseholds, which pay only the price of production. For the circumstance that soil A cannot be cultivated until the regulating market price has risen high enough to permit rent to be yielded from soil A — only this circumstance is the basis here for the fact that the market price rises to a point which enables the last investments in the old leaseholds to yield, indeed, only their price of production, but a price of production which, at the same time, yields rent on soil A. The fact that the latter has to pay rent at all is, in this case, the cause for the differential rent between soil A and the last investments in the old leaseholds.

When stating, in general, that soil A does not pay any rent — assuming the price of grain is regulated by the price of production — we mean rent in the categorical sense of the word. If the farmer pays "lease money" which constitutes a deduction from the normal wages of his labourers, or from his own normal average profit, he does not pay rent, i. e., an independent component of the price of his commodities distinct from wages and profit. We have already indicated that this continually takes place in practice. In so far as the wages of the agricultural labourers in a given country are, in general, depressed below the normal average level of wages, so that a deduction from wages, a part of the wages, as a general rule enters into rent, this does not constitute an exceptional case for the farmer cultivating the worst soil. In the same price of production which makes cultivation of the worst soil possible these low wages already form a constituent element, and the sale of the product at the price of production does not therefore enable the farmer cultivating this soil to pay any rent. The landlord can also lease his land to some labourer, who may be satisfied

to pay to the former in the form of rent, all or the largest part of that which he realises in the selling price over and above the wages. In all these cases, however, no real rent is paid in spite of the fact that lease money is paid. But wherever conditions correspond to those under the capitalist mode of production, rent and lease money must coincide. Yet it is precisely this normal condition which must be analysed here.

Since even the cases considered above — where, under the capitalist mode of production, investments of capital in the land may actually take place without yielding rent — do not contribute to the solution of our problem, so much less does reference to colonial conditions. The criterion establishing a colony as a colony — we are referring here only to true agricultural colonies — is not merely the prevailing vast area of fertile land in a natural state. It is rather the circumstance that this land has not been appropriated, has not been subjected to private ownership. Herein lies the enormous difference, as regards the land, between old countries and colonies: the legal or actual nonexistence of landed property, as Wakefield [35] correctly remarks, and as Mirabeau *père*, the physiocrat, and other elder economists, had discovered long before him. It is quite immaterial here whether the colonists simply appropriate the land, or whether they actually pay to the state, in the form of a nominal land price, a fee for a valid legal title to the land. It is also immaterial that the colonists already settled there may be the legal owners of the land. In fact, landed property constitutes no limitation here to the investment of capital — and also of labour without capital; the appropriation of some of the land by the colonists already established there does not prevent the newcomers from employing their capital or their labour upon new land. Therefore, when it is necessary to investigate the influence of landed property upon the prices of products of the land and upon rent — in those cases where landed property restricts land as an investment sphere of capital — it is highly absurd to speak of free bourgeois colonies where, in agriculture, neither the capitalist mode of production exists, nor the form of landed property corresponding to it — which, in fact, does not exist at all. Ricardo, e. g., does so in his

[35] Wakefield, *England and America*, London, 1833. Compare also *Das Kapital*, Buch I, Kap. XXV.[a]

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[a] English edition: Ch. XXXIII (see present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 751-61).

chapter on ground rent.[a] In the preface he states that he intends to investigate the effect of the appropriation of land upon the value of the products of the soil, and directly thereafter he takes the colonies as an illustration, whereby he assumes that the land exists in a relatively elementary form and that its exploitation is not limited by the monopoly of landed property.

The mere legal ownership of land does not create any ground rent for the owner. But it does, indeed, give him the power to withdraw his land from exploitation until economic conditions permit him to utilise it in such a manner as to yield him an excess, be it used for actual agricultural or other production purposes, such as buildings, etc. He cannot increase or decrease the absolute magnitude of this sphere, but he can change the quantity of land placed on the market. Hence, as Fourier already observed, it is a characteristic fact that in all civilised countries a comparatively appreciable portion of land always remains uncultivated.

Thus, assuming the demand requires that new land be taken under cultivation, whose soil, let us say, is less fertile than that hitherto cultivated — will the landlord lease it for nothing, just because the market price of the product of the land has risen sufficiently to return to the farmer the price of production, and thereby the usual profit, on his investment in this land? By no means. The investment of capital must yield him rent. He does not lease his land until he can be paid lease money for it. Therefore, the market price must rise to a point above the price of production, i. e., to P + r, so that rent can be paid to the landlord. Since according to our assumption, landed property does not yield anything until it is leased, is economically valueless until then, a small rise in the market price above the price of production suffices to bring the new land of poorest quality on the market.

The following question now arises: Does it follow from the fact that the worst soil yields ground rent which cannot be derived from any difference in fertility that the price of the product of the land is necessarily a monopoly price in the usual sense, or a price into which the rent enters like a tax, with the sole distinction that the landlord levies the tax instead of the state? It goes without saying that this tax has its specific economic limits. It is limited by additional investments of capital in the old leaseholds, by competition from products of the land coming from abroad — assuming their import is unrestricted — by

[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, Ch. II.

competition among the landlords themselves, and finally by the needs of the consumers and their ability to pay. But this is not the question here. The point is whether the rent paid on the worst soil enters into the price of the products of this soil — which price regulates the general market price according to our assumption — in the same way as a tax placed on a commodity enters into its price, i. e., as an element that is independent of the value of the commodity.

This, by no means, necessarily follows, and the contention that it does has been made only because the distinction between the value of commodities and their price of production has heretofore not been understood. We have seen that the price of production of a commodity is not at all identical with its value, although the prices of production of commodities, considered in their totality, are regulated only by their total value, and although the movement of production prices of various kinds of commodities, all other circumstances being equal, is determined exclusively by the movement of their values. It has been shown that the price of production of a commodity may lie above or below its value, and coincides with its value only by way of exception. Hence, the fact that products of the land are sold above their price of production does not at all prove that they are sold above their value; just as the fact that products of industry, on the average, are sold at their price of production does not prove that they are sold at their value. It is possible for agricultural products to be sold above their price of production and below their value, while, on the other hand, many industrial products yield the price of production only because they are sold above their value.

The relation of the price of production of a commodity to its value is determined solely by the ratio of the variable part of the capital with which the commodity is produced to its constant part, or by the organic composition of the capital producing it. If the composition of the capital in a given sphere of production is lower than that of the average social capital, i. e., if its variable portion, which is used for wages, is larger in its relation to the constant portion, used for the material conditions of labour, than is the case in the average social capital, then the value of its product must lie above the price of production. In other words, because such capital employs more living labour, it produces more surplus value, and therefore more profit, assuming equal exploitation of labour, than an equally large aliquot portion of the social average capital. The value of its product, therefore, is above the price of production, since this price of production is

equal to capital replacement plus average profit, and the average profit is lower than the profit produced in this commodity. The surplus value produced by the average social capital is less than the surplus value produced by a capital of this lower composition. The opposite is the case when the capital invested in a certain sphere of production is of a higher composition than the social average capital. The value of commodities produced by it lies below their price of production, which is generally the case with products of the most developed industries.

If the capital in a certain sphere of production is of a lower composition than the average social capital, then this is, in the first place, merely another way of saying that the productive power of the social labour in this particular sphere of production is below the average; for the level of productive power attained is manifested in the relative preponderance of constant over variable capital, or in the continual decrease — for the given capital — of the portion used for wages. On the other hand, if the capital in a certain sphere of production is of a higher composition, then this reflects a development of productive power that is above the average.

Leaving aside actual works of art, whose consideration by their very nature is excluded from our discussion, it is self-evident, moreover, that different spheres of production require different proportions of constant and variable capital in accordance with their specific technical features, and that living labour must play a bigger role in some, and smaller in others. For instance, in the extractive industries, which must be clearly distinguished from agriculture, raw material as an element of constant capital is wholly absent, and even auxiliary material rarely plays an important role. In the mining industry, however, the other part of constant capital, i. e., fixed capital, plays an important role. Nevertheless, here too, progress may be measured by the relative increase of constant capital in relation to variable capital.

If the composition of capital in agriculture proper is lower than that of the average social capital, then, *prima facie*, this expresses the fact that in countries with developed production agriculture has not progressed to the same extent as the processing industries. Such a fact could be explained — aside from all other circumstances, including in part decisive economic ones — by the earlier and more rapid development of the mechanical sciences, and in particular their application compared with the later and in part quite recent development of chemistry, geology and physiology, and again, in particular, their appli-

cation to agriculture. Incidentally, it is an indubitable and long-known fact[36] that the progress of agriculture itself is constantly expressed by a relative growth of constant capital as compared with variable capital. Whether the composition of agricultural capital is lower than that of the average social capital in a specific country where capitalist production prevails, for instance England, is a question which can only be decided statistically, and for our purposes it is superfluous to go into it in detail. In any case, it is theoretically established that the value of agricultural products can be higher than their price of production only on this assumption. In other words, a capital of a certain size in agriculture produces more surplus value, or what amounts to the same, sets in motion and commands more surplus labour (and with it employs more living labour generally) than a capital of the same size of average social composition.

This assumption, then, suffices for that form of rent which we are analysing here, and which can obtain only so long as this assumption holds good. Wherever this assumption no longer holds, the corresponding form of rent likewise no longer holds.

However, the mere existence of an excess in the value of agricultural products over their price of production would not in itself suffice to explain the existence of a ground rent which is independent of differences in fertility of various soil types and in successive investments of capital on the same land—a rent, in short, which is to be clearly distinguished in concept from differential rent and which we may therefore call *absolute rent*. Quite a number of manufactured products are characterised by the fact that their value is higher than their price of production, without thereby yielding any excess above the average profit, or a surplus profit, which could be converted into rent. Conversely, the existence and concept of price of production and general rate of profit, which it implies, rest upon the fact that individual commodities are not sold at their value. Prices of production arise from an equalisation of the values of commodities. After replacing the respective capital values used up in the various spheres of production, this distributes the entire surplus value, not in proportion to the amount produced in the individual spheres of production and thus incorporat-

[36] See Dombasle[a] and R. Jones.[b]

[a] Apparently this refers to M. Dombasle, *Annales agricoles de Roville, ou Mélanges d'agriculture, d'économie rurale et de législation agricole,* Paris, 1824-37. - [b] *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth, and on the Sources of Taxation,* Part I, *Rent,* London, 1831, p. 227.

ed in their commodities, but in proportion to the magnitude of advanced capitals. Only in this manner do average profit and price of production arise, whose characteristic element the former is. It is the perpetual tendency of capitals to bring about through competition this equalisation in the distribution of surplus value produced by the total capital, and to overcome all obstacles to this equalisation. Hence it is their tendency to tolerate only such surplus profits as arise, under all circumstances, not from the difference between the values and prices of production of commodities but rather from the difference between the general price of production governing the market and the individual prices of production differing from it; surplus profits which obtain within a certain sphere of production, therefore, and not between two different spheres, and thus do not affect the general prices of production of the various spheres, i. e., the general rate of profit, but rather presuppose the transformation of values into prices of production and a general rate of profit. This supposition rests, however, as previously discussed,[a] upon the constantly changing proportional distribution of the total social capital among the various spheres of production, upon the perpetual inflow and outflow of capitals, upon their transferability from one sphere to another, in short, upon their free movement between the various spheres of production, which represent so many available fields of investment for the independent components of the total social capital. The premiss in this case is that no barrier, or just an accidental and temporary barrier, interferes with the competition of capitals—for instance, in a sphere of production, in which the commodity values are higher than the prices of production or where the surplus value produced exceeds the average profit—to reduce the value to the price of production and thereby proportionally distribute the excess surplus value of this sphere of production among all spheres exploited by capital. But if the reverse occurs, if capital meets an alien force which it can but partially, or not at all, overcome, and which limits its investment in certain spheres, admitting it only under conditions which wholly or partly exclude that general equalisation of surplus value to an average profit, then it is evident that the excess of the value of commodities in such spheres of production over their price of production would give rise to a surplus profit, which could be converted into rent and as such made independent with respect to profit. Such an alien force

[a] See this volume, pp. 194-95.

and barrier are presented by landed property, when confronting capital in its endeavour to invest in land; such a force is the landlord vis-à-vis the capitalist.

Landed property is here the barrier which does not permit any new investment of capital in hitherto uncultivated or unrented land without levying a tax, or in other words, without demanding a rent, although the land to be newly brought under cultivation may belong to a category which does not yield any differential rent and which, were it not for landed property, could have been cultivated even at a small increase in market price, so that the regulating market price would have netted to the cultivator of this worst soil solely his price of production. But owing to the barrier raised by landed property, the market price must rise to a level at which the land can yield an excess over the price of production, i. e., yield a rent. However, since the value of the commodities produced by agricultural capital is higher than their price of production, according to our assumption, this rent (save for one case which we shall discuss forthwith) forms the excess of value over the price of production, or a part of it. Whether the rent equals the entire difference between the value and price of production, or only a greater or lesser part of it, will depend wholly on the relation between supply and demand and on the area of land newly taken under cultivation. So long as the rent does not equal the excess of the value of agricultural products over their price of production, a portion of this excess will always enter into the general equalisation and proportional distribution of all surplus value among the various individual capitals. As soon as the rent does equal the excess of the value over the price of production, this entire portion of surplus value over and above the average profit will be withdrawn from this equalisation. But whether this absolute rent equals the whole excess of value over the price of production, or just a part of it, the agricultural products will always be sold at a monopoly price, not because their price exceeds their value, but because it equals their value, or because their price is lower than their value but higher than their price of production. Their monopoly would consist in the fact that, unlike other products of industry whose value is higher than the general price of production, they are not levelled out to the price of production. Since one portion of the value, as well as of price of production, is an actually given constant, namely the cost price, representing the capital = k used up in production, their difference consists in the other, the variable portion, the surplus value, which equals p, the profit, in

the price of production, i. e., equals the total surplus value calculated on the social capital and on every individual capital as an aliquot part of the social capital; but which in the value of commodities equals the actual surplus value created by this particular capital, and forms an integral part of the commodity values produced by this capital. If the value of commodities is higher than their price of production, then the price of production = k + p, and the value = k + p + d, so that p + d = the surplus value contained therein. The difference between the value and the price of production, therefore, = d, the excess of surplus value created by this capital over the surplus value allocated to it through the general rate of profit. It follows from this that the price of agricultural products may lie higher than their price of production, without reaching their value. It follows, furthermore, that a permanent increase in the price of agricultural products may take place up to a certain point, before their price reaches their value. It follows likewise that the excess in the value of agricultural products over their price of production can become a determining element of their general market price solely as a consequence of the monopoly in landed property. It follows, finally, that in this case the increase in the price of the product is not the cause of rent, but rather that rent is the cause of the increase in the price of the product. If the price of the product from a unit area of the worst soil = P + r, then all differential rents will rise by corresponding multiples of r, since the assumption is that P + r becomes the regulating market price.

If the average composition of the nonagricultural social capital were = $85_c + 15_v$, and the rate of surplus value = 100%, then the price of production would = 115. If the composition of the agricultural capital were = $75_c + 25_v$, and the rate of surplus value were the same, then the value of the product and the regulating market price would = 125. If the agricultural and the nonagricultural product should be equalised to the same average price (we assume for the sake of brevity the total capital in both lines of production to be equal), then the total surplus value would = 40, or 20%, on the 200 of capital. The product of the one as well as the other would be sold at 120. In an equalisation into prices of production, the average market prices of the nonagricultural product would thus lie above, and those of the agricultural product below, their value. If the agricultural products were sold at their full value, they would be higher by 5, and the industrial products lower by 5, then they are in the equalisation. If market conditions do not permit the sale of the agricultural products

at their full value, to the full surplus above the price of production, then the effect lies between the two extremes; the industrial products are sold somewhat above their value, and the agricultural products somewhat above their price of production.

Although landed property may drive the price of agricultural produce above its price of production, it does not depend on this, but rather on the general state of the market, to what degree market price exceeds the price of production and approaches the value, and to what extent therefore the surplus value created in agriculture over and above the given average profit shall either be transformed into rent or enter into the general equalisation of the surplus value to average profit. At any rate this absolute rent arising out of the excess of value over the price of production is but a portion of the agricultural surplus value, a conversion of this surplus value into rent, its being filched by the landlord; just as the differential rent arises out of the conversion of surplus profit into rent, its being filched by the landlord under a generally regulating price of production. These two forms of rent are the only normal ones. Apart from them the rent can be based only upon an actual monopoly price, which is determined neither by price of production nor by value of commodities, but by the buyers' needs and ability to pay. Its analysis belongs under the theory of competition, where the actual movement of market prices is considered.

If all the land suitable for agriculture in a certain country were leased — assuming the capitalist mode of production and normal conditions to be general — there would not be any land not paying rent; but there might be some capitals, certain parts of capitals invested in land, that might not yield any rent. For as soon as the land has been rented, landed property ceases to act as an absolute barrier against the investment of necessary capital. Still, it continues to act as a relative barrier even after that, in so far as the reversion to the landlord of the capital incorporated in the land circumscribes the activity of the tenant within very definite limits. Only in this case all rent would be transformed into differential rent, although this would not be a differential rent determined by any difference in soil fertility, but rather by the difference between the surplus profits arising from the last investments of capital in a particular soil type and the rent paid for the lease of the worst quality land. Landed property acts as an absolute barrier only to the extent that the landlord exacts a tribute for making land at all accessible to the investment of capital. When such access has been gained, he can no longer set any absolute limits to the

size of any investment of capital in a given plot of land. In general, housing construction meets a barrier in the ownership by a third party of the land upon which the houses are to be built. But, once this land has been leased for the purpose of housing construction, it depends upon the tenant whether he will build a large or a small house.

If the average composition of agricultural capital were equal to, or higher than, that of the average social capital, then absolute rent — again in the sense just described — would disappear; i. e., rent which differs equally from differential rent as well as that based upon an actual monopoly price. The value of agricultural produce, then, would not lie above its price of production, and the agricultural capital would not set any more labour in motion, and therefore would also not realise any more surplus labour than the nonagricultural capital. The same would take place, were the composition of agricultural capital to become equal to that of the average social capital with the progress of cultivation.

It seems to be a contradiction, at first glance, to assume that, on the one hand, the composition of agricultural capital rises, in other words, that its constant component increases with respect to its variable, and, on the other hand, that the price of the agricultural product should rise high enough to permit rent to be yielded by new and worse soil than that previously cultivated, a rent which in this case could originate only from an excess of market price over the value and price of production, in short, a rent derived solely from a monopoly price of the product.

It is necessary to make a distinction here.

In the first place, it was noted in considering the manner in which rate of profit is formed, that capitals, which have the same composition technologically speaking, i. e., which set equivalent amounts of labour in motion relative to machinery and raw materials, may nonetheless have different compositions owing to different values of the constant portions of these capitals. The raw materials or machinery may be dearer in one case than in another. For the same quantity of labour to be set in motion (and this would be required, according to our assumption, to work up the same mass of raw materials), a larger capital would have to be advanced in the one case than in the other, since the same amount of labour cannot be set in motion with, say, a capital of 100 if the cost of raw material, which must be covered out of the 100, is 40 in one case and 20 in another. But it would become immediately evident that these two capitals are of the same technical

composition, as soon as the price of the dearer raw material fell to the level of the cheaper one. The value ratio between variable and constant capital would have become the same in that case, although no change had taken place in the technical proportions between the living labour and the mass and nature of the conditions of labour employed by this capital. On the other hand, a capital of lower organic composition could assume the appearance of being in the same class with one of a higher organic composition, merely from a rise in the value of its constant portions, solely from the viewpoint of its value composition. Suppose one capital = $60_c + 40_v$, because it employs much machinery and raw material compared to living labour power, and another capital = $40_c + 60_v$, because it employs much living labour (60%), little machinery (e.g., 10%) and compared to labour power less and cheaper raw material (e.g., 30%). Then a simple rise in the value of raw and auxiliary materials from 30 to 80 could equalise the composition, so that now the second capital would consist of 80 raw material and 60 labour power for 10 in machines, or $90_c + 60_v$, which, in percentages, would also = $60_c + 40_v$, with no change having taken place in the technical composition. In other words, capitals of equal organic composition may be of different value composition, and capitals with identical percentages of value composition may show varying degrees of organic composition and thus express different stages in the development of the social productive power of labour. The mere circumstance, then, that agricultural capital might be on the general level of value composition, would not prove that the social productivity of labour is equally developed in it. It would merely show that its own product, which again forms a part of its conditions of production, is dearer, or that auxiliary materials, such as fertiliser, which used to be close by, must now be brought from afar, etc.

But aside from this, the peculiar nature of agriculture must be taken into account.

Suppose labour-saving machinery, chemical aids, etc., are more extensively used in agriculture, and that therefore constant capital increases technically, not merely in value, but also in mass, as compared with the mass of employed labour power, then in agriculture (as in mining) it is not only a matter of the social, but also of the natural, productivity of labour which depends on the natural conditions of labour. It is possible for the increase of social productive power in agriculture to barely compensate, or not even compensate, for the de-

crease in natural power — this compensation will nevertheless be effective only for a short time — so that despite technical development there, no cheapening of the product occurs, but only a still greater increase in price is averted. It is also possible that the absolute mass of products decreases with rising grain prices, while the relative surplus product increases; namely, in the case of a relative increase in constant capital which consists chiefly of machinery or animals requiring only replacement of wear and tear, and with a corresponding decrease in variable capital which is expended in wages requiring constant replacement in full out of the product.

Moreover, it is also possible that with progress in agriculture only a moderate rise in market price above the average is necessary, in order to cultivate and draw a rent from poorer soil, which would have required a greater rise in market price if technical aids were less developed.

The fact that in larger-scale cattle-raising, for example, the mass of employed labour power is very small compared with constant capital as represented in cattle itself, could be taken to refute the assertion that more labour power, on a percentage basis, is set in motion by agricultural capital than by the average social capital outside of agriculture. But it should be noted here that we have taken as determining for rent analysis that portion of agricultural capital which produces the principal plant foodstuffs providing the chief means of subsistence among civilised nations. Adam Smith — and this is one of his merits — has already demonstrated that a quite different determination of prices is to be observed in cattle-raising, and, for that matter, generally for capitals invested in land which are not engaged in raising the principal means of subsistence, e. g., grain. Namely in that case the price is determined in such a way that the price of the product of the land — which is used for cattle-raising, say as an artificial pasture, but which could just as easily have been transformed into cornfields of a certain quality — must rise high enough to produce the same rent as on arable land of the same quality. In other words, the rent of cornfields becomes a determining element in the price of cattle, and for this reason Ramsay has justly remarked that the price of cattle is in this manner artificially raised by the rent, by the economic expression of landed property, in short, through landed property.[a]

"By the extension of cultivation the unimproved wilds become insufficient to sup-

[a] G. Ramsay, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth*, pp. 278-79.

ply the demand for butcher's meat. A great part of the cultivated lands must be employed in rearing and fattening cattle, of which the price, therefore, must be sufficient to pay, not only the labour necessary for tending them, but the rent which the landlord and the profit which the farmer could have drawn from such land, employed in tillage. The cattle bred upon the most uncultivated moors, when brought to the same market, are, in proportion to their weight or goodness, sold at the same price as those which are reared upon the most improved land. The proprietors of those moors profit by it, and raise the rent of their land in proportion to the price of their cattle" (Adam Smith, Book I, Ch. XI, Part 1.[a])

In this case, likewise, as distinct from grain rent, the differential rent is in favour of the worst soil.

Absolute rent explains some phenomena, which, at first sight, seem to make merely a monopoly price responsible for the rent. To go on with Adam Smith's example, take the owner of some Norwegian forest, for instance, which exists independent of human activity, i. e., it is not a product of silviculture. If the proprietor of this forest receives a rent from a capitalist who has the timber felled, perhaps in consequence of a demand from England, or if this owner has the timber felled himself acting in the capacity of capitalist, then a greater or smaller amount of rent will accrue to him in timber, apart from the profit on invested capital. This appears to be a pure monopoly charge derived from a pure product of Nature. But, as a matter of fact, the capital here consists almost exclusively of a variable component expended in labour, and thus sets more surplus labour in motion than another capital of the same size. The value of the timber, then, contains a greater surplus of unpaid labour, or surplus value, than that of a product of a capital of a higher organic composition. For this reason the average profit can be derived from this timber, and a considerable surplus in the form of rent can fall to the share of the owner of the forest. Conversely, it may be assumed that, owing to the ease with which timber-felling may be extended, in other words, its production rapidly increased, the demand must rise very considerably for the price of timber to equal its value, and thereby for the entire surplus of unpaid labour (over and above that portion which falls to the capitalist as average profit) to accrue to the owner in the form of rent.

We have assumed that the land newly brought under cultivation is of still inferior quality than the worst previously cultivated. If it is better, it yields a differential rent. But here we are analysing precisely the case wherein rent does not appear as a differential rent. There are

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[a] See *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. 1, p. 185.

only two cases possible: The newly cultivated soil is either inferior to, or just as good as the previously cultivated soil. If inferior, then the matter has already been analysed. It remains only to analyse the case in which it is just as good.

As already developed in our analysis of differential rent, the progress of cultivation may just as well bring equally good, or even better soils under the plough as worse soil.

*First.* Because in differential rent (or any rent in general, since even in the case of nondifferential rent the question always arises whether, on the one hand, the soil fertility in general, and, on the other hand, its location, admit of its cultivation at the regulating market price so as to yield a profit and rent) two conditions work in opposing directions, now cancelling one another, now alternately exerting the determining influence. The rise in market price—provided the cost price of cultivation has not fallen, i. e., no technical progress has given a new impetus to further cultivation—may bring under cultivation more fertile soil formerly excluded from competition by virtue of its location. Or it may so enhance the advantage of the location of the inferior soil that its lesser fertility is counterbalanced by it. Or, without any rise in market price the location may bring better soils into competition through improvement in means of communication, as can be observed on a large scale in the prairie States of North America. In countries of older civilisation the same also takes place constantly if not to the same extent as in the colonies, where, as Wakefield correctly observes, location is decisive.[a] To sum up, then, the contradictory influences of location and fertility, and the variableness of the location factor, which is continually counterbalanced and perpetually passes through progressive changes tending towards equalisation, alternately carry equally good, better or worse land areas into new competition with the older ones under cultivation.

*Secondly.* With the development of natural science and agronomy the soil fertility is also changed by changing the means through which the soil constituents may be rendered immediately serviceable. In this way, light soil types in France and in the eastern counties of England, which were regarded as inferior at one time, have recently risen to first place. (See Passy.[b]) On the other hand, soil considered inferior

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[a] [E. G. Wakefield] *England and America. A Comparison of the Social and Political State of Both Nations*, Vol. I, pp. 214-15. - [b] H. Passy, *Rente du sol.* In: Dictionnaire de l'économie politique, Tome II, p. 515.

not for bad chemical composition but for certain mechanical and physical obstacles that hindered its cultivation, is converted into good land as soon as means to overcome these obstacles have been discovered.

*Thirdly.* In all ancient civilisations, old historical and traditional relations, for instance, in the form of state-owned lands, communal lands, etc., have purely arbitrarily withheld from cultivation large tracts of land, which only return to it little by little. The succession in which they are brought under cultivation depends neither upon their good quality nor siting, but upon wholly external circumstances. In tracing the history of English communal lands turned successively into private property through the ENCLOSURE BILLS and brought under the plough, nothing would be more ridiculous than the fantastic idea that a modern agricultural chemist, such as Liebig, had indicated the selection of land in this succession, designating certain fields for cultivation owing to chemical properties and excluding others.What was more decisive in this case was the opportunity which makes the thief; the more or less plausible legalistic subterfuges of the big landlords to justify their appropriation.

*Fourthly.* Apart from the fact that the stage of development reached at any time by the population and capital increase sets certain limits, even though elastic, to the extension of cultivation, and apart from chance effects which temporarily influence the market price — such as a series of good or bad seasons — the extension of agriculture over a larger area depends on the overall state of the capital market and business conditions in a country. In periods of stringency it will not suffice for uncultivated soil to yield the tenant an average profit — no matter whether he pays any rent or not — in order that additional capital be invested in agriculture. In other periods when there is a plethora of capital, it will pour into agriculture even without a rise in market price if only other normal conditions are present. Better soil than hitherto cultivated would in fact be excluded from competition solely on the basis of unfavourable location, or if hitherto insurmountable obstacles to its employment existed, or through chance. For this reason we should only concern ourselves with soils which are just as good as those last cultivated. However, there still exists the difference in cost of clearing for cultivation between the new soil and the one last cultivated. And it depends upon the level of market prices and credit conditions whether this will be undertaken or not. As soon as this soil then actually enters into competition, the market price will

fall once more to its former level, assuming other conditions to be equal, and the new soil will then yield the same rent as the corresponding old soil. The assumption that it does not yield any rent is proved by its advocates by assuming precisely what they are called upon to prove, namely that the last soil did not yield any rent. One might prove in the same manner that houses which were the last built do not yield any rent for the building outside of house rent proper, even though they are leased. In fact, however, they do yield rent even before yielding any house rent, when they frequently remain vacant for a long period. Just as successive investments of capital in a certain piece of land may bring a proportional surplus and thereby the same rent as the first investment, so fields of the same quality as those last cultivated may bring the same proceeds for the same cost. Otherwise it would be altogether inexplicable how fields of the same quality are ever brought successively under cultivation; it seems that either it would be necessary to take all together, or rather not a single one of them, in order not to bring all the remaining ones into competition. The landlord is always ready to draw a rent, i. e., to receive something for nothing. But capital requires certain conditions to fulfil his wish. Competition between pieces of land does not, therefore, depend upon the landlord desiring them to compete, but upon the capital existing which seeks to compete with other capitals in the new fields.

To the extent that the agricultural rent proper is purely a monopoly price, the latter can only be small, just as the absolute rent can only be small here under normal conditions whatever the excess of the product's value over its price of production. The essence of absolute rent, therefore, consists in this: Given the same rate of surplus value, or degree of labour exploitation, equally large capitals in various spheres of production produce different amounts of surplus value, in accordance with their varying average composition. In industry these various masses of surplus value are equalised into an average profit and distributed uniformly among the individual capitals as aliquot parts of the social capital. Landed property hinders such an equalisation among capitals invested in land, whenever production requires land for either agriculture or extraction of raw materials, and takes hold of a portion of the surplus value, which would otherwise take part in equalising to the general rate of profit. The rent, then, forms a portion of the value, or, more specifically, surplus value, of commodities, and instead of falling into the lap of the capitalists, who have

extracted it from their labourers, it falls to the share of the landlords, who extract it from the capitalists. It is hereby assumed that the agricultural capital sets more labour in motion than an equally large portion of nonagricultural capital. How far the discrepancy goes, or whether it exists at all, depends upon the relative development of agriculture as compared with industry. It is in the nature of the case that this difference must decrease with the progress of agriculture, unless the proportionate decrease of variable as compared with constant capital is still greater in the case of industrial than in the case of agricultural capital.

This absolute rent plays an even more important role in the extractive industry proper, where one element of constant capital, raw material, is wholly lacking and where, excluding those lines in which capital consisting of machinery and other fixed capital is very considerable, by far the lowest composition of capital prevails. Precisely here, where the rent appears entirely attributable to a monopoly price, unusually favourable market conditions are necessary for commodities to be sold at their value, or for rent to equal the entire excess of a commodity's surplus value over its price of production. This applies, for instance, to rent from fisheries, stone quarries, natural forests, etc. [37]

## Chapter XLVI

### BUILDING SITE RENT. RENT IN MINING. PRICE OF LAND

Wherever rent exists at all, differential rent appears at all times, and is governed by the same laws, as agricultural differential rent. Wherever natural forces can be monopolised and guarantee a surplus profit to the industrial capitalist using them, be it waterfalls, rich mines, waters teeming with fish, or a favourably located building site, there the person who by virtue of title to a portion of the globe has become the proprietor of these natural objects will wrest this surplus profit from functioning capital in the form of rent. Adam Smith has

[37] Ricardo deals with this very superficially. See the passage directed against Adam Smith concerning forest rent in Norway, at the very beginning of Chapter II, in *Principles*.[a]

[a] See *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, pp. 53-54.

set forth, as concerns land for building purposes, that the basis of its rent, like that of all nonagricultural land, is regulated by agricultural rent proper (Book I, Ch. XI, 2 and 3).[a] This rent is distinguished, in the first place, by the preponderant influence exerted here by location upon differential rent (very significant, e.g., in vineyards and building sites in large cities); secondly, by the palpable and complete passiveness of the owner, whose sole activity consists (especially in mines) in exploiting the progress of social development, toward which he contributes nothing and for which he risks nothing, unlike the industrial capitalist; and finally by the prevalence of monopoly prices in many cases, particularly through the most shameless exploitation of poverty (for poverty is more lucrative for house rent than the mines of Potosi[84] ever were for Spain[38]), and the monstrous power wielded by landed property, when united hand in hand with industrial capital, enables it to be used against labourers engaged in their wage struggle as a means of practically expelling them from the earth as a dwelling place.[39] One part of society thus exacts tribute from another for the permission to inhabit the earth, as landed property in general assigns the landlord the privilege of exploiting the terrestrial body, the bowels of the earth, the air, and thereby the maintenance and development of life. Not only the population increase and with it the growing demand for shelter, but also the development of fixed capital, which is either incorporated in land, or takes root in it and is based upon it, such as all industrial buildings, railways, warehouses, factory buildings, docks, etc., necessarily increase the building rent. A confusion of house-rent, in so far as it constitutes interest and amortisation on capital invested in a house, and rent for the mere land, is not possible in this case, even with all the goodwill of a person like Carey, particularly when landlord and building speculator are different persons, as is true in England. Two elements should be considered here: on the one hand, the exploitation of the earth for the purpose of reproduction or extraction; on the other hand, the space required as an element of all production and all human activity. And

[38] Laing, Newman.[b]

[39] Crowlington Strike. Engels, *Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England*, S. 307.[c]

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[a] See A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, London, 1776. - [b] S. Laing, *National Distress; its Causes and Remedies*, London, 1844; F. W. Newman, *Lectures on Political Economy*, London, 1857. - [c] See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 543-44.

property in land demands its tribute in both senses. The demand for building sites raises the value of land as space and foundation, while thereby the demand for elements of the terrestrial body serving as building material grows simultaneously. [40]

That it is the ground rent, and not the house, which forms the actual object of building speculation in rapidly growing cities, especially where construction is carried on as an industry, e. g., in London, has already been illustrated in Book II, Chapter XII, S. 215, 216, in the testimony of a big building speculator in London, Edward Capps, given before the Select Committee on Bank Acts of 1857. He stated there, No. 5435:

"I think a man who wishes to rise in the world can hardly expect to rise by following out a FAIR TRADE ...it is necessary for him to add speculative building to it, and that must be done not on a small scale; ...for the builder makes very little profit out of the buildings themselves; he makes the principal part of the profit out of the improved ground rents. Perhaps he takes a piece of ground, and agrees to give £300 a year for it; by laying it out with care, and putting certain descriptions of buildings upon it, he may succeed in making £400 or £450 a year out of it, and his profit would be the increased ground rent of £100 or £150 a year, rather than the profit of the buildings which ..., in many instances, he scarcely looks at at all."

And parenthetically it should not be forgotten that after the lapse of the lease, generally at the end of 99 years, the land with all its buildings and its ground rent—usually increased in the interim twice or three times, reverts from the building speculator or his legal successor to the original last landlord.

Mining rent proper is determined in the same way as agricultural rent.

"There are some mines, of which the produce is barely sufficient to pay the labour and replace, together with its ordinary profits, the stock employed in working them. They afford some profit to the undertaker of the work, but no rent to the landlord. They can be wrought advantageously by nobody but the landlord, who, being himself the undertaker of the work, gets the ordinary profit of the capital which he employs in it. Many coalmines in Scotland are wrought in this manner, and can be wrought in no other. The landlord will allow nobody else to work them without paying some rent, and nobody can afford to pay any" (Adam Smith, Book I, Ch. XI, 2).[b]

[40] "The paving of the streets of London has enabled the owners of some barren rocks on the coast of Scotland to draw a rent from what never afforded any before." Adam Smith, Book I, Chapter XI, 2.[a]

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[a] See *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. Vol. 1, pp. 204-05. - [b] Ibid., p. 207.

It must be distinguished, whether the rent springs from a monopoly price, because a monopoly price of the product or the land exists independently of it, or whether the products are sold at a monopoly price, because a rent exists. When we refer to a monopoly price, we mean in general a price determined only by the purchasers' eagerness to buy and ability to pay, independent of the price determined by the general price of production, as well as by the value of the products. A vineyard producing wine of very extraordinary quality which can be produced only in relatively small quantities yields a monopoly price. The wine-grower would realise a considerable surplus profit from this monopoly price, whose excess over the value of the product would be wholly determined by the means and fondness of the discriminating wine-drinker. This surplus profit, which accrues from a monopoly price, is converted into rent and in this form falls into the lap of the landlord, thanks to his title to this piece of the globe endowed with singular properties. Here, then, the monopoly price creates the rent. On the other hand, the rent would create a monopoly price if grain were sold not merely above its price of production, but also above its value, owing to the limits set by landed property to the investment of capital in uncultivated land without payment of rent. That it is only the title of a number of persons to the possession of the globe enabling them to appropriate to themselves as tribute a portion of the surplus labour of society and furthermore to a constantly increasing extent with the development of production, is concealed by the fact that the capitalised rent, i. e., precisely this capitalised tribute, appears as the price of land, which may therefore be sold like any other article of commerce. The buyer, therefore, does not feel that his title to the rent is obtained gratis, and without the labour, risk, and spirit of enterprise of the capitalist, but rather that he has paid for it with an equivalent. To the buyer, as previously indicated, the rent appears merely as interest on the capital with which he has purchased the land and consequently his title to the rent. In the same way, the slaveholder considers a Negro, whom he has purchased, as his property, not because the institution of slavery as such entitles him to that Negro, but because he has acquired him like any other commodity, through sale and purchase. But the title itself is simply transferred, and not created by the sale. The title must exist before it can be sold, and a series of sales can no more create this title through continued repetition than a single sale can. What created it in the first place were the production relations. As soon as these have reached

a point where they must shed their skin, the material source of the title, justified economically and historically and arising from the process which creates social life, falls by the wayside, along with all transactions based upon it. From the standpoint of a higher economic form of society, private ownership of the globe by single individuals will appear quite as absurd as private ownership of one man by another. Even a whole society, a nation, or even all simultaneously existing societies taken together, are not the owners of the globe. They are only its possessors, its usufructuaries, and, like *boni patres familias*, they must hand it down to succeeding generations in an improved condition.

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In the following analysis of the price of land we leave out of consideration all fluctuations of competition, all land speculation, and also small landed property, in which land forms the principal instrument of producers and must, therefore, be bought by them at any price.

I. The price of land may rise without the rent rising, namely:

1) by a mere fall in interest rate, which causes the rent to be sold more dearly, and thereby the capitalised rent, or price of land, rises;

2) because the interest on capital incorporated in the land rises.

II. The price of land may rise, because the rent increases.

The rent may increase, because the price of the product of the land rises, in which case the rate of differential rent always rises, whether the rent on the worst cultivated soil be large, small or nonexistent. By rate we mean the ratio of that portion of surplus value converted into rent to the invested capital which produces the agricultural product. This differs from the ratio of surplus product to total product, for the total product does not comprise the entire invested capital, namely, the fixed capital, which continues to exist alongside the product. On the other hand, it covers the fact that on soils yielding differential rent an increasing portion of the product is transformed into an excess of surplus product. The increase in price of agricultural product of the worst soil first creates rent and thereby the price of land.

The rent, however, may also increase without a rise in price of the agricultural product. This price may remain constant, or even decrease.

If the price remains constant, the rent can grow only (apart from monopoly prices) because, on the one hand, given the same amount of capital invested in the old lands, new lands of better quality are

cultivated, which merely suffice, however, to cover the increased demand, so that the regulating market price remains unchanged. In this case, the price of the old lands does not rise, but the price of the newly cultivated lands rises above that of the old ones.

Or, on the other hand, the rent rises because the mass of capital exploiting the land increases, assuming that the relative productivity and market price remain the same. Although the rent thus remains the same compared with the invested capital, still its mass, for instance, may be doubled, because the capital itself has doubled. Since no fall in price has occurred, the second investment of capital yields a surplus profit just as well as the first, and it likewise is transformed into rent after the expiration of the lease. The mass of rent rises here, because the mass of capital producing a rent increases. The contention that various successive investments of capital in the same piece of land can produce rent only in so far as their yield is unequal, so that a differential rent thus arises, is reduced to the contention that when two capitals of £1,000 each are invested in two fields of equal productivity, only one of them can produce a rent, although both fields belong to a better soil type, which produces differential rent. (The mass of rental, the total rent of a country, grows therefore with the mass of capital invested, without the price of the individual pieces of land, or the rate of rent, or even the mass of rent on individual pieces of land, necessarily increasing; the amount of rental grows in this case with the extension of cultivation over a wider area. This may even be combined with a decrease in rent on individual holdings.) Otherwise, this contention would lead to the other, namely, that the investment of capital in two different pieces of land existing side by side follows different laws than the successive investment of capital in the same plot, whereas differential rent is derived precisely from the identity of the law in both cases, from the increased productiveness of capital invested either in the same field or in different fields. The only modification which exists here and is overlooked is that successive investments of capital, when applied to different pieces of land, meet the barrier of landed property, which is not the case with successive investments of capital in the same piece of land. This accounts for the opposing tendencies by which these two different forms of investment curb each other in practice. No difference in capital ever appears here. If the composition of the capital remains the same, and similarly the rate of surplus value, the rate of profit remains unaltered, so that the mass of profit is doubled when the capital is doubled. In like manner the rate

of rent remains the same under the assumed conditions. If a capital of £1,000 produces a rent of x, then a capital of £2,000, under the assumed conditions, produces a rent of 2X. But calculated with reference to the area of land, which has remained unaltered, since, according to our assumption, the doubled capital operates in the same field, the level of rent has also risen as a consequence of its increase in mass. The same acre which yielded a rent of £2, now yields £4.[41]

The relation of a portion of the surplus value, of money rent—for money is the independent expression of value—to the land is in itself absurd and irrational; for the magnitudes which are here measured by one another are incommensurable—a particular use value, a piece of land of so many and so many square feet, on the one hand, and value, especially surplus value, on the other. This expresses in fact nothing more than that, under the given conditions, the ownership of so many square feet of land enables the landowner to wrest a certain quantity of unpaid labour, which the capital wallowing in these square feet like a hog in potatoes has realised. //Written in the manuscript here in brackets, but crossed out, is the name "Liebig".// But *prima facie* the expression is the same as if one desired to speak of the relation of a five-pound note to the diameter of the earth. However, the reconciliation of irrational forms in which certain economic relations appear and assert themselves in practice does not concern the active agents of these relations in their everyday life. And since they are accustomed to move about in such relations, they find noth-

[41] It is one of the merits of Rodbertus whose important work on rent[a] we shall discuss in Book IV[7] to have developed this point. He commits the one error, however, of assuming, in the first place, that as regards capital an increase in profit is always expressed by an increase in capital, so that the ratio remains the same when the mass of profit increases. But this is erroneous, since the rate of profit may increase, given a changed composition of capital, even if the exploitation of labour remains the same, precisely because the proportional value of the constant portion of capital compared with its variable portion falls. Secondly, he commits the mistake of dealing with the ratio of money rent to a quantitatively definite piece of land, e. g., an acre, as though it had been the general premiss of classical economics in its analysis of the rise or fall of rent. This, again, is erroneous. Classical economics always treats the rate of rent, in so far as it considers rent in its natural form, with reference to the product, and in so far as it considers rent as money rent, with reference to the advanced capital, because these are in fact the rational expressions.

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[a] The reference is to Rodbertus, *Sociale Briefe an von Kirchmann*, Dritter Brief: Widerlegung der Ricardo'schen Lehre von der Grundrente und Begründung einer neuen Rententheorie, Berlin, 1851.

ing strange therein. A complete contradiction offers not the least mystery to them. They feel as much at home as a fish in water among manifestations which are separated from their internal connections and absurd when isolated by themselves. What Hegel says with reference to certain mathematical formulas applies here: that which seems irrational to ordinary common sense is rational, and that which seems rational to it is itself irrational.[a]

When considered in connection with the land area itself, a rise in the mass of rent is thus expressed in the same way as a rise in the rate of rent, and hence the embarrassment experienced when the conditions which would explain the one case are lacking in the other.

The price of land, however, may also rise even when the price of the agricultural product decreases.

In this case, the differential rent, and with it the price of the better lands, may have risen, owing to further differentiations. Or, if this is not the case, the price of the agricultural product may have fallen by virtue of greater labour productive power but in such a manner that the increased production more than counterbalances this. Let us assume that one quarter cost 60 shillings. Now, if the same acre, with the same capital, should produce two quarters instead of one, and the price of one quarter should fall to 40 shillings, then two quarters would cost 80 shillings, so that the value of the product of the same capital invested in the same acre would have risen by one-third, despite the fall in price per quarter by one-third. How this is possible without selling the product above its price of production or above its value, has been developed in the analysis of differential rent. As a matter of fact it is possible only in two ways. Either bad soil is excluded from competition, but the price of the better soil increases with the increase in differential rent, i. e., the general improvement affects the various soil types differently. Or, the same price of production (and the same value, if absolute rent is paid) expresses itself on the worst soil through a larger mass of products, when labour productivity has become greater. The product represents the same value as before, but the price of its aliquot parts has fallen, while their number has increased. This is impossible when the same capital has been employed; for in this case the same value always expresses itself through any portion of the product. It is possible, however, when additional capital has

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[a] Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*, 1. Teil, *Die Logik*. In: *Werke*, Band 6, Berlin, 1840, S. 404.

been expended for gypsum, guano, etc., in short, for improvements the effects of which extend over several years. The stipulation is that the price of an individual quarter falls, but not to the same extent as the number of quarters increases.

III. These different conditions under which rent may rise, and with it the price of land in general, or of particular kinds of land, may partly compete, or partly exclude one another, and can only act alternately. But it follows from the foregoing that the consequence of a rise in the price of land does not necessarily signify also a rise in rent, or that a rise in rent, which always brings with it a rise in the price of land, is not necessarily contingent upon an increase in the agricultural product. [42]

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Rather than tracing to their origin the real natural causes leading to an exhaustion of the soil, which, incidentally, were unknown to all economists writing on differential rent owing to the level of agricultural chemistry in their day, the shallow conception was seized upon that any amount of capital cannot be invested in a limited area of land; as the *Edinburgh Review*,[a] for instance, argued against Richard Jones that all of England cannot be fed through the cultivation of Soho Square. If this be considered a special disadvantage of agriculture, precisely the opposite is true. It is possible to invest capital here successively with fruitful results, because the soil itself serves as an instrument of production, which is not the case with a factory, or holds only to a limited extent, since it serves only as a foundation, as a place and a space providing a basis of operations. It is true that, compared with scattered handicrafts, large-scale industry may concentrate much production in a small area. Nevertheless a definite amount of space is always required at any given level of productivity, and the construction of tall buildings also has its practical limitations. Beyond this any expansion of production also demands an extension of land area. The fixed capital invested in machinery, etc., does not improve through use, but on the contrary, wears out. New inventions may indeed permit some improvement in this respect, but with any given

[42] Concerning the actual fall in the price of land when rent rises, see Passy.

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[a] See a review on R. Jones' book, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth and on the Sources of Taxation*. In: *The Edinburgh Review*, Tome LIV, August-December 1831, pp. 94-95.

development in productive power, machines will always deteriorate. If productive power is rapidly developed, all of the old machinery must be replaced by the more advantageous; in other words, it is lost. The soil, however, if properly treated, improves all the time. The advantage of the soil, permitting successive investments of capital to bring gains without loss of previous investments, implies the possibility of differences in yield from these successive investments of capital.

# Chapter XLVII

## GENESIS OF CAPITALIST GROUND RENT

### I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

We must clarify in our minds wherein lies the real difficulty in analysing ground rent from the viewpoint of modern economics, as the theoretical expression of the capitalist mode of production. Even many of the more modern writers have not as yet grasped this, as evidenced by each renewed attempt to "newly" explain ground rent. The novelty almost invariably consists in a relapse into long out-of-date views. The difficulty is not to explain the surplus product produced by agricultural capital and its corresponding surplus value in general. This question is solved in the analysis of the surplus value produced by all productive capital, in whatever sphere it may be invested. The difficulty consists rather in showing the source of the excess of surplus value paid the landlord by capital invested in land in the form of ground rent, after equalisation of the surplus value to the average profit among the various capitals, after the various capitals have shared in the total surplus value produced by the social capital in all spheres of production in proportion to their relative size; in other words, the source subsequent to this equalisation and the apparently already completed distribution of all surplus value which, in general, is to be distributed. Quite apart from the practical motives, which prodded modern economists as spokesmen of industrial capital against landed property to investigate this question — motives which we shall point out more clearly in the chapter on history of ground rent — the question was of paramount interest to them as theorists. To admit that the appearance of rent for capital invested in agriculture is due to some particular effect produced by the sphere of investment itself, due to singular qualities of the earth's crust itself, is tanta-

mount to giving up the conception of value as such, thus tantamount to abandoning all attempts at a scientific understanding of this field. Even the simple observation that rent is paid out of the price of agricultural produce — which takes place even where rent is paid in kind if the farmer is to recover his price of production — showed the absurdity of attempting to explain the excess of this price over the ordinary price of production; in other words, to explain the relative dearness of agricultural products on the basis of the excess of natural productivity of agricultural production over the productivity of other lines of production. For the reverse is true: the more productive labour is, the cheaper is every aliquot part of its product, because so much greater is the mass of use values incorporating the same quantity of labour, i. e., the same value.

The whole difficulty in analysing rent, therefore, consists in explaining the excess of agricultural profit over the average profit, not the surplus value, but the excess of surplus value characteristic of this sphere of production; in other words, not the "net product", but the excess of this net product over the net product of other branches of industry. The average profit itself is a product formed under very definite historical production relations by the movement of social processes, a product which, as we have seen, requires very complex adjustment. To be able to speak at all of an excess over the average profit, this average profit itself must already be established as a standard and as a regulator of production in general as is the case under capitalist production. For this reason in social formations where it is not capital which performs the function of enforcing all surplus labour and appropriating directly all surplus value and where therefore capital has not yet completely, or only sporadically, brought social labour under its control there can be no talk of rent in the modern sense, a rent consisting of a surplus over the average profit, i. e., over and above the proportional share of each individual capital in the surplus value produced by the total social capital. It reflects naïveté, e. g., of a person like Passy (see below), when he speaks of rent in primitive society as an excess over profit[a] — a historically defined social form of surplus value, but which, according to Passy, might almost as well exist without any society.

For the older economists, who in general merely begin analysing the capitalist mode of production, still undeveloped in their day, the

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[a] H. Passy, *Rente du sol.* In: Dictionnaire de l'économie politique, Tome II, p. 511.

analysis of rent offers either no difficulty at all, or only a difficulty of a completely different kind. Petty, Cantillon, and in general those writers who are closer to feudal times, assume ground rent to be the normal form of surplus value in general,[a] whereas profit to them is still amorphously combined with wages, or at best appears to be a portion of surplus value extorted by the capitalist from the landlord. These writers thus take as their point of departure a situation where, in the first place, the agricultural population still constitutes the overwhelming majority of the nation, and, secondly, the landlord still appears as the person appropriating at first hand the surplus labour of the direct producers by virtue of his monopoly of landed property, where landed property, therefore, still appears as the main condition of production. For these writers the question could not yet be posed, which, inversely, seeks to investigate from the viewpoint of capitalist production how landed property manages to wrest back again from capital a portion of the surplus value produced by it (that is, filched by it from the direct producers) and already appropriated directly.

The *physiocrats* are troubled by difficulties of another nature. As the actually first systematic spokesmen of capital, they attempt to analyse the nature of surplus value in general. For them, this analysis coincides with the analysis of rent, the only form of surplus value which they recognise. Therefore, they consider rent-yielding, or agricultural, capital to be the only capital producing surplus value, and the agricultural labour set in motion by it, the only labour producing surplus value, which from a capitalist viewpoint is quite properly considered the only productive labour. They are quite right in considering the creation of surplus value as decisive. Apart from other merits to be set forth in Book IV,[7] they deserve credit primarily for going back from merchant's capital, which functions solely in the sphere of circulation, to productive capital, in opposition to the mercantile system, which, with its crude realism, constitutes the actual vulgar economy of that period, pushing into the background in favour of its own practical interests the beginnings of scientific analysis made by Petty and his successors. In this critique of the mercantile system, incidentally, only its conceptions of capital and surplus value are dealt with. It has already been indicated previously that the monetary system correctly pro-

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[a] [Petty,] *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions*, pp. 23-24; [Richard Cantillon,] *Essai sur la nature du commerce en général*, Amsterdam, 1756.

claims production for the world market and the transformation of the output into commodities, and thus into money, as the prerequisite and condition of capitalist production.[a] In this system's further development into the mercantile system, it is no longer the transformation of commodity value into money, but the creation of surplus value which is decisive — but from the meaningless viewpoint of the circulation sphere and, at the same time, in such manner that this surplus value is represented as surplus money, as the balance of trade surplus. At the same time, however, the characteristic feature of the interested merchants and manufacturers of that period, which is in keeping with the stage of capitalist development represented by them, is that the transformation of feudal agricultural societies into industrial ones and the corresponding industrial struggle of nations on the world market depends on an accelerated development of capital, which is not to be arrived at along the so-called natural path, but rather by means of coercive measures. It makes a tremendous difference whether national capital is gradually and slowly transformed into industrial capital, or whether this development is accelerated by means of a tax which they impose through protective duties mainly upon landowners, middle and small peasants, and handicraftsmen, by way of accelerated expropriation of the independent direct producers, and through the violently accelerated accumulation and concentration of capital, in short by means of the accelerated establishment of conditions of capitalist production. It simultaneously makes an enormous difference in the capitalist and industrial exploitation of the natural national productive power. Hence the national character of the mercantile system is not merely a phrase on the lips of its spokesmen. Under the pretext of concern solely for the wealth of the nation and the resources of the state, they, in fact, pronounce the interests of the capitalist class and the amassing of riches in general to be the ultimate aim of the state, and thus proclaim bourgeois society in place of the old divine state. But at the same time they are consciously aware that the development of the interests of capital and of the capitalist class, of capitalist production, forms the foundation of national power and national ascendancy in modern society.

The physiocrats, furthermore, are correct in stating that in fact all production of surplus value, and thus all development of capital, has for its natural basis the productivity of agricultural labour. If man

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 389-90.

were not capable of producing in one working day more means of subsistence, which signifies in the strictest sense more agricultural products than every labourer needs for his own reproduction, if the daily expenditure of his entire labour power sufficed merely to produce the means of subsistence indispensable for his own individual requirements, then one could not speak at all either of surplus product or surplus value. An agricultural labour productivity exceeding the individual requirements of the labourer is the basis of all societies, and is above all the basis of capitalist production, which disengages a constantly increasing portion of society from the production of basic foodstuffs and transforms them into "FREE HANDS", as Steuart[a] has it, making them available for exploitation in other spheres.

But what can be said of more recent writers on economics, such as Daire, Passy, etc., who parrot the most primitive conceptions concerning the natural conditions of surplus labour and thereby surplus value in general, in the twilight of classical economy, indeed on its very death-bed, and who imagine that they are thus propounding something new and striking on ground rent[b] long after this ground rent has been investigated as a special form and become a specific portion of surplus value? It is particularly characteristic of vulgar economy that it echoes what was new, original, profound and justified during a specific outgrown stage of development, in a period when it has turned platitudinous, stale, and false. It thus confesses its complete ignorance of the problems which concerned classical economy. It confounds them with questions that could only have been posed on a lower level of development of bourgeois society. The same holds true of its incessant and self-complacent rumination of the physiocratic phrases concerning free trade. These phrases have long since lost all theoretical interest, no matter how much they may engage the practical attention of this or that state.

In natural economy proper, when no part of the agricultural product, or but a very insignificant portion, enters into the process of circulation, and then only a relatively small portion of that part of the product which represents the landlord's revenue, as, e.g., in many Roman latifundia, or upon the villas of Charlemagne,[85] or more or

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[a] J. Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy*, Vol. I, Dublin, 1770, p. 396. - [b] E. Daire, *Introduction sur la doctrine des physiocrates*. In: *Physiocrates*, Première partie, Paris, 1846; H. Passy, *Rente du sol*. In: Dictionnaire de l'économie politique, Tome II, p. 511.

less during the entire Middle Ages (see Vinçard, *Histoire du travail*), the product and surplus product of the large estates consists by no means purely of products of agricultural labour. It encompasses equally well the products of industrial labour. Domestic handicrafts and manufacturing labour, as secondary occupations of agriculture, which forms the basis, are the prerequisite of that mode of production upon which natural economy rests — in European antiquity and the Middle Ages as well as in the present-day Indian community, in which the traditional organisation has not yet been destroyed. The capitalist mode of production completely abolishes this relationship; a process which may be studied on a large scale particularly in England during the last third of the 18th century. Thinkers like Herrenschwand, who had grown up in more or less semi-feudal societies, still consider, e. g., as late as the close of the 18th century, this separation of manufacture from agriculture as a foolhardy social adventure, as an unthinkably risky mode of existence. And even in the agricultural economies of antiquity showing the greatest analogy to capitalist agriculture, namely Carthage and Rome, the similarity to a plantation economy is greater than to a form corresponding to the really capitalist mode of exploitation. [42a] A formal analogy, which, simultaneously, however, turns out to be completely illusory in all essential points to a person familiar with the capitalist mode of production, who does not, like Herr Mommsen, [43] discover a capitalist mode of production in every monetary economy, is not to be found at all in continental Italy during antiquity, but at best only in Sicily, since this island served Rome as an agricultural tributary so that its agriculture was aimed chiefly at export. Farmers in the modern sense existed there.

[42a] Adam Smith emphasises how, in his time (and this applies also to the plantations in tropical and subtropical countries in our own day), rent and profit were not yet divorced from one another,[a] for the landlord was simultaneously a capitalist, just as Cato, for instance, was on his estates. But this separation is precisely the prerequisite for the capitalist mode of production, to whose conception the basis of slavery moreover stands in direct contradiction.

[43] Herr Mommsen, in his "Römische Geschichte", by no means uses the term capitalist in the sense employed by modern economics and modern society, but rather in the manner of popular conception, such as still continues to thrive, though not in England or America, but nevertheless on the European continent, as an ancient tradition reflecting bygone conditions.

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[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. 1, p. 44.

An erroneous conception of the nature of rent is based upon the fact that rent in kind, partly as tithes to the church and partly as a curiosity perpetuated by long-established contracts, has been dragged over into modern times from the natural economy of the Middle Ages, completely in contradiction to the conditions of the capitalist mode of production. It thereby creates the impression that rent does not arise from the price of the agricultural product, but from its mass, thus not from social conditions, but from the earth. We have previously shown that although surplus value is manifested in a surplus product the converse does not hold that a surplus product, representing a mere increase in the mass of product, constitutes surplus value. It may represent a minus quantity in value. Otherwise the cotton industry of 1860, compared with that of 1840, would show an enormous surplus value, whereas on the contrary the price of the yarn has fallen. Rent may increase enormously as a result of a succession of crop failures, because the price of grain rises, although this surplus value appears as an absolutely decreasing mass of dearer wheat. Conversely, the rent may fall in consequence of a succession of bountiful years, because the price falls although the reduced rent appears as a greater mass of cheaper wheat. As regards rent in kind, it should be noted now that, in the first place, it is a mere tradition carried over from an obsolete mode of production and managing to prolong its existence as a survival. Its contradiction to the capitalist mode of production is shown by its disappearance of itself from private contracts, and its being forcibly shaken off as an anachronism, wherever legislation was able to intervene as in the case of church tithes in England. [86] Secondly, however, where rent in kind persisted on the basis of capitalist production, it was no more, and could be no more, than an expression of money rent in medieval garb. Wheat, for instance, is quoted at 40 shillings per quarter. One portion of this wheat must replace the wages contained therein, and must be sold to become available for renewed expenditure. Another portion must be sold to pay its proportionate share of taxes. Seed and even a portion of fertiliser enter as commodities into the process of reproduction, wherever the capitalist mode of production and with it division of social labour are developed, i. e., they must be purchased for replacement purposes; and therefore another portion of this quarter must be sold to obtain money for this. In so far as they need not be bought as actual commodities, but are taken out of the product itself in kind, in order to enter into its reproduction anew as conditions of production — as occurs not only

in agriculture, but in many other lines of production producing constant capital — they figure in the books as money of account and are deducted as elements of the cost price. The wear and tear of machinery, and of fixed capital in general, must be made good in money. And finally comes profit, which is calculated on this sum, expressed as costs either in actual money or in money of account. This profit is represented by a definite portion of the gross product, which is determined by its price. And the excess portion which then remains forms rent. If the rent in kind stipulated by contract is greater than this remainder determined by the price, then it does not constitute rent, but a deduction from profit. Owing to this possibility alone, rent in kind is an obsolete form, in so far as it does not reflect the price of the product, but may be greater or smaller than the real rent, and thus may comprise not only a deduction from profit, but also from those elements required for capital replacement. In fact, this rent in kind, so far as it is rent not merely in name but also in essence, is exclusively determined by the excess of the price of the product over its price of production. Only it presupposes that this variable is a constant magnitude. But it is such a comforting reflection that the product *in natura* should suffice, first, to maintain the labourer, secondly, to leave the capitalist tenant farmer more food than he needs, and finally, that the remainder should constitute the natural rent. Quite like a manufacturer producing 200,000 yards of cotton goods. These yards of goods not only suffice to chothe his labourers; to clothe his wife, all his offspring and himself abundantly; but also leave over enough cotton for sale, in addition to paying an enormous rent in terms of cotton goods. It is all so simple! Deduct the price of production from 200,000 yards of cotton goods, and an excess of cotton goods must remain for rent. But it is indeed a naïve conception to deduct the price of production of, say, £10,000 from 200,000 yards of cotton goods, without knowing the selling price, to deduct money from cotton goods, to deduct an exchange value from a use value as such, and thus to determine the excess of yards of cotton goods over pounds sterling. It is worse than squaring the circle, which is at least based upon the conception that there is a limit at which straight lines and curves imperceptibly flow together. But such is the prescription of M. Passy. Deduct money from cotton goods, before the cotton goods have been converted into money, either in one's mind or in reality! What remains is the rent, which, however, is to be grasped *naturaliter* (see, for instance,

Karl Arnd[a]) and not by deviltries of sophistry. The entire restoration of natural rent is finally reduced to this foolishness, the deduction of the price of production from so many and so many bushels of wheat, and the subtraction of a sum of money from a cubic measure.

## II. LABOUR RENT

If we consider ground rent in its simplest form, that of *labour rent*, where the direct producer, using instruments of labour (plough, cattle, etc.) which actually or legally belong to him, cultivates soil actually owned by him during part of the week, and works during the remaining days upon the estate of the feudal lord without any compensation from the feudal lord, the situation here is still quite clear, for in this case rent and surplus value are identical. Rent, not profit, is the form here through which unpaid surplus labour expresses itself. To what extent the labourer (A SELF-SUSTAINING SERF) can secure in this case an excess above his indispensable necessities of life, i. e., an excess above that which we would call wages under the capitalist mode of production, depends, other circumstances remaining unchanged, upon the proportion in which his labour time is divided into labour time for himself and enforced labour time for his feudal lord. This excess above the indispensable requirements of life, the germ of what appears as profit under the capitalist mode of production, is therefore wholly determined by the amount of ground rent, which in this case is not only directly unpaid surplus labour, but also appears as such. It is unpaid surplus labour for the "owner" of the means of production, which here coincide with the land, and so far as they differ from it, are mere accessories to it. That the product of the serf must here suffice to reproduce his conditions of labour, in addition to his subsistence, is a circumstance which remains the same under all modes of production. For it is not the result of their specific form, but a natural requisite of all continuous and reproductive labour in general, of any continuing production, which is always simultaneously reproduction, i. e., including reproduction of its own operating conditions. It is furthermore evident that in all forms in which the direct labourer remains the "possessor" of the means of production and labour condi-

[a] K. Arnd, *Die naturgemässe Volkswirtschaft, gegenüber dem Monopoliengeiste und dem Communismus*, S. 461-62.

tions necessary for the production of his own means of subsistence, the property relationship must simultaneously appear as a direct relation of lordship and servitude, so that the direct producer is not free; a lack of freedom which may be reduced from serfdom with enforced labour to a mere tributary relationship. The direct producer, according to our assumption, is to be found here in possession of his own means of production, the necessary material labour conditions required for the realisation of his labour and the production of his means of subsistence. He conducts his agricultural activity and the rural home industries connected with it independently. This independence is not undermined by the circumstance that the small peasants may form among themselves a more or less natural production community, as they do in India, since it is here merely a question of independence from the nominal lord of the manor. Under such conditions the surplus labour for the nominal owner of the land can only be extorted from them by other than economic pressure, whatever the form assumed may be. [44] This differs from slave or plantation economy in that the slave works under alien conditions of production and not independently. Thus, conditions of personal dependence are requisite, a lack of personal freedom, no matter to what extent, and being tied to the soil as its accessory, bondage in the true sense of the word. Should the direct producers not be confronted by a private landowner, but rather, as in Asia, under direct subordination to a state which stands over them as their landlord and simultaneously as sovereign, then rent and taxes coincide, or rather, there exists no tax which differs from this form of ground rent. Under such circumstances, there need exist no stronger political or economic pressure than that common to all subjects to that state. The state is then the supreme lord. Sovereignty here consists in the ownership of land concentrated on a national scale. But, on the other hand, no private ownership of land exists, although there is both private and common possession and use of land.

The specific economic form, in which unpaid surplus labour is pumped out of direct producers, determines the relationship of rulers

[44] Following the conquest of a country, the immediate aim of a conqueror was also to convert its people to his own use. Cf. Linguet.[a] See also Möser.[b]

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[a] [N. Linguet,] *Théorie des loix civiles, ou Principes fondamentaux de la société*, Tomes I-II, Londres, 1767. - [b] J. Möser, *Osnabrückische Geschichte*, I. Theil, Berlin und Stettin, 1780.

and ruled, as it grows directly out of production itself and, in turn, reacts upon it as a determining element. Upon this, however, is founded the entire formation of the economic community which grows up out of the production relations themselves, thereby simultaneously its specific political form. It is always the direct relationship of the owners of the conditions of production to the direct producers—a relation always naturally corresponding to a definite stage in the development of the methods of labour and thereby its social productivity—which reveals the innermost secret, the hidden basis of the entire social structure, and with it the political form of the relation of sovereignty and dependence, in short, the corresponding specific form of the state. This does not prevent the same economic basis—the same from the standpoint of its main conditions—due to innumerable different empirical circumstances, natural environment, racial relations, external historical influences, etc., from showing infinite variations and gradations in appearance, which can be ascertained only by analysis of the empirically given circumstances.

So much is evident with respect to labour rent, the simplest and most primitive form of rent: Rent is here the primeval form of surplus value and coincides with it. But this identity of surplus value with unpaid labour of others need not be analysed here, because it still exists in its visible, palpable form, since the labour of the direct producer for himself is still separated in space and time from his labour for the landlord, and the latter appears directly in the brutal form of enforced labour for a third person. In the same way the "attribute" possessed by the soil to produce rent is here reduced to a tangibly open secret, for the disposition to furnish rent here also includes human labour power bound to the soil, and the property relation which compels the owner of labour power to drive it on and activate it beyond such measure as is required to satisfy his own indispensable needs. Rent consists directly in the appropriation of this surplus expenditure of labour power by the landlord; for the direct producer pays him no additional rent. Here, where surplus value and rent are not only identical but where surplus value has the tangible form of surplus labour, the natural conditions or limits of rent, being those of surplus value in general, are plainly clear. The direct producer must 1) possess enough labour power, and 2) the natural conditions of his labour, above all the soil cultivated by him, must be productive enough, in a word, the natural productivity of his labour must be big enough to give him the possibility of retaining some surplus labour

over and above that required for the satisfaction of his own indispensable needs. It is not this possibility which creates the rent, but rather compulsion which turns this possibility into reality. But the possibility itself is conditioned by subjective and objective natural circumstances. And here too lies nothing at all mysterious. Should labour power be minute, and the natural conditions of labour scanty, then the surplus labour is small, but in such a case so are the wants of the producers on the one hand and the relative number of exploiters of surplus labour on the other, and finally so is the surplus product, whereby this barely productive surplus labour is realised for those few exploiting landowners.

Finally, labour rent in itself implies that, all other circumstances remaining equal, it will depend wholly upon the relative amount of surplus labour, or enforced labour, to what extent the direct producer shall be enabled to improve his own condition, to acquire wealth, to produce an excess over and above his indispensable means of subsistence, or, if we wish to anticipate the capitalist mode of expression, whether he shall be able to produce a profit for himself, and how much of a profit, i. e., an excess over his wages which have been produced by himself. Rent here is the normal, all-absorbing, so to say legitimate form of surplus labour, and far from being excess over profit, which means in this case being above any other excess over wages, it is rather that the amount of such profit, and even its very existence, depends, other circumstances being equal, upon the amount of rent, i. e., the enforced surplus labour to be surrendered to the landowners.

Since the direct producer is not the owner, but only a possessor, and since all his surplus labour *de jure* actually belongs to the landlord, some historians have expressed astonishment that it should be at all possible for those subject to enforced labour, or serfs, to acquire any independent property, or relatively speaking, wealth, under such circumstances. However, it is evident that tradition must play a dominant role in the primitive and undeveloped circumstances on which these social production relations and the corresponding mode of production are based. It is furthermore clear that here as always it is in the interest of the ruling section of society to sanction the existing order as law and to legally establish its limits given through usage and tradition. Apart from all else, this, by the way, comes about of itself as soon as the constant reproduction of the basis of the existing order and its fundamental relations assumes a regulated and orderly form in the course of time. And such regulation and order are themselves

indispensable elements of any mode of production, if it is to assume social stability and independence from mere chance and arbitrariness. These are precisely the form of its social stability and therefore its relative freedom from mere arbitrariness and mere chance. Under backward conditions of the production process as well as the corresponding social relations, it achieves this form by mere repetition of their very reproduction. If this has continued on for some time, it entrenches itself as custom and tradition and is finally sanctioned as an explicit law. However, since the form of this surplus labour, enforced labour, is based upon the imperfect development of all social productive powers and the crudeness of the methods of labour itself, it will naturally absorb a relatively much smaller portion of the direct producer's total labour than under developed modes of production, particularly the capitalist mode of production. Take it, for instance, that the enforced labour for the landlord originally amounted to two days per week. These two days of enforced labour per week are thereby fixed, are a constant magnitude, legally regulated by prescriptive or written law. But the productivity of the remaining days of the week, which are at the disposal of the direct producer himself, is a variable magnitude, which must develop in the course of his experience, just as the new wants he acquires, and just as the expansion of the market for his product and the increasing assurance with which he disposes of this portion of his labour power will spur him on to a greater exertion of his labour power, whereby it should not be forgotten that the employment of his labour power is by no means confined to agriculture, but includes rural home industry. The possibility is here presented for definite economic development taking place, depending, of course, upon favourable circumstances, inborn racial characteristics, etc.

## III. RENT IN KIND

The transformation of labour rent into rent in kind changes nothing from the economic standpoint in the nature of ground rent. The latter consists, in the forms considered here, in that rent is the sole prevailing and normal form of surplus value, or surplus labour. This is further expressed in the fact that it is the only surplus labour, or the only surplus product, which the direct producer, who is in *possession* of the labour conditions needed for his own reproduction, must give up to the *owner* of the land, which in this situation is the all-embracing

condition of labour. And, furthermore, that land is the only condition of labour which confronts the direct producer as alien property, independent of him, and personified by the landlord. To whatever extent rent in kind is the prevailing and dominant form of ground rent, it is furthermore always more or less accompanied by survivals of the earlier form, i. e., of rent paid directly in labour, corvée labour, no matter whether the landlord be a private person or the state. Rent in kind presupposes a higher stage of civilisation for the direct producer, i. e., a higher level of development of his labour and of society in general. And it is distinct from the preceding form in that surplus labour needs no longer be performed in its natural form, thus no longer under the direct supervision and compulsion of the landlord or his representatives: the direct producer is driven rather by force of circumstances than by direct coercion, through legal enactment rather than the whip, to perform it on his own responsibility. Surplus production, in the sense of production beyond the indispensable needs of the direct producer, and within the field of production actually belonging to him, upon the land exploited by himself instead of, as earlier, upon the nearby lord's estate beyond his own land, has already become a self-understood rule here. In this relation the direct producer more or less disposes of his entire labour time, although, as previously, a part of this labour time, at first practically the entire surplus portion of it, belongs to the landlord without compensation; except that the landlord no longer directly receives this surplus labour in its natural form, but rather in the products' natural form in which it is realised. The burdensome, and according to the way in which enforced labour is regulated, more or less disturbing interruption by work for the landlord (see Buch I, Kap. VIII, 2, "Manufacturer and Boyard"[a]) stops wherever rent in kind appears in pure form, or at least it is reduced to a few short intervals during the year, when a continuation of some corvée labour side by side with rent in kind takes place. The labour of the producer for himself and his labour for the landlord are no longer palpably separated by time and space. This rent in kind, in its pure form, while it may drag fragments along into more highly developed modes of production and production relations, still presupposes for its existence a natural economy, i. e., that the conditions of the economy are either wholly or for the overwhelming part produced by the

[a] English edition: Ch. X. See present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 243-51.

economy itself, directly replaced and reproduced out of its gross product. It furthermore presupposes the combination of rural home industry with agriculture. The surplus product, which forms the rent, is the product of this combined agricultural and industrial family labour, no matter whether rent in kind contains more or less of the industrial product, as is often the case in the Middle Ages, or whether it is paid only in the form of actual products of the land. In this form of rent it is by no means necessary for rent in kind, which represents the surplus labour, to fully exhaust the entire surplus labour of the rural family. Compared with labour rent, the producer rather has more room for action to gain time for surplus labour whose product shall belong to himself, as well as the product of his labour which satisfies his indispensable needs. Similarly, this form will give rise to greater differences in the economic position of the individual direct producers. At least the possibility for such a differentiation exists, and the possibility for the direct producer to have in turn acquired the means to exploit other labourers directly. This, however, does not concern us here, since we are dealing with rent in kind in its pure form; just as in general we cannot enter into the endless variety of combinations wherein the various forms of rent may be united, adulterated and amalgamated. The form of rent in kind, by being bound to a definite type of product and production itself and through its indispensable combination of agriculture and domestic industry, through its almost complete self-sufficiency whereby the peasant family supports itself through its independence from the market and the movement of production and history of that section of society lying outside of its sphere, in short owing to the character of natural economy in general, this form is quite adapted to furnishing the basis for stationary social conditions as we see, e. g., in Asia. Here, as in the earlier form of labour rent, ground rent is the normal form of surplus value, and thus of surplus labour, i. e., of the entire excess labour which the direct producer must perform gratis, hence actually under compulsion although this compulsion no longer confronts him in the old brutal form — for the benefit of the owner of his essential condition of labour, the land. The profit, if by erroneously anticipating we may thus call that portion of the direct producer's labour excess over his necessary labour, which he retains for himself, has so little to do with determining rent in kind, that this profit, on the contrary, grows up behind the back of rent and finds its natural limit in the size of rent in kind. The latter may assume dimensions which seriously imperil

reproduction of the conditions of labour, the means of production themselves, rendering the expansion of production more or less impossible and reducing the direct producers to the physical minimum of means of subsistence. This is particularly the case, when this form is met with and exploited by a conquering commercial nation, e. g., the English in India.

## IV. MONEY RENT

By money rent—as distinct from industrial and commercial ground rent based upon the capitalist mode of production, which is but an excess over average profit—we here mean the ground rent which arises from a mere change in form of rent in kind, just as the latter in turn is but a modification of labour rent. The direct producer here turns over instead of the product, its price to the landlord (who may be either the state or a private individual). An excess of products in their natural form no longer suffices; it must be converted from its natural form into money form. Although the direct producer still continues to produce at least the greater part of his means of subsistence himself, a certain portion of this product must now be converted into commodities, must be produced as commodities. The character of the entire mode of production is thus more or less changed. It loses its independence, its detachment from social connection. The ratio of cost of production, which now comprises greater or lesser expenditures of money, becomes decisive; at any rate, the excess of that portion of gross product to be converted into money over that portion which must serve, on the one hand, as means of reproduction again, and, on the other, as means of direct subsistence, assumes a determining role. However, the basis of this type of rent, although approaching its dissolution, remains the same as that of rent in kind, which constitutes its point of departure. The direct producer as before is still possessor of the land, either through inheritance or some other traditional right, and must perform for his lord, as owner of his most essential condition of production, excess corvée labour, that is, unpaid labour for which no equivalent is returned, in the form of a surplus product transformed into money. Ownership of the conditions of labour as distinct from land, such as agricultural implements and other goods and chattels, is transformed into the property of the direct producer even under the earlier forms of rent, first in fact, and then also legally, and even more so is this the precondition for the

form of money rent. The transformation of rent in kind into money rent, taking place first sporadically and then on a more or less national scale, presupposes a considerable development of commerce, of urban industry, of commodity production in general, and thereby of money circulation. It furthermore assumes a market price for products, and that they be sold at prices roughly approximating their values, which need not at all be the case under earlier forms. In Eastern Europe we may still partly observe this transformation taking place under our very eyes. How unfeasible it can be without a certain development of social labour productivity is proved by various unsuccessful attempts to carry it through under the Roman Empire, and by relapses into natural rent after seeking to convert at least the state tax portion of this rent into money rent. The same transitional difficulties are evidenced, e. g., in prerevolutionary France, when money rent was combined with and adulterated by, survivals of its earlier forms.

Money rent, as a transmuted form of rent in kind, and in antithesis to it, is, nevertheless, the final form, and simultaneously the form of dissolution of the type of ground rent which we have heretofore considered, namely ground rent as the normal form of surplus value and of the unpaid surplus labour to be performed for the owner of the conditions of production. In its pure form, this rent, like labour rent and rent in kind, represents no excess over profit. It absorbs the profit, as it is understood. In so far as profit arises beside it practically as a separate portion of excess labour, money rent like rent in its earlier forms still constitutes the normal limit of such embryonic profit, which can only develop in relation to the possibilities of exploitation, be it of one's own excess labour or that of another, which remains after the performance of the surplus labour represented by money rent. Should any profit actually arise along with this rent, then this profit does not constitute the limit of rent, but rather conversely, the rent is the limit of the profit. However, as already indicated, money rent is simultaneously the form of dissolution of the ground rent considered thus far, coinciding *prima facie* with surplus value and surplus labour, i. e., ground rent as the normal and dominant form of surplus value.

In its further development money rent must lead — aside from all intermediate forms, e. g., the small peasant tenant farmer — either to the transformation of land into peasants' freehold, or to the form corresponding to the capitalist mode of production, that is, to rent paid by the capitalist tenant farmer.

With money rent prevailing, the traditional and customary legal

relationship between landlord and subjects who possess and cultivate a part of the land, is necessarily turned into a pure money relationship fixed contractually in accordance with the rules of positive law. The possessor engaged in cultivation thus becomes virtually a mere tenant. This transformation serves on the one hand, provided other general production relations permit, to expropriate more and more the old peasant possessors and to substitute capitalist tenants in their stead. On the other hand, it leads to the former possessor buying himself free from his rent obligation and to his transformation into an independent peasant with complete ownership of the land he tills. The transformation of rent in kind into money rent is furthermore not only inevitably accompanied, but even anticipated, by the formation of a class of propertyless day labourers, who hire themselves out for money. During their genesis, when this new class appears but sporadically, the custom necessarily develops among the more prosperous peasants subject to rent payments of exploiting agricultural wage labourers for their own account, much as in feudal times, when the more well-to-do peasant serfs themselves also held serfs. In this way, they gradually acquire the possibility of accumulating a certain amount of wealth and themselves becoming transformed into future capitalists. The old self-employed possessors of land themselves thus give rise to a nursery school for capitalist tenants, whose development is conditioned by the general development of capitalist production beyond the bounds of the countryside. This class shoots up very rapidly when particularly favourable circumstances come to its aid, as in England in the 16th century, where the then progressive depreciation of money enriched them under the customary long leases at the expense of the landlords.

Furthermore: as soon as rent assumes the form of money rent, and thereby the relationship between rent-paying peasant and landlord becomes a relationship fixed by contract—a development which is only possible generally when the world market, commerce and manufacture have reached a certain relatively high level—the leasing of land to capitalists inevitably also makes its appearance. The latter hitherto stood beyond the rural limits and now carry over to the countryside and agriculture the capital acquired in the cities and with it the capitalist mode of operation developed—i. e., creating a product as a mere commodity and solely as a means of appropriating surplus value. This form can become the general rule only in those countries which dominate the world market in the period of

transition from the feudal to the capitalist mode of production. When the capitalist tenant farmer steps in between landlord and actual tiller of the soil, all relations which arose out of the old rural mode of production are torn asunder. The farmer becomes the actual commander of these agricultural labourers and the actual exploiter of their surplus labour, whereas the landlord maintains a direct relationship, and indeed simply a money and contractual relationship, solely with this capitalist tenant. Thus, the nature of rent is also transformed, not merely in fact and by chance, as occurred in part even under earlier forms, but normally, in its recognised and prevailing form. From the normal form of surplus value and surplus labour, it descends to a mere excess of this surplus labour over that portion of it appropriated by the exploiting capitalist in the form of profit; just as the total surplus labour, profit and excess over profit, is extracted directly by him, collected in the form of the total surplus product, and turned into cash. It is only the excess portion of this surplus value which is extracted by him from the agricultural labourer by direct exploitation, by means of his capital, which he turns over to the landlord as rent. How much or how little he turns over to the latter depends, on the average, upon the limits set by the average profit which is realised by capital in the nonagricultural spheres of production, and by the prices of nonagricultural production regulated by this average profit. From a normal form of surplus value and surplus labour, rent has now become transformed into an excess over that portion of the surplus labour claimed in advance by capital as its legitimate and normal share, and characteristic of this particular sphere of production, the agricultural sphere of production. Profit, instead of rent, has now become the normal form of surplus value and rent still exists solely as a form, not of surplus value in general, but of one of its offshoots, surplus profit, which assumes an independent form under particular circumstances. It is not necessary to elaborate the manner in which a gradual transformation in the mode of production itself corresponds to this transformation. This already follows from the fact that it is normal for the capitalist tenant farmer to produce agricultural products as commodities, and that, while formerly only the excess over his means of subsistence was converted into commodities, now but a relatively insignificant part of these commodities is directly used by him as means of subsistence. It is no longer the land, but rather capital, which has now brought even agricultural labour under its direct sway and productiveness.

The average profit and the price of production regulated thereby are formed outside of relations in the countryside and within the sphere of urban trade and manufacture. The profit of the rent-paying peasant does not enter into it as an equalising factor, for his relation to the landlord is not a capitalist one. In so far as he makes profit, i. e., realises an excess above his necessary means of subsistence, either by his own labour or through exploiting other people's labour, it is done behind the back of the normal relationship, and other circumstances being equal, the size of this profit does not determine rent, but on the contrary, it is determined by the rent as its limit. The high rate of profit in the Middle Ages is not entirely due to the low composition of capital, in which the variable component invested in wages predominates. It is due to swindling on the land, the appropriation of a portion of the landlord's rent and of the income of his vassals. If the countryside exploits the town politically in the Middle Ages, wherever feudalism has not been broken down by exceptional urban development—as in Italy, the town, on the other hand, exploits the land economically everywhere and without exception, through its monopoly prices, its system of taxation, its guild organisation, its direct commercial fraudulence and its usury.

One might imagine that the mere appearance of the capitalist farmer in agricultural production would prove that the price of agricultural products, which from time immemorial have paid rent in one form or another, must be higher, at least at the time of this appearance, than the prices of production of manufacture whether it be because the price of such agricultural products has reached a monopoly price level, or has risen as high as the value of the agricultural products, and their value actually is above the price of production regulated by the average profit. For were this not so, the capitalist farmer could not at all realise, at the existing prices of agricultural produce, first the average profit out of the price of these products, and then pay out of the same price an excess above this profit in the form of rent. One might conclude from this that the general rate of profit, which guides the capitalist farmer in his contract with the landlord, has been formed without including rent, and, therefore, as soon as it assumes a regulating role in agricultural production, it finds this excess at hand and pays it to the landlord. It is in this traditional manner that, for instance, Herr Rodbertus explains the matter. But:

*First.* This appearance of capital as an independent and leading force in agriculture does not take place all at once and generally, but gradually and in particular lines of production. It encompasses at first, not agriculture proper, but such branches of production as cattle-breeding, especially sheep-raising, whose principal product, wool, offers at the early stages a constant excess of market price over price of production during the rise of industry, and this does not level out until later. Thus in England during the 16th century.

*Secondly.* Since this capitalist production appears at first but sporadically, the assumption cannot be disputed that it first extends only to such land categories as are able, through their particular fertility, or their exceptionally favourable location, to generally pay a differential rent.

*Thirdly.* Let us even assume that at the time this mode of production appeared — and this indeed presupposes an increasing preponderance of urban demand — the prices of agricultural products were higher than the price of production, as was doubtless the case in England during the last third of the 17th century. Nevertheless, as soon as this mode of production has somewhat extricated itself from the mere subordination of agriculture to capital, and as soon as agricultural improvement and the reduction of production costs, which necessarily accompany its development, have taken place, the balance will be restored by a reaction, a fall in the price of agricultural produce, as happened in England in the first half of the 18th century.

Rent, thus, as an excess over the average profit cannot be explained in this traditional way. Whatever may be the existing historical circumstances at the time rent first appears, once it has struck root it cannot exist except under the modern conditions earlier described.

Finally, it should be noted in the transformation of rent in kind into money rent that along with it capitalised rent, or the price of land, and thus its alienability and alienation become essential factors, and that thereby not only can the former peasant subject to payment of rent be transformed into an independent peasant proprietor, but also urban and other moneyed people can buy real estate in order to lease it either to peasants or capitalists and thus enjoy rent as a form of interest on their capital so invested; that, therefore, this circumstance likewise facilitates the transformation of the former mode of exploitation, the relation between owner and actual cultivator of the land, and of rent itself.

## V. MÉTAYAGE AND PEASANT PROPRIETORSHIP OF LAND PARCELS

We have now arrived at the end of our elaboration of ground rent. In all these forms of ground rent, whether labour rent, rent in kind, or money rent (as merely a changed form of rent in kind), the one paying rent is always supposed to be the actual cultivator and possessor of the land, whose unpaid surplus labour passes directly into the hands of the landlord. Even in the last form, money rent in so far as it is "pure", i. e., merely a changed form of rent in kind — this is not only possible, but actually takes place.

As a transitory form from the original form of rent to capitalist rent, we may consider the metayer system, or share-cropping, under which the manager (farmer) furnishes labour (his own or another's), and also a portion of working capital, and the landlord furnishes, aside from land, another portion of working capital (e. g., cattle), and the product is divided between sharecropper and landlord in definite proportions which vary from country to country. On the one hand, the farmer here lacks sufficient capital required for complete capitalist management. On the other hand, the share here appropriated by the landlord does not bear the pure form of rent. It may actually include interest on the capital advanced by him and an excess rent. It may also absorb practically the entire surplus labour of the farmer, or leave him a greater or smaller portion of this surplus labour. But, essentially, rent no longer appears here as the normal form of surplus value in general. On the one hand, the sharecropper, whether he employs his own or another's labour, is to lay claim to a portion of the product not in his capacity as labourer, but as possessor of part of the instruments of labour, as his own capitalist. On the other hand, the landlord claims his share not exclusively on the basis of his landownership, but also as lender of capital.[44a)]

A survival of the old communal ownership of land, which had endured after the transition to independent peasant farming, e. g., in Poland and Rumania, served there as a subterfuge for effecting a transition to the lower forms of ground rent. A portion of the land

[44a)] Cf. Buret, Tocqueville, Sismondi.[a]

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[a] Cf. E. Buret, *Cours d'économie politique*, Bruxelles, 1842; A. de Tocqueville, *L'ancien régime et la révolution*, Paris, 1856; J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes d'économie politique*, seconde édition, Tome I, Paris, 1827.

belongs to the individual peasant and is tilled independently by him. Another portion is tilled in common and creates a surplus product, which serves partly to cover community expenses, partly as a reserve in cases of crop failure, etc. These last two parts of the surplus product, and ultimately the entire surplus product including the land upon which it has been grown, are more and more usurped by state officials and private individuals, and thus the originally free peasant proprietors, whose obligation to till this land in common is maintained, are transformed into vassals subject either to corvée labour or rent in kind, while the usurpers of common land are transformed into owners, not only of the usurped common lands, but even the very lands of the peasants themselves.

We need not further investigate slave economy proper (which likewise passes through a metamorphosis from the patriarchal system mainly for home use to the plantation system for the world market) nor the management of estates under which the landlords themselves are independent cultivators, possessing all instruments of production, and exploiting the labour of free or unfree bondsmen, who are paid either in kind or money. Landlord and owner of the instruments of production, and thus the direct exploiter of labourers included among these elements of production, are in this case one and the same person. Rent and profit likewise coincide then, there occurring no separation of the different forms of surplus value. The entire surplus labour of the labourers, which is manifested here in the surplus product, is extracted from them directly by the owner of all instruments of production, to which belong the land and, under the original form of slavery, the immediate producers themselves. Where the capitalist outlook prevails, as on American plantations, this entire surplus value is regarded as profit; where neither the capitalist mode of production itself exists, nor the corresponding outlook has been transferred from capitalist countries, it appears as rent. At any rate, this form presents no difficulties. The income of the landlord, whatever it may be called, the available surplus product appropriated by him, is here the normal and prevailing form, whereby the entire unpaid surplus labour is directly appropriated, and landed property forms the basis of such appropriation.

Further, *proprietorship of land parcels*. The peasant here is simultaneously the free owner of his land, which appears as his principal instrument of production, the indispensable field of employment for his labour and his capital. No lease money is paid under this form.

Rent, therefore, does not appear as a separate form of surplus value, although in countries in which otherwise the capitalist mode of production is developed, it appears as a surplus profit compared with other lines of production; but as surplus profit which, like all proceeds of his labour in general, accrues to the peasant.

This form of landed property presupposes, as in the earlier older forms, that the rural population greatly predominates numerically over the town population, so that, even if the capitalist mode of production otherwise prevails, it is but relatively little developed, and thus also in the other lines of production the concentration of capital is restricted to narrow limits and a fragmentation of capital predominates. In the nature of things, the greater portion of agricultural produce must be consumed as direct means of subsistence by the producers themselves, the peasants, and only the excess above that will find its way as commodities into urban commerce. No matter how the average market price of agricultural products may here be regulated, differential rent, an excess portion of commodity prices from superior or more favourably located land, must evidently exist here as much as under the capitalist mode of production. This differential rent exists, even where this form appears under social conditions, under which no general market price has as yet been developed; it appears then in the excess surplus product. Only then it flows into the pockets of the peasant whose labour is realised under more favourable natural conditions. The assumption here is generally to be made that no absolute rent exists, i. e., that the worst soil does not pay any rent—precisely under this form where the price of land enters as a factor in the peasant's actual cost of production whether because in the course of this form's further development either the price of land has been computed at a certain money value, in dividing up an inheritance, or, during the constant change in ownership of an entire estate, or of its component parts, the land has been bought by the cultivator himself, largely by raising money on mortgage; and, therefore, where the price of land, representing nothing more than capitalised rent, is a factor assumed in advance, and where rent thus seems to exist independently of any differentiation in fertility and location of the land. For, absolute rent presupposes either realised excess in product value above its price of production, or a monopoly price exceeding the value of the product. But since agriculture here is carried on largely as cultivation for direct subsistence, and the land exists as an indispensable field of employment for the labour and capital of the majority of the popula-

tion, the regulating market price of the product will reach its value only under extraordinary circumstances. But this value will, generally, be higher than its price of production owing to the preponderant element of living labour, although this excess of value over price of production will in turn be limited by the low composition even of non-agricultural capital in countries with an economy composed predominantly of land parcels. For the peasant owning a parcel, the limit of exploitation is not set by the average profit of capital, in so far as he is a small capitalist; nor, on the other hand, by the necessity of rent, in so far as he is a landowner. The absolute limit for him as a small capitalist is no more than the wages he pays to himself, after deducting his actual costs. So long as the price of the product covers these wages, he will cultivate his land, and often at wages down to a physical minimum. As for his capacity as land proprietor, the barrier of ownership is eliminated for him, since it can make itself felt only vis-à-vis a capital (including labour) separated from landownership, by erecting an obstacle to the investment of capital. It is true, to be sure, that interest on the price of land — which generally has to be paid to still another individual, the mortgage creditor — is a barrier. But this interest can be paid precisely out of that portion of surplus labour which would constitute profit under capitalist conditions. The rent anticipated in the price of land and in the interest paid for it can therefore be nothing but a portion of the peasant's capitalised surplus labour over and above the labour indispensable for his subsistence, without this surplus labour being realised in a part of the commodity value equal to the entire average profit, and still less in an excess above the surplus labour realised in the average profit, i. e., in a surplus profit. The rent may be a deduction from the average profit, or even the only portion of it which is realised. For the peasant parcel holder to cultivate his land, or to buy land for cultivation, it is therefore not necessary, as under the normal capitalist mode of production, that the market price of the agricultural products rise high enough to afford him the average profit, and still less a fixed excess above this average profit in the form of rent. It is not necessary, therefore, that the market price rise either up to the value or the price of production of his product. This is one of the reasons why grain prices are lower in countries with predominant small peasant land proprietorship than in countries with a capitalist mode of production. One portion of the surplus labour of the peasants, who work under the least favourable conditions, is bestowed gratis upon society and does

not at all enter into the regulation of price of production or into the creation of value in general. This lower price is consequently a result of the producers' poverty and by no means of their labour productivity.

This form of free self-managing peasant proprietorship of land parcels as the prevailing, normal form constitutes, on the one hand, the economic foundation of society during the best periods of classical antiquity, and on the other hand, it is found among modern nations as one of the forms arising from the dissolution of feudal landownership. Thus, the YEOMANRY in England,[87] the peasantry in Sweden, the French and West German peasants. We do not include colonies here, since the independent peasant there develops under different conditions.

The free ownership of the self-managing peasant is evidently the most normal form of landed property for small-scale operation, i. e., for a mode of production, in which possession of the land is a prerequisite for the labourer's ownership of the product of his own labour, and in which the cultivator, be he free owner or vassal, always must produce his own means of subsistence independently, as an isolated labourer with his family. Ownership of the land is as necessary for full development of his mode of production as ownership of tools is for free development of handicraft production. Here is the basis for the development of personal independence. It is a necessary transitional stage for the development of agriculture itself. The causes which bring about its downfall show its limitations. These are: Destruction of rural domestic industry, which forms its normal supplement as a result of the development of large-scale industry; a gradual impoverishment and exhaustion of the soil subjected to this cultivation; usurpation by big landowners of the common lands, which constitute the second supplement of the management of land parcels everywhere and which alone enable it to raise cattle; competition, either of the plantation system or large-scale capitalist agriculture. Improvements in agriculture, which on the one hand cause a fall in agricultural prices and, on the other, require greater outlays and more extensive material conditions of production, also contribute towards this, as in England during the first half of the 18th century.

Proprietorship of land parcels by its very nature excludes the development of social productive forces of labour, social forms of labour, social concentration of capital, large-scale cattle-raising, and the progressive application of science.

Usury and a taxation system must impoverish it everywhere. The expenditure of capital in the price of the land withdraws this capital from cultivation. An infinite fragmentation of means of production, and isolation of the producers themselves. Monstrous waste of human energy. Progressive deterioration of conditions of production and increased prices of means of production — an inevitable law of proprietorship of parcels. Calamity of seasonal abundance for this mode of production.[45]

One of the specific evils of small-scale agriculture where it is combined with free landownership arises from the cultivator's investing capital in the purchase of land. (The same applies also to the transitory form, in which the big landowner invests capital, first, to buy land, and second, to manage it as his own tenant farmer.) Owing to the changeable nature which the land here assumes as a mere commodity, the changes of ownership increase,[46] so that the land, from the peasant's viewpoint, enters anew as an investment of capital with each successive generation and division of estates, i. e., it becomes land purchased by him. The price of land here forms a weighty element of the individual unproductive costs of production or cost price of the product for the individual producer.

The price of land is nothing but capitalised and therefore anticipated rent. If capitalist methods are employed by agriculture, so that the landlord receives only rent, and the farmer pays nothing for land except this annual rent, then it is evident that the capital invested by the landowner himself in purchasing the land constitutes indeed an interest-bearing investment of capital for him, but has absolutely nothing to do with capital invested in agriculture itself. It forms neither a part of the fixed, nor of the circulating, capital employed here[47]; it

[45] See the speech from the throne of the King of France in Tooke.[a]

[46] See Mounier and Rubichon.[b]

[47] Dr. H. Maron (*Extensiv oder Intensiv?*)//no further information given about this pamphlet// starts from the false assumption of the adversaries he opposes. He assumes that capital invested in the purchase of land is "investment capital", and then engages in a controversy about the respective definitions of investment capital and working capital, that is, fixed and circulating capital. His wholly amateurish conceptions of capital in general, which may be excused incidentally in one who is not an economist in

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[a] Th. Tooke, W. Newmarch, *A History of Prices, and of the State of the Circulation, during the Nine Years 1848-56*, Vol. VI, London, 1857, pp. 29-30. - [b] L. Mounier, *De l'agriculture en France*, Paris, 1846; M. Rubichon, *Du mécanisme de la société en France et en Angleterre*, Paris, 1837.

merely secures for the buyer a claim to receive annual rent, but has absolutely nothing to do with the production of the rent itself. The buyer of land just pays his capital out to the one who sells the land, and the seller in return relinquishes his ownership of the land. Thus this capital no longer exists as the capital of the purchaser; he no longer has it; therefore it does not belong to the capital which he can invest in any way in the land itself. Whether he bought the land dear or cheap, or whether he received it for nothing, alters nothing in the capital invested by the farmer in his establishment, and changes nothing in the rent, but merely alters the question whether it appears to him as interest or not, or as higher or lower interest respectively.

Take, for instance, the slave economy. The price paid for a slave is nothing but the anticipated and capitalised surplus value or profit to be wrung out of the slave. But the capital paid for the purchase of a slave does not belong to the capital by means of which profit, surplus labour, is extracted from him. On the contrary. It is capital which the slaveholder has parted with, it is a deduction from the capital which he has available for actual production. It has ceased to exist for him, just as capital invested in purchasing land has ceased to exist for agriculture. The best proof of this is that it does not reappear for the slaveholder or the landowner except when he, in turn, sells his slaves or land. But then the same situation prevails for the buyer. The fact that he has bought the slave does not enable him to exploit the slave without further ado. He is only able to do so when he invests some additional capital in the slave economy itself.

The same capital does not exist twice, once in the hands of the seller, and a second time in the hands of the buyer of the land. It passes from the hands of the buyer to those of the seller, and there the matter ends. The buyer now no longer has capital, but in its stead a piece of land. The circumstance that the rent produced by a real investment of capital in this land is calculated by the new landowner as interest on capital which he has not invested in the land, but given away to acquire the land, does not in the least alter the economic nature of the land factor, any more than the circumstance that someone has paid £1,000 for 3% consols has anything to do with the capital out of whose revenue the interest on the national debt is paid.

view of the state of German political economy, conceal from him that this capital is neither investment nor working capital, any more than the capital which someone invests at the Stock Exchange in purchasing stocks or government securities, and which, for him, represents a personal investment of capital, is "invested" in any branch of production.

In fact, the money expended in purchasing land, like that in purchasing government bonds, is merely capital *in itself*, just as any value sum is capital in itself, potential capital, on the basis of the capitalist mode of production. What is paid for land, like that for government bonds or any other purchased commodity, is a sum of money. This is capital in itself, because it can be converted into capital. It depends upon the use put to it by the seller whether the money obtained by him is really transformed into capital or not. For the buyer, it can never again function as such, no more than any other money which he has definitely paid out. It figures in his accounts as interest-bearing capital, because he considers the income, received as rent from the land or as interest on state indebtedness, as interest on the money which the purchase of the claim to this revenue has cost him. He can only realise it as capital through resale. But then another, the new buyer, enters the same relationship maintained by the former, and the money thus expended cannot be transformed into actual capital for the expender through any change of hands.

In the case of small landed property the illusion is fostered still more that land itself possesses value and thus enters as capital into the price of production of the product, much as machines or raw materials. But we have seen that rent, and therefore capitalised rent, the price of land, can enter as a determining factor into the price of agricultural products in only two cases. First, when as a consequence of the composition of agricultural capital — a capital which has nothing to do with the capital invested in purchasing land — the value of the products of the soil is higher than their price of production, and market conditions enable the landlord to realise this difference. Second, when there is a monopoly price. And both are least of all the case under the management of land parcels and small landownership because precisely here production to a large extent satisfies the producers' own wants and is carried on independently of regulation by the average rate of profit. Even where cultivation of land parcels is conducted upon leased land, the lease money comprises, far more so than under any other conditions, a portion of the profit and even a deduction from wages; this money is then only a nominal rent, not rent as an independent category as opposed to wages and profit.

The expenditure of money capital for the purchase of land, then, is not an investment of agricultural capital. It is a decrease *pro tanto* in the capital which small peasants can employ in their own sphere of production. It reduces *pro tanto* the size of their means of production

and thereby narrows the economic basis of reproduction. It subjects the small peasant to the money-lender, since credit proper occurs but rarely in this sphere in general. It is a hindrance to agriculture, even where such purchase takes place in the case of large estates. It contradicts in fact the capitalist mode of production, which is on the whole indifferent to whether the landowner is in debt, no matter whether he has inherited or purchased his estate. The nature of management of the leased estate itself is not altered whether the landowner pockets the rent himself or whether he must pay it out to the holder of his mortgage.

We have seen that, in the case of a given ground rent, the price of land is regulated by the interest rate. If the rate is low, then the price of land is high, and vice versa. Normally, then, a high price of land and a low interest rate should go hand in hand, so that if the peasant paid a high price for the land in consequence of a low interest rate, the same low rate of interest should also secure his working capital for him on easy credit terms. But in reality, things turn out differently when peasant proprietorship of land parcels is the prevailing form. In the first place, the general laws of credit are not adapted to the farmer, since these laws presuppose a capitalist as the producer. Secondly, where proprietorship of land parcels predominates — we are not referring to colonies here — and the small peasant constitutes the backbone of the nation, the formation of capital, i. e., social reproduction, is relatively weak, and still weaker is the formation of loanable money capital, in the sense previously elaborated. This presupposes the concentration and existence of a class of idle rich capitalists (Massie).[a] Thirdly, here where the ownership of the land is a necessary condition for the existence of most producers, and an indispensable field of investment for their capital, the price of land is raised independently of the interest rate, and often in inverse ratio to it, through the preponderance of the demand for landed property over its supply. Land sold in parcels brings a far higher price in such a case than when sold in large tracts, because here the number of small buyers is large and that of large buyers is small (Bandes Noires,[88] Rubichon[b]; Newman[c]). For all these reasons, the price of land rises here with a relatively high rate of interest. The relatively low interest, which the peasant derives

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[a] J. Massie, *An Essay on the Governing Causes of the Natural Rate of Interest*, London, 1750, pp. 23-24. - [b] See this volume, p. 794. - [c] F. W. Newman, *Lectures on Political Economy*, London, 1851, pp. 180-81.

here from the outlay of capital for the purchase of land (Mounier,[a]) corresponds here, on the other side, to the high usurious interest rate which he himself has to pay to his mortgage creditors. The Irish system bears out the same thing, only in another form.

The price of land, this element foreign to production in itself, may therefore rise here to such a point that it makes production impossible (Dombasle[b]).

The fact that the price of land plays such a role, that purchase and sale, the circulation of land as a commodity, develops to this degree, is practically a result of the development of the capitalist mode of production in so far as a commodity is here the general form of all products and all instruments of production. On the other hand, this development takes place only where the capitalist mode of production has a limited development and does not unfold all of its peculiarities, because this rests precisely upon the fact that agriculture is no longer, or not yet, subject to the capitalist mode of production, but rather to one handed down from extinct forms of society. The disadvantages of the capitalist mode of production, with its dependence of the producer upon the money price of his product, coincide here therefore with the disadvantage occasioned by the imperfect development of the capitalist mode of production. The peasant turns merchant and industrialist without the conditions enabling him to produce his products as commodities.

The conflict between the price of land as an element in the producers' cost price and no element in the price of production of the product (even though the rent enters as a determining factor into the price of the agricultural product, the capitalised rent, which is advanced for 20 years or more, by no means enters as a determinant) is but one of the forms manifesting the general contradiction between private landownership and a rational agriculture, the normal social utilisation of the soil. But on the other hand, private landownership, and thereby expropriation of the direct producers from the land—private landownership by the one, which implies lack of ownership by others—is the basis of the capitalist mode of production.

Here, in small-scale agriculture, the price of land, a form and result of private landownership, appears as a barrier to production itself.

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[a] L. Mounier, *De l'agriculture en France*, Paris, 1846. - [b] C.J. Dombasle de, *Annales agricoles de Roville ou mélanges d'agriculture, d'économie rurale et de législation agricole*, Paris, 1824-37.

In large-scale agriculture, and large estates operating on a capitalist basis, ownership likewise acts as a barrier, because it limits the tenant farmer in his productive investment of capital, which in the final analysis benefits not him, but the landlord. In both forms, exploitation and squandering of the vitality of the soil (apart from making exploitation dependent upon the accidental and unequal circumstances of individual producers rather than the attained level of social development) takes the place of conscious rational cultivation of the soil as eternal communal property, an inalienable condition for the existence and reproduction of a chain of successive generations of the human race. In the case of small property, this results from the lack of means and knowledge of applying the social labour productive power. In the case of large property, it results from the exploitation of such means for the most rapid enrichment of farmer and proprietor. In the case of both through dependence on the market price.

All critique of small landed property resolves itself in the final analysis into a criticism of private ownership as a barrier and hindrance to agriculture. And similarly all countercriticism of large landed property. In either case, of course, we leave aside all secondary political considerations. This barrier and hindrance, which are erected by all private landed property vis-à-vis agricultural production and the rational cultivation, maintenance and improvement of the soil itself, develop on both sides merely in different forms, and in wrangling over the specific forms of this evil its ultimate cause is forgotten.

Small landed property presupposes that the overwhelming majority of the population is rural, and that not social, but isolated labour predominates; and that, therefore, under such conditions wealth and development of reproduction, both of its material and spiritual prerequisites, are out of the question, and thereby also the prerequisites for rational cultivation. On the other hand, large landed property reduces the agricultural population to a constantly falling minimum, and confronts it with a constantly growing industrial population crowded together in large cities. It thereby creates conditions which cause an irreparable break in the coherence of social interchange prescribed by the natural laws of life. As a result, the vitality of the soil is squandered, and this prodigality is carried by commerce far beyond the borders of a particular state (Liebig).[a]

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[a] Liebig, *Die Chemie in ihrer Anwendung auf Agricultur und Physiologie.*

While small landed property creates a class of barbarians standing halfway outside of society, a class combining all the crudeness of primitive forms of society with all the anguish and misery of civilised countries, large landed property undermines labour power in the last region, where its prime energy seeks refuge and stores up its strength as a reserve fund for the regeneration of the vital force of nations—on the land itself. Large-scale industry and large-scale mechanised agriculture work together. If originally distinguished by the fact that the former lays waste and destroys principally labour power, hence the natural force of human beings, whereas the latter more directly exhausts and ruins the natural vitality of the soil, they join hands in the further course of development in that the industrial system in the countryside also enervates the labourers, and industry and commerce on their part supply agriculture with the means for exhausting the soil.

# Part VII

## REVENUES AND THEIR SOURCES

## Chapter XLVIII

### THE TRINITY FORMULA

[48]

Capital — profit (profit of enterprise plus interest), land — ground rent, labour — wages, this is the trinity formula which comprises all the secrets of the social production process.

Furthermore, since as previously[a] demonstrated interest appears as the specific characteristic product of capital and profit of enterprise on the contrary appears as wages independent of capital, the above trinity formula reduces itself more specifically to the following:

Capital — interest, land — ground rent, labour — wages, where profit, the specific characteristic form of surplus value belonging to the capitalist mode of production, is fortunately eliminated.

On closer examination of this economic trinity, we find the following:

First, the alleged sources of the annually available wealth belong to widely dissimilar spheres and are not at all analogous with one another. They have about the same relation to each other as lawyer's fees, red beets and music.

Capital, land, labour! However, capital is not a thing, but rather a definite social production relation, belonging to a definite historical formation of society, which is manifested in a thing and lends this thing a specific social character. Capital is not the sum of the material and produced means of production. Capital is rather the means of

[48] The following three fragments were found in different parts of the manuscript for Part VI.—*F. E.*

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[a] See this volume, Part 1, Ch. XXIII.

production transformed into capital, which in themselves are no more capital than gold or silver in itself is money. It is the means of production monopolised by a certain section of society, confronting living labour power as products and working conditions rendered independent of this very labour power, which are personified through this antithesis in capital. It is not merely the products of labourers turned into independent powers, products as rulers and buyers of their producers, but rather also the social forces and the future ... //? illegible//[a] form of this labour, which confront the labourers as properties of their products. Here, then, we have a definite and, at first glance, very mystical, social form of one of the factors in a historically produced social production process.

And now alongside of this we have the land, inorganic nature as such, *rudis indigestaque moles*,[b] in all its primeval wildness. Value is labour. Therefore surplus value cannot be earth. Absolute fertility of the soil effects nothing more than the following: a certain quantity of labour produces a certain product — in accordance with the natural fertility of the soil. The difference in soil fertility causes the same quantities of labour and capital, hence the same value, to be manifested in different quantities of agricultural products; that is, causes these products to have different individual values. The equalisation of these individual values into market values is responsible for the fact that the

"ADVANTAGES OF FERTILE OVER INFERIOR SOIL ... ARE TRANSFERRED FROM THE CULTIVATOR OR CONSUMER TO THE LANDLORD" (Ricardo, *Principles*, p. 62).

And finally, as third party[c] in this union, a mere ghost — "the" Labour, which is no more than an abstraction and taken by itself does not exist at all, or, if we take ... //illegible//,[d] the productive activity of human beings in general, by which they promote the interchange with Nature, divested not only of every social form and well-defined character, but even in its bare natural existence, independent of society, removed from all societies, and as an expression and confirmation of life which the still nonsocial man in general has in common with the one who is in any way social.

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[a] A later collation with the manuscript showed that the text reads as follows: "die Gesellschaftlichen Kräfte und Zusammenhängende Form dieser Arbeit" (the social forces of their labour and socialised form of this labour). - [b] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book I, 7. - [c] F. Schiller, "Die Bürgschaft". - [d] As has been established by later reading of the manuscript, it reads here: "wenn wir das Gemeinte nehmen" (if we take that which is behind it).

II

Capital—interest; landed property, private ownership of the Earth, and, to be sure, modern and corresponding to the capitalist mode of production—rent; wage labour—wages. The connection between the sources of revenue is supposed to be represented in this form. Wage labour and landed property, like capital, are historically determined social forms; one of labour, the other of monopolised terrestrial globe, and indeed both forms corresponding to capital and belonging to the same economic formation of society.

The first striking thing about this formula is that side by side with capital, with this form of an element of production belonging to a definite mode of production, to a definite historical form of social process of production, side by side with an element of production amalgamated with and represented by a definite social form are indiscriminately placed: the land on the one hand and labour on the other, two elements of the real labour process, which in this material form are common to all modes of production, which are the material elements of every process of production and have nothing to do with its social form.

Secondly. In the formula: capital—interest, land—ground rent, labour—wages, capital, land and labour appear respectively as sources of interest (instead of profit), ground rent and wages, as their products, or fruits; the former are the basis, the latter the consequence, the former are the cause, the latter the effect; and indeed, in such a manner that each individual source is related to its product as to that which is ejected and produced by it. All the proceeds, interest (instead of profit), rent, and wages, are three components of the value of the products, i. e., generally speaking, components of value or expressed in money, certain money components, price components. The formula: capital—interest is now indeed the most meaningless formula of capital, but still one of its formulas. But how should land create value, i. e., a socially defined quantity of labour, and moreover that particular portion of the value of its own products which forms the rent? Land, e. g., takes part as an agent of production in creating a use value, a material product, wheat. But it has nothing to do with the production of the *value of wheat.* In so far as value is represented by wheat, the latter is merely considered as a definite quantity of objectified social labour, regardless of the particular substance in which this labour is manifested or of the particular use value of this sub-

stance. This nowise contradicts that 1) other circumstances being equal, the cheapness or dearness of wheat depends upon the productivity of the soil. The productivity of agricultural labour is dependent on natural conditions, and the same quantity of labour is represented by more or fewer products, use values, in accordance with such productivity. How large the quantity of labour represented in one bushel of wheat depends upon the number of bushels yielded by the same quantity of labour. It depends, in this case, upon the soil productivity in what quantities of product the value shall be manifested. But this value is given, independent of this distribution. Value is represented in use value; and use value is a prerequisite for the creation of value; but it is folly to create an antithesis by placing a use value, like land, on one side and on the other side value, and a particular portion of value at that. 2) ...//here the manuscript breaks off//.

III

Vulgar economy actually does no more than interpret, systematise and defend in doctrinaire fashion the conception of the agents of bourgeois production who are entrapped in bourgeois production relations. It should not astonish us, then, that vulgar economy feels particularly at home in the estranged outward appearances of economic relations in which these *prima facie* absurd and perfect contradictions appear and that these relations seem the more self-evident the more their internal relationships are concealed from it, although they are understandable to the popular mind. But all science would be superfluous if the outward appearance and the essence of things directly coincided. Thus, vulgar economy has not the slightest suspicion that the trinity which it takes as its point of departure, namely, land—rent, capital—interest, labour—wages or the price of labour, are *prima facie* three impossible combinations. First we have the use value *land*, which has no value, and the exchange value *rent*: so that a social relation conceived as a thing is made proportional to Nature, i. e., two incommensurable magnitudes are supposed to stand in a given ratio to one another. Then *capital—interest*. If capital is conceived as a certain sum of values represented independently by money, then it is *prima facie* nonsense to say that a certain value should be worth more than it is worth. It is precisely in the form: capital—interest that all intermediate links are eliminated, and capital is reduced to its

most general formula, which therefore in itself is also inexplicable and absurd. The vulgar economist prefers the formula capital—interest, with its occult quality of making a value unequal to itself, to the formula capital—profit, precisely for the reason that this already more nearly approaches actual capitalist relations. Then again, driven by the disturbing thought that 4 is not 5 and that 100 taler cannot possibly be 110 taler, he flees from capital as value to the material substance of capital; to its use value as a condition of production of labour, to machinery, raw materials, etc. Thus, he is able once more to substitute in place of the first incomprehensible relation, whereby 4 = 5, a wholly incommensurable one between a use value, a thing on one side, and a definite social production relation, surplus value, on the other, as in the case of landed property. As soon as the vulgar economist arrives at this incommensurable relation, everything becomes clear to him, and he no longer feels the need for further thought. For he has arrived precisely at the "rational" in bourgeois conception. Finally, *labour—wages*, or price of labour, is an expression, as shown in Book I, which *prima facie* contradicts the conception of value as well as of price—the latter generally being but a definite expression of value. And "price of labour" is just as irrational as a yellow logarithm. But here the vulgar economist is all the more satisfied, because he has gained the profound insight of the bourgeois, namely, that he pays money for labour, and since precisely the contradiction between the formula and the conception of value relieves him from all obligation to understand the latter.

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We[49] have seen that the capitalist process of production is a historically determined form of the social process of production in general. The latter is as much a production process of material conditions of human life as a process taking place under specific historical and economic production relations, producing and reproducing these production relations themselves, and thereby also the bearers of this process, their material conditions of existence and their mutual relations, i. e., their particular socio-economic form. For the aggregate of these relations, in which the agents of this production stand with respect to Nature and to one another, and in which they produce, is precisely society, considered from the standpoint of its economic

[49] Beginning of Chapter XLVIII according to the manuscript.—*F. E.*

structure. Like all its predecessors, the capitalist process of production proceeds under definite material conditions, which are, however, simultaneously the bearers of definite social relations entered into by individuals in the process of reproducing their life. Those conditions, like these relations, are on the one hand prerequisites, on the other hand results and creations of the capitalist process of production; they are produced and reproduced by it. We saw also that capital—and the capitalist is merely capital personified and functions in the process of production solely as the agent of capital—in its corresponding social process of production, pumps a definite quantity of surplus labour out of the direct producers, or labourers; capital obtains this surplus labour without an equivalent, and in essence it always remains forced labour—no matter how much it may seem to result from free contractual agreement. This surplus labour appears as surplus value, and this surplus value exists as a surplus product. Surplus labour in general, as labour performed over and above the given requirements, must always remain. In the capitalist as well as in the slave system, etc., it merely assumes an antagonistic form and is supplemented by complete idleness of a stratum of society. A definite quantity of surplus labour is required as insurance against accidents, and by the necessary and progressive expansion of the process of reproduction in keeping with the development of the needs and the growth of population, which is called accumulation from the viewpoint of the capitalist. It is one of the civilising aspects of capital that it enforces this surplus labour in a manner and under conditions which are more advantageous to the development of the productive forces, social relations, and the creation of the elements for a new and higher form than under the preceding forms of slavery, serfdom, etc. Thus it gives rise to a stage, on the one hand, in which coercion and monopolisation of social development (including its material and intellectual advantages) by one portion of society at the expense of the other are eliminated; on the other hand, it creates the material means and embryonic conditions, making it possible in a higher form of society to combine this surplus labour with a greater reduction of time devoted to material labour in general. For, depending on the development of labour productivity, surplus labour may be large in a small total working day, and relatively small in a large total working day. If the necessary labour time = 3 and the surplus labour = 3, then the total working day = 6 and the rate of surplus labour = 100%. If the necessary labour = 9 and the surplus labour = 3, then the total working

day = 12 and the rate of surplus labour only = $33\frac{1}{3}$ %. In that case, it depends upon the labour productivity how much use value shall be produced in a definite time, hence also in a definite surplus labour time. The actual wealth of society, and the possibility of constantly expanding its reproduction process, therefore, do not depend upon the duration of surplus labour, but upon its productivity and the more or less copious conditions of production under which it is performed. In fact, the realm of freedom actually begins only where labour which is determined by necessity and mundane considerations ceases; thus in the very nature of things it lies beyond the sphere of actual material production. Just as the savage must wrestle with Nature to satisfy his wants, to maintain and reproduce life, so must civilised man, and he must do so in all social formations and under all possible modes of production. With his development this realm of physical necessity expands as a result of his wants; but, at the same time, the forces of production which satisfy these wants also increase. Freedom in this field can only consist in socialised man, the associated producers, rationally regulating their interchange with Nature, bringing it under their common control, instead of being ruled by it as by the blind forces of Nature; and achieving this with the least expenditure of energy and under conditions most favourable to, and worthy of, their human nature. But it nonetheless still remains a realm of necessity. Beyond it begins that development of human energy which is an end in itself, the true realm of freedom, which, however, can blossom forth only with this realm of necessity as its basis. The shortening of the working day is its basic prerequisite.

In a capitalist society, this surplus value, or this surplus product (leaving aside chance fluctuations in its distribution and considering only its regulating law, its standardising limits), is divided among capitalists as dividends proportionate to the share of the social capital each holds. In this form surplus value appears as average profit which falls to the share of capital, an average profit which in turn divides into profit of enterprise and interest, and which under these two categories may fall into the laps of different kinds of capitalists. This appropriation and distribution of surplus value, or surplus product, on the part of capital, however, has its barrier in landed property. Just as the operating capitalist pumps surplus labour, and thereby surplus value and surplus product in the form of profit, out of the labourer, so the landlord in turn pumps a portion of this surplus value, or surplus

product, out of the capitalist in the form of rent in accordance with the laws already elaborated.

Hence, when speaking here of profit as that portion of surplus value falling to the share of capital, we mean average profit (equal to profit of enterprise plus interest) which is already limited by the deduction of rent from the aggregate profit (identical in mass with aggregate surplus value); the deduction of rent is assumed. Profit of capital (profit of enterprise plus interest) and ground rent are thus no more than particular components of surplus value, categories by which surplus value is differentiated depending on whether it falls to the share of capital or landed property, headings which in no whit however alter its nature. Added together, these form the sum of social surplus value. Capital pumps the surplus labour, which is represented by surplus value and surplus product, directly out of the labourers. Thus, in this sense, it may be regarded as the producer of surplus value. Landed property has nothing to do with the actual process of production. Its role is confined to transferring a portion of the produced surplus value from the pockets of capital to its own. However, the landlord plays a role in the capitalist process of production not merely through the pressure he exerts upon capital, nor merely because large landed property is a prerequisite and condition of capitalist production since it is a prerequisite and condition of the expropriation of the labourer from the conditions of labour, but particularly because he appears as the personification of one of the most essential conditions of production.

Finally, the labourer in the capacity of owner and seller of his individual labour power receives a portion of the product under the label of wages, in which that portion of his labour appears which we call necessary labour, i. e., that required for the maintenance and reproduction of this labour power, be the conditions of this maintenance and reproduction scanty or bountiful, favourable or unfavourable.

Whatever may be the disparity of these relations in other respects, they all have this in common: Capital yields a profit year after year to the capitalist, land a ground rent to the landlord, and labour power, under normal conditions and so long as it remains useful labour power, a wage to the labourer. These three portions of total value annually produced, and the corresponding portions of the annually created total product (leaving aside for the present any consideration of accumulation), may be annually consumed by their respective

owners, without exhausting the source of their reproduction. They are like the annually consumable fruits of a perennial tree, or rather three trees; they form the annual incomes of three classes, capitalist, landowner and labourer, revenues distributed by the functioning capitalist in his capacity as direct extorter of surplus labour and employer of labour in general. Thus, capital appears to the capitalist, land to the landlord, and labour power, or rather labour itself, to the labourer (since he actually sells labour power only as it is manifested, and since the price of labour power, as previously shown, inevitably appears as the prices of labour under the capitalist mode of production), as three different sources of their specific revenues, namely, profit, ground rent and wages. They are really so in the sense that capital is a perennial pumping-machine of surplus labour for the capitalist, land a perennial magnet for the landlord, attracting a portion of the surplus value pumped out by capital, and finally, labour the constantly self-renewing condition and ever self-renewing means of acquiring under the title of wages a portion of the value created by the labourer and thus a part of the social product measured by this portion of value, i. e., the necessities of life. They are so, furthermore, in the sense that capital fixes a portion of the value and thereby of the product of the annual labour in the form of profit; landed property fixes another portion in the form of rent; and wage labour fixes a third portion in the form of wages, and precisely by this transformation converts them into revenues of the capitalist, landowner, and labourer, without, however, creating the substance itself which is transformed into these various categories. The distribution rather presupposes the existence of this substance, namely, the total value of the annual product which is nothing but objectified social labour. Nevertheless, it is not in this form that the matter appears to the agents of production, the bearers of the various functions in the production process, but rather in a distorted form. Why this takes place will be developed in the further course of our analysis. Capital, landed property and labour appear to those agents of production as three different, independent sources, from which as such there arise three different components of the annually produced value—and thereby the product in which it exists; thus, from which there arise not merely the different forms of this value as revenues falling to the share of particular factors in the social process of production, but from which this value itself arises, and thereby the substance of these forms of revenue.

//Here one folio sheet of the manuscript is missing.// [89]

... Differential rent is bound up with the relative soil fertility, in other words, with properties arising from the soil as such. But, in the first place, in so far as it is based upon the different individual values of the products of different soil types, it is but the determination just mentioned; secondly, in so far as it is based upon the regulating general market value, which differs from these individual values, it is a social law carried through by means of competition, which has to do neither with the soil nor the different degrees of its fertility.

It might seem as if a rational relation were expressed at least in "labour — wages". But this is no more the case than with "land — ground rent". In so far as labour is value-creating, and is manifested in the value of commodities, it has nothing to do with the distribution of this value among various categories. In so far as it has the specifically social character of wage labour, it is not value-creating. It has already been shown in general that wages of labour, or price of labour, is but an irrational expression for the value, or price of labour power; and the specific social conditions, under which this labour power is sold, have nothing to do with labour as a general agent in production. Labour is also objectified in that value component of a commodity which as wages forms the price of labour power; it creates this portion just as much as the other portions of the product; but it is objectified in this portion no more and no differently than in the portions forming rent or profit. And, in general, when we establish labour as value-creating, we do not consider it in its concrete form as a condition of production, but in its social delimitation which differs from that of wage labour.

Even the expression "capital — profit" is incorrect here. If capital is viewed in the only relation in which it produces surplus value, namely, its relation to the labourer whereby it extorts surplus labour by compulsion exerted upon labour power, i. e., the wage labourer, then this surplus value comprises, outside of profit (profit of enterprise plus interest), also rent, in short, the entire undivided surplus value. Here, on the other hand, as a source of revenue, it is placed only in relation to that portion falling to the share of the capitalist. This is not the surplus value which it extracts generally but only that portion which it extracts for the capitalist. Still more does all connection vanish no sooner the formula is transformed into "capital — interest".

If we at first considered the disparity of the above three sources, we now note that their products, their offshoots, or revenues, on the

other hand, all belong to the same sphere, that of value. However, this is compensated for (this relation not only between incommensurable magnitudes, but also between wholly unlike, mutually unrelated, and noncomparable things) in that capital, like land and labour, is simply considered as a material substance, that is, simply as a produced means of production, and thus is abstracted both as a relation to the labourer and as value.

Thirdly, if understood in this way, the formula, capital—interest (profit), land—rent, labour—wages, presents a uniform and symmetrical incongruity. In fact, since wage labour does not appear as a socially determined form of labour, but rather all labour appears by its nature as wage labour (thus appearing to those in the grip of capitalist production relations), the definite specific social forms assumed by the objective conditions of labour—the produced means of production and the land—with respect to wage labour (just as they, in turn, conversely presuppose wage labour), directly coincide with the material existence of these conditions of labour or with the form possessed by them generally in the actual labour process, independent of its concrete historically determined social form, or indeed independent of *any* social form. The changed form of the conditions of labour, i. e., alienated from labour and confronting it independently, whereby the produced means of production are thus transformed into capital, and the land into monopolised land, or landed property—this form belonging to a definite historical period thereby coincides with the existence and function of the produced means of production and of the land in the process of production in general. These means of production are in themselves capital by nature; capital is merely an "economic appellation" for these means of production; and so, in itself land is by nature the earth monopolised by a certain number of landowners. Just as products confront the producer as an independent force in capital and capitalists—who actually are but the personification of capital—so land becomes personified in the landlord and likewise gets on its hind legs to demand, as an independent force, its share of the product created with its help. Thus, not the land receives its due portion of the product for the restoration and improvement of its productivity, but instead the landlord takes a share of this product to chaffer away or squander. It is clear that capital presupposes labour as wage labour. But it is just as clear that if labour as wage labour is taken as the point of departure, so that the identity of labour in general with wage labour appears to be self-evident, then

capital and monopolised land must also appear as the natural form of the conditions of labour in relation to labour in general. To be capital, then, appears as the natural form of the means of labour and thereby as the purely real character arising from their function in the labour process in general. Capital and produced means of production thus become identical terms. Similarly, land and land monopolised through private ownership become identical. The means of labour as such, which are by nature capital, thus become the source of profit, much as the land as such becomes the source of rent.

Labour as such, in its simple capacity as purposive productive activity, relates to the means of production, not in their social determinate form, but rather in their concrete substance, as material and means of labour; the latter likewise are distinguished from one another merely materially, as use values, i. e., the land as unproduced, the others as produced, means of labour. If, then, labour coincides with wage labour, so does the particular social form in which the conditions of labour confront labour coincide with their material existence. The means of labour as such are then capital, and the land as such is landed property. The formal independence of these conditions of labour in relation to labour, the unique form of this independence with respect to wage labour, is then a property inseparable from them as things, as material conditions of production, an inherent, immanent, intrinsic character of them as elements of production. Their definite social character in the process of capitalist production bearing the stamp of a definite historical epoch is a natural, and intrinsic substantive character belonging to them, as it were, from time immemorial, as elements of the production process. Therefore, the respective part played by the earth as the original field of activity of labour, as the realm of forces of Nature, as the pre-existing arsenal of all objects of labour, and the other respective part played by the produced means of production (instruments, raw materials, etc.) in the general process of production, must seem to be expressed in the respective shares claimed by them as capital and landed property, i. e., which fall to the share of their social representatives in the form of profit (interest) and rent, like to the labourer — the part his labour plays in the process of production is expressed in wages. Rent, profit and wages thus seem to grow out of the role played by the land, produced means of production, and labour in the simple labour process, even when we consider this labour process as one carried on merely between man and Nature, leaving aside any historical determination. It is merely the same

thing again, in another form, when it is argued: the product in which a wage labourer's labour for himself is manifested, his proceeds or revenue, is simply wages, the portion of value (and thereby the social product measured by this value) which his wages represent. Thus, if wage labour coincides with labour generally, then so do wages with the produce of labour, and the value portion representing wages with the value created by labour generally. But in this way the other portions of value, profit and rent, also appear independent with respect to wages, and must arise from sources of their own, which are specifically different and independent of labour; they must arise from the participating elements of production, to the share of whose owners they fall; i. e., profit arises from the means of production, the material elements of capital, and rent arises from the land, or Nature, as represented by the landlord (Roscher).[a]

Landed property, capital and wage labour are thus transformed from sources of revenue — in the sense that capital attracts to the capitalist, in the form of profit, a portion of the surplus value extracted by him from labour, that monopoly in land attracts for the landlord another portion in the form of rent; and that labour grants the labourer the remaining portion of value in the form of wages — from sources by means of which one portion of value is transformed into the form of profit, another into the form of rent, and a third into the form of wages — into actual sources from which these value portions and respective portions of the product in which they exist, or for which they are exchangeable, arise themselves, and from which, therefore, in the final analysis, the value of the product itself arises.[50)]

In the case of the simplest categories of the capitalist mode of production, and even of commodity production, in the case of commodities and money, we have already pointed out the mystifying character that transforms the social relations, for which the material elements of wealth serve as bearers in production, into properties of these things themselves (commodities) and still more pronouncedly transforms

[50)] Wages, profit, and rent are the three original sources of all revenue, as well as of all exchangeable value (A. Smith).[b90] — It is thus that the causes of material production are at the same time the sources of the original revenues which exist (Storch, I, p. 259).[c]

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[a] W. Roscher, *System der Volkswirtschaft*, Band I, Stuttgart und Augsburg, 1858. -
[b] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I, p. 63. -
[c] See *Cours d'économie politique etc.* Quoted in French.

the production relation itself into a thing (money). All forms of society, in so far as they reach the stage of commodity production and money circulation, take part in this perversion. But under the capitalist mode of production and in the case of capital, which forms its dominant category, its determining production relation, this enchanted and perverted world develops still more. If one considers capital, to begin with, in the actual process of production as a means of extracting surplus labour, then this relationship is still very simple, and the actual connection impresses itself upon the bearers of this process, the capitalists themselves, and remains in their consciousness. The violent struggle over the limits of the working day demonstrates this strikingly. But even within this nonmediated sphere, the sphere of direct action between labour and capital, matters do not rest in this simplicity. With the development of relative surplus value in the actual specifically capitalist mode of production, whereby the productive powers of social labour are developed, these productive powers and the social interrelations of labour in the direct labour process seem transferred from labour to capital. Capital thus becomes a very mystic being since all of labour's social productive forces appear to be due to capital, rather than labour as such, and seem to issue from the womb of capital itself. Then the process of circulation intervenes, with its changes of substance and form, on which all parts of capital, even agricultural capital, devolve to the same degree that the specifically capitalist mode of production develops. This is a sphere where the relations under which value is originally produced are pushed completely into the background. In the direct process of production the capitalist already acts simultaneously as producer of commodities and manager of commodity production. Hence this process of production appears to him by no means simply as a process of producing surplus value. But whatever may be the surplus value extorted by capital in the actual production process and appearing in commodities, the value and surplus value contained in the commodities must first be realised in the circulation process. And both the restitution of the values advanced in production and, particularly, the surplus value contained in the commodities seem not merely to be realised in the circulation, but actually to arise from it; an appearance which is especially reinforced by two circumstances: first, the profit made in selling depends on cheating, deceit, inside knowledge, skill and a thousand favourable market opportunities; and then by the circumstance that added here to labour time is a second determining

element — time of circulation. This acts, in fact, only as a negative barrier against the formation of value and surplus value, but it has the appearance of being as positive a basis as labour itself and of introducing a determining element that is independent of labour and resulting from the nature of capital. In Book II we naturally had to present this sphere of circulation merely with reference to the form determinations which it created and to demonstrate the further development of the structure of capital taking place in this sphere. But in reality this sphere is the sphere of competition, which, considered in each individual case, is dominated by chance; where, then, the inner law, which prevails in these accidents and regulates them, is only visible when these accidents are grouped together in large numbers, where it remains, therefore, invisible and unintelligible to the individual agents in production. But furthermore: the actual process of production, as a unity of the direct production process and the circulation process, gives rise to new formations, in which the vein of internal connections is increasingly lost, the production relations are rendered independent of one another, and the component values become ossified into forms independent of one another.

The conversion of surplus value into profit, as we have seen, is determined as much by the process of circulation as by the process of production. Surplus value, in the form of profit, is no longer related back to that portion of capital invested in labour from which it arises, but to the total capital. The rate of profit is regulated by laws of its own, which permit, or even require, it to change while the rate of surplus value remains unaltered. All this obscures more and more the true nature of surplus value and thus the actual mechanism of capital. Still more is this achieved through the transformation of profit into average profit and of values into prices of production, into the regulating averages of market prices. A complicated social process intervenes here, the equalisation process of capitals, which divorces the relative average prices of the commodities from their values, as well as the average profits in the various spheres of production (quite aside from the individual investments of capital in each particular sphere of production) from the actual exploitation of labour by the particular capitals. Not only does it appear so, but it is true in fact that the average price of commodities differs from their value, thus from the labour realised in them, and the average profit of a particular capital differs from the surplus value which this capital has extracted from the labourers employed by it. The value of commodities appears, di-

rectly, solely in the influence of fluctuating productivity of labour upon the fall and rise of the prices of production, upon their movement and not upon their ultimate limits. Profit seems to be determined only secondarily by direct exploitation of labour, in so far as the latter permits the capitalist to realise a profit deviating from the average profit at the regulating market prices, which apparently prevail independent of such exploitation. Normal average profits themselves seem immanent in capital and independent of exploitation; abnormal exploitation, or even average exploitation under favourable, exceptional conditions, seems to determine only the deviations from average profit, not this profit itself. The division of profit into profit of enterprise and interest (not to mention the intervention of commercial profit and profit from money dealing, which are founded upon circulation and appear to arise completely from it, and not from the process of production itself) consummates the individualisation of the form of surplus value, the ossification of its form as opposed to its substance, its essence. One portion of profit, as opposed to the other, separates itself entirely from the relationship of capital as such and appears as arising not out of the function of exploiting wage labour, but out of the wage labour of the capitalist himself. In contrast thereto, interest then seems to be independent both of the labourer's wage labour and the capitalist's own labour, and to arise from capital as its own independent source. If capital originally appeared on the surface of circulation as a fetishism of capital, as a value-creating value, so it now appears again in the form of interest-bearing capital, as in its most estranged and characteristic form. Wherefore also the formula capital—interest, as the third to land—rent and labour—wages, is much more consistent than capital—profit, since in profit there still remains a recollection of its origin, which is not only extinguished in interest, but is also placed in a form thoroughly antithetical to this origin.

Finally, capital as an independent source of surplus value is joined by landed property, which acts as a barrier to average profit and transfers a portion of surplus value to a class that neither works itself, nor directly exploits labour, nor can find morally edifying rationalisations, as in the case of interest-bearing capital, e. g., risk and sacrifice of lending capital to others. Since here a part of the surplus value seems to be bound up directly with a natural element, the land, rather than with social relations, the form of mutual estrangement and ossification of the various parts of surplus value is completed, the

inner connection completely disrupted, and its source entirely buried, precisely because the relations of production, which are bound to the various material elements of the production process, have been rendered mutually independent.

In capital—profit, or still better capital—interest, land—rent, labour—wages, in this economic trinity represented as the connection between the component parts of value and wealth in general and its sources, we have the complete mystification of the capitalist mode of production, the conversion of social relations into things, the direct coalescence of the material production relations with their historical and social determination. It is an enchanted, perverted, topsy-turvy world, in which Monsieur le Capital and Madame la Terre do their ghost-walking as social characters and at the same time directly as mere things. It is the great merit of classical economy to have destroyed this false appearance and illusion, this mutual independence and ossification of the various social elements of wealth, this personification of things and conversion of production relations into entities, this religion of everyday life. It did so by reducing interest to a portion of profit, and rent to the surplus above average profit, so that both of them converge in surplus value; and by representing the process of circulation as a mere metamorphosis of forms, and finally reducing value and surplus value of commodities to labour in the direct production process. Nevertheless even the best spokesmen of classical economy remain more or less in the grip of the world of illusion which their criticism had dissolved, as cannot be otherwise from a bourgeois standpoint, and thus they all fall more or less into inconsistencies, half-truths and unsolved contradictions. On the other hand, it is just as natural for the actual agents of production to feel completely at home in these estranged and irrational forms of capital—interest, land—rent, labour—wages, since these are precisely the forms of illusion in which they move about and find their daily occupation. It is therefore just as natural that vulgar economy, which is no more than a didactic, more or less dogmatic, translation of everyday conceptions of the actual agents of production, and which arranges them in a certain rational order, should see precisely in this trinity, which is devoid of all inner connection, the natural and indubitable lofty basis for its shallow pompousness. This formula simultaneously corresponds to the interests of the ruling classes by proclaiming the physical necessity and eternal justification of their sources of revenue and elevating them to a dogma.

In our description of how production relations are converted into entities and rendered independent in relation to the agents of production, we leave aside the manner in which the interrelations, due to the world market, its conjunctures, movements of market prices, periods of credit, industrial and commercial cycles, alternations of prosperity and crisis, appear to them as overwhelming natural laws that irresistibly enforce their will over them, and confront them as blind necessity. We leave this aside because the actual movement of competition belongs beyond our scope,[1] and we need present only the inner organisation of the capitalist mode of production, in its ideal average, as it were.

In preceding forms of society this economic mystification arose principally with respect to money and interest-bearing capital. In the nature of things it is excluded, in the first place, where production for the use value, for immediate personal requirements, predominates; and secondly, where slavery or serfdom form the broad foundation of social production, as in antiquity and during the Middle Ages. Here, the domination of the producers by the conditions of production is concealed by the relations of dominion and servitude, which appear and are evident as the direct motive power of the process of production. In early communal societies in which primitive communism prevailed, and even in the ancient communal towns, it was this communal society itself with its conditions which appeared as the basis of production, and its reproduction appeared as its ultimate purpose. Even in the medieval guild system neither capital nor labour appear untrammelled, but their relations are rather defined by the corporate rules, and by the same associated relations, and corresponding conceptions of professional duty, craftsmanship, etc. Only when the capitalist mode of production [a]—

## Chapter XLIX

### CONCERNING THE ANALYSIS OF THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION

For the purposes of the following analysis we may leave out of consideration the distinction between price of production and value, since this distinction disappears altogether when, as here, the value of

[a] The manuscript breaks off here.

the total annual product of labour is considered, i. e., the product of the total social capital.

Profit (profit of enterprise plus interest) and rent are nothing but peculiar forms assumed by particular parts of the surplus value of commodities. The magnitude of surplus value is the limit of the total size of the parts into which it may be divided. Average profit plus rent are, therefore, equal to the surplus value. It is possible for part of the surplus labour, and thus surplus value, contained in the commodities, not to take part directly in the equalisation of an average profit, so that part of the commodity value is not expressed at all in its price. But first, this is balanced either by the fact that the rate of profit increases, when the commodities sold below their value form an element of the constant capital, or by profit and rent being represented by a larger product, when commodities sold below their value enter into the portion of value consumed as revenue in the form of articles for individual consumption. Secondly, this is eliminated in the average movement. At any rate, even if a portion of surplus value not expressed in the price of the commodity is lost for the price formation, the sum of average profit plus rent in its normal form can never be larger than the total surplus value, although it may be smaller. Its normal form presupposes wages corresponding to the value of labour power. Even monopoly rent, in so far as it is not a deduction from wages, i. e., does not constitute a special category, must always indirectly be a part of the surplus value. If it is not part of the price excess above the price of production of the commodity itself, of which it is a constituent part (as in differential rent), or an excess portion of the surplus value of the commodity itself, of which it is a constituent part, above that portion of its own surplus value measured by the average profit (as in absolute rent), it is at least part of the surplus value of other commodities, i. e., of commodities which are exchanged for this commodity having a monopoly price. The sum of average profit plus ground rent can never be greater than the magnitude of which they are components and which exists before this division. It is therefore immaterial for our discussion whether the entire surplus value of the commodities, i. e., all the surplus labour contained in the commodities, is realised in their price or not. The surplus labour is not entirely realised if only for the reason that due to a continual change in the amount of labour socially necessary to produce a certain commodity, resulting from the constant change in the productiveness of labour, some commodities are always produced under abnormal conditions

and must, therefore, be sold below their individual value. At any rate, profit plus rent equal the total realised surplus value (surplus labour), and for purposes of this discussion the realised surplus value may be equated to all surplus value; for profit and rent are realised surplus value, or, generally speaking, the surplus value which passes into the prices of commodities, thus in practice all the surplus value forming a constituent part of this price.

On the other hand, wages, which form the third specific form of revenue, are always equal to the variable component part of capital, i. e., the component part which is laid out in purchasing living labour power, paying labourers rather than in means of labour. (The labour which is paid in the expenditure of revenue is itself paid in wages, profit, or rent, and therefore does not form any value portion of commodities by which it is paid. Hence it is not considered in the analysis of commodity value and of the component parts into which it is divided.) It is the objectification of that portion of the total working day of the labourer in which the value of variable capital and thus the price of labour is reproduced; that portion of commodity value in which the labourer reproduces the value of his own labour power, or the price of his labour. The total working day of the labourer is divided into two parts. One portion in which he performs the amount of labour necessary to reproduce the value of his own means of subsistence; the paid portion of his total labour, the portion necessary for his own maintenance and reproduction. The entire remaining portion of the working day, the entire excess quantity of labour performed above the value of the labour realised in his wages, is surplus labour, unpaid labour, represented in the surplus value of his total commodity production (and thus in an excess quantity of commodities), surplus value which in turn is divided into differently named parts, into profit (profit of enterprise plus interest) and rent.

The entire value portion of commodites, then, in which the total labour of the labourers added during one day, or one year, is realised, the total value of the annual product, created by this labour, is divided into the value of wages, into profit and into rent. For this total labour is divided into necessary labour, by which the labourer creates that value portion of the product with which he is himself paid, that is, his wages, and into unpaid surplus labour, by which he creates that value portion of the product which represents surplus value and which is later divided into profit and rent. Aside from this labour, the labourer performs no labour, and aside from the total value of

the product, which assumes the forms of wages, profit and rent, he creates no value. The value of the annual product, in which the new labour added by the labourer during the year is incorporated, is equal to the wage, or the value of the variable capital plus the surplus value, which in turn is divided into the forms of profit and rent.

The entire value portion of the annual product, then, which the labourer creates in the course of the year, is expressed in the annual value sum of the three revenues, the value of wages, profit, and rent. Evidently, therefore, the value of the constant portion of capital is not reproduced in the annually created value of product, for the wages are only equal to the value of the variable portion of capital advanced in production, and rent and profit are only equal to the surplus value, the excess of value produced above the total value of advanced capital, which equals the value of the constant capital plus the value of the variable capital.

It is completely irrelevant to the problem to be solved here that a portion of the surplus value converted into the form of profit and rent is not consumed as revenue, but is accumulated. That portion which is saved up as an accumulation fund serves to create new, additional capital, but not to replace the old capital, be it the component part of old capital laid out for labour power or for means of labour. We may therefore assume here, for the sake of simplicity, that the revenue passes wholly into individual consumption. The difficulty is twofold. On the one hand, the value of the annual product, in which the revenues, wages, profit and rent, are consumed, contains a portion of value equal to the portion of value of constant capital used up in it. It contains this portion of value in addition to that portion which resolves itself into wages and that which resolves itself into profit and rent. Its value is therefore = wages + profit + rent + C (its constant portion of value). How can an annually produced value, which only = wages + profit + rent, buy a product the value of which = (wages + profit + rent) + C? How can the annually produced value buy a product which has a higher value than its own?

On the other hand, if we leave aside that portion of constant capital which did not pass over into the product, and which therefore continues to exist, although with reduced value, as before the annual production of commodities; in other words, temporarily leaving out of consideration the employed, but not consumed, fixed capital, then

the constant portion of advanced capital is seen to have been wholly transferred to the new product in the form of raw and auxiliary materials, whereas a part of the means of labour has been wholly consumed and another part only partially, and thus only a part of its value has been consumed in production. This entire portion of constant capital consumed in production must be replaced in kind. Assuming all other circumstances, particularly the productive power of labour, to remain unchanged, this portion requires the same amount of labour for its replacement as before, i. e., it must be replaced by an equivalent value. If not, then reproduction itself cannot take place on the former scale. But who is obliged to perform this labour, and who does perform it?

As to the first difficulty: Who is obliged to pay for the constant portion of value contained in the product, and with what?—It is assumed that the value of constant capital consumed in production reappears as a part of the value of the product. This does not contradict the assumptions of the second difficulty. For it has already been demonstrated in Book I (Kap. V) ("The Labour Process and the Process of Producing Surplus Value") how the old value remains simultaneously preserved in the product through the mere addition of new labour, although this does not reproduce the old value and does no more than add to it, creates merely additional value; but that this results from labour, not in so far as it is value-creating, i. e., labour in general, but in its function as definite productive labour. Therefore, no additional labour was necessary to preserve the value of the constant portion in the product in which the revenue, i. e., the entire value created during the year, is expended. But to be sure, new additional labour is required to replace the value and use value of constant capital consumed during the preceding year, without the replacement of which no reproduction at all is possible.

All newly added labour is represented in the value newly created during the year, and this in turn is divided into the three revenues: wages, profit and rent.—Thus, on the one hand, no excess social labour remains for the replacement of the consumed constant capital, which must be replaced partially in kind and according to its value, and partially merely according to its value (for pure wear and tear of fixed capital). On the other hand, the value annually created by labour, divided into wages, profit and rent, and to be expended in this form, appears not to suffice to pay for, or buy, the constant por-

tion of capital, which must be contained, outside their own value, in the annual product.

It is seen that the problem presented here has already been solved in the consideration of reproduction of the total social capital—Book II, Part III. We return to it here, in the first place, because surplus value had not been developed there in its revenue forms: profit (profit of enterprise plus interest) and rent, and could not, therefore, be treated in these forms; and then, also because precisely in the form of wages, profit and rent there is contained an incredible blunder in analysis, which pervades all political economy since Adam Smith.

We divided all capital there into two big classes: Class I, producing means of production, and Class II, producing articles of individual consumption. The fact that certain products may serve equally well both for personal consumption and as means of production (a horse, grain, etc.) does not invalidate the absolute correctness of this division in any way. It is actually no hypothesis, but merely an expression of fact. Take the annual product of a country. One portion of the product, whatever its ability to serve as means of production, passes over into individual consumption. It is the product for which wages, profit and rent are expended. This product is the product of a definite department of the social capital. It is possible that this same capital may also produce products belonging to Class I. In so far as it does so, it is not the portion of this capital consumed in the products of Class II, products belonging actually to individual consumption, which supplies the productively consumed products belonging to Class I. This entire product II, which passes into individual consumption, and for which therefore the revenue is spent, is the existent form of the capital consumed in it plus the produced surplus. It is thus the product of a capital invested solely in the production of articles of consumption. And in the same way Department I of the annual product, which serves as means of reproduction—raw materials and instruments of labour—whatever capacity this product may otherwise possess *naturaliter* to serve as means of consumption, is the product of a capital invested solely in the production of means of production. By far the greater part of products forming constant capital exists also materially in a form in which it cannot pass into individual consumption. In so far as this could be done, e. g., in so far as a farmer could eat his seed-corn, butcher his draught animals, etc., the economic barrier works the same for him as if this portion did not exist in consumable form.

As already indicated, we leave out of consideration in both classes the fixed portion of constant capital, which continues to exist in kind and, so far as its value is concerned, independently of the annual product of both classes.

In Class II, for the products of which wages, profit and rent are expended, in short, the revenues consumed, the product itself consists of three components so far as its value is concerned. One component is equal to the value of the constant portion of capital consumed in production; a second component is equal to the value of the variable advanced capital laid out in wages; finally, a third component is equal to the produced surplus value, thus = profit + rent. The first component of the product of Class II, the value of the constant portion of capital, can be consumed neither by the capitalist of Class II, nor by the labourers of this class, nor by the landowners. It forms no part of their revenues, but must be replaced in kind and must be sold for this to occur. On the other hand, the other two components of this product are equal to the value of the revenues created in this class, = wages + profit + rent.

In Class I the product consists of the same constituents, as regards form. But that part which here forms revenue, wages + profit + rent, in short, the variable portion of capital + surplus value, is not consumed here in the natural form of products of this Class I, but in products of Class II. The value of the revenues of Class I must, therefore, be consumed in that portion of products of Class II which forms the constant capital of II to be replaced. The portion of the product of Class II which must replace its constant capital is consumed in its natural form by the labourers, capitalists and landlords of Class I. They spend their revenue for this product of II. On the other hand, the product of I, to the extent that it represents a revenue of Class I, is productively consumed in its natural form by Class II, whose constant capital it replaces in kind. Finally, the used-up constant portion of capital of Class I is replaced out of the very products of this class, which consist precisely of means of labour, raw and auxiliary materials, etc., partly through exchange by capitalists of I among themselves, partly so that some of these capitalists can directly use their own product once more as means of production.

Let us take the previous scheme (Book II, Chapter XX, II) for simple reproduction:

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} \text{I. } 4{,}000_c + 1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s = 6{,}000 \\ \text{II. } 2{,}000_c + \quad 500_v + \quad 500_s = 3{,}000 \end{array}\right\} = 9{,}000.$$

According to this, the producers and landlords of II consume $500_v + 500_s = 1{,}000$ as revenue; $2{,}000_c$ remains to be replaced. This is consumed by the labourers, capitalists and those who draw rent from I, whose income $= 1{,}000_v + 1{,}000_s = 2{,}000$. The consumed product of II is consumed as revenue by I, and the portion of the revenue of I representing an unconsumable product is consumed as constant capital by II. It remains then to account for the $4{,}000_c$ of I. This is replaced out of the product of I itself, which = 6,000, or rather = 6,000 − 2,000; for these 2,000 have already been converted into constant capital for II. It should be noted, of course, that these numbers have been chosen arbitrarily, and so the relation between the value of the revenues of I and the value of the constant capital of II appears arbitrary. It is evident, however, that so far as the process of reproduction is normal and takes place under otherwise equal circumstances, i. e., leaving aside the accumulation, the sum of the values of wages, profit and rent in Class I must equal the value of the constant portion of capital of Class II. Otherwise either Class II will not be able to replace its constant capital, or Class I will not be able to convert its revenue from unconsumable into consumable form.

Thus, the value of the annual commodity product, just like the value of the commodity product produced by some particular investment of capital, and like the value of any individual commodity, resolves itself into two component parts: A, which replaces the value of the advanced constant capital, and B, which is represented in the form of revenue — wages, profit and rent. The latter component part of value, B, is counterposed to the former A, in so far as A, under otherwise equal circumstances: 1) never assumes the form of revenue and 2) always flows back in the form of capital, and indeed constant capital. The other component, B, however, carries within itself, in turn, an antithesis. Profit and rent have this in common with wages: all three are forms of revenue. Nevertheless they differ essentially in that profit and rent represent surplus value, i. e., unpaid labour, whereas wages represent paid labour. The portion of the value of the product which represents wages expended thus replaces wages, and, under the conditions assumed by us, where reproduction takes place on the same scale and under the same conditions, is again reconvert-

ed into wages, flows back first as variable capital, as a component of the capital that must be advanced anew for reproduction. This portion has a two-fold function. It exists first in the form of capital and is exchanged as such for labour power. In the hands of the labourer, it is transformed into revenue which he draws out of the sale of his labour power, is converted as revenue into means of subsistence and consumed. This double process is revealed through the mediation of money circulation. The variable capital is advanced in money, paid out as wages. This is its first function as capital. It is exchanged for labour power and transformed into the manifestation of this labour power, into labour. This is the process as regards the capitalist. Secondly, however: with this money the labourers buy a part of the commodities produced by them, which is measured by this money, and is consumed by them as revenue. If we imagine the circulation of money to be eliminated, then a part of the labourer's product is in the hands of the capitalist in the form of available capital. He advances this part as capital, gives it to the labourer for new labour power, while the labourer consumes it as revenue directly or indirectly through exchange for other commodities. That portion of the value of the product, then, which is destined in the course of reproduction to be converted into wages, into revenue for the labourers, first flows back into the hands of the capitalist in the form of capital, or more accurately variable capital. It is an essential requirement that it should flow back in this form in order for labour as wage labour, the means of production as capital, and the process of production itself as a capitalist process, to be continually reproduced anew.

In order to avoid unnecessary difficulty, one should distinguish gross output and net output from gross income and net income.

The gross output, or gross product, is the total reproduced product. With the exception of the employed but not consumed portion of fixed capital, the value of the gross output, or gross product, equals the value of capital advanced and consumed in production, that is, constant and variable capital plus surplus value, which resolves itself into profit and rent. Or, if we consider the product of the total social capital instead of that of an individual capital, the gross output equals the material elements forming the constant and variable capital, plus the material elements of the surplus product in which profit and rent are represented.

The gross income is that portion of value and that portion of the gross product measured by it which remains after deducting that

portion of value and that portion of the product of total production measured by it which replaces the constant capital advanced and consumed in production. The gross income, then, is equal to wages (or the portion of the product destined to again become the income of the labourer) + profit + rent. The net income, on the other hand, is the surplus value, and thus the surplus product, which remains after deducting wages, and which, in fact, thus represents the surplus value realised by capital and to be divided with the landlord, and the surplus product measured by it.

Thus, we saw that the value of each individual commodity and the value of the total commodity product of each individual capital is divided into two parts: one replaces only constant capital, and the other, although a fraction of it flows back as variable capital—thus also flows back in the *form* of capital—nevertheless is destined to be wholly transformed into gross income, and to assume the form of wages, profit and rent, the sum of which makes up the gross income. Furthermore, we saw that the same is true of the value of the annual total product of a society. A difference between the product of the individual capitalist and that of society exists only in so far as: from the standpoint of the individual capitalist the net income differs from the gross income, for the latter includes the wages, whereas the former excludes them. Viewing the income of the whole society, national income consists of wages plus profit plus rent, thus, of the gross income. But even this is an abstraction to the extent that the entire society, on the basis of capitalist production, bases itself on the capitalist standpoint and thereby considers only the income resolved into profit and rent as net income.

On the other hand, the fantasy of men like Say, to the effect that the entire yield, the entire gross output, resolves itself into the net income of the nation or cannot be distinguished from it, that this distinction therefore disappears from the national viewpoint, is but the inevitable and ultimate expression of the absurd dogma pervading political economy since Adam Smith, that in the final analysis the value of commodities resolves itself completely into income, into wages, profit and rent.[51]

[51] Ricardo makes the following very apt comment on thoughtless Say: "Of net produce and gross produce, M. Say speaks as follows: 'The whole value produced is the gross produce; this value, after deducting from it the cost of production, is the net produce' (Vol. II, p. 491).[a] There can, then, be no net produce, because the cost of

[a] J.B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique*, Paris, 1819.

To comprehend, in the case of each individual capitalist, that a portion of his product must be transformed again into capital (even aside from the expansion of reproduction, or accumulation), indeed not only into variable capital, which is destined to again become in its turn income for the labourers, thus a form of revenue, but also into constant capital, which can never be transformed into revenue—such discernment is naturally extraordinarily easy. The simplest observation of the process of production shows this clearly. The difficulty first begins as soon as the process of production is viewed as a whole. The value of the entire portion of the product which is consumed as revenue in the form of wages, profit and rent (it is entirely immaterial whether the consumption is individual or productive), indeed, completely resolves itself under analysis into the sum of values consisting of wages plus profit plus rent, that is, into the total value of the three revenues, although the value of this portion of the product, just like that which does not enter into revenue, contains a value portion = C, equal to the value of the constant capital contained in these portions, and thus *prima facie* cannot be limited by the value of the revenue. This circumstance which, on the one hand, is a practically irrefutable fact, on the other hand, an equally undeniable theoretical contradiction, presents a difficulty which is most easily circumvented by the assertion that commodity value contains another portion of value, merely appearing to differ, from the standpoint of the individual capitalist, from the portion existing in the form of revenue. The phrase: that which appears as revenue for one constitutes capital for another, relieves one of the necessity for any further reflection. But how, then, the old capital can be replaced when the value of the entire product is consumable in the form of revenue; and how the value of the product of each individual capital can be equal to the value sum of the three revenues plus C, constant capital, whereas the sum of the values of the products of all capitals is equal to the value sum of

production, according to M. Say, consists of rent, wages and profits. On page 508 he says: 'The value of a product, the value of a productive service, the value of the cost of production, are all, then, similar values, whenever things are left to their natural course.' Take a whole from a whole, and nothing remains" (Ricardo, *Principles*, Chapter XXXII, p. 512, Note).—By the way we shall see later that Ricardo nowhere refuted Smith's false analysis of commodity price, its reduction to the sum of the values of the revenues. He does not bother with it, and accepts its correctness so far in his analysis that he "abstracts" from the constant portion of the value of commodities. He also falls back into the same way of looking at things from time to time.

the three revenues plus 0 — this appears, of course, as an insoluble riddle and must be solved by declaring that the analysis is completely incapable of unravelling the simple elements of price, and must be content to go around in a vicious circle making a spurious advance *ad infinitum.* Thus, that which appears as constant capital may be resolved into wages, profit and rent, but the commodity values in which wages, profit and rent appear, are determined in their turn by wages, profit and rent, and so forth *ad infinitum.*[52]

The fundamentally erroneous dogma to the effect that the value of commodities in the last analysis may be resolved into wages + profit + rent also expresses itself in the proposition that the consumer must ultimately pay for the total value of the total product; or also that money circulation between producers and consumers must ultimately be equal to the money circulation between the producers themselves (Tooke[b]); all these propositions are as false as the axiom upon which they are based.

The difficulties, which lead to this erroneous and *prima facie* absurd analysis, are briefly these:

1) The fundamental relationship of constant and variable capital, hence also the nature of surplus value, and thereby the entire basis of the capitalist mode of production, are not understood. The value of each partial product of capital, each individual commodity, contains

[52] "In every society the price of every commodity finally resolves itself into some one or other, or all of those three parts" viz., wages, profits, rent ... "A fourth part, it may perhaps be thought, is necessary for replacing the stock of the farmer or for compensating the wear and tear of his labouring cattle, and other instruments of husbandry. But it must be considered that the price of any instrument of husbandry, such as a labouring horse, is itself made up of the same three parts: the rent of the land upon which he is reared, the labour of tending and rearing him, and the profits of the farmer, who advances both the rent of his land and the wages of his labour. Though the price of the corn, therefore, may pay the price as well as the maintenance of the horse, the whole price still resolves itself either immediately or ultimately into the same three parts of rent, labour" meaning wages "and profit." (Adam Smith.)[a] We shall show later on how Adam Smith himself feels the inconsistency and insufficiency of this subterfuge, for it is nothing but a subterfuge on his part to send us from Pontius to Pilate while nowhere does he indicate the real investment of capital, in which case the price of the product resolves itself ULTIMATELY into these three parts, without any further *progressus*.

[a] *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. 1, pp. 60-61. -
[b] Th. Tooke, *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle* p. 36.

a portion of value = constant capital, a portion of value = variable capital (transformed into wages for labourers), and a portion of value = surplus value (later split into profit and rent). Thus, how is it possible for the labourer with his wages, the capitalist with his profit, the landlord with his rent, to be able to buy commodities, each of which contains not only one of these constituent elements, but all three of them; and how is it possible for the sum of the values of wages, profit and rent, that is, the three sources of revenue together, to be able to buy the commodities which go to make up the total consumption of the recipients of these incomes—commodities containing an additional component of value, namely constant capital, outside these three components of value? How should they buy a value of four with a value of three? [53]

[53] Proudhon exposes his inability to grasp this in the ignorant formulation: *l'ouvrier ne peut pas racheter son propre produit*,[a] because the interest which is added to the *prix-de-revient*[b] is contained in the product.[c] But how does M. Eugène Forcade teach him to know better? "If Proudhon's objection were correct, it would strike not only the profits of capital, but would eliminate the possibility even of industry. If the labourer is compelled to pay 100 for each article for which he has received only 80, if his wages can buy back only the value which he has put into a product, it could be said that the labourer cannot buy back anything, that wages cannot pay for anything. In fact, there is always something more than the wages of the labourer contained in the cost price, and always more than the profits of enterprise in the selling price, for instance, the price of raw materials, often paid to foreign countries. ... Proudhon has forgotten about the continual growth of national capital; he has forgotten that this growth refers to all labourers, whether in an enterprise or in handicrafts." (*Revue des deux Mondes*, 1848, Tome 24, p. 998-99.) [d] Here we have the optimism of bourgeois thoughtlessness in the form of sagacity that most corresponds to it. M. Forcade first believes that the labourer could not live did he not receive a higher value than that which he produces, whereas conversely the capitalist mode of production could not exist were he really to receive all the value which he produces. Secondly, he correctly generalises the difficulty, which Proudhon expressed only from a narrow viewpoint. The price of commodities contains not only an excess over wages, but also over profit, namely, the constant portion of value. According to Proudhon's reasoning, then, the capitalist too could not buy back the commodities with his profit. And how does Forcade solve this riddle? By means of a meaningless phrase: the growth of capital. Thus the continual growth of capital is also supposed to be substantiated, among other things, in that the analysis of commodity prices, which is impossible for the political economist as regards a capital of 100, becomes superfluous in the case of a capital of 10,000. What would be said of a chemist,

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[a] the labourer cannot buy back his own product - [b] cost price - [c] P.J. Proudhon, *Qu'est-ce que la propriété? ou Recherches sur le principe du droit et du gouvernement*, pp. 201-02. - [d] E. Forcade, *La Guerre du socialisme. II. L'économie politique révolutionnaire et sociale*, pp. 998-99. Quoted partly in French, partly in German.

We presented our analysis in Book II, Part III.

2) The method is not grasped whereby labour, in adding a new value, preserves the old value in a new form without producing this old value anew.

3) The pattern of the process of reproduction is not understood—how it appears not from the standpoint of individual capital, but rather from that of the total capital; the difficulty is not understood how it is that the product in which wages and surplus value, in short, the entire value produced by all the labour newly added during the year, is realised, replaces the constant part of its value and yet at the same time resolves itself into value limited solely by the revenues; and furthermore how it is that the constant capital consumed in production can be replaced in substance and value by new capital, although the total sum of newly added labour is realised only in wages and surplus value, and is fully represented in the sum of the values of both. It is precisely here that the main difficulty lies, in the analysis of reproduction and the relations of its various component parts, both as concerns their material character and their value relationships.

4) To these difficulties is added still another, which increases even more as soon as the various component parts of surplus value appear in the form of mutually independent revenues. This difficulty consists in the definite designations of revenue and capital interchanging, and altering their position, so that they seem to be merely relative determinations from the point of view of the individual capitalist and to disappear when the total process of production is viewed as a whole. For instance, the revenue of the labourers and capitalists of Class I, which produces constant capital, replaces in value and substance the constant capital of the capitalists of Class II, which produces articles of consumption. One may, therefore, squeeze out of the dilemma by remonstrating that what is revenue for one is capital for another and that these designations thus have nothing to do with the actual peculiarities of the value components of commodities. Furthermore: com-

who, on being asked How is it that the product of the soil contains more carbon than the soil? would answer: It comes from the continual increase in agricultural production. The well-meaning desire to discover in the bourgeois world the best of all possible worlds replaces in vulgar economy all need for love of truth and inclination for scientific investigation.[a]

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[a] See also present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 345-46.

modities which are ultimately destined to form the substantive elements of revenue expenditure, that is, articles of consumption, pass through various stages during the year, e. g., woollen yarn, cloth. In one stage they form a portion of constant capital, in the other they are consumed individually, and thus pass wholly into the revenue. One may therefore imagine along with Adam Smith that constant capital is but an apparent element of commodity value, which disappears in the total pattern. Thus, a further exchange takes place of variable capital for revenue. The labourer buys with his wages that portion of commodities which form his revenue. In this way he simultaneously replaces for the capitalist the money form of variable capital. Finally: one portion of products which form constant capital is replaced in kind or through exchange by the producers of constant capital themselves; a process with which the consumers have nothing to do. When this is overlooked the impression is created that the revenue of consumers replaces the entire product, i. e., including the constant portion of value.

5) Aside from the confusion which the transformation of values into prices of production brings about, another arises due to the transformation of surplus value into different, special, mutually independent forms of revenue applying to the various elements of production, i. e., into profit and rent. It is forgotten that the fact that the values of commodities are the basis, and that the division of these commodity values into distinct constituent parts, and the further development of these constituents of value into forms of revenue, their conversion into relations of various owners of different factors of production to these individual components of value, their distribution among these owners according to definite categories and titles, itself alters nothing in value determination and its law. Just as little is the law of value changed by the circumstance that the equalisation of profit, i. e., the distribution of the total surplus value among the various capitals, and the obstacles which landed property partially (in absolute rent) puts in the way of this equalisation, bring about a divergence between the regulating average prices and the individual values of commodities. This again affects merely the addition of surplus value to the various commodity prices, but does not abolish surplus value itself, nor the total value of commodities as the source of these various component parts of price.

This is the *quid pro quo* which we shall consider in the next chapter, and which is inevitably linked with the illusion that value arises out of

its own component parts. And namely, the various component values of the commodity acquire independent forms as revenues, and as such revenues they are related back to the particular material elements of production as their sources of origin instead of to the value of the commodity as their source. They are actually related back to those sources—however, not as components of value, but rather as revenues, as components of value falling to the share of these particular categories of agents in production: the labourer, the capitalist and the landlord. But then one might fancy that these constituents of value, rather than arising out of the division of commodity value, conversely form it instead only through their combination, which leads to the pretty and vicious circle, whereby the value of commodities arises out of the sum of the values of wages, profit and rent, and the value of wages, profit and rent, in its turn, is determined by the value of commodities, etc.[54]

[54] "The circulating capital invested in materials, raw materials and finished goods is itself composed of goods, the necessary price of which is formed of the same elements; so that, viewing the total goods in one country, it would mean duplication to count this portion of circulating capital among the elements of the necessary price." (Storch, *Cours d'économie politique*, II, p. 140.)—By these elements of circulating capital Storch means the constant portion of the value (fixed capital is merely circulating in a different form). "It is true that the wages of the labourer, like that portion of profit of enterprise which consists of wages, if we consider them as a part of the means of subsistence, also consist of goods bought at current prices and which likewise comprise wages, interest on capital, ground rent and profit of enterprise.... This observation merely serves to prove that it is impossible to resolve the necessary price into its simplest elements." (Ibid., Note.)[a]—In his *Considérations sur la nature du revenu national* (Paris, 1824), Storch indeed realises in his controversy with Say to what absurdity the erroneous analysis of commodity value leads—when it resolves value into mere revenues. He correctly points out the folly of such results—not from the viewpoint of the individual capitalist, but from that of a nation—but himself goes no step further in his analysis of the *prix nécessaire* from that presented in his *Cours*, that it is impossible to resolve it into its actual elements, without resolving it into a spurious advance *ad infinitum*. "It is evident that the value of the annual product is divided partly into capitals and partly into profits, and that each one of these portions of value of the annual product regularly goes to buy the products needed by the nation, as much to preserve its capital as to renew its consumption fund (pp. 134, 135).... Can it" (a self-employed peasant family) "live in its barns or stables, eat its seed and forage, clothe itself with its draught cattle, dispense with its agricultural implements? According to the thesis of M. Say one must answer all these questions in the affirmative (pp. 135, 136).... If it is admitted that the revenue of a nation is equal to its gross product, i. e., if no capital has to be deducted from it, then it must also be admitted that a nation can spend the entire value of its

[a] Here and below cited in French.

Considering reproduction in its normal state, only a part of newly added labour is employed for production, and thus for replacement of constant capital; precisely that part which replaces the constant capital used up in the production of articles of consumption, of material elements of revenue. This is balanced by the fact that this constant portion of Class II costs no additional labour. But, now, this constant capital (looking upon the total process of reproduction, in which then the above-mentioned equalisation of Classes I and II is included), not representing a product of newly added labour, although this product could not be created without it—this constant capital, in the process of reproduction, considered from the standpoint of substance, is exposed to certain accidents and dangers which could decimate it. (Furthermore, however, considered from the point of view of value as well, it may be depreciated through a change in the productive power of labour; but this refers only to the individual capitalist.) Accordingly, a portion of the profit, therefore of surplus value and thereby also surplus product, in which (as concerns value) only newly added labour is represented, serves as an insurance fund. And it matters not whether this insurance fund is managed by insurance companies as a separate business or not. This is the sole portion of revenue which is neither consumed as such nor serves necessarily as a fund for accumulation. Whether it actually serves as such, or covers merely a loss in reproduction, depends upon chance. This is also the only portion of surplus value and surplus product, and thus of surplus labour, which would continue to exist, outside of that portion serving for accumulation, and hence expansion of the process of reproduction, even after the abolition of the capitalist mode of production. This, of course, presupposes that the portion regularly consumed by direct producers does not remain limited to its present minimum. Apart from surplus labour for those who on account of age are not yet, or no longer, able to take part in production, all labour to support those who do not work would cease. If we think back to the beginnings of society, we find no produced means of production, hence no constant capital, the value of which could pass into the product, and which, in reproduction on the same scale, would have to be replaced in kind out of the product and to a degree measured by its value. But Nature there directly provides the means of subsistence, which need not first be pro-

annual product unproductively without impairing its future income in the least (147). The products which constitute the capital of a nation are not consumable" (p. 150).

duced. Nature thereby also gives to the savage who has but few wants to satisfy the time, not to use the as yet nonexistent means of production in new production, but to transform, alongside the labour required to appropriate naturally existing means of subsistence, other products of Nature into means of production: bows, stone knives, boats, etc. This process among savages, considered merely from the substantive side, corresponds to the reconversion of surplus labour into new capital. In the process of accumulation, the conversion of such products of excess labour into capital obtains continually; and the circumstance that all new capital arises out of profit, rent, or other forms of revenue, i. e., out of surplus labour, leads to the mistaken idea that all value of commodities arises from some revenue. This reconversion of profit into capital shows rather upon closer analysis that, conversely, the additional labour—which is always represented in the form of revenue—does not serve for the maintenance, or reproduction respectively, of the old capital value, but for the creation of new excess capital so far as it is not consumed as revenue.

The whole difficulty arises from the fact that all newly added labour, in so far as the value created by it is not resolved into wages, appears as profit—interpreted here as a form of surplus value in general—i. e., as a value which costs the capitalist nothing and which, of course, therefore does not have to replace for him anything advanced, any capital whatever. This value thus exists in the form of available additional wealth, in short, from the viewpoint of the individual capitalist, in the form of his revenue. But this newly created value can just as well be consumed productively as individually, equally well as capital or revenue. As a consequence of its natural form, some of it must be productively consumed. It is, therefore, evident that the annually added labour creates capital as well as revenue; as becomes evident in the process of accumulation. However, the portion of labour power employed in the creation of new capital (thus analogous to that portion of the working day employed by a savage, not for acquiring subsistence, but to fashion tools with which to acquire his subsistence) becomes invisible in that the entire product of surplus labour first appears in the form of profit; a designation which indeed has nothing to do with this surplus product itself, but refers merely to the individual relation of the capitalist to the surplus value pocketed by him. In fact, the surplus value created by the labourer is divided into revenue and capital; i. e., into articles of consumption and additional means of production. But former constant capital taken over from the previous

year (leaving aside the portion impaired and thus *pro tanto* destroyed, thus so far as it does not have to be reproduced—and such disturbances in the process of reproduction fall under insurance) is not reproduced as concerns value by the newly added labour.

We see, furthermore, that a portion of the newly added labour is continually absorbed in the reproduction and replacement of consumed constant capital, although this newly added labour resolves itself solely into revenue, into wages, profit and rent. But it is thereby overlooked 1) that one value portion of the product of this labour is *no* product of this new additional labour, but rather pre-existing and consumed constant capital; that the portion of the product in which this part of value appears is thus also not transformed into revenue, but replaces the means of production of this constant capital in kind; 2) that the portion of value in which this newly added labour actually appears is not consumed as revenue in kind, but replaces the constant capital in another sphere, where it is transformed into a natural form, in which it may be consumed as revenue, but which in its turn is again not entirely a product of newly added labour.

In so far as reproduction obtains on the same scale, every consumed element of constant capital must be replaced in kind by a new specimen of the same kind, if not in quantity and form, then at least in effectiveness. If the productive power of labour remains the same, then this replacement in kind implies replacing the same value which the constant capital had in its old form. But should the productive power of labour increase, so that the same material elements may be reproduced with less labour, then a smaller portion of the value of the product can completely replace the constant part in kind. The excess may then be employed to form new additional capital or a larger portion of the product may be given the form of articles of consumption, or the surplus labour may be reduced. On the other hand, should the productive power of labour decrease, then a larger portion of the product must be used for the replacement of the former capital, and the surplus product decreases.

The reconversion of profit, or generally of any form of surplus value, into capital shows—leaving aside the historically defined economic form and considering it merely as the simple formation of new means of production—that the situation still prevails whereby the labourer performs labour to produce means of production beyond the labour for acquiring his immediate means of subsistence. Transformation of profit into capital is no more than employing a portion of

excess labour to form new, additional means of production. That this takes place in the shape of a transformation of profit into capital signifies merely that it is the capitalist rather than the labourer who disposes of excess labour. That this excess labour must first pass through a stage in which it appears as revenue (whereas, e. g., in the case of a savage it appears as excess labour directly destined for the production of means of production) means simply that this labour, or its product, is appropriated by the nonworker. However, what is actually transformed into capital is not profit as such. Transformation of surplus value into capital signifies merely that the surplus value and surplus product are not consumed individually as revenue by the capitalist. But, what is actually so transformed is value, objectified labour, or the product in which this value is directly manifested, or for which it is exchanged after having been previously transformed into money. And when the profit is transformed back into capital, this definite form of surplus value, or profit, does not form the source of the new capital. The surplus value is thereby merely changed from one form into another. But it is not this change of form which turns it into capital. It is the commodity and its value which now function as capital. However, that the value of the commodity is not paid for—and only by this means does it become surplus value—is quite irrelevant for the objectification of labour, the value itself.

The misunderstanding is expressed in various forms. For instance, that the commodities which compose the constant capital also contain elements of wages, profit and rent. Or, on the other hand, that what is revenue for the one is capital for another, and that therefore these are but subjective relations. Thus the yarn of the SPINNER contains a portion of value representing profit for him. Should the weaver buy the yarn, he realises the profit of the SPINNER, but for himself this yarn is merely a part of his constant capital.

Aside from the previous remarks made concerning the relations between revenue and capital, the following is to be noted: That which, as regards value, passes along with the yarn as a constituent element into the capital of the weaver, is the value of the yarn. In what manner the parts of this value have been resolved for the SPINNER himself into capital and revenue, or, in other words, into paid and unpaid labour, is completely irrelevant for the value determination of the commodity itself (aside from modifications through the average profit). Back of this still lurks the idea that the profit, or surplus value in general, is an excess above the value of the commodity, which can

only be made by an extra charge, mutual cheating, or gain through selling. When the price of production is paid, or even the value of the commodity, the component values of the commodity which appear to the seller in the form of revenue are naturally also paid. Monopoly prices, of course, are not referred to here.

Secondly, it is quite correct to say that the component parts of commodities which make up the constant capital, like any other commodity value, may be reduced to portions of value which resolve themselves for the producers and the owners of the means of production into wages, profit and rent. This is merely a capitalist form of expression for the fact that all commodity value is but the measure of the socially necessary labour contained in a commodity. But it has already been shown in Book I that this nowise prevents the commodity product of any capital from being split into separate parts, of which one represents exclusively the constant portion of capital, another the variable portion of capital, and a third solely surplus value.

Storch expresses the opinion of many others when he says:

> "The saleable products which make up the national revenue must be considered in political economy in two different ways: relative to individuals as values, and relative to the nation as goods; for the revenue of a nation is not appraised, like that of an individual, by its value, but by its utility or by the wants which it can satisfy." (*Consid. sur le revenu national*, p. 19.)[a]

In the first place, it is a false abstraction to regard a nation whose mode of production is based upon value, and furthermore is capitalistically organised, as an aggregate body working merely for the satisfaction of the national wants.

Secondly, after the abolition of the capitalist mode of production, but still retaining social production, the determination of value continues to prevail in the sense that the regulation of labour time and the distribution of social labour among the various production groups, ultimately the bookkeeping encompassing all this, become more essential than ever.

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[a] The reference is to *Considérations sur la nature du revenu national*. Cited in French.

# Chapter L

## ILLUSIONS CREATED BY COMPETITION

It has been shown that the value of commodities, or the price of production regulated by their total value, resolves itself into:

1) A portion of value replacing constant capital, or representing past labour, which was used up in the form of means of production in making the commodity; in a word, the value, or price, which these means of production carried into the production process of the commodities. We are not referring at all here to individual commodities, but to commodity capital, that is, the form in which the product of the capital during a definite period of time, say a year, manifests itself; the individual commodity forms one element of commodity capital, which, moreover, so far as its value is concerned, resolves itself into the same analogous constituents.

2) The portion of value representing variable capital, which measures the income of the labourer and is transformed into wages for him; i. e., the labourer has reproduced these wages in this variable portion of value; in short, the portion of value which represents the paid portion of new labour added to the above constant portion in the production of the commodities.

3) Surplus value, i. e., the portion of value of the commodity product in which the unpaid labour, or surplus labour, is incorporated. This last portion of value, in its turn, assumes the independent forms which are at the same time forms of revenue: the forms of profit on capital (interest on capital as such and profit of enterprise on capital as functioning capital) and ground rent, which is claimed by the owner of the land participating in the production process. The components 2) and 3), that is, the portion of value which always assumes the revenue forms of wages (of course only after the latter have first gone through the form of variable capital), profit and rent, is distinguished from the constant component 1) by the fact that in it is embodied that entire value in which the new additional labour added to the constant part, to the means of production of the commodities, is objectified. Now, apart from the constant portion, it is correct to say that the value of a commodity, i. e., to the extent that it represents newly added labour, continually resolves itself into three parts, which constitute three forms of revenue, namely, wages, profit and rent, [55] the res-

[55] In breaking down the value added to the constant portion of capital into wages,

pective magnitudes of whose value, that is, the aliquot portions which they constitute in the total value, are determined by various specific laws developed above. But, it would be a mistake to state the converse, namely, that the value of wages, rate of profit and rate of rent form independent constituent elements of value, whose synthesis gives rise to the value of commodities, apart from the constant component; in other words, it would be a mistake to say that they are constituent components of the value of commodities, or of the price of production. [56]

The difference is easily seen.

Let us assume that the value of the product of a capital of 500 is equal to $400_c + 100_v + 150_s = 650$; let the $150_s$, in turn, be divided into 75 profit + 75 rent. We will also assume, in order to forestall useless difficulties, that this is a capital of average composition, so that its price of production and its value coincide; this coincidence always takes place whenever the product of such an individual capital may be considered as the product of some portion — corresponding to its magnitude — of the total capital.

Here wages, measured by variable capital, form 20% of the advanced capital; surplus value, calculated on the total capital, forms 30%, namely 15% profit and 15% rent. The entire value component of the commodity representing the newly added labour is equal to

profit and ground rent, it goes without saying that these are portions of value. One may, indeed, conceive of them as existing in the direct product in which this value appears, i. e., in the direct product produced by labourers and capitalists in some particular sphere of production — for instance, yarn produced in the spinning industry. But in fact they do not materialise in this product any more or any less than in any other commodity, in any other component of the material wealth having the same value. And in practice wages are indeed paid in money, that is, in the pure expression of value, likewise interest and rent. For the capitalist, the transformation of his product into the pure expression of value is indeed very important; in the distribution itself this transformation is already assumed. Whether these values are reconverted into the same product, the same commodity, out of whose production they arose, whether the labourer buys back a part of the product directly produced by himself or buys the product of some other labour of a different kind, has nothing to do with the matter itself. Herr Rodbertus quite unnecessarily flies into a passion about this.[a]

[56]* "It will be sufficient to remark that the same general rule which regulates the value of raw produce and manufactured commodities is applicable also to the metals; their value depending not on the rate of profits, nor on the rate of wages, nor on the rent paid for mines, but on the total quantity of labour necessary to obtain the metal and to bring it to market." * (Ricardo, *Principles*, Ch. III, p. 77.)

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[a] Cf. also criticism of Rodbertus on this question given in the *Economic Manuscripts of 1861-63* (present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 376-86).

$100_v + 150_s = 250$. Its magnitude does not depend upon its division into wages, profit and rent. We see from the relation of these parts to each other that labour power, which is paid with 100 in money, say £100, has supplied a quantity of labour represented by money to the amount of £250. We see from this that the labourer performed $1\frac{1}{2}$ times as much surplus labour as he did labour for himself. If the working day = 10 hours, then he worked 4 hours for himself and 6 hours for the capitalist. Therefore, the labour of the labourers paid with £100 is expressed in a money value of £250. Apart from this value of £250, there is nothing to divide between labourer and capitalist, between capitalist and landlord. It is the total value newly added to the value of the means of production, i. e., 400. The specific commodity value of 250 thus produced and determined by the quantity of labour objectified in it constitutes the limit, therefore, for the dividends which the labourer, capitalist and landlord will be able to draw from this value in the form of revenue—wages, profit and rent.

Let us assume that a capital of the same organic composition, that is, the same proportion between employed living labour power and constant capital set in motion, is compelled to pay £150 instead of £100 for the same labour power which sets in motion the constant capital of 400. And let us further assume that profit and rent share in the surplus value in different proportions. Since we have assumed that the variable capital of £150 sets the same quantity of labour in motion as did the variable capital of £100, the newly produced value would = 250, as before, and the value of the total product would be 650, also as before, but we would then have $400_c + 150_v + 100_s$; and these $100_s$ would divide, say, into 45 profit and 55 rent. The proportion in which the newly produced total value would be distributed as wages, profit and rent would now be very different; similarly, the magnitude of the advanced total capital would be different, although it only sets the same total quantity of labour in motion. Wages would amount to $27\frac{3}{11}$%, profit—$8\frac{2}{11}$%, and rent—10% of the advanced capital; thus, the total surplus value would be somewhat over 18%.

As a result of the increase in wages, the unpaid portion of total labour would be different and thereby the surplus value too. If the working day contained 10 hours, the labourer would have worked 6 hours for himself and only 4 hours for the capitalist. The proportions of profit and rent would also be different; the reduced surplus value would be divided in a different proportion between the capitalist and the landlord. Finally, since the value of the constant capital would

have remained the same and the value of the advanced variable capital would have risen, the reduced surplus value would express itself in a still more reduced rate of gross profit, by which we mean in this case the ratio of the total surplus value to the total advanced capital.

The change in the value of wages, in the rate of profit, and in the rate of rent, whatever the effect of the laws regulating the proportions of these parts to each other, could only move within the limits set by the newly produced commodity value of 250. An exception could only take place if rent should be based on a monopoly price. This would nowise alter the law, but merely complicate the analysis. For if we consider only the product itself in this case, then only the division of surplus value would be different. But if we consider its relative value as compared with other commodities, then we should find solely this difference — that a portion of the surplus value had been transferred from them to this particular commodity.

To recapitulate:

| Value of the Product | New Value | Rate of Surplus Value | Rate of Gross Profit |
|---|---|---|---|
| First Case: $400_c + 100_v + 150_s = 650$ | 250 | 150% | 30% |
| Second Case: $400_c + 150_v + 100_s = 650$ | 250 | $66^2/_3$% | $18^2/_{11}$% |

In the first place, the surplus value falls one-third of what it was, i. e., from 150 to 100. The rate of profit falls by a little more than one-third, i. e., from 30% to 18%, because the reduced surplus value must be calculated on an increased total advanced capital. But it by no means falls in the same proportion as the rate of surplus value. The latter falls from $\frac{150}{100}$ to $\frac{100}{150}$, that is, from 150% to $66\frac{2}{3}$%, whereas the rate of profit only falls from $\frac{150}{500}$ to $\frac{100}{550}$, or from 30% to $18\frac{2}{11}$%. The rate of profit, then, falls proportionately more than the mass of surplus value, but less than the rate of surplus value. We find, furthermore, that value, as well as mass of products, remains the same, so long as the same quantity of labour is employed, although the advanced capital has increased due to the augmentation of its variable component. This increase in advanced capital would indeed be very much felt by a capitalist undertaking a new enterprise. But considering reproduction as a whole, augmentation of the variable capital merely means that a larger portion of the value newly created by newly added labour is converted into wages, and thus, in the first

place, into variable capital instead of into surplus value and surplus product. The value of the product thus remains the same, because it is limited on the one hand by the value of the constant capital = 400, and on the other by the number 250, in which the newly added labour is represented. Both, however, remain unaltered. This product would, as before, represent the same amount of use value in the same magnitude of value, to the extent that it would itself again enter into the constant capital; thus, the same mass of elements of constant capital would retain the same value. The matter would be different if wages were to rise not because the labourer received a larger share of his own labour, but if he received a larger portion of his own labour because the labour productivity had decreased. In this case, the total value in which the same labour, paid and unpaid, would be incorporated, would remain the same. But the mass of products in which this quantity of labour would be incorporated would have decreased so that the price of each aliquot portion of this product would rise, because each portion would contain more labour. The increased wages of 150 would not represent any more product than the wages of 100 did before; the reduced surplus value of 100 would represent merely $\frac{2}{3}$ of the former product, i. e., $66\frac{2}{3}$ % of the mass of use values formerly represented by 100. In this case, the constant capital would also become dearer to the extent that this product would enter into it. However, this would not be the result of the increase in wages, but rather the increase in wages would be a result of the increase in the price of commodities and a result of the diminished productivity of the same quantity of labour. It appears here as though the increase in wages had made the product dearer; however, this increase is not the cause, but rather the result, of a change in the value of the commodities, due to the decreased productivity of labour.

On the other hand, all other circumstances remaining the same, i. e., if the same quantity of employed labour is still represented by 250, then, if the value of the means of production employed should rise or fall, the value of the same quantity of products would rise or fall by the same magnitude. $450_c + 100_v + 150_s$ gives a product value = = 700; but $350_c + 100_v + 150_s$ gives a value for the same quantity of products of only 600, as against a former 650. Hence if the advanced capital, set in motion by the same quantity of labour, increases or decreases, then the value of the product rises or falls, other circumstances remaining the same, if the increase or decrease in advanced capital is due to a change in the magnitude of the value of the con-

stant portion of capital. On the other hand, the value of the product remains unchanged if the increase or decrease in advanced capital is caused by a change in the magnitude of the value of the variable portion of capital, assuming the labour productivity remains the same. In the case of the constant capital, the increase or decrease in its value is not compensated for by any opposite movement. But in the case of the variable capital, assuming the labour productivity remains the same, an increase or decrease in its value is compensated for by the opposite movement on the part of the surplus value, so that the value of the variable capital plus the surplus value, i. e., the value newly added by labour to the means of production and newly incorporated in the product, remains the same.

But if the increase or decrease in the value of the variable capital or wages is due to a rise or fall in the price of commodities, i. e., a decrease or increase in the productive power of the labour employed by this investment of capital, then the value of the product is affected. But the rise or fall in wages in this case is not a cause, but merely an effect.

On the other hand, assuming the constant capital in the above illustration to remain $= 400_c$, if the change from $100_v + 150_s$ to $150_v + 100_s$, i. e., the increase in variable capital, should be due to a decrease in the productive power of labour, not in this particular branch of industry, say, cotton spinning, but perhaps in agriculture which provides the labourer's foodstuffs, i. e., due to a rise in the price of these foodstuffs, then the value of the product would remain unchanged. The value of 650 would still be represented by the same quantity of cotton yarn.

It follows, furthermore, from the above: If the decrease in the expenditure of constant capital is due to economies, etc., in lines of production whose products enter into the labourer's consumption, then this, just like the direct increase in the productivity of the employed labour itself, may lead to a decrease in wages due to a cheapening of the means of subsistence of the labourer, and may lead, therefore, to an increase in the surplus value; so that the rate of profit in this case would grow for two reasons, namely, on the one hand, because the value of the constant capital decreases, and on the other hand, because the surplus value increases. In our consideration of the transformation of surplus value into profit, we assumed that wages do not fall, but remain constant, because there we had to investigate the fluctuations in the rate of profit, independent of the changes in the

rate of surplus value. Moreover, the laws developed there are general ones, and also apply to investments of capital whose products do not enter into the labourer's consumption, whereby changes in the value of the product, therefore, are without influence upon the wages.

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Thus, the separation and resolution of new value annually added by new labour to the means of production, or to the constant part of capital, into the various forms of revenue, viz., wages, profit and rent, do not at all alter the limits of the value itself, the total value to be distributed among these various categories; any more than a change in the mutual relations of these individual parts can change their total, this given magnitude of value. The given number 100 always remains the same, whether it is divided into 50 + 50, or into 20 + 70 + 10, or into 40 + 30 + 30. The portion of the value of the product which is resolved into these revenues is determined just like the constant portion of the value of capital, by the value of the commodities, i. e., by the quantity of labour objectified in them in each case. Given first, then, is the quantity of value of commodities to be divided among wages, profit and rent; in other words, the absolute limit of the sum of the portions of value of these commodities. Secondly, as concerns the individual categories themselves, their average and regulating limits are likewise given. Wages form the basis in this limitation. They are regulated on the one hand by a natural law; their lower limit is determined by the physical minimum of means of subsistence required by the labourer for the conservation of his labour power and for its reproduction; i. e., by a definite quantity of commodities. The value of these commodities is determined by the labour time required for their reproduction; and thus by the portion of new labour added to the means of production, or by the portion of each working day required by the labourer for the production and reproduction of an equivalent for the value of these necessary means of subsistence. For instance, if his average daily means of subsistence have a value = 6 hours of average labour, then he must work on an average six hours per day for himself. The actual value of his labour power deviates from this physical minimum; it differs according to climate and level of social development; it depends not merely upon the physical, but also upon the historically developed social needs, which become second nature. But in every country, at a given time, this regulating average wage

is a given magnitude. The value of all other revenue thus has its limit. It is always equal to the value in which the total working day (which coincides in the present case with the average working day, since it comprises the total quantity of labour set in motion by the total social capital) is incorporated minus the portion of the working day incorporated in wages. Its limit is therefore determined by the limit of the value in which the unpaid labour is expressed, that is, by the quantity of this unpaid labour. While the portion of the working day which is required by the labourer for the reproduction of the value of his wages finds its ultimate limit in the physical minimum of wages, the other portion of the working day, in which surplus labour is incorporated, and thus the portion of value representing surplus value, finds its limit in the physical maximum of the working day, i. e., in the total quantity of daily labour time during which the labourer can, in general, be active and still preserve and reproduce his labour power. Since we are here concerned with the distribution of the value which represents the total labour newly added per year, the working day may be regarded here as a constant magnitude, and is assumed as such, no matter how much or how little it may deviate from its physical maximum. The absolute limit of the portion of value which forms surplus value, and which resolves itself into profit and ground rent, is thus given. It is determined by the excess of the unpaid portion of the working day over its paid portion, i. e., by the portion of the value of the total product in which this surplus labour exists. If we call the surplus value thus limited and calculated on the advanced total capital — the profit, as I have done, then this profit, so far as its absolute magnitude is concerned, is equal to the surplus value and, therefore, its limits are just as much determined by law as the latter. On the other hand, the level of the rate of profit is likewise a magnitude held within certain specific limits determined by the value of commodities. It is the ratio of the total surplus value to the total social capital advanced in production. If this capital = 500 (say millions) and the surplus value = 100, then 20% constitutes the absolute limit of the rate of profit. The distribution of the social profit according to this rate among the capitals invested in the various spheres of production creates prices of production which deviate from the values of commodities and which are the real regulating average market prices. But this deviation abolishes neither the determination of prices by values nor the regular limits of profit. Instead of the value of a commodity being equal to the capital consumed in its production plus the surplus

value contained in it, its price of production is now equal to the capital, c, consumed in its production plus the surplus value falling to its share as a result of the general rate of profit, for instance 20% on the capital advanced in its production, counting both the consumed and the merely employed capital. But this additional amount of 20% is itself determined by the surplus value created by the total social capital and its relation to the value of this capital; and for this reason it is 20% and not 10 or 100. The transformation of values into prices of production, then, does not remove the limits on profit, but merely alters its distribution among the various particular capitals which make up the social capital, i. e., it distributes it uniformly among them in the proportion in which they form parts of the value of this total capital. The market prices rise above and fall below these regulating prices of production, but these fluctuations mutually balance each other. If one examines price lists over a more or less long period of time, and if one disregards those cases in which the actual value of commodities is altered by a change in the productivity of labour, and likewise those cases in which the process of production has been disturbed by natural or social accidents, one will be surprised, in the first place, by the relatively narrow limits of the deviations, and, secondly, by the regularity of their mutual compensation. The same domination of the regulating averages will be found here that Quetelet pointed out in the case of social phenomena. If the equalisation of the values of commodities into prices of production does not meet any obstacles, then the rent resolves itself into differential rent, i. e., it is limited to the equalisation of the surplus profits which would be given to some capitalists by the regulating prices of production and which are now appropriated by the landlord. Here, then, rent has its definite limit of value in the deviations of the individual rates of profit, which are caused by the regulation of prices of production by the general rate of profit. If landed property obstructs equalisation of the values of commodities into prices of production, and appropriates absolute rent, then the latter is limited by the excess of the value of the agricultural products over their price of production, i. e., by the excess of the surplus value contained in them over the rate of profit assigned to the capitals by the general rate of profit. This difference, then, forms the limit of the rent, which, as before, is but a definite portion of the given surplus value contained in the commodities.

Finally, if equalisation of surplus value into average profit meets with obstacles in the various spheres of production in the form of arti-

ficial or natural monopolies, and particularly monopoly in landed property, so that a monopoly price becomes possible, which rises above the price of production and above the value of the commodities affected by such a monopoly, then the limits imposed by the value of the commodities would not thereby be removed. The monopoly price of certain commodities would merely transfer a portion of the profit of the other commodity producers to the commodities having the monopoly price. A local disturbance in the distribution of the surplus value among the various spheres of production would indirectly take place, but it would leave the limit of this surplus value itself unaltered. Should the commodity having the monopoly price enter into the necessary consumption of the labourer, it would increase the wage and thereby reduce the surplus value, assuming the labourer receives the value of his labour power as before. It could depress wages below the value of labour power, but only to the extent that the former exceed the limit of their physical minimum. In this case the monopoly price would be paid by a deduction from real wages (i. e., the quantity of use values received by the labourer for the same quantity of labour) and from the profit of the other capitalists. The limits within which the monopoly price would affect the normal regulation of the prices of commodities would be firmly fixed and accurately calculable.

Thus just as the division of the newly added value of commodities, and, in general, value resolvable into revenue, finds its given and regulating limits in the relation between necessary and surplus labour, wages and surplus value, so does the division of surplus value itself into profit and ground rent find its limits in the laws regulating the equalisation of the rate of profit. As regards the division into interest and profit of enterprise, the average profit itself forms the limit for both taken together. It furnishes the given magnitude of value which they may split among themselves and which alone can be so divided. The specific ratio of this division is here fortuitous, i. e., it is determined exclusively by conditions of competition. Whereas in other cases the balancing of supply and demand is equivalent to elimination of the deviations in market prices from their regulating average prices, i. e., elimination of the influence of competition, it is here the only determinant. But why? Because the same production factor, capital, has to divide its share of the surplus value between two owners of the same production factor. But the fact that there is no definite, regular limit here for the division of the average profit does not remove its limit as part of commodity value; just as the fact that two partners in

a certain business divide their profit unequally due to different external circumstances does not affect the limits of this profit in any way.

Hence, although the portion of the commodity value in which the new labour added to the value of the means of production is incorporated is divided into various parts, which in the form of revenue assume mutually independent forms, this is no reason for now considering wages, profit and ground rent as the constituent elements which, in combination or taken all together, are the source of the regulating price (NATURAL PRICE, *prix necessaire*) of the commodities themselves; so that it is not the commodity value, after deducting the constant portion of value, which would be the original unit that divides into these three parts, but rather, conversely, the price of each of these three parts would be independently determined, and the price of the commodities would then be formed by adding these three independent magnitudes together. In reality, the commodity value is the magnitude which precedes the sum of the total values of wages, profit and rent, regardless of the relative magnitudes of the latter. In the above erroneous conception, wages, profit and rent are three independent magnitudes of value, whose total magnitude produces, limits and determines the magnitude of the commodity value.

In the first place it is evident that if wages, profit and rent were to form the price of commodities, this would apply as much to the constant portion of the commodity value as to the other portion, in which variable capital and surplus value are incorporated. Thus, this constant portion may here be left entirely out of consideration, since the value of the commodities of which it is composed would likewise resolve itself into the sum of the values of wages, profit and rent. As already noted, this conception, then, denies the very existence of such a constant portion of value.

It is furthermore evident that value loses all meaning here. Only the conception of price still remains, in the sense that a certain amount of money is paid to the owner of labour power, capital and land. But what is money? Money is not a thing, but a definite form of value, hence, value is again presupposed. Let us say, then, that a definite amount of gold or silver is paid for these elements of production, or that it is mentally equated to them. But gold and silver (and the enlightened economist is proud of this discovery) are themselves commodities like all other commodities. The price of gold and silver is therefore likewise determined by wages, profit and rent. Hence we cannot determine wages, profit and rent by equating them to a cer-

tain amount of gold and silver, for the value of this gold and silver, by means of which they should be evaluated as in their equivalent, should be first determined precisely by them, independently of gold and silver, i. e., independently of the value of any commodity, which value is precisely the product of the above three factors. Thus, to say that the value of wages, profit and rent consists in their being equivalent to a certain quantity of gold and silver, would merely be saying that they are equal to a certain quantity of wages, profit and rent.

Take wages first. For it is necessary to make labour the point of departure, even in this view of the matter. How, then, is the regulating price of wages determined, the price about which its market prices oscillate?

Let us say that it is determined by the supply and demand of labour power. But what sort of labour power demand is this? It is a demand made by capital. The demand for labour is therefore tantamount to the supply of capital. In order to speak of a supply of capital, we should know above all what capital is. Of what does capital consist? If we take its simplest aspect, it consists of money and commodities. But money is merely a commodity form. Capital, then, consists of commodities. But the value of commodities, according to our assumption, is determined, in the first instance, by the price of the labour producing the commodities, by wages. Wages are here presupposed and are treated as a constituent element of the price of commodities. This price then should be determined by the ratio of available labour to capital. The price of the capital itself is equal to the price of the commodities of which it is composed. The demand by capital for labour is equal to the supply of capital. And the supply of capital is equal to the supply of a quantity of commodities of given price, and this price is regulated in the first place by the price of labour, and the price of labour in turn is equal to that portion of the commodity price constituting the variable capital, which is granted to the labourer in exchange for his labour; and the price of the commodities constituting this variable capital is again determined, in turn, primarily by the price of labour; for it is determined by the prices of wages, profit and rent. In order to determine wages, we cannot, therefore, presuppose capital, for the value of the capital is itself determined in part by wages.

Moreover, dragging competition into this problem does not help at all. Competition makes the market prices of labour rise or fall. But suppose supply and demand of labour are balanced. How are wages

then determined? By competition. But we have just assumed that competition ceases to act as a determinant, that its influence is cancelled due to equilibrium between its two mutually opposing forces. Indeed, it is precisely the natural price of wages that we wish to find, i. e., the price of labour that is not regulated by competition, but which, on the contrary, regulates the latter.

Nothing remains but to determine the necessary price of labour by the necessary means of subsistence of the labourer. But these means of subsistence are commodities, which have a price. The price of labour is therefore determined by the price of the necessary means of subsistence and the price of the means of subsistence, like that of all other commodities, is determined primarily by the price of labour. Therefore, the price of labour determined by the price of the means of subsistence is determined by the price of labour. The price of labour is determined by itself. In other words, we do not know how the price of labour is determined. Labour in this case has a price in general, because it is considered as a commodity. In order, therefore, to speak of the price of labour, we must know what price in general is. But we do not learn at all in this way what price in general is.

Nevertheless, let us assume that the necessary price of labour is determined in this agreeable manner. Then how is the average profit determined, the profit of every capital under normal conditions, which constitutes the second element in the price of commodities? The average profit must be determined by an average rate of profit; how is this rate determined? By competition among the capitalists? But the competition already presupposes the existence of profit. It presupposes various rates of profit, and thus various profits — either in the same or in different branches of production. Competition can influence the rate of profit only to the extent that it affects the prices of commodities. Competition can only make the producers within the same sphere of production sell their commodities at the same prices, and make them sell their commodities in different spheres of production at prices which will give them the same profit, the same proportional addition to the price of commodities which has already been partially determined by wages. Hence competition can only equalise inequalities in the rate of profit. In order to equalise unequal rates of profit, profit must exist as an element in the price of commodities. Competition does not create it. It lowers or raises its level, but does not create the level which is established when equalisation has been achieved. And when we speak of a necessary rate of profit, what we wish

to know is precisely the rate of profit independent of the movements of competition, which in turn regulates competition itself. The average rate of profit sets in when there is an equilibrium of forces among the competing capitalists. Competition may establish this equilibrium but not the rate of profit which makes its appearance with this equilibrium.When this equilibrium is established, why is the general rate of profit now 10, or 20, or 100%? Because of competition? No, on the contrary, competition has eliminated the causes producing deviations from 10, 20, or 100%. It has brought about a commodity price whereby every capital yields the same profit in proportion to its magnitude. The magnitude of this profit itself, however, is independent of competition. The latter merely reduces, again and again, all deviations to this magnitude. One person competes with another, and competition compels him to sell his commodities at the same price as the other. But why is this price 10 or 20 or 100?

Thus, nothing remains but to declare rate of profit, and therefore profit, to be in some unaccountable manner a definite extra charge added to the price of commodities, which up to this point was determined by wages. The only thing that competition tells us is that this rate of profit must be a given magnitude. But we knew this before — when we dealt with general rate of profit and "necessary price" of profit.

It is quite unnecessary to wade through this absurd process anew in the case of ground rent. One can see without doing this that, when carried out more or less consistently, it makes profit and rent merely appear as definite extra charges added by unaccountable laws to the price of commodities, a price primarily determined by wages. In short, competition has to shoulder the responsibility of explaining all the meaningless ideas of the economists, whereas it should rather be the economists who explain competition.

Now, disregarding here the illusion of a profit and rent being created by circulation, i. e., price components arising through sale — and circulation can never give what it did not first receive — the matter simply amounts to this:

Let the price of a commodity determined by wages = 100; let the rate of profit be 10% of wages, and the rent 15% of wages. Then the price of the commodity determined by the sum of wages, profit and rent = 125. This additional 25 cannot arise from the sale of the commodity. For all who sell one another commodities sell at 125 that which costs 100 in wages; which is the same as if they had all sold at

100. Thus, the operation must be considered independently of the circulation process.

If the three share the commodity itself, which now costs 125—and it does not alter matters any if the capitalist first sells at 125, and then pays 100 to the labourer, 10 to himself, and 15 to the landlord—the labourer receives $\frac{4}{5}$ = 100 of the value and of the product. The capitalist receives $\frac{2}{25}$ of the value and of the product, and the landlord $\frac{3}{25}$. Since the capitalist sells at 125 instead of 100, he gives the labourer only $\frac{4}{5}$ of the product incorporating the latter's labour. Thus, it would be just the same as if he had given 80 to the labourer and retained 20—of which 8 would fall to his share and 12 to the landlord. In this case he would have sold the commodity at its value, since in fact the additions to the price represent increases that are independent of the value of the commodity, which under the assumption made above is determined by the value of wages. This, in a roundabout way, amounts to saying that according to this conception the term "wages," here 100, means the value of the product, i. e., the sum of money in which this definite quantity of labour is represented; but that this value in turn differs from the real wage and therefore leaves a surplus. But here the surplus is realised by a nominal addition to the price. Hence, if wages were equal to 110 instead of 100, the profit would have to be = 11 and the ground rent = 16 $\frac{1}{2}$, so that the price of the commodity would = 137 $\frac{1}{2}$. This would leave the proportions unaltered. But since the division would always be obtained by way of a nominal addition of definite percentages to wages, the price would rise and fall with the wages. Wages are here first set equal to the value of the commodity, and then divorced from it again. In fact, however, this amounts to saying in a roundabout and irrational way that the value of the commodity is determined by the quantity of labour contained in it, whereas the value of wages is determined by the price of the necessary means of subsistence, and the excess of value above the wages forms profit and rent.

The splitting of the value of commodities after subtracting the value of the means of production consumed in their creation; the splitting of this given quantity of value, determined by the quantity of labour objectified in the produced commodities, into three component parts, which assume, as wages, profit and rent, independent and mutually unrelated forms of revenue—this splitting appears in a perverted form on the surface of capitalist production, and consequently in the minds of those captivated by the latter.

Let the total value of a certain commodity = 300, of which 200 is the value of the means of production, or elements of constant capital, consumed in its production. This leaves 100 as the amount of new value added to the commodity during its process of production. This new value of 100 is all that is available for division among the three forms of revenue. If we let wages = x, profit = y and ground rent = z, then the sum of x + y + z will always = 100 in our case. But to the industrialists, merchants and bankers, and to the vulgar economists, this appears quite different. For them, the value of the commodity, after subtracting the value of the means of production consumed by it, is not given = 100, this 100 then being divided into x, y and z. But rather, the price of the commodity simply consists of the value of wages, the value of profit and the value of rent, which magnitudes are determined independently of the value of the commodity and of each other, so that x, y and z are each given and determined independently, and only from the sum of these magnitudes, which may be smaller or larger than 100, is the magnitude of the value of the commodity itself obtained by adding these component values together. This *quid pro quo* is inevitable because:

*First*: The component parts of the value of a commodity appear as independent revenues in relation to one another, and as such are related to three very dissimilar production factors, namely labour, capital and land, and therefore they seem to arise from the latter. Ownership of labour power, capital and land is the cause for these various component values of commodities falling to the share of the respective owners, and thus transforming themselves into revenue for them. But the value does not arise from a transformation into revenue; it must rather exist before it can be converted into revenue, before it can assume this form. The illusion that the opposite is true is strengthened all the more as the determination of the relative magnitudes of these three components in relation to one another follows different laws, whose connection with, and limitation by, the value of the commodities themselves nowise appear on the surface.

*Secondly*: We have seen[a] that a general rise or fall in wages, by causing a movement of the general rate of profit in the opposite direction — other circumstances remaining the same — changes the prices of production of the various commodities, i. e., raises some and lowers

[a] See this volume, pp. 198-202.

others, depending on the average composition of capital in the respective spheres of production. Thus, experience shows here that in some spheres of production, at any rate, the average price of a commodity rises because wages have risen, and falls because wages have fallen. But "experience" does not show that the value of commodities, which is independent of wages, secretly regulates these changes. However, if the rise in wages is local, if it only takes place in particular spheres of production as a result of special circumstances, then a corresponding nominal rise in the prices of these commodities may occur. This rise in the relative value of one kind of commodity in relation to the others, for which wages have remained unchanged, is then merely a reaction against the local disturbance in the uniform distribution of surplus value among the various spheres of production, a means of equalising the particular rates of profit into the general rate. "Experience" shows in this case that wages again determine the price. Thus, in both of these cases experience shows that wages determine the prices of commodities. But "experience" does not show the hidden cause of this interrelation. Furthermore: The average price of labour, i. e., the value of labour power, is determined by the production price of the necessary means of subsistence. If the latter rises or falls, the former rises or falls accordingly. Thus, experience again shows the existence or a connection between wages and the price of commodities. But the cause may appear as an effect, and the effect as a cause, which is also the case in the movements of market prices, where a rise of wages above their average corresponds to the rise of market prices above the prices of production during periods of prosperity, and the subsequent fall of wages below their average corresponds to a fall of market prices below the prices of production. To the dependence of prices of production upon the values of commodities *prima facie* there would always have to correspond, apart from the oscillatory movements of market prices, the experience that whenever wages rise the rate of profit falls, and vice versa. But we have seen[a] that the rate of profit may be determined by movements in the value of constant capital, independently of the movements of wages; so that wages and rate of profit, instead of moving in opposite directions, may move in the same direction, may rise or fall together. If the rate of surplus value were to directly coincide with the rate of profit, this

[a] See this volume, pp. 106-23.

would not be possible. Similarly if wages should rise as a result of a rise in the prices of the means of subsistence, the rate of profit may remain the same, or even rise, due to greater intensity of labour or prolongation of the working day. All these experiences bear out the illusion created by the independent and distorted form of the component values, namely, that either wages alone, or wages and profit together, determine the value of commodities. Once such an illusion appears with respect to wages, once the price of labour and the value created by labour seem to coincide, the same automatically applies to profit and rent. Their prices, i. e., their money expression, must then be regulated independently of labour and of the value created by the latter.

*Thirdly*: Let us assume that according to direct experience the values of a commodity, or the prices of production—which merely appear to be independent of the values—always coincide with the market prices of the commodity rather than merely prevailing as the regulating average prices by constant compensation of the continual fluctuations in market price. Let us assume, furthermore, that reproduction always takes place under the same unaltered conditions, i. e., labour productivity remains constant in all elements of capital. Finally, let us assume that the component value of the commodity product, which is formed in every sphere of production by the addition of a new quantity of labour—i. e., a newly produced value—to the value of the means of production, always splits into constant proportions of wages, profit and rent, so that the wage actually paid always directly coincides with the value of labour power, the profit actually realised—with the portion of the total surplus value which falls to the share of every independently functioning part of the total capital by virtue of the average rate of profit, and the actual rent is always limited by the bounds within which ground rent on this basis is normally confined. In a word, let us assume that the division of the socially produced values and the regulation of the prices of production takes place on a capitalist basis, but that competition is eliminated.

Thus, under these assumptions, namely, if the value of commodities were constant and appeared so, if the component value of the commodity product which resolves itself into revenues were to remain a constant magnitude and always appeared as such, and finally, if this given and constant component value always split into constant proportions of wages, profit and rent—even under these assumptions, the real movement would necessarily appear in a distorted

form; not as the splitting of a previously given magnitude of value into three parts which assume mutually independent forms of revenue, but, on the contrary, as the formation of this magnitude of value from the sum of the independent and separately determined, each by itself, constituent elements — wages, profit and ground rent. This illusion would necessarily arise, because in the actual movement of individual capitals, and the commodities produced by them, not the value of commodities would appear to be a precondition of its splitting but, conversely, the components into which it is split function as a precondition of the value of the commodities. In the first place, we have seen that to every capitalist the cost price of his commodities appears as a given magnitude and continually appears as such in the actual price of production. The cost price, however, is equal to the value of the constant capital, the advanced means of production, plus the value of labour power, which, however, appears to the agent of production in the irrational form of the price of labour, so that wages simultaneously appear as revenue of the labourer. The average price of labour is a given magnitude, because the value of labour power, like that of any other commodity, is determined by the necessary labour time required for its reproduction. But as concerns that portion of the value of commodities which is embodied in wages, it does not arise from the fact that it assumes this form of wages, that the capitalist advances to the labourer his share of his own product in the form of wages, but from the fact that the labourer produces an equivalent for his wages, i. e., that a portion of his daily or annual labour produces the value contained in the price of his labour power. But wages are stipulated by contract, before their corresponding value equivalent has been produced. As an element of price, whose magnitude is given before the commodity and its value have been produced, as a constituent part of the cost price, wages thereby do not appear as a portion which detaches itself in independent form from the total value of the commodity, but rather, conversely, as a given magnitude, which predetermines this value, i. e., as a creator of price and value. A role similar to that of wages in the cost price of commodities is played by the average profit in their price of production, for the price of production is equal to cost price plus average profit on the advanced capital. This average profit figures practically, in the mind and calculation of the capitalist himself, as a regulating element, not merely in so far as it determines the transfer of capitals from one sphere of investment into another, but also in all sales and contracts which

embrace a process of reproduction extending over long periods. But so far as it figures in this manner, it is a pre-existent magnitude, which is in fact independent of the value and surplus value produced in any particular sphere of production, and thus even more so in the case of any individual investment of capital in any sphere of production. Rather than appearing as a result of a splitting of value, it manifests itself much more as a magnitude independent of the value of the produced commodities, as pre-existing in the process of production of commodities and itself determining the average price of the commodities, i. e., as a creator of value. Indeed, the surplus value, owing to the separation of its various portions into mutually, completely unrelated forms, appears in still more concrete form as a prerequisite for creating commodity value. A part of the average profit in the form of interest confronts the functioning capitalist independently as an assumed element in the production of commodities and of their value. No matter how much the magnitude of the interest fluctuates, at each moment and for every capitalist it is a given magnitude entering into the cost price of the commodities produced by him as individual capitalist. The same role is played by ground rent in the form of lease money fixed by contract for the agricultural capitalist, and in the form of rent for business premises in the case of other entrepreneurs. These portions into which surplus value is split, being given as elements of cost price for the individual capitalist, appear conversely therefore as creators of surplus value; creators of a portion of the price of commodities, just as wages create the other. The secret wherefore these products of the splitting of commodity value constantly appear as prerequisites for the formation of value itself is simply this, that the capitalist mode of production, like any other, does not merely constantly reproduce the material product, but also the social and economic relations, the characteristic economic forms of its creation. Its result, therefore, appears just as constantly presupposed by it, as its presuppositions appear as its results. And it is this continual reproduction of the same relations which the individual capitalist anticipates as self-evident, as an indubitable fact. So long as the capitalist mode of production persists as such, a portion of the newly added labour continually resolves itself into wages, another into profit (interest and profit of enterprise), and a third into rent. In contracts between the owners of various agencies of production this is always assumed, and this assumption is correct, however much the relative proportions may fluctuate in individual cases. The definite

form in which the parts of value confront each other is presupposed because it is continually reproduced and it is continually reproduced because it is continually presupposed.

To be sure, experience and appearance now also demonstrate that market prices, in whose influence the capitalist actually sees the only determination of value, are by no means dependent upon such anticipation, so far as their magnitude is concerned; that they do not correspond to whether the interest or rent were set high or low. But the market prices are constant only in their variation, and their average over longer periods results precisely in the respective averages of wages, profit and rent as the constant magnitudes, and therefore, in the last analysis, those dominating the market prices.

On the other hand, it seems plain on reflection that if wages, profit and rent are creators of value since they seem to be presupposed in the production of value, and are assumed by the individual capitalist in his cost price and price of production, then the constant portion, whose value enters as given into the production of every commodity, is also a creator of value. But the constant portion of capital is no more than a sum of commodities and, therefore, of commodity values. Thus we should arrive at the absurd tautology that commodity value is the creator and cause of commodity value.

However, if the capitalist were at all interested in reflecting about this—and his reflections as capitalist are dictated exclusively by his interests and self-interested motives—experience would show him that the product which he himself produces enters into other spheres of production as a constant portion of capital, and that products of these other production spheres enter into his own product as constant portions of capital. Since the additional value, so far as his new production is concerned, seems to be formed, from his point of view, by the magnitudes of wages, profit and rent, then this also holds good for the constant portion consisting of the products of other capitalists. And thus, the price of the constant portion of capital, and thereby the total value of the commodities, reduces itself in the final analysis, although in a manner which is somewhat unaccountable, to a sum of values resulting from the addition of independent creators of value—wages, profit and rent—which are regulated according to different laws and arise from different sources.

*Fourthly*: Whether the commodities are sold at their values or not, and hence the determination of value itself, is quite immaterial for the individual capitalist. It is, from the very outset, a process that takes

place behind his back and is controlled by the force of circumstances independent of himself, because it is not the values, but the divergent prices of production, which form the regulating average prices in every sphere of production. The determination of value as such interests and has a determining effect on the individual capitalist and the capital in each particular sphere of production only in so far as the reduced or increased quantity of labour required to produce commodities, as a consequence of a rise or fall in productive power of labour, enables him in one instance to make an extra profit, at the prevailing market prices, and compels him in another to raise the price of his commodities, because more wages, more constant capital, and thus more interest, fall upon each portion of the product, or individual commodity. It interests him only in so far as it raises or lowers the cost of production of commodities for himself, thus only in so far as it makes his position exceptional.

On the other hand, wages, interest and rent appear to him as regulating limits not only of the price at which he can realise the profit of enterprise, the portion of profit falling to his share as functioning capitalist, but also at which he must generally be able to sell his commodities, if continued reproduction is to take place. It is quite immaterial to him whether or not he realises, through sale, the value and surplus value incorporated in his commodities, provided only that he makes the customary, or larger, profit of enterprise at given prices, over and above his individual cost price determined by wages, interest and rent. Apart from the constant portion of capital — wages, interest and rent appear to him, therefore, as the limiting and thereby productive determining elements of the commodity price. Should he succeed, e. g., in depressing wages below the value of labour power, i. e., below its normal level, in obtaining capital at a lower interest rate, and in paying less lease money than the normal amount for rent, then it is completely irrelevant to him whether he sells his product below its value, or even below the general price of production, thereby giving away gratis a portion of the surplus labour contained in the commodities. This also applies to the constant portion of capital. If an industrialist, e. g., can buy his raw material below its price of production, then this buffers him against loss, even should he sell it in the finished product under its price of production. His profit of enterprise may remain the same, or even increase, if only the excess of the commodity price over its elements, which must be paid, replaced by an equivalent, remains the same or increases. But aside from the value of the

means of production which enter into the production of his commodities as a given price magnitude, it is precisely wages, interest and rent which enter into this production as limiting and regulating price magnitudes. Consequently they appear to him as the elements determining the price of the commodities. Profit of enterprise, from this standpoint, seems to be either determined by the excess of market prices, dependent upon accidental conditions of competition, over the immanent value of commodities determined by the above-mentioned elements of price; or, to the extent that this profit itself exerts a determining influence upon market prices, it seems itself, in turn, dependent upon the competition between buyers and sellers.

In the competition of individual capitalists among themselves as well as in the competition on the world market, it is the given and assumed magnitudes of wages, interest and rent which enter into the calculation as constant and regulating magnitudes; constant not in the sense of being unalterable magnitudes, but in the sense that they are given in each individual case and constitute the constant limit for the continually fluctuating market prices. For instance, in competition on the world market it is solely a question of whether commodities can be sold advantageously with existing wages, interest and rent at, or below, existing general market prices, i. e., realising a corresponding profit of enterprise. If wages and the price of land are low in one country, while interest on capital is high, because the capitalist mode of production has not been developed generally, whereas in another country wages and the price of land are nominally high, while interest on capital is low, then the capitalist employs more labour and land in the one country, and in the other relatively more capital. These factors enter into calculation as determining elements in so far as competition between these two capitalists is possible. Here, then, experience shows theoretically, and the self-interested calculation of the capitalist shows practically, that the prices of commodities are determined by wages, interest and rent, by the price of labour, capital and land, and that these elements of price are indeed the regulating constituent factors of price.

Of course, there always remains an element here which is not assumed, but which results from the market price of commodities, namely, the excess above the cost price formed by the addition of the aforementioned elements: wages, interest and rent. This fourth element seems to be determined by competition in each individual case, and in the average case by the average profit, which in its turn is regulated by this same competition, only over longer periods.

*Fifthly*: On the basis of the capitalist mode of production, it becomes so much a matter of course to split up the value, in which newly added labour is represented, into the forms of revenue, of wages, profit and ground rent, that this method is applied (leaving aside earlier stages of history, from which we gave illustrations in our study of ground rent) even where the preconditions for these forms of revenue are missing. That is, all is subsumed by analogy under these forms of revenue.

When an independent labourer — let us take a small farmer, since all three forms of revenue may here be applied — works for himself and sells his own product, he is first considered as his own employer (capitalist), who makes use of himself as a labourer, and second as his own landlord, who makes use of himself as his own tenant. To himself as wage worker he pays wages, to himself as capitalist he gives the profit, and to himself as landlord he pays rent. Assuming the capitalist mode of production and the relations corresponding to it to be the general basis of society, this subsumption is correct, in so far as it is not thanks to his labour, but to his ownership of means of production — which have assumed here the general form of capital — that he is in a position to appropriate his own surplus labour. And furthermore, to the extent that he produces his product as commodities, and thus depends upon its price (and even if not, this price is calculable), the quantity of surplus labour which he can realise depends not on its own magnitude, but on the general rate of profit; and likewise any eventual excess above the amount of surplus value determined by the general rate of profit is, in turn, not determined by the quantity of labour performed by him, but can be appropriated by him only because he is owner of the land. Since such a form of production not corresponding to the capitalist mode of production may thus be subsumed under its forms of revenue — and to a certain extent not incorrectly — the illusion is all the more strengthened that capitalist relations are the natural relations of every mode of production.

Of course, if wages are reduced to their general basis, namely, to that portion of the product of the producer's own labour which passes over into the individual consumption of the labourer; if we relieve this portion of its capitalist limitations and extend it to that volume of consumption which is permitted, on the one hand, by the existing productivity of society (that is, the social productivity of his own individual labour as actually social), and which, on the other hand, the full development of the individuality requires; if, furthermore, we

reduce the surplus labour and surplus product to that measure which is required under prevailing conditions of production of society, on the one side to create an insurance and reserve fund, and on the other to constantly expand reproduction to the extent dictated by social needs; finally, if we include in No. 1 the necessary labour, and in No. 2 the surplus labour, the quantity of labour which must always be performed by the able-bodied in behalf of the immature or incapacitated members of society, i. e., if we strip both wages and surplus value, both necessary and surplus labour, of their specifically capitalist character, then certainly there remain not these forms, but merely their rudiments, which are common to all social modes of production.

Moreover, this method of subsumption was also characteristic of previous dominant modes of production, e. g., feudalism. Production relations which nowise corresponded to it, standing entirely beyond it, were subsumed under feudal relations, e. g., in England, the TENURES IN COMMON SOCAGE (as distinct from TENURES ON KNIGHT'S SERVICE), which comprised merely monetary obligations and were feudal in name only.

## Chapter LI

### DISTRIBUTION RELATIONS AND PRODUCTION RELATIONS

The new value added by the annual newly added labour—and thus also that portion of the annual product in which this value is represented and which may be drawn out of the total output and separated from it—is thus split into three parts, which assume three different forms of revenue, into forms which express one portion of this value as belonging or falling to the share of the owner of labour power, another portion to the owner of capital, and a third portion to the owner of landed property. These, then, are relations, or forms of distribution, for they express the relations under which the newly produced total value is distributed among the owners of the various production agents.

From the common viewpoint these distribution relations appear as natural relations, as relations arising directly from the nature of all social production, from the laws of human production in general. It cannot, indeed, be denied that precapitalist societies disclose other modes of distribution, but the latter are interpreted as undeveloped, unperfected and disguised, not reduced to their purest expression and

their highest form and differently shaded modes of the natural distribution relations.

The only correct aspect of this conception is: Assuming some form of social production to exist (e.g., primitive Indian communities, or the more ingeniously developed communism of the Peruvians), a distinction can always be made between that portion of labour whose product is directly consumed individually by the producers and their families and — aside from the part which is productively consumed — that portion of labour which is invariably surplus labour, whose product serves constantly to satisfy the general social needs, no matter how this surplus product may be divided, and no matter who may function as representative of these social needs. Thus, the identity of the various modes of distribution amounts merely to this: they are identical if we abstract from their differences and specific forms and keep in mind only their unity as distinct from their dissimilarity.

A more advanced, more critical mind, however, admits the historically developed character of distribution relations, [56 a)] but nevertheless clings all the more tenaciously to the unchanging character of production relations themselves, arising from human nature and thus independent of all historical development.

On the other hand, scientific analysis of the capitalist mode of production demonstrates the contrary, that it is a mode of production of a special kind, with specific historical features; that, like any other specific mode of production, it presupposes a given level of the social productive forces and their forms of development as its historical precondition: a precondition which is itself the historical result and product of a preceding process, and from which the new mode of production proceeds as its given basis; that the production relations corresponding to this specific, historically determined mode of production — relations which human beings enter into during the process of social life, in the creation of their social life — possess a specific, historical and transitory character; and, finally, that the distribution relations essentially coincident with these production relations are their opposite side, so that both share the same historically transitory character.

[56 a)] J. Stuart Mill, *Some Unsettled Questions in Political Economy*, London, 1844.[a]

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[a] The reference is to *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy*, Essay II, pp. 47-74.

In the study of distribution relations, the initial point of departure is the alleged fact that the annual product is apportioned among wages, profit and rent. But if so expressed, it is a misstatement. The product is apportioned on one side to capital, on the other to revenue. One of these revenues, wages, itself constantly assumes only the form of revenue, revenue of the labourer, after it has first confronted this labourer in the *form of capital.* The confrontation of produced conditions of labour and of the products of labour generally, as capital, with the direct producers implies from the outset a definite social character of the material conditions of labour in relation to the labourers, and thereby a definite relationship into which they enter with the owners of the conditions of production and among themselves during production itself. The transformation of these conditions of labour into capital implies in turn the expropriation of the direct producers from the land, and thus a definite form of landed property.

If one portion of the product were not transformed into capital, the other would not assume the forms of wages, profit and rent.

On the other hand, if the capitalist mode of production presupposes this definite social form of the conditions of production, so does it reproduce it continually. It produces not merely the material products, but reproduces continually the production relations in which the former are produced, and thereby also the corresponding distribution relations.

It may be said, of course, that capital itself (and landed property which it includes as its antithesis) already presupposes a distribution: the expropriation of the labourer from the conditions of labour, the concentration of these conditions in the hands of a minority of individuals, the exclusive ownership of land by other individuals, in short, all the relations which have been described in the part dealing with primitive accumulation (Buch I, Kap. XXIV). But this distribution differs altogether from what is understood by distribution relations when the latter are endowed with a historical character in contradistinction to production relations. What is meant thereby are the various titles to that portion of the product which goes into individual consumption. The aforementioned distribution relations, on the contrary, are the basis of special social functions performed within the production relations by certain of their agents, as opposed to the direct producers. They imbue the conditions of production themselves and their representatives with a specific social quality.

They determine the entire character and the entire movement of production.

Capitalist production is distinguished from the outset by two characteristic features.

*First.* It produces its products as commodities. The fact that it produces commodities does not differentiate it from other modes of production; but rather the fact that being a commodity is the dominant and determining characteristic of its products. This implies, first and foremost, that the labourer himself comes forward merely as a seller of commodities, and thus as a free wage labourer, so that labour appears in general as wage labour. In view of what has already been said, it is superfluous to demonstrate anew that the relation between capital and wage labour determines the entire character of the mode of production. The principal agents of this mode of production itself, the capitalist and the wage labourer, are as such merely embodiments, personifications of capital and wage labour; definite social characteristics stamped upon individuals by the process of social production; the products of these definite social production relations.

The characteristic 1) of the product as a commodity, and 2) of the commodity as a product of capital, already implies all circulation relations, i. e., a definite social process through which the products must pass and in which they assume definite social characteristics; it likewise implies definite relations of the production agents, by which the value expansion of their product and its reconversion, either into means of subsistence or into means of production, are determined. But even apart from this, the entire determination of value and the regulation of the total production by value results from the above two characteristics of the product as a commodity, or of the commodity as a capitalistically produced commodity. In this entirely specific form of value, labour prevails on the one hand solely as social labour; on the other hand, the distribution of this social labour and the mutual supplementing and interchanging of its products, the subordination under, and introduction into, the social mechanism, are left to the accidental and mutually nullifying motives of individual capitalist producers. Since these latter confront one another only as commodity owners, and everyone seeks to sell his commodity as dearly as possible (apparently even guided in the regulation of production itself solely by his own free will), the inner law enforces itself only through their competition, their mutual pressure upon each other, whereby the deviations are mutually cancelled. Only as an inner law, vis-à-vis the

individual agents, as a blind law of Nature, does the law of value exert its influence here and maintain the social equilibrium of production amidst its accidental fluctuations.

Furthermore, already implicit in the commodity, and even more so in the commodity as a product of capital, is the objectification of the social features of production and the personification of the material foundations of production, which characterise the entire capitalist mode of production.

The *second* distinctive feature of the capitalist mode of production is the production of surplus value as the direct aim and determining motive of production. Capital produces essentially capital, and does so only to the extent that it produces surplus value. We have seen in our discussion of relative surplus value, and further in considering the transformation of surplus value into profit, how a mode of production peculiar to the capitalist period is founded hereon — a special form of development of the social productive powers of labour, but confronting the labourer as powers of capital rendered independent, and standing in direct opposition therefore to the labourer's own development. Production for value and surplus value implies, as has been shown in the course of our analysis, the constantly operating tendency to reduce the labour time necessary for the production of a commodity, i. e., its value, below the actually prevailing social average. The pressure to reduce cost price to its minimum becomes the strongest lever for raising the social productive power of labour, which, however, appears here only as a continual increase in the productiveness of capital.

The authority assumed by the capitalist as the personification of capital in the direct process of production, the social function performed by him in his capacity as manager and ruler of production, is essentially different from the authority exercised on the basis of production by means of slaves, serfs, etc.

Whereas, on the basis of capitalist production, the mass of direct producers is confronted by the social character of their production in the form of strictly regulating authority and a social mechanism of the labour process organised as a complete hierarchy — this authority reaching its bearers, however, only as the personification of the conditions of labour in contrast to labour, and not as political or theocratic rulers as under earlier modes of production — among the bearers of this authority, the capitalists themselves, who confront one another only as commodity owners, there reigns complete anarchy within

which the social interrelations of production assert themselves only as an overwhelming natural law in relation to individual free will.

Only because labour pre-exists in the form of wage labour, and the means of production in the form of capital—i. e., solely because of this specific social form of these two essential production agents—does a part of the value (product) appear as surplus value and this surplus value as profit (rent), as the gain of the capitalist, as additional available wealth belonging to him. But only because this surplus value thus appears as *his profit* do the additional means of production, which are intended for the expansion of reproduction, and which constitute a part of this profit, present themselves as new additional capital, and the expansion of the process of reproduction in general as a process of capitalist accumulation.

Although the form of labour as wage labour is decisive for the form of the entire process and the specific mode of production itself, it is not wage labour which determines value. In the determination of value, it is a question of social labour time in general, the quantity of labour which society generally has at its disposal, and whose relative absorption by the various products determines, as it were, their respective social importance. The definite form in which the social labour time prevails as decisive in the determination of the value of commodities is of course connected with the form of labour as wage labour and with the corresponding form of the means of production as capital, in so far as solely on this basis does commodity production become the general form of production.

Let us moreover consider the so-called distribution relations themselves. The wage presupposes wage labour, and profit—capital. These definite forms of distribution thus presuppose definite social characteristics of production conditions, and definite social relations of production agents. The specific distribution relations are thus merely the expression of the specific historical production relations.

And now let us consider profit. This specific form of surplus value is the precondition for the fact that the new creation of means of production takes place in the form of capitalist production; thus, a relation dominating reproduction, although it seems to the individual capitalist as if he could in reality consume his entire profit as revenue. However, he thereby meets barriers even in the form of insurance and reserve funds, laws of competition, etc., which hamper him and prove to him in practice that profit is not a mere distribution category of the individually consumable product. The entire process of capitalist

production is furthermore regulated by the prices of the products. But the regulating prices of production are themselves in turn regulated by the equalisation of the rate of profit and its corresponding distribution of capital among the various social spheres of production. Profit, then, appears here as the main factor, not of the distribution of products, but of their production itself, as a factor in the distribution of capitals and labour itself among the various spheres of production. The division of profit into profit of enterprise and interest appears as the distribution of the same revenue. But it arises, to begin with, from the development of capital as a self-expanding value, a creator of surplus value, i. e., from this specific social form of the prevailing process of production. It evolves credit and credit institutions out of itself, and thereby the form of production. As interest, etc., the ostensible distribution forms enter into the price as determining production factors.

Ground rent might seem to be a mere form of distribution, because landed property as such does not perform any, or at least any normal, function in the process of production itself. But the circumstance that 1) rent is limited to the excess above the average profit, and that 2) the landlord is reduced from the manager and master of the process of production and of the entire process of social life to the position of mere lessor of land, usurer in land and mere collector of rent, is a specific historical result of the capitalist mode of production. The fact that the earth received the form of landed property is a historical precondition for this. The fact that landed property assumes forms which permit the capitalist mode of operation in agriculture is a product of the specific character of this mode of production. The income of the landlord may be called rent, even under other forms of society. But it differs essentially from rent as it appears in this mode of production.

The so-called distribution relations, then, correspond to and arise from historically determined specific social forms of the process of production and mutual relations entered into by men in the reproduction process of human life. The historical character of these distribution relations is the historical character of production relations, of which they express merely one aspect. Capitalist distribution differs from those forms of distribution which arise from other modes of production, and every form of distribution disappears with the specific form of production from which it is descended and to which it corresponds.

The view which regards only distribution relations as historical,

but not production relations, is, on the one hand, solely the view of the initial, but still timid criticism of bourgeois economy. On the other hand, it rests on the confusion and identification of the process of social production with the simple labour process, such as might even be performed by an abnormally isolated human being without any social assistance. To the extent that the labour process is solely a process between man and Nature, its simple elements remain common to all social forms of development. But each specific historical form of this process further develops its material foundations and social forms. Whenever a certain stage of maturity has been reached, the specific historical form is discarded and makes way for a higher one. The moment of arrival of such a crisis is disclosed by the depth and breadth attained by the contradictions and antagonisms between the distribution relations, and thus the specific historical form of their corresponding production relations, on the one hand, and the productive forces, the production powers and the development of their agencies, on the other hand. A conflict then ensues between the material development of production and its social form. [57]

## Chapter LII

### CLASSES

The owners merely of labour power, owners of capital, and landowners, whose respective sources of income are wages, profit and ground rent, in other words, wage labourers, capitalists and landowners, constitute then three big classes of modern society based upon the capitalist mode of production.

In England, modern society is indisputably most highly and classically developed in economic structure. Nevertheless, even here the stratification of classes does not appear in its pure form. Middle and intermediate strata even here obliterate lines of demarcation everywhere (although incomparably less in rural districts than in the cities). However, this is immaterial for our analysis. We have seen that the continual tendency and law of development of the capitalist mode

[57] See the work on *COMPETITION AND CO-OPERATION* (1832?).[a]

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[a] This refers apparently to *A Prize Essay on the Competitive Merits of Competition and Cooperation*, London, 1834.

of production is more and more to divorce the means of production from labour, and more and more to concentrate the scattered means of production into large groups, thereby transforming labour into wage labour and the means of production into capital. And to this tendency, on the other hand, corresponds the independent separation of landed property from capital and labour, [58] or the transformation of all landed property into the form of landed property corresponding to the capitalist mode of production.

The first question to be answered is this: What constitutes a class? — and the reply to this follows naturally from the reply to another question, namely: What makes wage labourers, capitalists and landlords constitute the three great social classes?

At first glance — the identity of revenues and sources of revenue. There are three great social groups whose members, the individuals forming them, live on wages, profit and ground rent respectively, on the realisation of their labour power, their capital, and their landed property.

However, from this standpoint, physicians and officials, e. g., would also constitute two classes, for they belong to two distinct social groups, the members of each of these groups receiving their revenue from one and the same source. The same would also be true of the infinite fragmentation of interest and rank into which the division of social labour splits labourers as well as capitalists and landlords — the latter, e. g., into owners of vineyards, farm owners, owners of forests, mine owners and owners of fisheries.

//Here the manuscript breaks off.//

[58] F. List remarks correctly: "The prevalence of a self-sufficient economy on large estates demonstrates solely the lack of civilisation, means of communication, domestic trades and wealthy cities. It is to be encountered, therefore, throughout Russia, Poland, Hungary and Mecklenburg. Formerly, it was also prevalent in England; with the advance of trades and commerce, however, this was replaced by the breaking up into middle estates and the leasing of land." (*Die Ackerverfassung, die Zwergwirtschaft und die Auswanderung*, 1842, p. 10.)

F. ENGELS

# SUPPLEMENT TO *CAPITAL*, VOLUME THREE [91]

Written by F. Engels in May-June 1895

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The third book of *Capital* is receiving many and various interpretations ever since it has been subject to public judgement. It was not to be otherwise expected. In publishing it, what I was chiefly concerned with was to produce as authentic a text as possible, to demonstrate the new results obtained by Marx in Marx's own words as far as possible, to intervene myself only where absolutely unavoidable, and even then to leave the reader in no doubt as to who was talking to him. This has been deprecated. It has been said that I should have converted the material available to me into a systematically written book, *en faire un livre*, as the French say; in other words, sacrifice the authenticity of the text to the reader's convenience. But this was not how I conceived my task. I lacked all justification for such a revision, a man like Marx has the right to be heard himself, to pass on his scientific discoveries to posterity in the full genuineness of his own presentation. Moreover, I had no desire thus to infringe — as it must seem to me — upon the legacy of so pre-eminent a man; it would have meant to me a breach of faith. And third, it would have been quite useless. For the people who cannot or do not want to read, who, even in Volume I, took more trouble to understand it wrongly than was necessary to understand it correctly — for such people it is altogether useless to put oneself out in any way. But for those who are interested in a real understanding, the original text itself was precisely the most important thing; for them my recasting would have had at most the value of a commentary, and, what is more, a commentary on something unpublished and inaccessible. The original text would have had to be referred to at the first controversy, and at the second and

third its publication *in extenso* would have become quite unavoidable.

Such controversies are a matter of course in a work that contains so much that is new, and in a hastily sketched and partly incomplete first draft to boot. And here my intervention, of course, can be of use: to eliminate difficulties in understanding, to bring more to the fore important aspects whose significance is not strikingly enough evident in the text, and to make some important additions to the text written in 1865 to fit the state of affairs in 1895. Indeed, there are already two points which seem to me to require a brief discussion.

## I

## LAW OF VALUE AND RATE OF PROFIT

It was to be expected that the solution of the apparent contradiction between these two factors would lead to debates just as much after the publication of Marx's text as before it. Some were prepared for a complete miracle and find themselves disappointed because they see a simple, rational, prosaically-sober solution of the contradiction instead of the hocus-pocus they had expected. Most joyfully disappointed of course is the well-known, illustrious Loria. He has at last found the Archimedian fulcrum from which even a gnome of his calibre can lift the solidly built gigantic Marxian structure into the air and explode it. What! he declaims indignantly. Is that supposed to be a solution? That is pure mystification! When the economists speak of value, they mean value that is actually established in exchange.

"No economist with any trace of sense has ever concerned himself or will ever want to concern himself with a value which commodities do not sell for *and never can sell for* (*nè possono vendersi mai*).... In asserting that the value for which commodities *never* sell is proportional to the labour they contain, what does Marx do except repeat in an inverted form the thesis of the orthodox economists, that the value for which commodities sell is *not* proportional to the labour expended on them?... Matters are not helped by Marx's saying that despite the divergency of individual prices from individual values the total price of all commodities always coincides with their total value, or the amount of labour contained in the totality of the commodities. For inasmuch as value is nothing more than the exchange ratio between one commodity and another, the very concept of a total value is an absurdity, nonsense ... a *contradictio in adjecto*...." [a]

At the very beginning of the book, he argues, Marx says that exchange can equate two commodities only by virtue of a similar and

[a] contradiction in definition

equally large element contained in them, namely, the equal amount of labour. And now he most solemnly repudiates himself by asserting that commodities exchange with one another in a totally different ratio than that of the amount of labour contained in them.

"Was there ever such an utter *reductio ad absurdum*, such complete theoretical bankruptcy? Was ever scientific suicide committed with greater pomp and more solemnity!" (*Nuova Antologia*, Feb. 1, 1895, pp. 477-78, 479.)

We see our Loria is more than happy. Wasn't he right in treating Marx as one of his own, as an ordinary charlatan? There you see it — Marx sneers at his public just like Loria; he lives on mystifications just like the most insignificant Italian professor of economics. But, whereas Dulcamara[a] can afford that because he knows his trade, the clumsy Northerner, Marx, commits nothing but ineptitudes, writes nonsense and absurdities, so that there is finally nothing left for him but solemn suicide.

Let us save for later the statement that commodities have never been sold, nor can even be sold, at the values determined by labour. Let us deal here merely with Mr. Loria's assurance that

"value is nothing more than the exchange ratio between one commodity and another," and that therefore "the very concept of a total value of commodities is an absurdity, nonsense...."

The ratio in which two commodities are exchanged for each other, their value, is therefore something purely accidental, stuck on to the commodities from the outside, which can be one thing today and something else tomorrow. Whether a metric hundredweight of wheat is exchanged for a gramme or a kilogramme of gold does not in the least depend upon conditions inherent in that wheat or gold, but upon circumstances totally foreign to both. For otherwise these conditions would also have to assert themselves in the exchange, dominate the latter on the whole, and also have an independent existence apart from exchange, so that one could speak of a total value of commodities. That is nonsense, says the illustrious Loria. No matter in what ratio two commodities may be exchanged for each other, that is their value — and that's all there is to it. Hence value is identical with price, and every commodity has as many values as the prices it can get. And price is determined by supply and demand; and anyone asking any more questions is a fool to expect an answer.

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[a] Charlatan in *L'Elisir d'Amore*, comic opera by Donizetti.

But there is a little hitch to the matter. In the normal state, supply and demand balance. Therefore, let us divide all the commodities in the world into two halves, the supply group and the equally large demand group. Let us assume that each represents a price of 1,000,000 million marks, francs, pounds sterling, or what you will. According to elementary arithmetic that makes a price or value of 2,000,000 million. Nonsense, absurd, says Mr. Loria. The two groups together may represent a price of 2,000,000 million. But it is otherwise with value. If we say price: 1,000 + 1,000 = 2,000. But if we say value: 1,000 + + 1,000 = 0. At least in this case, where the totality of commodities is involved. For here the commodities of each of the two groups are worth 1,000,000 million only because each of the two can and will give this sum for the commodities of the other. But if we unite the totality of the commodities of both groups in the hands of a third person, the first has no value in his hand any longer, nor the second, and the third certainly not — in the end no one has anything. And again we marvel at the superiority with which our southern Cagliostro[a] has manhandled the concept of value in such a fashion that not the slightest trace of it has been left. This is the acme of vulgar economics! [1)]

[1)] Somewhat later, the same gentleman "well-known through his fame"[b] (to use Heine's phrase) also felt himself compelled to reply to my preface to Volume III — after it was published in Italian in the first number of *Rassegna* in 1895. The reply is printed in the *Riforma Sociale* of February 25, 1895. After having lavished upon me the inevitable (and therefore doubly repulsive) adulation, he states that he never thought of filching for himself Marx's credit for the materialist conception of history.He acknowledged it as early as 1885 — to wit, quite incidentally in a magazine article.But in return he passes over it in silence all the more stubbornly precisely where it is due, that is, in his book on the subject, where Marx is mentioned for the first time on page 129, and then merely in connection with small landed property in France. And now he bravely declares that Marx is not at all the originator of this theory; if Aristotle had not already suggested it, Harrington undoubtedly proclaimed it as early as 1656, and it had been developed by a Pleiad of historians, politicians, jurists and economists long before Marx. All of which is to be read in the French edition of Loria's book. In short, the perfect plagiarist. After I have made it impossible for him to brag any more with plagiarisms from Marx, he boldly maintains that Marx adorns himself with borrowed plumes just as he himself does. From my other attacks, Loria takes up the one that, according to him, Marx never planned to write a second or indeed a third volume of *Capital*. "And now Engels replies triumphantly by throwing the second and third volumes at me ... excellent! And I am so pleased with these volumes, to which I owe so much intellectual enjoyment, that never was a victory so dear to me as today this defeat is — if

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[a] An Italian alchemist and charlatan. His real name is Guiseppe Balsamo. -
[b] H. Heine, *Ritter Olaf*.

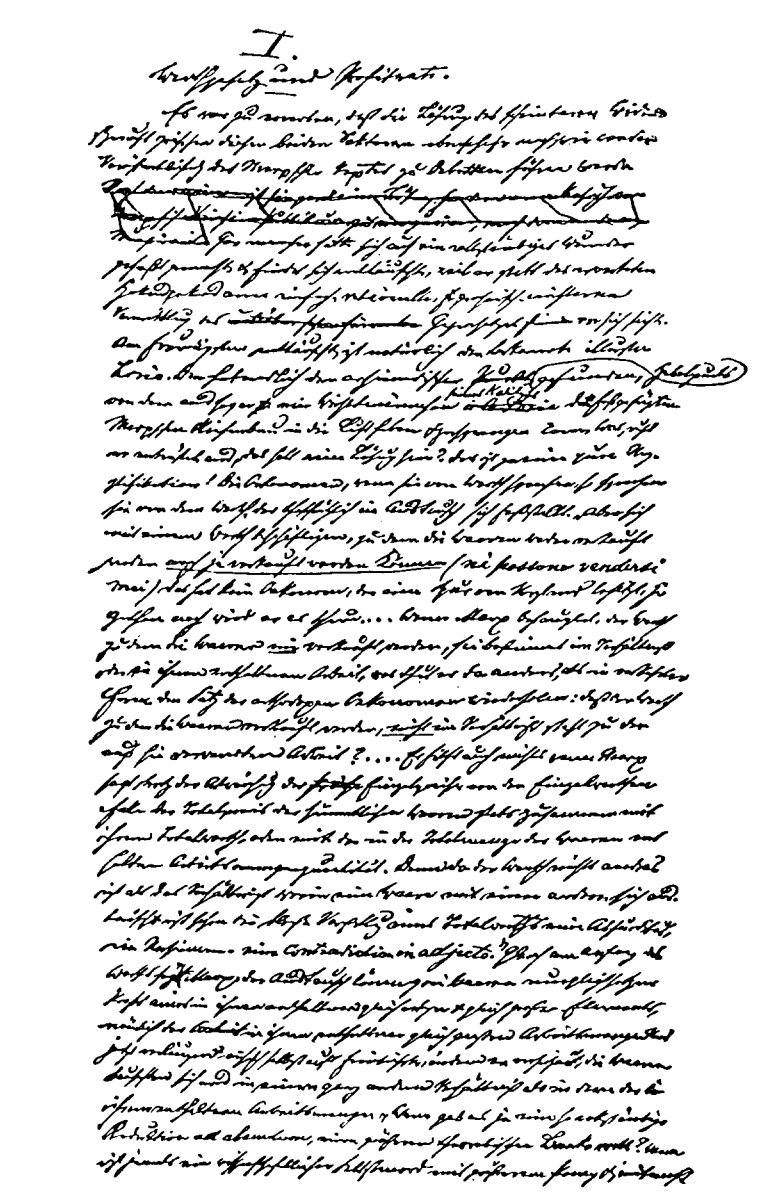

First page of Engels' manuscript
"Law of Value and Rate of Profit"

In Braun's *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung*, Vol. VII, No. 4, Werner Sombart gives an outline of the Marxian system which, taken all in all, is excellent. It is the first time that a German university professor succeeds on the whole in seeing in Marx's writings what Marx really says, stating that the criticism of the Marxian system cannot consist of a refutation—

"LET THE POLITICAL CAREERIST DEAL WITH THAT"

—but merely in a further development. Sombart, too, deals with our subject, as is to be expected. He investigates the importance of value in the Marxian system, and arrives at the following results: Value is not manifest in the exchange relation of capitalistically produced commodities; it does not live in the consciousness of the agents of capitalist production; it is not an empirical, but a mental, a logical fact; the concept of value in its material definiteness in Marx is nothing but the economic expression for the fact of the social productive power of labour as the basis of economic existence; in the final analysis the law of value dominates economic processes in a capitalist economic system, and for this economic system quite generally has the following content: the value of commodities is the specific and historical form in which the productive power of labour, in the last analysis dominating all economic processes, asserts itself as a determining factor.—So says Sombart; it cannot be said that this conception of the

it really is a defeat. But is it actually? Is it really true that Marx wrote, with the intention of publication, this mixture of disconnected notes that Engels, with pious friendship, has compiled? Is it really permissible to assume that Marx ... confided the coronation of his work and his system to these pages? Is it indeed certain that Marx would have published that chapter on the average rate of profit, in which the solution, promised for so many years, is reduced to the most dismal mystification, to the most vulgar playing with phrases? It is at least permissible to doubt it.... That proves, it seems to me, that Marx, after publishing his magnificent (*splendido*) book, did not intend to provide it with a successor, or else wanted to leave the completion of the gigantic work to his heirs, outside his own responsibility."

So it is written on p. 267. Heine could not speak any more contemptuously of his philistine German public than in the words: "The author finally gets used to his public as if it were a reasonable being."[a] What must the illustrious Loria think his public is?

In conclusion, another load of praise comes pouring down on my unlucky self. In this our Sganarelle[b] puts himself on a par with Balaam, who came to curse but whose lips bubbled forth "words of blessing and love"[92] against his will. For the good Balaam was distinguished by the fact that he rode upon an ass that was more intelligent than its master. This time Balaam evidently left his ass at home.

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[a] H. Heine, afterword to *Romancero*. - [b] A character from Molière's *Don Juan*.

significance of the law of value for the capitalist form of production is wrong. But it does seem to me to be too broad, and susceptible of a narrower, more precise formulation; in my opinion it by no means exhausts the entire significance of the law of value for the economic stages of society's development dominated by this law.

There is a likewise excellent article by Conrad Schmidt on the third volume of *Capital* in Braun's *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt*, February 25, 1895, No. 22. Especially to be emphasised here is the proof of how the Marxian derivation of average profit from surplus value for the first time gives an answer to the question not even posed by economics up to now: how the magnitude of this average rate of profit is determined, and how it comes about that it is, say, 10 or 15% and not 50 or 100%. Since we know that the surplus value first appropriated by the industrial capitalist is the sole and exclusive source from which profit and rent flow, this question solves itself. This passage of Schmidt's article might be directly written for economists *à la* Loria, if it were not labour in vain to open the eyes of those who do not want to see.

Schmidt, too, has his formal misgivings regarding the law of value. He calls it a scientific *hypothesis*, set up to explain the actual exchange process, which proves to be the necessary theoretical starting-point, illuminating and indispensable, even in respect of the phenomena of competitive prices which seem in absolute contradiction to it. According to him, without the law of value all theoretical insight into the economic machinery of capitalist reality ceases. And in a private letter that he permits me to quote, Schmidt declares the law of value within the capitalist form of production to be a pure, although theoretically necessary, fiction. [93]—This view, however, is quite incorrect in my opinion. The law of value has a far greater and more definite significance for capitalist production than of a mere hypothesis, not to mention a fiction, even though a necessary one.

Sombart, as well as Schmidt—I mention the illustrious Loria merely as an amusing vulgar-economic foil—does not make sufficient allowance for the fact that we are dealing here not only with a purely logical process but with a historical process and its explanatory reflection in thought, the logical pursuance of its inner connections.

The decisive passage is to be found in Marx, Buch III, I, S. 154[a]: "The whole difficulty arises from the fact that commodities are not

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[a] See this volume, p. 174.

exchanged simply as *commodities*, but as *products of capitals*, which claim participation in the total amount of surplus value, proportional to their magnitude, or equal if they are of equal magnitude."

To illustrate this difference, it is supposed that the workers are in possession of their means of production, that they work on the average for equally long periods of time and with equal intensity, and exchange their commodities with one another directly. Then, in one day, two workers would have added by their labour an equal amount of new value to their products, but the product of each would have different value, depending on the labour already embodied in the means of production. This latter part of the value would represent the constant capital of capitalist economy, while that part of the newly added value employed for the worker's means of subsistence would represent the variable capital, and the portion of the new value still remaining would represent the surplus value, which in this case would belong to the worker. Thus, after deducting the amount to replace the "constant" part of value only advanced by them, both workers would get equal values; but the ratio of the part representing surplus value to the value of the means of production — which would correspond to the capitalist rate of profit — would be different in each case. But since each of them gets the value of the means of production replaced through the exchange, this would be a wholly immaterial circumstance.

"The exchange of commodities at their values, or approximately at their values, thus requires a *much lower stage* than their exchange at their prices of production, which requires a definite level of capitalist development.... Apart from the domination of prices and price movement by the law of value, it is quite appropriate to regard the values of commodities as not only *theoretically* but also *historically prius* to the prices of production. This applies to conditions *in which the labourer owns his means of production*, and this is the condition of the land-owning farmer living off his own labour and the craftsman, in the ancient as well as in the modern world. This agrees also with the view we expressed previously, that the evolution of products into commodities arises through exchange between different communities, not between the members of the same community. It holds not only for this primitive condition, but also for subsequent conditions, based on slavery and serfdom, and for the guild organisation of handicrafts, so long as the means of production involved in each branch of production can be transferred from one sphere to another only with diffi-

culty and therefore the various spheres of production are related to one another, within certain limits, as foreign countries or communist communities" (Marx, Buch III, I, S. 155, 156).[a]

Had Marx had an opportunity to go over the third volume once more, he would doubtless have extended this passage considerably. As it stands it gives only a sketchy outline of what is to be said on the point in question. Let us therefore examine it somewhat closer.

We all know that at the beginnings of society products are consumed by the producers themselves, and that these producers are spontaneously organised in more or less communistic communities; that the exchange of the surplus of these products with strangers, which ushers in the conversion of products into commodities, is of a later date; that it takes place at first only between individual communities of different tribes, but later also prevails within the community, and contributes considerably to the latter's dissolution into bigger or smaller family groups. But even after this dissolution, the exchanging family heads remain working peasants, who produce almost all they require with the aid of their families on their own farmsteads, and get only a slight portion of the required necessities from the outside in exchange for surplus products of their own. The family is engaged not only in agriculture and livestock-raising; it also works their products up into finished articles of consumption; now and then it even does its own milling with the hand-mill; it bakes bread, spins, dyes, weaves flax and wool, tans leather; builds and repairs wooden buildings, makes tools and utensils, and not infrequently does joinery and blacksmithing; so that the family or family group is in the main self-sufficient.

The little that such a family had to obtain by barter or buy from outsiders, even up to the beginning of the 19th century in Germany, consisted principally of the objects of handicraft production, that is, such things the nature of whose manufacture was by no means unknown to the peasant, and which he did not produce himself only because he lacked the raw material or because the purchased article was much better or very much cheaper. Hence the peasant of the Middle Ages knew fairly accurately the labour time required for the manufacture of the articles obtained by him in barter. The smith and the cartwright of the village worked under his eyes; likewise the tailor

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[a] See this volume, pp. 175-76.

and shoemaker, who in my youth still paid their visits to our Rhine peasants, one after another, turning the homemade materials into shoes and clothing. The peasants, as well as the people from whom they bought, were themselves workers; the exchanged articles were each one's own products. What had they expended in making these products? Labour and labour alone: to replace tools, to produce the raw material, and to process it they spent nothing but their own labour power; how then could they exchange these products of theirs for those of other labouring producers otherwise than in the ratio of the labour expended on them? Not only was the labour time spent on these products the only suitable measure for the quantitative determination of the values to be exchanged: no other was at all possible. Or is it believed that the peasant and the artisan were so stupid as to give up the product of ten hours' labour of one person for that of a single hour's labour of another? No other exchange is possible in the whole period of peasant natural economy than that in which the exchanged quantities of commodities tend to be measured more and more according to the amounts of labour embodied in them. From the moment money penetrates into this mode of economy, the tendency towards adaptation to the law of value (in the Marxian formulation, *nota bene*!) grows more pronounced on the one hand, while on the other it is already interrupted by the interference of usurers' capital and fleecing by taxation; the periods for which prices, on the average, approach to within a negligible margin of values begin to grow longer.

The same holds good for exchange between peasant products and those of the urban artisans. At the beginning this barter takes place directly, without the medium of the merchant — on the cities' market days, when the peasant sells and makes his purchases. Here too, not only does the peasant know the artisan's working conditions, but the latter knows those of the peasant as well. For the artisan is himself still a bit of a peasant; he not only has a vegetable and fruit garden, but very often also has a small piece of land, one or two cows, pigs, poultry, etc. People in the Middle Ages were thus able to check up with considerable accuracy on each other's production costs for raw material, auxiliary material, and labour time — at least in respect of articles of daily general use.

But how, in this barter on the basis of quantity of labour, was the latter to be calculated, even if only indirectly and relatively, for products requiring longer labour, interrupted at irregular intervals, and

uncertain in yield — e.g., grain or cattle? And among people, to boot, who could not calculate? Obviously only by means of a lengthy process of zigzag approximation, often feeling the way here and there in the dark, and, as is usual, learning only through mistakes. But each one's necessity for covering his outlay on the whole always helped to return to the right direction; and the small number of kinds of articles in circulation, as well as the often century-long stable nature of their production, facilitated the attaining of this goal. And that it by no means took so long for the relative amount of value of these products to be fixed fairly closely is already proved by the fact that cattle, the commodity for which this appears to be most difficult because of the long time of production of the individual head, became the first rather generally accepted money commodity. To accomplish this, the value of cattle, its exchange ratio to a large number of other commodities, must already have attained a relatively unusual stabilisation, acknowledged without contradiction in the territories of many tribes. And the people of that time were certainly clever enough — both the cattle-breeders and their customers — not to give away the labour time expended by them without an equivalent in barter. On the contrary, the closer people are to the primitive state of commodity production — the Russians and Orientals for example — the more time do they still waste today, in order to squeeze out, through long tenacious bargaining, the full compensation for their labour time expended on a product.

Starting with this determination of value by labour time, the whole of commodity production developed, and with it the multifarious relations in which the various aspects of the law of value assert themselves, as described in the first part of Volume I of *Capital*; that is, in particular, the conditions under which labour alone is value-creating. These are conditions which assert themselves without entering the consciousness of the participants and can themselves be abstracted from daily practice only through laborious theoretical investigation; which act, therefore, like natural laws, as Marx proved to follow necessarily from the nature of commodity production. The most important and most incisive advance was the transition to metallic money, the consequence of which, however, was that the determination of value by labour time was no longer visible upon the surface of commodity exchange. From the practical point of view, money became the decisive measure of value, all the more as the commodities entering trade became more varied, the more they came

from distant countries, and the less, therefore, the labour time necessary for their production could be checked. Money itself usually came first from foreign parts; even when precious metals were obtained within the country, the peasant and artisan were partly unable to estimate approximately the labour employed therein, and partly their own consciousness of the value-measuring property of labour had been fairly well dimmed by the habit of reckoning with money; in the popular mind money began to represent absolute value.

In a word: the Marxian law of value holds generally, as far as economic laws are valid at all, for the whole period of simple commodity production, that is, up to the time when the latter suffers a modification through the appearance of the capitalist form of production. Up to that time prices gravitate towards the values fixed according to the Marxian law and oscillate around those values, so that the more fully simple commodity production develops, the more the average prices over long periods uninterrupted by external violent disturbances coincide with values within a negligible margin. Thus the Marxian law of value has general economic validity for a period lasting from the beginning of exchange, which transforms products into commodities, down to the 15th century of the present era. But the exchange of commodities dates from a time before all written history, which in Egypt goes back to at least 2500 B. C., and perhaps 5000 B. C., and in Babylon to 4000 B. C., perhaps 6000 B. C.; thus the law of value has prevailed during a period of from five to seven thousand years. And now let us admire the thoroughness of Mr. Loria, who calls the value generally and directly valid during this period, a value at which commodities are never sold nor can ever be sold, and with which no economist having a spark of common sense would ever occupy himself!

We have not spoken of the merchant up to now. We could save the consideration of his intervention for now, when we pass to the transformation of simple into capitalist commodity production. The merchant was the revolutionary element in this society where everything else was stable—stable, as it were, through inheritance; where the peasant obtained not only his hide of land but his status as a freehold proprietor, as a free or enthralled quit-rent peasant or serf, and the urban artisan his trade and his guild privileges by inheritance and almost inalienably, and each of them, in addition, his customers, his market, as well as his skill, trained from childhood for the inherited craft. Into this world then entered the merchant with whom its revolution was to start. But not as a conscious revolutionary; on the

contrary, as flesh of its flesh, bone of its bone. The merchant of the Middle Ages was by no means an individualist; he was essentially an associate like all his contemporaries. The mark association, grown out of primitive communism, prevailed in the countryside. Each peasant originally had an equal hide, with equal pieces of land of each quality, and a corresponding, equal share in the rights of the mark. After the mark had become a closed association and no new hides were allocated any longer, subdivision of the hides occurred through inheritance, etc., with corresponding subdivisions of the common rights in the mark; but the full hide remained the unit, so that there were half, quarter and eighth-hides with half, quarter and eighth-rights in the mark. All later productive associations, particularly the guilds in the cities, whose statutes were nothing but the application of the mark constitution to a craft privilege instead of to a restricted area of land, followed the pattern of the mark association. The central point of the whole organisation was the equal participation of every member in the privileges and produce assured to the guild, as is strikingly expressed in the 1527 license of the Elberfeld and Barmen yarn trade. (Thun: *Industrie am Niederrhein*, Vol. II, p. 164 ff.) The same holds true of the mine guilds, where each share participated equally and was also divisible, together with its rights and obligations, like the hide of the mark member. And the same holds good in no less degree of the merchant companies, which initiated overseas trade. The Venetians and the Genoese in the harbour of Alexandria or Constantinople, each "nation" in its own *fondaco* — dwelling, inn, warehouse, exhibition and salesrooms, together with central offices — formed complete trade associations; they were closed to competitors and customers; they sold at prices fixed among themselves; their commodities had a definite quality guaranteed by public inspection and often by a stamp; they deliberated in common on the prices to be paid by the natives for their products, etc. Nor did the Hanseatic merchants act otherwise on the German Bridge (Tydske Bryggen) in Bergen, Norway; the same held true of their Dutch and English competitors. Woe to the man who sold under the price or bought above the price! The boycott that struck him meant at that time inevitable ruin, not counting the direct penalties imposed by the association upon the guilty. And even closer associations were founded for definite purposes, such as the Maona of Genoa in the 14th and 15th centuries, for years the ruler of the alum mines of Phocaea in Asia Minor, as well as of the Island of Chios; furthermore the great Ravensberg Trading

Company, which dealt with Italy and Spain since the end of the 14th century, founding branches in those countries; the German company of the Augsburgers: Fugger, Welser, Vöhlin, Höchstetter, etc.; that of the Nürnbergers: Hirschvogel and others, which participated with a capital of 66,000 ducats and three ships in the 1505-06 Portuguese expedition to India, making a net profit of 150%, according to others, 175% (Heyd: *Levantehandel*, II, 524)[a]; and a large number of other companies, "Monopolia", over which Luther waxes so indignant.

Here for the first time we meet with a profit and a rate of profit. The merchant's efforts are deliberately and consciously aimed at making this rate of profit equal for all participants. The Venetians in the Levant, and the Hanseatics in the North, each paid the same prices for his commodities as his neighbour; his transport charges were the same, he got the same prices for his goods and bought return cargo for the same prices as every other merchant of his "nation". Thus the rate of profit was equal for all. In the big trading companies the allocation of profit *pro rata* of the paid-in capital share is as much a matter of course as the participation in mark rights *pro rata* of the entitled hide share, or as the mining profit *pro rata* of the mining share. The equal rate of profit, which in its fully developed form is one of the final results of capitalist production, thus manifests itself here in its simplest form as one of the points from which capital started historically, as a direct offshoot in fact of the mark association, which in turn is a direct offshoot of primitive communism.

This original rate of profit was necessarily very high. The business was very risky not only because of widespread piracy; the competing nations also permitted themselves all sorts of acts of violence when the opportunity arose; finally, sales and marketing conditions were based upon licenses granted by foreign princes, which were broken or revoked often enough. Hence, the profit had to include a high insurance premium. Then turnover was slow, the handling of transactions protracted, and in the best periods, which, admittedly, were seldom of long duration, the business was a monopoly trade with monopoly profit. The very high interest rates prevailing at the time, which always had to be lower on the whole than the percentage of usual commercial profit, also prove that the rate of profit was on the average very high.

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[a] The reference is to *Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter.*

But this high rate of profit, equal for all participants and obtained through joint labour of the community, held only locally within the associations, that is, in this case the "nation". Venetians, Genoese, Hanseatics, and Dutchmen each had a special rate of profit, and at the beginning more or less for each individual market area as well. Equalisation of these different company profit rates took place in the opposite way through competition. First, the profit rates of the different markets for one and the same nation. If Alexandria offered more profit for Venetian goods than Cyprus, Constantinople or Trebizond, the Venetians would start more capital moving towards Alexandria, withdrawing it from trade with the other markets. Then the gradual equalisation of profit rates among the different nations, exporting the same or similar goods to the same markets, had to follow, and some of these nations were very often squeezed to the wall and disappeared from the scene. But this process was being continually interrupted by political events, just as all Levantine trade collapsed owing to the Mongolian and Turkish invasions; the great geographic-commercial discoveries after 1492 [94] only accelerated this decline and then made it final.

The sudden expansion of the market area that followed and the revolution in communications connected with it, introduced no essential change at first in the nature of trade operations. At the beginning, co-operative companies also dominated trade with India and America. But in the first place, bigger nations stood behind these companies. In trade with America, the whole of great united Spain took the place of the Catalonians trading with the Levant; alongside it two great countries like England and France; and even Holland and Portugal, the smallest, were still at least as large and strong as Venice, the greatest and strongest trading nation of the preceding period. This gave the travelling merchant, the MERCHANT ADVENTURER of the 16th and 17th centuries, a backing that made the company, which protected its companions with arms also, more and more superfluous, and its expenses an outright burden. Moreover, the wealth in a single hand grew considerably faster, so that single merchants soon could invest as large sums in an enterprise as formerly an entire company. The trading companies, wherever still existent, were usually converted into armed corporations, which conquered and monopolistically exploited whole newly discovered countries under the protection and the sovereignty of the mother country. But the more colonies were founded in the new areas, largely by the state, the more did company

trade recede before that of the individual merchant, and the equalisation of the profit rate became therewith more and more a matter of competition exclusively.

Up to now we have become acquainted with a rate of profit only for merchant capital. For only merchant and usurers' capital had existed up to that time; industrial capital was yet to be developed. Production was still predominantly in the hands of workers owning their own means of production, whose work therefore yielded no surplus value to any capital. If they had to surrender a part of the product to third parties without compensation, it was in the form of tribute to feudal lords. Merchant capital, therefore, could only make its profit, at least at the beginning, out of the foreign buyers of domestic products, or the domestic buyers of foreign products; only toward the end of this period — for Italy, that is, with the decline of Levantine trade — were foreign competition and the difficulty of marketing able to compel the handicraft producers of export commodities to sell the commodity under its value to the exporting merchant. And thus we find here that commodities are sold at their values, on the average, in the domestic retail trade of individual producers with one another, but, for the reasons given, not in international trade as a rule. Quite the opposite of the present-day world, where the production prices hold good in international and wholesale trade, while the formation of prices in urban retail trade is governed by quite other rates of profit. So that the meat of an ox, for example, experiences today a greater rise in price on its way from the London wholesaler to the individual London consumer than from the wholesaler in Chicago, including transport, to the London wholesaler.

The instrument that gradually brought about this revolution in price formation was industrial capital. Rudiments of the latter had been formed as early as the Middle Ages, in three fields — shipping, mining and textiles. Shipping on the scale practised by the Italian and Hanseatic maritime republics was impossible without sailors, i. e., wage labourers (whose wage relationship may have been concealed under association forms with profit-sharing), or without oarsmen — wage labourers or slaves — for the galleys of that day. The guilds in the ore mines, originally associated workers, had already been converted in almost every case into stock companies for exploiting the deposits by means of wage labourers. And in the textile industry the merchant had begun to place the petty master-weaver directly in his service, by supplying him with yarn and having it made into

cloth for his account in return for a fixed wage, in short, by himself changing from a mere buyer into a so-called *contractor*.

Here we have the first beginning of the formation of capitalist surplus value. We can ignore the mining guilds as closed monopoly corporations. With regard to the shipowners it is obvious that their profit had to be at least as high as the customary one in the country, plus an extra increment for insurance, depreciation of ships, etc. But how were matters with the textile contractors, who first brought commodities, directly manufactured for capitalist account, into the market and into competition with the commodities of the same sort made for handicraft account?

Merchant capital's rate of profit was at hand to start with. Likewise, it had already been equalised to an approximate average rate, at least for the locality in question. Now what could induce the merchant to take on the extra business of a contractor? Only one thing: the prospect of greater profit at the same selling price as the others. And he had this prospect. By taking the petty master into his service, he broke through the traditional bonds of production within which the producer sold his finished product and nothing else. The merchant capitalist bought the labour power, which still owned its production instruments but no longer the raw material. By thus guaranteeing the weaver regular employment, he could depress the weaver's wage to such a degree that a part of the labour time furnished remained unpaid for. The contractor thus became an appropriator of surplus value over and above his commercial profit. Admittedly, he had to employ additional capital to buy yarn, etc., and leave it in the weaver's hands until the article for which he formerly had to pay the full price only upon purchasing it was finished. But, in the first place, he had already used extra capital in most cases for advances to the weaver, who as a rule submitted to the new production conditions only under the pressure of debt. And secondly, apart from that, the calculation took the following form:

Assume that our merchant operates his export business with a capital of 30,000 ducats, sequins, pounds sterling or whatever the case may be. Of that, say, 10,000 are engaged in the purchase of domestic goods, whereas 20,000 are used in the overseas market. Say the capital is turned over once in two years. Annual turnover = 15,000. Now our merchant wants to become a contractor, to have cloth woven for his own account. How much additional capital must he invest? Let us assume that the production time of the piece of

cloth, such as he sells, averages two months, which is certainly very high. Let us further assume that he has to pay for everything in cash. Hence he must advance enough capital to supply his weavers with yarn for two months. Since his turnover is 15,000 a year he buys cloth for 2,500 in two months. Let us say that 2,000 of that represents the value of yarn, and 500 weavers' wages; then our merchant requires an additional capital of 2,000. We assume that the surplus value he appropriates from the weaver by the new method totals only 5 per cent of the value of the cloth, which constitutes the certainly very modest surplus-value rate of 25 per cent. (2,000c + 500v + 125s; $s' = \frac{125}{500} = 25\%$; $p' = \frac{125}{2,500} = 5\%$.) Our man then makes an extra profit of 750 on his annual turnover of 15,000, and has thus got his additional capital back in $2\frac{2}{3}$ years.

But in order to accelerate his sales and hence his turnover, thus making the same profit with the same capital in a shorter period of time, and hence a greater profit in the same time, he will donate a small portion of his surplus value to the buyer — he will sell cheaper than his competitors. The latter will also gradually be converted into contractors, and then the extra profit for all of them will be reduced to the ordinary profit, or even to a lower profit on the capital that has been increased for all of them. The equality of the profit rate is re-established, although possibly on another level, by a part of the surplus value made at home being turned over to the foreign buyers.

The next step in the subjugation of industry by capital takes place through the introduction of manufacture. This, too, enables the manufacturer, who is most often his own export trader in the 17th and 18th centuries — generally in Germany down to 1850, and still today here and there — to produce cheaper than his old-fashioned competitor, the handicraftsman. The same process is repeated; the surplus value appropriated by the manufacturing capitalist enables him (or the export merchant who shares with him) to sell cheaper than his competitors, until the general introduction of the new mode of production, when equalisation again takes place. The already existing mercantile rate of profit, even if it is levelled out only locally, remains the Procrustean bed in which the excessive industrial surplus value is lopped off without mercy.

If manufacture sprang ahead by cheapening its products, this is even more true of modern industry, which forces the production costs of commodities lower and lower through its repeated revolutions in production, relentlessly eliminating all former modes of production.

It is large-scale industry, too, that thus finally conquers the domestic market for capital, puts an end to the small-scale production and natural economy of the self-sufficient peasant family, eliminates direct exchange between small producers, and places the entire nation in the service of capital. Likewise, it equalises the profit rate of the different commercial and industrial branches of business into *one* general rate of profit, and finally ensures industry the position of power due to it in this equalisation by eliminating most of the obstacles formerly hindering the transfer of capital from one branch to another. Thereby the conversion of values into production prices is accomplished for all exchange as a whole. This conversion therefore proceeds according to objective laws, without the consciousness or the intent of the participants. Theoretically there is no difficulty at all in the fact that competition reduces to the general level profits which exceed the general rate, thus again depriving the first industrial appropriator of the surplus value exceeding the average. All the more so in practice, however, for the spheres of production with excessive surplus value, with high variable and low constant capital, i. e., with low capital composition, are by their very nature the ones that are last and least completely subjected to capitalist production, especially agriculture. On the other hand, the rise of production prices above commodity values, which is required to raise the below-average surplus value, contained in the products of the spheres of high capital composition, to the level of the average rate of profit, appears to be extremely difficult theoretically, but is soonest and most easily effected in practice, as we have seen. For when commodities of this class are first produced capitalistically and enter capitalist commerce, they compete with commodities of the same nature produced by precapitalist methods and hence dearer. Thus, even if the capitalist producer renounces a part of the surplus value, he can still obtain the rate of profit prevailing in his locality, which originally had no direct connection with surplus value because it had arisen from merchant capital long before there was any capitalist production at all, and therefore before an industrial rate of profit was possible.

## II

## THE STOCK EXCHANGE

1. The position of the stock exchange in capitalist production in

general is clear from Vol. III, Part 5, especially Chapter.[a] But since 1865, when the book was written, a change has taken place which today assigns a considerably increased and constantly growing role to the stock exchange, and which, as it develops, tends to concentrate all production, industrial as well as agricultural, and all commerce, the means of communication as well as the functions of exchange, in the hands of stock exchange operators, so that the stock exchange becomes the most prominent representative of capitalist production itself.

2. In 1865 the stock exchange was still a *secondary* element in the capitalist system. Government bonds represented the bulk of exchange securities, and even their sum-total was still relatively small. Besides, there were joint-stock banks, predominant on the continent and in America, and just beginning to absorb the aristocratic private banks in England, but still relatively insignificant *en masse*. Railway shares were still relatively weak compared to the present time. There were still only few directly productive establishments in stock company form — and, like the banks, most of all in the *poorer* countries: Germany, Austria, America, etc. The "minister's eye" was still an unconquered superstition.

At that time, the stock exchange was still a place where the capitalists took away each other's accumulated capital, and which directly concerned the workers only as new proof of the demoralising general effect of capitalist economy and as confirmation of the Calvinist doctrine that predestination (alias chance) decides, even in this life, blessedness and damnation, wealth, i. e., enjoyment and power, and poverty, i. e., privation and servitude.

3. Now it is otherwise. Since the crisis of 1866 accumulation has proceeded with ever-increasing rapidity, so that in no industrial country, least of all in England, could the expansion of production keep up with that of accumulation, or the accumulation of the individual capitalist be completely utilised in the enlargement of his own business; English cotton industry as early as 1845; the railway swindles. But with this accumulation the number of *rentiers*, people who were fed up with the regular tension in business and therefore wanted merely to amuse themselves or to follow a mild pursuit as directors or governors of companies, also rose. And third, in order to facilitate the investment of this mass floating around as money capital, new legal

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[a] In the MS., Engels left a blank for the chapter number to be entered. Chapter XXVII, "The Role of Credit in Capitalist Production", apparently was intended.

forms of limited liability companies were established wherever that had not yet been done, and the liability of the shareholder, formerly unlimited, was also reduced ± [a] (joint-stock companies in Germany, 1890. Subscription 40 per cent!).

4. Thereafter, gradual conversion of industry into stock companies. One branch after another suffers this fate. First iron, where giant plants are now necessary (before that, mines, where not already organised on shares). Then the chemical industry, likewise machinery plants. On the continent, the textile industry; in England, only in a few areas in Lancashire (Oldham Spinning Mill, Burnley Weaving Mill, etc., tailor co-operatives, but this is only a preliminary stage which will again fall into the MASTERS' hands at the next crisis), breweries (the American ones sold a few years ago to English capital, then Guinness, Bass, Allsopp). Then the trusts, which create gigantic enterprises under common management (such as United Alkali). The ordinary individual firm is + & + [b] only a preliminary stage to bring the business to the point where it is big enough to be "founded".

Likewise in trade: Leafs, Parsons, Morleys, Morrison, Dillon — all founded. The same in retail stores by now, and not merely under the cloak of co-operation *à la* "STORES".

Likewise banks and other credit establishments even in England. A tremendous number of new banks, all shares DELIMITED. Even old banks like [c] ..., etc., are converted, with seven private shareholders, into LIMITED companies.

5. The same in the field of agriculture. The enormously expanded banks, especially in Germany under all sorts of bureaucratic names, more and more the holders of mortgages; with their shares the actual higher ownership of landed property is transferred to the stock exchange, and this is even more true when the farms fall into the creditors' hands. Here the agricultural revolution of prairie cultivation is very impressive; if it continues, the time can be foreseen when England's and France's land will also be in the hands of the stock exchange.

6. Now all foreign investments in the form of shares. To mention England alone: American railways, North and South (consult the STOCK-LIST), Goldberger, etc.

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[a] more or less - [b] more and more - [c] Illegible. It would seem to be "Glyn & Co."— the name of a bank.

7. Then colonisation. Today this is purely a subsidiary of the stock exchange, in whose interests the European powers divided Africa a few years ago, and the French conquered Tunis and Tonkin. Africa leased directly to companies (Niger, South Africa, German South-West and East Africa), and Mashonaland and Natal seized by Rhodes for the stock exchange.

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] Volume III of *Capital*, edited by Frederick Engels and published in Hamburg in November 1894, concludes the theoretical part of Marx's main economic writing.

Both the economic theory itself and the structure of *Capital*, Book III included, were the product of many years of study. In his work on the manuscript of Book III Marx evidently followed the plan which he had drawn up when writing the Economic Manuscript of 1857-58, and which he sets out in a letter to Engels dated April 2, 1858: "*Capital* falls into 4 sections. a) Capital *en général*... b) *Competition*, or the interaction of many capitals. c) *Credit*, where capital, as against individual capitals, is shown to be a universal element. d) *Share capital* as the most perfected form (turning into communism) together with all its contradictions" (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 298). In the course of his further study, however, Marx concentrated on the first point dealing with "capital in general", and was to set forth the problems of the process of production of capital, the process of its circulation, and the unity of the two, or capital and profit (interest) (ibid., p. 287).

"The Draft Plan of the Chapter on Capital", drawn up after the completion of the Economic Manuscript of 1857-58, listed the problems to be examined in the section "Capital and Profit" (ibid., Vol. 29, p. 516).

The next stage in Marx's economic studies was the manuscript of 1861-63 in which he scientifically substantiated the theory of average profit and price of production, and also formulated the doctrine of special forms of surplus value — industrial profit, rent, interest, etc.

In December 1862, basing himself on the new results of his studies, Marx wrote down in Notebook XVIII a detailed plan of Part III, or Section III, of *Capital*, according to which the future book was to have the following chapters:

"1) Conversion of surplus value into profit. Rate of profit as distinguished from rate of surplus value.

"2) Conversion of profit into average profit. Formation of the general rate of profit. Transformation of values into prices of production.

"3) Adam Smith's and Ricardo's theories on profit and prices of production.

"4) *Rent*. (Illustration of the difference between value and price of production.)

"5) History of the so-called Ricardian law of rent.

"6) Law of the fall of the rate of profit. Adam Smith, Ricardo, Carey.

"7) Theories of profit. Query: whether Sismondi and Malthus should also be included in the *Theories of Surplus Value*.

"8) Division of profit into industrial profit and interest. Mercantile capital. Money capital.

"9) Revenue AND ITS SOURCES. The question of the relation between the processes of production and distribution also to be included here.

"10) REFLUX movements of money in the process of capitalist production as a whole.

"11) Vulgar economy.

"12) *Conclusion*. "*Capital and wage labour*" (ibid., Vol. 33, pp. 346-47).

This plan served, in fact, as the basis for the manuscript of the third book. A comparison of the text of this manuscript and the exposition of the same issues in the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 shows that Marx not only made use of certain fundamental ideas set out in this manuscript, but included in the text whole passages from it (see respective footnotes).

As early as July 1863, having finished the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, vols 30-34), Marx turned to his plans concerning *Capital*. His aim, as formulated on May 29, 1863, was "to make a *fair copy* of the political economy for the printers (and give it a final polish)" (ibid., Vol. 41, p. 474). Marx began preparing Book I and continued working on it till the summer of 1864. Of this manuscript only "Chapter Six. Results of the Direct Production Process" has survived in full (ibid., Vol. 34. pp. 355-466). Marx already envisaged *Capital* as consisting of four books and he wrote about this to Ludwig Kugelmann on October 13, 1866 (ibid., Vol. 42, p. 328).

At the end of summer, 1864, Marx finished work on Book I of *Capital* and immediately began Book III. In the first half of 1865, however, he interrupted his work on Book III in order to write the first draft of Book II. The only full manuscript version of Book III had been written by early 1866.

Engels started to prepare this manuscript for the printers at the end of February 1885, as is seen from his correspondence, and continued working on it almost to the end of his life. It was Engels' great service to prepare for the printers and publish Volume III of Marx's *Capital*.—5, 112, 119, 211, 223, 234, 236, 310, 397, 818.

[2] As early as 1865, when working on the manuscript Marx planned to have *Capital* translated into English (see Marx's letter to Engels of July 31, 1865; present edition, Vol. 42, p. 173). Reporter Peter Fox, a member of the British labour movement, was to help him find a publisher. However, he died in 1869, and nothing was settled. The English translation of Volume I of *Capital*, edited by Engels, appeared after Marx's death, in January 1887 (ibid., Vol. 35). The translation was done by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling between mid-1883 and March 1886; Eleanor Marx-Aveling assisted in preparing the translation for the press.—5

[3] Since the late 1860s Marx repeatedly asked his correspondents to send him materials on landed property in various countries (see present edition, Vol. 43, pp. 61 and 412). He also informed them that he intended to use this new material to supplement the section on ground rent. Having received numerous statistical reference books and other publications on landed property in Russia from Nikolai Danielson, in particular, and having made a thorough study of them, Marx wrote to his Russian correspondent on December 12, 1872: "In Volume II of *Capital* I shall, in the section on landed property, deal in great detail with the Russian form" (ibid., Vol. 44, p. 457). This passage, among other excerpts from Marx's letters to him, was quoted by Danielson in his letter to Engels of August 25 (September 6), 1885. He thought they

could be used in the preface to Volume III of *Capital*. See also Engels' letter to Danielson of June 3, 1885 (ibid., Vol. 47, p. 294).—10

[4] Cf. the contents of Book III of *Capital* as set forth by Marx in his letter to Engels of April 30, 1868 (ibid., Vol. 43, pp. 21-25).—10

[5] A reference to: 1) *First Report from the Secret Committee on Commercial Distress; with the minutes of evidence.* Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 8 June 1848; 2) *Report from the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, Appointed to Inquire into the Causes of the Distress which has for some time prevailed among the commercial classes, and how far it has been affected by the laws for regulating the issue of banknotes payable on demand.* Together with the minutes of evidence and an appendix. Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 28 July 1848. [Reprinted 1857.]—11

[6] A reference to: *Report from the Select Committee on Bank Acts; together with the proceedings of the Committee, minutes of evidence, appendix and index.* Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 30 July 1857; and: *Report from the Select Committee on the Bank Acts; together with the proceedings of the Committee, minutes of evidence, appendix and index.* Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 1 July 1858.—11

[7] Marx first mentioned Book IV, which deals with the history of the theory of surplus value, in "Chapter Six. Results of the Direct Production Process", which has survived from the draft version of Book I of *Capital* (ibid., Vol. 34, p. 454), and also in his letter to Ludwig Kugelmann of October 13, 1866 (ibid., Vol. 42, p. 328).

Engels did not have time to realise his intention to publish *Theories of Surplus Value* as Volume IV of *Capital*. It was first published by Karl Kautsky between 1905 and 1910. In the present edition it is published as part of the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (see vols 30-34).—11, 168, 765, 770

[8] The economic *theory of marginal utility* appeared in the 1870s. According to this theory, the value of a commodity is determined by its "marginal utility", that is, by the subjective evaluation of the utility of the commodity which satisfies the least urgent need of a buyer.—13

[9] The *Fabians*—members of the English reformist *Fabian Society* founded by middle-class intellectuals in 1884; among its leaders were Sidney and Beatrice Webb. The Society was named after the Roman general of the 3rd century B. C., Quintus Fabius Maximus, surnamed Cunctator ("the delayer") for his cautious tactics in the war against Hannibal.

The Fabians believed that the transition from capitalism to socialism was possible through gradual minor reforms in society. In 1900 the Fabian Society affiliated to the Labour Party.—13

[10] Wilhelm Lexis dealt with this problem in his "Kritische Erörterungen über die Währungsfrage" published in *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung. Verwaltung und Volkswirthschaft im Deutschen Reich,* 5 Jg., 1. Heft, Leipzig, 1881, S. 87-132.

*Bimetallism* (or double standard)—a monetary system in which gold and silver are a legal universal equivalent and the basis of national money circulation (the 16th-19th cent).—14, 319

[11] In the French edition of Volume I of *Capital* used by Loria, this chapter corresponds to Chapter IX: "Rate and Mass of Surplus Value" of the German edition. In the present edition it is Chapter XI (see Vol. 35).—19

[12] According to the views prevalent in chemistry in the 18th century, combustion was attributed to the presence in combustible bodies of a particular substance—phlogiston—which separates from them in burning. As it was known, however, that metals increased in weight during prolonged heating in the air, the supporters of the phlogistic theory sought to ascribe to phlogiston a negative weight. This theory was proved untenable by the French physicist Antoine Lavoisier who explained the process of combustion as the combination of the burning substance with oxygen.

Engels deals with the phlogistic theory also in the Preface to Volume II of *Capital* (see Vol. 36, p. 19).—43

[13] In January 1849 Proudhon attempted to found a *People's Bank* in order to promote a peaceful transition to *socialism*, which, for him, consisted in the liquidation of loan interest and the introduction of exchange without money with the producer receiving full equivalent of his labour revenue. This bank went bankrupt in two months. Marx gave a detailed critical analysis of Proudhon's views in *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon* and *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 105-212 and Vol. 28, pp. 352-54 respectively).—44

[14] See G. Ramsay, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth*, Edinburgh, London, 1836, pp. 23-24, 49 and 183-84; T. R. Malthus, *Principles of Political Economy*, London, 1836, p. 268; N. W. Senior, *Letters on the Factory Act*, London, 1837, pp. 11-17; R. Torrens, *An Essay on the Production of Wealth*, London, 1821, pp. 344-49. Cf. K. Marx, Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 72-73).—48

[15] Marx had already made a critical analysis of Malthus' views in the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 209-58). According to the plan of Part III of *Capital*, drawn up in December 1862, Malthus' theory was to be examined in one of the historico-critical chapters (see Note 1). In the course of writing *Capital* Marx decided to transfer these chapters to Volume IV (see Note 7).—51

[16] Engels has in mind Wilhelm Lexis' review of Volume II of *Capital* published in *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, Neue Folge, 11. Band, Jena, 1885, S. 458-59.—80

[17] In 1844, workers in the town of Rochdale (Lancashire industrial region) who had been influenced by Owen's ideas took the initiative in organising a consumers' co-operative, the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers' Society, which became the prototype for workers' cooperatives in England and other countries. Workers' cooperatives often combined productive functions with their activities as consumer co-operative societies.—89

[18] Marx took the quotation from a review of this Report in *The Westminster Review*, Vol. 38, 1842, p. 102.—91

[19] *Killing No Murder* was the title of a pamphlet that appeared in England in 1657. Its author, Edward Sexby, stated that it was a patriotic duty that Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell, a hated and cruel tyrant, be assassinated.—93

[20] The *Court of Queen's Bench* is one of the high courts in England; in the nineteenth century (up to 1873) it was an independent supreme court for criminal and civil cases, competent to review the decisions of lower judicial bodies.—93

[21] The reference is to *An Act for the Further Amendment of the Laws Relating to Labour in Factories* (12 and 20 Victoria, Chapter 38) of June 30 1856. See also K. Marx, "Condition of Factory Laborers" (present edition, Vol. 15, pp. 251-54).—94

[22] High import duties on agricultural produce were imposed by the Corn Laws (first introduced in the fifteenth century) in the interests of the landowners in order to maintain high prices on the home market. See also Note 73.—109, 325

[23] The *Ten Hours' Bill*, passed by the British Parliament on June 8, 1847, applied only to adolescents and women and was ignored by many manufacturers.

In February 1850 the Court of Chancery (one of Britain's high courts) acquitted a number of manufacturers accused of infringing the Ten Hours' Bill. This ruling caused protests from the workers. On August 5, 1850, Parliament passed a new Bill which stipulated a 10½-hour working day for women and adolescents and fixed the beginning and end of the working day.

On more details on this Bill see present edition, Vol. 35, p. 297 and Vol. 10, pp. 271-76, 288-300.—109

[24] See Ch. Babbage, *Traité sur l'économie des machines et des manufactures*, Paris, 1833, pp. 377-78. Cf. K. Marx, Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 33, p. 350) and *Capital* (ibid., Vol. 35, p. 394).—115

[25] See H. C. Carey, *Principles of Political Economy*, Philadelphia, 1837. Cf. K. Marx, *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 138).—115

[26] On the *cotton shortage* caused by the American Civil War of 1861-65 see K. Marx, "The British Cotton Trade" and "On the Cotton Crisis" (present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 17-20 and 160-62).—122

[27] On the *Relief Committees* see K. Marx, "Workers' Distress in England" (present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 239-42).—133

[28] *Ateliers nationaux* (national ateliers, workshops) were instituted by the Provisional Government immediately after the February revolution of 1848. By this means the government sought to discredit Louis Blanc's ideas on the "Organisation of Labour" in the eyes of the workers and, at the same time, to utilise those employed in the national workshops, organised on military lines, against the revolutionary proletariat. Revolutionary ideas, however, continued to gain ground in the national workshops. The government took steps to reduce the number of workers employed in them, to transfer a large number to public works in the provinces, and finally to liquidate the workshops. This precipitated a proletarian uprising in Paris in June 1848. After its suppression, the Cavaignac Government issued a decree on July 3 disbanding the national workshops.

For the assessment of the national workshops see K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (present edition, Vol. 10, p. 63).—135

[29] The *settlement laws* existed in England from 1662. They actually deprived farm labourers of their right to move from one place to another. Being a component part of the poor laws, they stipulated the return of farm labourers to the place of their birth or permanent residence by court decision. Restricting the labourers' freedom of movement, the legislation thus enabled employers to cut their wages to the minimum.—174, 181

[30] These views are to be found in D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* 3rd ed., London, 1821, pp. 60-61 and H. Storch, *Cours d'économie*

*politique...*, tome II, St.-Pétersbourg, 1815, pp. 78-79. Cf. K. Marx, Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 326-34).—182

[31] Th. Corbet, *An Inquiry into the Causes and Modes of the Wealth of Individuals...*, London, 1841, pp. 42-44. Cf. K. Marx, Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 33, p. 243).—182

[32] Marx analysed Ricardo's views on the relation of wages, profit and price of production in the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 52-103). That he intended to devote a special chapter to Ricardo is seen from the plan of Part III of *Capital* drawn up in December 1862 (see Note 1).—202

[33] The reference is to the general law of capitalist accumulation formulated by Marx in Volume I of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 35, p. 639).—220

[34] Marx had already critically analysed Smith's views in the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 439-57 and Vol. 33, pp. 92-93, 103, 108-09). According to the plan of Part III of *Capital*, drawn up in December 1862, Smith's law of the fall of the rate of profit was to be examined in Chapter 6 (see Note 1). In the course of writing *Capital*, Marx decided to transfer historico-critical chapters to Volume IV (see Note 7).—223

[35] *Profit upon alienation* or *profit upon expropriation* is a concept formulated by James Steuart in *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy* (Vol. I, London, 1805, p. 244) which Marx cited and analysed in the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 351-52).—229, 327

[36] The Dutch East India Company, founded in 1602, had a monopoly of trade with the Orient and played an important role in Holland's colonial expansion, particularly in the Indian Ocean. It carried on a bitter competitive struggle against the British East India Company. In 1798 the Dutch East India Company was abolished and the whole of its property transferred to the Batavian Republic, which was virtually a French possession.—305, 327

[37] The ancient philosopher Epicurus believed in an infinity of worlds, each originating and existing according to its own natural laws. The gods, though he believed in them, he saw as being outside and between the worlds, and not exerting any influence on either the development of the universe, or human life.—328

[38] Marx is referring to the greatly reduced importance of Genoa, Venice and other North Italian cities in transit commerce at the end of the fifteenth century following the great geographical discoveries of the time: the discovery of Cuba, Haiti and the Bahama Islands, the continent of North America, the sea route to India round the Cape and, finally, the continent of South America.—331

[39] Marx ironically calls Karl Arnd "the philosopher of the dog tax" because, in a special paragraph of his book (§ 88, pp. 420-21), he advocated this tax.—361

[40] In order to prevent a growth in the national debt, William Pitt the Younger, then British Prime Minister, introduced in 1786 a sinking fund, i. e., a scheme whereby a certain portion of public revenues was used every year to purchase state promissory notes. However, the war with France (1793-1802) was accompanied by a sharp increase in the national debt. The imbalance between revenues and expenditure led, first, to a limit on the issue of banknotes, and in 1797 to the enactment of a law relieving the Bank of England of the obligation to accept banknotes. Marx wrote in detail about Pitt's sinking fund laws in the article "Mr. Disraeli's Budget" published

in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5318, May 7, 1858 (present edition, Vol. 15, pp. 512-14); cf. K. Marx, Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (ibid., Vol. 33, pp. 222-24).—392

[41] Josiah Child's book was first published in London in 1668 as a small pamphlet. In 1669-70 he wrote ten additional chapters, and the book was republished many times.—394

[42] Five Chinese cities (Canton, Shanghai, Amoy, Ninbo and Fuchou) were opened to English trade by the Nanking Treaty imposed on China in 1842 as a result of the so-called first Opium War, which Britain had been waging against China since 1839.—405

[43] Marx means the champions of the *Currency Principle*—one of the schools of the quantity theory of money widely subscribed to in Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century. According to this theory, the value and price of commodities are determined by the quantity of money in circulation, and economic crises are caused mainly by violations of the laws of money circulation. The proponents of the quantity theory sought to maintain the stability of money circulation by means of obligatory gold backing of banknotes.

Marx showed the untenability of the currency principle in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 412-15).—415

[44] The reference is to the coalition wars of the European states against revolutionary and Napoleonic France lasting from 1792 to 1815.

The Crimean War of 1853-56 was a war between Russia and a coalition of Britain, France, Turkey and the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont).—421

[45] Engels is referring to the great swindle connected with the bribery of French statesmen, officials and the press by the Panama Canal joint-stock company, founded in France on the initiative of Ferdinand de Lesseps, an engineer and businessman, in 1879. The Company went bankrupt at the end of 1888. This caused widescale ruin among small shareholders and numerous bankruptcies.—437

[46] Here Marx has in mind bourgeois political economists, primarily Adam Smith, who regarded money circulating in the form of gold and silver as the most indifferent and useless form of capital.—461

[47] Marx is presumably referring to Chapter II of W. Petty's *Verbum Sapiently, or an Account of the Wealth and Expences of England and the Method of Raising Taxes in the Most Equal Manner*, London, 1691, and particularly the statement: "Whereas the Stock of the Kingdom yielding but 15 Millions of proceeds, is worth 250 Millions; then the People who yield 25, are worth 416$^{2}/_{3}$ Millions."—463

[48] A reference to the *Bank Charter Act* (An Act to Regulate the Issue of Banknotes, and for Giving to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England Certain Privileges for a Limited Period) which was introduced by Robert Peel on July 19, 1844. It provided for the division of the Bank of England into two separate departments, each with its own cash account—the Banking Department, dealing exclusively with credit operations, and the Issue Department, issuing banknotes.

The Act was repeatedly infringed by the government itself, particularly during the 1847 and 1857 monetary crises. Marx analysed the content and significance of the Act of 1844 in a series of articles written for the *New-York Daily Tribune* in 1857 and 1858 (present edition, vols 15 and 16).—474, 538, 545

[49] A reference to the money reform in Russia. In 1895-97 gold monometallism and free exchange of paper money for gold were introduced in the country. The issue of banknotes by the State Bank was limited: it could issue banknotes up to the value of 600 million rubles with no less than half the sum backed by gold, and banknotes issued in excess of that sum had to be backed by gold to the full.

The transition to the gold standard contributed to the development of the country's industry and trade and stimulated the import of foreign capital.—521

[50] The *Bank Restriction Act*, passed in 1797, established a compulsory rate of exchange and rescinded the exchange of banknotes for gold. The exchange was enacted again in 1819 and completely restored in 1821.—528

[51] The reference is to the case of Davidson, who was accused of swindles with bills of exchange. This case was described in S. Laing's *New Series of the Great City Frauds of Cole, Davidson, & Gordon*, London [1869].

*Assizes* — periodical sessions of the higher courts formerly held in every English county for the trial of civil and criminal cases.—532

[52] The reference is to the *Birmingham school* of "little shilling men", founded by the Birmingham banker Thomas Attwood. Its propounders supported a project for reducing the gold content of the money unit in England—"the project of the little shilling". At the same time they opposed the government measures to curtail the amount of money in circulation. In fact the policy of currency devaluation served the interests of the Treasury and big businessmen, who were the main recipients of all possible credits, because it enabled state and private debts to be redeemed in devalued money. On this school see also K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 319-20).—535, 555

[53] The *British East India Company* was founded at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It had a monopoly of trade with the East Indies and played a decisive part in establishing the British colonial empire. The Company was liquidated in 1858, during the popular Indian uprising of 1857-59.—536

[54] That Marx intended to do this is seen from his plan of the economic manuscript in the letter to Engels of April 2, 1858, where he enumerated four sections, one of which was to deal with credit. See Note 1.—545

[55] The reference is to the popular unrest in several provinces of China. In the mid-1850 this grew into a peasant war that resulted in the insurgents establishing a state of their own over a considerable part of China's territory. The state was called Taiping Tango (hence the name of the movement—the Taiping uprising). The Taiping uprising lasted till 1864.—548

[56] Marx stresses the importance of the Russian goldmines that, alongside those in California, augmented the gold reserves of the European banks. In Notebook V on economic issues written in January 1851 Marx noted a considerable growth in the output of gold in Russia between 1840 and 1848.

The value of Russian gold extracted in 1850 was £4 million, that of Californian gold — £10 million.—560

[57] Marx criticised Carey's unhistorical approach. Carey compared the rate of interest at the early stages of capitalism with the level of this interest under developed capitalism — in the economic manuscripts of 1857-58 and of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 29, p. 227 and Vol. 34, pp. 118-19 respectively).—590

[58] *Monts-de-piété* or *montes de pièta*—loan offices or pawnshops set up in Western Europe to counterbalance usury. In the fifteenth century the King of France Louis XI granted the Lombards the right to give loans on the security of property at a legalised rate of interest. *Monts-de-piété*, however, failed to protect poor people from usurers.—596

[59] Marx is inaccurate here. Thomas Manley did not write the anonymous treatise *Interest of Money Mistaken* published in London in 1668. He was one of the authors of another treatise similar in content and published in 1669. The author of this particular treatise is not known.—598

[60] This refers to John Law, the Scottish economist and financier, who sought to implement in France his financial projects based on the erroneous idea that a state can increase the country's wealth by issuing banknotes without security. In 1716 Law founded a private bank that, in 1718, was turned into a state bank. In addition to implementing the unlimited emission of banknotes, Law withdrew metallic money from circulation and supported various speculative undertakings. The controversy aroused by Law's activities culminated, at the end of 1720, in the final collapse of the bank and "Law's system".—598

[61] The *Crédit mobilier* (Société générale du Crédit mobilier)—a big French joint-stock bank founded by the Péreire brothers in 1852. It was notorious for its speculation. The Crédit mobilier took an active part in building railways and setting up industrial enterprises. It went bankrupt in 1867.—600

[62] Proudhon expounded this theory in *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon*, Paris, 1850. Cf. also present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 219-22.—603

[63] A reference to a 100-gulden loan with interest payable in three instalments at the Leipzig Fair: New Year, Easter (spring) and at Michaelmas (autumn).—605

[64] Marx examined Sir Dudley North's views in the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 34, pp. 272-74).—606

[65] A reference to the *mortmain*—the right of the medieval feudal lord to inherit the property of the dead serf peasant. Since the property and the land of the dead peasant usually went to his heirs, the latter were obliged to pay a specially onerous fee for it to the lord.—607

[66] Marx planned to expound the results of his economic research in six books: 1) On capital, 2) Landed property, 3) Wage labour, 4) The State, 5) International trade, 6) World market. He wrote about this in his letters to Ferdinand Lassalle of February 22 and to Engels of April 2, 1858 (present edition, Vol. 40, pp. 270 and 298). Thus problems of landed property were to be examined in a separate book. Marx intended to supplement the section on ground rent with the material on landed property in various countries, Russia in particular (see Note 3). Engels also mentions this in his preface. Marx's plans, however, remained unfulfilled.—608, 613

[67] The reference is primarily to David Ricardo's theory of rent. Marx criticised it as being unhistorical in his work *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon* (present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 201-03).—609

[68] See Note 66 and Marx's remarks on this point in the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 563-66 and Vol. 34, pp. 265-66).—609

[69] *Temple Bar*—stone gates built in the fourteenth century at the west end of the Fleet Street in London.—615

[70] Marx made a detailed analysis of John Locke's and Dudley North's views in the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 34, pp. 85-88 and 272-74). A description of Turgot's views is to be found in Vol. 30, pp. 366-67 and Vol. 32, p. 476.—616

[71] In his speech on July 26, 1848 in the National Assembly, Thiers opposed the proposals to reform credit and taxation which Proudhon had submitted to the Assembly's finance committee. After Proudhon's speech of July 31, 1848, Thiers published his own speech in a separate pamphlet as an attack on his opponent. See also K. Marx, "On Proudhon", present edition, Vol. 20, p. 31.—618

[72] A reference to the debate in the House of Commons (June 24, 1853) on the Bill on Irish landlords and tenants introduced by the Aberdeen Ministry.

The government hoped to normalise relations between landlords and tenants by granting the latter certain rights and thereby mitigating the agrarian struggle in the country. After more than two years of debates Parliament rejected the Bill.

For details see K. Marx, "The Indian Question.—Irish Tenant Right" (present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 157-62).—620

[73] On Corn Laws see Note 22.

In 1815 a law was passed prohibiting grain imports when grain prices in England fell below 80 shillings per quarter. In 1822 the law was modified slightly, and in 1828 a sliding scale was introduced—a system of raising or lowering tariffs in proportion to the fall or rise of grain prices on the home market. The industrial bourgeoisie who opposed the Corn Laws under the slogan of free trade secured their repeal in 1846.—620, 650

[74] A reference to the wars waged by Britain against the French Republic and Napoleonic Empire in 1793-1815.—620

[75] A reference to the Blue Books: *Report from the Select Committee on Petitions Relating to the Corn Laws of this Kingdom: together with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix of accounts*. Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 26 July 1814; *Reports Respecting Grain, and the Corn Laws: viz.: First and Second Reports from the Lords Committee, appointed to enquire into the state of the growth, commerce, and consumption of grain, and all laws relating thereto*. Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 23 November 1814.

The *Blue Books*—periodical collections of documents of the British Parliament and Foreign Office. The first were published in the seventeenth century.—621

[76] According to the Poor Laws, which were introduced in England in the sixteenth century and remained in force at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a special tax to support the poor was collected in each parish. The parishioners unable to provide for themselves and their families received support through the poor-box.—621

[77] The *Society of Arts and Trades*—a cultural and philanthropic society founded in 1754. The Society tried to prevent the development of the mass strike movement in Britain and sought to play the part of arbitrator between workers and employers. Marx ironically called it the "Society of Arts and Tricks".—623

[78] The reference is to the Congress of the *National Association for the Promotion of Social Sciences*, an educational and philanthropic society founded in 1857.—623

[79] This refers to *l'Institut de France*—France's highest scientific and art centre, which included the Académie Française.—624

[80] Here and below Marx uses the term *Produktionkosten* in the meaning of price of production.—645

[81] Marx made this proposition when he criticised Ricardo's views in the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 99-101 and 288-89).—647

[82] A reference to: [E. West,] *Essay on the Application of Capital to Land, with observations shewing the impolicy of any great restriction of the importation of corn..*, London, 1815; Th. R. Malthus, *Principles of Political Economy Considered with a View to Their Practical Application*, London, 1820 and *An Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent, and the Principles by which it is Regulated*, London, 1815; D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, 3rd ed., London, 1821, Ch. II.—652

[83] This notebook, written by Marx in 1865-66, when he was working on the manuscript of Volume III of *Capital*, contains extracts from J. Liebig's books: *Herr Dr. Emil Wolff in Hohenheim und die Agrikultur Chemie*, 1855; *Die Chemie in ihrer Anwendung auf Agricultur und Physiologie*, 1862; *Einleitung in die Naturgezetze des Feldbaues*, 1862. —732

[84] *Potosi*—a town in the south of Bolivia. It was founded by the Spanish conquistadors in 1547, after the discovery there of rich silver deposits two years earlier. In the second half of the eighteenth century the deposits were exhausted and the town gradually fell into decline.—760

[85] The reference is to the economic organisation, established in about 800 A. D. on the vast estates owned by Charlemagne. Special attention was given to more effective control over the fulfilment of numerous obligations imposed on the peasants working on such estates, as well as to the preservation of the estates themselves and of profits received from them.—772

[86] The reference is to the so-called *Tithe Commutation Acts* of 1836-60, which replaced Church tithe in kind by money payments for land.—774

[87] *Yeomen*—English freeholders who had largely disappeared by approximately the mid-18th century partly as a result of the primitive accumulation of capital, which took the form of communal land enclosure and its appropriation by the landlords. The Yeomen were excellent archers and, before the spread of firearms, usually formed the main force of the English troops. Yeomen were superseded by small tenant farmers.—793

[88] *Bandes Noires*—special mounted detachments which appeared in the fourteenth century at European courts and fought under black banners. In the nineteenth century this name was applied in France to the associations of profiteers who bought up large estates and resold them in smaller plots because the demand and price for them were higher.—797

[89] Engels is inaccurate here. A perusal of the manuscript of Volume III of *Capital* showed that Marx planned to arrange the three fragments which Engels placed at the beginning of Chapter XLVIII in the following order: fragment III was to be first, then the text marked by Engels as the beginning of the chapter; fragments I and II should follow a page now missing from the manuscript (see this volume, p. 809).—809

[90] Marx set out a detailed analysis of Smith's view of wages, profit and ground rent as sources of value in Volume II of *Capital* and in the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 36 and Vol. 30, pp. 398-99).—813

[91] This work was written after the publication of Volume III of *Capital*. Engels wrote to Karl Kautsky on May 21, 1895 (present edition, Vol. 49) that he intended to have the supplement to Volume III of *Capital* published in the *Neue Zeit* as two articles. The first of them, "The Law of Value and the Rate of Profit", was occasioned by the polemic in economic literature over "the contradiction" between volumes I and III of *Capital*. For the second article he sketched a draft plan of 7 points dealing with the main problems to be discussed.—873

[92] According to the biblical legend (Numbers 22-24), Balak, King of Moab, asked Balaam to curse the children of Israel. However, told only to say the words God put in his mouth, Balaam blessed them instead.—881

[93] The reference is to Conrad Schmidt's letter of March 1, 1895. Engels analysed the propositions it contained in his reply of March 12, 1895 (present edition, Vol. 49). — 882

[94] The reference is primarily to Christopher Columbus' expeditions which opened up the continent of America and the West India islands: the Bahamas, the Antilles and other islands in the Caribbean Sea.—890

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# MARX & ENGELS
# COLLECTED WORKS

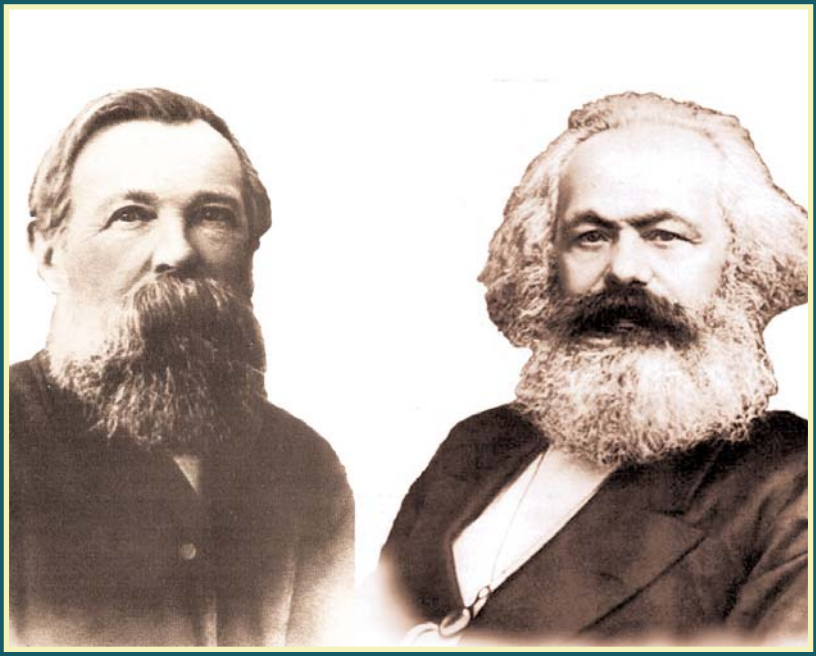

## VOLUME 38

Letters 1844-51

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 38

## Letters 1844-51

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Translated by

PETER and BETTY ROSS

# Preface

The letters of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels will be published in volumes 38-50 of this edition. These volumes will contain their letters to each other and to their collaborators, friends, relatives, and others. The Appendices will include letters written by others at the request of Marx and Engels, as well as letters addressed to them, and documents giving some idea of the contents of undiscovered letters written by them and providing additional biographical information.

This special group of volumes begins with Engels' earliest surviving letter to Marx, from early October 1844. Their letters, to other people, prior to their historic meeting in Paris in August 1844, before which there was no direct connection between their intellectual development and work, are included in volumes 1-3 of the present edition, together with their separately published works of those years. From the autumn of 1844, the works of Marx and Engels increasingly arise from their close cooperation. Their letters reflect the elaboration of their ideas and their influence on the working class's struggle for emancipation.

Not included in these volumes are letters, appeals and statements addressed to various organisations, editors of newspapers and journals, public employees, etc. These are published in volumes 4-28 of this edition.

The letters of Marx and Engels are extremely rich in ideas and human interest. In them Marx and Engels wrote of their creative plans, of the immense research they undertook in different fields of knowledge, and touched upon a wide range of philosophical, economic, sociological and other problems. They compared the results of their work, shared their impressions of the books they read, discussed the various doctrines and theories of contemporary

thinkers, and commented upon the achievements of other scholars—for instance, the progress made in the natural sciences and in engineering—as well as on events and phenomena they witnessed or read about.

The letters show the constant attention Marx and Engels paid to economic and social phenomena, to politics in general, and to the development of the revolutionary movement in particular. Their analysis of current events, class conflicts, diplomatic battles and warfare, political parties and trends, statesmen and politicians, is an important contribution to the Marxist interpretation of the period's history; though it should be borne in mind that very often their judgment of events and people was stated much more sharply, as well as impulsively and emotionally, in their letters than in their works written for publication.

The proletarian class struggle is one of the principal and constant subjects of their correspondence. As the theoreticians of the working class, as well as direct participants in and leaders of proletarian organisations, they were interested most of all in the workers' movement, the conditions and stages of its development, the aims of its programme, its tactics and its organisation. The letters are eloquent testimony of their struggle for the creation of a revolutionary party of the working class, and for the elaboration of a programme and a strategy for the international proletarian movement, giving due consideration both to the general laws of development of the proletarian class struggle and its specific features at different periods of history and in different countries. Many letters contain sharp criticism of the ideological and political antagonists of the working class, and of the various manifestations of opportunism, reformism, sectarianism and dogmatism in the workers' movement. A profoundly scientific, materialist approach to the problems of the proletariat's struggle, a principled defence of revolutionary positions, consistent internationalism, ardent support for those fighting for the oppressed and the exploited, and an irreconcilability towards their enemies, run through the entire correspondence of Marx and Engels.

'If one were to attempt to define in a single word the focus, so to speak, of the whole correspondence,' wrote Lenin, 'the central point at which the whole body of ideas expressed and discussed converges—that word would be *dialectics*. The application of materialist dialectics to the reshaping of all political economy from its foundations up, its application to history, natural science, philosophy and to the policy and tactics of the working class—that was what interested Marx and Engels most of all, that was where they

contributed what was most essential and new, and that was what constituted the masterly advance they made in the history of revolutionary thought' (*Collected Works,* Vol. 19, p. 554).

This correspondence is a vital source for the study of both the theoretical and practical activity of Marx and Engels, demonstrating how naturally they combined these two aspects of their revolutionary work. Their letters reflect the development of the three component parts of Marxism—dialectical and historical materialism, political economy and the theory of scientific communism—as well as their study of a whole series of allied disciplines, in particular of world history, law, linguistics, the history of literature, aesthetics, the natural sciences, and military science. In addition, our knowledge of the programme and tactical documents of the Communist League, of the First International and other proletarian organisations founded by Marx and Engels, is augmented by the rich material contained in their letters which illustrate their role as the organisers and leaders of the working-class revolutionary struggle.

Their letters also add in essential ways to many of their published works, drafts and manuscripts of unfinished works, for very often they give original full versions of important theoretical and tactical propositions, showing how one or another idea was conceived, and how it was first presented and subsequently developed. Some of the letters are regular treatises, and some are especially valuable in containing ideas never set down in Marx's and Engels' published works. Many of the letters reveal scientific and literary plans which for one reason or another were never realised, while some are the only evidence that has come down to us that such literary plans existed at all, and from them we can form a general idea of what Marx and Engels intended to write about in such works.

The letters are especially important for the study of those periods in the lives of Marx and Engels when they were unable to write regularly for the press, in which case their correspondence often provides the best or the only source for studying their life and activity. Unfortunately, for some of these years, relatively few letters have been preserved, and they can naturally only supply additional information on the views and activities of Marx and Engels to that which can be derived from their published works.

There can be no better source than their letters from which to study the biographies of Marx and Engels. Readers can follow not just the story of how their works were written and published, or the stages of their theoretical and socio-political activity, but can observe them among their families and friends. They can gain an idea of the circumstances of their life, their everyday occupations, their personal

feelings, and so forth. Their letters also show clearly the grim trials which confronted the proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle against the existing state system: police persecutions, legal proceedings, deportation, enforced emigration, publishers refusing to print their works, abuse and slander spread by their enemies, family and personal bereavement. And on top of all that—in the case of Marx—his poverty, leading to the tragic losses in his family, and his own frequent ill health.

And yet, their letters are full of optimism. The staunchness with which they bore up under all their troubles is amazing. They drew this strength from their unswerving loyalty to their revolutionary calling, to the noble idea of serving the cause of the working people's emancipation. It is significant that Marx, who had already experienced several tragic deaths in his family, wrote to Sigfrid Meyer on 30 April 1867: 'I laugh at the so-called "practical" men with their wisdom. If one chose to be an ox, one could of course turn one's back on the sufferings of mankind and look after one's own skin.'

No vicissitudes of life could break their will or spirit, weaken their dedication to the cause of the working class, undermine their faith in the ultimate triumph of the ideas of communism, or shake their historical optimism, their courage and naturally cheerful disposition. Shortly after Marx's death a German bourgeois journalist called him a 'poor wretch' and it is in this connection that Engels wrote indignantly in June 1883: 'If these jackasses ever happened to read my correspondence with the Moor, they would simply gape. Heine's poetry is child's play compared with our bold, jolly prose. The Moor could be furious, but mope—*jamais!* [never]'

The letters testify to the unity of Marx's and Engels' theoretical views and their extraordinary ideological and human closeness. For all the uniqueness of their personalities, there was always complete unanimity between them on the main issues, thanks to the remarkable similarity of their philosophical and political views. Very often we can observe how they arrived at a common point of view through discussion, and then how both expressed that viewpoint in print or in letters to other persons. There are many examples of such creative cooperation.

Their great friendship meant that they kept in constant touch with each other; it is therefore not surprising that they wrote almost daily when they happened to be separated, as they were in the 1850s and the 1860s for example. Their letters speak of their profound mutual respect and affection, and their complete and sincere confidence in one another.

* * *

Volume 38 contains Marx's and Engels' letters from October 1844 to December 1851, covering three stages in the development of Marxism. The first group of letters deals with the formative period and the development of Marxism as the scientific world outlook of the working class, and also shows the first practical steps taken by Marx and Engels to combine the theory of communism with the workers' movement and organise a proletarian party. Their efforts were crowned in 1847 by the establishment of the international communist organisation of the proletariat—the Communist League—and the publication of its programme—the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (February 1848). Their subsequent letters relate to the period of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Europe in 1848-49, which were the first historical test of Marxism, of its theoretical and tactical principles. The third group includes letters written from the end of 1849 to 1851 when priority had to be given to the work of theoretically generalising the experience of the revolutions, of further developing the strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolutionaries, of uniting them in conditions of increasing reaction, and of reorganising the Communist League.

Marx's and Engels' surviving letters from October 1844 to February 1848 show that their efforts were primarily focused on elaborating the theoretical tools that would provide a scientific basis for the workers' movement. Their awareness of the urgency of this task is evident from the very first letters written by Engels from Barmen where he returned in the autumn of 1844 after his meeting with Marx in Paris. Reporting to his friend about the rapid spread of communist and socialist propaganda in Germany, Engels said: 'Failing a few publications in which the principles are logically and historically developed out of past ways of thinking and past history, and as their necessary continuation, the whole thing will remain rather hazy and most people will be groping in the dark' (this volume, p. 3).

At the time, the workers' movement was largely influenced by utopian socialism. Its ideological confusion was aggravated by the circulation of muddled and immature doctrines, in particular those of the Young Hegelians who in 1843-45 preached ideas of subjective idealism and anarchic individualism. That is why in his letters Engels repeatedly urged Marx to hurry up and finish *The Holy Family*, aimed against Bruno Bauer and the other Young Hegelians, and also the book he was planning to write on political economy. In January 1845, Engels wrote: 'Minds are ripe and we must strike while the iron

is hot.... We German theoreticians ... cannot yet so much as develop our theory, not even having been able as yet to publish the critique of the nonsense. But now it is high time' (pp. 17-18).

The letters published in this volume enable us to follow the writing of such important works as *The Holy Family, The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (present edition, Vol. 4) and *The German Ideology* (Vol. 5), and provide information about projects never materialised, among them Marx's intention to write a 'Critique of Politics and Political Economy' in two volumes, Marx's and Engels' plans to publish a criticism of the views of the German bourgeois economist Friedrich List, and their plan to start a 'Library of the Best Foreign Socialist Writers' (in German) supplied with critical comments (see this volume, pp. 10-11, 13-14, 15-18, 25-28). The letters also throw light on the journalistic work done by Marx and Engels, their contributions to various papers, the reasons that prompted them to do journalistic work, and the character of a number of the articles written by them.

A whole series of circumstances, relevant not just to the writing but also to the attempt to publish *The German Ideology,* are clarified in the correspondence between Marx and Engels and their letters to other persons, one being the letter written by Marx on 14-16 May 1846 to Joseph Weydemeyer, published for the first time in 1968 (pp. 41-44). In *The German Ideology* Marx and Engels counterposed their materialist understanding of history as an integral conception to the idealist views of Max Stirner and other Young Hegelians, and to the inconsistent materialism of Ludwig Feuerbach. It is apparent from their letters that Marx and Engels originally intended to publish this work in a collection of articles, together with those written by their associates and to criticise the various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideological trends. What they wanted was to start a regular quarterly journal for these publications (pp. 41, 533), but these plans failed, as did their other attempts to have these manuscripts printed. However, Marx and Engels were not discouraged for they had achieved their 'main purpose—self-clarification', as Marx wrote in 1859 in the Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.*

As they developed their dialectical-materialist outlook and intensified their efforts to rally the advanced workers and intellectuals on the basis of the new revolutionary teaching, Marx and Engels felt more and more acutely the necessity to overcome the influence of sectarian utopian teachings, among them the egalitarian communism of Weitling and the petty-bourgeois sentimental 'true socialism', which hindered the formation of working-class conscious-

ness. Of especial danger to the workers' movement was the spread of the reformist views of Proudhon who sowed in the workers' minds the illusion that it was possible to transform capitalism to serve the ideals of petty artisans and peasants.

A number of letters, particularly from Engels in Paris in 1846 to the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee, show the struggle he had to fight against the influential Weitlingians among the German artisans and workmen living in Paris, and also against the supporters of Proudhon's reformist projects, and Karl Grün who interpreted these projects in the spirit of 'true socialism'. In his letter of 23 October 1846, Engels described the lengthy discussion he had at a workers' meeting in the course of which he succeeded in changing the minds of most of those present, convincing them of the unsoundness of Proudhon's and Grün's views, and clearly defining the aims of the communists as follows: '1. to ensure that the interests of the proletariat prevail, as opposed to those of the bourgeoisie; 2. to do so by abolishing private property and replacing same with community of goods; 3. to recognise no means of attaining these aims other than democratic revolution by force' (p. 82).

The struggle against Proudhon's ideas had a direct bearing on the writing of one of the first works of mature Marxism—*The Poverty of Philosophy*—in which Marx set out the historico-materialist conception earlier developed in *The German Ideology*. This was the first work he published as an economist. His letter of 28 December 1846 to the Russian liberal writer P. V. Annenkov can be regarded as a condensed draft of the book in which the main theses are briefly set out. Marx showed the invalidity of Proudhon's philosophical and sociological views, the utopianism of his reformist projects, his inability to analyse the nature of capitalist relations and social processes as a whole, or to understand the significance of the class struggle of the proletariat. In Proudhon's ideas Marx clearly saw a reflection of the sentiments and world outlook of that class of small private producers who were being ruined by the development of capitalism, and who wanted to eliminate its 'bad sides' while keeping the fundamentals intact. 'Mr. Proudhon is, from top to toe, a philosopher, an economist of the petty bourgeoisie,' Marx wrote (this volume, p. 105).

Proudhon idealistically regarded history as a result of the actions of outstanding men capable of filching 'from God his inmost thoughts' (p. 103), and to counterbalance this view Marx recapitulated the basic principles of historical materialism on the general laws of social development. He pointed to the determining role played in this development by the productive forces, to

the dialectical interaction between them and the relations of production (characteristically, here they are called not 'forms of intercourse' as in *The German Ideology* but more precisely 'economic relations', 'social relations'), and to the ultimate dependence of all the other social institutions and superstructural phenomena, including the sphere of ideas, on the mode of production. The discrepancy between the developing productive' forces and the outdated relations of production makes it an objective necessity to revolutionise, that is, to change the old mode of production for a new and more progressive one, which would also bring about a change in the entire social superstructure. Marx showed how obsolescent relations of production do not merely hinder the progress of society but are actually capable of pushing it back and denying it the 'fruits of civilisation' (p. 97). The true makers of history—the masses who produce the material wealth—influence its course primarily by participating in the development of the productive forces, Marx pointed out. But they cannot do so arbitrarily since they are not free to choose their productive forces, thus 'every succeeding generation finds productive forces acquired by the preceding generation' (p. 96).

By stressing the need to regard the various forms of production in a given epoch as historical and transitory, Marx established the principle of the historical character of science. He showed that this principle is essential in the study of social phenomena from a truly scientific, dialectical-materialist angle.

The letters of 1846-47 illustrate the efforts of Marx and Engels to organise a proletarian party, to establish and consolidate ties with the representatives of the workers' and socialist movements in different countries, and to set up communist correspondence committees in Belgium, Germany, England and France. The tasks of these committees, formulated in a series of documents (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 54-56, 58-60), were also stated in a letter (5 May 1846) to Proudhon, whom Marx still hoped to draw into the work of revolutionary propaganda, '...The chief aim of our correspondence ... will be to put the German socialists in touch with the French and English socialists; to keep foreigners constantly informed of the socialist movements that occur in Germany and to inform the Germans in Germany of the progress of socialism in France and England. In this way differences of opinion can be brought to light and an exchange of ideas and impartial criticism can take place. It will be a step made by the social movement in its *literary* manifestation to rid itself of the barriers of *nationality*' (p. 39).

As Marx and Engels planned it, the communist correspondence committees were to elicit differences of opinion, criticise immature, utopian and sectarian views, work out an ideological and theoretical platform acceptable to the genuinely revolutionary part of the movement, and thus prepare the ground for the organisation of an international proletarian party.

The centre of the network Marx and Engels were organising was to be the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee, headed by them. Its work is fully described in Engels' letters from Paris to Marx dated 19 August (p. 53) and about 23 October 1846 (pp. 86-88), and in Harney's letter to Engels of 30 March 1846 (published in the Appendices).

The activities of Marx and Engels as theoreticians, journalists and organisers of propaganda helped to develop the views of the members of the League of the Just, a secret organisation of German workers and artisans which emerged in the middle of the 1830s and was also joined by workers of other nationalities. Marx and Engels had established contact with the London leaders of the League—Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and Heinrich Bauer—already in 1843-45, and in the years that followed they maintained this contact although they criticised the theoretical immaturity and instability of the stand taken by the leaders, and the sectarian, conspiratorial character of the League's organisational structure (pp. 69, 91-92, 83). It was only when they were certain that the London leadership had begun to assimilate the ideas of scientific communism, and showed its readiness to act in this spirit, that Marx and Engels, in January 1847, agreed to join the League, take part in its reorganisation, and draw up a new programme on the basis of the principles they had proclaimed.

From their letters written in 1847 we see how Marx and Engels directed the work of the Communist League, founded by them, trying to strengthen its influence among the masses and encouraging its members to engage in systematic propaganda and organisational work among the proletariat. They themselves did this kind of work in the Brussels German Workers' Society, founded by them in August 1847, which we know from Engels' letter to Marx dated 28-30 September 1847 (p. 130); moreover, they looked upon the Communist League as the nucleus of the future mass proletarian party which was to unite all the militant forces of the working class.

Marx and Engels, being emphatically against sectarian isolation from the general revolutionary movement, guided the Communist League towards the establishment of an alliance with the democrats both on the national and the international scale for

joint struggle against the anti-popular regimes. The independence of the ideological and political stand taken by the international proletarian organisation and its right openly to criticise the mistakes and inconsistency of its allies was to be strictly maintained. It took Engels in particular no little effort to secure the cooperation of the French democrats and socialists who grouped round the newspaper *La Réforme.* Engels reported in detail to Marx on his negotiations with the editors Ferdinand Flocon and Louis Blanc in his letters of 25-26 October, 14-15 November 1847, and 14 and 21 January 1848. While commenting most critically on the reformist tendencies in the works of Louis Blanc and the arrogant attitude of 'this little literary lord', Engels considered it imperative to subject his views to public criticism (pp. 155-57).

An international Democratic Association was founded in Brussels in the autumn of 1847 with the active participation of Marx and Engels. Together with several other members of the Communist League they played a leading role in it (see Engels' letter to Marx, 28-30 September, and Marx's letter to Georg Herwegh, 26 October 1847). Marx and Engels maintained regular contact with the leaders of the Left wing of the Chartists, George Julian Harney and Ernest Jones, as well as with the Fraternal Democrats, the international democratic society founded in London (see Engels' letter to Marx dated 14-15 November 1847, and others).

For the wide dissemination of communist ideas the League needed its own newspaper, a point which was repeatedly raised in their letters (pp. 80, 91-92, 120, etc.). In 1846-47 Marx made several attempts to start a theoretical journal as a joint-stock company. In a recently discovered letter to Werner von Veltheim dated 29 September 1847, he said that one of the main tasks of the proposed journal was regularly to criticise the 'political, religious and social parties and aspirations' from materialist positions, consequently that 'political economy would play a leading role' (p. 131) in such a journal. The project, however, did not materialise.

Marx and Engels also wanted to use the emigrant newspaper, the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung,* for communist propaganda (see Marx's letter to Herwegh of 8 August 1847, and others), and by assuming control of the editorial affairs they did succeed in turning the paper into an unofficial organ of the Communist League, a herald of the programme and tactical principles of scientific communism.

Of great interest are Engels' letters written at the end of 1847 dealing with his work on the draft programme of the Communist League which was to be confirmed by its second congress. On

23-24 November he wrote to Marx that he was not satisfied with the form of a catechism, or a confession of faith, traditional for many workers' organisations at the time, in which the document was originally written, and proposed calling it a Communist Manifesto (p. 149). Lenin said that this letter, giving in general outline the plan of the future programme document, 'clearly proves that Marx and Engels are justly named side by side as the founders of modern socialism' (Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 19, p. 558).

Written as a programme of the Communist League, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* in which the principles of the Marxist revolutionary teaching were systematised for the first time, crowned the theoretical and practical activities of Marx and Engels prior to the revolution of 1848-49. Its publication in February 1848 marked the beginning of a new stage in the development of the international workers' movement.

* * *

Those letters written by Marx and Engels in 1848-49 which have come down to us augment our knowledge of them as revolutionary tribunes and journalists, ideologists and leaders of the proletarian wing of the general democratic revolutionary movement, and as the strategists and tacticians of the revolution.

At the outbreak of the revolution, the Belgian authorities, frightened by the reaction to the February events in Paris, ordered Marx to leave the country at once, and then, on the night of 3 March, arrested both him and his wife. They were released only when the twenty-four hours within which they had to leave the country had passed. The Marxes with their three children had to leave Brussels quickly. In his letters to Marx dated 8-9 and 18 March 1848, Engels told him of the indignation aroused by this act of violence among the democratic public of Belgium, of the protests which appeared in the press and the inquiries made in parliament.

This was not the first time that official authorities had so rudely interfered in Marx's life. Having chosen the road of political struggle, both he and Engels had already suffered the persecutions of reactionary governments, the arbitrariness of censors, and the stratagems of police agents and spies. On the insistence of the Prussian Embassy, the Guizot Government had deported Marx from Paris in February 1845, compelling him to seek asylum in Belgium. 'But I fear that in the end you'll be molested in Belgium too,' Engels wrote him (p. 22), and, true enough, his fears were confirmed three

years later by the actions of the Belgian police. Engels himself, living in Paris in 1846-47 where he was engaged in revolutionary propaganda work among the German workers, also expected to be arrested and deported at any time, as we see from his letters, and this indeed occurred at the end of January 1848. There were more persecutions in store for the two friends: summons to the public prosecutor's office, court proceedings, threats of arrest, deportations, and so forth.

The developing events were keenly watched by Marx in Paris, where he arrived on 4 March 1848, and by Engels in Brussels. It was obvious to them that the revolution which had already begun would acutely aggravate the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Marx wrote to Engels from Paris on 16 March 1848: 'The bourgeoisie here are again becoming atrociously uppish and reactionary, *mais elle verra* [but they'll see]' (p. 162). And Engels, after moving to Paris, wrote to Emil Blank on 28 March 1848 that here 'the big bourgeoisie and the workers are in direct confrontation with each other' (p. 167).

As they observed the beginning of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany and planned how the proletarian revolutionaries were to act in it, they resolutely opposed any attempts to speed up events artificially or to export revolution to Germany. In this connection they strongly criticised Georg Herwegh and Adalbert von Bornstedt for their adventurist scheme of having an armed corps made up of German emigrants invade the territory of Germany and proclaim a republic there, in preference to the plan of having the progressive German workers—mainly those who belonged to the Communist League—return home singly in order to take part in the revolutionary battles. The uncompromising attitude taken by Marx and Engels to the plans of the petty-bourgeois democrats is clearly expressed in Marx's letter to Engels of 16 March and Engels' letter to Marx of 18 March 1848, and elsewhere (pp. 162, 165, 166).

The letters they exchanged upon their return to Germany in April 1848 deal with the situation there, the alignment of class forces, and the state of the local organisations of the Communist League. The revolution had stirred up the political activity of the German workers, but the spontaneous and immature character of their movement was in evidence everywhere. The policy of compromise adopted by the liberal bourgeoisie and the waverings of the petty-bourgeois democrats served the purpose of the feudal-monarchist counter-revolution which, having recovered from the defeats it had suffered, was

re-emerging more and more openly. Defining the position of the liberal leaders of Prussia's bourgeoisie who stood at the head of the government, Engels wrote at the end of May 1848: 'In Berlin Camphausen is taking it easy, while reaction, the rule of officials and aristocrats grows daily more insolent, irritates the people, the people revolt and Camphausen's spinelessness and cowardice lead us straight towards fresh revolutions. That is Germany as it now is!' (p. 176).

In this situation, Marx and Engels clearly saw that their main and immediate task was to direct the actions of the German working class into the mainstream of the general democratic movement, guarding it at the same time against ideological subordination to the petty-bourgeois democrats, and fighting for its pursuance of a consistent revolutionary course. The organ of the Left proletarian wing of the democrats became the daily *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* published in Cologne by Marx, Engels and their comrades from the Communist League.

The few surviving letters of that period reflect the enormous work done by Marx and Engels to secure the publication of the paper, to organise the network of correspondents, and ensure its circulation. The editors had their share of cares and troubles: there was the bourgeois shareholders' disapproval of the paper's revolutionary policy, the obstacles put in its way by the Prussian authorities, and money difficulties. In order to keep the paper going, Marx used up his private means, telling Engels in a letter he wrote in November 1848: 'But whatever the circumstances, this *fort* had to be held and the political position not surrendered' (p. 179).

Marx's letters to Engels written in October-November 1848 when the latter, threatened with arrest, was compelled to emigrate temporarily to Switzerland, his letter to Eduard von Müller-Tellering of 5 December, and to Wilhelm Stieber written on or about 29 December 1848, show the grim conditions of police hounding and legal prosecutions in which he and his collaborators had to defend their 'fort'. The paper, however, did not once go back on its principles. It waged a consistent struggle against the advancing counter-revolution, rallied the proletarian circles and all the democratic forces of the country, and determined the tactics of the proletarian revolutionaries in the changing situation. The staunchness and militant spirit of the paper made it widely popular in Germany and in other countries (see Marx's letter to Engels of 29 November 1848, also Engels' letter to Marx of 7-8 January 1849, and others).

Engels' letters to Marx from Berne dated 28 December 1848

and 7-8 January 1849, during his enforced stay in Switzerland, are full of energy, fighting spirit, loyalty to his friends and a wonderful sense of humour.

At the beginning of May 1849, the rearguard battles of the German revolution were fought in Saxony, Rhenish Prussia, Baden and the Palatinate. After the defeat of the insurrections in the Rhine Province, the Prussian authorities did what they had long been preparing to do: they deported Marx from Prussia and took action against the other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Its farewell issue, printed in red ink, came out on 19 May. After a brief stay in South-Western Germany, Marx left for Paris in anticipation of new revolutionary events in France. From his letter to Engels dated 7 June 1849, it is evident that he was trying to establish contact with the French revolutionary circles (p. 199). Engels, who was in Kaiserslautern at the time, joined Willich's volunteer corps, which formed a part of the Palatinate-Baden insurgent army. From the correspondence of Marx and Engels in July and August 1849, and also from Engels' letters to Jenny Marx, Joseph Weydemeyer and Jakob Schabelitz, it can be seen what an active part Engels took in the fighting against the advancing Prussian and other counter-revolutionary troops. He wrote to Jenny Marx on 25 July 1849: 'I was in four engagements, two of them fairly important, particularly the one at Rastatt' (p. 203).

From the first it was obvious to both Marx and Engels that the petty-bourgeois leaders of the Baden-Palatinate movement were not capable of directing the revolutionary struggle, and it was therefore doomed to failure. But, being in the thick of events, Engels 'had the opportunity of seeing a great deal and learning a great deal', and was later able to expose the 'illusions of the run-of-the mill, vociferous republicans' and the 'despondency lurking beneath the bravado of the leaders' (p. 215). With Willich's detachment, which covered the retreat of the insurgent army, Engels crossed the German-Swiss border and settled temporarily in Switzerland, for if he returned home he was liable to be shot for taking part in the insurrection. In a letter at the end of July 1849 Marx advised him 'to write a history of or a pamphlet on the Baden-Palatinate revolution' (p. 207), a suggestion which coincided with Engels' own intention to publish his 'reminiscences of the farcical Palatinate-Baden revolution' (p. 215). He made his intention good in 1850 by publishing a series of essays under the general title *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (present edition, Vol. 10).

After the unsuccessful action of the democratic Montagne party on 13 July 1849, the French authorities subjected the proletarian

and democratic activists, including foreigners, to even harsher persecution. A new threat hung over Marx. In July, the commissioner of police signed the order for his deportation to Morbihan, a swampy and unhealthy place in Brittany, and the order was carried out on 23 August. Qualifying this act as a 'veiled attempt' on his life, Marx decided to leave France altogether. On 26 August 1849 he arrived in London—a new and, as it turned out, the last place of his exile. After spending a few months in Switzerland, Engels also came to England at the end of 1849. A new phase in their life and work began for both of them.

* * *

Their letters (autumn 1849 till the end of 1851), forming a considerable part of this volume, cover the period which came after the ebbing of the revolutionary tide. By that time, reaction had already triumphed or else reactionary regimes were about to be established in countries recently swept by the revolution. During this period, Marx and Engels set themselves the task of theoretically generalising the experience of the 1848-49 revolution, of further developing the revolutionary theory of the proletariat, and of preserving and training the cadres of the proletarian revolution.

Already at the end of July 1849 Marx wrote to Engels that he 'embarked on negotiations with a view to starting a politico-economic (monthly) periodical in Berlin which would have to be largely written by us two' (p. 207). From the letters that followed we can see how hard he tried to realise his project and how great an importance he attributed to this journal which would allow them successfully to continue with their theoretical and propaganda work, help them to rally the members of the Communist League whom the defeat of the revolution had scattered, and enable them to reorganise and revive the League's activity. This journal which Marx and Engels finally succeeded in starting was the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue,* appearing from January to November 1850. In its columns were published important works of Marxism like Marx's *The Class Struggles in France,* and Engels' *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* and *The Peasant War in Germany,* as well as a series of jointly written international reviews, articles dealing with various questions of theory and tactics of the revolutionary party in the new conditions, and criticisms of anti-proletarian ideological trends (see Vol. 10 of this edition).

The increasing police arbitrariness in Germany, where the journal was printed (in Hamburg) and mainly circulated, and an acute

letters, Marx and Engels showed that factionalism and sectarianism inevitably led to a decline into an anti-proletarian position and an ideological subordination to the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie (see Marx's letter to Hermann Becker of 28 February 1851, and others).

What worried Marx and Engels especially was the fact that the adventurist actions of the Willich-Schapper faction and of the other emigrant groups made it all the easier for the police to stage all sorts of provocations, incite rumours of imaginary 'communist conspiracies', and under this pretext to prosecute people prominent in the workers' movement (see Marx's letter to Engels of 28 May 1851). The arrests of members of the Communist League which began in Germany in May 1851, and the intention of the German authorities to stage a public anti-communist trial, compelled Marx and Engels to make a statement in the press in defence of the detainees (see Marx's letter to Engels of 1 December 1851).

The relations between the proletarian revolutionaries headed by Marx and Engels on the one hand, and the representatives of various emigrant trends of the petty-bourgeois democrats operating in England and the USA on the other, were all the more strained the more evident it became to Marx and Engels that the clamorous campaigns for setting up all kinds of 'revolutionary committees' and provisional governments, for 'revolutionary loans' and so forth, would do more harm than good to the democratic and especially the workers' movement. The rhetorical and ostentatiously revolutionary campaigning of the petty-bourgeois emigrants distracted the workers from their own problems and misled some of them into following the petty-bourgeois leadership. What is more, insinuations and slander against the proletarian revolutionaries were spread from these emigrant circles. There is good reason, therefore, why in their 1851 correspondence Marx and Engels always spoke with such harsh criticism of the empty phrase-mongering, petty intrigues and squabbles indulged in by the leaders of the different German emigrant groups—Arnold Ruge, Gottfried Kinkel, Karl Heinzen, Gustav Struve, and others.

In his two letters (August and December 1851) to the Frankfurt journalist Hermann Ebner, Marx draws strikingly satirical portraits of the leaders of the German petty-bourgeois emigrant groups (pp. 426-33, 499-503). Later, he used these character sketches when, with Engels, he wrote *The Great Men of the Exile* in 1852 (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 258, 281-84, 290-93, etc.).

Marx and Engels strongly criticised all manifestations of class

and nationalistic narrow-mindedness, an erroneous understanding of revolutionary tasks, and also the miscalculations and mistakes of the emigrant circles, among them the French, the Hungarian and the Italian. Thus, in his letters to Weydemeyer of 11 September and to Engels of 13 September 1851, Marx criticised Mazzini, the Italian bourgeois democrat, for ignoring the interests of the exploited Italian peasantry in his plans for the national unification of Italy and its liberation from Austrian domination, and for failing to see in the peasantry one of the principal motive forces of the national liberation movement. Marx emphasised that only the participation of all the working people in this movement could give it real scope and strength, and guarantee its victory. In the above-mentioned letter to Weydemeyer, Marx said that 'the first step towards gaining Italy's independence was the complete emancipation of the peasants and the transformation of their métayage system into bourgeois freeholdings' (p. 455).

Marx and Engels tried to make the best use of the lull that followed the revolution for enriching their revolutionary teaching, and they urged their closest associates and pupils to concentrate on theoretical knowledge. In this period Marx devoted himself mainly to political economy and again pondered on the plan he had conceived in the 1840s of writing a major work on economics. As he worked on this plan it took on a more and more concrete shape and acquired depth and scope; with great meticulousness Marx selected and prepared the necessary material for a critical review of his predecessors' and contemporary scholars' concepts in the field of political economy. In his letter to Engels of 7 January 1851, he criticised for the first time Ricardo's theory of land rent, voiced certain theses of his own theory of rent, and on 3 February set forth his ideas on the theory of money circulation (pp. 258-63, 273-78).

Taking an all-embracing approach to the examination of economic problems, Marx began to study a number of other sciences, among them, technology and agricultural chemistry, the history of economics, and the economies of different countries, particularly of England, then the classical country of capitalism. Both he and Engels concluded from their analysis of the current economic situation that the post-revolutionary industrial upswing was a temporary phenomena, and that a new economic crisis was inevitable (see Engels' letters to Marx of 1 and 23 September and 15 October 1851, and Marx's letter to Engels of 13 October 1851).

It was Marx's intention, arising from his economic studies, to publish a criticism of Proudhon's new book *Idée générale de la*

*Révolution au XIX^e siècle,* and he gave Engels his opinion of it in his letters of 8 and 14 August 1851, assessing it as a work aimed directly against the revolutionary proletarian world outlook. He said that the book as a whole was in the first place 'a polemic against communism' (p. 423), and asked Engels to write him his opinion of it. Marx thought highly of the thorough critical analysis (published in Vol. 11 of the present edition) which Engels sent him about two months later, and wrote to his friend on 24 November 1851: 'I have been through your critique again here. It's a pity *qu'il n'y a pas moyen* [that there's no means] of getting it printed. If my own twaddle were added to it, we could bring it out under both our names...' (p. 492).

At this time, Engels had undertaken a study of the military sciences, realising that in the coming class battles the military aspect was bound to play a major role. On 19 June 1851 he wrote to Weydemeyer: 'Since arriving in Manchester I have been swotting up military affairs... I was prompted to do this by the immense importance which must attach to the *partie militaire* [military aspect] in the next movement, combined with a long-standing inclination on my part, my articles on the Hungarian campaign in the days of the newspaper and finally my glorious exploits in Baden...' (p. 370).

Marx encouraged his friend's studies in every way, and supplied him with materials and information. In his letter of 23 September 1851, for instance, he gave a detailed rendering of the article 'Umrisse des kommenden Krieges' by Gustav Techow, a petty-bourgeois democrat, which had been published in the American press. Analysing in his reply the probable relation of armed revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces in Europe in the event of new revolutionary developments, Engels came up with an important idea about the specific formation of revolutionary armies and their behaviour in battle (pp. 469-71).

Engels' work on his *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* (included in Vol. 11) can be followed from his correspondence with Marx during this period, providing another example of their creative cooperation. At the beginning of August 1851 Marx received an offer from the editor of the *New-York Daily Tribune,* Charles Dana, to become a correspondent of that paper, but as he was fully occupied with political economy at the time, he asked Engels to write a series of articles about the German revolution of 1848-49 (p. 425). His friend agreed at once, and had three articles ready before the end of the year (the rest were written in 1852). In the course of this work Engels kept in constant touch

with Marx who also read the articles before mailing them to the USA.

In his turn, Marx unquestionably conceived the idea for *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* as a result of Engels' letter of 3 December 1851. In it Engels gave his opinion of the Bonapartist coup d'état of 2 December 1851, calling it a sorry parody of the coup d'état of 9 November 1799 (the 18th Brumaire according to the republican calender) accomplished by Napoleon Bonaparte; he compared the Second Republic and its leaders to France during the French Revolution and the leaders of the Jacobins, remembering what Hegel said about the recurrence of historical phenomena. The comparisons made by Engels were so apt that Marx decided to use them in his book (see this volume, p. 505, and present edition, Vol. 11, p. 103).

The materials of this volume show how much their friendship meant to both of them in their theoretical work, party struggle, and private life. It helped Marx to bear up under the incredible hardships which confronted him in London, where he found himself without anything like a regular income and at times with no means of subsistence at all. These constant money worries undermined his health, took up all his strength and much of his time, and distracted him from his important theoretical work. The difficult conditions in which the family had to live are eloquently described in his wife's letters to Joseph Weydemeyer of 20 May and 20 June 1850 (pp. 555-60). It was then, at this most critical moment for Marx, that Engels, proving a true friend capable of self-sacrifice, went back to work in the firm of Ermen & Engels, his money orders from Manchester more than once rescuing the Marx family from catastrophe.

Marx's and Engels' letters to Joseph Weydemeyer, Wilhelm Wolff, Roland Daniels, Ernst Dronke, Adolph Cluss and other members of the Communist League, participants in the revolutionary struggle, show how much both treasured their ties of friendship and mutual assistance, and how concerned they were to further the theoretical and political education of their comrades.

Of great historical interest are the letters written by Marx to Heinrich Heine, Ferdinand Freiligrath, Georg Herwegh (until his break with the latter because of his adventurist schemes at the beginning of 1848). These letters speak of the friendly relations which the founders of Marxism had with outstanding German authors, and of the prestige they enjoyed in the circles of progressive German writers.

* * *

This is the first full publication in English of Marx's and Engels' letters. It includes not only letters previously published in editions brought out in Russian, German, and other languages, but also those discovered after the corresponding volumes of these editions had appeared. The letters are printed in chronological order. The form of existing editions has been followed: the date and place of writing are given at the beginning of the letter, irrespective of how they were in the original; when missing in the original, they are given in square editorial brackets. Obvious slips in the text are corrected without comment. The authors' contractions of personal names, geographical names and single words are given in full, except in cases where the contractions were made for the sake of conspiracy or cannot be deciphered. Defects in the manuscripts, where the text is missing or illegible, are indicated by three dots put in square brackets. If the context allows a presumable reconstruction to be made of the missing or illegible words, these words are also in square brackets. Anything crossed out by the authors is reproduced in the footnotes only where the disparity in meaning is considerable. If a letter is a rough copy, a postscript to someone else's letter, or an extract quoted in another document, this is marked either in the text itself or in the Notes.

Foreign words and expressions in the letters are given in italics. If they were underlined by the authors they are given in spaced italics. Words written in English in the original are given in small caps. Longer passages written in English in the original are placed in asterisks.

Information about undiscovered letters mentioned in the text will be found in the Notes. If a fact or event is referred to in several letters, the same note number is used every time.

Volume 38 contains 239 letters written by Marx and Engels. Of these, 172 are given in English translation for the first time; 67 letters have been published in English before, 37 of them only partially. The earlier English publications are mentioned in the Notes. Of the 17 documents included in the Appendices, only two have been published in English before—George Julian Harney's letter to Engels of 30 March 1846 and Jenny Marx's letter to Joseph Weydemeyer of 17 March 1848.

The results of the scientific work done when preparing for print the first volumes of Section III of Marx/Engels *Gesamtausgabe* (*MEGA*$_2$), a new complete edition of the *Works* of Marx and Engels in the original languages, containing their correspondence during

the given years, were used in the work on the text and reference material of this volume. The dates of some of the letters were ascertained on the basis of the materials contained in these volumes and also the results of additional research.

The volume was compiled, the text prepared and the preface and notes written by Vladimir Sazonov and edited by Lev Golman (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). The name index and the index of periodicals were prepared by Valentina Pekina, the index of quoted and mentioned literature by Yuri Vasin, and the subject index by Marlen Arzumanov (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The translations were made by Peter and Betty Ross and edited by E. J. Hobsbawm, Nicholas Jacobs (Lawrence & Wishart), Richard Dixon, Natalia Karmanova and Margarita Lopukhina (Progress Publishers), and Larisa Miskievich, scientific editor (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The volume was prepared for the press by the editors Margarita Lopukhina, Mzia Pitskhelauri and Anna Vladimirova.

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## LETTERS

October 1844-December 1851

# 1844

## 1

## ENGELS TO MARX[1]

### IN PARIS

[Barmen, beginning of October 1844]

Dear Marx,

No doubt you are surprised, and justifiably so, not to have heard from me sooner; however I still cannot tell you even now anything about my return. I've been stuck here in Barmen for the past three weeks, amusing myself as best I can with few friends and many relations amongst whom, fortunately, there are half a dozen amiable women. Work is out of the question here, more especially since my sister[a] has become engaged to the London communist, Emil Blank, an acquaintance of Ewerbeck's and, of course, the house is now in a hellish state of turmoil. Moreover, it's clear to me that considerable obstacles will continue to be placed in the way of my return to Paris, and that I may well have to spend six months or a whole year hanging about in Germany; I shall, of course, do everything I can to avoid this, but you have no idea what petty considerations and superstitious fears I have to contend with.

I spent three days in Cologne and marvelled at the tremendous propaganda we had put out there. Our people are very active, but the lack of adequate backing is greatly felt. Failing a few publications in which the principles are logically and historically developed out of past ways of thinking and past history, and as their necessary continuation, the whole thing will remain rather hazy and most people will be groping in the dark. Later I was in Düsseldorf, where we also have some able fellows. The ones I like best, by the way, are my Elberfelders, in whom a humane way of

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[a] Marie

thinking has truly become second nature; these fellows have really begun to revolutionise their family lives and lecture their elders whenever these try to come the aristocrat over the servants or workmen—and that's saying a great deal in patriarchal Elberfeld. But besides this particular group there's another in Elberfeld which is also very good, though somewhat more muddled. In Barmen the police inspector is a communist. The day before yesterday I was called on by a former schoolfellow, a grammar school teacher,[a] who's been thoroughly bitten although he's had no contact whatever with communists. If we could bring direct influence to bear on the people, we'd soon get the upper hand, but such a thing is virtually impossible, especially since we writers have to keep quiet if we're not to be nabbed. Otherwise it's safe enough here, no one bothers much about us so long as we keep quiet, and it seems to me that Hess' fears are little more than phantoms. I've not been molested at all here so far, although the public prosecutor once insistently questioned one of our people about me, but up till now I haven't had wind of anything else.

According to the paper here, Bernays has been charged by the government here and taken to court in Paris.[2] Let me know whether this is true, and also how the pamphlet[b] is getting on; presumably it's finished by now. Nothing has been heard of the Bauers here, nobody knows anything about them. On the other hand, every one is still scrambling to get hold of the *Jahrbücher*.[c] My article on Carlyle[d] has, absurdly enough, earned me a tremendous reputation among the 'mass', whereas only very few have read the one on Economy.[e] That's natural enough.

In Elberfeld, too, the clerical gentry have been preaching against us, at least Krummacher has; for the present they confine themselves to the atheism of the young, but I hope this will soon be followed by a philippic against communism. Last summer the whole of Elberfeld talked of nothing but these godless fellows. By and large, the movement here is remarkable. Since I was here last,[3] the Wupper valley has made greater progress in every respect than in the preceding fifty years. Social manners have become more civilised, participation in politics, in the opposition is widespread, industry has made enormous progress,

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[a] Gustav Wurm - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism*. - [c] *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* - [d] F. Engels, 'The Condition of England. *Past and Present* by Thomas Carlyle'. - [e] F. Engels, 'Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy'.

new districts have been added to the towns, entire woods have been grubbed up, and the level of civilisation throughout the region is indeed above rather than below that in Germany as a whole, whereas only four years ago it was far lower. In other words this promises to be first-rate soil for our principle, and if only we can get our wild, hot-blooded dyers and bleachers on the move, the Wupper valley will surprise you yet. As it is, the workers had already reached the final stage of the old civilisation a few years ago, and the rapid increase in crime, robbery and murder is their way of protesting against the old social organisation. At night the streets are very unsafe, the bourgeoisie is beaten, stabbed and robbed; and, if the proletarians here develop according to the same laws as in England, they will soon realise that this way of protesting as *individuals* and with violence against the social order is useless, and they will protest, through communism, in their general capacity as *human beings*. If only one could show these fellows the way! But that's impossible.

My brother[a] is at present a soldier in Cologne and, so long as he remains above suspicion, will provide a good address to which letters for Hess, etc., may be sent. At the moment I myself am not sure of his exact address and cannot therefore let you have it.

Since writing the above I have been in Elberfeld, where I once again came across several communists I had never heard of before. Turn where you will, go where you may, you'll stumble on a communist. A very impassioned communist, a cartoonist and aspiring historical painter by the name of Seel will be going to Paris in two months' time. I'll direct him to you; the fellow's enthusiasm and his painting and love of music will appeal to you, and he may very well come in useful as a cartoonist. It's possible, but not very probable, that I may be there myself by then.

A few copies of *Vorwärts*[4] arrive here and I have seen to it that others place orders as well; ask the dispatch department to send specimen copies to the following in Elberfeld: Richard Roth, Captain Wilhelm Blank *junior*, F. W. Strücker, Meyer, a Bavarian publican in the Funkenstrasse (a communist beerhouse), all to be sent through Bädeker, the communist bookseller, and under sealed cover. Once the fellows see that copies are coming in, they, too, will place orders. Also to W. Müller, M.D., in

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[a] Hermann

Düsseldorf; and, if you like, to d'Ester, M.D., Löllchen,[a] the publican, your brother-in-law,[b] etc., in Cologne. All of them, of course, through the booksellers and under sealed cover.

See to it that the material you've collected is soon launched into the world.[5] It's high time, heaven knows! I too shall settle down to work and make a start this very day. The Teutons are all still very muddled about the practicability of communism; to dispose of this absurdity I intend to write a short pamphlet showing that communism has already been put into practice and describing in popular terms how this is at present being done in England and America.[c] The thing will take me three days or so, and should prove very enlightening for these fellows. I've already observed this when talking to people here.

Down to work, then, and quickly into print! Convey my greetings to Ewerbeck, Bakunin, Guerrier and the rest, not forgetting your wife, and write very soon to tell me all the news. If this letter reaches you safely and unopened, send your reply under sealed cover to F. W. Strücker and Co., Elberfeld, with the address written in as commercial a hand as possible; otherwise, to any of the other addresses I gave Ewerbeck. I shall be curious to know whether the postal sleuth-hounds are deceived by the ladylike appearance of this letter.

Goodbye for the present, dear Karl, and write very soon. I have not been able to recapture the mood of cheerfulness and goodwill I experienced during the ten days I spent with you. I have not as yet had any real opportunity of doing anything about the establishment we are to establish.[d]

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 1, Berlin, 1929

Printed according to the original

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[a] J. A. Löllgen - [b] Edgar von Westphalen - [c] F. Engels, 'Description of Recently Founded Communist Colonies Still in Existence' was published in the *Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1845* and not in pamphlet form. - [d] This seems to refer to some literary plan.

## 2

## MARX TO JULIUS CAMPE

IN HAMBURG

Paris, 7 October 1844
rue Vanneau 38

Messrs Hoffmann and Campe, Booksellers, in Hamburg
Julius Campe, Esq.

Dear Sir,

Engels and I have written a pamphlet of some ten sheets against Bruno Bauer and his supporters.[a]

It deals with themes from philosophy, history and idealism, contains a critique of the *Mystères de Paris*,[b] etc., and will not be without interest for Germany. Nor, by and large, will it be objectionable to the censors.

Should you wish to undertake its publication, I would request you to reply forthwith, since the pamphlet cannot but lose in interest if printing is delayed.[6] If Heine is still in Hamburg, would you be so kind as to convey to him my best thanks for the poems he sent. I have not yet advertised them, as I wish to advertise the first part, the ballads, at the same time.[7]

Yours faithfully
Dr Marx

First published in part in *Das Goldene Tor*, Jg. 2, H. 11/12, 1947, S. 1073 and in full in *Hundertundzehn Jahre Verlag Rütten und Loening. Berlin 1844 bis 1954*, [Berlin, 1954,] S. 28

Printed according to the *Hundertundzehn Jahre Verlag Rütten und Loening* text

Published in English for the first time

[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family*. - [b] Novel by Eugène Sue

## 3

## MARX TO HEINRICH BÖRNSTEIN

### IN PARIS

[Paris, not later than November 1844]

Dear Sir,

Return the Feuerbach sheets[a] to me as soon as you have printed them.[8]

Yours faithfully
Marx

First published as a facsimile in the book: 石浜 知行：闘争の跡を訪ねて [Ishihama Tomoyuki, *In the Trace of Battles*], Tokyo, 1926

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

## 4

## MARX TO HEINRICH BÖRNSTEIN

### IN PARIS

[Paris, autumn 1844]

Dear Sir,

You would greatly oblige me if you would ascertain by Tuesday at the latest whether or not Frank is willing to undertake *publication* of the pamphlet against Bauer.[b]

It is of complete *indifference* to me which way he decides. I can find a foreign publisher any day. Only, in the case of this particular pamphlet, in which *every* word counts, it would be pleasant to have it printed under my own supervision and to be able to correct it personally.

At any rate I beg you to reply speedily.

Ready to reciprocate,

Yours faithfully
Dr Marx

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[a] L. Feuerbach, *Das Wesen des Glaubens im Sinne Luther's.* - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family.*

P.S. Since the pamphlet is directed *against Bauer* and on the whole contains little to which the censor could object, I should hardly suppose that distribution in Germany would present any great difficulty.

First published in *Der Kampf*, Jg. XXI, H. 10, Wien, 1928

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

## 5

## ENGELS TO MARX[9]

### IN PARIS

### *No. 2*

Barmen, 19 November 1844

Dear M.,

About a fortnight ago I received a few lines from you and Bürgers dated 8 October and postmarked Brussels, 27 October.[10] At about the same time you wrote your note, I sent off a letter to you, addressed to your wife,[a] and trust that you received it. In order to make sure in future that our letters are not tampered with, I suggest we number them; thus my present one is No. 2 and, when you write, let me know up to what number you have received and whether one is missing from the series.

A couple of days ago I was in Cologne and Bonn. All goes well in Cologne. Grün will have told you about our people's activities. Hess is thinking of joining you in Paris, too, in a fortnight or three weeks' time, provided he can get hold of sufficient money. You now have Bürgers there as well, and hence enough for a council. You will have all the less need of me and there is all the more need for me here. Obviously I can't come now since it would mean falling out with my entire family. Besides, I have a love affair to clear up first. And after all, one of us ought to be here because all our people need prodding if they are to maintain a sufficient degree of activity and not fall into all manner of shuffling and shifting. Jung, for instance, as well as many others,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 3-6.

cannot be convinced that the difference between us and Ruge is one of principle,[11] and still persists in believing that it is merely a personal squabble. When told that Ruge is no communist, they don't quite believe it and assert that in any case it would be a pity if such a 'literary authority' as Ruge were to be thoughtlessly discarded. What is one to say to that? One must wait until Ruge once again delivers himself of some monumental stupidity, so that the fact can be demonstrated *ad oculos*[a] to these people. I don't know, but there's something not quite right about Jung; the fellow hasn't enough determination.

We are at present holding public meetings all over the place to set up societies for the advancement of the workers[12]; this causes a fine stir among the Teutons and draws the philistines' attention to social problems. These meetings are arranged on the spur of the moment and without asking the police. We have seen to it that half the rules-drafting committee in Cologne consists of our own people; in Elberfeld, at least one of them was on it and, with the help of the rationalists,[13] we succeeded at two meetings in thoroughly trouncing the pious; by a huge majority, everything Christian was banned from the rules.[14] It amused me to see what a ridiculous figure these rationalists cut with their theoretical Christianity and practical atheism. In principle they entirely agreed with the Christian opposition, although in practice, Christianity, which according to their own assertions forms the basis of the society, must nowhere be mentioned in the rules. The rules were to cover everything save the vital principle of the society! So rigidly did the fellows cling to this absurd position that, even without my putting in a single word, we acquired a set of rules which, as things are now, leaves nothing to be desired. There is to be another meeting next Sunday, but I shan't be able to attend because I am leaving for Westphalia tomorrow.

I am up to my eyebrows in English newspapers and books upon which I am drawing for my book on the condition of the English proletarians.[b] I expect to finish it by the middle or the end of January, having got through the arrangement of the material, the most arduous part of the work, about a week or a fortnight ago. I shall be presenting the English with a fine bill of indictment; I accuse the English bourgeoisie before the entire world of murder, robbery and other crimes on a massive scale, and I am writing an English preface[c] which I shall have printed separately and sent to

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[a] visibly - [b] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England.* - [c] F. Engels,'To the Working-Classes of Great Britain'.

English party leaders, men of letters and members of Parliament. That'll give those fellows something to remember me by. It need hardly be said that my blows, though aimed at the panniers, are meant for the donkey, namely the German bourgeoisie, to whom I make it plain enough that they are as bad as their English counterparts, except that their sweat-shop methods are not as bold, thorough and ingenious. As soon as I've finished this, I shall make a start on the history of the social development of the English,[15] which will be still less laborious, since I already have the material for it and have sorted it out in my head, and also because I'm perfectly clear about the matter. Meanwhile I shall probably write a few pamphlets, notably against *List*,[16] as soon as I have the time.

You will have heard of Stirner's book, *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum*,[a] if it hasn't reached you yet. Wigand sent me the specimen sheets, which I took with me to Cologne and left with Hess. The noble Stirner—you'll recall Schmidt of Berlin, who wrote about the *Mystères* in Buhl's magazine[b]—takes for his principle Bentham's egoism, except that in one respect it is carried through more logically and in the other less so. More logically in the sense that Stirner as an atheist sets the ego above God, or rather depicts him as the be-all and end-all, whereas Bentham still allows God to remain remote and nebulous above him; that Stirner, in short, is riding on German idealism, an idealist who has turned to materialism and empiricism, whereas Bentham is simply an empiricist. Stirner is less logical in the sense that he would like to avoid the reconstruction effected by Bentham of a society reduced to atoms, but cannot do so. This egoism is simply the essence of present society and present man brought to consciousness, the ultimate that can be said against us by present society, the culmination of all the theory intrinsic to the prevailing stupidity. But that's precisely what makes the thing important, more important than Hess, for one, holds it to be. We must not simply cast it aside, but rather use it as the perfect expression of present-day folly and, *while inverting it,* continue to build on it. This egoism is taken to such a pitch, it is so absurd and at the same time so self-aware, that it cannot maintain itself even for an instant in its one-sidedness, but must immediately change into communism. In the first place it's a simple matter to prove to

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[a] The book came out at the end of October 1844, though imprinted as 1845. - [b] Review of *Les Mystères de Paris* by Eugène Sue published in *Berliner Monatsschrift*.

Stirner that his egoistic man is bound to become communist out of sheer egoism. That's the way to answer the fellow. In the second place he must be told that in its egoism the human heart is of itself, from the very outset, unselfish and self-sacrificing, so that he finally ends up with what he is combatting. These few platitudes will suffice to refute the *one-sidedness.* But we must also adopt such truth as there is in the principle. And it is certainly true that we must first make a cause our own, egoistic cause, before we can do anything to further it—and hence that in this sense, irrespective of any eventual material aspirations, we are communists out of egoism also, and it is out of egoism that we wish to be *human beings,* not mere individuals. Or to put it another way: Stirner is right in rejecting Feuerbach's 'man', or at least the 'man' of *Das Wesen des Christentums.*[a] Feuerbach deduces his 'man' from God, it is from God that he arrives at 'man', and hence 'man' is crowned with a theological halo of abstraction. The true way to arrive at 'man' is the other way about. We must take our departure from the Ego, the empirical, flesh-and-blood individual, if we are not, like Stirner, to remain stuck at this point but rather proceed to raise ourselves to 'man'. 'Man' will always remain a wraith so long as his basis is not empirical man. In short we must take our departure from empiricism and materialism if our concepts, and notably our 'man', are to be something real; we must deduce the general from the particular, not from itself or, *à la* Hegel, from thin air. All these are platitudes needing no explanation; they have already been spelled out by Feuerbach and I wouldn't have reiterated them had not Hess—presumably because of his earlier idealistic leanings—so dreadfully traduced empiricism, more especially Feuerbach and now Stirner. Much of what Hess says about Feuerbach is right; on the other hand he still seems to suffer from a number of idealistic aberrations—whenever he begins to talk about theoretical matters he always proceeds by categories and therefore cannot write in a popular fashion because he is much too abstract. Hence he also hates any and every kind of egoism, and preaches the love of humanity, etc., which again boils down to Christian self-sacrifice. If, however, the flesh-and-blood individual is the true basis, the true point of departure, for our 'man', it follows that egoism—not of course Stirner's intellectual egoism *alone,* but also the *egoism of the heart*—is the point of departure for our love of humanity, which otherwise is left hanging in the air. Since Hess will soon be with

[a] *The Essence of Christianity*

you, you'll be able to discuss this with him yourself. Incidentally, I find all this theoretical twaddle daily more tedious and am irritated by every word that has to be expended on the subject of 'man', by every line that has to be read or written against theology and abstraction no less than against crude materialism. But it's quite another matter when, instead of concerning oneself with all these phantasms—for such even unrealised man remains until the moment of his realisation—one turns to real, live things, to historical developments and consequences. That, at least, is the best we can hope for so long as we're confined exclusively to wielding a pen and cannot realise our thoughts directly with our hands or, if need be, with our fists.

But Stirner's book demonstrates yet again how deeply abstraction is rooted in the Berliners' nature. Clearly Stirner is the most talented, independent and hard-working of the 'Free',[17] but for all that he tumbles out of idealistic into materialistic abstraction and ends up in limbo. From all over Germany comes news of the progress made by socialism, but from Berlin not a whisper. When property has been abolished throughout Germany these clever-clever Berliners will set up a *démocratie pacifique*[a] on the Hasenheide—but the fellows will certainly get no further. Watch out! A new Messiah will presently arise in the Uckermark, a Messiah who will tailor Fourier to accord with Hegel; erect a phalanstery upon the eternal categories and lay it down as an eternal law of the self-developing idea that capital, talent and labour all have a definite share in the product. This will be the New Testament of Hegelianism, old Hegel will be the Old Testament, the 'state', the law, will be a 'taskmaster over Christ',[b] and the phalanstery, in which the privies are located in accordance with logical necessity, will be the 'new Heaven' and the 'new Earth', the new Jerusalem descending from heaven decked out like a bride,[c] all of which the reader will be able to find expounded at greater length in the new Revelation. And when all this has been completed, Critical Criticism will supervene, declare that it is all in all, that it combines in its head capital, talent and labour, that everything that is produced is produced by *it*, and not by the powerless masses—and sequestrate everything for itself. That will be the end of Berlin's Hegelian [peace]ful democracy.

If *Critical Criticism*[d] is finished, send me a few copies under

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[a] An ironical allusion to the Fourierist newspaper *La Démocratie pacifique* known for its sectarian and dogmatic leanings. - [b] Cf. Galatians 3:24 - [c] Cf. Revelation 21:1 and 2. - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family*.

sealed cover through the booksellers—they might be confiscated. In case you [didn't re]ceive my last letter, I repeat that you can write to me either [...] F. E. *junior, Barmen,* or under sealed cover to F. W. Strücker and Co., Elberfeld. This letter is being sent to you by a roundabout route.

Write soon—it's more than two months since I last heard from you—how goes it with *Vorwärts*? My greetings to all.

Your[a]

[Address on envelope]

À Monsieur Charles Marx
Rue Vanneau N 38
Faubg. St. Germain, Paris

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx,* Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

## 6

## MARX TO HEINRICH BÖRNSTEIN

### IN PARIS

[Copy]

[Paris, end of December 1844-beginning of January 1845]

Dear Sir,

It is impossible for me to let you have the review of Stirner before next week. Therefore deliver the specimen copy without my contribution; Bürgers will let you have an article in its stead.

You shall have my article next week.[18]

Yours faithfully
Marx

First published in *Katalog 211 des Antiquariats Leo Liepmanssohn,* Berlin, 1924

Printed according to the *Katalog* text

Published in English for the first time

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[a] The signature is illegible.

# 1845

## 7

## MARX TO ARNOLD RUGE

IN PARIS

[Paris, 15 January] 1845

To Dr Ruge

I have learned from a reliable source that the Préfecture de Police are now in possession of orders against you, myself and several others, whereby we are to leave Paris within 24 hours and France within the shortest possible time.[19] Börnstein can give you further details. In case you were not yet aware of this news, I deemed it proper to inform you of it.

K. Marx

First published in *Periodikum für wissenschaftlichen Sozialismus*, No. 3, January, Munich, 1959

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

## 8

## ENGELS TO MARX[20]

IN PARIS

[Barmen, about 20 January 1845]

Dear Marx,

If I haven't answered your letter before, it's mainly because I was waiting for the *Vorwärts* you promised me. But as the thing has still not arrived, I've given up waiting, either for that or for

the *Critical Criticism*[a] of which I have no further news whatever. As regards Stirner, I entirely agree with you. When I wrote to you, I was still too much under the immediate impression made upon me by the book.[b] Since I laid it aside and had time to think it over, I feel the same as you. Hess, who is still here and whom I spoke to in Bonn a fortnight ago, has, after several changes of mind, come to the same conclusion as yourself. He read me an article, which he is shortly to publish, about the book[c]; in it he says the same as you, although he hadn't read your letter. I left your letter with him,[21] because he still wished to use some things out of it, and so I have to reply from memory. As regards my removal to Paris, there is no doubt that in some two years' time I shall be there; and I've made up my mind too that at any cost I shall spend 4 to 6 weeks there next autumn. If the police make life difficult for me here, I'll come anyway, and as things are now, it may occur to these scum any day to molest us. Püttmann's *Bürgerbuch*[d] will show us just how far one can go without being locked up or thrown out.

My love affair came to a fearful end.[e] I'll spare you the boring details, nothing more can be done about it, and I've already been through enough over it as it is. I'm glad that I can at least get down to work again, and if I were to tell you the whole sorry tale, I'd be incapable of anything this evening.

The latest news is that from 1 April Hess and I will be publishing at Thieme & Butz's in Hagen the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*, a monthly in which we shall depict social *misère* and the bourgeois regime. Prospectus, etc., shortly.[22] In the meantime it would be a good idea if the poetical *Ein Handwerker*[23] would oblige by sending us material on *misère* in *Paris*. Particularly individual cases, exactly what's needed to prepare the philistine for communism. Not much effort will be involved in editing the thing; contributors enough can be found to supply sufficient material for 4 sheets a month—we shan't have much work to do with it, and might exert a lot of influence. Moreover, Leske has commissioned Püttmann to put out a quarterly, the *Rheinische Jahrbücher*, bulky enough to evade censorship,[24] which is to be communism unalloyed. You too will doubtless be able to have a hand in it. In any case it will do no harm if we have part of our work printed twice—first in a periodical and then on its own and in context; after all, banned

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family*. - [b] M. Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum*. - [c] M. Hess, *Die letzten Philosophen* (published in pamphlet form in June 1845). - [d] *Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1845* - [e] A reference to the German saying (coined in 1809 by Major Ferdinand von Schill).

books circulate less freely and in this way we'll have twice as much chance of exerting an influence. So you see we here in Germany have our work cut out if we're to keep all these undertakings supplied with material and at the same time elaborate greater things—but we shall have to put our backs into it if we're to achieve anything, and that's all to the good when you're itching to do something. My book on the English workers[a] will be finished in two or three weeks, after which I shall set aside four weeks for lesser things and then go on to the historical development of England and English socialism.[25]

What specially pleases me is the general recognition, now a *fait accompli,* which communist literature has found in Germany. A year ago it began to gain recognition, indeed, first saw the light of day, outside Germany, in Paris, and now it's already worrying the German man-in-the-street. Newspapers, weeklies, monthlies and quarterlies, and reserves of heavy artillery coming up—everything's in the best of order. It's certainly happened devilish fast! Nor has the underground propaganda been unfruitful. Every time I visit Cologne, every time I enter a pub here, I find fresh progress, fresh proselytes. The Cologne meeting[b] has worked wonders. One gradually discovers individual communist groups which have quietly evolved without any direct cooperation on our part.

The *Gemeinnütziges Wochenblatt* which was formerly published together with the *Rheinische Zeitung,* is now also in our hands. It has been taken over by d'Ester who will see what can be done. But what we need above all just now are a few larger works to provide an adequate handhold for the many who would like to improve their imperfect knowledge, but are unable to do so unassisted. Do try and finish your political economy book[c], even if there's much in it that you yourself are still dissatisfied with, it doesn't really matter; minds are ripe and we must strike while the iron is hot. Presumably my English things cannot fail to have some effect either, the facts are too convincing, but all the same I wish I had less on my hands so that I could do some things which would be more cogent and effective in regard both to the present moment and to the German bourgeoisie. We German theoreticians—it may be ludicrous, but it's a sign of the times and of the dissolution of the German national filth—cannot yet so much as develop our theory, not even having been able as yet to publish the critique of

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[a] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England.* - [b] See this volume, p. 10. - [c] ibid., p. 6.

the nonsense. But now it is high time. So try and finish *before* April, do as I do, set yourself a date by which you will *definitely have finished,* and make sure it gets into print quickly. If you can't get it printed in Paris, have it done in Mannheim, Darmstadt or elsewhere. But it must come out soon.

The fact that you enlarged the *Critical Criticism* to twenty sheets surprised me not a little. But it is all to the good, for it means that much can now be disseminated which would otherwise have lain for heaven knows how long in your escritoire. But if you have retained my name on the title page it will look rather odd since I wrote barely $1^1/_2$ sheets. As I told you, I have as yet heard nothing from Löwenberg,[a] nor anything about the publication of the book, which I most eagerly await.

Yesterday I received *Vorwärts,* which I haven't seen since my departure. I was greatly amused by some of Bernays' jokes; the fellow can make one laugh so heartily, which I seldom do when reading. For the rest, it is definitely bad and neither interesting nor instructive enough to induce many Germans to take it for any length of time. How does it stand now, and is it true, as I hear in Cologne, that it is to be turned into a monthly [18]? We're so terribly overburdened with work here that you can expect no more than an occasional contribution from us. You over there will also have to bestir yourselves. You should write an article every 4 or 6 weeks for it and not allow yourself to be 'governed' by your moods. Why doesn't Bakunin write anything, and why can't Ewerbeck be induced to write at least something humdrum? Poor Bernays is, I suppose, by now in jug.[b] Give him my regards and tell him not to take this dirty business too much to heart. Two months is not an eternity, although it's dreadful enough. What are the lads doing generally? You tell me nothing about it in your letters. Has Guerrier returned, and is Bakunin writing French? What's become of the lot who used to frequent the Quai Voltaire every evening in August? And what are you doing yourself? How goes it with your situation there? Is the *Fouine*[c] still living under your feet? Not long ago, the *Fouine* again let fly in the *Telegraph.*[d] On the subject of patriotism, needless to say. Splendid how he rides it to death, how he doesn't care a rap, provided he succeeds in demolishing patriotism. Probably that was the substance[e] of

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[a] Löwenberg (lion's mountain) is a pun on Löwenthal (lion's valley), the Frankfort publisher's name. - [b] See this volume, p. 4. - [c] Marten, Arnold Ruge's nickname. - [d] A. Ruge. 'An einen Patrioten', *Telegraph für Deutschland,* Nos. 203 and 204, December 1844. - [e] The original has 'Des Pudels Kern'.—Goethe, *Faust,* Erster Teil, 'Studierzimmer'.

what he refused to give Fröbel. German newspapers recently alleged that the *Fouine* intends to return to Germany. If it's true I congratulate him, but it can't be true, else he'd have to provide himself for the second time with an omnibus with privy, and that's out of the question.

Not long ago I spoke to someone who'd come from Berlin. The dissolution of the *caput mortuum*[a] of The Free[17] would appear to be complete. Besides the Bauers, Stirner also seems no longer to have anything to do with them. The few who remain, Meyen, Rutenberg and Co., carry on serenely, foregathering at Stehely's every afternoon at 2 o'clock, as they have done for six years past,[26] and amusing themselves at the expense of the newspapers. But now they have actually got as far as the 'organisation of labour',[b] and they will get no farther. It would seem that even Mr Nauwerck has ventured to take this step, for he participates with zeal in popular meetings. I told you all these people would become *démocrates pacifiques*.[c] At the same time they have much 'acclaimed' the lucidity, etc., of our articles in the *Jahrbücher*.[d] When next the devil drives I shall begin corresponding with little Meyen; one can, perhaps, derive some entertainment *from* the fellows even if one doesn't find *them* entertaining. As it is, there's never any opportunity here for an occasional outburst of high spirits, the life I lead being all that the most splendiferous philistine could desire, a quiet, uneventful existence, replete with godliness and respectability; I sit in my room and work, hardly ever go out, am as staid as a German. If things go on like this, I fear that the Almighty may overlook my writings and admit me to heaven. I assure you that I'm beginning to acquire a good reputation here in Barmen. But I'm sick of it all and intend to get away at Easter, probably to Bonn. I have allowed myself to be persuaded by the arguments of my brother-in-law[e] and the doleful expression on both my parents'[f] faces to give huckstering another trial and for [...] days have been working in the office. Another motive was the course my love affair was taking. But I was sick of it all even before I

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[a] Literally: dead head; the term is borrowed from the alchemists and figuratively means 'the remnants'. - [b] Probably an allusion to Louis Blanc's *Organisation du travail*. - [c] See this volume, p. 13. - [d] The reference is to the articles published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*: K. Marx, 'On the Jewish Question' and 'Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction' and F. Engels, 'Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy' and 'The Condition of England, *Past and Present* by Thomas Carlyle'. - [e] Emil Blank - [f] Friedrich and Franziska Engels.

began work; huckstering is too beastly, Barmen is too beastly, the waste of time is too beastly and most beastly of all is the fact of being, not only a bourgeois, but actually a manufacturer, a bourgeois who actively takes sides against the proletariat. A few days in my old man's factory have sufficed to bring me face to face with this beastliness, which I had rather overlooked. I had, of course, planned to stay in the huckstering business only as long as it suited me and then to write something the police wouldn't like so that I could with good grace make off across the border, but I can't hold out even till then. Had I not been compelled to record daily in my book the most horrifying tales about English society, I would have become fed up with it, but that at least has kept my rage on the simmer. And though as a communist one can, no doubt, provided one *doesn't write*, maintain the outward appearance of a bourgeois and a brutish huckster, it is impossible to carry on communist propaganda on a large scale and at the same time engage in huckstering and industry. Enough of that—at Easter I shall be leaving this place. In addition there is the enervating existence in this dyed-in-the-wool Christian-Prussian family—it's intolerable; I might end up by becoming a German philistine and importing philistinism into communism.

Well, don't leave me so long without a letter as I have left you this time. My greetings to your wife, as yet a stranger, and to anyone else deserving of them.

For the time being write to me here. If I have already left, your letters will be forwarded.

Your
F. E.

[Address on envelope]

À Madame Marx. Rue Vanneau N 38
*Paris*

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, No. 44, Stuttgart, 1900-01 and in full in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

## 9

## MARX TO HEINRICH HEINE[27]

### IN PARIS

[Paris, end of January-1 February 1845]

Dear Friend,

I hope to have time to see you tomorrow. I am due to leave on Monday.[a]

The publisher Leske has just been to see me. He is bringing out a quarterly[b] in Darmstadt which is not subject to censorship. Engels, Hess, Herwegh, Jung and I, etc., are collaborating with him. He has asked me to solicit your cooperation—poetry or prose. Since we must make use of every opportunity to establish ourselves in Germany, you will surely not decline.

Of all the people I am leaving behind here, those I leave with most regret are the Heines. I would gladly include you in my luggage! Best regards to your wife[c] from mine and myself.

Yours
K. Marx

First published abridged in *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1902 and in full in *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, Jg. 9, Leipzig, 1921

Printed according to the original

## 10

## ENGELS TO MARX[28]

### IN BRUSSELS

Barmen, 22 February-7 March 1845[d]

Dear Marx,

After much writing here and there I have at last received your address from Cologne and at once sit down to write to you. The moment I heard of your expulsion[29] I thought it necessary to

[a] 3 February - [b] *Rheinische Jahrbücher* - [c] Mathilde - [d] In the original the first date is written at the beginning of the letter and the second at the end of it.

open a subscription list, so that the extra expense you have incurred thereby should be shared out communist-fashion between us all. The thing has made good progress and three weeks ago I sent fifty odd talers to Jung; I also approached the Düsseldorfers, who have collected the same amount, and in Westphalia, too, I have instigated through Hess the agitation necessary to that end. Meanwhile the subscription list here has not yet been closed. Köttgen, the painter, has been dragging his feet and thus I am not yet in possession of all the money we can expect. However, I hope everything will have come in within a few days, and then I will send you a bill on Brussels. Since I don't, by the way, know whether this will be enough to enable you to set up house in Brussels, I shall, needless to say, have the greatest pleasure in placing at your disposal my fee for my first English piece,[a] some of which at least I hope will soon be paid me, and which I can dispense with for the time being as my old man[b] is obliged to keep me primed. At least the curs shan't have the satisfaction of seeing their infamy cause you pecuniary embarrassment. The fact that you should have been compelled to pay your rent in advance is the height of turpitude. But I fear that in the end you'll be molested in Belgium too,[30] so that you'll be left with no alternative but England.

However, not a word more of the vile business. Kriege will already be with you by the time this arrives. The fellow's a capital agitator. He will tell you a great deal about Feuerbach. The day after he left here I received a letter from Feuerbach—we had, after all, written to the fellow.[31] Feuerbach maintains that until he has thoroughly demolished the religious piffle, he cannot concern himself with communism to the extent of supporting it in print, and also that, in Bavaria, he is too much cut off from the mainstream of life to be able to do so. However, he says he's a communist and that his only problem is how to practise communism. There's a possibility of his visiting the Rhineland this summer, in which case he must come to Brussels and we'll soon show him how.

Here in Elberfeld wondrous things are afoot. Yesterday we held our third communist meeting in the town's largest hall and leading inn.[32] The first meeting was forty strong, the second 130 and the third at least 200. All Elberfeld and Barmen, from the financial aristocracy to *épicerie*,[c] was represented, only the proletariat being

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[a] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. - [b] Friedrich Engels senior, Engels' father - [c] grocers

excluded. Hess gave a lecture. Poems by Müller and Püttmann and excerpts from Shelley were read, also an article from the *Bürgerbuch* on existing communist colonies.[a] The ensuing discussion lasted until one o'clock. The subject is a tremendous draw. All the talk is of communism and every day brings us new supporters. The Wuppertal communism is *une vérité*,[b] indeed, already almost a force. You have no idea how favourable the soil is here. The most stupid, indolent, philistine people, hitherto without any interest in anything in the world, are beginning almost to rave about communism. How long it will still be tolerated I do not know, but the police at any rate are completely at a loss, themselves not knowing where they stand, and just at a time when the chief swine, the District President, is in Berlin. But should they impose a ban, we'll find some way round it and if we can't, we'll at least have stirred things up so mightily that every publication representing our interest will be voraciously read here. As I shall be leaving at Easter, it is all to the good that Hess should settle here and at the same time publish a monthly[c] at Bädeker's in Elberfeld; Kriege, I believe, has a prospectus of this.[22] In any case, as I have probably told you already, I shall be going to Bonn.[d] My projected journey to Paris has now fallen through, there no longer being any reason for me to go there, but anyhow I shall be coming to Brussels instead, the more so since my mother and two sisters[e] will be visiting Ostend in the summer. I must also pay another visit to Bielefeld and the communists there[33] and, if Feuerbach doesn't come, I shall go to him and then, provided I have the time and the money, visit England once again. As you see, I have a good deal ahead of me. Bergenroth told me that he, too, would probably be going to Brussels in a few weeks or so. Together with some Düsseldorfers, he attended our second meeting, at which he spoke. Incidentally, standing up in front of real, live people and holding forth to them directly and straightforwardly, so that they see and hear you is something quite different from engaging in this devilishly abstract quillpushing with an abstract audience in one's 'mind's eye'.

I am to request you once more on Hess' behalf—and do so on my own as well—to send Püttmann something for his quarterly.[f] It's essential that we all appear in the very first issue, so that the

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[a] F. Engels, 'Description of Recently Founded Communist Colonies Still in Existence'. - [b] a reality - [c] This refers to the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*. - [d] See this volume, p. 19. - [e] Apparently, Elise and Hedwig. - [f] *Rheinische Jahrbücher*

thing acquires some character. In any case, without us it will never so much as materialise.

25 February

Yesterday evening we got news that our next meeting was to be broken up by gendarmes and the speakers arrested.

26 February

Yesterday morning the chief burgomaster[a] forbade Mrs Obermeyer to permit such meetings on her premises, and I received a tip to the effect that if the meeting was held notwithstanding, arrest and prosecution would follow. We have now of course given it up and can only wait and see whether we shall be prosecuted, though this seems hardly likely as we were wily enough not to provide a pretext, and the whole dirty business could only lead to the government's being made a terrible fool of. In any case the public prosecutors and the entire district court were present and the chief prosecutor himself took part in the discussion.

7 March

Since writing the above I have spent a week in Bonn and Cologne. The people in Cologne are now permitted to hold their meeting in connection with the Association.[34] As regards matters here,[32] a rescript has come in from the Düsseldorf government whereby further meetings are forbidden. Hess and Köttgen have protested. Won't do any good, of course, but these people will see from the tone of the protest that they can't get the better of us. Hess is once more tremendously sanguine because in all other respects everything is going so famously and we have made really tremendous progress. The good fellow is always full of dreams.

Our *Gesellschaftsspiegel* will be splendid, the first sheet has already been censored and everything passed. A mass of contributions. Hess is living in *Barmen,* in the *Stadt London.* It seems unlikely that Bergenroth will come to Brussels in the immediate future, though someone else will, whose name I won't mention as this letter will probably be opened. If it can somehow be managed, I too shall come to see you again in April. At the moment my chief problem is money, since the meeting caused

[a] Johann Adolph Carnap

some family ructions, after which my old man made up his mind to support me only as regards my '*studia*' but not as regards communist aims of any description.

There's a whole lot more I should tell you if I knew of a safe address in Brussels, which in any case you must send me. Much of what has happened here could be harmful to a great many people if perused in a *cabinet noir*.[35] I shall stay here, then, another four weeks and leave for Bonn at the beginning of April. Anyhow, write to me again before then, so that I know how things are with you. Most of the money has been collected, though I don't yet know what it amounts to; it will be sent off directly. My manuscript[a] will be leaving any day now.

The *Critical Criticism* has *still not arrived!*[36] Its new title, *The Holy Family,* will probably get me into hot water with my pious and already highly incensed parent, though you, of course, could not have known that. I see from the announcement that you have put my name first. Why? I contributed practically nothing to it and anyone can identify your[b] style.

Let me know by return whether you are still in need of money. Wigand is due to send me some in about a fortnight's time and then all you have to do is dispose of it. I fear that the outstanding subscriptions will not amount to more than 120 or 150 francs.

Apropos, we here are planning to translate Fourier and, if at all possible, to produce a 'library of the best foreign socialist writers'.[37] Fourier would seem to be the best to start off with. We've found people to do the translation. Hess has just told me about a Fourier glossary brought out in France by some Fourierist or other. You will know of it. Could you send me particulars at once and, if possible, post me a copy. At the same time recommend what French writings you think suitable for translation for our 'library'. But look sharp; the matter is urgent, as we are already negotiating with a publisher.[c] How far have you got with your book? I must now get down to my manuscript,[38] so goodbye for the present and write directly about the points I have mentioned.

Your
F. E.

Greetings to Kriege and Bürgers.
Is Bernays there?

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[a] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England.* - [b] The manuscript is damaged here, but the text is decipherable. - [c] Julius Theodor Bädeker

[On the fourth page of the letter]

À Madame Marx. Bois Sauvage, Plaine S^te^ Gudule,
Chez Monsieur J. B. Lannoy, Bruxelles

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, No. 44, Stuttgart, 1900-01 and in full in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913

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## 11

## ENGELS TO MARX[28]

### IN BRUSSELS

Barmen, 17 March 1845

Dear Marx,

Hess gave me your letter yesterday.[39] As regards the translations, the whole thing is not yet at all organised. I wanted Fourier—omitting, of course, the cosmogonic nonsense[40]—translated in Bonn by people there under my own eyes and my own direction and, the publisher being willing, to issue it as the first instalment of the proposed 'library'. I talked this over occasionally with Bädeker, the publisher of the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*, and he seemed not disinclined, although he lacks the necessary finances for a *larger* 'library'. But if we produce it in this form, we would doubtless be better advised to give it to Leske or somebody else equally able to spend something on it. As for translating the things *myself*, I simply won't have the time this summer as I have to finish the English things. The first of them[a] went off to Wigand this week and since I stipulated that he pay me 100 talers on receipt of the manuscript, I expect to receive money in a week or a fortnight, and be able to send it to you. Meanwhile, there are fr. 122.22 c. on Brussels due 26 March.[b]

Herewith the remainder of the subscriptions; if the business hadn't been so dreadfully held up by the Elberfelders, who could have got at least twenty more talers out of their *amis-bourgeois*,[c] the amount would have been larger and have reached you sooner.

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[a] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. - [b] The words 'fr. 122.22 c. on Brussels due 26 March' were probably added dy Stephan Adolph Naut. - [c] bourgeois friends

To return to the library, I don't know whether it would be best to produce the things in *historical* sequence. Since Frenchmen and Englishmen would necessarily have to take turn and turn about, the continuity of the development would be constantly interrupted. In any case I believe that it would be better here to sacrifice *theoretical* interest to practical effectiveness, and to start off with the things which have most to offer the Germans and are closest to our principles; the best, that is, of Fourier, Owen, the Saint-Simonists, etc.

Morelly might also appear fairly early on. The historical development could be briefly outlined in the introduction to the series. In this way, even with the arrangement as proposed, people could easily find their bearings. We could do the introduction together—you taking France and I England; this might actually be possible when I come to see you, as I intend to do in three weeks' time. At least we could discuss the matter. But at all events it seems to me essential to start off with things that make a practical, effective impact upon the Germans and save us from repeating what others have said before us. If we were to seek to give a collection of sources on the history of socialism or rather, its history as revealed in and through the sources, a considerable time would, I fear, elapse before we finished it and, moreover, the thing would become boring. Hence I propose that we only use material whose positive content—at least the major part of it—is still of use today. Since you will be providing a *complete* critique of politics,[5] Godwin's *Political Justice* as a critique of politics from the political standpoint and the standpoint of the citizen and society, would, despite the many excellent passages in which Godwin touches on communism, be excluded. And this more especially since, at the *end* of his work, Godwin comes to the conclusion that man must emancipate himself as much as possible from society and use it simply as a luxury article (*Political Justice,* II, Vol. 8, Appendix to Chapter 8), and is altogether distinctly anti-*social* in his conclusions. However, it was a very long time ago that I made excerpts from the book, when many things were still not clear to me, and I must in any case look through it again, for it may well be that there's more to the thing than I found at the time. But if we include Godwin, we cannot leave out his auxiliary, Bentham, although the fellow's so tedious and theoretical.

Write to me about this and then we can consider further what is to be done. Since the idea occurred to both of us, it must be put into effect—the 'library', I mean. Hess will certainly be delighted to have a hand in it, and so will I, once I have the time—as Hess

now has, having nothing to do at present save edit the *Gesellschaftsspiegel.*

If we're agreed on the principles, we can thrash out the details and at once get down to work during my visit, which I shall promote even more zealously with this in mind.

The *Critical Criticism*[a]—I think I've already told you it had arrived—is quite outstanding. Your expositions of the Jewish question, the history of materialism and the *Mystères*[b] are splendid and will make an excellent impact. But for all that the thing's too long. The supreme contempt we two evince towards the *Literatur-Zeitung*[c] is in glaring contrast to the twenty-two sheets we devote to it. In addition most of the criticism of speculation and of abstract being in general will be incomprehensible to the public at large, nor will it be of general interest. Otherwise the book is splendidly written and enough to make you split your sides. The Bauers won't be able to say a word. By the way, if Bürgers reviews it in Püttmann's first volume,[d] he might mention the reason—namely my short ten days' stay in Paris—why I covered so little ground, restricting myself to what could be written without delving more deeply into the matter. Anyway, it looks odd, my having but 1 $^1/_2$ sheets in the thing while you have over 20. You'd have done better to have omitted the piece on the 'conditions of prostitution'. It's too slight and altogether unimportant.

It's curious that another of my plans besides the library should have coincided with yours. I too intended to write a critique of List[e] for Püttmann.[41] Fortunately I learned of your intention in good time through Püttmann. As I wished to discuss List *practically,* to develop the *practical* consequences of his system, I shall enlarge somewhat on one of my Elberfeld speeches (the transactions are to appear in Püttmann's publication) in which I dealt briefly with this among other things.[32] In any case I assume from Bürgers' letter to Hess and from my knowledge of your personality that you will deal with his *premises* rather than with his conclusions.

Just now I'm leading a real dog's life. The business of the meetings[f] and the 'dissolute conduct' of several of our local communists, with whom I, of course, consort, have again aroused all my old man's religious fanaticism, which has been further exacerbated by my declared intention of giving up the huckstering

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family.* - [b] E. Sue, *Les Mystères de Paris.* - [c] *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* - [d] *Rheinische Jahrbücher* (the review of *The Holy Family* did not appear in the journal). - [e] See this volume, p. 11. - [f] ibid., pp. 22-24.

business for good and all—while my public appearance as a communist has also fostered in him bourgeois fanaticism of truly splendid proportions. Now put yourself in my place. Since I am going away in a fortnight or so, I don't want to cause ructions; I never take umbrage and, not being used to that, they are waxing bold. If I get a letter it's sniffed all over before it reaches me. As they're all known to be communist letters they evoke such piously doleful expressions every time that it's enough to drive one out of one's mind. If I go out—the same expression. If I sit in my room and work—communism, of course, as they know—the same expression. I can't eat, drink, sleep, let out a fart, without being confronted by this same accursed lamb-of-God expression. Whether I go out or stay at home, remain silent or speak, read or write, whether I laugh or whether I don't—do what I will, my old man immediately assumes this lamentable grimace. Moreover my old man's so stupid that he lumps together communism and liberalism as 'revolutionary', and, whatever I may say to the contrary, is constantly blaming me, e.g. for the infamies perpetrated by the English *bourgeoisie* in Parliament. In any case it is now the season of piety in this house. A week ago today a brother and sister of mine[a] were confirmed, today the whole tribe went toddling off to Communion—the body of the Lord did its work; this morning the doleful expressions surpassed themselves. *Pour comble de malheur*[b] I spent yesterday evening with Hess in Elberfeld, where we held forth about communism until two in the morning. Today, of course, long faces over my late return, hints that I might have been in jug. Finally they plucked up enough courage to ask where I had been.—With Hess.—'With Hess! Great heavens!'—Pause, intensified Christian dismay in their faces.—'What company you keep!'—Sighs, etc. It's enough to drive one mad. You have no idea of the malice of this Christian persecution of my 'soul'. Now all my old man has to do is to discover the existence of the *Critical Criticism* and he will be quite capable of flinging me out of the house. And on top of it all there's the constant irritation of seeing that nothing can be done with these people, that they positively *want* to flay and torture themselves with their infernal fantasies, and that one can't even teach them the most platitudinous principles of justice. Were it not for my mother, who has a rare fund of humanity—only towards my father does she show no independence whatever—and whom I really love, it would not occur to me for a moment to make even

[a] Rudolf and Hedwig - [b] To make matters worse

the most paltry concession to my bigoted and despotic old man. But as it is, my mother is making herself ill with her constant fretting, and every time she gets particularly upset about me, she is afflicted with headaches for a week. It's more than I can bear, I must get away, and hardly know how I shall be able to stand the few remaining weeks here.[42] But they'll pass somehow.

Otherwise there's nothing new here. The bourgeoisie talk politics and go to church; what the proletariat does we know not and indeed could hardly know. The address to which you sent your last letter is still safe for the time being. This evening I hope to obtain the money, and Köttgen has just assured me that, as soon as he has more time—in a few days—he will be able to scrape up some more. But I don't altogether credit this; Köttgen is ready and willing if he has a chance to shine, but otherwise is good for nothing and does nothing. *Adios.*

Your
E.

First published in extracts in *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle,* Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1902 and in full in *MEGA,* Abt. III, Bd. 1, 1929

Printed according to the original

## 12

## MARX TO HEINRICH HEINE[43]

IN PARIS

Brussels, [24 March 1845]
rue Pachecho vis-à-vis
de l'hôpital St. Jean, No. 35

Dear Heine,

If I write you no more than a few lines today, you must excuse me on the grounds of the multifarious vexations I have had with the Customs.

Püttmann in Cologne has requested me to ask you if you couldn't possibly send a few poems (perhaps also your German

fleet?)[a] for the *Jahrbuch*[b] in Darmstadt, a periodical *not subject to censorship.* You can address the material to me. The latest date—but you'll probably have something immediately to hand—is 3 weeks hence. My wife sends her cordial regards to yourself and your wife.[c] The day before yesterday[d] I went to the local Administration de la sûreté publique,[e] where I had to state in writing that here in Belgium I would publish nothing about current politics.

Renouard and Börnstein have had your *Wintermärchen* printed in Paris, New York being given as the place of publication, and have offered it for sale here in Brussels. This pirated edition is said, in addition, to be teeming with printer's errors. More another time.

Yours
Marx

First published in *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung,* Jg. 9, Leipzig, 1921

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## 13

## MARX TO ZACHARIUS LÖWENTHAL

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

Brussels, 9 May [1845]
rue de l'Alliance, hors de la porte de Louvain, No. 5
c/o: M. Reinhard

Dear Sir,

I would request you to send *forthwith,* in my name and at my expense—you may again draw a bill on me, including therein the postage on this letter—3 copies of the *Holy Family* to Paris, to Mr *Herwegh,* rue Barbet-Jouy, Faub. St. Germain, Mr *Heine,* rue du Faub. Poissonniére No. 46, and to Mr *Bernays,* 12, rue de Navarin. I have had letters from various quarters complaining that no copies are to be had in *Paris.*

Yours faithfully
Dr Marx

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[a] H. Heine, 'Unsere Marine'. - [b] *Rheinische Jahrbücher* - [c] Mathilde - [d] 22 March 1845 - [e] police headquarters

You may draw the bill on me forthwith, but I would request you once again to send off the copies in question *immediately*.

[In Engels' handwriting]

Mr Herwegh, rue Barbet-Jouy, Faubg. St. Germain,
Mr H. Heine, rue du Faubourg Poissonniére 46, both in Paris; similarly Mr Bernays, 12, rue de Navarin, Paris.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

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## 14

## ENGELS TO MARIE ENGELS[28]

### IN BARMEN

Brussels, Saturday, 31 May 1845

Dear Marie,

To my regret I must today inform you that I shall be unable to be present at your wedding,[a] the reason being the difficulties I have encountered over a passport. Last Wednesday I went to the Administration de la sûreté publique[b] and demanded a passport for Prussia. After some waiting and a lengthy discussion about my emigration and the fact that I could not obtain a passport from the Prussian envoy, I was finally informed that since I had only just arrived, I could not get a passport from him. If I had lived here a little longer, he—Mr Hody, the Directeur of the sûreté publique—would have been empowered to give me passports, but in the circumstances he could not. In any case, foreigners who settled here usually arrived with passports still valid for a year or six months, and hence his instructions were to give visas to newly arrived foreigners, but not to issue them with passports. Incidentally, if I had one or two connections, I would undoubtedly obtain a passport at the Foreign Affairs Ministry. I do indeed have such connections, namely in the person of a German doctor who had actually promised to obtain a passport for me should I run into difficulties. But this doctor was himself married only a fortnight ago and went to the Wallonian watering-places for his honeymoon.

[a] with Emil Blank on 3 June 1845 - [b] police headquarters

He returned on Thursday and it was not till yesterday evening that I succeeded in seeing him; he was very willing to help, but he immediately told me that, since he was unable to go to the ministry before this morning, I couldn't possibly get my passport until the day after tomorrow—Monday—and hence must put off my trip until Monday evening or Tuesday morning. I told him that I couldn't wait as long as that, but he again declared that it wouldn't be possible to help me obtain it any sooner; anyhow, he said, he was willing to try again. Well, this morning he sent me a note saying he had indeed made inquiries in person and would be unable to obtain a passport for me before Monday, maybe not until Monday evening. I replied at once, telling him to spare himself further exertion, as in that case I should have to abandon my trip altogether.

As you and the others will readily understand, I would only expose myself to unpleasantness, my other circumstances being what they are, were I to attempt to cross the border without a passport—which, indeed, Mr Hody advised me against, my exit permit being valid *pour sortir de la Prusse, mais pas pour y rentrer*,[a] so it would seem that I must remain here and celebrate your wedding on my own and in my thoughts—sorry though I am for it. Anyhow you may be sure that I shall spend the whole day thinking of you and Emil,[b] and that my best wishes will accompany you in marriage and on your honeymoon, although I shall not have the pleasure of expressing them orally. What I wish you above all is that the love which has brought you together and has made your relationship as beautiful, humane and decent as any I have encountered, will accompany you throughout your lives, help you to surmount all adversity with ease and be the making of your happiness. I rejoice wholeheartedly over your marriage because I know that you cannot be anything but happy in your life together and that—after you have been joined together—neither of you will be disappointed in the other. You may be sure that, of the many good wishes that will be proffered you, none is more sincerely meant, none is more cordial nor warmer than mine! As you know, of all my brothers and sisters, I loved you the best and you were the one in whom I always had most confidence—so you will believe what I say, without any need for solemn asseverations and unnecessary verbiage. Once again, I wish that your love may always remain constant, and there is much else I wish you besides—what, you will be able to guess. Be happy!

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[a] for leaving Prussia, but not for returning there - [b] Emil Blank

Well, I hope I shall soon receive a letter from Mrs Blank, for I expect Mrs Blank to take just as much interest in me as did Miss Engels. At all events I hope that, after a happy wedding and a happy honeymoon, I shall see you both this summer at Ostend or in England, and till then, once again farewell!

Warmest regards to everyone

Your devoted

Friedrich

First published in *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 45, Bd. 4, Stuttgart und Leipzig, 1920

Printed according to the original

## 15

## ENGELS TO JULIUS CAMPE[28]

### IN HAMBURG

Brussels, 14 October 1845
7, rue de l'Alliance

Dear Sir,

From your esteemed letter[44] I perceive that there is some misapprehension on your part as regards the line we would take in the work we proposed to you for publication.[45] We have no intention of defending protective tariffs any more than free trade, but rather of criticising both systems from our own standpoint. Ours is the communist standpoint, which we have advocated in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, the *Holy Family*, the *Rheinische Jahrbücher*, etc.,[a] and from which, too, my book *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* is written. As you will appreciate, this altogether precludes the submission of our work to the censor, and hence we cannot agree to the same. Should you, however, desist from this and be otherwise inclined to accept the work, we would beg you to be so good as to let us know before we enter into other commitments.

Yours very truly

F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

Printed according to the typescript

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[a] The journals mentioned carried Marx's 'On the Jewish Question' and 'Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction' and Engels' 'Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy' and 'The Condition of England. *Past and Present* by Thomas Carlyle'.

# 1846

## 16

## ENGELS TO MARIE BLANK

IN LONDON

Brussels, 7 March 1846
7, rue de l'Alliance, Saint-Josse-ten-Noode

Dear Marie,

Great was my joy on hearing the news that you had been blessed with a strong, sturdy boy[a] who bears a close resemblance to your beloved spouse. I should have long since sent you my congratulations, having had Mother's notification in my pocket for almost six days now. But so ordinary a letter of congratulation is so ordinary and ceremonious a thing that I should have been truly ashamed to send off promptly by return a polite, conventional communication of this kind to you, my most dearly beloved sister. On the contrary, I have waited six days in order that you may see that I speak from the heart. Anyone can send congratulations by return, but to wait six days is only possible for someone who is particularly affectionate; to send congratulations by return proves absolutely nothing and when done for purely formal reasons is in any case hypocrisy. To wait six days is to show proof of a deep emotion which cannot find expression in words. For that same reason I shall desist from sending the customary good wishes to the young comrade and for a long string of little brothers and sisters to follow him. This last would be superfluous, especially as you are in London where Queen Victoria sets so excellent an example,[46] and besides enough space will probably be left at the end of this letter to enable you to copy out for yourself a sufficiency of choice felicitations, benisons, etc., etc., from whichever letter writer's vade-mecum you may happen to light upon. True, I am sorry that, through your agency, I should already have become an uncle at the age of 26, being in any case too young for that and wanting in the necessary decorum. But the fact that little Elise has already become an aunt at the age of

[a] Friedrich

twelve, which is much worse, is some consolation and I can but assure you that I shall be as diligent as possible in the performance of my duties (of which I am totally ignorant) as uncle, provided you think it worth your while to explain them to me in detail beforehand. As I have seven more fellow-sufferers, co-aunts and co-uncles,[a] the one-eighth of the duties devolving upon myself will not in any case prove so very onerous and that is a further consolation. I am happy you are well and that I am too, and hope to see you in Ostend this summer at the latest. I am truly curious to observe you as a mama and to see what effect the earnestness of life, to which as 'wife and mother' you are now obliged to pay heed, has had on you. Lest that effect should become too great, I have written in as jovial a manner as possible. But I would ask you for a reply, a reply, what's more, that gives some hint of the earnestness of life, of the wife and mother, of the painstaking materfamilias or, as the Dutch would say, *welgeliefde Echtgenoot*.[b] So now it is your turn to write when you have the opportunity.

Love to Mother, Emil and Hermann.

Your
Friedrich

First published in: *Friedrich Engels, 1820-1895. Leben und Werk. Eine Ausstellung der Stadt Wuppertal bearbeitet von Dieter Dowe*, Bonn-Bad-Godesberg, 1970

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## 17

## ENGELS TO EMIL BLANK

### IN LONDON

Brussels, 3 April 1846
7, rue de l'Alliance, St. Josse-ten-Noode

Dear Emil,

Be so kind as to send me £6—or approx. 150 fr.—by *return of post*. I shall let you have it back in a week or two. My old man isn't sending the money I was expecting on 1 April; apparently he

[a] There were eight children in the Engels family—Frederick, Hermann, Emil, Rudolf, Anna, Hedwig, Elise and Marie. - [b] dearly beloved spouse

intends to bring it with him when he comes for your child's[a] christening. But I've now got 150 fr. worth of things in pawn which I must redeem before my people arrive and therefore must have that amount at once. The whole mess is due to the fact that throughout this winter I have hardly earned a farthing from my writing and hence my wife[b] and I have had to live almost exclusively on the money I was receiving from home, and that wasn't so very much.[47] Since I now have a fair number of manuscripts either half or completely finished, this isn't very likely to happen to me again. So send me the money and, as soon as I've had my remittance from home, I'll return it.

Your brother Fritz was here these few days and went home yesterday morning. In conclusion I would again enjoin discretion *sur le contenu de cette lettre.*[c]

With regards,
Your
F.

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## 18

## MARX TO HEINRICH HEINE[48]

IN PARIS

Brussels, [beginning of April 1846]
rue de l'Alliance, 5,
hors de la porte de Louvain

My dear Heine,

I am taking advantage of the passage through here of Mr Annenkov, a most engaging and cultured Russian and the bearer of this note, to convey my kindest regards to you.

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[a] Friedrich - [b] Mary Burns - [c] concerning the contents of this letter

A few days ago a short lampoon against you happened to fall into my hands—posthumous letters of Börne's.[a] I should never have held him to be so dull, petty and inept as he here reads in black and white. And what miserable rubbish, too, the addendum by Gutzkow, etc. I shall be writing a detailed review of your book on Börne[b] for a German periodical. A more clumsy treatment than that suffered by this book at the hands of these Christian-Teutonic jackasses would be hard to find in any period of literature, and yet there's no lack of clumsiness in Germany of whatever period.

If perchance you should have anything 'special' to tell me about your piece, do so quickly.

Yours
K. Marx

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## 19

## MARX TO PIERRE-JOSEPH PROUDHON[49]

IN PARIS

Brussels, 5 May 1846

My dear Proudhon,

I have frequently had it in mind to write to you since my departure from Paris, but circumstances beyond my control have hitherto prevented me from doing so. Please believe me when I say that my silence was attributable solely to a great deal of work, the troubles attendant upon a change of domicile,[50] etc.

And now let us proceed *in medias res*[c]—jointly with two friends of mine, Frederick Engels and Philippe Gigot (both of whom are in Brussels), I have made arrangements with the German communists and socialists for a constant interchange of letters which will be devoted to discussing scientific questions, and to keeping an eye on popular writings, and the socialist propaganda

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[a] L. Börne, *Urtheil über H. Heine. Ungedruckte Stellen aus den Pariser Briefen* (the book contained passages from Börne's letters to Jeannette Wohl with attacks on Heine). - [b] *Heinrich Heine über Ludwig Börne.* Hamburg, 1840 (Marx's review has not been found). - [c] to the matter in hand

that can be carried on in Germany by this means.[51] The chief aim of our correspondence, however, will be to put the German socialists in touch with the French and English socialists; to keep foreigners constantly informed of the socialist movements that occur in Germany and to inform the Germans in Germany of the progress of socialism in France and England. In this way differences of opinion can be brought to light and an exchange of ideas and impartial criticism can take place. It will be a step made by the social movement in its *literary* manifestation to rid itself of the barriers of *nationality*. And when the moment for action comes, it will clearly be much to everyone's advantage to be acquainted with the state of affairs abroad as well as at home.

Our correspondence will embrace not only the communists in Germany, but also the German socialists in Paris and London.[52] Our relations with England have already been established. So far as France is concerned, we all of us believe that we could find no better correspondent than yourself. As you know, the English and Germans have hitherto estimated you more highly than have your own compatriots.

So it is, you see, simply a question of establishing a regular correspondence and ensuring that it has the means to keep abreast of the social movement in the different countries, and to acquire a rich and varied interest, such as could never be achieved by the work of one single person.

Should you be willing to accede to our proposal, the postage on letters sent to you as also on those that you send us will be defrayed here, collections made in Germany being intended to cover the cost of correspondence.

The address you will write to in this country is that of Mr Philippe Gigot, 8 rue de Bodenbroek. It is also he who will sign the letters from Brussels.

I need hardly add that the correspondence as a whole will call for the utmost secrecy on your part; our friends in Germany must act with the greatest circumspection if they are not to compromise themselves.

Let us have an early reply[53] and rest assured of the sincere friendship of

Yours most sincerely

Karl Marx

P.S. I must now denounce to you Mr Grün of Paris. The man is nothing more than a literary swindler, a species of charlatan, who seeks to traffic in modern ideas. He tries to conceal his ignorance

with pompous and arrogant phrases but all he does is make himself ridiculous with his *gibberish*. Moreover this man is *dangerous*. He *abuses* the connection he has built up, thanks to his impertinence, with authors of renown in order to create a pedestal for himself and compromise them in the eyes of the German public. In his book on 'French socialists'[a] he has the audacity to describe himself as tutor (*Privatdozent*, a German academic title) to Proudhon, claims to have revealed to him the important axioms of German science and *makes fun* of his writings. Beware of this parasite. Later on I may perhaps have something more to say about this individual.

[From Gigot]

It is with pleasure that I take advantage of the opportunity offered by this letter to assure you how glad I am to enter into relations with a man as distinguished as yourself. Meanwhile, believe me,

Yours most sincerely

Philippe Gigot

[From Engels]

For my part, I can only hope, Mr Proudhon, that you will approve of the scheme we have just put to you and that you will be kind enough not to deny us your cooperation. Assuring you of the deep respect your writings have inspired in me, I remain,

Yours very sincerely

Frederick Engels

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## 20

## MARX TO KARL LUDWIG BERNAYS

### IN SARCELLES

Brussels, 7 May [1846]

Dear Mr Bernays,

The fee due to you for your manuscript—500 fr.—will be paid at the end of the month.[54] In accordance with the contract with

[a] K. Grün, *Die soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien*.

the bookseller-publisher, debts are not payable until after publication of the manuscripts.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servant

Dr Charles Marx

First published in *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 1977, Budapest, Tomus XXIII, Nr. 3-4

Printed according to *Acta Historica...*

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

## 21

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

### IN SCHILDESCHE NEAR BIELEFELD

Brussels, 14-16 May [1846]

Dear Weiwi,

Herewith a belated letter. All manner of things have intervened. I had already intended to write to you from Liège[55] as arranged. But because of money problems I was averse to doing so. I readily put off such problems from one day to the next. But eventually, of course, one has to take the plunge.

You will shortly be getting an *official* letter from here.[56] The manuscripts will be with you shortly.[a] The second volume is almost ready. As soon as the manuscripts for the first volume arrive (better to send them in *two* consignments) it would be most desirable that printing should begin.[57]

As to your idea about Limburg, it may be all right for pamphlets; books of more than 20 sheets are best printed in Germany proper. I think I've found a way of doing this which 1.

[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology* and other works intended for publication in the planned quarterly.

will *nominally* leave Meyer out of it altogether, 2. will make things very difficult for the governments and 3. strongly commends itself insofar as the dispatch arrangements would be placed in very efficient hands.

*Vogler,* who resides here and has a commission agent[a] in *Leipzig,* a man chiefly engaged in the dissemination of books liable to confiscation, would, you see, take over the whole bookselling side. The books themselves would be printed in Germany. In each case the *editor* would appear as publisher, i.e. *'Published by the Author'.* Vogler has offered his services on the following terms which I quote word for word from one of his letters to me[b]:

'In return for 10 per cent of the *receipts at the Fair* I undertake responsibility for all charges such as dispatch, carriage, delivery, cash collection, commission and the like, provided the books are delivered to me carriage paid Leipzig.'

Thus Vogler would make out the invoices here, and the books would be sent from the place of publication direct to his commission agent in Leipzig. The place of publication should not, of course, be in *Prussia.* Vogler's account would be settled at each Easter Fair.

It seems to me that for the time being this would be the best course for books of more than 20 sheets. For pamphlets, your suggestion is certainly a good one. As regards a joint-stock bookseller I shall see what I can do. At all events it will create difficulties.

If Meyer agrees to Vogler's proposal we could start at once—it would only be necessary to find some *place of publication outside Prussia.*

I had got thus far when your next letter arrived, the one addressed to Ph. Gigot as well as to me personally. Engels is sitting beside me at this moment to reply to the part concerning us all.[58] I frankly admit that the news it contains has affected me rather disagreeably.

I am, as you know, in a serious financial predicament. In order to make ends meet for the time being here, I recently pawned the last of the gold and silver as well as a large part of the linen. Moreover, so as to economise, I have given up our own establishment for the present and moved to the Bois Sauvage here. Otherwise I should have had to hire a new maid as the youngest child[c] is now being weaned.

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[a] A. T. Thomas - [b] of 9 May 1846 - [c] Laura, born in September 1845.

I have vainly cast around in Trier (*chez* my mother) and in Cologne *chez* one of her *business acquaintances* with a view to borrowing the 1200 fr. I need to set my affairs in order again. Hence the news about the booksellers is all the more unwelcome since I had hoped to get this money as an advance on the Political Economy.[59]

No doubt there are sundry bourgeois in Cologne who would probably advance me the money for a definite period.[60] But some time ago these people adopted a line that in principle is diametrically opposed to my own, and hence I should not care to be beholden to them in any way.

As to the fee for the publication, only the half for volume 1 is due to me, as you know.

As though one's own misfortunes were not enough, I, as editor of the publication, am also getting a stream of urgent letters, etc., from every quarter. There is, in particular, the unpleasant matter of *Bernays*. As you know, he had already received 104 fr. on account through you. Bernays had given a bill of exchange due 12 May (to his baker), he couldn't pay, so it had to be protested, which gave rise to further expenses, etc., etc. Now the baker wants to have him *locked up*. He wrote to me; I, of course, couldn't help him, but to put the matter off temporarily, took the only possible course:

1. wrote a *fruitless* letter to Herwegh[61] in Paris, asking him to forward the amount to Bernays pending the appearance of his essay[54];

2. wrote a letter in French to Bernays to keep his creditor at bay if need be, in which I informed him that, on publication, he would receive a fee amounting to so and so much.[a] Whereupon the citizen granted him an extension until 2 June. Bernays is liable for the expenses of the protest, etc., *120 fr.* (I can't remember the exact sum).

As you can see, *misère* on all sides! At this moment I'm at a loss what to do.

Some other time I shall write you a more substantial letter. You must excuse my silence on the grounds that all this financial stress has come on top of much work, domestic duties, etc.

Farewell.

Yours
M.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 40-41.

My wife and I send our warm regards to your betrothed.[a]

Be it noted, and to anticipate any misunderstandings, that *Hess* has *nothing more* due to him from the two volumes I am now editing; on the contrary he still has some to *hand back* to us.[62]

My private address: Au Bois Sauvage. Chez M. Lannoy, Plaine Ste Gudule, N. 19.

When writing to me *privatum* address letters: À Mr Lannoy, Plaine Ste Gudule, Bruxelles, under cover.

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Published in English for the first time

## 22

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN BRUSSELS

Ostend, 27 July 1846
11, rue St. Thomas

Dear Marx,

I've been out on several occasions hunting for lodgings for you, but I haven't found anything much. Either too large or too small. Seldom *two* habitable rooms together, the bedrooms for the most part wretchedly cramped. *Enfin*[b] yesterday I discovered 2 lodgings *au choix*[c]: 1. two large rooms, first and second floor respectively; each with bed, for 95 fr. a month, 30 fr. extra for the third bed, breakfast $^1/_2$ fr. a day per head or stomach. 2. a small house belonging to the same *propriétaire*, one living-room downstairs, upstairs two communicating bedrooms, one of them tolerably large, and a closet, at 150 fr. a month. Breakfast *même prix*.[d] Whoever takes the house will have a maid's services included. The two rooms mentioned above are part of a restaurant, *'au duc de Brabant', rue du lait battu*, so meals could be had there if required. But in this respect you'd be quite independent there. At all events you would do well, if you are considering one of these two lodgings, to put up at the *'duc de Brabant'*, it's cheaper than an hotel and, should you not like the rooms, you can ask the woman

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[a] Louise Lüning - [b] At last - [c] for your choosing - [d] same price

there to show you the house, which is situated in the *rue des sœurs blanches* No. 5, and if that doesn't suit you either, you will no doubt find another. By the way, as compared with last year, there's been a fearsome rise in the cost of lodgings as of everything, or rather, 'and the same for everything'. Fr. 5 will cover the cost of dinner for the whole of your family, beef-steak 1 fr., cutlets *idem*, wine 2-3 fr. Beer bad, cigars bad and expensive, you'd be well advised to bring a few 100 from Brussels, in which case you can assume that the following table of expenses is correct:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| per month | Accommodation | fr. | 125-fr. | 150 | |
| | Breakfast ..... | " | 45- " | 45 | (if you sometimes eat by the sea) |
| | Dinner ..... | " | 150- " | 175 | |
| | Supper, 2-3 beef-steaks ..... | " | 60- " | 90 | (people stuff themselves here) |
| | Afternoon coffee on the beach, very necessary, 2 cups | " | 18- " | 18 | |
| | Laundering is very dear, at least | " | 20- " | 30 | (In addition bathing @ fr. 1.30-fr. 1.50— Appr. 40 fr.) |
| | | fr. | 418-fr. | 508 | |

Besides this it would be desirable to have another 100 fr. for INCIDENTAL EXPENSES, for without it you can be very bored here. You needn't stay here more than a month. Only those with broken backs, or who are complete and utter wrecks both inside and out, stay any longer. But you must so arrange the rent that, should you stay beyond the month, the additional period is paid *à tant par jour,*[a] otherwise they will charge you for a full half month if you stay two days longer.

For the rest, life is very sluggish here. During the first few days a boring philistine from Barmen, *la bête des bêtes,*[b] was, with the exception of my family and imposed upon me by the same, my

[a] at so much a day - [b] a monumental ass

one and only companion. Yesterday Blank, whom you know, arrived from London and through him I at last made the acquaintance of a Frenchman *qui a beaucoup d'esprit*[a] and who is an altogether excellent fellow, although he has spent 15 years in Elberfeld and speaks German *par conséquent*.[b]

'Finally I would touch on' the Mrs Hess affair. It's bad, but one cannot possibly let her suffer for the stupidities of the aforementioned Hess; I shall therefore try to smuggle her across the border if, that is, I get enough money from my old man for the journey to Paris, which is still not sure. Send the enclosed scribble to the beloved man of God[c] in Cologne, to cheer him up. So the woman is in Brussels already?

Great men there are none here. They don't arrive till August. No one has yet divulged the identity of the great Germans who are due to arrive. For the time being, therefore, I must content myself with the Prussian Bank project.[63] It's farcical that the gents should imagine they're going to make a lot of money out of it. A few of these big bankers, who want to become 'major stockholders' and conclude their secret agreements with the bureaucrats, e.g. to the effect that their shares are not redeemable, that they are introduced by stealth onto the main board, etc., may perhaps allow themselves to be persuaded. But no one else. Delightful that 'neither the *subscribers* nor the *amounts subscribed* are to be made known'. This means that they're expecting damned little money and are seeking, in true bureaucratic fashion, to cover themselves to some extent in case of failure.

Write soon and let me know whether you're coming and when.[64]

Your
E.

[a] who has a very lively mind - [b] as a result - [c] Moses Hess, see this volume, p. 47.

Yesterday these visions were to be seen in the sea by male and female spectators alike.

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## 23

## ENGELS AND MARX TO MOSES HESS

### IN COLOGNE

Ostend, 27 July 1846
rue St. Thomas, 11

Dear Hess,

As you see, I am no longer writing to you from Brussels. I shall remain here until 10 August and shall probably be leaving Brussels for Paris on the 11th. Marx has sent your letter on to me here. I shall gladly do my utmost to smuggle your wife[a] across the border, but all the same it's unfortunate that she should not have a passport. As I had already left Brussels a few days before her arrival, I know nothing of the whole affair except what you tell me in your letter. As I have said, I will do my utmost.

Your
Engels

[Brussels, about 29 July 1846]

Dear Hess,

In forwarding you these lines from Engels, I would only add that your wife is *quite cheerful.* Seiler is her squire and has introduced her to Vogler and wife, with whom she consorts almost daily. My wife cannot do very much as she is very unwell and mostly has to keep to her bed.

Your
M.

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[a] Sibylle

I was just about to send this letter off when I read your announcement about Ruge in the *Kölnische Zeitung.*[a] Since the printing of our stuff may be much delayed, I would advise you to get back your article on Ruge.[62] You will be able to use nearly all of it.

I wrote and asked the Westphalians[b] to send the manuscript to Daniels.[65] If he has not yet got it, arrange for the article on Ruge to be sent by them direct to you.

What sort of a book is this of Heinzen's[c]? And what does Dottore Graziano write about you? Write and tell me.

[On the back of the letter in Karl Marx's and Jenny Marx's handwriting]

Mr M. Hess in Cologne
Hand to Mr Gottschalk, M. D.

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## 24

## MARX TO CARL FRIEDRICH JULIUS LESKE[66]

### IN DARMSTADT

[Draft]

[Brussels,] 1 August [1846]

Dear Sir,

Your letter in which you expressed your doubts about publication was answered *by return.* As to your query about its 'scientific character', I replied that the book is scientific, but not scientific as understood by the Prussian government, etc. If you would cast your mind back to your first letter, you then wrote in considerable anxiety because you had been cautioned by the Prussians and were then under investigation by the police. I at once wrote to you, saying that I would look around for another publisher.

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[a] M. Hess, 'Erklärung', *Kölnische Zeitung,* No. 209, 28 July 1846, supplement, announcing Hess' forthcoming article on A. Ruge. - [b] J. Meyer and R. Rempel - [c] A reference to K. Heinzen's collection *Die Opposition* with A. Ruge's articles 'Der teutsche Kommunismus' and 'Der Rabbi Moses und Moritz Hess'.

I *received* yet another letter from you in which, on the one hand, you cancelled publication and, on the other, agreed that the advance be repaid in the form of a draft on the new publisher, whoever it might be.

If you received no further answer to this, it was because I believed I should very shortly be able to give you a *positive* answer, i.e. notification of another publisher. How this came to be delayed, you will presently hear. That I accepted *as a matter of course* your proposal about the repayment of the *advance* will be evident to you from the fact that, at the only place where I took steps to secure publication, I stipulated at the same time that the 1,500 fr. were to be repaid to you on acceptance of the manuscript. The *proof* of this can be produced *at any time. Engels* and *Hess,* by the by, are witnesses.

On the other hand you will recall that in Paris, as in the written contract, *nothing* was agreed about how revolutionary the form of the work was to be, and that, on the contrary, I even believed it necessary at the time to bring out both volumes simultaneously, because the publication of the *first* volume would entail the banning or confiscation of the second. *Heinrich Bürgers* from Cologne was present and can vouch for this. *Legally* speaking you were not therefore *entitled* to lay down new conditions or to refuse to publish as I, for my part, am not bound, from the *legal* viewpoint, either to repay the advance or to accede to your new proposals, or to modify my work. It hardly *needs saying* that I could not for a moment consider adopting a *legal* attitude towards you, more especially since you, for your part, were not contractually obliged to pay me an advance, which I was bound to regard, and did regard, *purely as a friendly gesture.* Though, hitherto, I have often and unhesitatingly released *publishers* (e.g. Wigand and Fröbel in the matter of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher,* and other publishing houses, as you will presently hear) from their contractual and legally enforceable obligations, despite great financial loss, it has *never* occurred to me to deprive any publisher of a single penny, even when I could *legally* do so. Why I should have made an exception *precisely in the case of yourself,* who had done me a particular favour, I utterly fail to understand.

Now as to the delay in replying:

Several capitalists in Germany[a] had agreed to publish a number of writings by myself, Engels and Hess.[67] In this case there was even a prospect of a really extensive series that would be totally

[a] J. Meyer and R. Rempel

immune from the attentions of the police.[68] Moreover, publication of my *Kritik der Ökonomie,* etc., had been virtually assured through a friend of these gentlemen.[a] This same friend remained in Brussels until May so as to convey safely across the border the manuscript of the first volume of the publication brought out under my editorship and with the cooperation of Engels, etc.[b] From Germany he was to write to me, letting me know definitely whether or not the *Nationalökonomie* had been accepted. Such news as I got was indeterminate and a short while ago, after the greater part of the manuscript of the second volume of that publication had been dispatched to Germany, these gentlemen finally wrote informing me that the whole business had come to *nothing,* their capital being employed elsewhere. Hence the delay in giving you a definite reply. When everything had been settled, I arranged with Mr *Pirscher* of Darmstadt, who was staying here, to convey a letter to you from me.

Because publication had been agreed upon with the German capitalists, I had discontinued work on the *Ökonomie.* For it seemed to me very important to *precede* my *positive* development with a polemical piece against German philosophy and *German socialism* up till the present. This is necessary in order to prepare the public for the viewpoint adopted in my Economy, which is diametrically opposed to German scholarship past and present. It is, by the way, the same polemical piece I had already mentioned in one of my letters to you as having to be completed before the publication of the *Ökonomie.*

So much for that.

My answer to your latest letter is as follows:

I. In the event of your not publishing the work, I herewith declare it *to be understood* that you will recover the advance *in the manner you have stipulated.*

But it must be equally understood that, should I receive from another publisher a *fee* less than that agreed on with you, you will share the loss with me, since it was because of you, not me, that recourse had to be had to another publisher.

II. There is a prospect of publication for my book. The day before yesterday I received a letter from Germany[c] in which I was advised of the intention to start a joint-stock company for the publication of communist works, which will be happy to make its début with my book. However, I regard the thing as still so

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[a] Joseph Weydemeyer - [b] See this volume, p. 41. - [c] A reference to Hess' letter to Marx of 28 July 1846.

uncertain that I shall, if necessary, address myself to other publishers.

III. Since the all but completed manuscript of the first volume of my book has been lying idle for so long, I shall not have it published without revising it yet again, both as regards matter and style. It goes without saying that a writer who works continuously cannot, at the end of 6 months, publish *word for word* what he wrote 6 months earlier.

There is the further point that the *Physiokraten* in 2 folio volumes did not come out until the *end of July* and will not be arriving here for several days yet, although their publication was announced while I was still in Paris. Full account must now be taken of these.

So much of the book will now be rewritten that it could appear even under *your* imprint. After approval of the manuscript you would, moreover, be at liberty to bring it out under a foreign imprint.

IV. As to dates: because of my very impaired state of health, I am having to take salt-water baths at Ostend during August; moreover I shall be busy editing the 2 volumes of the above-mentioned publication. Hence nothing much can be done during August.

The revised version of the first volume will be ready for publication at the *end of November*. The 2nd volume, of a more historical nature, will be able to follow soon after it.

V. I have already told you in an earlier letter that, partly because of the fresh material collected in England,[69] and partly because of the requirements that have come to light as work proceeded, the manuscript will exceed the agreed number of sheets by more than 20 printed sheets. Since the contract had already been concluded, I had made up my mind, as you will recall from an earlier letter, to be content with the *agreed* fee, although the number of sheets had been increased by about $^1/_3$. It would have spoiled the book had I brought out the fresh material separately. Not for a moment would I object to bearing a commercial loss in the interests of the work. Nor would I wish either to break the *contract* or to *impair* the effect of the book itself.

But since your earlier letter indicated that the resumption of the contract is a matter for me to decide, I feel compelled to include a new condition whereby the printed sheets over and above the agreed number are paid for on the same scale. This request seems to me all the more just as I shall in any case make very little out of

the work because of my trip to England and my stay there undertaken solely on its account, and because of the large amount of very expensive literature I had to purchase.

Finally, if it can be done on some kind of reasonable terms, I would like the work to appear under your imprint, since you have always adopted such a liberal and friendly attitude towards me.

If need be, I could produce numerous letters I have received from Germany and France as proof that this work is most eagerly awaited by the public.

Yours faithfully
Dr Marx

I beg you to reply *by return* to the following address: à *Mr Lannoy*. Au Bois Sauvage, Plaine Ste Gudule, N. 19, Bruxelles.

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## 25

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN BRUSSELS

[Paris,] 19 August 1846
Cercle Valois, Palais Royal

Dear Marx,

Arrived here at last Saturday evening after a fatiguing journey and much tedium.[70] Immediately ran into Ewerbeck. The lad is very cheerful, completely tractable, more receptive than ever; in short I hope that—given a little patience—he and I will come to see pretty well eye to eye in all things. There are no longer any complaints about party strife—for the simple reason that he himself has been compelled to elbow out some of the Weitlingians here. Little has as yet transpired about what actually took place between him and Grün to create a breach between them; all we

know is that Grün, by adopting now a fawning, now an arrogant, manner, was able to retain his more or less respectful affection. Ewerbeck has no illusions whatever about Hess, *il n'a pas la moindre sympathie pour cet homme-là.*[a] In any case he has long nourished a private hate against him, going back to the time they lodged together. I duly reprimanded him about the Westphalians.[71] That oaf Weydemeyer had written Bernays a Westphalianly lachrymose letter in which those noble fellows Meyer and Rempel were portrayed as martyrs in a good cause, gladly sacrificing their all, but whom we had rejected with contempt, etc.; and those two gullible Teutons, Ewerbeck and Bernays, sit down together, bemoan our hardness of heart and contentiousness and take the lieutenant at his word. Such superstition can scarcely be credited.

Grün has swindled the workers out of some 300 fr. on the pretext of having a pamphlet of 1 $^1/_2$ sheets printed in Switzerland.[b] Now the money's coming in, but the workers aren't getting a penny of it. Now they're beginning to dun him for it. Ewerbeck realises how foolish it was of him to introduce this fellow Grün among the artisans. He is now afraid to accuse Grün publicly before them because he believes him capable of giving everything away to the police. But what a gullible fellow this Ewerbeck is! The wily Grün had *himself* told Ewerbeck all about his shabby tricks—but presenting them, of course, as undiluted heroic acts *des Dévouements,*[c] and Ewerbeck swallows every word he says. Of the fellow's earlier knaveries he knew only as much as the DELINQUENT himself had thought fit to tell him. Ewerbeck, by the way, has warned Proudhon against Grün. Grün is back here, living away over in Ménilmontant, and scribbling the most dreadful articles for the *Trier'sche.*[d] Mäurer has translated the relevant passages from Grün's book[e] for Cabet; you can imagine Cabet's rage. He has lost all credit even with the *National.*

I went to see Cabet. The old boy was extremely cordial, I listened to all his stuff, told him about God and the devil, etc. I shall go there more often. But we must not bother him with the correspondence.[51] Firstly, he has enough to do and secondly, he's too mistrustful. *Il y verrait un piège*[f] for making improper use of his name.

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[a] He has not the slightest sympathy for that man. - [b] K. Grün, *Die preussischen Landtags-Abschiede.* - [c] of sacrifice - [d] *Trier'sche Zeitung* - [e] K. Grün, *Die soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien.* - [f] He would see it as a trap.

I have been leafing quickly through Feuerbach's *Das Wesen der Religion* in *Epigonen*. Apart from a few happy insights, the thing's entirely in the old style. At the beginning, where he confines himself purely to natural religion, he is compelled to remain on rather more empirical ground, but later on it's all at sixes and sevens. Once again full of 'essence', 'Man', etc. I'll read it properly and very soon send you excerpts from the principal passages if they are interesting, so that you'll still be able to use it for the Feuerbach.[72] Meanwhile two passages only.[a] The whole—some 60 pages—opens with the following definition of nature as opposed to the human essence:

'The essence that is different from and independent of the human essence *or God* (!!), whose portrayal is the "Essence of Christianity" (1), the essence *without* human essence (2), human attributes (3), human individuality (4), *is in truth nothing other* than—*nature*' (p. 117).

This is truly a masterpiece of tautology blared forth in tones of thunder. Not only that, but in this proposition he identifies the religious, imaginary *phantom* of nature wholly and entirely with real nature. *Comme toujours.*[b]—Again, a little further on:

'Religion is the acceptance and acknowledgement of that which I am (!) ...To elevate dependence on nature to consciousness, to picture it to oneself, to accept, acknowledge it, means to *elevate oneself to religion*' (p. 118).

Not long ago the minister, Dumon, was caught in his shirt-tails with the wife of a president. The *Corsaire-Satan* relates: 'A lady who had petitioned Guizot said, "It is a pity that so excellent a man as Guizot *est toujours si sévère et boutonné jusqu'au cou.*"[c] Says the wife of an *employé* of *travaux publics,*[d] *"On ne peut pas dire cela de M. Dumon, on trouve généralement qu'il est un peu trop déboutonné pour un ministre*".'[e]

*Quelques heures après,*[f] during which time I paid a fruitless visit to the Café Cardinal to oblige little Weill—little Weill is somewhat riled because he isn't getting his fees of 1,000 or so francs from the *Démocratie pacifique* which appears to be embroiled in a kind of GREAT CRISIS AND STOPPING OF CASH PAYMENTS, and little Weill is too much

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[a] *Das Wesen der Religion* is quoted below according to the collection *Die Epigonen,* Bd. 1, Leipzig, 1846. (The end of the second quotation is paraphrased.) - [b] As always. - [c] is always so strict and buttoned up to the neck. (Here and below is a close rendering of items in the *Corsaire-Satan* of 16 and 17 August 1846.) - [d] a public works official - [e] One cannot say as much of Mr Dumon, he is usually thought to be a little too much unbuttoned for a minister. - [f] Some hours later.

of a Jew to allow himself to be fobbed off with banknotes on the first phalanstery of the future. By the way, the Fourierist gents become daily more tedious. The *Phalange* is nothing but nonsense. The information contained in Fourier's posthumous work is confined entirely to the *mouvement aromal*[a] and the mating of the planets which would appear to take place *plus ou moins*[b] from behind. The mating of Saturn and Uranus engenders dung-beetles—which in any case the Fourierists themselves are—but the chief dung-beetle is the Irishman, Mr Hugh Doherty, who in fact isn't even a dung-beetle but only a dung-grub, a dung-larva—the poor creature is floundering about for the tenth time (*10me article*) in the *question religieuse*[c] and still can't discover how he can decently make his EXIT.

I haven't yet seen Bernays. But according to Ewerbeck he isn't getting along too badly and his worst complaint is boredom. The man is said to have grown very robust and healthy, his main activity, gardening, having apparently vanquished care so far as his human frame is concerned. He also, *dit-on*,[d] holds the goats by the horns when his—? wife?—, who can only be thought of between two question marks, is milking them. The poor devil naturally feels ill at ease in these surroundings; save for Ewerbeck who goes there weekly, he doesn't see a soul, potters about dressed in a peasant's blouse, never leaves Sarcelles, which is the most wretched village on this earth and doesn't even have a pub, in short, he's bored to death. We must see if we can get him back to Paris; within a month he would be his old self again. Since Börnstein, in his capacity as informer, must not know of my presence here, we have first written to Bernays[73] suggesting a rendezvous in Montmorency or somewhere else in the neighbourhood; afterwards we shall haul him off to Paris and spend a few francs on thoroughly cheering him up. That will make a different man of him. By the way, don't let him suspect that I've written to you about him in this vein; in his high-flown romantic mood, the good lad might feel it to be a moral injury.

The best of it is that in the house at Sarcelles there are 2 women, 2 men, several children, one of them dubious, and despite all this *on n'y tire pas un coup*.[e] They don't even practise pederasty. *C'est un roman allemand*.[f]

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[a] aromatic movement - [b] more or less - [c] H. Doherty, 'La question religieuse', *La Phalange*, T. IV, 1846. - [d] it is said - [e] not a thing happens there - [f] It's a German novel.

*Madame Hess cherche un mari. Elle se fiche de Hess. S'il se trouverait quelque chose de convenable, s'adresser à Madame Gsell, Faubourg St. Antoine.*[a] There's no hurry since the competition isn't keen. Answer soon.

Your
E.

Address: 11, rue de l'arbre sec.

It goes without saying that anything I tell you now or later about Ewerbeck, Bernays and other acquaintances is strictly confidential.

I am not sending this post paid as I am short of money and can't expect any before 1 October. But on that day I shall send a bill of exchange to cover my share of postal expenses.

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## 26

## ENGELS TO THE COMMUNIST CORRESPONDENCE COMMITTEE[74]

IN BRUSSELS

Paris, 19 August 1846
11, rue de l'arbre sec

*Committee*

*Carissimi,*[b]

Our affair will prosper greatly here. Ewerbeck is quite taken up with it and only asks that a committee should not be officially organised in too great haste, because there's a split in the offing. What remains here of the Weitlingians, a small clique of tailors,[75] is now in process of being thrown out, and Ewerbeck thinks it

[a] Mrs Hess is on the look-out for a husband. She doesn't give a fig for Hess. If there should happen to be something suitable, apply to Madame Gsell, Faubourg St. Antoine. - [b] Dear Friends

better that this should be accomplished first. However, Ewerbeck doesn't believe that more than four or five of the people here will be available for the correspondence, which number is, indeed, fully adequate. In my next letter I hope to let you know who they are.

These tailors are really astounding chaps. Recently they were discussing quite seriously the question of knives and forks, and whether these had not best be chained.[a] But there are not many of them.

Weitling himself has not replied to the Parisians' last, very rude letter, procured for him by us. He had demanded 300 fr. for practical experiments in connection with his invention,[76] but remarked at the same time that the money had probably been thrown down the drain. You can imagine what sort of answer they gave him.

The cabinet-makers and tanners, on the other hand, are said to be capital fellows. I have not yet seen them. Ewerbeck manages all that with his usual circumspection.

I shall now give you some gleanings from French periodicals, those, of course, which are not to be had in Brussels.

P. Leroux's monthly is almost entirely taken up with articles on St.-Simon and Fourier by P. Leroux himself.[b] In these he exalts St.-Simon to the skies, and does all he can to detract from Fourier and present him as an imitator who has debased and falsified St.-Simon. Thus he is at great pains to prove that the *Quatre Mouvements*[c] are no more than a materialistically conceived plagiarism of *Lettres d'un habitant de Genève.* The fellow's quite mad. Because at one point the latter work maintains that a system which is an encyclopaedic compendium of all the sciences could best be realised by the reduction of all phenomena, etc., to *pesanteur universelle,*[d] it must be from this, we are told, that Fourier derived his whole theory of attraction. Needless to say, none of the evidence, quotations, etc., provide adequate proof that Fourier had even read the *Lettres* when he wrote the *4 Mouvements.* On the other hand the whole Enfantin trend is described as Fourierism surreptitiously introduced into the school. The paper is called *Revue Sociale, ou solution pacifique du problème du prolétariat.*

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[a] Probably in canteens which the utopian socialists planned to set up by way of experiment. - [b] P. Leroux, 'Saint-Simon et Fourier' (third article from *Lettres sur le fouriérisme*), *Revue Sociale,* No. 11, August 1846. - [c] Ch. Fourier, *Théorie des quatre mouvements et des destinées générales.* - [d] universal gravity

Of the reformist newspaper congress,[77] the *Atelier* relates after the event[a] that, not having attended, it was very surprised to find itself on the list of papers represented there. *Le peuple de la presse*[b] had been kept out until the bases of the reform had been decided upon, and when the doors were then thrown open to the *ouvrier*[c] papers so that they might vote their assent, it had thought it beneath its dignity to go there. The *Atelier* further relates that 150 *ouvriers,* probably Buchezists—which party, the French assure us, is about 1,000 strong—held a banquet, without police permission on 29 July to celebrate the July Days.[d] The police intervened and, because they refused to undertake not to make political speeches or sing any of Béranger's songs, they were dispersed.

Mr Wigand's *Die Epigonen* are here. A dreadful din is heard as Mr Wigand vents his indignation. 'An A. Ruge.' He reproaches the latter with the common misfortunes both have endured during the past four years. Ruge, he says, was unable—in Paris—'to go hand-in-hand with *fanatical communism*'. Communism is a condition

> 'hatched out in its own, ignorant brain, a *narrow-minded* and *ignorant piece of barbarism* which is to be forcibly imposed on mankind'.

Finally he brags about the great things he will do 'so long as enough lead remains in the world to make type'. The *candidat de la potence,*[e] you see, has not yet given up hope of becoming the *candidat de la lanterne.*[f]

I would draw your attention to the article in today's *National* (*mercredi*[g] 19) on the fall in the number of Parisian voters since 1844 from over 20,000 to 17,000.

Yours
E.

Paris has sunk low. Danton is selling wood in the Boulevard Bourdon. Barbaroux keeps a calico shop in the rue St. Honoré, the *Réforme* no longer has the strength to demand the Rhine, the opposition is searching for talent and cannot find it, the bourgeois gentry go to bed so early that everything has to be closed by 12

[a] Reference to the article 'Du manifeste de la presse liberale' in *L'Atelier,* No. 11, August 1846. - [b] The members of the press - [c] workers' - [d] Engels relates the article 'Un Banquet interrompu', *L'Atelier,* No. 11, August 1846. (July Days—revolution of 27-30 July 1830). - [e] candidate for the gallows - [f] candidate for the lamppost. An allusion to the ambiguous position of bourgeois radicals who were threatened with government repressions (gallows) for opposition, and in case of revolution—with reprisals by the people (lamppost) for hostility towards communist aspirations. - [g] Wednesday

o'clock, and *la jeune France*[a] accepts it without turning a hair. The police would certainly not have been able to enforce this had it not been for the early business hours kept by principals, whose motto is: 'Morgenstunde hat usw.'[b]

Mr Grün's pamphlet, printed at the workers' expense, is the one I once saw at Seiler's: *Die preussischen Landtags-Abschiede. Ein Wort zur Zeit* (anonymous); it consists mainly of plagiarisms from Marx's essays (*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*)[c] and monumental nonsense. To him, questions of 'political economy' and of 'socialism' are *identical.* Absolute monarchy developed as follows:

'The Prince created for himself an *abstract domain,* and this intellectual domain was called—the State. The State became the domain of domains; as the ideal of the domain it abolishes the individual domain, just as it lets it subsist, and always abolishes it when it seeks to become absolute, independent, etc.'

This 'intellectual' domain, Prussia, 'almost immediately becomes transformed into a domain in which prayers are said, a *clerical* domain'[d]!! The consequence of all this is: Liberalism in Prussia has already been *overcome* in *theory, hence* the Imperial Estates will no longer concern themselves with bourgeois questions but *directement*[e] with the social question.

'The slaughtering and milling tax is *what really betrays the nature of taxes,* to wit it betrays the fact *that every tax is a poll tax.* But whoever raises a *poll tax is saying:* "Your heads and bodies are my own, you are bound to me *head and body*".... The slaughtering and milling tax *matches absolutism too well,* etc.'

For two years the jackass has been paying *octroi*[f] without realising it, believing that such a thing exists only in Prussia. Finally, apart from a few plagiarisms and stock phrases, this little pamphlet is *liberal* through and through, and German-liberal to boot.

It is generally held by the workers here that the *Garantien*[g] was *not* written by Weitling *alone.* Besides S. Schmidt, Becker, etc., several Frenchmen are said to have provided him with material and in particular he had manuscripts of one Ahrens, of Riga, a worker in Paris, now in America, who also wrote the main part of *Die Menschheit wie sie ist und sein soll.* The people here once wrote

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[a] young France - [b] 'Morgenstunde hat Gold im Munde' (early to bed, early to rise makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise) - [c] K. Marx, 'On the Jewish Question' and 'Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction'. - [d] Engels puns on the words *geistige* (intellectual) and *geistliche* (clerical). - [e] directly - [f] city tolls on imported consumer goods existing since the Middle Ages - [g] W. Weitling, *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit.*

to him in London and told him as much, whereat he became exceedingly angry and simply replied that this was slanderous.

[On the back of the letter]

Monsieur Charles Marx, 19, Plaine Ste Gudule, Bruxelles

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 1, 1929

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## 27

## MARX TO KARL LUDWIG BERNAYS[78]

IN SARCELLES

[Brussels, August 1846]

Only when one previously critically combats these existing (for the sake of brevity let us say 'bad') tendencies, can one write a positive account of one's own with confidence.

First published in $MEGA_2$, Abt. III, Bd. 2, Berlin, 1979

Printed according to Bernays' letter to Marx of August 1846

Published in English for the first time

## 28

## ENGELS TO THE COMMUNIST CORRESPONDENCE COMMITTEE

IN BRUSSELS

*Committee No. 2*

[Paris,] Wednesday, 16 September 1846

Dear Friends,

Your news about Belgium, London and Breslau[a] was of great interest to me.[79] I told Ewerbeck and Bernays what was of interest

[a] Polish name: Wrocław.

to them. Keep me *au fait*[a] as well with the success of our enterprise and *plus ou moins*[b] the enthusiasm with which the various localities are taking part, so that I can expatiate on that to the workers here in so far as it is politic. What are the Cologne people[c] doing?

There's all manner of news from here.

1. I've had several meetings with the local workers, i.e. with the leaders of the cabinet-makers from the Faubourg St. Antoine. These people are curiously organised. Apart from the business of their league[80] having been thrown into the utmost confusion—as a result of a serious dispute with the Weitlingian tailors—these lads, i.e. 12-20 of them, foregather once a week; they used to hold discussions but, after they ran out of matter, as indeed they were bound to do, Ewerbeck was compelled to give them lectures on German history—starting from scratch—and on an extremely muddled political economy, a popular rendering of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*.[d] Meanwhile I appeared. In order to establish contact with them, I twice discussed conditions in Germany since the French Revolution, my point of departure being the economic relations. What they glean from these weekly meetings is thrashed out on Sundays at Barrière meetings[81] attended by Cherethites and Pelethites, wife and children.[e] Here—*abstraction faite de toute espèce de politique*[f]—such things as 'social questions' are discussed. It is a good way of attracting new people, for it's entirely public; a fortnight ago the police arrived and wanted to impose a veto but allowed themselves to be placated and did nothing further. Often more than 200 people foregather.

Things cannot possibly remain as they are now. A degree of lethargy has set in amongst the fellows which comes from their being bored with themselves. For they have nothing to set against the tailors' communism but popularisations *à la* Grün and green-tinted[g] Proudhon,[82] all this having been laboriously dinned into them, partly by no less a person than Mr Grün himself, partly by an old, bombastic master cabinet-maker and minion of Grün's, Papa Eisermann, but partly, too, by *amicus*[h] Ewerbeck. Naturally they soon ran dry, endless repetition ensued and, to prevent them going to *sleep* (literally, this was getting worse and worse at the sessions), Ewerbeck torments them with hair-splitting disquisitions

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[a] acquainted - [b] more or less - [c] Roland Daniels, Heinrich Bürgers, Karl d'Ester - [d] Reference is probably to Engels' 'Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy'. - [e] 2 Samuel 8:18; 15:18; 20:7, 23 - [f] all politics apart - [g] a play on *Grün* (green) - [h] friend

on 'true value' (this last being somewhat on my conscience) and bores them with the primeval forests of the Teutons, Hermann the Cheruscan, and the most ghastly old German etymology according to—Adelung, all of it quite wrong. By the way, the real leader of these people isn't Ewerbeck but Junge, who was in Brussels[83]; the fellow realises very well what ought to be changed, and might do a great deal since he has them all in his pocket and is ten times more intelligent than the whole clique, but he vacillates too much and always has some new bee in his bonnet. I haven't seen him for nearly 3 weeks—he never turned up and isn't to be found—which is why so little has as yet been achieved. Without him most of them are spineless and irresolute. But one must be patient with the fellows; in the first place we must rid ourselves of Grün, whose enervating influence, both direct and indirect, has been truly dreadful. And then, when we've got these platitudes out of their heads, I hope to be able to achieve something with the fellows, for they all have a strong desire for instruction in economics. This should not take long, as Ewerbeck who, despite his notorious muddle-headedness, now at its fullest flowering, has the best intentions in the world, is completely in my pocket, and Junge, too, is wholly on my side. I have discussed the correspondence[a] with six others; the plan was much acclaimed, specially by Junge, and will be implemented from here. But unless Grün's personal influence is destroyed and his platitudes eradicated, thus reinvigorating the chaps, nothing can be done in view of the considerable material obstacles to be faced (particularly engagements almost every evening). I have offered to confront Grün in their presence and to tax him with his personal rascalities, and Bernays also wishes to be there—Ewerbeck too has a bone to pick with him. This will happen as soon as they have settled their own affairs with Grün, i.e. obtained a guarantee for the money advanced for the printing of Grün's *Landtag* shit.[b] But since Junge didn't turn up and the rest behaved towards Grün±like children, that matter, too, is still not in order, although with a little effort it could have been settled in 5 minutes. The unfortunate thing about it is that most of these fellows are Swabians.

2. Now for something to amuse you. In his new, as yet unprinted book, which Grün is translating,[84] Proudhon has a great scheme for making money out of thin air and bringing the kingdom of heaven closer to all workers. No one knew what it was.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 38-39, 53, and 56. - [b] [K. Grün,] *Die preussischen Landtags-Abschiede.*

Grün, while keeping it very dark, was always bragging about his philosopher's stone. General suspense. At length, last week, Papa Eisermann was at the cabinet-makers' and so was I; gradually the old coxcomb came out with it, in a naively secretive manner. Mr Grün had confided the whole plan to him. Hearken, now, to the grandeur of this plan for world redemption: *ni plus ni moins*[a] than the already long extant in England, and ten times bankrupt LABOUR-BAZARS or LABOUR-MARKETS, associations of all artisans of all trades, a big warehouse, all work delivered by the *associés* valued strictly in accordance with the cost of the raw product plus labour, and paid for in other association products, similarly valued.[85] Anything delivered in excess of the association's needs is to be sold on the world market, the proceeds being paid out to the producers. In this way the crafty Proudhon calculates that he and his fellow *associés* will circumvent the profit of the middleman. That this would also mean circumventing the profit on *his association's capital,* that this capital and this profit must be *just as great* as the capital and profit of the circumvented middlemen, that he therefore throws away with his right hand what the left has received, has none of it entered his clever head. That his workers can never raise the necessary capital, since otherwise they could just as well set themselves up separately, that any savings in cost resulting from the association would be more than outweighed by the enormous risk, that the whole thing would amount to spiriting away profit from this world, while leaving the producers of the profit to cool their heals, that it is a truly Straubingerian idyll,[86] excluding from the very outset all large-scale industry, building, agriculture, etc., that they would have to bear only the *losses* of the bourgeoisie without sharing in its gains, all these and a hundred other self-evident objections he overlooks, so delighted is he with his plausible illusion. It's all too utterly preposterous. Paterfamilias Grün,of course,believes in the new redemption and already in his mind's eye sees himself at the head of an association of 20,000 *ouvriers*[b] (they want it *big* from the start), his family, of course, to receive free clothing, board and lodging. But if Proudhon comes out with this, he will be making a fool of himself and all French socialists and communists in the eyes of bourgeois economists. Hence those tears, that polemicising against revolution[87] because he had a peaceable nostrum up his sleeve. Proudhon is just like John Watts. In spite of his disreputable atheism and socialism, the latter regards it as his vocation to acquire respectability in the eyes

[a] neither more nor less - [b] workers

of the bourgeoisie; Proudhon, despite his polemic against the economists, does his utmost to gain recognition as a great economist. Such are the sectarians. Besides, it's such an old story![a]

3. Now for another highly curious affair.—The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* of 21 July, Paris, 16 July. Article on the *Russian* Embassy[b]....

'That is the official Embassy—but quite extraneous to it, or rather *above* it, there is a certain Mr *Tolstoy* who bears no title, is described, however, as *"confidant of the Court"*. Formerly, with the Ministry of Education, he came to Paris charged with a *literary mission;* there he wrote a few memoirs for his Ministry, sent them a few reports on the French daily press, then wrote no more but did all the more. He maintains a splendid establishment, is invited everywhere, receives everyone, busies himself with everything, knows everything and arranges much. He seems to me to be the *actual Russian Ambassador* in Paris.... His intervention works wonders' (—all Poles seeking a pardon addressed themselves to him—) '—at the Embassy *all bow down before him and in Petersburg he is held in great regard.*'

This Tolstoy is none other than our Tolstoy, that noble fellow who told us untruthfully that he wanted to sell his estates in Russia.[88] Besides the apartment to which he took us, the man has a magnificent *hôtel*[c] in the rue Mathurin where he receives the diplomats. This has long been known to the Poles and to *many* of the French, but not to the German radicals amongst whom he thought it better to insinuate himself as a radical. The above article was written by a Pole known to Bernays, and was immediately taken up by the *Corsaire-Satan* and the *National.* On reading the article, all Tolstoy did was laugh heartily and crack jokes about having been found out at last. He is now in London, where he will try his luck, being played out here. It's a pity he is not coming back, otherwise I'd have had a joke or two to try out on him, eventually leaving my card in the rue Mathurin. After this, *c'est clair*[d] that Annenkov, whom he recommended, is also a Russian informer. Even Bakunin, who *must have known* the whole story since the other Russians knew it, is very suspect. I shall, of course, give him no hint of this, but wreak vengeance on the Russians. Even though these spies may not constitute any particular threat to us, we can't let them get away with it. They're good subjects for conspiratorial experiments *in corpore vili.*[e] For that they are not really too bad.

4. Father Hess. After I had happily consigned his spouse,[f] cursing and swearing about same, to oblivion, i.e. to the furthest

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[a] H. Heine, 'Ein Jüngling liebt ein Mädchen' from *Lyrisches Intermezzo.* - [b] Engels quotes from the article 'Die russische Allianz und die russische Gesandtschaft'. - [c] mansion - [d] it's clear - [e] on the vile body - [f] Sibylle Hess

end of the Faubourg St. Antoine where there is a wailing and gnashing of teeth (Grün and Gsell), I received not long since, through the agency of one Reinhardt, another letter in which the communist papa sought to re-establish relations. It's enough to make one split one's sides. As if nothing had happened of course, altogether *in dulci jubilo,*[a] and moreover altogether the same old Hess. After the remark that he was to some extent reconciled with 'the party' (the 'Yiddish' Circle appears to have become insolvent)—and 'also anxious to resume work' (which event ought to be rung in with a peal of bells), comes the following historical note (dated 19 August):

'A few weeks ago we were *within a hair's breadth* of a *bloody riot* here in Cologne, *large numbers* being already armed' (among them certainly not Moses). 'The affair did not come to a head because the military *did not put in an appearance*' (tremendous triumph for Cologne's pint-sized philistine), etc., etc....

Then he tells of the civic assemblies[89] where 'we', i.e. 'the party' and Mr Moses, '*qua* communists, *won so complete a victory* that we', etc.

'We *drove,* first the moneyed aristocrats ... and then the petty bourgeois, *with glory*' (none of them possessing any talent) '*from the field.* Eventually we *could have* (!) *carried everything* in the assemblies' (e.g. made Moses Chief Burgomaster); 'a programme was adopted to which the assembly pledged its candidates, and which' (hear, hear) '*could not have been more radical even if drawn up by English and French communists*' (!!!) (and by no one understood more foolishly than by Moses).... '*Keep* an occasional eye' (sic) 'on my [wife]' (both parties would like me to take over the distaff side at my own expense and risk, *j'en ai les preuves*[b]).... 'and pass this onto Ewerbeck as a *heartener.*'

May God bless this 'heartener', this manna from the desert. I, of course, completely ignore the beast—he has now written to Ewerbeck too (and this simply in order that a letter may be conveyed to his distaff side at the former's expense), and is threatening to come here in two months' time. If he visits me, I think I too shall be able to tell him something by way of a 'heartener'.

Now that I'm in full swing, I might as well conclude by telling you that Heine is here again and that the day before yesterday Ewerbeck and I went to see him. The poor devil is dreadfully low. He has grown as thin as a rake. The softening of the brain is spreading, and so is the facial paralysis. Ewerbeck says he might very easily die of pulmonary paralysis or of a sudden cerebral

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[a] sweetness and joy - [b] I have proof of it.

stroke, but could also drag on, sometimes better, sometimes worse, for another three or four years yet. He is, of course, somewhat depressed, melancholy and—most significant of all—extremely benign (and, indeed, seriously so) in his judgments—Mäurer is the only person about whom he constantly cracks jokes. For the rest his intellectual vigour is unimpaired, but his appearance, made stranger still by a greying beard (he can no longer be shaved round the mouth), is enough to plunge anyone who sees him into the depths of depression. The impression made by the sight of so splendid a fellow gradually wasting away is exceedingly painful.

I have also seen the great Mäurer. 'Manikin, manikin, how little you weigh!" The man's really a sight worth seeing, and I was atrociously rude to him, in return for which the jackass evinces a particular affection for me, and tells me I have a kindly face. He resembles Karl Moor six weeks dead. Reply soon.

Yours
E.

Write soon, as I shall in a fortnight's time [...] from here; such a business a letter [...] easily remain lying or be refused at the old place.

At the *Fraternité* there has been a tremendous dispute between materialists[90] and spiritualists.[91] The materialists, outvoted by 23 to 22, walked out. But that has not stopped the *Fraternité* from publishing a very nice article on the various stages of civilisation and their ability to continue developing in the direction of communism.[a]

You'll be amused by the following: *Journal des Économistes,* August of this year, contains, in an article on Biedermann's article on communism,[b] the following: First, all Hess' nonsense, comically Gallicised; next, we read, comes M. Marx.

'M. Marx est un *cordonnier,* comme un autre Communiste allemand, Weitling, est un tailleur. Le premier (Mx) n'a pas une grande estime pour le communisme français (!) qu'il a été assez heureux d'étudier sur les lieux. M. ne sort (du) reste point non plus' (do you not recognise Mr Fix in this Alsatian expression?) 'des formules abstraites et il se garde bien d'aborder aucune question véritablement pratique. Selon lui' (note the nonsense) 'l'émancipation du peuple allemand sera le

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[a] Engels seems to be writing about a series of articles 'La civilisation' published in the *Fraternité* in 1845 and 1846. The first article was entitled 'La civilisation est l'acheminement de l'esprit humain vers la communauté'. - [b] The reference is to a review of K. Biedermann, 'Unsre Gegenwart und Zukunft' written by Th. Fix and published in the *Journal des Économistes,* Vol. 15, No. 57, August 1846.

signal de l'émancipation du genre humain; la tête de cette émancipation serait la philosophie et son cœur le prolétariat. Lorsque tout sera preparé, le coq gaulois sonnera la résurrection germanique... Marx dit qu'il *faut créer* en Allemagne un prolétariat universel (!!) afin de réaliser la pensée philosophique du Communisme'.[a] Signed T. F. (mort depuis).[b]

That was his last work. The previous issue carried an equally comical review of my book.[c] The September number contains an article on Julius which I have not yet read.[d]

[On the back of the letter]

Monsieur Charles Marx au Bois Sauvage, Plaine Ste Gudule, Bruxelles

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## 29

## ENGELS TO MARX[92]

### IN BRUSSELS

[Paris,] 18 September 1846
11, rue [de l'arbre sec]

Dear Marx,

A whole lot of things I wanted to write about privately have found their way into the business letter because that was the one I wrote first.[e] No matter if the others read the rubbish for once.

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[a] 'Mr. Marx is a *cobbler*, as another German communist, Weitling, is a tailor. The former (M[ar]x) has no great respect for French communism (!) which he has been fortunate enough to study on the spot. For that matter, neither does M. proceed beyond' (do you not recognise Mr Fix in this Alsatian expression?) 'abstract formulas, and he takes the greatest care to avoid broaching any truly practical question. According to him' (note the nonsense) 'the emancipation of the German people will be the signal for the emancipation of the human race; philosophy would be the head of this emancipation, the proletariat its heart. When all has been prepared, the Gallic cock will herald the Teutonic resurrection.... Marx says that a universal proletariat *must be created* in Germany (!!) in order to realise the philosophical concept of communism.' - [b] since deceased - [c] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (an anonymous review in the *Journal des Économistes*, Vol. 14, No. 56, July 1846). - [d] The review of G. Julius, 'Bankwesen. Ein neues Gespenst in Deutschland', in the *Journal des Économistes*, Vol. 15, No. 58. September 1846 was also written by Th. Fix which Engels did not know then. - [e] See this volume, pp. 60-67.

Hitherto I have rather dreaded setting to work on the extracts from Feuerbach. Here in Paris the stuff strikes one as utterly insipid. But now that I've got the book[a] at home, I shall apply myself to it at the earliest opportunity. Weydemeyer's sweet nonsense is touching. The fellow first declares that he wants to draft a manifesto in which he pronounces us blackguards and then expresses the hope that this won't give rise to personal differences. Even in Germany such a thing would only be possible on the Hanoverian-Prussian border.

That you should still be in financial straits is abominable. I know of no publisher for our manuscripts[b] other than Leske who, while negotiations are proceeding, must be kept in the dark about our criticism of his firm. Löwenthal will certainly not take it. He has turned down, on all manner of rotten pretexts, a *very good* proposition from Bernays (a life of the old man here[c] in 2 volumes, the first to be printed forthwith and issued the moment the old man dies, the second to follow immediately afterwards). He's also a coward and maintains he might be expelled from Frankfurt. Bernays has a prospect of acceptance by Brockhaus, who believes, of course, that the book is written in a bourgeois spirit.

Have the Westphalians[d] sent the manuscripts to Daniels?

And have you had any further details about the Cologne scheme? Hess wrote about it, you know.[93]

But Lüning's rubbish is the most ludicrous of all. One can almost visualise the fellow as he daringly looses a hypocritical turd into his trousers. If we criticise them for their general baseness,[e] the noble fellow declares this to be '*self*-criticism'.[94] But soon these chaps will experience in their own persons the truth of the saying:

> 'And if the noble fellow has no bum, on what does he propose to sit?'[f]

And Westphalia seems gradually to be coming to realise that it has no bum or, in Moses'[g] parlance, no 'material basis' for its communism.

Püttmann was not so wrong, where *I* am concerned, when he said that the people in Brussels were collaborating on *Prometheus*. Hear how cunningly this good-for-nothing set about it. Being also

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[a] L. Feuerbach, *Das Wesen der Religion*. - [b] The reference is to the manuscripts for the quarterly, including that of Marx and Engels' *The German Ideology*. - [c] Louis Philippe - [d] J. Meyer and R. Rempel - [e] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Circular Against Kriege'. - [f] J. W. Goethe, 'Totalität'. - [g] Moses Hess

in need of money, I wrote to him suggesting that at last he fork out the fee he had owed me for so long.[95] The fellow answered that as to the fee for the first essay which he had printed in the *Bürgerbuch,*[a] he had instructed Leske to pay it to me (naturally not yet to hand), but so far as the one for the second essay in the second of the *Rheinische Jahrbücher*[b] was concerned,—he had already received it from the publisher but, since the German *soi-disant*[c] communists had left him, big P, together with his other big P, *Prometheus,* most shamefully in the lurch—he, P No. 1, had been compelled to use the fees (including those due to Ewerbeck, etc.) for the printing of P No. 2 and would not be able to pay us same for another x weeks. Fine fellows, if you don't give them a manuscript, they keep the money. In such a manner does one become one of the *Prometheus* collaborators and shareholders.

Yesterday evening, when I was with the workers here, I read the 'London Address' already in print.[96] Trash. They address themselves to the 'people', i.e. the presumed proletarians in Schleswig-Holstein which is haunted exclusively by loutish, Low-German peasants and guildish Straubingers.[86] They have learnt from the English this nonsense, this total disregard for actual circumstances, this inability to comprehend an historical development. Instead of answering the question, they want the 'people'—who, in their sense of the word, don't exist at all there—to disregard it and behave peacefully and passively; it doesn't occur to them that the bourgeoisie continues to do as it likes. Except for the denigration of the bourgeoisie, which is somewhat superfluous and entirely at odds with their conclusions (and for which FREE-TRADE catchwords could equally well be substituted), the thing could have been the work of London's FREE-TRADE PRESS, which does not want to see Schleswig-Holstein enter the Customs Union.[97]

That Julius is in the pay of the Prussians and writes for Rother has already been hinted at in the German papers.[98] Bourgeois,[d] who was so delighted with his noble works, according to d'Ester, will be pleased when he hears of it.

*A propos* Schleswig-Holstein, the day before yesterday the Coachman[e] wrote to Ewerbeck in 3 lines that caution should now be exercised in the matter of letters, since everything is being opened by the Danes. He believes that it could come to armed action.

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[a] F. Engels, 'Description of Recently Founded Communist Colonies Still in Existence'. - [b] F. Engels, 'The Festival of Nations in London'. - [c] so-called - [d] Heinrich Burgers - [e] Georg Weber

*Dubito,*[a] but it's good that the old Dane[b] should so rudely harry the Schleswig-Holsteiners.[99] By the way, did you read the famous poem 'Schleswig-Holstein, Sea-girt Land', in the *Rheinischer Beobachter*[c]? I can't possibly remember the words, but it goes something like this:

Schleswig-Holstein, of like stock sprung, Schleswig-Holstein,
sea-girt land,
Schleswig-Holstein, German tongue,—Schleswig-Holstein
German strand,
Schleswig-Holstein, to action stung, Schleswig-Holstein,
fiery brand,
Schleswig-Holstein, hardly wrung, Schleswig-Holstein, make
a stand,
Schleswig-Holstein, lustily sung, 'Schleswig-Holstein, may
Danes be banned.'
Schleswig-Holstein, loudly rung, 'Schleswig-Holstein',
throughout th' land!
Schleswig-Holstein, strong of lung, Schleswig-Holstein,
weak of hand,
Schleswig-Holstein, loutish young, Schleswig-Holstein,
beastly band.

Schleswig-Holstein, of like stock sprung; Keep troth, O Fatherland, is how the drivel ends. It's a ghastly song, worthy of being *sung* by the Dithmarschen,[100] who in turn are worthy of being *besung* by Püttmann.

The Cologne bourgeois are bestirring themselves. They have issued a protest[d] against the gentlemen of the Ministry, which is the most a German citizen can do.[101] The poor Berlin pulpit-drubber[e]! He's at loggerheads with every municipal council in his kingdom; first the Berlin theological controversy,[102] then the Breslau[f] ditto, now the Cologne business. The rascal, by the way, is the spitting image of James I of England, whom he really seems to have taken for his model. No doubt, like the latter, he too will shortly start burning witches.

I did Proudhon a really crying injustice in my business letter. Since there was no room in this last letter, I must make amends here. For I believed he had perpetrated a trifling nonsense, a nonsense within the bounds of sense. Yesterday the matter came up again and was discussed at great length, and it was then I

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[a] I doubt it. - [b] Christian VIII - [c] M. F. Chemnitz, 'Schleswig-Holsteinische Bundeslied' (music by Bellmann), *Rheinischer Beobachter,* No. 259, 16 September 1846. Below Engels parodies the song. - [d] *Kölnische Zeitung,* No. 253, 10 September 1846. - [e] Frederick William IV - [f] Polish name: Wrocław.

learned that this new nonsense is in truth *wholly unbounded nonsense.* Imagine: Proletarians are to *save* in the form of small shares. This will enable the initial building (needless to say no start can be made with fewer than 10,000-20,000 workers) of one or more workshops devoted to one or more trades, some of the shareholders to be occupied there and the products to be sold, 1) to the shareholders (who thus have no profit to pay for) at the price of the raw material plus labour, and 2) any surplus to be sold on the world market at the current price. As the association's capital is increased by new shareholders joining or by new savings of the old ones, this will be used for building new workshops and factories and so on and so forth, until *all* the proletarians are employed, *all* the country's productive forces have been bought up, thereby depriving the capital still in bourgeois hands of the power to command labour and produce profit! Thus capital is abolished by 'finding an authority under which capital, i.e. the interest system' (Grünification of the erstwhile *droit d'aubaine,*[103] brought somewhat closer to the light of day) 'so to speak disappears.' In this sentence, repeated countless times by Papa Eisermann, hence learned by rote from Grün, you will readily discern a glimmering of the original Proudhonian flourishes. By dint of proletarian savings, and by waiving the profit and interest on their capital, these people intend, for the present, to *buy up* the *whole of France,* no more nor less, and later, perhaps, the rest of the world as well. Was ever more splendid plan devised, and if you want to perform a *tour de force,*[a] what quicker way than to coin five franc pieces out of silver moonshine? And the workers here, fools that they are—the Germans, I mean—*believe* this rubbish, they, who can't keep six sous in their pockets to visit a *marchand de vin*[b] on the evenings of their meetings, propose to buy up *toute la belle France*[c] with their savings. Rothschild and company are mere dabblers compared with these mighty *accapareurs.*[d] It's enough to make anyone throw a fit. Grün has so confused the fellows that the most nonsensical platitude makes more sense to them than the simplest fact adduced for the purpose of economic argument. It is disgraceful that one should still have to pit oneself against such barbaric nonsense. But one must be patient, and I shall not let the fellows go until I have driven Grün from the field and have swept the cobwebs from their brains. The only fellow clear-headed enough to see through the whole nonsense is our Junge who was in Brussels. Ewerbeck, too, has crammed the fellows' heads with

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[a] feat of strength - [b] wineshop - [c] the whole of beautiful France - [d] buyers-up

the most crackbrained stuff. You've no idea what desperate confusion the fellow is in; at times he verges on madness, being unable to tell you today what he saw with his own eyes, let alone heard, yesterday. To show to what extent he has been under Grün's thumb, it need only be said that when last winter Walthr, of Trier,[104] was complaining to all and sundry about the censors, Grün represented him as a martyr to the censorship, one who was waging the noblest and bravest of battles, etc., and induced Ewerbeck and the workers to draw up and sign a highly pompous address to this jackass, Walthr, thanking him for his heroism in the struggle for freedom of speech!!!! Ewerbeck is hanging his head in shame and is furiously angry with himself; but the stupidity has been done, and now it's a question of knocking out of him and the workers the few *platitudes* he has dinned into his own head with toil and sweat before drumming same into the workers with no less toil and sweat. For he understands nothing until he has learnt it by rote and even then usually misunderstands it. If he were not so tremendously well-intentioned, besides being such an amiable chap—more so now than ever before,—there would be absolutely nothing doing with him. I can't help wondering how I manage to get on with him; sometimes he makes quite apposite remarks, only to relapse at once into some colossal inanity—as, for instance, in his divinely inspired lectures on German history, whose every word is so beset with howlers and follies that it's difficult not to burst out laughing. But, as already mentioned, tremendous zeal and remarkable readiness to join in everything with imperturbable good humour and self-mockery. I like the fellow better than ever, in spite of his silliness.

There is little to be said about Bernays. I have been out there several times and he here once. Coming here probably this winter, only short of money. Westphalians[a] sent him 200 francs by way of a bribe; he accepted the money, but naturally did nothing further about it. Weydemeyer had offered him the money previously; he writes to say he must have *2,000 francs,* otherwise it won't be any use to him. I told him what the Westphalians' answer would be—that they were unable to turn anything into LIQUID cash etc., and so it literally was. In token of his gratitude he is keeping the 200 francs. He is living quite happily, makes no secret to anyone of his whole calamitous story, is on quite happy terms with other people, lives like a peasant, works in the garden, eats well, sleeps, I suspect, with a peasant girl, and has also ceased to parade his

[a] Presumably J. Meyer and R. Rempel

sorrows. He is even coming to entertain more lucid and sensible views about party disputes, although, whenever something of the kind occurs, he likes to imagine himself more or less in the role of a Camille Desmoulins, and is generally unsuited to be a party man; there's no arguing with him about his legal opinions because he always tries to break off with the objection that economy, industry, etc., is not his subject and, on the rare occasions we meet, no proper discussion takes place. I think, however, that I have already succeeded in partly breaching his defences and, if he comes here, I shall probably be able to cure him finally of his misapprehensions.

What is everyone doing there?

Your

E.

QUERY: Ought not the people in London[a] to be told the story of the Tolstoy affair,[b] which is *absolutely correct*? If he continues to play the same role among the Germans, they might at some time dreadfully compromise one or two Poles. And supposing the fellow *were to cite you*?

Bernays has written a pamphlet as part of the Rothschild controversy[105]; a German edition[c] is appearing in Switzerland and a French one[d] here in a few days' time.

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## ENGELS TO MARX[106]

### IN BRUSSELS

[Paris, after 18 September 1846]

...7. they should change the §§ on the sharing of dividends into §§ on the sharing of losses, for, *failing all this*, they would go bankrupt already as a result of the celebrated principle of bearing

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[a] The London leaders of the League of the Just (K. Schapper, J. Moll and H. Bauer). - [b] See this volume, p. 64. - [c] [K. L. Bernays,] *Rothschild. Ein Urtheilsspruch vom menschlichen Standpunkte aus.* - [d] [K. L. Bernays,] *Jugement rendu contre J. Rothschild et Georges Dairnvaell, auteur de l'Histoire de Rothschild Ier par le Tribunal de la Seine.*

the whole loss but sharing the profit. They would therefore have to do twice as much business as *any other* publisher in order to keep going—but the fact remains that hitherto all publishers dealing exclusively, or merely for preference, in banned works—Fröbel, Wigand, Leske—have, *in the long run,* been ruined: 1. by confiscation, 2. by being excluded from markets, which ± always happens, 3. by sharp practice on the part of commission agents and retail dealers, 4. by police threats, prosecution, etc., 5. by competition from publishers who only occasionally print something objectionable, who are therefore less subject to police interference and who, moreover, also have a better chance of obtaining manuscripts that will appeal, whereas the abovementioned stereotypes are left holding the rubbish and books that do not appeal. The book trade's struggle with the police can be waged with profit only if large numbers of publishers take part in it; it is *essentiellement* guerrilla warfare, and one can only make money if one *seldom* takes such a risk. The market is not large enough to make a *spécialité* of the article.

For the rest it makes no difference whether the company is ruined, for ruined it will be no matter what kind of start it makes; but where there's a guarantee, it will be ruined too quickly, a high fever being induced with three crises, of which the third is certainly fatal. In view of the not over-copious supply of manuscripts to be expected, a mild consumption would be more appropriate. It's only regrettable that too big a hole is made in its capital if it does its own printing. It ought to have sufficient to enable it to print for about $1\,^1/_2$ years; for supposing a capital of 3,000 talers expended in the *first year,* the Eastertide settlement would, given profitable trading, produce approx. $^2/_3$, or a minimum of 2,000 talers. Hence for the second year it ought to have at least 1,000 talers over and above those 3,000 talers. Thus $^1/_3$-$^1/_4$ of the capital is permanently tied up in remainders, bad payers, etc. It might be possible to raise this amount by inducing the shareholders to subscribe an additional loan repayable over a period. It is essential, by the way, to consult a publisher first, in order to find out exactly how much of the capital employed remains tied up at the end of the first year, or how much time it takes to turn the total capital over once. I am not sure about it myself, but I have reason to believe that in the above calculations I have underestimated rather than overestimated the capital permanently tied up.

With his 20 per cent of the profits the manager will grow rich. Even if 10 per cent of any losses are passed to the reserve fund, there will be a handsome deficit.

As for the consequences the guarantee would entail for the *authors*, the less said the better. In my opinion it should be *refused* if it is tendered in respect of longer works. Once the company has established itself on that basis, we could no longer offer other publishers anything without their believing that the company had *turned it down*. Quite apart from the fact that the same reasons for which we refused it to the Westphalians[a] obtain here as well. Neither our honour nor our interest would incline us to accept.

To particularise: 7 in the general purposes committee [Tendenz-komitee] is excessive, three, at most 5, is enough Otherwise we shall get jackasses on it, if not intriguers. The general purposes committee must after all be ± resident in Brussels. In which case, with 7 members, how can there be any *choice*? No reason at all to have so many. In any case it's we who will have to do the work, and I am ready to take on my share, so what do we want with all those members? Besides, if it is the same with the opinions of the general purposes committee as with those of the Provincial Diets,[107] what then? All those written opinions will make a devil of a lot of work, but there could be no question of our getting out of it. As I said, I am ready to take on my share.

QUERY: If the bourgeoisie nominates a *truly* socialist supervisory council, which passes *outre*[b] our opinions, what then?

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## 31

## ENGELS TO MARX[108]

### IN BRUSSELS

[Paris, about 18 October 1846]
23, rue de Lille, Faubourg St. Germain

Dear M.,

At last, after much reluctance, I have brought myself to read Feuerbach's twaddle[c] and have discovered that we can't go into it

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[a] J. Meyer and R. Rempel (see this volume, p. 49). - [b] overrides - [c] L. Feuerbach, *Das Wesen der Religion*.

in our critique.[a] Why, you will see when I have given you the gist of it.

'Das Wesen der Religion', *Epigonen,* Vol. I, pp. 117-78.

'Man's *sense of dependence* is the basis of religion', p. 117.

As man is dependent first of all on Nature, so 'Nature is the first, original object of religion', p. 118.

('Nature is simply a general term to denote beings, things, etc., which man distinguishes *from himself and his products.*')

The first religious manifestations are festivals at which natural processes, changes of season, etc., are symbolised. The particular natural conditions and products in the midst of which a tribe or a people lives, become part of its religion.

In his development man was assisted by other beings which, however, were not beings of a *higher* order, angels, but beings of a lower order, *animals.* Hence animal worship (there follows an apology in which pagans are defended against the attacks of Jews and Christians, trivial).

Nature, even in the case of Christians, always remains concealed behind religion. The attributes upon which the difference between God and Man is founded, are attributes of Nature (primal, basic). Thus omnipotence, eternity, universality, etc. God's true content is no more than Nature; i. e. in so far as God is seen only as the creator of Nature and not as a political and moral law-giver.

Polemic against the creation of Nature by an intelligent being, against creation out of nothing and so on—for the most part vulgar materialism 'humanised', i. e. translated into cosy German, fit to touch the citizen's heart.—Nature in natural religion is not the object as nature, but as

'personal, live, sentient being ... as emotional being, i. e. subjective human being' (p. 138).

Hence men worship it and seek to influence it with human incentives. This is primarily because Nature is fickle.

'The sense of dependence on Nature, combined with the idea of Nature as an arbitrarily active, personal being, is the basis of sacrifice, the most important act in natural religion' (p. 140).

But since the aim of sacrifice is a *selfish* one, it is man who is the *final goal* of religion, the divinity of man its final aim.

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[a] Reference to Marx and Engels' 'Feuerbach. Opposition of the Materialist and Idealist Outlooks' which preceded other sections of *The German Ideology.*

Next come trivial glosses and solemn disquisitions to the effect that primitive people who still adhere to natural religion, deify things they regard as unpleasant, such as plague, fever, etc.

'As man, from a purely physical being, becomes a *political* being, distinguishing in general between himself and Nature, concentrating upon himself' (!!!), 'so his God also becomes a political being distinct from Nature.' '*Hence* man' arrives at 'the distinction between his being and Nature, and consequently at a God distinct from Nature, initially only by uniting with other men into a *community* in which *powers* distinct from Nature[a] and *existing only in the mind or the imagination*' (!!!), 'the power of the law, of opinion, of honour, of virtue, becomes the object of his sense of dependence....'

(This hideous sentence appears on p. 149.) The power of Nature, the power over life and death, is degraded to an attribute and tool of political and moral power. Intermezzo on p. 151 on oriental conservatives and occidental progressives.

'In the Orient, man does *not* let man *blind him* to Nature.... To him the King himself is not objectified as an earthly, but as a celestial, divine being. But beside a god, man only disappears where the earth is emptied of gods.... Only there do men have space and room for themselves.'

(A nice explanation for the stability of Orientals. It's all those idols and the space they take up.)

'The Oriental is to the Occidental what the countryman is to the townsman, the former is dependent on *Nature*, the latter on men,' etc., etc., 'hence only townsmen make history'

(here, and here alone, we catch a distant, if somewhat evil-smelling, breath of materialism).

'Only he who is able to sacrifice the power of *Nature* to the power of *opinion*, his *life* to his *name*, his existence *in the flesh* to his existence in the mouths and minds of posterity, is capable of historical deeds.'

*Voilà*.[b] Everything that is not Nature is imagination, opinion, balderdash. Hence, too, 'human "*vanity*" alone is the principle of history'!

P. 152: 'As soon as man becomes conscious of the fact that ... the consequence of vice and folly is unhappiness, etc., that of virtue and wisdom, ... happiness, and hence that intelligence and will are the *powers determining the fate of man* ... he will also see Nature as a being dependent on intelligence and will.'

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[a] Feuerbach has 'powers of nature' (Naturmächten). - [b] There you are.

(Transition to monotheism—Feuerbach distinguishes the above illusory 'consciousness' from the power of intelligence and will.) With the domination of the world by intelligence and will, supernaturalism makes its appearance, creation from nothing, and monotheism, which is further specifically elucidated in terms of the 'unity of the human consciousness'. Feuerbach deemed it superfluous to point out that without the *One King,* the One God could never have come into being, that the Oneness of the God controlling the multifarious natural phenomena and holding together the conflicting forces of Nature is only the image of the One, the Oriental Despot who apparently or in fact holds together conflicting individuals whose interests clash.

Lengthy drivel against teleology, aping the old materialists. At the same time Feuerbach commits the very howler in regard to the real world which he accuses the theologians of committing in regard to Nature. He makes bad jokes at the expense of the theologians' assumption that without God Nature would dissolve into anarchy (i. e. without belief in God, it would be reduced to tatters), that God's *will, intelligence, opinion* is what binds the world; and he himself believes that it is *opinion,* the fear of public *opinion,* of *laws* and other *ideas,* which now holds the world together.

In the course of an argument against teleology, Feuerbach appears as an out-and-out *laudator temporis praesentis*[a]: The very high death-rate among children in the early years of life is attributable to the fact that

> '*Nature* in its opulence sacrifices without compunction thousands of individual members'; ... 'it is the result of natural causes that ... e.g., *one* child in 3-4 dies in the first year of life, and *one* child in 25 in the fifth year, etc.'

With the exception of the few passages here specified, there is nothing worthy of note. Of the historical development of the various religions one learns nothing. At most they provide examples to support the above trivialities. The main bulk of the article consists in polemic against God and the Christians, altogether in his previous manner, except that now that he's run dry, and despite all his repetitions of the old drivel, dependence on the materialists is much more blatantly apparent. If one were to make any comment on the trivialities concerning natural religion, polytheism, and monotheism, one would have to compare

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[a] Eulogist of the present; paraphrase of 'laudator temporis acti' (Horace, *Ars Poetica*).

them with the true development of these forms of religion, which means they would first have to be studied. But so far as our work is concerned, this is as irrelevant to us as his explanation of Christianity. The article casts no fresh light on Feuerbach's positive philosophical attitude, and the few theses worthy of criticism which I have cited above only confirm what we have already said. If the fellow still holds any interest for you, try and get hold of Vol. I of his *Collected Works,* either directly or indirectly, from Kiessling; he's written a kind of preface to it which might yield something. I have seen passages from it in which Feuerbach speaks of 'ailments of the head' and 'ailments of the stomach', a feeble apology, as it were, for not concerning himself with matters of real import.[109] Exactly what he wrote and told me eighteen months ago.

I have just received your letter[110] which, because of my move, had remained at my old lodgings[a] for a few days. I'll give the Swiss publishers a try. But I hardly imagine that I'll find a taker.[b] None of the fellows have the money to print 50 sheets. In my opinion we shall get nothing printed unless we *split* the things up and try to place the volumes separately, first the philosophical stuff, which is the most urgent, and then the remainder. 50 sheets at once is so dangerously big that many publishers won't accept it simply because they cannot.

Then, of course, there was Kühtmann, or whatever his name is, in Bremen, who was turned against us by Moses[c] and Weitling; the fellow wanted to print bannable books but not pay much; *we could* quite well approach him with this manuscript. What do you say to splitting the stuff up and offering one volume here and the other there? Vogler knows Kühtmann's address in Bremen. I've just about finished List.[111]

I saw the things in the *Volks-Tribun*[d] about three weeks ago.[112] Never before have I come across anything so ludicrously stupid. Brother Weitling reached the peak of infamy in that letter to Kriege. As for the details, incidentally, I can no longer remember enough to make any comment on them. I too am of the opinion

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[a] See this volume, p. 67. - [b] This refers to attempts to find a publisher for Marx and Engels' *The German Ideology*. - [c] Hess - [d] 'Aus einem Privatbriefe von Wilhelm Weitling' (from W. Weitling's letter to H. Kriege of 16 May 1846), 'Die kommunistischen Literaten in Brüssel und die kommunistische Politik', 'An unsere Freunde' and 'Adresse der deutschen Socialreformer zu Philadelphia an Hermann Kriege und die Socialreformer in New York', *Der Volks-Tribun*, Nos. 25, 26, 27 and 29; 20, 27 June, 4 and 18 July 1846.

that we should reply[113] to both Kriege's and the Straubingers'[86] proclamation, rubbing their noses in the fact that they are denying having said what we reproached them for saying, while at the same time proclaiming in their reply the very stupidities they are denying; and that Kriege in particular, with his high moral pathos and indignation at our mockery, should get the dressing-down he deserves. Since these copies are at the moment going the rounds of the Straubingers here, I shall have to wait 4-5 days before I can get hold of them.

The Straubingers here are baying ferociously at my heels. Notably 3-4 'educated' workers who have been initiated into the secrets of true humanity by Ewerbeck and Grün. But by dint of a little patience and some terrorism I have emerged victorious with the great majority behind me. Grün having abjured communism, these 'educated' ones showed a strong inclination to follow suit. At that I went into action, so intimidating old Eisermann that he no longer turns up, and launched a debate on the pros and cons of *communism* and *non-communism.* This evening a vote will be taken on whether the meeting is communist or, as the 'educated' ones say, 'in favour of the good of mankind'. I am certain of a majority. I stated that, if they were not *communists,* I didn't give a fig for them and would attend no more. This evening Grün's disciples will be definitely overthrown, and then I shall have to start from scratch.

You can't imagine what demands these heducated Straubingers made on me. 'Leniency', 'gentleness', 'warm brotherliness'. But I duly trounced them and every evening managed to silence the whole opposition of 5, 6, 7 fellows (for at the start I had the whole *boutique*[a] against me). More anon about all this business, which shows up Mr Grün in a variety of lights.

Proudhon is expected here in a fortnight. Then the sparks will fly.

There's been some talk of a periodical here.[b] That manikin with the cigar, Mäurer, maintains that he will be able to raise the money for it. But I shan't believe the fellow until the money's actually there. If anything comes of it, we have so arranged matters that the thing will be entirely in *our* hands. I have authorised Mäurer, the ostensible editor, to print his own drivel in it, this being unavoidable. All the rest will pass through my hands, and I have an absolute veto. What I write will, of course, be pseudonymous or anonymous. At all events, should the thing

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[a] company (literally: shop) - [b] *Die Pariser Horen*

materialise, it will not fall into the hands either of Hess or of Grün, or of any other muddled school. It would have its uses as a *new broom*. But not a word to anyone until it has materialised; it should be decided within the week.[114] Farewell and write soon.

E.

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## 32

## ENGELS TO THE COMMUNIST CORRESPONDENCE COMMITTEE[115]

IN BRUSSELS

Paris, 23 October 1846

*Committee letter (No. 3)*

There is little to be said about the Straubinger business[116] here. The main thing is that the various differences I have had to thrash out with the lads hitherto are now settled: Grün's chief follower and disciple, Papa Eisermann, has been chucked out, the rest, so far as their influence over the great majority is concerned, have been completely routed, and I have carried through a unanimous resolution against them.

Briefly this is what happened:

The Proudhonian association scheme was discussed on three evenings. At the beginning I had nearly the whole clique against me and at the end only Eisermann and the three other Grünians. The main thing was to prove the necessity for revolution by force and in general to reject as anti-proletarian, petty-bourgeois, and Straubingerian Grün's true socialism, which had drawn new strength from the Proudhonian panacea. In the end I became infuriated by my opponents' endless repetition of the same arguments and really pitched into the Straubingers, which aroused great indignation among the Grünians but succeeded in eliciting from the worthy Eisermann an *open attack* on communism. Whereupon I lashed him so mercilessly with my tongue that he never showed his face again.

I now made use of the lever—the attack on communism—provided by Eisermann, the more so since Grün never ceased his intrigues, going from workshop to workshop, summoning the people to come to him on Sundays, etc., etc., and, on the Sunday[a] following the above-mentioned session, was *himself* so abysmally stupid as to attack communism in the presence of 8-10 Straubingers. I therefore declared that, before I took part in any further discussion, the question of whether or not we were meeting here as communists must be put to the vote. If the former were the case, we must see to it that attacks on communism such as those made by Eisermann never recur; if the latter, and if they were simply a random collection of individuals who had met to discuss a random selection of subjects, I would not give a fig for them, nor would I ever return. This aroused much horror among the Grünians who, they said, foregathered here for 'the good of mankind', for their own enlightenment, men of progress and not biased system-mongers, etc., etc., the description 'a random collection' being in no way applicable to such respectable company. Moreover, they *first wanted to know* what communism really was (these curs, who for years have called themselves communists and only deserted out of fear of Grün and Eisermann, these two last having used communism as a pretext for worming their way in among them!). Of course I did not allow myself to be caught by their amiable request to tell them, ignorant as they were, in 2 or 3 words what communism was. I gave them a highly simple definition which went as far as and no further than the foregoing points at issue, which, by positing community of goods, *ruled out,* not only peacefulness, tenderness and consideration for the bourgeoisie and/or the Straubinger fraternity, but also and finally the Proudhonian joint-stock society along with its retention of individual *property* and all that this involves; a definition which, furthermore, contained nothing that could give rise either to divagations or to any circumvention of the proposed vote. I therefore defined the aims of communists as follows: 1. to ensure that the interests of the proletariat prevail, as opposed to those of the bourgeoisie; 2. to do so by abolishing private property and replacing same with community of goods; 3. to recognise no means of attaining these aims other than democratic revolution by force.

Two evenings were spent discussing this. During the second, the best of the 3 Grünians, sensing the mood of the majority, came

[a] 18 October 1846

over to me unreservedly. The other two kept contradicting each other without being aware of the fact. Several chaps, who had never spoken before, suddenly opened their traps and declared themselves unequivocally for me. Up till then Junge had been the only one to do so. Some of these *homines novi*,[a] although trembling with fear lest they dry up, spoke quite nicely and all in all seem to have quite a sound intellect. In short, when it was put to the vote, the meeting was declared to be communist in accordance with the above definition by 13 votes to 2, the latter being those of the pair who had remained true to Grün—one of whom subsequently declared himself exceedingly eager to be converted.

Thus a clean sweep has at last been made and we can now begin, so far as is possible, to do something with these fellows. Grün, who was easily able to extricate himself from his financial predicament[b] because the principal creditors were those same Grünians, his principal followers, has gone down a great deal in the opinion of the majority and of some of his followers and, despite all his intrigues and experiments (e. g. attending the Barrière meetings[81] wearing a cap, etc., etc.), has been a resounding failure with his Proudhonian society. Had I not been there, our friend Ewerbeck would have fallen for it. *La tête baissée.*[c]

One could hardly help but admire Grün's stratagem! Doubting his chaps' intelligence, he tells them his stories over and over again until they can rattle them off from memory. After every session—nothing was easier, of course, than to reduce such an opposition to silence—the whole defeated gang went scuttling off to Grün, told him what I had said—naturally all of it distorted—, and had their armoury renewed. When next they opened their traps, one could always tell from the first couple of words exactly what the whole sentence would be. In view of this tale-bearing, I was careful not to provide the fellows with anything general which might assist Mr Grün in further embellishing his true socialism; nevertheless, writing not long ago in the *Kölner*[d] on the occasion of the Geneva Revolution,[117] the cur exploited and variously distorted sundry things I had said to the Straubingers, whereas here in Paris he had drummed the *opposite* into them. He is now engaged in political economy, the worthy man.

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[a] new men - [b] See this volume, p. 62. - [c] With his eyes shut. - [d] This presumably refers to a report from Paris 'Hr. Guizot beabsichtigt eine Intervention in der Schweiz' published in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 291, 18 October 1846.

You'll have seen Proudhon's book[a] advertised. I shall get hold of it one of these days; it costs 15 fr. so it's too expensive to buy.

The above-mentioned audience, before whom the performance took place, consists of approx. 20 cabinet-makers, who otherwise foregather only at the Barrière and then with all and sundry, having no really closed association of their own, save for a choral club, though some also belong to the rump of the League of the Just.[52] If we could assemble openly we would soon have over 100 chaps from the cabinet-makers alone. I know only a few of the tailors—who also attend the cabinet-makers' meeting. Nowhere in Paris have I been able to find out anything at all about blacksmiths and tanners. Not a soul knows anything about them.

Not long ago Kriege, as one of the Just, laid his report before the 'Halle'[b] (central authority). Of course I read the missive; but since this constituted a breach of the oath, for which the penalty is death by dagger, rope or poison, you must nowhere record same in writing. The letter proves, just as did his riposte to our attack,[c] that he had benefited greatly from the latter and that he was now more concerned with the things of this world. He gave a long account of their difficulties. The first instalment of this American Straubingers' story concerned their misfortunes—evidently Kriege was at the helm and his management of the money side was big-hearted to say the least, the *Tribun*[d] was given away, not sold, the funds consisted in charitable gifts, in short, by trying to re-enact Chapters III-VI of the Acts of the Apostles not even omitting Ananias and Sapphira,[e] they finally found themselves up to their eyes in debt. The second period, in which Kriege became simply the 'registrar', other chaps having apparently taken over the financial side, was that of recovery. Instead of appealing to the fulness of men's hearts, they now appealed to their lightly tripping feet and to their ± uncommunist side generally, discovering to their surprise that all the money they needed could be raised by organising balls, picnics, etc., etc., and that human frailty could be exploited for the benefit of communism. Pecuniarily speaking, they were now thoroughly flush. Among the 'obstacles' they had to overcome, the doughty Tecklenburger[f] also counts the manifold calumnies and aspersions they, amongst others, had had to endure 'and this recently at the hands of the "communist" philosophers in Brussels'. For the rest he indulges in some trivial prattle against the colonies, recommends 'Brother Weitling' to them (i. e. to his

[a] P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère.* - [b] The People's Chamber (Volkshalle) - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Circular Against Kriege'. - [d] *Der Volks-Tribun* - [e] The Acts 5:1 - [f] Hermann Kriege

most inveterate foes), but for the most part remains fairly down-to-earth, if also somewhat unctuous, and only from time to time is there a little sighing about brotherliness, etc.

Do you get the *Réforme* there? If you don't read it, let me know and I will send you accounts of anything special that appears in it. For the past four days it has been picking on the *National* for refusing to express unconditional approval of a petition for electoral reform which is circulating here. This, the *Réforme* maintains, was entirely due to its partiality for Thiers. Not long ago it was rumoured here that Bastide and Thomas had resigned from the *National,* leaving only Marrast, and that the latter had allied himself with Thiers. This was denied by the *National.* However, changes have been made in its editorial department, but I am not aware of the details; for the past year it is known to have been particularly well-disposed towards Thiers; now the *Réforme* is pointing out how greatly it has compromised itself by this partiality.

Moreover, it is only opposition to the *Réforme,* which has of late led the *National* to commit follies such as denying, purely out of malice, and until it could do so no longer, etc., the story, first told by the *Réforme,* of the Portuguese counter-revolution.[118] The *Réforme* is now at great pains to carry on a polemic no less brilliant than that of the *National,* but without success.

Having got to this point in my letter, I once again went to the Straubingers, where the following transpired: Grün, too impotent to harm me in any way, is now having me denounced at the Barrière. Eisermann is attacking communism at the public Barrière meeting at which, owing to the presence of informers, no one, of course, can answer him back without incurring the risk of being thrown out; Junge answered him furiously (but yesterday we warned him against this). Thereupon Eisermann declared Junge to be the mouthpiece of a third person (myself, of course), who had suddenly irrupted amongst the people like a bomb, and he himself well knew how they were primed for the Barrière discussions, etc., etc. In short, what all his chatter amounted to was an *out-and-out denunciation* to the police; for four weeks ago the landlord in whose house the affair happened said: *il y a toujours des mouchards parmi vous,*[a] and once, at that time, the police inspector also turned up. He accused Junge in so many words of being a 'revolutionary'. Mr Grün was present throughout and prompted Eisermann on what to say. This was the dirtiest trick of

[a] There are always informers among you.

all. According to the facts as I know them, I hold Grün fully responsible for everything Eisermann says. There's absolutely nothing to be done about it. That numskull Eisermann cannot be attacked at the Barrière because this would elicit yet another denunciation of the weekly meeting; Grün is too cowardly to do anything *himself* and in his own name. The only thing that can be done is to have it explained to the people at the Barrière that communism wasn't discussed because that might have exposed the whole meeting to danger from the police.

It's high time I heard from you.

Yours
E.

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## 33

## ENGELS TO MARX[119]

IN BRUSSELS

[Paris, about 23 October 1846]

Dear M.,

Have received the thing against Kriege.[120] Not bad. Since you alone signed, Kriege will no doubt put the more peremptory tone of the first document[a] down to my personal account, and eat humble pie in respect of the second, but little do I care. Let him give free rein to his personal malice and paint me as black as may be in the eyes of the American Straubingers,[86] if that gives him any pleasure.

You will see from the Committee letter[b] how successful I was with the Straubingers here. The devil knows, I didn't spare them. I attacked their worst prejudices, and told them they were not proletarians at all. But Grün also played very beautifully into my hands.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Circular Against Kriege'. - [b] See this volume, pp. 81-86.

For heaven's sake don't stamp your letters to me. If it hadn't been for that damned Leske, who finally sent me a worthless bill of exchange, which I had to return, for the old stuff I had sent to Püttmann[a]—if the cur hadn't left me in the lurch, I'd send you 25 fr. immediately for Committee funds. But meanwhile I shall take upon myself at least the cost of the correspondence with *me*. If I failed to stamp my previous letter, it was because it was too late and I could only get it off by dropping it straight into the letter box. As soon as Leske sends me the money, you'll get a share of it.

None of the Straubingers are to be allowed to see the reply to Kriege. Otherwise it wouldn't be safe from Grün. We must be careful not to let anything disturb the chap until he's finished his work on Proudhon's book, with notes by K. Grün.[b] Then we'll have him. In it he completely retracts a mass of things he has previously said, and delivers himself up body and soul to the Proudhonian system of redemption. Then there'll be no more exploitation, unless he is willing to turn his coat again.

Is Weitling still in Brussels[121]?

I think I shall be able to pull it off with the Straubingers here. True, the fellows are horribly ignorant and, their condition in life being what it is, completely unprepared. There is no competition whatever among them, wages remain constantly at the same wretched level; the struggle with the master, far from turning on the question of wages, is concerned with 'journeymen's pride', etc. The slop-shops are now having a revolutionising effect on the tailors. If only it were not such a rotten trade!

Grün has done a frightful amount of harm. He has turned all that was distinct in these fellows' minds into woolly daydreams, humanitarian aspirations, etc. Under the pretence of attacking Weitlingian and other doctrinaire communism, he has stuffed their heads full of vague literary and petty-bourgeois catch-phrases, maintaining that all else was system-mongering. Even the cabinet-makers, who have *never*, save a few exceptions, been Weitlingians, entertain a superstitious fear of 'bread-and-butter communism' [Löffelkommunismus] and—at least *before* the resolution was passed—would sooner have associated themselves with the woolliest daydreams, peaceable philanthropic schemes, etc., than with this 'bread-and-butter communism'. Here utter confusion reigns.

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[a] F. Engels, 'Description of Recently Founded Communist Colonies Still in Existence'. - [b] P. J. Proudhon, *Philosophie der Staatsökonomie oder Nothwendigkeit des Elends*. Deutsch bearb. von Karl Grün.

A few days ago I wrote to Harney, gently attacking the pacific nature of the FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS[122] and told him, by the way, that he should continue to correspond with you.

Your
E.

[On the back of the letter]

Monsieur Charles Marx
42 rue d'Orléans
Faubourg de Namur
Affranchi. Bruxelles

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## 34

## ENGELS TO MARX[123]

### IN BRUSSELS

[Paris], 2 November [1846]
23, rue de Lille

Where is the long letter you promised so long ago? *Make sure you send Bernays the manuscript,* he only needs what you have[124] since he still has the printed stuff. He has sent nothing to America; whatever may have appeared there was printed without his knowledge or consent.[a] However a lot of copies were printed, and some may have gone as presents from Leske to all points of the compass. We shall investigate the matter. Perhaps through Grün or Börnstein. I have written to Switzerland about the manuscripts,[b] but it would seem that the cur[c] has no intention of replying.[125] Apart from him, there's no one but Jenni; I've played a prank on him and would rather not write, enclose a short note for the fellow in your next. I shall send it on, but it's only for form's sake, the fellow's almost certain to refuse. The first man I

[a] [K. L. Bernays,] 'Das entschleierte Geheimniss der Criminal-Justiz. Eine kommunistische Anschauungsweise', *Der Volks-Tribun,* Nos. 26 and 27, 27 June and 4 July 1846. - [b] A reference to K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology.* - [c] J. M. Schläpter.

wrote to published a short pamphlet by Bernays,[a] but even if he does take the thing, it would appear, *à ce qu'écrit*[b] Püttmann, that he is bankrupt. *Voilà*.[c] I despair of Switzerland. Good advice costs money. Things being what they are, we shall certainly not get rid of 2 volumes together. At most 2 volumes to 2 different publishers. Write about this as well.

Your
E.

I have only just read what the little man[d] has written above about his flight from solitude. It's a good thing we've got him here. He is gradually cheering up again. Greetings to the whole *boutique*.[e]

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## 35

## ENGELS TO MARX[126]

### IN BRUSSELS

[Paris, middle of November-December 1846]

Dear Marx,

The reasons for the brief letter I recently sent Gigot are the following. During the investigation into the disturbances in the Faubourg St. Antoine in October, a multitude of Germans were arrested and questioned, the whole of the second batch consisting of Straubingers.[127] Some of these numskulls, who have now been sent across the border, must have talked a great deal of nonsense about Ewerbeck and myself; IN FACT, in view of their paltriness, nothing else could have been expected of the Straubingers than that they should have been scared to death and have given away all that they knew and more. On top of that, such Straubingers as

[a] [K. L. Bernays,] *Rothschild. Ein Urtheilsspruch vom menschlichen Standpunkte aus.* - [b] from what writes - [c] There! - [d] Karl Ludwig Bernays - [e] company (literally: shop)

I was acquainted with, secretive though they were concerning their own miserable affairs, shamefully sounded the alarm about my meetings with them. That's how these lads are.

At the Barrière, as I have already written and told you,[a] the noble Eisermann delivered himself of a further, detailed *avis aux mouchards*[b] in which he attacked me. Junge was also guilty of some gross indiscretions; the fellow is a trifle swollen-headed, he wishes to be sent to Calais and London at the expense of the French government. In short, M. Delessert set one spy after another at the heels of myself and Ewerbeck, who has long been under suspicion and has an expulsion order hanging over his head. These spies succeeded in following us to the *marchand de vins*,[c] where we sometimes foregathered with the Faubourg stalwarts. This was proof enough that we were the leaders of a dangerous clique, and not long afterwards I learned that M. Delessert had requested M. Tanneguy Duchâtel to issue an expulsion order against me and Ewerbeck, and that there was a splendid pile of documents relating to the case in the Prefecture, almost next door to the place where the whores are medically examined. Needless to say, I had no desire to let myself be banished on the Straubingers' account. I had already anticipated something of the kind when I noticed the nonchalance with which the Straubingers were holding forth for all to hear and arguing all over the place about who was right, Grün or I. I was sick and tired of the whole business, there was no putting the lads to rights; even in discussion they wouldn't speak their minds frankly just like the people in London, and I had achieved my main object, the triumph over Grün. It was an excellent opportunity of honourably ridding myself of the Straubingers, vexing as the whole affair was in other respects. I therefore let it be known to them that I could no longer remain their tutor and that, furthermore, they should watch their step. Ewerbeck at once decided to go on a journey and appears, indeed, to have departed forthwith[128]—at any rate, I haven't seen him since. Where he has gone, I do not know. The police had also been looking for the little man (Bernays) who, however, had withdrawn to his old place[d] because of a variety of escapades (it's remarkable what mad scrapes he gets into as soon as he sets foot in the civilised world). When he will return to Paris, I don't know, but in no circumstances will he move into lodgings where he had intended to, hence *the address that was given you is useless.* He

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[a] See this volume, pp. 85-86. - [b] notification to the informers - [c] wineshop - [d] i. e. Sarcelles

has safely received his manuscript.[a] Meanwhile I can thank the noble police for having reft me from the arms of the Straubingers and reminded me of the pleasures life has to offer. If the suspicious individuals who have been following me for the past fortnight are really informers, as I am convinced some of them are, the Prefecture must of late have given out a great many entrance tickets to the *bals* Montesquieu, Valentino, Prado, etc., etc. I am indebted to Mr Delessert for some delicious encounters with *grisettes* and for a great deal of pleasure, *car j'ai voulu profiter des journées et des nuits qui pouvaient être mes dernières à Paris. Enfin,*[b] since in other respects I've been left in peace up till now, everything would appear to have quietened down. But in future address all letters to Monsieur A. F. Körner, artiste-peintre, 29, rue neuve Bréda, Paris, with an envelope inside bearing my initials, taking care that nothing shows through.

You will understand that, in the circumstances, I have had to leave W. Weitling entirely to his own devices. Having seen none of our people, I have no idea whether he has been or still is here. Nor does it matter. I don't know the Weitlingians at all and, he'd get a fine welcome amongst those I know; because of their eternal clashes with his tailor friends, they feel the most frightful animosity towards him.

The affair with the London people[129] is annoying precisely because of Harney and because they, of all the Straubingers, were the only ones with whom one could attempt to make contact frankly and without *arrière-pensée.* But if the fellows are unwilling, *eh bien,*[c] let them go. In any case one can never know if they won't produce another address as miserable as the one to Mr Ronge or to the Schleswig-Holsteiners.[130] On top of that, there's their perpetual envy of us as 'scholars'. By the way, we have two methods by which we can rid ourselves of them should they rebel: either make a clean break with them, or simply allow the correspondence to lapse. I would be for the latter, if their last letter admits of an answer which, without giving undue offence, is lukewarm enough to rob them of any desire to reply quickly. Then another long delay before answering—and two or three letters will be enough to consign this drowsy correspondence to its last sleep. For how and why should we ridicule these fellows? We have no press organ and even if we had one, they are no writers

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[a] See this volume, p. 88. - [b] since I wanted to take advantage of the days and nights which might well be my last in Paris. Anyway - [c] well, then

but confine themselves to an occasional proclamation which no one ever sees, still less cares about. If we are to ridicule the Straubingers *at all,* we can always avail ourselves of their fine documents; if the correspondence finally does lapse, well and good; the rupture will be gradual and attract no great attention. In the meantime we shall quietly make the necessary arrangements with Harney, taking care that *they* owe us the final letter (which they will in fact do, once they have been made to wait 6-10 weeks for an answer), and then leave them to clamour. An immediate rupture with the fellows would bring us neither gain nor *gloire.*[a] *Theoretical* disagreements are hardly possible with the fellows since they have no theory and, *sauf*[b] for their possible unspoken misgivings, they wish to learn from us: nor are they able to formulate their misgivings, so that all discussion with them is impossible except, perhaps, face to face. In the case of an open rupture they would bring up against us all that generalised communist thirst-for-learning stuff: we'd have been glad to learn from the learned gentlemen, if they'd had something decent, etc. *Practical* party differences would—since there are only a few of them on the committee and a few of us too—soon degenerate into mere personalities and ill-natured exchanges, at least on the face of it. As a party we can enter the lists against literary men, but not against Straubingers. They are, after all, a couple of 100 strong, vouched for among the English by Harney, proclaimed in Germany by the *Rheinischer Beobachter,* etc., etc., a rabid and by no means impotent communist society; they are, furthermore, the most tolerable of the Straubingers, and can certainly not be bettered so long as there is no change in Germany. We have learnt from this business that, in the absence of a proper movement in Germany, nothing can be done with the Straubingers, even the best of them. It is better after all to let them quietly go their own way, attacking them only as a whole, *en bloc,* than to provoke a dispute which might only serve to sully our reputations. Vis-à-vis *ourselves,* these lads declare themselves to be 'the people', 'the proletarians', and we can only appeal to a communist proletariat which has yet to take shape in Germany. In addition, the Prussian Constitution is in the offing, and we might then be able to make use of the fellows' signatures, etc., etc.—Anyway, my words of wisdom will doubtless arrive too late and you will already have passed and acted on a resolution in this matter. I would, by the

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[a] glory - [b] save

way, have written earlier, but I was waiting to see what turn the affair with the police would take.

I have just received a reply from the Swiss publisher.[a] The letter, enclosed herewith, only confirms my belief that the fellow's a scoundrel. No ordinary publisher would accept so amiably after keeping one waiting x weeks. Now we shall have to see what the Bremen man[b] says, and then we can always do as we think fit. Then again there's the fellow at Belle-Vue near Constance; perhaps something might be arranged with him[131]; I could try him again if the Bremen man's not agreeable. Meanwhile I'll make some more enquiries in Herisau—if only we had a decent fellow in Switzerland to whom one could send the manuscript[c] with instructions to hand it over only against payment in cash.[d] But the only one there is that thirsty paterfamilias Püttmann!

During the recent bad spell, one of my innocent, incidental pastimes, besides girls, has been to concern myself to some extent with Denmark and the other northern countries.[132] What an abomination! Rather the smallest German than the biggest Dane! Nowhere else is the *misère* of morality, guilds and estates still carried to such a pitch. The Dane regards Germany as a country which one visits in order to 'keep mistresses and squander one's fortune on them' (*imedens at han reiste i Tydskland, havde han en Maitresse, som fortärede ham den bedste del af hans Midler,*[e] we read in a Danish school book). He calls the German a *tydsk*[f] windbag, and regards himself as the true representative of the Teutonic soul—the Swede in turn despises the Dane as 'Germanised' and degenerate, garrulous and effete—the Norwegian looks down on the Gallicised Swede and his aristocracy and rejoices in the fact that at home in Norge[g] exactly the same stupid, peasant economy is dominant as at the time of the noble Canute, and he, for his part, is treated *en canaille*[h] by the Icelander, who still continues to speak exactly the same language as the unwashed Vikings of anno 900, swills whale oil, lives in a mud hut and goes to pieces in any atmosphere that does not reek of rotten fish. I have several times felt tempted to be proud of the fact that I am at least no Dane, nor yet an Icelander, but merely a German. The editor of the most advanced Swedish newspaper, the *Aftonbladet,* has twice been here in Paris to seek enlightenment on the organisation of labour,

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[a] Johann Michael Schläpfer - [b] Kühtmann - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology.* - [d] Engels here uses the Dutch: *baar Geld.* - [e] while travelling in Germany, he had a mistress who ran through the better part of his fortune - [f] German - [g] Norway - [h] scornfully

has for years taken the *Bon Sens* and the *Démocratie pacifique;* he solemnly conferred with Louis Blanc and Considérant, but found himself out of his depth, and returned home none the wiser. Now as before he loudly advocates free competition or, as the Swedes have it, freedom of *nourishment* or else *självförsörjningsfrihet,* freedom of self-supply (which sounds even better than freedom to pursue a *trade*). Of course, they're still up to their necks in the guild nonsense and, in the parliaments, it's precisely the bourgeois who are the most rabid conservatives. Throughout the whole country there are only two proper towns, *à* 80,000 and 40,000 inhabitants respectively, the third, Norrköpping, having only 12,000 and all the rest perhaps 1,000, 2,000, 3,000. At every post station there's one inhabitant. In Denmark things are scarcely better, since they have only one solitary city there, in which the guilds indulge in the most ludicrous proceedings, madder even than in Basle or Bremen, and where you aren't allowed on the promenade without an entrance ticket. The only thing these countries are good for is to show what the Germans would do if they had freedom of the press, viz., what the Danes have actually done, immediately found a 'society for the proper use of the free press', and print almanacs full of Christian good intentions. The Swedish *Aftonbladet* is as tame as the *Kölner Zeitung,* but considers itself 'democratic in the true sense of the word'. On the other hand the Swedes have the novels of Fröken[a] Bremer and the Danes of Councillor of State (Eta traad) Oehlenschläger, Commander of the Order of the Dannebrog.[133] There's also a terrific number of Hegelians there and the language, every third word of which is filched from the German, is admirably suited to speculation.

A report was begun long ago and will follow within the next few days.[134] Write and tell me if you have Proudhon's book.[b]

If you wish to make use of Proudhon's book, which is bad, for your own book,[5] I will send you the very extensive excerpts I have made. It's not worth the 15 francs it costs.

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[a] Miss - [b] P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère.*

## 36

## MARX TO PAVEL VASILYEVICH ANNENKOV[135]

IN PARIS

Brussels, 28 December [1846] Rue d'Orléans, 42, Faubourg Namur

My dear Mr Annenkov,

You would long since have had a reply to your letter of 1 November had not my bookseller delayed sending me Mr Proudhon's book, *Philosophie de la misère*, until last week. I skimmed through it in two days so as to be able to give you my opinion straight away. Having read the book very cursorily, I cannot go into details but can only let you have the general impression it made on me. Should you so desire, I could go into it in greater detail in another letter.

To be frank, I must admit that I find the book on the whole poor, if not very poor. You yourself make fun in your letter of the 'little bit of German philosophy' paraded by Mr Proudhon in this amorphous and overweening work, but you assume that the economic argument has remained untainted by the philosophic poison. Therefore I am by no means inclined to ascribe the faults of the economic argument to Mr Proudhon's philosophy. Mr Proudhon does not provide a false critique of political economy because his philosophy is absurd—he produces an absurd philosophy because he has not understood present social conditions in their *engrènement*,[a] to use a word which Mr Proudhon borrows from Fourier, like so much else.

Why does Mr Proudhon speak of God, of universal reason, of mankind's impersonal reason which is never mistaken, which has at all times been equal to itself and of which one only has to be correctly aware in order to arrive at truth? Why does he indulge in feeble Hegelianism in order to set himself up as an *esprit fort*[b]?

He himself provides the key to this enigma. Mr Proudhon sees in history a definite series of social developments; he finds progress realised in history; finally, he finds that men, taken as individuals, did not know what they were about, were mistaken as to their own course, i. e. that their social development appears at first sight to be something distinct, separate and independent of their individual development. He is unable to explain these facts,

[a] intermeshing - [b] Literally: strong intellect

and the hypothesis of universal reason made manifest is ready to hand. Nothing is easier than to invent mystical causes, i.e. phrases in which common sense is lacking.

But in admitting his total incomprehension of the historical development of mankind—and he admits as much in making use of high-flown expressions such as universal reason, God, etc.—does not Mr Proudhon admit, implicitly and of necessity, his inability to understand *economic development*?

What is society, irrespective of its form? The product of man's interaction upon man. Is man free to choose this or that form of society? By no means. If you assume a given state of development of man's productive faculties, you will have a corresponding form of commerce and consumption. If you assume given stages of development in production, commerce or consumption, you will have a corresponding form of social constitution, a corresponding organisation, whether of the family, of the estates or of the classes—in a word, a corresponding civil society. If you assume this or that civil society, you will have this or that political system, which is but the official expression of civil society. This is something Mr Proudhon will never understand, for he imagines he's doing something great when he appeals from the state to civil society, i. e. to official society from the official epitome of society.

Needless to say, man is not free to choose *his productive forces*—upon which his whole history is based—for every productive force is an acquired force, the product of previous activity. Thus the productive forces are the result of man's practical energy, but that energy is in turn circumscribed by the conditions in which man is placed by the productive forces already acquired, by the form of society which exists before him, which he does not create, which is the product of the preceding generation. The simple fact that every succeeding generation finds productive forces acquired by the preceding generation and which serve it as the raw material of further production, engenders a relatedness in the history of man, engenders a history of mankind, which is all the more a history of mankind as man's productive forces, and hence his social relations, have expanded. From this it can only be concluded that the social history of man is never anything else than the history of his individual development, whether he is conscious of this or not. His material relations form the basis of all his relations. These material relations are but the necessary forms in which his material and individual activity is realised.

Mr Proudhon confuses ideas and things. Man never renounces what he has gained, but this does not mean that he never

renounces the form of society in which he has acquired certain productive forces. On the contrary. If he is not to be deprived of the results obtained or to forfeit the fruits of civilisation, man is compelled to change all his traditional social forms as soon as the mode of commerce ceases to correspond to the productive forces acquired. Here I use the word *commerce* in its widest sense—as we would say *Verkehr* in German. For instance, privilege, the institution of guilds and corporations, the regulatory system of the Middle Ages, were the only social relations that corresponded to the acquired productive forces and to the pre-existing social conditions from which those institutions had emerged. Protected by the corporative and regulatory system, capital had accumulated, maritime trade had expanded, colonies had been founded—and man would have lost the very fruits of all this had he wished to preserve the forms under whose protection those fruits had ripened. And, indeed, two thunderclaps occurred, the revolutions of 1640 and of 1688. In England, all the earlier economic forms, the social relations corresponding to them, and the political system which was the official expression of the old civil society, were destroyed. Thus, the economic forms in which man produces, consumes and exchanges are *transitory and historical.* With the acquisition of new productive faculties man changes his mode of production and with the mode of production he changes all the economic relations which were but the necessary relations of that particular mode of production.

It is this that Mr Proudhon has failed to understand, let alone demonstrate. Unable to follow the real course of history, Mr Proudhon provides a phantasmagoria which he has the presumption to present as a dialectical phantasmagoria. He no longer feels any need to speak of the seventeenth, eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, for his history takes place in the nebulous realm of the imagination and soars high above time and place. In a word, it is Hegelian trash, it is not history, it is not profane history—history of mankind, but sacred history—history of ideas. As seen by him, man is but the instrument used by the idea or eternal reason in order to unfold itself. The *evolutions* of which Mr Proudhon speaks are presumed to be evolutions such as take place in the mystical bosom of the absolute idea. If the veil of this mystical language be rent, it will be found that what Mr Proudhon gives us is the order in which economic categories are arranged within his mind. It would require no great effort on my part to prove to you that this arrangement is the arrangement of a very disorderly mind.

Mr Proudhon opens his book with a dissertation on *value* which is his hobby-horse. For the time being I shall not embark upon an examination of that dissertation.

The series of eternal reason's economic evolutions begins with the *division of labour*. For Mr Proudhon, the division of labour is something exceedingly simple. But was not the caste system a specific division of labour? And was not the corporative system another division of labour? And is not the division of labour in the manufacturing system, which began in England in the middle of the seventeenth century and ended towards the end of the eighteenth century, likewise entirely distinct from the division of labour in big industry, in modern industry?

Mr Proudhon is so far from the truth that he neglects to do what even profane economists do. In discussing the division of labour, he feels no need to refer to the world *market*. Well! Must not the division of labour in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when there were as yet no colonies, when America was still non-existent for Europe, and when Eastern Asia existed only through the mediation of Constantinople, have been utterly different from the division of labour in the seventeenth century, when colonies were already developed?

And that is not all. Is the whole internal organisation of nations, are their international relations, anything but the expression of a given division of labour? And must they not change as the division of labour changes?

Mr Proudhon has so little understood the question of the division of labour that he does not even mention the separation of town and country which occurred in Germany, for instance, between the ninth and twelfth centuries. Thus, to Mr Proudhon, that separation must be an eternal law because he is unaware either of its origin or of its development. Throughout his book he speaks as though this creation of a given mode of production were to last till the end of time. All that Mr Proudhon says about the division of labour is but a résumé, and a very superficial and very incomplete résumé at that, of what Adam Smith and a thousand others said before him.

The second evolution is *machinery*. With Mr Proudhon, the relation between the division of labour and machinery is a wholly mystical one. Each one of the modes of the division of labour had its specific instruments of production. For instance, between the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth century man did not make everything by hand. He had tools and very intricate ones, such as looms, ships, levers, etc., etc.

Thus nothing could be more absurd than to see machinery as deriving from the division of labour in general.

In passing I should also point out that, not having understood the historical origin of machinery, Mr. Proudhon has still less understood its development. Up till 1825—when the first general crisis occurred—it might be said that the requirements of consumption as a whole were growing more rapidly than production, and that the development of machinery was the necessary consequence of the needs of the market. Since 1825, the invention and use of machinery resulted solely from the war between masters and workmen. But this is true only of England. As for the European nations, they were compelled to use machinery by the competition they were encountering from the English, in their home markets as much as in the world market. Finally, where North America was concerned, the introduction of machinery was brought about both by competition with other nations and by scarcity of labour, i. e. by the disproportion between the population and the industrial requirements of North America. From this you will be able to see what wisdom Mr Proudhon evinces when he conjures up the spectre of competition as the third evolution, as the antithesis of machinery!

Finally, and generally speaking, it is truly absurd to make *machinery* an economic category alongside the division of labour, competition, credit, etc.

Machinery is no more an economic category than the ox who draws the plough. The present *use* of machinery is one of the relations of our present economic system, but the way in which machinery is exploited is quite distinct from the machinery itself. Powder is still powder, whether you use it to wound a man or to dress his wounds.

Mr Proudhon surpasses himself in causing to grow inside his own brain competition, monopoly, taxes or police, balance of trade, credit and property in the order I have given here. Nearly all the credit institutions had been developed in England by the beginning of the eighteenth century, before the invention of machinery. State credit was simply another method of increasing taxes and meeting the new requirements created by the rise to power of the bourgeois class. Finally, *property* constitutes the last category in Mr Proudhon's system. In the really existing world, on the other hand, the division of labour and all Mr Proudhon's other categories are social relations which together go to make up what is now known as *property*; outside these relations bourgeois property is nothing but a metaphysical or juridical illusion. The

property of another epoch, feudal property, developed in a wholly different set of social relations. In establishing property as an independent relation, Mr Proudhon is guilty of more than a methodological error: he clearly proves his failure to grasp the bond linking all forms of *bourgeois* production, or to understand the *historical* and *transitory* nature of the forms of production in any one epoch. Failing to see our social institutions as historical products and to understand either their origin or their development, Mr Proudhon can only subject them to a dogmatic critique.

Hence Mr Proudhon is compelled to resort to a *fiction* in order to explain development. He imagines that the division of labour, credit, machinery, etc., were all invented in the service of his *idée fixe*, the idea of equality. His explanation is sublimely naïve. These things were invented for the sake of equality, but unfortunately they have turned against equality. That is the whole of his argument. In other words, he makes a gratuitous assumption and, because actual development contradicts his fiction at every turn, he concludes that there is a contradiction. He conceals the fact that there is a contradiction only between his *idées fixes* and the real movement.

Thus Mr Proudhon, chiefly because he doesn't know history, fails to see that, in developing his productive faculties, i.e. in living, man develops certain inter-relations, and that the nature of these relations necessarily changes with the modification and the growth of the said productive faculties. He fails to see that *economic categories* are but *abstractions* of those real relations, that they are truths only in so far as those relations continue to exist. Thus he falls into the error of bourgeois economists who regard those economic categories as eternal laws and not as historical laws which are laws only for a given historical development, a specific development of the productive forces. Thus, instead of regarding politico-economic categories as abstractions of actual social relations that are transitory and historical, Mr Proudhon, by a mystical inversion, sees in the real relations only the embodiment of those abstractions. Those abstractions are themselves formulas which have been slumbering in the bosom of God the Father since the beginning of the world.

But here our good Mr Proudhon falls prey to severe intellectual convulsions. If all these economic categories are emanations of God's heart, if they are the hidden and eternal life of man, how is it, first, that there is any development and, secondly, that Mr Proudhon is not a conservative? He explains these evident contradictions in terms of a whole system of antagonisms.

In order to explain this system of antagonisms, let us take an example.

*Monopoly* is good because it is an economic category, hence an emanation of God. Competition is good because it, too, is an economic category. But what is not good is the reality of monopoly and the reality of competition. And what is even worse is that monopoly and competition mutually devour each other. What is to be done about it? Because these two eternal thoughts of God contradict each other, it seems clear to him that, in God's bosom, there is likewise a synthesis of these two thoughts in which the evils of monopoly are balanced by competition and vice versa. The result of the struggle between the two ideas will be that only the good aspects will be thrown into relief. This secret idea need only be wrested from God and put into practice and all will be for the best; the synthetic formula concealed in the night of mankind's impersonal reason must be revealed. Mr Proudhon does not hesitate for a moment to act as revealer.

But take a brief glance at real life. In present-day economic life you will find, not only competition and monopoly, but also their synthesis, which is not a *formula* but a *movement.* Monopoly produces competition, competition produces monopoly. That equation, however, far from alleviating the difficulties of the present situation, as bourgeois economists suppose, gives rise to a situation even more difficult and involved. Thus, by changing the basis upon which the present economic relations rest, by abolishing the present *mode* of production, you abolish not only competition, monopoly and their antagonism, but also their unity, their synthesis, the movement whereby a true balance is maintained between competition and monopoly.

Let me now give you an example of Mr Proudhon's dialectics.

*Freedom* and *slavery* constitute an antagonism. There is no need for me to speak either of the good or of the bad aspects of freedom. As for slavery, there is no need for me to speak of its bad aspects. The only thing requiring explanation is the good side of slavery. I do not mean indirect slavery, the slavery of proletariat; I mean direct slavery, the slavery of the Blacks in Surinam, in Brazil, in the southern regions of North America.

Direct slavery is as much the pivot upon which our present-day industrialism turns as are machinery, credit, etc. Without slavery there would be no cotton, without cotton there would be no modern industry. It is slavery which has given value to the colonies, it is the colonies which have created world trade, and world trade is the necessary condition for large-scale machine

industry. Consequently, prior to the slave trade, the colonies sent very few products to the Old World, and did not noticeably change the face of the world. Slavery is therefore an economic category of paramount importance. Without slavery, North America, the most progressive nation, would be transformed into a patriarchal country. Only wipe North America off the map and you will get anarchy, the complete decay of trade and modern civilisation. But to do away with slavery would be to wipe America off the map. Being an economic category, slavery has existed in all nations since the beginning of the world. All that modern nations have achieved is to disguise slavery at home and import it openly into the New World. After these reflections on slavery, what will the good Mr Proudhon do? He will seek the synthesis of liberty and slavery, the true golden mean, in other words the balance between slavery and liberty.

Mr Proudhon understands perfectly well that men manufacture worsted, linens and silks; and whatever credit is due for understanding such a trifle! What Mr Proudhon does not understand is that, according to their faculties, men also produce the *social relations* in which they produce worsted and linens. Still less does Mr Proudhon understand that those who produce social relations in conformity with their material productivity also produce the *ideas, categories,* i.e. the ideal abstract expressions of those same social relations. Indeed, the categories are no more eternal than the relations they express. They are historical and transitory products. To Mr Proudhon, on the contrary, the prime cause consists in abstractions and categories. According to him it is these and not men which make history. *The abstraction, the category regarded as such,* i.e. as distinct from man and his material activity, is, of course, immortal, immutable, impassive. It is nothing but an entity of pure reason, which is only another way of saying that an abstraction, regarded as such, is abstract. An admirable *tautology!*

Hence, to Mr Proudhon, economic relations, seen in the form of categories, are eternal formulas without origin or progress.

To put it another way: Mr Proudhon does not directly assert that to him *bourgeois life* is an *eternal truth*; he says so indirectly, by deifying the categories which express bourgeois relations in the form of thought. He regards the products of bourgeois society as spontaneous entities, endowed with a life of their own, eternal, the moment these present themselves to him in the shape of categories, of thought. Thus he fails to rise above the bourgeois horizon. Because he operates with bourgeois thoughts and assumes them to be eternally true, he looks for the synthesis of

those thoughts, their balance, and fails to see that their present manner of maintaining a balance is the only possible one.

In fact he does what all good bourgeois do. They all maintain that competition, monopoly, etc., are, in principle—i.e. regarded as abstract thoughts—the only basis for existence, but leave a great deal to be desired in practice. What they all want is competition without the pernicious consequences of competition. They all want the impossible, i.e. the conditions of bourgeois existence without the necessary consequences of those conditions. They all fail to understand that the bourgeois form of production is an historical and transitory form, just as was the feudal form. This mistake is due to the fact that, to them, bourgeois man is the only possible basis for any society, and that they cannot envisage a state of society in which man will have ceased to be bourgeois.

Hence Mr Proudhon is necessarily *doctrinaire*. The historical movement by which the present world is convulsed resolves itself, so far as he is concerned, into the problem of discovering the right balance, the synthesis of two bourgeois thoughts. Thus, by subtlety, the clever fellow discovers God's secret thought, the unity of two isolated thoughts which are isolated thoughts only because Mr Proudhon has isolated them from practical life, from present-day production, which is the combination of the realities they express. In place of the great historical movement which is born of the conflict between the productive forces already acquired by man, and his social relations which no longer correspond to those productive forces, in the place of the terrible wars now imminent between the various classes of a nation and between the various nations, in place of practical and violent action on the part of the masses, which is alone capable of resolving those conflicts, in place of that movement—vast, prolonged and complex—Mr Proudhon puts the cacky-dauphin movement[136] of his own mind. Thus it is the savants, the men able to filch from God his inmost thoughts, who make history. All the lesser fry have to do is put their revelations into practice.

Now you will understand why Mr Proudhon is the avowed enemy of all political movements. For him, the solution of present-day problems does not consist in public action but in the dialectical rotations of his brain. Because to him the categories are the motive force, it is not necessary to change practical life in order to change the categories; on the contrary, it is necessary to change the categories, whereupon actual society will change as a result.

In his desire to reconcile contradictions Mr Proudhon does not

ask himself whether the very basis of those contradictions ought not to be subverted. He is exactly like the political doctrinaire who wants a king and a chamber of deputies and a chamber of peers as integral parts of social life, as eternal categories. Only he seeks a new formula with which to balance those powers (whose balance consists precisely in the actual movement in which one of those powers is now the conqueror now the slave of the other). In the eighteenth century, for instance, a whole lot of mediocre minds busied themselves with finding the true formula with which to maintain a balance between the social estates, the nobility, the king, the parliaments,[137] etc., and the next day there was neither king, nor parliament, nor nobility. The proper balance between the aforesaid antagonisms consisted in the convulsion of all the social relations which served as a basis for those feudal entities and for the antagonism between those feudal entities.

Because Mr Proudhon posits on the one hand eternal ideas, the categories of pure reason, and, on the other, man and his practical life which, according to him, is the practical application of these categories, you will find in him from the very outset a *dualism* between life and ideas, between soul and body—a dualism which recurs in many forms. So you now see that the said antagonism is nothing other than Mr Proudhon's inability to understand either the origin or the profane history of the categories he has deified.

My letter is already too long for me to mention the absurd case Mr Proudhon is conducting against communism. For the present you will concede that a man who has failed to understand the present state of society must be even less able to understand either the movement which tends to overturn it or the literary expression of that revolutionary movement.

The *only point* upon which I am in complete agreement with Mr Proudhon is the disgust he feels for socialist sentimentalising. I anticipated him in provoking considerable hostility by the ridicule I directed at ovine, sentimental, utopian socialism. But is not Mr Proudhon subject to strange delusions when he opposes his petty-bourgeois sentimentality, by which I mean his homilies about home, conjugal love and suchlike banalities, to socialist sentimentality which—as for instance in Fourier's case—is infinitely more profound than the presumptuous platitudes of our worthy Proudhon? He himself is so well aware of the emptiness of his reasoning, of his complete inability to discuss such things, that he indulges in tantrums, exclamations and *irae hominis probi*,[a] that he

[a] the anger of an upright man

fumes, curses, denounces, cries pestilence and infamy, thumps his chest and glorifies himself before God and man as being innocent of socialist infamies! It is not as a critic that he derides socialist sentimentalities, or what he takes to be sentimentalities. It is as a saint, a pope, that he excommunicates the poor sinners and sings the praises of the petty bourgeoisie and of the miserable patriarchal amorous illusions of the domestic hearth. Nor is this in any way fortuitous. Mr Proudhon is, from top to toe, a philosopher, an economist of the petty bourgeoisie. In an advanced society and because of his situation, *a petty bourgeois* becomes a socialist on the one hand, and economist on the other, i.e. he is dazzled by the magnificence of the upper middle classes and feels compassion for the sufferings of the people. He is at one and the same time bourgeois and man of the people. In his heart of hearts he prides himself on his impartiality, on having found the correct balance, allegedly distinct from the happy medium. A petty bourgeois of this kind deifies *contradiction,* for contradiction is the very basis of his being. He is nothing but social contradiction in action. He must justify by means of theory what he is in practice, and Mr Proudhon has the merit of being the scientific exponent of the French petty bourgeoisie, which is a real merit since the petty bourgeoisie will be an integral part of all the impending social revolutions.

With this letter I should have liked to send you my book on political economy,[5] but up till now I have been unable to have printed either this work or the critique of German philosophers and socialists[a] which I mentioned to you in Brussels. You would never believe what difficulties a publication of this kind runs into in Germany, on the one hand from the police, on the other from the booksellers, who are themselves the interested representatives of all those tendencies I attack. And as for our own party, not only is it poor, but there is a large faction in the German communist party which bears me a grudge because I am opposed to its utopias and its declaiming.

Ever yours
Charles Marx

P.S. Perhaps you may wonder why I should be writing in bad French rather than in good German. It is because I am dealing with a French writer.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology.*

You would greatly oblige me by not keeping me waiting too long for a reply, as I am anxious to know whether you understand me wrapped up as I am in my barbarous French.

First published in extracts in Russian in *Vestnik Yevropy,* Vol. 15, Book 4, St. Petersburg, 1880 and in full in the French original in *M. M. Stasyulevich i yego sovremenniki v ikh perepiske* [M. M. Stasyulevich and His Contemporaries in Their Correspondence]. Vol. III, 1912

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Translated from the French

# 1847

## 37

## ENGELS TO MARX[138]

IN BRUSSELS

[Paris,] Friday, 15 January 1847

Dear Marx,

I would have written to you sooner had Bernays not left me in the lurch. That damned Börnstein, who was one of the people of whom I inquired about your coming here,[139] was never to be found, and I therefore entrusted the matter to Bernays, who said he would come to town on *Monday*[a] at the latest, bringing a letter for you. Instead I received late last night the enclosed scrawl which the lazy fellow had dashed off in Sarcelles the day before yesterday evening, the explanation it contains being hardly of the kind to necessitate 5-6 days' study. But that's the sort of chap he is. I shall, by the way, speak to Börnstein *personally,* for I'm far from satisfied with this explanation and, to be honest, there is no one whose word I trust less than that of Bernays. For six months the man's been drumming into me that you could come here any day, with bag and baggage, and, now that it comes to the point, he makes all this to-do about a passport. As though you needed a passport! No one asks for it at the frontier; Moses[b] came here without anyone asking just as I did and, if you stay with me, I should like to know who is going to ask for it. At most, a Belgian *passeport pour l'intérieur*[c] to establish your identity if necessary, or Mr Leopold's well-known missive: *Cabinet du Roi*[d]—which would suffice for all eventualities. Heine is of exactly the same opinion and, as soon as I can get hold of Börnstein, I'll ask him about it.

Bernays, too, had invented the Tolstoy affair,[e] or rather had been led by Börnstein to believe it, for Börnstein can *make him*

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[a] 11 January 1847-[b] Hess - [c] inland passport - [d] King's private secretariat - [e] See this volume, p. 65.

*believe anything he choses.* All the various items of news contained in Bernays' earlier letters to us come from the same source and, having on a number of occasions witnessed the air of infallibility assumed by Börnstein when spouting his suppositions, his tittle-tattle and his own fabrications to Bernays, who takes everything at its face value, I no longer believe *a single word* of all those important news items 'from the best of sources' which he has conveyed to us in the past.

I saw with my own eyes how Börnstein, merely by affecting omniscience, made Bernays believe (and you know with what enthusiasm Bernays *believes once* he does believe) that the *National* had been sold lock, stock and barrel, body and soul, to Thiers, *argent± comptant.*[a] The little man[b] would have been willing to stake his life on it. He's as incorrigible in this respect as in his highly exalted mortally melancholy disposition. *Pendant le cours de la dernière quinzaine il a été seize fois au bord du désespoir.*[c]

*Cela entre nous.*[d] I shall ask Börnstein again what he thinks about your coming here; Heine, as already mentioned, maintains that you can come in all confidence. Or would you prefer to go to the French Ambassador[e] and demand a passport on the strength of *your Prussian emigration certificate*?

It was very good of you to let me know about Moses' advent. The worthy man came to see me, didn't find me in, I wrote and told him to arrange a rendezvous. This took place yesterday. The man has changed a great deal. His head is adorned with youthful locks, a dainty little beard lends some grace to his angular jaw, a virginal blush hovered about his cheeks, but *la grandeur déchue se peignait dans ses beaux yeux*[f] and a strange modesty had come over him. Here in Paris I have come to adopt a very insolent manner, for bluster is all in the day's work, and it works well with the female sex. But the ravished exterior of that erstwhile world-shaking high-flyer, Hess, all but disarmed me. However, the heroic deeds of the true socialists, his disciples (of whom more anon), and his own, unchanged inner self, restored my courage.[140] Suffice it to say that my treatment of him was so cold and scornful that he will have no desire to return. All I did for him was to give him some good advice about the clap he had brought with him from Germany. He was also a complete fiasco with a number of German painters, some of whom he had known before. Only Gustav Adolf Köttgen has remained faithful to him.

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[a] cash more or less down - [b] K. L. Bernays - [c] In the course of the past fortnight he has been sixteen times on the brink of despair. - [d] This between ourselves. - [e] M. H. Rumigny - [f] fallen greatness was reflected in his fine eyes

The man in Bremen[a] is at any rate preferable to the one in Switzerland.[b] I cannot write to the Swiss, 1. because I have forgotten his address, 2. because I don't want to propose to the fellow a lower fee per sheet than you are proposing to the Bremen man. So [let me know] your proposals for the Bremen man, and at the same time send me the fellow's address. He paid Bernays well for his bad Rothschild pamphlet,[c] but he cheated Püttmann, printing his stuff,[d] but indefinitely postponing payment of the fee on the pretext that his capital was tied up.

Splendid that you should be attacking Proudhon in French. I hope the pamphlet will be finished by the time this reaches you. That you can anticipate as much as you wish of our publication goes without saying *so far as I am concerned.* I too believe that Proudhon's association amounts to the same thing as Bray's plan.[141] I had quite forgotten about the good Bray.

You may have read in the *Trier'sche Zeitung* about the new Leipzig socialist periodical called *Veilchen,*[e] a sheet for *inoffensive* modern criticism!![f] wherein Mr Semmig, as Sarastro, bellows:

"We know no thought of vengeance within these temple walls, where love leads back to duty who'er from duty falls, by frie-ie-ie-iendship's kindly hand held fast, he finds the land of light at last."[g]

But unfortunately, unlike the late Reichel, he hasn't got a bass voice to match. Here Sarastro-Semmig is sacrificing to the 3 deities: 1) Hess—2) Stirner—3) Ruge—all in one breath. The two former have [plumbed] the depths of knowledge. This humble sheet, or humble violet is the craziest thing I have ever read. Such unobtrusive and at the same time insolent insanity is possible only in Saxony.

If only we could rewrite the chapter on 'true socialists' now that they've spread in every direction, now that the Westphalian school, the Saxon school, the Berlin school, etc., etc., have set themselves up separately, alongside the lonely stars of Püttmann, etc.[142] They could be classified according to the celestial constellations. Püttmann the Great Bear, and Semmig the Little Bear, or Püttmann Taurus, and the Pleiades his 8 children. Anyway, he

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[a] Kühtmann. Reference to a publisher who could possibly print Marx and Engels' *The German Ideology.* - [b] J. M. Schläpfer. - [c] [K. L. Bernays,] *Rothschild. Ein Urtheilsspruch vom menschlichen Standpunkte aus.* - [d] A reference to Püttmann's *Prometheus.* - [e] Violets - [f] Report from Leipzig of 6 January 1847 in *Trier'sche Zeitung,* No. 12, 12 January 1847. - [g] Mozart's opera *The Magic Flute* (libretto by Emanuel Schikaneder), Act II, aria of Sarastro.

deserves horns if he hasn't already got them. Grün Aquarius and so on.

*A propos* Grün, I intend to revise the article on Grün's Goethe,[a] reducing it to a $^1/_2$ or $^3/_4$ sheet and adapting it for our publication,[b] *if* you are agreeable; write to me soon about this.[143] The book is too characteristic; Grün extols all Goethe's *philistinisms* as *human,* making out that Goethe, the citizen of Frankfurt and the *official,*[144] is the 'true human being', while passing over if not reviling all that is colossal and of genius. To such an extent that this book provides the most splendid proof of the fact that *human being= German petty bourgeois.* This I had no more than touched on, but I could elaborate it and more or less cut out the remainder of the article, since it isn't suitable for our thing. What do you think?

Your
Engels

[On the back of the letter]

Monsieur Charles Marx, 42, rue d'Orléans, Faubourg de Namur, Bruxelles

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## 38

## MARX TO ROLAND DANIELS

IN COLOGNE

[Brussels,] 7 March [1847]

Dear Daniels,

*You* or *one of the others in Cologne* may get a letter from Hess about communist affairs. I would urgently ask that *none* of *you* should answer until I have provided you with documents and

[a] K. Grün, *Über Goethe vom menschlichen Standpunkte.* - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology.*

letters through W.[a] At all events, I must again *urgently* request you to *come here*. I have some important things to tell you which cannot be communicated by post. If *you* can't come, then H. Bürgers must spend a few days here. You or your representative will stay with me....[b]

So either you or H. Bürgers come to *Malines* as soon as possible.

Forward the enclosed letter to *Zulauff*,[145] Grünstrasse, Elberfeld.

Do not come to *Brussels* but to *Malines* and write the day before to say when you or Bürgers are coming.

You can neglect your bourgeois affairs for a day or two.

Your
Marx

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## 39

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN BRUSSELS

[Paris,] Tuesday, 9 March [1847]

Dear Marx,

The wee pamphlet enclosed was delivered to me this morning by Junge; Ewerbeck had brought it to them a few days ago. Having looked at the thing, I declared it to be by Moses[c] and explained this to Junge, point by point. This evening I saw Ewerbeck, who confessed that he had brought it to them and, after I had thoroughly demolished the thing, came out with the information that he himself, Ewerbeck, was the author of the

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[a] Probably Georg Weerth or Joseph Weydemeyer - [b] The remainder of the letter is missing, save for the next sentences, which are written in the margin. After the words 'with me' Marx added 'see above'. - [c] Hess

pretty concoction. He wrote it, he maintains, during the months that followed my arrival here, inspired by the first rapture into which he had been thrown by the novelties I communicated. That's how these lads are. While mocking Hess for decking himself out in borrowed plumes that didn't suit him, and forbidding the Straubingers[146] to convey what I had told them to Grün lest he purloin it, he sits him down and—with the best intentions in the world, as always—conducts himself no whit better. Moses and Grün could not have more thoroughly bungled matters than this homespun clap-doctor. I, of course, first made fun of him a little and ended up by forbidding him ever to give vent to such stuff again. But it's in these people's bones. Last week I sat down and, partly out of foolishness, partly because I absolutely had to have some money, wrote for anonymous publication a letter, pullulating with smutty jokes, in which I expressed gratitude to Lola Montez.[147] On Saturday I read him some bits out of it, and this evening he tells me, with his customary *bonhomie*, that this inspired him to produce something similar and that he did so the very next day on the same subject, handing it in to Mäurer for his anonymous periodical[a] (it really does appear quite sub rosa and only for the benefit of the editors, being censored by Madame Mäurer, who has already blue-pencilled a poem by Heine). He was, he said, telling me about this in good time to save his honour and avoid committing a plagiarism! This fresh masterpiece by this passionately keen author will, of course, simply be my joke translated into a solemnly effusive style. This most recent exercise of the short gut, though of no significance, shows how extremely urgent it is that either your book or our manuscripts[b] should appear as soon as possible. The fellows are all worried by the thought that such splendid ideas should remain so long concealed from the people, and can think up no better way of getting this load off their minds than by voiding as much of it as they think they have *passablement*[c] digested. So don't let the Bremen man[d] slip through your fingers. If he doesn't reply, write again and accept a minimum, if needs must. Each month they lie idle these manuscripts lose 5-10 fr. per sheet in EXCHANGEABLE VALUE. A few months from now, with *la diète prussienne*[148] *en discussion, la querelle bien entamée à Berlin,*[e] Bauer

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[a] [H. Ewerbeck,] 'Hier Baiern!—Hier Andalusia!', *Die Pariser Horen*, April 1847. - [b] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy* and Marx and Engels' *The German Ideology*. - [c] tolerably well - [d] Kühtmann - [e] the Prussian Diet in debate, the dispute well under way in Berlin

and Stirner will not fetch more than 10 fr. per sheet. With such a topical work one gradually gets to the stage where the high fee demanded as a writer's *point d'honneur* has to be completely set aside.

I spent about a week with Bernays in Sarcelles. He too does stupid things. Writes for the *Berliner Zeitungs-Halle* and is happy as a sandboy that his *soidisant*[a] communist anti-bourgeois expectorations appear in it. The editors and censors naturally allow anything purely anti-bourgeois to stand, but delete the few references that might also reflect unpleasantly on themselves. Fulminates about juries, 'bourgeois freedom of the press', the representation system, etc. I explain to him that this means literally working *pour le roi de Prusse*,[b] and indirectly, against our party—usual warm-hearted outpourings, impossibility of effecting anything; I point out that the *Zeitungs-Halle* is in the pay of the government, obstinate denials, references to symptoms which, in the eyes of everyone save the sensitive inhabitants of Sarcelles, precisely bear out my contention. Result: Inability of warm heart, ingenuous enthusiasm, to write contrary to its convictions, to comprehend any policy that spares those who hitherto were the objects of its mortal hatred. 'Ain't in me nature!' the inevitable *ultima ratio*.[c] I have read x of these articles dated from Paris; they are *on ne peut plus*[d] in the interests of the government and in the style of true socialism. I feel inclined to give up Bernays and to meddle no more in the high-minded and repellent family woes in which he plays the *heros des dévouements*,[e] of boundless devotion. *Il faut avoir vu cela*.[f] The stench is like five thousand unaired featherbeds, multiplied by the release therein of innumerable farts—the result of Austrian vegetable cookery. And though the fellow should ten times tear himself away from the riff-raff and come to Paris, he will return to them as often. You can imagine the kind of moralising humbug all this puts into his head. The *mode composée*[g] family in which he lives is turning him into a perfect narrow-minded philistine. He'll never get me to come to his *boutique*[h] again, nor is he likely to feel any urgent desire to see so unfeeling an individual as myself.

You will very soon be receiving the pamphlet on the Constitution.[i] I shall write it on separate sheets, so that you can insert and

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[a] self-styled - [b] for the King of Prussia, i. e. for nothing - [c] last argument - [d] as much as they could be - [e] hero of devotion - [f] It has to be seen. - [g] complex kind of - [h] place (literally: shop) - [i] F. Engels, *The Constitutional Question in Germany*.

discard.[149] If there's any prospect of Vogler paying something, ask him if he will take the Lola Montez joke—approx. $1^1/_2$-2 sheets, but you needn't tell him the thing originated with me. Let me know *by return,* for otherwise I shall try in Belle-Vue. You'll have seen from the *Débats* or the *Constitutionnel* that, as a result of complaints made by Württemberg, the Great Council has made it impossible for the scoundrelly Schläpfer in Herisau to go on publishing revolutionary stuff; he himself has confirmed this in letters to us and has asked that *nothing further* be sent to him. All the more reason, therefore, to maintain contact with the man in Bremen. If nothing at all comes of it with him, there remains only the publishers and booksellers in Belle-Vue near Constance. *Au reste,*[a] should the placing of our manuscripts clash with the placing of your book, then, for heaven's sake, chuck the manuscripts into a corner, for it's far more important that your book should appear. We're neither of us likely to make much out of our work in that quarter.

In yesterday's (Monday's) *Kölner Zeitung* you may have seen a smug article on the scandalous affair of Martin du Nord.[b] That article was by Bernays—from time to time he takes Börnstein's place as correspondent.

The police here are in a very ugly mood just now. It would seem that, by hook or by crook, they are determined to exploit the food shortage to provoke a riot or a mass conspiracy. First they scatter all manner of leaflets about; put up *placats incendiaires,*[c] and now they have even manufactured and strewn around fire-raising devices which, however, *were not set alight,* in order to make plain to the *épicier*[d] the lengths to which diabolical wickedness can go. On top of this they began a fine game with the *communistes matérialistes*[150] arresting a whole mass of fellows, among whom A knows B, B knows C, C knows D, etc., and now, on the strength of these acquaintanceships and a few statements made by witnesses, they transmogrify the whole lot of them, for the most part unknown to each other, into a 'gang'. The trial of this 'gang' is soon to take place, and if the old *complicité morale* be added to this new system, any individual you care to name can be sentenced without more ado. *Cela sent son Hébert.*[e] By this means, nothing could be easier than to pin something even on *père* Cabet.

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[a] for the rest - [b] Probably a report from Paris 'Affaire Martin du Nord' published in the *Kölnische Zeitung,* No. 67, 8 March 1847. - [c] inflammatory posters - [d] grocer - [e] It stinks of Hébert

If at all possible, do come here some time in April. By 7 April I shall be moving—I don't yet know where to—and about that time I shall also have a little money. So for a time we could enjoy ourselves famously, squandering our all in taverns. However, since the police are being beastly at the moment[151] (besides the Saxon I wrote to you about, my old opponent Eisermann was banished; both have remained here, cf. K. Grün in the *Kölner Zeitung*[a]), it might be as well to follow Börnstein's advice. Try to obtain a passport from the French Ambassador[b] *on the grounds of your emigration*; if that doesn't work, we'll see what can be done at this end—no doubt there is still a conservative deputy who can be persuaded to help. It's absolutely essential that you get out of *ennuyante*[c] Brussels for once and come to Paris, and I for my part have a great desire to go carousing with you. Either *mauvais sujet*[d] or schoolmaster; these are the only alternatives open to one here; a *mauvais sujet* among disreputable good-for-nothings, *et cela vous va fort mal quand vous n'avez pas d'argent*,[e] or schoolmaster to Ewerbeck, Bernays and Co. Or else submit to wise counsel from the leaders of the French radicals which one must later vindicate among the other jackasses lest they unduly flaunt their bloated Germanness. If I had an income of 5,000 fr. I would do nothing but work and amuse myself with women until I went to pieces. If there were no Frenchwomen, life wouldn't be worth living. *Mais tant qu'il y a des grisettes, va! Cela n'empêche pas*[f] one from sometimes wishing to discuss a decent topic or enjoy life with a measure of refinement, neither of which is possible with anyone in the whole band of my acquaintances. You must come here.

Have you seen L. Blanc's *Revolution*[g]? A wild mixture of correct hunches and unbounded craziness. I only read half of the first volume while at Sarcelles *Ça fait un drôle d'effet*.[h] Hardly has he surprised one with some nice observation when he falls head over heels into the most dreadful lunacy. But L. Blanc has a good nose and, despite all the lunacy, the scent he is on is by no means bad. Yet he will get no further than the point he has already reached, being 'rooted to the spot by a spell'—ideology.

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[a] Reference to [K. Grün,] 'Über die Ausweisung von Eisermann und Anderen', *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 60, 1 March 1847. - [b] M. H. Rumigny - [c] vexatious - [d] scamp - [e] and that suits you very badly when you have no money - [f] But so long as there are grisettes, well and good! That doesn't prevent - [g] L. Blanc, *Histoire de la révolution française*, t. 1, Paris, 1847. - [h] It makes a curious impression.

Do you know Achille de Vaulabelle's *Chute de l'Empire, Histoire des deux Restaurations*? Came out last year, a republican on the *National,* and in the historiographical manner of the old school—before Thierry, Mignet, etc. Abysmal lack of insight into the most ordinary relations—in this respect even Capefigue in his *Cent jours* does infinitely better—but interesting on account of the Bourbon and allied basenesses, all of which he catalogues, and of a fairly exact representation and criticism of the facts in so far as his national and political interests don't obtrude. On the whole tediously written, however, precisely because of a lack of perspective. The *National* is a bad historian, and Vaulabelle is said to be Marrast's *amicus.*[a]

Moses has vanished completely. He *promises* to give lectures to those *ouvriers*[b] with whom I do *not* 'consort', makes himself out to be Grün's opponent and my intimate friend! God knows and so does Moses that, at our second and last *entrevue*[c] in the Passage Vivienne, the painter Körner and I left him standing agape, in order to lead astray two girls Körner had picked up. Since then I have only met him once, on *mardi gras,*[d] when he was dragging his world-weary self through the most dreadful downpour and the most arid boredom in the direction of the Exchange. We didn't even deign to recognise each other.

I will take care of the letter to Bakunin [152] as soon as I am sure of his address—up to now it is still *chanceux.*[e]

Apropos, do write to Ewerbeck about the wee pamphlet and make fun of him a little; he is most humbly presenting *ambas posaderas*[f] and is anxious to see blows rained down upon them—you know what I mean.

Well then, write soon and see to it that you come here.

Your
F. E.

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[a] friend - [b] workers - [c] interview - [d] Shrove Tuesday - [e] a matter of chance - [f] both buttocks

# 40

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN PARIS

[Brussels,] 15 May [1847]

Dear Engels,

As you know, Vogler has been under arrest in Aachen since the beginning of May.[a] This has for the time being precluded the possibility of getting the pamphlet[b] you sent here into print. The first 1/3 of it I liked very much. The other 2 will in any case need some alteration. Something more specific on this point in my next.

I enclose the print of your cartoon. I sent it to the *Brüsseler-Zeitung*.[153]

As for the truly nauseous article by Grün or his associates in the *Trier'sche Zeitung*,[c] it is of course now too late; it would have been good if at the outset you had published a two-line counter-statement in the same rag.

I cannot go to London, not having sufficient funds. But we hope to send Wolff over. And then it will be enough that the two of you are there.[154]

*Voce*[d] *money*:

You will remember that *Hess* owes me and my brother-in-law Edgar[e] money from the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*. So I am drawing a *bill* on him from here, *payable* 30 days at *sight*. *Bernays* likewise has owed me *150 fr.* since May of last year. So he too will also be presented with a bill.

I would therefore ask you to do the following:

1. First send me the addresses of both;
2. Inform both of them of the facts and tell the jackasses
3. that if they believe they will be unable to pay the respective sums by 15 June, they are nevertheless to *accept* the bills. I shall then arrange for *cover* in Paris. Naturally you will *only* inform the jackasses of the *latter* if absolutely unavoidable.

At the moment I'm in such financial straits that I have had to have recourse to drawing bills, and after all I don't intend to make

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[a] The original is inaccurate: Vogler was arrested at the beginning of April 1847 and returned to Brussels on 17 June. - [b] F. Engels, *The Constitutional Question in Germany*. - [c] Reference to a report from Paris of 13 April published in the section 'Frankreich' of the *Trier'sche Zeitung*, No. 107, 17 April 1847. - [d] as regards - [e] Edgar von Westphalen

the two jackasses a present of anything. Should the asses only *feign* acceptance of the bills, I must, of course, know at once.

Since the matter is *very pressing*, I expect you not to let a day go by before setting everything in order and *informing* me.

Here in Brussels I have managed to hunt out an *escompteur*.[a]

I cannot write to you at any greater length. About 12 days ago Breyer let a *vein*, but in my *right* arm instead of the *left*. Since I went on working as though nothing had happened, the wound festered instead of closing. The thing could have been dangerous and cost me my arm. Now it's as good as healed. But the arm's still weak. Mustn't be overtaxed.

Your
Marx

[From Gigot]

My dear Fritzchen,

I am just in the middle of reading your pamphlet—so far it has amused me greatly—and feel really happy that I *ain't no* German. May God or Reason or Race preserve us from the petty bourgeoisie!

*Avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être.*[b]

YOURS MOST TRULY
Philippe

P.S. Do drop me *un demi mot*[c] sometime.

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## 41

## MARX TO GEORG HERWEGH

IN PARIS

Brussels, 27 July [1847]
Faubourg d'Ixelles, rue d'Orléans 42

Dear Herwegh,

Engels has just arrived here for a few weeks from Paris,[155] whence he has brought the following anecdote; I should be glad if you would elucidate it at the earliest opportunity.

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[a] a bill discounter - [b] With which I have the honour to be - [c] a few words

Bernays told Ewerbeck: Herwegh came to see me and said that Marx had welcomed him in such a friendly manner that he seemed *to want something* of him. Bernays then gave Ewerbeck his unqualified permission to pass on this *bon mot.*

I would not, of course, put pen to paper on account of this piece of gossip had it not achieved a kind of notoriety among my acquaintances in Paris.

I would therefore request you to tell me categorically by return whether or not there is any truth in this.

Your
Marx

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## 42

## MARX TO GEORG HERWEGH [155a]
### IN PARIS

Brussels, 8 August [1847]

Dear Herwegh,

I hasten to acknowledge receipt of your letter. I learn no more from it than I already knew in advance, namely that the whole thing was the most miserable piece of tattle. All I wanted was a few lines from you in order to show Engels in black and white the nature of German petty bourgeois gossip in Paris. I assure you that, since I moved from Paris, and despite all the precautions I have taken to make myself unfindable and inaccessible, these old women have continued to pursue me with trifles of this kind. Only by being excessively rude can one free oneself of these fools.

I am only sorry to have disturbed you with such stuff in your retreat.—It's typical of these old women to want to hush up and sugar over any genuine party struggle while mistaking for revolutionary activity the German habit of gossiping and making trouble. *Les malheureux.*[a] Here in Brussels we don't suffer from that *misère* at least.

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[a] The wretches.

The Prussian Embassy here has been vigilantly shadowing and observing Bornstedt in order to catch him out in some transgression or other. At last they've succeeded. They *denounced* him and brought down 3 actions on his head: 1) fiscal, for contravening the stamp law, 2) political, for saying in his paper[a] that Louis Philippe ought to be killed, 3) an action for calumniating a Belgian grandee, Mr *Osy*, whom Bornstedt had accused, and rightly so, of profiteering on corn.

None of the 3 actions is of any consequence here, and they will almost certainly result in making the Prussian Embassy, already little esteemed, appear ridiculous. What have Louis Philippe, Osy and the Belgian stamp law to do with them?

The examining magistrate himself[b] declared that all these actions were *pour le roi de Prusse.*[c] The *Brüsseler-Zeitung*, on the other hand, which, despite its many failings, does have some merit and might well have improved,[156] particularly now that Bornstedt has expressed his readiness to help us in every way, is threatened with a sudden pecuniary disaster. How have the noble Teutons behaved in this affair? The booksellers have *cheated* Bornstedt because he couldn't prosecute them. The opposition of all shades, instead of lifting a finger to help, whether in the literary or financial sense, found it more convenient to take exception to the name of Bornstedt. And will such people ever be short of excuses for doing nothing? Now it's the man who's no good, now the wife, now the policy, now the style, now the format—or even the distribution is more or less risky, etc., etc. These gentry want things presented to them on a platter. If there's only *one* opposition paper which is immune from censorship, which is a thorn in the flesh of the government, and whose editor, by the very logic of the enterprise, shows himself complaisant towards all that is progressive, is not this above all an opportunity to be exploited? And, if the paper is inadequate, to make it adequate? But no, our Germans always have 1,000 wise sayings up their sleeve to show why they must let an opportunity slip. An opportunity to do something is to them only a source of embarrassment.

My manuscripts, too, are faring in much the same way as the *Brüsseler-Zeitung*, and on top of that the jackasses keep writing to me day after day, asking why I'm not having anything published, and even reproach me for having written French in preference to

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[a] *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* - [b] Spanoghe - [c] for the King of Prussia, i. e. for nothing.

nothing at all. One will long have to atone for having been born a Teuton.

Farewell. Warm regards to your wife[a] and yourself from my wife and me.

In Paris you'll find an additional list of errata for my French scrawl.[b] Without it some passages are unintelligible.

As soon as you have an hour to spare and nothing better to do, write to your

Marx

[Postscript from Jenny Marx to Emma and Georg Herwegh]

I take advantage of this little space to send you, dear Mrs Herwegh, and your dear husband my hearty greetings. How are you and your two youngsters? They came a little *en retard*[c] compared to my three. We only need a girl to make three couples. My girls[d] are wonderful, but the boy, the boy!![e] *Un petit monstre.*[f] Our best greetings, remember sometimes

Your
Jenny Marx

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## 43

## MARX TO MOSES HESS

### IN BRUSSELS

[Brussels,] 2 September [1847]

Dear Hess,

Present yourself today in the *Chaussée d'Etterbeck,* in the Grand Salon, also known as *Palais royal.*

Marx

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[a] Emma - [b] K. Marx. *The Poverty of Philosophy.* - [c] late - [d] Jenny and Laura - [e] Edgar - [f] A little monster.

## 44

## ENGELS TO MARX [157]

IN ZALT-BOMMEL

[Brussels,] 28-30 September 1847

Tuesday, 28 September

Dear Marx,

There has recently been a very curious business here. All those elements among the local Germans who are dissatisfied with us and what we do have formed a coalition for the purpose of overthrowing you, me and the communists in general, and competing with the Workers' Society.[158] *Bornstedt* is exceedingly displeased; the story emanating from Otterberg, passed on and confirmed by Sandkuhl and exploited by Crüger and Moras, to the effect that we were simply exploiting him, Bornstedt, has made him furious with all of us; *Moras* and *Crüger,* who go about complaining of our alleged cavalier treatment of them, have put his back up even further. *Seiler* is annoyed because of the unpardonable neglect he suffered at the founding of the Workers' Society, and because of its good progress, which has given the lie to all his predictions. *Heilberg* is seeking to take spectacular if unbloody revenge for all the slights that have been, and are being, daily meted out to him. Bornstedt, too, is seething because his gifts of books and maps have failed to buy him the status of an influential democrat and honorary membership of, and a place for his bust in, the Society, instead of which his typesetter[a] will, tomorrow evening, put his name to the vote like that of any ordinary mortal. He is also vexed that he, the aristocratic *homme d'esprit,*[b] should find much less opportunity to make fun of the workers than he had hoped. Then Moras is annoyed at having been unable to win over the *Brüsseler-Zeitung* for Heinzen. *Enfin* all these heterogeneous elements agreed upon a coup that was to reduce us one and all to a secondary role vis-à-vis Imbert and the Belgian democrats, and to call into being a society far more grandiose and universal than our uncouth Workers' Society. All these gentlemen were fired by the idea of taking the initiative in something for once, and the cowardly rascals deemed the moment of your absence admirably suited to that end. But they had shamefully miscalculated.

[a] Karl Wallau - [b] wit

They therefore decided quite on the sly to arrange a cosmopolitan-democratic supper and there to propose without prior warning a society *à la* FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS[122] with workers' meetings, etc., etc. They set up a kind of committee onto which as a matter of form they co-opted the, to them, completely harmless Imbert. After hearing all kinds of vague rumours, it was not until Sunday[a] evening at the Society that I learned anything positive about it from Bornstedt, and on Monday the meal was to take place. I could get no details from Bornstedt except that Jottrand, General Mellinet, Adolf Bartels, Kats, etc., etc., would be there, Poles, Italians, etc., etc. Although I had no inkling whatever about the whole coalition (only on Monday morning did I learn that Bornstedt was somewhat piqued and that Moras and Crüger were moaning and plotting: about Seiler and Heilberg I knew nothing), nonetheless I smelled a rat. But it was essential to attend because of the Belgians and because nothing democratic must be allowed to take place in little Brussels without our participating. But something had to be done about forming a group. Wallau and I accordingly put the matter forward and advocated it vigorously, upon which some thirty immediately agreed to go. On Monday morning I was told by Lupus that, besides the *président d'honneur*, old Mellinet, and the actual chairman, Jottrand, they would have to have two vice-chairmen, one of whom would be Imbert and the other a German, preferably a working man. Wallau was, unfortunately, out of the running since he didn't speak French. That's what he'd been told by Bornstedt. He, Lupus, had replied that in that case it must be me. I told Lupus that it must be him, but he refused point-blank. I was also reluctant because I look so awfully young, but finally I thought that, for all eventualities, it would be best for me to accept.

We went there in the evening.[159] Bornstedt was all innocence, as though nothing had as yet been arranged, merely the officials (*toujours à l'exception de l'Allemand*[b]), and a few registered speakers, none of whose names, save for Crüger and Moras I was able to discover; he kept making off to see to the arrangement of the place, hurried from one person to the next, duping, intriguing, bootlicking for all he was worth. However I saw no evidence of any specific intrigue; this didn't transpire till later on. We were at the Estaminet[c] Liégeois in the Place du Palais de justice. When it came to electing the officials, Bornstedt, contrary to all that had

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[a] 26 September - [b] always excepting the German - [c] tavern

been agreed, proposed Wallau. The latter declined through Wolff (Lupus) and had me proposed, this being carried in style. Thus thwarted, the whole plot collapsed. They now ±[a] lost their heads and gave themselves away. After Imbert had proposed the health of the *martyrs de la liberté*, I came out with a toast in French *au souvenir de la révolution de 1792*[b] and, as an afterthought, of the *anniversaire du 1er vendémiaire an I de la république.*[c160] Crüger followed me with a ludicrous speech during which he dried up and had to resort to his manuscript. Then Moras, who read out an harangue almost entirely devoted to his humble self.[d] Both in German. So confused were their toasts that I have absolutely no recollection of them. Then Pellering in Flemish. The lawyer Spilthoorn of Ghent, speaking French *au peuple anglais*[e] then, to my great astonishment, that hunchbacked spider Heilberg, with a long, school-masterly, vapid speech in French in which he 1) patted himself on the back as editor of the *Atelier Démocratique*; 2) declared that *he*, Maximus Heilberg, had for several months been pursuing—*mais cela doit se dire en français: L'association des ouvriers belges, voilà le but que Je poursuis depuis quelques mois* (*c. à d. depuis le moment où J'ai daigné prendre connaissance du dernier chapitre de la* Misère de la philosophie).[f] He, then, and not Kats and the other Belgians. '*Nous entrerons dans la carrière quand nos aînés n'y seront plus*',[g] etc., etc. He will achieve what Kats and Jottrand could not do; 3) proposed to found a FRATERNAL DEMOCRACY and to reorganise the meetings; 4) to entrust the elected bureau with the organisation of both.

Well now, what confusion! First lump together the cosmopolitan business and Belgian meetings on Belgian affairs and 2) instead of dropping this proposal because everything's going wrong for you, pass it on to the existing bureau! And if he had my departure in mind, should he not have known that it would be unthinkable to bring anyone else but you into the bureau? But the numskull had already written the whole of his speech and his vanity wouldn't allow him to omit anything by which he could seize the initiative in

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[a] more or less - [b] in memory of the 1792 revolution - [c] the anniversary of the First Vendémiaire of the first year of the Republic (22 September 1792, the day when the Republic was proclaimed, fell on the First Vendémiaire according to the republican calendar). - [d] [J.] Imbert, [C.] Moras, F. Crüger, [Speeches delivered at the democratic banquet in Brussels on 27 September], *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, Nos. 80 and 83, 7 and 17 October 1847. - [e] to the English people - [f] but that must be said in French: The Association of Belgian Working Men, that is the goal I have been pursuing for several months (i. e. since the moment I deigned to take cognizance of the final chapter of the *Poverty of Philosophy*). - [g] '*We shall enter the lists when our elders are no longer there*' (*Marseillaise* by Rouget de Lisle)

some way. The thing, of course, went through, but in view of the highly *factice*[a] albeit noisy enthusiasm, there could be no question of putting the confused proposal into better order. Next A. Bartels spoke (Jules[b] wasn't there), and then Wallau demanded the floor. But how intense was my astonishment when suddenly Bornstedt thrust himself forward and urgently demanded the floor for Seiler as a speaker whose name was higher up the register. Having got it, Seiler delivered an interminably long, garrulous, silly, absurdly vapid and truly shameful speech (in French) in which he talked the most hair-raising nonsense about *pouvoirs législatif, administratif* et *exécutif,* gave all manner of wise advice to the democrats (as did Heilberg, who invented the most wondrous things about *instruction et question de l'enseignement*[c]), in which Seiler, further posing *en grand homme,*[d] spoke of democratic societies, *auxquelles j'ai participé et que j'ai peut-être même dirigées (littéralement),*[e] and finally, with the *dernières nouvelles arrivées de Paris,*[f] etc., etc., actually dragged in his precious bureau.[161] In short, it was ghastly. Several speakers followed, a Swiss jackass,[g] Pellering, Kats (very good), etc., etc., and at ten o'clock Jottrand (who blushed with shame for the Germans) declared the sitting closed. Suddenly Heilberg called for silence and announced that Weerth's speech at the FREE-TRADE CONGRESS[162] would be appearing next day in a supplement to the *Atelier qui se vendra séparément*[h]*!!!* Then Zalewski also spoke, whining a while *sur l'union de cette malheureuse Pologne et de cette grande, noble et poétique Allemagne—enfin,*[i] all went home quietly enough but very much out of temper.

Thursday, 30 September

Since the above was written a great deal more has happened and various things have been decided. On Tuesday morning, when the whole plot was clear to me, I hurried round to counter it; that same night at 2 o'clock I went to see Lupus at the bureau[j]: could not Bornstedt be balloted out of the Workers' Society? Wednesday called on all and sundry, but everybody was of the opinion that we couldn't do it. On Wednesday evening, when I

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[a] factitious - [b] Jules Bartels - [c] teaching and questions of education - [d] as a great man - [e] in which I participated and *which I may perhaps even have directed* (literally) - [f] latest news to come from Paris - [g] Marty from Zurich - [h] which would be sold separately - [i] about the union between that unfortunate Poland and that great, noble and poetical Germany—finally - [j] Probably the editorial office of the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung.*

arrived at the Society, Bornstedt was already there; his attitude was equivocal; finally Thomis came in with the latest issue; my anti-Heinzen article which I'd brought him as long ago as Monday and, not finding him in (2 o'clock in the afternoon), had taken to the printers, *was not in it.*[a] On my questioning him, he said there had been no space. I reminded him of what you and he had agreed.[163] He denied it; I waited till Wallau arrived and he told me there had been space enough but that on Tuesday Bornstedt had had the article *fetched* from the printers and had not sent it back again. I went to Bornstedt and very rudely told him as much. He tried to lie his way out. I again reverted to the agreement, which he again denied, save for a few trivial generalities. I passed some insulting remarks—Grüger, Gigot and Imbert, etc., etc., were present—and asked: 'Do you intend to publish the article on Sunday, *oui ou non*?'—'We'll have to discuss it first.'—'I refuse to discuss it with you.'—And thereupon I left him.

The sitting began. Bornstedt, chin cradled in his hands, sat looking at me with a curiously gloating expression. I stared back at him and waited. Up got Mr Thomis, who, as you know, had demanded the floor. He drew a prepared speech out of his pocket and read out a series of the most peculiar aspersions on our sham battle.[164] This went on for some time but, as *cela ne finissait pas,*[b] there was a general muttering, a mass of people demanded the floor, and Wallau called Thomis to order. The latter, Thomis, then read out some half dozen inane phrases on the question and withdrew. Then Hess spoke and defended us pretty well. Then Junge. Then Wolff[c] of Paris who, though he dried up 3 times, was much applauded. Then several more. Wolff had betrayed the fact that our opposition had been purely formal. So I had to take the floor. I spoke—*à la grande déconfiture de*[d] Bornstedt, who had believed that I was too much preoccupied with personal squabbles—I spoke, then, about the revolutionary aspect of the protectionist system, completely ignoring the aforesaid Thomis, of course, and proposed a new question. Agreed.—Pause.—Bornstedt, badly shaken by the vehement way I had addressed him, by Thomis' ratting on him (*il y avait du* Bornstedt *dans son discours*[e]) and by the vehemence of my peroration—Bornstedt came up to me: My dear boy, how terribly impassioned you are,

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[a] F. Engels, 'The Communists and Karl Heinzen'. First article (dated 26 September was not printed in No. 78, 29 September; it appeared in the next issue on 3 October 1847). - [b] it showed no signs of finishing - [c] Ferdinand Wolff - [d] to the great discomfiture of - [e] there were echoes of Bornstedt in his speech

etc., etc. In short, I was to sign the article.—No.—Then at least we should agree on a short editorial introduction.—*Bien, à demain à onze heures au Café Suisse.*[a]

There followed the matter of the admission of Bornstedt, Crüger, Wolff. Hess was the first to get up; he addressed 2 questions to Bornstedt about Monday's meeting. Bornstedt lied his way out, and Hess was weak enough to declare himself *satisfait.* Junge went for Bornstedt personally because of his behaviour at the Society and because he had introduced Sandkuhl under a false name. Fischer came out very energetically against Bornstedt, quite impromptu but very well. Several others likewise. In short, the triumphant Mr von Bornstedt had almost literally to run the gauntlet of the workers. He took a severe drubbing and was so thunderstruck—he, who of course believed he had well and truly bought his way in with his gifts of books—that he could only answer evasively, feebly, concedingly—in spite of the fact that Wallau, fanatically in support of him, was a wretched chairman who permitted him to interrupt the speakers at any and every opportunity. Everything was still hanging in the balance when Wallau directed the candidates to withdraw and called for a vote. *Crüger,* proposed by me as an *exceptionally guileless man, who could in no way harm the Society,* and *purement et simplement* seconded by Wolff, got through. In the case of Bornstedt, Wallau came out with a long, impassioned speech on his behalf. Then I stood up, went into the whole matter of the plot in so far as it concerned the Society, demolished Bornstedt's evasions, each by means of the other, and finally declared: Bornstedt has intrigued against us, has sought to compete with us, but we have won, and hence can now admit him into the Society. During my speech—the best I have ever made—I was constantly interrupted by applause; notably when I said: these gentlemen believed that all had been won because I, their vice-chairman, was going away, but it had not occurred to them that there is, amongst us, one to whom the position belongs by right, one who alone is able to represent the German democrats here in Brussels, and that is Marx—whereupon tremendous applause. In short, no one spoke after me, and thus Bornstedt was not done the honour of being thrown out. He was standing outside the door and listening to it all. I would rather have said my say while he was still in the room, *mais il n'y avait pas moyen,*[b] because I had to spare myself for the final

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[a] Very well, eleven o'clock tomorrow at the Café Suisse. - [b] but it could not be done

blow, and Wallau broke off the discussion. But, like Wolff and Crüger, he had heard every word. As opposed to him, Wolff was admitted almost without a hitch.

In short, at yesterday's sitting Bornstedt, Crüger, etc., etc., suffered such an affront that they cannot honourably frequent the Society again, and they've had enough to last them a long time. But frequent it they certainly will; the shameless Bornstedt has been so reduced by our even greater insolence, by the utter failure of all his calculations, and by our vehemence, that all he can do is trot around Brussels whining to everyone about his disgrace—*le dernier degré de l'abaissement*.[a] He came back into the hall raging but impotent and, when I took my leave of the Society and was allowed to go with every imaginable mark of respect, he departed seething. Bürgers, who has been here since the day before yesterday evening, was present while we discussed Bornstedt.

Throughout, the behaviour of our workers was really *splendid*: the gifts, 26 books and 27 maps, were never mentioned, they treated Bornstedt with the utmost frigidity and lack of consideration—and, when I spoke and had reached my peroration, I had it in my power to have him rejected by a vast majority. Even Wallau admits as much. But we treated him worse than that by adopting him with scorn and contumely. The affair has made a capital impression on the Society; for the first time they have had a role to play, have dominated a meeting despite all the plotting, and have put in his place a fellow who was trying to set himself up against them. Only a few clerks, etc., etc., are dissatisfied, the vast majority being enthusiastically on our side. They have experienced what it means to be associated.

This morning I went to the Café Suisse, and who should fail to turn up but Bornstedt.—Weerth and Seiler, however, were there to meet me; they had just been talking to Bornstedt, and Seiler was obsequiousness and ingratiation personified. I, of course, gave him the cold shoulder. Yesterday's sitting, by the way, was so dramatic, and evolved so splendidly towards its climax that sheer aesthetic emotion momentarily turned Wolff of Paris into a party man. Today I also went to see A. Bartels and explained to him that the German Society was in no way responsible for what had happened on Monday, that Crüger, Bornstedt, Moras, Seiler, Heilberg, etc., etc., were not even members, and that the whole affair, staged *à l'insu*[b] of the German Society, was in fact a bid to

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[a] the lowest depths of debasement - [b] without the knowledge

set up a rival faction. A letter in similar vein, signed by all the committee members, is to be sent to Jottrand tomorrow, when I and Lupus will also be going to see Imbert. I have further written the following letter to Jottrand about the place on the organising committee of the Brussels FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS which will become vacant on my departure:

'Monsieur! Obligé de quitter Bruxelles pour quelques mois, je me trouve dans l'impossibilité de remplir les fonctions dont la réunion du 27 de ce mois a bien voulu m'investir.—Je vous prie donc d'appeler un démocrate allemand résidant à Bruxelles à assister aux travaux de la commission chargée d'organiser une société démocratique universelle.—Je me permettrai de vous proposer celui parmi les démocrates allemands de Bruxelles, que la réunion, s'il avait pu y assister, aurait nommé à la charge qu'en son absence on m'a fait l'honneur de me conférer. Je parle de Mr Marx qui dans mon intime conviction a le droit le plus fondé de représenter à la commission la démocratie allemande. Ce ne serait donc pas Mr Marx qui m'y remplacerait, c'était plutôt moi qui à la réunion ai remplacé Mr Marx. Agréez, pp. pp.'[a]

I had in fact already agreed with Jottrand that I would advise him in writing of my departure and propose you for the committee. Jottrand is also away and will be back in a fortnight. If, as I believe, nothing comes of the whole affair, it will be Heilberg's proposal that falls through; if something does come of it, then it will be we who have brought the thing about. Either way we have succeeded in getting you and, after you, myself, recognised as representatives of the German democrats in Brussels, besides the whole plot having been brought to a dreadfully ignominious end.

This evening there was a meeting of the community[165] at which I took the chair. With the exception of Wallau who, by the way, allowed himself to be converted and whose conduct yesterday was,

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[a] 'Sir, Being obliged to leave Brussels for a few months, I find myself unable to carry out the functions which the meeting of the 27th instant saw fit to entrust to me.—I therefore request you to call on a German democrat resident in Brussels to participate in the work of the committee charged with organising a universal democratic society. I would take the liberty of proposing to you one of the German democrats in Brussels whom the meeting, had he been able to attend it, would have nominated for the office which, in his absence, it honoured me by conferring upon myself. I mean Mr Marx who, I am firmly convinced, has the best claim to represent German democracy on the committee. Hence it would not be Mr Marx who would be replacing me there, but rather I who, at the meeting, replaced Mr Marx. I am, Sir, etc., etc. (cf. pp. 132-33).

indeed, excusable on various grounds for which I made allowance—with this one exception, then, the enthusiasm about the Bornstedt affair was unanimous. The fellows are beginning to feel their own importance. They have at last taken their stand as a society, as a power, vis-à-vis other people, and the fact that everything went with such a splendid swing and that their victory was so complete has made them enormously proud. Junge's in the seventh heaven, Riedel is beside himself with joy, even little Ohnemans goes strutting about like a FIGHTING COCK. Anyway, as I said before, this affair has given, and will continue to give, the Society a tremendous impetus, both internal and external Fellows who otherwise never open their traps have attacked Bornstedt. And even the plot has helped us: firstly Bornstedt went about telling everyone that the German democratic Workers' Society had arranged the meeting and secondly we denied it all and, as a result of both these things, the society has become a general topic of conversation among Belgian democrats and is regarded as a highly significant, *plus ou moins*[a] mysterious power. *La démocratie allemande devient très forte à Bruxelles*,[b] Bartels remarked this morning.

By the way, you too are to be included in the committee's letter to Jottrand. Gigot will sign himself 'Secretary in Marx's absence'.

Settle your financial affairs as quickly as possible and come back here again. I'm itching to get away, but must first wait until these plots have run their course. Just now I can't possibly leave. So the sooner you come the better. But first put your financial affairs in order. At all events I'll remain at my post as long as I possibly can; *si c'est possible*,[c] until you arrive. But for that very reason it's desirable that you come soon.

Your
Engels

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[a] more or less - [b] German democracy is growing very strong in Brussels - [c] if possible

## 45

## MARX TO WERNER von VELTHEIM

### IN OSTRAU NEAR HALLE

Zalt-Bommel, 29 September [1847]

Dear Veltheim,

It will surprise you to receive a letter from me, whom you will by now have all but forgotten.

I will explain to you briefly the reason why I am writing.

You know the present state of affairs in Germany respecting the press. The censorship makes virtually every rational undertaking impossible. On the other hand, such a confusion of views prevails that German literature, after having laboriously achieved a certain unity, is threatened with disintegrating again into a host of local literatures—those of Berlin, Saxony, the Rhineland, Baden, etc.[166] Within these fragmented literatures, moreover, we find in turn a welter of the most heterogeneous religious, political and social views.

Friends in Germany have drawn my attention to the fact that precisely now, in this state of anarchy, the needs of the day would be exactly met by a comprehensive and regular review which, while maintaining a critical attitude towards all these parties and views, would not derive its criticism from preconceived principles, but would rather portray the correlation between Germany's political, religious and social parties and aspirations, and also their literature, on the one hand, and German *economic* conditions, on the other—a review in which, therefore, political economy would play a leading role. That a periodical would be out of the question in Germany itself was a point upon which all were agreed.

It was therefore decided in Brussels to bring out, subsequent to an issue of shares, a periodical of this kind, the editorial side of which would be under my supervision. It was also decided to establish our own type-setting and printing shop out of the proceeds of the shares in order to reduce the costs of production.

Since subscriptions for these shares are being collected all over Germany—at 25 talers a share—I should like to ask you whether you and your acquaintances might wish to associate yourselves with this enterprise.

To me it seems beyond dispute that clarity of consciousness can be introduced into the now highly fragmented German movement,

as into the modern movement generally, only by elucidating in the first place the relations of production and examining and appraising the other spheres of social existence in connection with them.

An exact statement of income and expenditure would be rendered annually. The number of shares amounts to two hundred.[167]

When you reply kindly do so to the following address: À Mr Charles Marx, Bruxelles, Fbg Namur, Rue d'Orléans 42.

I am only here in Holland for a few days on a family matter and am staying with my uncle.[a]

Yours faithfully
Karl Marx

Have you heard anything of Edgar[b]?

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## 46

## ENGELS TO LUCIEN-LÉOPOLD JOTTRAND

### IN BRUSSELS

[Brussels, 30 September 1847]

Dear Sir,

Being obliged to leave Brussels for several months, I find myself unable to carry out the functions which the meeting of 27 September saw fit to entrust to me.[159]

I therefore request you to call on a German democrat resident in Brussels to participate in the work of the committee charged with organising a universal democratic society.

I would take the liberty of proposing to you one of the German democrats in Brussels whom the meeting, had he been

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[a] Leon Philips - [b] Edgar von Westphalen

able to attend it, would have nominated for the office which, in his absence, it honoured me by conferring upon myself. I mean Mr Marx, who, I am firmly convinced, has the best claim to represent German democracy on the committee. Hence it would not be Mr Marx who would be replacing me there, but rather I who, at the meeting, replaced Mr Marx.

Assuring you, Sir, of my profound esteem, I am,

Yours very sincerely
Frederick Engels

Mr Marx, who was absent from Brussels at the time of the meeting, lives at 42, rue d'Orléans, Faubourg de Namur.

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## 47

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN BRUSSELS

Paris, [25-]26 October 1847

Dear Bartholomäus,

Only today am I able to write to you because it was only today that I managed to see little Louis Blanc—after terrible tussles with the *portière*. As a result of my long conversation with him, the little man is prepared to do anything. He was courtesy and friendliness itself, and seems to have no more urgent wish than to associate with us as closely as possible. There is none of the French national patronage about him. I had written to tell him that I was coming with a *mandat formel* to him from the London, Brussels and Rhineland democrats, and also as a CHARTIST AGENT.[168] He asked for details about everything; I described the condition of our party to him in the most glowing terms, spoke about Switzerland, Jacoby, the Badeners as allies[169] etc., etc.

You, I said, were the chief: Vous pouvez regarder M. Marx comme le chef de notre parti (i.e. de la fraction la plus avancée de la démocratie allemande, que je représentais vis-à-vis de lui) et son récent livre contre M. Proudhon [a] comme notre programme.[b] Of this he took most careful note. Then finally he promised to comment on your book in the *Réforme*. He told me a great deal about the *mouvement souterrain*,[c] that is now going on among the workers; he also said that the workers had printed 3,000 copies of his *Organisation du travail* cheaply and that at the end of a fortnight a further edition of 3,000 copies had been needed—he said the workers were more revolutionary than ever, but had learned to bide their time, no riots, only major coups that would be *sure* to succeed, etc., etc. By the way he too would seem to have got out of the habit of patronising the workers.

'Quand je vois des choses comme ce nouveau programme de M. de Lamartine, cela me fait rire! Pour bien juger de l'état actuel de la société française, il faut être dans une position qui vous permet de voir un peu de tout, d'aller le matin chez un ministre, l'après-diner chez un négociant, et le soir chez un ouvrier.'[d]

The coming revolution, he went on, would be quite different from, and much more drastic than, all previous ones, and it would be sheer *bêtise*[e] to keep on thundering only against kings, etc., etc.

By and large, he was very well-behaved and perfectly cordial. You see, the man is ALL RIGHT, *il a les meilleures dispositions du monde*.[f] He spoke of you with great sympathy and said he was sorry that you and he had parted rather *froidement*,[g] ect., etc. He still has a special hankering after a German *and* French review to be published in Paris. Might come in useful later.

As to Ruge, after whom he inquired, I warned him; *il s'est fait le panégyriste de la diète prussienne, et cela même après que la diète s'était*

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[a] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*. - [b] You can regard Mr Marx as the head of our party (i. e. of the most advanced section of German democracy, which I was representing vis-à-vis him) and his recent book against Mr Proudhon as our programme. - [c] underground movement - [d] 'When I see such things as M. de Lamartine's new programme, I can't help laughing! In order to assess the present state of French society properly you have to be in a position which enables you to see a little of everything, to visit a minister in the morning, a merchant in the afternoon, and a working man in the evening.' - [e] stupidity - [f] he has the best intentions in the world - [g] coldly

*séparée sans résultat.*[170]—*Donc il a fait un pas en arrière*[a]?—Yes, indeed.

With *père* Flocon I am hitting it off well. I first approached him as if I were an Englishman and asked him in Harney's name why he so ignored the *Star.*[b] Well, yes, he said, he was sorry, he'd be only too glad to mention it, only there was no one on the editorial staff who understood English! I offered to write a weekly article for him[171] which he accepted *de grand coeur.*[c] When I told him I was the *Star*'s correspondent, he seemed quite moved.[172] If things go on like this we shall have won over this whole trend in four weeks. Flocon wishes me to write an essay on Chartism for his personal benefit, he hasn't the vaguest idea about it. I shall call on him presently and ensnare him further in our net. I shall tell him that the *Atelier* is making approaches to me (which is true; I am going there this evening), and that, if he behaves decently, I shall turn them down. That will touch his worthy heart.

When I've been here a little longer and have grown more accustomed to writing French, I'll make a start on the *Revue indépendante.*

I quite forgot to ask L. Blanc why he hadn't accepted your Congress article.[173] I shall tax him with it when he next comes to see me. By the way I doubt whether he has, *in fact, received* your book. He was quite unable to remember having done so today. And before I went away he spoke in *very uncertain terms* about it. I shall find out within a day or two. If he hasn't got it, I shall give him my copy.

Just imagine, little Bernays, who trots round here and plays the 'martyr'—one betrayed by everybody, one 'who has helped everybody with money or good advice' (*littéralement*)—this creature has a HORSE AND GIG! It's Börnstein's, of course, but no matter. This same chap who makes himself out to be an oppressed, penniless martyr one day, boasts the next that he is the only one *who knows how to earn money.* He has been plodding away at 21 sheets (!) on the Praslin affair[174] which are coming out in Switzerland.[d] The nub of the matter is this: not *la duchesse* but *le duc* is the martyr! My response to his prating about martyrdom was to remind him that he has long owed me 60 fr. He is becoming every inch the industrialist and brags about it. In any case he's cracked.—Even Ewerbeck is furious with him.

[a] he has appointed himself panegyrist of the Prussian Diet, and this even after the Diet had dispersed without a result. So he's taken a step back? (A reference to A. Ruge's 'Adresse an die Opposition des Vereinigten Landtages in Berlin' on 11 June 1847.) - [b] *The Northern Star* - [c] wholeheartedly - [d] K. Bernays, *Die Ermordung der Herzogin von Praslin.*

I have not yet seen Cabet. He is happy, it seems, to be leaving, having noticed that things are showing signs of disintegrating here. Flocon wants to commence the attack, not so L. Blanc, and rightly, although L. Blanc has a finger in all manner of pies and looks forward with glee to seeing the bourgeoisie jolted out of their security by the sudden onset of revolution.

I have been to see *père* Flocon. The good man was cordiality itself, and the honest frankness with which I told him about my affair with the *Atelier* nearly brought tears to his eyes. From the *Atelier* I went on to talk about the *National*: 'Lorsque à Bruxelles nous discutions la question à quelle fraction de la démocratie française on s'adresserait, nous étions unanimement d'accord que dès le premier abord on se mettrait en rapport avec la *Réforme*; car à l'étranger il existe de fortes et de bien fondées préventions contre le *National*. D'abord les préjugés nationaux de cette feuille empêchent tout rapprochement'—'oui, oui, c'est vrai,' said Flocon 'et ceci était même la raison pour laquelle la *Réforme* fut fondée; nous avons déclaré dès le premier jour que nous ne voulons pas des conquêtes'—'et puis,' I went on, 'si je peux en croire mes prédécesseurs, car moi je n'ai jamais été au *National*, ces messieurs se donnent toujours l'air de vouloir protéger les étrangers, ce qui au reste est parfaitement d'accord avec leurs préjugés nationaux; et nous autres, nous n'avons pas besoin de leur protection, nous ne voulons pas de protecteurs, nous voulons des alliés.'—'Ah oui, mais c'est tout à fait différent avec nous, nous n'y pensons pas.'—'C'est vrai, aussi n'ai-je qu'à me louer des procédés des Messieurs de la *Réforme*'.[a]

But how helpful it was that I reminded little Blanc of our affairs. Your Congress speech had, *à ce qu'il paraît*,[b] been mislaid;

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[a] When in Brussels we were discussing the question of which faction of French democracy to approach, we were unanimously agreed that our very first move should be to make contact with the *Réforme*, there being a strong and well-founded bias against the *National* abroad. In the first place this paper's national prejudices prevent any *rapprochement*'—'yes, yes, that's true,' said Flocon, 'and this was precisely why the *Réforme* was founded; we declared from the very outset that we were not out for conquests'—'and then,' I went on, 'if I am to believe my predecessors, for I myself have never been to the *National*, those gentlemen always give the impression of wanting to patronise foreigners, which for that matter is perfectly consistent with their national prejudices; we for our part have no need of their patronage; it is not patrons we want, but allies.'—'Ah, yes, but we're not at all like that; it would never occur to us.'—'True, and I have nothing but praise for the way the gentlemen of the *Réforme* proceed.' - [b] it appears

today he hastened to look for it and send it to Flocon with a very urgent note requesting him to print it forthwith. I explained the thing to Flocon; the man was unable to understand the *cur, quomodo, quando,*[a] because Blanc had sent it to him without any further explanation. Flocon greatly regretted that the thing had become so outdated; while *parfaitement d'accord*[b] with it, he thought it was now too late. Nevertheless he would see whether it could not be included in an article. He would, he said, do his very best.

The article in the *Réforme* on Lamartine's pious intentions was by L. Blanc,[c] as you will have seen. It isn't bad, and in all respects a thousand times better than perpetual Flocon. Undoubtedly he would attack Lamartine very harshly, did he not happen to be his rival just now.

People, you see, are as well-disposed as one could wish. My relations with them are already ten times better than Ewerbeck's ever were. I shall now utterly forbid the latter to write for the *Réforme*. He can relieve himself in the *National* and there compete with Venedey & Co.; he'll do no harm there, and anyway nothing of his will be published.

Afterwards I again visited the *Atelier*. I took with me an amendment to an article in the last issue on English working men[d] which will also be included. The fellows were very well-behaved; I told them *un tas d'anecdotes*[e] about English workers, etc. They requested me most urgently to collaborate, which I shall only do, however, if needs must. Just imagine, the *rédacteur en chef*[f] thought it would be a good idea if the English workers were to dispatch an address to their French counterparts, calling on them to oppose the *libre-échange*[g] movement and champion the cause of *travail national*[h]! *Quel héroïque dévouement!*[i] But in this he failed even where his own people were concerned.

By the way, I was not compelled to make any concessions to these people. I told L. Blanc que nous étions d'accord avec eux sur toutes les questions pratiques et d'actualité, et que dans les questions purement théoriques nous marchions vers le même but; que les principes énoncés dans son premier volume[j] s'accordaient sous beaucoup de rapports avec les nôtres, et que pour le reste il en

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[a] why, how and when - [b] entirely in agreement - [c] L. Blanc, 'Programme de M. Lamartine', *La Réforme*, 27 October 1847. - [d] F. Engels, 'The Masters and the Workers in England' written in reply to the article 'Les maîtres et les ouvriers en Angleterre' in *L'Atelier*, No. 1, October 1847. - [e] a lot of anecdotes - [f] editor-in-chief - [g] free trade - [h] national labour - [i] What heroic devotion! - [j] L. Blanc, *Histoire de la révolution française*, t. 1.

trouverait de plus amples développements dans ton livre. Quant à la question religieuse, nous la considérions comme tout-à-fait subordonnée, comme une question qui jamais ne devrait former le prétexte d'une querelle entre les hommes du même parti.[a] For all that, I went on, a friendly discussion of theoretical questions was perfectly feasible and indeed desirable, with which he was *parfaitement d'accord.*

Lupus was perfectly right in assuming that I would very soon meet the management.[175] Barely three days after my arrival here I ran into Seiler in the Boulevard des Italiens. You will long since have heard that he has done a bolt and has no intention of returning. He is going the rounds of the French correspondence bureaux in search of a berth. Since then I have repeatedly failed to find him and don't know how his affairs are going. If he meddles with the *Réforme* we shall have to disown him.

Ask that accursed Bornstedt what he means by not sending me his paper.[b] I cannot forever be chasing after the Straubingers[86] for it. Should he feign ignorance of my address, give it to him, 5, rue Neuve Saint-Martin. I'll send him a few articles as soon as ever I can.

Hellish confusion among the Straubingers. In the days immediately preceding my arrival, the last of the Grünians were thrown out, an entire community of whom, however, half will return. We are now only thirty strong. I at once set up a propaganda community and I rush round speechifying. I was immediately elected to the district[c] and have been entrusted with the correspondence. Some 20-30 candidates have been put up for admission. We shall soon grow stronger again. *Strictly between ourselves,* I've played an infernal trick on Mosi.[d] He had actually put through a delightfully amended confession of faith.[176] Last Friday[e] at the district I dealt with this, point by point, and was not yet half way through when the lads declared themselves *satisfaits. Completely unopposed,* I got them to entrust me with the task of

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[a] that we were in agreement with them on all practical and current questions and that on purely theoretical questions we were marching towards the same goal; that the principles propounded in his first volume agreed in many respects with our own and that, regarding the rest, he would find it more fully developed in your book. As for the religious question, we regarded this as altogether secondary, as a question which should never be allowed to become a pretext for strife between men of the same party. - [b] *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* - [c] Paris District Committee of the Communist League - [d] Moses Hess - [e] 22 October 1847

drafting a new one[a] which will be discussed next Friday by the district and will be sent to London *behind the backs of the communities.* Naturally not a soul must know about this, otherwise we shall all be unseated and there'll be the deuce of a row.

Born will be coming to see you in Brussels; he is going to London.[177] He may arrive before this letter. He will be travelling, somewhat rashly, down the Rhine through Prussia, always provided they don't cop him. Drum something more into him when he arrives; the fellow is the most receptive of all to our ideas and with a little preparation will be able to do good service in London.

Great heavens, I was on the point of forgetting all that avalanche of trash unloosed upon me from the heights of the Alps by the great Heinzen.[b] It is truly fortunate that it should all have been packed into one issue; nobody will plough his way through it. I myself had to break off several times. What a blockhead! Having first maintained that he can't write, I now find myself compelled to add that he can't read either, nor does he seem particularly conversant with the four rules of arithmetic. The ass ought to read F. O'Connor's letter in the last *Star,* addressed to the radical newspapers, which begins with 'YOU RUFFIANS' and ends with 'YOU RUFFIANS',[c] then he would see what a miserable duffer he is in the matter of invective. Well, you will be duly hauling this low, stupid lout over the coals.[d] I'm very glad that you intend to keep your answer quite *brief. I* could never answer such an attack, simply couldn't bring myself to—save perhaps with a box on the ears.

Tuesday

My article[e] has appeared in the *Réforme.* Curiously enough Flocon hasn't altered one syllable, which greatly surprises me.

I have not yet called on *père* Heine. As you can well imagine, with all this business, I've had a devilish lot to do and a fearsome amount of running about and writing.

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[a] F. Engels, 'Principles of Communism'. - [b] K. Heinzen, 'Ein "Repräsentant" der Kommunisten', *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung,* No. 84, 21 October 1847 (written in reply to Engels' polemical article 'The Communists and Karl Heinzen'). - [c] F. O'Connor, 'To the Editors of the *Nottingham Mercury,* the *Nonconformist,* the *Dispatch,* the *Globe,* the *Manchester Examiner* and *Lloyds' Trash', The Northern Star,* No. 522, 23 October 1847. - [d] K. Marx, 'Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality'. - [e] F. Engels, 'The Commercial Crisis in England.—The Chartist Movement.—Ireland'.

I have written to Elberfeld about the FREE TRADE-protective tariff business and am daily expecting a reply.[178] Write again soon. My regards to your wife and children.[a]

Your
Engels

You really should read O'Connor's article in the last *Star* attacking the six radical newspapers; it's a masterpiece of inspired abuse, in many places better than Cobbett and approaching Shakespeare.

Quelle mouche a donc piqué ce pauvre Moses qu'il ne cesse pas d'exposer dans le journal ses fantaisies sur les suites d'une révolution du prolétariat[b]?

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## 48

## MARX TO GEORG HERWEGH

IN PARIS

Brussels, 26 October [1847] rue d'Orléans, 42, Faubourg Namur

Dear Herwegh,

I wanted to give Engels a letter to bring you, but there was so much pressing business on the day of his departure that this was lost sight of and forgotten.

I had further been asked by Countess Hatzfeldt to write you a few lines of introduction for her. I imagine that by now you will already have made her acquaintance. For a *German woman,* she has developed great vigour sparring with her husband.[179]

Here in Brussels we have founded two public democratic societies.

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[a] Jenny and Laura - [b] What bug can have bitten poor Moses to make him thus perpetually air in the newspaper his fantasies on the consequences of a revolution by the proletariat? (A reference to M. Hess, 'Die Folgen einer Revolution des Proletariats', *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, Nos. 82, 87, 89 and 90, 14 and 31 October, 7 and 11 November 1847.)

1. A German Workers' Society[158] which already has about 100 members. Besides debates of quite a parliamentary nature, there is also social entertainment with singing, recitation, theatricals and the like.

2. A smaller cosmopolitan-democratic society to which Belgians, French, Poles, Swiss and Germans belong.[159]

If you come up here again you'll find that even in little Belgium more can be done by way of direct propaganda than in big France. Moreover, I believe that, however minor it may be, public activity is infinitely refreshing for everyone.

It is possible, there being now a *liberal* ministry at the helm,[a] that we shall run into some trouble with the police, for liberals always remain liberals.

But we shall be able to deal with them. Here it is not as in Paris, where foreigners confront the government in isolation.

Since it is impossible in present circumstances to make any use of the book trade in Germany, I have agreed with Germans from Germany to produce a review—monthly—supported by subscriptions to shares.[167] In the Rhine Province and Baden a number of shares have already been bought up. We intend to make a start as soon as there's enough money to last 3 months.

If subscriptions in any way permitted, we would establish our own type-setting room here, which could also be used for printing separate works.

Now I should like you to tell me:

1. Whether you, for your part, would also be prepared to drum up a few subscriptions for shares (25 talers per share).

2. Whether you are prepared to collaborate and to figure as a collaborator on the title page.

But I would ask you, since you have in any case long owed me a letter, to overcome for once your aversion to writing and to reply *soon*. I also wanted to request you to ask *Bakunin* by what route, to what address and by what means a letter can be conveyed to *Tolstoy*.

My wife sends her warm regards to you and your wife.

The strange business of the Prussian Embassy in Paris[180] is certainly indicative of our sovereign's[b] mounting and impotent rage.

Farewell.

Your
Marx

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[a] formed in August 1847 - [b] Frederick William IV of Prussia

[The address written by Jenny Marx on the fourth page of the letter]

Dr Gottschalk, General Practitioner in Cologne.

[Beneath it Karl Marx has written]

Dear Herwegh,

Due to an oversight, the above wrong address nearly appeared on this letter.

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## 49

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN BRUSSELS

Paris, [14-]15 November 1847

Dear Marx,

Yesterday, having sent friend Reinhardt several times to see Frank about your book,[a] I learned, suddenly and at last, that that cur, Frank, had begun by sending several of the free copies to Frenchmen, in every case demanding 15 sous expenses, and in every case getting the copies back again.[181] Thereupon he *calmly hung on,* not only to those he had got back, but also to such as had not yet been sent out, and *it was not until a few days ago* that he sent them to the addressees without demanding 15 sous. The *conspiration de silence* was thus of Mr Frank's making! I at once hurried along to L. Blanc, whom a few days previously I had again failed to find in because he was *en garde* (*le petit bonhomme en bonnet à poil!*)[b]; this time I did find him in and *the copy had still not arrived*! I have at last got my own copy back, which may be of help in case of need. Today, Sunday, nothing can be done. I have arranged to meet Reinhardt tomorrow, whereupon he will go with me to see Frank, which should have happened earlier but did not happen through negligence on Reinhardt's part. He must intro-

[a] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy.* - [b] on guard (the little mannikin in a busby)

duce me to Frank, since I have no other means of establishing my *bona fides* with the fellow. I shall get him to give me the copy for L. Blanc and take it along with me. But what an ass Flocon is! L. Blanc told me yesterday that Flocon had objected to your *libre-échange*[a] article[173] *qu'il était un peu confus*[b]*!!!!* The muddle-headed creature! I naturally objected, oh, said the little man, *ce n'est pas moi qui ai trouvé cela, tout au contraire, l'article m'a beaucoup plu, et en effet, je ne sais pas ce que M. Flocon ... mais enfin*[c] (with a somewhat equivocal grimace intended for Flocon), *c'est ce qu'il m'a dit.*[d] All in all the editorial board of the *Réforme* is *tout ce qu'il y a de plus*[e] wretchedly constituted. The article on the English crisis and all economic topics *en général* are churned out by a poor, worthy PENNY-A-LINER whose schooling appears to have been confined to the financial articles of a correspondence bureau, and who sees everything through the eyes of a third-rate Parisian clerk in a fourth-rate bank, and judges it with the infallibility peculiar to such an 'EMPIRIC', as the English say. Flocon understands nothing of the matter and seems to me to grow more ignorant day by day. *C'est tout au plus un homme de bonne volonté.*[f] Indeed, L. Blanc also makes no secret of his contempt for him.

Monday

I did not find the accursed Reinhardt at home. I shall go there again this evening. Come what may, I must get the whole business cleared up by tomorrow. If I don't write to you again at once, it means that everything's in order.

Yesterday evening the election of delegates took place.[182] After an extremely muddled session I was elected with a $^2/_3$ [majority]. This time I had engaged in no intrigues whatsoever, there had been little opportunity for any. The opposition was merely a fiction; a working man was proposed for appearances' sake, but those who proposed him voted for me.

The money is coming in. Write and tell me whether you and Tedesco are going. If that proves impossible, I can hardly go there and 'congress' on my own, that wouldn't make sense. If neither of you can go, the whole business will fall through and will have to

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[a] free-trade - [b] which was a trifle muddled - [c] it's not I who thought that, quite the contrary, I liked the article very much, and indeed I don't know what Mr Flocon ... but anyway - [d] that's what he told me - [e] quite the most - [f] At best he's a man of good will.

be postponed for a few months. Should this be the case, write and tell London, so that all can be advised in good time.

Flocon had further told L. Blanc that if your article was to be accepted it would need altering a little, precisely to make it 'clearer'. L. Blanc asked me once again to remind Flocon *de sa part*[a] about the article; but in the circumstances I think it would be far better to let the matter drop. For Flocon to make the article clearer—that would be the last straw! Such block-headed stubbornness is beyond my comprehension and, as I have mentioned, Blanc *plus ou moins*[b] apologised to me for his colleague. But what can be done in such a case? I shall let Flocon do what he wants, have little to do with him and deal mainly with L. Blanc, who is the most reasonable of the lot. There's absolutely nothing one can do with the *National*, it's becoming more narrow-minded every day and is increasingly allying itself with Barrot and Thiers, WITNESS THE LILLE BANQUET.[183]

Seiler will have written to tell you that your book's going very badly here. That's not true. Frank has told Reinhardt that he is pretty well satisfied with the sales. Despite his preposterous behaviour he has, I believe, disposed of some 40 copies. More about this shortly. Seiler—he called on me recently, met with a very cool reception and did not come again—maintains that he has left sufficient in the way of bedding, furniture, paper, etc., etc., to cover Wolff's and Heilberg's needs. See to it, *si cela est*,[c] that Lupus, at least, isn't swindled again, this time by Heilberg. But no doubt it's all so much hot air.

Rothschild has made a profit of 10 million francs on the new loan—4 per cent net.

I shall not be able to pass through Brussels on my way to London, since money is too short. We shall have to arrange to meet in Ostend—on the evening of the 27th (Saturday), and cross over on Sunday so that we can make a start on Monday. On that day, the 29th, the Polish anniversary, there may be something FRATERNALLY democratic going on, in which case we shall have to attend. That would be quite a good thing. You make a French speech in London and then we print it in the *Réforme*.[184] The Germans absolutely must *do* something to hold their own with the French. A single speech would be of more help than ten articles or a hundred visits.

You'll have seen in *The Northern Star*, 2 October, the demand put forward by Harney and the FRATERNALS for a democratic

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[a] on his behalf - [b] more or less - [c] if that is so

congress.[a] Do lend it your support, as I shall do among the French. We could try and hold it if possible next year in London, perhaps at the same time as our own. Should it come about, it might have a very salutary effect on the French and humble them somewhat. Should it fail to materialise, the fault will lie with the French and they will at least be compelled to declare themselves. It would be even better if Brussels could be the venue[185]; in London Feargus[b] might get up to some kind of foolishness.

Otherwise nothing new. Give the enclosed to Bornstedt[c] and write soon telling me whether you are going to London.

Your
E.

Write to the painter's[d] address if you still have it. It is better.

Heine sends his regards. Is extremely weak and somewhat languid. Who actually sent your article to L. Blanc? He says the name at the foot of the letter was quite unknown. That could well be the reason why he allowed the matter to hang fire.

[On the back of the letter]

Monsieur Charles Marx, 42, rue d'Orléans, Faubourg d'Ixelles, Bruxelles

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[a] Manifesto of the Fraternal Democrats. To the Democracy of Europe, from 22 September 1847, *The Northern Star*, No. 519, 2 October 1847. - [b] O'Connor - [c] This seems to refer to Engels' second article in *German Socialism in Verse and Prose*; the first one was published in the *Deutsche-Brüseller-Zeitung*, 21 November 1847. - [d] A. F. Körner

## 50

## ENGELS TO MARX [186]

IN BRUSSELS

[Paris, 23-24 November 1847]

Dear Marx,

Not until this evening was it decided that I should be coming. Saturday evening,[a] then, in Ostend, Hôtel de la Couronne, just opposite the railway station beside the harbour, AND SUNDAY MORNING ACROSS THE WATER. If you take the train that leaves between 4 and 5, you'll arrive at about the same time as I do.

If, contrary to expectations, there is no packet-boat to Dover on Sundays, write and tell me by return. I. e., since you will receive this letter on Thursday morning, you must make inquiries at once and, should a letter be necessary, it must be posted the same evening—before five o'clock, I think—at the main post office. So if you want to make any changes as regards the meeting place there is still time. If I haven't heard by Friday morning I shall count on meeting you and Tedesco on Saturday evening at the Couronne. We shall then have time enough to talk things over; this congress must be a decisive one, *AS THIS TIME WE SHALL HAVE IT ALL OUR OWN WAY.*

For a long time now I have been completely at a loss to understand why you have not put a stop to Moses' gossip.[b] It's been giving rise to the most devilish confusion for me here and the most tedious contradictory speeches to the workers. Entire district sittings have been wasted over it, nor is there any possibility of effectively combating this 'vapid' nonsense in the communities; particularly before the elections there could be no question of it.

I expect to see L. Blanc again tomorrow. If not, I shall in any case see him the day after tomorrow. If I have nothing to add at the end of this letter, you will hear the sequel on Saturday.

By the way, Reinhardt talked nonsense to me about the number of copies sold[c]—not 37, but *96* had been sold a week ago today. That same day I myself took your book to L. Blanc. All the copies had been despatched save to Lamartine (not here), L. Blanc and

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[a] 27 November 1847 - [b] Probably a series of articles by Moses Hess. - [c] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*.

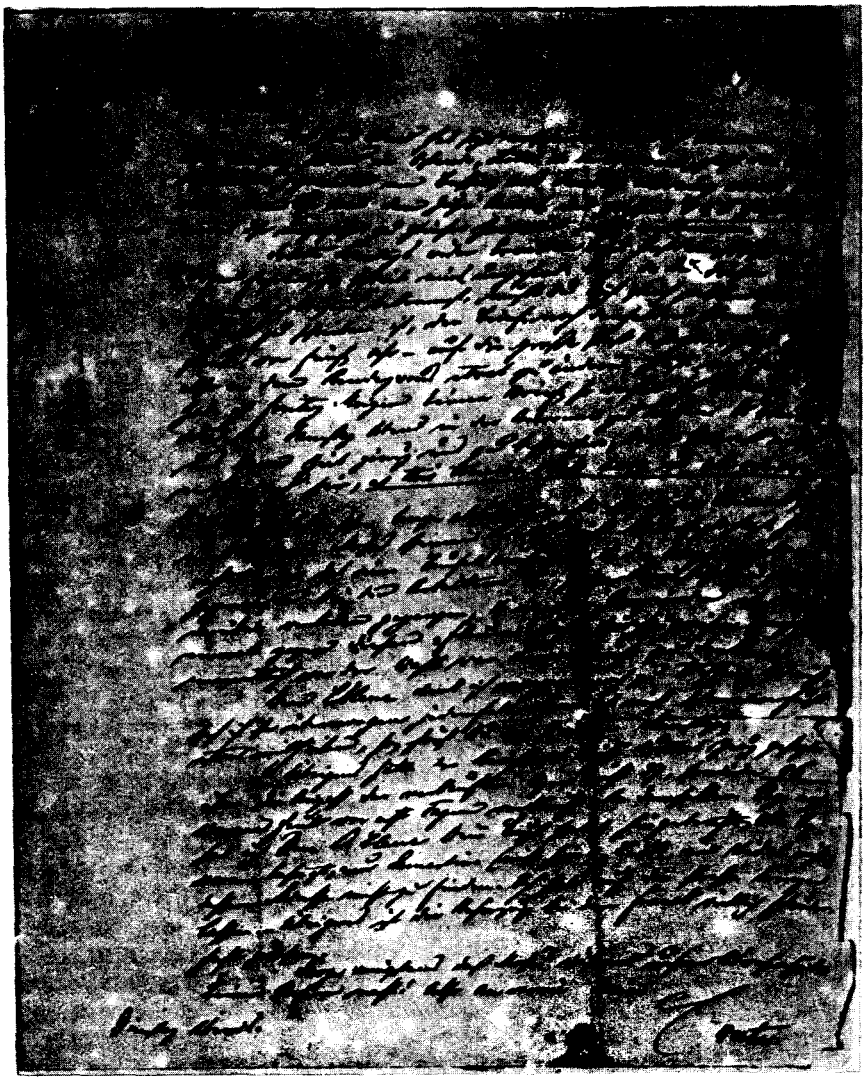

A page from Engels' letter to Marx of 23-24 November 1847

Vidal, whose address cannot be found. I have had it taken to the *Presse.*

By the way, Frank's despatch arrangements have been truly appalling.

At least see that Moses doesn't get up to any nonsense during our absence! *Au revoir,* then!

Your
E.

Tuesday evening

Verte[a]

Give a little thought to the Confession of Faith. I think we would do best to abandon the catachetical form and call the thing Communist *Manifesto.*[b] Since a certain amount of history has to be narrated in it, the form hitherto adopted is quite unsuitable. I shall be bringing with me the one from here, which I did[c]; it is in simple narrative form, but wretchedly worded, in a tearing hurry. I start off by asking: What is communism? and then straight on to the proletariat—the history of its origins, how it differs from earlier workers, development of the antithesis between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, crises, conclusions. In between, all kinds of secondary matter and, finally, the communists' party policy, in so far as it should be made public. The one here has not yet been submitted in its entirety for endorsement but, save for a few quite minor points, I think I can get it through in such a form that at least there is nothing in it which conflicts with our views.

Wednesday morning

Have just received your letter [187] to which the above is an answer. I went to see L. Blanc. I'm remarkably unlucky with him—*il est en voyage, il reviendra peut-être aujourd'hui.*[d] I shall go there again tomorrow and, if necessary, the day after.

I can't be in Ostend by Friday evening because the money won't have been got together until Friday.

This morning your cousin Philips came to see me.

Born should make quite a good speech if you drum something into him. It's good that the Germans are represented by a working man.[188] But Lupus must be purged of all trace of his excessive

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[a] PTO - [b] Cf. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party.* - [c] F. Engels, 'Principles of Communism'. - [d] he's travelling and will *perhaps* be back today.

modesty. The good fellow is one of those rare people who have to be *thrust* into the foreground. Not Weerth, for heaven's sake, as representative! A man who was always too lazy, until pitchforked by his *succès d'un jour*[a] at the Congress.[189] And who, to boot, wishes to be AN INDEPENDENT MEMBER. *Il faut le retenir dans sa sphère.*[b]

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## 51

## MARX TO PAVEL VASILYEVICH ANNENKOV

### IN PARIS

London, 9 December [1847]

Dear Annenkov,

Party considerations, into which I cannot enter here, obliged me to pay a visit to London.[190] I took advantage of this visit both to put the Brussels Democratic Association in touch with the English Chartists and to harangue the latter at a public meeting.[c] You perhaps saw some reports about it in the English and French press.

But when I set out on this trip—and I am compelled to stay here a few days longer—I left my family behind in the most difficult and direst of circumstances. It is not simply that my wife is ill and the children[d] likewise. My economic situation just now is so critical that my wife is being veritably harassed by creditors and is in the most wretched financial straits.

How this crisis came about is easily explained. The German manuscripts are not being published as a whole. Those parts that are being published[e] I am supplying gratis, simply in order to

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[a] fleeting success - [b] He must be kept to his own sphere. - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'On Poland'. - [d] Jenny, Laura and Edgar - [e] This seems to refer to Marx's critical article on Grün's *Die sociale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien* published in *Das Westphälische Dampfboot*, August-September 1847. It is one of the manuscripts of Volume II of Marx and Engels' *The German Ideology*.

launch them on the world. My anti-Proudhon pamphlet[a] has sold very well. However I shall not receive a share of the proceeds until Easter.

By itself, my wife's income is insufficient and I have been negotiating with my own mother for quite some time to extract at least part of my fortune. There would now seem to be an immediate prospect of this. But that is of no help at the present moment.

In this situation, which I am not ashamed frankly to disclose to you, you would in truth save me from the worst if you could arrange to let my wife have a sum of between 100 and 200 francs. I shall, of course, be unable to repay you until my money matters have been settled with my family.

If you are able to agree to my proposal, I would request you to send the money to my old address: M. Charles Marx, Bruxelles, Faubourg Namur, rue d'Orléans, 42. However my wife must not be able to deduce from your letter that I wrote to you from London. I'll tell you the reason later.

Another time, I trust, I shall be able to send you more cheerful news.

Yours
K. Marx

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[a] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*.

# 1848

## 52

## ENGELS TO MARX[191]

IN BRUSSELS

Paris, 14 January 1848

Dear Marx,

If I haven't written to you it was because I have as yet still not been able to get hold of that accursed Louis Blanc. *Décidément il y met de la mauvaise volonté.*[a] But I'm determined to catch him—every day I go to him or lie in wait for him at the café. *Père* Flocon, on the other hand, is proving more amenable. He is delighted at the way the *Brüsseler-Zeitung* and *The Northern Star* defended the *Réforme* against the *National.*[b] Not even the *blâme* against L. Blanc and Ledru-Rollin have succeeded in flustering him, any more than my announcement that we have now decided in London to come out openly as communists. He, of course, made some capital assertions: *vous tendez au despotisme, vous tuerez la révolution en France, nous avons onze millions de petits paysans qui sont en même temps les propriétaires les plus enragés,*[c] etc., etc., although he also abused the peasants,—but *enfin, dit-il, nos principes sont trop rapprochés les uns des autres pour que nous ne devions pas marcher ensemble; quant à nous nous vous appuyerons autant que sera dans notre pouvoir,*[d] etc., etc.

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[a] Decidedly, he is showing bad will. - [b] Reference to Engels' articles published in *The Northern Star* in November 1847 and January 1848, among them 'Split in the Camp.—The *Réforme* and the *National.*—March of Democracy', 'Reform Movement in France.—Banquet of Dijon', 'The "Satisfied" Majority...' (the last two criticised the nationalist tendencies of Louis Blanc and Ledru-Rollin) and his article 'The *Réforme* and the *National*' in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung,* No. 104, 30 December 1847. - [c] you are tending towards despotism, you will kill the revolution in France, we have eleven million small peasants who at the same time are the most fanatical property owners. - [d] after all, he said, our principles are too similar for us not to march together; as for us, we will give you all the support in our power.

I was enormously tickled by the Mosi[a] business, although annoyed that it should have come to light. Apart from you, no one in Brussels knew of it save Gigot and Lupus—and Born, whom I told about it in Paris once when I was in my cups. *Enfin, c'est égal.*[b] Moses brandishing his pistols, parading his horns before the whole of Brussels, and before Bornstedt into the bargain!!, must have been exquisite. Ferdinand Wolff's inventiveness over the minutes *m'a fait crever de rire*[c]—and Moses believes that! If, by the by, the jackass should persist in his preposterous lie about rape, I can provide him with enough earlier, concurrent, and later details to send him reeling. For only last July here in Paris this Balaam's she-ass[d] made me, *in optima forma*,[e] a declaration of love mingled with resignation, and confided to me the most intimate nocturnal secrets of her ménage! Her rage with me is unrequited love, pure and simple. For that matter, Moses came only second in my thoughts at Valenciennes, my first desire being to revenge myself for all the dirty tricks they had played on Mary.[f]

The *strong wine* proves to be no more than a $^1/_3$ bottle of Bordeaux. It is only to be regretted that the horned Siegfried[g] did not have his unhappy lot publicly minuted by the Workers' Society.[158] He is perfectly at liberty, by the way, to avenge himself on all my present, past and future mistresses, and for that purpose I commend to him 1) the Flemish giantess who lives at my former lodgings, 87 chaussée d'Ixelles *au premier*,[h] and whose name is Mademoiselle Joséphine, and 2) a Frenchwoman, Mademoiselle Félicie[i] who, on Sunday, the 23rd of this month, will be arriving in Brussels by the first train from Cologne on her way to Paris. It would be bad luck if he were to succeed with neither. Kindly pass on this information to him in order that he may appreciate my honourable intentions. I WILL GIVE HIM FAIR PLAY.

It is nearly all up with Heine. I visited him a fortnight ago and he was in bed, having had a nervous fit. Yesterday he was up but extremely ill. He can hardly manage three steps now; supporting himself against the wall, he crawls from armchair to bed and vice versa. On top of that, the noise in his house, cabinet-making, hammering, etc., is driving him mad. Intellectually he is also somewhat spent. Heinzen desired to see him but was not admitted.

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[a] Moses Hess - [b] Well, no matter. - [c] made me split my sides with laughter - [d] Sibylle Hess - [e] in due form - [f] Mary Burns - [g] An allusion to Hess with a pun on the word *gehörnte*, which, when used to describe Siegfried, the hero of German epic literature, means 'invulnerable', but in other contexts means 'cuckold'. - [h] on the first floor - [i] Félicité André

I was also at Herwegh's yesterday. Along with the rest of his family he has influenza and is much visited by old women. He told me that L. Blanc's 2nd volume[a] has been quite eclipsed by the enormous success of Michelet's 2nd volume.[b] I have not yet read either because shortage of money has prevented me from subscribing to the reading room. By the way, Michelet's success can only be attributed to his suspension[192] and his civic spirit.

Things are going wretchedly with the League[c] here. Never have I encountered such sluggishness and petty jealousy as there is among these fellows. Weitlingianism and Proudhonism are truly the exact expression of these jackasses' way of life and hence nothing can be done. Some are genuine Straubingers,[86] ageing boors, others aspiring petty bourgeois. A class which lives, Irish-fashion, by depressing the wages of the French, is utterly useless. I am now making one last attempt, *si cela ne réussit pas, je me retire de cette espèce de propagande.*[d] I hope that the London papers[e] will arrive soon and help to liven things up somewhat again; then I shall strike while the iron is hot. Not yet having seen any results from the Congress, the fellows are naturally growing completely supine. I am in contact with several new workers introduced to me by Stumpf and Neubeck but as yet there is no knowing what can be made of them.

Tell Bornstedt: 1) In the matter of his subscriptions,[f] his attitude towards the workers here should not be so rigorously commercial, otherwise he'll lose them all; 2) the agent procured for him by Moses is a feeble Jeremiah and very conceited, but the only one who still will and can attend to the thing, so he had better not rub him up the wrong way; the fellow has, moreover, gone to great pains, but he can't put in money—which, for that matter, *he has done already.* Out of the money coming in to him he has to cover the expenses correspondence, etc. involves for him; 3) if he is sending separate issues, he should never send more than 10-15 at most of [...] one issue, and these as *opportunity* offers. The parcels go through Duchâtel's ministry, whence they have to be fetched at considerable expenditure in time and where the ministry exacts a fearsome postal charge in order to ruin this traffic. A parcel of this kind costs 6-8 francs, and what can one do if that's what they ask? Esselens in Liège wanted to appoint a *garde*

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[a] L. Blanc, *Histoire de la révolution française,* t. 2. - [b] J. Michelet, *Histoire de la révolution française,* t. 2. - [c] the Communist League - [d] if that doesn't succeed, I shall give up this kind of propaganda. - [e] i. e. documents of the Second Congress of the Communist League - [f] to the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*

*de convoi*[a] to deliver it. Write to Liège and tell them this will be arranged. 4) The issues that were still here have been sent by third party to South Germany. Should occasion offer, Bornstedt should send us a few more issues to be used as propaganda in cafés, etc., etc. 5) Within the next few days Bornstedt will be receiving an article[b] and the thing about the Prussian finances. But you must again cast an eye over the part about the committees of 1843[193] and alter it where necessary, since my memory of the subject was very hazy at the time of writing.

If the Mosi business eventually leads to your attacking him in the *Brüsseler-Zeitung,* I shall be delighted. How the fellow can still remain in Brussels, I fail to understand. *En voilà encore une occasion pour l'exiler à Verviers.*[c] The matter of the *Réforme* will be attended to.[d]

Your
E.

[On the back of the letter]

Monsieur Philipp Gigot
8.-Rue Bodenbroeck, Bruxelles

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## 53

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN BRUSSELS

Paris, Friday evening, 21 January 1848

Dear Marx,

At last I have run L. Blanc to earth and at the same time found out why I could never get hold of him. *Ecoute plutôt—ce petit grand-seigneur littéraire ne reçoit que les jeudis! et encore l'après-midi*

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[a] courier - [b] F. Engels, 'The Movements of 1847'. - [c] Here's another opportunity to send him into exile at Verviers. - [d] See this volume, p. 156.

*seulement!*[a] Of this he never informed me, either directly or through his doorkeeper. I found him, of course, surrounded by a crowd of jackasses, amongst whom Ramon de La Sagra, who gave me a pamphlet which I shall send on to you.[b] I have not yet read it. However I was finally able to have a few minutes' talk with him about our affairs. He reluctantly admitted that he had not yet had time to read your book[c] ... *je l'ai feuilleté et j'ai vu que M. Proudhon y est assez vivement attaqué.... Eh bien,* I asked, *alors serez vous en mesure de faire l'article pour la 'Réforme' que vous m'aviez promis?—Un article, ah mon Dieu, non, je suis si obsédé par mes éditeurs—mais voilà ce qu'il faut faire: faites l'article vous-même et je le ferai passer à la 'Réforme'.*[d] This was then agreed. *Au fond*[e] you'll lose nothing by it. At least I'll present our views more correctly than he would have done. I shall draw a direct parallel between these and his own—that is the most that can be done: naturally a conclusion *detrimental* to the *Réforme* cannot be drawn in the *Réforme* itself. I shall see to this forthwith.[194]

Why didn't you tell Bornstedt *not* to write to the *Réforme* about your thing? My article was finished when Bornstedt's appeared in the *Réforme* along with the Chartist things[f] whose publication I was awaiting before taking mine in. It was appreciably longer than the brief notice in which, to boot, your name is distorted.[g] I told Flocon he must correct the printer's error; he had not done so yesterday and I haven't seen today's *Réforme.* It is of little moment anyhow. As soon as your speech[h] appears, send me 4-5 copies for the *Réforme,* L. Blanc, de La Sagra (for the *Démocratie pacifique*), etc.; I can now make a longer article of it as the notice was so abominably brief.

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[a] Just listen—this little literary lord receives visitors only on Thursdays! and then only in the afternoon! - [b] R. de La Sagra, *Organisation du travail.* - [c] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy.* - [d] I have leafed through it and seen that M. Proudhon is attacked with some acerbity.—Well then, will you be able to write the article for the *Réforme* you promised us?—An article, good gracious no, I'm so hard pressed by my publishers—but I'll tell you what to do: write the article yourself and I'll see that it appears in the *Réforme.* - [e] After all - [f] What is meant is an item about Marx's speech at the meeting of the Brussels Democratic Association on 9 January 1848. It was published in *La Réforme* on 19 January, along with Engels' report 'The Chartist Movement' (his previous report on the subject was published on 10 January). - [g] 'Man' instead of 'Marx' - [h] K. Marx, 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade'.

As for L. Blanc, he deserves to be castigated. Write a review of his *Révolution*[a] for the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* and prove to him in practice how far above him we are; the form amicable, but the content leaving no doubt as to our superiority. *On lui fera parvenir cela.*[b] The petty sultan must be made to quake a little. The theoretical aspect, alas, is for the time being our only strength, but this carries much weight in the eyes of these champions of *science sociale*, of the *loi de la production suffisante*,[c] etc. Comical, these fellows, with their chasing after this unknown *loi*. They wish to find a law by which they will increase production tenfold. Like the waggoner in the fable, they seek a Hercules who will drag the social waggon out of the mire for them. Yet there Hercules is, in their own hands. The *loi de la production suffisante* consists in one's ability to produce *suffisamment*. If they cannot do so, no magic formula will avail. Inventors who take out a *brevet*[d] do more for *production suffisante* than the whole of L. Blanc with his profound, high-flying aspirations to *la science*.

I wrote Bernays a very ironical letter in reply to his last, expressing regret that his impartiality should have robbed me of the ultimate consolation—that of being a beautiful soul misunderstood—*à la* Praslin.[e] Raising his eyebrows reproachfully, he returns me the note,[195] observing that this marks the end of our correspondence. *Sela.*[f]

Otherwise nothing new. Write soon.

Your
E.

[On the back of the letter]

Mr Karl Marx in the German Workers' Society, Brussels

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[a] L. Blanc, *Histoire de la révolution française*. - [b] We'll see that it reaches him. - [c] law of sufficient production - [d] patent - [e] An allusion to K. L. Bernays, *Die Ermordung der Herzogin von Praslin*. - [f] The end.

## 54

## MARX TO ENGELS[196]

IN BRUSSELS

Paris, [between 7 and 12 March 1848]
10, rue neuve Ménilmontant
(Boulevard Beaumarchais)

Dear Engels,

Get Breyer to pay you the *100 francs* which he solemnly promised me to repay within a week, get *30* from Gigot, *10* from Hess. I hope that, as things are now, Breyer will keep his promise.

Maynz will cash the bill for 114 fr. at Cassel's and give you the money. Collect these various sums and use them.

They spoke kindly of you at the *Réforme*. Flocon is ill and I haven't yet seen him. The rumour spread by Seiler is circulating among the Germans generally. Allard has not yet been ousted by the revolution. I advise you to come here.

Central Authority has been constituted here,[197] since Jones, Harney, Schapper, Bauer and Moll are all on the spot. I have been nominated chairman and Schapper secretary. Members are: Wallau, Lupus, Moll, Bauer and Engels.

Jones left for England yesterday; Harney is ill. Salut.

Your
K. M.

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## 55

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN PARIS

Brussels, [8-]9 March [1848]
3, rue Neuve Chaussée de Louvain

Dear Marx,

I hope I shall hear from you tomorrow.

All is quiet here. On Sunday[a] evening Jottrand told the *Association Démocratique* about what had happened to you and

[a] 5 March 1848

your wife.[198] I arrived too late to hear him, and only heard some furious remarks from Pellering in Flemish. Gigot spoke as well, and reverted to the matter. Lubliner published an article about it in the *Émancipation*.[a] The lawyers here are furious. Maynz wants to take the matter up in court and says that you should institute a civil action on the grounds of violation of domicile, etc. Gigot is also to lodge a complaint. It would be capital if this were done, although the government has made it known that the fellow[b] would be dismissed. Yesterday Maynz provided Castiau with the documents he needs to interpellate on this score; I think this will happen tomorrow or the day after.[199] The affair has caused a considerable sensation and has greatly helped to mollify anti-German sentiment.

Lupus was taken to the railway station last Sunday morning at 11 o'clock and packed off to Valenciennes, whence he has written and where he must still be. He did not appear before any tribunal. Nor was he even escorted home to pick up his things![200]

They've left me unmolested. From various remarks the fellows have let fall, it would seem that they are afraid of expelling me because they previously issued me with a passport, and this might be used against them.

It's a bad business in Cologne. Our three best men are in jug.[201] I have been speaking to someone who took an active part in the business.[c] They wanted to go into the attack, but instead of supplying themselves with weapons, which were easily obtainable, they went to the town hall unarmed and let themselves be surrounded. It is said that most of the troops were on their side. The thing was initiated without rhyme or reason; if the chap's reports are to be believed, they could very well have gone into the attack and in 2 hours all would have been over. But everything was organised with appalling stupidity.

Our *old* friends in Cologne appear to have kept well in the background, although they, too, had decided to go into action. Little d'Ester, Daniels, Bürgers put in a brief appearance but went off again at once, although the little Dr was needed on the city council just then.[202]

Otherwise the news from Germany is splendid. In Nassau a revolution completed, in Munich students, painters and workers in full revolt, in Kassel revolution on the doorstep, in Berlin

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[a] *L'Émancipation*, No. 67, 7 March 1848. - [b] Darbeck - [c] presumably Peter Nothjung

unbounded fear and indecision, in the whole of western Germany freedom of the press and National Guard proclaimed; enough to be going along with.

If only Frederick William IV digs his heels in! Then all will be won and in a few months' time we'll have the German Revolution. If he only sticks to his feudal forms! But the devil only knows what this capricious and crazy individual will do.

In Cologne the whole of the petty bourgeoisie is for union with the French Republic; at the moment memories of 1797 are uppermost in their minds.[203]

Tedesco's still in jug. I don't know when he'll be appearing in court.

A fulminating article about your affair has gone off to *The Northern Star*.[a]

On Sunday evening remarkable calm at the sitting of the Democratic Association. Resolved to petition the Chambers, demanding their immediate dissolution and new elections in accordance with the new census. The government does not wish to dissolve but will have to. Tomorrow evening the petition will be adopted and signed *séance tenante*.[b]

Jottrand's petition to the Burgomaster[c] and city council met with a very courteous rejection.

You have no idea of the calm that reigns here. Last night, carnival just as usual; the French Republic is scarcely ever mentioned. In the cafés you can get French newspapers with hardly any difficulty or delay. If you didn't know that they *must, tant bien que mal*,[d] you'd think it was all finished here.

On Sunday Jottrand—furious about your persecution—made a really good speech; Rogier's *sévices*[e] have brought him to recognise the class antithesis. He fulminated against the big bourgeoisie and entered into details—perhaps rather trite and illusory but economic nonetheless—to demonstrate to the petty bourgeoisie that a well-paid working class with a high rate of consumption in a republic would provide better custom for them than a Court and a not very numerous aristocracy. Altogether *à la* O'Connor.

It being now too late to catch the post with this letter, I shall finish it tomorrow.

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[a] F. Engels, 'To the Editor of *The Northern Star*'. - [b] during the session - [c] F. Raucourt - [d] for better or for worse - [e] brutalities

Thursday

Nothing new—I saw your article in the *Réforme*[a]—so there's a rumpus going on in England as well, *tant mieux*.[b]

If you haven't written by the time this arrives, do write at once.

Ironically enough, my baggage has just arrived from Paris—costing me 50 fr.! with customs, etc., etc.

Adieu.

Your
Engels

It would seem that the Deputy Inspector of Police who came to your house has already been dismissed. The affair has aroused great indignation among the petty bourgeois here.

[On the back of the letter]

Monsieur Charles Marx *aux soins de* Madame Gsell,
75, Boulevard Beaumarchais, *Paris*.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[204]

### IN BRUSSELS

[Paris,] 16 March 1848

Dear Engels,

I never have a minute these days to write at any length. I confine myself to essentials.

*Flocon* is very well disposed towards you.

The Straubingers[86] here are all more or less furious with you (set-to with Sch.,[c] etc.).

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[a] K. Marx, 'To the Editor of *La Reforme*'. - [b] so much the better - [c] apparently reference to Scherzer

As regards my things, take them with you as far as Valenciennes and have them sealed there. Everything will go through exempt. As regards the *silver,* it has already been hallmarked here in Paris. In Valenciennes you must in any case go to the man whose address I enclose.[a] On Vogler's advice my wife sent him the keys to the trunks (which are in Brussels), but without a way-bill. You must fetch these keys from him, otherwise everything will be broken open by the customs here.

As regards the money, tell *Cassel* he must give you the bill if he won't pay it. Then perhaps Baillut will pay it.

Get Gigot to settle accounts and at least give you the balance.

As regards Breyer, you must go to see him again and point out what a *shabby trick* it would be if he made use of my ill-fortune to avoid payment. He must hand over at least part to you. The revolution hasn't cost him a sou.

The bourgeoisie here are again becoming atrociously uppish and reactionary, *mais elle verra.*[b]

Bornstedt and Herwegh are behaving like scoundrels. They have founded a black, red and gold association[205] *contre nous.*[c] The former is to be expelled from the League[d] today.

Your
M.

At the moment I am unable to find the *feuille de route*[e] and this letter must go off.

Dismiss Gigot if he doesn't begin to show signs of activity.

Just now the fellow ought to be more energetic.

My warmest regards to Maynz; also to Jottrand. I have received the latest *Débat social.*

My regards to Vogler likewise.

I shall write at length to Maynz and Jottrand.[206]

Farewell.

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[a] probably August Schnee - [b] but they'll see - [c] in opposition to us - [d] the Communist League - [e] way-bill

# 57

# ENGELS TO MARX

## IN PARIS

[Brussels,] Saturday [18 March 1848]

Dear Marx,

I shall send off your things.

Write a few lines to M. Victor Faider, *avocat*,[a] either direct or enclosed [in a letter] to Bloss, thanking him for the steps he has taken on behalf of you and your wife, and authorising him to take further steps. Faider, who has suddenly turned out to be a zealous republican, has constituted himself your defence counsel and as such will reply to the *Moniteur belge*,[b] and follow the matter up. He hopes you won't disavow him and, to enable him to take a determined stand, you would do well to send him a note. It is better that a Belgian, rather than Maynz, should pursue the case and, since he has offered his services, he will probably do his job properly.

You really must send the *feuille de route*.[c] The thing is badly needed; Maynz asks after it daily.

Tedesco's been released and left for Liège immediately, without seeing a soul. Esselens was here for a few days, but he didn't see him.

The Bourse, finance, industry and trade here are in the throes of an unprecedented crisis. In the Café Suisse, Commerce is moping about with nothing to do, Messrs Kauwerz, Lauffs and Co. go creeping round with their tails between their legs, the workers have held *rassemblements*[d] and handed in petitions, a general and serious food shortage. Cash is nowhere to be had, and withal an *emprunt forcé*[e] of 60 millions! It'll be the Bourse that will impose the Republic on them here.

Lüning returned here to be confronted with the news that there's a hue and cry after him in Prussia; he is going to send for his wife and come to Paris.

Before he fled, Dronke was accepted into the League[f] by Willich and Co. I subjected him to a fresh examination here,

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[a] lawyer - [b] Reference to a tendentious item on Marx's expulsion from Belgium in *Le Moniteur belge*, No. 72, 12 March 1848. - [c] way-bill - [d] meetings - [e] a compulsory loan - [f] the Communist League

expounded our views to him and, since he declared himself to be in agreement with them, confirmed his admission. One could hardly have done otherwise, even if there had been an element of doubt. However, the fellow's very modest, very young and seems to all appearances very responsive, so I think that, with a little supervision and some study, he will turn out well. In my presence he retracted all his earlier writings.[a] Unfortunately he lives with Moses[b] who will thus be working on him in between whiles, but, as we know, that is of no consequence. With Lüning, to whom he had become frightfully attached, only a couple of words were needed to unsaddle him.

Moses, by the way, is friendlier than ever—just try to understand the fellow!

*I* can't do anything with Cassel, since Maynz has the *ordre,*[c] not me. Breyer pleads the financial crisis, the impossibility, just now, of arranging a deferred settlement of his old bills, the refusal of all his patients to pay. He even says that he intends to sell his one and only horse. However I will see what is to be had, for I can hardly manage with the money from Maynz, and Hess' payment, which was the first, has already gone the way of all flesh. Gigot is also in a fix. I shall go and see Breyer again today.

Tomorrow's *Débat social* will contain a detailed refutation, *mot pour mot*[d] of the *Moniteur.*

You must further tell Faider that, if he has to have a special power of attorney, you will send him one.

Also write a few lines to M. Bricourt, *membre de la Chambre des Représentants,* who spoke up admirably on your behalf in the Chamber[199] and, at Maynz's request, put some searching questions to the Minister,[e] and who has instituted an *enquête*[f] into the affair. He is the deputy for Charleroi and, after Castiau, the best of the lot. Castiau has just been to Paris.

Look through the enclosed scrawl[g] and send it to the *Réforme.* The fellows here need to be constantly provoked.

*Si c'est possible*[h] I shall leave on Monday.[207] But money matters are perpetually thwarting my designs.

I am getting no news at all from England, whether through letters or the *Star.*

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[a] Reference to E. Dronke's 'Berlin', 'Polizei-Geschichten' and 'Aus dem Volk' published in 1846 and showing influence of 'true socialism'. - [b] Hess - [c] bill - [d] blow by blow; the article 'Encore et toujours l'expulsion de M. Marx' in *Le Débat Social* of 19 March 1848 appears to have been written by V. Faider. - [e] Minister of Justice Fr. Haussy - [f] enquiry - [g] F. Engels, 'The Situation in Belgium' - [h] If possible

In Germany things are going very well indeed, riots everywhere and the Prussians aren't giving way. *Tant mieux.*[a] I hope we shan't have to remain very long in Paris.

How excellent that you are throwing out Bornstedt.[b] The fellow has proved so unreliable that his expulsion from the League is essential. He and Weerth are now allied and Weerth is running round here as a fanatical republican.

Lamartine is becoming daily more depraved. In all his speeches the man addresses himself exclusively to the bourgeoisie and seeks to pacify them. Even the Provisional Government's Electoral Proclamation[c] is directed wholly at the bourgeoisie in order to reassure them. Small wonder that the creatures are becoming uppish.

*Adios, au revoir.*

F. E.

All letters to be sent here to the address I have given; *en mon absence*[d] Bloss will give them to Gigot.

[On the back of the letter]

M. Marx
Rue neuve Ménilmontant

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## 58

## ENGELS TO EMIL BLANK

IN LONDON

Paris, 26 March 1848

Dear Emil,

After the glorious February revolution and Belgium's stillborn March revolution, I came back here last week. I wrote to Mother asking for money so that within a few days I could return to

[a] So much the better. - [b] See this volume, p. 162. - [c] 'Instruction du Gouvernement provisoire pour l'exécution du décret du 5 mars 1848, relatif aux élections générales', *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 70, 10 March 1848. - [d] in my absence

Germany[208] where we are starting up the *Rheinische Zeitung*[a] again. Mother is now very anxious to see me back in Germany, partly because she believes that there might again be some shooting here in the course of which I could get hurt, partly because she wants me to return anyway. However she also says in her letter:

'How I can be expected to send you the money, I really don't know, since a few days ago Fould notified Father that he was doing no more business, and since several good bills sent him by Father came back and were protested. Write and tell me, then, how I can be expected to let you have the money.'

The simplest thing would be for you to send me 20 pounds in banknotes, these being highly regarded here, and at once arrange with my old man to reimburse you. In this way I shall get my money quickly and be able to leave, whereas I would otherwise be stuck here for another week before getting money from Barmen, let alone Engelskirchen. I am therefore writing to Barmen this very day for them to repay you the £20, and I would ask you to arrange matters in the way I have just said, since bills are no longer any good.

You can send half of the bisected banknotes to me today, addressed to 19ter rue de la Victoire, Paris, and the remainder next day to Mlle Félicité André, same street and No. This will foil letter thieves.

Here things are going very well,[209] i.e. the bourgeoisie, who were beaten on 24 February and 17 March,[b] are once more raising their heads and railing horribly against the Republic. But the only result of this will be that a thunderstorm quite unlike anything they have known before will very soon break over them. If the fellows persist in their insolence, some of them will very soon be strung up by the people. In the provisional government they have a certain party, namely Lamartine, the soft-soaper, whose life will also soon be forfeit. The workers here, 200,000-300,000 strong, will hear of no one but Ledru-Rollin, and they are right. He is the most resolute and radical of all. Flocon, too, is very good; I've been to see him once or twice and am about to do so again; he's a thoroughly honest fellow.

We have nothing to do with the great crusade which is departing from here to set up the German republic by force of arms.[210]

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[a] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* - [b] See this volume, p. 168.

My kindest regards to Marie[a] and the little ones and reply by return.

In haste,
Your
Frederick

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Published in English for the first time

## 59
## ENGELS TO EMIL BLANK[211]
### IN LONDON

Paris, 28 March 1848

Dear Emil,

Today I received the first four halves of the 4 £5 notes and would ask you to send the other halves *immediately*, since I must get away as soon as possible. Many thanks for your willingness to come so promptly to my assistance in this EMERGENCY. Your subscription to the *Rheinische Zeitung*[b] has been registered.

As regards the parties here, there are, properly speaking, three major ones, not counting the minor ones (Legitimists[c] and Bonapartists who simply intrigue, mere sects without influence among the people, in part wealthy, but no hope whatever of victory). These three are, first, those defeated on 24 February, i.e. the big bourgeoisie, speculators on the Bourse, bankers, manufacturers and big merchants, the old conservatives and liberals. Secondly, the petty bourgeoisie, the middle class, the bulk of the National Guard which, on 23 and 24 Febr. sided with the people, the 'reasonable radicals', Lamartine's men and those of the *National*. Thirdly, the people, the Parisian workers, who are now holding Paris by force of arms.

The big bourgeoisie and the workers are in direct confrontation with each other. The petty bourgeois play an intermediary but altogether contemptible role. The latter, however, have a majority in the provisional government (Lamartine, Marrast, Dupont de l'Eure, Marie, Garnier-Pagès and, occasionally, Crémieux as well).

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[a] Marie Blank, Engels' sister - [b] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* - [c] supporters of the Bourbon dynasty overthrown in 1830

They, and the provisional government with them, vacillate a great deal. The quieter everything becomes, the more the government and the petty-bourgeois party incline towards the big bourgeoisie; the greater the unrest, the more they join up with the workers again. Recently, for instance, when the bourgeois had again become fearfully uppish and actually dispatched a column of National Guards 8,000 strong to the Town Hall[a] to protest against a decree of the provisional government, and more especially against Ledru-Rollin's vigorous measures,[212] they did in fact succeed in so intimidating the majority of the government, and in particular the weak-kneed Lamartine, that he publicly disavowed Ledru. But on the following day, 17 March, 200,000 workers marched on the Town Hall, proclaimed their implicit confidence in Ledru-Rollin and compelled the majority of the government and Lamartine to recant. For the time being, then, the men of the *Réforme* (Ledru-Rollin, Flocon, L. Blanc, Albert, Arago) again have the upper hand. They, more than anyone else in the government, still represent the workers, and are communists without knowing it. Unfortunately little Louis Blanc is making a great ass of himself with his vanity and his crack-brained schemes.[213] Ere long he will come a terrible cropper. But Ledru-Rollin is behaving very well.

The most unfortunate thing is that the government, on the one hand, has to make promises to the workers and, on the other, is unable to keep any of them because it lacks the courage to secure the necessary funds by revolutionary measures against the bourgeoisie, by severe progressive taxation, succession duties, confiscation of all émigré property, ban on the export of currency, state bank, etc. The men of the *Réforme* are allowed to make promises which they are then prevented from keeping by the most inane conservative decisions.

In addition there is now a new element in the National Assembly: the peasants who make up $^5/_7$ of the French nation and support the party of the *National,* of the petty bourgeoisie. It is highly probable that this party will win, that the men of the *Réforme* will fall, and then there'll be another revolution. It's also possible that, once in Paris, the deputies will realise how things stand here, and that only the men of the *Réforme* can stay the course in the long term. This, however, is improbable.

The postponement of the elections for a fortnight is also a victory for the Parisian workers over the bourgeois party.[214]

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[a] seat of the provisional government

The men of the *National,* Marrast and Co., cut a very poor figure in other respects as well. They live in clover and provide their friends with palaces and good positions. Those from the *Réforme* are quite different. I've been to see old Flocon several times; the fellow lives as before in poor lodgings on the fifth floor, smokes cheap shag in an old clay pipe, and has bought nothing for himself but a new dressing-gown. For the rest his way of life is no less republican than when he was still editor of the *Réforme,* nor is he any less friendly, cordial and open-hearted. He's one of the most decent fellows I know.

Recently I lunched at the Tuileries, in the Prince de Joinville's suite, with old Imbert who was a *réfugié* in Brussels and is now Governor of the Tuileries. In Louis-Philippe's apartments now the wounded lie on the carpets, smoking stubby pipes. In the throne-room the portraits of Soult and Bugeaud have been torn down and ripped and the one of Grouchy cut to shreds.

Going past at this very moment, to the strains of the *Marseillaise,* is the funeral cortège of a working man who died of his wounds. Escorting him are National Guards and armed populace at least 10,000 strong, and young toffs from the Chaussée d'Antin, have to escort the procession as mounted National Guards. The bourgeois are enraged at seeing a working man thus given the last honours.

Your
F. E.

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## 60

## MARX AND ENGELS TO ÉTIENNE CABET

### IN PARIS

Paris, 5 April 1848

Dear Citizen,

During the last two days of our stay in Paris we presented ourselves at your house several times. But we always found your

offices[a] so crowded with people that our all too limited time prevented us from taking our turn and waiting. We therefore regret that we have to leave without having had one last interview with you.

Mr Ewerbeck, who will be delivering this, will take it upon himself to inform us of the address we should use when writing to you.[215]

We do not doubt for one instant that we shall shortly be able to give you favourable news of the progress of the communist movement in Germany.

Meanwhile, please accept our respectful greetings.

Yours very sincerely

K. Marx, F. Engels

First published in English in the journal *Science and Society*, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1940

Printed according to Engels' manuscript

Translated from the French

## 61

## ENGELS TO EMIL BLANK

### IN LONDON

Barmen, 15 April 1848

Dear Emil,

I am safely back here again.[216] The whole of Barmen is waiting to see what I shall do. They believe I'm going to proclaim the republic forthwith. The philistines are trembling with vague fear—what of, they themselves don't really know. At any rate, it is believed that, now I am here, much will speedily resolve itself. C. and A. Ermen were quaking visibly when I walked into their office today. I, of course, am not meddling in anything but waiting quietly to see what happens.

The panic here is ineffable. The bourgeoisie are calling for confidence but confidence has gone. Most of them are fighting for existence, as they themselves put it. This doesn't fill the workers' bellies, however, and from time to time they rebel a little. General dissolution, ruin, anarchy, despair, fear, rage, constitutional

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[a] editorial offices of *Le Populaire*

enthusiasm, hatred of the Republic, etc., are rampant, and the fact is, for the time being, the richest people are the most tormented and frightened. And the exaggerations, the lies, the ranting and the railing, are enough to drive one out of one's mind. The most placid of citizens is a real *enragé*.[a]

But they're in for a surprise when once the Chartists make a start. The business of the procession was a mere bagatelle. In a couple of months, my friend, *G. Julian Harney*, to whom pray address the enclosed letter, *9 Queen Street, Brompton*, will be in Palmerston's shoes.[217] I'LL BET YOU TWOPENCE AND IN FACT ANY SUM.

All is well with your mother and mine. They are expecting your brother Hermann; Anna is in Hamm. My regards to Marie[b] and the children. *À bientôt.*

Your
F.

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## 62

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN BARMEN

Cologne [about 24 April 1848]
Apostelnstrasse Nr. 7

Dear Engels,

A good many have already been subscribed for here, and we shall probably soon be able to make a start.[218] But now you must without fail make demands on your old man and in general declare *definitively* what is to be done in Barmen and Elberfeld.

A prospectus (written by Bürgers),[c] etc., has been sent from here to Hecker in Elberfeld.

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[a] madman (ironically comparing the German citizens with the men of the most radical trend during the French Revolution) - [b] Anna and Marie are Engels' sisters. - [c] H. Bürgers, 'Prospectus for the Founding of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*' (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 539-41), later published in *Das Westphälische Dampfboot*, No. 12, 17 May 1848.

Have you no address for Dronke? He must be written to forthwith.

Answer by return. I might come to your part of the world if things don't look too fearsome with you.[219]

Your
M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913

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## 63

## ENGELS TO MARX[220]

### IN COLOGNE

B[armen,] 25 April 1848

Dear Marx,

I have just received the prospectus[a] along with your letter. There's damned little prospect for the shares here. Blank,[b] to whom I had already written about it[221] and who is still the best of the lot, has become practically a bourgeois; the others even more so since they became established and came into conflict with the workers. All these folk shun the discussion of social questions like the plague, calling it seditious talk. I have lavished on them the finest rhetoric, and resorted to every imaginable diplomatic ploy, but always hesitant answers. I am now going to make one final effort; if it fails, that will be the end of everything. In 2-3 days you'll have definite news about how things have gone. The fact is, *au fond*,[c] that even these radical bourgeois here see us as their future main enemies and have no intention of putting into our hands weapons which we would very shortly turn against themselves.

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[a] H. Bürgers, 'Prospectus for the Founding of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*'.- [b] Wilhelm Blank - [c] after all

Nothing whatever is to be got out of my old man. To him even the *Kölner Zeitung* is a hotbed of agitation and, sooner than present us with 1,000 talers, he would pepper us with a thousand balls of grape.

The most advanced of the bourgeois here find their party represented pretty much to their satisfaction by the *Köln. Zeitung. Que veux-tu qu'on fasse, alors?*[a]

Moses'[b] agent, Schnaake, who was here last week, would seem to have been calumniating us too.[222]

I have no address for Dronke except: Adolf Dominicus, merchant, Coblenz (his uncle). His old man is living in Fulda, a grammar school headmaster, I think. It's a little backwater: Dr E. Dronke junior, Fulda, would probably reach him if he's there. But it's foolish of him not to write, if only to let us know his whereabouts.

I have had a letter from Ewerbeck asking whether we have received a supposedly important letter which he sent to the agreed address in Mainz. If you haven't had it, write and inform Mainz (Philipp Neubeck, teacher candidate, Rentengasse (Heiliger Geist), Mainz).

Ewerbeck is having the *Manifesto*[c] translated into Italian and Spanish in Paris and to that end wants us to send him 60 fr. which he has undertaken to pay. Yet another of those schemes of his. They will be splendid translations.[223]

I am working on the English translation, which presents more difficulties than I thought. However, I'm over half way through, and before long the whole thing will be finished.[224]

If even a single copy of our 17 points[d] were to circulate here, all would be lost for us. The mood of the bourgeoisie is really ugly. The workers are beginning to bestir themselves a little, still in a very crude way, but as a mass. They at once formed coalitions. But to *us* that can only be a hindrance. The Elberfeld political club[225] issues addresses to the Italians, advocates direct election but resolutely eschews any discussion of social questions, although in private these gentlemen admit that such questions are now *coming* to be the order of the day, always with the proviso that we should not take precipitate action!

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[a] So what do you want us to do? - [b] Hess - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Demands of the Communist Party in Germany'.

*Adios.* Write soon in greater detail. Has the letter been sent to Paris, and did it have any results?[226]

Your
E.

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## 64

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN COLOGNE

[Barmen,] 9 May 1848

Dear Marx,

Herewith:

1. The list of the shares so far subscribed for, 14 in number.
2. A proxy for you.[227]
3. One for d'Ester (Bohnstedt is an acquaintance of his).
4. One for Bürgers.

It was unavoidable that Bohnstedt and Hecker should have given their proxies to personal acquaintances.

Hühnerbein will appear there in person on behalf of himself and two others here.

The list is not yet closed. Although I have called on Laverrière and Blank x times, I haven't found them at home. Zulauff has taken over the former.

Two others, with whom I made no headway, will be worked upon by Hecker.

Today Zulauff is going to Ronsdorf, where he has good prospects.

The two kinds of people who prove the most difficult are, firstly, the young *républicains en gants jaunes,*[a] who fear for their fortunes and smell communism in the air and, secondly, the local panjandrums, who regard us as rivals.

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[a] republicans in kid gloves (a nickname of the moderate bourgeois republicans in France, followers of Armand Marrast)

Neither Nohl nor Bracht were to be persuaded. Of the jurists, Bohnstedt is the only one with whom anything can be done. All in all we've made fruitless moves enough.

Tomorrow I am going to Engelskirchen for 2 days. Let me know at once the results of the shareholders' meeting.

A beginning has also been made with a community of the League.[a]

Your
Engels

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## 65

## ENGELS TO EMIL BLANK[228]

IN LONDON

Cologne, 24 May 1848
14, Höhle

Dear Emil,

I arrived here in Cologne last Saturday.[b] The *Rheinische Zeitung*[c] will be appearing on 1 June. But if we are not at once to come up against obstacles, some preliminary arrangements must be made in London, and we are taking the liberty of entrusting these to you since there's nobody else there.

1. Arrange at any NEWSMAN'S for a subscription to *The Telegraph* (DAILY PAPER) and *The Economist*, WEEKLY PAPER, from the time this letter arrives until 1 July. The NEWSMAN, whose address you can give us to save being bothered again later on, should include both papers in one wrapper or paper band—in the way papers are customarily sent—and dispatch them daily, addressed to Mr W. Clouth, St Agatha, 12, Cologne, via Ostend.[229]

2. Please forward the enclosed letters.

3. Pay the cost of the subscription to the two papers, the postage of this letter, etc., etc., and charge them at once to the dispatch

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[a] the Communist League - [b] 20 May - [c] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

department of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, St Agatha, 12, Cologne, stating to whom the sum is to be sent, and it will be done at once.

The necessary capital for the newspaper has been raised. Everything is going well, all that remains is the question of the papers, and then we can start. We are already getting *The Times* and, for the first month, we need no other English papers than the two above-mentioned. Should you ever happen upon something worthy of note in another paper, we should be grateful if you would send it to us. Any expense will, of course, immediately be refunded. Papers containing detailed information on trade, the state of business, etc., etc., are also desirable. Write some time and let me know what papers are now to be had there, so that we know how we stand.

I didn't, of course, see Marie,[a] as I had to leave before she arrived. But I'll be going over there some time soon, when things here are really under way. Barmen, by the way, is more boring than ever and is filled with a general hatred for what little freedom they have. The jackasses believe that the world exists solely to enable them to make tidy profits and, since these are now at a low ebb, they are screeching gruesomely. If they want freedom they must pay for it, as the French and English have had to do; but these people think they ought to have everything for nothing. Here things are looking up a little, if not very much. The Prussians are still the same as ever, the Poles are being branded with lunar caustic and, at the moment of writing, *Mainz is being bombarded by the Prussians* because the Civic Guard arrested a few drunken and rampaging soldiers[230]—the sovereign National Assembly in Frankfurt hears the firing and doesn't seem to take any notice.[231] In Berlin Camphausen is taking it easy, while reaction, the rule of officials and aristocrats grows daily more insolent, irritates the people, the people revolt and Camphausen's spinelessness and cowardice lead us straight towards fresh revolutions. That is Germany as it now is! Adieu.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Marie Blank

## 66

## ENGELS TO KARL FRIEDRICH KÖPPEN

IN BERLIN

Cologne, 1 September 1848

My dear Köppen,

I return your article herewith. I should already have sent it before but had lost your address in the turmoil of the removal and the mass of business this involved.[232]

Marx will have told you how often we thought of you during the sleepless night of exile. I can assure you that you were the only one of the Berliners whom we recalled with pleasure. Come to that, the sleepless night of exile was pleasurable *après tout*[a] and I look back on it longingly from out of this tedious philistine farce known as the German revolution! But one must be able to make sacrifices for the dear fatherland, and the greatest sacrifice is to return to that fatherland and write leading articles for this gross and boorish public. Farewell.

*Tout à vous*[b]
F. Engels

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## 67

## MARX TO ENGELS[233]

IN GENEVA

Cologne, [about 29 or 30 October] 1848

Dear Engels,

As your letter only arrived this evening, there is no time left to make enquiries about bills. I haven't even time to go home. I send you the enclosed, which happens to be to hand and, in addition, a

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[a] after all - [b] Yours ever

draft of 50 talers from Schulz on a citizen of Geneva[a] where you might also obtain help in other ways.

I sent 50 talers to you and Dronke in Paris a long time ago and at the same time sent your passport to Gigot in Brussels.

Since 11 October the paper has been appearing again, *tale quale*.[b] It is not the time now to go into details, as haste is necessary. As soon as you can, write some news items and longer articles. Now that everyone save Weerth is away, Freiligrath having only joined us a few days ago, I am up to my eyes and unable to undertake work of a more detailed kind, and in addition the public prosecutor's office is doing all it can to rob me of my time.

*Write by return.* Shall I send your underclothing, etc.? Plasmann ready to do so immediately.[234] Your father has paid him, by the way.

By the way, your old man has written to Gigot asking where you are. He wants, so he says, to send you some money. I sent him your address.

Your
K. Marx

[From Louis Schulz]

P. S. Should be obliged if you would open enclosed letter to J. Köhler by the Lake, or rue du Rhône, and deliver same, whereupon he will pay you 250 fr. for my account against sight draft on me. Friendly greetings.

Louis Schulz

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## 68

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN LAUSANNE

[Cologne, first half of November 1848]

Dear Engels,

I am truly amazed that you should still not have received any money from me. *I* (not the dispatch department) sent you 61

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[a] J. Köhler - [b] quite unchanged

talers ages ago, 11 in notes, 50 as a bill, to Geneva, enclosed in a letter to the address you gave. So make inquiries and write immediately. I have a postal receipt and can reclaim the money.

I had further sent 20 talers to Gigot and, later, 50 to Dronke for all of you, each time out of my cashbox. A total of some 130 talers.

Tomorrow I shall send you some more. But inquire about the money. The bill included a note recommending you to one of Lausanne's financial philistines.

I am short of money. I returned from my journey with 1,850 talers; I received 1,950 from the Poles. I spent 100 while still on my journey. I advanced 1,000 to the newspaper (and also to yourself and other refugees). This week there are still 500 to be paid for the machine. Balance 350. And withal I haven't received a cent from the paper.[235]

As regards your editorship, I 1) announced in the very first issue that the committee was to remain unchanged,[a] 2) explained to the idiotic reactionary shareholders that they are at liberty to regard any of you as no longer belonging to the editorial staff, but that I am at liberty to *pay as high fees as I wish* and hence that they will be no better off financially.

It would have been, perhaps, more sensible not to advance so large a sum for the newspaper, as I have 3-4 court actions hanging over me,[236] can be locked up any day and then pant for money as doth the hart for cooling streams. But whatever the circumstances, this *fort* had to be held and the political position not surrendered.

The best thing—once you have settled the financial business in Lausanne—is to go to Berne and carry out your proposed plan. Besides, you can write for anything you want. Your letters always arrive in reasonably good time.

To suppose that I could leave you in the lurch for even a moment is sheer fantasy. You will always remain my friend and confidant as I hope to remain yours.

K. Marx

Your old man's a swine and we shall write him a damned rude letter.

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[a] K. Marx, 'Editorial Statement Concerning the Reappearance of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*'.

## 69

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

### IN DÜSSELDORF

[Cologne, 13 November 1848]

Dear Lassalle,

At your democratic-monarchist club[237] you should resolve the following:

1. *General refusal to pay taxes*—to be advocated specially in rural areas;
2. Dispatch of volunteer corps to Berlin;
3. Cash remittance to the Democratic Central Committee in Berlin.[238]

For the Rhenish Democratic Provincial Committee[239]

K. Marx

(Private)

Dear Lassalle,

If you could send me some money, whether it be the 200 talers or the amount for the loan certificates, you would greatly oblige me. Send it to my wife, Cecilienstrasse 7. I have had a summons[240] today and it is generally believed that I shall be arrested tomorrow.

Your

Marx

First published in *Düsseldorf 1848. Bilder und Dokumente*, Düsseldorf, 1948

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# 70
# MARX TO ENGELS
## IN BERNE

Cologne, 29 November [1848]

Dear Engels,

The papers have been sent to you. If this was not done sooner the fault lies with that jackass Korff who, because I was overworked, a circumstance aggravated by repeated summonses, has so far failed to carry out my orders.

In the meantime remain in Berne. I shall write to you as soon as you can come. Seal your letters better. One of them had been opened, as I indicated in the paper, without, of course, mentioning your name.[a]

Write in detail about *Proudhon* and, since your geography is good, about the dirty business in Hungary (nations swarming like bees).[b] Don't forget me[c] in the piece on Proudhon, since our articles are reprinted by a great many French newspapers.

Write something, too, attacking the Federal Republic, to which end Switzerland provides the best opportunity.[d]

K. Heinzen has published his old trashy piece attacking us.[e]

Our paper continues to stand by the principle of *émeute*,[f] but despite all my summonses in court, it has succeeded in sailing clear of the *Code pénal*.[241] It is now very much *en vogue*. We are also issuing posters daily.[242]. *La révolution marche*.[g] Write diligently.

I have devised an infallible plan for extracting money from your old man, as we now have none. Write me a begging letter (as crude as possible), in which you retail your past vicissitudes, but in such a way that I can pass it on to your mother. The old man's beginning to get the wind up.

I hope to see you again soon.

Your
Marx

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 1, 1929

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

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[a] K. Marx ['Letters Opened']. - [b] In compliance with this request Engels wrote the articles '[Proudhon]' and 'The Magyar Struggle'. - [c] Marx means his book *The Poverty of Philosophy*. - [d] F. Engels, 'The National Council'. - [e] K. Heinzen, *Die Helden des teutschen Kommunismus*, Bern, 1848. - [f] uprising - [g] The revolution is on the march.

## 71

## MARX TO EDUARD von MÜLLER-TELLERING

IN VIENNA

[Cologne, 5 December 1848]

My dear Tellering,

You would already have had the missing issues,[a] but most of them are missing. Hence I am still busily trying to get hold of the copies you lack.

As regards your feuilleton, you must excuse me for not having read it through yet, owing to my being overworked. If it is not suitable for our newspaper you shall have it back.

Regarding the *addresses,* all your letters have arrived. As a precaution, write to *Herr Werres, Unter Huthmacher 17.* The address is wholly above suspicion.

Just now our newspaper is *sans sou.*[b] But the subscribers [...][c] The jackasses are at last beginning to feel that our prophecies have invariably been right; unless we're suppressed by the government we shall have surmounted our troubles by the beginning of January, and then I shall do everything in my power to reward you in accordance with your services. Your articles are incontestably the best we receive, completely in line with our own tendency, and since they have been reprinted from our paper by French, Italian and English periodicals, you are contributing a great deal to the enlightenment of the European public.[243]

I cannot describe to you what sacrifices in terms of money and patience I have had to make to keep the newspaper going. The Germans are crack-brained jackasses.

Give my kindest regards to your wife[d] and rest assured of my constant friendship.

Yours
K. Marx

First published in the *Volksstimme,* Frankfurt a. M., No. 247, 22 October 1897

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[a] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* - [b] penniless - [c] word indecipherable (probably *träumen*—dream) - [d] Amalie

## 72

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN COLOGNE

Berne, 28 December [1848]

Dear Marx,

How are things? Now that Gottschalk and Anneke have been acquitted,[244] shan't I be able to come back soon? The Prussian curs must surely soon tire of meddling with juries. As I have said, if there are sufficient grounds for believing that I shall not be detained for questioning, I shall come at once. After that they may, so far as I'm concerned, place me before 10,000 juries, but when you're arrested for questioning you're not allowed to smoke, and I won't let myself in for that.

In any case the whole September affair[245] is crumbling away to nothing. One after another they're going back. So write.

Apropos, some money would come in very handy towards the middle of January. By then you should receive plenty.

Your
E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913

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## 73

## MARX TO WILHELM STIEBER[246]

IN BERLIN

[Draft] [Cologne, about 29 December 1848]

The editorial department is in receipt of your letter and accepts the correction dated Frankfurt.[a] As to your threat of a libel action, this only reveals your ignorance of the *Code pénal*, whose paragraph relating to libel does not apply to the report appearing

[a] 'Stieber', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 182, 30 December 1848, supplement.

in No. 177.[247] Moreover, to set your mind at rest be it said that this report was sent to us by a Frankfurt Deputy[a] before the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* divulged the same news. Your earlier activities in Silesia did not seem to us to belie the contents of the said report, although we did, on the other hand, think it strange that you should exchange your more remunerative and honourable post in Berlin for one which, albeit *legal,* is precarious and equivocal.

As to your protestations regarding your activities in Silesia,[b] we shall endeavour to place material at your disposal, either publicly or in private, as you wish.

On the grounds of their novelty, we shall excuse the lectures on democracy and democratic organs contained in your letter.

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[a] Probably Friedrich Wilhelm Schlöffel, 'Dr Stieber', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* No. 177, 24 December 1848. - [b] *Neue Preussische Zeitung,* No. 148, 20 December 1848.

# 1849

## 74

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN COLOGNE

Berne, 7[-8] January 1849

Dear Marx,

Having recovered, after several weeks of sinful living, from my exertions and adventures,[233] I feel, firstly, a need to get down to work again (striking proof of this being the enclosed Magyar-Slav article[a]), and, secondly, a need for money. The latter is the more urgent and if by the time this arrives, you haven't yet sent me anything, do so forthwith, for I've been *sans le sou*[b] these past few days, and it's impossible to touch anyone in this rotten town.

If only something worth writing about happened in this rotten country. But it's all local rubbish of the rotteniest kind. However I'll shortly be sending a few general articles[c] about it. If I have to stay abroad much longer I shall go to Lugano, particularly if something blows up in Italy, as seems likely.

But I keep thinking that I shall soon be able to return. This lazing about in foreign parts, where you can't really do anything and are completely outside the movement, is truly unbearable. I am rapidly coming to the conclusion that detention for questioning in Cologne is better than life in free Switzerland. So do write and tell me if there isn't some chance of my being treated as favourably as Bürgers, Becker,[d] etc., etc.[248]

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[a] F. Engels, 'The Magyar Struggle'. - [b] penniless - [c] F. Engels, 'Herr Müller.—Radetzky's Chicanery towards Tessin.—The Federal Council.—Lohbauer', 'The Swiss Press', 'Protectionist Agitation.—Recruiting into the Neapolitan Army', 'Müller.—The Freiburg Government.—Ochsenbein.' - [d] Hermann Becker

Raveaux is right: even in grace and favour Prussia[249] one is freer than in free Switzerland. Every little nonentity here is at one and the same time a police spy and an *assommeur*.[a] I saw an example of this on New Year's Eve.

Who the devil was responsible for inserting recently that boring religio-moral article from Heidelberg[b] on the March Association[250]? To my pleasure I have also noticed that Henricus occasionally exhales an article—witness the sighs extending over 2 issues on the subject of the Ladenberg circular.[c]

Our newspaper is now much quoted in Switzerland, the *Berner Zeitung* borrows a lot as does the *National-Zeitung*,[d] and this then goes the rounds of all the other papers. Also much quoted, more so than the *Kölnische*, according to the *National*, etc., etc., in Swiss papers in the French language.

You'll have included the advertisement.[e] Herewith a copy of ours in the *Berner Zeitung*. Greetings to the whole company.

Your
E.

Missed the post yesterday. Today, then, I'll merely add that since 1 January the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung has no longer been arriving here*. Do ascertain whether it's being regularly dispatched. I've looked into the question of a subscription, but it's no good. I'd have to subscribe for a $^1/_2$ year; I shan't be staying as long as that and anyway I haven't any money. As I said, it's important it should arrive here, not simply on my own account, but mainly because the *Berner Zeitung*, which is well disposed towards us and edited by a communist,[f] is doing everything to make it *en vogue* here.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913

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[a] assassin - [b] 'Ein Aktenstück des Märzvereins', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 181, 29 December 1848. - [c] [H. Bürgers,] 'Hr. v. Ladenberg und die Volksschullehrer', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 182, 30 December 1848. The planned continuation of this article did not appear in the newspaper. - [d] *Schweizerische National-Zeitung* - [e] This seems to refer to the advertisement about the daily publication of the *Berner Zeitung* as from 1 January 1849 printed in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Nos. 185, 187 and 189, 3, 5, and 7 January. - [f] Niklaus Niggeler

A cartoon of Frederick William IV and the Prussian bourgeoisie drawn by Engels on the back of E. Voswinkel's letter to Marx (22 January-beginning of February) about the elections to the Prussian Diet (1849)

## 75

## MARX TO EDUARD von MÜLLER-TELLERING

IN RATIBOR

Cologne, 15 January [1849]

Dear Tellering,

You always calculate your posting days wrongly because you imagine that the post from Austria and Berlin arrives here regularly. But it's always 1-2 days late and is exceedingly irregular. I got your first letter from Vienna on the evening of the 10th. On the 11th I promptly sent a post-restante letter to *Oderberg*,[a] enclosing 50 talers in money orders.[251] Hence you'll have to return to Oderberg in any case, so as to pick up the money.

You will receive the newspapers, provided you write and tell me, immediately you get back from Oderberg, whereabouts you intend to live in the interim.

Despite Geiger's malevolence, I hope to see the matter of your passport finally settled within 2-3 days. But you must also tell me where our Berlin friend is to send your passport to.

*If you have to keep away from Vienna—which would be an irreparable loss to the paper*[b] and would mean your appointing a deputy responsible for day-to-day information—Breslau[c] would seem to me to be the most suitable place to stay. I frequently think sorrowfully of your wife,[d] who deserves a more comfortable lot.

*I am enclosing an issue of the 'Neue Rheinische Zeitung'*, which will, I trust, be of interest to you *on account of the leading article on the Magyars.*[e]

Write to me as soon as you possibly can. In France the fun will begin anew in the spring. The bourgeois republic's infamy has advanced too rapidly towards the 'heyday of its transgressions'.[f]

Yours
K. Marx

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[a] Polish name: Bohumin - [b] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* - [c] Polish name: Wrocław - [d] Amalie - [e] F. Engels, 'The Magyar Struggle'. - [f] Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene 5.

## 76

## MARX TO ERNST DRONKE

### IN PARIS

Cologne, 3 February [1849]

Dear Dronke,

Your letter, passed on to me by Engels, I shall answer briefly as follows:

1. As regards your coming here: When I wrote 'Don't come to Germany until I write to you', *Kratz* had told me that your case was not yet quite settled.[252]

2. Later I wrote to Kapp instead of to you because Kapp was bombarding me with threatening letters. The draft I gave Kapp wasn't honoured by Korff. In the meantime I had declared at the shareholders' meeting that either Korff or I must resign from the paper.[a] Moreover, *during this period Plasman* had again sequestered the postage money, and the paper, as Engels discovered on his arrival, was expecting to announce its insolvency any day.

3. As regards the Meyerbeer business, I know *nothing whatever* about it. You will appreciate that in a situation in which the compositors were daily rebelling over a few talers, I would hardly have spurned 150 talers.

4. As regards my letter about Kapp, I was justified in writing it. During the most ghastly period of all, Kapp was threatening to attack us publicly. If you put yourself in *our* situation at that time, you will understand my vexation. As regards Weerth's comment (which, by the by, referred *not to you,* but to *Imandt,* who was writing to us incessantly), this is the first I have heard of it.

5. As regards the 25 talers remitted on *14 January,* these were dispatched to you in the presence of witnesses via Ewerbeck's address. The Post Office here will provide information about this tomorrow. Nota bene: *Kapp* received 15 talers from me at the same time.

6. As regards my not answering, Lupus will testify that I wrote to you frequently.

7. If the tone of one of my letters was waspish, this was, a) because I was going through an atrociously bad patch with the

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[a] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

paper and was under attack from all the paper's correspondents and creditors, b) because, in a letter to Freiligrath, *Imandt* depicted you, Kapp, etc., as complaining bitterly about me, while the precious Beust, I think it is *Beust* (I am not quite sure), was sending similar letters here.

Within a few days the paper must either *go under* or else *consolidate* itself, in which case we shall immediately send you more money of which, at the moment, there is a *complete* lack. However the business of the 25 talers must be cleared up.

That I have constantly regarded you as co-editor of the paper is apparent not only from the new announcement in the various papers,[a] but also from the fact that I placed your article about the expulsion of the Frankfurt refugee[b] under 'Cologne'.[c]

Your
Marx

[From Wilhelm Wolff]

In entire agreement with the above

Your
Lupus

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## 77

## ENGELS TO DANIEL FENNER von FENNEBERG

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

Cologne, 1 March 1849

Dear Sir,

I would have replied to you before now had I not first had to consult various other people about your matter. I do not think it advisable for you to make any sort of public appearance here; out

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[a] 'Bestellungen auf die *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* für das nächste Quartal, Januar bis März 1849'. - [b] F. Wiedecker - [c] [E. Dronke,] 'Allianz der europäischen Polizei', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 192, 11 January 1849.

of craving for advancement, the chief of police[a] here is *capable de tout*,[b] as we have experienced only today in the unjustified expulsion of a local Polish refugee. I would further advise you, should your passport not be *absolutely impeccable*, to choose any route to Paris other than via Cologne and Brussels. You would get through Cologne well enough, but you would undoubtedly be arrested at the Belgian border and transported by prison van to the French border, after having, perhaps, spent several days in prison. I myself experienced this 5 months ago,[233] and every day fresh reports reach us of these infamies perpetrated against the refugees by the Belgians. You even run the risk of having all your money taken from you by the scoundrels and not getting a farthing back, as happened to the refugee, von Hochstetter.

If I can be of service to you in any other way, it would be a pleasure.

Yours faithfully
F. Engels

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## 78

## MARX TO COLONEL ENGELS

### IN COLOGNE

[Draft]

Cologne, 3 March [1849]

*To Colonel Engels, Deputy Commandant*

Sir,

The day before yesterday two non-commissioned officers[c] of the 8th Company, 16th Infantry Regiment, came to my rooms to speak to me privately. I had left for Düsseldorf. They were

[a] W. A. Geiger - [b] capable of anything - [c] Dust and Hover

therefore turned away. Yesterday afternoon two of these gentlemen again presented themselves and demanded a private interview.

I had them shown into a room where I joined them almost immediately. I invited the gentlemen to sit down and asked them what they wanted. They told me they wanted to know the name of the writer of the article (No. 233 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of 28 February) against Captain von Uttenhoven.[253] I replied to these gentlemen, 1) that the article in question had nothing to do with me since it had appeared below the line and was therefore an advertisement; 2) that they were at liberty to insert a refutation gratis; 3) that they were at liberty to sue the paper. Upon the gentlemen's remarking that the whole of the 8th Company felt themselves to be insulted by the advertisement, I returned that nothing but the signatures of all the members of the 8th Company would convince me of the accuracy of that statement, which in any case was irrelevant.

The non-commissioned officers thereupon declared that if I failed to name, to 'deliver up' the 'man', they would 'no longer be able to restrain their men', and 'evil would result'.

I told the gentlemen that little or nothing was to be achieved by trying to threaten or intimidate me. They then withdrew muttering under their breath.

Relaxation of discipline must have gone very far and all sense of law and order must have ceased if, like a robber band, a Company can send delegates to an individual citizen and attempt with threats to extort this or that confession from him. In particular, I fail to understand the meaning of the sentence: 'We can no longer restrain our men'.

Are these 'men', perhaps, to exercise jurisdiction on their own initiative, do these 'men' have other than legal resources at their command?

I must beg you, Sir, to institute an inquiry into this incident and to give me an explanation for this singular presumption. I would be sorry to be obliged to have recourse to publicity.

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# 79

# MARX TO COLONEL ENGELS

## IN COLOGNE

[Draft]

[Cologne, before 15 April 1849]

*To Colonel Engels, Commandant*

Sir,

Being convinced that Royal Prussian non-commissioned officers[a] would not deny words spoken in private, I did not call in *any witnesses* to the conversation in question.[b] As to my alleged remark that *'the courts, as has recently been seen, can do nothing to me'*,[254] even my political opponents will concede that, were I to harbour such a foolish thought, I would not express it before a third party. And do not the non-commissioned officers themselves admit that I explained to them that things *below the line* are no concern of mine and that in any case I am responsible only for the section of the paper signed by me? Hence there was absolutely no reason to speak of *my* position vis-à-vis the courts.

I am all the happier to refrain from pressing for a further inquiry as it was my concern, not that the non-commissioned officers should be punished, but simply that they should be reminded, from the lips of their superiors, of the limits of their duties.

As for the kind remark with which you conclude, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has demonstrated, by its silence over the recent friction among the military themselves, how great is its consideration for the prevailing mood of unrest.

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[a] Dust and Hover - [b] The words 'although a co-editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* happened to be in my rooms at the time' are deleted in the original.

## 80

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN COLOGNE

[Cologne, before 15 April 1849]

Dear Engels,

Leave out the article on B. Dietz until *the facts have been ascertained.* We shall ourselves write to Brussels on the subject.

By the way, try to find out the name of the printer's apprentice who reported the matter to Dietz without authority.

Your
Marx

[On the back of the letter]

Herr Engels, local

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## 81

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN COLOGNE

Hamburg, 23 April [1849]

Dear Engels,

Your letter didn't reach me till today,[255] as I had already left Bremen on Wednesday[a] morning. Nothing doing in Bremen. Rösing went bankrupt a year ago and is now living solely on the interest from what remains of his wife's capital. Hence nothing doing.

On the other hand I shall certainly be able to make shift here.

As for the signature, cannot *Werres* sign?

---

[a] 18 April 1849

As for interim money arrangements, as long as I'm away the following should be noted: before I left, Plasmann solemnly promised to make whatever advances were necessary. Perhaps St. Naut feels some scruple about resorting to this source. If necessary, do *so yourself*.

All this week the paper[a] has been very skimpy, which assorts ill with my present mission.

Warmest regards to my wife and the others.

Write by return whatever happens, and keep your chin up. *Les choses marcheront.*[b]

Your
K. Marx

[Inside the envelope]

Address: Rohde, Merchant, Bleichenbrücke.

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## 82

## MARX TO HERMANN BREHMER

### IN BRESLAU

Harburg, 6 May [1849]

To Mr Brehmer in Breslau[c]

I warmly recommend to you the bearer of these lines, Mr Bruhn, whose name you will still recall from the events in Southern Germany last year.[256]

Yours very truly
Karl Marx

First published in: G. Becker, 'Neue Dokumente von Karl Marx aus dem Jahre 1849', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1974, Heft 4

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[a] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* - [b] Things will go all right. - [c] Polish name: Wrocław

## 83

## MARX TO EDUARD von MÜLLER-TELLERING

IN BRESLAU

Harburg, 6 May 1849

Dear Tellering,

I warmly recommend to you the bearer, Mr. Bruhn, who is one of our principal agitators in Germany.

Yours very truly

Dr Karl Marx

First published in: G. Becker, 'Neue Dokumente von Karl Marx aus dem Jahre 1849', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1974, Heft 4

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## 84

## MARX TO ANDREAS STIFFT

IN VIENNA

Harburg, 6 May [1849]

*To Dr. Stifft in Vienna*

Dear Stifft,

*Post tot discrimina rerum,*[a] I am glad to have an opportunity of reminding you of my existence. Each new number of the Vienna paper[b] gives me the real satisfaction of knowing beyond doubt that you have not been swallowed up by the counter-revolutionary monster.[257] I trust that we shall yet find ourselves seated side by side at a convention.

The bearer, Bruhn, is one of my best friends and a proficient, active revolutionary. I recommend him to you most highly.

Yours

K. Marx

First published in: G. Becker, 'Neue Dokumente von Karl Marx aus dem Jahre 1849', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1974, Heft 4

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[a] After so many vicissitudes (Virgil, *Aeneid*, I). - [b] *Der Radikale*

## 85

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[258]

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

[Bingen, 1 June 1849]

Dear Weydemeyer,

I beg you in *my own* and *Freiligrath*'s names to take the printer of Freiligrath's poem[a] to court for piracy and sue him for damages.

My general attorney is *St. A. Naut* in Cologne, and I should be much obliged if you would write to him about this matter.

*Vale faveque.*[b]

K. Marx

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## 86

## MARX TO ENGELS[259]

### IN KAISERSLAUTERN

Paris, 7 June [1849]
45, rue de Lille

Dear Engels,

I am not writing to you at any great length in this letter. First I want you to tell me in your reply whether it arrives *intact.* I believe that letters are again being opened *con amore.*[c]

---

[a] Reference to F. Freiligrath's 'Abschiedswort der *Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung*' published in the newspaper's last number (No. 301, 19 May 1849) printed in red ink. - [b] Good-bye and farewell. - [c] enthusiastically

Here a royalist reaction is in full swing, more barefaced than under Guizot, and comparable only to that after 1815. Paris is *morne.*[a] On top of that the cholera is raging mightily. For all that, never has a colossal eruption of the revolutionary volcano been more imminent than it is in Paris today. Details to follow. I consort with the whole of the revolutionary party and in a few days' time I shall have *all* the revolutionary journals at my disposal.

As for the Palatinate-Baden envoys here, Blind, alarmed by a real or pretended attack of cholera, has moved into the country some hours away from Paris.

*Quant à*[b] Schütz, the following should be noted:

1. The Provisional Government has placed him in a false position by failing to keep him informed. The French demand *des faits*[c] and where can he get them from if not a soul writes to him? Dispatches must reach him as often as possible. It is clear that at this moment he can achieve nothing. All that can be done is to throw dust in the eyes of the Prussian Government by enabling him to have frequent meetings with the leaders of the Montagnards.[260]

2. A second, unpardonable mistake on the part of the *Gouvernement provisoire du Palatinat*[d] is their entrusting a crowd of rotten Germans with this or that mission behind the back of the official envoy. This will have to cease once and for all if Schütz is to maintain at least the prestige of his position vis-à-vis the Montagnards and just now—vis-à-vis Prussia—that is the whole point of his mission.

Apart from that, it goes without saying that he doesn't learn very much, since he consorts only with a few *official* Montagnards. I shall, incidentally, keep him always *au courant.*[e]

For my part I must ask you to write to me at least twice a week regularly and immediately every time anything important happens.

The *Kölnische Zeitung* feuilleton on the Palatinate movement, dated Dürkheim an der Haardt, states among other things:

'Some anger has been aroused by Mr Marx, editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung.*[f] He is said to have told the Provisional Government that since his time had not yet come, he intended temporarily to retire.'[g]

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[a] dreary - [b] As for - [c] facts - [d] provisional government of the Palatinate - [e] informed - [f] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* - [g] 'Briefe aus Baden und der Pfalz. IV. Dürkheim a. d. Haardt, 1. Juni', *Kölnische Zeitung,* No. 136, 6 June 1849.

How does that fit in? The miserable Germans here, with whom, by the way, I avoid any meeting, will seek to proclaim this throughout the whole of Paris. I therefore think it advisable for you to see that an item appears in the *Karlsruher Zeitung* or the *Mannheimer Abendzeitung* stating expressly that I am in Paris as the representative of the *democratic Central Committee.* Another reason why I think this would be useful is that for the time being, as no immediate results are to be obtained here, the Prussians must be made to believe that the most frightful intrigues are going on here. *Il faut faire peur aux Aristocrates.*[a]

Ruge is a complete nonentity here.

What is Dronke doing?

You must, by the way, see that *you raise money for me somewhere.* You know that I spent the latest sums received *pour faire honneur aux obligations de la 'Nouvelle Gazette Rhénane',*[b] and, in the present *circonstances,*[c] I cannot live a completely retired life, still less get into financial difficulties.

If at all possible let me have an article in French in which you sum up the whole Hungarian affair.[261]

Show this letter to d'Ester, to whom my best regards. If I am to write to a different address, let me have it.

M.

Write to me at the following address: M. Ramboz, 45 rue de Lille

[On the back of the letter]

Herrn *Fr. Engels,* inquire at Dr d'Ester's.

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[a] We must frighten the aristocrats. - [b] to honour the obligations of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* - [c] circumstances

# 87

# MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

## IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

Paris, 13 July [1849]
45, rue de Lille
Address: M. Ramboz

Dear Weydemeyer,

Dronke will already have written to tell you that you must sell the red newspapers at any price.[262]

I am here with my *famille, sans le sou.*[a 263] And yet an opportunity has come my way of making 3,000-4,000 fr. in a few weeks. For my pamphlet against Proudhon,[b] which he has done everything in his power to suppress, is beginning to sell here, and it is up to me to infiltrate reviews of it into the more important papers, thus necessitating a second edition. But for this to be of any help I would have to buy up the copies still available in Brussels and Paris in order to become sole *propriétaire.*

300-400 talers would enable me to carry out this operation and at the same time maintain myself here during the early days. You might, perhaps, be able to help me in this.

Namely, as follows:

A lady in Rheda—Lüning is also in touch with her—sent 1,000 talers to Carl Post for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* but recovered the money when that paper went under. Might she not, perhaps, be persuaded by your intervention to make me this advance? My claim to such an advance is, I believe, all the greater as I contributed more than 7,000 talers to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* which, after all, was a party enterprise.

If at all possible, pursue this matter, but without mentioning it to anybody. I tell you that, unless help is forthcoming from one quarter or another, I shall be *perdu,*[c] since my family is also here and the last piece of my wife's jewellery has already found its way to the pawnbrokers.

I await your reply by return.

Your
K. Marx

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[a] family, penniless - [b] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy.* - [c] lost

## 88

## MARX TO CAROLINE SCHÖLER[a]

IN COLOGNE

Paris, 14 July 1849
45, rue de Lille

Dear Lina,

Would you be so kind, when you write to my wife, as to enclose a note to the red Orlando furioso[b]? You must help me a little in the act I am putting on.

Yours very sincerely
K. Marx

First published in *MEGA*$_2$, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1981

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## 89

## ENGELS TO JENNY MARX[264]

IN PARIS

Vevey, Vaud Canton,
25 July 1849

Dear Mrs Marx,

You as well as Marx will be wondering why you have not heard from me for so long. *En voici les causes.*[c] On the same day as I wrote to Marx (from Kaiserslautern) there came news that the Prussians had occupied Homburg, thereby cutting off communications with Paris. So I couldn't send the letter off and went to join Willich. In Kaiserslautern I had completely disassociated myself from the *soi-disant*[d] revolution; but when the Prussians arrived, I

[a] Appended to Jenny Marx's letter to the same addressee (see this volume, pp. 546-48). - [b] Ferdinand Wolff (red Wolff) is compared to the title character of L. Ariosto's poem. - [c] Here are the reasons. - [d] so-called

couldn't resist the urge to take part in the war. Willich being the only officer who was any good, I joined him and became his adjutant. I was in four engagements, two of them fairly important, particularly the one at Rastatt,[265] and discovered that the much-vaunted bravery under fire is quite the most ordinary quality one can possess. The whistle of bullets is really quite a trivial matter and though, throughout the campaign, a great deal of cowardice was in evidence, I did not see as many as a dozen men whose conduct was cowardly *in battle.* But all the more 'brave stupidity'. *Enfin,*[a] I came through the whole thing unscathed, and *au bout du compte,*[b] it was as well that one member of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was present, since the entire pack of democratic blackguards were in Baden and the Palatinate, and are now bragging about the heroic deeds they never performed. It would have been said again that the gentlemen of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* were too cowardly to fight. But of all the democratic gentry, the only ones to fight were myself and Kinkel. The latter joined our corps as a musketeer and did pretty well; in the first engagement in which he took part, his head was grazed by a bullet and he was taken prisoner.

Having covered the withdrawal of the Baden army, our corps entered Switzerland 24 hours later than everyone else, and yesterday we arrived here in Vevey. During the campaign and the march through Switzerland it was quite impossible for me to write so much as a line. But now I hasten to send some news, and write to you with all the more dispatch for having heard—somewhere in Baden—that Marx had been arrested in Paris. Since we never received any newspapers, we learnt nothing. Whether or not it is true, I have never been able to find out. You can imagine the state of anxiety I am in as a result, and I beg you most urgently to set my mind at rest and to put an end to my doubts about Marx's fate. Since I have had no confirmation of this rumour of Marx's arrest, I still hope it is false. But that Dronke and Schapper are in jug, I can hardly doubt. Enough—if Marx is still at liberty send him this letter with the request that he write to me immediately. If he should not feel safe in Paris, he will be completely safe here in the Vaud Canton. The government describes itself as red and *partisane de la révolution permanente.*[c] In Geneva likewise. Schily from Trier is there; he held a command in the Mainz corps.

If I get any money from home, I shall probably go to Lausanne

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[a] In short - [b] as it turns out - [c] supporter of permanent revolution

or Geneva and see what I can do. Our column, which fought well, bores me and there isn't anything to do here. In battle, Willich is brave, cool-headed and adroit, and able to appreciate a situation quickly and accurately, but when not in battle he is a *plus ou moins*[a] tedious ideologist[b] and a true socialist. Most of the people in the corps whom one can talk to have been sent elsewhere.

If only I could be sure that Marx is at liberty! I have often thought that, in the midst of the Prussian bullets, my post was much less dangerous than that of others in Germany and especially Marx's in Paris. So dispel my uncertainty soon.

*Tout à vous*[c]
Engels

Address: F. Engels, refugié allemand, Vevey, Suisse (If possible under cover as far as Thionville or Metz.)

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## 90

## MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH

### IN COLOGNE

[Paris,] 31 July [1849]

Dear Freiligrath,

I must confess that I am much astonished by Lassalle's behaviour. I had approached him personally and, since I myself had at one time made the countess[d] a loan and was, besides, aware of Lassalle's liking for me, it would never have occurred to me that he would compromise me in this way. On the contrary, I had impressed upon him the need for the utmost discretion. The direst straits are better than public begging. I have written to him on the subject.[266]

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[a] more or less - [b] meaning: follower of philosophical idealism - [c] Yours ever - [d] Sophie von Hatzfeldt

I find the business unspeakably annoying.

*Parlons de politique,*[a] since it will distract us from this private unpleasantness. In Switzerland things are becoming ever more complicated and now, as regards Italy, there is Savoy into the bargain. It would seem that, if needs be, Austria proposes to recoup her loss of Hungary at Italy's expense. The incorporation of Savoy by Austria would, however, be the undoing of the present French government if tolerated by the latter. The majority in the French Chamber is clearly falling apart. The Right is splitting up into Philippists pure and simple, Legitimists who vote with the Philippists, and Legitimists pure and simple, who have recently been voting with the Left.[267] What Thiers and company are planning is to make Louis Napoleon Consul for ten years, until the coming-of-age of the Count of Paris[b] who will then replace him. If, as is almost certain, the *assemblée* reimposes the *droits*[c] on drink,[268] it will arouse the antagonism of all the wine-growers. With each reactionary measure it alienates yet another section of the population.

But most important of all just now is England. We must have no illusions about the so-called Peace Party,[269] of which Cobden is the acknowledged leader. Nor should we have any illusions about the 'unselfish enthusiasm' of the English for Hungary, which has resulted in the organisation of meetings throughout the country.

The Peace Party is simply a *cloak* for the FREE-TRADE *Party.* The same content, the same object, the same leaders. Just as, at home, the Free Traders attacked the aristocracy in its material basis with the repeal of the Corn and Navigation Laws,[270] so now in their foreign policy, they are attacking it in its European connections and ramifications—by seeking to break the Holy Alliance.[271] The English Free Traders are radical bourgeois who wish to break radically with the aristocracy in order to rule without let or hindrance. What they overlook is the fact that they are thus, *malgré eux,*[d] bringing the people onto the stage and into power. Exploitation of the peoples, not by means of medieval warfare but solely by means of trade warfare—that's your Peace Party. Cobden's behaviour in the Hungarian affair had an immediately practical nexus. Russia is now seeking to negotiate a loan. Cobden, the representative of the industrial bourgeoisie, forbids

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[a] Let us talk politics - [b] Louis Philipp Albert - [c] duties, taxes - [d] willy-nilly.

this deal of the financial bourgeoisie's, and in England the Bank is ruled by industry, whereas in France industry is ruled by the Bank.

Cobden's attack on Russia has been more formidable than any of either Dembinski or Görgey.[a] He revealed how pitiable was the condition of her finances. She is, he says, the MOST WRETCHED NATION. Each year the Siberian mines bring the State no more than £700,000: the duty on spirits brings it 10 times as much. True, the gold and silver reserve in the vaults of the Bank of Petersburg amounts to £14,000,000, but it serves as a metallic reserve for a paper circulation of £80,000,000. Hence, if the Tsar[b] dips into the vaults of the Bank, he will depreciate the paper money, and thus bring about a revolution in Russia herself. Consequently, the proud English bourgeois exclaims, the absolutist colossus cannot stir unless we make him a loan, and this we shall not do. Once again we are waging, by purely bourgeois means, the bourgeoisie's war against feudal absolutism. The golden calf is mightier than all the calves on the thrones in the world. Of course the English FREE TRADERS also have a direct interest where Hungary is concerned. Instead of Austrian trade barriers, as hitherto, a trade agreement and some sort of FREE TRADE with Hungary. The money, which they are now without doubt secretly remitting to the Hungarians, they will assuredly get back 'with profit and interest' in *retour*[c] by way of trade.

The English bourgeoisie's attitude to continental despotism is a reversal of the campaign they conducted against the French from 1793 to 1815. The importance of this development cannot be overrated.

Kindest regards to you and your wife[d] from me and my wife.

Your

K. Marx

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[a] Reference to Cobden's speech at a meeting held on 23 July 1849 in support of Hungary, see *The Times*, No. 20236, 24 July 1849 and *The Northern Star*, No. 614, 28 July 1849.- [b] Nicholas I - [c] return - [d] Ida

# 91

## MARX TO ENGELS[43]

### IN VEVEY

[Paris, end of July 1849]

Dear Engels,

I have suffered a great deal of anxiety on your account and was truly delighted when yesterday I received a letter in your own hand.[a] I had got Dronke (who is here) to write to your brother-in-law[b] asking for news of you. He, of course, knew nothing.

My whole family is here[263]; the government wanted to banish me to Morbihan, the Pontine marshes of Brittany.[272] So far I have frustrated their intention. But if I am to write to you in greater detail, both about my own circumstances here and about affairs in general, you must let me have a safer address, for things are really appalling here.

You now have the best opportunity to write a history of or a pamphlet on the Baden-Palatinate revolution.[273] Had you not taken part in the actual fighting, we couldn't have put forward our views about that frolic. It would be a splendid chance for you to define the position of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* vis-à-vis the democratic party generally. I am positive that the thing will sell and bring you money.

I have embarked on negotiations with a view to starting a politico-economic (monthly) periodical in Berlin which would have to be largely written by us two.[274]

Lupus[c] is also in Switzerland, I believe in Berne. Weerth was here yesterday; he is setting up an agency in Liverpool. Red Wolff[d] is living here with me. Finances are, of course, in a state of chaos.

Freiligrath is in Cologne now as heretofore. If my wife were not in an *état par trop intéressant,*[e] I would gladly leave Paris as soon as it was financially possible to do so.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 202-04. - [b] Emil Blank - [c] Wilhelm Wolff - [d] Ferdinand Wolff - [e] all too interesting condition (on the birth of Marx's son, see this volume, p. 220)

Farewell. Convey my kindest regards to Willich and write by return to the address: M. Ramboz, rue de Lille, 45.

Your
K. M.

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## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[275]

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

[Paris, end of July 1849]

Dear Weydemeyer,

I have heard from Dronke that it's no go with the Westphalian lady.[a] Well, it can't be helped.

Now I should appreciate your advice as to how best to publish pamphlets.

I should like to start with the pamphlet on *wages* of which only the beginning appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.[b] I would write a short political foreword to it on the present *status quo*. Do you think that, e.g., Leske would be agreeable? But he would have to pay, as soon as he had the manuscript in his hands, and pay well, since I know that this pamphlet will attract and will find a mass of subscribers in advance. My present financial *état*[c] will not permit me to settle my outstanding *compte*[d] with Leske.[276]

Were Leske then to find that the thing is well received, we could continue in this way.

Yesterday I had a letter from Engels[e]; he is in Switzerland and, as Willich's adjutant, has taken part in four encounters.

The sword of Damocles still hangs over my head; my expulsion[f] has neither been rescinded nor, for the moment, is it being enforced.

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[a] See this volume, p. 201. - [b] K. Marx, *Wage Labour and Capital*. - [c] condition - [d] account - [e] See this volume, pp. 202-04. - [f] ibid., pp. 207, 211, 212.

Awkward though the present state of affairs may be for our personal circumstances, I am nevertheless among the *satisfaits. Les choses marchent très bien*[a] and the Waterloo suffered by official democracy may be regarded as a victory.[277] 'Governments by grace of God' are taking it upon themselves to avenge us on the bourgeoisie, and to chastise them.

One of these days I may perhaps send you a short article for your paper[b] on the state of affairs in England.[278] Just now I find it too boring, having already discussed the matter in a number of private letters.

Write to me *direct* and to *my own* address: 45, rue de Lille, Monsieur Ramboz.

My best regards to your wife[c] and yourself from my wife and me. The former is *très souffrante, conséquence naturelle de son état par trop intéressant.*

*Adieu, mon cher,*[d] and reply soon.

Your
K. M.

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## 93

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

[Paris, mid-August 1849]

Dear Weydemeyer,

I will gladly fall in with Rühl's suggestion[279] if he agrees to take over the whole of the business side, at which I am no good and for which he will be paid a commission.

1) But I have no publisher on hand to make the necessary advances,

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[a] satisfied. Things are going very well - [b] *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* - [c] Louise - [d] very poorly, the natural consequence of her all too interesting condition. Good-bye, my friend (on the birth of Marx's son, see this volume, p. 220).

2) the subscription lists seem to me superfluous. Announcements in the *Westdeutsche* and other papers in the Rhineland and elsewhere would achieve the same purpose. The thing should be advertised particularly in the Berlin, Hamburg, Leipzig and Breslau[a] papers.

The news about your paper[b] is very bad. I shall at once write and inform Naut, the trusty old business manager of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, and acquaint you with the result.[280]

You would already have had my article[c] but for the fact that the illness of my wife and all the children has meant that I have been a kind of male nurse for the past week.

Best regards to your wife.

Your
K. M.

I hope for a reply as soon as possible.

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## 94

## MARX TO ENGELS[228]

### IN VEVEY

Paris, 17 August [1849]

Dear Engels,

I don't know whether my first letter—in reply to the first one you sent my wife[d]—arrived safely, since your address was very uncertain. I would have already replied to your second[281] had I not been prevented by the fact that the whole of my family here was ill. Let me repeat once again how anxious my wife and I were on your account and what a delightful surprise it was to have definite news of you.

You will see from the date that, as a result of my protest, the Ministry of the Interior has for the time being left me unmolested here in Paris. The Morbihan *département*, to which I had been

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[a] Wrocław - [b] *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* - [c] See this volume, p. 209. - [d] ibid., pp. 202-04 and 207-08.

directed, is lethal at this time of year—the Pontine marshes of Brittany.[282] It would not be prudent just now to write about the 13 June affair.[260] I don't believe, or at least don't know whether secrecy of the mails is being observed.

The general situation here may be summed up in a couple of words: the majority disintegrating into its original, mutually hostile elements, Bonapartism hopelessly compromised, ill-will among the peasants because of the retention of the 45 centimes, the wine-growers furious at the threatened retention of the tax on drink,[268] the current of public opinion once again anti-reactionary, in the Chamber, now prorogued, and in the Ministry, reaction, growing exclusive and concerned with expelling the Barrot-Dufaure clique from the Cabinet.[283] As soon as this comes about you can look for an early revolutionary resurrection.

I don't know whether in Switzerland you have any chance of following the English movement. The English have taken it up again at exactly the same juncture at which it was broken off by the February revolution. As you are aware, the Peace Party[269] is nothing but the FREE-TRADE party under a new guise. But this time the industrial bourgeoisie is acting in a manner even more revolutionary than during the ANTI-CORN LEAGUE AGITATION.[270] In two ways: 1) the aristocracy, whose roots have been attacked at home by the repeal of the Corn Laws and the Navigation Acts, is further to be ruined in the sphere of foreign policy, in its European ramifications. Reversal of Pitt's policy. Anti-Russian-Austrian-Prussian, in a word, pro Italy and Hungary. Cobden has formally threatened to proscribe bankers who make loans to Russia, has unleashed a veritable campaign against Russian finances. 2) Agitation for universal suffrage, in order to effect the total political severance of the TENANTS from the landed aristocracy, to give the towns an absolute majority in Parliament, to nullify the House of Lords. Financial reform, in order to curb the Church and cut off the political revenues of the aristocracy.

Chartists and Free Traders have joined hands in these two propaganda campaigns. Harney and Palmerston apparently friends. At the last meeting held in London, O'Connor and Colonel Thompson both of one mind.[284]

Consequences of this economic campaign against feudalism and Holy Alliance incalculable.

Hungary splendid. But this rotten Prussia? *Qu'en dis-tu?*[a] The pallid canaille[b] are now being fattened in Saxony, Baden, the

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[a] What do you think of it? - [b] H. Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen,* Kapit VIII.

Palatinate. If they send an army to the aid of the Austrians, it will be so contrived that they themselves remain in Bohemia and wax fat there. But wretched Prussia—I only fear that it's too craven—*perdu*[a] as soon as it participates in the Hungarian affair, which in any case is turning into a *guerre universelle.*[b]

*Maintenant, mon cher, que faire de notre part? Il faut nous lancer dans une entreprise littéraire et mercantile, j'attends tes propositions.*[c]

Red Lupus[d] is here, in the same house as myself; Dronke in Paris likewise, *mais c'est un tout petit homme de l'école de E. Meyen.*[e] Lupus[f] is in Zurich. Address: Dr. Lüning. You don't need to write separately to M. Ramboz. *C'est mon pseudonyme.*[g]

So the address is simply:

Monsieur Ramboz, 45, rue de Lille.

*Salut!*

Ch. M.

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## 95

## MARX TO ENGELS[43]

### IN LAUSANNE

[Paris,] 23 August [1849]

Dear Engels,

I am being banished to the Morbihan *département*, the Pontine marshes of Brittany.[272] I need hardly say that I shall not consent to this veiled attempt on my life. So I am leaving France.[285]

They won't give me a passport for Switzerland, hence I must go to London, and that tomorrow. In any case, Switzerland will soon be hermetically sealed and the mice would be trapped all at one go.

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[a] lost - [b] general war - [c] Now, my dear friend, what should we for our part do? We must launch out into a literary and commercial venture, I await your proposals. - [d] Ferdinand Wolff - [e] but he's an insignificant little chap of the school of E. Meyen. - [f] Wilhelm Wolff - [g] It's my pseudonym.

Besides, in London there is a *positive* prospect of my being able to start a German newspaper.[a] I am *assured* of part of the funds.

So you must leave for London at once. In any case your safety demands it. The Prussians would shoot you twice over: 1) because of Baden, 2) because of Elberfeld.[286] And why stay in a Switzerland where you can do nothing?

You will have no difficulty in coming to London, whether under the name of Engels or under the name of Mayer. As soon as you say you want to go to England, you will receive a one-way passport to London from the French Embassy.

I count on this *absolutely*. You *cannot* stay in Switzerland. In London we shall get down to business.

For the time being my wife will remain here. Continue to write to her at the same address: 45, rue de Lille, M. Ramboz.

But once again, I confidently count on you not to leave me in the lurch.

Your
K. M.

Lupus[b] is at Dr Lüning's, Zurich. Write and tell him also about my plan.

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## 96

## ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[287]

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

Lausanne, 23 August 1849
8, Place de la Palud

Dear Weydemeyer,

*Post tot discrimina rerum*[c]—after umpteen arrests in Hesse and the Palatinate,[288] after 3 weeks of sybaritic living in Kaiserslautern, after a glorious 4 weeks' campaign in which, for a change, I buckled on my sword-belt and acted as Willich's adjutant, after 4

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[a] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* - [b] Wilhelm Wolff - [c] After so many vicissitudes (Virgil, *Aeneid*, I).

weeks of tedious cantoning with the refugee detachment in the Vaud Canton, I am at last finding my feet here in Lausanne. The very first thing I shall do is sit down and compose a merry tale of the whole Palatinate-Baden frolic.[a] But since I no longer have any contact with Germany and do not even know which towns are or are not under martial law, I don't know what publisher to approach. I'm no longer acquainted with such folk. You are on the spot and hence will be better able to say which are the right publishers with whom to negotiate something of this kind; it will, of course, be quite innocuous and will not involve any risk of confiscation or prosecution. There might be such a one in Frankfurt. But he must have money. Please be good enough to write to me about this, if possible by return, so that I can take the necessary steps at once.

I recently saw your red Becker,[b] very jaunty, in Geneva; he was tippling with the popular man, Esselen, and other easy-going *diis minorum gentium*[c] in the country.

Warm regards to your wife and all our acquaintances

from your
Engels

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## 97

## ENGELS TO JAKOB LUKAS SCHABELITZ

IN BASLE

Lausanne, 24 August 1849
8, Place de la Palud

Dear Schabelitz,

I am most obliged to you for promptly forwarding a letter to me. Since I cannot have my letters sent direct and knew of no other address, I was compelled to put you to this trouble. You

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[a] F. Engels, *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution*. - [b] Max Joseph Becker - [c] second-rate luminaries (literally: gods of minor peoples)

may be receiving one or two more for me and would, perhaps, be kind enough to send these on to me also.

I am at present stuck in Lausanne where I am writing my reminiscences of the farcical Palatinate-Baden revolution.[a] You know me too well to credit me with political participation in this affair which was lost before it began. In Karlsruhe and Kaiserslautern I poked quiet fun at the provisional government's blunders and lack of resolution, I refused all posts, and it was not until the Prussians arrived that I joined Willich at Offenbach and took part in the campaign as his adjutant. Now at headquarters, now in the face of the enemy, the whole time in correspondence with the High Command, in constant touch with d'Ester, who, as 'red camarilla', was spurring on the government, in various engagements and, finally, at the battle of Rastatt,[265] I had the opportunity of seeing a great deal and learning a great deal. As you know, I am sufficiently critical not to share the illusions of the run-of-the-mill, vociferous republicans and to detect the despondency lurking beneath the bravado of the leaders.

As befits the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the thing will take a view of the affair different from that of other prospective accounts. It will disclose many a shabby trick and, in particular, will contain much that is new concerning the goings-on in the Palatinate, about which hitherto virtually nothing has been known. It won't be big—about 4-6 sheets.

Up till now I have not had leisure enough to look round for a publisher. I would not care to send the manuscript to Germany, there is a danger of its being intercepted in the post. Since I am largely unfamiliar with the book trade in Switzerland, I thought I would write and ask you whether your old man[b] might be the kind of publisher who would accept such work and—NB—*pay* for it, for I need money, *il faut que l'on vive*.[c] That the thing will be pleasant to read goes without saying, and my name is guarantee enough that it will be bought in Germany (it won't be liable to confiscation, *le sujet n'y prête pas*[d]). If, then, your worthy papa is prepared to do business, I shall rely on you, if not, it can't be helped. In that case you will not, at any rate, refuse to advise me about other possible German publishers, since I am very much in the dark in regard to the German book trade as well.

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[a] F. Engels, *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution*. - [b] Jacob Christian Schabelitz - [c] one has to live - [d] the subject doesn't lend itself thereto

Write and tell me about this if possible by return.
Best regards

from your
F. Engels

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## 98

## MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH[43]

IN COLOGNE

London, 5 September [1849]

Dear Freiligrath,
Address: Karl Blind, 18 Roberts Street,
Peterson's Coffeehouse, Grosvenor Square;
therein the letter to me under cover.

I can only write a word or two since I have had a kind of cholerine for the past 4-5 days and feel dreadfully listless.

My wife has written and asked me to acknowledge receipt of your letter enclosing 100 fr. Just imagine what blackguards the Paris police are; they have even been harassing my wife and it was only with difficulty that she succeeded in obtaining permission to remain in Paris until 15 September. We had rented our lodgings there up to that date.

I am now in a really difficult situation. My wife is in an advanced state of pregnancy,[a] she is obliged to leave Paris on the 15th and I don't know how I am to raise the money for her journey and for settling her in here.[289]

On the other hand there are excellent prospects of my being able to start a monthly review[b] here; but I am pressed for time and the first weeks constitute the real difficulty.

Lassalle seems to have been offended by my letter to you and another I wrote to him.[c] This was certainly very far from my

[a] See this volume, p. 220. - [b] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* - [c] See this volume, p. 204.

intention, and I should already have written to him, if my present condition did not make letter-writing a real burden to me.

Once I am more or less on my feet again I shall write to you in greater detail about politics. I look forward to a few lines from you soon. Best regards to your wife,[a] Daniels, etc.

Your
K. Marx

First published in: Fr. Mehring, 'Freiligrath und Marx in ihrem Briefwechsel', *Die Neue Zeit,* Ergänzungsheft, No. 12, 12 April 1912, Stuttgart

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## 99

## ENGELS TO GEORGE JULIAN HARNEY[290]

IN LONDON

Genova,[b] 5 October 1849

My dear Harney,

You will have got the few lines I sent you through Colonel Willich.[291] This is to inform you, and by you Marx, that I am this morning arrived here in Genova, and that, wind and weather favourable, I am going under sail for *London* to-morrow morning on board the English schooner *Cornish Diamond,* Capt-n *Stevens.* My journey will be of about 4 or 5 weeks so that by the middle of November I shall be in London.

I am very happy to have found so soon an opportunity of leaving this damned police atmosphere—indeed I never saw it so organised as here in Piedmont.

Ever truly thine
F. Engels

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[a] Ida - [b] Genoa

## 100

## MARX TO LOUIS BAUER

IN LONDON

[Draft]

London, 30 November [1849]

Sir,

In view of the inimical relations now obtaining between the two societies to which we belong—in view of your direct attacks upon the refugee committee here,[292] at any rate upon my friends and colleagues in the same—we must break off social relations if we are not mutually to expose ourselves to equivocal interpretations. Yesterday evening I thought it unseemly, in the presence of my wife, to express my views on this collision.

While expressing my utmost obligation to you for your medical assistance, I would beg you to send me your account.

Yours truly
Dr K. Marx

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## 101

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[293]

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 19 December [1849]
4 Anderson Street, Kings Road, Chelsea

Dear Weydemeyer,

An unconscionable time has elapsed since I last wrote to you. Civil vexations of every kind, all manner of business and, finally, the general difficulty I have in bringing myself to write a letter, will explain to you my long silence. I have at last, *post tot discrimina*

*rerum,*[a] succeeded in giving reality to my *Revue,*[b] that is to say, I have a printer and a distributor in Hamburg.[c] Otherwise we do everything at our own expense. The worst of it is that in Germany so much time is always lost before one can get to the point of publication. I have little doubt that by the time 3, or maybe 2, monthly issues have appeared, a world conflagration will intervene and the opportunity of temporarily finishing with political economy will be gone.[294]

As you live in the heart of Germany and hence are more familiar with the details than we are, you might perhaps find time to describe, for our *Revue,* briefly and concisely in a few main features, the present condition of South Germany and everything connected with it.[295]

I would further request you to insert the following announcement in your paper[d] but *not until* you have seen the announcement in the *Kölnische Zeitung* for which the bookseller in Hamburg will be responsible. Perhaps you could send a copy to *Westphalia.* For you will see from the announcement that, besides our circulation through the book trade, we want to establish another by asking our party comrades to draw up subscription lists and send them to us here. For the time being we shall have to keep the price fairly high and the number of sheets low. Should our resources increase as a result of a wider circulation, this defect will be remedied.

What do you think of the row between Proudhon, Blanc and Pierre Leroux?[296]

Willich sends you his regards, and likewise Engels, red Wolff[e] and Weerth.

Here in England the most important movement is probably taking place at this moment. On the one hand, protectionist agitation supported by the fanaticised rural population—the consequences of the free CORN TRADE are now beginning to be felt in the form I predicted years ago[f]—on the other, the Free Traders who, as FINANCIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY REFORMERS,[284] are extending the wider political and economic logic of their system to home affairs and, as PEACE PARTY,[269] to foreign affairs; finally, the Chartists who, while acting in concert with the

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[a] after so many vicissitudes (Virgil, *Aeneid,* I) - [b] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* - [c] J. E. M. Köhler and J. Schuberth - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Announcement of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*' was published in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* (edited by Weydemeyer), Nos. 14, 23 and 31, 16 and 26 January and 5 February 1850. - [e] Ferdinand Wolff - [f] K. Marx, 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade'.

bourgeoisie against the aristocracy, have at the same time resumed with increased vigour their own party activity against the bourgeois.[297] The conflict between these parties will be tremendous and the outward form of agitation will become more tempestuously revolutionary if, as I hope—and not without good reason—the Tories come to power in place of the Whigs. Another *événement*,[a] as yet imperceptible on the Continent, is the mighty industrial, agricultural and commercial crisis now looming up. Were the Continent to postpone its revolution until after the onset of this crisis, England might from the start have to be an ally, albeit an unpopular one, of the revolutionary Continent. An earlier outbreak of revolution—unless directly motivated by Russian intervention—would in my view be a *malheur*[b] since at this particular time, with trade still *en ascendant*,[c] the mass of the workers in France, Germany, etc., as well as the entire strata of tradesmen, etc., though perhaps revolutionary in words, are certainly not so *en réalité*.[d]

You know that my wife has made the world richer by one citizen[e]? She sends her warm regards to you and your wife.[f] My best regards to the latter also.

Write soon.

Your
K. Marx

Apropos, can you find out Citizen *Hentze*'s address for me?

You will have seen friend Heinzen's inane bragging in the newspapers.[g] This fellow, who was done for by the revolution in Germany—before that his things enjoyed a certain vogue *parce que le petit bourgeois et le commis-voyageur s'amusèrent à lire imprimées en pleins caractères les bêtises et les rodomontades qu'ils débitaient eux-mêmes mystérieusement chez le marchand de vin entre le fromage et le biscuit*[h]—is endeavouring to rehabilitate himself by compromising the other refugees in Switzerland and England—those who have really worked—in the eyes of those countries' governments,[298] by

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[a] event - [b] misfortune - [c] on the up and up - [d] in reality - [e] Heinrich Guido (Fawksy) - [f] Louise - [g] K. Heinzen, 'Lehren der Revolution', *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*, Nos. 241 and 242, 9 and 16 November 1849. - [h] because the petty bourgeois and the commercial traveller liked to see printed in black and white the idiocies and rodomontades they themselves served mysteriously between the cheese and the biscuits at the wine-shop.

kicking up a row, and earning himself a lucrative martyrdom by threatening shortly to gobble up a hundred THOUSAND OF MILLIONS OF MEN at *déjeuner à la fourchette*.[a]

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## 102

## ENGELS TO JAKOB LUKAS SCHABELITZ

IN BASLE

London, 22 December 1849
6 Macclesfield Street,
Dean Street, Soho

Dear Schabelitz,

I received your letter and, if I failed to answer it from Lausanne, it was for a variety of reasons, but more especially my great circumnavigation of the globe from Genoa to London, which kept me 5 weeks afloat. The reason I didn't let Bamberger have my manuscript[b] was because I wanted to have it published either as a pamphlet of my own or, failing that, in the *Revue* which we already had in mind at the time. This *Revue* has now come into being and in January the first issue will appear in Germany—as you will have already seen from a somewhat premature announcement in the *Berner Zeitung*.[c] We should be very pleased if you or your old man[d] would make yourselves more or less responsible for sales in Switzerland and open an account direct with us. The copies would reach you through our Hamburg commission agent,[e] and you might perhaps be able to take over some kind of general agency for Switzerland, since we prefer in any case to work only with sound houses and I don't know the fellow who put his name to the announcement in Berne.[f] You might tell me some time whether the man's any good. Consider, then, how this might be arranged and let me know on what terms. At all events, these would have to provide for quarterly accounts and payments, at

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[a] luncheon - [b] *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* - [c] *Berner Zeitung*, No. 361, 27 December 1849 - [d] Jacob Christian Schabelitz - [e] Julius Schuberth - [f] Davoine

least as regards sums received from regular subscribers. We also require this of our Hamburg commission agent.[a]

Kindly have the enclosed announcement inserted in the *National-Zeitung*[b] and, should you from time to time require a fill-in, use this one for preference.

Besides the general introduction (by Marx), the first issue will contain a first article by me on the campaign for an imperial constitution, an article by little Wolff[c] on the last days of the Frankfurt and Stuttgart parliaments, a survey of events by Marx and myself[d] and, if feasible, the first of a series of lectures on economics which Marx is giving at the Workers' Society here.[299] Also miscellanea, perhaps something more by red Wolff.[e] The latter, Marx, Weerth and I, are now here and Lupus will, if at all possible, be joining us shortly.

All in all, things are going quite well here. Struve and Heinzen are intriguing with all and sundry against the Workers' Society and ourselves, but without success. They, together with some wailers of moderate persuasion who have been thrown out of our society, form a select club at which Heinzen airs his grievances about the noxious doctrines of the communists.[300]

Write to me as soon as possible on the business question.

Your
F. Engels

Happy New Year in advance.

Be so kind as to send me *forthwith* a parcel containing *Mieroslawski's 'Rapports sur la campagne en Bade', Daul's 'Tagebuch eines pp.',* the Becker-Esselen screed,[f] and anything else *of importance* that has appeared on the Baden business, i.e. that contains *facts* and not hot air. You can either draw the amount on me, or charge it to the account of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* against future business transactions.

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[a] Theodor Hagen - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Announcement of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue'* published in the *Schweizerische National-Zeitung,* No. 8, 10 January 1850. - [c] Wilhelm Wolff - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Review [January-February 1850]'. - [e] Ferdinand Wolff - [f] A. Daul, *Tagebuch eines politischen Flüchtlings während des Freiheitskampfes in der Rheinpfalz und Baden;* J. Ph. Becker and Ch. Esselen, *Geschichte der süddeutschen Mai-Revolution des Jahres 1849.*

# 1850

## 103

## MARX TO EDUARD von MÜLLER-TELLERING

### IN LONDON

[Copy]

[London,] 1 January 1850

Dear Tellering,

Engels, Seiler, Weerth, Willich and I shall not be appearing at the meeting arranged for 3 January,[301] for the following reasons amongst others:

1. The list of political refugees invited has been arbitrarily compiled. Thus, for example, C. Schramm and F. Wolff are not included.

2. Not one of the workers, who for years have been in the vanguard of German democracy in London, has been invited.

Your
K. Marx

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Printed according to a copy by Engels

Published in English for the first time

## 104

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[a]

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 8 January 1850

Dear Weydemeyer,

I [enclose] the pawn-ticket herewith. Would you be so kind as to renew it and to deduct the cost [from the] subscriptions.[b] Kindest regards to your wife[c] from mine, likewise to yourself.

K. Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 27, Moscow, 1962

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Published in English for the first time

## 105

## MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH

IN COLOGNE

London, 11 January [1850]

Dear Freiligrath,

Today I am writing you just a couple of lines on an urgent matter.

Both for our *Revue* and for its gradual transformation into a fortnightly and weekly and, if circumstances permit, back into a daily newspaper—and also for our other *propagandist* interests—we need money. Money is to be had only in America, where all the semi-revolutionaries—e.g. a certain Anneke who did an ignominious bunk in the Palatinate, thereby proving that he's not even a soldier—are now plucking the golden apples.

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[a] This is a postscript by Marx to Conrad Schramm's letter to Joseph Weydemeyer of 8 January 1850 (see this volume, p. 548-50). - [b] To the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.* - [c] Louise

We have therefore decided to send *C. Schramm* to America forthwith, as our emissary. For the lengthy journey we have in mind we need at least 150 talers. While requesting you to collect contributions to that end with the utmost possible dispatch, we would at the same time request you to send by return letters of introduction for C. Schramm, manager of the *N.Rh.Z.* (restored to our party as a result of his daring escape from the Wesel fortress).

I have also written to G. Jung about the money matter.[302]

Awaiting an early reply.

Your
K. Marx

The Chartists and French *réfugiés* here are also giving mandates to our emissary.

This is a League[a] matter.

It is essential, my dear Freiligrath, that in your letter of introduction, you leave no doubt about the position of the *N.Rh.Z.* in Germany and its revolutionary significance.

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## 106

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 4 February 1850

Dear Weydemeyer,

The reason for your getting such a late reply to your letter is that I was seriously ill for a fortnight.

The *Revue* will be appearing next week. Your article will be in it. We are awaiting the continuation.[295]

The publication of the periodical was delayed through my illness. Actually we had arranged it so that two issues should

[a] the Communist League

appear simultaneously but the publisher[a] was opposed to this out of commercial considerations which we thought correct. So a further change was necessary and this happened to coincide with my unlucky illness.

You will receive 100 copies from Cologne. Please send two of them to *C. Biringer* in Höchst near Frankfurt. He ordered them from here. You will probably undertake to get payment for them.

I have passed on your message to Tellering. The fellow is quite unsuited to be an English correspondent. In Vienna it was alright for him to bluster. Here you have to study matters. More another time.

Your
K. Marx

Best regards to your wife[b] from my wife and self. In Hamburg about 1,500 copies have already been ordered.

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## 107

## MARX TO LOUIS BAUER

### IN LONDON

[Rough copy]

[London,] 5 February [1850]
20 Queen's Road

I am *only now* answering your letter of 30 January because I am not inclined to let you prescribe 'time limits' for what I do.

In reply to your letter the following:

1. When Schramm wrote that my debt to you was not yet 'due', it only meant that one cannot be sued for a SURGEON's bills until six months have elapsed, certainly not that the debt does not exist.

2. Far from having conceded to Mr Heidemann that your bill was not 'too steep', I told him the contrary, as he himself admitted

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[a] Julius Schuberth - [b] Louise

on 22 January in the letter to my wife. *Nevertheless* I informed him that I was willing to pay. As I told him, I hoped that by January I should be in possession of the necessary amount although I could not guarantee this. The impertinence of Mr Heidemann in sending a woman a demand for payment under a *black seal,* which she mistook for the announcement of a death, moved me to have him informed in writing that I wished to have no further contact with him.

3. As to your bill, I *now* insist that you *itemize* it. I fail to understand how you could have disbursed £1 on my behalf. You travelled out to me in Chelsea at my express request on only three occasions, once by cab. As to the confinement,[a] accoucheurs over here (except in the case of the bourgeois) charge for *9 days—while you* attended my wife on only 4 days out of the 9, as Willich can testify—one GUINEA. Where, then, do you get £4.10 from? By the way, I am told that, immediately upon receipt of my letter,[b] you held a confabulation with Heidemann and decided 'to fleece' me. So first of all an itemized bill, which I shall then pay.

K. Marx

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## 108

## ENGELS TO EDUARD von MÜLLER-TELLERING

### IN LONDON

[Copy]

[London, 7 February 1850] Thursday morning

Dear Tellering,

Your note[303] arrived so late that, even with the best will in the world, it would have been difficult to get you a ticket for today's ball. Since moreover you have failed, even though accepted by the society as a member, either to take out your card or to attend any

[a] for the birth of Heinrich Guido - [b] See this volume, p. 218.

of the meetings, and only the day before yesterday an individual in a similar situation was expelled from the society, I for my part find it entirely impossible to accede to your request.

*Tout à vous*[a]
Engels

First published in: Tellering, *Vorgeschmack in die künftige deutsche Diktatur von Marx und Engels*, Cologne, 1850

Printed according to a copy by Tellering

Published in English for the first time

## 109

## ENGELS TO JULIUS SCHUBERTH
IN HAMBURG

## AND THEODOR HAGEN AND STEPHAN ADOLPH NAUT
IN COLOGNE

[Draft]

[London,] 4 March 1850

1. Schuberth. Letter answered. The 2nd issue[b] must, as promised, not cost more than the first. As regards the 450 copies, no change can now be made for the first quarter. For the 2nd he should put forward proposals. The arrangement for Köhler's payment has nothing to do with this.

What Schuberth says about success contradicts his earlier information and our reports.

In future nothing to be set aside without asking us. For the 3rd issue 'To Die for the Republic'[c] can stand.

50 copies to be sent here. The correspondence from South Germany[d] no longer to be used.[295]

2. Hagen. Same as Schuberth. Should organise proper supervision of the printer[e] and also obtain from the latter a certificate *re*

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[a] Yours ever - [b] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.* - [c] F. Engels, *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution*, IV. - [d] by Joseph Weydemeyer - [e] H. G. Voigt

number of copies.[304] The correspondence from South Germany no longer to be used.

He should vigorously oppose the censor's presumption and place his name on the title page as the responsible editor.[305] Should section IV of *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* create difficulties, this should be reported at once.

3. Naut. Terms for printer—price as in Hamburg; for Eisen: 25 per cent for Cologne, 50 per cent for all other copies, incl. all expenses, excepting, perhaps, postage from London and advertisements ordered by us.

The printer must deliver 5 sheets in 10 days and fix penalty for breach of contract.

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## 110

## MARX TO EDUARD von MÜLLER-TELLERING[43]

### IN LONDON

[Rough copy]

London, 12 March 1850

For the letter you wrote yesterday to the Workers' Society, I would send you a challenge, were you still capable of giving satisfaction after your disgraceful calumnies against Engels and after the well-founded sentence of expulsion pronounced by the Workers' Society executive committee.[306] I await you on a different field to strip you of the hypocritical mask of revolutionary fanaticism behind which you have so far skilfully contrived to hide your petty interests, your envy, your unassuaged vanity and your angry discontent over the world's lack of appreciation for your great genius—a lack of appreciation that began with your failure to pass your examination.

Had you reflected a little, you would have been obliged to assume that if, as a *witness*, I was compelled to report a fact detrimental to yourself, I for my part would do everything in my power to avoid a scandal which must doubly compromise me: in the eyes of the Workers' Society, to which you were recommended

*by me,* and in the eyes of the public, for whom you exist only in as much as you were a contributor to *my newspaper.*[a]

Your letters to me, and they are available for publication, prove that you did all you could to foist upon me the role of 'democratic Dalai Lama and incumbent of the future'. What proof have you that I ever accepted that absurd role? The only thing you could reproach me with is that I did not immediately break with you or denounce you to the others after the Klapka affair, on the compromising nature of which I forthwith bluntly expressed my views to you in the presence of witnesses.[307] I admit my weakness. Only Becker's[b] statement that, 4 weeks prior to the appearance of your glib pamphlet attacking the *Westdeutsche Zeitung,*[c] you again offered to collaborate on that paper, a statement supported by the testimony of Freiligrath and Hagen, only your wholly unsubstantiated calumnies against Engels convinced me that what I had regarded as an isolated instance of precipitancy was the connecting link of an entire system. It was, by the way, wise of you not after all to appear yesterday at the final appointment which Willich had yet again arranged for you at your request. You knew what was to be expected from a confrontation with me.

K. Marx

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## 111

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 9 April [1850]
4 Anderson Street, King's Road, Chelsea

Dear Weydemeyer,

I should be greatly obliged if you would write and tell me *by return* how the sales of the *N.Rh.Z.*[d] are going and whether we

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[a] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* - [b] Hermann Becker - [c] E. Tellering, *Westdeutscher Zeitungsjammer* - [d] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*

may not soon receive some money. You people in little Germany have no conception of what things are like here.

The 3rd issue is coming out on the 10th of this month. The chap in Hamburg[a]—why, we don't yet really know—has been frightfully dilatory over the thing. This will now be put a stop to.

I have also been requested by the Refugee Committee to appeal to your committee.[308] We now have 60 refugees on our hands; several hundred, who have been expelled from Switzerland, have already been announced. Hence our refugee fund will soon be down to its last *monaco*,[b] and then the people will be out on the street again.

Warm regards to your wife,

Your

K. Marx

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## 112

## ENGELS TO JULIUS SCHUBERTH

### IN HAMBURG

[Draft]

[London, about 11 April 1850]

Attention *Schuberth*

1. Following dispatch of the 3rd issue,[c] we now await *at the earliest possible date* the statement concerning the sales of the 3 issues and *on adjustment of the balance*, and if this cannot be done before 15 April, he is to write and tell us. But at all events, to advise by return how many copies of the 3rd issue have been run off and what proportion of these are against firm orders. Only a few hundred in excess of firm orders are to be run off.

2. Since Schuberth does not consider it necessary for Mr Hagen

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[a] Julius Schuberth - [b] a small copper coin current in the Principality of Monaco - [c] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*

to act as responsible editor, he is *in no circumstances to alter a single word of the manuscript.* We hereby inform him that, should this none the less occur, we must forthwith sever our connection with him. Hagen is instructed to ensure that nothing is altered.

3. Since, *contrary* to our instructions, Schuberth sent Naut 300 copies instead of 450, Naut is to take such copies as he needs from the 150 which Schuberth sent to Eisen. We further expect that the dispatch of copies to Naut will, in future, always be made *at the same time* as those to Eisen. Should we receive further complaints, we shall have to take other measures. Similarly we expect that in future the 50 copies for London will be dispatched by the first steamer after the issue is ready.

*(A letter to be written to Hagen and enclosed with Schuberth's.)*

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## 113

## ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 22 April 1850
6 Macclesfield Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

Could you insert the statement overleaf[a] in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung.* The attempts of the 'great men' here to regain a position for themselves at the expense of the refugees, and their attempted manoeuvrings to that end in the press at large, are discouraging people from sending money here.[309] We have now received and distributed some £120-130 for the refugees, and the others have raised *summa summarum*[b] £2.15 s., and now they are trying to make themselves out to be the champions of the 'helpless' refugees. Unless we get some money now, our 50-60 refugees will, within a week, be out on the street and without a penny. This

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Statement. 20 April 1850'. - [b] all in all

evening the bigwigs intend to hold a refugee meeting to see what they can devise. We'll leave them to it. Naturally there will again be big words and vast schemes, but no money for the refugees. Anyway, they're likely to fail, even though none of us will be going.

Marx is waiting anxiously for your reply to his last letter, which went off to you about a fortnight ago.[a]

Best regards to your wife[b] and to Lüning's also from

Your

F. Engels

First published in *Die Gesellschaft*, Jg. VII, Bd. 2, Berlin, 1930

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

## 114

## ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[310]

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 25 April 1850

Dear Weydemeyer,

Your letter to Marx arrived today, together with £5 for the refugee fund and an enclosure for me. You will meanwhile have received two letters[c] containing the Refugee Committee's statements, its appeal, and its record of accounts.[d] Get these printed as quickly as possible and do whatever you can in the vicinity to collect funds for the refugees. How things are in general, you will see from the enclosed letter to Dronke.[311] Perhaps something could be raised in Franconia, Nuremberg, Bayreuth, etc., etc. The *N.Rh.Ztg.* has a very large circulation there. If you have an address in Munich, write there likewise. You will realise that now, when those jackasses, Struve and Company, are trying, on the eve

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[a] See this volume, pp. 230-31. - [b] Louise - [c] See this volume, p. 232 (the second letter has not survived). - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Statement. 20 April 1850'; Accounts of the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee in London. 23 April 1850; and the appeal may be the Appeal for Support for German Political Refugees. 20 September 1849.

of the revolution, to make use of the refugees to get their names into the papers again, it becomes a matter of honour for us to go on supporting at least our own refugees, and not to let the best of the new arrivals fall in their turn into the clutches of those jackasses.

We believed that the two following issues of the *Revue* had been in your hands, the 2nd for 5 weeks, and the 3rd for several days at the least. So that jackass, Naut, never sent them to you! A rude letter has already gone off to him today, telling him to send them to you forthwith.[312] He must have had the 3rd issue for a week. But wait till you've also got the 3rd issue, which brings the first series of articles[a] to a definitive close, before writing a critique of it.

Adieu, your
F. E.

We have just heard that those wretches, Struve, Tellering, Schramm, Bauer[b] (of Stolpe), etc., etc., have put it about in sundry German papers that our committee[c] is itself swallowing up the refugee funds. This infamy is also being spread by letter. You cannot have read of it anywhere, otherwise you would have entered the lists long ago on our behalf. You know that the revolution has cost all of us money and has never brought us in a centime. Not even the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, etc., have ever dared to reproach us with such things. The rotten democrats, the impotent 'great men' of the petty bourgeoisie, alone were vicious enough to stoop to such baseness. Our committee has now rendered accounts on 3 occasions,[d] on each of which the donors were invited [to appoint] representatives to verify the books and receipts. What other committee has done that much? A receipt is to hand for every centime. *Not one* committee member has ever received a centime from the funds, nor would he ever ask for one, however much he was down on his luck. Not one of our best friends has ever received more than the least of the refugees;

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[a] F. Engels, *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution.* - [b] Rudolf Schramm, Louis Bauer - [c] the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee - [d] Accounts of the Committee of Support for German Refugees in London. 3 December 1849; Accounts of the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee in London. Beginning of March 1850; Accounts of the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee in London. 23 April 1850.

no one who had a source of income received so much as a sou.

If Dronke is no longer there, open his letter, read it, and send it on to him.

First published in *Die Gesellschaft*, Jg. VII, Bd. 2, Berlin, 1930

Printed according to the original

## 115

## ENGELS AND MARX TO FRANÇOIS PARDIGON

### IN LONDON

[Rough copy]

London, 6 May 1850

Dear Pardigon,

We have just this minute heard that it is intended to submit your programme on behalf of your society to the German Society in Greek Street and to ask them whether or not they will give it their support.[313]

After our conversation on Saturday,[a] we don't believe it; but if you or your society were to denounce an individual or a number of different individuals to us as a mere bad lot, we should simply show them the door without asking whether they were willing to adhere to our programme.

We have denounced the ringleaders of this society to you as charlatans and swindlers. Swindlers and charlatans will sign anything. They would probably have signed our manifesto had we been prepared to accept their repeated proposals of union and concord.

It will be clear to you that, were a similar proposal to be adopted by your society, we should be honour bound to sever forthwith all connections with the members of Rathbone Place.

Greeting and Fraternity

F. Engels
K. Marx

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Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

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[a] 1 May 1850

# 116

# ENGELS TO THEODOR SCHUSTER

## IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 13 May 1850

*Mr Th. Schuster in Frankfurt a. M.*

Through Mr Weydemeyer of that city we have received for the account of the Refugee Committee there[308] £10.0s.0d. n/c[a] on Mr Stiebel here, of receipt and due entry of which we herewith gratefully advise you.

Should it be possible to send us further donations from there or the vicinity for the refugees here, we should be most grateful to you. The number of refugees grows daily, and the above £10 is barely sufficient to meet the most pressing day-to-day requirements for a week. Funds are beginning to come in less plentifully, while on the other hand the refugees now in need of assistance almost exclusively belong to occupations offering little if any prospect of employment here.

Greeting and Fraternity
*The Social-Democratic Refugee Committee*
F[oreign] D[epartment]

F. Engels
Secretary

It is requested that all donations be sent through Mr Weydemeyer to Mr Marx or Mr C. Pfänder, 21 King Street, Soho Square, London.

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[a] not specified

## 117

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

[London,] 8 June[a] [1850]
64 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

How are things with our *Revue*? The money, especially? The question is becoming all the more urgent as the Prussians are making every effort to induce the British Government to expel me from England too.[314] Were I not stuck here *sans le sou*[b] I should already have withdrawn into the heart of England and the Government would have lost sight of me.

How are things with the 'red issue'[c]?[262] We have orders for it from America. How much of it has been sold? How many copies have you left?

Your paper[d] seems to have joined the rest to form a *conspiration du silence* in regard to our *Revue*. However, I realise that, to the readers of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*, Raveaux must be more interesting.

Regards to Dronke and to your wife.[e]

Your
K. M.

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## 118

## MARX TO HEINRICH BÜRGERS[315]

IN COLOGNE

[London, 25 June 1850]

[...] the Cologne people, including Daniels, were *as usual* much taken up with *being wise after the event* [...]

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[a] A slip of the pen in the original: May. - [b] without a penny - [c] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 301, 19 May 1849. - [d] *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* - [e] Louise

[...] Like any other place Cologne can, if it so wishes, declare itself a Centre of any kind. Indeed it would conform better than any other place to Spinoza's dictum whereby the periphery coincides with the centre [...][a]

Published for the first time

Printed according to Daniels' letter to Marx of 28 June 1850 and that of the Cologne leading district to the Communist League Central Authority of 10 July 1850

## 119

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[316]

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 27 June[b] [1850]
64 Dean Street, Soho Square

Dear Weydemeyer,

Send the money to Naut. The fellow's not a bad old jackass. I shall explain the matter to you some other time. Pray do not be offended by my wife's agitated letters.[c] She is nursing her child,[d] and our situation here is so extraordinarily wretched that an outburst of impatience is excusable.

Lüning's critique—I have seen 1 and 2[e]—shows that he doesn't understand what he is trying to criticise. Maybe I shall explain a few things to him in our *Revue*.[317]

This is an important day. There is a possibility that today the Ministry may fall.[318] Then a truly revolutionary movement will get

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[a] Marx may have had in mind Spinoza's letter to Walter Tschirnhaus of January 1673. - [b] A slip of the pen in the original: July. - [c] See this volume, pp. 555, 559. [d] Heinrich Guido - [e] O. Lüning's review of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*, Nos. 148 and 149, 22 and 23 June 1850. The end of the review was published in Nos. 150 and 151, 25 and 26 June.

under way here. We ourselves may be the Tories' first victims. Then our long-intended expulsion might actually come about.

Your
K. Marx

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## 120

## MARX TO KARL BLIND

### IN PARIS

[Rough copy]

London, 17 July 1850
64 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Blind,

Our long silence was due to a misunderstanding. For we believed that the Central Authority's second circular[a] had been brought you 6 weeks or 2 months ago [by] our emissary, Klein, and we were waiting for your answer. [Now] it transpires that Klein has [brought] back nothing of the kind to Brussels.

Write to me as soon as possible and in a special enclosure to the [Central Authority]. We are thinking of convening a congress here in a few (8) weeks' time.[319] What do you [make] of the Holstein business?[320] We shall shortly be dispatching an emissary [who] worked there for two years and knows [exactly] who is who and what is what.[b]

Concerning my own fortunes and the manifold vicissitudes which I [...] in, some other time.

I am approaching you this time about a private matter [...], that, if at all possible, you will not refuse me your assistance. I had arranged with my family that I would settle my financial affairs with my uncle Philips in Holland [...] weeks, [for which] purpose I was to visit Holland in person. An [...] illness of my wife constantly

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Address of the Central Authority to the League, June 1850'. - [b] This seems to refer to C. Schramm.

rendered my departure impossible. And now I shall not be able to go there for several weeks, because two of my uncle's daughters are being married, one after the other, from his house, so th[at] business matters cannot be settled till several weeks later.

With this affair in mind, I meanwhile drew a bill for £20 (500 fr.) with a [merchant] firm[a] here in London on the strength of this arrangement. The bill matures on Monday or Wednesday.[b] If I were unable to pay it, I would lay myself open to a public [...] which, given the present state of the parties here, and [my] relations with the Prussian Embassy and the English Ministry, [could] have most disagreeable consequences.

Now I hear that *Goegg* in Paris has a considerable amount of capital available just now. Would you write to him *immediately*, explaining the circumstances to him and inquiring whether he could advance me the money on a promissory note or a bill. *Periculum in mora*.[c]

Pending the arrangement in Holland I am, in the literal sense of the word, *dépourvu*,[d] save for my last shilling.

I rely on you to do your utmost.

Your
K. Marx

First published in German in *International Review for Social History*, Vol. IV, Leiden, 1939

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## 121

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[43]

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 29 October 1850
64 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

I beg you to carry out the following transaction for me:

Borrow from Schuster or somebody else the money necessary to redeem my silver from the Frankfurt pawnbroker's,[321] then *sell* the

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[a] Probably a firm headed by Simon Bamberger. - [b] i. e. 19 or 21 July - [c] Delay spells danger (Titus Livius, *ab urbe condita libri*). - [d] destitute

silver to a goldsmith or wherever it can be sold in Frankfurt, repay the man who loaned you the money for redeeming the silver, and send the balance to me here.

Neither you nor the other man will be incurring any risk for, should you not be able to sell the stuff at a higher price, all you have to do is take it back to the pawnbroker's.

On the other hand my present circumstances are such that I must at all costs raise some money, even to be able to continue working.

The only items I would ask you to return to the pawnbroker's, since they have no saleable value, are 1) a small silver mug, 2) a silver plate, 3) a small knife and fork in a case—all belonging to little Jenny.[a]

I very much approve of your plan for a popular work on political economy and only hope that you will soon make a start on it.[322] Warm regards to your wife[b] from my wife and self.

Your
K. Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

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## 122

## MARX TO ENGELS[323]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 November 1850

Dear Engels,

Just a line or two to let you know that our little gunpowder-plotter, Fawksy,[324] *died* at ten o'clock this morning. Suddenly, from one of the convulsions he had often had. A few minutes before, he was still laughing and joking. The thing happened quite unexpectedly. You can imagine what it is like here. Your absence at this particular moment makes us feel very lonely.

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[a] Marx's eldest daughter - [b] Louise

In my next letter I shall tell you something about Harney from which you will see what an ominous situation he's in.

Your
K. Marx

If you happen to feel so inclined, drop a few lines to my wife. She is quite distracted.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913

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## 123

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 23 November 1850

Dear Engels,

Your letter did my wife a great deal of good.[325] She's in a really dangerous state of excitation and exhaustion. She had nursed the child[a] herself and had fought for its existence under the most difficult circumstances and at the greatest sacrifice. And on top of this, the thought that the poor child was a victim of bourgeois *misère,* although it never wanted for any particular care.

Mr Schramm[b] is thoroughly beseilered[c] and is just now at his most loathsome. For two whole days, 19 and 20 November, he never showed his face in our house, then came for a moment and immediately disappeared again after one or two fatuous remarks. He had volunteered to accompany us on the day of the funeral; he arrived a minute or two before the appointed hour, said not a word about the funeral, but told my wife that he had to hurry away so as not to be late for a meal with his brother.[d] With my wife in such an irritable state, you can imagine how offensive was the conduct of this person, to whom so much friendship has been extended in our house.

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[a] Heinrich Guido - [b] Conrad Schramm - [c] Marx coins a verb from the name Seiler - [d] Rudolf Schramm

Jones has explained Harney's true situation to me. He is *sous le coup de la justice*.[a] The entire contents of his paper[b] are such as to make it liable to stamp duty.[326] The government is merely waiting for its circulation to increase in order to nab him. The proceedings against Dickens have been instituted solely as a precedent in respect of Harney.[327] If he is arrested he may, besides the actual sentence, have to serve 20 years through being unable to produce SECURITIES.

Bauer[c] and Pfänder have won their case.[328] Their counsel was Roberts.

Your
K. M.

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## 124

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 25 November 1850

Dear Marx,

I am writing today just to tell you that I am unfortunately still not in a position to send you the £2 I promised you for today in my last letter.[329] Ermen[d] has gone away for a few days and, since no proxy has been authorised with the bank, we are unable to make any remittances and have to content ourselves with the few small payments that happen to come in. The total amount in the cash box is only about £4 and you will therefore realise that I must wait a while. As soon as Ermen returns I shall at once send you the money. I trust the first remittance arrived safely.

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[a] threatened with prosecution - [b] *The Red Republican* - [c] Heinrich Bauer - [d] Peter Ermen

Schramm's[a] behaviour is really despicable.

The Harney business is indeed extremely ominous. If they are actually determined to arrest him, changing the paper's name won't help.[b] Nor can he give it up altogether, and if *this* paper falls into the category liable to stamp duty, I can't see any possibility at all of bringing out an unstamped political weekly. In any case, he'd do better to omit his 'LABOUR RECORD' from page 8, this being NEWS and unquestionably subject to stamp duty. But from what you write it would seem that, in Jones' opinion, the content of his analytical articles is equally liable to be stamped. And that would be the limit.

So the outraged Schramm, to judge by Mr Seiler's begging letter, would seem to be again on the best of terms with his brother[c] and even showing him some *égards*[d]!

I hope your wife is feeling better. Warm regards to her and the rest of your family from your

F. E.

In the course of this week I shall send your wife a parcel of COTTON THREAD which I hope she will find to her liking.

[On the back of the letter]

Charles Marx Esq.
64 Dean Street. Soho Square. London

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## 125

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 2 December [1850]
64 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

For several days I have been seriously unwell and hence this letter, together with advice of receipt of the two POST OFFICE ORDERS, will reach you later than I would have wished. I have remitted

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[a] Conrad Schramm; see this volume, p. 242. - [b] *The Red Republican*, to avoid persecution, in December 1850 changed its name to *The Friend of the People*. - [c] Rudolf Schramm - [d] consideration

7/6d to Seiler. As regards the *Indépendance*[a] we neither of us owe him anything for the time being, as he opportunely got himself thrown out by his landlord, leaving behind in return for the £10 he owed him nothing but unsold copies of the *Indépendance*, personal effects to the value of 18 pence, and 2 or 3 books which he had borrowed from myself and others. Truly, he possesses IN A HIGH DEGREE the ability to liquidate, American-fashion, the excess of his expenditure over his revenue.

The great *Heilberg* has arrived here with a young wife, *soi-disant*.[b] I have not yet had the honour of seeing the legendary Tuck, who has been cast back across the ocean, considerably aggrandised, of course—a dangerous rival for Seiler. He completely monopolises Bamberger, calling him 'little brother', and the old Amschel, 'auntie'.

As yet I have neither seen nor heard anything of our *Revue*.[c] I am negotiating with Cologne about the publication of the quarterly.[d]

Partly because of ill-health, partly on purpose, I never foregather with the others at the Pulteney Stores[330] except on the official days. Since these gentlemen have so extensively debated whether or not this company is *ennuyante*,[e] I, of course, am leaving them to agree amongst themselves upon the solace to be derived from their discourse. I, however, make myself scarce. As we have both of us experienced, one loses these people's esteem to the same extent that one is liberal with them. Moreover, I'm tired of them and wish to employ my time as productively as possible. Friend Schramm,[f] who for several weeks has been playing the malcontent and has finally come to the conviction that no one is in the least inclined to place obstacles in the way of the natural course of his emotional ups and downs, is gradually readapting himself to the type of humour compatible with the MODEL-LODGING-HOUSE.

At the Great Windmill considerable annoyance reigns over the loss of £16 as a result of a court ruling.[331] Lehmann, in particular, is seething. His rage will not abate until Bauer and Pfänder are publicly branded as thieves and miscreants by every newspaper in Europe. Now, of course, little Bauer maintains with suppressed moral fury that the payment of a single penny, whether to the Great Windmill or to a public poor box, would be an unpardona-

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[a] *L'Indépendance belge* - [b] so-called - [c] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, No. 5-6. - [d] See this volume, pp. 251-52. - [e] dull - [f] Conrad Schramm

ble affront to the English courts and 'recognition of the bourgeoisie'.

Meanwhile the great men of Great Windmill Street have experienced a triumph, as the following[a] shows:

*'Aux démocrates de toutes les nations!*

Citoyens! Proscrits Refugiés en Angleterre et mieux placés *par cela même pour* juger des mouvements politiques du Continent, nous' (note well! An out-and-out solecism in this *single* phrase which they have daringly tacked on to subject, copula and predicate, and should in any case read: et ainsi mieux placés *que* vous autres *pour*) 'avons pu suivre et surveiller activement toutes les combinaisons des Puissances coalisées se préparant à une nouvelle invasion de la *France,* où' (very naice!) 'les Cosaques du Nord sont attendus par leurs complices, *pour*' (yet again attendus pour) 'éteindre dans son foyer même' (the birthplace of Barthélemy and Pottier) 'le volcan de la Révolution Universelle.—Les Rois et les aristocrates de l'Europe ont compris qu'il était temps d'élever des digues pour arrêter la marée populaire' (should read: le marasme populaire) 'qui menace d'engloutir leurs trônes ébranlés.—Des troupes nombreuses levées en Russie, en Autriche, en Prusse, en Bavière, dans le Hanovre, dans le Würtemberg, en Saxe et enfin dans tous les états de l'Allemagne, sont déjà réunies.' (Des troupes ... sont déjà réunies!) 'En Italie 130 000 hommes menacent la frontière suisse. Le Vorarlberg est occupé par 80 000 hommes. Le Haut Rhin est couvert par 80 000 hommes, Würtembergeois, Bedois et Prussiens. Le Main est gardé par 80 000 Bavarois et Autrichiens. Tandis que 370 000 hommes occupent les points que nous venons d'indiquer, la Prusse a mobilisé 200 000 soldats qu'elle tient disponible' (sic) 'pour être lancé sur les frontières de la Belgique et de la France: la Hollande et la Belgique, contraintes par les coalitions, soutiendront le mouvement d'invasion avec une armée forte de 150 000 hommes. En Bohême 150 000 hommes se tiennent prêts et n'attendent qu'un ordre pour se réunir à l'armée du Main, qui serait alors forte de 230 000 hommes. Autour de Vienne sont concentrés 80 000 hommes. 300 000 Russes campent en Pologne, et 80 000 dans les environs de St. Petersbourg: ces armées réunies composent une force d'un million trois cents trente mille combattants, qui n'attendent que le signal de l'attaque. Derrière ces troupes se tiennent aussi (!) prêts 180 000 Autrichiens, 200 000 Prussiens, 100 000 hommes fournis par les principautés de l'Allemagne, et 220 000 Russes. Ces armées forment ensemble, comme troupes de réserve 700 000 hommes; sans compter les hordes innombrables' (sic) 'de Barbares que l'Attila Moscovite ferait surgir du fond de l'Asie, pour lancer, comme autrefois (!) sur la civilisation Européenne. Des journaux allemands' (here a note is appended with a piffling sentence from the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* to put Lüning in a good mood) 'et nos *renseignements particuliers* nous *font connaître les secrètes intentions des Puissances* dont les Plénipotentiaires se sont réunis à Varsovie le 25 Octobre dernier.[332] Il a *été décidé,* dans la (!) conférence, qu'une guerre feinte' (My God! what diplomats!) 'entre la Prusse et l'Autriche, servirait de prétexte au mouvement des soldats que la *volonté* du Czar transforme en instruments aveugles et en sicaires féroces contre les défenseurs de la liberté.' (Bravo!) 'En présence de ces faits, il n'est plus possible de douter: on organise en ce moment le massacre, déjà commencé (!!) de tous les Républicains. Les journées de Juin 1848 avec leurs exécutions sanglantes et les proscriptions que les ont suivies—la Hongrie dévastée

[a] Published in *Le Constitutionnel,* 18 December 1850.

et asservie par l'Autriche—l'Italie livrée au Pape et aux Jésuites, après l'égorgement de la République Romaine par les soldats du Gouvernement de la France n'ont point assouvi la rage de nos ennemis: ils rêvent l'asservissement de tous les peuples qui combattent pour le triomphe de la liberté commune. Si la démocratie n'y prend garde, la Pologne, la Hongrie, l'Allemagne, l'Italie et la France seront bientôt encore vouées aux fureurs de la soldatesque sauvage de Nicolas qui, pour exciter les Barbares au combat leur promet la dévastation et le pillage de l'Europe.

Devant ce danger qui nous menace, *debout! Debout!...* Républicains Français, Allemands, Italiens, Polonais, et Hongrois, sortons de cet engourdissement' (Toping Schapper and Willich!) 'qui énerve nos forces et prépare une victoire facile à nos oppresseurs. *Debout!...* Aux jours de repos et de honte du présent, faisons succéder les jours de fatigue et de gloire, que nous prépare la guerre sainte de la liberté! En examinant ces dangers que nous vous signalons, vous comprendrez, comme nous, qu'il y aurait folie d'attendre plus longtemps l'attaque de l'ennemi commun; nous devons tout préparer et aller au devant du péril qui nous environne.' (Just try au devant d'une chose qui vous *environne!*) 'Citoyens Démocrates Socialistes, notre salut n'est qu'en nous mêmes: nous ne devons compter que sur nos propres efforts; et éclairés des exemples du passé, nous devons nous prémunir contre les trahisons de l'avenir. Évitons, évitons surtout le piège qui nous est tendu par les serpens (!) de la diplomatie. Les émules des Metternich et des Talleyrand méditent en ce moment d'éteindre le flambeau de la Révolution, en suscitant à la France, par l'invasion qu'ils préparent, une guerre nationale dans laquelle les peuples s'égorgeraient au profit des ennemis de leur affranchissement. Non, Citoyens! plus de guerre nationale! Les barrières que les despotes avaient élevées entre les nations qu'ils s'étaient partagées, sont désormais tombées pour nous, et les *peuples* confondus' (really: *confondus*) 'n'ont plus qu'un drapeau, sur lequel nous avons écrit avec le sang fécond de nos martyrs: *République Universelle Démocratique et Sociale.*'

Pour *Leurs Sociétés:* 'Les membres du comité de la société des proscrits Démocrates Socialistes Français à Londres: Adam (Cambreur), Barthélemy (Emmanuel), Caperon (Paulin), Fanon, Gouté, Thierry, Vidil (Jules); les délégués de la commission permanente de la section de la démocratie polonaise à Londres: Sawaszkiewicz, Warskiroski; les membres du comité démocrate socialiste des refugiés allemands et de la société ouvrière allemande: Dietz (Oswald), Gebert (A.), Mayer (Adolphe), Schärttner (A.), Schapper (Charles), Willich (Auguste). Les délégués de la société démocratique hongroise à Londres: Molikoy, Simonyi. Londres le 16. Novembre 1850.'[a333]

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[a] *'To the democrats of all nations!*

Citizens! Proscribed refugees in England who, *for that very reason,* are in a better position *to* judge the political movements on the Continent, we' (note well! An out-and-out solecism in this *single* phrase which they have daringly tacked on to subject, copula and predicate, and should in any case read: and hence in a better position *than* the rest of you *to*) 'have been able actively to keep track of and observe all the combinations of the coalition powers preparing for a fresh invasion of *France,* where' (very naice!) 'the Cossacks of the North are awaited by their accomplices *to'* (yet again 'awaited to') 'extinguish at its very centre' (the birthplace of Barthélemy and Pottier) 'the volcano of the Universal Revolution.—The kings and aristocrats of Europe have realised that it was time to put up dykes to arrest the popular tide' (should read: popular stagnation) 'which is threatening to engulf

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their tottering thrones.—Large numbers of troops raised in Russia, in Austria, in Prussia, in Bavaria, in Hanover, in Württemberg, in Saxony and, in short, in all the states of Germany, have already mustered' (troops ... have already mustered!). 'In Italy 130,000 men are threatening the Swiss frontier. The Vorarlberg is occupied by 80,000 men. The Upper Rhine is covered by 80,000 men, Württembergers, Badeners and Prussians. The Main is guarded by 80,000 Bavarians and Austrians. While 370,000 men occupy the localities indicated above, Prussia has mobilised 200,000 soldiers which she is holding available' *(sic)* 'for launching against the frontiers of Belgium and France. Holland and Belgium, constrained by the coalitions, will support the invasion move with an army 150,000 strong. In Bohemia 150,000 men are holding themselves ready and only await the order to join up with the army of the Main, which will thus be 230,000 strong. 80,000 men are concentrated round Vienna. 300,000 Russians are encamped in Poland, and 80,000 in the neighbourhood of St. Petersburg: all together these armies make up a force of one million three hundred and thirty thousand combatants who are only awaiting the signal to attack. Behind these troops and also (!) holding themselves ready are 180,000 Austrians, 200,000 Prussians, 100,000 men provided by the German principalities, and 220,000 Russians. Taken together these armies form a reserve of 700,000 men; not counting the innumerable' *(sic)* 'hordes of barbarians which the Muscovite Attila will unleash from the heart of Asia to be launched, as of yore (!), against European civilisation. From German newspapers' (here a note is appended with a piffling sentence from the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* to put Lüning in a good mood) 'and from our own *sources of information* we *learn the secret intentions of the Powers* whose Plenipotentiaries foregathered in Warsaw on 25 October last. *It was decided,* in the (!) conference, that a feint war' (My God! what diplomats!) 'between Prussia and Austria would serve as a pretext for the movement of troops whom the *will* of the Czar is transforming into blind instruments and ferocious bravoes to combat the defenders of liberty.' (Bravo!) 'In the face of these facts, there can no longer be any possible doubt: at this moment they are organising the massacre, already begun (!!), of all republicans. The days of June 1848, with their bloody executions and the proscriptions that followed them—Hungary devastated and enslaved by Austria—Italy delivered up to the Pope and the Jesuits, after the Roman Republic had been butchered by the soldiers of the French Government, have in no way assuaged the fury of our enemies: they dream of the enslavement of all those people who are fighting for the victory of common liberty. If democracy is not on its guard, Poland, Hungary, Germany, Italy and France will soon again fall victim to the fury of the brutal soldiery of Nicholas who whets the barbarians' appetite for battle with the promise that they may devastate and pillage Europe.

In the face of this danger by which we are threatened, *arise! Arise* ... French, German, Italian, Polish and Hungarian republicans, let us emerge from this torpor' (Toping Schapper and Willich!) 'which debilitates our strength and paves the way for an easy victory for our oppressors. *Arise!...* Let us ensure that the present days of inactivity and shame are succeeded by the days of fatigue and glory which await us with the holy war of liberty! On examining these dangers we have pointed out to you, you will realise, like us that it would be folly to wait any longer for our common enemy to attack; we must make every preparation and go out to face the peril which surrounds us.' (Just try going out to face something which *surrounds* you!) 'Citizens, Socialist Democrats, our salvation lies only with ourselves: we cannot count on anything but our own efforts; and, enlightened by the examples of the past, we must provide against the betrayals of the future. Let us avoid, let us avoid above all, the trap that has been laid for us by the serpents (!)

If that's not champion drivel, then I really don't know what is.[a] Having read the Rollin, Mazzini, Ruge, etc. manifesto addressed to the Germans,[b] wherein they are invited to sing the *Bardiet*[c] and reminded that their forbears were called 'Franks', and wherein the King of Prussia[d] had already agreed to be whacked by Austria, I thought I had plumbed the depths of stupidity. *Mais non!* For here is the Fanon-Caperon-Gouté manifesto, as the *Patrie* calls it,[e] of the *dii minorum gentium*[f] with, as it rightly remarks, the same content but devoid of chic, devoid of style, with the most pathetic rhetorical flourishes such as *serpents* and *sicaires*[g] and *égorgements*.[h] The *Indépendance*, quoting a few sentences from this masterpiece, relates that it was composed by the *soldats les plus obscurs de la Démocratie*[i] and that these poor devils had sent it to the London correspondent of that paper, despite the latter's conservatism. Such was their longing to appear in print. In retribution it names *no* names, and similarly the *Patrie* names only the three mentioned above. To compound the *misère* they gave one of the Straubingers[86] here (yesterday this same person told Pfänder the sorry tale) 50 copies to take to France. Just off Boulogne he hurled 49 of them into the sea; on reaching Boulogne Brother

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of diplomacy. The emulators of the Metternichs and the Talleyrands are at this moment contemplating how they may extinguish the torch of the Revolution by instigating in France, through the invasion they are preparing, a national war in which the peoples will butcher each other for the benefit of the enemies of their liberation. Nay, Citizens! No more national war! For us the barriers, set up by despots between the nations they had shared out among them, are henceforward fallen, and the *peoples*, confounded,' (really: *confounded*), 'have only one flag upon which, with the fertile blood of our martyrs, we have written: *Universal Democratic and Social Republic.*'

On behalf of *Their Societies:* 'The members of the Committee of the Society of Exiled French Socialist Democrats in London: Adam (Cambreur), Barthélemy (Emmanuel), Caperon (Paulin), Fanon, Gouté, Thierry, Vidil (Jules); the delegates of the Permanent Commission of the Polish Democracy Section in London: Sawaszkiewicz, Warskiroski; the members of the Socialist Democratic Committee of German Refugees and the German Workers' Society: Dietz (Oswald), Gebert (A.), Mayer (Adolphe), Schärttner (A.), Schapper (Karl), Willich (August). The delegates of the Hungarian Democratic Society in London: Molikoy, Simonyi. London, 16 November 1850.'

[a] Marx adapts here a saying current in the Mark. - [b] 'Le Comité central démocratique européen, aux Allemands, 13 novembre 1850' published in *La Voix du Proscrit*, No. 4, 17 November 1850 and other papers. - [c] Teutonic war song - [d] Frederick William IV - [e] G. de Molinari, 'Un nouveau manifeste rouge', *La Patrie*, 28 November 1850. - [f] second-rate luminaries (literally: gods of minor nations) - [g] assassins - [h] butchery - [i] the most obscure soldiers of Democracy (*L'Indépendance belge*, No. 323, 19 November 1850); the newspaper has: 'soldats ... de la démagogie'.

Straubinger was sent back to London for lack of a passport, and declares 'that he is now off to Boston'.

Farewell and write by return.

Your
K.Marx

Apropos! Do write sometime to the worthy Dronke telling him to reply about League matters and not to write only in the case of begging letters. The gentlemen in Cologne[a] have sent no news. 'Haude', who is now back, having lost all his worldly goods in Germany,[334] is described by Weydemeyer as an 'otherwise stout lad'.

You must seriously consider what you are going to write about.[335] England won't do, there being 2 articles on the subject already,[b] perhaps 3 with Eccarius.[c] Nor is there a great deal to say about France. Could you not perhaps, in conjunction with Mazzini's latest things, tackle the rotten Italians along with their revolution? (His *Republic and Monarchy* etc., as well as his religion, the Pope, etc.)[d]

[From Jenny Marx]

Dear Mr Engels,

Your kind sympathy over the heavy blow dealt us by fate through the loss of our little darling, my poor little child of sorrow,[e] has been a great comfort to me, the more so as, in the last few sorrowful days, I have found cause for the most bitter complaint in our friend Schramm. My husband and all the rest of us have missed you sorely and have often longed to see you. However, I am very glad that you have left and are well on the way to becoming a great COTTON LORD. See that you entrench yourself firmly between the two warring brothers[f]; their tussle is bound to place you in a position of indispensability vis-à-vis your respected Papa, and in my mind's eye I already see you as Friedrich Engels JUNIOR and partner of the SENIOR. But of course the best thing about it is that, notwithstanding the COTTON TRADE and all the rest, you are still the same old Fritze and, in the words of those three arch-democrats, Frederick William the First,[g] Kinkel and Mazzini,

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[a] members of the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League - [b] F. Engels, 'The English Ten Hours' Bill' and K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Review. May to October [1850]'. - [c] J. G. Eccarius, 'Die Schneiderei in London oder der Kampf des grossen und des kleinen Capitals', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue,* No. 5-6, 1850. - [d] J. Mazzini, *Republic and Royalty in Italy* published in several issues of *The Red Republican* in June-November 1850; G. Mazzini, *Le Pape au dix-neuvième siècle.* - [e] Heinrich Guido - [f] Gottfried and Peter Ermen - [g] August Willich

you will not become 'estranged from *the sacred cause of freedom*'. Karl has told you something about the mummery here. I might add some *nova*[a] That obese ruffian, Haude, shed all his fat during his muckraking tour of the German provinces and trips over his own legs whenever he sees anyone. It would seem that a little hippopotamus of dubious origin has joined the dictator hippopotamus,[b] and that the Great Windmill Knight, Hohenzoller Willich, has reinforced his guard of nobles with a few qualified footpads and blackguards. Our own people dawdle along from one day to the next with the help of a few borrowed pence. Rings is now earning something as a claqueur with the Duke of Brunswick, who is once more loudly pontificating before the courts.

The last Polish banquet, at which were foregathered the French, German, Hungarian and Polish *crapauds*[c] (Willich, Fieschi, Adam, etc.),[336] ended up in a free-for-all. Apart from that we've heard nothing of the crew. Last night we attended Ernest Jones' first lecture on the history of the papacy. His lecture was marvellous and, by English standards, advanced, though not quite *à la hauteur*[d] for us Germans who have run the gauntlet of Hegel, Feuerbach, etc. Poor Harney was dangerously ill of an abscess of the windpipe. He is not allowed to speak. An English doctor has made two incisions without finding the affected spot. His *Red [Republican]* has turned into *The Friend of the People*. Well, enough for today. The children chatter a great deal about Uncle Angels and, thanks to your estimable tuition, dear Mr Engels, little Till[e] now gives a splendid rendering of the song about the 'journeyman's pelt and the nimble broom'.

I hope we shall see you at Christmas.

Yours

Jenny Marx

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## 126

## MARX TO HERMANN BECKER

### IN COLOGNE

London, 2 December [1850]
64 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Becker,

I know that you felt greatly offended by a letter I wrote to Bürgers.[f] However, in this letter, which was written under very trying circumstances, I had no intention of offending you any more

[a] news - [b] Karl Schapper - [c] philistines - [d] up to the mark - [e] Edgar Marx - [f] Presumably Marx's letter to Bürgers of 25 June 1850 (see this volume, pp. 237-38).

than my other friends in Cologne. I believe that this explanation will satisfy you and that, without harking back to the past, I can proceed straight to the proposals I have to make to you.

1. You know how wretchedly Mr Schuberth has managed our *Revue*. I believe that in a few days' time he will have brought out the last two issues. I wish to continue the enterprise as a quarterly (from February onwards), 20 sheets every quarter. The increased size would allow the inclusion of more varied material. Can you undertake publication, and on what terms?

2. A friend of mine[a] has translated my anti-Proudhon piece[b] from the French into German and has written his own introduction to it.[337] I would put the same question to you as above.

3. I have devised a scheme by which socialist literature consisting of a series of small pamphlets could be launched on the public in successive publications. A start could not be made until March. Should you be willing to undertake something of this kind, the things would be got ready in the meantime. I believe that, after its recent cheering experience of *haute politique,* the German public will BY AND BY find itself obliged to turn its urgent attention to the real content of present-day struggles. I beg you to reply soon.

Your
K. Marx

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## 127

## ENGELS TO EMIL BLANK

IN BARMEN

Manchester, 3 December 1850

Dear Emil,

I have received your parcel and thank you for your prompt dispatch of the cigars, which have found general acclaim. The underpants are also fine.

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[a] Probably Wilhelm Pieper - [b] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy.*

Father wrote to me a few days ago. His preference is for Gottfried Ermen, with whom he would prefer to continue in case of a rupture; under no circumstances will he remain with Peter any longer than necessary. I shall collect all the notes available on Ermen Bros' business. That they have done extensive business is certain, the average profit, Gottfried Ermen maintains, being £600 a year, and more in recent years. In this business it is difficult to lose money in an average year; they possess and need little capital, and the article—low quality sewing and knitting yarn—also goes better compared with the fine qualities, which are falling off considerably.

The balance for the year 1849/50 has not yet been struck; debits and credits are still in the most splendid confusion. Father would seem to have been pressing them again, so I hear, and tomorrow they will set about putting this in order.

Accordingly Mr Peter arrived here this morning or yesterday evening! He sent for old Hill—he is living in an hotel two doors away from our office—was very nice, inquired about indifferent matters, but so far, at any rate, has failed to put in an appearance at the office. If his intention is to plague me, he has chosen the wrong man. Father does not wish to intervene in the brothers' squabbles, nor will I do so. But Gottfried is in such a fix that he has to keep in with me; he will tell me everything without my having to ask him about it.

If Peter Ermen takes over the management of the office, which very probably will happen in the end, this will greatly interfere with my examination of the books. Hitherto I have only been able to do this 4 days a week in DINNER-HOURS, when I was on my own, but it's precisely during DINNER-HOURS that he is accustomed to go sniffing about the office. I have abstracted the essentials, however, and little remains save the very involved task of comparing the prices at which Ermen Bros have been selling to us with the current prices on each occasion, and a search through old invoices, etc., etc., so as to see whether one may not perhaps light upon this or that. In a few days' time I shall send Father Ermen Bros' complete accounts for 1849/50, duly classified and set out, as also those of Ermens' bleaching concern, so that he may see how these gentlemen carry on business with his capital.

Debit Father with the cost of the cigars, that would be the simplest.

My love to Marie, Hermann and the children.

Your
Frederick

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## 128

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 17 December 1850

Dear Marx,

I have been exceptionally busy of late and have had other interruptions which have forced me out of my customary routine and prevented me from writing. Hence my belated reply.

The Fanon-Caperon-Gouté manifesto[a] is truly a masterpiece, both in form and content. *Crânerie*[b] has found its ultimate expression, and Monsieur Barthélemy has at last given the world an example of *ce que c'est que de parler carrément.*[c] The military dispositions of the *homme de marbre*[d] are equally funny; the *bonhomme*[e] has counted most of the Austrian army corps twice over, as the most cursory REFERENCE to the newspapers will show. Incidentally, it's really taking effrontery too far after all the fiascos since 1848, and with all the nations, *crapauds*[f] first and foremost, in their present easy-going mood, to speak of a *marée populaire qui menace d'engloutir des trônes.*[g] The collection of names at the bottom is undoubtedly the finest FEATURE of the whole. No such European congress has ever been seen before. Ledru-Rollin, Mazzini and Co. actually acquire a certain importance from this puerile affair. For that matter, I'd like to know in what way that milksop Sawaszkiewicz, who appears at the bottom, differs from Ledru-

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[a] See this volume, pp. 246-47. - [b] Swagger - [c] what blunt speaking is - [d] man of marble (iron) - [e] chap - [f] philistines - [g] a popular tide which is threatening to engulf thrones

Rollin's Polack Darasz, and to what extent the two Hungarians, who appear at the bottom, are to be preferred to Mazzini. True, Schapper and Ruge are more or less equally matched and, unless the cockroach Dietz tips the scales heavily in favour of the new European committee, these gentry will hardly be able to compete with their prototype.[338]

Recently I went to see John Watts; the fellow seems skilled in sharp practice and now has a much larger SHOP in Deansgate, somewhat further up. He has become a consummate radical mediocrity, is concerned with nothing but the EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT, raves about MORAL FORCE[339] and has accepted Mr Proudhon as his lord and master. He has translated the *Contradictions économiques*[a] and some other stuff and has lost a great deal of money at it, since English workers have not yet sufficient 'education' to enable them to understand these marvellous things. From a few instances he gave me, it transpired that he knows very well how to boost his tailoring business by parading his bourgeois liberalism. On the EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEES he sits fraternally alongside his once inveterate foes, the dissenting ministers,[340] from time to time accepting their vote of thanks FOR THE VERY ABLE ADDRESS HE DELIVERED ON THAT EVENING. It seemed to me that the fellow has lost all his wits in the metamorphosis and I have not been to see him since. For people hereabouts who are thus transmuted into a state of bourgeois respectability, Proudhon is, of course, heaven sent; though seemingly going further than anyone else, further even than Owen, he is nevertheless FULLY RESPECTABLE.

I have no objection to writing about Mr Mazzini and the Italian business. Only—save for the thing in *The Red* [*Republican*][b]—I haven't got a single one of Mazzini's writings. However I shan't be able to do anything before Christmas since I shall be in London a week hence. I shall then bring back with me what I need. But perhaps by that time something else will have occurred to us.

Very many thanks to your wife for her amiable note.[c] As for the COTTON LORD, it hasn't come to that yet; my old man doesn't seem at all inclined to keep me here any longer than is absolutely necessary. *Cependant nous verrons.*[d] Peter Ermen is going round in circles like a fox that has left its brush in a trap, and is trying to

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[a] P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère.* - [b] J. Mazzini, *Republic and Royalty in Italy.* - [c] See this volume, pp. 250-51. - [d] However, we shall see.

make things too hot for me here—the stupid devil imagines *he* could annoy me!

Dronke has been written to.[341]

My regards to your wife and children.

Your

F. E.

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# 1851

## 129

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 January [1851]

Dear Engels,

You would very much oblige me, *s'il est possible,*[a] by sending me the money by return. My landlady is VERY POOR, this is the second week she has not been paid, and she's dunning me with dreadful determination.

At yesterday's district meeting Wolff[b] appeared, but not Liebknecht or Schramm.[c] Once the new Rules[342] had been adopted, I adjourned the wretched thing indefinitely.

Your
K. M.

Our *Revue* will probably appear afresh in Switzerland. Work out SOMETHING then, so that I have the manuscript READY if needs be.

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[a] if possible - [b] Ferdinand Wolff - [c] Conrad Schramm

# 130

## MARX TO ENGELS[343]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 7 January 1851

Dear Engels,

I am writing to you today, to lay before you a *questiuncula theoretica,*[a] naturally *naturae politico-economicae.*[b]

You know, to begin *ab ovo,*[c] that according to Ricardo's theory, rent is nothing else but the difference between the production costs and the price of agricultural produce, or, as he also expressed it, the difference in the price at which the produce of the poorest land must be sold in order to cover costs (the tenant-farmer's profit and interest being always included in the costs), and that at which the produce of the best land can be sold.

The increase in rent proves, according to his own exposition of his theory, that:

1. Recourse is had to ever poorer types of soil, or that the same amount of capital, successively employed on the same land, does not give the same yield. In a word: the soil deteriorates in like proportion to the increasing demands the population must make upon it. It becomes relatively less fertile. Wherein Malthus discovered the real basis for his theory of population, and wherein his disciples now seek their last sheet-anchor.

2. Rent can only rise when the price of corn rises (at least according to *economic laws*); it must fall when the latter falls.

3. When *a country's overall rental* rises, this can only be explained by the fact that a very large mass of relatively poorer land has been brought under cultivation.

Now these 3 PROPOSITIONS are everywhere refuted by history.

1. There is no doubt that, with the advance of civilisation, ever poorer types of soil are brought under cultivation. But equally, there is no doubt that, as a result of the progress of science and industry, these poorer types of soil are relatively good as against those previously regarded as good.

2. Since 1815 the price of corn has fallen, irregularly but steadily, from 90 to 50 shillings and, before the repeal of the Corn

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[a] a small question of theory - [b] of a politico-economic nature - [c] at the beginning (literally: from the egg)

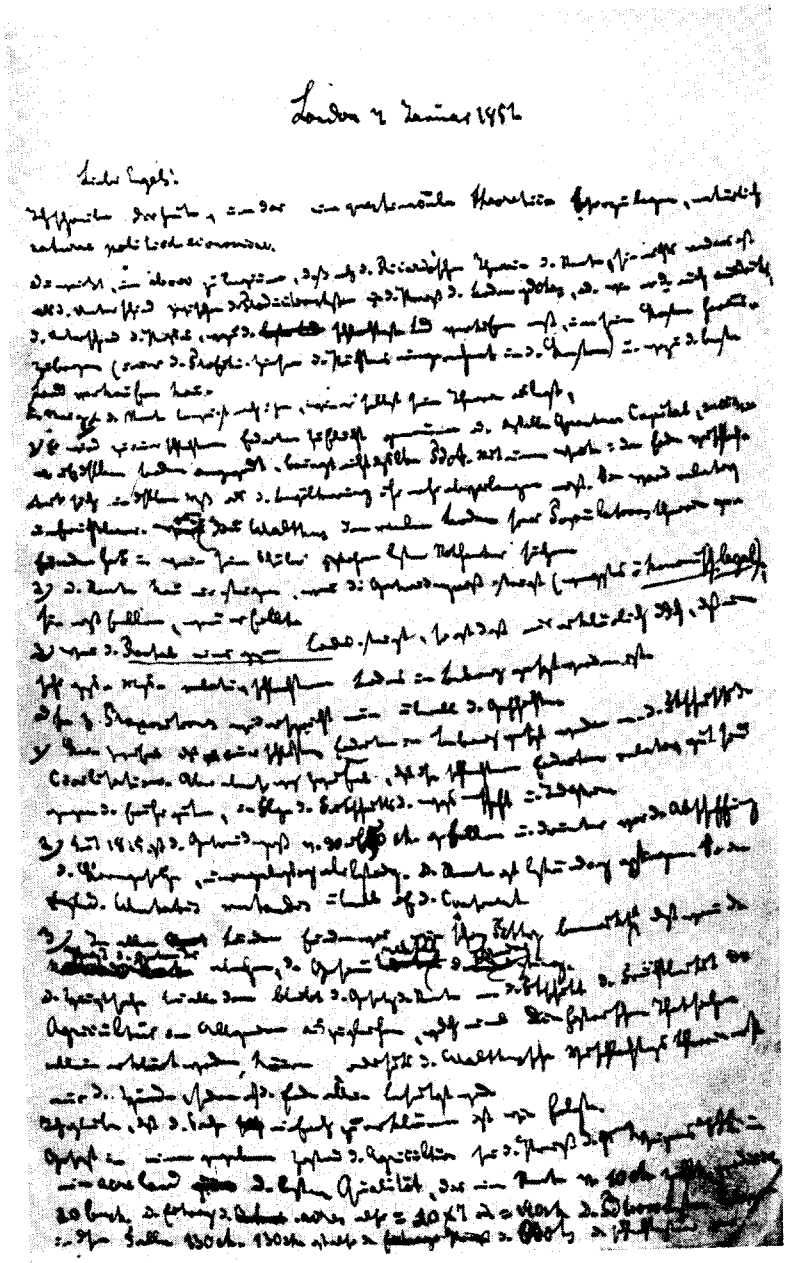

A page from Marx's letter to Engels of 7 January 1851

Laws,[270] even lower. Rent has steadily risen. Thus in England. *Mutatis mutandis* everywhere on the Continent.

3. In all countries, as Petty has already observed, we find that, when the price of corn fell, the country's overall rental rose.

The main point of all this is to adjust the law of rent to progress in fertility in agriculture generally, this being the only way, firstly, to explain the historical facts and, secondly, to eliminate the Malthusian theory of the deterioration, not only of the 'hands', but also of the soil.

I believe that the matter can be explained simply, as follows:

Let us assume that, at a given state of agriculture, the price of wheat is 7 shillings a quarter[a] and one acre of the best quality land, subject to a rent of 10 shillings, produces 20 bushels. The return per acre thus=20×7 or=140 shillings. In this case the production costs amount to 130 shillings. Hence 130 shillings is the price of the product of the poorest land under cultivation.

Let us assume that there is a general improvement in agriculture. If this be presupposed, we at the same time assume that science, industry and population are in a state of growth. A general increase in the fertility of the land resulting from improvements presupposes these conditions, as against the fertility fortuitously induced by a favourable season.

Say the price of wheat falls from 7 to 5 shillings a quarter.[a] The best land, No. 1, which formerly yielded 20 bushels now yields 30 bushels. This now returns, instead of 20×7, or 140 shillings, 30×5, or 150 shillings. I. e. a rent of 20 shillings instead of 10 as formerly. The poorest land, which bears no rent, must produce 26 bushels, for, in accordance with our foregoing assumption, the requisite price of these is 130 shillings and 26×5=130. If the improvement, i. e. the general progress of science, which goes hand in hand with the overall progress of society, growth of population, etc., is not so general as to enable the poorest land that must be brought under cultivation to produce 26 bushels, the price of corn cannot fall to 5 shillings a quarter.[a]

As before, the 20 shillings rent is an expression of the difference between production costs and the price of corn on the best land, or between the production costs on the poorest and those on the best land. Relatively speaking, one piece of land is no less infertile by comparison with the other than before. But *fertility in general* has improved.

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[a] Presumably this should be 'bushel'.

All that is presupposed is that, if the price of corn falls from 7 to 5 shillings, consumption or demand increases correspondingly, or that productivity does not exceed the demand that may be expected when the price is 5 shillings. False though this hypothesis might be if the price had fallen from 7 to 5 as the result of an exceptionally abundant harvest, it is a necessary one where fertility has increased gradually and as a result of measures taken by the producers themselves. In any case, all we are concerned with here is the economic feasibility of this hypothesis.

From this it follows that:

1. Rent may rise although the price of agricultural produce falls, and yet *Ricardo's law still holds good.*

2. The law of rent, as laid down by Ricardo in its simplest form and leaving aside its exposition, does not presuppose the diminishing fertility of the land, but only—and this *despite the general increase in fertility that accompanies the development of society*—the *varying* fertility of fields or the varying results obtained by the capital successively employed on the same land.

3. The more general the improvement in the land, the greater the variety of the fields it will embrace, and the country's overall rental may rise, although there is a general fall in the price of corn. E. g., given the above example, it is simply a question of the number of fields producing over 26 bushels at 5 shillings without actually having to go as high as 30, i.e. of the extent to which the quality of the land varies as between the best and the poorest. This has nothing to do with the RATIO of rent of the best land. In fact it has nothing to do directly with the RATIO of rent at all.

As you know, the real joke where rent is concerned is that it is generated by evening out the price for the resultants of varying production costs, but that this law of market price is nothing other than the law of bourgeois competition. Even after the elimination of bourgeois production, however, there remains the snag that the soil would become relatively more infertile, that, with the same amount of labour, successively less would be achieved, although the best land would no longer, as under bourgeois rule, yield as dear a product as the poorest. The foregoing would do away with this objection.

I should like to have your views on the matter.

Having bored you with this muck, I am sending you by way of comic relief the enclosed bundle of letters from Dr *Magnus Gross* (doubly great Great! Greatest of the Great!) of Cincinnati.[344] You will see that if Monsieur Gross is not *grand,* he is nevertheless

*gros.*[a] Tellering II *in nuce.*[b] These Coblenzers are all alike![c] Send the things back to me with, if you have the time and the inclination, a line or two for Dronke.

Your
K. M.

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## 131

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 8 January 1851

Dear Marx,

Herewith POST OFFICE ORDER for £1, PARTICULARS as before. My buyer[d]—our clerk—having apparently paid out a great deal of late, seems anxious not to take too much money from the firm all at once. He is rather reluctant—I don't press him overmuch, *cela se conçoit.*[e] I myself have been involved in very heavy outlays as a result of my trip to London,[345] otherwise I would gladly send you the whole amount; as it is, I must for today confine myself to fulfilling the obligation of an ordinary CONSIGNEE and send you half the amount in part payment. The second half will follow—at the latest—in the early part of February, perhaps sooner; as soon, that is, as the firm sends my old man a letter containing the payments made to me.

Jones was up here and bearded his opponents at a PUBLIC MEETING in their own den.[346] Leach and Donovan opposed him. The debate, however, wasn't quite what I had expected. Petty stratagems on both sides; much *chronique scandaleuse*[f] which partly made up for the absence of some of London's amenities. On

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[a] Pun on the French words *grand* (great) and *gros* (big). - [b] in miniature - [c] Probably an allusion to the fact that Müller-Tellering came from Coblenz. - [d] This presumably concerns the *Historischer und geographischer Atlas von Europa* belonging to Marx, who had instructed Engels to sell it. - [e] as is understandable - [f] tittle-tattle

Jones' part, superiority of rhetorical talent. Leach, on the other hand, tremendously IMPERTURBABLE but at times abysmally absurd. Donovan, a common, intriguing, local panjandrum. Jones, by the way, because of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*[a] and my presence, was compelled to proclaim himself a RED REPUBLICAN and supporter of the NATIONALISATION OF LANDED PROPERTY, while Leach, on the other hand, took his stand as the wholehearted representative of the CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES, insofar as they reject political agitation. These societies, incidentally, would now seem to be very numerous in Lancashire, and Jones and his friends are afraid that, if some sort of alliance were formed between them and the Chartists, they would gain control of the CHARTIST MOVEMENT. This circumstance explains many of the concessions Harney thought fit to make them.

The success of Jones' performance here was all that could be expected; he put forward as the point to be decided between himself and the Manchester CHARTIST COUNCIL the question of recognising the Executive in London; the votes were evenly divided, although Leach and Co. had had about 3 hours in which to fetch their people to the meeting and a crowd of them had duly turned up. At the beginning, when the company was simply a random gathering (Leach had counted on Jones' not arriving before 9 o'clock but, much to the former's chagrin, he was there as early as 8), Jones was given an enthusiastic reception.

When in the company of Chartists whom he wishes to win over or attach more closely to his person, Jones is by no means as naive as he is with us. HE IS VERY WIDE AWAKE. Perhaps a little too much so—at least, the likes of us 'notice the design'.[b]

One of Harney's friends here is a boring Scotsman of infinite sensibilities and hence interminable speeches; a second is a small, resolute, aggressive lad, about whose intellectual capacity I have not yet made up my mind; a third, a man whom Harney did not mention to me, one Robertson, seems to me to be far and away the most intelligent. I shall try to start up a small club with these fellows, or organise regular meetings to discuss the *Manifesto*[c] with them. Harney and Jones have a host of friends here, and O'Connor a host of hidden enemies but, until he makes a downright fool of himself in public, it won't be possible to bring about his—official—downfall here. At the meeting, by the way,

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[a] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* - [b] Goethe, *Torquato Tasso*, 3. Auszug, 1. Austritt. - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party.*

Jones referred to him and Reynolds with the scantest possible respect.

Recently my brother-in-law[a] told me some good news concerning myself: my prospective American partner was in London and from a conversation between the two of them it transpired that I was not the man to be of use to his firm. Thus America is put off pretty well indefinitely, since no fresh plan can now be hatched without my consent.

Best regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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## 132

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 January 1851

Dear Engels,

You are *taciturne comme la mort*.[b] Enclosed I send you 1) a statement by Oswald Dietz in the Basle *National-Zeitung* against Pfänder and Bauer,[c] 2) a tattling article against us concocted by Mr A. Ruge in company with Struve and Willich.[d] You must return the garbage to me within two days at the latest, telling me what action you think we should take against No. 2. If you would like to draft some sort of statement, send it along as well.

C. Schramm is going to issue his own statement.

What do you think of this *coup de maître*[e] by Atta Troll[f] and, entrenched behind him, that 'outstanding, resolute man, Struve',

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[a] Emil Blank - [b] silent as the grave - [c] O. Dietz. 'An die deutschen Arbeiter-Verein', *Schweizerische National-Zeitung*, No. 5, 7 January 1851 (on the alleged appropriation of Educational Society funds by Heinrich Bauer and Carl Pfänder see this volume, pp. 245-46). - [d] A. Ruge, 'London, 13 January', *Bremer Tages-Chronik*, No. 474, 17 January 1851. - [e] master stroke - [f] Title character of Heine's satirical poem. Here meaning Arnold Ruge.

not to speak of the 'valiant Willich'. *C'est un peu fort.*[a] I happened to light upon the paper at Bamberger's. Who else would either read or know of the *Bremer Tages-Chronik. Organ der Demokratie*?

Bauer and Pfänder naturally won't answer and silence would, indeed, seem to be the most advisable course for them just now.

I have as yet had no news, either from Schabelitz, who wished to take over our *Revue*[b] or from Becker, who was going to see to the publication of my essays.[347] None of my approaches to Mr Schuberth have so far been of any avail. If Haupt can find a lawyer who will take over the case, he will bring an action against him.[348]

What are Mary and Lizzy[c] doing? And above all you yourself? Harney was here one evening with Pieper, Eccarius, etc., and very gay, until his 'dear spouse'[d]—'half drew she him, half sank he in'[e]—carried him off almost by force.

Your
K. M.

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## 133

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Saturday [25 January 1851]

Dear Marx,

*Je te trouve joli en me disant que je suis taciturne comme la mort.*[f] However, I'll refrain from making any further riposte.

The perfidy of that Pomeranian blackguard, Ruge, is crude beyond all measure.[g] It would be the simplest if you were to draft

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[a] It's a bit too much. The words quoted are from Ruge's article. - [b] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* - [c] Sisters Mary and Lizzy Burns - [d] Mary - [e] Goethe, 'Der Fischer'. - [f] You're a fine one to tell me I'm silent as the grave. - [g] See this volume, p. 265.

a statement to be signed by us both.[a] A few personal remarks could, if necessary, be appended in the form of notes and signed separately by each of us. I don't know whether I should add something on my own account, if only to say that, in my commercial employment, I have maintained complete independence and hence do not have to let myself be ordered by my 'principals', as Mr Ruge was by his superior Mazzini, despite all his earlier atheistic boasting,[349] to append my signature to moving appeals to the *bon dieu*[b]; and that I have adopted this LINE so as not to fall into the necessity, congenial enough to other worthy gents held up to us as an example by Mr Ruge, namely, of living on democratic charity—or some such. Tell me if you think this is necessary.

The article, by the way, with its moral indignation and its monumental lies, provides splendid stuff for ridicule. It immediately puts one on the track of Ruge's intrigues. It's very natural that Mr Ruge and Mazzini's European Committee should be as incense in the nostrils of the worthy Reverend Dulon, and that Mazzini's sublime manifestos should find their only fertile soil in Germany among those wailing North German, Lower-Saxon democrats swimming in Bremen-concocted, belletristic, drivel-sauce. These gentlemen's Friendship of Light[350] was bound to find desirable allies in Ronge-Mazzini and in the now once more god-fearing Ruge, while the honour of officially corresponding as the 'German Committee' with the greatest men of respectable European democracy must inevitably have made that malleable parson Dulon receptive to the worst scurrilities levelled against the 'frivolous' and godless folk of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Ruge, too, has only plucked up courage since coming to believe that the *Revue* is dead. But I think he is mistaken and will shortly bring down a pretty thunderstorm upon his ludicrous cranium.

Would it not be a good idea—since we cannot possibly raise a real shindy about this article or reply to it anywhere save in the *Tages-Chronik*[c]—to have the aforesaid Dulon secretly worked upon by his friend, red Becker[d]? After these scurrilities we can't even be sure that our reply will be accepted.

But it is clear as day that it was only Schramm's[e] fatuous manner and the ill-considered prating which, to judge by this article, he indulged in at his brother's,[f] that inspired these

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Statement. 27 January 1851.' - [b] Good Lord - [c] *Bremer Tages-Chronik* - [d] Hermann Becker - [e] Conrad Schramm - [f] Rudolf Schramm

jackasses with sufficient courage to vent themselves so vulgarly against us, the 'isolated and forsaken by all'. The fellow will now himself realise how base are the machinations whose tool he has become, and he must also realise that his stupidity harms himself more than others. The great Ruge doesn't even pay him the half-hearted court he pays to Tellering. 'C. Schramm, not to be confused!'[a] What's the fellow up to now? *Cette affaire est de peu d'importance.*[b] Trumped-up and misconstrued tittle-tattle, clumsy and incomprehensible insinuations and moral bombast—*nous avons soutenu, Dieu merci, de bien autres charges!*[c] The only unpleasantness is that the thing will upset your wife so much, which, as things are now, is undesirable.[351]

Next week in *The Friend of the People* I shall duly take the European Committee to task and have already notified Harney.[352] I must stop now, as the office is just closing and it's nearly time for the post. More anon.

Your
F. E.

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## 134

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 January 1851

Dear Engels,

Enclosed you will find the statement for signature.[d] There can be *no question of sending it* to Dulon, for Ruge has made himself *co-proprietor* of the *Bremer Chronik.*[e] It must be sent to the

[a] Ruge's article has: 'Conrad Schramm (not to be confused with the Berlin deputy Rudolf Schramm)....' - [b] The affair's of small significance. - [c] We have, God be praised, survived far worse accusations. - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Statement. 27 January 1851'. - [e] *Bremer Tages-Chronik*

conservative paper, the *Weser-Zeitung* in Bremen.[353] Write to its editors when you send the statement; tell them to send us two copies to London, to my address, 28 Dean Street, at the same time informing us what the announcement will cost and how it is to be paid for. Don't forget, however, to prepay the letter.

Now, as it's nearly time for the post, no more than the following:

1. Did you forward to *Weerth* the letter[354] which my wife sent with a few lines for you[a]?

2. Did you get my letter in which I sent you *Dr Magnus Gross' scrawl,* etc., and to which I wanted to know your answer[b]? If you haven't received it, *I beg you to complain to the Post Office at once.* I sent you this letter the day *after* I had received *yours—about a fortnight ago, that is.*

Write soon and tell me whether you approve of the statement.

Your
K. M.

I think it would be superfluous to add any special notes to the statement.

P.S.

You mustn't forget, either, to tell the Bremen editors, i.e. the editors of the *Weser-Zeitung,* to make sure they observe the right sequence, putting Schramm's[c] statement *after,* and not *before* ours. Apropos! If you have really not received the 2 letters, write to me in *English,* after you yourself have made inquiries in Manchester, telling me how I should write to the Post-Master General. In my letter of a fortnight ago I apprised you of a new viewpoint about land rent[d] on which I must have your opinion.

Your
K. M.

[From Wilhelm Pieper]

Dear Engels, I must inform you in haste that Marx is highly indignant at your complete silence on the subject of his new theory of land rent about which he recently wrote to you. Marx leads a very retired life, his only friends being John

[a] See this volume, pp. 561-62. - [b] ibid., pp. 262-63. - [c] Conrad Schramm - [d] See this volume, pp. 258-63.

Stuart Mill and Loyd, and whenever one goes to see him one is welcomed with economic categories in lieu of greetings.

*On ne peut pas vivre qu'avec toi, après tout,*[a] and if one wishes to live uneconomically, as I love doing, I have to indulge my extravagance quietly, there being no longer anyone here for me to consort with. In between times I try to do some copying, and even sometimes do exercises in composition on my own account, but I still very much doubt whether I shall achieve anything worthwhile. I am glad to hear that you are in good spirits and shall before long find the time to write you something rather more coherent.

Cordial greetings,
W. Pieper

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## 135

## ENGELS TO MARX[220]

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Wednesday evening,
29 January [1851]

Dear Marx,

Your silence and your astonishment at my silence became suddenly explicable to me when today my old witch of a landlady, AFTER SOME SHARP CROSS-EXAMINATION hunted out your letter of 7 inst. from among a pile of books in my room where it had been peacefully slumbering since 8 January.[b] I happened to be out that evening, and this person had simply placed the letter on top of the books; later, when tidying up, she had in her haste put another book on top of it, and as that pile of books has remained untouched all this while, the letter might, without your reminder, have gone on slumbering there till Doomsday. Had I been studying Russian this month instead of physiology, this wouldn't have happened.

Anyhow, your new thing about land rent is absolutely right. The

[a] After all, one cannot live with you alone. - [b] See this volume, pp. 258-63.

increasing infertility of the land concomitant with an ever-increasing population in Ricardo has always seemed to me implausible, nor have I ever been able to discover any evidence in support of his ever-rising price of corn, but with my notorious sloth *en fait de théorie,*[a] I have silenced the inward grumbling of my better self and have never gone to the root of the matter. There can be no doubt that you have hit on the right solution, thereby entitling yourself afresh to the title of economist of land rent. If there were still right and justice on this earth, all land rents for at least a year would now be yours, and that would be the least which you could claim.

I have never really been able to accept Ricardo's simple proposition in which he represents land rent as the difference in the productivity of various types of land and, seeking to prove this proposition, 1) acknowledges no other factor than the bringing under cultivation of ever poorer types of soil, 2) completely ignores advances in agriculture and 3) finally abandons almost entirely the bringing under cultivation of poorer types of soil, and instead continually proceeds from the assumption that capital, employed successively on a particular field, contributes less and less to the increase in the yield. Convincing as was the proposition to be proved, the factors adduced in proof of that same proposition were wholly alien to it. You will remember that, in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher,* I already invoked the progress made by scientific agriculture as against the theory of increasing infertility[b]—of course very CRUDE and not at all closely argued. You have now cleared up the matter, which is yet another reason why you must make haste to finish the Economy and get it published. If we could somehow get an article of yours on land rent into an English periodical, it would create a tremendous stir. Think it over. *Je me charge de la traduction.*[c]

Enclosed I return Mr Great-Gross.[d] In my next I shall include a line or two for the delectable Dronke, but tonight I'm too sleepy to do any more work. A fine band of scallywags, Gross, Wilhelmi, and the progressive pamphleteer from Cincinnati[e]! The fellows must really imagine that we're on our physical, moral and intellectual beam ends to ask such things of us.[344] *C'est amusant, cependant,*[f] and I laughed heartily at these backwoods saviours of society and their proposals, including fee for Dronke. Dr Siegfried

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[a] in matters of theory - [b] F. Engels, 'Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy'. - [c] I will attend to the translation. - [d] See this volume, pp. 262-63. - [e] L. A. Hine - [f] It's amusing, however

Weiss' 'sharp and spicy'[355] is OUTDONE by the 'red, piquant, sarcastic and versatile' of the 'Adonis of a long-forgotten Beauty'. *Que Dieu le bénisse!*[a]

Tomorrow the statements will go off to Bremen together with the necessary instructions.[b] Mr Schramm[c] might really have rewritten his; it's so wretchedly scrawled that it will probably give rise to misunderstanding.

The O'Connor conference here has turned out to be sheer humbug.[356] Ostensibly representing the whole of English Chartism, it consists of *8* men who represent 4 towns: Manchester, Bradford, Warrington and Sowerby. Of these, Warrington and Bradford belong to the opposition and see eye to eye with the Executive. Mantle, the Warrington representative, who doesn't give a fig for the majority, opened the PROCEEDINGS with the motion that the conference, SEEING THEIR UTTER INSIGNIFICANCE AND CONTEMPTIBILITY, should resolve to go home forthwith, and tomorrow he will extort from them a vote of confidence for the Executive, i.e. for Harney and Jones, from which O'Connor will be unable to abstain. On the question of union with the FINANCIAL REFORMERS[284] 3 voted for and 2 against, 3 abstaining, among them O'Connor, whom Mantle had unfortunately intimidated by his insolent conduct; otherwise the fellow would have voted in favour, thereby making a colossal and irretrievable fool of himself. At the conference O'Connor, Leach, McGrath, Clark and a certain Hurst formed the majority. At a dinner given for O'Connor on Monday, Mr Thomas Clark proposed the following toast: THE QUEEN: HER RIGHTS AND NO MORE; THE PEOPLE: THEIR RIGHTS AND NO LESS. Here again Mantle, a fiery, undiplomatic hothead, stopped O'Connor from getting up and drinking the toast.

The letter to Weerth[d] has gone off and should be in his hands within a few days, provided he isn't buried in the heart of Morocco.

No more for today.

Your
F. E.

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[a] May God bless him! - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Statement. 27 January 1851' (see also this volume, p. 267). - [c] Conrad Schramm - [d] See this volume, p. 269

## 136

## MARX TO HERMANN BECKER[357]

IN COLOGNE

[London, about 1 February 1851]

...You would very greatly oblige me by sending me Willich's letters.[a] Partly because we here by the rivers of Babylon[b] should also be vouchsafed a share of your Homeric laughter. And on the other hand because the man is exploiting the 'alleged' connection in order to brag in front of foreigners and, at the same time, make denunciations. Finally I feel it necessary that you should convey a note to him, either through me or direct, in which you most politely decline further correspondence on the grounds that, while humour may not greatly endanger him in London, for you in Cologne—and not for you alone but, by way of repercussion, for our party comrades in Germany—its effects may be dire. And what could be more ominous and at the same time more absurd than to be nailed to the cross as a result of a trick played through some mere whim of the 'carpenter's'[358]...

First published in *Anklageschrift gegen P. G. Roeser, J. H. G. Bürgers, P. Nothjung, W. J. Reiff, H. H. Becker, R. Daniels, C. W. Otto, A. Jacobi, J. J. Klein, F. Freiligrath*, Cologne, 1852

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## 137

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 February 1851

Dear Engels,

Is it on Mary[c] you're studying physiology, or elsewhere? If the first, I can understand that this *n'est pas de l'hébreux*,[d] nor even *Russian*.

---

[a] See this volume, pp. 282, 284. - [b] Psalms 137:1 - [c] Mary Burns - [d] isn't *Hebrew*

Up till now all that my new theory of rent has yielded is the commendable state of mind to which every worthy man necessarily aspires. However, I am at least satisfied that you should be satisfied with it. An inverse relationship of the fertility of the soil to human fertility must needs deeply affect a strong-loined paterfamilias like myself, the more so since *mon mariage est plus productif que mon industrie.*[a]

I shall now submit to you just one illustration of the CURRENCY theory, my study of which might be described by Hegelians as a study of 'otherness', of the 'alien', in short of the 'holy'.

The theory of Mr Loyd and *tutti frutti,*[b] from Ricardo onwards, consists in the following:

Let us assume that we have a purely metallic CURRENCY. If there were too much of it here, prices would rise and hence the export of commodities decrease. Their import from abroad into this country would increase. Thus IMPORTS would rise above EXPORTS. Hence an unfavourable balance of trade. An unfavourable rate of exchange. Hard cash would be exported, the CURRENCY would shrink, the prices of commodities would fall, IMPORTS decrease, EXPORTS increase, money flow back again; in short, the SITUATION would attain its former equilibrium.

In the converse case likewise, *mutatis mutandis.*

The moral of this: since paper money must imitate the movement of METALLIC CURRENCY, and since artificial regulation must here take the place of what, in the other case, is natural law, the Bank of England must increase its paper issues if BULLION flows in (e.g. by the purchase of GOVERNMENT SECURITIES, EXCHEQUER BILLS, etc.) and reduce it by the reduction of discounts, or by the sale of government paper, if BULLION decreases. However I contend that the Bank should take the opposite course and *increase* its discounts if BULLION *decreases* and let them take their normal course if it increases. Upon pain of unnecessarily intensifying the impending commercial crisis. However, more of that *une autre fois.*[c]

What I wish to elucidate here goes to the basic principles of the matter. For my contention is that, *even with a purely metallic* CURRENCY, *the quantity thereof, its expansion or contraction, has nothing to do with the outflow and inflow of precious metals, with the favourable or*

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[a] my marriage is more productive than my industry. - [b] all sorts of others - [c] some other time

*unfavourable balance of trade, with the favourable or unfavourable rate of exchange,* except in the most extreme cases, which practically never occur but are theoretically determinable. The same contention is made by Tooke, but I have found no proof of it in his *History of Prices* for 1843-47.

As you can see, it's an important matter. Firstly, the whole theory of circulation is denied in its very fundamentals. Secondly, it is shown that the progress of crises, even though the *credit system* be a condition of the same, is concerned with CURRENCY only in so far as crackbrained meddling by the authorities in its regulation may aggravate an existing crisis, as in 1847.

Note that in the following illustration it is assumed: The *inflow* of BULLION goes hand in hand with flourishing trade, prices not yet high but rising, a surplus of capital, excess of EXPORTS over IMPORTS. The outflow of gold vice versa, *mutatis mutandis.* Now this is the assumption of those against whom the polemic is directed. They cannot gainsay it. In reality there may be 1,001 cases in which there is an outflow of gold, although the prices of other commodities in the country exporting it are far lower than in those to which the gold is being sent, e.g. as in England in 1809-11 and 1812, etc., etc. Yet the *general assumption* is, firstly, right *in abstracto* and, secondly, accepted by the CURRENCY chaps.[359] Hence not to be debated here for the time being.

Let us assume, then, that *a purely metallic* CURRENCY is in circulation *in England.* But that does not presuppose that the *credit system* has ceased. Rather, the Bank of England would turn itself into both a *deposit* and *lending bank.* Save that its loans would consist simply in cash. If this assumption were to be rejected, what appears here as a DEPOSIT *of the Bank of England* would appear as HOARDS *of private individuals* and the loans of the Bank as loans of private individuals. *Thus, in this context, the term Bank of England* DEPOSITS is simply *an abbreviation, to present the process, not in fragmented form,* but concentrated in a FOCUS.

Case I. *Influx of* BULLION. Here the matter is very simple. A great deal of idle capital, hence increase in deposits. In order to make use of them the Bank would lower its *rate of interest.* Hence, expansion of business in the country. The *circulation* would *only* rise if business increased to the extent that additional CURRENCY was required to conduct it. Otherwise the surplus CURRENCY issued would flow back into the Bank as DEPOSITS,, etc., as a result of maturing bills, etc. Thus CURRENCY does not act here as a *cause.* Its increase is ultimately the *consequence* of a greater amount of capital put to use, not vice versa. (Hence, in the case under discussion, the *first*

consequence would be *growth of* DEPOSITS, i.e. of idle capital, not of circulation.)

Case II. This is where the matter really begins. *EXPORT of* BULLION is assumed. Beginning of a period of PRESSURE. Unfavourable rate of exchange. At the same time a poor harvest, etc. (or else dearer raw materials for industry) necessitate ever larger imports of commodities. Suppose that the accounts of the Bank of England at the beginning of such a period appear as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a) CAPITAL | £14,500,000 | GOVERNMENT SECURITIES | £10,000,000 |
| REST | £ 3,500,000 | BILLS OF EXCHANGE | £12,000,000 |
| DEPOSITS | £12,000,000 | BULLION OR COIN | £ 8,000,000 |
| | £30,000,000 | | £30,000,000 |

The Bank is in debt, since *it has been assumed* that no *notes* exist, only the 12 millions of DEPOSITS. According to its principle (in common with the DEPOSIT and circulation banks, only a third of its LIABILITIES have to be IN CASH), its 8 millions of BULLION is too large by half. To make more profit it *lowers the interest rate* and raises its DISCOUNTS, e.g. by 4 millions, which are exported for corn, etc. The Bank's accounts then appear as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| b) CAPITAL | £14,500,000 | GOVERNMENT SECURITIES | £10,000,000 |
| REST | £ 3,500,000 | BILLS OF EXCHANGE | £16,000,000 |
| DEPOSITS | £12,000,000 | BULLION OR COIN | £ 4,000,000 |
| | £30,000,000 | | £30,000,000 |

From these FIGURES it follows that:

Merchants, as soon as they have to export *gold,* act *first* upon *the Bank's* BULLION RESERVE. The gold thus exported *diminishes* its (the Bank's) reserve without having the slightest effect on the CURRENCY. Whether the 4 millions are in its cellars or aboard a ship bound for Hamburg is *all the same* so far as the CURRENCY is concerned. It finally becomes evident that a significant DRAIN of BULLION, in this case £4 millions sterling, can take place without in any way affecting either the CURRENCY or the business of the country in general. Throughout the whole period, that is, during which the BULLION RESERVE, which was *too large* in relation to LIABILITIES, is being reduced to no more than its DUE PROPORTION to the same.

c) But let us suppose that the circumstances which necessitated the DRAIN of 4 millions continue, shortage of corn, rise in the price of raw cotton, etc. The Bank grows concerned about its security. It

*raises the interest rate* and limits its DISCOUNTS. Hence, PRESSURE in the world of commerce. What effect does this PRESSURE have? Withdrawals are made from the Bank's *DEPOSITS*, its BULLION falls proportionately. Should the DEPOSITS fall to 9 millions, i.e. be reduced by 3 millions, those 3 millions must come from the Bank's BULLION reserve. This would therefore fall (4 millions – 3 millions) to 1 million against DEPOSITS of 9 millions, a proportion which would be dangerous to the Bank. If, then, the Bank wishes to maintain its BULLION RESERVE at one third of the DEPOSITS, it will diminish its DISCOUNTS by 2 millions.

The accounts would then appear as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| CAPITAL | £14,500,000 | GOVERNMENT SECURITIES | £10,000,000 |
| REST | £ 3,500,000 | BILLS UNDER DISCOUNT | £14,000,000 |
| DEPOSITS | £ 9,000,000 | BULLION OR COIN | £ 3,000,000 |
| | £27,000,000 | | £27,000,000 |

It follows that, as soon as the DRAIN becomes so great that the BULLION RESERVE reaches its DUE PROPORTION in relation to DEPOSITS, the Bank will raise the interest rate and reduce the DISCOUNTS. But then the *DEPOSITS* begin to be *affected* and, as a result of their decrease, the BULLION RESERVE decreases but so, to an even greater extent, does the DISCOUNT of BILLS. The *CURRENCY* is not in the least affected. A portion of the BULLION and DEPOSITS withdrawn *fills* the vacuum which the contraction of the Bank's accommodation creates in the circulation at home, while another portion finds its way abroad.

d) Supposing that imports of corn, etc., continue and the DEPOSITS sink to 4,500,000, the Bank, in order to maintain the necessary reserve against its LIABILITIES, would reduce its DISCOUNTS by a further 3 millions, and the accounts would appear as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| CAPITAL | £14,500,000 | GOVERNMENT SECURITIES | £10,000,000 |
| REST | £ 3,500,000 | BILLS UNDER DISCOUNT | £11,000,000 |
| DEPOSITS | £ 4,500,000 | BULLION OR COIN | £ 1,500,000 |
| | £22,500,000 | | £22,500,000 |

On this assumption the Bank would have reduced its DISCOUNTS from 16 to 11 millions, that is, by 5 millions. The necessary requirements of the circulation replaced by the DEPOSITS withdrawn. But simultaneously shortage of capital, rise in the price of raw materials, decrease of demand, hence of business activity, hence

*ultimately* of the circulation, of the necessary CURRENCY. The surplus portion of the same would be sent abroad in the form of BULLION to pay for imports. The CURRENCY is *the last* to be affected, and it would only be *reduced* to less than the necessary quantity should the BULLION RESERVE fall below the minimal proportion to DEPOSITS.

With regard to the above, it should also be noted that:

1. Instead of reducing its DISCOUNTS, the Bank could dispose of its PUBLIC SECURITIES, which, on this assumption, would be unprofitable. However same result. Instead of reducing its own RESERVE and DISCOUNTS, it would reduce those of private persons who put their money in PUBLIC SECURITIES.

2. I have assumed here a DRAIN of 6,500,000 on the Bank. In 1839 there was one of 9-10 millions.

3. The process assumed in the case of a purely METALLIC CURRENCY can lead, as with paper, to a closure of the till, as happened twice in Hamburg in the eighteenth century.

Write soon.

Your
K. M.

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## 138

## ENGELS TO MARX[220]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 5 February 1851

Dear Marx,

Herewith the remaining £1 for the atlas,[a] which I was unfortunately not able to send you sooner.

Tell Harney when you see him that by the end of this week he will receive at the very least the 1st half of a series of articles on CONTINENTAL DEMOCRACY[352]—the articles so arranged that each one of

[a] *Historischer und geographischer Atlas von Europa* (see this volume, pp. 263, 301).

them will not fill more than 2-2 1/2 columns in his *Friend of the People.* I shall use the above as a pretext for crying down the whole democratic establishment and rendering it suspect to the English proletariat by putting it—Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, etc. included—on the same footing as the FINANCIAL REFORMERS.[284] The European Committee WILL CATCH IT NICELY. These gentry will be dealt with one by one, Mazzini's writings, Ledru-Rollin's splendid acts of heroism in February-June 1848—not, of course, forgetting Mr Ruge. I shall make it quite plain to the Italians, Poles and Hungarians that they are to keep their traps shut on all current issues. This business of the hoax Harney is perpetrating with Mazzini & Co.'s begging letters is really going too far and, since there's no other way of reforming him, I shall be obliged to expose in his own journal the fatuity and baseness of these fellows and to unveil the mysteries of continental democracy for the benefit of the English Chartists. A detailed polemical article is always more salutary in Harney's case than any amount of debate. Unfortunately I have damned little material here.

What I have at the moment is Sarrans *jeune,*[a] *Lafayette et la révolution de Juillet.* If I could find a few more sources, I could do an article for our *Revue* on the July Revolution and subsequent events up till the February Revolution, at the same time subjecting the *Histoire de dix ans*[b] to a friendly criticism. These '10 ans' have remained largely unchallenged by advanced opinion and, in Germany as in France, constitute a very important formative element in the revolutionary party as a whole. It would do no harm, I think, to reduce the influence of this book to the appropriate limits; hitherto it has been an uncontested authority.

Mr Russell, the craven cur, has made a splendid fool of himself yet again. First he breathes fire and brimstone against PAPAL AGGRESSION,[360] then, realising that the MANCHESTER MEN have absolutely no intention of getting embroiled in the mummery, he is brought to bed of an heroic measure, namely wanting to ban the use of English titles by Catholic bishops. And then the nice hint, dropped at his behest by Mr Peto, that it would indeed have been desirable to extend the franchise during the present session, but since LAW-REFORM came next on the agenda, the franchise would have to be postponed till next year! A prime example of Whig logic. The MPs, by the way, are very captious and unsure of themselves, with

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[a] the Younger - [b] L. Blanc, *Histoire de dix ans. 1830-1840.*

elections in the offing; they have to make liberal or protectionist FLOURISHES and, but for the fact that the EXHIBITION[a] happens to coincide with the most lively period of the session's *grande politique*,[b] things might go ill with the little manikin.[c] And even so, *qui sait*.[d]

In general the daily political bread is growing ever drier. The happy situation in which *la belle France* now delights is, indeed, edifying. For there is no denying that Messieurs the Burgraves[361] are becoming less and less representative of the bourgeois fraction or rather, that the bourgeoisie is moving further and further away from its erstwhile Legitimist and Orleanist leaders. First, the important minority in favour of Baroche at the session in which he was unseated by the coalition, a minority which also consisted of a great many non-Bonapartists, former Orleanists, etc., etc.; next the unmistakable mood of the conservative bourgeoisie *en masse*, which is far more favourable to Napoleon than hitherto. The mass of these fellows are now resolutely opposed to Orleanist no less than to Legitimist plots for a restoration; *les solutions les embêtent*,[e] and what they want is the daily round of the presidential present. The fellows are neither royalist, nor republican, nor imperialist, but presidential; but the best thing about it is that such delicious indecision is possible only in the mass, and that anyone who wished to make his mark as official representative of this tendency would, within six months, find himself compelled to abandon his neutrality in favour of a definite royalist or imperialist fraction. By the way, the only French papers I have here are the *Débats* and the *Charivari* which, sad to say, *grâce à l'esprit exquis du peuple dans ces parages*,[f] is coming to seem almost witty again.

From a stupid Hungarian refugee whom I recently happened upon, I heard that this noble breed are once again jabbering about murder plots and riots on the occasion of the GREAT EXHIBITION. Amidst the din I seemed almost to detect the heroic voices of those London hotspurs, Willich and Barthélemy. There's really no getting away from the creatures; recently a fellow accosted me in the street and lo, it was a Great Windmill Street refugee[331] now employed in Liverpool. 'If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea',[g] I shall not escape that band.

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[a] The Great Exhibition held in London in May-October 1851. - [b] high politics - [c] John Russell - [d] who knows - [e] the solutions annoy them - [f] thanks to the exquisite wit of the people hereabouts - [g] Psalms 139:9

The FREE TRADERS here are exploiting the prosperity or semi-prosperity to buy the proletariat, with John Watts for broker. You will be familiar with Cobden's new plan: a NATIONAL FREE SCHOOL ASSOCIATION for the purpose of putting through a BILL by which the TOWNSHIPS would be authorised to impose local taxes for the building of schools. The thing is being splendidly promoted. In addition, Salford already has a FREE LIBRARY and museum—lending library and reading room gratis. In Manchester the Hall of Science was purchased—and here, as the Lord Mayor of Manchester most graciously acknowledged, Watts really was the broker—by a committee out of the proceeds of public collections (some £7,000 in all) and is to be turned into a FREE LIBRARY. The thing is to be opened at the end of July—with 14,000 volumes TO BEGIN WITH. All the meetings and assemblies held for this purpose resound with praise for the workers, and in particular for the good, modest, helpful Watts who is now on the best of terms with the Bishop of Manchester. I am already looking forward to the indignant uproar over the workers' ingratitude which will break out on all sides when the first SHOCK makes itself felt.

Not long ago my worthy pater wrote me a pleasant letter expressing the wish that I remain here indefinitely, that is, for as long as the trouble with the Ermens lasts (and that might mean until 1854). Very agreeable to me, of course, *s'il me paie bien mon ennui.*[a] Of this, naturally, I give no hint, but 'sacrifice' myself for the 'firm' and express my readiness 'to remain here for the time being and see how circumstances develop'. He's coming over next summer, and I shall then try to make myself so indispensable to him that he will have to agree to anything.

Kind regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

PARTICULARS on the POST OFFICE ORDER as before.

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[a] provided he pays me well for my boredom

# 139

## MARX TO HERMANN BECKER[357]

### IN COLOGNE

[London,] 8 February 1851

...apropos! Willich and Schapper in company with Barthélemy, etc., have, by monstrous bragging about their influence in Germany and by monstrous calumnies against ourselves, at long last succeeded in bamboozling Louis Blanc to such an extent that he has combined with this 'scum' to arrange a banquet for February and, in concert with same, has issued a programme of festivities along with a kind of manifesto. The little man walked into the trap out of vanity, so as to show Ledru-Rollin that he, too, could wag a German-French-Polish-Hungarian tail. Now the business is *en pleine déroute*[a] again and the little man suspects that he has compromised himself for nothing and has committed a fruitless piece of perfidy against ourselves who, since 1843, have maintained a kind of lukewarm alliance with him.

But do you know what Willich impresses strangers[b] by most? His *tremendous influence in Cologne.* Hence it is all the more necessary for you to send me the letters,[c] so that a dyke can be thrown up against the 'carpenter's'[358] machinations. Adieu....

First published in *Anklageschrift gegen P. G. Roeser, J. H. G. Bürgers, P. Nothjung, W. J. Reiff, H. H. Becker, R. Daniels, C. W. Otto, A. Jacobi, J. J. Klein, F. Freiligrath,* Cologne, 1852

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[a] in utter disarray - [b] The indictment has *Freunden* (friends) instead of *Fremden* (strangers). Later Becker himself expressed the opinion that this change had been made arbitrarily by those who drew up the indictment. - [c] See this volume, pp. 273, 284.

# 140

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 February 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

When you wrote saying that it would soon be time to attack Louis Blanc, you were a *clairvoyant,* to say the least.

Now hearken to the following story:

A few days or perhaps a week ago, I ran into Landolphe and, from the embarrassed way in which he greeted me and my wife, noted that there was something 'rotten' in the state[a] of our *ami chevaleresque,*[b] our Bayard of the Montagne.[260] *Eh bien!*[c] *Landolphe and Louis Blanc* have joined up with the *Willich-Schapper* committee, from which Mr Adam has resigned! And only a fortnight previously Landolphe had been raving and ranting about Barthélemy and I had been telling him about the affair of Messrs Willich and Schapper. *Qu'en dis-tu?*[d] Not a word from these worthies to apprise me of it.

The nub of the matter is as follows:

On 24 February Church Street[362] are holding a banquet to which they have invited Blanc and Ledru-Rollin and, among others, Landolphe. Louis Blanc, anxious to show Ledru-Rollin that he too has a cosmopolitan committee behind him, and to punish Church Street for treating him and Ledru as 'of equal importance', rallied his army from Great Windmill Street[331] and from the pub where the feckless Poles foregather.

*Encore un coup! Qu'en dis-tu?*[e]

A few days ago Church Street received a printed circular (combining a *manifesto*) with an invitation to a monster banquet on 24 February, and signed *primo*[f] Landolphe and, immediately after, Schapper, L. Blanc. Intense indignation in Church Street! Intense delight in Great Windmill Street!

In the circular-manifesto Louis Blanc does not speak in the name of a nation, but in the name and on behalf of the eternal formula: *liberté, égalité, fraternité!* The only fly in the ointment so

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[a] Cf. 'Something is rotten in the state of Denmark', Shakespeare, *Hamlet,* Act I, Scene 4. - [b] chivalrous friend - [c] Well now! - [d] What do you say to that? - [e] Yet another coup! What do you say to that? - [f] first

far as I'm concerned is that I still owe Landolphe £1.10s. which ought now to be sent him forthwith through Wolff.[a]

You can easily imagine how greatly Willich and Schapper have grown in their own esteem and how they fancy us beaten!

But we'll beat them in a different sense. We are well on the way to driving Corporal and Carpenter Willich[358] *mad, literaliter*[b] mad.

You will recall the letter written to Willich by Schramm on Becker's behalf,[c] in which he offered him military dictatorship, abolished the press, and cast mild aspersions on Schapper's moral character.

*Eh bien!* Willich, the uneducated, four times cuckolded jackass, fell into the trap. He has been bombarding Becker with letters, already has an envoy awaiting dispatch, treats Schapper *de haut en bas,*[d] ignores, insults and intrigues against that worthy man in every possible manner, has already adopted the overbearing manner of a Cromwell II, has grown irascible, no longer tolerates contradiction, and has entrusted Becker with the task of starting a revolution in Cologne, after which he declares himself ready to assume the supreme leadership.

A short time ago, while in company, he suddenly jumped up shouting that his letters from Paris and Cologne had not yet arrived—it was on the occasion of the last French ministerial crisis—complained that his (stupid head) was in a whirl, whirl, whirl, dashed off to Bond Street and had a bucket of water poured over it. I now have a showerbath prepared for him which should have quite the opposite effect. In a few days' time Becker is going to let me have Willich's letters and then I shall spring the mine.

A fresh swarm of democratic scallywags here, Frenchmen driven out of Brussels, Heise from Cassel, Oppenheim from Brussels, Günther from Frankfurt, etc. Fortunately, however, I have seen none of the latter.

You did receive my last letter, didn't you?

Your
K. M.

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[a] Ferdinand Wolff - [b] literally - [c] Hermann Becker - [d] superciliously

# 141

# MARX TO ENGELS[43]

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 11 February 1851

Dear Engels,

*Iterum Crispinus!*[a]

I have just learned that there was a meeting earlier this evening in the Tottenham Court Road in honour of the late *Bem.* On the platform were: *Chairman* Schapper, etc., Louis Blanc and the remaining members of the new League of Peoples Committee. In one of the front rows of the auditorium sat Harney and wife. The bulk of those present were from Great Windmill Street.[331] Applause greeted Schapper's inevitable speech, 'WAR TO THE KNIFE', delivered in English. Louis Blanc spoke no better. *Vive la guerre!*[b] *Tausenau,* also present, spoke about Bem. *Harney* delivered a long and, they say, good harangue in which he finally hailed Blanqui, Barbès and, last of all, Louis Blanc, as the socialist Messiah.

*Qu'en dis-tu?*[c]

Suppose you attended a meeting presided over by *Th. Clark* Esq., and it was your presence and your speeches alone that *lent* any real weight to the meeting, would friend Harney regard that as loyal?

Not content, then, with boosting Ruge in his *Friend of the People,* he must needs indirectly boost Schapper-Willich as well.

Last Sunday he sent for me. The purpose being to persuade Jones to accept the title, 'Friend of the People'. I didn't go. If that's what he wants, let him turn to L. Blanc, Landolphe, Schapper or Willich. I am *fatigué*[d] of this public incense so tirelessly used by Harney to fill the nostrils of *les petits grands hommes.*[e]

Apart from this accident, namely, that you, too, Brutus (Harney), if you don't take sides against us at least play the neutral, while Engels does his best for you in Manchester, Eccarius[f] writes for your paper[363] and I occasionally work on

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[a] *Ecce iterum Crispinus* (Behold, this Crispinus again). Juvenal, *Satiraes,* IV, 1 (figuratively: the same again) - [b] Hurrah for war! - [c] What do you say to that? - [d] tired - [e] the petty panjandrums - [f] Johann Georg Eccarius

Jones for you—apart from that, I am greatly pleased by the public, authentic isolation in which we two, you and I, now find ourselves. It is wholly in accord with our attitude and our principles. The system of mutual concessions, half-measures tolerated for decency's sake, and the obligation to bear one's share of public ridicule in the party along with all these jackasses, all this is now over.

Now, I'd appreciate an early answer to this note, too. I hardly see anyone here save Pieper and live in complete retirement. So you'll realise that I miss you all the more and feel the need to talk things over with you.

You'll see from tomorrow's newspapers that the grant was rejected by a majority of 102 votes.[364]

Your
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Wednesday [12 February 1851]

Dear Marx,

I have just found your letter at home and am at once writing by today's post to tell you that by the end of this or the beginning of next week at the latest, I shall somehow arrange to send you the £1.10s. for Landolphe so that this business, which must be protracted no longer, is settled once and for all.[a] *Notre ami*[b] Landolphe has once again shown what an old woman he is, while the fatuous vanity of the hyperclever L. Blanc is taking such a

[a] See this volume, p. 284. - [b] Our friend

turn as to brand the sublime dwarf a fool pure and simple. *C'est bien.*[a] One comes to realise more and more that emigration is an institution which inevitably turns a man into a fool, an ass and a base rascal unless he withdraws wholly therefrom, and unless he is content to be an independent writer who doesn't give a tinker's curse for the so-called revolutionary party. It is a real SCHOOL OF SCANDAL AND MEANNESS in which the hindmost donkey becomes the foremost saviour of his country. At any rate the little popularity-monger will atone for it once we have a press organ again. As you know, I have none of my papers with me here, so I'd like you to suggest a few more sources on French affairs between 1830 and 1848 which you may happen to know about, and I shall endeavour to shovel coals of fire, at least in a literary sense, under the worthy pretender's backside. At all events, in my articles in *The Friend of the People,* I shall call on him to publish—provided you have no objection, since it was you to whom he told the story—the information given him by Mr Mazzini concerning the character of the European Central Committee and its attitude towards socialists and communists, and shall make such allusions as are necessary for this to be understood.[352] *Pourquoi nous gênerions-nous?*[b]

Today Harney will be getting 3 articles by way of introduction, pretty lengthy, a gentle hint dropped here and there. The awkward part of it is that it's difficult to attack Ledru & Co., without at least partially identifying oneself with the Willich-Barthélemy clique in the eyes of the English proletariat and Harney's readers. Ultimately the only way out will be to devote a few special articles to that clique. Not, however, in the first 3 articles, which have been written for Harney's benefit, TO PUT HIM IN THE RIGHT TRACK, rather than for any other purpose. But in numbers 4-9 Ledru, Mazzini, Ruge, etc., etc., will be attacked in rapid succession and in as direct and personal a manner as possible.

The Willich affair is *impayable.*[c] *Only do make sure that you get hold of the letters.*[d] I'd like to witness the moral indignation when the bomb goes off. It would seem that for some time past you've again had good spies in Great Windmill Street[331]; *cela ne fait pas de mal*[e] and at least provides some entertainment. I confess I could never have thought the fellow so stupid. He will, incidentally, be well and truly on fire now that the Prussian ministerial press is holding

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[a] Well and good. - [b] Why should we make any bones about it? - [c] priceless - [d] See this volume, p. 284. - [e] that does no harm

out the prospect of war with Switzerland and the reserve guardsmen—as they were informed on parade—are being kept under arms for that very reason.[365] The governments of the Holy Alliance[271] are playing into the hands of these fantastic idiots in a truly irresponsible way and, were it not for Palmerston, the next 'emancipation of general stupidity' might well see the light of day six months prematurely.

Your latest economic discovery is at present being subjected to my most earnest scrutiny. I have no time today to go into it further, but the thing seems to me to be absolutely right. But figures are not to be trifled with and I am therefore considering the matter in detail.

*Quelle bête que ce Louis-Napoléon!*[a] He sells his doubts about the electoral law to the assembly, and himself to Montalembert, for 1,800,000 fr. which in the end he does not get after all.[366] There's nothing you can do with an adventurer of this stamp. If, for the space of four weeks, he allows himself to be guided by ingenious intriguers, you may be quite sure that, come the fifth, he will in the most fatuous fashion bring to nought all that has been accomplished. *Aut Caesar aut Clichy!*[b]

Not long ago we inaugurated a new CHARTIST LOCALITY here. These English are far less conscientious than we honest, timid Germans in the matter of democratic forms. There were thirteen of us, and it was immediately resolved to elect a COUNCIL of thirteen members, namely those present. Thereupon each man proposed one of those present and, in place of myself, since I, of course, refused, one who was absent and, in less than five minutes, these PRIVATE GENTLEMEN had turned themselves into a COUNCIL, and yet each one of them had been elected, and this comical PROCEEDING PASSED OFF VERY SERIOUSLY AND AS A MATTER OF COURSE. What will come of this business I shall see ere long. For today, *prosit.*[c]

Your
F. E.

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[a] What an idiot Louis Napoleon is! - [b] Either Caesar or Clichy (Clichy—a debt prison in Paris): paraphrase of 'Aut Caesar aut nihil' (either Caesar or nothing), a motto of the fifteenth-century Italian politician, Cesare Borgia. - [c] your health

# 143

# ENGELS TO MARX

## IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Thursday, 13 February 1851

Dear Marx,

I had been more or less expecting this business with Harney.[a] I saw the notice of the Bem meeting in *The Friend of the People*,[b] which stated that the Germans, French, Poles and Hungarians, as well as the FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS[122] would be taking part, and it was quite clear that these could be none other than Great Windmill Street[331] & Co. I forgot to draw your attention to this announcement before. There's no possibility of my pursuing the matter any further today. But tomorrow I shall write a letter to Harney in which I shall tell him not to print the manuscript I sent him, as I shall not be providing a sequel,[367] and in which I shall at the same time explain the whole business to him in detail. If this letter is of no avail, the whole rigmarole will have to be dropped until Mr Harney returns of his own accord, which will happen very soon. I have a very strong suspicion that he will be up here shortly and then I shall duly take him to task. It's about time he realised that we're in earnest with him, too. At any rate, so as to save time and avoid writing twice I shall send the letter to you to be passed on to him as quickly as possible once you've read it.

*Personally* I find this inanity and want of tact on Harney's part more irritating than anything else. But *au fond*[c] it is of little moment.

At long last we again have the opportunity—the first time in ages—to show that we need neither popularity, nor the SUPPORT of any party in any country, and that our position is completely independent of such ludicrous trifles. From now on we are only answerable for ourselves and, come the time when these gentry need us, we shall be in a position to dictate our own terms. Until then we shall at least have some peace and quiet. A measure of loneliness, too, of course—*mon Dieu*, I've already had a 3 months' spell of that in Manchester and have grown used to it, and this,

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[a] See this volume, p. 285. - [b] 'Honour to General Bem, the Patriot and Hero', *The Friend of the People*, No. 9, 8 February 1851. - [c] basically

moreover, as a BACHELOR, which here, at any rate, is excessively boring. Besides we have no real grounds for complaint if we are shunned by the *petits grands hommes*[a]; haven't we been acting for years as though Cherethites and Plethites[b] were our party when, in fact, we had no party, and when the people whom we considered as belonging to our party, at least officially, *sous réserve de les appeler des bêtes incorrigibles entre nous,*[c] didn't even understand the rudiments of our stuff? How can people like us, who shun official appointments like the plague, fit into a 'party'? And what have we, who spit on popularity, who don't know what to make of ourselves if we show signs of growing popular, to do with a 'party', i.e. a herd of jackasses who swear by us because they think we're of the same kidney as they? Truly, it is no loss if we are no longer held to be the 'right and adequate expression' of the ignorant curs with whom we have been thrown together over the past few years.

A revolution is a purely natural phenomenon which is subject to physical laws rather than to the rules that determine the development of society in ordinary times. Or rather, in revolution these rules assume a much more physical character, the material force of necessity makes itself more strongly felt. And as soon as one steps forward as the representative of a party, one is dragged into this whirlpool of irresistible natural necessity. By the mere fact of keeping oneself INDEPENDENT, being *in the nature of things* more revolutionary than the others, one is able at least for a time to maintain one's independence from this whirlpool, although one does, of course, end up by being dragged into it.

This is the position we can and must adopt on the next occasion. Not only no official *government* appointments but also, and for as long as possible, no official *party* appointments, no seat on committees, etc., no responsibility for jackasses, merciless criticism of everyone, and, besides, that serenity of which all the conspiracies of blockheads cannot deprive us. And this much we are able to do. We can always, in the nature of things, be more revolutionary than the phrase-mongers because we have learnt our lesson and they have not, because we know what we want and they do not, and BECAUSE, AFTER WHAT WE HAVE SEEN FOR THE LAST THREE YEARS, WE SHALL TAKE IT A GREAT DEAL MORE COOLLY THAN ANY ONE WHO HAS AN INTEREST IN THE BUSINESS.

The main thing at the moment is to find some way of getting

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[a] petty panjandrums - [b] 2 Samuel 15:18 - [c] with the reservation that between ourselves we called them incorrigible fools

our things published; either in a quarterly in which we make a frontal attack and consolidate our position so far as *persons* are concerned; or in fat books where we do the same without being under the necessity of mentioning any one of these vipers. Either way suits me; in the long run, and with reaction on the increase, it seems to me that the feasibility of the former is decreasing and that the latter will come more and more to be the expedient to which we must apply ourselves. What price all the tittle-tattle the entire émigré crowd can muster against you, when you answer it with your political economy?

Tomorrow, the letter for Harney. *En attendant, salut.*[a]

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[220]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 23 February [1851]

Dear Engels,

For a week you've had no news of me, firstly because I was awaiting the documents from Cologne[b] and wished to tell you about them, secondly because I had to wait for further details about our 'EXFRIEND'. The former have not yet arrived. As to the latter, I am now rather better informed.

Harney received your letter all right.

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[a] Meanwhile, greetings. - [b] i.e. Willich's letters which were to be sent to Marx by Johann Becker (see this volume, pp. 273, 282, 284).

According to what I am told by Tessier du Mothay, who is now here, the Louis Blanc affair originated as follows:

The association in Church Street[362] gave itself out to be a philanthropic association for assistance to French political *réfugiés*. Ledru-Rollin, L. Blanc, Adam, everyone, in short, made this a pretext for participating in it. Politics were banned by the statutes. Then 24 February[a] hove into view. As you know, when presented with the opportunity of making themselves important, the French prepare for it as long in advance and treat it with as much solemnity as the prospective lying-in of a pregnant woman. Even if the association was merely a philanthropic one, so the argument ran, its members in their capacity as Frenchmen must nevertheless celebrate 24 February. A definite evening was fixed for a debate on this important matter. On that evening both Ledru and Blanc were present. The latter delivered a carefully prepared, spuriously temperate, jesuitical speech, in which he sought to prove that a political banquet contravened the association's statutes, that it would simply make France aware of their dissensions, etc., and, amidst much pious talk of *fraternité*, the Corsican mandrake, vented his chagrin at not having been included in the provisional government[368] by Ledru and Mazzini. He got his answer. Despite his speech, which none admired more sincerely than he did, it was decided to hold the banquet.

And what does *la blanche Louise*[b] do now? She declares that, as a result of this decision, the association has dissolved itself thereby restoring to each his individual freedom, and that he will make use of this restitution of his 'free will' and organise a banquet without any spirit of faction, pure *fraternité* and other delectable tidbits.

His eyes turned naturally to Barthélemy, knowing as he did that the latter, the Germans, Poles, etc., together formed a compact mass. On the other hand Landolphe, *le bel homme*,[c] was entrusted with the mission of winning over our DEAR Harney. L. Blanc was even gracious enough to invite Harney to the dinner, though, during the past six months, he and Landolphe have been consigning him to the devil. What magnanimity!

On the other hand L. Blanc drafted a manifesto which, as our DEAR would say, is OUT AND OUT. You will have read it in *The Friend of the People*. It even repudiates the *'aristocracy of the mind'*, thereby on

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[a] the anniversary of the February 1848 revolution in France - [b] white Louise (Louis Blanc) - [c] the fine figure of a man

the one hand ostensibly providing a motive for condescending to the *dii minorum gentium*[a] and, on the other, holding out to Schapper & Co. the immediate and cheerful prospect of an *'aristocracy of stupidity'*. But this manifesto—feeble platitudes, naturally—is regarded by L. Blanc as the 'wisest possible thing' to which human nature, under the MOST HAPPY CIRCUMSTANCES, could aspire. It was intended not only to astound the whole of Europe but also and more particularly to give Ledru-Rollin a slap in the face, and to lead all the Blanquists in France to believe that, out of sheer intrepidity of principle, the INCORRUPTIBLE LITTLE MAN had disassociated himself from Church Street.

Thus the worthy Harney has made himself the tool of a vulgar intrigue and, what is more, an intrigue directed against Ledru-Rollin to whom, at the same time, he goes running and whose banquet he will also honour with his presence tomorrow. In order further to nettle this, despite his *qualités très aimables* and *respectables*,[b] highly *impressionable plebeian*—impressionable, that is, to famous names, in whose shadow he feels touched and honoured—and in order at the same time to show Ledru-Mazzini that the Napoleon of socialism cannot be thwarted with impunity, the little man goes and solicits the felicitations of the Parisian workers. These 'Parisian workers', whose appearance on the scene was bound to make the blood rise to our DEAR's head, are, of course, none other than the notorious 25 *délégués des Luxembourg*, who have never been delegated by anyone, and who, throughout Paris, are the object, now of the hatred, now of the *risée*[c] of the other workers,—fellows whose importance is no greater than that of the members of the Pre-parliament or the Committee of Fifty in Germany.[369] They feel a need for a *petit bon dieu quelconque*,[d] a fetish, and there is something monstrous about the little man's appearance which all along has made it a suitable object of worship. He for his part assures them that they are the greatest men and the truest socialists on earth. And had he not already nominated them *pairs*[e] of the future Workers' Republic? Hence, whenever he raises a finger, they offer their felicitations and, whenever they offer their felicitations, he publicly expresses his heartfelt thanks. And he raised a finger this time. In these professional felicitators Harney, of course, sees Paris, the whole of Paris.

Before I take leave of the mandrake, two more items which I

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[a] second-rate luminaries (literally: gods of the minor nations) - [b] most amiable and respectable qualities - [c] ridicule - [d] a little god of some sort - [e] peers

learned from Tessier, both of them highly characteristic of this *fausse pleureuse.*[a]

Louise never speaks extempore. He writes down every word of his speeches and learns them *by heart* in front of the looking-glass. Ledru, on the other hand, always improvises and, on important occasions, confines himself to a few MATTER OF FACT notes. Hence, quite aside from the difference in personal appearance, Louise is completely incapable of making the slightest impression when *alongside* Ledru. He therefore welcomed any pretext that permitted him to avoid comparison with this dangerous rival!

So far as his historical works are concerned, he wrote them in the same way that A. Dumas wrote his feuilletons. He never studies more material than is needed for the next chapter. This is how such books as the *Histoire des dix ans* are produced. In this way it lends a certain freshness to his accounts. For what he's conveying is at least as new to him as it is to the reader; on the other hand the thing as a whole is weak.

So much for L. Blanc. Now for our DEAR.

He was not content with merely attending the fellows' meeting. Indeed not. He has turned their banquet of 24 February which, without him, would have been a complete fiasco, into a *London event.* A thousand tickets have already been sold for the banquet, which is being held in the City. It was Harney who placed *the majority of the tickets,* as Jones informed me the day before yesterday. O'Connor, Reynolds, hundreds of Chartists will be there. Harney has been drumming them up. Again according to Jones, he is *en route*[b] all day, carrying out L. Blanc's orders.

He has even perpetrated a little piece of perfidy with regard to Jones by getting him to translate L. Blanc & Co.'s manifesto and then asking him whether he would have any objection to being named as the translator. That was on Wednesday.[c] So by then he already had your letter, although he gave no hint of this to Jones. Jones saw in his question merely an appeal to his own 'socialist' sentiments—and naturally replied that he had no objection.

Jones told me that, as a result of my arguments, he might stay away from the banquet, though he couldn't say for certain. The reason for his indecision is perfectly sensible. Were he not to turn up, he would forfeit some of his popularity since, thanks to our DEAR, this banquet has become a Chartist occasion. He is also afraid that Reynolds might intrigue behind his back.

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[a] crocodile - [b] on the go - [c] 18 February

Jones disapproves of the behaviour of our DEAR, whom I have not 'seen again'. He tried to excuse it on the grounds that, if the Chartists failed to attend either of the banquets, they would be accused of political apathy, or of antipathy towards the foreign revolutionaries. To this I replied that in that case Harney, etc., should have held a Chartist meeting to celebrate the rotten 24 February instead of constituting a pedestal for a dwarf and half a dozen jackasses—a dwarf who never describes Harney as anything but a *'brave garçon'*,[a] and who, if a movement were to go into action in London tomorrow, or in one year's or 20 years' time, would produce official documents to prove that he had set these *pauvres Anglais dans la route du progrès*,[b] a path which led from 1688 to 24 February 1851, when Louis Blanc heard himself acclaimed by the whole of London, as once before by 50,000 workers in the courtyard of the *Réforme*, which holds barely 50 men. And how many crocodile's tears about this event that never happened will he consign to paper!

Harney has become embroiled in this business, firstly, because of his inordinate admiration for official great men, which we have often derided in the past. Secondly, because he loves theatrical effects. He is truly avid of applause, if not actually *vaniteux*.[c] There is no disputing that he himself is profoundly susceptible to the stock phrase and generates the most copious and impassioned gas. Is more deeply bogged in the democratic mire than he would care to admit. He has a twofold SPIRIT, one inculcated by Frederick Engels, and one that is all his own. The former is for him a kind of straitjacket. The latter is he himself in *puris naturalibus*.[d] But there is in addition a third, a *spiritus familiaris*,[e] and that is his worthy spouse.[f] She has a great predilection for *gants jaunes*[g] *à la* Landolphe and Louis Blanc. She hates me, for one, as a frivolous fellow who might endanger her 'PROPERTY TO BE WATCHED UPON'. I have irrefutable proof that this female has more than one of her long plebeian fingers in this pie. The extent of Harney's thraldom to this *spiritus familiaris*, and of the petty Scottish wiliness with which she conducts her intrigues, will be apparent to you from the following: You will recall how on New Year's Eve she insulted Miss Macfarlane in the presence of my wife. Later she told my wife, with a smile on her lips, that Harney had not seen Miss Macfarlane throughout the evening. Later she told him that she

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[a] good lad - [b] poor English on the path of progress - [c] vain - [d] in a state of nature - [e] familiar spirit - [f] Mary - [g] dandies

had DECLINED her acquaintanceship because the cleft dragoon had evoked the dismay and ridicule of the whole company and of my wife in particular. And Harney was idiotic and cowardly enough not to give Miss Macfarlane a chance to avenge the insult, thus breaking in the most unworthy manner with the only collaborator on his insignificant little rag[a] who really had any ideas. On his rag, a *rara avis*.[b]

What lends added weight to this meeting is the stir created in London by LITTLE JOHNNY's[c] resignation and the *avènement*[d] of Stanley-d'Israeli.[370]

There's nothing the FRENCHMEN fear more than a general amnesty. It would rob all the local cardboard heroes of their halos.

A. Ruge, in company with Struve, Kinkel, Schramm,[e] Bucher, etc., has been trying to bring into being a *Volksfreund* or, as our Gustav[f] would have it, a *Deutscher Zuschauer*. Came to nought. Some of the others did not want Winkelried's[g] patronage, some, like the 'easy-going' Kinkel, demanded payment in cash, *ce qui ne fait pas le compte de M. Ruge*.[h] His chief aim was, as you will know, to extract money from the reading public. This was frustrated by Julius, since he too wants to bring out a paper here.

K. Heinzen is *redacteur en chef*[i] of the bankrupt New York *Schnellpost* and has entered into a hair-raising polemic with Weitling.

You would do well to write sometime soon to Red Becker[j] in New York and inform him about *l'état actuel des choses*.[k]

Enclosed a letter from Dronke. Send it back to me by return; if you wish to write yourself with it, *tant mieux*.[l]

Your remittance was a great help to me as I couldn't possibly go on owing the *bel homme*[m] a FARTHING any longer.

In my next letter, something about French literature of 1830-48.

Write, too, and tell me whether my sums are right.

Your
K. M.

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[a] *The Friend of the People* - [b] rare bird - [c] John Russell - [d] accession to power - [e] Rudolf Schramm - [f] Gustav Struve - [g] Arnold Ruge (nicknamed Winkelried after a semi-legendary Swiss warrior whose name was Arnold) - [h] which doesn't suit Mr Ruge's book - [i] editor-in-chief - [j] probably Max Joseph Becker - [k] the present state of things - [l] so much the better - [m] that fine figure of a man (Landolphe—see this volume, pp. 284, 286)

Incidentally, in our dealings with our DEAR—for he will seek to come back as soon as he has done with this great historical event[371]—we must assume an air of superiority and make him feel that he has 'lost'.

Apropos! Harney has had himself elected to a Chartist deputation to Church Street, whence, having made his *entrée,* he will repair to the City, where he will make himself at home.

Since, incidentally, there was nothing naive about his action, it follows that he arranged everything with the *'bel' homme behind my back* and was *no* less reticent towards *yourself.*

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## MARX TO ENGELS[43]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 February 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

It is now one o'clock in the morning. About an hour ago Pieper came rushing in, hatless, dishevelled, his clothing in tatters. This is what had happened.

Earlier this evening the meeting or banquet took place in the City. *Willich presided.* Jones, in accordance with his promise, didn't go. Our DEAR[a] was wearing a red armlet. Some 700 men were present, 150 Frenchmen, about 250 Germans, 200 Chartists and the remainder Poles and Hungarians. Blanc read out the addresses received from his brethren in Paris, Willich one from La Chaux-de-Fonds. There was none from Germany. An address from Poles in Paris was also read.

[a] Harney

The speeches were, it seems, ludicrous and, despite all the *fraternité,* the sweat of tedium beaded men's brows and lamed their tongues.

Schramm[a] and Pieper had bought tickets in order to watch the fun. They were molested from the very start. Schramm went across to one of the stewards, the worthy, chivalrous Landolphe, and begged him to ensure that, in return for their money, they should at least be left in peace. The worthy fellow replied that this was not the place to embark on explanations.

By and by the Great Windmill Streeters[331] began to grow restive. They set up a shout of, 'Spy, spy', Haynau, Haynau,[372] whereupon Schramm and Pieper were man-handled out of the hall, their hats torn off; in the courtyard outside the hall they were kicked, stamped on, cuffed, nearly rent in pieces, handfuls of hair torn out, etc. Barthélemy came up and said of Schramm: *'C'est un infâme! Il faut l'écraser.'*[b] Schramm replied: *'Vous êtes un forçat libéré!'*[c]

Some 200 individuals took part in the scuffle, Germans, Frenchmen, and, no less 'plucky', the fraternal gentry,[d] against two unarmed men.

Post festum who should arrive but our dear; instead of intervening energetically however, as behoved him, he stammered something about knowing these people and would have launched into long explanations. A fine remedy, of course, at such a moment.

The two defended themselves as bravely as lions.

The Windmillers yelled: 'It was him who stole 19 shillings from our cash box!'

So much for today. *Qu'en dis-tu, mon cher?*[e] If revolution breaks out in London tomorrow, Willich-Barthélemy will assuredly come to power.

Your
K. M.

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[a] Conrad Schramm - [b] 'He's infamous! He must be crushed.' - [c] You're an ex-convict! - [d] Fraternal Democrats - [e] What do you sav to that, dear friend?

# 146

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Tuesday, 25 February [1851]

Dear Marx,

A week ago yesterday I sent you a letter for Harney[a] and have had no answer from you since; this might put me in a bit of a quandary if a letter from Harney, which may arrive any day, should require a speedy answer, or if the new Chartist clique here succeeds in negotiating a visit by Harney, and one fine morning I find he has turned up at the pub. I hope that you received everything safely and that it's not ill-health that is preventing you from writing. Perhaps you don't care for the letter or the way I acted off my own bat without further consultation with you. But that was precisely why I sent it to you, and if there had been anything you took exception to, nothing could have been simpler than to let Harney know he wasn't to print my article[b] for the time being, and to return me the letter with marginal comments, WHICH YOU KNOW WOULD HAVE HAD ALL DUE ATTENTION.

In any case, I have long owed you an answer to the CURRENCY business.[c] In my opinion the thing as such is perfectly correct and will go a long way towards reducing the crazy theory of circulation to simple and lucid FUNDAMENTAL FACTS. As regards the exposition in your letter I have only the following remarks to make:

1. Given that, at the beginning of a PERIOD OF PRESSURE the Bank of England accounts show, as you say, £12,000,000 DEPOSITS and £8 million BULLION or COIN. In order to get rid of the surplus £4 million BULLION, you suggest it [the Bank] should lower the discount rate. I don't believe that it needs to do this, and as far as I remember the discount rate has never yet been lowered at the beginning of the PRESSURE. In my view the PRESSURE would immediately affect the DEPOSITS and very soon not only establish an equilibrium between BULLION and DEPOSITS, but also compel the Bank to raise the discount rate so that the BULLION would not fall below $^1/_3$ of the DEPOSITS. To the extent that PRESSURE increases, the circulation of capital, the turnover of goods will stagnate. Once bills have been drawn, however, they mature and have to be honoured. Hence the reserve capital—the DEPOSITS—has to be set in motion—not *qua* CURRENCY, as you will appreciate, but *qua* CAPITAL, and thus the simple

[a] See this volume, p. 289. - [b] ibid., p. 287. - [c] ibid., pp. 274-78.

DRAIN OF BULLION, combined with PRESSURE, will of itself suffice to rid the Bank of its surplus BULLION. This takes place without the Bank having to *lower its* rate of interest under circumstances which simultaneously *raise* the general interest rate throughout the country.

2. In a period of growing PRESSURE, it seems to me, the Bank (so as not to get into difficulties) must increase the proportion of BULLION to DEPOSITS to the same extent that PRESSURE increases. The 4 surplus millions would be a boon and a blessing, and the Bank would release them as slowly as possible. With increasing PRESSURE, according to your assumptions, a proportion of BULLION to DEPOSITS of the order of $^2/_5$:1, $^1/_2$:1 and even $^3/_5$:1 would be in no way excessive, and, all the easier to bring about as, with the decrease of DEPOSITS, the BULLION RESERVE would also decrease in absolute terms, though relatively speaking it would increase. In this case a RUN on the Bank is just as possible as with paper money and may be induced by perfectly normal commercial conditions without any ruinous effect on the Bank's credit.

3. 'The CURRENCY is *the last* to be affected', you say. Your own assumptions that it is affected as a result of stagnating commercial activity, and that then, of course, less CURRENCY is required, lead to the conclusion that the CURRENCY contracts simultaneously with commercial activity, and that part of it becomes surplus to the extent that PRESSURE increases. Admittedly it is only at the end, in a condition of high PRESSURE, that it contracts *perceptibly*. But looked at as a whole this process is well under way from the beginning of the PRESSURE, even though this cannot be factually demonstrated in detail. But in so far as this SUPERSEDING of part of the CURRENCY is a *consequence* of the other commercial conditions, of PRESSURE which is independent of the CURRENCY, and all other commodities and commercial conditions are affected *before* the CURRENCY, and also in so far as *in practice* the currency is the last to be sensitive to this decrease, so it will, indeed, be the last to be affected by the crisis.

These comments, as you see, are entirely confined to your *modus illustrandi*[a]; the thing itself is quite unexceptionable.

Your
F. E.

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[a] method of presentation

# 147

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Wednesday, 26 February [1851]

Dear Marx,

Your letter of the 23rd, postmarked the 25th, arrived this morning. In future you should always write to me 'care of Messrs Ermen & Engels, Manchester'. Your letters will reach me more surely and quickly since my homecomings are often irregular, and in any case the letters addressed to my lodgings are sometimes delivered by the post to the office—where I go at least once a day anyway. If possible send them by the first evening post from London—up till 6 from Charing Cross, or half past five from the smaller offices, and the letters will certainly reach the office by ten the next morning.

You forgot to enclose the letter from Dronke. Send it soon, as I want to write to him, particularly so as to resume my correspondence with Lupus, of whose whereabouts I know nothing, as I receive no reply to any of my letters.[373] If you would rather not bear the cost of postage of overseas letters and of pre-paid replies, send them, or have them addressed, to me, and I shall charge it to the firm.

According to the *Constitutionnel*, d'Ester has been banished from Switzerland and has already left—*en sais-tu quelque chose*[a]?

Your atlas[b] has been saved. In the end I refused to sell it and am keeping it here for the time being as I need it badly; I am now reading the history of the *Consulat* and *Empire* in the works of French and English historians, particularly military. The best I have found so far in this LINE is W. P. Napier (now General), *History of the War in the Peninsula*. Like all Napiers, the fellow has his quirks but also an enormous amount of COMMON SENSE and, what is more, shows a very true eye in evaluating Napoleon's military and administrative genius. A Frenchman would be utterly incapable of writing such a book. So far as historical reliability and even correct judgment are concerned, Thiers[c] is no whit better

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[a] do you know anything about it? - [b] *Historischer und geographischer Atlas von Europa* - [c] A reference to A. Thiers' *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*.

than that wretched Tory, Southey, late POET LAUREATE, who has also written a history of the Peninsular War replete with invective and rodomontade.[a] Napier, however, gives too much prominence to his commander-in-chief, Wellington, but I haven't yet read enough of his account to be able to give a definite opinion.

I shall take due note of the information on *citoyens*[b] Blanc and Harney. As yet I have heard nothing from the latter. I rather suspected that his *spiritus familiaris*[c] had a finger in this pie. She has unbounded admiration for great men, and has become generally increasingly disagreeable. He must, incidentally, be made to feel this when he turns up again. As for that little man Blanc, it could do no harm if we were to go over his *oeuvres complètes*[d] at the earliest opportunity—you the *Organisation du travail* and the *Histoire de la révolution*, I the *Dix ans, sauf à critiquer ensemble l'association du travail mise en pratique après février, et les 'Pages d'histoire'*.[e] I shall be coming to London at Easter and something might be done then. The things themselves should be obtainable here cheaply in a Belgian reprint. Since my ploy with my old man has proved wholly successful, at least up till now, I can definitely settle down here, and shall in any case be sending for my books from Brussels. If you by chance have anything to be sent for from Cologne, let me know; I shall be writing to Daniels about my things in the next few days, and then it could all be sent in one parcel. NB. Everything, except English books reprinted on the Continent. How matters are developing with my old man, and the new ploy I had to think up, firstly, to prolong my indispensability here and 2, to spare myself undue work in the office, I will tell you when we meet; in any case Easter is only six weeks away and it's an involved story. What is certain is that my old man is going to pay through the nose in cash to compensate me for everything, especially once he's been here and I've got him even further embroiled. The difficulty is this: to be given an official appointment vis-à-vis the Ermens as my old man's representative, and yet to have *no* official appointment within the firm here, which would involve working for and drawing a salary from the firm. I hope, however, to bring it off; my old man is enchanted with my business letters and he regards my remaining here as a great

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[a] R. Southey, *History of the Peninsular War*. - [b] citizens - [c] familiar spirit (Harney's wife) - [d] complete works - [e] save that we shall jointly criticise the labour association as put into practice after February, and the *Pages d'histoire* (a reference to L. Blanc's *Pages d'histoire de la révolution*)

sacrifice on my part. *Ceci me vaut, ou me vaudra sous peu, £5 additionelles par mois, sauf additions futures.*[a]

Your
F. E.

Don't forget to send me the titbits from Cologne with which to solace my loneliness, as soon as you have received and read them.[b]

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, 26 February 1851]

Dear Engels,

I am sending you Pieper's and Schramm's[c] letters so that you may learn the facts from the actual participants. This is the best way for you to form your own opinion. Incomprehensible *lâcheté*[d] on the part of the 200 FRATERNAL[e] MURDERERS who discharged their revolutionary energies upon two individuals, incomprehensible *lâcheté* on the part of our DEAR,[f] of Landolphe, of Louis Blanc, etc., who calmly looked on, memorising their fraternal slogans.

One further point from Schramm's conversation with Harney: Harney emphasised that Schapper was a 'long-standing acquaintance' of his, and had been on the most intimate terms with him while we were in Brussels.

Apropos! Messrs L. Blanc & Co. had *already* sent a *complete report* of the meeting to a Paris paper *the day before.*[374]

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[a] That's worth, or shortly will be worth, an extra £5 a month, apart from future increments. - [b] See this volume, pp. 282, 284. - [c] Conrad Schramm - [d] cowardice - [e] i.e. Fraternal Democrats - [f] Harney

Legal proceedings would ruin L. Blanc. You can imagine what a feast it would be for *The Times*, more especially as *Barthélemy*, the *galérien*, the *meurtrier*,[a] etc., would appear as the accused and *provocateur à l'assassinat*.[b] For in the middle of the brawl, Barthélemy said pointing to Schramm: *'C'est un infâme, il faut l'écraser.'*[c]

Nothing but ill can come of litigation: Harney's and Jones' projected paper in the soup, Harney and the FRATERNALS in the soup, *The Times* will be jubilant, Pieper will lose his job (he's magnanimous enough not to bother about it), and Schramm, etc., will end up by having to take on all the Chartists at once. *Que faire?*[d] I shall discuss this tomorrow with Jones. Friend Harney, like Schapper, seems to count on the whole affair quietly blowing over. Hence he has thought it not worth his while to take the necessary STEPS with regard to us or to make the necessary concessions. In this way the jackass is aggravating the situation. One can't allow this dirty business to go unavenged.

If Harney writes to you, there's one thing you must guard against. In your letter[e] you dwell too much on Ledru's and Blanc's theoretical criticism. Harney now makes out that we demanded that he should form part of our *queue*.[f] Hence, what above all must be pointed out to him is that:

1. the *one and only* issue is his relationship with Schapper and Willich, in that he has constituted himself the *supporter* of our immediate, personal, rascally foes and, in the eyes of Germany, has thrown what weight he has into the scales for them against us. And did he not together with us break off all connections with Vidil, with Barthélemy and with Willich *in writing*?[375] How, then, could he resume them without us, behind our *backs*, and *against* our wishes! If that is FAIR it's beyond me.

2. He has *disavowed us* in that, *after* the incident with Schramm and Pieper, he failed to make immediate public amends at the meeting and then withdraw forthwith. Instead of which he did everything to make out to his friends that the thing was irrelevant.

Enclosed Dronke's letter. You must write and tell him in detail about the whole mummery, including the most recent affair. I have masses to write to Cologne, Hamburg, etc.

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[a] convict sentenced to the galleys; murderer - [b] inciter to murder - [c] 'He's infamous, he must be crushed.' - [d] What's to be done? - [e] See this volume, pp. 287, 299. - [f] retinue

If today's letter hasn't been stamped, you must excuse me. It is too late to go out for STAMPS, and it is essential that the letter be posted this evening.

Your
K. Marx

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## 149

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Wednesday [26 February 1851]

Dear Marx,

I have just come upon your 2nd letter. I at once wrote another one to Harney: if you approve of it, send it on to him forthwith.[a] This infamous affair is altogether too much, and he's got to be made aware of the fact. If he allies himself with the others, *tant pis pour lui*,[b] I CARE THE DEVIL.

Enclosed a letter which looks very odd to me.[376] What's behind the whole business? I don't know to what extent red Wolff[c] is his own master. Besides, there's so much that's crack-brained about the letter that I can't reply to it without having further information. So let me know at once what kind of a DODGE this is and return the piffle to me. One o'clock in the morning.

Your
F. E.

Having no STAMPS, I shan't be able to put any on this letter as I am now going out to post it.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 306, 311. - [b] so much the worse for him. - [c] Ferdinand Wolff

# 150

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Thursday, 27 February 1851

Dear Marx,

When last night at 12 o'clock I arrived home and found your letter with its account of the infamy perpetrated upon Schramm and Pieper,[a] I at once sent off to you a letter for Harney. From that letter, the shaky hand, the passionate indignation, the bumbling, stumbling train of thought and the not exactly harmonious whole, it will have been evident to you that it was written under the influence of a glass or two of strong rum-punch which I had unwontedly imbibed that evening, and you will therefore not have sent it off. In fact, I was so enraged that I couldn't have gone to bed without sending it off and hence, more to calm myself than to convey my opinion in all haste to Harney, I dashed off to the post at 1 o'clock. You'll have received the letter around midday today, and since today there's no post until the evening, it has not been possible to send you another letter before this one. I now enclose an amended letter for Harney, which you will kindly convey to him if, as I hope, you haven't yet forwarded the first.[377]

In future address letters to me as follows:

1. All letters which you send from the Charing Cross office before six in the evening, or before half past five from smaller offices, to the office (Ermen and Engels). Then I shall get them at 10 in the morning.

2. All letters posted *after* 6 o'clock in the evening to Great Ducie Street. I shall get them the following evening at 6 o'clock, whereas in the office I wouldn't get them until the following morning.

Hühnerbein wrote to me recently. Mirbach got away safely and is leaving Paris to follow his wife to Athens.

Your

F. E.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 297-98.

# 151

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Friday [28 February 1851]

Dear Marx,

Your letter of the day before yesterday didn't arrive till this morning. Had I already had all these details yesterday I would have written to our DEAR Harney in quite a different vein. But sooner or later he'll turn up and then I'll let him have a piece of my mind.

It would not, I believe, be a great deal of use to take serious legal proceedings over this business. Apart from Harney and Jones and the Chartists, the business would fizzle out in mutual recriminations and accusations. With the help of any advocate, the others would cause the most impudent questions to be put to Schramm and Pieper, e. g. whether Schramm had not stolen funds from Great Windmill Street,[378] etc., etc., which, however vigorously they were parried, would be enough to ruin the whole effect. The defendants' witnesses would swear that Schramm had said such and such, they would recall certain of Schramm's scenes in Great Windmill Street and inflate them out of all proportion so as to depict Schramm as a DISTURBER OF PUBLIC MEETINGS, etc., and the MAGISTRATE, only too happy to see the demagogues dubbing each other rascals, would allow anything that might throw a compromising light on either party. Schramm, however, should use it as a threat.

Besides, he is taken FOR A CARE-THE-DEVIL, RECKLESS SORT OF CHARACTER, and they'll believe him capable of such excesses. He should give Landolphe a box on the ears and practise shooting; the chap's always getting involved in such affairs[379] and, more than anyone else, he should know how to shoot.

The case would after all end up with nothing more than the rudest of snubs for both parties from the MAGISTRATE—especially as it would be heard up in Islington, where heaven knows what sort of old jackasses the MAGISTRATES are. And if Landolphe, *représentant du peuple*,[a] were to state that Schramm could only have come with

[a] representative of the people

the intention of making trouble, etc., don't you think that ultimately this would impress the public more than Schramm's and Pieper's statement? A great scandal could be made of the business, but then Schramm would risk having part of the scandal rebound on him in the form of insinuations.

And again, one sure consequence of such a scandal would be the introduction of a new Aliens Bill[380] to protect the honest reactionaries coming over from the Continent for the Exhibition.

But when given the cold shoulder by Landolphe, why the devil didn't Schramm go straight to Harney *pour le mettre en cause*?[a]

Just time for the post. Adieu.

Your
F. E.

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## 152

## MARX TO HERMANN BECKER[357]

### IN COLOGNE

[London,] 28 February [1851]

Dear Becker,

I trust you have received the *Rh.Z.*[b] I cannot understand your silence. Had you sent me *Willich's letters* for which I asked you,[c] I would not have had to report the abominations related below. I must again insist on your *sending these letters forthwith*.... The

[a] to call him to account - [b] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* - [c] See this volume, pp. 273, 282.

following report is to be read out to all our friends, who must make it known throughout the whole of Germany.

It concerns the banquet held in London on 24 February, at which two of our friends and party comrades[a] were publicly 'haynaued'[372] under the chairmanship of the bold Chevalier de *Willich*. To help you understand what follows, a few preliminary remarks:

The French émigrés, like all the others, had split up into various factions. Thereupon they combined to found an association in Church Street.[362] It was to be of a *philanthropic* nature, for the assistance of refugees. Politics were excluded. Thus all shades of French émigré opinion were provided with a neutral terrain. In this way, then, Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc, Montagnards[260] and Cabetists, Blanquists, etc., happened to be here at the same time.

24 February was approaching. As you know, when presented with such a chance of appearing important, the French prepare for it, discuss it, examine its every aspect as long in advance as they would do a woman's impending lying-in. Accordingly, the Church Street association convened a general meeting in order to arrange the celebration of this 'glorious' day. L. Blanc and Ledru-Rollin were present. Little Blanc—NB he cannot improvise but writes his speeches and learns them by heart in front of a looking-glass—rose and made a cleverly couched, elaborate, jesuitical speech in which he sought to prove that this association, being of a philanthropic nature, could not stage a *political* banquet and hence could not celebrate the February Revolution. Ledru-Rollin replied. In the heat of replying, little Blanc blurted out that, since *Ledru and Mazzini had not included him in the European Central Committee,*[338] he would not partake of any banquet with them. He was told that it was not the European Central Committee which was giving the banquet, but the Church Street association, comprising all shades of French émigré opinion.

The following day that association received a letter from L. Blanc in which he notified them that he intended to stage a rival monster banquet....[b]

So L. Blanc secured Harney and with him part of his following, for his banquet. The English foundations had been laid. But the

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[a] Conrad Schramm and Wilhelm Pieper - [b] In the indictment the following is written over a passage omitted here: 'The following describes how L. Blanc won over his friend Harney with the progressive faction of the Chartists for his banquet.'

continental background, which was also to have all the colours of a European central rainbow, was still missing. To that end Louis Blanc ran a knowledgeable eye over the caricature of Mazzini's committee — the *Willich-Schapper-Barthélemy-Vidil-Peter and Paul committee.*

Just a few words about the origins and nature of this committee and its various hangers-on from the respective associations.

When Willich and Schapper, along with their association, were thrown out of the League,[a] they joined up with Vidil and Barthélemy ... and the dregs of the Polish, Hungarian and Italian émigrés, by which rabble they had themselves dubbed European Central Committee.... Schapper and Willich, who could reasonably hope that, from a distance, this dirty, tasteless and paltry piece of mosaic might be taken for a work of art, also had the particular aim of showing the German communists that it was themselves, not we, who had the European émigrés behind them and that, whether Germany liked it or not, they were determined to take over her government at the earliest opportunity....

In order to conduct his intrigue against Church Street, L. Blanc was not above associating himself with this gang he so despised. They, of course, were delighted. At last they were to attain a *position.* Although these gentlemen wish to exclude all writers, they welcome with open arms any writer of repute who places himself at their disposal. Schapper and Willich saw their day of triumph approaching ... when the German communists would assuredly not be able to resist, and would repentantly return to seek shelter beneath their wings....

The banquet took place in Islington on 24 February. Two of our friends, *Schramm* and *Pieper* attended.... Addresses were read out. L. Blanc read an address from his delegates, Landolphe one from Deputy Greppo (no other was to be had from Paris), a Pole an address from a few fellow thinkers in Paris, and the great Willich, who *presided,* one from La Chaux-de-Fonds. They had been unable to get hold of any from Germany....[b]

Now it is up to you to do everything in your power to brand

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[a] The Communist League - [b] In the indictment the following is written over a passage omitted here: 'When, following this, the ill-treatment inflicted on these their friends, who both, according to the above, belonged to the League, has been described, the whole ends thus:'

these cowardly, calumnious, infamous assassins before the German proletariat, and wherever else this can be done.

To that end it is essential that you send us Willich's letters forthwith....

First published in *Anklageschrift gegen P. G. Roeser, J. H. G. Bürgers, P. Nothjung, W. J. Reiff, H. H. Becker, R. Daniels, C. W. Otto, A. Jacobi, J. J. Klein, F. Freiligrath*, Cologne, 1852

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## 153

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] Saturday, 1 March 1851

Dear Engels,

You must have the most singular post-horses, seeing that all my letters reach you too late.

As you will very well know, if you have given due attention to the letters you have received, everything you advise has already happened, with the exception of the box on the ears for Landolphe, which I do not consider a proper remedy. If anybody is to be done an injury, it must be the little HIPHIPHIPHURRAH Scotsman, George Julian Harney, and no other, and then it is Harney who will have to practise shooting.

With both your letters to Harney in front of me,[a] I sent the *first*, because in my opinion it was better written and more apt than the second, amended, edition.

Both Harney and Landolphe have been sufficiently threatened with legal proceedings. Your fear that Landolphe would testify against Schramm unfounded. Rather, he will swear that he, as a committee member, was approached by Schramm before the scandal and asked to keep order among the gang.

Since, then, the 'threat' of legal proceedings is of no avail, *que faire*[b] except quietly swallow blows, 'spy', and Schapper-Willich triumph!

All your fears concerning scandal justified. But we, too, will

[a] See this volume, p. 306. - [b] what can be done

have a SHARP advocate on our side. A little disrepute, whether more or less, can be of no moment to Schramm. But if he lets the matter drop, now that the Church Street[362] Frenchmen have become embroiled in it, he will be *perdu*[a] unless he either obtains public satisfaction from the Chartists or takes the matter to court. One thing or the other.

Jones, as I told you in my letter, wasn't at Monday's meeting. I had arranged a meeting with him at my house, but as early as Tuesday rushed round to see him, didn't find him in, left a note asking him to come without fail on Wednesday. Didn't come. Went there on Thursday. Was turned away. Left a note of invitation. Didn't come. Thursday evening I wrote him a lengthy letter[381] calmly, simply and clearly setting forth the whole dirty business from the beginning, placing, for his benefit, the repulsive consequences in their perspective, demanding public satisfaction, and finally requesting him to call on me and discuss matters. Didn't come, although he was in town, nor yet any written reply from him. So Jones has clearly been worked upon by that little Scottish intriguer, who is afraid of leaving him alone with me. You see, then, no prospect of public satisfaction from the Chartists. There only remains legal proceedings. *Adviendra que pourra.*[b] The only drawback being that Pieper will lose his job as a result and that we may well have *plus ou moins*[c] the whole of the Chartist mob ât our heels.

The *introduction of an Aliens Bill*[380] would be the *most fortunate* event so far as we are concerned. Where would those jackasses be without a public demonstration every day?

There's only *one* other way of settling the matter without creating an almighty scandal, and that is for you to *come down, immediately* and without delay.[382] You could stay with me, as I have now rented two additional rooms. There is, I definitely assure you, no other way. Letters confuse, delay and achieve nothing.

Your
K. M.

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[a] lost - [b] Come what may. - [c] more or less

# 154

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 March[a] 1851

Dear Engels,

No more than a MATTER OF FACT line or two today.

As you will have seen, *The Times* didn't accept the stuff.[b] *Mais ça ne nous regarde plus.*[c]

Harney had already written to Schramm the day before yesterday morning. That idle jackass went out at 9 in the morning and didn't return home until one o'clock at night. So he did not find the letter till yesterday.

Harney is publishing his statement.[d] Has written a satisfactory introduction to it. Addresses Schramm as 'DEAR Schramm' and reminds him that he too must abide by his obligations and not have recourse to the POLICE COURT—this document is aimed at the French.

Yesterday the *Patrie*[e] (and today the *Constitutionnel*) carried a statement by Messrs Blanc, Barthélemy, Schapper, Willich and all the rest of the committee, in which these gentlemen declare that Blanqui had not sent the toast to any member of the committee. The *Patrie*'s comment is that it had not wished to print the statement without first making inquiries. Whereupon it had been informed by Mr Antoine—Blanqui's brother-in-law—that the toast had been dispatched to Barthélemy, one of the co-signatories, who had acknowledged receipt of same. You can imagine the lamentations in that camp!

*Mais ce n'est pas tout.*[f]

Yesterday morning, then, Wolff[g] sent Wdloff, in company with a real live Englishman, to see Landolphe. The fellow behaved like a discountenanced *Grec*,[h] first lamenting, declaiming, vapouring, expostulating, arms and legs all over the place, and then relapsing into a state of total and ineffectual pusillanimity. Will be placed on

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[a] A slip of the pen in the original: February. - [b] F. Engels, 'To the Editor of *The Times*'. - [c] But that no longer concerns us. - [d] C. Schramm, 'To the Editor of *The Friend of the People*', *The Friend of the People*, No. 14, 15 March 1851 (a protest against the insulting attitude to him and Pieper at the meeting on 24 February 1851). - [e] *La Patrie*, No. 66, 7 March 1851. - [f] But that's not all. - [g] Ferdinand Wolff - [h] Greek (here: cheat)

record this evening before the miserable *crapauds*[a] of Church Street.[362]

Finally, bad news from my mater. She has made everything dependent on Bommel.[b] I shall probably have to hazard a *coup de désespoir*.[c]

Your
K. Marx

I have received Willich's letters from Becker.[d] You will get them on Tuesday.

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## 155

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Monday, 10 March 1851

D. M.,

This morning I received the enclosed letter from Weerth and am at once sending it on to you. So the business between Schramm[e] and Harney is now settled. If you can inveigle that idle fellow into doing it, get him to send Harney a copy of the translation of Blanqui's toast; *cela fera son effet*.[f] It would be an altogether good idea if, now that he is again on the best of terms with Harney, he was to maintain the connection—after all, Harney has a paper.[g] A copy of the article that was sent to *The Times*[h] might also be sent to Blanqui in Belle-Isle. Schramm

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[a] philistines - [b] probably Marx's uncle Lion Philips of Zalt-Bommel - [c] desperate act - [d] Hermann Becker; see this volume, pp. 273, 282, 308. - [e] Conrad Schramm - [f] it will have its effect (the reference is to the English translation of L. A. Blanqui's toast 'Avies ou people') - [g] *The Friend of the People* - [h] F. Engels, 'To the Editor of *The Times*' (with an English translation of L. A. Blanqui's toast).

shouldn't be too lackadaisical in this matter—for he would thereby secure his rear in various directions. Money tomorrow.

Your
F. E.

Barthélemy has made a prize ass of himself—that's *one* consolation.

Tell Schramm to put the whole story down on paper for Harney. Then we shall have GIVEN NOTICE, and that's always something that may later carry weight.

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## 156

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 17 March 1851

Dear Marx,

I have had a very tiresome attack of influenza, which has rendered me incapable of anything, whether sensible or otherwise, hence my silence. All I could do last week was send you a POST OFFICE ORDER—which you'll have received. The 5 shillings are for Lenchen, who happened to be out when I left your house. If at all possible, I will send you the £2 for HIPHIPHURRAH[a] if not this week, then next week at the latest. Schramm can take it to him. Not having heard anything from you up to the present—since sending you Weerth's letter—I, of course, am completely in the dark and am, moreover, still awaiting Willich's precious letters.[b] I have not seen *The Friend of the People* containing Schramm's statement[c]; the thing arrives here at very irregular intervals. Ask Schramm to send me a copy *sous bande*[d]; he should be able to get

[a] Harney - [b] See this volume, p. 314. - [c] C. Schramm, 'To the Editor of *The Friend of the People*', *The Friend of the People*, No. 14, 15 March 1851. - [d] in a wrapper

one easily enough if he has none to hand. It is good to hear that Landolphe has in the end turned out to be an arrant coward. I am still waiting for him to send me the famous letter.

I am dreadfully irritated by the stupidity of the arrangements here, which make regular and uninterrupted swotting virtually impossible. I have no access to one of the libraries, and in the other, public one, things of immediate interest to me are only to be found sporadically, and the hours are inconvenient, hence all I have to fall back on is the wretched Athenaeum, where nothing is to be had and whose library is in the most frightful disorder. For instance, I have again been vainly pursuing the Napier,[a] and it always takes 2-3 weeks before one can get hold of the next volume. In despair I have taken out Cicero's *Letters*,[b] which I have been using to study the *règne de* Louis Philippe and the corruption of the Directoire. A very jolly *chronique scandaleuse*. Cicero is really priceless; Professor Krug and Sebastian Seiler rolled into one. Since the world began the ranks of respectability have been able to boast no more infamous canaille than this fellow. I shall duly take excerpts from this charming little volume. No more for today.

Your
F. Engels

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## 157

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 17 March 1851

Dear Engels,

I haven't written for a week. For one thing, I too had influenza, out of elective affinity. For another, was *criblé de petites misères*,[c] all of which came to a head this fateful week.

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[a] W. F. P. Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France, from the Year 1807 to the Year 1814*. - [b] Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Epistolae*. - [c] riddled with minor ailments

Enclosed you will find the Chevalier de Willich's hilarious letters.[a]

Heinzen's disgusting rag[b] contains what purports to be a letter from Paris, concocted here in London, in which, I need hardly say, we two are attacked first, and then Rudolf Schramm, the deputy, because 'he did not scruple to fritter away his wife's money', and then the 'half-men Tausenau, Julius and Bucher'; finally, and with much bitterness, the great *Kinkel.* Heinzen will never, ever, forgive him for competing with him in the begging business. Praise is meted out only to the great Ruge and Struve. In this letter from Paris, Ruge lets it be said that he made a one-day excursion from Brighton to London. This scandal-mongering article derived from gossip in a private letter from Ruge and a private letter from Bamberger, i.e. two diametrically opposed accusations, thrown together and edited by Heinzen.

The great banquet, where Ruge performed the part of the 'Infinite Dullard'—Wolff[c] and Liebknecht heard him with their own ears—was not attended by deputies from either Berlin or Frankfurt.[d] They don't want a Ruge-Struve hegemony.[383] The R. Schramm, Count Reichenbach (the Frankfurt Reichenbach, not the party's beard),[e] and Oppenheim, Bucher clique and, finally, Julius off his own bat, have all resumed their intrigues against the deities of dullness. Of course for noble reasons. *Je vous dis, de la merde, la merde tout pure, toute cette canaille-là.*[f]

At the banquet Kinkel, who is publishing the scandalous allegations about us, adopted his best red morocco manner, to speak wistfully of conciliation, 'from the simple champion of the Constitution even unto the red republican.'

All the jackasses, while sighing for a republic, and Kinkel even on occasion for a red republic, paid the most abject homage to the English Constitution, a contradiction to which even the innocent *Morning Chronicle* deigned to draw their attention as being short on logic.

Nothing further about Landolphe. As befits an *homme d'honneur,*[g] he goes his way unruffled by the knowledge of being a *Grec*[h] unmasked.

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[a] See this volume, p. 314. - [b] *Deutsche Schnellpost* - [c] Ferdinand Wolff - [d] i.e. deputies of the Prussian National Assembly of 1848 and the All-German National Assembly of 1848-49 in Frankfurt am Main - [e] i.e. Oskar Reichenbach, not Eduard Reichenbach - [f] Shits, I tell you, shits pure and simple, all this canaille. - [g] man of honour - [h] Greek (here: cheat)

The Blanqui comedy was not yet over. Vidil, the *ancien capitaine,*[a] sent the *Patrie*[b] a statement in which he declared that his sense of honour and feeling for truth compelled him to make a statement to the effect that, in the original statement, L. Blanc, and all the others including himself, had been lying. The committee had consisted of 13 persons, not 6. All of them had been shown Blanqui's toast and all of them had discussed it. He had been among the 6. A few days later the noble Barthélemy, without having seen this letter, also sent a statement to the *Patrie*[c] saying that *he* had received the toast but had not informed the others; he thus reveals himself to be a threefold liar. Beneath this letter, the *Patrie* appended the remark that it would accept nothing more from these jackasses. Its introductory comment was as follows:

'Nous nous sommes demandés souvent—et la question est difficile à résoudre—qui l'emportait chez les démagogues, de la vantardise ou de la stupidité? Une quatrième lettre de Londres augmente encore notre perplexité à cet égard. Ils sont là nous ne savons combien de pauvres diables, tourmentés à tel point de la rage d'écrire et de voir leurs noms cités dans les journaux *réactionnaires,* qu'ils ne reculent pas même devant la perspective d'une confusion et d'une dépréciation sans borne. Peu leur importe la risée et l'indignation publiques: le 'Journal des Débats', 'l'Assemblée nationale' et la 'Patrie', insèreront leur prose; pour obtenir ce bonheur, rien ne coûte à la Démocratie cosmopolite etc. Nous accueillons donc au nom de la *commisération* littéraire, la lettre suivante du citoyen Barthélemy... C'est une nouvelle, et nous l'espérons bien, une dernière preuve à l'appui du trop célèbre toast Blanqui, qu'ils ont tous nié d'abord, et pour l'affirmation duquel ils se prennent maintenant aux cheveux.'[d]

Is that not SUPERB?

I received your POST OFFICE ORDER. If you pay such rates of

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[a] former captain - [b] *La Patrie,* No. 69, 10 March 1851. - [c] *La Patrie,* No. 71, 12 March 1851. On the statement of Blanqui and others see this volume, p. 313. - [d] 'We have often asked ourselves, and it is a difficult question to answer, whether the demagogues are notable more for their boastfulness or their stupidity. A fourth letter from London has increased our perplexity. There they are, we do not know how many poor wretches, who are so tormented by the longing to write and to see their names published in the *reactionary* press that they are undeterred even by the prospect of infinite humiliation and mortification. What do they care for the laughter and the indignation of the public—the *Journal des Débats,* the *Assemblée nationale* and the *Patrie* will publish their stylistic exercises; to achieve this no cost to the cause of cosmopolitan democracy can be too high.... In the name of literary *commiseration* we therefore include the following letter from "citizen" Barthélemy—it is a novel, and, we hope, the last proof of the authenticity of Blanqui's famous toast whose existence they first all denied and now fight among themselves for the right to acknowledge.' P. Mayer, [Comments on Barthélemy's letter,] *La Patrie,* No. 71, 12 March 1851.

interest in your business, either your profits or your losses must be vast.

Don't forget to write to Dronke. Galeer is dead. Hence enclosed to be sent to Th. Schuster in Frankfurt.

Your
K. Marx

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## 158

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Wednesday, 19 March 1851

Dear Marx,

The business of Blanqui's toast is coming on very nicely indeed. Vidil's statement[a] with regard to Louis Blanc is priceless—the fellow branded a common liar in the eyes of France and England. Barthélemy has got himself wonderfully embroiled.—There's part of your letter I don't understand: Vidil declares: 'The committee had consisted of 13 persons, not 6.... He had been among the 6.' Who are the 6? The signatories of the first statement or, perhaps, the faction which voted in favour of reading out Blanqui's toast?[384]

The tittle-tattle among the Germans also makes agreeable reading. I saw the account of the banquet in the *Daily News*[b]—since the thing was respectable it was an occasion which even Mr Mazzini felt able to attend without embarrassment. 'General Haug IN THE CHAIR!' That fellow shows promise of becoming a caricature of *Général* Dubourg as he was in 1830. To judge by the advertisement in *The Times*, Göhringer's Golden Star TAVERN is now very RESPECTABLE. Since I must collect together all the tittle-tattle, it might not be a bad idea to send out a patrol to

[a] *La Patrie*, No. 69, 10 March 1851. - [b] The banquet held on 13 March 1851 to celebrate the anniversary of the revolution in Vienna on 13 March 1848 (*The Daily News*, 14 March 1851).

reconnoitre there—*il s'en trouvera bien un qui voudra mettre son nez dans cette merde-là, même au risque d'être mis à la porte.*[a]

LAST—BUT NOT LEAST—the Willichiana[b] did a great deal to enliven my breakfast this morning. What a numskull! How he could regard Schramm's[c] letter as an answer to his first one, I really cannot conceive. But the chance of a military dictatorship in the Rhine province, without a press to plague him, *sapristi,*[d] that would be quite enough to turn the dense oaf's head. *Capitaine d'armes*[e] and sergeant, no more nor less! Social revolution by means of providing paupers' victuals for *Landwehr*[385] families; statistics reduced to a register of 'rations, livestock, vehicles, and troops'! This plan for revolution knocks into a cocked hat the earlier one for conquering Germany with 5,000 men. If *that* doesn't make sense to the *Landwehr,* one can only despair of humankind. 'I would take a few men with me and *call upon* others'—and do you know what the fellow's intention was? 'Citizen Karl Marx is called upon to present himself in Cologne within 48 hours and to take charge of public finance and social reforms under the supervision and control of Citizen Gebert. Failure to comply with this order and any contrariness or argument, as also unseemly jokes, will be punishable with death. Citizen Marx will be provided with a guard of one corporal and six men.'—And now, hearken to what this fellow says of Schapper: '*Nous ne voulons plus de jouisseurs!*'[f] So even the spartan POT HALF AND HALF and the fat pig's unresisting inamorata count for sybaritism with this self-sufficient sergeant who tipples gratis. Indeed, who knows whether, if Cologne were to be besieged, the fat pig would not imitate the conduct of the noble Palafox at Saragossa who, throughout the whole of the second (the real) siege of Saragossa,[386] never put in an appearance because, together with 3-4 dissolute fellows and a crowd of whores, he was busying himself among the wine barrels in the bomb-proof cellar of a convent, and didn't show his nose until the time came to conclude the capitulation.

But to what is Willich replying in the third, jubilant letter which betrays a certainty of victory and a lack of nothing but funds? Had Schramm written him a second one, or had Becker replied to Willich's 2nd letter? *Explique-moi cela*[g] and let me know whether you need the things back yet; I'd like to keep them here for the present so that I can occasionally make what notes I want.

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[a] there's sure to be someone prepared to nose about in that muck, even at the risk of being thrown out - [b] i.e. Willich's letters to Hermann Becker, see this volume, p. 314. - [c] Conrad Schramm - [d] great heavens - [e] Master-at-arms - [f] We will no longer tolerate sybarites. - [g] Explain that to me

Speculation in railways is again reaching dazzling heights—since 1 January most shares have risen by 40 per cent, and the worst ones more than any. *Ça promet!*[a]

Your
F. Engels

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## 159

## MARX TO ENGELS[387]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, 22 March 1851]

Dear Engels,

Above you will find the splendid document which I got Pieper to copy out for you. On the pretext of having guaranteed Mazzini's loan, Ruge is calling for money to be converted into 'public opinion'. Among the 'Prussians' here, Bucher, Elsner, Zimmermann, etc., there is great indignation at these 'vigorous provisionals'.

As for the 'six' who have caused you so much TROUBLE,[b] those 6 were Landolphe and Blanc, Willich and Schapper, Barthélemy and Vidil, in a word, the 6 matadors; Hungarians, Poles, etc., the unconsulted mob, did not figure.

In the 3rd letter Willich is replying to nothing but the expression of his own thoughts. *N'a reçu ni lettre ni rien de la part des Becker et des Schramm.*[c] Today will be an agreeable day for the lad. About a fortnight ago Wolff[d] encountered him in a whores' coffee house at 2 o'clock in the morning and loudly exclaimed: 'What? The virtuous Willich here?' Whereupon the virtuous one sloped off.

The actual CONTRIVER of the German central DODGE[e] is the tireless,

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[a] That's promising! - [b] See this volume, p. 319. - [c] Has received neither letter nor anything else from the Beckers and the Schramms. - [d] Ferdinand Wolff - [e] the Committee for German Affairs

leathery Struve, *bunion specialist* and herbivore. All the fellow's up to is the old business of using cranioscopy, morality and suchlike trivialities to draw attention to himself. A quack, and one with a hoarse, laryngitical voice to boot. For the past 25 years the jackass has been writing a 'democratic political encyclopaedia'[a] and a 'democratic universal history',[388] the first being nothing more than Welcker-Rotteck[b] translated into Struvese, the second, Rotteck[c] democratically paraphrased. And Ruge has sunk so low that only the compassion of the police prevented him from printing this nonsense in Germany.

That dim-witted Kinkel is good at ridding the philistines of their illusions. No better means of unmasking this jackass than for him to fall into the hands of such *highly experienced harlequins* as Struve and Ruge. In that company, at any rate, he'll lose his lion's skin.

Your
K. Marx

A few days ago Jones came to see me and, especially in view of the latest revelations, is congratulating himself on having been saved by me from taking part in the banquet.

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## 160

## MARX TO ENGELS[43]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 31 March 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

While you busy yourself with military history, I am conducting a little campaign in which I am likely to be vanquished BY AND BY,

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[a] G. Struve, *Grundzüge der Staatswissenschaft*, Bd. 1-4. - [b] K. Rotteck and K. Welcker, *Das Staats-Lexikon*. - [c] K. Rotteck, *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte für alle Stände*.

and from which neither Napoleon nor even Willich—the communist Cromwell—would have been able to extricate themselves.

You should know that I had to pay £31.10 shillings to old Bamberger[a] on 23 March, and £10 to the Jew, Stiebel, on the sixteenth, all on current bills. I first got Jenny to ask my mother-in-law[b] outright. The answer to this was that Mr Edgar[c] had been sent back to Mexico with the remainder of *Jenny's money,* and I couldn't extract a *single* centime.

Then I wrote to my mother, threatening to draw bills on her and, in case of non-payment, to go to Prussia and get myself locked up. I had really intended to take the latter course if such should be the case, but this device ceased to be feasible from the moment the jackasses began to fill the press with their jeremiads about the workers deserting me, my declining popularity and the like. As it was, the thing would have looked like a piece of political histrionics, a more or less deliberate imitation of Jesus Christ-Kinkel. The time-limit I set my mater was 20 March.

On 10 March she wrote and told me they intended to write to our relations; on 18 March she wrote to say the relations had *not* written which was intended to mean the matter was concluded. I at once replied, saying that I stood by my first letter.[389]

On 16 March, with Pieper's help, I paid Stiebel his £10. On 23 March, after I had made a number of fruitless moves, the bill for old Bamberger was inevitably protested. I had a frightful scene with the old man who, moreover, was frightfully abusive about me to the worthy Seiler. Through his BANKER in Trier the idiot had asked for information about me from the banker, Lautz. This fellow, my mater's banker and my personal enemy, naturally wrote and told him the most absurd things about me and, on top of that, thoroughly stirred up my mater against me.

As regards old Bamberger, I had no alternative but to make out two bills for him, one on him in London to run for 4 weeks from 24 March, the other, payable in Trier in 3 weeks, on my mater in order to cover the first. I at once advised my mater of this. Today, at the same time as your letter, one arrived from my mater in which, full of moral indignation, she addresses me in the most *insolent* terms, declaring *positivement* that she will protest any bill I draw on her.

---

[a] Simon Bamberger - [b] Caroline von Westphalen - [c] Edgar von Westphalen

So when 21 April comes round I shall have to expect the very worst from a thoroughly incensed old Simon Bamberger.

At the same time my wife was brought to bed on 28 March.[a] Though the confinement was an easy one, she is now very ill in bed, the causes being domestic rather than physical. And thereby I have *verbalement*[b] not a FARTHING in the house, so that tradesmen's bills—butcher's, baker's AND SO FORTH—keep mounting up.

In 7 or 8 days' time, I shall have a copy of the will from Scotland.[390] If anything's to be made of it, little Bamberger[c] is the one to do so, if only in his own interest. But I can't rely on it.

You will admit that this is a pretty kettle of fish and that I am up to my neck in petty-bourgeois muck. And at the same time one is also said to have exploited the workers! and to aspire to dictatorship! *Quelle horreur!*[d]

*Mais ce n'est pas tout.*[e] The manufacturer who, in Brussels, loaned me money from Trier, is dunning me for it because his iron-works are doing badly. *Tant pis pour lui.*[f] I can't do as he asks.

But finally, to give the matter a tragi-comic turn, there is in addition a *mystère* which I will now reveal to you *en très peu de mots.*[g] However, I've just been interrupted and must go and help nurse my wife. The rest, then, in which you also figure, in my next.

Your
K. M.

Apropos, how do merchants, manufacturers, etc., account for the portion of their income which they themselves consume? Is this money too fetched from the BANKER or how is it arranged? I'd be glad to have your answer to this.

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[a] Jenny Marx gave birth to a daughter Franziska on that day. - [b] literally - [c] Louis Bamberger - [d] How terrible! - [e] But that's not all. - [f] So much the worse for him. - [g] in a very few words

# 161

## MARX TO ENGELS[220]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 April[a] 1851

Dear Engels,

I return herewith the cover of the letter I received from you today. Might it have been opened by Pitt Ermen? You must *éclaircir*[b] this matter.

Your post office order arrived most opportunely. And this time celerity has increased the capital tenfold, like *Signore* Proudhon's railway revenues.[391]

As you can imagine, I'm not being idle. And with the *avances*[c] you are making, I hope to collect what is wanting from various parts of the world.

I'm not writing to you about the *mystère* since, *coûte que coûte,*[d] I shall be coming in any case to see you at the end of April. I must get away from here for a week.[392]

The worst of it is that I now suddenly find myself hampered in my work at the library. I am so far advanced that I will have finished with the whole economic stuff in 5 weeks' time. *Et cela fait,*[e] I shall complete the political economy at home and apply myself to another branch of learning at the Museum.[f] *Ça commence à m'ennuyer. Au fond,*[g] this science has made no progress since A. Smith and D. Ricardo, however much has been done in the way of individual research, often extremely discerning.

Send me an answer to the question I put to you in my last letter.

As you are now devoting yourself to military science, couldn't you embark on a fresh study of the Hungarian campaigns with the help of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* Palmerston's Blue Book,[h] etc.? *Ça serait très utile.*[i] Sooner or later I shall be bringing out 2 volumes of 60 sheets, and that would fit in splendidly.[393] If you wish to find out any details about intrigues, battles, personalities, all you have to do is send me the inquiries in unsealed letters addressed to Baroness von Beck. I have established contact with her. She was a spy for Kossuth. And she's a veritable chronicler of

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[a] The original has March. - [b] clear up - [c] advance payments - [d] cost what it may - [e] And having done that - [f] British Museum - [g] It's beginning to bore me. Basically - [h] 'Correspondence Relative to the Affairs of Hungary 1847-49' - [i] It would be most useful.

the Hungarian muck. *Il faut l'exploiter.*[a] She's too stupid to be able to conceal the truth. I have done some experiments to find out.

My wife, alas, has been delivered of a girl,[b] and not a *garçon.*[c] And, what is worse, she's very poorly.

Enclosed a letter from Daniels, to whom I wrote at length about his *Physiologie.*[d] What little sense there is in his letter is a reflection of my own to him.[394] At any rate let me have the scrawl back and *tell me what you think of it.*

Your
K. M.

You would, by the way, oblige me if, *dans les circonstances actuelles,*[e] you wrote to me as often as possible. As you know, my acquaintanceship here is confined *plus ou moins*[f] to stupid youngsters.

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## 162

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 3 April [1851]

Dear Marx,

The business of my opened letter is strange indeed. It could only have been opened by our clerk in the office and I doubt whether he possesses the nerve; besides, he could only have done it in old Hill's absence and I don't believe the latter left the office for as much as a second. None of the Ermens was in town. It is, of course, impossible to get to the bottom of the matter as there would seem to be a strong possibility—*vu*[g] questions in Parliament

[a] She must be exploited. - [b] Franziska - [c] boy - [d] R. Daniels' manuscript 'Mikrokosmos. Entwurf einer physiologischen Anthropologie'. - [e] in the present circumstances - [f] more or less - [g] in view of

concerning refugees—that it actually happened at the post office. I had already noticed that the clerk, who is more a servant of Ermen Brothers than of Ermen and Engels, had been regarding me with some suspicion of late, but from there to tampering with letters *il y a loin encore.*[a] In any case I shall know how to forestall that sort of thing in future. Even if the fool actually read the letter, it would be of no great moment; for if the fellow ever tried to make use of the information, e.g. if my old man were to come here, it would so compromise him that he would at once get the sack. Anyhow, as I have said, I doubt whether he possesses the nerve.

As to the question raised in your last letter but one, it is not entirely clear. However, I think the following might suffice.

In commerce the merchant as a firm, as a producer of profits, and the same merchant as a consumer are two entirely different people who confront one another as antagonists. The merchant as a firm means capital account and/or profit and loss account. The merchant as a guzzler, toper, householder and procreator means household expense account. Hence the capital account debits the household expense account with every centime that makes its way from the commercial to the private purse and, since the household expense account shows only a debit but no credit and is thus one of the firm's worst debtors, the total debit standing to the household expense account at the end of the year is pure loss and is written off the profit. In the balance sheet, however, and in calculating the percentage of profit, the sum expended for housekeeping is usually regarded as being still in hand, as part of the profit; e.g. if, on a capital of 100,000 talers, 10,000 talers are earned but 5,000 frittered away, it is calculated that a profit of 10 per cent has been made and, when everything has been correctly entered, the capital account in the following year figures with a debit of 105,000 talers. The actual procedure is rather more complicated than I have described here, in that the capital account and the household expense account seldom come in contact save at the end of the year, and the household expense account generally figures as a debtor to the cash account, which serves as broker; but in the end this is what it amounts to.

Where there are several partners, the matter is very simple. E.g. A has 50,000 talers in the business and B likewise 50,000; they make a profit of 10,000 talers and each spends 2,500 talers. So at

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[a] it's still a far cry

the end of the year the accounts appear as follows—in single entry book-keeping and omitting the imaginary accounts:

| | |
|---|---|
| A Credit with A & B—capital invested | 50,000 talers |
| A " " " —share of profit | 5,000 " |
| | 55,000 talers |
| Debit with A & B—for cash | 2,500 " |
| A Credit for the following year | 52,500 talers |

Similarly B. Yet the firm continues to calculate that it has made 10 per cent profit. In a word: the merchants, when calculating the percentage of profit, ignore the partners' living expenses, whereas they allow for them in calculating the increase in capital resulting from the profit.

I'd be happy enough to write about the Hungarian campaign—or better still, if that were possible, about the campaigns of 1848/50 as a whole—if only all the sources were available. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* could only serve for comparison with the Austrian bulletins, and you know how much these leave to be desired. I should require at least 10-12 works on this campaign alone, and even then wouldn't have what I needed most—Kossuth's *Közlöny* (*Moniteur*). There's no easier way to make an ass of oneself than by trying to argue about military history without having at one's finger-tips all the facts concerning strength, provisioning, munitions, etc. That may be allright for a newspaper when all journals are equally ill-informed and reduced to drawing correct inferences from the few data at their disposal. But I don't believe that as yet sufficient material on the Hungarian war is available to the public to enable one to say *post festum* of every crucial occasion: 'Here such and such ought to have been done, and here what was done was right, even though the outcome might seem to belie it.' Who, for instance, will provide me with data on the establishment of the Austrian and Hungarian armies and of the various corps on the eve of every battle and of every important movement? For that Kossuth's and Görgey's memoirs would have to be published first, and an authentic version of the battle and campaign plans submitted by Dembinski be available. However, even with the existing material, much could be elucidated and perhaps quite an interesting article produced. What is already clear is that, at the beginning of 1849, it was the winter alone which saved the Hungarian insurrection, as it did the

Polish in 1830, and the Russian Empire in 1812.[a] Hungary, Poland and Russia are the only countries in Europe where invasion is impossible in winter. But it's always fatal when an insurrection is saved merely by the bottomless mud which surrounds it. If the business between Austria and Hungary had come to a head in May instead of in December, a Hungarian army would never have been organised and the whole mess would have ended up like Baden, *ni plus ni moins.*[b] The more I mug up on war, the greater my contempt for heroism—a fatuous expression, heroism, and never heard on the lips of a proper soldier. When Napoleon was not haranguing or making proclamations but speaking COOLLY he never spoke of *glorieux courage indomptable,*[c] etc., but would say at most, *'il s'est bien battu'.*[d]

Incidentally, should a revolution break out in France next year, there can be no doubt that the Holy Alliance[271] will advance *at least* as far as the gates of Paris. And, despite the remarkable attainments and rare energy of our French revolutionaries, it still remains highly questionable whether the forts and the enceinte of Paris are so much as armed and provisioned. But even if 2 forts are taken, e.g. St Denis and the next one to the east, it will be all to hell with Paris and the Revolution, *jusqu'à nouvel ordre.*[e] Soon I shall explain this to you exactly in military terms,[f] together with the only countermeasure that might at least temper the invasion: the occupation of the Belgian fortresses by the French, and of those on the Rhine by means of a highly problematic insurrectional *coup de main.*

I think you'll enjoy the following joke about the nature of your Prussian foot-sloggers which throws light on the later defeat at Jena,[395] etc. So inspired was Prussian General Bülow, of the same school as old Fritz,[g] father or uncle to the later Bülow of 1813, by the apparently reckless but *au fond*[h] exceedingly sure blows struck by Napoleon at Marengo,[396] that he arrived at the following insight: 1) To lay down a system of warfare based on the absurd for the purpose of 'confounding' the enemy with one folly after another and, 2) to provide the infantry, not with bayonets, but with lances as in the Thirty Years' War![397] In order to beat Napoleon, one does away with gun-powder, *qu'en dis-tu?*[i]

I'm delighted that, despite everything, you should be coming

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[a] i.e., during Napoleon's invasion - [b] no more nor less - [c] glorious and undaunted courage - [d] he fought well - [e] until further orders - [f] F. Engels, 'Conditions and Prospects of a War of the Holy Alliance against France in 1852'. - [g] Frederick II - [h] at bottom - [i] what do you say to that?

here at the end of the month. But you must make use of the opportunity to bring me the complete run of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, from which I shall compile dossiers on all the German democratic jackasses and the French ones likewise—a task that must in any case be done before we again find ourselves precipitated into some kind of mess. It would be good if for this purpose the worthy Liebknecht, *qui est assez bon pour cela*,[a] could go to the Museum[b] and look up details of the voting in the Berlin, Frankfurt and Vienna assemblies, which must be there (in stenographic records), and make extracts for the whole of the Left.

You know, I haven't read Daniels' conclusion.[c] That the fellow should insist on 'concepts' as mediating between human beings, etc., is explicable; nor will you ever persuade one who writes about physiology that it is not. In the final count he can always argue that, every time an actual fact affects men, it provokes concepts in them, and hence that the reaction to this fact, though in the second instance a consequence of the fact, is, in the first instance, a consequence of the concept. Of course there is no objection to this formal logic, and it all really depends on the manner, which I do not know, of its presentation in the manuscript.[d] I think it would be best to write and tell him that, knowing now to what misinterpretations certain sections are open, he should so alter them that his 'true' opinion plainly emerges. That is all you can do, unless you yourself rewrite the more questionable passages of the manuscript, which is not feasible either.

Let me know how your wife is, and give her my warm regards.

I'm glad that you've at long last finished with political economy. The thing has really been dragging on far too long, and so long as you have in front of you an unread book which you believe to be important, you won't be able to settle down to writing.

What are the prospects of finding a publisher for the two volumes of 60 sheets you have in mind? If that turns out ALL RIGHT, we might be able to inveigle the fellow into getting the necessary material for the Hungarian article—I'd let him know about it—the cost to be deducted later, *au besoin*,[e] from the fee. In that case I should also need a *very good* special map of Hungary and Transylvania, if possible battle-plans which, to the best of my knowledge, are not contained in existing works—and the map

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[a] who is good enough for that - [b] British Museum - [c] See this volume, p. 326. - [d] R. Daniels' manuscript 'Mikrokosmos. Entwurf einer physiologischen Anthropologie'. - [e] if need be

alone could cost some 15-20 talers. I would arrange for Weydemeyer to look for one. Apropos, do you know his address? I'd like to ask him about the military ABC books on organisation and tactics, since I can't get that sort of stuff here. You might also see if you can get any books on Hungary out of the Beck woman, or else through her. I shall also need the Decker, which you still have.[a]

Your
F. E.

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## 163

## MARX TO HERMANN BECKER[357]

### IN COLOGNE

[London,] 9 April 1851

Dear Becker,

Herewith the jolly scribble from the School of Kinkel. 15 shillings have accumulated here for the League.[b] 10 shillings are still outstanding, having been promised but not yet collected. I shall proceed in the manner you indicate. So debit me with £1. For, owing to the reduced circumstances of the member who should pay it, five shillings cannot be collected....

First published in *Anklageschrift gegen P. G. Roeser, J. H. G. Bürgers, P. Nothjung, W. J. Reiff, H. H. Becker, R. Daniels, C. W. Otto, A. Jacobi, J. J. Klein, F. Freiligrath*, Cologne, 1852

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[a] C. von Decker, *La Petite guerre, ou Traité des opérations secondaires de la guerre* (see this volume, pp. 405-06). - [b] Communist League

# 164

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 11 April 1851

Dear Marx,

I thought that by today I would at last have been done with my grand strategical treatise.[a] Partly because of interruptions, partly through having to look up details, and partly because the thing is turning out longer than I thought, I shall hardly finish it before the small hours. It is, by the way, wholly UNFIT for publication, is for PRIVATE INFORMATION only, and a kind of exercise for me.

I am gradually gaining a clearer conception of Wellington. A self-willed, tough, obstinate Englishman, with all the *bon sens*,[b] all the resourcefulness of his nation; slow in his deliberations, cautious, never counting on a lucky chance despite his most colossal luck; he would be a genius if COMMON SENSE were not incapable of rising to the heights of genius. All his things are exemplary, not one of them masterly.[c] A general like him is as if created for the English army where every soldier, every second lieutenant, is a miniature Wellington in his own sphere. And he knows his army, its self-willed, DEFENSIVE DOGGEDNESS, which every Englishman brings with him from the boxing ring, and which enables it, after eight hours of strenuous defensive fighting that would bring any other army to its knees, to launch yet another formidable attack in which lack of élan is compensated by uniformity and steadiness. The defensive battle of Waterloo,[277] until the Prussians arrived, would have been too much for any army not having a nucleus of 35,000 Englishmen.

During the Peninsular War, incidentally, Wellington showed greater insight into Napoleon's military art than those nations upon whose backs Napoleon left the imprint of the superiority of his military art. Whereas the Austrians simply became confused, and the Prussians, because their judgment *n'y voyait que du feu*,[d] declared imbecility and genius to be identical, Wellington showed a measure of finesse and avoided the blunders committed by the Austrians and Prussians. He never imitated Napoleon's man-

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[a] F. Engels, 'Conditions and Prospects of a War of the Holy Alliance against France in 1852'. - [b] common sense - [c] A pun on the words *musterhaft* (exemplary) and *meisterhaft* (masterly). - [d] could not understand it

oeuvres, but made it exceedingly difficult for the French to employ their manoeuvres against himself. He never made a single mistake, unless compelled by political considerations; on the other hand I have never discovered the least evidence of his having ever betrayed so much as a spark of genius. Napier himself[a] says of him that, on occasions when a stroke of genius would have been decisive, no such thing ever entered his mind. So far as I can learn, he never knew how to exploit such an opportunity. He is great in his own way, as great, that is, as it is possible to be without ceasing to be mediocre. He has all the qualities of the soldier, all of them equally developed and in remarkable harmony one with the other; but it is precisely this harmony which prevents any one individual quality from evolving to the point of genius. *Tel soldat, tel politique.*[b] Peel, his political bosom friend, is to some extent his replica. Both represent a Toryism which has enough *bon sens* decently to surrender one position after another and to merge with the bourgeoisie. It is the retreat to Torres Vedras.[398] *Voilà* Wellington.

Your
F. E.

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## 165

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 April 1851

Dear Engels,

You have not had a letter and are getting no more than these few lines now, because FROM DAY TO DAY I have been awaiting your letter—the one you promised. Enclosed a letter from Lupus. I wrote to him 4 days ago, but didn't answer the questions addressed to you.[399]

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[a] W. F. P. Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula...* - [b] As the soldier is, so are his politics.

A letter from a Fischer in America whom I don't know. In the meantime I have asked Liebknecht to write to him.

I shall send you a letter from Rothacker in my next. That jackass, too, is an editor in America. From his letter it transpires that, from the extreme FAR WEST to the east we are being loudly inveighed against, both in speech and in print. In his rag Weitling published an article said to be from Paris but in fact by Willich, attacking me and you.[a] Schnauffer, on the other hand, has attacked the great Willich.

As for *Struve,* no sooner had he made himself answerable for the 10 millions, than he distributed a leaflet in the City begging for money to help him emigrate to America, together with Amalia.[b] In this he was successful. Last Friday he pushed off, still with Amalia.

Willich, with Göhringer for mentor, is said to have become very devoted to the TRICKER. Incidentally, for a fortnight after receiving the latest reply from pseudo-Becker, enclosing the toast, he suffered from a bilious fever. For 2 weeks never left the chapel, i.e. the barracks. And on his return to the Windmill,[331] he brought up for discussion the question of the toast and the introductory comment,[c] presumably so as to equip himself with a *testimonium paupertatis.*[d]

Schapper has framed a constitution for England since, after mature consideration and lengthy discussion in that same Windmill, they decided that England had no written constitution and must therefore be given one. And Schapper-Gebert will provide her with this constitution. It's already written.

Schimmelpfennig has been travelling round Germany and has everywhere been busily engaged in intrigues against us, in the common interest of Willich-Schapper, Ruge-Kinkel, Becker[e]-Sigel. Especially at the seats of Kinkel-mania, and more particularly in Westphalia, Osnabrück, Bielefeld, etc., where they've never been well-disposed towards us, there is no end to the tittle-tattle.

Your

K. M.

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[a] 'Paris, 2. Januar 1851', *Die Republik der Arbeiter,* No. 2, February 1851. - [b] Amalie Struve - [c] See K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Introduction to the Leaflet of L. A. Blanqui's Toast Sent to the Refugee Committee'. - [d] certificate of poverty - [e] Johann Philipp Becker

# 166

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, Tuesday, 15 April [1851]

Dear Marx,

Herewith POST OFFICE ORDER for £5.

If your wife's state of health and your other circumstances permit, come up the day after tomorrow, Thursday.[392] There are three trains for you to choose from: 1. at half past six in the morning, arriving here at 2 o'clock (has 2nd class); 2. the PARLIAMENTARY TRAIN[400] at seven in the morning (2nd and 3rd class), arriving at half past six in the evening; 3. at 12 o'clock midday, arriving at 9 in the evening (2nd class). Then, from Friday to Monday we could make a tour of the neighbourhood.

Anyway, write and tell me by return whether you're coming and by which train; I shall then be at the station. If you can't come up on Thursday, although *sous beaucoup de rapports*[a] that would be preferable, then come up on Friday. At any rate, let me know at once how and when.

All else I'll leave for verbal discussion, since I'd better go and get the POST OFFICE ORDER straight away. My regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

Once again the Post Office was too crowded—enclosed half a five-pound note—the other half by the next post.

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[a] in many respects

# 167

# ENGELS TO MARX

## IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 1 May 1851

Dear Marx,

Within a few days, a week at the most, you will receive another £5—I'd have sent it today, had I not just had to pay out £10 in cash.

For the past few days I have been vainly searching for the letters from Lupus[a] and Dronke. You must have taken them both with you.[401] If you find them, send them to me by return and I shall then write at once. Nor have I been able to find Fischer's letter from New Orleans.

*Ne nous plaignons pas trop de la mauvaise queue.*[b] I happen to have Savary's memoirs[c] at home. Heaven knows, Napoleon was similarly afflicted. Savary himself providing a splendid example. Nothing could be more mediocre than this fellow. Just as some people think they're UP TO THE MARK, yet don't even understand the *Communist Manifesto*,[d] so too Savary imagines that he's got the measure of Napoleon, that he's one of the few elect who can comprehend the full greatness of the fellow, and yet he has failed to comprehend one single campaign- or battle-plan. When he wrote these memoirs, virtually no proper account of these campaigns had been written and, since the thing's an apologia both for Napoleon and for himself, he would certainly not have failed to do his best in this respect; instead, we find nothing but a few general platitudes and a disconnected jumble of detail as seen through the eyes of a subordinate. All the fellow knows about Austerlitz,[402] for instance, is that the enemy was surprised by a flanking march, and was split up into as many fragments as there were French columns—a word-for-word copy of Napoleon's bulletin. But how it happened, he has no idea. For the rest, a vast amount of Empire and Consulate tittle-tattle; a real prize *crapaud*,[e]

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[a] Wilhelm Wolff (see this volume, p. 333) - [b] Let us not complain too much about our poor following. - [c] A.-J.-M.-R. Savary, *Mémoires du duc de Rovigo*... - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - [e] philistine

boastful, mendacious, servile, positively revelling in the noble activities of the policeman, both as regards the pleasures of spying and the delight in wielding authority when making an arrest; at the same time lending himself to all manner of tomfooleries and intrigues, yet so mediocre, so obsequious and so blinkered that he had always to be kept on a short rein and issued with definite orders. *Enfin,*[a] a far from impressive character, *au fond,*[b] neither better nor worse, neither more reliable nor more shady than certain *amici,*[c] and yet in course of time Napoleon made a passable machine of him, a Duke of Rovigo and a courtier who did him no discredit with the Tsar of Russia.[d] But indeed fellows such as these have to be bought, and that means above all money and power.

Savary's memoirs, which were pretty well known in France, have, by the way, been copied by the worthy Thiers[e] with an effrontery which, in terms of plagiarism, yields nothing to that of the English economists, and this not only where tittle-tattle is concerned. Here and there he also uses Mr Savary as his main source on questions of administration, etc., etc.

To go by *The Times,* things must be pretty terrible in London now that the Tatars, French, Russians and other barbarians have taken complete possession of it. And, withal, the prospect of brigades of informers arriving from all parts of the world, and even Prussian gendarmes, not to speak of German democratic friends *à la* Otterberg, who'll be turning up in June to see the Great Exhibition[f] and the great men. A fine how-d'ye-do. If you're not careful, you'll have foisted upon you people, with or without letters of introduction, who will demand to be shown Ledru, Mazzini, L. Blanc and Caussidière and who, once back in Germany, will grumble furiously because you failed to procure them an invitation to dinner with Feargus O'Connor. There'll be people coming to you and saying: 'Mr Marx?—Delighted—You'll have heard of me, I'm Neuhaus, leader of the Thuringian movement!'

You probably read about the fracas in the Cologne City Council over Deputy Burgomaster Schenk's address to the Prince of Prussia,[g] and also about the latter's insolent speech.[403] 'The press is bad, the press in Cologne has got to improve!'[h] *Ce pauvre*[i] Brüggemann—he, of course, is seizing on the occasion to write a

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[a] In brief - [b] at bottom - [c] friends - [d] Alexander I - [e] A. Thiers, *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire.* - [f] in London in 1851 - [g] Wilhelm I - [h] 'Köln, 24. April', *Kölnische Zeitung,* No. 99, second edition, 25 April 1851. - [i] poor

lot of twaddle such as, in all modesty and with the best intentions, one used to take the immense liberty of writing under the censorship. But now 'our Stupp' is burgomaster into the bargain, and the greatest man in Cologne, while your brother-in-law[a] is confiscating books with praiseworthy zeal. My only fear is that *en Brutus prusso-bureaucrate*[b] he will soon be laying violent hands on your stuff, and that might put an unwelcome stop to the payment of fees. This noble fellow's other brother-in-law, what-you-may-call-him Florencourt, has, as announced in the German papers, betaken himself *tambour battant et mèche allumée*[c] to the bosom of the Catholic Church. Your family is at least interesting, whereas in mine it's I alone who have to cut the capers.

Apropos, you'd do me a very great favour if you would arrange for Daniels, or anyone else you think suitable in Cologne, to send me a letter (direct here and so with a Cologne postmark) as soon as possible, in which he acknowledges receipt of two five-pound notes, as well as one sent previously, that is, £15 in all, adding that he paid this money to specific individuals in accordance with my instructions, and that my accounts with various people in Cologne are settled in full. He could throw in a few casual remarks, greetings, etc., so that the letter doesn't look contrived. For I foresee a discussion about the monies that have been raised, and hence must have a document which will help me if necessary to prove that I have paid debts in Cologne. The sooner I have the letter the better. How you broach the matter I leave entirely to you, and I would rather it was you who procured the document for me, since the business we two transact between us concerns nobody else. For all I care, you can write and say that it was women who got me into debt, or that, for League purposes, I once stood security for this sum and have now been compelled to pay up, or anything else you choose—*n'importe.*[d] The letter will, by the way, be returned promptly in June to the writer. The main thing is the Cologne postmark, date-stamped sometime in the first half of May.

How goes it with your household? My regards to your wife and children, and write soon.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Ferdinand von Westphalen - [b] like a Prusso-bureaucratic Brutus - [c] with drums beating and flags flying - [d] no matter

I have just found the letters from Lupus and Fischer—but I can't find the one from Dronke. I shall write to Lupus today.[a] When you write to Cologne, it would be a good idea to press them for Lupus' fare—you know what these Cologne people[b] are!

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## ENGELS TO WILHELM WOLFF

### IN ZURICH

[Manchester, 1 May 1851]

Dear Lupus,

From the date on your letter which Marx brought me when he visited me here in Manchester a few days ago, I am horrified to see that it is nearly a month old. However Marx tells me that he wrote to you at once.[c]

As to your American plans,[404] dismiss them from your mind. They are superfluous and you'll find something in London straight away, since you know English and there is a demand for people as well-grounded as yourself in ancient languages, especially if you have your testimonials with you. After all, quite insignificant persons have been given the most excellent positions. The American journal[d] affair is nothing but humbug; do you imagine that if there were anything in it, the fellow[e] would write to Europe for an editor and wait so long? Who knows what is really the case and what has happened in the meantime? You might have to wait till doomsday before being advanced the money for your trip. Moreover at best the thing isn't such as to warrant your going to Chicago on the strength of it; 4 dol-

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[a] See this volume, pp. 339-41. - [b] i.e. members of the Central Authority of the Communist League in Cologne - [c] See this volume, p. 333. - [d] *Illinois Staats-Zeitung* - [e] Bernhard Höffgen

lars a week is less than the lowliest wood-cutter's daily wage, and, on top of that, one week's notice, which is very general there!

[...] I hope that you'll have it by now and, as soon as it is in your possession, pack your bags, obtain a passport to London and up anchor. I see that newspapers on the Continent are implying that the British Government are not admitting any more refugees. Stuff! Don't let anything put you off, not even, say, a directive from the police that you must have a visa from the British Ambassador in Berne. You need nothing of the kind. All you need is a visa enabling you to cross France, i.e. from the French Embassy, which the Swiss will procure for you. You simply pass through the country and cross over here. Even should the French—and they're quite capable of this—direct you to Le Havre and thence to America, all you have to do at Le Havre is board the steamer for Southampton or London. You know that no one is ever stopped at a port of entry here, and despite all the empty chatter in the reactionary press, I hope to see you in London for the Exhibition.[a] As I have told you, don't let anything put you off but, whatever happens, insist on going to London. Should you experience difficulties over transit with the French Government, and if funds permit, it might even be preferable to take the route I took[405] [...] write Lorenzo Chiozza [...] very nice letter saying you have been given his address by a compatriot of his, and would be much obliged if he would advise you whether any vessels and which, bound for England, are lying there (sailing vessels, there are also steamers) and approximately when they are due to sail. Ask him, too, for the names of the captains. Then you can either communicate with these captains by letter (addressed to them aboard their vessels), or go to them direct. My passage, including food, cost me six pounds (150 French fr.). You might get one cheaper. The trip to Genoa isn't expensive provided you do as much as possible of the journey to Turin on foot—up to that point the country is wonderful—via Geneva and Mont Cenis or, more direct, via the Great St Bernhard (Martigny-Ivrea). From Turin you have the railway almost to the foot of the Apennines. Or by footpath (even more direct) via the Reuss Valley, the Furka, the Simplon, straight to Alessandria. These are all very beautiful trips, the weather is now splendid for a sea voyage (easterlies

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[a] Great Exhibition in 1851

predominating), and the Mediterranean passage most diverting. If possible an English vessel. In my opinion the whole thing could be done on 250 fr., certainly on 300. But whether the people in Cologne[a] will be able to manage this is debatable. But in any case you must get to England. I am on the point of writing to Marx, asking him to write once more to Cologne about the money[b]; if you haven't got it yet, it could do no harm if you, too, were to write again to Daniels or Bürgers.

As regards the fares from England to New York, they are devilish high—'tween-deck passengers often come off very badly, one such case being still before Parliament—1st class cabin usually costs £15-20; this we discovered when we ourselves were proposing to press on further.[406] 2nd class on the Southampton steamers is good and cheap; there are also a few screw-steamers aboard which you could travel 2nd class quickly and cheaply if you chanced on one. But whatever the case, I hope that you will come here and stay here. You would have more opportunities here than in America and it's not so easy, once you're there, to come back again. It's frightful in America where the greatest man is Heinzen and where, too, the prolix Struve is now about to inundate the whole country with his piddle. The devil take the public there. Sooner a galley-slave in Turkey than a journalist in America.

Send us word soon and come soon yourself.

Your
F. E.

F. Engels
Address: Ermen & Engels,
Manchester

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[a] members of the Central Authority of the Communist League in Cologne - [b] See this volume, p. 339.

# 169

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 May 1851

Dear Engels,

Lupus himself has written to tell me that he has received from Cologne a passport to England and the fares for himself and Dronke.[404] Dronke has also sent the people in Cologne[a] an essay on the Italian revolution.

*Mais ce qu'il y a de drôle*[b]: Dronke's signature is there for all to see—printed by Louis Blanc—beneath the address to the then committee for the celebration of the February Revolution. *Nous lui demanderons des éclaircissements sur ce fait étrange. Dans le meilleur cas, ce n'est pas un trait d'esprit de la part de ce gnome.*[c]

Becker[d] has removed his printing and publishing business to Verviers, and wouldn't appear to be harmed by the government's persecution. An instalment of my stuff has arrived here, but only one copy.[347]

The German Central Democratic Committee[407] here broke up at the very same time as the great Karl Heinzen announced that he would pay it 'military obedience'. The charming Kinkel has withdrawn, since he must, of course, avoid compromising himself on account of his dramatic lectures to respectable City men—12 lectures for 1 guinea: the charmer distributes these tickets through a committee (including Oppenheim of Berlin) to all and sundry, and has an audience of 300 or so. Haug, too, has quarrelled with everybody. Ruge, whose finances seem to be in extreme disarray, intended to buy a daguerreotype establishment and to travel the country as a daguerreotype photographer.

Weerth has written to me today in the highest dudgeon: he is sick of long noses and smoked meat. Besides, he says, he is threatened with 'an excellent situation'—marriage? but is too old to become a philistine. You know our friend Weerth. He soon gets

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[a] members of the Central Authority of the Communist League in Cologne - [b] But the curious thing is - [c] We shall ask him for an explanation of this strange fact. At very best it is not a bright idea on this gnome's part. - [d] Hermann Becker

bored, and soonest of all when surrounded by bourgeois comforts. His friend Campe, morosely indicating a pile of unsold copies, told him: 'Everything is well received but nothing sells.' And that's how things are generally in Germany.

This place is swarming with PEOPLE of every kind. I don't think that this will inconvenience me IN ANY WAY. For such of the industrialists as are liberal, radical or even simply curious are carefully bagged by Göhringer or the Kinkel clique and then immediately fed with scandal about us two. *Tant mieux pour nous!*[a]

The library has been closed all this week. There's no more news of the red fool.[b]

Daniels writes to say that they are nowhere better represented than in Berlin, where they have at their disposal two 'gentlemen' and 'men of talent' who are very active.

Tupman[c] has the clap very badly. After a violent scene with Madame la baronesse[d] they have partly made it up again but, as a result of his frivolity, his position is now more subordinate than it was.

Foucault's experiment with a pendulum is being demonstrated at the Polytechnical Institute here.

I shall send off the said letter to Daniels tomorrow.[408] Schramm, *mirabile dictu*,[e] has succeeded in obtaining a SEASON TICKET.[f]

In his filthy rag[g] Heinzen has again been chucking his 'NATIVE' mud at me, the *malheureux*.[h] The fellow's so stupid that, under the name Müller, Schramm is acting as a paid correspondent, and surreptitiously introducing all sorts of unsuitable tomfoolery, such as the Blanqui toast, etc., into his journalistic stuff.

A few days ago Willich met Bamberger,[i] whom he had seen once before. Walked up to him. Shook him by the hand: 'I've been very ill for 3 weeks. Couldn't leave the house. The revolution's going famously. We are very active, particularly here in London. Two new branches founded. Schapper's working like a Trojan.'

More another time. Next week I shall really get down to finding your L. Blanc sources at the library.

Your
K. M.

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[a] So much the better for us! - [b] Hermann Becker - [c] Wilhelm Pieper - [d] Baroness Rothschild - [e] wonderful to say - [f] This seems to refer to a ticket Conrad Schramm received for visiting the Great Exhibition of 1851. - [g] *Deutsche Schnellpost* - [h] the wretch - [i] Louis Bamberger

My wife sends her regards. She was furious at the importunate way in which *Pieper* promptly thrust himself upon us.

By the way, you invariably make the Post Office the present of a STAMP. ONE WILL DO.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 May [1851]

Dear Engels,

Below you will find in the original English a copy of an article concerning the application of electricity to agriculture.[a] Please be good enough to write by return, telling me

1. What you think of the thing.
2. Explaining the business to me IN PLAIN GERMAN, as I can make little sense of it.

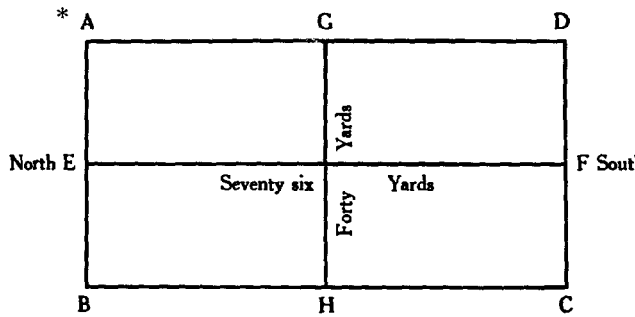


[a] 'Remarkable Discovery—Electricity and Agriculture', *The Economist*, Vol. III, Nos. 17 and 18, 26 April and 3 May 1845.

'A field is divided into oblong squares, 76 yards long and 40 yards wide, and containing, therefore, just one acre each.' The above is the plan of such a 'square'.

At each of the points A, B, C and D 'pegs are driven into the ground; the external lines represent strong iron wires, extending from and fastened to each of the 4 pegs, and communicating with each other, so as to form a square of wire, sunk 3 inches below the surface; at the Points E and F poles are fixed in the ground 15 feet high; a wire is connected with the cross wire beneath the surface at the Point E,—carried up the pole and along the centre of the square to the top of the pole at F, down which it is conducted and fixed to the cross wire beneath the surface at that point. We must here remark that the square must be so formed, to run from north to south, so that the wire passing from E to F shall be at right angles with the equator. It is well known that a considerable body of electricity is generated in the atmosphere, and constantly travelling from east to west with the motion of the earth. This electricity is attracted by the wire suspended from E to F, and communicated to the wires forming the square under the surface of the ground, from the points A, B, C and D. ... any quantity of electricity could be generated, that might be required, by placing under the ground at the point G, a bag of charcoal, and plates of zinc at the point H, and to connect the two by a wire passing over two poles similar to those at E and F and crossing the longitudinal wire passing from those points. The cost at which this application can be made is computed at one pound per acre, and it is reckoned to last 10-15 years, the wires being carefully taken up and replaced each year.'

The poles are made of 'dry wood. As the area increases the cost diminishes.... The mode in which the plot is laid out is as follows. With a mariners' compass and measured lengths of common string, lay out the places for the wooden pins, to which the *buried* wire is attached (by passing through a small staple). Care must be taken to lay the length of the buried wire due north and south by compass, and the breadth due east and west. This wire must be placed from two to three inches deep in the soil. The lines of the buried wire are then completed. The *suspended* wire must be attached and in contact with the buried wires at both of its ends. A wooden pin with a staple must therefore be driven in, and the two poles (one 14 feet and the other 15 feet) being placed by the compass due north and south, the wire is placed over them, and fastened to the wooden stake, but touching likewise at this point the buried wire. The suspended wire must not be drawn too tight, otherwise the wind will break it.'*

*Voilà l'affaire.*[a]

The German Central chaps[b] have reunited for the nth time, and General Haug has accordingly issued an advertisement announcing the appearance on 10 May of his *Kosmos,* with Messrs Ruge, Kinkel, Ronge, etc., for collaborators. That'll be worth seeing.

Tupman[c] has just brought me a letter from Miquel from which it transpires that the German democrats—as well as a number of communists—with Ruge's rotten Bremen rag[d] in the lead, are slandering me indefatigably, that sort of thing being, of course,

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[a] There you are - [b] members of the Committee for German Affairs (see this volume, p. 342) - [c] Wilhelm Pieper - [d] *Bremer Tages-Chronik*

greedily lapped up by German philistines and Straubingers.[86] The fellows must really be scared to death of me if, even at this stage, they're employing all available means to make it impossible for me to take up residence in Germany.

Your
K. M.

Jones gave a truly splendid lecture yesterday in which he attacked the COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT and assailed his own public *de front*.[a] He told me that nothing was likely to come of producing a newspaper with Harney, since the latter's wife[b] made it impossible to transact business. For the time being he intends to publish a magazine on his own.[409]

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 6 May 1851]

Dear Marx,

You will get the POST OFFICE ORDER tomorrow or the day after. Today our bookkeeper is again without CASH.

Since when have you been using the enclosed beautiful seal on your letters—or has there been a mishap?

*Il paraît donc*[c] that the whole of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* will foregather in London this summer, minus, perhaps, Freiligrath[410] and the *honorarius*[d] Bürgers. I am delighted to hear that Lupus is definitely coming; incidentally, I know for certain that the ALIEN-OFFICES here are far less strict than before and hence all

[a] head on - [b] Mary - [c] It would seem, then - [d] honourable

that to-do about the ban on sending refugees here is sheer humbug.

The mandrake's signature to the Geneva address is strange indeed—*une bévue inconcevable*[a]—further proof that one must maintain A SHARP LOOK-OUT AFTER THESE YOUNG MEN and that they must be kept on a tight rein. It can only be a *bévue;* the little chap's letters were over-zealous and he may have believed that what he was doing was a wonderful stroke of genius. He must be rigorously questioned, upbraided and told, *surtout pas de zèle!*[b]

I shall shortly tell you of an economic treatise written by Wellington in 1811 on FREE TRADE and monopoly in colonial trade. It's a curious thing and, since it relates to the Spanish and not the English colonies, he can play at being a FREE-TRADER although right at the outset he rails at merchants like the dyed-in-the-wool soldier and aristocrat he is. It never occurred to him that he would later have to help apply these principles in the English colonies. But that's the irony of it. In return for his undeserved victory over Napoleon, the old Irishman subsequently had to yield to Cobden and, *en économie politique,*[c] to pass under the Caudine yoke[411] of FREE-TRADE. World history does indeed give occasion for a great many pleasing reflections!

The dissolution of the Democratic Provisional Government fo Germany in London[d] fills me with sorrow. Such a fine opportunit for the jackasses to hold themselves up to public ridicule will no readily recur. On the other hand the great Franz Raveaux has reopened his cliquish polemic in the *Kölnische Zeitung* with Mr Paul Franck and other jackasses. He is again ripe for election to some national mad-house in which to declare: 'Gentlemen, this is a very great day for the city of Cologne!'[e] The oaf is now in Brussels. Our friend Engels, the Commandant, has become General and First Commandant, and the philistines gave a dinner for him at which 'our Stupp' proposed his health. So you see, you can still get somewhere, even if your name is Engels. And, in returning thanks, that fat old swine, once a lieutenant under Napoleon, expressed his pleasure at the specifically Prussian spirit both of the celebration and of the city of Cologne.[f]

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[a] an inconceivable blunder (reference to Dronke's signature to the address sent from Geneva to the organisers of the 'banquet of the equal' on 24 February, see this volume, p. 342) - [b] above all no zeal! (words ascribed to Talleyrand) - [c] in political economy - [d] i.e. the Committee for German Affairs (see this volume, p. 342) - [e] This sentence is in a local dialect in the original - [f] 'Köln, 2. Mai', *Kölnische Zeitung,* No. 106, 3 May 1851.

I am, by the way, morally convinced that Willich and Co. are hatching an ambitious plan for the revolutionisation of England during the Exhibition, although it's equally certain that they won't raise a finger. It won't be the first or last time.

The 2nd STAMP on my letters is for late posting. The STAMP enables me to get the letter off by the same train $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours after the ordinary post office has closed. In any case it's the firm that pays.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Thursday, 8 May[a] [1851]
10 o'clock at night

Dear Marx,

I sent you today by the first post a POST OFFICE ORDER for £5, which I hope you have received.

Something's *décidément*[b] amiss with the English mails. First, the letter that arrived at your place open. Then your letter to me of the day before yesterday, with the defaced seal, which I returned to you. Now, today, Thursday the 8th, at 7 in the evening, I get your letter of the 5th, i. e. Monday, the one about the electricity business. This letter has three London postmarks dated the 6th (Tuesday), two of which prove that it was posted on Tuesday morning before 10 o'clock. Also a *Manchester* postmark dated the 7th (yesterday) and, finally, two others of today's date. In addition a defaced, badly patched up, unfamiliar seal which I return herewith for your inspection. I am sending the envelope straight

[a] The original has: June. - [b] decidedly

off to the postmaster here, demanding an explanation as to why the letter was only delivered this evening instead of yesterday morning. Let me know by return exactly when it was posted and whether the seal is in order. We'll raise such a shindy as will give the scoundrels something to think about. That these fellows are capable of dirty tricks is apparent from today's *Daily News,* which declares outright that Palmerston has asked Vienna and Berlin for spies to keep watch on the refugees, and duly goes on to give the English public a description of Messrs Stieber and Goldheim of Berlin.[a] It would be splendid if we could catch Grey in the act, just as Mazzini once caught Graham.[412]

The fact that something untoward befell the letter is also evident from a mark they have made on it. In the address there is a cross before and after the word Manchester, thus:

×Manchester×

only with thicker strokes than mine.

Keep any seals I return to you; we may perhaps need them.

Tomorrow I'll write to you about the other points you raised; now I shall go straight out and post this letter and the one to the postmaster. My kindest regards to your wife.

Your
F. E.

The letter has been so clumsily opened that the outline of the original, larger seal is still plainly visible. Sealing-wax is of little avail if, underneath, there's no wafer to secure all four sides of the envelope. As it happens I have none here and, since I want this letter to reach you unopened, I have no alternative but to send it to Schramm,[b] who lives closer to you than Pieper, and through whom you at least have a chance of getting it quickly.

*Le tout considéré,*[c] it would, perhaps, be better to send it to Pieper, which I shall do.

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[a] 'The Debate in the First Chamber...; Germany. Prussia. Berlin, 4 May', *The Daily News*, 8 May 1851. - [b] Conrad Schramm - [c] All things considered

# 173

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Friday, 9 May 1851

Dear Marx,

Yesterday I sent you 2 letters, one containing nothing but a POST OFFICE ORDER, the other through Tupman.[a] I hope you received them both.

As far as the construction goes, the electrical business is simple.[b] At the four corners, A, B, C and D—I assume that you have the drawing before you—pegs are driven into the ground and a stout wire, buried 3 inches below ground, is led from one of these pegs to the next, so that it encompasses the whole field below the surface. At E and F, North and South, two poles are driven into the ground, the tops of which, 15 feet above the surface, are also connected by a wire. The two ends of this wire are carried down the poles and connected below ground with the buried wire, A B C D. Similarly a transverse wire from G to H, on two posts, crossing the wire E F at its centre. I'm not quite clear about the function of the bag of charcoal and the plates of zinc, since I have forgotten the electrical properties of charcoal—but I suspect that, by means of this charcoal at G and zinc at H, both of them also buried and connected to the main buried wire, the fellow intends to polarise the electricity, to establish a positive (zinc) and a negative (charcoal) pole.

The rest is concerned with technical matters, insulation of the wires, etc.

Since you say nothing else about the subject, I assume that the business refers to some sort of experiment; I believe you once told me that it had appeared in *The Economist* or some such paper.[c] I'm a little doubtful about the success of the thing, but maybe something could be made of it if it were expanded and improved. The question remains: 1) how much electricity can be extracted from the air by this means and, 2) how that electricity affects the growth and germination of plants. Anyhow, let me know if the experiment has already been carried out and with what success, and where an account of it may be found.

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[a] Wilhelm Pieper - [b] See this volume, pp. 344-45. - [c] *The Economist*, Vol. III, Nos. 17 and 18, 26 April and 3 May 1845.

In any case there are two snags about the thing:

1. The fellow wishes the wire, which is to catch the electricity, to lie due north and south, and instructs the FARMERS to lay it out by compass. He makes absolutely no mention of magnetic variation, which here in England is of the order of 20-23 degrees, and he should at least say whether he has taken this into account. The FARMERS, at any rate, know nothing about magnetic variation and would lay the wire according to the compass needle, which, however, would not be pointing from north to south, but from north-north-west to south-south-east.

2. If the effect of the electricity is to encourage the germination and growth of plants, it will cause them to germinate *too early* in the spring, thus exposing them to night frosts, etc. Anyhow, this would inevitably come to light and could be remedied only by disconnecting the overhead and underground wires during the winter. This point, too, the fellow fails to mention. But either the electricity so caught has no effect whatever on growth, or it forces it prematurely. Here again, elucidation is required.

There's no assessing the thing, however, until it's been tried out and the results are available, so let me know where I can find out more about the subject.

I render thanks to the Lord on high that the Central jackasses[a] have come together again, and I don't even begrudge them their *Kosmos*. We shall, after all, have a press organ again soon, so far as we need one, in which we shall be able to repel all attacks without appearing responsible for so doing.[413] That is the advantage the proposed Cologne monthly will have over our *Revue*. We'll lay the entire responsibility on the *bonhomme* Bürgers; after all, he must get something for his profound thinking.

It was only to be expected that vituperation should breed in Germany no less freely than in America and London. You are now in the proud position of being attacked by two worlds at once, something that never happened to Napoleon. Our friends in Germany, incidentally, are jackasses. To ignore mere vituperation, apart from issuing a brief comment once a quarter on the state of this savoury TRADE, may be all very well. But when it comes to slander, when the democratic philistine, no longer content with the simple conviction that one is the blackest of monsters, begins to lay about him with trumped-up and distorted facts, then it would really not be asking too much of these gentlemen that they should send one the document so that one could take steps

[a] members of the Committee for German Affairs (see this volume, p. 342)

accordingly. But your German thinks he's done enough if he *simplement*[a] does not *believe* such nonsense. So get Tupman to write to Miquel, telling him that there's no actual need for an immediate reply; rather, having accumulated a few dozen examples of the stuff, one should let fly in earnest and squash the bedbugs *d'un seul coup de pied.*[b] As for their seeking to make it impossible for us to live in Germany—*laissons-leur ce plaisir!*[c] They can't erase from history the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* the *Manifesto*[d] and *tutte quante,*[e] and all their howling will avail them nothing. The only people in Germany who might be dangerous to us are hired assassins and, now that Gottschalk's dead, no one there would have the courage to turn such people loose on us. *Et puis*[f] again, in 1848 in Cologne were we not first compelled to fight for our position—and anyway we shall never be *loved* by the democratic, the red, or even the communist mob.

I'm glad that the Exhibition chaps have so far left you in peace. I'm already being plagued by them. Two merchants from Lecco were here yesterday, one of them an old acquaintance of 1841. The Austrians are managing very nicely in Lombardy. After all the levies, the succession of compulsory loans, and thrice yearly tax demands, things are at last becoming regularised. The average merchant in Lecco has to pay 10,000-24,000 zwanzigers (£350-700) a year—in direct, regular taxes, all in HARD CASH. Since Austrian bank-notes are also to be introduced there next year, the government intends to withdraw all metallic currency beforehand. This means that the great aristocracy—*i gran ricchi*[g]—and the peasants will, relatively speaking, be let off *very lightly,* the whole burden falling on *il medio liberale,* the liberal middle classes of the cities. You can see the policy these fellows are pursuing. Under this sort of pressure—in Lecco they have sent the government a signed declaration to the effect that they will pay no more even if it means distraint, but rather emigrate en masse if the system is not abandoned, and already several have suffered distraint—it is understandable that the fellows are waiting for Mazzini and declare that things *must* come to a head because they can stand it no longer, *perchè rovinati siamo e rovinati saremo in ogni caso.*[h] This explains much of the Italians' furious desire to go into the attack. The fellows here are all republicans and highly respected bourgeois at that—one of them is the leading merchant in Lecco

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[a] simply - [b] with one stamp of the foot - [c] we'll allow them the pleasure! - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party.* - [e] all the rest - [f] And then - [g] the exceedingly rich - [h] because we're ruined and shall in any case be ruined

and pays 2,000 zwanzigers a month in taxes. He asked me straight out when the fun was going to begin, since in Lecco—the only place where I'm popular—they had come to the conclusion that I must know the exact day and hour.

Tomorrow Wellington, whom these fellows have kept me from.

Your
F. E.

This letter is sealed with sealing-wax and our firm's seal, E. & E. So you'll be able to see if it's been opened.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Thursday [15 May 1851]

Dear Marx,

Last week I sent off a whole SHIP-LOAD of letters to you, among them 1 containing money and 1 through Pieper. Then last Tuesday, yet another, to which I was expecting an answer at least today. *Pas une ligne.*[a] I can only suppose that all the letters went astray, since I had at least expected an answer to the one sent through Pieper; its failure to arrive has put me in an awkward position vis-à-vis the postmaster here. Or else there's been some mishap, in which case, too, *deux mots*[b] would be welcome since I'm *considérablement* worried by the business and, unless I hear from you tomorrow, or the day after tomorrow at the latest, I shan't know what's the matter, or how I should arrange for letters to reach you without going astray.

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[a] Not a line. - [b] a couple of words

The postmaster here has asked that in future you should not address your letters as up till now, but like this: at the top, the name, beneath it, number and street and, right at the bottom, Manchester. He blames this for the fact that a recent letter of yours made the return journey to London and then back here again. An answer by return, then.

Your
F. E.

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## 175

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 16 May 1851

Dear Engels,

I received your letter, which arrived the day before yesterday,[414] too late for me to answer. I was, as it happens, already at the Museum[a] by the time the POSTMAN arrived, and didn't return home until 7 o'clock in the evening. Even with the best will in the world I couldn't have written to you yesterday since I had such severe abdominal trouble that I felt as though my head would burst like the negro's drum in Freiligrath's poem.[b]

The earlier confusion was due simply to the fact that I immediately gave one of the two idlers (Schramm)[c] a note to post off to you in answer to your first letter. He missed the post, and still had the note in his pocket-book yesterday.[415]

As for the ELECTRICITY, the account appeared in *The Economist* of 1845[d] and contains, besides what I passed on to you, nothing save the statement that the experiment was carried out with great success in Scotland. Even the FARMER is named.

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[a] British Museum - [b] F. Freiligrath, 'Der Mohrenfürst'. - [c] Conrad Schramm - [d] *The Economist*, Vol. III, Nos. 17 and 18, 26 April and 3 May, 1845.

Freiligrath will be here within the next few days.

Now to the business of the post. I believe the post office to be innocent. At all events I alone am responsible for the poor shape of the seal. The only thing that quite *alienum est*[a] to me is the ×Manchester×.[b]

Did you see how the impertinent Kinkel got his wife to deny in the *Kölnische Zeitung* that he had any connection with the manifesto of the bold 'Provisionals'?[c] and how, in order to titillate the interest of the German philistine, he purports to have a 'serious disease'?

As a result of intervention by my worthy brother-in-law-cum-minister,[d] the printing of my things, as of the *Revue*,[e] has again come to a standstill.[347] It would seem that Becker[f] has run into difficulties in Verviers.

In France *Cavaignac* appears to be making spanking progress. While his election would be the rational solution,[416] it would postpone the revolution for years to come. The meeting between Nicholas, Frederick William and Habsburg[417] is neither more nor less significant than that between General Haug, Ruge and Ronge. Incidentally, to tax incomes was at that particular moment the shrewdest thing the Prussians could do.

Now a look at the émigrés here.

Led by a fellow (a German) whose name I don't know, or rather, along with this fellow, the immortal Faucher, the inevitable E. Meyen, now also here, etc., undertook the editing of the German article for the London (DAILY) *Illustrated News*. As none of the chaps knows English, they asked that a German-Englishman should supervise the editing. The superior allotted to them was an old *woman* who was last in Germany 20 years ago and speaks broken German. Her deletions equalled old Dolleschall's, notably E. Meyen's profound article 'Skulptur'. What this idiot was doing was to reproduce here in London the asinine artistic concoctions that appeared 10 years ago in a Berlin literary gossip sheet.[g] Faucher was also unmercifully blue-pencilled. And a few days ago the editor summoned these louts, who humbly, if reluctantly, suffer the old woman's domination, and told the gentlemen that

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[a] is incomprehensible - [b] See this volume, p. 349. - [c] The reference is to the manifesto 'To the Germans' issued by the Committee for German Affairs (see this volume, p. 342). An excerpt from Johanna Kinkel's letter about Gottfried Kinkel having nothing to do with the manifesto was published in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 114, 13 May 1851. - [d] Ferdinand von Westphalen - [e] K. Marx, 'Gesammelte Aufsätze' and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.* - [f] Hermann Becker - [g] *Athenäum*

he couldn't use their concoctions and that they must confine themselves to translating articles from the English. Since the unfortunate pair know not a word of English, this was tantamount to a polite good-bye. And they went. And Meyen will have to wait and while away another decade before he can find a taker for his 'Skulptur'.

What is more, Mr Faucher was unceremoniously jettisoned by the *Kölnische Zeitung* weeks ago on the grounds that the public found his articles boring.

What is your view of the Portuguese revolution?[418]

Mr A. Goegg is here, was immediately taken in tow by Willich & Co., and gives lectures in Windmill Street.[331] Hurrah!

*Maintenant, mon cher,*[a] farewell. From now on our correspondence will get properly back on the rails again.

Your
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, Monday, 19 May 1851

Dear Marx,

I'm glad that nothing untoward happened to the letters, it's always better thus. The postmaster here also gave me a satisfactory explanation for the late arrival of the letter. In future, when writing the address, put street and number *above* the name of the town, so that 'Manchester' is right at the bottom. It's what the post office clerks are used to and, because the name of the street was at

[a] Now, dear friend

the bottom, they overlooked the 'Manchester' in that particular letter and ent it back to London as a local London letter.

The latest is that you have been utterly worsted. You believe you have discovered the correct theory of land rent. You believe you are the first to demolish Ricardo's theory. *Malheureux que tu es,*[a] you have been outflanked, destroyed, beaten, overwhelmed, the whole foundation of your *monumentum aere perennius*[b] has crumbled away. Hearken: Mr Rodbertus has just brought out the third volume of his *Sociale Briefe an v. Kirchmann*—18 sheets. This volume contains a 'complete refutation of Ricardo's doctrine of land rent and the exposition of a new theory of rent'—last week's Leipzig *Illustrierte Zeitung*.[c] That's cooked your goose for you!

The great Kinkel's efforts to extricate himself from the disreputable society known as the European Committee without getting into bad odour are most entertaining.[d] You'll have seen in Saturday's *Sun*[e] that a handful of wailing democrats have succeeded in organising a meeting and some little RIOTS near Elberfeld, at which they distributed these proclamations. This was made possible through German-Catholic connections[419] of Ronge's. Neither Kinkel nor any other member of the chorus would have done anything there.

The Cavaignac business is unfortunate in all respects; if *Girardin* regards him as having the best prospects, it must be true. Besides, the fellows are coming increasingly to realise that a revision[420] is impossible—by legal means. And, if illegal, it would be a *coup d'état,* and whoever first embarks on *coups d'état* will be crushed, the *Débats*[f] declares. Napoleon is beginning to grow *horriblement* threadbare. Changarnier's done for, permanently pensioned off; however nice coalition may be, it can have no immediate practical results—*il n'y a que Cavaignac.*[g] Whether or not the fellow postpones the revolution would after all be of no great moment; a few years of determined industrial development, a crisis surmounted and a new era of prosperity could do no harm at all, particularly if accompanied by bourgeois reforms in France, etc. But in France Cavaignac and bourgeois reform mean tariff reform and an alliance with England and, at the first opportunity, war against the Holy Alliance,[271] with English help, with due time

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[a] Wretch that you are - [b] memorial more enduring than bronze (Horace, *Carmina,* III, 30, 1) - [c] *Illustrierte Zeitung,* No. 410, 10 May 1851. - [d] See this volume, p. 309. - [e] *The Sun,* 17 May 1851. - [f] 'France. Paris, 15 May', *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires,* 16 May 1851. - [g] there's no one but Cavaignac

to arm, with a long prepared invasion of Germany, and that might cost us the Rhine frontier which is, in any case, the best means of quieting *crapaud*[a] socialism with a part-payment in *gloire*.[b]

The *Débats*, by the way, has fallen so low that it sees no salvation for society except in upholding the new electoral law.[421]

The Faucher and Meyen affair is truly splendid. All I have seen of the German *Illustrated London News* is the front page of the first number in a SHOP window, so I WAS RATHER curious to know who the 'leading German writers' of this pompous nonsense might be.

The *Frankfurter Journal* purports to have heard from Cologne[c] that things are now tolerable for the refugees in London, with the exception of those in the barracks, amongst whom is Willich. The Augsburg *Allgemeine* actually believes that the ALIENS BILL[380] is still in force and pictures the refugees—those Wandering Jews of the nineteenth century—creeping round London in mortal terror of this Bill.

I'll say nothing about the Portuguese revolution.[418] Except how remarkable it is that, as a purely *individual* insurgent, as *ôte-toi de là, Costa Cabral, que je m'y mette*,[d] Saldanha should have achieved absolutely nothing, but that from the moment he was compelled to ally himself with the liberal bourgeoisie of Oporto and bring to his side an omnipotent representative of this bourgeois power in the person of Manuel[e] Passos, the whole army should then have rallied to him. The position accorded to Passos, and what happens next, will show whether or not Saldanha and the Queen[f] will immediately set about trying to cheat the bourgeoisie again. Lisbon is nothing, Oporto being the centre of the constitutional bourgeoisie, of Portugal's MANCHESTER SCHOOL.[422]

You can thank your stars that Mr Goegg didn't call on you. *Le diable emporte toutes ces médiocrités gonflées.*[g]

Your
F. E.

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[a] philistine - [b] glory - [c] 'Cologne, 8 May', *Frankfurter Journal*, No. 111, second supplement, 9 May 1851. - [d] get out, Costa Cabral, so I can take your place (Saint-Simon, *Catéchisme politique des industriels*) - [e] The original has: José. - [f] Maria II da Gloria - [g] Devil take all these inflated mediocrities.

# 177

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 21 May 1851

Dear Engels,

Freiligrath is here and sends you his regards. He's come to look around for a situation. If he doesn't find one, he intends to go to America.

He brought quite good news from Germany. The people in Cologne[a] are very active. Their agents have been travelling about since September. They have two tolerably good representatives in Berlin and, since the democrats are constantly coming to Cologne to consult them, they as constantly put spokes in those other gentry's wheels. For instance, the Brunswickers were all set to give Schimmelpfennig 2,000 talers for the London Committee (social). But first they sent Dr Lucius to Cologne, and so the matter came to nothing.

Kinkel is seriously discredited in the Rhine Province, particularly in Bonn. The committee there had sent Johanna[b] £200, but after a fortnight she was already asking for more. This greatly displeased the philistines.

In a few weeks' time the people in Cologne will be holding a communist congress.

Sigel, the general-in-chief, is here and has attached himself to Windmill Street.[331]

Further, General Haug has brought out an issue of *Kosmos*. Contains puffs for Willich, Kinkel and Göhringer. The various bands are becoming more and more alike. Never have I seen or heard such inflated and complacent twaddle. Amongst other things it contains a harlequinade by Arnold Winkelried Ruge.[c] This creature pretends to have received a letter from a German 'hospitable friend' in which the latter expresses surprise at everything he reads in the papers about 'English hospitality', and anxiety lest Ruge, 'being overwhelmed by affairs of state', may be

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[a] members of the Central Authority of the Communist League in Cologne - [b] Johanna Kinkel (Gottfried Kinkel's wife) - [c] Marx compares Arnold Ruge to Arnold Winkelried, a semi-legendary fourteenth-century Swiss warrior.

prevented from enjoying his fair share of this 'sybaritism of hospitality', and asks him:

'It was not, I take it, the traitor Radowitz who was invited to Windsor, but Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, Citizen Willich, Kinkel and yourself?'

Ruge then proceeds to disabuse his friend and assure him that English hospitality will not prevent them from returning to Germany torch in hand. *L'imbécile!*

The style of the whole is pretentious, puerile, piffling and of a complacent stupidity unequalled in the annals of world history. To cap it all, an unheard-of want of talent. But I must try and hunt out a copy of this rubbishy sheet for you.

That bedbug Meyen is busily scurrying around here telling everyone who will listen the secret that Marx and Engels have lost all influence and support in Germany. Frightful Meyen!

To give you but one example of the bare-faced forwardness of these blackguards, of their shabby importunities:

Last Sunday[a] I was at John Street where old Owen was giving a lecture on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. Despite his *idées fixes,* the old man was ironical and endearing. When the old gentleman had finished, one of the *Kosmos*'s satellites pushed his way through to him and thrust the *Kosmos* into his hand, saying that the paper expressed his principles. And the old man actually commended it to the audience. *C'est par trop drôle!*[b]

That evening, by the way, I was unable to avoid speaking to Harney again; he came up to me, rather the worse for drink and, with a very ingratiating air, asked after you.

Willich's begging business is doing pretty well. When the Schleswig-Holstein refugees arrived here, he wheedled over £200 'for the latter' (!) out of the CITY-MERCHANTS.

Girardin does indeed say that Cavaignac is now the only serious candidate of the *parti de l'ordre,*[267] of the bourgeois mass. He himself, however, furiously attacks both him and Changarnier, and his polemic recalls once more the best period of his battle with the *National.* This fellow is responsible for more agitation in France than the whole gang of Montagnards[260] and reds[c] put together. Bonaparte would seem to be *hors de question.*[d] However, if the royalist majority in the National Assembly again violates the Constitution and, with a *simple* majority, decides upon its revision, it will finally be compelled—having lost all legal standing—to

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[a] 18 May - [b] It's really too funny! - [c] i.e. democrats and socialists of various trends - [d] out of the question

conclude a compromise with Bonaparte as the holder of executive power. In which case there could be serious clashes, since Cavaignac is unlikely to let such an opportunity be snatched away under his nose again.

All the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* lads will be here soon.[410] I'm surprised that Lupus should not have arrived yet, and only hope some misfortune has not befallen him.

I am now spending every day, from 10 in the morning until 7 in the evening, at the library and am saving up the industrial exhibition till you come.[423]

Did you read the bogus and the genuine epistle by Mazzini in the *Débats*[a]?

Your
K. M.

Musch[b] sends his love to 'Friedrich Engels'.

Apropos, Willich and Schimmelpfennig have published the inevitable appeal to 'their brothers in the Prussian Army'.

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## ENGELS TO MARX[220]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 23 May 1851

Dear Marx,

I saw with pleasure in the papers that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was represented by you in person also at Soyer's universal press symposium. I hope you enjoyed the *homards*[c] *à la* Washington and the *champagne frappé*.[d] But I am still in the dark about how M. Soyer found your address.

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[a] G. Mazzini, 'Au Rédacteur', *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*, 18 May 1851. - [b] Edgar Marx - [c] lobster - [d] iced champagne

Do you know what has become of that drunkard Laroche of Great Windmill Street[331]? He has, according to German newspaper reports, been caught and sentenced in Berlin to death by hanging. It transpires that this self-styled former Prussian lieutenant of hussars is none other than the shoemaker August Friedrich Gottlieb Lehmann of Triebel near Sorau[a] in Upper Silesian Wasserpolackei,[424] militiaman of the 1st levy, who, on 23 March 1842, had been sentenced to be stripped of military honours and to 16 months' service in a penal detachment for desertion in peacetime, forgery and unauthorised contraction of debts. Yet another ray of light shed on our German revolutionary heroes.

That those great warriors, Willich, Schimmelpfennig and Sigel, should be increasingly consorting with each other is all to the good. This pack of soldiery has an unbelievably sordid *esprit de corps*. They hate each other *à mort*[b] and, like schoolboys, begrudge each other the most paltry marks of distinction, but they are all united against the 'civilians'. Punctilious, as in the first French armies of 1792/93, but scaled down to a dwarfish caricature. They all regard the Windmill Street Society as a battalion, ready, willing and eager to march over here; it's the only one left, since the ones in Switzerland were broken up and deported. Small wonder that they all cleave to this noble corps. It's a very good thing that word of this officers' corps spirit should already have reached us from the old barracks and the officers' mess and that we should already see how this cliquishness prevails as much among the émigré officer material as in the 'glorious army'.[425] In due course we shall show these gentry what '*civilian*' really signifies. All of this goes to show that the very best thing for me to do is to go on with my military studies so that at least one of the 'civilians' is a match for them in theoretical matters. At any rate I want to reach a point where jackasses such as these can't talk me down. I'm delighted, by the way, to hear that they were cheated of 2,000 talers. The news from Cologne is very pleasing, but the people there should be on their guard.

Where begging is concerned that precious Johanna[c] really surpasses anything that has ever been known before. Heinzen is quite eclipsed; he has never attained to the same degree of effrontery as this woman who, moreover, is said to be as ugly as sin.

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[a] Polish name: Żary - [b] like death - [c] Johanna Kinkel (Gottfried Kinkel's wife)

It is clear even from the English press that Girardin doesn't support Cavaignac. But the very fact that *he* remarked on the brightness of Cavaignac's prospects is enough to characterise the situation. You mentioned the possibility that the majority[a] might conclude an agreement with Bonaparte and endeavour to carry out an illegal revision[420]; if they do so, I think it will go awry. They'll never succeed so long as it's opposed by Thiers, Changarnier and the *Débats*,[b] and their respective adherents. It would be too fine an opportunity for Cavaignac; and in that case he could, I believe, count on the army.

If there's a fracas next year, Germany will be in the devil of a position.[426] France, Italy and Poland all have an interest in her dismemberment. As you'll have seen, Mazzini has even promised the Czechs rehabilitation. Apart from Hungary, Germany would have only one possible ally, Russia—provided that a peasants' revolution had taken place there. Otherwise we shall have a *guerre à mort*[c] with our noble friends from all points of the compass, and it's very questionable how the business will end.

The more I think about it, the more obvious it becomes to me that the Poles are *une nation foutue*[d] who can only continue to serve a purpose until such time as Russia herself becomes caught up into the agrarian revolution. From that moment Poland will have absolutely no *raison d'être* any more. The Poles' sole contribution to history has been to indulge in foolish pranks at once valiant and provocative. Nor can a single moment be cited when Poland, even if only by comparison with Russia, has successfully represented progress or done anything of historical significance. Russia, on the other hand, is truly progressive by comparison with the East. Russian rule, for all its infamy, all its Slavic dirtiness, is civilising for the Black and Caspian Seas and Central Asia, for the Bashkirs and Tatars; and Russia has absorbed far more cultural elements, and especially industrial elements than Poland, which by nature is chivalrously indolent. The very fact that the Russian aristocracy, from the Tsar[e] and Prince Demidov down to the most louse-ridden Boyar, 14th class, who's merely *blagorodno,* well-born, manufactures, haggles, cheats, lays itself open to corruption, engages in all manner of business, Christian and Jewish,—that is in itself an advantage. Poland has never been able to naturalise foreign elements—the Germans in the cities are and will remain Germans. In Russia, every second-generation Russo-German is a

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[a] the majority in the Legislative Assembly - [b] *Journal des Débats politique et littéraires* - [c] war to the death - [d] a finished nation - [e] Nicholas I

living example of that country's ability to Russify Germans and Jews. There, even the Jews acquire Slav cheekbones.

Napoleon's wars of 1807 and 1812 provide striking examples of Poland's 'immortality'. The only immortal thing about the Poles was their aimless quarrelling. Moreover, the greater part of Poland, what is known as West Russia, i.e. Byelostok, Grodno, Vilna, Smolensk, Minsk, Mogilev, Volhynia and Podolia, has, with minor exceptions, quietly allowed itself to be ruled by Russia since 1772[427]; save for a few scattered members of the bourgeoisie and the nobility, *ils n'ont pas bougé*.[a] A quarter of all Poles speak Lithuanian, one quarter Ruthenian, a small portion semi-Russian, while a good third of the Polish element proper is Germanised.

Fortunately, in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* we assumed no positive obligations towards the Poles, save the unavoidable one of restoration combined with a SUITABLE frontier—and even that only on the condition of there being an agrarian revolution. I'm convinced that such a revolution will sooner be fully effected in Russia than in Poland, because of the national character and because of Russia's more developed bourgeois elements. What are Warsaw and Cracow as compared with Petersburg, Moscow, Odessa, etc., etc.!

Conclusion: To take as much as possible away from the Poles in the West, to man their fortresses, especially Posen, with Germans on the pretext of defence, to let them stew in their own juice, send them into battle, gobble bare their land, fob them off with promises of Riga and Odessa and, should it be possible to get the Russians moving, to ally oneself with the latter and compel the Poles to give way. Every inch of the frontier between Memel[b] and Cracow we cede to the Poles will, militarily speaking, be utterly ruinous to this already wretchedly weak frontier, and will leave exposed the whole of the Baltic coast as far as Stettin.[c]

Besides, I am convinced that, come the next fracas, the entire Polish insurrection will be confined to Poseners and Galician nobility together with a few who have come over from the Kingdom, this having been bled so white that it's capable of nothing more, and that the pretensions of these knights, unless supported by French, Italians and Scandinavians, etc., and bolstered up by rumpuses on the part of the Czechs, will founder on the wretchedness of their performance. A nation which can

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[a] they didn't stir - [b] Lithuanian name: Klaipeda - [c] Polish name: Szczecin

muster 20,000 to 30,000 men at most, is not entitled to a voice. And Poland certainly could not muster very much more.

Give my regards to Freiligrath when you see him, and also to your family, not forgetting Citizen Musch.[a] I shall be coming to London about a week later than I thought, the thing being dependent on a host of trifling matters.[423]

Apropos, not a word yet from Cologne. Have you written? Unless I get the letter *soon,* it will be no good to me.[b] I don't know why Daniels shouldn't oblige me. Couldn't you write again? Daniels could dash off a line or two and let me have it by return. Otherwise I might find myself in the deuce of a predicament.

Your
F. E.

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## 179

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Tuesday [27 May 1851]

D. M.,

I shall be coming to London on Saturday if nothing intervenes.[423]

My fears for the people in Cologne have all too soon been realised; the arrests of red Becker[c] and Röser on charges of high treason and attempts to subvert the state system, and the attempted arrest of silent Heinrich[d] are clearly not unconnected with the business of the League.[e] Fortunately no papers whatever, according to the *Frankfurter Journal,*[f] were found on the two who

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[a] Edgar Marx - [b] See this volume, p. 341. - [c] Hermann Becker - [d] Heinrich Bürgers - [e] the Communist League - [f] 'Cologne, 20 May', *Frankfurter Journal,* No. 123, 23 May 1851.

were arrested—whether any were found on Bürgers is not specified.[428] No doubt Heinrich will be coming to London, to make up the complement of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.[410] The affair could take an unpleasant turn if the fellows have acted foolishly.

Your
F. E.

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## 180

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 May 1851

Dear Engels,

The reasons for Daniels' failure to reply (I shall, by the way, send him another letter tomorrow if I get none today),[429] are most disturbing. Nothjung has been arrested in Leipzig, at the station. I don't know, of course, what papers were found on him. Thereupon (or simultaneously, I don't know) Becker and Röser were arrested in Cologne and their houses searched, as was that of Bürgers, too. The latter is in Berlin with a warrant out against him; no doubt he will soon turn up here.[430]

The measures adopted by the police against the emissaries, etc., can be attributed purely and simply to the wretched braying of the jackasses in London. These gasbags know that they are neither conspiring, nor pursuing any real goal, and that they have no organisation behind them in Germany. All they want is to *seem* dangerous and set the treadmill of the press turning. In this way the canaille hamper and imperil the real movement and put the police on the *qui vive*. Has there ever been a party like this, whose avowed aim is simply to show off?

Freiligrath instinctively chose the right moment to leave and thereby avoid capture. No sooner was he here than snares were set

for him by all the émigré cliques, philanthropic Kinkel-lovers, aestheticising Howitts, etc., in order to lure him into their coterie. To all these attempts he replied very rudely, saying that he belonged to the *Rheinische Zeitung*,[a] had nothing to do with cosmopolitan offal, and would consort only with 'Dr Marx and his most intimate friends'.

Presently I shall have something to tell you about the *Kosmos*. But first one more *mot*[b] about the situation in France.

I am becoming *de plus en plus*[c] convinced that, in spite of everything, Napoleon's chances are, for the present, better than those of any other candidate. They will *en principe* decide on a revision but *en pratique*[d] will confine themselves to a revision of the Article relating to the President.[420] Should the minority kick up too much fuss, a simple majority [resolution][e] will be taken whereby the National Assembly will be dissolved and a new one convoked, which will then function under *auspiciis Faucheri*,[f] of the telegraph and of the law of 31 May.[431] The bourgeoisie would prefer Cavaignac; but the threat to the *status quo* of a radical change of choice seems to them too grave. Already a great many manufacturers have compelled their HANDS to sign petitions for a revision of the Constitution and the prolongation of presidential rule. *En tout cas*[g] the thing must soon be decided and *nous verrons*[h]!

The *Kosmos*, then, has made a prize ass of itself.

Under the heading *Kinkel's Lectures*, and signed 'A Worker', it carries the following:

'While looking once at Döbler's misty images I was surprised by the whimsical question of whether it was possible to produce such chaotic creations in "words", whether it was possible to utter misty images. It is no doubt unpleasant for the critic to have to confess, at the very outset, that in this case his critical autonomy will vibrate against the galvanised nerves of a stimulating reminiscence, as the fading sound of a dying note echoes in the strings. Nevertheless I would prefer to renounce any attempt at a bewigged and boring analysis of pedantic insensitivity than to deny that tone which the charming muse of the German refugee caused to resonate in my receptive imagination. This keynote of Kinkel's paintings, this sounding board of his chords is the sonorous, creative, formative and gradually shaping "word"—*modern thought*. The human *"judgment"* of this thought leads truth out of the chaos of mendacious traditions, and places it, as the inviolable property of mankind, under the protection of spiritually active, logical minorities who will lead mankind from a credulous ignorance to a state of more sceptical science. It is the task of the science of doubt to profane the mysticism of pious deceit, to undermine the absolutism of a stupefied tradition; through scepticism,

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[a] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* - [b] word - [c] more and more - [d] in principle, in practice - [e] an ink blot in the original - [f] the auspices of Faucher - [g] In any case - [h] we shall see

that ceaselessly labouring guillotine of philosophy, to decapitate accepted authority and to lead the nations out of the misty regions of theocracy by means of revolution into the luscious meadows of democracy' (of nonsense). 'The sustained, unflagging search in the annals of mankind, and the understanding of man himself, is the great task of all revolutionaries and this had been understood by that proscribed poet-rebel who on three recent Monday evenings uttered his "DISSOLVING VIEWS" before a bourgeois audience in the course of his lectures on the history of the modern theatre.'

*'A Worker'*[432]

If that's not champion drivel,
Then I really don't know what is.[a]

*Vale faveque!*[b]

Your
K. M.

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## 181

## MARX TO ROLAND DANIELS[433]

### IN COLOGNE

[London, second half of May 1851]

... Communists must demonstrate that technological truths already attained can only become practicable under communist relations....

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[a] Here Marx paraphrases a proverb current in Westphalia (see this volume, p. 249). - [b] Good-bye and farewell.

# 182

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 June 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Daniels' house has been searched and he himself arrested. I don't think anything was found there.[434]

This morning I received a letter, obviously in Daniels' handwriting but unsigned, informing me of the above and asking me to remove *all* letters since it had been learnt from a 'reliable' (thus in the original) source that house searches would also be taking place here in England.

Whether that is legally possible I don't know. At any rate, I shall remove everything. You, too, would be well-advised to burn all—irrelevant—letters and to deposit the rest, those containing any data and the like, under seal with Mary[a] or your clerk.

It seems probable that an introduction from Daniels was found on Jacobi.

This morning at the same time I received, through a merchant, a letter from Weydemeyer, who is in hiding near Frankfurt. I enclose that letter. Do you happen to know the exact ratio, home to foreign, of Britain's trade, a figure which Weydemeyer wishes to know? The thing has changed significantly of late.

*Salut!*

Your
K. Marx

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[a] Mary Burns

# 183

## ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[435]

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

Manchester, 19 June 1851

Dear Hans,

Marx has just communicated to me a letter of yours from which I at last find a definite address for you, which I have been seeking for some time past. For I wish to consult you about the following matter:

Since arriving in Manchester[a] I have been swotting up military affairs, on which—at least to start off with—I found fairly adequate material here. I was prompted to do this by the immense importance which must attach to the *partie militaire*[b] in the next movement, combined with a long-standing inclination on my part, my articles on the Hungarian campaign in the days of the newspaper[c] and finally my glorious exploits in Baden,[264] and I would like to take it at least far enough to be able to join in theoretical discussion without making too much of a fool of myself. Now the material available to me here—on the Napoleonic and, to some extent, revolutionary campaigns—presupposes a mass of detail, my knowledge of which is non-existent or very superficial, and about which only superficial, if any, information can be obtained by dint of laborious research. Autodidacticism, however, is sheer foolishness and, unless one devotes oneself systematically to the thing, one achieves nothing worthwhile. What I now actually need, you will better understand if I remind you that—disregarding, of course, my promotion in Baden—I never rose higher than a Royal Prussian Bombardier in the *Landwehr*[436] and consequently my comprehension of the details of the campaigns—and indeed as regards the various arms of the service—is hampered by the absence of the middle link which, in Prussia, is provided by the subalterns' examination. I am not concerned, of course, with the tedious minutiae of military drill, etc., which would be of little use to me since my eye trouble, as I have now found out once and for all, renders me completely unfit for active service of any sort; rather, I am concerned with an

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[a] since mid-November 1850 - [b] military aspect - [c] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see present edition, vols. 8 and 9)

overall survey of the elementary knowledge needed in the various branches, going into detail only in so far as is necessary to enable me to understand and correctly evaluate historical facts of a military nature. Hence, e.g. elementary tactics, the theory of fortification, from a more or less historical point of view, comprising the various systems from Vauban up to the modern *forts détachés*,[a] along with an investigation into field works and other matters associated with the engineering branch, e.g. the various types of bridge, etc.; further, a general history of military science and the changes brought about by the development and perfection both of weapons and of the ways in which they are employed. Then something really sound on artillery, since I have forgotten a great deal and there is much I simply don't know; also other requirements which I can't think of just now, but which will certainly occur to you.

I would ask you to indicate sources on all these elementary matters and this in such a way that I can immediately get hold of the things. Indeed, what I would like best of all would be things from which I could see, on the one hand, the present general average state of individual branches and, on the other, the differences existing between the various modern armies. For instance, the different construction of field-piece carriages, etc., the different methods of sub-dividing and organising divisions, army corps, etc. Again I should be particularly interested in learning about the organisation of armies, commissariat, hospitals, about every aspect of the matériel necessary to any given army.

From this you will be able to gauge approximately what I need and which books you should recommend to me. I would suppose that as regards such manuals German military literature contains more useful matter than does the French or the English. I need hardly say that I am concerned with the knowledge of what is practical and really exists rather than with the systems or quirks of some unrecognised genius. As regards artillery Bem's manual[b] would no doubt be the best.

Anything I am able to find here on more recent military history—earlier periods are of relatively little interest to me and I've got old Montecucculi[c] for those—is naturally in French and English. Among the latter more especially Lieutenant-General William Napier's history of the Peninsular War—by far the best

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[a] detached forts - [b] J. Bem, *Erfahrungen über die Congrevschen Brand-Raketen...* - [c] This seems to refer to R. Montecucculi's main work *Memorie della guerra ed istruzione d'un generale.*

work of military history I have seen up till now. If you don't know it and are able to get hold of it there, it would be worth your while reading it (*History of the War in the Peninsula and the South of France,* 6 volumes). I have no German stuff and must certainly obtain some; Willisen and Clausewitz immediately spring to mind. What do you think of these two, and what is and what is not worth reading? Theoretical as well as historical. As soon as I have made some progress, I shall mug up properly on the campaigns of 1848/49, especially the Italian and Hungarian. Do you happen to know of a more or less official or otherwise reasonably sober account of the Baden affair from the Prussian side?

In addition can you recommend some good, specialised maps of Germany, not too expensive but adequate for the study of the campaigns since 1792 (in particular maps of Württemberg, Bavaria, Austria for 1801-1809, Saxony, Thuringia, Prussia for 1806/7 and 1813, North-East France for 1814, Lombardy, Hungary, Schleswig-Holstein, Belgium). I have the large Stieler[a] here, which, however, is far from adequate. Though I have here battle-plans for the period 1792-1814 in the atlas to Alison's *History of Europe*[b] since the French Revolution, I have discovered that several of them are inaccurate. Are there similar collections in Germany which, without being too dear, are nevertheless reliable?

Do you know Monsieur Jomini, of whom the French make such a fuss? I know of him only through Mr Thiers who, as everyone is aware, plagiarised him outrageously.[c] This little Thiers is one of the most bare-faced liars in existence; there is not one battle in which the relative strengths are correctly given. Since, however, Mr Jomini later made off to Russia, it may be supposed that he must have had motives for cutting down the *exploits de la bravoure française*[d] to something less than the super-human dimensions vouchsafed them by Mr Thiers, according to whom 1 Frenchman always whacks 2 foes.

*Voilà* a whole heap of questions. I hope, by the way, that the present persecution of Jews in Germany will spread no further.[437] However, I find Daniels' arrest disquieting. It would seem that they want to make searches here in order to implicate us; that would be no easy matter, however, and would fail dismally since they would find nothing.

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[a] *Stieler's Handatlas über alle Theile der Erde...* - [b] A. Alison, *History of Europe from the Commencement of the French Revolution...* - [c] A. Thiers, *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire.* - [d] exploits of French bravery

Marx will no doubt be writing to you about the scheme for organising from London a lithographic bureau for America.[a] But if this sort of thing is done properly, it rapidly runs into great expense here, and most of the American papers are by no means sound financially. Lupus is in London and Freiligrath likewise; at the beginning of this month I, too, was there for a fortnight.[423]

Since, by all accounts, you will also be arriving here soon, it would be best for you to come to some arrangement with one or more papers or periodicals to act as correspondent, etc. That sort of thing is very profitable in London, though admittedly most of the best-paying newspapers are already provided for. Another question is what the press is like in Germany just now.

Capitano Willich continues to live in, on, and with his barracks. What do you say to our erecting a magnificent counterpart to it?

Write soon to your

F. E.

Address:
Ermen & Engels,
Manchester

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## 184

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 27 June 1851

Dear Marx,

It is very *bonasse*[b] of the good Saxon police actually to inform us themselves of what we did not previously know or could not have discovered. Bürgers' didactically dignified circular letter with the

[a] See this volume, pp. 489-90. - [b] kindly

familiar *clair-obscur*[a] of its reasoning must have cost them much fruitless brain-racking[438]; they even picked out all the wrong passages for printing in bold. A pretty figure the great Windmillers[b] cut now, thrown out of their own party before the eyes of the whole world, the great Willich bracketed with Haude, Gebert and other such unknown rabble, with a certain 'Schopper' (derived from 'Schoppen')[c] whose rare services are so little known that even in *Cologne* they can't print his name correctly! So FAR ALL RIGHT. But Article 1 of the Rules bodes ill for the arrested men: 'all methods of revolutionary activity', or however it goes.[439] It removes the business from the sphere of mere prohibited association to that of high treason. To judge, by the way, from an allusion in the *Kölnische Zeitung,* I would seem to be right in supposing that the intention is to arraign the whole company in Berlin before the State tribunal which is to be brought into being specifically for this grandiose occasion.

The utter failure of the government's attempt to make a bogy out of the great Dresden disclosure augurs well for the mood of the bourgeoisie. So little terror does the red spectre now hold for the bourgeois that he refuses to listen to talk of a big communist plot and is already beginning to fear that the system of house searches will ere long be extended to himself.

Not a single paper has taken the bait and the government's frantic endeavour to discover further machinations in gymnastic societies, 'free communities'[350] and among democratically-minded master tailors proves, on the one hand, how much it is vexed by the indifference of the bourgeoisie whose curiosity it is seeking to whet, and, on the other, how little the Rules and the circular letter have led to further disclosures. It would seem that Miquel's house also was searched in vain.

*Qu'y a-t-il de nouveau à Londres?*[d]

Your
F. E.

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[a] half-light - [b] members of the London German Workers' Educational Society - [c] 'Der communistische Bund', *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 150, 24 June 1851. Instead of 'Schapper' the paper had 'Schopper', on which Engels made a pun by deriving it from 'Schoppen'—'a pint pot'. - [d] What's new in London?

## 185

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[435]

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

[London,] 27 June 1851

Dear Hans,

I am not at all sure whether I am doing the right thing in sending you a letter with Fabricius. What assurance have I that this man won't be nabbed at the border, since he is letting people here burden him with a veritable valiseful of letters?

As your proposed American plan—Engels may have already written to you about this[a]—has come to nothing, you will have no alternative but to come and reinforce us here. Something might even turn up that would enable us to collaborate—for payment, of course, *car il faut vivre.*[b]

I have now heard from a *reliable* source that betrayal and denunciation are playing a part in the arrests of our friends. I am *morally* convinced that Messrs Willich and Schapper and their good-for-nothing pack of rascally curs are directly taking part in this infamy. You will appreciate how important it is to these 'great men' *in partibus*[c] to remove such people in Germany as they believe to be directly in the way of their accession to the throne. The jackasses fail to comprehend that we regard them as jackasses and accord them at best our disdain.

Despite his respectably high-minded, broth-without-bread, non-commissioned officer's moral hypocrisy, Willich is a thoroughly common, mark well, *thoroughly common chevalier d'industrie, pillier d'estaminet*[d] and—or so I am told by a respectable philistine, though I cannot myself vouch for it—also *cardsharper.* The lad loafs around all day at the pub, a *democratic* pub, naturally, where he drinks *gratis,* bringing customers in lieu of payment and entertaining them with his stereotyped phrases about a future revolution in which the chevalier himself no longer believes, so often has he reiterated them under such widely disparate circumstances, and always with the same result. The fellow is a *parasite* of the basest kind—invariably, of course, under patriotic pretences.

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[a] See this volume, p. 373. - [b] for one has to live - [c] *in partibus infidelium* - in parts inhabited by infidels. Here: abroad, far from the fray - [d] adventurer, pillar of the taproom

All this individual's communism amounts to is a determination to tread the primrose path, always at the public expense, in communion with other footloose chevaliers. This man's activities consist solely in gossiping and lying about us in pubs, and boasting of connections in Germany which, though non-existent, are nevertheless taken for gospel by the Central clown A. Ruge,[440] the ideological boor Heinzen and by the stagey, coquettish, theologising belletrist Kinkel, connections of which he also boasts to the French.

Apropos, while this last-named sanctimonious Adonis runs off his legs in bourgeois *cercles,* permitting himself to be fed, cosseted, etc., etc., by them, he associates secretly and illicitly with Schapper and Willich in order to keep in touch with the 'Workers' Party' as well. This lad would greatly like to be all things to all men. In every respect he bears a most striking resemblance to Frederick William IV who is nothing more than a Kinkel enthroned and is afflicted with the same rhetorical leucorrhoea.

Were you to ask me how you are to subsist here, my answer would be: follow in the footsteps of the doughty Willich. He sows not neither does he reap, and yet the heavenly Father feeds him.[a]

But now *au sérieux!* If living in Germany is becoming too dangerous for you, it might be good for you to come here. If you could remain in Germany unmolested, that would, of course, be preferable, since it's more useful to have people there than here.

Your
K. M.

Apropos, Britain's overseas trade amounts to at least $^1/_3$ of its entire trade—more, since the repeal of the corn duties.[270] There is, by the by, no sense at all in Mr Christ's arguments.[b] Pinto[c] has already pointed out that, if $^{10}/_{10}$ are necessary to something, the final $^1/_{10}$ is as important as the previous $^9/_{10}$. Granted that Britain's overseas trade amounts to only $^1/_4$ (which is wrong), there can be no doubt that without that, the other $^3/_4$ would not exist, and still less the $^4/_4$ which alone can produce the numeral 1.

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[a] Matthew 6:26. - [b] The original has: Christmann. Marx refers to A. Christ, *Ueber den gegenwärtigen Stand der Frage der Schutzzölle.* - [c] I. Pinto, *Traité de la circulation et du crédit.*

The democrats have long been accustomed to miss no opportunity of compromising themselves, making themselves *ridicules,* and risking their own skins. But never has the impotence of the *infiniment petits*[a] succeeded in demonstrating itself so strikingly as in the paper which the local Central democrats—Ruge, Haug, Ronge, etc.—are bringing out. Under the presumptuous title *Der Kosmos* (or *Das Kosmos* as Freiligrath aptly calls it)[b] there appears a weekly scrawl the like of which, in its brazen and insipid insignificance, the German language—and that is saying a great deal—has never, perhaps, produced before. Not even one of little-German democratic parish magazines has ever brought forth such evil-smelling wind as this.

It would perhaps be as well if things were to remain quiet for a few years yet, so that all this 1848 democracy has time to moulder away. Untalented as our governments may be, they are veritable *lumina mundi*[c] as compared with these bumptious mediocre jackasses.

Adieu!

I am usually at the British Museum from 9 in the morning until 7 in the evening. The material I am working on is so damnably involved that, no matter how I exert myself, I shall not finish for another 6-8 weeks. There are, moreover, constant interruptions of a practical kind, inevitable in the wretched circumstances in which we are vegetating here. But for all that, for all that,[d] the thing is rapidly approaching completion. There comes a time when one has forcibly to break off. The democratic 'SIMPLETONS' to whom inspiration comes 'from above' need not, of course, exert themselves thus. Why should these people, born under a lucky star, bother their heads with economic and historical material? It's really all *so simple,* as the doughty Willich used to tell me. All so simple to these addled brains!—Ultra-simple fellows!

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[a] infinitely small (an expression used by P.-J. Béranger to describe the men of the Restoration in France, see present edition, Vol. 5, p. 514) - [b] Freiligrath apparently used the neutral instead of masculine gender to stress the amorphous and shallow character of this publication. - [c] lights of the world - [d] F. Freiligrath, 'Trotz alledem!'

# 186

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 6 July 1851]

Dear Marx,

After trailing around here for a week with my old man, I have happily sent him on his way again and today am at last able to send you the enclosed Post Office Order for 5 pounds. On the whole I can declare myself satisfied with the results of my encounter with the old man. He will need me here for three years at least, and I have entered into no long-term obligations, not even for 3 years, nor was I asked for any, either with regard to my writing, or to my staying here in case of a revolution.

This last would appear to be far from his mind, so secure do these people now feel! On the other hand, I stipulated at the very start what my expense and entertainment allowance was to be—approx. £200 a year, which was agreed without over-much difficulty. With such a salary, all should be well, and if there are no ructions before the next balance sheet and if business prospers here, he'll have quite a different bill to foot—even this year I'll exceed the two hundred pounds by far. Moreover, he has acquainted me with every aspect of his business, both here and over there and, since business has been very good and he is now more than twice as wealthy as he was in 1837, it goes without saying that I shan't be needlessly scrupulous.

Besides, the old man is artful enough, too. His plan, which, however, can only be executed very gradually and laboriously and, indeed, is unlikely to go through on account of the trouble with the Ermens, is that Peter Ermen should be moved to Liverpool, as he himself wishes, and that I should be left solely responsible for the office here—G. Ermen would then look after the mill. Thus I would be completely tied down. I, of course, feigned modesty, claiming that this was beyond my capabilities. Had my old man stayed here a few days longer, however, we'd have been at each other's throats; good fortune seems to upset the chap; he gets

above himself, reverts to his old schoolmasterly habits and becomes provocative. What's more, he's so stupid and tactless that, on the last day of his visit, for example, he sought to take advantage of the presence of one of the Ermens, before whom he thought I would keep my mouth shut and behave myself, to indulge himself at my expense by intoning a dithyramb in praise of Prussia's institutions. A word or two and a furious look were, of course, enough to bring him back to heel, but also just enough to place us suddenly on a less cordial footing—just at the moment of parting—and I can be quite sure that, one way or another, he will seek to avenge himself for this CHECK. *Nous allons voir.*[a] So long as the affair has no immediate, practical repercussions, i.e. on my financial situation, a dispassionate business relationship is obviously preferable to any kind of emotional humbug.

*Ceci entre nous.*[b]

The *Kölner Zeitung* hasn't been seen here since the beginning of July, perhaps because the subscription has been allowed to lapse, so I don't know whether anything further has happened. If you have any news, do pass it on to me. I shall at long last be able to start working properly again, now that the interruptions caused by the Exhibition[c] are more or less over and the Athenaeum catalogue[d] is finally complete. It is also my intention to move out into the country soon, so that I shall be completely undisturbed. Since I shan't see my old man within the year, I can arrange things to suit myself and use the expense allowance largely for other purposes.

Give my regards to your wife and write soon,

Your
F. E.

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[a] We shall see. - [b] This between ourselves. - [c] the Great Exhibition in London in 1851 - [d] See this volume, p. 316.

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## ENGELS TO ERNST DRONKE

### IN GENEVA

Manchester, 9 July 1851

Dear Dronke,

You have heard nothing from us for some considerable time—firstly because, since Galeer's death, we haven't had any address, and then because, after you had given us Schuster's address, news reached us that you yourself would soon be coming to England. But, since Lupus has now been in London for almost a month and we have heard nothing from you, we can only suppose that you will be remaining where you are for the time being.

You will have been informed of the happenings in London last autumn.[441] What you did not hear from this quarter you will have seen in the documents published since then. So to put you *au fait* I need only tell you about a few of the things that have happened in the meantime.

As I have been stuck here in Manchester since Nov. '50 and as Marx speaks little English, our connection with Harney and the Chartists was making little or no headway. This was exploited by Schapper, Willich, L. Blanc, Barthélemy, etc.,—in short, the whole Franco-German caboodle, displeased on the one hand with us and on the other with the Ledru-Mazzini Committee[442]—to get Harney involved in a banquet planned for 24 February; in this they succeeded. During that banquet the following curious things happened:

1. Two of our people who were present, one of them Schramm,[a] were thrown out by the German refugee rabble—the thing took a serious turn and legal proceedings might have ensued had we not been able to settle it well enough to satisfy the injured parties; on the other hand it led—momentarily—to somewhat strained relations with Harney, who showed weakness on that occasion. Jones, however, a fellow quite unlike Harney, is wholly on our side and is at present expounding the *Manifesto*[b] to the English.

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[a] Conrad Schramm and Wilhelm Pieper - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party.*

2. Mr Willich, for want of an address from Germany, read out one from Switzerland, beneath which was *your* signature among others. By what deception or forgery your name found its way onto such a document we here cannot of course know; at all events, you must duly investigate the matter, and let us have the necessary information. The address, by the way, is printed in the *compte rendu*[a] of the banquet with your name under it, and you can imagine the glee occasion by the name of someone from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* appearing at its foot.

3. The business of Blanqui's toast.[382] As a professed Blanquist, Barthélemy transmitted a request to Blanqui for a toast and Blanqui obliged with a splendid attack on the entire prov. government, Blanc and Co. included. Thunderstruck, Barthélemy laid it before the Committee, who resolved to suppress it. Blanqui, however, knew his men, the toast was published in the Paris papers[b] to coincide with the banquet and quite spoiled the dramatic effect. That pious little swindler, L. Blanc, now asserted in *The Times,* as did the Committee—Willich, Schapper, L. Blanc, Barthélemy, Vidil, etc.,—in the *Patrie,* that they knew nothing whatever about the toast.[c] The *Patrie,* however, added the comment that, in reply to their inquiries, Blanqui's brother-in-law, Antoine, had told them he had sent the toast to Mr Barthélemy and was in possession of an acknowledgment from the latter—one of the co-signatories of the statement. Barthélemy thereupon declared that this was so, that he accepted full responsibility, had lied, had received the toast but, in the interests of concord, had suppressed it.[d] Unfortunately, however, the ex-*capitaine de dragons* Vidil simultaneously declared that he wished to confess everything: the toast had been submitted by Barthélemy to the Committee and suppressed by a resolution of the latter.[e] Can one imagine a more horrid fiasco for the whole band? We translated the toast into German[f] and had 30,000 copies distributed in Germany and England.

During the November mobilisation[443] Willich, transported to the height of ecstasy by bogus letters, wanted to revolutionise the

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[a] account - [b] 'Toste envoyé par le citoyen L. A. Blanqui à la commission près les réfugiés de Londres, pour le banquet anniversaire du 24 février', *La Patrie,* No. 58, 27 February 1851. - [c] L. Blanc, 'To the Editor of *The Times*', *The Times,* No. 20741, 5 March 1851; ['La déclaration de la commission du Banquet des Egaux du 1 mars 1851'], *La Patrie,* No. 66, 7 March 1851. - [d] E. Barthélemy, 'Au rédacteur en chef du journal *La Patrie*', *La Patrie,* No. 71, 12 March 1851. - [e] J. Vidil, ['Letter to the editors of *La Patrie,*] *La Patrie,* No. 69, 10 March 1851. - [f] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Introduction to the Leaflet of L. A. Blanqui's Toast Sent to the Refugee Committee'.

world with the Prussian *Landwehr*.[385] We have in our hands some exceedingly comical documents and revolutionary plans relating to this.[a] They will be put to use in due course. First and foremost, all 'quill-pushing elements' were to be extirpated, root and branch, and the dictatorship of the mobilised Eifel peasants proclaimed. *Malheureusement il n'en fut rien.*[b]

Since then the associated great men, amidst mutual assurances of power and immortality, have been fruitlessly attempting to gain a footing somewhere. All in vain. And they have the gratification of knowing that, of all the house searches and arrests that have taken place in Germany, not one has been due to connections with themselves.

We, on the other hand, have the satisfaction of being rid of the entire loud-mouthed, muddle-headed, impotent émigré rabble in London, and of being at long last able to work again undisturbed. The innumerable private iniquities of that gang need not concern us. We have always been superior to the riff-raff and, in any serious movement, have dominated them; but we have, meanwhile, learnt an enormous amount from our experiences since 1848, and have made good use of the lull since 1850 to resume our swotting. If anything should blow up again, the advantage we shall have over them will this time be of quite a different order, and in fields, furthermore, of which they have small inkling. Apart from all that, we have the enormous advantage that, unlike us, they are place-seekers to a man. It is beyond comprehension that there should still be jackasses whose supreme ambition, after the experiences they have been through, is to join some government or other, *le lendemain même de la première insurrection victorieuse*[c]—as they call revolution—only to be spurned or thrown out in disgrace 4 weeks later, as were Blanc and Flocon in 1848! And a Schapper-Gebert-Meyen-Haude-Willich government to boot! Alas, the poor devils will never achieve this satisfaction; they will, alas, revert to being mere appendages and, as such, may continue to sow confusion in the small towns and among the peasantry.

What are you actually doing in Geneva? They say you are a husband and a father, and that you are also on very friendly terms with Moses[d]—with an eye to Mrs Moses.[e] Others have it that all this is sheer calumny but—at a distance of 10 degrees of latitude—that would be difficult to judge. Freiligrath, too, is in London and is bringing out a new volume of poetry. Weerth is in

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[a] See this volume, p. 320. - [b] Unfortunately, nothing came of it. - [c] on the very morrow of the first victorious insurrection - [d] Hess - [e] Sibylle Hess

Hamburg and, like myself, is writing business letters pending the next set-to. He brought nothing back from his travels in Spain, not even the clap. He is, by the way, coming to London this month. Red Wolff[a] has gone through various phases of being an Irishman, a worthy bourgeois, a madman and other interesting states, and has completely abandoned *Schnaps* in favour of HALF-AND-HALF. *Père* Marx goes daily to the library and is adding amazingly to his knowledge—but also to his family. Finally, as to myself, I drink rum and water, swot and spend my time 'twixt TWIST and tedium. So much for the Personal Column.

Since we over here have been compelled by the arrests in Germany to provide in many respects for the re-establishment of contacts, and to resume responsibility for much of the work we had delegated, it is essential that you write and tell us as soon as possible how things are in Switzerland. Reply at once, therefore, and should you want further elucidation, let us know upon what points. Write to me—CARE OF MESSRS Ermen & Engels, Manchester—via Calais.

Your
F. Engels

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## MARX TO ENGELS[220]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 July 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I have put off writing from day to day so as to send you complete the documents communicated below. But as they won't be complete for several days, I am writing today so as not to keep you waiting any longer for an answer.

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[a] Ferdinand Wolff

*D'abord.*[a] From your letter it would seem that, during your old man's visit to Manchester, you did not hear that a second document had appeared in the *Kölnische Zeitung* under the heading 'Der Bund der Kommunisten'.[b] This was the piece we wrote jointly, 'Ansprache an den Bund'[c]—*au fond,*[d] nothing less than a plan of campaign against democracy. From one point of view its publication was desirable, unlike Bürgers' document,[438] of which the form was absurd, *plus ou moins,*[e] and the content not very reassuring. On the other hand, certain passages will make the present prisoners' position more difficult.

From Louis Schulz[f] in Cologne I have heard that Bürgers writes most dolefully from Dresden. On the other hand it is generally believed in Cologne that Daniels will be released, since there is nothing against him, and all the wailers[300] in the Holy City have reacted in his favour. Naturally they consider him to be incapable of such 'foolery'.

Miquel has written from Göttingen. Has been subjected to several house searches. Nothing was found. Wasn't locked up. Five new emissaries—GENTLEMEN—have left Göttingen for Berlin, etc. The persecution of the Jews[437] has, of course, stimulated both zeal and interest.

The funniest thing is that that fatuous sheet, the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung,* attributes paternity of our document to Messrs Mazzini and Ruge, beats its breast over and over again and can find no better way of expressing its shock at the enormity than by crying at intervals, 'Madness! Madness! Madness!'[g]

The *Trier'sche Zeitung*—i.e. K. Grün—has, of course, climbed onto its high horse and used the first document to prove the material, and the second, the 'intellectual' impotence of the party.[h] Needless to say, neither the stock phrases of the friends of light[350] nor the most extreme 'anarchist' catch-words are wanting. Everything to be done from above! Police state! All dissenters literally to be proscribed and expelled. *Mon Dieu!* That really is the limit.

Now for the local storms—which customarily take place in a tea-cup.

First. Father Willich has bolted from the barracks—the demise

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[a] First of all. - [b] 'Der Communisten-Bund', *Kölnische Zeitung,* No. 156, 1 July 1851, supplement. - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Address of the Central Authority to the League', March 1850. - [d] basically - [e] more or less - [f] The original has: Schüler. - [g] 'Der Communistenbund', *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 186, 5 July 1851, supplement. - [h] 'Eine Polizei-Ente?', *Trier'sche Zeitung,* No. 158, 6 July 1851.

of which, it seems, has been decided—and has become deeply involved in squabbles with most of his bodyguard.

Second. The great Fickler has arrived here. A few days before he came to England he was in Strassburg with Lupus. Liebknecht has long been an intimate of his. Both, therefore, went to see him on 5 July. He chatted away most affably, spoke of the need for reconciling the parties, etc. Then they were joined by the great A. Goegg. He called Willich a 'mere fantasist', Schapper a 'disgusting character'—having several times heard the fellows blustering in the Windmill,[331] he had disassociated himself from them and hadn't darkened their door again. Fickler and Goegg inveighed with exceptional vigour against the great Kinkel, who here plays the role of happy parvenu, thus bringing down on his head the ire of the other great men. Ruge, on the other hand, was regarded as a kind of *lumen*.[a]

Fickler asked for my address and Lupus and Liebknecht departed, duped by the worthies and their striving for 'concord'.

A few days later Freiligrath sent me the following letter which he had received:

4 Brunswick Place, North Brighton,
4 July 1851

Dear Freiligrath,

We are planning a kind of club or society which does away with the privacy of such organisations and excludes no one from the revolutionary social democratic party save him who desires to be exclusive or is debarred by his own character and antecedents.

Fickler, Goegg, Sigel, Ronge and Ruge are promoting the affair and I have undertaken to inform you, and to invite you if, as I suppose, you are interested, to a meeting to be held for this purpose on 14 July (Monday week) at 11 in the morning at *Fickler*'s lodgings, 26 York Buildings, which form part of New Road[b] at the lower end of Baker Street. We have invited about 24 people whom we know to be reliable and to have remained true. At present we know of no more.

I would have liked to talk to you. If the plan comes off, this will be possible in any case. Even if you are not going to remain in London, you still ought to come.

With regards and a handshake.

Your
A. Ruge

*Qu'en dis-tu?*[c]

Freiligrath has made the great mistake of not sending off his answer until yesterday, 12 July, so that Ruge won't even get it

[a] luminary - [b] Now Marylebone Road - [c] What do you make of that?

before leaving Brighton for London. Freiligrath was altogether too lackadaisical over the matter. *Mais enfin chacun a sa manière d'agir.*[a] Lupus, to whom I communicated the letter, immediately wrote to Fickler:

10 July 1851

Citizen Fickler,

On the 5th of this month Liebknecht and I came to visit you. From the manner in which you addressed us, I could not possibly have inferred that only the previous day the following letter had been sent to Freiligrath. (The above letter follows.)

If, on the 5th of this month, I had so much as remotely suspected that such a connection existed between yourself and A. Ruge, that fatuous, insolent, rapscallion, I would certainly not have set foot inside your lodgings.

Since I perceive from the above, however, that you consort with a person *'who is debarred by his own character and antecedents'* (e.g. by his own cowardly flight from Berlin, etc.) from any truly revolutionary party, and who has already been sent to coventry by the whole communist party in Germany, I would hereby inform you that I neither will nor can have anything to do with people who move so intimately within the orbit of an individual such as Ruge.

W. Wolff

3 Broad Street, Golden Square

P.S. You can make whatever use you like of this note. I for my part shall bring it to the notice of my comrades in the party.

The above

To this Lupus received the following answer:

London, 11 July 1851

Dear Citizen Wolff,

So feeble indeed are my powers of prescience that they never remotely led me to fear the loss of your goodwill and of your company, should I associate with that 'rapscallion' Ruge.—More, I was not even aware of being subject in this respect to the tutelage of one section of the party and to police rule by the men of the future. It is to this want of percipience as also to what I have learned in twenty years of political activity, namely that there is not *one* political party able to avoid co-operating with rapscallions—that I owe my resolve to offer my hand to any qualified man desirous of treading the same revolutionary path as myself;—whether he goes no more than half way to the goal I have set myself; —whether he accompanies me all the way there, or whether he continues beyond it.

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[a] But after all, everyone has his own way of doing things.

Anathemas, whether political or religious, are anachronisms, even if emanating from Emperor or Pope;—how infinitely more ridiculous do they appear when hurled by the kinglets and popelets of a party which, to judge by public avowals, is as inconsistent as your own, and which today transforms into 'rapscallions' those in its own midst to whom only yesterday it accorded almost divine honours!

In the course of my life I have encountered disproportionately more 'rapscallions' than upright people, and have been disproportionately less deceived by the former than by the latter. I therefore waste no time in drawing distinctions of this kind, but rather look for those qualities which may be put to use in the most diverse ways.

Should you desire, therefore, together with Marx and Liebknecht—whom I would beg you to inform—to take part in the said 'meeting', I hereby invite you to it, only pointing out that it will be no more than a preliminary discussion and that the chief disadvantage for you, as for half the company in general, will probably be the absence of accommodation for the grosser portions of the anatomy—a fact which, however, should contribute materially to expediting the proceedings.

With warm regards

Yours
Fickler, etc.

The most comical thing about the whole business is and will remain the unending efforts of Ruge and his clique to thrust themselves on the public by constantly changing the combination. If it doesn't work as ABCDEF, it will assuredly do so as FEDCBA. Just try calculating how many variations and permutations of this kind are possible. Has there ever been a more impotent, ludicrously pretentious clique of barren jackasses?

Your
K. M.

Apropos, have received the 5 pounds. They arrived like a *deus ex machina*,[a] for CIRCUMSTANCES are ''orrible', and it's hard to see how to extricate oneself. Write *direct* to Klose (6 Upper Rupert Street, NEAR Princes Street, Soho), since the jackass will otherwise think that the letter he addressed to you, the one about the £10, remember? hasn't reached you.

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[a] a god from the machine (by which in ancient theatre gods were shown in the air); a power or an event that comes in the nick of time to solve difficulty.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, about 17 July 1851]
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Be so kind as to post enclosed letter for Schulz[444] in Manchester without delay.

Herewith you will find Freiligrath's letter to Ruge, which I would ask you to return, and Bermbach's letter to me. Also a letter from Miquel.

A certain 'Ulmer', a shoemaker, fled from Cologne at the time of the recent house searches. He gave a Straubinger[86] at Schärttner's a letter to take to his relations. Immediately afterwards this Straubinger was caught with the letter at the Dutch border. The only people to be compromised by this are those who set him free. So well organised are the police at the Schärttner place.

Weydemeyer has got across the border. We are expecting him here.

That wretched pair, Heinzen and Ruge, claim to have received all kinds of stupid tittle-tattle about the events in Cologne, allegedly from Germany. To judge by the total inaccuracy of the contents they are acting as their own correspondents.

Let me hear from you soon.

Your
K. M.

P.S. It has just occurred to me that it would be better if you were to send the letter to Bermbach yourself. On the outside namely: Louis Schulz, 2 Schildergasse, Cologne. Inside, the sealed letter to Bermbach. Of course you will see to it that the inside address is quite invisible, and seal the letter as a merchant does.

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# 190

## ENGELS TO MARX[220]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 17 July 1851

Dear Marx,

I'll write to Klose this very day[445]—I'm glad you included his address, which I hadn't got.

That you're in a pretty tight corner, I can readily conceive, and this is all the more vexatious as I shan't be able to lay my hands on another centime until the beginning of next month. If you can't wait so long, could it not be arranged for Weerth to advance you something until then? I can repay £5 on 1 August, and another £5 on 1 September, and that is as safe as cash.

The newspaper subscriptions here are at last in order again, and thus I have at last set eyes on our old document[a] in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. By the way, in an otherwise apparently well-informed article entitled 'Dresden', the Augsburg paper relates that, as a result of browbeating during interrogation, Nothjung eventually made the most sweeping confessions.[b] However, I think it more than probable that skilled interrogators can soon corner him and get him embroiled in the wildest contradictions. A Prussian official is said to have gone there to squeeze still more out of him. Apparently the King of Hanover[c] has refused to engage in persecution in his domains, at least in the crude manner usual in Prussia, Hamburg, etc., etc. Miquel's letter seems to bear this out. As you know, Martens has been arrested in Hamburg.[446] Incidentally, nowhere has the stupidity of the Prussians been more in evidence than during the house search at Carl am Rhein's, who was also suspected of belonging to the Communist League, and was found to have only letters from Raveaux!

The only passage in the old document that could harm the arrested men is the one about 'excesses',[447] all the rest is directed against the democrats and would aggravate their position only if they were to appear before a semi-democratic jury; but it seems

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Address of the Central Authority to the League, March 1850'. - [b] 'Noch umfassendere Haussuchungen in Aussicht. Umfassende Geständnisse des Schneiders Nothjung', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 189, 8 July 1851 (a report from Leipzig with reference to the *Dresdner Journal und Anzeiger*). - [c] Ernst August

likely that, if they come before a jury at all, it will be a hand-picked special, or federal, jury. And even these matters had been largely restated in the Bürgers document,[438] which was seized at the very start. In all other respects, however, it is of enormous advantage that the thing has been published and has appeared in all the newspapers. It will tremendously encourage the mute, isolated groups of aspiring communists of which one knows nothing and which, to judge by past experience, must exist all over Germany, and even the article in the Augsburg paper betrays that the thing has affected it in quite a different way from the first disclosures. Its arrangement of the material shows that it has understood the 'madness' only too well—*en effet il n'y avait pas moyen de s'y méprendre.*[a]

Moreover, so madly and recklessly is feudal reaction galloping into the fray that the bogy that had been raised is not having the slightest effect on the bourgeoisie. It is too amusing to see how the *Kölnische Zeitung* daily preaches that *il faut passer par la mer rouge*[b] and admits all the mistakes made by the Constitutionalists of 1848. But in truth, with a Kleist-Retzow as Oberpräsident in Coblenz and with the impertinent *Kreuz-Zeitung*'s[c] flat jokes and doggerel becoming ever more insulting, what can the cultured and sober constitutional opposition do? It's a pity we don't have the *Kreuz-Zeitung* over here. I see sundry excerpts from it. You can have no conception of the excessively vulgar, guttersnipish, cretinously Prussian manner in which that rag is now belabouring the decent, well-to-do and respectable constitutional bigwigs. If fellows such as Beckerath and Co. possessed even so much as an ounce of self-respect and resilience, they would be bound to prefer the maltreatment and abuse of a *Père Duchesne,* in the rude Rhenish manner and the entire *terreur rouge,*[d] to the treatment they have to endure daily at the hands of the Junkers and the *Kreuz-Zeitung.*

> Then spake the donkey: 'Furthermore
> Wesel has a councillor.
> And were I not a moke,' quoth he,
> 'A Wesel councillor I'd be'[e]

—such are the witty verses with which the *Kreuz-Zeitung* is now bespattering each of the great constitutional figures *seriatim* and

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[a] indeed, there could be no mistake about it - [b] the Red Sea must be crossed (see Exodus 13:18; 15:22). - [c] *Neue Preussische Zeitung* - [d] red terror - [e] 'Kreistags-Lieder, II', *Neue Preussische Zeitung,* No. 137, 17 June 1851. (In the original the rhyme is based on the words 'Esel' (donkey) and 'Wesel', the name of the councillor.)

the fellows meekly put up with it. But it serves these dogs right, who once decried the best articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as 'vulgar abuse', to have the difference knocked into their cowardly skulls. They will look back nostalgically to what was, by comparison, the infinitely Attic raillery of the *N.Rh.Z.*

The Willich business[a] is like a ray of sunshine on a cloudy day. So the 'most popular of men' has reached the zenith of his popularity and may now, as unrecognised saviour of humanity, console himself for the world's ingratitude with a pot of beer and Schapper's friendship. I can imagine his distress, now that the army of the future, the 'nucleus' round which the whole of Europe was to gather, has been destroyed. Where will the noble fellow find his new 'men of principle'?

I can't quite make sense of the Fickler business.[b] Why did Lupus go straight to Fickler instead of first getting Liebknecht to take soundings, *puisque celui-ce n'aurait compromis que lui-même*[c]? It looks as though they were trying to win Fickler over. And then, after Lupus had been there, his letter was altogether too brutal. Either it was not worth taking any trouble at all with Fickler, or—after Ruge had been set up as a kind of *lumen*[d] during the actual conversation that took place between Fickler and Goegg—it would have been enough to break with him without doing it so thoroughly and brutally. It was a mean trick on Fickler's part, *c'est clair,*[e] but should it not have been assumed from the outset that South German worthies are capable of such things? And he had certainly made no secret of his respect for Ruge. Ruge's importunity is, of course, unspeakable. But these ever new variations are in themselves proof enough that not one of them can have any appeal whatsoever, and that the '*comité allemand*'[f] to which Mazzini sends his Roman Epistles[g] is still no more than a figment of Ruge's imagination.

See to it that Weerth comes here, and write again soon.

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p. 385. - [b] ibid. - [c] since the latter would have compromised no one but himself - [d] luminary - [e] that's clear - [f] the German Committee (i.e. the Committee for German Affairs) - [g] An ironical comparison of Mazzini's appeal to the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans (New Testament).

# 191

## ENGELS TO MARX[448]

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 20 July 1851]

Dear Marx,

I return the documents herewith. I like the letter from Miquel. The fellow does at least think, and would assuredly turn out very well if he were to spend some time abroad. His fears concerning the ill-effects of our document,[a] now published, on the democrats are without doubt perfectly correct as regards his own district; this primitive, Lower Saxon, middle peasant democracy, whose arse the *Kölnische Zeitung* has recently been licking and to whom it has offered an alliance, is just what one might expect and is greatly inferior to the philistine democracy of the larger towns by which, after all, it is dominated. And this humdrum, petty-bourgeois democracy, although obviously much piqued by the document, is itself so pinched and oppressed that it is far more likely, in common with the big bourgeoisie, to come round to the necessity of *passer par la mer rouge*.[b] The fellows will increasingly resign themselves to the need for a short reign of terror by the proletariat—it can't, of course, last very long, for so nonsensical, indeed, is the actual tenor of the document that there can be no question of permanent rule by such people or of the eventual implementation of such principles! On the other hand the Hanoverian big and middle peasant, who has nothing but his land, and whose house, farm, barn, etc., are exposed, with the prospective ruin of all the assurance companies, to every kind of peril, and who in any case, since the accession of Ernst August, has tasted all the sweets of lawful resistance—this STURDY German YEOMAN will take good care not to enter the Red Sea any sooner than he has to.

According to Bermbach's letter, the traitor was Haupt—which I cannot believe.[449] The business must in any case be investigated. It

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Address of the Central Authority to the League, March 1850'. - [b] crossing the Red Sea (see Exodus 13:18; 15:22)

may of course seem suspicious that Haupt, at least so far as I know, is still free. The possibility of travelling to Hamburg from Göttingen or Cologne cannot be entertained. What sort of explanation will emerge, and when, from the record of the trial or from the proceedings is impossible to say. *S'il y a trahison,*[a] it must not be forgotten, and it would be most desirable, given the opportunity, were an example to be made.

I hope that Daniels will be released soon, *après tout c'est la seule tête politique, qu'il y ait dans Cologne*[b] and, despite surveillance by the police, he would still be in a position to keep the business on the right track.

To come back to the effect of our document on the democrats: Miquel should not forget that we have continuously and uninterruptedly harried the gentry in writings which were, after all, more or less party manifestos. Why, then, the present outcry about a programme that merely sums up in a very calm and, above all, quite impersonal manner, what has already long been in print? Did our disciples on the continent, then, deny us? Did they involve themselves more deeply with the democrats than party policy and party honour permitted? If it was because of freedom from contradiction that the democrats shouted in such revolutionary tones, who was it that freed them from contradiction? Not we, to be sure, but in all likelihood the German communists in Germany. And there, it would seem, lies the snag. Any democrat with a modicum of intelligence must have known from the start what was to be expected of our party—the document cannot have taught him much that was new. In so far as they allied themselves *pro tempore* with the communists, they were fully *au fait* with the conditions and duration of the alliance, and no one but Hanoverian middle peasants and lawyers could have ever believed that the communists had, after 1850, turned away from the principles and the policy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* The thought certainly never occurred to Waldeck and Jacoby. Anyhow, in the long run publications of this kind can have no effect either on the 'nature of things' or on the 'concept of relation', to use Stirner's expressions,[c] and the democrats will soon be in full cry again, wire-pulling as busily as ever and proceeding hand in hand with the communists. And we have long known that, on the *lendemain*[d] of the movement, the fellows are bound to

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[a] If there is treason - [b] after all, he's the only political brain in Cologne - [c] See M. Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum* - [d] morrow

play us some dirty tricks. No amount of diplomacy will prevent this.

On the other hand, I am delighted that, as I anticipated, small communist groups are being formed everywhere on the basis of the *Manifesto*.[a] This is just what we lacked, the General Staff having hitherto been so weak. There'll never be any shortage of rank and file when it comes to the point, but it is agreeable indeed to have in prospect a General Staff not consisting of Straubinger[86] elements, and admitting of a wider selection of men with a modicum of education than does the existing staff of 25. It would be a good idea to issue a general recommendation to carry out propaganda among office workers everywhere. In the event of having to set up an administration, such fellows would be indispensable—they are accustomed to hard work and intelligible book-keeping, and commerce is the only practical school for reliable clerks. Our jurists, etc., are no good for that. Clerks for book-keeping and accounts, talented, well-educated men for preparing dispatches, letters, and documents, *voilà ce qu'il faut*.[b] I could organise an administrative office infinitely more simply, practically and more conveniently with 6 office workers than with 60 government advisers and financial experts. The latter cannot even write legibly, and make such a mess of one's books that the devil himself couldn't make head or tail of them. Since we are increasingly obliged to prepare for this eventuality, the matter is not without importance. Besides, these office workers, being accustomed to sustained mechanical activity, are less exacting, more easily kept from loafing about, and easier to get rid of in case of inefficiency.

The letter to Cologne has gone off—all nicely taken care of[c]; if it doesn't arrive safely, I don't know why. Otherwise Schulz's address isn't to be recommended—ex-co-publisher[d]!

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* - [b] that's what is needed - [c] See this volume, p. 388. - [d] Schulz was responsible editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* at one time.

# 192

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 30 July 1851

Dear Marx,

I am surprised not to have heard from you for a fortnight.

Our predictions in the last *Revue* of an enormous expansion in ocean-going steam shipping are already being borne out.[a] Apart from several small lines, there are now two new, large and highly important lines in operation: 1. the screw-vessels from Liverpool to Philadelphia—every fortnight—4 vessels in the line; 2. the steamers between Liverpool, Rio de Janeiro and Valparaiso, etc., every 7 weeks, 4 vessels in the line. Furthermore, in a month or two there will be regular overland journeys to California—New York, to San Juan, from there by steamer to Lake Nicaragua—overland to Léon, thence direct to San Francisco; the journey to California cut by a week at least.

Next month a train will be running between London and Aberdeen—550 English miles, or 8 degrees of latitude, in one day.

One can now travel from Leeds to London and back for five shillings with one railway company and four and sixpence with another. Next Saturday the fares are going to be reduced here as well. If they get as low as that, I shall come to London at least once a fortnight.

Provided nothing untoward happens within the next 6 weeks, this year's cotton crop will amount to 3,000,000 bales or 1,200 million to 1,350 million lbs in weight. *Jamais on n'a vu la plante aussi florissante.*[b] At the same time symptoms of declining trade: East India is overstocked and is crying out for a STOPPAGE of imports of cotton goods, in this country the market for yarn and cloth still upset by fluctuating cotton prices—if the CRASH in the market coincides with such a gigantic crop, things will be cheery indeed. Peter Ermen

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Review, May to October 1850'. - [b] Never has the plant appeared more flourishing.

is already fouling his breeches at the very thought of it, and the little tree-frog's a pretty good barometer.

*Voilà*[a] the industrial potpourri for today.

Your
F. E.

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## 193

## MARX TO ENGELS[450]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 31 July 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I have just received your letter which opens up very pleasing prospects of a trade crisis.

I haven't written for about a fortnight because during such time as I haven't spent at the library, I've been harried from pillar to post and hence, despite the best will in the world, have constantly been deflected from writing.

After I'd been put off from week to week—at first, from month to month—by the two Bambergers, father and son,[b] with the promise that they'd discount a bill for me, after I had at length been summoned to the Jew's place for that purpose last Monday,[c] and had actually brought the STAMPED PAPER with me, the younger one explained that the old one, who was also present, could not ect., etc.

It was highly regrettable that I couldn't give those two Jews a box on the ears for such infamous stalling and wasting of time and for putting me in a *fausse*[d] position vis-à-vis other people.

Incidentally, I have Mr Conrad Schramm to thank, if not in *fact*, then in *principle*, for my having been bamboozled, truly *à la*

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[a] there's - [b] Simon and Louis Bamberger - [c] 28 July 1851 - [d] false

Sancho, first for months on end, and then again for the past 6 weeks.

As you know, that individual left for Paris four or five weeks ago. In their usual fashion, our precious friends here—e.g. that booby Hain—have only just divulged what they have long known about the blackguard. But I am now forbidding them to raise an 'outcry', as it could only do more harm than good. Well, one evening—I don't know whether I've written to you about this before—I was told by Mr Schramm that he intended to leave in 2×24 hours. I therefore decided to take the necessary steps regarding League[a] documents and other papers still in Mr Conrad's possession. That same evening I learned through Liebknecht that Mr Conrad refused to hand over these documents, but had given them to Mr Louis Bamberger under sealed cover. And what made rapid action even more necessary was my discovery, upon emerging from the Museum[b] the *following* day, that Mr Vagabond wasn't leaving in 2×24 hours,but actually within the first 24 hours, i.e. at 2 o'clock the following morning. The precious Conrad had asked for a private rendezvous with me that evening, but I thwarted him by taking Lupus, Liebknecht and Pieper with me. Hardly had we SETTLED down in an INSULATED pub, when I called on Mr Conrad to account for his doings over the documents, etc. As always when he makes a *faux pas*,[c] the fellow flew off the handle, declaring that he wouldn't hand over the documents since *he* needed them to vindicate himself, and other inanities. He was, he said, as much the League as you and me, he too was capable of deeds of deliverance. He had no idea, he went on, whether or not I was head of the district in London. Then Stirnerisms about his uniqueness in the party.[d] Some of the others, particularly Lupus, flared up; he threatened to make off, shouted, raved—all *connu*.[e] Once again I quelled the tumult, and since I know how to handle the lad, and no purpose could be served by a rumpus, the point being to get hold of the documents and that without delay—I succeeded with threats and smooth talk in persuading Mr Conrad to give me a note for Bamberger instructing the latter to hand over the sealed package to me.

This I obtained the following day. It contained everything, even including your and my statement against A. Ruge,[f] which the precious Conrad had not after all sent to the *Staatszeitung*,

[a] the Communist League - [b] the British Museum - [c] false move - [d] A pun on M. Stirner's *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum* - [e] familiar stuff - [f] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Statement, 27 January 1851'.

probably because he had told his brother[a] so many lies that he was afraid of any—public—explanation.

At the same time this blackguard—thinking to further his own business thereby—had warned the Bambergers against me, telling them that I had exhausted the last of my credit to meet the last bill etc., etc. In general he has intrigued against and calumniated us, etc., in the meanest fashion.

Now—all this being a *fait accompli*—we mustn't, as the boobies here wanted to do and in fact did, cry out in self-righteous indignation, but rather let the vagabond continue for a while to believe he's still connected with us, until such time as we have the power and the opportunity to dispose of the fellow, *d'une manière ou de l'autre.*[b] If we were in any way to confront him with our knowledge of his dishonourable scoundrelly conduct, he might at this moment constitute a real danger to our German comrades.

You will believe, by the by, without my insisting, that I am damned sick of my situation. I've written to America to find out whether there's any possibility of setting up, in collaboration with Lupus, as correspondent here for a couple of dozen of journals. It is IMPOSSIBLE to go on living like this.

As to the negotiations with Ebner in Frankfurt, he writes to say that Cotta will probably take my Political Economy—of which I sent an outline—and that, if not, he will find another publisher. I should have finished at the library long ago. But there have been too many interruptions and disturbances and at home everything's always in a state of siege. For nights on end, I am set on edge and infuriated by floods of tears. So I cannot of course do very much. I feel sorry for my wife. The main burden falls on her and, *au fond,*[c] she is right. *Il faut que l'industrie soit plus productive que le mariage.*[d] For all that[e] you must remember that by nature I am *très peu endurant*[f] and even *quelque peu dur,*[g] so that from time to time I lose my equanimity.

Julius was buried about a week ago. I was present at the funeral. The precious Kinkel delivered a few platitudes at the grave-side. Julius was the only one of the émigrés who applied himself to study and was progressively moving away from idealism into our own sphere.

The precious Dulon is here.

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[a] Rudolf Schramm - [b] one way or another - [c] at bottom - [d] Industry ought to be more productive than marriage. - [e] F. Freiligrath, 'Trotz alledem!' - [f] not at all patient - [g] rather hard

Heinzen and Ruge are still thundering in the New York *Schnellpost* against the communists and against ourselves in particular. But the stuff's so abysmally stupid that it's impossible to deal with it other than by selecting, at some opportune moment, the funniest bits in Ruge's concoctions and thereby revealing to the Germans by whom, *malgré eux*,[a] they are ruled.

Have you by any chance read Proudhon's latest book[b]?

Weydemeyer has written to me from Zurich. Karstens[c] is jailed in Mainz. He made an unsuccessful attempt to escape.[451]

*Vale faveque.*[d]

Your
K. M.

It would, by the by, be a very good idea if you were to write a signed article for Jones. He is making progress with his paper. He is learning. *Ce n'est pas un* Harney.[e] The *Notes to the People* is, accordingly, on the up and up, while *The Friend of the People* is going to pot.

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## 194

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 1 August 1851]

Dear Marx,

Enclosed the 2nd half of the 5 pound note.

I didn't know that Schramm had gone off to Paris.[f] You had told me nothing about it. Hence it was with the utmost astonishment that I read in the *Kölnische Zeitung* that he had been drowned—it can't, alas, be true. The cur is very obtrusive—we

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[a] against their will - [b] P. J. Proudhon, *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX^e siècle.* - [c] Friedrich Lessner - [d] Good-bye and farewell - [e] He's not a Harney. - [f] Reference to Conrad Schramm (see this volume, p. 397).

have allowed him to become too familiar—and he's a complete blackguard. However, you're perfectly right in saying that protests and recriminations are useless; we must just leave the fellow to go his own way until we have him in our power. As I said, it would have been quite a good thing if he really had been drowned in the Channel; but as likely as not he spread the rumour himself—*c'est une manière comme une autre de faire parler de soi.*[a]

So Weydemeyer's going to America to see whether he can take over the New York *Arbeiterzeitung* presently being run by Fenner von Fenneberg. If he can stay in New York he will be more useful to us there than in London, where the *embarras*[b] would only be made worse. A reliable chap like him is just what we've been wanting in New York and after all, New York isn't the back of beyond and with Weydemeyer one can be sure that, *le cas échéant,*[c] he would immediately be to hand.

The lithographic correspondence[d] scheme is quite a good one. Only you must keep it completely under your hat. Should little Bamberger[e] and others ever get hold of the idea, they would immediately steal a march on you. As soon as the initial arrangements have been made I should, if I were you, advertise in the German-American papers and, indeed, sign the thing myself, as director, to give it appeal. If it can be done on your responsibility and you think it might help in some way to name me as collaborator, you are, of course, entirely at liberty to do so. If, however, you want to keep your name out of the affair, although I see absolutely no need for this, *car enfin,*[f] why shouldn't you, too, be entitled to set up an industrial firm and carry on the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in lithograph—the man to set up the firm is Lupus. In this connection Weydemeyer could be of great service to you in New York, especially as regards the collection of money, which is the main thing. I'm convinced the thing will have enormous appeal and that the many American correspondents in London, etc., will soon become aware of it.

If you name yourself as a director there can be no question but that the thing will attract more custom, and this right from the outset; if you choose to name only Lupus, there's no longer any moral responsibility, and his Silesian tirades *à la* Luther, which are very well suited to the German Americans,—better than your style, which compels them to think—can be given free rein.[452] In

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[a] it's as good a way as any other of getting oneself talked about - [b] confusion - [c] should the occasion arise - [d] See this volume, pp. 373, 489-90. - [e] Louis Bamberger - [f] for after all

any case you must make a point of writing as badly and as *décousu*[a] as possible, otherwise you'd soon be in hot water with your readers.

What's this new thing of Proudhon's you mention[b]?

I shall write a signed article for Jones[453]; I only wish that he would send me as complete a run as possible of his *Notes*,[c] which isn't to be had here. What is his address? I've forgotten it.

From America, too, reports on the cotton goods trade sound bad. The markets are OVERSTOCKED, and the YANKEES themselves are producing too much, given the present state of the market.

Write again soon, I am bored to death here.

Your
F. E.

N.B. Always keep your papers well away from home; for some time now I've been under very close observation here and can't move a step without having 2-3 INFORMERS at my heels. Mr Bunsen will not have missed the opportunity of providing the British government with new and important disclosures about how dangerous we are.[454]

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## 195

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[43]

### IN ZURICH

[London,] 2 August 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

Engels has just sent me your letter, which I hasten to answer. I would, of course, have liked very much—if it was impossible to keep you here—at least to see and talk to you before you left.

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[a] disjointedly - [b] See this volume, pp. 409-16. - [c] *Notes to the People*

But if you are really going to America you couldn't have chosen a better moment, both as regards finding a source of livelihood there and being of service to our party.

For it is almost as good as certain that you will obtain a position as editor with the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung*. It was previously offered to Lupus. Enclosed is a letter from him to Reichhelm, the co-proprietor of the paper. So much for the industrial aspect. But you have no time to lose.

On the other hand, Mr Heinzen, and with him the worthy Ruge, sounds weekly trumpet blasts against the communists, especially myself, Engels, etc., in the New York *Schnellpost*. Our local democratic riff-raff have a pit over there where they deposit their guano which forces neither seed nor fruit but rather a luxuriant growth of weeds. Finally Heinzen is harrying the *Staatszeitung*, which is no match even for this opponent.

Whatever the attitude of the *Staatszeitung* to American politics, you will have *la voix libre*[a] as regards European politics. Heinzen goes around posing as a great writer. The American press will be delighted by the arrival of someone who will rap this loud-mouthed poltroon over the knuckles.

If you become editor, we shall give your department every support. Unfortunately that blackguard and jackass, Seiler, is the *Staatszeitung*'s London correspondent. In addition, the member of the European government,[b] Ruge, needs to have his mouth stopped.

Your article against Christ[c] is good. I have no alterations to suggest but would simply remark, by way of parenthesis, that the workers in the manufacturing areas do indeed marry in order to coin *money* out of the children. It's a sad fact but a true one.

As you can imagine, my circumstances are very dismal. My wife will go under if things continue like this much longer. The constant worries, the slightest everyday struggle wears her out; and on top of that, there are the infamies of my opponents who have *never yet* so much as attempted to attack me as to the substance, who seek to avenge their impotence by casting suspicions on my civil character and by disseminating the most unspeakable infamies about me. Willich, Schapper, Ruge and countless other democratic rabble make this their business. No

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[a] a free say - [b] i.e. the Central Committee of European Democracy - [c] Probably Weydemeyer's critical article on A. Christ's *Ueber den gegenwärtigen Stand der Frage der Schutzzölle*

sooner does someone arrive from the Continent than he is collared and worked upon so that he in turn takes up the self-same handiwork.

A few days ago the 'famous' referendary Schramm,[a] on meeting an acquaintance in the street, at once whispered in his ear: Whatever the outcome of the revolution, everyone is agreed that Marx is *perdu*.[b] Rodbertus, who has the best prospects, will have him shot outright—and all the rest likewise. I, of course, would make a joke of the whole dirty business; not for one moment do I allow it to interfere with my work but, as you will understand, my wife, who is poorly and caught up from morning till night in the most disagreeable of domestic quandaries, and whose nervous system is impaired, is not revived by the exhalations from the pestiferous democratic cloaca daily administered to her by stupid tell-tales. The tactlessness of some individuals in this respect can often be colossal.

By the by, there's no question of parties here. The great men, despite their *professed* disparity of views, do nothing except mutually underwrite one another's importance. Never has revolution brought a hollower crew to the surface.

When you reach New York, go and see A. Dana of the *New-York Tribune* and give him my and Freiligrath's regards. He may be of use to you. As soon as you arrive, write to me at once, but still care of Engels, who is better able to afford the postage than any of us. At any rate I expect a line or two from you before you actually put to sea. When your wife[c] arrives, convey to her the warm regards of myself and my wife.

If you are able to remain in New York, you will not be very far from Europe and, with the wholesale suppression of newspapers in Germany, it is only over there that we can conduct the struggle in the press.

Your
K. Marx

P.S. I have just learnt that the great men, Ruge and clique, Kinkel and clique, Schapper, Willich and clique, and these great ones' go-betweens, Fickler, Goegg and clique, have combined to form a spongey mass.[455] Remember the story of the peasant who sold a dozen bushels a time at below cost price. But, he said, it's

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[a] Rudolf Schramm - [b] lost - [c] Louise

the volume that does it; and that's what these weaklings also say: it's the volume that will do it. The cement, by the by, which has kneaded this dough together, is hatred of the '*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* clique', and in particular of myself. When there's a dozen of them together, they're proper fellows.

If you don't become master of the *Arbeiterzeitung* in New York—which would undoubtedly be best—if, that is, you are compelled to negotiate with the *Staatszeitung*, beware of your friend *Kapp*, who's always in and out of the place. We have proof to hand that this individual—for what reason I know not—is one of the main intriguers against us.

*Adieu mon cher.*

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## 196

## ENGELS TO WILHELM WOLFF

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 August 1851

Dear Lupus,

I shall make inquiries here about Mr Kendall this very day, and let you know tomorrow what I find out about him. Were I to approach him myself at this stage, before he has given you an answer, and some indication that he is considering you, the only result would be that he would dismiss me very coolly and with inadequate information. These GENTLEMEN are extremely formal. Not long ago Hain also applied to this same Kendall for a post and promptly mentioned my name, yet Kendall did not think it worth the trouble to approach me for information about him—if, *after* this incident, I were to importune Kendall, this could only do you harm. As soon as you have an answer from Kendall, let me know and tell me what he writes; I'll then at once go to him and find out everything I can, and shall do my best to make him well

disposed towards you. Of course, if it were not for Hassenpflug's warrants against you, you would be engaged straight away. But even so, all will probably be well. If I could somehow procure you a position here it would be splendid, but unfortunately I have too few acquaintances in this LINE, and only in modern languages is there permanent employment for private tutors, and of these there are enough. I shall see, by the way, about setting Watts in motion—the fellow is in the EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT[339] and now has a mass of connections.

Your
F. E.

In future, wet the glue on your ENVELOPES more thoroughly—your letter arrived ±[a] open.

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## 197

## ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[293]

### IN ZURICH

Manchester, 7 August 1851

Dear Weydemeyer,

Many thanks for your information. If you can get anything further out of Hoffstetter,[456] I would be much obliged to you. I should, by the way, have thought that you might still remember from earlier days the titles of a few manuals and other military text-books; what I need particularly is precisely the utterly commonplace and ordinary stuff required for the ensign's and lieutenant's examination, and which for that reason is generally assumed to be common knowledge. I had already acquired a Decker in Switzerland, in a bad French translation and without

[a] more or less

plans,[a] but Marx has mislaid it, and will hardly be able to find it again. I will get hold of the atlas myself, but must also have a map of Hungary. I see that the Austrian General Staff has published several works on the subject; tell me whether your map is of this kind and how much it costs; at the very worst, it's bound to be more serviceable than the large Stieler.[b] As regards Baden and the Rhine frontier between Baden and Switzerland, I salvaged sufficient maps from the campaign.[457] I shall now find out about prices, etc., from Weerth, who is back in Hamburg, and then see what to buy. But as I said, any further information you can obtain for me will be most welcome.

It is bad that you should be going to America, and yet I honestly don't know what other advice I should give you if you can't find anything in Switzerland. There's nothing much doing in London, and Lupus still hasn't found anything here. He's looking round for a position, and I am trying to obtain one for him here, but so far without success. As regards music, the competition here is enormous. *Après tout,*[c] looked at from England and particularly from here, New York does not seem so very far away, when you see STEAMERS regularly making the passage, which begins on a Wednesday and ends on the Saturday of the following week, and seldom taking the full 10 days. In New York you will also find little red Becker[d]; he was recently in the dispatch department of the *Arbeiterzeitung,* but whether he is still there I don't know, since I have not heard from him for a long time. His last address was 24 North William Street, UPSTAIRS, but should you not be able to discover his present one, you can certainly find out where he is from Lièvre, Shakespeare Hotel, or at the *Staatszeitung.* In New York, by the way, there's a great deal to be done, and a proper representative of our party, who has also had a theoretical training, is badly needed there. You'll find enough material there, your greatest obstacle, however, being the fact that reliable Germans, those who are worth anything, readily become Americanised and give up all idea of returning; and then there are the special American circumstances to be considered—the ease with which the surplus population can drain off into the country, the necessarily rapid, indeed ever more rapid, increase in the country's prosperity—which cause them to regard bourgeois conditions as the *beau idéal,* etc. Such of the Germans there as are

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[a] C. Decker, *La Petite guerre, ou Traité des opérations secondaires de la guerre* (see this volume, p. 331). - [b] *Stieler's Handatlas über alle Theile der Erde...* - [c] After all - [d] apparently Max Joseph Becker

minded to return are mostly good-for-nothing individuals, exploiters of revolution—*à la* Metternich or Heinzen—, who are the more pitiful the more subordinate they are. You will, incidentally, find the fatherland's imperial rabble[458] in New York. That you'll be able to support yourself there, I have no doubt—besides New York, the only place that is at all tolerable is St Louis; Philadelphia and Boston are ghastly holes.

If you could win the paper over, that would be splendid. Otherwise, make sure that you approach the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung,* which is very favourable to us and whose European reports were constantly under our supervision.

The best thing would be for correspondence from there to go through me, I can then get the postage paid by the firm.

I hear very little about the barracks now, save that Willich has quarrelled with that crew and no longer lives in barracks. The nucleus of the army of the future has been disbanded,[a] so Marx informs me, and Willich is without a Besançon.[459] *Quelle horreur!* This Willich, by the way, is not merely a fool but an infinitely perfidious, malicious fellow, whose wickedness—serving as tool for the most colossally and unimaginably puffed-up vanity and self-adulation—knows absolutely no bounds. Never have I seen a creature who is so consummate a liar. I can assure you that I have literally never heard a true word fall from his lips. You can hardly conceive the figure cut by this fellow as a result of the *idée fixe* that, thanks to his genius as soldier, politician and organiser of societies, he is destined to lead the revolution to victory and completion. This folly has, of course, come upon him only by degrees. While considering him capable of any dirty trick, no matter how base, I do not, by the way, believe him guilty of actual betrayal on this occasion. The Hamburg affair has resolved itself in a different fashion; Bruhn, the only agent Willich and Schapper have there, is not the traitor. Haupt is said to have blabbed, but this I cannot believe.[460]

We, naturally, leave the whole crew to their own devices—their activity being, of course, confined to rodomontade, the forging of crazy schemes, and abuse of ourselves—and leaves us indifferent. We have no need to keep them under observation, this being done for us by the Prussian police. Not a word is spoken in Schärttner's pub, where they meet, that isn't reported.

Anyhow, write to me again before you leave and give me the

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[a] See this volume, p. 391.

name of the vessel on which you are sailing—I can see from the papers here when it is due in New York. Once in New York, let us have your address straight away.—Marx's is 28 Dean Street, Soho Square, London.

All my regards,

Your
F. Engels

Have you heard anything of Dronke? He's stuck in Geneva; Schuster will have given you his address.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 August 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

You'll excuse me for not having written sooner, and at the same time acknowledging receipt of the £5. So great was the PRESSURE FROM WITHOUT this week that I didn't get round to writing. For the time being I've saved myself from being thrown out of the house by signing a BILL on the LANDLORD.

I enclose herewith a copy of the *Schnellpost* in which you'll be able to see how infamously inane are the doings and chatterings of that bunch of old women, Ruge & Co. As soon as you've read the muck, sent it back. About the letter from which the boorish Heinzen cites extracts—and which in any case, originates from Fickler—a word of explanation: for some 2-3 weeks the jackasses—the émigrés—have been holding MEETINGS in order to 'settle their differences', constitute themselves a round 'dozen' and mutually 'set each other up' as the great men of the future. Today they held their definitive sitting. I shall be hearing the result and

shall inform you of it.[a] But already the seed of dissension has grown so prolific that Mr Sigel has sent me a message through Schabelitz, who is here for the Exhibition,[b] saying he would call on me.

The *New-York Tribune* has invited me and Freiligrath to work as paid collaborators.[461] It's the most widely disseminated journal in North America. If you could possibly let me have an article in English on conditions in *Germany* by *Friday morning* (15 August), that would make a splendid beginning.

As to Schramm, we know that he corresponds regularly with his brother.[c] He wrote and told Bamberger not to give us his address. Fresh reports come in daily of his infamous doings here.

Red Wolff has once again become an 'Irishman'.[d]

Now for the *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX siècle par* P. J. Proudhon. The first time I wrote to you about this book,[e] I had read no more than extracts from it—often misquoted, to boot. Now I can send you the σκελετόν.[f] First of all, the book contains well-written attacks on Rousseau, Robespierre, the Montagne,[260] etc. The force of the true sequence, to use the words of the immortal Ruge, is generated as follows:

*I. Étude.*[g] It was reaction that first brought about the development of the revolution.

*II. Étude. Y a-t-il raison suffisante de la Révolution au XIX siècle?*[h]

The revolution of 1789 overthrew the *ancien régime.* But it omitted to create a new society or to create society anew. It was concerned only with *politique*[i] instead of with *économie politique.*[j] At present *'anarchie des forces économiques'*[k] prevails, hence *'tendance de la société à la misère!'*[l] This manifests itself in the division of labour, machinery, competition, the credit system. Increase in pauperism and crime. Again, the *State (l'état)* becomes ever greater, endowed with all the attributes of absolutism, acquires ever more independence and power. Increase in the national debt. The State sides with wealth against poverty. Corruption. The State subjugates society. There is a need for the new revolution. The task of the revolution consists *à changer, à redresser la mauvaise tendance de la société.*[m] Society itself must not be touched. In its case there can be no question of *reconstitution arbitraire.*[n]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 436-38. - [b] the Great Exhibition of 1851 - [c] Conrad and Rudolf Schramm - [d] See this volume, p. 383. - [e] ibid., p. 399. - [f] skeleton - [g] *First Essay.* - [h] *Second Essay. Is there sufficient reason for revolution in the nineteenth century?* - [i] politics - [j] political economy - [k] anarchy of economic forces - [l] the tendency of society towards poverty - [m] in changing, in redressing the evil tendency of society - [n] arbitrary reconstruction

*III. Étude. Du Principe d'Association.*[a]

Association is a dogma, but not a *force économique.* Association is in no way organic or productive, as are the division of labour, commerce, exchange, etc. Association should not be confused with *force collective.*

La force collective est un acte impersonnel, l'association un engagement volontaire. L'association est de sa nature stérile, nuisible même, car elle est une entrave à la liberté du travailleur.[b]

The force that has been ascribed to the *contrat de société*[c] belongs solely to the division of labour, to exchange, to the *force collective.* When an association is founded for the purpose of carrying out great works, these must be ascribed to its *means* rather than to the *principe* of association. A man submits to an association only if it offers him *une indemnité suffisante.*[d] Only to the *associé faible* or *paresseux*[e] is the association *productive d'utilité.*[f] It is *solidarité, responsabilité commune*[g] vis-à-vis third parties. As a rule an association is only feasible *dans des conditions spéciales, dépendantes de ses moyens.*[h]

L'association, formée en vue du lien de famille et de la loi du dévouement, et en dehors de toute considération économique extérieure—l'association pour elle même, est un acte de pure réligion, un lien surnaturel, sans valeur positive, un mythe.[i]

Association should not be confused with the

rapports nouveaux que se propose de développer la réciprocité entre les producteurs et les consommateurs. L'association met de niveau les contractants, subordonne leur liberté au devoir social, les dépersonnalise.[j]

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[a] *Third Essay. On the Principle of Association.* - [b] Collective force is an impersonal act, association is voluntary commitment. Association is by its nature sterile, even harmful, since it impedes the freedom of the worker. - [c] social contract - [d] adequate compensation - [e] the associate who is weak or lazy - [f] production association of any utility - [g] solidarity, joint responsibility - [h] in special conditions, depending on the means employed - [i] Association established with a view to the family tie and the law of dedication, and apart from any external economic consideration—association for its own sake, is purely an act of religion, a supernatural bond, devoid of positive value, a myth. - [j] new relations which are intended to evolve from reciprocity between producers and consumers. Association puts the contracting parties on an equal footing, subordinates their freedom to social duty, depersonalises them.

*IV. Étude. Du Principe d'Autorité.*[a]

The idée gouvernementale naquit des mœurs de famille et de l'expérience domestique. The démocratie is the dernier terme of évolution gouvernementale.[b]

The idea of government is in opposition to that of contract. The true revolutionary motto is: *Plus de Gouvernement!*[c] The *autorité absolue*[d] is soon compelled to negate itself and to circumscribe itself with *lois*[e] and *institutions*. The laws enacted are as innumerable as the interests which they outwardly determine. They have an ominous tendency to multiply. The law is a fetter forced on me from without. *Constitutional monarchy*. A contradiction in terms. *Suffrage universel*. The *intuition divinatoire de la multitude*[f] is nonsense. *Qu'ai-je besoin de mandataires, pas plus que de représentants!*[g] Votes, even though unanimous, decide nothing. According to *suffrage universel*, Bonaparte would be the right man, etc. *La démocratie pure ou le gouvernement direct*[h]—figments in the minds of Rittinghausen, Considérant, Ledru-Rollin—*aboutit à l'impossible et à l'absurde.*[i] In being carried to extremes this idea of the State is revealed for the *nonsense* it is.

*V. Étude. Liquidation sociale.*

1. *Banque nationale.* The liquidation of the Bank of France is decreed. It is not declared a national bank, but rather an *'établissement d'utilité publique'*.[j] Interest is reduced to $^1/_2$ or $^1/_4$ per cent.

2. *The national debt.* The *capitaux particuliers*,[k] having been deprived of the *industrie de l'escompte*,[l] flows into the Bourse, the State no longer pays more than $^1/_2$ or $^1/_4$ per cent, and thus interest ceases to be of interest. Instead of interest, the State pays annuities, i.e. it repays in yearly quotas the capital it has been loaned. Or in other words, a decree to the effect that the interest on the debt paid by the State be deemed annuities and deducted from the principal.

3. *Dettes hypothécaires. Obligations simples.*

'Les intérêts te toutes créances, hypothécaires, chirographaires, actions de commandite, sont fixés à $^1/_4$ or $^1/_2$%. Les remboursements ne pourront être exigés

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[a] *Fourth Essay. On the Principle of Authority.* - [b] The idea of government was born of family custom and domestic experience. The final stage of governmental evolution is democracy. - [c] No more government! - [d] absolute authority - [e] laws - [f] Universal suffrage. The prophetic intuition of the masses - [g] What need have I of mandatories, any more than of representatives! - [h] Pure democracy or direct government - [i] leads to impossibility and absurdity - [j] establishment of public utility - [k] private capital - [l] discount industry

que par annuités. L'annuité, pour toutes les sommes au-dessous de 2000frs. sera de 10%; pour les sommes au-dessus de 2000frs., 5%. Pour faciliter le remboursement des créances et suppléer à la fonction des anciens prêteurs, une division des bureaux de la banque nationale d'escompte deviendra Banque foncière: le maximum de ses avances sera, par année, de 500 millions.'[a] [op. cit., p. 213.]

4. *Propriété immobilière: Bâtiments.*

Decree: 'Tout payement fait à titre de loyer sera porté en *à compte de la propriété,* celle-ci estimée au vingtuple du prix de location. Tout acquittement de terme vaudra au locataire part proportionelle et indivise dans la maison par lui habitée, et dans la totalité des constructions exploitées à loyer, et servant à la demeure des citoyens. La propriété ainsi remboursée passera à fur et mesure au droit de l'administration communale qui, par le fait du remboursement, prendra hypothèque et privilége de premier ordre, au nom de la masse des locataires, et leur garantira à tous, à perpétuité, le domicile, au prix de revient du bâtiment. Les communes pourront traiter de gré à gré avec les propriétaires, pour la liquidation et le remboursement immédiat des propriétés louées. Dans ce cas, et afin de faire jouir la génération présente de la réduction des prix de loyer, les dites communes pourront opérer immédiatement une diminution sur le loyer des maisons pour lesquelles elles auront traité, de manière que l'amortissement en soit opéré seulement en trente ans. Pour les réparations, l'agencement et l'entretien des édifices, comme pour les constructions nouvelles, les communes traiteront avec les Compagnies maçonnes ou associations d'ouvriers en bâtiment, d'après les principes et les règles du nouveau contrat social. Les propriétaires, occupant seuls leurs propres maisons, en conserveront la propriété aussi longtemps qu'ils le jugeront utile à leurs intérêts.'[b] [op. cit., pp. 221-22.]

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[a] 3. *Mortgage Debts. Simple Bonds.* 'Interest on all debts, mortgages, simple contract debts, joint-stock shares, is fixed at $^1/_4$ or $^1/_2$ per cent. Repayment claims can be met only by annual instalments. The annual instalment for all sums below 2,000 fr. will be 10 per cent, for sums above 2,000 fr. 5 per cent. In order to facilitate the repayment and replace the function of the former money-lenders a section of the offices of the National Discount Bank will become a mortgage bank, the maximum of its advances will be 500 million per annum.' - [b] 4. *Real estate: Buildings.* Decree: 'Every payment made in respect of rent shall be entered to *the account of the property* reckoned as twenty times the rent. With every instalment of rent the tenant will acquire a proportional and joint share in the house he occupies and in the totality of all buildings let for rent and serving as dwellings for the citizens. Property thus paid for will pass by degrees into the hands of the communal administration, which by the fact of the payment will take over the mortgages and prerogatives in the name of the mass of tenants, and will guarantee their domicile to all of them in perpetuity at the cost price of the building. The communes will be able to negotiate separate agreements with the owners for the immediate liquidation and repayment of the leased properties. In this case, and in order that the present generations shall enjoy reduced rents, the said communes will be able immediately to reduce the rent of houses for which they have concluded agreements, in such a way that amortisation be completed only in thirty years. For repairs, fittings and upkeep of the buildings, as in the case of new constructions, the communes will negotiate with the companies of masons or associations of building workers according to the principles and rules of the new social contract. The owners, sole occupiers of their own houses, will retain the property as long as they judge this advantageous to their interests.'

5. *Propriété foncière.*

'Tout payement de redevance pour l'exploitation d'un immeuble acquerra au fermier une part de propriété dans l'immeuble, et lui vaudra hypothèque. La propriété, intégralement remboursée, relèvera immédiotement de la commune, laquelle succèdera à l'ancien propriétaire et partagera avec le fermier la nue-propriété et le produit net. Les communes pourront traiter de gré à gré avec les propriétaires qui le désireront, pour le rachat des rentes et le remboursement immédiat des propriétés. Dans ce cas il sera pourvu, à la diligence des communes, à l'installation des cultivateurs et à la délimitation des possessions, en ayant soin de compenser autant que possible l'étendue superficiaire avec la qualité du fonds, et de proportionner la redevance au produit. Aussitôt que la propriété foncière aura été intégralement remboursée, toutes les communes de la République devront s'entendre pour égaliser entre elles les différences de qualité des terrains, ainsi que les accidents de la culture. La part de redevance à laquelle elles ont droits sur les fractions de leurs territoires respectifs, servira à cette compensation et assurance générale. A partir de la même époque, les anciens propriétaires qui, faisant valoir par eux-mêmes leurs propriétés, auront conservé leur titre, seront assimilés aux nouveaux, soumis à la même redevance et investis des mêmes droits, de manière que le hasard des localités et des successions ne favorise personne, et que les conditions de culture soient pour tous égales. L'impôt foncier sera aboli. La police agricole est dévolue aux conseils municipaux.'[a] [op. cit., p. 228.]

*VI. Étude. Organisation des forces economiques.*

1. *Crédit.* The above-mentioned *banque nationale,* together with its branches. Gradual withdrawal of gold and silver from circulation. Substitution of paper. *Quant au* crédit personnel, *c'est dans les compagnies ouvrières et les sociétés agricoles et industrielles qu'il doit trouver son exercise.*[b]

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[a] 5. *Landed property.* 'Every payment of rent for the use of a piece of real estate will make the farmer part-proprietor of it and will count as a mortgage payment by him. When the property has been entirely paid for it will be immediately taken over by the commune, which will take the place of the former owner and will share with the farmer the ownership and the net product. The communes will be able to negotiate separate agreements with the owners who desire it for the redemption of the rents and the immediate repayment of the properties. In that case at the request of the communes steps shall be taken to instal the cultivators, and to delimit their properties, taking care that as far as possible the size of the area shall make up for the quality of the land, and that the rent shall be proportional to the product. As soon as the property has been entirely paid for, all the communes of the Republic will have to reach agreement among themselves to equalise the differences in the quality of the strips of land, and also the contingencies of farming. The part of the rent due to them from the plots in their particular area will be used for this compensation and general insurance. Dating from the same period the old owners who worked themselves on their properties, will retain their title, and will be treated in the same way as the new owners, will have to pay the same rent and will be granted the same rights in such a way that no one is favoured by the chance of location and inheritance and that the conditions of cultivation are equal for all. The land tax will be abolished. The functions of the rural police will devolve on the municipal councils. - [b] As for *personal credit,* it should be operated in the workers' companies and the agricultural and industrial societies.

2. *Propriété.* See 'Propriété foncière' cited above. Under the above conditions it is possible

sans la moindre inquiétude, permettre au propriétaire de vendre, transmettre, aliéner, faire circuler à volonté la propriété ... Avec les facilités du remboursement par annuités, la valeur de l'immeuble peut être indéfiniment partagée, échangée, subir toutes les mutations imaginables, sans que l'immeuble soit entamé jamais. Le travail agricole repousse la forme sociétaire.[a]

3. *Division du travail, forces collectives, machines. Compagnies ouvrières.*

Toute industrie, exploitation ou entreprise qui par sa nature exige l'emploi combiné d'un grand nombre d'ouvriers de spécialités différentes, est destinée à devenir le foyer d'une société ou compagnie de travailleurs. Mais là où le produit peut s'obtenir sans un concours de facultés spéciales, par l'action d'un individu ou d'une famille, il n'y a pas lieu à l'association.[b]

Hence no associations in small workshops, among artisans, shoemakers, tailors, etc., *marchands,*[c] etc. Association in *big industry.* Here, then, *compagnies ouvrières.*

Tout individu employé dans l'association a un droit indivisé dans la propriété de la compagnie; il a le droit d'en remplir successivement toutes les fonctions; son éducation, son instruction et son apprentissage, doivent être dirigés de telle sorte, qu'en lui faisant supporter sa part des corvées répugnantes et pénibles, ils lui fassent parcourir une série de travaux et de connaissances, et lui assurent, à l'époque de la maturité, une aptitude encyclopédique et une revenue suffisant; les fonctions sont électives et les règlements soumis à l'adoption des associés; le salaire est proportionné à la nature de la fonction, à l'importance du talent, à l'étendue de la responsabilité; tout associé participe aux bénéfices comme aux charges de la compagnie, dans la proportion de ses services; chacun est libre de quitter à volonté l'association, de faire régler son compte et liquider ses droits, et réciproquement la compagnie maîtresse de s'adjoindre toujours de nouveaux membres[d]...

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[a] without the slightest misgiving, to permit the owner to sell, transfer, alienate or otherwise dispose of his property as he pleases... Given the facility of repayment by annual instalments, the value of a piece of real estate can be indefinitely divided, exchanged, and undergo any conceivable change, without the real estate being in the least affected. Agricultural labour rejects associatory forms. - [b] 3. *Division of labour, collective forces, machinery. Companies of workers.* Every industry, enterprise or undertaking which by its nature requires the combined employment of a large number of workers with different skills is bound to become the basis for an association or company of workers. But where a product may be obtained without a combination of special skills, through the activity of an individual or family, there is no need for association. - [c] shopkeepers - [d] Every person working in the association possesses an indivisible right in the property of the company; he has the right to perform successively all duties. His education, training and apprenticeship ought therefore to be conducted in such a way that, while he is made to take his share of disagreeable and arduous tasks, he will acquire experience in various sorts of work and fields of

This is the solution to the *deux problèmes: celui de la force collective, et celui de la division du travail...*[a] In the transitional period these workshops will be managed by the manufacturers, etc.

4. *Constitution de la valeur: organisation du bon marché.*[b] To combat *cherté de la marchandise*[c] and the *arbitraire du prix.*[d] The *juste prix représente avec exactitude:* a) *le montant des frais de production, d'après la moyenne officielle des libres producteurs;* b) *le salaire du commerçant, ou l'indemnité de l'avantage dont le vendeur se prive en se dessaisissant de la chose.*[e] To induce the merchant so to do, he must be given a guarantee. This may be

de plusieures manières: soit que les consommateurs qui veulent jouir du juste prix, et qui sont en même temps producteurs, s'obligent à leur tour envers le marchand à lui livrer, à des conditions égales, leurs propres produits, comme cela se pratique entre les différentes associations ouvrières parisiennes; soit que les dits consommateurs se contentent d'assurer au débitant une prime ou bien encore une vente assez considérable pour lui assurer une revenue.[f]

E.g., the State

au nom des intérêts que provisoirement il représente, les départements et communes, au nom de leurs habitants respectifs, voulant assurer à tous le juste prix et la bonne qualité des produits et services, offrent de garantir aux entrepreneurs qui offriront les conditions les plus avantageuses, soit un intérêt pour les capitaux et le matériel engagé dans leurs entreprises, soit un traitement fixe, soit, s'il y a lieu, une masse suffisante de commandes. Les soumissionnaires s'obligeront, en retour, à fournir les produits et services pour lesquels ils s'engagent, à toute réquisition des consommateurs. Toute latitude réservée, du reste, à la concurrence. Ils devront indiquer les éléments de leurs prix, le mode des

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knowledge, so that when he reaches mature age he will have a wide range of qualifications and a sufficient income. Posts are subject to election and the rules are adopted by the members of the association. The size of the recompense depends on the nature of the work, the degree of the proficiency, and the amount of responsibility. Every member of the association shares both in the profits and in the expenses of the company in proportion to his services. Everyone is free to resign from the association whenever he wishes, and therefore to settle his accounts and renounce his rights; conversely the company is entitled to recruit new members at any time.

[a] two problems: that of collective force, and that of the division of labour - [b] *The Determination of Value; the Establishment of a Cheap Market.* - [c] the high price of goods - [d] arbitrariness of prices - [e] The *fair price* accurately reflects: a) a total production cost according to the official average for free producers, b) the merchant's salary or the compensation for the advantages which the seller forgoes by parting with the article. - [f] of several kinds: either the consumers, who wish to have the benefit of a fair price and who are at the same time producers themselves, undertake in their turn to supply the merchant with their own products on equal terms, as is done by the various workers' associations in Paris; or else the said consumers confine themselves to guaranteeing the dealer either a premium, or a sale large enough to guarantee him an income.

livraisons, la durée de leurs engagements, leurs moyens d'exécution. Les soumissions déposées, sous cachet, dans les délais prescrits, seront ensuite ouvertes et publiées, 8 jours, 15 jours, 1 mois, 3 mois, selon l'importance des traités, avant l'adjudication. A l'expiration de chaque engagement, il sera procédé à de nouvelles enchères.[a]

5. *Commerce extérieur.*[b] As soon as the interest falls, it is necessary to *abaisser les tarifs*[c] and, if it be depressed or standing between $^1/_4$ and $^1/_2$ per cent, the Customs must be abolished.

*VII. Étude. Dissolution du gouvernement dans l'organisme économique.*

*La société sans l'autorité. Elimination des cultes, Justice, administration, police, Instruction publique, Guerre, Marine etc.*[d], the whole with appropriate Stirnerian stock phrases.

Write and tell me in detail what you think of this formula. Salut.

Your
K. Marx

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[a] on behalf of the interests which it temporarily represents, and the departments and communes on behalf of their respective inhabitants, being desirous of ensuring a fair price and a high standard of goods and services for all, propose to guarantee that the entrepreneurs who offer the most advantageous conditions will receive either interest on the capital and material invested in their enterprises, or a fixed salary, or in appropriate cases a sufficient quantity of orders. In return, the tendering parties will pledge themselves to meet all consumers' requests for the goods and services they have undertaken to supply. Apart from that, full scope is left for competition. They must state the component parts of their prices, the method of delivery, the duration of their commitments, and their means of fulfilment. The tenders submitted under seal within the periods prescribed will subsequently be opened and made public 8 days, 15 days, 1 month or 3 months before the contracts are allocated depending on the importance of the contracts. At the expiry of each contract, new tenders will be invited. - [b] External trade. - [c] to lower the tariffs - [d] *Seventh Essay. The Merging of Government in the Economic Organism.* Society without authority. Elimination of cults, Justice, Administration, police, Public Education, War, the Navy.

# 199

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 10 August 1851]

Dear Marx.

I was very much tickled by the *Schnellpost.* It's a long time since I've read such consummate balderdash as 'A. Ruge an K. Heinzen'.[a] I couldn't have believed that even two jackasses such as Ruge and Heinzen could emerge from three years of revolutionary tumult so completely unchanged and still so encumbered with the same old stock phrases, absurd mannerisms, turns of speech, etc. It's like the clown in the circus riders' troupe who, after performing the most hair-raising leaps, makes yet another bow, says: 'HERE WE ARE AGAIN!' and then, without the least compunction, proceeds to repeat every item in his all-too familiar repertoire. I can just see Ruge, that egregious literary laxative, as he seriously declares that

> 'the fundamental answer to tyranny, anarchy and high treason ... is precisely the bull's-eye which it behoves us to hit',

and then himself hits the bull's-eye with the discovery that the modern class struggle is the *secessio plebis,*[b] whence, by a process of effortless association, he goes on to the Roman schoolmaster[c] whose name I forget, his fable of the stomach and the hands[462] and other such charming fourth form pedagogic recollections. The chap's *impayable*[d] when he comes to speak of 'circumstances',

> 'As you know ... by "circumstances" all I mean are the thoughts which are presently uppermost in men's minds!'

His lame attempts at making wittily malicious allusions were a dismal failure. The fellow is adroit enough; his malice is plain for all to see, but nobody has the faintest idea of its object nor of the general why and wherefore. And whereas the great Ruge is turning out to be a buffoon pure and simple, the great Heinzen excels no less as a boor, a condition now become chronic. The manner in which the

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[a] See this volume, p. 408. - [b] secession of the plebs - [c] Menenius Agrippa - [d] priceless

fellow seeks, in his note of 23 July 1851, to fob off on his readers his old nonsense about communism couched in the very same terms as those he used in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* in the summer of 1847, is impudent beyond words.[a]

*Et pourtant*,[b] the fellows are compelled to recognise the superiority of our stuff, not only by their constant preoccupation with it, but even more by its influence on them of which despite their stubbornness and rage they are quite unaware. In all this scribble, there is not a single phrase that does not contain a plagiarism, an uncomprehending distortion of our stuff, or something suggested by it.

Mr Meyen or Faucher has published a fatuous article in Manteuffel's semi-official *Lithographische Correspondenz* in Berlin about the attempted conciliation in London [c]; only we two still stick to one another, etc.—all the rest being united and opposed to us. No mention of Freiligrath or Wolff. It would seem that, following the disbandment of the army of the future, the great Willich finds himself obliged to gain recognition as 'a character' [d] among the great men of all parties; he is even said to have attended their meetings. *A quoi tous ces coups de désespoir ont-ils abouti?*[e] And has the great Sigel been to see you?

I have just been assured by a German social jackass who arrived from Dessau with an introduction from Julius, that the gentlemen there have been circulating the rumour that, by your own confession—you yourself are alleged to have told Mr Louis Drucker (!) so—you are writing for the *Neue Preussische Zeitung. En voilà une bonne!*[f]

As for Proudhon,[g] the man seems to be making progress. The phases of development through which his nonsense passes are at least assuming a more tolerable form and these *'hérésies'* are something for Mr Louis Blanc to break his teeth on. Thus, *au bout du compte*,[h] Mr Proudhon has now also come to the conclusion that the true meaning of property rights lies in the disguised confiscation of all property by a more or less disguised State, and that what abolition of the State really means is intensified state centralisation. What else are

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[a] 'Karl Heinzen und die Kommunisten', *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, No. 77, 26 September 1847. Engels' reply to it were articles 'The Communists and Karl Heinzen'. - [b] Nevertheless - [c] See this volume, p. 425. - [d] Cf. H. Heine, *Atta Troll*, XXIV —'no talent but a character' (description of the bear-hero Atta Troll). - [e] What have all these acts of despair led to? - [f] That's a good one! - [g] P. J. Proudhon, *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX^e siècle* - [h] in the final analysis

'toutes les communes de la république qui s'entendent pour égaliser entre elles les différences de qualité des terrains ainsi que les accidents de la culture',[a]

with all the appurtenances and consequences this would entail?

More about this old character tomorrow, provided I have the time. I can't possibly let you have Friday's article this week.[b] But write and tell me soon what sort of thing it should be—whether you wish it to stand on its own or to be one of a series, and 2) what attitude I should adopt, as I know nothing about the POLITICS of the *New-York Tribune* beyond the fact that they are American Whigs.[463] Also, any other available information that may help me find my bearings.

Your

F. E.

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## 200
## ENGELS TO MARX
### IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 11 August 1851]

Dear Marx,

Today I shall continue the glosses on Proudhon[c] which were interrupted yesterday. For the time being I shall disregard the many gaps in the formula, e.g. the fact that one cannot see how the factories are to be transferred from the hands of the manufacturers to the *compagnies ouvrières,*[d] since interest and land rent are to be abolished, but not profit (for there will still be competition); further, what is to become of the big landowners who exploit their land by means of hired labour, and other such deficiencies. In order to assess the thing as a theoretical whole, I should have to have the actual book in front of me. Hence I can give an opinion only in so far as I consider the feasibility, *le cas échéant,*[e] of the individual measures and at the same time examine the extent to which they lend themselves to the centralisation of all

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[a] all the communes in the Republic which come to an agreement regarding mutual compensation for the difference in the quality of their lands, and for the hazards of agriculture - [b] See this volume, pp. 408-09. - [c] P. J. Proudhon, *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIXe siècle.* - [d] workers' associations - [e] should the occasion arise

the productive forces. And even then, I really ought to have the book in order to see all the *développements*.

The fact that Mr Proudhon has at last come to realise the need for more or less covert confiscation is, as I have already said, a step forward. The question is, however, whether his pretext for confiscation will serve, for, as always with these blinkered fellows who persuade themselves that compulsory measures of this kind are not confiscation, the whole thing hinges on that pretext. 'Interest is reduced to $^1/_2$ or $^1/_4$ per cent.' But your extracts say nothing of how this is done, save that the State, or the Bank which secretly and under another name is part and parcel of the State, must make an annual loan on mortgage of 500 mill. fr. at that rate of interest. From this I conclude that the reduction is intended to take place gradually. Once interest was as low as that, the annual liquidation of all debts etc., etc., at a rate of 5 to 10 per cent per annum would, of course, be easy. But Mr Proudhon fails to indicate by what means this is to be attained. In this connection I recall our recent discussion about your scheme for reducing the interest rate by setting up a national bank with exclusive privileges and a monopoly of paper CURRENCY, gold and silver being excluded from circulation.[a] I believe that any attempt to lower the interest rate rapidly and steadily would inevitably fail because of the growing need, at a time of revolution and stagnating business, for usury, for the granting of credit to people who are momentarily in a tight corner, at a loss what to do, in other words, momentarily unsound financially. Even if that portion of the interest rate intended for the actual repayment of the loan can be depressed by weight of capital, there still remains the portion representing the guarantee of repayment, which, at times of crisis, rises enormously. In any revolution merchants are grateful to a government which lends to them, not at $^1/_4$ or $^1/_2$ per cent, but at 5 per cent. Cf. 1848, loan offices, etc., etc. The State, and any large, centralised state bank, unless it operates branches in the most out-of-the-way places and has given its officials a long training in commercial practice, can lend to large businesses only, otherwise it would be lending at random. And small businesses cannot pledge their goods like large ones. *Donc*,[b] 1. the consequence of any reduction in interest rate for government loans=increased profits for big businessmen and a general advancement of that class.

Small businesses would, as before, be compelled to have recourse to middlemen to whom the government had advanced

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[a] See this volume, pp. 299-300. - [b] Hence

money at $^1/_2$ per cent so that they could lend it again at 5-10 per cent. That is inevitable. Small businesses furnish no guarantees, and can offer no pledges. Hence in this respect, too, advancement of the big bourgeoisie—indirect creation of a large usurer class, bankers at a lower level.

The constant harping by the socialists and Proudhon on the reduction of interest is, in my opinion, no more than a glorified pious wish of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. So long as interest and profit remain in inverse proportion, a reduction of interest can only lead to an increase in profit. And so long as there are people who are financially unsound, unable to provide a guarantee and for that very reason truly in need of money, state lending cannot supersede private lending, i.e. cannot bring down interest rates in respect of all transactions. The State, which lends at $^1/_2$ per cent, would be in precisely the same position vis-à-vis the usurer whom it provides with money as was the French Government of 1795 vis-à-vis the property speculators and stock jobbers of that time when it collected taxes to the tune of 500 mill. in *assignats*[a] and reissued them for 3 mill. and, simply to maintain its 'credit' which had already collapsed, accepted the *assignats* used for tax payments at their face value, or 200 times their real value.

Proudhon is altogether too naive. *Le crédit personnel trouve* or *doit trouver son exercice dans les compagnies ouvrières.*[b] Hence the dilemma: either management and finally administration and regulation of these companies by the State, which Proudhon doesn't want, or the organisation of the most splendid association fraud, the fraud of 1825 and 1845, reproduced at the level of the proletariat, *Lumpenproletariat* and petty bourgeoisie.

To seek to place the main emphasis on the gradual reduction of the interest rate by commercial and compulsory measures so that all debts etc., etc., are liquidated by converting interest payments into repayments, all real wealth being concentrated in the hands of the State or the communes, seems to me utterly impracticable, 1) on the grounds already cited; 2) because it takes far too long; 3) because the only consequences, if state paper maintained its credit, would necessarily be the country's indebtedness to foreigners, since all money repaid would find its way abroad; 4) because, even if the feasibility of the thing were accepted in principle, it would be nonsense to believe that *France, la République,* could carry this out in the teeth of England and America; 5) because war abroad and the PRESSURE OF THE MOMENT generally, make sheer nonsense of

[a] paper money issued at the time of the French Revolution - [b] Personal credit finds or should find its application in the workers' associations

such systematically protracted measures, extending over 20 or 30 years and more especially of money payments.

The only practical significance of the thing would seem to be that it is indeed possible, at a certain point of revolutionary development, and with the help of a monopolist state bank, to decree: Art. 1: interest is abolished or limited to $^1/_4$ per cent; Art. 2: interest will continue to be paid as hitherto, being regarded as repayment; Art. 3: the State is empowered to purchase all real estate, etc., at current tax value and pay for it over 20 years at 5 per cent. Such *might* perhaps one day serve as the final and immediate precursor of undisguised confiscation; but it would be pure speculation to ponder on the when, where and how.

In any case it would seem that this book of Proudhon's is much more down-to-earth than his earlier ones—even the *constitution de la valeur* assumed a more fleshly aspect: that of the *juste prix des boutiquiers. Quatre francs, Monsieur, c'est le plus juste prix!*[a] What there is in common between the abolition of customs and that of interest is not clear. The fact that, since 1847, Proudhon should have made so complete a transition from Hegel to Stirner is another step forward. Be it said, however, that he won't understand German philosophy even should he persist with it until his corpse is in the final stage of decomposition.

Write soon and tell me what you think of the foregoing.

Your
F. E.

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## 201
## MARX TO ENGELS
### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 August 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

In a day or two I shall be sending you the Proudhon itself,[b] but send it back as soon as you've read it. For I intend—for the

[a] fair price of the shopkeepers. Four francs, sir, that's the fairest price! -
[b] P. J. Proudhon, *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX^e siècle.*

money—to publish 2-3 sheets about the book. So let me have your views in greater detail than your hasty letter-writing generally allows.[464]

The Proudhon business—and the whole is first and foremost a polemic against communism, however much he may filch from it and however much it may appear to him in the light of the Cabet-Blanc transfiguration—boils down, in my opinion, to the following line of reasoning:

The real enemy to be combatted is capital. The pure economic affirmation of capital is interest. So-called profit is nothing but a particular form of wage. We abolish interest by transforming it into an annuity, i.e. repayment of capital by annual instalments. Thus the working class—read *industrial* class—will be assured precedence for ever, while the actual capitalist class will be condemned to an ever-diminishing existence. The various forms of interest are money interest, rent interest and lease interest. In this way bourgeois society is retained, justified, and divested only of its *mauvaise tendance.*[a]

*Liquidation sociale* is simply a means of building anew a 'healthy' bourgeois society. Quick or slow, *peu nous importe.*[b] I want first to hear your views on the contradictions, uncertainties and obscurities of this liquidation as such. The truly healing balm of the newly built society, however, consists in the abolition of interest, i.e. in the yearly transformation of interest into an *annuité.* This, introduced not as a means but as an *economic law* of the reformed bourgeois society, has, of course, a twofold result:

1. The transformation of small, non-industrial capitalists into industrial capitalists. 2. The perpetuation of the big capitalist class, for *au fond*[c] if one takes an overall view of the thing, it becomes apparent that, *by and large,*—and aside from industrial profits—society never pays anything except the *annuité.* Were the converse true, Dr Price's compound interest calculations[d] would become a reality and the entire globe would not suffice to *pay interest* on a capital, however tiny, invested at the time of Christ. In fact, however, it may be confidently said that the capital invested, whether in land or otherwise, over the past 50 or 100 years e.g. in England—the most tranquil and bourgeois of countries, that is—has never as yet paid interest, at least in terms of price, which is what we are concerned with here. Let us assume, e.g., that at the highest estimate, England's national wealth amounts to e.g. 5

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[a] evil tendency - [b] it matters little to us - [c] basically - [d] The reference is to R. Price's *An Appeal to the Public on the Subject of the National Debt* and *Observations on Reversionary Payments...*

thousand million. Suppose England produces 500 millions each year. Hence England's entire wealth merely=England's annual labour×10. Hence, not only is this capital not paying interest, it is not even *reproducing* itself in terms of value. And this by reason of the simple law. Value originally determined by the original production costs, in terms of the working time originally needed to manufacture the object. But once the product is produced, its price is determined by the costs necessarily incurred in *reproducing* it. And reproduction costs fall steadily and at a speed proportionate to the current state of industrialisation. Hence the law of the continuous depreciation of capital value itself, through which the law *des rentes*[a] and of interest, which would otherwise lead to absurdity, is nullified. This also explains the thesis you yourself put forward that no factory covers its production costs. Thus Proudhon cannot refashion society by introducing a law which, *au fond,* is already being observed without his counsel.

The means by which Proudhon proposes to achieve all this is the bank. *Il y a ici un qui pro quo.*[b] The bank's business is divisible into two parts: 1. The *conversion* of capital *into cash.* Here *money* is simply substituted for *capital,* which can, of course, be done simply at production cost, i.e. at $^1/_2$ to $^1/_4$ per cent. 2. *Advances of capital* in the form of money, and here the interest rate will adjust itself in accordance with the amount of capital. All that credit can do here is to convert by means of concentration, etc., etc., existing but unproductive wealth into truly active capital. Proudhon considers No. 2 to be as easy as No. 1, and *au bout du compte*[c] he will find that by making over an illusory mass of capital in the form of money he will at best reduce the *interest* on the capital, only to increase its *price* in like proportion. Whereby nothing is gained but the discrediting of his paper.

I shall allow you to savour in the original the correlation between customs and interest. The thing's too delicious to spoil it by mutilation. Mr Proudhon entirely fails to elucidate either the commune's share in the houses and land—something he certainly should have done as regards the communists—or how the workers come into possession of the factories. At any rate, while anxious to have '*des compagnies ouvrières puissantes*',[d] he is so afraid of these industrial 'guilds' that he reserves the right, if not for the State, then for *société, to dissolve* them. As a true Frenchman who knows neither a Moses & Son[e] nor a MIDLOTHIAN FARMER, he confines

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[a] of rents - [b] Here there is a quid pro quo. - [c] in the final analysis - [d] powerful workers' associations - [e] a large firm of men's clothiers in London

*association* to the factory. To him, the French peasant and the French shoemaker, tailor, MERCHANT appear as *des données éternelles et qu'il faut accepter.*[a] But the more I go into the stuff, the more I become convinced that the reform of agriculture, and hence the question of property based on it, is the alpha and omega of the coming upheaval. Without that, Father Malthus will turn out to be right.

So far as Louis Blanc, etc., are concerned the piece is capital, notably because of its cheeky outpourings about Rousseau, Robespierre, God, *fraternité* and similar twaddle.

As to the *New-York Tribune,* you've got to help me, now that I'm so busy with political economy. Write a series of articles on Germany, from 1848 onwards.[465] Witty and uninhibited. The gentlemen of the foreign department are exceedingly *uppish.*

In a few days' time I'll send you 2 volumes of Roman stuff. To wit *Économie politique des Romains.* Par Dureau de la Malle. I sent to Paris for the book (very erudite). It will open your eyes to, amongst other things, the economic backing of the Roman way of waging war, which was nothing else than the—*cadastre.* What's the cheapest way of sending the thing to you? There are 2 fat volumes.

You must pinch the *Lithographische Correspondenz* article[b] or try to get hold of a copy. As soon as Weydemeyer gets there, he must make the jackasses in New York run the gauntlet. For that all the documents are needed. Faucher *is* correspondent of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung.* Sigel has not yet turned up. Willich, of course, is a unifying member of the *Emigré Fraternity.* They held their first general meeting on Friday. We had a spy there.[c] The proceedings opened with a reading (by *General* Haug) of the *Lithographische Correspondenz* article in which we are attacked. For because of us they live and move and have their being. Next, a resolution in favour of all manner of undesirable and contentious lectures. Mr Meyen undertook to do Prussia; Oppenheim, England; Ruge, France; and Kinkel, America—and the future. I very much look forward, by the way, to hearing what you think about all this.

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[a] eternal data that must be accepted - [b] See this volume, p. 418. - [c] Jakob Schabelitz (the meeting of émigrés was held on 8 August 1851—see this volume, pp. 436-38)

# 202

## MARX TO HERMANN EBNER[466]

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

[Copy]

[London, 15-22 August 1851]

...You will have read, in various German papers, the *semi-ministerial Lithographische Correspondenz*[a] article in which the official German emigration in London notifies the public of its fraternal unification, its constitution as a joint body. The agreement-seeking united democrats fall into 3 cliques: the Ruge clique, the Kinkel clique, and the indescribable Willich clique. Between the three hover the intercalated deities, minor *literati* such as Meyen, Faucher, Oppenheim, etc., erstwhile Berlin agreers[467] and, finally, Tausenau along with a few Austrians.

Let us begin, as is fitting, with A. Ruge, the 5th wheel of European Central Democracy's[468] state coach. A. Ruge arrived in London, not exactly weighed down with laurels. All that was known of him was that, at the critical moment, he had cut and run from Berlin and had later vainly applied to Brentano for the post of Ambassador in Paris, that throughout the period of revolution he had espoused, always with the same unshakable conviction, whatever illusion happened to be in vogue and, at one inspired moment, had even discovered that the simplest way of resolving modern conflicts was 'after the *Dessau* pattern'. For that is what he called this little model state's royalist-constitutional-democratic farce. Meanwhile he was firmly determined to become a great man in London. As always, he had prudently arranged to maintain contact with a democratic local paper in Germany so that he could, without constraint, regale the German public with talk of his important person. This time the lot fell to the *Bremer Tages-Chronik*. Now Ruge could embark on further operations. Since he speaks only very broken French, no one could stop him presenting himself to foreigners as Germany's most important man, and Mazzini aptly summed him up at first glance as a *homme sans conséquence*[b] whom he could, without hesitation, call on to supply the German counter-signature to his manifesto. In this way A. Ruge became the 5th wheel of the Provisional Government of

[a] Note in the margin: from Berlin (see this volume, p. 418) - [b] man of no consequence

Europe and, as Ledru-Rollin once said, *l'homme de Mazzini.* He found himself outdone in his own ideal. However, it now behoved him to make himself appear a power in the eyes of Mazzini and Ledru-Rollin, and to prove that there was more to be thrown onto the scales than an equivocal name. A. Ruge set himself to perform three great deeds. In company with Messrs Haug, Ronge, Struve and Kinkel, he founded a so-called German Central Committee,[469] he founded a journal modestly entitled *Der Kosmos* and, finally, he sought to extract a loan of 10 millions from the German people, the *quid pro quo* being that he would gain them their liberty. The 10 millions never came in, but the *Kosmos* came to an end and the Central Committee came apart, disintegrating into its original elements. The *Kosmos* had appeared only three times. Ruge's classical style put his profane readers to flight, but nevertheless this much had been achieved: A. Ruge had been able to place on record his amazement at the fact that the Queen should have invited Herr von Radowitz to Windsor Castle rather than himself[470]; and in letters of his own fabrication he had had himself hailed from Germany 'as provisional government' and condoled with in advance by gullible friends on the score that, after his return to the fatherland, 'affairs of state' would debar him from all companionable intercourse.

Hardly had the invitation to subscribe to the loan of 10 millions appeared, signed by Messrs Ruge, Ronge, Haug, Struve and Kinkel,[a] when the rumour was suddenly put round that a subscription list was circulating in the City for the purpose of dispatching Struve to America, while at the same time the *Kölnische Zeitung* carried a statement by Mrs Johanna Kinkel to the effect that her husband had not signed that appeal and had resigned from the newly formed Central Committee.[b]

Mr Struve's entire political wisdom before and after the March revolution had notoriously confined itself to preaching 'hatred of princes'. Nevertheless in London he found himself compelled to contribute articles for cash to Duke Karl of Brunswick's German paper[c] and even to submit to the ducal blue pencil wielded by His Grace himself. Mazzini had been secretly informed of this and, when Mr Struve wished to see his name appear in splendour beneath the European circular letter, Mazzini pronounced an interdict. His heart filled with rage against the Central Committee, Struve shook the dust off his feet and sailed for New York,

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[a] 'An die Deutschen', *Bremer Tages-Chronik,* No. 534, 28 March 1851. - [b] 'Bonn, 10 May', *Kölnische Zeitung,* No. 114, 13 May 1851. - [c] *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*

there to acclimatise his *idée fixe,* his inevitable *Deutscher Zuschauer.*

Now as for Kinkel, he had not, if the gossip of A. Ruge and the New York *Schnellpost* are to be believed, actually signed that appeal but had approved it, the scheme had been hatched in his own room, he had himself undertaken to dispatch a number of copies to Germany and had only resigned because the Central Committee had elected General Haug chairman instead of himself. A. Ruge accompanied this explanation with angry attacks upon the 'vanity' of Kinkel whom he described as a *democratic Beckerath* and with aspersions upon Mrs Johanna Kinkel for having access to newspapers as execrated as the *Kölnische Zeitung.*

Thus the democratic Central Committee was reduced to Messrs Ruge, Ronge and Haug; even A. Ruge realised that this trinity was incapable of creating anything at all, let alone a world. However, the tireless fellow by no means threw up the sponge. All this great man was really concerned about was that something or other should be always afoot, which would lend him an air of activity, of being engaged in deep political combinations, and, above all, afford him material for self-important chitchat, for comings and goings, negotiations, complacent gossip and notices in the press. Luckily for him, Fickler now arrived in London. Like his fellow South Germans, Goegg and Sigel, he was repelled by Kinkel's pretentious mannerisms. Sigel felt no inclination whatever to place himself under the supreme command of Willich, any more than did Goegg to accept his plans for world improvement. Finally, all 3 were too little acquainted with the history of German philosophy not to mistake Ruge for a significant thinker, too naive not to be taken in by his false bonhomie, and too gullible not to take *au sérieux*[a] all the doings of the so-called emigration. They decided, as one of them[b] writes in the New York *Schnellpost,* upon union with the other coteries for the purpose of restoring the reputation of the moribund Central Committee. But, the same correspondent complains, there was little prospect for this pious and well-intentioned task; Kinkel was continuing to intrigue; he had formed a committee consisting of his saviour,[c] his biographer[d] and several Prussian lieutenants; it was to work unseen, expand in secret, if possible attract democratic funds and then, suddenly, emerge into the light of day as the mighty Kinkel party. This was neither honourable, nor just, nor sensible. In the same issue of the

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[a] seriously - [b] Amand Goegg - [c] Karl Schurz (helped Kinkel to escape from prison in 1850) - [d] Adolf Strodtmann

paper Ruge was unable to resist a few innuendoes at the expense of the 'absolute martyr'. On the very same day that the New York *Schnellpost* brought this gossip to London, the hostile coteries for the first time officially celebrated their fraternal unification. But that is not all. A. Ruge is making propaganda in America through the New York *Schnellpost* on behalf of the unfortunate European loan. But Kinkel, who disavowed this absurd undertaking in the *Kölnische Zeitung,* is now, off his own bat, calling for a loan in the transatlantic papers, with the comment that the money should be sent to the man who enjoys the greatest confidence; that he is that man, goes without saying.

For the present he is demanding an instalment of £500 sterling in order to manufacture revolutionary paper money. Ruge, no sluggard, lets it be known through the *Schnellpost* that he, A. Ruge, is the treasurer of the democratic Central Committee and the notes, ready and to hand, are to be had from him; anybody with £500 sterling to lose would do better to exchange it for already printed notes than as yet non-existent ones. And the editorial department of the *Schnellpost* has stated pretty plainly that, if Mr Kinkel does not desist from his machinations, he will be treated as an enemy of the revolution. Finally, while Ruge disposes of his weekly gossip in the *Schnellpost,* cuts his capers here as man of the future and has himself accorded all the honours due to a 5th wheel, Kinkel writes in the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung,* the direct antagonist of the *Schnellpost:*

> 'So you see that, on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, war is waged in due form, whereas on this side Judas kisses are exchanged.'

If you were to ask me how an A. Ruge—a man who, almost from the start, has been quite useless, who in theory has long departed this life and distinguished himself only by his classically confused style—how he can continue to play any role at all, I would first remark that that role is a pure newspaper fiction which he tries, with a unique and persistent diligence and by the most mean-minded methods, to disseminate and convince himself and others. As regards his position among the so-called emigration here, it is a fitting one, be it only as a gutter for the reception of all the contradictions, inconsistencies and limitations of the united democrats. As the classic representative of their general confusion and woolly state of mind, he rightly claims his place as their Confucius.[a]

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[a] A pun on the name of the Chinese philosopher Confucius and the word 'confusion'.

From the foregoing you will have seen how Kinkel now advances, now retreats, now embarks on an undertaking, now disavows it, always in accordance with the way he believes the popular wind to be blowing. In a piece for the short-lived *Kosmos,* he expressed particular admiration for a gigantic mirror exhibited in the Crystal Palace.[a] That's Kinkel for you; the mirror is the element in which he exists. He is first and foremost an actor. As the martyr *par excellence* of the German revolution, he has received here in London the honours due to the other battle victims. But while, officially, he allows himself to be paid and fêted by the liberal-aesthetic bourgeoisie, he engages behind the latter's back in illicit dealings with the most extreme fraction of the agreement-seeking émigrés represented by Willich, thinking thereby to assure himself both the delights of the bourgeois present and a title to the revolutionary future. While the conditions in which he lives here might be called splendid by comparison with his former position in Bonn, he nonetheless writes to St Louis saying he lodges and lives as befits the representative of the poor.[b] Thus he simultaneously complies with the required etiquette vis-à-vis the bourgeoisie, while making the obeisance that is due to the proletariat. However, as a man in whom imagination far outweighs intelligence, he has been unable to avoid succumbing to some of the vices and pretensions of the parvenu, and this has alienated from him many a pompous émigré worthy. At this moment he apparently intends to make a tour of England to lecture in various towns to audiences of German merchants, receive homage and extend to the North of England the privilege of the double harvest normally confined to southern climes. It is self-delusion on Kinkel's part if he regards himself as ambitious. He is a man of vain appetites, and fate could play this otherwise innocuous speechifier no worse trick than to permit him to attain the goal of his desires and a responsible position. He would be a complete and irretrievable failure.

Finally, as to Willich, I need do no more than apprise you of the opinion of his acquaintances, all of whom regard him as an uninspired visionary. They doubt his talent but, for that very reason, declare him to be a character.[c] He is happy in this

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[a] The Crystal Palace was built of metal and glass for the first world trade and industrial exhibition in London in 1851. - [b] G. Kinkel, 'Der Brief an die Bürger von St. Louis', *Bremer Tages-Chronik,* No. 507, 25 February 1851. - [c] Cf. H. Heine, *Atta Troll,* XXIV—'no talent but a character' (description of the bear-hero Atta Troll).

situation and exploits it with more Prussian cunning than he is generally credited with. Now you know who the great men of the future are.

The vast majority of the official emigration consists with very few exceptions of noughts, each of whom thinks to become the number one by combining with others to form a dozen. Hence their constant attempts at uniting and conglomerating, which are constantly being undone by the petty jealousies, intrigues, basenesses and rivalries of these *petits grands hommes*,[a] and as ceaselessly entered into again. While slinging mud at each other in the North American papers they believe that, vis-à-vis Germany, they form a front, and that by coagulating to form a great gossiping cheese-pat they will inevitably produce the effect of being a power and a *corpus venerabile*.[b] They are always under the impression that there is still something they lack if they are to impress, hence their organised courtship of every new arrival. Their efforts to win over Freiligrath, whom they have now sent to Coventry, and to lure him away from Marx, were as importunate as they were, of course, fruitless. Kinkel left no stone unturned, and A. Ruge actually wrote him a letter to induce him to join the League of the Just. He does not now, of course, belong to '*the* emigration' any more than W. Wolff and other refugees who remain aloof from these goings-on. *One* more name! If these capuchins of the revolution, these mendicant friars of the same, had anything at all to give away, they would give a kingdom for one more name,[c] especially a name as popular as Freiligrath's. Place-seekers and popularity-mongers, that's what all this crowd amounts to. These gentlemen believe that the revolution is at hand and that they must naturally make their dispositions. In like manner did the Imperial Assembly[d] men in Switzerland form themselves into an association in which future posts were shared out hierarchically by number. And it bred bitter strife as to who should represent No. 17 or 18.

You express surprise that these gentlemen should make the semi-ministerial *Lithographische Correspondenz* their monitor. Your surprise will be at an end when I tell you that one of its scribes regularly scribbles in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*,[e] another serves as general factotum to the Russian *Morning Chronicle*, etc., etc. Nor does this take place behind the backs of the official emigration—

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[a] petty panjandrums - [b] a venerable body - [c] Cf. Shakespeare, *Richard III*, Act V, 4. - [d] Frankfurt - [e] A reference to Julius Faucher

far from it. Indeed, their first general assembly opened with a reading of the article from the *Lithographische Correspondenz.* They mustered some 50 men, a number which, at the second sitting, dwindled to less than half.[a] The seed of discord had already begun to germinate freely among those craving agreement, who, by the by, as one of them remarked in confidence, consisted solely of *'superior refugees'.* Of the profane *vulgus*[b] of the refugee working men, none was to be seen.

If there is one point upon which the fraternising emigration are all unanimous, it is their common and fanatical hatred of Marx, a hatred which regards no fatuity, no baseness, no intrigue as too high a price to pay for the gratification of their ill-humour towards this, their *bête noire.* For these gentlemen have not even thought it beneath their dignity to make contact with Beta or Bettziech, a former collaborator on Gubitz's *Gesellschafter,* and through that great author and patriot writing in the organ of the merry vintner, Louis Drucker,[c] to insinuate that Marx is a spy because he is brother-in-law to the Prussian minister, von Westphalen.[471] The only connection Herr von Westphalen ever had with Marx lay in the former's confiscation of Becker's printing works and the incarceration of H. Becker in Cologne, by which he frustrated the publication of Marx's *Gesammelte Aufsätze* which Becker had undertaken and of which the first volume had already appeared,[347] and likewise prevented the publication of a *Revue* then actually printing. Their hatred of Marx was further intensified by the Saxon Government's publication of the communist address,[d] since he was held to be its author. Marx, however, being wholly engaged in working out his critique and history of political economy, begun years before, had no more time or inclination than Freiligrath and their mutual friends to attend to the tittle-tattle of the fraternising emigration.

But the more one ignores them, the more frantic the yapping of these pug-dogs of the future becomes. Gustav Julius, a man with a thoroughly critical and scientifically trained intellect, who died all too young and is now being claimed by the emigration for their own, grew so weary of their shallow and preposterous goings-on

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[a] The reference is to emigrant meetings in London on 8 and 15 August. - [b] common people - [c] *How Do You Do?* - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Address of the Central Authority to the League. March 1850'.

that he wrote a full and detailed description of the same and, only a few weeks before his death, sent it to a North German newspaper[a] which, however, rejected it....

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, about 20 August 1851]

Dear Engels,

It would be best if you read the Proudhon[b] first, since I must have it back. I have made as many notes as I need from the Dureau.[c]

Apropos, *do for goodness' sake write to Fischer in New Orleans.* (Liebknecht is at present his regular correspondent). This is all the more important because it is precisely from New Orleans that the Kinkels, Ruges, etc., are hoping to draw subsidies. So don't forget to write to the man who complained in a letter to Liebknecht about your silence.

Your
K. M.

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[a] At this point the words 'of Magdeburg' have been added in the margin. - [b] P. J. Proudhon, *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX^e siècle.* - [c] Dureau de la Malle, *Économie politique des Romains.*

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 21 August 1851

Dear Marx,

Herewith an article of a sort.[a] Various circumstances have conspired to spoil the thing. In the first place I have, for a change, been unwell ever since Saturday. Then there was the total absence of material—all I could do was scrape the bottom of the barrel, and rely on memory. Then the shortness of time and working to order, almost total ignorance of the paper[b] and its readership, precluding any proper plan. Finally, the impossibility of keeping the manuscript of the whole series for comparison, hence the need for a *plus ou moins*[c] pedantically methodical beginning to obviate repetitions in subsequent articles. All this, combined with the fact that I have quite got out of the habit of writing, has made the piece very dry and, if there's anything to be said in its favour, it is the greater fluency of the English, which I owe to the fact that for the past eight months I have been accustomed to speak and read practically nothing but English. *Enfin, tu en feras ce que tu voudras.*[d]

I am half way through the Proudhon and heartily endorse your view. His appeal to the bourgeoisie, his reversion to Saint-Simon and a hundred and one other matters in the critical section alone, provide confirmation that he regards the industrial class, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat as virtually identical and as having been brought into opposition only by the fact that the revolution was never completed. The pseudo-philosophical nature of the historical construction is plain for all to see: before the revolution, the industrial class an entity in itself, 1789-1848 in opposition: negation; Proudhonian synthesis TO WIND UP THE WHOLE WITH A FLOURISH. The whole thing seems to me a last attempt to maintain the bourgeoisie in theory; our premises on the decisive historical initiative of material production, class struggle, etc., largely adopted, for the most part distorted and used as the basis for the endeavour apparently to reincorporate the proletariat in the

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[a] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, Article I. - [b] *New-York Daily Tribune* - [c] more or less - [d] Anyhow, you can do what you please with it.

bourgeoisie by a pseudo-Hegelian sleight-of-hand. I have not yet read the synthetic part. There are one or two nice things in the attacks on L. Blanc, Robespierre, and Rousseau, but on the whole it would be hard to find anything more pretentiously insipid than his critique of politics, e.g. in the case of democracy, in which, like the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* and all the old historical school,[472] he comes up with head-counting, and in which, without a blush, he builds up systems out of small, practical deliberations worthy of a schoolboy. And what a great idea that *pouvoir* and *liberté*[a] are irreconcilably opposed, and that no form of government can provide him with sufficient moral grounds why *he* should obev it! *Par Dieu!*[b] Then what does one need *pouvoir* for?

I'm convinced, by the way, that Mr Ewerbeck let him have his translation of the *Manifesto*[c] and also, perhaps, in an underhand manner, passages translated from your articles in the *Revue*.[d] A number of points were indubitably lifted from them—e.g. that a *gouvernement* is nothing but the power of one class to repress the other, and will disappear with the disappearance of the contradiction between classes. Then, a number of points concerning the French movement since 1848. I don't think he can have found all that in your book against him.[e]

In a few days' time, as soon as I've read the whole thing, I'll write about it in greater detail. Meanwhile, Weerth, who is making one of his sudden visits to Bradford, is likely to turn up here any day, in which case I may be obliged to keep the Proudhon for another two or three days.

Tell Lupus that I've spoken to Watts, who is going to make every effort, and with every prospect of success, to obtain a position for him here. Watts believes that his having been a member of the National Assembly[f] will be quite sufficient here. He knows the whole genus of schoolmasters and clergy of liberal complexion and, once he gets moving, will certainly be able to arrange something. I shall therefore keep him in good humour; as soon as I hear anything further, I shall let him know. By the way, Watts is, all things considered, no less tolerable than the usual type of philistine. Since the man lives the life of an Englishman, socialist, doctor and paterfamilias, allowance must be made for the fact that he's been a TEETOTALLER for the past 7 years—and has even

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[a] power and liberty - [b] By Cod! - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (the French translation, made in 1848, was not published). - [d] K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*). - [e] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*.- [f] in Frankfurt in 1848-49

felt a yearning to become a Struvian herbivore. His wife,[a] on the other hand, tipples and guzzles enough for two. It's regrettable, but a fact, that here in Manchester your ordinary little man is, by and large, more congenial than anyone else; he tipples, talks smut, is a repooblican (like Martens), and you can laugh about him.

What news have you from Germany? In Hamburg 3 have been released and one re-arrested. So all the journeyman tailor Nothjung's confessions amount to is that he's the emissary of a propagandist secret society—*quelle découverte!*[b]

Your
F. E.

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## 205

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 August 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

*D'abord mes remercîments pour ton article.*[c] Despite all the bad things you say about it, it was splendid and has set sail unaltered for New York. You hit just the right note for the *Tribune*. As soon as we get the first number of it, I'll send it to you, and continue to do so regularly from then on.

*Maintenant,*[d] I've got a whole load of émigré dung to forward to you and, should you know a farmer in the neighbourhood who requires the guano of these cleanly birds for manure, you can do a deal with him.

Well, then, as you already know, the first *official* meeting of the fraternising émigrés took place on Friday, 8 August, the leading lights being: *The* 'Damm', who presided; Schurz, secretary, Goegg, two Sigels,[e] Fickler, Tausenau, Franck (the Austrian worthy),

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[a] Catherine Shaw - [b] what a revelation! - [c] First, many thanks for your article (the reference is to F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. Article I). - [d] Now - [e] Albert and Franz Sigel

Willich, Borkheim, Schimmelpfennig, Johannes Ronge, Meyen, Count Reichenbach, Oppenheim, Bauer (Stolpe),[a] the intolerable Lüders, Haug, A. Ruge, Techow, Schmolze (Bavarian lieutenant), Petzler, Böhler, Gehrke, Schärttner, Göhringer, etc., not, of course, forgetting Kinkel and Strodtmann. Thus the main cliques: 1. Ruge-Fickler, 2. Kinkel, 3. Tausenau. Interspersed with other independent literary loafers and agreers.[467] The real issue with which this great historical event[371] was concerned was the following: Ruge-Fickler-Tausenau-Goegg-Sigel-Haug, etc., sought the election of an official committee, partly to denounce the misdeeds of the reactionaries, partly to represent the émigrés, partly for *'Action'*—agitation as regards Germany. A further snag about that idiot, Ruge, was that he had been recognised as plenipotentiary vis-à-vis Ledru-Mazzini and, in addition to his name, was now in fact able to place an army at their disposal in the shape of the German refugee corps. Mr Kinkel (and with him, besides his saviour Schurz and his biographer Furz,[b] more esp. Willich, Techow, Schmolze, Schimmelpfenning), on the other hand, did not want a public institution of this kind, partly so as not to imperil his position vis-à-vis the bourgeoisie here in London—since it's the guineas that count—partly so as not to have to more or less recognise Ruge vis-à-vis Mazzini-Ledru.

From the start the Ruge-Fickler clique was furious to see that the meeting-room was full to overflowing. It had been agreed at a secret sitting that only notables were to be asked to attend. But the Kinkel clique had brought in *le menu peuple*[c] so as to assure themselves of a majority.

The sitting opened with the reading of a piece of rubbish from the *Lithographische Correspondenz* by General Haug, who at the same time declared that there must be spies present, that the document might be abused, etc. Willich, his pathos as yet unimpaired, seconded this and called on the miscreants to declare themselves. Thereupon Bauer of Stolpe (whom, by the way, I hold to be a regular spy) rose to his feet and declared he was unable to understand Willich's virtuous horror since, at the first preparatory sitting, he had introduced Mr Scheidler without any opposition as editor of the *Lithographische Correspondenz*.

This incident settled, Tausenau, with much cosily emotional grunting and groaning, doubtless under the impression that he was before a Viennese audience, made his proposal for nomina-

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[a] Ludwig Bauer - [b] Adolf Strodtmann—a pun in the original: Schurz and Furz (fart) - [c] the small fry

tions to the committee. In reply, Mr Meyen said that what he wanted was not deeds but voluntary lectures. As prearranged, Kinkel at once undertook to deal with America and its future, Oppenheim England, Schurz France, and Meyen Prussia. Tausenau's proposal having met with a resounding defeat, he declared with emotion that, despite his failure, he would sacrifice his righteous anger on the altar of the fatherland and remain in the bosom of the fraternising.

But the Fickler-Ruge clique immediately assumed the menacing and injured air of beautiful souls who've been cheated.

At the end of the sitting Kinkel went up to Schabelitz (who was there purely in the capacity of our agent—and a very useful agent, too, since he enjoyed the confidence of all those worthies), declared him to be an honest democrat, declared the *Basler National-Zeitung* to be an excellent democratic paper and asked, among other things, about the state of its finances. Schabelitz: Poor. Kinkel: But aren't the working men doing anything? *Schabelitz*: Everything we ask of them; they read the paper. *Kinkel*: The workers should do more. They don't support us either as they ought to. And you know, we really do so much for the workers. We do everything we can to make them into 'respectable',—you understand me, of course,—'honourable citizens'. *En voilà une bonne!*[a]

The agreers' meeting on the 15th was not well attended and was, as the English say, INDIFFERENT.

Meanwhile great things were taking place—on the 17th—and the true course of the affair assumed, as our great A. Ruge would say, the following course:

Mr Kinkel summoned Willich, Techow, Goegg, Sigel and a few others, and revealed to them that he had received £160 through Fischer from New Orleans and had been charged with disposing of this money in consultation with the above-named and with Mr '*Fr. Engels*'. Instead of the latter, he had invited Fickler who, however, had declared that he had nothing to do with the 'scoundrels'. Mr Kinkel was forced to show the letter from which it transpired that, anonymous and incognito, this money had already been at his lodgings for three weeks, unable to decide whether or not it should generously unbosom itself to the profane world. Though Kinkel spake with the tongues of angels, it availed him nothing. The Fickler clique realised that the Kinkel clique was doing some considerable angling on the side and would merely

[a] That's a good one!

exploit the storm in the émigrés' communal tea-cup to lure the 'goldfish' away by stealth. And thus it was in vain that the great Heinzen had cast such lovelorn and plain-speaking glances at the £s collected in New Orleans! Goegg and Sigel left the conclave. A separate sitting of the Fickler-Ruge-Tausenau clique took place.

For the South Germans had privily discovered that A. Ruge was an imbecile. They need him because he provides a channel to Ledru-Mazzini, and this patronage is of great importance to the South Germans. Tausenau appears to have opened their eyes for them and is now their real LEADER alongside Fickler. Tausenau is, in general, very much a wiseacre and intriguer, dabbling in diplomacy and equipped with the petty Jew's flair for calculation; he believes in the imminence of the revolution. Hence his presence in this League.

Ruge, in a tremendous rage over the lost £160, now revealed to his friends that, more than 12 months previously, Willich-Kinkel had sent Schimmelpfennig to Mazzini, saying that he was an emissary and had come for money so that he could travel to Germany for the purpose of agitation. Mazzini gave him 1,000 fr. in cash and 5,000 fr. in his Italian notes on condition that in 12 months' time he would return the 1,000 fr. and $^2/_3$ of the Italian notes provided. On these Schimmelpfennig travelled round France and Germany. The 12 months elapsed but nothing more was heard of either Kinkel-Schimmelpfennig, or the 1,000 fr., or the Italian notes. Now, when the money had arrived from New Orleans, Kinkel had once more sent his envoys to Mazzini, not to pay, but to blow their own trumpets and enter into an alliance with him. Mazzini had too much delicacy to remind them of their debt but told them that, since he had connections in Germany, he could not enter into any new ones. These gentlemen, A. Ruge went on, had also betaken themselves to Ledru-Rollin. But here Ruge had stolen a march on them: since Ledru-Rollin already considers himself President of the French Republic and has determined to wage war abroad forthwith, Ruge had presented Sigel to him as commander-in-chief of the German revolutionary army, whereupon Ledru-Rollin had embarked on a strategical discussion with Sigel. Another snub, then, for Kinkel-Willich.

After these revelations of Ruge's, therefore, the turpitude of the Kinkel-Willich clique was laid bare before the eyes of the bemused beautiful souls. Now was the time for action, but what action is Ruge capable of other than new combinations and permutations of his mouldy old Central Committee? Hence it was resolved to form an *agitation club*,[473] not for debating, but *'essentially for working'*,

productive not of WORDS but of WORKS, and above all for inducing like-minded comrades to make financial contributions. To be composed of: Fickler, Tausenau, Franck, Goegg, Sigel, Hertle, J. Ronge, Haug, Ruge. You will immediately note the reconstruction Ruge-Ronge-Haug. But closer inspection reveals that the main components of the club are 1. the western South German worthies, Fickler, Goegg, Sigel, Hertle, 2. the eastern South Germans, Tausenau, Haug, and Franck, and hence that the club has been formed mainly as a *South German* one in opposition to the '*Prussians*', and Ruge is only the umbilical cord maintaining the connection with the European Central Committee.[338] In fact, they now call the other societies simply '*the Prussians*'. This agitation club nominated Tausenau to its executive authority and simultaneously made him its Minister of the Exterior. This meant that the Central Ruge was *completely ousted*. But in order to sugar the pill for him, he was given a *douceur* in the shape of an acknowledgment that his position on the Central Committee was recognised, as also his previous activities and his representation of the German people in accordance with the wishes of the German people. You'll have seen this *testimonium paupertatis*[a] in print since it appeared in a notice, published in almost every English newspaper, in which the agitation society most humbly announces its birth to the European public and solicits its custom. Even this *douceur* was soured for poor Ruge by the fact that Bauer-Fickler imposed the intolerable *conditio sine qua non*[b] that Ruge should desist 'from writing and publishing his stupid stuff'.

Before I go on, I should observe that, *all unbeknown to the others*, we are represented in the united democratic club by a working man called *Ulmer* who has fled from Cologne to join our League[c]; he's a man who, when he's with us, is very quiet and taciturn and of whom we would never have believed that he would hold the united democrats in check. But *indignatio facit poetam*,[d] and the silent Ulmer, or so he told me, has a 'genius' for flaring up easily, whereupon he shakes all over and lets fly like a Berserk. Despite his weedy tailor's build, he is the best gymnast in Mainz, and has a considerable awareness of his physical strength and agility. In addition a communist's pride in infallibility.

On 22 August, then, the 3rd sitting was held. Meeting very well attended in anticipation of great row over the highly treasonable

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[a] certificate of poverty - [b] indispensable condition - [c] the Communist League - [d] indignation makes the poet—adaptation of *facit indignatio versum* (indignation makes the verse), Juvenal, *Satires*, I

agitation club. President: Meyen. Also present: R. Schramm and Bucher. The Kinkel clique proposed that a refugee committee be set up. For Mr Kinkel has no wish to make his exit from the public stage. Nor does he wish to compromise himself in the eyes of England's aesthetic-liberal bourgeoisie. A refugee committee, besides being politico-philanthropic, is a source of funds, and thus combines all the desirable prerequisites. On the other hand, Ulmer and a certain Hollinger put forward a proposal that the refugee committee be elected at a general meeting of refugees, whereat the Kinkel clique began to harp on the danger that people (namely we, the unnamed) would kick up a row behind the backs of the assembly. But they also had enemies *before* them. Goegg, Sigel and his brother were the only members of the agitation club present. Goegg was elected to the refugee committee. This provided an opportunity, 1) to announce Tausenau's resignation, 2) to reject the agitation club's statement, 3) finally, after the conclusion of the debate, to announce their resignation in a body. Uproar. *Techow and Schramm gave A. Ruge a fearsome dressing down.* Altogether a great deal of *abuse* was hurled. Goegg replied to the others with assurance, launched a bitter attack on the ambivalent Kinkel, who, replying only through his satellites, stroked his beard like the Great Mogul and dictated to Schurz, who was constantly dancing attendance on him, notes which he then, like the agreers in Berlin, caused to be circulated among his trusties and, after the circulation, recorded his final vote. Only when Goegg said that the agitation club would publish its declaration in the English papers, did *Kinkel* answer *majestically that he already controlled the whole of the American press and that steps had been taken to bring the whole of the French press likewise under his control within a very short space of time.*

Besides this scandal-laden theme, others were mooted which stirred up the most almighty turmoil in the bosom of the fraternising democrats. Fists were shaken and there was a great clamour and hullaballoo until, at 2 o'clock in the morning, the landlord put out the lamps, thus plunging the agreement-seekers into impenetrable darkness. The row pivoted on two people, Schramm and Ulmer. For in his diatribe against Ruge, Schramm simultaneously vented his wrath on the communists, which received much acclaim, launched a most virulent attack on Willich, and called the workers cowards. To this Ulmer replied; but, for his part and in company with Hollinger—Sigel's friend—demanded the convening of a general meeting of refugees to elect a relief committee. He accused Willich, etc., outright of dissipating

and squandering refugee funds. Indescribable tumult. Up sprang Dietz, the cockroach, stated that he was the treasurer of the Great Windmill Street[331] refugee committee[292] and demanded that the allegation be withdrawn. Ulmer declared that, should the gentlemen so desire, he would provide proof. He would withdraw nothing. Willich, in his usual manner, tried to mollify him and invited him to his lodgings for a private discussion. But Cato Ulmer stood his ground and would say nothing without witnesses. By the by, during Goegg's speech Schimmelpfennig, who was sitting behind Ulmer, had kept on grunting and making noises until Ulmer, suddenly seized by his 'genius', turned round with clenched fist and roared at Schimmelpfennig: 'If you don't keep your mouth shut, you miserable penny-pincher, I'll chuck you out of the window.' Schimmelpfennig turned white as a sheet but, discretion getting the better of a Prussian officer's valour, he betook himself to the farthest corner of the room.

Time and again in the course of this memorable *séance* Willich was so savagely assailed from all sides—by Goegg, Schramm, Hollinger, Ulmer, etc.—that on 6 occasions he declared he would have to resign if they refused to leave his worthy person alone.

But now a new element enters the row which was all our doing. For, the 'superior refugees' as these gentlemen call themselves, had left the 'inferior émigrés' completely out of account. We had got Ulmer, Rumpf and Liebknecht to give these 'inferior émigrés', who are faring very badly, a spicy account of the fact that the Great Windmill Street refugee committee had received 800 gulden from Württemberg, and that they were being well and truly diddled. So yesterday, there was a row at the sitting of the Windmill Street committee, *praesidio Schapperi.*[a] The refugees demanded to see the letters, accounts, etc. Willich, who had made the same demands as these jackasses' when he was opposing us, tells them curtly that he and co. are answerable only to the Workers' Society.[52] When a refugee comes too close, he tells him to stand back and keep his lice to himself. In return the man calls him an 'empty-headed half-wit'. Schapper is asked to account for his hippopotamus's belly and addressed as 'Snapper'. Willich calls the landlord and asks him to eject one of the refugees. The latter says he will leave if they call a POLICEMAN. The gents, he states, are rascals, and there the matter rests. Willich and Schapper declare that in the circumstances they will resign.

These 'inferior émigrés' have now been told by Rumpf and

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[a] chaired by Schapper

Ulmer that next Friday their interests will be placed before the general emigration society. They will proceed there *en masse* armed with clubs in order to assert their claims. I then let them know through Ulmer that Kinkel has received £160 on their behalf which he has secreted for weeks and is now proposing to share with Willich, and that in any case they are simply being used—*et c'est vrai*[a]—as a trade-mark to bolster up the finances of these statesmen. Ulmer is to be the speaker and since Schramm, etc., are completely unaware of this surprise—the row should be edifying from every point of view.

You may write a—belated but necessary—letter to Kinkel as soon as I have informed you about Friday's sitting. What you must do forthwith, however, is write to *Fischer* in New Orleans, explaining the whole dirty business to him and letting him know that henceforward he should collect money only under the '*Freiligrath*' trade-mark, which is quite popular. Our party of course needs it. It is the only active one, the only one to be in direct confrontation with the Federal Diet,[474] God and the devil, and we have no money whatever for agitation. Again, money must be raised for our people in prison who are, for the most part, quite penniless. These two aspects, it seems to me, should be easy to explain to the man. If possible, by the way, he should make the collections in *secret*, since our efficiency can only be impaired by newspaper gossip.

*Vale faveque.*[b]

Your

K. Marx

25 August

I should further remark that Schapper, that orthodox ox, is by no means prepared to consort with 'unbelievers'; rather he has told Willich that he'd sooner have his skull split open than betake himself to 'the curs'.

If a few days sometimes elapse between letters, it is because I want to send you a fuller report.

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[a] and it's true - [b] Good-bye and farewell.

## 206

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 27 August 1851]

Dear Marx,

The homeric struggles of these great men in their striving after unity have cheered me up wonderfully. What an Iliad!

I have written to Fischer.[475] But is it absolutely certain that my name appears in the letter to Kinkel? For I don't want to make an ass of myself with Fischer. The Freiligrath idea is a splendid one; it must surely have been thought up by your wife. A request to Fischer to raise money specifically for *our* party purposes is altogether inappropriate; but if any should be forthcoming—which to judge by the experience of the people in America, I rather doubt—I think my letter will be enough to channel it into Freiligrath's hands *et cela suffit.*[a]

Write to me immediately about the upshot of Friday's scene so that I can take the necessary steps against Kinkel. To begin with I can do no more than ask for information and to be sent the records and then, after their receipt or non-receipt, take further steps. But do you know Kinkel's address?

It would have been a good idea had you let me have Freiligrath's address, too, so that I could have passed it to Fischer immediately. It's now too late for this steamer and, by the time his answer arrives, 4 weeks will have gone by during which we ought not to bombard him overmuch with letters.

My letter will have cooked Kinkel's and Willich's goose over there. It will give them something to think about.

More on Proudhon tomorrow or the day after.[b] Weerth's presence and then this mummery, combined with office rubbish, have prevented me from tackling the thing seriously. At all events the charlatanry of it is superb. Part 2, from liquidation onwards, is to be marvelled at for its blend of Girardin display and Stirner braggadocio. Moreover, both grammatically and logically much of it is pure galimatias, of which he himself knows that it is totally

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[a] and that is sufficient - [b] F. Engels, 'Critical Review of Proudhon's Book *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX^e siècle*'.

devoid of meaning. This second part is really not to be treated seriously; with the best will in the world one couldn't do so.

I have not, of course, been able to do anything for the *Tribune*—shall resume next week.[a] In great haste.

Your
F. E.

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## 207

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 31 August 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

One always miscalculates badly if one reckons on a definitive crisis among the democratic heroes. A row like the one a fortnight ago demands a recuperation of several weeks for these PERFORMERS. Hence nothing of any moment happened the day before yesterday, Friday the 29th.

*D'abord.*[b] On Monday, 25 August, as I have already told you, Willich and Schapper threatened to resign from the Great Windmill refugee committee.[292] The following Tuesday they did in fact resign during an official sitting, and all in all the committee came to a satisfactory end. Harsh words were exchanged on this occasion. Willich moralised and pontificated, whereupon he was confronted with his iniquities. The main charge against him was that on this, as on an earlier occasion, when account had to be given of the twenty or so pounds invested in the brush-making business, matters had been so arranged that Mr Lüssel, the manager responsible for same, had absconded.

On Friday General Sigel[c] had attended the general meeting of the agreement-seekers. He had counted on the appearance of the

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[a] A series of articles *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*.- [b] First of all. - [c] Franz Sigel

'inferior émigrés', on whose behalf he broke a few mighty lances with Willich, who gave free rein to his indignation over the herd of immoral louts he had once apotheosised vis-à-vis ourselves. Conspicuous by their absence, however, were the lumpen-proletariat. Those who had presented themselves before the gates of the Areopagus were too few in number to be able to count on success, and therefore withdrew. You know that they are cowardly rascals, and that every one of the rapscallions has too bad a conscience to appear before a gathering of any size and take the floor as public prosecutor.

A few Rugians such as Ronge, 4 in number, had been elected to the refugee committee of the 'united democrats'. These men announced their resignation. So the committee was dissolved. A new, *provisional,* one was elected, consisting of Mr Kinkel, Count Reichenbach,[a] Mr Bucher and Mr Semper from Saxony.

From this you will see that they have entered a new phase. They have thrown themselves into the arms of the respectable *'hommes d'état'*,[b] since the former leaders are now compromised as being bourgeois scum. The *'hommes d'état'*—their nucleus—are the 'doughty men of the people' *Bucher* (Berlin agreer[467]), *Count Reichenbach* (Knight of the Spirit and compromised deputy to the Frankfurt Assembly, not the Berlin beard of the party[c]) and that eminent stutterer *'Rudolf Schramm' (connu*[d]*).*

Because of his long-standing friendship with Countess Reichenbach and her brother—also now in this country—Lupus now and again frequents the Reichenbach's house, and yesterday found there Mr Techow, whom he had known in Switzerland. Not long afterwards Willich himself appeared, in company with the melancholy Eduard Meyen. Lupus left when these two great ones took their seats.

*Voilà tout ce que j'ai à rapporter pour le moment.*[e] With the help of the 160 pounds from America, Kinkel has clearly succeeded—partly himself and partly through his followers—in inducing in the 'respectables' and *'hommes d'état'* a tremendous opinion of his power and connections. But with the dissolution of the Windmill committee, the precious Willich has broken the stoutest link that bound him to the 'rascals'.

*Maintenant,*[f] as to yourself, there is no doubt whatever that *Fischer* expressly named you as one of the godfathers of the £160. General Sigel and Goegg told their friend Schabelitz about this,

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[a] Oskar Reichenbach - [b] statesmen - [c] Eduard Reichenbach - [d] well-known - [e] That's all I have to report for the present. - [f] Now

ostensibly *au secret*,[a] but in fact, I believe, in order that it should come to your ears. In my opinion, all you should do is write to Mr Kinkel saying you have heard from New Orleans about the remittance and your role as co-advisor as to its disposal. You *simplement*[b] ask him what has happened to the money, or what it is intended to do with it. Kinkel's address is: Dr. phil. (that's how he describes himself on his visiting cards) Kinkel, 1, Henstridge Villas, St. Johns Wood. Some time, just for fun, I'll send you one of these visiting cards, in form and content exactly like a London advertisement for corn cures AND SO FORTH.

Lest I forget the big event. In the issue[c] of 13 August, the unfortunate Heinzen announces that Otto has withdrawn his capital, thus leaving him on his own with his mental capital which will not, in industrial America, keep a newspaper going. Hence he writes an elegy on the premature fall of Hector. And in the same issue Hoff and Kapp invite readers to subscribe for shares in a newspaper which is to take the place of the *Schnellpost*. And, fate having strange quirks, the *Staatszeitung* has at the same time begun proceedings against the precious Heinzen—incidentally disclosing many of his financial villainies—for libel, proceedings which, he anticipates, will land him up in a 'house of correction'. *Le pauvre*[d] Heinzen! Moreover this great man is now morally outraged at America and the 'unemotional Yankees' and at the German Americans who take after them, instead of working for the 'humanisation of society' and going into raptures over A. Ruge's politico-social revelations.

In the said issue we read, for example:

'That free German spirit, which is to fill the world ... that spring which, for almost two millennia now, and in ever richer spiritual measure, has been flowing over the continents of the earth.'

'For what purpose, then, are there Germans in the world? For what purpose a German heart, for what purpose the German tongue? To what purpose, e.g., this instrument, invented by the German Gutenberg, for the education and enlightenment of the mind? All this exists, and so does the very soil on which it is coming or should come to pass, this America, **discovered by A German**.'

'The free communities,[350] lusty German philosophy, magnificent German literature, transposed and brought into intellectual interaction with everything excellent and enduring that the country and its inhabitants possess,—from factors such as these there must arise an *American-ness* [Amerikanertum] *of world-historical importance*, an all-powerfully humane, spiritual and moral greatness, whose heart is activated by a never-ceasing influx of Teuton-ness [Teutschtum], its head by a refined Yankee-ness [Yankeetum] and its arm by both combined.'

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[a] in confidence - [b] simply - [c] of the *Deutsche Schnellpost* - [d] Poor

'Indeed, I maintain that the German people are more ripe for a democratic republic than the American.... Verily, were Germany to be freed of her fetters and bloodsuckers, she would be better equipped to "fix", as the Americans say, a purely democratic republic and to bring it about more successfully than the Yankees, for in as much as even the politically most educated section of the Americans is still so much a prey to superstition, so unfree intellectually, and so remote from any humane education, how can the final goal of democracy, true humanity, the harmonious development of mankind, be realised politically, socially and morally or spiritually?'

Thus writes the German buffoon,[a] or gets someone to write, at the very time when the Americans have successfully made their way across the isthmus.[476] In the same issue the hooligan has himself addressed as follows:

'So aptly do you castigate American conditions, notably the German Americans, that any discriminating and unbiassed person must agree with you. You would be doing really praiseworthy work were you, through your paper, to help assure the refinement and education of Germans in America, and even if your voice should elude the untutored masses, enough would be achieved if you freed the individual German of the simian and pernicious urge to ape the Americans.'

And then, with all stops pulled out, the churl proceeds to vent the foul, morning-after-the-night—before pecuniary jeremiads.

You'll have undoubtedly long since learnt from the papers that Girardin has allied himself with Ledru-Rollin. He was already convinced he was the future Great Mogul of France. But now a Lamennais-Michel (de Bourges)-Schoelcher rival committee has been set up in Paris whose intention is to bring into being the 'United States of Europe' with the help of the *Romance* peoples—French, Spanish and Italians—round whom the Germans, etc., will then crystallise. So the Spanish! are to civilise us! *Mon Dieu,*[b] that even outdoes K. Heinzen, who wants to introduce Feuerbach and A. Ruge among the Yankees in order to 'humanise' them. Ledru's *Proscrit* bitterly attacked the rival committee.[c] They replied in the same coin. But what was still more bitter for the Great Mogul *in partibus*[d] was this: a conclave of the entire press was held in Paris. The *Proscrit,* too, was represented by a delegate.[e] Purpose: to agree on a common President. The rejection of all the *Proscrit's* proposals was followed by the unequivocal declaration that, let the gentlemen in London chatter as they would, what was necessary for France must emanate from France herself; Ledru was very much mistaken if he regarded himself as 'the important personage' Mazzini made him out to be.

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[a] Karl Heinzen - [b] My God - [c] 'Cronique de l'intérieur', *La Voix du Proscrit,* No 18, 23 August 1851. - [d] *In partibus infidelium*—literally: in parts inhabited by infidels; figuratively; without any real power. - [e] Ch. Delescluze [see Ch. Delescluze, 'Le conclave démocratique', *La Voix du Proscrit,* No. 19, 30 August 1851]

For the rest, the conclave broke up amidst much uproar without having achieved anything. Unity-seeking democrats are everywhere as like as two peas.

Adieu.

Your

K. M.

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## 208

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Monday, 1 September [1851]

Dear Marx,

Once again you must excuse me.

1. I still haven't been able to make a start on the Proudhon,[a] having for the past 4 days been plagued by the most atrocious toothache, which has rendered me quite incapable of anything. On top of that my brother[b] (whom you know) is arriving this evening from London and will keep me from my work for heaven knows how long. *Que le diable emporte l'exposition!*[c]

2. I can't send the £5 I promised for today until tomorrow, since there is absolutely no money at all in the firm's cash box, and so I won't be able to get it until tomorrow.

The triumphant article in the *Lithographische Correspondenz* on the unity finally achieved by the honest émigrés is belied by another lament and the attacks by the 'Prussians' on the 'South Germans' and on Ruge the 'Pomeranian' in the very same number of the *Lithographische Correspondenz. Sic transit gloria*[d]—their joy was short-lived. It's a good thing that, having so many friends in both the new societies,[e] we'll be molested by neither.

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[a] Reference to Engels' 'Critical Review of Proudhon's Book *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX*[e] *siècle*'. - [b] probably Hermann - [c] Confound the Exhibition! (i.e. the Great Exhibition in London in 1851.) - [d] Thus passes away the glory - [e] the German Agitation Society and the Refugee club

Have you read the edifying article in today's *Daily News* about that genuine whore and putative baroness Beck, who breathed her last in Birmingham, in the midst of her swindles, whilst in the hands of the English police[a]? A delightful business, the more so since it revealed that that importunate mendicant, 'Dr' Heinemann was also a spy in the direct pay of the 'newly established foreign department of the British police'. You will remember how suspect that base creature has always seemed to us. Again, the handing over of documents 'concerning a German communist association existing in London' explains the chicanery of the police last summer, and I should like to know to what extent Mr Christian Joseph Esser is involved in this affair. Do you know the 'Baron Soden' who vouches for these stories and offers to provide proof? It would be a good thing if we could have this man secretly investigated. There would be no difficulty in finding a pretext and much would emerge about the rascally elements among the émigrés which might later come in useful. I shall get hold of this number of the *Daily News* and keep it; it's a document that may be of use some time or other.

In Liverpool and London the bankruptcies have already begun and *The Economist,* despite the evidence it adduces that the country's TRADE is exceptionally healthy, i.e. that most of the surplus capital is invested in soundly based production, has to admit that East India is again over-stocked and that the old story of consignment goods and cash advances is once again the rule rather than the exception in Indian trade.[b] Next week it proposes to tell us how to run the consignment business on a sound basis—to which I much look forward. In the meantime the spinners and weavers here are making an enormous amount of money—most of them are booked up until the New Year, and in the country they generally work until at least 8 o'clock in the evening, that is, between 12 and 12 $^1/_2$ hours, and often longer. They are spinning yarn at 7-8d a pound from cotton at 3 $^3/_4$ to 4 $^1/_2$d per pound; the cost of spinning these coarse counts is barely 1 $^1/_2$-2d per pound, hence, with a weekly production of 12 million pounds (with 600,000,000 pounds of raw cotton imports) and taking the coarse counts as the norm, English spinners as a whole are earning £75,000 a week, 3 $^3/_4$ million

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[a] 'Remarkable Case of Fraud by an Austrian Spy.—Sudden Death of the Impostor', *the Daily News,* 1 September 1851. - [b] 'Indigo', *The Economist,* No. 417, 23 August 1851.

pounds a year net. The same holds good if, instead of Nos. 6-12, we take an average yarn count of 18-24 and many of those who can use inferior cotton on good machines earn, not 1 1/2d per pound of yarn, but 2 1/2d. All this dates back to the fall in cotton prices in April and May, and the people who buy relatively more twist than anyone else are the Germans. When the trouble starts—and the present state of TRADE will certainly not persist beyond March at the latest—and if at the same time the fun begins in France, it will be keenly felt by the Germans, with all that unsaleable yarn on their hands, and in this way, too, the country will be well prepared.

Let us dedicate a silent tear to the shade of Brüggemann.[477] Never before, perhaps, has a worthy citizen met with more undeserved misfortune—*sit illi terra levis.*[a]

Your
F. E.

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## 209

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Monday, 8 September [1851]

Dear Marx,

My brother[b] is going away tomorrow and then I shall at last get some peace again. All this while I haven't had a moment to myself, and it was quite impossible to get the banknote off to you before Saturday, both pieces going by the same post, since there's only one DELIVERY on Sundays. As this involves the risk of its misappropriation, herewith the PARTICULARS of the note—its number was E/X 01780 and it was dated Leeds, 15 July 1850. So if it hasn't reached

[a] may the earth lie lightly upon him - [b] probably Hermann

you, go at once to the bank and STOP PAYMENT; there's still time enough. It was a five pound note.

On Friday evening I suddenly got a letter from my old man in which he tells me that I'm spending far too much money and must make do with £150. Naturally I shan't stand for this ludicrous imposition, all the less so that it is accompanied by the threat that, if necessary, the Ermens will be instructed not to pay me more than that amount. I shall, of course, at once write and tell him that the moment he attempts to put his scandalous plan into practice, I shall turn my back on the office for ever and immediately hie me to London again. The man's completely mad. The whole thing's all the more absurd and preposterous in that this point was agreed verbally between us long ago, and I have given him absolutely no pretext for it. I think that, with the help of my brother and mater, I shall be able to settle the matter, but at first shall have to retrench a little, having already spent £230 *summa summarum* and, from now until November when I shall have been here a year, I had better not to go too far beyond that sum. Anyhow this fresh piece of knavery is most disagreeable and vexes me considerably, the more so because of the mean attitude my old man has adopted. Admittedly he is making far less money here than he did last year, but that's due entirely to the bad MANAGEMENT of his partners over whom I have no control.

What's this fresh piece of knavery in Paris[478]? This time it's the hippopotamus[a] clique that seems to have got into trouble; to judge by the names of the Germans arrested, they are all former Weitlingians from the 1847 period and earlier.[479] A number of little betrayals seem to have been involved. The Swabian saviour appears to be one of the lucky ones. *Tant mieux pour lui.*[b] If you hear anything, let me know.

According to the German papers, the Cologne people[c] will *not* be brought before the next—October—assizes.

More tomorrow or the day after.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Karl Schapper - [b] So much the better for him. The reference is probably to Willich. - [c] i.e. the arrested members of the Central Authority of the Communist League set up in Cologne in October 1850

## 210

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Thursday, 11 September [1851]

Dear Marx,

Today I had hoped to be able to finish an article for you to send to America.[a] I still have about 3-4 pages to do. So I must give up all idea of tomorrow's post but, unless I'm mistaken, a Collins steamer is leaving on Wednesday—the article can go by that, to be followed by the 3rd on Friday. I shall make inquiries about it. IN THE PRESENT MOMENT I consider this American business, which definitely brings in money, to be more urgent than the Proudhon,[b] of which I can't tell whether it will bring so certain and rapid a return; that is why I have tackled the former first. If you should think otherwise, write and say so.

You'll have got my Monday's letter.

*En attendant tes nouvelles.*[c]

Your
F. E.

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## 211

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[220]

IN ZURICH

[London,] 11 September [1851]
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

Lupus has written to his acquaintance on the *Staatszeitung* about your affairs. The only cause for regret is that Mr Kinkel has

[a] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. Article II. - [b] F. Engels, 'Critical Review of Proudhon's Book *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIXe siècle*'. - [c] Waiting to hear from you.

recently ensconced himself there. On the other hand, there is cause for rejoicing that Mr Heinzen's paper, the New-York *Schnellpost,* has been compelled to declare itself insolvent. Messrs Hoff and Kapp are now trying to found a new paper by issuing shares. At any rate, this is a favourable moment for speculating in newspapers.

Our local great men are now completely at loggerheads. They are behaving as though they were Alexander's successors and were having to share out the Macedonian-Asiatic Empire between them, *les drôles.*[a]

If only I knew more people here, I would have tried to get you a post as an engineer, railroad surveyor or the like. Unfortunately I have no contacts whatever. Otherwise I feel sure that employment is to be found here in that LINE. The pity of it is that we are all SO SHORT OF MONEY and that you haven't the means to spend some time here and take a look around. But if you really succeed in carrying out your plans in New York, you will at all events find it easier, in case of revolution, to return to Europe from there than we from here.

And yet I rack my brains trying to think of ways for you to SETTLE here, for once over there, who can say that you won't lose yourself in the FAR WEST! And we have so few people and have to be so sparing of the talent we have.

Besides, you are choosing a bad and uncomfortable time to travel. However, *il n'y a rien à faire contre la nécessité des choses.*[b] And if there is one thing of which I am convinced, it is that, once you are over there, you will not have to go through the same *misère* as all of us here. And that prospect, at least, has to be taken into account.

That this is a time of dissolution for 'democratic' provisional governments, Mr Mazzini, too, has had to learn. After some violent clashes the minority has resigned from the Italian Committee.[480] It is said that they are the more advanced ones.

I regard Mazzini's policy as basically wrong. He is working wholly in the Austrian interest by inciting Italy to the present secession. On the other hand, by failing to turn to the part of Italy that has been repressed for centuries, to the peasants, he is laying up fresh resources for the counter-revolution. Mr Mazzini knows only the towns with their liberal nobility and their *citoyens éclairés.*[c]

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[a] the queer fellows - [b] needs must when the devil drives - [c] enlightened citizens

The material needs of the Italian country folk—bled white and systematically enervated and stultified just like their Irish counterparts—are, of course, too lowly for the platitudinous paradise of his cosmopolitan-neo-catholic-ideological manifestos. But admittedly it required some courage to tell the bourgeoisie and the nobility that the first step towards gaining Italy's independence was the complete emancipation of the peasants and the transformation of their métayage system into bourgeois freeholdings. Mazzini would seem to regard a loan of 10 million francs as more revolutionary than a gain of 10 million human beings. I very much fear that, if the worst comes to the worst, the Austrian Government *itself* will alter the state of tenure in Italy and effect 'Galician' reforms.[481]

Tell Dronke that I shall write to him in a few days' time. Warm regards to you and your wife from my wife and myself. Consider once again whether you mightn't give it a try here.

Your
K. Marx

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## 212

## MARX TO ENGELS[482]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] Saturday, 13 September 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Did you in fact—while your brother[a] was there—get a letter from me? I ask, because you don't mention it, not on account of its contents. It contained only gossip, although even that might as

[a] probably Hermann Engels

well be kept on record. But I would rather it didn't fall into the hands of strangers.

Your various letters, including the one with the five pounds, have arrived here safely.

Kinkel is now making his tour of northern England. Hasn't he been to Manchester yet?

Little has happened here since the matter referred to in my last letter. A week ago yesterday (Friday), Count Reichenbach[a] announced his resignation from the general refugee society. You, too, Brutus? Sigel,[b] etc., who had still not definitively resigned, have now done so. Willich, however, is conducting a campaign against the *'Lumpenproletariat'* among the refugees. As yet I've had no report of the sitting held yesterday evening.

There has also been a split in the Italian committee.[480] An appreciable minority has resigned. Mazzini gives a sorrowful account of the event in the *Voix du Peuple.*[c] The main causes would appear to be:

> D'abord Dio. Ils ne veulent pas de dieu. Ensuite, et c'est plus grave, ils reprochent à Maître Mazzini de travailler dans l'intérêt autrichien en prêchant l'insurrection, d. h. en la précipitant. Enfin: Ils insistent sur un appel direct aux intérêts matériels des paysans italiens, ce qui ne peut se faire sans attaquer de l'autre côté les intérêts matériels des bourgeois et de la noblesse libérale qui forment la grande phalange mazzinienne.[d]

This last matter is exceedingly important. If Mazzini, or anyone else puts himself at the head of the Italian agitators and fails this time to transform the peasants, *franchement* and *immédiatement,*[e] from *métaires*[f] into free landowners,—the condition of the Italian peasants is atrocious, I have thoroughly mugged up the beastly subject—, the Austrian government will, in the event of revolution, have recourse to Galician methods.[481] In the *Lloyd* it has already threatened 'a complete transformation of the state of tenure' and the 'extermination of the turbulent nobility'. If Mazzini's eyes have not yet been opened, then he's a dunderhead. Admittedly certain agitational interests are involved here. Where will he find the 10 million fr. if he

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[a] Oskar Reichenbach - [b] Franz Sigel - [c] Marx probably means *La Voix du Proscrit* - [d] 'Firstly, Dio. They don't want a god. Next, and more serious, they blame Maître Mazzini for working for the Austrian interest by preaching insurrection, i.e. by precipitating it. Finally, they insist on a direct appeal to the material interests of the Italian peasants, and this cannot be made without a corresponding attack on the material interests of the bourgeoisie and liberal nobility, who form the great Mazzinian phalanx. - [e] outright and immediately - [f] tenant share-croppers

antagonises the bourgeoisie? How retain the services of the nobility, if he informs them that their expropriation comes first on the agenda? Such are the difficulties encountered by a demagogue of the old school.

Unfortunately those arrested in Paris include that rascal Schramm.[483] The day before yesterday Liebknecht had a letter from the rogue, and we are faced with the agreeable prospect of having this dissolute character once again in our midst. But he'll get a bit of a shock, *ce monsieur là!*[a] You would greatly oblige me by *sending me the essay for Dana by Tuesday morning.*[b]

Herewith letter from Dronke. By the by, should you write him a letter, you must send it direct to his address. Schuster's is by no means safe. In a day or two I'll send you a note for him, to which you can add something before forwarding it to the little fellow.

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## 213

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Friday, 19 September [1851]

Dear Marx,

Yesterday, in the greatest haste, I managed to finish the American article[c]—*tel quel,*[d] with many interruptions over the past 3 weeks and finally the remainder thrown together in haste. *Tu en feras ce que tu pourras.*[e] At all events you'll get it by the first post today.

The only letter I got after my brother's[f] arrival was yours of 31

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[a] will that gentleman - [b] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany.* Article II. - [c] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany.* Article II. - [d] such as it is - [e] You'll have to do what you can with it. - [f] probably Hermann

August, which I only received on 2 September and in which you quoted the passages from Heinzen (in the *Schnellpost* concerning the refinement of Yankee-ness).

My laziness was due to:

1. a business trip to Bradford,
2. our clerk's departure for London, whence he won't be returning till Monday,
3. the sudden dismissal of our WAREHOUSEMAN and assistant, leaving me with my hands full.

Tomorrow or Monday I shall devote myself to the 3rd American article, which will definitely reach you in time for the next steamer—by Tuesday if there's a sailing on Wednesday, otherwise by Friday. More tomorrow; the office is now closing, and as yet we have no gas, so that I am writing virtually in darkness.

Your
F. E.

The Willich document in the *Débats* is superb[484]!

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## 214

## ENGELS TO MARX[482]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 23 September 1851

Dear Marx,

At last I think I've reached the point at which, after so many deplorable interruptions, I can settle down to regular work again. Article No. 3 for America[a] will be finished by this evening and

[a] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. Article III.

dispatched to you forthwith, and then I will at once get down to the Proudhon.[a]

I have heard nothing more about Kinkel's tour. The split among the Italians is wonderful. It's excellent that that astute visionary, Mazzini, should at last find himself thwarted by material interests, and in his own country to boot. One advantage of the Italian revolution has been that there, too, it has swept the most isolated classes into the movement, and that a new party, more radical than the old Mazzinian emigration, is now being formed, and is gradually displacing Mr Mazzini. Newspaper reports would also seem to indicate that *il Mazzinismo*[b] is falling into disrepute even among people who are neither constitutionally nor reactionarily minded, and that what remains of the freedom of the press in Piedmont is being used by them for attacks on Mazzini, the *portée*[c] of which the government fails to grasp. In other respects the Italian revolution far outdoes the German in poverty of ideas and wealth of hot air. It is fortunate that a country which, instead of proletarians, has virtually nothing but *lazzaroni*,[485] should at least possess *métayers*. The other reasons given by the Italian dissidents are delightful too, and, finally, it is really splendid that the only émigrés to have remained united, at least in public, should now be at each other's throats.

The little man's[d] report pleased me greatly. Pompous tittle-tattle, a duel, a bit of money to be collected in Hamburg, Piedmontese plans—DODGE, DODGE and DODGE again[486]! There are two things one can never understand about the little fellow, firstly what he's up to, and secondly what he lives on. I return the letter herewith, send me the answer and I shall forward it to him post free. I have noted his own address—much good Schuster's would be, now that his house has been searched.

It was only to be expected that the precious Schramm[e] should be one of the first to fall into the clutches of the Parisian police. He must have been vociferating in cafés and been nabbed for it. But since he has no connection with the Willich-Schapper conspiracy, you'll no doubt have him back in London again by now.[483] The excerpts from the Willich document[484] in the *Kölnische Zeitung*[f] are much nicer than in the French papers, the original German text being given, and the great all-rounder's vigorous arguments emerge here quite unadulterated. E. g. where he says

[a] F. Engels, 'Critical Review of Proudhon's Book *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX*[e] *siècle*'. - [b] Mazzinism - [c] import - [d] Ernst Dronke - [e] Conrad Schramm - [f] 'Maßregeln vor, während und nach der Revolution', *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 225, 19 September 1851.

that, in the next revolution, 'the League' and the 'fourth estate' (not, of course, to be confused with the bogus article from the Marx-Engels factory, placed on the market under the label 'proletariat') 'are to bring the historical developments of the economic question to a conclusive conclusion'!! The poor translation by the French police has altogether spoilt this incomparable document. The age-old *idées fixes* of this crazy martial clod, the hoary fatuities about social revolution stemming from the village commune, the cunningly calculated little schemes, which, as long ago as last November, were to have stood the world on its head through the agency of the Rhenish *Landwehr*,[385] none of this really comes through. But the most infuriating thing about it is that this poor translation almost completely spoils one's pleasure in observing how the ideas we instilled have gradually, after 12 months of independent cerebration within this misshapen skull, been finally converted into pompous nonsense. In the translation the provenance is everywhere discernible, but precisely the accretion of underived craziness, the distortion, is not in evidence. And are we to be deprived of the pleasure of at last being able to read in the vernacular a piece of unalloyed Willich which has assuredly been long chewed over by the noble man? One sees nothing but the most appalling dearth of ideas and the attempt to conceal the same beneath an immense heap of revolutionary admonition as brought forth of a gloomy evening in the inglenook by Mr Willich and Mr Barthélemy. Unsurpassed, too, the financial measures: first you make paper money, *n'importe combien*,[a] second you confiscate, third you requisition. Then the social ones, which are equally simple: 1) you organise, *tellement quellement*,[b] 2) you guzzle, guzzle a great deal, until you get to 3) when there's nothing left to guzzle, which is fortunate, for you then reach the point at which, 4) you start all over again, since the most radical *tabula rasa*[c] consists in leaving not a crumb on the table, by which time the hour will have come for the word of the prophet Willich to be fulfilled: 'We must march into Germany as into a waste land that we are to colonise and render fertile'. From the beginning the fellow's one idea has been to conquer the communist Canaan from without, exterminating the original inhabitants, with the help of '5,000 men', hand-picked from the 'people of the Lord'. Moses and Joshua rolled into one; alas, during their exile in Egypt the Children of Israel had already dispersed in all directions.

One must hope the Australian gold business won't interfere with

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[a] no matter how much - [b] as best you can - [c] clean sweep

the trade crisis.[487] At any rate it has momentarily created a new, largely fictitious market, sending wool sky-high, since the flocks are being neglected. Otherwise it's a splendid thing. In six months' time the circumnavigation of the world by steam will be fully under way and our predictions concerning the supremacy of the Pacific Ocean will be fulfilled even more quickly than we could have anticipated.[a] When this happens the British will be thrown out and the united states of deported murderers, burglars, rapists and pickpockets[b] will startle the world by demonstrating what wonders can be performed by a state consisting of undisguised rascals. THEY WILL BEAT CALIFORNIA HOLLOW. But whereas in California rascals are still lynched, in Australia they'll lynch the *honnêtes gens*,[c] and Carlyle will see his ARISTOCRACY OF ROGUES established in all its glory.

The numerous asseverations in the press to the effect that, notwithstanding the recent bankruptcies and the depression prevailing in Liverpool and elsewhere, the country's TRADE has never been healthier, are most suspect. What is certain is that East India is OVERSTOCKED and that for months past sales there have been made at a loss. I am not clear about where the mass of stuff manufactured in Manchester and district is going; a great deal, a very great deal, of speculation must be involved, for as soon as cotton had reached its lowest point in July, and the spinners began to lay in a stock of raw material, all the spinners and weavers were immediately given long-term contracts by the local commission houses, which were very far from having orders for all the goods they were ordering from manufacturers. In the case of the East Indian houses, the old cash advance system is obviously in full swing again; this has already come to light in a few cases, and in others there will sooner or later be a fine old CRASH. As the manufacturers here are working at full stretch, and productive power, particularly within a 5-20 mile radius of Manchester, has increased by at least 30 per cent since 1847 (in Lancashire it was 30,000 in 1842, 40,000 in 1845; now certainly 55,000-60,000 horsepower), this brisk activity has only to continue until March or April and we shall have such overproduction as will warm the cockles of your heart.

The following information, prepared by the Liverpool Cotton Brokers Corporation, may not have come to your notice in so detailed a form. First I should explain that delivery to the ports of

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Review. January-February 1850'. - [b] Australia was formerly a place of deportation for criminals - [c] honest folk

each year's cotton crop is completed by 1 September of the following year, so that the cotton year runs from one 1 September to the next. Hence it follows that what is here described e. g. as the 1851 crop was grown in the summer of 1850, harvested in the autumn of 1850 and conveyed to the ports between September '50 and September '51. The crop now ripening which, by the way, will be poorer as the result of drought and storms, and will amount to about $2^1/_2$ millions, would thus figure as that of 1852.

| Cotton crop in the year: | | American domestic consumption: | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1846 .....2,110,537 | bales | not given | |
| 1847 .....1,778,651 | " | 427,967 | bales |
| 1848 .....2,347,634 | " | 531,772 | " |
| 1849 .....2,728,596 | " | 518,039 | " |
| 1850 .....2,096,706 | " | 487,769 | " |
| 1851 .....2,355,257 | " | 404,108 | " |

The Americans, therefore, have consumed between $^1/_5$ and $^1/_4$ of their entire crop themselves. I have not yet any information concerning exports and imports of other types of cotton besides those from the United States. Exports from the US to Britain amounted to about 55-60 per cent of the crop, to France, $^1/_8$. But both countries in their turn export fairly heavily, Britain to France, Germany and Russia, France to Switzerland.

At the present moment the Russians are no longer taking so much as a pound of twist from Britain, very few finished cotton goods, a great deal of raw cotton—2,000-3,000 bales per week and, despite the reduction in duty on yarn from 7d to 5d a pound, new spinning mills are going up daily. Nicholas seems at last to be growing apprehensive about this industry and wants to reduce the duty even further. But since all his rich nobility and all the bourgeoisie have an interest in this business, the affair might become serious should he insist on it.

Your
F. E.

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## 215

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 September 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

This business of the Paris document[484] is quite stupid. The German papers, the *Kölnische* and the *Augsburg*,[a] as might be expected of such undiscerning curs, attribute it to us. On the other hand, the wretched Willich & Co. are putting it about that we had had the rubbish denounced by acquaintances of ours in Paris. *Qu'en dis-tu?*[b]

C. Schramm is also in jug. *Habeat sibi.*[c] Next time—when I've gleaned some further news—I'll write and tell you more about the dirty business here. Today I shall regale you with the following résumé of Citizen Techow's manifesto which occupies several columns in the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung*,[d] and is entitled: *'Umrisse des kommenden Kriegs. London, 7. August.'* (Ill-written, doctrinaire, sundry echoes of our *Revue*,[e] seemingly intelligently developed, but insipid in content, undynamic in form, nothing striking.) I shall spare you Techow's initial narrative of the revolution of 1849. These, for a start, are the general lessons he draws from it:

1. Force can be resisted only by force.

2. A revolution can only be victorious if it becomes general, i. e. if it is kindled in the larger centres of the movement (Bavaria-Palatinate, Baden) and if, furthermore, it is not the expression of *one single oppositional faction.* (Example: the June insurrection of 1848.[488])

3. National struggles cannot be decisive because they are divisive.

4. Fighting on the barricades has no significance other than to signal a population's resistance and to put the power of governments, i. e. the troops' frame of mind, to the test by confronting them with that resistance. Whatever the outcome of this test, the first and most important step in revolution always remains organisation for war, the raising of disciplined armies. For this alone makes an offensive possible and it is only in the offensive that victory lies.

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[a] *Kölnische Zeitung* and *Allgemeine Zeitung* - [b] What do you make of that? - [c] Serve him right. See this volume, p. 459. - [d] of 6 September - [e] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*

5. National constituent assemblies are not capable of organising for war. *They invariably waste time* on *questions of internal politics*, the *time* for whose *solution* does not come till *after victory has been won.*

6. In order to be able to organise for war, a revolution must gain time and space. Hence it must attack politically, i. e. bring into its domain as many stretches of country as possible, since militarily it is at first always restricted to the defensive.

7. In the republican, no less than in the royalist, camp organisation for war can only be based on compulsion. No pitched battle has ever been won by political enthusiasm or fantastically bedizened volunteers against disciplined and well-led soldiers. Military enthusiasm only sets in after a series of successes.—Initially there can be no better basis for such successes than the iron rigour of discipline. In armies, even more so than in the internal organisation of a country, democratic principles can only apply after the victory of the revolution.

8. By its nature the coming war will be a war of extermination—of peoples or princes. From this follows the recognition of the political and military solidarity of all peoples, i. e. of intervention.

9. Spatially the area of the coming revolution falls within the boundaries of that of the defeated ones: France, Germany, Italy, Hungary, Poland.

From all this it follows that the question of the coming revolution is equally as important as that of a European war. Object of the war: a Cossack or republican Europe.[a] Theatre of the war—as before: Northern Italy and Germany.

Mr Techow now enumerates: 1. the armed forces of the counter-revolution; 2. the armed forces of revolution.

*I. Armed Forces of the Counter-Revolution*

1. *Russia.* Suppose that it could bring its armed forces up to 300,000. That would be a great deal. How quickly and at what strength could it then appear on the Rhine or in Italy? At the best, in 2 months. Deduct at least $^1/_3$ for sickness and for manning the lines of communication. That leaves 200,000 men who, 2 months after the action has begun, will make their appearance at the crucial points in the theatre of war.

2. *Austria.* Estimates the strength of its army at 600,000 men. In 1848 and '49 employed 150,000 men in Italy. Radetzky is demanding that number even now, in time of peace. In Hungary

[a] In *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène* by Las Cases Napoleon is reported to have said: 'Dans cinquante ans l'Europe sera républicaine ou cosaque' (In fifty years Europe will be republican or Cossack).

he now requires, in peacetime, 90,000 men. During the last war, 200,000 were not enough. $^1/_3$ of this army consists of Hungarians and Italians, who will defect. At best, if the uprising does not take place simultaneously in Hungary and Italy, she will be able to reach the Rhine in 6 weeks with 50,000 men, having been delayed by sundry battles at the barricades.

3. *Prussia.* Numbers 500,000 men, incl. of the replacement battalions and the *Landwehr*[385] of the First Levy, which do not accompany the army into the field. For operations in the field, 300,000 men, $^1/_2$ line, $^1/_2$ *Landwehr.* Mobilisation: 2 to 3 weeks. The officers' corps in the Prussian army aristocratic, the non-commissioned officers bureaucratic, the masses 'democratic' through and through. The revolution has further opportunities in the mobilisation of the *Landwehr.* Disorganisation of the Prussian army by the revolution which will be mastered by the King[a] only under the protection of the Russian army and in order to lead the remnants of his army, in company with the Russians, against the rebels. Rhine Province, Westphalia, Saxony lost to him, thus the most important fortified lines and at least $^1/_3$ of his army. He will need $^1/_3$ against the uprisings in Berlin, Breslau,[b] the province of Posen and West Prussia. This leaves at most 100,000 who will be unable to appear on the battlefield any earlier than the Russians themselves.

4. The *German Federal Army.* The regiments of Baden, Schleswig-Holstein, the Electorate of Hesse, and the Palatinate belong to the revolution. Only the remnants of the German Federal Army, following the fleeing princes, will reinforce the armies of reaction. Of no military significance.

5. *Italy.* Italy's only military force, the Sardinian army, belongs to the revolution.

To sum up, then:

*Theatre of war in Germany*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 150,000 | Russians | |
| 100,000 | Prussians | |
| 50,000 | Austrians | 300,000 men |

*Theatre of war in Italy*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 150,000[c] | Austrians | |
| 50,000 | Russians | 200,000 men |
| | Total: | 500,000 men |

[a] Frederick William IV - [b] Polish name: Wrocław - [c] In the original: 110,000

*II. Armed Forces of the Revolution*

1. *France.* 500,000 men at the disposal of the revolution from the very start. Of these, 200,000 on the Rhine, 100,000 in Italy (North) ensure that the revolution in Italy and Germany has time and space to organise itself.

2. *Prussia.* 50,000 } i.e. half the defecting armies
3. *Austria.* 100,000 } organised.

4. Small German armies: 100,000.

This adds up as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Active French Army* ..... | 300,000 | men |
| *German revolutionary army* .... | 150,000 | " |
| *Italy and Hungary* ..... | 200,000 | " |
| | 650,000 | " |

Thus the revolution will lead 650,000 men against absolutism's 500,000.

He concludes:

'Whatever differences of nationality or principle may, after all, split the great party of the revolution—we have all of us learnt that the time to combat these different views amongst ourselves will only come after victory has been won', etc., etc.

What do you make of these calculations? Techow presupposes that there will be disorganisation on the part of the regular armies and organisation on the part of the revolutionary armed forces. That forms the basis of his calculation. However, you'll be better able than I to judge these statistics.

But the essay's actual political tendency, which emerges even more clearly in the exposition, is as follows: No revolution ever breaks out, i. e. there is no party struggle, no civil war, no class dissension, until after the *ending of the war* and the collapse of Russia. But in order to organise these armies for this war, *force* is needed. And where is the *force to come from?* From General Cavaignac, or some similar military dictator in France, who has his generals in Germany and Northern Italy. *Voilà la solution,*[a] which is not very far removed from Willich's ideas. World war, i. e. as understood by your revolutionary Prussian lieutenant, domination,

[a] There is the solution

at least temporarily, of civilians by the military. But how any general, even were the old Napoleon himself to rise up out of his grave, is to get, not only the means, but also so much influence without preliminary and simultaneous *internal* struggles, without those damned 'internal politics', is not vouchsafed by the oracle. At least this future world-warrior's 'pious wish', which finds its due political expression precisely in the classless politicians and democrats as such, has been clearly and frankly stated.

Farewell.

Your
K. M.

I have just received your letter which I acknowledge herewith.

NB. You know, of course, that Stechahn or Steckhahn[a] has been arrested in Hanover and, before he joined our association, was corresponding with the Schapper committee, etc. Well, 2 letters which he wrote to the secretary of this committee—Dietz, the cockroach—and which the latter received, are at present in the police inspector's office in Hanover. We then entrusted Ulmer with the task of questioning Messrs Dietz & Co. on the subject at next Friday's public sitting of the 'refugee or émigré society'. This we countermanded again. Stechan has done a bunk and is, therefore, either on his way to London or already here. And who's to say that Stechan won't go to our enemies rather than to us?

The Straubingers[86] are *capables de tout.*[b] Further proof: Mr Paul Stumpf who, during his short visit to London, did not come to see either myself or Lupus but consorted exclusively with the blackguards.

I found your trade news exceedingly interesting.

As for C. Schramm, he was carrying in his pocket-book a brief note from me establishing his *bona fides.* Those lines could have been as fatal Uriah's letter.[c] They were originally given to him to make him think he was trusted and to disarm him, since the fellow could do us considerable damage. But at the same time a letter went off to Reinhardt warning him to be on his guard should he

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[a] should read Stechan - [b] capable of anything - [c] The bible relates that David sent a letter by Uriah condemning the bearer to death (2 Samuel 11:14, 15).

(Schramm) present himself with the note, which was couched in *general* terms. The worst of it is that my name is at the bottom. It could earn Schramm 6 months.

*Addio!*

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## 216

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] [25][a] September 1851

Dear Marx,

Your letter has arrived. Will write about Techow's erudition tomorrow. Kinkel's begging letter to New Orleans is very charming, but unfortunately I only saw the French version. Mr Stechan must also be in London by now; should he fail to announce himself, you will be absolutely right to leave the fellow to his own devices and to wait and see what happens before allowing anyone to take his side. Those released in Paris, of whom there is word in today's papers, will doubtless include Mr Conrad.[b] I, too, was much annoyed by the stupidity of the German newspapers in laying Willich's document[484] at our door. However, it will soon transpire that we have nothing to do with this wretched screed. *Par dieu, nous en avons assez sur les bras*[c] with other people's documents, as regards both style and content. Herewith article No. 3[d] for New York, at least a little less trashy than No. 2. I shall shortly be tackling No. 4.

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[a] Manuscript damaged - [b] Conrad Schramm - [c] By God, we have enough on our hands - [d] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. Article III.

You might from time to time send me an American paper *sous bande,*[a] it being occasionally desirable to see the muck *in natura.* I shall shortly be sending you another LOT OF STAMPS for this purpose.
*Adieu!*

Your
F. E.

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## 217

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 26 September 1851]

Dear Marx,

As regards Techow's war story,[b] from a military standpoint too, it is tremendously superficial and in parts downright wrong. Apart from the profound verities that only force avails against force and from the absurd discovery that revolution can only be victorious if it is general (i.e. literally if it meets no resistance and, by inference, if it is a bourgeois revolution), apart from the well-meaning intention to suppress those awkward 'internal politics', that is, the revolution itself through the agency of a military dictator as yet to be discovered, *pace* Cavaignac and Willich, and apart from this very significant political formulation of the views on revolution held by these gentlemen, it should, militarily speaking, be noted that:

1. The iron discipline which alone can procure victory is the exact obverse of the 'postponement of internal politics' and of military dictatorship. Whence is that discipline to come? The gentlemen really should have gleaned some experience in Baden and the Palatinate.[c] It is a manifest fact that the disorganisation of

[a] in a wrapper - [b] See this volume, p. 463. - [c] i.e. during the uprising of May-July 1849 there

armies and a total relaxation of discipline have been both precondition and consequence of all successful revolutions hitherto. It took France from 1789 to 1792 to reorganise an army—Dumouriez's—of only about 60,000-80,000 men, and even that disintegrated again and there was no organised army to speak of in France until the end of 1793. It took Hungary from March 1848 to the middle of 1849 to create a properly organised army. And who brought discipline to the army in the first French Revolution? Not the generals who, at a time of revolution, do not acquire influence and authority in improvised armies until a few victories have been won, but rather the *terreur* of internal politics, of the civil power.

Armed forces of the Coalition:

1. Russia. The estimate of an effective force of 300,000 men, 200,000 of them under arms in the theatre of war, is on the high side. *Passe encore.*[a] But they could not be on the Rhine (at most an advance guard on the Lower Rhine, at Cologne), or in Northern Italy in 2 months. In order to act in concert, to co-ordinate their movements adequately with those of Prussia, Austria, etc., etc., they would require 3 months—a Russian army does not cover more than 2-2$^1/_2$ German miles[b] a day, and rests every third. It took them almost 2 months to reach the theatre of war in Hungary.

2. Prussia. Mobilisation: at least 4-6 weeks. The speculation regarding defections, uprisings, etc., etc., very uncertain. At best can make 150,000 men available, at worst maybe less than 50,000. This being so, to count on $^1/_3$ or $^1/_4$ is sheer humbug, since everything depends on chance.

3. Austria. Equally *chanceux*[c] and even more complex. No possibility here of estimating probabilities *à la* Techow. At best it could, as Techow supposes, put some 200,000 men into the field against France, at worst it would not succeed in detaching one man, and might *at the very outside* pit 100,000 men against the French at Trieste.

4. Federal army—of the Bavarian, $^2/_3$ would certainly march against the revolution, and here and there even a bit more. At all events a corps 30,000-50,000 strong could be raised within 3 months, and against revolutionary soldiers this is enough to start off with.

5. Denmark would immediately put 40,000-50,000 good troops into the field and, as in 1813, the Swedes and also the Norwegians

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[a] But let that pass - [b] 1 German mile is roughly 4-4$^1/_2$ statute miles - [c] risky

would have to accompany it on the great crusade. Techow has overlooked this, as he has overlooked Belgium and Holland.

Armed forces of the revolution:

1. France. Has 430,000 men under arms. Of these, 100,000 in Algiers. 90,000 not *présent sous les armes*[a]—$^1/_4$ of the remainder. This leaves 240,000—of whom not more than 100,000 could reach the Belgo-German and 80,000 the Savoyard-Piedmontese frontier in 4-6 weeks, despite the now largely completed railways. This time Sardinia will try, like Belgium in 1848, to be the firm rock in the turbulent sea; hence whether the Piedmontese army, crammed as it is with bigoted Sardinian peasant lads, is—at least in its present form, officered by aristocrats—as committed to the revolution as Techow imagines is highly questionable. Victor Emmanuel has taken Leopold for his model, *c'est dangereux.*[b]

2. Prussia—? 3. Austria—?; i.e. so far as regular organised soldiers are concerned. As regards volunteers, they will turn up in their thousands, useless, of course. If in the first months 50,000-60,000 useful soldiers can be made out of troops who have defected, that's a great deal. Where are the officers to come from in so short a time?

Judging by all this, it is more likely that since any revolution (even in France) is bound to lack the very thing which enabled Napoleon to muster vast armies rapidly, to wit, good cadres, the revolution, if it takes place next year, will first either have to remain on the defensive or else confine itself to empty proclamations from Paris and highly inadequate, reprehensible and damaging Risquons-Tout expeditions[489] on a larger scale. Unless, of course, the Rhine fortresses come over during the first attack and the Piedmontese army responds to Citizen Techow's call; or unless the disorganisation of the Prussian and Austrian troops immediately centres on Berlin and Vienna, thus placing Russia on the defensive; or unless something else happens which cannot be foreseen. And to speculate on this and to calculate probabilities *à la* Techow is both otiose and arbitrary, as I know well enough from my own experience. All that can be said in this connection is that a very great deal depends on the Rhine Province.

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[a] under arms - [b] it's dangerous

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## MARX TO AMALIE DANIELS[490]

IN COLOGNE

[London, between 4 and 8 October 1851]

My dear Mrs Daniels,

I believe it is hardly necessary for me to mention the deep concern I feel about your husband's[a] arrest and your own separation from him. I console myself with the conviction that the courts will not be able to allow his detention to drag on much longer without bringing the case before a jury, and that you and your husband possess fortitude enough to defy adversity. I should be much obliged to you if you would hand over to the bearer of these lines the following books for me....

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## 219

## MARX TO ENGELS[491]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 October 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

You'll have seen in the *Kölnische Zeitung* that I've made a statement[b] refuting the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*'s nonsense.[c] The tittle-tattle was becoming altogether too wild. The ruffians'

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[a] Roland - [b] K. Marx, 'Statement and Accompanying Letter to the Editorial Board of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 4 October 1851'. - [c] *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 273, 30

intention, in launching the recent series of prolonged attacks in all the German newspapers, was, I am quite sure, to place me on the horns of a dilemma. Either I must publicly disown the conspiracy and hence our party friends, or I must publicly acknowledge it, thus committing an act of treason 'in law'. However, these gentlemen are too clumsy to catch us out.

On 29 September Weydemeyer sailed for New York from Le Havre. There he met Reich, who was also crossing the ocean to the Atlantic regions. Reich had been arrested with Schramm[a] and reports that the police found Schramm in possession of a copy of the minutes containing the transaction which caused his duel with Willich, the minutes, that is, of that same evening when he insulted Willich and walked out of the meeting.[379] The thing was written in his own hand and was unsigned. In this way the police found out that his name was Schramm and not 'Bamberger' on whose passport he was staying in Paris. On the other hand the minutes have added to the confusion of Messrs Chief of the City Police Weiss & Co. in that our names thus became mixed up in the dirty business. Since it was Schramm who committed this blunder, it is at least gratifying that this man of honour is himself being punished for it.

So the £160 sent from America has been used by Kinkel to go collecting in America in person, accompanied by his saviour, Schurz.[b] Whether he's going at the right time, in view of the present PRESSURE ON THE AMERICAN MONEY-MARKET, would seem doubtful. He chose the moment so as to arrive *before* Kossuth, and likes to imagine that he will have some opportunity of publicly embracing the latter in the land of the future and of seeing the legend 'Kossuth and Kinkel!' in all the newspapers.

On the strength of his clamour over the emancipation of slaves, Mr Heinzen succeeded in forming a new joint-stock company in New York and is continuing to run his paper[c] under a somewhat modified title.

Stechan—never trust a Straubinger[86]—has been here for several weeks in Willich-Schapper's retinue. While the fact remains that the letters he wrote to the cockroach Dietz are now in the possession of the Hanover police, Stechan has written an article

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September 1851 carried in a supplement an item datelined 'Cologne, 26 September' in which the arrests of the Communist League members in Cologne were linked with information allegedly received by Baroness von Beck from Marx.

[a] See this volume, p. 457. - [b] ibid., p. 439. - [c] *Deutsche Schnellpost*

for the *Norddeutsche Zeitung*[a] in which he reports that Mr Dietz's desk was broken into (*quelle bêtise!*)[b] and that was how the letters were purloined. The spy, as has now been established, was Haupt of Hamburg, who had long been in the service of the police. How fortunate that a few weeks ago I forestalled any overt moves in the Dietz-Stechan affair. As for Haupt, I've heard nothing more of him, and am vainly racking my brains to find some way of having a letter conveyed to him in person, for Haupt has got to declare himself. I've already tried to do so through Weerth but Haupt's fellow lodgers always turned him away on the pretext that he wasn't in. *Que penses-tu de Haupt?*[c] I'm convinced that he isn't a spy and never has been.

Edgar Bauer is also said to be here. I have not yet seen him. A week ago Blind and his wife (Madame Cohen) arrived to visit the exhibition and left again on Sunday last. I didn't see him again after the Monday, and this because of the following absurd incident, which will show you how very much henpecked the wretched man is. Today I received a locally posted letter in which he announces his departure. Now, the previous Monday he had come to see me with his wife. Others present were Freiligrath, red Wolff[d] (who, be it said in passing, has crept back again all unobtrusively and has, moreover, *married* an English bluestocking), Liebknecht, and the luckless Pieper. The wife is a vivacious Jewess and we were laughing and chatting quite merrily when the father of all lies[e] brought the conversation round to religion. She was showing off on atheism, Feuerbach, etc. I attacked Feuerbachus, but very civilly, of course, and in a most affable way. At first it seemed to me that the Jewess was enjoying the discussion which, of course, was the only reason why I had engaged in this boring topic. In between whiles my dogmatically obtrusive echo, Mr Pieper, held forth—but not exactly in a tactful manner. Suddenly I noticed that the woman was in floods of tears. Blind was casting sorrowfully expressive glances in my direction, she decamped—and was not seen again,[f] *ni lui non plus.*[g] It was something the like of which I had never seen before in all my long experience.

Pieper has set sail for Frankfurt am Main with the house of Rothschild. He has acquired a most disagreeable habit of butting

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[a] G. L. Stechan, 'Hannover, 28 September', *Zeitung für Norddeutschland*, No. 544, 29 September 1851. - [b] what a stupidity! - [c] What do you think of Haupt? - [d] Ferdinand Wolff - [e] the devil—see Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, 'Hell', XXIII. - [f] Goethe, 'Der Fischer'. - [g] and neither was he

in on my conversations with other people in a very fatuous, pedantic tone.

> What they have just learnt, they must needs teach others forthwith.
> Ah me, what a short gut these gentry have![a]

The honourable Göhringer has sent me a SUMMONS for the 22nd of this month because of the old demand. At the same time the great man set off for Southampton to welcome Kossuth. It would seem that I am to pay for the reception ceremonies.

I have had 2 letters from Paris, one from Ewerbeck and one from Sasonow. Mr Ewerbeck is publishing an immortal work: *L'Allemagne et les Allemands.* Ranging from Arminius the Cheruscan (his actual words) to the year of Our Lord 1850. He asks me for biographical-literary-historical notes on 3 men: F. Engels, K. Marx and B. Bauer. The muck's already printing. *Que faire?*[b] I fear that if we don't send the fellow any answer at all, he will spread the most arrant nonsense about us. Write and tell me what you think about this.

The most interesting thing about Sasonow's letter at any rate is the postmark, 'Paris'. How does Sasonow come to be in Paris just when things are so difficult? I shall ask him to explain this *mystère.* He, for his part, goes into long complaints about Dronke's being a *fainéant*[c] and allowing himself to be *enjôler*[d] by a few bourgeois. He says he has translated half the *Manifesto.*[e] Dronke had apparently undertaken to translate the other half but, because of his customary negligence and idleness, the whole thing had come to naught. This last is, indeed, just like our Dronke.

After the rejection by Mr Campe of my offer regarding the anti-Proudhon pamphlet, and by Mr Cotta and, later, Löwenthal of the one (transmitted through Ebner in Frankfurt) concerning my Economy, there would at last appear to be some prospect for the latter.[492] I shall know in a week whether anything will come of it. It's a publisher in Dessau[f] and through Ebner too. This man Ebner is a friend of Freiligrath's.

I haven't yet had a letter from the *Tribune,* which I have not so much as seen, but I don't doubt that the thing is going ahead.[g] At any rate it's bound to resolve itself in a few days' time.

By the way, you must at long last let me have your *vues*[h] on

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[a] F. Schiller, 'Die Sonntagskinder'. - [b] What's to be done? - [c] lazybones - [d] cajoled - [e] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party.* - [f] Friedrich Suchsland - [g] the publishing of Engels' *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany.* - [h] views

Proudhon,[a] however brief. They are of particular interest to me since I am now in the throes of working out the Economy. Incidentally, during my recent visits to the library, which I continue to frequent, I have been delving mainly into technology, the history thereof, and agronomy, so that I can form at least some sort of an opinion of the stuff.

*Qu'est ce que fait la crise commerciale?*[b] The *Economist* is full of the anodynes, assurances and appeals which regularly precede a crisis. However, one senses its fear as it seeks to dispel the fears of others. If you happen to come upon the following book: Johnston, *Notes on North America,* 2 vols., 1851, you will find all manner of interesting information in it. For this Johnston is the English Liebig. An atlas of physical geography by 'Johnston', not to be confused with the above, may perhaps be had from one of Manchester's lending libraries. It is a compilation of all the most recent as well as earlier research in this field. Costs 10 guineas. Thus not meant for private individuals. Not a word from our DEAR Harney. He would seem to be still living in Scotland.

The English admit that, at the industrial exhibition, the Americans carried off the prize and beat them at everything. 1. Gutta-percha. New materials and new industries. 2. Weapons. Revolvers. 3. Machines. Reapers, seed drills and sewing-machines. 4. Daguerreotypes, used for the first time on a large scale. 5. Shipping, with their yacht. Finally, to show that they are also capable of producing luxury articles, they exhibited an enormous lump of Californian gold ore and beside it a golden SERVICE of VIRGIN gold.

*Salut!*

Your
K. Marx

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[a] P. J. Proudhon, *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX^e siècle.* - [b] How is the commercial crisis going?

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Wednesday, 15 October 1851

Dear Marx,

Herewith POST OFFICE ORDER for two pounds. PARTICULARS as before. The business with Göhringer is a great nuisance. You'll have to pay; the GENTLEMEN of the COUNTY COURT make short work of it, and the handwriting is there. If I were you, I'd raise the money along with the cost of the SUMMONS as soon as possible, and send it to the fellow. *Il n'y à rien à faire,*[a] and to go to court and be sentenced only increases the costs and isn't exactly pleasant. What is the total amount, and how much can you raise? Let me have as exact a figure as possible and I shall certainly do everything in my power to keep the BROKERS away from your door, short though I myself am just now.

The business with Schramm is not very pleasant[b] and it would have been better had we been kept out of this beastly mess altogether. That the minutes concerning those edifying squabbles over Bauer's and Pfänder's trust funds[328] should be in the hands of these gentlemen is far from pleasant, and Schramm deserves to have his backside kicked for carting such things around with him. At any rate, it serves him right if, as a result, he's locked up for a time and gets six months for using a false passport.

As for Haupt, I shall not regard him as a spy until I have the actual proof before my eyes. The fellow may have done some stupid things while in clink and there's admittedly something fishy about the business with Daniels, who is said to have been arrested on the strength of his denunciation. But all this journeymen's club chatter from Windmill Street[331] is the more fatuous for coinciding with the story of the forcing of Dietz's desk. Doubtless it was actually from Hamburg that Haupt broke into the cockroach's desk! And then, why doesn't the precious Dietz complain to the English police? It would, by the way, be a very good idea if Haupt could be induced to make a statement about the matter. If you send Weerth a letter for him, I would imagine that Weerth would be bound to find some opportunity of handing

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[a] There's nothing you can do - [b] See this volume, p. 473.

it to him personally within the fortnight and, if needs be, could even call on him at the office. A merchant can always be found.

The affair of Blind and spouse[a] is truly inimitable. To shed tears and push off because Monsieur Pieper maligned Feuerbach, *c'est fort.*[b]

When you use the word *'married'* of red Wolff,[c] is it in the English, respectably bourgeois sense? I'm inclined to believe this, since you underline it. That would really beat everything hollow. M. Wolff *bon époux, peut-être même bon père de famille!*[d]

I think you'd be well-advised to fob Ewerbeck off with a few meagre notes and keep him in tolerably good humour; no purpose would be served by the fellow's spreading something altogether too idiotic about us in France. By the way, the tenacity this fellow evinces in his endeavours to become a great man is unbelievable considering that it actually gets the better of his avarice; for this new piece of 'immortality'[e] is undoubtedly again being paid for out of his own pocket, with a sale of 50 copies in prospect.

I'd like to hear more about Sasonow should you hear from him. This episode is piquant and Mr Sasonow is becoming extremely suspect.

I am at present engaged in making what summaries I need from the Proudhon. Wait until the end of this week, and it'll be returned to you, with my comments.[f] Once again the fellow's calculations are capital. Wherever there's a figure there's a howler.

What course the crisis will take here cannot be foreseen. Nothing was done last week because of the Queen.[g] Not much this week either. But the market has a DOWNWARD TENDENCY, with raw material prices still firm. Both will fall considerably within a few weeks and probably, to go by current prospects, the industrial product relatively further than the raw material; hence the spinners, weavers and printers will have to work on lower margins. That in itself is suspect enough. But the American market threatens to expire, the reports from Germany are not too favourable and, if markets continue moribund, we might see the beginning of the end in a few weeks' time. In America it's hard to say whether PRESSURE and bankruptcies (debts of 16 million dollars in all) really are the beginning, or are merely straws in the wind. Here, at all events, there are already some very significant straws.

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[a] Cohen - [b] is preposterous - [c] Ferdinand Wolff - [d] a good husband, perhaps even a good pater familias! - [e] H. Ewerbeck, *L'Allemagne et les Allemands.* - [f] F. Engels, 'Critical Review of Proudhon's Book *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX^e siècle'.* - [g] In mid-October 1851 Queen Victoria visited Manchester.

The IRON TRADE is totally paralysed, and 2 of the main banks which supply it with money—those in Newport—have gone broke; now, besides the recent FAILURES in London and Liverpool, a tallow speculator in Glasgow and, on the London STOCK EXCHANGE, Mr Thomas Allsop, a friend of O'Connor's and Harney's. I haven't seen today's reports from the woollen, silk and hardware districts, *cela ne sera pas trop brillant non plus.*[a] At any rate there will no longer be any question of mistaking present indications, and there is the prospect, if not actually the certainty, of next spring's convulsions on the Continent coinciding with quite a nice little crisis. Even Australia seems incapable of doing very much; since California, the discovery of gold has become an old story and the world has grown *blasé* about it; it's beginning to be a REGULAR TRADE and the surrounding markets are themselves so overstocked that, without making very much impression on their own GLUT, they are capable of bringing about an EXTRA GLUT among the 150,000 inhabitants of New South Wales.

So Mr Louis Napoleon has *enfin*[b] decided to give Mr Faucher the boot. It was only to be expected that, this time, he would not allow the prorogation to go by without repeating the previous year's coup with Changarnier—whether with equal success, we shall see. He has, to use an expression from the hunting field, at last been BROUGHT TO BAY by the royalists, has turned on them and is threatening them with his antlers. It remains to be seen, however, when he will tuck his tail between his legs again. At all events, the miserable adventurer is fallen so low that, do what he will, *il est foutu;*[c] but the affair is now beginning to become interesting.In one respect it's a pity that the splendid Faucher-Carlier repression, the progressive state of siege, the gendarmerie's tyranny, etc., is so soon threatened with interruption and, should the cowardly Napoleon really be brave enough to launch a serious attack on the electoral law,[d] he could even now bring about its repeal, which would also be a pity as it would again provide a lawful basis for these jackasses, the legal progressives of 13 June[493]—but who knows what is good and what is bad where these Frenchmen are concerned? What do you make of the dirty business? You see more newspapers there.

Your
F. E.

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[a] they won't be very wonderful either - [b] at last - [c] he is done for - [d] A law of 31 May 1850 which abrogated universal suffrage.

I have had a circular from Jones; he must either get 600 more subscribers or go broke,[a] *mais que puis-je faire?*[b]

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## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[494]

### IN NEW YORK

London, 16 October 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

Not only have I myself written to A. Charles Dana,[495] one of the editors of the *New-York Tribune,* but I have sent him a letter of introduction for you from Freiligrath. So all you have to do is to call on him and mention our names.

You ask about a statistical manual. I would recommend—since it also contains economic expositions—the *Commercial Dictionary* by MacCulloch, 1845. There are more recent things, e.g., by MacGregor, whose works on statistics are, generally speaking, probably the best so far as Europe as a whole is concerned.[c] But they are very dear. However, you will certainly find them in one of the New York libraries. MacCulloch, on the other hand, is a manual which every journalist ought to possess.

On England, specially to be recommended: Porter, *The Progress of the Nation.* New edition, 1851.

On the history of commerce generally:

Tooke: *History of Prices.* 3 vols. Up to 1848. On North America, especially MacGregor, who has written a statistical study of the United States.

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[a] Reference to the terms for publication of *Notes to the People.* - [b] but what can I do? - [c] J. MacGregor, *Commercial Tariffs and Regulations, Resources, and Trade of the Several States of Europe and America; The Resources and Statistics of Nations.*

On Germany: Freiherr von Reden: *Vergleichende Kulturstatistik.* On France: Moreau.[a]

Now I have another commission for you. At the request of Koch, a former German Catholic priest, whom you may inquire after at the *Staatszeitung,* for which he writes from time to time, I sent him 20 *Manifestos*[b] (in German) and one English translation of the same, instructing him to have it—the English translation—printed in pamphlet form, along with Harney's introductory note.[c] Since that time there hasn't been a word from Mr Koch. Please ask him, 1) for an explanation of this most suspect silence, after he had written to me so urgently, and 2) get him to give you the English translation and see if you can dispose of it in pamphlet form, i.e. if you can publish, distribute and sell it. Needless to say, any proceeds there may be will go to you, but we should like to have 20-50 copies for ourselves.

Dronke is coming here on the 23rd inst.[496]

Write soon. Regards to you and your wife[d] from my wife, myself and all friends.

I hope that you have weathered the voyage successfully and that things will go well with you in the United States.

Your
K. Marx

[From Mrs Jenny Marx]

Tell your dear wife that, during this time, I have been thinking of her with heartfelt sympathy and concern. What must she have endured on the long sea voyage with two small children! I hope these lines will not reach New York too long before yourselves. I feel sure that you will manage to make a provisional home for yourselves there.

We have had no news of Edgar[e] since his departure in April. He left Bremen on the sailing vessel *Reform,* Captain Ammerman, intending to disembark at Galveston and stay, to begin with, in New Braunfels. Perhaps, dear Mr Weydemeyer, it might be possible for you to track him down somewhere from New York. His silence is all the more incomprehensible as he knows that, because of the

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[a] A. Moreau de Jonnès, *Statistique générale de la France.* - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party.* - [c] [G. J. Harney, Introduction to the *Manifesto of the Communist Party,*] *The Red Republican,* No. 21, 9 November 1850. - [d] Louise - [e] Edgar von Westphalen

paralysis of her right hand, our poor, lonely little mama[a] has been deprived of the last solace fate has left her—to communicate in writing with those she loves most.

Farewell, and warm regards from

Jenny Marx

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## 222

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 October 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

A few days ago I received a letter from Dronke wherein—ostensibly on account of his expulsion—he announces that he will be arriving in London on the 23rd or 24th of this month.[486] The question of subsistence will loom larger for him here than ever before.

A still more baleful piece of news is this: Of late my correspondence with Cologne has been carried on in such a way that letters for me are brought to Liège by Schmidt, a railway guard, and I, for my part, sent a letter to him in Liège under cover through a third person. Well, this man Schmidt was arrested and later released, but the investigation is still going on. This would seem to be a case of outright betrayal. In accordance with the arrangement, Pieper should, by the way, have long since sent news from Cologne, where the Rothschilds stopped for a day, and from Frankfurt. Instead, I see from one of Ebner's letters (from Frankfurt) to Freiligrath that, although he has already spent a week in Frankfurt, he has not yet been to see Ebner, to whom he was to deliver a letter from me. It is our great misfortune that our agents should always go about their business in so very slipshod a

[a] Caroline von Westphalen

manner, and invariably as though it were of secondary importance. The others are unquestionably better served.

Kinkel, to whom it seemed that the ground had been cut away under his feet by that boor Heinzen, and who in any case feels able to take the floor only when unanimously hailed as a saviour, did not hold a meeting in New York, nor did he sell any 'interest-bearing notes' on the future German republic.[497] In Philadelphia, on the other hand, as he writes and tells the emigration club, he sold 4,000 dollars' worth. Throughout Pennsylvania he found the inevitable crowd of light-loving German-Catholics.[498] All Kinkel did was to enter into the inheritance of Johannes Ronge. The latter was John.[a] He is Christ.

This evening I shall be meeting Göhringer. The whole thing's the fault of Willich & Co. For at the urgent request of these oafs, he allegedly gave them the sum I owed him. I shall give him a promissory note payable in 4 weeks' time. I think he will agree to this. If not, let him go to court. I have, in the interim, every prospect of concluding the contract with the Dessau publisher,[b] who will, of course, have to pay me a sum in advance.

Weerth is in Bradford again. *Il importe*[c] that you should write and ask him whether he can take a letter to Haupt *in person.* The entire calumny seems to me to emanate from 2 sources, on the one hand, Stechan-Dietz, on the other, Willich the beadle, who was the first person here to bruit it about among Schärttner's customers that Haupt might be a spy. For Willich associated regularly with Berthold, the ex-Prussian corporal. Haupt had managed to place this beast with a merchant in Hamburg. Berthold stole from the merchant and was charged by the police. Haupt, of course, gave evidence against the rascal, who may, perhaps, have shared the proceeds with his friend Willich. Whereupon the latter began to yelp about the betrayal of 'a poor, fugitive patriot'. If this story is made public, the 'noble' Willich will be all eyes. Now it would be important, not only for us to call on Haupt for an explanation regarding the suspicions overtly and covertly cast upon him, but for him, if innocent, to make a public statement, declaring that the whole business is based on Willich's calumny and at the same time hinting at the latter's association, maybe as partner, with the rascally Berthold. For Haupt doesn't yet know about this dirty trick of Willich's, which was the actual source of the suspicions cast upon him. If Weerth is willing, you could give him a letter to Haupt couched in these

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[a] the Baptist - [b] Friedrich Suchsland (see this volume, p. 475) - [c] It's important

terms. *La chose presse.*[a] In his statement Haupt should also refer to 'Dietz' and the equivocal matter of the forcing of his desk.

Now, as regards Ewerbeck, you must let me have a line or two concerning yourself, at least up to the year 1845.[b]

Mr Louis Bonaparte's sudden about-face, whatever its consequences may be, is a master-stroke of Girardin's. As you know, this gent had allied himself in London with Ledru-Rollin and his paper[c] really became, for a time, as stupid as might be expected from an ally of Ledru's and Mazzini's. Unexpectedly he adopted the ploy of *suffrage universel,* determining Bonaparte in its favour with the aid of his articles, Dr Véron and personal *entrevues.*[d] In this way the royalist conspiracy was smashed. The fury of the normally so diplomatic *Journal des Débats* is the clearest proof of this. The whole lot were hand-in-glove, Faucher, Carlier, Changarnier, and even the noble Berryer and Broglie, who had ostensibly rallied to Bonaparte. At any rate the 'revolution'—in the sense of triggering it off—has been juggled away. With *suffrage universel* there can be no question of it. But Mr Girardin doesn't care for a revolutionary *mise en scène.* He has duped both royalists and professional revolutionaries, and it may even be asked whether he is not intentionally duping Louis Bonaparte. For *suffrage universel* once restored, who will guarantee Bonaparte revision, and revision once achieved, who will guarantee that it will turn out as he wants?[420] Nevertheless, in view of the native stupidity of the French peasantry, the question arises whether the *elu du suffrage universel*[e] will not be re-elected out of gratitude for having restored the said suffrage, more especially if, BY AND BY, he nominates liberal ministers and with the help of ingenious pamphlets, puts the blame for all the mischief on the royalist conspirators, who kept him prisoner for 3 years. It will depend on his ingenuity. At all events, Bonaparte now knows that, with the *parti de l'ordre,*[267] he's not in clover.

One of the most comical interludes in this game of intrigue is the melancholy mien of the *National* and the *Siècle* which, as every one knows, have for some considerable time been howling for *suffrage universel.* Now that France is in danger of being presented with it again, they cannot conceal their chagrin. For as the royalists had counted on *suffrage restreint,*[f] for Changarnier's election, so they counted on the same for Cavaignac's. Girardin told them bluntly that he knew that beneath their republican horror of

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[a] The matter is urgent. - [b] See this volume, pp. 475, 478. - [c] *La Presse* - [d] interviews - [e] electee of universal suffrage - [f] limited suffrage

revision—with its prospect of re-election for Bonaparte—they were merely concealing their hatred of *suffrage universel,* which would exclude their man, Cavaignac, and their entire coterie. The *National,* poor thing, *s'était déjà consolé du départ du suffrage universel.*[a]

So much is certain. This coup will have thwarted the May 1852 uprising,[499] which at best might now break out earlier should one of the ruling coteries attempt a coup d'état.

Your
K. M.

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## 223

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 October 1851

Dear Engels,

Did you get my letter of last Monday? You're so meticulous about writing that your silence disturbs me.

I have heard nothing from Pieper up to the present. If nothing has happened to him, he is being unpardonably irresponsible. Dronke has not yet arrived. Have heard nothing from Cologne.

Enclosed a letter from Fischer who writes like a true democratic philistine. For the time being, *il faut le laisser faire,*[b] since nothing further can be done about it. If only he doesn't do anything silly where Kinkel is concerned. His letter rather gives the impression that he might.

Well, as we now learn, Kinkel had arranged matters as follows. Part of the £160 sterling was used to send Schurz on a secret mission to Belgium, France and Switzerland. He induced all the

[a] had already consoled itself for the demise of universal suffrage - [b] he must be given his head

great men there, including the Parliamentarians[a] (and not excluding the LATE Raveaux), to confer plenary powers on Kinkel and, at the same time, to guarantee the debt to be contracted in respect of the future German republic.[497] Hence the vast majority are now united and E. Meyen was able to promulgate in the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung* the great secret that the meaning of the future movement in Germany had now been discovered, namely, the principle of nationhood. Even at the time of his finest flowering, this individual never wrote as foolishly as he does now. Intellectually, these fellows are completely bankrupt.

*Addio!*

Your
K. M.

I have for the time being postponed the Göhringer business. Unfortunately the jackass is leaving for Spain on 1 November, having sold his public house here. Meanwhile, I need not fear any further hostile moves from him.

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## 224

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 27 October 1851]

Dear Marx,

If I didn't at once reply to your letter of the 19th inst., this was because I was expecting Weerth here within a few days and wanted to settle matters with regard to Haupt; and also because I wanted to be done with the Proudhon screed.[b] That will be today

[a] i.e. the members of the Frankfurt National Assembly - [b] F. Engels, 'Critical Review of Proudhon's Book *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX^e siècle*'.

and tomorrow evening, and Weerth was here on Saturday and Sunday; he will be remaining in Bradford for some time yet, and hence cannot take the letter over himself and refuses to do so even if he could, present conditions in Germany being so brilliant that one is liable to summary arrest on the slightest provocation, and he has no desire to be in any way mixed up in this League matter.[a] This cannot *au fond*[b] be held against him. He will, however, certainly see for me that a letter reaches Haupt, and only asks to be kept out of the thing completely. He told me, moreover, that he had come across Haupt on several occasions of late, but that, each time he had gone up to him, the man had, with a considerable show of embarrassment, suddenly avoided him and made off. It could be that, while in jug, Haupt was to some extent talked round by his family, etc., etc., and made certain admissions which now weigh heavily upon him. For the rest, Weerth is also of the opinion that those other stories emanating from Willich-Stechan are downright calumnies, since Haupt could have had no reason to sell himself.

I shall now write to Haupt anonymously,[500] since he knows my hand, and leave the conveyance of the letter to Weerth. I shall call upon him to declare himself openly and shall suggest that the Berthold business may well have been the cause of all the rumours. However, I shall omit the further suggestion that Willich might have gone shares with Berthold, because 1) Haupt will take care not to put his name to such insinuations, 2) the story is too improbable, Mr Berthold not being the man to go shares with distant acquaintances, particularly with Willich whom *au fond*[c] he detests, and 3) within the week the others would write to all the newspapers, describing this as a fresh calumny put about by Mr Marx, and appealing to philistine sentiment on behalf of that calumniated worthy Willich. The fellow's already enough of a rogue without our trying to make him into a greater one, or spreading lies about him which he can refute.

I must say that the Fischer letter is the stupidest thing I have seen in a long while. But I was expecting something of the kind and believe, moreover, that it will get no further than *promises* of money. The democratic jackasses can hardly be asked to send *us* money when their own people are coming in person to beg it from them, and the most they can be persuaded to do is, as Fischer himself says, to accord us some say in the disposal of the money, if

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[a] the impending trial of the Communist League members - [b] really - [c] at bottom

we are prepared to consent to sit in conclave with such rabble and as a minority at that. The borrowing scheme *à la* Mazzini, with an imperial guarantee[a] (the German Empire guarantees the Republic!), isn't bad at all, and it did at least require the combined efforts of all the most exemplary mendicants to produce it. Now that this has been invented, no other course remains open to our party than to withdraw completely from the democratic money market. THIS IMPUDENCE BEATS US HOLLOW. Such money as we have received from the democrats for political purposes has in any case come our way purely *per abusum*[b] and, now that the great men have themselves appeared on the market as a JOINT STOCK COMPANY, this illusion entirely ceases to be. All we should incur by our requests would be *refus*[c] and humiliation unless, of course, Weydemeyer should succeed in achieving something in New York, and even then it would only be among the workers.

Weerth will be writing to you shortly. He is very undecided about what he should do. He has had some splendid offers, but none of them really suit him.

Like the Apostle Paul, Mr Kossuth is all things to all men.[d] In Marseilles he shouts *Vive la République*, in Southampton GOD SAVE THE QUEEN. What remarkable and hyper-constitutional moderation the fellow now parades! But Mr Pettie and the Harney clique are happy enough that he should have no intention whatever of attending their banquet. Even Mr Mazzini would be given a very cool reception—at least in public. Yet another one about whom we weren't mistaken. Should there be no *secousses*[e] next year, how long before Mr Kossuth, too, stoops to common, tub-thumping demagogy *à la* Mazzini?

Proudhon tomorrow or the day after. If possible, I shall send Fischer the *Revue* but only of the last issue have I more than one copy. Can you still get hold of Nos. 1-4 for me?

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p. 486. - [b] here: irregularly - [c] refusals - [d] 1 Corinthians 9:22 - [e] convulsions

## 225

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[310]

### IN NEW YORK

London, 31 October 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

I am sending yet another letter to America in your wake. For after mature consideration with Lupus, I believe that we might do some business together.

*Firstly.* The erstwhile *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was not widely distributed in America. If you could manage to ferret out some bourgeois or other, or even just the necessary credit with a printer and paper merchant, I believe it would pay to create out of the *N.Rh.Z.* a kind of pocket library in the form of small booklets such as those produced by Becker in Cologne.[501] E.g. the *Schlesische Milliarde* by W. Wolff, Hungary by Engels,[a] the Prussian bourgeoisie by myself[b] and some of Weerth's feuilletons, etc. I would send you the things from here if they are not to be found there, at the same time indicating the most suitable for selection. You would have to write a short general introduction to this '*N.Rh.Z.* Pocket Library', and notes or a postcript to individual volumes where circumstances seemed to demand it.

*Secondly.* Similarly, you could bring out in the same form and with explanatory remarks Engels' and my anti-Heinzen pieces from the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung.*[c] I think they should sell well.

We would share the profits after deducting production costs.

*Thirdly.* I have had all kinds of inquiries and orders from America for the 6 numbers of my *Revue* that have appeared, but have not responded to any of them as I could not trust the rascals there. You could announce that the thing is to be had from you, but obviously a fair number of orders would have to be received before we would dispatch anything from here.

*Fourthly.* You as well as ourselves could, if the moment demanded it, include in the small library referred to above

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[a] F. Engels, 'The Magyar Struggle', 'Hungary' and other articles. - [b] K. Marx, 'The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-Revolution'. - [c] F. Engels, 'The Communists and Karl Heinzen'; K. Marx, 'Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality'.

pamphlets written in response to that demand. Commercially it is, of course, safer and more convenient to start off with material that is ready to hand. In your short forewords and postscripts you could conduct the necessary polemic, both to the left and to the right.

I therefore suggest that you should turn publisher. There's less to it than to a newspaper, and politically you achieve the same end. You avoid the long, time-consuming preparations attaching to a journal.

I believe that if you put the matter properly to Reich, who has money, he will join you in the enterprise.

Warm regards to your family from my family, Freiligrath, Lupus, etc.

Your
K. Marx

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## 226

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 November 1851

Dear Frederick,

You must understand that, if I have not written to you before, it is because my household is all at sixes and sevens.

You will remember that in his last letter Pieper wrote that the contract for my anti-Proudhon was about to be concluded.[a] From his letter, enclosed herewith, you will see that there is no further mention of *this manuscript.* This is typical of the way in which I have been kept on tenterhooks by our dear henchmen these six months past. On the other hand, Ebner has written to say that

[a] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*—German translation planned but not then published.

Löwenthal is willing to try out one volume but didn't mention whether I am to start with the *'history* of economy'.[a] If so, it would mean upsetting my whole scheme. Ebner further said that Löwenthal could only pay 'a little'. This I am prepared to accept, provided he publishes what I want published first. But if he forces me to ruin my whole scheme, he will have to pay me as though I were directly commissioned by him. However, I shall for the time being let Ebner do as he thinks fit. He has informed me that he won't conclude anything without my consent. *Qu'en penses-tu?*[b]

I am glad that our people in Cologne[c] are at last to appear before the assizes and indeed, or so I was assured yesterday by Schüller, the Düsseldorf publisher, will do so this very December when there are to be extraordinary assizes.

Apropos, don't forget to let me have the New York *Schnellpost* back *by return*. Bamberger is pressing me, and it's the only way of extracting from him the subsequent numbers which are said to contain all manner of curious things.

I know that you yourself are now feeling the pinch and that my sudden descent, my razzia, on Manchester[502] has made things even tighter for you, at least so far as this month is concerned. Nevertheless, I must ask you whether, in an emergency, you could lay your hands on another £2. For before leaving London I borrowed £2 and at the same time stated *in writing* that I'd repay it *before* December. At all events I would ask you to write by return to let me know whether or not this is possible.

Eccarius' brother[d] has arrived here. He and all the other Straubingers[86] arrested in Hamburg have been set free and given their marching orders. That Haupt originally had no treacherous intentions is apparent from the following: Bürgers' letter to him fell into the hands of his old man, who taxed him with it and proposed to hand it over to the police. This he prevented, tore the thing up and later took the pieces to Eccarius, etc., first to reassemble and read them, and then to burn them in their presence. This fact is important. It is pressure from his family that *has ruined the unfortunate* fellow.

A few days ago at the library I read Mr Proudhon's lucubrations on *Gratuité du crédit* against Bastiat. In terms of charlatanism, poltroonery, bluster and ineffectuality it exceeds anything this man has done before. *Exempli gratia,*[e] the French believe that on

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[a] See this volume, p. 476. - [b] What do you think? - [c] the Communist League members arrested and under investigation - [d] Johann Friedrich Eccarius - [e] For example

average they are paying 5-6 per cent interest. They are paying 160 per cent. *Comment donc?*[a] Well, like this. Interest on mortgage, unsecured, state, etc., debts amounts to 1,600 millions. Now in France there is only 1 thousand million of capital in existence, i.e. gold and silver. Hence, q.e.d. A further example: When the Banque de France was set up, its capital amounted to 90 millions. At that time it was legally empowered to take 5 per cent on this sum. It is now operating (deposits, etc., included) on a capital of 450-460 millions, of which $^3/_4$ belong not to it, but to the PUBLIC. If the bank, therefore, (90:450=1:5) takes only 1 per cent instead of 5, it will be making a legitimate profit. And because the Banque de France could, in an emergency (2), content itself (i.e. the *stockholders*) with 1 per cent, the interest rate for *France* can therefore be reduced to 1 per cent. And 1 per cent, *c'est la presque gratuité du crédit.*[b]

And you should see how the fellow flaunts his *dialectique hégelienne*[c] vis-à-vis Bastiat.

I have been through your critique again here.[d] It's a pity *qu'il n'y a pas moyen*[e] of getting it printed. If my own twaddle were added to it, we could bring it out under both our names, provided this didn't upset your firm in any way.

As you know, Kossuth left on the 20th, but what you don't know is that he was accompanied by Lola Montez and *caballero* Göhringer.

Schramm,[f] with an officious obstinacy wholly *sans pareil*[g] is endeavouring to attach himself to me again. *Il n'y parviendra pas.*[h]

How goes it with K. Schnapper's[i] 'tippling jaunts'?[503]

Your
K.M.

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[a] How so? - [b] is almost free credit. - [c] Hegelian dialectics - [d] F. Engels, 'Critical Review of Proudhon's Book *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX*[e] *siècle*'. - [e] that there's no means - [f] Conrad Schramm - [g] unparalleled - [h] He won't succeed. - [i] Snapper, i.e. Schapper

# 227

# ENGELS TO MARX

## IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 27 November 1851

Dear Marx,

You will have received the few lines I wrote you the day before yesterday.[504] If Weerth can't raise the necessary forthwith, I shall see to it that the thing's cleared up the day after tomorrow or by Monday at the latest. In any case you will be able if needs must to keep the matter in suspense until Tuesday.

I return Master Pieper's letter herewith. Heine seems to have come in very handy in helping him fill up the requisite 4 pages.[505] You have, I hope, written him a letter about the Proudhon[a] that will spur him on to action, for once he's back here again you'll neither see nor hear anything of the manuscript for some time to come. Pieper and Ebner give very conflicting reports about Löwenthal, but the second is at any rate the more trustworthy. As regards what Pieper says about starting off with the history of economy, I believe that, if Löwenthal really has this in mind, it would be best for Ebner to object that it wouldn't do to upset your whole scheme, that you had already begun to elaborate the critique, etc. But if there's no other alternative, Löwenthal should undertake to contract for two volumes and, indeed, you would need something of this length, partly on account of the critical section to be anticipated, partly to make the proposition reasonably economic for you, the fee being in no way commensurate with the price of things in London. Next would come the socialists as 3rd volume, and as 4th the critique—*ce qu'il en resterait*[b]—and the much-vaunted 'positive', being what you 'really' want. In such a form the thing may have its difficulties, but it has the advantage of not divulging the much coveted secret until the very last and of keeping bourgeois curiosity whetted throughout 3 volumes before revealing the fact that what one is producing isn't Morison's Pills.[506] For those with a modicum of intelligence the allusions in

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[a] See this volume, p. 490. - [b] what would remain of it

the first volumes, the anti-Proudhon[a] and the *Manifesto*,[b] will suffice to put them on the right track; the common run of buyers and readers will lose interest in the history, etc., if the great mystery has already been revealed to them in Volume I; they will, as Hegel says in his *Phänomenologie*, have read the 'preamble', where the general outline is to be found.

Undoubtedly your best course is to conclude an agreement with Löwenthal in any case—with decorum, but on any acceptable terms, and to strike while the iron is hot. The best for you would be to do the opposite of the Sibyl. For every *louis d'or* he cuts you down per sheet, you force him to take the number of extra sheets required to extract it from him again, and you fill those additional sheets with quotations, etc., which cost you nothing. 20 sheets at £3, or 30 sheets at £2 amount after all to £60, and to put together 10 sheets, at no expense in time or money, from Petty, Stewart, Culpeper and other such fellows is, after all, easy enough and your book will be all the more 'instructive'...

The main thing is that you should once again make a public debut with a substantial book, and preferably with the most harmless, the history. Germany's mediocre and lamentable literati know perfectly well that they would be ruined if they did not present the public with some kind of trash 2 or 3 times yearly. Their tenacity sees them through; although their books sell only moderately, the booksellers finally end up by believing that they must be great men because their names appear several times in every Fair catalogue. Again, it's absolutely essential to break the spell created by your prolonged absence from the German book market and, later, by funk on the part of the booksellers. But once one or two instructive, erudite, well-grounded and withal interesting things of yours have appeared, *alors c'est tout autre chose*,[c] and you can snap your fingers at booksellers who offer you too little.

Another thing is that you can do this *history* only in London, whereas you can do the socialists and the critique anywhere. Hence it would be a good idea if you were to take advantage of the opportunity now, before the *crapauds*[d] get up to some sort of nonsense and again deposit us on the *theatrum mundi*.[e]

The New York *Schnellpost* will arrive tomorrow.

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[a] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - [c] then it will be quite a different matter - [d] philistines (here: French political circles) - [e] world stage

As I have already said, stick to Löwenthal so long as circumstances are at all propitious. If it's no go with him, then Ebner's resources, Pieper writes, will be exhausted. In any case, we should subsequently be able to do more with Löwenthal than with the others, because we have Ebner in Frankfurt who can be for ever at his heels. Should he fail to achieve anything with Löwenthal, upon whom he can bring pressure to bear day in day out, the thing becomes much more problematical in the case of the other ones who are not in Frankfurt. You should write to Ebner telling him that he has full authority to act and should at once conclude an agreement; the longer the thing drags on, the sooner Löwenthal will tire of it, and political fears about 1852 intervene. Should there be the slightest curtain raiser in Paris, any prospect of a publisher will go to pot, and if the Federal Diet passes press laws before a contract has been drawn up in black and white, it will also be all up with you. You must cast a sprat to catch a mackerel, or else—*te résigner, ce qui n'est pas trop agréable.*[a]

The more I think about the matter, the more practical it seems to me to start off with the history. *Sois donc un peu commerçant, cette fois!*[b]

So far as my Proudhon commentaries[c] are concerned, they are too insignificant to warrant much being done with them. The same thing would happen as in the case of the *Critical Criticism*[d] for which I similarly wrote a few sheets because a pamphlet was envisaged, and you turned it into a full-blown book of 20 sheets in which my trifle looked strange indeed. Once again you would assuredly do so much to it that my contribution, in any case hardly worth mentioning, would quite disappear before your heavy artillery. Otherwise I should have no objection, save that your business with Löwenthal is far more important and urgent.

Your
F. E.

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[a] resign yourself, which isn't too pleasant - [b] Do be a little businesslike this time! - [c] F. Engels, 'Critical Review of Proudhon's Book *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX^e siècle*'. - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism.*

## 228

## MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS[507]

### IN WASHINGTON

[London, beginning of December 1851]

... One of our best friends, Joseph Weydemeyer, has now arrived in New York. Make contact with him straight away; I do not yet know his address. But if you send a letter to the *Staatszeitung* or the *Abendzeitung* it will no doubt reach him. He can enlighten you on all matters relating to the party. He will be useful to you in the gathering in New York[508] and you can help him to arrange his living in America. Write and tell him that I asked you to write to him....

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## 229

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 December 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I enclose herewith: 1. Extract from Cluss' letter (from Washington) to Wolff[a]; 2. Letter from Pieper from Brussels.

As to No. 1, Lupus forgot to extract two more items of information which you will find not uninteresting. *Firstly:* the

[a] Wilhelm Wolff (Lupus)

article 'Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany' has appeared in *German* in the *New-Yorker Abendzeitung,* has been reprinted in various papers and has created a furore. Cluss doesn't say whether or not this is a translation from the *Tribune.* I've written direct to Dana about it.[509] *Secondly:* Mr Wiss, Kinkel's principal tool, has publicly declared that 'economically' he shares our views. You can see how the curs operate.

As for Mr Tupman,[a] he mentions neither our letter from Manchester nor a subsequent letter written him from here by my wife at my behest.[510]

But as to the *people in Cologne,*[b] it is typical of these dastardly émigré swine, who root about in all the cess-pits of the press, that they should maintain *la conspiration du silence* in this matter so as not to detract from their own importance. This must now be counteracted. Today I have sent letters to Paris attacking Prussian justice, in order to raise the matter in the press there.[511] Lupus has undertaken to do the articles for America and Switzerland. *Maintenant*[c] you must hammer out for me something for England, along with a private letter to the EDITOR of *The Times,* to which the thing must tentatively be sent. If *The Times,* which at present is seeking to regain its popularity and would certainly feel flattered if treated as the only influential paper on the Continent and which is in any case hostile to Prussia—if *The Times* were to accept the thing, we could exert some influence in Germany. Stress should be laid on the state of the judicial system generally in Prussia.

Should this attempt not succeed—it can in any case do no harm—then write from Manchester direct to *The Sun.* If they receive the thing *before The Times,* the latter would not accept it under any circumstances.[512]

You can hardly be aware that addresses have reached O'Connor from almost every city in England and have been published in *The Northern Star* and *Reynolds's Newspaper* in which Thornton Hunt was described as 'INFAMOUS' and the scene at 'Copenhagen Fields' roundly denounced.[513] In addition there was a meeting of all the Chartist sections in London at which abuse was heaped upon Th. Hunt, who was present. When the executive committee is renewed, he will definitely be thrown out. In his desperation, this *allié* of the great Ruge now publicly proclaims himself a '*communist*'.

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[a] Wilhelm Pieper - [b] the Communist League members arrested and under investigation - [c] Now

E. Jones—drawing on my letter[514]—has attacked Kossuth *sans miséricorde.*[a]

* 'I tell him that the revolutions of Europe mean the crusade of labour against capital, and I tell him they are not to be cut down to the intellectual and social standard of an obscure semi-barbarous people, like the Magyars, still standing in the half-civilisation of the 16th century, who actually presume to dictate to the great enlightenment of Germany and France, and to gain a false won cheer from the gullibility of England.'*[b]

You'll have seen that Kinkel will, *tout bonnement,*[c] set himself up here, after the pattern of the provisional government in France. I, for my part, believe it would be a good idea if, as soon as we know that Weydemeyer is editor of the *Abendzeitung,* you were to communicate, initially in the form of pamphlets, fragments from K. Schnapper,[d][503] whose first confessions I long to see. (See continuation after Pieper's letter.[e])

Apropos! I'd almost forgotten an important item in the *chronique scandaleuse.* Stechan, Hirsch, Gümpel, etc., in short the working men who have arrived from Germany, have announced their intention of calling on me. I shall receive them today. They have already considerably fallen out with Schapper and Willich. Stechan has publicly denounced Dietz as a spy before the Workers' Society[331] and, though a few voices declared him to be an agent of Marx, effected the establishment of a committee in which, however, the chief role is played by the friends and patrons of Dietz-Schapper and Willich. At all events I shall use these Straubingers[86] to precipitate fresh crises in the wretched hostel for tailors and idlers.

I herewith acknowledge receipt of the £3.

*Salut.*

Your
K.M.

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[a] mercilessly - [b] E. Jones, 'What is Kossuth', *Notes to the People,* Vol. II, No. 31, 1851. - [c] quite simply - [d] Snapper, i.e. Schapper - [e] The continuation is on the third page of Pieper's letter to Marx sent from Brussels on 27 November 1851.

# 230

## MARX TO HERMANN EBNER[515]

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

[London, 2 December 1851]

...You know that Mr Kinkel is continuing his tour of the United States.[497] So far he has raised some 12,000 dollars, but has taken very good care not to give any inkling of the true party positions of the various émigré fractions, as you will realise if only from the fact that he even addresses himself to personal friends of mine and has even inveigled them into collaborating with him. He has sent the press the following fatuous manifesto:

*'To the friends of the People

'The shameful tyranny and injustice of the German despots have reached the highest point. Every free institution gained during the revolutionary struggle of 1848, has been destroyed by the brutal power of the Monarchs. The time has arrived when it becomes a right as well as a duty of the oppressed people to draw their swords and fight for the most sacred rights which the supreme being has granted all men alike. The hatred against the despots who cowardly murder or imprison every man, whoever raised his arm or tongue for a republican reform and for the freedom of the downtrodden, is on the point of a tremendous outbreak, and it is most likely that next spring the sun will rise over the most desperate struggle ever waged by men against their oppressors. Italy will set the ball in motion, until tyranny is swept away and liberty proclaimed in every province of the Old World. America having set the noble example in 1776, Europe is ready to follow in the footsteps of her young and noble sister on Columbia's shores. To bring about this much desired aim, more especially in Germany, the leading German republicans (?), now refugees in London, have united for the purpose of creating a national loan, with the promise to use every effort, after the establishment of the republic, to liquidate the same with full interest. All friends of liberty in this country are now called upon to lend their willing aid for this purpose. Without money nothing can be accomplished. It rests in a high degree with the sympathisers of Republicanism whether the project shall be accomplished.

'Baltimore, October, 1851. Dr. *G. Kinkel.* In behalf of the London Committee.'*

In the United States Mr Gottfried found only one ardent adversary, namely K. Heinzen, who represents the Ruge-Fickler clique. But the enmity of a base blusterer like Heinzen cannot but be beneficial to anyone against whom it is directed. Among those who figure *publicly* as guarantors of Kinkel's loan are the 3 Prussian ex-lieutenants, Schimmelpfennig, Willich, Techow, the *studiosus*[a] Schurz, Count Oskar Reichenbach and the mediocre

[a] student

Berlin literatus, Meyen. *Privately,* however, Kinkel has also secured the signature of *Löwe of Calbe* (better named *Kalb* of Löwe[a]), ex-President of the Imperial Rump Parliament in Stuttgart.[516] This Löwe is in possession of a document from Stuttgart empowering him to convene the Imperial Parliament when and where he will. To Kinkel, who hopes to move into Germany as provisional government, the *accaparation*[b] of this man, in order to place his 'rule' on a 'legal basis', was therefore of moment.

The second secret guarantor is Dr *d'Ester.* His numerous *creditors* in Germany will assuredly learn with satisfaction that he is guaranteeing the interest on Kinkel's 2 million loan and that, as Finance Minister, he will at the same time administer the 20,000 dollars so far received. Mr d'Ester, as a country doctor in Switzerland, intends to go on fleecing the peasants (he is said to be in better circumstances there than in Cologne where he was swamped, not by patients, but by debts) while at the same time keeping a foot in the great door that leads to the heaven of revolutionary government. That is why he would give his guarantee only under the seal of secrecy. It could do no harm if he were compelled to advocate *in public* what he is, after his usual fashion, 'adumbrating in private'.[c]

From the material once sent to you by Freiligrath,[d] you will be familiar enough with Mr Gottfried Kinkel's character. Hence it will not surprise you to learn that 'lies' were his 'chief' and, come to that, his sole recourse in the United States. Thus a friend writes, *inter alia*:

> 'Kinkel is vigorously coquetting with Ledru-Rollin who has promised some esteemed friends from Germany that, as soon as Kinkel takes over the helm and, with him, Löwe, he will send armies across the border to wage a war of propaganda. Kinkel, he says, will establish contact with Mazzini as soon as he is flush and thereby (!) has become his *equal* (!).'

Now, as you know, Ledru maintains contact with the committee *hostile* to Kinkel, and he sent Kinkel's emissary away *with a flea in his ear.* But as for Mazzini, the following will be explanation enough: Some 14-15 months ago the great Gottfried Kinkel sent the very insignificant Prussian ex-lieutenant Schimmelpfennig to Mazzini to say that he, Schimmelpfennig, would be undertaking a missionary tour of Germany on Kinkel's behalf. For this, much

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[a] *Kalb*—calf - [b] monopolising - [c] Goethe, 'Die Spinnerin'. - [d] See this volume, pp. 426-33.

was wanting, money included. Mazzini gave him 1,000 fr. in cash, and 4,000 fr. in Mazzinian government bonds on condition that the 1,000 fr. be paid back without 12 months and half the placed government bonds within the same period. Schimmelpfennig returned from Germany where he had downed a great many bottles of wine but scarcely one 'tyrant'. The 12 months went by. Whoever may have visited Mazzini, it was not Kinkel or Kinkel's emissary. A few weeks later this same Schimmelpfennig again presented himself to Mazzini, not in order to pay up, but rather to invite Mazzini yet again to ally himself with Gottfried. For Gottfried had just received £160 sterling from New Orleans and since, in his view, only a few more pounds were needed to make him a 'great man', he *now* believed himself to be Mazzini's equal. Mazzini was of a different opinion and declared that he had *his own* people (Ruge & Co.) in Germany and that he would have none of Mr Gottfried's alliance. Kinkel, however, is imperturbable and *profondément convaincu*[a] that, if £160 were still not enough to make him Mazzini's 'equal', this miracle could not fail to be effected by 20,000 dollars. Blessed are they that ... have believed.[b]

Kinkel's success in the United States is explained partly by the fact that he was no less hazy about the movement than the masses over there, and hence is sympathetic to them, and partly by his lies and prevarications about what he *really* stands for. Messrs Kinkel & Co. want to elect a revolutionary committee of 7 men, each of whom will be given a special ministry, e.g. d'Ester finance, Kinkel the ministry of rhetoric and higher politics, Techow ministry of war, Willich minister for *requisitioning*, at which he is a past master, Meyen minister for education, etc. One of the seven will occupy a seat on one of these committees in order to keep the supreme body, the Septarchy, thoroughly posted on with everything. Exactly after the pattern of the French provisional government, you see, except that the Septarchy have their seat outside Germany while their people consists of a club[c] 50-100 strong.

Mr Kinkel has expressly stated that he will *not* use for the support of refugees the money raised in America. He has actually entered into an obligation to that effect. As you will understand, this is no more than a way of *dodging* the obligation to allow *inferior* refugees to share the cash, and of gobbling it up *oneself* instead. This is already happening now and, as the hoard

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[a] deeply convinced - [b] John 20:29 - [c] the Refugee Club in London

increases, will happen to an ever greater extent, and in the following way:

1. The 7 septarchs and their 7 ministries, i.e. all the creatures of Kinkel, Willich, etc., must be paid, and thus these gentlemen, on the pretext of working for the revolution, secure for themselves the lion's share of the funds. Mr Willich, for one, who for the past two years has been living here by public begging.

2. The gentlemen publish lithographed reports and distribute them *free* to the newspapers. A further share of the funds goes to those wretched literati, Meyen, Oppenheim, *studiosus* Schurz, etc., for their services as writers.

3. Others of the great men such as Schimmelpfennig, Schurz, etc., receive further payment as 'emissaries'.

Thus, you see, the whole plan has a twofold aim: to exclude the mass of exceedingly needy refugees (workers, etc.) from a share in the funds and, on the other hand, to provide Mr Kinkel and his creatures with safe, and at the same time politically profitable, *sinecures,* all this on the pretext of using the money *solely* for revolutionary purposes. It would certainly be very fitting if these financial speculations, cooked up by *studiosus* Schurz, were brought *to the knowledge of the public at large.*

Before I close, I have a few brief comments to make about *Kossuth.* Kossuth gave evidence of considerable talent and generally showed tact in handling the British public. However, the situation was not as simple as the man from the East had supposed. On the one hand he fawned over-much on the MIDDLE-CLASS and was oriental in his praise of institutions such as, for example, the City of London and its *municipal constitution* which even *The Times* castigates daily as PUBLIC NUISANCES. On the other hand he has made an enemy of the Chartist party which, through its most talented representative, Ernest Jones, is attacking him with all the virulence they might accord a Haynau. And it was, indeed, tactless of Kossuth, after forbidding all demonstrations of *partisanship,* to turn *partisan* himself. Finally Kossuth has become convinced that enthusiasm and ready cash are in inverse proportion to one another. So far, no amount of enthusiasm for *his* loan has succeeded in bringing him in more than £800 sterling.

On this occasion our democratic emigration has yet again made a fool of itself as is its wont. Kossuth has not deigned to answer its addresses. That foppishly vain and importunate dwarf, L. Blanc,

was lucky enough to receive a reply to his address, but it was a reply in which Kossuth disavowed socialism outright.

I remain your truly
K. Marx

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## ENGELS TO MARX[517]

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 3 December 1851

*'Représentants de la France, délibérez en paix!'*[a] And where can the gentlemen deliberate more peacefully than in the Caserne d'Orsay, guarded by a battalion of *chasseurs de Vincennes!*

The history of France has entered a stage of utmost comicality. Can one imagine anything funnier than this travesty of the 18th Brumaire, effected in peacetime with the help of discontented soldiers by the most insignificant man in the world without, so far as it has hitherto been possible to judge, any opposition whatsoever? And how beautifully have all the old jackasses been caught! The slyest fox in the whole of France, old Thiers, the astutest advocate of the *barreau,*[b] Mr Dupin, caught in the trap set for them by the most notorious blockhead of the century; caught as easily as Mr Cavaignac's inflexible republican virtue and as that braggart of a Changarnier! And to complete the tableau, a rump parliament with Odilon Barrot as 'Löwe of Calbe'[518]; and, in view of this violation of the Constitution, the said Odilon demands to be arrested and cannot contrive to get himself hauled off to Vincennes! The whole thing is as if expressly invented for the

[a] 'Representatives of France, hold your deliberations in peace!'—from Changarnier's speech in the Legislative Assembly on 3 June 1851 in reply to one by President Louis Bonaparte in Dijon on 1 June containing concealed threats to the Assembly. - [b] at the Bar

benefit of red Wolff[a]; henceforward he alone will be capable of writing the history of France. Has ever a coup been effected with more fatuous proclamations than this one? And the ludicrous Napoleonic apparatus, the anniversary of the coronation and of Austerlitz,[519] the provocation against the consular Constitution and so on—the fact that anything of this kind could succeed even for a day—does indeed lower *Messieurs les Français* to a level of puerility that is without parallel.

Wonderful, the arrest of those great, loud-mouthed advocates of order,[364] of little Thiers first and foremost, and of the bold Changarnier. Wonderful, the sitting of the rump parliament in the 10th Arrondissement, with Mr Berryer yelling *'Vive la République'*, out of the window, until finally the whole lot were apprehended and shut up in a barrack square among the soldiers. And then the stupid Napoleon, who at once packed his bags to move into the Tuileries. Even though one racked one's brains for a whole year, one couldn't think up a prettier comedy.

And that evening, when the stupid Napoleon at last flung himself down on the long coveted bed in the Tuileries, the numskull must really have been at a loss to know what he was about. *Le consulat sans premier consul!*[b] Internal difficulties no greater than they had been, generally speaking, for the past three years, no exceptional financial straits, not even as regards his private purse, no coalition on the borders, no St Bernard to be crossed, no Marengo to be won.[396] It's enough to make one despair. And now there's no longer even a National Assembly to foil the great schemes of this unappreciated man; nay, for the time being at least the jackass is as free, as untrammelled, as absolute as the old man on the night of the 18th Brumaire, so completely unrestrained that he can't help coming the jackass on each and every occasion. Appalling, a prospect devoid of conflict!

*Mais le peuple, le peuple!—Le peuple se fiche pas mal de toute cette boutique,*[c] are happy as children over the franchise accorded to them and which, indeed, they will probably make use of like children.[520] What can result from these ridiculous elections a week on Sunday, if in fact it ever comes to that? No press, no meetings, martial law enough and to spare and, on top of it all, the order to produce a deputy within 14 days.

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[a] Ferdinand Wolff - [b] The consulate without the First Consul! - [c] But the people, the people! The people don't care a damn for all this business

What is to come of the whole business? 'If we adopt the standpoint of world history',[a] we are presented with a splendid subject for declamation. Thus, e.g.: it remains to be seen whether the Praetorian regime of the time of the Roman Empire, for which the prerequisite was an extensive state organised on strictly military lines, a depopulated Italy and the absence of a modern proletariat, is possible in a geographically compact, densely populated country such as France, which has a large industrial proletariat. Either: Louis Napoleon has no party of his own; having spurned the Orleanists and Legitimists, he must now turn towards the left. Turning towards the left implies an amnesty, an amnesty implies a collision, etc. Or else: Universal suffrage is the basis of Louis Napoleon's power, he cannot attack it, and universal suffrage is *now* incompatible with a Louis Napoleon. And other suchlike conjectural theses which would lend themselves splendidly to prolixity. But, after what we saw yesterday, there can be no counting on the *peuple,* and it really seems as though old Hegel, in the guise of the World Spirit, were directing history from the grave and, with the greatest conscientiousness, causing everything to be re-enacted twice over, once as grand tragedy and the second time as rotten farce,[521] Caussidière for Danton, L. Blanc for Robespierre, Barthélemy for Saint-Just, Flocon for Carnot, and the moon-calf[b] together with the first available dozen debt-encumbered lieutenants for the little corporal[c] and his band of marshals. Thus the 18th Brumaire would already be upon us.

The people of Paris have behaved with childish stupidity. *Cela ne nous regarde pas; que le président et l'assemblée s'entre-tuent, peu nous importe!*[d] But that the army should presume to foist a government—and what a government!—on France, *that* undoubtedly does concern them, and the mob will wonder what kind of a 'free' universal suffrage it is they are now to exercise 'for the first time since 1804'!

How much longer the World Spirit, clearly much incensed at mankind, is going to continue this farce, whether within the year we shall see Consulate, Empire, Restoration and all pass by before our eyes, whether, too, the Napoleonic dynasty must first be thrashed in the streets of Paris before it is deemed impossible in

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[a] Engels quotes the Left-wing deputy Wilhelm Jordan (cf. also Engels' article 'The Frankfurt Assembly Debates the Polish Question'). - [b] Louis Bonaparte - [c] Napoleon Bonaparte - [d] That is no concern of ours; that the President and the Assembly should massacre each other is of small moment to us!

France, the devil only knows. But it strikes me that things are taking a remarkably lunatic turn and that the *crapauds*[a] are heading for an astonishing humiliation.

Even assuming that Louis Napoleon momentarily consolidates his position, such stuff and nonsense can hardly endure, despite the fathomless depths to which the French have sunk. But what then? There's damned little red in prospect, that much is clear, and if Mr Blanc and Ledru packed their bags at midday yesterday, they may as well begin unpacking them again. *La voix tonnante du peuple ne les rappelle pas encore.*[b]

Here and in Liverpool the affair suddenly brought business to a standstill, but today in Liverpool they are already briskly speculating again. And French funds have only fallen by 2 per cent.

In the circumstances any attempt to intercede for the Cologne people[c] in the British press must, of course, be postponed.

With regard to the articles for the *Tribune*,[d] which have obviously already appeared in it, write to the EDITOR of the *Tribune* in *English*. Dana may well be away, and a BUSINESS LETTER will certainly be answered. *Tell him that he must distinctly state per next returning steamer what has become of these papers, and in case they have been made use of, he is requested to send by the same opportunity copies of the *Tribune* containing them, as no copy has been kept here and without having the articles already sent, again before our eyes, we cannot, after such a lapse of time, undertake to go on with the following numbers of the series.*

The news from France must have had a jolly effect on the European émigré rabble. I'd like to have witnessed it.

*En attendant tes nouvelles*[e]

Your

F. E.

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[a] philistines - [b] The thunderous voice of the people is not recalling them yet. - [c] the Communist League members arrested and under investigation (see this volume, p. 497) - [d] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* - [e] Awaiting your news

# 232

## MARX TO ENGELS[115]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 December 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

DEAR Frederic,

I have kept you waiting for an answer, QUITE BEWILDERED by the tragi-comic sequence of events in Paris. Unlike Willich, I couldn't say: 'Strange, we've had no advice from Paris!' Nor, like Schapper, declare myself and my pot of beer a permanent fixture at Schärttner's. To save the fatherland, Schapper and a few of his satellites slept two nights at Schärttner's on the pretext of holding a vigil. These gentlemen, like Löwe of Calbe and his like, had packed their *malles*[a] but, discretion being the better part of valour,[b] decided not to move there until the issue had been 'decided'.

Have you read Louis Blanc's Miserere[c]? The other day Bernard le Clubiste protested that he had not been a co-signatory of this jeremiad.

Enclosed a letter from Reinhardt from Paris and the 'drunken gossip' I spoke to you about when I was in Manchester.[d]

Pieper is here again, highly delighted with himself. He is leaving the Rothschilds but continuing to give German lessons there; Madame has given him notice as resident private tutor. Since writing to me last he has done nothing, seen nothing and heard nothing in connection with my Proudhon business.[e] It seems to me that he has treated the translation as *his own* work, *ce qui n'est pas.*[f]

*Maintenant,*[g] what can I tell you about the situation? This much is clear, the proletariat has spared its strength. For the time being Bonaparte is victorious because, overnight, he transformed the open ballot into a secret one. With the million £ sterling purloined, despite all d'Argout's posthumous protestations, from the bank, he has bought the army. Will his coup again succeed if the vote goes against him? Will the majority vote at all? The Orléans have left for France. It is difficult, indeed impossible, to

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[a] trunks - [b] Cf. Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, Part One, Act 5, Scene 4. - [c] Address of the French Exiles to Their Countrymen, by Bernard le Clubiste, Louis Blanc and others, *The Daily News*, 5 December 1851. - [d] See this volume, p. 492. - [e] The planned publication of *The Poverty of Philosophy* in German - [f] which is not so - [g] Now

make any prognostication in a drama with Krapülinski[a] for its hero. At all events it seems to me that the situation has improved rather than deteriorated as a result of the coup d'état. It is easier to deal with Bonaparte than it would have been with the National Assembly and its generals. And the dictatorship of the National Assembly was imminent.

Capital, the disappointment of Techow & Co., who, without more ado, saw in the French army *les apôtres de la trinité démocratique, de la liberté, de l'égalité, de la fraternité. Les pauvres hommes!*[b] And Messrs Mazzini and Ledru can also now sleep easy. The catastrophe was the DOWNFALL of the émigrés. It has been shown that they are *pour rien*[c] in the revolution. For these gentlemen had *resolved* to suspend world history until Kossuth's return. Apropos, the penny subscription for the latter in London yielded exactly 100d., pronounced pence.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Apropos, didn't I send you a letter from Pieper to me, written in *French?* If so, let me have it back by return.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 December 1851

Dear Marx,

What are the great men doing in this EVENTFUL CRISIS? It is said that L. Blanc has been arrested in France, but this cannot alas be true; *nous connaissons notre petit bonhomme.*[d] By the way, since nothing has

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[a] a character in Heine's 'Zwei Ritter', here Louis Bonaparte - [b] the apostles of the democratic trinity, of liberty, equality, fraternity. The poor chaps! - [c] of no account - [d] we know our little fellow

come of the Paris insurrection,[522] I'm glad that the first storm is over. On such occasions, *tout blasé qu'on est,*[a] one is always to some extent gripped by the old political fever and one always has some personal interest in the upshot of such a business. Now I can at least resume my ethnological study[132] upon which I was engaged at the onset of this great coup.

By the way, in spite of all this there's no sign of a return of *confiance,*[b] either here or in Liverpool, and P. Ermen alone is as cocksure and as faithful to Napoleon as 4 days ago he was DEJECTED and CHAPFALLEN. By and large the bourgeois here are too shrewd to regard this Napoleonic farce as anything other than ephemeral. But what is to come of the whole dirty business? Napoleon will be elected, no question of that, the bourgeoisie has no choice, and who is to verify the ballot-papers? To make a wrong count in favour of the adventurer is too much of a temptation, and the full measure of the French property-owning class's turpitude, its servile abjection in the face of the slightest success, its habit of crawling before a *pouvoir quelconque,*[c] have this time come more splendidly to light than ever before. But how does the jackass propose to rule? He will receive fewer votes than in 1848, *c'est clair,*[d] perhaps 3 to 3 1/2 million in all; that is already a dangerous setback so far as credit is concerned. Any financial and taxation reform is impossible 1. because of shortage of money, 2. because it can only be effected by a military dictator who wages successful wars abroad, *où la guerre paie la guerre,*[e] whereas in peacetime any surplus, and a great deal more besides, inevitably finds its way into the pockets of the army, 3. because Napoleon is too stupid. What remains for him? *La guerre?*[f] Against whom, against England perhaps? Or simple military despotism, which in peacetime must necessarily lead to a fresh military revolution and call into being the parties of the National Assembly within the army itself? Here there is no way out, the farce is bound to collapse. And what if a trade crisis comes!

That Louis Napoleon has something 'big' up his sleeve, I do not for a moment doubt. But I shall be curious to see what sort of foolishness it will be. The *developpement* of the Napoleonic ideas[g] will fly exceeding high and come a cropper over the most ordinary obstacles.

What emerges pretty clearly from the whole transaction is that

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[a] however blase one may be - [b] confidence - [c] any kind of power - [d] that's clear - [e] where war pays for war - [f] War? - [g] An allusion to Louis Napoleon Bonaparte's *Des idées napoléoniennes.*

the reds[a] have abdicated, completely abdicated. To attempt to vindicate them now for not having defended themselves *en masse* would be nonsensical. The next few months will show whether prostration in France is such that several years' peace and quiet will be needed before the reds are capable of another '48. But where, on the other hand, is that peace and quiet to come from?

I see only 2 ways out of this beastly mess:

Either the factions of the party of order, as reflected in the army, now take the place of the 'anarchists', i.e. bring about such a state of anarchy that ultimately the reds and Ledru-Rollin will appear as saviours just as now Louis Napoleon; or Louis Napoleon abolishes the tax on drinks and lets himself be inveigled into introducing one or two bourgeois reforms—though where the money and power are to come from is hard to say. In this highly unlikely event he might be able to maintain his position.

*Qu'en penses-tu?*[b]

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO MARX[523]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 December 1851

Dear Marx,

Herewith I return Reinhardt's letter as well as the one from Pieper which I had been keeping for a time because of the happenings in Cologne.

It seems that the 700 vagabonds' great expedition to Paris, so loudly proclaimed by the press, will not take place; and little L. Blanc, too, to judge by his renewed groans of pain in today's

[a] i.e. democrats and socialists of various trends - [b] What do you think?

*Daily News*[a] is, even if allegedly not in London, at least for the time being in safety. The first jeremiad[b] was divine by comparison with today's. *Peuple français—noble fierté—courage indomptable—éternel amour de la liberté—honneur au courage malheureux*[c]—and thereupon the little fellow makes a *demi-tour à droite*[d] and preaches trust and union between the people and the bourgeoisie. *Vide* Proudhon: Appel à la bourgeoisie, page 2.[e] And such reasoning! If the insurgents were beaten, it was due to the fact that they were not the *vrai peuple*[f]; the *vrai peuple* cannot be beaten; and if the *vrai peuple* failed to fight, this was due to the fact that it didn't wish to fight for the National Assembly; true, it may be objected that, once victorious, the *vrai peuple* would itself have been a dictator, but it was taken so much by surprise that it could never have thought of that and, after all, it had so often been duped before!

It's the old, vulgar, democratic logic of the kind disseminated whenever the revolutionary party suffers defeat. *Le fait est,*[g] in my opinion, that if, this time, the proletariat failed to fight *en masse,* it was because it was fully aware of its own prostration and impotence and was prepared to submit with fatalistic resignation to a renewed cycle of Republic, Empire, restoration and fresh revolution, until such time as it regained fresh strength from a few years of *misère* under a rule of maximum order. I'm not saying that this will be so, but it seems to me to have been at bottom the instinctive attitude which prevailed among the people of Paris on Tuesday and Wednesday,[h] and after the introduction of the secret ballot and the resulting retreat of the bourgeoisie on Friday. It is nonsense to say that this was not an opportunity for the people. If the proletariat wants to wait until confronted by the government with its own question, until a collision occurs in which the conflict will assume a sharper and more definite form than in June 1848,[488] it may have to wait a long time. The last time the question between proletariat and bourgeoisie was posed with any degree of precision was on the occasion of the 1850 electoral law, and then the people chose not to fight. This and the perpetual references to 1852 were of themselves proof enough of inertia for us to make a

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[a] L. Blanc, 'To the Editor of *The Daily News*', *The Daily News,* 11 December 1851. - [b] Address of the French Exiles to Their Countrymen, by Bernard le Clubiste, Louis Blanc and others, *The Daily News,* 5 December 1851. - [c] French people—noble pride—indomitable courage—eternal love of liberty—all honour to courage in adversity - [d] right-about turn - [e] A reference to the section 'Appeal to the Bourgeoisie' in the introduction to Proudhon's *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX*[e] *siècle.* - [f] true people - [g] The fact is - [h] 2 and 3 December 1851

fairly gloomy prognostication for 1852 also, always assuming that no trade crisis supervened. Universal suffrage having been abolished and the proletariat elbowed off the official stage, it is asking rather too much to expect the official parties to pose the question in a way that will suit the proletariat. And how did matters stand in February[a]? At that time the people were just as *hors de cause*[b] as they are now. And there can be no denying that if, at a time of revolutionary development, a revolutionary party begins by allowing things to take a decisive turn without itself having any say in them, or if it does intervene and fails to win, it can be regarded with some certainty as temporarily done for. WITNESS the insurrections after Thermidor and after 1830.[524] And the gentlemen who now so loudly maintain that the *vrai peuple* is biding its time, are in danger of gradually finding themselves in the same boat as the powerless Jacobins of 1795-99 and the Republicans of 1831-39, and of making thorough fools of themselves.

Nor is there any denying that the effect which the establishment of the secret ballot has had on the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and, *au bout du compte,*[c] *upon many proletarians as well* (as all the reports go to show), casts a curious light on the courage and insight of the Parisians. It has clearly never occurred to many of them how fatuous is the question posed by Louis Napoleon, or to ask what guarantees there were that the votes would be correctly recorded, yet the majority must have seen through this humbug and have nevertheless persuaded themselves that everything was now ALL RIGHT, *merely in order to have a pretext for not fighting.*

According to Reinhardt's letter, according to the fresh revelations each day brings about the infamies perpetrated by the soldiery and in particular their outrages on the boulevards against any and every *pékin quelconque, n'importe*[d] whether worker or bourgeois, red or Bonapartist—according to the accumulating reports of local insurrections even in the remotest places where no one expected any resistance,[522] according to the letter in yesterday's *Daily News* from a French ex-deputy and *commerçant,*[e] it would indeed seem that the *appel au peuple*[f] is taking an undesirable turn for Bonaparte. The mass of the bourgeoisie in Paris would not appear very much to RELISH this new régime and the deportation laws it has imposed. Military terrorism is increasing too rapidly and too brazenly. $^2/_3$ of France is in a state

[a] February 1848 - [b] uninvolved - [c] in the end - [d] civilian of any description, no matter - [e] businessman - [f] appeal to the people

of siege. I believe that after all this the bulk of the bourgeoisie won't vote at all, that the whole electoral farce will come to nothing; for in all the doubtful localities, where Louis Napoleon's opponents will turn up in crowds to vote, the gendarmes will stir up trouble with the voters, and then the whole electoral procedure will be declared null and void there. Then Louis Napoleon will declare France to be *en état d'aliénation mentale*[a] and proclaim the army the sole saviour of society and then the whole dungheap will be plain to all and Louis Napoleon in the middle of it. Yet it is precisely through this business of elections that things could take a very nasty turn, if *by then* any really serious resistance to an established government could still be expected.

The fellow's assured of a million votes from officials and soldiers. There are also half a million Bonapartists in the country, maybe more. Half a million, maybe more, irresolute townspeople will vote for him. Half a million stupid peasants, a million mistakes in adding up, that makes 3 $^1/_2$ millions already—more than the old Napoleon could boast in an empire which included the entire left bank of the Rhine and Belgium, i.e. certainly 32 million inhabitants. Why shouldn't he be content with that to start off with? And were he to get them with, perhaps, 1 million against him, the bourgeois would soon fall into his lap. But maybe he won't get the $2^1/_2$ millions and maybe—though this might be asking too much of the probity of French officials—he will not succeed in having himself credited with mistakes in adding up to the tune of 1 million. At all events a great deal depends on the measures he is forced to take in the meantime. Anyhow, what's to prevent the officials from chucking a few hundred *oui*s[b] into the ballot box before the voting starts? *Il n'y a plus de presse*[c]—nobody can verify it.

At any rate it's unfortunate for Krapülinski[d] that funds should be falling again, and for L. Blanc that he should now have to recognise England as a free country.

In a few months' time the reds are bound to be given another opportunity of proving their mettle, perhaps actually when the voting takes place; but if they again hang back, then I shall give them up, and then, even with the finest of trade crises, all that they can hope for is a sound thrashing which will most assuredly eliminate them for several years to come. What is the rabble worth if it has forgotten how to fight?

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[a] non compos mentis - [b] Ayes - [c] There's no longer any press - [d] a character in Heine's 'Zwei Ritter', here Louis Bonaparte

Is Pieper back in London? I wanted him to do something for me about books in Frankfurt and don't know whether he is still in Brighton.

The worst of it is that you will now run into difficulties with Löwenthal. It would have been best had the contract already been concluded.

* Liverpool Market—quiet at yesterday's prices; Manchester Market—firm. Some overtrading going on to the Levant. German buyers continue keeping out of the Market.*

Your
F. E.

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## 235

## ENGELS TO MARIE BLANK

IN LONDON

Manchester, Monday, 15 December 1851

Dear Marie,

I got your letter on Saturday, the only day of the week on which I can never manage to write a private letter because we then shut up the office as early as noon; otherwise you'd have had an answer sooner.

I'm sorry that you should have had so much illness in the house of late, but am glad to hear that things are now taking a better turn; I hope to see Hermann as well as little Titi fully recovered by the time I arrive. You should really have written to tell me all about it for, so long as I don't hear, I have to assume that all is well; and besides you also owed me a letter in reply to the one in which I returned you your latch-key last summer.[525]

I have as usual been well all this while, and am merely somewhat vexed by the onset of bad weather which prevents me going out into the country, this being a real necessity here in Manchester. For the past few days I have been aware of certain premonitory symptoms which lead me to believe that there may be a recurrence of the disagreeable tooth-ache I suffered from last

winter, the more disagreeable in that it interferes with my customary bathing, etc. I hope, however, that the thing will pass off without too much inconvenience—at any rate I don't intend to fret in advance about pain which I'm not yet suffering.

By the end of this week I shall probably have put my current business in order and, this being a quiet time for us anyway, I shall see to it that I leave here on Saturday evening[526] and, since the trains all arrive in London either too late at night or too early in the morning for one to drive across to Camberwell directly, I shall recuperate a while in the Euston Hotel and arrive at your place BEFORE DINNER TIME on Sunday. At any rate you can expect me at the Grove for dinner on Sunday, unless you get a letter to the contrary from me on Saturday morning.

As for the French, the jackasses can do what they like, it's all one to me.

My warm regards to Emil and Hermann and your children. Your description of your new maids has made me eager to see them. *Nota bene,* should you have too much BOTHER in the house on Sunday, thus making my company and any further inconvenience seem undesirable just now, you have only to write and send me an army order instructing me when to present myself, and I shall not fail to be punctual.

*Toujours*[a] your
Friedrich

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## 236

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 16 December 1851

Dear Marx,

Herewith a letter from Weydemeyer which reached me at midday today. So far, the news is quite good, Heinzen's paper[b] about to expire and Weydemeyer already in a position to bring

[a] Ever - [b] *Deutsche Schnellpost*

out a weekly.[527] But the demand to send off an article to him by Friday evening is rather too much—particularly under present circumstances. And yet this is just the moment when people there are pining for arguments and cogent facts about the French business, and if one could say something sensational about the situation, the success of the enterprise would be assured in the very first number. But that's just the snag, and as usual I shall again pass on the difficulty to you and, whatever I may write, it will not at any rate be about Krapülinski's *coup de tête*.[a] You, at any rate, can write a diplomatic non-committal-epoch-making article for him.[528] What I shall do, I don't know yet, but shall at any rate attempt something or other. I cannot send the Schnapper,[503] firstly because the first chapter is weak, and secondly because I have dropped the thing altogether now that History is starting to write comic novels—a rather too dangerous form of competition. Meanwhile I'll introduce a few more comic scenes into the plot and then begin the thing again—but it would be quite unsuitable for them over there and in any case Weydemeyer wants stuff with our names at the bottom. Write and tell me by return what you propose to do; *le temps presse*,[b] Saturday's steamer won't reach New York before the New Year and that's bad; even worse is the short respite still left us.

Weydemeyer must really keep his fingers out of the American pie until he is able to get the local names right. It's a pity he hasn't the time to orient himself first and learn a little English. The 'abolutionists'[c] would make a splendid tidbit for Heinzen. As for Weerth, I shall see him here tomorrow or the day after and find out what he can do. Next week, or maybe even on Saturday evening, I shall be in London,[526] when we can discuss matters further; meanwhile there remains only the question of what is to be done for the first number; this cannot be put off, so you must write and tell me by return what you propose to do.

To judge by this letter Weydemeyer certainly appears to be still somewhat 'green' in regard to business matters; I shall drop him such hints on the subject as are necessary. As yet he knows nothing whatever about his readers.

Lupus might also bestir himself and see what he can produce for the first number. Weydemeyer will be very hard put to it to find material.

What do you think of the French funds, which yesterday were

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[a] impulsive act of Louis Bonaparte (called Krapülinski after a character in Heine's 'Zwei Ritter') - [b] time is short - [c] Engels refers to a mistake made by Weydemeyer when he used this word instead of 'abolitionists.'

standing at 101.50 c.,—1 1/2 per cent above par—and which, better than any venal lies in the press, will pull in a mass of votes for Louis Napoleon. He's even being helped by the excesses of the peasantry in the south and central parts of France.[a] Some did undoubtedly occur, nor could anything else be expected of this race of barbarians. The fellows don't give a rap for the government, etc., etc., but think only of tearing down the tax collector's or notary's house, raping his wife and killing the man himself if they can lay hands on him. In itself the matter is *au fond*[b] of scant significance and serves these gentlemen perfectly right, but it drives into Napoleon's camp everyone who has anything to lose. In fact, the invasion of native barbarians, should it ever come to pass, promises to be an amusing spectacle, and happy are those under whose governance such agreeable events take place. The *present* rise in the funds is assuredly no longer a mere government manoeuvre but the expression of the fear—translated into confidence in Louis Napoleon—felt by *haute finance*[c] of being flayed alive, as depicted in such vivid colours by the truthful *Constitutionnel.*

Write to me at once, then, about Weydemeyer.

Your
F. E.

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## 237

## ENGELS TO JENNY MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Thursday evening
[18 December 1851]

Dear Mrs Marx,

I have received both your letters[d] and hasten to write and tell you that it goes without saying that each of us will send off his article separately, as there is otherwise every prospect of none of

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[a] See this volume, pp. 512-13. - [b] basically - [c] high finance - [d] See this volume, pp. 562 and 563.

them catching the steamer.[529] In London the letters should be at the post office by 5 or 6 o'clock on Friday evening. I shall see what I can do—for some time now the fatherland has bored me so dreadfully that I know nothing about anything. Anyway I shall send off something. The English *Manifesto*[a] together with such New York *Schnellposts* as are still available here, I shall be bringing with me. Tell Marx to be sure not to forget to write to Weydemeyer, asking him to obtain the relevant numbers of the *Tribune* immediately from Dana and send them on to me here so that I may proceed.[b]

When I shall be able to leave—maybe not until Saturday morning—I don't yet know exactly.[526] But I think I shall arrive at the latest at 6 o'clock on Saturday evening, perhaps as early as 11 in the morning. Until then, my warm regards to you and all your family from your

F. Engels

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## 238

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[435]

### IN NEW YORK

[London,] 19 December 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

The day before yesterday I received your letter, sent on to me by Engels.

First, my best New Year wishes to your wife[c] and yourself. Ditto from my wife.

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[a] the English translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* - [b] with the *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* - [c] Louise

I am at this moment sitting here working on an article for you. Your commission arrived too late for me to be able to carry it out today. On Tuesday *(23 December)* the following will go off to you 1. *Der 18te Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte* by K. Marx. 2. *Der Staatsstreich in Frankreich* by F. Wolff. 3. *Nemesis* by Wilhelm Wolff. *Engels* will send you his article—on Prussia, I believe—possibly even by today's mail. *Freiligrath* has nothing ready but authorises you to name him as one of your collaborators. We are negotiating with *Weerth*. Likewise with *Eccarius*.

You can now settle down in the United States for *du moins*[a] a year. '*It*' is not going to begin on 2 May 1852.[530]

I suppose that you will hold back your first number[b] until the above articles arrive. After all, it will only make a difference of 5 days. For the following numbers you can announce a serialised work of mine, to appear article by article, namely, *Neuste Offenbarungen des Sozialismus, oder 'Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX^e siècle' par J. P. Proudhon.— Kritik von K.M.*[531]

Write forthwith to 'Adolf Cluss, U.S. Navy Yard, Washington D.C.' We've already told him you are coming.[c] He is one of our best and most talented men and could be of the greatest use to you both generally and for the preparation and founding of your paper in particular.

Don't forget the following:

Go and see Dana; ask him to give you the numbers of the *Tribune* in which my articles appeared,[d] and send them to me *forthwith*. Hearing nothing from him, I had stopped writing, and there's been such a long interval that I must see the paper itself in order to write the sequel, which I must do, if only for pecuniary reasons.

As soon as your paper appears you must not only send it to us regularly, but let us have a sufficient number of copies so that we can send them out as samples.

*Tout à toi*[e]
K. Marx

Unless you are contractually committed, don't buy the *Arbeiter-republik*[f] from the wretched Weitling. While you might gain 200

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[a] at least - [b] of *Die Revolution* - [c] See this volume, p. 496. - [d] first articles from *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* by Engels - [e] All yours - [f] *Die Republik der Arbeiter*

Straubingers,[86] you would lose a wider readership. Write only under the old name. *Règle générale.*[a]

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## 239

## MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH

### IN LONDON

[London,] 27 December 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Moorish Prince[b]!

Enclosed a letter from Ebner.

Today I also received another letter from Weydemeyer in which, among other things, he says:

'Not long ago an emissary arrived from the London "agitation club"[473] for the purpose of opposing Kinkel's loan.[497] These people probably imagine that here in America all are split into Kinkelians and anti-Kinkelians simply because a handful of refugees have made much ado about nothing. The stir over Kossuth has long consigned Kinkel to oblivion and the couple of thousand dollars he is collecting are, indeed, hardly worth making a fuss about.

'In any case, I can see to the sale of the *Revue* for you over here. Similarly it would be possible to dispose of some more of Freiligrath's more recent poetry.'

After dunning us once again Weydemeyer goes on:

'But above all, a poem from Freiligrath: that is the most popular of all.'

Take that to heart and hammer out a New Year's ode to the New World. As things are now, it seems to me really more feasible to write in verse than in prose, whether sentimental or humorous. If, by the by, you were some time to attempt to render as art the humour that is peculiar to Your African Majesty in private life, I

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[a] General rule - [b] From the title of Freiligrath's ballad 'Der Mohrenfürst'.

feel sure you would play a role in this genre also, since you are, as your wife[a] has rightly remarked, rather a rogue.

I would enclose Weydemeyer's letter if I hadn't first to show it to Engels, who will probably be staying here until Thursday and who had hoped last Tuesday to find you ensconced in the 'synagogue'.

The Association has now moved its quarters to 'Farringdon Street, City, Market House, c/o W. J. Masters. Wine and Spirit Merchant.' Meetings henceforward on Thursdays, 9 o'clock. The Association rightly claims that its quarters are now within your district.[532]

Palmerston has been dismissed by Russell,[533] 1) in order that the latter may act the constitutional hero vis-à-vis Bonaparte, 2) in order to make a concession to Russia and Austria. While I do not share the view that this FACT will in any way affect the fate of the refugees generally or our own in particular, I believe that for Britain it presages a most lively year politically. From what Engels tells me, the CITY MERCHANTS now also share our view that the crisis, held in check by all kinds of factors (including, e.g., political misgivings, the high price of cotton last year), etc., must blow up at the latest next autumn. And, *après les derniers événements je suis plus convaincu que jamais, qu'il n'y aura pas de révolution sérieuse sans crise commerciale.*[b]

Regards from my family to yours.

Expiring,
The Moor

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[a] Ida - [b] since the latest events I am more than ever convinced that there will be no serious revolution without a trade crisis.

# APPENDICES

1

## JENNY MARX TO KARL MARX[534]

IN BRUSSELS

[Paris,] 10 February [1845]

...partment. He is coming tomorrow to give the order to the *concierge.* It was a terrible blow and I leave you to imagine what I'm going to do with my 200 francs, now that I've had to give him 380 fr. as a deposit, half of which he will return when he has found a tenant.

Such are the delightful consequences of that governmental, Guizotian, Humboldtian disgraceful trick. I don't know what we're going to do. This morning I traipsed all over Paris. The Mint was closed and I shall have to go again. Then I visited the carriers and the agent of a furniture auctioneer. I had no success anywhere. And in the course of these wearisome excursions, what's more, Ewerbeck forced me to call on Mme Glaise, who, however, is quite an amiable, artless and kindly woman who pleased me much. At this moment I'm amusing myself with the infant and the grumbler while writing to you. Little Jenny never stops saying papa. She still has a very bad cold and her little teeth are very painful. However I hope she'll soon be herself again. The *person* is in good spirits, though this morning she felt quite 'lausig'.[a] I heard from mama[b] today. Edgar[c] will be sitting his exam shortly. Aren't you astonished, my good Karl, at my addressing you in French? But it happened without my thinking about it. I intended to start off with a few sentences in French and then, just as the appetite comes with eating, I was unable to part company with this language. I find it so easy to write to you and chat with you. I am writing as fast as I would in German and, although it may not be classical French, I trust it will amuse you to read it, faults,

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[a] rotten - [b] Caroline von Westphalen - [c] Jenny Marx's brother

inexpressible beauties and all. I shall not send off these lines until I get your first letter. Say lots of nice things to our good friend Bürgers on my behalf. A thousand kisses from mama to papa, and a little kiss from Munsterchen. Adieu my friend. I long to see you again. By now you will already be in Brussels. Best greetings to our new fatherland. Adieu.

10 February

Heine was at the Ministry of the Interior where he was told they knew nothing at all about it; Ledru-Rollin will be raising the matter in the Chamber as soon as everyone has escaped. Have you read the *Réforme*? What a silly, pitiful thing it is. Everything it says is offensive, more so than the most violent attacks launched by the others. There you have the work of that great man, such as he should be—Mr Bakunin, who, however, came and gave me a lesson in rhetoric and drama in order to unbosom himself to me. Herwegh is playing with the child. Ewerbeck is talking incessantly about the continual distractions of Mr Bürgers and the son of the people. Mr Weill, my special protector, came to my aid....

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## 2

## JENNY MARX TO KARL MARX[535]

### IN BRUSSELS

[Trier, after 24 August 1845]

Although our letters may have crossed on this occasion, my beloved Karl, I nevertheless look on yours as furnishing a reply to my last letter, since it in fact anticipates and answers in advance all the questions concerning which my mind was unsettled and in doubt.[536]

Only one big vital question, the one of the tailor's and dressmaker's bills, still awaits a favourable solution, which I hope

will soon be forthcoming. You, sweetheart, weigh up every circumstance with such loving concern that when I read your dear letter I felt quite comforted. But my heart is still irresolute in the matter of leaving or staying or at any rate of fixing a definite date and, if I am to be honest, it inclines more and more toward staying. If only I could draw out each day to twice its length, if only I could attach leaden wings to the hours that they might not hasten by so fast—oh, if only you knew what bliss it is for my mother, our living together, what unending happiness and joy of life she derives from the contemplation of the lovely child, and what consoling elation from my presence! And am I to deprive her of all this with one cold word, am I to take all this away, leaving her with nothing but the forlorn loneliness of long, dreary winter days, anxious worry concerning my life and Edgar's future, nothing save gentle, kindly memories? She herself urges me with rare courage to depart but, having one day secretly fixed the date, I vacillate again on the morrow and grant myself one day more—and then another and still another. And yet my days here are already numbered and it will soon behove me to eke out the time, for it is drawing inexorably closer. Besides, I feel altogether too much at ease here in little Germany! Though to say so in the face of you arch anti-Germans calls for a deal of courage, does it not? But that courage I have and, for all that and all that,[a] one can live quite happily in this old land of sinners. At all events it was in glorious France and Belgium that I first made acquaintance with the pettiest and meanest of conditions. People are petty here, infinitely so, life as a whole is a pocket edition, but there heroes are not giants either, nor is the individual one jot better off. For men it may be different, but for a woman, whose destiny it is to have children, to sew, to cook and to mend, I commend miserable Germany. There, it still does one credit to have a child, the needle and the kitchen spoon still lend one a modicum of grace and, on top of that, and by way of reward for the days spent washing, sewing and child-minding, one has the comfort of knowing in one's heart of hearts that one has done one's duty. But now that old-fashioned things such as duty, honour and the like no longer mean anything, now that we are so advanced as to consider even old watchwords such as these outmoded, now that we actually feel in ourselves an urge towards sentiments of positively Stirnerian egoism, we no longer feel any inclination for the lowlier duties of life. We, too, want to enjoy ourselves, to do things and to

[a] An allusion to Freiligrath's 'Trotz alledem!'

experience THE HAPPINESS OF MANKIND in our own persons. But for me, what really turns the scales in favour of Germany is my having seen, *me Hercule*,[a] that prince of men, the model man—let no one say a word against a Germany in which men such as these stand up on their little legs and turn somersaults. But now joking apart. I shall probably be leaving after the middle of September. Weydemeyer may accompany me as far as Cologne; Schleicher is also going to Brussels and told me yesterday that he might manage to be there at the right moment for me. Fiddlesticks, stout Sir, nothing will come of it. We shall probably have to stick to Breyer. The little house should do. In winter one does not need much room anyhow. My mother thought it might be best if we were to lodge Edgar elsewhere throughout that period, perhaps in the *bois sauvage*.[b] Anyhow that would be cheapest. Then, having concluded my important business[c] on the upper floor, I shall remove downstairs again. Then you could sleep in what is now your study and pitch your tent in the *salon immense*[d]—that would present no difficulty. The children's noise downstairs would then be completely shut off, you would not be disturbed upstairs, I could join you when things were quiet and the living-room could, after all, always be kept reasonably tidy. The two rooms on the second floor would be of little or no use to us. At all events we must instal a good, warm stove and appurtenances in the living-room at the earliest opportunity. That again is Breyer's business, for one doesn't let out unheatable rooms. It would be as well to tackle Master Braggart in really good time, otherwise it will be the same as in the case of the kitchen table of hallowed memory. After that I shall see to everything else. Such preparations as could be made here, have been made. It would be wonderful for me if you could come and meet me. It is too far to Verviers and there wouldn't be any point. Maybe as far as Liège. Do make inquiries about an inn there at which we could meet. Wilhelm the Pacific, anti-pauper and metal-hard, strongly advised me against making the trip from here to Cologne in one day. It's simply that I detest the idea of spending the night at Coblenz. Nor should I like to spend a whole day at Cologne, but shall travel on to Aix. Then on to Liège the following day. However, I shall have to break the train journeys often for the joggling might well have unpleasant consequences. But I shall let you know more definitely about the journey itself later. What a colony of paupers there is going to be in Brussels!

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[a] by Hercules - [b] the Bois Sauvage boarding house - [c] forthcoming labours; in September 1845 Jenny Marx gave birth to Laura - [d] immense drawing room

Has Engels come back alone or *à deux*[a]? Hess has written and told Weydemeyer he intends to marry. Is Bourgeois[b] living in Cologne, or does he have to be in Elberfeld on account of the *Spiegel*? I should also like to ask Daniels to come and see me, but how? Little Jenny is sitting beside me and is also writing to her papa about whom she constantly talks. She is too sweet for words. Mrs Worbs gave her such a lovely little blue frock. Everyone is quite besotted with the child who has become the talk of the town, so that every day people come to see her. Her favourite is the chimney sweep, by whom she insists on being picked up. Tell Edgar that the woollen stockings are in the big box on the right in the attic, not immediately beneath the window. He will probably find them if he rummages about a bit amongst the children's clothes. If only the great catastrophe did not take place at the very time when you are finishing off your book,[5] the publication of which I anxiously await. More about this and one or two personal *rencontres*[c] with your mother when we meet. Such things are better talked of than written about. Goodbye, sweetheart. Give my love to Edgar and the others, and cherish fond thoughts of mother and daughter. Write again soon. I am so happy when you write.

Your
Jenny

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## 3

## JENNY MARX TO KARL MARX[537]

### IN BRUSSELS

Trier, 24 [March 1846]

A thousand thanks, my dearly beloved Karl, for your long, dear letter of yesterday.[538] How I longed for news of you all during those days of anxiety and sorrow when my heart scarcely dared to

[a] in company - [b] Heinrich Bürgers - [c] encounters

hope any more, and how long, how very long, did my yearning breast remain unsatisfied. Every hour contained in itself an eternity of fear and worry. Your letters are the only gleams of light in my life just now. Dear Karl, pray let them shine for me more often and cheer me. But maybe I shall not need them much longer, for my dear mother's condition has taken such a turn for the better that the *possibility* of her recovery has become almost a *probability*. This time we all of us hope that the improvement that has set in is not an illusory one as is so often the case in insidious afflictions such as nervous disorders. She is recovering her strength and her mind is no longer oppressed by worries and fears, real or imaginary. I had composed myself for any eventuality and, had the worst happened, should have found comfort and solace enough, but nevertheless my heart is now jubilant with all the joy and rapture of spring. It's a strange thing about the life of someone you love. It is not so readily relinquished. You cling to it with every fibre of your being and, when the other's breathing falters, feel as though those fibres have been abruptly severed. I believe that recovery is now on the way and will rapidly accomplish its task. Now it is a matter of banishing all gloomy thoughts while constantly conjuring up cheerful images before her mind's eye. I now have to think up all kinds of tales which must nonetheless have about them some semblance of truth. All this is most difficult and is rendered easier only by the love I bear my dear mother and the blessed hope that, when all this is over, I shall be able to hasten back again and rejoin you, my darling, and my dear, sweet, little ones.[a] Stay fit and well, all you my dear ones, and keep a careful watch over their sweet little heads. How I look forward to seeing the children's little faces again!

It seems that murder and mayhem has broken loose among you! I am glad that this radical breach should not have taken place until after my departure. Much of it would have been attributed to the machinations of that ambitious woman, Lady Macbeth,[b] and not without reason. For I have, to be sure, for too long again been carping at circumstances and exercising *la petite critique*.[c] But it is better thus. Now as regards this critical woman, Engels was perfectly right, as opposed to yourselves, in finding such a woman '*as she ought to be*',[d] as the eternal antithesis, very arrogant and hence in

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[a] Jenny and Laura - [b] i. e. Mary Burns - [c] petty criticism - [d] an adaptation of Weitling's *Die Menschheit, wie sie ist und wie sie sein sollte* (Mankind as it is and as it ought to be)

making a great fuss about very LITTLE. I myself, when confronted with this abstract model, appear truly repulsive in my own eyes and would like to be sure of finding out all its faults and weaknesses in return. Moreover, it is quite false, or at any rate very mistaken, to speak, in respect of Engels, of a 'rare exemplar'. Then he is right in maintaining that 'such is not to be found'. But that is precisely where the argument falls to the ground. There is an abundance of lovely, charming, capable women, they are to be found all over the world and are only waiting for a man to liberate and redeem them. Any man can become the redeemer of a woman.

Present-day women, in particular, are receptive to all things and very capable of self-sacrifice. True, one would have to acquire a somewhat wider knowledge of one's wares if one was not to renounce all taste which, more than anything else, is reprehensible in a salesman who has long been dealing in such articles. Who could accuse Rabbi Rabuni[a] of a blunder, a display of ignorance, in respect of a commercial transaction? To him, all cats are of the same colour and he is satisfied at that. On the other hand, when he sees rosy tints appear in far-away Poland, he forgets that the colour of these blood-red roses is not genuine; they are pleasing to the eye and necessary and have, 'for all that and all that',[b] created a great stir, but how can one establish any connection between this attempt and attempts to attempt an attempt? Who can understand that? Things have come to such a pass that, along with the perfectly justified aim and intention of conceiving the real flesh-and-blood human being, with all his needs and desires, as the be-all and end-all, of seeing man as humankind—that, along with this, almost all idealism has gone by the board and been replaced by nothing but fantasticism. Once again the mania for practical reality is firmly in the saddle. And when men like Hess, who are, in fact, nothing but ideologists, who actually have no real flesh and blood but only, as it were, an abstraction of the same, when such men suddenly parade the knife and fork question as their mission in life, then they are bound to plunge neck and crop into fantasticism. Hess will constantly beguile himself with bogus projects while still continuing to exercise a mysterious, inexplicable, magical, personal sway over the weak. Such is indeed his calling—to act, as it were, the prophet and high priest. So let him go to Babel-Jerusalem-Elberfeld if he will. Weitling's hullaballoo about his fantastical projects is also quite

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[a] A reference to Moses Hess. - [b] An allusion to Freiligrath's 'Trotz alledem!'

explicable. Just as he, coming from the artisan class, is perforce incapable of anything more elevated than to herald drinking bouts in popular poetry, so too he is capable of nothing more elevated than ill-fated undertakings which are obviously foolhardy and fail. He has no sense of the ridiculous, and what a fiasco it would have been on this occasion. That is now plain for all to see. I am happy beyond words, my dear Karl, that you are still keeping your spirits up and continuing to master your impatience and your longings. How I love you for this courage of yours. You are my husband, and I am still thankful for this! To remain calm and clear-headed in the midst of the hurly-burly and to be in harmony with the times! The most repulsive thing about the ill-starred insurrection[539] is that wretched Prussia, with its spinelessness and pseudo-humanism, is again acclaimed by those idiots the French and all the rest of its admirers as against crude, brutish Austria. This besottedness with progress is truly repulsive. But now, my beloved Karl, I shall dwell on the subject of progress and enlarge on it as regards you, my dear master. How are you getting on with Stirner and what progress have you made?[a] Above all, apply yourself to your book.[5] Time marches inexorably on. I myself am besieged with inquiries here. Schleicher has already asked after it twice and complained bitterly about the literature that comes their way. And it's true, they are very badly off.

They are all having to grapple with Grün and Ruge and do not know which way to turn. Schleicher asked whether the Rabbi was by any chance Hess.[b] Even Schleicher is prepared to swallow anything. But there is altogether too great a lack of knowledge. The false prophets have done so much to queer the pitch....

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[a] A reference to 'Saint Max', an important part of *The German Ideology*. - [b] This presumably refers to A. Ruge's article 'Der Rabbi Moses und Moritz Hess' in the collection *Die Opposition*.

## 4

## GEORGE JULIAN HARNEY TO FREDERICK ENGELS[540]

IN BRUSSELS

*For Engels* London, March 30, 1846

My dear E.,

I am your debtor for two or three letters, and I fear must have offended you by my silence, particularly through not answering before this time the one very important letter to which I shall presently more particularly allude. I am always busy, but the Polish Insurrection[539] has found for me additional occupation. Night and day I have been working to rouse public feeling—not altogether without success. At length the great London meeting has been accomplished[541]—I breathe again, and devote the first moment to write to you.

I first notice a very long letter I received through *Weerth* several weeks ago, the letter was without a date. I was glad to hear of your arrangements for the publication of your *Quarterly*.[57] Has the result answered your expectations [?] When I informed my wife[a] of your very philosophical system of writing in couples till 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning,[542] she protested that such philosophy would not suit her, and that if she was in Brussels she would get up a 'pronunciamento' amongst your wives. My wife has no objection to the manufacturing of Revolutions, provided the work is done on the *short time* system. She recommends your wives to form an 'Anti-3- or 4 o'clock-in-the morning-Association', she will volunteer her services as 'English Correspondent' and she thinks that *Mrs Caudle*[b] might also be induced to join the sisterhood.

Your speculations as to the speedy coming of a revolution in England, I doubt. Revolutionary changes in Germany I think certain and likely to come soon. Such changes are not less certain in France and likely to ensue soon after the death of that old scoundrel Louis Philippe, but I confess I cannot see the likelihood of such changes in England, at least until England is moved from *without* as well as within. Your prediction that we will get the Charter[543] in the course of the present year, and the abolition of

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[a] Mary - [b] A character in Douglas Jerrold's *Mrs Caudle's Curtain Lectures*, a series of humorous sketches published in *Punch* in 1845.

private property within three years will certainly not be realized;—indeed as regards the latter, although it may and I hope will come, it is my belief that neither you nor I will see it. As to what O'Connor has been saying lately about 'physical force',[544] I think nothing of it. The English people will not adopt Cooper's slavish notions about peace and non-resistance, but neither would they *act* upon the opposite doctrine. They applaud it at public meetings, but that is all. Notwithstanding all the talk in 1839 about 'arming',[545] the people did not arm, and they will not arm. A long immunity from the presence of war in their own country and the long suspension of the militia has created a general distaste for arms, which year by year is becoming more extensive and more intense. The *body* of the English people, without becoming a slavish people, are becoming an eminently pacific people. I do not say that our fighting propensities are gone, on the contrary, I believe that the trained English soldiery is the most powerful soldiery in the world, that is, that a given number will, ninety times out of a hundred, vanquish a similar number of the *trained troops* of any nation in the world (I hope I shall not offend your Prussian nationality). Wanting, however, military training, the English *people* are the most unmilitary, indeed anti-military people on the face of the earth. To attempt a 'physical-force' agitation at the present time would be productive of no good, but on the contrary of some evil—the evil of exciting suspicion against the agitators. I do not suppose that the great changes which will come in this country, will come altogether without violence, but organised combats such as we may look for in France, Germany, Italy and Spain, cannot take place in this country. To organise, to conspire a revolution in this country would be a vain and foolish project and the men who with their eyes open could take part in so absurd an attempt would be worse than foolish, would be highly culpable.

I must next notice what you say about my '*leadership*'. First let me remark that you are too hard upon O' Con. You find fault with his 'leaders',[a] but you say the 'week's summary' affords you entertainment—fun. You speak as though you credited me with the 'summary', but the 'summary' is prepared by O'Connor, as you might have known by the Irish jokes and very Irish poetry continually introduced into the commentary. You are wrong in supposing that he prevented my continuing the remarks on Cabet. The discontinuance was the result first of my own neglect, and

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[a] in *The Northern Star*

second that Hetherington has never completed the translation,[a] and I have deferred further comment until the publication was complete. I must do O'C. the justice to say that he never interferes with what I write in the paper, nor does he know what I write until he gets the paper. You have thought proper in the letter I am now commenting on to credit me with all the revolutionary virtues. You say I am 'anti-national', 'revolutionary', 'energetical', 'proletarian', 'more of a Frenchman than an Englishman', 'Atheistical, Republican, and Communist'. I am too old a soldier to blush at this accumulation of virtues credited to my account, but supposing it to be even as you say, it does not follow that I am qualified for 'leadership'. A popular chief should be possessed of a magnificent bodily appearance, an iron frame, eloquence, or at least a ready fluency of tongue. I have none of these. O'C. has them all—at least in a degree. A popular leader should possess great animal courage, contempt of pain and death, and be not altogether ignorant of arms and military science. No chief or leader that has hitherto appeared in the English movement has these qualifications, we have never had a Barbés for instance. In these qualifications I am decidedly deficient, I know nothing of arms, have no stomach for fighting, and would rather die after some other fashion than by bullet or rope. From a knowledge of myself and all the men who have, and do figure in the Chartist movement, I am convinced that even in this respect was O'C. thrown overboard, we might go further and fare worse. Amongst my revolutionary virtues you give me credit for *'energy'*. I know I do possess a sort of energy, which when occasion demands enables me to rouse others to exertion and direct their exertions, myself setting the example, but this is *moral energy*, the physical energy which makes Cromwells, Napoleons, etc. I possess, I fear, not an atom of. Placed in certain circumstances I should, I fear, fall like Robespierre, through want of the necessary courage to save myself. This is not all, the very qualities you give me the credit for possessing, and which you emphatically sum up in the sentence 'You are the *only* Englishman who is really free of *all* prejudices that distinguish the Englishman from the Continental man', are sufficient of themselves to prevent my being a leader. If I am 'the *only* Englishman, etc.', it follows that I would be a chief without an army, a leader without followers. To myself my proper position appears clear, I am a 'pioneer', the teacher of 'strange doctrines', the proclaimer of principles which startle the many, and are but

[a] into English of Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie*

timidly acknowledged even by the few; and the office of the pioneer is surely useful, and as surely not inglorious. You see I am perfectly candid, I speak of myself as perhaps few men would speak, but I wish you not to be deceived, not to deceive yourself, not to deceive others. I am but one of the humble workers in the great movement of progress, as such I desire to be considered.

The letter I am commenting on came to me through *W[eerth] opened.* Now I have every confidence in *W.* but it is possible that, without meaning any harm, some points of your letter might come to be known, particularly as *W.* wrote me that he approved and agreed with all you had said about my leadership. Now if what you did say had become known it would place me in a very awkward position with O'C. I do not wish to prevent you criticising O'C. in your letters, or any other person (myself included), only I would wish that every necessary precaution should be taken by you in transmitting your letters.

If you find fault with this egotism, this talk about myself, you have only yourself to blame for it.

I now come to your letter of the 5th of March, which letter exists not, it has *gone the way of all flesh,* in accordance with your expressed wishes.

It is not necessary that I should go through all the points of your (5th of March) letter seriatim. I cannot pretend to judge of the policy and practicability of your scheme,[546] of these you and your compatriots must be the best judges. For myself I have confidence in your discretion as well as your zeal, and as far as my humble abilities, and time will permit I am willing to aid you in the manner you suggest, you bearing in mind what I have said of my own deficiencies, and consequently that while competent to serve the cause in some ways, I am not competent to do so in others. But before I regularly commence the duties you expect of me, there is one point I must be assured of,—namely,—that your scheme has the sanction of the long-trusted, incorruptible, and martyr men of the German movement. I must inform you that I have been a member of the German Society[a] for some weeks past (several Englishmen have joined the Society lately which adds to its members every week), now should your scheme not be made known to the Society, or at least to one or two of its most trusted members, I should hesitate to join you, because if your arrangements came to be known I should be placed in a false position,

[a] the London German Workers' Educational Society

perhaps regarded as a conspirator against the popular interests. I have great faith in Schapper, and if he is not consulted I do not see how I could join you. But are you sure your scheme is not already known in London? I have acted as you directed, no one but myself knows the contents of your letter of the 5th March, but two or three weeks before that letter reached me, I heard that *you* (the literary characters in Brussels) *had formed a society, confined to yourselves into which you admitted no working man.*[547] If by this society is meant the society respecting which you have written to me, you will see that it is already known and has excited prejudice amongst the good men. If this 'society' be not your present scheme but something else, still whatever it may be it has excited prejudice here which you must endeavour to dispel before you can hope to have the views expressed in your 5th of March letter adopted by the Germans here. As regards *Weitling* he may have friends in the London Society, but certainly not the majority. S. is the man who leads, and properly so. He repudiates 'leadership', but nature forms some men for chiefs and she has given him the necessary qualifications.

On Saturday[a] I received a long letter from you through Weerth, or rather two letters. The one for the *Star* I like very much, it will appear this week.[b] I have altered the date from February 20 to March 20th, it will thereby not look so stale.

The private letter accompanying your public letter I read with much interest, the facts connected with France are very important, and down to the line you indicate I shall use them in the *Star* though perhaps not this week. Do not be surprised if I use those facts in a 'leader'. All that you say about the middle-class in England and France I fully accord with. All that you say about 'Merry England' is true. You say 'I am just in time to include some resolutions which we thought proper to pass against Cooper'.[548] There are no 'resolutions' in the letter I received from you.

A few words on the state of things in England. The anti-Corn Law[270] agitation is drawing to a close. Whether or no Peel carries his measure through the Lords, the Corn Laws are doomed and the day of their final extinction is drawing nigh. Then comes complete middle-class domination, an increased agitation for the Charter, complete estrangement between the proletarians and the middle-class, and the beginning of that conflict which will be a social as well as a political one.

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[a] 28 March - [b] F. Engels, 'The State of Germany. Letter III'.

The Chartists as Chartists are doing nothing, the 'Chartist Convention' at Manchester, and the 'Chartist Message' resulted in nothing—a mere flash in the pan. The Land Society[549] goes on prospering, at least so I learn by the account of monies received, for I am not a member. Some land has been purchased and more will be almost immediately. The Land scheme may do as a passing experiment but is unworthy of the energies of a national movement. I have told you that the German Society is advancing, I am glad that the report of their annual supper[a] pleased your friends. I have seen the German paper published in New York.[b] You will have seen that the 'Fraternal Democrats'[122] are progressing. After a deal of trouble and discouragement I think I shall succeed in this. We were for some time regarded with much prejudice and jealousy by the Chartists but this is wearing away. The Polish affair has done a good deal towards bringing this about. Seeing that no other party would move, we determined to begin. Our efforts excited the Chartist-Executive, who feared we would take the popular leadership out of their hands. Hence they came to us. As soon as they came, we said 'You lead, we will follow'. Our policy is not to push ourselves, but our principles, and compel others to adopt them. Thus the two parties worked harmoniously, forming a joint committee to get up the meeting. To me was left the drawing up of the resolutions and petition, and I determined to make both ultra-democratic. I had all my own way in the Committee and at the public meeting the resolutions were passed *unanimously*. Schapper was received with great enthusiasm, and just in proportion as we were democratic in our sentiments we were applauded. Several Polish aristocrats present left the meeting in a rage, grinding their teeth, and denouncing me as a *'sans-culotte'* for my onslaught on them. The meeting was a glorious one, at least three thousand persons present. The humbugs (Lovett and Co.) were plotting to get up a *genteel* Polish-*nationality* meeting, when we stepped in and settled their hash for them. It is not likely that they will now hold a meeting at all. The meeting was reported in the *Times*,[c] *Chronicle, Advertiser, D. News, Globe,* and *Sun*. It was editorially praised by the *Advertiser,* and *Sun,* and denounced by the *Times,* and *D. News*. Did you see the *Times* denunciation? It was capital, especially as

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[a] 'Annual Banquet of the German Democratic Society for the Education of the Working Classes', *The Northern Star,* No. 431, 14 February 1846. - [b] *Der Volks-Tribun.* - [c] 'Meeting of the Friends of Poland', *The Times,* No. 19194, 26 March 1846.

following within a few days a 'leader' in which the *Times* man had asserted that the 'delusion of Chartism' was dead and gone.[a] This meeting will be the commencement of a new era in English agitation, henceforth mere Chartism will not do, ultra democracy, social as well as political, will be the object of our propaganda. Tonight a meeting is to be holden in South London, but that of course [will] not be reported in the daily papers. I must conclude. Write again soon. I will myself write again in a week or two. Mary's love to Mrs E.[b] [and] yourself. Remember me to Marx, Gigot, etc.

Thine fraternally—

Julian

(Henceforth 'J.')

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## 5

## JENNY MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[310]

IN HAMM

Paris, on Thursday[c] [17 March 1848]
Hotel Manchester, rue Grammont No. 1

Dear Mr Weydemeyer,

My husband, being again so caught up in the work and pother here in this huge city, has asked me to suggest that you announce in the *Westphälisches Dampfboot* that several German societies have been formed here, particulars of which will be known to Mr Lüning; but that the *German* Workers' Club[550] under the leadership of the Germans in London, Schapper, Bauer, Moll, and the Germans in Brussels, Marx, Wolff, Engels, Wallau, Born, that these (who are also in direct touch with the Chartists in England via Harney and Jones) have nothing in common with the

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[a] 'The painful impression...', *The Times*, No. 19188, 19 March 1846. - [b] Mary Burns - [c] Judging by the mention made in the second paragraph of the Paris workers' demonstration, which took place on Friday, 17 March, the letter must also have been written on that date.

German Democratic Society headed by Börnstein, Bornstedt, Herwegh, Volk, Decker, etc., a society which flies the black, red and gold flag[205] (wherein it had already been anticipated by the Federal Diet[474]) and babbles of Father Blücher and is drilled in sections by retired Prussian officers. It is of the utmost importance that, in the eyes of *France* and Germany, one should dissociate oneself completely from that society, since it will bring the Germans into disrepute. If the *Dampfboot* comes out too late, use the information provided above for a short article in any German newspapers you choose, these being more readily at your command in the South. Try and get as much as you can into German papers.

I would like to write and tell you a great deal more about the interesting goings-on here which grow livelier by the minute (tonight 400,000 workers are meeting in front of the Hôtel de Ville[a]), while *attroupements*[b] are again on the increase; however I am so busy with house and home and the three mites[c] that all I have time for is to hail you and your dear wife[d] from afar with a few friendly words of greeting.

Greeting and fraternity.

Your *Citoyenne* and *Vagabonde*

Jenny Marx

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## 6

## ELISABETH ENGELS TO FREDERICK ENGELS

### IN BRUSSELS

Barmen [after 4 October 1848]

Dear Friedrich,

You will have received your father's letter; I should have liked to add a few words to it, but I felt too sick at heart. Now you have really gone too far. So often have I begged you to proceed no

[a] town hall - [b] unlawful assemblies - [c] Jenny, Laura and Edgar - [d] Louise

further, but you have paid more heed to other people, to strangers, and have taken no account of your mother's pleas. God alone knows what I have felt and suffered of late. I was trembling when I picked up the newspaper[a] and saw therein that a warrant was out for my son's arrest.[233]

I can think of nothing else but you and then I often see you as a little boy still, playing near me. How happy I used to be then and what hopes did I not pin upon you. Dear Friedrich, if the words of a poor, sorrowing mother still mean anything to you, then follow your father's advice, go to America and abandon the course you have pursued hitherto. With your knowledge you will surely succeed in finding a position in a good firm and if, later on, you should not like it, you could always take to something else. For so many years now I have never been able to think of you without a pang; pray send me for once some piece of news that will gladden my heart a little. You are now separated from your friends—why not break away from them too now and go your own way for once, or listen for once to what your mother has to say. Nobody, surely, can mean so well by you as I do, so why have you refused to listen to my plea?

Do write to me soon, dear Friedrich, and let me have good news of you, I beseech you. May God have mercy on you and not forsake you.

But believe me when I say that your father, no less than I, will bless the day when you return to us again and once more consent to be our child and walk the same path with us. May God soon grant us that joy. Then we shall forget all the worry and distress we have endured on account of you.

Write soon to your deeply grieving mother

Elise Engels

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[a] 'Steckbrief', *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 271, 4 October 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 7, p. 593).

# 7

# HERMANN EWERBECK TO MOSES HESS

## IN PARIS

Cologne, 14 November 1848

My dear Hess,

Here I sit—not in a bower of roses, far from it—at half past one in the morning side by side with Marx at the newspaper's[a] editorial table correcting proof-sheets, but still find time to write to you, especially since, newly arrived and due (I hope) to depart for Paris tomorrow, I have heard that the philosopher Wolf[b] is in Paris. There is, I presume, no need for me to advise you as to how our club[551] should act vis-à-vis this man. My presence in Paris might be needed at this moment, lest the philosopher should prove troublesome with his nagging and taunting. So I am hastening thither. I could not come any sooner. Berlin has held me in thrall and I have got to spend *one* day in Cologne, especially since Marx has been summoned to appear in court tomorrow and is in danger of being *arrested.*[236]

The city of Berlin, in state of siege, will be severely wrangled.[c] It is a matter either of a republic or of Cossack rule.[d]

Do not let Wolf exert any influence. Neither Worcell nor anyone else must be allowed to listen to him. He seems to be corresponding with Marx. The latter is very enthusiastic about Engels, whom he describes as outstanding 'intellectually, morally and from the point of view of character'. The said Engels is in Switzerland for *the good cause,* says Marx.[233]

Farewell.

NB. Post the enclosed without delay.

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[a] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* - [b] Probably Ferdinand Wolff - [c] Ewerbeck coins a verb from the name Wrangel. - [d] A pun on Napoleon's words: 'In fifty years Europe will be republican or Cossack', cited by Las Cases in *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène.*

## 8

## ELISABETH ENGELS TO FREDERICK ENGELS

IN BERNE

Barmen, 5 December 1848

Dear Friedrich,

Yesterday a letter arrived from you at long last[552] and although I was grieved by the tone in which it was written, I was nevertheless glad to hear that all was well with you and that you had received the money. I shall not hark back to your speech at the Eiser Hall except to say that we first read it in the *Deutsche Zeitung*,[a] which they take at the Concordia,[553] and only later did it also appear in the *Elberfelder*.[554]

Now as to the suspicions your friends have incurred, let me tell you quite simply how matters stood. When the disturbances broke out in Cologne and the *Rheinische Zeitung*[b] was suspended,[233] we heard immediately that you had already earlier left for Verviers. For what reason, no one knew. But nobody, ourselves included, doubted that the meetings at which you and your friends spoke, and also the language of the *Rh. Z.*, were largely the cause of these disturbances. You, too, will be perfectly well aware that this led to bitter feeling, since most of the country desires a return to peaceful and orderly conditions. We then got your letter from Liège and I could not but agree with your father when he expressed the hope that, if you were compelled to fend for yourself, you might perhaps decide, or have to decide, to turn to activities other than those which you have been pursuing in recent years and which have already caused us so much distress. You must not imagine, dear Friedrich, that, when your father made his proposals to you in the letter he sent to Brussels, he did so without my assent. I was in complete agreement with him and hoped that you would either fall in with the proposal that you go to America or, should you cease to receive money from us, that you would make up your mind to take up something else so as to be able to exist.

Just at the time when we received your letter from Liège, our Emil arrived here from Engelskirchen via Cologne, where he had inquired at the editorial office of the *Rh. Z.* whether they knew

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[a] 'Eine demokratische Volksversammlung', *Deutsche Zeitung*, No. 262, Supplement, 27 September 1848. - [b] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

anything about you, and was told in reply that the editors were all expected back on the following day and that the paper would be reappearing within the next few days.[a] As you yourself know, it was not long before this happened, so what could be more natural than that I should imagine that Marx and the others were back in Cologne? A little later, your father went to Cologne where he heard from Plasmann, as I told you in my letter, that several letters had arrived from you, in which you asked for money but that none had yet been sent to you—I mentioned this in an earlier letter. A few days later Plasmann actually sent us a letter of yours, addressed to one Schulz and written, if I am not mistaken, in Brussels, in which you complain that they have not replied to your letters, including one to Mrs Marx. About this time we read of your expulsion from Brussels and, not having heard at all whether you had received the money in Brussels, we grew anxious and your father wrote to Gigot, who soon replied, saying he had handed you the money and giving us the address to which I wrote to you in Paris. We then got your letter from Geneva in which you told us that, for the first fortnight, you could expect nothing from your friends as 'they had all been dispersed'. Was I not forced to conclude from this that you did not know that the *Rh. Z.* was again appearing and hence that the editors must also be there?

I do not wish to say anything further about Marx; if he acted in the way you describe, and I do not doubt this for one moment, he did what he could and in my heart I thank him for it. As to your other Cologne friends, I do not wish to discuss them further, for you yourself say little about them, so we shall let the matter rest. Time will tell who is most dependable. They were, by the way, at great pains to send us your address when they heard from Gigot that we had been making inquiries about it. We got it from three sources[b] at the very time your letter arrived from Geneva.

I am sorry to see from your letter that you imagine us to be responsible for the hard time you had in Geneva. But that often happens to people. They willingly blame others for things for which they are themselves responsible. Why did you have to leave Cologne? You know yourself, dear Friedrich, how often I expressed concern that one day you might again come to such a pass, but you always said that that was out of the question. We

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[a] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* suspended on 26 September, when the state of siege was introduced in Cologne, resumed publication on 12 October 1848. - [b] Marx, Gigot and Dronke

then had no word from you for five weeks, neither a letter nor your address, so how could you expect us to send you money? No sooner did we receive word from you, than we sent you some. It is surely not our fault if you received it so belatedly.

There is many a thing I could say in reply to your letter, but what purpose would it serve? We cannot, after all, agree on everything, so it is better to hold one's peace. Except for one thing, dear Friedrich. I have learned from a fairly reliable source a thing or two about your plans in Cologne, and I must say that when one plans to build barricades one is not so far from murder. Thank God such plans are not all carried out. Later, perhaps, we can discuss this affair, you had best not reply concerning it. Now for another matter. Plasmann sent us your things, which arrived, I am happy to say, while your father was still away, for amongst them I discovered various letters which I would rather did not find their way into your father's hands. I prefer to withhold from him matters which may distress him or cause him anxiety, for I consider it unnecessary to tell him everything I know, but if asked I do not knowingly tell anything but the *truth*, as you too will have discovered. Amongst the letters in your trunk I found one addressed to 'Madame Engels' and one from a lady to yourself, written in French though from Cologne. Both these letters I burnt unread and at once put all the other letters together in the leather brief-case, so that there is little probability of your father seeing them. Those two letters might perhaps have given me the explanation why last spring,[a] when we had that talk together in the garden, you were *not* being *truthful* with me. Whatever your relations may have been at the time and may perhaps still be, it is as well to let the matter rest. Do not write to me about it, for I am most anxious that your father should hear nothing of the matter. Later on, perhaps, you might give me an explanation by word of mouth. But I only wish to hear the truth. If you cannot tell me that, it would be better for us not to speak at all on the subject.

Now that you have got the money from us, I entreat you to buy yourself a warm overcoat so that you will have it when the weather turns colder, as it soon will; also to provide yourself with drawers and a bed jacket so that you will be warmly clad should you catch a cold, as can very easily happen. I only wish I had occasion to send you some warm socks. Your father, however, thinks it would cost more than they are worth and says I ought to keep them and everything else until you are closer to us again.

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[a] during Engels' stay in Barmen from mid-April to 20 May 1848

What more can I say to you, dear Friedrich? That I love you as only a mother can love her child, you know. May God shine His light upon your heart that you may know what will bring you peace. It is already one o'clock in the morning and I too shall now go to bed. May God's grace and mercy go with you.

With much love
Your mother Elise

Your father returned from his trip last Friday[a] but left again today for Engelskirchen.

Hermann, Hedwig, Rudolf and Elise send their love.

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## 9

## JENNY MARX TO CAROLINE SCHÖLER

IN COLOGNE

Paris, 14 July 1849
rue de Lille, No. 45

My dear Lina,

You will have received my two letters from Trier and will have seen from them that on this occasion I did not feel at ease there. Everything has changed too much there and one does not, of course, always remain the same oneself. I felt an intense nostalgia for Paris and so, together with all my baggage, I returned posthaste via Aix and Brussels; we got back here last Saturday, fit and well.[263] I found very pretty, convenient lodgings in a salubrious district where we have already set up house, including kitchen, quite cosily.

At this moment Paris is splendid and luxurious in the extreme. The aristocracy and bourgeoisie suppose themselves safe since the ill-starred 13th of June and the fresh victories their party has

[a] 1 December 1848

won.[260] On the 14th all the grandees, together with their carriages and their liveried retainers, were already creeping out of the holes in which they had been hiding and thus the marvellous streets are awash with magnificence and splendour of every description. Paris is a gorgeous city. How often during the past few days have I not wished you were here beside me as, filled with admiration and amazement, I walked along streets that were alive with people. Once we have settled in properly you must pay us a visit here and see for yourself how lovely it is.

Until 15 August we shall remain in these lodgings which, however, are too dear for us to stay in for any length of time. In Passy, a very pretty place an hour's distance from Paris, we have been offered a whole cottage with garden, 6-10 rooms, elegantly furnished throughout, and having four beds, at the unbelievable rent of eleven thalers a month. If it were not too remote we should remove there at once.

We have still not made up our minds whether we should have our things sent or not. So I shall have to make yet further calls upon your kindness and good nature.

Could you not find out from Johann and my packing-case maker, Hansen [Kunibert], *approximately* how many cwt. the whole amounts to, i.e. including only one of the boxes of books, No. 4, and how much it costs to transport a cwt. from Cologne to Paris? That would enable us to make an estimate of sorts. Before winter sets in you would in any case have to unpack out of the trunks and dispatch to me here some of the linen, clothing, etc. I shall be sending you further details later on. Johann would be of very great service to you in this.

At the end of August our things will have to be removed from the place where they are now. Perhaps you could have a word with Johann or Faulenbach about cheap storage for them later on. These are all very tiresome affairs, but unavoidable in view of our vagabond existence. I am only sorry that I should have to place this additional burden on you, the more so since you yourself will surely have had a great deal to arrange and see to of late. For I feel sure that your next dear letter will bring me the joyous tidings of Bertha's[a] marriage. Whether that day is already past or whether it is yet to come, do please convey to her my most cordial wishes for her future prosperity and happiness. I wish it were within my power to make you all really happy and more than anything else I should like to see you, my dear Lina, as cheerful and contented as

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[a] Caroline Schöler's sister

you deserve and have every right to be, considering the many cares, troubles and disappointed expectations that have already clouded and embittered your young life. Rest assured that in me you will always find a loyal and loving friend.

I shall not write anything about politics today. There is no telling what may happen to a letter.

My dear husband sends you his warm regards and wonders whether you could, perhaps, find out from Stein, the banker in the Neumarkt, or from his mother, etc., etc., the address of Jung, the assessor, and then forward the enclosed letter to him,[555] the matter is one of some urgency. I am not franking these letters because the franking office is much too far away—I beg you not to frank your letters either and, in fact, to get yourself a cash book for your outlays on my behalf. If you fail to keep strict accounts, I shall have to have recourse to coercive measures.

The children,[a] who can hardly open their eyes wide enough to take in all these marvels, often babble about their dear Aunt Lina and send you their love, so does Lenchen,[b] *qui est toujours la même.*[c]

My love to your sisters, to Roland *et femme*[d] and to the Eschweilers should you happen to see them, etc., etc.

Yours ever

Jenny[e]

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## 10

## CONRAD SCHRAMM TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 8 January 1850

Dear Weydemeyer,

I am writing to you at the request of Marx, who is up to his eyes in work completing the first issue of the *Revue*. The *Revue* will be distributed through booksellers and besides, in larger cities,

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[a] Jenny, Laura and Edgar - [b] Helene Demuth - [c] who is still the same as ever - [d] Roland Daniels and his wife (Amalie) - [e] Postscript by Marx see on p. 202.

through agents. It will be printed, etc., in Hamburg and dispatched from there to the agents. The first issue will come out a bit late, but will be quickly followed by the next ones, so that the March issue will probably appear at the beginning of the month. If the *Revue* does at all well, it will appear twice a month. I would urge you to insert the announcement *straight away,*[a] even supposing the *Kölnerin*[b] has not yet had it. As regards your South German article,[295] Marx would like to have it as soon as possible for the February issue; the point is not so much to report the most up-to-date facts, which is not in any case feasible; it would be best, I think, to conclude the reports on the 15th of each month; and send off the manuscript soon enough for it to get here by the 19th or 20th of each month. One more thing; please alter the price in the announcement from 24 to 25 Sgr.[c] or 20 ggr.,[d] this latter price having been suggested by the booksellers as being more convenient. It is to be hoped that in Frankfurt you will take the lead in promoting the *Revue,* in which case you must charge to us the cost of sub-agents, delivery boys, etc. How many copies should I let you have?

Little that's new today over here. Struve and Heinzen are doing all they can to create a commotion and are, to the best of their ability, making asses of themselves and the German emigration. These two dictators, by the by, have fallen out, Struve having allegedly stolen an idea (?) of Heinzen's! I shall shortly be writing to Bruhn, to whom kindly give my regards, and shall then provide a detailed account of what is going on here.

Do you not require a correspondent over here? I could always send you prompt reports on the most important events in Parliament, which, in any case, promises to be interesting. I regularly follow the English movement for financial reform[284] and can keep you *au courant.* In the next day or two I shall send you a sample article and you could then let me know at your convenience whether you would like to have my letters and what you would give for them. Here in England one has got to have something with which to pay for one's STEAKS and beer.

The young communist who has installed himself *chez* Marx is called Henry Edward Guy Fawkes. He was born on the anniversary of the Gun Powder Plot, 5th Nov., and for that reason

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Announcement of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*' (The *Neue Deutsche Zeitung,* edited by Weydemeyer, carried it in Nos. 14, 23 and 31, 16 and 26 January and 5 February 1850). - [b] The *Kölnische Zeitung* published the announcement in the supplement to No. 24, 27 January 1850. - [c] silver groschen - [d] good groschen

has been named Guy Fawkes.[324] Just now the little fellow is getting on everyone's nerves with his bawling; however, he will no doubt become more reasonable in due course.

All your acquaintances send their kind regards.

With cordial regards,

Yours

C. Schramm[a]

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## 11

## FROM PETER RÖSER'S EVIDENCE[556]

... Immediately after the New Year of 1850 *I* received a letter from *Marx* in which he asked me to set up a community[b] in Cologne and to do my utmost *to start communities in other Rhine towns,* because, now that freedom of speech and of the press has been all but suppressed, he too considers it necessary to reorganise the League, as in the near future, clandestine propaganda will alone be possible. I replied that I was prepared to do this but demanded, before proceeding further, Rules to which we [must] conform and such as would preclude any kind of conspiracy. Marx replied that the Rules of 1847[c] were no longer in keeping with the times, that the Rules of 1848 were no longer approved in London[557] and that new Rules were to be drafted; also that, as soon as the League had been organised, a Congress was to be held to which the Rules would be submitted for approval. Up till then, he said, I was to organise things on the basis of the *Manifesto*[d] of 1847 which was sold openly in Cologne in 1848 as printed in The Hague and had been in my possession ever since. In both letters he urgently recommended that I hold discussions with *Dr Daniels* and *Bürgers* with a view to recruiting them into the League...

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[a] Postscript by Marx see on p. 224. - [b] of the Communist League - [c] Rules of the Communist League (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 633-38). - [d] *Manifesto of the Communist Party.*

...In the letter I received from Marx, he repeated that his brother-in-law, *von Westphalen,*[a] a lawyer resident in Trier, had formerly been admitted by him into the League and had subsequently set up a community in Trier, but that he was a lazy man and had of late failed to reply to his letters. Marx asked me to write to this von Westphalen, since it was less dangerous for me to correspond with him from Cologne.

I received no reply to two letters conveyed to von Westphalen through Schlegel...

...At the end of July[b] *Wilhelm Klein, a knife grinder* and a native of Solingen, who had hitherto lived in London as a refugee, having been compromised by his participation in the uprising in Elberfeld in 1849,[286] returned from London to Germany after the trial relating to the Elberfeld uprising was over and there was no longer any fear of his being prosecuted. I had known Klein since the time of the 1848 and 1849 congresses in Cologne.[558] He arrived in Cologne at the end of July 1850, lodged there with his uncle, whose name and address I do not know, and brought me a letter from Marx in which the latter gave vent to his anger at Willich & Company and said it was a great pity that Schapper should have attached himself to this bunch of frauds. He said that during the winter of 1849/50 he had lectured to the London Workers' Society[52] on the *Manifesto* and had explained that communism could only be introduced after a number of years, that it would have to go through several phases and that generally its introduction could only be effected by a process of education and gradual development, but that Willich had violently opposed him with his rubbish—as Marx called it—saying that it would be introduced in the next revolution, if only by the might of the guillotine, that the hostility between them was already great and he [Marx] feared it would lead to a split in the League, General Willich having got it firmly into his head that, come the next revolution, he and his brave men from the Palatinate would introduce communism on their own and against the will of everyone in Germany. Finally he recommended the said Klein to me as a capable worker who did not as yet have any clear idea of social and communist principles. Here I must repeat what I said during the trial[c]—that we did not receive the second London Address,[d] or at any rate I was not given it by the said Klein...

[a] Edgar von Westphalen - [b] 1850 - [c] the communist trial in Cologne in the autumn of 1852 - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Address of the Central Authority to the League. June 1850'.

...One afternoon during the second half of September 1850 *Dr Daniels* and *Bürgers* turned up at my lodgings accompanied by a young man whom they described as *Haupt,* a *salesman* and native of Hamburg, who was on his way home from London. Whether it was Daniels or Bürgers who told me that Haupt had brought with him a letter from Marx addressed to Daniels, I cannot recollect, but either one or the other told me this. We went together to Bürgers' lodgings which Daniels left immediately afterwards and where I remained alone with Bürgers and Haupt. At this point the letter was handed to me and, having read it, I found that the contents tallied with the letter previously received from Marx. In it Marx said that it was no longer possible to go along with Schapper and Willich, that there had been a formal split and that the majority of the London Central Authority had decided to remove the Central Authority to Cologne and that, should the people in Cologne accept that resolution, they, as the new Central Authority, would shortly have to draft new Rules, which might possibly have to remain provisionally in force until the next Congress, and that they would have to communicate the said Rules to the districts and communities[342]...

Haupt gave us detailed information on the London conflict and stressed in particular that the split had occurred because Marx and Engels, the opposing party maintained, were not going forward resolutely enough and refused to abandon the illusion that it would not be possible to introduce communism already in the next revolution. The conflict had become so embittered that Schramm called Willich a liar at a committee sitting. The result was that Willich challenged Schramm to a duel, which took place on Belgian territory.[379] Willich is said to have left Schramm lying severely wounded at the place of the duel while he himself returned to London and said that he had bumped Schramm off. There were no seconds at the duel, Schramm was found by a peasant, in whose house he was attended to, and later he returned to London. This Schramm is a Krefeld merchant.

We explained to Haupt that we would submit the resolutions of the Central Authority to the community for discussion, but must first await the arrival of the relevant minutes which, Haupt had said, would follow. Haupt told us that he had fought in the Baden campaign[a] and had taken refuge in Switzerland, and had gone from there to London. It was only very recently that he had been

[a] of the insurgent Baden-Palatinate army in the summer of 1849

admitted into the League by Marx. I was surprised at his admittance and subsequently also expressed my disapproval of it to Bürgers, because I did not trust Haupt.

...A few days later, I received through the cashier Zimmermann a *letter from Eccarius* together with a copy of the London minutes, if I am not mistaken, of the 15th of September 1850.[a] I had recommended Zimmermann to Marx as a reliable man. I gave him the letters and took the letters from him. Police Sergeant Quelting of Cologne saw me frequently visit Zimmermann at his tax collector's office. Through whom Zimmermann forwarded the letters I do not know, but at all events through guards or other employees of the Cologne-Aix-la-Chapelle Railway. Marx must have had similar connections in Belgium and on the Calais-Dover or Ostend-London crossings, through whom letters were forwarded.

The letter was signed by Eccarius. At that time Engels must already have been living in Manchester and Eccarius have been secretary of the Central Authority. I knew of Eccarius, partly through Moll and partly from an earlier letter which, as secretary of the London Workers' Society, he had addressed to the Cologne Workers' Association[559] in the autumn of 1848. This last-mentioned letter is among the documents relating to the case. I obtained the most reliable information on Eccarius during a visit I paid to Schapper in Cologne in February 1850.

There was nothing in Eccarius' letter save a note to the effect that the minutes of the London Central Authority were enclosed. The minutes contained the resolutions already communicated to us by Marx, namely the removal of the Central Authority to Cologne and the drafting of new Rules. The minutes had been signed by the majority of the now dissolved London Central Authority—that is, if I am not mistaken, by Marx, Eccarius, Schramm, Harry Bauer, Pfänder and by Engels or else by Friedrich[b] Wolf (Lupus)—I can no longer say for certain—and the signatures were, moreover, original ones. Hence I cannot say whether the minutes sent to Cologne were the original ones, or a duplicate of the same, or a copy with original signatures. This document remained in Bürgers' possession and only after we had been arrested was it burnt with all the other papers, as stated by

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[a] Meeting of the Central Authority. 15 September 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 625-29). - [b] Röser was wrong here, it should be Wilhelm Wolff; but he was in Switzerland at the time and did not sign the minutes.

Bürgers during the final hearing. Bürgers had placed the said papers in safe hands—whose, I do not know, nor could I hazard a guess...

...Finally, I would further remark that we—both parties, that of Marx as well as that of Schapper—have been reproached for wanting communism. Yet it was on the question of the introduction of communism that the two parties became declared opponents, even enemies. Schapper-Willich propose to introduce communism on the basis of the present state of education, if necessary in the next revolution and by force of arms. Marx considers it to be feasible only by a process of education and gradual development and, in a letter to us, cites four phases through which it must pass before it is introduced. He says that as things are now, the petty bourgeoisie and proletariat will combine against the monarchy until the next revolution. That revolution will not be of their making but will arise out of the force of circumstances, of the general distress. It will be accelerated by periodically recurring trade crises. Only after the next revolution, when the petty bourgeoisie is at the helm, will the communists' activities and opposition really begin. This will be followed by a social and then a socio-communist republic which will finally make way for the purely communist republic...

After the Central Authority had removed to Cologne, Marx told me in a letter that there was a very good community in Göttingen and that Liebknecht, a student, maintained correspondence with it, for which there were very favourable opportunities. For this reason he held that it was better for the time being to correspond with this community from London. I presume that this community consisted or still consists of students. Liebknecht studied in Giessen and Göttingen and does not come from Hanau, as I mistakenly testified today. My testimony in this instance must therefore be corrected. But one of the members of the London League is from Hanau, his name will be easy to ascertain. I can give no further testimony on the community in Göttingen, we never corresponded with it...

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## 12

## JENNY MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 20 May [1850]

Dear Mr Weydemeyer,

Almost a year has gone by since I was accorded such a kind and cordial reception by you and your dear wife,[a] since I felt so happy and at home in your house,[263] and throughout that long time I have sent you no word; I remained silent when your wife wrote to me so kindly, I even remained mute when news reached us of the birth of your child. I have myself often felt oppressed by this silence, but for much of the time I have been incapable of writing, and even today find it difficult, very difficult.

Circumstances, however, compel me to take up my pen—I beg you to *send us as soon as possible any money that has come in or comes in* from the *Revue*. We are in *dire need of it*. No one, I am sure, could reproach us with having made much ado about what we have been obliged to renounce and put up with for years; the public has never, or hardly ever, been importuned with our private affairs, for my husband is very sensitive about such matters and would sooner sacrifice all he has left rather than demean himself by passing round the democratic begging-bowl, as is done by the official great men. But what he was entitled to expect of his friends, especially in Cologne, was active and energetic concern for his *Revue*. He was above all entitled to expect such concern from those who were aware of the sacrifices he had made for the *Rh. Ztg*.[b] Instead, the business has been utterly ruined by the negligent, slovenly way in which it was run, nor can one really say which did most harm—the bookseller's procrastination, or that of acquaintances and those managing the business in Cologne, or again the whole attitude of the democrats generally.

Over here my husband has been all but crushed by the most trivial worries of bourgeois existence, and so exasperating a form have these taken that it required all the energy, all the calm, lucid, quiet self-confidence he was able to muster to keep him going during these daily, hourly struggles. You, dear Mr Weydemeyer, are aware of the sacrifices made by my husband for the sake of

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[a] Louise - [b] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

the paper; he put thousands in cash into it, he took over the paper's property, talked into doing so by democratic worthies who otherwise must themselves have assumed responsibility for the debts, at a time when there was already small prospect of being able to carry on. To save the paper's political honour and the bourgeois honour of his Cologne acquaintances, he shouldered every burden, he gave up his machinery, he gave up the entire proceeds and, on his departure, even borrowed 300 Reichstalers so as to pay the rent for newly hired premises, the editors' arrears of salary, etc.—and he was forcibly expelled.

As you know, we saved nothing out of all this for ourselves, for I came to Frankfurt to pawn my silver—all that we had left; I sold my furniture in Cologne because I was in danger of seeing my linen and everything else placed under distraint. As the unhappy era of counter-revolution dawned, my husband went to Paris where I followed him with my three children.[a] Hardly had we settled down in Paris than he was expelled, I and my children being refused permission to stay for any length of time. Again I followed him across the sea. A month later our 4th child[b] was born. You would have to know London and what conditions are like here to realise what that means—3 children and the birth of a 4th. We had to pay 42 talers a month in rent alone. All this we were in a position to defray with our own realised assets. But our slender resources ran out with the appearance of the *Revue*. Agreements or no agreements, the money failed to come in, or only by dribs and drabs, so that we found ourselves faced with the most frightful situations here.

Let me describe for you, as it really was, just *one* day in our lives, and you will realise that few refugees are likely to have gone through a similar experience. Since wet-nurses here are exorbitantly expensive, I was determined to feed my child myself, however frightful the pain in my breast and back. But the poor little angel absorbed with my milk so many anxieties and unspoken sorrows that he was always ailing and in severe pain by day and by night. Since coming into the world, he has never slept a whole night through—at most two or three hours. Latterly, too, there have been violent convulsions, so that the child has been hovering constantly between death and a miserable life. In his pain he sucked so hard that I got a sore on my breast—an open sore; often blood would spurt into his little, trembling mouth. I was sitting thus one day when suddenly in came our landlady, to

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[a] Jenny, Laura and Edgar - [b] Heinrich Guido

whom we had paid over 250 Reichstalers in the course of the winter, and with whom we had contractually agreed that we should subsequently pay, not her, but her LANDLORD by whom she had formerly been placed under distraint; she now denied the existence of the contract, demanded the £5 we still owed her and, since this was not ready to hand (Naut's letter arrived too late), two bailiffs entered the house and placed under distraint what little I possessed—beds, linen, clothes, everything, even my poor infant's cradle, and the best of the toys belonging to the girls, who burst into tears. They threatened to take everything away within 2 hours—leaving me lying on the bare boards with my shivering children and my sore breast. Our friend Schramm[a] left hurriedly for town in search of help. He climbed into a cab, the horses took fright, he jumped out of the vehicle and was brought bleeding back to the house where I was lamenting in company with my poor, trembling children.

The following day we had to leave the house, it was cold, wet and overcast, my husband went to look for lodgings; on his mentioning 4 children no one wanted to take us in. At last a friend came to our aid, we paid and I hurriedly sold all my beds so as to settle with the apothecaries, bakers, butchers, and milkman who, their fears aroused by the scandal of the bailiffs, had suddenly besieged me with their bills. The beds I had sold were brought out on to the pavement and loaded on to a barrow—and then what happens? It was long after sunset, English law prohibits this, the landlord bears down on us with constables in attendance, declares we might have included some of his stuff with our own, that we are doing a flit and going abroad. In less than five minutes a crowd of two or three hundred people stands gaping outside our door, all the riff-raff of Chelsea. In go the beds again; they cannot be handed over to the purchaser until tomorrow morning after sunrise; having thus been enabled, by the sale of everything we possessed, to pay every farthing, I removed with my little darlings into the two little rooms we now occupy in the German Hotel, 1 Leicester Street, Leicester Square, where we were given a humane reception in return for £5.10 a week.

You will forgive me, dear friend, for describing to you so exhaustively and at such length just one day in our lives over here. It is, I know, immodest, but this evening my heart has flowed over into my trembling hands and for once I must pour out that heart to one of our oldest, best and most faithful friends. Do not

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[a] Conrad Schramm

suppose that I am bowed down by these petty sufferings, for I know only too well that our struggle is not an isolated one and that, furthermore, I am among the happiest and most favoured few in that my beloved husband, the mainstay of my life, is still at my side. But what really shatters me to the very core of my being, and makes my heart bleed is that my husband has to endure so much pettiness, that so little would have been needed to help him and that he, who gladly and joyously helped so many, has been so bereft of help over here. But as I have said, do not suppose, dear Mr Weydemeyer, that we are making demands on anyone; *if money is advanced to us by anyone,* my husband *is still in a position to repay it out of his assets.* The only thing, perhaps, my husband was entitled to ask of those who owe him many an idea, many a preferment, and much support was that they should evince more commercial zeal, greater concern for his *Revue.* That modicum, I am proud and bold enough to maintain, that modicum was his due. Nor do I even know whether my husband ever earned by his labours 10 silver groschen to which he was not fully entitled. *And I don't believe that anyone was the worse off for it.* That grieves me. But my husband is of a different mind. Never, even in the most frightful moments, has he lost his confidence in the future, nor yet a mite of his good humour, being perfectly content to see me cheerful, and our dear children affectionately caressing their dear mama. He is unaware, dear Mr Weydemeyer, that I have written to you at such length about our situation, so do not make any use of this letter. All he knows is that I have asked you on his behalf to expedite as best you can the collection and remittance of the money. I know that the use you make of this letter will be wholly dictated by the *tact* and *discretion* of your friendship for us.

Farewell, dear friend. Convey my most sincere affection to your wife and give your little angel a kiss from a mother who has shed many a tear upon the infant at her breast. Should your wife be suckling her child herself, do not tell her anything of this letter. I know what ravages are made by any kind of upset and how bad it is for the little mites. Our three eldest children are doing wonderfully well, for all that and for all that.[a] The girls are pretty, blooming, cheerful and in good spirits, and our fat boy is a paragon of comical humour and full of the drollest ideas. All day the little imp sings funny songs with tremendous feeling and at the top of his voice, and when he sings the verse from Freiligrath's Marseillaise

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[a] Freiligrath, 'Trotz alledem!'

Come, o June, and bring us deeds,
Fresh deeds for which our hearts do yearn[a]

in a deafening voice, the whole house reverberates. Like its two unfortunate precursors, that month may be destined by world history to see the opening of the gigantic struggle during which we shall all clasp one another's hands again.

Fare well.

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, No. 27, 1906-07

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## 13

## JENNY MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

[London, about 20 June 1850]

Dear Mr Weydemeyer,

My husband is not a little astonished that you could send the money to Naut, and likewise that from the red number[b] to anyone but himself.

There will, of course, have to be a complete overhaul of the way in which the *Revue* is distributed. Meanwhile my husband requests you not to send anything more to Mr Naut, but rather all of it here, even the smallest amount (in Prussian talers). Conditions here are not as they are in Germany. We live, all six of us, in one small room and a very small closet, for which we pay more than for the largest house in Germany, and pay weekly at that. Hence you can imagine what a position one finds oneself in if so much as 1 Reichstaler arrives a day too late. For all of us here, without exception, it's a question of our daily bread. So do not await Mr Naut's orders and so forth. Another thing my husband wishes me to say is that it really is not desirable for Lüning to write a critique, a strong attack would do, only no praise. Nor has my husband ever expected a profound critique, but only a straightforward piece such as all newspapers accord to reviews and

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[a] Freiligrath, 'Reveille'. - [b] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of 19 May 1849

pamphlets, and what your paper[a] also does when it wants to make works known and promote them, namely, publish short excerpts of a suitable kind. This involves little work.

Many regards to your dear wife,[b] and my cordial regards to yourself.

Yours
Jenny Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

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## 14

## JENNY MARX TO FREDERICK ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 19 December [1850]

Dear Mr Engels,

On Karl's request I send you herewith six copies of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.[c] Harney, who is a little better, wishes you to send one to Helen Macfarlane. Just imagine, that rascal Schuberth will only let Eisen have the 300 copies if he is paid in cash and Naut, the jackass, is now quite beside himself. Hence Karl has masses of letters to write, and you know what that means where he is concerned. The Cologne anathema against Willich and Co. arrived yesterday, together with new Rules,[560] circulars, etc. This time the Cologne people were exceptionally active and energetic and adopted a firm stand vis-à-vis the rotten band. Just imagine, it wasn't enough for Willich to have put his foot in it once, with the Fanon-Caperon manifesto[d]—the leviathans must needs issue another epistle, while Willich has gone so far as to send red Becker[e] 3 decrees for forwarding to the Cologne *Landwehr*[385] in which he gives them orders from here to

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[a] *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* - [b] Louise - [c] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* - [d] See this volume pp. 246-47. - [e] Hermann Becker (see this volume, p. 320)

mutiny, to nominate a provisional government in every company and to overthrow all civil and military authorities and have them shot if need be. And the Cologne *Landwehr,* at that, who are now quite happily talking pot politics in the city of their fathers on the Rhine's cool strand. If Willich is not ripe for the lunatic asylum, then I don't know who is. Schapper has obtained a passport from Hamburg, to enable him to take over in person Haude's occupation of emissary. Good luck to the hippopotamus!

We have also heard from Dronke. Mrs Moses[a] has again persuaded her husband that he is 'poss' of the 'gommunists'. But you'll soon be here[345] and can hear and see for yourself everything that's been going on. The Caperonians set upon and beat up red Wolff[b] one night, and our red friend had Wengler taken into custody. The next morning, when he had been sentenced, Willich ransomed him for 20 shillings.

We are all looking forward to seeing you here soon.

Yours
Jenny Marx

[On the back of the letter]

Frederic Engels, Esquire
70 Great Ducie Street, Manchester

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## 15

## JENNY MARX TO FREDERICK ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, 11] January 1851

Dear Mr Engels,

On my husband's request I am sending you herewith a letter for Weerth.[561] You had agreed to forward it along with your own. Red Wolff has made a new pair of shoes by machine, citizen

[a] Sibylle Hess - [b] Ferdinand Wolff

Liebknecht grows daily more earnest and virtuous, Schramm[a] is down in the dumps and no one has seen anything of him. The children send their love to Engels, and my husband is at the library[b] whiling away his time.

With my warm regards,

Jenny Marx

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## 16

## JENNY MARX TO FREDERICK ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 17 December 1851

Dear Mr Engels,

Moor has just asked me to send you in great haste a few words in reply to Weydemeyer's letter,[c] just received. He will himself let you have an article on the French *misère*[d] by Friday[e] and wonders whether you might not be able to dispatch to America a humorous essay on the German nonsense, notably the hoaxing of Prussia by Austria, etc.[562] I am also, on the orders of the powers that be, sending Freiligrath a reminder. We all look forward very much to seeing you here soon.[526] Colonel Musch and the young ladies, his sisters,[f] send you their warm regards as does your

Jenny Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 27, Moscow, 1962

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[a] Conrad Schramm - [b] of the British Museum - [c] See this volume, pp. 518-20. [d] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* - [e] 19 December 1851 - [f] Edgar, Jenny and Laura

## 17

## JENNY MARX TO FREDERICK ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, 17 December 1851]

Dear Mr Engels,

Hardly had I posted my letter to you (yours[a] not having arrived until four o'clock in the afternoon) when Moor returned from the Museum[b] and began 'burning his fingers' over the French stuff.[c] Now he asks me to send you at once this second epistle to tell you that, as he would not be able to post his article until late on Thursday evening,[d] he proposes to send it off from here, and that, supposing you were in fact to leave on Friday,[526] everything would cross. If you can send your article[562] here by Friday, it could travel in company with the rest; but you might consider it preferable to send yours off from Liverpool. So *comme il vous plaira.*[e] How do you like my husband creating a stir with your article[f] throughout western, eastern and southern America—and mutilated at that, and what's more under another name? For the rest the whole article is nothing but a source of mystification.

Should you have the English version of the *Manifesto*[g] to hand, please bring it with you.

Colonel Musch[h] writes three letters a day to Frederick in Manchester, sticking used stamps thereon with the utmost conscientiousness. The whole tribe sends its love. Until Saturday, then.

Farewell.

Yours

Jenny Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50, Moscow, 1981

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Published in English for the first time

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[a] See this volume, pp. 515-17. - [b] the library of the British Museum - [c] *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* - [d] 18 December - [e] as you please - [f] Presumably Engels' series of articles *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* over Marx's signature. - [g] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party.* - [h] Edgar Marx

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] This is the earliest extant letter of Engels to Marx, written soon after Engels' return to Germany from England. On his way back to Germany at the end of August 1844, he stopped in Paris, where he met Marx. During the days they spent together they discovered that their theoretical views coincided, and they immediately began their first joint work, directed against the Young Hegelians. Engels finished his part before leaving Paris, while Marx continued to write his. At first they intended to call the book *A Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Co.* But while it was being printed Marx added *The Holy Family* to the title.

This meeting of Marx and Engels in Paris marked the beginning of their friendship, joint scientific work and revolutionary struggle.

The extant original of this letter bears no date. The approximate time of its writing was determined on the basis of Engels' letter to Marx of 19 November 1844 (see this volume, pp. 9-14).

This letter was published in English in full for the first time in: Marx and Engels. *Selected Correspondence,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—3

[2] Karl Bernays, one of the editors of the German newspaper *Vorwärts!,* published in Paris, was sued by the French authorities in September 1844 at the request of the Prussian Government for not having paid the caution-money required for the publication of a political newspaper. The real reason, however, was the article 'Attentat auf den König von Preußen' published in *Vorwärts!,* No. 62, 3 August 1844. On 13 December 1844 Bernays was sentenced to two months' imprisonment and a fine.—4

[3] Engels left Germany in November 1842 and lived for nearly two years in England, working in the office of a Manchester cotton-mill of which his father was co-proprietor.—4

[4] In July 1844 Marx began to contribute to the newspaper *Vorwärts!,* which prior to that—from early 1844 to the summer of the same year—reflected the moderate liberalism of its publisher, the German businessman H. Börnstein, and its editor A. Bornstedt. However, when Karl Bernays, a friend of Marx, became its editor in the summer of 1844, the newspaper assumed a democratic

character. By contributing to the newspaper, Marx began to influence its policy and in September became one of its editors. Other contributors were Engels, Heine, Herwegh, Ewerbeck and Bakunin. Under Marx's influence the newspaper came to express communist views, and attacked Prussian absolutism and moderate German liberalism. At the behest of the Prussian Government, the Guizot ministry took repressive measures against its editors and contributors in January 1845, when publication ceased.—5

[5] Engels is referring to *Kritik der Politik und National-Ökonomie*, a work which Marx planned to write. Marx began to study political economy at the end of 1843 and by spring 1844 he set himself the task of writing a criticism of bourgeois political economy from the standpoint of materialism and communism. The draft 'Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844' (see present edition, Vol. 3), written at that time, have reached us incomplete. Work on *The Holy Family* forced Marx temporarily to interrupt his study of political economy until December 1844. In February 1845, just before his expulsion from Paris, he signed a contract for his *Kritik der Politik und National-Ökonomie* with the publisher Leske (see Note 27). In Brussels Marx continued to study the works of English, French, German, Italian and other economists and added several more notebooks of excerpts to those compiled in Paris, although his original plan for the book was not carried out.—6, 27, 94, 105, 532

[6] *The Holy Family* by Marx and Engels was published not in Hamburg by Hoffmann and Campe, but in Frankfurt am Main by Z. Löwenthal, founder of the Literarische Anstalt publishing house (owned by Joseph Rütten since the autumn of 1844).—7

[7] Heinrich Heine wrote to Marx from Hamburg on 21 September 1844 (see the new *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe*—referred to in future as *MEGA*$_2$—Abt. III, Bd. 1, S. 443-44) telling him that a new collection of his poems, *Neue Gedichte*, had been published there. It contained romances, ballads and other poems including the satirical poem *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen*, which was also published separately by Hoffmann and Campe. Heine sent Marx a copy of this poem for simultaneous publication in *Vorwärts!* and announcement of his new collection of verse in this and other newspapers (he promised to bring the ballads and other poems to Paris himself).

On 19 October 1844 *Vorwärts!*, No. 84, carried Heine's preface to the separate edition of his poem. It was dated 17 October 1844 and entitled 'H. Heines neue Gedichte'. It was preceded by an editorial introduction which accorded high praise to the poet's new work and in fact expressed Marx's point of view. The poem was published in full in *Vorwärts!* in late October-November 1844.—7

[8] L. Feuerbach's *Das Wesen des Glaubens im Sinne Luther's* was published in instalments in *Vorwärts!* from the middle of August to the end of October 1844.—8

[9] This letter without an address on the back of it was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953 and in full in *Letters of the Young Engels, 1838-1845*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.—9

[10] The letter written by Marx and Bürgers to Engels on 8 October 1844 has not been found.—9

[11] The disagreements between Marx and Engels on the one hand and Arnold Ruge on the other dated back to the time of the publication of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, under the editorship of Marx and Ruge. These disagreements were due to Ruge's negative attitude towards communism and the revolutionary proletarian movement, the fundamental difference between Marx's views and those of the Young Hegelian Ruge, who was an adherent of philosophical idealism. The final break between Marx and Ruge occurred in March 1844. Ruge's condemnation of the Silesian weavers' rising in June 1844 impelled Marx to criticise his views in the article 'Critical Marginal Notes on the Article "The King of Prussia and Social Reform. By a Prussian"' (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 189-206).—10

[12] A reference to the Associations for the Benefit of the Working Classes formed in a number of Prussian towns in 1844 and 1845 on the initiative of the German liberal bourgeoisie, who were alarmed at the rising of the Silesian weavers in the summer of 1844, and hoped that the associations would help to divert the German workers from militant struggle. Despite the efforts of the bourgeoisie and the government authorities to give these associations a harmless philanthropic appearance, they gave a fresh impulse to the growing political activity of the urban masses and drew the attention of broad sections of German society to social questions. The movement to establish such associations was particularly widespread in the towns of the industrial Rhine Province.

Seeing that the associations had taken such an unexpected direction, the Prussian Government hastily cut short their activity in the spring of 1845 by refusing to approve their statutes and forbidding them to continue their work.—10

[13] *Rationalists*—representatives of a Protestant trend which tried to combine theology with philosophy and to prove that 'divine truths' can be explained by reason. Rationalism opposed pietism, an extremely mystical trend in Lutheranism.—10

[14] At the meeting held in *Cologne* on 10 November 1844 and attended by former shareholders of and contributors to the *Rheinische Zeitung*, liberals Ludolf Camphausen, Gustav Mevissen, radicals Georg Jung, Karl d'Ester, Franz Raveaux and others among them, a General Association for Relief and Education was set up with the aim of improving the workers' condition (the measures to be taken included raising funds for mutual assistance and relief to the sick, etc.). Despite the opposition of the liberals, the meeting adopted democratic rules which provided for the workers' active participation in the work of the Association. Subsequently a definitive split took place between the radical-democratic elements and the liberals. The latter headed by Camphausen withdrew from the Association, which was soon prohibited by the authorities.

In November 1844 an Educational Society was set up in Elberfeld. Its founders had from the very start to fight against the local clergy, who attempted to bring the Society under their influence and give its activity a religious colouring. Engels and his friends wished to use the Society's meetings and its committee to spread communist views (see F. Engels, 'Speeches in Elberfeld', present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 243-64). As Engels had expected, the statute of the Society was not approved by the authorities, and the Society itself ceased to exist in the spring of 1845. (On the meetings in Cologne and Elberfeld, see F. Engels, 'Rapid Progress of Communism in Germany', present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 229-42).—10

[15] Originally Engels planned to write a work on the social history of England and to devote one of its chapters to the condition of the working class in England (see present edition, Vol. 4, p. 302). But realising the special role played by the proletariat in bourgeois society, he decided to deal with this problem in a separate book, which he wrote on his return to Germany, between September 1844 and March 1845. Excerpts in Engels' notebooks made in July and August 1845, and the letters of the publisher Leske to Marx of 14 May and 7 June 1845 (see *MEGA*$_2$, Abt. III, Bd. 1, S. 465, 469) show that in the spring and summer of 1845 Engels continued to work on the social history of England. Though he did not abandon his plan up to the end of 1847, as is seen from an item in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, No. 91 of 14 November 1847, he failed to put it into effect.—11

[16] Engels did not write a pamphlet on Friedrich List's book *Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie* (Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1841) though later he continued to discuss this idea with Marx (see this volume, pp. 28 and 79), who in his turn intended to publish a critical analysis of List's views (see K. Marx, 'Draft of an Article on Friedrich List's Book *Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie*', present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 265-93). Engels criticised the German advocates of protectionism, and List above all, in one of his 'Speeches in Elberfeld' (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 256-64).—11

[17] *'The Free'*—a Berlin group of Young Hegelians formed early in 1842. Among its prominent members were Edgar Bauer, Eduard Meyen, Ludwig Buhl and Max Stirner (pseudonym of Kaspar Schmidt). Their criticism of the prevailing conditions was abstract, devoid of real revolutionary content and ultra-radical in form. The fact that 'The Free' lacked any positive programme and ignored the realities of political struggle soon led to differences between them and the representatives of the revolutionary-democratic wing of the German opposition movement. A sharp conflict arose between 'The Free' and Marx in the autumn of 1842, when Marx had become editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* (see present edition, Vol. 1, pp. 393-95).

During the two years which had elapsed since Marx's clash with 'The Free' (1843-44), Marx's and Engels' disagreement with the Young Hegelians on questions of theory and politics had deepened still more. This was accounted for not only by Marx's and Engels' transition to materialism and communism, but also by the evolution in the ideas of the Bauer brothers and their fellow-thinkers. In the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* Bauer and his group renounced the 'radicalism of 1842' and, besides professing subjective idealist views and counterposing chosen personalities, the bearers of 'pure Criticism', to the allegedly sluggish and inert masses, they began spreading the ideas of moderate liberal philanthropy.

It was to the exposure of the Young Hegelians' views in the form which they had acquired in 1844 and to the defence of their own new materialistic and communistic outlook that Marx and Engels decided to devote their first joint work *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Co.* (present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 3-211).—13, 19

[18] Here Marx writes about the *Vorwärts! Pariser Deutsche Monatsschrift* which Heinrich Börnstein planned to publish instead of the newspaper *Vorwärts!* The prospectus of the monthly published in German and French on 1 January 1845 (its publication date helps in determining the approximate date of this letter) stated that one of the reasons for the reformation of *Vorwärts!* was that no caution-money was needed for publishing a journal as distinct from a

newspaper. The journal of eight printed sheets was to appear on the 16th of each month. The expulsion of Marx and other contributors to *Vorwärts!* from France (see notes 4 and 19) prevented the publication of the first issue, the proof sheets of which had already been printed.

As is seen from this letter and that of Engels to Marx written approximately 20 January 1845 (see this volume, p. 16), Marx intended to write a critical review of Stirner's *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum* at the end of December 1844 and originally wanted to publish it in the monthly *Vorwärts!* There is no information on whether this plan materialised. It is only known that two years later Marx and Engels scathingly criticised Stirner's book in their *German Ideology* (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 117-443).—14, 18

19 Marx, Ruge and Bernays were expelled from France for contributing to the newspaper *Vorwärts!* The French authorities issued the expulsion decree on 11 January 1845, under pressure from the Prussian Government. Hearing about this, Marx hastened to warn Ruge despite the ideological conflict between them (the postmark on the envelope shows that the letter was written on 15 January). The expulsion decree was handed to Marx together with the order to leave Paris within a week. Marx prepared to leave for Brussels on 3 February (see this volume, p. 21).—15

20 The letter is not dated. The postmark shows that it was sent on 20 January 1845, but its contents prove that Engels wrote it over several days.

An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955; published in English in full for the first time in *Letters of the Young Engels. 1838-1845,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.—15

21 This letter of Marx has not been found.—16

22 Engels took part in preparing the publication of the Elberfeld journal *Gesellschaftsspiegel,* in drawing up its programme and in compiling the prospectus published in the first issue in the form of the editorial address (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 671-74). The prospectus reflected Engels' intention that the journal should expose the evils of the capitalist system and defend the interests of the workers by criticising half-measures and advocating a radical transformation of the social system. But at the same time, not a few abstract philanthropic sentiments in the spirit of 'true socialism', emanating from Hess, found a place in the prospectus. Dissatisfaction with the position adopted by Hess was apparently one reason why Engels refused to become one of the editors. Under the editorship of Hess the journal very soon became a mouthpiece of the reformist and sentimental ideas of 'true socialism'.—16, 23

23 *Ein Handwerker* (An Artisan) was the pseudonym under which *Lebenslieder,* a cycle of poems by J. F. Martens, was published in *Vorwärts!* on 24 August, 4 September and 20 October 1844, and the article 'Über Handwerksunterricht' on 25 December.—16

24 Under the press laws existing in a number of German states, only publications exceeding 20 printed sheets were exempted from preliminary censorship. The size of the *Rheinische Jahrbücher* exempted it from censorship, but the police of the Grand Duchy of Hesse nevertheless confiscated the first volume of the journal which was published in Darmstadt in August 1845 and banned its publication altogether. The second volume was published in Belle-Vue, Switzerland, at the end of 1846.—16

[25] On Engels' intention to write a book on the social history of England (it was also to deal with the history of English social thought) see Note 15.—17

[26] Engels' reference is to the Berlin confectioner who owned a shop in the Gendarmenmarkt where 'The Free' used to have their meetings.—19

[27] The letter has no date. The approximate date of its writing is established on the basis of Marx's mentioning in it his imminent departure from Paris due to the expulsion decree issued against him by the French authorities (see Note 19), and also his meeting with the publisher Leske during which he probably concluded the contract for publishing his *Kritik der Politik und National-Ökonomie* (for the text of the contract see present edition, Vol. 4, p. 675) which was signed on 1 February 1845.

This letter was first published in English in full in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliff, New Jersey, 1979.—21

[28] The first English translation of this letter was published in *Letters of the Young Engels. 1838-1845*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.—21, 26, 32, 34

[29] On Marx's expulsion, see Note 19.

Soon after his arrival in Brussels from Paris Marx was followed by his wife Jenny Marx and daughter Jenny (born on 1 May 1844). It was with great difficulty that Jenny Marx had managed to get the money for the journey.—21

[30] Engels' apprehensions proved to be well founded. When Marx arrived in Brussels the Belgian authorities demanded that Marx should undertake not to publish anything concerning current politics in Belgium. Marx was compelled to undertake such an obligation on 22 March 1845 (see present edition, Vol. 4, p. 677 and this volume, p. 31). The Prussian Government, too, did not leave Marx in peace and pressed for his expulsion from Belgium. To deprive the Prussian authorities of the pretext for interfering in his life, Marx officially renounced his Prussian citizenship in December 1845.—22

[31] Feuerbach's letter to Engels and that of Marx and Engels to Feuerbach have not been found.—22

[32] The meetings in Elberfeld on 8, 15 and 22 February 1845 were described by Engels in the third article of the series 'Rapid Progress of Communism in Germany' published in *The New Moral World* in May 1845 (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 237-42). Engels' speeches at the first two meetings were published in the *Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform* (ibid., pp. 243-64). Further meetings were banned by the police.—22, 24, 28

[33] The socialist circle in Westphalia and the Rhine Province, with which Engels maintained close contacts and whose members were Otto Lüning and Julius Meyer, was mentioned in the report of the Prussian police superintendent Duncker to the Minister of the Interior Bodelschwingh of 18 October 1845. This report contains the following remark concerning Engels: 'Friedrich Engels of Barmen is a quite reliable man, but he has a son who is a rabid communist and wanders about as a man of letters; it is possible that his name is Frederick.'—23

[34] This refers to the General Association for Relief and Education founded in Cologne in November 1844 (see Note 14).—24

[35] *Cabinets noirs* (secret offices or black offices) were established under the postal departments in France, Prussia, Austria and a number of other countries to deal with the inspection of correspondence. They had been in existence since the time of the absolute monarchies in Europe.—25

[36] *The Holy Family* by Marx and Engels was published about 24 February 1845.—25

[37] The projected publication in Germany of the. 'Library of the Best Foreign Socialist Writers' was also discussed by Marx and Engels in their subsequent letters (see this volume, pp. 27-28). Engels mentioned it in the third article of his series 'Rapid Progress of Communism in Germany' published in May 1845 in *The New Moral World.* In early March 1845 Marx drew up a list of authors to be included in the 'Library' (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 241 and 667). This list shows that 'Library' was intended to be an extensive publication in German of works by French and English utopian socialists. The project was not realised because of publishing difficulties. The only work completed was 'A Fragment of Fourier's on Trade' compiled by Engels and published with his introduction and conclusion in the *Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1846* (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 613-44).—25

[38] Here Engels has in mind Marx's *Kritik der Politik und National-Ökonomie* and probably his own work on the social history of England (see notes 5 and 15).—25

[39] Marx's letter mentioned here has not been found. Judging by this letter of Engels, Marx expressed there his thoughts about the 'Library of the Best Foreign Socialist Writers'.—26

[40] Engels means the translation of Charles Fourier's unfinished work *Section ébauchée des trois unités externes* published posthumously in the journal *La Phalange* for 1845. The same journal published Fourier's manuscripts on cosmogony. Excerpts from his first work in Engels' translation made up the core of the latter's 'A Fragment of Fourier's on Trade' (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 613-44).—26

[41] This letter adds new aspects to the intention of Marx and Engels to criticise in the press List's book *Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie* (see Note 16). Judging by the publisher Leske's letter to Marx of 14 May 1845, at the latter's request conveyed to him by Püttmann, Leske had sent Marx the book he needed for this purpose: K. H. Rau, *Zur Kritik über F. List's nationales System der politischen Oekonomie,* Heidelberg, 1843 (see *MEGA*$_2$, Abt. III, Bd. 1, S. 465). However, the intention of Marx and Engels to criticise List in Püttmann's *Rheinische Jahrbücher* did not materialise.—28

[42] Engels left Barmen for Brussels early in April 1845.—30

[43] This letter was first published in English in full in *The Letters of Karl Marx,* selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliff, New Jersey, 1979.—30, 207, 212, 216, 285, 297, 322, 401

[44] Julius Campe's letter to Engels mentioned here has not been found.—34

[45] The available sources do not allow us to establish what publication is meant here. It can only be supposed that it was connected with the intention of Marx and Engels to write a critical work against List (see notes 16 and 41). Many

years later Engels recalled in his letter to Hermann Schlüter of 29 January 1891 that in the forties or some years later they simulated a dispute in which Marx defended free trade and Engels protective tariffs. This recollection may have been a late reflection of that intention.—34

46 Queen Victoria already had five children by that time.—35

47 During his trip to England with Marx in July-August 1845 Engels again met in Manchester Mary Burns, an Irish working woman with whom he had become acquainted as far back as 1843. They now began their life together and Mary also left for Brussels.—37

48 This letter has no date. The approximate time of its writing was established on the basis of a letter written to Marx on 8 May 1846 by P. V. Annenkov (see *MEGA*$_2$, Abt. III, Bd. 2, S. 187) who had brought this particular letter from Brussels to Paris. Annenkov wrote that he had already been in Paris over a month.

This letter was first published in English in full in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliff, New Jersey, 1979.—37

49 The bulk of the letter was compiled by Marx, copied by Gigot and signed by Marx. Without the P.S. by Marx and the additions by Gigot and Engels, it was first published in English in: Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—38

50 Having left Paris (see Note 19) Marx arrived in Brussels at the beginning of February. During his three-year stay there he lived mostly in the Hotel Bois Sauvage, where he and his family moved at the beginning of May 1846.—38

51 A reference to the Communist Correspondence Committee formed by Marx and Engels at the beginning of 1846 in Brussels. Its aim was to prepare the ground for the creation of an international proletarian party. The Committee had no strictly defined composition. Besides the Belgian communist Philippe Gigot, Joseph Weydemeyer, Wilhelm Wolff, Edgar von Westphalen and others were equal members at various times. As a rule, the Committee discussed problems of communist propaganda, corresponded with the leaders of existing proletarian organisations (the League of the Just, Chartist organisations), tried to draw Proudhon, Cabet and other socialists into its work, and issued lithographed circulars. On the initiative of Marx and Engels, correspondence committees and groups connected with the Brussels Committee were set up in Silesia, Westphalia and the Rhine Province, Paris and London. These committees played an important role in the development of international proletarian contacts and the organisation of the Communist League in 1847.—39, 53.

52 Marx has in mind members of the League of the Just in Paris and the German Workers' Educational Society in London.

The *League of the Just*—the first political organisation of German workers and artisans—was formed between 1836 and 1838 as a result of a split in the Outlaws' League, which consisted of artisans led by petty-bourgeois democrats. The League of the Just, whose supreme body—the People's Chamber—was in Paris, and from the autumn of 1846 in London, was connected with French secret conspiratorial societies and had groups in Germany, Switzerland and England. Besides Germans it included workers of other nationalities. The views

of the League's members showed the influence of various utopian socialist ideas, primarily those of Wilhelm Weitling.

The *German Workers' Educational Society* in London was founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other members of the League of the Just, its aim being political education of workers and dissemination of socialist ideas among them. After the Communist League had been founded the leading role in the Society belonged to the League's local communities. In 1847 and 1849-50 Marx and Engels took an active part in the Society's work.—39, 551

53 In his reply to Marx of 17 May 1846 Proudhon refused to collaborate and declared that he was opposed to revolutionary methods of struggle and to communism (see *MEGA*$_2$, Abt. III, Bd. 2, S. 205-07).—39

54 A reference to the fee due to Bernays for an article which seems to have been an extract from his manuscript on crimes and criminal law, then being prepared for printing by the publisher Leske but was demanded back by the author because of careless typesetting. Marx wanted to include this article in the quarterly journal the planned publication of which was discussed with Westphalian publishers in 1845 and 1846 (see Note 57). Thanks to Marx's mediation, Bernays, who was in need of money, received two advances on his article. But as the planned publication of the quarterly did not take place, Bernays' work, in the form he had conceived it, was not published.—40, 43

55 The visit to Liège in the first half of May 1846 mentioned here by Marx seems to have been his second visit there; there is some evidence that Marx stopped in Liège at the beginning of February 1845 on his way from Paris to Brussels.—41

56 This seems to refer to the undiscovered reply by the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee to Weydemeyer's letter of 30 April 1846.—41

57 A reference to the two volumes of a quarterly journal the publication of which was negotiated in 1845 and 1846 with a number of Westphalian socialists, the publishers Julius Meyer and Rudolph Rempel among others. Marx and Engels intended to publish in it their criticism of the German ideology which they started to write in the autumn of 1845. It was also planned to publish a number of polemical works by their fellow-thinkers, in the first place those containing criticism of German philosophical literature and the works of the 'true socialists'.

In November 1845 Hess reached an agreement with Meyer and Rempel on financing the publication of two volumes of the quarterly. Further negotiations were conducted by Weydemeyer, who visited Brussels in February 1846 and returned to Germany in April on the instruction of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee. In a letter to the Committee of 30 April 1846 from Schildesche (Westphalia) he wrote that no headway was being made and that he proposed that Meyer should form a joint-stock company in Limburg (Holland), as in Germany manuscripts of less than 20 printed sheets were subject to preliminary censorship. He also recommended that Marx should sign a contract with the Brussels publisher and bookseller C. G. Vogler for the distribution of the quarterly and other publications. The contract was not concluded because Vogler could not assume even part of the expenses.

Weydemeyer continued his efforts, but succeeded only in getting from Meyer a guarantee for the publication of one volume. But as early as July 1846 Meyer and Rempel refused their promised assistance on the pretext of financial difficulties, the actual reason being differences in principle between Marx and

Engels on the one hand and the champions of 'true socialism' on the other, whose views both publishers shared.

Marx and Engels did not abandon their hopes of publishing the works ready for the quarterly, if only by instalments, but their attempts failed. The extant manuscript of *The German Ideology* was first published in full in the Soviet Union in 1932.—41, 533

58 The reference is to Joseph Weydemeyer's letters to Engels and Gigot of 13 May, and to Marx of 14 May 1846 with the current information on the negotiations with the publishers Meyer and Rempel on the publication of a quarterly. Weydemeyer wrote to Marx that because of the financial difficulties the Westphalian publishers would be able to pay in the near future only a limited sum of his fee on account.

Engels' reply mentioned here to Weydemeyer's first letter has not been found.—42

59 On 1 February 1845 Marx signed a contract with the publisher Leske (see notes 5 and 27) for the publication of his *Kritik der Politik und National-Ökonomie.* But as early as March 1846 Leske suggested that Marx find another publisher and, in case he did find one, return him the advance received. Therefore Marx hoped to repay Leske either when he signed a contract with a new publisher or out of the sum received for financing the planned publication. But Marx was unable either to sign a new contract or to fulfil his intention to write a work on economics, and in February 1847 the contract with Leske was cancelled.—43

60 Marx has in mind a group of bourgeois-democratic intellectuals, Georg Jung among others, who contributed to the *Rheinische Zeitung* and were already enthusiastic about socialist ideas in 1842. Georg Jung, however, who was on friendly terms with Marx and supported his criticism of the Young Hegelians, left the socialist movement in 1846.—43

61 Marx's letter to Herwegh has not been found.—43

62 Marx writes here about the advance which Hess had probably already received from Meyer and Rempel for his collaboration in preparing the quarterly planned by Marx and Engels. Hess wrote articles on A. Ruge ('Dottore Graziano, der Bajazzo der deutschen Philosophie') and G. Kuhlmann ('Der Dr. Georg Kuhlmann aus Holstein oder die Prophetie des wahren Sozialismus') for the first two volumes of the quarterly. Later Hess tried in vain to have the first article published separately, and finally, on 5 and 8 August 1847, it was printed in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* under the title 'Dottore Grazianos Werke. Zwei Jahre in Paris. Studien und Erinnerungen von A. Ruge'. The article on G. Kuhlmann, edited by Marx and Engels, was included in *The German Ideology* and published as Chapter V of Volume II (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 531-39).—44, 48

63 In 1846 the Government of Frederick William IV began the transformation of the Prussian Bank into a joint-stock company in order to draw private capital to redeem the state debts. The management of the Bank was left in the hands of the Government (see F. Engels, 'The Prussian Bank Question', present edition, Vol. 6, p. 57). The reorganisation of the Bank was completed by 1 January 1847 on the basis of a decree of 5 October 1846.—46

64 Judging by Marx's letter to Leske of 1 August 1846 (see this volume, pp. 49-52), it may be assumed that in the first half of August Marx had a 12 or 14 days' holiday with Engels at Ostend.—46

65 This letter of Marx has not been found.—48

66 C. F. J. Leske, with whom Marx had signed a contract for the publication of his *Kritik der Politik und National-Ökonomie* on 1 February 1845 (see Note 5; the text of the contract is published in the present edition, Vol. 4, p. 675), wrote to Marx on 16 March 1846 that he doubted the possibility of publishing the book owing to the growing repression in Prussia against opposition literature. Marx's reply (presumably of 18 March 1846) to this letter and his other letters to Leske mentioned below have not been found.

On 31 March 1846 Leske sent Marx a second letter proposing to him to find another publisher who would agree to redeem the advance received by the author. In a letter of 29 July 1846 he asked Marx whether he had found such a publisher and informed him that, if he had not, he could publish the book with the imprint of another publishing house. He stressed the necessity of giving the book a strictly academic character. In reply Marx wrote the letter which is published here according to the extant draft, which has many author's corrections and stylistic improvements. On 19 September 1846 Leske informed Marx that he could not publish the book because of the severe censorship.

This letter was first published in English in full in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliff, New Jersey, 1979.—48

67 See Notes 57 and 62.—49

68 On the formation of a joint-stock company for the publication and distribution of socialist and communist literature, see Note 57.

In the summer of 1846 the project found support among the members of the socialist movement in Cologne (Bürgers, d'Ester, Hess). Some German bourgeois sympathising with socialism were also expected to finance the publication. This and other similar projects were repeatedly discussed by Marx and Engels in their correspondence. The present letter also deals with this below.—50

69 During his trip to England with Engels in July-August 1845, Marx studied works by the English economists and utopian socialists in the library of the Athenaeum in Manchester.—51

70 Engels arrived in Paris on 15 August 1846 entrusted by the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee with communist propaganda among the workers, primarily among the members of the Paris communities of the League of the Just (see Note 52), and with founding a correspondence committee. After failing to draw Weitling into the activities of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee, Marx and Engels broke with him in the spring of 1846, and particular importance was attached to the struggle against the sectarian views of his followers, who advocated crude egalitarian communism, and against 'true socialism', a petty-bourgeois socialist trend which spread between 1844 and 1846 among German intellectuals and artisans, including emigrants in France. 'True socialism' was a mixture of the idealistic aspects of Feuerbachianism with French utopian socialism in an emasculated form. As a result, socialist teaching was turned into abstract sentimental moralising divorced from real needs.—52

71 A reference to the negotiations which Weydemeyer helped to conduct with Meyer and Rempel on the publication of a quarterly. Marx and Engels wanted to publish in it their manuscripts which later appeared under the title of *The*

*German Ideology* (see Note 57). During the negotiations the Westphalian publishers continually twisted and turned, and finally refused to finance the publication.

Joseph Weydemeyer was an artillery lieutenant dismissed from the Prussian army for political reasons.—53

72 Engels refers here to the critical work against L. Feuerbach which Marx was still writing in the second half of 1846 and which was to be included in the first volume of the planned two-volume edition of polemical works directed also against Bauer, Stirner, Ruge and Grün (see Note 57). Marx did not finish this work and later it became Chapter I of *The German Ideology* written jointly by him and Engels.—54

73 The letter of Engels and Ewerbeck to Bernays has not been found.—55

74 Apart from the letters to Marx containing information on his activities in Paris, in the autumn of 1846 Engels sent several letters to other members of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee (Ph. Gigot, W. Wolff, et al.) c/o Marx, marked 'Comité' and numbered. They differed from official reports to an organisation and rather recalled private correspondence between close friends.—56

75 On the struggle against the Weitlingians in the League of the Just, particularly in its Paris communities, see Note 70.—56

76 A reference to a machine invented by Weitling for making ladies' straw hats.—57

77 The congress of liberal press representatives was held in Paris in 1846. The committee it elected drew up a draft electoral reform which became the main demand of the liberal opposition to the July monarchy. The sponsors of the congress did their utmost to prevent more radical circles, including the workers who supported *L'Atelier* (a journal of Christian socialists), from attending it and taking part in drafting a constitution. At the same time they simulated its 'unanimous' approval by all opposition press organs.—58

78 This letter has reached us in the form of an extract quoted in Bernays' reply to Marx of August 1846. Bernays touches on criticism of various alien trends, including 'true socialism', as an ideological prerequisite for the creation of a revolutionary party (see $MEGA_2$, Abt. III, Bd. 2, S. 294).—60

79 The letter of Marx and other members of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee to Engels mentioned here has not been found.—60

80 A reference to the Paris communities of the League of the Just (see Note 52).—61

81 *Barrière meetings* were Sunday assemblies of members of the League of the Just held at the Paris city gates (barrières). As a police agent reported on 1 February 1845, 30 to 200 German emigrants gathered in premises rented for this purpose from a wine-merchant in avenue de Vincennes near the city gate.—61, 83

82 By 'tailors' communism' Engels means the utopian communism of W. Weitling and his followers (see Note 70).

Karl Grün, who visited Paris in 1846-47, preached 'true socialism' (see Note 70) and Proudhon's petty-bourgeois reformist ideas among the German workers.—61

83 Adolph Junge, a cabinet-maker from Düsseldorf, was a notable figure in the Paris communities of the League of the Just in the early 1840s. At the end of June 1846, after a short visit to Cologne, he returned to Paris via Brussels where he met Marx and Engels. In Paris he vigorously opposed Grün and other advocates of 'true socialism' and became an associate of Engels when the latter was in Paris. At the end of March 1847, the French police expelled Junge from the country.—62

84 Grün's German translation of Proudhon's book was published in Darmstadt in February (Volume I) and in May (Volume II) 1847 under the title *Philosophie der Staatsökonomie oder Notwendigkeit des Elends*.—62

85 By *labour-bazars* or *labour markets* Engels means equitable-labour exchange bazars which were organised by the Owenites and Ricardian socialists (John Gray, William Thompson, John Bray) in various towns of England in the 1830s for fair exchange without a capitalist intermediary. The products were exchanged for labour notes, or labour money, certificates showing the cost of the products delivered, calculated on the basis of the amount of labour necessary for their production. The organisers considered these bazars as a means for publicising the advantages of a non-capitalist form of exchange and a peaceful way—together with cooperatives—of transition to socialism. The subsequent and invariable bankruptcy of such enterprises proved their utopian character.—63

86 *Straubingers*—travelling journeymen in Germany. Marx and Engels used this term for German artisans, including some participants in the working-class movement of that time, who were still largely swayed by guild prejudices and cherished the petty-bourgeois illusion that it was possible to return from capitalist large-scale industry to petty handicraft production.—63, 80, 138, 154, 161, 249, 346, 388, 394, 467, 471, 491, 498, 520

87 Engels refers to Proudhon's letter to Marx of 17 May 1846, in which he turned down a proposal to work in the correspondence committees (see Note 53).—63

88 Engels had been misled by Karl Bernays and Heinrich Börnstein as he later pointed out in his letter to Marx of 15 January 1847 (see this volume, p. 109). The item in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* dealt with the tsarist spy Y. N. Tolstoy and not with the Russian liberal landowner G. M. Tolstoy whose acquaintance Marx and Engels had made in Paris.—64

89 During the campaign for the elections to the local councils in Cologne which started at the end of June 1846, it was obvious at the very first meetings that the Cologne communists had a considerable influence on the petty-bourgeois electors (the Prussian workers were virtually deprived of suffrage). In the course of the election campaign, disorders took place in Cologne on 3 and 4 August, and were suppressed by the army. The people indignantly demanded that the troops should be withdrawn to their barracks and a civic militia organised. Karl d'Ester, a Cologne communist, described these disturbances in an unsigned pamphlet *Bericht über die Ereignisse zu Köln vom 3. und 4. August und den folgenden Tagen*, published in Mannheim in 1846.—65

90 By *materialists* Engels meant associates of Théodore Dézamy and other revolutionary representatives of French utopian communism who drew their socialist conclusions from the teaching of the eighteenth-century French materialist philosophers. In the 1840s there existed in France a society of

materialist communists which consisted of workers; in July 1847 eleven of its members were brought to trial by the French authorities.—66

91 By *spiritualists* Engels must have meant the editors of the *Fraternité* who were influenced by the religious-socialist ideas of Pierre Leroux, and by the 'Christian socialism' of Philippe Buchez and Félicité Lamennais.—66

92 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—67

93 When the Westphalian publishers Meyer and Rempel finally refused to help in the publication of the polemical works of Marx and Engels (*The German Ideology*), of Hess and other authors (see Note 57), Marx demanded, through Weydemeyer, that the manuscripts ready for publication should be dispatched from Westphalia to Roland Daniels in Cologne. This decision was taken because there was a project to start a joint-stock company for the publication of socialist literature, which was supported by a group of Cologne communists (see Note 68). Here Engels asks Marx how the project was faring.—68

94 In July 1846 *Das Westphälische Dampfboot* published 'Circular Against Kriege' written by Marx and Engels. However, the editor of the journal, Otto Lüning, a representative of 'true socialism' criticised in the circular, subjected the text to tendentious editing and in a number of places glossed over the sharp principled criticism of this trend. Yet he had to admit in the conclusion that in publishing the circular the journal was criticising itself.—68

95 Engels' letter to Püttmann has not been found.

In the summer of 1846 Hermann Püttmann, a radical journalist and 'true socialist', put out a prospectus of the journal *Prometheus,* whose publication was planned. Among its probable contributors he included 'people in Brussels', i.e. members of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee. The only issue—a double one—of *Prometheus* appeared at the end of 1846. Neither Marx nor Engels contributed to it.—69

96 A reference to the joint address of the German Readers' Society and German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 52) on the Schleswig-Holstein problem. When the Educational Society passed it on 13 September 1846, it was printed as a leaflet; then it was published in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung,* No. 77, 18 September 1846 and, translated into English, in *The Northern Star,* No. 463, 27 September 1846.

As early as 17 September the leaflets were delivered to Paris and distributed by the members of the League of the Just. It was then that Engels acquainted himself with the address.

The address to the working people of Schleswig and Holstein emphasised the interests common to the workers of all countries. But the attempt to contrast proletarian internationalism with bourgeois nationalism did not escape the influence of 'true socialism', which opposed the struggle for bourgeois-democratic freedoms and the bourgeois-democratic national movements.—69

97 The *Customs Union* (Zollverein) of German states (initially including 18 states), establishing a common customs frontier, was founded in 1834 and headed by Prussia. By the 1840s the Union embraced all the German states except Austria, the Hanseatic towns (Bremen, Lübeck, Hamburg) and some small states. Formed owing to the necessity for an all-German market, the Customs Union subsequently promoted Germany's political unification.—69

98 An allusion to the *Berliner Zeitungs-Halle* published by Gustav Julius from 1846 and used by him to attack the liberal bourgeoisie using typically 'true socialist' arguments. By these tactics the Prussian ruling circles wanted to cause clashes between the different opposition groups.

During the 1848-49 revolution, however, the *Berliner Zeitungs-Halle* expressed the views of the left democratic forces.—69

99 The government of Christian VIII tried in all possible ways to strengthen its rule over the German population in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein which had been ceded to Denmark by decision of the Vienna Congress of 1815. On the other hand, up to 1848 the national movement in Schleswig-Holstein did not go beyond the bounds of moderate liberal opposition and pursued the separatist aim of setting up another small German state. Influenced by the revolutionary events of 1848, however, it assumed a liberation character. The struggle for the secession of Schleswig and Holstein from Denmark became a part of the progressive struggle in Germany for the national unification of the country and was supported by Marx and Engels.—70

100 *Dithmarschen*—a district in the south-west of present-day Schleswig-Holstein. It was remarkable for its peculiar historical development; in particular, up to the second half of the nineteenth century there were still survivals of patriarchal customs and the communal system preserved among the peasants even after the conquest by Danish and Holstein feudal lords in the sixteenth century.—70

101 A reference to the Cologne citizens' protest against the official report of the War Minister von Boyen, the Minister of the Interior von Bodelschwingh and the Chief Counsellor of Justice Ruppenthal on the Cologne disturbances of 3 and 4 August 1846 (see Note 89).—70

102 A reference to the General Synod convened in Berlin in the summer of 1846 on the initiative of Frederick William IV, at which an unsuccessful attempt was made to reduce the differences between the Lutheran and Reformist (Calvinist) trends of Protestantism, the contradictions between which grew more acute despite their forced union in 1817.—70

103 *Droit d'aubaine* (the right of escheat)—a feudal custom widespread in France and other countries during the Middle Ages, according to which the property of aliens dying without heirs reverted to the crown.—71

104 From 1841 Friedrich Walthr published the radical *Trier'sche Zeitung,* which during the period dealt with was a mouthpiece of the 'true socialists', but he had no influence on the paper's political line.—72

105 A reference to the numerous anonymous pamphlets (about thirty, as Engels pointed out in his 'Government and Opposition in France', see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 61-63) published in France against Rothschild (one of the authors was the French worker Dairnvaell). Directed against one of the biggest bankers of France, they testified to the growing opposition to the July monarchy regime which relied on financial tycoons.—73

106 Only an extract of this letter has survived. In it Engels discusses the project of starting a company for the publication of socialist and communist literature (see notes 57 and 68).

The date of this letter was established by the fact that this extract and Engels' letter to Marx of 18 September 1846 deal with the same project.—73

[107] A reference to *assemblies of the estates* introduced in Prussia in 1823. They embraced the heads of princely families, representatives of the knightly estate, i.e. the nobility, of towns and rural communities. The election system based on the principle of landownership provided for a majority of the nobility in the assemblies. The competency of the assemblies was restricted to questions of local economy and administration. They also had the right to express their desires on government bills submitted for discussion.—75

[108] This letter is not dated. The time of its writing was established by the fact that at the end of the letter Engels mentions a meeting of the Paris communities of the League of the Just which was to take place 'this evening'. Judging by his letter to the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee of 23 October 1846 that meeting was held on Sunday, 18 October (see this volume, p. 82).—75

[109] A reference to the following passage in the preface mentioned: 'The evil is not in the head or the heart, but in the stomach of mankind. But of what help is all the clarity and healthiness of the head and the heart, when the stomach is ill, the basis of human existence spoilt' (L. Feuerbach, *Sämtliche Werke*, Bd. 1, Leipzig, 1846, S. XV).—79

[110] Marx's letter to Engels mentioned here has not been found.—79

[111] Engels probably means a special pamphlet (see p. 28 and notes 16 and 41) in which he intended to develop the criticism of the German protectionists, particularly List, which he had made in his second 'Elberfeld speech' (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 256-64). The manuscript of the pamphlet has not been found.—79

[112] A reference to the polemical material against the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee published in the *Volks-Tribun* by its editor Hermann Kriege in reply to the 'Circular Against Kriege' by Marx and Engels. On the demand of the Committee the 'Circular' was published in the newspaper under the title 'Eine Bannbulle' but was accompanied by insinuations against its authors (*Der Volks-Tribun*, Nos. 23 and 24, 6 and 13 June 1846).—79

[113] In October 1846 Marx wrote a second circular against Kriege, but it has not been found so far.—80

[114] Engels' intention to use the projected journal *Die Pariser Horen* for communist propaganda did not materialise. The journal appeared from January to June 1847 and carried works by Herwegh, Heine, Freiligrath, Mäurer and other authors; in general, it was influenced by 'true socialism' and that this would be its line had already been proved by the editorial introduction to the first issue.—81

[115] This letter was published in English in part for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—81

[116] At the beginning of this letter Engels gives the name *Straubingers* (see Note 86) to the members of the Paris communities of the League of the Just (see Note 52) who supported the 'true socialist' Karl Grün. Further on he uses it to denote advocates of 'true socialism' among the German artisans, including those living in the USA.—81

117 A reference to an uprising in Geneva which began in October 1846; as a result the radical bourgeoisie came to power and rallied the advanced Swiss cantons in their struggle against the Sonderbund, the separatist union of Catholic cantons.—83

118 A reference to the civil war in Portugal which was caused by the actions taken by the dictatorial ruling Coburg dynasty against the popular uprising. It broke out in the spring of 1846 and was crushed in the summer of 1847 with the help of British and Spanish interventionists.—85

119 This letter is not dated. The time of its writing is ascertained by Engels' reference to a letter he wrote almost at the same time to the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee on 23 October 1846 and by the Brussels postmark of 24 October.

The letter was published in English in part for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—86

120 Engels refers to the second (October) circular against Kriege (see Note 113).—86

121 Weitling was in Brussels with intervals from February to December 1846, when he left for France and later to the USA.—87

122 *Fraternal Democrats*—an international democratic society founded in London on 22 September 1845. It embraced representatives of Left Chartists, German workers and craftsmen—members of the League of the Just—and revolutionary emigrants of other nationalities. During their stay in England in the summer of 1845, Marx and Engels helped in preparing for the meeting at which the society was formed, but did not attend it as they had by then left London. Later they kept in constant touch with the Fraternal Democrats trying to influence the proletarian core of the society, which joined the Communist League in 1847, and through it the Chartist movement. The society ceased its activities in 1859.

Engels' letter to Harney mentioned here has not been found.—88, 289

123 This is a postscript by Engels to the letter Bernays wrote to Marx on 2 November 1846 (see text of the letter in *MEGA*$_2$, Abt. III, Bd. 2, S. 62-63).—88

124 A reference to Bernays' article on crimes and criminal law (see Note 54). When speaking about printed stuff, Engels seems to have in mind proofs of Bernays' work on the above subject, which the latter demanded back from the publisher Leske.—88

125 Engels' letter to the Swiss publisher J. M. Schläpfer who printed works by opposition writers (F. Freiligrath, K. Heinzen and others), written prior to 2 November 1846, has not been found.—88

126 This letter is not dated. The approximate time of its writing is established from reference to the London Correspondence Committee's letter to the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee of 11 November 1846, which was probably sent to Engels in Paris in mid-November. Other evidence for establishing the date of the letter is that it mentions Proudhon's *Philosophie de la misère*, which Marx received in Brussels not earlier than 15 December 1846 (see this volume, p. 96). Judging by this letter, Engels did not yet know that Marx had obtained Proudhon's book.—89

127 Disturbances among workers took place in the Faubourg St. Antoine in Paris from 30 September to 2 October 1846. They were caused by the intended raising of the price of bread. The workers stormed bakers' shops and raised barricades, there were clashes with troops. Paris members of the League of the Just were suspected by police of participating in the disturbances.

Engels' letter to Gigot mentioned above has not been found.

*Straubingers*—see notes 86 and 116.—89

128 Ewerbeck had left for Lyons at that time.—90

129 A reference to the complications which arose in the relations of Marx and Engels with the leaders of the League of the Just in London (Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll, Heinrich Bauer). The latter maintained contacts with the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee and together with Harney formed a correspondence committee in London (below Engels writes about Harney's correspondence with Brussels and his letter of 11 November 1846 in particular). However, Schapper, Moll and Bauer, influenced by certain immature ideas of utopian 'working-class communism', including those of Weitling, were still very cautious at that time in regard to revolutionary theoreticians—'scholars'. They did not approve of Marx's and Engels' attacks on Kriege and other 'true socialists', sought ways of reconciling various trends and, with this aim in view, planned to convene a congress of participants in the communist movement early in May 1847. In this connection they issued an address to the League of the Just members in November 1846. Marx and Engels considered that to convene such a congress without thorough preparation and dissociation from the trends hostile to the proletariat would be premature. The effect of scientific communist ideas, however, proved stronger than sectarian and backward tendencies. At the beginning of 1847 the London leaders of the League of the Just themselves took a step to remove their differences and draw closer to Marx and Engels.—91

130 The address of the German Workers' Educational Society in London to Johannes Ronge, leader of the bourgeois trend of German Catholics, was drawn up by Weitling in March 1845 and testified to the immature views of the leaders of the Society and the League of the Just. The document developed the idea that the Christian religion, 'purified' and reformed, could serve communism.

On the address of the Educational Society in London about Schleswig-Holstein, see Note 96.—91

131 At that time the Verlagsbuchhandlung zu Belle-Vue was owned by Johann Marmor and August Schmid. It is impossible to establish which of the two Engels means. In December 1846 the firm moved to Constance.—93

132 As is seen from the publisher Löwenthal's letter to Engels of 11 March 1847 (included in *MEGA*$_2$, Abt. III, Bd. 2, S. 330), Engels intended to have his 'Die Gegenwart der blonden Race' printed by J. Rütten of Literarische Anstalt publishers. Judging by Engels' letter to Marx of 10 December 1851, Engels returned to this subject after the 1848-49 revolution, which had interrupted his studies (see this volume, p. 509). However, there is no information as to whether he realised his intention.—93, 509

133 The *Order of the Dannebrog* (Order of the Danish State Banner)—an Order of Danish knights founded in 1671.—94

134 Engels' report to the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee has not been found.—94

135 Marx wrote this letter in reply to the request of his Russian acquaintance Pavel Vasilyevich Annenkov for his opinion on Proudhon's *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère.* On 1 November 1846 Annenkov wrote to Marx, concerning Proudhon's book: 'I admit that the actual plan of the work seems to be a *jeu d'esprit,* designed to give a glimpse of German philosophy, rather than something grown naturally out of the subject and requirements of its logical development.'

Marx's profound and precise criticism of Proudhon's views, and his exposition of dialectical and materialist views to counterbalance them, produced a strong impression even on Annenkov, who was far from materialism and communism. He wrote to Marx on 6 January 1847: 'Your opinion of Proudhon's book produced a truly invigorating effect on me by its preciseness, its clarity, and above all its tendency to keep within the bounds of reality' (*MEGA*$_2$, Abt. III, Bd. 2, S. 321).

When in 1880 Annenkov published his reminiscences 'Remarkable Decade 1838-1848' in the *Vestnik Yevropy,* he included in them long extracts from Marx's letter. In 1883, the year when Marx died, these extracts, translated into German, were published in *Die Neue Zeit* and *New-Yorker Volkszeitung.*

The original has not been found. The first English translation of this letter was published in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895,* Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934.—95

136 Here Marx uses the word 'cacadauphin' by which during the French Revolution opponents of the absolutist regime derisively described the mustard-coloured cloth, recalling the colour of the Dauphin's napkins, made fashionable by Queen Marie Antoinette.—103

137 *Parliaments*—juridical institutions which arose in France in the Middle Ages. They enjoyed the right to remonstrate government decrees. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries their members were officials of high birth called *noblesse de robe* (the nobility of the mantle). The parliaments, which finally became the bulwark of feudal opposition to absolutism and impeded the implementation of even moderate reforms, were abolished in 1790, during the French Revolution.—104

138 The letter was dated 1845 by mistake. The correct date was established on the basis of the contents and the postmark: 'Paris 60, 15. Janv. 47'.

An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Literature and Art,* International Publishers, N. Y., p. 81, 1947.—107

139 The reference here and below is to Marx's possible removal to Paris and the documents he needed for that move. The text below shows that Marx had the permission of the Belgian authorities to stay in Belgium. It was issued to him after his expulsion from France in February 1845 and signed on 22 March 1845 on condition that Marx would not publish anything concerning current politics. Besides, on 1 December 1845 Marx received a certificate of renunciation of his Prussian citizenship and perhaps permission to emigrate to America for which he had applied in order to deprive the Prussian authorities of any pretext for interfering in his future.

However, Marx was not able to go to Paris until after the February 1848 revolution.—107

140 An allusion to relations with Hess which deteriorated in February and March 1846 when Marx and Engels started a decisive struggle against 'true socialism' and Weitling's utopian egalitarian communism. In an effort to avoid an open break, Marx and Engels persuaded Hess to leave Brussels in March 1846.—108

141 The reference is to *The Poverty of Philosophy* by Marx. He worked on it from the end of December 1846 to the beginning of April 1847. It came out early in July 1847 in Brussels and Paris. In it Marx compared Proudhon's views and the theory of the British utopian communist John Bray. The latter advocated exchange of the products of labour without money as a method of transition to a society free from exploitation (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 138-44). Bray expounded his theory in his *Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy*, Leeds, 1839.

By 'our publication' Engels meant the manuscripts of *The German Ideology* intended for publication.—109

142 Here Engels refers to the second part of his and Marx's joint work *The German Ideology* devoted to the critique of 'true socialism' (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 453-539). Engels continued his work on this section up to April 1847 and its results have reached us in the form of an unfinished manuscript 'The True Socialists' supplementing *The German Ideology* (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 540-81).—109

143 As is seen from this letter Engels originally intended to work up the article he had apparently written in the autumn of 1846 or early in 1847 on Grün's *Über Goethe* for the second part of *The German Ideology*, devoted to the critique of 'true socialism'. Later this article served as a basis for the second essay in the series *German Socialism in Verse and Prose* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 249-73). It is quite possible that Engels also used the manuscripts of *The German Ideology* for the first essay in that series. The essays on Grün were published in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, Nos. 93-98 of 21, 25 and 28 November and 2, 5 and 9 December 1847.—110

144 Engels has in mind the time the young Goethe spent among the burghers of his native town Frankfurt am Main, and his service at the Duke of Weimar's court: from 1782 to 1786 Goethe held several high administrative posts, was a member of the Privy Council, Minister of Education, etc.—110

145 Marx's letter to Zulauff has not been found. Like the letter published here, it apparently concerned the tasks facing the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee and the communist groups close to it when Marx and Engels joined the League of the Just as a result of their negotiations at the end of January and the beginning of February 1847 with Joseph Moll, a representative of the London leaders of the League who was sent to Brussels and Paris specially for this purpose. The negotiations showed that the League leaders were prepared to recognise the principles of scientific communism as a basis when drawing up its programme and carrying out its reorganisation. Marx and Engels, therefore, called on their followers grouped around the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee not only to join the League of the Just but also to take an active part in its reorganisation.—111

146 See Note 86. Here the reference is to the members of the Paris communities of the League of the Just.—112

147 The reference is to Engels' as yet unfound satirical pamphlet about Lola Montez, a favourite of King Ludwig I of Bavaria. The scandalous influence of

this Spanish dancer on the policy of the Bavarian Government caused in 1847-48 the appearance of numerous pamphlets, articles, cartoons, etc. Further on, the text (see p. 114) shows that Engels tried to have this pamphlet published by Vogler in Brussels and by the Belle-Vue publishers in Switzerland. A letter has survived which Vogler wrote on 3 April 1847 in reply to Engels' letter of 28 March which has not been found. Engels' proposal was rejected because of the censorship existing in the Great Duchy of Baden where the publishers had moved by that time.—112

148 The reference is to the rescripts by Frederick William IV of 3 February 1847 convening the United Diet—a united assembly of the eight provincial diets. The United Diet as well as the provincial diets consisted of representatives of the estates: the curia of high aristocracy and the curia of the other three estates (nobility, representatives of the towns and the peasantry). Its powers were limited to authorising new taxes and loans, to voice without vote during the discussion of Bills, and to the right to present petitions to the King.

The *United Diet* opened on 11 April 1847, but it was dissolved as early as June because the majority refused to vote a new loan.—112

149 Engels intended to have this work published as a pamphlet by Vogler in Brussels who was printing Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy*. However, when Marx received the manuscript, Vogler had been arrested in Aachen (see this volume, p. 117). The part of the pamphlet which has reached us was first published in Russian in the USSR in 1929.—114

150 *Communistes matérialistes*—members of the secret society of materialist communists founded in the 1840s (see Note 90). The members of this society were tried in July 1847 and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.—114

151 The persecution of the Paris members of the League of the Just by the French police was reported in an item datelined Paris, 2 April 1847, published in the *Berliner Zeitungs-Halle,* No. 81, 8 April 1847. It said of Engels: "Several police agents have also been to Fr. Engels, who lives here in great retirement and devotes himself only to economic and historical studies; naturally they could find nothing against him."—115

152 Marx's letter to Bakunin has not been found.—116

153 The reference is to a cartoon by Engels of Frederick William IV of Prussia delivering the speech from the throne at the opening of the United Diet in Berlin on 11 April 1847 (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 67). This cartoon was published as a special supplement to the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* of 6 May 1847.—117

154 The reference is to the congress of the League of the Just at which, as agreed between the League leaders in London (H. Bauer, J. Moll, K. Schapper) and Marx and Engels early in 1847, the League was to be reorganised. The congress was held between 2 and 9 June 1847. Engels represented the Paris communities, and Wilhelm Wolff, briefed by Marx, was a delegate of the Brussels communists.

Engels' active participation in the work of the congress affected the course and the results of its proceedings. The League was renamed the Communist League, the old motto of the League of the Just 'All men are brothers' was replaced by a new, Marxist one: 'Working Men of All Countries, Unite!' The congress expelled the Weitlingians from the League. The last sitting on 9 June approved the draft programme and the draft Rules of the League, which had

been drawn up either by Engels or with his help (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 96-103 and 585-88). Both documents and the congress circular to the League members were sent to the local communities and districts for discussion to be finally approved at the next, second congress.

This congress laid the foundation for the first international proletarian communist organisation in history.—117

155 Engels arrived in Brussels about 27 July 1847 and stayed there up to mid-October. He actively contributed to enhancing the influence of the Communist League among the German workers residing in Belgium and to the establishment of international contacts between representatives of the proletarian movement and progressive democratic circles.—118

155a This letter was first published in English abridged in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliff, New Jersey, 1979.—119

156 Marx refers here to the prospects of his and Engels' regular collaboration in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*. Previously they had only occasionally contributed to this emigrant newspaper, though they approved of the collaboration in it of W. Wolff, G. Weerth and others of their followers. On the whole up to that time the newspaper's line had reflected the desire of its editor-in-chief, the petty-bourgeois democrat A. Bornstedt, to combine eclectic ideological trends in opposition. But financial and other difficulties compelled him to agree to the collaboration of the proletarian revolutionaries in the newspaper. From 9 September 1847 Marx and Engels were its regular contributors, directly influenced its line and at the end of 1847 concentrated editorial affairs in their own hands. During this period the newspaper became a mouthpiece of the proletarian party then being formed, virtually the press organ of the Communist League.—120

157 Engels wrote this letter to Marx when the latter was on a visit to his relatives in Holland to settle his financial affairs. At the end of September 1847 Marx spent a few days in Zalt-Bommel at his uncle's (on his mother's side), Lion Philips, and returned to Brussels early in October.—122

158 The *German Workers' Society* was founded by Marx and Engels in Brussels at the end of August 1847, its aim being the political education of the German workers who lived in Belgium and dissemination of the ideas of scientific communism among them. With Marx, Engels and their followers at its head, the Society became the legal centre rallying the revolutionary proletarian forces in Belgium. Its most active members belonged to the Communist League. The Society played an important part in founding the Brussels Democratic Association. After the February 1848 revolution in France, the Belgian authorities arrested and banished many of its members.—122, 141, 153

159 The international banquet of democrats in Brussels on 27 September 1847, of which Engels speaks here, adopted the decision to found a Democratic Association. Engels was elected to its Organising Committee.

The *Democratic Association* united proletarian revolutionaries, mainly German refugees and advanced bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats. Marx and Engels took an active part in its establishment. On 15 November 1847 Marx was elected its Vice-President (the President was Lucien Jottrand, a Belgian democrat) and under his influence it became a centre of the international democratic movement. During the February 1848 revolution in

France, the proletarian wing of the Brussels Democratic Association sought to arm the Belgian workers and to intensify the struggle for a democratic republic. However, when Marx was expelled from Brussels in March 1848 and the most revolutionary elements were repressed by the Belgian authorities, its activity assumed a narrow, purely local character and in 1849 the Association ceased to exist.—123, 132, 141

160 The text of Engels' speech at the democratic banquet on 27 September 1847 is not extant. The recorded speeches of some speakers were published in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, No. 80, 7 October 1847.—124

161 The reference is to the newspaper Correspondence Bureau (Deutsche Zeitungs-Correspondenzbureau), set up by S. Seiler and K. Reinhardt in the spring of 1845. It supplied information and correspondence material to the German newspapers.—125

162 The reference is to Georg Weerth's speech at the International Congress of Economists held in Brussels on 16-18 September 1847 to discuss free trade. Marx, Engels and Wilhelm Wolff also attended the congress, intending to make use of it to criticise bourgeois economics (the free trade doctrine, in particular) and to defend working-class interests. When Weerth made a speech along these lines the congress organisers closed the discussion on 18 September without allowing Marx to speak. Excerpts from Weerth's speech were published in a few German, British and French newspapers. It was published in full in the Belgian *Atelier Démocratique* on 29 September 1847. A report on the proceedings of the congress is given by Engels in his articles 'The Economic Congress' and 'The Free Trade Congress at Brussels' (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 274-78 and 282-90).—125

163 This refers to the agreement reached with Bornstedt in September 1847 concerning Marx's and Engels' regular contribution to the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* (see Note 156).—126

164 The discussion of protective tariffs and free trade which had begun before Marx went on a visit to Holland continued at a meeting of the German Workers' Society on 29 September 1847. To enliven this discussion Marx and Engels started a 'sham battle' which Engels later recalled in a letter to Hermann Schlüter of 29 January 1891: '...I remember only that when the debates in the German Workers' Society in Brussels became dull Marx and I agreed to start a sham discussion in which he defended free trade and I protective tariffs....'—126

165 Engels means the meeting of the Brussels community of the Communist League. The community and the Brussels District Committee of the League were formed on the basis of the Communist Correspondence Committee on 5 August 1847. The District Committee included Marx, Engels, Junge and Wolff (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 601).—129

166 Marx seems to have in mind primarily literary works reflecting local peculiarities in the various shades of 'true socialism' (cf. F. Engels, 'The True Socialists', present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 540-81).—131

167 Marx's intention to start a joint-stock company for the publication of a communist monthly in 1847, about which he also wrote to Herwegh on 26 October 1847 (see this volume, p. 141) like similar earlier plans did not materialise.—132, 141

168 Engels' letter to Louis Blanc presumably written soon after his arrival in Paris from Brussels in mid-October 1847 has not been found.—133

169 At that time a civil war was imminent in Switzerland between the Sonderbund (a separatist union formed by seven economically backward cantons which opposed progressive bourgeois reforms and defended the privileges of the Church and the Jesuits) and the other cantons which persuaded the Swiss Diet to declare the dissolution of the Sonderbund in July 1847. Hostilities began early in November, and the Sonderbund army was defeated by the federal forces on 23 November 1847.

Johann Jacoby, a representative of the German radicals since the convocation of the United Diet in Prussia in 1847 (see Note 148), criticised it as a substitute for people's representation. In April and June 1847 he made a trip to Saxony, South Germany, Switzerland, visited Cologne and Brussels where he established contact with the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*.

A radical programme of political reforms was adopted at a meeting of representatives of the democratic wing of the opposition movement (F. Hecker, G. Struve, etc.) in Offenburg (Grand Duchy of Baden) on 12 September 1847.—133

170 The Prussian United Diet (see Note 148) was dissolved in June 1847.

In calling A. Ruge the panegyrist of the Diet Engels refers to the 'Adresse an die Opposition des vereinigten Landtages in Berlin' of 11 June 1847 included by Ruge in the *Polemische Briefe* published in Mannheim that year.—135

171 Engels' first article in *La Réforme*, 'The Commercial Crisis in England.—The Chartist Movement.—Ireland' (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 307-09), appeared as early as 26 October 1847. After that the newspaper regularly carried his articles, or summaries of *The Northern Star* reports on the Chartist movement which he translated into French. As a rule they were published under the headings 'Mouvement chartiste' and 'Agitation chartiste' and introduced by the editorial 'On nous écrit de Londres'. Engels contributed to *La Réforme* till January 1848. Though Engels' views differed from those of the newspaper's editors (especially Louis Blanc and Ledru-Rollin), his articles on the Chartist movement to some extent helped to overcome the national exclusiveness of *La Réforme* and exerted a revolutionary influence on its readers—the French workers and the radical middle classes.—135

172 Engels contributed to the Chartist *Northern Star* from the end of 1843 to 1848. From May 1844 he sent in regular reports about European events, primarily about the political and social movement.—135

173 Here Engels refers to the speech on free trade Marx intended to deliver at the International Congress of Economists in Brussels held between 16 and 18 September 1847 (see Note 162). Not being allowed to speak, Marx published it in the *Atelier Démocratique* on 29 September. Part of the speech was also published by Joseph Weydemeyer in 1848 under the title 'The Protectionists, the Free Traders and the Working Class' and excerpts from it were quoted by Engels in his article 'The Free Trade Congress at Brussels' in *The Northern Star*, No. 520, 9 October 1847 (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 279-90).

As is seen from this letter the version sent to *La Réforme* was not printed, and it is not extant.—135, 143

174 Engels alludes to the case of the Duke of Praslin. In August 1847 the Duchess of Praslin was found murdered in her house. Suspicion fell on her husband and he was arrested. A political scandal broke out which caused the Duke of Praslin to take poison during the investigation.—135

175 The management referred to is that of the Correspondence Bureau of S. Seiler and K. Reinhardt (see Note 161).—138

176 In the summer of 1847 the London Central Authority of the Communist League distributed for discussion in the League's local communities and districts the 'Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith' drawn up by Engels and approved by the First Congress (see Note 154). In mid-October, when Engels returned to Paris from Brussels, the League's draft programme written in the form of a catechism was already being discussed in the Paris communities. Hess proposed to the Paris District Committee his own version of the draft, which was rejected after sharp criticism by Engels. But Engels was no longer satisfied with his own version because in drafting it he had to take into account the fact that the delegates to the League's First Congress were still influenced by utopian communism. In a new version—'Principles of Communism'—drawn up by Engels this shortcoming was eliminated and the programme principles of the working-class movement were elaborated in greater detail, but still in the form of a catechism. This new document was later approved by the Paris communities as the draft programme for the Second Congress of the Communist League.—138

177 Engels refers to Born's intended participation in the Second Congress of the Communist League, but Born did not go to the congress.—139

178 Neither Engels' letter to the Elberfeld communists nor their reply to it has been found. Presumably they were about the possibilities for publishing Marx's and Engels' works on free trade and protective tariffs (see Note 173).—140

179 Marx alludes here to Countess Hatzfeldt's divorce case which lasted from 1846 to 1854.—140

180 Marx presumably has in mind here the refusal of Baron Arnim, Prussian Ambassador to Paris, to give Emma Herwegh, Georg Herwegh's wife, a visa for Berlin. The fact was reported in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* on 21 October 1847. Later Emma Herwegh set out with a Swiss passport without a visa.—141

181 Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* was published simultaneously by Vogler in Brussels and by Frank in Paris. As is seen from Marx's letter to Engels of 15 October 1868, both Vogler and Frank were mere 'commissioners' (agents de vente), all printing expenses being paid by the author.—142

182 The reference is to the election of delegates from the Paris district to the Second Congress of the Communist League which was to meet in London on 29 November 1847.—143

183 The *Lille Banquet* took place on 7 November 1847 during the campaign for an election reform in France which revealed the extremely anti-democratic stand of the liberal opposition to the July monarchy and of the moderate republicans of the *National* party (see Engels' 'Split in the Camp.—The *Réforme* and the *National*.—March of Democracy', present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 385-87).—144

184 An international meeting organised by the Fraternal Democrats (see Note 122) took place in London on 29 November 1847 to mark the anniversary of the

Polish insurrection of 1830. Marx and Engels, who had come to London for the Second Congress of the Communist League, made speeches about Poland. The report on the meeting and accounts of the speeches made by Marx and Engels appeared in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*, No. 140, 3 December 1847, *The Northern Star*, No. 528, 4 December 1847, and the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, No. 98, 9 December 1847. Engels wrote a special item on this subject for *La Réforme*, which published it on 5 December 1847 (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 391-92).—144

185 Proposals to convene an international democratic congress were made both by the Fraternal Democrats and the Brussels Democratic Association. During his stay in London at the end of November 1847, Marx had talks on the subject with the Chartist leaders and representatives of the proletarian and democratic emigrants. Engels had similar talks with French socialists and democrats. In the beginning of 1848 it was agreed to convene the congress in Brussels. It was scheduled for 25 August 1848, the eighteenth anniversary of the Belgian revolution. However, these plans did not materialise because in February 1848 a revolution began in Europe.—145

186 Engels sent this letter to Marx on the eve of the Second Congress of the Communist League for which they both made thorough preparations and expected to reach a final agreement concerning their stand during their meeting on the way to London. What Engels writes here on certain points, e.g. a Communist League programme not in the form of a catechism or confession of faith (see notes 154 and 176) but of a manifesto, found expression in the congress decisions.

The *Second Congress of the Communist League* was held in London from 29 November to 8 December 1847. It was attended by delegates from Germany, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Poland and Denmark. Marx represented the League's Brussels communities, Engels the Paris communities and Victor Tedesco the Liège communities. During many days of discussion Marx and Engels defended the principles of scientific communism on which the congress based its decisions. It was resolved that in all its external relations the League would come out openly as a communist party. The congress adopted the previously drawn up Rules in an improved form, a clause clearly defining the League's communist aim being included. On the instruction of the Second Congress Marx and Engels wrote as the League's programme the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, which was published in February 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 477-519).

An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence, 1846-1895*. A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934, and International Publishers, New York, 1935.—146

187 Marx's letter to Engels written about 22 November 1847 has not been found.—149

188 The working man referred to was Stephan Born, who was to speak at the meeting of the Democratic Association in Brussels held to mark the seventeenth anniversary of the Polish revolution of 1830 instead of Marx who at that time was to take part in the Second Congress of the Communist League in London. Below Engels mentions Wilhelm Wolff (Lupus) and Georg Weerth as possible representatives, with Born, of the German Workers' Society at the Brussels meeting. It was held on 29 November 1847, and Born spoke on behalf of the German workers.

A report on the meeting was published in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, No. 96, 2 December 1847.—149

189 Engels refers to the Congress of Economists in Brussels where Georg Weerth made a speech on 18 September (see Note 162).—150

190 The reason for Marx's visit to London was to attend the Second Congress of the Communist League. Marx and Engels profited by this occasion to attend the international meeting (mentioned in this letter) held in London to mark the anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1830 (see Note 184).—150

191 Engels returned to Paris at the end of December 1847 after a few days' stay in Brussels, where he had arrived from England soon after Marx, on about 17 December (Marx and Engels had gone to England to participate in the Second Congress of the Communist League—see Note 186). In Brussels Engels worked with Marx on the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. On his arrival in Paris, Engels wished to meet Louis Blanc, as he writes at the beginning of the letter, to get him to write a review of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* for *La Réforme*.—152

192 In 1843 Jules Michelet was dismissed from his teaching post for his democratic and anti-clerical convictions; his right to teach history at the Paris University was not restored till after the February 1848 revolution.—154

193 Here Engels means the United commissions, an advisory social-estate body in Prussia elected by the Provincial Diets from their own members. Engels' article on Prussian finances, mentioned in the letter, has not been found.—155

194 It is not known whether Engels carried out his intention. The review of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* did not appear in *La Réforme*.—156

195 Engels' letter to Bernays has not been found.—157

196 At the end of February 1848 a revolution took place in France which was enthusiastically welcomed in Belgium. Alarmed by the scope of the democratic movement in the country, the Belgian authorities resorted to arrests and expulsion of German revolutionary emigrants. They arrested the Communist League members Wilhelm Wolff and Victor Tedesco. On 3 March Marx was ordered to leave Belgium in twenty-four hours. However, in the night of 3 March, when he was preparing to leave, the police burst into Marx's flat, arrested him and then his wife. After 18 hours of imprisonment Marx and his family were forced to leave Belgium at once. On the invitation of Flocon, who had been elected member of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, Marx moved to Paris.

Engels, expelled from Paris at the end of January 1848 for his revolutionary activity, was in Brussels from 31 January.

The time of writing of this letter, as well as of many other undated ones, is established on the basis of the chronology of events mentioned, in particular the constitution of the new Central Authority of the Communist League on 7 March 1848, and of Jones' departure for England, where he arrived not later than 12 March, etc.

An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in *Labour Monthly*, 1948, No. 3, III.—158

197 The Second Congress of the Communist League retained the seat of the Central Authority in London. However, as a revolution had broken out in

France, Schapper, Bauer, Moll and other members of the London Central Authority intended to move to the Continent and decided to transfer their powers of general direction of the League to the Brussels District Committee headed by Marx. But the persecution of revolutionaries by the Belgian authorities impelled the Brussels Central Authority that had been formed to adopt on 3 March 1848 a decision to dissolve itself and to empower Marx to form a new Central Authority in Paris. Marx arrived in Paris on 5 March and took up this appointment. On 7 March the Paris Central Authority mentioned by Marx was formed. Engels was elected in his absence.—158

198 The reference is to the arrest of Marx and his wife by the Belgian police (see Note 196).—159

199 The interpellation on the arrest and expulsion of Marx and his family was made by Bricourt at the sitting of the Chamber of Representatives of the Belgian Parliament on 11 March 1848.—159, 164

200 Marx's notes on Wilhelm Wolff's arrest on 27 February 1848, his maltreatment by the police and prison authorities and his expulsion from Belgium on 5 March have survived. Marx published an article on the persecution of revolutionary emigrants in Belgium in *La Réforme*, 12 March 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 567-68 and 581-82).—159

201 The news of the victory of the February revolution in France caused a widespread popular movement in the Rhine Province of Prussia and other parts of Germany. A demonstration of about five thousand workers and artisans, organised by the local community of the Communist League, was held in Cologne on 3 March before the town hall. A petition demanding universal suffrage, freedom of speech, press and assembly, armament of the people, labour protection, children's education at the public expense, etc., was presented to the magistrate. The meeting following the demonstration was dispersed by troops, and the leaders of the demonstration—Andreas Gottschalk, August Willich and Friedrich Anneke—were arrested and brought to trial (they were set free on 21 March when a revolution began in Prussia). Gottschalk, Willich and Anneke belonged to a group in the local community of the Communist League which was under the influence of 'true socialism' and, in contrast to Karl d'Ester, Roland Daniels and Heinrich Bürgers (below Engels calls them 'old friends'), displayed sectarian tendencies.—159

202 The information received by Engels concerning d'Ester was inaccurate. D'Ester was present at the sitting of the Cologne city council on 3 March 1848 and spoke for the inclusion of a number of the people's demands in the liberal memorandum under discussion to be presented to the Berlin authorities. His proposals were rejected.—159

203 A movement for definitive secession from the German Empire and for bourgeois-democratic reforms arose in 1797 in the territories along the left bank of the Rhine seized by the armies of the French Republic. With the approval of the French commander-in-chief, General Hoche, a plan was drawn up in September 1797 to form a filial left-bank Rhine Republic (Cisrhenanische Republik) allied to France. However, as a result of General Bonaparte's victory over Austria the territories along the left bank of the Rhine were directly attached to France by the Campo Formio Treaty (November 1797).—160

204 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in *Labour Monthly*, 1948, No. 3, III.—161

205 The *German Democratic Society* was formed in Paris after the February 1848 revolution. The Society was headed by petty-bourgeois democrats, Herwegh, Bornstedt and others, who campaigned to raise a volunteer legion of German refugees, with the intention of marching into Germany. In this way they hoped to carry out a revolution in Germany and establish a republic there. Marx and his followers in the Communist League opposed to this adventurist plan the tactics of uniting the German emigrants and organising their return to Germany individually to take part in the revolutionary struggle that was developing there. Late in April 1848 the volunteer legion moved to Baden, where it was dispersed by government troops.

*Black, red and gold* were the colours symbolising German unity; the unity slogan was interpreted by the petty-bourgeois democrats as a call to establish in Germany a federation of autonomous provinces on the pattern of the Swiss Confederation.—162, 540

206 There is no further information about the letters Marx intended to write to Maynz and Jottrand.—162

207 Engels moved to Paris from Brussels about 21 March 1848.—164

208 Neither Engels' letter to his mother nor his mother's letter quoted by Engels below has been found.—166

209 On 24 February 1848 the people of Paris revolted, overthrew the monarchy and formed a Provisional Government, with the party of the *National* in the majority. Under pressure from the armed masses, however, the bourgeois republicans were compelled to include in the government four ministers from the list compiled by *La Réforme*, among them Louis Blanc and a worker Albert, a leader of secret republican societies and participant in the street fighting.

On 17 March there was a 100,000-strong demonstration of Paris workers demanding postponement of the elections to the Constituent Assembly (see Note 214).—166

210 The reference is to the organisation of a legion of German refugees to march into Germany (see Note 205).—166

211 This letter was published in English for the first time in *Science and Society*, New York, 1940, Vol. IV, No. 2.—167

212 The reference is to the attempts of Ledru-Rollin, Minister of the Interior, to renew the administrative staff of municipal councils and his decree of 14 March to abolish the privileged National Guard units of bourgeois and aristocrats.—168

213 This refers to the utopian plans for the 'organisation of labour' with the help of a bourgeois state proposed by Louis Blanc as president of the Labour Commission set up by the Provisional Government on 28 February 1848 (it held its meetings in the Luxembourg Palace). The Commission was dissolved by the Government after the popular action of 15 May 1848.—168

214 The reference is to the elections to the National Guard, fixed for 18 March, and to the Constituent Assembly of the Republic, which originally were to be held on 5 April 1848. To hold the elections in a short time would have benefited the anti-revolutionary forces. That is why the demonstration of the Paris workers on 17 March, of which Engels writes above, demanded that the Provisional Government, besides withdrawing the troops from the capital,

should postpone the elections to the National Guard till 5 April and to the Constituent Assembly till 31 May 1848. The Government was compelled to comply with these demands, but the elections to the Constituent Assembly were postponed only till 23 April.—168

215 About 6 April 1848 Marx and Engels returned to Germany from emigration to take part in the revolution that was developing there. On their way to Cologne, the centre of the Rhine Province—the most economically developed region in Germany—which they chose as the place for the planned publication of a revolutionary newspaper, they made a stop at Mainz on 8 April. Here they discussed with the local communists (Karl Wallau who had arrived from Paris earlier, Adolf Cluss and others) the plan of actions to prepare for the creation of a mass party of the German proletariat, with the Communist League as its nucleus. Marx and Engels arrived at Cologne about 11 April.

There is no information about the letters which Marx and Engels promised to write to Cabet from Germany.—170

216 In mid-April Engels left Cologne and made a trip to towns of the Rhine Province of Prussia—Barmen, Elberfeld and others—to organise a subscription to the shares for the publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. During the trip he also acted as an emissary of the Communist League's Central Authority. He returned to Cologne on 20 May 1848.—170

217 On 10 April 1848 a Chartist demonstration in London was dispersed by troops and special constables; the purpose of the demonstration was to present the third Chartist Petition to Parliament.

Engels' letter to Harney has not been found.—171

218 The subject is the prospects of the planned *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the first issue of which appeared on 31 May but was dated 1 June 1848.

Marx and Engels began to prepare for the publication of a German revolutionary newspaper as early as March 1848 when they were in Paris (see this volume, p. 173). They regarded a proletarian periodical as an important step towards creating a mass party of the German proletariat based on the Communist League. Soon after their return to Germany, however, they realised that the conditions for the creation of such a party had not yet matured. Disunity and lack of political awareness made the German workers susceptible to the artisan and petty-bourgeois influences and particularist aspirations. Moreover it was senseless for the League to continue to work underground in the context of the revolution but the League was too weak and numerically small to serve as a rallying centre. Under these conditions the newspaper was to play an especially important role in the ideological and political education of the masses. It was also to become an organ of political guidance for the Communist League members, whom Marx and Engels advised to take an active part in the workers' organisations and democratic societies then being set up in Germany.

It was decided to call the newspaper the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in order to stress that it was to continue the revolutionary-democratic traditions of the *Rheinische Zeitung* which was edited by Marx in 1842 and early 1843. In view of the specific conditions and the absence of an independent proletarian party, Marx, Engels and their followers entered the political scene as the Left, in fact proletarian, wing of the democratic movement. This predetermined the stand adopted by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which had as its subtitle *Organ der Demokratie* (Organ of Democracy). The editorial board included Karl Marx

(editor-in-chief), Frederick Engels, Wilhelm Wolff, Georg Weerth, Ferdinand Wolff, Ernst Dronke and Heinrich Bürgers. In October 1848 Ferdinand Freiligrath also became an editor.

The consistent revolutionary line of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, its militant internationalism, its articles containing political accusations against the Government aroused the displeasure of its bourgeois shareholders in the first months of its existence and led to attacks in the feudal monarchist and liberal bourgeois press. The editors were persecuted by the police and judicial authorities. On 26 September 1848, when a state of siege was declared in Cologne, the publication of the newspaper was suspended and was resumed only on 12 October. Despite all this, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* courageously defended the interests of revolutionary democracy and the proletariat. In May 1849, against the background of the general counter-revolutionary offensive, the Prussian Government issued an expulsion order against Marx on the grounds that he had not obtained Prussian citizenship. This arbitrary act and repressions against other editors led to the paper ceasing publication. The last issue, No. 301, printed in red ink, appeared on 19 May 1849. In their farewell address to the workers the editors wrote that 'their last word everywhere and always will be: *emancipation of the working class*' (see present edition, Vol. 9, p. 467).—171

219 On 6 May 1848 Marx and Weerth arrived in Elberfeld to discuss with Engels problems connected with the publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and the activity of the Communist League.—172

220 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934, and International Publishers, New York, 1935.—172, 270, 278, 291, 325, 361, 383, 389, 453

221 Engels' letter to Wilhelm Blank has not been found.—172

222 Moses Hess, Friedrich Anneke and other sectarians in the Communist League attempted to start a new paper in Cologne to succeed the *Rheinische Zeitung* of the early 1840s. The newspaper's programme, published by Hess and Anneke on 7 April, was very vague and narrowed the tasks of the planned publication, which they conceived as a local, provincial newssheet. Hess and his followers were prevented from realising their plan by the return of Marx and Engels to Cologne.—173

223 There is no other information about the Italian and Spanish translations mentioned here of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. The first Spanish and Italian translations of the *Manifesto* appeared in 1872 and 1889 respectively.—173

224 Engels did not finish this translation. In the autumn of 1850 he helped Helen Macfarlane translate the *Manifesto* into English and it appeared in *The Red Republican*, Nos. 21-24, in November 1850.—173

225 The *Elberfeld political club*, which was formed soon after the March revolution in Prussia, advocated a constitutional monarchy and gradual reforms.—173

226 Presumably Engels means Marx's letter to Ewerbeck concerning the Paris communities of the Communist League; this letter has not been found.—174

227 The shareholders of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* were to meet in Cologne in May 1848, before the newspaper started publication. The shareholders from

other towns who could not attend the meeting in person sent in proxies for the newspaper's editors or other persons in Cologne.—174

228 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975.—175, 210

229 Here and below Engels gives the addresses of the editorial office and the dispatch department of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* which at the beginning was printed by Clouth (12 St Agatha) and from 30 August 1848 by Dietz (17 Unter Hutmacher).—175

230 In the spring of 1848 the Polish national liberation uprising broke out in the Grand Duchy of Posen subject to Prussia. The Prussian General Pfuel ordered that all the insurgents who had been taken prisoner should be shaved and their hands and ears branded with silver nitrate.

In May 1848 a clash took place between the soldiers and the civic militia in Mainz, which the fortress commander Hüser used as a pretext to send troops to disarm the latter. The conflict was discussed in the Frankfurt National Assembly which, however, did not take any serious measures to stop the arbitrary actions of the Prussian military authorities.—176

231 The all-German *National Assembly*, which opened on 18 May 1848 in Frankfurt am Main, was convened for the purpose of unifying the country and drawing up its constitution. The liberal majority of the Assembly turned it into a debating club engaged in fruitless discussions such as on the disarmament of the civic militia in Mainz.—176

232 The editorial office of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was removed at the end of August to 17 Unter Hutmacher (see Note 229).

There is no information about the article by Köppen who might have sent it in after meeting Marx in Berlin in August 1848 when Marx went there on business connected with the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

By the 'sleepless night of exile' Engels presumably meant the time Marx and he spent abroad before the 1848 revolution.—177

233 On 26 September 1848 the Prussian authorities, fearing the growing revolutionary-democratic movement, declared a state of siege in Cologne (it was lifted on 2 October). By order of the military command political organisations and associations were banned, the civic militia disbanded, democratic newspapers, including the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, suspended, and an order issued for the arrest of Engels and a few other editors. Engels and Dronke had to leave Cologne. For a time Engels lived in hiding in Barmen. On 5 October Engels and Dronke arrived in Paris after a short stay in Belgium whence they were expelled by the police. Dronke remained in the French capital and wrote to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* from there, while Engels started on foot for Switzerland via the south-west of France. About 24 October he arrived in Geneva and at the beginning of November moved to Lausanne (these facts served as a basis for establishing the date of this letter and those by Marx which followed and were not dated); Engels arrived in Neuchâtel on 7 November and in Berne on 9 November. He stayed there until mid-January 1849 when it was possible for him to return to Germany.

Engels' letter written to Marx from Geneva has not been found.—177, 185, 192, 541, 542, 543

234 In 1848 Engels lived at Plasmann's, owner of a stationery firm and a shareholder of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. His address was: Köln, In der Höhle, 14.—178

235 The discontent of the bourgeois shareholders over the political line of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* grew particularly strong after it defended the June proletarian insurgents in Paris. These shareholders refused to finance and support the newspaper any longer. So in August and September 1848 Marx made a trip to Berlin and Vienna to raise funds for the further publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Wladislaw Kóscielski gave him about 2,000 talers on behalf of the Polish democrats.

The interruption in publication caused by the state of siege in Cologne aggravated the newspaper's financial position. Marx was practically compelled to take upon himself most of the expenses and he spent his share of the inheritance from his father—about 7,000 talers—to purchase an expensive quick printing press.—179

236 Early in July 1848 legal proceedings were instituted against Marx because of his article 'Arrests' published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 176-79), exposing the arbitrary actions of the Prussian authorities. At the beginning of October 1848 the Cologne Public Prosecutor started an investigation against Marx and other newspaper editors for publishing anonymously Georg Weerth's series of feuilletons *Leben und Taten des berühmten Ritters Schnapphanski*. At the end of October 1848 the Cologne Public Prosecutor began another investigation against Marx as the newspaper's editor-in-chief for publishing the proclamation of the republican Friedrich Hecker. The 'insult' to the Public Prosecutor and 'libel' against the police officers contained in the article 'Arrests' were the main accusations levelled at Marx and Engels at the trial held on 7 February 1849. The jury acquitted them.—179, 542

237 On 1 November 1848 the King of Prussia transferred power to the openly counter-revolutionary Brandenburg-Manteuffel Government. It decided on a coup d'état which was successful and led to the dissolution of the National Assembly on 5 December. The very first steps of this government aroused a protest campaign in democratic circles, especially in the Rhine Province, which sought to unite the opposition forces. In Düsseldorf, in particular, for 14 November a joint meeting was announced for this purpose of the local People's Club, the Union for the establishment of a democratic monarchy, the General Civil Union, and the civic militia (it was probably this meeting that Marx called the democratic-monarchist club). At this meeting Lassalle put forward Marx's plan of actions.—180

238 The Central Committee of German Democrats was set up in June 1848 at the first democratic congress in Frankfurt am Main convened with the aim of uniting the local democratic associations. The second all-German democratic congress in Berlin (26-30 October 1848) elected a new Central Committee.—180

239 This refers to the *Rhenish District Committee of Democrats* set up at the first district congress of democrats of the Rhine Province and Westphalia (13-14 August 1848). The committee directed the activity of the democratic organisations in the Rhineland, Marx playing a prominent role in it.—180

240 On 14 November 1848 Marx was summoned to the examining magistrate for 'insulting' the Cologne Public Prosecutor Hecker in the article 'Public Prosecutor "Hecker" and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*' published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 129, 29 October 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 485-89).—180

241 The *Code pénal* was adopted in France in 1810 and introduced into the regions of West and South-West Germany conquered by the French. It remained in force in the Rhine Province even after its incorporation into Prussia in 1815.—181

242 In order to give its readers prompt information on events, the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* often put out supplements to the main issue or a second edition. If the news was very important they printed special supplements and special editions in the form of posters.—181

243 Marx probably made the acquaintance of Eduard von Müller-Tellering during his stay in Vienna in August and September 1848. In October and November the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* published a number of articles marked ♀ which were sent by E. von Müller-Tellering from Vienna. They described the situation in the city after the suppression of the popular rising in October.—182

244 The arrest of Andreas Gottschalk and Friedrich Anneke, the leaders of the Cologne Workers' Association, on 3 July 1848 was the subject of Marx's article 'Arrests' which served as a pretext for accusing Marx and other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of insulting the Public Prosecutor and libelling police officers (see Note 236). On 23 December 1848, Gottschalk and Anneke were acquitted by a Cologne jury.—183

245 The reference is to the state of siege declared in Cologne on 26 September 1848 and the persecution of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*'s editors, Engels among them (see Note 233). On 3 October, though the state of siege had been lifted, the Public Prosecutor issued a warrant for Engels' arrest. Engels was able to return to Cologne only in mid-January 1849.—183

246 This is a draft reply to the letter sent from Berlin on 26 December 1848 by Wilhelm Stieber to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. In it Stieber tried to disprove information on his spying activities in Silesia during and after the Silesian weavers' uprising in 1844 (he went there disguised as an artist, under the name Schmidt), and on his secret mission to Frankfurt am Main in September 1848 in connection with a popular uprising there. This information was given in a report from Frankfurt am Main published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 177, 24 December. Marx agreed to make a correction as regards Stieber's visit to Frankfurt (the supplement to No. 182 stated that he went there on private business) but did not disavow the information on his spying in Silesia. Later, in his *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (end of 1852), exposing Stieber as an organiser of police persecution of the Communist League members and disclosing his attempts to blacken the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx quoted in full Stieber's letter to the newspaper editors of 26 December 1848. Marx stressed that the reply to Stieber was sent by another editor (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 435-36). It may be assumed that the final version of the letter was signed by Wilhelm Wolff, who was well aware of Stieber's activities in Silesia.—183

247 On the *Code pénal* see Note 241. The reference is to 'Livre troisième. Titre II. Chapitre I. Section VII. 2. Calomnies....'—184

248 Engels received news, probably on 11 or 12 January, that he could return to Germany without running the risk of being arrested. He immediately undertook all the formalities necessary to obtain an exit permit from Switzerland, and obtained it on 18 January 1849 (see present edition, Vol. 8, p. 515). Shortly after this Engels returned to Cologne and resumed work as editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.—185

249 By 'grace and favour (*oktroyierte*) Prussia' Engels means Prussia after the counter-revolutionary coup d'état which resulted in the dissolution of the National Assembly on 5 December 1848 and the proclamation of the so-called imposed constitution. The Constitution introduced a two-chamber parliament: the First Chamber consisting of privileged aristocrats and the Second Chamber elected in two stages. Under the law of 6 December a considerable proportion of the workers had no right to vote. The King was invested with wide powers, including the right to convene and dissolve both Chambers, to repeal their decisions, to appoint Cabinets and to revise the Constitution itself.—186

250 The *March Association*, thus named after the March 1848 revolution, was founded in Frankfurt am Main at the end of November 1848 by the Left-wing deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly and had branches in various towns of Germany. Fröbel, Simon, Ruge, Vogt and other petty-bourgeois democratic leaders of March associations confined themselves to revolutionary phrase-mongering and showed indecision and inconsistency in the struggle against the counter-revolutionaries, for which Marx and Engels sharply criticised them.—186

251 Marx's letter to Eduard von Müller-Tellering has not been found.

At the beginning of January von Müller-Tellering was arrested and banished from Vienna (on his reports from that city published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* see Note 243). Later Tellering sent reports from Silesia and Saxony on the situation in Vienna based on the letters of his Vienna acquaintances, and also reports from Leipzig and Dresden (these were marked △).—189

252 Threatened with arrest after the state of siege was declared in Cologne on 26 September 1848 (see Note 233), Dronke emigrated to Paris but persisted in the desire to return to Germany. He was kept in Paris only by categorical directions from Marx, who had grounds to fear he would be arrested. It was not till March 1849 that Dronke returned to Cologne and began to work on the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

Neither Marx's previous letter to Dronke nor his other letters mentioned below have been found.—190

253 An anonymous item published in the supplement to No. 233 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* for 28 February 1849 accused von Uttenhoven, a Captain in the 8th Company of the 16th Infantry Regiment, known for his reactionary views, of misuse of and speculation in army fuel.—193

254 This refers to two lawsuits held in Cologne on 7 and 8 February 1849. The first was instituted by the Cologne Public Prosecutor's office against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, its editors Marx and Engels and the responsible editor Hermann Korff for publishing the article 'Arrests' (see notes 236 and 244).

The pretext for the second was the charge against Marx, Karl Schapper and the lawyer Schneider II of incitement to mutiny in connection with the call of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats (see Note 239) of 18 November 1848 for refusal to pay taxes. In both cases the juries acquitted the defendants.—194

255 From mid-April to 9 May 1849 Marx made a trip to North-Western Germany. He visited Bremen, Hamburg and the neighbouring towns, including Harburg. On his way back to Cologne Marx stopped at Bielefeld and Hamm. The purpose of the trip was to strengthen contacts between the Communist League members and workers' associations in preparation for the creation of a mass proletarian party, to discuss problems of revolutionary tactics with members of the working-class and democratic movements, and to raise funds for the continued publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. In Marx's absence Engels directed the newspaper.

Engels' letter to Marx mentioned here has not been found.—195

256 Karl Bruhn participated in the Baden republican uprising in April 1849 and played an active role in the popular uprising in Frankfurt am Main (September 1848) in protest against the ratification by the Frankfurt National Assembly of the capitulatory truce of Malmö. Concluded between Prussia and Denmark, this truce preserved Danish rule in Schleswig-Holstein. Since the end of 1848 Bruhn had been working in Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein on the instruction of the Communist League and sending reports to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* from there.—196

257 An allusion to the cruel suppression of the popular uprising in Vienna in October 1848 by the Austrian counter-revolution. Marx made Andreas Stiftt's acquaintance in August 1848 during his visit to Vienna (see Note 235), where he made a speech at a meeting of the Democratic Society and delivered a report and a lecture at the Vienna Workers' Society. Stiftt was member of both these organisations and a contributor to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.—197

258 After the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had ceased publication on 19 May 1849, Marx and Engels left for Frankfurt am Main where they tried to persuade the Left-wing deputies to the all-German National Assembly to take decisive action in support of the uprising in South-Western Germany at the time in defence of the Imperial Constitution drawn up by the Assembly but rejected by the German sovereigns. Having failed to achieve their aim they left for Karlsruhe and then Kaiserslautern—capitals of insurgent Baden and the Palatinate. Convinced that the petty-bourgeois democratic leaders of the Provisional Governments in Baden and the Palatinate lacked revolutionary energy and were helpless, Marx and Engels left at the end of May for Bingen, where they parted. Early in June Marx went to Paris, and Engels returned to Kaiserslautern to join the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army.—198

259 Marx arrived in Paris about 2 June 1849 with the mandate from the Central Committee of German Democrats (see Note 238) issued to him in Kaiserslautern by d'Ester, a member of the Committee and of the Palatinate Provisional Government. Marx decided to go to France when he realised that the petty-bourgeois democrats of Baden and the Palatinate were unable to make the struggle all-German in scale, to launch a resolute offensive and bring the Frankfurt Assembly openly to join the uprising. New great events were expected in France, where the conflict between the democratic party—the so-called Montagne (Mountain)—and the ruling circles was coming to a head.

In Paris Marx hoped to strengthen international contacts between the German and French democrats, for this would have been of major importance in the event of a new revolutionary upsurge in both countries.—198

260 *Montagnards*—during the French revolution of 1848-49 representatives in the Constituent and subsequently Legislative Assembly of a bloc of democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists grouped around the newspaper *La Réforme*. They called themselves the Montagne by analogy with the Montagne in the Convention of 1792-94.

On *13 June 1849* the Montagne staged a peaceful demonstration to protest against the sending of French troops to suppress the Roman Republic. The demonstration was dispersed by the army and the bourgeois detachments of the National Guards and there followed a counter-revolutionary offensive, persecution of democrats and proletarian activists, including emigrants. Many Montagnards were arrested or emigrated.—199, 211, 283, 309, 360, 409, 547

261 Engels' 'article in French' on the national liberation struggle in Hungary was probably never written.—200

262 The last issue, No. 301, of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* for 19 May 1849, printed in red, was published in a greater number of copies than usual. Later it was reprinted several times and used by the Communist League members, who remained in Germany, for propaganda purposes.—201, 237

263 Jenny Marx spent June 1849 in her native town of Trier. On July 7 she joined her husband in Paris accompanied by her three children and Hélène Demuth (the Marxes' housekeeper).—201, 207, 546, 555

264 At the beginning of June 1849, when in Kaiserslautern, Engels entered into close contact with d'Ester, the most energetic member of the Palatinate Provisional Government, but refused, however, to accept any civil or military post.

On 13 June Engels left for Offenburg, where he joined Willich's volunteer corps of 800 men, mostly workers, which was part of the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army. Engels fought the whole campaign as Willich's adjutant. Willich's corps covered the retreat of this army under pressure from numerically superior counter-revolutionary forces and was among the last units to cross the Swiss border on 12 July 1849. On 24 July Engels arrived at Vevey (Canton Vaud) where he stayed for a month. He described the operations of the insurgent army in *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 147-239).

Engels' letter to Marx from Kaiserslautern has not survived.

An extract from Engels' letter to Jenny Marx was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895*, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934, and International Publishers, New York, 1935.—202, 370

265 On 17 June 1849 Engels fought in the battle of *Rinnthal*. He commanded a flank group of Willich's corps which covered the retreat of the Palatinate army and fought the advance guard of an enemy division for many hours.

On 21 June Willich's men, with the active participation of Engels, checked the advance of a Prussian battalion at *Neuchart* near Karlsdorf and forced it to retreat.

On 28 June 1849 Engels took part in an engagement at *Michelbach* in which the advance guard of the division to which Willich's corps belonged after the reorganisation of the insurgent army defeated a Prussian force.

On 29 and 30 June at *Rastatt* the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army fought and lost its last battle against the Prussian army. At certain critical moments of the battle Engels assumed command of the vanguard.—203, 215

266 The subject is Lassalle's intention to raise funds to help Marx.

The letters to Lassalle mentioned by Marx have not been found.

An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954.—204

267 These were the two factions in the so-called Party of Order—a conservative bloc of the monarchist groups formed in 1848 which had the majority in the Legislative Assembly of the French Republic (opened at the end of May 1849).

The *Philippists* or *Orleanists* were supporters of the House of Orleans (a lateral branch of the Bourbon dynasty) overthrown by the February revolution of 1848; they represented the interests of the financial aristocracy and the big industrial bourgeoisie; their candidate for the throne was Louis Philippe Albert, Count of Paris and grandson of Louis Philippe.

The *Legitimists*, supporters of the main branch of the Bourbon dynasty overthrown in 1830, upheld the interests of the big hereditary landowners and the claim to the French throne of the Count of Chambord, King Charles X's grandson, who called himself Henry V. Some of the Legitimists remained outside the bloc of monarchist groups.—205, 360, 484

268 According to a decision of the Constituent Assembly the wine tax was to be abolished before 1 January 1850. But, as Marx predicted, it was retained by a decision of the Legislative Assembly on 20 December 1849 (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 117-19).—205, 211

269 The *Peace Society*—a pacifist organisation founded by the Quakers in 1816 in London. It was actively supported by the Free Traders who assumed that in peace time free trade would enable Britain to make better use of its industrial superiority and win economic and political supremacy.—205, 211, 219

270 The *Corn Laws* (first introduced in the fifteenth century) imposed high import duties on agricultural produce in the interests of landowners in order to maintain high prices for these products on the home market. In 1838 the Manchester factory owners Cobden and Bright founded the Anti-Corn Law League, which demanded the lifting of the corn tariffs and urged unlimited freedom of trade for the purpose of weakening the economic and political power of the landed aristocracy and reducing worker's wages. The struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the Corn Laws ended in 1846 with their repeal.

The *Navigation Acts* were passed by the British Parliament in 1651 and subsequent years to protect British shipping companies against foreign rivals. They were repealed in 1849.—205, 211, 261, 376, 537

271 Marx mentions the *Holy Alliance* in connection with the attempts of feudal-monarchical circles in Prussia, Austria and tsarist Russia to form a coalition similar to the counter-revolutionary Holy Alliance founded in 1815 by the European monarchs, and which ceased to exist after the 1830 revolution in France.—205, 288, 329, 357

272 On 19 July 1849 in an atmosphere of repression against democrats and socialists following the events of 13 June in Paris (see Note 260), the French

authorities notified Marx that an order had been issued for his expulsion from Paris to Morbihan, a swampy and unhealthy département in Brittany. Marx protested and the expulsion was delayed, but on 23 August he again was ordered by the police to leave Paris within 24 hours.

Marx compares the département of Morbihan with the Pontine marshes in Italy, mentioned by Strabo in his *Geography*, Book 5, Ch. 3, § 5, and other ancient authors, which are a breeding-ground of malaria and other diseases.—207, 212

273 Marx's suggestion was approved and subsequently put into practice by Engels. However, Engels started writing his work, which was later published under the heading, *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (see present edition, Vol. 10), not earlier than mid-August 1849 after he had moved to Lausanne (see this volume, p. 215) and did not finish it until February 1850, after his arrival in London from Switzerland.—207

274 The negotiations mentioned here ended in December 1849 in the foundation of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.* The periodical was planned as a continuation of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* published by Marx and Engels during the 1848-49 revolution. Altogether six issues appeared from March to November 1850, one of them a double one (5-6). The journal was edited in London and published in Hamburg. Most of the articles and literary and international reviews were written by Marx and Engels, who got their followers Wilhelm Wolff, Joseph Weydemeyer and Johann Georg Eccarius to contribute to the *Revue.* The works published in the journal assessed the results of the 1848-49 revolution and developed further the theory and tactics of the revolutionary proletarian party. The publication of the *Revue* was discontinued due to police persecution in Germany and lack of funds.—207

275 The date of writing of this letter was established on the basis of Marx's mentioning in it the receipt of Engels' letter to Jenny Marx of 25 July 1849.

In English this letter was first published abridged in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895,* International Publishers, New York, 1953.—208

276 The reference is to a contract signed between Leske and Marx on 1 February 1845 for the publication of Marx's work *Kritik der Politik und National-Ökonomie* (see Note 59).—208

277 An allusion to the setback of the Montagne on 13 June 1849 (see Note 260).

In the battle of *Waterloo* (18 June 1815) Napoleon's army was defeated by the Anglo-Dutch and Prussian forces commanded by Wellington and Blücher.—209, 332

278 There is no information about this article except a mention in Marx's next letter to Weydemeyer.—209

279 This seems to refer to Rühl's offer to participate in publishing a series of pamphlets (see this volume, p. 208) planned by Marx. The offer was conveyed through Weydemeyer on the basis of whose letter to Marx of 28 August 1849 the approximate date of this letter was established.—209

280 It is not known whether Marx wrote to Naut or not.—210

281 This letter written in the first half of August 1849 has not been found.—210

282 Marx's protest to the French Ministry of the Interior against the decision to expel him from Paris has not been found. When he wrote this letter Marx did not know that his protest had been rejected. But he soon received a notification by the commissioner of police, dated 16 August 1849, stating that Minister of the Interior Dufaure had upheld the decision on Marx's expulsion (see present edition, Vol. 9, p. 527).—211

283 The reference is to the home situation in France in the summer of 1849 which was characterised by intensified repressions against democrats and socialists and by discord and friction within the ruling circles themselves—between the various factions in the Assembly majority (see Note 267), between these factions and the Government, and between the Assembly and Louis Bonaparte's entourage.

The addition of *45 centimes* to every franc of all direct taxes was introduced by the Provisional Government on 16 March 1848. It aroused particular discontent among the peasants, who formed the bulk of tax-payers.

In mid-August 1849 under pressure from the monarchist deputies, a two months' adjournment of the French Legislative Assembly was decreed. The Assembly met again in October 1849.—211

284 At the meeting on 13 August 1849 in the London Drury Lane Theatre of the *National Association for Parliamentary and Financial Reform* (founded by the bourgeois radicals in 1849 with the aim of achieving a democratic electoral system and changes in the tax system) O'Connor advocated a union of the middle and working classes. His speech was supported by the Free Trader Thomas Thompson.—211, 219, 272, 279, 549

285 On 23 August 1849 Marx and his wife were ordered by the police to leave Paris within 24 hours. Jenny Marx got permission to stay in Paris till 15 September with her children, but Marx was obliged to make leave in haste. According to the Boulogne stamp in the passport issued to him by the French police on 24 August, he was in this port on his way to London on 26 August (see present edition, Vol. 9, pp. 529-30). Presumably he arrived on the same day in London, where he was based for the rest of his life.

Meanwhile Engels had left Vevey for Lausanne.—212

286 The Elberfeld uprising of workers and petty bourgeoisie in defence of the Imperial Constitution, which flared up on 8 May 1849, served as a signal for armed struggle in a number of towns in the Rhine Province (Düsseldorf, Iserlohn, Solingen and others). Engels arrived in Elberfeld on 11 May and took an active part in the uprising, in particular directing the erection of street barricades. However, his efforts to secure the disarmament of the bourgeois civic militia, the imposition of a war tax on the bourgeoisie, the formation of the nucleus of a Rhenish revolutionary army out of armed workers' detachments and to unite localised uprisings, met with opposition from the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaders of the movement. Under pressure from bourgeois circles Engels was expelled from the town on 15 May. The uprising in Elberfeld, as in other towns of the Rhine Province, was a failure.

On Engels' participation in the revolutionary struggle in Baden and the Palatinate see notes 264 and 265.—213, 551

287 In English this letter was first published abridged and datelined '25 August 1849' in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.

The date of writing has been corrected after a more exact deciphering of the original.—213

288 At the end of May 1849, returning from insurgent Baden and the Palatinate (see Note 258), Marx and Engels were arrested on the way to Bingen by Hesse soldiers, who suspected them of being insurgents, and were deported to Darmstadt and thence to Frankfurt am Main. There they were released and resumed their journey to Bingen.

Early in June 1849 Engels was arrested in Kirchheimbolanden by the Palatinate Provisional Government on a charge of anti-government propaganda. The day after his arrest he was released on the insistence of d'Ester, a member of the Provisional Government.—213

289 Jenny Marx and her three children arrived in London about 17 September 1849.—216

290 Accepting Marx's suggestion to move to London Engels had to go via Piedmont, as he risked being arrested in France and more so in Germany. On 5 October 1849 he arrived in Genoa, and on the following day left for England on a British schooner via Gibraltar and the Bay of Biscay. The voyage lasted nearly five weeks. About 12 November, Engels arrived in London as was reported in the item: 'London, 14. Nov.' by the *Westdeutsche Zeitung*, No. 154, 20 November 1849.

The English original of the present letter was first printed in the *Harney Papers*, Assen, 1969.—217

291 This letter has not been found.—217

292 Societies referred to are the *German Workers' Educational Society* (London) (see Note 52) and the *Democratic Association* formed by a group of petty-bourgeois democrats headed by Kallenberg in London early in November 1849, and joined later by some former members of the Educational Society, Ludwig Bauer among them. Engels also wrote to Jakob Schabelitz on the collision between the two organisations (see this volume, p. 222).

The *German Political Refugee Committee* was set up on Marx's initiative under the auspices of the German Workers' Educational Society in London on 18 September 1849. Besides Marx and other members of the Communist League it included some petty-bourgeois democrats. At the meeting of the Educational Society on 18 November the Committee was transformed into the *Social-Democratic Refugee Committee*, the aim being to dissociate the proletarian section of the London refugees from the petty-bourgeois elements. The new Committee included only members of the Communist League. Marx was elected its chairman. Engels, who after his arrival in London was included in the Central Authority of the Communist League restored by Marx, also became a member of the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee.

Besides rendering material aid to the proletarian refugees, the Committee played an important role in reorganising the Communist League and reestablishing ties between its members. In September 1850, Marx, Engels and their adherents withdrew from the Committee because the followers of the Willich-Schapper sectarian group were in the majority in the Educational Society to which the Refugee Committee was accountable.

Early in November 1849, the petty-bourgeois democrats of the Democratic Association formed their own Refugee Committee headed by Ludwig Bauer, Friedrich Bobzin and Gustav Struve.—218, 442, 445

293 In English this letter was first published abridged in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—218, 405

294 On Marx's plans to write and publish a work on political economy see notes 5 and 59.—219

295 Marx's intention to enlist Joseph Weydemeyer as a regular contributor to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* was never realised. About mid-January Weydemeyer wrote his first article 'From South Germany' but it was not published in the first issue of the *Revue* owing to lack of space, and later lost its topical interest.—219, 225, 228, 549

296 In a series of articles published in the *Voix du Peuple* from 10 November 1849 to 18 January 1850 Proudhon polemicised bitterly with Louis Blanc, particularly against the latter's idea of using the existing State for solving the social problem, and censured his activity as a member of the Provisional Government of the French Republic (see Note 213) calling him a pseudo-socialist and pseudo-democrat.

Proudhon criticised from anarcho-reformist positions Louis Blanc's 'state socialism' and other French socialists' ideas close to Blanc's.—219

297 After their defeat in 1848 (dispersal of their demonstration of 10 April, etc.) the Chartists resumed agitation in the autumn of 1849: mass meetings in factory districts were held in support of the imprisoned Chartists and an amnesty of political prisoners was demanded. At the beginning of December 1849 a new wave of meetings swept over London and the towns of Northern England on the occasion of the nomination of delegates to the Chartist Convention which was to reorganise the movement.—220

298 Karl Heinzen's statements in his pamphlet, *Lehren der Revolution*, that during the future revolution millions of reactionaries would be beaten up, were used by some conservative European press organs for launching a campaign against political refugees. As *The Times* of 23 November 1849 tried to lay the responsibility for these 'hellish doctrines' on all German socialists and described Heinzen as one of their leading figures, Marx and Engels deemed it necessary to dissociate themselves from his utterances. With this aim in view Engels published a note 'The German Social Democrats and *The Times*' in the Chartist *Northern Star*, 1 December 1849 (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 3-4).—220

299 The first issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* published on 8 March 1850 carried the first part of Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 45-70), two chapters of Engels' *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 147-85) and Karl Blind's article 'Österreichische und preussische Parteien in Baden'.

The general introduction mentioned in this letter was not published. The review of events written by Marx and Engels appeared only in the second issue of the journal (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 257-70). Wilhelm Wolff's article was only published in the fourth issue under the heading 'Nachträgliches "aus dem Reich"': it discussed the final stage in the work of the Frankfurt National Assembly (see Note 231) after the majority of the liberal deputies had withdrawn and it had been transferred to Stuttgart (end of May 1849).

The lectures on political economy which Marx delivered in the London German Workers' Educational Society (see Note 52) at the end of 1849 and in 1850 were not published in the *Revue*.—222

300 The club referred to by Engels is the emigrant *Democratic Association* (see Note 292).

In 1848-49 the republican democrats in Germany called the moderate bourgeois constitutionalists 'wailers' (Heuler). In this particular instance the reference is to petty-bourgeois democrats who left the London German Workers' Educational Society and took part in setting up the Democratic Association.—222, 384

301 In a letter of 30 December 1849 addressed to Marx and Engels and other refugees, Louis Bamberger (editor of the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*), Eduard von Müller-Tellering and Rudolf Schramm invited them to attend a German refugees' meeting which was to be held on 3 January 1850 with the alleged aim of uniting the German refugees. Actually the organisers wanted to bring the proletarian elements under petty-bourgeois influence.—223

302 Marx's letter to Jung has not been found.

Besides raising funds for the publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* and the projected resumption of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Conrad Schramm's trip to the USA was aimed at raising funds for other activities of the Communist League, which was being reorganised by Marx and Engels. The trip did not take place for lack of funds.

For his participation in the revolutionary movement Conrad Schramm (presumably a Communist League member since the beginning of 1849) was sentenced in Cologne on 15 June 1849 to two years' imprisonment in the fortress of Jülich. On 8 September 1849 he escaped from prison and emigrated to London, where he was elected to the Central Authority of the Communist League.—225

303 In his note of 5 February 1850 Eduard von Müller-Tellering asked for a ticket to the ball organised by the London German Workers' Educational Society. Engels' refusal was used by Tellering as a pretext for intrigues against Marx and Engels. See also this volume, pp. 229-30, 234.—227

304 The printing of the first issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* by Köhler's printshop in Hamburg turned to be of poor quality. Because of this and of the disagreements between Köhler and the publisher Schuberth, from the second issue the *Revue* was printed at H. G. Voigt's in Wandsbeck near Hamburg.—229

305 While the *Revue* was being printed, disagreements arose between the proof-reader Theodor Hagen and the publisher Schuberth, who wanted to accommodate the *Revue* to the censorship standards existing in Germany at the time. Hagen proposed to assume responsibility to the censors for the content, and Marx and Engels insisted that Hagen's name should appear as 'responsible editor' on the title page. However Schuberth succeeded in having Hagen's proposal rejected.—229

306 On 3 March 1850 the court of honour, presided by Willich, expelled Tellering from the London German Workers' Educational Society. Tellering wrote a new letter of protest, slandering Engels. This letter of Marx was in reply to Müller-Tellering's intrigues and slander (see also Note 303).—229

307 Marx presumably has in mind Müller-Tellering's unprincipled behaviour in connection with a translation of the memoirs of György Klapka, a participant in the 1848-49 Hungarian revolution. When Klapka had declined Tellering's offer

to translate the memoirs, early in January 1850 Tellering tried in vain to have material compromising the Hungarian general published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* of which Marx was an editor. At the same time Tellering proposed his services to Klapka in the struggle against Karl Heinzen, but having been exposed in this intrigue, he helped Heinzen to spread insinuations against Marx and Engels.—230

308 The Refugee Committee in Frankfurt am Main was founded by the Frankfurt Workers' Association at the end of 1849. At its meeting on 28 September 1849, presided by Joseph Weydemeyer, the Association decided to make weekly allocations to refugees.—231, 236

309 In April 1850 the petty-bourgeois democrats Gustav Struve, Rudolf Schramm and others tried to gain influence among the German political refugees in London to counterbalance the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee. They spread false rumours, which got into the German press, alleging a biased approach on the part of the Committee in distributing material aid among the refugees. The London Refugee Committee's statement mentioned at the beginning of this letter refuted the rumours.—232

310 This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—233, 489, 539

311 Engels' letter to Dronke has not been found.—233

312 The letter of Marx and Engels to Naut has not been found.—234

313 The society referred to is that of the French Blanquist refugees in London (Société des proscrits démocrates socialistes) with whom Marx and Engels, and also representatives of the revolutionary wing of the Chartists, concluded an agreement in mid-April 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 614-15) to set up a Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists (Société universelle des communistes révolutionnaires). However, the Blanquists soon violated the agreement by contacting the emigrant 'Society in Greek Street'—the petty-bourgeois Democratic Association (on this see Note 292). Subsequently, the leaders of the Blanquist refugees took an openly hostile stand towards Marx and Engels and their supporters by making a bloc with a sectarian faction within the Communist League. In these circumstances Marx and Engels considered it appropriate to cancel their agreement with the Blanquists early in October 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 10, p. 484).—235

314 This is an allusion to the campaign against German political refugees launched by the Prussian conservative newspapers and taken up by the English press. This campaign grew in intensity especially after an attempt on the life of King Frederick William IV of Prussia in Berlin on 22 May 1850 by the retired non-commissioned officer Max Sefeloge (he died in a lunatic asylum). The reactionary press, the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* in particular, spread the lie that the attempt had been prepared by Marx and other leaders in London of an extensive conspiracy. The Prussian authorities urged the British Government to deport the political refugees. Marx and Engels unmasked the organisers of this slander campaign in their letter to the Prussian Ambassador in London Bunsen and in other statements in the press (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 370, 378 and 386).—237

315 Two excerpts of this letter are extant: one is quoted by Roland Daniels in his letter to Marx of 28 June 1850, the other in the letter of 10 July 1850 from the Cologne leading district of the Communist League to the London Central Authority of the League.

The letter reflects the disagreement which arose in the summer of 1850 between the London Central Authority and the leaders of the Cologne organisations of the Communist League (Heinrich Bürgers, Roland Daniels, Peter Röser and others). The Cologne people's claim to become the Communist League's leading centre for the whole of Germany was contrary to the League's Rules, which were inspired by democratic centralism and provided for equality of the district organisations in individual provinces and countries and their equal responsibility to the Central Authority.—237

316 This letter was first published in English with abridgments in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895,* New York, 1953.

However, a slip of the pen on the part of the author, substituting July for June, was not taken into account and in the present edition it has been corrected on the basis of Weydemeyer's reply to Marx of 3 July 1850.—238

317 Marx's intention to reply to Lüning's criticism remained unfulfilled. However, in a statement to the editor of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* (published on 4 July 1850) Marx and Engels protested against Lüning's attempts to distort their views on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the role of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as the mouthpiece of the working class.—238

318 The foreign policy of the Russell cabinet was debated in the House of Commons on 24-27 June 1850. Despite strong Tory opposition the Whig Government was given a vote of confidence by majority of 46.—238

319 This refers to the proposed convocation of a congress of the Communist League (see also present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 375-76) which did not take place, however, owing to the split in the League in September 1850 caused by the disruptive activity of the Willich-Schapper separatist group.—239

320 Marx may have had in mind the situation in the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein in the summer of 1850, when Communist League members conducted intense propaganda among the military units there. During the 1848 revolution the population of the duchy staged a national liberation uprising against Danish rule, demanding union with Germany. Prussian circles launched a phoney war against Denmark, but a truce was signed on 26 August 1848. The Prusso-Danish war was resumed at the end of March 1849 and it ended with a new betrayal by Prussia signing a peace treaty with the Danish monarchy on 2 July 1850. As a result the insurgents were compelled to continue the war on their own and on 24-25 July 1850 the Schleswig-Holstein army was defeated by Danish troops, and ceased resistance.—239

321 In the summer of 1849, after the closing down of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Jenny Marx on her way to Trier with her children stopped for a few days in Frankfurt am Main where, badly needing money to continue her journey, she pawned, with the help of Joseph and Louise Weydemeyer, the silver plate she had inherited from her family's Scottish relations.—240

322 Weydemeyer did not carry out his plan to write a popular outline of political economy until after his arrival in the USA in October 1851. This work was published in New York in April-August 1853 in the German newspaper *Die Reform* under the title 'National-ökonomische Skizzen'.—241

323 In mid-November 1850 Engels left London for Manchester, where he worked in the Ermen and Engels firm first as a clerk and later as a partner until June 1869. He took up this work, in spite of his dislike for it, mainly to provide material assistance for Marx and his family, so that Marx could continue to work on the theory of political economy. Henceforth Marx and Engels maintained regular and frequent correspondence.

This letter was first published in English in full in *The Letters of Karl Marx*. selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliff, New Jersey, 1979.—241

324 Marx's son Heinrich Guido was nicknamed Fawksy by the family because he was born on 5 November 1849, the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. The conspirators, Guy Fawkes among them, wanted to blow up the Houses of Parliament and James I on 5 November. In Britain this anniversary is celebrated with fireworks.—241, 550

325 Engels' letter to Jenny Marx mentioned here has not been found.—242

326 *Stamp duty* on newspapers introduced in 1712 was a source of state revenue and the means of fighting the opposition press. In 1836 Parliament was compelled to reduce it and in 1855 to abolish it altogether.

Harney was accused of not paying stamp duty on *The Red Republican*.—243

327 The reference is to the legal proceedings against the weekly *Household Words* founded by Charles Dickens in March 1849. They ended on 1 December 1851 in favour of the weekly.—243

328 In mid-September 1850 the Communist League split due to the adventurist activities of the Willich-Schapper separatist group, which, contrary to the majority of the League's Central Authority, stood for the tactics of immediately launching a revolution without due consideration of the real conditions in Europe. On 17 September Marx, Engels and their followers withdrew from the London German Workers' Educational Society which fell under the influence of the group. The spokesmen of the Willich-Schapper group brought a suit on behalf of the Society against Heinrich Bauer and Karl Pfänder, supporters of the majority of the League's Central Authority, who held some of the Society's money as trustees to cover the needs of the League and help political refugees. Bauer and Pfänder were willing to return the money in instalments, provided it was not spent by the separatists to the detriment of the Communist League. However, the separatists insisted on the immediate return of the entire sum. On 20 November 1850 the court rejected the Society's suit, but the followers of Willich and Schapper did not halt their insinuations and started a press campaign against Bauer and Pfänder, accusing them of embezzlement. Marx and Engels helped to refute this slander (see present edition, Vol. 10, p. 533).—243, 245, 477

329 Engels' letter to Marx mentioned here has not been found.—243

330 *Pulteney Stores*—apparently the premises where the members of the London district of the Communist League held their meetings. At the meeting of the Central Authority held on 15 September 1850 Marx, in an effort to avert a split and with the support of the majority, suggested to transfer the seat of the Central Authority to Cologne, to authorise the Cologne district committee to form a new Central Authority, and to set up in London two independent district committees, one of the followers of Marx and Engels, and the other of those of Willich and Schapper. The separatists refused to submit to this

decision and formed their own Central Committee in London. Marx's followers in London grouped around the London district committee, while a new Central Authority was formed in Cologne in October 1850, and expelled the members of the separatist organisation from the Communist League.—245

331 The London German Workers' Educational Society (see Note 52) had its premises in *Great Windmill Street*.—245, 280, 283, 285, 287, 289, 298, 334, 356, 359, 362, 385, 442, 477, 498

332 The meeting between the Russian Emperor Nicholas I, the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph and the head of the Prussian Government, the Count of Brandenburg, took place in Warsaw on 28 October 1850. At it Nicholas I resolutely took the side of Austria in the Austro-Prussian conflict and brought pressure to bear upon the Prussian Prime Minister, demanding that Prussia should abandon all plans to unite Germany under her hegemony.—246

333 The leaders of the refugee organisations listed signed this document. Among them were in particular the organisation of the French Blanquist refugees—Société des proscrits démocrates socialistes (see Note 313), the London German Workers' Educational Society and the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee (see Note 292). The last two fell after the split in the Communist League under the influence of the Willich-Schapper separatist group.

Subsequently, in their satirical pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile*, Marx and Engels noted that this group was formed from the lower strata of the emigrants and took part in the squabbles among the political refugees. They also made fun of its *Fanon-Caperon manifesto*, as the conservative press called it (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 294).—247

334 Haude went to Germany as an emissary of the Willich-Schapper group after the split in the Communist League.—250

335 Marx apparently has in mind Engels' work for a quarterly planned by him as a continuation of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* whose publication was discontinued after the double No. 5-6 issue (see pp. 257, 266 of this volume). The plans of publishing a quarterly were never realised.—250

336 This, presumably, refers to a refugee meeting held in London on 20 November 1850.—251

337 The German translation of *The Poverty of Philosophy* was not published during Marx's lifetime. It appeared only in 1885.—252

338 Engels compares the grouping of refugee organisations whose representatives signed the address 'To the Democrats of All Nations!' with the Central Committee of European Democracy set up in London in June 1850 on the initiative of Giuseppe Mazzini. The Committee included, besides Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin from the French democrats, Arnold Ruge from the German, and Albert Darasz from the Polish democrats. The Central Committee members held sharply differing ideological views, and the strained relations between the Italian and French democrats led to its dissolution in March 1852.—255, 309, 440

339 By *educational movement* Engels means the attempts of the Christian socialists and bourgeois radicals in Britain in the late 1840s and early 1850s to divert the working class from independent political struggle by means of various educational and associated institutions (schools, libraries, etc.).

*Moral force*—the name given in the political vocabulary of the time to peaceful, non-revolutionary methods of carrying out social and political reforms. From the 1830s to the 1850s the moral force supporters included Right-wing Chartists oriented towards collaboration with the bourgeois radicals.

Engels made the acquaintance of John Watts during his stay in England in 1842-44 and assessed his part in disseminating Robert Owen's socialist ideas in his 'Letters from London' (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 385-89).—255, 405

340 Dissenters were members of Protestant religious sects and trends in England who rejected the dogmas and rites of the official Anglican Church.—255

341 Engels' letter to Dronke mentioned here has not been found.—256

342 This refers to the Communist League Rules drawn up by the Cologne Central Authority in the autumn of 1850 after the split in the League (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 634-36). The Rules were received in London on 18 December 1850 and were approved on 5 January 1851 by a London district committee meeting, at which Marx was present.—257, 552

343 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895*, London, 1934. The letter was published in fuller form but without the last paragraph in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—258

344 At the end of 1850 the German democratic refugees Gross, Hine and Wilhelmi in Cincinnati wrote to Marx and Engels asking them to contribute free of charge to so-called 'progressive pamphlets' and to the planned periodicals *Social-Demokrat* and *Republik der Bauern*. However, Marx and Engels ignored their offer because of their differences of views with the petty-bourgeois democrats and the commercial interests behind the offer.—262, 271

345 At the end of 1850 Engels stayed with Marx's family in London for a whole week and on 30 December he made a speech at a New Year party organised by the Fraternal Democrats. Marx and his wife were also present (see present edition, Vol. 10, p. 637).—263, 561

346 On 5 January 1851 a public meeting was organised at the People's Institute by the Manchester Chartist Council in which reformist elements (James Leach, Daniel Donovan), supporters of O'Connor, who had favoured collaboration with the bourgeois radicals since 1848, were in the majority. The initiators of the meeting wanted to counteract the influence of Ernest Jones and George Harney, representatives of the revolutionary wing of the Chartists, who played the leading role in the London Executive of the National Charter Association and were working to reorganise the Chartist Party on the basis of open recognition of the movement's socialist aims. On learning of the proposed meeting Ernest Jones went to Manchester. On Harney's request Engels attended the meeting and supported Jones.

A bitterly contested issue at the meeting on 5 January 1851 was that of the relations between the Manchester Council and the London Executive to which Harney and Jones had been reelected in December 1850. Despite opposition from the reformist leaders, half of those present supported the new Executive.—263

347 Marx has in mind negotiations concerning publication of his works started with Hermann Becker in December 1850. The first issue of *Gesammelte Aufsätze von*

*Karl Marx* was published in Cologne in April 1851. It contained the article 'Comments on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction' and part of the first article 'Proceedings of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly' (see present edition, Vol. 1, pp. 109-31 and 132-81), written by Marx in 1842. The edition was discontinued owing to Becker's arrest.—266, 342, 355, 432

348 Marx intended to bring an action against the Hamburg publisher Julius Schuberth to make him continue publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.*—266

349 This refers to the manifesto of the Central Committee of European Democracy (see Note 338) 'Aux peoples! Organisation de la démocratie' published in *Le Proscrit,* No. 2, 6 August 1850 and signed by Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, Darasz and Ruge. Ruge, who posed as an atheist, signed the manifesto, despite the religious slogans it contained. For criticism of the manifesto see: K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Review (May to October [1850])' (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 528-32).—267

350 *Friends of Light*—a religious trend which arose in 1841. It was directed against pietism which, supported by Junker circles and predominant in the official Protestant Church, was distinguished by extreme mysticism and bigotry. The 'Friends of Light' movement was an expression of bourgeois discontent with the reactionary order in Germany in the 1840s, which led in 1846-47 to the formation of so-called *free communities,* which broke away from the official Protestant Church.—267, 374, 384, 447

351 Jenny Marx who was extremely grieved by the death of her son Heinrich Guido (Fawksy) was soon to have a baby. On 28 March 1851 she gave birth to a daughter, Franziska, the Marxes' fifth child.—268

352 At this time Engels was working on a series of articles on the European petty-bourgeois democratic leaders which he intended for *The Friend of the People,* a weekly edited by G. J. Harney. His intention did not materialise, however, owing to disagreements with Harney because of the latter's sympathising with opponents of Marx and Engels—petty-bourgeois emigrants and sectarian elements. Later Marx and Engels used this material in *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11).—268, 278, 287

353 Marx's and Engels' statement on Ruge's article in the *Bremer Tages-Chronik* was not published either in the *Weser-Zeitung* or in the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung* (see this volume, p. 397).—269

354 Marx's letter to Georg Weerth, sent through Engels, has not been found.—269

355 An allusion to what Siegfried Weiss, a petty-bourgeois democrat, wrote to Marx on 2 April 1850, offering to contribute to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue:* 'My pen is sharp and spicy.' Below Engels, presumably, plays on words from this letter.—272

356 This refers to the Chartist Conference held in Manchester on 26-30 January 1851 by O'Connor's supporters, despite opposition from the Executive of the National Charter Association. At Harney's request Engels attended the conference in order to inform the revolutionary wing of the Chartists of its proceedings and results. The majority of the participants took a conciliatory reformist stand on the attitude to be adopted towards other parties and the organisation of cooperative societies, etc. However, at the Chartist Convention

which took place in London from 31 March to 10 April the supporters of the revolutionary line of Harney and Jones were in the majority. The Convention adopted the programme of the National Charter Association, which openly proclaimed socialist aims.—272

357 The original of the letter is not extant. The excerpt published here was quoted in the indictment of Hermann Becker and others at the Cologne communist trial (1852).—273, 282, 308, 331

358 Marx's reference to Joseph, the carpenter, husband of Mary, the mother of Christ, is an ironical allusion to August Willich who resigned his commission in the Prussian army just before the 1848 revolution and worked as a carpenter in Cologne.—273, 282, 284

359 By *currency chaps* Marx presumably meant the Birmingham school of 'little shilling men', so called after the Birmingham banker Thomas Attwood who founded it. This school's views were expounded in *The Currency Question. The Gemini Letters,* London, 1844 written anonymously by Thomas Wright and John Harlow, calling themselves the 'Gemini'.—275

360 *Papal aggression* here means Pope Pius IX's interference in Anglican Church matters. On 30 September 1850 the Pope issued a bull establishing several Catholic bishoprics in England and appointing Nicholas Wiseman Archbishop of Westminster and Cardinal. In reply to this, the Whig Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, carried a bill through Parliament in 1851 forbidding any clergyman not belonging to the Anglican Church to assume the title of bishop. The bill in fact remained a dead letter.—279

361 The reference is to the commission of 17 Orleanist and Legitimist deputies to the Legislative Assembly appointed by the Minister of the Interior on 1 May 1850 to draft a new electoral law. Its members were nicknamed burgraves, a name borrowed from the title of Victor Hugo's historical drama as an allusion to their unwarranted claims to power and their reactionary aspirations. The drama is set in medieval Germany where a *Burggraf* was governor of a *Burg* (city) or a district, appointed by the Emperor.—280

362 *Church Street*—a street in London where the Fraternal Society of French Socialist Democrats had its seat. The Society included different elements of the French emigration in London, Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc were among its members. The Society was founded in the autumn of 1850 for the purpose of providing material assistance to French political emigrants (see also this volume, p. 292).

24 February was the anniversary of the February 1848 revolution in France.—283, 292, 309, 312, 314

363 A reference to Eccarius' contribution to Harney's journal *The Friend of the People;* Nos. 4-7 of 4, 11, 18 and 25 January 1851 carried Eccarius' article 'The Last Stage of Bourgeois Society'.—285

364 In February 1851 the Party of Order (a bloc of monarchist parties of Legitimists and Orleanists) in coalition with the Mountain party in the Legislative Assembly rejected by a majority of 102 votes a motion to grant President Louis Napoleon a supplementary provision of 1,800,000 francs.—286, 504

365 A reference to a conflict between Prussia and Switzerland over the principality of Neuchâtel and Valangin which prior to 1848 was under Prussian rule, but

which since 1815 had been incorporated into the Swiss Confederation as a canton. In February 1848 a bourgeois revolution broke out in Neuchâtel and a republic was proclaimed. However only in 1857 under pressure from France did Prussia give up its claims to Neuchâtel and Valangin.—288

366 An allusion to Montalembert, a representative of the monarchist coalition (the Party of Order), who in February 1851 supported in the Legislative Assembly the motion to grant Louis Napoleon a supplementary provision of 1,800,000 francs. The majority of the Party of Order voted against (see also Note 364).—288

367 The letter Engels intended to send to Harney on 14 February 1851 has not been found.

On Engels' planned articles, see Note 352.—289

368 A reference to the Central Committee of European Democracy (see Note 338).—292

369 The reference is to the *Labour Commission* which sat at the Luxembourg Palace from 28 February to 16 May 1848 and was presided over by Louis Blanc (see Note 213).

The *Pre-parliament,* which sat at Frankfurt am Main from 31 March to 4 April 1848, consisted of representatives of the German states, mostly constitutional monarchists. On a motion of the Pre-parliament a *Committee of Fifty* was formed which was to provide, in agreement with the United Diet, for the convocation of an all-German National Assembly. The Pre-parliament worked out the 'Fundamental Rights and Demands of the German People'. This document proclaimed some rights and freedoms, but it did not actually affect the foundation of the semi-feudal absolutist regime prevalent in Germany at the time.—293

370 An allusion to a governmental crisis in Britain. In February 1851 the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, resigned after failing in his opposition to M.P. Locke King's motion to assimilate the county to the borough franchise. However, the Tory leader Stanley failed to form a cabinet and in March Russell again became Prime Minister.—296

371 In the original Marx used the term *Haupt- und Staatsaktion* ('principal and spectacular action', 'main and state action') which has a double meaning. First, in the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, it denoted plays performed by German touring companies. Second, this term can denote major political events. It was used in this sense by a trend in German historical writing known as 'objective historiography', of which Leopold Ranke was one of the chief representatives, regarding *Haupt- und Staatsaktion* as history's main subject-matter.—297, 437

372 These cries were used at the meeting to get those present to deal with Pieper and Schramm in the same way as the workers of the Barclay, Perkins & Co. did with the Austrian Field Marshal Julius Haynau, who directed the suppression of the revolution in Italy and Hungary. Haynau was attacked by workers during a visit to Britain in September 1850.—298, 309

373 Engels' letters to Wilhelm Wolff, who was in Zurich (Switzerland) at the time and did not come to London till early July 1851, have not been found.—301

374 This may mean *Le Constitutionnel,* the issue No. 58 of which on 27 February 1851 carried a report of the so-called 'banquet of the equals' held on 24 February on the initiative of Louis Blanc, Willich, Schapper and other emigrants to mark the anniversary of the February 1848 revolution.—303

375 Harney joined Marx and Engels in officially breaking with the Blanquists and the members of the Willich-Schapper separatist group who supported them. The result was the cancellation of the previously concluded agreement to establish a Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists (see Note 313).—304

376 A reference to Ferdinand Wolff's letter sent to Engels from London on 25 February 1851. Wolff wrote about the clearly unrealistic plans to publish, in order to make money, a guide-book in Russian for the Great Exhibition which was to open in May 1851, and asked for Engels' advice.—305

377 Neither of the two versions—of 26 and 27 February 1851—of Engels' letter to Harney has been found.—306

378 An allusion to the false accusation made against Marx's and Engels' associates, Heinrich Bauer and Karl Pfänder, of appropriating money belonging to the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 328).—307

379 An allusion to a duel between Conrad Schramm and August Willich on 11 September 1850 in Belgium in which Schramm was slightly wounded. Schramm challenged Willich because the latter had insulted him at a meeting of the Communist League Central Authority at the end of August 1850 during heated disputes between supporters of Marx and Engels and adherents of the Willich-Schapper separatist group.—307, 473, 552

380 The *Aliens Bill,* enacted by the British Parliament in 1793, was renewed in 1802, 1803, 1816, 1818 and, finally, in 1848 (An Act to Authorise for One Year, and to the End of the Then Next Session of Parliament, the Removal of Aliens from the Realm). In 1850 public opinion obstructed the renewal of this Bill despite Conservative efforts.—308, 312, 358

381 Marx's invitation to Ernest Jones of 27 February 1851 and another note mentioned earlier have not been found.—312

382 Early in March 1851 Engels went to London for a few days to improve relations with the Chartists which deteriorated after Conrad Schramm and Wilhelm Pieper had been man-handled at the 'banquet of the equals' (see Note 374). Simultaneously, Marx and Engels took steps to expose Louis Blanc, Willich, Schapper and other organisers of the banquet. By that time it had transpired that the latter had deliberately kept secret the text of the toast sent by Auguste Blanqui from the Belle-Isle prison, in which he exposed Louis Blanc, Ledru-Rollin and other members of the Provisional Government of the French Republic as traitors to the revolution. However, the text of the toast was published in *La Patrie* (No. 58, 27 February 1851) and other newspapers. Marx and Engels translated it into German and English. The German version with a short preface written by them was sent to Cologne and printed in leaflet form, giving Berne as the place of publication (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 537-39).

During his stay in London, on 5 March, Engels apparently wrote a letter to the editor of *The Times* refuting a false declaration of Louis Blanc, published in that day's issue of the paper, that Blanqui's toast was never received by the

organisers of the 'banquet of the equals'. Engels enclosed the English translation of Blanqui's toast for publication in *The Times*. But neither the letter nor the translation was published.—312, 381

383 This refers to the banquet organised in London on 13 March 1851 by a group of emigrants to mark the anniversary of the March revolution in Vienna. Marx and Engels gave their assessment of the banquet in *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 297).—317

384 Vidil was one of the six members of the organising committee of the banquet held on 24 February 1851 who voted for Blanqui's toast to be read out. Seven committee members voted against. Yet the statement in *La Patrie*, No. 67 of 7 March, denying reception of Blanqui's toast, was also signed by six committee members, including Vidil. Marx drew attention to this in his letter to Engels of 22 March 1851 (see this volume, p. 321). Later Marx and Engels described in detail in *The Great Men of the Exile* how the attempts to keep Blanqui's toast secret had been exposed. They also included in the pamphlet a passage from *La Patrie*, No. 71 of 12 March 1851 (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 296) which Marx quoted in his letter of 17 March.—319

385 *Landwehr* (the army reserve) in Prussia was formed at the time of the struggle against Napoleonic rule. In the 1840s it was made up of persons up to forty years of age who had served three years in the army and been on the reserve list for at least two years. As distinct from the regular troops, the army reserve was mobilised only in special emergencies (war or threat of war). In the autumn of 1850, in connection with the aggravation of the Austro-Prussian conflict, the Prussian Government mobilised the army reserve.—320, 382, 460, 560

386 During the liberation war of the Spanish people against Napoleonic rule the French twice laid siege to Saragossa: from 15 June to 14 August 1808 and from 20 December 1808 to 20 February 1809. The city withstood the first siege but fell after resisting the second heroically for two months.

Engels' remark about the second siege of Saragossa is his own interpretation of an episode described by W.F.P. Napier in his *History of the War in the Peninsula...*, Vol. II, London, 1832, p. 51.—320

387 The beginning of this letter was written on the last page of Wilhelm Pieper's letter to Engels of 22 March 1851 in which Pieper on Marx's request cites the full text of the proclamation 'To the Germans' issued by Ruge, Struve, Haug, Ronge and Kinkel on 13 March 1851 on behalf of the Committee for German Affairs ('Der Ausschuss für die deutschen Gelegenheiten') set up by them at the time.

An abridged version of the proclamation was quoted by Marx and Engels in *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 297-98).—321

388 Marx has in mind the *Weltgeschichte* which Struve was working upon at the time and which was published by him in 9 volumes in New York, beginning in 1856. In 1864 it was published in 6 volumes in Coburg.—322

389 Neither of Marx's two letters to his mother mentioned here, or the notification of the bill on her he had made out to Simon Bamberger, has been found.—323

390 This presumably refers to the will of Jenny Marx's Scottish relative who died in the early 1850s. Under this will Jenny inherited about £200.—324

391 An ironical allusion to Proudhon's assertion in *La philosophie de la misère* that 'since in society time is value itself, the railway would, prices being equal,

present an advantage of 400 per cent over road transport'. For criticism of this proposition see Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* (present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 153-55).—325

392 Marx visited Engels in Manchester in the second half of April 1851 and stayed from about 17 to 26 April.—325, 335

393 Exactly what was Marx's plan mentioned here and in Engels' letter to Marx of 3 April 1851 has not been established. Most likely Marx intended to prepare publication in two volumes of works summing up the experience of the 1848-49 revolution in Europe. This seems to emerge from Marx's suggestion that Engels should write a survey of the revolutionary war in Hungary in 1848-49 for this publication.

*Blue Books*—periodical collections of documents of the British Parliament and Foreign Office. The first were published in the seventeenth century.—325

394 The letter to Roland Daniels, containing Marx's analysis of Daniels' manuscript *Mikrokosmos. Entwurf einer physiologischen Anthropologie* which the author sent to Marx in mid-February 1851 requesting his opinion of it and a preface to it, is not extant. Judging by Daniels' reply of 25 March 1851 (which Marx forwarded to Engels), Marx's letter containing critical notes on the manuscript was dated 20 March.—326

395 In the battle of Jena on 14 October 1806 a considerable Prussian force was defeated by Napoleon's army and another was beaten on the same day at Auerstadt by Marshal Davu's army.—329

396 In the battle at Marengo (Northern Italy) on 14 June 1800 the French army under Napoleon Bonaparte defeated the Austrians. This battle decided France's victory over the forces of the second anti-French coalition (1798-1801).—329, 504

397 The *Thirty Years' War*, 1618-48—a European war, in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the German Catholic princes rallied under the banner of Catholicism and fought against the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands and a number of German states. The rulers of Catholic France—rivals of the Habsburgs—supported the Protestant camp.—329

398 Engels compares the policy of some Tory leaders who made forced concessions to the bourgeoisie, with the military tactics of Wellington in the Peninsular war of 1808-14, when the Anglo-Portuguese army under his command retreated to the fortified line at Torres Vedras (near Lisbon) in the autumn of 1810. Wellington left covering forces along the French line of advance which the enemy could overcome only after stubborn fighting. As a result, when the French troops reached Torres Vedras they were so exhausted that they could not attack the fortifications and were compelled to withdraw to the Spanish border in March 1811.—333

399 Marx's letter to Wilhelm Wolff of 11 April 1851 has not been found.—333

400 *Parliamentary trains*—name given in England in the nineteenth century to trains, which under a law of 1844 each railway company had to run once a day at a speed of twelve miles per hour, fares not exceeding one penny per mile.—335

401 On Marx's stay in Manchester see Note 392.—336

402 In the battle of Austerlitz (now Slavkow in Czechoslovakia) on 2 December 1805 the French army under Napoleon defeated the allied Russo-Austrian forces thus predetermining the defeat of the third anti-French coalition.—336

403 On 25 April 1851 Cologne's deputy burgomaster Schenk, welcoming Prince William of Prussia on his arrival there, expressed gratitude on behalf of the City Council for suppression of the 1848-49 revolution in Prussia. In reply the Prince declared that his army was prepared to suppress any revolutionary movement at any time, but that the Cologne press should 'reform'. Schenk's speech aroused the dissatisfaction of the City Council.—337

404 Engels refers to Wolff's plans to emigrate from Switzerland to the USA. In March 1851 Wolff received through Anneke an offer of a post as editor of the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, while his Silesian friend Voidechovsky invited him to teach at a high school for girls at St. Louis (Missouri). Meanwhile, on 13 March an expulsion order was issued against him. In his letter to Marx of 5 April Wolff asked for assistance in getting a passport and money to go to England and on to the USA via Liverpool. Engels did his utmost to get passports and money for Wolff and Dronke through the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League. About 9 June 1851 Wolff arrived in London and remained in England.—339, 342

405 On Engels' journey from Switzerland to England see Note 290.—340

406 Engels may have in mind Marx's and his prospective crossing the Atlantic to settle in the USA. No documents have been found to prove this, but the perspective may have occurred to them in the summer of 1850. That was when Marx wrote to Joseph Weydemeyer that if the Whig ministry were to fall they would be 'the Tories' first victims', in which case 'long-intended expulsion' would become a probability (see this volume, p. 240).—341

407 This apparently refers to the so-called Committee for German Affairs (see Note 387).—342

408 Marx's letter to Roland Daniels written on about 4 May 1851 has not been found.—343

409 A reference to *Notes to the People* (at first the title was intended to be *Poems and Notes to the People*)—the Chartist weekly published in London from 1851 to 1852 and edited by Ernest Jones. Since Harney had then drawn closer to the petty-bourgeois democrats, the publication of this periodical—the mouthpiece of the revolutionary proletarian wing of the Chartists—assumed exceptional importance.—346

410 Despite this conjecture Freiligrath moved from Cologne to London in the second half of May 1851 (see this volume, pp. 355, 359). Of the other members of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* editorial board (not counting Heinrich Bürgers, who was only so in name), Marx and Ferdinand Wolff were already in London; Wilhelm Wolff and Ernst Dronke were expected and Engels planned to go to London in the second half of May, and as emerges from his letters he did arrive there at the end of the month (see this volume, pp. 365, 373). Georg Weerth, then in England, also intended to go to London but did not do so until July.—346, 361, 366

411 Engels suggests that Wellington, a supporter of the Corn Laws (see Note 270), was compelled, as a minister without portfolio in Peel's Government, to promote their repeal in 1846. Engels compares Wellington's defeat with that of

the Roman legions in the Caudine pass during the second Samnite war in 321 B.C. The Romans were compelled to pass under the yoke which was the greatest disgrace for a defeated army. Hence the expression 'to pass under the Caudine yoke', meaning to undergo extreme humiliation.—347

412 An allusion to Mazzini's exposure of Sir James Graham, the British Home Secretary, on whose order letters of Italian revolutionary emigrants, including the Bandiera brothers and Mazzini, were opened. The letters of the Bandiera brothers contained the plan of their expedition to Calabria to spark off an insurrection in Italy against the Bourbons of Naples and Austrian rule. In June 1844 the participants in the expedition were arrested. The Bandiera brothers were shot.—349

413 The members of the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League planned to start a periodical in Cologne. On 5 April 1851 Hermann Becker informed Marx that he, Bürgers, Daniels, Weydemeyer and others intended to publish a monthly, the *Neue Zeitschrift*, and asked for articles. Marx agreed to contribute and on 8 April he asked Georg Weerth (who was in Hamburg at the time) to write an article against Gottfried Kinkel. Early in May, on Becker's request, Marx sent his *Poverty of Philosophy* for him to publish excerpts from it in the *Neue Zeitschrift*. But as early as mid-May Becker was compelled to abandon the idea of starting a periodical because of lack of funds and harassment by the police. The subsequent arrests of Communist League members in Germany made its publication impossible.—351

414 Engels' letter written on about 12-13 May 1851 has not been found.—354

415 Marx's letter to Engels apparently in reply to Engels' letter of 9 May 1851 (see this volume, pp. 350-53) has not been found.—354

416 In this letter and the reply to it written on 19 May 1851, Marx and Engels discussed the situation in France and noted that there were two ways in which the bourgeoisie could succeed in its attempt to maintain the existing very unstable state of affairs: either by prolonging Louis Bonaparte's powers, which were to expire in May 1852 or by electing Cavaignac, another pretender to dictatorship, to the presidency. A section of the bourgeoisie favoured the second solution (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 172).—355

417 Nicholas I, Emperor of Russia, Prince William of Prussia and Emperor Francis Joseph I of Austria and their ministers met in Warsaw in October 1850 (see Note 332).—355

418 The reference is to an uprising which began in April 1851 against the reactionary dictatorial regime established in Portugal by the Costa Cabral Government representing the extreme monarchist bourgeoisie and the landowners. The uprising ended in May, with Costa Cabral fleeing from the country and Marshal Saldanha, a representative of the liberal-constitutional section of the big bourgeoisie, coming to power.—356, 358

419 *'German Catholicism'*—a religious movement which arose in a number of German states in 1844 and spread to a considerable section of the middle and petty bourgeoisie. 'German Catholicism' did not recognise the supremacy of the Pope, rejected many dogmas and rites of the Roman Catholic Church and sought to adapt Catholicism to the needs of the German bourgeoisie.—357

420 In 1851 Bonapartist circles strongly advocated a revision of the Constitution of the French Republic adopted on 4 November 1848, in particular the articles defining the presidential powers. Under that Constitution the president of the Republic was elected for four years and could not be reelected till four years after his term of office had expired. For details see Marx's 'The Constitution of the French Republic Adopted November 4, 1848' (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 567-80).—357, 363, 367, 484

421 This refers to the law adopted by the French Legislative Assembly on 31 May 1850 abolishing universal suffrage. It introduced a veiled property qualification of three years' permanent residence in the given locality and payment of personal tax.—358

422 The *Manchester School*—a trend in economic thinking which reflected the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. Its supporters, known as Free Traders (the centre of their agitation was Manchester), advocated free trade and non-interference by government in the economy. In the 1840s and 1850s the Free Traders formed a separate political group which later constituted the Left wing of the Liberal Party.—358

423 Engels visited Marx in London presumably on 31 May 1851 and stayed for two weeks, till about 15 June.—361, 365, 373

424 *Wasserpolackei*—a name denoting Silesia, and derived from *Wasserpolacken*—original name of the Oder ferrymen who were mainly natives of Upper Silesia; subsequently it became widespread in Germany as a nickname for Silesian Poles.—362

425 Frederick William IV in his New-Year Greeting 'To My Army' (1 January 1849) gave this name to the troops who suppressed the 1848-49 revolution and helped to carry out the coup d'état in Prussia on 5 December 1848 (see K. Marx, 'A New-Year Greeting', present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 222-26).—362

426 Below Engels analyses German policy towards Poland not in an abstract way but from a definite perspective which might have opened up if a revolutionary democratic movement had taken shape and prevailed in Germany, and a people's revolution against tsarism had simultaneously developed in Russia. It is clear from the letter that Engels considered the political line he recommends here to be appropriate only on condition that the national movement in Poland proper did not go beyond the limits of landowners' (szlachta) demands and, as had often happened in the past, ignored the task of emancipating the peasantry from the feudal yoke. This letter therefore reflects the striving of Marx and Engels to consider the nationalities question from the concrete historical standpoint and to link its solution with the general interests of the revolutionary movement.

When, some years later, Marx and Engels realised that the situation in Central and Eastern Europe had not changed and that counter-revolutionary regimes continued to reign supreme in Germany and Russia, whereas in the Polish national movement there was a continual strengthening of the influence of the revolutionary-democratic elements which had played a prominent part in the 1863-64 uprising, they were as Lenin put it 'treating the Polish movement with the most profound and ardent sympathy' (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 436).—363

427 Engels enumerates here Byelorussian, Lithuanian and Ukrainian lands which formed part of the Polish state (Rzecz Pospolita) and were ceded to Russia after

the three partitions of Poland in 1772, 1793 and 1795, between Russia, Prussia and—apart from the second partition—Austria.

Below Engels uses the term by which West-European scholars denoted the Ukrainian population of Galicia and Bukovina who came under the Habsburg rule as a result of Poland's partitions. In this particular case Engels calls all Ukrainians Ruthenians.—364

428 For details on the arrest of Hermann Becker and Heinrich Bürgers see Note 430.—366

429 Marx's letters to Daniels mentioned here have not been found.—366

430 Peter Nothjung was arrested in Leipzig on 10 May 1851 during his tour of Northern Germany as emissary of the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League. Marx was informed of this by Hermann Haupt in a letter from Hamburg of 22 May 1851. Haupt for his part referred to information sent to him by Heinrich Bürgers in Berlin. The police discovered on Nothjung a mandate of the Central Authority, the March 1850 Address of the Central Authority and the new Rules of the Communist League (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 277-87 and 634-36). In the same letter Haupt wrote about the arrest of Hermann Becker and Peter Röser in Cologne on 19 May 1851. Documents compromising Heinrich Bürgers were found on them. At the time Bürgers was away, having gone to Hamburg and then on to Berlin. The police did not find anything incriminating when they searched his apartment in Cologne on 19 May. Bürgers was arrested in Dresden on 23 May 1851 according to a report in the *Kölnische Zeitung* on 27 May, to which Freiligrath drew Marx's attention.

Arrests of the League's Central Authority members in Germany were followed by police repression against participants in the working-class movement.—366

431 The reference is to the false information which Minister of the Interior Léon Faucher sent by telegraph to the prefects during the elections to the Legislative Assembly in May 1849. In it he intimidated the voters with a possible repetition of the events of June 1848 to make them vote for the Right-wing candidates.

On the law of 31 May 1850 see Note 421.—367

432 In *The Great Men of the Exile*, in which this article from *Der Kosmos* was quoted, Marx and Engels note that it was written by Johanna Mockel, Kinkel's wife (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 258).—368

433 All that remains of this letter is an excerpt quoted by Roland Daniels in his letter to Marx of 1 June 1851.—368

434 Roland Daniels was arrested on 13 June 1851. During the search the police did not find any documents compromising him.—369

435 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895*, New York, 1953.—370, 375, 518

436 Engels was promoted to bombardier in the autumn of 1841 when he was doing his twelve months military service as a volunteer in an artillery brigade in Berlin.

*Landwehr*—see Note 385.—370

437 Engels uses the words 'persecution of Jews' here, for security reasons, meaning the arrests of Communist League members which had begun in Germany. Marx uses the same formulation with the same meaning in his letter to Engels of 13 July 1851. Similarly, Freiligrath when writing to Marx called the London district of the League the 'synagogue'.—372, 384

438 The reference is to the Address of the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League of 1 December 1850, which was discovered by the police during the arrests of Communist League members in Dresden and published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* and other bourgeois papers in June 1851. On the whole, the authors of the Address, especially Bürgers, supported Marx and Engels in their condemnation of the splitting activities of the Willich-Schapper group. They stated in the Address that the Cologne Central Authority was expelling from the League all the members of the separatist union set up by Willich and Schapper. However, instead of disclosing the real causes of the split in the League, the Address put the blame partially on Marx and his followers. Some propositions set forth in the Address were vague and obscure.—374, 384, 390

439 On the new Rules of the Communist League see Note 342. The first paragraph of the Rules said: 'The *aim* of the Communist League is to bring about the destruction of the old society—and *the overthrow of the bourgeoisie*—the spiritual, political and economic emancipation of the proletariat, the communist revolution, using all the resources of propaganda and political struggle towards this goal...' (see present edition, Vol. 10, p. 634).—374

440 Marx hints that Ruge was a member of the Central Committee of European Democracy (see Note 338).—376

441 Engels has in mind the split in the Communist League and Marx's, his own and their followers' withdrawal from the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 328).—380

442 This refers to the Central Committee of European Democracy (see Note 338).—380

443 In the autumn of 1850 the struggle between Austria and Prussia for supremacy in Germany was aggravated as a result of a conflict between them over Hesse-Cassel. Revolutionary actions in Hesse-Cassel were used by Austria and Prussia as a pretext for interfering in the electorate's internal affairs each party claiming the right to suppress them. The Prussian Government reacted to the entry of Austrian troops into Hesse-Cassel by mobilising and sending its own troops there in November 1850. But under pressure from Nicholas I Prussia yielded to Austria without offering any serious resistance.—381

444 Marx's letter to Louis Schulz, written on about 17 July 1851, has not been found. It follows from the text below that Marx may have used this address when writing to the lawyer Adolph Bermbach on matters concerning the Cologne accused.—388

445 No information is available on Engels' letter to Klose, presumably written on 17 July 1851.—389

446 J. F. Martens was soon released for lack of evidence and emigrated to London.—389

447 Engels has in mind the following passage from the March (1850) Address of the Central Authority to the League: 'Far from opposing so-called excesses,

instances of popular revenge against hated individuals or public buildings that are associated only with hateful recollections, such instances must not only be tolerated but the lead in them must be taken' (see present edition, Vol. 10, p. 282).—389

448 This letter was published in English for the first time with abridgments in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895*, London, 1934, and in full in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—392

449 Haupt in fact played an unseemly role in the legal proceedings against the Communist League members in Germany. Arrested on 22 or 23 May 1851, he gave evidence which was used as incriminating material against the accused by investigators and the police, who were preparing a case of 'communist conspiracy' (it came up for trial in Cologne in the autumn of 1852).—392

450 This letter was first published in English abridged in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliff, New Jersey, 1979.—396, 397

451 Friedrich Lessner was arrested in his tailor's shop in Mainz on 18 June 1851, and made an abortive attempt to escape. While searching his flat the police discovered a large library of communist literature including such books as the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, 'Demands of the Communist Party in Germany' and the Rules of the workers' educational societies in London, Cologne, Mainz. Lessner was detained in the Mainz prison till July 1852, when he was transferred to Cologne and soon included in the group of the accused in the Cologne communist trial.—399

452 An allusion to Wilhelm Wolff's articles and statements of the 1848-49 revolution period in which he castigated the enemies of the revolution, and also to the series of articles *Die Schlesische Milliarde*, published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* from 22 March to 25 April 1849, in which he exposed the plundering of the peasants by the Junkers in his native Silesia, which he represented at the Frankfurt National Assembly.

Marx and Engels did not carry out their plan to put out lithographed bulletins.—400

453 Engels could prepare an article for Ernest Jones only in the beginning of 1852. His article 'Real Causes Why the French Proletarians Remained Comparatively Inactive in December Last' was published in *Notes to the People*, Nos. 43, 48 and 50 of 21 February, 27 March and 10 April 1852 (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 212-22).—401

454 In May and June 1850 the Prussian Government tried through Baron Bunsen, its envoy in London, to get the British Government to deport Marx, Engels and other emigrants it considered hostile to its interests. For this purpose Prussian police agents organised the shadowing of emigrants (see K. Marx and F. Engels, 'The Prussian Refugees', 'Prussian Spies in London', present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 378-79, 381-84). In 1851 the Prussian Government again tried to get the *Hauptrevolutionäre* ('chief revolutionaries') deported from Britain to the colonies. In March 1851, at the request of the Minister of the Interior—Ferdinand von Westphalen, Jenny Marx's stepbrother—the Prussian Prime Minister, Otto Manteuffel, inquired of Bunsen whether the British Government would consent to such a deportation. Bunsen replied that, fearing public opinion, the English authorities hesitated to take such measures. Nevertheless,

Ferdinand von Westphalen did not abandon his intention to persuade the British Government to deport the emigrants, in the first place Prussians, and continued using police agents to collect material compromising them.—401

455 An allusion to the German Emigration Club set up in London on 27 July 1851 on the initiative of Kinkel, Willich and the groups of refugees supporting them. In August 1851 the rival German Agitation Club, headed by Ruge, Tausenau, Fickler, Haug and others, was set up to counter it. The rivalry between these two refugee associations and the vain attempts to achieve agreement between them are described in satirical form in Marx's and Engels' *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 317-25).—403

456 Weydemeyer met the Swiss officer Gustav Hoffstetter, author of *Tagebuch aus Italien 1849* (Zurich-Stuttgart, 1851), in Zurich at the time.—405

457 On the Baden-Palatinate military campaign in the summer of 1849 and Engels' participation in it see notes 264 and 265.—406

458 Engels ironically gave this name to the deputies of the all-German Frankfurt National Assembly, who took part in drawing up the Imperial Constitution which was adopted by the Assembly on 27 March 1849, but was rejected by the German princes and their governments.—407

459 Informing Weydemeyer of the break-up of the community of Willich's supporters formed according to the principles of barracks communism, Engels hinted at Willich's earlier experiments along this line in forming a military unit out of German émigré workers and artisans in Besançon (France) in November 1848. The members of this unit received an allowance from the French Government but it was stopped at the beginning of 1849. Later the unit was incorporated in Willich's detachment which took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising in May-June 1849.—407

460 On the Hamburg affair and Haupt's unseemly behaviour during the investigation see notes 430 and 449.—407

461 About 8 August 1851 Marx was invited by Charles Dana, editor of the *New-York Daily Tribune*, to contribute to that paper. Because of the progressive orientation of the newspaper and its wide circulation Marx agreed. He contributed from August 1851 till March 1862; at Marx's request many of the articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune* were written by Engels (beginning with the series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, the first of which was dispatched to New York in August 1851). Marx began to send his own articles to the newspaper in August 1852.

Marx's and Engels' articles in the *New-York Daily Tribune* dealt with major questions of foreign and home policy, the working-class movement, economic development in the European countries, colonial expansion, and the national liberation movement in oppressed and dependent countries. The articles at once attracted attention by the amount of information they conveyed, the clarity of their political analysis and their literary qualities. Many of the articles were reprinted in the *Tribune*'s special editions, the *New-York Weekly Tribune* and the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, and were quoted by other American newspapers.

The editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* arbitrarily printed some of Marx's and Engels' articles without the author's signature as editorial leading articles, and occasionally made insertions and additions which were sometimes at variance with their content. Marx repeatedly protested against this. In the

autumn of 1857, as a result of the economic crisis in the USA, which also affected the newspaper's finances, Marx had to reduce the number of his contributions. His final break with the newspaper occurred during the Civil War in the United States, and was largely due to the fact that its editorial policies increasingly supported compromise with the slave-owning states, and to its decline in support for progressive views.—409

462 An allusion to an episode in the struggle between the plebeians and patricians in Ancient Rome described by Livy in his *Ab urbe condita libri*. Tradition has it that Menenius Agrippa persuaded the plebeians who had rebelled and withdrawn to the Mons Sacer in 494 B.C. to submit by telling them the fable about the other parts of the human body revolting against the stomach because, they said, it consumed food and did no work, but afterwards realising that they could not exist without it.—417

463 *American Whigs* were members of a political party in the USA mainly representing the interests of the industrial and financial bourgeoisie and supported by some of the plantation owners. The American Whig Party existed from 1838 to 1854, when the intensified struggle over slavery gave rise to splits and regroupings in the political parties of the country. In 1854 the majority of the Whigs, together with a section of the Democratic Party and the farmers' party (Free-Soilers), formed the Republican Party, which opposed slavery. The Right-wing Whigs joined the Democratic Party, which defended the interests of the slave-owning planters.—419

464 At Marx's request Engels prepared the 'Critical Review of Proudhon's Book *Idée générale de la révolution au XIX^e siècle*' (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 545-70). Engels worked on it in August (approximately from 16 to 21) and from mid-October. He sent the material to Marx at the end of October 1851 (see this volume, pp. 488, 495). Marx's attempt to publish a pamphlet against Proudhon with Hoffmann and Campe, book-sellers in Hamburg, failed but he did not give up his plans to produce a critique of Proudhon's work. At the end of 1851 he hoped to publish this in the USA, because in the autumn of 1851 Weydemeyer moved to the United States and intended to publish the weekly *Die Revolution* in New York from January 1852 (see this volume, p. 519). But Marx's plans did not materialise because publication of the journal ceased.—423

465 At Marx's request Engels wrote in thirteen months (from August 1851 to September 1852) a series of 19 articles about the 1848-49 German revolution—*Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*—for the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 3-96). Engels used a file of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as the main source apart from some additional material given to him by Marx, whom he constantly consulted. Marx read all the articles before mailing them to the newspaper.

The series of articles, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, was printed in the *New-York Daily Tribune* from 25 October 1851 to 23 October 1852 over the signature of Karl Marx, the paper's official correspondent. Only in 1913, when the correspondence of Marx and Engels was published, did it become known that this work was written by Engels.—425

466 Marx sent this document to the German journalist Hermann Ebner, apparently through Freiligrath. A copy with the beginning and the end missing and written in an unknown hand is extant. Ebner, it transpired later, was a secret agent of the Austrian police to whom he delivered material emanating from

Marx, including this letter and that of 2 December 1851 published below, the original of which has survived but with the beginning missing (see this volume, pp. 499-503). Both documents found their way, via the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, into the Austrian state archives where they were discovered in the mid-1950s.

In his letter to Ebner of 2 December 1851 Marx called this document a 'communication' and in fact in some passages it is more like an article than a private letter. Marx chose this form purposely. Having no idea of Ebner's spying activities he hoped to use the latter's journalistic connections to have published in the German press documents revealing the intrigues of the German and other petty-bourgeois emigrants, refuting their slander of the proletarian revolutionaries. The letters to Ebner, especially the first one, were therefore written so as to form parts of articles for eventual publication. For Marx himself these letters were the first draft of *The Great Men of the Exile* which he later wrote together with Engels; in some places the texts coincide.

The extant part of the letter has no date. The approximate date of writing has been established by the mention made in the letter of the emigrants' meetings in London on 8 and 15 August 1851 but not of the third meeting, which took place on 22 August and about which Marx wrote to Engels on 25 August 1851 (see this volume, pp. 440-42).—426

467 An allusion to the former deputies to the Prussian National Assembly convened in Berlin during the revolution in May 1848 to draft a constitution by 'agreement with the Crown'. The Prussian liberal bourgeoisie and the moderate democrats used the 'theory of agreement' in an attempt to justify their policy of compromise during the revolution.—426, 437, 446

468 An allusion to Ruge's participation in the Central Committee of European Democracy (see Note 338).—426

469 The reference is to the Committee for German Affairs (see Note 387).—427

470 From the end of 1850 to February 1851 Joseph Radowitz, then Prussian Minister of Foreign Affairs, was in London trying to conclude an official alliance between Prussia and Britain. His attempts met with no sympathy among British ruling circles.—427

471 The London German weekly *How Do You Do?* published insulting allusions to Marx's family connection with the Prussian Minister of the Interior, Ferdinand von Westphalen (Jenny Marx's stepbrother). On 19 August 1851 Marx, accompanied by Freiligrath and Wilhelm Wolff, went to the office of the paper and demanded satisfaction of the publisher Louis Drucker and the editor Heinrich Beta.—432

472 The *Historical School of Law*—a trend in German historiography and jurisprudence which emerged in the late eighteenth century. The representatives of this school—Gustav Hugo, Friedrich Karl Savigny and others—sought to justify feudal institutions and the privileges of the nobility on the grounds of the inviolability of historical tradition.—435

473 A reference to an emigrant organisation—the German Agitation Club—set up in London in August 1851 by Ruge, Fickler, Tausenau and others to counter the Emigration Club (see Note 455) directed by Kinkel and his followers.—439, 520

474 The *Federal Diet*—a representative body of the German Confederation, an ephemeral union of German states, founded in 1815 by decision of the Congress of Vienna. Though it had no real power, it was nevertheless a vehicle for feudal and monarchical reaction. During the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, reactionary circles made vain attempts to revive the Federal Diet, intending to use it to prevent the democratic unification of Germany. After the defeat of the revolution, the Federal Diet was reestablished in its former rights in 1850 and survived till 1866.—443, 540

475 Engels' letter to Fischer has not been found.—444

476 Marx apparently has in mind the treaty between the USA and Britain (known as the Clayton-Bulwer treaty), signed in Washington on 19 April 1850, on the cutting of a navigable canal from the Atlantic to the Pacific across Nicaragua. On 30 August 1851, a day before this letter was written, *The Economist* (No. 418) carried an item on the project 'New Route Between the Atlantic and the Pacific'.—448

477 At the end of August 1851 German newspapers reported that the editor of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, Brüggemann, had been deported from Cologne for opposition articles published in his newspaper. But these reports, based on rumours, turned out to be false.—451

478 In September 1851 arrests were made in France among the members of local communities belonging to the separatist Willich-Schapper group, which was responsible for the split in the Communist League in September 1850. The group's petty-bourgeois conspiratorial tactics, ignoring realities and aiming at an immediate uprising, enabled the French and Prussian police, with the help of the agent-provocateur Cherval (real name Crämer), who headed one of the local communities in Paris, to fabricate the case of the so-called Franco-German conspiracy. In February 1852 the accused were sentenced on a charge of plotting a coup d'état. Cherval was allowed to escape from prison.

The provocative character of the trial was exposed by Marx in *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* and *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, vols. 11 and 17).—452

479 The reference is to the supporters of Weitling's utopian egalitarian communism in the Paris communities of the League of the Just (later, the Communist League), whose sectarian tendencies Engels had to fight (on this see Note 70).—452

480 This refers to the split in the provisional Italian National Committee formed after the fall of the Roman Republic (July 1849) by members of its Constituent Assembly who had emigrated to England. Mazzini and his followers were in the majority. The Committee was empowered among other things to organise a national movement and to float loans for Italy's liberation.—454, 456

481 In February-March 1846, simultaneously with the national liberation insurrection in the free city of Cracow, which had been under the joint control of Austria, Prussia and Russia since 1815, a big peasant revolt flared up in Galicia. Taking advantage of class contradictions, the Austrian authorities provoked clashes between the insurgent Galician peasants and the Polish nobility who sought to help Cracow. After quelling the insurgent movement of the nobility, the Austrian Government also suppressed the peasant uprising in Galicia.

In the spring of 1848 in another effort to gain the support of the Galician peasants against the Polish national liberation movement, the Austrian Government abolished corvée and some other services. However, this half-hearted reform did not affect the big landed estates and the whole burden of the redemption payment fell on the peasants.—455, 456

482 An excerpt from this letter was published in English in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895,* London, 1934 and also in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—455, 458

483 Conrad Schramm left for Paris at the end of June 1851 on Louis Bamberger's passport. This journey, the purpose and cause of which cannot be established by the available documents, met with Marx's disapproval. On 3 September 1851 Conrad Schramm was arrested in Paris on a charge of participation in the so-called Franco-German conspiracy (see Note 478). However, he was released from prison for lack of evidence at the end of October 1851 and expelled from France. The Prussian police's attempts to use Schramm's arrest in order to incriminate the followers of Marx and Engels in the Communist League failed.—457, 459

484 The reference is to the appeal to the members of the separatist organisation set up by Willich and Schapper after the split in the Communist League. (Marx and Engels called this organisation the Sonderbund by analogy with the separatist union of the Swiss Catholic cantons formed in the 1840s.) The appeal adopted at the congress of this organisation in the summer of 1851 was pervaded with adventuristic tendencies and voluntaristic-sectarian ideas of carrying out a revolution without any regard for objective conditions. In September 1851 the appeal fell into the hands of the police when they arrested members of local communities of this organisation in France (see Note 478). It was published in French papers under the heading: 'Instructions pour la Ligue, avant, pendant et après la révolution'. Excerpts were also published in the *Kölnische Zeitung,* No. 225, 19 September 1851.—458, 459, 463, 468

485 *Lazzaroni*—a contemptuous nickname for declassed proletarians, primarily in the Kingdom of Naples, who were repeatedly used by the Government in the struggle against liberal and democratic movements.—459

486 An allusion to Dronke's letter to Marx written from Geneva in August 1851 and sent by Marx to Engels on 13 September same year (see this volume, p. 459). Among other things Dronke wrote about his duel with a Russian refugee, the journalist N. I. Sazonov, his plans to move to Piedmont because the Swiss authorities wanted to expel him from the country, and his intention to get certain sums of money from his debtors in Hamburg with the help of Weerth, who was there at the time.

As is evident from Marx's letters to Weydemeyer of 11 September and to Engels of 13 December 1851 and also from this particular letter of Engels, Marx intended to reply to Dronke jointly with Engels. But it is not known whether he did so. In mid-October 1851 Marx received news that Dronke intended going to London (see this volume, p. 481), but he did not arrive there until April 1852.—459, 482

487 In 1851 gold was found in the South Australian colony of Victoria. The Australian 'gold rush', like the discovery of gold in California in 1848, led to a

greater inflow of colonists, the opening of new markets, the development of sea routes, and a growth in world trade and credit.—461

488 The reference is to the uprising of the Paris workers on 22-25 June 1848. Marx assessed its historical importance in *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 67-70).—463, 511

489 The reference is to the clash on 29 March 1848 between the Belgian Republican Legion bound home from France and a detachment of soldiers near the village of Risquons-Tout not far from the French border. The Republican Legion was dispersed by the soldiers. The Government of King Leopold used this incident as a pretext for legal proceedings against the Belgian democrats. The case lasted from 9 to 30 August 1848. Seventeen of the accused received the death sentence, which was later commuted to long-term imprisonment; subsequently the accused were pardoned (see Engels' article 'The Antwerp Death Sentences', present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 404-06).—471

490 This was a postscript written by Marx to Jenny Marx's letter to Amalie Daniels. It may be assumed that the reference is to books from Marx's library left in Cologne in Daniels' care when Marx was compelled to leave the Rhine Province after the suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. In the autumn of 1850 Daniels sent a list of these books to Marx in London. Marx marked with asterisks those in which he was most interested and which he wished to be sent to him in England. They included grammar books, dictionaries, works by Hegel, Holbach, and Vico, and books on the history of political economy, and a considerable number of works by utopian thinkers and socialists—Campanella, Morelly, Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen, Dézamy, Louis Blanc, Cabet, Weitling and others.

The end of the letter, where Marx enumerated the books he needed, did not appear in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. The text of the letter, which got into the hands of the police, as well as of Marx's postscript has survived only as published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* together with other material concerning the communist trial in Cologne in October 1852.—472

491 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *On the United States*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979.—472

492 Hoffmann and Campe in Hamburg rejected Marx's request made in August 1851 to publish a pamphlet containing Marx's criticism of Proudhon's *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX^e siècle* (see Note 464).

Marx had been trying since the spring of 1851 to find a German publisher for his work on political economy. In particular he asked Freiligrath, while the latter was still in Germany, to act as a go-between. As emerges from Roland Daniels' letter to Marx of 12 April 1851, Freiligrath's attempts to get the book published by J. G. Cotta proved abortive and Freiligrath requested H. Ebner's assistance. Neither Freiligrath nor Marx had any idea of Ebner's secret activities as an informer (see Note 466) and Freiligrath hoped to use his publishing connections in Marx's interest. In August 1851 Freiligrath moved to London and continued to keep Marx abreast of negotiations Ebner was carrying on with various publishers on Freiligrath's instructions. On 2 October he wrote to Marx that Ebner had had a refusal from Löwenthal, but was not abandoning attempts to have the book published by someone else, Suchsland in particular. In early October 1851 Marx asked Pieper, who was going to Frankfurt, to get in touch with Ebner and find out whether there was any pos-

sibility of publishing his work. But all efforts up to December 1851 remained fruitless.—475

493 This refers to French bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats who still harboured constitutional illusions and believed exclusively in peaceful means of political struggle despite the lessons of the defeat suffered by the petty-bourgeois Mountain party who, on 13 June 1849, called upon the masses to organise a peaceful demonstration instead of taking the lead in revolutionary resistance to reaction. On the 13 June 1849 events, see Note 260.—479

494 This letter was published in English for the first time slightly abridged and without the postscript by Jenny Marx in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895,* International Publishers, New York, 1953.—480

495 Marx's letter to Charles Dana has not been found.—480

496 Dronke's arrival in London from Switzerland was delayed till the end of April 1852.—481

497 A reference to the attempts by Gottfried Kinkel and other leaders of the Emigration Club to organise a so-called German-American revolutionary loan, for which purpose Kinkel went to the USA in September 1851. The loan was to be subscribed to by German-born Americans and used to begin an immediate revolution in Germany. The rival Agitation Union headed by Arnold Ruge also sent a representative to the USA to raise money for the revolution. In a number of works and letters Marx and Engels denounced the undertaking as an adventurist attempt to produce a revolution artificially in a period when the revolutionary movement was on the wane.—483, 486, 499, 520

498 See notes 350 and 419.—483

499 In May 1852 Louis Bonaparte's presidential powers were to expire and according to the Constitution of the French Republic of 1848 new elections were to be held on the second Sunday in May. Major events, popular unrest and attempts at a coup d'état were expected on that occasion owing to the acute struggle between different political groups and the growing contradictions between the president and the royalist majority in the Legislative Assembly. However Bonapartist circles carried out a coup d'état earlier, on 2 December 1851.—485

500 It is not known whether Engels actually wrote an anonymous letter to Haupt.—487

501 Apparently the reference is to the publication of *Gesammelte Aufsätze von Karl Marx* (see Note 347) started by Hermann Becker in Cologne and interrupted by his arrest. The first issues were to contain Marx's articles from the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—489

502 Marx arrived in Manchester to visit Engels on about 5 November 1851 and stayed some ten days.—491

503 Despite a temporary break with Harney in whose journal *The Friend of the People* Engels intended at one time to publish a series of articles criticising the petty-bourgeois emigrants and the Willich-Schapper sectarian adventurist group (see Note 352), he did not give up the idea of denouncing in the press the pseudo-revolutionary illusions and voluntarism of the petty-bourgeois emigrants. At the end of November and beginning of December 1851, Engels was

working on a satirical essay, one of the main characters of which was to be Karl Schapper. It occurred to Marx to have this work published in the USA, in *Die Revolution*, a weekly planned by Weydemeyer, who had moved to New York by that time. But Marx and Engels were busy writing other works until the spring of 1852 and the publication of *Die Revolution* was soon discontinued. By that time the differences between Willich and Schapper had become apparent; the latter was disillusioned with sectarianism and wanted to be reconciled with Marx. So when in May-June 1852 Marx and Engels returned to the subject and started writing *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11), they thought it inexpedient to give a special characterisation of Schapper and concentrated their criticism on Kinkel, Ruge, Heinzen, Struve, Willich and others.—492, 498, 516

504 Engels' letter to Marx written about 25 November 1851 has not been found.—493

505 An allusion to the fact that Pieper's letter to Marx of 17 November 1851 contained excerpts from Heinrich Heine's poems.—493

506 *Morison pills*—pills invented by the English quack James Morison and widely advertised as a cure for all illnesses in the mid-1820s. Their main ingredient was the juice of certain tropical plants.—493

507 The original of Marx's letter to Cluss is not extant. The excerpt published here is translated from Cluss' letter to Weydemeyer of 20 December 1851.—496

508 In his letter to Weydemeyer of 20 December 1851 Cluss explains this passage as follows: 'Kinkel's loan, in which I let myself become involved through lack of knowledge of the state of affairs, and in which, in Marx's view, I should maintain my position for the present.'

On the so-called German-American revolutionary loan see Note 497.—496

509 Marx's letter to Charles Dana has not been found.—497

510 Neither the letter Marx and Engels wrote to Pieper from Manchester during Marx's stay there from 5 to 15 November 1851, nor the letter Jenny Marx wrote to him on her husband's request has been found.—497

511 The statements Marx sent to Paris to be published in the French press did not appear in the papers and their originals have not survived.—497

512 Engels supported Marx's initiative of denouncing in the English press the Prussian Government's arbitrary treatment of the arrested Cologne communists under investigation. At Marx's request he wrote a letter to the editor of *The Times* at the end of January 1852 and prepared a similar letter for *The Daily News*, but the newspapers did not publish them. Only a rough copy of the letter 'To the Editor of *The Times*' written by Marx and Engels is extant (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 210-11).—497

513 On 2 November 1851 a meeting was held at Copenhagen House (Copenhagen Fields) in London to mark Kossuth's arrival (in October 1851) in England. The reformist Thornton Hunt, chairman of the Chartist committee responsible for organising the meeting, tried to prevent O'Connor from attending on the pretext that he was insane. This aroused violent protests on the part of the Chartists and O'Connor was admitted to the meeting. To justify himself Hunt made a demagogic declaration in *The Northern Star* on 29 November describing himself as a zealous defender of people's interests and calling himself a

communist. As Marx foresaw, Hunt was not elected to the new Executive of the National Charter Association.—497

514 Marx's letter to Ernest Jones has not survived.—498

515 This letter, the beginning of which has not survived, and the one written between 15 and 22 August 1851 (see this volume, pp. 426-33) and also sent by Marx to Ebner, show that Marx intended to use the Frankfurt journalist's connections with a view to publishing in the German press material denouncing the pseudo-revolutionary schemes of the petty-bourgeois emigrant leaders. Both letters fell into the hands of the Austrian police through the secret police agent Ebner (see Note 466).—499

516 An ironical allusion to the Frankfurt National Assembly after it had moved to Stuttgart in early June 1849. On 18 June the remnants of the National Assembly were dispersed by troops.—500

517 This letter was written by Engels on the occasion of the coup d'état of 2 December 1851 carried out by the supporters of Louis Bonaparte, President of the French Republic, which led to the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly and the establishment of the Bonapartist regime (from December 1852—the Second Empire under Napoleon III). Some ideas expressed by Engels in this letter were developed by Marx in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11), in particular the ironical comparison of Louis Bonaparte's coup with that of 9 November (18th Brumaire according to the Republican calendar) 1799, which resulted in the establishment of Napoleon Bonaparte's dictatorship, and also the thought that Hegel was right in saying that historical events occur first as tragedy and then as farce.

An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895*, London, 1934; the letter was published in full in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—503

518 An allusion to the fact that during the coup d'état some of the deputies to the Legislative Assembly who belonged to the conservative Party of Order gathered in Odilon Barrot's mansion, others went to the municipal hall of the 10th arrondissement about which Engels writes below. In both cases the deputies confined themselves to merely protesting at the president's actions and formally removing Louis Bonaparte from his post. Engels compares Barrot with Löwe von Calbe who was elected chairman of the German Frankfurt National Assembly after its remnants had moved to Stuttgart early in June 1849 (see Note 516) and remained in office until the Assembly was dispersed by Württemberg troops.—503

519 The Bonapartist coup d'état was timed to coincide with the anniversary of two events in the history of the First Empire—the coronation of Napoleon I in Notre-Dame de Paris on 2 December 1804 and the victory of Austerlitz a year later, on 2 December 1805 (see Note 402).—504

520 The Bonapartist circles exploited for demagogical purposes the popular discontent over the abrogation by the Legislative Assembly of the universal suffrage law of 31 May 1849. The suffrage was restored by a presidential decree. The initial system of open ballot was replaced by secret ballot because of the popular discontent. A plebiscite on the new political system proposed by the president was announced for the period 14-21 December 1851. It took place on 21 December 1851 in an atmosphere of Bonapartist terror and

suppression of all opposition and was actually only a show to produce an impression of popular support for the military and police regime.—504

521 Hegel expressed this idea of the recurrence of historical events in his work *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte* (the first edition was published in Berlin in 1837). In the third part of this work, at the end of Section 2, entitled 'Rom vom zweiten punischen Krieg bis zum Kaiserthum', Hegel wrote, in particular, that 'a coup d'état is sanctioned as it were in the opinion of people if it is repeated. Thus, Napoleon was defeated twice and twice the Bourbons were driven out. Through repetition, what at the beginning seemed to be merely accidental and possible becomes real and established'.

Hegel also repeatedly expressed the idea that in the process of dialectical development there is bound to be a transition from the stage of formation and efflorescence to that of disintegration and ruin (see, in particular, G. W. F. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, Th. 3, Abt. 3, § 347).

Hegel's idea was developed by Marx in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 103), 'Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction' (Vol. 3, p. 179) and 'The Deeds of the Hohenzollern Dynasty' (Vol. 9, p. 421).—505

522 An allusion to the attempts of the Left republicans and democrats, supported by certain leaders of the workers' organisations, to offer armed resistance to the Bonapartist coup d'état. A thirty-thousand-strong army was sent against the not more than 1,200 defenders of the barricades erected on 3 and 4 December 1851. Not only insurgents, but all those who happened to be in the streets, were massacred. Scattered uprisings of republicans in the south-eastern, south-western and central départements of France, in which local democratic intelligentsia, artisans, workers, peasants and small traders participated, were also crushed.—509, 512

523 This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—510

524 An allusion to the workers' uprisings in Paris on 1 April (12 Germinal according to the Republican calendar) 1795 and 20-23 May (1-4 Prairial) the same year against the Thermidor reactionary regime set up on 27 and 28 July 1794 (after the overthrow of the Jacobin revolutionary dictatorship on 9-10 Thermidor), and to the proletarian uprisings in Lyons in 1831 and 1834 after the July 1830 bourgeois revolution in France.—512

525 Engels' letter to his sister Marie Blank has not been found.—514

526 Engels went to London on 20 December 1851. He stayed there for about a fortnight, mostly in Marx's company, and returned to Manchester on about 4 January 1852.—515, 516, 518, 562, 563

527 This refers to Joseph Weydemeyer's intention to publish a communist weekly *Die Revolution* in New York. Marx and Engels agreed to contribute regularly and intended to get some of their party friends to work for it. Weydemeyer managed to produce only two issues in January 1852, following which publication ceased for lack of funds. In May and June 1852 with the help of Adolph Cluss, Weydemeyer published two more issues of the 'non-periodic journal' *Die Revolution;* the first issue carried K. Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* the second Freiligrath's poems against Kinkel.—516

528 This apparently refers to the first in a series of articles on the coup d'état of 2 December 1851 in France, conceived by Marx and intended for Joseph Weydemeyer's weekly *Die Revolution* published in America. The articles arrived too late for inclusion in the two January 1852 issues of the weekly. They were published in May in a non-periodic issue under the title *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.—516

529 The reference is to material intended for Joseph Weydemeyer's *Die Revolution* (see Note 527). Engels wrote four articles on England for it in December 1851-January 1852; only two, written at the end of January 1852 (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 198-209), reached Weydemeyer; the other two got lost on the way. Even the two which reached Weydemeyer were not published in *Die Revolution*, since it had ceased publication.—518

530 The Bonapartist coup d'état of 2 December 1851 shattered all earlier expectations of major revolutionary events in France in May 1852 based on the expiry of the presidential powers that month (see Note 499).—519

531 In the first issue of *Die Revolution* Weydemeyer announced Marx's work on Proudhon. But since publication of the weekly was discontinued and there were no other possibilities for publishing the work, Marx did not write it. Other plans connected with the weekly as set forth at the beginning of the letter were not carried out either. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* which Marx finished only in March 1852 exceeded the limits of a mere article. Engels sent Weydemeyer articles on England and not on Prussia; some of them got lost on the way, some arrived too late (see Note 529). The two issues of *Die Revolution* carried excerpts from Marx's and Engels' 'Review, May to October 1850' published earlier in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, No. 5-6, and (in issue No. 2) part of Chapter Two of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.—519

532 This refers to the change in the place and time of the meetings of the London district of the Communist League which Marx above calls the 'synagogue' partly jokingly, partly for reasons of secrecy. Early in 1852 the meetings were moved to premises in Crown Street and were held on Wednesdays, because of suspicions aroused by the appearance in London Communist League circles of Hirsch, a shop assistant, who later turned out to be a police spy (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 426).—521

533 The British Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, in a conversation with the French Ambassador in London shortly after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851 in France, approved of Louis Bonaparte's usurpation. He did this without consulting the other members of the Whig Ministry, which led to his dismissal. The British Government was nevertheless the first to recognise the Bonapartist regime.—521

534 Only part of this letter is extant; the beginning and the end are missing. The year of its writing has been established by the fact that it deals with the expulsion of Marx from Paris by the French authorities early in February 1845 and the worries of his wife, who was forced to sell family heirlooms in a hurry to raise money for her journey with her small child to join Marx in Brussels.

As emerges from the letter, Jenny Marx was convinced that the German scientist, Alexander Humboldt, relative of the Prussian Foreign Minister, had played an unseemly role in Marx's expulsion from Paris, acting as mediator

between the Prussian authorities and the Guizot Government on this issue. Subsequently, Engels confirmed this version in his obituary of Jenny Marx (1881).—525

535 The letter has no date. The date of writing has been established by its mentioning Engels' return to Brussels from England (he had gone there with Marx in the second half of July 1845) on about 24 August 1845. Jenny Marx, who was expecting a second child, was in Trier at the time with her mother, Caroline von Westphalen.—526

536 Marx's letter to Jenny written in August 1845 has not been found.—526

537 Only part of the letter is extant, the end is missing, and neither month nor year of writing is given. Judging by Joseph Weydemeyer's letter to his future wife Louise Lüning of 21 February 1846, Marx accompanied his wife to Arlon on her way to Trier to visit her sick mother. Jenny Marx returned to Brussels in April 1846.—529

538 Marx's letter to his wife written some time before 23 March 1846 has not been found.—529

539 The reference is to the national liberation uprising in the Cracow republic which by the decision of the Congress of Vienna was controlled jointly by Austria, Russia and Prussia. The seizure of power in Cracow by the insurgents on 22 February 1846 and the establishment of a National Government of the Polish Republic, which issued a manifesto abolishing feudal services, were part of the plan for a general uprising in the Polish lands. In March the Cracow uprising was crushed by the forces of Austria and Russia; in November 1846, Austria, Prussia and Russia signed a treaty incorporating the 'free town of Cracow' into the Austrian Empire.—532, 533

540 George Julian Harney's letter was in reply to several letters Engels wrote to him on his own behalf and that of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee (see Note 51); these letters have not survived but Harney's reply gives some idea of their contents.—533

541 On 15 and 17 March 1846 meetings of the Fraternal Democrats (see Note 122) in support of the Cracow uprising (see Note 539) took place in London. A report on them was published in *The Northern Star*, No. 436, 21 March 1846.—533

542 Engels recalled this period of joint work with Marx on *The German Ideology* in a letter to Laura Lafargue of 2 June 1883 (see present edition, Volume 47). He wrote that when he read passages from the manuscript to Hélène Demuth who kept house for him after Marx's death, she said: 'Now at last I know why that time in Brussels you two laughed at night so much that nobody in the house could sleep.' To this Engels added: 'We were bold devils then, Heine's poetry is childlike innocence compared with our prose.'—533

543 The *People's Charter* containing the demands of the Chartists was published on 8 May 1838 in the form of a Bill to be submitted to Parliament. It consisted of six points: universal suffrage (for men of 21 years of age), annual elections to Parliament, secret ballot, equal constituencies, abolition of property qualifications for candidates to Parliament, and salaries for M.P.s. In 1839 and 1842, petitions for the Charter were rejected by Parliament.—533

544 Unlike the supporters of 'moral force' in the Chartist movement (see Note 339), O'Connor called in his speeches not only for peaceful means of struggle but for the use of 'physical force' as well.—534

545 Presumably an allusion to a resolution adopted by the Chartist Convention in 1839 confirming the people's right to support their demands by force of arms. But the Convention showed inconsistency and lack of determination by failing to organise the masses for energetic action when the Chartist petition was rejected by Parliament on 12 July.—534

546 Harney refers to plans for establishing an international communist organisation to unite by means of correspondence committees the advanced workers and the revolutionary intellectuals in various countries of Europe, primarily England, France and Germany.—536

547 The false rumours that when the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee was being formed Marx and Engels intended to restrict the organisers of the international proletarian party to intellectuals were spread by Weitling. This emerges from the letter of the London Communist Correspondence Committee to Marx of 6 June 1846 (*MEGA*$_2$, Abt. III, Bd. 2, Berlin, 1980).—537

548 This refers to a resolution of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee censuring Thomas Cooper for disavowing the Chartist movement and preaching the anti-revolutionary doctrine of non-resistance to evil by force (the text of the resolution has not survived). Marx and Engels also censured Cooper in their 'Address of the German Democratic Communists of Brussels to Mr Feargus O'Connor' in July 1846 (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 59).—537

549 The reference is to the Chartist Land Cooperative Society founded on the initiative of O'Connor in 1845 (later the National Land Company, which lasted till 1848). The aim of the Society was to buy plots of land with the money collected, and to lease them to worker shareholders on easy terms. Among the positive aspects of the Society were its petitions to Parliament and printed propaganda against the aristocracy's monopoly of land. (These aspects were emphasised by Engels in 1847 in his article 'The Agrarian Programme of the Chartists', see present edition, Vol. 6.) However, the idea of liberating the workers from exploitation, of reducing unemployment, etc., by a return to the land proved utopian. The Society's activities were not successful in practice.—538

550 The *German Workers' Club* was founded in Paris on 8 and 9 March 1848 on the initiative of the Communist League leaders. The leading role in it belonged to Marx. The Club's aim was to unite the German emigrant workers in Paris, explain to them the tactics of the proletariat in a bourgeois-democratic revolution and also to counter the attempts of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats to stir up the German workers by nationalist propaganda and make them join the adventurist march of volunteer legions into Germany. The Club was successful in arranging the return of German workers one by one to their own country to take part in the revolutionary struggle there.—539

551 Presumably an allusion to the émigré German Union (Réunion allemande) organised in Paris in August 1848. Although it occupied the left flank of the democratic movement and followed on the whole the political line charted by the Communist League, this organisation was not free from petty-bourgeois

influence. Moses Hess, who was in Paris at the time, tried to use it against Marx, Engels and their followers. On his initiative an attempt was made to split and change the organisation directed by the Communist League, in particular to set Marx and Engels at loggerheads. Ewerbeck, who came to Germany to attend the Second Congress of Democrats in Berlin, was to a certain extent involved by Hess in his political intrigues.—542

552 Neither Engels' letter to his mother written about 30 November 1848 nor his letters to his parents from Liège and Brussels mentioned below have been found.—543

553 *Concordia*—publishers in Vienna, apparently had an office in Berlin.—543

554 Engels and other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* attended the open meeting in the Eiser Hall, Cologne, on 20 September 1848 and he made a speech the text of which has not survived. From newspaper reports of the meeting it emerges that Engels branded as treachery the decision of the all-German Frankfurt National Assembly to ratify the treaty on the Danish-Prussian armistice.—543

555 Marx's letter to Georg Jung has not been found.—548

556 Peter Röser, a member of the Communist League Central Authority in Cologne, was sentenced to six years' imprisonment at the Cologne communist trial in November 1852. From December 1853 to February 1854 he was in prison first in Berlin and then in Stettin. Hoping to ease his lot he gave written evidence, which survived in the Prussian police archives, concerning mainly the Communist League activity and the Cologne communities' contacts with Marx and other leaders in London. In particular, he quoted from memory some letters Marx sent to Cologne, which are not extant. Some of the information he gave was inexact, perhaps owing partly to the fact that he himself was not well informed and partly to a deliberate attempt on his part to give a more moderate impression of the Communist League's activity. So he gave an oversimplified account of Marx's idea about the stages of transition to communism, as though Marx reduced the whole process of revolutionary transformation passing through various stages merely to education. Contrary to Röser's assertion, the Cologne community of the Communist League already existed before it received Marx's letter early in 1850 suggesting that organisational activity in the Rhine Province should be intensified. Schramm was slightly and not seriously wounded in the duel with Willich, and seconds from both parties were present.

Despite these and some other inaccuracies, Röser's evidence on the whole presents an objective picture of the state of affairs in the Communist League at the time and throws additional light on the struggle by Marx and his associates against the sectarian adventurists.—550

557 The reference is to the Statute of the Revolutionary Party drafted by the London members of the Communist League at the end of 1848. Marx and his adherents criticised it sharply as early as the spring of 1849. The Statute reflected sectarian and conspiratorial tendencies, while the communist nature of the organisation and the communist aims of the movement were obscured by vague phrases about a 'social republic', etc. The document got no farther than the stage of draft rules, not being approved in Communist League circles.—550

558 Presumably this refers to the district congresses of democrats of the Rhine Province and Westphalia held in Cologne on 13-14 August and 23 November 1848 and also to the district congresses of democratic societies and workers' unions of the province held in Cologne on 6 May 1849.—551

559 The *Cologne Workers' Association*—a workers' organisation founded on 13 April 1848 by Andreas Gottschalk. Most of the leading figures in the Workers' Association were members of the Communist League. After Gottschalk's arrest on 6 July, Moll was elected President of the Association, and on 16 October the presidency was temporarily assumed by Marx at the request of the Association members. From February to May 1849 the post was held by Schapper.

From the very outset, Gottschalk's sectarian position was opposed by the supporters of Marx and Engels. Under their impact the Workers' Association became a centre of revolutionary agitation among the workers and the peasants. It maintained contacts with other workers' and democratic organisations. After the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was suppressed and Marx, Schapper and other leaders left Cologne, the Association gradually turned into an ordinary workers' educational society.—553

560 The reference is to the Address of the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League to the League of 1 December 1850 censuring the splitting activities of the Willich-Schapper group. Together with the Address and other documents, the Central Authority also sent to the London district the Communist League Rules which had been drawn up in Cologne (see notes 342 and 438).—560

561 Jenny Marx's letter to Georg Weerth written at Marx's request has not survived.—561

562 Instead of an article on Prussia, Engels soon wrote a series of articles on England for Joseph Weydemeyer's weekly *Die Revolution*; however, they were not published (see Note 529).—562, 563

# NAME INDEX*


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*Adam*—French worker, Blanquist; member of the Committee of the Société des proscrits démocrates et socialistes in London, supported the sectarian Willich-Schapper group.—247, 251, 283, 292

*Adelung, Johann Christoph* (1732-1806)—German philologist, author of a number of works on German etymology and grammar.—62

*Albert (Martin, Alexandre)* (1815-1895)—French worker; a leader of secret revolutionary societies during the July monarchy; member of the Provisional Government (1848).—168

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*Ammerman*—captain of the sailing vessel *Reform*.—481

*André, Félicité*—an acquaintance of Engels in Paris in the 1840s.—153, 166

*Anneke, Friedrich* (1818-1872)—Prussian ex-artillery officer; member of the Communist League, a founder of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848), lieutenant-colonel in the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army; later emigrated to the USA.—159, 183, 224

**Annenkov, Pavel Vasilyevich* (1812-1887)—Russian liberal critic and journalist.—37, 64, 95-106, 150-51

*Antoine, Gustave*—French refugee in London in the early 1850s; son-in-law of Auguste Blanqui.—313, 381

*Arago, Dominique François Jean* (1786-1853)—French astronomer, physicist and mathematician; republican politician, member of the Provisional Government (1848).—168

*Arends (Ahrens), Heinrich*—a German worker from Riga, a leader of the League of the Just in Paris, emigrated to the USA early in 1843.—59

*Argout, Antoine Maurice Apollinaire, comte d'* (1782-1858)—Director-General of the Bank of France (1834-57).—507


* Asterisks are placed before names of correspondents of Marx and Engels.—*Ed.*

*Arminius (Hermann)*—Cheruscan leader (17 B.C.—A.D. 21).—62, 475
*Attila* (d. 453)—King of the Huns (433-453).—246

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*Baedeker, Julius Theodor* (1814-1880)—German publisher and bookseller, published the journal *Gesellschaftsspiegel* (1845-46).—5, 23, 25-26
*Bakunin, Mikhail* (1814-1876)—Russian democrat, journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; subsequently an ideologist of Narodism and anarchism; opposed Marxism in the First International.—6, 18, 64, 116, 141, 526
*Balliu (Baillut), Félix* (b. 1802)—Belgian democrat, treasurer of the Brussels Democratic Association.—162
*Bamberger, Louis* (b. 1821)—petty-bourgeois democrat, editor of the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* (1848-51).—221, 245, 266, 317, 324, 343, 396-98, 400, 409, 473, 491
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*Barbès, Armand* (1809-1870)—French revolutionary, a leader of secret societies during the July monarchy; prominent figure in the 1848 revolution; deputy to the Constituent Assembly; sentenced to life imprisonment for participating in the popular insurrection of 15 May 1848, pardoned in 1854.—285, 535
*Baroche, Pierre Jules* (1802-1870)—French lawyer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; Bonapartist; member of several cabinets before and after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851.—280
*Barrot, Camille Hyacinthe Odilon* (1791-1873)—French lawyer; leader of the liberal dynastic opposition until February 1848; headed the monarchist coalition ministry from December 1848 to October 1849.—144, 211, 503
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*Bartels, Jules Théodore* (1815-1855)—Belgian lawyer and journalist, brother of Adolphe Bartels.—125
*Barthélemy, Emmanuel* (c. 1820-1855)—French worker, Blanquist, took part in the June 1848 uprising in Paris; a leader of the Société des proscrits démocrates et socialistes in London; supported the sectarian Willich-Schapper group; executed in 1855 on a criminal charge.—246, 247, 254, 280, 283, 287, 292, 298, 304, 310, 313, 315, 318-19, 380-81, 460, 505
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*Bauer, Andreas Heinrich* (c. 1813-c. 1852)—German shoemaker, a leader of the League of the Just; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; emigrated to Australia in 1851.—73, 158, 243, 245, 265, 477, 539
*Bauer, Bruno* (1809-1882)—German philosopher and writer, Young Hegelian.—4, 7, 8, 9, 19, 28, 112, 475
*Bauer, Edgar* (1820-1886)—German philosopher and writer, Young Hegelian; Bruno Bauer's brother and associate.—4, 19, 28, 474
* *Bauer, Ludwig*—German physician, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848, emigrated in 1849 to England, where he joined the petty-bourgeois refugees.—226, 234, 437, 440

*Bayard, Pierre Terrail, Seigneur de* (c. 1475-1524)—French knight called by his contemporaries the *'chevalier sans peur et sans reproche'*.—283

*Beck, Wilhelmine* (d. 1851)—Austrian adventuress who posed as a Baroness and Kossuth's political informer; paid agent of the Austrian and British police.—325, 331, 450

*Becker, August* (1814-1871)—German writer, a leader of Weitlingian communities in Switzerland in the 1840s; emigrated to the USA in the early 1850s.—59

**Becker, Hermann Heinrich (Red Becker)* (1820-1885)—German lawyer and journalist, editor of the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* from May 1849 to July 1850; member of the Communist League from 1850; one of the accused in the Cologne communist trial in 1852; subsequently a national-liberal.—185, 230, 251, 266, 267, 273, 282, 284, 308, 310, 314, 320, 342, 355, 365, 366, 432, 489, 560

*Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886)—German revolutionary, participant in the democratic movement of the 1830s-40s in Germany and Switzerland and in the 1848-49 revolution; commanded the Baden people's militia during the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; prominent figure in the First International in the 1860s; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—222, 334

*Becker, Max Joseph* (d. 1896)—German engineer, democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, emigrated to Switzerland and then to the USA.—214, 296, 406

*Beckerath, Hermann von* (1801-1870)—German banker, moderate liberal; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848; Minister of Finance in the Imperial Government (August and September 1848).—390, 428

*Bem, Józef* (1795-1850)—Polish general, participant in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31 and in the 1848 revolutionary struggle in Vienna; one of the commanders of the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49); emigrated to Turkey.—285, 289, 371

*Bentham, Jeremy* (1748-1832)—English sociologist, theoretician of utilitarianism.—11, 27

*Béranger, Pierre Jean de* (1780-1857)—French democratic poet and author of political satirical songs.—58

*Bergenroth, Gustav Adolf* (1813-1869)—German historian and journalist, democrat; participant in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated in 1850.—23, 24

*Bermbach, Adolph* (1821-1875)—Cologne lawyer, democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly, witness for the defence at the Cologne communist trial (1852).—388, 392

*Bernard, Simon François (Bernard le Clubiste)* (1817-1862)—French politician, republican; refugee in England in the 1850s.—507

*Bernays, Josephine*—wife of Karl Ludwig Bernays.—55

*Bernays, Karl Ludwig (Lazarus Ferdinand Coelestin)* (1815-1879)—German radical journalist, an editor of *Vorwärts!* (Paris) in 1844; emigrated to the USA after the 1848-49 revolution.—4, 18, 25, 32, 40, 43, 53, 56, 60, 62, 64, 68, 72-73, 88-89, 90, 107, 108, 109, 113, 114, 115, 117, 119, 135, 157

*Berryer, Pierre Antoine* (1790-1868)—French lawyer and politician, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, Legitimist.—484, 504

*Berthold, Otto*—Prussian ex-noncommissioned officer; was connected with Willich and Schapper in the early 1850s.—483, 487

*Bettziech, Heinrich* (pseudonym *Beta*) (1813-1876)—German journalist, refugee in London, supported Gottfried Kinkel.—432

*Beust, Friedrich von* (1817-1899)—Prussian officer, member of the committee of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848); an editor of the

*Neue Kölnische Zeitung* (September 1848-February 1849); delegate to the Second Democratic Congress in Berlin (October 1848); took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland and later to the USA.—191

*Biedermann, Friedrich Karl* (1812-1901)—German historian and liberal journalist; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Centre) in 1848.—66

*Biringer, Carl*—subscriber to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* in Höchst.—226

*Blanc, Jean Joseph Louis* (1811-1882)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, historian; member of the Provisional Government and President of the Luxembourg Commission in 1848; pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie; emigrated to England in August 1848.—94, 115, 133, 135, 136, 137, 142-43, 144, 145, 146, 149, 152, 154, 156, 157, 168, 279, 282, 283, 285, 286, 292, 294, 295, 297, 302, 303, 304, 309, 310, 313, 318, 319, 321, 337, 381, 382, 425, 435, 502, 505, 506, 507, 508, 511, 513

*Blank, Friedrich* (b. 1846)—son of Marie Blank (née Engels) and Karl Emil Blank.—35

*Blank, Fritz*—brother of Karl Emil Blank.—37

*Blank, Hermann*—brother of Karl Emil Blank.—171, 254, 515

*Blank, Karl Emil* (1817-1893)—German merchant in London, closely connected with socialist circles in the 1840s-50s; married Frederick Engels' sister Marie.—3, 19, 33, 35, 36, 46, 165, 175, 176, 207, 252, 265, 515, 543

*Blank, Marie*—see *Engels, Marie*

*Blank, Wilhelm* (1821-1892)—schoolmate of Frederick Engels, subsequently a merchant.—5

*Blanqui, Louis Auguste* (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, utopian communist; organised several secret societies and plots; adhered to the extreme Left of the democratic and proletarian movement during the 1848 revolution.—285, 313, 314, 318, 319, 343, 381

*Blind, Karl* (1826-1907)—German democratic journalist; took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden in 1848-49; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois emigrants in London in the 1850s; became a national-liberal in the 1860s.—199, 216, 239, 474, 478

*Bloss, Rudolph Cuno*—German engraver, took part in the democratic movement in the 1840s.—163, 165

*Blücher, Gebhard Leberecht von* (1742-1819)—Prussian field marshal; took part in the war against Napoleonic France.—540

*Bodelschwingh, Ernst, Baron von* (1794-1854)—Prussian conservative politician, Minister of Finance from 1842; Minister of the Interior from 1845 to March 1848; deputy to the Second Chamber (Right wing) from 1849.—70

*Böhler*—German refugee in London in the 1850s.—437

*Bohnstedt*—German lawyer, democrat; a shareholder of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848.—174

*Borkheim, Sigismund Ludwig* (1826-1885)—German journalist; participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849); emigrated, was a merchant in London from 1851.—437

*Born, Stephan* (real name *Buttermilch, Simon*) (1824-1898)—German typesetter, member of the Communist League; leaned towards reformism during the 1848-49 revolution.—139, 149, 153, 539

*Börne, Ludwig* (1786-1837)—German critic and writer; advocated Christian socialism towards the end of his life.—38

*Bornstedt, Adalbert von* (1808-1851)—German journalist; founder and editor of the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* (1847-48); a leader of the German Democratic Society in Paris;

member of the Communist League until his expulsion in March 1848; a secret agent of the Prussian police in the 1840s.—120, 122, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 130, 138, 145, 153, 154, 155, 156, 162, 165, 540

*Börnstein, Arnold Bernhard Karl* (1808-1849)—German democrat; a leader of the volunteer legion of German refugees in Paris.—540

**Börnstein, Heinrich* (1805-1892)—German democratic journalist; founder and editor of *Vorwärts!* (Paris); emigrated to the USA in 1849, editor of the *Anzeiger des Westens* (St. Louis).—8, 14, 15, 31, 55, 88, 107, 108, 114, 115, 135

*Bourbons*—royal dynasty in France (1589-1792, 1814-15 and 1815-30).—116

*Boyen, Leopold Hermann Ludwig von* (1771-1848)—Prussian general, Minister of War (1814-19 and 1841-47).—70

*Bracht*—member of a political club in Elberfeld (1848).—175

*Bray, John Francis* (1809-1897)—English economist; utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen, developed the theory of 'labour money'.—109

*Brehmer, Hermann*—founder of the Workers' Association in Breslau in 1848-49; correspondent of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung;* editor of the *Schlesische Volkszeitung* (October 1849-March 1850).—196

*Bremer, Fredrika* (1801-1865)—Swedish novelist.—94

*Brentano, Lorenz Peter* (1813-1891)—Baden lawyer, democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; headed the Baden Provisional Government in 1849; emigrated to Switzerland and then to the USA.—426

*Breyer, Friedrich Albert* (1812-1876)—German liberal; physician in Brussels in the 1840s, member of the Brussels Democratic Association.—118, 162, 164, 528

*Bricourt, Jean Joseph* (1805-1857)—Belgian legal officer; democrat; member of the Chamber of Representatives (1847-48).—164

*Brockhaus, Heinrich* (1804-1874)—publisher and bookseller, owned a big publishing and bookselling business in Leipzig from 1850.—68

*Broglie, Achille Charles Léonce Victor, duc de* (1785-1870)—French statesman, Prime Minister (1835-36), deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51), Orleanist.—484

*Brüggemann, Karl Heinrich* (1810-1887)—German journalist, moderate liberal; editor-in-chief of the *Kölnische Zeitung* (1846-55).—337, 451

*Bruhn, Karl von* (b. 1803)—German journalist, member of the League of Outlaws and subsequently of the Communist League, from which he was expelled in 1850; belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group, later a Lassallean.—196, 197, 407, 549

*Brunswick, Duke of*—see *Karl Friedrich August Wilhelm*

*Brutus, Marcus Junius* (c. 85-42 B.C.)—Roman politician, republican; an initiator of the conspiracy against Julius Caesar.—285, 338, 456

*Bucher, Lothar* (1817-1892)—Prussian official and journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; a refugee in London; later a national-liberal and supporter of Bismark.—296, 317, 321, 440, 446

*Buchez, Philippe Joseph Benjamin* (1796-1865)—French politician, historian, Christian socialist.—58

*Bugeaud de la Piconnerie, Thomas Robert* (1784-1849)—Marshal of France, Orleanist.—169

*Buhl, Ludwig Heinrich Franz* (1814-c.1882)—German journalist; Young Hegelian; editor of the *Berliner Monatsschrift* in Mannheim (1844).—11

*Bülow, Dietrich Heinrich, Baron von* (1757-1808)—Prussian officer and military writer.—329

*Bülow, Friedrich Wilhelm, Count von Dennewiss* (1755-1816)—Prussian general, took part in the wars against Napoleonic France.—329

*Bunsen, Christian Karl Josias, Baron von* (1791-1860)—Prussian diplomat, writer and theologian; ambassador to London (1842-54).—401

*Bürgers, Heinrich* (1820-1878)—German journalist, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, member of the Communist League and of its Central Authority (from 1850); one of the accused in the Cologne communist trial (1852).—9, 14, 25, 28, 49, 61, 69, 111, 128, 159, 171, 185-86, 251, 341, 346, 351, 365, 366, 373, 384, 390, 491, 526, 529

*Burns, Lydia (Lizzy, Lizzie)* (1827-1878)—Irish working woman, sister of Mary Burns; Frederick Engels' second wife.—266

*Burns, Mary* (c. 1823-1863)—Irish working woman, Frederick Engels' first wife.—37, 153, 266, 273, 369, 530

*Butz, Gustav*—publisher in Hagen in the 1840s.—16

C

*Cabet, Étienne* (1788-1856)—French writer, utopian communist, author of *Voyage en Icarie*.—53, 114, 136, 169, 423, 534

*Caesar, Gaius Julius* (c. 100-44 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman.—288

*Campe, Johann Julius Wilhelm* (1792-1867)—German publisher and bookseller, from 1823 co-proprietor of the Hoffman & Campe Publishing House, Hamburg.—7, 34, 343, 475

*Camphausen, Ludolf* (1803-1890)—German banker; a Rhenish liberal bourgeois leader; Prime Minister of Prussia (March-June 1848).—176

*Canute (Cnut), 'Canute the Great'* (c. 995-1035)—King of Denmark (1014-35) and also of England (from 1017) and of Norway (from 1028).—93

*Capefigue, Jean Baptiste Honoré Raymond* (1801-1872)—French journalist and historian; monarchist.—116

*Caperon, Paulin*—French émigré, member of the Société des proscrits démocrates et socialistes in London in the early 1850s.—247, 249, 254, 560

*Carlier, Pierre Charles Joseph* (1799-1858)—Prefect of the Paris police (1849-51); Bonapartist.—479, 484

*Carlyle, Thomas* (1795-1881)—British writer, historian, philosopher, Tory; preached views bordering on feudal socialism up to 1848; later a relentless opponent of the working-class movement.—4, 461

*Carnap, Johann Adolph von* (born c. 1793)—Prussian official, Chief Burgomaster of Elberfeld from 1837 to 1851.—24

*Carnot, Lazare Nicolas* (1753-1823)—French mathematician; political and military figure in the French Revolution, Jacobin; took part in the Thermidor coup in 1794.—505

*Cassel*—Brussels banker.—158, 164

*Castiau, Adelson* (1804-1879)—Belgian lawyer and politician; democrat; member of the Chamber of Representatives (1843-48).—159, 164

*Cato, Marcus Porcius (Cato the Elder)* (234-149 B.C.)—Roman statesman and writer.—442

*Caussidière, Marc* (1808-1861)—French democrat, took part in the Lyons uprising of 1834; Prefect of the Paris police after the February 1848 revolution; deputy to the Constituent Assembly; emigrated to England in June 1848.—337, 505

*Cavaignac, Louis Eugène* (1802-1857)—French general, moderate republican; took part in the conquest of Algeria; War Minister of France from May 1848; directed the suppression of the June uprising; head of the executive (June-December 1848).—355, 357, 360-61, 363, 367, 466, 469, 484-85, 503

*Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de* (1547-1616)—Spanish writer.—397

*Changarnier, Nicolas Anne Théodule* (1793-1877)—French general and politician, monarchist; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies; commander of the Paris garrison and the National Guard after June 1848; took part in dispersing the demonstration of 13 June 1849 in Paris.—357, 360, 363, 479, 484, 503, 504

*Christ, A.*—German journalist, author of a pamphlet on protective tariffs.—376, 402

*Christian VIII* (1786-1848)—King of Denmark (1839-48).—70

*Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero)* (106-43 B.C.)—Roman orator, statesman and philosopher.—316

*Clark, Thomas* (d. 1857)—a Chartist leader, Fraternal Democrat (1847), reformist after 1848.—272, 285

*Clausewitz, Karl von* (1780-1831)—Prussian general and military theoretician.—372

*Clouth, Wilhelm*—owner of the Cologne printshop where the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was printed from 1 June to 27 August 1848.—175

*Cluss, Adolph* (1825-1905)—German engineer; member of the Communist League; emigrated in 1848 to the USA, where he was a member of German-American workers' organisations; one of the first propagandists of scientific communism in America.—496, 519

*Cobbett, William* (c. 1762-1835)—English politician and radical writer.—140

*Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865)—English manufacturer and politician; a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League.—205-06, 211, 281, 347

*Cohen*—wife of Karl Blind.—474, 478

*Confucius* (550 or 551-479 B.C.)—Chinese philosopher and statesman.—429

*Considérant, Victor Prosper* (1808-1893)—French journalist, utopian socialist, disciple and follower of Fourier.—94, 411

*Cooper, Thomas* (1805-1892)—English poet and journalist; Chartist in the early 1840s; subsequently a nonconformist preacher.—537

*Costa Cabral, António Bernardo da* (1803-1889)—Portuguese statesman, leader of the bourgeois-monarchist party, head of government (1842-46 and 1849-51).—358

*Cotta, Johann Georg* (1796-1863)—German publisher.—398, 476

*Crémieux, Isaac Moïse* (called *Adolphe*) (1796-1880)—French lawyer and politician; liberal; member of the Provisional Government (February-May 1848); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies.—167

*Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—leader of the English revolution; Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653.—284, 323, 535

*Crüger, Friedrich* (1820-c. 1857)—member of the Communist League and the German Workers' Society in Brussels.—122, 123, 124, 127-28

*Culpeper, Sir Thomas* (1578-1662)—English economist, advocate of mercantilism.—494

## D

*Damm*—German democrat; President of the Baden Constituent Assembly in 1849; emigrated to England.—436

*Dana, Charles Anderson* (1819-1897)—American journalist, an editor and editor-in-chief (1849-62) of the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—403, 457, 480, 497, 506, 518, 519

*Daniels, Amalie* (née *Müller*) (1820-1895)—wife of Roland Daniels.—472, 548

*Daniels, Roland* (1819-1855)—German physician; member of the Communist League and of its Cologne Central Authority from 1850; one of the accused in the Cologne communist

trial (1852); friend of Marx and Engels.—48, 61, 68, 110, 159, 217, 302, 326, 330, 338, 341, 343, 365, 366, 368, 369, 372, 384, 393, 477, 529, 548

*Dante, Alighieri* (1265-1321)—Italian poet.—474

*Danton, Georges Jacques* (1759-1794)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, leader of the Right-wing Jacobins.—58, 505

*Darasz, Albert* (1808-1852) —active in the Polish national liberation movement, took part in the insurrection of 1830-31; a leader of the democratic organisations of Polish emigrants; member of the Central Committee of European Democracy.—255

*Darbeck*—police inspector in Brussels in 1848.—159

*Daul, A.*—German democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849.—222

*Davoine*—Bern bookseller.—221

*Decker*—German democrat, an organiser of the German refugees' legion in London.—540

*Decker, Karl von* (1784-1844)—German general and military writer.—331, 405

*Delessert, Gabriel Abraham Marguerite* (1786-1858)—Prefect of the Paris police (1836-48).—90, 91

*Dembiński, Henryk* (1791-1864)—Polish general, took part in the insurrection of 1830-31; commander-in-chief of the Hungarian revolutionary army in February-April 1848; emigrated first to Turkey and then to France.—206, 328

*Demidov, Anatoly Nikolayevich* (1813-1870)—Russian aristocrat, owner of a number of mines and steel works.—363

*Demuth, Helene (Lenchen)* (1820-1890)—housemaid and devoted friend of the Marx family.—315, 548

*Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Earl of* (1799-1869)—British statesman, Tory leader, Prime Minister (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68).—296

*Desmoulins, Lucie Simplice Camille Benoist* (1760-1794)—French journalist, figure in the French Revolution, Right-wing Jacobin.—73

*Dickens, Charles John Huffam* (1812-1870)—English novelist.—243

*Dietz, Bernhard* (d. 1850)—German journalist, democrat, editor of the Cologne *Freie Volksblätter* (1848-49), was persecuted by the authorities.—195

*Dietz, Oswald* (c. 1824-1864)—German architect; refugee in London; member of the Communist League, belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group; subsequently took part in the American Civil War.—247, 255, 265, 442; 467, 473-74, 477, 483, 484, 498

*Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and author, Tory leader; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68), Prime Minister (1868 and 1874-80).—296

*Döbler, Ludwig* (1801-1864)—Austrian conjurer, showed 'misty images'.—367

*Doherty, Hugh*—Irish philologist and philosopher, follower of Fourier, editor of the *Démocratie pacifique* in 1846.—55

*Dolleschall, Laurenz* (b. 1790)—police official in Cologne (1819-47), censor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—355

*Dominicus, Adolf*—German merchant, uncle of Ernst Dronke.—173

*Donovan, Daniel*—Lancashire Chartist leader in the 1840s-50s.—263, 264

*Dronke, Ernst* (1822-1891)—German writer, at first a 'true socialist', later a member of the Communist League and editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung;* emigrated to Switzerland and later to England.—163, 164, 172, 173, 178. 179, 190, 191, 200, 201, 203, 207, 208, 212, 233, 235, 237, 250, 256, 263, 271, 296, 301, 304, 319, 336, 342, 347, 380, 457, 459, 475, 481, 482, 561

*Dronke, Ernst Friedrich Johann* (1797-1849)—father of Ernst Dronke, teacher, gymnasium headmaster in Fulda from 1841.—173

*Drucker, Louis*—German journalist, democrat, publisher of the London humorous weekly *How Do You Do?* (1851).—418, 432

*Dubourg-Butler, Frédéric, comte* (1778-1850)—French general, took part in the 1830 revolution.—319

*Duchâtel, Charles Marie Tanneguy, comte* (1803-1867)—French statesman, Orleanist; Minister of Trade (1834-36), Minister of the Interior (1839 and 1840-February 1848).—90, 154

*Dufaure, Jules Armand Stanislas* (1798-1881)—French statesman, Orleanist; Minister of the Interior (October-December 1848) in the Cavaignac Government.—211

*Dulon, Rudolph* (1807-1870)—German minister, a leader of the Friends of Light movement opposing the official church; emigrated to the USA in 1853.—267, 268, 398

*Dumas, Alexandre (Alexandre Davy de la Pailleterie)* (1802-1870)—French novelist and dramatist.—294

*Dumon, Pierre Sylvain* (1797-1870)—French lawyer and statesman, Minister of Public Works (1843-47) and Minister of Finance (1847-48).—54

*Dumouriez, Charles François du Périer* (1739-1823)—French general, commanded the northern revolutionary army in 1792-93; betrayed the revolution in March 1793.—470

*Dupin, André Marie Jean Jacques* (1783-1865)—French lawyer and politician, Orleanist; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49), President of the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); subsequently Bonapartist.—503

*Dupont de l'Eure, Jacques Charles* (1767-1855)—French liberal politician, participated in the French revolutions of 1789-94 and 1830; close to the moderate republicans in the 1840s; President of the Provisional Government in 1848.—167

*Dureau de la Malle, Adolph Jules César Auguste* (1777-1857)—French philologist and archaeologist.—425, 433

*Dust*—non-commissioned officer in the Cologne garrison.—192

E

*Ebner, Hermann Friedrich* (1805-1856)—German journalist; secret agent of the Austrian police in the 1840s-50s.—398, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 475, 482, 491, 493, 495, 499-502, 520

*Eccarius, Johann Friedrich*—German tailor; member of the Communist League; emigrated to London in 1851; brother of Johann Georg Eccarius.—491

*Eccarius, Johann Georg* (1818-1889)—German tailor; prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; member of the League of the Just and later of the Communist League; member of the General Council of the First International; subsequently joined the British trade-union movement.—250, 266, 285, 491, 519

*Eisen, Franz Carl*—Cologne bookseller, distributed the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.*—229, 232, 560

*Eisermann*—German joiner, member of the League of the Just in Paris in the 1840s.—61, 63, 71, 80, 81, 82, 85, 86, 90, 115

*Elsner, Karl Friedrich Moritz* (1809-1894)—Silesian radical journalist, an editor of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* in the 1850s.—321

*Enfantin, Barthélemy Prosper* (nicknamed *Père Enfantin*) (1796-1864)—French utopian socialist, disciple of Saint-Simon; after his death headed the Saint-Simonist school.—57

*Engels*—Prussian colonel, after 1851 general, commandant of Cologne in the 1840s-50s.—192, 194, 347

*Engels, Anna* (1825-1853)—sister of Frederick Engels.—23, 171

*Engels, Elisabeth Franziska Mauritia* (née *van Haar*) (1797-1873)—mother of Frederick Engels.—19, 23, 29, 35, 36, 166, 171, 181, 452, 540, 541, 543-46

*Engels, Elise* (1834-1912)—youngest sister of Frederick Engels.—35, 546

*Engels, Friedrich* (1796-1860)—father of Frederick Engels.—19, 22, 25, 29, 30, 36, 46, 166, 171, 173, 178, 179, 181, 251, 253, 255, 263, 281, 302, 327, 378, 379, 384, 452, 540, 541, 543, 545

*Engels, Hedwig* (1830-1904)—sister of Frederick Engels.—23, 29, 546

*Engels, Hermann* (1822-1905)—brother of Frederick Engels.—5, 36, 449, 451, 452, 455, 546

*Engels, Marie* (1824-1901)—sister of Frederick Engels, married Karl Emil Blank in 1845.—3, 32, 33, 167, 171, 176, 254, 514

*Engels, Rudolf* (1831-1903)—brother of Frederick Engels.—29, 546

*Ermen, Anton*—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—170

*Ermen, Gottfried*—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—250, 253, 281, 378

*Ermen, Peter (Pitt)* (b. 1810)—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—250, 253, 255, 281, 325, 378, 395, 509

*Ernst, Augustus* (1771-1851)—King of Hanover (1837-51).—389, 392

*Eschweilers*—an acquaintance of Mrs Marx in Cologne.—548

*Esselen, Christian* (1823-1859)—German writer, democrat; a leader of the Workers' Association in Frankfurt in 1848; emigrated to Switzerland and later to the USA.—214, 222

*Esselens, Prosper Joseph Antoine* (1817-1878)—Belgian democrat, publisher and editor of the Liège newspaper *Le People*.—154, 163

*Esser, Christian Joseph* (born c. 1809)—German worker, member of the Cologne Workers' Association.—450

*d'Ester, Karl Ludwig Johann* (1813-1859)—German socialist and democrat, physician; member of the Cologne community of the Communist League; became a member of the Central Committee of Democrats in Germany (October 1848), played a prominent part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; later emigrated to Switzerland.—6, 17, 69, 159, 174, 200, 215, 301, 500, 501

*Ewerbeck, August Hermann* (1816-1860)—German physician and man of letters; leader of the Paris communities of the League of the Just, later member of the Communist League (till 1850).—3, 6, 18, 52-53, 55, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 65, 69, 71, 72, 80, 83, 89, 90, 111, 115, 116, 119, 170, 173, 190, 435, 475, 478, 484, 525, 526, 542

F

*Fabricius, Franz*—Frankfurt merchant, democrat.—375

*Faider, Victor*—Belgian lawyer and politician, moderate democrat.—163, 164

*Fanon*—French émigré, member of the committee of the Société des proscrits démocrates et socialistes in the early 1850s.—247, 249, 254, 560

*Faucher, Julius (Jules)* (1820-1878)—German journalist and economist, Young Hegelian; professed individualistic, anarchist views in the early 1850s; an emigrant in England in 1850-51.—355-56, 358, 418, 425, 426, 431

*Faucher, Léon* (1803-1854)—French writer and politician, Malthusian economist, Orleanist; Minister of the Interior (December 1848-May 1849 and 1851); later Bonapartist.—367, 479, 484

*Faulenbach*—an acquaintance of Mrs Marx in Cologne.—547

*Fenner von Fenneberg, Daniel* (1820-1863)—Austrian officer, commanded the Vienna National Guard in 1848, later commander-in-chief and chief of staff of the Palatinate insurgent army, emigrated.—191, 400

*Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas* (1804-1872)—German philosopher.—12, 22, 23, 54, 68, 75-76, 77, 78, 79, 251, 448, 474, 478

*Fickler, Joseph* (1808-1865)—German democratic journalist; member of the Baden Provisional Government (1849); emigrated to Switzerland and then to England and the USA.—385, 386, 391, 403, 408, 428, 436, 437, 438, 439-40, 499

*Fieschi*—refugee in London in the 1850s.—251

*Fischer*—German democratic journalist, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, emigrated to the USA.—334, 336, 339, 433, 438, 443, 444, 446, 485, 487, 488

*Fischer, F.*—member of the Communist League and the German Workers' Society in Brussels.—127

*Fix, Théodore* (1800-1846)—French economist and journalist, contributor to the *Journal des Économistes*.—66, 67

*Flocon, Ferdinand* (1800-1866)—French politician and journalist, democrat; an editor of *La Réforme;* member of the Provisional Government in 1848.—135, 136, 137, 139, 143, 152, 156, 158, 161, 166, 168, 169, 382 505

*Florencourt, Franz von (François Chassot de)* (1803-1886)—German writer, editor of a number of periodicals; first liberal and later conservative.—338

*Foucault, Léon* (1819-1868)—French physicist.—343

*Fould, Achille* (1800-1867)—French banker and politician, Orleanist, subsequently Bonapartist; Minister of Finance several times from 1849 to 1867.—166

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—13, 25, 26, 27, 55, 57, 95, 104

*Francis Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-1916).—355

*Franck, Gustav* (d. 1860)—Austrian democrat, a refugee in London in the early 1850s.—436, 440

*Franck, Paul*—German democratic journalist; emigrated to the USA in the early 1850s.—347

*Frank, A.*—Paris publisher.—8, 142, 143, 144, 149

*Frederick II (the Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—329

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—70, 141, 160, 249, 355, 376

*Freiligrath, Ferdinand* (1810-1876)—German revolutionary poet, member of the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49.—178, 191, 198, 204, 205, 206, 207, 216, 217, 224, 225, 230, 346, 354, 359, 365, 366, 373, 377, 382, 385-86, 388, 403, 409, 418, 431, 432, 443, 444, 474, 480, 482, 490, 500, 520, 521, 531, 558, 562

*Freiligrath, Ida* (1817-1899)—wife of Ferdinand Freiligrath.—206, 217, 521

*Fröbel, Julius* (1805-1893)—German radical writer and publisher.—19, 49, 74

G

*Galeer, Albert Frédéric Jean* (1813-1851)—Swiss teacher and man of letters, democrat; took part in the war against the Sonderbund (1847) and in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849.—319, 380

*Garnier-Pagès, Louis Antoine* (1803-1878)—French politician, moderate republican; member of the Provisional Government and Mayor of Paris in 1848.—167

*Gebert, August*—Mecklenburg joiner, member of the Communist League in Switzerland and later in London, belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group in 1850.—247, 320, 334, 374, 382

*Gehrke*—German refugee in London in the 1850s.—437

*Geiger, Wilhelm Arnold*—Prussian police official; in 1848 examining magistrate, then Chief of Police in Cologne.—189, 192

*Gigot, Charles Philippe* (1819-1860)—participant in the Belgian working-class and democratic movement, member of the Communist League

and of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee.—38, 39, 89, 118, 126, 130, 153, 158, 159, 162, 165, 178, 179, 544

*Girardin, Émile de* (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician, editor of *La Presse;* notorious for his lack of principles in politics; moderate republican during the 1848-49 revolution, later Bonapartist.—357, 360, 363, 444, 448, 484

*Glaise*—an acquaintance of Mrs Marx.—525

*Godwin, William* (1756-1836)—English writer and philosopher, one of the founders of anarchism.—27

*Goegg, Amand* (1820-1897)—German democratic journalist; member of the Baden Provisional Government (1849); emigrated after the defeat of the revolution.—240, 356, 358, 385, 391, 403, 428, 436, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 446

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—18, 68, 110, 264, 474, 500

*Göhringer, Carl* (born c. 1808)—Baden innkeeper, member of the Communist League, belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group.—334, 343, 359, 437, 475, 477, 483, 486, 492

*Goldheim*—Prussian police officer, a secret agent of the Prussian police in London in the early 1850s.—349

*Görgey, Arthur* (1818-1916)—a commander and, from April to June 1849, commander-in-chief of the Hungarian revolutionary army; War Minister from May 1849; voiced the conservative sentiments of the nobility; advocated agreement with the Habsburgs, and later capitulation.—206, 328

*Gottfried*—see *Kinkel, Gottfried*

*Gottschalk, Andreas* (1815-1849)—German physician; member of the Cologne community of the Communist League; President of the Cologne Workers' Association (April-June 1848); exponent of 'Left' sectarian tendencies in the German working-class movement.—142, 159, 183, 352

*Gouté*—French émigré, member of the Committee of the Société des proscrits démocrates et socialistes in London in the early 1850s.—247, 249, 254

*Graham, Sir James Robert George* (1792-1861)—British statesman, a Whig at the beginning of his career and later a Peelite; Home Secretary in Peel's Cabinet (1841-46).—349

*Greppo, Jean Louis* (1810-1888)—French socialist, took part in the Lyons uprisings in 1831 and 1834; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic.—310

*Grey, Sir George* (1799-1882)—British Whig statesman, Home Secretary (1846-52, 1855-58 and 1861-66) and Secretary of State for the Colonies (1854-55).—349

*Gross, Magnus*—German democratic journalist; emigrated to the USA in the 1850s.—262, 269, 271

*Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de* (1766-1847)—Marshal of France, took part in the Napoleonic wars.—169

*Grün, Karl Theodor Ferdinand* (pen-name *Ernst von der Haide*) (1817-1887)—German journalist, 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s; petty-bourgeois democrat during the 1848-49 revolution; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly.—9, 39, 52, 53, 59, 61, 62, 63, 65, 71, 72, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 110, 112, 115, 116, 117, 384, 532

*Gsell*—the Marxes' landlady in Paris.—56, 65, 161

*Gubitz, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1786-1870)—German writer and wood engraver; editor of *Gesellschafter* from 1817.—432

*Guerrier*—French socialist.—6, 18

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman; practically directed France's foreign and home policy

from 1840 up to the February revolution of 1848.—54, 199, 525

*Gümpel, Johann Heinrich*—Hamburg worker, member of the Communist League; a refugee in London in the early 1850s.—498

*Günther, Georg*—German democratic journalist; a refugee in London in the 1850s.—284

*Gutenberg, Johann* (c. 1400-1468)—German inventor of printing.—447

*Gutzkow, Karl Ferdinand* (1811-1878)—German writer, member of the Young Germany literary group.—38

H

*Habsburg*—see *Francis Joseph I*

*Hagen, Theodor* (1823-1871)—Communist League member in Hamburg, took part in publishing and distributing the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.*—222, 228, 230, 231-32

*Hain, August*—German refugee in London, member of the Communist League.—397, 404

*Hansen, Heinrich*—Cologne joiner, member of the Communist League.—547

*Harney, George Julian* (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the English labour movement, a leader of the Chartist Left wing; editor of *The Northern Star, Democratic Review, Friend of the People, Red Republican.*—88, 91, 92, 135, 144, 158, 171, 211, 217, 242, 243, 244, 251, 264, 266, 268, 272, 279, 285, 287, 289, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 299, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 309, 311, 313, 314-15, 346, 360, 380, 399, 476, 479, 481, 488, 533, 534, 535, 536-38, 539, 560

*Harney, Mary* (née *Cameron*) (d. 1853)—wife of George Julian Harney.—266, 285, 295, 302, 346, 533

*Hassenpflug, Hans Daniel Ludwig Friedrich* (1794-1862)—German statesman; Minister of Justice and the Interior of Hesse-Cassel (1832-37), head of the Hesse-Cassel Ministry (1850-55).—405

*Hatzfeldt, Sophie, Countess von* (1805-1881)—German aristocrat; broke with her husband and later became a friend and follower of Lassalle.—140, 204

*Hatzfeldt-Wildenburg, Edmund, Count von* (b. 1798)—husband of Sophie Hatzfeldt.—140

*Haude*—participant in the German democratic movement in the 1840s, member of the Communist League, belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group, was its emissary in Germanv in 1850.—250, 251, 374, 382, 561

*Haug, Ernst*—Austrian army officer, democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; emigrated to England; an editor of the weekly *Der Kosmos.*—319, 342, 345, 355, 359, 425, 427, 428, 437, 440

*Haupt, Hermann Wilhelm* (born c. 1831)—German business clerk, member of the Communist League; was arrested with other Cologne communists, gave evidence compromising them and was released before the trial; fled to Brazil.—266, 392-93, 407, 474, 477, 483, 484, 486, 487, 491, 552, 553

*Haussy, François de*—Belgian Minister of Justice in 1848.—164

*Haynau, Julius Jakob, Baron von* (1786-1853)—Austrian general; took part in suppressing the revolution in Italy (1848-49) and Hungary (1849-50).—298, 502

*Hébert, Michel Pierre Alexis* (1799-1887)—French lawyer and statesman, Orleanist; Chief Public Prosecutor from 1841, Minister of Justice (1847-February 1848).—114

*Hecker, Karl*—German democrat, a leader of the Elberfeld uprising in 1849.—171, 174

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—12, 13, 97, 251, 422, 494, 505

*Heilberg, Louis* (1818-1852)—German journalist, refugee in Brussels,

member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee in 1846 and later of the Communist League.—122, 123, 124, 125, 128, 144, 245

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—21, 30, 31-32, 37, 65, 107-108, 112, 139, 145, 153, 211, 265, 418, 430, 493, 508, 513, 516, 526

*Heine, Mathilde* (née *Mirat*) (1815-1883)—wife of Heinrich Heine.—21, 31

*Heinemann*—Prussian police agent in England.—450

*Heinzen, Karl* (1809-1880)—German radical journalist, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland, later to England, and in the autumn of 1850 to the USA.—48, 122, 126, 139, 153, 181, 220, 222, 296, 317, 341, 342, 343, 362, 376, 388, 399, 402, 407, 408, 417, 439, 447, 448, 458, 473, 483, 489, 499, 515-16, 549

*Heise, Heinrich* (1820-1860)—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, later emigrated to England.—284

*Henricus*—see *Bürgers, Heinrich*

*Hentze, A.*—German army officer, member of the Communist League, belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group; witness for the prosecution at the Cologne communist trial (1852).—220

*Hertle, Daniel* (b. 1824)—German journalist, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to the USA in 1850.—440

*Herwegh, Emma* (née *Siegmund*) (1817-1904)—wife of Georg Herwegh.—121, 142

*Herwegh, Georg Friedrich* (1817-1875)—German democratic poet, an organiser of the German legion in Paris in 1848.—21, 31-32, 43, 118, 119, 120, 121, 140, 142, 154, 162, 526, 540

*Hess, Moses* (1812-1875)—German radical writer, a 'true socialist', member of the Communist League, was associated with the sectarian Willich-Schapper group.—4, 5, 9, 11, 12, 16, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53, 64-65, 66, 68, 79, 81, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 117, 121, 126, 127, 138, 153, 154, 155, 158, 164, 173, 382, 529, 532, 542

*Hess, Sibylle* (née *Pesch*) (1820-1903)—wife of Moses Hess.—46, 47, 56, 64, 153, 382, 561

*Hetherington, Henri* (1792-1849)—American publisher.—535

*Hill*—employee at the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels in the 1850s-60s.—253, 326

*Hine, L. A.*—German democrat, refugee in the USA in the 1850s.—271

*Hirsch, Wilhelm*—Hamburg business clerk; Prussian police agent in London in the early 1850s.—498

*Hochstetter*—German refugee deported from Belgium.—192

*Hody, Alexis Guillaume, Baron* (1807-1880)—chief of political police in Brussels in the 1840s.—32-33

*Hoff, Heinrich* (1810-1852)—German publisher, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, later emigrated to the USA.—447, 454

*Höffgen, Bernhard Robert*—founder and owner of the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung* (from 1848).—339

*Hoffstetter, Gustav von* (1818-1874)—Swiss army officer and military writer; took part in the war against the Sonderbund, fought in Garibaldi's force in 1849.—405

*Hollinger*—German refugee in London.—441, 442

*Homer*—semi-legendary epic poet of ancient Greece, author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.—444

*Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus)* (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—78, 357

*Hover*—non-commissioned officer in the Cologne garrison.—194

*Howitt, William* (1792-1879)—English writer.—367

*Hühnerbein (Hünerbein), Friedrich Wilhelm* (born c. 1817)—German

tailor, member of the Communist League; took part in the Elberfeld uprising in 1849.—306

*Hunt, Thornton Leigh* (1810-1873)—English radical journalist; took part in the Chartist movement in the 1840s-50s.—497

*Hurst, Ambrose*—Chartist; a reformist after 1848.—272

I

*Imandt, Peter* (b. 1824)—German teacher; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League; emigrated to London in 1852; supporter of Marx and Engels.—191

*Imbert, Jacques* (1793-1851)—French socialist, took part in the Lyons uprising of 1834; a refugee in Belgium in the 1840s; Vice-President of the Brussels Democratic Association; commandant of the Tuileries after the February 1848 revolution.—123, 124, 126, 129, 169

J

*Jacobi, Abraham* (1830-1919)—German physician, member of the Communist League; one of the accused in the Cologne communist trial (1852), acquitted; later emigrated to the USA.—369

*Jacoby, Johann* (1805-1877)—German radical writer and politician; a Left wing leader in the Prussian National Assembly (1848).—133, 393

*James I* (1566-1625)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1603-25).—70

*Jenni, Samuel Friedrich* (1809-1849)—radical journalist and publisher in Bern.—88

*Jerrold, Douglas William* (1803-1857)—English writer and dramatist.—533

*Johnston, Alexander Keith* (1804-1871)—British traveller, geographer and cartographer.—476

*Johnston, James Finlay Wier* (1796-1855)—British chemist, author of works on agricultural chemistry.—476

*Joinville, François Ferdinand Philippe Louis Marie, Prince de* (1818-1900)—Duke of Orleans, son of Louis Philippe; emigrated to England after the February revolution of 1848.—169

*Jomini, Antoine Henri, baron de* (1779-1869)—Swiss-born general in the service of France and then Russia; military theoretician and historian.—372

*Jones, Ernest Charles* (1819-1869)—prominent figure in the English working-class movement, proletarian poet and journalist, Left-wing Chartist leader; friend of Marx and Engels.—158, 243, 244, 251, 263-65, 272, 285, 294, 297, 304, 307, 312, 322, 346, 380, 399, 401, 498, 502, 539

*Jottrand, Lucien Léopold* (1804-1877)—Belgian lawyer and journalist, President of the Brussels Democratic Association (1847).—123, 124, 129, 132-33, 160, 162

*Julius, Gustav* (1810-1851)—German democratic journalist, publisher of the daily *Berliner Zeitungs-Halle* (1846-49).—67, 69, 296, 317, 398, 432

*Jung, Georg Gottlob* (1814-1886)—German democratic writer, Young Hegelian, a manager of the *Rheinische Zeitung;* deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—9, 21, 22, 225, 548

*Junge (Jungen), Adolph Friedrich*—German worker, member of the League of the Just in Paris, member of the Communist League (from 1847); emigrated to the USA early in 1848.—62, 71, 83, 85, 90, 111, 126, 127, 130

*Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis)* (c. 60-c. 140)—Roman satirical poet.—285, 440

K

*Kapp, Friedrich* (1824-1884)—German lawyer, historian and politician, democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA in 1850.—190, 191, 404, 447, 454

*Karl Friedrich August Wilhelm* (1804-1873)—Duke of Brunswick (from 1823), was deposed and emigrated to England in 1830; maintained contact with democratic refugees in the 1840s-50s; financially supported the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*.—251, 427

*Kats, Jacob* (1804-1886)—Belgian worker, prominent figure in the working-class movement, influenced by utopian socialism.—123, 125

*Kendall*—headmaster of a school in Manchester.—404

*Kiessling*—Brussels bookseller.—79

*Kinkel, Gottfried* (1815-1882)—German democratic poet and journalist, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849; emigrated in 1850 to England, where he became a leader of the petty-bourgeois émigrés, opposed Marx and Engels.—203, 250, 296, 317, 322, 323, 331, 334, 342-43, 345, 355, 357, 359-60, 362, 367, 376, 385, 398, 403, 426-31, 433, 437-43, 444-47, 453, 456, 459, 468, 473, 483, 485, 497, 499-502

*Kinkel, Johanna* (née *Mockel*) (1810-1858)—German writer, wife of Gottfried Kinkel.—355, 359, 362, 427, 428

*Kirchmann, Julius Hermann von* (1802-1884)—German lawyer and philosopher; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; later member of the Progressist Party.—357

*Klapka, György* (1820-1892)—general in the Hungarian revolutionary army in 1848-49, emigrated in 1849; maintained contact with Bonapartist circles in the 1850s.—230

*Klein, Johann Jacob* (born c. 1818-d. between 1895 and 1897)—Cologne physician, member of the Communist League, one of the accused in the Cologne communist trial (1852), acquitted.—551

*Klein, Karl Wilhelm*—German worker, member of the Communist League, took part in the Elberfeld and Solingen uprisings of 1849, emigrated to the USA in 1852; an organiser of workers' associations, later a prominent figure in the First International.—239

*Kleist-Retzow, Hans Hugo von* (1814-1892)—Prussian conservative politician, a founder of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*.—390

*Klose, G.*—German refugee in London, member of the Communist League.—387, 389

*Koch, Eduard Ignaz*—German Catholic priest, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA in the 1850s.—481

*Köhler, J.*—Geneva banker in the 1840s.—178

*Köhler, J. E. M.*—owner of the Hamburg printing-house where the first issues of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* were printed in 1850.—219, 228

*Köppen, Karl Friedrich* (1808-1863)—German writer and historian, Young Hegelian; took part in the 1848-49 revolution.—177

*Korff, Hermann*—Prussian ex-officer, democrat; manager of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); later emigrated to the USA.—181, 190

*Körner, A. F.*—German artist, acquaintance of Engels in Paris in the 1840s.—91, 116, 145

*Kossuth, Lajos* (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement, head of the Hungarian revolutionary government; emigrated first to Turkey and later to England and the USA.—325, 328, 473, 475, 488, 492, 498, 502-03, 508, 520

*Köttgen, Gustav Adolph* (1805-1882)—German artist and poet, took part in the working-class movement in the 1840s, was close to the 'true socialists'.—24, 30, 108

*Kriege, Hermann* (1820-1850)—German journalist; 'true socialist'; founder and editor of the New York refugees' newspaper *Der Volks-Tribun*.—22, 23, 25, 79-80, 84, 86, 87

*Krug, Wilhelm Traugott* (1770-1842)—German philosopher.—316

*Krummacher, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1796-1868)—German preacher, Calvinist minister, leader of the Wuppertal pietists.—4

*Kühtmann*—German publisher.—79, 93, 109, 112, 114

L

*Ladenberg, Adalbert von* (1798-1855)—Prussian official, Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine (November 1848-December 1850).—186

*Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louis de* (1790-1869)—French poet, historian and politician; a leader of the moderate republicans in the 1840s; Minister of Foreign Affairs and virtually head of the Provisional Government in 1848.—134, 137, 146, 165, 166, 167-68

*Lamennais, Hugues Félicité Robert de* (1782-1854)—French priest, writer, Christian socialist.—448

*Landolphe*—French socialist, refugee in London; belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group in 1850.—283, 285, 286, 292, 295, 298, 303, 307, 310, 311, 313, 316, 317, 321

*Lannoy, Jean Baptiste* (b. 1790)—owner of the hotel in Brussels where Marx stayed on several visits to Belgium.—52

*Laroche*—see *Lehmann, August Friedrich Gottlieb*

*La Sagra, Ramon de* (1798-1871)—Spanish economist, historian and naturalist, liberal.—156

*Las Cases, Emmanuel Augustin Dieudonné, comte de* (1766-1842)—French historian, accompanied Napoleon to St. Helena (1815-16); published *Mémorial de Sainte Hélène* (1822-23).—464

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German writer and lawyer, petty-bourgeois socialist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863); an initiator of the opportunist trend in the German Social-Democratic movement.—204, 216

*Lautz*—banker in Trier.—323

*Laverrière*—acquaintance of Engels in Barmen.—174

*Leach, James*—English weaver; took part in the labour movement, a leader of the Chartists in Lancashire in the 1840s; later a reformist.—263, 264, 272

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician, a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats; editor of *La Réforme;* Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government (February-May 1848), deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (leader of the Montagnards); emigrated to England after the demonstration of 13 June 1849.—152, 166, 168, 249, 254-55, 279, 282, 283, 287, 292, 293, 294, 304, 309, 337, 360, 380, 411, 437, 439, 448, 484, 500, 506, 508, 510, 526

*Lehmann, Albert*—German worker resident in London, member of the League of the Just and of the Communist League, member of the Central Committee of the sectarian Willich-Schapper group.—245

*Lehmann, August Friedrich Gottlieb* (b. 1819)—German shoemaker, democrat; was connected with Willich; convicted on a charge of high treason in 1851.—362

*Lenchen*—see *Demuth, Helene*

*Leopold I* (1790-1865)—King of the Belgians (1831-65).—107, 471

*Leroux, Pierre* (1797-1871)—French journalist, utopian socialist; deputy to the Constituent (1848-49) and Legislative (1849) Assemblies.—57, 219

*Leske, Karl Friedrich Julius* (1821-1886)—owner, from 1845, of the publishing house founded by C.W. Leske in 1821 in Darmstadt.—16, 21, 26, 48-52, 68-69, 74, 86, 87, 88, 208

*Lessner, Friedrich* (1825-1910)—German tailor, member of the Communist League, where he was known as Karstens; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; defendant at the Cologne communist trial (1852); member of the General Council of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—399

*Liebig, Justus von, Baron* (1803-1873)—German chemist.—476

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League; one of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—257, 317, 330, 334, 385, 387, 391, 397, 433, 442, 457, 474, 562

*Lièvre Eugène*—French democrat; refugee in the USA; supported Hermann Kriege in the 1840s.—406

*List, Friedrich* (1789-1846)—German economist, advocated protectionism.—11, 28, 79

*Löllgen (Löllchen), Johann Adam*—innkeeper in Cologne in the 1840s.—6

*Louis Napoleon*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of France (1830-48).—68, 120, 169, 316, 533

*Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, Count of Paris* (1838-1894)—Louis Philippe's grandson, pretender to the French throne.—205

*Lovett, William* (1800-1874)—English radical, Chartist; advocated the theory of 'moral force' and collaboration with the bourgeoisie.—538

*Löwe, Wilhelm* (1814-1886)—German democrat; Vice-President of the Frankfurt National Assembly (known as *Löwe von Calbe* after the Prussian district of Calbe in which he was elected); leader of the Assembly's 'rump' in Stuttgart; emigrated; later a Progressist.—500, 503, 507

*Löwenthal, Zacharias* (pseudonym *Carl Friedrich Loening*) (1810-1884)—German publisher in the 1840s-50s.—18, 31, 68, 475, 491, 493, 494-95, 514

*Loyd, Samuel Jones, Lord Overstone* (1796-1883)—English banker, economist, leader of the 'Currency Principles School'.—270, 274

*Lubliner, Ludwik Ozeasz* (1809-1868)—Polish lawyer, revolutionary, refugee in Brussels; member of the Brussels Democratic Association.—159

*Lucius*—German lawyer and journalist.—359

*Lüders, Wilhelm*—German democratic journalist, refugee in London.—439

*Lüning, Louise*—see *Weydemeyer, Louise*

*Lüning, Otto* (1818-1868)—German physician and writer; a 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s; editor of *Das Westphälische Dampfboot* and the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung;* later a national-liberal.—68, 163, 201, 212, 213, 233, 238, 246, 539, 559

*Lupus*—see *Wolff, Wilhelm*

*Luther, Martin* (1483-1546)—German theologian and writer; leader of the Reformation; founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany.—400

M

*MacCulloch, John Ramsay* (1789-1864)—British economist, vulgarised David Ricardo's doctrine.—480

*Macfarlane, Helen*—Chartist on the staff of the *Democratic Review* (1849-50) and the *Red Republican* (1850); translated the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* into English.—295-96, 560

*McGrath, Philip*—Chartist, member of

the Executive Committee of the National Charter Association.—272

*MacGregor, Jonn* (1797-1857)—British statistician, Free Trader.—480

*Majer (Mayer), Adolph* (born c. 1819)—member of the Communist League in London, belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group, its emissary in France.—247

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, founder of a misanthropic population theory.—258, 261, 425

*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von* (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (November 1848-November 1850), Prime Minister (1850-58).—418

*Mantle, George Joseph*—Chartist, delegate to the Chartist Conference in Manchester and the Chartist Convention in London (1851).—272

*Maria II, da Gloria* (1819-1853)—Queen of Portugal (1826-28 and 1834-53).—358

*Marie de Saint-Georges, Aléxandre Pierre Thomas Amable* (1795-1870)—French lawyer and politician, moderate republican, member of the Provisional Government (1848).—167

*Marrast, Armand* (1801-1852)—French writer and politician, a leader of the moderate republicans; editor of *Le National*; member of the Provisional Government and Mayor of Paris (1848), President of the Constituent Assembly (1848-49).—85, 116, 167, 169

*Martens, Joachim Friedrich* (1806-1877)—German joiner, member of the League of the Just in Paris, a leader of the Workers' Educational Society and the Communist League community in Hamburg.—389, 436

*Martin du Nord, Nicolas Ferdinand Marie Louis Joseph* (1790-1847)—French lawyer and politician, Minister of Justice and Religious Worship from 1840.—114

*Marx, Edgar (Musch)* (1847-1855)—son of Karl Marx.—251, 361, 365, 540, 556, 558, 562

*Marx, Franziska* (1851-1852)—daughter of Karl Marx.—326

*Marx, Heinrich Guido (Fawksy)* (1849-1850)—son of Karl Marx.—220, 241-42, 250, 549-50, 556, 557

*Marx, Henriette* (née *Pressburg*) (1787-1863)—mother of Karl Marx.—151, 314, 323, 529

*Marx, Jenny* (née *von Westphalen*) (1814-1881)—wife of Karl Marx.—6, 9, 20, 21, 31, 47, 121, 140, 142, 151, 162, 163, 196, 201, 202, 203, 204, 206, 207, 209, 210, 213, 216, 218, 220, 226, 238, 239, 241, 242, 244, 251, 256, 265, 268, 269, 281, 283, 295, 323, 324, 326, 330, 335, 338, 344, 349, 379, 398, 402, 403, 444, 481, 482, 497, 517, 518

*Marx, Jenny* (1844-1883)—Karl Marx's eldest daughter; journalist, active in the international working-class movement; married Charles Longuet in 1872.—241, 525, 529, 530, 540, 556, 557, 558, 562

*Marx, Laura* (1845-1911)—Karl Marx's second daughter, married Paul Lafargue in 1868, active in the French working-class movement.—42, 530, 540, 556, 557, 558, 562

*Masters, J. W.*—innkeeper in London.—521

*Mäurer, Friedrich Wilhelm German* (1811-1885)—German democratic writer, member of the League of the Outlaws and later of the League of the Just.—53, 66, 80, 112

*Maynz, Karl Gustav* (1812-1882)—German lawyer, Professor of Brussels University, member of the Brussels Democratic Association.—159, 162-63, 164

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—leader of the national liberation movement in Italy, an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850).—249, 250, 254-55, 267, 279, 287, 292, 293, 309, 319, 321, 337, 349, 352, 360, 361, 363, 380, 384, 391, 426, 427, 437, 439, 448, 454-55, 456, 459, 484, 488, 500-01, 508

*Mellinet, François Aimé* (1768-1852)—Belgian general, took part in the Belgian revolution of 1830, Honorary President of the Brussels Democratic Association.—123

*Menenius, Agrippa* (d. 493 B.C.)—Roman patrician.—417

*Metternich, Germain* (1811-1862)—army officer from Mainz, man of letters, political refugee in Switzerland from 1842, returned to Germany in 1848, member of the Communist League, headed the people's militia during the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to the USA after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution.—247, 407

*Metternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince von* (1773-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1809-21), Chancellor (1821-48), an organiser of the Holy Alliance.—247

*Meyen (Mayen), Eduard* (1812-1870)—German writer, Young Hegelian; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution.—19, 212, 355-56, 358, 360, 382, 418, 425, 426, 437, 438, 441, 446, 486, 500, 501-02

*Meyer*—innkeeper in Elberfeld in the 1840s.—5

*Meyer, Julius* (1817-1863)—Westphalian businessman and writer; 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s.—48, 49, 53, 68, 72, 75,

*Meyerbeer, Giacomo (Jacob Liebmann Beer)* (1791-1864)—composer, conductor and pianist, one of the creators of French opera.—190

*Michel, Louis Chrysostome* (1797-1853)—French democratic lawyer and politician.—448

*Michelet, Jules* (1798-1874)—French historian.—154

*Mierosławski, Ludwik* (1814-1878)—prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement, took part in the Polish uprising of 1830-31 and in the 1848-49 revolution; later a leader of the moderate Polish democratic émigrés.—222

*Mignet, François Auguste Marie* (1796-1884)—French historian.—116

*Mill, John Stuart* (1806-1873)—English economist and positivist philosopher.—270

*Miquel, Johannes* (1828-1901)—German lawyer, politician, banker; member of the Communist League up to 1852, later a national-liberal.—345, 352, 374, 384, 388, 389, 392, 393

*Mirbach, Otto von* (born c. 1800)—retired Prussian artillery officer, democrat; took part in the revolution of 1848-49; commandant of Elberfeld during the May 1849 uprising; emigrated after the uprising was defeated.—306

*Molikoy, P.*—Hungarian refugee, member of the Hungarian Democratic Society in London in the early 1850s.—247, 255

*Moll, Joseph* (1813-1849)—German watch-maker; a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; was killed at the battle of the Murg.—73, 158, 539

*Montalembert, Charles Forbes René de Tryon, comte de* (1810-1870)—French politician and journalist; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848-51); Orleanist; supported Louis Bonaparte during the coup d'état of 2 December 1851, but soon joined the opposition.—288

*Montecucculi (Montecucoli), Raimondo, Count of, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire and Duke of Melfi* (1609-1681)—Austrian general and military writer.—371

*Montez (Montès), Lola* (1818-1861)—Spanish dancer; favourite of Ludwig I of Bavaria in 1846-48; after his abdication emigrated to London and in 1851 to the USA.—112, 114, 492

*Moras, Cäsar*—German refugee in Brussels in 1847.—122-24, 128

*Moreau de Jonnès, Alexandre* (1778-1870)—French economist.—481

*Morelly* (18th cent.)—French advocate of utopian egalitarian communism.—27
*Moses*—see *Hess, Moses*
*Mösin*—see *Hess, Sibylle*
*Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus* (1756-1791)—Austrian composer.—109
*Müller, Wilhelm* (pen-name *Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter*) (1816-1873)—German poet; physician in Düsseldorf in the 1840s.—5, 23
*Müller-Tellering, Amalie von*—German actress, wife of Eduard von Müller-Tellering.—182, 189
*Müller-Tellering, Eduard von* (born c. 1808)—German lawyer and writer, democrat; contributed to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to England; slandered Marx and Engels in the press.—182, 189, 223, 227, 229, 230, 234, 263, 268
*Musch*—see *Marx, Edgar*
*Neubeck, Philipp*—teacher in Mainz, member of the Communist League (1848).—154, 173
*Neuhaus, Karl* (1818-1866)—physician from Thüringia; commanded a detachment in the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army in 1849.—337
*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—247, 355, 462
*Niggeler, Niklaus* (1817-1872)—Swiss lawyer and politician, radical; editor of *Berner-Zeitung* (1848-50).—186
*Nohl, Eduard*—Barmen merchant, shareholder in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.—175
*Nothjung, Peter* (1821-1866)—German tailor; member of the Cologne Workers' Association and the Communist League; one of the accused at the Cologne communist trial (1852).—366, 389, 436

N

*Napier, Sir William Francis Patrick* (1785-1860)—British general and military historian.—301, 302, 316, 333, 371
*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—301, 323, 329, 332, 336, 337, 347, 351, 370, 467, 471, 504, 505, 535
*Napoleon III* (*Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte*) (1808-1873)—Prince, nephew of Napoleon I, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—205, 280, 288, 293, 357, 360-61, 363, 367, 411, 479, 484, 504, 505, 507, 509, 512, 513, 516, 517, 519, 521
*Naut, Stephan Adolf*—Cologne merchant, manager of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49.—26, 196, 198, 210, 228, 229, 232, 234, 238, 557, 559, 560
*Nauwerck (Nauwerk), Karl Ludwig Theodor* (1810-1891)—German writer, Young Hegelian.—19

O

*Obermeyer*—owner of a house in Elberfeld where communists held their meetings in 1845.—24
*O'Connor, Feargus Edward* (1794-1855)—a Left-wing Chartist leader, editor-in-chief of *The Northern Star*; reformist after 1848.—139-40, 145, 160, 211, 264, 272, 294, 337, 497, 534, 536
*Oehlenschläger, Adam Gottlob* (1779-1850)—Danish writer.—94
*Ohnemans, Engelbert* (born c. 1819)—German craftsman, member of the Communist League in Brussels.—130
*Oppenheim, Heinrich Bernhard* (1819-1880)—German democratic politician, economist and journalist; refugee in 1849 and 1850; subsequently a national-liberal.—284, 317, 342, 425, 426, 437, 438, 502
*Osy*—Belgian aristocrat, speculated in corn in the 1840s.—120
*Otterberg, W.*—German democrat from Barmen, member of the German

Workers' Society in Brussels in 1847.—122, 337

*Otto*—German refugee in New York, an editor of the *Deutsche Schnellpost* in the early 1850s.—447

*Overstone, Samuel*—see *Loyd, Samuel Jones, Lord Overstone*

*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—British utopian socialist.—27, 255, 360

P

*Palafox y Melci, José de Rebolledo, Duke of Saragossa* (1776-1847)—Spanish general, directed the defence of Saragossa in 1808-09.—320

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41 and 1846-51); Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58 and 1859-65); at the beginning of his career a Tory and from 1830 onwards a Whig.—171, 211, 288, 325, 349, 521

*Pardigon, François*—French socialist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated to England; a leader of the Société des proscrits démocrates et socialistes in London in the early 1850s.—235

*Paris, Count of*—see *Louis Philippe Albert d'Orleans*

*Passos, Manuel da Silva* (1801-1862)—Portuguese politician, Left-wing liberal leader.—358

*Peel, Sir Robert* (1788-1850)—British statesman, moderate Tory; Prime Minister (1841-46); repealed the Corn Laws in 1846.—333, 537

*Pellering, Jean* (1817-1877)—shoemaker; participant in the working-class movement in Belgium, member of the Brussels Democratic Association.—124, 125, 159

*Peto, Sir Samuel Morton* (1809-1889)—English businessman and politician, MP, liberal.—279

*Pettie, John*—English Chartist.—488

*Petty, Sir William* (1623-1687)—English economist and statistician, founder of the classical school of political economy in Britain.—261, 494

*Petzler, Johann* (d. 1898)—German democrat; refugee in London in the 1850s.—437

*Pfänder, Karl* (c. 1818-1876)—German artist; refugee in London from 1845, member of the Communist League and later of the General Council of the First International, friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—236, 243, 245, 249, 265-66, 477

*Philips, Jacques*—cousin of Karl Marx.—149

*Philips, Lion* (1794-1866)—maternal uncle of Karl Marx.—132, 239

*Pieper, Wilhelm* (born c. 1826)—German philologist and journalist, member of the Communist League, refugee in London; in 1850-53, was close to Marx and Engels.—252, 266, 269-70, 286, 298, 303, 304, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 312, 321, 323, 343, 344, 345, 349, 350, 352, 353, 397, 474, 478, 482, 485, 490, 493, 495, 496, 497, 498, 507, 508, 510, 514

*Pinto, Isaac* (1715-1787)—Dutch stockjobber and economist.—376

*Pitt, William* (1759-1806)—British statesman, Tory; Prime Minister (1783-1801 and 1804-06).—211

*Plasman* (*Plasmann*)—owner of a Cologne stationery firm in the 1840s; shareholder of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.—178, 190, 196, 544, 545

*Porter, George Richardson* (1792-1852)—English economist and statistician.—480

*Post, Carl* (b. 1819)—public prosecutor in Iserlohn, Karl Marx's acquaintance in the 1840s, leader of the uprising in Iserlohn (10-12 May 1849), emigrated to the USA in 1850.—201

*Pottier, Eugène* (1816-1887)—French revolutionary and poet, later member of the Paris Commune (1871); author of the proletarian anthem the *Internationale* (June 1871).—246

*Praslin, Altarice Rosalba Fanny* (née *Sèbastiani*) (1807-1847)—wife of Charles Praslin, Duke of Choiseul.—135

*Praslin, Charles Laure Hugues Théobald, duc de Choiseul* (1805-1847)—French aristocrat; his trial in 1847 for murdering his wife had political repercussions; committed suicide.—135, 157

*Price, Richard* (1723-1791)—English radical journalist, economist and philosopher.—423

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist, a founder of anarchism.—38, 40, 53, 61, 62, 63, 70, 71, 80, 81, 82, 84, 87, 94, 95-105, 109, 134, 151, 156, 181, 201, 219, 252, 255, 325, 399, 401, 409-16, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 433, 434, 435, 444, 449, 453, 459, 476, 478, 486, 488, 490-91, 493, 494, 495, 507, 511, 519

*Püttmann, Hermann* (1811-1894)—German radical poet and journalist; a 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s.—16, 23, 28, 30, 68, 70, 87, 89, 93, 109

R

*Radetzky, Josef, Count of Radetz* (1766-1858)—Austrian field marshal; suppressed the Italian national liberation movement in 1848-49; Governor-General of the Kingdom of Lombardy and Venetia (1850-56).—464

*Radowitz, Joseph Maria von* (1797-1853)—Prussian general and statesman; Right-wing leader in the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848-49.—360, 427

*Ramboz*—the name Karl Marx used to receive his mail in Paris in 1849.—200, 208, 209, 212, 213

*Raucourt, François Chevalier Wyns de*—Burgomaster of Brussels (1848).—160

*Raveaux, Franz* (1810-1851)—German politician, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848-49; one of the five Imperial Regents; member of the Baden Provisional Government; emigrated.—185, 237, 347, 389, 486

*Reden, Friedrich Wilhelm Otto Ludwig, Baron von* (1804-1857)—German statistician and politician.—481

*Reich, Franz Joseph* (born c. 1812)—German lawyer, democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated to France and in 1851 to the USA.—473, 490

*Reichel, Joseph* (1801-1856)—Austrian opera singer.—109

*Reichenbach, Countess von*—wife of Eduard von Reichenbach.—446

*Reichenbach, Eduard, Count von* (1812-1869)—German democrat; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; later a Progressist.—317, 446

*Reichenbach, Oskar, Count von* (b. 1815)—Silesian landowner, democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848-49; in 1850 emigrated to England and later to America.—317, 437, 446, 456, 499

*Reichhelm*—German refugee in New York, co-proprietor of the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung*.—402

*Reinhardt, Richard* (1829-1898)—German poet; refugee in Paris; Heinrich Heine's secretary; friend of Marx and Engels.—65, 142-44, 146, 467, 507, 510, 512

*Rempel, Rudolph* (1815-1868)—German manufacturer, a 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s.—48, 49, 53, 68, 72, 75

*Renouard, Jules*—French publisher in the 1830s-40s.—31

*Reynolds, George William MacArthur* (1814-1879)—English politician and journalist, democrat; publisher of *Reynolds's Newspaper*.—265, 294

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—English economist.—258, 262, 271, 274, 325, 357

*Riedel, Richard* (1804-1878)—German upholsterer; refugee in Brussels, member of the Communist League from 1847.—130

*Rings, L. W.*—member of the Communist League, refugee in London in

the early 1850s, supporter of Marx and Engels.—251

*Rittinghausen, Moritz* (1814-1890)—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; later member of the German Social-Democratic Party.—411

*Roberts, William Prowting* (1806-1871)—English lawyer; connected with the Chartist and the trade union movement.—243

*Robertson*—English Chartist, friend of George Julian Harney.—264

*Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de* (1758-1794)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, Jacobin leader, head of the revolutionary government (1793-94).—409, 425, 435, 505, 535

*Rodbertus-Jagetzow, Johann Karl* (1805-1875)—German economist; Left Centre leader in the Prussian National Assembly (1848); subsequently theoretician of 'state socialism'.—357, 403

*Rogier, Charles Latour* (1800-1885)—Belgian statesman, moderate liberal; Minister of the Interior (1848-52).—160

*Rohde, Johann Karl Adolph* (b. 1818)—German merchant, participant in the democratic and working-class movement in Hamburg in 1848-49.—196

*Rollin*—see *Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste*

*Ronge, Johannes* (1813-1887)—German clergyman, initiator of the 'German Catholics' movement; participant in the revolution of 1848-49, after its defeat emigrated to England.—91, 267, 345, 355, 357, 377, 385, 427, 428, 437, 440, 446, 483

*Röser, Peter Gerhard* (1814-1865)—German cigar-maker; Vice-President of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848-49); member of the Communist League and from 1850 of its Cologne Central Authority; one of the accused in the Cologne communist trial in 1852; later a Lassallean.—365, 366

*Rösing, Johannes* (b. 1791)—Bremen merchant; leader of the Democratic Society in Bremen from 1848.—195

*Roth, Richard* (1821-1858)—Elberfeld friend of the young Engels, later a factory owner.—5

*Rothacker, Wilhelm* (1828-1889)—German democratic journalist; member of the Communist League; emigrated to the USA in 1850; an editor of *Der Hochwächter* and from 1853 of the weekly *Die Menschenrechte* (Cincinnati).—334

*Rother, Christian von* (1778-1849)—Prussian statesman, Minister of Finance (1836-48).—69

*Rothschild, Jacob (James), baron de* (1792-1868)—head of the Rothschild banking house in Paris.—71, 73, 109, 144

*Rothschilds*—dynasty of bankers with branches in many European countries.—474, 482, 507

*Rotteck, Karl Wenzeslaus Rodecker von* (1775-1840)—German historian and politician, liberal.—322

*Rousseau, Jean Jacques* (1712-1778)—French philosopher and writer of the Enlightenment.—409, 425, 435

*Rovigo, Duke of*—see *Savary, Anne Jean Marie René, duc de Rovigo*

*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and Young Hegelian philosopher; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in England in the 1850s.—10, 15, 18, 48, 58, 109, 135, 200, 249, 255, 265-68, 279, 285, 287, 296, 317, 321, 334, 342, 345, 355, 359-60, 376, 377, 384-88, 391, 397, 399, 402, 403, 408, 409, 417, 425, 426-31, 433, 437-41, 446, 447-48, 449, 497, 499, 501, 532

*Rühl*—acquaintance of Joseph Weydemeyer in Frankfurt.—209

*Rumigny, Marie Hippolyte Gueilly, marquis de* (1784-1871)—French diplomat, envoy to Switzerland, Piedmont and Belgium.—115

*Rumpf, E.*—German tailor, member of the Communist League; emigrated to London in 1851; supporter of Marx and Engels.—442

*Russell, John Russell, Earl* (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader, Prime Minister (1846-52 and 1865-66), Foreign Secretary (1852-53 and 1859-65).—279, 296, 521

*Rutenberg, Adolf* (1808-1869)—German journalist, Young Hegelian; member of the editorial board of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in 1842.—19

S

*Saint-Just, Antoine Louis Léon de Richebourg de* (1767-1794)—a Jacobin leader in the French Revolution.—505

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—57, 358, 434

*Saldanha, João Carlos, Duke of* (1790-1876)—Portuguese statesman, marshal, member of the big bourgeoisie, Prime Minister (1847-49, 1851-56 and 1870).—358

*Sandkuhl*—railway employee, member of the German Workers' Society in Brussels (1847).—122, 127

*Sarrans, Bernard* (1795-1874)—French journalist and politician, moderate republican.—279

*Sasonow, Nikolai Ivanovich* (1815-1862)—Russian journalist, democrat and radical, emigrated in the early 1840s.—475, 478

*Savary, Anne Jean Marie René, duc de Rovigo* (1774-1833)—French general, politician and diplomat, took part in the wars of Napoleonic France, Minister of Police (1810-14).—336, 337

*Sawaszkiewiecz, Leopold*—Polish émigré, member of the Permanent Committee of the London section of Polish democrats in the early 1850s.—247, 254

*Schabelitz, Jacob Christian* (1804-1866)—Swiss publisher and bookseller, father of Jakob Lukas Schabelitz.—215, 221

*Schabelitz, Jakob, Lukas* (1827-1899)—Swiss publisher and bookseller, member of the Communist League; was connected with Marx and Engels in the late 1840s-early 1850s.—214-16, 221-22, 266, 409, 438, 446

*Schapper, Karl* (c. 1812-1870)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, leader of the League of the Just, member of the Communist League Central Authority; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; a leader of the sectarian group that broke away from the Communist League in 1850; later member of the General Council of the First International.—73, 203, 247, 251, 255, 282, 283, 284, 285, 292, 303, 304, 310, 311, 313, 320, 321, 334, 343, 374, 375, 376, 380, 381, 382, 385, 391, 402, 403, 407, 442, 443, 445, 452, 459, 467, 473, 492, 498, 507, 516, 539, 561

*Schärttner (Scherttner), August* (1817-1859)—cooper in Hanau; active in the 1848 revolution and the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to London; member of the Communist League; belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group (1850), member of its Central Committee.—247, 388, 407, 437, 483, 507

*Scheidler, Karl Hermann* (1795-1866)—editor of the *Preussische Lithographische Correspondenz* in the 1850s.—437

*Schenk, Michael* (1783-1867)—notary in Cologne, then Counsellor of Justice, Deputy Burgomaster of Cologne.—337

*Scherzer, Andreas* (1807-1879)—German tailor; member of a Paris community of the Communist League which sided with the sectarian Willich-Schapper group in 1850; later emigrated to London, contributed to *Das Volk*.—161

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, dramat-

ist, historian and philosopher.—66, 475

*Schily, Victor* (1810-1875)—German lawyer, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849, emigrated to France; member of the First International.—203

*Schimmelpfennig, Alexander* (1824-1865)—Prussian army officer, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849 and later emigrated to the USA, joined the sectarian Willich-Schapper group; fought in the American Civil War on the side of the Northerners—334, 359, 361, 362, 437, 439, 442, 499-502

*Schläpfer, Johann Michael* (1822-1885)—Swiss publisher.—88, 93, 109, 114

*Schleicher, Robert* (d. 1846)—physician in Trier, contributed to the *Trier'sche Zeitung*.—528, 532

*Schlöffel, Gustav Adolf* (1828-1849)—German student and journalist, took part in the 1848-49 revolutions in Germany and in Hungary; killed in action.—184

*Schmidt*—railway guard.—482

*Schmidt, Simon*—German tanner, an organiser of the League of the Just in Switzerland, supporter of Weitling.—59

*Schmolze, Karl Heinrich* (1823-1859)—German cartoonist and poet; took part in the 1848-49 revolution, emigrated after its defeat.—437

*Schnake (Schnaake), Friedrich* (b. 1822)—German writer; a 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s, editor of the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*.—173

*Schnauffer, Karl Heinrich* (1823-1854)—German democratic poet and journalist, took part in the 1848-49 revolutionary movement in Baden; emigrated, lived in the USA from 1851, editor of the *Baltimore Wecker*.—334

*Schoelcher, Victor* (1804-1893)—French politician and journalist, Left republican.—448

*Schöler, Bertha*—sister of Caroline Schöler.—548

*Schöler, Caroline* (1819-1891)—teacher in Cologne, friend of the Marx family.—202, 546-48

*Schöler, Julie*—sister of Caroline Schöler.—548

*Schramm, Conrad* (c. 1822-1858)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement, emigrated to London in 1849, responsible editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*; member of the Communist League and of its London Central Authority; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—223, 225, 226, 242, 244, 245, 250, 257, 265, 267-68, 269, 272, 284, 298, 303, 304, 306, 307, 308, 310, 311-12, 313, 314, 315, 320, 321, 343, 349, 354, 380, 396, 397, 399, 409, 457, 459, 463, 467-68, 473, 477, 492, 548, 550, 557, 562

*Schramm, Rudolf* (1813-1882)—brother of Conrad Schramm, democratic journalist, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; emigrated to England; supporter of Bismarck in the 1860s.—234, 242, 244, 267, 296, 317, 397, 403, 409, 441, 442, 443, 446

*Schuberth, Julius*—German publisher; published the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* in Hamburg in 1850.—228, 231, 252, 266, 560

*Schüller, Carl Maximilian*—publisher in Düsseldorf in the 1840s.—491

*Schulz, Louis*—Cologne merchant, democrat, publisher of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.—178, 384, 388, 394

*Schurz, Karl* (1829-1906)—German democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, emigrated to Switzerland and in 1852 to the USA, later a US statesman.—428, 437, 438, 441, 473, 485, 499, 502

*Schuster, Theodor*—German socialist, follower of Sismondi; a leader of the League of the Outlaws in the 1830s; gave financial aid to German ref-

ugees in the 1850s.—236, 240, 319, 380, 408, 457, 459

*Schütz, Jacob Friedrich* (1813-1877)—German democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, represented the Baden Provisional Government in Paris, later lived as an émigré in England, Switzerland and the USA.—199

*Seel, Johann Richard* (1819-1875)—German cartoonist, an acquaintance of Engels in the 1840s.—5

*Seiler, Sebastian* (c. 1810-c. 1890)—German journalist, member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee in 1846, member of the Communist League, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, refugee in London in the 1850s.—47, 59, 122, 123, 125, 128, 138, 144, 223, 242, 244, 245, 316, 323, 402

*Semmig, Friedrich Hermann* (1820-1897)—German writer, a 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s.—109

*Semper, Gottfried* (1803-1879)—German architect, took part in the May 1849 uprising in Dresden, refugee in London in 1851-55.—446

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English dramatist and poet.—140, 283, 507

*Shelley, Percy Bysshe* (1792-1822)—English romantic poet.—23

*Sigel, Albert* (1827-1884)—Baden army officer, journalist; democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolutionary movement in Baden; a refugee in London in the 1850s and later in the USA; fought in the American Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—436, 441

*Sigel, Franz* (1824-1902)—Baden army officer; democrat; a military leader of the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849; then a refugee in Switzerland, England and, from 1852, in the USA; fought in the American Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—334, 359, 362, 385, 409, 418, 425, 428, 437-41, 445, 446, 456

*Simonyi, Ernö* (1821-1882)—participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, member of the Hungarian Democratic Society in London in the early 1850s.—247, 255

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—98, 325

*Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu, duc de Dalmatie* (1769-1851)—French marshal and statesman, War Minister (1830-34 and 1840-45), Foreign Minister (1839-40) and Prime Minister (1832-34, 1839-40 and 1840-47).—169

*Southey, Robert* (1774-1843)—English poet and writer; Tory.—302

*Soyer*—restaurant owner in London.—361

*Spanoghe, E.*—examining magistrate in Brussels.—120

*Spilthoorn, Charles Louis* (1804-1872)—Belgian lawyer; republican, member of the Brussels Democratic Association, President of the Ghent Democratic Association.—124

*Stanley*—see *Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Earl of*

*Stechan, Gottlieb Ludwig* (born c. 1814)—joiner in Hanover, member of the Communist League, belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group, but in December 1851 went over to Marx and Engels; headed the Workers' Society in London from January 1852.—467, 468, 473-74, 483, 487, 498

*Stehely*—owner of a Berlin café where members of 'The Free' used to meet in the 1840s.—19

*Stein, Karl*—Cologne banker, witness for the defence at the Cologne communist trial (1852).—548

*Steuart, Sir James*, afterwards *Denham* (1712-1780)—English economist, one of the last representatives of mercantilism.—494

*Stevens*—captain of the schooner *Cornish Diamond*, in which Engels sailed from Genoa to London in 1849.—217

*Stewart*—see *Steuart, Sir James*

*Stiebel*—a creditor of Marx in London.—236, 323

*Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882)—Prussian police officer, an organiser of and chief witness for the prosecution at the Cologne communist trial (1852); later chief of the Prussian political police.—183, 349

*Stieler, Adolf* (1775-1836)—German cartographer.—372, 406

*Stifft, Andreas* (1819-1877)—Austrian democratic journalist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Austria; Vienna correspondent of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1849.—197

*Stirner, Max* (real name *Schmidt, Johann Caspar*) (1806-1856)—German Young Hegelian philosopher, an ideologist of individualism and anarchism.—11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19, 109, 113, 393, 397, 422, 444, 532

*Strodtmann, Adolf* (1829-1879)—German democratic writer, took part in the revolutionary movement in Schleswig-Holstein in 1848; emigrated in 1850, admirer and biographer of Gottfried Kinkel.—428, 437

*Strücker, F. W.*—Elberfeld friend of Frederick Engels.—5, 6, 14

*Struve, Amalie* (d. 1862)—wife of Gustav Struve, took part in the democratic movement in Germany in 1848-49.—334

*Struve, Gustav von* (1805-1870)—German democratic journalist, a leader in the Baden uprisings in 1848 and 1849; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in England; fought in the American Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—222, 233, 234, 265, 296, 317, 322, 334, 341, 427, 436, 549

*Stumpf, Paul* (1826-1912)—German mechanic, member of the German Workers' Society in Brussels (1847), member of the Communist League, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, member of the First International.—154, 467

*Stupp, Heinrich Joseph* (1793-1870)—Prussian official, clerical, in the early 1850s Chief Burgomaster of Cologne.—338, 347

*Suchsland, Friedrich*—publisher in Dessau.—476, 483

*Sue, Eugène Marie Joseph* (1804-1857)—French writer, author of sentimental social novels.—7

T

*Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de* (1754-1838)—French diplomat, Foreign Minister (1797-99, 1799-1807 and 1814-15), represented France at the Vienna Congress (1814-15).—247, 347

*Tausenau, Karl* (1808-1873)—Austrian democrat, took part in the 1848 revolution in Austria, emigrated to London in 1849.—285, 317, 426, 437-41

*Techow, Gustav Adolf* (1813-1893)—Prussian army officer, democrat, Chief of the General Staff of the Palatinate revolutionary army; emigrated to Switzerland and in 1852 to Australia.—437, 438, 441, 446, 463-66, 468, 469, 470, 471, 499, 501, 508

*Tedesco, Victor André* (1821-1897)—Belgian lawyer, socialist, a founder of the Brussels Democratic Association; associate of Marx and Engels in 1847-48; member of the Communist League.—143, 146, 160, 163

*Tellering*—see *Müller-Tellering, Eduard von*

*Tessier du Monthay*—French socialist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Société des proscrits démocrates et socialistes in London in the 1850s.—292, 294

*Thieme*—German publisher in Hagen in the 1840s.—16

*Thierry*—French refugee, member of the Committee of the Société des proscrits démocrates et socialistes in London in the 1850s.—247

*Thierry, Jacques Nicolas Augustin* (1795-1856)—French historian.—116

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836 and 1840); head of the Orleanists after 1848; organised the suppression of the Paris Commune (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73).—85, 108, 144, 205, 301, 337, 363, 372, 503, 504

*Thomas, Albert Theodor*—owner of a publishing house in Leipzig, agent of Carl Georg Vogler.—42

*Thomas, Clément* (1809-1871)—French general, moderate republican, publisher of *Le National*; took part in suppressing the June 1848 uprising in Paris; shot by Paris insurgents on 18 March 1871.—85

*Thomis*—member of the German Workers' Society in Brussels in 1847.—126

*Thompson, Thomas Perronet* (1783-1869)—English politician and economist, Free Trader.—211

*Tolstoi (Tolstoy), Grigori Mikhailovich* (1808-1871)—Russian liberal landowner, acquaintance of Marx and Engels in Paris in the 1840s.—64, 73, 107, 141

*Tolstoi (Tolstoy), Yakov Nikolayevich* (1791-1867)—Russian émigré in Paris; secret agent of the Tsarist government from 1837.—64, 73

*Tooke, Thomas* (1774-1858)—English economist, adherent of the classical school in political economy.—275, 480

U

*Ulmer, Johann*—member of the Communist League, refugee in London in the early 1850s, supporter of Marx and Engels.—388, 440-43, 467

*Uttenhoven, von* (d. 1849)—Prussian army officer, killed during the May 1849 uprising in Elberfeld.—193

V

*Vauban, Sébastien le Prestre de* (1633-1707)—French marshal and military engineer.—371

*Vaulabelle, Achille Tenaille de* (1799-1879)—French historian and politician, moderate republican.—116

*Veltheim, Werner von* (1817-1855)—German landowner related to the Westphalen family, friend of Edgar von Westphalen.—131

*Venedey, Jakob* (1805-1871)—German radical writer and politician; liberal after the 1848-49 revolution.—137

*Véron, Louis Désiré* (1798-1867)—French journalist and politician, Orleanist until 1848, then Bonapartist; owner and publisher of *Le Constitutionnel* (1844-52).—484

*Victor Emmanuel II* (1820-1878)—Duke of Savoy, King of Sardinia (1849-61), King of Italy (1861-78).—471

*Victoria* (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901).—35, 478

*Vidal, François* (1814-1872)—French economist, petty-bourgeois socialist, supporter of Louis Blanc.—149

*Vidil, Jules*—French army officer, socialist, member of the Committee of the Société des proscrits démocrates et socialistes in London; supported the sectarian Willich-Schapper group.—247, 304, 310, 318, 319, 321, 381

*Virgil* (*Vergil*) (*Publius Vergilius Maro*) (70-19 B.C.)—Roman poet.—197, 219

*Vogler, Carl Georg* (born c. 1820)—German publisher and bookseller in Brussels.—42, 47, 79, 114, 117, 162

*Voigt, H. G.*—publisher.—228

*Volk*—German democrat, an organiser of the German Legion in Paris in 1848.—540

*Voltaire, François Marie Arouet* (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—18

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*Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*—a German monthly, published in Charlottenburg from December 1843 to October 1844, organ of the Young Hegelians edited by Bruno Bauer.—28

*Allgemeine Zeitung*—a German conservative daily newspaper founded in 1798; published in Augsburg from 1810 to 1882.—64, 358, 384, 389, 463, 472

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*L'Atelier, organe spécial de la classe laborieuse, rédigé par des ouvriers exclusivement*—a monthly of the French artisans and workers who were influenced by the ideas of Christian socialism; published in Paris from 1840 to 1850.—58, 135-37

*Athenäum. Zeitschrift für das gebildete Deutschland*—a weekly of the Young Hegelians; published under this title in Berlin in 1841.—355

*Berliner Monatsschrift*—a German magazine published by a Young Hegelian Ludwig Buhl in Mannheim in 1844; only one issue appeared, for it was suppressed by the censors.—11

*Berliner Zeitungs-Halle*—a daily published by Gustav Julius in Berlin from 1846; in 1848-49 it was a leading democratic newspaper.—113

*Berner-Zeitung*—a Swiss daily published in Berne from 1845 to 1894; in the 1840s organ of the radical party.—186, 221

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*Le Charivari*—a republican satirical newspaper published in Paris from 1832 to 1934; ridiculed the regime of the July monarchy and in 1848 supported Cavaignac's dictatorship.—280

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*Le Constitutionnel*—a daily published in Paris from 1815 to 1817 and from 1819 to 1870; in the 1840s it expressed the views of the moderate wing of the Orleanists; after the coup d'état of 1851, a Bonapartist newspaper.—114, 301, 313, 517

*Le Corsaire-Satan*—a satirical newspaper published under this title in Paris from 1844 to 1847.—55, 64

*The Daily News*—a liberal newspaper, organ of the industrial bourgeoisie; appeared under this title in London from 1846 to 1930.—319, 349, 450, 511, 512

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*Le Débat Social, organe de la démocratie*—a Belgian weekly, organ of radical-republican circles, published in Brussels from 1844 to 1849.—162, 164

*La Démocratie pacifique*—a Fourierist daily edited by Victor Considérant and published in Paris from 1843 to 1851.—13, 54, 94, 156

*Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*—a newspaper founded by German political emigrants in Brussels; published from January 1847 to February 1848. From September 1847 Marx and Engels regularly contributed to the newspaper which, under their influence, became the organ of revolutionary communist propaganda.—117, 120, 122, 125, 138, 139, 152, 154-55, 157, 418, 489

*Deutsche Londoner Zeitung. Blätter für Politik, Literatur und Kunst*—a literary and political weekly published by German refugees in London from April 1845 to February 1851. It was edited by the petty-bourgeois democrat Louis Bamberger and supported financially by the deposed Duke of Brunswick.—427

*Deutsche-Schnellpost für Europäische Zustände, öffentliches und sociales Leben Deutschlands*—an organ of the German moderate democratic émigrés in the USA published twice weekly in New York from 1843 to 1851. In 1848 and 1851 its editor was Karl Heinzen; in 1851 Arnold Ruge was also on its editorial board.—296, 317, 343, 399, 402, 417, 428, 429, 447, 448, 454, 458, 491, 494, 515, 518

*Deutsche Zeitung*—a German daily published in Heidelberg from 1847 to October 1848 under the editorship of Georg Gervinus, then, up to 1850, in Frankfurt am Main; it supported the constitutional monarchy and unification of Germany under Prussian hegemony.—543

*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*—a German-language yearly published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge; only the first issue, a double one, appeared in February 1844. It carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—4, 19, 34, 49, 59, 61, 271

*Deutscher Zuschauer*—a German radical weekly published by the petty-bourgeois democrat Gustav Struve from December 1846 to April 1848 in Mannheim and from July to September 1848 in Basle.—296, 428

*Deutsches Bürgerbuch*—a German annual journal, organ of the 'true socialists'; altogether two volumes appeared; the first (for 1845) was published by Hermann Püttmann in Darmstadt in December 1844; the second (for 1846) was published in Mannheim in the summer of 1846. The *Deutsches Bürgerbuch* carried two articles by Frederick Engels.—16, 23, 69

*Dresdner Journal und Anzeiger*—a daily newspaper published in Dresden from 1848 to 1904, initially of a liberal trend; from 1 October 1848, the official organ of the Saxon Government; was taken over by the state on 1 April 1849.—389

*The Economist. Weekly Commercial Times, Bankers' Gazette, and Railway Monitor: a Political, Literary, and General Newspaper*—a weekly published in London since 1843.—175, 176, 344-46, 350, 354, 450, 476

*Elberfelder Zeitung*—a daily published under various names from 1789 to 1904; in 1834 it merged with the Elberfeld *Allgemeine Zeitung* and assumed the name *Elberfelder Zeitung*.—543

*L'Emancipation*—a Belgian daily founded in Brussels in 1830.—159

*Die Epigonen*—a philosophical journal of the Young Hegelians; published by Otto Wigand in Leipzig from 1846 to 1848.—54, 58, 76-78

*Frankfurter Journal*—a German daily published in Frankfurt am Main from the seventeenth century to 1903; in the 1840s and 1850s expressed liberal views.—358, 365

*La Fraternité de 1845. Organe du communisme*—a workers' monthly of the Babouvist trend, published in Paris from January 1845 to February 1848.—66

*The Friend of the People. Justice immutable, universal, eternal*—a Chartist weekly published in London by George Julian Harney from December 1850 to July 1851 and from February to April 1852.—251, 268, 279, 285, 287, 289, 292, 315, 399

*Gemeinnütziges Wochenblatt des Gewerb-Vereins zu Köln*—a German weekly published in Cologne in 1836-55; in 1842 and 1843 appeared as a supplement to the *Rheinische Zeitung*. In 1845 one of its editors was Karl d'Ester.—17

*Der Gesellschafter oder Blätter für Geist und Herz*—a literary newspaper of a liberal orientation; came out in Berlin from 1817 to 1848.—432

*Gesellschaftsspiegel. Organ zur Vertretung der besitzlosen Volksklassen und zur Beleuchtung der gesellschaftlichen Zustände der Gegenwart*—a German monthly, organ of the 'true socialists'; published under the editorship of Moses Hess in Elberfeld in 1845-46; altogether twelve issues appeared; Frederick Engels was one of its founders.—16, 23, 26, 28, 117

*How Do You Do?*—a humorous weekly published by Drucker and edited by Beta (Bettziech) in London in 1851.—432

*Illinois Staats-Zeitung*—a German-language daily published in Illinois (USA) from 1851 to 1922.—339

*The Illustrated London News*—a weekly published from 1842.—355, 358

*Illustrierte Zeitung*—a German weekly published in Leipzig from 1843 to 1944; in the middle of the nineteenth century was of a moderate liberal orientation.—357

*L'Indépendance belge.—Journal mondial d'informations politiques et littéraires*—a daily of the liberals founded in Brussels in 1831.—245, 249

*Jahrbücher*—see *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*

*Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*—a daily founded in Paris in 1789; organ of the Government during the July monarchy; took a monarchist stand during the 1848 revolution.—114, 280, 318, 357-58, 361, 363, 458, 484

*Journal des Économistes. Revue mensuelle de l'économie politique et des questions agricoles, manufacturières et commerciales*—a monthly published in Paris from December 1841 to 1943.—66, 67

*Journal des Österreichischen Lloyd*—a semi-official daily published in Vienna in 1836-54.—456

*Karlsruher Zeitung*—a daily newspaper published from 1757, official gazette of the Grand Duchy of Baden, organ of the Brentano Government in 1849.—200

*Kölnerin, Kölner Zeitung*—see *Kölnische Zeitung*

*Kölnische Zeitung*—a German daily published under this title in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; organ of the liberal bourgeoisie; in 1848 and 1849 advocated anti-revolutionary tendencies.—48, 83, 94, 114-15, 173, 186, 199, 219, 347, 355, 356, 374, 379, 389, 390, 392, 399, 427-29, 459, 463, 472, 541

*Der Kosmos*—a weekly of German refugees in England; it was published by Ernst Haug in London in 1851 (only six numbers appeared). Gottfried Kinkel and other leaders of petty-bourgeois democracy contributed to it.—345, 351, 359, 360, 367, 377, 429, 430

*Közlöny, hivatalos lap*—a Hungarian daily of the Kossuth revolutionary government published in 1848 and 1849 in Pest, Debreczin and Szegedin.—328

*Kreuz-Zeitung*—see *Neue Preußische Zeitung*

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*Der Lloyd*—see *Journal des Österreichischen Lloyd*

*The London Telegraph*—a daily published in 1848.—175, 176

*Mannheimer Abendzeitung*—a German radical daily founded in 1842 by Karl Grün, ceased publication in 1849.—200

*Le Moniteur Belge. Journal officiel*—a Belgian daily founded in Brussels in 1831, official organ of the Government.—163, 164

*The Morning Chronicle*—a London daily published from 1770 to 1862, organ of the Whigs, in the early 1850s organ of the Peelites and later of the Conservatives.—317, 431

*Le National*—a daily published in Paris from 1830 to 1851; in the 1840s organ of the moderate republicans.—53, 58, 64, 85, 108, 115, 116, 136, 137, 144, 152, 168, 169, 186, 360, 484-85

*National-Zeitung*—see *Schweizerische National-Zeitung*

*Neue Deutsche Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a democratic daily published from 1848 to 1850, initially in Darmstadt (until 1 April 1849) and then in Frankfurt am Main; edited by Otto Lüning and from 1 October 1849 also by Joseph Weydemeyer.—209, 210, 219, 232, 237, 246, 560

*Neue Preußische Zeitung*—a conservative daily published in Berlin from June 1848; the mouthpiece for Junkers and Court circles; also known as *Kreuz-Zeitung*, because the heading contained a cross bearing the slogan 'Forward with God for King and Fatherland'.—184, 234, 390, 418, 425, 431, 435

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a daily published in Cologne under the editorship of Marx from 1 June 1848 to 19 May 1849 (with an interval between 27 September and 12 October 1848); organ of the revolutionary-proletarian wing among the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany. Engels was among its editors.—166, 167, 171-72, 175, 176, 182, 183, 190, 193, 194, 196, 199-201, 203, 207-10, 215, 225, 230, 325, 328, 330, 346, 352, 361, 364, 366, 367, 391, 393, 400

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*—a journal published by Marx and Engels from December 1849 to November 1850, theoretical organ of the Communist League.—207, 213, 216, 219, 221, 222, 224-25, 230, 233, 234, 237, 238, 245, 252, 257, 264, 267, 279, 308, 351, 355, 435, 463, 488, 489, 520, 548-49, 555-60

*New-York Daily Tribune*—an American paper founded by Horace Greeley and published from 1841 to 1924. Until the mid-1850s, it was an organ of the Left wing of the American Whigs, later—organ of the Republican Party. In the 1840s and 1850s it took a progressive stand against the slave-owning system; Marx and Engels began to contribute to the paper in August 1851.—403, 409, 419, 425, 434, 436, 445, 475, 480, 497, 506, 518, 519

*New-Yorker Abendzeitung*—a daily newspaper of the German refugees, published by Fenner von Fenneberg in 1851 and 1852.—496, 497, 498

*New-Yorker Staatszeitung*—a German democratic daily published in New York from 1834; later an organ of the US Democratic Party.—397, 402, 404, 406-07, 429, 447, 453, 463-67, 481, 486, 496

*Norddeutsche Zeitung*—see *Zeitung für Norddeutschland*

*The Northern Star*—an English weekly, central organ of the Chartists, published from 1837 to 1852; first in Leeds, then in London. Its founder and editor was Feargus O'Connor, George Harney being one of its co-editors. Engels contributed to the paper from 1843 to 1850.—135, 139, 144, 152, 160, 164, 497

*Notes to the People*—a Chartist weekly published in London in 1851 and 1852, edited by Ernest Jones; Marx and Engels supported it and contributed a number of articles.—346, 399, 401, 480, 498

*N. Rh. Ztg*—see *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

*Die Pariser Horen. Journal für Literatur, Kunst, Wissenschaft, Politik und gesellschaftliches Leben*—a German-language democratic monthly published in Paris in 1847 and edited by German Mäurer and Ferdinand Braun.—80-81, 112

*La Patrie. Journal du commerce, de l'agriculture, de l'industrie, de la littérature, des sciences et des arts*—a daily published in Paris from 1841 to 1871; during the 1848 revolution expressed the views of the counter-revolutionary monarchist bourgeoisie (the so-called Party of Order) and later of the Bonapartists.—249, 313, 318, 381

*Le Père Duchesne*—a newspaper published in Paris from 1790 to 1794 by Jacques Hébert; it expressed the views of the urban semi-proletarian masses during the French Revolution.—390

*La Phalange. Revue de la science sociale*—a Fourierist organ published in Paris from 1832 to 1849; it changed its title, frequency of publication, volume and size several times.—55

*Le Populaire de 1841. Journal de reorganisation sociale et politique*—a journal edited by Étienne Cabet; published in Paris from 1841 to 1850.—170

*La Presse*—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1866; in the 1840s, mouthpiece for the opposition to the July monarchy; organ of the moderate republicans in 1848-49, later a Bonapartist paper.—149, 484

*Preußische Lithographische Correspondenz*—a semi-official organ of the Prussian Ministry for Foreign Affairs published in Berlin.—418, 425, 426, 431, 437, 449

*Prometheus*—a German journal started by a 'true socialist' Hermann Püttmann in Herisau (Switzerland) in the autumn of 1846. Probably only one issue appeared, the journal being suppressed by the authorities of the German states.—68, 69

*Le Proscrit. Journal de la République universelle*—a monthly published in Paris in 1850, organ of the Central Committee of European Democracy. Only two issues appeared. In late October 1850 it was turned into a weekly which was published under the title *La Voix du Proscrit* in Saint-Amand (France) till September 1851.—448

*Der Radikale. Abend-Zeitung für das In- und Ausland*—an Austrian democratic paper published in Vienna in 1848.—197

*The Red Republican*—a Chartist weekly published by George Julian Harney in London from June to November 1850; published the first English translation of Marx and Engels' *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.—243, 244, 251, 255

*La Réforme*—a daily newspaper published in Paris from 1843 to 1850, organ of the republican democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists.—58, 85, 134, 136-39, 143, 144, 152, 155, 156, 158, 161, 165, 168, 169, 295

*Die Republik der Arbeiter. Centralblatt der Propaganda für die Verbrüderung der Arbeiter*—a German-language newspaper published by Wilhelm Weitling in New York from 1850 to 1855; it expressed the views of egalitarian communism.—334, 519

*Die Revolution*—a communist journal published in New York in 1852 by Joseph

Weydemeyer. On 6 and 13 January two weekly issues appeared; in May and June two 'non-periodic' issues appeared; Marx and Engels were among the main contributors.—519

*Revue*—see *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*

*La Revue indépendante*—a monthly propagating the ideas of utopian socialism, it was published in Paris from 1841 to 1848 under the editorship of Pierre Leroux, George Sand and Louis Viardot.—135

*Revue Sociale, ou Solution pacifique du problème du prolétariat*—a Christian socialists' monthly published by Pierre Leroux in Boussac and Paris in 1845-48 and by the latter's supporters in Paris in 1850.—57

*Reynolds's Newspaper. A weekly journal of politics, history, literature and general intelligence*—a radical newspaper published in London from 1850; at the beginning of the 1850s supported the Chartists.—497

*Rheinische Beobachter*—a conservative daily published in Cologne from 1844 to the beginning of 1848.—70; 92

*Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform*—a German magazine, organ of the 'true socialists', published by Hermann Püttmann; altogether two issues appeared: the first in Darmstadt in August 1845, and the second in Bellevue, a place on the German-Swiss border, at the end of 1846; the magazine carried Engels' 'Elberfeld Speeches' and 'The Festival of Nations in London'.—16, 21, 23, 28, 34, 69

*Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*—a German daily founded on 1 January 1842 as an organ of the Rhenish bourgeois opposition, and published in Cologne till 31 March 1843. When edited by Marx (from 15 October 1842 to 17 March 1843), the paper became a mouthpiece of revolutionary-democratic ideas which led to its suppression. Engels was one of its contributors.—17

*Schnellpost*—see *Deutsche Schnellpost für Europäische Zustände, öffentliches und sociales Leben Deutschlands*

*Schweizerische National-Zeitung*—a liberal daily, published in Basle from 1842.—186, 222, 438

*Le Siècle*—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939. In the 1840s it was an oppositional organ which demanded electoral and other reforms.—484

*Spiegel*—see *Gesellschaftsspiegel*

*Staatszeitung*—see *New-Yorker Staatszeitung*

*Star*—see *The Northern Star*

*The Sun*—a liberal daily published in London from 1798 to 1876.—357, 497

*Tages-Chronik*—a democratic paper published in Bremen from 1849 to 1851. From January 1851 it appeared under the title *Bremer Tages-Chronik. Organ der Demokratie.* Arnold Ruge contributed to it in 1851.—265, 267, 268, 345, 426

*The Telegraph*—see *The London Telegraph*

*Telegraph für Deutschland*—a literary magazine founded by Karl Gutzkow; in 1837 it appeared in Frankfurt am Main, and from 1838 to 1848 in Hamburg. In the

late 1830s and early 1840s the magazine was the mouthpiece for the 'Young Germany' group. Engels contributed to it from March 1839 to 1841.—18

*The Times*—a daily newspaper published in London since 1785.—176, 304, 313, 314, 319, 337, 381, 497, 502

*Tribun*—see *Der Volks-Tribun*

*Tribune*—see *New-York Daily Tribune*

*Trier'sche Zeitung*—a daily founded in 1757, appeared under this title from 1815; in the early 1840s expressed radical views, and later came under the influence of 'true socialists'.—53, 109, 117, 384

*Veilchen. Harmlose Blätter für die moderne Kritik*—a weekly paper of the 'true socialists', it was edited by G. Schlüssel and published in Bautzen (Saxony) in 1846 and 1847.—109

*La Voix du Proscrit*—see *Le Proscrit. Journal de la République universelle*

*Der Volks-Tribun. Organ des Jungen Amerika*—a weekly newspaper founded by the German 'true socialists' in New York; published from 5 January to 31 December 1846, and edited by Hermann Kriege.—79, 84

*Vorwärts! Pariser Deutsche Zeitschrift*—a German-language newspaper published in Paris twice a week from January to December 1844; at first it was the organ of the moderate section of German emigrants and from May 1844 of their radical and democratic section. Marx and Engels, who collaborated in the production of this paper, strengthened its revolutionary tendencies. When Marx and several other contributors were expelled from France by the Guizot Government the paper ceased publication.—5-6, 14, 15, 18

*Weser-Zeitung*—a liberal daily published in Bremen from 1844 to 1930.—268, 269

*Westdeutsche Zeitung*—a democratic paper published by Hermann Becker in Cologne from 25 May 1849 to 21 July 1850.—210, 230

*Das Westphälische Dampfboot*—a German monthly of the 'true socialists', published under the editorship of Otto Lüning in Bielefeld from January 1845 to December 1846 and in Paderborn from January 1847 to March 1848. Joseph Weydemeyer took part in the editing of this journal. Marx and Engels contributed several articles to it.—540

*Zeitung für Norddeutschland*—a liberal newspaper published in Hanover from 1848 to 1872.—474

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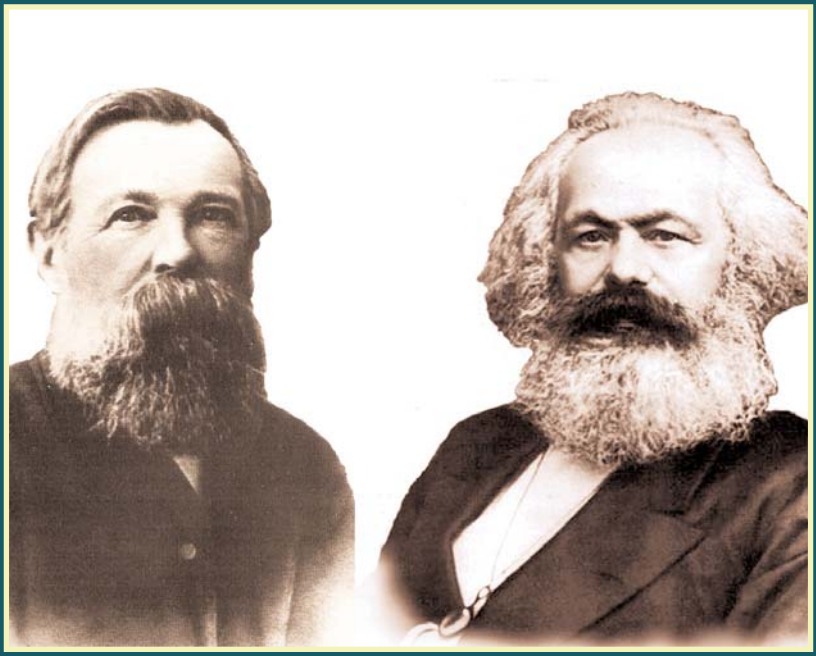

## VOLUME 39

Letters 1852-55

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 39

## Letters 1852-55

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Translated by

PETER and BETTY ROSS

# Preface

Volume 39 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains their letters to each other and to third persons from 1852 to 1855.

The letters in this volume give us a glimpse of the creative methods of Marx and Engels, the background to their theoretical writings from 1852 to 1855, and of the genesis of many of their theories. These letters cover the period of political reaction that descended on Europe with the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution. From 1852 to 1855 fairly substantial changes took place in the world's economic and political life. The economic boom that had begun at the end of the 1840s in Europe proved unstable. There were already signs, in 1853, of another economic crisis that came to a head in 1857 and reached world dimensions for the first time. The Crimean War broke out in 1853, and this substantially changed the distribution of political forces on the Continent and influenced the internal development of a number of leading European powers.

The economic and political processes that took place in this period did much to determine the nature of the scientific and practical activities undertaken by Marx and Engels. From 1851 their main objectives were the further development of economic theory and research. Marx's scientific studies in this field were temporarily interrupted in 1852, when he and Engels concentrated on the theoretical generalisation of the results of the revolution, on the struggle against police persecution of members of the Communist League, and on the unmasking of the divisive activities of the sectarian elements in the League and the

pseudo-revolutionary pronouncements of various petty-bourgeois refugee groups. From 1853 to 1855, Marx and Engels followed with intense and unflagging interest the development of the conflict over the so-called Eastern Question and the course of the Crimean War. Throughout all these years, as in the previous period, they were both still principally concerned with the struggle for the proletarian party, for the organisational and ideological unity and education of the proletarian revolutionaries, and for the preservation and development of the proletariat's international connections.

In the personal lives of Marx and Engels, these years were among the most difficult. The harsh privations of life in emigration cost Marx and his wife Jenny the lives of two of their children, the one-year-old Franziska and the eight-year-old Edgar. Extremely difficult conditions constantly undermined Marx's health. Engels at this period was forced to give much of his time to commerce, which compelled him to renounce many research plans; however, this work provided a living not only for himself, but for the Marx family. In addition, as we see from many of their letters, Marx and Engels were preoccupied throughout these years with their comrades and sympathisers living in poverty in emigration or languishing in German prisons.

The letters in this volume, as in Volume 38, reflect the enormous amount of work done by Marx and Engels on the theoretical analysis of the experience of the 1848-49 revolution. During the first months of 1852, Marx wrote one of his outstanding works, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11). The material in this volume makes it possible to trace clearly the story of the publication as well as of the writing of this work, set down immediately after the counter-revolutionary coup in France on 2 December 1851. In addition, the letters contain an analysis of the processes at work after *The Eighteenth Brumaire* was written, at a time when Louis Bonaparte had consolidated his regime and was preparing to proclaim the Empire (see Engels to Weydemeyer on 30 January, Engels to Marx on 18 March, and Marx to Engels on 23 September 1852).

Marx's letter to Weydemeyer of 5 March 1852 is a very important document that seems directly to continue the theoretical generalisation of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.* In it, Marx briefly outlined the substance of his revolutionary deduc-

tions about the world historical role of the proletariat, the innovation that he introduced into the theory of the classes and the class struggle. 'Now as for myself, I do not claim to have discovered either the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me, bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this struggle between the classes, as had bourgeois economists their economic anatomy. My own contribution was 1. to show that the *existence of classes* is merely bound up with *certain historical phases in the development of production*; 2. that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*; 3. that this dictatorship itself constitutes no more than a transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*' (see this volume, pp. 62-65). Noting the enormous theoretical value of this letter, Lenin wrote: 'In these words, Marx succeeded in expressing with striking clarity, first, the chief and radical difference between his theory and that of the foremost and most profound thinkers of the bourgeoisie; and, secondly, the essence of his theory of the state' (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 411).

The correspondence contains much interesting information about the writing of Engels' work, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* (see present edition, Vol. 11), in which Engels examines the prerequisites, nature and motive forces of the 1848-49 revolution in the German states from the standpoint of historical materialism. The letters in this volume show clearly how much creative contact there was between Marx and Engels in the composition of this work (see, for instance, Engels' letters to Marx of 29 January and 29 April, and Marx's letter to Engels of 18 February 1852).

A large part in the life of Marx and Engels in 1852 and the first half of 1853 was taken up by practical revolutionary activity. In an atmosphere reflecting the general decline of the revolutionary movement, Marx and Engels had to wage an intensive struggle against ideas alien to the working class and against revolutionary adventurism; they also had to overcome the pusillanimity, apathy and ignorance of certain members of the movement.

Of particular interest in this connection is the correspondence with Weydemeyer and Cluss, Communist League members who had emigrated to the USA. Marx and Engels supported in every way the aspirations of these two men to organise the publication in the USA of a German-language weekly, *Die Revolution*. Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and Engels' article 'England' (see present edition, Vol. 11) were specially written for it. Seeing

contributions to the magazine as an important party task, Marx, as his wife Jenny wrote to Weydemeyer on 13 February 1852, had 'commandeered on your behalf pretty well all available communist quills', that is to say, Wilhelm Wolff, Georg Weerth, Ferdinand Wolff, Ernest Jones, Wilhelm Pieper, Johann Eccarius and Ferdinand Freiligrath (p. 35).

For nearly three years, Cluss and Weydemeyer drew on letters from Marx and Engels when writing their own articles, which were printed in the American and German-American democratic press, and especially in the newspaper *Die Reform*, published in New York (see Marx's letters to Cluss of 17 April, about 14 June, 18 October, mid-November 1853, and others).

In England, Marx and Engels actively assisted and supported the proletarian publications being brought out by Ernest Jones, leader of the Left-wing Chartists. In Ernest Jones's *Notes to the People*, Marx wrote, 'you will find all the day-to-day history of the English proletariat' (see this volume, p. 42). They contributed to *The People's Paper* themselves and induced others to contribute likewise (Eccarius, Pieper, Cluss and their associates), and took part in the actual editorial work (see Marx's letters to Engels of 2 September and 23 September 1852 and 23 November 1853).

The advanced development of capitalist industry in England and its huge working class, together with the revolutionary traditions of Chartism, gave Marx and Engels grounds to assume that conditions existed there for the creation of a mass proletarian party. As their letters show, Marx and Engels helped Jones and other Left-wing Chartist leaders during these years to reorganise the National Charter Association, believing that the struggle for the rebirth of the Chartist movement was vital for the political unification of the proletariat in England. It was only natural that they constantly followed the progress of the strike movement of the English working class (see, for example, Marx's letter to Engels of 30 September 1853).

The struggle for the independence of the working-class movement and its freedom from other class influences was a matter of constant concern to Marx and Engels. They condemned in the strongest terms the shift towards bourgeois radicalism on the part of George Julian Harney, the former Chartist leader, and had a high opinion of the revolutionary firmness of Ernest Jones, who opposed the efforts of the reformists. 'Jones is moving in quite the right direction,' wrote Engels to Marx on 18 March 1852, 'and we may well say that, without our doctrine, he would not have taken the right path' (see this volume, p. 68). When Jones

later began vacillating and seemed inclined to make concessions to the petty-bourgeois democrats, Marx reacted with much disapproval (see Marx's letter to Engels of 13 February 1855).

The correspondence reflects the fierce ideological battle fought by Marx and Engels against the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats who were trying to divert the proletarian revolutionaries from the real objectives of the class struggle. Mazzini, Kossuth, Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc were all criticised for ignoring the objective economic laws and for their subjectivist approach to crucial decisions, as well as for their extremely limited social programmes and their Bonapartist illusions. Moreover, Marx and Engels firmly rejected the conspiratorial tactics of Mazzini and his adherents (see, in particular, Engels' letter to Marx of 11 February and Marx's letter to Engels of 23 February 1853).

Marx and Engels were implacably hostile to the internal squabbles of the various petty-bourgeois refugee organisations which were turning political activity into careerism and intrigue and were threatening to discredit the revolutionary movement. The letters reveal the background to their joint authorship of the richly comic satirical pamphlet, *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11) in which they denounced the fatuous self-importance and the futile activities of the leaders of the German petty-bourgeois emigration (Kinkel, Ruge, Heinzen, Struve and others).

The founders of Marxism saw a particular danger at this time in the activities of the Willich-Schapper separatist group which had caused a split in the Communist League in 1850. Its pseudo-revolutionary catch-phrases and adventurism brought down police repression on many League members, especially the German workers. Marx wrote angrily to Engels on 30 August 1852: '...from a secure hiding-place, they are playing into the hands of the German governments, especially the Prussian, for the purpose of pseudo-agitation and self-aggrandisement' (p. 169).

The adventurism of the Willich-Schapper group took a particularly dangerous turn, since in 1852 there began in Cologne a trial trumped up by the Prussian police against the communists. This volume (and Volume 38) illustrates Marx's and Engels' struggle, from the very start of the investigation (in May 1851), against the provocatory nature of its preparation and conduct, and against the inhuman treatment of the detainees. Through press agitation and publicity they did all they could to protect the communists from slander and treachery and to unmask the forgeries and irregularities

of the Prussian police and court authorities (see, for example, the letters of Marx to Engels of 24 January, Engels to Marx of 28 January, and Marx to Cluss of 7 and about 15 May 1852).

Marx and Engels were particularly active during the trial itself in October and November 1852, when they virtually handled the defence of the accused, supplying the lawyers with the necessary material. A picture of the tremendous work done at the time by Marx, Engels and their comrades in the Communist League is given by a letter from Jenny Marx to Cluss of 30 October 1852, published in the Appendices to this volume. The outstanding contribution to the struggle to expose the Cologne communist trial was Marx's pamphlet, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11), the background to which can be traced in the letters in this volume. Attributing great importance to the publication and distribution of this work, which denounced the entire Prussian governmental system, Marx wrote to Cluss on 25 March 1853: '...at the present moment, we could deal our beloved Prussians no more telling blow' (p. 299).

After sentence had been passed in Cologne on the Communist League members, Marx organised, through Cluss, the collection in the USA of money for assistance to the condemned men and their families. On 7 December 1852, sending Cluss a written appeal for the collection of money, Marx wrote: 'Here it is a matter of ... a *definite* party aim whose fulfilment is demanded by the honour of the workers' party' (p. 260).

After the Cologne trial, it became clear that it would be inadvisable to continue, under conditions of reaction, the activities of the Communist League as a relatively narrow illegal organisation. On 19 November 1852, Marx informed Engels that, at his suggestion, a resolution had been passed by the London District of the Communist League on the disbanding of the organisation. After the League had been dissolved, Marx, Engels and their associates continued, in other forms, their activities in welding together the ranks of the proletariat so that the best revolutionary and internationalist traditions of the Communist League should be absorbed and spread by successive generations of participants in the proletarian struggle. Their correspondence, in particular, shows that even during the years after the Communist League ceased to exist, Marx and Engels maintained contact with representatives of the proletarian movement in various countries.

As if summing up what had been achieved, and setting up the targets for the proletarian revolutionaries in the period of reaction and the movement's temporary decline, Engels wrote to

Weydemeyer on 12 April 1853: '...German communism ... has passed its matriculation' (see this volume, p. 308). Engels noted the heightened ideological level of Marx's adherents and their preparedness for new revolutionary battles: '...the Marx party does do a good deal of swotting, and one only has to look at the way the other émigré jackasses snap up this or that new catchword, thereby becoming more bemused than ever, to realise that our party's superiority has increased both absolutely and relatively. As indeed it must, for *la besogne sera rude* [it will be a tough business]' (p. 309). Engels' letter, marking out the line of conduct for the proletarian revolutionaries under the conditions of an expected upsurge in the movement, was an extremely important example of how to decide the tactics of the proletarian party in the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

After the close of the Cologne trial and the publication of *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne,* Marx and Engels once again concentrated their main efforts on theoretical research. Their letters from 1853 to 1855 testify to the scope and variety of their scientific interests. Apart from the works and articles published during these years, several dozen of Marx's notebooks have been preserved with plans, copied passages and notes concerned primarily with economic problems and also with the history of Europe, the Orient and Ancient Rome, the problems of the colonial policy pursued by England and other capitalist states, and so on. Engels began studying the theory of war more intensively, and also world history, philology and other sciences.

The urgent theoretical elaboration of the problems of economics and the criticism of bourgeois political economy were not dictated by scientific interest alone, as Marx had already shown by the mid-40s, but also by the objective demands of arming the revolutionary proletariat ideologically. Economic theory was to introduce the maximum clarity into the understanding of the relationship between labour and capital. Consequently, Engels regarded the completion of Marx's economic research as most urgent. 'You ought to finish your Economy,' he wrote to Marx on 11 March 1853, 'later on, as soon as we have a newspaper, we could bring it out in WEEKLY NUMBERS... This would provide all our by then restored associations with a basis for debate' (p. 293).

In the first half of the 1850s, Marx made important progress in preparing the ground for a revolution in the science of economics—the discovery of the tendencies underlying the

capitalist mode of production. However, as is shown by the above-quoted letter from Engels, and also by Marx's letter to Cluss of 15 September 1853 (p. 367), neither Engels nor Marx himself yet realised how much ground had to be covered before the appearance of the first volume of *Capital.*

Meanwhile, the letters in this volume are convincing testimony that certain propositions of Marx's political economy had become known even before the appearance of the first part of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* and *Capital.* Marx frequently expounded his economic views in his letters to Engels, Lassalle, and also Cluss and Weydemeyer. He endeavoured in this way to arm his associates for the battle of ideas with the petty-bourgeois democrats and their ideologues. For example, in his letter to Weydemeyer of 5 March 1852, already quoted above, in his letter to Engels of 14 June 1853 and in the letters to Cluss of 5 and 18 October 1853, Marx severely criticised the vulgar bourgeois economist Henry Charles Carey, whose views on the 'harmony of classes' in the USA had become fairly widespread by this time. Marx dwelt on certain peculiarities in the development of capitalism in the USA, on its place in the general system of capitalist relations, and on its competitive struggle with English capital and the resulting specific nature of development of American economic thought. Carey's views, wrote Marx, show that 'in the United States bourgeois society is still far too immature for the class struggle to be made perceptible and comprehensible' (p. 62).

Marx notes in his letters the decline of bourgeois political economy, and the marked tendency among the epigones of the English classical school of economists to distort and vulgarise the teachings of Adam Smith and David Ricardo. Comparing the views of Ricardo and Carey on rent and wages, Marx stressed that Carey's attacks on English political economy in the person of Ricardo expressed only Carey's desire to gloss over the contradictions of capitalist production or to prove the possibility of abolishing those contradictions while preserving the foundations of bourgeois society.

Revealing the groundlessness of Carey's claims about the harmony and co-operation of the classes in American society, Marx wrote: 'It is *par trop* [altogether too] naive to suggest that, if the *total product of labour* rises, the three classes among whom it is to be shared will share *equally* in that growth. If profit were to rise by 20%, the workers would have to strike to obtain a 2% rise in WAGES' (p. 384).

Marx's critique of Carey's views in his letters was published by Cluss as an article ('The "Best Paper in the Union" and Its "Best Men" and Political Economists') in the newspaper *Die Reform* (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 623-32). It thus became available to a certain section of the American readership. This material of 1852-53 subsequently served Marx as the basis for a more substantial critique of Carey's views and vulgar bourgeois political economy in the *Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1858* and in *Capital*.

Marx invariably passed on to Engels the results of his economic research. Their letters show how closely they followed the economic development of the European countries and America, and how carefully they analysed the statistical material confirming the antagonistic and cyclic nature of capitalist production's development. The elaboration of the problem of crises was of special interest to them, since they associated a new revolutionary upsurge with the end of the prosperous phase and with an inevitable economic decline (see Engels' letter to Marx about this on 24 August 1852 and Marx's letter to Lassalle of 23 January 1855).

From the analysis mainly of English trade and industry, they detected the symptoms of an imminent and inevitable economic crisis which could, under prevailing conditions, serve as a powerful stimulus to the revolutionary movement in Europe (see Engels to Weydemeyer on 27 February 1852, Marx to Engels on 29 January 1853, Engels to Weydemeyer on 12 April 1853, Marx to Cluss on 15 September 1853, and Engels to Marx on 29 September 1853).

Marx and Engels paid great attention to the problems of history. They were stimulated to take up historical research by the desire for a deeper understanding of the processes of social development, especially during the capitalist period, and in order to comprehend the historical factors behind the events and phenomena of their own times. This was important for the development of the correct revolutionary tactics. The letters in the present volume give an idea not only of the range of historical subjects in which Marx and Engels were interested, but of their conclusions and generalisations.

The study of world history enabled Marx and Engels to elucidate certain characteristics in the development of capitalism and also of precapitalist social-economic formations. Thus, dealing with the history of Ancient Rome, Marx disclosed the material causes of the class struggle in ancient society. In his letter to Engels of 8 March 1855, he wrote: 'Internal history resolves itself

PLAINLY into the struggle between small and large landed property, specifically modified, of course, by slavery relations' (p. 527). In his letter to Engels of 27 July 1854, analysing the distinguished French historian Thierry's *Essai sur l'histoire de la formation et du progrès du tiers état* he traces how the elements of the future capitalist system emerged and developed in the bowels of feudalism, and he notes the part played by the struggle of the Third Estate against the feudal aristocracy during the period of transition from feudalism to capitalism. While acknowledging Thierry's merits, Marx points out the limitations of his views, and his inability to understand the material roots of class contradictions or the nature and character of class antagonisms under capitalism. 'Had Mr Thierry read our stuff, he would know that the decisive opposition between bourgeoisie and *peuple* does not, of course, crystallise until the former ceases, as *tiers-état*, to oppose the *clergé* and the *noblesse*' (p. 474). This letter of Marx's is of fundamental importance for pinpointing the general methodological shortcomings in the views common to French bourgeois historians during the Restoration and to bourgeois historiographers in general.

The letter also contains an important formulation on the decisive significance of the alliance between the bourgeoisie and the peasantry in the struggle against feudalism. Lenin laid special emphasis on this idea of Marx's: 'The French bourgeoisie won *when it decided* to go with the peasants' ('Conspectus of "The Correspondence of K. Marx and F. Engels. 1844-1883"', Moscow, 1968, Russian edition, p. 7).

In connection with the revolutionary events in Spain in 1854, Marx studied the history of the revolutionary movement of the Spanish people in order to 'discover exactly the springs behind developments' (p. 480).

On the eve of the Crimean War, when inter-state contradictions became suddenly prominent in Asia Minor and the Balkans, Marx and Engels devoted special attention to analysing the history of Turkey, Persia and the countries of the Arabian peninsula, especially their social and political development, the role of communal landownership, their way of life, culture and religious trends (see Engels to Marx on about 26 May, Marx to Engels on 2 and 14 June, and Engels to Marx on 6 June 1853). These letters illustrate the formation of Marx's and Engels' materialist interpretation of religious movements in the East, showing their connection with the material conditions of life as a result of the transition from the nomadic to the settled life, the changes in trade routes, and so on. The letters in this volume also show the special attention Marx

devoted at this time to India, then Great Britain's most important imperial possession.

Studying the history of these countries enabled Marx and Engels to bring out the salient characteristics of their social development. 'The absence of landed property is indeed the key to the whole of the East. Therein lies its political and religious history,' remarked Engels in a letter to Marx of 6 June 1853 (p. 339). In the same letter, he disclosed the reasons for the weak development of private landownership in all the Eastern countries, especially during the Middle Ages: the natural conditions in these countries necessitated the building and maintenance of irrigation works, and this was only possible within the scope of the central authority. 'In the East, the government has always consisted of 3 departments only: Finance (pillage at home), War (pillage at home and abroad), and *travaux publics* [public works], provision for reproduction' (p. 339). Marx used this idea and developed it in his article 'The British Rule in India' (see present edition, Vol. 12). The concentration of considerable means of production in the hands of despotic governments, the closed and isolated position of the village commune, the chief economic and social unit of Asiatic societies—these, concluded Marx and Engels, were behind the more retarded historical development of the Eastern countries when the transition from feudalism to capitalism was being accomplished in the West.

Marx and Engels sharply denounced England's system of colonial domination in India, underlining its destructive consequences. By preserving the worst features of Eastern despotism in the conquered countries, the English had ceased to worry about maintaining irrigation, as a result of which, Engels pointed out, 'Indian agriculture is going to wrack and ruin' (p. 340).

The process by which the colonial and dependent countries were drawn into the orbit of world capitalism led Marx and Engels to the conclusion that there was a deep mutual relationship and mutual dependence between the destiny of the capitalist countries and that of the colonial world. They became increasingly convinced that the proletarian movement in the metropolitan countries could find its own natural ally in the maturing national liberation movement.

During these years, Engels' gifts as military theoretician of the proletarian party came to the fore. He gave great attention to the history of the revolutionary wars of 1848-49, intending to write a book on the subject. 'I should like to have time before the next revolution,' he wrote to Weydemeyer on 12 April 1853, 'to study and

describe thoroughly at least the campaigns of 1848 and 1849 in Italy and Hungary' (p. 309). He did not carry out this intention, and this gives all the more significance to his letters to Marx of 6 July 1852, 10 June 1854, and a number of others in which he gives a critical analysis of the military operations of the revolutionary armies in 1848 and 1849. A number of letters contain fundamental observations by Engels on military and military-historical science and its theoreticians, Clausewitz, Napier, Jomini, Willisen, and about the generalship of Napoleon, Wellington and others. Engels outlined his approach to the analysis of military operations and military science in a letter to the editor of *The Daily News*, 30 March 1854. His extensive knowledge of military history and his use of dialectical materialist methodology were demonstrated in his articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune* during the Crimean War. 'Your military articles,' wrote Marx to Engels on 5 January 1854, 'have created a great stir. A rumour is circulating in New York that they were written by General Scott' (p. 407).

Philological studies were always among the scientific interests pursued by Marx and Engels. During these years Marx studied Spanish, reading Calderon and Cervantes in the original. Engels studied the Slavonic (including Russian) and Oriental languages, especially Persian, showing outstanding linguistic abilities. Of considerable interest is Engels' outline of the principles of translation when he was analysing a translation of the first chapter of Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* done from German into English by Wilhelm Pieper (see Engels' letter to Marx of 23 September 1852).

The period from 1852 to 1855 was one of intensive political journalism on the part of Marx and Engels. Their articles provide rich and often witty insights into and valuable analyses of the capitalist world of their times. Their journalistic activity was closely bound up with their theoretical studies. Research helped them to understand the underlying causes of current events, and important theoretical generalisations frequently emerged from articles on specific subjects. This mutual interaction of the various sides of their work is clearly reflected in their correspondence.

A recurrent idea in the letters of Marx and Engels is that of the necessity for using any opportunity during the years of reaction to promote the revolutionary point of view on the most important political questions in order to influence public opinion in the interests of the working class. 'We are not doing our enemies a favour by writting for them. *Tout au contraire* [Quite the contrary].

We could hardly play them a worse trick..." wrote Marx to Cluss on 14 June 1853 (p. 350).

Marx and Engels, who began contributing to the *New-York Daily Tribune* in 1851, continued writing for it in 1852-55. Marx was the official correspondent for the newspaper, but many articles were written at Marx's request by Engels. At first, as can be seen from the letters in this volume, Marx wrote his articles in German and sent them to Engels in Manchester for translation. In January 1853, Marx himself began writing in English. This enabled him to keep his work as correspondent very much up-to-date. From 1853 to 1855, Marx sent to New York nearly every week or twice weekly his own or Engels' articles, devoted to the most topical and varied problems of the time.

The articles by Marx and Engels for this bourgeois newspaper are a model combination of sober analysis and high principles. Frequently, Marx and Engels even managed to publicise ideas opposed to the views of the newspaper's editors (see Marx's letters to Engels about this on 14 June 1853 and 3 May 1854). The articles aroused great interest among the reading public and Marx's services were frequently acknowledged by the newspaper itself (see, for example, Marx's letter to Engels of 26 April 1853).

However, writing for this newspaper, for all its progressiveness, was not easy. The editors treated the articles with scant ceremony, arbitrary interpolations were frequently allowed, and many articles were printed as unsigned leaders. Marx wrote to Engels on 14 December 1853: 'Needless to say, the *Tribune* is making a great splash with your articles, POOR Dana, no doubt, being regarded as their author. At the same time they have appropriated "Palmerston" [Marx's work 'Lord Palmerston'], which means that, for 8 weeks past, Marx-Engels have virtually constituted the EDITORIAL STAFF of the *Tribune*' (see this volume, p. 404). Marx frequently protested against these irregularities (see Marx to Engels on 2 November 1853, 5 January, and 22 April 1854).

From the end of December 1854, a great deal of Marx's journalistic writing went on contributions to the German *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, one of the few German opposition papers to continue appearing during the years of the reaction. The invitation to contribute to this newspaper gave Marx and Engels the chance of direct contact with the German public, including the proletarian readership. A description of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* is contained in Marx's letter to Moritz Elsner, the editor, on 11 September 1855: 'Considering the difficult circumstances and the limited space at your disposal, your paper is, in my opinion, edited

with great skill and tact, and in such a way that the intelligent reader may read between the lines' (p. 553).

The letters show the extent of Marx's and Engels' creative rapport and day-to-day collaboration. For instance, the details on the activities of the Aberdeen coalition cabinet as given in Marx's letter to Engels of 31 January 1855, were used by Engels for his article 'The Late British Government' (see present edition, Vol. 13). They often edited each other's articles. Engels frequently wrote dispatches instead of Marx, who was busy with urgent party matters (for instance, during the period of the Cologne trial) or was unable to work owing to illness or domestic problems.

In their letters, Marx and Engels paid much attention to England's economic and political position, to describing the various classes of English society and to the struggle of the political parties. Acknowledging that the English political system was at that time more progressive than those of other European countries, Marx nevertheless unmasked the myth of England as a bulwark of constitutional freedoms and civic equality. He tried to show the real class nature of the English constitutional monarchy—the oligarchic domination, tricked out in parliamentary forms, of the landed aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. In a series of letters, Marx stressed the anti-democratic nature of the English electoral system, which deprived the majority of the people of voting rights (see, for example, Marx's letter to Cluss of 20 July 1852).

As far back as 1852, Marx had detected signs of crisis in the English oligarchic system of government—a system which helped the ruling classes give their domination the semblance of free rivalry between two political parties, the Whigs and the Tories. From the formation of the Aberdeen coalition government at the end of 1852 until its fall in 1855, Marx and Engels observed the disintegration of these old bourgeois-aristocratic parties of the ruling oligarchy. Marx's letter to Cluss on 20 July 1852 and one from Engels to Weydemeyer on 12 April 1853 developed the idea that the reform of the state system had become urgently necessary and that the crisis of the existing political parties could be overcome only 'from without by the pressure of the masses' and that it would 'no longer be possible to govern England without considerably extending the *pays légal* [franchise]' (pp. 136 and 306-07). In this way, Marx and Engels drew attention to the fact that the English working class, despite the decline of its political activities in the first half of the 1850s in comparison with the period of Chartism at its height, was stepping into the arena of the

country's political life as a force without whose participation no progressive changes would be possible.

Marx and Engels showed great interest in the economic and political development of France because they set great store by the revolutionary traditions of the French people and the French working class and did not lose their faith in its vigour and heroism. They foresaw the dangerous consequences for the French and for the whole European proletariat in the consolidation of the Bonapartist dictatorship. The letters disclose the essence of the anti-popular regime of the Second Empire and note the most characteristic feature of Bonapartism—the combination of the traditional policy of crude police and military terror towards the oppressed classes with broad demagogy in social and national questions both in home and foreign policy. The correspondence gives a vivid picture of the stock exchange machinations and speculative ventures of the bourgeoisie during the Second Empire, the corruption and adventurism in the country's economic life as well as in government circles. In 1853, Marx and Engels had already predicted a short life for French industrial 'prosperity', stressing that the government's policy would inevitably plunge the French economy into chaos. They noted with delight the awakening dissatisfaction with the Bonapartist regime on the part of the broad masses and forecast the inevitable collapse of Napoleon III's empire (see Engels to Weydemeyer on 12 April and to Marx on 26 April 1853; Marx to Engels on 12 October 1853 and to Elsner on 8 November 1855).

The main power which was destined to play a decisive role in the struggle with the Bonapartist regime was, in the opinion of Marx and Engels, the French proletariat. 'So you can see,' wrote Marx to Cluss on 25 March 1853, 'that the proletarian lion isn't dead'—thus drawing attention to the mass anti-Bonapartist demonstration at the funeral of Madame Raspail, wife of the famous revolutionary (this volume, p. 300). At the same time, they also bore in mind the demoralising influence on the workers of Bonapartism's social demagogy. 'They will have to be severely chastened by crises if they are to be good for anything again *soon*,' wrote Engels to Marx on 24 September 1852 (pp. 196-97).

As a result of the preparations for and outbreak of the Crimean War, there was a considerable widening of the range of questions with which Marx and Engels were concerned. Above all, they became aware of the need to study seriously the foreign policy of the ruling classes. Marx wrote to Engels on 2 November 1853: 'I am glad that chance should have led me to take a closer look at

1853 and 18 May 1855). It was very much under the influence of Herzen's books that Marx and Engels arrived at the opinion that internal contradictions in Russia were growing and resistance to the Tsarist regime was stiffening in that country. On 12 April 1853, Engels wrote to Weydemeyer that should a European revolutionary war break out against Tsarism, 'an aristocratic-bourgeois revolution in Petersburg with a resulting civil war in the interior is a possibility' (pp. 305-06). The letters also contain a number of critical comments on Herzen's conception of 'Russian socialism', which was based on the Utopian idea of the 'rejuvenation' of Europe by means of the Russian peasant commune (see, for instance, this volume, p. 523).

At the same time, Marx and Engels clarified their position concerning the plans of certain circles of the Polish emigration to wrest Byelorussian and Ukrainian lands from Russia. The above-mentioned letter by Engels to Weydemeyer contains the following: 'As to the former Polish provinces on this side of the Dvina and Dnieper, I want to hear nothing more of them, knowing as I do that the peasants there are all Ukrainians, only the aristocracy and some of the people in the towns being Polish, and that to the peasant there ... the restoration of Poland is synonymous with the restoration of the old ruling aristocracy, its powers unimpaired' (p. 306).

The period 1852-55 was one of the most difficult in the lives of Marx and Engels, and their letters to each other clearly show how they were helped to survive their tribulations by the friendship which they maintained throughout their lives. This was expressed very touchingly by Marx at a moment of great personal loss: 'Amid all the fearful torments I have recently had to endure, the thought of you and your friendship has always sustained me, as has the hope that there is still something sensible for us to do together in the world' (p. 533).

* * *

Volume 39 contains, printed in chronological order, 293 letters written by Marx and Engels from 1852 to 1855. By no means all their letters have been preserved, in particular, Engels' letters for 1855, of which only one survives. The letters were written mainly in German, apart from three in English. Twelve were written in two languages—German and English, German and French, and German and Italian. The overwhelming majority are being published in English for the first time. Only 43 letters (of which 39

in incomplete form) have been published before in English. All these publications are indicated in the notes. The text of former English publications has been checked and improved where necessary.

The Appendices contain letters written by Jenny Marx on her husband's instructions, and also extracts from the letters of Cluss to Weydemeyer giving the contents of a number of letters from Marx to Cluss which have not come down to us. Most of the material in the Appendices is also being published in English for the first time.

In the course of work on this volume, the earlier dating of certain letters has been corrected. The letter from Marx to Cluss of 3 September 1852, previously published as a single document, has been divided in this volume into two, dated 3 September and [after 5 September] 1852.

Study of the correspondence for 1852-55 has made it possible to attribute certain articles to Marx and Engels, and also to date the writing of certain already known articles of that period more accurately. All such attributions and details of dates are mentioned in the notes.

The authors' own contraction of proper and geographical names and of certain words have been reproduced in full. Obvious errors and inaccuracies have been corrected. Defects in the manuscripts, when the text is missing or illegible, are indicated by three dots in square brackets. If the context allows a presumable reconstruction to be made of the missing or illegible words, these words are also in square brackets. Passages struck out by the authors have, as a rule, not been reproduced, except where they represent variant readings which are given in the footnotes.

Foreign words and expressions have been retained in the original language and are given in italics; if they were underlined by the authors they are set in spaced italics.

In the letters written in German, words used by Marx and Engels in English are printed in small caps. Longer passages written in English in the original are placed in asterisks. If a fact or event is referred to in several letters, the same note number is used every time.

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prepared by Irina Shikanyan, the name index and index of periodicals by Nina Loiko; Vassily Kuznetsov assisted with the references and in compiling a glossary of geographical names. The subject index was prepared by Vassily Kuznetsov (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

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# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## LETTERS
## January 1852-December 1855

# 1852

## 1

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[1]

### IN NEW YORK

[London,] 1 January 1852

Dear Weiwi,

A happy New Year to you, and greetings to your wife[a] from myself and wife.

I have not been able to send you the article until now,[2] having been interrupted not only by events coming one on top of another but to an even greater extent by private affairs. Henceforward, I shall be regularity itself.

Lupus[b] has fallen seriously ill and hence has not yet been able to send anything. Red Wolff's[c] article seemed to me unusable, hence I did not send it off.[3]

If, *which I hope will not happen,* your undertaking[d] has to be postponed for any length of time on financial grounds, *let* Dana *have* the article so that he may translate it into English for his paper.[4] However, I hope this will not be necessary.

Give Dana my regards. Tell him I have received his newspapers and his letter and shall be sending him a new WORK next week.[5]

As for the *Revues,*[e] since they are not ready to hand but have to be obtained at some expense and trouble from Hamburg, please let me know roughly how many sales you think I can count on in America.[6]

I shall be sending you from here *Notes to the People* by our friend Ernest Jones, the most important leader of the English party; you should find them a veritable mine when it comes to filling the gaps in your paper.

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[a] Louise - [b] Wilhelm Wolff - [c] Ferdinand Wolff - [d] the publication of *Die Revolution* - [e] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.*

Send me at once (and in future regularly) a few copies of your weekly.

Greeting and fraternity.

Your
K. Marx

Yesterday I hammered away at Freiligrath for all I was worth and he promised me to concoct a poem for you on the most recent occurrences.[a]

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## 2

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 6 January 1852

Dear Marx,

By this time, you will, I trust, have completely recovered from your afflictions; I also hope that your wife will no longer be angry with me about the coup d'état which plunged you for two days into such depths of melancholy.[7] At any rate, please give her and your children my kindest regards.

I shall get an article done for Weydemeyer in time for next Friday's steamer and hope you will let me have something topical for the *Tribune*, which I shall at once translate. It's really not a paper that calls for any serious exertion. Barnum stalks its columns large as life, and the English is ghastly—but this apart, it has some good qualities which, however, have nothing at all to do with our line. If you can see that it reaches me by Thursday—even by the 2nd post—you shall have the translation back in London in time for Saturday's steamer, i.e. by the 2nd post arriving there on Friday. Then, next week, I shall set to work on the articles on Germany and shall soon be done with them.[b]

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[a] See this volume, p. 8. - [b] This presumably refers to Article VII of *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*.

The lack of originality with which the Austrians have aped Louis Napoleon and promptly abolished their constitution is certainly deplorable. Now there'll be a fine how-d'ye-do in Prussia—there's no doubt that Prussia has been betrayed and sold by Austria and, if it does not likewise abolish its constitution,[8] may very well be crushed by a Russian-Austrian-French alliance.

In 1851 the English cotton industry consumed 32,000 bales a week as against 29,000 bales in 1850.[a] The entire surplus, and a good deal more, went to the East Indies and China; at present Manchester is almost wholly dependent on deliveries to these two markets and to the HOME TRADE, since very little is going to the Continent. This *can*not last much longer. They are sailing very near the wind here, and the fact that, e.g., cotton prices are soaring, despite an exceptionally heavy crop, merely in the expectation of even heavier demand, is of itself significant enough.

Weerth dropped me a few lines today from Bradford inquiring about the insufferable Lüders who has written to him. If you can tell me whether and to what extent this old jackass has been involved in the intrigues there, I should be grateful and it might come in handy. Otherwise, nothing else to report, BUSINESS WITH US SLACK, fog and smoke in abundance.

Your
F. E.

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## 3

## ENGELS TO JENNY MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 14 January 1852

Dear Mrs Marx,

I would have answered your kind letter[b] long ago had I not been totally prevented from doing so by a whole mass of things—in particular the presence of my brother-in-law[c] whom I

[a] 'State of Trade. Manchester, Jan. 3', *The Times*, No. 21003, 5 January 1852. - [b] See this volume, pp. 567-69. - [c] Emil Blank

had to keep amused for a whole week, certainly no light task here in Manchester. There could, of course, be no question of work during that time, and only now can I turn my mind to what may be done before next Friday's STEAMER. At all events, either this evening or tomorrow evening something will be ready for the *Tribune,* nor will Father Weydemeyer go empty-handed. In the meantime I have heard and seen nothing from the latter—I hope that today will have brought you a letter from him telling us about the prospects for the New Year, since the letters that arrived by yesterday's STEAMER were dated up to 1 January.

I trust that in the meantime the paterfamilias[a] will have arisen from his bed of pain and penance, and only hope that the Library[b] will not entirely drive the *Tribune* from his mind. The information about the honourable Lüders was conveyed forthwith to Weerth, likewise as much as was necessary concerning the worthy Kinkel.

The lambastings received by the great Willich are most pleasing so far as we are concerned, while for him there would appear to be an excellent prospect of repeated applications. Once the spell of inviolability and invincibility cast around himself by the great warrior has been broken by a *bonne volée,*[c] not one blackguard of an émigré, right down to the last Conrad,[9] will rest until he has repeated the experiment and wreaked upon the noble fellow tangible vengeance for his private GRIEVANCES. The great man's *courage malheureux*[d] may then console itself with the thought that those who did the thrashing were all of them 'men of principle'. Thrashings he may have had, but they were 'principled thrashings'.

I return Cluss' letter herewith.[e] As an agent, the fellow's beyond compare. When the business of Willich's mystification[10] comes out, there'll be a fine how-d'ye-do! The philistines will no longer dare to write letters for fear of their falling into our hands. How scurrilously hypocritical it was on Kinkel's part to maintain that he had written to London, telling them to get in touch with us! This fact only goes to show that he has been constantly and most disagreeably 'challenged' on our account in America and that, among the democratic rabble there, we too have a SET of adherents who swear by us, as do the others by Kinkel or Heinzen or Hecker, heaven knows why; these must be adherents *à la* Magnus Gross, Wilhelmi, etc., people who would only have to spend a short time in our company to be better informed both about us and themselves, and to return to the common fold where they belong.

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[a] Karl Marx - [b] of the British Museum - [c] sound thrashing - [d] discomfited courage - [e] See this volume, pp. 568-69.

I must say, Louis Napoleon grows daily more amusing. While not a single one of those great measures for the abolition of pauperism, etc., has yet managed to see the light of day, the little fellow contrives to provoke all philistines in the world by measures which are merely intended to ensure a temporary consolidation of his authority.[11] No longer does any non-French paper dare speak up for him, even the *Sun* and the *Kölnische* remain silent, and only the good-for-nothing correspondent of the *Globe* continues to deposit his daily scurrilities in the corner allotted to him for the purpose. On top of that, Louis Napoleon has aroused universal suspicion, the whole of Europe resounds with war and rumours of war,[a] and even the peaceable *Daily News* has *nolens volens*[b] to join in the call for NATIONAL DEFENCES. Along with the side of his character which has been most in evidence since 2 December—the GAMBLER—the fellow is gradually beginning to develop another, that of the mad pretender who regards himself as a predestined world redeemer and who swears by his star. And when the time was come, God sent the nephew that he might redeem the world from the bondage of the devil and from the hell of socialism. Luckily parliament will be meeting shortly, which always introduces a little variety into the humbug of politics.

Warm regards to Marx and the little ones from your

F. Engels

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## 4

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[12]

IN NEW YORK

London, 16 January 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

Today I got up for the first time in a fortnight. From this you will see that my indisposition—not yet wholly overcome—was a

[a] Matthew 24:6. - [b] willy-nilly

serious one. Hence, even with the best will in the world, I could not send you No. III of my article on Bonaparte[a] this week. Instead, you will find enclosed a poem[13] and a personal letter from Freiligrath. I beseech you now to: 1. See that the poem is carefully printed, with adequate intervals between the verses and allowing plenty of space for the whole. A great deal is lost if poems are too closely printed and over-compressed. 2. Write Freiligrath a friendly letter. Nor need you be over-fearful of paying him compliments, for poets, even the best of them, are all *plus au moins des courtisanes*[b] and *il faut les cajoler, pour les faire chanter.*[c] In private life our Freiligrath is the most amiable, least pretentious of men who conceals beneath a genuine *bonhomie un esprit très fin et très railleur*[d] and whose passion is 'authentic', yet does not render him either 'uncritical' or 'superstitious'. He is a true revolutionary and a man of honour to the marrow, a compliment I would pay to only a very few. Nevertheless a poet, whatever he may be as an *homme,*[e] needs applause and ADMIRATION. This is, I believe, peculiar to the genre as such. I am only telling you all this to remind you not to lose sight, when corresponding with Freiligrath, of the distinction between the 'poet' and the 'critic'. It is, by the by, very nice of him to address his poetical letter directly to you. I think that this will be helpful to you in New York.

I do not know whether I shall manage to send you another article today. Pieper had promised me to write an article for you. Up till this moment he has not yet turned up and when he does, the article will have to be put to the test—i.e. whether it is consigned to the flames, or is considered worthy of crossing the ocean. I am *trop faible encore*[f] to go on writing. More today week. Regards from my family to yours.

Lupus is still not fully recovered and hence has not yet sent anything.

Your
K. Marx

Apropos. Enclosed is yet another 'statement' from a member[14] of our League[15] which you should insert in your paper in small print among the advertisements or below the line.

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[a] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* III. - [b] more or less courtesans - [c] they have to be cajoled to get them to sing - [d] a wit very subtle and very mocking - [e] man - [f] still too weak

Daniels, Becker and Co. have again not been brought up before the January Assizes on the pretext that the investigation was so difficult that it must be begun all over again.[16] They have now been in jug for 9 months.

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## 5

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 January 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Only since yesterday have I been up and about again and it was not until today that I again took up my pen.

Since I was unable to go out and visit Chapman as I had planned, Pieper, with the enthusiasm he habitually displays in the first ten minutes, offered to discount the bill for me. The other evening he brought me the money, only to declare that he would send you the bill so that you could have it discounted in Manchester. I, as well as my wife, told him that we knew you couldn't do so. But he had already written his letter and, since he made it pretty clear that I appeared, for reasons of my own, to be putting obstacles in his way, I gave him his head and be damned to it, feeling sure that you would return the stuff to him. Now, when he informs me of this *fait*,[a] it turns out that he was not in such a hurry after all, but was merely seeking to give himself airs. For me, it was a nasty business, since you might have thought I had been guilty of an indiscretion.

In France *les choses vont à merveille*.[b] And I hope *la belle France* will not pass through this school too casually but will have to spend a longer time in class. War, whether it comes a few MONTHS

[a] fact - [b] things are going splendidly

sooner or later, seems to me inevitable. *Nous avons eu le Napoléon de la paix.*[a] Louis[b] can BY NO MEANS emulate Louis Philippe. *Et alors?*[c]

As you know, our people in Cologne have not been brought before the Assizes under the pretext that the case is so difficult that the investigation must be begun all over again.

Madier has just been here. He proved to me *de la manière la plus crapaude*[d] that the FRENCHMEN are capable of taking London by breakfast time and assaulting all of England's coasts within five hours. One has too much *pitie*[e] for the poor devils not to hold one's tongue *quand ils déraisonnent.*[f]

Write soon.

Your
K. M.

How is *le commerce?*

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## 6

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 22 January 1852

Dear Marx,

Herewith the 7th article for the *Tribune.* The eighth, etc., will be done tomorrow evening, and today I shall get something ready for Weydemeyer. In his case, I am for a start restricting myself to England,[17] being unable to bring myself to read German newspapers and do something on Germany. Could you not perhaps persuade Lupus, who, I hope, is fit as a fiddle again, to send off something 'From the German Empire'[18]?—Weerth will produce something for Weydemeyer next week; this week he cannot. I hope to see him here the day after tomorrow and he

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[a] We have had the Napoleon of peace (Louis Philippe's nickname) - [b] Louis Bonaparte - [c] What then? - [d] in the most philistine manner - [e] pity - [f] when they talk nonsense

may come up to London in a week or a fortnight's time since, out of sheer impatience, he is once again champing at the bit.

The *Pacific* having arrived from New York yesterday, there's a chance that tomorrow might bring the numbers[a] promised me by Weydemeyer—but I am not counting on this since he may have waited for the regular English MAIL STEAMER. By the way, he should not send so many, 50 copies is too much and will probably cost a mint of money, and who are they all to be sent to? I will find out what the charges are and if needs be—that is, if he can't arrange the business more cheaply through parcels consignment agencies—10 copies would be quite sufficient; for he cannot after all count on *subscribers* in Europe. A few in London, perhaps; otherwise maybe only in Hamburg. And that would also call for an agency, which would not pay for itself.

I trust you'll soon be sending me an article to translate for the *Tribune.*

Jones has written to me asking for contributions. I shall do my best and have given him my word.[19] All this means that any spare time I might have for swotting is frittered away piecemeal, and that's bad. I must see how I can arrange things and diddle the office. Jones mentions a dirty trick Harney played on him[20] and says he was cheated out of £15, concerning which you would be able to tell me more—what is all this? He was, of course, VERY BUSY and his letter consists largely of unfinished sentences and exclamation marks.

As to Pieper's DODGE in the matter of the bill, the whole stratagem was, of course, perfectly plain to me, and *Monsieur le bel homme*[b] will have realised that he needs rather more cunning to conjure eight pounds out of my pocket. Being well aware how he stood financially on 2 January, I chaffed him about his supposed shortage of money, warned him against dishonest and unsound bill-brokers in London, declared that the bill must be dispatched as quickly as possible, and finally advised him to have it cashed through Weydemeyer—in which case, it would again pass through your hands and, upon the arrival of the notification of payment, which would, of course, come to you or me, it would quite spontaneously give rise to a further discounting transaction with this youthful trading house. I owe him 2 pounds, for which he also asked; this I also promised to repay, but not before the beginning of February.

That the good Louis Napoleon must go to war is clear as day and, if he can come to an understanding with Russia, he will

[a] of *Die Revolution* - [b] Mr Handsome

probably pick a quarrel with England. This would have its good and its bad aspects. The French notion that they could conquer London and England in 5 hours is a very harmless one. But what they *can* do now, is carry out sudden raids with 20, or at the most 30 thousand men, which, however, would nowhere be very effective. Brighton is the one town seriously threatened; Southampton, etc., are safeguarded, not so much by fortifications as by their situation on deep inlets navigable only at high tide and with the help of local pilots. The greatest EFEECT a French landing could hope to achieve would be the destruction of Woolwich, but even then they would have to take damned good care not to advance on London. In the case of any serious invasion, the combined forces of the Continent would inevitably give the English at least A YEAR'S NOTICE, whereas 6 months would suffice to place England in a state of readiness against any attack. The present alarums are being deliberately exaggerated—with the greatest help from the Whigs. All the English have to do to safeguard themselves for the time being is to recall a dozen ships of the line and STEAMERS, fit out another dozen of both kinds which are lying in port half completed, recruit 25,000 more troops, organise volunteer rifle battalions equipped with Minié rifles and, in addition, some militia and some training for the YEOMANRY. But the alarums serve a very good purpose; the government had really excelled itself in allowing things to go to wrack and ruin and this will cease. And then, if it comes to the point, they will be so well armed that they will be able to repulse any attempt at a landing and at once retaliate.

Otherwise, so far as I can see, there are only 2 prospects open to Louis Napoleon if he wants to start a war: 1. against Austria, i.e. against the entire Holy Alliance, or 2. against Prussia, if the latter is dropped by Russia and Austria. However, the second is very doubtful and, as for his picking a quarrel with the Holy Alliance, this is most questionable. Neither England nor the Holy Alliance will abandon Piedmont, Switzerland and Belgium to him. The business is becoming so prettily entangled that in the end pure chance must decide.

And *à l'intérieur*, what splendid goings-on! Attempted assassinations almost a daily occurrence and the measures taken ever prettier. If only Mr de Morny, who still to some degree plays a virtuous hero, were at last thrown out, and if only the noble one[a] were to confiscate the property of the Orleans.[21]

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[a] Louis Bonaparte

It would hardly be possible to pave the way for a Blanqui government more surely than does this jackass.

Your
F. E.

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## 7

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

### IN NEW YORK

[London,] 23 January 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

Unfortunately my indisposition has up till now prevented me from writing to you this week, i.e. for your paper.[a] *With much effort* I concocted an article for Dana,[b] who had received nothing from me for six weeks or more. For years, nothing has so pulled me down as this damned haemorrhoidal complaint, not even the last French fiasco.[c] *Enfin*,[d] I shall be all the better for having been forcibly kept away from the library[e] for 4 weeks, hard though this was.

You will be getting two more articles about the 18th Brumaire,[f] of which the first will be dispatched, come what may, on Friday next and the other immediately afterwards, if not at the same time.

Enclosed Pieper's article.[22]

As for Lupus, I have been chivvying him a great deal and he seems to have made up his mind to take a retrospective look at Kossuth's Hungarian *carrière*[g] for your paper. You have made two mistakes, first in failing to name Lupus along with ourselves in your announcement,[23] and secondly in *not approaching* him *direct*. Make good the *second* with a letter which you may enclose in one

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[a] *Die Revolution* - [b] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, VII. - [c] An allusion to Louis Bonaparte's coup d'état of 2 December 1851. - [d] Well - [e] of the British Museum - [f] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, III and IV. - [g] career

to myself and in which you urge him to write. No one else among us all has his popular style. He is *extrêmement modeste.* All the more must one avoid giving the impression that his cooperation is regarded as superfluous.

Because I live some distance from Freiligrath and because I received Pieper's article only just before the post left, we have today been compelled to send you *two* letters instead of *one.*[a] This will be avoided next time.

Enclosed another statement from my friend *Pfänder* (Bauer no longer belongs to our League). You will have to publish it, since the Windmill Streeters' statement against him appeared in both the *American* and the European papers.[24] It would be a good idea if, beneath this statement, you were to print the comment that it contains *only* what could be published under *present police conditions* (the accounts between Bauer and Pfänder on the one hand and the former League on the other, further, the control exercised by the *Central Authority* over the administration of those monies, we being in the majority on the C.A.—none of these things can, of course, be published *yet*); that, counting on the political precautions we, for our part, have to take in Germany, Arnold Winkelried Ruge,[b] that old gossip and 'Confusius'[c] of European democracy, made an allusion to those matters (i.e. those of Pfänder and Bauer) about which he himself knew only from hearsay at 3rd or 4th hand, in the hope of incriminating *myself* and *Engels* in the eyes of the public, although the business was no concern of ours,[d] in just the same way as the jackass suggested that it was the Windmill Streeters who threw *us* out when it was *we* who had broken with that society,[e] as Pfänder's letter also implies.

You might also announce that a *new workers' society* has been formed in London under *Stechan*'s chairmanship,[25] which will keep aloof from 'Emigration', 'Agitation'[26] and Great Windmill Street alike, and pursue a serious line.

*Tu comprends, mon cher,*[f] that this society belongs to us, although we only send our younger people there; I refer to our '*heduca*ted[g] people' not to our workers. They all go there.

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[a] See next letter. - [b] Arnold Ruge is ironically compared with Arnold Winkelried—a semi-legendary hero of the Swiss war of liberation against the Austrian yoke in the fourteenth century. - [c] A play on the resemblance between *Confusius* (confusion) and Confucius, the name of the Chinese philosopher. - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Statement' (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 535-36). - [e] See K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Statement on Resignation from the German Workers' Educational Society in London' (present edition, Vol. 10). - [f] You will understand, my dear fellow - [g] Marx uses Berlin dialect: *jebildeten.*

*Stechan* has about him something of the solidity of a guild brother and the fickleness of a small master-artisan, but he is educatable and has considerable influence in Northern Germany. That is why I have also called on him to provide contributions for you.[a] We have BY AND BY pushed him into the foreground, which he likes to shun, and into contradiction, which he likes to gloss over. Willich had asked him to guarantee Kinkel's loan[27] but he refused. At first enthusiastically welcomed by Schapper and Willich, and set against us by them, he was soon enabled by his better nature to see through the shabbiness and hollowness of these fellows and their following. And so (with a little help from Lochner and other assistants with whom we had provided him incognito) he openly broke with the rabble.

Is A. Hentze our Hentze from Hamm? If so, I would write to him, for as it is Willich has done everything to blacken me in his eyes. *L'infâme!*[b]

Warmest regards from my family to yours.

Your
K. Marx

I am sending material for pamphlets, etc., all in *one batch*, likewise Jones' *Notes*.[c] Sent piecemeal, they cost too much. *The Northern Star* is no longer in O'Connor's hands but in those of a Chartist faction which is secretly in touch with the Financial and Parliamentary Reformers.[28]

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## 8

## ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[12]

### IN NEW YORK

Manchester, 23 January 1852

Dear Weydemeyer,

I hope that in the meantime you will have received my first letter, which I posted on 18 or 19 December in time for the STEAMER *Africa*.[d] It contained an article written in haste and a letter,

[a] See this volume, pp. 19-20. - [b] The scoundrel! - [c] *Notes to the People* - [d] This letter has not been found.

likewise written in haste. You should have had it long before the 5th, but it may have only gone with the next STEAMER. Meanwhile, last week I sent you by the *Niagara* an article unaccompanied by a letter,[29] but doubt whether I posted it in time; if it was too late, it will arrive with this one, by the *Europa*, in which case you will have some material in hand. You'll have already had several things from Marx, an anti-Kinkel poem from Freiligrath[a] and also, perhaps, something from Lupus and Pieper. Weerth is very busy just now and has not really settled down in Bradford (Yorkshire); however, he has promised me he will send something by the next STEAMER. I shall probably see him here tomorrow and prod him yet again to make him keep his promise. Unfortunately Marx has been seriously ill for the past fortnight as a result of an almighty binge when I was in London over the New Year, and I was prevented from working until last week, partly because of the fortnight spent in London and partly because of various snags that subsequently cropped up. However, I think I shall be able to send you something regularly each week now, and shortly, perhaps, something for a feuilleton by way of a change.

I am settled here in Manchester for the present, luckily in a position which, besides much independence, affords me various advantages; Marx and other friends occasionally come up from London to see me and, so long as Weerth is in Bradford, we arrange a regular shuttle-service between here and there, as the railway journey only takes 2 1/2 hours. But now he will probably leave; he cannot abide that beastly hole, Bradford, and he's never happy anywhere if he has to spend more than a year sitting on his backside in the same place. I am considering a trip to the STATES, either next summer or, if there are no political changes in the meantime, the summer after that; to the STATES, New York, and particularly New Orleans. But this depends on my old man,[b] not me, and also on how things go in the cotton market.

Fifty copies of the *Revolution* is too much and the cost will probably be enormous, i.e. four shillings or more each time. In view of the wholesale arrests, dispersion, etc., and the German press laws, we can count on only a few subscribers here and, in Germany, only one or two at most in Hamburg, hence specimen numbers will be of no use to us. Newspapers, one or more to a wrapper, open at the sides, cost 1d (2 cents) per sheet. So send 4 to me and 6-8 direct to London, for otherwise I have to restamp

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[a] F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer', I. - [b] Friedrich Engels senior, Engels' father

them from here to London and I can hardly saddle the business with these massive postal charges. Ten to twelve copies will suffice for us and, if there seems to be any prospect of subscribers here, we can organise a regular agency in London to which the back numbers can be sent all at one time and under the same cover to complete the series. I shall discuss the matter with the people in London and see what can be done.

In France, things are going splendidly. Yesterday evening the *Patrie* reported that the creation of a Police Ministry for de Maupas would be announced in today's *Moniteur*.[a] De Morny who, along with Fould and a few others, represents the material interests of the bourgeoisie (but not their participation in political power) in the Cabinet, will be thrown out, and the reign of those died-in-the-wool adventurers Maupas, Persigny and Co. will begin. That will be the start of imperial true socialism[30]; the first socialist measure will be the confiscation of Louis Philippe's property,[b] for the Act of 6 August 1830, by which he left his property to his children instead of to the State as ancient custom demanded, is invalid. The portion of the Condé estates inherited by Aumale is also to be seized. The news might even arrive by next Saturday's STEAMER if things develop quickly enough. In the southern *départements*, the insurgents are still being hunted like game.[31]

The English Press is now the only reliable one for French news, and occasionally too, the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*. The paper in which you will find the best news about France is the London *Daily News*, which I therefore specially commend to you. The *Tribune* takes it, and you will certainly also be able to lay hands on it elsewhere, it being far too expensive to take. You will, I am sure, have no difficulty in finding it in the coffee houses of the CITY's commercial quarter.

Dronke may soon be paying you a visit; I hear that anyone who has to leave Switzerland is sent via France only to America, not to England. But now he will be compelled to leave; as we have heard nothing whatever from him he must be in hiding.

Gnam, a former Baden artilleryman and brewer, who went over on the same ship as Heinzen, is a sterling fellow. With them went

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[a] The decree of 22 January 1852 on the creation of a Police Ministry under de Maupas and the decree of 22 January on the resignation of the Minister of the Interior de Morny and appointment of Persigny were printed in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 23, 23 January 1852. - [b] The decree of 22 January 1852 on the confiscation of Louis Philippe's property was printed in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 23, 23 January 1852.

Rothacker, a student from Upper Baden; he used to be a good chap but he may have changed and is, moreover, dangerous on account of his versifying. Little Schickel of Mainz, whose address you can get from Cluss (away in the Alleghenies), will exert himself on behalf of the *Revolution*. Please send him my kind regards, which may be done through Cluss.

Below, a few supplementary notes on my remarks concerning the prospects for an invasion of England,[32] which will explain things to you:

1. Any landing west of Portsmouth runs the risk of being forced into the wedge formed by Cornwall—hence impracticable.

2. Any landing too far north of, or too close to, Dover faces the same hazard between Thames and sea.

3. London and Woolwich—the first *buts d'opération*.[a] Detachments to be sent against Portsmouth and Sheerness (Chatham). Strong occupation force in London, strong guard posts between the coast and London. Out of a landing force 150,000 strong, at least 60,000 needed for this purpose (and that not enough). Thus continuation of operations could proceed with *90,000 men*.

4. Birmingham the second objective (on account of the arms factories). Secure the area south of the Bristol Channel and the Wash, i.e. a line from Gloucester to King's Lynn; in addition, a strong spearhead aimed at Birmingham. However weak and broken the opposing army might be, I consider this impossible with the 90,000 men available. But assuming it succeeds, no tenable defence position will have been won, particularly if the English Navy bestirs itself. The line will be too long and too weak. Hence it will be necessary to resume the advance.

5. Manchester the third objective; all country south of Mersey (or Ribble) and Aire (Humber) to be secured and this line to be held. It is shorter and more tenable, but here again the forces greatly weakened by the need to detach troops. Hence, since the defenders still have room and resources enough to reorganise, either the advance must continue, or else there must be an early retreat.

6. The first tenable line in the relatively narrow part of northern England, either the Tees or even better the Tyne (the line of the Roman wall against the Picts[33]) from Carlisle to Newcastle. But then the agricultural, industrial and commercial resources of the Scottish Lowlands still remain in the hands of the defenders.

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[a] objectives

7. The conquest of *England proper* can be regarded as complete, and *then only for a time,* only after the capture of Glasgow and Edinburgh, the retreat of the defenders into the Highlands, and the occupation of the admirably short strong line between Clyde and Firth of Forth, having an extensive railway system to the rear.

Only after the conquest, however, would the difficulty, and an *unavoidable* one, be felt—that of consolidating once communications with France have been cut.

In such circumstances, how many men are needed to conquer and hold the entire country from Dover to the Clyde, and to present a decent front on the Clyde?

To my mind, 400,000 would not be too many.

These CONSIDERATIONS are much too detailed for your paper and I lay them before you as a PROFESSIONAL MAN. Take a look at a map of England and tell me what you think. It is an aspect of the matter that is totally neglected by the English.

The letters are going off to the post. I must close. Kindest regards to your wife.[a]

Your
F. E.

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## 9

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[34]

### IN NEW YORK

London [between 23 January and 2 February 1852]

Dear Weydemeyer,

Stechan sends you the following notes, but do not mention his name. Later he will send the original article over his signature.

Your
K. M.

[a] Louise

Dear Weydemeyer,

Do not print this stuff *word for word*, only make use of it. It is written in a very philistine style.

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## 10

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 January 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

No more than a few lines, since a letter has just arrived from Bermbach in Cologne which I would like to be in your hands tomorrow. It is essential that you 1. send me a letter TO THE EDITOR OF *THE TIMES* on the Cologne affair, together with a few lines which I shall send in advance of the *corpus delicti*[a]; 2. that you do the same in your own name to *The Daily News* although, of course, the actual *corpus delicti*, i.e. the insertion itself, will be signed 'A PRUSSIAN' or some such. I think that for *The Times* 'Doctor' and for *The Daily News* 'Manchester MERCHANT' would do better, i.e. have more chance of being accepted. Refer to people by their titles. Dr Becker, Dr (!) Bürgers, Dr Daniels, Dr Klein, Dr Jacobi, Otto (a chemist well known in German scientific circles), Röser and Nothjung. The Board of indicting magistrates at Cologne is the *nec plus ultra*[b] of cowardice. By the way, under the terms of the new disciplinary law, judges are, at least nominally, no longer 'irremovable'.

Your article for Dana[c] is splendid.

Of course I have only been able to send POOR Weydemeyer one more article[d] since you were here. This time my piles have afflicted me more grievously than the French Revolution. I shall

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of *The Times*' (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 210-11). - [b] the extreme - [c] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, VII. - [d] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, II.

see what I can do next week. The state of my posterior does not permit me to go to the Library yet.

Confiscation of the estates begged or stolen by the Orléans! Resignation of Fould! Persigny![35] Bravo! *Ça marche!*[a]

It is strange how ARMY, NAVY, COLONIES, FORTIFICATIONS AND THE WHOLE ADMINISTRATION have gone rotten under the rule of this curious regime of an aristocratic clique which the English bourgeois have by tradition lugged along with them at the head of the Executive power ever since 1688.[36] After all that English presumption and liberal outcry inspired by Kossuth, after the cosmopolitan-philanthropic-commercial hymns of peace during the EXHIBITION,[37] in short, after this period of bourgeois megalomania, it is refreshing when the canaille now come to discover that not something, but everything, is rotten in the State of Denmark.[b] And then, too, these gents take an altogether too complacent view of the struggles on the Continent.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Send back the two enclosed letters by return, Cluss', at any rate.

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## 11

## MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH

### IN LONDON

[London,] 26 January 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Freiligrath,

The verse you sent me to have a look at is delicious and expresses the *corpus delicti* in a masterly manner, but I believe it impairs the effect of the whole.[38] *D'abord,*[c] *is* Kinkel a 'German

[a] Things are moving. - [b] Shakespeare, *Hamlet,* Act I, Scene 4. - [c] Firstly

poet'? I and a great many other *bons gens*[a] venture modestly to express some doubt upon this point. Then: will it not detract from the significant contrast between the 'German poet' and the 'commercial' Babylon to deal yet again with the contrast between the 'free' and the 'servile' poet? The more so as the relationship of the puffed-up *man of letters* to the world that confronts the 'poet' is already depicted exhaustively in *Andersen*.[39] Since, as I see it, there is no intrinsic need to bring in Kinkel at this point, your verse would only provide our opponents with the opportunity of coming down on it as the expression of personal pique or rivalry. But as it is so felicitous and ought not to be wasted, you will—if you agree with my view in other respects—certainly have a chance of using it in a different context, in one of the later poetical letters. For the sketch is delicious.

Since Engels-Weerth have not returned the copy of your first poem[b] which I sent them, all I had to offer red Wolff[c] yesterday were the few bits I knew by heart which, however, sufficed to bring on one of his fits of enthusiasm.

*Quant à notre ami*[d] Ebner,[40] he has undoubtedly had letters from Pieper, the best proof being that Pieper possesses a reply from him. Besides, he wrote him another long letter quite recently, excusing my silence on the grounds of my indisposition.

I have had a letter from Bermbach consisting of some 30 lines. He asks why he has not heard from me for so long. The answer is quite simple. I send about half a sheet to Cologne and, after a very long delay, receive in return a few lines, none of which ever answers my questions. For instance, never a word about Daniels' state of health and the like. You will get this letter as soon as it comes back from Manchester. Engels is going to use it for articles for the English papers.[e] There is nothing of importance in the scrawl save the following: The Board of indicting magistrates, *remarquez le bien*,[f] in view of the fact 'that there was no actual evidence of an indictable offence', rules that the investigation must start *all over again*.[41] First then, on the basis of some stupid presumption, you have to spend 9 months in jug. Next, it transpires that there are no legal grounds for your being in jug. Conclusion: You must remain in jug until the examining magistrate finds himself *à même*[g] to present 'actual evidence of an indictable offence' and, if the 'actual evidence' is not forthcoming, in gaol you remain until you rot.

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[a] good people - [b] F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer', I. - [c] Ferdinand Wolff - [d] As for our friend - [e] See this volume, p. 20. - [f] note it well - [g] in a position

Such shameless poltroonery is unbelievable. The main fault lies with the wretched 'Press' which utters not a word. A few articles in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the *National-Zeitung* and the *Breslauer Zeitung*—and the Cologne Board of indicting magistrates would never have dared do anything of the sort. But the liberals and democrats, like the curs they are, rejoice at the removal of their communist rivals. Did we not stand up for the Temmes and every imaginable variety of democratic riff-raff whenever they found themselves in conflict with the police and the courts?[a] Not once does Kinkel, for whom Becker was a hearth and Bürgers a haven,[b] render them any thanks in the *Lithographische Korrespondenz* which he sustains with American funds. *Les canailles!*

If I knew of a safe bourgeois address in Cologne, I would write to Mrs Daniels and endeavour to reassure her to some extent about political conditions. From what Pieper tells me, it would seem that every counter-revolutionary advance is exploited by the 'worthy citizens' to alarm and vex her.

Enclosed a note from Miss Jenny to Master Wolfgang.[c]

Kind regards,

Your

K. M.

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[a] Marx refers, in particular, to his article written for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, 'The Prussian Counter-Revolution and the Prussian Judiciary'. - [b] Pun in the original on the name of Becker and 'hat gebacken' (has baked—figuratively, set up in the world) and the name of Bürgers and 'hat geborgen' (went security for). During the legal proceedings in May 1850 the *Westdeutsche Zeitung*, whose editor was Hermann Becker, came out in defence of Kinkel by publishing Bürgers' articles 'Die Logik in dem Prozesse Kinkels und Genossen' and 'Die Freisprechung Kinkels', Nos. 102-104, 107, 30 April, 1, 2 and 5 May 1850. See also this volume, pp. 34 and 570. - [c] Marx's daughter to Freiligrath's son

## 12

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 January 1852

Dear Marx,

Enclosed the thing for *The Times*.[a] All you have to write is:* Sir, I believe the publication of the scandalous facts contained in the annexed letter will contribute to throw some light upon the state of things on the Continent. The correctness of these facts I guarantee,* etc. Name and address.

Mine to *The Daily News* will be going off this evening by the second post; if you arrange matters similarly, both letters will arrive at the respective OFFICES at almost the same time and thus may appear in Friday's issue.[42] But post the letter *in Charing Cross*; there is too much delay at the branch OFFICES.

I return herewith the two letters from Cluss and Bermbach. The seal on your Saturday's letter[b] was once again in a sorry state; I enclose it herewith. What can be afoot?

In *The Daily News* I shall simply sign myself A GERMAN MERCHANT.

Write soon.

Your
F. E.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of *The Times*'. - [b] See this volume, pp. 20-21.

## 13

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 29 January 1852

Dear Marx,

How annoying that one cannot rely on anything being done unless one does it oneself. Owing to our messenger's stupidity, my letter to *The Daily News* did not go off yesterday; now it's too late. So all I can do is to keep it in abeyance until I see whether yours is in tomorrow's or Saturday's *Times*. If not, it will go off at once. In the meantime there's one thing to consider: whether *Freiligrath* is not the right man for *The D. News*. Were he to write to them, I could try *The Weekly Press* and *The Sun*. We 2 have been cold-shouldered by *The D. N.* once already.[42]

Enclosed another article for Dana.[a] It might, perhaps, be divided into two at the point where the Polish business ends—though it would be better to keep it entire. If you split it up, you can send both halves by the same STEAMER, since there is not another sailing before tomorrow week. I will now see that I get on fairly quickly, SAY, 2 articles a week, so as to have done with the SUBJECT. There will be 15-16 articles in all.[43]

No copies[b] received from Weydemeyer. No letter either. This surprises me. I shall finish another article[c] for him this evening.

The French are real jackasses. Madier approached me about an industrial matter and, since my brother-in-law,[d] who knows the DODGE, happened to be here, I gave him some very useful hints and advice. Now the dolt writes to say that, as a result of silly chatter by some *crapaud*[e] who knows nothing of this matter, he intends to go about it in a different and MOST UNBUSINESSLIKE way, and I am to obtain, not for him, but for his associate, a man whom I have never seen, letters of introduction from my brother-in-law (who, fortunately, is on the Continent)! You will recall that Madier introduced us to a calico printer who was bound for Manchester. The fellow calls on me, I go to immense pains to be helpful, do

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[a] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, VIII and IX. - [b] of *Die Revolution* - [c] F. Engels, 'England', II. - [d] Emil Blank - [e] philistine (literally: toad)

what I can, treat him with the utmost consideration, and in return for all this the dolt suddenly vanishes without my being able to learn what has become of him. A fine race!

Your
F. E.

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## 14

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

### IN NEW YORK

[London,] 30 January 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

Enclosed you will find:

1. A further instalment of my article.[a]
2. A piece by Eccarius,[44] whose grammatical mistakes, punctuation and so forth you yourself will have to correct, since he brought me the thing too late for me to attend to this myself.
3. Translation of an interesting article in *The Times* by Lupus[b] who, however, does not wish his name to appear, the thing being merely a translation.

How goes it with the German book-trade in America? Might I find a publisher there for my Economy,[45] now that things have miscarried in Germany?

*Salut.*

Your
K. Marx

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[a] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, III - [b] Presumably K. Batthyány's article 'The Hungarian Revolution. To the Editor of *The Times*', *The Times*, No. 20998, 30 December 1851.

## 15

## ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[1]

### IN NEW YORK

[Manchester,] Friday, 30 January 1852

Dear Weydemeyer,

I sent you by last Saturday's STEAMER (the *Europa*, I think) an article together with a letter.[a] Herewith a few more lines.[b] The issues of the *Revolution* you promised have not yet turned up, although your last letter of 5 Jan. gave good reason to believe that they would come by the next STEAMER, and since then 1 Southampton and 3 Liverpool STEAMERS have arrived here with mails from New York dated up to 17 Jan. I hope no snags have arisen to prevent publication. At all events, I expect to hear from you by the next STEAMER, the *Cambria* (out of Boston 21 Jan.), which is due here on Monday 2 Feb.

My anticipations regarding the confiscation of Louis Philippe's fortune and a Persigny Ministry[c] have been confirmed sooner than I could have hoped; given a reasonably well-organised service, news of it must have arrived in New York by way of the Liverpool newspapers at the same time as my letter; hardly was my letter in the post when the telegraphic dispatch about it likewise arrived here. So much the better. The thing's going splendidly and there's better still to come.

Weerth is on his travels again, will be visiting Holland, France, Switzerland, etc., and must at this moment be in London. I have written and told Marx that he should again chivvy him a little about sending you a few things, although he will hardly have the peace and quiet to do so. When one has spent the whole day tramping round calling on Dutch Jews with samples of wool and linen yarn, one feels small inclination to spend the evening at the hotel in writing that sort of thing. However, if anything is to be extracted from him, Marx is the man to do it.

The sudden lull in the émigrés' tittle-tattle brought about by the new turn of events in France is truly comical. Not a whisper do I hear about the whole caboodle.

The prisoners in Cologne are in a serious position. Since there is

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[a] F. Engels, 'England', I (see also this volume, pp. 15-19). - [b] F. Engels, 'England', II. - [c] See this volume, p. 17.

no charge whatever against them, the Board of indicting magistrates has neither released them nor brought them before the Court of Assizes but—has referred the matter back to the first examining magistrate for a fresh investigation! In other words, they will remain provisionally in clink without books, without letters, without being able to communicate either with one another or with the outside world, until the new state tribunal is ready.[a] Just now we are trying to denounce this outrage in the English bourgeois Press.[b]

Many regards.

Your

F. E.

[On the back of the letter]

Per LIVERPOOL STEAMER *Mr. J. Weydemeyer*, 7 Chambers' Street, New York (City)

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## 16

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 2 February 1852

Dear Marx,

Do you recall a refugee by the name of *Richter* from Torgau (Prussian Saxony), a saddler and upholsterer—who used to be in London? This man, whom I recall having seen in London—tall, fair, the manners of a refugee—suddenly calls on me here, ostensibly having returned from Barmen where, he maintains, he worked for a time without papers; he brings greetings from Hühnerbein, etc. I can call to mind absolutely nothing about him except that I have seen him before. At all events, our register of refugees and Pfänder's or Rings' good memory should be able to

[a] See this volume, p. 22. - [b] ibid., pp. 20, 24, 25, 29 and 30.

tell us more particulars about him. I rather suspect the fellow is a member of Willich's clique[46]—in which case I shall chuck him out at once. The man has already found work here.

So far, I've been able to discover nothing in *The Times* about the business of our people in Cologne.[a] I am only awaiting your reply to write immediately, *s'il y a lieu*,[b] to *The Daily News*. The American STEAMER is in but, much to my surprise, no letter from Weydemeyer, or any copies of the paper,[c] at least up till now. However, it's still possible that these may arrive tomorrow.

Your
F. E.

Tell Pieper I shall shortly be sending him his £2, now the new month has begun.

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## 17

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 February 1852[d]
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Weerth left this morning for Holland. Where will he go from there? I do not know and neither does Weerth himself perhaps. He was as always very much disgruntled at his lot and, as for ours, the only disagreeable thing about it seemed to him our being forced to remain here in London instead of Cadiz, Saragossa, or some other confounded place in Spain. Indeed, since he's been living in Yorkshire again, Weerth has been saying that the time spent in Spain was the best in his life. He maintains that he can't stand the English climate and may therefore find that of Holland very COMFORTABLE. Let us wish him *le bon voyage* and wait and see whether he keeps his word and remembers about Weydemeyer.

[a] See this volume, p. 24. - [b] if necessary - [c] *Die Revolution* - [d] The original has 1851.

My 'LETTER TO THE EDITOR' was sent to *The Times* last Thursday,[a] *il y a donc presque une semaine.*[b] It would seem that this paper, now that it makes a métier of polemicising against Bonaparte, deems it necessary to spare Prussia. So you must approach *The Daily News.* If that, too, misfires, which I doubt, there still remains *The Spectator. Il est presque sûr.*[c]

Yesterday G. J. Harney sent me the first issue of his resuscitated and somewhat enlarged *Friend of the People.*[47] If that's what he withdrew from the world for 8 months and buried himself in melancholy Scotland for...! But *un seul passage suffira pour te faire goûter ce fruit délicieux*[d]:

*'*Justice—Immutable, Universal, Eternal*—proclaims the sublime principle which will be, at once, our guiding star, the rule of our conduct, and the test, etc.'*[e]

*En voilà assez!*[f] Bonaparte, however, he has adequately chastised by calling him 'Louis THE BASE'.

I do not know whether our EXDEAR sent me his little paper in order to wring our hearts or whether, out of spite towards us, he has become even more tritely democratic than we would have believed possible. By the by, alongside the platitudes and the 'JUSTICE IMMUTABLE' there are barefaced tricks played by the TRADING DEMAGOGUE. Against Jones—via the 'SPIRIT OF FREEDOM',[g] via that SPOUTER Massey, secretary of the Tailors' Association of Castle Street, lickspittle to the clerics who keep this SHOP. Herald, *à tort et à travers* of the *petits grands hommes*[h] whom the Continent has spewed out, calumniator of Jones, married to a *saltimbanque*[i] who has duped him into believing that she is clairvoyant—he gets this Massey to have an apologia published for the associations in general and the AMALGAMATED SOCIETY in particular, a piece which threatens to extend over numerous issues.[48] And Rhadamanthus Harney had told Jones in person that *au fond*[j] he shared his views on the Associations. At the same time he announces: 'KOSSUTH'S RECEPTION AND PROGRESS IN AMERICA',[k] although in a letter to Jones he described Kossuth as a HUMBUG. That is what the gentlemen of 'SUBLIME PRINCIPLE' are like. *Je ne sais que c'est que des principes, sinon des règles qu'on*

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[a] See this volume, p. 24. - [b] i.e. nearly a week ago - [c] It is almost a certainty. - [d] But a single passage will suffice to give you the flavour of this delicious fruit - [e] [G. J. Harney,] 'Prologue', *The Friend of the People,* No. 1, 7 February 1852. - [f] That's enough! - [g] An allusion to the journal *Spirit of Freedom* edited by Massey. - [h] without rhyme or reason; petty panjandrums - [i] a charlatan - [j] basically - [k] A. Bell's article 'Reception and Progress of Kossuth in the United States', *The Friend of the People,* No. 2, 14 February 1852.

*prescrit aux autres pour soi.*[a] Harney retired for a while, allowing Jones, with his *tempérament fougueux,*[b] to spoil the broth of popularity and then drink it himself. But even though he may harm Jones, he himself will achieve nothing. The fellow's completely done for as a writer and also, according to Lupus who heard him SPEECH-making in Jones Street,[49] as a speaker, but above all as a man. May the devil take these popular movements, more especially when they are *pacifiques.* In the course of this Chartist agitation O'Connor has gone *mad* (have you read about his latest scene in court?),[50] Harney has gone stale and Jones bankrupt. *Voilà le dernier but de la vie dans tous les mouvements populaires.*[c]

Yesterday 'Colonel Bangya' came to see me. Amongst other things he said: 'Kossuth made the following speech to the Hungarian refugees who had foregathered with him in London: "I will take care of you all but I demand that you all remain loyal, devoted and attached to me. I am not such a fool as to sustain people who intrigue with my opponents. I demand that everyone declare himself unconditionally."' Thus the HUMBLE Kossuth behind the scenes. I further learned from Bangya that Szemere, Kasimir Batthyány and Perczel (*le général*) are coming to London and will set up an anti-Kossuth committee. Lastly, the master mind behind the whole DODGE is Signore Mazzini. He is using Kossuth as a mouthpiece and, in his cabinet, regards himself as something of a Machiavelli. It is he who pulls the strings. But this gentleman is unaware that the puppets he causes to dance are heroes only in his own eyes and in no one else's. Thus he wrote and told Kossuth to get on intimate terms with Kinkel, saying that he personally had been unable to do so because he already had the other lot of German bigwigs *sur le bras*[d]; Kossuth must now really make friends with Kinkel and Kinkel must write in all his letters about his worthy, his eminent friend and "equal", Kossuth. As for Kossuth, however, his idea is to lean on Germany's dictator, Kinkel, on the one hand, and on Italy's dictator, Mazzini, on the other, and to secure his rear with his ally, the dictator of France, Ledru-Rollin. The poor devil has sunk low.

A Frenchman, Massol by name, has paid me a visit. For a short spell he was on the *Réforme* under Lamennais. Formerly one of the *civilisateurs*[e] whom Mohammed Ali had summoned from Gaul,[51] he is also one of the few *hommes d'esprit*[f] still to be found

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[a] I don't know what principles are unless rules which one prescribes for others for one's own benefit. - [b] fiery temperament - [c] That is the ultimate end of life in all popular movements. - [d] on his hands - [e] civilisers - [f] men of wit

among the French. According to him, Sasonow's stay in Paris (which, by the way he must now leave) is wholly attributable to his possession of a very reliable false passport and to his connections with a few *femmes galantes*[a] who have INFLUENCE in the top circles. You will like Massol.

In addition I have seen *les citoyens*[b] Vallières (former Barbèsiste and officer at the barricades), Bianchi and Sabatier. Though very refined, the latter is *en général* not above the usual run.

Dronke, I hear, is in Savoy.

Bangya has suggested that Szemere and Perczel should write for Weydemeyer. What are the main points in the Hungarian business (military or otherwise) upon which elucidation should be sought from these gentlemen? It goes without saying that they must not write under their own names, for we do not want to identify ourselves with *any* coterie. But Perczel is *du moins bon républicain*,[c] and very knowledgeable.

Be so good—and mind you don't forget—as to send me the *Tribunes*. Johnson—Freiligrath's friend—wants to read the articles on Germany.[d] Lupus wants to write an anti-Kossuth piece for Weydemeyer.

As for the commercial business, I can no longer make head or tail of it. At one moment crisis seems imminent and the CITY prostrated, the next everything is set fair. I know that none of this will have any impact on the catastrophe. But at the present moment London is not the place in which to observe the current tendency.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

The matter of the seal is highly suspect.[e] Send *this one* back to me; I have examined it minutely.

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[a] women of easy virtue - [b] the citizens - [c] at least a good republican - [d] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. - [e] See this volume, p. 24.

## 18

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] Friday, 6 February 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I have just received your article.[a]

I am writing no more than a line or two, being short of time because of the departure of the mail for America and thus unable to go out to inquire about 'Richter'[b] until later.

I would, by the way, be glad if in the meantime you could send *me* the £2 by postal order. I shall be receiving SOME MONEY next week and shall then deliver the £2 to Pieper in your name. But it is important for me to have it at the *beginning* of the week whereas to him it can only be a matter of indifference, since he is well provided for just now.

Your
K. M.

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## 19

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[52]

IN NEW YORK

[London,] 13 February 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

Herewith the continuation of my article.[c] The thing seems to grow of its own accord, and you will be getting two more articles about it. In addition I shall be sending you by the next post something on

[a] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, X. - [b] See this volume, p. 28. - [c] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, IV.

Signore Mazzini. But it is high time that we had some copies of your paper.[a] After all, to be able to write for a journal one needs to see it, and the zeal of my colleagues is stimulated by seeing their things in print.

Herewith a note, which you should turn into an article, about the position of our imprisoned friends in Cologne.[53]

These people have now been in jug getting on for ten months.

In November the case went through the Ratskammer, and was referred to the Court of Assizes. Next the case came up before the Board of indicting magistrates which, before Christmas, delivered a verdict, which was motivated as follows: 'In consideration of the fact that there is no actual evidence of an indictable offence and hence no grounds for sustaining the charge...' (but that, in view of the importance attached to the matter by the government, we fear for our posts if we drop the case against these people) 'we accordingly refer the case back to the first magistrate for instruction on various points.' The chief reason for this procrastination is the government's conviction that, before a jury, it would fail ignominiously. Meanwhile it hopes to see the creation of a High Court for high treason, or at least the withdrawal of JURIES in all cases of political offences, to which end a petition has already been laid before the First Prussian Chamber. Our friends are locked up in cells, cut off from one another and from the world, may receive neither letters nor visits nor even books—things that are never denied common criminals in Prussia.

The Board could never have pronounced such an outrageous verdict had the Press evinced the least concern for the case. But liberal papers such as the *Kölnische* remained silent out of cowardice and 'democratic' ones (including the *Lithographische Korrespondenz,* published by Kinkel with the help of American money) out of hatred for the communists, out of fear of forfeiting some of their own importance, out of rivalry towards 'new' martyrs.[54] Such is the gratitude shown by these curs to the *N.Rh.Z.,* which always stood up for the democratic rabble whenever they clashed with the government (e.g. Temme *et al*). Such is the gratitude shown by Mr Kinkel to the *Westdeutsche Zeitung,* in which Becker was his hearth and Bürgers his haven.[b] *Les canailles! Il faut les attaquer à mort.*[c]

Greetings from my family to yours.

Your

K. M.

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[a] *Die Revolution* - [b] See this volume, p. 23. - [c] The scoundrels! They must be fought to the death.

[From Jenny Marx]

We all of us long to hear from you, dear Mr Weydemeyer, but alas, one ship after another comes in without bringing news of you, your dear wife,[a] your children, your paper, etc., etc. I trust you have safely received all the help sent from London. My husband has commandeered on your behalf pretty well all available communist quills (and has also turned to Germany), and some of these pieces, for instance Freiligrath's poem,[b] will assuredly secure circulation for your paper. If you could somehow contrive to publish pamphlets, I would beg you to think it over. We are in a very sad plight here, there being no more hope for us in Europe. My husband believes that his articles on France, which will run to two more,[c] are of the greatest topical interest and would thus provide the most suitable material for a small pamphlet, if only as a sequel to his *Revue* articles.[d] If a New York bookseller were able to establish contact with Germany, he could count on not inconsiderable sales there. In any case the thing is written for Europe rather than America. However, we shall, of course, leave this to your own discretion. My husband further asks that you urge Dana to give us the name of a business house here in London where we can collect the fees with the minimum of delay. At this distance, Karl could not possibly give Dana any real idea of our circumstances or the urgency of the matter, since the situation was quite different when Dana knew us in Cologne and such a comfortably situated American has no idea how everything hangs in the balance here, and how ten shillings, coming at the right moment, can often rescue one from a horrifying situation. Sometime or other you may, perhaps, find an opportunity of telling him this personally. With kindest regards and warm greetings to your wife

from Jenny Marx

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Marx's letter is printed according to the original, Jenny Marx's note according to a copy in unknown hand

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## 20

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 17 February 1852

Dear Marx,

You will be furious with me for being so cursory, but I'll be damned if I know whether I'm coming or going, what with all this

[a] Louise - [b] F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer', I and II. - [c] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. See also this volume, p. 40. - [d] K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*.

work and COMMERCE. *Voici les faits*[a]: 1. Charles[b] has gone to Germany and has left me not only with all his own work, but also with a nice little residue of tasks left undone at the year's end; 2. Last year's balance sheet shows a *definite loss* for my old man which may be a good lesson for him, but means that I am inundated with an unholy mass of vexations, calculations, and jobs of various kinds; 3. One of the Ermens[c] has given notice of termination and you can imagine the intrigues and correspondence which that brings in its train. Enough: this evening I shall be stuck in the office until 8 and, instead of being able to write to you at greater length, still have to write a letter to my old man and take it to the POST OFFICE before twelve o'clock tonight; tomorrow evening I must do something for Jones[d] and the day after tomorrow I shall see to it that I finish an article for the *Tribune*.[e] For the present there can be no thought of spare time before 7 or 8 in the evening, and the worst of it is that, for some time to come, I shall have to devote my whole attention to filthy commerce, otherwise everything will go wrong here and my old man will cut off my SUPPLIES.

You will have received the £2. I hope to hear from you soon, even if I don't have sufficient leizure to answer your last letter at length.

According to today's *Daily News* Louis Napoleon is certain to exhume Kaspar Hauser and to claim succession to the throne of Baden through his Aunt Stéphanie. *Voilà de grandes nouvelles pour le citoyen Seiler dont l'étoile va se lever incessamment.*[f] Could you not persuade Kaspar Hauser's great historian[g] to write to Louis Napoleon and offer him his important sources on this matter? *Il y a là de quoi faire un grand coup.*[h]

Your
F. E.

How is it that Weydemeyer sends no word? If a letter doesn't arrive by the *Arctic* tomorrow morning, I shall despair; something

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[a] Here are the facts. - [b] Roesgen - [c] Gottfried - [d] F. Engels, 'Real Causes Why the French Proletarians Remained Comparatively Inactive in December Last', I. - [e] for the series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* - [f] That's great news for Citizen Seiler, whose star will be constantly in the ascendant - [g] An allusion to Sebastian Seiler's work *Kaspar Hauser, der Thronerbe von Badens.* - [h] A great deal could be made of that.

must have gone wrong. So far as I know, he has not written since 5 January, or at least I have heard nothing.

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## 21

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 February [1852]
28 Dean Street, Soho

I shall write to you at length on *Saturday*. Only a few lines today.

I have not yet received the money that was promised me from home and so have not yet been able to hand over your £2 to Pieper, but have told him I have had a few lines from you in which you informed me that I should be receiving money for him from you. I hope I shall be able to pay him before the week is out.

If your time is very much taken up, you would certainly do better to write for Dana than for Jones. The enclosed letter from Weydemeyer[55] will show you even more plainly how essential it is not to interrupt these articles.[a] What must be done now is to redouble our attacks in the *Tribune* on the Frankfurt Left,[56] especially when you come to the 'March Association'.[57] To help you, I am today sending you Bauer's book,[b] in which at least a few facts are to be found.

*I again pray you to send me the issues of the 'Tribune' by return,* since Johnson is the only Englishman to whom I can turn when *in extremis*[c]—and I hover constantly on the brink. Don't forget it this time!

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[a] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. - [b] B. Bauer, *Der Untergang des Frankfurter Parlaments*. - [c] in extreme need

How is it that Weydemeyer has not received a *single one* of your articles[a]? You must set an inquiry on foot.

Your
K. M.

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## 22

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 19 February 1852

Dear Marx,

Despite tremendous efforts—your letter only arrived this morning—I have still not finished the article for Dana[b] and it is now 11 o'clock at night. I have received the Bauer[c]—it is coming in very useful. In return, and whatever happens, you will receive 2 articles for Dana for next Tuesday's STEAMER. Since your letters reach Weydemeyer and mine don't, I'd be glad if you would forthwith dispatch the enclosed note to W.[d] in one of your own. It's an altogether curious business. It seems that two or three of my letters to my old man have also failed to reach him. *Cela n'est pas clair.*[e]

Tell Jones he will be getting something from me next week, or write him a note to that effect. God knows why so many snags should crop up all at once and prevent me from getting down to anything. But on Saturday and Sunday I shall shut myself away, and then I hope to get something done.[19]

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[a] F. Engels, 'England'. - [b] for the series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*.- [c] B. Bauer, *Der Untergang des Frankfurter Parlaments*. - [d] See this volume, pp. 39-40. - [e] It's not clear (Beaumarchais, *La folle journée, ou le mariage de Figaro*, Act. V, Scene 16).

Why doesn't that accursed Weydemeyer enclose Simon's article[a] so that we can attend to it ourselves? A stinging counter-article would soon show Dana that nothing is to be gained by accepting articles that attack us.

Your
F. E.

Write some time giving me the exact address under which *you* have written to Weydemeyer.

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## 23

## ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

### IN NEW YORK

Manchester, 19 February 1852

Dear Weydemeyer,

To my intense surprise I see from your letter of 6 Feb. per the *Arctic* that not one of my letters to you has arrived. I have sent you 4, if not 5, articles on England[17] and only desisted a fortnight ago because I had heard absolutely nothing from you: my last article went by the STEAMER which left on Saturday 31 Jan. from Liverpool, and concerned the REFORM BILL to be anticipated from little Russell. The first 2 letters were addressed to Mr J. Weydemeyer, Deutsche Vereinsbuchhandlung, William Street, New York; the others to Mr J. W., 7 Chambers' Street, New York (City). Since this matter requires investigation, I am sending you this through Marx whose letters, it seems, are reaching you; I would ask you, 1. to go to the above places and see whether the letters were presented there; 2. if not, to go and inquire at the N. Y. CITY POST OFFICE. If they are not to be found there, advise me by the first Liverpool STEAMER and I shall see what further steps can be taken here; I can easily get the thing into the newspapers over here if the local postmaster fails to give me a satisfactory answer. I posted several of the letters myself, the rest went with the business mail, and that proves that they were

[a] L. Simon's 'Movements of the German Political Exiles', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3369, 4 February 1852. See also this volume, p. 37.

properly attended to, since all our business letters have arrived. Take these steps, I beg you, without delay, for otherwise there is little point in my sending you any more articles when the *Revolution* comes to life again.

Make sure you send us L. Simon's *Tribune* article,[a] either a cutting—giving the date of the issue—or the whole issue in a wrapper, since that sort of thing is always good reading.

My address is still the same.

Your
F. E.

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## 24

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[12]

### IN NEW YORK

[London,] 20 February 1852

Dear Weydemeyer,

I can send you nothing this week for the simple reason that for a week or more I have been so beset by money troubles that I have not even been able to pursue my studies at the Library,[b] let alone write articles.

However, I think that by Tuesday (the 24th) and Friday (the 27th) I shall be able to send you Nos. 5 and 6 of my article,[c] which are the concluding ones.

I received your letter, along with Cluss' concluding remarks on 18 February. You have been particularly unfortunate in two respects: 1. unemployment in New York; 2. the raging westerlies, which have driven vessels bound from London to America off course. For, with the exception of the early days, contributions have been sent you from England (by me, Engels, Freiligrath,

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[a] See this volume, p. 39. - [b] of the British Museum - [c] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.*

Eccarius, etc.) as *regularly* as any newspaper could hope for. However, the people here have begun to flag because no news has arrived from America, albeit a multitude of ships. I did not think fit to inform anyone other than Engels and Lupus of the suspension of your paper.[a] It would only make people more dilatory.

If, by the by, you wish to receive regular support from here, you will have to fulfil the following conditions:

1. Write *every* week and give the date of the letters you have received from us.

2. Keep us fully *au courant* with everything over there and regularly supplied with relevant documents, etc., newspaper cuttings, etc.

You will realise, *mon cher*,[b] how difficult it is to contribute to a paper on the other side of the ocean without any knowledge of its readers, etc. But if you fulfil the above conditions I can guarantee you the necessary contributions. I am here at their backs, WHIP in hand, and shall have no difficulty in keeping their noses to the grindstone. From Germany, too, I have received promises on your behalf of contributions and collaboration. If I only knew that the paper would survive, I would have someone *in Paris* who is READY to send you a *weekly contribution gratis*. I shall write to the man,[c] who is one of my best and most intelligent friends. The worst of it is that no one likes to work *pour le roi de Prusse*,[d] and daily reports lose all value if not published immediately on arrival. Since, then, you are unable to make any payment, it is all the more necessary to convince people that they are doing *real* party work and that their letters are not being pigeonholed.

It seems to me that you are making a mistake in having your letters delivered instead of doing what every newspaper must do, that is, advise the Post Office that you will have them collected regularly on the arrival of a vessel. In this way misunderstandings and delays are more easily avoided.

Apropos. Do not print Hirsch's statement[14] if you have not already done so.

A mass of blackguards is leaving here for New York (amongst them tailor Lehmann and tailor Joseph Meyer). Some of them will approach you in my name. But don't trust anyone who does not bring with him a few lines in my *writing*. The fellows will serve

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[a] *Die Revolution* - [b] my dear fellow - [c] R. Reinhardt - [d] for the king of Prussia, i.e. for nothing

well enough to answer questions about Willich, etc. Lehmann and Meyer are devotees of Jesus Willich.

As for Dana, I think it was foolish of him to accept articles from Simon.[a] If my money-box allowed, I should immediately refuse to send him any further contributions. Let him publish attacks on myself and Engels but not by such an impertinent nincompoop. It's sheer stupidity to permit Agitation and Emigration,[26] those twin fictions which exist only on newspaper pages, to be presented to the American public as historical realities by a vain fellow who has imposed upon Germany the Prussian Emperor,[58] the March Associations[57] and the Imperial Regent, Vogt,[59] and now, with his bankrupt accomplices, would like to impose *himself* afresh upon the people, along with Parliament and a somewhat modified Imperial constitution. *Rien de plus ridicule que ce gredin-là qui du haut des Alpes laisse tomber des paroles d'homme d'état.*[b] I should have credited Dana with more tact. Ludwig Simon—*von* Trier! When will this fellow drop his patent of parliamentary nobility?

Here in London, you know, all these fellows have completely drifted apart. The only thing that keeps them in any way together is the prospect of being *redeemed* by Gottfried Christ Kinkel's money. On the other hand we have that idiot Ruge, together with Ronge and two or 3 other jackasses, who conceal their lazy still-life by calling it 'agitation', just as a stagnant swamp might be dubbed 'open sea'.

Europe, of course, is now busying itself with other troubles than these. Ledru-Rollin himself has collapsed here like a punctured balloon since 2 December[c] and the arrival of new revolutionary elements from France. Mazzini is making ultra-reactionary speeches, one of which I shall shortly analyse for you.

As regards Ernest Jones' *Notes to the People,* in which you will find all the day-to-day history of the English proletariat, I shall send you it as soon as my financial circumstances permit. I have to pay 8 shillings every time I send a parcel to America.

Give Cluss my warm regards. We are eagerly awaiting his letters. Why haven't you sent us his statement[60]?

I, together with my wife, Freiligrath and wife,[d] and Lupus, all send our heart-felt greetings to your wife, whom please assure of

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[a] In particular L. Simon's 'Movements of the German Political Exiles', *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 3369, 4 February 1852. - [b] There's nothing more ridiculous than this scoundrel who, from Alpine heights, lets fall these statesmanlike pronouncements. - [c] coup d'état in France on 2 December 1851 - [d] Ida

our sincere regard. We hope that the new world citizen will make his appearance cheerfully in the New World.

Farewell.

Your

K. Marx

If it does not work out with your newspaper, could you not bring out my pamphlet,[a] sheet by sheet or, if possible, in sections as sent to you? Otherwise it will take too long.

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## 25

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 February [1852]

DEAR Frederic,

I must again chivvy you about the *Tribune* since I am myself being chivvied daily by Johnson.[b] I would also ask you to send me such documents as you may have received from Weydemeyer. The address you gave for Weydemeyer was perfectly correct.

Apropos. By Pfänder's account the Straubinger[61] Richter is a creature of Willich's.

E. Jones has been puffing your article for all he is worth without, of course, mentioning your name.[c] He has been compelled thus to cry his wares by competition from Harney who has got hold of some money, the devil knows where from, and has large *advertising waggons* driving round the CITY, with the legend 'READ THE *FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE*', the paper being displayed and on sale in all socialist SHOPS.

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[a] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - [b] See this volume, pp. 32 and 37. - [c] F. Engels, 'Real Causes Why the French Proletarians Remained Comparatively Inactive in December Last'. See also [E. Jones,] 'Continental Notes', *Notes to the People*, No. 43, 21 February 1852.

I shall search out and send you the issue of the *Tribune* in which Mr Simon blows his own trumpet.[55] The incompetent nincompoop! He still goes on signing himself 'Simon von Trier'. The fellow can't make up his mind to dispense with his parliamentary nobility title. Seiler has read the translation of the crap in the *Staatszeitung*. You know how garbled his accounts always are. So far as I could gather it went something like this: Ludwig Simon von Trier, speaking on behalf of the Swiss émigrés, treats the great controversy between 'Agitation' (the name used by Ruge and Co. to conceal the dullness of their still-life) and 'Emigration',[26] with the most prodigious pomposity, as Europe's *question brûlante*[a] from his 'Alpine height'. At this juncture—and here Willich is also cited as a man of the utmost importance, all manner of diffuse reflections being proffered concerning the acquisition of this hero—he comes to the third of the dangerous parties in London, 'the *party of imposition*', the leaders of which are Engels and Marx. For we seek to impose 'liberty' on the peoples by force. We are worse tyrants than the Emperor of Russia. We were the first to treat 'universal franchise', etc., with 'scorn and contumely'. And even before that, we ruined everything with our 'lust for imposition'. *Le pauvre garçon!*[b] Did we impose the Prussian Emperor,[58] the 'March Associations'[57] or the Imperial Regent Vogt, on the Germans[59]? On him we shall impose a *coup de pied*.[c] So far as these jackasses are concerned, Bonaparte has lived in vain. They still go on believing in 'universal franchise', and are solely preoccupied with paltry calculations as to how they can again impose their rotten personalities on the German people. One can hardly believe one's ears when one hears the fellows indefatigably bawling out the same old tune again. They are proper blockheads, incorrigible blockheads. As to how the vain little rogue found his way into the *Tribune*, I am in no doubt. *Le citoyen Fröbel aura été l'homme intermédiaire*.[d] He has long been connected with Dana.

Enclosed a letter from Reinhardt, which contains some pretty *cancans*.[e]

Russell has been overthrown in the drollest possible manner.[62] I can ask nothing more than that Derby should take the helm. During this short session you will have seen how pitiable the Manchester men[63] can be when not driven by *la force des choses*.[f] I don't hold it against these fellows. Each successive democratic

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[a] burning question - [b] Poor chap! - [c] a kick - [d] Citizen Fröbel will have acted as intermediary. - [e] gossip. Excerpts from Reinhardt's letter see on pp. 47-49 of this volume. - [f] force of circumstances

victory, e.g. the BALLOT,[64] is a concession which, of course, they make to the workers only *en cas d'urgence.*[a]

Yesterday I was talking to a French MERCHANT just come from Paris. Business wretched. And do you know what the jackass said? Bonaparte *fait pire que la république. Les affaires allaient mieux.*[b] It is truly fortunate that the French bourgeois should always hold their government responsible for commercial crises. No doubt Bonaparte is also to blame for the unemployment in New York and the bankruptcies in London.

Another very interesting piece of information (*tu sens ici l'influence de l'illustre Seiler*[c]) about Bonaparte. Bangya, as I have already told you, is connected with Szemere and Batthyány.[d] He is an agent of the latter's. He confided to me that Batthyány and Czartoryski are in collusion with Bonaparte and see him nearly every day. He wants to secure allies behind the backs of Russia and Austria amongst the *aristocratic* émigrés and those streaming in from Poland and Hungary and has, moreover, definitely told them that, in spite of Nicholas and all the rest, he is going to invade Belgium and perhaps Baden as well, and this in the near future.

Ewerbeck has sent me 12 copies of his bulky work, *L'Allemagne et les Allemands.* One for you. Nothing quite like it has ever been seen or heard of before. The historical part, which begins *ab ovo,*[e] is copied from out-dated primers. You may judge how competent he is as regards more recent history from the following particulars: *F. List* introduced the doctrine of Free Trade, and Ruge that of social science, into Germany. Hegel has immortalised himself by (literally) enlightening the Germans on the categories of quality, quantity, etc., and Feuerbach has proved that men cannot extend their knowledge beyond the range of human understanding. Pedro Düsar (brother of the Struve woman) is one of the greatest German men of liberty, and Freiligrath made his name as a *collaborateur* on the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* On top of that a style *à pouffer de rire,*[f] e.g. how Jason's warriors grew from dragon's teeth, which is why the German tribes are perpetually at odds with one another. Romulus Augustulus *était un jeune homme doux et agréable,*[g] and for three hundred years Germans have been

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[a] in case of need - [b] is doing worse than the Republic. Business used to be better. - [c] here you may descry the influence of the illustrious Seiler - [d] See this volume, p. 31. - [e] from the egg—from the very beginning - [f] to make one split one's sides - [g] was a nice, gentle young man

used to hearing themselves referred to by their neighbours as *des bêtes.*[a]

Have you read Mazzini's simple-minded infamous speech?

Your
K. M.

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## 26

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

### IN DÜSSELDORF

London, 23 February 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Lassalle,

I should greatly like to know whether my second letter[65] similarly failed to arrive. Knowing how punctilious you are about answering, I can only attribute the delay in hearing from you to some accident.

Since I last wrote my state of health has again improved, although I am still having much trouble with my eyes. My social circumstances, on the other hand, have deteriorated. I have had a definite *refus*[b] from the publisher in respect of my Economy[45]; my anti-Proudhon manuscript,[c] which for the past year has been wandering around Germany, has likewise failed to find a berth; the financial crisis has finally reached a level comparable only to the commercial crisis now making itself felt in New York and London. Unlike the gentlemen of commerce, I cannot, alas, even have recourse to bankruptcy. Mr Bonaparte was in similar straits when he chanced his *coup d'état.*

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[a] beasts - [b] rejection - [c] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy.*

As to this Mr Bonaparte, I feel I can do no better than give you extracts from a letter conveyed to me by a friend in Paris,[a] *un ami qui est très sceptique et qui ne partage pas les opinions les plus favorables sur le peuple. Maintenant, écoutez*[b]:

'All in all, the mood of the Parisian public has experienced a noticeable change and, even though it has as yet not gone beyond resignation, this last is felt all the more genuinely and grimly, and far more generally. The main reason for this, among the middle and lower classes, is that trade and hence employment, despite initial favourable appearances, simply cannot be got going, whereas those same classes had sacrificed all other considerations to the hope that these things would improve. And then the slow-witted majority of the less advanced workers —which places more hope in the Republic than in the monarchies of long and bitter memory—has, as a result of Napoleon's decrees, gradually come to realise that the President is in no way concerned with the preservation of the Republic; and he has done himself great harm in the eyes of property owners by confiscating the Orleans' estates, a measure which, after all, sets a dangerous official example. Chaps such as Fould, de Morny and Dupin—for reasons of private interest of course—have even refused to subscribe to this measure, a fact all the more striking on account of their spotless antecedents, which are more or less common knowledge. As for Dupin, the President of the defunct National Assembly, it has since been learnt that his last pretty move was to suppress, on the morning of 2 December and with the connivance of Bonaparte, a letter from the Archbishop of Paris inviting the representatives to assemble in the church of Notre Dame while he himself intended to stand in the porch to protect them, in their capacity as the representatives of popular sovereignty, against the soldiers of the usurper. This might have given quite a different turn to the whole thing, the more so since the *haute cour de justice*[c] had assembled at the same time and had already begun to register a protest against the *coup d'état*.

'As for de Morny, the minister who resigned with Dupin, he was known as the *escroc*[d] of his mistress' (Countess Lehon's) husband, a circumstance which caused Émile de Girardin's wife to say that while it was not unprecedented for governments to be in the hands of men who were governed by their wives, none had ever been known to be in the hands of *hommes entretenus*.[e] Well, at present this same Countess Lehon holds a salon where she is one of Bonaparte's most vociferous opponents and it was she who, on the occasion of the confiscation of the Orleans' estates, let fall the well-known witticism: "*C'est le premier vol de l'aigle.*"[f] Because of this remark of his wife's, Émile de Girardin was expelled. Rémusat's expulsion is attributed to a similar cause. The latter is said to have arrived one morning at the Ministry of the Interior where Morny had installed young Lehon as *Chef de Bureau*; upon catching sight of Rémusat, Lehon rudely asked him his name, whereat R. replied: "*Monsieur, dans ma famille on porte le nom de son père, c'est pourquoi je me nomme de Rémusat.*"[g] At much the same time Lehon is said to have

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[a] Reinhardt - [b] a friend who is very sceptical and does not have the highest opinion of the people. Now, listen: - [c] High Court of Justice - [d] swindler - [e] kept men - [f] 'It is the first flight (theft) of the eagle.' (This witticism and Madame de Girardin's remark cited above are used by Marx in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 196-97.) - [g] 'In my family, sir, we bear our father's name. That's why I am called de Rémusat.'

had another row, on this occasion in Ham. When he gave General Le Flô official notification of expulsion, the general threw him out, shouting: *"Comment, c'est vous, gredin, qui osez venir m'annoncer mon exil?"* [a] In such circumstances, it is not difficult to assess how much respect a fledgling government will continue to command, even from the most mediocre of *honnêtes gens*.[b] A lady known to me personally, a ward of Napoleon's, who had been in close contact with him ever since she was a child, told him on 2 December that she would have nothing more to do with him, adding that he and his associates were a *gouvernement de voleurs et d'assassins*.[c] True, the real plutocrats continue to adhere to Napoleon as being the only possible expression of authority just now and the last bulwark of existing society, but their faith in the possible durability of his régime has been much undermined by his measures, with the result that, after a brief interval, they have again begun to hug their money, as is evident from the stagnant Bourse and the check to the revival of trade. Thus the President's only real following consists of those who are bound to him by the most blatant self-interest, along with the privileged clerical clique and the army, although considerable dissatisfaction and a feeling of uncertainty and irresolution has crept into the latter as a result of the many dismissals of Orleanist officers, a state of affairs which enormously impairs its power. Moreover, personally and in private, the President is said to be most anxious and downcast. Indeed, in this changed climate of opinion, all that is needed is the removal of his sorry person and everything would be thrown into chaos again without any effort. Little or no attempt would be made at resistance. In this connection the remark by the experienced Guizot, on learning of the successful *coup d'état*, is worthy of note: "*C'est le triomphe complet et définitif du socialisme!*" [d]

'Having both before and after fallen out with every party without exception, Bonaparte is seeking a counterbalance by means of this or that popular measure—vast expansion of public works, prospects of a general amnesty for the participants of 2 December, etc.—just as he will soon attempt something similar by means of this or that measure in favour of this or that class, and all without consistency of purpose. And what matters most of all is his failure to win back the masses, since he is unable to give them bread, i.e. any source of labour for their livelihood, and has actually deprived them of their favourite pastime, the innocent consolation they derived from the trees of liberty and the republican inscriptions in the streets; similarly they can no longer while away an hour in the wine and coffee shops, since all political discourse is strictly prohibited there. The peaceable bourgeois are angered by the loss of their hobby-horse, the National Guard... Nor do they fancy those aristocratic routs, the state balls, from which they stay away; thus, apart from foreigners and two or three Parisian exceptions, the only people to attend the last, splendide, Tuileries ball were ladies of doubtful virtue. The reckless squandering that goes on is a source of disquiet to the thrifty citizens, who look ahead to the day when the Orléans funds will be exhausted.

'What particularly offends all who have a modicum of intelligence is the destruction of the Press.

'Again, the organisation of the resuscitated Police Ministry and the spy system associated with it generates bad blood throughout the *départements*. The Parisian salons are again full of distinguished, unsuspected informers, just as in the days of the Empire.

'And all the time much *tripotage*[e] on the Bourse on the part of those who, in

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[a] 'What, it's you, you scoundrel, who dares to come and tell me of my expulsion?' - [b] respectable people - [c] government of thieves and murderers - [d] 'It is the total and definitive victory of socialism!' - [e] sharp practice

one way or another, arbitrarily grant or withdraw concessions for railways, etc., the instructions about which they alone had knowledge of, and upon which they speculate the previous day. It was believed that a secret college of Jesuits, headed by Montalembert, who had always been on terms of some intimacy with the President, exerted direct and immediate influence on his decisions; but as for Montalembert, it soon emerged that, after availing himself of his advice, Bonaparte suddenly dismissed him from his presence never to receive him again, so that ever since they have been the bitterest of enemies, and M., personally no less *misérable*, used the Orleans decree merely as a pretext for dissociating himself officially with honour. Now there is talk of nothing but B.'s craving for conquest. It will be his complete undoing.'

So much for my *ami*.

The important news from here is that the Tories have replaced the Whigs, and formed a ministry headed by the Earl of Derby (Lord Stanley).[62] This *événement*[a] is splendid. In England our movement can progress only under the Tories. The Whigs conciliate all over the place and lull everyone to sleep. On top of that there is the commercial crisis, which is looming ever closer and whose early symptoms are erupting on every hand. *Les choses marchent*.[b] If only we can manage *tant bien que mal*[c] through the interim period! It is nearly time for the post. I must close.

*Salut*.

K. Marx

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## 27

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 February 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I see that last time I forgot Reinhardt's letter.[d] The article has gone off to Dana,[e] who has not yet replied to my request that he advise me of a business house here in London. Despite her

[a] event - [b] Things are moving. - [c] somehow - [d] See this volume, pp. 47-49. - [e] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, XI.

promise, I have still heard nothing from my mater.[a] Nor has there as yet been any reply to my letters to acquaintances in Germany. A week ago I reached the pleasant point where I am unable to go out for want of the coats I have in pawn, and can no longer eat meat for want of credit. Piffling it all may be, but I'm afraid that one day it might blow up into a scandal. The only good news comes from my ministerial sister-in-law,[b] namely the news that my wife's indestructible uncle[c] is ill. If the cur dies now I shall be out of this pickle.

I shall not be writing at length today, being busy with the dictation of an article for Weydemeyer[d] and the dispatch and correction of the other contributions for him.

I see from the Augsburg paper (through the humble offices of Seiler) that Mr Stirner has produced a 'history of the counter-revolution'.[e] He tries to prove that the revolution collapsed because it was 'sacrosanct' whereas the counter-revolution prevailed because of its 'egoistical' stance.

On 25 February the French held a February banquet, or rather a dry MEETING accompanied by tea and sandwiches. I and wife were invited. The rest of the public had to pay 1 franc to go in. Since I neither could nor wished to attend, I sent my wife there with a FRENCHMAN. Ledru, Pyat, Thoré, Martin Bernard, etc., in short the whole Rollinist clique by whom the affair had been mooted, failed to appear because they considered the *entrée*,[f] for the benefit of the refugees, to be beneath their dignity. L. Blanc had also cried off. Only the lowest dregs of the emigration were there, most of whom style themselves Blanquists. But the little pseudo-Corsican[g] was waiting in some near-by parlour; after being assured by his spies of the absence of Ledru and Co., he appeared and, in view of the total lack of talent and authority, his natty, steel-blue tail-coat was received with RAPTUROUS APPLAUSE. His speech, after which he immediately departed, sent his enemies into transports. Enchanted them. Vanquished them. And what did THAT LITTLE MAN say, that Johnny Russell of socialism? That here abroad, people were wondering at the strange events in France, that he believed more firmly than ever in the star *de la patrie*.[h] And why? *Je veux*, said he, *vous expliquer le mouvement historique*,[i] etc. Namely, that in

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[a] Henriette Marx - [b] Louise von Westphalen - [c] Heinrich Georg von Westphalen - [d] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, V. - [e] An anonymous review of M. Stirner's *Geschichte der Reaction* in *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 56, 25 February 1852, supplement: 'Buchmacherei' - [f] entrance fee - [g] Louis Blanc - [h] of the fatherland - [i] I wish, said he, to explain historical tendencies to you.

the lives of all great soldiers, e.g. of *Frédéric le Grand,* of *Napoléon le grand,* there are *des grandes victoires et des grands revers. Eh bien! La France est une nation militaire.*[a] She has her *élans* and her catastrophes. *Quod erat demonstrandum.* What she wanted she has always achieved, feudalism banished in 1789, the monarchy in 1830. Whom did she wish to overthrow in 1848? The bourgeoisie, do you suppose? Certainly not. *La misère, la hideuse misère.*[b] There follows a flood of socialist tears over *la misère. La misère, ce n'est pas quelque chose de fixe, quelque chose de saisissable,*[c]—nevertheless, the French nation will overcome *la misère* in the new revolution and then *la mère ne détruira plus de ses propres mains le fruit de ses entrailles, la petite fille de sept ans ne se 'groupera' plus sous la machine*[d] and more inanities of the same kind. Such was his prodigality that his speech contained three whole jokes. He called Bonaparte 1. *un aventurier,* 2. *un bâtard* and 3. *le singe de son oncle.*[e] This last novelty threw those present into a veritable St. Vitus' dance. *Qu'en dis-tu?*[f] It's enough to make one despair of the *crapauds.*[g] Seen as a whole, their story is epigrammatic, a genuine dramatic work of art, but the fellows themselves! *Mon dieu!* Mr Blanc's sally reminds me of a joke I was told by Massol. By midnight Bonaparte is invariably befuddled, in the company of the *mâles* and *femelettes*[h] he collects around him for his orgies. Then he begins to curse and swear. '*Mais c'est un militaire!*',[i] says one of his lady acquaintances in exoneration.

*Addio.*

Your
K. Marx

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[a] Frederick the Great, Napoleon the great, there are great victories and great reverses. Well, France is a *military nation.* - [b] Poverty, hideous poverty. - [c] Poverty is not something permanent, something tangible - [d] the mother will no longer destroy with her own hands the fruit of her womb, the little seven-year-old girl will no longer 'huddle' beneath the machine - [e] 1. an adventurer, 2. a bastard and 3. his uncle's (i.e. Napoleon I's) pantograph - [f] What do you say to that? - [g] philistines - [h] males and little females - [i] 'But he's a soldier.'

## 28

## ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[12]

### IN NEW YORK

Manchester, 27 Feb. 1852

Dear Weydemeyer,

I am glad to see that some of my letters have at last arrived and hence that no further obstacles stand in the way of our correspondence.[66] The first two were addressed to J. W., Deutsche Vereinsbuchhandlung, William Str., New York. The copies of the *Revolution* and the *Demokrat* have arrived safely and are being forwarded to London today. Mr Heinzen will be delighted by your riposte.[a] You summed him up very neatly. Send all further consignments of printed matter in the same way, open at both ends; the postage costs very little.

Of my articles, you could *at very most* include only the one on the invasion[67] in any future miscellany. The others are unsuitable and have already been overtaken by events.

As for *confrère* Standau, the fellow's an erstwhile conspirator who fits exactly into the category we depicted in the *Revue,* in the critique of Chenu[b]—very useful in certain respects, very prone to idleness, not always reliable and something of a Rodomonte. Anyhow, give him my regards.

Schmidt of Löwenberg is conducting a crusade against the Jesuits in the neighbourhood of St. Louis and has for chief ally the ex-trickster and agent of Duchâtel, Mr Börnstein of Parisian fame. What else he is up to I do not know. That Dr Maas is a supporter of the Marx clique is news to me. I know him only as an ex-Palatinate ranter. Fischer, the editor of the New Orleans *Deutsche Zeitung,* is an acquaintance of mine and was a member of my bodyguard in Kaiserslautern,[68] but this day-dreamer has since become infernally corrupted and Kinkelified, and if Kinkel himself has been in New Orleans, he will have done a great deal of mischief since he will have met with no opposition.

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[a] An allusion to Weydemeyer's article against Heinzen, *New-Yorker Demokrat,* No. 311, 29 January 1852. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, Reviews from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue,* No. 4: '*Les Conspirateurs,* par A. Chenu', '*La naissance de la République en février 1848,* par Lucien de la Hodde'.

So far as the question of a war against England is concerned,[a] just now it interests me primarily as a military problem which one tries to elucidate and solve in just the same way as an exercise in geometry. But I do not regard a coalition war of this kind as out of the question although for the time being, so long as Derby remains at the helm, it will certainly be deferred. The gentlemen of the Holy Alliance[69] assess their forces today no less incorrectly than was done in the various coalitions from 1792 to 1807. And as for Russia's dependence on England, 1. one cannot expect the Tsar[b] to be sensible of it, and secondly, a suspension of trade, while it would result in stagnation, poverty and the spoiling of produce, could, after all, be endured for 2-3 years just as could a commercial crisis of the same duration. Bear in mind that in Russia virtually no money circulates in the country among the peasantry, the vast majority, and that these barbarians' every household necessity can be produced in any village. True, the cities and the aristocracy would suffer, but the Russian Empire is founded on peasants and on petty country gentry. An uprising on the Continent instigated by England presents great difficulties; Spain was helped by her terrain, her great size and sparse population, and the lack of provisions, and also the fact of being surrounded on nearly all sides by the sea. But Hungary and Poland are land-locked countries while Italy, save for the islands, could hardly be held by the English and the insurgents against the superior forces of the coalition. Furthermore, England is not now in a position, and will not be so a year after the outbreak of war, to muster an army like the one sent to Wellington in Spain.[70] But ships without a landing force can never gain a foothold.

It's a real stroke of luck that the Tories should have taken the helm. As a result of the continual victories in the field of commercial policy and the long era of prosperity, the manufacturers had grown thoroughly indolent. Parliamentary reform, even when more far-reaching than Russell's paltry Bill,[71] failed to arouse the *slightest interest.* Now, with the devil hard on their heels, they are already scared out of their wits, the more so since *every one* of the new ministers represents, and most brazenly, some aspect or other of protectionism. The Anti-Corn Law League[72] is being revived here. Parliamentary reform, the extension of the franchise, the equalisation of constituencies, secret ballot, have all become *questions of vital moment to the industrial bourgeoisie,* whereas before

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[a] See this volume, pp. 18-19. - [b] Nicholas I

they were of immediate interest only to the philistines. Derby must announce a dissolution and will probably do so as soon as the Army Act and the taxes for the coming year have been voted. In May we shall doubtless have another election. The Protectionists will gain a few votes and in exchange throw out a few Peelites.[73] But they are still in the minority and, should Derby dare to propose the immediate introduction of protective tariffs, he will unquestionably take a tumble. But he may be cunning enough to defer this. At any rate the movement is now FAIRLY under way in England. With Palmerston's dismissal[74] the fun began, as it was bound to do after the endless ministerial defeats of the previous session. Derby is the second act. Dissolution will be the third. As for England's foreign policy under Derby it too, of course, will be reactionary; but little that is decisive will happen; maybe a few prosecutions of refugees, in which the government will fail, attempts to introduce Aliens Bills,[75] which will likewise fail, perhaps support for attempts to form an anti-Louis Napoleon coalition, which will also come to nothing. The Tories are frightfully circumscribed in England and, unless they attempt to restore the Sidmouth-Castlereagh despotism of 1815-21, whereby they could burn their fingers devilish badly for, within the law and on behalf of FREE TRADE, your English bourgeois fights like a tiger—the conservative gentlemen will make sorry fools of themselves. But Derby (formerly, in his father's lifetime, Lord Stanley) is a hot-head and may well have recourse to extreme, if not illegal, measures.

All that is lacking now is a commercial crisis and, with Derby up, I rather suspect that it will soon be upon us. The rapid succession of English FREE TRADE measures, followed by the opening up of the Dutch colonies, the lowering of tariffs in Spain, Sardinia, etc., etc., and the fall in cotton prices (since Sept. 1850 down to half their former value), are keeping prosperity going longer than might have been expected. But, given the state of the Indian and to some extent the American markets (appreciably fewer manufactures were exported to the United States last month than in the same period last year), the thing cannot be expected to last much longer. If, as seems hardly probable, the crisis comes as early as May, then the fun will begin. But it will hardly be here before September or October.

My regards to your wife.

Your
F. E.

Shortly an article on the position of the English industrial bourgeoisie and on commercial matters[76]—I shall be very busy for the next fortnight or so.

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## 29

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 2 March 1852

Dear Marx,

By now you will have received the £5 I sent off yesterday, half of it direct to you and half under cover to Lupus. My congratulations on the news of the illness of the old Brunswick inheritance-thwarter[a]; I trust the catastrophe will at last come to pass.

According to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Stirner's *Geschichte der Reaktion* is a wretched compilation, or rather a patchwork of gleanings from what he has read and from his own published and unpublished newspaper articles—'rejected leaves and blossoms' on everything in the world and somewhat more—2 volumes which conclude with the threat that the third will contain 'the groundwork and the system'.[b] Far from aspiring to sacrosanctity, his own glosses seem rather to be destined for higher schools for young ladies.

Little Simon von Trier must inevitably make an absolute ass of himself in Dana's eyes by attributing such ludicrous nonsense to us, when Dana can see for himself that our articles contain ANYTHING BUT THAT.[c] It is preposterous of Dana not to send us the *Tribune* or you the money; I think the best plan would be to set Weydemeyer onto him, he at least would be able to send us the *Tribune* and at the same time settle the money question by word

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[a] Heinrich Georg von Westphalen - [b] *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 56, 25 February 1852, supplement: 'Buchmacherei'. - [c] See this volume, pp. 37 and 43-44.

of mouth. Whether he advises you of a business house in London or sends a bill of exchange is immaterial. My article, which was to have gone by the Southampton STEAMER, missed it since I had miscalculated its departure by one day. Now you will be getting it on Friday, along with another which will bring the thing up to the end of 1848.[a] These will be followed by the Prussian Chambers, the campaign for the Imperial Constitution[77] and, finally, the Prusso-Austrian squabbles of 1850/51, lastly the conclusion—altogether the whole may, perhaps, run to another six-8 articles, *summa summarum* 17-20 articles.

Charles[b] will be back here in a fortnight, when I shall have more time. Until then Jones will have to be patient.

So Mr Derby declares outright that, *à la* Sir James Graham, he will again help the Austrians and Co. to lay their hands on any likely bandieras.[78] Hence once again letters will be broken open *en masse.* The main sufferers will be Mazzini and the Hungarians. We ourselves will be little inconvenienced.

But what effrontery on Derby's part! 'I hereby declare that given a suitable opportunity, I shall impose a tax on corn. Just when that will be is for me alone to decide. But if you, the majority in the House of Commons, do not wish to be *des factieux,*[c] you must leave me in peace until I have so far consolidated my position and so far toryfied the land that I can undo unperturbed all that has been accomplished during the past twenty years.'[d] Poor HOUSE OF COMMONS! In place of a ministry that found itself in a relative minority, they now have one that is in absolute and permanent minority; and they are not even permitted to oppose it. But those milksops, the FREE TRADERS, have got no more than their deserts. The fellows won a battle, captured a new strategic line, and failed to occupy and fortify it, failed, indeed, to profit by their victory and even merely to pursue the enemy. Now they must again join battle on the same ground. The Tory *avènement,*[e] however, has suddenly made these questions abundantly plain to the fellows. Parliamentary reform, taken to the point at which Tories and Whigs, at least in their unadulterated form, are for ever precluded from power and a majority of industrialists in the Cabinet and in Parliament is assured, has now become a vital question to the manufacturers. Here these GENTLEMEN are again very active. At this moment the Anti-Corn Law League[72] is meeting and discussing whether to reorganise itself. Cobden, Bright,

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[a] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany,* XII and XIII. - [b] Roesgen - [c] sedition-mongers - [d] Engels ridicules Derby's speech in the House of Lords on 27 February published in *The Times,* No. 21050, 28 February 1852. - [e] accession

Milner Gibson, etc., are here. No doubt they will at least piece together again the bare bones of the organisation. But not until the dissolution will the real fun begin. The dissolution, however, cannot be long in coming for, despite Derby's honied words and his pacific and conciliatory intentions, clashes are unavoidable.

Unfortunately there is little prospect of the commercial crisis coinciding with the dissolution. Business here continues splendid. The news from America is exceedingly favourable. What is staving off the crisis, and may continue to stave it off for a little while longer, is 1. California, both the TRADE it provides and the masses of gold coming into circulation, as well as emigration thither, in short, all the stimulus that California exerts upon the whole of the United States; 2. the curb imposed by the high cotton prices of 1849 and 1850 upon the cotton industry which did not experience brisk progress until the spring of 1851; 3. the enormous fall in cotton prices—almost 50%—during the past eighteen months. In New Orleans the price of cotton (MIDDLING—the average kind) on 1 Sept. 1850 was $13\,^1/_2$ cents=$7\,^3/_4$d in Liverpool; today the price of MIDDLING in New Orleans is $7\,^5/_8$ cents=$4\,^7/_8$d in Liverpool, and for a time it stood at 7 cents. Obviously this is bound to bring about a considerable increase in consumption. Last year—Jan. and Feb.—here in the cotton district, 29,000 bales were consumed weekly, this year 33,000 and that solely American; in addition there is Surat, Egyptian, etc.[a]—If things continue thus, England will consume 800-850 million pounds of cotton this year; 4. the general timidity to speculate and to launch with any persistent enthusiasm even into gold mines and steamships. From everything I see I should say that another 6 months of such intensive production as at present would suffice to inundate the whole world; if another 4 months or so be allowed for the goods to reach their destination and positive news of over-supply to come back, as also for an interim period of reflection before people are seized by panic,—then the most likely time for the onset of the crisis will be somewhere between Nov. 1852 and Feb. 1853. But all this is GUESS-WORK and we could just as well have it in September. It should, though, be a fine how-d'ye-do, for never before has such a mass of goods of all descriptions been pushed onto the market, nor have there ever been such colossal means of production. The foolish ENGINEERS' strike[79] will hold it up for at least a month; virtually no machines are being made now and they are

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[a] Engels takes statistical data from 'The Spirit of the Annual Trade Circulars. The Year That Is Past', *The Economist*, No. 437, 10 January 1852.

very much in demand. Hibbert, Platt and Sons have hundreds of orders from both here and abroad, not one of which they can, of course, execute. And when this commercial thunderstorm moreover breaks over Mr Derby's head, it will be bad for him!

The last balance sheet made my old man really hopping mad for it shows him as having lost money, despite the general prosperity, and he is likely to give notice of termination (i.e. of his corporate contract with the Ermens). In which case this business will probably shut down as early as next year. The chaos arising out of all these goings-on has now reached a peak, and is partly why I have such a mass of things to do.

Don't bother to send me Ewerbeck's book. It's not worth the 6d the postage would cost.

My warm regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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## 30

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 5 March [1852]
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I received the £5 on Monday, although Lupus lives at 3, not 4, Broad Street. Also today your very felicitous article for Dana.[a]

Your package containing the *Revolution* and the *Tribune* had been opened. They had not even taken the trouble to do it up again.

From the enclosed letter you will see how we stand with the police.[80] The facts are wrong, save that Lupus took the chair

[a] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, XII.

instead of myself on 5 February and that the denouncer mistook our letter to *The Times*[a] for a reply to Mrs Daniels.[81] The spy is 'Hirsch' of Hamburg whom we had already thrown out of the League[b] a fortnight before. He became a member in Germany and, since I never really trusted him, I never mentioned anything in the least compromising in his presence.

With regard to Weydemeyer's anti-Heinzen article,[c] Jones has sent him by today's post an official letter in which he treats Heinzen *avec un dédain suprême*[d] and enlightens him on the 'WAR OF CLASSES'.[82] The day before yesterday the National Reform League[83] held a big meeting with an audience of at least 2,000. Jones subjected Messrs Hume, Walmsley and Co. to some rough treatment and scored a real triumph. London and Manchester now seem to divide the work between them in such a way that the bourgeois there tend to launch political attacks, and those here commercial ones.

A few days ago a manifesto by Signore Mazzini written in *Italian* fell into my hands. He is the *holy* bourgeois *quand même*[e] and fumes at the 'profane' French bourgeois. He shifts the initiative from Paris to Rome. '*Il materialismo*' and '*il egoismo*' have ruined France. The workers have inherited both vices from the bourgeoisie. Since 1815 France has no longer been the country of initiative. Italy and Hungary are now the chosen countries.

While 'signore Mazzini', as Peter the Hermit, castigates the wicked French, he licks the boots of the English FREE TRADERS who doubtless personify '*le dévouement*' and '*la foi*'. *L'imbécile!*[f]

Please return the enclosed letter. Only very little today because what with getting things off to America my hands are full.

Your
K. Marx

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of *The Times*' - [b] the Communist League - [c] See this volume, p. 52. - [d] with supreme disdain - [e] all the same - [f] 'devotion' and 'faith'. The idiot!

## 31

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[84]

### IN NEW YORK

London, 5 March 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weywy,

I am afraid there has been a bit of a muddle because, HAVING MISUNDERSTOOD THY LAST LETTER, I addressed the last 2 packages to: Office of the *Revolution*, 7 Chambers' Street, Box 1817. What caused the confusion was that damned 'Box 1817', since you had written telling me to append this to the 'old address' without drawing any distinction between the first address and the second. But I hope the matter will have resolved itself before this letter arrives, the more so since last Friday's letter[a] contained the very detailed fifth instalment of my article. This week I was prevented from finishing the sixth, which is also the last one.[85] If your paper is appearing again, this delay will not prove an obstacle since you have an ample supply of material.

Your article against Heinzen, unfortunately sent to me too late by Engels, is very good, at once coarse and *fine*, and this is the right combination for any polemic worthy of the name. I have shown this article to Ernest Jones and enclosed you will find a letter from him addressed to you, intended for publication.[82] Since Jones writes very illegibly and with abbreviations, and since I assume that you are not yet an OUT-AND-OUT Englishman, I am sending you, along with the original, a copy made by my wife, together with the German translation; you should print them both, the original and the translation, side by side. Below Jones' letter you might add the following comment: As to *George Julian Harney*, likewise one of Mr Heinzen's authorities, he published our *Communist Manifesto* in English in his *Red Republican* with a marginal note describing it as 'THE MOST REVOLUTIONARY DOCUMENT EVER GIVEN TO THE WORLD',[b] and in his *Democratic Review* he translated the

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[a] Jenny Marx's letter to Joseph Weydemeyer of 27 February 1852. See this volume, pp. 572-73. - [b] *The Communist Manifesto* was published in English in *The Red Republican*, Nos. 21, 22, 23, 24 of 9, 16, 23 and 30 November 1850. It was on this occasion that Marx and Engels were first named as its authors. In this letter Marx gives the quotations in English followed by the German translation.

words of 'wisdom brushed aside' by Heinzen, namely my articles on the French Revolution from the *Revue der N. Rh. Z.*,[a] and in a paper on Louis Blanc he refers his readers to these articles as being the 'true critical examination' of the French affair.[b] By the way, in England there is no need to have recourse only to 'extremists'. If, in England, a Member of Parliament becomes a minister, he must have himself re-elected. Thus *Disraeli*, the new Chancellor, LORD OF THE EXCHEQUER, writes to his constituents on 1 March:

* 'We shall endeavour to terminate that *strife of classes* which, of late years, has exercised so pernicious an influence over the welfare of this kingdom.*[c]

Whereupon *The Times* of 2 March comments:

* 'If anything would ever divide classes in this country beyond reconciliation, and leave no chance of a just and honourable peace, it would be a tax on foreign corn.'*

And lest some ignorant 'man of character'[d] like Heinzen should suppose that the aristocrats are *for* and the bourgeois *against* the Corn Laws[72] because the former want *'monopoly'* and the latter *'freedom'*—your worthy citizen sees opposites only in this ideological form—we shall content ourselves with saying that, in England, in the eighteenth century, the aristocrats were for 'freedom' (of trade) and the bourgeois for 'monopoly',—precisely the same attitude as is adopted by the two classes in present-day 'Prussia' towards the 'Corn Laws'.[86] There is no more rabid FREE TRADER than the *Neue Pr. Z.*

Finally, if I were you, I should tell the democratic gents *en général* that they would do better to acquaint themselves with bourgeois literature before they venture to yap at its opponents. For instance they should study the historical works of Thierry, Guizot, John Wade and so forth, in order to enlighten themselves as to the past 'history of the classes'. They should acquaint

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[a] K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850.* Published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.* By the English translation of this work Marx means Engels' review of the first chapter published under the title 'Two Years of a Revolution; 1848 and 1849' in *The Democratic Review,* April-June 1850. - [b] [G. J. Harney,] Review of Louis Blanc's *Historic Pages from the French Revolution of February 1848* in *The Democratic Review,* May 1850, pp. 465-66. - [c] Here and below Marx quotes from Disraeli's 'Address to His Constituents' published under the date-line: 'London, Tuesday, 2 March 1852', *The Times,* No. 21052, 2 March 1852. - [d] Presumably an allusion to Heine's satirical poem *Atta Troll,* Chap. XXIV—'kein Talent, doch ein Charakter' (Talent none, but character).

themselves with the fundamentals of political economy before attempting to criticise the critique of political economy. For example, one need only open Ricardo's magnum opus to find, on the first page, the words with which he begins his preface:

* 'The produce of the earth—all that is derived from its surface by the united application of labour, machinery, and capital, is divided among *three classes* of the community; namely the proprietor of the land, the owner of the stock or capital necessary for its cultivation, and the labourers by whose industry it is cultivated.'*[a]

Now, in the United States bourgeois society is still far too immature for the class struggle to be made perceptible and comprehensible; striking proof of this is provided by *C. H. Carey* (of Philadelphia),[b] the only North American economist of any note. He attacks *Ricardo*, the most classic representative[c] of the bourgeoisie and the most stoical opponent of the proletariat, as a man whose works are an arsenal for anarchists and socialists, for all enemies of the bourgeois order.[d] He accuses not only him, but also Malthus, Mill, Say, Torrens, Wakefield, MacCulloch, Senior, Whately, R. Jones, etc.—those who lead the economic dance in Europe—of tearing society apart, and of paving the way for civil war by showing that the economic bases of the various classes are such that they will inevitably give rise to a necessary and ever-growing antagonism between the latter. He tries to refute them, not, it is true, like the fatuous Heinzen, by relating the existence of classes to the existence of *political* privileges and *monopolies*, but by seeking to demonstrate that *economic* conditions: rent (landed property), *profit* (capital) and wages (wage labour),[e] rather than being conditions of struggle and antagonism, are conditions of association and harmony.[87] All he proves, of course, is that the 'undeveloped' relations in the United States are, to him, 'normal relations'.

Now as for myself, I do not claim to have discovered either the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me, bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this struggle between the classes, as had bourgeois economists their economic anatomy. My own contribution was 1. to show that the *existence of classes* is merely bound up with *certain historical phases in the development of production;* 2. that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the*

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[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation,* Third Edition, London, 1821, p. V. - [b] See H. Ch. Carey, *Essay on the Rate of Wages...* - [c] Above 'representative' Marx wrote 'interpreter'. - [d] See also this volume, pp. 345-46. - [e] ibid., pp. 378-84 and 392.

Third page of Marx's letter to Weydemeyer of 5 March 1852

*proletariat;* 3. that this dictatorship itself constitutes no more than a transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society.* Ignorant louts such as Heinzen, who deny not only the struggle but the very existence of classes, only demonstrate that, for all their bloodthirsty, mock-humanist yelping, they regard the social conditions in which the bourgeoisie is dominant as the final product, the *non plus ultra*[a] of history, and that they themselves are simply the servants of the bourgeoisie, a servitude which is the more revolting, the less capable are the louts of grasping the very greatness and transient necessity of the bourgeois regime itself.

Select from the above notes whatever you think fit.[88] By the way, Heinzen has adopted our 'centralisation' in place of his 'federative republic', etc.[89] When the views on classes we are now disseminating have become familiar objects of 'sound common sense',[b] then the scoundrel will proclaim them aloud as the latest product of his 'own sagacity' and yap his opposition to our onward progress. Thus, in the light of his 'own sagacity', he yapped at Hegelian philosophy[c] so long as it was progressive. Now he feeds on its stale scraps, spat out undigested by Ruge.

Herewith also the end of the Hungarian article.[d] It is all the more essential that you should try to make some use of this—assuming your paper exists—because *Szemere,* the erstwhile prime minister of Hungary, now in Paris, has promised me to write a long article for you, *signed with his own name.*

If your paper has come into being, send *more* copies so that it can be distributed more widely.

Your
K. Marx

Kind regards to you and your wife from all your friends here, especially my wife.

Apropos. I am sending you the *Notes*[e] and a few copies of my Assizes speech[f] (this last for Cluss, to whom I promised it) by the

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[a] the uttermost point - [b] An allusion to Heinzen's expression 'sound common sense' (der gesunde Menschenverstand). See K. Marx, 'Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality', present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 317, 330 and 337. - [c] An allusion to Heinzen's comedy *Doktor Nebel, oder: Gelehrsamkeit und Leben,* Cologne, 1841. See K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile,* present edition, Vol. 11, p. 277. - [d] See this volume, p. 32. - [e] *Notes to the People* - [f] K. Marx, 'The First Trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*' and 'The Trial of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats' in *Zwei politische Prozesse,* Cologne, 1849.

hand of the ex-Montagnard Hochstuhl (an Alsatian).[90] There's nothing to the fellow.

Herewith the Rules.[91] I would advise you to arrange them in more logical order. *London* is designated as the district responsible for the United States. Hitherto we have been able to exercise our authority only *in partibus.*

If you have not already done so, do not accept 'Hirsch's' statement.[14] He's an unsavoury individual, although in the right where Schapper and Willich are concerned.

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## 32

## ENGELS TO MARX[92]

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 18 March 1852

Dear Marx,

I return herewith Pixie's[a] letter. I am *pour le moment entièrement dépourvu*[b] and would not be able to raise the £2—at least this month; moreover, his letter is dated the 5th and there is absolutely no knowing whether the money would still reach him. And then it's always a ticklish business sending money to Ewerbeck; the fellow is capable of making superannuated claims for God only knows what old postal expenses, and of pocketing the whole amount or the best part of it. For all these reasons I am unable just now to help the little sprite,[a] doubtful though I am that he will be able to extract more than five sous at one go from Monsieur Ewerbeck. Meanwhile, the *piccolo*[a] has left Geneva for Paris and thus will no doubt also come to London, if at the cost of some 'toil and trouble'; and then we shall know just how much his dunning letters mean.

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[a] Ernst Dronke - [b] At the moment I am completely penniless

If the little man[a] does come, you will have some difficulty in restraining his pugnacious temperament, surely much exacerbated by prolonged 'toil and trouble'; in this country fisticuffs and brawls cost too much money for him to be permitted to indulge in them.[93] It would be best if you entrusted him to Pieper so that the latter could instruct him in political economy. What you told me about Massol[b] is very interesting, and if he stays over there I should very much like to meet him.

I am delighted by what you tell me about Jones[c]—just now I have damnably little time, otherwise I would send him more articles. But Charles[d] is not yet back from Germany and then, after toiling all day in the office, it would really be too much to write a regular weekly article for him and/or Weydemeyer on top of the article for the *Tribune* and the weekly report for my old man. Moreover, I must at long last get to grips with the Slav business.[94] In my previous dilettante fashion, I achieved nothing for a whole year and, having at least made a start and got too far to abandon the thing, I must now regularly devote some time to it. For the past fortnight I have been swotting hard at Russian and have now got the grammar pretty well licked; in another 2-3 months I shall have acquired the necessary vocabulary, and then I shall be able to tackle something else. I must be done with the Slavonic languages this year and *au fond*[e] they are not so very difficult. Apart from the linguistic interest I derive from the thing, there is the further consideration that, come the next big political drama, at least one of us should be familiar with the languages, history, literature and the minutiae of the social institutions of those particular nations with which we shall immediately find ourselves in conflict. In effect, Bakunin only came to anything because no one knew Russian. And a great deal is going to be made of the old pan-Slavic DODGE of transmogrifying the old Slav system of communal property into communism and depicting the Russian peasants as born communists.

Now that old O'Connor has definitely gone mad, Jones is perfectly right to crowd on all sail. This is his chance and if, in addition, CITIZEN Hip-hip-hurrah[f] gives up, his cause is won. From all that I see, the Chartists are in such a state of complete dissolution and disintegration, and at the same time are so lacking in able people, that either they must disband altogether and break up into cliques, i.e. in effect become a mere appendage of the

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[a] Ernst Dronke - [b] See this volume, pp. 31-32. - [c] ibid., p. 59. - [d] Roesgen - [e] at bottom - [f] Harney

FINANCIALS,[28] or else be reconstructed on a new basis by some competent fellow. Jones is moving in quite the right direction and we may well say that, without our doctrine, he would not have taken the right path and would never have discovered how, on the one hand, one can not only maintain the only possible basis for the reconstruction of the Chartist party—the instinctive class hatred of the workers for the industrial bourgeoisie—but also enlarge and develop it, so laying the foundations for enlightening propaganda, and how, on the other, one can still be progressive and resist the workers' reactionary appetites and their prejudices. MASTER Harney, by the way, is in for a surprise if he continues as he is; the group of enthusiasts which supports him will very soon kick him out, and not even the portraits of Kościuszko and other 'patriots'[95] that adorn his bumf will save him.

*Quoad Napoleonem*,[a] did the man not tell L. Blanc when he went to France: *'Quand je serai président, je mettrai en pratique vos idées'*[b]? And now we see how a financial predicament may drive even a true socialist like L. N. to financial measures of an impeccably bourgeois kind, such as the conversion of bonds.[96] Your SHOPKEEPER and small industrialist is prepared to overlook twenty socialist capers in return for this one saving of 18 millions, and *The Daily News* admires the measure. Anything more stupid or more abject than the *Débats'* comments on this topic would be hard to imagine.[c] The same old story: postal reform=socialism! Conversion of bonds=socialism! FREE TRADE=socialism! My only fear is that Mynheer Napoleon who, for all that he proceeds very diffidently when it comes to his genuinely socialist undertakings and goes no further in the matter of mortgages than the bourgeois Prussian credit institutions, may, in the end, be compelled, by force of circumstances, to transform all his socialist inclinations into simple bourgeois reforms, and then nothing can deliver us but the inevitable financial predicament. *The Daily News* is right, conversion of bonds is a *mesure éminemment pacifique*[d] as well as being a most ominous indication that L. N. is tending to fall into the ways of bourgeois COMMON SENSE. But when, I ask you, has it ever been possible to rule France with COMMON SENSE, and what a hotch-potch of circumstances would be required to bring together a L. N. and COMMON SENSE! At all events the climate on the Continent does not seem

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[a] As regards Napoleon - [b] When I am President, I shall put your ideas into practice. - [c] This refers to the article by Armand Bertin 'Paris, 14 mars', *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*, 15 March 1852. - [d] eminently peaceable measure

very revolutionary to me, although the little sprite will bring quite different news.

I do not think that Derby will obtain a majority although this place, where unanimity reigns when it comes to the Corn Laws,[72] is a poor *point d'observation.* However, I should like him to obtain one, for then things must come about as you say. He is, by the way, a fool for not dissolving Parliament at once. The longer he procrastinates, the greater the risk of the election coinciding with a commercial crisis, and then he'll get fanatical Tories in Parliament who are too rabid even for him, and determined, rapacious MANCHESTER MEN[63] under threat of bankruptcy, these latter probably in the majority and hence the determining element.

Our CONCERN here seems likely to collapse within the year. In which case, while the liquidation is under way, I shall at first enjoy far more liberty and be less tied down by the regular routine of the office. Later, my old man writes, he might be able to find me a *better* position—I suspect that he will fall in with my old plan to remove to Liverpool and buy cotton for him there. That would be splendid and, if it comes off and you have completed your preliminary work on economics,[45] you and your whole family must come up for 6 months—we would live by the sea at New Brighton, and you would, besides, save money. At all events, I shall get myself a rise—there's no doubt about that.

Today, unfortunately, I shall not have a quiet moment in which to do the *Tribune* article, but an American STEAMER sails next Wednesday, so you shall have it by Monday or Tuesday, and then I'll do another one for Friday's STEAMER.

Many regards.

Your
F. E.

This is the first time the seal on your letter has been intact and undamaged.

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# 33

# MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[12]

## IN NEW YORK

London, 25 March 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

Good luck to the new world citizen! There is no more splendid time to enter this world than the present. Come the day when people can travel from London to Calcutta in a week, both our heads will long since have rolled or started to loll. And Australia and California and the Pacific Ocean! The new world citizens will be unable to comprehend how small our world once was.

If you did not receive the final instalment[a] enclosed herewith a week ago, your total silence is to blame.

Now in the pamphlet,[97] too, I would like my article to be divided up as it was sent to you, under headings I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII. These figures serve as sign-posts for the reader. They take the place of titles. At the end of V, add the following words: 'But Bonaparte answered the Party of Order as Agesilaus did King Agis: "*I seem to thee an ant, but one day I shall be a lion.*"'[98] But the thing must, of course, be brought out now all at once in its entirety.

Where my wife has failed to leave space enough to indicate the paragraphs, I have marked them with a ⌈.

Cluss' statement[60] is splendid.

Why not—it strikes me as a good idea—*include Ernest Jones' letter in your first issue?*[82] A couple of introductory words would suffice to explain it.

*Maintenant*[b]: Cluss will already have told you about the Szemere business.[99] First a publisher will have to be contacted through me and arrangements made for his pamphlet—some 10 sheets—on Kossuth, L. Batthyány and Görgey—to be brought out in German and later in English. You might, if it can be managed, publish the German original as your second instalment without, of course, any other additions. But the publisher must pay for the thing if you don't publish it yourself.

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[a] of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* VII - [b] Now

When this has been arranged—and perhaps even before that—the *Revolution* will receive 500 dollars from this source, on condition that Bangya comes in as co-editor, i.e. only in the sense that part of the paper is allotted to the *Hungarians* and run by Bangya, Szemere's agent. But you'll have no difficulty in getting on with him, *car il est bon homme.*[a]

I am very glad to hear that you have found employment as a surveyor. You will be able to operate with greater confidence and peace of mind.

One of these days I shall be starting on Mazzini. Whereas Mr Kinkel, whose wisdom, by his own admission, derives from nursery tales, now chooses to see nothing but unity among the 'great men', he finds on his return the battle raging *optima forma.*[b] For Ledru and Mazzini have bought the Brussels daily *La Nation* for 10,000 fr. drawn from the Italian loan. *Mais voilà que*[c] *il Signore Mazzini* looses off an opening article, in which he vents all his infamous anti-French, anti-socialist inanities about the initiative lost by France,[d] and this so wildly that Ledru now feels compelled—and has, it seems, made up his mind—to take issue with him personally. On the other hand, the socialists L. Blanc, Pierre Leroux, Cabet, Mallarmet, etc., have joined forces and published a venomous retort composed by dear little L. Blanc. At the same time the majority of the French émigrés are violently incensed against Ledru, whom they rightly hold responsible for Mazzini's stupidities. Fire has broken out in the very midst of their camp.

Should you happen to get hold of *Der Tag ist angebrochen,* a book by that miserable cleric, Dulon, who fancies himself as a Lamennais, mind you give the cur a good dusting.

Dronke has been arrested in Paris where he lingered too long on his way here from Switzerland instead of hurrying through.

I like your selection very much. Pieper's article[e] might do well enough for a newspaper. For a pamphlet it was dashed off too hastily and perfunctorily.

Can you not get news of Edgar[f] from Braunfels? We have heard nothing from the lazybones and this is causing his mother[g] great anxiety. A crazy lad!

Cluss' protest[h] was greeted with general applause at the League[i]

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[a] for he's a good fellow - [b] for all it's worth - [c] But now - [d] See this volume, p. 59. - [e] W. Pieper, 'Die Arbeiter Assoziation in England'. - [f] Edgar von Westphalen - [g] Caroline von Westphalen - [h] A. Cluss, 'An den Garanten-Congress des deutschen Anleihens in Cincinnati'. - [i] the Communist League

meeting here, and both we and Stechan's society[25] found your *Revolution* to our liking.

Warm regards from my family to yours.

Your
K. M.

In case the infamous reply from Willich's society to Pfänder's statement[100] should appear in some paper or other (e.g. Weitling's[a]), I am sending you Pfänder's 2nd statement.

What can red Becker[b] be doing? Has he, too, become a Kinkelian?

Apropos. Some of the engineering workers have come to their senses and sent apologies to Jones. By now the English workers have collected sufficient money for Jones to bring out a big STAMPED weekly[101] in addition to his *Notes*.[c] The jackass who is to convey these to you has still not left.[d]

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## 34

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 30 March 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Just received your article.[e] Enclosed you will find a whole bundle of new stuff from America which would have reached you sooner, had it not been necessary to make copies of some of it for communication to League[f] members.

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[a] *Republik der Arbeiter* - [b] Presumably Max Joseph Becker. - [c] *Notes to the People* - [d] Hochstuhl - [e] Presumably, XIII for the series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. - [f] the Communist League, see also this volume, pp. 71-72

All sorts of things have been happening here. Gottfried Christ Kinkel is dispatching, or rather has dispatched, the student Schurz and Schimmelpfennig to drum together people from Switzerland, Paris, Germany and Belgium for a congress to be held in London in mid-April, the purpose being to guarantee the revolutionary loan[27] and to lay down definitive regulations for the administration of this exchequer and of the democratic government *in partibus*. But you must let me have the trash back by Saturday.

Kossuth, exposed in America by Szemere[102] and completely at odds with the committee he left behind him in London,[103] will be surprised to learn by what schisms the democratic clerics has meanwhile been rent.

For Mr Mazzini, who for the past 2 years has been pope of the democratic church *in partibus*, thought the time at last ripe to discharge his venom in the French tongue against socialism and France, to wit in the Brussels *Nation* which, with Ledru's connivance, he had acquired for 10,000 fr. drawn from the Italian fund. In it he blamed the socialists for the 2nd December, the capture of Rome,[104] in short for the counter-revolution generally and, in his high-flown Dominican style, thundered against heretics, sects, materialism, scepticism, the Romance Babylon, with the same single-mindedness he displays when licking the arse of the English liberal bourgeoisie. France, he said, had lost the revolutionary initiative. The *peuple-roi*[a] no longer existed. Now it was the turn of other nations, etc. In short a veritable bull of excommunication which was done the honour of being taken up by the *Patrie* and the *Constitutionnel*. This was altogether too much for the French. Little L. Blanc, who further saw in it an opportunity to rehabilitate himself and thrust himself to the fore, drummed up Cabet, Pierre Leroux, Bianchi, Nadaud and Vasbenter (Proudhonian). In *The Morning Advertiser* they attacked Mr Mazzini in crudest fashion. The theoretical part of their retort is almost as weak as Mazzini's attack. The personal part, for which Massol gave Leroux the material, annihilates the arrogant *theopompos*.[b]

Ledru, for his part, felt it incumbent upon him to *resign* from the European Central Committee in order not to lose all influence. He too has replied in the *Nation* to the attacks on France. Pitiful. An article with neither head nor tail. Upholds 'France's revolutionary initiative', but in what fashion! *C'est pour faire pitié!*[c] Ledru, it is said, now intends to go to the United States.

Thus, on the one hand, the idiot Ruge forfeits his European

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[a] regal nation - [b] divine envoy - [c] It's pitiful.

Central Committee. On the other, Kinkel—who, in America, fawned like a dog on his rival Kossuth—sees the general 'confusion', i.e. fusion of all democratic pretenders under the banner of the now stale catchwords of 1848, e.g. 'democratic republic', 'universal franchise', etc., dissipating. Thus the worthy Willich is drawn into the conflict as a 'communist'.

Meanwhile each week the English government is shipping the French émigré mob in crowds out to America at public expense. The wretched LITTLE Blanc proposes to exploit a quite fortuitous general demonstration against Mazzini to set himself up as the visible head of the *ecclesia pressa*.[a] In order to thwart his little intrigues, I shall get Massol to egg on Pierre Leroux. Finally, to complete the confusion, Proudhon is coming here.

How low the official bigwigs sink, you may see from the fact that the delectable Félix Pyat, *cet homme artiste*[b]—an expression used by the French to gloss over an individual's every weakness, his lack of character and intelligence—has written a melodrama on the December days. He has found an English impresario and together they will put on the trash in New York, etc., the murder scenes, expulsions, deportations, etc., etc. Could anyone seek to profit by the misfortunes of his country in a more despicable manner? And the jackass regards this prostitution of France's misfortune as a patriotic act.

*Tripotage*[c] is the secret key to the historical drama staged by émigré politicians here; thus Siegwart[d]-Kinkel has acted as procurer between the student Schurz and Mrs Ronge's sister, who is said to be rich.

The only misfortune is that by their boastful intrigues these jackasses provide the police with a continuous supply of fresh material and make things worse for our friends in Germany.

Your
K. M.

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[a] church oppressed - [b] that artistic man - [c] Intrigue - [d] Title character from J. M. Miller's book *Siegwart. Eine Klostergeschichte.*

# 35

# ENGELS TO MARX

## IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 1 April 1852

Dear Marx,

Got your letter this morning, actually intact. The new address seems to do some good.

The mirth-provoking émigré documents will be returned to you tomorrow. I shall extract some notes from them.

Little Dronke seems to have got himself properly caught in Paris, otherwise we should probably have heard from him. Do you suppose that some people belonging to 'the Marxian sect' really foregathered at the Café D.,[a] as the *Kölnische Zeitung* alleges?[b] I don't know where these remnants could have come from. In any case it would have been unpardonable of Dronke to have gone to the café and associated *publiquement*[c] with these people. But if he is still at liberty and there is any possibility of corresponding with him, we must certainly do everything we can now to bring him over to London—he is under an expulsion order and the fellows are quite capable of sending him to Algiers for *rupture de ban*.[d] So if we can find out more particulars, I shall see to it that I get hold of the £2, for we must certainly bring the little chap to safety. Write and tell me if you hear anything about him.

I am going home now to finish another article for Dana which, if it is ready, will go off to you by the second post. Last week I had a terrible cold and still have it, so that for several evenings I have been capable of absolutely nothing. Otherwise, more would have been done.

Tell Jones that he will be getting something from me next week,[e]—all my articles for him have, alas, been wretched, since the brevity of each and the negligible room available make me regularly forget what I wrote the week before—in addition, I have to write quickly and cursorily, and have no time whatever to collect and arrange material on the latest happenings in France. This constant improvisation becomes demoralising.

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[a] du Danemark - [b] '* *Paris, 24. März*' and '+Paris, 24. März', *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 74, 26 March 1852. - [c] publicly - [d] violation of the ban - [e] 'Real Causes Why the French Proletarians Remained Comparatively Inactive in December Last', III.

Should I not finish the article for Dana this evening, it will be chiefly because I still have to go through the better part of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* for April and March 1849,[a] for on this occasion the Frankfurters[b] must be given a *thorough* lambasting. The Bauer[c] is not adequate for the purpose.

Your
F. E.

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## 36

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 5 April 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Enclosed a further consignment from Cluss[105] which I must have back by Wednesday (the day of the League[d] meeting).

The other day, just after you returned his first letter, Dronke wrote to Freiligrath from prison; I had forgotten to tell you. Freiligrath at once sent the letter to Lassalle for the latter to send some money to Paris for him, which could doubtless be done with all the more dispatch since Lassalle could use the letter to touch all the liberal bourgeois of Düsseldorf. Unfortunately, according to the *Patrie*, compromising letters were found on Dronke. Can he have been stupid enough to carry around *testimonia* of his fatuous *Lyonnais*[e] and other connections?

As I foresaw, Louis Blanc is trying to exploit the joint statement against Mazzini to create a new '*réseau d'action*'[f] and to thrust

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[a] A reference to the material for *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, XIII - [b] former deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly of 1848-49 - [c] B. Bauer, *Der Untergang des Frankfurter Parlaments*. - [d] the Communist League - [e] Guillermain - [f] action network

himself to the fore as head of the revolutionary party. He has even sought to draw me into his fusion of all 'French' socialists and sent me an invitation to meet him. I did not, of course, even deign to answer and instead conveyed to his *intermédiaire* my amazement at such importunity. Since Proudhon is coming here, an alliance with me just now would have been very convenient for the little man.

Dana has written at last and paid £9 according to the number of articles *published*.[a] As the presidential elections will for the present be taking up every column in the paper, he asks me at the same time to condense the remainder into 5-6 articles and, more especially, to discuss in the last one the PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTIONARY GERMANY. This will provide a splendid chance to castigate the émigrés and in a later letter I shall write to you at length about my views on the matter.

Szemere is sending me, in 3-4 batches, his (German) manuscript on 'Kossuth, Görgey and Louis Batthyány'. Weydemeyer is to publish it in America,[99] which means excellent business for him, the more so since he will, in addition, probably receive 500 dollars for his paper[b] from that quarter.

But before the thing goes off to America in German, it must be translated into English here so that, after it has appeared in German in America, it can be brought out as a pamphlet for readers over here. You will hardly have the time for this task, even if you neglect Dana for a while. In which case I shall have to give it to Jones. The payment for translation is £1 per sheet.

Here I have made the acquaintance of Colonel Szerelmey, who is a very cultivated man. In Hungary he took part in 17 battles. Since he is also a first-rate painter, he is now bringing out a magnificent work, with battle reports in the text, and battle illustrations. He himself did the sketches, which were finished off by leading French painters. He has promised me a copy. Each will cost £10. So you will receive an addition to your military library.

Your
K. M.

As you see, Kinkel has been a good deal more arbitrary than Louis Bonaparte. First he nominates the members of his chamber of deputies, the Guarantors' Congress.[c] Next he takes fright at his

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[a] Engels' series of articles, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. - [b] *Die Revolution* - [c] See this volume, p. 73.

own creation, keeps neither to the appointed day nor place, but convenes the assembly at a time and place at which only 7 people can attend. Six of those 7 give him a vote of confidence. With these he drafts his constitution. By these he gets himself nominated representative of America, and he makes the committee he has created responsible to them.

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## 37

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 14 April 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Only a couple of lines to let you know that our little child[a] died this morning at a quarter past one.

Your
K. M.

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[a] Franziska

## 38

## ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[12]

### IN NEW YORK

Manchester, 16 April 1852

Dear Weydemeyer,

Yesterday received your letter of 30 (?) March, together with the account of the revolutionary assembly.[106] I note that you have begun to stamp your letters, which is nonsensical; this CONCERN, *id est* Messieurs Ermen & Engels, can pay the postage. The things have been sent on to Marx.

The day before yesterday I arrived back here from London, where I had spent Easter. Marx's youngest child[a] was very ill and, as I now learn from him,[b] has since died—the second already in London. As you can imagine, his wife is greatly afflicted by it. There has also been some illness in Freiligrath's family, but things are going better there.

Dronke, as you will know, was arrested on his way through Paris. It was partly his own fault for, despite his earlier expulsion, the little man had lingered there for 3 weeks. Now he writes to say that he has been removed from the Mazas prison and taken back to the Préfecture de Police, to be sent to Boulogne and England on Good Friday evening. But up till now we have heard nothing more of him. The little man shows a remarkable talent for constantly getting INTO MISCHIEF, but no doubt he will turn up one of these days. Then the whole of the *N. Rh. Z.* will be in England, for Weerth, though he is in Hamburg again just now, still has connection with Bradford and, no matter how he struggles, will always find himself cast up there again.

It seems probable that our Cologne friends[c] will appear before the Court of Assizes in May, since the Board of indicting magistrates was expected to have decided their case by Monday, 5 April, and will certainly not have discharged them. This is just as well; the public prosecutor would immediately have appealed against an acquittal. If a certain Hansen of Cologne, a working man, should arrive in New York, treat him according to his deserts. The fellow, a member of the League since 1848,

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[a] Franziska - [b] See this volume, p. 78. - [c] the Communist League members arrested and detained under investigation

administered, i.e. drank, the monies collected for the prisoners before absconding to America.

In the camp of the National Loaners there is considerable dissatisfaction with Reichenbach, the treasurer, for keeping so tight a hold on the purse-strings, since in any case more money has already been spent than can decently be accounted for and, as a well-to-do and respectable citizen, he is faced with the ominous prospect of the forthcoming audit. Hence Kinkel and Willich are furious, but to no effect: Kinkel must return to his tutoring and now, as in the past, Willich is begging and borrowing with an impudence hitherto found only among Polish patriots. Thus, throughout the noble émigré alliance, the most glorious confusion reigns and, if the Guarantors' Congress takes place, or has already taken place, things will come to a very pretty pass. Löwe of Calbe and the rest of the Frankfurters[a] are now also at daggers drawn with Kinkel, 'a chap with whom one can but compromise oneself'.

Has Tellering got his statement into any of the papers?[107] *Voilà ce qu'il nous importe de savoir*[b] for, if so, Marx can attack it. We would, by the way, be very glad if Dana would send us copies of Marx's articles[c]; we have only had the first 6 and should be glad to have the following ones. If Dana pleads too much work, the best thing would be for you to get hold of them yourself and send them here. Marx has long been meaning to write to you about this, but just now is probably not in a state to turn his thoughts to it. See what you can do, for we must have a complete set here; later on that sort of thing will also be important as a document.

My strategical article[d] is no longer any good and is all the less suitable for a collection[108] as the essentials were not really in it, but in my letter to you.[e] So do not hesitate to file it away. As soon as I have time to work undisturbed and some prospect of publication, I shall send you articles on the development of commerce and on the present state of the English industrial bourgeoisie.[17] For the present I must spend the next fortnight or 3 weeks exclusively on the study of Russian and Sanscrit, in which I am now engaged[f]; later, when my material arrives from Germany, I shall turn to

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[a] former deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly of 1848-49 - [b] That is what it is important for us to know - [c] Engels is referring to his series of articles, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. - [d] F. Engels, 'England', I. - [e] See this volume, pp. 18-19. - [f] ibid., p. 67.

military matters, but there is plenty of time for that and as a task it is less arduous.

The post is about to go—many regards to your wife and to Cluss.

Your
F. E.

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## 39

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 20 April 1852

Dear Marx,

I was grieved to see that my fears concerning your little daughter have been all too soon confirmed. If only there were some means by which you and your family could move into a more salubrious district and more spacious lodgings!

I would gladly have sent you some money, but while in London[109] I spent so much more than I had anticipated that I shall be pretty short myself until the end of the month, and next month I shall have to pay out at once £12 in bills and for books ordered from Germany. But I shall see if I can get hold of something for you by the beginning of May. I wish I had known beforehand how things stood in London, for in that case I should have foregone what was *au fond*[a] a quite superfluous trip there, and my hands would not have been quite so tied.

Pindar is here, having failed to find employment in Liverpool. He is looking for a position or for private lessons and I shall, of course, do what I can for him. As a token that I am well disposed towards him I have been taking Russian lessons from him. But if I am to recommend him here, I must know something more about him, and since such intelligence can only be dragged out of him with the utmost difficulty, I should be glad if you would write and tell me what you know about him and his circumstances, how you

[a] at bottom

became acquainted with him, etc., etc. With his taciturn manner, by the way, it doesn't seem to me as though he'll be lucky here.

In considering the present state of commerce, particularly as regards India, there is one point that should not be overlooked.[a] Despite 3 years of colossal and ever-increasing imports of English industrial goods into India, the news from there has for some time been moderately good again, stocks are gradually being sold and are fetching higher prices. The reason for this can only be that, in the provinces most lately conquered by the English, Sind, the Punjab, etc., etc., where native handicrafts have hitherto almost exclusively predominated, these are now finally being crushed by English competition, either because the manufacturers here have only recently come round to producing materials suitable for these markets, or because the NATIVES have finally sacrificed their preference for local cloths in favour of the cheaper price of the English materials usually exported to India. The last Indian crisis of 1847 and the concomitant sharp DEPRECIATION of English products in India may have contributed greatly to this; and it is already clear from old Gülich that even the parts of India occupied by the English in his day had not for a long time completely abandoned their traditional domestic manufactures.[b] This is the only explanation for the fact that the 1847 affair has not long since recurred in more acute form in Calcutta and Bombay. But all this will be changed once the 3,000,000 bales of cotton from the last crop have come onto the market, been processed and consigned as finished goods, predominantly to India. The cotton industry is now so flourishing that, despite this season's crop, which is 300,000 bales more than that of 1848/49, cotton prices are rising both here and in America, that American manufacturers have already bought 250,000 bales more than last year (when they used in all only 418,000 bales), and that manufacturers here are already beginning to maintain that even a crop of 3 million bales would be insufficient for their needs. Up till now, America has exported 174,000 bales more to England, 56,000 more to France and 27,000 more to the rest of the Continent than she did last year. (Each season runs from 1 Sept. to 7 April.)[c] And, given prosperity of this order, it is of course easy to explain how Louis Napoleon can prepare at leisure for his *bas-empire*[110]; the surplus

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[a] See also this volume, pp. 83-84. - [b] G. Gülich, *Geschichtliche Darstellung des Handels, der Gewerbe und des Ackerbaus der bedeutendsten handeltreibenden Staaten unserer Zeit,* Bd. 3, S. 263-64. - [c] Engels may have used the article 'Commercial Intelligence. New York, 7 April' in *The Times,* No. 21094, 20 April 1852, but the figures given by him somewhat differ from those in the newspaper.

of direct cotton imports into France between 1850 and 1852 now amounts to 110,000 bales (302,000 against 192,000), i.e. more than 33%.

According to all the rules the crisis should come this year and will, indeed, probably do so; but if one takes into consideration the present quite unexpected resilience of the Indian market, the confusion created by California and Australia, the cheapness of most raw materials, which also means cheap industrial manufactures, and the absence of any heavy speculation, one is almost tempted to forecast that the present period of prosperity will be of exceptionally long duration. At any rate it may well be that the thing will last until the spring. But WITHIN SIX MONTHS MORE OR LESS it is, after all, safest to stick to the old rule.

Many regards to your wife, and write soon.

Your
F. E.

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## 40

## MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS[111]

### IN WASHINGTON

London, 22 April 1852

... The chief industry, the cotton industry, is doing more splendidly than ever.[a] Despite the fact that the present cotton crop exceeds that of 1848/49 by 300,000 bales, cotton prices are rising both here and in America, so that American manufacturers have already bought 250,000 more bales than last year and manufacturers here are already beginning to maintain that even a crop of 3 million bales would be insufficient for their needs. Up till now America has exported 174,000 bales more to England, 56,000 more to France and 27,000 more to the rest of the Continent than she did last year (each season runs from 1 Sept. to 7 Apr.). On the

[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 82-83.

one hand this prosperity explains how Louis Bonaparte can prepare at leisure for his *bas-empire*. The surplus of direct cotton imports into France between 1850 and 1852 now amounts to 110,000 bales—302,000 against 192,000, i.e. more than 33%. On the other hand, it explains the flaccid condition of politics in this country. Given such prosperity, the Tories cannot, for their part, compete with the 'blessings of FREE TRADE', even though they are at the helm, while the FREE TRADERS for their part refrain from provoking political agitation because, so long as business is flourishing, the manufacturers do not want political upheavals and disturbances. The thriving state of the cotton industry is due chiefly to the Indian market, whence there has been good news for some time past—despite continuing colossal imports from England. This may be explained by the fact that in the territories most lately conquered by the English, Sind, the Punjab, etc., where native handicrafts have hitherto almost exclusively predominated, these are now finally being crushed by English competition. The last Indian crisis of 1847 and the concomitant sharp DEPRECIATION of English products in India may have contributed to this. This unexpected resilience of the Indian market, California, Australia, as well as the cheapness of most raw materials in the absence of any heavy speculation, give reason to suppose that the period of prosperity will be of exceptionally long duration. It may well be that the thing will last until the spring, etc., etc., etc....

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## 41

## MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS [112]

### IN WASHINGTON

[London, 23 April 1852]

... You will realise that Weydemeyer's letter[a] made a very unpleasant impression here, particularly on my wife, since it arrived on the day of my youngest child's[b] funeral; for two years

[a] See this volume, p. 85. - [b] Franziska

now she has seen all my enterprises regularly come to grief. The prospect held out by your letter (arrived 19th Apr.) of receiving the 'Bonaparte'[a] in print was therefore all the more welcome to me, for by nature she is very resilient and your letter set her up again...

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## 42

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 24 April 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

You cannot imagine what a wretched time I had last week. On the day of the funeral, the money I had been promised from various quarters failed to arrive, so that I was finally compelled to go to some French neighbours in order to pay the English vultures. And on top of this, alas, a letter arrived from Weydemeyer giving reason to suppose that in America, too, all our hopes have been dashed. Cluss, whose letter you will be getting next week, now holds out better prospects. *Quoique de dure complexion*,[b] I was, on this occasion, very hard hit by the wretched business.

Enclosed a letter from that cur Ewerbeck, who never uses a stamp and consistently robs one of one's last 10d. Then an article by B. Bauer from the *Daily New-York Tribune*,[c] to whose pages your article[d] has attracted all the rag-tag and bobtail. Bauer's

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[a] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - [b] Although by nature tough - [c] B. Bauer, 'The Present Impossibility of War', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3417, 31 March 1852. - [d] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*.

revelations about 'the armies' will make you laugh. If you are going to send me articles for Dana now, wait until you have several so that I can send them all off at once.

Mr Tellering is publishing a monthly or weekly in New York; the cur himself sent me the first issue—unadulterated third-form drivel.

Heise (of the *Hornisse*) is now an intimate of Willich's. They are as thick as thieves. What can he see in the fellow? Once again they are bragging about a proposed coup in Germany.

Dronke is a real *imbécile*. His appetite whetted by the £4 we got for him from the Rhineland, he went to Coblenz in the hopes of extorting some more. It never occurred to the jackass that he would be providing fresh ammunition for use against the people in Cologne.[a] The fellow's behaviour is really too disgraceful.

Apropos. Do not forget to send *immédiatement* two notes to London as follows: 1. for *Liebknecht*, empowering him to obtain the £1 from *Hain*. 2. Write a brief note yourself to Hain, telling your 'good friend' in a couple of lines that, having heard he was doing well, you had referred Liebknecht to him *re* the £1. We must be careful not to make an enemy of him.

The fact is that one of our acquaintances, who has hitherto found shelter for the night at Liebknecht's lodgings, was thrown out by the latter's landlords, and not one of us has been able to raise a penny for the poor devil. Accordingly I yesterday sent Liebknecht a note in which I told him you had referred him to Hain *re* the £1. Mr Hain appeared somewhat incredulous and told Liebknecht he must first see it in your handwriting.

Let me have a few STAMPS, for I have a mass of stuff to send you.

Your
K. M.

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[a] the Communist League members arrested and detained under investigation

## 43

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 April 1852

Dear Marx,

Yesterday evening I received a note from Hain which I sent you together with my reply to it. After this, I think, Mr Hain will pay.

Herewith the STAMPS, more to follow shortly. Also returning the other stuff. Ewerbeck's letter is a worthy pendant to his book.[a] 'Pray help me oppose Ribbentrop! I shall denounce him to Democracy as a hypocrite and *débaucheur*.'[b] The man must be in his dotage.

Nor has friend Bruno increased in wisdom or divine knowledge.[c] *Il valait bien la peine*[d] to set the American press in motion from Berlin thus, by this most roundabout route, proclaiming to an astonished world that the continental armies are there to maintain internal peace. Mr Bruno still represents the Hegelian dialectic in its deepest stagnation. At this stage of development, his concept of history goes no deeper than providing circumstantial proof of the most banal platitudes by an ample display of solemnity and pseudo-logical development, and then dishing them up as the brand-new findings of zealous research. All this is tolerable in the case of the distant past, but to be thus bamboozled about the immediate present is really too much and any fool should be able to see that there's nothing at all at the bottom of it. And as for the profound truth that governments are right vis-à-vis revolutions because the latter are still immature, but revolutions are also right vis-à-vis governments because they represent the ideas of the future, admittedly in embryonic and immature form, but nevertheless [...] to a substantial degree—that is an old Hegelian joke whose novelty has certainly worn off even in America! And then the eternal 'ill-temper', 'peevishness', 'fundamental indifference' of the 'bourgeois'. 'In some countries, classes war against classes, in others nations against nations.' Strictly speaking, this prodigiously clever sentence is all that Bruno has learnt from the revolution.

Mr Tellering has apparently been chased out of France as being

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[a] H. Ewerbeck, *L'Allemagne et les Allemands*. - [b] Ewerbeck to Marx, 21 April 1852. - [c] See previous letter. - [d] It was well worth while

a homeless, vagrant member of the *lumpenproletariat* and of no use even to the Société du 10 Décembre.[113]

Unless you know positively that Dronke went to Germany of his own free will, I would think it more probable that, having been already once expelled from France, he was this time transported not to any frontier but to the *German* frontier. But once safely in Nassau, why did the silly fool go to Coblenz when he'd have done far better to go to Hamburg, where no one knows him and he would have found Weerth and Strohn, hence also cash, and from there to England! But Coblenz being so close, he was obviously drawn there from Nassau by the prospect of money, and if he had managed to get through safely, would certainly have gone on to Cologne. At all events, it is fortunate for the Cologne people that they have already been dealt with by the Board of indicting magistrates, otherwise Dronke's arrest would have provided occasion for another six months' examination. But very soon they'll take him to Cologne and maybe attempt to produce him as a witness before the Court of Assizes. This time it serves him perfectly right. He could certainly have found such money as he needed in Frankfurt, or have got Lassalle to send it to him somewhere, but no, the little chap must needs go to Coblenz where he's known to every gendarme and every dog in town. *En attendant il est sûrement logé.*[a]

Your
F. E.

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## 44

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 27 April 1852

Dear Marx,

Herewith Weydemeyer's latest, which sounds rather more hopeful. For the time being I am keeping your article[114] here 1. so as to read it, and 2. so as to translate it into English at some later

[a] Meanwhile he is out of harm's way.

date, which will be easily done, omitting such figures of speech as are comprehensible only to Germans.

*Voilà donc*[a] Moses Hess, in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, with a warrant out against him for high treason.[b] I'll be hanged if this hasn't happened because Father Dronke was found carrying those idiotic papers concerning their important business in Geneva. *Cela valait bien la peine!*[c] In the meantime Moses again becomes a martyr, which will greatly enhance his *otium cum dignitate*[d]; maybe he will shortly be dispatched to London—*est-ce que nous n'échapperons jamais à cet imbécile?*[e] At any rate, all this can make things extremely awkward again for the poor devils in Cologne and provide new grounds for dragging out their trial; had they already been referred to the Court of Assizes, we should surely have heard about it.

Freiligrath has written asking for an introduction to my brother-in-law[f]—I am sending it to him today; evidently he is determined to look round for a post.

Warm greetings to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

Splendid division on the Militia Bill last night.[115] If the Almighty vouchsafes a few more like it, the new election will be postponed until September or October. SERVES THE WHIGS RIGHT AND THE FINANCIALS[28] TOO! I see that Jones intends after all to bring out his PAPER straight away—it was a mean trick Harney played him over the *Star*, but it was lucky that Jones did not acquire that doomed, discredited, wretched old paper.[116] Let Harney dig its grave and his own at the same time.

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[a] Here we have - [b] 'Amtliche Bekanntmachungen', *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 99, 24 April 1852. - [c] It was well worth while! - [d] dignified leisure (Cicero, *Oratio pro Sextio*, 45) - [e] shall we never escape this imbecile? - [f] Emil Blank

## 45

## ENGELS TO MARX[117]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 29 April 1852

D. M.,

Herewith another letter from Weydemeyer. I have not received the newspapers; but the *Atlantic* was reported by telegraph this morning, and they will probably arrive tomorrow morning. Weydemeyer appears to have misunderstood one or two practical hints I gave him on how to pack and dispatch his things in such a way as not to pay unnecessarily high postal charges; however, I have already pointed out his mistake.[a]

So the Coblenz story about the *piccolo*[b] was a pure fabrication and, if the *Kölner Zeitung* is to be believed, Father Dronke must already be in London, his adventures have achieved a purpose. *Tant mieux pour lui.*[c] But this makes the business of Moses'[d] warrant even more inexplicable. Anyhow, it would seem to imply further vexations for the Cologne people. God knows what sort of scrawl the police have picked up this time. *Pauvre*[e] Moses, fancy becoming SO EGREGIOUSLY and *post festum*[f] a martyr *in partibus infidelium*!

Next week I shall write several articles in succession for Dana,[118] and make sure that I take the thing up to the end of the Imperial Constitutional campaign. In order that we may be able to conclude directly, it would be a good idea if you could provide me with a short memorandum for the final articles—THE REVOLUTIONARY PROSPECTS OF GERMANY, and our party's situation during and after the revolution. It is precisely these concluding pieces which are important, and moreover a memorandum of this kind would enable me to write these articles not only better but far more quickly. In this way I could, if I tried hard enough, finish all the 5-6 outstanding articles within a fortnight and meanwhile you could get in touch with Dana about a new series on a subject of greater *actualité, soit la France, soit l'Angleterre.*[g] Since Weydemeyer's pamphlet will probably be coming out soon, it will no longer be

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[a] See this volume, p. 79. - [b] the little one (Ernst Dronke) - [c] So much the better for him. - [d] Hess. See this volume, p. 89. - [e] Poor - [f] after the event - [g] topicality, either France or England

possible to sell Dana the *18th Brumaire*, even in a different guise; for he will then be able to have it FOR NOTHING and translate it himself. But you could still ask Dana whether he would like to have a modified version in translation, one suitable for the Anglo-American public. In this case the events leading up to 2 December '51 would for the most part be excised and the thing finally brought right up to date, so that successive weekly or fortnightly reports on France would follow straight on.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 30 April 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

You will receive at the same time as this letter a colossal parcel from America. Today I have also had a letter from Cluss, of which I give excerpts below, as I shall be needing it until next week.

Dronke has arrived here *sain et sauf*.[a] I like him better than I had feared. He has grown taller and has broadened out as well. This has also made him more self-possessed. For the present he hob-nobs with Anschütz, who welcomed him with open arms. He is going to start up a small business, having contracted in Paris to sell cigar cases and purses over here. 10% commission. And, through Anschütz, he will at once acquire the necessary connections for this TRADE.

He tells me that the 'worthy' Techow has sent character sketches of us to Switzerland in which he roundly inveighs against us and

[a] safe and sound

you in particular. You have aroused the professional jealousy of the military, *et je pense*[a] that one day you will justify *leurs pressentiments*.[b] Further: from Geneva, Schily demanded that the gentlemen come to terms with us. This elicited an authoritative statement signed by Willich, Techow, Schapper and Schimmelpfennig in which, *inter alia*, it was pointed out that 1. there had been a complete break with this wholly impotent party; 2. there are police spies in our midst who have been reporting everything to the Prussian government.

I don't know whether I have already told you, or whether you heard during your stay here,[119] that Messrs Kinkel *et* Co. possess a *mere* 3,000 dollars in cash *all told*, that all respectable people such as Löwe of Calbe have all withdrawn, that relations between Willich on the one hand and Kinkel and Reichenbach on the other are very strained, and that the whole dungheap is in process of disintegration.

You will receive the memorandum on Germany.[c]

Yesterday the curs held a meeting of guarantors here and elected a definitive committee. Mr Ruge wrote a letter of protest. Willich was not present. From the start Reichenbach refused to have anything more to do with the filthy business. The committee will be paid. Those elected are Kinkel, Willich (doubtful that he'll accept), Löwe of Calbe (will in any case refuse), Fickler, Ronge, Schütz of Mainz and one other. They will make up the total from out of their own midst. In his letter, Ruge attacks Kinkel as an agent of the Prince of Prussia[d] and a freemason.

Here is a passage from Cluss' letter:

Huzel (not to be confused with Huzzelwitt), Cluss' friend, [present as a guarantor] at Kinkel's Cincinnati congress[60] writes and tells Cluss *inter alia:*

'Kinkel tried to floor me with *vulgar invective* against Marx and Engels. I succeeded in doing what I wanted, namely in cornering him so effectively that I shall have him at my mercy for some time to come. He tried to cover himself by obtaining my word of honour not to say anything about the incident or to write anything that would get him "into a stink"... In a letter to Anneke a certain Tellering scolds like a fishwife at Marx...'.

Cluss himself goes on:

'In New York, at the inimitable meeting which I reported in my last letter, the numerous gymnastic clubs[120] constituted themselves a separate body and declared

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[a] and I think - [b] their presentiments - [c] See this volume, p. 90. - [d] Cf. this volume, p. 573.

their support for my protest[a] and for Weydemeyer's article[b] against Kinkel's memorandum?[121]

Apropos. I gave Bangya a few pen-sketches of the great German men in London for him to pass on to Szemere.[122] This letter, I know not how, has been read to a German publisher without my name being mentioned. He is now asking for 'character sketches' of these gentlemen and, according to Bangya, is prepared to pay £25 for a few sheets. Anonymous or pseudonymous, of course. Well, *qu'en penses-tu?*[c] We would really have to do a humorous piece of this kind together. I have some doubts. If you think I should take this crap on, you will have to make a compilation from my letters and anything else you have which may contain fragments on the peculiarities of these curs. At all events you would have to send me a few notes about Willich 'in action'[123] and 'in Switzerland'.

Among the things I am sending you, you will find the draft of an advertisement for an illustrated book of battle reports by old Szerelmey. He wants it gingered up a little and done into English as an advertisement, in return for which he promises each of us a copy of his work. *Je crois que ça vaut la peine de faire un petit puff.*[d]

As soon as I set eyes on Mr Carey's first work in print[e] I foresaw that he would bring out an economic work on the 'harmony of interests'.[f]

*Mais que dis-tu, mon cher,*[g] to the fact that, in the *Janus* we sent you, Ruge seeks—and *how* he seeks, *mon Dieu!*—to appropriate communism as the latest product of his 'humanist thought'.

Have you read the cock-fight between Harney and Jones?[116] If not, I shall send you their mutual philippics.[h] Both of them, the one voluntarily, the other involuntarily, descend to the level of German émigré polemics.

Your
K. M.

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[a] A. Cluss, 'An den Garanten-Congress des deutschen Anleihens in Cincinnati. Washington, Jan. 23', *Turn-Zeitung,* No. 6, 1 March 1852. - [b] J. Weydemeyer, 'Die revolutionäre Agitation unter der Emigration', *Turn-Zeitung,* No. 6, 1 March 1852. - [c] what do you think of it? - [d] I think it warrants the trouble of a little puff. - [e] H. Ch. Carey, *Essay on the Rate of Wages...* - [f] H. Ch. Carey, *The Harmony of Interests...* In a letter of 15 April 1852 Cluss wrote Marx about the second edition of this book. - [g] But what, my dear fellow, do you say - [h] G. J. Harney, 'To the Readers of *The Star,* and the Democrats of Great Britain and Ireland', *The Star,* No. 753, 17 April 1852 and E. Jones, 'An Appeal for the Judgment of the People', *Notes to the People,* No. 52, 24 April 1852.

Have you ever read more egregious nonsense than B. Bauer's article in the *Tribune*: 'The Decline of England'? The passage most characteristic of the incorrigible old theologian runs as follows:

'While the English Parliament has hitherto persecuted the Romish policy, and availed itself of the popular impulses for the establishment of its sovereignty—while, in the old Romish spirit, it has taken advantage of *internal domestic differences*, as for example, the *differences of High Church, of Scotch Presbyterianism*, and *of Irish Catholicism*, for the formation and development of its aristocratic art of Government, [...] it has now become a party to the Continental struggle between the peoples and the Governments, and it appears as the advocate for Constitutionalism at the very moment when that is approaching its undeniable downfall.'

If that's not champion drivel, I don't know what is.

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## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER [12]

### IN NEW YORK

London, 30 April 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

The news of the printing is very welcome.[124] You must not take Lupus' letter[125] so much *au sérieux*.[a] In our very straitened circumstances there is, you know, inevitably a surplus of irritation which must always be 'discounted' if one is to strike a right balance.

Neither I nor Engels has received your anti-Kinkel article in the *Turn-Zeitung*.[b] I await it with keen interest since your anti-Heinzen polemic was a model of its kind.[c]

I am *horrified* to learn that Pfänder's statements are appearing in the pamphlet.[126] That sort of thing is all very well for a weekly where what crops up today is submerged tomorrow in the welter of time. In a pamphlet, on the other hand, it acquires altogether

[a] seriously - [b] J. Weydemeyer, 'Die revolutionäre Agitation unter der Emigration', *Turn-Zeitung*, No. 6, 1 March 1852. - [c] Weydemeyer's article in the *New-Yorker Demokrat*, No. 311, 29 January 1852.

too much permanence, looks too much like a party manifesto and, if we want to attack the swine, there are, of course, better and different ways of doing so than in Pfänder's statement. Unfortunately this will arrive too late.—Just now I am negotiating with a bookseller here who is to get your *Revolution* sent to Germany. More about this next week.

As regards the newly invented lacquer varnish about which I and Bangya wrote to you,[127] you must not let the thing out of your own hands. It might set you up in funds at one stroke. Write and tell me *when the* EXHIBITION *opens* in New York,[128] and all you know about it. You can make use of the opportunity both to strike up acquaintances and to establish all the connections with foreign businessmen necessary to a forwarding agency. Write to me at once, giving full details of the expenses you thereby incur. We must, of course, let you have these *en avance.* In the first place you will need a fellow to keep a constant eye on the stuff at the Exhibition, since you yourself cannot spend the whole day in the building for the sake of it. Secondly, you will need money for advertisements and announcements in the newspapers. So let us have a detailed estimate of expenses.

As to Szemere, his pamphlet[a] will soon be READY. But since I cannot, as he asks, send him a 'bundle' of copies of the *Revolution,* and since our enemies may have whispered in his ear that your paper has appeared only twice before submerging again, I cannot just now get any money from that quarter, for the confidence of these people has been shaken. But he is coming here *in person* and I shall then straighten everything out.

It would be a pity if your anti-Kinkel polemic were not to appear in the very first number. The fellow is going utterly to pot. A Dane by the name of Goldschmidt lampooned him splendidly in the feuilleton of the *Kölner Zeitung,* recounting his meeting with him and Schurz in London.[b] Dronke, finally released from custody in Paris, has arrived here and is saying that in private friend Schurz declares Kinkel a jackass whom he only intends to exploit. This man, Kinkel's 'modest liberator', has smuggled an article into the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*[c] in which he proclaims himself

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[a] The pamphlet was published later, in 1853, under the title: B. Szemere, *Graf Ludwig Batthyány, Arthur Görgei, Ludwig Kossuth. Politische Charakterskizzen aus dem Ungarischen Freiheitskriege.* - [b] M. Goldschmidt, ['Einige Skizzen aus seiner Reise nach England während der Zeit der großen Ausstellung'] *Kölnische Zeitung,* No. 100, 25 April 1852. - [c] An anonymous article ['Hansestädte. Hamburg, 13 April'] in *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 108, 17 April 1852.

'the only important man among the London émigrés', declares Kinkel and Ruge to be 'out-moded' and, in proof of his own greatness, cites the fact that he is marrying a 'rich' girl, Ronge's sister-in-law, and that, after completion of the nuptials, he will remove to America. *Quel grand homme! Quant à Tellering,*[a] keep me *au fait* about this individual. As soon as I think *fit*, I can destroy him, not only in the eyes of *our* party, but in the eyes of *all* parties.[b]

Yesterday, then, Mr Kinkel held his Guarantors' Congress.[c] Mr Willich did not appear; he is very embittered with Kinkel as a result of the news which we conveyed to him by a roundabout route (we had had it from Cluss). Mr Ruge sent a letter in which he declared Kinkel to be an agent of the 'King of Prussia',[d] and gave himself superior airs. Mr Reichenbach declared that he wanted to have nothing more to do with the filthy business. Thus a definitive committee was elected, seven in number—of the alleged communists only Willich, who is unlikely to accept. In addition, Löwe of Calbe, who has already refused. Next, Kinkel, Schütz of Mainz, Fickler. I do not know who the other two are. According to some reports, the curs have 3,000 dollars in cash and, according to others, 9,000. They immediately resolved that *the 7 members of the provisional government* should receive **payment**, a fact you must report in the *Turn-Zeitung*.[129] For the rest, the whole dungheap is disintegrating.

Keep at least some of the copies of the *Revolution* READY for *Germany* until you receive my order.

I have forwarded your letter to Jones. He cannot *possibly* pay anything. He is as *dépourvu*[e] as ourselves, and we all write for him gratis. Cluss will have told you about the battle between Jones and Harney. I have sent him details of it.[130] However, the things must be kept from the American Press for as long as possible.

Big business and industry are now doing better than ever in England and hence on the Continent. As a result of the exceptional circumstances—California, Australia, England's commercial penetration of the Punjab, Sind and other only recently conquered parts of India, it may well be that the crisis will be postponed until 1853. But then its eruption will be appalling. And until that time there can be no thought of revolutionary convulsions.

The trial of the Cologne people has again been deferred, this

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[a] What a great man! As for Tellering - [b] See this volume, p. 105. - [c] ibid., p. 92. - [d] ibid., pp. 92 and 573. - [e] penniless

time until the July Assizes. By then the Assizes, i.e. the JURIES, will probably have been abolished in Prussia.

Philistine Lüning, so Dronke tells me, has been here with his spouse in order to unify Agitation and Emigration[26]—fruitlessly, of course.

Farewell. Warmest regards to your wife from my wife and myself.

Your
K. M.

Hardly ever have I seen anything more stupid than Bruno Bauer's article on 'the decline of England'.[a]

How did the fellow manage to get in with Dana?

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## 48

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 May 1852

Dear Marx,

Enclosed a 30/- POST OFFICE ORDER, which is all I can spare for the moment. True, you will not be able to cash the thing tomorrow, on account of its being Sunday, but at least you know that you've got it. Should I find myself able to send off more of the same later on this month, you can be sure you'll get it come what may, but just now I cannot say.

It's very nice to hear that the little man[b] has turned up and is getting on well, and it is all to the good that he has, for the time being, found A FRIEND IN NEED, A FRIEND INDEED in Anschütz. He must visit me some time this summer, once I have seen the back of my old man.

As to the question of the biographical sketches of the great men,[c] I have, oddly enough, long been turning over in my mind a similar

[a] See this volume, pp. 85 and 87. - [b] Ernst Dronke - [c] See this volume, p. 93.

idea for an alphabetically arranged collection of such biographies, which could continually be added to and kept in readiness for the great moment 'when it all starts', and then they could all at once be precipitated into the world. As for the publisher's offer, £25 is not to be sneezed at, but we must not forget that, however great the ano- and pseudonymity, everyone will realise *de quel côté ces flèches viennent*,[a] and the responsibility would be laid at both our doors. If published in Germany under the present regime, the thing would seem to be supporting the reactionaries, and not even prefaces expressing the most irreproachable views in the world would make it seem otherwise. And that is always fatal. If the affair were restricted to a few—say, a dozen—of the more noteworthy jackasses, Kinkel, Hecker, Struve, Willich, Vogt and so forth, it might be more feasible, for the omission of our own names would not then matter very much and the things could be taken as issuing direct from the reactionaries. At any rate we ought, if possible, to write it together.[131] So decide what you think is best and *nous verrons*. £25 *valent bien un peu de scandale*.[b]

Cluss' letter will be returned next week. I'll do the thing for Szerelmey.[c] By midday today the Americans had not yet arrived, maybe they are waiting for me now at home.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 May 1852

Dear Marx,

Your fat American parcel has not yet arrived.[d] I have made inquiries at Pickford's, since the houses in my street have been renumbered, which gives rise to confusion. But at Pickford's there

[a] which direction these barbs are coming from - [b] we shall see. £25 is well worth a bit of a row. - [c] See this volume, p. 93. - [d] See this volume, pp. 91 and 100.

is no parcel for me. Either you didn't send the thing off or, if by post, perhaps not in the prescribed manner, or else something has happened to it. So try and find out what has become of the thing.

I shall be having a visit from my respected pater here this week, when the whole bloody matter of the firm will be settled and my position, too, will be further regulated. Either the contract will be renewed and the firm will continue as it is, which is not very probable, or I shall try so to arrange matters that my old man quits by the end of the year at the latest, and perhaps even by the end of June. Then there'll be the hellish liquidation which, however, should be more or less completed in 6 to 8 months, after which I shall turn my hand to something else, either go to Liverpool or God knows what. This will probably be decided within the next fortnight. I am glad that my old man will soon be here so that the inevitable mess is over as soon as possible and I know where I am.

I return Cluss' letter herewith. I have Jones' articles here, but not those of Harney, which you might send me some time so that I can acquaint myself with both sides and observe Father Harney in his new role. The industrious Jones will soon drive this indolent cur from the field if only he can hang on for a while. And he will certainly be able to raise the circulation[a] to 4,000 a week, which alone means a profit (3,600 covers costs).

The arrival of my old man will, of course, put back my Dana plans[b] by a week or a fortnight. On the other hand you could meanwhile continue, through Szemere, to negotiate with the publisher over the sketches, to look through your correspondence and the *N. Rh. Z.* (especially votes and speeches in the National Assembly) apropos the heroes to be depicted and, if the matter reaches a favourable conclusion, you could come up here for a week and we'd have a go at the thing.[c] I really think it could be done in such a way that no one will discover its *paternité*,[d] and even if they did, little harm would be done.

According to a letter from Ebner, he is still negotiating over your Economy[45] with Löwenthal, who wants to establish himself in Brussels and in the meantime remains a partner in the Frankfurt business.

How is Freiligrath progressing with my brother-in-law?[e] Don't

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[a] of *The People's Paper* - [b] i.e. work on the series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany.* - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile.* - [d] here: authorship - [e] Emil Blank (see this volume, p. 89).

forget to let me know about Pindar, *c'est une bête ennuyeuse et assez confuse.*[a] Is he a member of the League?[b]

The copies of the *Turn-Zeitung* advised by Weydemeyer have still not arrived; there must have been some oversight on his part.

Write soon.

Your
F. E.

In the case of parcels which do not go by post, it would be best if, instead of the old No. 70, you include the old and new nos. In the address, thus:

No. 44/70, Great Ducie St., Strangeways, Manchester.

Szerelmey's thing[c] tomorrow perhaps.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 6 May 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

The parcel didn't go off to you because Pickford's demanded 2/6d from my wife. And the whole lot put together isn't worth that much.

The strange note enclosed herewith is a hastily made copy of a circular sent out by Messrs Kinkel and Willich to their affiliates.[132] The funniest thing about it is that one of their heads of sections invariably carries these scraps to Hebeler, the Prussian Consul-General, who pays him for them. The Prussian government, of course, no less than Kinkel-Willich, possesses the key to these

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[a] a tedious and rather muddle-headed creature - [b] the Communist League - [c] See this volume, p. 93.

portentous mysteries. Indeed Willich, for all his principles and scruples, has after all accepted a position on the definitive committee. Where the money is, there you will find Willich.

A *coup quelconque*[a] is intended, so much is certain. General Klapka has already left for Malta, in his pocket a commission signed by Kossuth and Mazzini appointing him general commanding the Italo-Hungarian army. I believe a start is to be made in Sicily. Unless these gentlemen suffer defeat and receive a drubbing twice a year, they feel ill at ease. That world history continues to unfold without their help, without their intervention, and without, indeed, official intervention, is something they refuse to admit. If things go wrong, as they are sure to do, Mr Mazzini will have a renewed opportunity for self-assertion in outraged letters to a Graham *quelconque*.[b] [133] Nor will his digestion suffer in consequence.

I am now correcting Bangya's translation of Szemere's character-sketches[c] written in Hungarian. While the original must be splendid, it has to be laboriously reconstructed from the wretched and often almost incomprehensible translation which is constantly at loggerheads with the rules of grammar and the *consecutio temporum*.[d] This much is clear: the deposition of the Austrian dynasty which, at the time of its proclamation, was unpolitical and pernicious, was engineered by Mr Lajos Kossuth so as to secure for himself the post of governor, for he feared that, if he hesitated, he would later see it devolve unopposed on the victorious Görgey. Lajos was also responsible for the mistake of storming Ofen instead of marching on Vienna, since he was itching to celebrate with his family his triumphant entry into the capital.[134]

Apropos. I have just received a letter from Bangya. The publisher in Berlin has now made a definite offer: £25 for 5-6 sheets of character-sketches, 24 free copies. I shall receive the money from Bangya as soon as I deliver the manuscript to him. But the man wants it quickly.

My plan is as follows: for the time being I shall do a *brouillon*[e] with Dronke, which will *plus ou moins*[f] obliterate my style. So it might be possible for you and me to get the thing[g] READY in a fortnight's time. At all events you must let me have some more

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[a] some coup or other - [b] some or other - [c] B. Szemere, *Graf Ludwig Batthyány, Arthur Görgei, Ludwig Kossuth. Politische Charakterskizzen aus dem Ungarischen Freiheitskriege*. - [d] sequence of tenses - [e] rough draft - [f] more or less - [g] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*.

information about Willich (during the campaign[a] and in Switzerland) in your CURRENT LETTERS.

Enclosed letter from Cluss.

Yesterday Freiligrath and I were with Trübner, the bookseller. He believes he can dispose of a number of copies of the *Revolution*[b] here in London and place a further quantity in Germany through Campe. So as soon as Weydemeyer's copies arrive, forward them here. The *Turn-Zeitung* seems to have gone astray.

Your
K. Marx

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 May 1852

Dear Marx,

I return Cluss' letter herewith. In this connection it has occurred to me that now that Mr Dana is in touch with B. Bauer and Simon of Trier and is, at the same time, restricting your space on account of the presidential election, it would certainly not be out of place to give Mr Dana a taste of Yankee medicine. Cluss and a number of others should write to Mr Dana from various quarters inquiring why it is that these INCOMPARABLE articles should appear so rarely and irregularly and expressing the hope that the fault does not lie with the editorial board which, rather, might be expected to correct this situation and find it possible to publish articles by K. M. more frequently, etc., etc. Weydemeyer could very easily organise this; the only reason we need to give him is that Dana wants to restrict your space and hence a demonstration of this

[a] Willich's service in the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army in the spring of 1849. - [b] The issue of *Die Revolution*, in which Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* appeared.

kind is called for if we are to continue to have access to this organ. *A Barnum, Barnum et demi.*[a] If you agree, I can put this to Weydemeyer per the next STEAMER.

The circular sent out by the convention to the sections is exquisite. I'll be hanged if the St Petersburg, Warsaw, Berlin, Rome, etc., sections are situated more than 4 miles from Charing Cross. This carbonari-like, self-important, bustling, order-of-the-dayish attitude again betrays how mistaken these gentlemen are as to their ostensibly organised forces. To propose a coup just now is a *bêtise*[b] and a dirty trick. But truly, 'something has got to happen, something has got to be done'. It would be desirable for the supposed leaders of the thing to be all of them captured and shot; but needless to say the great men will make sure this doesn't happen and the heroic Willich will stay quietly in London so long as there is still money in the cashbox, credit at Schärttner's and free coats and boots *ad libitum* at the 'tailor's and shoemaker's'. That is what Mr Willich means by supplies for the army!

As for the matter of the character-sketches,[c] so far so good. The thing can be ready in a month's time. But mind you find someone reliable to make a fair copy, so that it goes out in a completely unknown hand. When you come up, bring the Americana, the complete run of the *N. Rh. Z.* and the necessary manuscript documents. My old man arrives tomorrow and is unlikely to be able to stay here for longer than 8-10 days.

I've at last received my stuff on military science from Germany. So far I have been able to read only little of it. At this stage, I should say that Mr Gustav von Hoffstetter, of wide renown, is not exactly a Napoleon but rather a thoroughly reliable commander of a battalion or so in a minor engagement. But I haven't yet finished reading his thing.[d] Not unpleasing, on the other hand, is a booklet on new fortifications in general by Küntzel, a Prussian captain of engineers[e]—both better history and more materialist than anything I have so far read in *militaribus.*[f]

Now as for Mr Willisen, be it said here that the victory at Idstedt[135] was won, not by the Danes over the Schleswig-Holsteiners, but rather by the usual tactics of common sense over

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[a] *A Barnum, Barnum et demi* (Against one Barnum one and a half) is modelled on such an expression as 'à Corsaire Corsaire et demi', the idea of which is roughly 'to beat someone at his own game'. - [b] piece of stupidity - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile.* - [d] Gustav von Hoffstetter, *Tagebuch aus Italien, 1849.* - [e] H. Küntzel, *Die taktischen Elemente der neuen Fortificationen.* - [f] in the military sphere

Hegelian speculation. Willisen's book[a] should really be called the *philosophy* of great wars. This in itself would indicate that it contains more philosophising than military science, that the most self-evident things are construed *a priori* with the most profound and exhaustive thoroughness and that, sandwiched between these, are the most methodical discourses on simplicity and multiplicity and such-like opposites. What can one say about military science which begins with the concept of art *en général*, then goes on to demonstrate that the art of cookery is also an art, expatiates on the relationship of art to science and finally subsumes all the rules, relationships, potentialities, etc., etc., of the art of war under the one, absolute axiom: the stronger always overcomes the weaker. Every now and again there are some nice *aperçus*[b] and some useful reductions to basic principles; it would indeed be bad if there were not. As to its practical application, I haven't yet got to that, but it doesn't say much for Willisen that every one of Napoleon's greatest victories was achieved in defiance of Willisen's elementary rules, a result that your orthodox Hegelian can, of course, readily explain away without the least violence being done to those rules.

I see that Görgey's memoirs have just come out[c]—but since they cost 6 talers, I doubt that I can buy them just now. With these, the material on the *military aspect* of the Hungarian war may be regarded as complete for the time being. At any rate, I shall do something on the Hungarian war, and possibly on all the wars of 1848/49.[136] As soon as I am clear in my mind about earlier military history, I shall look round for a publisher onto whom I can then shift most of the expenditure on sources.

You will have received the 30/- sent you last Saturday.

Your
F. E.

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[a] W. Willisen, *Theorie des großen Krieges angewendet auf den russisch-polnischen Feldzug von 1831.* - [b] insights - [c] A. Görgei, *Mein Leben und Wirken in Ungarn in den Jahren 1848 und 1849.*

## 52

## MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS[137]

### IN WASHINGTON

[London, 7 and about 15 May 1852]

... Herewith you will find a wrapper, in which the contemptible, craven, half-crazed *Tellering* mailed his defamatory opus. (Address:) CHARLES MARX, THE FUTURE DICTATOR OF GERMANY.[138] Now I ask you, what is to be done with the cur? To start a public row with a lunatic of this sort would be doing him too much honour and is the whole object of his manoeuvre. Could you not send the MANIAC's wrapper to the New York postal service in my name? Or might not a sound thrashing be the simplest course? I leave the whole thing to you. Naturally any packages of the kind will in future be returned. But by indulging in this sort of gutter-snipe's trick, the cur also brings me to the notice of the English police, which, under the Tories, is far from pleasant...

*Ad vocem*[a] Szemere: I am not by nature inclined to be unduly trusting, least of all when it comes to the official great men of 1848/49. But in Szemere's case, it's quite a different matter. I am correcting the German translation—for he originally wrote in Hungarian—of his 'character-sketches'.[b] Every line betrays a *superior intellect*, and the rage of the democrats may be attributed to the CONTEMPT AND MOCKERY-SYSTEM which he employs with supreme skill. Although, of course, in accordance with the Hungarian line, he places, as in Antiquity, 'the fatherland and the citizen' above all else, his writing is imbued with a fundamentally critical spirit. A man who thinks and writes in this way is no Austrian agent. As for the 'DEAR COLONEL WEBB', he was negotiating with him without knowing who he was, but broke off as soon as he was informed what was afoot. The story of his fortune is very simple. Szemere himself does not possess a centime. But his wife is the daughter of a (now deceased) Austrian *'Hof-agent'* (as the Austrian *Procureurs du roi*[c] are called in Hungary); her old man possessed a fortune of a million. Throughout the 1848/49 revolution Mrs Szemere lived in Vienna with her mother. He had even ordered her to refrain from writing to him and to sever all ties with him until the old

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[a] As to - [b] B. Szemere, *Graf Ludwig Batthyány, Arthur Görgei, Ludwig Kossuth. Politische Charakterskizzen aus dem Ungarischen Freiheitskriege.* - [c] King's prosecutors

woman's death, when she could collect *her* fortune. His old mother-in-law died at the end of 1849 and Mrs Szemere, who was, of course, in no way suspect, surreptitiously sold all her worldly goods and turned them into CASH. In this she was aided by the minister, Bach, her father's lawyer, who seized on this opportunity and surreptitiously *took his cut.* Once her fortune was liquid, Mrs Szemere converted it into bills on London and English STOCKS, obtained a passport authorising her to visit the water-cure doctor, Priessnitz, in Prussia, but instead travelled to London and thence to her husband in Paris. Those Austrians, however, could lay their hands on nothing with which to gladden their Exchequer. Well, what does all this prove? That Szemere is much too astute to make his enemies a present of a million. I have written to Sz. himself, telling him that, without mentioning Kossuth, he should make a statement about his personal circumstances which I shall get into the *New-York Tribune* for him.

The Austrian spies are in Kossuth's immediate entourage, notably Madame Pulszky. This Count Pulszky is a Galician Jew by origin. Madame Pulszky, daughter of an ultra-reactionary Jewish banker in Vienna, writes to her mater each week, and from this source the Austrian government finds out anything it wants. It may even be asked whether Count and Countess Pulszky (*The Times* regularly derided both these individuals for the ASSUMPTION of their title)[a] have not promised to lure Mr Kossuth into the snare in the hope that they may thereby retrieve their confiscated land. It is known for a fact that as a student, Pulszky denounced his comrades' demagogic activities[139] to the Austrian government...

Enclosed you will find General Klapka's declaration of principles,[140] from which you will see that he, too, is starting to rebel against Kossuth. The last part of the document means nothing more than that Klapka is going to participate in Mazzini's projected coup. I have, if I am not mistaken, already written to you about the plans for a coup hatched by Messrs Mazzini, Kossuth, etc. Nothing could be more welcome to the great powers, especially Bonaparte, and nothing ***more damaging*** *to ourselves.*

I have just received a letter from Cologne, dated 3 May.[b] They are asking for 200 or 250 copies of the *Brumaire.* So pray ask Weydemeyer to send me forthwith 300 copies via *Engels.* At the same time, he should advise me of the selling price. I take it that he has already dispatched the 50 copies as promised...[141]

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[a] *The Times,* No. 20955, 10 November 1851, leader. - [b] Bermbach's letter to Marx of 3 May 1852; the original has 11 May.

To return to Klapka's document. I would beg you to keep it secret for the time being. It was given me in confidence, but with permission to publish it. I shall send it to the New York *Tribune*, and I do not want it to come into circulation before then...

Jones' STAMPED PAPER has come out and the first number has sold surprisingly well. I enclose a cutting from the Notes[a] from which you will see that he has knocked Harney out completely. Mr Harney is proceeding down the primrose path. One article in his paper, signed Spartacus,[b] attacks Chartism for being only a CLASS MOVEMENT which ought to be replaced by A GENERAL AND NATIONAL MOVEMENT, genuine Mazzinian hot air, etc., etc., etc....

Extracts from the Cologne letter[c]:

'Recently Mrs Daniels was favoured yet again with a domiciliary visit in the certain expectation that it would yield a letter from you. The Prussian police seem to be as putty in the hands of the first jackass to come along. The prisoners' case seems to be approaching its conclusion. The examination has been concluded and, for over two months, the files have been back in the possession of the local public prosecutor at the Court of Appeal where, however, they seem incapable of deciding upon the wording of a petition to the Board of indicting magistrates. It is generally rumoured that the thing will be dealt with before a special Court of Assizes in June.'

Apropos. Ask Weydemeyer if he has yet been to see Dana, who is waiting for him to pass on the information I sent him about the situation of the Cologne prisoners and the conduct of the Prussian government, before writing a LEADER on the subject.[d] He mustn't for God's sake fail to do this, if it can possibly be helped.

If you manage to bring out Freiligrath's poem against Kinkel *et Comp*[e] as a broadsheet, you will have an assured sale of 500 copies in the Rhineland alone. But the thing must be done quickly. Otherwise it will be *trop tard*.[f]

Do not allow the articles, etc., in your possession to age so much that they lose their bouquet. If you can't get them printed (Eccarius, Engels, etc.),[142] give them to some paper or other, e.g. the *Turn-Zeitung*, as you think fit. In any case, it is better they should be read than left unread.

If you can't get Freiligrath's poem printed, give it to whatever

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[a] [E. Jones,] 'Current Notes', *The People's Paper*, No. 1, 8 May 1852. - [b] Spartacus [pseudonym of W. J. Linton], 'The Sense of the Country', *The Star of Freedom*, No. 1, 8 May 1852. - [c] Below is an extract from Bermbach's letter to Marx of 3 May 1852. - [d] *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3446 of 4 May 1852 used this material for its leader 'Justice of Prussia'. See also this volume, p. 115. - [e] F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer', I and II. - [f] too late

newspaper you think best.[13] If, as a party, we make no effort to be quick off the mark, we shall always arrive *post festum*...[a]

Few mortals, other than yourself, can boast of having received letters from me on 4 successive mail days; but I was anxious to show Papa Lupus which of us two is the more punctilious...

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Printed according to a letter from Cluss to Weydemeyer of 31 May 1852

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## 53

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 May [1852]
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Only a couple of lines today. Old Szerelmey, whose first volume is now ready, chivvies me daily about the advertisement for his book of battle reports.[b] If you can't do it now, at least send me back his *brouillon*[c] by return.

Your
K. M.

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[a] after the event - [b] See this volume, p. 93. - [c] rough draft

## 54

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 19 May 1852

Dear Marx,

*Les affaires vont bien.*[a] Tomorrow or the day after my old man will be leaving again, very satisfied with his affairs. The business here is to be completely reorganised and will be run on a new basis. I have succeeded in obtaining a rise and, as soon as the contracts have been signed and my old man is out of the way, the banknote I promised you will materialise. The best thing about all this is that I am signing nothing at all; my old man was wise enough not to trust me entirely on the political score, thus perhaps safeguarding himself against becoming involved through me in any further unpleasantness. Moreover, in this case, and providing certain proprieties are observed, I can arrange to be replaced by one of my brothers in such a way that my old man would lose nothing by my departure save, perhaps, a few illusions, and it would be I, not he, who would be making the sacrifice. Let me know by return how your character-sketches[b] are going. All these changes are going to saddle me with a fair amount of work for a while, so that there would seem to be no immediate prospect of our doing very much together, and yet I should like very much to see you here as soon as possible. It would therefore be good if you and Dronke could complete the things so far as you are able, after which we could polish them off here in a few evenings. And before you come up I would make the necessary extracts about the people in question (whose names you must give me) from the documents up here, thereby enabling us to get on quickly. It has just occurred to me that it would be best for you to come at Whitsun, i.e. on the previous Friday—the day after tomorrow week—when there are general HOLIDAYS here. If the weather is fine we can go to the Isle of Man or somewhere, and if bad we shall work. But mind you come on your own. I should be very glad to see Dronkius later on, but I have no use for him just now, and he would only disturb our work.

By the way, the best thing about the new arrangement is that, as

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[a] Things are going well. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile.*

from 1 July, not only shall I have more money, but it will be all *mine*, so that no one will have any right to ask what use I make of it. Further details when we meet.

Your
F. E.

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## 55

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 21 May 1852

Dear Marx,

My old man has left. ALL IS RIGHT. Herewith the first half of the ten-pound note. I hope to see you here at the end of next week. Presumably a letter from you is this moment awaiting me at home but I haven't the time to go there. The second half of the note will follow either today by the second post, or tomorrow.

Your
F. E.

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# 56

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 May 1852

Dear Marx,

I am writing to you today simply to make sure you know that yesterday I sent direct to you by the first post 1/2 a £10 note, and that the 2nd half went off at the same time under cover to Lupus for transmission to you. I trust you have received it all right.

There is now great ELECTIONEERING ACTIVITY here—two of the WHIG FREE TRADERS[a] were put up by the Tories with the intention of ousting Bright and Gibson, and nothing goes on here but canvassing and boozing. Of course the fellows don't stand a chance, but it's going to cost them a mint of money.

Three weeks ago, as I anticipated, there was a flush of speculation on the cotton market; but since opportunities are not yet sufficiently pronounced and the spinners and merchants here were operating against it, the thing momentarily subsided again. However, it will recur before very long, as soon as the whole weight of the American crop has been delivered. Wool, too,—because of the sudden ruin of the Australian sheep-farmers—lends itself splendidly to speculation and, all things considered, there is every prospect that by the autumn speculation will be in full spate. Railway stocks, etc., etc., are again beginning to rise—the better ones continue to yield more than the 1 to 1 1/2% now still to be had from the banks in respect of deposits. In America, speculation in cotton has been well under way for the past six weeks, and the proliferation of strange new joint-stock companies now being announced all over the place indicates the extent to which capital is feeling around for *debouchés*[b] in all the big money markets. *Après tout*[c] the straws in the wind may now

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[a] Joseph Denman and George Loch - [b] outlets - [c] After all

be seen rather more clearly and in greater quantity. *Cela sera beau.*[a]

I hope to receive a letter from you by tomorrow morning at the latest.

Your
F. E.

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## 57

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 May [1852]
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

The first half of the 10-pound note arrived this morning.

I intend to leave here on Friday,[b] this time by ship to Liverpool and thence to Manchester.

Apropos. Citizen Schramm[c] is travelling to America via Liverpool. Well, the fellow proposes, or so he confides to us, to descend upon you on Wednesday or Thursday. You must see if you can give him the slip.

Willich has had a rather nice adventure. Mrs von Brüningk, who provided him with free board, used to enjoy flirting with this old he-goat, as with the other ex-lieutenants. One day the blood rushes to the head of our ascetic, he makes a brutally brutish assault upon madame, and is ejected from the house with éclat. No more love! No more free board! *Nous ne voulons plus de jouisseurs.*[d]

Cherval, about whose heroism before the Paris Assizes in the matter of the *Complot allemand-français*[e] [143] you will have heard, has, as you may also have seen in the English papers (*Morning*

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[a] It will be a fine how-do-you-do. - [b] 28 May - [c] Conrad Schramm - [d] We want no more sybarites. - [e] Franco-German plot

*Advertiser*), escaped from the catchpolls in prodigiously daring manner—as it later transpired, with the connivance of the police to whom he betrayed everything he knew. Even the Great Windmillers[144] were forced to throw out the hero with whom they had been parading round London.

The Cologne people have at last been referred by the Board of indicting magistrates to the Court of Assizes. Unless a special Court of Assizes is appointed, they will not appear before July.[16]

Dronke sends his regards.

Your

K.M.

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## 58

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 24 May [1852]

Dear Marx,

If you intend to wait till Friday before leaving by boat for Liverpool, you won't be here till Monday evening, perhaps not till Tuesday morning. If you are absolutely intent on coming by sea, arrange to come via Hull—a boat leaves the CITY three or four times a week at 8 o'clock in the morning and the journey doesn't take so long—you would have to leave on Wednesday morning, or Thursday morning at the latest, the FARE to Hull being 6/6d, and from Hull to here 3rd class, some seven or eight shillings. You must be here by *Friday afternoon*, so that we can leave for Liverpool at about 6 o'clock the same evening. The PARLIAMENTARY TRAIN[145] direct from London leaves too late to be any good to you on Friday. You can take the sea-route from Liverpool on the return journey.

Well, *quoi que tu fasses, il faudra que tu sois ici le vendredi, à 4 heures de l'après-midi.*[a]

Awaiting further details.[146]

Your
F. E.

The story about Willich is most entertaining. So fate has caught up with that pure and noble man after all!

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## 59

## MARX AND ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

### IN NEW YORK

Manchester, 28 May 1852

Dear Weiwei,

I am staying with Engels for a few days and have found your letter here. Today you must be content with a few lines.

The main purpose of this letter is to inform you about three individuals who will be arriving in America:

1. *Heise* (of the Kassel *Hornisse*), *Willich's agent* (who, unbeknown to Kinkel with whom he is on bad terms, is seeking to spread *Willich's* renown). Apropos. Mr Willich was among the *cavaliere servante*[b] of Baroness von Brüningk who, once a week, provided him, Techow, Schimmelpfennig, etc., with free board. The Brüningk woman is a flirtatious little woman and it amuses her to tease the old he-goat, who plays the ascetic. One day he made a direct carnal *attaque* upon her and was ignominiously shown the door. Keep an eye on Heise and don't trust him out of your sight.

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[a] whatever you do, you must be here by Friday, at four o'clock in the afternoon - [b] knights in attendance

2. *Schütz* from Mainz. Kinkelian. Member of the Committee for the Administration of the European-American National Loan.[27]

3. *Conrad Schramm.* He has in his hands a credential from us, so worded that *without you* he cannot take a step. In his relations with his brother[a] and the latter's other friends, his conduct has not always been beyond reproach. The confidence you accord him should not be *unconditional* but rather *tempered with caution.* In the adverse circumstances here he has, furthermore, gone very much *downhill,* is quite unreliable and not over-scrupulous in money-matters, tends to swagger and boast like a *commis voyageur*[b] and hence may well compromise those in his surroundings. On the other hand he has a number of good qualities. I feel it my duty to put you *au fait* in advance. You should also pass on this information to Cluss.

As to Lupus' letter, you should not take it too literally. Wolff wrote in a moment of agitation and is very well aware of the many obstacles that stood in your way.[c]

Don't forget to send me in your next a detailed report on 'Willich's Corps'[147] in New York.

My warm regards to your wife. I hope that, 'for all that',[d] your affairs will yet progress.

Dana has written to say he wants to do an essay on the Cologne people[e] as soon as you provide him with the necessary information. So go and see him. The Cologne people are to appear before a special Court of Assizes in June. Daniels is said to have consumption and Becker[f] to be half blind. Mind you settle the matter quickly with Dana and send me the article. It will provide consolation for Mrs Daniels.

Your
K. Marx

Dear Weydemeyer,

As regards Heise, I first met him in the Palatinate. A democratic loafer who lends a willing ear to bad jokes about Tom, Dick or Harry, but a no less willing hand to Tom, Dick or Harry's pompous, democratic schemes for world conquest and world

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[a] Rudolf Schramm - [b] commercial traveller - [c] Wilhelm Wolff's letter to Weydemeyer of 16 April 1852. - [d] An allusion to F. Freiligrath's verse 'Trotz alledem!' published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on 6 June 1848. - [e] Reference to the leading article 'Justice of Prussia', based on the material sent in by Marx and published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 3446, 4 May 1852. - [f] Hermann Heinrich Becker

liberation. Recently—since his arrival in London—he has consorted exclusively with the others, never coming to see us; now, of course, wholly in the others' clutches. No time for any more. Greetings to your wife.

Your
F. E.

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## 60

## MARX TO JENNY MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 June 1852
70 Great Ducie Street

Dear Heart,

I was very pleased to get your letter. By the way, you must never have any qualms about telling me all. If you, my poor little wretch, have to endure bitter reality, it is only fair that I should share that torment, at least in my thoughts. In any case, I know how unendingly resilient you are and how the slightest encouragement is enough to revive your spirits. I hope that the other £5 will reach you this week or on Monday at the latest.

I did of course pack the *Schnellpost*. But I haven't got the back numbers in which Ruge deposited the better part of his ordure. The process of curing these stock-fish[a] makes us laugh till we cry.

Though Oswald's package won't yield very much, something may be made of it. Our dear A. Ruge is incapable of writing 3 lines without compromising himself. 'Moute'[b] has already been corrected by me, unless I am mistaken.

The printer in the City seems to be a lesser *lumen*[c] who, not having a superfluity of underlings, will certainly require an

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[a] Marx refers here to his and Engels' work on *The Great Men of the Exile*. - [b] The misprint which cropped in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, VII published in *Die Revolution*, should read: *Toute*. - [c] luminary

unconscionable time to do one sheet. His paper is 3 x worse than the American, and his type likewise, this being clearly quite worn out. But you have managed the business splendidly.

Harro's pamphlet[a] is truly touching in the naivety of its stupidity! Be so kind as to cut *Engels' article* on Heinzen out of the *Brüsseler-Zeitung*[b] and send it to us,—and that very soon. If the *Kosmos* doesn't arrive, no matter. We have a letter of mine up here which contains the gist of the thing.[148]

Love and kisses to my manikins.

Your

K. M.

Engels has further pointed out that whereas, throughout the pamphlet, I always deliberately write 'Louis Bonaparte', Mr Weydemeyer has entitled it 'Louis Napoleon'.[149]

P.S.

Dear Jenny, be so kind as to tell Eccarius that he should write a short postscript to his 'Mechanics' Strike',[44] since Weydemeyer is 'considering' publishing it. We should agree to this, if only on Cluss' account.

Dear Heart, send Jones the 2 enclosed pieces, 'Chevalier Hülsemann's Farewell' and 'John Barney and the French Minister[c]', together with the short cutting about 'Cayenne'—preferably by post, unless he comes to see you.[150] I beg you not to bother Mr Pieper with such errands. To him, everything provides occasion for rodomontade and I don't want Jones—who, by the way, was responsible for making him so uppish—to regard him as my *alter ego*. Since Pieper believes the letters are written for '*the* party', he must not henceforward set eyes on any more of them.

[From Engels]

*Prego il Signor Colonello Musch di gradire le mie migliori e più cordiali felicitazioni.*[d]

F. Engels

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[a] Harro Harring, *Historisches Fragment über die Entstehung der Arbeiter-Vereine und ihren Verfall in Communistische Speculationen.* - [b] F. Engels, 'The Communists and Karl Heinzen' (published in *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*). - [c] Etienne Gilbert Sartiges - [d] Will Colonel Musch please accept my best and most cordial felicitations.

## 61

## ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

### IN NEW YORK

Manchester, 11 June 1852

Dear Weydemeyer,

We have received the first issue of the *Revolution*,[a] but we had imagined you would contrive to include Freiligrath's poem about Kinkel,[b] which would not after all have increased the cost very much. While the closeness of the print and the large format were unavoidable due to lack of funds, it is a great pity that this should have made it so difficult to read, particularly when misprints distort the meaning. But what surprises us is the difficulty you seem to have about dispatching the 300 copies we ordered other than by post. Your friends over there, Helmich and Korff, must be colossal asses indeed if they can't so much as tell you that the mail steamers also carry parcels and even heavy bales of merchandise, and that all details concerning freight, etc., etc. can be obtained at the steamship offices—not, of course, at the post office. The location of these steamship offices may be found in any newspaper announcement, beneath which there is always the name of a local business house. Moreover there are any number of forwarding agents concerned with handling such things, for example Edwards, Sandford & Co. of Liverpool and London, who also have an office in New York. You simply address the parcel as follows:

(at the top) per ... Steamer

*care of Messrs Edwards, Sandford & Co.,*
*Liverpool*

(underneath) F. E.
care of Messrs Ermen & Engels
Manchester
*Printed books, not bound.*

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[a] containing K. Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* - [b] F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer', I and II.

That's all, and sent in this way it costs only a few shillings which Ermen & Engels can stand. But it's really too bad that people like Helmich and Korff, who have been in New York so long and who, moreover, also do a certain amount of business, should be ignorant of matters with which any child over here is familiar.

The copies of the *Turn-Zeitung* have *not* yet arrived, either here or in London; you should make inquiries at your post office.

The printing costs are colossal; for £5 per sheet—scarcely more than you have had to pay—we could get the thing similarly printed in London. Paper should, after all, be cheaper over there, since here it carries a duty of 1 $^1/_2$d (3 cents) per lb. Perhaps you could inquire about the price from the local wholesale paper merchants and let us know what it is.

Just send here anything destined for Europe. Marx has a German bookseller in London who is reliable and upon whom, moreover, he can keep an eye; this man will see to distribution both here, and in Germany, Switzerland, etc., etc., in return for a modest percentage. If, then, when you receive this letter you have *not* yet sent off the parcel with the 50 copies for London and 250 for Cologne, take the opportunity of including in it as many as you think appropriate, or can spare, for the German bookseller to dispose of. But should it already have gone, send nothing more until we ask for it. We shall, of course, charge a higher price here, if only to defray our costs and the bookseller's commission. 15 silver groschen is well within the means of the German philistine.

Since the second issue is to be devoted exclusively to Freiligrath's poems, it is presumably already in print. These things, particularly the Kinkel poem, should not be held back a moment longer than is unavoidable. This should really have been published in one way or another[13] after Kinkel's return to New York; but the longer it lingers, the more it loses in topicality and, even for things which are largely written with an eye to immortality, there is a certain period during which they are especially rewarding and at their most topical. But since I deliberately write, not with an eye to immortality, but rather for the immediate present, my article on the English bourgeoisie[a] may well be somewhat long-drawn-out, especially since a work of this kind lends itself very well to piecemeal publication amongst other material in a newspaper or weekly; in a review, however, where because of its very length it takes up most of the space, it would not be topical or interesting enough for the American-German public. Besides, Mr Derby may

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[a] See this volume, p. 55.

very well topple before August, and that's a ticklish sort of thing to prognosticate.

While beholden to Korff for his goodwill, Dronke has no intention of going to America since he has just started a wholesale business in cigar cases, etc., etc., as agent for a Parisian house. For that matter, neither Dronke nor any of the rest of us is on the same easy terms with Korff as during the first months of the *N. Rh. Z.*; we still remember all too clearly the circumstances of Korff's dismissal from the newspaper[151] and how subsequently, in New York, he published my Hungarian articles under his own name.[152]. He may be of some use to you in small ways, but you would be well advised not to trust him out of sight, and Marx is particularly anxious that Korff should not come butting in between himself and Dana, having, it seems, already caused some sort of ruction in this respect. In your letter you say that Marx will have been able to see for himself from Dana's letter how unresponsive the *Tribune* is to our cause; this passage we find totally incomprehensible since Dana had written Marx a most cordial letter in which he requested, not only further instalments of the German article,[a] but other contributions as well. It would certainly not suit us if Korff were in any way to thrust himself forward as the representative or CHAMPION of either of us in personal matters.

Since there is so much delay over the American exhibition,[128] it would be better if vou were to take no further steps in respect of the leather business[b] until you have again heard from us about it. Marx is up here just now and hence cannot for the time being speak to the Hungarian.[c] For he and I are now engaged in a most interesting and amusing piece of work[d] which is to be published directly. As soon as we receive the first copies we shall send you one, then we shall also be able to discuss to what extent you can use the thing and, perhaps, make money out of it towards the production of new pamphlets, for this time it's going to be something that will indubitably sell.

Eccarius has been written to about his final instalment[e]; he will have little to add, the workers—as was to be expected—having been beaten.

Our dear, worthy Willich has suffered a grave misfortune. Once a week Baroness Brüningk used to invite the Prussian lieutenants in London and other such great men to her table, when it was her

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[a] Engels' series of articles, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. - [b] See this volume, p. 95. - [c] Bangya - [d] *The Great Men of the Exile*. - [e] See this volume, p. 117.

custom to flirt with these gallant knights. This, it seems, caused the blood to rush violently to the head of our virtuous Willich, who, finding himself one day tête-à-tête with the young lady, was suddenly overwhelmed by a fit of uncontrollable lust and, quite without warning, made a somewhat brutish attack upon her. But this had in no way been madame's intention, and she ordered our paragon of knightly virtue to be thrown out of the house *sans façon.*[a]

> 'Blessed is he that virtue loves,
> Woe to him that's lost it...
>
> A wretched stripling, here am I
> Chucked out into the street'[b]

and the morally pure stoic, who as a rule felt a far greater sympathy for fair-haired young tailor's apprentices than for pretty young women, may thank his stars that he did not in the end find himself back 'in the guardroom at Kassel'[c] as a result of this involuntary, instinctive outbreak of his physical ego so long kept enchained. The thing has been noted and circulated with great glee throughout London. There is, by the way, some prospect that you may have this gallant fellow in New York before too long. Over here the man 'who enjoyed the respect of all parties and even of his enemies', is daily losing more ground. He maintains relations with Kinkel and Schapper, his right and left hand props, only with reluctance (and in Kinkel's case on pecuniary grounds), for he hates them both and they him; he has several times received rough treatment at the hands of the inferior refugees, since when he has given them up. After this latest business he will never again be allowed into houses where there are young women, in addition to which he has now lost his aura of virtue. On the other hand he hears talk of how the men of Willich's Corps in New York stick together and he has the gallant Weitling there—hence, and more particularly when the flow of money from the loan fund[27] begins to dry up, he will probably make himself scarce. Indeed, he has already sent out an apostle in the shape of Heise from Kassel—this fellow forms part of his *personal* entourage. In addition he is now dispatching another harbinger, poor old Mirbach, who fell into his clutches through sheer, bitter necessity and, as a result of his total ignorance of the emigration's antecedents and his theoretical confusion, was naturally dazzled by

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[a] without further ado - [b] Heine, 'Klagelied eines altdeutschen Jünglings' (*Romanzen*). - [c] ibid.

such fine airs. He is *au fond*[a] a very good fellow, a political nonentity, but otherwise honourable and, militarily speaking, I find him 10 times preferable to all the London great men. He used to call on Marx, but never unchaperoned by that lout Imandt and that philistine jackass Schily, so that it was never possible to talk to him frankly.

In America our Willich would be in his element; the old crew in New York, which by now must have run completely wild and disintegrated into ROWDIES AND LOAFERS, would very soon grow sick of him and beat him black and blue—even over here his relationship with the swine finally degenerated into the low vulgarity of a mob of rogues bickering over plunder—while his friend, that experienced trickster Weitling, would likewise ensure him a brilliant future.

But I must close now. Marx sends his regards—many regards from us both to your wife.

Your
F. E.

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## 62

## MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS[153]

### IN WASHINGTON

Manchester, [before 26 June 1852]

... Napoleon II[b] is getting into more and more of a scrape. Apart from his other new taxes, the jackass has got caught up in the same snare as the provisional government,[154]—that is, by imposing a new tax on the peasants; an increase of 25% on the existing succession duty and the CONVEYANCE OF LANDED PROPERTY. He is

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[a] at bottom - [b] Napoleon III, whom Marx ironically calls 'the second'.

moving quickly. True socialism is being achieved by a most fatuous acceptance, if not an intensification of, the old French financial procedures...

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Printed according to a letter from Cluss to Weydemeyer of 13 July 1852

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## 63

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 30 June 1852

Dear Marx,

Either you people down there must be working terribly hard at copying out the manuscript[a] or something unpleasant must have happened, otherwise I should undoubtedly have heard from you by now. *En attendant*,[b] herewith a letter along with cuttings from Weydemeyer.

Your little wallet with the letter from Cologne has come to light. I haven't got it with me today, otherwise I should have enclosed it.

Warmest regards—in haste.

Your
F. E.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*. - [b] Meanwhile

## 64

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 July 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I am late, but I have come.[a] How the delay came about, you will see from the tale recounted below:

In London, the manuscript[b] was copied out at once. By Monday noon[c] it was all ready and complete. I dictated it by turns to my wife and Dronke. At midday on Wednesday I received the money. Bangya deducted the £7 about which you know. Add to that what was owed Dronke for his collaboration. This left an amount that did not even suffice for household needs. Strohn's CIRCUMSTANCES were such that he could not pay. And then came a run of exceptional ill-luck.

Klose's wife, long ailing and wasting away in hospital, was discharged by the dirty dogs at the precise moment she was entering her final crisis, and died in his house three days ago. Not a centime available, funeral expenses, etc. Freiligrath could do nothing, having just bled all his acquaintances in order to help send Heilberg's wife and child back to Breslau, keep Heilberg himself alive and, finally, get him into hospital. Thus the thing devolved on me, and a vast amount of time and trouble it cost me before it was settled. *Maintenant*[d] all is peace and quiet again.

The 'gang' are racking their brains over our pamphlet. Notably the Meyen-bug,[e] who is in a cold sweat. He is 'quite unable to recall the least trespass against us'. Willich has had me sounded as to whether the Brüningk affair appears in it. The thought makes him exceedingly uneasy.

'The true course' of this curious happening would now appear to be as follows:

First, as you know, Willich denied it outright. His 2nd version ran: 'Mrs Brüningk has sought to corrupt him *politically*. Used Mr *von* Willich left and right, and other such means of corruption.' It

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[a] The German original is reminiscent of Schiller, *Die Piccolomini*, Act I, Scene 1. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*. - [c] 28 June - [d] Now - [e] Eduard Meyen (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 306).

was with 'moral intent', therefore, that he created a diversion in the region of her private parts.

But now our partisan leader has put yet another construction on the case. 'The Brüningk woman (or so Imandt once told him) is a Russian spy. She tries to entrap young refugees. Old Willich stood in her way. Hence the anecdote intended to ruin him in the eyes of the émigrés. How political, deliberate and diabolical was this trumped-up "anecdote", emerges from the very fact of its having been Mrs Brüningk's own husband who circulated the rumour of the outrage for the sole purpose of discrediting Willich.'

But that is not all. The chivalrous Schimmelpfennig maintains that Willich invented the spy story to conceal the insubordination of his '*cazzo*'.[a] As things now stand, the issue remains undecided between these two worthies, and Willich, taking refuge in one lie after another, is well and truly compromising himself.

The cuckold Brüningk reminds me of a nice joke I found a few days ago in one of Machiavelli's *commedia*:

> *Nicia* (cuckold): *Chi è San cu cu?*
> *Ligurio: È il più honorato santo che sia in Francia.*[b]

Willich and Kinkel mightily worried about how best to effect a revolution on £1,200. Schurz, Schimmelpfennig, Strodtmann, etc., are drawing further and further away from Kinkel.

Not even 100 horsepower could drag Willich away from the *coffre-fort*.[c]

Kinkel, knowing that Imandt and I see each other, calls on Imandt a week ago and says, 'What a pity it was my Economy had not yet come out, so that one might at last have a positive basis to go on.' Imandt questions him about Freiligrath's poem.[d] 'Never read such things,' retorts Godofredus.

The most ludicrous thing about it is that, having existed for years solely by abusing us the curs now declare it beneath 'our dignity' and 'station' to write such t-t-tittle-tattle. *Les drôles!*[e]

However, a new prospect has opened up before the wretched Willich-Kinkel, the pair who are to effect the revolution. Messrs Rodbertus, Kirchmann and other ambitious ministerial candidates have dispatched a legate to London. For these gentlemen, in imitation of the French, want Vogt to set up a German Carbonari association. Connections with even the most extreme of parties. Paper money is to be issued in Germany to defray the costs. Since

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[a] 'organ' - [b] *Nicia*: Who is St. Cuckoo? *Ligurio*: The most venerated saint in France. (Machiavelli, *Mandragola*, Act 4, Scene IX.) - [c] safe - [d] F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer', I and II. - [e] The rogues!

they are, however, anxious to emerge more or less unscathed, it is the émigrés, and of 'all' parties, who are to underwrite this paper.

Schapper has been sounding me and making contrite admissions through Imandt. Replied that he must first break *publicly* with Willich, and then we should see. That was the *conditio sine qua*.[a]

You will have read about the new arrests in Paris.[155] The boobies (this time the Ruge clique) naturally had to come up with yet another pseudo-conspiracy. Their correspondent in Paris, as I was informed some considerable time ago, is one *Engländer*, a notorious police spy (in Paris) who, of course, immediately passes all their letters to the service. Not content with that, the French police have sent Simon Deutsch over here to pump Tausenau. Louis Napoleon must have a conspiracy, cost what it may.

But he has got one on his hands about which as yet he seems to know nothing. That of the Orleans family, whose agent Mr Bangya (with the assent of the Hungarian 'radicals') has now become. The plan: Bonaparte is to be caught out one evening with his drab, to whom he goes slinking behind the Englishwoman's back. A senior police officer has been suborned. Two generals are said to have been won over. Nemours himself was in Paris a fortnight ago. Large sums paid out for the distribution of anti-Louis Napoleon pamphlets.

What do you think of it? If one of the Orleans were again to visit Paris and we happened to know when, should we, *d'une manière ou d'une autre*,[b] denounce the '*vrai prince*' to the '*faux prince*'[c]? Let me have your views on the matter.

Cherval, the cur, has also handed over to the Prussians the letter sent him by Pfänder.

*Au revoir*

Your
K. M.

Not a word from that blessed Weydemeyer. Bonaparte will probably be in America before my pamphlet about him[d] reaches Europe. If possible, send me an article for Dana soon.[e]

Herewith the introduction to the *Dubbii amorosi* by Pietro Aretino, the forefather (but wittier) of Cassagnac.

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[a] indispensable condition - [b] one way or another - [c] 'true prince', 'false prince' - [d] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - [e] Presumably, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, XV.

Prefazione. Magnifico utriusque Ser Agnello,
Voi qui scribere scitis quare, quia,
Espelle, volte fatte co'l cervello,
Di Bartolo e Baldo notomia,
E le leggi passate co'l castello,
Nella vostra bizarra fantasia,
Questi dubbii, di grazia, mi chiarite
Ch'oggi in Bordello han mosso un gran lite.

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Vi sono genti fottenti, e fottute;
E di potte e di cazzi notomie.
E nei culi molt' anime perdute, etc.[a]

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 July 1852

Dear Marx,

It's a good thing that the manuscript[b] has gone off. I hope that copies will arrive in 3-4 weeks' time. You must have been really in the soup if, as antidote, you had to take Pietro Aretino's *porcherie*.[c] *Cazzo di Dio, queste sono forti.*[d]

I am up to my eyes in work here. I still have eleven business letters to write today and it is nearly 7 o'clock. However, I will do an article for Dana,[e] if possible today and if not, by tomorrow evening at the latest.

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[a] O twice magnificent Ser Agnello,
You who of all the why and wherefore know,
Whose mighty mind can grasp the fate
Of Bartolo's and Baldo's earthly frame
And whose keen fancy apprehends the laws
Of heavenly bodies and their course!
Dispel for me the doubts, I pray,
Which in the brothel raised strife today.

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Some folks seduce and others are seduced
But one and all by lust are ruled.
How many souls through arses go astray...

- [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*. - [c] obscenity - [d] God's prick, this is strong meat. - [e] Probably article XV from *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*.

I am just tackling Mr Görgey. At that time, drawing on *Austrian* bulletins, we of the *N. Rh. Z.* made splendidly accurate guesses as to the course of the Hungarian war, and prognostications, if cautious, proved brilliantly correct.[a] Görgey's book[b] is truly wretched, nothing could be more pettily invidious, infamously *mesquin*[c] and mediocre. The military part is good, Görgey to the life,—sudden transformation of talented ex-lieutenant into general, still bearing unmistakable traces of the company officer and tactical tyro. Hungarians who maintain that Görgey is incapable of having written this are *jackasses.* The genuine Görgeyesque and Austrian elements are as easily distinguishable here as are the two heterogeneous elements in Chenu.[156] But otherwise the book may—with some caution—very well be used as a source. The fellow's malicious mediocrity is such that he cannot help making a fool of himself, witness the affair of the proclamation of Waitzen[157] in which he reproaches Kossuth for having been shrewder in practice than in his bombastic speeches, or again, the very inept descriptions which lead the author, always involuntarily, into compromising himself. This mediocrity never permits Görgey to draw a true portrait of any one chap, but the thing has some pleasant traits and individual comments on Kossuth and most of the others. Despite the mediocrity of his malice, Görgey—as is everywhere apparent—was after all superior to any of the others—so what must the others be like!

At all events, I shall write about the Hungarian war.[136]

Judging by the facts, the Paris plot[155] would seem more likely to have emanated from our *carrément* and *crânement*[d] sinister Barthélemy, etc.—the daring artillery preparation is something *qui sent son* Willich *de vingt lieues.*[e] It is more than likely that Ruge, etc., also had a finger in the pie, but those cannons fashioned out of gas pipes and draped with tarpaulins are of Hohenzollern origin.

Your

F. E.

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[a] F. Engels, '*The Kölnische Zeitung* on the Magyar Struggle', 'The War in Italy and Hungary', 'Hungary' and also reviews of military operations in Hungary published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* from February to May 1849. - [b] A. Görgei, *Mein Leben und Wirken in Ungarn in den Jahren 1848 und 1849.* - [c] mean - [d] fairly and squarely - [e] which smells of Willich 20 leagues away

As for the Orleans, *pourquoi pas?*[a] To see the estimable Joinville or whomsoever treated *à la* duc d'Enghien[158] would be delightful, and *pourquoi le neveu ne ferait-il pas fusiller aussi son Bourbon?*[b]

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## 66

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 July 1852

Dear Engels,

There being no letter from you, I conclude that the worthy Weydemeyer must, for all that,[c] be still persevering with his 'system'. The thing's becoming really incomprehensible and, quite aside from the pecuniary loss, which is just now very perceptible, is turning me for good measure into the laughing stock of the émigré vermin and of the booksellers whom I had approached about this unfortunate affair.

I have not written an article on the elections because I feel it would be better to await the full results.[159] From what I have seen so far, it seems to me that, apart from 5-6 more votes for the Whigs, the old Parliament will rise again unchanged. The fellows are in a *cercle vicieux*[d] from which they cannot break out. The only ones to have suffered any significant losses so far are the Peelites.[73] Meanwhile, in an apologia for Graham, *The Morning Chronicle* declares that only one alternative remains, that Whigs are as incompetent as Tories, and that the only capable people, apart from Graham and his supporters, are Cobden, Bright and Co. And these should govern together. Curiously enough, the following day—as you may perhaps have seen,—*The Times* carried an article which likewise contained an apologia for Graham.[e]

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[a] why not? - [b] why shouldn't the nephew have his Bourbon shot too? - [c] from Freiligrath's 'Trotz alledem!' - [d] vicious circle - [e] *The Times*, No. 21164, 10 July 1852, leader.

The great Techow is emigrating to Australia next week, together with Madame Schmidt-Stirner. But—and this will wound you more deeply—even *Damm* is no less eager to turn his hand to AUSTRALIAN GOLD-DIGGING. Another few months of peace, and all our 'world underminers'[a] will be busily mining for dirt in the dirt of Australia. Only Willich, firmly chained to the *coffre-fort*,[b] remains faithful to his motto: to live but BY NO MEANS work.

Bangya is now on very close terms with the Orleanist intriguer, 'de Rémusat'. Some Hungarian *quelconque*[c] warned him against the man who is said to have 'betrayed' the Germans during the *complot allemand-français*.[143] Rémusat has agents right in the Paris Préfecture. So, *sans mot dire à M. Bangya*[d] he writes asking for a report on this gentleman. The reply, which was communicated to me, stated that Bangya was *in no way suspect*, that he had got out in time, otherwise he too would have been arrested. The traitor was *'un certain Cherval, nommé Frank, mais dont le véritable nom est Crämer.'*[e]

From the outset this Cherval is said to have been hand in glove with the police. What is more, Rémusat is receiving original letters written by Cherval to the Prussian Embassy, stating that, in accordance with promises made to him in the Mazas,[160] and now that he had professed the *'principe'* of *ordre*, it was *'leur devoir'*[f] to provide him with the necessary *'moyens'*.[g] The Prussian Embassy, however, declared that since he was being *paid* as a spy by the French, and *double emploi*[h] was out of the question, he could have no claims on the Prussians. He was therefore sent to London to observe the German refugees and, in addition, to 'keep an eye on Claremont'.[161] In the latter capacity he called on Rémusat and offered him his services as an agent. Rémusat, on instructions from Paris, pretended to agree and assigned to him a go-between in the person of a valet at Claremont; this man was now entrusted with the task of misinforming the Paris police through Cherval.

So well organised is the Orleanist agitation that the fellows possess what amounts to a regular clandestine postal service by which one can send letters, parcels, and pamphlets to France as safely as innocuous matter by ordinary mail.

My main concern in all this was to procure an original letter of Cherval's relating to his connections with the Prussian Embassy.

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[a] The original has *Weltumwühler* by analogy with *Wühler* (agitators), the name the bourgeois constitutionalists in Germany in 1848-49 applied to republican democrats. - [b] safe - [c] or other - [d] without a word to Mr Bangya - [e] a certain Cherval, known as Frank, but whose real name is Crämer - [f] principle of order, it was their duty - [g] means - [h] double employ

Such a *pièce* could topple the whole fabric of the bill of indictment.[16]

I have arranged with Bangya that, as soon as another copy has been made, *you* will receive Szemere's pamphlet in manuscript.[a] It is a document that is indispensable to your work[b] since it contains letters from Görgey, Kossuth, etc., which have not been published anywhere.

My wife is very poorly, she has a cough and is losing weight. However, the doctor says it is nothing dangerous and has, in addition to medicine, prescribed plenty of porter.

If you can manage to send me another article[c] by Friday, I will try to discount with Johnson the £5 that will then become due from Dana.

Apropos. The Domenichi *'Orlando Innamorato' riformato* is an *adaptation.* The original is very rare and only to be had in large libraries, as here. Even the Domenichi edition is rare. More readily available is the *Orlando, rifatto*[d] by Berni.[162]

Your
K. M.

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## 67

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 15 July 1852

Dear Marx,

As regards Weydemeyer, you concluded rightly. There hasn't been a line from him. Since we wrote and told him exactly how to send the stuff here, he seems to feel it his bounden duty to

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[a] B. Szemere, *Graf Ludwig Batthyány, Arthur Görgei, Ludwig Kossuth. Politische Charakterskizzen...* The reference is to the German translation, which Marx helped to edit. - [b] See previous letter. - [c] Next article from the series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany.* - [d] redone

withhold any further news from us. By the way, things cannot be going very well for him and, when all's said and done, he's got to earn his daily bread.

Did you read the article 2-3 days ago in *The Morning Herald* on the various leading men in the Opposition? It could only have been written by Disraeli himself. The 'AND NOW STAND FORTH, THOU MAN OF "UNADORNED ELOQUENCE", RICHARD COBDEN' is splendid. In it Master John Bright was rightly recognised as the only dangerous fellow, although the gentlemen are not free from illusions in regard to Graham. Precisely now this unscrupulous old *ambitieux*[a] constitutes a very real danger to the Tories.

*Bon voyage* to the patriotic gold diggers! Thus the term 'underminer' at last acquires a true meaning and content.[b]

The new connection with Mr Rémusat is excellent. A letter from Cherval to the Prussian Embassy would be a capital document in this trial. Don't fail to get hold of one. What a long face our old friend, *le jeune*,[c] the self-important Saedt will pull,[163] if we thus reduce to chaff the fifty sheets of his bill of indictment which he has already announced to the world through the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*![d] Has Rémusat already *got* these letters? By the way, it would appear from the news in the papers, not only that Mr Manteuffel proposes to turn the Cologne trial into a magnificent political drama—with, of course, some sort of coup in the wings—but also, on the other hand, that there is absolutely no evidence, and that the weakness of the indictment has to be veiled in a cloud of rumour on the part of the police and lies on the part of their spies. Have you heard nothing more from Bangya? I return herewith the gallant fellow's letter, hitherto forgotten.

But if you get hold of Cherval's letter, is there any way of attesting it, so that its authenticity is established? Otherwise a presiding judge of this ilk would be capable of prohibiting so much as a reading of the document.

Since, as I hear, the trial is to take place on the 28th, it is important for us just now to have several reliable links with Cologne. If only we knew to what extent one can count on Bermbach's doing anything! Letters could be safely sent to him via Bradford. If we knew that Weerth was in Hamburg, the thing would be in order. I shall write to Strohn about it this very day. At the same time we might even make use of Naut, if needs be. For, contrary to all my expectations, the latter—who has left Em-

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[a] ambitious man - [b] See this volume, p. 130. - [c] the young - [d] 'Der Communisten-Proceß', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 195, 13 July 1852.

manuel's and is now an agent for a small Jewish firm in Bradford—obtained some military stuff for me from a second-hand bookseller in Cologne with *the utmost promptitude*; the mystery will be cleared up when I tell you that he wants to become an agent for Ermen & Engels and has further asked me to secure him the agency for a local twist house. I have promised him all this and shall recommend him to my old man. We can, therefore, rely on his being punctilious for as long as these negotiations last.

The military material obtained for me by Naut—clearly the library of a retired artillery officer—is coming in very handy, the more so since it is mainly concerned with the *more elementary* aspects of military science, the actual day-to-day routine, etc. That was just what was wanting. In addition, some splendid stuff on fortifications, etc., etc. I shall soon have got to the stage when I can venture to advance, even in public, an INDEPENDENT military opinion.

The Szemere piece[a] will be *extremely welcome*; but I cannot think of working it up as yet.

Herewith the article for Dana.[b] I shall now make haste to conclude the series; but you do something on England as well. If we can extract £3 a week out of the fellow, I'll be damned if we can't manage to send your wife into the country for a spell before the summer's over—that would do her more good than any amount of porter. At all events, I'm glad to hear that her indisposition is not serious.

Just give me another year's military study, and the democratic lieutenants will get the surprise of their lives.

Regards to your wife and children and Dronke and Lupus from

Your

F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p. 131. - [b] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, XV.

# 68

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

London, 20 July[a] 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Dronke will be bringing you the manuscript on Görgey,[b] admittedly a wretched, muddled affair; likewise the *Neveu de Rameau* and *Jacques le fataliste*[c] in the original.

Yesterday received a letter from Bermbach in Cologne, the gist of which is as follows:

'Latterly they have been visiting all sorts of people in various places in an attempt to find correspondence from you which, they are convinced, was to be conveyed through the agency of these persons to democrats in the Rhineland. Your friends in Cologne are at last to be brought before the Court of Assizes. The bill of indictment, a most compendious work, has been drawn up, the date for the public hearing has been fixed for the 28th of this month, and the usual preliminaries are under way. They will be tried according to the *Code pénal*, since their offence antedates the new Prussian Statute Book.[164] As I understand the case they are, *legally speaking*, in an exceptionally good position but, as you will know, before a jury the moral standpoint is all important, and in this respect there can be no denying the danger for some of the accused. For the principal defendants, Röser, Bürgers, Nothjung and Reiff, have given away far too much: they have admitted a connection with specific tendencies over a definite period; have talked of the enrolment of new members attended by certain formalities and pledges, and other such things, which in themselves do not constitute a crime, but may, depending on circumstances, have an adverse effect on the jurymen, most of whom have been chosen from the peasantry—particularly when there is such evident lack of respect for God and landed property. Grave difficulties will also arise in connection with the defence; the advocates know nothing about such matters, most are hostile on principle and dread the thought of the ten-day sitting fixed for the case. Freiligrath will be beheaded *in contumaciam*.[d]

'I have just read the bill of indictment which contains no less than 65-70 pages. If they're convicted, these people have only their own statements to blame. I doubt [there] can be any more consummate jackasses than these German working men: Reiff made some statements that were regular denunciations, and various others behaved no less ineptly. One sees what a dangerous business it is to establish connections with working men, when those connections are supposed to be kept secret. Small wonder that the fellows were so much harassed; the longer they were held in solitary confinement, the more satisfactory statements they made. That aside, facts don't come into it and, if the accused had not for the most part themselves talked so readily, there would be nothing whatever to go on. The bill of

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[a] August in the original. - [b] B. Szemere, *Graf Ludwig Batthyány, Arthur Görgei, Ludwig Kossuth...* (reference to a part of the MS). - [c] by Denis Diderot - [d] for refusal to obey the summons

indictment contains all kinds of incidental details from which it transpires that, with the help of spies and intercepted letters, a fairly accurate knowledge has been gained of certain persons and relationships.'

So much for Bermbach.

*Vis-à-vis* Schimmelpfennig, Willich has retracted his statement about the B[rüningk] woman. Schimmelpfennig has now put it about that he was seeking to destroy Mrs Brüningk's virtue by *magnetising* her. The *vertueux*[a] Willich.

A certain Cœurderoy (*d'ailleurs très bon républicain*),[b] who has already published a little pamphlet against Mazzini, Ledru, L. Blanc, Cabet, etc.,[c] is about to bring out what amounts to a book on the entire French emigration.[d]

Proudhon is publishing a new work.[e] Religion, the State, etc., having become impossible, only 'individuals' remain, a discovery he has lifted from Stirner.[f]

That jackass W[eydemeyer]'s impardonable procrastination has put me in such straits that today I can't even afford a STAMP for this letter.

Your

K. M.

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## 69

## MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS[165]

### IN WASHINGTON

[London, 20 July 1852]

... With a difference of at most 10 votes in favour of either Whigs or Tories, the elections here will produce the same old Parliament. The *cercle vicieux*[g] is complete. The same old

---

[a] virtuous - [b] in other respects a very good republican (an allusion to *cœur du roi*—king's heart) - [c] E. Cœurderoy, O. Vauthier, *La Barrière du Combat qui vient de se livrer entre les citoyens Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, Étienne Cabet, Pierre Leroux, Martin Nadaud, Mallarmet, A. Bianchi (de Lille) et autres hercules du nord.* - [d] E. Cœurderoy, *De la révolution dans l'homme et dans la société.* - [e] P. J. Proudhon, *La révolution sociale démontrée par le coup d'état du 2 décembre.* - [f] An allusion to M. Stirner's *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum.* - [g] vicious circle

constituents produce the same old Parliament. In that Parliament what have hitherto been the ruling parties are rotting from within, mutually offsetting and paralysing each other, so that they are compelled to appeal yet again to their constituents and so on, *ad infinitum*, until the circle is broken from without by the pressure of the masses, and that may soon be the case. At no previous election has the conflict between the real majority and the official majority of voters created by the electoral privileges been so glaringly in evidence. You should know that at every English election voting is done 1. by a SHOW OF HANDS when the whole population votes, and 2. by a POLL, the decisive one, in which only the enfranchised vote. Those NOMINATED by the SHOW OF HANDS do not include a *single* Member of Parliament, while those returned by the POLL (i.e. really ELECTED), do not include anyone nominated by the SHOW OF HANDS. Take Halifax, for example, where Wood, the Whig Minister (Finance) was opposing E. Jones. At the SHOW OF HANDS, Wood was hissed. Jones received 14,000 votes and was carried in triumph through the town. At the POLL, Wood was elected while Jones received only 36 votes.

There is little new to report about émigré affairs. But for a few louts, Willich stands more and more isolated, no one believing in his probity any longer. As I have told you, Reichenbach, though he resigned from the committee long ago, *refuses* to hand out a *penny* from the loan until a definitive committee has been formed. In his eyes, Willich and Kinkel are as unacceptable as the handful of blackguards who elected them. Reichenbach *est un honnête bourgeois, qui prend sa responsabilité au sérieux.*[a]

The French emigration has split into 3 camps: 1. Revolution (Ledru). 2. Delegation (the more progressive). 3. 1,500 opponents of both, the plebs or, as the aristocrats used to call them, the '*populean*'. A certain Cœurderoy (*d'ailleurs très bon républicain*)[b] has published a pamphlet against Mazzini-Ledru and Cabet-Blanc and is shortly to bring out something else. You will receive both when they appear.

Yesterday a letter from Cologne, from which the following[c]:

'Latterly they have been visiting various places in an attempt to find correspondence from you which, they are convinced, was to be conveyed through the agency of these persons to democrats in the Rhineland. Your friends are at last to be brought before the Court of Assizes. The bill of indictment, a most compendious work, has been drawn up, the date for the public hearing has been fixed for the 28th of this month, and the usual preliminaries are under way. As I

[a] is an honest bourgeois who takes his responsibility seriously - [b] in other respects a very good republican (an allusion to *cœur du roi*—king's heart) - [c] Marx quotes here Bermbach's letter of 9 July 1852 (see also this volume, pp. 134-35).

understand the case they are, *legally speaking*, in an exceptionally good position but, as you will know, before a jury the moral standpoint is all important, and in this respect there can be no denying the danger for some of the accused. For the principal defendants, Röser, Bürgers, Nothjung and Reiff, have given away far too much: they have admitted a connection with specific tendencies over a definite period; have talked of the enrolment of new members attended by certain formalities and pledges, and other such things, which in themselves, however, do not constitute a crime, but may, depending on circumstances, have an adverse effect on the jurymen, most of whom belong to the peasantry, particularly when there is such evident lack of respect for God and landed property. Grave difficulties will also arise in connection with the defence; the advocates know nothing about such matters, most are hostile on principle and dread the thought of the ten-day sitting fixed for the case. It should not be forgotten that, on the occasion of the Assizes, proceedings will be taken *in contumaciam*[a] against F. Freiligrath, at present in London. So Freiligrath will shortly be able to parade round London as a German poet who has been beheaded in effigy.—

'P.S. I have just read the bill of indictment which contains no less than 65-70 pages. If they're convicted, these people have only their own statements to blame. I doubt there can be any more consummate jackasses than these working men: Reiff made statements that were almost regular denunciations, and various others behaved no less ineptly. Small wonder that the fellows were so much harassed; the longer they have been held in solitary confinement, the more satisfactory statements they made. That aside, facts don't come into it.'

*Voilà* our Straubingers,[61] it's tough that world history should have to be made with people such as these...

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## 70

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 July 1852

Dear Marx,

Enclosed the article for Dana.[b] The information sent by Bermbach is not pleasant; if only those who have *not* chattered manage to get off! The trial, by the way, is directed *autant*[c] against us as against the Cologne people; we too shall have some rough

[a] for refusal to obey the summons. - [b] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, XVI. - [c] as much

treatment, especially since *le jeune*[a] Saedt now believes that he will be able to avenge himself with impunity.[163]

Could you perhaps get hold of Cœurderoy's things for me? I.e. if they're worth the trouble, and contain anything more than mere rhetoric.

Our Worcell, as I learn from Smitt,[b] really was a count and a protagonist of the Volhynian insurrection; he distinguished himself by being cut off and leading a kind of robber band in the woods for some 3-4 weeks, until taken off to Poland by Różzycki; our Sznayde commanded some cavalry—from what I know so far—without distinction. A work by Mierosławski on the Polish campaign, which came out in Berlin in 1847,[c] is very highly spoken of by Smitt.[d] This Mierosławski is certainly the most eminent among Poles and is likely to make a name for himself.

Mind you don't forget the English article![e]

I am expecting Drunkel[f] this evening, together with a bag of books. I am particularly in need of the *N. Rh. Z.* just now and hope he is bringing it.

Warm regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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## 71

## MARX TO GOTTFRIED KINKEL[166]
### IN LONDON

[Rough copy]

[London,] 22 July 1852
5 Sutton Street, Soho
Office of *The People's Paper*

To Dr J. G. Kinkel

You are alleged, or so I am informed, to have ventured the following statement before Anneke or others at Cincinnati:

'Marx and Engels...'

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[a] the young - [b] F. Smitt, *Geschichte des polnischen Aufstandes und Krieges in den Jahren 1830 und 1831.* - [c] L. Mierosławski, *Kritische Darstellung des Feldzuges vom Jahre 1831.* - [d] F. Smitt, op. cit., Dritter Theil, S. XI-XII. - [e] See this volume, p. 145. - [f] Ernst Dronke

I await your answer by return of post.
Silence will be regarded as an admission.

Dr K. M.

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## 72

## MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS[167]

### IN WASHINGTON

[London, 30 July 1852]

... Huzel's letter[168] was greeted with Homeric laughter. It gave rise to the following intermezzos:

5 Sutton Str., Soho
Office of *The People's Paper*

'To Dr Johann Gottfried Kinkel[169]

'You are alleged, or so I am informed, to have ventured the following statement before Anneke or other Germans at Cincinnati: "Marx and Engels etc." (there follows the treasonable passage). I await your answer *by return of post.* Silence will be regarded as an admission.

Dr Karl Marx'[a]

This note was kept deliberately vague: 'alleged ... Anneke *or* other Germans', etc. in order to leave Mr Kinkel plenty of latitude for ambiguities. The following reply arrived *by return*:

1 Henstridge Villas, St. John's Wood,
24th July 1852

To Dr Karl Marx

Since the article about me was published under your auspices[170] during my imprisonment, I have wanted to have nothing more to do with you. If you believe that you can, through the testimony of Anneke or other honourable men, rather

[a] See also this volume, p. 149.

than through anonymous insinuations, provide proof that I untruthfully said or published anything detrimental to your own or Mr Engels' honour, I must point out to you, as I would to anyone with whom I have neither personal nor political contacts, the usual way which, under the law, is open to everyone who feels himself insulted or libelled. Except in this way, I shall have no further dealings with you.

Gottfried Kinkel

I have not succeeded in making the final stroke of the pen[a] as in the original. *N'est-ce pas*[b] very cunning? I am to have recourse to an English court on account of insults offered at Cincinnati. And how coolly everything is rejected that might smack of a duel and the like.

Since I could only assume that the worthy Gottfried Kinkel, who drops the Johann when in public, would refuse to accept further letters bearing a Soho postmark, I hit upon the following ruse. I asked Ernest Jones to write the address and Lupus to post the letter itself in Windsor, where he had business. Inside the envelope, Gottfried found a second little *billet-doux*, its margin adorned with a posy of forget-me-nots and roses printed in colour and with the following content:

24th July 1852
5 Sutton Str., Soho
Office of *The People's Paper*

'To Dr Johann etc. Kinkel

'In juxtaposition
with a written statement, now before me, by your *guarantor* Huzel, whom at Cincinnati you cravenly required to give his word of honour to keep silent about your mendacious gossip there, a promise which, however, was given only conditionally by Huzel;

'with a letter, likewise before me, written at some time by Dr Gottfried Kinkel *in his own hand* to his ex-guarantor Cluss,[171] in which the same Kinkel boasts of his intention to enter into *political* relations with me:

'your letter—and this is precisely why it was *provoked*—provides a new and striking proof that the said Kinkel is a cleric whose baseness is only equalled by his cowardice.

Dr Karl Marx'[172]

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[a] An imitation of the flourishes in Kinkel's signature. - [b] Is it not

This last was self-complacently pocketed by Mr 'Johann etc.' and is now circulating among the ranks of the émigrés. But the cream of the jest will only become plain to Kinkel later on, with the appearance of the first instalment of *The Great Men of the Exile.* Namely, that, shortly *before* this fearsome attack on Gottfried, I diverted myself by doing him direct and personal injury, while at the same time justifying myself in the eyes of the émigré *louts.* To that end I needed something 'in black and white' from Johann etc.

Now for greater matters.—Mazzini, no less, has for the past few days been dashing round like mad in an attempt to bring about an agreement between all those who officially make up the bourgeois emigration here. Also betook himself to Johann etc. And with the following result: Mazzini, Kossuth, Ledru-Rollin and Kinkel constitute Europe's Executive. Each member of this authority has the right to co-opt 2 subjects of his nationality. However, the decision as to these co-options rests with the majority among the four originals, i.e. *Mazzini.* Accordingly, co-opted among the Germans are A. Ruge and A. Goegg. Who among the other nationalities, I don't yet know. Kinkel, for his part, is said to have laid down 2 conditions: 1. a demand of 20,000 dollars for his loan. This I hold to be a *fabrication.* 2. The continued and independent existence of the Kinkel-Willich, etc. finance committee. This is no more than formal deference to Willich, for in fact it has already been decided to transfer the entire loan fund to A. Goegg. Finally, Kinkel & Co. will most humbly recognise the Revolutionary League in America.[173] This is the latest turn of events. How far they have progressed towards concluding this important treaty or whether they are still lingering over the preliminaries I do not know. *In any case the thing must be noised abroad in America,* with particular emphasis on the following. At the last guarantors' meeting in London, in *May 1852,* when the Kinkel-Willich committee was definitively elected, Kinkel most solemnly declared on his **word of honour** that if A. Ruge were elected to the committee, he himself would walk out, for he would never serve on the same committee as a man who had publicly described him as an agent of the Prince of Prussia.[a]

Secondly: What will Weitling & Co. say, if the dollars raised in America by Kinkel are expended by the Finance Minister, A. Goegg? For this is what is intended, in order to subsidise 'K. Heinzen's' *Janus* and to put into circulation the immortal articles of Ruge, Heinzen, etc.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 96 and 150-51.

As for Mazzini, this wily enthusiast is steadily descending to the level of an Italian 'Gustav Struve' or some such. For the past 4 years he has been shouting 'Action, action'. Now it so happens that the Austrian police in Italy are running in 600 Mazzinists whose correspondence is conducted on pocket handkerchiefs in invisible ink. But these people have no wish to be detained and their family connections are extensive. So Mr Mazzini has received from Italy a letter announcing their intention to take 'action' in real earnest and hit out. All at once, and *post festum*,[a] 'sober reason' stirs in the bosom of the bombastic man of action, and he adjures them for God's sake to lie low, since on their own they can do nothing, the country is swarming with foreign soldiers, and similar *loci communes*[b] none of which are either more or less true now than they were in 1849. Action, action! *Italia farà da sè!*[c]

A few days ago Lupus met an Italian member of Mazzini's committee and taxed him with most of these absurdities. What of it? retorts the Roman, more than 600 people are killed in a battle. However, since the Italians fear that in this way they will BY AND BY be caught, shot or locked up, and since this or that victim of his exhortations is sending relatives to London, our man of action is afraid that some misunderstanding may lead to his being stabbed by a deluded and frenzied fellow-countryman; so every night he changes his lodgings on the pretext of having to hide from the Austrians. Yet it is not Austrians but 'deluded' Italians from whom he abjectly slinks into hiding. Surely this antipope deserves the gallows? To harass, tease, wear down a nation in this way! The inevitable result, particularly in the case of a people like the Italians, is a state of appalling, passive dejection, of complete and utter collapse.

Our people were to have appeared before the JURY in Cologne yesterday, but suddenly came the announcement of a further adjournment because one of the witnesses for the prosecution, Schulz, a police official in Berlin, had fallen ill. So if Mr Schulz were to die, the defendants might well remain under preliminary investigation until doomsday. In the meantime Becker is going blind and Daniels is getting consumption. *C'est par trop infâme.*[d] In all this, the bourgeois press is playing a most abominable role.

I saw the notice of adjournment in the *Kölnische Zeitung*.[e] A few days earlier I had received the following report from Cologne.[f]

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[a] after the event - [b] commonplaces - [c] Italy will manage on her own! - [d] It's too iniquitous. - [e] [Report from Cologne of 26 July,] *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 183, 27 July 1852. - [f] Below is a passage from Bermbach's letter to Marx of mid-July 1852.

'When Becker was arrested the following letters from you were seized; those of 8.2.51, 21.2.51 and 9.4.51. From the latter the ensuing passages have been picked out by the prosecution as exceptionally incriminating: "Herewith the jolly scribble from the School of Kinkel. 15 shillings have accumulated here f.t.l.[a] 10 shillings are still outstanding, having been promised but not yet collected. I shall proceed in the manner you indicate. So debit me with £1. For owing to the reduced circumstances of the member who should pay it, five shillings cannot be collected." The prosecution makes out that the letters f.t.l. stand for "For the League", while Becker claims that they are an abbreviation indicating an arrangement made between him and yourself concerning the acquisition of cheaper *literature* for you in London. That passage constitutes one of the chief items in the indictment, since there is otherwise hardly any evidence, unless fabricated, against B. Again, the indictment, starting in the year 1831, traces the rise of the Communist League from an association of Germans in Paris which underwent various modifications under the names "League of Germans",[174] "League of the Just",[175] but continued uninterruptedly right up to the present society now appearing in the dock. This information apparently derives from data provided by the Hanoverian government. The prosecution attaches no importance whatever to the split in London in 1850[15]; in their opinion this was simply a personal squabble, the whole lot of them were, after all, pursuing the same criminal aims and shared the same views and would, moreover, act in concert at the hour of decision. Thus, besides the two addresses previously published in the press, a 3rd has been incorporated in the indictment; this address is said to be dated June or July 1850[176] and to have been intercepted in Leipzig.

'The only statements of any note are those of the witnesses Haupt, who gave a fairly detailed and comprehensive story, and Hentze, an ex-lieutenant, who to some extent attacked Becker. On Saturday Erhardt, a cashier with Stein, the banker, was arrested on the same charge. He is said to be slightly compromised by reason of the recommendation he gave to Nothjung and of a few letters discovered on the latter which seemed to indicate some understanding between the two... By the way, so nicely have the jurymen been selected that, if you consider the odds, the State could not be better placed.'

The most important news politically is the treaty concluded between Prussia, Austria and Russia during the Czar's[b] visit to Vienna.[177] It was first announced in *The Morning Chronicle* the day before yesterday. Yesterday there was a reprint of it in *The Times*,[c] so you will be able to read it for yourself. Here the election results are such that the Tories, who will drop the Corn Law question, possess a large counter-revolutionary majority on all other issues and this Cabinet will, I believe, give way before nothing short of a more or less revolutionary manifestation. The bourgeois now realise what a blunder they made in failing to draw the political conclusions from their anti-Corn Law victory in 1846. *Ils y penseront.*[d] My list of printing errors for the *Brumaire* will soon

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[a] Here 'F.d.B.' in German means 'für die Bücher'. Below it is taken to mean 'für den Bund'. - [b] Nicholas I. - [c] 'Secret Treaty of the Three Northern Powers' (from *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 26705, 28 July 1852), *The Times*, No. 21180, 29 July 1852. - [d] They'll think of it.

moulder away; had I realised this would happen, I should have done better to send you for postage the money thus expended. But as Spinoza tells us, it is a comfort to consider all things *sub specie aeterni.*[a]

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## 73

## MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS[178]

### IN WASHINGTON

[London, beginning of August 1852]

... Now the secret is out, namely the reason why the Cologne people have yet again failed to appear. The principal witness, Haupt, the traitor from Hamburg, has taken himself off to Brazil. The 2nd most important witness, a journeyman tailor, has likewise shown a clean pair of heels. This leaves the government without even the semblance of a proof. The scoundrels are taking their revenge by prolonging the period of preventive detention....

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[a] from the viewpoint of eternity

## 74

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 August 1852

Dear Engels,

Herewith the stuff for Dana.[179] We must assail the fellow from all sides, the more so since that old *farceur*, Ruge, has actually deposited one of his stylistic excretions in a recent number.[a]

The Cologne affair has been adjourned by the court for 3 months at the request of the public prosecutor.[b] In other words, the principal witnesses have slipped through his fingers, Haupt to Brazil and a journeyman tailor to some *lieu inconnu*.[c]

Do you think that Dana might take offence because of the *similarity in the names* of the English and American Whigs?[180]

A detailed dispatch, probably, tomorrow.

Your
K. M.

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## 75

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 August 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Don't forget to let me have the *rest of the thing*[d] by *Tuesday*. The section on the Tories is too short by itself. This time there is a twofold reason why the portions sent to Dana should not be too niggardly. 1. In Cincinnati that blackguard Heinzen is siding with

[a] A. Ruge, 'The Public Law of Europe', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3506, 14 July 1852. - [b] Saedt - [c] place unknown - [d] See previous letter.

the Whigs against the Democrats, because he rightly believes this ELECTIONEERING TIME is the best moment at which to sell himself. *Greeley* reported in the *Tribune* the speech Heinzen made there, and went on to praise the man.[a] So storm clouds are threatening *me* from that quarter. 2. Having for weeks, and particularly for the past fortnight, been forced to spend 6 hours a day chasing after 6d for grub, on top of which I am again being pestered by my LANDLADY, I had no other alternative but to write to Johnson yesterday inquiring whether he would discount a bill on the *Tribune* for me. Should the man agree to do what I ask, which is still *in dubio*,[b] I shall have to inform Dana, and if we send him short articles, he will think he is being fleeced and will cast me out of the temple, since he now has such a plentiful SUPPLY from Heinzen, Ruge and B. Bauer. What is even more unfortunate, I see from today's *Times* that the *Daily Tribune* is protectionist.[c] So it's all VERY OMINOUS. We must send the fellow something as quickly as possible before he countermands. I can't yet send off my dispatch[d] since I have a frightful headache—not, however, from the effects of PALE ALE.

It's regrettable that Dronke will not be here on Saturday.[e] Goegg has called a *general* meeting of refugees for that day and the little man's presence would have been very desirable. For Pieper isn't the right person. At all events, Dronke must see to it that he is here when the rabble arrives from Berlin, for I cannot cope with these blackguards all by myself.

I have all manner of stuff from Cluss, too, to send you, which you will receive as soon as you send me a few STAMPS; otherwise the trash will cost you double and *pour le moment*[f] I haven't a penny to send.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] 'A German View of American "Democracy"', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3505, 13 July 1852. - [b] in doubt - [c] 'The Approaching Election in the United States', *The Times*, No. 21186, 5 August 1852. - [d] for Engels to translate (see this volume, p. 145) - [e] 7 August - [f] for the time being

# 76

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Friday, 6 August 1852

Dear Marx,

You will have got back the first half of the article[a] in English and German yesterday afternoon. The second[b] you shall have on Tuesday morning. As for being thrown out of the *Tribune*, you need have no worries.[c] We are too firmly ensconced there. Furthermore, to the Yankees, this European politicising is mere dilettantism in which he who writes best and with the greatest *esprit* comes out on top. *Heinzen* can do us no harm; if he's bought by the Whigs, it means that he will obey them, not that he will give the orders. Ruge, Bauer, etc., etc., in addition to ourselves ensure that the *Tribune* has an 'all-round' character. As for protectionism, it does no harm. American Whigs are all industrial protectionists, but this by no means implies that they belong to the landed aristocracy, Derby variety. Nor are they so stupid not to know just as well as does List that FREE TRADE suits English industry better than anything else. By the way, I could at a pinch insert a word here and there to that effect with the FREETRADERS, which you could cross out if not to your liking. But there's really no need for it.

I thought you had long since settled the discounting affair with Johnson and very much hope something will come of it. As for me, I get deeper in the mire financially every day. While I much enjoy having Papa Dronke here, it is impossible to work of an evening, and so a fair amount of money is being frittered away; on top of that there are current DISBURSEMENTS besides £20 owing to the business, which make things very tight. Dronke intends to return next week (at the beginning), after which I shall do a spell of hard work, having sufficient material here, and then, by the end of September, I shall again have some money at my disposal—a few pounds in September[d] for sure. Most unfortunately, in an evil hour Mr Pindar also asked me for a loan. He is still keeping afloat on three lessons a week and seems to have

[a] K. Marx, 'The Elections in England.—Tories and Whigs'. - [b] K. Marx, 'The Chartists'. - [c] See previous letter. - [d] December in the original.

fallen touchingly in love—*pauvre garçon, il faut l'avoir vu sous l'empire de l'émotion plus ou moins vierge.*[a]

Moreover, towards the end of June I was unable, owing to all sorts of circumstances, to charge up to my old man a number of extras which have now been placed to my account. Meanwhile, we are busy with the balance sheet; actually it is no concern of mine, but it will at least give me some indication of how far I can go. If it turns out well—which I shall know in some 4-6 weeks' time, I might be able to chance something, in which case you will at once receive some money. Only this month, because of the £20 or £25 I owe the business, I am absolutely stuck.

I don't know how I can arrange to do an article on GERMANY for Dana behind Dronke's back—he knows nothing about the matter.[181] At the office I have my hands completely full until 7 o'clock in the evening, so I can't do it there. *Cependant je verrai.*[b]

Warmest regards to your wife and children from

Your
F. E.

Enclosed STAMPS to the value of 9/- and a few pence.

Dronke asks me to tell you that he will probably be coming at the beginning of next week.

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## 77

## MARX TO ENGELS[182]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 August 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

*D'abord,*[c] then, the incident with Johann Gottfried Kinkel.[d]

You will see from one of the enclosed letters from Cluss that Mr Kinkel stated in a BOURGEOIS CIRCLE in Cincinnati: 'Marx and Engels

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[a] poor lad, you ought to see him in the throes of more or less virginal emotion - [b] However, I shall see. - [c] To begin with - [d] See this volume, pp. 138-39.

are no revolutionaries, they're a couple of blackguards who have been thrown out of public houses by the workers in London'.[183] Knowing my Gottfried, I began by sending him the following note in which I pretended to be not quite sure of the facts, thereby giving him fresh occasion for ambiguities:

'5 Sutton Street, Soho, Office of *The People's Paper*,
'22 July 1852

'To Dr Johann Gottfried Kinkel

'You are alleged, or so I am informed, to have ventured the following statement before Anneke or other Germans at Cincinnati (the passage follows). I await your explanation by return of post. Silence will be regarded as an admission.

Dr K. Marx'

Kinkel sent the following note by return:

'To Dr Karl Marx

Since the article about me was published under your auspices during my imprisonment, I have wanted to have nothing more to do with you. If you believe that you can, through the testimony of Anneke or other honourable men, rather than through anonymous insinuations, provide proof that I untruthfully said or published anything detrimental to your own or Mr Engels' honour, I must point out to you, as I would to anyone with whom I have neither personal nor political contacts, the usual way which, under the law, is open to everyone who feels himself insulted or libelled. Except in this way, I shall have no further dealings with you.

Gottfried Kinkel

Since it was evident from this scrawl that Mr Gottfried would neither accept letters bearing a SOHO POSTMARK nor admit messengers, I got Lupus to post a note to him from Windsor on paper of the kind used for a *billet-doux*, bearing a posy of roses and forget-me-nots printed in colour, and having the following content:

'To Dr Johann etc. Kinkel

'In juxtaposition
with a written statement, now before me, by your *guarantor* Huzel whom you cravenly required at Cincinnati to give his word of honour to keep silent about your mendacious gossip there, a promise which, however, was given only conditionally by Huzel;

'with a letter, likewise before me, written some time earlier by Dr Gottfried Kinkel *in his own hand* to his *ex-guarantor* Cluss, in which

the same Kinkel boasts of his intention to enter into *political* relations with me:

'your letter—and this is precisely why it was provoked—provides a new and striking proof that the said Kinkel is a *cleric whose baseness is only equalled by his cowardice.*

Dr Karl Marx'

This last was swallowed in silence by Mr Johann etc. who, since then, has carefully avoided letting us hear anything more from him.

Kossuth's secret circular, which Cluss speaks of in his last letter, you will find in English in tomorrow's issue of Jones' PAPER.[184] Hence I am not enclosing it.

The meeting of Kinkel's guarantors took place on Tuesday 3 August. The chief item was the following: Reichenbach is guarding the exchequer like a Cerberus. The £200 so far spent by Kinkel and Willich was *received* from Gerstenberg, etc., against the revolutionary deposits. Statutorily, they may dispose of these only after at least *3* people have been nominated by the guarantors. And Reichenbach insists on observance of this formality. To remedy the inconvenience, Kinkel and Willich had decided to have Techow as the third nominee. True, Techow is sailing for Australia in 3 weeks' time. But, under the statutes of the loan, once the committee had its full complement of 3 members, it could on its own authority propose two more. Hence, the sole purpose of Techow's nomination was 1. to make Reichenbach hand over the exchequer, 2. to enable them later on to bring in 2 men of straw in Techow's place. However, the meeting immediately decided against Techow on the grounds that he was only being used as a cover and was leaving for Australia. Kinkel and Willich were told that their conduct of affairs was unsatisfactory, that they inspired no confidence and that they must submit a detailed account concerning the expenditure of the £200 before it could be ratified. This last and other decisions are to be SETTLED today, Friday the 6th, at a further guarantors' meeting.

At the sitting on the 3rd, Reichenbach proposed that the £1,000 be deposited in the Bank of England and left untouched until the outbreak of the revolution. Löwe (in alliance with Ruge) proposed that the money be handed over to the Revolutionary League in America.[173]

And although Kinkel himself stated, in the enclosed note to Huzel, that Ruge falsely suspected him of being an agent of the

Prince of Prussia,[185] and although he, upon the strength of that, *pledged his word* at the guarantors' meeting last May that he would never sit on the same committee as Ruge, our Gottfried now declares himself ready, for the sake of the cause, to act *in concert* with Goegg, Ruge, etc. and to administer the money in concert with them, in order to get a hand in the administration at all. Willich, however, now convinced that the £1,000 will not, like the 200 already spent, produce any further windfalls for him is said to have decided to emigrate to America, whither he has already been preceded by the trusty Gebert and Dietz.

Last week Papa Goegg again convened his Agitation Club.[26] An exact count revealed that it consisted of exactly 8 people, the place of Sigel and Fickler, who had disappeared, being taken by the newly-joined Oswald and Dralle. In addition it was found that, though Goegg had in the meantime acquired great fame as Kossuth's servant and has rendered 'sterling service' as an agitator for the Revolutionary League, he had otherwise not brought back even enough cash to cover the debts 'incurred to defray travelling expenses'. In these doubtful circumstances the agitators[a] felt compelled to attempt an alliance with Kinkel, in order that they might with decorum get at the £1,000. Kinkel likewise sees therein the last chance of avoiding an irreversible divorce from the £1,000. With the secret purpose of furthering this design, Goegg has convened a *general* meeting of refugees for tomorrow, the 7th, at Schärttner's. Ostensibly to report on his *grands œuvres.*[b] In fact, to be swept by general acclaim into an alliance with Kinkel and the £1,000. This may now not be accomplished.

But a third complication arises now, whose immediate effect is to debar both sides, Kinkel and Goegg, from the 'exchequer'. *To be precise, on the one hand, our Eduard Meyen is agitating for the money to be used to launch a big* LONDON WEEKLY PAPER. And, on the other, the 'critical' Edgar Bauer, who had barely heard of the predicament in which the £1,000 found itself, before he too crept forth and, taking up position behind Schily, Imandt, Schimmelpfennig, etc., also solicited a newspaper for himself. Imandt, etc., see this as the only means of rescuing the money from Kinkel and Goegg. Edgar Bauer adopts towards these people the appearance of a 'harmless humorist'.

I shall obtain an exact account of today's sitting since Imandt is now an L.M.[c] To revert to the one of the 3rd, I would mention the following: After questions of high policy had been dealt with,

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[a] members of the Agitation Club - [b] great works - [c] Communist League member

the chivalrous Schimmelpfennig arose; certain persons had, he said, put it about that the Brüningk woman was a spy and he now declared them to be vile calumniators. Kinkel denied that he for his part had ever made any such assertion. (He had in fact made it to the whoreson Kamm of Bonn when the latter passed this way.) Willich, on whom all eyes were turned, sat tight and said nothing. *Techow* declared that it was even more vile when such suspicions were bandied about by persons who, for a whole year, had enjoyed the Brüningk woman's hospitality. It was their duty rather to refute such a talk whenever they got wind of it.

All eyes were turned on Willich. Willich did not stir, but throughout the whole of this sitting, which saw the fading of so many 'golden' dreams, is said to have been the very personification of 'unhappy consciousness'.

Well, enough of that crap for today.

I have just received the enclosed letter from Freiligrath, from which it appears that cur Johnson remains adamant.[a] Hence I am utterly at a loss what to do and my position is becoming abominable.

So honest Goegg has sent Freiligrath an invitation! He's one they can still never do without, but in the end they will have to.

My regards to the mandrake.[b]

Your
K. M.

It seems unlikely that your letter will arrive today, it being already 2 in the afternoon.

Enclosed letters from *Cluss*:

1. 20 June.
2. 4 July.
3. 8 July, with Kinkel's circular.
4. Kinkel's circular of 2 August.
5. Cincinnati, 6 February,[c] letter from Kinkel to Huzel.
6. Letter from Hillgärtner to Huzel.
7. Letter from Cluss of 22 July.

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[a] See this volume, p. 147. - [b] Ernst Dronke - [c] April in the original

## 78

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Monday evening [9 August 1852]

Dear Marx,

I've done a stupid thing. In its MAIL TABLE the *Daily News* does not mention any American STEAMER for Wednesday—so I succumbed to the Sunday indolence so natural to a *commerçant*.[a] And today I see from a commercial circular that a STEAMER is in fact leaving the day after tomorrow. I have begun to work,[b] but nothing is ready. I have Pindar coming to see me this evening and even if I sent him away, I doubt whether I should get anything done in the few hours before the last post. *Donc*[c] you and I have been duped. But I shall never again make the mistake of believing the commercial intelligence provided by the organ of the bourgeoisie.

Your
F. E.

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## 79

## MARX TO ENGELS[182]

IN MANCHESTER

London, 10 August 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

First, I enclose the original text of Kossuth's SECRET CIRCULAR.[184]

Next, the report 1. on the guarantors' sitting of 6 August, 2. on Goegg's meeting of 7 August.

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[a] businessman - [b] Apparently on the English translation of Marx's article, 'The Chartists'. - [c] So

As to 1. Present: Kinkel, Willich, Reichenbach, Löwe of Calbe, Meyen, Schurz (not Techow this time), Schimmelpfennig, Imandt; I know of no others. Not forgetting Schärttner.

Kinkel had had the indispensable third member (Techow) of the alliance[a] elected in America and Switzerland. There still remained the participation in the election of the 12-15 London guarantors. Here, as I told you, the election of Techow fell through and then he declared that he could not accept as he was leaving for Australia.[b]

*Kinkel* proposed to proceed with a new election of the third man. Fell through again.

*Löwe of Calbe: First:* 'The German loan has miscarried because the political circumstances (May 1852[186]) in view of which it was undertaken are no longer present, and the presupposed amount of 20,000 dollars has not been raised.' *Second*: 'The monies to be returned to the American committees.'

The first part of this motion was carried, the second rejected.

*Imandt:* 'If the majority of the remaining guarantors share my view, the money to hand should be used to publish a German newspaper in London.' 'Reichenbach will remain TRUSTEE of the money.' 'A committee is to be elected consisting of Reichenbach, Löwe and Schimmelpfennig, and Kinkel and Willich will hand over to it the lists of the guarantors in America and Switzerland; the previous committee has nothing more to do with the matter; the new committee will advise the guarantors abroad of the resolutions taken and will obtain their opinion.'

Reichenbach supported Imandt's motions, all were carried. Kinkel and Willich protested on the grounds that the disposal of the money did not rest solely with the body of guarantors. Only the donors of the money, or respectively the finance committees set up in America, could exercise the right of disposal.

*Sic transit gloria.*[c] Willich is more determined than ever to go to America, provided he can raise the fare.

As to 2. Meeting called by Finance Minister Goegg, back from America without finances.

Present: *In the chair: 'Damm' himself* (not yet slipped off to Australia). *Goegg. Ronge. Dr Strauss. Sigel,* the other one.[d] *Franck* (from Vienna). *Oswald. Dralle.* (These all 'agitators'.[e]) *Kinkel. Schurz. Meyen. Willich. Imandt. Schily. Becker.* One of Schärttner's

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[a] A paraphrase of the expression 'in eurem Bunde der dritte' from Schiller's poem 'Der Bürgschaft'. - [b] America in the original. See this volume, p. 150. - [c] Thus passes the glory. - [d] Albert Sigel - [e] members of the Agitation Club

*waiters.* The tipsy Lumpenproletarian *Herweg* from Neuss. Candidate *Hentze* from Königsberg. *Garthe.* A *stripling* (unknown) from Vienna.

*Goegg* opened the sitting, described his activity in America, owing to which birth was given to a revolutionary league,[173] an act as a result of which the American Republic was supposed to be 'tumbled' and hence birth to be given to a German-Baden republic—the victory of the American Democrats over the Whigs to be ensured, etc. The modest young man further asserted (an opinion *attested* by the newly arrived candidate of philosophy Hentze) that Germans in all provinces stood with their eyes fixed on London so that, at the crucial moment when those present at the meeting fell into each other's arms, they could let out a thunderous hurrah that would resound across the ocean a thousand times o'er. Hence he demanded that the meeting constitute itself a branch of the Revolutionary League and no longer leave their poor compatriots to languish in that attitude of expectancy.

*Imandt:* Thanked Goegg for his information on American conditions. Suggested moreover that the meeting should disperse, since only a general and publicly convened meeting of refugees could take a decision.

*Damm* ruled him out of order.

*Kinkel:* (Already during Goegg's eloquent speech, this sensitive poet-martyr had, by rolling his eyes, signified his irrevocable determination to spread out his arms in reconciliation). He, too, was aware that Germany was looking to them. He was in a position to clasp the conciliatory hand. As a sacrifice to the cause, he would forget the grave injustice he had suffered. He, too, was aware that not only the liberation of Germany, but also the revolutionising of America, lay in their hands. None so great, said he, in an allusion to Ruge's 'agent of the Prince of Prussia',[a] as he who mastered himself. However he, for his part, demanded that the Revolutionary League should also now guarantee his loan. Even though he and the 'honourable' Willich might not see eye to eye politically, nevertheless they would, he believed, have achieved great things together.

*Imandt:* Respected the Christian humility of Kinkel who had forgotten that Ruge had called him an agent of the Prince of Prussia, who had, for sheer love of the revolution, had repressed the indignation in his burning breast which, 2 months earlier

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[a] See this volume, pp. 150-51.

(May), had prompted, in the presence of the guarantors, the solemn declaration: 'as a good republican, he could only regard as injurious to his honour the suggestion that he should go with Ruge, his wicked detractor, and, rather than reconcile himself with the wicked Ruge, would retire from all political activity'. It was out of Christian humility that Kinkel had drained the bitter cup which Fickler had prepared for him with his horribly insulting letters (in one of those letters Fickler had described him as 'a turkey strutting on a dung-heap'); he had become, as indeed Goegg's friends maintained he had always been, simple of heart if he could bring himself to fall into the arms of his American rivals. The 'union' between Messrs Kinkel and Goegg was a fine thing, for although it really had no other purpose than that the former with the help of the latter should strive to get the upper hand in the administration of the loan funds, and that the latter with the help of the former should seek to worm his way into that administration, yet a peace agreement between two men of such stature might nevertheless ensure that the political parties throughout the world similarly became reconciled, that the constitutionalist held out his hand to the republican and the socialist to the republican, that henceforward the proletarians would no longer be exploited by the bourgeois and, in short, that everyone would embrace every one else and shout hip-hip-hurray. For the fact of Kinkel's having said in America that he regarded the proletarians as cannon fodder (as once in Bonn and Cologne he had adulated Cavaignac) and this, despite his alliance with the 'honourable' Willich, did not affect the issue. There was at most one trifling matter outstanding: like all people who, instead of studying the difference between the various parties and championing their interests, indulged in scatter-brained folly about uniting opposing elements, Kinkel could be reproached with a total lack of principle, etc. He would further draw Kinkel's attention to the fact that he could at most conclude agreements on his behalf, but not on behalf of the body of guarantors. Finally, Imandt moved that the Revolutionary League in America be left to its own devices and that all should go home. Whereupon Imandt went.

*Incidents: Damm* constantly interrupted Imandt and wanted to rule him out of order. As a Rhinelander, the tipsy *Herweg* felt obliged, so long as Imandt was present, to manifest approbation and, while Imandt was speaking of 'great men', he 'lorgnetted' the company with his pipe. During the passage about 'the proletarians', the painter, *Franck*, rose in indignation and said: 'I can't stand it any more. I *grunt*.' Imandt replied that this was

something he had in common with other animals, whereupon Franck decamped. Kinkel denied the 'cannon fodder'. Imandt told the whole story about Schnauffer and the *Wecker*, whereat Kinkel fell silent. At the word 'Cavaignac', he again broke in: 'Citizen Imandt, when did the *Bonner Zeitung* appear?' Imandt: It was all the same to him whether it had been before or after the June insurrection. He had read about the thing himself.

*Conclusion:* The sitting went on for 2 more hours. Goegg pleaded that they should join the Revolutionary League, at least temporarily. The afore-mentioned stripling from Vienna declared anyone who delayed in joining by so much as an hour to be a 'traitor to his country'. Nevertheless, after the majority had rejected *every*, I repeat, *every motion*, the company went home without having founded a branch of the American-European-Australian Revolutionary League.

Your
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 16 August 1852

Dear Marx,

This evening I have been promised the £2 borrowed from me a short while ago; if I get it, I shall send you it at once tomorrow by P.O. order and shall also write at great length.

Since we've heard nothing further from Weydemeyer and, according to Cluss' letters, the things seem at last to have been sent off,[a] it might be advisable for us to inquire from Edwards, Sanford and Co. in Liverpool whether they have received any

[a] Copies of the *Revolution* containing Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, see this volume, p. 160.

packages. If you hear nothing more (last night the STEAMER had not yet arrived), I, at any rate, could do that.

From your report it would seem that the resolutions of 3 [August] have for the present snatched the money from Mr Kinkel's grasp.[a] Mr Imandt does pretty well for himself after his own fashion. *C'est drôle, quand un Schapper nous échappe, un Imandt est toujours sûr de revenir à nous.*[b] But he is at any rate a *deus minimorum gentium, canis domesticus communismi germanici,*[c] and as such is useful, since we have now learnt to keep lesser folk of this kind on a short rein.

The noble Willich's bosom must be much lacerated now that separation from the emigration's *coffre-fort*[d] has sprung the last band holding his noble consciousness together. He must, moreover, have notified his trusties over there long ago of his arrival since the latter, on the strength of an important letter from Willich, have already convened big extraordinary general meetings. Mr Willich will become head of the LOAFERS and ROWDIES there, and as such will have a rare opportunity of distinguishing himself. What is more, he will also find his old enemy Schramm[e] there, and that will lead to some pretty rows.

How delectable that Mr Kossuth has actually already caused companies to be drilled and Napoleon-Sigel is playing the instructor of the recruits. What an unspeakable swindler this Kossuth is; driving him out of America was one of the most splendid coups ever perpetrated by Cluss.[184]

By the way I shall very soon be doing the Hungarian campaign[f] and shall write direct to Brockhaus this very week. If he has no faith in my military qualifications, I shall arrange previously to do one or two cogent articles for the *Gegenwart* so that he can see what there is to them. Dronke's connection with Brockhaus is very good and must be exploited. For Brockhaus is after all one of the more tractable booksellers. *Nous allons voir.*[g]

I was interrupted while writing the article for Dana[h] last Thursday and shall, if possible, make up for it by doing 2 this week. I also expect something more from you on England.[187] Last week there could be little thought of work. While Dronke was here

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[a] See this volume, pp. 149-50. - [b] It's curious, whenever we lose a Schapper, an Imandt is always sure to come back to us (pun on Schapper and *échappe*). - [c] god of the minor nation, house-dog of German communism - [d] strong-box - [e] Conrad Schramm - [f] See this volume, pp. 104 and 128. - [g] We shall see. - [h] for the series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*

I had neglected much of what I had previously been doing. Now I am gradually getting back in TRAIN.

Regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[188]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 19 August 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I had 10/- handed to me by Dronke. Yesterday £2 by post. However welcome the money was, I find it most *ennuyant*[a] that you should squeeze yourself dry for me, and this at a moment when you yourself are *plus ou moins*[b] in a fix.

As regards the Hungarian war, you would probably do well to have a look also at the following:

*The Fortress of Komarom (Comorn) during the War of Independence in Hungary*, by Colonel Sigismund Thaly. Translated (from the German) by William Rushton. James Madden, Leadenhead Street.

As regards works on military matters, since you intend to go thoroughly into the whole LINE, I would cite the following in case you might consider one or another of them worth acquiring:

Carrion-Nisas: *Essai sur l'historie générale de l'art militaire etc.* Paris 1824.

Kausler: *Kriegsgeschichte aller Völker.* Ulm 1825. *Wörterbuch und Atlas der Schlachten.* 1825 and 1831. (The only two general military histories. Said to be meagre.)

Guerard: *Encyclopädie der Kriegskunst.* 2nd ed. Vienna 1833.

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[a] annoying - [b] more or less

*Handbibliothek für Offiziere über das Ganze der Kriegslehre* für Eingeweihte und Laien von einer Gesellschaft Preußischer Offiziere. Berlin 1828.

J.A.M.-r (Millerbacher): *Das Kriegswesen der Römer, nach antiken Denkmalen geordnet von Ottenberger.* Prague 1824.

Löhr: *Das Kriegswesen der Griechen und Römer.* 2nd ed. Würzburg 1830.

Blesson: *Geschichte des Belagerungskriegs.* Berlin 1821.

Hoyer: *Geschichte der Kriegskunst.* Göttingen 1797.

Chambray: *Die Veränderungen in der Kriegskunst von 1700-1815.* German. Berlin 1830.

Stenzel: *Geschichte der Kriegsverfassung Deutschlands, besonders im Mittelalter.* Berlin 1820.

Barthold: *George v. Frundsberg.* Hamburg 1833.

Letters have arrived from Cluss which I shall send you as soon as I have shown them to Lupus and the little League.[189]

As regards Weydemeyer, Cluss writes as follows[a]:

'Not long ago, after some goading on my part, Weydemeyer wrote that he would have to put serious pressure on Korff who was supposed to have sent off the 50 *Brumaires*.[b] Weydemeyer has, I believe, small sums owing to him from Korff and will therefore have charged him with the dispatch, and/or payment of the postal costs.

'The remaining 300 *Brumaires* ... not yet dispatched ... He claims that 500 copies are still held at the printers as a security and he hasn't yet been able to redeem them, etc. ... *Financially*, for one thing I *cannot* under any circumstances intervene just now, and for another I *would* not *wish* to do so even if I could. For time and again I have been told that such and such a sum would resolve everything, and time and again such and such a sum has been provided and resolved nothing. When the *Revolution* began, we were told to have faith and send in advance-payments without delay. I at once sent subscriptions to the tune of 10 dollars, which *I*, of course, subsequently lost... Later it was said that the periodical was being put on its feet again and I was to find 20 dollars to that end; 18 dollars went off forthwith, 15 dollars from me personally and 3 dollars subscriptions. *Instead of being used to carry on the business*, this went to pay for the same old stupid bag of tricks, i.e. for the first 2 issues which had been sent out at random. The *Brumaire* arrived. Weydemeyer in despair. I told him I would instantly contribute 25-30 dollars if that would help, otherwise he was to send me the manuscript. Send me 25 dollars, he says; I do so. After a while it transpires that only 500 copies can be printed with the money available; no good, I tell him, how much more would it cost to print 1,000? 20 dollars, comes the reply, and the next day the money is already on its way.

'Now the poems[c] arrive; *they* are to be printed in New York; when I insist that the nonsense must cease and the printing begin, I get the poems back, it having unfortunately proved impossible to print them just now in New York. I at once

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[a] Cluss to Marx, 5 August 1852. - [b] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.* - [c] F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer', I and II.

have them printed and bound for some 15 dollars (400 copies[a]) and send the stuff off in all haste so that it can be disposed of at the choral festival just then taking place in New York. They were touted round by *one solitary* vendor[b] who is said to have actually disposed of 60 (!) copies. So the printing of the 2nd thousand (I had left the type set up), the money for which Weydemeyer had promised to provide as he had already informed me, was, of course, stopped; and in the same way, the whole business appears to have remained inert and lifeless in his hands ever since.

'I shall write and tell Weydemeyer that, in so far as *I* am financially involved in this affair, I want you to use it in Europe for further publications in the interests of the party, or in any other way *you yourself* think fit, hence that so far as my share in all this is concerned, to send no money to America. In the case of the poems, I alone am involved, and so I alone have the final say in the matter.

'I shall therefore stake everything on getting the stuff sent off.'

Isn't that an exact replica of our Brussels-Westphalian *aventure*?[190] Last week I wrote to F. Streit in Coburg about the printing of the *Brumaire;* he deals in articles of this kind.[191]

Apropos. No. 15[c] appeared in the *Tribune.*

In St Louis, Heinzen is now figuring for a change as an 'aristocrat of the intellect' (sic), ludicrous second-hand rehash of Feuerbach-Stirner; and since the Revolutionary League[173] is going to pot, the 'aristocrat of the intellect' proposes a 'humanist' union.

In addition I have the following to report:

On the 3rd, Kinkel and the *coffre-fort*[d] were duly divorced. Reichenbach deposited the money in the Bank of England in his own name.

At this gathering Kinkel feigned ignorance of the meeting convoked by Goegg and hence challenged Imandt in public to read out in public the invitation he had received. On the 6th, however, Goegg, turning to Kinkel, remarked: 'in accordance with the arrangement I made with you at your house'. Willich was not present.

Hentze, the candidate, endorsed all his own remarks by adding: 'as a D. Phil. I ought to know'.

Goegg explained how his Revolutionary League 1. provided a stay and support for Germans in America, 2. might, by influencing the elections, sway American policy and induce the United States to adopt a policy of intervention. On the material side, too, a start had been made. Contributions of one cent per week. Boxes in all public houses. Gottfried declared himself in agreement with all this. Only, he opined, contributions of a dollar would be preferable to contributions of a cent, no one in America

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[a] Cluss says 1,000 in his letter. - [b] Helmich - [c] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany,* XV. - [d] strong-box

having sufficient patriotic devotion to count up the cents. He also came out against BOXES.

Quoth the great Kinkel, staring hard at Imandt the while:

'Despite all the calumnies that have been spread against me, I can stand up with *unruffled* brow and say that I have never spoken ill of any exiled fellow citizen—not a single one.'[a]

*Consequence:* Since Kinkel had no money, but only his esteemed person, to offer by way of dowry, the latter was spurned, despite all his boot-licking and self-humiliation. The eight dynasts organised themselves into a Revolutionary League off their own bat and without co-opting Kinkel. The *malheureux*![b]

Schmolze, a born painter, is said to have done a rather nice set of cartoons, Kinkel as King Lear and Willich as the Fool. Also a cartoon in which Willich, as a sloth, squats in a fruit-tree while Mrs Schärttner on the ground shakes the tree to dislodge him.

Willich has been stupid enough to extend his ostracism to the honourable and elderly Mr 'Schily' and to expel him from his little League[189] for all sorts of imaginary crimes. Schily is appealing to a general meeting. Today is the day of the ordeal. For his part Schily accuses Willich of '*unmistakable insanity*', as a proof of which he will this evening produce a letter from *Heise*, Willich's alleged friend in Liverpool, wherein *Heise* describes *Willich as mentally deranged.*

Last week friend Jones came within an ace of losing his newspaper.[c] Every week a deficit. At odds with the committee[192] and with the 2 citizens who have so far been putting up the money. Sudden reprieve. MacGowan has taken over publication, will make good the weekly deficit, and Jones is now ensconced in the office of the old *Northern Star.* MacGowan has sacked Harney, and the idiot bought the old *Star* from him for £40.

According to the *Gazette Agricole*, the next harvest in France will be $^1/_3$ BELOW THE AVERAGE which in France, according to J. B. Say,= FAMINE.[d] In Germany a middling harvest. In England there is already an outflow of gold from the Bank for corn purchases. At the same time, wild speculation in the City. Last week, bankruptcies on the STOCK EXCHANGE. Finally, in North America, as I see from the *New-York Herald*, the wildest of wild speculation in RAILWAYS, BANKS, housing, unprecedented expansion of the credit

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[a] Indirectly addressing to Marx in this way, Kinkel tried to justify himself in the face of the accusations moved against him, see this volume, p. 149. - [b] Poor thing! - [c] *The People's Paper* - [d] J. B. Say, *Cours complet d'économie politique pratique*, Paris, 1840, p. 394.

system, etc. Is that not APPROACHING CRISIS? The revolution may come sooner than we would like. Nothing could be worse than the revolutionaries having to provide bread.

Your
K. M.

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## MARX TO HEINRICH BROCKHAUS

IN LEIPZIG

London, 19 August 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Sir,

I am writing to you to ask whether you could use in your *Gegenwart* a paper on 'Recent Literature on the Economy in England, from 1830-1852'. So far as I am aware, no work of this kind has yet been published either in English or in German. It would cover 1. general works on political economy, 2. specialised writings which appeared during that period, in so far as they relate to really important controversies, for instance on population, the colonies, the banking question, protective tariffs and free trade, etc.

Should you feel inclined to fall in with this proposal, I should have to know the length prescribed for such a paper by the economics of your publication, since the subdivision of the whole would have to be arranged accordingly.

Another paper which might perhaps be pertinent just now is 'The Present State of the Parties', i.e. those that will confront each other in the next Parliament. Awaiting your reply, I am

Yours faithfully
Dr K. Marx

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## 83

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 24 August 1852]

Dear Marx,

This evening I shall translate the final part of your article[193] and shall do the article on 'Germany'[a] tomorrow or Thursday. Charles[b] has gone away for a few days and I have a great deal to do in the office so that by evening my mind is often in a whirl.

Thanks for the suggestions on military history.[c] Could you sometime have a look in the British Museum to see if they have 1. The *Oesterreichische Militärische Zeitschrift* from 1848 onwards, 2. the Prussian *Militär-Wochenblatt*, the Berlin *Wehr-Zeitung*, 3. any other military periodicals, especially reviews, including French ones—from 1848 onwards? Also a set of the Augsburg *Allg. Ztg.*, particularly from 1850. I need these things very badly and, if it could somehow be arranged, would find time to work through them there, when I have got to that stage.

The excerpt from Cluss' letter[d] shows up *père*[e] Weydemeyer in an even more Westphalian light[194] than we had ever expected. Bielefeld *tout pur*.[f] It beats everything.

Johann Gottfried's[g] end is pleasing indeed. All that is left to the noble fellow is the cold comfort of knowing that he has done his duty and swollen the STOCK OF BULLION in the Bank of England. Furthermore, in fixing a new date for the liberation of the world, he had based himself, not on vague trade crises, but on hard, ineluctable fact, namely a spurious document in *The Morning Chronicle*!

The Willich-Schily farce[h] must have been a hilarious performance. *Pauvre*[i] Willich, how often during his harassment by the philistines must he have wished himself back in red Wolff's[j] company!

So Harney's star of freedom has faded away?[195]

There seems little doubt about the advent of the crisis, even if the recent bankruptcies were no more than precursors. Unfortunately the harvests in north-east Germany, Poland and Russia

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[a] for the series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* - [b] Roesgen - [c] See this volume, pp. 159-60. - [d] ibid., pp. 160-61. - [e] Father - [f] pure, unalloyed - [g] Gottfried Kinkel is ironically called after his wife 'Johanna'. - [h] See this volume, p. 162. - [i] Poor. - [j] Ferdinand Wolff

show signs of being passable, and in places even good. Here the recent good weather has likewise borne fruit. But France is still in the soup, and that's enough to be going on with.

The minor PANIC in the money market appears to be over, CONSOLS and RAILWAY SHARES are again rising merrily, MONEY IS EASIER, speculation is still pretty evenly distributed over CORN, COTTON, STEAM BOATS, MINING OPERATIONS, etc., etc. But cotton has already become a very risky proposition; despite what is so far a very promising crop, prices are rising continuously, merely as a result of high consumption and the possibility of a brief cotton shortage before fresh imports can arrive. Anyway I don't believe that the crisis will this time be preceded by a regular *rage* for speculation; if circumstances are favourable in other respects, a few mails bringing bad news from India, a PANIC in New York, etc., will very soon prove that many a virtuous citizen has been up to all kinds of sharp practice on the quiet. And these crucial ill-tidings from overstocked markets must surely come soon. Massive shipments continue to leave for China and India, and yet the advices are nothing out of the ordinary; indeed, Calcutta is DECIDEDLY OVERSTOCKED, and here and there NATIVE DEALERS are going bankrupt. I don't believe that PROSPERITY will continue beyond October or November—even Peter Ermen is becoming worried.

At all events, whether a revolution is immediately produced—immediately, i.e. in 6-8 months—very largely depends on the intensity of the crisis. The poor harvest in France makes it look as though something is going to happen there; but if the crisis becomes chronic and the harvest turns out after all a little better than expected, we might even have to wait until 1854. I admit that I should like another year in which to swot, having still a good deal of stuff to get through.

Australia also does some harm. First, directly through her gold and the stoppage of all her other exports, as also through the correspondingly heavier imports of all COMMODITIES and the fact that she is draining off the SURPLUS POPULATION here AT THE RATE OF 5,000 A WEEK. California and Australia are two cases which were not foreseen in the *Manifesto*[a]: creation of large new markets out of nothing. They will have to be included.

Your

F. E.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 August 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederick,

You will find enclosed:

1. Letter from Massol to me. The man upon whom he exerts influence is Proudhon, and the book which he regards as the happy (!) fruit of that influence is the latter's most recent book on Louis Bonaparte.[a] I shall be writing about this in one of my next letters.

2. Cluss' letter, an excerpt from which you have already had.[b]

3. A highly interesting letter from Jakob Huzel about Godofredus.[196]

4. A scribble by Goegg in the *Schweizerische National-Zeitung*.

5. and 6. 'Draft of a treaty of union' between Kinkel, Willich and Goegg. A circular letter from the first-named gentlemen to their American committees and guarantors.[197]

The whole is a cry of distress from Kinkel-Willich. They wish 1. to remove the inflexible Reichenbach from the proximity of the Holy Grail[198] so that they may use the funds 'with the utmost dispatch'.

2. Now that Kinkel no longer has an army behind him he wants to join the so-called Revolutionary League with £1,000 behind him, expecting the said League to show its gratitude by electing him to its highest committee.

3. Willich, hard-pressed and in an untenable position, wants to go to America once he has, as he puts it, 'solved *one* more problem'. The problem is to feather a parasitical swindler's nest for himself in America by handing over the £1,000 to the Revolutionary League and by joining same.

More next time. *Salut!*

Your
K. M.

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[a] P. J. Proudhon, *La révolution sociale démontrée par le coup d'état du 2 décembre*. - [b] See this volume, pp. 160-61.

# 85

# MARX TO PETER IMANDT

## IN LONDON

[London,] 27 August 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Imandt,

2 truly memorable memoranda![197] If that's not champion drivel[a] ... or however the saying goes.

However, in your place I would *reply to the lads*[199]:

At your guarantors' meeting you nominated a committee (provisional), consisting of Reichenbach, Löwe and Schurz, to settle matters. You were to await that committee's report. Kinkel and Willich were in no way empowered either to ask questions or to receive answers. Their threat that anyone in Europe failing to answer by 1 September (extremely short notice) would be held to be in agreement with them, is merely an attempt by them and Co., after their failure at the meeting, to *take over the administration of the funds* by stealth. You should protest against this procedure and say you will, if necessary, publish your protest with your full reasons for it.

At the same time I would write to *Reichenbach:*

Repeat the foregoing and declare that he must see to it that *not a centime* is paid out until *the committee nominated by yourselves* has submitted *its report.* Draw his attention to a few of the chief points of the document, but more especially to the following:

> 'In order that we may make use of the funds if need arise, we propose that the guarantors in America accord us with the utmost dispatch the right to co-opt a third colleague. In which case we should elect either Goegg or some other local member of the Revolutionary League, etc.'[200]

I.e. what the gentlemen have in mind is to get the money out of Reichenbach's hands 'with the utmost dispatch' because great 'need has now arisen' for Willich and Co. to 'make use of the funds'.

You could slip into both these letters a few jokes about the 'treaty of union'.[b]

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[a] Marx uses the German saying: 'Wenn das nicht gut für die Wanzen ist, so weiß ich nicht, was besser ist.' - [b] See this volume, p. 166.

Return me the documents as soon as possible, so that I can send reports to Germany and America (for which the next post leaves on Tuesday[a]) 'with the utmost dispatch'.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[182]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 30 August 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

You will have seen from the documents I sent you how Kinkel-Willich are manoeuvring.[b] They are ignoring their deposition by the guarantors in their immediate vicinity and are endeavouring to obtain individual votes by stealth, which is partly why *Schurz* left for America immediately after the 12th. (A further object is to set up kindergartens there, of the Friends of Light.[201]) What the gentlemen have in mind is at long last to play a real role in the *administration of the funds*, from which they threaten to resign if not given their way. The *point d'argent*[c] is this. The chaps have spent £200, which would hardly be ratified here. Hence the attempt to obtain from America, directly and 'with the utmost dispatch', authority to make use of the funds or to co-opt a third colleague so that they may act as a properly constituted body. They have, after their usual fashion, set about things very artfully. First, they sent the documents to America and Switzerland, *behind* the backs of the London guarantors. Then the letters were delivered to the latter on the 26th (although dated 11 and 12), with the remark that silence would be taken for consent.

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[a] 31 August - [b] See this volume, p. 166. - [c] money matter

But since there is a possibility that the majority of the guarantors, even in America and Switzerland, might vote against these gentlemen, they have, on the quiet, called a meeting of guarantors (friends of Kinkel) for 14 or 15 September in Antwerp, in order to safeguard themselves against all eventualities by means of an alleged congress resolution.

The nature of their much-vaunted 'strong' organisations in Germany will be plain to you from the following.

As you know, Gebert has *allegedly* left for America. *Tout le monde le croit.*[a] But this is how things really stand.

At the beginning of this month Kinkel-Willich sent an emissary to Germany, i.e. *Gebert*, the tipsy journeyman tailor. In Magdeburg he assembled a so-called communist community; for 3 consecutive days discussions were held, 26-30 members taking part; in the chair was one *Hammel*; during the debates Marx and Engels were attacked with much acrimony;—in addition to various administrative and organisational questions there arose the question of how and in what manner a printing-house might be set up. They succeeded in finding an impoverished printer of books with a business in or near Magdeburg and concluded an agreement with him. He placed his office at their disposal for propaganda, the name of the firm being retained. In return he was paid 100 talers down and given a bill of exchange for 350 talers, maturing in a year's time reckoning from now.

The police knew about everything, beginning with Gebert's departure, and had him followed everywhere. They had their informant at the loutish gathering in Magdeburg. They don't intend to pull him in until he has completed his mission and compromised as many people as possible. The affair is most unfortunate for our prisoners in Cologne. If Gebert is pulled in, etc., I think the time would be ripe to denounce the fellows publicly and to issue a warning about them, namely that, from a secure hiding-place, they are playing into the hands of the German governments, especially the Prussian, for the purpose of pseudo-agitation and self-aggrandisement. I notified Cologne immediately. I can tell you only *by word of mouth* how I found out about the business.[202] Over here, too, secrecy of mails is somewhat problematic.

Willich is quite gone to the dogs. He can no longer borrow from anyone on the strength of the imminence of '*the great day*'. A few days ago his friend Schärttner told him *coram publico*[b] that '*free*'

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[a] Everybody believes this. - [b] in public

grub and booze must now cease. He turned red as a turkey-cock and the implacable Schärttner, promptly suiting action to word, insisted on his paying cash for the pots he had just imbibed. However Willich still obtains some, if inadequate, sustenance by tumbling his old philistine of a landlady. That, too, has become notorious and no one any longer believes in the asceticism of this Sancho Panza. When, together with Johann,[a] etc., he writes, 'the time of the pen is past, the time of the sword has come',[203] this last should read IN PLAIN GERMAN: 'The time of *fencing* has come.'[b]

Techow, the revolutionary general, is only sailing for Australia in a few days, accompanied by Madame Stirner[c] and his fiancée. As you know, he has for some time been staying here *with* the Stirner woman. But then his fiancée arrives, a person of substance. Upon becoming aware of this, the Schmidt woman declares she will stand down. But now the fiancée, on learning that Techow has been living with the Schmidt woman, declares she no longer wants him and sends for her *potential* fiancé, an East Prussian farmer. Nevertheless he lives in the same house as herself, and the fiancé (the other one) an hour away from London. Poor Buridan-Techow!

A few days ago *Pyat* (Félix) called a reunion of his French adherents and laid before them a programme which is now to be published. Needless to say, 'God' had had a hand in it. One of those present objected to 'God' finding lodgment in a revolutionary programme. In conformity with *gouvernement direct*,[d] Pyat put it *to the vote*. 'God' got by with a majority of 7. *L'être suprême est sauvé encore une fois*.[e] God doth not forsake his own, as the saying used to go. Now it is: God's own do not forsake him. One good turn deserves another.

For a long time General Vetter was not seen in London; no one knew where he had gone. The *mystère* has now been cleared up. Vetter was travelling on an American passport, in which he figures as a painter, accompanied by his mistress, a singer named Ferenczi. He passed for an artist. She gave concerts at all places of importance and thus he travelled from Genoa and Milan to Rome, Naples and Palermo. Mazzini-Kossuth had provided him with PASSWORDS and recommendations. This gave him access to clandestine circles in Italy, while his ostensible TRADE introduced him into

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[a] Kinkel - [b] Play on the word *Fechten*, which, besides 'fencing', can also mean 'door-to-door begging'. - [c] wife of Caspar Schmidt, whose pen-name was Max Stirner - [d] direct government - [e] The Supreme Being is saved once again.

the higher *cercles*.[a] He came back here some time ago and submitted a report to the 'European' Central Committee.[103] (*Notabene:* Darasz died and was buried last week.) In brief, to the great mortification of the 'pious' Mazzini, *L'Italie s'est tout à fait matérialisée. On n'y parle que commerce, affaires, soies, huiles et autres misères mondaines. Les bourgeois calculent d'une manière terriblement positive les pertes que la révolution de Mars les a fait subir et ne pensent qu'à se reprendre sur le présent. Quant à l'initiative insurrectionnelle ils sont heureux de la laisser aux Français, à ce peuple frivole et sensualiste. La seule chose, dont ils ont peur, c'est que les Français ne se hâtent trop.*

*Tu penses bien, mon cher, quel coup de foudre pour l'archange Mazzini. Le général Vetter, nommé déjà comme commandant supérieur des forces Mazzini-Kossuthiennes leur a déclaré que les choses étant ainsi, il ne saurait mieux faire que de passer avec sa maîtresse en Amérique. Au bout du compte, le malheureux Mazzini est convenu avec Kossuth de vouloir bien laisser aux Français l'initiative insurrectionnelle.*[b]

Not to the *vile multitude*,[c] however, but to Bonaparte.

I have had a letter from Paris[d] about this and other matters:

'Kiss, Kossuth's ambassador, has entered into relations here, not only with the Orleanists, but also with the Bonapartists. Kiss is acquainted with Jérôme's[e] sons. On the strength of this formal acquaintanceship, he was able to bamboozle Kossuth into concluding with the French government an alliance favourable to Hungary. The whimsical agitator fell into the trap and to this end dispatched Kiss to Paris, provided with *gulden*. Kiss enjoys himself in coffee and *other* houses, from time to time appears in the antechamber of Pierre Bonaparte, pulls the wool over the latter's eyes, writes splendid reports to Kossuth, and Hungary's liberation is no longer in doubt. These revolutionaries *par excellence* send agents to conclude a life and death alliance with a "*tyrant*"!'

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[a] circles - [b] Italy has grown wholly materialist. The sole topics of conversation there are commerce, business, silks, oils and other wretchedly mundane things. The bourgeois reckon in the most dreadfully positive way the losses they incurred as a result of the March revolution and think only how they may recoup them from the present. As for insurrectionary initiative, they are glad to leave this to that frivolous and sensual people, the French. Their only fear is that the French might be in too much hurry.

You can imagine, my friend, what a thunderbolt this was to the Archangel Mazzini. General Vetter, already appointed commander-in-chief of the Mazzini-Kossuthian forces, told them that in the circumstances he could do no better than betake himself to America with his mistress. In the final count, the unfortunate Mazzini agreed with Kossuth that insurrectionary initiative was best left to the French. - [c] These words were used by Thiers in his speech in the Legislative Assembly on 24 May 1850, *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 145, 25 May 1850. - [d] from Zerffi - [e] Jérôme Bonaparte

*Mais ce n'est pas tout.*[a]

I have it from a reliable source that that old fool Lelewel and Thaddäus Gorzowski have been here on behalf of the Polish 'Centralisation'.[204] They submitted to Kossuth-Mazzini an insurrectionary plan of which Bonaparte's co-operation is the PIVOT. These old jackasses of conspirators are always putting their foot in it. They had, and continue to have, as agent here a certain Count Lanckorónski or some such. This lad (lives at 7 Harington Street, Hampstead Road) is a *Russian* agent, and *their* insurrectionary plan was done the honour of being amended beforehand in Petersburg.[205]

Your
K. M.

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## MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS[206]

### IN WASHINGTON

[London, 30 August 1852]

... This is how the gentlemen[b] have manoeuvring. They are ignoring their deposition by the guarantors in their immediate vicinity who have seen through them, and are endeavouring to obtain individual votes by stealth, which is partly why Schurz left for America. (A further object is to set up kindergartens there, after the style of the Friends of Light.[201]) They, who up till now have been vainly angling for unrestricted access to the administra-

[a] But that's not all. - [b] Kinkel and Willich

tion of the funds—which Reichenbach is withholding from them—are behaving as though they propose to withdraw from it *now*, unless allowed to do as they please. What they really want is *to get at it.*

The *point d'argent*[a] is as follows: The chaps have spent £200, which would hardly be ratified here. By this coup, by the special powers they have received from the other guarantors, they hope to get the money out of Reichenbach's clutches and, above all, *to make good the £200.* This was their ploy: First, they send the documents of 11 and 12 August to America and Switzerland, *behind the backs of the London guarantors.* Then the letter was delivered to the latter on the 26th with the instruction that, if they failed to answer by 1 September, their silence would be taken for consent.

What will Weitling say on learning that the money will now be indirectly finding its way to the worthy Heinzen? The gentlemen were likewise careful not to mention that, despite Kinkel's recommendation and Goegg's pleading, the Revolutionary League's attempt to establish itself over here was a lamentable failure. Not a man allowed himself to be moved by them. What they now call the Revolutionary League in London is Ruge's clearly circumscribed following, seven in number, which formerly went by the name of Agitation Club. The said league comprises the following gentlemen: Ruge, Goegg, Franck (Vienna), Ronge, Tausenau, Sigel (the other one)[b]; Oswald, the tobacconist, and the arrogant Tralle have joined in place of Gen. Sigel and Fickler.

Tralle was denounced by Dulon in person because, at a time of peril, he ratted on his little Bremen paper.[c]

Willich is completely and utterly gone to the dogs. Schärttner has refused him his free meals and publicly shown him the door. He now proposes to go to America, where he hopes to be given a kind welcome from the Revolutionary League in return for his intention to bring them the £1,000 by way of a dowry. Schärttner had been solicitously accepted into the central authority of Willich's league. Willich's position in London has become completely untenable; his parasitical existence is over once and for all. It would do no harm were these plans and grand designs of the patriots made public.

In the Kinkel-Willich document you will find the beautiful

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[a] money matter - [b] Albert Sigel - [c] *Bremer Tages-Chronik*

axiom: 'The time of the pen is past, the time of the sword has come'[203]; this should read IN PLAIN GERMAN, and in a higher sense, the time of 'fencing' has come.[a]

In a few days' time the revolutionary general Techow is leaving for Australia with Madame Schmidt (Stirner's wife). He has been living with her in this country for some time. But along comes his fiancée, on learning which Mrs Schmidt declares she will stand down. Then his affianced acquires another 'fiancé' and says she doesn't want Techow any more because of his having lived with the Schmidt woman, and that she is going to marry the other man. Nevertheless he lives in the same house as herself, and the fiancé (the other one) a few miles outside London. Poor Buridan-Techow!

Madame Pulszky was terribly put out, one of the American papers in which you mentioned her having arrived over here.

*A propos.* Szemere has sent his manuscript[b] to Webb; but first he got a written agreement that it must be published *as it stands.* Let me solve the Szemere *mystère* for you. The chap is very *tight-fisted,* which is why he would rather get Webb to print his thing than do so himself, as he could perfectly well do...[207]

... A few days ago Félix Pyat called a reunion of his French adherents and laid before them a programme which is now to be published. 'God' had had a hand in it. One of those present objected to God finding lodgment in a revolutionary programme. In conformity with the *gouvernement direct* principle, Pyat put it *to the vote.* 'God' got by with a majority of 7. *L'être suprême est sauvé encore une fois.*[c] God doth not forsake his own, the saying used to go. Now it is: God's own do not forsake him. One good turn deserves another...[208]

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[a] Play on the word, *Fechten,* which, besides 'fencing', can also mean 'door-to-door begging'. - [b] B. Szemere, *Graf Ludwig Batthyány, Arthur Görgei, Ludwig Kossuth...* - [c] The Supreme Being is saved once again.

# 88

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 September 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

From the enclosed pissabed letter from the great Weydemeyer, you will see how matters stand. With it the brute sent 10 copies.[a]

I have not yet had an answer from Mr F. Streit,[b] *ce qui est de très mauvais augure.*[c] There is now some, if little, prospect of its being published in English by a London bookseller. For the time being I am to give him the first chapter by way of a sample. I have therefore had it translated by Pieper. The translation is swarming with mistakes and omissions. However, its correction will not be such an imposition on you as the boring task of translation.[d] I would like you to write an English preface of not more than 10 lines, saying that this paper originally appeared in the form of newspaper articles between the end of December and the beginning of February, that it was published as a pamphlet in New York on 1 May, that a 2nd edition is now to appear in Germany,[209] and that it was the first anti-Bonaparte paper to appear; the few details no longer of relevance may be accounted for by its date of origin.

E. Jones is a thoroughly egotistical rascal. For 2 months he has been dangling before me the promise that he will do a translation (for his journal[e]). For my part, I have done him nothing but favours. In spite of my own money bothers I have spent days with him traipsing all over the place in connection with his paper's financial affairs. All the foreign intelligence *exclusive* to his *pauvre*[f] little paper came from me. Whenever he got into a scrape with his committees,[192] opponents, etc., he came running to me, and my advice invariably got him out of it. Finally, when his journal became altogether too deplorable, I gave him my EDITORIAL SUPPORT for several weeks, and indeed the wretched thing gained some 100 additional subscribers in London.

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[a] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.* - [b] See this volume, p. 161. - [c] which is a very bad sign - [d] See this volume, p. 179. - [e] *The People's Paper* - [f] wretched

He, for his part, does not even observe the common civilities. Help him concoct his journal today and he'll forget to send you a copy tomorrow, but this *forgetfulness* recurs every seven days since his paper does not come out twice a week.

I have told him it's all very well to be an egotist but he should be so in a civilised way and not so inanely. Since, however, the paper is the only Chartist organ, I shall not break with him but LET HIM SHIFT FOR HIMSELF for a few weeks.

Your
K. M.

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## 89

## MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS[210]

### IN WASHINGTON

[London, 3 September 1852]

It has been put about here that *Gebert*, a bottle-loving journeyman tailor and a myrmidon of Willich's, had left for America. That is not so. At the beginning of August Kinkel and Willich sent him to Germany as their emissary.

As these people harp on 'organisations' in their circular—the last one to the guarantors—and on the whole have no connections in Germany, the remnants of the Communist League there who for one reason or another have no contact with Cologne were to provide a semblance of, and pretext for, such 'organisations'.[a] And then the gentlemen also had to account for the sum of £200. Hence a certain sum of money had to be spent in one quarter or another in such a manner that it could decently be described as 'revolutionary expenditure'. They hoped the remainder of what had been spent could then be more easily passed off. Finally, Marx, Engels and co. were to be destroyed (sic) in the eyes of working men in Germany. Kinkel thought that, having begged

[a] See this volume, p. 169.

and lied his way into the esteem of the remnants of the Communist League, he could palm off the latter on to his bourgeois guarantors as a *bourgeois-democratic* connection. Willich, the representative imposed upon the German workers by himself and Kinkel, at last saw a chance of creating for himself a real following of workers in Germany.

To continue. In Magdeburg, Gebert assembled a so-called communist community; for 3 consecutive days discussions were held, 26-30 members taking part; in the chair was one Hammel (*nomen omen*[a]); during the debates Marx and Engels were attacked with much acrimony, the main task laid down being to destroy them, their influence and their 'doctrines'. (Brother Hammel may not find this last so easy.) In addition to various administrative and organisational questions, there arose the question of how and in what manner a printing-house might be set up. They succeeded in finding an impoverished printer of books with a business in or near Magdeburg and concluded an agreement with him. He placed his office at their disposal for propaganda, the name of the firm being retained as it was. In return he was paid 100 talers down and given a bill of exchange for 350 talers, which he is to receive after *one* year.

Thus the revolutionary funds are to serve the purpose of propaganda for that creature, Kinkel-Willich, and of promoting intrigue to split up the 'organisations' in Germany.

But the best is still to come. The Prussian police *were informed of everything* from the moment the innocuous Gebert left London, whereas everyone here imagined he had slipped off to America. The government had its informant at the loutish assembly at Magdeburg; he took down the entire debate in shorthand. Gebert, who has now gone to Berlin, had a Prussian policeman in train. He is not allowed out of sight for an instant. The government intend to allow him to fulfil his mission, by which time he will have compromised dozens of others besides himself.

I have this intelligence—Willich, too, has been bragging about his 'agents' in Germany—from a Prussian police headquarters in which I have planted a *séid*.[b] [202]

*Qu'en dis-tu?*[c] So these knaves are providing the Prussian government with an opportunity to introduce fresh complications into the Cologne trial, etc.

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[a] The name is significant (Hammel means sheep). - [b] a devoted follower - [c] What do you say to that?

And to what purpose? To cover up their shady accounts, to disguise the pointlessness of all their revolutionary committee doings hitherto, to excite their feeble spirits against their foes, etc., etc. Just now the thing *must still be kept secret.* But as soon as you see that Gebert has been pulled in, or that arrests of 'communists' have begun, let fire without waiting to hear anything more....

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## 90

## MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS[211]

### IN WASHINGTON

[London, after 5 September 1852]

... Enclosed copy of a manuscript from Paris by Häfner[212] (sometime editor of the *Constitution*, the only tolerable newspaper in Vienna). This man once allowed himself to be misused to bluster against me in the *Hamburger Nachrichten* in the interests of Kinkel. The manuscript was not addressed to me but to an acquaintance of mine in Paris,[a] through whose 'indiscretion' it came into my hands, probably not wholly without the author's prior knowledge. Hence, you can make use of the document if opportunity arises, but only in such a way as to omit everything that might betray its *origin*, or rather directly indicate it. Though he may have a hump both fore and aft, little Häfner writes and thinks better and has a great deal more to him than many a straight-limbed revolutionary philistine...

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[a] Zerffi

# 91

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Tuesday, 7 September 1852

Dear Marx,

I am having a great deal of trouble over Pieper's translation.[a] The beginning is particularly difficult to translate and *l'aimable candidat*[b] Pieper seems to have given rein to charming lightheartedness. If possible, I'll let you have it on Thursday.

Pindar has been involved in a romance up here. I don't know whether I have already told you this, but recently I went to his house and found his mother there, A VERY RESPECTABLE OLD ENGLISH LADY, with a young lady of very un-English appearance whom I took to be a Russian. Last Friday I asked Pindar whether this *krasnàvitza* (*beauté*) was his wife or his sister—*ni l'un ni l'autre,*[c] was the reply. On Monday his mother comes to my house: her dear Edward had gone, vanished. I wasn't in but, hearing about it, at once went to see her. *Je trouve la digne mère en pleurs*[d] and am told the following: In Petersburg Pindar fell madly in love with a Swede (or Finn) with whom, it seems, he ran away after his father's death. He married her in England—'her' being the afore-said *krasnàvitza.* In London he makes the acquaintance of a Frenchwoman—an erstwhile Parisian whore and mistress of an English Grub Street dramatist by the name of Taylor, says his mother who, of course, makes her out to be a thoroughly bad lot. He gives her lessons, and the quiet candidate becomes amorously entangled with her. His wife discovers the affair (in the meantime his mother had come over from Kronstadt with some money and had made her peace with the Swedish woman) and, to wean Pindar from the Frenchwoman, the whole family moves to Liverpool. But again he sends for the lady of joy, and the Swede, evidently a woman of great patience and tenacity, finds out once more. Fresh migration to Manchester, where the mother finally establishes herself and even buys 2 houses (she is living on what remains, after her

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[a] See this volume, p. 175. - [b] the amiable candidate - [c] neither the one nor the other - [d] I find the worthy mother in tears

fritterings, of the former Pindar fortune, made in the TIMBER AND BISCUIT TRADE). Here again, however, Pindar sends for his Frenchwoman—she has undoubtedly visited him three times, as I know from the fact that on each occasion he regularly touched me for a loan and as regularly paid me back afterwards. But last Saturday he brought things to a head by running away with her—as his mother maintains, to Australia, but either New York or simply Paris would seem more probable to me. He took from the FUNDS £190 belonging to him and promptly lost £20 in the omnibus (the waiter in the hotel where the Frenchwoman was staying thinks that she relieved him of it). The fellow had money enough, his mother kept him in everything and he had £100 pocket money.

Yesterday the Swede followed him to Liverpool. I am curious to know what comes of it.

For the rest of his life the poor devil will be plagued by this foolish early marriage to his Swedish ideal—*voilà ce qui a toujours pesé sur lui.*[a] With a little more experience and *savoir-faire,* he could have kept his Frenchwoman very nicely here on his £100, but how is a fellow to gain experience if at 21 he falls madly in love with a Swede, runs away with her and enters into respectable wedlock! If the silly boy had only told me about the affair, it would have been easy enough to straighten things out. But to go and let himself in for a *plus ou moins*[b] enduring, at any rate serious, affair with a Frenchwoman *à l'étranger,*[c] and to run away with her—*quelle bêtise! Elle lui en fera voir, ma foi,*[d] especially if he has really gone to Australia. Besides, his mater is a terribly kind and soft-hearted person and God knows what he couldn't have got her to agree to. But just as Kinkel sees betrothal,[e] so Pindar would seem to see elopement, as the essence of every love affair.

Your news about Vetter, etc. and the London people is splendid. I am returning Massol's letter[f] and also Weydemeyer's—Cluss' I shall keep here *jusqu'à nouvel ordre.*[g] What about the articles for Dana? Pindar's absence gives me more time; I am now doing Russian more *con amore sine ira el studio,*[h] and can already manage a little. At the moment things military are AT A DISCOUNT. Office work very lively.

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[a] that's what has always weighed him down - [b] more or less - [c] abroad - [d] how stupid! Upon my soul, she'll lead him a pretty dance - [e] Allusion to the facts from Kinkel's biography made fun of in the pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile.* - [f] See this volume, pp. 166 and 182. - [g] until further order - [h] with love, without undue zeal (the latter part from Tacitus, *Annals,* I, i)

As soon as I possibly can, i.e. in a few days' time, I shall send you £2 which is all I can screw out for the moment.

Your
F. E.

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## 92

## MARX TO ENGELS[213]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 8 September 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Your letter today found us in a state of great agitation.

My wife is ill. Little Jenny is ill. Lenchen[a] has some sort of nervous fever. I could not and cannot call the doctor because I have no money to buy medicine. For the past 8-10 days I have been feeding the FAMILY solely on bread and potatoes, but whether I shall be able to get hold of any today is doubtful. Such a diet is not, of course, beneficial in present climatic conditions. I have not written any articles for Dana because I didn't have a PENNY to go and read the papers. By the way, as soon as you send No. XIX, I shall write and give you my views on No. XX, i.e. a résumé of the present dirty business.[214]

When I was with you[146] and you told me you would be able to find me a somewhat larger sum by the end of August, I wrote and told my wife that to reassure her. Your letter of 3-4 weeks ago[b] hinted that there were no great prospects, but still left some. Accordingly I had put off all creditors—who, as you know, are

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[a] Helene Demuth. - [b] See this volume, pp. 147-48.

always paid by dribs and drabs—until the beginning of September. Now the storm is breaking out on all sides.

I have tried everything, but in vain. First I am cheated out of £15 by that cur Weydemeyer. I write to Streit[a] in Germany (because he had written to Dronke in Switzerland). The brute does not deign to answer. I approach Brockhaus[b] and offer him an article of entirely innocuous contents for the *Gegenwart*. He sends a very polite letter of refusal. Finally I spend the whole of last week trailing round with an Englishman[c] who said he would find someone to discount the bills on Dana for me. *Pour le roi de Prusse.*[d]

The best and most desirable thing that could happen would be for the LANDLADY to throw me out. Then I would at least be quit of the sum of £22. But such complaisance is hardly to be expected of her. On top of that, debts are still outstanding to the baker, the milkman, the tea chap, the GREENGROCER, the butcher. How am I to get out of this infernal mess? Finally, and this was most hateful of all, but essential if we were not to kick the bucket, I have, over the last 8-10 days, touched some German types for a few shillings and pence.

You'll have seen from my letters that, as usual, when I myself am in the shit and not just hearing about it at second-hand, I plough through it with complete indifference. Yet, *que faire?*[e] My house is a hospital and so worrying is the crisis that it compels me to devote all my attention to it. *Que faire?*

Meanwhile Mr Goegg is again on a pleasure trip to America, STEAMER FIRST CLASS. Mr Proudhon has pocketed a few 100,000 fr. for his anti-Napoleon[f] and Papa Massol has been generous enough to leave the *miner, fouiller,*[g] etc., to me.[215] *Je le remercie bien.*[h]

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, p. 161. - [b] ibid., p. 163. - [c] Poenisch - [d] Literally: for the king of Prussia, i.e. for nothing - [e] what's to be done? - [f] P. J. Proudhon, *La révolution sociale démontrée par le coup d'état du 2 décembre.* - [g] digging and rummaging - [h] I thank him very much.

## 93

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 September 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Received, the £4 Sperlinge.[a]

I have again written to my mater and think that at least it may do some good.[191]

Besides, I have today made another attempt, which I trust will at long last succeed, to obtain the money on Dana, for I am very hard-pressed, *et je n'ai pas à perdre du temps.*[b]

The doctor has just been and prescribed something for the whole FAMILY *excepté moi.*[c] My wife is getting better; little Laura's condition is worst of all.

You have no idea what a silly ass Pieper is!

Every day he asks me whether you have sent the thing[d] back yet and *what* you had to say about his outstanding piece of work. Of course I couldn't tell him and now the clown imagines that out of envy I am withholding the praises you showered on him.

Today, when I went out to call the doctor, I ran into the humbug. 'Has Engels written and sent the translation?' Not yet, I told him, to which Pieper replied: 'But he will, *for I myself* have written to him.' Should you reply you might point out to him that there is no call for him to have any say in *my* transactions with *you.*

Enclosed a memorandum from Paris[212]; it fell into the hands of a friend of mine[e] there who sent me a copy of it, and I have made a further copy for the Manchester archives.[216]

Your
K. M.

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[a] Marx wrote *Sperlinge* (sparrows) instead of 'sterling'. - [b] and I must lose no time - [c] except me - [d] Translation into English of the first chapter of Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* made by Pieper (see this volume, p. 175). - [e] Zerffi

## 94

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 14 September 1852

Dear Marx,

Pieper has written asking me to send him the corrected translation[a] by *return of post. Cela me convenait bien.*[b] I had a pain in the abdomen and was unfit for any kind of work. Tell him that if he wants answers to his letters, the least he can do is give his address; Pieper, Esq., is not as well known as all that in London, even if he has become a clerk at 25/-a week. Apart from that, there's no reason why he shouldn't go on with the translation, but he must take a little more trouble or, if he can't, at least leave blank spaces to be filled in by me, when he strikes a difficult patch, which is after all better than writing nonsense out of sheer carelessness. His pretext for writing to me, by the way, was simply that he didn't know whether I thought him capable of doing the thing at all. He shall have a detailed list of his principal mistakes, with comments.[c]

I might be able to get the thing done tonight and tomorrow evening, as I am now feeling better.

For the rest, his letter faithfully echoed everything he had heard at your house and which I, of course, already knew.

I take it that Pindar has been to see you? He wrote to me from London and is on his way to Paris. I shall write to him this evening. I have also made the acquaintance of his Swede or Finn; *c'est une oie, petite bourgeoise au plus haut degré, qui paraît s'être bientôt consolée du départ de son époux.*[d] He was right to give the creature the slip. I shall visit his mater once or twice more for appearances' sake and then drop the whole thing; *c'est embêtant*[e] to listen to the cold-blooded little witch maligning her husband.

I hope the discounting affair turned out all right and that things at home are going a little better. I am now thinking up a new way of saving a few pounds; if it succeeds, I shall probably be able to

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[a] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see this volume, pp. 175 and 183). - [b] That suited me very well. - [c] See this volume, pp. 190-93. - [d] she's a goose, petty bourgeois to the marrow, who seems quickly to have consoled herself for her husband's departure - [e] it's a bore

send you something more by the beginning of next month—i.e. in about 14-16 days. It depends partly on whether my brother-in-law[a] comes here and if so, when.

Enclosed two things from Weydemeyer; you might let me have the *Lithogr.*[217] back some time for the archives. Häfner's memorandum[212] is interesting, though obviously written for our consumption—*c'est une pétition.*

Best wishes to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

You'll be glad to see that Heinzen is on his last legs.[218]

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## 95

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 18 September 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

If you delay sending back the translation[b] for another few days, the possibility of getting it taken will be absolutely nil. Interest in Bonaparte, having again attained a peak,[219] is now giving way to fresh topics, as always happens in London.

The discounting affair has come to naught after a week spent on a wild goose-chase with a rascal from the CITY *nommé*[c] Poenisch. I therefore wrote to Dana yesterday.[191] At the same time I told him that there were only two more articles, 19 and 20, to come ON GERMANY. As soon as you send me 19[d] I shall write to you

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[a] Emil Blank - [b] of the first chapter of Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see this volume, pp. 175 and 183) - [c] named - [d] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, XIX.

again, giving my views on 20, the concluding one. Within the next few days the Customs Union business,too, will have been decided, and without it 20 cannot be finished.[220]

Physically, my wife is lower than ever before, i.e. sheer debility. On doctor's orders she has been taking a spoonful of brandy every hour for the past 3 days. There is however some improvement, inasmuch as she has at least got up today. She has been in bed for a week. Little Laura is convalescent, the others ALL RIGHT. I shall not be able to write at length before next week. This week has been wasted on abortive business errands and the most nauseous wrangling *cum creditoribus*.[a]

Your
K. M.

With next week's letter I shall also return the documents.[b] Let me have Massol's letter back.

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## 96

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 20 September 1852

Dear Marx,

I didn't know that you were in such a hurry for the translation[c] and let the thing slide for a bit because, as I said,[d] I wasn't well, and also because I wanted to tease Pieper a little for having been so pressing. However, I immediately set to work yesterday and would have finished had not the aging Mr Schily[e] walked into my room at about 2 in the afternoon. He wishes to open a factory in

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[a] with creditors - [b] See this volume, p. 185. - [c] into English of the first chapter of K. Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* - [d] See this volume, p. 184. - [e] Victor

Liverpool for the production of a purported patent soda which would yield 400-500 per cent clear profit and might, depending on circumstances, produce 4 1/2 million talers a year. He wanted to discuss this fantastic plan with me—and was all ready to fall for the swindle with a few thousand talers which his brother says he will procure for him. Mr Heise is in it too, but is investing nothing but his talents. After the dispassionate advice he has received here, the noble Schily will probably keep his hands off the thing and will take advantage of a possible opening as Liverpool human cargo agent for a fleecer of emigrants in Le Havre. Mr Heise once had a natty little plan whereby the funds of the National Loan were to be used for this soda swindle; the work was to be carried on democratically and the millions thus raked in[a] devoted to the liberation of Europe. It is a pity that nothing came of this scheme, which would seem to have foundered largely on the impossibility of mustering thirty refugees able to *hold their tongues*.

I was, of course, under an obligation to get the noble Schily tipsy—*il n'y avait pas moyen à y échapper*.[b] It's some time since I encountered such an innocuous beast. The stupidity and ignorance and thoughtlessness of such a man of principle has to be seen to be believed. When he had become a little tipsy—I was engaged in an argument with a third German, Charles'[c] cousin—he shouted incessantly, although very good-humouredly: Don't you believe that; Engels believes in nothing, there's nothing at all Engels believes in, none of the fellows of the *N. Rh. Z.* believe in anything, no one can fathom them. There's nothing at all Engels believes in! I, of course, replied that the fellows of the *N. Rh. Z.* did not find it in the least difficult to fathom the likes of him. This morning the worthy fellow, after a sober handshake, set course for Liverpool again, and by tonight the translation will be finished. But I get dreadfully held up over the thing since I have to make a new translation of all the more difficult bits without exception—Pieper makes shift with a literal translation in every case, the result being utter nonsense. There are, by the way, some bits which are almost impossible to translate.

However, I will do my utmost to have finished by tonight so that you can have it tomorrow.

Your
F. E.

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[a] An ironical reminiscence of Schiller's words 'Seid umschlungen, Millionen!' in his ode 'An die Freude' ('To Joy'). - [b] there was no escaping it - [c] Roesgen

If at all possible, I shall send you another pound within the next few days.

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## 97

## ENGELS TO MARX[221]

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, 23 September 1852]

Dear Marx,

The day before yesterday I sent you the translation[a] and a Post Office order for a pound. A few more pounds will follow at the beginning of October—i.e. in 9-10 days. I should like to send you more at a time because, then even though the total amount is the same in the end, it has the advantage of enabling you to plan your expenditure more methodically, but my own pecuniary circumstances are in such a muddle just now that I never know exactly how much I shall need for the month, and hence pounds only become available singly, so it seems best to send them to you straight away. Next month I shall put things on a business-like footing, after which I shall soon be able to make some rough estimates.

From the enclosed memorandum you will see that Pieper has made a number of fairly bad howlers—I haven't, of course, enumerated his transgressions against grammar and Donatus,[b] *cela n'aurait jamais fini.*[c] You may give it to him if you think it would do any good; otherwise, if it might lead him to abandon the translation, you had better keep it. Should he grumble over this or that correction, you can always use it as an opportunity to point out his imperfections.

Individual bits are, by the way, almost untranslatable.

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[a] into English of the first chapter of K. Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* - [b] Fourth-century Roman grammarian. - [c] there'd have been no end to it

Incidentally, it might also be advisable for the bookseller to see the *last* chapter in particular; he would then be vastly more impressed; I suggest that Pieper might translate it and you send it straight on to me; having already looked at it with this in mind, I am not wholly unprepared and progress would therefore be rapid. Even if it can't be published now, the translation must be completed; the chap[a] will soon become Emperor,[222] and that would provide another splendid opportunity for adding a postscript.

I am going straight home to finish the article for the *Tribune*[b] so that it catches the 2nd post and you can send it off by tomorrow's STEAMER. What prospect is there of a new English article for Dana?

I trust the brandy has set your wife on her feet again—warm regards to her and your children, also Dronke and Lupus.

Your
F. E.

Massol's letter with the article for Dana by the 2nd post—I haven't got it here.

Did you see the statistics from Horner, the FACTORY INSPECTOR, on the growth of the cotton industry in yesterday's *Times* and day-before-yesterday's *Daily News*?[c]

Oct. 1850-Oct. 1851—
2,300 horsepower in newly built factories
1,400 horsepower in extensions to existing factories
3,700 horsepower increase in the Manchester district

and the cotton industry alone.[223] The following particulars reveal that during that period there were factories still under construction which would require some 4,000 horsepower and which will now have been completed. Since that time, work has undoubtedly begun on factories of 3,000-4,000 horsepower, more than half of which might be completed by the end of the year; if we assume that the increase between Jan. 1848 and Oct. 1850, i.e. $2\,^3/_4$ years, is no more than 4,000 horsepower, the steam-power of the Lancashire cotton industry will have risen between 1848 and the end of 1852 by 3,700+4,000+1,500+4,000=13,200 horsepower.

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[a] Louis Bonaparte - [b] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, XIX. - [c] 'Cotton Manufactures', *The Times*, No. 21227, 22 September 1852; 'Progress of Cotton Manufactures', *The Daily News*, No. 1975, 20 September 1852.

In 1842 the total steam-power of the cotton industry in Lancashire amounted to 30,000 and in 1845 (end) to 40,000 horsepower; in 1846/47 there was little installed, hence almost 55,000 horsepower, nearly twice that of 1842, will now be in use.

On top of that there is hydraulic power—about 10,000 horsepower (1842) which has barely increased, hydraulic energy having been fairly well exploited for some time past. From this it may be seen where prosperity's additional capital has gone. For that matter the crisis cannot be very far off, although *here* excess over-speculation is almost entirely confined to *omnibuses*.

Memorandum on the Translation of the 1st Chapter

*Ad generalia*[a]:

1. Pieper is evidently more used to writing English spontaneously than to translating. Hence, if he wants for a word, he should guard all the more against having recourse to that worst of all known aids, the *dictionary*, which, in 99 cases out of 100, will regularly provide him with the most inappropriate word and invariably gives rise to a disastrous jumbling of synonyms, examples of which follow.

2. Pieper should study elementary English grammar, in which he makes a number of mistakes—especially as regards the use of the article. There are also spelling mistakes.

3. Above all Pieper must guard against falling into the Cockney's petty-bourgeois floridity of style, of which there are some irritating examples.

4. Pieper uses too many words of French derivation, which are, it is true, sometimes convenient because their vaguer, more abstract meaning is often of help in a quandary. But this emasculates the choicest turns of speech and often renders them completely incomprehensible to an Englishman. In almost every case, where vivid, sensuous images occur in the original, there is a no less sensuous, vivid expression of *Saxon* derivation, which at once makes the thing plain to an Englishman.

5. Where there are difficult bits, it would be better to leave blanks to be filled in, rather than—on the plea of literal translation—put in things which Pieper himself knows full well to be sheer nonsense.

6. The main criticism of the translation, and which sums up 1-5, is gross carelessness. There are passages enough to prove that, if

[a] In general

he really tries, Pieper is reasonably capable, but such superficiality, in the first place, makes more work for *himself* and secondly twice as much for me. Some passages are quite admirable, or could be so, had he tried a little harder.

*Ad specialia*[a]:

*schuldenbeladene Lieutnants*[b]: here the word lieutenant can only mean 'representative'. In English and French a lieutenant is not, as in German, primarily a figure of fun;

*unmittelbar gegebne, vorhandene und überlieferte Umstände*[c]: CIRCUMSTANCES IMMEDIATELY GIVEN AND DELIVERED. Pieper himself was very well aware that this translation made nonsense. 'DELIVERED' can here only mean 'delivered of a child';

*sich und die Dinge umzuwälzen*: THE REVOLUTION *OF THEIR OWN PERSONS.* This revolution can be nothing other than a somersault;

A NEW LANGUAGE (*eine neue Sprache*) means a *newly invented* language. At most, A LANGUAGE NEW *TO THEM.*

MIDDLE CLASS SOCIETY for *bürgerliche Gesellschaft* is not strictly grammatical or logically correct; it is as if one were to translate *feudale Gesellschaft* as NOBILITY SOCIETY. An educated Englishman would not say this. One would have to say BOURGEOIS SOCIETY or, depending on circumstances, COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY, to which one might append the following note: *By Bourgeois Society, we understand that phase of social development in which the Bourgeoisie, the Middle Class, the class of industrial and commercial Capitalists, is, socially and politically, the ruling class; which is now the case more or less in all the civilized countries of Europe and America. By the expressions: Bourgeois society, and: industrial and commercial society, we therefore propose to designate the same stage of social development; the first expression referring, however, more to the fact of the middle class being the ruling class, in opposition either to the class whose rule it superseded (the feudal nobility), or to those classes which it succeeds in keeping under its social and political dominion (the proletariat or industrial working class, the rural population, etc., etc.)—while the designation of commercial and industrial society more particularly bears upon the mode of production and distribution characteristic of this phase of social history.*

TO ARRIVE AT ITS OWN CONTENTS (*bei ihrem eignen Inhalt anzukommen*) can only mean: to arrive AT THE CONTENTS OF ITS OWN STOMACH.

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[a] In particular - [b] debt-ridden lieutenants (this expression was omitted in the 1869 second German edition of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*) - [c] circumstances immediately given, existing and handed down

OLD SOCIETY (*alte Gesellschaft*) won't do in English and at most means feudal rather than bourgeois society. Owen's writings have been forgotten; and whenever he mentions OLD SOCIETY, it is always accompanied by a plan and elevation (if possible in colour) of the NEW SOCIETY, SO THAT THERE CAN BE NO MISTAKE; WHICH IS NOT TO BE EXPECTED NOW-A-DAYS.

SET IN FIERY DIAMONDS (*in Feuerbrillanten gefasst*[a]) is nonsensical in English, since in English usage it is diamonds *themselves* that are set, and FIERY DIAMONDS is in any case something of a hyperbole.

STORM AND PRESSURE PERIOD does not translate *Sturm- und Drangperiode*[b] [224] but *Sturm- und Drückperiode.*

A FUTURE THAT WAS TO COME (*die Zukunft, die ihnen bevorsteht*[c]) is nonsense, as Pieper himself knows (EVERY FUTURE BEING TO COME), and altogether in the style of Moses & Son,[d] as in an earlier bit where '*die Geister der Vergangenheit*'[e] is rendered as THE SPIRITS OF THOSE THAT HAVE BEEN.

THE CIRCLE SHOULD BE INCREASED (*erweitert werden*[f] p. 4, bottom).[g] *Un cercle est élargi, il n'est pas* AGRANDI.[h]

THE GENERAL INDEX (*der allgemeine Inhalt der modernen Revolution*[i]) means the general *list* of contents of modern revolution! *Le citoyen Pieper le savait, du reste, aussi bien que moi.*[j]

AS IT COULD BUT BE, *wie es nicht anders sein konnte—lapsus pennae*; should read 'AS IT COULD *NOT* BUT BE'; otherwise it would mean: *wie es kaum sein konnte.*

UNWIELDINESS (p. 5, top in the orig.) is *Unbehülflichkeit* in the *passive* sense, 'inertia' in physics but, applied to persons, can only mean that they cannot move for fat. *Unbeholfenheit,* used of persons, in the *active* sense, means CLUMSINESS. This mistake was suggested to Pieper by his dictionary.

CONSTITUTIONAL STANDARD (*die Nationalversammlung sollte die Resultate der Revolution auf den* bürgerlichen Maßstab *reduzieren*[k]). *C'est un peu fort*[l] that, in order to evade the difficulty of translating '*bürgerlich*', *Citoyen* Pieper should everywhere render it as 'CONSTITUTIONAL' because '*konstitutionelle Republik*' and '*bürgerliche Republik*' are used synonymously. *Je demande un peu,*[m] what does CONSTITUTION-

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[a] set in sparkling brilliants - [b] Storm and Stress period - [c] the future that is in store for it - [d] A hint at Moses Hess. - [e] the spirits of the past - [f] be widened - [g] Here and below Engels refers to the first edition of Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* published in New York in 1852. - [h] A circle is *widened,* it is not *increased.* - [i] the general content of modern revolution - [j] For that matter Citizen Pieper knew it as well as I do. - [k] the National Assembly was to reduce the results of the revolution to the bourgeois scale - [l] That's too bad - [m] I ask you

AL mean in this context? It becomes even more delectable later on, when *bürgerliche Gesellschaft* figures *sans façon*[a] as CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY. *C'est assommant.*[b]

FOR EVER AND THE DURATION (*für die ganze Dauer des Zyklus*[c]). Why not rather FOR EVER AND A DAY, as the saying goes?

UTOPIAN JUGGLES (*utopische Flausen*). JUGGLES means legerdemain, not flights of fancy.

TRANSPORTED WITHOUT *JUDGMENT* means *déporté contre le sens commun*, transported in defiance of common sense and should read without TRIAL.

TO PASS AS A REAL EVENT doesn't mean '*um überhaupt als ein Ereignis passieren zu können*',[d] but to pass for something that *has really happened.*

FOUNDED doesn't mean *fondu*[e] but *fondé.* It has nothing to do with the illogical but accepted term CONFOUNDED for *confondu.*

All these are things which Pieper, if only he paid a little attention, would know as well as I do but, as already mentioned, it is easier to translate difficult things oneself than to correct a translation that is carelessly thrown together and dodges the difficulties. If he tried a little harder, he could translate quite well.

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## 98

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 September 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Received the £1 and the corrected translation.[f] You went to too much trouble over the latter. If the thing is passable (success will depend on this No. 1), you must take it easier: I mean, forget about figures of speech or other inessentials, if difficult to translate.

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[a] without more ado - [b] It's infuriating. - [c] for the entire duration of the cycle - [d] to be able to pass for an event at all - [e] melted - [f] See previous letter.

*Weerth* has been here since Sunday. On Saturday he leaves for Manchester where he will spend 3 or 4 weeks before disappearing to the West Indies, etc.

Enclosed:

1. A letter in Schurz's handwriting, found in the pocket of a waistcoat which Kinkel gave to a refugee of our acquaintance.
2. Letter from Cluss.
3. Two excerpts from the revelations about the émigrés, first published in the *Karlsruher Zeitung* and then reprinted by the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, etc.,[a] in case you haven't seen the things yourself.

Dr Piali (in Paris) writes *inter alia*:

'Kossuth intends to go into action in October. From here, Kiss has been giving Kossuth all manner of assurances which probably belong to the realm of fable yet could, given the fabulous nature of circumstances here, *actually be possible.* Kossuth is said to have received a note from Bonaparte *in his own hand* summoning him *to Paris.* A word-for-word copy of this note is believed to be circulating throughout the counties of Hungary. Everything in Hungary is in readiness for an all-out blow by Kossuth. Even Royal and Imperial officials are involved in the great conspiracy...'[225]

'Countess Kinski, née Zichy, has been arrested for infanticide. The child was fathered by Dr Chaises,' (our well-known shit[b]), 'a Polish Jew, etc. Madame Beckmann (wife of the police spy and newspaper correspondent) will figure as *dame de compagnie*[c] at the hearing before the Assizes.'

As for the Kossuth affair, it is quite possible that Bonaparte is setting snares for him in order to curry favour with Austria.

Piali has got Häfner to enter into correspondence with Ruge-Tausenau, so that now it is just as if we were corresponding with Mr Arnold direct. In this way we shall learn at first hand about the *mystères des grands hommes.*[d]

The *Volksverein*,[226] 8 man strong, (out of which, according to W's[e] letter to you, Ruge, with well-known virtuosity, formed 3 committees) is now (Ronge and Dralle included) trailing round the City on the pretext of simultaneously founding a 'free community'. What the devil has that German-Catholic, Ronge, to do with 'free communities'?[227] A few German-Catholic and, in particular, Jewish merchants have put their names on the list, if only in the form of

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[a] 'Die deutsche revolutionäre Propaganda in London und die Revolutionsanleihe', *Karlsruher Zeitung*, Nos. 208-210, 212, 214, 217-220, 224; 3-22 September 1852. And also in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nos. 255-257, 11-13 September 1852. - [b] As pronounced by Germans, 'Chaises' closely resembles Scheiße—shit. - [c] lady companion - [d] mysteries of the great men - [e] presumably Wolff

initial letters, and contributed a few pounds, as was actually envisaged.

Willich, for his part, now makes a public collection every Saturday at the Great Windmill Street Society,[24] ostensibly towards the cost of correspondence.

What do you say to the ovations accorded Bonaparte in the provinces?[228] The French are indeed making ignominious fools of themselves.

The Customs Union[220] seems to me to be on the brink of certain collapse. Austrian bankruptcy shows itself still capable of dealing with Prussian prosperity.

I see that Dana has accepted the article.[a] The *Staatszeitung* (New York) has already published an excerpt in German.

Old Wellington's death came at the right time. At a moment of crisis the old bull would still have commanded an authority grown legendary. With him and Peel the COMMON SENSE OF OLD ENGLAND has been DULY buried.

So our 'people' are to appear on 4 October.[16] Bürgers admits everything, at least so far as he himself is concerned. In keeping with his profession, he will defend himself '*on principle*'. During the examination he placed on record a 30-sheet memorandum on the 'essence of communism'.[229] *Honi soit qui mal y pense.*[230] Daniels is said to be fairly well. The prosecutor will begin by reverting to the St.-Simonists; attorney Schneider will attempt TO BEAT him by beginning with Babeuf. We can consider ourselves lucky if neither of them harks back as far as the Incas or Lycurgus.

Pindar, whose *mystères*[b] I found most entertaining, did not come to see me. Your ADVENTURES WITH OLD Schily were exquisite.[c]

*Ad vocem*[d] Jones. Though I personally have little to say in his favour, I and the whole lot of us stood by him last week—he came pestering me again because *il y avait crise.*[e] The other fellows had summoned two or three meetings for the purpose of tabling a motion, namely 'THAT THIS MEETING IS OF OPINION, THAT NO CONFIDENCE CAN BE PLACED IN THE SUCCESS OF ANY DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT WHILE MR ERNEST JONES IS CONNECTED THEREWITH'.[f] They HAVE BEEN BEATEN, and that right thoroughly.[231] The jackasses first tried to throw financial dirt at him. In this they failed. Then they attacked him for the same reason that we support him, *because* he *stirs up 'UNFRIENDLY FEELINGS*

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[a] Marx probably means his article 'Corruption at Elections'. - [b] mysteries - [c] See this volume, pp. 186-87. - [d] As for - [e] there was a crisis - [f] 'Defeat of Faction.—Triumph of Principle', *The People's Paper,* No. 21, 25 September 1852.

AMONGST THE DIFFERENT CLASSES'. For Harney-Holyoake, Hunt of the *Leader*, Newton (CO-OPERATIVE) *et tutti quanti*[a] have united to found a 'NATIONAL PARTY'. This NATIONAL PARTY wants GENERAL SUFFRAGE, BUT NOT CHARTISM.[232] The same old story. But before they launched their campaign Jones was to BE CRUSHED. They have RATHER miscalculated He has raised the price of his paper[b] by a penny without losing a single subscriber.

Your
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX[84]

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 24 September 1852

Dear Marx,

Encl. I return the envelope of the letter received from you today; an attempt, incidentally abortive, seems to have been made to break it open.

The translation[c] and Massol's letter went off yesterday evening by the 2nd post.

Cluss' description of Kinkel and Co.'s reception by the German Yankees is really nice. The chaps in the Alleghenies are the very spit of those in the Black Forest and the Taunus.

I haven't read the revelations in the German papers[d]—in fact, yesterday was the first time in some while that I saw a German paper.

The *crapauds*[e] are in clover.[233] The workers would appear *après tout*[f] to have become utterly bourgeoisified as a result of the present PROSPERITY and the prospect of *la gloire de l'empire*.[g] They

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[a] and all the rest - [b] *The People's Paper* - [c] into English of the first chapter of Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* - [d] See this volume, p. 194. - [e] philistines - [f] after all - [g] imperial glory

will have to be severely chastened by crises if they are to be good for anything again *soon*. Should the next crisis be a mild one, Bonaparte will be able to weather it. But it looks as though it is going to be damned serious. No crisis is worse than when over-speculation develops slowly in the sphere of production, so that its results take as many years to mature as they would months on the stock and commodity exchanges. And it was not just the COMMON SENSE of Old England that was buried along with old Wellington, but OLD ENGLAND herself, in the person of her sole surviving representative. All that remains are SPORTING CHARACTERS without a *suite*,[a] like Derby, and Jewish swindlers like Disraeli—who are caricatures of the old Tories in exactly the same way as is Monsieur Bonaparte of his uncle.[b] There'll be a merry dance here when the crisis comes, and one can only hope that it will last long enough to develop into a chronic condition with acute periods, as it did in 1837/42. From what is known of him, by the way, old Wellington would have been a truly formidable military leader in case of insurrection—the fellow studied diligently, read all the military treatises with the utmost zeal and was pretty well-versed in his subject. Nor would he have balked at extreme means.

From what you tell me, the Cologne trial threatens to be terribly *ennuyant*.[c] Unhappy Heinrich,[d] with his defence 'on principle'! He will demand that his 30 sheets be read in court and, if he gets his way, will be *perdu*.[e] The jury will never forgive him for having bored them so. The prosecution, by the way, seems to be out of luck. For Haupt is off to Brazil, the anonymous journeyman tailor has similarly vanished and seems unlike to reappear, and now the police official,[f] because of whose illness the whole affair was adjourned in July, must needs go and die on them. But what will such good fortune be worth if Heinrich elucidates the thing from the philosophical standpoint?

So the gallant Schurz is carping at Kossuth for preaching the gospel of action, after he and Co. have for years eked out a bare living from this same gospel! IT IS ALL VERY WELL to try and settle Kossuth's hash because he takes the lion's share, but it's really very stupid to write things of that sort when the whole world knows better.

That Kossuth will commit some folly seems most probable; what has *le malheureux*[g] got after all but battered saddles, outranged

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[a] following - [b] Napoleon I - [c] tedious - [d] Bürgers (see this volume, p. 195) - [e] lost - [f] Schulz - [g] the unfortunate man

muskets, companies drilled by Sigel, and Klapka and Garibaldi? (The latter commands the Italo-Hungarian fleet in the Pacific Ocean to wit one merchantman plying between Lima and Canton under the Peruvian flag.)

Your
F. E.

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## 100

## MARX TO ENGELS[234]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 28 September 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

You have not had a letter from me for some time. The main cause of this is Weerth who—not I might say, to my unalloyed delight—has *plus ou moins*[a] monopolised my evenings which are usually given over to writing. As you know, I'm very fond of Weerth, *mais*[b] it's embarrassing, when one's up to one's neck in trouble, to have to face so fine a gentleman, *auquel il faut cacher les parties trop honteuses.*[c] Such a relationship creates twice as much *gêne*[d] and I hope he will leave for Manchester tomorrow and will on his return find me in circumstances that will enable me to consort with him *franchement.*[e] However, I don't believe that, aside from my wife's ill-health, he had any inkling of my predicament.

I have given him a big parcel to take to you. It contains documents that belong in the archives[216]; some, if not most of them are already familiar to you.

Enclosed the extract from a letter from Barthélemy to Willich. Barthélemy gave this letter to a Frenchman by the name of

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[a] more or less - [b] but - [c] from whom the most shameful aspects must be concealed - [d] embarrassment - [e] frankly

Durand to take to Willich. Durand, unable to read the signature, asked Dronke if he would see to it that Willich got the letter. Dronke of course agreed, came to my house, and Lupus, who is a great artist in this line, opened the letter most expertly. Dronke copied out all that was of note—the rest mere twaddle. *Que penses-tu de ce brave Barthélemy, 'auquel il est impossible de se résigner à laisser Bonaparte jouir paisiblement de son triomphe'.*[a] Tremble, O Byzantium![b] As to the alleged letter from Blanqui, this strikes me as a piece of melodramatic falsehood on the sinister Barthélemy's part. For what news does he give of Blanqui? That the situation of the *prisonniers de Belle-Ile est bien triste.*[c] If that is all Blanqui had to divulge to him, he would have done better to keep his *libri tristium*[d] to himself. Incidentally, Barthélemy's whole letter shows that he is completely out of touch with the French emigration and the French societies in France.

In order that you, too, may 'adopt to some extent the standpoint of world history'[e] I enclose an article from the Augsburg *Allgemeine* on the spy A. Majer who, here in London, was actually 'chucked out of the house' by his bosom friends, Willich and Schapper.

I have, I presume, already told you that Herzen is here and is sending round memoirs against Herwegh,[235] who has not only cuckolded him but has extorted 80,000 fr. from him.

I have not yet been able to do any work on an article or even on the draft of the final instalment of the German article.[214] So engrossed have I been by the incessant correspondence arising out of my domestic troubles that it is 3 weeks since I went to the library—which I also forbore from doing in order to sustain my wife during what was for her a ghastly time.

Apropos!

There is *no doubt* that the Orleanist conspiracy shows greater activity, scope and prospects every day. The gentlemen have coalesced with Cavaignac, Charras, Lamoricière, Bedeau. Of L. Bonaparte's aides-de-camp 3 have been bought, i.e. substantial sums have been deposited on their behalf in the Bank of England. The following contract has been entered into with the out-and-out

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[a] What do you think of the honest Barthélemy 'who finds it impossible to resign himself to allow Bonaparte to enjoy his triumph in peace'. - [b] Words from Donizetti's opera *Belisario,* libretto by S. Cammarano, Act II, Scene 3. - [c] the prisoners on Belle-Ile is *very sad.* - [d] tale of woe (an allusion to Ovid's *Tristia*) - [e] From Jordan's speech in the Frankfurt National Assembly (July 1848) (see 'The Frankfurt Assembly Debates the Polish Question', present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 360-64).

republicans. *Firstly:* Formation of a provisional government consisting solely of *generals. Secondly:* By way of guarantee, Cavaignac is to receive Marseilles, Lamoricière Lyons, Charras Paris, Bedeau Strasbourg. *Thirdly:* At the preliminary elections the people will be called on by the provisional government to decide whether they want the constitution of 1830 and the Orleans dynasty, or the constitution of 1848 and a president. In the latter case, Joinville will come forward as a candidate.

The Jew, Fould, is in constant touch with the Orleans. The undertaking has been tentatively fixed for the month of March, when Bonaparte will, if necessary, be assassinated by his aides-de-camp. But they would prefer Bonaparte to have become emperor first and done further damage to himself.

I myself have talked to the Orleanist agent[a] who travels freely to and fro between Paris and London. The day before yesterday he and Bangya went to see the Duc d'Aumale.

I see from a letter of Piali's that, at a private audience in London, Lord Palmerston told a fugitive Italian noblewoman[b] all manner of comforting things about Italy, and held out what was to him the no less 'comforting' prospect of becoming British prime minister within the space of a year. How addicted to lies and *vanité* is old age! Incidentally on one point at least Mr Palmerston did not mince his words. In case of insurrection Lombardy and Venice must, he said, at once unite with Piedmont. The pipe-dreams of an 'Italian republic' must be left to 'the future'.[236]

Dronke, inmate of the MODEL LODGING HOUSE, says he is sorry he has not written. 'He has his reasons.'

Your
K. M.

There is no doubt that an attempt, obviously clumsy and unsuccessful, was made to open my last envelope, which you returned to me.

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[a] Rémusat - [b] Marquise Visconti

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, after 28 September 1852]

Dear Marx,

Have still not seen or heard anything of Weerth. Why the devil should you feel ill at ease with the fellow? In any case, he knows quite well that you've been down on your luck for years and he also knows how things are now, if only from the fact that you're still stuck in those old lodgings.

I have been removed, i.e. my old landlady has removed, and has carted me with her *sans façon.*[a] It's two doors away, so in future address letters to *No. 48* (new numbering) instead of No. 70.

In haste,
Your
F. E.

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## 102

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 4 October 1852
48 Great Ducie Street

Dear Marx,

Encl. £2. 10. -. Give the 10/- to Dronke, who has searched out a very valuable Slav book[b] for me—the amount by which he beat the fellow down is his commission for the discovery; *puisqu'il est commerçant, il faut le traiter selon les principes du commerce.*[c] But tell

[a] without more ado - [b] R. A. Fröhlich, *Kurzgefaßte tabellarisch bearbeitete Anleitung zur schnellen Erlernung der vier slavischen Hauptsprachen.* - [c] Since he's a businessman he has to be treated in accordance with business principles.

him to go and post the book to me at once in a plain wrapper like a newspaper, with 6 STAMPS if it weighs less than a pound, and 12 STAMPS if it weighs more, N.B., if it's 1 volume; otherwise 6 STAMPS for each volume, in which case it would be best to send it in a parcel, unstamped, by Pickford & Co. or Carver & Co. If you can discover Carver & Co's office (I believe they are known down there as Chaplin, Horne & Carver or Chaplin, Horne & Co.), it had best go through them to Friedrich Engels, CARE OF Ermen & Engels—they are our CARRIERS. Indeed, this is always the best way to send me parcels.

As soon as I can see my way somewhat more clearly this month, you shall get more. There are a few debts to be paid, how many I don't yet know. On this will depend how much I can send you.

Weerth is in Bradford. He won't be here for a week, yet.

*Le roman Pindar prend une tournure tout à fait bourgeoise.*[a] The poor boy is already suffering from remorse. Because I have given him no news of his wife and mother since the *fifteenth of September,* he is bombarding me with letters and threatening to write to them direct for news! The fellow seems to imagine that I spend all my days there, as though the Finnish features and Scandinavian-Germanic heart of his cold-blooded better half were as bewitching to me as they were and still are to him. By his *evasion,*[b] Master Pindar had once more gone up a little in my estimation, but these letters bring him right down again. He is a Slav through and through, sentimental in his frivolity and even in his beastliness, servile and arrogant; and he has nothing of the Englishman save in exaggerated—being a Russian, he must exaggerate—taciturnity. Recently the fellow had grown somewhat more garrulous, yet when the long-closed sluice gates finally opened, nothing came out but *fadaise.*[c] On top of that the lovelorn Pindar has exceedingly unsavoury appetites and likes nothing better than to discuss unnatural discoveries. He's wholly uncultivated and withal pedantic, knowing absolutely nothing except a language or two; *en matière de science,*[d] even the most ordinary mathematics, physics and other school subjects, and especially in history of the most elementary kind, he is utterly ignorant. *Ce n'est que son silence acharné qui ait pu faire croire qu'il soit profond.*[e] He is *ni plus ni moins*[f] than a little Russian bourgeois with the appetites of the

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[a] Pindar's romance is taking an altogether bourgeois turn. - [b] running away - [c] fiddle-faddle - [d] in the field of science - [e] It's only his obstinate silence which has lent him a semblance of profundity. - [f] neither more nor less

Russian nobility, lazy, dilettante, soft-hearted, would-be blasé and at the same time, alas, a born pedagogue. For as long as I could, I tried to maintain a good opinion of the fellow, but it can't be done. What can one say of an individual who, on reading Balzac's fiction for the first time (and the *Cabinet des antiques* and *Père Goriot* at that) considers it infinitely beneath him and dismisses it with the utmost contempt as something commonplace and quite unoriginal, yet a week after running away, and apparently in all seriousness, writes from London to his deserted wife in the following platitudious terms: 'MY DEAREST IDA, APPEARANCES ARE AGAINST ME, BUT BELIEVE ME, MY HEART IS STILL ENTIRELY YOURS!' There you have the fellow in a nutshell. Though the Swede may possess his heart, as is proved also by his letters to me, he intends that no one but the Frenchwoman shall be presented with his cock. So far as he is concerned, the real piquancy of the whole affair lies in this clash, this Slavonic, sentimental, vulgar contradiction. The Swede, however, has much more sense; she tells anyone who will listen that he can do what he likes with his heart provided he keeps his carnality at home. Besides, the fellow's lack of ideas and worldly wisdom contrast ludicrously with the spiritual pretensions he harbours as a Russian. He has understood neither the *Manifesto*[a] nor Balzac; of that he has given me ample and frequent proof. He doesn't know German, no doubt of that, since he fails to understand the simplest things. I also greatly doubt whether he knows French. Once the *mystère* with which he held one's interest has gone, nothing remains but *une existence manquée.*[b] Yet in his letters the fellow tries to spin out the *mystère* that has long since been unveiled; it's ridiculous. You'll see! Within three months *gospodin*[c] Pindar will be back again, *bon fils, bon époux, bon bourgeois, plus taciturne que jamais,*[d] and will continue as before to squander what remains of his mother's fortune without making the slightest attempt to set his hand to anything or study anything. And a fellow like that goes and runs away with an experienced Parisienne—she'll make him rue the day.

The latest story about the truthful Willich's falsehood is good indeed.[e]

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party.* - [b] wasted existence - [c] Mr - [d] a good son, a good husband, a good bourgeois, more taciturn than ever - [e] See this volume, p. 195.

I am also writing to Dronke so that the book will not get lost.[237]

Your
F. E.

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## 103

## MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS

### IN WASHINGTON

London, 5 October 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Cluss,

Your letter of 16 September[a] arrived very late today. I am therefore sending only a few lines in reply, since you ask for an answer by return. Next Friday a rather more substantial report will be going off to you.[b] My information about the Brüningk woman (she's not a spy but corresponds with her aunt, the Princess Lieven, in Paris, who is notoriously one) came from Bangya. The latter, however, has *very important reasons* for not being named. If he were, he would forfeit many 'sources of information' which, being important to us, must be preserved.

You can write and tell Schnauffer that he merely has to answer that no further authorities need be cited since his (Brüningk's) two *friends, Kinkel and Willich,* have themselves been spreading it about in London that Mrs von Brüningk has suspect political connections.

That *Willich* has been saying things of this kind is so well known that Schimmelpfennig has taken him to task about it. If necessary, witnesses can be cited to support this.

*Kinkel* voiced this suspicion outright, e.g. to his friend Kamm,

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[a] 26 September in the original. - [b] See next letter.

the brushmaker (from Bonn), when the latter passed through here on his way to America. Kamm helped to spread it further.

(Willich, of course, did not discover that the woman was suspect until after she had dropped him.)

Your
K. M.

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## 104

## MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS

### IN WASHINGTON

[London,] 8 October 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Cluss,

So necessary have your weekly letters become to me that I am far from satisfied with your change of method and, out of vexation at your silence, have likewise remained silent.

You'll have had my letter about Brüningk.[a] We must—*et nous sommes dans le vrai*[b]—repay the shameless Gottfried[c] in kind. According to Imandt's last report of the London guarantors' meeting,[d] extracts of which appeared in the *Wecker, Techow* (now departed for Australia) rose and said: '...those in particular who had enjoyed Brüningk's hospitality should be ashamed of themselves for spreading calumnies about Mrs von Brüningk.' Kinkel, of the unashamedly unruffled brow, protested his innocence, although Imandt could have proved that he was lying. Willich sat as though nailed to his seat.

As regards the second matter, that of remuneration,[e] I can do nothing further since my informant, Biskamp (*whom I would beg*

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[a] See previous letter. - [b] and we are in the right - [c] Kinkel - [d] See this volume, pp. 161-62. - [e] ibid., p. 96.

*you not to name*) has settled in France and I have no correspondence with him. However, salary or no salary, this much is certain:

1. that Kinkel and Willich spent £200 and failed adequately to account for it to the London guarantors' congress;

2. Willich, on the pretext of meeting the cost of correspondence, remunerated himself for as long as he could;

3. that when Kinkel—proof of his purity in money matters—arrived in Paris after his escape[238] he immediately approached one of the leaders of the Slav-German etc. revolutionary committee there and informed him in confidence that it would be desirable if the German democrats in Paris were to give him a welcoming supper which he would then get the press to trumpet abroad. (*As in fact later happened.*) To the remark: where is the money coming from? Gottfried replied that it could be taken out of the revolutionary committee funds. To the further remark that there was no money in the exchequer but rather a considerable deficit, Gottfried opined that the member (Bangya) to whom he was speaking could advance it, he himself being so frightfully popular in Germany that money would come flowing in. Subsequently this same Kinkel got Bangya to advance him 500 fr. for his *personal use* on the account of the revolutionary committee. *His* reçu[a] *is still in existence.* He has not repaid it to this very day.

I have seen the *reçu.* But Bangya insists on not being named, likewise Häfner, who was also present. These people are right. The object of Kinkel's policy is by means of bare-faced denials (that the man is lying is proved by the business with me[b] and with *Dr Wiss,* whom he forced to make a *public statement* by asserting that he had no connection with the 'loan in his name'. See *New-Yorker Deutsche Zeitung* and Wiss' own statement therein.[239] Cite *this last* fact), his object, I say, is to compel me to show my hand and BY AND BY to discover whence I draw the information with which to catch him out. This, he thinks, would draw my sting. *Ça ne va pas.*[c]

You'll be able to follow in the *Kölnische Zeitung* the proceedings against our friends that opened on the 4th of this month in the Court of Assizes. The jury is damn bad. It consists of big landowners and big capitalists, viz: Regierungsrat von Münch-Bellinghausen, Häbling von Lanzenauer, Freiherr von Fürstenberg, von Bianca, von Tesseler, vom Rath; Joest (the biggest manufacturer—sugar—in Cologne); Herstadt (one of the leading

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[a] receipt - [b] See this volume, pp. 149-50. - [c] That won't do.

bankers in Cologne), D. Leiden (big capitalist). Finally Leven (wine merchant) and Professor Kräusler.

Have my last two articles on the GENERAL ELECTION appeared in the *Tribune*[a]? The first two caused a great stir here in England. Jones reproduced them.[b]

Enclosed you will find:

1. Letter from Imandt.

2. Copy of an article from *The Morning Advertiser* of 6 October,[c] in which the luckless Ruge-Ronge endeavour to *assert* themselves. The League here[d] would now ask you to write by return a letter to *The Morning Advertiser* (signed Dr Smyth OR SOMETHING LIKE THAT) in which you make fun of the German LONE STAR which has neither LONE nor STAR, and reassure *The Morning Advertiser* about the threat to America presented by this soap-bubble that has long since burst there. (Copy to be sent to us.)[240]

3. A letter from Massol in Paris,[241] which please return. Massol is one of the cleverest of the *older* Frenchmen (those of the forties), former St Simonist, Proudhonist, etc. *The man and the book* he alludes to are Proudhon and his book on Bonaparte.[e]

It seems to me that you people should now go for Heinzen in such a way as to torture him by pointing out how, since '47, this oaf has systematically ignored every attack relating to matters of principle (as, of late, that of Weydemeyer and subsequently your own[242]), only to reappear a few months later as much of a charlatan as ever, *quasi re bene gesta.*[f]

Your
K. M.

N. B. The morsel of erudition (striking in view of Heinzen's well-known ignorance) which he reveals in treating of the historical development of marriage, was borrowed by the unhappy man from G. Jung, *Geschichte der Frauen,* Part 1, Frankfurt am Main 1850. Jung himself drew his material from:

C. Meiners, *Geschichte des weiblichen Geschlechts,* 4 vols. Hanover 1788-1800, and from:

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[a] K. Marx, 'Corruption at Elections' and 'Results of the Elections'. - [b] K. Marx, 'The Elections in England.—Tories and Whigs' and 'The Chartists' published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and reproduced in *The People's Paper,* Nos. 22 and 23, 2 and 9 October 1852. - [c] 'The German "Lone Star"', *The Morning Advertiser,* No. 19122, 6 October 1852. - [d] The London District of the Communist League - [e] P. J. Proudhon, *La révolution sociale démontrée par le coup d'état du 2 décembre* (see this volume, p. 166). - [f] just as though nothing had happened

J. A. de Ségur, *Les femmes* etc., 3 vols. Paris 1803, and sprinkled it with Hegelian-Young German sauce.

Meiners and Ségur drew on:

Alexander (W.), *History of Women* etc., 2 vols. London 1782, 3rd ed.

Thomas (de l'Ac. franç.), *Essai sur le caractère etc. des femmes* etc., Paris 1773.

For the manner in which the Hegelian school finally sums the thing up—that old buffoon Ruge, now apparently in his dotage, is too stupid to count—see:

Unger (J.), *Die Ehe in ihrer welthistorischen Entwicklung.* Vienna 1850.

This 'bibliography' will enable you not only to deprive the unhappy Heinzen of all desire to pass off as new discoveries a few platitudes filched from the socialists but also to provide the German-American public, if interested in the subject, with the sources where the material may be found.

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## 105

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Sunday, 10 October 1852

Dear Marx,

I am fed up with the perpetual delays over the pamphlet.[a] Month after month we are told it will appear and it never does. One excuse after another is trotted out and then dropped. Finally it is said to be definitely coming out at Michaelmas. *La Trinité se passe, Marlbrough ne revient pas.*[b] Quite the contrary, for now we hear *the* man is dead and Bangya doesn't know what has become

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile.* - [b] Trinity goes by but Marlbrough does not return (from a French satirical song composed during the War of the Spanish Succession).

of the manuscript. It's too maddening. We must at long last insist on being told the plain truth. The thing's getting more suspicious every day. I don't, and you certainly don't, want our joint work to fall into the wrong hands. We wrote it for the benefit of the public, and not for the private delectation of the police in Berlin or anywhere else, and if Bangya proves intractable, I intend to act off my own bat. Our clerk Charles,[a] whom you know, is going to the Continent next week, via Hamburg and Berlin. I have asked him to inquire carefully into the matter in Berlin and, if the week he is spending there should not suffice, to enlist the help of our local agent. But I'll wager that we'll see what's at the bottom of this stink. What is all this about Eisermann or Eisenmann, the bookseller of whom there is no trace whatever in the directory of booksellers? But tracking down the 'editor of the former *Constitutionelle Zeitung*' should not prove difficult. If things aren't in order, it is absolutely essential that we make a *public statement*, and that in all the more widely read German papers, so that the same trick won't be played on us as was played on Blanqui with the *pièce*[b] Taschereau.[243] As for Bangya's mystery-mongering, it is, in this instance at least, utterly uncalled-for, and having, for my part, had enough of TERGIVERSATION, I shall now take what steps I think fit.

Papa Kinkel is coming up here to give German lectures under the auspices of third and fourth rate poetical Jews. *Cela sera beau.*[c] The secretary of the Athenaeum[244] tried to induce me to subscribe with the remark: 'WHEREVER THERE WAS SOMETHING LIKE A CHEQUERED LIFE, WERE IT ONLY AN ESCAPE FROM A SHIPWRECK OR SO, THERE WAS ALWAYS A NATURAL AND FAIR GROUND FOR SYMPATHY.' *Voilà les arguments qu'on emploie pour lui mendier un auditoire.*[d]

No other news. Write and tell me if you hear anything more about the affair of the pamphlet, but it's hardly likely to affect my decision respecting Charles. Warmest regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Roesgen - [b] document - [c] That will be nice. - [d] Such are the arguments used to obtain an audience for him.

# 106

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 October [1852]
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

More about your letter later.

Enclosed:

1. A document, 'The German Loan Star Society', smuggled into the *Advertiser*[a] by Ruge-Ronge.

2. A cutting from Weydemeyer's *Lithographierte Correspondenz* about the effect of this dangerous 'SOCIETY' on their League congress at Wheeling.[245]

3. An article for Dana.[246] But the whole of it must go off, as I have a mass of political stuff for next time. I had a bad headache when I was scribbling the thing. So don't be afraid to deal with it FREELY in translating.

You may have read the infamous article in yesterday's *Times*, a contribution dated Berlin.[b] All the cur has done is to translate from the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* (the Cologne trial) and add one or two scurrilous comments from his own STOCK.[247]

Your
K. Marx

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[a] 'The German "Lone Star"', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19122, 6 October 1852. Here Marx puns on the title of the article and the attempt of the American Revolutionary League to raise a loan. - [b] 'From our own correspondent' in the section 'Prussia', *The Times*, No. 21243, 11 October 1852.

# 107

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, 14 October 1852]

Dear Marx,

It is physically impossible to translate the whole article for you. I received it this morning. Have been so busy at the office all day that I didn't know whether I was coming or going. This evening took tea at 7-8 and just glanced through the thing. Then got down to translating. Now—11.30—have done the part I am sending you,[a] up to the natural break in the article. At 12 o'clock it must be in the post. So, you see, you will get as much as can possibly be done.

The rest[b] will be translated directly—next week you can send it either via Southampton or on Friday.[c] In the meantime finish off your next article; part of it might be able to go on Friday, if not, the following Tuesday, when there is another YANKEE STEAMER. So it doesn't really matter. But make sure I get the manuscript *early*; I am expecting Weerth any day and will then have to try to make best use of my time, since my days are more than fully taken up with business.

Regards to your wife and children, Dronke, Lupus, Freiligrath.

Your
F. E.

Mark my word, the Cologne people won't get off. What a cur the presiding judge[d] is to bait Bürgers so.[248]

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[a] K. Marx, 'Pauperism and Free Trade.—The Approaching Commercial Crisis'. - [b] K. Marx, 'Political Consequences of the Commercial Excitement'. - [c] 22 October - [d] Göbel

# 108

# ENGELS TO MARX

## IN LONDON

M[anchester,] 18 October 1852

Dear Marx,

Herewith the remainder of the recent[a] article.[b] Yesterday I also received the next one.[249] You can at once dispatch VIA LIVERPOOL PER UNITED STATES MAIL STEAMER the piece I am posting you today; the *Pacific* sails on Wednesday morning. You will be getting some more on Friday.[c]

You really must stop making your articles so long. Dana cannot possibly *want* more than 1-1$^1/_2$ columns, it would be too much for one number. I shall again have to split this new article, but it's difficult to do and I don't yet know where. Five-7 pages in your wife's handwriting is *quite enough* and if you give more in one article, Dana won't even thank you for it.

Bürgers and Röser, and perhaps Otto and Nothjung likewise, seem to me pretty well done for. There doesn't appear to be anything at all against Daniels, Becker[d] or Jacobi, and I hope that these at least will get off. Becker has extricated himself with great effrontery. The more these are exonerated the greater, I think, will be the zeal with which the judges and jury will set about the compromised men; the injured bourgeoisie and the injured State want their victims.

The edges of the seals on all the letters I am getting from you show signs of having been gone over with a hot iron but, so far as I can judge, *pour le roi de Prusse*.[e] The gum on the envelope prevents them from getting inside.

Weerth is here, has brought me the parcel, and sends his regards to you all. Szemere's manuscript on Kossuth is far better than the one on Görgey—he's a match for Kossuth. I have not yet

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[a] Barely legible in the original. - [b] K. Marx, 'Political Consequences of the Commercial Excitement'. - [c] 22 October - [d] Hermann Becker - [e] literally: for the king of Prussia; figuratively: in vain

been able to look at Pieper's translation,[a] being very busy at the office and dog-tired most evenings.

Warmest regards to your wife.

Your
F. E.

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## 109

## MARX TO A. von BRÜNINGK

### IN LONDON

[Rough copy]

[London,] 18 October 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

To Baron A. von Brüningk

I have received by today's post the *Baltimore Wecker* dated 27 September 1852, together with your statement. Since I, as *one* of the correspondents of A. Cluss in Washington, am directly involved in this matter, I would request you to appoint a meeting-place for Thursday or Friday (of this week).[b] I for my part shall bring a witness with me and would therefore request you to do likewise, but would point out in advance that the said witness may not be either *Ruge, Ronge, Kinkel,* or *Willich,* since these gentlemen are *implicated* in the matter now pending, nor can it be Mr *Schimmelpfennig.* When in Paris, that gentleman swore in so many words to 'destroy me by *slander* of every possible description'. While I do not believe in his destructive ability, I cannot, in view of this assertion, possibly consent to meet him.

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[a] into English of Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* I - [b] 21 or 22 October

I shall then explain to you my connection with the *Baltimore* article[250] and, should my explanation not suffice, I shall be prepared to give you the satisfaction customary among gentlemen.

Yours truly
Dr Karl Marx

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## 110

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 20 October 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I recommend most highly to you the bearer of these lines, Colonel Pleyel. Although I am not personally acquainted with him, he is most 'highly recommended' by Colonel Bangya whom, of course, you know.

Your
K. Marx

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## 111

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, 22 October 1852]

Dear Marx,

If you want to count on receiving the articles for Dana punctually in future, you must take care not to send me Hungarian COLONELS, especially of a Thursday night. Yesterday the

fellow[a] took up the whole of my evening and intends to come back today—he is pretty well-versed in a number of subjects, military included, and is the most interesting Hungarian I have met so far, but he is also a German-Austrian aristocrat.

So we are now recognised by the State, and even by the police, as 'intelligent' people, *teste*[b] Stieber. A fine business. The way that stupid Stieber tries to shuffle off responsibility for his own spy, Cherval, onto our chaps![251] Have you any idea why Kothes and Bermbach have been arrested?[c] Those two, of all people—it's ominous! But we shall discipline Haupt.[252] Weerth will find out where he is in South America and, on his arrival there, will unmask him. To that end we shall have to get hold of the *Kölnische Ztg.* or some other paper containing his statements. Could you not attend to this? Do everything you can; it would really be splendid to make the rascal feel the power of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as far away as Brazil.

More in a day or two, and also translations.[253]

Your
F. E.

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## 112

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 October 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

We must make some other arrangements about our correspondence. We undoubtedly have a *fellow*-reader in Derby's Ministry. Moreover, there is again someone keeping watch, or at least attempting to do so, outside my house (of an evening). Hence I

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[a] Pleyel - [b] witness - [c] See this volume, p. 216.

can write and tell you nothing I deem it inadvisable for the Prussian government to learn at this moment.

Dana is treating me very badly. I wrote to him about 6 weeks ago, telling him exactly how things stood with me and that I must be paid *by return* for the articles I had sent. He has regularly published the articles but has not yet sent the money. I, of course, must continue punctiliously, notwithstanding. Otherwise it is I who will suffer in the end.

Now, as much as 5 weeks ago, I mollified my LANDLORD with my prospects in America. Today the fellow calls and makes a fearful scene in front of me and the HOUSEKEEPER. Upon my finally resorting to the *ultima ratio*,[a] i.e. abuse, he retired, threatening that if I didn't produce any money this week, he would throw me out into the street, but first would land me with a BROKER.

4-5 days ago 130 copies of the *Brumaire* arrived from Cluss. As yet I have been unable to get them from the customs because this would mean paying 10/9d. As soon as I've got the stuff out, I'll send it to the place you know and at once draw a bill on the same. With this and the Dana business I now have over £30 outstanding, yet often have to lose an entire day for a shilling. I assure you that, when I consider my wife's sufferings and my own impotence, I feel like consigning myself to the devil.

Kothes and Bermbach were arrested because I had sent the latter through the former a work necessary to the defence, which (despite thin paper and small pearl type) was somewhat bulky.[254] The government thought it had made a splendid catch. But on the closer examination *jeune*[b] Saedt raised heaven and earth to have the thing suppressed, for the document contained curious STRICTURES on the capability, etc., of *jeune* Saedt and could, if communicated to the juries, only help to acquit the *accusés*.[c]

In the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, 'G. Weerth' is said to be a member of the Central Authority in Cologne, and, indeed, this is cited from the bill of indictment.

Tell Weerth that I have heard nothing from Duncker.[255]

Your
K. M.

As soon as the trial is over, and whatever its outcome, we two must bring out one or two sheets, 'For the Enlightenment of the

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[a] last resort - [b] young - [c] accused

Public'. No such favourable moment to address the *nation en large*[a] will ever recur. Furthermore, we must not tolerate any semblance of RIDICULE which not even the moral dignity and scientific profundity of the gentle Heinrich[b] are capable of dispelling.

Cherval has himself written to the German Workers' Society in London[24]: saying that he 'is a *spy*, but in the noble sense of "Cooper's spy"'.[c] I have conveyed the necessary explanation to one of the lawyers[d] by a safe route.

We should already start casting about with a view to the publication on the 'Cologne trial' mooted above. I think it would be best if you were to write to Campe asking him to give you the name of a *reliable agent*, should he himself be too afraid. Since your credit is good, the agent can be told that he will receive the money in, say, 3 months' time (against a bill), if he has not in the meantime repaid himself from the sales (as he certainly will do). For that matter, the cost of printing this sort of stuff would amount at most to 25 talers.

*Vale!*[e] And think the matter over. We cannot remain silent and if we don't see to the printing in good time, we shall again miss the boat. We should, of course, have to make sure that the agent is not downright dishonest, for the thing will even have 'commercial' value.

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## 113

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 October [1852]

Dear Engels,

Tomorrow morning Weerth will find, along with this scrawl, a letter from me addressed to him at Steinthal's and enclosed in it another to Schneider II,[256] *which you should attend to forthwith.* The

[a] nation at large - [b] Bürgers - [c] Harvey Birch, character in F. Cooper's *Spy*. - [d] Schneider II. The letter has not been found. - [e] Farewell.

thing is of the utmost importance and must not be delayed for an instant. So please neither of you embark on your daily round until you have read the thing and sent it off.

Your
K. M.

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## 114

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 27 October 1852

D. M.,

When I wrote yesterday,[257] I had only cursorily read Stieber's statements and was therefore most agreeably surprised today when your document[a] gave a turn to the case which *now* no longer makes me despair of the acquittal of *all* the accused. *En effet*,[b] Stieber will be utterly discredited. I made a further copy of the thing and dispatched it to Cologne by 2 different and very good routes[258]; I also did what should already have been done in London, namely affixed the 2 notes in Hirsch's handwriting[259] to the original with sealing-wax, at the same time recording the fact by appending my signature so that, if the worst comes to the worst, they cannot be detained unless the whole thing is detained. I have now discovered several more ways of communicating with Cologne and, although there is a 99% chance that the things will reach Schneider safely and on the same day by the first two routes (which, however, cannot be used again), it might be advisable for you to send me a 3rd copy, *authenticated by you*, with *fresh* samples of Hirsch's handwriting, which I could then send by yet another route. Anyway, the Prussians *cannot* detain this thing; it would mean criminal proceedings against those involved.

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[a] See previous letter. - [b] Indeed

Your letter received today had been tampered with, not all 4 corners of the envelope being properly secured by the seal. Whether the one to St.[a] had also been tampered with is difficult to say, for the firm had opened the outer cover. But it proved so easy to open that I am inclined to assume that here too someone had already been at it. So the Steinthal address is no longer any good either. Write to our old friend, James Belfield, Golden Lion, Deansgate, Manchester, with 'F. E.', no more, on the inside envelope. In the case of very important and dangerous things, do as I am now doing: Make up a parcel of anything with your letter inside it, and send it to my house per Pickford & Co.; alternatively, per Chaplin, Horne & Carver, addressed to me at Ermen & Engels, unstamped. That is perfectly safe. But see that the addresses, particularly if sent by post, are written by turns in different hands and, when parcels are sent by carrier, don't have them always taken to the office from the same place by the same person. Then the latter way will be perfectly safe. So you must either give me a safe address in London to which I can send things in this way, or get someone with an unsuspicious landlord to assume a false name, *à la* Williams, or let me know whether Lupus is still at 4 Broad Street and Dronke at the Model Lodging House, and where any of our other reliable people live so that I can use different addresses.

By employing all these methods alternately we shall achieve adequate security. In addition, to make it less conspicuous, you should send letters containing matters of no consequence direct by post, and I shall do the same.

Copying out the document has made such demands on my time that I really don't know whether I shall be able to keep my word in the *fullest* sense as regards Dana and Friday's[b] STEAMER. At all events, *something* will be forthcoming. You might bear in mind that a lengthy spell of more or less uninterrupted chaste living is again causing me to burgeon like mad at a certain spot, and at times prevents me from sitting down; *il faut que cela finisse.*[c]

The statement made by old Justizrat Müller will have put Stieber into a blue funk over his original minutes.[260] It also reveals how incensed jurists over there must be by the infamies of the police which Stieber, in his old-Prussian ignorance of Rhenish law, judicial procedure and Rhenish public opinion, is so unashamedly

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[a] Steinthal, see this volume, p. 217. - [b] 29 October. Engels had in mind the translation of Marx's two articles: 'Political Parties and Prospects' and 'Attempts to Form a New Opposition Party'. - [c] this must cease

proclaiming from the house-tops with childish glee at his own cleverness. *C'est de bonne augure.*[a]

It's a pretty state of affairs: the police steal, forge, break into desks, perjure themselves, give false evidence and, withal, claim this privilege vis-à-vis communists who are *hors la société*[b]! This, and the way in which the police, at their most rascally, are usurping all the functions of the prosecution, pushing Saedt into the background, and submitting unauthenticated scraps of paper, mere rumours, reports and hearsay, as things legally proven, as evidence—*c'est trop fort*![c] It's bound to have an effect.

Your
F. E.

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## 115

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 27 October 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I wrote and told you that I would compose a 'Lithographed Circular' about the 'Cologne trial'.[d] That 'L. C.' has now become a pamphlet of some 3 sheets.[261] The thing cannot be lithographed now for two reasons: firstly, such an extensive lithograph would prove very expensive while yielding *nothing*, for one could not in all decency sell a lithographed circular of this kind. Secondly, nobody could read or be expected to read, a lithograph of 3 printed sheets.

So the only thing to do is to get the thing printed. IMPOSSIBLE in Germany. London is the only conceivable place. It will also be

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[a] It's a good portent. - [b] outside society - [c] it's too much! - [d] See this volume, p. 217.

possible to obtain *credit* if only I am in a position to make a part payment in advance. I would like you to discuss the matter with Weerth and Strohn. But not a day is to be lost. If the thing doesn't come out now, it will no longer be of any interest. My pamphlet is not a vindication of principles, but rather a denunciation of the Prussian government based on the facts and the course of events. Needless to say, I myself am incapable of contributing so much as a centime to the thing. Yesterday I pawned a coat dating back to my Liverpool days in order to buy writing paper.

The Empire is progressing splendidly.[262] Bonaparte knows better than anyone how to ensure that this time the commercial crisis will hit France even more cruelly than England.

Your
K. M.

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## 116

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 October 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Have received the money and, today, a parcel with the letter.[a] In my last to you and Weerth[b] I deliberately refrained from mentioning anything which, had the letter been opened, might have further enlightened the Prussian government as to the steps we have taken against them. Today I shall give you a detailed account. I believe we have laid a countermine that will blow the whole governmental humbug sky high. Those Prussians shall see *qu'ils ont à faire à plus fort.*[c]

On Monday Schneider II will be receiving via Düsseldorf (addressed to a merchant, an acquaintance of Freiligrath's) a letter

[a] See this volume, pp. 218-20. - [b] ibid., p. 217. - [c] that they're up against somebody stronger

from me,[263] the content of which is briefly as follows: 1. In 1847,[264] when I was in *Brussels*, Cherval was admitted into the League[a] in London by Mr Schapper and at the latter's suggestion. Not, therefore, in 1848 by me in Cologne. 2. From the late spring of 1848 to the summer of 1850 Cherval lived continuously in London, as his HOUSEKEEPERS can testify. Hence, he did not spend this period in Paris as a propagandist. 3. Not until the summer of 1850 did he go to Paris. The papers found on him and the statements he made before the Paris Assizes prove that he was Schapper-Willich's agent and our enemy.

That Cherval was a *police spy* is borne out by the following: 1. His miraculous escape (along with Gipperich) from prison in Paris immediately after sentence. 2. His unmolested stay in London although a *common* criminal. 3. Mr de Rémusat (I have authorised Schneider to name him if necessary) tells me that Cherval offered him his services as an agent for the Prince of Orleans; thereupon he, Rémusat, wrote to Paris and was sent the following documents (to be kept for a few hours, so that copies might be made; these he showed me), from which it emerges that Cherval was first a Prussian police spy and is now a Bonapartist one. The Prussian police reject his demand for money on the grounds of *'double emploi'*[b] and the fact that he is being paid by the French.[265]

Finally, I provided Schneider with a few simple explanations on points of theory which will enable him to distinguish between the Schapper-Willich documents and our own and to show how they differ.

Besides the letter to Schneider II sent off by you,[c] the same document went via Frankfurt am Main (where it was posted by old Ebner who obtained a *reçu*[d]) to the lawyer, von Hontheim; this was on Tuesday.[e] The same package contained: 1. A letter from Becker to me, with both London and Cologne postmarks, from which it emerges that our correspondence was primarily concerned with the book-trade.[266] 2. Two enclosures from Daniels to me in Becker's letter, which relate solely to his manuscript.[267] 3. Two excerpts from Hirsch's minutes.[268] 4. An excerpt from *The People's Paper* in which by good fortune Cherval actually gives his address. 5. Letters from Mr Stieber (in his own hand) to me[269] at the time of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; see p. 3 of this letter.

On Tuesday evening a letter from Schneider arrived with an occasional traveller; from this it transpires that his first, sent by

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[a] the League of the Just - [b] double employ - [c] See this volume, pp. 217 and 218. - [d] receipt - [e] 26 October

post, was intercepted. However, he received a registered letter from here, written to him at my request by Dronke, in which he was told that 6-8 weeks ago *Hentze* was over here at Willich's, that Willich was entertained by him and that Willich himself boasted that he had given Hentze instructions about how to proceed against us. Schneider writes that all the lawyers are convinced that the documents are bogus, and he urgently asks for proof of this and, in particular, of the fact that Mrs Daniels never wrote to me.

For want of money *nothing* could have been done on Wednesday, but luckily your £2 arrived. I therefore went to the [Great] Marlborough Street POLICE COURT (BEFORE MR WINGHAM, MAGISTRATE OF THE METROPOLITAN DISTRICT, who asked for an account of the affair and *furieusement* declared himself *for* us and *against* the Prussian government) where I had two things authenticated:

1. The handwriting of Rings and Liebknecht; according to Schneider II's letter they signed nearly *all* Hirsch's minutes. As you know, Rings is barely able to write and as a taker of minutes was therefore a splendid choice on Hirsch's part.[259]

2. I got the landlord of the pub where we hold our meetings to testify that, since March, the 'SOCIETY OF DR MARX' (I'm the only one the fellow knows), some 16-18 strong, has been regularly foregathering once a week and no more, namely on Wednesdays, and that neither he nor his WAITER[S] have ever seen us put pen to paper. The stuff about Wednesdays was also testified by a neighbour of his, a German baker and householder.

Both documents, bearing the seal of the POLICE COURT, have been written out in *duplicate*. The first copy of the same I sent via [...] to G. Jung who, by a stroke of good fortune, wrote to me 3 days ago saying that he was living in Frankfurt am Main, and giving his address. Jung will take the things to Cologne himself or send them by express delivery. The letter he received is addressed to Schneider II and contains, besides the documents mentioned and authenticated by the police court: a) A copy of the first letter to Schneider[270] along with 2 more copies of excerpts from Hirsch's minutes. b) Excerpt from a letter from Becker to myself, the reverse side of which fortunately bears London and Cologne postmarks. To quote Becker's own words (the bit I have sent contains no more than this):

'Willich is sending me the funniest letters; I do not reply, but this does not prevent him from describing his latest plans for a revolution. He has appointed me to revolutionise the Cologne garrison!!! The other day we laughed till the tears came. His idiocy will spell disaster for x people, for a single letter would suffice to guarantee the salaries of a hundred Demagogue[139] judges for three years. As soon

as I have completed the revolution in Cologne he would have no objection to assuming the leadership for all subsequent operations. Very kind of him! Fraternal greetings. Your Becker."[271]

c) Three letters from Bermbach to me which reveal the nature of our correspondence and one of which (that of March) also contains an answer to my letter[272] about Hirsch, the denunciation of Mrs Daniels and the consequent searching of her house.[a] This letter proves that she did not correspond with me. d) Copy of the letter from Stieber. e) Instructions to Schneider, in which I inform him among other things that the *authenticated documents* (or *duplicate*) will be sent on Thursday (28 October) by registered post from London direct to his address, and that he will at the same time receive the *certificate of registration* via Düsseldorf from W., the merchant. So if the government detain it this time, we can show that we have caught them *au flagrant délit*[b] while they, for their part, will have deprived the defence of nothing more than a duplicate.

In the *Advertiser* next Saturday (30 October) you will find a short statement on the infamous articles in *The Times*[c] and *The Daily News*. It will be signed: 'F. Engels, F. Freiligrath, K. Marx, W. Wolff.' Also in several weeklies.[d]

This time, I think, the Prussian government will be discredited in a manner not even they have ever experienced, and will see for themselves that the people they are dealing with are not blundering democrats. Through Stieber's intervention they have saved our fellows. Even Bermbach's arrest is a stroke of luck. For otherwise his letters could not have been sent over there. He would have strenuously objected for fear of being placed in temporary custody. Now that he's in jug everything's ALL RIGHT.

*Père* Barthélemy, born for the galleys, will make the acquaintance of Van Diemen's Land[273] this time for a change.[274] One of this fellow's dirty tricks is his persistent refusal to admit the facts, thereby implicating the seconds yet further. However, 2 have already stated that they were Cournet's seconds. As the gallows loom larger, no doubt the 3rd will forswear his *dévouement*[e] and likewise admit to having been a second.

A few days ago the guarantors met at Reichenbach's, all being present save for Kinkel and Willich who have been more or less expelled. Reichenbach, Löwe of Calbe, Imandt, Schimmelpfennig,

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[a] See this volume, p. 107. - [b] red-handed - [c] 'From our own correspondent' in the section 'Prussia', *The Times*, No. 21243, 11 October 1852. - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Public Statement to the Editors of the English Press'. - [e] loyalty

Meyen, Oppenheim. Reichenbach, and the rest along with him, resolved to return the money to the donors. Reichenbach stated that their main reason was as follows:

'Willich and Kinkel are engaged in downright *escroquerie*.[a] Thousands of notes bearing his (Reichenbach's) signature are still circulating in America and they are disposing of them at a discount through their agents, pocketing the proceeds and using them for private purposes.'

Only the winding up of the whole filthy business would provide him with the pretext for exposing in public the *escroquerie* being perpetrated in his name, and forestalling any further embezzlement. You can see what those respectable citizens Willich and Kinkel have come to. *Des escrocs ... voilà le dernier mot.*[b]

Best regards to Weerth.

Your
K. M.

Safe addresses down here in my next.[c]

'No. 177 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* contains a news item from your correspondent in Frankfurt am Main dated December 21 in which a base lie is reported to the effect that being a police spy I went to Frankfurt to try to discover the murderers of Prince Lichnowski and General Auerswald. I was in fact in Frankfurt on the 21st but stayed only one day and as you can see from the accompanying certificate I was engaged in purely private business on behalf of a lady from here, Frau von Schwezler. I have long since returned to Berlin and resumed my work as defence counsel. I would refer you moreover to the official correction in this matter that has already appeared in No. 338 of the *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung* of December 22[d] and in No. 248 of the Berlin *National-Zeitung*. I believe that I may expect from your respect for the truth that you will print the enclosed correction in your paper without delay and that you will also give me the name of your slanderous informant in accordance with your legal obligations, for I cannot possibly permit such a libel to go unpunished, otherwise I shall regretfully be compelled to proceed against your editorial board.

'I believe that in recent times democracy is indebted to no one more than *myself*. It was I who rescued hundreds of democrats who had been charged from the nets of the criminal courts. It was I who even while a state of siege was proclaimed here persistently and fearlessly challenged the authorities (and do so to this very day), while all the cowardly and contemptible fellows (the so-called democrats) had long since fled the field. When democratic organs treat me in this fashion it is scarcely an encouragement to me to make further efforts.

'The real joke, however, in the present case lies in the clumsiness of the organs of democracy. The rumour that I went to Frankfurt as a police agent was spread

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[a] swindling - [b] Swindlers ... that's all there is to be said. - [c] The text of Stieber's letter to Marx is in Mrs Marx's hand. - [d] The letter has 21. The newspaper of 22 December carried a news item datelined 'Frankfurt, 21. Dec. Berichtigung'.

first by that notorious organ of reaction, the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, in order to undermine my activities as defence counsel that gave that paper such offence. The other Berlin papers have long since corrected this report. But the democratic papers are so inept that they parrot this stupid lie. If I had wished to go to Frankfurt as a spy it would certainly not be announced beforehand in every newspaper. And how could Prussia send a police official to Frankfurt which has enough competent officials of its own? Stupidity has always been the failing of the democrats and their opponents' cunning has always brought them to victory.

'It is likewise a contemptible lie to say that years ago I was a police spy in Silesia. At that time I was openly employed as a police officer and as such I did my duty. Contemptible lies have been circulated about me. If anyone can prove that I insinuated my way into his favour let him come forth and do so. Anyone can make assertions and tell lies.—I think of you as an honest, decent man and so I expect from you a satisfactory answer by return of post. The democratic papers are generally in disrepute here because of the many lies they publish. I hope that you are a man of a different stamp.

Respectfully yours,
*Stieber*, Doctor at Law, etc.,
Berlin, Ritterstrasse 65.

'Berlin, December 26, 1848'[275]

'I herewith certify that last week Dr Stieber travelled to Frankfurt and Wiesbaden on my behalf in order to settle a private lawsuit.

Widow of the late President von Schwezler von Lecton,
Dame of the Order of Louise.'[a]

Seal

Now I would ask you to write the following message to Schneider, and dispatch it *without delay* by the 3rd route to Cologne indicated in your letter.[b]

'While it is true that Stieber *bought* the 14-16 documents belonging to the Willich-Schapper clique, he did at the same time *steal* them. For he incited a certain *Reuter* to steal in return for cash. It was some time since Reuter had actually been a 'police official' but he had OCCASIONALLY been a SPY paid *à la tâche*[c] by the Prussian embassy. He had *never* belonged to a communist society, not even the public German Workers' Society in London.[24] Reuter lived in the same house as Dietz, secretary and archivist to the Willich-Schapper central authority.[276] Reuter broke into Dietz's

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[a] Here Marx wrote 'Verte' (see over). - [b] See this volume, pp. 218-19. - [c] by the job

bureau and handed over the papers to somebody, either Stieber or Schulz. The affair came out long before proceedings began in the Cologne Court of Assizes. For while under arrest in Hanover, Stechan was confronted by the examining magistrate with several letters he had written to Dietz in the latter's capacity as secretary to the refugee committee presided over by Schapper.[277] As everyone knows, Stechan then escaped from prison. Once in London, he wrote to Hanover demanding those letters so that he could proceed against *Reuter* in the English courts:

'1. For forced entry and theft.

'2. For *false evidence.* For he maintains that in his letter—which has now also been placed before the Cologne jurymen by Stieber—the words "530 talers, 500 for the leaders" are an *interpolation* for which the police were responsible. At the time, all he had sent to London was 30 talers, nor had he said a word about *leaders.*

'Needless to say, the Hanoverian court did not accede to Stechan's demand. The said Reuter stole all the documents by breaking into Dietz's bureau. Dietz and the Schapper clique did not find out about the matter until Stechan arrived here.'

I have this moment received your parcel, my dear Engels. *So there is no need for you to copy out the above.* I shall send it myself direct, in one of the envelopes I have received.

Tell Weerth that he is now permanently assured of one of the 'ministerial' appointments put at my disposal by Stieber, if he doesn't prefer the post of ambassador to Paris that was intended for him.[278]

Your
K. M.

If you have *important* things to tell me, address the letter to: A. Johnson, Esq., (Bullion Office, Bank of England).

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# 117

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 October 1852

Dear Marx,

Yesterday I sent you a volume of Dureau de la Malle[a] and a letter per Carver & Co.[b] Enclosed herewith you will find various covers done up to look like commercial ones, and enclosed therein envelopes for Hontheim and Esser I, who are less likely than Schneider to arouse the suspicions of the philistines. If you think it advisable, you can always enclose a sealed envelope for Schneider. However, I don't see why you shouldn't every now and again write a line or two to the other defence counsel to make them feel that they are important. I also enclose a commercial seal; your old one bearing Weydemeyer's arms and the clumsy S are useless. When writing to Manchester also use any other old SIXPENNY seal.

Every so often send Schneider a relatively unimportant letter by registered post so as to mislead the fellows and make them believe that we have dropped our clandestine methods for want of addresses.

There can be no doubt that the citizens whose addresses you will find here will see to it that the letters reach their destination.

You should draw counsel's attention to the obvious CRIMES and *délits*[c] committed by the police and make sure they enter a plea for Stieber's arrest on grounds of perjury and false evidence; the fellow has effectively committed PERJURY in the case of your letter to Kothes.[279]

By this evening's post a letter about more humdrum matters.

Your
F. E.

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[a] A. J. Dureau de La Malle, *Économie politique des Romains*. - [b] See this volume, pp. 218-20. - [c] offences

# 118

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 October 1852
By the 2nd post

Dear Marx,

Herewith 1 article for Dana—the thing couldn't be broken off at any other point.[a] If I manage to finish the whole lot this evening, I shall take it[b] to the post later. In the meantime this will do so that you may at least have *something* on time. For that matter, Dana will have to be content with $^3/_4$ *à* $^4/_5$ of a column for a change, especially if he pays so slowly.

It wouldn't surprise me at all if the Cologne trial were to last another month. There does not seem to have been a sitting on Monday, maybe because one of the accused or a couple of jurymen were unwell, or because everyone needed two consecutive days of rest. Especially with all the fine witnesses, none of whom can give any evidence. Mr Hentze has really been taken down a peg; Weerth met the gallant man in Hamburg, whereupon he railed against you most frightfully—*cela t'acquitte de toute obligation envers lui.*[c] Moreover, he admitted frankly that, if he was angry, it was for philistine reasons.

So write direct—by REGISTERED LETTER—to one of the lawyers, pointing out that the prosecution has been taken completely out of the hands of Mr Saedt and put into those of Stieber, the police spy who, with the Public Prosecutor's tacit consent, is advancing wholly novel legal theories, namely:

1. that it is a crime if, from abroad, someone morally involved in the trial provides a lawyer with documents and other information for the benefit of the accused, and exposes for what they are the lies of the police told by a fellow like Stieber; that it is likewise a crime to receive such letters;

2. that the police, on the other hand, have the right not only to permit themselves all manner of crimes, but actually to boast openly before the court and the public of:

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[a] K. Marx, 'Political Parties and Prospects'. - [b] K. Marx, 'Attempts to Form a New Opposition Party'. - [c] that relieves you of any obligation towards him

a) *Forced entry and theft*—the breaking open of Dietz's bureau and the purloining of the documents therein.

b) *Incitement thereto*, avowedly by offers of cash; likewise *bribery*.

c) *Theft of documents* belonging to the defence, inasmuch as part of your memorandum to the lawyers was excised and detained; I won't even mention their tampering with letters, because afterwards the fellows did at least try to give it a semblance of legality.

d) *False testimony* and *perjury*, inasmuch as Mr Stieber deliberately represented the Cologne people as being the accomplices and associates of Cherval, etc., as he himself knew better and subsequently admitted it; notably inasmuch as he stated on oath that a letter sent through the post had not reached Cologne until 19 October, when in fact it was already there on the 15th; inasmuch as he cooked up all those lies about the special courier, etc.

e) *Forgery*, inasmuch as the alleged minutes were fabricated by the police themselves and submitted as genuine, whereas we were deprived of all means of providing the defence with counter-evidence.

And so on.

If the lawyers conduct themselves boldly and adroitly, the case might end, not in a verdict against the Cologne people, but in the arrest of Mr Stieber for perjury and various other Prussian crimes against the godless French *Code pénal*.[164]

There was something else I wanted to write to you about but I forgot it completely when I started chatting with Weerth, who has just got home.

I have just heard from him that Mrs Daniels has also been called as a witness for the defence—*tant mieux*.[a] The minutes will come to a glorious end. And *ce pauvre*[b] Bermbach would appear to have been unceremoniously bundled into the dock with the rest. What can they want of this poor, innocent devil?

Your
F. E.

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[a] so much the better - [b] that poor

# 119

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, 31 October 1852]

Dear Marx,

The way the case has been opened, it can hardly go wrong. The letter from Stieber[a] is a discovery that's worth more than all the gold-mines in Australia. What luck that the *malheureux*[b] Nothjung kept these old *N. Rh. Z.* papers and sent them to London at the time! I only hope the thing arrives; for not even the Chief Public Prosecutor would consider it a crime to suppress stuff of that kind. You'd have done better not to send this letter by registered mail but in some other way. There's still a possibility that something may go wrong between Frankfurt and Cologne and, even though the copy provides a fair amount of proof, the original is still all-important. Somebody should have taken it to Cologne, or else it should have gone by express delivery. However, I hope all will be well.

The other documents are likewise admirable, and we shall now raise a really tremendous hullabaloo.

Yesterday, for safety's sake, I sent a letter to v. Hontheim,[280] for posting in Amsterdam, in which I gave him a summary of what you had written in the letter intended for Schneider,[c] and told him about the non-arrival of Schneider's letter addressed to Dronke. 4 copies, then, and one summary.

Today I shall send another copy of Stieber's letter to Cologne by a different route, likewise dispatch to the Rhine Province cuttings containing the article in Friday's *Advertiser*,[d] and the statement in Saturday's,[e] and shall in general throw at the bourgeoisie items of information about the crimes of the police.

Now for some suggestions:

1. In view of the highly equivocal—and, as it now behoves us to show, in passages unequivocal—nature of the only incriminating pieces of evidence, your evidence and that of Lupus, Pieper, etc., etc., if given *on oath* and *authenticated*, is of great importance. It

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[a] See this volume, pp. 225-26. - [b] unhappy - [c] See this volume, p. 217. - [d] 'Germany. From our own correspondent. Cologne, Oct. 27', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19142, 29 October 1852. - [e] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Public Statement to the Editors of the English Press'.

does not matter what the Public Prosecutor says, the jury regards ourselves and the accused as GENTLEMEN. Now nothing could be easier than for 2 or 3 of you to go to Wingham and there record *on oath* those matters relating to London which all of you know about. For example:

a) that to the best of your knowledge there is no such person as *H.* Liebknecht, but only a *W.* Liebknecht, and that you people have never known any H. L.;

b) that you yourself never received a letter from Mrs Daniels;

c) that, aside from the Wednesday meetings, you did not hold any other meetings—on Thursdays in any other pub,—and

d) that you declare the evidence, contained in Hirsch's minutes as to speeches, lectures, etc., etc., allegedly given by yourselves, to be UTTERLY UNTRUE;

e) that the scrap of paper found with the red catechism and regarded by the Public Prosecutor as being in your handwriting, did not emanate from you[281]—

and anything else in the latest proceedings and Stieber's first statements which seems untrue and worth refuting.

When all this has been recorded on oath before Wingham, he will draw up an ordinary affidavit—you might as well take a draft in English along with you—and you should ask him to hand it to a POLICEMAN, who will accompany you to Hebeler, the Prussian consul in the City; the latter *must* certify Wingham's signature, *otherwise he will forfeit his exequatur.* 2 copies of this, drawn up as above, can then be dispatched to Cologne and cannot fail to have an effect. I regard this as extremely important, for it means that *all* the legal formalities have been complied with and that the thing is a legal document. Should Hebeler nonetheless refuse to sign, go to any NOTARY PUBLIC, who will certify it[282] (the latter procedure was indicated to my old man in a similar case by the Prussian authorities).

2. Yesterday I received a lengthy dissertation from Dronke about Bangya.[283] I must confess that, in view of those wretched lies about our manuscript,[a] in view of Duncker's letter sent you on Tuesday by Weerth,[284] and assuming that it is true he addressed the last letter but one to Kothes, I find no reason to doubt that he is a Prussian spy. The fact that he keeps in with the Hungarians is no proof of the contrary; if he refers us to the Hungarians, he will likewise refer the Hungarians to us. This matter must be

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile.*

investigated without fail and as expeditiously as possible. And if, within *vingt-quatre heures*,[a] Mr Bangya fails to provide satisfactory information as to the whereabouts of the manuscript, the previous *address* of the alleged Eisermann, giving street and no., and about his highly questionable means of subsistence, I would strongly recommend that counsel in Cologne ask Stieber outright what he knows about a certain Colonel Bangya. After the revelations that have already been made, Mr Stieber will no longer dare to give false evidence, since he cannot know what will be coming next; at the same time Schneider should be informed about the business of the manuscript so that he can pass the story on to the court, after which no further statement need be made for the time being.

3. A few people from Stechan's workers' society,[25] committee members, etc., might also go to the magistrate, not with little scraps of paper, but with whole pages, or as large samples as possible, of Hirsch's handwriting, and *declare on oath* that these are in Hirsch's hand. *Cela vaut infiniment mieux*[b] than mere unauthenticated cuttings.

On Monday we shall see that some more money is sent to you, so that none of you will get into difficulties. *Your own* affidavit could be dispatched last of all—which would have certain advantages; but we must ensure that everything arrives before the cross-examination of the witnesses is over.

Don't forget to let me have a few safe addresses as soon as you can.

Stechan's statement about the forgery[c] must also be sworn before a magistrate. *Cela pourra avoir de brillants résultats.*[d]

Kinkel has today been sneaking round the Exchange here, in tow of a RABBLE of local German Jews. However, we have been putting a few ideas in our people's heads and, here as in Bradford, Weerth will make things pretty hot for him.

Could you not obtain direct evidence of Kinkel's *escroquerie*[e] from Reichenbach through Imandt or someone, and send copies of it to the *Examiner and Times*, the *Guardian*, or the *Courier* here, and also to the Bradford papers? Such direct evidence, of course, that the fellows need have no fear of a LIBEL action. You might also send it to Dr J. W. Hudson, secretary of the Manchester Athenaeum.[244]

Strohn is back in Bradford, somewhat indisposed, and will be coming here on Wednesday or Thursday. I am writing to him

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[a] twenty-four hours - [b] That is worth infinitely more. - [c] See this volume, p. 227. - [d] That could have splendid results. - [e] Swindle

today and will provide him with adequate instructions[285] so that, when you send him things, you can count on his attending to them efficiently and in such a way as not to clash with *my* arrangements. The main thing is that none of the commercial addresses should be used more than *once.*

We must take things to such lengths that in future people will no longer talk about *'stealing'* but *'stiebering'*.[a]

Then, too, there is the lawyer Schürmann, one of the defence counsel, whose address can be used for enclosures. Schneider is really too risky.

There's another reason why the Bangya affair is important: Granted that the original minute-book was *not* in Hirsch's hand, but copied—what then? Stieber has sworn in any case that he doesn't know Hirsch.

Should the Cologne people be sentenced after all, which I regard as exceedingly unlikely if we go on doing everything in our power to send over all available information and documents, we must write something without fail. If they are acquitted, I believe that this would merely soften down the government's defeat. Meanwhile we can only wait and see. Above all an exact copy must be taken of every document, affidavit, etc., all of them fully authenticated, etc., etc., for these things will provide a splendid series of *pièces justificatives.*

Dronke has asked me for 10/- as he is ill and down on his luck. Let him have it, or perhaps a bit more, when the next lot of money arrives, i.e. on Tuesday.

You had best send me the addresses per Pickford or Carver.

Regards to all and write soon.

Your
F. E.

Up here we are keeping a careful register of all outgoing documents, with dates, how sent, etc.[286]

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[a] In the original there is a pun on *Diebereien* (thefts, stealing) and *Stiebereien* from the name Stieber.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 2 November 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Received your letter together with £5. 10/- given to Dronke.

The time when we had to be coy about writing openly to each other's actual addresses is now past. On Saturday (30 October) the lawyers received the bulk of the documents, on Sunday, the second letter from Frankfurt, and yesterday my last letter with the DECLARATION before the magistrate.[a] Today I have sent by registered post direct to Schneider II the declaration[b] which appeared in today's *Morning Advertiser*, not so much because there was still any necessity to do so, as to show the Prussian government that we possess the means to insist on the integrity of its mails or, failing that, to expose it before the London public.

The lawyers received all they needed in good time, i.e. *before* the prosecution *closed* its case. At present I am of the opinion that, unless some incident should prolong the trial and thus necessitate renewed intervention on our part, *nothing* more should go off to Cologne.

Herewith a letter from Imandt to Cluss, which contains more details about Kinkel's and Willich's *escroquerie*.[c] Up till now I hadn't had time to read the letter and had done no more than have it copied out for you by Pieper. It went off to Washington last Friday.[d]

Fleury, a merchant in the CITY, says that he can bear witness that he and other businessmen have been invited by Kinkel and Willich to purchase Loan Notes.

Just now that *chevalier d'industrie*,[e] Willich, is living on the bounty of the Russian, Herzen.

From what Freiligrath told me yesterday, it would appear that, before his departure for Manchester, Kinkel had been grovelling with renewed zeal before a crowd of CITY ALDERMEN, merchants, etc., in his role of fund-raiser, rhetorician and lesson-giver.

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[a] Wingham - [b] K. Marx, 'The Trials at Cologne. To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*'. - [c] swindle - [d] 29 October - [e] swindler

As for the scrap of paper wrongly attributed to me,[287] all I still need is the *address of Moses Hess,* who is living in Liège. For I am going to write to him and say: 'Tell me who it was you gave the *Catechism* to and who hawked it round Germany. Otherwise I shall denounce you as a FORGER in the *Indépendance.*' Moses is bound to spill the beans, if it transpires that on this occasion it was not the police but Kinkel-Willich who imitated my handwriting, I shall have them up in court here for imitating another's hand.

Don't forget to send me the last bit for Dana.[a] Parliament assembles on Thursday.[b] The article is already somewhat out-of-date. But *after* Friday it will be completely worthless.

Kind regards to Weerth and Strohn.

Your
K. M.

The merchant, Fleury, further testifies that, *almost every week,* Willich extorts *pounds* from him and his English friends on the plea that he needs this for the refugees. Now, it can be proved that Willich-Kinkel rudely turn away *all* refugees with the remark that they have not a centime to spare for such purposes. Willich tells them that he hasn't enough himself for his daily bread; Kinkel points with emotion to his children, and at most gives away a waistcoat cast off by the late Julius, the absent Schurz or his own august person.

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## 121

## MARX TO ENGELS[c]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 4 November 1852 (?)

Dear Engels,

I am having to dictate these few lines to you today since the perfidious haemorrhoids will not let me sit down.

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[a] K. Marx, 'Attempts to Form a New Opposition Party'. - [b] 4 November - [c] The letter is written in Mrs Marx's hand. Marx himself inserted only the year with a question mark and signed the letter.

Enclosed a letter from Schneider which arrived yesterday evening and 1 letter from Collmann to Bangya[288] which kindly send back.

As you see, Szemere wants to have his manuscript[a] back.

Vehse told me yesterday that Weerth had arranged an appointment with him in London but had got the date wrong: I duly explained things to him.

Your
K. M.

[From Mrs Marx]

Warm regards from the secretary, Marx's spouse.

Kossuth is furious with Marx for having told Dana about his DODGE with Bonaparte, Vetter, etc.; Dana has made this material into a fulminating article.[b]

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, 5-6 November,] 1852,[c] Friday

Dear Marx,

I am glad to hear that I am not the only sufferer. Strohn was here yesterday and the day before which, of course, meant some hard drinking; he left at three this morning and will have sailed today, I hope. For me this was the *coup de grâce* and means that today I shall be no good at all. For the same reason you won't get a translation today, not that it matters, since there's bound to be some steamer or other from Southampton which the thing[d] can go by and there certainly won't be even a Speech from the Throne in Parliament before the 11th.

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[a] B. Szemere, *Graf Ludwig Batthyány, Arthur Görgei, Ludwig Kossuth...* - [b] K. Marx, 'Movements of Mazzini and Kossuth.—League with Louis Napoleon.—Palmerston'. - [c] The year was added later by Engels. - [d] K. Marx, 'Attempts to Form a New Opposition Party'.

So the documents, including the original of Stieber's letter,[a] arrived safely. Things will liven up once the gallant Public Prosecutor has done. One might strain one's faculties to the utmost, yet never succeed in producing inanities such as those uttered by Seckendorf. Because Engels has stated in print that the best communists made the most courageous soldiers,[b] it follows that Bürgers must be convicted of conspiracy. What the cross-examination evidently implies is that the accused harboured the *intent—suspect de suspicion d'incivisme*[c]—hence that it is a matter of *perfect indifference* whether or not the accused belongs to the League[d]—in other words, Mr Seckendorf, despairing of a verdict against Daniels and Co., positively invites the jury to acquit Bürgers and Röser too! To have become so utterly addle-pated, the fellow must have been swilling strong BRANDY AND WATER every evening for at least a week. Nowhere in all this mummery is there a single word TO THE PURPOSE. Incidentally, ever since the presiding judge[e] released particulars of the cross-examination, I have not for a moment doubted Bürgers' and the others' acquittal. Neither his plaintive manifesto[f] nor his circular tour could possibly be transmogrified into an 'enterprise' whereby the constitution, etc.[289] Or are the annals of history to read thus: 'In May 1851, at the time the Crystal Palace[290] was opened in London, the tailor Nothjung travelled from Berlin to Leipzig in order to overthrow the Prussian constitution and start a civil war.' In any case, the minute book has been set aside and, from Strohn's account, some of the jurymen are quite decent, namely v. Rath, v. Bianca, Leven, Leiden, Herstadt and one other.

I also believe that, in view of the way the case is turning out, we ought at all costs to publish something. But it would be advisable, if not essential, for Schneider and one of the accused to come over to London after the trial, in which case I should arrange to come up there for a Saturday and Sunday. Then, when all has been discussed, you could go back with me and the manuscript could be ready within a few days. Meanwhile, write to old Ebner, asking

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[a] See this volume, pp. 225-26. - [b] Engels refers to the words 'the most resolute Communists made the most courageous soldiers' in his work *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (see present edition, Vol. 10, p. 226). - [c] under suspicion of suspected civic disloyalty - [d] the Communist League - [e] Göbel - [f] The Manifesto of the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League of 1 December 1850 drawn up by Bürgers and others. The text of the Manifesto was confiscated during the arrest of the Communist League members and published in the *Dresdner Journal und Anzeiger*, No. 171, 22 June and the *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 150, 24 June 1851.

him whether he couldn't place this little pamphlet with Löwenthal—so far as I am concerned, we could go halves with him, both as regards profits and losses.

As for Bangya, the most immediate case against him necessarily falls to the ground if it is established that he did not address the last letter but one to Kothes.[a] I was completely flabbergasted when Dronke said in his letter that it was Bangya who had addressed the last letter but one, i.e. the last letter to have *arrived safely*. How did the *fiévreuse*[b] little man come to invent such a story? But the Collmann business looks fishy too.[288] This letter of Collmann's is written *in exactly the same hand* as the earlier ones from Eisermann[c]; I shall send it back to you tomorrow, but it seems to me that *we ought to hold on to it. Il y a là un faux.*[d] Before long we shall know through Weerth what is the matter with Collmann[e]; in the meantime you should ask Bangya to explain how Mr Collmann comes to be writing under a false name, etc., and why 'the man', and what man, died, and how it is that he has now suddenly come to life again. And find out from Mr Bangya the name of 'the commission agent' in London whom he 'knows' according to one of the letters. And, so that Dronke may also have something to do, get him to make inquiries with a German bookseller about Collmann.

It is most odd that all the letters should arrive by carrier; there's never a postmark on them, and their tone is always so perfunctory and nonchalant that one can't help smelling a rat. This one again has been written from 'a friend's at an inn'. None of this seems at all BUSINESSLIKE, any more than does the absurd evasion that it is *his* business when the manuscript[f] should be published. Enough. Even if in this instance Bangya is acting as honourably as can be expected of a mendacious Slav, it nevertheless seems to me that his friend in Berlin is an archscoundrel. Now, however, everything should be cleared up since Mr C. figures here as the immediate owner of the manuscript, and also as publisher. If there is no bookseller of this name, that clinches the matter.

Anyway, the notion that a publisher can leave a manuscript lying in his drawer for years is a novel one and hardly smacks of the book-trade. To my mind, that story about the children's books is also a DODGE; in England such muck never comes out at Christmas time. Moreover, it is written in such a vague and disjointed way

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[a] See this volume, pp. 216 and 232. - [b] feverish - [c] See this volume, pp. 237 and 256. - [d] There's a forgery there. - [e] See this volume, pp. 251-52. - [f] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile.*

that Bangya could not possibly infer a firm order from it. Nor does one write at an inn on such rotten paper, which looks more likely to come from a Prussian government office. *Enfin, nous verrons.*[a]

However, *I* myself can't possibly write to Bangya at this point, since I have no details of what happened between you and him, what he said to you, what other letters he may have shown you, etc. But we've got him now.

Saturday, 6 November

For physical reasons I did not manage to send off the foregoing yesterday. Since then I have read another 'Stieberiad' in the *Kölnische Zeitung.*[b] So the original minute-book has been dropped and in its stead H. Liebknecht has risen from the dead in the shape of a cash receipt. Monsieur Hirsch and company—for there must be a number of them—seem to have well and truly done the stupid Prussian police out of a lot of money. *Il valait bien la peine,*[c] their sending a police lieutenant[d] to London merely to find themselves imposed upon in this manner and, on top of that, fobbed off with the information about the *most secret* meeting at your house.[291]

But what is all this about Dronke's friend, Fleury, whom we here find openly and unequivocally described as a police spy? This will deflect some of the little man's wrath from Bangya. It would also seem that someone has blabbed about Stieber's letter, not that it matters; the way Stieber himself is drawing attention to this document and speaking of 'infamous calumnies' can only serve to enhance its effect.

Weerth is in Liverpool and will not be back for several hours so that I shall have to hold on to the letters from Schneider and Bangya[e] until tomorrow.

'By his own admission, Bürgers worked for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*'.[f]

That, of course, is enough to send him to the gallows. I've never heard anything like it before.

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[a] Anyway, we shall see. - [b] 'Assisen-Procedur gegen D. Herm. Becker und Genossen. Anklage wegen hochverrätherischen Complottes', *Kölnische Zeitung,* No. 283, 4 November 1852. - [c] It was hardly worth the trouble. - [d] Goldheim - [e] See this volume, p. 237. - [f] 'Assisen-Procedur gegen D. Herm. Becker und Genossen...'

This evening, no doubt, the *Kölnische Zeitung* will bring the first news that the tide has turned. The lawyers were perfectly right to keep everything back, if only they now really put their shoulders to the wheel.

Your
F. E.

Don't forget to send me *by return* copies of Freiligrath's poems about Kinkel.[a] We have already people in Bradford who want to ask him to read them aloud.

Hirsch must still be here, at least, he was *positivement*[b] here last week, for I saw him at the Athenaeum.[244] Another chap who is the spit image of him was here as well and this confused me at first. Perhaps he has a post here, or is looking for one? By the way, when you were last here[292] we met a fellow once in Broughton who cried 'Good morning, Marx', and we couldn't place him. It was Hirsch! So the fellow goes 'on tour'. As soon as the trial is over, he must be given a good drubbing.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 November 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Enclosed my wife's report[c] on yesterday's Robert Blum meeting.[293] She was with Imandt in the gallery of the Freemason's Tavern where it was held.

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[a] F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer', I and II. - [b] positively - [c] [Jenny Marx,] 'Der Volksbund für zerschiedene Welten in Poesie', *Philadelphier Demokrat*, 1 December 1852.

As far as Bangya is concerned, just hold on to Collmann's letter. Whenever he inquires after it, I shall say I kept forgetting to ask you to send it back. Had there been intentional deception on Bangya's part he would have supplied the incriminating evidence himself. So much is clear. Originally Bangya was accused of having betrayed the Paris conspiracy[143] and later of double-dealing in the Cologne affair. In both instances the contrary has proved to be the case. According to Schneider's letter, Kothes' address[a] would appear to have been betrayed by one of Kothes' own acquaintances.[294] Finally, as regards our pamphlet,[b] Weerth will by now have made inquiries about Collmann's address and the thing will inevitably be cleared up. I have given Bangya a letter to Collmann in which I point out that, though his publication date for the pamphlet is contractually agreed, there is no contractual agreement forbidding us to publish the original manuscript—still in our possession—in Brussels or New York, should we so desire. Nor is there any contractual agreement forbidding publication in a fortnight of the 2nd part by another bookseller under a separate title if it is ready and of itself constitutes a complete whole, etc.[295]

Now for the Cologne affair.

Had I been in Bürgers' etc. place, I should never have allowed Mr Becker[c] to flaunt himself so brazenly and at the expense of everyone else as *l'homme supérieur*,[d] or to debase as he did the character of the whole proceedings, much to the delight of the democrats. To defend oneself is one thing but quite another to deliver an apologia for oneself at others' expense. Becker is one of the revolution's epigones, possessed of a great deal of cunning but little intelligence and well able to calculate just how he can trick his way up to become a great man. His talents remain those *d'un infiniment petit*.[e]

As you already know, the government has, out of sheer desperation, resorted to heroic means, namely Goldheim's retrospective report,[291] only to find itself once again ensnared.

Goldheim's testimony furnished 2 data: 'Greif' and 'Fleury'.

I therefore instituted inquiries about Greif (*to which end I myself engaged a Prussian informer*). In this way I obtained his address and found out that he lived at 17 Victoria Road, Kensington. This, however, is Mr Fleury's house. Hence it was established that Greif lives with Fleury. It further transpired that Greif's official position here is not that of 'police lieutenant' but of attaché to the Prussian

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[a] See this volume, p. 232. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*. - [c] Hermann Becker - [d] the superior man - [e] of an infinitely small one

Embassy. Finally, that on Saturday, 6 November, he left here for a few weeks. Probably to go to Cologne. By his own account, he left because he was afraid of the Marxians, because Fleury had swindled him, etc.

So much was now clear: Greif was Fleury's superior and Fleury Hirsch's superior. And so, indeed, it has turned out.

On the other hand, Imandt and Dronke called on Fleury on Friday, 5 November, *Kölnische Zeitung* in hand. He, of course, feigned surprise, said he knew no one by the name of Greif, expressed his readiness to make any statement in the presence of a magistrate, but first wanted to consult his lawyer, made two appointments for Saturday, 6 November, one for 2 and the other for 4 o'clock, but took good care not to turn up and so gained for the police one more day on which we were unable to operate, apart from sending a few preliminary letters to Cologne. Finally, on Sunday, 7 November, Dronke and Imandt extracted from him a statement which you will see in the *Kölnische*.[296] I shall send you a copy but cannot at this moment lay hands on it. Having his statement safely in their pockets, they told him he was a spy, that Greif was living at his place, that we had known all about it and had been hoodwinking the police, whereas they had believed they were hoodwinking us. He, of course, continued to protest his innocence.

Finally I sent round some fellows (among them the tipsy General Herweg) to track down Hirsch's lodgings. It transpired that he also lived in Kensington, not far from Fleury.

One more thing before I go on. The *whole of Goldheim's testimony* becomes perfectly explicable if you consider that, 1. Goldheim was here on *30 October* (Saturday) and, in company with Alberts, secretary at the Prussian Embassy, went to see Greif and Fleury; 2. that on the *morning of that same 30 October* our statement about the forthcoming revelations[a] appeared in 5 English papers; 3. that Fleury had arranged a rendez-vous with Imandt and Dronke for *that same 30 October* because Dronke was to take over French lesson for him instead of Imandt. 4. But that *before* Stieber made the revelations about London at his *2nd* interrogation and *immediately* after his *first* interrogation on the subject of Cherval, etc., I had sent to the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the *Frankfurter Journal* and the *National-Zeitung, a statement* in which Stieber was already threatened with the disclosure of his *letter* to me.[b] Admittedly this

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Public Statement to the Editors of the English Press'. - [b] See this volume, pp. 225-26.

statement did not appear in any of the papers. But both post office and police had incontestably taken note of it.[297]

This provides a highly prosaic explanation for Stieber's 'clairvoyance' and the omniscience of his police agents in London. Everything else Goldheim said was *fabulae.*[a] I have conveyed such information as is necessary about these things to Cologne by *diverse* channels, together with Fleury's statement.[b]

But the best is yet to come.

It was, of course, my intention to take out a WARRANT against Hirsch, for which purpose I made inquiries about his lodgings. But it was not till Saturday that I obtained the address. I felt sure that, if I could get the WARRANT against Hirsch, he would implicate Fleury, and Fleury Greif.

What happens? On Friday Willich, very secretively, betakes himself with Hirsch to the court in Bow Street where, in Schärttner's presence, he obtains from Hirsch what is purported to be a written confession in triplicate stating *that some six months ago he and Fleury fabricated the spurious minutes,* he then sends off the 3 documents, 1. to Göbel, the presiding judge at the Assizes, 2. to Schneider, 3. to the *Kölnische Zeitung*—and gives Hirsch the money to *escape,* indeed, even has him accompanied to the steamer, ostensibly so that he can confess in person in Cologne.

We all only heard of this through the inquiry we had set on foot about Hirsch, and partly, too, at Bow Street, where we went to take out the WARRANT. Schapper himself told Liebknecht that Willich had breathed *not a word to him* of all this. Thus, our intention of initiating proceedings of our own in London was thwarted by Mr Willich's sleight of hand. To what end? The answer is very simple if we reflect that for the past year he has been the merchant Fleury's *homme entretenu*[c] and that *in any case, therefore, some highly compromising things must have emerged had we had Fleury apprehended.*

An instance, by the by, of the high esteem in which this man Fleury (I have *never* set eyes on him) is held by the democrats—*Techow, leaving for Australia and already on board ship, wrote him a letter in which he commended him for having both heart and head in the right place.*

The money Hirsch was given for his journey by Willich had *undoubtedly* been handed to the latter for this purpose by Fleury.

Hirsch has admitted that he tried to copy Liebknecht's writing and that he was working under the direction of the merchant Fleury (this cur is, besides, a *man of substance* and has married into

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[a] fabrication - [b] See this volume, p. 235. - [c] kept man

a very *respectable* English Quaker family), just as Fleury himself was under the direction of Greif. This confirms in every particular what I deduced straight away from the content and dates of the original minute-book published in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, and which none of the lawyers has hitherto duly exploited.[298]

To my mind there is no doubt that the Cologne accused will *all*, without exception, be acquitted.

I should be grateful if you could write and tell *Strohn* that he would greatly oblige me if he could send me a few pounds *forthwith*. Of the £4.10/- received through you, nearly £3 has been spent on errands, informers, etc. Our impoverished League friends naturally took advantage of the many errands, appointments, etc., to tot up pretty substantial *faux frais de production*[a] for beer, cigars, omnibuses, etc., which I, of course, had to make good.

You will be receiving Freiligrath's poems.[b]

Apropos, Reichenbach has issued a *'Lithographed Statement'*[299] to all American papers in which a dirty trick is played on Willich-Kinkel. It discloses that Kinkel claimed, *inter alia*, £200 for his journey alone. I shall get hold of the document and let you have it for the archives.[216]

Your
K. M.

Greetings to Weerth. Vehse left yesterday. Have already written to Frankfurt about our pamphlet.[300] Unless we write something, Becker will seize upon all this business *ad majorem gloriam Beckeri*.[c]

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[a] false expenses - [b] F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer', I and II. - [c] to the greater glory of Becker

# 124

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

London, 16 November 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

If you can, do a *Tribune* article on the Cologne affair[a] for Friday. You are now as familiar with all the material as myself and, for the past 4-5 weeks I have so neglected my domestic pother for the sake of PUBLIC BUSINESS that, with the best will in the world, I shall not be able to get down to work this week.

You haven't told me whether you received the Reichenbach circular[299] sent off to you last week.

This evening we are to discuss a statement for the English Press on the Cologne affair.[b] There will hardly be time to send it for you to see beforehand. However, if you could do one to reach me by *Thursday morning*,[c] that would be even better.

Regards to Weerth.

Your
K. M.

At the Ruge meeting[298] on the 9th, messages were received from Kossuth-Mazzini pleading sickness. However, on the 10th they put in an appearance at the 'Friends of Italy'.[301] Ledru did not make his excuses at all.

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[a] F. Engels, 'The Late Trial at Cologne'. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'A Final Declaration on the Late Cologne Trials'. - [c] 18 November

# 125

## MARX TO ENGELS[302]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 19 November 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Last Wednesday,[a] at my suggestion, the League here[b] *disbanded*; similarly the continued existence of the League on the Continent was *declared* to be *no longer expedient*. In any case, since the arrest of Bürgers-Röser, it had to all intents and purposes already ceased to exist there. Enclosed a statement for the *English* papers,[c] to complement our first one.[d] You should, however, put it into better and CONCISER *English*. I no longer have the German original.[e][303] In addition I am writing for a lithographed article a detailed account of the dirty tricks played by the police,[f] and also an appeal to America for money for the prisoners and their families. Treasurer Freiligrath. Signed by all our people.[304]

The article for the *Tribune*,[g] however, is dependent on the time at your disposal. You must return the enclosed statement, or rather an amended version of the same, *as soon as possible*, since not a day longer is to be lost where the London press is concerned.

Regards to Weerth.

Your
K. Marx

First published in part in *Die Neue Zeit*, Ergänzungshefte, No. 12, 12 April, Stuttgart, 1922 and in full in: Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, *Briefwechsel*, Bd. 1, Moskau-Leningrad, 1935

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[a] 17 November - [b] the London District of the Communist League - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'A Final Declaration on the Late Cologne Trials'. - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Public Statement to the Editors of the English Press'. - [e] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Erklärung', London, 18 November 1852, *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, No. 39, 10 December 1852. - [f] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - [g] F. Engels, 'The Late Trial at Cologne'.

# 126

## ENGELS TO MARIE BLANK

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 November 1852

Dear Marie,

I really must beg your pardon most humbly for not having already long since replied to your first letter. But at the office where I was formerly in the habit of dealing with my private correspondence, I now have so much to do that there can no longer be any question of that, and at home, *mon Dieu*,[a] my writing materials are always in such poor shape (as, e.g., my calligraphic experiments at the beginning of this letter go to show) that I can hardly bring myself to grapple with them. Nevertheless, I am doing so this evening in the hope that you will marvel at my sense of duty and regard my bad handwriting as yet another token of my brotherly love.

There was, besides, another reason that prevented me from writing to you. Namely the fact that, when you were in Germany, it occurred to me that there was something I wanted to ask you about; but when you came back I couldn't for the life of me remember what it was. You will understand that such lack of character, or rather such lack of memory, was bound to arouse considerable qualms of conscience in a self-respecting man. In all sincerity I must confess that I could not bring myself to write to you so long as I had not got to the bottom of this weighty matter. But your second letter, and the increased mental activity induced by a WELSH RABBIT and a few glasses of SHERRY, have at last brought me up to the mark again and I now recall what it was I wished to ask you. The matter in question is as follows: Did I, at Christmas or at Easter, leave two cotton shirts at your house? For these have long been missing from my wardrobe and if you have found them I should be quite glad, inasmuch as this would demonstrate that I am not at all a slipshod person.

You ask me what my wishes are. *Ma chère soeur*,[b] it's some time since I indulged in wishes, for nothing comes of them. Besides which, I really have no talent for it, for if by chance I catch myself being weak enough to wish for anything, it always turns out to be

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[a] My God - [b] My dear sister

something I can't have and it would therefore be better for me to get out of the habit of wishing altogether. As you see, even on this subject I cannot help relapsing into the moral tone of Ecclesiastes, SO THE LESS WE SAY ABOUT IT, THE BETTER IT WILL BE. If, therefore, you intend to put me under an obligation by providing yet another token of your love this Christmas, my bungling and untutored talent in the matter of wishing is unlikely to be of much assistance to you, though I console myself with the thought that you do not in fact require such assistance, *à en juger par le passé*.[a]

I am glad to hear that you are all flourishing. Apart from a couple of colds I, too, have been pretty well on the whole; in particular there was no recurrence of toothache with the change of season and I hope it's now a thing of the past. I am still living in Strangeways, though a few doors further away,[b] but am considering leaving this district next month and moving a bit closer to Little Germany[305]; it really is too lonesome here and this winter I shall, for a change, allow myself a little entertainment, in so far as such a thing is possible in this smoky place. For six months past I have not had a single opportunity to make use of my acknowledged gift for mixing a lobster salad—*quelle horreur*[c]; it makes one get quite rusty. Anyhow, I shall have to write another book next spring, probably in English, about the Hungarian war[136] or the novels of Mr Balzac, lately deceased, or about something else. This, however, is a great secret, otherwise I wouldn't breathe a word to you about it.

What is Elise[d] up to? If she's a good cook, and can darn stockings, she might well come over here after Christmas and keep house for me. Now that Gottfried[e] (or is it Franz[f]?) the lute-player has set up house on his own, I am virtually under an obligation to follow suit to outshine him, which is very easy, for Elise would undoubtedly be able to do the honours of the house quite famously, while all your old stick-in-the-mud bachelor has is an ancient, crotchety, six-foot-tall, skin-and-bone, intimidating, snarling, blear-eyed, doddery, unkempt, ex-kitchen maid of a housekeeper, but never a wife, despite his gallantries at concerts, balls and suchlike; *pauvre bonhomme que Dieu le bénisse!*[g]

Come to that, it's time I stopped, for I am beginning to say all manner of horrid things about my fellow-men, if not about a

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[a] to go by the past - [b] Strangeways, 48 Great Ducie Street. See this volume, p. 201. - [c] how frightful - [d] Engels' sister - [e] Gottfried Ermen - [f] Franz Ermen - [g] may God bless him, poor fellow

member of the firm, and this one ought never to do unless there's something to be gained by it, as the Quakers say.

My greetings to Emil,[a] Elise and the children and please give my kindest regards to Mr and Mrs Heilgers. The weather was too bad and there was too much work at the office for me to come up for the funeral of the OLD DUKE[b]; we only took half a day off. In any case I shall be in town four weeks from now.

With much love,
Your
Friedrich

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## 127

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Saturday, 27 November 1852

Dear Marx,

Assuming I can raise anything towards the cost of printing the pamphlet,[c] it will be at most £2-3—at the moment I am myself in a fix. But 3 printed sheets will cost between £10 and £12, and even more with stitching, etc., etc. Unless the thing is printed on the Continent for the account of, or at least in partnership with, a bookseller, it will not get round at all. On reaching Prussia, etc., etc., it will be confiscated, and we shall be cheated by the booksellers. So we shall have to regard the money as sacrificed on this business, for there certainly won't be any return in the way of £. s. d. The question now is whether we can spend this amount upon it; or at least, whether it might not be better to condense the thing into 1-1 1/2 sheets, so that the cost is rather more commensurate with our resources. December and January are for me the two most difficult months in the whole year; I can hardly

[a] Blank - [b] The Duke of Wellington - [c] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.*

consider making any further contribution to the cost before February. If we have it printed on credit, the printer will, as with Weydemeyer, end up by withholding copies until he has been paid.[306] And whatever we do, we must begin by finding out what prospects there are of its being distributed; at the moment there would seem to be virtually none.

Weerth is coming up to London tomorrow and sails from Southampton on 2 December. His OUTFIT cost him a great deal of money. Strohn, too, will shortly be travelling to London and thence to the Continent. The travelling expenses he must incur in establishing himself (on foreign capital to boot, or so I hear) are so heavy that we shall not be able to squeeze anything out of him either. So we are all of us in a fix.

It is my opinion that, unless you have reasonably good channels of distribution through booksellers, the thing won't even be heard of, and, like all literature published by émigrés, will go before anyone in Germany has a chance to see it. And that is very bad—even worse, in some ways, than if nothing were done at all. For it would provide public proof that we are dependent on hole-and-corner German emigrant printing presses and are powerless to get anything done. We were able to disassociate ourselves from the fiasco of Bürgers' circular[a] by withdrawing into our literary sanctum, but even this could be compromised were we to admit literary impotence in such a way. The Prussian government would be delighted to see us reduced in matters of publicity to the same expedients as were available to the demagogues of 1831 during their exile,[307] i.e. virtually zero. Lamentable though this is, it would, I think, be better, if *we* at least did not blazon it abroad. Furthermore, now that the new crime of treasonable correspondence [...] has been recognised by the jury, we could not send a single copy to the Rhine Province, which would be the chief market, without compromising hundreds of people.

I shall send you the money on 1 or 2 December. Consider the matter once more and, if you still think it would be better to print the pamphlet in this way rather than not at all, you should at least try so to arrange things that we do not run into difficulties over payments for, as I have said, I can commit myself to nothing before February.

Weerth may already have written and told you that Mr Chr.

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[a] The Manifesto of the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League of 1 December 1850 drawn up by Bürgers and others. See also this volume, p. 238.

Coilmann *is not to be found* at the address indicated, 58 or 59 Neue Königsstrasse or, for that matter, in Berlin, nor does anyone know a bookseller of that name.[a] *Après tout, il paraît pourtant qu'on a voulu nous jouer.*[b] For the time being I shall not let Mr Bangya have any of the stuff back. So Schulz, the 'commercial traveller', and the dead policeman,[c] were one and the same person after all!

Warmest regards to your wife and children. I shall be in London in somewhat over a fortnight.

Your
F. E.

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## 128

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, Monday, 29 November 1852

Dear Marx,

I've been toiling over the enclosed article[d] until one o'clock in the morning, but another post goes at 9 a.m. I'll try it as an experiment and see whether you get it in time for the STEAMER (Tuesday evening per first MAIL to Liverpool); if not, you'll have to send it by Friday's steamer.

Tomorrow I have to go out of town. If I'm back early enough I shall send you some money.

Shall I be getting an article on England for the *Tribune* soon? I am now able to work again.

Cobden seems to have been disappointed in the ministerial hopes

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[a] See this volume, p. 239. - [b] It looks as though they have been trying to hoodwink us after all. - [c] A pun on Schultz—the name and *Polizeischulz*—a police official. - [d] F. Engels, 'The Late Trial at Cologne'.

he had pinned on Graham and Russell; the latter would appear to be giving him the cold shoulder. I can see no other explanation for his rage on Friday.[a] Not since 1844 has the fellow spoken with such fury. HE IS A DISAPPOINTED DEMAGOGUE AGAIN for as long as this continues. By the way, it's a good thing the Tories were in a majority, for now we shall get to hear about Disraeli's budget after all.[308] If the chap's knowledge and intelligence were greater and his cunning and thieving propensities less, nothing would be easier than to arrange a FREE TRADE BUDGET for the FREE TRADERS that would make them see stars. If only the fellows hold out until the crisis comes! We are *décidément* in EXCITEMENT. Although even this is still going very *piano piano* But no matter. The six pages of JOINT-STOCK prospectuses in today's *Daily News*—on the strength of which it thinks to outshine *The Times*—are bound to have an effect, likewise the 50-80 or so foreign railway, gold mining, steamship, etc., etc., companies. Inevitably this will create a taste 'for more'. Fortunately the only circumstance which might have brought over-production in the cotton industry to a premature end has now been eliminated; the new crop will be *far in excess of 3 million bales,* i.e. the biggest there has ever been, and cotton is again going down; so there'll be no shortage of raw material. Only let the corn harvest fail next year and we shall see a merry dance. But unless it does so, it is difficult to say whether anything decisive will happen as early as next year, given the abnormal conditions, given the mushroom growth of the markets in Australia and California where, as there are hardly any women and children, one individual consumes perhaps four times as much as elsewhere and gold is freely squandered in the towns, given the new market which the Calcutta houses are already exploiting in Burma, given the way Bombay and Karachi are expanding their trade with North-East India and the adjacent territories (particularly so in the case of the latter), etc.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx,* Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913

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[a] R. Cobden, [Speech in the House of Commons on 26 November 1852,] *The Times,* No. 21284, 27 November 1852.

# 129

# MARX TO KARL EDUARD VEHSE

## IN DRESDEN

[Rough copy]

[London, end of November 1852]

Sir,

No doubt you thought it unusual that I, a stranger, should have written to you like an old friend.[191] For this you must ascribe the blame to Weerth and Reinhardt. However, I realise that I was thoroughly mistaken. As an acquaintance of Campe's, that old usurer, *parjure*[a] and maid-wife-widower, you must have been aware that this individual is one of my mortal enemies, and hence you had no right to offer him my pamphlet,[b] thereby affording him the opportunity he desired of conveying his impertinences to me indirectly and at no risk to himself. I am not personally acquainted with the individual, although possessed of some specific information about him. The fact that I am engaged in a fight *à mort*[c] with the SHAM LIBERALS is enough to expose me to his intrigues which, *il en peut être sûr*,[d] I shall answer when the time is ripe.

In the second place you had no right whatever, upon receiving an inquiry from me, to write to Mr Bangya. So far as I am aware, it was I who introduced you to Mr Bangya, but in no sense did I present him as my confident in private matters. And it is strange to have Campe's insolence conveyed to me through a 3rd party whom Mr Campe—I have this on the authority of Weerth here and shall inform Bangya accordingly—declares to be a *spy*.

Should this letter cause you offence, you need only come to London; you know where I live and may be assured that you will always find me prepared to give you the satisfaction customary in such cases.

Dr K. Marx

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[a] perjurer - [b] Apparently K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*. - [c] to the death - [d] he may be sure of it

# 130

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

London, 3 December 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

You would long ago have had an answer to your letter (enclosing the article for Dana[a]), had I not been occupied with the dictation of the final version of my pamphlet,[b] and then delayed by visits from Weerth, Strohn, Damm, etc.

In all probability the pamphlet will be printed in Switzerland by Schabelitz JUNIOR, who has left his old man and set up his own bookshop. Moreover, if Cluss thinks he can recoup the cost of production, he can have the thing printed in Washington. Printed it *must* be, if only so that it may be available as a public document after the outbreak of the revolution. I have made some further, very interesting discoveries about the Cherval conspiracy, etc., which I hope you will be reading in print.[309]

Weerth called on Sunday evening, and found me very busy and not in the best of moods. He asked me 'what did I propose, actually, to write about the Cologne affair?'—and this in somewhat superior, nasal tones. I asked 'what did he propose to do in the West Indies?' and, after a quarter of an hour or so, he made off. On Tuesday evening he reappeared and said he had not wished to come back, actually, but had yielded to Freiligrath's insistence. For on Sunday I had seemed to him very busy and out of temper. I took the liberty of pointing out to Mr Weerth that, for 9/10ths of the time I had known him, he had always been out of temper and MALCONTENT, which was something he couldn't say of me. After I had given him a piece of my mind, he pulled himself together and became the old Weerth again. He seems to me to have become damned bourgeoisified and to be taking his career too much *'au sérieux'*.[c] Strohn at least is the same as ever, and *pas trop fin*.[d]

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[a] F. Engels, 'The Late Trial at Cologne'. - [b] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - [c] seriously - [d] not too clever

Today Mr Bangya has received the following letter from me[a]:

'I have today received from Engels a letter containing some highly curious pieces of information.[b]

'Engels has not written to the address indicated by you for, as he points out, what is actually proved by an answer to a letter that is sent not direct but only poste restante, through the medium of a second address?

'Instead, Engels asked some business friends in Berlin to make inquiries. After the most painstaking investigations they now tell him that:

'1. no such firm as Collmann exists.

'2. no such person as Collmann exists at the address indicated, 58 or 59 Neue Königsstr.

'3. no one at all by the name of Collmann is to be found in Berlin.

'Engels further draws my attention to the fact that the two letters signed Eisermann and the letter signed Collmann were written by the same hand, that all 3 possess the unusual quality of being loose bits of paper bearing no postmark, that in the first two Eisermann, and in the third Collmann, figures directly as publisher, etc., and that on pretexts that are mutually incompatible the thing has been allowed to drag on for nearly 7 months.[310]

'Now that Collmann has proved to be as much of an illusion as was previously the non-existent publisher of the *Constitutionelle Zeitung* Eisermann, I ask you yourself, how can all these contradictions, improbabilities and mysteries over something so simple as the publication of a pamphlet[c] be *rationally* explained?

'"Trust" will not conjure away facts, nor do people who respect one another demand unquestioning faith of one another.

'I confess that, the more I turn this matter over in my mind, the more I am compelled, even with the best will in the world, to find it damned *obscure;* also that, were it not for my feelings of friendship towards you, I would unhesitatingly echo Engels' concluding remark: "*Après tout il paraît pourtant qu'on a voulu nous jouer.*"[d]

Yours etc.,

Marx

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[a] See this volume, pp. 257-58. - [b] ibid., p. 252. - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile.* - [d] 'It looks as though they have been trying to hoodwink us after all.'

'P.S. Engels finally draws my attention to the fact that, even were the manuscript in question to reappear for a few days in London,[311] absolutely nothing would be proved and nothing gained. What could it prove, save the existence and identity of the manuscript, of which nobody is in doubt.'

Tomorrow we shall see what reply comes from Mr Bangya.

Bonaparte is spending some glorious months honeymooning with his empire. The fellow has always lived on tick. Simply make loan institutions in France as universal and as accessible as possible to all classes of Frenchmen—and the whole world will believe that the millennium is here. On top of that, a bank of one's own, no less, for STOCKJOBBERY and RAILWAY HUMBUG.[312] The fellow never changes. Not for one moment does the *chevalier d'industrie*[a] deny the pretender, or vice versa. If he doesn't go to war and that right soon, he'll founder on his finances. How good that Proudhon's plans for salvation should find realisation in the only form in which they are practicable—that of the credit racket and more or less barefaced fraud.

I am looking forward very much to your arrival here.[313]

Your

K. Marx

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## 131

## MARX TO JÁNOS BANGYA

### IN LONDON

[Rough copy]

London, 3 December 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Bangya,

I have today received from Engels a letter containing some highly curious pieces of information.[b]

Engels has not written to the address indicated by you for, as he points out, what is actually proved by an answer to a letter that is

[a] swindler - [b] See this volume, p. 252.

sent not direct but only poste restante, through the medium of a 2nd address?

Instead, Engels asked some business friends in Berlin to make inquiries. After the most painstaking investigations they now tell him that:

1. no such firm as Collmann exists;
2. no Collmann exists at the address indicated, 58 or 59 Neue Königsstr. and
3. no one at all by the name of Collmann is to be found in Berlin.

Engels further draws my attention to the fact that the two letters signed Eisermann and the letter signed Collmann were written by the *same* hand, that all 3 possess the unusual quality of being loose bits of paper bearing no postmark, that in the first 2 Eisermann, and in the 3rd Collmann, figures directly as *publisher*, etc., and that on pretexts that are mutually incompatible the thing has been allowed to drag on for nearly 7 months. Now that Collmann has proved to be as much of an illusion as was previously the non-existent publisher of the *Constitutionelle Zeitung*, Eisermann, I ask you yourself, how can all these contradictions, improbabilities and mysteries over something so simple as the publication of a pamphlet be *rationally* explained?

'Trust' will not dispose of facts, nor do people who respect one another demand unquestioning faith of one another.

I confess that, the more I turn this matter over in my mind, the more I am compelled, even with the best will in the world, to find it damned *obscure*; also that, were it not for my feelings of friendship towards you, I would unhesitatingly echo Engels' concluding remark: *'Après tout il paraît pourtant qu'on a voulu nous jouer.'* [a]

Yours ever,

K. Marx

P.S. Engels finally draws my attention to the fact that, even were the manuscript in question to reappear for a few days in London,[311] absolutely nothing would be proved and nothing gained. What could it prove, save the existence and identity of the manuscript, of which nobody is in doubt.

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[a] 'It looks as though they have been trying to hoodwink us after all.'

# 132

# MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS[314]

## IN WASHINGTON

[London,] 7 December 1852

... Enclosed you will find: 1. A manuscript of mine: *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.* This manuscript went off to Switzerland yesterday to be printed there and thence pitched into Germany as *étrennes*[a] for the Prussian gentlemen. You should have it printed locally[315] *if* you believe that sales in America will enable you to recoup at least the *production costs,* if more, *tant mieux.*[b] In which case, advance notices should appear in the Press to whet people's curiosity. If the pamphlet does come out in America, it should be published *anonymously,* as in Switzerland. To appreciate to the full the humour of the thing, you must know that its author, for want of anything decent to wear on his backside and feet, is as good as interned and, moreover, is and continues to be threatened with *truly ghastly misère*[c] engulfing *his family* at any moment. The trial dragged me even deeper into the mire, since for 5 weeks, instead of working for my livelihood, I had to work for the party against the government's machinations. On top of that, it has completely alienated the German booksellers with whom I had hoped to conclude a contract for my Economy.[45] Finally, Bermbach's arrest has deprived me of the prospect of making anything out of the *Brumaires* sent through you—300 had been ordered through him as long ago as May. So it's a pretty kettle of fish.[d]

Here in London I have made it generally known that the pamphlet is to be printed in North America, if only so that we can make an incursion from Switzerland behind the Prussians' backs. They suspect that something is afoot and by now will have ordered the *douaniers*[e] and police in Hamburg, Bremen and Lübeck to be on the qui-vive.

2. Herewith also an appeal for money for the Cologne prisoners

---

[a] New Year's gifts - [b] so much the better - [c] poverty - [d] The original has 'Holland in Not' (Holland in distress)—an expression used by the Dutch during the struggle for independence (1572-1609), to call out their fellow-countrymen to pierce the dykes and drive away the Spanish invaders. - [e] customs men

and their families.[a] See that it appears in various papers. It might also be a good idea for you to form committees over there. Here it is a matter of a party demonstration. You will observe that Ernest Jones actually appears as a party member. In an introductory note, signed by you both, you might specially emphasise that this is not a case of begging for the revolution Kinkel-fashion, etc., but rather of a *definite* party aim whose fulfilment is demanded by the honour of the workers' party.

A longish statement (signed by me, Lupus, Freiligrath and Engels) about the government's infamies at the Cologne trial has appeared in various London papers.[b] What especially riles the Prussian Embassy is the fact that the most *distinguished* and *respectable* London weeklies, the *Spectator* and the *Examiner*, have accepted this unvarnished denunciation of the Prussian government.

*The Morning Advertiser* did not print your letter[c]; can it have smelt a rat?

The item from the *Abendzeitung* received from you today, according to which I, etc., the police, etc., is a scurrility on the part of Mr M. Gross, who has been put up to it by some Willichian or other in New York. You will see from my manuscript what kind of role this 'honourable' Willich plays in the Cologne trial. I have kept a good deal back, partly so as not to impair the literary scheme of the whole, and partly for use as fresh ammunition should the fellow—which I hardly dare hope—have the courage to reply.

I am tickled by Fickler's letters. Blind, who is now living here with his wife, tells me that, during the industrial exhibition,[316] Fickler, good, honest Fickler, rented a large house and furnished it sumptuously for the purpose of reletting. The speculation misfired. Not only did Fickler make off to America to escape his creditors. He also made off without breathing a word of his plans to his marriageable daughter who lived with him, and without leaving her a single centime. She, of course, was thrown out of the house. What became of her after that, no one knows. Good, honest Fickler!

As regards Proudhon, you are both right.[317] Massol's delusions were due to the fact that Proudhon, with his usual industrial

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Appeal for Support of the Men Sentenced in Cologne'. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'A Final Declaration on the Late Cologne Trials'. - [c] See this volume, p. 207.

quackery, adopted as *his* 'latest discoveries' some of my ideas, e.g., that there is *no such thing as absolute knowledge,* that everything is explicable in terms of material conditions, etc., etc. In his book on Louis Bonaparte[a] he openly admits what I had to deduce for myself first from his *Philosophie de la Misère,* namely, that his ideal is the *petit bourgeois.*[b] France, he says, consists of 3 classes: 1. Bourgeoisie; 2. Middle class (*petit bourgeois*); 3. Proletariat. Now the purpose of history, and of revolution in particular, is to dissolve classes 1 and 3, the extremes, in class 2, the happy mean, this being effected by Proudhonian credit transactions, the final result of which is the abolition of interest in its various forms.

*General Vetter* will be looking up Weydemeyer in New York and yourself in Washington.

*Ad vocem*[c] *Kossuth.* When I learnt through what you sent about the initial scandal in the German-American Press over my 'PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE' in the *Tribune,*[d] I sent a statement[e] to the *Tribune,* signed 'YOUR PRIVATE CORRESPONDENT' of which herewith a summary[f]:

But to continue. On receiving from you the cutting in which one of Kossuth's secretaries describes me as an infamous calumniator, etc., and at the same time works for Pierre,[g] etc., I informed Mr Kossuth of the contents of my first statement to the *Tribune* and asked the gentleman for a definitive explanation. Whereupon Kossuth replied 1. *on his word of honour,* that he has no secretary; that possibly Benningsen in America, his one-time clerk of chancery, had arrogated this office to himself; and 2. that the first he had heard of the alleged statement had been through me (I having sent him the *corpus delicti,* the slip of paper contained in your letter); 3. that he was grateful for my 'WARNING' and would again invite me to meet him somewhere on neutral ground.

Next Friday I shall convey points 1 and 2 to the *Tribune* again.[h] Keep me *au fait* with this affair.

*Ad vocem Kinkel.* Well, Kinkel has been roving around lecturing on modern poetry, etc., in Bradford and Manchester where, like the clerical, aesthetic, liberal parasite he is, he paid court to the German Jews. People who attended his lectures have informed me

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[a] P. J. Proudhon, *La révolution sociale démontrée par le coup d'état du 2 décembre.* - [b] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy* (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 190). - [c] re - [d] K. Marx, 'Movements of Mazzini and Kossuth.—League with Louis Napoleon.—Palmerston'. On details see this volume, pp. 268-69. - [e] K. Marx, 'Kossuth, Mazzini, and Louis Napoleon'. - [f] Note by Cluss in the original: (there follows the piece you know). - [g] Pierre Napoleon Bonaparte.- [h] K. Marx, 'A Reply to Kossuth's "Secretary"'.

on his aesthetic derring-do as follows: he announces that he will be giving a *lecture on Goethe's Faust* in Bradford, admittance 3/- per head. Hall packed. Great expectations. And what does Gottfried do? Reads them *Faust* from cover to cover, and calls this a lecture *on 'Faust'*! Needless to say, Gottfried was wily enough to save up this *piece of cheating* for the very last lecture. In Manchester Gottfried declared:

'Goethe is *no* poet, he rhymes "*erbötig*" with "*Venedig*"; but *Immermann* is the greatest of all German poets.'

And again:

'I would venture to say that, of the more recent German poets, 3 in particular have enjoyed the favour of the public—Herwegh, Freiligrath and—if I would venture to say—*Gottfried Kinkel.*'

But easy-going Gottfried also lectured on politics, e.g. on the parties in North America. Here is what he said in Manchester and Bradford:

'True, I announced that I was going to speak about the American parties, e.g. Democrats, Whigs, Free Soilers,[318] etc. But in fact there are no more parties left in America, than there are in Europe. There remains only the *one great party of the liberals*, as would also become apparent in Germany, if only the defeated party were allowed to resume its former position.'

Finally *Gottfried* spoke about the *Mormons*[319] of whom, among other things, he declared:

'He who wishes to be rid of all earthly cares should betake himself to the Mormons', etc.

His pronouncements even led people in Bradford to believe that he was a *Mormon agent.* Be that as it may, Gottfried Kinkel left the two manufacturing towns profoundly convinced that he *must never show his face there again.*

At the Assizes in Cologne Becker[a] has discredited both himself and the party. It had been mutually agreed from the outset that he would come forward as a non-League[b] member, so as not to lose the good-will of the democratic petty bourgeoisie. But being very weak in theory and pretty strong in the matter of petty ambition, he was all of a sudden overcome by vertigo. He wanted to play the great man of democracy at the communists' expense. Not only did he want to get off scot-free, but also carry off in

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[a] Hermann Becker - [b] The Communist League

person what laurels were to be won at the trial. He is not only as shameless as ever, he is growing despicable.

In conclusion, a few words on France. Bonaparte, who has always lived on tick, believes that there is no better way of bringing about the golden age in France than by making loan institutions universal, and as accessible as possible to all classes.[312] His transactions have a twofold advantage: They pave the way for an atrocious financial crisis, and demonstrate what results from Proudhon's credit manoeuvres when they are put into practice and not confined to theoretical day-dreams, namely a stock-jobbing swindle unparalleled since the days of John Law.

The Orleanists—I know one of their agents[a] very well—are tremendously active. Thiers is here at the moment. They have many allies in the army and in Bonaparte's immediate entourage. They intend to murder him (in January) in his bed. *Nous verrons.*[b] At all events, I shall be notified a fortnight *before* the attempt, and shall in turn notify the revolutionary proletarian party in Paris through the secret society of '*frères et amis*'[c 320] to which I belong. If the Orleanists pull the chestnuts out of the fire, they must in no case be allowed to eat them.

Should Heinzen, etc., brag about Becker's performance in Cologne, thereby compromising us all, you must publish a statement signed with your name, to the effect that Becker was a member of the communist society[d] and that shortly before his arrest, he invited me to write a paper *against* the democrats, but asked me not to reply to the attacks of Heinzen and Ruge, those wretched allies of Müller-Tellering. Of course, you should only make use of this weapon *if absolutely necessary.* In which case you declare outright that Becker took the stage as arranged, but grossly over-acted, did not play his part *skilfully enough*—which is all that he can be reproached with.

K. M.

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[a] Presumably, F. M. Rémusat. - [b] We shall see. - [c] brothers and friends - [d] the Communist Leauge

# 133

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 14 December 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Like you, I have been suffering all this while from piles. But this time they did not, in my case, reach the 'perfidious' stage, since they luckily occurred during the time of lean kine. If necessary you should use leeches. *C'est le grand moyen.*[a]

The money arrived a week ago yesterday.

From the following copy of a letter from Schabelitz jnr. you will see how things stand with the *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.*

'Basle, 11 December 1852

'Dear Marx,

'I received the manuscript intact day before yesterday, and today am already going through the first sheet of proofs. The pamphlet is SPLENDIDLY set in a completely new type and will appear in 16mo. We shall get the proofs as best we can. The whole will amount to 70-80 printed pages and we could, I think, fix the price at 10 silver groschen per copy, since part at any rate of the edition (2,000 copies) is likely to be confiscated. The main consignment will go to the Rhine Province. I feel sure the pamphlet will create a tremendous sensation, for it is a masterpiece. There were four of us reading through the manuscript, two highly competent and discriminating men'

(do you suppose Schabelitz numbers himself among the 'competent'?)

'and we were all unanimous in our praise of it. It certainly constitutes a "memorial" to the Prussian government.

'With kind regards to the Marx party.

Yours
J. Schabelitz'

This last is an allusion to certain misgivings of mine lest Schabelitz should take offence at the rough treatment meted out to the Willich-Schapper party, to which he himself *plus ou moins*[b] belonged.

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[a] That's the drastic means. - [b] more or less

Secrecy being all-important if the thing is not to be confiscated as soon as it reaches the German border, I have been putting it about here that a pamphlet on the Cologne affair is to appear in America.

In order not to overburden you in your present haemorrhoidal condition I got Pieper to translate *tant bien que mal*[a] a critique of Disraeli's budget[b] written for Dana and it went off to America last Friday.[c]

Excuse me for not writing more this time. I have the most infernal headache.

Your
K. Marx

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## 134

## MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS[321]

### IN WASHINGTON

[London,] 14 December 1852

... No more than a few lines today. Brüningk has written to me. I replied in writing,[322] telling him that Kinkel and Willich were the *instigators of the rumour* and that I had alluded to, but not named them, in my letter to you.

Should Kinkel issue a public denial in the American Press, I shall publish the whole correspondence and/or the record of what happened between him, myself and J. Huzel,[d] as proof of his veracity and his courageous vindication of the imputations he had made.

Should Brüningk demand that you recant or publicly attack you for 'deliberate distortion of the material with which I provided you', confine yourself to the following points: 1. You could perfectly well have concluded that Mrs von Brüningk was an agent whom *even* her friends suspected her of being one,[e] the more so

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[a] as well as he was able - [b] K. Marx, 'Parliament.—Vote of November 26.—Disraeli's Budget'. - [c] 10 December 1852 - [d] See this volume, pp. 139-40 and 149-50. - [e] ibid., pp. 125, 152, 204 and 205.

since she was an agent for the notorious Russian agent, Princess von Lieven.

2. You had all the less reason to stand on ceremony since Schimmelpfennig—Mrs von Brüningk's crony—had established the principle that Marx and Co. were to be *calumniated.*

3. You might have issued a statement yourself had Brüningk approached the *Wecker* direct, and then yourself instead of dragging in the miserable Ruge-Ronges. *Ça suffira.*[a]

*Ad vocem*[b] *E. Jones.* Jones is now RISING rapidly. Harney's paper—and J.'s rival—*The Star of Freedom, set* some 3 weeks ago.

*Ad vocem Kinkel-Willich.* The effrontery of these two fellows' anti-Reichenbach statement surpasses all bounds.

1. Reichenbach acted too leniently in respect of these fellows in concealing the *real* reason which above all motivated his action.[323] For in America Loan Notes bearing Reichenbach's signature still continue to circulate. *Kinkel and Willich* got their agents in America to *convert them into silver,* even at a discount, and send *the proceeds direct* to them, long after they had been disowned *qua* financial committee by the London guarantors; similarly, they hawked these notes round London. *At no time have they accounted for* the sums thus received. It was *downright escroquerie*[c] and Reichenbach deemed a statement necessary in order to clear himself of all responsibility for it.

2. The *German* papers *applauded* the resolution to return the money to America, Kinkel coming in for especial *praise.* The rascal received these bourgeois plaudits in silence—nor, in Bradford and Manchester, did he show any inclination whatever to confess his *opposition* to the said resolution. He seeks to appear respectable to bourgeoisie in Germany in order to make money, and poses as a believer in revolution before the revolutionary philistines in America in order to wrest from the clutches of the Cerberus Reichenbach the money he has swindled from them.

3. Willich pins his faith to the distance between America and London. Over here the fellow is regarded by all the refugees as a proven spy and a rogue unmasked. He believes that in America he will still be able to play the treasurer of the revolution.

*Hirsch* has told a working men's club in Blamich Street[d] that Willich is his accomplice. He himself, the sly Hirsch (!!!) says, is a spy in the interests of democracy, but Willich in the interests of the police, no less. Willich's society heard about this. Questions

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[a] That will be enough. - [b] re - [c] swindle - [d] In the original there is a question mark above this word.

were asked, etc. (you may have read about it already in my *Revelations*).[324] He could think of nothing better than to remove with a minute nucleus of his society to another establishment where *visitors were not admitted,* and to shift his own domicile to a remote corner of London. These two blackguards must now be unmasked in America as well. Here they are completely done for.

*Ad vocem Goegg.* Goegg, who for months was telling everyone that he attended the Wheeling Congress,[245] was in Strassburg at the time, getting together what remained of his fortune, £300. Now, in company with Ronge, he is setting up kindergartens and similar German-Catholic[227] educational establishments.

Your
K. M.

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## 135

## MARX TO GUSTAV ZERFFI

### IN PARIS

London, 28 December 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Friend,

Sincerest thanks for your letter.

There were two circumstances which enabled Bangya to hoodwink me for so long. *Firstly,* his acquaintanceship with Szemere, whom I instantly recognised as *l'esprit fort*[a] of Hungary from his manuscript on Görgey, Kossuth, etc.,[b] also,. your friendship with Bangya, since you inspired me with complete

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[a] brains - [b] B. Szemere, *Graf Ludwig Batthyány, Arthur Görgei, Ludwig Kossuth...*

confidence, despite the fact that we have known each other for so short a time. *Secondly*: So long as I was able, I attributed the inconsistencies, lies, etc., to Bangya's urge, which manifests itself at the slightest occasion, to shroud his activities in mystery and play at hide-and-seek not only with others but actually with himself.

At this very moment I am still inclined to believe that he is not a true spy; rather, as you rightly say, his function as '*intermediary*' between the various parties and as political match-maker has led him into dubious ways.

But first a point that is of particular concern to yourself.

Szirmay is certainly an agent of Kossuth's. His mission, or so I have gathered from some unguarded remarks, is to establish contact with Bonaparte through Mr de Maupas. A short time previously Kossuth had tried to raise a loan of $1\,^1/_2$ million from the Orleanists through the agency of Bangya and Malingre, his correspondent in Paris, but had met with a rebuff.

To return to Bangya.

I have with my own eyes seen a *commission* made out by Kossuth and countersigned by Szirmay, by which Bangya is appointed prefect of police *in partibus*, as it were, by Kossuth—as chief of an anti-government counterpolice force. On the one hand, my fears over otherwise suspect contacts and acquaintanceships of Bangya's were allayed by this commission, for it gave them an air of being official connections which, if exploited with skill, could be of use to our party; thus I myself have obtained from him some details of importance concerning the Prussian government. On the other hand, I asked him outright: 'How can you reconcile your relationship with Kossuth and your relationship with Szemere?' He replied very candidly that firstly he was acting in Szemere's interest, and then the latter had *authorised* his relationship with Kossuth. I therefore never again alluded to the subject.

Bangya several times invited me on Kossuth's behalf to visit the latter. I replied that I lived at such and such a place and that, if Mr Kossuth wished to speak to me, he need only take the trouble of coming to see me. Kossuth then suggested that we should meet on neutral ground.[a] I left the matter pending. In the meantime, however, an article of mine appeared anonymously in the *Tribune* (New York), in which I attacked Kossuth, Mazzini, etc., with especial reference to the intrigues in Paris conducted through Kiss, etc.[b] Frightful hullabaloo in the American Press! Kossuth

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[a] See this volume, p. 261. - [b] K. Marx, 'Movements of Mazzini and Kossuth.—League with Louis Napoleon.—Palmerston'.

contacting the tyrant! IMPOSSIBLE! Bangya, questioned by Szirmay, named me as the author, whereupon I personally told Mr Szirmay, that *I* was indeed the author. Also that, so far as I was aware, I was at complete liberty to write anything I chose about and against Mr Kossuth. Shortly afterwards I received from America newspapers in which Kossuth had had me denounced 'as a calumniator' by a supposed 'private secretary' of *Monsieur le Gouverneur*. I then, via Bangya, requested Mr Kossuth to state whether this démenti had originated with him, in which case I would chastise him with scorpions, whereas hitherto I had merely touched him with a rod.[a] Kossuth replied, through Szirmay, 1. that he knew nothing about the statement, 2. that he had no private secretary, and repeated his invitation, which I ignored, to meet him on neutral ground. I, for my part, published in the *Tribune* Kossuth's statement to me,[b] and there, for the time being, the matter rests, although the entire inept and insipid German-American press is still buzzing with it. Nevertheless, the storm of indignation evoked by his article against me shows that Kossuth will be *perdu*[c] the moment the fact of his alliance with Bonaparte is established.

I am now wholly of the opinion that we should both of us observe the *utmost discretion* for, as soon as Bangya knows that we have seen through him, he could do you and Szemere harm, perhaps considerable harm, particularly as regards your remaining in Paris. Moreover, were Bangya to be in any way publicly unmasked *before* the manuscript[d] appears, it could at best only make me look ridiculous. Finally, I believe it is important—until the point has been reached at which we can publicly unmask him—that a close watch be kept on Mr Bangya. This is particularly important while he remains in Paris. He is astoundingly indiscreet and, if only to retain your confidence, will keep you and Szemere informed of every move made by the various parties he serves.

My attitude towards him, therefore, will be cool and reserved—as he can only expect after his latest coup—but I shall not let him know either the full extent of my suspicion or that I am 'secretly' corresponding with you.

Bangya himself, in the note enclosed in his anonymous friend's letter, writes:

> 'I think you are now at liberty to have the work published elsewhere.'

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[a] A reference to 1 Kings 12:11. - [b] K. Marx, 'A Reply to Kossuth's "Secretary"'. - [c] lost - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*.

In giving this advice, which, by the by, is merely the echo of a threat I made him,[a] he is, I think, trying to cover his rear.

However, I fully agree with Szemere and yourself that it is high time this was done. The only difficulty lies in the execution. A pamphlet of mine, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* has just been brought out by a Swiss bookseller.[325] (I shall arrange for 2 copies to be sent to you and Szemere as soon as possible.) This same bookseller is busy with an edition of my *18th Brumaire* for Germany.[326] There is no prospect of inducing him to embark on a third undertaking. No bookseller in Germany now dares to publish anything of mine. Hence my only recourse would be to print it *at my own expense*, which, in my present circumstances, is impossible. And yet the thing is *vital*. I shall consider what can be done.

You will see from the *Revelations* that Greif is a thoroughly infamous creature. In December 1851 he visited Paris *in connection with the Franco-German plot*[143] and in order to establish a *spurious connection* between my friends in Cologne and the idiots in Paris.[327]

However, it is true that, while Greif was still here in London, Bangya received *money from Berlin* regularly on the 3rd or 4th of each month. Do you know from what sources he is drawing this money?

Our watchword in this business should be: '*à Corsaire Corsaire et demi*'.[b] Should Bangya show signs of becoming 'dangerous', all we have to do is remind him that his connections with Malingre and the Orleanists have placed him at our mercy.

Write soon, and assure Szemere that in me he has a sincere admirer.

Yours
Ch. Williams[c]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 257-58. - [b] Set a thief to catch a thief. - [c] Marx's pseudonym

# 1853

## 136

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 January 1853

Dear Marx,

I had hoped that I might have been able to call in on you again yesterday on my way to the station for, as a result of a somewhat unpleasantly outspoken letter about my prolonged absence[313] and the work accumulating up here, I was compelled all of a sudden to pack my bags and hasten back to the office. Having scandalously neglected my business in the CITY, I had to settle it yesterday at the last moment. This held me up so long that I had no option but to set course *recta via*[a] if I was to appear today, as I needs must, AT A DECENT HOUR at the office; anyhow, I would have turned up at your house at a time in the evening when all your disciples are wont to foregather there, in which case I couldn't have answered for the consequences, i.e. pots at Göhringer's, Zimmermann's, Wood's and other night haunts.

It would be best if you were to make a PARCEL of the letters from Cluss, etc., etc., American newspapers and other such stuff, and send it per Pickford & Co., or Chaplin, Horne & Co., addressed to me here at Ermen & Engels, so that the firm pays the carriage.

Waiting for me here was a letter from Madier, in passable English, about a patent of his which might have some impact on our industry. Whether or not the thing is any good, he has all sorts of grand ideas; however, I'll see what I can do. If the invention is a *good* one, it will earn him a hefty sum, the market being almost unlimited. Should you happen to run into him, tell him I should have written to him one of these days, but I am again more than fully occupied.

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[a] direct

I wish some of our lads in London would really settle down to a *plus ou moins*[a] steady job, for they're becoming inveterate loafers and, once you get that way, it's 10 to one you'll be tipsy for 36 hours at the least, as has twice happened to me, to the great astonishment of my sister.[b]

In the spring or early summer I shall again come up to London.

Hasn't that thing[c] arrived from Schabelitz yet?

Warm regards to your wife and children and to the tipsy crew likewise.

Your
F. E.

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## 137

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 January 1853

Dear Engels,

If *at all possible,* kindly translate the whole of the enclosed[d] and send it off *direct from Manchester* (*signing it with my name*) via Liverpool or Southampton, depending on sailings, to 'A. Dana, One of the Editors of the "New-York Tribune", New York'.

This is how matters stand:

Now that our misfortunes here have reached a CLIMAX, I have drawn £20 on Greeley for 10 articles (*including the enclosed*) and have written, telling him that the copyist has not quite finished copying the article (which must therefore be dated Friday), *and that it will be sent off to him on Tuesday.* I have charged him £2 per article, which is what Dana promised in his letter of 16 December

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[a] more or less - [b] Marie Blank - [c] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see this volume, p. 264). - [d] K. Marx, 'Elections.—Financial Clouds.—The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery'.

1851, a promise he has so far failed to keep (in respect of CURRENT LETTERS).[328]

The little Jew Bamberger has not yet given me a centime but I have his *promise* and shall by degrees extract at least £15 from him against the bill (pending its arrival).

*Now that we are charging £2*, the above article must be sent off in its *entirety*. The piece about the Duchess of Sutherland will cause an uproar in America.

Apropos, Blind has already dunned me twice for Herzen's book.[a] So you must return it to me.

It is 2 o'clock in the morning. Hence I cannot now have this letter STAMPED, and must send it off unstamped.

Your
K. M.

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## 138

## MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS[329]

### IN WASHINGTON

[London,] 21 January 1853

... Yesterday I read a letter from Heinzen to Bamberger. He complains of money troubles and says he has been *forced* to resign from the *Janus*. As regards Dr Kellner, he was for a time correspondent of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. You should see if you can't make contact with him *d'une manière ou d'une autre*.[b] Once Weydemeyer has put out feelers, your first step might be to send him a 'pithy' article... The wretched Willich, who is done for here, sailed for America last week as Kinkel's agent; so it is important that *at least* those parts of the pamphlet[c] which relate to him should appear in the press. It would be best if you could arrange

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[a] A. Herzen, *Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie*. - [b] in one way or another - [c] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*.

for the pamphlet to be published in magazines; it has already come out in Switzerland, so it is no longer so important. Could not *Börnstein,* who wants to catch us with 'his bait', also be of some use in this matter? From what I know of him and his *compagnon*[a] Bernays, they will be much tickled by the account of the trickery of the police. I think it *politic* to establish contact with these people. I can assure you that if Bernays finds the means—and we must provide him with it—to re-establish contact with us, I could have these two chaps eating out of my hand. Have you heard nothing more from *Schramm*[b] or, on the other side, from *Tellering*?...

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## 139

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 29 January 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Have received the £3 and the manuscript you returned.

You must excuse me for not having written for so long, the explanation being PRESSURE FROM WITHOUT.

About a fortnight ago Willich pushed off to America as Kinkel's agent.

Mrs von Brüningk was buried a few days since.

As a result of clumsy manoeuvring by the Parliamentarians Reichenbach and Löwe, and negligence on Imandt's part, the £1,000 have again fallen into the hands of Mr Kinkel in the sense that the money has been deposited in the Bank of England in *his* name and Reichenbach is to hand over the certificate of deposit to him in May, unless the guarantors should decide otherwise. Such decisions are, of course, now quite worthless.

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[a] companion - [b] Conrad Schramm

Mr Bangya has been in Paris for the past three weeks. Liebknecht has obtained a very good post with the Jew Oppenheim. The rest of the folk, Imandt EXCEPTED, still at a loose end.

Schabelitz did not have the pamphlet[a] ready until 11 January. About 6 sheets. But he seems unwilling to send anything to London until the thing has been successfully dispatched to every part of Germany and receipt acknowledged.

The gentlemen in Cologne, notably Daniels, persist in maintaining a dignified silence. The answer to our having subordinated all business to their affair for the space of 4-5 weeks.

In the enclosed cutting from the *Arbeiterrepublik*[b] (editor Weitling) you will see the venom which this tailor king and dictator of the 'Communia' colony[330] expends upon the communist trial in Cologne and the Marx party and Co.

Yesterday I ventured for the first time to write an article *in English* for Dana.[c] Pieper made some corrections and, once I have a good grammar and write away gamely, I should do *passablement*[d] well.

Two apropos:

*D'abord.*[e] Blind is incessantly dunning me for Herzen's book.[f]

Second: Don't forget to enclose in your next Reichenbach's circular and his statement of accounts.[299] Dronke needs it to establish himself as a new correspondent.[g]

The state of the winter crops being what it is, I feel convinced that the crisis WILL BECOME DUE. So long as the STAPLE ARTICLE, FOOD, remains tolerably ABUNDANT and cheap, and what with Australia, etc., the thing could have been a long time in coming. Now a STOP will be put to all that. Incidentally, is it not somewhat unusual to find e.g. *The Economist vindicating* the Bank of England's most recent DISCOUNT REGULATION, on the ground that its purpose is 'TO PREVENT THE *EXPORTATION OF CAPITAL*'[h]? We know very well what is intended. But could one not trouble one's FREE TRADER's conscience by asking: Do you also wish to PREVENT 'EXPORTATION OF CAPITAL' in the form of COTTONS, YARNS, etc.? Why, then, in the form OF GOLD? Is the FREE-TRADE ECONOMY destined to revert to MERCANTILISM pure and simple and regard the EFFLUX and INFLUX OF GOLD as the *nervus rerum*[i]?

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[a] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.* - [b] 'Schlußbemerkung zum Kölner Kommunistenprozeß', *Republik der Arbeiter,* No. 52, 25 December 1852. - [c] K. Marx, 'Capital Punishment.—Mr. Cobden's Pamphlet.—Regulations of the Bank of England'. - [d] passably - [e] Firstly. - [f] A. Herzen, *Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie.* - [g] See this volume, p. 282. - [h] 'The Bank of England and the Rate of Discount', *The Economist,* No. 491, 22 January 1853. - [i] prime mover

Since Bonaparte's last speech[a] all the talk in the City has been of war. I have also had a letter from old Ebner in Frankfurt in which he speaks of the terror inspired in Germany's pampered puppets, especially the diplomats in Frankfurt am Main, by Bonaparte's wedding speech. The doltishness of our compatriots was brought home to me yesterday by, *inter alia*, the *Frankfurter Journal* in which a correspondent writing from Heidelberg remarks that, what with a propagandist war in the offing and Bonaparte throwing in his lot with 'democracy', the authorities must already be ruing their prosecution of the great Gervinus.[331] I fear that Crapulinski[b] will be hailed as 'friend and saviour' by German peasants and philistines. Apparently the vocation of this burlesque figure is to stand all traditional ranks and parties on their heads and turn them into a laughing-stock.

What is the effect of a bad harvest on an *incipient* war?

Let me know, too, what the position is in the MANUFACTURING DEPARTMENT, particularly in cotton.

Jones' paper[c] is again *en ascendant*.[d]

Cobden's pamphlet[e] and the MANCHESTER PEACE CONFERENCE[332] are, I feel, utterly nonsensical at the present time. So now you know, says Palmerston's journal, *The Morning Post*, these bourgeois parvenus are totally incapable of governing a country; that's a thing only the aristocracy can do.[f] *The Morning Herald* publishes a letter addressed to itself and written, or so it *asserts*, at Bonaparte's own dictation, in which the latter says he would come to England only if the QUEEN needed 200,000 of his 'heroes of order' to combat the perilous growth of democracy. Which democracy, says the *Herald*, is you, Mr Cobden, you and associates.

Concerning *The Times*, I have been given the following, fairly reliable, particulars which may be of interest to you:

Mr *Walter*, MP for Nottingham, is still the PAPER'S constitutional monarch, still its PRINCIPAL SHAREHOLDER. Mr *Mowbray Morris* is *The Times*'s LORD OF EXCHEQUER, its FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL MANAGER—a very adventurous and 'RECKLESS' FELLOW. Mr *Delane* JUNIOR (a friend of Disraeli's) is SECRETARY FOR THE HOME OFFICE. His father is EDITOR OF THE *Morning Chronicle*. Mr *Dasent* is SECRETARY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. In

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[a] [Speech of Napoleon III in the Senate on 22 January 1853 on the occasion of his marriage to Eugénie de Montijo,] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 23, 23 January 1853. - [b] i.e. Napoleon III thus called after a character in Heine's satirical poem 'Zwei Ritter'. - [c] *The People's Paper* - [d] in the ascendant - [e] R. Cobden, *1793 and 1853. In Three Letters*. - [f] 'London, Friday, Jan. 28, 1853' (leader), *The Morning Post*, No. 24681, 28 January 1853; 'The Peace and Arbitration Conference', *The Morning Post*, No. 24682, 29 January 1853.

addition, *The Times* has A SORT OF PRIVY COUNCIL, the most important member being Mr *Lowe*, MP for Kidderminster, an albino with pink eyes and white hair. He is said to be very talented and particularly knowledgeable about financial matters. Next to him comes Mr *Henry Reeve*, an admirer of Orleanist statesmen, who holds a minor post in the STATISTICAL DEPARTMENT of the BOARD OF TRADE. Mr *Lampon* writes the MONEY ARTICLE, but otherwise has no influence on the direction of the whole.

According to a letter from Zerffi, it is generally believed in Paris that Bonaparte is plotting with the Sultan against Austria and Russia in the Montenegro affair.[333]

*Vale faveque.*[a]

K. Marx

[Note written on an enclosed illustration from an unknown Italian book]

Which Italian town does the above female belong to?

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## 140

## MARX TO J. G. MAYER[334]

### IN LONDON

[London, after 3 February 1853]

Charles Williams presents his compliments to Mr Mayer and he[b] takes the liberty to transmit him the enclosed letter for Mr Szemere.

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[a] Good-bye and farewell. - [b] Here the words 'will be much obliged' are crossed out in the original.

# 141

# ENGELS TO MARX

## IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 11 February 1853

Dear Marx,

Well, here it is, the *grande affaire*[a] of Messrs Kossuth and Mazzini.[335] Our news up here is very incomplete but my own view is that tomorrow or on Monday we shall certainly hear that all is over. Milan is first-rate terrain for street-fighting, few straight streets, none connecting with the other, almost everywhere narrow, crooked alleys with tall, massive stone houses, each a fortress in itself, their walls often 3-5 feet or more thick and virtually impossible to breach, the *rez-de-chaussée*[b] windows provided with iron grills (almost invariably) as here and there in Cologne. But much good will all this do—they don't stand a chance. After 1849 Radetzky ordered the restoration of the old citadel's fortifications and, if the work is complete—and there has been time enough for this—Milan will belong to the Austrians so long as they occupy the citadel which is impregnable to insurgents unless abetted by a military insurrection. The fact that no further news is forthcoming from Bellinzona whence, from time immemorial, the Tessinese have inundated the world with lies in support of every Italian movement,[336] argues strongly against the spread of the insurrection in the surrounding region.

I regard the whole business as very *mal à propos*[c] since its only *point d'appui,* apart from Austrian tyranny IN GENERAL, is the commotion in Montenegro[333] where also, *après tout,*[d] Turkish 'order' is bound to prevail over Homeric Czernogorzan barbarism. Thus these great dictators, having allowed themselves to be bamboozled, altogether *à la* Seiler, by the usual diplomatic melodramas, invoke the world-historical importance of the 'oriental question'! They are obviously counting on some sort of WINDFALL

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[a] great affair - [b] ground floor - [c] untimely - [d] after all

from Louis Napoleon but, unless everything turns out otherwise than expected, he will leave them to stew in their own juice and treat them as anarchists. It would further seem probable that, as with all insurrections organised in advance, the moment of outbreak is liable to be determined far more by the pettiest of local incidents than by crucial events.

Mazzini does at least seem to be on the spot; it could hardly be otherwise. However stupid his bombastic proclamation, it may well prove something of a hit with the grandiloquent Italians. On the other hand we have Kossuth, that man of boundless activity! *Celui-là est absolument mort, après cela.*[a] Such absurd pretensions cannot be trumpeted with impunity in the year of our Lord 1853. However preposterous Mazzini's abstract passion for insurrection may appear on this occasion, the man comes off splendidly when compared with the worthy Kossuth, who reassumes the role he played at Vidin[337] and, from the safety of the rear, decrees the liberation of the fatherland from nothing, with nothing, for nothing. The fellow really is a *lâche* and a *misérable.*[b]

Now we shall see what the Italian peasants will do; even if, by some unheard of and incredible stroke of luck, *père* Mazzini, his bourgeois and his aristocrats, should succeed, they might still be in for something very unpleasant at their hands; and should the Austrians find an opportunity to unleash these same peasants against the aristocracy they will not hesitate to do so.

The Austrians must still have 120,000 men in Italy; how, in the face of this, a rebellion can be staged unless there are mutinies among the troops, I cannot conceive. And I refuse to believe that there could be Honved[c] mutinies *in Italy,* even on Kossuth's orders,[d] this would demand events of greater magnitude, while 3 years of discipline and peace have enabled the Austrians to flog many an unyielding Honved posterior into tractability.

The whole business is of importance, I think, only as a symptom; a reaction has set in against the state of oppression obtaining since '49 and, naturally, at the most sensitive spot. The thing has made a great impact here, and the philistines are beginning to agree that this year will not elapse without trouble.

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[a] After this the man will be completely and utterly done for. - [b] a coward and a wretch - [c] soldiers of the Hungarian national army during the 1848-49 revolution; here: Hungarian soldiers serving in the Austrian army. - [d] An allusion to the so-called Milan proclamation 'In the Name of the Hungarian Nation.—To the Soldiers Quartered in Italy (February 1853)', *The Times,* No. 21348, 10 February 1853 (see this volume, pp. 280, 283 and 290).

Now for a poor CORN AND COTTON harvest, financial difficulties and all that goes with them, and *nous verrons*![a]

Have you had the £3 I sent you last week—on Thursday or Friday?

Your
F. E.

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## 142

## MARX TO ENGELS[338]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 February 1853

Dear Engels,

I have been *sérieusement*[b] indisposed; for the 'perfidious Prussians' have not permitted me either to stand, sit or lie down. Hence my long silence and my failure so much as to acknowledge the money.

You will have seen that Kossuth, through an American filibuster, Captain Mayne Reid, has disavowed his alleged Milan proclamation.[c 339] Well, yesterday Szemere wrote to me from Paris, saying he knew *for certain* that the proclamation was *authentic*, as was evident in any case from its contents. *The Leader* (pro-Mazzini)

> * 'deems it his duty to caution his readers, that this affair lies entirely between Mr Kossuth and Mr Mazzini and that the latter is *absent* from England'.*[d]

You will yourself have seen, in *The Daily News*, Della Rocco's statement[e] aimed directly at Agostini, but also indirectly at

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[a] we shall see - [b] seriously - [c] 'In the Name of the Hungarian Nation.—To the Soldiers Quartered in Italy (February 1853)', *The Times*, No. 21348, 10 February 1853. - [d] Cf. 'Kossuth and the Milan Revolt', *The Leader*, No. 152, 19 February 1853. - [e] Della Rocco, 'Mazzini's Proclamation. (To the Editor of *The Daily News*)', *The Daily News*, No. 2107, 21 February 1853.

Kossuth.[340] The *par nobile fratrum*[a] seems to have fallen out. Kossuth is as false as he is cowardly.

You have rated Mazzini too high if you imagine he was present in person at Milan. At critical moments like these he absents himself from England so that he may be suspected of being in the theatre of war.

Pitiable finale though the Milan business is to Mazzini's eternal plotting, and despite my conviction that he has done himself personal injury, I am sure that the revolutionary movement as a whole will benefit by what is happening. I.e., by the brutal manner in which the Austrians are exploiting [...]. Had Radetzky followed Strassoldo's example, had he praised the Milanese citizenry for their 'orderly conduct', had he described the whole thing as the wretched uprising of a few 'MISCREANTS' and, as a token of his confidence, appeared to loosen the reins a little, the revolutionary party would have been discredited in the eyes of the whole world. But as it is, by introducing a system of wholesale plunder, he is turning Italy into the 'revolutionary crater' which Mazzini, for all his declaiming, was unable to conjure into existence.

And another thing. Could any one of us have believed that, after its 4 years of victory, military preparations and rodomontade, reaction should feel itself so infinitely weak that, at the first sign of a riot, it lets out a scream of genuine terror? The fellows' belief in revolution is unshakable. Once again they have testified to the whole world how insecure they feel. Whereas *realiter*[b] the 'emigration' is totally bankrupt and impotent, they loudly proclaim its power through all government papers and encourage the belief that a net of conspiracy is closing in from all sides on the worthy citizens.

*Ad vocem*[c] Bangya. Is presently in Paris. I now possess actual proof that the gallant fellow is an agent of the Austrian government. He bought his way back to France by accepting a clandestine post in the French Police Ministry. At the same time he is in Paris as official agent for Kossuth, who wants money from Bonaparte. In Paris, by the by, the fellow has woven a net in which he himself will become ensnared. As to our manuscript,[d] he sold it to Greif, who was travelling under the name of 'Schulz'. Incidentally, both of them misled the government into believing that they had 'managed to procure'—note the professional term—this 'document' from the archives of a 'secret society'.

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[a] noble pair of brothers (Horace, *Satires*, II, 3) - [b] in reality - [c] re - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*.

Still no news from Schabelitz, save that the thing[a] is circulating in Germany. He still doesn't dare send anything here, for fear that the French police will open the parcel and denounce the business to the Prussian police.

I have heard from a *reliable* source, *mais c'est un secret*[b] (which Napoleon doubtless knows as well as I do), that Ledru intends to go into action in Paris in 3-4 weeks. I have been told by an eye-witness that the first news of the rising in Milan created a great sensation in Paris. Gatherings in the streets, etc., not to rebel but to confer. On the whole the FRENCHMEN here are well content that Mr Mazzini should have discredited himself by his 'ACTION'. They see themselves avenged.[c]

Thanks to Cluss our appeal on behalf of the Cologne people[d]—6 lines long—has appeared in all the American papers, in each case under the auspices of the local gymnastic club.[120] *Nous* [*verrons*].[e] Our dear acquaintances in Cologne itself have as yet given no sign of life. That's caution for you! One of them, ex-lieutenant Steffen, who figured as a defence witness at the Cologne trial, is here and promptly found himself a teaching post in Friedländer's establishment. Blind is dunning me daily for the *Herzen*,[f] as is Dronke for Reichenbach's circular.[299] This is essential to Dronke since he wants to become a correspondent of the *Volkshalle* in Cologne under another name.

What do you think of the lively sympathy shown by the clerics of the Established Church towards the unfortunate Ten Hours Movement[341]? Always the same old game. On Saturday I'll send you a parcel containing all the remaining newspapers, and letters from Cluss.

Of all LITTLE FINALITY JOHN'S[g] PERFORMANCES, the last was probably the most classical.[342] Even *The Times* was forced to admit that JOHNNY EXCITES 'MIGHTILY LITTLE ENTHUSIASM'[h]

Mrs Harney[i] is dead. Likewise Mrs von Brüningk. A short while ago there was an exchange of letters between myself and

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[a] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - [b] but it's a secret - [c] See this volume, p. 73. - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Appeal for Support of the Men Sentenced in Cologne', *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, No. 45, 21 January 1853. - [e] We shall see. - [f] A. Herzen, *Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie*. - [g] Nickname given by the Radicals to John Russell who qualified the 1832 Parliamentary Reform as finality of Britain's constitutional development. - [h] *The Times*, No. 21350, 12 February 1853 [leader]. - [i] Mary

Brüningk, in which everything hinged on Kinkel and Willich.[a] As I have already told you, Willich sailed for America 4 weeks ago.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, 10 March 1853]

Dear Marx,

Yesterday I sent off one half of a fiver to you and, at the same time, the other half under cover to Dronke. I'm really in a fix; in February I had to fork out some £50 to repay debts, etc., and there'll be another £30 or so to be paid out this month and next. Otherwise I'd have sent you more. A reform of my PERSONAL EXPENSES is urgently called for and, in a week or a fortnight's time, I shall move into cheaper LODGINGS and also resort to less potent liquor so as to prepare myself for the great moment when the balance is struck. Last year, thank God, I gobbled up half of my old man's profits from the business here. As soon as my old man's arrival becomes imminent, I shall remove to select LODGINGS, buy select cigars and wines, etc., so that we can impress him. *Voilà la vie.*[b]

By his statements,[c] Monsieur Kossuth has utterly ruined himself in the eyes of people up here, German as well as English. Mazzini likewise, by the insurrection itself[335] and by his sordid way of

[a] See this volume, pp. 213-14. - [b] That's life. - [c] Two statements by Kossuth published in various English newspapers in February and March 1853 which denied his participation in the Milan uprising. See, in particular, 'M. M. Kossuth and Mazzini and *The Times*' and 'A Letter from Kossuth', *The Daily News*, Nos. 2105 and 2117, 18 February and 4 March 1853.

starting a fracas with the cowardly murder of individual soldiers, this being particularly abhorrent to the English. It would be difficult to imagine anything more craven and blackguardly than these two letters of Kossuth's and withal the constant pretension: I AM A PLAIN, HONEST MAN. The gentlemen should, by the way, beware: given the evidence, *ce cher*[a] Aberdeen is just the sort of man to have them locked up and prosecuted without more ado and whether, after all this, they could be quite so sure of an acquittal, I do not know.

The MINISTRY OF ALL THE TALENTS[343] TURNS OUT A COMPLETE HUMBUG. Johnny,[b] more shrunken than ever; the great Gladstone, a self-complacent know-all *à la* Mevissen; Aberdeen, full of diplomatic-toryistic reminiscences and consummate courtier; the late messiah Peel's apostle John, Sidney Herbert, a wholly incompetent Secretary at War,—they're a fine LOT. At the same time they all feel somewhat out of place, except for shameless old Palmerston, who is at home everywhere and, witness the Mazzini debate in both Houses,[344] as MUTINOUS as ever. Indeed, ever since the debate on Greece,[345] the Militia Bill[62] and the debate on the Address,[346] he has been *de facto* LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, and it is bitterly ironical that, for form's sake, poor Johnny should be given this post. But when, in this capacity, Johnny goes on to ask for a salary, it is carrying effrontery beyond all bounds; however a new post is, of course, a godsend to both parties. I shall be curious to see Master Gladstone's budget; what he said about the ESTIMATES and Hume's Tariff motion[347] leads one to expect that he will leave everything more or less as it was, which is about all that is likely to result from this patriotic coalition ministry. Meanwhile, the tales of corruption during the last election are really capital and will doubtless necessitate some sort of Reform Bill during the next session. If, by then, TRADE has deteriorated and the Continent bestirs itself, we can expect some fine goings-on.

I now have at home the book by Urquhart,[c] the mad MP who denounces Palmerston as being in the pay of Russia. The explanation is a simple one: the fellow's a Celtic Scot with a Saxon-Scottish upbringing, by inclination a Romantic, by upbringing a FREE-TRADER. This chap went to Greece as a Philhellene[348] and, after 3 years of fighting the Turks, proceeded to Turkey and went into raptures about these self-same Turks. He enthuses over Islam on the principle, 'if I wasn't a Calvinist, I could only be a

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[a] that dear - [b] Russell - [c] [D. Urquhart,] *Turkey and Its Resources: Its Municipal Organization and Free Trade...*

Mohammedan'. Turks, particularly those of the Ottoman Empire in its heyday, are the most perfect nation on earth in every possible way. The Turkish language is the most perfect and melodious in the world. All the foolish talk of barbarism, cruelty and absurd barbaric arrogance stems solely from European ignorance of Turkey and from the biased calumnies of Greek dragomans. If a European is maltreated in Turkey, he has only himself to blame; your Turk hates neither the religion of the Frank, nor his character, but only his narrow trousers. Imitation of Turkish architecture, etiquette, etc. is strongly recommended. The author himself was several times kicked in the bottom by Turks, but subsequently realised that he alone was to blame. Contact with Europeans, and attempts at civilisation, have only enervated and disorganised the Turks. The Turkish Constitution in its 'purity' is the finest there is, and is almost superior to the English. The Turk enjoys SELF-GOVERNMENT through customs going back a thousand years and through the Koran. The Sultan, far from being a 'despot', is more circumscribed than the MOST GRACIOUS QUEEN.[a] Freedom of religion exists *only* in Turkey. In this paradise there are no class differences, class struggles or political parties, nor can there be, for in matters of internal politics all are of the same mind. Nowhere is there less centralisation than in Turkey. In short, only the Turk is a gentleman and freedom exists only in Turkey.

The Czar[b] is now intriguing against this happy land through the agency of Greek clerics, and England has constantly allowed this same Czar to lead her by the nose. England must support Turkey, etc., etc., and other commonplaces as hoary as they are trivial. On the whole this book is highly entertaining. The really choice thing about it is that it forms the basis for the entire policy of the English, anti-Palmerston liberals, e.g. all the articles in *The Daily News* on the Turkish mummery are simply paraphrases of Urquhart who, *qua* FREE-TRADER, enjoys absolute confidence, although he blames the English for destroying Thessaly's industry with their imports—but in a HIGHLANDER a certain licence may be permitted.

There is one good aspect to it, namely that *The Times,* even though primarily in the Russian interest, is at long last attacking the old philistine nonsense about Turkey's integrity.[c] The asinine *Daily News* which, in its blinkered bourgeois way, can see no

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[a] Victoria - [b] Nicholas I - [c] *The Times,* Nos. 21365 and 21369, 2 and 7 March 1853, leaders.

further than the end of its nose, is whining about betrayal but can offer nothing better to counter it than the same old diplomatic rubbish.[a][349] If the fun goes on much longer, the gentlemen will soon have to resort to other arguments and come round to the view that only a continental revolution can put an end to the mess. Surely even the most egregious philistines must in due course come to realise that, without one, absolutely nothing can be solved.

The Austro-Prussian tariff business[350] is the only step forward Germany has succeeded in making—*et encore*[b]! The thing has so many strings attached, and so many vital issues have been left to later committees, while the actual tariff reductions are so minimal, that little will come of it. Come the great industrial crisis, and the whole trade agreement will vanish into thin air in the face of the general débâcle.

Here all that happens is thieving, broken bones on the railways, and flying up in the air. The local philistines are quite dumbfounded by the extraordinary events of the past week. Fortunately cotton is going down, which is why nothing is happening on the Exchange and people can concern themselves to their heart's content with these momentous occurrences. The spinning mills and most of the weaving mills are still fully occupied, but in coarse calicoes (DOMESTICS) there is *total stagnation* and, as from Monday, all factories in this trade will be working only 3 days a week.

Regards to your wife and children.

Dronke will have received the Reichenbach thing.[c]

Your

F. E.

Will get the Herzen[d] one of these days; the snag is that just now I'm unable to write to my brother-in-law.[e]

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[a] *The Daily News*, No. 2117, 4 March 1853 (see this volume, p. 283). - [b] Here: and that's not much. - [c] See this volume, pp. 245 and 275. - [d] A. Herzen, *Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie* (see this volume, pp. 273 and 275). - [e] Emil Blank

# 144

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 March 1853

Dear Engels,

Received the £5.

This week I was within an inch of kicking the bucket. From hepatitis, or something very similar. This is hereditary in my family. My old man[a] died of it. During the 4 years I have been in England there hasn't been a sign of the thing and I thought it had gone for good. But now the worst is over and, what is more, *sans médecin.*[b] But I am still somewhat knocked up.

Yesterday I received the following *'pleasing'* letter from Basle:

'Basle, 7 March 1853. 9 o'clock in the morning.

Dear Marx,

I have just heard that the whole consignment of *Revelations,*[c] amounting to 2,000 copies, which has been lying in a village on the other side of the border for the past 6 weeks, was intercepted yesterday while being conveyed elsewhere. What will happen now, I do not know; first of all, a complaint lodged by the Baden government with the Federal Council, then, no doubt, my arrest or at least commitment for trial, etc. In either case, a terrific shindy! This briefly for your information; further communications, should I be prevented from making them myself, will reach you through a third party. When writing to me, address the envelope: "Mad. Brenner-Guéniard, magasin de modes, Basle" and, on the sealed enclosure for me, simply write "For Jacques". I shall deposit the manuscript on the *coup d'état*[d] in a safe place. Adieu. Before long, I hope, I shall be able to tell you more than I now know. Let me have a safe address; yours and Bamberger's are probably known.

Yours
Jacques[e]

Well, *qu'en pensez-vous, mon cher maître renard?*[f] Has the 'Suisse'[g] sold me to the Prussian government for cash? 6 weeks in a village on the other side of the border, the affectation of fear, not a word

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[a] Heinrich Marx - [b] without a doctor - [c] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.* - [d] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.* - [e] Schabelitz - [f] What do you think of it, dear Master Renard? - [g] Swiss

about the copies still in Switzerland, not a copy sent here despite my insistence!

It's enough to put one off writing altogether. This constant toil *pour le roi de Prusse*[a]!

*Que faire?*[b] For the 'Suisse' must not be allowed to get away with it like this.

*Quant à*[c] Dana, he has *honoured* my bill. Originally the 'worthy' Bamberger gave me £5 against it, but then kept me traipsing to and fro between here and the City for a fortnight, and it was not until this week that he finally paid out, after weeks of 'moaning' (literally) on the part of my landlady. Since then I have sent 7 more articles to the *Tribune* and another one goes off tomorrow.[351] I could now begin to see my way out of the wood but for the accursed *dette consolidée*[d] hanging round my neck. And even this would have been largely paid off had that wretched Swiss not precipitated me again into *néant.*[e]

To keep in with Dana I shall now be forced to write a somewhat longer article on *haute politique.*[f] In other words, the *détestable question orientale,* regarding which a miserable YANKEE here is trying to compete with me in the *Tribune.*[352] But this QUESTION is primarily military and geographical, hence outside my *département.* So you must once more *exécuter.*[g] What is to become of the Turkish Empire is something I have no clue about. I cannot therefore present a general perspective.

However, for a newspaper article—in which, by the by, you must do your best to skirt the QUESTION as such in favour of its military, geographical and historical aspects—it seems to me that you should touch on the following basic points, which arise directly out of Montenegro[333]:

1. Despite all the chicanery and the political twaddle in the Press, the *question orientale* will never be the *occasion* for a European war. The diplomatists will keep quietly tinkering at it until here, too, a general hullabaloo puts an end to their tinkering.

2. ENCROACHMENTS OF RUSSIA in Turkey. Austria's greed. France's ambitions. England's interests. Commercial and military significance of this bone of contention.

3. Should there be a general hullabaloo, Turkey will compel England to come in on the revolutionary side, an Anglo-Russian clash being inevitable in such a case.

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[a] for the king of Prussia, i.e. for nothing. - [b] What's to be done? - [c] As for - [d] consolidated debt - [e] void - [f] high politics - [g] put yourself out

4. Inevitable disintegration of Mussulman Empire. *D'une manière ou de l'autre*[a] will fall into the hands of European civilisation.

At the present, you should dwell more particularly on the Montenegro affair, on the deplorable role England is now officially playing in it. The Sultan only yielded because France and England did not pledge their help. In this affair, both countries used the *entente cordiale* to mask their competing for the favours of the Holy Alliance.[353] You should point out that the ruling oligarchy in England is bound to fall if only because it has become incapable of performing its traditional role abroad, namely maintaining the pre-eminence of the English *nation* vis-à-vis the Continent.[354]

*Tout ça est très pauvre, mais enfin, il me faut un ou deux articles sur cette question pour tuer mon concurrent.*[b]

Your
K. M.

Your translation of my Sutherland article[c] is splendid. I myself would seem to possess some talent for writing in English, if only I had a Flügel,[d] a grammar, and a better man than Mr Pieper to correct my work.

Today I shall again write to the Continent. Should I succeed, now that there's nothing doing with Schabelitz, in scraping together at least enough money to ensure my wife's peace of mind until a second bill has been drawn on Dana and returned—this time I intend to get him up to £30—I might perhaps come and spend a few days with you in April, *pour restituer mes forces.*[e] Then we could, for once, chat undisturbed about present conditions, which in my view must soon lead to an EARTHQUAKE.

According to *The Morning Post,* manufacturers in Lancashire have put all their hands on SHORT TIME, PROSPERITY is drawing to an end, etc.[f] What is the situation in this respect?

Your
K. M.

It's already 11.30 and Dronke has still not brought me No. II[g]. No doubt the fellow is still in bed. What milksops these chaps are!

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[a] One way or another - [b] All this is very weak, but after all I must have one or two articles on this question to dispose of my rival [Pulzsky]. - [c] K. Marx, 'Elections.—Financial Clouds.—The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery'. - [d] J. G. Flügel, J. Sporschil, *Vollständiges Englisch-Deutsches und Deutsch-Englisches Wörterbuch.* - [e] to restore my strength - [f] 'Manchester Manufactures.—A Grave Fact', *The Morning Post,* No. 24712, 5 March 1853. - [g] The other half of the £5 note (see this volume, p. 283).

With their idleness, lack of stamina and inability to sustain any PRESSURE FROM WITHOUT, they are absolutely hopeless. We must recruit our party entirely anew. Cluss is a good man. Reinhardt in Paris is hardworking. Lassalle, despite his many 'buts', is *dur*[a] and energetic. Pieper would not be without his uses if he possessed less childish *vanité* and more *esprit de suite*.[b] Imandt and Liebknecht are tenacious, and each is useful in his own way. But that doesn't add up to a party. Ex-lieutenant Steffen, ex-witness at the Cologne trial, at present a schoolmaster in an establishment near London, seems to me efficient. Lupus GROWS FROM DAY TO DAY OLDER AND BECOMES MORE CROTCHETY. Dronke is and ever will be a 'congenial loafer'.

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## 145

## MARX TO BERTALAN SZEMERE

London, 10 March 1853[c]

I have received your last lines. You will have read Kossuth's various statements.[d] Even before Mazzini's statement[e] was published I knew that he [Kossuth] had written a most *embittered private letter* about Kossuth to one of his friends here, an Englishman.[f] In connection with this I wrote the following to the *Daily New-York Tribune*:* 'As Mr Mazzini himself has now broken the ice I may as well state that Kossuth disowned his own document[g] under the pressure of his Paris friends. This is not the first symptom, in Kossuth's past career, of vacillating weakness, inextricable contradictions and false duplicity. He possesses all the attractive virtues, but also all the feminine faults, of the *Artist* character. He is a great artist "*en paroles*".[h] I recommend Mr

[a] hard - [b] singleness of mind - [c] The original has 1852. - [d] Two statements published in various English newspapers denied his participation in the Milan uprising. See in particular: 'M. M. Kossuth and Mazzini and *The Times*', 'A Letter from Kossuth', *The Daily News*, Nos. 2105 and 2117, 18 February and 4 March 1853. See also this volume, pp. 283-84. - [e] 'A letter from Mazzini', *The Daily News*, No. 2115, 2 March 1853. - [f] Mayne Reid - [g] L. Kossuth, 'In the Name of the Hungarian Nation.—To the Soldiers Quartered in Italy (February 1853)', *The Times*, No. 21348, 10 February 1853. - [h] in words

Szemere's lately published biographies *'Batthyány, Görgey and Kossuth* to those who, unwilling to bow to popular superstition, are anxious to form a matter-of-fact judgment.'*[a] I *sign* all my articles. Attacks will now follow, so I shall have an opportunity to go deeper *en matière.*[b] I should be obliged if you would communicate to me in good time any news you hear about the emigrants, particularly as regards the *par nobile fratrum.*[c] With a couple of pieces of such information I can always buy myself the right to deal with the *matter itself* in the *Tribune.*

*Quant à*[d] Zerffi, whom I have not seen for a fortnight, I told him at any rate that if I knew Kossuth personally I would have felt it was my duty to warn him against Bangya. It seems to me that Zerffi is talkative and somewhat indiscreet. But I do not by any means believe that he is to be placed on the same level as Bangya, but that he is much more honourable.

2,000 copies of my *Revelations Concerning the Cologne Trial* (sent to Switzerland on 6 December 1852)[e] were *confiscated* on the Baden border 3 months later. I am convinced that Bangya had something to do with that too. *C'est un infâme qu'il faut écraser.*[f]

Pulszky went to America about 4 weeks ago. I think Kossuth sent him there to restore the renown he has lost with the Press and to intrigue against his *opponents.* Pulszky will try to get me too a bad name with the *New-York Tribune,* but I prophesy no great success for him.

I remain yours most respectfully

Ch. Williams

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[a] K. Marx, 'Forced Emigration.—Kossuth and Mazzini.—The Refugee Question.—Election Bribery in England.—Mr. Cobden' (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 532.) - [b] into the matter - [c] noble pair of brothers (Horace, *Satires,* II, 3) - [d] As for - [e] See this volume, pp. 264-65. - [f] He is the infamous thing that must be crushed.—From the expression *Ecrasez l'infâme* frequently repeated by Voltaire in his letters of 1759-68. By the infamous thing he meant the Catholic Church.

# 146

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, 11 March 1853]

Dear Marx,

You shall have the articles within a few days[a]; I see that my CONSIDERATION of Urquhart[b] was opportune. Unfortunately it's too late for tomorrow's STEAMER, since I can hardly have finished at the office before 8 o'clock and some preparation is, of course, still necessary. It's grand that *père* Dana is now paying £2 and promptly honouring bills; *avec ça*,[c] we shall at last be out of the wood. Incidentally, I would never have believed that you had sent off seven English articles in such a short space of time[d]; when you come up here, which I much look forward to, you will learn more English in a week than in 6 weeks with Mr Pieper.

As for Monsieur Jacques,[e] it is more than likely that the little man wants to imitate the trick played on the Baden government by Mr Jenni (whom he greatly resembles), namely sell part of the edition[f] to the German governments, and afterwards do business so much the better with what is left. I don't believe he is so bad as to have sold the whole lot outright. Booksellers established in Basle may be justified in feeling nervous; the Basle government won't stand any nonsense and is on neighbourly terms with Baden. But mind you insist on his sending you forthwith per *messagerie*, i. e. by train, a packet of at least a few copies addressed direct to London or, if you like, to me, CARE OF Ermen & Engels, Manchester. Nobody would think of opening such a packet, and even were this to happen, the cat is in any case already out of the bag. It's fishy that he should so far have refused to let a *single copy* out of his hands. Surely he must know some manufacturer in Basle who sends ribbons, etc., etc., to London, and could include some in a consignment.

There's nothing more to the Lancashire story in *The Morning Post* than what I told you in my yesterday's letter.[g] In answer to an inquiry of ours about prices, Houldsworth and Murray, the two

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[a] See this volume, pp. 288-89. - [b] ibid., pp. 284-85. - [c] with that - [d] See this volume, p. 288. - [e] Schabelitz (ibid., pp. 287-88). - [f] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - [g] Engels to Marx, 10 March 1853, see this volume, p. 286.

leading fine spinners in England, told us yesterday that it was useless to quote any prices since they were booked up a long way ahead and could not accept a single new order. Between them these two have about 150,000-200,000 mule spindles in operation. In coarse WATER-TWIST, on the other hand, No. 6/16, business is very slack precisely because of conditions in DOMESTICS which are sticking not only here but also in America and Germany.

We must destroy the competing YANKEE[a] with a great SHOW of omniscience. I shall take a look at a few more books on Turkey of which there are quite a LOT in the Athenaeum.[244]

It is not very pleasant to hear about the DECLINE of our friends. Nor will it be pleasant if these *citoyens*[b] go into the next affair as wise as, but no wiser than, they emerged from the last one, though when it comes to the point, the 'best' of them will no doubt pull themselves together. After Cluss, Lassalle is by far the most useful of the lot, and will be all the more so from the moment *où les biens du comte Hatzfeldt seront irrévocablement réunis au domaine public.*[c] [355] He may have his foibles, but he also has *esprit de parti et ambition,*[d] and we are already aware that he will always make official business a pretext for indulging his lesser appetites and pursuing his own little private affairs. As for recruiting, that's the way it is; once we are back in Germany we shall, I think, find plenty of talented young fellows who have, in the meantime, and not without result, tasted the forbidden fruit. If we had had the means to conduct propaganda scientifically and steadily for the space of 2 or 3 years, writing books about *n'importe quoi,*[e] as we did before 1848, we should have been appreciably better off. But that was impossible, and now the storm is already brewing. You ought to finish your Economy[45]; later on, as soon as we have a newspaper, we could bring it out in WEEKLY NUMBERS, and what the *populus*[f] could not understand, the *discipuli* would expound *tant bien que mal, mais cependant non sans effet.*[g] This would provide all our by then restored associations with a basis for debate.

That Dana is paying £2 per article without demur is the best proof of how firmly ensconced you are at the *Tribune.* Anyway, there is a certain advantage in our being the only one of all the parties of European revolution to have expounded its ideas before the *English*-American public. The YANKEES know absolutely nothing

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[a] Pulszky (see this volume, p. 288). - [b] citizens - [c] when Count Hatzfeldt's property reverts irrevocably to public ownership - [d] party spirit and ambition - [e] no matter what - [f] people - [g] disciples would expound after a fashion but not, however, without profit

about the rest, for all Kossuth's twaddle amounted to was money for, and intervention on behalf of, the great man Kossuth. Doubtless Monsieur Bamberger will advance more against the next bill, the first having been paid so promptly.

Your
F. E.

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## 147

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22[-23] March 1853

Dear Engels,

Your article on Turkey[a] splendid. Sent off.

I don't know if you have seen the following comments in a recent number of *The Economist* on the '*VALUE* OF TURKEY'.

* 'While our commerce with Austria and Russia is either stationary or on the decline, with Turkey it is rapidly increasing. We are not able to state what proportion of our exports may find their way to Austria through Germany, but we believe it [is] only small. Our direct trade with Austria is absolutely insignificant. Our exports of British produces to her Adriatic ports (the only ones she has) were not given separately from those to the rest of Italy till 1846, when they reached £721,981. In 1850 they had fallen to £607,755 and in 1851 had risen to £812,942. Our exports to Russia were on the average of 1840 and 1841: £1,605,000, in 1846 and 1847, £1,785,000, and in 1850 and 1851, £1,372,000.' 'Our exports to the

[a] See section on Turkey in the article by Marx and Engels, 'British Politics.—Disraeli.—The Refugees.—Mazzini in London.—Turkey'.

Turkish dominions, including Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Moldavia and Wallachia, have progressed as follows:

| | £ | | £ | | £ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1840 | 1,440,592 | 1844 | 3,271,333 | 1848 | 3,626,241 |
| 1841 | 1,885,840 | 1845 | 3,134,759 | 1849 | 3,569,023 |
| 1842 | 2,068,842 | 1846 | 2,707,571 | 1850 | 3,762,480 |
| 1843 | 2,548,321 | 1847 | 3,530,589 | 1851 | 3,548,959 |

Our exports are therefore *threefold* those to Russia and nearly double those to Russia and Austria together.'*[356]

So much for *The Economist.*[a]

There must be a considerable row going on about the 'TURKISH QUESTION' within the English Ministry itself, for the tune being piped by Palmerston's journal, *The Morning Post,* is altogether different from that in *The Times.*

Disraeli has happily been deposed from his LEADERSHIP of the 'GREAT CONSERVATIVE PARTY' and his place taken by Sir John Pakington, A MOURNFUL MAN OTHERWISE. It is the first time since 1828 that the Tory party has possessed a 'LEADER' no less mediocre than its rank and file.

You will have seen that during the last division on the Clergy Reserves Bill, when the worthy Russell himself PROPOSED THE OMISSION OF THE 3RD of his 3 original CLAUSES, it was only the votes of the conservative minority that secured victory for the Ministry.[357] A bad sign, that.

Mazzini has been here for a few days, but for the time being incognito.

That the 'GOOD ABERDEEN'[b] is much inclined to pick on the refugees will be evident to you from the fact that last week the English police took a kind of census of refugees. Two or three detectives IN PLAIN CLOTHES went from SQUARE to SQUARE and from street to street, jotting down information, most of it culled from neighbours or nearby *ale-house keepers.* In exceptional cases, however—e.g. at Pulszky's, the blackguard himself being now in America—they actually pushed their way into the homes of the refugees on the pretext that a theft, etc., had been committed, and scrutinised their papers.

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[a] 'Turkey and Its Value', *The Economist,* No. 498, 12 March 1853. - [b] Marx quotes Louis Philippe.

The estimable Barthélemy got away with 2 months' imprisonment.[274] The fellow had the effrontery to have Ledru-Rollin informed he would shoot him down like a dog. To this Ledru replied that he would never exchange shots with such a man. Barthélemy, for his part, retorted that, if he wanted to induce a man to exchange shots with him, he knew very well how to do it—tested methods being to box his ears in public, spit in his face, etc. Whereat Ledru sent word that, in such a case, Barthélemy would become acquainted with his stick and with an English MAGISTRATE. This Barthélemy seems intent on becoming the Rinaldo Rinaldini of the emigration. Some ambition!

*Père* Willich has landed in New York. Friend Weitling organised a banquet for him attended by 300 persons, at which Willich appeared in a vast red sash, made a long speech to the effect that bread is worth more than liberty, and was presented by Weitling with a *sword*. Then Weitling took the floor and proceeded to prove that Jesus Christ was the first communist and his successor none other than the well-known Wilhelm Weitling.

I have received a letter from Schabelitz, which I enclose and from which it emerges 1. that, though he has not betrayed us politically, he has behaved very stupidly indeed; 2. that he meant, and still means, to swindle me, at least commercially. Originally, and under the contract, he was to run off only 2,000 copies.[a] From his letter it appears that he has run off more. How many, he has still not divulged. At the same time Dronke has received an answer from Dr Feddersen to whom he had written about the matter. Feddersen confirms Schabelitz's letter, but at the same time states that, in his opinion, nothing would come of a judicial inquiry concerning Schabelitz. The question is, *what is to be done?* The Prussian government wants to hush the whole thing up, so much so that the Foreign Minister[b] is looking for a *Theory of Communism* allegedly published by me in Basle. So even the title is to be kept from the public. *Que faire?*[c]

Schabelitz sent me 2 copies, 1 direct to me and 1 to Freiligrath, which together cost me 15/-. A fine *return*! So far I have not been able to drag the copies away from the gang. But I think I might succeed in getting hold of one by Wednesday (tomorrow) and will send it with the parcel that has long been waiting to go off to you.

Zerffi is here. He fled from Paris during the razzia on foreign correspondents. He believes that friend Bangya (who, by the by

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[a] of Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* - [b] Presumably Manteuffel. - [c] What's to be done?

and *en passant*, is said to be finding life difficult and intends to return here in May) had denounced him as the author of a number of articles in the *Kölnische Zeitung* compromising to the '*Blonde Souveraine*'.[a] Zerffi is a chatterbox, but his opinions on conditions in Hungary are more independent and accurate than any I have yet heard expressed by refugees from that country. This may be due to the fact that he is no Magyar born and bred, but a 'Swabian', and not only a Swabian but the son of a Hanover Jew, whose name was probably Cerf and was magyarised as Zerffi.

What wretchedly indolent dogs our people in Germany are! Not a word has come through from the fellows. By now they'll have seen from the newspapers that a pamphlet has been published about their case. But they don't so much as inquire about it. There's no responsiveness, no *élan* about the chaps. Old women—*voilà tout*.[b]

A funny piece of news in *La Nation* will hardly have come your way in Manchester. That angel Montijo suffers, it seems, from a most indelicate complaint. She is passionately addicted to *farting* and is incapable, even in company, of suppressing it. At one time she resorted to horse-riding as a remedy. But this having now been forbidden her by Bonaparte, she 'vents' herself. *Ce n'est qu'un bruit, un petit murmure, un rien,*[c] *mais enfin, vous savez que les Français ont le nez au plus petit vent.*[d]

Is there no news of Weerth in Manchester yet?

Your
K. M.

23 March. Yesterday, in response to our appeal[e] consisting of three lines and all our names, Freiligrath, the treasurer, received from the gymnastic club in Washington the sum of £20 17s. for the Cologne people.

Schimmelpfennig has inherited £1,000 from the Brüningk woman.

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[a] Eugénie Montijo, Napoleon III's wife - [b] that's all - [c] A paraphrase of Don Bazile's words in Beaumarchais' *Le barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile*, Act II, Scene VIII. - [d] It's only a noise, a faint murmur, a nothing, but then, you know, the French are sensitive to the slightest puff of wind. - [e] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Appeal for Support of the Men Sentenced in Cologne' (see also this volume, p. 282).

# 148

## MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS[234]

### IN WASHINGTON

London, 25 March 1853[a]
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Cluss,

Your complaints about our (or at least my) laziness in the matter of writing are not WHOLLY justified. I used to write—save when ill—once a week. It was you who first replaced this with a different system, and often just sent newspapers in the interval instead of letters. There are ALL IN ALL 3 letters from you that have remained unanswered. Of those 3, two came on the same day, one enclosed with the money sent to Freiligrath, one direct to myself. Hence, only 2 unanswered letters.[358] If you go back to writing once *every* week, whether at length or briefly, I too will again adopt this regular MANNER. Or rather, I shall do so without waiting. But then I shall expect the same of you.

Schabelitz has now written to me at length. He had printed the *Revelations* pamphlet 2 months ago and, for the space of 5 weeks, left it lying at Weil, a Baden village on the other side of the border. Instead of posting a reliable man there, the jackass went and left everything to the smuggler who, having gradually extracted from him a substantial sum of money, ended up by giving himself away to the Baden government. The rest you will have seen in the last issue of the *Tribune*.[b] But you will be even more convinced of the interest taken by the Prussian government in this pamphlet, and hence of its importance to the 'Fatherland', when I tell you that the heroic Stieber has not only become police superintendent in Berlin but is co-opted onto every ministerial council concerned with precautionary measures against revolutionaries and revolutionary activities. I am almost beside myself with anger at the pamphlet's temporary suppression. You for your part would not appear to have handled matters on this occasion with your usual felicity. The *Neu-England-Zeitung* may take a year to get it out by thus printing it in dribs and drabs,[359] whereas it devotes whole columns to the *'figure de fouine'*[c] of the wretched Ruge who, over here, has still not succeeded in acquiring

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[a] In the original, 1852. - [b] K. Marx, 'Kossuth and Mazzini.—Intrigues of the Prussian Government.—Austro-Prussian Commercial Treaty.—*The Times* and the Refugees'. - [c] weasel-like features

more than a 'strictly circumscribed train' of 5 persons. Why didn't you put the thing into the *Demokrat*, a *much more widely read* organ, to which you yourself contribute? Next time you write you must tell me frankly whether or not the thing can be produced as a pamphlet in America. It would be for *European consumption* and would be tossed into Prussia via Hamburg. If I were not utterly devoid of means I would arrange for it to be printed in Altona forthwith. It is not partiality to the little lampoon, but my perfect knowledge of conditions in Prussia which prompts me to say that, at the present moment, we could deal our beloved Prussians no more telling blow.

Don't lose sight of that blackguard Willich. He is the most rabid of enemies and an idiot into the bargain.

Pulszky has not come among you simply to engage in high politics. He has also been sent across the ocean for the purpose of appeasing General Vetter who, having become DISAFFECTED, is intriguing from America against the 'GREAT Kossuth'. To my amazement I see in the *Daily Tribune*, received from you today, that it has accepted my attacks upon Kossuth-Mazzini.[a] I had thought this highly improbable, the more so since Greeley's WHITE-RED-BLACK FRIEND, the Jew Pulszky,[b] is over there.

Szemere wrote to me from Paris giving me the news I published in the *Tribune*, namely that there had been a lengthy conference between Kossuth and his Parisian PARTISANS about his now 'DISOWNED PROCLAMATION'[c] and that they forced the miserable little man to make a disavowal.

Barthélemy, Willich's friend, whom you will remember from his duel with Schramm[360] (the latter, by the by, lives in Cincinnati whence he has written once), has received a 2 months' sentence for fighting a duel on English soil in the course of which he killed Cournet. He got off so lightly, despite the sordid DISCLOSURES which were made during the trial, because according to English law, seconds are punished as severely as duellists and also because they didn't want to make the poor devil pay the full penalty for what he had done. The fellow had the effrontery when in prison to have a message sent to Ledru saying that as soon as he came out he would shoot him down like a dog. Ledru replied that he would

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[a] K. Marx, 'The Attack on Francis Joseph.—The Milan Riot.—British Politics.—Disraeli's Speech.—Napoleon's Will'. - [b] An allusion to F. and Th. Pulszky, *White, Red, Black Sketches of Society in the United States During the Visit of Their Guest*, Vols. 1-3, London, 1853. - [c] K. Marx, 'Forced Emigration.—Kossuth and Mazzini.—The Refugee Question.—Election Bribery in England.—Mr. Cobden's (see also this volume, p. 280).

not exchange shots with such a scoundrel. *Barthélemy*: He was very well able to induce a man to exchange shots with him by boxing his ears in the open street, and other such tested methods. *Ledru* (riposte): That being so, he would regale him with his stick.

The winsome warrior, Schimmelpfennig, has inherited £1,000 sterling[a] from the Brüningk woman. Indeed, *Monsieur le Lieutenant* had appointed himself to the post of sycophant, nursery-maid, fan-bearer, political oracle, companion, admirer, boots, and any other agreeable function you may care to name.

Reichenbach wants to go to America, as does—up to a point—Kalb of Löwe,[b] the first as a farmer, the second as a doctor.

In the West, the most important, if least conspicuous event, has been the burial of Madame Raspail in Paris[c]. The unexpected turn-out of 20,000 proletarians IN FULL DRESS utterly dumbfounded the Bonapartists. So you can see that the proletarian lion isn't dead. For Ledru, too, the event was a most bitter pill. Raspail is his arch-enemy.

One more FACT. Don't blame me if it is unaesthetic. The *'blonde souveraine'*, Montijo-Lola,[d] is subject to a most repellent constitutional complaint—incessant *farting*. It is known as tympoptanomania. Formerly she used to combat the 'ACCIDENT' with energetic horse-riding which Bonaparte has now forbidden her on the grounds that it is beneath her station. Thus at several *'réunions'* her '*détonations fortes*'[e] have even brought blushes to the cheeks of braided Décembraillards.[f] And that is saying a great deal. *Ce n'est qu'un petit bruit, un murmure, un rien*[g]; *mais enfin, vous savez que les Français ont le nez au plus petit vent.*[h]

In a year *at the most* you will, I think, be with us. *Les choses marchent.*[i]

Your
K. M.

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[a] For 'sterling', Marx wrote in jest *'Sperling'*—sparrow. - [b] Marx jokingly transposed personal and place-names, misspelling the latter, to give 'Calf of Lion'. - [c] on 13 March - [d] An analogy between the Empress Eugénie and Lola Montez, a well-known dancer and adventurer. - [e] loud reports - [f] Omnibus word meaning 'loud-mouthed men of December' (the time of Louis Napoleon's coup). - [g] A paraphrase of Don Bazile's words in Beaumarchais' *Le barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile*, Act II, Scene VIII. - [h] It's only a small noise, a murmur, a nothing; but then, you know, the French are sensitive to the slightest puff of wind. - [i] Things are moving.

# 149

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Sunday, 10 April [1853]

Dear Marx,

I return herewith Cluss' letter.[361] And there, it seems, the matter will have to rest until we have before us the whole of Hirsch's document,[a] and also his first statement[b] which Weydemeyer has retained (do you know anything more about this?). The Bangya business isn't very nice; however, *au bout du compte*,[c] it is better to settle it now than later. According to what you write you have full proof against Bangya to hand now, and, of course, there is also Zerffi to vouch for the Greif business.[d] Knowing as we do now what is coming, we have time to prepare a proper answer.[e] I shall look out Bangya's and the fictitious Collmann's letters.[f] So far as I am concerned, the pamphlet[g] can be printed in America.

Some of the things in Hirsch's statement are perfectly correct, e.g. concerning your letter from Manchester.[362] At the same time, of course, he does his fair share of lying and keeping things under his hat. For instance, he forgets to say that he followed you to Manchester, clearly not by accident, and that, meeting us one Sunday in the Bury New Road with another loafer, he called out quite loudly as he went by: 'Good morning, Marx!' You will recall that we wondered who it might be; *ce fut notre cher Hirsch*.[h] Likewise the affair of Mrs Daniels' letter and the domiciliary visit.[260]

It is curious how many spies *à la* Cooper[363] seem to be turning up just now. Chenu, Cherval, Hirsch. It's a good thing Hirsch now testifies that Bangya was never able to report anything about you except personal tittle-tattle.

Inquiries must be made about the persons mentioned. Lanckoroński is clearly none other than the 'Count L.' denounced by

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[a] W. Hirsch, 'Die Opfer der Moucharderie. Rechtfertigungsschrift', *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, Nos. 3-6, 1, 8, 15 and 22 April 1853. - [b] W. Hirsch, 'Erklärung [of 12 January 1852]', *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, No. 7, 29 April 1853. - [c] after all - [d] See this volume, pp. 242-45. - [e] K. Marx, 'Hirsch's Confessions'. - [f] See this volume, pp. 239, 256 and 258. - [g] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*. - [h] It was our dear Hirsch.

you as a Russian agent in the Kossuth-Bonaparte article.[a] As far as Bangya is concerned, we are fully covered by Kossuth and Szemere and, if he possessed a manuscript of Szemere's,[b] why not one of ours?[c] It's an excellent thing that we have *always* kept *everything* that came our way.

Apropos. Not long ago Dronke made a terrible fuss about my not providing him AT A MOMENT'S NOTICE with the Reichenbach circular[299] and now, in the parcel of American papers, I find it reproduced at least ten times. Couldn't the lazy devil have searched it out himself?

*Pour revenir.*[d] I don't believe anything can be done publicly for the time being, i.e. until we've had a thorough examination of the documents; preliminary steps, no more—for instance, finding out where the document came from, the present whereabouts of Hirsch and what he is doing and, if necessary, confronting the fellow in order to extract another written statement from him. I shall also take immediate steps to find out more about the business of Fleury and the theft[364]; unfortunately my informant, a personal acquaintance of his, is ill. Mind you send me without delay the requisite personal description, etc., etc.

Today I have leafed through most of the American papers sent to me. Much is very amusing but, when there's such a pile of them, it's a very trying and stultifying job. By comparison, Cluss' letters are a delight. I see that the *Revelations* are already appearing in the *Neu-England-Zeitung*[365]; it's really too bad of Weydemeyer not to have got them into the *Criminal-Zeitung*. The least he can now do is to catch up with the main content—drop him a heavy hint to that effect by the next STEAMER, otherwise it may never occur to him.

I have not yet read the pile of (New York) *Demokrats* in which Weydemeyer publishes his articles; I'm saving them up for this evening.

Between ourselves, I am now pretty well convinced that it was, after all, Monsieur Bangya who betrayed Kothes' address.[e] It's a good thing nobody knows about it.

If the business of Hirsch and Bangya becomes any more involved, there'll be another job for us to do when you come up.

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[a] K. Marx, 'Movements of Mazzini and Kossuth.—League with Louis Napoleon.—Palmerston'. - [b] B. Szemere, *Graf Ludwig Batthyány, Arthur Görgei, Ludwig Kossuth...* - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile.* - [d] To return. - [e] See this volume, pp. 232 and 239.

What are your prospects of a visit? I am counting on seeing you here in May at the latest.

You will have had my Friday's letter[366] and with it £3. Warm regards to your wife.

Your
F. E.

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## 150

## ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[1]

### IN NEW YORK

Manchester, 12 April 1853

Dear Weydemeyer,

Herewith Marx's statement on Hirsch's *Confessions*[a] which you should *immediately* get into *as many papers as you can.* If you send Cluss a copy at once, he will undoubtedly be able to take over a large part of the task. It would, I think, do no harm if you were to append the words, 'The undersigned express their full agreement with the above, E. Dronke, F. Engels'. As far as the business of the manuscript[b] is concerned, and relations with Bangya generally, we are just as responsible as Marx and it would not be right if we were to let him bear the responsibility alone. The copy that was handed over[c] is partly in Dronke's hand, the original almost entirely in mine. There is now a prospect of the thing being published in Switzerland.

This statement was composed solely on the strength of the excerpts made by you and sent to us by Cluss.[d] Whether the remainder contains anything that will necessitate a further statement, we cannot, of course, yet say, but doubtless you'll have

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[a] K. Marx, 'Hirsch's Confessions'. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile.* - [c] to Bangya - [d] excerpts from Hirsch's article 'Die Opfer der Moucharderie. Rechtfertigungsschrift', then being prepared for the press.

extracted everything relating to ourselves. In a few days' time you will, I trust, send us the whole thing in print.

As for Bangya, we have him completely in our power. The fellow's so deeply implicated that he is utterly done for. Fresh grounds for suspicion kept cropping up and, in order to cover himself he was compelled to show Marx little by little his entire hoard of documents from Kossuth, Szemere, etc. This is how I come to possess the original manuscript of Szemere's pamphlet on Kossuth and Görgey. Mr Kossuth, then, has been badly compromised through Mr. Bangya. This magyarised Slav's petty cunning was foiled by Marx's tenacity and the skill with which he implicated him. *We,* and no one else (save perhaps Szemere, up to a point), now possess complete documentary evidence as to Bangya's character, but what purpose would be served by raising the alarm just now? The fellow is said to be returning to London in May, and then we can press him hard and possibly extract a great deal more useful information. All manner of things have been going on between Willich and Hirsch which are still very far from clear and if, as you maintain, it was through Kinkel's agency that Hirsch's manuscript found its way over there, this again conjures up the most bizarre speculations. *Il faut tâcher d'y voir clair,*[a] and Bangya can be useful there. So don't say anything about it for the moment; that apart, let the Hungarian gentlemen themselves come forward for once and speak their minds, Kossuth in particular. Why should we give them a helping hand? If they make fools of themselves in a public statement, *tant mieux,*[b] then it will be our turn.

The émigrés are carrying on as disreputably as ever, though with less public offence than hitherto. When I was in London at Christmas-time,[313] we used to mingle *sans façon* with the crowd in the Kinkel-Willich-Ruge pubs, something we could scarcely have done 6 months earlier without risking a brawl. Often the small fry would come up to us quite amiably and patiently allow us to twit them, particularly the gallant Meyen-Julius Vindex.[c] Amongst our own people, everything is still much the same. Lupus is said to be keeping himself very much to himself. Dronke has been angling for a clerk's post these past six months and now there's a scheme afoot to get him one in Bradford, $2^1/_2$ hours by railway from here. Weerth, when I last heard from him, was in St Thomas in the West Indies, where he had survived the yellow fever season. Red

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[a] We must try to clarify this - [b] so much the better - [c] An analogy between Eduard Meyen and the Roman general Julius Vindex.

Wolf[a] who, as you know, is a husband and father, takes his wife and child out on jaunts and seldom puts in an appearance. Freiligrath is still living in Hackney and engages in commerce under the auspices of Mr Oxenford.[b] As for myself, I have made substantial progress this past winter in Slavonic languages and military affairs and, by the end of the year, shall have a passable knowledge of Russian and South Slav.[c] In Cologne I accoutred myself at little expense with the library of a retired Prussian artillery officer and for a time felt myself quite the bombardier again, what with the old Plümicke,[d] the Brigade Training Manual and other well-thumbed volumes which you will remember. However, Prussian military literature is positively the worst there is, the only tolerable stuff being what was written with the campaigns of 1813/15 still fresh in mind. But after 1822 this gives way to a repulsively pretentious pedantry, to a bogus omniscience, which is the very devil. Quite recently a number of passable things have again appeared in Prussia, but not many. Unfortunately the French stuff is completely inaccessible to me owing to my unfamiliarity with specialised literature.

I have swotted up pretty well on the old campaigns (i.e. after 1792); the Napoleonic ones are so simple that it would be difficult to go wrong on them. However, *au bout du compte*[e] Jomini gives the best account of them; despite many fine things, I can't really bring myself to like that natural genius, Clausewitz.[367] For the immediate future, i.e. for *us*, the Russian campaign of 1812 is the most important, the only one where important strategic problems still remain to be solved; Germany and Italy do not admit of any lines of action other than those laid down by Napoleon, whereas in Russia everything is still very confused. The question whether, originally, Napoleon's plan of operations in 1812 was to march directly on Moscow or, during the first campaign, simply advance as far as the Dnieper and Dvina, repeats itself for us with the question as to what a revolutionary army should do in the event of a successful offensive against Russia. This question—accidents apart, of course, and assuming no more than an approximately equal balance of forces—can be solved, or so it has seemed to me up till now, only by water—in the Sound and in the Dardanelles, at Petersburg, Riga and Odessa. Apart also, of course, from *internal* movements in Russia—and an aristocratic-bourgeois

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[a] Ferdinand Wolff - [b] i.e. Oxford - [c] Serbo-Croat - [d] J. C. Plümicke, *Handbuch für die Königlich Preußischen Artillerie-Offiziere.* - [e] in the final analysis

revolution in Petersburg with a resulting civil war in the interior is a possibility. Mr Herzen has made things much easier for himself (*Du progrès des idées révolutionnaires en Russie*[a]) by positing, Hegel-fashion, a democratic-social-communist-Proudhonist Republic of Russia under the triumvirate Bakunin-Herzen-Golovin, so that it cannot possibly fail. Meanwhile it is by no means certain that Bakunin is still alive and in any case Russia, with its huge expanses and sparse population, is a country that is very difficult to conquer. As to the former Polish provinces on this side of the Dvina and Dnieper, I want to hear nothing more of them, knowing as I do that the peasants there are all Ukrainians, only the aristocracy and some of the people in the towns being Polish, and that to the peasant there, as in Ukrainian Galicia in 1846,[368] the restoration of Poland is synonymous with the restoration of the old ruling aristocracy, its powers unimpaired. In all these countries, outside the kingdom of Poland proper, there are barely 500,000 Poles!

It is a good thing, by the way, that this time the revolution should have found a respectable antagonist in Russia and not such spineless scarecrows of opponents[b] as in the year 1848.

In the meantime all sorts of symptoms keep appearing. Prosperity in cotton has reached such heights as to become vertiginous, whereas certain branches of the cotton industry (coarse qualities, DOMESTICS) are completely stagnant. Speculators hope to escape this vertigo by promoting it *en gros*[c] solely in America and France (railways with English money), but over here piecemeal in penny packets, thus by degrees spreading the condition to *all* articles. The quite abnormal weather we've had here during the winter and spring must have damaged the corn and if, as usually happens, the summer is also abnormal, it will spell ruin to the harvest. To my mind the present prosperity cannot last beyond the autumn. In the meantime the 3rd English ministry in 12 months—and, indeed, the last one that will be possible without the direct intervention of the radical bourgeoisie—is falling into disrepute. One after another Whigs, Tories and Coalitionists come to grief as a result, not of a tax deficit, but of a SURPLUS.[369] That typifies the whole policy of the old parties and also their extreme impotence. If the present ministers tumble, it will no longer be possible to govern England without

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[a] A. Herzen, *Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie.* - [b] governments of numerous German states - [c] wholesale

considerably extending the *pays légal*[a]; hence, this is likely to come about at the beginning of the crisis.

The protracted tedium of prosperity has made it almost impossible for the unhappy Bonaparte to maintain his dignity; the world is bored and he bores the world. Unfortunately he cannot remarry every 4 weeks. This trickster, drunkard and cheat will come to grief through having to make a pretence of putting Engel's *Fürstenspiegel* into practice. The vagabond as 'father of the fatherland'! He is *aux abois*.[b] Yet he can't even start a war: everywhere serried ranks bristling with bayonets as soon as he makes the slightest move. And then this period of tranquillity affords the peasants most desirable time in which to reflect upon how the man who promised to subdue Paris for the peasants' benefit is now using the peasants' money to embellish Paris and how, despite everything, mortgages and taxes are going up rather than down. In short, this time the thing is being methodically prepared, and that's very promising.

In Prussia the government has raised a veritable hornet's nest among the bourgeoisie with its income tax. The bureaucrats have increased the rates of tax in the most barefaced manner, and you can imagine the glee with which those egregious quillpushers are now poking their noses into the trade secrets and ledgers of all the merchants. Even my old man, a dyed-in-the-wool Prussian, is fuming with rage. These fellows must now endure to the bitter end the blessings of a constitutional, fatherly, Prussian *gouvernement à bon marché*.[c] Prussia's national debt,—some 67 mill. talers before 1848,—must since have swollen to four times that amount, and already they are wanting to borrow again! One can only assume that the portly monarch[d] would cheerfully sweat now, as once he sweated during the March days,[e] if only he were to be guaranteed this credit for the rest of his mortal life. Yet Louis Napoleon has helped him set the Customs Union on its feet again, Austria, fearing war, has drawn in her horns,[370] 'and now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace into the grave'![f]

The Austrians are doing everything in their power to set things in motion again in Italy, a country which, before the Milan uprising,[335] was completely given over to commerce and prosperity in so far as this was compatible with taxation; and if everything goes on like this for another few months, Europe will be in a splendid state of readiness, needing only the jog of a crisis. On top

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[a] franchise - [b] at bay - [c] cheap government - [d] Frederick William IV - [e] of 1848 (beginning of the revolution in Prussia) - [f] Luke 2:29

of this, one must consider that prosperity, unprecedented in its scope and duration—having begun early in 1849—has restored the strength of the exhausted parties (in so far as these were not beyond repair, like the monarchist party in France) much more quickly than was the case after 1830, for example, when trading conditions long remained unsettled and, on the whole, indifferent. In 1848, too, only the Paris proletariat, and later Hungary and Italy, were exhausted by severe struggles; after June 1848, the insurrections that took place in France were hardly worth speaking of and, in the final count, *ruined* only the old monarchist parties. Add to this the curious result produced by the movement in *all* countries, a result in no way serious or significant save for the colossal historical irony and the concentration of Russian military resources; and in view of all this, it seems to me that, even taking the most sober view, the present state of affairs cannot possibly continue beyond the spring of 1854.

How splendid it is that on this occasion *our party* is taking the stage under wholly different auspices. All the socialist stupidities which one still had to advocate in 1848 vis-à-vis the pure democrats and the South German republicans, the vapourings of L. Blanc, etc., and, indeed, even the things *we* were compelled to propound if only to find *points d'appui* for our views in the confused state of affairs in Germany—all this is already being advocated by our respected opponents, by Ruge, Heinzen, Kinkel and so forth. The preliminaries to proletarian revolution, the measures by which the field of battle is being made ready and the way cleared for us—a single and indivisible republic, etc., things which originally *we* had to advocate *in the teeth* of those whose natural, normal calling it should have been to implement, or at least demand them,—all this is now *convenu*,[a] has been learnt by the gentlemen. This time we shall start off straight away with the *Manifesto*,[b] thanks largely to the Cologne trial in which German communism (most notably through Röser) has passed its matriculation.

All this, of course, relates merely to theory; in practice we shall, as always, be reduced to insisting above all on resolute measures and absolute ruthlessness. And that's the pity of it. I have a feeling that one fine day, thanks to the helplessness and spinelessness of all the others, our party will find itself forced into power, whereupon it will have to enact things that are not immediately in

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[a] agreed - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party.*

our own, but rather in the general, revolutionary and specifically petty-bourgeois interest; in which event, spurred on by the proletarian *populus* and bound by our own published statements and plans—more or less wrongly interpreted and more or less impulsively pushed through in the midst of party strife—we shall find ourselves compelled to make communist experiments and leaps which no one knows better than ourselves to be untimely. One then proceeds to lose one's head—only *physiquement parlant*[a] I hope—, a reaction sets in and, until such time as the world is capable of passing *historical* judgment of this kind of thing, one will be regarded, not only as a brute beast, which wouldn't matter a rap, but also as *bête*,[b] and that's far worse. I don't very well see how it could happen otherwise. In a backward country such as Germany which possesses an advanced party and which, together with an advanced country such as France, becomes involved in an advanced revolution, at the first serious conflict, and as soon as there is *real danger*, the turn of the advanced party will inevitably come, and this in any case will be *before* its normal time. However, none of this matters a rap; the main thing is that, should this happen, our party's rehabilitation in history will already have been substantiated in advance in its *literature*.

We shall, by the way, cut a far more respectable figure on the stage than last time. In the first place we are happily rid of all the old idlers in the persons of Schapper, Willich and Co., secondly, we have grown somewhat stronger, thirdly, we can count on the rising generation in Germany (if nothing else, the Cologne trial is enough to guarantee us this), and finally we have all of us benefited substantially in exile. There are, of course, some amongst us who proceed on the principle: 'What need is there for us to swot? That's what *père* Marx is there for, it's his business to know everything.' But in general the Marx party does do a good deal of swotting, and one only has to look at the way the other émigré jackasses snap up this or that new catchword, thereby becoming more bemused than ever, to realise that our party's superiority has increased both absolutely and relatively. As indeed it must, for *la besogne sera rude*.[c]

I should like to have time before the next revolution to study and describe thoroughly at least the campaigns of 1848 and 1849 in Italy and Hungary. Generally speaking, I have a pretty clear notion of the business, despite imperfect maps, etc. But the very

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[a] physically speaking - [b] stupid - [c] it will be a tough business

accuracy of detail required to depict it calls for a great deal of trouble and expense. On both occasions the Italians behaved like nincompoops. Willisen's account and analysis, while accurate on the whole, is often silly,[a] and the total superiority of Austrian strategy, which he stresses as early as 1848, only becomes apparent in the Novara campaign,[371] without doubt the most brilliantly fought affair in Europe since Napoleon's day (*outside* Europe, however, the feats performed by old General Napier in India in 1842 are of quite another order and, indeed, reminiscent of Alexander the Great; on the whole I regard Charles Napier as the foremost living general). Strange in Italy, just as in Baden in 1849, is the traditional superstitious belief in positions occupied during the campaigns of the 1790s. Nothing would have induced Mr Sigel to fight anywhere save in the position made classical by Moreau, and Charles Albert's belief in the Virgin Mary's virginity was no more steadfast than his belief in the miraculous powers of the plateau of Rivoli. So immutable was this conviction in Italy that the Austrians commenced every important manoeuvre with a feint attack on Rivoli and *every time* the Piedmontese fell into the trap. The joke is, of course, that the relative positions and lines of communication were quite different.

Despite everything, Monsieur Görgey remains the only fellow in Hungary who was superior to everyone else and to whom everyone else was hostile out of sheer envy; I think it probable that had not Görgey, despite his great military talents, been a very vain, petty chap, this for the most part stupid hostility would have finally turned him into a traitor. Ever since the Világos affair[372]—entirely justified in *military* (but *not* revolutionary) terms—the fellows have subjected Görgey to such a plethora of insane accusations that the chap almost compels one's interest. The actual 'betrayal' took place after the relief of Komarom,[373] before the Russians got there, and for this Kossuth is just as much to blame as Görgey. A cloud of uncertainty still envelops Bayer, Görgey's Chief of the General Staff, who is now in London. From the memoirs of Görgey[b] and other sources, it would seem that it was *he* who inspired Görgey's *strategic* plans. From what Pleyel told me, Bayer is the principal author of the official *Austrian* book on the campaign.[c] (Bayer was captured in Pest and escaped); it is said

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[a] W. Willisen, *Der italienische Feldzug des Jahres 1848*. - [b] A. Görgei, *Mein Leben und Wirken in Ungarn in den Jahren 1848* und 1849. - [c] Presumably *Sammlung der für Ungarn erlassenen Allerhöchsten Manifeste und Proklamationen, dann der Kundmachungen der Oberbefehlshaber der kaiserlichen Armee in Ungarn.*

to be excellent, but I haven't yet been able to get hold of it. Görgey speaks of Klapka with great respect, but everyone admits that he was very weak. Perczel is regarded as a jackass, the 'democratic' Hungarian general. Old Bem always thought of himself only as a good partisan and commander of a detached corps intended for a definite purpose; so far as I can judge, this is all he was, but to a superlative degree. He did two stupid things, once with his fruitless expedition into the blue after Banat; next, during the great Russian invasion when he repeated, literally, the highly professional manoeuvre he had successfully executed before Hermannstadt and was trounced in consequence.[374] *Père* Dembiński, however, was an incorrigible visionary and braggart, a partisan who believed himself born to conduct great campaigns and embarked on the maddest enterprises. Smitt's Polish Campaign of 1831[a] contains some good stories about him.

Apropos. Could you give me a short description of Cologne's fortifications with a few drawings—rough sketches—done from memory? If I remember rightly, the main wall is bastioned and the forts are said to be of the Montalembert type; is that so, and how many of them are there? You can use any military engineering terms, since I have some quite passable manuals and drawings here. Do you know details of any other Prussian fortresses? I am fairly familiar with Coblenz (Ehrenbreitstein, at least), and have seen a plan of Mainz. What interests me particularly is the manner in which the new Montalembert structures are built in Germany; it's impossible to find out anything about this owing to Prussian secretiveness.

Write soon. Warmest regards to your wife[b] and to Cluss from

Your

F. Engels.

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[a] F. Smitt, *Geschichte des polnischen Aufstandes und Krieges in den Jahren 1830 und 1831*. - [b] Louise

# 151

## MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS[375]

### IN WASHINGTON

[London, 17 April 1853]

... Today I have received the first 5 numbers[a] from New York, whether from Weydemeyer or from Kellner I do not know. With most of them I was already familiar through you. This is at least a *decent* paper—a rare thing in America—and a working man's paper. However, I cannot say I very much care for the chief editor's affected effusions concerning *'questions personnelles'* which are at one and the same time party questions, or for his pseudo-naive gentility and biblical portentousness. But you have to take this newspaper as it comes. What I liked best of all was Weydemeyer's introduction to his 'Ökonomische Skizzen'. Good stuff that. I have approached our people here; Dronke and Pieper have, I think, already sent something. I shall speak to Jones. On the whole it is difficult to get contributions. I myself have too much to do. The others unfortunately are still somewhat put off by their earlier experiences. Lupus is in a wretched state. Eccarius has to work away at his tailoring from 5 in the morning until 8 at night and is in a dangerously hectic condition. Engels, when not stuck in the office, is completely taken up with his studies, and probably he too has not yet got over the wrongs he thinks he has suffered at the hands of the American Press. Our party is, alas, very *pauvre*.[b] I shall also approach ex-lieutenant Steffen, ex-witness for the defence at the Cologne trial, presently a schoolmaster in the vicinity of London. He has more spare time than anyone else and is very capable.

Pieper has still not finished the articles you want, which explains why you haven't yet had them.[376]

As for the Hirsch affair,[c] a statement[d] IMMEDIATELY went off to Engels via Engels, which, etc., etc. I've known for 6 months or more that there was something fishy about Bangya. I didn't break with the fellow until, like the jackass he is, he had let me find out all about his connections, handed over all documents that put me

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[a] of *Die Reform* - [b] poor - [c] See this volume, pp. 301-02. - [d] K. Marx, 'Hirsch's Confessions'.

in the right and him in the wrong, and generally placed himself at my mercy. I threw him out months ago at Szemere's.

My suspicions of Willich have only been confirmed by his latest step. *D'abord,*[a] I know that he and Kinkel paid and continue to pay Hirsch out of revolutionary funds! Then, at the Cologne trial, soon after it began, he boasted to Fleury (who in turn passed it on to Imandt) that he had in his possession a letter of mine to Bangya dated Manchester. I challenged Bangya about this at the time. He said he was willing to be confronted with Fleury. On being informed of this by Imandt at my behest, Fleury retracted. Thus at that time Willich was illicitly consorting with Hirsch. He knew that Hirsch was illicitly consorting with Greif and that his *friend* Fleury was a spy. It was through these fellows that he got hold of my letter. The 'gallant worthy'—for whom, *en passant,*[b] free meat and drink is *le dernier but*[c]—wanted to set a trap for me, and to that end became embroiled in intrigues with *mouchards.*[d]

True, he sent Hirsch to Cologne. True, I heard later that Hirsch was in Cologne. But why did he send Hirsch to Cologne, and when did he send him there? *Firstly,* when it was already too late. 2. When the police in Cologne had themselves denounced his friend Fleury. 3. When he himself, having become suspect, wished to rehabilitate himself as a 'magnanimous worthy' by means of this theatrical coup. This was Hirsch's own account of the affair on his return...

Reichenbach and family, 'clever' Lieutenant Schimmelpfennig complete with wife and Brüningk legacy of £1,000, and lastly, the artist Schmolze, set sail today for America. *Bon voyage!* But Reichenbach's flight has deprived poor Lupus of the last of his lessons. It's most unfortunate for him. He's no Kinkel. Nor does he know how to lick the boots of the bourgeois like the future 'President of the German Republic' and his 'consort',[e] both of them consummate sycophants, humbugs and parasites. The amiable Gottfried has so far succeeded in ingratiating himself that he has been accorded the use of one of London University's lecture rooms to repeat before a London audience his old series of lectures on Christian art in the Middle Ages. He is giving them *free* and gratis in the hope that he will be able to worm his way into the post of Professor of Aesthetics at London University. He delivers them in ABOMINABLE English, *reading* from a manuscript. Though welcomed with applause at the beginning of the series, he

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[a] In the first place - [b] in passing - [c] the ultimate aim - [d] police spies - [e] Johanna Kinkel

subsequently proved such a complete failure that not even the organised claque of Jewish aesthetics-mongers could save him. Edgar Bauer, who was present—Kinkel gave his first lecture last Tuesday—told me all about it. It seems to have been a truly nauseating and wretched performance.

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## 152

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 April 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

The Pieper business is true.[377] Bangya is here again, also Stieber and Goldheim. *Please return enclosed pencilled note immediately.*[a] *Qu'en dis-tu?*[b]

I now have a further £30 to draw on New York. Bamberger refused to budge, but I have something else in prospect. If it materialises, I shall visit you from 1 to 7 May, *supposé*[c] I shan't be in your way.

If you have the time, I should very much like to have an article on *Switzerland*[378] by Friday.[d] You have dealt with the subject any number of times, whereas I am not familiar with the personalities, etc. But it should be an article *without* a sequel. *One* article on Switzerland is enough for a country of that size.

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, p. 316. - [b] What do you say to that? - [c] supposing - [d] 29 April

# 153

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 April 1853

DEAR Frederic,

I fear that nothing will come of my proposed trip.[a] Bamberger cannot discount the bill for me and Friedländer, who half-promised to do so, has now definitely refused. I have written to Strohn about it,[379] but look on this as a mere formality which I complied with *pour acquit de conscience*[b] and for my wife's sake, without expecting anything to come of it.

A paper of mine for the *Tribune* (which included the *first* Turkish article)[c] about Mazzini's presence here—again denied by his friends but on his orders, I think—was made the basis for a short LEADER on Mazzini's lucky escape, followed by the comment:

* 'In this connection we may properly pay a tribute to the remarkable ability of the correspondent by whom this interesting piece of intelligence is furnished. Mr Marx has very decided opinions of his own, with some of which we are far from agreeing, but those who do not read his letters neglect one of the most instructive sources of information on the great questions of current European politics.'*[d]

As you see, I am firmly in the saddle. I have in addition had a most interesting letter from Cluss with 2 issues containing Hirsch's confessions[e] (not yet concluded). I'm not sending the stuff yet since there's still a chance that something might happen to enable me to come myself and bring the things with me. Anyhow, I won't come without notifying you beforehand. When is your old man arriving? I'd rather not cannon into him.

If only Dana would advise me of a business house here, as I have asked him three times to do, I should at least be over the worst.

*Ad vocem*[f] Hirsch: Originally I was of the same opinion[g] as yourself, but the matter is somewhat different. Stieber and Goldheim are definitely here, their purpose being to 'link'

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[a] See this volume, pp. 303 and 314. - [b] to salve my conscience - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'British Politics.—Disraeli.—The Refugees.—Mazzini in London.—Turkey'. - [d] *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3736, 7 April 1853. - [e] W. Hirsch, 'Die Opfer der Moucharderie. Rechtfertigungsschrift', *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, presumably Nos. 3 and 4, 1 and 8 April 1853. - [f] re - [g] See this volume, pp. 301-02.

Kossuth's gunpowder plot with Berlin.[380]. The same fellow who wrote me the anonymous scrawl,[a] wrote on the same day to Schärttner and Göhringer word-for-word as follows:

'London, 21.4.53

Announcement

Recent arrivals: Police Commissioner Stieber and the Jew Goldheim, a police lieutenant, both of Berlin (P.T.O.)

*Description*

| *Stieber* | *the Jew Goldheim* |
|---|---|
| Medium height (about 5) | about 6′ |
| Hair: black, short | black, short |
| Moustache: ditto, ditto | ditto, ditto |
| Complexion: sallow and muddy | sallow, puffy features |
| Wears dark, narrow trousers, a blue sack, a collapsible stuff hat, and spectacles. | Wears black trousers, a light yellow sack, black hat. |

N.B. Both of them regularly go about together and are accompanied by *Hirsch*, a commercial assistant from Hamburg, and Haering, a postal clerk from Willich's birth-place. Today Stieber and Goldheim had a meeting with Bangya. Stieber and Goldheim visit the Prussian Embassy regularly every day between 11 and 3.'

I believe the author to be Henry de L'Aspée, friend and compatriot of O. Dietz, that same aggrieved policeman who, you will recall, was to have [a meeting] with us after your arrival here for the purpose of making further revelations. You can see what headway 'Hirsch' is making. Nothing could be more inopportune for Willich-Kinkel.

FAREWELL.

Your

K. M.

As to the pound,[b] I shall give them each 10/-, since so far as I know there's some prospect of Pieper's getting his money without a lawsuit. The poor devil is hellish syphilitic and at the same time in rotten CIRCUMSTANCES and too featherbrained to look after himself.

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[a] See this volume, p. 314. - [b] Reference to the help given to Dronke and Pieper.

# 154

# MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS

## IN WASHINGTON

[London, 26 April 1853]

Dear Cluss,

You must by now have received three letters from me.[381] Enclosed a Jones *Paper*, containing an anti-*Times* article by 'Englishman'.[a]

If the *Cologne Revelations* have not yet been printed as a pamphlet, or *'gratis'* as such by the *Neu-England-Zeitung*, do nothing more about it, as it is now too late.

Willich has written to Herzen (the Russian) to say that everything is going 'splendidly', that he has achieved 'great results' and will soon be returning.

Mr *Hentze*, for one, is again implicated in the Berlin business.[b] In any case, as Willich-Kinkel's agent, he would have been possessed of old proclamations and revolutionary recipes. Furthermore, he was destined by these great men to be military commander of Berlin.

The local Rollinists[c] are blushing for shame over Ruge's proclamation of which they were informed by us. In no case had Ledru given Ruge permission to publish this discreditable letter. Ruge extorted the letter from Ledru through the latter's ex-servant, the ex-Palatinate lawyer, and ex-French deputy, *Savoye*—one-time pedlar of German *adjectiva*.[382] At all events, Ledru has sunk lower than ever before.

Your
K. M.

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[a] 'The Base and Brutal *Times*', *The People's Paper*, No. 51, 23 April 1853. Englishman—pen-name of Alfred Richards. - [b] See this volume, pp. 315-16.- [c] followers of Ledru-Rollin

# 155

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

### IN NEW YORK

[London,] 26 April 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

On 21 April I received the anonymous scrawl set out *below*. An identical anonymous letter was sent to the democratic tavern-keepers, Schärttner and Göringer. *I have* ASCERTAINED *the facts contained therein.* I think you should publish the thing (you may name Schärttner and Göringer) along with a few introductory remarks dated London. Messrs Stieber and Goldheim have come over here in order to '*link*' Kossuth's apocryphal gunpowder plot with the Berlin affair.[a] From the following you will note to what extent the 'contrite' Hirsch continues to be 'A Victim of Moucharderie'.[b] Let us hope the blackguard doesn't succeed in finding fresh victims in Berlin. I think this business will prove his complete undoing in America. Cluss will have received what follows below at the same time as yourself. We were all very taken with your 2 articles in the *Reform*.[c] Only see to it that Kellner doesn't exploit you without a fitting *quid pro quo* in terms of political influence. Well, here is a *word-for-word* copy of the letter received by Schärttner, etc.:

'London, 21.4.53

Announcement

Recent arrivals: Police Commissioner Stieber and the Jew Goldheim, a police lieutenant, both of Berlin.

*Description*

| *Stieber* | *the Jew Goldheim* |
|---|---|
| Medium height (about 5') | about 6' |
| Hair: black, short | black, short |
| Moustache: ditto, ditto | ditto, ditto |
| Complexion: sallow and muddy | sallow, puffy features |
| Wears dark, narrow trousers, a blue sack, a collapsible stuff hat, and spectacles. | Wears black trousers, a light yellow sack, black hat. |

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[a] See this volume, pp. 315-16. - [b] An allusion to Hirsch's 'Die Opfer der Moucharderie...' - [c] Weydemeyer, 'Nationalökonomische Skizzen'.

N.B. Both of them regularly go about together and are accompanied by *Hirsch*, a commercial assistant from Hamburg, and *Haering*, a one-time postal clerk from Willich's birth-place. Today Stieber and Goldheim had a meeting with Bangya. Stieber or Goldheim visit the Prussian Embassy regularly every day between 11 and 3.'

Today's *Times* reports the presence here of Stieber and Goldheim.[a]

Many regards to you and your wife.

Your
K. M.

As that fire-eater Heinzen has again had the audacity in his *Volk* to invoke the 'Chartists'—who simply want universal suffrage without having to bother their heads over communists or odious class distinctions, I think it high time you published in the *Reform* the letter written to you by Ernest Jones.[82]

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## 156

## ENGELS TO MARX[383]

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 26 April 1853

Dear Marx,

Herewith the article[378] and pound sterling. Even though one of the two CLAIMANTS[b] may suffer, fob him off until next week.

The sooner you come yourself, the better. The bedroom in my house is ready.

Trade appears to be falling off already in France. In particular, direct imports of cotton from America have decreased. The

[a] [Report from a Berlin correspondent of 22 April,] *The Times*, No. 21412, 26 April 1853. - [b] Dronke and Pieper, see this volume, p. 321.

figures for American exports are as follows: from 1 September to 6 April of each year.

| | 1853 | 1852 | 1851 | 1850 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| To England | 1,100,000 | 930,000 | 757,000 | 592,000 |
| " France | 257,000 | 302,000 | 246,000 | 192,000 |
| All other countries | 204,000 | 189,000 | 163,000 | 105,000 |

In other words, France is the *only* country which, despite the enormous American crop, has taken *less* than last year and barely more than in 1851, the year of political gloom, *où l'ordre et la société allaient s'engloutir dans le gouffre socialiste.*[a] Imports in 1852 show the momentarily magical effect of the coup d'état, 1853 shows the reverse. Something was still being shipped from Liverpool to Havre, but not as much as formerly. In other respects too, industry in France would not appear to be exactly flourishing. This time the thing seems to be really serious, and connected especially with the ousting of French articles from foreign markets by domestic manufactures. The colossal proscriptions of workers in 1851/52 are beginning to bear fruit; I am convinced that they have contributed quite specifically to the expansion and improvement of the English and American factories producing Paris articles, bronzes, etc. Today it is a thousand times more difficult than before to drive the proletariat across the border with impunity on the pretext of order. Even if there were complete peace, French industry would inevitably go to the dogs owing to this perpetual exploitation of conspiracy as a *moyen de gouvernement,*[b] and the constantly renewed proscription of the proletariat; the English and the Yankees certainly know how to take advantage of the more useful amongst these.

When, then, will you be coming?

Your
F. E.

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[a] when order and society were about to be swallowed up in the socialist abyss - [b] means of government

# 157

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 April 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I have just been with Freiligrath to see Gerstenberg and there is some prospect of having the bill discounted by Friday or at least of obtaining an advance on it. No go with Strohn, OF COURSE. So there is still a possibility of coming to you—which I greatly wish to do.

I should be obliged if you would answer *by return* the following enquiry little Bamberger asked me to pass on to you (the fellow might come in useful now or at any time):

| | |
|---|---|
| Madapolams for the Italian market<br>Printed calicos .....ditto<br>Straw manufacturing houses .....ditto | Good houses to buy from in Manchester |

Received the article[378] and £1 for Pieper and Dronke.

I know now for certain that my information about Mazzini's presence in London[a] was correct.

Hirsch was at the Russian consul's the day before yesterday, and on the same day at Fleury's house with Stieber and Goldheim.

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, p. 281.

## 158

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Wednesday, [27 April 1853]

Dear Marx,

If there is nothing better you can do about the bill, send it to me by return (in time for Friday's American post). I think I can get it cashed for you by a Yankee or at any rate advance you £10 against it pending receipt of the balance—i.e., you can't have the money before 1 May, but on *2 May* you will receive the £10 *without fail.* Write and tell me whether in these circumstances you will be able to come here, and do come if at all possible; then you can send the money to your wife yourself.

At any rate, keep me informed, so that I'm NOT OUT OF THE WAY when you arrive.

P. Ermen's old library will again be at our disposal.

Your
F. E

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## 159

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 April 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Today Freiligrath and I went to Gerstenberg's again. He gave me a 'sealed' letter of recommendation to Spielmann in Lombard Street. Refusal. As a prominent Kinkelian, Gerstenberg was not, of course, in earnest.

I am now sending you the bill which, with the stuff[a] that goes off tomorrow, amounts to £32.

Bamberger is willing to lend me £2 so that I can leave a few shillings with my wife and use the rest for my journey to you. *I shall leave on Saturday morning.*[b] Tomorrow is impossible.

Your
K. Marx

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## 160

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Friday, 20 May 1853

Dear Marx,

Herewith the latest news from America. I still have several copies of the *Criminal-Zeitung* containing the statements by Weydemeyer and yourself,[c] which I shall send at the beginning of next week so that you and the others can make use of them; I shall keep one copy here for Dronke and the archives.

Freiligrath will, perhaps, be so good as to notify Weydemeyer or Lièvre of the receipt of the £25 enclosed herewith,[384] it being too late for me to write to Weydemeyer today. But how the fellows have managed to convert $125 into £25 is a mystery to me, for according to the last New York rate of 4 May sterling was standing at 54d.=109 3/4 cents, thus, even at 110 cents, $125=£25. 11s. 4d., hence there has been a loss of 3/2d. for every dollar on the rate of exchange.

My old man has at last written to me. As I expected: for God's

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'The Rocket Affair.—The Swiss Insurrection', and F. Engels, 'Political Position of the Swiss Republic'. - [b] 30 April. Marx stayed with Engels in Manchester till 19 May. - [c] J. Weydemeyer, 'Der "demokratische" Mouchard', *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, No. 7, 29 April 1853, and K. Marx, 'Hirsch's Confessions'.

sake avoid a row, wait till he comes and then takes me to the Exchange. Business is too good to permit of an almighty rumpus. So far as I'm concerned that's perfectly in order provided my worthy papa has nothing against it; what do *I* care about the wretched affair?

Your
F. E.

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## 161

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 May 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Today the bill for £25 goes off to Freiligrath, who will immediately notify Lièvre of its receipt.[a]

Herewith Wolff's[b] address; he is still sulking. By the by, now that so much has been brought out into the open, I have become convinced that Dronke has been purveying the most abject lies, rumours and gossip at my expense. The only activity, indeed, of which this self-important midget and WOULD-BE Blanqui was capable. His addiction to tittle-tattle had turned him into such a dyed-in-the-wool liar that he himself no longer knew what he was saying or had said.

Don't for God's sake send me *any more* copies of Weydemeyer's statement or my own.[c] Here alone I have 14 of each which I received the day before yesterday. It would have been more to the point had Weydemeyer sent at least 2 or 3 copies of 'Hirsch's' revelations.[d] E.g., Schabelitz could make use of 1 in Switzerland

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[a] See previous letter. - [b] Wilhelm Wolff - [c] J. Weydemeyer, 'Der "demokratische" Mouchard' and K. Marx, 'Hirsch's Confessions'. - [d] W. Hirsch, 'Die Opfer der Moucharderie...'

should further proceedings be taken against him. I like the inevitable Weydemeyerian misprint, where Bangya is made to say *'Ähnliches'*[a] instead of *'Rühmliches'*.[b]

Nothing else of interest here. I have not seen Blind recently. Have you sent him his Herzen[c]?

*The People's Paper* is on the up and up and, for the time being, financially secure. Jones is convening mass meetings for 19 June *et seq.* at Blackstone Edge, Skurcoat Moor, Mount Sorrell and Nottingham Forest.[385]

Apropos. I was only able to give Pieper 10/-, Strohn having shown me the wrong RAILWAY GUIDE which caused me to miss the PARLIAMENTARY TRAIN,[145] so that I had to travel 2nd class.[386]

Write to me soon.

Your
K. M.

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## 162

## ENGELS TO MARX[387]

IN LONDON

[Manchester, before 28 May 1853]

Dear Marx,

So the bomb is at long last about to go off, as you will see from the enclosed scrappy proof[d] and Weydemeyer's letter. Willich's manner of extricating himself is strange, at any rate; you will undoubtedly be much amused by these lame circumlocutions and the awkward and embarrassed style. The fellow's been hard hit. But papa Schramm[e] would seem to have gravely insulted him in

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[a] similar - [b] glorious - [c] A. Herzen, *Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie.* - [d] Proofs of Willich's statement published in *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, No. 9, 13 May 1853. - [e] Conrad Schramm

Cincinnati; all grist to the mill. One thing we may be sure of is that the only effect of *this* statement will be to compromise the chivalrous one even more.

So *just because* the *New-Yorker-Criminal Zeitung*!!!!! has published attacks upon him, the gallant Willich feels compelled to break his heroic silence.

'Putting the case at its *highest*[a]!' In Willich's case bodies do not fall *downwards* but *upwards*! Good-bye to gravity! The fellow's quite mad. The same old tale of assassination too! We shall now see the aforesaid Schramm leap promptly into the lists, statement in hand.[388]

To put your mind at rest, I can inform you that the *Neu-England-Ztg.* today advised me of the dispatch of 420 copies of *Revelations*[b] to my address, so they may be here tomorrow or, if the parcel didn't go off by the last STEAMER, in a week at the most. The fellows have the effrontery to send me a letter signed semi-anonymously 'Office of the *N.-E.-Z.*' inviting me to contribute. That's the last straw!

At all events, it's a good thing that we now possess in the *Reform*[389] an organ in which, if the worst comes to the worst, we can still make ourselves heard in the polemic against Willich and Co. As a result of the rumpus, Kellner is becoming more and more embroiled.

Weydemeyer's misprint shouldn't surprise you. After all, you must know that when Weydemeyer does something, it is always 'similar' rather than 'glorious'.[c]

The little fellow[d] is coming here next Sunday. I am curious to see how he is shaping as a clerk in Bradford. At all events the good Buckup seems to be working him very hard.

Yesterday I read the book on Arabian inscriptions which I told you about.[390] The thing is not without interest, repulsive though it is to find the parson and biblical apologist forever peeping through. His greatest triumph is to show that *Gibbon* made some mistakes in the field of ancient geography, from which he also concludes that Gibbon's theology was deplorable. The thing is called *The Historical Geography of Arabia*, by the Reverend Charles Forster. The best things to emerge from it are:

1. The supposed genealogy of Noah, Abraham, etc., to be found in Genesis is a fairly accurate enumeration of the Beduin

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[a] Case in German=*Fall*. The pun cannot be reproduced in English. - [b] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - [c] See this volume, p. 325. - [d] Ernst Dronke

tribes of the time, according to the degree of their dialectal relationships, etc. As we all know, Beduin tribes continue to this day to call themselves Beni Saled, Beni Yusuf, etc., i.e. sons of so and so. This nomenclature, which owes its origins to the early patriarchal mode of existence, ultimately leads up to this type of genealogy. The enumeration in Genesis is *plus ou moins*[a] confirmed by ancient geographers, while more recent travellers have shown that most of the old names still exist, though in dialectally altered form. But from this it emerges that the Jews themselves were no more than a small Beduin tribe like the others, which was brought into conflict with the other Beduins by local conditions, agriculture, etc.

2. As for the great Arab invasion, you will remember our discussion when we concluded that, like the Mongols, the Beduins carried out periodic invasions and that the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires were founded by Beduin tribes on the very same spot as, later, the Caliphate of Baghdad. The founders of the Babylonian Empire, the Chaldeans, still exist under the same name, Beni Chaled, and in the same locality. The rapid construction of large cities, such as Nineveh and Babylon, happened in just the same way as the creation in India only 300 years ago of similar giant cities, Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Muttan, by the Afghan and/or Tartar invasions. In this way the Mohammedan invasion loses much of its distinctive character.

3. In the South-West, where the Arabs settled, they appear to have been a civilised people like the Egyptians, Assyrians, etc., as is evident from their buildings. This also explains many things about the Mohammedan invasion. So far as the religious fraud is concerned, the ancient inscriptions in the South, in which the ancient Arab national tradition of monotheism (as with the American Indians) still predominates, a tradition of which the Hebrew is only a *small part*, would seem to indicate that Mohammed's religious revolution, like *every* religious movement, was *formally a reaction*, a would-be return to what was old and simple.

It is now quite clear to me that the Jews' so-called Holy Writ is nothing more than a record of ancient Arab religious and tribal traditions, modified by the Jews' early separation from their tribally related but nomadic neighbours. The circumstance of Palestine's being surrounded on the Arabian side by nothing but desert, i.e. the land of the Beduins, explains its separate

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[a] more or less

development. But the ancient Arabian inscriptions and traditions and the Koran, as well as the ease with which all genealogies, etc., can now be unravelled, show that the main content was Arab, or rather, generally Semitic, as in our case the *Edda*[391] and the German heroic saga.

Your
F. E.

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## 163

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 31 May 1853

Dear Marx,

The bill on Dana has been paid; we shall have the money tomorrow and shall send it you without delay; Charles[a] missed the chap twice today. There will be some loss on the rate of exchange, but less, I think, than if the bill were to be negotiated in London.

The parcel of pamphlets[b] has also arrived and will go off tomorrow. I shall keep 8 or 10 up here. It is fairly heavy and cost £1 16/- which you can add on to the selling price. DUTY alone was 18/-, so, all things considered, it was a good thing it was addressed to me.

The little man[c] was here on Saturday and seems to be making out better than was to be expected. Buckup told Strohn that he was quite satisfied with him and that he had quickly familiarised himself with the work. I gave him a little sermon about punctuality; anyhow, conditions at Buckup's office are as favourable as he could wish. He is already doing book-keeping and, if he continues to do well for 3 or 4 months, will have a secure berth.

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[a] Roesgen - [b] Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* published in Boston. - [c] Ernst Dronke

Strohn has gone to the Continent again; he left on Saturday. It was a good thing that he was on the spot for the first fortnight.

Nothing new from America this week.

Your
F. E.

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## 164

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 1 June 1853]

Dear Marx,

Herewith half the £20 note,—P/E 90 138. The other half by the 2nd post as I don't know any other address.

The fellow who cashed the bill has gone away for a few days, which means we can't get the money. But so as not to keep you waiting I have got hold of this £20. Settlement of the bill, then, will be effected early next week.

The dirty dog[a] has docked us about £18 for cigars and wine bought from him partly by Charles[b] as a speculation and partly by me for my own consumption, so this has also involved paying debts.

Yesterday I read your article on *The Times* and the refugees (with the quotation from Dante)[c] in an old number of the *Tribune* published at the beginning of April. *Je t'en fais mon compliment.*[d] The English isn't merely good; it's brilliant. Every now and again there's a key word which doesn't fit in quite *coulant*[e] enough, but

[a] Gottfried Ermen - [b] Roesgen - [c] K. Marx, 'Kossuth and Mazzini.—Intrigues of the Prussian Government.—Austro-Prussian Commercial Treaty.—*The Times* and the Refugees'. - [d] I congratulate you. - [e] smoothly

that's about the worst that can be said of the article. Pieper is hardly in evidence at all and I can't conceive what you still need him for.

Your
F. E.

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## 165

## MARX TO ENGELS[84]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 June 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

DEAR Frederic,

The first half of the £20 note has turned up. I am writing this before going to the Museum,[a] i.e. at a very early hour.

I would have sent you long ago the enclosed great Willich's statement to the *Neu-England-Zeitung*[b] had I not assumed that you'd had the thing from Weydemeyer. In *conception* this second statement is pure, GENUINE Willich. Others write 'essays', he writes 'facts',[392] and only if one has been on a 'personal footing' with him does the calumny lose its sting. It is the manoeuvre of your petty partisan. He does not answer for his own Hirsch.[c] Rather, he explains to the public Marx's 'motives' for *not* refuting his Hirsch. And now he has discovered a terrain where he can operate with a measure of virtuosity. And it is with 'reluctance' that the noble man reveals the facts to the 'public'. Needless to say, he has preferred to whisper them to the philistines in the privacy of the beer-parlour

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[a] The library of the British Museum. - [b] A. Willich, 'An die Redaktion der *Neu-England-Zeitung*, Louisville, den 2. Mai 1853', *Neu-England-Zeitung*, No. 62, 13 May 1853. - [c] An allusion to Willich's help in publishing Hirsch's 'Die Opfer der Moucharderie...' (For details see K. Marx, 'The Knight of the Noble Consciousness', present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 481 and 498-99).

and, for the past three years, to peddle them 'contraband-wise' throughout two hemispheres, *juvante Kinkelio.*[a] Then his manoeuvring to keep the public on tenterhooks. They forget the facts among which he twists and turns and eagerly await the facts which are to demolish the 'critical authors'. And the noble man is 'distinguished' withal, as befits a 'public figure'. When he does reply, it will not be to Marx's uncouth 'agents' but to the 'ingenious' quill-pushers themselves. Finally, he gives the public to understand that what makes his opponents so cocksure is their belief in his 'decision' to retire and, with a roll of drums, this important personage proceeds to announce that he has 'changed' his mind.

*Tout ça n'est pas trop mal pour un vieux sous-lieutenant.*[b] But as for the style of statement No. 2—bad as it is, it is nevertheless apocryphal. Other hands have been at work on it, probably those of Madame Anneke. At all events, the necessary supplement to Tellering's pamphlet will now be published by Mr Willich[c] and, the dirty business having been once placed before the public, *il faut aller jusqu'au bout.*[d] If Weydemeyer, Cluss and Co. operate with skill, they should now be able to put a spoke in Willich's wheel and ruin the impact and novelty of the surprises he is holding in store for the public. *Nous verrons.*[e]

The praise you accord to my 'budding' English,[f] I find most encouraging. What I chiefly lack is first, assurance as to grammar and secondly, skill in using various secondary idioms which alone enable one to write with any pungency. Mr *Tribune* has given special prominence to a note about my 2nd article on Gladstone's Budget,[g] drawing the attention of readers to my 'MASTERLY EXPOSITION' and going on to say that NOWHERE have they seen 'A MORE ABLE CRITICISM' and do 'NOT EXPECT TO SEE ONE'.[h] Well, that is ALL RIGHT. But in the following article it proceeds to make an ass of me by printing under my name a heading of mine[i] which is quite trifling and intentionally so, whereas it appropriates your 'Swiss' thing.[j] I shall write and tell Dana that, 'flattering' though it may be if they occasionally use my things for a LEADER, they would oblige me by

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[a] with Kinkel's assistance - [b] Not too bad for an old second lieutenant. - [c] E. [Müller-]Tellering, *Vorgeschmack in die künftige deutsche Diktatur von Marx und Engels.* - [d] it must be taken to its conclusion - [e] We shall see. - [f] See this volume, pp. 329-30. - [g] K. Marx, 'Riot at Constantinople.—German Table Moving.—The Budget'. - [h] *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 3761, 6 May 1853, leader. See also present edition, Vol. 12, Note 57. - [i] Section 'The Rocket Affair' in Marx's and Engels' 'The Rocket Affair.—The Swiss Insurrection'. - [j] F. Engels, 'Political Position of the Swiss Republic' published over Marx's signature.

not putting my name to trifles.[393] I have now sent the jackasses, amongst other things, 2 articles on 'China' with reference to England.[a] If you have the time and happen to feel like writing about something—Switzerland, the East, France, England or COTTON, or *Denmark,* say—you should do so on occasion, for I am now slogging away with an eye to the fellow's money-bags in order to make good the 3 WEEKS I have lost. If you send me something from time to time—*de omnibus rebus*[b]—I shall always be able to place it, for as you know, I am the fellows' 'maid of all work', and it's always easy to relate one thing to another and to every day. Παντα ἐν παντα.[c]

As regards the Hebrews and Arabs,[d] I found yor letter most interesting. It can, by the by, be shown that 1. in the case of all eastern tribes there has been, since the dawn of history, a *general* relationship between the SETTLEMENT of one section and the continued nomadism of the others. 2. In Mohammed's time the trade route from Europe to Asia underwent considerable modification, and the cities of Arabia, which had had a large share of the trade with India, etc., suffered a commercial decline—a fact which at all events contributed to the process. 3. So far as religion is concerned, the question may be reduced to a general and hence easily answerable one: Why does the history of the East *appear* as a history of religions?

On the subject of the growth of eastern cities one could hardly find anything more brilliant, comprehensive or striking than *Voyages contenant la description des états du Grand Mogol, etc.* by old François Bernier (for 9 years Aurangzeb's physician). He provides in addition a very nice account of military organisation and the manner in which these large armies fed themselves, etc. Concerning both these he remarks *inter alia*:

'The main body consists of cavalry, the infantry not being so numerous as is commonly supposed si ce n'est qu'avec les véritables gens de guerre, on ne confond tous ces gens de service et de bazars ou marchés qui suivent l'armée; car, en ce cas-là, je croirais bien qu'ils auraient raison de mettre les 2 et 300 000 hommes dans l'armée seule qui est avec le roi, et quelquefois encore davantage, comme quand on est assuré qu'il sera longtemps absent de la ville capitale; ce qui ne semblera pas si fort étonnant à qui saura l'étrange embarras de tentes, de cuisines, de hardes, de meubles et de femmes même assez souvent, et par conséquent d'éléphans, de chameaux, de bœufs, de chevaux, de portefaix, de fourrageurs, vivandiers, marchands de toutes sortes et de serviteurs qui traînent après soi ces

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[a] K. Marx, 'Revolution in China and in Europe'. The *Tribune* editors may have included both articles in this one publication. - [b] anything under the sun - [c] All in all. - [d] See this volume, pp. 326-28.

armées, et à qui saura l'état et gouvernement particulier du pays, à savoir que le *roi est le seul et unique propriétaire de toutes les terres* du royaume, d'où vient par une certaine suite nécessaire que toute *une ville capitale* comme Delhi ou Agra ne vit presque que de la milice, et est par conséquent obligée de suivre le roi quand il va en campagne pour quelque temps, ces villes-là n'étant ni ne pouvant être rien moins qu'un Paris, mais *n'étant proprement qu'un camp d'armée* un peu mieux et plus commodément placé qu'en rase campagne.'[a]

In reference to the Grand Mogul's march on Kashmir, with an army 400,000 strong, he writes:

'La difficulte est de savoir d'où et comment peut subsister une si grande armée en campagne, une si grande quantité d'hommes et d'animaux. Il ne faut pour cela que supposer, ce qui est très vrai, que les Indiens sont fort sobres et fort simples dans leur manger, et que de tout ce grand nombre de cavaliers il n'y a pas la dixième, ni même la vingtième partie, qui, dans la marche, mange de la viande; pourvu qu'ils aient leur kicheris ou mélange de riz et d'autres légumes, sur lesquels ils versent du beurre roux quand ils sont cuits, ils sont contents. Il faut encore savoir que les chameaux résistent extrêmement au travail, à la faim et à la soif, vivent de peu et mangent de tout, et qu'aussitôt que l'armée est arrivée, les chameliers les mênent brouter à la campagne, où ils mangent tout ce qu'ils attrapent; de plus que les mêmes marchands qui entretiennent les bazars dans Delhi, sont obligés de les entretenir dans les campagnes, ebenso die petits marchands etc. ... enfin à l'égard du fourrage, tous ces pauvres gens s'en vont rôdant de tous les côtés dans les villages pour en acheter et y gagner quelque chose, et que leur grand et ordinaire refuge est de raper, avec une espèce de truelle, les campagnes entières, battre ou laver cette petite herbe qu'ils ont rapée, et l'apporter vendre à l'armée...'[b]

Bernier rightly sees all the manifestations of the East—he mentions Turkey, Persia and Hindustan—as having a common

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[a] 'unless all those serving-people and bazaar or market folk who follow the army are taken for true warriors; for, if such were the case, there would, I think, be good reason to put at 2 to 300,000 men the strength of that army alone that is with the king, and sometimes even more, as, for example, when it is known that he will be long absent from the capital city; which would not, indeed, seem so very surprising to anyone familiar with all the strange impedimenta of tents, kitchen, clothing, furniture, and even women quite often, and, consequently, elephants, camels, oxen, horses, porters, foragers, sutlers, merchants of all kinds and servants who follow in the wake of these armies, nor to anyone familiar with the conditions and government peculiar to the country, namely that the *king is the sole and unique proprietor of all the lands* in the kingdom, whence it necessarily follows that every *capital city*, such as Delhi or Agra, fixes almost wholly on the militia and is therefore obliged to follow the king whenever he goes campaigning for a time, these cities neither being, nor indeed able to be, in any respect a Paris, but *being really nothing but an army encampment* rather better and more commodiously situated than if it were in the open country.' (Marx's italics.) - [b] 'How and upon what so great an army can subsist in the field, or so large a concourse of men and animals, is difficult to conceive. To that end one can only surmise, and such is indeed the case, that the Indians are very sober and very simple in what they eat and that, of this

basis, namely the *absence of private landed property.* This is the real *clef,*[a] even to the eastern heaven.

It would seem to be no go with Borchardt[394]; nevertheless I think the fellow might be prepared to try and obtain recommendations for Lupus from Steinthal, etc., to London merchants. So much, at least, you could compel him to do, and it would mean a great deal to Lupus.

What do you think about the failure of the hudibrastic Rodolpho[b] Gladstone's 'FINANCIAL SCHEME FOR REDUCING THE NATIONAL DEBT'?[c]

The day before yesterday the *Journal des Débats* revealed the true secret of Russia's impudence. The Continent, it says, must either expose its independence to danger from Russia, or it must expose itself to war, and that is *'la révolution sociale'.* What the wretched *Débats* forgets, however, is that Russia is no less afraid of revolution than Mr Bertin, and that the whole question now is who can most convincingly simulate 'non-fear'. But England and France—the official ones—are so abject that Nicholas, if he sticks to his guns, will be able to do what he likes.

*Vale faveque.*[d]

C. M.

Have written to Lassalle, who will probably be READY to take receipt of a few 100 copies of the pamphlet[e] and distribute them

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great number of horsemen, not one tenth, nay, not even one twentieth, eats meat during the march; provided they have their khichri, or mess of rice and other vegetables, whereon they pour brown butter when cooked, they are content. It should also be known that camels are extremely resistant to work, hunger and thirst, live on very little and eat anything and that, as soon as the army reaches camp, the camel-drivers lead them out to graze in the countryside, where they eat everything that comes their way; further, that the same merchants that keep the bazaars in Delhi are obliged to keep them in the field also, likewise the lesser merchants, etc. ... finally, concerning forage, all these poor people go roving in every direction to the villages to buy the same and to earn something there, and that their chief and habitual recourse is to scratch up whole stretches of country with a kind of trowel, pounding and washing the little herbs thus scratched up, and taking them to the army for sale...'

[a] key - [b] An allusion to Ralpho—a character in Samuel Butler's satirical poem *Hudibras.* - [c] Marx described Gladstone's financial schemes in 'The New Financial Juggle; or Gladstone and the Pennies', 'Achievements of the Ministry', 'Affairs in Holland.—Denmark.—Conversion of the British Debt.—India, Turkey and Russia', 'The Russian Humbug.—Gladstone's Failure.—Sir Charles Wood's East India Reforms'. - [d] Good-bye and farewell. - [e] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (Boston edition).

in Germany. The question now is how are we to get them across? When I was in Manchester[386] Charles[a] suggested it might be done by including them in a consignment of merchandise. You might ask him about this again.

*P.S.* There's been a delay over the posting of this letter and so I can include an acknowledgment of the parcel of books and the other half of the NOTE.

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## ENGELS TO MARX[338]

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 June [1853,] evening

Dear Marx,

I had intended to write to you by the first post today, but was detained at the office until 8 o'clock. You will have received both Weydemeyer's and Cluss' anti-Willich statements in the *Criminal Zeitung*,[b] i.e. direct from America. If not, write to me at once. As usual, papa Weydemeyer is too long-winded, very seldom makes a point, then promptly blunts it with his style, and unfolds his well-known lack of verve with rare composure. Nevertheless, the man has done his best, the story about Hentze, the 'comrade-in-arms', and the influence of others on Hirsch's pen is nicely fashioned; his incredible style and his composure, regarded over there as impassibility, will appeal to the philistines, and his performance can, on the whole, be regarded as satisfactory. Cluss' statement, on the other hand, pleases me enormously. In every line we hear the chuckle of *l'homme supérieur*[c] who, through 'personal contact' with Willich, has, as it were, become physically

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[a] Roesgen - [b] J. Weydemeyer, 'Weiters in der Willich-Hirsch'schen Angelegenheit'; A. Cluss, 'An die Redaktion der *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*', *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, No. 10, 20 May 1853. - [c] the superior man

conscious of his superiority. For lightness of style, this surpasses everything that Cluss has ever written. Never a clumsy turn of phrase, not a trace of *gêne*[a] or embarrassment. How well it becomes him thus to ape the worthy citizen of benevolent mien who nevertheless betrays the cloven hoof at every turn. How splendid, the sentence about 'revolutionary agencies' being 'a swindle' off which, according to Willich, he lives. The chivalrous one will have been surprised to find among the uncouth 'agents'[395] a fellow who is so dashing, so adroit, so aggressive by nature and yet so unassumingly noble in his bearing, and who returns thrust for thrust *a tempo*[b] so subtly—far more subtly and deftly than himself. If only Willich had the discernment to discover this! But irritation and due reflection will, I trust, give him a little more insight.

It is obvious that we shall have to see this dirty business through to the bitter end. The more resolutely we tackle it the better. You'll find, by the way, that it won't be so bad after all. The chivalrous one has promised vastly more than he can fulfil. We shall hear of assassination attempts, etc., the Schramm affair will be glamorously tricked out,[c] and such chimeras will be evoked as will cause us to stare at one another in amazement, not having the faintest idea what the man is actually talking about; at worst he will tell the story about Marx and Engels arriving drunk one evening at Great Windmill Street[24] (*vide* Kinkel in Cincinnati, *coram* Huzelio[d]). If he goes as far as that, I shall tell the scandal-loving American public what the Besançon Company[396] used to talk about when Willich and the *formosus*[e] pastor Corydon Rau[f] were not present. *Au bout du compte,*[g] what can a brute of this kind find to tax us with? Mark my word, it will be just as *pauvre*[h] as Tellering's smear.[i]

I shall be seeing Borchardt within the next few days. If any recommendations are to be had, you can trust me to get them.[j] But I hardly imagine that Steinthal, etc., have connections of the sort in London. It's almost wholly outside their line of business. Besides, if only for fear of making a fool of himself, the fellow will attempt to put off doing anything about it up here. If it were not for Lupus, I'd consign the chap, etc. I can't abide him, with his

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[a] constraint - [b] in good time - [c] See this volume, pp. 325-26. - [d] in Huzel's presence (ibid., pp. 148-50) - [e] comely - [f] Officer Rau is compared to shepherd Corydon, a character in pastoral poems who suffers from unrequited love. - [g] Come to that - [h] poor - [i] An allusion to [Müller-]Tellering's *Vorgeschmack in die künftige deutsche Diktatur von Marx und Engels.* - [j] See this volume, p. 334.

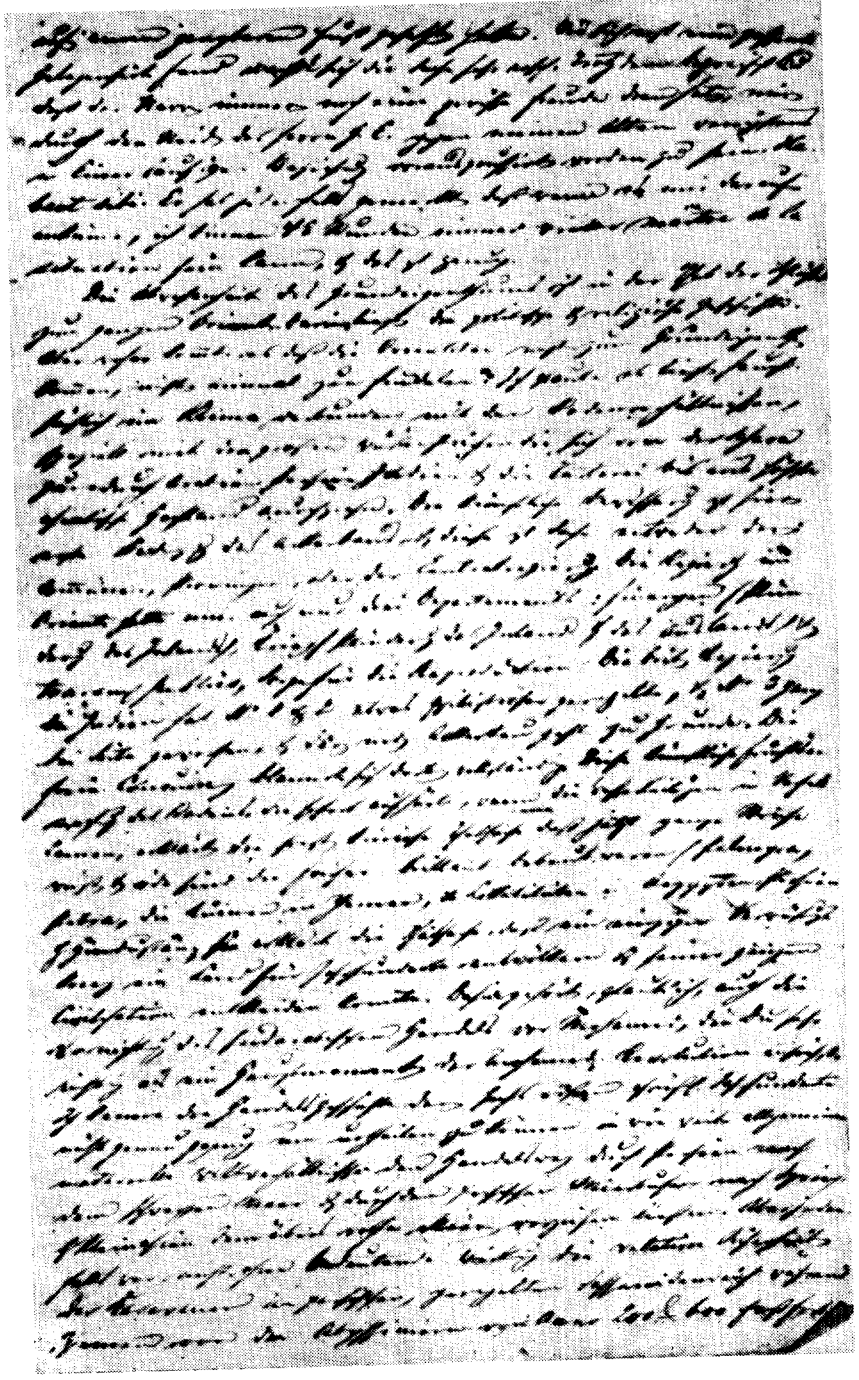

Third page of Engels' letter to Marx of 6 June 1853

smooth, self-important, vainglorious, deceitful charlatan's physiognomy.

If Lassalle has given you a good, neutral address in Düsseldorf, you can send me 100 copies.[a] We shall arrange for them to be packed in bales of twist by firms up here; but they should not be addressed to Lassalle himself, since the packages will go to Gladbach, Elberfeld and so on, where they *will have to be stamped* and sent by *post* to Düsseldorf. However, we cannot entrust a package for Lassalle or the Hatzfeldt woman to any local firm, because, 1. they all employ at least *one* Rhinelander who knows all the gossip, or 2. if that goes off all right, the recipients of the bales will get to know about it, or 3. at the very best the postal authorities will take a look at the things before delivering them. We have a good address in Cologne, but are not, alas, very well acquainted with the people who are the principal buyers *here* for the firm in Cologne, and hence cannot expect them to do any smuggling. Indeed, what we shall tell the people here is that the packages contain presents for the fair sex.

From all this you will gather that I am once again on passable terms with Charles.[b] The affair was settled with great dispatch at the first suitable opportunity. Nevertheless you will realise that the fool derives a certain pleasure from having been given preference over myself in one rotten respect at least, because of Mr Gottfried Ermen's envy of my old man. *Habeat sibi.*[c] He at any rate realises that if I so choose, I can become *maître de la situation*[d] within 48 hours, and that's sufficient.

The absence of landed property is indeed the key to the whole of the East.[397] Therein lies its political and religious history. But how to explain the fact that orientals never reached the stage of landed property, not even the feudal kind? This is, I think, largely due to the climate, combined with the nature of the land, more especially the great stretches of desert extending from the Sahara right across Arabia, Persia, India and Tartary[398] to the highest of the Asiatic uplands. Here artificial irrigation is the first prerequisite for agriculture, and this is the responsibility either of the communes, the provinces or the central government. In the East, the government has always consisted of 3 departments only: Finance (pillage at home), War (pillage at home and abroad), and *travaux publics,*[e] provision for reproduction. The British govern-

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[a] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see this volume, p. 334). - [b] Roesgen - [c] Let him have it. - [d] master of the situation - [e] public works

ment in India has put a somewhat narrower interpretation on nos. 1 and 2 while completely neglecting no. 3, so that Indian agriculture is going to wrack and ruin. Free competition is proving an absolute fiasco there. The fact that the land was made fertile by artificial means and immediately ceased to be so when the conduits fell into disrepair, explains the otherwise curious circumstance that vast expanses are now arid wastes which once were magnificently cultivated (Palmyra, Petra, the ruins in the Yemen, any number of localities in Egypt, Persia, Hindustan); it explains the fact that one single war of devastation could depopulate and entirely strip a country of its civilisation for centuries to come. This, I believe, also accounts for the destruction of southern Arabian trade before Mohammed's time, a circumstance very rightly regarded by you as one of the mainsprings of the Mohammedan revolution.[a] I am not sufficiently well acquainted with the history of trade during the first six centuries A.D. to be able to judge to what extent general material conditions in the world made the trade route via Persia to the Black Sea and to Syria and Asia Minor via the Persian Gulf preferable to the Red Sea route. But one significant factor, at any rate, must have been the relative safety of the caravans in the well-ordered Persian Empire under the Sassanids, whereas between 200 and 600 A.D. the Yemen was almost continuously being subjugated, overrun and pillaged by the Abyssinians. By the seventh century the cities of southern Arabia, still flourishing in Roman times, had become a veritable wilderness of ruins; in the course of 500 years what were purely mythical, legendary traditions regarding their origin had been appropriated by the neighbouring Beduins, (cf. the Koran and the Arab historian Novaïri), and the alphabet in which the local inscriptions had been written was almost wholly unknown although *there was no other*, so that *de facto writing* had fallen into oblivion. Things of this kind presuppose, not only a SUPERSEDING, probably due to general trading conditions, but outright violent destruction such as could only be explained by the Ethiopian invasion. The expulsion of the Abyssinians did not take place until about 40 years before Mohammed, and was plainly the first act of the Arabs' awakening national consciousness, which was further aroused by Persian invasions from the North penetrating almost as far as Mecca. I shall not be tackling the history of Mohammed himself for a few days yet; so far it seems to me to have the character of a Beduin reaction against the settled, albeit decadent urban fellaheen whose religion by then was

[a] See this volume, p. 332.

also much debased, combining as it did a degenerate form of nature worship with a degenerate form of Judaism and Christianity.

Old Bernier's stuff[a] is really very fine. It's a real pleasure to get back to something written by a sensible, lucid old Frenchman who constantly hits the nail on the head *sans avoir l'air de s'en apercevoir.*[b]

Since I am in any case tied up with the eastern mummery for some weeks, I have made use of the opportunity to learn Persian. I am put off Arabic, partly by my inborn hatred of Semitic languages, partly by the impossibility of getting anywhere, without considerable expenditure of time, in so extensive a language—one which has 4,000 roots and goes back over 2,000-3,000 years. By comparison, Persian is absolute child's play. Were it not for that damned Arabic alphabet in which every half dozen letters looks like every other half dozen and the vowels are not written, I would undertake to learn the entire grammar within 48 hours. This for the better encouragement of Pieper should he feel the urge to imitate me in this poor joke. I have set myself a maximum of three weeks for Persian, so if he stakes two months on it he'll best me anyway. What a pity Weitling can't speak Persian; he would then have his *langue universelle toute trouvée*[c] since it is, to my knowledge, the only language where 'me' and 'to me' are never at odds, the dative and accusative always being the same.[399]

It is, by the way, rather pleasing to read dissolute old Hafiz in the original language, which sounds quite passable and, in his grammar,[d] old Sir William Jones likes to cite as examples dubious Persian jokes, subsequently translated into Greek verse in his *Commentariis poeseos asiaticae,* because even in Latin they seem to him too obscene. These commentaries, Jones' *Works,* Vol. II, *De poesi erotica,* will amuse you. Persian prose, on the other hand, is deadly dull. E.g. the *Rauzât-us-safâ* by the noble Mirkhond, who recounts the Persian epic in very flowery but vacuous language. Of Alexander the Great, he says that the name Iskander, in the Ionian language, is Akshid Rus (like Iskander, a corrupt version of Alexandros); it means much the same as *filusuf,* which derives from *fila,* love, and *sufa,* wisdom, 'Iskander' thus being synonymous with 'friend of wisdom'.

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[a] F. Bernier, *Voyages contenant la description des états du Grand Mogol, de l'Indoustan, du Royaume de Cachemire, etc.* See also this volume, pp. 332-34. - [b] without appearing to be aware of it - [c] universal language ready-made - [d] W. Jones, *A Grammar of the Persian Language.*

Of a RETIRED king he says: 'He beat the drum of abdication with the drumsticks of retirement', as will *père* Willich, should he involve himself any more deeply in the literary fray. Willich will also suffer the same fate as King Afrasiab of Turan when deserted by his troops and of whom Mirkhond says: 'He gnawed the nails of horror with the teeth of desperation until the blood of vanquished consciousness welled forth from the finger-tips of shame.'

More tomorrow.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 9 June 1853

Dear Marx,

So that Pieper may see he hasn't been forgotten, inform him of the following. In yesterday's *Manchester Guardian* there was the offer of a post as CORRESPONDING CLERK AND BOOKKEEPER. He might contrive to get £180 a year; from what I hear, it is with a Jew here, Leo Schuster. Pieper should at once write a letter addressed to:

Box B 47,
Post Office,
Manchester

and beginning: Monsieur, etc.

The letter had best be written in French, since French and German are required. He should say he thinks he can fill the post, that he comes from Hanover, is aged such-and-such, and last worked for so-and-so in London, from whom inquiries may be made as to his character and qualifications. He can conduct correspondence in German, French and English and, if needs be, in Italian, is rather less familiar (if indeed this is the case) with

bookkeeping; he must say that he lost his post because the partner's son had joined, etc., then what sort of a business it was, but that he could without doubt quickly familiarise himself with all types of merchandise business in the Manchester TRADE. *Le tout sans phrase, aussi simplement raconté que possible.*

*J'ai l'honneur de me souscrire',*

or else, *'Mr., votre très dévoué',*[a] etc.

Nothing more. If they consider him, he will probably be summoned to Schuster's London house, and then it will be up to him. But he *must write straight away, by the first post tomorrow.*

Herewith £1. 18. 6d., the balance of the £32. The fellow only deducted 18 pence for collecting charges but, on the other hand, all Charles[b] and I owed him.

You will have received the bill from America the day before yesterday.

Whether Pieper can give Rothschild as a reference, you people in London will be best able to judge; if so, it might do no harm, for the fact that Pieper is no BRED CLERK will emerge at the very first interview when they ask him where he worked before. But he must be sure of what Rothschild is going to say and, perhaps, see him beforehand.

Your

F. E.

*Copie d'Annonce.*[c]

* Wanted in a Shipping House a Bookkeeper and Corresponding Clerk. A knowledge of German and French absolutely required. Address Box B 47, P. Off. Manchester.*

[To refer to me would do *no good whatever,* indeed it might do harm. Pieper, of course, should not let Schuster see that he knows *who* inserted the advertisement to which he should refer as his reason for applying.]

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[a] The whole without frills and told as simply as possible. 'I have the honour to sign myself', or else, 'I am, sir, your most obedient'. - [b] Roesgen. See this volume, p. 344. - [c] The memo is in pencil; the last paragraph is barely legible.

# 168

## MARX TO ENGELS[338]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 14 June 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Having been prevented by all sorts of business and domestic affairs, I have only today got round to replying to your two letters[a] and acknowledging receipt of the American money (handed over to Freiligrath),[b] likewise the balance of the American *Tribune* money. If that's the sort of business relationship you and Charles[c] had with your 'intermediary', then you've been up to some trick for my sake. For since it was not that fellow, but you, who advanced the money against the bill, you and Charles could just as well have sent the bill to America without the fellow. At least, that's how it seems to me.

I did *not* inform Pieper of your news for the following reasons: Pieper was becoming more and more of a wreck and some 8 or 10 days ago I took him to task about the state of his health. It then transpired that his illness was going *de pis en pis*[d] at the hands of his English quack. I therefore suggested I should take him straight to *Bartholomew*'s Hospital—the London hospital at which the foremost and most renowned doctors treat the public for nothing. He came with me. An ancient Hippocrates, after examining the *corpus delicti* and questioning him about his former TREATMENT, told him: 'YOU HAVE BEEN A FOOL', explaining at the same time that he would be 'DOWN' within three months if he did not follow his instructions to the letter. The efficacy of the new treatment was immediately apparent and in 2 weeks the man will be *sain et sauf*.[e] The case was too serious for the treatment to be interrupted, and anyhow Freiligrath has a post in view for Pieper. If nothing comes of it, I shall let you know.

*Rumpf*, our jolly tailor, is now shut up in a *lunatic asylum*. Some 5 months ago, in order to extricate himself from a social quandary, *le malheureux*[f] married an *elderly* woman, became excessively respectable, foreswore all spirits and worked like a

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[a] of 6 and 9 June - [b] See this volume, p. 323. - [c] Roesgen - [d] from bad to worse - [e] safe and sound - [f] the wretched man

carthorse. About a week since he took to drinking again, sent for me a couple of days ago, revealed that he had discovered the means of making the whole world happy, that I was to be his minister, etc., etc. He has been in the ASYLUM since yesterday. It's a pity about the fellow.

In *The Leader*—which, by the by, has become a purely bourgeois sheet—*Ruge* has announced that he will be giving *lectures* on German philosophy in London.[a] Needless to say he takes this opportunity to give himself a puff. E.g. 'Where style is concerned, there is only one man whom the German people set alongside him—*Lessing*.' In the same issue of *The Leader*, the Russian *Herzen* advertises his collected works[b] adding that, together with the Polish Committee, he is to set up a Russo-Polish propaganda press here in London.[400]

One of the enclosed letters from Cluss[401] will reveal to you the nature of the main blow with which Willich is threatening me. He refers to the £20 *borrowed* by me from the Refugee Committee at a time when I myself was distrained because my Chelsea landlady,[402] although I had paid her, had not paid her LANDLORD,—a debt which I *repaid* down to the last farthing by the necessary INSTALMENTS.[403] You must now advise me what tactics to adopt. If that's how the good Willich thinks he's going to do me in, he must be a regular *'bonhomme'*.[c]

*Carey*, the American political economist, has brought out a new book, *Slavery at Home and Abroad*. Here 'SLAVERY' covers all forms of servitude, WAGE-SLAVERY, etc. He has sent me his book in which he quotes me repeatedly (from the *Tribune*) now as 'A RECENT ENGLISH WRITER', now as 'CORRESPONDENCE OF THE *NEW-YORK TRIBUNE*'.[404] As I have told you before, this man, in his earlier works, propounds the 'harmony' of the bourgeoisie's economic foundations and attributes all MISCHIEF to unnecessary interference by the State. The State was his *bête noire*. He is now playing a different tune. All ills are blamed on the centralising effect of big industry. But this centralising effect is in turn blamed on England, who has made herself the WORKSHOP of the world and has forced all other countries to revert to brutish agriculture divorced from manufacturing. In its turn, responsibility for England's sins is laid on the theory of Ricardo-Malthus, and specially Ricardo's theory of rent. The necessary consequence both of Ricardo's theory and of industrial

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[a] 'Arnold Ruge', *The Leader*, Vol. IV, No. 168, 11 June 1853. - [b] 'A Russian Democratic Printing Office in London', *The Leader*, Vol. IV, No. 168, 11 June 1853. - [c] simpleton

centralisation would be communism. And to obviate all this, to counter centralisation with localisation and the union,—a union scattered throughout the land—of factory and farm, our ULTRA-FREE-TRADER finally recommends—*protective tariffs.* To obviate the effects of bourgeois industry, responsibility for which he lays on England, his recourse, as a genuine Yankee, is to speed up this process in America itself by artificial means. For the rest, his opposition to England drives him into *Sismondian* praise of the petty bourgeoisie in Switzerland, Germany, China, etc. And this is the chap who used to deride France for her resemblance to China. The only thing of definite interest in the book is the comparison between Negro slavery as formerly practised by the English in Jamaica and elsewhere, and Negro slavery in the United States. He demonstrates how the main STOCK of Negroes in Jamaica always consisted of freshly imported BARBARIANS, since their treatment by the English meant not only that the Negro population was not maintained, but also that $^2/_3$ of the yearly imports always went to waste, whereas the present generation of Negroes in America is a native product, more or less Yankeefied, English speaking, etc., and hence *capable of being emancipated.*

The *Tribune,* needless to say, is puffing Carey's book for all it's worth.[a] Both, indeed, have this in common, that, in the guise of Sismondian-philanthropic-socialist anti-industrialism, they represent the protectionist, i.e. industrial, bourgeoisie of America. That is also the key to the mystery why the *Tribune,* despite all its 'isms'[b] and socialist flourishes, manages to be the 'LEADING JOURNAL' in the United States.

Your article on Switzerland[c] was, of course, a direct swipe at the *Tribune's* 'LEADERS' (anti-centralisation, etc.) and *their* man Carey. I continued this clandestine campaign in my first article on India,[d] in which England's destruction of native industries is described as *revolutionary.* This they will find very SHOCKING. Incidentally the whole administration of India by the British was detestable and still remains so today.

The stationary nature of this part of Asia, despite all the aimless activity on the political surface, can be completely explained by two mutually supporting circumstances: 1. The PUBLIC WORKS system of the central government and, 2. Alongside this, the entire

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[a] See reviews 'Slavery and Emancipation' and 'New Publications', *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 3771, 18 May 1853. - [b] An allusion to Horace Greeley's article 'Isms' in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 3747, 20 April 1853. - [c] F. Engels, 'Political Position of the Swiss Republic'. - [d] K. Marx, 'The British Rule in India'.

Empire which, apart from a few large cities, is an agglomeration of *VILLAGES*, each with its own distinct organisation and each forming its own small world. A parliamentary report described these VILLAGES as follows[a]:

* 'A village, geographically considered, is a tract of country comprising some 100 or 1000 acres of arable and waste lands: politically viewed, it resembles a corporation or township. Every village is, and appears always to have been, in fact, a separate community or republic. Officials: 1. the *Potail*, Goud, Mundil etc. as he is termed in different languages, is the head inhabitant, who has generally the superintendence of the affairs of the village, settles the disputes of the inhabitants, attends to the police, and performs the duty of collecting the revenue within the village... 2. The *Curnum*, Shanboag, or Putwaree, is the register. 3. The *Taliary* or *Sthulwar* and 4. the *Totie*, are severally the watchmen of the village and of the crops. 5. the *Neerguntee* distributes the water of the streams or reservoirs in just proportion to the several fields. 6. The *Joshee*, or astrologer, announces the seed-times and harvests, and the lucky or unlucky days or hours for all the operation of farming. 7. The *smith*, and 8. the *carpenter* frame the rude instruments of husbandry, and the ruder dwellings of the farmer. 9. The *potter* fabricates the only utensils of the village. 10. The *waterman* keeps clean the few garments... 11. The *barber, 12. the silversmith*, who often combines the function of village *poet* and *schoolmaster*. Then the *Brahmin*, for worship. Under this simple form of municipal government the inhabitants of the country have lived from time immemorial. The boundaries of the villages have been but seldom altered; and although the villages themselves have been sometimes injured, and even desolated by war, famine and disease; the same name, the same limits, the same interests, and even the same families, have continued for ages. The inhabitants give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and division of kingdoms, while the village remains entire, they care not to what power it is transferred, or to what sovereign it devolves. Its internal economy remains unchanged.'*

The post of Potail is mostly hereditary. In some of these COMMUNITIES the LANDS of the VILLAGE CULTIVATED IN COMMON, in most of them EACH OCCUPANT TILLS HIS OWN FIELD. Within the same, slavery and the caste system. WASTE LANDS FOR COMMON PASTURE. Home-weaving and spinning by wives and daughters. These idyllic republics, of which only the *VILLAGE boundaries* are jealously guarded against neighbouring VILLAGES, continue to exist in well-nigh PERFECT form in the NORTH-WESTERN PARTS OF INDIA only recently occupied by the English. No more solid basis for Asiatic despotism and stagnation is, I think, conceivable. And however much the English may have Irelandised the country, the breaking up of the archetypal forms was the *conditio sine qua non* for Europeanisation. The TAX-GATHERER alone could not have brought this about. Another essential factor was the destruction of the ancient industries, which robbed these villages of their SELF-SUPPORTING character.

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[a] Marx quotes presumably from the Fifth Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1812.

In Bali, an island off the east coast of Java, this Hindu organisation still intact, alongside Hindu religion, its traces, like those of Hindu influence, discernible all over Java. So far as the *property question* is concerned, this is a great *bone of contention* among English writers on India. In the broken mountainous terrain south of the Kistna, however, there appears to have been property in land. In Java, on the other hand, as noted in the *History of Java* by a former *English* governor, Sir Stamford Raffles, the sovereign [was] absolute LANDLORD throughout the country 'WHERE RENT TO ANY CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT WAS ATTAINABLE'. At all events, the Mohammedans seem to have been the first in the whole of Asia to have established the principle of 'no property in land'.

Regarding the above-mentioned VILLAGES, I should note that they already feature in the Manu,[405] according to which the whole organisation rests on them. 10 are administered by a senior COLLECTOR, then 100, then 1,000.

Write soon.

Your
K. M.

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## 169

## MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS[406]

### IN WASHINGTON

[London, about 14 June 1853]

... On the other hand, a reply must be given,[a] and that can best be done by third parties. In which case you need feel no compunction about entering into personal matters and regaling the brutal democratic 'temperament' with a few pungent 'anecdotes'...[407]

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[a] to Willich. See this volume, pp. 330-31.

In dealings with the *Reform* I would recommend, besides shrewdness, *une modération extrême.*[a] This clever-clever philistine[b] who, in Hesse—and Hesse was his world—represented nothing except the demiurge of this, his world: the petty bourgeois, and who now assumes the air of one who, from the very start, has represented the proletariat on a 'materialist basis'—this smiling nonentity who, with Solomon-like dicta, 'stresses' his shrewdness and remarkable composure vis-à-vis rebellious parties—this incarnation of a marginal gloss to 'Heise's articles'; this fellow, then, does not, of course, interest me—he repels me. But you people helped to make the paper. It appears in New York.

Half Germany will come to New York for the Exhibition.[128] You have no other paper in New York. Might it not, then, be impolitic to throw over Kellner and the paper? It would in the end be doing the fellows another favour. Pretend to be naive. Go on writing; you couldn't do him a worse turn. Do not emancipate him from influences which, as everything goes to show, have been damnably irksome to him. Do as the Prussian bourgeois do. The government and its Manteuffel twist and turn in vain to rid themselves of the friendship of those bourgeois. The latter, for their part, pretend to believe in the constitutionality of their government, and *le gouvernement est constituonnel malgré lui-même*[c]: that's *worldly wisdom* for you.

The *Neu-England-Zeitung* is equally unreliable and likely to remain so. Mr Schläger, a pedant replete with platitudes, a presumptious bore who always knows better (à la Kellner, '*le mieux est le plus grand ennemi du bien*'[d]), has written to Pieper suggesting I write for the *N.-E.-Z.* about the necessary transition from the bourgeois to the communist mode of production.

Citizen Marx with his 'schematising and organising' intellect would, it seems, be well suited to this task set him by Citizen Schläger, but Citizen Marx must 'forego his abstract language' and write in the same manner as all, etc. Worthy Citizen Schläger! In the same letter he enjoins Pieper on no account to attack Citizens Ruge and Heinzen (*he regularly deletes such passages*) since the 'élite of his readers' (just think what the others must be like!) are Heinzenites, and the *N.-E.-Z.* is destined (literally) to inherit the readers of the *Janus.* Mighty Citizen Schläger! Almighty Pompey! Nevertheless, I have advised Pieper to go on writing for Schläger.

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[a] extreme moderation - [b] Gottlieb Kellner - [c] and the government is constitutional despite itself - [d] 'the better is the greatest enemy of the good'

*Le motif est très simple.*[a] We are not doing our enemies a favour by writing for them. *Tout au contraire.*[b] We could hardly play them a worse trick...

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## 170

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 June 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

My sister[c] and her newly wedded husband[d], who is sailing from here to the Cape of Good Hope as a GENERAL DEALER, have unexpectedly descended on me. This, combined with the work for the *Tribune* and some unpleasantness to be cleared up in America, has made considerable demands on my time. The couple set out tomorrow, I believe. I hear from Imandt that your mother is expected in London, from which I conclude that you, too, will turn up soon.

Enclosed Lassalle's instructions for the dispatch of the copies[e] to Germany. My wife will undertake their dispatch to Manchester. I hope that you people will then take care of the matter up there. Haven't you seen anything of Jones? He's roaming about in your part of the world and is said to have brought off a MONSTER MEETING in Halifax.[408]

Last Wednesday, much to my astonishment, I received a very peevish letter from Cluss, in which he said someone had written telling him that Pieper had described him to Schläger—him and Arnold—as 'subordinate agents', and himself, on the contrary, as the one who supplied news 'at first-hand', etc., etc. Fortunately

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[a] The reason is very simple. - [b] Quite the contrary. - [c] Louise - [d] Jaan Carel Juta - [e] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.*

there isn't *a word of truth* in the whole thing, which is merely an attempt by Willich, Anneke, Weitling and Co.'s party to sow dissension amongst our own ranks, and, more particularly, to neutralise 'that most unpleasant man, Cluss'. The necessary explanations were, of course, dispatched across the water at once.[409] I am unable to find Cluss' first letter, but enclose the 2nd.

Before leaving for Manchester[410] I borrowed £2 from the little Jew Bamberger. The fellow keeps sending me strongly-worded reminders, if not threats. *Mais nous verrons.*[a] By Friday I shall have £20 to draw on New York. But again the question is how?

Enclosed the *nec plus ultra*[b] of Heinzen's now sanguinary cowardice and aversion to 'ordinary methods of warfare'.[c]

I was mistaken about the 'Swiss article',[d] Dana having divided the thing into two parts,[e] but published both under my name.

Until next time, then. My worthy sister and brother-in-law have just come in. My sister is very stout and will sweat damnably while crossing the Equator.

Your
K. M.

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## 171

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 July 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Dr Jacobi, the bearer of this note, was one of the accused at the 'communist trial in Cologne'.[16]

I'm at a loss to understand whether your continued silence is due to illness, pique, overwork or what.

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[a] But we shall see. - [b] uttermost - [c] K. Heinzen's pamphlet *Mord und Freiheit.* - [d] See this volume, p. 331. - [e] K. Marx and F. Engels. 'The Rocket Affair.—The Swiss Insurrection'; F. Engels, 'Political Position of the Swiss Republic'.

Yesterday I drew £24 on Dana at Spielmann's in Lombard Street; Spielmann will pay me in 5 weeks as soon as the bill is returned. In the meantime I shall have another very bad spell to go through, the more so since a number of valuable things now in pawn will have to be repledged or else they will be forfeited, and that is, of course, impossible *dans un moment*[a] when the wherewithal even for *les choses les plus nécessaires*[b] is lacking. However, I'm now well-accustomed to being in the soup and all that that entails.

In any case write and tell me why you're not writing. I hope, AT ALL EVENTS, that you are not ill.

Your
K. M.

[On the back of the letter]

Friedrich Engels. 48 Great Ducie Street, *Manchester*

First published (except the text on the back of the letter) in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 28, Moscow, 1962

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## 172

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, Saturday, 9 July [1853]

Dear Marx,

At four o'clock this morning my old landlady roused me from my slumbers saying there was a gentleman wanting to speak to me. Dragging myself out of bed, I went to the door where I found a little man with a CAB, a colossal trunk and a travelling bag, who told me his name was Jacobi and that you and Pieper had sent him to me. Marx *and* Pieper! I thought. Who the devil can this

[a] at a moment - [b] the most necessary things

Jacobi be? Is he the illegitimate son of one in Königsberg[a] or what? Until finally the little man pulled your letter[b] out of his pocket, somewhat taken aback at not being instantly welcomed with open arms, stranger though he was—whereupon it occurred to me that he was, as your letter confirmed, the communist trial Jacobi to whom I hadn't given a thought, believing him long since well and truly lodged in a Prussian prison cell. *Que faire?*[c] I took him in, together with his belongings and, drunk with sleep, chatted with him for half an hour before offering him my sofa to sleep on, for the house was CRAMMED FULL of people. Luckily my old man is out of town until tomorrow and so, this very morning, I took the good party martyr by the collar, engaged lodgings for him and forbade him to show his face here until my old man's departure raises the interdict.

This warlike[d] Westphalian way of behaving, the doltishness of spending a whole week in London and then choosing a train that arrives in the middle of the night and, on the pretext of not knowing what's what, turning a man's house upside down and imposing himself, all this was no more calculated to predispose me in his favour than was the discreet question put to me at the very outset as to how I stood with my old man. Further exchanges have raised the fellow in my estimation a little, but not very much. He proposes to call on Borchardt with letters from you *and* Kinkel (almost beats Marx *and* Pieper), to burst in on little Heckscher without ceremony and without an introduction in the hope that the latter will immediately provide him with all possible information about his TRADE and, for sheer joy at the prospect of fresh 'scientific' intercourse, make half his practice over to his new competitor—and other such philistine conceits. His foolishness in going to Kinkel will do him more harm than good. Kinkel gives him letters not to Mr but to *Mrs* Schunck, a piece of effrontery which is also a gross and direct breach of English etiquette, and again, if Mr Kinkel, who was fed and paid cash for his buffooneries on German literature, if Monsieur Gottfried, I say, believes he can send letters of recommendation (other than fund-raising licences) *d'égal à égal*[e] to these merchants, he's damned well mistaken. Apart from that, Monsieur Jacobi, *à ce qu'il me paraît,*[f] is not the man to make his fortune here.

As soon as my old man has left, I'll send you some money. I

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[a] Dr Johann Jacoby - [b] See previous letter. - [c] What's to be done? - [d] Marx uses the word 'kriegisch', which may mean 'warlike' or may be a pun on the name 'Kriege'. - [e] as between equals - [f] or so it seems to me

can't very well take anything before that, since I run the risk every day that he will check my accounts, which alone would be enough to provoke a lively argument of the kind I prefer to settle in writing.

The idea that I am not writing because of 'pique' made me laugh. *De quoi donc?*[a]

Regards to your wife and children and do your best to stick it out, at least until my hands are free again—within the week, I hope.

Your
F. E.

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## 173

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 July 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

The day before yesterday I got a letter from Lassalle, who is now in a state of suspense, imagining letters have been intercepted, etc. It would have been good had you advised me whether or not the parcel had gone off to him.[b] Lassalle is still the only one who dares correspond with London, and we must therefore be careful not to put him off. So I would ask you to let me know what the position is about the parcel. The time of its dispatch is of importance to me in another way, i.e. because upon it depends the time of the RETURN.

The last mail brought my wife a most friendly and obliging letter from A. Dana[411] in which he states that he *cannot possibly* advise us of a business house in London and that AT ALL INSTANCES bills drawn by me will be promptly honoured. He says that my

[a] What about? - [b] See this volume, p. 350.

articles are 'HIGHLY VALUED BY THE PROPRIETORS OF THE *TRIBUNE* AND THE PUBLIC', and sets *no* limit on the quantity we send him.

In the debate on ADVERTISEMENT DUTY[412]—about a fortnight ago, I think—Mr Bright was loud in his praises of the *New-York Tribune* and gave an analysis of one of its numbers[a]—the very one containing my article on the budget.[b] This is what he said about it:

* 'From Great Britain there is an elaborate disquisition on the Right Honourable Gentleman's[c] budget, doing him justice in some parts, but not in others, and doing certainly, as far as the Manchester School[63] was concerned, no justice whatever.'*[d]

As regards Jacobi, you must not allow yourself to be deterred by the gaucherie and inexperience of a 23-year-old stripling from the District of Minden who has spent 2 years in jug. He has a good background. I have read his doctoral dissertation[413] and was 'MUCH PLEASED WITH IT'.

Your
K. M.

Jones has held some very important meetings which have even attracted the attention of the bourgeois press.[414]

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## 174

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 August 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Lupus will *probably* obtain a good post in Liverpool. In which case he will go there via Manchester. The snag is that he won't be paid until the end of the quarter. However, he hopes that you and

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[a] *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3761, 6 May 1853. - [b] K. Marx, 'Riot at Constantinople.—German Table Moving.—The Budget'. - [c] Gladstone - [d] J. Bright, Speech in the House of Commons on 1 July 1853, *The Times*, No. 21470, 2 July 1853.

Strohn between you may be able to help him. Has Strohn returned?

Needless to say, that mischief-monger Dronke is writing the most pompous letters to all and sundry, e.g. to Imandt, saying that '*he* has made arrangements for Lupus' emigration to America'. *Entre nous*[a] I should say the little shop-assistant, anxious to inflate his own importance at small cost to himself, has given Lupus to understand that it was *he* rather than you who took the matter in hand. At least I thought I could detect a certain chilliness towards Manchester ON THE PART OF Wolff. Dronke is *cancan*[b] incarnate, NO DOUBT ABOUT THAT. *Experto crede*, etc.[c]

You absolutely must at once send *Pieper* at least sufficient to buy himself a coat and trousers. Shabby as he now is, he cannot possibly take advantage of opportunities that come his way, however favourable. He has become unpresentable. Moreover, you promised him this when [you] left.[415] He's putting a brave face on his misfortunes. But there's a limit to everything.

[I have] been particularly unlucky over money transactions. I now have current bills on America—two of them—amounting to £42 and yet cannot command above 42 farthings, though having to provide means of subsistence not [only] for myself but also for Pieper. The first bill of £24 I gave to Mr Spielmann; he told me to come back in five weeks' time. That was seven weeks ago. Besides, this wretched traipsing to and from the City invariably takes up my Mondays and Thursdays, the very days when I have to be preparing Tuesday's and Friday's articles. Each time Spielmann turns me away with the remark, uttered in Jewishly nasal tones: 'Nah nahtice yet.' In the case of such 'small' amounts, he says, his correspondents write only at their convenience, and, if I had needed the money straight away, I should have said beforehand that I would pay the *postage* for a special letter, etc., etc. This means daily unpleasantnesses, not only for me but for my wife who, counting on the prompt arrival of the money, had given definite promises to sundry creditors, and now the curs are laying siege to the house. Meanwhile, I am writing away like the devil. It would be fine if you could send me an article or two in between whiles, thus giving me the time to write something better. $^3/_4$ of my time is taken up chasing after PENNIES.

Heise is here just now; as a person the fellow's not at all bad. Mr Kossuth is presently making a fool of himself as correspondent

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[a] Between ourselves - [b] gossip - [c] Experto crede Roberto.—Trust Roberto who has had experience (from a comic poem by Antoine Arena).

of the *Daily New-York Times*. In the *Advertiser* 4 letters by D. Urquhart on the eastern question[a] contained much that was interesting, despite quirks and quiddities. WE HAVE BEEN STRIKING against Jones for the past two weeks.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913

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## 175

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Wednesday, 24 August 1853

Dear Marx,

I'll send some money tomorrow if I *possibly can*. Your letter arrived on Saturday too late for anything to be done, this week there have been all sorts of complications, but tomorrow things will, I think, have improved, and our old bookkeeper has been forewarned.

The little man[b] was here on Saturday. That he had been gossiping was evident to me from the moment he wrote to Borchardt. He had sent him Lupus' most *discreditable* letter in which the latter makes an outright and most earnest appeal to the 'generosity' of the Jews in Bradford. *C'était une lettre à brûler de suite*[c]; Borchardt at once magnanimously sent Lupus alms, to wit the sum of *one pound*,—not that he wasn't very decent about it, WHICH HE COULD WELL AFFORD to be, seeing that it released him from all his obligations. I must confess that this letter of Lupus' left a *very bad* taste in my mouth, but not so bad as the little man's tactlessness in letting it fall into Borchardt's clutches. Anyway I duly hauled him over the coals for it.

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[a] D. Urquhart, 'What Means "Protection" of the Greek Church?', 'Time in Diplomacy.—The "European Recognition"', 'The Relative Power of Russia and Great Britain', 'War between England and France', published as letters to the editor in *The Morning Advertiser* of 11, 12, 15 and 16 August 1853. - [b] Ernst Dronke - [c] It was a letter that ought to have been burnt forthwith.

*Enfin c'est fait.*[a] If Lupus is going to Liverpool, see to it that he comes here first, if possible on a Friday, in which case I shall arrange a rendez-vous with the little man. If, as Dronke proposes, Lupus first goes to Bradford, the *cancan*[b] will only proliferate.

You know that Jacobi intends to go to America. The chap's altogether *trop mou*[c] and even philistines get the impression that he's a helpless sort of creature. I don't believe he'll ever obtain a practice, however much he may pine for one. Besides one can't help laughing when one remembers that the chap's still a virgin.

Your
F. E.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 1, Berlin, 1929

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## 176

## MARX TO JAMES GRANT, EDITOR OF *THE MORNING ADVERTISER*[416]

IN LONDON

London, August 31st, 1853

To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser.*

Sir,

You will much oblige me by inserting the following in Your highly esteemed paper.

Your obedient servant
Dr. Karl Marx
(28 Dean Street, Soho)

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXI, Moscow, 1929

Reproduced from a copy in Mrs Marx's hand

Published in English for the first time

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[a] Well, it's done. - [b] gossip - [c] too soft

# 177

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 September[a] 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I have not written to you for a long time, even to acknowledge receipt of the £5 (of which £2.10 was paid to Pieper and £1.10 to Lupus), the reason being that a lot of indescribable muck has taken up MY TIME AND MY ENERGIES. On 7 July I gave my bill to Spielmann.[b] On 31 August[c] the lad told me—after I had been to see him 7 times—that the bill had got lost, that I must make out another one for him, etc. So I had managed for weeks by pawning everything, down to *the last item*, and had made a further appointment for 31 August[c] with all my creditors whom I had been putting off since July. As I have no resources other than the income from the *Tribune*, you will understand my situation and that I have neither the time nor the inclination for correspondence.

Tell Jacobi, if he's still there, that I have written to Weydemeyer, etc., on his behalf.[417]

My reason for writing to you today is the following:

So far as I know you do not read *The Morning Advertiser*. This paper, which belongs to the 'UNITED VICTUALLERS', carried an apology of Bakunin by a 'FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT' (Mr *Golovin*, I think).[d] In the same *Morning Advertiser* an anonymous *F. M.* expressed suspicion that Bakunin was a Russian spy and doing very nicely, etc., etc.[e] To this *Golovin* and *Herzen* replied, pointing out that this same calumny had already appeared in 1848 in a 'GERMAN PAPER', which PAPER 'HAD EVEN VENTURED TO APPEAL TO THE TESTIMONY OF GEORGE SAND'.[f]

Three days ago 'Dr Arnold Ruge' chipped in, remarking that this German paper was the *New Rhenish Gazette*[g] whose EDITOR, 'Dr

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[a] The original has '2 September'. - [b] See this volume, pp. 352 and 356. - [c] The original has 'September'. - [d] [I. Golovin,] 'Europe.—A Single Man', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19394, 19 August 1853. - [e] F. M. [Francis Marx], 'The Russian Agent, Bakunin. To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19397, 23 August 1853. - [f] I. Golovin, A Herzen, S. Worcell, 'The Russian Agent, Bakunin. To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19398, 24 August 1853. - [g] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

Marx', had known just as well as any other democrat that these calumnies were false.[a]

In yesterday's *Morning Advertiser* I published a statement[b] to the effect that:

MESSRS Golovin AND Herzen had CHOSEN TO CONNECT THE *NEW RH. G.* EDITED BY ME IN 1848 AND '49 with their polemic with F. M. about Bakunin, etc. NOW, I CARE NOTHING ABOUT THE INSINUATIONS OF MESSRS Herzen AND Golovin. But etc., etc. 'PERMIT ME TO STATE THE FACTS OF THE CASE'. There follows an enumeration of the facts:

'that on 5 July 1848 we received letters from Paris, one from the Havas Bureau, the other from a POLISH REFUGEE (which is what I call Ewerbeck), both STATING that George Sand possesses letters compromising Bakunin AS BEING LATELY ENTERED INTO RELATIONS WITH THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT';

'that on 6 July we published this letter,[c] not the one from the Havas Bureau, but from our Paris correspondent';

'that Bakunin, replying in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*,[d] *prior* to our correspondence, states that similar rumours had been circulating in Breslau, that they emanated from the Russian embassies and that he could refute them in no better way than by appealing to George Sand'[418];

'that on 3 August Kościelski brought to the *Rheinische Zeitung* a letter addressed by George Sand to its editor, which was published the same day[e] with the following introductory remarks[f]:' (here follows an extract from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*[g]);

'that at the end of August I passed through Berlin, saw Bakunin and renewed my old friendship with him';

'that on 15 October (or thereabouts) the *Rheinische Zeitung* stood up for Bakunin against the Prussian ministry which had ordered his expulsion'[h];

'that in February ('49) the *Rheinische Zeitung* published a LEADING ARTICLE on Bakunin the opening words of which were, "Bakunin is our friend!",[i] etc.';

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[a] A. Ruge, 'Michael Bakunin. To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19404, 31 August 1853. - [b] K. Marx, 'Michael Bakunin. To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19406, 2 September 1853. - [c] [H. Ewerbeck,] 'Bakunin', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 36, 6 July 1848. - [d] M. Bakunin, [Open Letter,] *Allgemeine Oder-Zeitung*, No. 151, 12 July 1848. This was the title under which the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* appeared in 1846-49. - [e] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 64, 3 August 1848. - [f] ibid. - [g] See present edition, Vol. 12, p. 285. - [h] [Report on Bakunin's Expulsion, 10 October,] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 115, 13 October 1848. - [i] F. Engels, 'Democratic Pan-Slavism', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 222, 15 February 1849 (see present edition, Vol. 8, p. 363).

'that in the *New-York Tribune* I PAID BAKUNIN THE TRIBUTE DUE TO HIM FOR HIS PARTICIPATION IN OUR MOVEMENTS,'[a] etc., etc.

My statement concludes with the words:

*'As to F. M. proceeding as he does from the fixed idea that continental revolutions are fostering the secret plans of Russia, he must, if he pretends to anything like consistency, condemn not only Bakunin but every continental Revolutionist, as a Russian agent. In his eyes Revolution itself is a Russian agent. Why not Bakunin?'*

Well, in *today*'s issue the blackguard Golovin does not dare give his name but, under the rubric 'FROM A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT', publishes the following piece in *The Morning Advertiser:*

* *How to Write History*[b]

(From a Foreign Correspondent)

Bakunin is a Russian agent—Bakunin is not a Russian agent. Bakunin died in the prison of Schlüsselburg, after having endured much ill-treatment—Bakunin is not dead: he still lives. He is made a soldier, and sent to the Caucasus—no, he is not made a soldier: he remains detained in the citadel of St. Peter and St. Paul. Such are the contradictory news which the press has given in turn, concerning Michael Bakunin. In these days of extensive publicity we only arrive at the true by affirming the false; but, has it at least been proved that Bakunin has not been in the military pay of Russia?

There are people who do not know that humanity makes men mutually responsible—that in extricating Germany from the influence which Russia exercises over it, we *re-act* upon the latter country, and plunge it *anew* into its despotism, until it becomes vulnerable to revolution. Such people it would be idle to attempt to persuade that Bakunin is one of the purest and most generous representatives of progressive cosmopolitism.

'Calumniate, calumniate,' says a *French* proverb, and 'something will always remain.' The calumny against Bakunin, countenanced in 1848 by one of his friends, has been reproduced in 1853 by an unknown person. 'One is never betrayed but by one's own connexion', says another proverb: 'and it is better to deal with a wise enemy than with a stupid friend.' The conservative journals have not become the organ of the calumny insinuated against Bakunin. A friendly journal undertook that care.

Revolutionary feeling must be but slightly developed when it can be forgotten, as M. Marx has forgotten, that Bakunin is not of the stuff of which police-spies are made. Why, at least, did he not, as is the custom of the English papers, why did he not simply publish the letter of the Polish refugee which denounced Bakunin? He would have retained the regret of seeing his name associated with a false accusation.*

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[a] F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany,* XVIII, *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 3576, 2 October 1852 (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 90). Engels' articles were published over Marx's signature. - [b] Golovin's item in *The Morning Advertiser,* No. 19407 of 3 September 1853 is copied in Pieper's hand.

I intend to answer the chap as follows (see below) and would like you to return this to me *promptly* (by Monday if possible), with the style put to rights.[419]

At the same time the point arises whether you and Dronke, as EDITORS of the *New Rhenish Gazette*, might not wish to make a statement. Clique versus clique. On the other side are only Ruge, Herzen and Golovin. Bakunin himself has dubbed the latter '*un polisson*'.[a] One of Nicholas' most zealous admirers in 1843 and '44, he became a democrat because he *believed* he had become suspect, nor has he dared return to Russia. This last is the sum total of his heroism.

I for my part suggest a statement, the *substance* of which would be as follows:

* It is better to deal with a wise enemy, than with a stupid friend,' Bakunin would have exclaimed, if he was ever to read the letter of the 'foreign' Sancho Pansa who, in your Saturday's paper,[b] indulges in his proverbial commonplaces.

Is he not a 'stupid friend' who reproaches me with *not* having done by what doing I would according to himself have '*retained* the regret of seeing my name associated with a false accusation'?

Is he not a 'stupid friend' who is astonished of what every schoolboy knows that truth is established by controversy and that historical facts are to be extricated from contradictory statements?

When the *N. Rh. G.* brought the Paris letter Bakunin was at liberty. If he was right to be satisfied with the public explanations of the *N. Rh. G.* in 1848,[c] is it not a 'stupid friend' who pretends to find fault with them in 1853? If he was wrong in renewing his intimate relations with the Editor of the *N. Rh. G.*, is it not 'stupid' on the part of a pretended friend to reveal his weakness to the public?

Is he not a 'stupid friend' who thinks necessary to 'plunge Russia anew in its despotism' as if she had ever emerged from it?

Is he not a 'stupid friend' who calls the Latin proverb 'calumniare audacter'[d] a French proverb?

Is he not a 'stupid friend' who cannot understand why the 'conservative journals did not like to *publish* the calumnies' which were *secretly* spread against Bakunin throughout Germany while the most revolutionary paper of Germany was obliged to publish them?

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[a] a lout - [b] [I. Golovin,] *How to Write History* (From a Foreign Correspondent.) - [c] A reference to George Sand's letter of 20 July 1848 and the editorial introductory remarks published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 64, 3 August 1848. See also this volume, p. 360. - [d] calumniate boldly

Is he not a 'stupid friend' who ignores that 'revolutionary feeling' at its highest pitch made the 'lois des suspects'[420] and beheaded the Dantons and the Desmoulins and the Anacharsis Cloots?

Is he not a 'stupid friend' who dared not accuse *The Morning Advertiser* for having inserted the letter of F. M. while Bakunin is incarcerated at St. Petersburg at the same time accusing the *N. Rh. G.* for having inserted a similar letter in 1848 when Bakunin was free and not yet reduced to the misery of being defended by a 'stupid friend'?

Is he not a 'stupid friend' who makes the name of Bakunin a pretext for calumniating the friends of Bakunin while he is cautiously withholding his own name? *

A prompt answer, then. The matter is urgent.

Your
K. M.

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## 178

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 September 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Your letter did, indeed, arrive too late.[421] I condensed the stuff[a] by cutting out unnecessary pathos, tidied it up a bit, and sent it to the amiable organ of the united 'LICENSED VICTUALLERS'[b] on Monday. Not inserted. At the same time, however, this highly consistent paper published a short *letter* 'FROM A *NATIVE* CORRESPONDENT' (presumably D. Urquhart) in its Monday issue, in which its own 'FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT' was quite plainly unmasked as a 'RUSSIAN AGENT', while

[a] See previous letter. - [b] *The Morning Advertiser*

Bakunin himself was not exactly made out to be a saint.[a] Probably *The Morning Advertiser* rejected my riposte[419] because less confused than that of the 'NATIVE'. Now the thing is to come out in *The People's Paper*.[b]

It was through a mere *lapsus linguae*[c]—out of long habit—that I mentioned Mr Dronke in my letter to you. I don't believe that 'little' Blanqui's[d] words are of any consequence, or that we shall gain anything by an appendix.

The worthy little man has stirred up such a mighty pother that 1. Lupus has never said a word to me about his departure,[422] although I had long since learnt of it through you; 2. that this same Lupus is always very guarded in his references to you; 3. that last *night* I was treated to a scene which was hardly creditable.

I was busy at work. Wife and children in the room. In comes Lupus with portentous tread—to take his leave at last, I supposed, for not once in my house had he let fall a word about his impending departure.

A year earlier I had borrowed a little Spanish grammar from him, by *Franceson*, maybe 120 pages.[e] So far as I could recall, I had returned the trashy object 5 months before. Or else, Dronke had pinched it.

The old gentleman had already asked my wife and Lenchen about the thing on two previous occasions and had been told that they would look for it.

Last night, then—the fellow was snappish from the moment he came in—I told him in as soothing tones as possible that I couldn't find the damned thing, that I had looked for it everywhere and believed I had returned it to him, etc., etc. 'You've *sold* it!' came the boorish, uncouth, insolent reply. (I'd wager a sovereign that nowhere in London could anyone get 2 FARTHINGS for the rubbish.) I, of course, jump to my feet, an altercation ensues, stubborn as a mule he persists in his nonsense, insults me '*au sein de ma famille*'.[f] As you know, I'm willing to put up with a great deal from an old man in his dotage who has become venerable as a party tradition. However, there are limits. I believe the old fool was taken aback when at last I bared my teeth at him.

All this is the result of Dronke's intrigues, too constant an

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[a] D. Urquhart, 'Indeed?' [From a native correspondent,] *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19408, 5 September 1853. - [b] K. Marx, 'To the Editor of *The People's Paper*'. - [c] slip of the tongue - [d] i.e. Dronke's - [e] C. F. Franceson, *Grammatik der spanischen Sprache*. - [f] in the bosom of my family.

indulgence in gin, and the evaporation of the cerebral juices. Perhaps the sea air will have a beneficial effect on his thinking organ. One may, perhaps, lay claim to the privilege of being an 'old blusterer', but one should not abuse it. My own lot is no bed of roses, nor can I in consequence regard his worldly worries as an EXCUSE.

The hobby-horse presently being ridden by those wretched Russians, in both the *Tribune* and the London *Advertiser* (though differing in person and form), is that the Russian *people* is democratic through and through, whilst official Russia (Csar and bureaucracy) is exclusively German, likewise the aristocracy.[423]

So Germany must be fought in Russia, not Russia in Germany.

You know more about Russia than I do,—and if you can find time to challenge this nonsense (it's just the same as when the Teutonic jackasses blamed the French for the despotism of Frederick II, etc., as if backward thralls haven't always needed civilised thralls to train them) you would greatly oblige me. In the *Tribune,* of course.

Your
K. M.

Write to me at greater length about the *state of commerce*—in *English* at once.

I have made a diplomatic reply to the enclosed letter from Klein, which I send to you for safe keeping.[424] It is impossible to correspond from London. The factory workers should keep themselves *entirely* to themselves and not make contact with philistines or other handicraftsmen in Cologne, Düsseldorf, etc. If they wish to send someone over here once a year to get good advice, we should have no objection.

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# 179

# MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS[425]

## IN WASHINGTON

[London,] 15 September 1853

... I have today received the latest number of the *Reform* containing your piece from Quebec,[a] and Kellner's apology of the self-same Poesche,[b] whose insipid WOULD-BE jokes about the 'cranky' proponents of the 'class struggle'[c] appeared in the *Neu-England-Zeitung* of 3 September, which reached me at the same time. You started sending me extra copies of the *Reform* at the very time I began to get them again regularly; on the other hand, I haven't been receiving the *Tribune* regularly and it is important that I should. For example, I haven't got the article in which I refer to the exchange of diplomatic notes on Denmark,[d] or the article in which I characterise the relationships of landed property[e]....

I think it is time you made a fresh start in the polemic and picked a few holes in the jejune arguments of Goepp-Poesche, discoverers of the *material view* though *their* materialism is that of the man-in-the-street. Our opponents are becoming uppish, something which could not have happened at least in the days of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. That pedant Schläger, who more or [less] took to his heels at the time of the '48 revolution and hawked his genius in America, still regularly sends me his *N.-E.-Z.*, no doubt in order to demonstrate *ad oculos*[f] what fine fellows they are. Has there ever before been a rag in which stupidity and vanity were so nicely coupled with presumption?

Kellner is too much of a slow-coach, he seems unable to understand that polemics are essential to any journal as long as it

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[a] [A. Cluss,] 'White Mountains (Summit-House), 21 August 1853', *Die Reform*, No. 44, 31 August 1853. - [b] In the article 'Die neue Welt' published in the same issue of *Die Reform* G. T. Kellner gave a review of *The New Rome. The United States of the World* by Th. Poesche and Ch. Goepp. - [c] Th. Poesche, 'Die "Klassenkämpfer".'- [d] K. Marx, 'In the House of Commons.—The Press on the Eastern Question.—The Czar's Manifesto.—Denmark'. - [e] K. Marx, 'The War Question.—Doings of Parliament.—India'. - [f] unmistakably

has to STRUGGLE. On top of that he has an unfortunate proclivity always to praise his enemies 2 days before they regale him with kicks. Thus Heinzen and Poesche; the latter, by the by, used his sorry article on the circulation of money to convey the sort of information one gets from encyclopedias...[426]

At any rate I find that things have begun to move sooner than I should have liked (I think the COMMERCIAL DOWNFALL will begin in the spring as in 1847). I had always hoped that, before that happened, I might somehow contrive to withdraw into solitude for a few months and work at my Economy.[45] It seems that this isn't to be. I find perpetual hackwork for the newspapers tiresome. It is time-consuming, distracting and, in the end, amounts to very little. However independent one may think oneself, one is tied to the newspaper and its readers, especially when, like myself, one is paid in cash. Purely learned work is something totally different, and the honour of figuring beside an A.P.C.,[a] a LADY CORRESPONDENT and an archbishop is CERTAINLY not to be envied.

*Carl Wilh. Klein* (of Solingen, a working man) has asked me to put you in touch with him. His address is——— He's a capable chap. He set up a Working Men's Association and, from what he tells me in his letter, the *Gradaus* has come under its influence.[424] Pieper writes to him from here and, if you can possibly find the time, you must give him support from Washington.

Papa Blind is continuing his[b]... articles with much fervour in the *N.-E.-Z.* and congratulates himself and his EDITOR and *vice versa* on the unexampled achievements which cannot fail to inspire respect in Brüggemann of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

Only a few lines today. EVENTS there have been none, if you except the onset of *cholera morbus* in London.

Your
K. M.

First published in part in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 31, Stuttgart, 1906-07 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 28, Moscow, 1962

Printed according to a letter from Cluss to Weydemeyer of 3 October 1853

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[a] Pulszky - [b] Insertion by Cluss: illegible.

# 180

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 17 September 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

DEAR Frederic,

You're becoming damned taciturn.

Since I was expecting YOUR ARTICLE yesterday, all I had done was to make up a heading from the most recent news and, since the letter didn't come, one lot of correspondence went by the board.

I really must ask for your co-operation for the fortnight beginning today. For today *Pieper* is going, not into a monastery exactly, but into the German Hospital, a sort of medical prison, where he is to spend a fortnight or 3 weeks being thoroughly cured of the painful consequences of his carnal lust. Since I have in any case forfeited 3 or 4 articles through having to traipse off to that rotten Spielmann,[a] I must now write something every Tuesday and Friday so that the next bill I draw is not too paltry. There is a possibility of Freiligrath's finding a business friend who will regularly discount them for me.

If you can manage to do something in between times, I shall send you the other stuff to look through, in which case you will only have to preface or conclude it with the latest news you may have seen about TURKEY in the *Débats*, say, or some particularly important telegraphic dispatch, before sending the stuff to Liverpool.

I expect an article[427] from you for Tuesday.[b]

I think it important that something be said about the position of the armies, etc. There's a great deal of nonsense in the English papers, e.g. Omer Pasha is said to be crossing the Danube, etc.

I have already sent off two articles about the commercial crisis, 1 last Friday week about the Bank of England, its DISCOUNT and the effect of Peel's Act, or rather intended effect.[c] 1 last Tuesday on the price of corn, signs OF OVERPRODUCTION, etc.[d]

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[a] See this volume, p. 356. - [b] 20 September - [c] 9 September. K. Marx, 'The Vienna Note.—The United States and Europe.—Letters from Shumla.—Peel's Bank Act'. - [d] 13 September. K. Marx, 'Political Movements.—Scarcity of Bread in Europe'.

I think it important to have more details about the MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS.

Enclosed something further by the *Tribune* man[a] and '*on*' him by the EDITORS of the *Tribune*. It would seem, by the by, that he is not a Russian AFTER ALL, but A GERMAN.

The abolition of the advertisement duty means that Jones' advertisements now bring him in £3 a week—the PAPER[b] IS ARRIVING TO THE PAYING POINT. This could also provide Pieper with a source of income.

When you write, you must also tell me about Lupus' travels. I heard later that he didn't push off from here until last Saturday.[c]

FAREWELL.

Your
K. M.

Enclosed another cutting from the worthy *Neu-England-Zeitung*.[d]

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 19 September 1853

Dear Marx,

What has hitherto been stopping me from working and writing has been the presence of the 'old gent'[e] who is temporarily encamped with me. There was no berth to be had on the SCREW-STEAMER and Borchardt was also very much in favour of his trying to get lessons here first; moreover, there were prospects for him in Liverpool as well. Anyway, he intends to try his luck here

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[a] Pulszky (see this volume, p. 288). - [b] *The People's Paper* - [c] 10 September - [d] Presumably Th. Poesche's 'Klassenkämpfer', *Neu-England-Zeitung*, 3 September 1853. - [e] Wilhelm Wolff

and, in view of his curmudgeonly behaviour towards you in London,[a] I would sooner not let him see how the *Tribune* articles sometimes come into being. There are a few openings here and, after confabulating with Borchardt and me yesterday, he has set out today to look around, which means that I shall have the evening to myself and hence will be able to concoct for you an article on the state of business hereabout, which will go off by the second post.[427] The Russian one will follow as soon as possible—I believe the author[b] to be a German Balt or half Pole; clearly the chap has a great deal of material, so we must be cautious, but all the same we may very well be able to catch him out. Or might it even be Löwe, who wrote to Nesselrode in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung?*[c] To judge by the occasional prolixity and the tittle-tattle, here and there, this could well be so.

The *Reform* is arriving very irregularly. Have you heard anything from Cluss?

N. B. Since Lupus, as I see from your letter[d] today, made off without any kind of leave-taking, he will naturally not be allowed to set eyes on anything you send me—*il reste parfaitement en dehors de tout*[e] and, were it not for Borchardt, who got together £10 for his journey and is showing him kindness in other ways, my behaviour towards Monsieur Lupus would be somewhat cooler. Especially since the fellow, though as stubborn as ever, has lost his stoicism and become very dependent on those from whom he derives some advantage. *Il est même devenu un peu flatteur*[f]—and how!

However, we shall see whether a better position, if such is to be found here, doesn't soon bring the old gent to his senses again, in which case he'll have to ask your forgiveness as well.

Now I am off home to work.

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 364-65. - [b] Adam Gurowski (see this volume, p. 365). - [c] 'Junius II' [Löwe], 'An den Graf Nesselrode', *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*, Nos. 264 and 266, 19 April and 3 May 1850. - [d] See this volume, p. 369. - [e] he's left out of absolutely everything - [f] He's even become a bit of a flatterer

## 182

## MARX TO KARL BLIND

### IN LONDON

[London,] 26 September 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Blind,

My wife and I were surprised to hear about that piece of infamy in Baden,[a] although one could hardly expect anything good to come from such a quarter. You may be assured of our deepest concern regarding all matters affecting you and FAMILY.

*Quant à*[b] Jones, I fear he has gone away. I haven't seen him for weeks. However, I shall try and find out this very day whether or not and whether he received your letter. More about this tomorrow, I hope. Kind regards from my family to yours.

Your
K. Marx

I should have come out to see you long ago had not a mass of *petites misères*[c] invariably intervened.

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## 183

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 September[d] 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Herewith a letter from Weydemeyer, several from Cluss, a statement of Mr Willich's,[e] a letter from Mazzini to Mrs Mott (abolitionist) in America.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 372-73 and 377-78. - [b] As for - [c] little tribulations - [d] The original has 'August'. - [e] A. Willich, [To the Editors of the *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, 28 August 1853], *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, No. 25, 2 September 1853.

I have split your essay into 2 and rewritten it as 2 essays[a] which I have sent to New York, my wife acting as secretary.

Pieper has had his throat *cauterised* in the German Hospital. A little board hangs at the foot of his bed bearing the ominous message: Wilhelm Pieper *syphilis secundaris*. He is subjected to rigorous discipline, which is salutary for him.

W. Wolff has written to his confidant, Rings. He is going to try his luck in Manchester until the end of October. If he hasn't found anything by then, he will move on. For the time being, he says, he is living at number such and such, Great Ducie Street,[b] at '*another's* expense'. He does *not* name *you at all*, which will give you an idea how obstinate and petty the OLD CHAP can be. After the way he grumbled about you he is, of course, ashamed to admit that he has any obligation towards you. *Quant à nous autres*,[c] I don't know what he may have told Rings in his letter, since the latter says nothing about it.

I should like to clear up the matter with Mr Dronke,[d] having now learnt that he sold Pieper's *Ricardo*, likewise a German history of political economy belonging to the working man, Lochner, etc., etc. Needless to say this has reinforced my STRONG SUSPICIONS about him.

Before he left, Mr Wolff gave Imandt also an account—and a very garbled one coloured by philistine indignation—of his insolent onslaught upon me.[e] What annoys me is the excessive consideration I have always shown the old blusterer instead of baring my teeth at him.

*Les choses marchent merveilleusement*.[f] All h[ell] will be let loose in France when the financial bubble bursts.

In the *Reform* there is a melancholic, stylised article by Jacobi about the end of the world.[g]

Don't let these lines fall into the wrong hands.

Your
K. M.

Apropos. Yesterday I received a few lines from Blind. He will now have to reconcile himself to abandoning his democratic hauteur in the knife and fork question.[428] He has lost his case and

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[a] K. Marx, 'The Western Powers and Turkey.—Symptoms of Economic Crisis', 'Panic on the London Stock Exchange.—Strikes' written in co-authorship with Engels. - [b] at Engels - [c] As for the rest of us - [d] See this volume, p. 364. - [e] ibid., pp. 364-65. - [f] Things are going splendidly. - [g] A. Jacobi, 'Ueber den Untergang der Erde', *Die Reform*, Nos. 44-48, 31 August, 3, 7, 10 and 14 September 1853.

the whole of his wife's[a] fortune has been temporarily sequestered. So there will be no more subsidies. I feel sorry for him, despite the absurd manner he thought fit to adopt.

Have you been following the story about Bakunin in *The Morning Advertiser*?[b] Urquhart wrote an article in this connection[c] in which he suggests that Bakunin is suspect 1. because he's A RUSSIAN and 2. because he's 'A REVOLUTIONIST'; he goes on to assert that there are no honest revolutionaries among the Russians and that their would-be democratic writings (a swipe at Herzen and that *polisson*[d] Golovin) prove absolutely nothing; and finally, he tells the continental revolutionaries that, if they take Russians into their confidence, they are no less traitors than their governments. The Russians, it would seem, then sent into the fray an *Englishman* (Richards), who nourishes a grudge against Urquhart, the latter having, on grounds of seniority, elbowed him out of the topic '*The Times* and *Turkey*' in *The Morning Advertiser*. Richards maintains[e] that to declare Bakunin a SPY is just as PREPOSTEROUS AS TO IMPEACH PALMERSTON FOR BEING BRIBED BY RUSSIA; he invokes the testimony of both Ruge and myself,[f] praises Herzen's '*idées révolutionnaires*',[g] etc. Yesterday it was the turn of A. B., another minion of Urquhart's, who declared[h] that he was acquainted with all the writings of '*la jeune Russie*',[i] and that they proved the rightness of Urquhart's views, pan-slavism, etc.

At all events, *les intrigants russes*[j] will realise that here it isn't as easy as in the *pauvre*[k] French democracy, to give themselves airs, gain INFLUENCE and behave as though they were a kind of aristocracy within the revolutionary emigration. Here it supposes hard knocks. What service have the jackasses done Bakunin save to have him seriously accused in public while themselves receiving a slap in the face?

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[a] Friederike Blind - [b] See this volume, pp. 359-63. - [c] D. Urquhart, 'Indeed?', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19408, 5 September 1853. - [d] lout - [e] A. B. Richards, 'Michel Bakounine and His Accuser. To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19426, 26 September 1853. - [f] K. Marx, 'Michael Bakunin'. - [g] A. Herzen, *Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie*. - [h] A. B., 'Revolutionary Russians. To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19427, 27 September 1853. - [i] young Russia - [j] the Russian intriguers - [k] poor

# 184

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 29 September 1853

Dear Marx,

Herewith the article on the Turkish armies.[a] If you tell me what you are sending tomorrow on the STRIKES in Lancashire and the STATE OF TRADE,[429] I shall be able to link on to that and let you have a further REPORT on these matters by Tuesday.[b 430] The local MANUFACTURERS and MERCHANTS are at great pains to convince one another that things are not too bad, and the *Guardian* does what it can, but it's ALL SHAM AND HUMBUG. Since last week ordinary yarns are down by between $^1/_4$d and $^3/_8$d per pound, i.e. at 9d a fall in value of 3-4$^1/_2$%, at 8d of 3-6%, at 7d of 4-7%; in the same period COTTON fell by about $^1/_8$. STOCKS are accumulating and the HOME TRADE DEMAND is also falling off. There has been such frightful overspeculation in the Australian trade that 80,000 barrels of American flour were reconsigned *to this country* from Australia at a freight charge of 8/- per barrel. In 4 weeks' time the Australian CRASH should be well under way. All that the 'good news' from India amounts to is that the rise in prices over there and the fall in prices here added together still leave a loss on exports to that market. Nothing is flourishing save TRADE with America and speculation in corn. In Upbridge, *80/- per quarter* is already being paid for first quality wheat. CORN LOOKING UP, YARN LOOKING DOWN, and the Turkish rot IN THE FAIREST POSSIBLE WAY OF BORING OUR MERCHANTS ALL WINTER OVER.

MANUFACTURED GOODS are also coming down smartly, and here STOCKS are far more catastrophic than in the case of yarn. The manufacturers' decision to stop work thus kills two birds with one stone: 1. it disarms the workers, 2. it cuts down production. The fellows in Preston are sure to receive a general vote of thanks, if not compensation.[431] In Ashton, Stalybridge and Glossop, the manufacturers are also considering a stoppage, and some here as well. However there is a snag to it, namely that it only benefits those who don't stop, and only harms those who do.

If Borchardt is to be believed, Lupus has some prospect of

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[a] F. Engels, 'The Russians in Turkey'. - [b] 4 October

obtaining a post as corresponding clerk. The old gent is studying Russian and the like and is as enthusiastic as ever over the Turkish question, of which I wish him joy.

My regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

What do you think of Jacobi's melancholic and virtuous views about the end of the world?[a]

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## 185

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 30 September 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Your piece on the war[b] is capital. I myself had serious MISGIVINGS about the westward advance of the RUSSIAN FORCES but did not, of course, dare TRUST TO MY JUDGEMENT in such matters. I have already written a whole series of STRIKE articles,[c] produced at intervals throughout the 6 months during which the thing has been going on. Now, however, the affair has taken a new TURN. In the article where I used your STRIKE-GENERALITIES,[d] I have mentioned a host of

[a] A. Jacobi, 'Ueber den Untergang der Erde'. - [b] F. Engels, 'The Russians in Turkey'. - [c] K. Marx, 'English Prosperity.—Strikes.—The Turkish Question.—India', 'Russian Policy Against Turkey.—Chartism', 'Financial Failure of Government.—Cabs.—Ireland.—The Russian Question', 'Rise in the Price of Corn.—Cholera.—Strikes.—Sailors' Movement', 'Panic on the London Stock Exchange.—Strikes'. - [d] K. Marx, 'Panic on the London Stock Exchange.—Strikes' (written in co-authorship with Engels) (see this volume, p. 372).

STRIKE-LOCALITIES by *name*, also the Preston[431] and Wigan[432] affairs. I couldn't get hold of any particulars about Manchester. I have depicted the manoeuvring in Preston (very briefly, mind you) 1. as an attempt by the manufacturers to use the operatives, whose demands are forcing the closure of the MILLS, to *cover* their *retreat* from over-production; 2. as an attempt to STARVE THE OPERATIVES INTO SUBMISSION.

As you can see, my HISTORY OF STRIKES goes no further than last Tuesday[a] and doesn't touch on Manchester.

You might, perhaps, expand somewhat the notes on yarn and COTTON prices and, if possible, the price of GOODS, so that they amount to at least one paragraph of an article.[430]

In each article, besides the subject proper, I naturally have to follow step by step the Russian Notes and England's FOREIGN POLICY (and right brave it is!), since the *jackasses* in New York consider this to be of prime importance and, AFTER ALL, nothing is easier to write about than this business of HIGH politics.

Next Tuesday *week* I shall have finished an article on the 'ORIENTAL CHURCH', and *next Friday week* the first of three articles on Denmark where next month the various assemblies of estates will be again taking the stage.[433]

Should there be any military MOVEMENT, I shall count on receiving immediate information from the Ministry of War[b] in Manchester, and the same applies to COTTONS and YARNS which are wretchedly covered by the papers down here.

Above all I want to slay the fellows with my pen, the moment being propitious, and if at the same time you keep me supplied with material, I can spin out the various themes over longer periods. What is more, without my secretary[c] I feel a little nervous about my English.

*No* regards to Lupus.

Your
K. M.

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[a] 27 September - [b] i.e. Engels - [c] Pieper

# 186

# MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[434]

## IN NEW YORK

[London, beginning of October 1853]

... Blind has suddenly become aware that the knife and fork question[428] is just as important as a South German view of the Turkish question. As you know, this gentleman had grown very grand, very much the *homme d'état*,[a] very much the superior émigré. You will also know that an article of Pieper's poking fun at Russia[b]—a frivolous scrawl well-suited to the *Neu-England-Zeitung* and such as could only have been concocted on the spur of the moment by a homeless waif—caused Blind to loose off in the *Neu-England-Zeitung* no fewer than 3 articles within 2 months, more or less fraternising (true love never fades) with Heinzen, etc. Hence his relations with us were strained. When I say 'us' I except Mr Lupus, who was naturally drawn to Blind by his *Morning Advertiser* sympathies and who, for some time past, has generally evinced a curious tendency to snarl at his so-called party friends and sympathise with political philistines. A few days ago then, Mr Blind reappears, bringing my wife a letter to Cluss, i.e. for Wolff who had written him a fond letter of farewell in which he invited him to correspond and left him Cluss' address.[435] Needless to say, my wife informed him that England for the present was still harbouring the great Turkophile.[c] But that was not, of course, the reason why our ex-friend of Falstaffian proportions had called. The court in Baden has sequestered the entire fortune of the children by his first marriage (the 2nd was contracted in the 13th *arrondissement*) until such time as they are handed over to the Jews in Germany to be given a Jewish upbringing. Thus Mr Blind has been reduced to $^1/_4$ of his or his wife's[d] income and he now regards the 'knife and fork question' as worthy of consideration, *even before* the Turkish War has been decided and Petersburg taken by

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[a] statesman - [b] Probably Pieper's report from London of 31 May in *Die Reform*, No. 22, 15 June 1853. - [c] See this volume, pp. 369-70 and 372. - [d] Friederike

storm. In these much changed circumstances, and needing the assistance of the advocate *Jones* (Ernest), he once again remembered that I exist, which, of course, is damned flattering to me[a]...

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## 187

## MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS

### IN WASHINGTON

[London,] 5 October 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Cluss,

That I have writer's itch, and this in the 'loftier sense of the term', you must needs conclude from the fact that I am writing to you today although—as so often nowadays—I have been working without a break for thirty hours on end.

*D'abord,*[b] I want you, if it is at all possible, to get the German press to publish my *Palmerston article.*[436]

On the 17th Jones will be setting forth on another tour of the manufacturing districts and tomorrow evening will call in here to get material for a campaign against that great HUMBUG.[437] It is comic that we are forced to teach the English their own history.

Willich's journeymen's association (the London one),[c] already demoralised since our resignation, has now become too much of a good thing even for that HIPPOPOTAMUS Schapper, who has also withdrawn.

*Quant à*[d] Carey and Ricardo's theory of rent[438]:

1) If we assume—as Carey would have it—that rent is simply another form of profit on capital or, still more precisely, of *interest,* this does not disprove but merely *simplifies* Ricardo's theory. The economic antithesis, in the most general sense, would simply coincide with the *antithesis* of capital and wage labour, PROFIT (and INTEREST) ON ONE SIDE and WAGES ON THE OTHER. The antithesis to capital *within* property would be eliminated (in so far as we disregard,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 371 and 372-73. - [b] First - [c] German Workers' Educational Society - [d] As for

# Die Reform.

Herausgeber: Friedrich & Kellner. Redacteur: Dr. G. Kellner.

No. 92. New-York, Mittwoch den 2. November 1853.

*Die Reform* of 2 November 1853 with Marx's article 'Palmerston' translated by Cluss

*d'abord*, the antithesis between individual *kinds* of capital determined by the *division of labour*, and then, the antithesis between individual capitalists), but the antithesis *to* property would be all the more comprehensive.

2) I am of course aware that, in an attempt to complete his theory, the worthy Carey also reduces *profit* (interest included) to wages in a *different* form. *D'abord*, is not Protestantism, for example, merely a *different* form of religion from Catholicism? Does the antithesis, the contradiction, the struggle between them cease—and that is what you are dealing with—because they are both *religions*? Thus, even assuming that profit and wages are simply 2 *different* forms of the return on labour, the result is not to reconcile them but merely to reduce their *difference* to a *simplified* expression.

But how does he define their *otherness*? Profit is the wages for *past* labour. Wages are the profit on *immediate present labour. Eh bien!*[a] How does this avail him? For it is precisely from its thraldom, from its slavery to *past, materialised* labour that present, i.e. *actual* labour seeks to emerge, and from its thraldom to the *product of labour* that *labour* seeks to be emancipated. The old feudal laws were also *at one time* the present expression of popular activity. Is that any reason why we should be subjugated by them now?

At *best*, therefore, he is merely changing the phrase 'oppression of labour by capital', into the phrase 'oppression of present labour by past labour'.

There still remains the question, '*How* do I gain possession of *past labour*?' By labour? No. By inheritance on the one hand and, on the other, by the *fraudulent* exchange of past for present labour. If past labour were exchanged for an equal quantity of present labour, the owner of past labour could continue to consume only so long as he had aliquot portions to exchange and, at a given moment, would himself have to start working again.

3) Carey has himself wholly failed to understand Ricardo's theory of rent when he maintains that it is based on the successive *deterioration of land*. Ricardo—as I have proved in my book against Proudhon[b]—falls into the common error of all other bourgeois economists, when he passes off the form of landed property as an 'eternal natural law' of history in general, whereas it is the product of purely industrial circumstances. His theory is true only of

[a] Well! - [b] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the 'Philosophy of Poverty' by M. Proudhon.* On critique of Ricardo's theory of rent see Chapter II, § 4: 'Property or Rent'.

bourgeois society in a condition of full development. Rent, in its *commercial* form—the only one he mentions—does not otherwise exist at all. It therefore leaves him unaffected to maintain that at *various* historical epochs it was not the worse, but rather the better, lands that were SUCCESSIVELY cultivated. The *historically better* land of one period does not count as land at all for the other[s]. Moreover, Ricardo does not speak only of the *natural* properties of the soil, but also of its *situation*, a social product, a social attribute.

The *fertility of the soil*, as I have likewise already said in the *Anti-Proudhon*, is something purely relative. Changes in the soil's fertility and its *degree* in relation to society, and that is the only aspect of fertility with which we are concerned, depend on changes in the science of chemistry and its application to agronomy.

4) *Assuming* a given condition of society, not any society, but one of full bourgeois development, with a populous countryside [...] etc., even this part of Ricardo's theory—*unessential* to his system—is correct.

*Firstly*. Types of land, with an equal infusion of *capital* and equally well situated for markets; how can their rents be differentiated? Merely by their *natural* fertility. This constitutes the *level* of rent.

On this assumption, when will a corn field of inferior quality be cultivated or a less productive coal-mine be exploited? When the price of corn or coal has risen so high as to enable the less productive ones to be cultivated or exploited. *Hence the cost of production of the* **poorer** *land determines the rent of the richer.* (This is Ricardo's Law.)

*Secondly*. Does this exclude a *constant increase* in fertility? Hence, does it include Malthus? By no means.

If 1 is the best land, followed by 2, 3, 4, etc., and fertility is increased tenfold, the relation between 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., remains as before. Were fertility to become so great as a result of chemical discoveries that 1, 2 and 3 sufficed, land 4 would no longer be cultivated. The cost of production of land 3 (let it =3) would then determine the rent. When land 4 (let its production costs =4) still had to be brought under cultivation, the rent of land 1 (let its production costs =1)=4−1=3. The rent of land 3=3−1=2. The rent of land 2=2−1=1. Now, however, the rent of 1 would =2, that of 2 would =1 and that of 3 would =0. Should the fertility of the land so increase that only 1, the best land, had to be cultivated, rent would *disappear completely*.

5) Ricardo's theory is based not on the doctrine of rent, but on the law that the *price of a commodity* is determined by *its cost of production.* That law, however, should not be understood as meaning that the price of *individual* commodities is determined by their cost of production. Rather, the commodity produced under the most unfavourable circumstances, and made *necessary* because of the demand for it, determines the price of all *other commodities of the same kind.* E.g. if demand is so great that flour, the production price of which is 20/-a QUARTER, can be placed on the market, then a qr. of flour costing 19, 18, 17, 15, etc., to produce is also sold at 20/-. The amount by which the market price, regulated by the cost of production of the *dearest* QUARTER to be placed on the market, exceeds the production costs of the less expensively produced flour, regulates the rent. What, then, gives rise to rent? Not the land, as supposed by Ricardo, but the *market price* and the laws by which it is regulated. If the quarter, which costs only 15/-(profit included) were sold, not at 20/-, but at 15, it could not carry a rent of 5. Why, then, does it do so? Because the market price is regulated by the flour the cost of production of which =20. In order that this may be placed on the market, *20* must be the *general* market price. Hence, if rent is to be overthrown, it must not be interpreted philanthropically; rather the laws of *market price* and thus of prices generally and thus the whole FRAMEWORK of the bourgeois economy must be overthrown.

So much for today on this subject.

Your
K. M.[439]

On types of land having the same properties and an equally favourable situation, the rent will, however, be determined *merely* by the proportion of capital wedded to the land. Nor does Ricardo deny this. Rent is then merely interest on *capital fixe.*[a] To say that, in cases in which rent does not exist in an actual, *specific* sense, its *specific* antithesis to capital and labour does not exist either, is no less true than to say that, where there is neither labour nor investment of capital, no antithesis between capital and wage labour exists. Instead there is, in the case under consideration, an antithesis between profit and interest, between rentiers (in the ordinary sense) and industrial capitalists. The less the tenant pays

[a] fixed capital

the man whose capital is wedded to the land, the greater will be his profit and vice versa. The tenant and his LANDLORD (even though the latter simply draws interest on the capital employed on the land) would thus be as much at loggerheads as before.

The case most favourable to Carey is as follows:

Let the *product* of labour, the profit and interest =2, rent =1, wages =2. Now if, as a result of a rise in the productivity of labour, the *product* doubles and =10, the rent might =2, profit and interest =4, wages =4. To that extent it could be said that every kind of revenue may increase at no *expense to labour* and without landowner, capitalist and worker being mutually at loggerheads. But:

1) Assuming this most favourable instance to be real, all it means is that the antitheses—rent, profit, wages—all three, become more marked without losing any of their qualitative position relative to one another;

2) *Relatively* they can only rise or fall *at each other's* expense. In the foregoing example, the proportion =1:2:2. Does not the ratio remain the same if it =2:4:4? A change in this *relative* income would occur if, for example, wages were to =5, profit =3, and rent =2. The profit would then have *fallen* relatively, although in absolute terms it would have risen.

3) It is *par trop*[a] naive to suggest that, if the *total product of labour* rises, the three classes among whom it is to be shared will share *equally* in that growth. If profit were to rise by 20%, the workers would have to strike to obtain a 2% rise in WAGES.

4) *The conditions that govern an increase in the total product preclude such relatively equal increase from the outset.* If the increase is due to a better division of labour, or to a greater employment of machinery, the worker is, from the outset, placed at a disadvantage vis-à-vis the capitalist. If it be due to increased fertility of the soil, the landowner is worse off vis-à-vis the capitalist.

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[a] altogether too - [b] The original is kept in the Marx Memorial House in Trier.

# 188

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 8 October 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

*D'abord*[a] I must ask you—if you can—to send by return at least a minimum of money. Two weeks ago Spielmann finally paid up after deducting nearly £2. In the meantime, of course, debts had mounted up so much, so many of our absolute essentials had found their way to the pawnbroker's and the family had grown so shabby, that for the past 10 days there hasn't been a sou in the house. I now possess proof that I have been cheated by Spielmann, but *à quoi bon*[b]? At my request the firm in New York returned me the bill together with a letter from which it emerges that payment was made *as early as 22 July*, whereas I didn't receive the money until the end of September. I now have a further £24 to draw. (Since Pieper's incarceration I have sent in 6 articles, among them a fulminating *acte d'accusation*[c] of Palmerston, in which I trace his career from 1808 to 1832.[d] I shall hardly be able to deliver the sequel by Tuesday, since there are a great many Blue Books and *Hansards* to be consulted and Friday and today were utterly wasted in traipsing around after money. I wrote Friday's article[e] during the night, dictated it to my wife from 7 to 11 in the morning, then took Shanks's pony to the City.) Freiligrath has promised—and will do everything he can to that end, i.e. endorse it himself, etc.—to discount the bill for me with Bischoffsheim, but is unable to arrange the matter for another 8 to 10 days. Such is the *casus belli*. I shall have to see how I can get through the next few days. Credit is not available for food (excepting hot drinks and appurtenances). On top of that there'll

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[a] First - [b] what's the use? - [c] indictment - [d] K. Marx, 'Lord Palmerston'. First Article written on 4 October 1853 was published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3902, 19 October 1853 as a leading article 'I. Palmerston'. - [e] 7 October. K. Marx, 'The War Question.—Financial Matters.—Strikes'.

be Pieper who will probably come out of hospital tomorrow—*peut-être.*[a] As soon as I got my money I sent him £3, but the jackass entrusted it to Liebknecht for safekeeping and will now find there's not a farthing left.

Of the many pleasures I have experienced during my years here, the greatest have consistently been provided by so-called party friends—red Wolff,[b] Lupus, Dronke, etc. Today Freiligrath told me that Franz Joseph Daniels is in London and had been to see him with red Wolff. He, Daniels, declared he wouldn't come to see me because my association with Bangya had brought about his brother's[c] arrest which would not otherwise have occurred. Bangya first called on me in February 1852, and Daniels was locked up in May 1851! A very retrospective effect, then. All this infamous gossip (the reward for my trouble and loss of time, and such-like agreeable consequences of the trial[d]) is, of course, eagerly seized upon as an excuse for their own lamentable behaviour towards me and their cowardly retreat. However this vile business is attributable solely to the bandying about of ill-natured remarks by Messrs Dronke and W. Wolff who have kept for themselves the easier part, i.e. *cancan,*[e] being otherwise perfectly content to leave the work to me.

If my life was an easy, or at least a carefree one, I wouldn't, of course, give a fig for these scurrilities. But when, year after year, the bourgeois mire is laced with this and similar kinds of mire, *c'est un peu fort.*[f] I propose at the next opportunity to declare *publicly* that I have nothing whatever to do with *any party.* I no longer feel inclined to allow myself to be insulted by any old party jackass on so-called party grounds.

You can see how necessary it is to get my pamphlet[g] into Germany. Since you can't do it yourself, let me have Strohn's address and I will take the matter up with him.

I would also much like to hear at last what Mr Dronke has to say about the book.[h] As for Mr Lupus, he apparently wishes to make up for his servility towards his bourgeois patrons by being abominably insolent towards myself. I can assure him that he has by no means settled this matter by boasting to Imandt that, on the pretext of coming to say good-bye, he had vented his philistine spleen on me.

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[a] perhaps - [b] Ferdinand - [c] Roland Daniels - [d] Cologne communist trial - [e] malicious gossip - [f] it's a bit too much - [g] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.* - [h] See this volume, p. 364.

Enclosed a letter from Cluss. In his essay against the *Neu-England-Zeitung*[a] he has—aptly as I think—pieced together sundry passages from my letters about Carey, etc.[438]

Your
K. M.

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## 189

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 October 1853

Dear Engels,

£2 received. It was all the more welcome as Oxford, Freiligrath's principal, is not yet back from his travels, and thus the matter has been delayed.[b]

As regards the *Tribune*, I shall have Article II on Palmerston[c] READY for Friday.[d] Article III, the final one, which covers the period 1848-53, calls for so many Blue Books and PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES that I can't possibly have it ready by Tuesday,[e] particularly with Sunday FALLING OUT AS FAR AS THE BRITISH MUSEUM IS CONCERNED. So it would be of enormous use to me and would also save me time if you could supply me with something for Tuesday. But what? I really don't know. Perhaps current affairs, to which I would simply append the most recent news. Perhaps, if you have kept up with the subject—not very much is WANTED FOR MESSRS GREELEY AND MC ELRATH—the influence of the impending crisis on DOING AWAY WITH THE BONAPARTE REGIME. I think it high time that attention was drawn to France where, after all, the catastrophe will break out. Failure of

[a] A. Cluss, 'Das "beste Blatt der Union" und seine "besten Männer" und Nationalökonomen', *Die Reform*, Nos. 48-51, 14, 17, 21 and 24 September 1853. - [b] See this volume, p. 385. - [c] K. Marx, 'Lord Palmerston', Art. II sent on 14 October was published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3916, 4 November 1853 as a leading article under the title 'II. Palmerston and Russia'. - [d] 14 October - [e] 18 October

the corn and grape harvests. Paris, with its lower bread prices, attracting workers from all over France and thus recruiting the revolutionary army, while these new arrivals depress the already falling WAGES of the Parisians. Bread RIOTS in Alsace-Lorraine, Champagne. Grumbling by the peasants over the preference given to Paris, by the workers over the expensive wooing of the army, by the bourgeois over forcible interference with economic laws for the benefit of the workers. Falling demand, particularly for luxury articles. CLOSING of WORKSHOPS beginning. In contrast to the general *misère*, LAVISH EXPENDITURE and stock-jobbing by the Bonaparte family. HOLLOWNESS of the entire credit system, turned into nothing more or less than a colossal institutionalised racket under the direction of the Lumpenproletariat emperor and the Jew Fould. *Bourse*, bank, railways, mortgage banks and any other institutionalised racket you may care to name. The last days of the Louis Philippe regime all over again, but with all the beastliness and none of the REDEEMING FEATURES of the Empire and the Restoration.

PRESSURE of the government on the Bank. Tax collector mulcting the land more rigorously than ever. Vast difference between the advance estimates and the actual budget. All municipal administrations atrociously in debt—because PROSPERITY has to be propped up. Then the influence of the ORIENTAL QUESTION on FUNDS, with the court itself dangerously exploiting fluctuations in the stocks. DEMORALISATION of the army. Special stress should be laid on the fact that none of the manifestos, proclamations, etc., by Ledru, L. Blanc and other kindred spirits of all complexions have succeeded in removing the evil, whereas the social and economic crisis is setting the whole caboodle in motion, etc. etc. I don't know, of course, whether the subject will appeal to you. At any rate let me know whether or not I can expect an *articulum*[a] by Tuesday, so that I can act accordingly.[440]

Your
K. M.

In last week's *Economist*—(Saturday's, so really this week's) there's all sorts of stuff in its Paris Correspondence.[b]

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[a] article - [b] 'Foreign Correspondence', *The Economist*, No. 528, 8 October 1853.

# 190

## MARX TO KARL BLIND

### IN LONDON

London, 13 October 1853
28 [Dean Street], Soho

Dear Blind,

Immediately after you called on me, I went to see Freiligrath in order to secure his good offices in getting my bill discounted. Freiligrath did indeed undertake to do this, but has so far not managed to arrange the thing since his principal[a]—whom he needs for the transaction and who has been expected back these past 8-10 days—has not yet returned. Thus I am *sans sous*[b]—although I have almost £30 to draw. Yet the thing must be settled within a few days.

As I was unable to obtain this money against my bill, I looked round elsewhere so that I could send you the £1 forthwith, but was everywhere met with a snub.

So, like myself, you will have to be patient for a few days and will, I am sure, realise that nothing could be more vexing to me than my present inability to settle the matter immediately.

*Quant à*[c] Jones, I can't understand anything. Since you were here he has been to see me twice and *positively* assured me he had written to you. It's not his way to lie about *such* things. Can his letter have been intercepted? He'll be here again tomorrow, when I shall get him to write to you in my presence. Then I shall myself take the letter to the post. He is leaving on Monday.[d]

Warm regards to you and your wife.

Your
K. Marx

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[a] Oxford - [b] penniless - [c] As for - [d] 17 October. See this volume, p. 378.

# 191

## MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS[441]

### IN WASHINGTON

London, 18 October 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Cluss,

You really did [...] too much in going to the trouble of copying out the Chinese thing.[a] AT THOSE EXPENSES I would certainly not have had the impertinence to ask you for the article.[442] Dana copied my stuff almost word for word, watering down this and that and, with rare tact, *deleting* anything of an audacious nature. NEVER MIND. IT IS A BUSINESS OF HIS, NOT OF MINE. In one of my Indian articles[b] he also amended the bit where I speak of cholera as 'THE INDIAN'S *REVENGE* UPON THE WESTERN WORLD' to 'INDIA'S *RAVAGES*' which is nonsense. *En passant*[c] Freiligrath solicited that 'revenge' for a poem about cholera upon which he is still at work.

Again, in another of my articles on India,[d] dealing with the princes there, he transmogrified 'THE SKELETON OF ETIQUETTE' into 'THE *SECLUSION* (PITIFUL!) OF ETIQUETTE'. NEVER MIND! Provided he pays.

My wife has also compromised me by putting Rinaldo for Ruggiero and Alcide for Alcine[e] in the first article on Palmerston. These are '*les petites misères*'[f] of an *écrivain*[g] whose own handwriting is illegible.[443] But it's a bitter pill for a man who knows his Ariosto from A to Z in the original. *Divino*[h] Ariosto!

It's a big jump from Ariosto to Klein, or rather a long fall, and a *casus obliquus*[i] at that. Papa Klein wrote to me—not a word, of course, about his upsets and rows—asking for recommendations to you and Weydemeyer. In my reply (Pieper has not written him a *single line quant à vous*[j]) I did not, of course, in any way suggest

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[a] K. Marx, 'Revolution in China and in Europe'. - [b] K. Marx, 'The War Question.—Doings of Parliament.—India' (see present edition, Vol. 12, p. 216). - [c] By the way - [d] K. Marx, 'The Russo-Turkish Difficulty.—Ducking and Dodging of the British Cabinet.—Nesselrode's Last Note.—The East India Question' (see present edition, Vol. 12, p. 200). - [e] Rinaldo Rinaldino—title character in the novel by August Vulpius; Ruggiero and Alcina—characters in *L'Orlando furioso* by Ariosto. - [f] little miseries - [g] writer - [h] sublime - [i] oblique fall. A pun, the German word *Fall* meaning either 'fall' or 'case'. - [j] concerning you

that Weydemeyer *was unfriendly* to me.[a] How could anyone suppose me capable of such stupidity and baseness? Mr Klein would have had to conclude from my harmless remark about Cluss' being 'our party's *most* talented and energetic representative in America',[b] that I was denying all talent and energy to Weydemeyer. However, such sophisticated word-juggling is beyond the reach of Klein's intellect. Hence all his remark amounts to is a piece of nonsense invented in order to give vent to his annoyance. NOTWITHSTANDING ALL THIS, YOU ARE RIGHT, SIR, IN HAVING WRITTEN TO MR SNUG.[c]

Klein really does wield some influence over the Solingen workers, and they are the best in the Rhine province. I, *pour ma part*,[d] have never, either drunk or sober, expressed the view that the *workers* are fit only for cannonfodder, although the *louts*, among whom little Klein[e] is evidently coming to rank himself, are, to my mind, barely fit even for that. It would be as well to treat little Klein with your accustomed DISCRETION as a tool that may perhaps (?), IN TIME OF ACTION, be of use to us.

Have forwarded the letter to Pieper. There's nothing doing with the *Gradaus* for it doesn't pay, and Pieper is too badly off to write *gratis*.

As regards the *Reform*, I shall see what I can get the others to do. The only one from whom any real support can be expected is *Engels*. Red Wolff[f] is married and a retailer of HOUSEHOLD WORDS for Prutz, Gutzkow and Cotta, not worth a FARTHING to us just now. Lupus no longer writes; he's so obstinate that he cannot be made to forget the unfortunate business of Weydemeyer's *Revolution*.[2] Dronke, presently a clerk in Bradford, idle as a grisette. Weerth, travelling about South and North America on business for nearly a year now. Engels really has too much work, but being a veritable walking encyclopaedia, he's capable, drunk or sober, of working at any hour of the day or night, is a fast writer and devilish QUICK in the uptake, so he at least can be expected to do something in this respect.

I was greatly tickled by Heinzen's heroic deed. Should you people give the fellow another dressing down, concentrate on his crass ignorance, and the pains the wretched man is at to

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[a] See this volume, p. 365. - [b] Cf. Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer, 19 December 1851, present edition, Vol. 38, p. 519. - [c] Klein, ironically called Snug after a character in Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*. - [d] for my part - [e] A play on the words *klein* (little) and *Klein* (personal name). - [f] Ferdinand Wolff

appropriate his opponents' catch-words when they're already stale and fit for nothing. Delectable, the chap's aspirations to *dignity*, and then his scraps! Serves him right!

*Rent.* In the *Misère*[a] I cite an example of how in England, land which, at a certain stage of science, was regarded as barren, is, at a more advanced stage, considered fertile. I can adduce as a general fact that, throughout the middle ages, esp. in Germany, *heavy clay soil* was cultivated by preference as being *naturally* more fertile. In the past 4-5 decades, however, owing to the introduction of potatoes, sheep-farming and the resulting manuring, etc., *light sandy soil* has taken pride of place, esp. since it involves no EXPENSES OF DRAINAGE, etc., and on the other hand its deficiencies can easily be made good by means of chemical fertilisers. From this, then, it may be seen how *relative* 'fertility' is, even *'natural'* fertility, and at the same time how ill-informed Mr Carey is, even from the point of view of history, when he expresses the opinion that the *most barren* land is always the first to be brought under cultivation.[b] What leads him to that conclusion? The fact that tropical swamps are damned fertile but reclaimable only by civilisation. A tropical swamp, however, is productive not so much of herbs as of weeds. Civilisation clearly originates in those regions where *wheat* grows wild, as was the case in part of Asia Minor, etc. Such land is rightly described as *naturally* fertile by historians—and not land yielding poisonous vegetation and requiring more strenuous cultivation if it is to become fertile *for* human beings. Fertility is not, after all, absolute but merely a relation of the land to human requirements.

Ricardo's law only holds good within *bourgeois* society. Hence it is where the relationship of the bourgeois to the land is purely that *of a bourgeois*, and every peasant,—or feudal—or patriarchal, relationship is cast aside that the law applies in its purest form, hence above all in the *mining* of precious metals, and in *colonies* where *commercial crops*, e.g. sugar, coffee, etc., are grown. More about this another time. In both instances the exploitation of the land is regarded and pursued by the bourgeois *de prime abord*[c] as a purely commercial concern.

Though I'm not afraid of those curs of Russians in so far as

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[a] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the 'Philosophy of Poverty' by M. Proudhon.* - [b] H. Ch. Carey, *The Past, the Present, and the Future*, Philadelphia, 1848, pp. 48-49. - [c] first and foremost

Europe is concerned—they are going to put us Germans in queer street. Between the Kalmuks and the *crapauds*[a] we are in a cleft stick.

Herewith copy of *The People's Paper.*

*Vale faveque,*[b]

Your

K. M.

First published in part in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934 and *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, No. 3, Moscow, 1962 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50, Moscow, 1981

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## 192

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 October 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

*Mes remerciements pour les deux articles.*[d] I fear you have been too biassed by Mr Smitt[e] in favour of Russia's military achievements. *D'abord,*[f] as regards the 1828-29 campaign, it was a wretched affair in the opinion of most *contemporains*[g]; I base myself *inter alia*, on the REPORT submitted to the Duke of Wellington by his ADC and published in *The Portfolio.*[h] The fortresses were bought rather than stormed. In general, BRIBERY played a major role in the campaign.

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[a] Marx used this word for French philistines. - [b] Good-bye and farewell. - [c] The original is kept in the Marx Memorial House in Trier. - [d] My thanks for the two articles (F. Engels, 'Movements of the Armies in Turkey' and 'The Holy War'). - [e] F. Smitt, *Geschichte des polnischen Aufstandes und Krieges in den Jahren 1830 und 1831.* - [f] To begin with - [g] contemporaries - [h] F. R. Chesney, 'Précis of a Report on the Russian Campaign of 1828 and 1829, drawn up for the information of the Duke of Wellington', *The Portfolio,* No. 26, 20 July 1836.

After passing through the Balkans, Diebitsch was not sure whether he had come to conquer or to be miserably cut off and captured. What saved him was BRIBERY, this time of one of the Pashas in command, and the UTTER DISSOLUTION OF THE TURKISH ARMY. Russia began the war when the fleet had been destroyed off Navarino[444] and the Turkish army's traditional organisation had been destroyed by Mahmud and no new one had yet been established. In any case, circumstances are different now.

Over the past 2 weeks the *Débats* has been publishing articles on the campaigns of '28-'29, which, however, I have not read. I shall look out further material at the library.

Pieper has been out of hospital for a week—and is doubly occupied, 1. as correspondent of the *Washington Union*, arranged by Cluss and 2. as CLERK (from 9-5) at 25/- A WEEK with a *crapaud*[a] in the City. Hence of no further use to me. *Tant mieux*[b] for him. I'm glad he's out of the mire.

I am sending you the continuation of the Palmerston.[c] Jones has asked me for the next instalment. I have sent an article for this once[d] but with the proviso that he would get no more if he didn't put an end to the abominable printing errors (this time glaring to the point of distortion). The manuscript was written very neatly.

*Rings*, stricken by *madness*, has spent several days in the WORKHOUSE and is still in a critical condition. Drink was to blame, *quorum magna pars*[e] the merry-making Lupus who debauched him with gin AFTER HE HAD SHUT UP HIS SHOP. Withal the man's too full-blooded to remain idle and has not yet succeeded in finding any fresh occupation. It's damnable the way the fellows all go mad on us.

Herewith Heinzen's *tour de force*.

Your
K. M.

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[a] philistine - [b] So much the better - [c] K. Marx, Article III of the 'Palmerston' series: 'A Chapter of Modern History', *New-York Daily Tribune*. - [d] K. Marx, 'Lord Palmerston', Art. III, *The People's Paper*. - [e] a large part being played by Virgil, *Aeneid*, II)

# 193

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 November 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

You must let me have something by the day after tomorrow, even if only 1 or 2 pages (if you are short of time) on the CROSSING of the DANUBE by the Turks when they took Kalafat. Yesterday I reported the news[a] as VERY DOUBTFUL. But it seems likely to be confirmed and tomorrow's papers will at any rate tell you how things stand. Now that scientific opinions are beginning to be expressed on the subject, I can neither remain silent nor discuss it from the standpoint of 'sound common sense'.[b] According to the news in the French press, *Shamyl* has roundly trounced the Russians and is actually threatening Tiflis, while General Vorontsov has written to his government informing it that, once he is threatened from 2 sides, he will not be able to hold Georgia without substantial reinforcements.

Of late the *Tribune* has been considerably exercising its annexationist policy. To begin with your first military article was annexed as a LEADER, then my Palmerston,[c] further instalments of which are thus foredoomed to annexation. Strange though it may seem to you, by following exactly in the footsteps of the NOBLE VISCOUNT during the past 20 years, I have come to the same conclusion as that monomaniac Urquhart—namely that for several decades Palmerston has been in the pay of Russia. As soon as you have read the further instalments of my article (especially the bits about the Turko-Syrian conflict[d]) I would like to have your views on the subject. I am glad that chance should have led me to take a closer look at the foreign policy—diplomatic—of the past 20 years. We had very much neglected this aspect, and one ought to know with whom one is dealing.

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[a] K. Marx, 'War.—Strikes.—Dearth'. - [b] An allusion to Heinzen's *'der gesunde Menschenverstand'* (sound common sense). See K. Marx, 'Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality', present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 317, 330 and 337. - [c] F. Engels, 'The Russians in Turkey'; K. Marx, 'I. Palmerston', *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 3902, 19 October 1853. An allusion to the fact that the newspaper editors had not named the author. - [d] K. Marx, Article III of the 'Palmerston' series: 'A Chapter of Modern History', *New-York Daily Tribune.*

Diplomacy as a whole is nothing but Stieber, Bangya and Co. reproduced on a large scale.

The *New-York Enquirer*, edited by General Webb (I haven't read the article myself), has attacked the *Tribune* LEADER got from you.[a] The thing, it says, is scientifically correct, but a Turkish war is waged according to different principles. Turks would go into the attack whatever the circumstances, etc.

How is the Factory Pro-le-ta-ri-at doing?

Your
K. M.

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## 194

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 November [1853]
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Herewith the great Karl Heinzen's invective against myself and communism in his *Herold des Westens*.

Also a letter from Cluss. From it you will see that Willich's fiery rocket[b] is arriving by the next post. The worst of it is that the fellows will be peddling their lampoon throughout the whole of Germany while my pamphlet[c] reposes quietly in Manchester and London—and that in Heinzen they once more possess a vociferous sounding-board, whereas a few months ago the only organ at Willich's disposal was the *Criminal-Zeitung*. When the trash arrives I shall let you have it immediately, so that you can write and tell me what you think we ought to do.

You will see from Cluss' letter how things stand with the *Reform*.[445] Get the 'old man'[d] and Dronke to write for it. They have

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[a] F. Engels, 'The Russians in Turkey'. - [b] A. Willich, 'Doctor Karl Marx und seine "Enthüllungen"', *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, Nos. 33 and 34, 28 October and 4 November 1853. - [c] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - [d] Wilhelm Wolff

plenty of WASTE TIME. Whether it would be advisable for us two to contribute direct is a moot point.

Weerth's letter *horriblement* insipid, despite all his striving after wit.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913

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## 195

## MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS[446]

### IN WASHINGTON

[London, mid-November 1853]

... As regards the *Reform*, I shall see what can be done in Germany and Paris. Pieper is now in *business* and spends from 9 in the morning until 8 at night in the City. So what with his work as correspondent for the *Union*, has little time. He'll do something. If any *money* is forthcoming, I would suggest that Eccarius get some first so that he doesn't have to spend all day tailoring. In accordance with an agreement made with me, he will now be sending articles regularly. Do try and see that he gets *something*, if at all possible. With regard to his French articles, Jones is no longer printing them,[447] nor has he returned me the manuscript, which isn't therefore available *dans ce moment*,[a] Jones being away on an agitation tour. I have written to him about it, however.[448] I have also asked *Heise*. Diversity is desirable and, by consorting with us Heise will, I believe, change for the better. I have asked Lupus and Dronke through Engels.[b] Probably little will come of it. In Lupus' case, age and bachelorhood combine to lead him into mischief during this sorry interregnum.

Not yet seen Willich's damp squib.[c] The war news takes up almost my whole attention and there's no time left to think about the great Willich. Despite the electric telegraph, the NEWS arrives late, is very confused and fragmentary and has, moreover, all

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[a] at the moment - [b] See this volume, p. 396. - [c] A. Willich, 'Doctor Karl Marx und seine "Enthüllungen"'.

passed through the hands of the Vienna police—i.e. been censored. The news from Constantinople is of course much delayed. The heroes of democracy are preparing to march. An evil omen for the Turks.

*Quant à*[a] Willich, I should much prefer it if I could be spared personal statements and my contribution be confined to producing, for the feuilleton of the *Reform*, a psychological—or rather, phenomenological—genre picture of this shabby philistine's 'form of consciousness'.

Last Tuesday,[b] at the same time as your letter, I received one from *Klein* which was, I must say, most delightfully written, witty and considered. He tells me that he, too, will make a statement against Willich, since he can prove that the man was a fraud all the time he was in London. Klein is obsessed with the idea that you people are treating him very much *de haut en bas*. I shall try and smooth out this difference.

As regards the *Tribune*, the most ingenious way of handling the thing might have been to make people believe they 'recognised my style'.[449] I have become very thick with Urquhart as a result of the Palmerston article.[c] To help me, he has sent me several books—with which, however, I was already familiar...[450]

First published in *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, No. 3, Moscow, 1962

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## 196

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 21 November 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Herewith a £2 postal order for Lupus, which I have received for him from Cluss, N.B. in response to my request.

Also Willich's exceedingly sorry scrawl.[d]

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[a] As regards - [b] Probably 8 November. - [c] K. Marx, 'Lord Palmerston'. - [d] A. Willich, 'Doctor Karl Marx und seine "Enthüllungen"'.

*You and Dronke* must let me have, by *Friday*[a] at the latest, *statements* on the bits which refer to myself. I shall include them in my GENERAL ANSWER[b]—in the form of statements. We must be as quick off the mark with our answer as the noble Willich was sluggish. Mind you make your statement a very humorous one.

Thanks for the Turkish article.[c] When it arrived, news of the Turkish retreat had already reached me, and I altered the thing accordingly. Do write; it's a month since you answered any of my letters with more than half a dozen lines.[451]

Your
K. M.

Won't you come up to town for Christmas and put up *here*? I now have a small room for you. You might be able to shake off the old man[d] for once.

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## 197

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 November 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

*The People's Paper* had been overlooked. Enclosed herewith. The five articles that have so far appeared in Jones' paper have been compressed in the *Tribune* into three.[e]

Whatever calls there may be on your time, I must ask you to let me have for *Friday*[f] at least 2 of (your usual) pages—more is

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[a] 25 November - [b] K. Marx, 'The Knight of the Noble Consciousness'. - [c] F. Engels, 'The Progress of the Turkish War'. - [d] Wilhelm Wolff - [e] K. Marx, 'Lord Palmerston', I-V in *The People's Paper*, corresponding to 'I. Palmerston', 'II. Palmerston and Russia' and 'III. A Chapter of Modern History' in the *New-York Daily Tribune*. - [f] Engels' article 'The War on the Danube' was sent to New York on Friday, 2 December 1853.

unnecessary—written in English so that I waste no time over translation. It seems to me that the campaign is now over for the winter; and in any case the first phase has been concluded, and hence can be disposed of with a few general remarks. So I count on at least 2 pages.

The Willich mess calls for speed—in direct contrast to his six months of shilly-shallying.[a]

Your
K. M.

Did the 'old man'[b] get the postal order for £2?

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## 198

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 2 December 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

*Mes remerciements pour le*[c] BEAUTIFUL ARTICLE.[d] In America Mr Dana will be making himself a name as a field marshal.

That you should be coming here[452] mainly to frequent the philistines again, pleases me not at all.

Mr Dronke is behaving like a wretched little mischief-monger. He tells Strohn he has sent you his statement and the newspaper,[e] and gives you to understand that both have gone to me—*have had neither*. See to it that the LITTLE MAN returns you the newspapers, at

[a] See this volume, pp. 396, 397 and 398. - [b] Wilhelm Wolff - [c] Thanks for the - [d] F. Engels, 'The War on the Danube'. - [e] *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung* containing Willich's article 'Doctor Karl Marx und seine "Enthüllungen"'.

all events. I have a copy of my own here, but none is required in Bradford. Not having received the trash from Dronke, I was rummaging by chance amongst some old letters when I lit upon the *corpus delicti* with the incriminating *passage* which I quote verbatim. The letter was addressed to *you.* [453] Now, should Mr Dronke use adjectival caustic to obliterate factual accuracy, he'll have only himself to blame if *I* send his letter to New York as proof that I, *du moins,*[a] am accurate. It contains some strange passages which would now undoubtedly embarrass him, e.g. concerning that 'fanatical lout Imandt', *maintenant*[b] an intimate friend to whom he writes twice weekly. Everyone knows how addicted the little man is to mischief-mongering while our backs are turned.

On Tuesday[c] I sent off my rejoinder, *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness.* He's[d] in for a surprise. Your letter[454] and others from Steffen, Miskowsky (together with Kossuth's testimony),[455] etc., all of them, of course, with your signatures, were included as integral parts of the whole.

Write soon.

Jones is under attack from *The Economist*[e] and is acquiring fame.

Apropos. Last Tuesday a Polish meeting.[456] Mazzini and Kossuth didn't come. Inane blather from Worcell. Ruge and Ledru showed themselves worthy of the company. My wife was there.[f] Also at Monday's meeting held by Poles of the democratic variety. It was announced that Harney was to be in the chair. Fearsome revolt by the 50 or 60 English working men present. Hisses, 'TRAITOR', 'DRYBONES' (as he called the Chartists), RENEGADE. A fearsome set-to. Harney did not dare take the CHAIR, was terribly mauled, buffeted, abused and, despite half a dozen attempts, never managed to speak. Needless to say, the stupid Waschlapskis[g] couldn't understand what was going on and interpreted the whole thing as 'reaction'. This spells Nemesis for Father George Julian Harney.

Your
K. M.

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[a] at least - [b] now - [c] 29 November - [d] Willich - [e] 'The Labour Parliament', *The Economist,* No. 535, 26 November 1853. - [f] See this volume, p. 587. - [g] Marx calls the petty-bourgeois émigrés who attended the Polish meeting of 29 November 1853 'Waschlapskis' (Dishcloths) after a personage in Heine's satirical poem 'Zwei Ritter'.

From the enclosed letter[a] you will see that Cluss has unfortunately already answered.[b] But since my thing was ready,[c] it had to go off. One should not work for Willich *for nothing.*

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, about 12 December 1853]

Dear Engels,

From the telegram I received from you this morning I naturally cannot tell:

1. Whether Cluss', etc., answers[d] and the issues of the *Reform* relating to Willich[e] have reached you from New York. The contrary would seem possible, since Mr Lupus, in a fatuous letter to Cluss, seeks to conceal his laziness by inveighing against *Weydemeyer.*

2. Has Dronke returned the relevant numbers of the *Criminal-Zeitung*[f]? I asked Steffen to get you to send them to him in Chester, since I can't do without the one copy I have down here. When—induced *by you*—I came in my last letter[g] to speak of the odd affair of 'the well-known gentleman, Dr Dronke's' statement, it occurred to me that the immediate upshot would be that I would get no private letters from you until the affair could be assumed to have blown over—say a week or two. At least, that is the method which, since Mr Lupus' arrival in Manchester, you have adhered to with unusual consistency in all matters concerning

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[a] Cluss to Marx, 13 November 1853. - [b] J. Weydemeyer, A. Cluss, A. Jacobi, 'An die Redaktion der *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*', *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, No. 37, 25 November 1853. - [c] K. Marx, 'The Knight of the Noble Consciousness'. - [d] See previous letter. - [e] 'Werbungen in New-York', 'Das Wirken der "Militär Kommission"', *Die Reform*, Nos. 87 and 88, 19 and 21 November 1853. - [f] containing Willich's 'Doctor Karl Marx und seine "Enthüllungen"' - [g] See this volume, pp. 400-01.

myself and the two gentlemen. Hence, if our correspondence is not to be reduced to mere telegraphic exchanges, it would be better if both of us were to omit in future all allusions to your friends and protégés up there.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 200

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 December 1853

Dear Frederic,

As you know, everyone gets an occasional bee in his bonnet, and *nihil humani*[a] etc. Needless to say, there was never any question of 'conspiring' and suchlike nonsense.[457] You are accustomed to SOME JEALOUSY and, *au fond*,[b] the only thing that vexes me is our not being able to be together now, to work and have fun together, whereas your 'protégés' have you conveniently to hand.

Enclosed one copy of the *Knight*. The other arrived in Washington either today or yesterday. I sent the thing to Cluss so that the 2 statements[c] should not conflict, and so that he can delete anything that has already been said. A few small stylistic changes were made in the copy I sent. The last page is missing from the one I sent you; it got mislaid and contains only a few concluding remarks in a humorous vein.

Although we have heard nothing of him, Willich must be back in London again. Did you see in the *Reform* the splendid minutes of the meeting presided over by Anneke, in which not a single person

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[a] *Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto* (I am a man and I think nothing human is alien to me), Terence, *Heautontimorumenos*. - [b] at bottom - [c] J. Weydemeyer, A. Cluss, A. Jacobi, 'An die Redaktion der *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*' and K. Marx, 'The Knight of the Noble Consciousness'.

declares himself willing to return to Germany as 'a revolutionary fighter under Willich's military leadership'?[a]

*Quant à*[b] Palmerston,[c] I could agree to a 'German' version only if I could be sure that the work would subsequently be accepted by a publisher. For I haven't a German MS, since I myself had to write the thing in English, i.e. Anglo-Saxonise the original from the word go. As regards the *Tribune* I intend to conclude with the TREATIES OF 1840 AND '41,[458] and for this I have at my disposal some very bulky BLUE BOOKS, BESIDES *Hansard* and the *Moniteur.* Have left out Palmerston's machinations in GREECE, Afghanistan, Persia and Serbia, as being of lesser importance. That would still leave the revolutionary period[459] for which the BLUE BOOKS again provide important (if considerably curtailed) material, as well as for our 'patriotic' war, etc., in Schleswig-Holstein

Concerning your Bonaparte as a captain of artillery, or writer thereon, I think you would do best to send a paper of this sort under your own name either to 1. *The Daily News,* 2. *The Examiner,* or 3. *The Westminster Review.* The first would probably be best. An article of this kind would at one fell swoop—*par coup d'état*[d]—put you in such a position vis-à-vis the London Press that you could 'press' it and at the same time, perhaps, get a chance to have your book on the Hungarian compaign[e] published in English in London, which would in any case be more profitable and effective than in POOR old Leipzig.

Needless to say, the *Tribune* is making a great splash with your articles, POOR Dana, no doubt, being regarded as their author. At the same time they have appropriated 'Palmerston', which means that, for 8 weeks past, Marx-Engels have virtually constituted the EDITORIAL STAFF of the *Tribune.*

In addition to your lengthier expositions which are appropriated by them for LEADERS and are feasible only in the case of certain important EVENTS or periods, e.g. the initial phase, then the battle of Oltenitza, etc., I should be grateful if (time permitting) you could—during the less important interludes—let me have a brief summary of the facts—1-2 pages, say—in English. I have greater difficulties—even from the *language* standpoint—with the lesser stuff than with profound (!) expositions, especially with material I have long been familiar with by reading in an *English* context, i.e. English works. I only require this, of course, when there is a

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[a] [Report from Newark,] *Die Reform,* No. 91, 24 November 1853. - [b] As for - [c] K. Marx, 'Lord Palmerston'. - [d] by a coup d'état - [e] See this volume, pp. 104 and 309-10.

dearth of 'great' *événements*.[a] The main difficulty is the uneasiness of my critical conscience in regard to matters with which I feel I am not *à la hauteur*.[b] My competitor[c] quite simply copies out the facts (or rather what are given out as such by the London Press).

What do you think of my brother-in-law Juta's proposal, enclosed *herewith*, that we should write a monthly article for the *Zuid-Afrikaan* (Cape Town)?[460] Rotten though Juta's French may be, he's a good, sensible chap. If only you and I had set up an *English* correspondence business at the right moment in London, you wouldn't be stuck in Manchester tormented by the office, nor I tormented by debts. Incidentally, I believe that if you were to send military articles to the London papers now, you would, within a few weeks, be able to secure a permanent post which would pay as well as the Manchester business and leave you more spare time. At present the DEMAND FOR MILITARY WRITERS exceeds the supply.

It might even be asked whether *The Times* itself might not be very glad to hook a MILITARY COLLABORATOR since it is wretchedly served in this respect. It would be worth trying. For we have, of course, now reached the stage at which we regard any English newspaper merely as an emporium and it matters not a rap in which of these emporia we display our 'articles', *supposé*[d] they are not tampered with.

Your
K. M.

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[a] events - [b] here: fully familiar - [c] Pulszky (see this volume, p. 288) - [d] providing

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 January 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Since the day you left,[461] the whole FAMILY has been prostrated by influenza, etc. Musch and I are still very much down. Thus through physical causes I have already been cheated of 3 articles for the *Tribune* which, considering the weather, is *dur*.[a] Let me know if you can provide me with *one* article for next week, on any subject you like. But I must know for certain *if* and *when*.[b]

Being still confined to my room, I have not, of course, been able to keep up with the newspapers. Pieper tells me that in today's *Morning Herald* there is a long article on the Russian plan of campaign.[c] The main theatre to be Asia, not Europe. They proposed to take Constantinople from the direction of Asia Minor (!) etc., etc.

Three volumes of Joseph Bonaparte's *Memoirs*[d] have so far come out. The third contains the old Napoleon's correspondence on the Peninsular campaign.[462]

Just now I was interrupted by Musch, who is raving and thrashing about, etc., in a high fever. I hope the little man will soon recover.

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[a] hard - [b] In compliance with Marx's request Engels wrote 'The European War' on 8 January. - [c] J. B. Slick, 'To the Editor of *The Morning Herald*', *The Morning Herald*, No. 22361, 5 January 1854. - [d] J. Bonaparte, *Mémoires et correspondance politique et militaire du roi Joseph.*

Received a letter from Dana on Monday. Unable to print the article under my name[463] as it would damage the 'prestige' of the paper. Your military articles have created a great stir. A rumour is circulating in New York that they were written by General Scott.[464]

Adieu,
Your
K. M.

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## 202

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 January 1854

Dear Engels,

Last evening Urquhart sent me from Newry (Ulster) a speech which I got my wife to copy out, then added a word or two at the beginning and the end, and thus produced an article.[a] So I shall cancel yours this Friday.[b] Should there be any further INCIDENTS that belong here,[c] perhaps you would be so good as to advise me of them by *Friday morning* so that I can give the stuff the finishing touches.

The whole family, from α to ω, is still ill.

The enclosed is from Cluss. I shall send you the other part of it next time, when I shall be writing at greater length.

That swine Tucker has just sent me a message. The first edition (50,000 COPIES) of 'Palmerston' is sold out. Now the gentleman

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[a] K. Marx, 'The Western Powers and Turkey'. - [b] 13 January - [c] The reference is to the subjects dealt with in Engels' 'The European War'.

sends word—he used not to be so condescending—that I should revise the thing for the second edition.[465] Write at once and tell me what you advise me to do.

Your
K. M.

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## 203

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 January 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

You must let me have by Friday[a] something of a general nature (it is hardly possible to be specific) about the Battle of Citale or Zitale.[b] It seems to me that:

1. The battle of Oltenitza was a *misunderstanding* which frustrated the armistice imposed by the Ambassadors on the Porte. Similarly the Battle of Citatea[466] was a *misunderstanding* which frustrated the peace proposals dictated to the Porte under the guns of the English warships.

2. The obverse of Oltenitza. In the one case the Turks entrenched, in the other the Russians, etc.

3. Same result. After a murderous set-to lasting five days, the fellows drew in their respective horns. All I see is the result. I don't know what *should* have happened. All I do know is that this is not the way *Napoleon* fought a war.

So enmeshed in their own webs have the diplomatic intriguers become that a *guerre générale*[c] is imminent. As you know, the EVENT AT Sinope—not to mention Mr Redcliffe's threats—was intended to induce the Turks to accept the Protocol of Vienna and bring Halil and Riza Pasha into the government.[467] Once all this had

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[a] 20 January. - [b] Marx took the wrong spelling from the English newspapers; should be Citatea as below. - [c] general war

been engineered, Palmerston resigned.[468] On 19 December, *while* he was still out of office, the coalition smelt a rat and ordered a demonstration in the Black Sea. Palmerston, doubly discredited, returned to office and effected the decision of the 26th, that the *entire* fleet was to sail into the Black Sea, but to do no more than assume a *neutral* role vis-à-vis the two BELLIGERENTS; ostensibly going further than the decision of the 19th, but in fact attempting to thwart it and cut the Turks off from their Asiatic theatre of war. In the meantime, however, Mr Bonaparte, basing himself on the decision of the 19th, has already issued contrary orders and purports to *interpret* the decision of the 26th merely as an extension of the first. Palmerston, OF COURSE, had to make the best of a bad thing and preserve his reputation as an energetic patriot. In this way the fellows have got themselves into a pretty pickle and their *dissimulation* will land them in an even worse one, especially since Parliament will have to be shown on the 31st that 'energetic' steps are being taken.[469] The Note which the fellows submitted to the Turks for signature shows that the former were prepared for a total SURRENDER TO RUSSIA and that only 'misunderstandings' frustrated this good intention.[470]

My brother-in-law—*le ministre*[a]—wrote and told my mother-in-law[b] that she was unfortunately about to relive her experience of 40 years ago, namely a general war.[471]

I forwarded your letter to Steffen[472] the same day to Brussels where Steffen is still staying with his sister. I fear that, at this particular juncture, your 'Napoleon as Lieutenant of Artillery'[473] will be *rejected,* as *The Times* has had orders to refrain from any semblance of anti-Bonaparte polemics. Since he is 'our' ally, every paper will be moved by the same patriotic considerations just now. Anyway, as soon as the thing is ready, and if the papers won't have it, we shall bring it out as a pamphlet. Where my own work is concerned, I feel embarrassed about offering it to a publisher. The same *gêne*[c] would not apply to yours.

That jackass Weydemeyer has again shelved 'the noble consciousness'.[d] The main thing was speed in answering. 6 weeks too late, and the thing's SILLY. I cannot understand Cluss, and why he should always pick on me of all people to be Mr Weydemeyer's victim.

Your
K. M.

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[a] Ferdinand von Westphalen - [b] Caroline von Westphalen - [c] embarrassment - [d] K. Marx, 'The Knight of the Noble Consciousness'.

God bless you, Brother Straubinger.[61] A MAN OF HIGHBIRTH HONOUR PEACE PROSPERITY.

SMALL WIT[a]

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## 204

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 January 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Enclosed note for Lupus, who has written to me.[474] Absolution.[b]

As to the war, there will now be some snags, unless 'MISUNDERSTANDINGS' OCCUR that have nothing to do with, or run counter to, diplomacy. Reshid Pasha's Note[475] spells total SURRENDER TO RUSSIA. It even contains more concessions than the ORIGINAL VIENNA NOTE as a result of which Turkey declared war.[476] Palmerston has not returned to office in vain.[c] On the other hand, the demonstration in the BLACK SEA would seem to be a DODGE, specially contrived for the MEETING of Parliament: if Russia accepts her *own* conditions incorporated in Reshid's Note and obtains everything she has demanded, she will appear to have bowed to *force supérieure*. That, in any case, is the plan. Otherwise, would it not be absurd to inform Nicholas of the entry of the UNITED FLEETS *before* he had, or could have, pronounced upon the last VIENNA NOTE? Now only an accident of war could bring about a warlike solution. By prior agreement the Czar, far from objecting to the ENTRANCE OF THE UNITED SQUADRON, showed considerable 'TEMPER'.[477] However, there's no vouching for 'MISUNDERSTANDINGS'. They ARE EVER PROBABLE.

Today's *Times* contains a further report from the *Wanderer* on The Battle of Citatea.[d] I EXPECT YOUR OBSERVATIONS. The advance the

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[a] Postscript in a childish hand. - [b] See this volume, p. 386. - [c] ibid., p. 409. - [d] 'Krajova, Lesser Wallachia. Jan. 11', *The Times*, No. 21647, 25 January 1854.

Russians are said to have made simultaneously at Matchin, Giurgevo and Kalafat and, indeed, the capture of Silistria, would seem MERE HUMBUG. Apropos, one more thing: your opinion, written in *English.* According to the French newspapers, the Turks intend to fortify Constantinople on the landward side.[a] Would this not be a major blow for Russia? The more so as Constantinople will always be able to communicate by sea with the Asiatic and European coasts of its EMPIRE and thus cannot be cut off from its supplies of men and materials? Large-scale fortifications would now seem to be the ANTIDOTE to large-scale warfare à la Napoleon. May this not bring about a reversion to small-scale warfare?

It is scandalous that Berlin is not being fortified.

My brother-in-law, *le ministre,* has written to my mother-in-law warning her that now, in her ripe old age, she is about to go through the same experience as in the days of Napoleon I.[b] He believes, then, that there'll be war.

Cobden, the 'UMBLE' and 'HOMELY MAN' made a considerable ass of himself in his last speech. He demonstrates that neither he nor the 'UMBLE MEN' who applaud him, are competent to govern England. The Quaker Bright will hear of nothing but the war *within.* Cobden's discovery that the social structure of England and Russia are analogous because there are Demidovs there and Derbys here, is worthy of a Palatinate revolutionary philistine from Neustadt.[478]

On Saturday Mr Pieper went to visit Meyer in Brighton. Unwelcome though he is to the latter, he is overstaying the time allotted him by Troupeau, because the 'sea air' suits him, and has, it seems, written the bourgeois a fatuous letter. The silly lad mistakes his lack of principles for genial high spirits. From Cluss' letter[479] you will see that this same 'genial' youth wanted to obtain an American passport to Constantinople, probably in the hope of becoming a kennelboy there. It's *triste*[c] that the lad should be so thoroughly pleased with himself as to do one silly thing after another and make a laughing-stock of himself.

On Tuesday[d] Bischoffsheim will be paying me another bill through Freiligrath. In the meantime I can't raise a penny, having exhausted the possibilities of the pawnbrokers, as is regularly the case. So if you could lay your hands on £1, it would be HIGHLY DESIRABLE. Moreover, 100 copies of the 'noble consciousness'[e] will be

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[a] [Report from Constantinople of 2 January 1854,] *La Patrie,* No. 19, 19 January 1854. - [b] See this volume, p. 409. - [c] sad - [d] 31 January - [e] K. Marx, 'The Knight of the Noble Consciousness'.

arriving on Friday and I haven't the MEANS to pay the postage, since I shan't be getting any money until Tuesday.

Apropos. I am negotiating with Tucker. The next pamphlet is to be about Unkiar-Skelessi. So correct the stuff you've got (Nos. IV and V).[480] I shall then make sundry additions and send back the ALTERATIONS for you to look through.

I have received through Dana an offer from a magazine in New York, £12 per sheet, for articles on the history of German philosophy from Kant TILL NOW.[481] But they must: 1. be sarcastic and amusing; 2. contain nothing AGAINST THE RELIGIOUS FEELINGS OF THE COUNTRY. How to set about it? Now, if we 2 were together—books would be needed besides—we could quickly earn £50-£60. I wouldn't dare attempt the work on my own.

Your
K. M.

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## 205

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 February 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

DEAR Frederic,

I shall be sending you today, at the same time as this, a few copies of the 'Knight'[a] and three copies of the 2nd edition of the Polish rubbish,[482] which I have corrected. Give one copy of each to Lupus and Dronke. It was stupid of me not to have corrected the printing errors (Weydemeyer also contributes his fair share) in the Syrian Palmerston thing[b] before sending it to you.[483]

I had a meeting with Urquhart.[484] He surprised me with the compliment that the articles[c] read as though written by a 'Turk',

[a] K. Marx, 'The Knight of the Noble Consciousness'. - [b] K. Marx, 'Lord Palmerston', Fourth Article in *The People's Paper*. - [c] K. Marx, 'Lord Palmerston'.

an opinion in which he was in no way confirmed when I told him that I was a 'REVOLUTIONIST'. He is an utter maniac. Is firmly convinced THAT HE WILL ONE DAY BE PREMIER of England. When everyone else is downtrodden, England will come to him and say: SAVE US, Urquhart! AND THEN HE WILL SAVE HER. While speaking, particularly if contradicted, he goes into FITS which I find all the more comical as I know by heart his every platitude and quotation. This made me regard his 'FITS' as EVEN somewhat SUSPECT and RATHER as a theatrical EXHIBITION. The fellow's most comical idea is this: Russia rules the world through having a specific superfluity of BRAIN. TO COPE WITH HER, a man must have the BRAIN of an Urquhart and, if one has the misfortune not to be Urquhart himself, one should at least be an Urquhartite, i.e. believe what Urquhart believes, his 'metaphysics', his 'POLITICAL ECONOMY' etc., etc. One should have been in the 'EAST', or at least have absorbed the Turkish 'spirit', etc.

If you can do something by Tuesday,[a] it would be very welcome, since I have to write to the Cape of Good Hope on *the same* day.[b]

Your
K. M.

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## 206

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 February 1854
28 Dean St., Soho

DEAR Frederic,

The lithographic sample enclosed herewith is all my own work.[c]

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[a] 14 February. In compliance with Marx's request Engels sent him on 13 February the material which provided the basis for their joint article 'The War Question in Europe'. - [b] i.e. for the paper *De Zuid-Afrikaan* in Cape Town (see this volume, p. 405). - [c] See illustration facing p. 414.

Bonaparte's publication of his LETTER to 'BROTHER' Nicholas shows that he already had a negative answer in his pocket.[485]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 207

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 March 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I have not written for a long time because I have had a great deal of TROUBLE at home which has even prevented me from reading the papers properly, so that I don't know whether anything of yours has yet appeared in *The Daily News* or how the whole thing is going.[a]

As yet I have got nothing, i.e. not a single farthing, out of my 'Palmerston', nor does there seem to be any prospect of my doing so. Mr Trübner has himself told me that, *quant á lui*,[b] it is a PRINCIPLE of his never to pay for the stuff he publishes. Moreover, the thing's out of date *au moment*.[c]

On Tuesday[d] I shall send the last of the sample articles to the Cape.[486] (So you must let me have *something* for the *Tribune*, PERHAPS THE GREEK REVOLUTION?)[487] Tuesday will be the last day of regular sailings to the Cape, since the company has fallen out with the government over charges.

I am faced with the repulsive prospect of enduring throughout the spring and summer the same chronic pressure as in previous years, since it is not possible for me to work off past debts with the

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[a] See this volume, p. 404. - [b] as for him - [c] by now - [d] 14 March

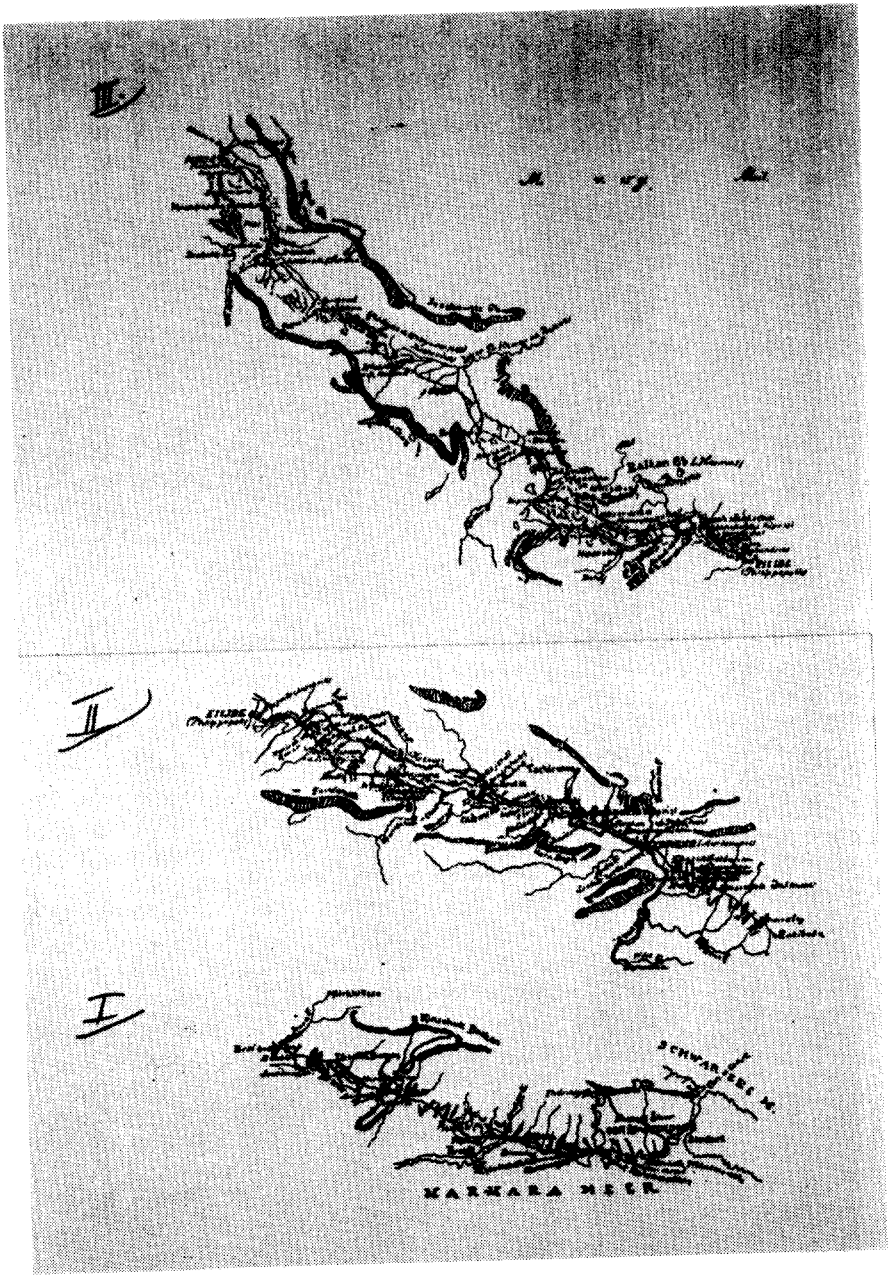


Military road from Constantinople to Nissa (lithographic sketch).
Roman figures were written in by Marx

earnings from the *Tribune* alone. From time to time I'm driven wild by the thought that I shall never get out of this mire.

You have not returned Lassalle's letter as you indicated you had in your last.[488] I *don't need it* but only want to be sure that it hasn't gone astray in the post or fallen into the wrong hands.

I have received an invitation from the LABOUR PARLIAMENT[489] to sit as HONORARY DELEGATE in Manchester (Nadaud and Louis Blanc likewise). I wrote today, thanking them for it, and made a few remarks which, according to how they are construed, could be either very extreme or very moderate.[a] I sent Jones your office address today.

The great Ruge intends to found a university (a free one) in America and, as Heinzen announces, 150 dollars has already been collected for this noble purpose.

The great Franz Sigel has become Dulon's son-in-law. What else has been happening among that crew you will discover from a parcel which will descend on you in a few days' time.

In yesterday's *Advertiser* there was a *military* (?) article by Urquhart[b] in which he maintains that the Turks should have sent their main army to the Dobrudja and assaulted the Russians from there. Cites General Valentini. I shall make sure to send you the issue.

I have written to Lassalle[490] and await further communications from him.

Tzschirner came to see me, didn't find me in, is going to America on a financial matter with his 80-year-old mother and will then settle over here. Claims he already knows you, or so Imandt says.

Your
K. M.

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[a] K. Marx, 'Letter to the Labour Parliament'. - [b] D. Urquhart, 'What the Governments of England and Turkey Ought Severally to Do. To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19566, 8 March 1854.

## 208

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, about 11 March 1854]

DEAR Frederic,

Enclosed a letter from Lassalle.[491]

You would greatly oblige me by letting me have some military stuff for Tuesday.[a] The 2nd edition of *The Times*, which you'll get on Monday, contains sundry things on Shamyl, etc. If I don't produce anything on military affairs, even though it be only tittle-tattle, A.P.C.[b] will steal a march on me; he cribs unblushingly from the London newspapers.

Your
K. M.

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## 209

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 17th March, 1854

DEAR Frederic,

I trust that you promptly consigned to the flames the letter I wrote you yesterday.[492] It was, of course, idiotic to make you in any way, I won't say answerable for Blanc, but even so much as to question you about him. In any case the whole thing's gone to pot *et il ne vaut pas*[c] your ever reverting to it.

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[a] 14 March - [b] Aurelius Ferenc Pulszky - [c] and it's not worthwhile

Is the Mr John Petzler of the Labour Parliament that mad brute, the old London Petzler? Ask Heise some time.

The parcel for you has not yet gone off because I have not yet received Urquhart's article on military affairs.

Your
K. M.

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## 210

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 23 March 1854

Dear Marx,

I return Lassalle's letter herewith. At the time I forgot to enclose the first one, which is still here.[493] You'll have received the two half notes yesterday and the day before. T/B 58 166, Newcastle on Tyne, 17 August 1852, £5.

Lassalle's strategical operations are very diplomatic. His answer to the Enos and Rodosto affair is the foolish platitude, itself merely intended as dust in the eyes, that Constantinople must be protected[494]; if the 2 fleets and the Army of the Danube cannot protect it, then neither can 100,000 French and English. From his own standpoint, what he ought to have said was: if they are to be launched against Sevastopol or Odessa, they are, at any rate, closer to hand at Rodosto than in Malta or Toulon.

The notion that a move into Serbia would place the Austrians 'in the rear of the Turkish Army of the Danube' is basically wrong. The Austrians must make their crossing at Belgrade or not very far below it, or else enter Wallachia via Mehadia along the *left* bank of the Danube. In the first case they would find themselves in the *extension* of the Turkish left wing, in the second, to the front of it. That this would mean the immediate sacrifice of Kalafat and Vidin, with the exception of the garrison, is evident—but not that this Turkish left wing would be lost and its

remnants compelled to fall back on the Shumla line. *Au contraire,*[a] 1. the *correct* tactics for the Austrians would be to march immediately on *Sofia* via Nissa, hence the correct tactics for the Turks would be to withdraw from Vidin, *likewise* to *Sofia.* Not having so far to go, they would be there *before* the Austrians and could either make a stand in the Balkans or withdraw towards Adrianople.[495]

2. Should the Austrians be stupid enough to march on Vidin, the Turks would *still* make for Sofia. This division of Omer Pasha's principal corps would not involve the fragmentation of his forces, since the new enemy would necessitate a new Adrianople-Sofia-Belgrade-Vidin operational line; thus the Turkish left wing would become an *independent* army.

3. But should Lassalle's peculiar strategy COME TO PASS, no amount of falling back on the Shumla line would avail, for the latter, having *already been outflanked* as a result of the sacrifice of *the highway* from Belgrade to Constantinople, would, on the contrary, have to be abandoned all the more precipitately in order to *assemble all available reserves at Adrianople* and advance against the first enemy to pass through the Balkans.

One can see, incidentally, that these lucubrations all emanate from that 'diplomatic source' which seems to enjoy showing off on the subject of strategic developments.

Tomorrow I shall be sending *The Daily News* a description of Kronstadt[496]; faulty though much of its fortifications may be, I'm afraid half a dozen screw ships of the line will nevertheless go to blazes before it knuckles under.

The HIGHWAYMEN have been kind enough to return Lupus his POCKET-BOOK minus 7 Prussian taler notes.[b] His philistines mean to do something towards making good the loss of his money and his watch, and he might even get some smart-money into the bargain. Borchardt is attending to his bruises, and so the thing is resolving itself.

> 'But as for the fright, the fright he got,
> There's no compensation for that.'[c]

Which is why he is somewhat *caduc*[d] and snappish, apparently in the belief that Heise and I were responsible for his foolishness, the drubbing he got and all.

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[a] On the contrary - [b] See this volume, pp. 421 and 428. - [c] Probably a misquotation of Schiller's 'Das Lied von der Glocke'. - [d] decrepit

Who is this chap who is getting Heinzen to pass him off as an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*?[a] See last batch of *Reforms*, No. 50 or thereabouts.

Your
F. E.

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## 211

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 March 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I have not yet acknowledged receipt of the £5, or used the money for the intended purpose, or written—all for the same reason. I have been saddled with Pieper. Ten days ago he was thrown out of his lodgings and I of course had to take him in here. He has drawn a bill on the *Union* and, if it's not protested, one of the next mails from America should bring him the money. This week Freiligrath has, besides, found him a German lesson which will bring in 15/- a week. And he was to have secured a similar lesson at about 10/- through Meyer—who has gone back to Germany today and asks me to send you his regards. But he didn't turn up at the appointed place. Instead, he told Meyer that he was fed up with giving lessons. Feels his vocation is to be a *writer. Le malheureux!*[b]

There's still much I don't understand about Lupus' adventure.[c] Did it happen in the street? Doubtless after he'd been out on a drinking spree with you and Heise! What a deep impression it made on my family you will gather from the enclosed letter of little Laura's, in which she relates the great *événement*[d] for Jenny and Edgar who were at school.

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[a] See this volume, p. 423. - [b] Unfortunate man! - [c] See this volume, pp. 420 and 428. - [d] event

The diplomatic part of Lassalle—aside from the information, which is well done—is as bad as his military one. What he says about Palmerston is simply the gossip current on the Continent.[497]

Have you read the SECRET CORRESPONDENCE[498]? If the ministers who conducted it are allowed to conduct the war—as everything seems to indicate—the affair can only end in England's utter disgrace, although AT ALL INSTANCES the Continent will be thrown into a welcome confusion.

Enclosed an article on the war by Urquhart, of yesterday's date,[a] and cuttings from an earlier pamphlet on *his* military plans. I should like your detailed opinion of both.

One of the Prussian instructors with the Turks, whom I met by chance yesterday, says that the Turkish artillery is excellent but the army as a whole no more than an ornament, inasmuch as any vigorous action has been frustrated by Constantinople.

In your essay on the Russian RETREAT from Kalafat you say that the purpose of this manoeuvre was to set up camp in Odessa, having regard to the Anglo-French army. According to the latest news, however, it would seem that the Russians have crossed the Danube on the opposite side, or intend to do so. There might be some more detailed information to hand tomorrow, in which case you could let me have something about it the day after.[b] In my letter of the day before yesterday[499] I forbade the *Tribune*, which was really overdoing things, to annex as LEADERS anything except military pieces—*or else* omit my name altogether, since I don't want it to appear only beneath indifferent STUFF. For it is essential—and now is the moment—to show them by *military pieces* that they can*not* dispense with me.

If the *Times* commercial correspondent in Manchester has reported aright,[c] business must be in very poor shape. Serious FAILURES are expected down here any day. Likewise in Paris. It goes without saying that concerns which have long been laboriously staving off bankruptcy will choose the time when war is declared to go under with decorum.

I haven't yet seen your article in *The Daily News* and have certainly not overlooked it![496]

The *Naval and Military Gazette* maintains that the Russians bought a destructive device, invented in France and rejected by Louis Philippe's government, which continues to burn under

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[a] D. Urquhart, 'How is the War to Be Carried on? To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19583, 28 March 1854. - [b] See this volume, pp. 426-27. - [c] [Report on the cotton market in Manchester,] *The Times*, No. 21700, 28 March 1854.

water, and that they used it at Sinope, this being the explanation for the rapid and thorough destruction of the Turkish ships.

According to the *Hamburger Correspondent*, which must be regarded as a semi-Russian organ, Nicholas is to publish further documents, among them letters of Prince Albert.

No further news here. The 'Mader', mentioned by Mr Heinzen as being an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, is an individual quite unknown to me.[a]

*Totus tuus,*[b]
K. M.

I now have in my possession Hammer's *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs*.[500] Patience is needed to get through it. I've still got about 1/4 left to read. It's at your disposal IF WANTED.

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## 212

## ENGELS TO H. J. LINCOLN, EDITOR OF *THE DAILY NEWS*[501]

IN LONDON

[Rough copy]

7 South Gate, Manchester,
30 March 1854. St. Mary's

Sir,

Perhaps I am not mistaken in supposing that at the present moment an offer to contribute to the *military department* of your paper may meet with some favour, even if the party offering his services be not, for the moment, an active member of the military profession, and though he be a foreigner to boot.

I suppose the actual qualifications of the party will be the main thing. As to these, nothing can show them better than half-a-dozen articles upon various military subjects, which you might submit to

[a] See this volume, p. 421. - [b] All yours

any military authority, if you should choose to do so. The higher the authority the better. I would ten times sooner be judged by Sir William Napier than by a subaltern martinet.

But I cannot expect you to give me even a trial, unless you know something more about me. I beg to state, therefore, that my military school has been the Prussian Artillery, a service which, if it is not what it might be, yet has produced the men who made 'the Turkish Artillery one of the best in Europe' as our friend Nicholas has laid it down. Later on, I had an occasion of seeing some active service during the insurrectionary war in South Germany, 1849. For many years the study of military science in all its branches has been one of my chief occupations, and the success, which my articles on the Hungarian Campaign, published at the time in the German Press, were fortunate enough to obtain, encourages me in the belief that I have not studied in vain. An acquaintance, more or less familiar, with most European languages, including Russian, Serbian, and a little Wallachian, opens to me the best sources of information and may, perhaps, prove useful to you in other respects. How far I am able to write correct and fluent English, my articles, of course, themselves must show. Any other information respecting myself I shall be happy to give, or else you may obtain it from your educational contributor Dr Watts whom I have been acquainted with for more than ten years.[502]

I have for some time past thought of making you an offer of this kind, but, considered the matter hardly worth your while as long as war was not actually declared and the whole *critique* of Danubian strategy was confined to profound disquisitions as to what share of the blame attaching to the inconceivable proceedings in Bulgaria was due to Lord Aberdeen, and what to Omer Pasha. Now the matter is different. A local war may be a mere *simulaerum* of a war; an European war must be a reality. Besides this, I avow, another reason restrained me. I was not then prepared, as I am now, with the necessary maps, plans, and special information respecting the theatre of war and the belligerent parties, and I should have been sorry to send you a single line based upon other than the very best information obtainable.

My absence, not only from the seat of war, but also (for the moment, at least) from your own headquarters circumscribes pretty nearly the sort of contributions I could offer you. They would confine themselves to descriptions of those portions of the theatre of war, where actual hostilities are going on; statements of, and observations on, the military organisation, strength, chances,

and possible operations of the belligerent armies; critical remarks on actual engagements, and, from time to time, *resumés* (to use the French word) of the operations, say of a month or six weeks, according to events. As the fullest information of what has actually happened is necessary to form a correct judgment, I should very seldom have to write on the strength of mere telegraphic dispatches, but have to wait, generally, for the arrival of more detailed news; thus the loss of a day or two would be less important for my contributions, if that would make them better; and therefore my presence in London might, for a time at least, be dispensed with. In case you should wish me to extend my contributions to a wider circle, I should have no objection and await your proposals.

Should you, however, receive my offer favourably, it may be that in a couple of months I should be enabled to come to London altogether; in the meantime, I might slip over, if desired, to confer with you.

As to politics, I should mix them up as little as possible with military criticism. There is but one good line of policy in war: to go at it with the greatest rapidity and energy, to beat your opponent, and force him to submit to your terms. If the allied governments do this, I should acknowledge it; if they should cripple or tie the hands of their commanders, I should speak out against it. I do wish the Russians may get a good beating, but if they fight well, I am that much of a soldier, that I should give the devil his due. For the remainder, I should stick to the principle, that military science, like mathematics or geography, has no particular political opinion

Now for positive proposals. I do not expect that the description of Kronstadt sent herewith will enable you to form any idea of what you may expect from me. But if it should appear to you that I may be of some service to your paper, a provisional arrangement might be come to, by which you would retain your entire liberty to refuse my further collaboration, if found unsuitable, while a fair remuneration was guaranteed to me for my labour and expenses. For you cannot but know that to write on military operations, requires the possession of numerous and expensive maps and books, for which due allowance should be made as entering into the cost of production.

Supposing, then, I sent you a series of papers giving a full account of the military and naval force of Russia, its organisation, actual strength and efficiency (as far as can be ascertained), together with a military account of the theatre of war, the lines of

operation and defence on the Baltic, the Black Sea, Danubian and Polish frontiers, including the system of fortresses. The enclosed Kronstadt article would form one of the series and might be postponed till its place arrived. My information upon these subjects is, I believe, first-rate, derived exclusively from printed (and not from any mysterious) sources. I could furnish an article per week, say one or two columns, and more, if required.

Should you deem this proceeding too systematical, the account of Kronstadt might be followed up by a similar one of the permanent fortifications of Sevastopol and the other Russian fortified harbours (wherever obtainable), to be concluded by some observations on the chances of naval attacks against land batteries, drawn from history and from the best theoretical sources such as Sir Howard Douglas.[a]

If you require reviews of military works, I could also undertake them. For instance Col. Chesney's *Russo-Turkish Campaigns*; for this book I am, I may say, admirably provided with materials.

I conclude this lengthy epistle in offering you, also, a few remarks on the importance or rather non-importance of the Russian passage across the Danube: these are at your service at a moment's notice.

If you take my offer into consideration, I shall be glad to receive a few lines as soon as possible so as to be enabled to set to work at once. In the meantime, etc.

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## 213

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 3 April 1854

Dear Marx,

The crossing of the Danube is of a purely defensive nature. It is proof that the Russians are withdrawing from the greater part of Wallachia. They have had 7 infantry divisions in Wallachia, one in

[a] H. Douglas, *A Treatise on Naval Gunnery*, London, 1820.

reserve at Ismail and, behind it, Cheodayev's corps, making 3 more divisions. Cheodayev can, at the very best, be at Jassy. The remaining 8 divisions, including cavalry, etc., etc., amount to less than 110,000 men. Hence, with the possibility of an Anglo-French landing in their rear, it behoves them to secure the most favourable position in which they will not be cut off, and with the minimum possible sacrifice of ground. Here they had only 2 alternatives: Either a direct withdrawal to the Sereth, this and the Lower Danube being chosen as the line of defence (Fokshani, Galatz, Ismail) or, 2. a DASH to the Dobrudja, shifting the front to Kustendje, Hirsova, Oltenitza and Bucharest, with Trajan's Wall, Danube and Argish as the first line of defence, Buseo as the second, and Sereth as the third. This, at any rate, is the best plan, especially since new ground would be gained on one wing to make up for that abandoned on the other, and thus the retreat would look like an advance, and military decorum would be preserved. Possession of the Dobrudja would shorten the Russian front and, if the worst came to the worst, would leave open the line of withdrawal to Chotin on the Dniester, even if there were landings at Akkerman or Odessa.[503]

Things seem to be working out with *The Daily News*. I didn't write until last week,[a] after I had observed the English proprieties by obtaining a REFERENCE from father Watts, who also writes for it (father Watts, BY THE BY, has given up his SHOP and is now MANAGING DIRECTOR of a PEOPLE'S PROVIDENT ASSURANCE CO. in which capacity he will shortly be setting himself up in your vicinity, 47 Charing Cross [Road]. He and all his officials are letting their beards grow and look like Wasserpolacken[504]). Today I've had a letter from the CHIEF EDITOR, Lincoln, who seems altogether agreeable (I had offered to start off with articles on the Russian army, navy and fortifications), and he is eager for me to send him the articles.[505] So I don't feel at all nervous. That the fellows are in a quandary as regards things military is evident from their acceptance of Schimmelpfennigian nonsense of a kind totally incomprehensible to anyone unacquainted with Bülow's books, and my racily written and unlaboured letter will have opened up for them prospects of quite a different order. Once they have got interested in my stuff (N.B. I asked for money straight away), I intend really to impress the jackasses. Tomorrow I shall send them something no one else can provide: plans of Hirsova, Matchin, Isaktsha and Tultsha. This business has really taken a load off my mind, for a source of cash

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[a] See this volume, pp. 423-26.

was *absolutely necessary*. If all goes well, in the summer, when my old man comes over, I shall chuck up commerce and move to London; but then I shall at any rate be coming over some time before Whitsun to make definite arrangements with the chaps.

Needless to say, Lupus had been out drinking with us. As usual, staggers off tight as a drum so that there's no holding him, loses his way, finds himself in a low pub at the opposite end of the town from where he lives. Treats 6 *maquereaux*[a] and 2 whores who were at the bar, shows his shekels, exits followed by the *maquereaux*, and so on. That's *his* ACCOUNT. However, there's more to the matter than meets the eye; for instance, on coming to his senses he didn't go home but went off with an Englishman, a total stranger, who put him up (not 200 paces from his lodgings) *moyennant*[b] one shilling. In short, *il y a là des choses que M. Lupus veut cacher, sans doute quelque vieille fille.*[c]

The story of the Russians' *boulets asphyxiants*[d] is nonsense. The French have something of the kind, but it doesn't destroy ships, merely kills people. You might send me Hammer some time, particularly about the more recent times. About Urquhart one of these days. It's bad luck about Pieper. As regards the money you can, of course, dispose of it as you please. *I* don't give a damn whether my brother-in-law[e] gets it or not.

Your
F. E.

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## 214

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 April 1854
[28 Dean Street, Soho]

Dear Engels,

From Cluss' letter, enclosed herewith,[506] you will see what a worthy trick has been played on him by Dr Kellner and friend Weydemeyer. The latter, instead of enlightening him as to the

[a] pimps - [b] at a charge of - [c] there are things here that Mr Lupus wants to hide, doubtless some old maid - [d] asphyxiating shot (see this volume, pp. 422-23) - [e] Emil Blank

*status quo*, has got him into a pretty fix, a service which friend Weydemeyer regularly performs for his friends.

I am delighted about *The Daily News*. I shall have a look today and see if they've published anything yet. I HOPE, SIR, YOU WILL LEAVE MANCHESTER, SIR, FOR EVER, SIR. One gets horribly used to this SIR (or rather SAR!) when one is compelled to read the parliamentary debates each week, especially THE SPEECHES OF Lord John Russell. The fellow can be boiled down to just the 2 words: 'NOW, SAR!'

As you will see from the enclosed, Pieper has received his first bill from Washington, and yesterday evening again acquired lodgings of his own. He now struts around like a turkeycock. Not only earns money, but as an author, and not only as an author, but as a politician! For the time being he has, or at least pretends to have, forsworn London's public PETTICOATS and is on the look-out for some healthy paramour. Social standing no object. Nor yet, perhaps, age. But health. THAT IS THE THING. Experience has taught the good youth to regard the sex from a medical point of view. Depicted in a state of undress, the good youth might serve as a cautionary example. Now that he's under his own steam again, I have told him about your offer to help him should he get a negative answer or a protested bill from Weydemeyer. There could no longer be any harm in giving him your message, but the good youth who, all things considered, is *bon garçon*,[a] was deeply impressed.

At this particular juncture, just when you have opened fire in *The Daily News*, it is vital you shouldn't leave me in the lurch over the *Tribune*. Otherwise the fellows, nettled as they are by my recent statement,[b] and likewise readers of *The Daily News*, might well believe that now—when all the newspapers are anxious to make a splash with their military stuff—I am selling THE BETTER PART OF MYSELF in London and the OFFAL in New York. The fellows would be capable of chucking me out, seeing that they already have one correspondent here and one in Liverpool. Their paper would be somewhat the worse for it, but £200 to the good which, after all, is worth the trouble. Hence what is necessary above all is to tempt them once more into printing a military article as a LEADER. Then I can again be sure of them. In one of its recent issues the *N. Y. Herald* ridicules the 'MILITARY EDITOR OF THE *TRIBUNE*' for prescribing a plan of campaign for Omer Pasha and crying treason now that it is not carried out.

*Palmerston in Three Epochs* by Washington Wilks. This book

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[a] a good lad - [b] See this volume, p. 422.

consists of two epochs. In the first, Washington Wilks has most blatantly and stupidly cribbed from my articles in the *Tribune*.[a] The second is a longer version of the chapter on Hungary from Urquhart's *Progress of Russia*, padded out with the help of 'Blue Books'. Wretched though the concoction is and betraying at every turn the fellow's total lack of knowledge—true plagiarist's ignorance—it has nevertheless enabled him to shoulder his way into the London MEETINGS, to gain the protection of Urquhart and his clique and to set himself up in London as a 'PUBLIC CHARACTER'.

The idea of 'betrayal' by the Ministry is beginning to spread among the philistines here and, if the fellows venture to play the same game as in 1840 and '46,[507] there may be trouble.

Your
K. Marx

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## 215

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

### IN DÜSSELDORF

London, 6 April 1854
(You know the address)

Dear Lassalle,

Your letter of 7 March safely received. I should like to make a few comments, firstly on your military, and secondly on your diplomatic, VIEWS.

*ad 1.* To my comment[508] regarding Enos and Rodosto, you reply—agreeing in this with the English ministerial papers—that

[a] K. Marx, 'Lord Palmerston'.

Constantinople must be protected.[a] If the two fleets in the Black Sea and the Army of the Danube cannot protect it, then neither can 100,000 French and English. I do not, of course, deny that, if they are to be launched against Sevastopol or Odessa, they are closer to hand at Rodosto than in Malta or Toulon.

The notion that a move into Serbia would place the Austrians 'in the rear of the Turkish Army of the Danube' does not seem to me quite correct. The Austrians must make their crossing at Belgrade or not very far below it, or else enter Wallachia via *Mehadia* along the *left* bank of the Danube. In the first case they would find themselves in the *extension* of the Turkish left wing, in the second to the *front* of it. That this would mean the immediate sacrifice of Kalafat and Vidin, with the exception of the garrison which would remain there, is evident—but not that this Turkish left wing would be lost and its remnants compelled to fall back on the Shumla line. *Au contraire,*[b] the correct tactics for the Austrians would be to march immediately on Sofia via Nissa, hence the correct tactics for the Turks would be to withdraw from Vidin, *likewise* to Sofia. Not having so far to go, they would be there *before* the Austrians and could either make a stand in the Balkans or withdraw towards Adrianople.

Should the Austrians allow themselves to be enticed into marching on Vidin, the Turks would still make for Sofia. This division of Omer Pasha's principal corps would not involve the fragmentation of his forces, since the new enemy would necessitate a new Adrianople-Sofia-Belgrade-Vidin operational line. Thus the Turkish left wing would become an *independent* army.

Should the strategy you postulate be adopted in spite of all this, no amount of falling back on the Shumla line would avail, for the latter, having *already been outflanked* as a result of the sacrifice of *the highway* from Belgrade to Constantinople, would have to be abandoned all the more precipitately in order to assemble *all available reserves at Adrianople* and advance against the first enemy to pass through the Balkans.

*ad 2. Ad vocem*[c] *Palmerston.* Your view of Palmerston is the one prevailing on the Continent and among the liberal majority of the English public.[497] As for myself, I am of the unalterable opinion that Palmerston—*en passant* Princess Lieven paid his debts for him in 1827, Prince Lieven got him into the FOREIGN OFFICE in 1830 and Canning, on his deathbed, told people to beware of him—is a

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[a] See also this volume, p. 419 - [b] On the contrary - [c] as for

*Russian agent.* I came to this conclusion after the most conscientious and painstaking scrutiny of the whole of his career and, indeed, of the 'Blue Books', the 'Parliamentary Debates' and the pronouncements of his own diplomatic agents.[509] Though far from amusing and very time-consuming to boot, the work has proved rewarding in so far as it provides the key to the secret diplomatic history of the past 30 years.—(*En passant.* Some of my *Tribune* articles on Palmerston have again been reprinted in London as separate pamphlets in 50,000 copies.[465])

Palmerston is no genius, a genius would not lend himself to such a role. But he is a most talented man and a consummate tactician. His artistry does not lie in serving Russia, but rather in contriving to maintain the role of a 'TRULY ENGLISH MINISTER' while so engaged. The only difference between him and Aberdeen is that Aberdeen serves Russia because he doesn't understand her, while Palmerston serves her although he does. Hence the first is Russia's avowed partisan, the second her secret agent, the first gratis, the second in return for fees received. Even if he himself now wished to do so, he could not turn *against* Russia because he is at her mercy and must live in constant fear of being immolated in Petersburg. This is the man who in 1829 condemned Aberdeen's policy as not pro-Russian enough,[a] who was told by Robert Peel in the House of Commons[b] that he didn't know whose representative he was, who sacrificed the Poles in 1831, who imposed the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi on the Porte in 1833,[510] who abandoned the Caucasus and the Danube estuary to Russia in 1836, who engineered the treaties of 1840 and 1841[458] and a new Holy Alliance against France, who conducted the Afghan War in the Russian interest,[511] who, in 1831, 1836 and 1840, paved the way for the incorporation of Cracow, only to protest against it in 1846, etc.[507] No matter what he engaged in, he worked against his country's commercial interests on the pretext of protecting them. E.g., in the matter of Neapolitan sulphur.[512] He frustrated advantageous trade agreements which were about to be ratified with France. This is the man who delivered up Italy and Hungary.[513] Had he merely worked against revolutionary peoples, it would have been understandable. But in questions involving exclusively British interests, he invariably contrived in *the most*

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[a] Palmerston, [Speech in the House of Commons on 1 June 1829,] G. H. Francis, *Opinions and Policy of the Right Viscount Palmerston,* London, 1852, pp. 123-26. - [b] Probably Robert Peel's Speech in the House of Commons on 16 February 1830, ibid., p. 138.

*subtle* manner to betray these to Russia. Incidentally, people here are beginning to understand him. Looking forward to hearing from you soon,

Your
K. M.

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## 216

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 19 April 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

In Cluss' letter, enclosed herewith, you will note on the one hand Schimmelpfennig's admiration of your military stuff—for which I am given the credit; on the other, his crafty critical reservations.[514]

Should today's report (in *The Times*) from Gorchakov and the report in the *Northern Bee*[a] on the manoeuvres on the Circassian coast[515] give you occasion to send me a LETTER for the *Tribune*, you might drop a few anonymous remarks about Schimmelpfennig's opinion which, by the by, is commanding much attention.

What is the significance of *The Times* suddenly ceasing its attacks on the ministry (*quant à la guerre*[b])?

You will see from the American newspaper cuttings that for six months the 'Central Committee'[103]—of this I received private confirmation yesterday—had had a considerable amount of money at its disposal. The letter from Karger—Ledru's famulus—in the *Pionier* shows how Ledru, and with him the entire orthodox emigration, are deceiving themselves as to the significance and future prospects of this same Ledru. He and the Germans have agreed that as soon as he is Great Khan of France, he will order a

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[a] *Северная пчела* - [b] as regards the war

French army—but under the German command of Ruge-Blind-Goegg—to invade Germany.

Enclosed also a map of Constantinople which may be of interest to you.

Schily is off to Paris with official permission. He will represent the 'house' over there and Cornelius here.

Bangya is in Erzerum—colonel, of course—is called Mohammed Bey, has had himself circumcised, and embraced the Koran. Possibly sent to General Guyon as a spy.

Damned lovely weather. A pity one can't make better use of it.

According to a letter received yesterday from Trier, Edgar[a] is leaving Texas on a six months' trip to London and Germany.

Your
K. M.

I can see that this letter will be too bulky, so shall send the cuttings in my next.

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## 217

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 20 April 1854

Dear Marx,

It's all off with *The Daily News*[501] and, in fact, I have grounds for assuming that, by his indiscretion, Monsieur Pieper has played me a dirty trick which I shall not forget in a hurry. Everything was ALL RIGHT, only the fee to be settled, my article[b] *already set up in print*—I have the proof copy in my pocket. As long ago as a week last Wednesday I wrote to the fellows saying I would accept their

[a] Edgar von Westphalen - [b] F. Engels, 'The Russian Army'.

usual terms, and today the answer finally arrives saying that the articles are TOO PROFESSIONAL, that, much as they would like to, they cannot use them and concluding very politely with an offer of two guineas for my TROUBLE and the good advice that I should approach a MILITARY PAPER. Needless to say, I shall accept neither.[516]

I can think of only one explanation for this strange behaviour: Pieper who, to judge by a foolish letter he wrote me a week ago,[517] knew about the thing, must have been talking big about it and thus, by the well-known telegraphic medium of émigré gossip, the story came to the ears of Kinkel or some other wretched German blighter acquainted with *The Daily News* and then, of course, nothing was easier than to represent Engels, the MILITARY MAN, as no more than a former one-year volunteer, a communist and a clerk by trade, thus putting a stop to everything. The politeness of the *refus*[a] was not for my benefit, of course, but Watts's. The way the letter is written does not preclude my applying again, but only to be relegated to the PENNY-A-LINERS.

I should be greatly obliged if you could find out who let the cat out of the bag; needless to say, Mr Schimmelpfennig's eulogies[b] are a poor SET-OFF for this *échec*.[c]

On top of that, the shilly-shallying of the *Daily News* chaps has meant that in the meantime some of my sources here have become known through the German press—the Moltke,[d] which I have found enormously helpful, is now scarcely any good to me at all and in a fortnight all the rest will have gone the same way, and I wouldn't dream of risking another £5 on the thing ON SPECULATION.

I feel very much inclined to finish the articles on Russian military power and send them to *The Times*. If they published them, what an ass *The Daily News* would look! But a second *échec* would have its drawbacks, for then I should look a complete ass. That's why it's so damnable my not being in London, when everything would be perfectly simple. What do you think? Write at once and let me know.[e]

About the other things in a day or two. I can't let you have the article on the Russian bulletin[f] before the next sailing; it needs to be closely studied and compared with the map, otherwise one risks making an ass of oneself here as well.

If only you could screw more money out of the *Tribune*, I'd turn my back on the whole, rotten English press, where blackguardly German interlopers persuade stupid editors to reject the best

[a] refusal - [b] See this volume, p. 433. - [c] failure - [d] H. von Moltke, *Der russisch-türkische Feldzug in der europäischen Türkei 1828 und 1829*. - [e] See this volume, pp. 438-39. - [f] ibid., p. 433.

articles, and I'd send you one or two *Tribune* articles every week. But to wear our fingers to the bone writing for £200, *c'est trop fort.*[a]

Write at once and tell me what you think of this rotten business; the whole affair has put me terribly out of temper. Of all the band there's nobody we can rely on except each other.

Steffen and Dronke were here at Easter; I didn't at all care for Dronke who has acquired a revolting habit of bragging like a *commis-voyageur.*[b] The fellow's becoming a regular loafer.

Your
F. E.

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## 218

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, 21 April 1854]

Dear Marx,

I have just bought Monsieur Schimmelpfennig's pamphlets here.[c] If you would like me to review them for the *Tribune*, let me know soon. You shall have the article on the Danube crossing on Monday, unless something of greater importance crops up.[d]

Do you think Blind capable of playing a trick on me with *The Daily News*?[e] The fellow has his contacts with the paper, if I'm not mistaken. Monsieur Herzen's nonsense in today's issue of the same

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[a] it's too much - [b] commercial traveller - [c] A. Schimmelpfennig, *The War between Turkey and Russia. A Military Sketch.* - [d] On Monday, 24 April, Engels wrote 'The Turkish War'. - [e] See this volume, p. 438.

paper[518] proves that he, too, has connections. Is there any other German officer in London who might be in collusion with the paper?

Before approaching another newspaper I shall get some more material together, which will mean a delay of perhaps 3 weeks. *N'importe,*[a] the better the stuff I have, the better my chances and, after all, the material will still be there for the *Tribune.*

If I weren't so damnably stuck for cash, I'd invite you up here. But just now it's not possible and I must first move into PRIVATE LODGINGS again. Had there been a prospect of clinching matters with *The Daily News,* I had intended to come to London for Whitsuntide but now the journey would have little point. *N'importe,* perhaps I shall come all the same.

What with the war, innumerable military works to be studied, sundry drinking bouts, etc., etc., I have of late fallen very much behind with my work at the office and, precisely because my mind was full of other things, have perpetrated a mass of blunders, all of which end up in goods being refused and other disasters. I shall now have to make up for this, for the very good reason that my old man is coming over in 3 months time; moreover I have been very remiss about corresponding with him; he's still waiting for things he should have had six months ago. I am now having to make up for all this, which means a great deal of effort. However I believe that a fortnight's hard labour in the office will see me through.

Let me have the newspaper cuttings; without them, Cluss' letter is incomprehensible.[b]

Bangya will be sending the Russians some fine reports from Erzerum. I wish the Prussians would finally go ahead and declare war on England, in which case the farce would be in full swing and my old man would not come over. I have neglected him horribly and in any case the financial aspect has all the makings of a row.

Enclosed the proof of the *Daily News* article.[c] Let me have it back soon. I'm very glad I've got the thing; the fellows won't be able to make a splash with it now.

Apropos. Is 'Bericht über die Kriegs-Operationen der Russischen Truppen gegen die Ungarischen Rebellen im Jahre 1849'[d]—(published 1851) *available* in London? And if so, who has it? I

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[a] No matter - [b] See this volume, p. 433. - [c] F. Engels, 'The Russian Army'. - [d] written by Y. Tolstoi, published anonymously

have ordered the book but won't get it in under three weeks. If I had it I could *at once* enter into relations with *The Times*. It costs $1^1/_2$ talers, so nothing would really be lost by buying two.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[234]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 April 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Pieper, at any rate, is not to blame for the business with *The Daily News*,[a] because he has had absolutely nothing to do with the émigrés for the past six months. Blind IS CONNECTED WITH THE *Advertiser*, not *The Daily News*. Herzen's crew—Krapülinski Worcell,[b] and the blackguardly Golovin—have been *positivement*[c] connected with the *D. N.* ever since Urquhart's influence got them thrown out of the *Advertiser*. Mr O. von Wenckstern has transferred from *The Times* to the *D.N.*, but is no longer in London, that JUDICIOUS PAPER having sent him as *MILITARY COMMISSIONER* to Omer Pasha. The belletristic blighter! It's more than likely that the fellow has introduced other German blackguards out there. However it is the Russians I chiefly suspect. So WISELY MANAGED is *The Daily News* that, as is shown by the last RETURN of newspaper stamps, its sales have plummeted since 1851 and it now ranks after the *Herald* in the newspaper hierarchy.

I consider that you should *immediately* send the article[d] to *The Times* as it stands and without waiting for one scrap of additional

[a] See this volume, pp. 423-26 and 427. - [b] Worcell is thus called after a character in Heine's satirical poem 'Zwei Ritter'. - [c] definitely - [d] F. Engels, 'The Fortress of Kronstadt'.

material (I shall see if the 'Bericht über die Kriegs-operationen'[a] is available here). *The Times* will still be short of material next week since the parliamentary recess, though supposed to end on 27 April, will not be over until 1 May. Hence it will be glad of anything it can get and, since the people there possess far more literary and political tact than the bunglers on the *D.N.* and would be prepared to accept an article from the devil himself if it were interesting enough, I *fermement*[b] believe that they would publish it *at once.* At the same time it would be your REVENGE on the other rag. But should your approach to *The Times* misfire—which I doubt—you may be sure that 1. nobody will hear of it, since I shan't tell a soul; 2. the reviews will be sure to take it. Finally, I would again advise you not to wait, but to send this first article *quite unchanged* to *The Times.*

As for Schimmelpfennig,[c] I think it would be doing the chap too great an honour to deal with him in the *Tribune.* I suggest that, in one of your private letters to me, you let me have sufficient to pass on to Cluss for an article in the *Reform.*

Of late the *Tribune* has again been appropriating all my articles as LEADERS and putting *my* name to nothing but rubbish. It has appropriated, for example, a detailed account of Austrian finances,[d] an article on the Greek insurrection,[e] etc. On top of that their now 'congenital' habit of making a splash with your military stuff. I *positivement* intend—as soon as Dana has replied to my last admonition[519]—to ask for a higher fee, citing in particular the EXPENSES incurred in respect of the military articles. Don't you agree? The fellows ought to pay at least £3 per article. They lay out £500 on sending Taylor to India, and the chap's reports from there are worse and shorter—what could he get to know about a country like that on a quick TRIP?—than my own sent them from here on the same subject.[520] £3 per article would enable me to get out of the mire at last.

There's been an odd business with Urquhart—whom, by the by, I have never once met in London since our first *entrevue.*[f] The ministerial *Globe* published on SATURDAY[g] [a] FURIOUS ONSLAUGHT ON HIM, saying amongst other things that, while he might pick up converts here and there, this wouldn't go on for long.

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[a] See this volume, p. 437. - [b] firmly - [c] See this volume, p. 436. - [d] K. Marx, 'Austrian Bankruptcy'. - [e] K. Marx, 'The Greek Insurrection'. - [f] interview (see this volume, pp. 412-13). - [g] 15 April

* 'Where is Mr Anstey? Where Mr Monteith etc. and where that Goliath of the new revolution, Mr Marx?' 'All these gentlemen have seen the folly of their ways, and returned to the habits of good society.'*

Then, in Thursday's issue of *The Morning Advertiser*, '*An Urquhartite*' declares that:

* 'If continuing to pose implicit confidence in Mr Urquhart's views be proof of folly these individuals have certainly not recovered their reason, and also must still be without the pale of good society.'*

And then proceeds to specify:

* 'Mr Marx, however, I am happy to say, is as energetic and valuable [a] supporter as ever of Mr Urquhart's.'*[a]

So far I've done nothing about this, but am biding my time. An opportunity will present itself for disowning Mr Urquhart. I find it all the more outrageous as he knows, since I have told him so, that I agree with him in *nothing* save the matter of Palmerston, and on that point it wasn't *he* who showed me the way. *Mais il faut attendre.*[b] But there is one difficulty. There is a very stupid Urquhartite by the name of Marx,[c] not the one meant by the *Globe*. If I publicly disown Urquhart, he'll say he didn't mean me, but the other Marx. Incidentally, it is evident from the *Globe* that Mr Palmerston has been paying me the greatest attention.

Pieper grows more vapidly complacent every day. Such is his mopping and mowing that his face is more criss-crossed with lines than a map of both the Indies. Old Malvolio! Little Jenny always refers to him now as Prince Charming, the son of Wunderhorn.[d] In my next I shall tell you some comical tales about 'Prince Charming' who, as his sister's letters reveal, regards himself as Byron and Leibniz rolled into one.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] 'Mr Urquhart and *The Globe*. To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19603, 20 April 1854. - [b] But we must wait. - [c] Francis Marx - [d] Character in the introductory lines to 'Des Knaben Wunderhorn', a nineteenth-century collection of folk songs compiled by Arnim and Brentano.

## 220

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 24 April 1854]

Dear Marx,

It's absolutely impossible to do the things for *The Times* until I have more material, i. e. in a week or fortnight. I shall then finish them off straight away.

As regards Schimmelpfennig,[a] I shall write something with Heise. The thing must be done in such a way that the fellow can't reply, hence very accurately or not at all.

Something must be done about Heise; matters cannot continue very much longer as they are. So I am writing to Cluss today,[521] asking him to tell me whether he can put Heise in touch with an Anglo-American paper—the fellow writes passable English—and 2. whether the *Reform* could pay him. Both of these on condition that Eccarius will not suffer as a result, for he, after all, has first claim. I have informed Cluss that if there is any objection of this kind you will advise him by next Tuesday's STEAMER. At the same time I notified Cluss of the Schimmelpfennig article, so that they don't do anything stupid in New York.

I can't write another word today.

Your
F. E.

Kossuth—magnificent![522]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 436 and 439.

# 221

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 April 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

A few days before Heise left I had a scene with him in the presence of others over 'The Knight of the Noble Consciousness'. He came out against us as the Knight's[a] steadfast (secret) supporter or AT LEAST as a venomous INDEPENDENT. The affair brewed up into a scandal. I thought it unnecessary to write to you about it 1. because you knew Heise well enough, 2. because he wrote to me, humbly asking to be recommended to you and I didn't want to give him a letter of Uriah.[b]

The man may, of course, have come over to us altogether, though I cannot regard his attaching himself to us when in need as proof of this. *At all events,* I feel that you, for your part, shouldn't get too deeply involved with Heise. Temper your trust in him and above all do not write anything *jointly* with the lad. Before he can be co-opted and thus 'set up' in the eyes of the public, MORE PROOFS OF HIS SINCERITY ARE WANTED. We have had too many beastly experiences not to have become cautious and *tant soit peu*[c] mistrustful.

Letter enclosed with cuttings from Cluss.[523]

Imandt informs me that Blanc told him you had written to Blanc saying you would be coming up here on a visit. Is there anything in it?

Your
K. M.

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[a] Willich - [b] 2 Samuel 11:14, 15. - [c] just a little

# 222

# ENGELS TO MARX

## IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 May 1854

Dear Marx,

The business of Heise is really rather disastrous.[a] If the chap had behaved dubiously in regard to *party matters*, you might at least have let me know. *As it was*, I could only suppose that, for a new convert, he was PERFECTLY SAFE. I hadn't met him before, except for a couple of days in the Palatinate; seeing him in London as part of the intimate circle and, like Meyer, apparently a special favourite of yours, I naturally concluded that the fellow had already done penance down there, had undergone his *épreuves*[b] and earned your good graces. Hitherto I have treated him accordingly and, since he had nothing to do and is in other ways a cheerful sort of chap, I've been going round with him more than with anyone else. Moreover, now that the philistines have got to know that I'm living with Mary[c] and this has got to stop, I have taken lodgings NEXT DOOR TO HIM, though I haven't yet moved in. Well, all this is exceedingly difficult to set right now, and I can see only one way of doing it: from your letter I can only conclude that you gave him a letter for me. *This I have not received.*[d] Write to me at once so that I can question him about it.

There were two reasons why I did the Schimmelpfennig article with him[524]: 1. because I wanted the fellow to be given a dressing-down without *myself* appearing to be working for the *Reform*, 2. because it was absolutely essential that Heise be given something to do to get him out of his indolent ways. The article is very good and, though marred here and there by Heise's style, gives Mr Schimmelpfennig some rough treatment. The thing can be of no further benefit to Heise, for he'll never be able to write another article of the kind; on the other hand, the business greatly impressed him by showing him how surely and on what a firm 'basis' we operate. However, even this wouldn't have happened had I been informed, and at least the fellow wouldn't have cost me so much; as it is, I have him round my neck and, *au bout du*

[a] See this volume, p. 442. - [b] tests - [c] Mary Burns - [d] See this volume, pp. 442 and 445.

*compte*,[a] am more or less responsible for his household debts, etc., etc.

As regards my visit to London, it seems very questionable. I have far too much to do at the office to be able to get away easily. However, if all had gone well with *The Daily News*,[b] I had indeed intended to come down and clinch the thing by word of mouth. That reason no longer obtains and, since the thing would cost me some £7-£8, which I can ill afford and I could only stay down there 3-4 days at the most, I shan't come if I can help it.

After Cluss' letter, returned herewith, I shall now send him the article on Schimmelpfennig to be used as circumstances dictate; if he has already become too involved with Schimmelpfennig,[525] it will at least serve to enlighten Cluss privately concerning Schimmelpfennig and at the same time help him not to become too deeply involved. As a soldier, give me Willich any day, rather than that clever-clever Schimmelpfennig who really has nothing to him except sheer vanity and arrogance, and whose entire stock of learning derives from a few common or garden manuals and textbooks.

I shall let you have another article on Turkey, military or otherwise,[c] for next Friday's[d] STEAMER. It is time we harked back to our first articles on the subject,[e] including the political aspect. Here, too, we have been splendidly vindicated by circumstances; the pertinacity of the Greek insurrection[487] and the evident uneasiness of the Turks in Bulgaria prove, *après tout*,[f] that the Christian population is starting to bestir itself and that the Turkish Empire is rapidly approaching its end. On the other hand it is symptomatic of the Turks' great weakness that the larger part of their army, as was always its wont, ran away home during the winter and that as yet no amount of reform[526] has succeeded in instilling in these fellows a soldierly spirit on the European pattern. As regards the Odessa business[527] we shall have to have some more detailed news; up till now everything has been too contradictory. Lupus is fuming at the allies for not having cut the Russians to pieces *ad majorem gloriam Aberdeeni et Bonaparti*.[g] He and Heise now vie with each other in dismaying the philistines with flat contradictions and downright rudeness. One or both of them will get a beating before long; yesterday they came close to

[a] in the final count - [b] See this volume, pp. 423-26 and 427. - [c] F. Engels, 'News from the European Contest'. - [d] 5 May. See this volume, p. 448. - [e] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'British Politics.—Disraeli.—The Refugees.—Mazzini in London.—Turkey'; F. Engels. 'The Real Issue in Turkey', 'The Turkish Question', 'What Is to Become of Turkey in Europe?' - [f] after all - [g] for the greater glory of Aberdeen and Bonaparte

it, whereupon I suddenly began talking in a Lancashire accent, which made the philistines laugh and provided the opportunity for a dignified retreat.

Heise, by the way, won't ever be dangerous, his writing ability is far inferior to little Dronke's, idleness is his speciality. No knowledge whatever, only a strong inclination to acquire the ABC of everything. With great difficulty he succeeded in learning the ABC of Russian, but has already forgotten it again.

*Sûr ce que Dieu l'ait en sa sainte garde, habeat sibi!*[a]

Your
F. E.

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## 223

## MARX TO ENGELS[234]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 May 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

My use of the term 'letter of Uriah'[b] has caused a misunderstanding. I gave Heise *no* letter—he didn't even take his leave of me and was, incidentally, in far too tipsy a condition to do so. He wrote to me from the hole where he was lodging near Manchester, asking for my help up there. It was in this sense that I would have regarded sending you a report on him as a 'letter of Uriah', if in a somewhat 'bolder' meaning of the term. Maybe Manchester has deprived him of the main INCITEMENT of making himself out to be a 'GREAT MAN', an 'INDEPENDENT' and a 'MALCONTENT' in the eyes of

[a] Certain that God has him in his safe keeping—let him have him. - [b] See this volume, p. 442.

Imandt and Schily. However, all you can do now is to act diplomatically and urge the man gradually to find himself an occupation. The whole time he has been in England he has been living at other people's expense and, whenever he got a chance of earning his keep, soon gave it up. Since he now has a superfluity of time on his hands he might at least write regularly for the *Reform* which, by the by, has as yet failed to pay even Eccarius so much as a FARTHING. However, if given enough support, it should soon be in a position to pay.

Your military things—'retreat of the Russians from Kalafat' and the situation in the Dobrudja[a] have, I think, been proved splendidly right. The bombardment of Odessa[527] was, it seems, provoked by the Russians. Unless the English land troops there, little would appear to have been achieved—save to placate the bourgeois here who, inasmuch as the war is manifesting itself in the form of taxes and loans, are becoming wild about the inactivity of the ALLIED FLEETS,—PERHAPS, too, Nicholas needed a demonstration of the kind to give spice to his appeal 'to his people'.[b] There can no longer be any doubt about collusion between the Ministry here and Petersburg, now that the suppression of *a document* in the 'SECRET CORRESPONDENCE'—in which Aberdeen (1844) *accepted* the Russian proposals—has become common knowledge. I already had an inkling that something of the sort was going on behind the scenes because of the falsification of the dates and endorsements in the 'memorandum'[c] alluded to in the HOUSE OF LORDS by the Tories' EX-FOREIGN MINISTER.[d] Although the *Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg* itself censures these fellows for their *fausse position*,[e] it is clear from the 'DECLARATIONS IN COUNCIL'[f] concerning neutral, and especially Russian, shipping, that they are still agreeing their moves with Russia. Similar 'DECLARATIONS' appeared *at the same time* in St Petersburg,[528] ALMOST COUCHED IN THE *SAME* TERMS. Such a thing can't be a coincidence. The element they overlooked in their calculations is Bonaparte. No matter what sort of a chap

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[a] F. Engels, 'The European War', 'Retreat of the Russians from Kalafat', 'Position of the Armies in Turkey'. - [b] Marx took the report about the appeal of 23 (11) April 1854 from the telegraphic dispatch 'Turkey and Russia' in *The Times*, No. 21731, 3 May 1854. - [c] K. Marx. 'The Secret Diplomatic Correspondence' (see present edition, Vol. 13, p. 99). - [d] Malmesbury, [Speech in the House of Lords on 31 March 1854,] *The Times*, No. 21704, 1 April 1854. On this see K. Marx. 'The War Debate in Parliament', present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 134-35. - [e] false position. Marx probably refers to the leading article in the *Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg*, 7 (19) March 1854, reprinted in *The Times*, No. 21702, 30 March 1854: 'France'. - [f] Victoria R. 'A Proclamation, 29 March 1854', *The Times*, No. 21702, 30 March 1854.

he may be, the question is one of life and death for him and, being a rogue by profession, he won't allow himself to be duped as was POOR Louis Philippe in 1839 and 1840.[529] When one reads the secret documents of 1830-48, one is left in no doubt that England deposed Louis Philippe and that the worthy *National*, despite and because of its blind Anglophobia, was unwittingly the principal tool of precisely English policy.

As you know, the *Tribune* prides itself on being Christian. I was all the more tickled when the fellows used for a LEADER an article of mine in which one of the chief things I held against the Turks was the fact of their having preserved Christianity,[a] although I did not of course say so quite so bluntly. INDEED, one reason why the Turks are bound to come to grief is that they have allowed Byzantine theocracy to develop in a way that not even the Greek emperors would have dreamed of. There are, in effect, only 2 religious peoples left, the Turks and the Greco-Slav population of Turkey. Both are doomed, or at least the latter, along with the clerically ordered society which has been consolidated under Turkish rule.

I have, besides, sent the *Tribune* a scandalous story about the 'Holy Sepulchre' and the 'Protectorate' in Turkey,[b] in which the historical matter will blind the fellows to the prank I play on Christianity.

I should be very glad if you could supply me with something for the *Tribune*,[c] since I am very busy studying the history of the New Greek Empire including King Otto,[530] but it will be a couple of weeks, perhaps, before I can present the result in a series of articles. *Metaxas*, who was Greek ambassador in Constantinople where he engaged in plotting—the Paris *Presse* published a pretty account of this Russo-Greek Bangyanade—was the principal tool of the INFAMOUS Capodistria.[531]

At odd moments I am going in for Spanish. Have begun with Calderón from whose *Magico prodigioso*—the Catholic Faustus—Goethe drew not just a passage here or there but whole settings for some of scenes in his *Faust*. Then—*horribile dictu*[d]—I am reading in Spanish what I'd found impossible in French, Chateaubriand's *Atala* and *René*, and some stuff by Bernardin de St-Pierre. Am now in the middle of *Don Quixote*. I find that a dictionary is more necessary in Spanish than in Italian at the start.

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[a] K. Marx, 'The Greek Insurrection'. - [b] K. Marx, 'Declaration of War.—On the History of the Eastern Question'. - [c] See this volume, p. 448. - [d] horrible to relate

By chance I have got hold of the *Archivio triennale delle cose d'Italia dall'avvenimento di Pio IX all'abbandono di Venezia* etc. It's the best thing about the Italian revolutionary party that I have read. Consists of a collection of secret and public documents, intercepted letters, etc. Nicely put together. Palmistone (as Thiers pronounces Palmerston) plays a leading role here as well. The fellow's machinations have been ubiquitous, and at all events his existence has been a very amusing one.

You still owe me a letter about Mr Urquhart's military stuff.[a] The man can be caught out only in the 'positive' SCIENCES. I.e. here and in his economics, the superficiality of which can likewise be tangibly demonstrated.

*Vale faveque.*[b]

K. M.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 May 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Unfortunately your 'DISPATCH'[c] did not arrive yesterday until the post office had closed, and the LETTER could not be sent to New York even against payment of the customary shilling.

The Pole Miskowsky—*vide* the 'Knight of the Noble'—has come to a very bad end. The poor devil had long been in the most wretched circumstances, had never succeeded in raising the wherewithal for the trip to Constantinople—AS HE WAS NOT ONE OF THE 'MINIONS' OF THE 'GOVERNOR'[d]—and had thus sunk to being a lumpenproletarian in Whitechapel to whom we in the WEST END FROM TIME TO TIME sent some small aid. A few days ago the *pauvre diable*,[e]

[a] See this volume, p. 422 - [b] Good-bye and farewell. - [c] F. Engels, 'News from the European Contest'. - [d] Lajos Kossuth - [e] poor devil

together with six other refugees, was *burned alive* in the wooden shack he occupied with them in Whitechapel.[532] First you're reduced to beggary, then you starve, and finally you're burnt to death; what more can you expect in this 'best of worlds'.[a]

Since Wiss, Doctor of Universal Wisdom, had launched in the *Republik der Arbeiter* A FURIOUS ONSLAUGHT on our 'corrupt ideas' and mindless 'frivolity',[b] I thought it fitting to obtain from Edgar Bauer, whom I see from time to time—a *rendez-vous* invariably followed by a hangover—some information on this *lumen mundi*,[c] now a shareholder in Weitling's stables of bliss. Briefly, this is what I learned there:

Mr Wiss apparently arrived in Berlin shortly after your time.[533] He was a vain youth with a marked aversion for 'POSITIVE' knowledge, which is why he never succeeded in passing his medical examinations and threw himself passionately into the universal wisdom which was concentrated in Stehely's.[534] Initially a Brunoist[d] and then a Stirnerian, he became a member of Edgar Bauer's society of 'The Free',[535] was much interested in the emancipation of women, and resolved to become 'frivolous'. In pursuance of this aim he tumbled the landlady with whom he lodged—a midwife. The midwife then set to work on the 'frivolous' one's conscience, bemoaning the loss of her 'LESSER WALLACHIA' which damage Wiss, *le bonhomme*,[e] helped make good by cohabiting with her in 'free' marriage. Much though she esteemed Mr Wiss' money-bag, the midwife thought no less highly of the 'natural' bag of a certain working man, a lusty mechanic who lodged in the same house. Here again the great Wiss helped make good the damage by permitting the working man to work the machinery while reserving for himself the pleasure of ennobling the resulting product with the name of 'Proudhon-Fourier Wiss' and, whenever the name Proudhon was mentioned in the society of The Free, it was not the one in Paris they meant but the mechanic's OFFSPRING christened by Wiss.

Since Mr Wiss spent a great deal of money, learned nothing, and extolled free marriage, his worthy papa ceased to honour his bills, after which he lived on minor literature *à la* Meyen and loans made to him on his '*espérances*'[f] by philanthropists in Berlin. Came the revolution. Wiss became a popular orator, and one of the vice-chairmen of the democratic club, helped in by

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[a] Voltaire, *Candide*. - [b] E. Wiß, 'Die elementaren Richtungen der Zeit', *Republik der Arbeiter*, No. 15, 8 April 1854. The article was published in instalments from March to June 1854. - [c] light of the world - [d] supporter of Bruno Bauer - [e] the worthy fellow - [f] expectations

Edgar Bauer. Next he became a contributor to the *Reform* but so dim was his light that even Ruge hid it under a bushel. *Au bout du compte*[a] Wiss hastily assumed an 'ironical attitude' to the revolution, married his midwife in bourgeois-ecclesial fashion, made things up with his old man and, together with midwife and Proudhon-Fourier Wiss, departed with his tail between his legs for America where he is prospering as a doctor, philosopher and member of the communia.[330]

Your
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 9 May 1854

Dear Marx,

I cannot understand the late arrival of the *Tribune* article.[b] The letter was specially entrusted to the messenger-boy, who took it to the post at a quarter past 7, *at the same time as the business letters*, all of which arrived punctually. Even if it had not left until the 2nd post, it should have been in your hands by 2 o'clock at the latest. I can only regard it as evidence of Mr Palmerston's solicitude for you. Since the bit about the battle has not materialised in the meantime, I can only hope you haven't sent off the article.

With regard to Urquhart's military stuff,[c] something in my next. I can, of course, deal with this subject only in notes, which I shall write straight off in English for you. You will then have to work them into your article.

The story of Dr Wiss is most edifying and Cluss will certainly ensure that it reaches the right people.[536]

As for that poor devil Miskowsky, the Noble One[d] can now say

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[a] in the end - [b] See this volume, p. 448. - [c] ibid., pp. 422 and 448. - [d] August Willich

after all that he ultimately 'vanished without trace'.[537] When I read the story in the London papers, it immediately struck me that those who had been burnt to death were most certainly refugees.[532]

If at all possible, I shall set Heise to work—which, indeed, he cannot possibly avoid the moment I begin to hold off. The fellow's presently in Bradford, whither he was summoned by the little man[a] during the absence of the latter's principal[b] and whence, in any case, he returns in an exceedingly tipsy condition, so that he has to spend a few days in quarantine before he's good for anything. I was much tickled by the little man's little article[c] because of the care with which he retrieves and repeats all the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*'s old chestnuts about Schleswig-Holstein, Belgium,[d] etc., etc.

*Feldzug der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Armee und Marine 1850*, by A. Lütgen, sometime Major, is the first sensible and comprehensive book about the Willisen episode. It confirms everything I had already deduced from preliminary studies of the affair.[e] Monsieur Willisen's original plan was a very good one,—if somewhat over-extended—so good that even the botched and belated attempt to revert to it instilled thoughts of withdrawal in the minds of the Danes, who were 36,000 strong against 26,000, almost all of their troops being already committed, whereas the Schleswig-Holsteiners had certainly $^1/_5$ of their troops still uncommitted. But when Monsieur Willisen actually found himself face to face with the enemy, he lost his head amidst the contradictory reports and the even more confused suggestions that were being made to him. Even the night before the battle, he detached his own reserves to a point on the left, right off the battle-field, to face an imaginary enemy and at the same time deferred the order for the attack, upon which all the dispositions had been based. Thus, concentration of reserves on the left where no enemy existed, exposure of the centre, which received the main attack, confusion on the right wing, which was to launch the main counter-attack. This alone is enough to explain the outcome, and even then he might have emerged victorious had he not too

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[a] Ernst Dronke - [b] John Buckup - [c] E. Dronke, 'Naturgeschichte der Demokratie', *Die Reform*, 12 April 1854. - [d] Articles by Marx and Engels: 'The War Comedy,' 'The *Faedreland* on the Armistice with Denmark', 'The Armistice with Denmark', 'The Armistice "Negotiations"', 'Armistice Negotiations with Denmark Broken Off', 'The Danish-Prussian Armistice', 'Ratification of the Armistice', 'The "Model State" of Belgium', 'The "Model Constitutional State"', 'The Antwerp Death Sentences', etc. (see present edition, Vol. 7). - [e] See this volume, pp. 103-04.

hastily—as early as 8 o'clock in the morning—given everything up for lost. Even at 11 he could still have won but his horror on hearing that 2 Danish battalions were in position to the rear of his left flank (2 squadrons and 4 cannon would have sufficed to dispose of them) caused that 'strategic outflanker in maximum force' to recall the dictum 'he who outflanks is himself outflanked' and he now resolved to use all his forces to extricate himself. Our theoretician's antagonist was an old man grown grey in command, if mostly peace-time command, a mediocre pipe-clay general,[a] who was answerable not to a petty, philistine, moderate government devoid of power, but to a genuine king[b] and ministry and, if only for that reason, stood his ground more doggedly. In this way he won the battle. The success with which the weak Schleswig-Holstein detachments fought the Danes, who outnumbered them two and three to one (even according to the official Danish report), provides ample proof that the 26,000 Schleswig-Holsteiners were fully the equal of the 36,000 Danes. The chaps fought *quite splendidly*, despite the numerous raw recruits in their ranks, despite the havoc wrought throughout the entire army by Willisen's new regulations introduced only a fortnight before the campaign and, above all, despite the shortage of cadres. This army would happily have trounced twice their number of Prussians.

The bombardment of Odessa[527] was a *must* for the allies because of the insult to the flag of truce. Not much damage appears to have been done and, since they didn't land or occupy the city, it was more of a defeat than a victory. Nicest of all is the humbug that they 'sailed in the direction of Sevastopol'.[c] Incidentally, with every *Russian* action and the RETALIATION, at least apparent or attempted, this necessitates, the war is increasingly slipping from the grasp of Aberdeen and Palmerston and will gradually assume a more warlike course. As it is, Bonaparte must soon acquire *gloire* of a rather more tangible sort, even though his faithful Fridolin, Saint-Arnaud,[d] is just the man to push him further into the soup. Had this noble fellow not had a fortune to *refaire*,[e] the fortune he has already squandered away several times since 1851, he would never have gone East. But he and his ilk are just the men to ruin the best of troops by fraudulent supply contracts and then,

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[a] Gerhard Krogh - [b] Frederick VII - [c] See 'The Black Sea. The Bombardment of Odessa', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19615, 4 May 1854; 'Latest Intelligence', *The Times*, No. 21734, 6 May 1854. - [d] Saint-Arnaud is compared to a character in Schiller's ballad 'Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer'. - [e] remake

through military blunders, land them in a regular mess. I expect to see some pretty results from the campaign conducted by this *Bayard du bas-empire.*[110]

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[234]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 22 May 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

It was a good thing you didn't come on Saturday.[a] My trouble—now a fortnight old—had come to a head. I could hardly speak and even laughing hurt because of a great festering boil between my nose and mouth, which this morning has at least dwindled to quite reasonable dimensions. My lips, too, which were tremendously swollen, are approximately back to normal again, etc., in short, everything indicates that I shall soon be well again. It's truly devilish, having such a wretched head for a whole fortnight. Beyond a joke. For the past week I've had to give up reading and smoking altogether and today am waiting to see if Freund will allow me to try a cigar.

To compound the misery, all three children[b] have been down with measles since last Friday (Thursday night), which means that the house has become a veritable hospital.

Herewith Cluss. Collapse of the *Reform* deplorable.[538]

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[a] 20 May - [b] Jenny, Laura and Edgar

I rely on you to continue doing the American stint for me during *the whole of this week* since I am totally incapable of writing and have already lost £6 as a result of this wretched business, which is indeed hard to bear. I hope to have a few lines from you in the meantime.

The enclosed letter to be communicated to no one but Lupus. It would seem to be Heise's mission to compromise you in Manchester. Beware of the fellow.

Your
K. M.

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## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[539]

### IN DÜSSELDORF

London, 1 June 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Lassalle,

I have been seriously ill these past 2 or 3 weeks and, on top of that, the 3 children[a] went down with the measles, from which they have only just recovered, so that the whole house has been turned into a hospital. I did not start going out again until 2 days ago and, since my head was the worst affected and all conversation exhausted me, I have seen no visitors during this time. The result is that I have heard little or nothing of the émigrés' activities and intentions. As you will be aware, Mazzini is in Switzerland incognito. From letters from Washington I gather that the émigrés are, as always, dreaming ambitious dreams. The confidential reports sent to America by the gentlemen here percolate back to me through a channel in Washington.[b]

In my next I may be *à même*[c] to send you the detailed information you ask for on the doings of the émigrés.[540]

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[a] Jenny, Laura and Edgar - [b] Cluss - [c] in a position

Weerth is at present in California. It is rumoured that he is on the point of marrying a certain Miss Worbs or Worms, of Hamburg, the daughter of one of his former principals.

Even *The Times* has been poking some mild fun at the 'Cologne TRICKERS' in London who bellow from a hundred throats—bellow at the English:

> 'Softly sounding through my mind
> Many a delightful chime'[a]

or else,

> 'Lonely I am not alone'[b]

and more in similar vein.

As regards the 'Palmerston',—he is presently straining every nerve to gain complete control of the War Office, though he has a rival in the Duke of Newcastle, a Peelite—, only the first few of the articles I wrote for the *Tribune* have been printed here as pamphlets.[c] I myself prevented further publication, as pamphlets by Urquhart were appearing alternately in the same series of 'Political Fly-Sheets'[541] and I do not wish to be numbered among the followers of that gentleman with whom I have only one thing in common, viz. my views on Palmerston, but to whom in all other matters I am diametrically opposed, as became apparent at our very first meeting.[d] He is a romantic reactionary—a Turk, and would gladly guide the West back to Turkish standards and structures. I have not sent you these few short pamphlets as the cost of posting small parcels is disproportionately high. As for the substance of the matter, you are perfectly right to abide by your opinion until wholly unequivocal facts cause you to change it. What has gone to make up my own view is not this or that isolated fact—each isolated fact admitting of a variety of interpretations—but the concatenation of all the steps taken by this man, the whole context of his activities since 1829. In it I have discovered a consistent plan that assumes various and often seemingly contradictory forms but is always directed towards the same goal, a plan uniformly executed with the same supreme disdain.

As regards the specific points you raise, my comments are:

1. *Pacifico Expedition.*[345] In a work by one of Palmerston's former secretaries at the embassy in Athens—1836—namely the *Diplomatic History of Greece* by Mr Parish, you will find to begin

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[a] Heine, 'Neuer Frühling', 6. Gedicht. - [b] P. A. Wolff, *Preciosa*, Act II, Scene 2. The drama provided the libretto for Weber's opera of the same title. - [c] K. Marx. 'Palmerston', II, III. - [d] See this volume, pp. 412-13.

with proof that, from 1830 onwards, Palmerston did all he could to turn Greece into a Russian province. In the end the Pacifico Expedition dropped her into Russia's lap. At the same time it also gained Palmerston popularity in England, thereby enabling him to further Russia's interests in the same year by concluding with Brunnow a treaty on the Danish succession, a treaty that was not made effective until 1852.[542] If, having done all the MISCHIEF he wanted, Palmerston gave way to France over this affair—the Greek one—, his compliance was simply 'diplomacy' vis-à-vis the English people. Papers hostile to him were already beginning to point out that in 1840 he had turned England into the ally of Russia and into the antagonist of France.

2. Recognition of the coup d'état.[a] Necessary to get Bonaparte into his toils.[74] Similarly, in connection with the Spanish troubles, he brought the Quadruple Alliance into being earlier in order to get Louis Philippe into the mire.[543]

3. The instruction of 19 June 1839—wholly justifies my view. It was not London but Paris which suggested that in no circumstances should Russia be allowed to carry out the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi[510] (which, by the by, was of Mr Palmerston's making). The proof—a dispatch from Soult to the Baron de Bourqueney, 30 May 1839. Similarly 17 June 1839, etc. Palmerston, who made as if to believe that the Sultan *wished* to see the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi put into effect and the Russians in Constantinople, sent a dispatch to Earl Granville in Paris on 19 June, enclosing his 'PROPOSED INSTRUCTIONS' of even date 'TO THE ADMIRAL, SIR ROBERT STOPFORD', in which, among many other ambiguous and inane proposals, he also instructed the Admiral if necessary 'TO FORCE THE PASSAGE OF DARDANELLES'. Soult, with great *bon sens*[b] (see dispatch from Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston, Paris, 28 June 1839), drew Palmerston's attention to the fact that it was not the Sultan but Russia who was their enemy, that this forcing of the Dardanelles was inane and that it would suffice if the English and French ambassadors in Constantinople were to ask the Sultan—*who desired nothing better*—to permit the entry of the United Fleets into the Dardanelles. To this Palmerston could raise no objection, but put forward a proposal even more inane, whereupon Soult wrote:

'The NOBLE LORD would seem to resign himself *WITH GREAT FACILITY TO THE CONTINGENCY OF A RUSSIAN OCCUPATION OF CONSTANTINOPLE*'.

And so it goes on, Palmerston always thwarting French action

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[a] Bonaparte's coup d'état of 2 December 1851 in France. - [b] good sense

against Russia while seeming to rage against Mohammed Ali, until Brunnow arrives in London, and the two of them conclude the treaty of 1840, subsequently ratified in the Dardanelles treaty of 1841, which was no more than a European sanction of the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi.[544]

I should be greatly obliged to you if you would write to me often and at length about conditions in Germany, particularly Prussia.

Your
K. M.

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## 228

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 3 June 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

I am back on my feet and the children out of bed again, if not yet out of the house, but now my wife has become very unwell, probably as a result of the night vigils and nursing, and the worst of it is that instead of consulting the doctor which she refuses to do, she is dosing herself—on the pretext that two years ago when she was similarly indisposed, Freund's medicines only made her worse. If matters don't improve I shall finally have to resort to force. Thus I shan't be able to do the correspondence on Tuesday, for on *that* day Pieper's lessons prevent him from acting as secretary and, with my wife in her present state, I can't bother her with any writing. As you can see, I've become a regular Peter Schlemihl.[a] But over the years we have all enjoyed very good health on the whole and will, I hope, do so again when this crisis

[a] Chamisso, *Peter Schlemihl's wundersame Geschichte.*

is past. *Au fond*,[a] we can be thankful that we've all gone down one after the other.

I wrote an article[b] yesterday deriding the plan of campaign published in Thursday's *Times*.[c] However, if the French papers are to be trusted, it would not appear to be an official one. The *Moniteur* reports that Omer Pasha is hurrying to relieve Silistria.[d] Perhaps this is simply a device to keep the Parisians in good humour and to counteract the great Boichot's presence in Paris.[e] I can make little of the Russian reports or of Napier's in today's paper.[f] *Au bout*[g] the English would again appear to have achieved nothing.

Yesterday a great raw-boned chap, a democratic loafer, introduced himself to me as Dr Otto. Danish by birth. Ostensibly now expelled from Schleswig-Holstein. Took part in the 1848/49 Schleswig-Holstein and 'Thuringian' movement. Does Lupus, by any chance, possess any particular information about the man?

Have finished reading the *Archivio delle cose d'Italia*. The man's *Considerazioni*[h] at the back of the book endeavour to demonstrate the opposite of what emerges from his collection of documents, namely that the *Giovane Italia*,[545] and CONSEQUENTLY Giuseppe Mazzini, were the soul of the 1848 movement. What is particularly amusing is the final section in which he proves that the movements [must] shed their narrow, national character: FRATERNISATION among the various nations that came to grief in 1848/49 as a result of their isolation; Russia or the UNITED STATES OF EUROPE. At this point comes the following revelation:

> 'La servitù d'Italia è patto europeo: l'Italia non può esser libera che in seno a una libera Europa. Allora apparve manifesto doversi sancire, contro l'alleanza dei pochi oppressori, *l'onnipotente alleanza degli oppressi*.'[i] [*Archivio*, Vol. I, 560]

And this '*l'onnipotente alleanza degli oppressi*' was effectuated by Mazzini as follows:

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[a] At bottom - [b] K. Marx, 'The Formation of a Special Ministry of War in Britain.—The War on the Danube.—The Economic Situation'. - [c] *The Times*, No. 21756, 1 June 1854, leader. - [d] [Report from Belgrade of 29 May 1854,] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 151, 31 May 1854. - [e] Marx derides the pseudo-revolutionary activity of the French petty-bourgeois democrats. See this volume, pp. 461-62. - [f] Reports in *Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg* of 26 May 1854 and Napier's military reports in the section 'The Baltic Fleet' of *The Times*, No. 21758, 3 June 1854. - [g] In the end - [h] *Comments* - [i] 'Italy's servitude is a European compact: Italy can be free only in the bosom of a free Europe. Then it became manifest that *an omnipotent alliance of the oppressed* must be formed to oppose the alliance of the few oppressors.'

'Allora Mazzini compié l'ardua sua missione, dettando con Ledru-Rollin e Darasz e *Ruge*, un nuovo patto che stringa Italia, non solo alla Polonia e alla Francia, ma alla stessa Germania, serva volente finora, e quasi sacerdotessa della servitù. E così, dalle opposte parti e dalle più nemiche genti giungono i peregrini al santuario commune della libertà.'[a] [I. 560]

Have received newspapers from America, but still no letter. 'Ruge', who has concluded the '*nuovo patto*' with Mazzini, declares in Dulon's little sheet[b] that, as a result of the war against Russia, there is now a prospect of 'liberal' development in Germany and that, even though no more may be achieved than 'freedom as in England', one ought to participate in it. To adopt a pessimistic view is 'base, idle and Russian'. As you can see, the prospect of his private fortune being exhausted within the year has made the noble man ready to attach himself to any form of 'progress' and, *au cas de besoin*,[c] become 'constitutional'.

Your
K. M.

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## 229

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 June 1854

Dear Marx,

I was very sorry I was unable to send you an article for Tuesday's post,[d] but it was a *sheer impossibility* because of the many jobs to be done at the office which now absolutely preclude my

[a] 'Then Mazzini accomplished his arduous mission, concluded a new pact with Ledru-Rollin and Darasz and *Ruge*, binding Italy not only to Poland and France but to that same Germany, up till now the willing handmaiden, if not the priestess, of servitude. And thus pilgrims belonging to opposing sides and the most hostile peoples will unite before the common shrine of liberty.' - [b] Probably the journal *Für die freien Gemeinden*. - [c] in case of need - [d] 6 June

writing articles for you precisely on Mondays or Thursdays. On top of that, my present lodgings are almost $^3/_4$ of an hour's walk away from the post, so that nothing more can be done late at night for the second post. Hence I have to work on Saturdays and on Wednesday evenings. Tomorrow I shall send you a *comprehensive* article on the siege of Silistria[a] which ought to cause a stir; maybe, too, some notes on Napier's absurd naval frolics[546] and on the condition of the army in Bulgaria.

I am now swotting the Hungarian campaign in real earnest and shall, I think, have worked my way through all the sources by October; *come what may, I shall write the book this winter.*[b] The more I go into it, the prettier the thing gets on both sides. At present I am comparing Görgey and Windischgrätz,[547] and find that in his self-apology the latter is as mendacious as in his bulletins[548] he hasn't the courage to disown. Delightful, how each of the two adversaries tries to make his own army out to be worse than the opposing one. *Père* Windischgrätz, incidentally, proves himself the ass we know him to be—HE HAS ACTUALLY WRITTEN HIMSELF DOWN AN ASS—and was most ably abetted in his tomfoolery by men even more stupid, if such a thing is possible, than himself, namely his subordinate generals Wrbna, Csorich and, above all, the chivalrous Banus Jellačić. Görgey's cynicism enables him to record the facts much more frankly and correctly than that mendacious apologist Windischgrätz. However, it is a campaign altogether worthy of the year '48/49.

Cold feet on both sides, the old armies and the revolutionary forces both discredited. Next week I hope to receive the official Austrian book[c] and one of these days I shall go through the Brockhaus catalogues to find what sources are still required. Another thing I need is Klapka[d]; then I shall have all the principal stuff.

The thing for *The Times*[e] will be written next week; I now have all the sources and need only do a little more work on them. Could you find out in London what military periodicals are published there? Just in case of need.

Now I must go to the bookseller's if I am not to find it shut; let's hear from you soon.

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[a] F. Engels, 'The Siege of Silistria'. - [b] See this volume, pp. 309-10. - [c] Probably *Sammlung der für Ungarn erlassenen Allerhöchsten Manifeste und Proklamationen, dann der Kundmachungen der Oberbefehlshaber der kaiserlichen Armee in Ungarn.* - [d] G. Klapka, *Memoiren. April bis Oktober 1849.* - [e] See this volume, pp. 435 and 437-38.

Dronke, drunk as usual, was run over by a CAB, and is now in bed; will be confined to his room for some 8 or 10 days, otherwise nothing serious.

I shall make inquiries about Otto.[a]

Your
F. E.

I hope your wife is well again.

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## 230

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 13 June 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Enclosed letters from Cluss which you needn't return since they have already been made known to the competent people and have been answered.

The article on Silistria[b] is splendid. The request made through Austria to Russia[549] that she *promise* to evacuate the Danubian principalities (the intention being to conclude an armistice and convene a congress in Vienna on the strength of that promise) was of purely Russian inspiration. At the same time it was assumed that Silistria would quickly fall into Russian hands. The English public had been prepared for this event by the entire ministerial press. HENCE Paskievich's haste. The resistance of the Turks at Silistria upset these calculations—just as happened to a similar plan that had matured the previous autumn.

COLONEL Grach is an acquaintance of mine from Trier; not one of your Prussian instructors, but a talented ADVENTURER who went to Turkey as much as 19 or so years ago to seek his fortune.[550] A *crapaud*[c] in the know tells me that Boichot, who was caught in

[a] See this volume, p. 458. - [b] F. Engels, 'The Siege of Silistria'. - [c] philistine

Paris,[a] had in fact been sent to France as a political emissary by Pyat's clique and not, as Pyat declares in execrable English in the *Advertiser*,[b] to pay a visit to his old mother, whom he hadn't seen for 5 years. It's really repulsive the way the *crapauds* continually act out of character and remain addicted to these 'melodramatic' lies calculated to appeal to the hearts of the petty bourgeois. *C'est dégoûtant.*[c]

You will shortly have another consignment of *Pioniers.* Heinzen, of course, is ranting and roaring dreadfully about the defunct *Reform*, and has actually managed to trot out a quotation from Catullus, no doubt picked up from a school-book complete with crib. Also contains comical diatribes against Dulon. The great Ruge writes to them both, friend 'Dulon' and friend 'Heinzen'. He informs the latter of his grand design for the foundation of a free university in Cincinnati where Ruge intends to drone away agreeably the remainder of his days as *rector magnificus in partibus.*[d] He can hardly wait to become a professor at last, something which, for all his servility, he was unable to 'wrest' from the Saxon Minister Lindenau or, before that, from the Prussian Minister Altenstein. 'Doctorates' will also be awarded in this glorified *contrefaçon*[e] of a German university. All that is needed is dollars to the tune of 1,000,000 and 6 citizens of Cincinnati to administer the finances. In addition, a prospectus covering all disciplines. A wild omnium gatherum, *mixtum compositum*[f] of headings from Hegel's *Encyclopädie* and the table of contents from Ersch and Gruber.[g] E.g. *General Linguistics.* (Cf. Ersch and Gruber, Pott's article on the distribution of languages.) The following are to be excluded from professorial chairs: 1. Strauss and Bruno Bauer; 2. the 'Sophists' who make stuff and nonsense of philosophy; 3. not the doctrine of communism, but the 'vile personages who have betrayed the Republic and Liberty'.[551]

In one of his rotten letters Ruge extols 2 anonymous pamphlets on Palmerston—never, of course, suspecting that one of them originated with me.[h]

*My wife is now confined to bed.* Yesterday I at last managed to persuade her to call Dr Freund. As soon as she is at all fit to do so, he wants her to take a trip to Germany, which accords with the

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[a] See this volume, p. 458. - [b] F. Pyat, 'The Arrest of Sergeant Boichot, at Paris, by the French Government', *The Morning Advertiser,* No. 19646, 9 June 1854. - [c] It's disgusting. - [d] vice-chancellor in exile - [e] here: version - [f] a crazy mixture - [g] *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste* published by J. S. Ersch and J. G. Gruber. - [h] K. Marx, 'Palmerston and Russia'.

wishes of my mother-in-law[a] and has been impossible hitherto only on financial grounds, but will have to be engineered somehow. The children are back at school today.

Dronke's bad luck[b] is tragi-comical. The fellows seem to be playing havoc in Bradford.

Your
K. M.

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## 231

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 15 June 1854

Dear Marx,

Cluss' letter most amusing. I had wanted to write to you at greater length today, but now find it's too late, so will confine myself to telling you that I have not been able to finish by *today*, as I had intended, the article on relative strengths and Silistria's chances of relief. That would involve looking up a lot of old stuff and since anyhow, in view of your wife's illness, your greatest difficulty will be to have an article ready for Tuesday's steamer, I shall see what sort of a piece I can concoct for you by then.

Heise, too, is ill now; I don't yet know what ails him, but he's said to be in bed and to have all sorts of pains in his chest. Pfänder got something in his eye which will prevent him from working for a couple of days. Bad luck everywhere, *je n'y vois plus clair*.[c] Regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Caroline von Westphalen - [b] See this volume, p. 461. - [c] I'm quite bemused

# 232

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 21 June 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Your letter arrived early enough, between 2 and 3. But since I had only waited until 2, and since I had to go out of town on domestic business and my wife saw from the accompanying letter[552] that the article couldn't be sent off as it stood, it is still here. I shall use it for my Friday's article,[553] but would ask you to write to me before then—quite *briefly* if you are short of time—about the following points:

1. Is there anything new in the Turkish bulletins which appeared in yesterday's *Daily News*? Have you any more details about the events of 28 [May]-13 [June] (which is as far, I believe, as the latest, albeit fragmentary, reports go)?

2. Is there anything of military significance about the operations on the Circassian coast? No doubt the news about Shamyl needs further confirmation.[554]

3. The entry of the Austrians into Wallachia; what can be said about it from the military *point de vue*?

From the enclosed letter you will see that I'm over head and ears in bad luck. When my wife's illness was at its worst, the good Dr Freund *kept away* and sent me a bill for £26 with the request that a 'clear understanding' be reached regarding his 'professional relations' to myself. Since my wife was in a critical—and is still in a serious—condition, I was of course compelled to capitulate to the dear 'friend'[a] and promise him in writing that I would pay £8 down at the end of this month and the rest by six weekly instalments. Had the fellow not attacked me so much *à l'imprévu*,[b] he wouldn't have caught me napping like that. But what was I to do? I should have had to pay any other respectable doctor by the visit and anyhow, even were this possible, one can't change doctors like shirts in the middle of an illness, without first inquiring into their competence, etc.

So I find myself in a FIX. I know that things are tight with you as well. Do you think Dronke might be able to advance me a few

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[a] A pun on the name Freund, which also means 'friend'. - [b] unexpectedly

pounds for the instalment due at the end of this month? When he was here last, he gave me to understand that he could be approached at a time of real crisis. However, I'd like to have your opinion first. I must in any case pay the fellow the first instalment on the agreed date, and my bill in respect of the past months has already been drawn—all of it spent needless to say, since I had £12 to pay out for the household, and the total received was considerably reduced because of unwritten articles, besides which the chemist's bills alone swallowed up a large part of the budget.

At the end of this week, if my wife feels strong enough, she, the children and Lenchen are going to spend a fortnight at Mr Seiler's villa at Edmonton. She might then be so far restored by the country air as to manage the journey to Trier.

I can assure you that these last *petites misères*[a] have turned me into A VERY DULL DOG.

*Beatus ille*[b] that hath no family.

*Vale faveque.*[c]

Your
K. M.

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## 233

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 June 1854

Dear Engels,

I should be grateful if you would write to *Dronke* forthwith. Even if I manage to get the later instalments deferred, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to do so in the case of the first one, which falls due at the end of the month. A further 8-10 days at the very outside, if I write to Freund saying my bill [of exchange] has not yet arrived.

---

[a] petty miseries - [b] Blessed is he (Horace, *Epodon*, II, 1). - [c] Good-bye and farewell.

I am sending only these few lines, as I am in the midst of concocting my article.[a] I was unable to write earlier because of the TROUBLES and the to-ing and fro-ing, etc., occasioned by the FAMILY exodus to Seiler's.

Your
K. M.

Your letter received today.[555]

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## 234

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Thursday, 6 July 1854

Dear Marx,

I hope the £5 arrived. Enclosed an article for tomorrow, which covers the first phase of the war.[b]

If the fellows are really going to send French troops to the Baltic, they *must* at least take [the] Åland [Islands]. That would be the best thing.

Enclosed a hymn. Query:

1. *What century?*
2. *Who wrote it?*

Reply by return, please.

Your
F. E.

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[a] K. Marx, 'The War.—Debate in Parliament'. - [b] F. Engels, 'The War on the Danube'.

# 235

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 July 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

You must excuse me for not having acknowledged receipt of the £5 before. This was due to much TROUBLE at home, since my wife is leaving for Trier tomorrow, an undertaking which has called for indescribable efforts.

Your article[a] arrived *just when* I myself was concocting a scrawl on Spain.[b] I shall therefore put your article by until Tuesday,[c] the more so since Pieper is available to act as my secretary on Fridays, while on Tuesdays I now have no one to do the writing.

I had not yet had time to look at the poem. I shan't be free till after 6, when I shall send you an answer either by telegram or city post.

Your
K. M.

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[a] F. Engels, 'The War on the Danube'. - [b] K. Marx, 'The Details of the Insurrection at Madrid.—The Austro-Prussian Summons.—The New Austrian Loan.—Wallachia'. - [c] 11 July

## 236

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 20 July 1854

Dear Marx,

To judge by your total silence you must either be hard at work or making tremendous EFFORTS to raise money. *En attendant*[a] I would inform you that, after the brother of Dronke's principal[b] has been to Bradford, Dronke will be in a position to shell out some money—just how much, it is impossible to say, but about £3 or £4. The brother arrives this week, so you should be able to rely on it in, say, 3 weeks' time.

Naut has been in London, here and in Bradford and, until he ran into Dronke in the street, had kept out of everyone's way. Dronke says he is hellish slack; apparently he—Naut—only saw Daniels once or twice in the street and doesn't even know whether he's living in Cologne or out in the country. Bürgers and a tailor—who, he was unable to say—are in Glatz and said to be quite well, and Becker is in Weichselmünde.[556] Otherwise all Naut could find to say was that it would be fine if in Prussia they could have a constitution like the one in England.

Dronke, by the way, has got himself into a serious scrape, so that the money may not be forthcoming after all. For when he was here 4 or 6 weeks ago he got drunk and, at one o'clock in the morning or thereabouts, made a grab at a female in the street; she, a married, middle-class woman, boxed his ears, whereupon he KNOCKED her DOWN. True, Dronke's own version of the story is slightly different, but that is what seems to have happened. The husband arrived on the scene and went to fetch the police, who didn't want to get mixed up in it. The business was protracted by Dronke's spurious excuses and now he has finally received an ATTORNEY'S letter demanding an APOLOGY *AND COMPENSATION*, failing which the FOREIGNER is to be made an example of. Since Buckup's brother is just due to come, you can imagine the situation. We shall try and reach an accommodation, but it will probably cost money. *Keep the matter under your hat, by the way*, otherwise I'll have instant trouble with the little man, since Imandt will promptly

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[a] Meanwhile - [b] Buckup

write to him about it; in general, by no means everything I write to you is intended for the crew at large.

In other ways it suits me very well that the swank and swagger of the Heise-Dronke-Imandt trio should come to an inglorious end, for otherwise one would get no respite from these people with their rumbustious drunken contentiousness. Heise, at any rate, has his SETTLER in the shape of a crooked finger which he will probably retain for the rest of his days, and Dronke, too, has doubtless had enough.

SO NO MORE FROM YOUR AFFECTIONATE

F. E.

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## 237

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 July 1854

Dear Engels,

The alternative reason you suggest for my long silence[a] is the correct one. It would certainly have been preferable had swotting been the obstacle. I added another £3 to the 5 so as to pay the 'friend'[b] the first instalment and I also needed about £8 for my wife's trip, which could no longer be postponed and which called for all manner of new equipment, since she could naturally not arrive in Trier looking shabby. These extraordinary expenses again brought me into conflict with my permanent and 'decent' creditors AND SO FORTH. 'It's the old, old story.'[c]

Not a sign of life from Cluss for four weeks now.

*Que dites-vous de l'Espagne?*[d] [557]

I must now quite definitely do something further on the military situation in Turkey. *Firstly*: The mess in Asia. *Secondly*: What I have been able to glean from the French Press concerning the latest developments on the Danube, though for lack of a map I

[a] See this volume, p. 468 - [b] Dr Freund. (*Freund* in German—friend.) - [c] Heine, 'Lyrisches Intermezzo', 39. - [d] What do you think of Spain?

have no idea whether or not the names are right: Between the 7th and the morning of the 8th there was a battle with the 30,000 strong Russian corps under Soimonov and Khrulov (or should it be e instead of o?). On the evening of the 7th, Khrulov had taken up position to the north of Giurgevo. During the night several Turkish corps passed above and below the town and advanced on the Russians from the rear, with the result that at daybreak Khrulov was compelled to break through, incurring severe casualties in the process. The Russians withdrew, though not in line. One element made for Frateshti, another for Calugemeni (?),[a] another eastwards for the Argish. There they took up positions and on the 9th and 10th Selim Pasha and Iskander Bey are said to have carried out a successful attack on the Russians in Frateshti. On the 9th Gorchakov moved to Dzurdzuma (?) with 20,000 men and has been bringing in fresh troops daily. His positions: On the left bank of the Argish, the crossings over which have been fortified at Fulojci (?), Falastock (?), Korotzani (?) and Prczietsheni (?). Positions of the Russian army as a whole: Left wing from Kimpolung and Kimpina (?) along the Argish to Braila and Galatz. Turks: From Kalafat through Turna, Giurgevo to Oltenitza and (?) Kalarash. From Turna to Islaz. Here Selim Pasha in contact with Iskander Bey. Main corps at Giurgevo, corps above Giurgevo constitutes an advanced post on the left of the Argish, Oltenitza and Silistria. *Thirdly*: The total strength of the Russian army, from an article in *The Morning Chronicle*[b]; but contrary to the article I estimate a battalion at no more than 550 men.

*Infantry.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 3 divisions of | 3rd corps | (Osten-Sacken) |
| 3 " " | 4th " | (Dannenberg I) |
| 2 " " | 5th " | Lüders |

8 divisions=16 brigades=128 battalions
Total approx. 71,000 men

*Cavalry.* 3 divisions of light cavalry
1 " " " dragoons

128 squadrons each of 120 men, over 15,000
*Artillery.* 46 batteries (each of 10 guns = 460)
" " ([each of] 8 guns = 368)
Servicing crews and drivers =12,000 (?)

[a] Should be Calugereni. - [b] 'Prussia. From our own correspondent', *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 27321, 21 July 1854.

In addition: 10 regiments of Cossack regulars with 40 guns, 3 battalions of sappers, train with pontoons or reserve parks. ALL IN ALL:

| | |
|---|---|
| 128 battalions of infantry | =71,000 |
| 3 battalions of sappers | 2,000 |
| 128 squadrons | 15,000 |
| 40 pieces of artillery | 13,000 |
| train | 3,000 |
| Cossacks | 8,000 |
| Wall[achian] militia | 6,000 |
| Total | 118,000 |

*Fourthly*: Items which cannot be treated humorously without a map: the hitherto snail-like progress of the French and English who, it would seem, will *not* cross the Danube. For what purpose has St-Arnaud ordered his troops to march from Adrianople to Burgas in the present heat? The noble fellow would seem to be perpetually shuttling to and fro between Constantinople and this place or that, simply for the sake of the travelling expenses. What is the truth *realiter*[a] about the English commissariat in Varna, Devna, etc.?

If you no longer have time to write me an article for Tuesday,[b] at least send me a few notes which I can use.

Apropos. About the poem.[c] It probably derives from Gottfried, hight Kinkel, or else from a *Silesian* poet of the school of Opitz, or was it composed by Heise himself?

I enclose a manuscript snatched from a young writer; show it to no one but Lupus. Who is this young writer?

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] in actual fact - [b] 25 July - [c] See this volume, p. 466.

# 238

## MARX TO ENGELS[84]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 July 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

*Je vous attends*[a] for Tuesday.[558] How very boastful Mr Herbert was. This same Herbert was Vorontsov's brother-in-law and at the same time English SECRETARY AT WAR. The way the English brag as though Nasmyth and Butler had held Silistria 'single-handed' is grotesque. Have you read about Monday evening's session, when Disraeli so neatly punctured LITTLE JOHN'S[b] and the *Times'* 'Sevastopol' BUBBLE with one prick of the needle?[559]

I am, *hélas,*[c] once again saddled with Pieper who looks like a HALF-STARVED sucking pig seethed in milk, after having lived for a fortnight with a whore he describes as *un bijou.*[d] He has frittered away some £20 in a fortnight and now both his purses are equally depleted. In this heat it is a bore to have the fellow hanging around one *du matin jusqu'au soir et du soir jusqu'au matin.*[e] And it disrupts one's work.

On Saturday[f] I got the following note from Papa *Tucker:*

* 'Dear Sir, There is a pretty brisk demand for the "Fly-Sheets"[541] just now. Could you send me some articles from the *Tribune* that could suit the taste of the public? The third on Palmerston would move the other two.[g] Faithfully Yours E. Tucker.' *

Incidentally I have also heard from Freiligrath that that rogue Trübner is advertising these 'Fly-Sheets' under *his* imprint. You will note that he asks for 'ARTICLES FROM THE *TRIBUNE*' in order once AGAIN to evade the question of money. Now, 1. So far as *he* is concerned, not one copy of the *Tribune* is to be had anywhere in London, since it is sent only to subscribers and back numbers cannot even be ordered from New York; 2. Without substantial additions, none of the articles would now suit. Now I must clear up the matter with the fellow and this 'easy-going' relationship

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[a] I expect [something from] you - [b] Lord John Russell - [c] alas - [d] a jewel - [e] from morning to night and night to morning - [f] 22 July - [g] A reference to the third, fourth and fifth articles from Marx's *Lord Palmerston* which were published as two separate pamphlets.

must end. If he is agreeable, and you for your part approve, I would suggest the following:

1. Of the *Tribune* articles, I shall give him (for publication) the critique of the 'SECRET CORRESPONDENCE'.[a] For this Dronke would only have to send me the 2nd article on this, which was detained by the Post Office here. The latter gratis, 2 and 3 to be paid for in cash and on delivery of the MSS, namely.

2. A GENERAL pamphlet on Palmerston, beginning with my introduction in the *Tribune*[b] to which I should, however, add a new middle and ending.

3. A pamphlet that I would have to write in collaboration with you, i.e. on England's DIPLOMACY *and* MILITARY ACTION since war was declared. The articles which have appeared in the *Tribune* will provide us with material for both these aspects. If you agree to 3, the question arises:

How much do we ask?

After all, my articles do seem to sell better than Urquhart's who is 'happy' if his stuff in the *Advertiser* is accepted by Tucker for the 'Fly-Sheets'.

If you agree with all this—(Nos. 2 and 3 would, of course, have to be pungent enough TO PRODUCE A REAL SENSATION in London; moreover, such is the footing we are on with Tucker that we can write anything we choose without worrying about English prejudices)—then compose a letter for me putting these proposals to Mr Tucker. Not being sufficiently adept in business matters, I have deliberately avoided answering him either orally or in writing. But no time is to be lost.

A book that has interested me greatly is Thierry's *Histoire de la formation et du progrès du Tiers État,* 1853.[560] It is strange how this gentleman, *le père*[c] of the 'class struggle' in French historiography, inveighs in his Preface against the 'moderns' who, while also perceiving the antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat, purport to discover traces of such opposition as far back as the history of the *tiers-état*[d] prior to 1789. He is at great pains to show that the *tiers-état* comprises all social ranks and estates save the *noblesse* and *clergé* and that the bourgeoisie plays the role of representative of all these other elements. Quotes, for example, from Venetian embassy reports:

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[a] K. Marx, 'The Documents on the Partition of Turkey' and 'The Secret Diplomatic Correspondence'. - [b] K. Marx, *Lord Palmerston,* first and second articles (entitled 'Palmerston' in the *New-York Daily Tribune*).- [c] the father - [d] Third Estate

'Questi che si chiamano li stati del regno sono di tre ordini di persone, cioè del clero, della nobiltà, e del restante di quelle persone che, per voce commune, si può chiamare *popolo*' [Thierry, *Histoire...*, Vol. I, p. III].[a]

Had Mr Thierry read our stuff, he would know that the decisive opposition between bourgeoisie and *peuple* does not, of course, crystallise until the former ceases, as *tiers-état,* to oppose the *clergé* and the *noblesse.* But as for the '*racines dans l'histoire ... d'un antagonisme n é d'h i e r*',[b] his book provides the best proof that the origin of the '*racines*' coincided with the origin of the *tiers-état.* By the same token, this otherwise intelligent critic would have to conclude from the '*Senatus populusque Romanus*'[c] that in Rome there was never any opposition save that between the *senatus* and the *populus.* I was interested to discover from the documents he quotes that the term '*catalla, capitalia*', capital, came into being with the rise of the communes. He has, by the by, unwittingly demonstrated that the victory of the French bourgeoisie was delayed by nothing so much as the fact that it did not decide until 1789 to make COMMON CAUSE with the peasants. Although he does not generalise, he depicts very nicely, 1. how from the beginning, or at least since the rise of the towns, the French bourgeoisie has gained undue influence by constituting itself a parliament, bureaucracy, etc., and not, as in England, by commerce and *industrie* alone. This undoubtedly holds true even of present-day France. 2. From his account it may be readily shown how the class rises as the various forms in which its centre of gravity has lain at different times are ruined and with them the different sections whose influence derives from these forms. In my view, this sequence of metamorphoses leading up to the domination of the class has never before been thus presented—at least so far as the material is concerned. In regard to the *maîtrises, jurandes,*[d] etc., in short, the forms, in which the industrial bourgeoisie develops, he has, alas, restricted himself almost wholly to general, and generally known, phrases, despite the fact that here too he alone is familiar with the material. What he successfully elaborates and underlines is the conspiratorial and revolutionary nature of the municipal movement in the twelfth century. The German Emperors, e.g. Frederick I and Frederick II, issued edicts against these '*com-*

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[a] 'These that call themselves the Estates of the realm are of three orders of persons, that of the clergy, of the nobility, and of the rest of those persons who, in common parlance, may be called the *people.*' - [b] 'roots in history ... of an antagonism *born yesterday*' - [c] the Senate and Roman people - [d] guilds, corporations

*muniones', 'conspirationes' 'conjurationes'*[a] in very much the same spirit as the German Federal Diet.[561] E.g. in 1226 Frederick II takes it upon himself to declare null and void all *'consulats'*[b] and other free municipal bodies in the towns of Provence:

'Pervenit nuper ad notitiam nostram quod quarumdam civitatum, villarum et aliorum locorum universitates ex[c] proprio motu constituerunt juridictiones, potestates' (Potestad), 'consulatus, regimina et alia quaedam statuta ... et cum jam apud quasdam ... in abusum et pravam consuetudinem inoleverunt ... nos ex imperiali auctoritate tam juridictiones etc. atque concessiones super his, per comites Provinciae et Forcalquerii ab eis obtentas, ex certa scientia revocamus, et inania esse censemus' [II, 87].[d]

Further:

Conventiculas quoque omnes et conjurationes in civitatibus et extra ... inter civitatem et civitatem et inter personam et personam seu inter civitatem et personam, omnibus modis fieri prohibemus.' (Constitutio pacis Frederici I.)[e]

'Quod nulla civitas, nullum oppidum, communiones, constitutiones, colligationes, confederationes vel conjurationes aliquas, quocumque nomine censeantur, facere possent; et quod nos, sine domini sui assensu, civitatibus seu oppidis in regno nostro constitutis, auctoritatem faciendi communiones, constitutiones ... conjurationes aliquas, quaecumque nomina imponantur eisdem, non poteramus nec debebamus impertiri.' (Henrici regis sententia contra communiones civitatum.) [II, 86][f]

Is that not the *raide*[g] German professorial style to the life—the very same which later graced the fulminations of the 'Central Commission of the Confederation'[562]? In Germany, the *'commune jurée'*[h] penetrated no further than Trier where, in 1161, the Emperor Frederick I put a stop to it:

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[a] communes, secret associations, sworn confederacies - [b] municipal councils - [c] The original has 'in comitatibus ipsis degentes' instead of 'ex'. - [d] 'It has recently been brought to our notice that the guilds of certain cities, market towns and other places have, of their own accord, constituted tribunals, authorities (the Podesta), consulates, administrations and certain other institutions of this kind ... and because, among certain of them ... such things have already developed into abuses and malpractices ... we hereby, in virtue of our imperial power, and by our sure knowledge, revoke these tribunals, etc., and also the concessions in regard to them obtained through the Counts of Provence and Forcalquier and declare them null and void.' - [e] 'We likewise prohibit conventions and sworn confederacies of whatever kind within the cities and without ... between city and city or between person and person or between city and person.' (Peace Charter of Frederick I.) - [f] 'That no city and no market town may organise communes, constitutions, unions, leagues or sworn confederacies of any kind, by whatever name they may be referred to, and that, without the assent of their lord, we neither can nor should allow the cities and market towns in our Empire the right to establish communes, constitutions ... sworn confederacies of any kind, whatever names may be conferred on them.' (Decree of King Henry against city communes.) - [g] stiff - [h] sworn commune

'Communio quoque civium Trevirensium, quae et conjuratio dicitur, quam nos in civitate destruximus ... quae et postea, sicut audivimus, reiterata est, cassetur et in irritum revocetur.' [II, 88][a]

The policy pursued by the German emperors was exploited by the French *rois*[b] who secretly supported *'conjurationes'* and *'communiones'* in Lorraine, Alsace, the Dauphiné, Franche-Comté, the Lyonnais, etc., thus alienating them from the German Empire:

'Sicut ad culminis nostri pervenit notitiam, rex Franciae ... sinceritatem fidei vestrae molitur corrumpere.' (Rodolphus I, epistula ad cives de Besançon.) [II, 94][c]

The very same policy was used by the fellows to make Italian cities Guelphic.[563]

It's funny how the word *'communio'* is often reviled in just the same way as communism nowadays. Thus, for example, the priest Guibert of Nogent writes:

'Communio, novum ac pessimum nomen.'[d]

There's often something rather pathetic about the way in which the twelfth-century philistines invite the peasants to take refuge in the towns, the *communio jurata.* As, for instance, in the Charter of St Quentin:

'Eux' (the burghers of St Quentin) 'jurèrent ensement chescun quemune ayde à son juré et quemun conseil et quemune détenanche et quemune deffense. Ensement nous avons establi que quiconque en notre quemune entrera et ayde du sien nous donra, soit pour cause de fuite ou de paour des anemis ou de autre forfait ... en le quemune entrer porra, *car la porte est ouverte à tous*; et se son seigneur à tort ses choses aura détenu et ne le voudra détenir à droit, nous en exécuterons justice.' [II, 135][e]

Your
K. M.

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[a] 'The commune of the citizens of Trier, which is also called sworn confederacy and which we have abolished in the city ... and which as we have heard was later set up anew, shall also be dissolved and declared null and void'. - [b] kings - [c] 'According to the information which has reached our Highness, the King of France ... is seeking to corrupt the sincerity of your loyalty.' (Rudolph I, Letter to the citizens of Besançon.) - [d] 'Commune, a new and thoroughly bad appellation'. - [e] 'They' (the burghers of St Quentin) 'have jointly sworn each to give common aid

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# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 August 1854

Dear Frederic,

I have duly received your war 'OBSERVATIONS'[a] and incorporated them IN TODAY'S LETTER.[b]

If you can possibly see your way to getting hold of some money for me I would urgently request you to do so. The £11 extra expenditure incurred over the past 6 weeks has plunged me into the utmost DESTITUTION. Moreover, Pieper, who is *sans sou*,[c] has been living and eating here all that time and will certainly be staying for another 2-3 weeks. *C'est dur.*[d]

Did you see in the papers that the 2 Turkish officers sent to that 'great' democrat Shamyl Bey by the Asiatic army were accompanied by COLONEL *Bangya*?

Your
K. M.

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to his confederate and to share with him common counsel and common responsibility and common defence. We have jointly determined that whoever shall enter our commune and give us his aid, either by reason of flight or for fear of his enemies or for some other offence ... shall be allowed into the commune, *for the gate is open to all;* and if his lord had unjustly withheld his chattels and does not wish to detain him lawfully, we shall see that justice is done.'

[a] F. Engels, 'The Attack on the Russian Forts'. - [b] K. Marx, 'Evacuation of the Danubian Principalities.—The Events in Spain.—A New Danish Constitution.—The Chartists'. - [c] penniless - [d] It is hard.

## 240

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 August 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

My wife got back on Wednesday,[a] quite well. In the Fatherland, she tells me, everyone is down in the dumps on account of the 'uncertain conditions'.

I cannot imagine what has become of Cluss. The fellow hasn't written for months. Perhaps it's too hot over there.

It is a very good thing that you are rid of Heise. I don't see that a 'loafer' of this sort can be of any interest. I have not, of course, seen Imandt's correspondence with Dronke and Heise, but I do know that, if he takes part in their childish nonsense, he does so at most in a 'theoretical' sense. Down here, Imandt lives the life of a sober, hard-working citizen.

I have heard from Lassalle who announces triumphantly that the Hatzfeldt woman's 7, or rather 8, years' war is now over.[355] *Enfin!*[b] 'Victory' for the old woman, who would appear to have emerged from the campaign with her virtue and, what is more, her money bags, '*vierge*'.[c] Lassalle now intends to move his domicile to Berlin, but has already heard talk about difficulties with the police.

Meyer writes to tell me that the trial of the Berlin demagogues[564] (in which Gottfried's Gottfried played a part) has been quashed by the court in Berlin (which, he doesn't say), 'because *Hentze,* the principal witness for the prosecution, was "questionable"'. *Qu'en dis-tu?*[d]

I have also had a letter from Miquel in Paris. He intended to come here but first he had cholera and then a haemorrhage, whereupon his doctors suggested that he had better drop the idea of sea travel and make for home overland with all dispatch. Bad luck.

Cherval, who under the name of 'Crämer'—this time the real name was the pseudonym—had diverse experiences in Switzerland, *inter alia* engraving plates for Mr Vogt, who had taken him under his wing, is now living in Paris. I have his address.

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[a] 23 August - [b] At last! - [c] intact - [d] What do you think of that?

Daniels has been seriously ill for months and it seems doubtful whether he'll pull through.

Reports, particularly in the *Débats,* suggest that there is a state of splendid anarchy in Spain. So far as I can gather from the papers, the Polish and Hungarian émigrés in the Turkish Asiatic army do nothing but engage in mischief, place-seeking and petty intrigues. *Toujours les mêmes.*[a]

*Vale faveque.*[b]

*Totus tuus*[c]
K. M.

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## 241

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 September 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

So now you're a member of the Exchange, and ALTOGETHER RESPECTABLE. MY GRATULATIONS. Some time I should like to hear you howling amidst that pack of wolves.

Heise has written to Imandt, telling him that factory people—where I don't know (nor does he say whether they're workers or manufacturers)—have banded together to appoint him their COMMON INSTRUCTOR, and that he can count on getting £2 a week. *Tant mieux pour lui.*[d]

My wife—as I had good reason to fear before she left—IS RATHER IN TOO INTERESTING CIRCUMSTANCES, otherwise well.

Cluss has written again at last. I enclose his letter.

Has your old man arrived yet?

It is probably time we said something in the *Tribune* about

[a] Always the same. - [b] Good-bye and farewell. - [c] All yours - [d] So much the better for him.

military events in Asia. I have made a bit of a howler. In one of my recent LETTERS I declared the NEWS of the total defeat of the Turks at Kars to be a Vienna INVENTION.[565] True, the telegraphic dispatch was wrong, but it was nevertheless based on fact.[a]

My PRINCIPAL STUDY is now SPAIN. So far I have swotted up, mainly from Spanish sources, the 1808-14 and the 1820-23 periods. Am now coming to the years 1834-43. The thing is not without complexity. It is rather more difficult to discover exactly the springs behind developments. At any rate I made a timely start with *Don Quixote*.[b] The whole thing will amount to about 6 articles for the *Tribune*, if much condensed.[566] At least it may be counted a step forward that AT THIS MOMENT ONE'S STUDIES are paid for.

Unfortunately the Library[c] is closed from 1-7 September. Apart from other advantages, it's the only cool place in London.

*Entre nous*,[d] Dronke, for want of other 'intellectual' stimulus, is busily engaged in investigating 'Steffen' and, in his letters to Imandt, tears him to pieces in an attempt to render him politically 'suspect'. I had no difficulty in convincing Imandt of the total absurdity of Dronke's mischievous cavilling. *C'est absurde*.[e] I consider that in Steffen our [party] has made a very good acquisition. He has character and education. His views on comparative geography, in which he has specialised, are quite original. Unfortunately a manuscript in which he elaborated his ideas on the subject was left behind in Cologne.

What is Lupus doing? Miquel didn't come over from Paris as intended because, having had 2 attacks of cholera followed by a haemorrhage, he was finally ordered by the doctors to make his way back to Germany overland with all dispatch.

*Vale faveque*.[f]

K. M.

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[a] Marx presumably refers to the item 'Foreign Intelligence. Wednesday evening', *The Times*, No. 21829, 25 August 1854. - [b] See this volume, p. 447. - [c] of the British Museum - [d] between ourselves - [e] It's absurd. - [f] Good-bye and farewell.

# 242

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

London, 13 September 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Once again I must come knocking at your door, much though I detest doing so, but compelled by PRESSURE FROM WITHOUT. I cannot draw my bills for a few weeks yet, since IN CONSEQUENCE OF some unpleasantness he has had with Bischoffsheim in this connection, Freiligrath is no longer drawing bills of less than £25. On the whole, too, this is preferable, for while the constant drawing of small sums may cover the *dette flottante*,[a] the fixed debt increases. On top of that, I shall have to deduct £8 for Freund from the next bill since, under the present CIRCUMSTANCES, my wife will need rather more care. The EXTRAORDINARY MEANS to which the family is wont to resort at times of crisis are AGAIN exhausted and, just as in the case of the Spanish Budget everything is in pawn.

By the by, as regards the 'budget' *en général*, I have reduced total indebtedness to under £50, i.e. about £30 less than it was at the beginning of the year. From this you can see that there have been some great financial sleights of hand. If a NEGOTIATION I have initiated with Lassalle succeeds, and he lends me £30, and you lend me the remainder, I would at last be independent again and reorganise all my domestic arrangements, whereas at present I have to pay out 25 per cent to the pawnshop alone, and in general am never able to get things in order because of arrears. As has once again been demonstrated in Trier, nothing will be achieved with my mater[567] until I can go and importune her in person.

*Dans ce moment*[b] the total absence of money is the more horrible—quite apart from the fact that FAMILY WANTS do not cease for an instant—as Soho is a choice district for cholera, the MOB is croaking right and left (e.g. an average of 3 per house in Broad Street), and 'victuals'[568] are the best defence against the beastly thing.

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[a] floating debt - [b] At this moment.

So much for that. I am sending this letter to your private address because some strange combination of circumstances could cause precisely this by no means edifying epistle to fall into the wrong hands at your office.

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As regards the *Asiatic* business, a considerable stir has been made here by the dispatches from that theatre of operations in *The Morning Chronicle,* which have also been reproduced in *The Observer* and other weeklies.[a]

I don't know whether the news about the Zouaves' cry *'A bas les singes! Il nous faut Lamoricière!'*[b] has penetrated as far as Manchester. Espinasse, the first victim of this agitation, has been recalled to France.[569]

*The party* has been having a run of bad luck. Steffen has lost his post in Brighton through the bankruptcy of the schoolmaster in whose establishment he was employed. It is questionable whether he will manage to get the salary already due to him. *Pieper* has lost his post as correspondent to the *Union,* since Mr Pierce has likewise gone bankrupt, and his papers get no more money for foreign correspondents. *MacGowan,* Jones' printer and source of credit, has died of cholera. A blow for Jones. ALL THIS IS NOT VERY PLEASANT.

I don't remember muck about Imandt. To inquire into it further would only make matters worse. But henceforward I shall break off the moment the gentleman makes any 'reference' to Dronke. Dronke *ne vaut pas la peine d'en parler.*[c]

Your
K. M.

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[a] 'The Battles of Bayazid and Kuruk-Dere', *The Morning Chronicle,* No. 27365, 7 September 1854, also reproduced in *The Observer* on 10 September. - [b] 'Down with the monkeys! We want Lamoricière!' 'Singes' also means 'bosses'. - [c] isn't worth discussing

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 22 September 1854

Dear Frederic,

Just a few lines in much haste to acknowledge due receipt. Also of your letter ON THE ASIATIC WAR on Tuesday.[570]

I have had some very important dispatches from America which I shall send you with my next letter. *Je vous attends*[a] ON TUESDAY.[571]

That fat swine Püttmann has been shipped off from here to Australia as a 'colonist', together with FAMILY.

Ebner has gone mad in Frankfurt. *Pauvre diable.*[b]

Ernest Jones has found a new printer on cheaper terms. Disraeli has written to tell him that he will bring up *all* Chartist petitions in Parliament.

The cholera epidemic, now much abated, is said to have been particularly severe in our district because *the sewers made in June, July and August, were driven through the pits where those who died of the plague 1668 (? I think) were buried*.

Your
K. M.

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## 244

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 29 September 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

The enclosed letter from Dana will tell you about the *American* crisis AS FAR AS I AM AFFECTED BY IT. Upon my demanding that all or

[a] I expect [something from] you - [b] Poor devil.

nothing should appear under my name, they replied by confining me solely to EDITORIAL ARTICLES at half the previous rate. For the time being I have written to Dana telling him that I have not yet reached any decision[572] but shall IN THE MEANWHILE go on *as before* sending 2 articles a week, because of the Sevastopol business,[573] on the one hand, and of my SKETCHES of the Spanish Revolution in the nineteenth century on the other, which must be completed before the Cortes meets. In the meantime we can consider what definite answer to give the gentlemen.

I cannot write more than this today since I am busy just now dictating my article,[574] but should have written to you at greater length had you not announced last Tuesday week that I would be getting a 'long' letter,[575] which I have been waiting for in order to reply to it.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 245

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 10 October[a] 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

*D'abord mes compliments*[b] on your exceedingly GLORIOUS and SOUND CRITICISM.[c] It's a pity that this '*fait d'armes*'[d] couldn't have been accomplished in the London Press. A coup of this nature would have assured your position in that field.

*Quant à notre bon*[e] St-Arnaud who took good care to die at the right moment, I gave the *Tribune* a detailed biography of him[576] MONTHS AGO. Of this fellow it may assuredly be said: '*Non bis in idem.*'[f]

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[a] November in the original. - [b] First, my congratulations - [c] F. Engels, 'The Battle of the Alma'. - [d] feat of arms - [e] As for our good - [f] Never twice on the same subject.

How to explain: 1. that the English failed to station a group of warships off the Yenikale Straits in sufficient strength to prevent the Russians crossing from Anapa, etc.? Was it not perfectly possible, indeed imperative under PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, to gain control of the SEA OF AZOV with small vessels in order to cut off all reinforcements by water?

2. Should not a diversion in the direction of Bessarabia have been made (by Omer Pasha) to prevent the Russians from bringing reinforcements into the Crimea from that quarter? Can negligence on this score be explained otherwise than by Anglo-Austrian diplomatic trickery?

I believe, OF COURSE, that diplomacy on the part of military commanders ceases as soon as they find themselves in a mousetrap as in the Crimea. But in all that concerns the plan as a whole, I do not believe that Palmerston has as yet ceased for one moment to evince at least his 'good will'.

In one of its recent issues, the *Tribune* is congratulated by my rival, A.P.C.,[a] for its 'SPLENDID CHARACTERISATION' of Espartero.[b] The man, of course, has no idea that he is 'complimenting' me, but at the same time a sure instinct has led him to take HOLD of a VERY SILLY concluding sentence that belongs exclusively to the *Tribune*.[577] Incidentally, they had deleted every one of my jokes about *constitutional* heroes *en général*, suspecting that, lurking behind the 'Monk-Lafayette-Espartero' trio, were certain sarcasms aimed at the noble 'Washington'. The paper's uncritical attitude is horrifying. First, they extolled Espartero as the ONLY STATESMAN OF SPAIN. Then they took my articles,[c] which treat him if anything as a comic character, and added: From this one can see that nothing is to be expected of Spain. Then, when they got the first article on Spain—mere prolegomena leading up to 1808—they believed it to constitute the whole and accordingly added on a completely heterogeneous but well-meaning conclusion urging the Spaniards to show themselves worthy of the *Tribune*'s confidence.[578] How they will handle subsequent instalments, I do not know.

Liebknecht, as you know, has been vacillating most despondently between an Englishwoman who wanted to marry him and a German woman[d] in Germany whom he wanted to marry. At last

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[a] [F. Pulszky,] An article dated 7 September 1854 and published in the section 'The State of Europe' of the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4190, 22 September 1854. - [b] K. Marx, 'Espartero'. - [c] See K. Marx, 'The Spanish Revolution.—Greece and Turkey', 'Evacuation of the Danubian Principalities.—The Events in Spain.—A New Danish Constitution.—The Chartists', 'Evacuation of Moldavia and Wallachia.—Poland.—Demands of the Spanish People'. - [d] Ernestine Landolt

the German descended on him and he married her,—in a religious as well as a civil ceremony. Both of them seem very down-in-the-mouth. His job goes west, since the people are moving away. He spent a wretched honeymoon at No. 14 Church Street in a house where he got himself heavily in debt. But who forced the ass to get married—at this of all times since he was perfectly aware of all these circumstances. The woman had in the meantime already become engaged to someone else in Germany, so at any rate the case was by no means a pressing one.

If you want to read something really funny you must try and get hold of Saturday's *Morning Advertiser*, in which the LICENSED VICTUALLERS take the present editorial board of that POTHOUSE PAPER to court.[a] Prosecution and defence both equally amusing. The first was conducted by Mr Foster who once figured as a BARRISTER in Baron Nicholson's court.[579] All the thanks Urquhart got for having extolled the *LICENSED* as England's party above parties were hard words and his dismissal. Never, by the way, has the curtain been raised quite so much to reveal the innermost squalor of the SHOP-KEEPER'S soul.

I suppose you haven't seen Bruno Bauer's *L'Arrogance des pouvoirs occidentaux*?[b] I haven't yet managed to lay hands on it either.

Should anything important happen in the military department before Friday,[c] send me something to be *going on with*, for in that case the Spanish article, if it is to be ACCEPTABLE, will have to be preceded by a Russian one.[580]

I look forward to a letter from you soon.

Your
K. M.

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[a] 'The Incorporated Society of Licensed Victuallers', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19749, 7 October 1854. - [b] Presumably B. Bauer's De la dictature occidentale. - [c] 13 October

# 246

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 17 October 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Your enumeration of the Russian armed forces made today is FORMIDABLE.[a] BUT THERE REMAINS THIS ONE QUESTION TO BE ANSWERED, whether, even by exerting themselves to the utmost, they were capable of sending more than 200,000 men *outside* their own country. I am aware of no such instance.

From the standpoint of the *old* policy,—and what else do England and France advocate, even though the English Ministry is not in earnest and Napoleon III a caricature—, a distinction must be drawn between the interests of England and those of France. With the destruction of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea and the Baltic and the Russians driven out of the Crimea, the Caucasus and the provinces they had filched from Persia and Turkey, England would have ensured her supremacy at sea and her hegemony over the most cultivated part of Asia for another 50 years. It would then be just like her old self to let the continentals exhaust themselves in a seven years' and other wars—whose main theatre would be Germany and, to some extent, Italy—and, at the end of the struggle, see neither Russia nor Austria nor France supreme on the Continent. For France, on the other hand, the real struggle would only begin with the destruction of Russia's sea-power and her influence in South Asia. She would be under all the greater compulsion to break Russia's power on land in order to extend her own power on the Continent, and thus be able to cast a corresponding weight onto the scales against England. Is there any guarantee that, once England has destroyed the Russians in the BALTIC and the BLACK SEA and rendered them innocuous to herself, revolutions won't break out on the Continent and be used by England as a pretext for another official alliance with Russia against the Continent?

However, the real joke is that none of the Englishmen now in power—neither Chathams nor Pitts Jun., AND NOT EVEN Welling-

[a] F. Engels, 'The Military Power of Russia'.

tons—seriously pursue even the destruction of Russian sea-power and Russian influence in Turkey-Persia-Caucasus. If their HALF and HALF MEASURES compel them to do so, they may consider going *so far*; but their half-measures and villainy will probably land them in trouble, which will provoke MOVEMENTS here at home.

The following passages, quoted from the *Archives des Affaires Étrangères* in Paris—relating to the Seven Years' War[581]—show how English Ministers colluded with the enemy actually during the campaign and in matters relating to it. On 24 June 1762 the French Pompadour marshal Soubise,[a] when encamped at Wilhelmstal, had allowed himself to be surprised by the English, Prussian, Hanoverian, etc., allies and driven back across the Fulda. For *parliamentary* and *dynastic* reasons, Lord Bute, George III's Prime Minister, desired peace, but, in view of the nation's bellicose mood and its bias in favour of Frederick II, could not propose peace so long as the French persisted in letting themselves be beaten and in retreating instead of advancing. Choiseul, as you know, was then Minister of Foreign Affairs IN FRANCE. In *authentic* publications from the French archives, which I quote verbatim, we find:

'Après l'affaire du 24 Juin les *ministres anglais* écrivirent à M. de Choiseul: *Vous vous laissez battre et nous ne pouvons plus faire la paix, nous n'oserions pas la proposer au parlement.* M. de Choiseul, désolé de voir rompue la négociation, engage *le roi* à écrire à M. de Soubise: "Mon cousin, je vous écris la présente, qu'aussitôt que vous l'aurez reçue vous passiez la rivière du Fulde et que vous attaquiez les ennemis, sans compter sur les dispositions qui vous conviendront et quelque soit le succès, vous n'en serez pas responsable. Sur ce je prie Dieu etc." M. de Choiseul écrivit: "La lettre du roi, M. le Maréchal, est trop formelle pour que j'aie rien à y ajouter. Mais je puis vous dire que *quand l'armée du roi serait détruite jusqu'au dernier homme* et qu'il fût obligé d'enlever une nouvelle, *Sa Majesté n'en serait effrayée.*'"[b]

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[a] An allusion to Marshal Soubise's liaison with Jeanne Antoinette Pompadour. - [b] 'After the affair of 24 June, the *English Ministers* wrote to M. de Choiseul: *You are permitting yourselves to be beaten and we can no longer make peace; we would not dare propose it to Parliament.* M. de Choiseul, distressed at seeing negotiations broken off, urged *the King* to write to M. de Soubise: "Dear Cousin, I am writing to you so that, immediately on receipt of this letter, you should cross the River Fulda and attack the enemy without heed for such dispositions as you might think fit and, whatever the result, you will not be held responsible. As to which, I pray God, etc." M. de Choiseul wrote: "The King's letter, M. le Maréchal, is too explicit for me to have to add anything. But I can tell you that, *should the King's Army be destroyed down to the last man* and His Majesty be obliged to raise a new one, *he would not be dismayed at it*".'

Here, then, we have the English Ministry demanding outright that an allied army, subsidised by them and consisting partly of Englishmen, should be *buffeted* by the French. They had earlier meddled in French military operations in the opposite direction because George wanted his Hanover to be spared. For in the same *extraits*[a] we read:

'En 1762 Mrs. d'Estrées et de Soubise ont commandé l'armée du haut Rhin de 150 000 hommes, établie en Hesse, à Goettinguen, Mulhouse et Eisenach; Mr. de Condé a commandé celle du bas Rhin de 30 000 hommes. La cour ne leur demandait que de conserver Cassel de Goettinguen jusqu'à la fin du novembre, d'évacuer ces deux places à cette époque pour se retirer sur l'Ohm en mettant Ziegenhayn en avant de leur première ligne. Ce plan de guerre avec puissance égale, avec 180 000 contre 80 000 serait *extraordinaire*, s'il n'avait pas été fondé sur la promesse, *que le ministère anglais nous faisait de conclure la paix avant le mois de juillet, si nous ne ferions point d'incursions dans le Hanovre.*'[b]

This latter piece of meddling by London might, at most, be regarded as normal, had the warring powers been on the point of entering into peace negotiations; the first case, on the other hand, would have cost Lord Bute his head and George, such was the mood at the time (THINK ONLY OF WILKES' AND JUNIUS'[c] LETTERS[582]), his throne but, *comme toujours*,[d] it was almost A CENTURY before the matter came to light. We encounter another such example just before the outbreak of the ANTI-JACOBIN WAR[583] when the 'liberal' Fox sent a secret emissary[e] to Catherine II telling her not to be misled by Pitt's threats, but to gobble up Poland at her leisure for, should Pitt try to go to war against Russia, he would be brought down.[584] True, Fox was then in the 'opposition' and not the Ministry, and I adduce this example simply as evidence that the 'OUTS' are no less honourable than the 'INS'.

Hence I believe that, in assessing the allies' conduct of the war—as indeed you infer from time to time in your articles—the

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[a] extracts - [b] In 1762 Messieurs d'Estrées and de Soubise were in command of the Army of the Upper Rhine numbering 150,000 men, stationed in Hesse, at Göttingen, Mülhausen and Eisenach; M. de Condé commanded that of the Lower Rhine, numbering 30,000 men. All that the Court asked of them was to hold Cassel and Göttingen until the end of November, to evacuate those two places at that time and withdraw to the Ohm, having Ziegenhayn before their front line. Even assuming equal strengths, let alone 180,000 against 80,000, this plan of campaign would have been *extraordinary* had it not been based on a promise made to us by the *English Ministry to conclude peace before the month of July, provided that we made no incursions into Hanover.*' - [c] Philip Francis - [d] as always - [e] Robert Adair

exchanges between Downing Street (especially as long as Palmerston is there) and Petersburg MUST always BE CONSIDERED. I AM SURE that, as soon as the armies find themselves in a critical position, the generals will sh... on the Cabinet and do their best, since Messrs the generals are seldom or never let into secrets and even risk their necks—witness the example of Admiral Byng,[585] whose instructions from the Admiralty of the day were no less deplorable than those of e.g. Dundas now.

I shall try to get hold of Bauer's latest production[a] and send it to you.

I don't know whether Napier[b] and other historians of the Franco-Spanish war have presented in its true light a fact for which there is ample proof in *Spanish* works, namely that, right up to the end of the war, apart from a brief spell when Napoleon himself was in command in Spain,[586] a fully organised *republican* conspiracy existed in the French army, aimed at overthrowing Napoleon and restoring the republic. Apropos. Authentic sources suggest that the great 'Mina y Espoz'[c] was an egregious rogue, inferior to Joh. Becker, NO MILITARY TALENT AT ALL, but cunning, worldly-wise and *avant tout voleur*.[d] A careful study of Spanish revolutionary history reveals that it has taken the fellows some 40 years to subvert the material basis of the priesthood and the aristocracy, but that during this time they have also succeeded in completely revolutionising the old social order. Incidentally, the provisional governments, etc., there show about as much sense as in France, etc. Considering the hot-bloodedness of the whole race and their indifference to bloodshed, it is typical that, up to the time of the civil war of 1834-40,[587] it was precisely the revolutionary party which claimed to have a monopoly of philanthropic gentleness, and for this it was punished AGAIN and AGAIN.

Tomorrow Pieper will probably become a RESIDENT MASTER 30 miles from London. Having lost his post as correspondent to the *Union*, he is forced to accept this appointment. In view of my wife's 'condition' she will be able to do little as a secretary.

This is deplorable.

I have had another dunning letter from the 'friendly' Freund, but no reply as yet from Lassalle.

When your old man leaves again, or if he decides not to come, I

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[a] Presumably *De la dictature occidentale* (see previous letter). - [b] W. F. P. Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France, from the Year 1807 to the Year 1814*. - [c] Espoz y Mina - [d] above all a thief

should, circumstances permitting, like to come to Manchester for a time.

Still no answer from Lassalle—nine weeks now. Nothing from Cluss.

Schnauffer has died.

Your
K. M.

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## 247

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 October 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Enclosed a letter from Cluss.

Schnauffer is dead.

Pieper is a RESIDENT MASTER just outside London, at Eltham, Kent. SERVANT FOR ALL WORK.

If you can let me have some military stuff for Friday,[a] so much the better. It is time to take a rational attitude to the Allies' conduct of the war.

The Mademoiselle Bürgers business is very funny.

As you already know, before she left Cologne she got herself a child, giving out that Lassalle was its father.

The post is leaving, hence
*Vale.*[b]

Your
K. M.

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[a] 27 October. Engels wrote 'The Siege of Sevastopol' later, on 30 October.
[b] Farewell.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[588]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 October 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

While studying the Spanish muck I have got to the bottom of the worthy Chateaubriand—a style-specialist who combines in the most repellent manner the refined scepticism and Voltairianism of the eighteenth century with the refined sentimentalism and romanticism of the nineteenth. *Stylistically*, of course, such a combination was bound to be epoch-making in France, though even the style has an element of spuriousness which, for all his clever tricks, frequently leaps to the eye. As for the *political* man, he has exposed himself utterly in his *Congrès de Vérone*,[589] and the only question is whether he received 'cash' from Alexander Pavlovich[a] or whether he was bought simply by FLATTERY to which the conceited fop was more susceptible than anyone else. AT ALL INSTANCES he received the Order of St Andrew[590] from Petersburg. Everything about M. le 'Vicomte's' (?) *vanitas*, notwithstanding his now Mephistophelian, now Christian coquetting with *vanitatum vanitas*.[b] You will remember that, at the time of the Congress, Villèle was Louis XVIII's Prime Minister and Chateaubriand French envoy in Verona. His *Congrès de Vérone*, which you may at some time have read, contains documents, transactions, etc. Begins with a short history of the Span. revolution of 1820-23. As for this 'history', all I need tell you is that he transfers Madrid to the banks of the Tagus (merely so as to quote the Span. saying that this river *cria oro*[c]) and tells us that Riego led *10,000 men* (*realiter*[d] only 5,000) into the field against the 13,000 under General Freire; that Riego, having been beaten, withdrew with *15,000* men. In order to compare him with the hero of La Mancha,[e] he sends him to the Sierra Morena instead of the Sierra de Ronda. This I mention *en passant* as characteristic of his manner. Hardly a date that is right.

The best part of the joke, though, is Mr Chateaubriand's doings

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[a] Alexander I - [b] *Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas*—vanity of vanities, Ecclesiastes 1:2. - [c] breeds gold - [d] in reality - [e] Don Quixote

at the Congress of Verona, after the conclusion of which he became Foreign Minister and directed the invasion of Spain.

He says *d'abord*[a]:

'Je ne me défends point d'être le principal auteur de la guerre d'Espagne'. [Chateaubriand. *Congrès de Vérone*, Vol. I, p. 11], '*Mr. de Villèle* ne voulait point les hostilités.'[b] [I, 73]

On the contrary. The text of the instructions sent by Villèle to him and Montmorency, who at the outset was also in Verona as French Foreign Minister, reads literally:

'Nous ne nous sommes pas décidés à déclarer la guerre à l'Espagne... [I, 103], Les plénipotentiaires de S. M. doivent surtout éviter de se présenter au congrès comme rapporteurs des affaires d'Espagne. Les autres puissances peuvent les connaître aussi bien que nous... Ce rôle pouvait convenir à l'Autriche au congrès de Laybach,[591] parce qu'elle avait la volonté d'envahir Naples.'[c] [I, 102-03]

The fellows do precisely the opposite of what was contained in their instructions. They 'présentent'[d] themselves as '*rapporteurs des affaires d'Espagne*'.[e] Villèle writes:

'Ils tendront à faire considérer la question d'Espagne dans ses rapports *généraux* avec l'Europe'[f] [I, 104];

they presented it from the outset as a *specifically* French matter. Villèle writes:

'L'opinion de nos plénipotentiaires sur la question de savoir ce qu'il convient au congrès de faire relativement à l'Espagne, sera que la France étant la seule puissance qui doive agir par ses troupes, elle sera seule juge de cette nécessité.'[g] [I, 103]

Whereas they took the line that:

'C'est sur la forme de ce concours moral' (of the other powers) 'et sur les mesures propres à lui assurer le *secours matériel* qui peut être réclamé par la suite, que la France croit, en définitive, nécessaire de fixer l'attention de ses augustes alliés.'[h] [I, 109]

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[a] at first - [b] 'I do not deny having been the principal author of the war in Spain.' '*Mr. de Villèle* did not want hostilities.' - [c] 'We have not made up our minds to declare war on Spain... H. M.'s plenipotentiaries must above all avoid presenting themselves to the Congress as experts on Spanish affairs. The other powers may know as much about them as we do... Such a role may have befitted Austria at the Congress of Laibach because she was willing to invade Naples.' - [d] present - [e] experts on Spanish affairs - [f] 'Their aim must be to ensure that the Spanish question is considered in its *general* relationship to Europe' - [g] 'The opinion of our plenipotentiaries on the question of what it behoves the Congress to do in regard to Spain shall be that France, being the sole power having to engage its troops, shall also be sole judge of that necessity.' - [h] 'It is to the nature of this moral co-operation' (of the other powers) 'and to the measures calculated to assure her the *material aid* which may subsequently be demanded, that France deems it necessary finally to draw the attention of her august allies.'

From the very beginning, then, Mr Chateaubriand acted *directly counter* to the instructions he received from Paris. Secondly, he sought to *deceive* Villèle about the state of affairs in Verona. Thus, for example, he wrote to Villèle:

'Le vœu très prononcé des puissances est *pour* la guerre d'Espagne'[a] [I, 145];

He also seeks to deceive him about the prospects of the war:

'Les dernières dépèches de M. de Lagarde prouvent combien le succès serait facile.'[b] [I, 145]

On the other hand the honest fellow tells us:

'Non seulement le Congrès n'a pas poussé la France à la guerre, mais la Prusse et surtout *l'Autriche'* [I, 112] (he comments: 'le prince de Metternich, feignant d'être russe en détestant la Russie' [I, 116]) 'y étaient très opposées; *la Russie seule l'approuvait* et promettait son appui moral et *son appui matériel.'* [I, 112]

'Nous disons au président du conseil que le vœu très prononcé des puissances est pour la guerre; qu'il ne s'agit pas de l'occupation de la Péninsule; qu'il n'est question que d'un mouvement rapide; nous montrons un succès facile; et *pourtant nous savions* que le congrès de Vérone *ne voulait point* la guerre; nous *craignions* que notre mouvement ne *se prolongeât* bien au delà de l'Ebre; nous pensions qu'il nous faudrait occuper *longtemps* l'Espagne, pour faire une bonne besogne, mais nous ne révélions pas tout, *afin d'arriver à notre but,* et nous nous disions secrètement: "Une fois la Bidassoa[592] passée, il faudra bien que le président du conseil etc, aille de l'avant".'[c] [I, 173-74]

Thus he deceived Villèle in the name of the Congress, as previously he had deceived the Congress in the name of Villèle. And, not content with that, he proceeded to write to Canning, lying in the name of both and against both.

As a Minister he acted in the same manner. The following letter was written by Alexander to Pozzo di Borgo, envoy in Paris, for submission to Louis XVIII:

'L'empereur se flatte encore que la modération prévaudrait dans les conseils du *gouvernement anglais.'* If not etc., 'il regarderait l'attaque dirigée contre la France

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[a] 'The powers are very strongly *in favour* of war in Spain.' - [b] 'The last dispatches from M. de Lagarde prove how easy success would be.' - [c] 'Not only did the Congress not urge France to go to war, but Prussia and, above all, *Austria'* (he comments: 'Prince Metternich, pretending to be Russian while detesting Russia') 'were much opposed to it; *Russia alone was in favour* and promised her moral support and *her material support.'*

'We tell the Prime Minister that the powers were strongly in favour of war; that it is not a question of occupying the Peninsula; that it is only a question of a quick move; we point to an easy success; and *yet we knew* that the Congress of Verona *did not want* war; we *feared* that our move would *carry us* far beyond the Ebro; we thought that we should have to occupy Spain *for a long time* to make a good job of it, but in order to *achieve our aim,* we did not reveal all and secretly told each other: "Once the Bidassoa has been crossed, the Prime Minister etc. will be forced to go ahead."'

comme une attaque générale contre tous les alliés et accepterait, sans hésiter, les conséquences de ce principe... **L'Empereur exhorte le roi** à consommer ses *propres'* (!) 'déterminations et à marcher avec confiance contre les hommes des troubles et des malheurs. Agissant dans cet esprit *l'Empereur rapelle la question agitée au congrès* relative à la *réunion d'une armée russe sur les frontières occidentales* de l'Empire comme moyen de sûreté européenne.'[a] [I, 477-78]

(At the Congress, Austria would not hear of it. For which reason the matter was temporarily dropped.)

His purpose, Chateaubriand alleges, was to procure *glory* (*gloire*) for the Restoration, and thus to pave the way for the violation of the Treaties of Vienna.[593] Russia's support was needed against England. But how little 1. he expected of Russian help and how much 2. he feared the war, is evident from the following utterances:

'En supposant un revers en Espagne, *nous avions une révolution en France, et tous les cosaques de la terre ne nous auraient pas sauvés.*'[b] [I, 113]

In a letter to *La Ferronnays*, his envoy in Petersburg, he writes:

'*Nous avons mis la monarchie française sur une carte pour faire la guerre.*'[c] [II, 8]

(This is dated 21 April 1823.)

He further admits that they would have fallen flat on their faces if Canning had shipped a regiment or two out to Lisbon. To pave the way for this result they further saw to it that, following a row between War Minister the Duke of Bellune and General Guilleminot, the French Army suddenly found itself *sin viveres e sin medios de transporte*[d] after marching into Spain. Next, the pretty piece of humbug that a French victory *in the name of the Holy Alliance* and with its *appui moral*[e] would help liberate France from the Vienna Treaties. The 'Vicomte' is not '*si bête*'[f] as he here makes himself out to be. He knows very well what he is about: *'la Russie n'a point d'ambassadeur à Constantinople'*.[g] At the time there

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[a] 'The Emperor continues to hope that moderation will prevail in the councils of the *English government*.' If not etc., 'he would regard an attack directed against France as a general attack upon all the allies and would accept without hesitation the consequences of that principle... **The Emperor exhorts the King** to implement his *own*' (!) 'decisions and to march confidently against the trouble-makers and mischief-makers. Acting in this spirit, *the Emperor recalls the question raised at the Congress* relating to the *mustering of a Russian army on the western borders* of the Empire as a means of ensuring the security of Europe. - [b] Assuming a reverse in Spain, we *would have had revolution in France, and not all the Cossacks in the world would have saved us.*' - [c] *'We have staked the fate of the French monarchy in order to wage war.'* - [d] without victuals and without means of transport - [e] moral support - [f] so stupid - [g] 'Russia has no ambassador in Constantinople'

were underhand dealings with the Greeks;[594] and war between France and England, not to speak of France's commitments in Spain and her defeat there, would have given him a free hand.

'Nous devions surtout prévoir que l'Angleterre pouvait intervenir et se poser en face de nous auprès de l'Espagne.'[a] [I, 112]

To Paris, he writes:

'Si c'est la guerre, *c'est la guerre avec l'Angleterre.*' [I, 161] 'Guerre qui pouvait devenir *européenne,* si elle venait à se compliquer d'une *guerre en Orient* et de l'attaque des colonies espagnoles par les Anglais.'[b] [I, 151]

Nor is he under any illusions about Alexander's intentions:

'Il est certain que notre triomphe **inespéré**' (!) 'lui donna quelque jalousie, car il s'était secrètement flatté que nous serions *forcés* de recourir à lui.'[c] [I, 383]

The 'triumph', then, was not what had been agreed. Besides, like the majority of Frenchmen, Chateaubriand believed the French Army to be very 'unreliable' so far as the Bourbons were concerned.

Moreover, the 'friendship' between Alexander and Louis XVIII was, as Chateaubriand himself relates, all the closer for

'Louis XVIII' having 'refusé, sous prétexte de religion et par quelque *motif offensant,* le mariage du duc de Berry avec la sœur d'Alexandre'[d] [I, 195]

and for Louis XVIII's having, for his part, known that at the Congress of Vienna (after Bonaparte's return from Elba) Mr Alexander had

'tout à coup demanda aux alliés, s'il ne serait pas bon de donner le duc d'Orléans pour roi à la France, quand on aurait une dernière fois vaincu Napoléon!'[e] [I, 196]

Having a *'grand âme de poète,'*[f] the 'Vicomte' makes the following admissions:

'Nous osons dire qu'Alexandre est devenu *notre ami.*' [I, 223]

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[a] 'Above all we had to foresee that England might intervene and range herself against us and alongside Spain.' - [b] 'If it is war, it is *war with England.*' 'A war which might become a *European* one if complicated by *war in the East* and an attack upon the Spanish colonies by the English.' - [c] 'There can be no doubt that our **unexpected**' (!) 'triumph gave him some cause for jealousy, for he had secretly flattered himself that we would be *compelled* to have recourse to him.' - [d] 'Louis XVIII's' having 'refused, on religious grounds and for some *offensive reason,* to sanction the marriage between the Duke of Berry and Alexander's sister' - [e] 'suddenly asked the allies whether it would not be advisable to make the Duke of Orleans King of France, once Napoleon had been defeated for the last time!' - [f] great poetic soul

'Alexandre est le *seul* prince pour qui nous ayons *jamais* éprouvé un *sincère* attachement.' [I, 224]
'Louis XVIII *nous détestait.*'[a] [I, 243]

Withal it is highly entertaining to see how this '*Dieu de St. Louis*' speechifier, who had to preserve the Spanish throne for a '*petit fils de Henri IV*',[b] [595] writes most *cavalièrement* to General Guilleminot telling him not to 'be deterred' from bombarding Cadiz by the fear that Ferdinand VII might be struck by shot, etc.

At all events, it is hence to this *ami intime*[c] of the great Carrel, Lamennais, Béranger, etc., that the honour belongs of having, over a period of 10 years—in the company of friend Alexander—, created the biggest mess Spain has ever known, and this at the risk of blowing his Bourbons sky-high.

Another trait of this pilgrim to the Holy Sepulchre[596]: In the *Congrès de Vérone* he himself relates how he forced Louis XVIII and Villèle to send Polignac, whom both abhorred, to London as envoy. Later, under Charles X, when he himself was envoy in Rome, he suddenly and with great *brio* announced his resignation upon the appointment of Polignac as minister because, he alleged, 'freedom' was doomed.

If you re-read the book, your contempt for the '*crapauds*'[d] and their '*grands hommes*'[e] is unlikely to diminish.

Adieu.

Your
K. M.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 10 November 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Article splendid.[f] As regards Tuesday or Friday,[g] arrange it as you wish, although I don't yet know whether I shall have a

[a] We venture to say that Alexander has become our friend.' 'Alexander is the *only* prince for whom we have *ever* felt a *sincere* attachment.' 'Louis XVIII *detested us*.' - [b] Henry IV's grandson - [c] intimate friend - [d] philistines - [e] great men - [f] F. Engels, 'The Campaign in the Crimea'. - [g] 14 or 17 November

SECRETARY READY, since my wife has been confined to bed for the past three days, partly because of indisposition, partly in a fit of anger, for the worthy Dr Freund has again been bombarding us with dunning letters, which are the more odious for coming just before the impending catastrophe. GENERALLY, THE SITUATION IS NOT PLEASANT.

*Père* Göhringer is in the debtors' prison. His pub is closed. Bankruptcy. Hence the renewed revolutionary ardour which the noble fellow is said to have developed of late.

Pieper has to work in his institution[a] from 6 in the morning until 9 at night and to pray some 20× during that time, which 'does him good'. No smoking or drinking. Takes the boys to church, etc. He was in town for an hour a few days ago. Looked very well.

Lupus has invited Dronke to Manchester for Christmas, and Dronke has invited Imandt.

No other news.

Your
K. M.

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## 250

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 22 November 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Received the £2 YESTERDAY.

Herewith letter from Dana which will show you what use the HUMBUGS are making of the military material. The book he mentions by Ripley on the MEXICAN WAR hasn't reached me yet.[597] I shall have it fetched tomorrow, leaf through it and then send it on to you.

If you possibly can, send an article on Friday,[b] since I wrote about Spain on Tuesday[598] and, under PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, this

[a] See this volume, p. 490. - [b] 24 November

can't be done twice in one week. On the other hand, to miss an article in my very difficult financial situation would be bad from every point of view.

No sooner had the false rumours of the fall of Sevastopol arrived than His Honour, Public Prosecutor Blind, hit on the plan of holding a German meeting—which was also to be made the occasion of a declaration of principles—against Russia and the German 'princhés' and, more particularly, *ad majorem gloriam*[a] of the Public Prosecutor himself and the German emigration *in corpore*.[b] It was an occasion on which the 'chiefs' of all factions were to foregather PEACEFULLY. I and Freiligrath, of course, beat off this attack, so that at first Blind's plan was frustrated. *Mais comme les grands esprits se rencontrent*,[c] the same thing had occurred to the indefatigable Arnold Ruge—who is presently dumping all manner of rubbish in *The Morning Advertiser*—and, at his written invitation, a preparatory meeting took place, COMPOSED OF: *Vittinghof* {chiropodist; 60 years old, a Courlander speaking no known tongue; formerly servant to Count Vittinghof of Courland, now posing as his own master. This Vittinghof, according to Arnold's plan, was to take the chair; a gang of German merchants (Gerstenzweig, etc.) were to provide the money and call the meeting and, under their auspices, German refugees were to be let loose on the platform). Römer (Becker's stepfather and a notorious *mouchard*[d]). Meyen. Buchheim. Ronge. Ruge, Blind. Geck.[e]—The upshot of the meeting was that Geck and Ronge more or less 'called each other out'. Public Prosecutor Blind indignantly withdrew from the meeting because Dishcloth Ruge refused to include in the programme the phrase 'republic which unites *us all*'. Afterwards Blind called to see me—I was out—and complained 'bitterly' to my wife about the 'contempt' in which the 'German emigration' was held, and about our preventing any 'concerted' action. As if any of us were preventing the 7 or 8 jackasses from 'uniting' or 'demonstrating'. (However, if the fellows should cause a stir with their meeting and unduly compromise 'Germany' by licking English boots, it was our secret intention—as yet unknown, by the by, to Staatsrat Blind—to enlist the aid of the London Chartists and *perhaps* hold a rival meeting.)

As you can see, the 'Great Men of the Exile' are once again of the opinion that something 'has got to be done'.

---

[a] to the greater glory - [b] as a body - [c] But as great minds think alike - [d] police informer - [e] Fop, possibly ironical for Amand Goegg.

In this connection Blind also then told my wife that 'Baden alone had had the courage to proclaim a republic' etc., etc. No other news.

Your
K. M.

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## 251

## MARX TO ENGELS[234]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 30 November 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

You forgot to return Dana's letter[a]—very important in view of my relations with the fellows. By some oversight the first two pages were omitted from your splendid article of Tuesday's date.[b] However the substance was contained in the 5 following ones, so all that suffered was the style.

I have received from the worthy Dr Freund a third dunning letter which I enclose. How do you think I should reply to the fellow? It seems to me that *ce bon ami*[c] has a mind to take extreme measures. With the positive decline in income from the *Tribune*, as a result of which I have sunk below the level of the great Dronke, prospects for the noble Freund look gloomier than ever. The worst of it is that I shall be needing him again soon. I have been invited through Tucker to work on a Retrospective Review which is appearing here in London. However have not yet had a detailed reply about the *punctum puncti*,[d] the fee.

The day before yesterday I finally received the 2 volumes of Ripley's *Mexican War*, about 1,200 pages, large format. As a military historian, Ripley seems to me—i.e. a *strictly lay opinion*—to

[a] See this volume, p. 498. - [b] F. Engels, 'The Battle of Inkermann'. - [c] this good friend - [d] the crucial point

have modelled himself *plus ou moins*[a] on *Napier*. The book is sensible and, to my mind, not uncritical. Dana has certainly not read it. Otherwise he would have seen that their hero, General Scott, appears BY NO MEANS in a favourable light, NEITHER as a commander-in-chief nor as a GENTLEMAN. The thing is of particular interest to me because not long ago I was reading about Fernando Cortes' campaign in Antonio de Solis' *Conquista de Mexico*. Some very interesting comparisons might be drawn between the two *conquistas*. By the by, although the two commanders-in-chief—Taylor as well as Scott—seem very mediocre to me, the whole war was certainly a worthy prelude to the military history of the great land of the Yankees. The vast spaces in which the action took place and the small number of men with which it was conducted—more VOLUNTEERS than REGULAR ARMY at that—impart to it an 'American' originality. As for Taylor and Scott, their only merit seems to have consisted in the conviction that Yankees would always be able to extricate themselves, however great the predicament they might be landed in. I shall send you the 2 volumes early next week. Write and tell me—for they are bulky—whether by post (I am not clear about the new regulations) or PARCEL Co.

*Addio*

Your
K. M.

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## 252

## MARX TO ENGELS[599]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 December 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I THINK NOT, SIR, that your letter[600] or so much as your name, should be linked with the worthy 'friend'.[b] (The Jew is so pressing because an exceedingly *refined* educational establishment, which he

[a] more or less - [b] Dr Freund

has let his wife set up in St John's Wood, has brought him to THE VERY BRINK OF BANKRUPTCY. I have just learnt the details via Cornelius.) Taking my cue from your letter, I have written to him[601] that: 1. I enclose a letter from A. Dana from which he can see how the commercial crisis in America has affected *me* and, through me, *himself*; 2. However, to cover the loss, I have established new literary contacts on the strength of which I will undertake in writing to pay him £4 on the 10th of every month, starting in January 1855. The amount still outstanding is about £17. Should Mr Freund not agree to this, then he can *prosecute.* As he cannot fail to realise, Dana's letter would protect me in any COURT. If I involve you directly, I shall forfeit 1. my whole position vis-à-vis Freund; 2. He will tell (and promptly show my letter to) the teacher in his establishment, Mr Gottfried Kinkel, who will pass it on to Mr Gerstenberg, who will pass it on to every German Jew in the City until it reaches Blanc, which would be BY NO MEANS desirable.

I had asked Lassalle whether he could not obtain some sort of literary BUSINESS for me in Germany for I must be serious IN REGARD to my decreased income and increased expenditure. Now Lassalle puts forward the following proposal,[602] as to which I should like to have your *well-considered* opinion. At the beginning of this month his cousin, Dr *M. Friedländer* will become proprietor of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung,* but—in co. with *Stein and Elsner.* I am to become the paper's London correspondent.[603] Friedländer doesn't think he would be able to pay more than 20 talers a month to begin with. But Lassalle believes he might be able to push him up to 30. *Voilà la proposition.*[a] It's a miserable pittance. However, too high a value should not be set on a little bit of work for a German hole-and-corner rag. Even so, one might pick up £40 or £50. But Elsner and Stein—there's the rub! This calls for all the more mature consideration as these gentlemen aren't Conservatives but actually *Liberals,* and more directly opposed to us than the *Neue Preussische Zeitung.* THAT IS THE QUESTION.[b] Think it over carefully.

I am sending you a copy of *The People's Paper* so that you can read about Jones' DODGE[c] with Barbès (whom, between ourselves, he took for Blanqui) and his agitation against Bonaparte for the latter's proposed visit to England.[604] The 'authorities' here are seriously concerned about the matter and the police, wherever feasible, have had the posters torn down. Even *Reynolds* and *The*

[a] That's the proposal. - [b] Shakespeare, *Hamlet,* Act III, Scene 1. - [c] 'Welcome and Protest Committee for the Reception of Barbès in London. Fraternisation of the French Democracy in London', *The People's Paper,* No. 135, 2 December 1854.

*Leader*[a] have denounced him for his unpatriotic sentiments. He originally had honorary members, amongst whom myself, elected to his *comité* for the anti-Bonapartist movement. I chaffed him for it, in particular pointing out that if the MOVE was to be effective here and on the Continent, it must maintain its purely English character. He recognised this, as you will see from his remarks at the preliminary meeting with the FRENCH REFUGEES.[605]

On Monday I shall send you the Ripley and Solis' *Conquista de Mexico* by the PARCEL COMP. you mentioned. Return the *latter* as soon as you no longer need it, since it doesn't belong to me. I have now read the whole of Ripley (cursorily, of course, this being sufficient for my purpose). I am no longer in any doubt—and Ripley, in his 'restrained' sarcastic style, often makes it plain—that the great Scott is nothing more than a common, petty, untalented, carping, envious cur and HUMBUG who, aware that he owed everything to the bravery of his soldiers and the SKILL of his divisional commanders, played dirty tricks in order to reap the renown himself. He appears to be as great a general as the MANY-SIDED Greeley is a great PHILOSOPHER. Throughout the campaign, the fellow made a hash of things and played the kind of tricks for which any self-respecting court martial would justifiably have had him shot. But he is America's *foremost* (in terms of *rank*) general. Which is doubtless why Dana believes in him. Without question Taylor is still worth more than Scott, as the Americ. public seems to have sensed when it made the former President of the United States and rejected the latter AGAIN AND AGAIN despite all his efforts. General Worth strikes me as the most significant of them, on which point you must let me have your opinion as soon as you have read the thing. Also, and more important, on another point. Is it not CURIOUS that Scott always remains between 2 and 10 miles from the scene of ACTIVE OPERATIONS, that he *never* appears on the battlefield *himself*, but is always simply 'OBSERVING THE PROGRESS OF EVENTS' from a safe place in the rear. He himself never appears, as Taylor certainly does, when it is necessary in the interests of the army's 'morale' for the commander-in-chief to appear. After the fierce BATTLE OF Contreras, he and all his STAFF moved up only when the whole thing was over. During the fluctuations of the BATTLE OF Molino del Rey he passed a message to the 'brave' fellows to the effect that they should stand their ground, he himself would perhaps appear in person. His 'diplomatic' talents are matched only by his military ones. If he evinces mistrust, it is always of his

[a] 'The British Democrats.—Louis Napoleon', *The Leader*, No. 243, 18 November 1854.

more talented divisional commanders, never of Santa Anna who leads him by the nose as though he were an aged child.

It seems to me to be typical of the war that, despite wrong or inadequate orders from their CHIEF, every division and every single small body of men at all times STUBBORNLY make for their objectives, SPONTANEOUSLY exploiting every incident, so that in the end a measure of wholeness emerges. A Yankee sense of independence and individual proficiency greater, perhaps, than that of the Anglo-Saxons.

The Spanish are already degenerate. But a degenerate Spaniard, a Mexican, is an ideal. All the Spanish vices, braggadocio, swagger and Don Quixotry, raised to the third power, but little or nothing of the steadiness which the Spaniards possess. The Mexican guerrilla war a caricature of the Spanish,[606] and even the *sauve qui peut* of the REGULAR ARMIES infinitely surpassed. But then the Spaniards have produced no talent comparable to that of Santa Anna.

*Vale.*[a]

Your

K. M.

Have you seen the fulminations against Heine by Jacobus Venedey—Kobes I[b] of Cologne—in the feuilleton of Saturday's *Kölnische Zeitung*? It's a pleasure you should not deny yourself. And Kossuth's promotion to general!!!

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## 253

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 December 1854

Dear Frederic,

I shall be putting an article[607] into the post today, although I know the post won't go. A week today I intend to do a report on Parliament. But *still* I *urgently* request you to send me *an article on*

[a] Farewell. - [b] Title character of a satirical poem by Heine on Venedey published in *Vermischte Schriften*.

*Tuesday* so that I can count on getting £2 more on Friday (when I draw the bill).[608] Even without that, there are various losses to be met. If there's nothing happening, you can do something on Austrian military power.[a]

You must write the pamphlet on the 'Teutonians and Slavism'.[609] You should also read Bauer's *England and Russia* (written in French). Gustav Diezel, too, has written a 'fat' book on the subject.[b] Do you know Freiherr von Bode's 'Statistics on Russia'? (Appeared about six months ago.)[c]

*Salut.*
Your
K. M.

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## 254

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 December 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I have just received your note and very much look forward to seeing you here in a week's time.[610]

Article received.[d]

Barthélemy's end is a GLORIOUS one.[611] At yesterday's hearing (or rather CORONER'S INQUEST) it was said that important papers, though not relating to the assassination, had been found on him.[e] It would be annoying if these included papers from the old days, so that we seemed to be connected with a fellow who—or so the louts boasted—was 'saving up' a bullet for us in the event of our returning to Paris.

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[a] F. Engels, 'The Military Power of Austria'. - [b] Presumably, G. Diezel, *Russland, Deutschland und die östliche Frage*. - [c] A. Bode ('Rhode' in the original), 'Notizen, gesammelt auf einer Forstreise durch einen Theil des Europäischen Russlands', *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Russischen Reiches und der angränzenden Länder Asiens*. - [d] Engels' part of the article 'Progress of the War' written jointly with Marx. - [e] 'The Inquest', *The Times*, No. 21925, 15 December 1854.

I haven't read the Bauer, so bring it with you.

Next week I start writing for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*. 30 talers a month for the time being. I suppose, however, that the fellows will be satisfied with three articles a week. Not having the money to buy books, I cannot possibly bid adieu to my studies at the Museum[a] in return for 30 talers a month. Much though I dislike the thing, I've accepted it for the sake of my wife's peace of mind. Her PROSPECTS, of course, are GLOOMY.

What I particularly approved of in Ripley[b] was his not giving way to enthusiastic hyperbole. The strategic mistakes made in the Mexican War would seem to be self-explanatory in view of the total absence of plan. As for the nicer tactical blunders, I, OF COURSE, understand nothing of such matters. I should think that he took Napier[c] for his model, to judge by the way he depicts the Mexicans just as Napier does the Spaniards, and in the second place strives after FAIRNESS towards the opponents.

Tomorrow I shall be saddled with Blind and wife. This 'shinishter' Russophobe and 'repelbican' still insists that Baden is the real land of the future.

*Salut. And give my regards to Lupus.*

Your
K. M.

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## 255

## MARX TO MORITZ ELSNER

### IN BRESLAU

London, Wednesday, 20 December 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Elsner,

Your letter arrived here on Monday. I myself only got back today after spending a few days visiting Engels and Lupus in Manchester.

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[a] the Library of the British Museum - [b] R. S. Ripley, *The War with Mexico*, in two volumes. - [c] W. F. P. Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France, from the Year 1807 to the Year 1814*, vols. I-VI.

I shall begin work as correspondent on *Saturday*. To start off right in the middle of the *final part* of the 'preliminary' parliamentary session WOULD NOT DO. A *résumé* of this short session would make a better *entrée*. For the past two years I have been writing—i.e. for publication—only in English. German may give me some trouble at the start.

As you are aware, I edited a Prussian newspaper[a] *under censorship*—for a whole year. So I am quite familiar with the torments which the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* may have to endure under a new form of censorship, and it is these difficulties, the UNDERHAND struggle AGAINST THE ESTABLISHED POWERS which incline me to work in the interest of this paper.

So far as I am aware, and I know pretty well all the important reading-rooms in London, the *N.O.-Z.* is not available in any of them. Hence, for the time being, you'll have to send it direct to me. I might perhaps be able to introduce it into a reading-room or COFFEE-ROOM.

You would particularly oblige me if, by way of an exception, you could send me *one* issue of the *Breslauer Zeitung*. Although Edgar Bauer comes to see me every week, he has never spoken about his articles and I would like to get to know his views from one 'sample'.

Since Parliament will be going into recess, and—save for a *résumé* of its sessions and PERHAPS of FINANCIAL MATTERS—there will be little of importance to report, I shall, if these premises hold good, write a number of consecutive articles providing a review of the conduct of the war in the Crimea so far,[612] concerning which I have seen nothing sensible, i.e. critical, either here or from Germany. Moreover, I suppose that this subject is of the greatest general interest and at the same time least liable to lead to a conflict with the indirect Royal Prussian Censorship.

Requesting you to convey my kindest regards to your wife whom I have not had the pleasure of meeting.

Yours
K. Marx

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[a] *Rheinische Zeitung*

# 1855

## 256

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 January 1855

Dear Frederic,

Yesterday I sent the report on TRADE and COMMERCE to the *Tribune*[a] and must now deliver two more articles if I am to pay off my overdraft with the fellows. There are two sailings next week, on Tuesday and Friday,[b] and it would be most desirable if you could let me have an article on *un sujet quelconque*[c] by Tuesday.

My wife is approaching the catastrophe with a firm tread.

Nothing new here. Götz has written to Sidney Herbert asking for an 'officer's brevet' in the apochryphal 'Foreign Legion'.[613]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 257

## MARX TO ENGELS[614]

IN MANCHESTER

London, 17 January 1855

Dear Frederic,

I could not, OF COURSE, write to the *Tribune* yesterday nor can I do so for some time *à venir*[d] because yesterday morning, between

[a] K. Marx, 'The Commerical Crisis in Britain', I and II. - [b] 16 and 19 January - [c] some subject or other - [d] to come

6 and 7 o'clock, my wife was delivered of a *bona fide* TRAVELLER[a]—unfortunately OF THE 'SEX' *par excellence*. If it had been a male child, well and good.

Did you know that red Wolff[b] is one of the *Augsburger*'s London correspondents? I found out by chance, namely by reading an article in the said paper[c] containing all manner of fatuous elucubrations on 'house' and 'home' and 'abroad'—all this to throw light on the 'ordure' with which the British troops are contending at Balaklava. I saw Freiligrath and told him that in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* I'd read some nonsense of which only Lupus Rufus could be capable. Freiligrath thereupon confirmed that Wolff was the 'REAL, IDENTICAL Kobes'.[d]

I now have Heine's 3 volumes at home. Amongst other things he retails at some length a lie to the effect that I, etc., went to console him[e] after he had been 'attacked' in the Augsburg *A.Z.* for having accepted money from Louis Philippe.[f] The good Heine deliberately forgets that my intervention on his behalf took place at the end of 1843[614] and thus could have no connection with FACTS which came to light *after* the February revolution of 1848.[615] BUT LET IT PASS. Worried by his evil conscience,—the old dog has a monstrous memory for such things,—he is trying to ingratiate himself.

I expect something from you on FRIDAY,[g] then. I can't write any more today, having to send out a mass of cards giving notification of the baby's birth.

Your
K. M.

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[a] Eleanor - [b] Ferdinand Wolff, also referred to below as Lupus Rufus meaning in Latin 'red wolf' - [c] 'Ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik der Engländer', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 9, 9 January 1855. - [d] A comparison with the German journalist Venedey lampooned by Heine in his poem 'Kobes I' in 1854. - [e] Heine, 'Retrospektive Aufklärung', August 1854 (*Vermischte Schriften*, Bd. 3. Th. 2, S. 144). - [f] [Report from Paris of 22 April,] *Allgemeine Zeiting*, No. 119, 28 April 1848, supplement. - [g] 19 January

## 258

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 January 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Agree absolutely—and, indeed, most gratefully—to your scheme.

The parliamentary thing seems likely to misfire for reasons of time. BUT NEVER MIND.

Your yesterday's letter[616] didn't reach me until *4 o'clock this afternoon* because the ass of a postman (this is the 2nd or 3rd time it has happened, and I shall complain to the POST OFFICE) delivered it to 28 Soho Square instead of 28 Dean Street. In future address your letters to 28 Dean Street, *Soho* (*instead of Soho Square*). Because it arrived so late, I can write you no more than these few lines today.

What's this about Barthélemy? I missed it in the Augsburg paper.[a] Probably a fabrication on the part of the miserable 'Oly' or 'Ody', one of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*'s correspondents, a blackguard from Switzerland.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

There's a tremendous panic in the City, and Freiligrath wrote yesterday telling me that even the most 'sanguine' expect things to be very bad until early spring.

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[a] i.e. 'Die Assisenverhandlung gegen Barthélemy', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 9, 9 January 1855, supplement.

## 259

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

### IN DÜSSELDORF

[London,] 23 January 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Lassalle,

This letter would have been written a week ago had not my wife been delivered of a world citizen (female)[a] and the consequent TROUBLE left me little spare time, as you can readily imagine. However, both mother and daughter are doing well.

It is not very pleasant, *mon cher*,[b] to write in such a small [...] *au fond*,[c] all one can do is produce miniature dunghills. *Mais* [*n'importe*][d] that the [...] should consider [...] and make no literary pretensions, while also hoping that none will be made.

As regards the various economic questions you put to me,[617] so far as I know there are as yet no compilations, whether official or scientific. Official figures for corn imports are, of course, to be found in the BOARD OF TRADE TABLES. But nothing else. Undoubtedly there will now be a plethora of works on these matters. A period of crisis in England is also one of theoretical research. I shall at the *earliest opportunity* compile something for you from my note-books, in which I have collected all sorts of statistical information from various sources.[618] For the present, merely the following, of a quite general nature:

*Imports of Wheat and Flour*

| | *Wheat as wheat (quarters)* | *Flour (reduced to quarters)* |
|---|---|---|
| 1847 | 2,650,000 | 1,808,000 |
| 1848 | 1,865,000 | 351,000 |
| 1849 | 4,569,000 | 1,129,000 |
| 1850 | 3,778,000 | 1,102,000 |

Thus 8,285,000 [qrs] of wheat imported during the first 2 years of FREE TRADE, and 2,226,000 in the form of flour, in all 10,511,000, or an average of more than 5 million quarters over the 2 years. This amounts to far more than 1/6 of total consumption, reckoned at 1 quarter per person per year.

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[a] Eleanor - [b] my dear fellow - [c] at bottom - [d] But no matter

Now, can it be said that annual consumption increased to that extent? This clearly depends on the answer to another question: whether the same amount of wheat was produced in England as heretofore? This again can only be answered when we are in possession of the agricultural statistics, upon which work has only just begun. As regards Ireland and Scotland, we know that considerable amounts [of the la]nd have been turned over to pasture, etc., since the abolition of the corn tariffs.[72] [As regards Englan]d, no conclusion can be reached at present save by induction. If in England, a considerable area of land had not been withdrawn from cultivation, how came it that e.g. this year, despite a very good harvest, corn prices are higher than in the protectionist year, 1839, for instance, although the loss of imports from abroad in no way compensates for the difference between a good and a bad harvest, between, say, that of 1854 and that of 1853? How the tendency to withdraw land from cultivation has spread under FREE TRADE—mainly, no doubt, by turning it over to pasture—is evident from the following table, an *official* one (for *Ireland*):

*1854* (up till November)

| | *Acres* |
|---|---|
| [*Decrease in Ce*]*reals* | 91,233 |
| [*Green Crops*] ([Pot]atoes, roots etc.) | 710 |
| *Flax* | 23,607 |
| *Clover* | 13,025 |
| Total decrease in cultivated land | 128,575 |

Last year (1853), on the other hand, the total decrease was only 43,867 acres. Making, for both years taken together, 172,442. This is all the more striking as the demand for *all* agricultural produce has risen in the past 2 years.

Now as regards the 'HANDS' employed in agriculture, we know that, of the 300,000 people who have emigrated every year from Great Britain since 1852, the great majority consisted of agricultural workers. We know that in 1853 the population *decreased* for the first time instead of increasing. Finally, the best proof that the number of agricultural HANDS has greatly decreased is that in 1853 wages *in rural areas* rose for the first time since 1815 and that mechanical reapers were more or less generally introduced in order to depress them again.

(Incidentally, I would point out that the free import of foreign corn has given *England's agronomy* a tre[men]dous impetus.)

What [influence] FREE TRADE has had on the price of industrial [products] is absolutely impossible to assess from the material so far available. In the woollen and linen industry, for example, the fluctuations dependent on raw material can hardly have been affected in any way by the REPEAL of the CORN-LAWS. On the whole I believe that the history of prices from 1849 to 1854 will show that the price-relations between all manufactured products and grain, as well as between individual branches of industry and the corresponding raw materials remained the same before and after the repeal of the Corn Laws (likewise the variations within each group).

As for *wages* in the factories (figures another time), it can be proved beyond doubt that the repeal of the Corn Laws, 1. has had no influence whatever on *absolute* wages, 2. has contributed to *depress* relat[ive] wages. In the year of crisis[a] wages [had] been depressed. They were *not* raised in the relatively good years 1849-52 (the latter included, at least up to the last 1/3 of the year). Why weren't they raised? Because the price of foodstuffs had *fallen*. In the course of 1852 the great emigration began, while on the other hand demand rose appreciably in the United States, Australia, India, etc. The workers then demanded a 10 per cent rise in wages and for a short time, while prosperity was at its height (until about August 1853), were able to achieve it in almost the majority of branches of industry. However, as you know, they were soon deprived of this 10 per cent rise—remember, e.g., the Preston STRIKE[431]—although corn prices were *on average* higher in 1853 and 1854 than in the protectionist years 1843-45 and 1830-37. Hence the *rise* in wages—a very *temporary* rise, for already short time is being worked again and, generally speaking, the crisis has begun—is in no way attributable to FREE TRADE, but corresponds wholly to the rise that takes place in all years of prosperity. In fact FREE TRADE simply meant that from 1849 to 1852 wages did *not* rise. Since it was possible to buy *more* food with the same wages, these were not increased. What did show a relative *increase*, therefore, was *profits*. Hence relative wages, i.e. wages in relation to profits, have in fact *fallen*—a result which I showed to be inevitable in a pamphlet[b] (FRENCH) written as long ago as 1847.

Of course, one cannot deny that the repeal of the Corn Laws may have in some degree contributed (together with the adjust-

[a] 1847 - [b] K. Marx, 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade'.

ment of the sugar tax, the raising of restrictions on shipping and the repeal of the protective tariffs on British North American timber) to creating new, or enlarging existing, markets for British manufactures abroad. For instance, in the United States the tendency to legislate in favour of free trade was certainly due partly to the REPEAL in England. However, too much importance should not be attached to this, since there was a decrease in English exports e.g. to Russia, whose exports to England increased enormously as a result of the REPEAL. In general, it would appear that, relatively speaking, Europe's importance as a market for English goods is steadily diminishing; since in 1854, 60 per cent of total exports (I mean total exports of *British products*, disregarding re-exports) were absorbed by the United States, Australia and India alone, a figure which does not include Britain's colonies outside Europe (excepting India).

I have jotted down the above information to provide a very general answer to your questions. I shall see what I can find in the way of definite statistical material in my note-books. As already mentioned, books will no doubt *only* begin coming out *now*...[a]

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## 260

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 January [1855]

Dear Engels,

As you will see from today's *Times*, there is *nothing* to report about Parliament. No important debate until *Thursday evening*[b]. So there's nothing for it but to write about *'any old sujet'*.[619]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] The end of the letter has not been preserved. - [b] 25 January

## 261

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 30 January 1855

Dear Frederic,

I shall send you such cuttings from the *Tribune* as you will need for a *characterisation of the Coalition*, and fill in the gaps, if any, with a few written comments.[620] I shall hardly get round to it today, since I have to send the Breslau jackasses a résumé of yesterday's frightfully long sitting.[a] Also, the BABY[b] is in a very critical condition—my wife, however, very well—so that I have been held up by DOMESTIC AFFAIRS until 1 o'clock (now). Which means that in all probability my stuff won't reach you until Thursday morning.

If Palmerston becomes premier, there'll be some high jinks.

Did you read Barthélemy's *confession* in yesterday's *Advertiser*?

*Tout à vous*[c]

Ch. M.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 31 January 1855

Dear Engels,

Enclosed 2 articles on Gladstone's financial policy.[621] In the first one, the chaps have clearly misprinted some figures. However, all you are really concerned with is refreshing your memory as to the SPIRIT of the whole plan.

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[a] i.e. 'From Parliament.—From the Theatre of War' for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*. - [b] Eleanor - [c] All yours

Herewith a survey of the Coalition's activities:

*1853*

*December 16.*[a] Fall of Disraeli overthrown (by a majority of 19), ostensibly because of the extension of the HOUSE-TAX and the 'EXTENSION OF THE GENERAL AREA OF *DIRECT* TAXATION'. The determining factor, the Irish Brigade[622]

Coalition formed:

* 'We have now arrived at the commencement of the *political millennium*'*... (*Times*).[b]

*CHRISTMAS RECESS.*

*February 10.* Parliament reassembles. Russell's old programme of 1850. No question of a Reform Bill[623] until they reassembled the following winter.

* '*Next session is not quite so uncertain as tomorrow*'* (*Times*).[c]

On the other hand, a mass of practical and administrative reforms promised: law reform, railway regulations, education, etc. Gladstone postpones his budget until *after* the EASTER RECESS.

*February 18.*

* 'It is no longer a Ministry of Reform: It is a Ministry of Progress, every member of which resolves to do nothing. All difficult questions are open questions'* (*Disraeli*).[d]

*21 February.* Clarendon FOREIGN MINISTER. Russell Minister without portfolio or salary.

*February 24.* Russell's Jewish bill.[624] * 'The Policy of Abstention' proclaimed on the Eastern question, is also the ministerial policy at home.*

*4 April.* RUSSELL'S EDUCATIONAL REFORM BILL.

*7 April.* Before presentation of the budget: GLADSTONE'S FINANCIAL SCHEME.

*15 April.* Debate in the House on the GUNPOWDER PLOT.[380] It transpires that Palmerston is acting as GENERAL INFORMER for the CONTINENTAL POLICE.

*EASTER RECESS* (don't know the date).

*31 May.* Russell insults Catholics in Parliament.[625] Irish members[e] resign from Ministry. Aberdeen's letter to them of 3 June.[f] Russell retracts.

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[a] 1852 - [b] *The Times,* No. 21316, 4 January 1853, leader. - [c] *The Times,* No. 21349, 11 February 1853, leader. - [d] B. Disraeli, [Speech in the House of Commons on 18 February 1853,] *The Times,* No. 21356, 19 February 1853. - [e] Keogh, Sadleir, Monsell - [f] G. Aberdeen, [Letter to Mr Monsell of 3 June 1853,] *The Times,* No. 21447, 6 June 1853.

Main items in the spring and summer session:

1. *India Bill*: Ministry wishes to extend EAST INDIA COMPANY CHARTER (EXPIRING ON APRIL, 1854) by 20 years. Is *compelled* to drop this, its bill remaining in force *only provisionally* and for so long as it pleases Parliament. Apart from laying down that APPOINTMENTS IN THE CIVIL SERVICE AND SCIENTIFIC MILITARY SERVICES are to be subject to open competition, this Act confines itself to the following: Sir Charles Wood (President of the BOARD OF CONTROL) is to receive £5,000 instead of £1,200 as previously, 18 DIRECTORS instead of 24. Instead of all being nominated by the COURT OF PROPRIETORS, now 12 to be nominated by the latter and 6 by the Ministry. Salary of DIRECTORS to be once more *increased* from £300 to £500, those of the CHAIRMAN and DEPUTY CHAIRMAN to £1,000. GOVERNOR-GENERALSHIP of India to be separated from the GOVERNORSHIP of Bengal. New PRESIDENCY ON THE INDUS. Thus, instead of the inexpensive and, as practice has shown, efficient SIMPLE COMMISSIONERS, new GOVERNORS and PRESIDENTS with LUXURIOUS COUNCILS. NEW SINECURES. A few quite insignificant little reforms in the Indian judiciary.

2. *Budget*. Many of its FEATURES lifted from Disraeli, but whereas it removes EXCISE DUTIES for the benefit of the town, Disraeli did so ostensibly for the benefit of the FARMERS: thus the tea DUTY business, extension of direct taxation, etc., of Jewish[a] origin. Some of the most important decisions forced upon Gladstone after he and his opposition to them had been repeatedly *voted down* in Parliament. For instance, the abolition of the ADVERTISEMENT DUTY; the SUCCESSION DUTY. LICENSING SYSTEM, NEW REGULATION dropped after undergoing several transformations in the course of the session. Of the budget, which made its début with all the pretensions of a systematic encyclopaedia, nothing remains save a *mixtum compositum*[b] of LITTLE ITEMS. *Typical feature*: the noble Gladstone includes in his BUDGET a special BILL—abolition of STAMPS ON NEWSPAPER SUPPLEMENTS—intended to buy *The Times*, in effect making it a present of £30-40,000 a year. Since it alone issues SUPPLEMENTS, consolidates its monopoly.[c] *The Times* gratefully abandons its campaign against his INCOME TAX and today is again demanding his inclusion in the new Cabinet.

3. *Three Irish LANDLORDS and TENANTS BILLS*.[626] Introduced by the *Tory Napier*[d] under the Derby MINISTRY. Passed on 1 August after

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[a] An allusion to Disraeli. The original has 'Israelite'. - [b] miscellany - [c] See K. Marx, 'Soap for the People, a Sop for *The Times*.—The Coalition Budget', 'Turkey and Russia.—Connivance of the Aberdeen Ministry with Russia.—The Budget.—Tax on Newspaper Supplements.—Parliamentary Corruption'. - [d] J. Napier, [Speech in the House of Commons on 22 November 1852,] *The Times*, No. 21280, 23 November 1852.

10 months' deliberation in the COMMONS. Aberdeen (9 August) expresses his satisfaction in the LORDS at their having been burked there.[a]

4. * Parliamentary reform, national education reform, law reform (a few trifles apart) etc. *postponed.* Transportation Bill,[627] Navigation Bill * etc. inherited from the Derby MINISTRY. Jewish bill rejected. Nothing can truly be described as the MINISTRY'S own [save α] *the great CAB ACT* which had no sooner crossed the threshold than it required revision by Parliament because 'all the talents' of the chaps had not even sufficed to create hackney carriage regulations. β) Gladstone's conversion of the PUBLIC DEBT,[b] the FAILURE of which he had to admit before Parliament as early as 28 JULY.[628]

*August 20.* (Day of Parliament's PROROGATION—27 October.) Palmerston dismisses the Commons with the assurance that they need not worry about the Eastern affair, * 'as far as the evacuation of the principalities was concerned...* their PLEDGE was, *"his confidence in the honour and character of the Russian Emperor", which would move him to withdraw his troops voluntarily from the principalities'*.[c]

*3 December.* Sinope.[629]

*12 December.* Note of the 4 POWERS to the Porte, in which *au fond*[d] more was demanded of it than in the Vienna Note.[630]

*14 December.* First, Palmerston agrees in the *Conseil*[e] of Ministers to telegraph Vienna, saying the Sinope affair should not be allowed to upset the negotiations; then, in order to deceive the philistines, on

*15 December,* hands in his RESIGNATION, allegedly because opposed to Russell's REFORM BILL. Returns to office, of course, as soon as his end attained.

*1854*

*Mid-January.* Resignation of *Sadleir,* the BROKER to the Irish Brigade, following SCANDALOUS DISCLOSURES before an IRISH COURT OF LAW. Had been Junior Lord of the Treasury. (*Later,* the VIRTUOUS Gladstone wishes to dispatch to Australia as Governor his relative, Lawley, speculator in stocks while secretary to the CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER and BETTING man. Discredited in Parliament. This same

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[a] G. Aberdeen, [Speech in the House of Lords on 9 August 1853,] *The Times,* No. 21503, 10 August 1853. - [b] Gladstone, [Speech in the House of Commons on 8 April 1853,] *The Times,* No. 21398, 9 April 1853. - [c] Palmerston, [Speech in the House of Commons on 20 August 1853,] *The Times,* No. 21513, 22 August 1853. - [d] basically - [e] Council

'virtuous' chap engages O'Flaherty, who makes off with the cash-box, and brings one *Hayward* into the POOR LAW ADMINISTRATION on the strength of a lengthy lampoon against Disraeli. All the dirt piles up on the virtuous Gladstone.)

*Beginning of February.* Parliament reopens.

*6 February.* Palmerston announces his intention to introduce a bill for the organisation of the militia in Ireland and Scotland.[a] 28 March. War declared. Bill not introduced until *end of June.*

*13 February.* Russell introduces his Reform Bill, which he had made both a condition and an excuse for joining the Coalition. Withdraws it 10 weeks later with 'tears in his eyes'.[b] As a token of gratitude, again made President OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL and gets a salary.

*6 March.* Gladstone demands

* 'only the sum which would be required to *bring back* the 25,000 men about to leave the British shores'.*[c]

DOUBLES THE INCOME TAX FOR 6 MONTHS. *MAY 8* has again to introduce a new budget.

*Mid-March.* The Czar[d] forces the chaps to declare war by publishing the 'SECRET AND CONFIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE',[631] which opens with a dispatch of 11 January 1853[e] and brands as deliberate lies all the statements made by the chaps during 1853.

*7 April.* Lord Grey (even then minded to become War Minister; notorious for having, as Colonial Minister, brought every English colony to the verge of rebellion) makes his speech in the LORDS[f] complaining about *England's* lack of *military organisation.* This merely provides the Ministers with an opportunity—*8 June*—of creating one more *post* and one more *salary* by separating the MINISTRY *FOR* WAR[g] from the COLONIAL MINISTRY without concentration of DEPARTMENTS. *Cholera* is likewise used as a pretext to create an INDEPENDENT President of the 'Board of Health' and thus a new ministerial post and salary.

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[a] Palmerston, [Speech in the House of Commons on 6 February 1854,] *The Times,* No. 21658, 7 February 1854. - [b] Russell, [Speeches in the House of Commons on 13 February and 11 April 1854,] *The Times,* Nos. 21664 and 21713, 14 February and 12 April 1854. - [c] Gladstone, [Speech in the House of Commons on 6 March 1854,] *The Times,* No. 21682, 7 March 1854. - [d] Nicholas I - [e] Sir G. H. Seymour to Lord J. Russell. St. Petersburg, 11 January 1853, *The Times,* No. 21693, 20 March 1854. - [f] Grey, [Speech in the House of Lords on 7 April 1854,] *The Times,* No. 22720, 8 April 1854. - [g] The Office of the Secretary of State for War and Colonies was divided into the War Office and the Colonial Office in 1854. The Office of the Secretary of State at War was abolished. The term 'ministry', though used by Marx, was unusual in English in this context.

*May 29.*

* 'Their'* (the Ministers') * 'measures were kicked overboard in a very unceremonious manner'* (*Bright*).[a]

*Résumé of their domestic activities during this 2nd session:* 7 major bills introduced. *3* of them * *defeated:* bill for the entire change of the law of settlement[632]; bill for public education in Scotland; bill on the entire reconstruction of Parliamentary oaths.[633] *3 withdrawn:* Bribery Prevention Bill; bill for the complete change of the civil service; measure for Parliamentary Reform. 1 bill—Oxford Parliamentary Reform Bill* passed, in very mutilated and modified form.

*August 12.* Prorogation of Parliament.

*Extraordinary December session:* Bills relating to the FOREIGN LEGION[613] and the Militia.[62]

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A perusal of this list will recall enough facts to enable you to ridicule the fellows and, incidentally, cast a few aspersions on the worthy Palmerston in advance (in case he should become Premier).

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 February 1855

Dear Frederic,

Many thanks for the article.[634] Russell has been horribly discredited by Newcastle, though that ass waxed altogether too touching at the end of his speech.[b]

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[a] J. Bright, [Speech in the House of Commons on 29 May 1854,] *The Times*, No. 21754, 30 May 1854. - [b] H. Newcastle [Speech in the House of Lords on 1 February 1855,] *The Times*, No. 21967, 2 February 1855.

My wife is getting on satisfactorily. But all is by no means well with the child,[a] I fear.

Enclosed 1. Letter from Lassalle; 2. from Daniels; 3. the cuttings to which Lassalle refers[635]; Goldheim has been prowling about among the workers in Solingen etc. under the name of 'Lassalle'. 4. Letter from Steffen who, however, has omitted to give his Brighton address and will begin to grumble again if, *in the circumstances*, I don't reply.

As a result of the Barbès business *Jones*, of course, got mixed up with the *crapauds*,[b] and with the *crapule*[c] among them at that. So another big banquet of all nations was arranged for the February celebrations.[636] He came to see me, too, and I laughed in his face. Meanwhile his Frenchmen (a quite unknown MOB) had dug up the ex-Schapper Association[637] which did not, OF COURSE, reject such good graces. Moreover the malcontents among the Polish and Italian émigrés—who are not accounted 'superior refugees'—are said to have *organised* themselves for the purpose of sending delegates to the Committee.[638] For the fun of it, Götz and I let Jones take us to their meeting yesterday, we being designated 'observers'. He introduced us as 'OLD FRIENDS OF THE CHARTIST PARTY' who, doubtless, were entitled to satisfy their curiosity. Who was there? Various *crapauds* of the basest sort. A *Spanish* tailor or tobacco manufacturer who had 'convened himself'. *Stechan* (half crazed) and behind him three notorious German louts. Schapper himself being no longer available, Stechan tried to ape the former's physiognomy, his morose gravity, his gesticulations, as once the butcher Legendre those of Danton. But that was not all. *Herzen* the Russian went uninvited to the previous meeting, and (himself) moved that he be nominated a member of the Committee.[639] At the meeting we attended, an obsequious letter from him was read out and, because the politically wise Frenchmen thought him *'un garçon charmant'*,[d] he was admitted without further ado. The meeting, the chattering of the Frenchmen, the glazed expressions of the Germans, the gesticulations of the Spanish tailor were so awful that Jones (CHAIRMAN) 1. proposed that everyone should speak only once and for not more than ten minutes; 2. upon its being remarked that the Spaniard was not an émigré because democracy had triumphed there, he came out with an ambiguous compliment that 'he wished every émigré community in London a similar lot' so that thus 'no international committees need be maintained' here.

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[a] Eleanor - [b] philistines (see this volume, p. 502) - [c] dregs - [d] a charming fellow

Götz and I were treated to a free comedy and we smoked furiously in our role of mute onlookers. Here one could see with one's own eyes the pass to which *'la vraie démocratie'*[a] has come.

Your
K. Marx

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 February 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Firstly an acknowledgement of receipt of the 'BULLION', and secondly of today's *splendid* article.[b] For the past 4-5 days I have been prevented from writing, hence also to you, by a severe inflammation of the eyes which is not yet fully cleared up: also, as a result of the cold weather my USUAL SECRETARY[c] has not risen from her bed again as quickly as is her wont. However I think that she will shortly be able to return to her post. My eye trouble was brought on by reading through my own note-books on economics,[618] the intention being, not so much to elaborate the thing, as at any rate to master the material and get it READY to work on.

I have told you how Herzen elbowed his way on to the 'International Committee'.[d] Enclosed is a letter from him in which he proffers thanks for the 'invitation' which 'was never made'. The letter was intended for publication in *The People's Paper* in order to assert his importance *coram publico*.[e] This miscarried, for I immediately wheedled the scrawl out of Jones. However Herzen has had himself nominated a steward.

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[a] true democracy - [b] F. Engels, 'The Struggle in the Crimea'. - [c] Jenny Marx - [d] See previous letter, - [e] publicly

Also enclosed a 2nd letter, in which this committee invites me to the banquet and 'to take part in the MEETING'. I do not want to offend the *crapauds*,[a] still less the Chartists. So the question is: in *what form* I should couch my refusal. Tell me your view *by return*. The thing must be declined, 1. because such MEETINGS are, on the whole, HUMBUG; 2. because at this moment it would be to expose oneself uselessly to GOVERNMENTAL PERSECUTION, and Palmerston has his eye on me; 3. because at no time and in no place do I wish to appear alongside *Herzen*, not being of the view that OLD EUROPE should be rejuvenated with Russian blood.[640] Should one's reply, perhaps, include some reference to Herzen's presence?

Jones has done something infinitely 'stupid', indeed gone completely off the rails, in leaving the management of the affair to the *crapauds* and the German louts. He sacrificed everything to the desire to show, at a big PUBLIC MEETING, that the FOREIGN EMIGRATIONS were in the tow of the Chartists. The MEETING will be a large one and create an uproar, but as a result: 1. Urquhart and Co. (likewise *The Times* if the thing creates a sensation) will denounce the Chartists as being led by *Russian* agents. This is unavoidable. 2. It will provide the Ministry with a pretext for reviving the Aliens Bill.[75] 3. Discord within the Chartist Party. Has already broken out. A section of the London Chartists maintains that Jones has ARBITRARILY departed from the Charter and compromised their whole cause by adopting the slogan 'SOCIAL AND DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC' when forming the branch committee which is to be the CONNECTING LINK between the Chartists and the FOREIGN EMIGRATION.[b] There is no denying the extent of Jones' energy, persistence and activity, yet he goes and spoils everything by the way he cries his wares, by his tactless striving after pretexts for agitation and his anxiety to be ahead of the time. If he can't agitate in reality, he seeks an appearance of agitation, improvises MOVEMENTS after MOVEMENTS (so that, of course, everything remains at a standstill) and periodically works himself up into a state of fictitious exaltation. I have warned him, but in vain.

Mr Golovin—Herzen's *fidus* Achates[c]—has inserted in today's *Morning Advertiser*, under the heading 'February Revolution', a small notice to the effect that

> 'he has heard that Herzen is to represent Russia, OR RATHER LIBERAL RUSSIA, at the banquet. His name alone betrays that he is a German, or rather a German Jew.

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[a] philistines - [b] A reference to 'The Alliance of the Peoples. The International Committee', *The People's Paper*, No. 145, 10 February 1855. - [c] faithful Achates (Virgil, *Aeneid*)

In Russia the Czar is criticised for making especial use of these people. The emigration should take care not TO FALL INTO THE SAME ERROR'.[a]

If, as the Paris correspondent writes in the 2ND EDITION of today's *Morning Chronicle*,[b] Bonaparte minor[c] assumes personally the supreme command of the Army of the Rhine against Prussia, the 'campagne' might end badly for the French.

Your
K. M.

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## 265

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 March 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

On Tuesday[d] you will be hearing from me at some length. Today no more than these few lines to explain the reasons for my silence:

1. Musch[e] has had a dangerous gastric fever which he has still not shaken off (this is the worst of all).

2. The BABY[f] GREW EVERY DAY WORSE and was disturbing the whole household so that a few days ago a change of wet nurse became necessary.

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[a] I. Golovin, 'To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*', in the section 'February Revolution', *The Morning Advertiser*, 13 February 1855. - [b] 'Express from Paris', *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 27499, 13 February 1855. - [c] nickname of Napoleon III given to him by Victor Hugo - [d] 6 March - [e] Edgar - [f] Eleanor

3. My wife, although splendidly recovered from her confinement, has had a so-called whitlow on the index finger of her right hand. Though a minor affliction, it is extremely painful and irritating. The thing was operated upon yesterday.

4. First I had my eye trouble, now more or less over; then such a frightful cough that I had to swallow several bottles of medicine and even keep to my bed for a few days.

So you see the whole house was and, to some extent still is, a hospital.

I shall get you Herzen's stuff[641]; likewise yesterday's *People's Paper*, in which you can read about Jones' and Herzen's COMMON PROCEEDINGS.[a] Should I throw Jones out if he comes again, or should I proceed 'diplomatically'?

The doctor says I need a change of air, not having left the PRECINCTS OF SOHO SQUARE for 2 years. So I should like to visit Manchester before my wife goes to Trier again. Should you, in view of your old man's impending arrival or for any other reason, find it awkward to put me up, I could take a room in Manchester. I must at any rate—but not, of course, until everything's all right here—get away from this place for a while, since the physical staleness also stultifies my brain.

*Que dites-vous de la mort de Nicholas?*[b] I like the way *The Times* insinuates that his death was partly due to fright because 'HIS WORST ENEMY'—Palmerston—has become Premier of England.[c]

*Vale faveque.*[d]

*Totus tuus,*[e]
K. M.

Have heard nothing from Cluss for months.

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[a] 'Immense Demonstration in St. Martin's Hall', *The People's Paper*, No. 148, 3 March 1855. - [b] What do you say to the death of Nicholas? - [c] *The Times*, No. 21992, 3 March 1855, leader. - [d] Good-bye and farewell. - [e] All yours

## 266

## MARX TO ENGELS[234]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 March 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Received the £5.

I cannot get away until COLONEL Musch is visibly recovered. However, this week he has made rapid strides towards convalescence, today the doctor was EXCEEDINGLY PLEASED, and next week everything may be ALL RIGHT. As soon as I can depart with a good conscience, I shall write to you. Next week, I imagine.

Yesterday we were informed of A VERY HAPPY EVENT, the death of my wife's uncle, aged 90.[a] As a result, my mother-in-law[b] will save an annual impost of 200 talers and my wife will get almost £100; more if the old dog hasn't made over to his housekeeper such of his money as is not entailed. Another question which will be settled is that of the Duke of Brunswick's manuscript on the Seven Years' War, for which old Scharnhorst has already offered large sums. My wife immediately registered a protest against any attempts by her brother[c] to make a present of it to 'His Most Gracious Highness'.[d] Let the Prussian state acquire it for cash BUT NOT OTHERWISE.

There is a prospect of another *possible* source of money. My wife had deposited 1,300 talers with one Grach, a banker in Trier. The fellow went bankrupt and, in her case, had acted *fraudulently*, since he was already insolvent (although unbeknown to the public) when he accepted her deposit. On the urgent plea of the wife of this Grach, my wife 'relented' and refrained from pursuing the matter in the courts. The Chief Public Prosecutor had stated that Grach would otherwise be brought before the Assizes. This Grach's wife has now inherited a large fortune and, if she keeps her promise, we can count on the recovery of at least part of the loss. In any case this will mean that the 'past' has been discharged once and for all and a weight lifted from our shoulders.

Napoleon Bonaparte's[e] pamphlet—(Girardin denies in *La Presse* that he is the *faiseur*[f])—amused me very much.[642] Despite the

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[a] Heinrich Georg von Westphalen - [b] Caroline von Westphalen - [c] Ferdinand von Westphalen - [d] Frederick William IV - [e] Joseph Charles Paul Napoleon Bonaparte - [f] maker

attempt to present '*le prince*' in an imposing attitude, despite the French braggadocio, superficiality, and BLUNDERS in things military, the pamphlet is worth its weight in gold as a memorial to our Leroy, alias St-Arnaud, and generally as typical of the 'IMPERIAL BARNUM'[a] and his round table.

There is one point you might clear up for me about the Crimean business, namely: General Evans declared before the committee[b] that the main reason for the MELTING OF THE ARMY before Sevastopol was the absence of a road from the harbour of Balaklava; 1,000 men would have sufficed to build one in 10 days, but—*et c'est la question*[c]—ALL MEN WHO COULD HAVE BEEN SPARED WERE EMPLOYED IN THE TRENCHES, and *from the start* the extent of the lines to be captured by the English was grossly disproportionate TO THEIR NUMERICAL STRENGTH. The question is: Could the French be regarded as the CONTRIVERS of this MISCHIEF?

A short while ago I took another look at Roman history (ancient) up to the time of Augustus.[643] Internal history resolves itself PLAINLY into the struggle between small and large landed property, specifically modified, of course, by slavery relations. Debtor-creditor relations, which play so large a part from the *origines* of Roman history, figure merely as an inherent consequence of small landed property.

Today I saw an advertisement for 3 works by Forster, a parson, all having in common the title *Original Language.*

As you will have seen, Mr Herzen is now having himself puffed in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* also.[d] At the same time his SPEECH (at Jones' meeting) is appearing in *The People's Paper* as a fly-sheet and in *père* Ribeyrolles' estimable *L'Homme.*[e]

Your

K. M.

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[a] meaning Napoleon III - [b] G. Evans de Lacy, [Evidence given before the Committee of Inquiry into the Condition of the British Army in the Crimea,] *The Times*, Nos. 21994 and 21995, 6 and 7 March 1855. - [c] and that is the question - [d] i.e. 'Der Russe Herzen', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 63, 4 March 1855. - [e] Discours d'Alexandre Herzen, exilé russe, prononcé au meeting tenu le 27 février 1855 dans St. Martin's Hall, à Londres, en commemoration des grands mouvements révolutionnaires de 1848 [s. l., s. a.], published on the Island of Jersey; *L'Homme*, No. 14, 7 March 1855.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 March 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I do not believe that the good Musch is going to get over his illness. You will understand how this prospect affects all of us here. My wife once again altogether DOWN. However, the issue will soon be known.

Your
K. M.

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## 268

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 March 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Musch has been improving visibly for the past few days and the doctor sees every reason for hope. If all goes well, Musch must go into the country straight away. He is, of course, terribly weak and wasted. The fever IS GOT RID OF and the constipation considerably abated. The real question now is whether his constitution is strong enough to undergo the whole treatment. However, I think it is. As soon as the doctor says he is out of danger, I shall come and visit you.

Dronke has arrived here and is applying for Freiligrath's post, Freiligrath having definitely broken with his principal.[a]

[a] Oxford

You must forgive me for not writing more than these few lines. I am dog-tired from the long night vigils, since I am Musch's nurse.

Warmest regards from the whole family, Musch included.

Tell Lupus that Furrer, the Swiss with whom he used to be in touch, has gone bankrupt and actually done his resident tutor out of £14.

*Vale faveque.*[a]

*Totus tuus,*[b]
K. M.

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## 269

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 30 March 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

From day to day I have put off sending you a bulletin[c] because the ups and downs of the illness were such that I changed my opinion almost hourly. Latterly, however, the illness has assumed the character, hereditary in my family, of an abdominal consumption, and even the doctor seems to have given up hope. For the past week emotional stress has made my wife iller than ever before. As for myself, though my heart is bleeding and my head afire, I must, of course, maintain my composure. Never for one moment throughout his illness has the child been untrue to his own good-natured, and at the same time independent, self.

As for you, I cannot thank you enough for the kindness with

[a] Good-bye and farewell. - [b] All yours - [c] on Edgar Marx's condition

which you have worked in my stead, and for the sympathy you have shown towards the child.

Should there be any change for the better, I shall write to you at once.

*Totus tuus,*[a]
K. M.

*Notabene.* There's *no* sailing for America next *Tuesday*[b] and it doesn't do to send the chaps two articles at once *every time.* So give this Tuesday a miss.

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## 270

## MARX TO ENGELS[213]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 April 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Poor Musch is no more. Between 5 and 6 o'clock today he fell asleep (in the literal sense) in my arms. I shall never forget how much your friendship has helped to make this ghastly time easier for us. You will understand how I grieve over the child. My wife sends her warmest regards. I might, if I come to Manchester, bring her with me for a week, in which case we should, of course, stay at an inn (or perhaps take PRIVATE LODGINGS). At any rate I must find some means of helping her over the first days.

Your
K. M.

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[a] All yours - [b] 3 April

Edgar Marx (Musch)

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## MARX TO ENGELS[213]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 April 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I am thinking of coming up to Manchester with my wife on Wednesday[a]; she must have a change of scene for a few days. Unless I let you know to the contrary, Wednesday will be the day. I shall at any rate be writing again on Monday.

Needless to say, the house has been very desolate and bereft since the death of the dear child[b] who was its life and soul. I cannot tell you how we miss the child at every turn. I've already had my share of bad luck but only now do I know what real unhappiness is. I feel BROKEN DOWN. Since the funeral I have been fortunate enough to have such splitting headaches that I can neither think nor hear nor see.

Amid all the fearful torments I have recently had to endure, the thought of you and your friendship has always sustained me, as has the hope that there is still something sensible for us to do together in the world.

Your
K. M.

My wife has just brought me a line or two for you, which I enclose.

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[a] 18 April - [b] See previous letter.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 April [1855]

Dear Engels,

I shall be leaving with my wife for Manchester on Wednesday morning by the parliamentary train.[145]

Dronke and I have just seen Badinguet crossing Westminster Bridge.[644] A monkey in uniform.

Your
K. M.

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## 273

## MARX TO MORITZ ELSNER

IN BRESLAU

[London,] 17 April 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Elsner,

I shall be away from London for a few days in company with my wife. Dronke has kindly agreed to carry on with the articles during that time. He will today be sending you a report on Bonaparte's arrival.[a] In case I don't see him again, I am writing to you separately.

The 2 enclosed articles[b] constitute the *beginning* of a polemic against *pan-Slavism*.[609] In my view it is high time that Germany be made seriously aware of the dangers threatening her. You may

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[a] [E. Dronke,] 'Der Besuch', *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 183, 20 April 1855. - [b] F. Engels, 'Germany and Pan-Slavism'.

print these things *when* you think fit, for they have nothing directly to do with our regular articles. However I'm convinced that there is *no time* to lose. The alarm must be sounded in Germany.

In the same context the Berlin 'Critical Criticism'[a] will be lambasted for its arrogant stupidity.

Your
K. M.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 May 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

My wife is most unwell; the household in general still very upset. From the day we left Manchester[645] the weather here has been unremittingly awful.

Dronke, the little fool, refuses to send you the Bruno Bauer[646] until you have sent him his 'rubbers'. The 'Petermann'[b] got packed by mistake. Would already have been returned to you if I hadn't wanted to send it at the same time as the Bruno Bauer. Tell me how you wish it done. If you send the little fool his shoes, you might at the same time send me the Decker, which I forgot.[c]

I have written to Breslau.[647] No answer yet. In the meantime write and tell me in greater detail how many sheets—whether in separate volumes or ALL TOGETHER—, charges, etc.[609]

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[a] Bruno Bauer (see also Note 535) - [b] *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesammtgebiete der Geographie*, edited by A. Petermann. - [c] C. Decker, *Der kleine Krieg, im Geiste der neueren Kriegführung, Oder: Abhandlung über die Verwendung und den Gebrauch aller drei Waffen im kleinen Kriege.*

At long last a few more *Tribunes* from Cluss, together with a couple of lines in which he indicates that he will be writing.

Herewith 1. *The Sunday Times* on the 'Soho scorpions'. 2. A cutting from *The People's Paper*[a] in which you may read about Mr Jones' curious negotiations with the City reformers,[648] and 'how he was brought down' (clearly the chaps wanted to have the working plebs standing *in* the street *outside* their doors as mere supernumeraries, just for SHOW and to demonstrate their movement's popularity). The business is VERY CURIOUS INDEED.

Regards to Lupus.

Your
K. M.

The *Political Fly-Sheets*[b] have now come out as a book. In the foreword Mr Tucker thanks me *by name*[c] which, with an Aliens Bill[75] in the offing, is NOT QUITE RECOMMENDATORY.

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## 275

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 May[d] 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

My wife has been *confined to bed* since yesterday evening. As I cannot draw a bill before a week on Tuesday (next),[e] I should be much obliged if you could send me some money (however little).

The devil take the *Tribune*! Certainly it is now absolutely essential that it should adopt an *anti-pan-Slav* line.[649] If it doesn't,

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[a] i.e. E. Jones, 'Political Felony. Infamous Chicanery and Fraud of the Administrative Reform Association', *The People's Paper*, No. 158, 12 May 1855. - [b] See this volume, pp. 407-08, 432, 455 and 473. - [c] *Tucker's Political Fly-Sheets*, London, 1855, p. 1. - [d] March in the original. - [e] 22 May

one might be compelled to break with the rag, which would be disastrous.

As you will have seen in an earlier no. of the Augsburg *Allgemeine*,[a] as from next August, the great *Herzen* will be bringing out a Russian periodical here, the *Polar Star*.[b]

My warm regards to Lupus.

Your
K. M.

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## 276

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 15 June [1855]
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Your article[c] just arrived (4 o'clock in the afternoon). Our inebriated postman had already passed the door when Lenchen grabbed him and took away the letter. From Dana's letter,[650] enclosed herewith, you will see that he is asking for 1. a column on the Prussian army for the *Tribune*, 2. a sheet on all the European armies for *Putnam's Review*.[d] *If you have no time* to do the latter, you must send me the material and I shall have to do it.[651] It is true that, in the latter case, my unfamiliarity with the subject would make for a sorry result, but I cannot let slip the £10 to be earned in this way, for, on the one hand, no money is yet coming in from the legacy and, on the other, expenses have been very heavy; added to which there has been a loss of earnings, since the worthy Dronke did *not* keep the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* supplied during my absence (despite his promise) and, as to the *Tribune* itself, there was still an overdraft outstanding (only cleared off by *today's* post[e]).

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[a] 'Großbritannien. London, 6 Mai', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 130, 10 May 1855. - [b] *Полярная звезда* - [c] F. Engels, 'Napoleon's War Plans'. - [d] *Putnam's Monthly* - [e] by Engels' article 'Napoleon's War Plans'

With regard to the *Petermann*,[a] I sent it to Manchester by Pfänder, together with a note, while you were away in the LAKES. Pfänder is now in Manchester again, so will be able to give you particulars.

For Lupus: Lost his bet. The pubs here open at 1 o'clock on Sundays, not half past twelve.

These lines in great haste. More in my next.

Your
K. M.

Apropos: Bruno Bauer has brought out a pamphlet on the Russian Church.[b]

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## 277

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 June 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I did *not* send off any article last Friday[c] because [articles dispatched] *simultaneously* from London and Manchester would have aroused the fellows' suspicions. On Tuesday (last)[d] I sent off an article of an entirely general nature on Bonaparte's diplomacy, the treaties of 1815 and the Prussian Field Marshal Knesebeck.[e] For at the Congress of Vienna the latter cracked some good jokes about the Poles.[f]

Next Friday[g] it will be virtually impossible to avoid writing a military piece about the affair at Malakhov and Redan on the anniversary of Waterloo.[652] Tomorrow and the day after I shall go

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[a] *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' geographischer Anstalt...* - [b] B. Bauer, *Die russische Kirche*, Charlottenburg, 1855. - [c] 22 June - [d] 19 June - [e] K. Marx, 'Eccentricities of Politics'. - [f] A reference to F. Knesebeck's *Denkschrift, betreffend die Gleichgewichts-Lage Europa's, beim zusammentritte des Wiener Congresses verfaßt...*, pp. 13-14. - [g] 29 June

to the library and look up something on the Spanish army. You shall have what I can find by the end of this week in any case.

Regarding your pamphlet[609] Elsner writes to me:

'You have far too lofty an idea of our booksellers if you believe that any one of them would consent to bring out something written by Engels. All those I asked refused, no doubt because they are afraid of acquiring the reputation of being revolutionary.... Should you intend making inquiries in Berlin, perhaps *Alexander Duncker* would be most likely to take the work.'

Weerth could negotiate with Duncker.[653]

The demonstration in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon had quite a revolutionary air.[654]

This short note is written to the accompaniment of an appalling toothache which has been plaguing me for a week now.

*Salut!*

Your
K. M.

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## 278

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 29 June [1855]

Dear Engels,

When you have read the accompanying scraps, you will say: *multa* INSTEAD OF *multum*.[a] And rightly so. I was unable to find the most important item, viz. the number and calibre of guns for Spain, although I leafed rapidly through the whole book of *Ordenanzas*. You'll find something in this respect about the mountain artillery in one of the notes. To judge by a passage in

[a] *Non multa, sed multum* (not many, but much)

the Portuguese *Revista militar,* Spanish artillery is largely on a French footing as regards matériel.

I have got together all manner of stuff, some of which may be of use.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Where *Minutoli* (Baron) quoted, reference is to his book: *Spanien und seine fortschreitende Entwicklung* etc., Berlin, 1852.

I believe it's that swine of a policeman. Was and still may be Prussian Consul General in SPAIN and Portugal.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 July 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

The £5 received on Monday.

For 3 days I have been rummaging through a mass of stuff at the Museum[651] without finding anything about the Neapolitan army save for the following, which may also be found in MacCulloch's *Dictionary Geographical, Statistical* etc.

In 1848 the army NEARLY 49,000 strong (this seems to be its war footing, as I find it given {in a *Dizionario Politico,* Turin} as 26-27,000 strong in 1840). Of these, 32,000 INFANTRY OF THE LINE, 5,000 CAVALRY, 4,000 ARTILLERY AND ENGINEERS, and 8,000 *gendarmes.* They claim to be able to increase their army to 64,237 and this is given as the official war footing.

I discovered from *Ricciardi* that the son of Ferdinand I[a] and father of King Bomba[b] first engaged the Swiss—in 1824 or 1825—for 30 years (the Neapolitan army having aped the Spanish and mutinied) at 3 times the pay of the NATIVE ARMY. Since the government of the Two Sicilies relies on Swiss and lazzaroni at home and on the Austrian army abroad, and itself estimates at zero its badly paid, undisciplined, demoralised, cowardly army, I believe that in any survey of the European armies, this estimate made by its own government could be accepted, the army put at zero, and its strength mentioned only *en passant*.

There might be something more detailed in Mariotti. But I couldn't get hold of it as it was always 'IN HAND' whenever I asked for it.

Our family life here is still melancholy. My wife still very unwell. The memory of our poor, dear child[c] torments us, and even interposes itself in his sisters'[d] play. Such blows can only be mitigated slowly, with the passage of time. To me the loss is as poignant as on the first day and hence I can tell how much my wife is suffering. Should the Scotch money[e] arrive in time I shall spend a few weeks in Kent, where plenty of cheap and pleasantly situated places are said to be available.

The scenes in Hyde Park last Sunday were DISGUSTING, firstly because of the CONSTABLES' brutality, and secondly because of the purely passive resistance put up by the huge crowds.[655] However, things are clearly seething and fermenting and we can only hope that great disasters in the Crimea will bring them to a head.

Your
K. M.

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[a] Francis I - [b] Ferdinand II - [c] Edgar (see this volume, p. 530) - [d] Jenny and Laura - [e] an allusion to the Scottish origin of the Westphalens; see also p. 526.

# 280

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 17 July 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Strohn is here and, unfortunately, prevents me from sending an ARTICLE to the *Tribune* today. I therefore intend to send off on Friday,[a] under *Tuesday*'s date, an article on the latest ministerial crisis, and I should be very grateful if, *at the same time*, you would send me one on, say, the Prussian army (assuming that nothing occurs in the theatre of war),[b] so that 2 articles go off *at once*. For I shall be compelled to draw a bill on the *Tribune* next week, or rather *overdraw* and appreciably so at that, as I had already overdrawn last time, and this time several days have been missed.

A German returning from Yankeeland, Gustav Pöckel, brought me a line or two from Edgar[c] and more detailed news about him and other acquaintances. Of late, Edgar had been working as a farm labourer near New York and intended to sell his farm in Texas. Schramm[d] is said to be dying of consumption and is also in New York State. Ewerbeck passed through about eighteen months ago on his way to visit Cabet in Nauvoo. Fickler took over the Shakespeare Hotel after Lièvre went bankrupt, making the most of the occasion to do the dirty on him. Jacobi's[e] affairs are prospering; the Yankees like his 'serious' and 'reserved' manner. Field Marshal Blenker and a few other notorious swindlers from the days of the revolution comedy have bought up real estate with the stolen funds and, as regards swagger and brutality towards their workpeople, are said to put the Yankees completely in the shade. Heinzen has re-established himself in New York with his *Pionier*. All in all, things are going very badly for the Germans over there, at one and the same time harassed by the Maine Law, KNOW-NOTHINGS[656] and the crisis in agriculture and industry. Hence a substantial re-emigration to Germany, Canada and South America.

Through the mediation of German merchants in Paris (one of them a supporter of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*) *Dronke* has

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[a] 20 July - [b] On Marx's request Engels wrote 'War Prospects'. - [c] Edgar von Westphalen - [d] Conrad Schramm - [e] Abraham Jacobi

received an affirmative reply to his application for permission to return to Paris. He proposes to set off this week, as soon as he has recouped the 'costs of production'.

*Imandt* is in Scotland for 4 weeks on a visit to Heise. He has placed his COTTAGE in Camberwell at my disposal in the meantime. The whole FAMILY will move there and avail themselves of the change of air until we can afford something bigger.

As to the enclosed letters:

*No. I.* From *Lassalle* in Paris.

*No. II.* I send you for your amusement Szeredy's *Asiatic Chiefs*, together with the fellow's appeal to me.[657]

*No. III.* Letter from Florencourt (the only one you need return). Contains an account of how things stand with the legacy.[a] You will observe on the one hand that the legacy has increased by £515, while on the other all manner of delays are militating against its rapid realisation. This Florencourt is not the notorious one,[b] but his brother.

Your
K. M.

Do you know of any book on the *êtres*[c] of LITTLE Johnny Russell?[658]

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## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

### IN PARIS

London, 28 July 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho[d]

Dear Lassalle,

I have been staying in the country for the past few weeks in a cottage lent me by a friend[e] who is away in Scotland. That is why I did not get your letter until yesterday. I have, incidentally, taken

[a] See this volume, pp. 526 and 541. - [b] Franz von Florencourt - [c] life and doings - [d] The letter is written in Camberwell near London but datelined London. - [e] Peter Imandt (see previous letter)

steps to have my letters forwarded to me immediately from town.

I am, of course, surprised to hear that, despite your proximity to London, you are not thinking of coming over here, if only for a few days. I hope that you will think it over again and discover how short and cheap the journey from Paris to London is. If France's doors were not hermetically closed against me, I would pay you a surprise visit in Paris.

I have several friends in Paris, but I shall not be able to send you their addresses (I am not in town at the moment of writing) until I go to Soho, where I keep them.

Bacon says that really important people have so many relations to nature and the world, so many objects of interest, that they easily get over any loss. I am not one of those important people. The death of my child[a] has shattered me to the very core and I feel the loss as keenly as on the first day. My poor wife is also completely BROKEN DOWN.

If you see Heine again, give him my regards.

Your
K. M.

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## 282

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 August 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

The FAMILY (hence, for the most part, myself also) still in Camberwell. Pieper came and stayed with us for a week. I was thus prevented from writing, save for the necessary pieces for New York AND GERMANY. The article on the 'ARMIES' is splendid.[b]

From the enclosed letter from Steffen you will see what a bad state our friend Daniels and Bürgers are in. I am particularly sorry about the first. I don't know whether, in my résumé of the

[a] Edgar - [b] F. Engels, 'The Armies of Europe'.

report by the visitor from Yankeeland,[a] I mentioned that Conrad Schramm is consumptive and is taking a cure of ass's milk *chez* former Field Marshal Blenker.

In the past weeks I have sent the *Tribune* a series of articles—i.e. 3—about Lord John Russell in which the little man is passed in review from the very beginning.[659] However, it will soon be necessary to say SOME WORDS about the war and also, perhaps, about how the *affaire* is going in Asia.

Dronke has suffered a bitter disappointment. For it eventually transpired that the issue of a passport to Paris had been due to a misunderstanding on the part of the French Embassy; rather, express instructions had been given that he was not to be admitted into France. In a few days it will be decided whether or not he has obtained a post in Jersey.

Bonaparte has, within the bounds of pure reason, solved the problem I set him, namely 'to steal the whole of France in order to make a present of it to France again'.[b] His manoeuvrings over the loan are significant experiments in that direction.

What do you think of the Austrian concentration of troops in Italy? Have you seen the 2nd *Mémoire d'un Officier Général*?[660]

Your

K. M.

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## 283

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

1 September 1855
3 York Place, Denmark,[c]
Camberwell

Dear Frederic,

Imandt has gone off to Montrose and chucked up his whole CONCERN here for the highly dubious prospect of a post in

[a] Pöckel (see this volume, p. 542) - [b] Marx quotes from his *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 195). - [c] Should be: Denmark street (see this volume, pp. 547 and 550).

Arbroath. I have taken over his goods and chattels and shall remain here until the arrival of the Scotch money.[a] Then I shall rent some decent lodgings. Until then I shall have to keep the house in Dean Street. The country air has suited the whole FAMILY uncommonly well, my wife especially.

Received your article[b] yesterday. The Russian report is now in all the Hamburg papers as well.

As regards *Putnam's*, we must now get a move on. In a letter I got from Dana he already evinced anxiety lest No. 2[c] should arrive too late. But it was there on time, as I see from a subsequent letter.[d] Putnam has asked for another article on 'THE IMPROVEMENTS IN MODERN WARFARE'. *The New-York Times* contains criticism which is generally favourable, but clearly grudging: off duty, Englishmen don't wear 'narrow trousers', their squadrons number more than 400 SABRES, and a ? after 'SABRES' too, and, lastly, the writer seems to be unaware that in England flogging is now restricted to 50 strokes and is inflicted only in exceptional cases. The business at Aldershot where, ABOUT 14 DAYS ago, a SOLDIER died from 30 strokes of the lash, is comment enough on the *criticus* concerning whose nonsense I have sent Dana the requisite observations.[661]

Have you been following Napier's row with Graham? The 1st article was in *The Times*, the 2nd in the *Advertiser* and the *Herald*.[662] Today the *Advertiser*'s first LEADER contains the exchange of letters between Charley and James. A reply from Graham to Napier's first articles is also, it seems, to appear in one of today's papers.

I wonder whether you have noticed that the Austrians made use of the time they were deploying their armies in Galicia to construct, under Hess' general supervision, railways of solely strategic importance; likewise fortifications directed against Russia.

I hope that you will now write and tell me something about yourself and your doings.

Your
K. M.

Unless I am mistaken, our Kościelski also appears in Pélissier's battle report.[e]

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[a] See this volume, p. 526. - [b] F. Engels, 'The Battle of the Chernaya'. - [c] F. Engels, 'The Armies of Europe', Second Article. - [d] Dana to Marx, 7 August 1855. Dana's second letter has not been found. - [e] A. Pélissier, [Report on the Battle of the Chernaya. 18 August 1855,] *The Times*, No. 22146, 30 August 1855.

If Admiral Bruat's account in today's *Times*[a] is to be believed, the Russians are at STARVATION-POINT. At any rate, there would not as yet appear to be any shortage of spirits.

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## 284

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

6 September 1855
3 York Place, Denmark *Street*
(not Hill, which is merely the
GENERAL NAME for the whole place)
*Camberwell*

Dear Engels,

You may already have read about the death of our friend Daniels in the *Kölnische Zeitung*.[b] He is no more nor less than a victim of the infamies of the Prussian Police. I shall be writing a few lines to his wife,[c] and you must do the same. Address: Frau Doktorin Amalie Daniels, Schildergasse, Köln. It would be desirable if Lupus did likewise. I know by experience how welcome letters from friends are at such a time. I shall write a short obituary of our poor friend for the *Tribune*. So far as the German-American Press is concerned, I think the best plan would be to insert in the New York *Neue Zeit* (nominally edited by Bernhardt, in fact by Löwe of Calbe) a brief obituary notice signed by you, Freiligrath, Lupus and myself. Also to denounce the proceedings against Bürgers.

You will have heard that O'Connor died a few days ago.

Jones' wife is mortally ill. The poor devil IS AT THIS MOMENT IN DESPERATE CIRCUMSTANCES.

A STEAMER is leaving on *Tuesday*. It is essential in the case of *Putnam's* that the thing should be in New York by 10th October at

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[a] *The Times*, No. 22148, 1 September 1855. - [b] *Kölnische Zeitung*, 30 August 1855. - [c] See this volume, pp. 548-49.

the latest. Have you received the copy that was sent you?[a] Those inane bits of hair-splitting did not appear in the *Tribune* but in *The New-York Times*, the RIVAL PAPER.[b] As for Aldershot, the business was simply as follows: About a fortnight ago 2 privates were sentenced, one to 50 lashes, the other to 30, for 'disrespectful' behaviour towards their superiors. As is often the case, the CAT-O'-NINE-TAILS was steeped in urine. The first man had to be sent to hospital after receiving 40 lashes, and the second died shortly after receiving 30. There would appear to be no further question of an inquiry.

In *The Morning Advertiser*, Blind continues 'TO SHAKE THE DESPOTIC POWERS OF EUROPE TO THEIR VERY FOUNDATIONS'.

A German rag has reappeared in London, the actual *rédacteur en chef*[c] being the ill-famed Sigmund Engländer, of Paris police memory. Chief contributors: Ronge, the Russian Herzen and a drunkard by the name of Korn, allegedly an ex-captain.[663]

*Vale.*[d]

Your
K. M.

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## 285

## MARX TO AMALIE DANIELS

### IN COLOGNE

London, 6 September 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

My Dear Mrs Daniels,

It is impossible to describe the grief I felt on hearing that dear, unforgettable Roland had passed away. Although the latest news reaching me through Steffen had been far from reassuring,[e] I did

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[a] *Putnam's Monthly* for August 1855, containing the first article in Engels' series 'The Armies of Europe', which is referred to here. - [b] See this volume, p. 546. - [c] chief editor - [d] Farewell. - [e] See this volume, pp. 544-45.

not for all that ever abandon hope of your excellent husband's recovery. His was a sensitive, finely-tuned and altogether noble nature—character, talents and physical appearance in rare harmony. Seen amongst the others in Cologne, Daniels always seemed to me like the statue of a Greek god deposited by some freak of fate in the midst of a crowd of Hottentots. His premature decease is an irreparable loss not only to his family and friends but also to science, in which he gave promise of the finest achievements, and to the great, suffering mass of humanity, who possessed in him a loyal champion.

I am sufficiently acquainted with your heroic nature to be convinced that imperishable grief will not prevent you from remaining the loyal guardian of the beloved pledges left you by Roland. In his sons you will compensate the world twice over for the loss of the father.

The news of this new loss has revived in my wife such vivid memories of the death of our only little son[a] that her state of mind does not permit of her writing to you just now. She is weeping and lamenting like a child.

Consolation I will not venture to offer you since I myself am and shall remain inconsolable for [the] loss of a friend who was more dear to me personally than any other. Grief such as this cannot be alleviated, but only shared. As soon as I get over my first stormy emotions, I shall send an obituary to the *New-York Tribune* for the many friends of the departed in America. It is to be hoped that circumstances will some day permit us to wreak upon those guilty of cutting short his career vengeance of a kind sterner than that of an obituary.

You will need no assurance on my part that you can always count on me as a loyal and devoted friend.

With my heartfelt sympathy,

Yours
K. Marx

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[a] Edgar

## 286

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

11 September 1855
3 York Place, Denmark Street,
Camberwell

Dear Engels,

Like the Russians, I have been compelled by *force supérieure* TO EVACUATE THE SOUTHERN SIDE without, however, blowing everything up behind me.[664] Indeed, my garrison will remain quietly here, whither I also propose to return IN A WEEK OR SO. In other words, I am obliged to withdraw to Manchester for a few days and shall arrive there *tomorrow evening*. I shall have to stay there *incognito*, so don't let anyone know about my presence—Lupus, OF COURSE, EXCEPTED, should you by chance see him.

I have amended your letter[a] just received, to accord with the latest telegraphic dispatches.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 287

## MARX TO MORITZ ELSNER[665]

IN BRESLAU

London, 11 September 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho[b]

Dear Elsner,

It was *impossible* for me to write last week because of legal proceedings taken against me by the worthy Dr Freund. He has actually compelled me to leave London for a week or so. During

[a] F. Engels, 'The Fall of Sevastopol'. - [b] The letter is written in Camberwell but datelined London.

Moritz Elsner

the parliamentary recess this does not, of course, impair my efficiency as a correspondent. This month, therefore, you should not put me on your books until 11 September.

It goes without saying that, should your paper cease to pay yet still remain *viable*, my contributions will be at your disposal then as now.

Considering the difficult circumstances and the limited space at your disposal, your paper is, in my opinion, edited with great skill and tact, and in such a way that the intelligent reader may read between the lines. Nothing can be more fatuous than to censure you for receiving 'constitutional' money. Some very 'constitutional' citizens paid in shares for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. If these gentlemen subsequently came to regret it, they were at least never forbidden by the editorial board to go on paying.

If I were not so afraid of compromising this or that acquaintance by the mere fact of corresponding with him, I should long since have written to the Rhine Province in the interests of your paper. At all events, Lassalle did wrong in failing to draw attention to the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* in Cologne, etc. Circumstances would have allowed him to do so.

Should the *N. O.-Z.* go under, we shall have to console ourselves with the thought that all our present doings, activities and beginnings are purely provisional and no more than a *pis aller*.

With kindest regards.

Yours
K. M.

A German weekly rag has been started in London, its founder being the French ex(?)-policeman and Viennese refugee, Sigmund Engländer. Contributors: the *Russian* Herzen, Johannes Ronge and a drunkard by the name of Korn, allegedly a *capitaine*.[663]

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# 288

# MARX TO MORITZ ELSNER

## IN BRESLAU

Manchester, 8 November 1855
34 Butler Street, Green Keys

Dear Elsner,

I have received both your letters,[666] the first somewhat belatedly because my wife accidentally delayed sending it on to Manchester. After receiving your first letter I thought you had resigned from the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* and for that reason at once ceased to send any articles. When your second letter arrived I was suffering from such a FIT of toothache—which persisted until a few days ago—that I could no more write than I could hear or see.

I passed on your letter of 7 October not only to friends but also to adversaries, and the latter seemed thoroughly taken aback. That I and my friends are in no way affected by the dogmas of Messrs Temme and Simon of Breslau you will readily believe without any further assurance from me.

I do not see Hoyoll, but Lupus does—from time to time. Patriotism has led this Hoyoll to introduce the *Breslauer Zeitung* into the Athenaeum[244] here, a circumstance which threatens to drive our little Wolff[a] out of what is virtually the only home of the Muses in Manchester.

I have conveyed your greetings to Borchardt, whom I know well. Borchardt maintains a regular and intimate correspondence with Citizen Simon of Breslau. Upon his first asking me whether I knew that the *N. O.-Z.* lived in sin with the constitutionals, I replied: '*Qu'est ce que ça me fait?*[b] Don't you know that, in my view, constitutionals and democrats, at least of the Prussian variety, are all much of a muchness? And is a distinction now to be drawn between democrats who have accepted one royal imposition while rejecting another and those who, having submitted to the one, also submit to the other?[667] The *N. O.-Z.* expresses the most extreme views possible in the present condition of the Press. What more do you ask?'

I have had letters from particularly well-informed people in Paris. According to them, the Empire's stock is sinking lower and

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[a] Wilhelm Wolff - [b] What's that to me?

lower. In the *faubourgs* the slogan, '*Celui-ci s'en ira*'[a] is said to be on everyone's lips. Indeed, the gravity of the situation may be deduced from two PUBLIC FACTS: the speech made by Rouland, the *procurateur-général*,[b] and Granier de Cassagnac's article in the *Constitutionnel*, '*Sur les terreurs de la* Révolution future'.[c] The probability of the latter is beyond doubt even to Mr Granier.

As for the scandal here over the 'refugee question' (Jersey, etc.), there's more smoke to it than fire.[668] PUBLIC OPINION has definitely turned against the GOVERNMENT and, in fact, I believe that this was *allowed for* in the latter's calculations. So crassly, with such tragi-comical mouthings, did they accede to Bonaparte's first demands, as virtually to demonstrate that further concessions were not within the power of an English government. Had they been in earnest, they would have shown themselves more adroit and not have carried out the grotesque coup so long before the opening of Parliament. Palmerston, OF COURSE, has no love for the refugees, but regards them as wind-bags to be kept to hand so that he may occasionally threaten the Continent with a '*Quos ego!*'[d] His ministerial position, by the by, is exceedingly precarious. But it will still be difficult to unseat the old fox.

When you next write, kindly send your letter to my old address, 28 Dean Street, Soho, London, since I don't know how long I shall be remaining here, and letters sent to the above address will in any case come into the hands of my wife. Ronge is running kindergartens in London along with his wife; Kinkel, no less than Johanna,[e] hopes that the revolution will not be unduly precipitate; in Brighton, Ruge gives an occasional lecture, leading the English to believe that the German language is the most debased of all; Tausenau, Meyen *et tutti quanti*[f] abuse the French émigré 'riff-raff' (not excluding Victor Hugo) for imperilling the 'right of asylum' of these 'officially authorised conspirators'.

Engels and Lupus send you their warmest regards. I haven't seen Borchardt for a fortnight.

Yours

K. M.

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[a] 'This fellow will go' (paraphrase of the eighteenth-century French revolutionary song *Ça ira*!). - [b] [G. Rouland,] Discours de M. le Procureur Général, *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 5 November 1855. - [c] 'On the terrors of the *future revolution*'. - [d] 'Those whom...' (cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, I, 135). - [e] Kinkel's wife - [f] and all the rest

# 289

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

### IN DÜSSELDORF

Manchester, 8th November 1855
34 Butler Street, Green Keys

Dear Lassalle,

Herewith a very belated answer. In the first place, I did not get your letters[669] until later because I was in Manchester whereas the letters were in London and my wife did not know for certain whether I hadn't already left Manchester. For another thing, I was plagued by the most atrocious toothache, so much so that I experienced what Hegel demands of sensual consciousness at the stage at which it is said to override consciousness of self—viz. the inability to hear, see, and therefore also to write.

As regards your query about the book entitled: *Les mystères de la Bourse* by Coffinières, I believe that this miserable concoction is still among the books I left behind in the fatherland. During my first stay in Paris[670] the title misled me first into buying the thing and then into reading it. Mr Coffinières is a lawyer who, *au fond*,[a] knows nothing about the Bourse and merely warns against the 'legal' swindles perpetrated by the '*agents de change*'.[b] So there's nothing to be got out of the book—neither FACTS, nor theory, nor yet even entertaining anecdotes. Moreover, it is now completely out-of-date. 'Sweet Donna, let him go'—i.e. Coffinières. 'He is not worthy of thy wrath'.[c]

Weerth is now back in Manchester after a lengthy journey via the Continent (he returned from the West Indies at the end of July). In a week's time he will be off to the tropics again. It's very amusing to hear him talk. He has seen, experienced and observed much. Ranged over the better part of South, West and Central America. Crossed the Pampas on horseback. Climbed Chimborazo. Likewise stayed in California. If he no longer writes feuilletons,[671] he makes up for it by recounting them, and his audience has the benefit of vivacious gesture, mime and waggish laughter. He is, by the by, full of enthusiasm for life in the West Indies and hasn't a good

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[a] at bottom - [b] stockbrokers - [c] Words of Leporello in Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, Act I (libretto by Lorenzo da Ponte).

word to say for the human riff-raff and the weather of this northern clime. And, INDEED, things are bad here, very bad.

You will have read in the papers about the Jersey affair[668] and the general to-do over the refugee question in England. I don't believe that this affair will take a serious turn. Nor, for that matter, do I believe that the government here had a serious end in view. Otherwise the row would have been saved up until just before the opening of Parliament. As it is, PUBLIC OPINION has been given time to swing back and, in many respects, has already done so.

Send your next letter to my *old address in London* as I'm not sure how long I shall stay up here with friend Engels. He and Lupus send you their warm regards.

Your
K. M.

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## 290

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 7 December 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Jones does not appear to be in London. At least, I haven't had an answer, either oral or written, to an urgent written enquiry.[672] Thus, since my arrival here, I have been incarcerated within 4 walls which, after all, I can't spend the whole day haranguing. But just now it would be too risky to venture out of doors.

The document[a] did not go off to the Union Bank until the day before yesterday. The delay was caused by all sorts of little things.

No reply yet from America, i.e. New York. The gentlemen would appear to be 'deliberating'.[b] No letter from Washington, but

[a] Presumably concerning Mrs Marx's inheritance (see this volume, p. 526). - [b] See next letter.

a *Wecker* and with it a note, patently by Cluss, attacking Schimmelpfennig. Alas, I used up the *Wecker* during an unconsidered moment in a place where 'hard words, soft paper, etc.' It contained the assertion that the Germans in America were UTILITARIANS and pursued 'bread-and-butter' because 'Mr Marx is an economist and an abstruse one'. But in Mr Marx's case this could be attributed to the 'Old Testament'. 'By a well-known trick' he had 'turned "our relations" into a philosophical system'. That thoughtful young Germans in America should follow his lead was attributable to the fact that Germans are accustomed 'to echo clever writers belonging to the nation of the Old Testament etc.'

Since ABOUT the time of my return here, the *Advertiser* has been the arena for a cockfight between Herzen and an anonymous antagonist. His antagonist reproaches him with being a humbug and having passed himself off as a kind of Russian Silvio Pellico.[a] Even the title of his book[673] is said to be a lie, inasmuch as he has never been in Siberia, etc. Feeble reply from Herzen[b]: the title was humbug on the PUBLISHER's part, he [Herzen] had not been responsible for it and had *immediately* protested in the *Globe*,[c] etc. against the attributes wrongly ascribed to him, etc. Whereupon his antagonist came forth again (yesterday) and gave evidence of fresh lies, also in respect of the *Globe*.[d] Besides this attack, however, there was also a DEFENCE put up by an Englishman[e]. Even if Herzen had not been in Siberia and was no Russian Silvio Pellico, his book was nevertheless amusing, an innocuous book: *'an honest man, look you, and soon dasht! He is a marvellous good neighbour in sooth; and a very good bowler; but, for Alisander, alas, you see, how 'tis.'*[f] Finally, the TUB-TUB PAPER, as is its wont, declared that the contest was becoming too personal, etc., was now over and closed its columns to it.[g] At all events this skirmish—even though the assailants were hardly brilliant—will do Herzen a great deal of harm in the eyes of the COCKNEYS.

Lina[h] has informed me of some fresh details concerning the Cologne trial. The list of jurymen given in my pamphlet[i] quite

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[a] 'To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*' signed 'One who had been deceived', *The Morning Advertiser*, 29 November 1855. - [b] A. Herzen, 'My Exile in Siberia. To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*'. *The Morning Advertiser*, 1 December 1855. - [c] A. Herzen, 'To the Editor of the *Globe*', *The Globe and Traveller*, 25 October 1855. - [d] 'Mr Herzen's Case' (letter signed 'deceived'), *The Morning Advertiser*, 6 December 1855. - [e] [E. Reeve,] 'To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*' signed 'Content and not deceived', ibid. - [f] Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, V, 2. - [g] An Editors' Statement was published in *The Morning Advertiser* on 6 December 1855. - [h] Caroline Schöler - [i] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*.

wrong, of course. Throughout the trial one of the jurymen—Joest—drew caricatures of the accused, and passed the drawings round in court. During the first week the worthy *jeune*[a] Saedt always had *a dagger* lying in front of him. At length the ironical laughter of the accused compelled him to 'wear the dagger under his gown'.[b] Can one imagine a more affected COXCOMB? Saedt with a dagger! *C'est à crever de rire.*[c]

Bürgers whiles away his time sending Mrs Daniels 'endless amounts of paper'. Also writes poetry. Exchanges not a word with his fellow-sufferer.

A London daily PENNY PAPER, *The Telegraph*, is said to have already dropped a number of HINTS about the underhand dealings of Dr Freund and his fellow-swindler, a military man.

The 2 articles received.[674]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

I almost forgot the most important point. A few weeks ago, 3 I THINK, Zitschke came to see my wife. The conversation turned to Mirbach.[d] QUOTH Zitschke: 'That old loafer had a splendid chance of a passage. I had thought him long since at sea. Then I found him sitting again at a table in Bibra's pothouse and looking very down-at-heel.' Liebknecht, too, claims to have seen him recently.

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## 291

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 11 December 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

DEAR Frederic,

From Dana's letter, enclosed herewith, you will see that our manoeuvre has succeeded.[675]

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[a] young - [b] from F. Schiller, *Die Bürgschaft* - [c] It's enough to make you split your sides with laughter. - [d] See this volume, p. 560.

Otherwise, everything as before. I still incarcerated. Jones not yet turned up.

Bürgers will be allowed to move to another fortress if he pays the travelling expenses himself. Weerth had half promised Bürgers' mother in Cologne to send her money for him. Hasn't kept his word.

Little Dronke corresponds regularly with Freiligrath. Had a great set-to with one of the partners, was on the point of giving up his post. To make himself look important, offered it to Freiligrath.

Your
K. M.

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## 292

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 12 December 1855

Dear Marx,

Something can be arranged with the good *Tribune* people after all, you see, and the £200 are assured. So that a start can be made straight away, I shall do a military article this evening, then you must do a political one. Both of them can then go on Friday,[a] *hoc facit*[b] £4.

I return Dana's letter herewith.[675] *Au fond*,[c] it is all to the good that the noble Mirbach has settled down to a life of idleness in London, for after all nothing has been definitely settled with the New Yorkers about the Crimean articles.[676]. At all events, I am now relieved of any indirect obligation to the chap, and *il ne me regarde plus*.[d] I have said nothing at all here about the matter, otherwise it would give Lupus qualms of conscience in the end, and next time he would turn rebellious.

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[a] 14 December - [b] that makes - [c] At bottom - [d] he's no longer any concern of mine

Jmeyer[a] wrote to me recently, not so much to inform me that he was still awaiting a letter from you, as to let me know what to say at my brother-in-law's[b] at Christmas. He has heard nothing at all from the little man.[c]

We shall bear in mind Mr Karl Joest and his caricatures.[d] I believe I shall do an even better caricature of him when he is dangling from a lamp post.

Whether I shall be able to do an article on Tuesday[e] depends, of course, on events, which are now very few and far between. Kars and Omer Pasha will have to be my victims today; if anything happens tomorrow I shall add it on.[677]

The STRIKE is going ahead here. The MASTERS said that they were willing to pay,[f] provided the Ashton rates were taken as a basis. The HANDS replied that if the MASTERS chose Ashton, they would choose Oldham and be prepared to accept as a basis the average for the two places. Thereupon the MASTERS gave an evasive answer and proposed yet a third place in the district as a norm. This was refused and there the matter rests. The HANDS seem to me to be completely in the right; but they obviously still have in mind a few old trade union traditions whereby only this or that machine may be operated and only in the specific, time-honoured manner. But they'll soon drop this rubbish. The neighbourhood is beginning to support them.

The editor[g] of the *Guardian*, whom I've come to know, is a wise man IN HIS OWN MIND and a kind of oracle in the eyes of a number of philistines; apart from that a teller of dirty stories and a moderate carouser. He has obviously heard about me for, whenever I mention some shabby trick, he listens with attention and asks questions which show a desire to know. I shall gradually encourage the man's advances and then draw him out about the people on the *Examiner and Times*, after which I shall approach the latter rag. *Après, on avisera.*[h]

Warmest regards to your wife and children.

Your

F. E.

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[a] Joseph Meyer - [b] Emil Blank - [c] Ernst Dronke - [d] See this volume, p. 559. - [e] 18 December - [f] In the original Engels wrote *arbeiten* (to work) above *zahlen* (to pay). - [g] Jeremiah Garnett - [h] Afterwards we shall see.

# 293

## MARX TO ENGELS[84]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 December 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

DEAR Frederic,

This confinement to my room is beginning to weigh on me. Not one breath of fresh air yet. Meanwhile, another 1,000 Germans sent off yesterday. Jones supposed to be coming today, at last.

The day before yesterday evening I had a visit, you'll never guess from whom. Edgar Bauer—whom I hadn't seen for about a year—came to see me, and with him—Bruno. He's already been here a fortnight and intends to remain ABOUT 6 MONTHS 'in order to prove his assumptions' which he can hardly fail to do, considering the way he's begun. The man has aged visibly, his forehead has broadened and the impression he now gives is more or less that of a pedantic old professor. For the present he is lodging with Edgar in a hovel SOMEWHERE ABOUT the far end of Highgate and there he squats, amidst the most profound petty-bourgeois *misère*, seeing and hearing nothing. This he takes to be London and believes that, apart from the privileged 30,000, all the English live like Edgar Bauer. Hence his hatred and 'contempt' for the country is enormous. In his view, it's like living in 'Treuenbrietzen'.[a] To anyone coming from 'Berlin', London is a veritable 'prison'. On the same occasion it also transpired that his present ideal is the 'East Frisian', 'Altenburgian' and PARTLY 'Westphalian peasant,[b] those true noblemen. He is, moreover, convinced that these clodhoppers cannot be wished away and will be the ROCKS upon which the modern, egalitarian fiddle-faddle, bemoaned by this man of the 'dissolution', will come to grief. It was most CURIOUS to hear the 'Criticism'[678] make the CONFESSION that, in the final analysis,

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[a] Small town in Brandenburg symbolising provincialism. - [b] Pun on Bauer—a peasant and Bauer the name of Edgar.

Berthold Auerbach is its true cornerstone. He holds that, save for a few 'purely commercial towns', the towns of Germany are in decline, but that 'the country' is prospering fabulously. He knew not a thing about the rise of industry, but quietly bemoaned the fact that nothing is now being done in Germany save 'IMPROVEMENTS'.

The 'English language' is 'wretched', completely romanicised. For his consolation I proceeded to tell him that the Dutch and the Danes say the same of the German language and claim that the only fellows to have remained truly untainted by Romance are the 'Icelanders'.

The old boy has devoted much time to languages. He *speaks* Polish and declares in consequence the *Polish language* to be 'the most beautiful of all'. His linguistic studies seem to have been highly uncritical. He considers Dobrovský, for instance, to be a far 'more important man' than Grimm,[a] and calls him the father of comparative linguistics. Moreover, he has let the Poles in Berlin persuade him that OLD Lelewel has refuted Grimm's *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* in a recent paper.

Apropos. He also told me that a fat volume (of German provenance) had appeared in Germany attacking Grimm's dictionary.[b] The whole volume consists of howlers G[rimm] is shown to have perpetrated.

Despite all his efforts to adopt a humorous attitude, his gloom and despondency over the 'present' kept obtruding. In Germany—HORRIBLE INDEED!—nothing is now read or bought save miserable compilations in the field of the natural sciences. When you come,[679] we shall have great fun with the old boy.

Köppen has been working for years on a book on Buddhism.[680] Rutenberg is the publisher of the *Staats-Anzeiger*. Mr Bergenroth, who used to drift about America (North and South) as commissioner (trade), has returned *sans argent*[c] but with an illness.

I am still waiting for the 2nd edition of *The Times* or *Morning Post*. The news may make it necessary to couch the thing on Kars in somewhat more hypothetical terms. However, this would only require quite minor alterations (a few words in the conditional).[681] I, for my part, believe that Kars has fallen.

Today there is a not uninteresting article in the *Herald*—or so my wife tells me—about Bonaparte's MISGIVINGS AS TO THE TRUE INTENTIONS OF VISCOUNT Palmerston. That Pam is in very bad odour at

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[a] Jacob Grimm - [b] Publication of the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* was started by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm in 1852, and completed in 1961 in the GDR. - [c] without money

court you may see from the *Times* article against Prince Albert.[a] At the same time, again the old manoeuvre of presenting Prince Albert as an encumbrance to the 'Ministry'.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] *The Times*, No. 22237, 14 December 1855, leader.

# APPENDICES

1

## JENNY MARX TO FREDERICK ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, 7 January 1852][a]

Dear Mr Engels,

How can you imagine that I would have been angry with *you* over that little drinking spree? I was very sorry not to have seen you again before you left, for that would have enabled you to see for yourself that I was only somewhat sulky in respect of my liege lord. Besides, such interludes often have quite salutory effects, but this time *père* Marx must have caught a bad chill during his nocturnal philosophic excursion with 'the archbishop's nephew',[b] for he fell seriously ill and has up till now stayed quietly in bed. He may perhaps be able to get up a little today and apply himself to the articles for America.[c] However, I don't think he is as much restored as he imagines. For three nights he rambled in his speech and was very poorly. He asks you to convey his regards to Weerth and to tell him that he was very annoyed with him for having written no more than 2 words when forwarding Reinhardt's letter from Paris, and that he must above all fulfil his duty as a former editor of the *Neue Rheinische* and send out to America some articles from stock.[682] As for that insufferable man,[d] here, word for word, is what *père* Marx says now:

'Ever drunk as a lord; boasting about his insinuating ways with women, meaning his being kicked out of bars; from the outset raucously inciting the English public in streets and alleyways, PARLOURS, omnibuses and HA'PENNY STEAMBOATS, to take part in the great debates between Kinkel and Ruge; dragging every German by the ear to the Cranbourne Hotel; one of the most pompous ranters of

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[a] This date is established on the basis of Engels' letter to Marx of 6 January 1852 (see this volume, pp. 4-5). When Engels was putting his archives in order he dated it 'Beginning of January 1852'. - [b] A humorous reference to Engels. - [c] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - [d] Lüders

the Emigrés' Club,[26] and hence also crudely venting his spleen on the out-of-the-way little church of the *N. Rh. Z.* Should he ask Weerth's protection, the latter must tell him to look for a post in one of the seven ministries to be set up by Kinkel, which should not present any difficulty in view of his great services to the great and only revolutionary party and of his influence on Kinkel's pair of court scribes, Meyen and Oppenheim. Generally speaking, should Weerth be approached by any of the blackguards, he must give them to understand that he, too, belongs to the "small, incorrigible, separatist church" of the *N. Rh. Z.*, as Meyen put it when writing to America.'

So much for my exalted patient, 'old Crosspatch'.

Yesterday a very nice letter arrived from Cluss in Washington, from which Kinkel's boundless turpitude again emerges. Unfortunately I cannot enclose it as Freiligrath took it away with him yesterday. We shall send it tomorrow. Pass on bits of it to Weerth.

Freiligrath has a new story about Kinkel's toadyism towards the democratic grocers here, which I shall now treat you to. Freiligrath applies to a *blind* German democratic merchant here for a position. He acquaints him with his commercial testimonials, whereupon the cross-eyed cheesemonger tells him: 'I have had the privilege of making Professor Kinkel's acquaintance. I attended one of his lectures, after which the Professor called on me and at once offered to come to my house of an evening and read aloud free of charge the best German poetic works. I, of course, declined this exceptional offer, not being in a position adequately to reward a man like Professor Kinkel for such services. In addition, the gentleman would have had the expense of the omnibus fares, since he lives some distance away. Nevertheless, the Professor came and read aloud to me from German poets.—Amongst which a few little things by yourself, Mr Freiligrath—whereupon he told me that you were really a man of commerce and had already held a position, etc., etc. The Professor's wife[a] also called on me and offered to sing and play to me.'—Doubtless the Professor's wife would also have obliged with dances and *poses plastiques*[b] had she not been dealing with a blind connoisseur.

The future president of the German Republic, who goes chasing after the grocers here in order to read them his divine poetry and sometimes snatch a bite of supper, all but outshines the French Krapülinski.[c]

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[a] Johanna Kinkel - [b] living sculpture - [c] Louis Bonaparte (called after a character in Heine's 'Zwei Ritter')

It will also interest you to hear that your former chief, General Willich, has received a sound thrashing at the hands of the inferior refugees, since the latter are unable to grasp the difference between themselves and the superior refugees, and disapprove of the way the large revolutionary funds are being administered in the interests of the great men. It would further appear from Cluss' letter that Kinkel has used Willich's MYSTIFICATIONS and Schramm's letter[10] to provide proof in America of their connections with Cologne. It will soon be time to come out with the true story. Kinkel has apparently been putting about in America too that Marx's party presents prizes for vice in order not to become moral heroes. Musch sends Frederick his love. The girls have already gone to school. You will, perhaps, remember that Pieper made the boy a present of his fine travelling bag. Yesterday he threatened to take it back and buy him something else instead. This morning the boy hid the bag, and just now he said: 'Moor,[a] I've hiddened it well and if Pieper asks for it, I'll tell him I've given it to a poor man.' The slyboots!

Adieu.

Warmest greetings

Jenny Marx

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## 2

## JENNY MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[12]

### IN NEW YORK

[London, 9 January 1852]

Dear Mr Weydemeyer,

For the past week my husband has been very poorly and is for the most part confined to bed. Nevertheless he has managed to finish the enclosed sequel to his article,[b] so that there may be no

[a] Marx's nickname - [b] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, II.

interruption in the printing thereof, supposing a start has really been made on it.

A few days ago we had a letter from Cluss in Washington—with whom I hope you have already made contact for you will find him in all respects an excellent support—from which Kinkel's boundless turpitude again emerges. For while this hypocrite fawns on Karl's friends in the most barefaced manner and writes to them, saying 'he has emphasised the need to get in touch with Marx and the most capable members of his party' (a downright lie), *he seeks in the most perfidious way to blacken my husband's personal character* and relates the most edifying tales about him and his friends drawn from Willich's mendacious innuendoes.

Karl, who doesn't feel strong enough today to write to you himself, asks me to tell you that you should provide some information in your paper[a] about our poor friends in Cologne,[b] the more so since Kinkel's party, along with its court scribes and its rowdies and its compliant *Lithographische Korrespondenz*, deliberately passes over their existence and all their sufferings in complete silence, which is all the more infamous as it is precisely to Becker,[c] Bürgers and their erstwhile organ[d] that Kinkel owes most of his popularity. But our people languish in prisons, are hideously treated, and now will have to spend another three months in jug while the great men of the future are pocketing thousands in the name of the revolution and are already handing out future ministerial posts.

How was your dear wife[e] after the terrible voyage? What are your children doing? Have they all become more or less acclimatised?[683]

But time is getting exceedingly short. I must hurry out and post this letter. Let us hope that the conclusion of his article will be easier for my dear Karl.

Farewell for the present,

Yours

Jenny Marx

Lupus is now somewhat recovered. He, too, will send something soon, as will Engels. Insistent reminders have also gone off to

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[a] *Die Revolution* - [b] Communist League members arrested and detained under investigation in Cologne - [c] Hermann Becker - [d] *Westdeutsche Zeitung*. See also this volume, pp. 21-22 and 34. - [e] Louise

Weerth. Red Wolff[a] has got married and, being on his honeymoon, cannot let you have anything as yet.

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## 3

## JENNY MARX TO FREDERICK ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, 16 January 1852]

Dear Mr Engels,

As you see, I am still *en fonction*[b] as secretary. My husband has still not altogether left his bed. He was indeed very poorly. Tomorrow he will attempt to take a short walk. His illness prevented him from getting anything done for America, although he did manage to strike some sparks out of Freiligrath and Pieper. I enclose herewith a most felicitous poem of Freiligrath's.[c] Let our friend Weerth have a look at it as well. Perhaps he too will feel inspired to climb onto Pegasus. Send us the *Tribune* if you have finished with it. Next week you will receive a very nice letter from Cluss. Lupus hasn't got it just now. We hope to hear from you soon and may you enjoy your PALE ALE in the meantime.

Warm regards from the patient.

Jenny Marx

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[a] Ferdinand Wolff - [b] acting - [c] F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer', II.

4

## JENNY MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[684]

IN NEW YORK

[London, 27 February 1852]

Dear Mr Weydemeyer,

After a week of strenuous nocturnal labours, his days being taken up with domestic affairs, my husband's eyes are so wretchedly sore that he cannot possibly write to you today and I must assume all secretarial functions. He asks me to tell you that he has been unable to read through the whole of Eccarius' article,[a] and that you yourself must correct the orphographic mistakes; for this admirable man, who writes excellently, has only just learnt his letters here and knows nothing of full-stops and commas. He is also sending you an article by a Hungarian[b] who is familiar with the innermost secrets of the Hungarian émigrés. You yourself must decide whether you can use and publish it at this moment. At all events, it is essential to keep in with the man, since he has promised to provide us later on with original contributions by Perczel, Szemere, etc., whose intimate he is. My husband thinks you should, of course, correct the worst grammatical howlers that crop up in the article, but that a few peculiarities of style which might give it the stamp of a genuine Hungarian product could do no harm at all. He further requests you to return as soon as possible the five instalments of his paper on Napoleon[c] if you should not succeed in publishing it. We might, perhaps, be able to bring it out in a French translation, although it would really be a pity about the German version. He would greatly prefer it if you could succeed in America, since the piece is bound to sell and could also be distributed in Germany, providing as it does an historical appreciation of the most important event of the present day. I hope that there will soon be some good news from you, dear Mr Weydemeyer, to wit that your dear wife has come smoothly through the great catastrophe, and that two births have taken place under your roof—a son and a journal. My very warmest greetings to your dear wife.

Yours

Jenny Marx

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[a] See this volume, p. 26. - [b] Bangya. See also p. 32. - [c] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, I-V.

So that it will not take so long, you might have each of the individual articles printed separately, because the thing is of immediate interest. Later, they could be combined into one. No. 5 goes off today. Next Friday he will be sending No. 6, the final instalment.[85] As already mentioned, then, *try to publish the work as a pamphlet.* Otherwise, send the thing back, because come what may, we must get it published.

Many regards to Cluss also, and write soon telling us just how things are with you.

Lupus has just brought a brief scrawl on the latest events of the day in London.

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## 5

## JENNY MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS

### IN WASHINGTON

London, 15 October 1852

Dear Mr Cluss,

Today my husband has appointed me his deputy and I therefore hasten to assume the duties of a *secrétaire intime.* For my husband is under such PRESSURE FROM WITHOUT AND WITHIN that he has had to traipse round all day on HOME BUSINESS and now, just gone 5, has not yet returned to dispose, more especially, of the affair Brüningk v. Cluss.[a] Do *nothing, absolutely nothing about this matter* until the next STEAMER. Imandt had meant to send a statement today proving that Willich and Kinkel had made insulting remarks about Mrs Brüningk. At the same time he will lay the blame for all the tittle-tattle at the door of that old buffoon, Ruge, presently knight-errant and champion of princely innocence, and will do so all the more easily as the rumour indeed arose and began to spread at the very moment when the old jackass declared Kinkel to be—witness his close friend Gross—an agent of the Prince of Prussia,[b] at the same time revealing that Kinkel's release had been

[a] See this volume, p. 213. - [b] ibid., p. 92.

the prince's doing, but that Mrs Brüningk had also played a leading role in the affair and had put up the money for it. In Germany, these rumours were both current at once and (if Dronke's memory is to be trusted, though he cannot say for certain) it is said that in the self-same article Ruge spoke of the suspect circles frequented here by Gottfried. Well, this stupid affair is nothing but a conspiracy to avenge themselves on Marx-Cluss by imputing to them vile, anonymous gossip and slander—an art in which these curs have long since been practising with the greatest virtuosity. No sooner had the old Pomeranian[a] broken a lance for the princess than he paid a personal call on the great lady. No doubt Heinzen, too, still hopes to supplement his Whiggish source[b] by striking and exploiting a princely seam over here for his *Janus*. But how ridiculous, the way in which the rabble suddenly raises a hue and cry in two continents when, for so long, it has heaped scurrility upon scurrility, tittle-tattle upon tittle-tattle, calumny upon calumny. And withal there is really nothing to the article[250] which, at least, reveals in moderate, discreet, indeed veiled terms, what has been said bluntly and openly by her own guests. The revolting thing about it is that one would sooner keep this scum at a healthy distance than be forced to grapple with them, and over so paltry a matter to boot. My husband himself had intended to send you today an article written in his own name about how your article came to be published in the *Wecker*. But Imandt thought it absolutely essential that my husband, against whom the whole thing has been cooked up, should be left out of it, which is why he wanted to write the statement himself. Unfortunately it has not yet arrived! But you should do nothing about the matter until you receive further instructions. Meyen was saying today that Dronke, Willich and Kinkel had stated on their word of honour that they had never said anything defamatory about the woman. So the fellows had already been subjected to a cross-examination. As you see, here too, the thing is being conducted as a matter of the utmost importance. By the by, from his own viewpoint Schnauffer's reply[c] is excellent, witty and apt and, in truth, the two philosophers ought not to make so much fuss merely because a high-born lady is ill-used. Did anyone ask any questions when Ruge spread the most scurrilous, defamatory and socially ruinous rumours and things about my husband, and this at a time when

[a] Arnold Ruge - [b] See this volume, pp. 145-46. - [c] Editorial Statement about A. Brüningk's letter in the *Baltimore Wecker*, 27 September 1852. See also this volume, p. 204.

my husband's lips were sealed by party considerations and out of regard for his friends in Germany.

Did anyone bother whether all this grieved me almost to death, when my child[a] died, having imbibed at my breast torment, grief and care?—oh! and all the other sufferings—yet I was not called princess when I was born—but wherefore all this foolish commotion? We shall extricate ourselves somehow and prove the others responsible. But you must wait, at any rate, just one more posting-day.

The *Brumaires* have not yet arrived. My husband will send you by the next post the 2 *People's Papers* containing your articles.[b]

My brother Edgar has at last written to his mother.[c] Thanks to your kind efforts my letter reached him safely.[d] Once again, may I say how grateful I am.

One more thing. Keep Jacobus Huzel on a fairly short rein so that he doesn't kick over the traces.[e] There should be no chit-chat with the vermin since their line now is to implicate us and thus erase the memory of their past infamies. Some diplomacy is required in dealing with this bunch of purely objective, principled, honourable, worthy washerwomen.

You have, I suppose, been following the Cologne trial in the *Kölnische.* Today we received an account of Becker's[f] interrogation. Since there was nothing against him, it had been agreed to leave Becker out of the thing altogether,[g] and this will explain to you the manner of his defence, which will be eagerly seized upon by the democrats in order to claim Becker as one of their own and declare him the true hero—free, independent man of the people that he is and no blind follower of a secret society's cut-and-dried doctrine—, precisely because he is the weakest of all and has the greatest amount of democratic blood in his veins. Should that loud-mouthed Heinzen make use of this case to build up Becker, you can at once point out that the defence had been agreed upon beforehand and that, shortly before his arrest, Becker had insistently begged my husband to attack with him in his review[685] all the official democrats—Ruge, Heinzen, Kinkel, Willich, etc., etc.—and hold them up to ridicule. That he also wanted to have

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[a] Heinrich Guido - [b] [A. Cluss, Articles on Presidential Elections in the USA published in the section] 'Our American Correspondence', *The People's Paper,* Nos. 23 and 24, 9 and 16 October 1852. - [c] Caroline von Westphalen - [d] See this volume, p. 71. - [e] A reference to J. Huzel's article 'Über die Flüchtlinge in London', *Anzeiger des Westens,* September 1852. - [f] Hermann Becker - [g] See this volume, pp. 212 and 242.

Willich's imbecile letters published.[a] Further that, on his release, the democratic gentlemen could expect to fare no better, etc., etc. I am writing in something of a rush.

I must catch the post.

Farewell and warm regards,

Jenny Marx

Write again soon. Your letters invariably give us the greatest pleasure. My husband is always saying that if we had a few more chaps like Cluss, we might yet get something done. In the meantime, don't do too much. Best let dog eat dog, otherwise they might band together to combat the 'common enemy', the wicked, infamous blight—Marx and his clique.

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## 6

## JENNY MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS[12]

### IN WASHINGTON

[London, 30 October 1852]

Dear Mr Cluss,

You will have been following the monster trial of the communists in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. During the sitting of 23 October the whole thing took such a splendid and interesting turn, and one so favourable to the accused, that we are beginning to regain some of our confidence.[686] As you can imagine, the 'Marx party' is busy day and night and is having to throw itself into the work body and soul. This overloading with work also accounts for my again appearing before you as deputy reporter. Mr Willich's close friend, Mr Dietz, now also in America, has *contrived to have* all the documents, letters, minutes, etc., etc. of Willich's clique *stolen* from him. They were produced by the prosecution as evidence of the party's dangerous activities. In order to establish a

[a] See this volume, pp. 223-24.

link between these and the accused, they now proceeded to think up a spurious connection between my husband and the notorious spy Cherval. Thus my husband became the bridge, the spurious link, between the theoreticians of Cologne and the men of action, incendiaries and robbers, in London. Stieber and the prosecution expected wonders of this coup. It burst like a bubble. New effects had to be conjured up, hence the tissue of lies at the sitting of 23 October. Everything adduced by the police is untrue. They steal, forge, break into desks, perjure themselves, bear false witness and, withal, claim this licence *vis-à-vis* communists, who are *hors [de] la société*[a]! This and the way in which the police, at their most rascally, are usurping all the functions of the prosecution, pushing Saedt into the background, and submitting unattested scraps of paper, mere rumours, reports and hearsay, as real legally proven facts, as evidence, is truly hair-raising. We here had to supply all proofs of the forgery. Hence my husband had to work all day and late into the night. Affidavits had to be obtained from the publicans, and the handwriting of the alleged minute-takers, Liebknecht and Rings, officially authenticated to provide proof of forgery on the part of the police. Then every one of these things had to be copied out 6-8 times and dispatched by the most divers routes to Cologne, via Frankfurt, Paris, etc., since all letters to my husband as well as all letters from here to Cologne[b] are opened and detained. The whole thing has now become a struggle between the police on one side and my husband on the other—they blame him for everything, the entire revolution and even the conduct of the trial. Finally Stieber has now declared my husband to be an Austrian spy. In return, my husband looked out a glorious letter, written to him by Stieber in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* days, which is really damning.[c] We likewise discovered a letter from Becker in which he makes fun of Willich's imbecilities and his 'military conspiracies'.[d] Out of hatred for Becker, Willich gave directions here in London to the witness Lieutenant Hentze, from whom up till now he has been receiving alms. In short, things are about to happen which would seem unbelievable if one wasn't experiencing them oneself. All this business with the police is distracting the public, and hence the jury, from the actual prosecution of the communists, while bourgeois hatred of the dreadful incendiaries is paralysed by the HORROR inspired by the villainy of the police,—so much so that we can now even believe in

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[a] outside society - [b] London in the original - [c] See this volume, pp. 225-26. - [d] ibid., pp. 223-24.

our friends' acquittal. The struggle against official power, armed as this is with money and every kind of weapon, is not, of course, without interest and will be all the more glorious should we emerge the victors. For on their side there is money, power and everything else, whereas we were often at a loss where to get the paper on which to write our letters, etc., etc.

The enclosed statement was issued today by Freiligrath, Marx, Engels and Wolff.[a] We are sending it to the *Tribune* today. You could publish it as well.[b]

Excuse me for such a confused letter but I, too, have had some part in the intrigue and have done so much copying that my fingers are afire. Hence the muddle. Your essay in the *Turn-Zeitung*[c] has been much applauded here. My husband thought it first-rate and the style, in particular, exceptionally brilliant. There are others who prefer you in a less theoretical vein and would like you always to remain the same old humorous, light-hearted Cluss.

We have just received from Weerth and Engels whole parcels full of commercial addresses and pseudo-commercial letters so that we can send off the documents, letters, etc.[d] [687]

Another load of tremendous scandal has just arrived with the *Kölnische.* Two further packages are being dispatched at once to commercial addresses. A complete office has now been set up in our house. Two or three people are writing, others running errands, others scraping PENNIES together so that the writers may continue to exist and prove the old world of officialdom guilty of the most outrageous scandal. And in between whiles my 3 merry children[e] sing and whistle, often to be harshly told off by their papa. What a bustle! Farewell, dear Mr Cluss, and write again soon to your friends.

By permission of the higher authorities,

Jenny Marx

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Public Statement to the Editors of the English Press'. - [b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* did not publish this statement. Its German translation was printed in the *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung,* No. 37, 26 November 1852 and the *Republik der Arbeiter,* No. 49, 4 December 1852. - [c] A. Cluss, 'Die materielle Kritik und der moralisierende Standpunkt', *Turn-Zeitung,* No. 13, 1 October 1852. - [d] In the original there follows a copy made by Wilhelm Wolff of the statement mentioned above. - [e] Jenny, Laura and Edgar

# 7

# JENNY MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS[688]

## IN WASHINGTON

London, 10 March [1853]

For weeks my dear Karl has been indisposed and, during the past few days, has again been suffering from his old liver complaint which almost developed into hepatitis, a disease I find all the more frightening for its being hereditary in his family and the cause of his father's death.[a] Today he is better again, is getting his *Tribune* article into shape,[b] and has asked me to write to you. I must at once plunge into a circumstantial tale of woe which almost equals the bad luck of Weydemeyer and Cluss.[689] Please don't be angry with me if I dilate. On 6 December, at the same time as your manuscript copy of the *Revelations*,[c] my husband sent another one to Schabelitz's son in Basle. Schabelitz was delighted to receive it, wrote saying it was a masterpiece, that it ought to be across the border within a fortnight and that he would run off 2,000 copies, sell them at 15 silver groschen a piece and, after deducting the printing costs (low in Switzerland), share the profits with my husband. We would be justified in counting on at least £30 sterling—with no risk of disappointment. Moreover he intended to send 40 copies to London immediately. For 4 weeks we hear nothing. My husband writes. Answer: the printing was held up by the compositors' Christmas junketing; he intends to be across the border in a fortnight at the latest and to send us 40 copies. All we hear, and this through a third party, is that the smuggling operation has run into unexpected difficulties and that he has had to smuggle across the 1,800 copies in small parcels over a period of 14 days, but that everything will be across by about the beginning of February, when he will charge one of his own clerks with forwarding the pamphlet and distributing it to the booksellers and will send him there, but that he, however, will send us a specimen copy at once. Good. We wait expectantly for 4 weeks. Then my husband writes to inquire, believing that the pamphlets have long since reached the furthest corners of Germany and that all he need now do is draw a bill on him. Then, yesterday, the following letter arrived.[d]

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[a] Heinrich Marx - [b] Probably Marx's and Engels' 'British Politics.—Disraeli.—The Refugees.—Mazzini in London.—Turkey'. - [c] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - [d] See also this volume, p. 287.

'Dear Marx, I have just heard that the whole consignment of *Revelations,* amounting to 2,000 copies, which *had been lying in a village on the other side of the border for the past 6 weeks,* was intercepted yesterday while being conveyed elsewhere. What will happen now, I do not know; first of all, a complaint lodged by the Baden government with the Federal Council, then, no doubt, my arrest or at least commitment for trial,etc. In either case, a terrific shindy! This briefly for your information; further communications, should I be prevented from making them *myself,* will reach you through a 3rd party. When writing to me, use the address: A modiste in Basle, *etc.*'

That's all; what do you think of it? He leaves 2,000 copies, i.e. the entire edition, lying in a village for 6 weeks, and then writes to tell us that they have been confiscated. Not a word about the copies for London, nothing about those for Switzerland, etc. Have the things been printed, did the Prussian police buy them for a hefty sum, or God knows what? Suffice it to say that this is the 2nd pamphlet to have been entirely suppressed.[690] Mr Stieber, who has become Chief of Police in Berlin and announced a *magnum opus* on conspiracies,[a] etc., and Mr Willich, owner and administrator of the American funds,[691] come out of the affair *sain et sauf*[b]; the Cologne trial has been utterly obliterated, the party is still not quite cleansed of all taint, and the government is triumphant! At this moment the pamphlet would have had the most tremendous effect. The hearts of the German police would have quaked and trembled at this THUNDERBOLT falling among them. If we had the means, we would have it printed again *au moment*[c] in Altona in order to enrage the government, but that is impossible. All that can be done now is for you to bring it out as a feuilleton in some paper or other. Could not the type then be used to produce a pamphlet which you could at once send over here? Since printing in Europe has become almost impossible but is now entirely a matter of honour for the party, you should at least have it printed *à tout prix*[d] as a feuilleton. The publication of the pamphlet is now a necessity as against *all* our enemies, and will, more than anything else, further the interests of the Cologne people and sway public opinion in their favour. Interest in them must be reawakened. Becker's[e] attempted escape failed only because of lack of interest and outside help. Above all, proof of the pamphlet's existence must be given and this can only be done by its being printed, even if only as a feuilleton on the other side of the ocean.

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[a] Wermuth/Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.* - [b] safe and sound - [c] at once - [d] at all costs - [e] Hermann Becker

You can imagine what effect this news had on my husband's state of health, etc.

Jenny Marx

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Printed according to a letter from Cluss to Weydemeyer of 28 March 1853

Published in English for the first time

## 8

## JENNY MARX TO FREDERICK ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, 27 April 1853]

Dear Mr Engels,

It is for me a hateful task to have to write to you about money matters. You have already helped us all too often. But this time I have no other recourse, no other way out. I have written to Hagen in Bonn, to Georg Jung, to Cluss, to my mother-in-law,[a] to my sister[b] in Berlin. Ghastly letters! And so far not a word from a single one of them. So there's no other course left open to us. I cannot describe what things are like here. My husband has gone to the City to see Gerstenberg. You can imagine what kind of an errand that must be for him. Meanwhile I am writing these lines. Can you send us something? The baker warned us that there'd be no more bread after Friday. Yesterday when he asked: 'Is MR MARX AT HOME?' Musch managed to fend him off by answering: 'NO, HE A'NT UPSTAIRS' and then, with three loaves tucked under his arm, shot off like an arrow to tell his Moor about it.

Farewell.

Jenny Marx

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[a] Henriette Marx - [b] probably Anna Elisabeth Franziska von Westphalen

## 9

## ADOLF CLUSS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[692]

### IN NEW YORK

Washington, May 15th 1853

... Marx has written me a very jolly letter in which he says that everyone was greatly amused by my description of the doings of Willich, that 'brother of the guild of misery'.[693] He says that, amid peals of Homeric laughter, they resolved *en grand comité*[a] to wish his 'life' as unhampered a course as possible. He remarks: 'If the lunacy of this *drôle*[b] were not intermixed and interlarded with cunning calculations as to how best to fill his belly without doing any work, he would long since have found his way to the lunatic asylum.' In return for my report, Marx is going to send me in his next a copy of the passage relating to Willich in *The Great Men of the Exile.*

*Revolution and Counter-Revolution.* Marx says he has no time for translation; if you or I or someone else will undertake to translate it, and if we let him know where he left off, he will take upon himself to write the whole of the conclusion.[694] Marx is of the opinion that as a pamphlet, the thing will *not* sell, and certainly not pay for itself; he would be perfectly satisfied with a feuilleton. (So whatever remains to be done would be left to us.)

Raveaux's former followers—philistines—long in need of another saint, have put red Becker[c] in Raveaux's place. *À tout seigneur tout honneur*[d]...

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[a] in full committee - [b] rascal - [c] probably Max Joseph Becker - [d] Honour to whom honour is due.

## 10

## ADOLF CLUSS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[695]

### IN NEW YORK

Washington, June 2nd 1853

... Today received a letter from Marx's wife which unfortunately I would seem to have placed *outside* my pocket when on the omnibus. Marx had just returned from Manchester (20th May).[696] He is delighted with your *Reform* article[a]; likewise your introduction[b] to Hirsch's statement.[c] Marx's only regret is that not all our things are able to appear under your auspices, but that the names of the two ciphers[d] from the *Hornisse* must be given precedence. Otherwise he is satisfied with the *Reform.* Dronke has at last obtained a post as clerk in Bradford at £10 a month.

Pieper would appear to have been shown the door by Rothschild[e] some time ago; the part he played in the communist trial makes it difficult for him to find a berth elsewhere.

Rothschild, was at university with him, has paid him nothing to date, but would do so if he possibly could; Pieper must see to this *au moment,*[f] having no other recourse.

Eccarius is still not restored.

*Lupus,* due to PRESSURE FROM WITHOUT, is very ill disposed...

The *Tribune* leaders on the EASTERN QUESTION are all by Marx; he wrote them without adding any of the usual NEWS trivialities so that Dana went and changed some of the longer historical expositions, etc., into Tribunese and published them as LEADERS.[g] The *Tribune* is a well-spring from which Marx cannot afford to cut himself off, hence he intends to turn a blind eye and would rather we didn't make any *direct* reference to the fact, even though he resents it—, that his *more objective* LOOKING pieces appear without his name, while the articles that do appear under his own name are no more than dregs...

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[a] J. Weydemeyer, 'Nationalökonomische Skizzen'. - [b] J. Weydemeyer, 'Der "demokratische" Mouchard'. - [c] W. Hirsch, 'Erklärung' [of 12 January 1852], *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung,* No. 7, 29 April 1853. - [d] Gottlieb Kellner and Heinrich Heise - [e] probably Wilhelm Karl Rothschild - [f] presently - [g] On the *Tribune* editors' tampering with Marx's and Engels' articles see also this volume, pp. 331-32.

## 11

## ADOLF CLUSS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[697]

IN NEW YORK

Washington, June 14th 1853

Dear Weyd.,

Just received your letter. As regards Pieper's article, Marx wrote some time ago—4 months, perhaps—in reply to my apology for making use of one of his letters, saying that I shouldn't get such silly ideas into my head.[698] Though in no way given to flattery he had found that I only made use of his letters on rare occasions and certainly never for my own personal ends; in any case, they were deliberately written for me to make use of. I shouldn't think him so niggardly of his ideas; Pieper and red Wolff[a] are there, writing down everything he says...

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## 12

## JENNY MARX TO FREDERICK ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, 9 September 1853]

Dear Mr Engels,

Imandt was here just now and told us that Dronke was studying Spanish and he *believed* he had seen him with the little grammar, 'the one that was sold'.[b] If, dear Mr Engels, you could question

[a] Ferdinand Wolff - [b] C. Franceson, *Grammatik der spanischen Sprache.* See this volume, p. 364.

Dronke about the wretched little book as soon as you receive this letter, Karl would be much obliged to you; for we might thus be able to clear the matter up to the confusion of Isegrim[a] before he leaves. To you it may seem funny that we should make a thing of this stupid business, but one must have experienced the whole thing to understand it—such crude, boorish tones, such churlish behaviour, such brutal shouting, such outbursts and anger in front of myself and the children. It would be splendid if the sold booklet were in the hands of a bosom friend! But do not mention Imandt's name. It is already very late and I am addressing these lines to your house to make sure they reach you tomorrow. More pleasant news. Bamberger is threatening to take proceedings over the Swiss affair.[b] Schabelitz has asked him to sue my husband because of a passage in a letter in which Karl promised to pay half the expenses if the thing sold. Please send the letter which you still have in the file.[699] Karl likewise begs you yet again to let him have the notes about the Russian and Turkish troop deployment.[c] He is continually having to write about the business since it hasn't yet been settled, and the Americans are besotted with the EASTERN QUESTION.

Today Karl has been forcing himself to write another long article on economics[d] and, being very tired, has asked me this evening to take up the pen on his behalf.

Farewell, and warmest regards from us all.

Jenny Marx

Lupus, or so we hear, is leaving tomorrow morning. He has not said good-bye to me and the children.

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[a] Wilhelm Wolff (a pun: Isegrim—a wolf, character in Goethe's 'Reineke Fuchs'). - [b] See this volume, pp. 579-80. - [c] ibid., p. 365. - [d] K. Marx, 'The Vienna Note.—The United States and Europe.—Letters from Shumla.—Peel's Bank Act'.

## 13

## JENNY MARX TO FREDERICK ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, 24 November 1853]

Dear Mr Engels,

I have made out the POSTAL ORDER to William Wolff, with Charles Marx as the sender.[a]

The statements attacking Willich's scrawl[b] will hardly catch tomorrow's steamer since Miskowsky, 'the missing Russian officer', has not as yet been traced. He lives somewhere in Whitechapel and his address has been mislaid. Nor was it known to Kossuth, whom we approached indirectly. A messenger has just left for Whitechapel. Unluckily for the gallant Willich, the man has been back here for some months, possesses a certificate signed by Kossuth to the effect that he fought in the Hungarian campaign, and will now be able to provide a first-hand account of the duel.[700]

*Père* is BUSY with the next instalment of the Palmerston article,[c] and hopes to receive some small aid tomorrow.

With warmest regards.

Jenny Marx

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## 14

## ADOLF CLUSS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

IN NEW YORK

Washington, December 12th 1853

Dear W.,

Herewith 1 article 'from Wisconsin'[d]; I think you'd be well advised to bring it out in two parts, with 'to be continued' in between.

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[a] See this volume, p. 398 - [b] A. Willich, 'Doctor Karl Marx und seine "Enthüllungen"'. - [c] 'Lord Palmerston', IV published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* under the title 'England and Russia'. - [d] 'Der Staat Wiskonsin' by Cluss was published in *Die Reform*, No. 109, 15 December 1853.

Just received 1 letter from Marx, *dated 28TH Nov.* Dronke, it seems, has sent you a statement which you should hold back if it is not already too late.[a] Dronke was supposed to send this statement to Marx in London, instead of which he sent it to you in New York.

Marx has answered Willich at length,[b] in very learned, 'Hegelian' fashion. Splendid, so far as I can see, and plentifully buttressed with documents; I shall probably send you the thing tomorrow, but haven't yet had time to read it through, and so do not know what to do with it. *It is voluminous.* 20 pages of LARGE NOTE-PAPER. Marx had already written it when my letter arrived informing him that we were taking care of the answer.[c] He now considers that, since it isn't every day one meets with such a lying codger as Willich, it would be RATHER DISAGREEABLE if the thing had to be shelved. He authorises me to make deletions if his article repeats what we have already said, or conflicts with ours in matters of detail.

More about this when I send you the thing.

The accompanying letter, dashed off in great haste, partly by Monsieur and partly by Madame Marx,[701] concludes as follows:

'Yesterday evening (27TH Nov.) the Waschlapskis and Schelmufskis[d] held a meeting.[702] Harney was IN THE CHAIR. The PEOPLE almost tore him to pieces. DOWN, DOWN, RASCAL, TRAITOR, RENEGADE, and he wasn't permitted to TAKE THE CHAIR. PEOPLE jumped onto the platform, everyone was belabouring everyone else, the Schelmufskis acted as Harney's GUARDS.'

Again: 'As regards the *Reform,* Karl has done everything in his power. Pieper, driven by necessity, has gone to work in a French SHOP, where he sells sunshine, i.e. the newly-invented *lampe réverbère.*[e] He *cannot* write just now. Accordingly Karl has roped in Heise and given him a subscription to the reading room since he hadn't got the required penny. He has also written to Germany asking for help.'

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[a] See this volume, pp. 399 and 400-01. - [b] K. Marx, 'The Knight of the Noble Consciousness'. - [c] J. Weydemeyer, A. Cluss, A. Jacobi, 'An die Redaktion der *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*', see also this volume, p. 402. - [d] An allusion to petty-bourgeois refugees, using names of characters in Heine's satirical poem 'Zwei Ritter'. See also this volume, p. 401. - [e] lamps with reflectors

Treat the bit about Heise as confidential.

Your
Ad. Cluss

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## 15

## JENNY MARX TO FREDERICK ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, end of March 1854]

Dear Mr Engels,

Karl asks you to send Lassalle's address *by return*. You did not return Lassalle's first letter,[a] which gives it.

Warmest regards from the whole family.

Yours
Jenny Marx

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## 16

## JENNY MARX TO FREDERICK ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 13 May [1854]

Dear Mr Engels,

I am sending you herewith a packet of old abusive *paperasse*[b]; and with it the very latest ordure by Wiss,[c] Dulon, etc. Some of it

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[a] See this volume, pp. 414-17. - [b] waste paper - [c] Probably E. Wiß, 'Die elementaren Richtungen der Zeit', see also this volume, p. 449.

will amuse you. For the past five days Karl has been plagued by rheumatic pains in his teeth, ears and face, so severe that he hasn't been able to sleep a single night and today feels seriously indisposed. Nothing we tried did any good. We went through the whole pharmacopoeia, from Pfänder to Raspail. But still the same terrible pain. Not until tonight was some sweating induced by Spanish fly, opium, etc., and a slight improvement noticeable. He's not in a condition to put pen to paper, but urgently begs you, dear Mr Engels, to be sure and send him an article on Tuesday[a] so that we don't miss another whole week, as we did last. Otherwise it would make too big a hole in the money-box. Cordial regards from the whole family and from

Jenny Marx

Heise and the little man[b] have written Imandt a quite crazy letter. It reeked of brandy.

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## 17

## JENNY MARX TO FREDERICK ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, 23 May 1854]
3 o'clock in the afternoon

Dear Mr Engels,

Your article[c] has just arrived. It's already been addressed and I shall put it in the post at the same time as this note. Karl was tremendously pleased when he heard the postman's portentous double KNOCK. *Voilà* Frederik,[d] £2, we're saved! he cried. Unfortunately he is still very, very unwell and asks me to tell you that he is

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[a] 16 May. Engels wrote 'A Famous Victory' on 15 May. - [b] Ernst Dronke - [c] F. Engels, 'The War'. - [d] That's Frederic.

Lazarus and Peterkin Pint-pot rolled into one. There can be no question of writing. He labours over Gladstone's long speeches and is very annoyed at not being able to write just now when he's got enough material on Mr Gladstone and his SCHEMES. If you *possibly can, do concoct something again for Friday.*[a] Anything will do, Karl says. I truly detest bothering you in this way, but send something if possible.

I enclose herewith the latest dispatch from Cluss and would ask you to return his letter[b] and not tell Heise anything about it. The fellow chatters so and, should little Meyen or other eminent men hear anything prematurely, communications to Cluss would at once stop. It's all very amusing and the gentlemen should be allowed to carry on undisturbed.

In his last letter to Imandt, consisting of a whole lot of little snippings glued together, Heise said he had now again given up the military DODGE since the Russians waged war differently from the way the *Tribune* said; he intended to apply himself henceforward to *doux commerce.*[c]

Karl and I send our heartiest thanks for the articles, and the three little ones[d] send their love.

Yours
Jenny Marx

Our Edgar[e] is said to be loafing about in New York again and to be coming here and then going on to Germany! What a band of loafers!

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[a] 26 May. Engels wrote 'The Present Condition of the English Army—Tactics, Uniform, Commissariat, etc.' on 25 May. - [b] Probably Cluss' letter to Marx of 30 April 1854. - [c] gentle commerce - [d] Jenny, Laura and Edgar - [e] Edgar von Westphalen

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] This letter was first published in English considerably abridged in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895.* A selection. International Publishers, New York, 1953.—3, 27, 303

[2] This refers to Chapter I of Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* which Marx wrote from December 1851 to March 1852, immediately following the coup d'état in France on 2 December 1851 (see present edition, Vol. 11, Note 64). It is closely linked with other works by Marx and Engels analysing the 1848-49 revolution in France (Engels' *Letters from France,* Marx's *Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850,* see present edition, Vol. 10) and was originally intended as a series of articles in the weekly *Die Revolution,* which Joseph Weydemeyer began preparing in December 1851 for publication in New York.

Marx and Engels considered this journal highly important for the dissemination of scientific communism and took great pains to provide Weydemeyer with material. They sent him their own articles and those of their associates—Ernest Jones, Wilhelm Pieper, Johann Georg Eccarius, Ferdinand Freiligrath, Wilhelm Wolff and others. In connection with the forthcoming publication of the journal the *Turn-Zeitung,* No. 3, carried the following announcement on 1 January 1852: '*Die Revolution,* a weekly journal edited by J. Weydemeyer, associate editor of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* suppressed by the police in Frankfurt am Main, is published *every* Saturday in co-operation with the editorial board of the former *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (K. Marx, Fr. Engels, Freiligrath, etc.)'.

Weydemeyer managed to put out only two issues (on 6 and 13 January 1852), following which publication ceased for lack of funds. The first issue reproduced part of 'Review, May to October 1850' published by Marx and Engels in 1850 in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (see present edition, Vol. 10), and also announced the forthcoming publication of Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and 'Neuste Offenbarungen des Sozialismus oder "Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX$^{e}$ siècle, par P. J. Proudhon". Kritik von K. M.' (the latter was not written by Marx). The second issue carried the rest of the 'Review' and part of Chapter II of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (see present edition, Vol. 6).

Weydemeyer received Chapter I of *The Eighteenth Brumaire,* mentioned here, as well as the rest of the work, when publication had ceased, but with the help of Adolf Cluss he succeeded in bringing out two more issues of the 'non-periodic journal' *Die Revolution* in May and June 1852 which carried this work and satirical poems by Ferdinand Freiligrath (see Note 13).

Weydemeyer failed to buy up from the printer even half of the 1,000 copies of the work printed. Only about 150 copies were sent to Europe, and approximately the same number sold in the USA in 1852 and 1853. Cluss and other associates of Marx in the past revolutionary struggle in Germany (Johann Schickel, Conrad Schramm, Franz Arnold and others) greatly contributed to disseminate his work among former subscribers to *Die Revolution* in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond, Cincinnati, Washington and other large cities.—3, 391

[3] Wilhelm and Ferdinand Wolff intended to write articles for *Die Revolution.* In a letter of 19 December 1851 Marx promised Weydemeyer (see present edition, Vol. 38, p. 519) to send him by the next steamer the following material: 1. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* by K. Marx; 2. *Der Staatsstreich in Frankreich* by Ferdinand Wolff; 3. *Nemesis* by Wilhelm Wolff. Weydemeyer announced this in the first issue of *Die Revolution* on 6 January 1852, being unaware as yet of Marx's decision not to publish Ferdinand Wolff's article.—3

[4] The reference is to the progressive newspaper, the *New-York Daily Tribune,* to which Marx contributed from August 1851 to March 1862. A large number of articles for this paper were written at his request by Engels, Marx beginning to send his own articles to New York only in August 1852. He wrote the first ones in German, and his friends, generally Engels, translated them into English. By the end of January 1853 he started writing his contributions in English.

Marx's and Engels' articles in the *New-York Daily Tribune* dealt with major questions of foreign and home policy, the working-class movement, the economic development of European countries, colonial expansion, and the national liberation movement in oppressed and dependent countries. The articles at once attracted attention by their factual information, acute political judgment and brilliant style. This was acknowledged by the editors of the *Tribune,* who wrote, in a leading article on 7 April 1853, of the need 'to pay a tribute to the remarkable ability of the correspondent'. They went on: 'Mr Marx has very decided opinions of his own, with some of which we are far from agreeing; but those who do not read his letters neglect one of the most instructive sources of information on the great questions of current European politics.' In a letter to Mrs Marx of 1 July 1853, Charles Dana, one of the editors, wrote that her husband's articles were highly thought of by the *Tribune* owners and the reading public.

Articles by Marx and Engels were widely disseminated in America, many of them being reprinted in the *Tribune*'s special editions—the *New-York Weekly Tribune* and the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune.* Some of the *Tribune*'s articles were translated into German and published in German-language American newspapers. Marx's and Engels' articles in the *Tribune* were also read in Europe. From 1853 to 1855 Marx wrote regularly for the newspaper sending, as a rule, one or two contributions every week.

Sometimes the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* tampered with Marx's and Engels' articles, publishing them as editorial leaders and occasionally making insertions in the text. In 1855 all Marx's and Engels' articles were published without the authors' names. Marx repeatedly protested against such

practices but his financial circumstances compelled him to accept the editors' terms (see, for instance, this volume, pp. 367, 395, 404). Marx ceased contributing during the Civil War in the USA.—3

5 Marx has in mind Article VII of Engels' series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. These articles were printed in the *New-York Daily Tribune* over Marx's signature from 25 October 1851 to 23 October 1852. While writing them Engels constantly exchanged views with Marx who read his articles before sending them off to the newspaper.

Only in 1913, when the correspondence between Marx and Engels was published, it became known that the articles had been written by Engels. Some articles of the series were published in German refugee newspapers in America. The German translation of the first two articles appeared in the *New-Yorker Abendzeitung* at the end of October 1851 without any reference to the source; a free translation of the beginning of the first article was published in Weitling's *Republik der Arbeiter* on 1 November 1851.—3

6 In November 1851 Cluss wrote to Marx about the need to disseminate the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* in America, noting that Magnus Gross, the New York distributor, was not giving it sufficient publicity. When Weydemeyer went to America, he accepted Marx's proposal that he should take upon himself the sale and distribution of the *Revue* (see present edition, Vol. 38, p. 489). On 6 February 1852 he informed Marx that he hoped to sell about 200 copies of it at $1 instead of the $4.50 fixed by the Hamburg publisher Schuberth. Marx, however, was unable to have the necessary number of copies sent over from Europe.—3

7 Engels alludes to his stay at the Marxes' in London from about 20 December 1851 to 3 January 1852 (see also this volume, p. 567).—4

8 The reference is to the special imperial patent of 31 December 1851, which abolished the constitution introduced by the Austrian Government on 4 March 1849.

When speaking about the Prussian Constitution, Engels has in mind the one promulgated on 31 January 1850, which abolished all the democratic gains of the 1848-49 revolution and was based on high property qualification and unequal representation.—5

9 Probably an allusion to Conrad Schramm who had a duel with Willich in September 1850.—6

10 At the beginning of 1851 Conrad Schramm, wishing to play a joke on Willich, sent him a letter purportedly written by Hermann Becker, a Cologne Communist League member, reflecting the views of the Willich-Schapper group. In reply Willich sent a number of letters to Becker expounding an adventurist plan of 'revolutionising' the Rhine Province. Becker informed Marx of Willich's plans in a letter of 27 January 1851. During the Cologne trial Marx made use of these letters to expose the sectarian adventurist tactics of the Willich-Schapper group (see K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, present edition, Vol. 11, p. 452).—6, 569

11 Engels describes here the reaction of the European Press to Louis Bonaparte's policy of unrestrained social demagogy on the one hand and increased personal power on the other after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851. On 1 January 1852, a solemn service in honour of the President for which 190,000 francs were assigned was held in Notre Dame de Paris; the eagles on state banners (symbol

of Napoleon's Empire) were restored. The Prince President moved to the royal palace of the Tuileries, where on 14 January a new Constitution was proclaimed under which all power was concentrated in the hands of the head of the State elected for a term of 10 years, the composition and legislative functions of all the higher state institutions were also placed under his control. A detailed analysis of the methods and essence of the demagogic policy pursued by Bonaparte in the social sphere and of repressions against the democratic and working-class movements is given in Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (present edition, Vol. 11).—7

12 This letter was published in English for the first time, slightly abridged, in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895,* International Publishers, New York, 1953.—7, 15, 40, 52, 79, 94, 569, 576

13 The reference is to the first of the two satirical poems by Freiligrath written on Marx's request specially for *Die Revolution* on 16 and 23 January 1852. The poet ridiculed the so-called German-American loan which Kinkel tried to raise in the USA (see Note 27). Kinkel's activity in America was described by Cluss in his letters to Wilhelm Wolff of 4-6 November and to Marx in mid-December 1851.

Freiligrath's poems were published in German in the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser,* Nos. 10 and 27, 7 March and 4 July 1852, printed in Stuttgart and Tübingen. The first poem was also published in English in *Notes to the People,* No. 50, 10 April 1852. Both the *Morgenblatt* and *Notes to the People* carried an introduction, the contents of which were not identical in the two publications. The editors of the present edition have insufficient proof that it was Marx who wrote this introduction, though Freiligrath is known to have asked him to do so (*Freiligraths Briefwechsel mit Marx und Engels,* Berlin, 1968, Bd. I, S. 42-43).

In America the first poem was published by Cluss in English in the newspaper *The National Era,* No. 282, 27 May 1852 (reproduced from the *Notes to the People*) with additions to the introduction made by Cluss, relating it to conditions in America. *Die Revolution* did not publish the poems until June 1852.—8, 108, 119

14 On 12 January 1852 Hirsch made a statement, but as early as February 1852 he was found to be a Prussian police spy and was expelled from the Communist League. For this reason Marx, in a letter of 20 February 1852 (see this volume, p. 41), asked Weydemeyer not to publish Hirsch's statement. When in the spring of 1853 Hirsch published his anti-Marx and Engels article 'Die Opfer der Moucharderie' in America, in an attempt to justify the splitting activity of Willich and Schapper, Cluss and Weydemeyer, in order to expose Hirsch, published his first statement in the *Belletristisches Journal und Criminal-Zeitung,* No. 7, 29 April 1853.—8, 41, 66

15 The *Communist League* was the first German and international communist organisation of the proletariat formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847 as a result of the reorganisation of the League of the Just. The programme and organisational principles of the Communist League were drawn up with the personal participation of Marx and Engels. The League's members took an active part in the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Europe in 1848-49.

In 1849-50, after the defeat of the revolution, the Communist League was reorganised. In the summer of 1850, disagreements of principle arose in the League's Central Authority between its majority headed by Marx and Engels and the Willich-Schapper separatist group which tried to impose on the League its adventurist tactics of immediately unleashing a revolution without taking

into account the actual political situation and the practical possibilities in Germany and other European countries. After 15 September 1850 the Willich-Schapper group broke away from the League and formed an independent organisation with its own Central Authority.

Owing to police persecutions and arrests of League members in May 1851, the activities of the Communist League ceased in Germany. On 17 November 1852, soon after the Cologne Communist Trial (see Note 16), the London District, on a motion by Marx, declared the League dissolved. However, many of its members, particularly in Germany and America, continued to be active for a long time.—8, 143

16 Members of the Communist League (see Note 15) were arrested by the Prussian police in May 1851 and accused of 'treasonable conspiracy'. The accused remained in detention for about eighteen months. Eleven Communist League members (Heinrich Bürgers, Peter Nothjung, Peter Röser, Hermann Heinrich Becker, Karl Otto, Wilhelm Reiff, Friedrich Lessner, Roland Daniels, Johann Jacob Klein, Johann Erhardt and Abraham Jacobi) were brought to trial which began in Cologne on 4 October and lasted till 12 November 1852. It was rigged by the Prussian police on the basis of fabricated documents and forged evidence which included the so-called Original Minute-book of the Communist League Central Authority meetings and documents stolen by the police from the Willich-Schapper group. The trial was accompanied by an anti-communist hue and cry in the official press of Germany and other countries. On the basis of forged documents and perjury seven of the accused were sentenced to imprisonment for terms of three to six years. Marx, Engels and their friends and associates in England, Germany and America supported the Cologne prisoners in the press and supplied counsel for the defence with documents and material exposing police fabrications. The provocative actions of the prosecution and the contemptible methods of the Prussian police state were exposed by Marx in his pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* and by Engels in the article 'The Late Trial at Cologne' (see present edition, Vol. 11).—9, 113, 131, 195, 351

17 The reference is to Engels' series of articles on England written for *Die Revolution*. Two articles got lost on their way to the USA (see this volume, p. 16). Manuscripts of the last two articles have survived (see present edition, Vol. 11). The first of these was written by Engels on 23 January and published on 15 November 1852 in the *Turn-Zeitung* (New York) to which Weydemeyer contributed. The second, written on 30 January 1852, was not published during Engels' lifetime, but was used by Weydemeyer in a number of his own writings for the press.—10, 39, 80

18 Engels is expressing the wish that Wilhelm Wolff should write for *Die Revolution* on current events as he did earlier in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in the column 'Aus dem Reich' ('From the German Empire').—10

19 Between February and early April 1852, in compliance with Jones' request, Engels wrote for his journal *Notes to the People* a series of articles, the first of which was entitled 'Real Causes Why the French Proletarians Remained Comparatively Inactive in December Last' (see present edition, Vol. 11). Jones received it on 5 February 1852.—11, 38

20 On 16 January 1852 Jones informed Engels about Harney's sudden refusal to write on foreign policy for *The Notes to the People*. Harney explained his position by

his friendly connections with the supporters of the parliamentary reform (see Note 28). The conflict between Jones and Harney arose at the end of 1850. Jones headed the revolutionary wing of the Chartists and worked to create a mass proletarian party in England, trying to unite all the revolutionary proletarian elements and revive Chartism on a socialist basis. Harney advocated a 'united national party' to be formed on the basis of diverse national associations, including bourgeois ones, to campaign for universal suffrage. Harney's attempts to create a 'mass party of reform' and an independent press organ completely failed by the autumn of 1852.—11

21 The decrees on the resignation of de Morny, Minister of the Interior, and the appointment of Persigny to this post, on the resignation of Fould, Minister of Finance, and on the confiscation of the property of the Orleans were signed by Louis Bonaparte on 22 January 1852 and published in *Le Moniteur universel* on 23 January and *Le Constitutionnel* on 24 January.—12

22 Pieper's article 'Die Arbeiter Assoziation in England' was written on 15 January 1852, but as *Die Revolution* had ceased to appear the article was published in *Die Reform,* Nos. 41, 42 and 44 on 20, 21 and 31 August 1853.—13

23 The announcement published in the *Turn-Zeitung* in connection with the starting of *Die Revolution* (see Note 2), was repeated in two issues of *Die Revolution* in January 1852. It read: '*Die Revolution* is published every Saturday, from January on, under the editorship of the undersigned and in co-operation with the editorial board of the former *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (Marx, Engels, Freiligrath, etc.). Its task will be to present as clear a picture as possible of the class struggle which is increasingly concentrating in the Old World, to culminate in the abolition of all class distinctions. It will keep its readers abreast of all the changes occurring in the industrial and commercial relations between the different nations and classes of the people and in their political attitude towards one another, changes which prepare revolutionary explosions.

'New York, January 1852

'J. Weydemeyer'.—13

24 When the Communist League (see Note 15) split, and Marx, Engels and their followers withdrew from the German Workers' Educational Society in London, the spokesmen of the Willich-Schapper faction (located in Great Windmill Street) brought a suit on behalf of the Society against Heinrich Bauer and Karl Pfänder, supporters of the majority of the League's Central Authority, who, as trustees, held part of the Society's money to be used under the Central Authority's control for the needs of the League and to help political refugees. They were accused of stealing this money. A libel campaign against Bauer and Pfänder was started in the press (*Schweizerische National-Zeitung,* 7 January 1851; *Republik der Arbeiter,* New York, Nos. 19, 20 and 21 for 23 and 30 August and 6 September 1851). In the statement made on 21 January 1852 and mentioned here, Pfänder refuted the libel and said that on 20 November 1850 the court had acknowledged the charge to be invalid (see present edition, Vol. 38, Note 328).

The *German Workers' Educational Society in London* was founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other members of the League of the Just. After the reorganisation of the League of the Just in the summer of 1847 and the founding of the Communist League, the latter's local communities

played the leading role in the Society. In 1847 and 1849-50 Marx and Engels took an active part in the Society's work.—14, 195, 217, 226, 336

25 This refers to the workers' society founded in London in January 1852 with Marx's support. It consisted of those who had withdrawn from the German Workers' Educational Society (see Note 24) and had the carpenter G. L. Stechan, a refugee from Hanover, as its chairman. An active part in organising this society was also played by Georg Lochner, a worker, Communist League member and close friend of Marx and Engels. The society did not survive long, many of its members, Stechan included, coming under the influence of the Willich-Schapper faction and rejoining their organisation.—14, 72, 233

26 *Agitation* and *Emigration* were the names Marx gave to two rival German petty-bourgeois refugee organisations in London which appeared in the summer of 1851—the Agitation Union headed by Ruge and Goegg and the German Emigration Club headed by Kinkel and Willich. The aim of both these small organisations was to raise money for an 'immediate revolution' in Germany.—14, 42, 44, 97, 151

27 The reference is to the so-called *German-American revolutionary loan* which Kinkel and other petty-bourgeois refugee leaders tried to raise among the German emigrants in Europe and America in 1851-52 to finance an 'immediate revolution' in Germany. Kinkel's trip to the USA for this purpose in September 1851-March 1852 was a failure. In a number of their works (e. g. *The Great Men of the Exile, The Knight of the Noble Consciousness,* present edition, Vols. 11 and 12), Marx and Engels ridiculed this idea of Kinkel's and denounced the attempts to produce a revolution artificially when the revolutionary movement was on the wane.—15, 73, 115, 121

28 In January 1852 *The Northern Star* was sold by O'Connor to A. G. Flemming and D. MacGowan. In 1849 a radical political trend among the Free Traders founded the National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association to campaign for an electoral reform (the so-called Little Charter) and a taxation reform. By opposing their programme to that of the Chartists and at the same time borrowing some of their demands though in an extremely curtailed form, the bourgeois radicals expected to split the Chartist movement and to influence the workers. The bourgeois radicals, supported in their campaign by Cobden, Bright and the reformist elements among the Chartists under O'Connor, failed and the Association ceased to exist in 1855.

In writing about a Chartist faction connected with the supporters of the financial and parliamentary reform, Marx has Harney's group in mind (see Note 20).—15, 68, 89

29 The letter to Weydemeyer and two articles of the series on England (see Note 17) which Engels mentions have not been found.—16

30 Engels draws an ironical parallel between the policy of Bonapartism in the social sphere and the views of German 'true socialists' (Karl Grün, Moses Hess, Hermann Kriege and others), who in the mid-1840s indulged in the sentimental preaching of love and brotherhood and of pseudo-socialist ideas, and denied the need for political struggle and a revolution. Marx and Engels criticised this ideological trend of the reactionary German petty bourgeoisie particularly in *The German Ideology* (see present edition, Vol. 5), and in the *Circular Against Kriege, German Socialism in Verse and Prose* and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (Vol. 6).—17

[31] The Bonapartist coup d'état of 2 December 1851 caused a republican uprising of artisans, workers in small towns, local peasants, tradesmen and intellectuals in about 20 departments in South-East, South-West and Central France. The Bonapartists thoroughly concealed the genuine scale of the republican movement. The true character of the movement and its brutal suppression by police and troops became known only in the last years of the Second Empire (see present edition, Vol. 43, Marx to Engels, 19 December 1868).—17

[32] Engels has in mind his article 'England' which he intended to send to Weydemeyer with the letter (see Note 17).—18

[33] The *Roman wall* (so-called *Hadrian's Wall*) was erected in North England in the second century to defend the Roman province of Britannia against the raids of the Picts (tribes then inhabiting the territory of what is now Scotland) and extended between the Solway and the Tyne (from Carlisle to Newcastle) over a distance of about 120 kilometres. After the fall of Roman rule in the fifth century Hadrian's Wall was destroyed.—18

[34] These are Marx's covering notes to Stechan's contributions to *Die Revolution*, which Marx promised to Weydemeyer in his letter of 23 January 1852. The material contained some concrete facts concerning the persecution of the participants in the socialist and communist movements in Germany and the position of the Communist League members, Bürgers, Becker, Daniels, Otto and others, then under investigation in Cologne, but it was not a finished article. The material reached Weydemeyer in New York before 17 February but was not used because *Die Revolution* had ceased to appear.—19

[35] On the confiscation of the property of the Orleans, the appointment of Persigny Minister of the Interior, and the resignation of Minister of Finance Fould, see Note 21.—21

[36] The 'glorious revolution' of 1688 in England established a constitutional monarchy based on a compromise between the landed aristocracy and the financial bourgeoisie.—21

[37] Kossuth was given an enthusiastic reception on his arrival in England in October 1851. Some bourgeois liberals and government representatives, in particular the Foreign Secretary Palmerston, used this welcome as an excuse to eulogise British constitutional freedoms. This served as a hypocritical cover for the unseemly role played by Britain in supporting the suppression of European revolutions, including that in Hungary.

The *Great Exhibition* in London, held from 1 May to 15 October 1851, was the first world trade and industrial exhibition, and was portrayed by some as the beginning of an era of 'universal peace'.—21

[38] The reference is to the verse added by Freiligrath to the second poem which he had written for Weydemeyer's newspaper on 23 January 1852 (see Note 13) and sent to Marx on 25 January 1852 to have his opinion:

Das heißt: dafern Du Babel nicht beglücktest
Endlos mit Briefen, Karten, Inseraten,
(Plakaten gar!)—dafern Du Dich nicht bücktest,
Und um ein Wörtlein nur von Deinen Thaten
Feig vor der Presse krochst und *so* Dich drücktest,
(Gleich Virtuosen oder Akrobaten,)
Daß Dich zuletzt, nach manchem sauern Schritt,
Wirklich in Holz die Illustrierte schnitt!

Here Freiligrath alludes to the fact that Kinkel, by flattery and fawning, succeeded in having an article about himself, together with a portrait, printed in the *Illustrated News* on 30 November 1850.

When the poem was published, the additional verse about Kinkel was not included, which means that Freiligrath complied with Marx's recommendation.—21

39 Freiligrath's second poem contained verses addressed to Hans Andersen which Marx mentions here. They were prompted by Freiligrath's grudge against Andersen who, while in London, did not recognise him when they chanced to meet. He felt all the more bitter because the Danish storyteller had enjoyed his hospitality in Germany.

When the poem was published in *Die Revolution* the editors supplied the following note to Andersen's name: 'Herr *Andersen* himself appears here not merely as an individual but as the epitome of a peculiar type of literary lion and parasite to which the revolution seemed to have dealt the death-blow but which is again coming up and boastfully asserting itself everywhere.' In *Freiligraths gesammelte Dichtungen* published in Stuttgart in 1870 (Bd. 4, S. 5-6) the poem was printed without the 11 verses devoted to Hans Christian Andersen.—22

40 In a letter to Marx of 25 January 1852 Freiligrath quoted a letter from Ebner who expressed surprise at not having received any letters from Marx and Pieper and promised to discuss with the publisher Löwenthal the possibility of printing Marx's works. It later transpired that Ebner was an Austrian police informer, of which Marx and his friends were not aware at the time.—22

41 Marx refers here to the ruling of the Board of indicting magistrates concerning the members of the Communist League arrested and detained under investigation in Cologne (see Note 16). He quotes it probably from the letter of the lawyer Bermbach received in January 1852 (it has not been found). This same letter was also used by Marx when he described the proceedings to Weydemeyer in a letter of 13 February 1852 (see this volume, p. 34).—22

42 The letters of Marx and Engels to *The Times* and *The Daily News* on the Cologne Communist Trial were not published in view of the editors' hostility to the leading figures of the revolutionary movement. The original of Engels' letter to *The Daily News* has not survived. It may be that Engels did not do the final editing (see this volume, p. 29). For Marx's and Engels' letter to *The Times* see Vol. 11 of the present edition.—24, 25

43 The *New-York Daily Tribune* published in all 19 articles of Engels' *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. Marx intended to write the last, twentieth, article, but did not do so.—25

44 Eccarius wrote an article about the English machine-building workers' strike (see Note 79) for *Die Revolution*, but since the latter had ceased publication Weydemeyer proposed to publish the article in the *New-Yorker Demokrat*.—26, 117

45 Marx refers here to his work on political economy which he started as early as 1843. He conceived it as a critique of bourgeois political economy and an analysis of the economic structure of bourgeois society in his time and its ideological basis. His initial research resulted in the writing of *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (see present edition, Vol. 3) which were to serve as a basis for the whole work. On 1 February 1845, Marx signed a contract with

Carl Leske, a Darmstadt publisher, for the publication of his two-volume 'Kritik der Politik und National-Ökonomie'. This plan did not materialise as a whole, however, because Marx was busy writing other works (*The Holy Family, The German Ideology*, etc.). The contract with Leske was cancelled in February 1847.

Marx returned to his economic studies when he was in London, in the period of emigration, after the defeat of the 1848-49 bourgeois-democratic revolutions. From the spring of 1850 onwards he regularly visited the library of the British Museum, where he made a deep and thorough study of the economy of different countries, England in particular, critically analysed works by classic bourgeois economists, and made extracts from books by English, French, American and other economists and from official documents and periodicals. The notes and extracts made by Marx in the 1850s fill several dozen special notebooks. At that period Marx was especially interested in the history of landed property and rent, the history and theory of money circulation and prices, and economic crises.

In 1851 and 1852 Marx renewed his attempts to find a publisher for his work on economics, but he could not find one either in Germany or in America.

The vast stock of facts and theoretical material on political economy accumulated between 1850 and 1853 was systematised and arranged in the manuscripts of 1857-58 (also known as the *Grundrisse*), part of which, after a further revision, was published in 1859 as the first part of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Work on the economic manuscripts of the 1850s was an important stage in Marx's writing his main economic treatise, *Capital*, published in 1867.—26, 46, 69, 99, 259, 293, 367

46 Here Engels has in mind the Willich-Schapper faction (see Note 15) which existed till early 1853.—29

47 The publication of Harney's weekly, *The Friend of the People*, the first issue of which appeared on 14 December 1850, was discontinued at the end of July 1851.

Harney seems to have sent to Marx the proofs of the first issue of the resumed publication, which came out on 7 February 1852.—30

48 The *Amalgamated Society* of Engineers was founded in 1851. Gerald Massey's article, mentioned by Marx, was published in *The Friend of the People*, No. 1, on 7 February 1852 and entitled 'The Engineers, Operative and Co-operative'.—30

49 The reference is to Harney's speech at the Chartist meeting in London on 3 February 1852, the opening day of the English Parliament.—31

50 Marx may have had in mind O'Connor's speech in the Court of Chancery (2-5 February 1852) where he and the directors of the Chartist National Land Company founded in 1845 gave evidence on the Company's financial activity, and its compliance with the parliamentary Act of August 1851 which envisaged the disbanding of this Chartist organisation. O'Connor's evidence was published in *The Northern Star*, No. 744, 7 February 1852.—31

51 The Egyptian Pasha Mohammed Ali, who had actually secured his position as independent ruler of the country and strove to secede from the Ottoman Empire, carried out a number of important socio-economic reforms in the 1820s-30s in the sphere of agrarian relations, organisation of the state apparatus, industry and the navy. In his reforms Mohammed Ali received a

certain assistance from French ruling circles who supported him in the struggle against the Sultan in order to strengthen their own position in the Middle East. On Mohammed Ali's invitation a large number of French officers, military instructors and engineers went to Egypt.—31

52 This letter (without Jenny Marx's postscript) was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895,* International Publishers, New York, 1953 and the journal *Masses and Mainstream,* New York, 1953, No. 3.

An extract from Jenny Marx's postscript was first published in *Die Neue Zeit,* Bd. 2, Nr. 29, Stuttgart, 1906-07.—33

53 Marx wanted someone to start a campaign in the American Press in defence of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (see Note 16). This letter was used by Cluss as a basis for a large article published in Cincinnati in the democratic newspaper, *Der Hochwächter,* No. 80, 14 April 1852. On Marx's request, Weydemeyer also delivered the material about those accused in Cologne to the *New-York Daily Tribune,* which published it considerably abridged and with some editorial remarks as a leading article 'Justice in Prussia' in No. 3446, 4 May 1852.—34

54 An allusion to the fact that Kinkel, a participant in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, was taken prisoner and sentenced to life imprisonment. In November 1850, with the help of Carl Schurz, he escaped from the prison in Spandau to England.—34

55 In a letter of 6 February 1852 (with a postscript from Cluss) Weydemeyer informed Marx of the suspension of *Die Revolution* (see Note 2) and Cluss' and his intention to continue publication of Marx's works written in London, as announced in the first issue of the journal. Weydemeyer also wrote that on 4 February 1852 Dana published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* an article by Ludwig Simon (a deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly), 'Movements of the German Political Exiles', attacking Marx and Engels.—37, 44

56 The reference is to the former deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly. The *Frankfurt Left*—the petty-bourgeois Left wing of the National Assembly which was convened after the March revolution in Germany and opened its session in Frankfurt on 18 May 1848. The main aim of the Assembly was to put an end to the political disunity of Germany and draw up an all-German Constitution. However it failed to take a decisive stand on the basic problems of the 1848-49 German revolution and ceased to exist on 18 June 1849.—37

57 *March associations* (thus named after the March 1848 revolution) were branches in various German towns of the Central March Association, founded in Frankfurt am Main at the end of November 1848 by Left-wing deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly. Fröbel, Simon, Ruge, Vogt and other petty-bourgeois democratic leaders of the associations confined themselves to revolutionary phrase-mongering and displayed indecision and inconsistency in the struggle against counter-revolution, for which Marx and Engels criticised them sharply in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see K. Marx, 'The Frankfurt March Association and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*', present edition, Vol. 9).—37, 42, 44

58 In writing about the King of Prussia being imposed on the German people Marx had in mind the all-German central government headed by a hereditary emperor and the Imperial Parliament—the Reichstag, which were envisaged by

the Imperial Constitution drawn up by the Frankfurt Assembly. On 28 March 1849 the Assembly offered the imperial crown to Frederick William IV of Prussia but he refused to accept it from the 'people's representation'.—42, 44

59 Karl Vogt was a member of the *Imperial Regency* of five formed in Stuttgart on 7 June 1849 by the rump of the National Assembly which moved there from Frankfurt. The attempts of the Regency to implement by parliamentary means the Imperial Constitution, drawn up by the Frankfurt Assembly and rejected by the German princes, failed.—42, 44

60 Cluss made a statement about the congress of American guarantors of the 'German-American loan' (see Note 27) to be held in Cincinnati on 3-8 February 1852. Cluss protested against being named as one of the guarantors. On Marx's instructions he exposed the adventurism of the whole idea. Cluss dispatched the text of the statement to Marx in London at the end of February 1852 and had it published in the *Turn-Zeitung,* No. 6, 1 March 1852.—42, 70, 92

61 *Straubinger*—German travelling journeyman. Marx and Engels ironically applied the name to some participants in the German working-class movement of the time who were connected with guild production and displayed petty-bourgeois sectarian tendencies.—43, 137, 410

62 On 16 February 1852, amidst alarming rumours of Louis Bonaparte's intention to invade the British Isles, Russell moved in Parliament a *Local Militia Bill* for England and Wales. The government was granted the right, in the event of an enemy attack, to increase the strength of militia detachments previously used only within their respective counties and to subordinate them to the regular army command. When the Bill was discussed in the House of Commons, Palmerston moved an amendment that it should apply also to Scotland and Ireland, and that the word 'Local' be deleted. Palmerston had recently resigned from the Cabinet (see Note 74) and the adoption of the amendment moved by him was considered by Russell as an expression of non-confidence in the government and served as a pretext for Russell's resignation on 20 February 1852. The Tory Cabinet headed by Derby was formed on 23 February 1852. The Bill became law in July 1852.—44, 49, 284, 520

63 This name was given in England to Free Traders who advocated government non-interference in economic life. In the 1840s and 1850s the Manchester men formed a separate political group which joined the Liberal Party as its Left wing in the 1860s. The centre of Free Traders' agitation headed by two textile manufacturers, Richard Cobden and John Bright, was Manchester.—44, 69, 355

64 'Voting by *ballot* to prevent bribery and intimidation by the bourgeoisie' was the fourth point of the People's Charter published in 1838 as the programme of the General Working Men's Association in London (see F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England,* present edition, Vol. 4, p. 518).—45

65 Marx's letters to Lassalle mentioned here have not been found.—46

66 Engels replies to a letter of 9 February 1852 in which Weydemeyer acknowledged receipt of Engels' first letter dated 23 January (see this volume, pp. 15-19); Engels' earlier letters had not reached Weydemeyer.—52

67 Engels has in mind his article 'England. I' written for *Die Revolution.* About the whole series see Note 17.—52

[68] Engels recalls the time when he fought in the ranks of the revolutionary detachments of the Palatinate provisional government (its seat was in Kaiserslautern) against the Prussian troops during the campaign for the Imperial Constitution (see Note 77). Engels was an aide-de-camp of August Willich who commanded a workers' corps. This corps was covering the retreat of the Baden-Palatinate insurgent troops to Switzerland and was the last to cross the border on 12 July 1849.—52

[69] The reference is to the counter-revolutionary coalition of European powers—the resurrected Holy Alliance as Engels calls it—formed during the suppression of the 1848-49 revolutions. See Marx's and Engels' article 'The New "Holy Alliance"' (present edition, Vol. 8) and Engels' 'Conditions and Prospects of a War of the Holy Alliance against France in 1852' (Vol. 10).—53

[70] British troops under Wellington fought Napoleonic France during the Peninsular War, 1808-14.—53

[71] Engels characterised this Bill in his article 'England. II' (see present edition, Vol. 11).—53

[72] The *Anti-Corn Law League* was founded in 1838 by the manufacturers Cobden and Bright. In the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie, the League strove to repeal the Corn Laws which were introduced in England in the fifteenth century and limited or banned corn imports for the benefit of the landed aristocracy. The League's aim was to reduce corn prices on the home market and together with them workers' wages. It made wide use of the free trade slogan, demagogically preaching that the interests of workers and industrialists coincided. In 1846 the Corn Laws were repealed, which signified victory for the industrial bourgeoisie, advocates of free trade (see Note 63). That same year the League declared itself dissolved, but in fact its branches continued to exist. In February 1852, in view of the protectionist tendencies of the Derby Ministry, attempts were made to revive the League.—53, 56, 61, 69, 512

[73] The *Peelites*—a group of moderate Tories who rallied around Sir Robert Peel in the 1840s and supported his policy of concessions to the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie in the economic sphere while preserving the political domination of the big landlords and financiers. In 1846, in the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie, Peel repealed the Corn Laws. This caused great dissatisfaction among the Tory protectionists and led to a split in the Tory party and the secession of the Peelites. After Peel's death (1850), the Peelites formed a political group without any definite programme; they participated in the Aberdeen Coalition Ministry (1852-55) and merged with the Liberal Party in the late 1850s and early 1860s.—54, 129

[74] Palmerston, Foreign Secretary in the Whig Ministry of Russell, was dismissed because in a conversation with the French ambassador in London he had expressed his approval of the Bonapartist coup d'état of 2 December 1851, without consulting other members of the Ministry. The dismissal occurred on 19 December 1851, though in principle the British Government did not disagree with Palmerston's point of view and was the first in Europe to recognise the Bonapartist regime in France.—54, 456

[75] *Aliens Bills* were occasionally passed by the British Parliament on the pretext of guarding British subjects against the allegedly hostile actions of foreigners residing in England. These Bills were in fact directed against members of the

international revolutionary-democratic and working-class movement who lived in England as political refugees.—54, 523

[76] Engels did not write a special article on this subject for Weydemeyer, but expressed some of his ideas on matters of the cotton industry and the development of world trade in letters to Marx (in particular, on 2 March and 20 April 1852, see this volume, pp. 57-58 and 82-83), who in his turn shared them with his American friends. These ideas were reflected in articles by Cluss and Weydemeyer published in 1852 in American democratic periodicals, e.g. Weydemeyer's 'Die Lage Europa's' in the *Turn-Zeitung,* No. 10, 1 July 1852.—55

[77] The *campaign for the Imperial Constitution,* which was adopted by the Frankfurt National Assembly (see Note 56) on 28 March 1849, was the last stage of the 1848-49 bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany. Despite its limited character, the Constitution was a step forward in solving the problem of Germany's unification. But it was rejected by the majority of German governments. In May 1849 popular uprisings in support of the Constitution broke out in Saxony, Rhenish Prussia, Baden and the Palatinate. The insurgents received no support from the Frankfurt National Assembly and the movement was suppressed in July 1849. Engels devoted his work *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* to this subject (see present edition, Vol. 10), but did not fulfil his wish to elucidate this problem in one of the articles of *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany.*—56

[78] In 1844, to satisfy the Austrian Government, Sir James Graham, the British Home Secretary, ordered that the letters of Italian revolutionary refugees should be handed over to the police to be opened. This was the case with the letters of the Bandiera brothers (members of the conspiratorial organisation) to Mazzini containing the plan of their expedition to Calabria. The aim of the expedition was to start an uprising in Italy against the Neapolitan Bourbons and Austrian rule. The participants in the expedition were arrested and the Bandieras executed.—56

[79] The machine-building workers' strike which started in late December 1851 in several towns of South-East and Central England was organised by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (see Note 48) with the aim of abolishing overtime and improving working conditions. The employers responded with a lock-out on a national scale. After three months' struggle the workers were defeated and compelled to resume work on the former terms.—57

[80] The anonymous letter of 29 February 1852 informed Marx that he and his friends were under Prussian police surveillance and hinted that there might be a traitor in their organisation.—58

[81] Marx's letter to Amalie Daniels has not been found; judging by Marx's letter to Freiligrath (see this volume, p. 23), it could have been written after 26 January 1852.—59

[82] Jones' letter to Weydemeyer of 3 March 1852 was intended for *Die Revolution.* It described the condition of various classes of English society and analysed the development of class struggle in England. Judging by Weydemeyer's letter to Marx of 24 May 1853, the letter was published in the American democratic papers at the end of 1852 or beginning of 1853.—59, 60, 70, 319

[83] The *National Reform League* was founded in London in 1849 by the Chartist leaders Bronterre O'Brien, G. W. M. Reynolds, the Owenite socialist Lloyd

Jones and others. The League campaigned for universal suffrage and social reforms.

The meeting was reported in *The Times*, No. 21053, 3 March 1852.—59

84 An abridged translation of this letter was first published in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934.—60, 196, 330, 472, 562

85 Apparently, while writing the concluding part of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* Marx somewhat changed his plan: the work includes not six, but seven chapters, the last of which he sent to New York on 25 March 1852 (see this volume, p. 70).—60, 573

86 The role of protectionism at the different stages of capitalist development and the influence of the Corn Laws on the economic structure and class relations in capitalist society were the subject of a special economic research by Marx. See in particular 'The Protectionists, the Free Traders and the Working Class', 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade', Marx's speech included into Engels' 'The Free Trade Congress at Brussels' (present edition, Vol. 6) and also *Capital,* Vol. III, Book III, Part VI, Chapters XXXVII and XLIII.—61

87 Marx analysed H. Ch. Carey's *Essay on the Rate of Wages* and criticised his views in *Capital,* Vol. I, Part V, Ch. XVIII and Part VI, Ch. XXII and Vol. III, Book III, Part VI, Ch. XXXVII.—62

88 In 1853 these notes were used by Cluss almost unchanged in the article 'Das "beste Blatt der Union" und seine "besten Männer" und Nationalökonomen' written against Heinzen and other petty-bourgeois democrats (see present edition, Vol. 12).—65

89 In their polemic articles against Heinzen published in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* in 1847 (Engels' 'The Communists and Karl Heinzen' and Marx's 'Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality', see present edition, Vol. 6) Marx and Engels revealed the narrow-minded democratism of the German petty-bourgeois radicals, in particular their failure to understand the need for the centralisation and unification of Germany.—65

90 Hochstuhl's visit to the USA being delayed, Cluss received seven copies of the pamphlet *Zwei politische Prozesse* only in July 1852 when Conrad Schramm arrived there.—66

91 A reference to the Rules of the Communist League drawn up by the Central Authority in Cologne in December 1850 after the split in the League in September 1850 (see Note 15).—66

92 An abridged translation of this letter was first published in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—66

93 An allusion to a duel between Dronke and Sazonov, a Russian emigrant in Geneva, in early August 1851.—67

94 Engels began to study Slavonic languages (Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian and Czech) at the end of 1850 and wanted to write a comparative grammar of these languages. He studied Russian most thoroughly. Extracts made by Engels from Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin* and *The Bronze Horseman* and Griboyedov's *Wit Works Woe* have survived. In the early 1850s he made extracts from Bowring's *Specimens of the Russian Poets* on eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century poets

and writers: Lomonosov, Derzhavin, Karamzin, Zhukovsky, Krylov and others. He knew many works by Czech and Serbian authors on the history of literature and folk art and also studied the history and culture of the Slav peoples on the basis of books by West European authorities.—67

95 Engels alludes to the portraits of George Washington, John Milton, Robert Blum and others printed in Harney's *The Friend of the People*. The portrait of Kościuszko (1746-1817), a leader in the Polish liberation movement, was printed in No. 6, 13 March 1852.—68

96 On 14 March 1852 Louis Bonaparte decreed the conversion of the state five per cents. The holders of five per cent papers were offered reimbursement of their nominal value or their exchange for papers of the same nominal price but bringing in 4 1/2 per cent revenue. The measure was carried out with the help of the banking houses. The decree was published in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 74, 14 March 1852.—68

97 Marx has in mind the plan suggested by Weydemeyer (in his letter to Marx of 10 March 1852), after the weekly *Die Revolution* ceased to appear, to publish the manuscripts held by Weydemeyer as separate pamphlets. The first issue was to contain Freiligrath's poems; the second, Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte;* the third, Eccarius' article on the English machine-building workers' strike; the fourth, Cluss' article on the campaign for abstention from strong drinks; the fifth, his own article against Kinkel's memorandum; the sixth, Engels' article on England, and so on. However, Weydemeyer managed to issue two pamphlets only (see Note 2).—70

98 Weydemeyer fulfilled Marx's instructions (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 163). Marx relates, not quite accurately, the story told by the Greek writer Athenaeus (2nd-3rd cent. A.D.) in his book *Deipnosophistai* (Dinner-Table Philosophers). The Egyptian Pharaoh Tachos, alluding to the small stature of the Spartan King Agesilaus, who had come with his troops to the Pharaoh's help, said: 'The mountain was in labour. Zeus was afraid. But the mountain has brought forth a mouse.' Agesilaus replied: 'I seem to you now only a mouse, but the time will come when I will appear to you like a lion.'—70

99 On 23 March 1852, on Marx's instructions, Wilhelm Wolff wrote in a letter to Cluss (to be passed on to Weydemeyer) that, instead of an article against Kossuth, Szemere was going to publish a pamphlet of 10 sheets about Görgey, Batthyány and Kossuth. Attempts to find a publisher in the USA in 1852 failed however, and only in 1853 did the newspaper *Die Reform* (Nos. 18-28, 1 June-6 July) publish the second section of the article, devoted to Görgey. The book appeared in Hamburg in 1853.—70, 77

100 Marx refers here to the German Workers' Educational Society (see Note 24) dominated at the time by supporters of Willich and Schapper.

On Pfänder's statement, see Note 24.—72

101 The reference is to preparations to start *The People's Paper*.—72

102 In February 1852 the *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer* published Szemere's letter against Kossuth. Cluss informed Marx and Wolff of this in a letter at the end of February 1852.—73

103 Marx means the *Central Committee of European Democracy* founded in London in June 1850 on Mazzini's initiative. It included Ledru-Rollin, Darasz and Ruge and united bourgeois and petty-bourgeois refugees from different countries. In March 1852 the Central Committee of European Democracy actually dissolved

due to disagreements between Italian and French democratic refugees.—73, 171, 433

104 *2 December 1851*—the day of the counter-revolutionary coup d'état in France.

The *capture of Rome* was effected by French troops on 1 July 1849 as a result of the intervention of France, Austria, Spain and Naples against the Roman Republic proclaimed on 9 February 1849. After this event the republic ceased to exist.—73

105 Marx refers here to Cluss' letter of 18 March 1852. Cluss reported on the activities of German petty-bourgeois emigrants in the USA and his opposition to the Congress of Kinkel's guarantors in Pittsburgh. This statement, dated 18 February, was published in the *Baltimore Wecker* and reprinted in the *Demokratisches Tageblatt* (Cincinnati), No. 145, 20 March 1852, under the title 'Eine verdeckte Batterie'.—76

106 The reference here is to Weydemeyer's letter to Marx and Engels of 6 April 1852. The part addressed to Engels bore no date, thus giving rise to Engels' doubts.

Engels has in mind here a meeting of the German petty-bourgeois refugees convened in New York on 3 April 1852 by the representatives of the American Revolutionary League (see Note 173) and presided by Fickler. Goegg and Fickler, who vied with Kinkel in raising funds in the USA for the so-called German-American revolutionary loan (see Note 27), tried to make Kinkel's supporters agree to the association of the rival emigrant organisations. This was also reported in Cluss' letter to Wolff of 4-6 April 1852.—79

107 Judging by Weydemeyer's letter to Marx of 11 May 1852 Müller-Tellering's letter containing slanderous attacks on Marx was not accepted by the American newspapers.—80

108 The reference is to the non-periodic journal *Die Revolution* (see Note 2).—80

109 Engels was in London for a few days in mid-April 1852 (at Easter).—81

110 *Bas-empire* (Lower Empire)—the name sometimes given in historical literature to the Byzantine Empire and also to the late Roman Empire; it came to denote a state at the stage of decline and dissolution. Here it refers to the proclamation of the Second Empire in France then being prepared by Bonapartist circles and effected on 2 December 1852.—82, 453

111 Only an extract from this letter has survived, quoted by Cluss in his letter to Weydemeyer of 6 June 1852. Marx made use of the economic data contained in Engels' letter to him of 20 April 1852 (see this volume, pp. 81-83) supplementing his political conclusion: 'On the other hand, it explains the flaccid condition of politics in this country. Given such prosperity, the Tories cannot, for their part, compete with the "blessings of Free Trade", even though they are at the helm, while the Free Traders, for their part, refrain from provoking political agitation because, so long as business is flourishing, the manufacturers do not want political upheavals and disturbances.'—83

112 A short extract from this letter has survived, quoted by Cluss in his letter to Weydemeyer of 8 May 1852.—84

113 The *Society of 10 December*—a secret Bonapartist organisation founded in 1849 and consisting mainly of declassed elements, political adventurists and reactionary military. Its members were active participants in and organisers of the coup d'état on 2 December 1851. Marx gave a detailed analysis of this

society in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11).—88

[114] The reference here is presumably to the five chapters from Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* dispatched by Marx to Weydemeyer in New York between January and March 1852 and, after the manuscript had been copied, returned enclosed in Weydemeyer's letter of 6 April 1852.—88

[115] A reference to the division at the second reading of the Militia Bill (see Note 62) in the House of Commons.—89

[116] In the spring of 1852 negotiations were carried on to set up a new editorial board of *The Northern Star*, a Chartist newspaper published by O'Connor from 1837 onwards. Harney turned down Jones' proposal to publish the Chartist newspaper jointly, would not let Jones buy *The Northern Star*, acquired it himself and continued the publication first under the title *The Star* and from 24 April 1852 *The Star of Freedom*. This revealed the disagreement in principle existing between Jones and Harney, the latter seeking to turn the newspaper into the mouthpiece of the Right-wing Chartists and bourgeois radicals. In May 1852, Jones started a new Chartist weekly, *The People's Paper*.—89, 93

[117] Engels wrote this letter on Weydemeyer's letter to him of 12 April 1852.—90

[118] In April 1852 Engels wrote only Article XIV; the next articles (XV-XIX), devoted to the campaign for the Imperial Constitution and the popular uprisings of 1849 in its support, were written in July-September 1852.—90

[119] Engels visited Marx in London in the first half of April 1852 and returned to Manchester about 13 April.—92

[120] *Gymnastic clubs*—organisations of German democratic emigrants, including workers, set up in the USA by former participants in the 1848-49 revolution. At a congress in Philadelphia on 5 October 1850 the gymnastic clubs united into a *Socialist Gymnastic Association* (Sozialistischer Turnverein) which maintained contacts with German workers' organisations in America and published the *Turn-Zeitung*, a newspaper to which Weydemeyer and Cluss contributed regularly in 1852 and 1853.—92, 282

[121] Marx quotes Cluss' letter to him of 15 April 1852. Cluss' previous letter of 4-6 April, mentioned here, was addressed to Wilhelm Wolff and informed him of a meeting of the German petty-bourgeois refugees held in New York on 3 April 1852 (see Note 106).—93

[122] The reference is presumably to the copies of Marx's letters of 15-22 August and 2 December 1851 to the journalist Ebner, in which he exposed the activities of Ruge, Kinkel, Willich and others (see present edition, Vol. 38). Later these literary sketches became part of the pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile* (see Note 131). Marx's letters to Ebner became known to the Austrian police.—93

[123] An allusion to Willich's participation in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849.—93

[124] In a letter of 9 April 1852 Weydemeyer informed Marx that, due to the assistance of a German emigrant worker who had donated 40 dollars, the printing of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* had become possible.—94

[125] The reference is to a letter Wilhelm Wolff wrote to Weydemeyer on 16 April

1852, immediately after the death of Marx's youngest daughter Franziska, in reply to Weydemeyer's letter describing the difficulties encountered in publishing *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.—94

126 Weydemeyer wanted to publish Pfänder's statements (see Note 24, and this volume, p. 14) in one of the issues of the planned non-periodic journal *Die Revolution;* this intention was not carried out.—94

127 This letter has not been found.—95

128 The International Industrial Exhibition in New York was held in July 1853.—95, 120, 349

129 Weydemeyer complied with Marx's request and reported this in the article 'Die Lage Europa's' published in the *Turn-Zeitung*, No. 10, 1 July 1852.—96

130 Marx presumably wrote to Cluss about the conflict between Jones and Harney (see Note 116) on 30 April 1852. This letter has not been found. Cluss mentioned it in his letter to Marx of 22-24 May 1852.—96

131 It was in early 1851 that Marx and Engels conceived the idea of publishing a satirical *exposé* of the leaders of the petty-bourgeois democratic emigration. Engels wanted to publish a series of articles about 'continental democracy' in the weekly *Friend of the People* (see present edition, Vol. 38, p. 278) and in the autumn of 1851 he began writing a satirical article about Karl Schapper. As is seen from Marx's letters to Ebner (see Note 122), he had the literary portraits of Ruge, Kinkel, Willich and others ready as early as 1851. In late April and early May 1852 he continued collecting facts and material on this subject and received great help in this from Cluss and Weydemeyer, who sent him newspaper cuttings describing activities of various emigrant organisations in America.

On the basis of the facts collected Marx and Engels drew up a political pamphlet during May and June 1852. It was tentatively entitled *The Great Men* and was to consist of two parts. Only the manuscript of the first part has survived. The pamphlet was not published during the authors' lifetime, but separate chapters became known to the émigré leaders, its 'heroes' (see this volume, p. 124). Some excerpts were sent to Cluss in America in May 1852.

A proposal to publish the manuscript was made by a Hungarian émigré, Bangya, who, as it turned out later, had been a police spy since 1851 and kept Greif, a Prussian police agent in London, fully informed about Marx. Marx learned about Bangya's actions only at the end of 1852 and publicly exposed them in the article 'Hirsch's Confessions' (see present edition, Vol. 12).

The manuscript copy that has survived was written mainly by Engels with additions by Marx. The first pages are in Dronke's hand. The pamphlet is published in Vol. 11 of the present edition.—98

132 After Kinkel's return from the USA, the committee which was to organise the 'German-American revolutionary loan' decided at its sitting in London on 16 April 1852 to reactivate the local sections. With this aim in view it distributed an instruction circular drawn up by Kinkel and Willich. Marx writes here about a copy of it made and sent to him by Bangya. On Bangya's spying activities, see Note 131.—100

133 An allusion to the fact that in 1844-45 Mazzini protested in the press against Italian revolutionary emigrants' letters being opened by the police. His pamphlet, 'Italy, Austria and the Pope. A letter to Sir James Graham', was published in May 1845 in periodicals and separately. At that time James

Graham was Home Secretary and it was on his orders that Italian revolutionary emigrants' letters were delivered to the police.—101

134 On 14 April 1849, the Hungarian National Assembly, on Kossuth's initiative, proclaimed the independence of Hungary and the overthrow of the Habsburg dynasty. On 2 May the Defence Council was replaced by a Council of Ministers headed by Szemere. Kossuth was elected ruler of Hungary. The siege of Ofen (Buda) by the Hungarian army under Görgey lasted from 4 to 21 May 1849 and ended in the taking of the fortress. The storm was effected after the defeat of the Austrian troops near Komarom on 22 April 1849, which provided favourable conditions for the Hungarian revolutionary army to march on Vienna. See Engels' appraisal of the military operations during the siege of Buda in his article 'Buda', present edition, Vol. 17.—101

135 The *battle of Idstedt* (a village in northern Schleswig) was fought on 24-25 July 1850 by the Schleswig-Holsteinian and Danish troops and was the concluding episode of the national liberation uprising in Schleswig-Holstein against Danish rule in 1848-50. Under public pressure the Prussian Government, together with other states of the German Confederation, started a war against Denmark in 1848, but repeatedly betrayed the insurgents and on 2 July 1850 concluded peace with Denmark, leaving the insurgents to fight alone. As a result, the duchies remained within the Kingdom of Denmark. See Engels' detailed analysis of this battle on pp. 451-52 of this volume.—103

136 As from 1852 Engels made a thorough study of the history of warfare, planning to write a military history of the 1848-49 revolutions, the Hungarian and Italian campaigns in particular. For this purpose he studied the works by Clausewitz, Jomini, Willisen, Hoffstetter, Küntzel, Görgey and many others. However, he failed to implement his plan.—104, 128, 249

137 These are extracts from two letters which Marx sent to Cluss in the USA on 7 May and on about 15 May 1852. The extracts were quoted by Cluss in his letter to Weydemeyer of 31 May 1852. It cannot be established with certainty when each extract was written. However, the analysis of the letters from Cluss to Marx of 22-24 May 1852 and to Weydemeyer of 25 May 1852 leads to the conclusion that the first paragraphs belong to the second letter and the rest must be from that of 7 May, though passages from the second letter are interpolated; this applies in particular to the passage containing quotations from Bermbach's letter of 3 May 1852, which could not have been received in London earlier than 13 May.—105

138 After his expulsion from the German Workers' Educational Society in London in the spring of 1850, Müller-Tellering (on the exposure of his intrigues in that Society, see present edition, Vol. 38, pp. 229-30) wrote a lampoon—*Vorgeschmack in die künftige deutsche Diktatur von Marx und Engels.* The inscription on the envelope quoted here by Marx is a direct allusion to that publication. In compliance with Marx's wish Cluss returned to Müller-Tellering everything he had received.—105

139 *Demagogues* is Germany were the participants in the students' opposition movement after the liberation of the country from Napoleonic rule. The name became current after the Karlsbad Conference of Ministers of the German States in August 1819, which adopted a special decision on the persecution of the demagogues.—106, 223

140 The reference is to György Klapka's 'Political Programme' dated April 1852. Marx wrote the introductory and concluding remarks to it (see present edition, Vol. 11) planning to publish them in the *New-York Daily Tribune*. But the plan was not realised in this form. In September-November 1852 Marx had the articles 'Movements of Mazzini and Kossuth.—League with Louis Napoleon.—Palmerston' and 'Kossuth, Mazzini, and Louis Napoleon' (see present edition, Vol. 11) published in that newspaper. He warned revolutionary democrats against premature action and maintained that any reliance on support from Louis Bonaparte in the struggle to liberate Hungary and Italy from Austrian rule would only contribute to strengthening the Second Empire.—106

141 In a letter to Marx of 6 February 1852 Weydemeyer promised to dispatch the first 50 copies of *The Eighteenth Brumaire* published as a special issue of the journal *Die Revolution*. Since the printing was delayed they were dispatched through Korff much later, but Marx did not receive them. For lack of money Weydemeyer failed to buy up all the copies printed and sent only 10 copies on 13 August 1852, which reached London in early September. At the end of October 1852 Marx received 130 copies more from Cluss.—106

142 See notes 17 and 44.—107

143 In September 1851 arrests were made in France among members of local communities who belonged to the Willich-Schapper group (see Note 15). The conspiratorial tactics of this group enabled the French and Prussian police, with the help of the agent-provocateur Cherval, who headed one of the Paris communities and at the same time was in the pay of the Prussian and French police, to fabricate the case of the so-called Franco-German plot. In February 1852 the accused were sentenced on a charge of plotting a coup d'état. Cherval was allowed to escape from prison. Attempts of the Prussian police to incriminate the Communist League led by Marx and Engels failed. Marx publicly exposed these provocations in his *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* and *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, vols. 11 and 17).—112, 130, 242, 270

144 The reference is to the members of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 24).—113

145 *Parliamentary trains*—a name given in England in the nineteenth century to special trains which, by a parliament act of 1844, ran daily with a speed of no less than 12 miles per hour, fares not exceeding one penny a mile.—113, 325, 534

146 Marx arrived in Manchester probably on 27 May 1852 and stayed with Engels till the second half of June. They devoted this time to writing their joint pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile*.—114, 181

147 An allusion to the attempts of Willich's supporters (former members of the volunteers' corps during the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising) to form a special military unit in the USA in view of an allegedly imminent revolution in Europe. In a letter to Engels of 17 June 1852 Weydemeyer appraised these actions as an attempt to form one more makeshift organisation of petty-bourgeois emigrants.—115

148 In their pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile* Marx and Engels made use of the assessment of the newspaper *Der Kosmos* and Ruge's and Kinkel's contributions to it which Marx gave in his letters to Engels of 21 and 28 May 1851 (see present edition, Vol. 38).—117

149 The first edition of Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* put out by Weydemeyer had *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon* on its title-page.—117

150 The reference is to the cuttings from American newspapers enclosed in Cluss' letter to Marx of 27 May 1852.—117

151 Korff, the responsible publisher of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* was dismissed as from 1 April 1849 for business incompetence, inclination to intrigues and meddling in the management of the newspaper.—120

152 The reference is to the reviews of military operations in Hungary written by Engels and published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* from February to May 1849 (see present edition, vols. 8 and 9). On 1 December 1851 Weydemeyer informed Engels that Korff had published one of these articles in the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung* in his own name.—120

153 All that has survived from this letter is a short extract quoted by Cluss in his letter to Weydemeyer of 13 July 1852. The following passage from Cluss' letter may give an idea of what Marx wrote in the non-extant part of his letter:

'A few days ago Marx wrote in haste some more lines from Manchester promising details next week. He has only 3 copies of *Brumaire* left.

'"The history of the war between mice and frogs" [i.e. the pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile*] (the first notebook up to Kinkel's departure to America) will appear *anonymously.* Marx regrets that he has to interrupt his studies in order to "clear the cesspool". Nevertheless, *I* think this is very good because it will protect the next revolution to some degree against this joint swindler company. In Marx's opinion, the whole thing is done in a very lively way and will come to us as soon as it is printed. He authorises us, *if we think it economically and politically viable,* to have it published in America. Think this over for a while.'—122

154 Marx refers here to the French Provisional Government's decree of 16 March 1848 which added an extra 45 centimes to every franc of direct taxes levied on landowners (land tax, taxes on movable property, windows and doors, patents). The tax became a new burden mainly for small peasants and caused them to join the opposition to the Second French Republic.—122

155 In early July 1852 a number of French and German newspapers reported the arrests in Paris of members of a secret organisation who were making preparations for the assassination of Louis Bonaparte and aimed at restoring the republic. According to the newspapers, the arrested were mainly workers, several of whom had taken part in the June 1848 uprising. The newspapers maintained that the plot was directed by refugees in London and Brussels.—126, 128

156 Engels has in mind the fact that Adolphe Chenu, the author of *Les Conspirateurs. Les sociétés secrètes; la préfecture de police sous Caussidière; les corps-francs* (Paris, 1850), was simultaneously an organiser of secret societies during the July monarchy and a police informer, and that this was reflected in the book. Marx and Engels published a review of this book in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue,* No. 4 (see present edition, Vol. 10).—128

157 This refers to two documents issued in Waitzen (Vác) by Görgey, commander of the Upper Danubian Hungarian Corps, after the surrender of Buda to the counter-revolutionary troops of the Austrian Field Marshal Windischgrätz:

'Statement of the Upper Danubian Royal Hungarian Corps' of 4 January 1849 and the address 'To the Upper Danubian Royal Hungarian Corps' of 6 January 1849. In them Görgey unjustly accused Kossuth and the Defence Council headed by the latter of deserting the capital, and in fact counterposed the Corps to the Defence Council and put forward an independent plan of conducting the war. The documents were published in A. Görgei, *Mein Leben und Wirken in Ungarn*, 1. Bd., Leipzig, 1852, S. 149-54.—128

158 The duc d'Enghien was condemned to death on a charge of conspiring against Napoleon and was executed by firing squad on 21 March 1804.—129

159 Marx may have made up his mind to write on this subject when he was staying with Engels in Manchester from the end of May to second half of June 1852, but he did not carry out his plan until August, when he devoted a few articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune* to analysing political parties in England and exposing the anti-popular essence of the English electoral system. These articles were 'The Elections in England.—Tories and Whigs', 'The Chartists', 'Corruption at Elections' and 'Result of the Elections' (see present edition, Vol. 11).—129

160 The *Mazas*—a Paris prison.—130

161 *Claremont*—a house near London, residence of Louis Philippe after his flight from France in 1848; a centre of Orleanist intrigues to restore the Orleans dynasty in France.—130

162 *Orlando innamorato*—a chivalrous poem by Boiardo, an Italian Renaissance poet, published in Italy in 1495. In the sixteenth century, adaptations of this poem were made by Lodovico Domenichi and Francesco Berni; most popular was that of Berni which appeared in 1541 and was repeatedly republished. Boiardo's poem was republished in London in the 1830s.—131

163 Here Engels alludes to the article 'Saedt' which he and Marx published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 225, 18 February 1849. The article ridiculed the mental limitation of Saedt, a Cologne public prosecutor since 1848, in connection with his poor speech for the prosecution at the trial of Kinkel in February 1849, on a charge of insulting the Prussian garrison at Mainz.—132, 138

164 The reference is to the Prussian criminal code introduced in April 1851. Until then the *Code pénal* introduced in 1811 in western and south-western Germany occupied by the French had been in force in Rhenish Prussia. The *Code pénal* determined the penalty for perjury, libel and similar crimes.—134, 230

165 Only a passage of the letter has survived as it was quoted by Cluss in his letter to Weydemeyer of 6 August 1852. The date of Marx's letter, 20 July, was given by Cluss.

An abridged translation of this letter was first published in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965.—135

166 This rough copy of Marx's letter to Kinkel is published according to Marx's letter to Engels of 6 August 1852 (see this volume, pp. 149-50). Marx also quotes it in his letter to Cluss of 30 July 1852 (see ibid., pp. 139, 140).—138

167 Only a passage of this letter has survived in the form of a long quotation in Cluss' letter to Weydemeyer of 16 August 1852. The date is given by Cluss.—139

168 In a letter to Cluss written at the end of June 1852, Huzel gave an account of Kinkel's slanderous attacks on Marx and Engels. Cluss quoted an extract from it in his letter to Marx of 4-5 July 1852 and Marx copied it in his letter to Engels of 6 August 1852 (see this volume, pp. 149-50).—139

169 Marx ironically calls Gottfried Kinkel Johann after his wife Johanna, who exerted a great influence on him (see Marx and Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile,* IV and V, present edition, Vol. 11).—139

170 This refers to the article 'Gottfried Kinkel' written by Marx and Engels in April 1850 and published unsigned in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue,* No. 4, 1850 (see Note 185).—139

171 In a letter of 14 November 1851 Kinkel proposed that Cluss become a guarantor of the so-called German-American revolutionary loan.—140

172 This letter of Marx to Kinkel has survived only as quoted by Cluss in his letter to Weydemeyer of 16 August 1852 and is reproduced in Marx's letter to Engels of 6 August 1852 (see this volume, pp. 149-50). The texts are identical, with the exception of italics.—140

173 The *American Revolutionary League*—an organisation of German refugees in the USA set up in January 1852 by the petty-bourgeois democrats Goegg and Fickler who had arrived in the USA to raise the so-called German-American revolutionary loan (see Note 27).—141, 150, 155, 161

174 The reference is to the secret conspiratorial organisation of German refugees in Paris—the German People's Union (Deutscher Volksverein) set up in 1832. When it was banned in 1834, a new secret revolutionary-democratic organisation of German artisans—the Outlaws' League (Bund der Geächteten) was formed.—143

175 The *League of the Just* was established between 1836 and 1837 in Paris as a result of the split in the Outlaws' League and was the first political organisation of German workers and artisans. It had branches in Germany, France, Switzerland and England. Its members were greatly influenced by the ideas of utopian socialism, that of Weitling in particular. In 1847 it served as a basis for the creation of the Communist League, the first international organisation of the proletariat (see Note 15).—143

176 The reference is to the Addresses of the Central Authority to the League written by Marx and Engels at the end of March and in June 1850 and to the Address of the Central Authority in Cologne dated 1 December 1850 and drawn up by the associates of Marx and Engels, mainly Bürgers. The Address of the Central Authority of March 1850 and that of the Central Authority in Cologne were published in a number of German bourgeois newspapers (see *Kölnische Zeitung,* No. 156, 1 June 1851, *Dresdner Journal und Anzeiger,* No. 177, 28 June 1851, and others).—143

177 The reference is to the convention signed in Vienna on 20 May 1852 by the Austrian and Russian emperors and the King of Prussia in connection with the Bonapartist coup d'état in France on 2 December 1851. The signatories agreed to recognise the Bonapartist regime in France on certain conditions, which included the consent of the head of that regime to restrict the claim for power to his own lifetime and not to try to restore the Bonaparte dynasty.—143

178 Only a short extract of this letter has survived as quoted by Cluss in his letter to Weydemeyer of 15 October 1852.—144

179 Marx has in mind the article on political parties in England which he wanted Engels to translate into English. This was in fact Marx's first own contribution to the *New-York Daily Tribune*. Marx wrote his first articles for the *Tribune* in German and sent them to Engels to be translated into English. Sometimes Engels divided a long article into two, which Marx then sent to the newspaper as separate articles. In this case too Engels divided the material received into two parts, which Marx sent to New York on 6 and 10 August entitled respectively: 'The Elections in England.—Tories and Whigs' and 'The Chartists' (see present edition, Vol. 11). From the end of January 1853 Marx himself wrote his articles for the paper in English.—145

180 Marx expresses his apprehension that Dana would refuse to print the article, because in the presidential election campaign in 1852 the *New-York Daily Tribune* supported the candidature of Scott, a representative of the American Whigs.

The *Whigs*—members of a political party in the USA mainly representing the interests of the industrial and financial bourgeoisie and supported by some of the plantation owners. The party existed under this title from 1834 to 1854. The intensification of the struggle over slavery caused splits and led to regroupings in the ranks of the Whigs. The majority of them, with a section of the Democratic Party and the farmers' party (Free Soilers), formed the Republican Party, which opposed slavery. The rest of the Whigs sided with the Democratic Party, which defended the interests of the slave-owning planters.—145

181 The series of articles *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* was published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* over Marx's signature (see Note 5).—148

182 In the margins of this letter there were vertical lines drawn by Marx at some time which has not been ascertained.—148, 153, 168

183 Marx learned of these facts from Cluss' letter of 4-5 July 1852.—149

184 The reference here is to Kossuth's circular of 28 June 1852 which Marx received from Cluss together with a letter of 22 July 1852. In the circular Kossuth urged the German refugees in America, in view of the imminent presidential elections, to demand that the USA should effect an armed interference in order to carry out a revolution in Europe. To expose the adventurist nature of this appeal, Cluss had the circular published in *The New-York Herald*. This was the immediate reason for Kossuth's departure from America on 14 July 1852 as he had officially declared himself a supporter of non-interference in the home affairs of host countries. The circular was also published in *The People's Paper*, No. 14, 7 August in the section 'Foreign News' under the title 'Secret Circular by Kossuth'.—150, 153, 158

185 The reference is to Kinkel's letter to Huzel of 6 February 1852 (see p. 152).—151

186 Presidential elections were to be held in France in May 1852 according to the Constitution. The petty-bourgeois democratic emigrant circles hoped that democracy would win in France and Louis Bonaparte would be removed from power because the Constitution stipulated that the outgoing President could not stand for re-election. After the coup d'état of 2 December 1851, however, the question of the President being re-elected practically no longer arose.—154

187 About 16 August 1852 Marx sent Engels a long article, which, while being translated, was divided into two ('Corruption at Elections' and 'Result of the Elections'). On their dispatch to New York they were dated 20 and 27 August respectively (see present edition, Vol. 11).—158

188 This letter was first published in English abridged in K. Marx, *On America and the Civil War,* McGraw-Hill, New York, 1972. In the margins of the original there were vertical lines drawn by Marx at a time which has not been ascertained.—159

189 The reference here is to the separatist organisation formed by the Willich-Schapper adventurist sectarian group after the split in the Communist League (see Note 15).—160, 162

190 An allusion to the unsuccessful attempt made in 1846-47 to publish Marx's and Engels' work *The German Ideology* (see present edition, Vol. 5).—161

191 This letter of Marx's has not been found.—161, 183, 185, 254

192 The reference is to the London committee of *The People's Paper,* set up for financing and distribution of the paper. Its 13 members were Chartists and members of the bourgeois-radical opposition who wanted to use the newspaper in the interests of the latter.—162, 175

193 Engels has in mind the second part of the article on the English electoral system written by Marx about 16 August 1852 (see Note 187).—164

194 On the instructions of Marx and Engels, Weydemeyer took the manuscript of *The German Ideology* to Westphalia where he failed in his negotiations for its publication with Julius Meyer and Rudolph Rempel, publishers in Bielefeld (see Note 190).—164

195 An ironical allusion to the difficulties encountered in publishing the Chartist newspaper, *The Star of Freedom,* edited by Harney. It succeeded *The Northern Star* and ceased publication in November 1852.—164

196 A reference to Huzel's letter to Cluss of 20 July 1852 which Cluss sent to Marx and which contained information about Kinkel's preparations for a congress of guarantors in America in the autumn of 1852, and gave a list of European guarantors of the loan.

Huzel had a high opinion of Marx's work, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* which he had read thanks to Cluss: 'I am also firmly convinced now that with his philosophy of destruction he will show us many more treasures with which we, despite all the devilish difficulties, can and must conquer the world.—In the *Eighteenth Brumaire* I find the loftiest ideas expressed in the most revolutionary way.'—166

197 The reference is to the two documents: 'Entwurf des Unionsvertrags' and 'An das Comité zur Förderung der deutschen Nationalanleihe und an die Garanten dieser Anleihe in Amerika. London. 12. August 1852'. The first contained the terms for a preliminary agreement to amalgamate the American Revolutionary League and the German Emigration Club (see notes 173 and 26).

The second document was an address to the committees and guarantors of the 'German-American revolutionary loan' (see Note 27). Its aim was to secure guarantors' preliminary consent to and approval of the amalgamation of these two organisations, which was to be finally formalised at the congress of the Revolutionary League at Wheeling (West Virginia) on 18 September

1852. On these documents see also this volume, pp. 168-69 and 173.—166, 167

198 The *Holy Grail*—according to a medieval legend, the cup used by Christ at the Last Supper, the object of quests by mythical figures.—166

199 This is Marx's reply to Imandt's letter of 27 August 1852. With it Imandt sent Marx the 'Entwurf des Unionsvertrags' and the circular to the guarantors of the loan (see Note 197) passed on to him by Kinkel and Willich. Enclosed also was a letter from Kinkel and Willich to Imandt of 26 August in which they asked the latter to give his opinion on the above-mentioned documents not later than 2 September 1852.

Imandt took part in the guarantors' congress; on his actions towards the exposure of Kinkel's and Willich's adventurist schemes see this volume, pp. 151-52 and 153-57.—167

200 Marx quotes from 'An das Comité zur Förderung der deutschen Nationalanleihe und an die Garanten dieser Anleihe in Amerika. London. 12. August 1852'.—167

201 The *Friends of Light (Lichtfreunde)*—a religious trend that arose in 1841 and was directed against the pietism predominant in the Lutheran Church and distinguished by extreme mysticism and bigotry.—168, 172

202 Marx learned all these facts from Bangya's letter of 30 August 1852. Bangya, being in the service of the Prussian police, tried by these means to worm his way into Marx's confidence. Marx soon became aware of Bangya's provocative activity and broke off all relations with him (see this volume, pp. 267-70).—169, 177

203 Marx alludes to a passage in the address to the guarantors of the loan issued on 12 August 1852 (see Note 197). In reply to the guarantors' proposal to found a newspaper, the document stated that revolution 'no longer needs the pen but the sword. A newspaper in London is of no use for the revolution'.—170, 174

204 The *Centralisation* was set up in 1836 as the leading executive organ of the Polish Democratic Society which arose in France in 1832 after the suppression of the national liberation insurrection of 1830-31 and united Left-wing Polish emigrants, the small nobility (*szlachta*) and the bourgeoisie. Its programme envisaged restoration of Poland's independence, abolition of the feudal obligations and the inequality of social estates, free transfer of land allotments to peasants, and a number of other progressive measures. In the summer of 1849 the seat of the Centralisation was moved to London.—172

205 The material on Vetter, Mazzini and Kossuth was used by Marx in the article 'Movements of Mazzini and Kossuth.—League with Louis Napoleon.—Palmerston' written for the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see present edition, Vol. 11).—172

206 The only part of this letter that has survived is an extract in Cluss' letter to Weydemeyer of 21 September 1852. Cluss writes: 'Herewith English notes for the *Herald*. Lexow will no doubt attend to them if you din it into him that the rotten elements and buffoons have got to be rendered harmless for the

revolution. The agent mentioned therein is General Vetter, a generalissimo of the Kossuth-Mazzini army. He vanished from London for a considerable stretch of time, no one knew where to. He was travelling on a passport in which he figured as an American painter, and with a singer by the name of Ferenze (his mistress). She gave concerts in all the important places. The rest you may read in the English. Vetter has now told the "big-wigs" [i.e. Kossuth] that, circumstances being what they are, he thinks he can do no better than go to America with Ferenze. Mazzini *et* Kossuth are said to be resigned to their fate and to have decided to leave the initiative to the French.—On 14 and 15 September—yet another intrigue conducted by Kinkel behind the backs of the guarantors in London—the pro-Kinkel guarantors are to hold a meeting in Antwerp with a view to adopting a congressional resolution that will, it is hoped, serve as a weapon against the resolution passed by the American and Swiss guarantors.' After this Cluss quotes fragments from Marx's letter which are reproduced here in full.

'Notes for the *Herald*' mentioned by Cluss are a version of Marx's article 'Movements of Mazzini and Kossuth.—League with Louis Napoleon.—Palmerston' sent by Marx to Dana presumably after 5 September 1852. When publishing it in the *New-York Daily Tribune* the editors dated it 28 September 1852. The editors of the present edition have no information whether this material was published in *The New-York Herald*.—172

207 Here the fragment from Marx's letter ends and is followed by a sentence which reveals to some extent the contents of the lost part of Marx's letter: 'Marx has now received 10 *Brumaires* and a letter from you. He does not complain about the material damage but solely about that caused him by this troublesome affair from the political and literary points of view; he says he must now fight his way through with fibs.' A few lines further Cluss again quotes Marx: 'I also took notes ... at the section meeting there.'—174

208 Cluss does not say that this paragraph is by Marx, but textually it almost coincides with Marx's letter to Engels of 30 August 1852 (see this volume, p. 170).—174

209 The plans to have Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* republished in Germany and published in English did not materialise at that time. The second edition appeared only in 1869 in Hamburg.—175

210 The only part of this letter that has survived is an extract quoted by Cluss in his letter to Weydemeyer of 26 March 1853.—176

211 The only part of this letter that has survived is an extract quoted by Cluss in his letter to Weydemeyer of 28 September 1852.—178

212 In a memorandum entitled 'Drei Jahre in Paris', L. Häfner, a German petty-bourgeois refugee, gave his opinion of the German émigrés in Paris in 1849-51.—178, 183, 185

213 This letter was published in English in full for the first time in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliff, New Jersey, 1979.—181, 530, 533

214 Marx did not carry out his intention to write a concluding article to Engels'

*Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany.* The last, twentieth, article of the series did not appear in the *New-York Daily Tribune.* The 1896 English edition and a number of subsequent editions had as the concluding article Engels' 'The Late Trial at Cologne' (see present edition, Vol. 11) which did not belong to this series of articles.—181, 199

215 Marx alludes to a passage in Massol's letter of 25 July 1852. Massol informed Marx that Proudhon had published a book on the coup d'état in France on 2 December 1851 and stressed that Proudhon was only a populariser, while Marx was engaged in a serious analysis of the events: 'Dig, search, keep at it; that is your lot, let French mouths do the vulgarising'.—182

216 The *Manchester archives*—documents of the Communist League, letters and other materials relating to the revolutionary activity of Marx and Engels kept at Engels' house.—183, 198, 245

217 The reference is to the information bulletin *Lithographierte Correspondenz* published by Weydemeyer in New York from August to October 1852.—185

218 Engels has in mind the state of Heinzen's New York newspaper *Janus* which published attacks on the Communist League and carried insinuations against Marx and Engels personally.—185

219 The reference is to the great fuss in the newspapers over Louis Bonaparte's tour of France on 14-16 September 1852, whose purpose was to secure support in the provinces, among the French clergy in particular, for his proclamation as Emperor of France under the title of Napoleon III, which took place on 2 December 1852.—185

220 The *Customs Union* of the German states was set up in 1834 under the aegis of Prussia because of the need to create an all-German market. During the 1848-49 revolution the Customs Union practically ceased to exist, but in 1853 Prussia managed to revive it and it continued to exist up to 1871.

By the 'Customs Union business' Marx means a conference on the subject which was to be convened in Vienna on 30 October 1852.—186, 195

221 The first part of this letter was first published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx,* Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913 and dated 'beginning of September 1852'. The part dealing with the statistics from factory inspector Horner was first published in Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe,* Abt. III, Bd. 1, 1929 and Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXI, Moscow, 1929 as a separate document mistakenly dated 11 March 1853.

The whole letter, with the verified date, 23 September 1852, and Engels' memorandum on the English translation of the first chapter of Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* made by Wilhelm Pieper, was first published in Marx and Engels, *Works,* Second Russian Edition, Vol. 28, Moscow, 1962.—188

222 Engels alludes to the active preparations being made by Bonapartist circles to proclaim an empire in France (see Note 219).—189

223 These figures were also used by Marx in his article 'Pauperism and Free Trade.—The Approaching Commercial Crisis' (see present edition, Vol. 11) written on 12 October 1852 for the *New-York Daily Tribune.*—189

224 *Sturm und Drang (Storm and Stress)*—a literary trend in Germany in the 1780s.—192

225 Marx received Zerffi's letter at the end of August 1852 and used the facts it contained in the article 'Movements of Mazzini and Kossuth.—League with Louis Napoleon.—Palmerston' (see Note 206).—194

226 The *Volksverein*—an organisation set up in London on 11 August 1852 in a new attempt to amalgamate various groups of German refugees whose representatives concluded the 'Entwurf des Unionsvertrags' (see Note 197). The agreement was signed by Goegg on behalf of the Revolutionary League in America, and by Kinkel and Willich as members of the managing committee of the so-called German-American revolutionary loan (see notes 173 and 27). The aim of the *Volksverein* was to attract Englishmen as well as German refugees. However, owing to its adventurism and to persisting discord among the petty-bourgeois emigrants, the *Volksverein* was as short-lived as other such emigrant organisations before it.—194

227 Two religious opposition movements, the so-called *German-Catholicism*, and the Protestant *'free communities'*, appeared in the 1840s. They sought to establish an all-German national church and rejected the supremacy of the Pope and many dogmas and rites of the Roman Catholic Church. They expressed the German bourgeoisie's discontent with the reactionary system in Germany and its striving to unify the country politically. In 1850 the German-Catholics merged with the 'free communities'.—194, 267

228 The reference is to Louis Bonaparte's tour of France (see Note 219). Zerffi's letter to Marx of 22 September 1852 contained, in particular, details about his reception in Lyons.—195

229 Marx ironically calls Bürgers' manuscript 'Das Wesen des Kommunismus', a pun on Feuerbach's *Das Wesen des Christenthums*.—195

230 *Honi soit qui mal y pense* (Shame be on him who evil thinks)—the motto of the Order of the Garter instituted by Edward III of England in 1350.—195

231 In view of the financial difficulties of *The People's Paper* the bourgeois members of its London committee (see Note 192) tried to obtain control over it and to hinder further development of the revolutionary proletarian tendency which Jones was following more and more thanks to Marx's active assistance. On 15 and 21 September Jones' opponents held two Chartist meetings at which they attempted to substantiate their accusations against Jones. However both meetings expressed confidence in Jones and the Executive of the National Charter Association.—195

232 Harney failed in his attempt to create a 'united national party' in England in the autumn of 1852 in order to campaign for general suffrage at the cost of repudiating the other five points of the People's Charter and the social demands of the Chartists.—196

233 An allusion to the behaviour of the French philistines during Louis Bonaparte's tour of the country (see Note 219).—196

234 An abridged translation of this letter was first published in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliff, New Jersey, 1979.—198, 298, 438, 445, 453, 500, 526

235 On Herzen's relations with Herwegh see A. I. Herzen, *My Past and Thoughts*, Part V ['Story of the Family Drama'].—199

236 Marx made use of the facts he learned from Zerffi's letter of 5 September 1852 in writing the article 'Movements of Mazzini and Kossuth.—League with Louis Napoleon.—Palmerston' (see present edition, Vol. 11).—200

237 Engels' letter to Dronke has not been found.—204

238 The reference is to Kinkel's escape from prison (see Note 54).—206

239 Wiss' statement is quoted in Marx's and Engels' *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 303).—206

240 On Marx's request, Cluss sent to *The Morning Advertiser* on 1 November 1852 his reply to the article 'The German "Lone Star"', in which he criticised the activity of the American Revolutionary League (see Note 173), headed by Goegg, Ruge's supporter. The editors refused to publish it.—207

241 Massol's letter to Marx of 25 July (see Note 215).—207

242 Weydemeyer's article against Heinzen was published in the *New-Yorker Demokrat* on 29 January 1852, that of Cluss, 'Karl Heinzen und der Kommunismus, oder der fahrende Ritter auf der wilden, verwegenden Jagd nach dem Schatten seines lahmen Kleppers', in the same newspaper at the end of June-beginning of July 1852.—207

243 *Pièce Taschereau* (the Taschereau document) was fabricated by the French police after the February 1848 revolution in order to discredit Blanqui. It was published on 31 March 1848 in the bourgeois journal *La Revue rétrospective* edited by Taschereau.—209

244 The *Athenaeum* —the name of the clubs which existed in a number of cities in England, including London and Manchester, and frequented by men of letters and scientists.—209, 233, 241, 293, 554

245 The Congress of the American Revolutionary League (see Note 173) was held in Wheeling, West Virginia, USA, in September 1852.—210, 267

246 The article written by Marx on 12 October 1852 for the *New-York Daily Tribune* was translated by Engels into English and sent by Marx to New York on 15 and 19 October as two articles: 'Pauperism and Free Trade.—The Approaching Commercial Crisis' and 'Political Consequences of the Commercial Excitement' (see present edition, Vol. 11).—210

247 Marx and Engels attacked *The Times* and *The Daily News* for supporting the Prussian reactionaries on the issue of the Cologne Communist Trial (see Note 16) in their 'Public Statement to the Editors of the English Press' written on 28 October 1852 (see present edition, Vol. 11).—210

248 The reference is to the interrogation of Bürgers on 9 and 10 October 1852 during the Cologne Communist Trial.—211

249 An allusion to the article on the political parties in England written by Marx on 16 October 1852. Engels translated it into English and Marx sent it to New York as two articles on 2 and 9 November. The first one was published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 29 November under the title 'Political Parties and Prospects', the second on 25 November without any title (see present edition, Vol. 11; the title 'Attempts to Form a New Opposition Party' was supplied by the editors of the present edition).—212

250 The reference is presumably to Cluss' article in the *Baltimore Wecker* in which he mentioned false accusations of spying brought against Mrs Brüningk by Kinkel and Willich (see this volume, p. 152).—214, 574

251 Here Engels refers to the attempt of the police agent Stieber, a witness for the prosecution at the Cologne trial on 18 October 1852, to ascribe to the Communist League participation in the so-called Franco-German plot (see Note 143).—215

252 Haupt, a former member of the Communist League, was arrested at the time of the Cologne Communist Trial and gave false evidence during the investigation. The police released him before the trial and he escaped to Brazil. His evidence, damaging to the accused, was cited in Seckendorf's speech for the prosecution on 3 November 1852.—215

253 The translation into English of Marx's article written on 16 October 1852 (see Note 249).—215

254 For details on the arrest of Kothes and Bermbach see Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (present edition, Vol. 11).—216

255 On Engels' advice (see this volume, pp. 208-09), Marx tried through Weerth to get information from the bookseller Duncker about a certain Eisenmann with whom Bangya had allegedly negotiated the publication of Marx's and Engels' pamphlet, *The Great Men of the Exile*.—216

256 Marx's letter to lawyer Schneider II of 26 October 1852 has not been found.—217

257 Engels' letter to Marx of 26 October 1852 has not been found.—218

258 Engels refers to Marx's letter to Schneider II of 26 October 1852 which contained Stieber's evidence (see Marx's letter to Engels of 26 October 1852). Engels sent two copies of it by messengers to Cologne on 27 October: the original in Marx's hand care of Braubach Bros and a copy care of Johann Philipp Becker. Marx himself sent the third and fourth copies, addressed to Hermann Ebner and Georg Gottlob Jung, from London. This is proved by a list of documents dispatched to Cologne during the Communist Trial drawn up by Engels on about 31 October 1852 (see present edition, Vol. 11).—218

259 At the Cologne trial on 23 October 1852 Stieber presented in evidence against the accused the so-called Original Minute-book of the meetings of the Communist League Central Authority, alleged to have been formed again by Marx in London after the arrests in Cologne. According to Stieber's false evidence, the Minute-book was compiled by Rings and Liebknecht. In reality it was fabricated by the spy Wilhelm Hirsch, exposed by and expelled from the Communist League about 19 February 1852. Because of his expulsion it was decided to change the place and day of the weekly meetings of the London District members of the Communist League. Hirsch did not know about this and continued to date the fabricated minutes Thursday, whereas the meetings were then held on Wednesdays. By sending samples of Hirsch's and later Rings' and Liebknecht's handwriting to Cologne, Engels wanted to provide counsel for the defence with documents which would expose the actual author of the 'Original Minute-book'. Thanks to the material supplied by Marx and Engels the police fabrications were exposed and the 'Original Minute-book' was rejected as evidence for the prosecution (see present edition, Vol. 11).—218, 223

260 The 'Original Minute-book' (see Note 259) presented by Stieber to the jury mentioned letters allegedly written to Marx by Mrs Daniels, the wife of one of the accused. On 25 October 1852, the *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 273, published a statement made by King's Counsel Müller, father of Mrs Daniels, denying that Mrs Daniels had corresponded with Marx and declaring Stieber's 'Original Minute-book' a 'mystification'.—219, 301

261 The reference is to *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11). Marx began writing the pamphlet at the end of October 1852, when the trial of the Communist League members was still in progress in Cologne, and completed it in early December. On 6 December a copy of the manuscript was sent to the publisher Schabelitz junior in Switzerland, and on the following day a second copy was dispatched to Cluss in the USA. The pamphlet was published in Basle in January 1853, but almost the whole edition (2,000 copies) was confiscated by the police in March in the Baden frontier village of Weill on the way to Germany. In the USA the work was first published in instalments in the democratic Boston *Neu-England-Zeitung* and at the end of April 1853 it was printed as a separate pamphlet by the same publishers.—220

262 An allusion to the campaign in French government circles for the proclamation of an empire (see Note 219).—221

263 In the list of documents dispatched to Cologne during the Communist Trial this letter of Marx, which has not been found, is dated Monday, 25 October 1852 (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 590).—222

264 This is presumably a slip of the pen, for in *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, Chapter III, 'The Cherval Plot' (present edition, Vol. 11, p. 413), it is said that Cherval was admitted to the League of the Just in 1846, i.e. before it was reorganised into the Communit League in June 1847.—222

265 This material was used by the lawyer Schneider II in his speech at the trial on 4 November 1852 and later by Marx in the pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 413, 417 and 418).—222

266 The reference is to Marx's correspondence with Hermann Becker concerning the publication of Marx's works. Negotiations to that effect started in December 1850 and resulted in the publication of the first issue of *Gesammelte Aufsätze von Karl Marx* in Cologne at the end of April 1851. It contained the article 'Comments on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction' and part of the first article from 'Proceedings of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly' written by Marx in 1842 (see present edition, Vol. 1). Publication was discontinued following Becker's arrest.—222

267 Roland Daniels sent his manuscript 'Mikrokosmos. Entwurf einer physiologischen Anthropologie' from Cologne in mid-February 1851 for Marx to review it. In his letter to Daniels of 20 March (it has not been found) Marx expressed his opinion of the manuscript. Daniels' work remained unpublished because of his arrest in June 1851 in connection with the Cologne Communist Trial.—222

268 Marx has in mind the minutes which Hirsch kept in the Workers' Society presided over by Stechan, a refugee from Hanover (see Note 25).—222

269 Stieber's letter to Marx of 26 December 1848, which Marx quotes below.—222

270 Marx's letter to Schneider II of 26 October 1852 (see Note 256).—223

271 This excerpt from Becker's letter to Marx of 27 January 1851 is quoted by Marx in *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 452).—224

272 Marx's letter to Bermbach has not been found.—224

273 *Van Diemen's Land*—the name initially given by Europeans to the island of Tasmania, which was a British penal colony up to 1853.—224

274 The reference is to the duel between Barthélemy and the French refugee Cournet about 25 October 1852 in which the latter was killed. Barthélemy was sentenced to two months' imprisonment.—224, 295

275 This letter of Stieber's was used by the lawyer Schneider II in his speech at the trial on 4 November 1852 to expose Stieber's past spying activity; Marx quoted this letter in full in *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 435-36).—226

276 The separatist Central Authority was set up by the Willich-Schapper group after the split in the Communist League in September 1850 (see Note 15).—226

277 This refers to the *Social-Democratic Committee of Support for German Refugees* formed at the German Workers' Educational Society in London on 18 September 1849. The Committee included Karl Marx, Heinrich Bauer, Karl Pfänder, Karl Blind, Anton Füster and Frederick Engels (from 3 December 1849). In mid-September 1850 Marx and Engels withdrew from the Refugee Committee because the majority of its members had come under the influence of the Willich-Schapper group.—227

278 Here Marx ironically writes about Stieber's attempt, in his evidence on 18 October 1852, to reduce the disagreements existing between the supporters of Marx and Engels and the Willich-Schapper group to the question of personal rivalry. He ascribed to Marx an aspiration to become a dictator of Germany after a future revolution and to appoint his associates and friends ministers.—227

279 In this connection see K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 422-23). In his speech on 4 November 1852 Schneider II exposed Stieber's falsification of facts connected with the confiscation of Marx's letter to Kothes.—228

280 Engels' letter to von Hontheim of 30 October 1852 has not been found.—231

281 The *Red Catechism (Rother Katechismus für das deutsche Volk)* and the letter accompanying it were written by Moses Hess who supported the Willich-Schapper group. The letter was faked by imitating Marx's handwriting. Marx exposed this forgery in a statement sent to the editor of *The Morning Advertiser* and published in that newspaper on 2 November (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 380-81). Schneider II's intention to read this statement of Marx at the trial on 4 November drew a protest from the prosecution, but they were forced to give up the idea of using 'the accompanying letter' against the accused (see also K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 443-45).—232

282 On Engels' advice, Marx gave evidence on the points listed above, had it certified and sent to Cologne where it was used at the trial by Schneider II.—232

[283] This refers to Dronke's letter to Engels of 30 October 1852 in which he warned against Bangya's suspicious behaviour.—232

[284] On 21 October 1852 Duncker wrote to Weerth that there was no publisher by the name of Eisenmann (see Note 255).

Kothes was arrested because the police had intercepted a letter which Marx sent to his address to be delivered to Bermbach (on this see *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 422-24).—232

[285] Engels' letter to Strohn of 31 October 1852 has not been found.—234

[286] The list of documents drawn up by Engels is published in the present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 590-91.—234

[287] The reference is to the accompanying letter to the *Red Catechism* (see Note 281).—236

[288] The reference is to a letter of 28 October 1852 composed by Bangya in the name of Charles Collmann, a publisher invented by him, concerning the preparations made for publishing Marx's and Engels' manuscript *The Great Men of the Exile*. The letter was not written on a publishers' notepaper and had no post marks. It contained Bangya's note dated 3 November 1852 asking Marx to acquaint himself with Collmann's letter.—237, 239

[289] The reference is to Bürgers' trip from Cologne to Hanover, Hamburg, Berlin, Breslau and Dresden made in May 1851 on an assignment from the Cologne Central Authority. The prosecution tried to present Bürgers' trip and his participation in drawing up the Manifesto of the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League, and also Nothjung's journey to Leipzig in May 1851 mentioned below, as proof of their involvement in a communist plot.—238

[290] The *Crystal Palace* was built of metal and glass for the first world trade and industrial exhibition in London in 1851.—238

[291] After the 'Original Minute-book' was exposed at the trial as a forgery (see Note 259), Stieber sent police lieutenant Goldheim to London. On his return Goldheim stated at the trial on 3 November 1852 that the book mentioned was not 'a minute-book', but a 'notebook', and that it was actually sold by H. Liebknecht, alleged to be the compiler of the minutes, to the Prussian agent Fleury and contained notes on communists' secret meetings at Marx's house. Goldheim asserted that he had seen a cash receipt in Liebknecht's own handwriting. He also spoke of a 'top secret meeting' at Marx's on 27 October 1852 in connection with the Cologne trial. On 4 November 1852 lawyer Schneider II proved that this evidence for the prosecution was also false. On this see *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 429-35 and 438-39).—240, 242

[292] Marx was in Manchester in May-June 1852.—241

[293] The meeting in memory of Robert Blum in London on 9 November 1852 was organised by Arnold Ruge and his associates. Speeches were made by Ruge, Tausenau, Ronge and other bourgeois radicals and democrats.—241, 246

[294] Marx learned about this from lawyer Schneider II's letter of 1 November 1852.—242

295 On Bangya's provocative role in the matter of publishing Marx's and Engels' pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile* see Marx's article 'Hirsch's Confessions' (present edition, Vol. 12).

The second part of the pamphlet (see Note 131) was probably not written, though the last lines of this work contain a definite hint that the account of German petty-bourgeois refugees' activities will be continued. Marx's pamphlet *Herr Vogt*, Chapter XII: 'Appendices', Section 6 'The War between Frogs and Mice' contains material on the activity of petty-bourgeois refugee organisations in 1852 (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 313-15).—242

296 Fleury's statement proving the falseness of Goldheim's evidence was not published in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. Counsel for the defence got possession of it after the trial. Marx quoted it in *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 442).—243

297 Marx wrote this statement on 21 October 1852; the text has not survived. Marx explains in *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* why the German newspapers refused to publish it (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 436).—244

298 Marx gives these facts in *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 442 and 451-52). Additional information about Hirsch's contacts with the Prussian police agents Greif and Fleury, and the role of the Prussian Embassy in London during the Cologne trial, is to be found in *Herr Vogt*, 'Appendices', Section 4 'The Communist Trial in Cologne' (see present edition, Vol. 17).—245

299 The reference is to the publication in October 1852 of a lithographed statement of accounts and of a statement by Reichenbach who was the treasurer of the so-called German-American revolutionary loan (see Note 27). Reichenbach refused to be in charge of the funds because the idea of the revolutionary loan did not justify itself. Later Marx quoted extracts from Reichenbach's statement in *Herr Vogt*, 'Appendices', Section 6 'The War between Frogs and Mice' (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 314).—245, 246, 275, 282, 302

300 On Engels' advice Marx wrote to the Frankfurt journalist Ebner asking him whether it would be possible to publish the pamphlet on the Cologne Communist Trial there (see this volume, pp. 238-39 and Note 122). Marx's letter to Ebner has not been found.—245

301 The '*Friends of Italy*'—an organisation founded in London in May 1851 by the English bourgeois radicals on Mazzini's initiative in order to interest the English public in Italy's national liberation.—246

302 Only the author's copy of this letter has survived in Marx's notebook for 1860 among material relating to his work on *Herr Vogt*.—247

303 Marx sent the German original of the statement to Cluss in America on 18 November 1852. Marx's letter has not been found. The statement dated 18 November 1852 was published in the *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, No. 39, 10 December 1852. Its text differed from the English version edited by Engels at Marx's request and published in English papers, dated 20 November 1852.—247

304 The appeal to German workers in America was written by Marx on behalf of a committee founded in London to organise aid to the communists accused in Cologne. It was signed by the members of the recently disbanded Communist

League who were resident in London—Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Wilhelm Wolff, Ferdinand Freiligrath, Ernst Dronke, Wilhelm Liebknecht and other German refugees, and also by Ernest Jones. The appeal was sent to Cluss on 7 December 1852 and published in American German-language newspapers (see present edition, Vol. 11).—247

305 *Little Germany*—a name given ironically by Engels to a district in Manchester where German refugees lived.—249

306 The New York printer withheld copies of Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see this volume, p. 160).—251

307 After the 1830 revolution in France, the opposition movement of the so-called demagogues (see Note 139) became more intense in Germany. This caused new police repressions and arrests and increased emigration, especially after an attempt had been made to effect a coup d'état in Frankfurt am Main on 3 April 1833 with the aim of establishing a republic.—251

308 Marx analysed Disraeli's budget in 'Parliament.—Vote of November 26.—Disraeli's Budget' written on 10 December 1852 (see present edition, Vol. 11).—253

309 The reference is to the so-called Franco-German *plot* (see Note 143) inspired to a great extent by Cherval, an agent of the Prussian and French police. On this see Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne,* present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 407-20.—255

310 Facts proving Bangya's provocative role in the matter of publishing Marx's and Engels' manuscript *The Great Men of the Exile* were cited by Marx in the article 'Hirsch's Confessions' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—256

311 In a letter to Bangya of 28 October 1852 the fictitious publisher Collmann (see Note 288) expressed readiness, for the authors' reassurance, to place the manuscript at their disposal for 48 hours.—257, 258

312 After the Bonapartist coup d'état of 2 December 1851 intensive preparations were made to proclaim France an empire. On 21 and 22 November 1852 a referendum was held on the issue: on 2 December France was officially proclaimed an empire, and the Prince President Louis Napoleon became Emperor Napoleon III. In the period preceding the proclamation of the empire numerous decrees concerning, among other things, the economy and finance were promulgated. Here Marx has in mind two decrees of 18 November 1852: on the foundation of the Société générale du Crédit mobilier and on the handing over of several railways to the Compagnie du chemin de fer de Lyon à Avignon founded on 8 July 1852 (both decrees were published in *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 325, 20 November 1852). The Crédit mobilier became a big joint-stock bank which acted as intermediary in credit and stockjobbing operations and took part in building railways in France and other European countries.—257, 263

313 Engels went to London in the second half of December 1852 and stayed there until 10 January 1853.—257, 271, 304

314 The original of this letter has not survived. It is quoted in Cluss' letter to Weydemeyer of 6-7 January 1853.

This letter was published in English in part in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to the Americans. 1848-1895,* International Publishers, New York, 1953.—259

315 On the publication of Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* see Note 261.—259

316 A reference to the world trade and industrial exhibition in London (see Note 37).—260

317 In a letter to Marx of 21 November 1852 Cluss expressed doubt whether Massol was right in alleging that Proudhon had taken a revolutionary stand in his new works in contrast to those of the 1840s (Massol's letter of 25 July 1852 was sent to Cluss by Marx for information). Cluss' opinion was shared by Weydemeyer.—260

318 *Free Soilers*—members of a mass radical-democratic party of US farmers in the 1840s and 1850s; it merged with the Republican Party when the latter was formed in 1854.—262

319 *Mormons*—members of a religious sect founded in the USA in the 1830s.—262

320 This presumably refers to Marx's contacts with petty-bourgeois circles of French refugees in London.

*Frères et amis*—a form of address used in official documents and public speeches at the time of the French Revolution. Later, royalists used it in referring to republicans.—263

321 The original of this letter has not survived. The text is given according to Cluss' letter to Weydemeyer of 6-7 January 1853.—265

322 Marx's letter to Brüningk has not survived.—265

323 The reference is to the publication of Reichenbach's accounts and statement (see Note 299).—266

324 Marx spoke of these facts in *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* and 'Hirsch's Confessions' (see present edition, vols. 11 and 12).—267

325 News from Schabelitz (see this volume, p. 264) led Marx to believe that *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* had already been published in Basle. On how matters stood as regards this publication see Note 261.—270

326 Steps to publish Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* in Switzerland failed.—270

327 See present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 417-18.—270

328 In the letter mentioned here Dana informed Marx that he would pay £ 1 for each article, but promised double pay for articles on vital problems of current politics.—273

329 The original of Marx's letter has not been found. This fragment is reproduced as quoted in Cluss' letter to Weydemeyer of 17 February 1853.—273

330 '*Communia*'—a colony founded by Weitling's associates in Iowa (USA) in 1849 to put in practice the principles of Weitling's utopian communism. The colony ceased to exist in 1853 owing to inner conflicts and financial difficulties.—275, 450

331 At the beginning of 1853 the German liberal historian Professor Gervinus was brought to trial on a charge of incitement to high treason and an attempted breach of the peace in publishing *Einleitung in die Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts,*

a book which reactionary circles considered an apology for the democratic system and a criticism of monarchy.—276

332 The international Peace Congress was convened by the bourgeois pacifist organisation, Peace Society, in Manchester at the end of January 1853. Free Traders were especially active at it. The Congress adopted a number of resolutions against anti-French military propaganda in England and against the increase of armaments.

Cobden's pamphlet is assessed and the Peace Congress described in Marx's article 'Capital Punishment.—Mr. Cobden's Pamphlet.—Regulations of the Bank of England' (see present edition, Vol. 11).—276

333 The reference is to the armed conflict between Turkey and Montenegro which was a vassal possession of the Sultan and sought full independence. In early 1853 Turkish troops invaded Montenegro, but the stance adopted by Russia and pressure from Austria soon compelled the Sultan to withdraw them.—277, 278, 288

334 Marx made this rough note in English on J. G. Mayer's letter of 3 February 1853. Marx used the pseudonym Charles Williams when he sent his letters to Szemere in Paris c/o Mayer.—277

335 A reference to the Milan insurrection started on 6 February 1853 by the followers of the Italian revolutionary Mazzini and supported by Hungarian revolutionary refugees. The aim of the insurgents, who were mostly Italian workers, was to overthrow Austrian rule. The insurrection was badly organised and was soon suppressed. Marx analysed it in a number of articles (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 508-09, 513-16, 532 and 535-37).—278, 283, 307

336 *Bellinzona*—an administrative town in the Swiss canton of Tessin (Ticino). In the main cities of this canton, a centre of Italian emigration in the nineteenth century, there were print-shops where the supporters of Italy's national liberation had their literature printed.—278

337 Kossuth, who after the defeat of the Hungarian revolutionary army crossed into territory dependent on Turkey and was interned in the fortress of Vidin (Bulgaria), appealed to the insurgents still in the fortress of Komarom on 2 October 1849 to continue the struggle promising speedy support from Britain. However, the Hungarian insurgents had already accepted Austrian terms of capitulation.—279

338 This letter was published in English for the first time, considerably abridged, in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934.—280, 344

339 Here Marx refers to a letter from Kossuth to Mayne Reid intended for the press. Mayne Reid published a statement in a number of English newspapers (see, e.g., 'M. M. Kossuth and Mazzini and *The Times*', *The Daily News*, No. 2105, 18 February 1853) asserting on behalf of Kossuth that the latter did not take part in the Milan insurrection (see Note 335) and declaring that the address 'In the Name of the Hungarian Nation.—To the Soldiers Quartered in Italy' circulated over Kossuth's signature during the insurrection was a forgery.—280

340 Marx quotes this statement of Della Rocco in the article 'The Attack on Francis Joseph.—The Milan Riot.—British Politics.—Disraeli's Speech.—Napoleon's Will' (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 515).—281

[341] Marx has in mind here the English workers' movement for observance by the manufacturers of the Ten Hours' Bill adopted by Parliament in 1847, for its application to all categories of workers and for the repeal of the 1850 law, which despite the 1847 Bill established a $10^1/_2$-hour working day. Marx analyses this movement in 'Parliamentary Debates.—The Clergy Against Socialism.—Starvation' (see present edition, Vol. 11).—282

[342] Marx refers to the speech made by John Russell, leader of the Whig Party and member of the Aberdeen Coalition Government, at the opening of Parliament on 10 February 1853. Marx analysed this speech in 'The Italian Insurrection.—British Politics' (see present edition, Vol. 11).—282

[343] A reference to John Aberdeen's Coalition Ministry of 1852-55 (the Cabinet of All the Talents), which consisted of Whigs, Peelites and representatives of the Irish faction. Marx described this Ministry in 'A Superannuated Administration.—Prospects of the Coalition Ministry, &c.' (see present edition, Vol. 11).—284

[344] A reference to questions in Parliament in connection with rumours that the reactionary governments of the continental powers, Austria in the first place, intended to demand that the British Government should deport political refugees, Mazzini and Kossuth in particular. On 1 March 1853 Palmerston denied in the House of Commons that such demands had been made and declared that, should they be made, the British Government would categorically reject them. However, on 4 March, Aberdeen, head of the Cabinet, stated in the House of Lords that the government was ready to take proceedings against the refugees.—284

[345] In June 1850 the British Parliament debated the Anglo-Greek conflict over the so-called Pacifico incident. The house in Athens of this Portuguese merchant, a British subject, was burnt in 1847 and this served as a pretext for Palmerston to send ships to the Greek coast and present an ultimatum to the Greek Government.—284, 455

[346] The *debate on the Address* took place at the opening of Parliament in 1850. The usual procedure of drawing up a reply to the Speech from the Throne was used as a pretext for a comprehensive criticism of Russell's Whig Government, of which Palmerston was a member.—284

[347] On 3 March 1853 the radical Hume moved in the House of Commons that all tariffs which were in the slightest degree protectionist should be annulled. Marx expressed his opinion on Hume's motion and on Gladstone's and other Cabinet members' attitude to the question in 'Achievements of the Ministry' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—284

[348] *Philhellene*—here non-Greek supporter of Greek independence in 1821-29.—284

[349] Engels revealed the essence of the dispute on the Eastern Question between *The Times* and *The Daily News* and described Urquhart's views in 'The Turkish Question' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—286

[350] A reference to the trade agreement concluded between Prussia and Austria on 19 February 1853. Marx analysed it in 'Kossuth and Mazzini.—Intrigues of the Prussian Government.—Austro-Prussian Commercial Treaty.—*The Times* and the Refugees' (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 537-38).—286

[351] Marx has in mind his articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune*: 1. 'Capital

Punishment.—Mr. Cobden's Pamphlet.—Regulations of the Bank of England' (28 January); 2. 'Defense.—Finances.—Decrease of the Aristocracy.—Politics' (8 February); 3. 'The Italian Insurrection.—British Politics' (11 February); 4. 'The Attack on Francis Joseph.—The Milan Riot.—British Politics.—Disraeli's Speech.—Napoleon's Will' (22 February); 5. 'Parliamentary Debates.—The Clergy Against Socialism.—Starvation' (25 February); 6. article of 1 March with additional information about the attack on Francis Joseph and about Kossuth (presumably not published by the newspaper); 7. 'Forced Emigration.—Kossuth and Mazzini.—The Refugee Question.—Election Bribery in England.—Mr. Cobden' (4 March). The article 'Kossuth and Mazzini.—Intrigues of the Prussian Government.—Austro-Prussian Commercial Treaty.—*The Times* and the Refugees', which Marx planned to send off on 11 March, was presumably written between 12 and 18 March and published on 4 April 1853 (see present edition, Vol. 11).—288

352 A reference to articles by Aurelius Ferenc Pulszky, a Hungarian journalist and supporter of Kossuth. As an émigré in London he contributed to the *New-York Daily Tribune* from 1853 to 1860. He signed his articles 'A. P. C.', presumably an abbreviation for Aurelius Pulszky's Correspondence. Marx did not learn about Pulszky's contribution to the *New-York Daily Tribune* until several years later.—288

353 The *entente cordiale*—an expression used to denote the rapprochement between France and Britain after the July 1830 revolution.

The *Holy Alliance*—an association of European monarchs founded in 1815 to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries. The Holy Alliance, in which the main role was played by Russia, Austria and Prussia, was dissolved in the late 1820s, but after the 1830 and 1848-49 revolutions attempts were made to resurrect it.—289

354 In compliance with Marx's request Engels wrote for the *New-York Daily Tribune* between 12 March and early April 1853: 'British Politics.—Disraeli.—The Refugees.—Mazzini in London.—Turkey' (jointly with Marx), 'The Real Issue in Turkey', 'The Turkish Question' and 'What Is to Become of Turkey in Europe?' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—289

355 An allusion to Countess Sophie Hatzfeldt's divorce case. Lassalle was in charge of it from 1846 to 1854 and, after the divorce had been granted by the court in July 1851, tried in particular to secure for the Countess her share of the common property of the former couple.—293, 478

356 Engels used this information in the article for the *New-York Daily Tribune* 'The Real Issue in Turkey' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—295

357 A reference to the *Canada Clergy Reserves* founded in 1791-1840, which consisted of a seventh of the revenue from the sale of lands in Canada and were used chiefly to subsidise the Established and Presbytarian churches. The discontent of other churches with such a distribution of funds compelled the British Parliament to pass a law in 1853 authorising the Canadian legislative bodies to distribute these funds among the different churches according to the proportion of the population professing their respective beliefs. Marx described this Bill and the debate on it in the House of Commons in 'Achievements of the Ministry' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—295

358 This letter is a reply to Cluss' letter of 6 March 1853. The unanswered letters were presumably written on 25 February and 2 March 1853.—298

[359] Marx has in mind the publication of *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* in the *Neu-England-Zeitung* by Cluss in the USA (see Note 261). For this Cluss used a second copy of the manuscript sent by Marx to New York on 7 December 1852. The newspaper published only three fragments on 6 March, 2 and 28 April 1853.—298

[360] Barthélemy was Willich's second during the latter's duel with Schramm in Ostend in September 1850. See Marx's *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness* (present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 492-95).—299

[361] Cluss' letter to Marx of 24 March 1853.—301

[362] A reference to a no-longer-existing letter to Bangya which Marx presumably wrote in Manchester during the period from the end of May to the second half of June 1852 while he and Engels were working on *The Great Men of the Exile*.—301

[363] An allusion to Harvey Birch, the main character in Fenimore Cooper's novel *The Spy*.—301

[364] Hirsch asserted in his confessions that the documents of the Willich-Schapper group had been stolen not by Reuter, as was pointed out by Marx and Engels, but by Fleury (see, in particular, present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 390 and 406, and this volume, pp. 226-27).—302

[365] On the publication of *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* in the *Neu-England-Zeitung*, see notes 261 and 359.—302

[366] Engels' letter to Marx of 8 April 1853 has not been found.—303

[367] Jomini's best known works on the Napoleonic wars are: *Histoire critique et militaire des guerres de la Révolution de 1792 à 1801*, t. 1-15, Paris, 1819-24; *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon, racontée par lui-même au tribunal de César, d'Alexandre et de Frédéric*, t. 1-4, Paris, 1827. The first edition of Clausewitz's works, *Hinterlassene Werke über Krieg und Kriegführung*, was published in ten volumes in Berlin in 1832-37. The Napoleonic wars were dealt with in works in volumes 5-8.—305

[368] In February 1846, when an attempt was made to start a revolt in the Polish lands to secure the national liberation of Poland and the insurgents managed to win a temporary victory in Cracow, the Galician peasants also rose in revolt. The oppressed Ukrainian peasants hated the Polish szlachta, and the Austrian authorities succeeded in several places in turning the rebellious peasants against the Polish insurgents. After the suppression of the Cracow revolt, the Galician peasants were also crushed.—306

[369] A reference to the Russell Whig Cabinet (July 1846-February 1852), the Derby Tory Cabinet which replaced it (and was in power till December 1852) and the Aberdeen Coalition Cabinet (see Note 343).—306

[370] In the early 1850s the struggle between Prussia and Austria for supremacy in Germany again became acute: in particular, Austria, with the support of Russia, hampered Prussia's attempts to restore the Customs Union (see Note 220). After the coup d'état in France in December 1851 a new war threatened Europe because Bonapartist circles wished to restore the frontiers of the First Empire. In connection with this Austria made certain concessions when negotiating a trade agreement with Prussia (see Note 350).—307

[371] The spring campaign of 1849 in Northern Italy began after Austria and Piedmont resumed hostilities on 12 March. At the decisive battle of *Novara* on 22-23 March 1849 the Austrian army under Radetzky defeated the Piedmontese troops. As a result Austrian rule was restored in Northern Italy.—310

[372] The *Világos affair*—the capitulation of the main forces of the Hungarian revolutionary army under Görgey to Paskievich's troops on 13 August 1849.—310

[373] The Hungarian revolutionary army relieved Komarom on 22 April 1849 (see Note 134).—310

[374] In the spring of 1849 Hungarian troops under Bem marched to the Banat, a district in the Serbian Voivodina, then part of Hungary.

In speaking of the manoeuvre before Hermannstadt (Sibiu), Engels has in mind the successful operations of Bem's troops during the campaign in Transylvania in February-March 1849. During the general advance of the Russian troops in summer 1849 Bem returned to Transylvania, again marched to Hermannstadt, drove out the Russian garrison but, faced by superior forces of the Russian and Austrian armies, was compelled to retreat.—311

[375] The extract from this letter is printed as quoted by Cluss in a letter to Weydemeyer of 3 May 1853. It was published in English for the first time abridged in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—312

[376] The reference is to a series of articles by Pieper published under the general heading 'A Critical History of French Socialism' in *The People's Paper*, Nos. 31-33, 4, 11 and 18 December 1852. Weydemeyer and Cluss planned to publish these articles in *Die Reform*, but Pieper did not finish the series.—312

[377] Here Marx has in mind Pieper's material difficulties. On 18 April 1853 Pieper applied to Engels for help, as he could not receive money due to him for private lessons. On receipt of Pieper's letter Engels propably wrote to Marx between 19 and 23 April 1853 inquiring about Pieper's situation. Engels' letter has not been found.—314

[378] Marx received Engels' article on Switzerland on 26 April 1853 and dispatched it with his own article to New York on 29 April 1853. The editors published the material on Switzerland as two articles. The first article, including Marx's material, was entitled 'The Rocket Affair.—The Swiss Insurrection' and was published on 14 May 1853; the second article appeared on 17 May 1853 under the heading 'Political Position of the Swiss Republic'; the date of its dispatch from London—1 May 1853—was arbitrarily supplied by the editors (see present edition, Vol. 12). The newspaper published both articles over Marx's name, though the first was written by Marx and Engels, and the second by Engels.—314, 319, 321

[379] Marx's letter to Strohn is not extant.—315

[380] In April 1853 as a pretext for reprisals against political refugees, the British authorities accused the proprietor of a rocket manufactory in Rotherhithe, in London, of a conspiracy with Kossuth which Marx ironically calls '*Kossuth's gunpowder plot*' by analogy with the Catholic gunpowder plot against James I in England in 1605. In March 1853 the Prussian police arrested several liberal and radical bourgeois leaders in Berlin in an effort to trump up a new conspiracy case. These government and police actions are described in Marx's

articles 'The Berlin Conspiracy', 'The Berlin Conspiracy.—London Police.—Mazzini.—Radetzky' and Marx's and Engels' article 'The Rocket Affair.—The Swiss Insurrection' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—316

381 Marx presumably refers to his letters to Cluss of 25 March and 17 April 1853 (see this volume, pp. 298-300 and 312-14) and one of about 10 April 1853 which is not extant. As emerges from Cluss' letter to Marx of 28 April 1853, Marx dealt in it with the publication in America of *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* as a separate book.—317

382 An allusion to the past of Henri Savoye, professor of German at Louis-le-Grand college in 1841-48 and the author of several works on Germany and the German language.—317

383 An abridged translation of this letter was published for the first time as an editorial note to Engels' letter to Marx of 3 December 1851 in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934.—319

384 This money was collected in America in compliance with the appeal of Marx, Engels and their associates to help the Communist League members accused in Cologne and their families.—323

385 On 21 May 1853 Jones published in *The People's Paper* an appeal to organise workers' meetings in favour of the People's Charter. At the time Marx wrote several articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune* on the revival of the Chartist movement (see present edition, Vol. 12).—325

386 Marx stayed with Engels in Manchester from 30 April to 19 May and returned to London on 20 May 1853.—325, 335

387 An abridged translation of this letter was published for the first time in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895,* London, 1934. It was erroneously dated 'about 18 May 1853'. In later English publications the date of the letter was verified (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965).—325

388 Willich slanderously represented his duel with Schramm in September 1850 (see Note 360) as an attempt by Marx and Engels to get rid of him by having him killed. Marx refuted this slander in his pamphlet *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness* (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 492-95).—326

389 *Die Reform* was the organ of the American Workers' Association consisting mostly of German emigrant workers. Though officially its editor was the petty-bourgeois democrat Kellner, the newspaper's tendency was determined to a great extent by Weydemeyer, who became the newspaper's actual editor in the summer of 1853. Under his influence the paper retained its commitment to the working class for some time. It often reprinted Marx's and Engels' articles from the *New-York Daily Tribune.* Marx persuaded his associates (Eccarius, Pieper and Dronke) to co-operate with *Die Reform,* which regularly published articles and reports by Cluss and Weydemeyer, some based on material from Marx's letters. Towards the end of its existence (1854), the petty-bourgeois influence of its editor-in-chief, Kellner, became dominant.—326

390 Marx and Engels talked about this during Marx's visit to Manchester from 30 April to 19 May 1853.—326

391 The *Edda*—a collection of Scandinavian mythological and heroic sagas and lays; two versions dating back to the thirteenth century are extant.—328

392 In a statement made shortly after the publication of the final instalment of Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* in the *Neu-England-Zeitung*, No. 59, 22 April 1853, Willich threatened the imminent exposure of Marx in that newspaper, and the disclosure of facts he had not hitherto wished to make public. However, he only carried out his threat six months later by publishing a slanderous article, 'Doctor Karl Marx und seine "Enthüllungen"', in the *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, Nos. 33 and 34, 28 October and 4 November 1853. Marx replied with *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness* (see present edition, Vol. 12).—330

393 Marx's letter to Dana has not been found.—332

394 A reference to efforts to find a job in Manchester or Liverpool for Wilhelm Wolff, who had lost his last teaching possibilities with Reichenbach's departure to the USA.—334

395 In his statement 'An die Redaktion der *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*' of 2 May 1853 published in the newspaper on 13 May, Willich called Cluss Marx's agent.—336

396 A reference to a unit formed by Willich in November 1848 in Besançon (France) out of German émigré workers and artisans. The practices and morals of this unit were satirically described by Marx and Engels in *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 312-15).—336

397 The ideas expressed by Engels here were used by Marx in 'The British Rule in India' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—339

398 *Tartary*—a name given in the nineteenth century to a part of Turkestan in Central Asia.—339

399 Engels refers to Weitling's lost work 'Allgemeine Denk- und Sprachlehre nebst Grundzügen einer Universal-Sprache der Menschheit', written in the first half of the 1840s.—341

400 In 1853, with the active support of the Polish democratic refugees, Alexander Herzen founded the Free Russian Press in London to evade tsarist censorhip. Pointing to this aspect of Herzen's activity, Lenin wrote in his article 'In Memory of Herzen' that he 'was the first to raise the great banner of struggle by addressing his *free Russian word* to the masses' (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 31). Nikolai Ogarev, another prominent figure among the Russian revolutionary democrats, also took part in the management of the Free Russian Press. Besides a large number of books, pamphlets and leaflets, the Free Russian Press published the periodicals *Полярная звезда* (The Polar Star) and *Колоколъ* (The Bell), which played a great part in developing the revolutionary and democratic movement in Russia. In April 1865 the Free Russian Press was moved to Geneva, where it continued functioning up to August 1867.—345

401 A reference to Cluss' letter to Marx of 29 May 1853.—345

402 Marx lived in Chelsea (4 Anderson Street, London, S.W. 3) from August 1849 to April 1850.—345

403 The facts mentioned here were described in greater detail by Marx in a letter to Cluss also written on 14 June 1853 (see Note 407).—345

404 A reference to H. Ch. Carey, *The Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign: why it exists, and how it may be extinguished*, Philadelphia, 1853. A quotation from Marx's 'Elections.—Financial Clouds.—The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery' is given on pp. 203-04 of that book.—345

405 The *laws of Manu* (Mãnava Dharma—Çãstra)—an ancient Indian collection of instructions defining the duties of each Hindu according to the dogmas of Brahminism. Indian tradition has it that these laws were drafted by Manu, the mythical father of the people, approximately between the second century B.C. and the first century A.D.—348

406 Only an extract of this letter has survived as quoted by Cluss in his letter to Weydemeyer of 28 June 1853. Part of it was published in English for the first time in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—348

407 Further Cluss gives the substance of Marx's letter in his own words: 'About the money business Marx says: He has never accepted any financial support; as for the case trumpeted forth by Willich, it was roughly as follows: Marx, it is said, had rented a house in Chelsea (London) as a subtenant, paid his monthly rent regularly, often at the price of great privation. Then the actual owner of the house suddenly turns up and seizes on Marx, as the *sublessor* has paid nothing for a year. English law authorises this procedure. Marx cannot pay, a broker is installed in the house, etc. Marx in a very unfortunate position.—He is a member of the Refugee Relief Committee. The moneys are paid out weekly to individual refugees. The total sum, however, which is provided for the greater part by *our* friends in Europe, is lying idle, and so Marx is "saved", by being granted the necessary sum on condition that he pays it back in fixed instalments when it is required for other refugees—those, it appears, who are alone entitled to relief. This he did conscientiously, and paid back everything, partly out of his own earnings and partly out of money he got from his family. *C'est tout* [That's all].

'I have no lack of material to spin this out; on the contrary, there is an abundance of it. The same applies to the sacrifices he made for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, when the bourgeoisie fell away after the June Revolution [proletarian uprising in Paris in 1848], and the democratic petty bourgeoisie after the state of siege was introduced in Cologne. That's quite something. Marx says he spent about 7,000 talers for the *N. Rh. Z.* ... He says, too, that I can and *should* make use of all the material he gives me, without however involving him in this business as a witness. *Reform*: Marx says *I* am right. He says half Germany will come to New York for the industrial exhibition, and as we have no other publication in this city, we should simply *take no notice* of the stupidities of the *Hornisse* gentlemen [the editor of the *Reform* Gottlieb Kellner and its London correspondent Heinrich Heise published *Die Hornisse* in Cassel in 1848-50] and prudently steer our own course. As is well known, Talleyrand always called to his statesmen: "Avant tout, pas de zèle, pas de zèle!" ["Above all, not too much zeal, not too much zeal!"].'—348

408 A twenty-five thousand-strong political demonstration was organised by the Chartists in Halifax on 26 June 1853 on the occasion of the funeral of Benjamin Ruston, an old Chartist worker. Marx wrote about this demonstration in the article 'Russian Policy Against Turkey.—Chartism' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—350

409 Presumably the reference is to Marx's letter to Cluss sent off about 14 June 1853 (see this volume, pp. 348-50).—351

410 Marx stayed in Manchester from 30 April to 19 May 1853.—351

411 Charles Anderson Dana's letter to Mrs Marx of 1 July 1853.—354

412 Marx analysed this debate and Bright's speech in the article 'The Turkish War Question.—The *New-York Tribune* in the House of Commons.—The Government of India' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—355

413 In April 1851 Abraham Jacobi was awarded the degree of Doctor of Medicine for his dissertation 'Cogitationes de vita rerum naturalium' at Bonn University.—355

414 In a campaign for a revival of the mass movement, leaders of the revolutionary Chartists headed by Jones organised mass meetings all over the country in June and July 1853. Most important were the meeting in Blackstone-Edge (19 June), the meeting and demonstration in Halifax on 26 June (see Note 408), and meetings in Oldham (27 June), Newcastle (3 July) and Mount Sorrel (10 July).—355

415 Engels was in London at the end of July and beginning of August 1853 on the occasion of his mother's visit to England (see this volume, p. 350).—356

416 This is a covering note to Marx's article 'Michael Bakunin' written for *The Morning Advertiser* and published on 2 September 1853 datelined 30 August (see present edition, Vol. 12). It is extant as a copy in Mrs Marx's hand. The signature and address are in Marx's own writing.—358

417 As Cluss' letter to Marx of 23-24 October 1853 and Pieper's letter to Jacobi of 3 September 1853 show, references for Abraham Jacobi, who intended to leave for the USA, were sent to America in early September 1853. But there is no mention of this in Marx's extant letters to Cluss and Weydemeyer and excerpts from them.—359

418 Bakunin wrote to George Sand on 9 July, and in her letter to Marx of 20 July George Sand refuted the calumnious rumours about Bakunin.—360

419 Marx's statement, a draft of which is quoted below, was not published by *The Morning Advertiser*. In view of this Marx put it in *The People's Paper*, No. 71, 10 September 1853 (see present edition, Vol. 12). The texts of the published statement and the draft are not identical.—362, 364

420 The *laws on suspects*—the decree passed by the French Convention on 17 September 1793 and other measures of the Jacobin revolutionary government which declared all persons suspect and subject to arrest who in any way supported the overthrown monarchy, including all former aristocrats and royal officials who had not testified their loyalty to the revolution. These laws were drawn up in such a way that even people not involved in counter-revolutionary activity could be placed in the category of 'suspects'.—363

421 Engels' reply to Marx's letter of 3 September 1853 containing a request for his comments on Marx's draft statement to *The Morning Advertiser* (see Note 419) has not been found.—363

422 A reference to Wilhelm Wolff's impending departure for Manchester. He lived there from the first half of September 1853 to the end of his life in 1864.—364

423 Marx refers here to the articles on Russian foreign policy, in particular with respect to Turkey, in *The Morning Advertiser* (e.g. of 6 and 7 September 1853, etc.) and in the *New-York Daily Tribune*. Those in *The Morning Advertiser* were written by Karl Blind and those in the *Tribune* by Adam Gurowski.—365

424 In a letter of 31 July 1853 sent to Ferdinand Freiligrath who passed it on to Marx on 18 August, the Communist League member Carl Wilhelm Klein reported on the formation of a new Communist League community in Philadelphia, where he was living in emigration at the time. He asked the Communist League members in London to help him establish contacts with the communities in Germany and to send in articles for *Gradaus*, a German refugees' newspaper close to the Working Men's Association in Philadelphia at the time. Simultaneously, Marx received from Cluss and Weydemeyer, in reply to his inquiry, information about Klein's own unseemly conduct in Philadelphia. Taking into account Klein's influence among the Solingen workers, Marx recommended that Cluss should maintain contact with him. Marx's reply to Klein's letter has not been found.—365, 367

425 An extract from this letter is extant as quoted by Cluss in his letter to Weydemeyer of 3 October 1853.—366

426 Presumably an allusion to the fact that Poesche used the article 'Geld' in *Meyer's Conversations-Lexicon* (Vol. 12, Hildburghausen, Amsterdam, Paris and Philadelphia, 1848, pp. 285-91) as a source for his article.—367

427 The article 'The Western Powers and Turkey.—Imminent Economic Crisis.—Railway Construction in India' was written jointly by Marx and Engels on 19-20 September 1853.—368, 370

428 The *knife and fork question*—words, which came to symbolise the Chartists' social programme, pronounced by an English priest and Chartist, J. R. Stephens, at a meeting in 1838. See Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (present edition, Vol. 4, p. 519).—372, 377

429 Presumably Marx mentioned his intention to write articles on these subjects in a no longer extant letter to Engels written between 17 and 28 September 1853.—374

430 Marx's 'The War Question.—Financial Matters.—Strikes' (dated 7 October 1853) suggests that Engels sent in the promised material and Marx worked it up for this article (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 409-15).—374, 376

431 In September 1853 the Preston manufacturers responded with a lockout to one of the biggest strikes by English workers in the 1850s. The strike was started by the weavers and spinners of mills in and around Preston who demanded a ten per cent wage rise; they were supported by workers in other trades. The lockout lasted until February 1854, but the strike continued after that date. To break the strike the Manufacturers' Association started bringing workers to Preston from Ireland and from English workhouses. In March 1854 the leaders of the strike were arrested, and as funds were low the workers were compelled to return to work. The strike ended in May 1854 (see K. Marx, 'Panic on the London Stock Exchange.—Strikes', present edition, Vol. 12).—374, 376, 513

432 Textile mill workers and some 5,000 miners went on strike in Wigan (see K. Marx, 'Panic on the London Stock Exchange.—Strikes', present edition, Vol. 12).—376

433 Marx carried out his plans in February and March 1854 by writing 'Russian Diplomacy.—The Blue Book on the Eastern Question—Montenegro' and 'Declaration of War.—On the History of the Eastern Question' (see present edition, vols. 12 and 13). He wrote two articles on Denmark (21 October and 4 November 1853): 'Arrest of Delescluze.—Denmark.—Austria.—*The Times* on the Prospects of War Against Russia' and 'Persian Expedition in Afghanistan and Russian Expedition in Central Asia.—Denmark.—The Fighting on the Danube and in Asia.—Wigan Colliers' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—376

434 Only part of this letter is extant.—377

435 At first Wilhelm Wolff intended to emigrate to the USA.—377

436 A reference to the first article in the series *Lord Palmerston* which Marx was working on from early October to early December 1853 (see present edition, Vol. 12). The pamphlet *Lord Palmerston* was intended for the *New-York Daily Tribune*. Simultaneously the articles were published in the Chartist *People's Paper*, which published eight articles from 22 October to 24 December 1853 as a single series, each article being preceded by the editorial note: 'Written for the *New-York Tribune* by Dr. Marx, and communicated by him to us.' The *New-York Daily Tribune* published only four articles (their contents corresponded to six articles in *The People's Paper*) as leaders, outwardly unconnected and with different titles. The sixth and eighth articles of the series were not published in the *Tribune* at all.

At Marx's request Cluss translated into German the first article published in the *Tribune*. It was published abridged in New York in the German-language workers' newspaper *Die Reform*, Nos. 72, 73, 74, 77 and 78, 2, 3, 4, 8 and 9 November 1853. In December 1853 Cluss translated the second and third articles of the pamphlet from the *Tribune* and the fourth from *The People's Paper*. The editors of this edition do not have a complete file of *Die Reform* for 1854 at their disposal; it is therefore impossible to say whether the publication of the German translation was continued.—378

437 On 5 August 1853 the House of Lords rejected the Combination of Workmen Bill which would have granted limited rights to workers' organisations. In this context Marx denounced the anti-working-class policy of both the ruling oligarchy and the liberal and radical bourgeoisie. In the atmosphere of a mass strike movement, the manufacturers created 'an association for the purpose of aiding the trade in regulating the excitement among operatives in the Manchester district' and resolutely opposed the organisation of workers' associations (see K. Marx, 'The War Question.—British Population and Trade Returns.—Doings of Parliament', present edition, Vol. 12). Marx thought it necessary to draw the workers' attention to the fact that the bourgeoisie was consolidating its forces; with this aim in view he wanted to provide Jones with facts before his tour of the strike districts. In an article written on 7 October, i.e. the day after his meeting with Jones, Marx wrote: 'The London press, it appears, was anxious to withhold the fact from the eyes of the world, that the Factory Lords were systematically arraying their class against the class of Labor, and that the successive steps taken by them, instead of being the spontaneous result of circumstances, are the premeditated effects of a deep-laid conspiracy of an organized Anti-Labor League!" (see present edition, Vol. 12, p. 412).

To help the strikers a group of Chartists headed by Jones suggested the setting up of a coordinating workers' organisation, The Mass Movement, which

was to unite Chartists, members of co-operative associations, trade unionists and unorganised workers (see Note 498).—378

438 In this letter Marx continues to set forth for his associates in America certain propositions of the economic theory he was then elaborating (see Note 45). At the time of writing this letter Marx had received from Cluss his article 'Das "beste Blatt der Union" und seine "besten Männer" und Nationalökonomen' published in the New York workers' newspaper *Die Reform* in September 1853, for which Cluss had made use of Marx's earlier letters. (For the text of this article and its analysis see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 623-32.) The question of rent was among the problems raised in the article. These notes by Marx are directly related to this subject and to the critique he began earlier of the American vulgar economist H. Ch. Carey.—378, 387

439 Presumably Marx continued this letter the next day, 6 October 1853.—383

440 On Tuesday, 18 October 1853, Marx dispatched to New York 'The Turkish Manifesto.—France's Economic Position'. Engels may have taken part in writing it.—388

441 This letter was known earlier only from a copy of it in Cluss' letter to Weydemeyer of 2 November 1853 and partly as rendered by Cluss in his letter to Weydemeyer of 4 November 1853. The extract published in Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 28, and Marx und Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 28, included part of Cluss' text by mistake (the last paragraph).—390

442 As the editors did not regularly send copies of the *New-York Daily Tribune* to him, Marx asked Cluss and Weydemeyer to send him the issues containing his articles. Cluss was compelled to copy out the article 'Revolution in China and in Europe' because he could not buy the newspaper in time.

Marx's letter (presumably of August 1853) containing a request for this article has not been found.—390

443 Cluss corrected the misprints when this article from Marx's *Lord Palmerston* was published in *Die Reform*.—390

444 The Turko-Egyptian fleet was destroyed by combined Russian, English and French squadrons at *Navarino* (Greece) on 20 October 1827.—394

445 In October 1853 Weydemeyer became editor-in-chief of *Die Reform*. As Cluss wrote to Marx on 23-24 October 1853, Weydemeyer was compelled 'to write almost the whole newspaper himself'. In view of this Cluss requested Marx to get his associates to contribute to the newspaper.—396

446 Only an extract from this letter is extant as quoted by Cluss in his letter to Weydemeyer of 7 December 1853.—397

447 Eccarius' articles on the economic and political situation in France were published in *The People's Paper* from September 1852 to May 1853.—397

448 Marx's letter to Jones has not been found.—397

449 Here Marx replies to Cluss' letter of 23-24 October 1853 in which Cluss wrote about the difficulties he had encountered in publishing the translation of Marx's first article from *Lord Palmerston* (see Note 436) in *Die Reform*. The *Tribune* published Marx's work anonymously, as leading articles, so *Die Reform* prefaced its publication with an editorial note: 'The interest aroused by Palmerston's name at the present time has induced us to print this rendering

from the *Tribune*. This essay reveals a more than average knowledge of British affairs by the author, and though it bears no signature, it is easy to tell who the author is.'—398

450 A few lines below Cluss writes: 'Marx added some notes on Urquhart because Jones, in a paper I am to receive, characterises him in a tactless way as an ally of the Russians [Jones' article 'A Russian Movement in England', *The People's Paper*, No. 80, 12 November 1853]. Marx writes [this letter is not extant] that he gave Jones a dressing down for this. I have made up a short article out of the "Urquhartiade"'. Marx's article, 'David Urquhart', was published by Cluss unsigned in *Die Reform*, No. 112, 19 December 1853 (see present edition, Vol. 12).—398

451 Engels' letters to Marx of October-December 1853 have not been found.—399

452 Engels arrived in London at the end of December 1853.—400

453 A reference to Dronke's letter to Engels written from Switzerland at the end of July or the beginning of August 1850. An extract from it was quoted by Marx in *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness* (see present edition, Vol. 12, p. 486).—401

454 On 23 November 1853 Engels wrote a special letter—a statement against Willich, which Marx included in *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness* (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 489-93).—401

455 Steffen's letter of 22 November 1853, Miskowsky's letter of 24 November 1853, and Kossuth's certificate of 12 November 1853 concerning Miskowsky were included in Marx's *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness* (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 504-05 and 494-95).—401

456 Here and below the reference is to the meetings organised by the Polish refugees in London on Monday and Tuesday, 28 and 29 November 1853, to mark the anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1830-31.—401

457 Presumably Marx refers to Engels' letter which was written on about 14 December 1853 and is not extant.—403

458 A reference to the London Convention of 15 July 1840 on support for the Turkish Sultan against the Egyptian Pasha Mohammed Ali and to the London Convention of 13 July 1841 which laid down that in peacetime the Straits would be closed to warships of all powers.—404, 432

459 Marx did not realise his plan to continue publishing the series of articles on Palmerston in the *New-York Daily Tribune*. The last article dispatched to New York and recorded in his notebook on 6 December 1853 was not published in that newspaper. In *The People's Paper* it appeared as the eighth in the series 'Lord Palmerston' and ended with the words 'To be continued'.—404

460 Marx agreed to J. C. Juta's proposal to contribute to the newspaper *Zuid Afrikaan* published in English and Dutch. Of the three articles sent by Marx *The Zuid Afrikaan* published only one—'The War in the East' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—405.

461 Engels went to London for Christmas 1853 and left for Manchester on 1 January 1854.—406

462 A reference to the war of Napoleonic France against Spain in 1808-14 which ended in France's defeat.—406

463 Marx refers to Charles Dana's letter to Mrs Marx of 16 December 1853 in which he presumably wrote about Engels' article 'The War on the Danube' published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 16 December as a leader. A week earlier, on 7 December, Dana had published another article by Engels, 'Progress of the Turkish War', also as a leader (see present edition, Vol. 12).—407

464 Dana wrote to Mrs Marx about this on 16 December 1853.—407

465 About 16 December 1853 the London publisher Tucker published anonymously the pamphlet *Palmerston and Russia* in *Tucker's Political Fly-Sheets*, No. 1 (a reprint from the *Glasgow Sentinel*) (see Note 541). The pamphlet reproduced the article of the same title published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 4 November 1853, the second in this newspaper's publication of *Lord Palmerston*.

The second edition of *Palmerston and Russia*, referred to here, was issued with Marx's participation in early February 1854. Marx made some amendments and additions on the basis of the *People's Paper* publication. On how the whole series of articles *Lord Palmerston* was written and published see this volume, Note 436, and present edition, Vol. 12.—408, 432

466 Engels analysed the fighting between the Russians and the Turks at *Oltenitza* (4 November 1853) and *Citatea* (6 January 1854) in 'The Progress of the Turkish War', 'The War on the Danube' and 'The Last Battle in Europe' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—408

467 At the battle of *Sinope* between Russian and Turkish naval squadrons on 30 (18) November 1853, during the Crimean war, the Turks were defeated.

After the battle of Sinope, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, British Ambassador to Constantinople, handed the Sultan a recommendation from the British Government to conclude a three months' armistice with Russia; at the same time he tried to get British squadrons sent immediately to the Black Sea.

The *Vienna Protocol* was signed on 5 December 1853 at the conference of representatives of Britain, France, Prussia and Austria. In this Protocol, as in the subsequent Note of 12 December, the four powers offered to mediate in the conflict between Russia and Turkey. As a basis for negotiations they demanded the evacuation of Moldavia and Wallachia by the Russians, renewal of former treaties between Russia and Turkey, guarantee of Christians' rights by special firmans and a reform of the administrative system in Turkey. In a Note of 31 December 1853 the Turkish Government stated its conditions for peace negotiations with the powers mediating: 1) the preservation and guarantee of Turkish territorial integrity; 2) Russian evacuation of the Danubian Principalities; 3) renewal and observance of the London Convention of 1841 (see Note 458); 4) respect of the Sultan's sovereignty. These conditions were approved by a new Vienna conference of the ambassadors on 13 January 1854 and forwarded to the Russian Government. However, Russia refused to accept the mediation of the powers and agreed to direct negotiations with Turkey. The participants in the Vienna conference rejected Russia's proposals.—408

468 A reference to Palmerston's short resignation of his post as Home Secretary (16-24 December 1853). His resignation was not accepted, however (on this see Marx's article 'Palmerston's Resignation', present edition, Vol. 12).—409

469 31 January 1854 was the day of the opening of the British Parliament.—409

470 A reference to the Note signed by the British, French and Prussian Ambassadors in Constantinople on 12 December 1853 and handed to Turkey on 15 December 1853 (see Note 467).—409

471 An allusion to the wars of Napoleonic France and the liberation struggle of the European peoples against its rule waged up to 1814.—409

472 Engels' letter to Steffen has not been found.—409

473 When Engels was in London (see Note 461) he presumably discussed with Marx his plan to write such a work for the English Press. This plan did not materialise.—409

474 Neither Marx's note to Wilhelm Wolff, nor Wolff's letter to Marx has been found.—410

475 The reference is to the Turkish Government's Note of 31 December 1853 (see Note 467).—410

476 By the original (first) Vienna Note Marx means the draft agreement between Russia and Turkey drawn up by the Austrian Prime Minister Buol and adopted at the conference of the French, British and Prussian Ambassadors in Vienna at the end of July 1853. It obliged the Sultan to observe the terms of the Kuchuk-Kainardji (1774) and the Adrianople (1829) treaties on the rights and privileges of the Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish Sultan Abdul Mejid agreed to sign the Note but demanded a number of changes and reservations which the Russian Government found unacceptable.—410

477 Marx alludes ironically to the leading article in *The Times* of 20 January 1854 which stated in particular: 'Nevertheless, to all these considerations the Emperor Nicholas opposes a proud intractable temper, heightened, perhaps, by the religious enthusiasm or hereditary excitability of his family, and stimulated by the enthusiasm of his people, which is mixed with a barbarous contempt for nations whose power they cannot compare with their own.'—410

478 Marx refers to the speeches made by Cobden and Bright at the Manchester Reform meeting on 24 January 1854 and reported in *The Times*, No. 21647, 25 January. The speeches, dealing mainly with the foreign policy problems, were analysed in Marx's and Engels' article 'Fortification of Constantinople.—Denmark's Neutrality.—Composition of British Parliament.—Crop Failure in Europe' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—411

479 Cluss' letter to Marx has not been found.—411

480 Here Marx writes about issue No. II in *Tucker's Political Fly-Sheets* series being prepared for publication on the basis of Marx's *Lord Palmerston* (see Note 465). The pamphlet was printed in February-March 1854 anonymously and entitled *Palmerston, What Has He Done?* It reproduced with slight amendments the text of the fourth (except the first four paragraphs) and the fifth articles of the *People's Paper* publication.—412

481 This offer was made by Dana in a letter to Mrs Marx of 16 December 1853. These plans did not materialise.—412

482 The reference is to the second edition of the pamphlet *Palmerston and Russia* in *Tucker's Political Fly-Sheets* series (see Note 465). In subsequent editions of this series this work was entitled *Palmerston and Poland*.—412

483 Marx has in mind the articles from his *Lord Palmerston* published in *Die Reform* in Cluss' translation. They corresponded to the second and third articles ('Palmerston and Russia' and 'A Chapter of Modern History') in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and the fourth in *The People's Paper* (see Note 436).—412

484 Marx wrote about this meeting also in a letter to Ferdinand Lassalle of 1 June 1854 (see this volume, p. 455).

Marx described Urquhart in his article 'David Urquhart' published in *Die Reform* on 19 December 1853 (see present edition, Vol. 12).—412

485 In a letter to Nicholas I of 29 January 1854, Napoleon III proposed as a condition of preserving peace that Russia should withdraw her troops from the Danubian Principalities. On 14 February 1854 the letter was published officially in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 45. Nicholas I's reply, containing a refusal to accept Napoleon III's proposal, was sent off on 9 February 1854 and published in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 64, 5 March 1854.—414

486 In a letter to Marx of 27 March 1854 J. J. H. Smuts, editor of *The Zuid Afrikaan*, refused to accept any further contributions from Marx, for, he wrote, 'the amount of remuneration claimed by [Marx] for such correspondence, entirely exceeds the means which my establishment allows me to apply to such a purpose'.—414

487 At Marx's request Engels wrote on 13 March 'Retreat of the Russians from Kalafat' (see present edition, Vol. 13).

The *Greek revolution*—the revolt of the Greek population in Epirus, the mountain regions of Thessaly and other territories still subject to Turkey; Marx assessed these events in the article 'The Greek Insurrection' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—414, 444

488 Marx has in mind Lassalle's letter of 10 February 1854. Engels' letter to Marx mentioned here has not been found.—417

489 In 1853, with the growth of a massive strike movement of the British proletariat, a group of Chartists headed by Ernest Jones proposed to create a broad workers' organisation, The Mass Movement, which was to unite trade unions and unorganised workers with the primary aim of coordinating strikes in the various districts of the country. The organisation was to be headed by a regularly convened Labour Parliament consisting of delegates elected at meetings of both unorganised workers and of the trade unions associated with The Mass Movement. The Labour Parliament assembled in Manchester on 6 March 1854 and was in session till 18 March 1854. It discussed and adopted the programme of The Mass Movement and set up an Executive of five members. Marx, elected honorary delegate to the Parliament, sent a letter to it (see present edition, Vol. 13), in which he formulated the primary task of the British labour movement—the necessity to create an independent proletarian mass political party. Marx regarded the convocation of the Labour Parliament as an effort to free the labour movement in Britain from narrow trade union limitations.

The attempt to found The Mass Movement failed because the majority of the trade union leaders did not approve of associating the trade unions with the political struggle and did not support the idea of creating a single mass workers' organisation. By the summer of 1854 the strike movement had abated and this also cut short the participation of broad masses of workers in the movement. After March 1854 the Labour Parliament never met again.

Besides the 'Letter to the Labour Parliament', Marx wrote two more articles on the activity of the Labour Parliament: 'Opening of the Labour Parliament.—English War Budget' and 'The Labor Parliament' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—417

490 Marx's letter to Lassalle has not been found.—417

491 Presumably Lassalle's letter to Marx of 7 March 1854.—418

492 Marx's letter to Engels mentioned here has not been found.—418

493 Lassalle's letters to Marx of 10 February and 7 March 1854.—419

494 *Enos* and *Rodosto*—points on the European coasts of the Aegean Sea and the Sea of Marmara where the British and the French army respectively were to disembark. Marx assessed this plan in the article 'English and French War Plans.—Greek Insurrection.—Spain.—China' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—419

495 Engels' ideas expressed here were partly used by Marx in the article 'Russia and the German Powers.—Corn Prices' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—420

496 Engels sent his manuscript 'The Fortress of Kronstadt' to *The Daily News* on 30 March with a letter in which he offered to contribute to this newspaper as a military observer (see this volume, pp. 423-26).

'The Fortress of Kronstadt' was not published during Engels' lifetime; in the present edition it is included in Vol. 13.—420, 422

497 Marx refers to Lassalle's letter of 7 March 1854 (on it see this volume, p. 419). On Palmerston Lassalle wrote in particular:

'True, Palmerston never deserved—not by a long shot—the totally usurped reputation which he enjoys, and has lately been even more primitive than before; but neither is he a Russian agent, at least not *consciously*. His attitude I can best describe to you in the words he said to a friend of his as early as December: *Je veux la Russie, je ne dis pas ruiner, mais lui donner un soufflet pour toute sa vie!* [I want—I don't say to destroy Russia—but to give it a slap in the face that it would remember for ever!]

'It is a fact that he pressed for war from December, etc., and answered every objection that Russia could not concede this or that with "Tant mieux!" ["All the better!"]? (*F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften* herausgegeben von Gustav Mayer. Band III. Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx. Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922, S. 73).—422, 431

498 The reference is to the secret correspondence of the British envoy to St. Petersburg, Hamilton Seymour, and the British Foreign Secretary Russell, concerning the negotiations between Seymour and Nicholas I on the Turkish question at the beginning of 1853. This correspondence and other documents pertaining to the pre-history of the Crimean War were published as a Blue Book, *Correspondence Respecting the Rights and Privileges of the Latin and Greek Churches in Turkey*. Presented to Both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. Parts V, VI, London, 1854. Marx gave a detailed analysis of these documents in 'The Documents on the Partition of Turkey' and 'The Secret Diplomatic Correspondence' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—422

499 Marx's letter to the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* of 27 March has not been found. It may have been sent off to New York on 28 March 1854 with the article 'Declaration of War.—On the History of the Eastern Question'.—422

500 Marx used the information he got from Hammer's book later when writing 'Reorganisation of the British War Administration.—The Austrian Summons.—Britain's Economic Situation.—St. Arnaud' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—423

501 On the outbreak of the Crimean War Engels offered his services as military observer to *The Daily News* and sent the editors his article 'The Fortress of Kronstadt' (see Note 496) on 30 March, and after 3 April 1854, at the request of the editors, the article 'The Russian Army', which was to open a series of articles on the Russian army and navy. The article was set and Engels probably received the proofs on 12 April 1854, with a letter from the editor H. J. Lincoln, who asked Engels about his terms. Engels pinned great hopes on this collaboration, believing that permanent work on the newspaper would enable him to give up his commercial activity and move to London. However, as can be seen from Engels' letter to Marx of 20 April 1854, Lincoln cancelled the previous contract when he discovered Engels' political views. Some of the propositions formulated in the article 'The Russian Army' were elaborated in 'The Military Power of Russia' (see present edition, Vol. 13) and 'The Armies of Europe' (see present edition, Vol. 14) published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and *Putnam's Monthly*.—423

502 John Watts consented to recommend Engels as chief military correspondent to *The Daily News* in his letter to Engels of 27 March 1854.—424

503 Marx translated into English this description of the Russian landing at Dobrudja and included it in his article sent to the USA on 4 April. The editors published the lesser part of the article as a leader 'The European War' (it included Engels' text) and entitled the larger part 'The War Debate in Parliament' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—427

504 *Wasserpolacken*—a name applied in the seventeenth century to Poles living in Upper Silesia and engaged in floating timber on the Oder; later the name was used for the whole Polish population of Upper Silesia which was under German rule from the mid-eighteenth century.—427

505 Engels has in mind H. J. Lincoln's letter of 1 April 1854.—427

506 Cluss' letter has not been found.—428

507 This refers to the stand taken by Palmerston as Foreign Secretary on the problem of Cracow which, according to the Vienna Treaty of 1815, was considered a free city. In Parliament and the press Palmerston passed himself off as 'a friend of Poland' but in fact betrayed its interests when in 1840 the population of Cracow protested against the unlawful occupation of that city by Austrian troops since February 1836 and when in November 1846, after the suppression of the national liberation uprising in Cracow, Austria, Prussia and Russia signed an agreement on the annexation of Cracow to the Austrian Empire. Marx exposed Palmerston's actions in his pamphlet *Lord Palmerston* (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 358-70).—430, 432

508 Marx's reply to Lassalle written between 10 February and 7 March has not been found.—430

509 An allusion to *Lord Palmerston* (see present edition, Vol. 12). Excerpts made by Marx from *Parliamentary (Blue) Books* in March-May 1853 and from *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* for 1831-48 in July-August and September-November 1853 in connection with this work are extant.—432

510 The *Unkiar-Skelessi treaty* of defensive alliance was concluded by Russia and Turkey on 8 July (26 June) 1833. It provided for mutual aid in the event of war with a third power. A secret article of the treaty freed Turkey from the obligation to give military aid to Russia in return for an undertaking to close the Straits to all foreign men-of-war on Russia's demand.—432, 456

511 The *First Anglo-Afghan war* (1838-42) was launched by Britain with the aim of colonising Afghanistan but ended in Britain's defeat.—432

512 In 1838 the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies granted a French company a concession to extract sulphur in Sicily. In April 1840 the British Government, referring to the treaty of 1816 which forbade Naples to grant other countries commercial privileges infringing British interests, ordered its Mediterranean fleet to open hostilities and compelled Naples to cancel its agreement with the French company.—432

513 Marx refers to the attitude of the Whig Government, in which Palmerston held the post of Foreign Secretary, towards Italy and Hungary during the 1848-49 revolution.—432

514 A reference to Cluss' letter to Marx of 4 April 1854.—433

515 The report of Gorchakov, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army on the Danube, to Nicholas I was reprinted by *The Times* on 19 April 1854 from a special supplement to the *Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg* of 6 April 1854 and entitled 'The Russian Passage of the Danube'. The same issue of *The Times* carried an item 'The Russian Fleet in the Black Sea' reprinted from *Русскій инвалидъ* (and not from *Северная пчела* as Marx wrote) about military operations on the Caucasian coast.—433

516 Engels refers to H. J. Lincoln's letter of 18 April 1854. Engels' reply has not been found.—435

517 A reference to Pieper's letter to Engels of 12 April 1854.—435

518 The reference is to Herzen's address 'The Free Russian Community to the Russian Soldiers in Poland' printed in the Free Russian Press in London about 25 March 1854 in connection with the outbreak of the Crimean War. Herzen called upon the Russian soldiers 'not to use arms against Poland'. The address was immediately reprinted by a number of English, French, Italian and Polish newspapers, *The Daily News* (No. 2471, 21 April 1854) among them.—437

519 This letter of Marx has not been found.—439

520 An allusion to Marx's articles on India ('The British Rule in India', 'The East India Company.—Its History and Results' and others—see present edition, Vol. 12) written in 1853, when the British Parliament debated the prolongation of the East India Company Charter.—439

521 Engels' letter to Cluss has not been found.—441

522 Kossuth, jointly with Mazzini and Ledru-Rollin, criticised the US Senate in the press refusing to prolong George Sanders' powers as Consul in London. This American public figure and journalist maintained contacts with petty-bourgeois emigrants in London. The American newspapers, *The New-York Herald* and *The New-York Times* in particular, attacked Kossuth for his criticism and accused him of meddling in US domestic affairs. Clippings from the American newspapers were sent to Marx by Cluss in his letter of 4 April 1854. Marx forwarded them to Engels probably in his letter of 22 April.—441

523 A reference to Cluss' letter to Marx of 13 April 1854.—442

524 Weydemeyer, editor of *Die Reform*, received a review of Schimmelpfennig's book *The War Between Turkey and Russia* written jointly by Engels and Heise, when the newspaper ceased publication (Weydemeyer to Engels, 16 May 1854). He sent it on to Cluss who wanted to insert it in some other newspaper, preferably *Der Deutsch-Amerikaner*, a weekly published from March 1854 in Chicago by Eduard Schläger (Cluss to Marx, 25 May 1854). The editors of the present edition have no file of *Der Deutsch-Amerikaner* for that period and the fate of the review is unknown.—443

525 An allusion to Schimmelpfennig's proposal to contribute military articles to *Die Reform*. In a letter to Marx of 13 April 1854 Cluss asked for Marx's advice on this point.—444

526 The reference is to a number of reforms carried out in the Ottoman Empire in the spheres of finance, the army, administration and legislation (known as *tanzimat*) between 1839 and the early 1870s. Their practical implementation met with fierce resistance on the part of feudal reaction, particularly at the first stage, prior to the Sultan's new rescript (*hatti-humayouni*) in 1856.—444

527 Odessa was bombarded by a united Anglo-French squadron on 22 April 1854. For details see Marx's 'The Bombardment of Odessa.—Greece.—Proclamation of Prince Daniel of Montenegro.—Manteuffel's Speech', present edition, Vol. 13.—444, 446, 452

528 Marx refers to the notice published by the Russian Ministry of Finance in a special supplement to *Коммерческая газета*, Nos. 40 and 41, 6 (18) and 8 (20) April 1854 and reprinted in the *Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg*, No. 377, 8 (20) April 1854. Marx apparently used a report reprinted in *The Times*, No. 21726, 27 April 1854, from the *Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg*.—446

529 In 1838 and 1839 the great powers held negotiations to regulate relations between the Netherlands and Belgium which had seceded from the Kingdom of the Netherlands as a result of the 1830 revolution. Previously England supported Belgium, jointly with France, but this time it sided with Russia, Austria and Prussia who sought to impose on Belgium the peace terms worked out by the great powers. France found itself isolated and was compelled to agree to these terms. Louis Philippe's diplomatic defeat was regarded in France as a serious foreign policy humiliation.

In 1839, when the Turkish-Egyptian conflict over Syria, which had been occupied by the Egyptians in 1833, flared up anew, and France supported the Egyptian Pasha Mohammed Ali, Britain, seeking to prevent a growth of French influence in that area, brought diplomatic pressure to bear on France. On 15 July 1840 a convention was signed in London by Britain, Russia, Prussia, Austria and Turkey promising to support the Sultan of Turkey (see Note 458). Louis Philippe, fearing a conflict with this coalition, made a new concession and refused any further support to Egypt.—447

530 Marx's conspectus of H. H. Parish's *Diplomatic History of the Monarchy of Greece* (London, 1838) made early in May 1854 when he was studying the history of Greece is extant.—447

531 The editors of this edition do not have *La Presse* at their disposal. Marx may have used a reprint of this material in *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 123, 3 May 1854.—447

532 *Whitechapel*—a district in London where many foreign emigrants lived. The fire mentioned in this letter happened in Whitechapel on 29 April 1854.—449, 451

533 Engels lived in Berlin as an army volunteer from September 1841 to about late September 1842.—449

534 Here Marx has in mind the patrons of Stehely's confectionery in Berlin in the 1840s, radical-minded men of letters, students and members of 'The Free' (see Note 535).—449

535 *'The Free'*—a group of Berlin Young Hegelians which came into being in the first half of 1842. Among its principal members were Bruno Bauer, Edgar Bauer, Edward Meyen, Ludwig Buhl and Max Stirner. The system existing in the country was criticised by 'The Free' in an abstract manner, their statements were devoid of real revolutionary content, their ultra-radical form often compromised the democratic movement. Many of 'The Free' renounced radicalism in the following years.

For a criticism of 'The Free' see K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism* (present edition, Vol. 4).—449

536 The information on Wiss given in the previous letter was passed on to Cluss by Marx in a letter written probably in the first week of May 1854. Marx's letter has not been found.—450

537 Engels' irony is directed at Willich, who in his article 'Doctor Karl Marx und seine "Enthüllungen"' (*Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, No. 33, 28 October 1853) wrote that Schramm's second Miskowsky vanished without trace after the duel between Schramm and Willich (see Note 360).—451

538 In a letter of 30 April 1854 Cluss informed Marx, among other things, that *Die Reform* ceased publication.—453

539 This is Marx's reply to Lassalle's letter of 20 May 1854 in which the latter asked for information on the plans of the political emigrants in England in connection with the Crimean War and also for Marx's articles on Palmerston which had been published in London as a separate pamphlet (see notes 465 and 480).—454

540 Marx's letters to Lassalle written in the second half of 1854 have not been found.—454

541 A series of twelve pamphlets under the general title *Tucker's Political Fly-Sheets* was published in London by Urquhart's follower Tucker in 1853 and 1854, exposing Palmerston's foreign policy. The first two issues reproduced some sections of Marx's *Lord Palmerston* (see notes 465 and 480). In 1855 Tucker reprinted the series in one volume.—455, 472

542 On 8 May 1852 Russia, Austria, Britain, France, Prussia, Sweden and Denmark signed the London Protocol on the integrity of the Danish monarchy, confirming the indivisibility of the Danish Crown lands, including the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein. Among the legitimate claimants to the Danish Crown the London Protocol mentioned the Russian Emperor (as a descendant of Duke Charles Peter Ulrich of Holstein-Gottorp who reigned in Russia as Peter III). He waived his rights in favour of Duke Christian of Glücksburg who was proclaimed successor to King Frederick VII. The London Protocol thus created

a precedent for the Russian Tsar to claim the Danish Crown in the event of the Glücksburg dynasty dying out.—456

543 The *Quadruple Alliance* was concluded in April 1834 between Britain, France, Spain and Portugal. Even at the time the treaty was concluded, conflicts of interests appeared between Britain and France which later aggravated relations between the two countries. This treaty was formally directed against the absolutist 'Northern Powers' (Russia, Prussia and Austria), but in actual fact allowed Britain to strengthen her position in Spain and Portugal under the pretext of rendering military assistance to both governments in their struggle against the pretenders to the throne, Don Carlos in Spain and Dom Miguel in Portugal.—456

544 A reference to the London conventions of 1840 and 1841 (see Note 458).—457

545 *Giovane Italia* (Young Italy)—a secret organisation of Italian bourgeois revolutionaries founded by Mazzini. It existed in 1831-34 and 1839-48, its aim being struggle for the independence and unity of Italy.—458

546 Engels apparently refers to Napier's report published in *The Times*, No. 21758, 3 June 1854. It described the action between an English frigate and steamer and three Russian merchant ships near the fortress of Gustavsvaern on 23 May. Two Russian ships were sunk, the third captured. The report called this 'a very gallant feat of arms'.—460

547 In June 1854 Engels simultaneously made notes from A. Görgei, *Mein Leben und Wirken in Ungarn in den Jahren 1848 und 1849* (Bd. I-II, Leipzig, 1852) and from F. Hellwald von Heller, *Der Winter-Feldzug 1848-1849 in Ungarn* (Wien, 1851) written on Windischgrätz's instructions.—460

548 Engels refers to military reports of the Austrian Command published in the official *Wiener Zeitung* and also in *Der Lloyd, Österreichischer Correspondent, Die Presse* and other Austrian newspapers, mostly over Windischgrätz's signature. Engels used them as his main source when writing articles for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on the course of the 1848-49 revolutionary war in Hungary against the Austrian monarchy (see present edition, vols. 8 and 9).—460

549 The reference is to the demands presented to Chancellor Nesselrode by Austria and Prussia after the signing of the treaty on 20 April 1854 (see present edition, Vol. 13, p. 168) on the immediate evacuation of the Danubian Principalities and other territories occupied by the Russians.—461

550 Marx mentions Colonel Grach here because Engels named him in the article 'The Siege of Silistria' (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 240-42).—461

551 An allusion by Ruge to Marx, Engels and their associates in the Communist League.—462

552 Engels' accompanying letter has not been found.—464

553 On Friday, 23 June 1854, the article written by Marx jointly with Engels was sent to New York. The *New-York Daily Tribune* published part of it on 10 July as a leader, 'The Russian Retreat'; the other part, containing details about military operations at Silistria, was added by the editors to Marx's article dispatched earlier (on 16 June) and published on 8 July 1854 also as a leader, 'State of the Russian War' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—464

554 Marx apparently has in mind English Press reports on the move of the Circassian troops to Tiflis (Tbilisi), which began in May, and news about the

activity of the Anglo-French mission under Rear Admiral Edmund Lyons. According to *The Times*, the aim of the latter was to establish contact with the Circassian leaders (primarily with Shamyl) for a joint attack on the Russian towns of Sandjak and Anapa. This aim was attained.

For an appraisal of these events see Engels' 'The War' and Marx's and Engels' 'The Russian Retreat' (present edition, Vol. 13).—464

555 This letter has not been found.—466

556 Sentenced to six-year imprisonment at the Cologne Communist Trial, Bürgers and Becker served their terms in Glatz and Weichselmünde.—468

557 Marx refers to the fourth bourgeois revolution in Spain (1854-56) which began with a pronunciamento in Madrid on 28 June 1854. Marx analysed the revolutionary events in Spain in several articles written in 1854 (see present edition, Vol. 13).—469

558 Engels complied with Marx's request and sent (by Tuesday, 1 August) material for their joint article 'That Bore of a War' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—472

559 At the evening sitting of the House of Commons on 24 July 1854 the leader of the House, John Russell, announced that Sevastopol had been destroyed and captured by the Anglo-French squadron. However, replying to a question by Disraeli, leader of the Tory opposition, he was compelled to take his words back. The false claim of the capture of Sevastopol by the Allies was deleted from the text of Russell's speech published in *The Times*.

At the sitting of 25 July 1854 Sidney Herbert, Secretary at War, gave reasons for the unsatisfactory food supply of the British expeditionary army and fleet and did his best to justify the Cabinet and War Administration. The speeches of Russell, Disraeli and Herbert were published in *The Times*, Nos. 21802 and 21803, 25 and 26 July 1854. Marx attended the debates on the war in the House of Commons on 24 and 25 July and described them in detail in 'The War Debates in Parliament' and 'The Policy of Austria.—The War Debates in the House of Commons' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—472

560 The summary of Thierry's book written by Marx in French at that time is extant.—473

561 The *Federal Diet*—the central organ of the German Confederation formed in 1815. It met in Frankfurt am Main and consisted of representatives of the German states. The Federal Diet was a vehicle of the German governments' reactionary policy. It ceased to exist during the 1848-49 revolution, was restored in 1851, and existed till 1866.—475

562 This is presumably an allusion to the Mainz Central Investigation Commission instituted by decision of the Conference of German states in Karlsbad in 1819 for an investigation into the 'tricks of the demagogues' (see notes 139 and 307), i.e. for the struggle against the opposition movement in the German states.—475

563 The *Guelphs*—a political party in Italy formed in the twelfth century, during the period of strife between the popes and the German emperors. Consisting mainly of the upper strata of merchants and artisans in the Italian towns who supported the popes, it bitterly opposed the party of the *Ghibellines*, who supported the emperors. The two parties existed till the fifteenth century.—476

564 See notes 380 and 139, 307.—478

565 The reference is to Marx's part of the article sent to the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 29 August 1854. The article was tampered with by the editors, who published the part concerning Bomarsund (written by Engels) as a leader in issue No. 4182 for 13 September 1854. A few sentences from Marx's text were included in the news review in the same number. News about Kars, mentioned by Marx here, was included as a separate paragraph in Pulszky's article also published in that number (see present edition, Vol. 13, Note 293).—480

566 In connection with the bourgeois revolution which started in Spain in 1854 (see Note 557), Marx made a thorough study of the history of the nineteenth-century Spanish revolutions. The result was a series of articles, *Revolutionary Spain*, written between August and November 1854 (see present edition, Vol. 13).—480

567 Marx apparently has in mind the meeting of his mother, Henriette Marx, and his wife, Jenny, in Trier in July-August 1854.—481

568 In the original *Lebensmittel*, a term used by Marx and Engels as an economic category in a number of works, including *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and *Capital*.—481

569 *Zouaves*—French colonial light infantry.

*Les singes* (the apes)—a derogatory nickname for the generals who supported Napoleon III.

On anti-Bonapartist sentiments in the French army, the disturbances among the Zouaves in the French force at Varna in the summer of 1854, see Engels, 'The Attack on Sevastopol' (present edition, Vol. 13, p. 473).—482

570 Engels' article on the military operations in the Caucasian theatre of war sent in by Tuesday, 19 September 1854 (witness entry in Marx's notebook: 'Dienstag. 19 September') was lost, having been dispatched by the *Arctic* which sank in the Atlantic on 27 September 1854.—483

571 For Tuesday, 26 September 1854, Engels wrote 'The Attack on Sevastopol' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—483

572 Marx's letter to Dana has not been found.—484

573 The siege of Sevastopol by the Anglo-French-Turkish forces lasted from 13 (25) September 1854 to 27 August (8 September) 1855.—484

574 Marx refers to an article in the series *Revolutionary Spain* which was sent to America on 30 September 1854. The *Tribune* editors published it as two articles in Nos. 4220 and 4222 on 27 and 30 October 1854 as articles IV and V in Marx's series.—484

575 Engels' letter of 25 (Monday) or 26 (Tuesday) September 1854, mentioned by Marx, has not been found.—484

576 Marx wrote about Saint-Arnaud in three articles sent to New York on 6, 9 and 16 June 1854 as emerges from entries in Marx's notebook. The first article has not been found in the issues of the *New-York Daily Tribune*, *New-York Weekly Tribune* and *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* available to the editors of the present edition. The material relating to Saint Arnaud in the article of 16 June, 'State of the Russian War', was omitted by the *Tribune* editors, and hence only part of the biographical essay on Saint-Arnaud is extant in the article 'Reorganisation of the British War Administration.—The Austrian Summons.—Britain's Economic Situation.—St. Arnaud' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—484

577 The *Tribune* editors added the following sentence at the end of Marx's article 'Espartero': 'Our readers can judge whether the Spanish Revolution is likely to have any useful result or not.'—485

578 The *Tribune* editors added the following sentence to Article I of Marx's *Revolutionary Spain* (published on 9 September 1854): 'Let us hope that the additions now being made to their annals by the Spanish people may prove neither unworthy nor fruitless of good to themselves and to the world.'—485

579 By 'Baron Nicholson's court' Marx means a club—the Judge and Jury Society—formed by Renton Nicholson in London in 1841. Its visitors staged parody trials presided over by Nicholson himself, who was called Lord Chief Baron.—486

580 This article was probably not written because the entry concerning its dispatch is crossed out in Marx's notebook.—486

581 A reference to the Seven Years' War (1756-63) in which almost all European countries took part.—488

582 In 1763, the English journalist John Wilkes criticised King George III's Speech from the Throne in his newspaper *The North Briton*. He was expelled from the House of Commons and outlawed. After his forced flight to France, Wilkes returned to England in 1768, was elected to Parliament four times but each time his election was declared invalid. He was not admitted to Parliament until his fifth election.

In connection with 'Wilkes' case' letters published in the London newspaper *The Public Advertiser* from 1768 to 1772 and signed Junius became very popular. The author campaigned for Wilkes' rehabilitation and for democratisation of the political system in Britain. In 1772 Junius' letters were published as a book. It was established later that they had been written by the journalist Philip Francis.—489

583 In February 1792 the coalition of European feudal and absolutist states launched a war against revolutionary France. Britain supported this coalition and after France had been proclaimed a republic on 10 August 1792 and King Louis XVI executed in January 1793, it openly entered the war on the side of the coalition in early 1793.—489

584 The suggestion that Robert Adair, British diplomat and Fox's confidential agent, was sent to St. Petersburg with the aim of upsetting William Pitt's plans was made by G. Tomline in *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honorable William Pitt*, in 3 Volumes, London, 1821.—489

585 In 1756, at the beginning of the Seven Years' War, Admiral Byng was ordered to lead a squadron to the Mediterranean. The squadron was defeated at the battle of the Minorca on 20 May 1756. The government placed the entire responsibility for this on the admiral, who was brought to England under arrest, sentenced to death and shot in March 1757.—490

586 The reference is to a short period (November-December 1808) during the Peninsular War (see Note 462) when the French forces were led by Napoleon himself.—490

587 In 1833-40 Spain was the scene of the so-called first Carlist war between the reactionary feudal and Catholic forces headed by the pretender to the Spanish throne Don Carlos (brother of Ferdinand VII) and bourgeois-liberal forces

supporting the government of Regent Maria-Cristina. The Carlists were defeated.—490

588 This letter was published in English for the first time abridged in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Literature and Art.* Selections from Their Writings, N. Y., 1947, p. 134.—492

589 The *Congress of Verona* of the Holy Alliance (see Note 353) was held from October to December 1822. It decided in favour of French armed intervention against revolutionary Spain and continuance of Austria's occupation of the Kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, and condemned the national liberation uprisings of the Greek people against the Turkish yoke.—492

590 The *Order of St Andrew*, the highest order in the Russian Empire, was introduced by Peter the Great in 1698.—492

591 The *Laibach Congress* (January-March 1821) of the Holy Alliance openly proclaimed the principle of interference by the countries of the Alliance in the internal affairs of other states in support of feudal and monarchist regimes.—493

592 The *Bidassoa*—a river in the Western Pyrenees on the border between France and Spain. The allusion is to the Peace of the Pyrenees concluded by France and Spain on Faisans Island on the Bidassoa on 7 November 1659 which helped France seize supremacy in Western Europe from Spain.—494

593 A system of treaties concluded at the Congress of Vienna (1814-15) as a result of the defeat of Napoleonic France.—495

594 A reference to the diplomatic manoeuvres of the European powers in connection with the national liberation movement of the Greek people against the Turkish yoke (1821-29).—496

595 This is presumably an allusion to Chateaubriand's pamphlet *De Buonaparte, des Bourbons, et de la nécessité de se rallier à nos princes légitimes pour le bonheur de la France et celui de l'Europe* published in 1814.

The Spanish branch of the Bourbon dynasty succeeded to the Spanish throne in accordance with the will of the childless Habsburg, King Charles II, in favour of the Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV and great-great-grandson of Henry IV, who became King Philip V of Spain in 1700.—497

596 Marx alludes ironically to Chateaubriand's journey to Jerusalem, after which he published his three-volume *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* in 1811.—497

597 In a letter of 1 November 1854 Charles Dana proposed that Marx should use for his military articles *The War with Mexico* by R. S. Ripley, a book on the operations of the American army in the war against Mexico in 1846-48. Dana wrote: 'This will gratify the national *amour propre* of our readers, and convince them still more thoroughly that your articles are written in all probability by Gen. Scott' (see also this volume, p. 407).—498

598 On Tuesday, 21 November, Marx sent an article to New York in the series *Revolutionary Spain*, as indicated in his notebook: 'Dienstag. 21. November. Spain. Intervention.' The article was not published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and the manuscript has not been found.—498

599 See Note 234. An extract from this letter was published in English also in Marx and Engels, *On the United States*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979.—501

600 Engels' letter has not been found.—501, 510

601 Marx's letter to Freund has not been found.—502

602 Neither Marx's letter to Lassalle nor Lassalle's reply has been found.—502

603 Marx contributed to the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* during 1855, writing his first article for it on 29 December 1854. Marx's articles were published unsigned, but marked '×'. As there was practically no workers' press during the years of reaction, Marx's contributing to the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* made it possible to maintain contact with Germany and keep German readers informed on the vital problems of international and domestic politics, the working-class and democratic movement, and economic development in the capitalist countries, primarily Britain and France. Marx regularly sent articles on the operations in the Crimean War, and made frequent use of entire reports by Engels for the *New-York Daily Tribune*, translating them into German; he also sent the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* abridged versions of Engels' articles, with occasional changes and additions. Articles from the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* are published in vols. 13 and 14 of the present edition.—502

604 The reference is to the Welcome and Protest Committee formed by the Chartists, headed by Jones, for Barbès' expected arrival in Britain after he was amnestied, and against Napoleon III's intended visit. Barbès was released from prison on Napoleon III's order of 3 October 1854 in acknowledgment of the chauvinist stand he took when the Crimean War broke out. Marx and Engels censured Barbès' behaviour in the article 'The Sevastopol Hoax.—General News' written on 5-6 October 1854: 'From this moment Barbès has ceased to be one of the revolutionary chiefs of France' (see present edition, Vol. 13, p. 491). On 18 October 1854 the emigrant *L'Homme. Journal de la démocratie universelle*, published in London, carried Barbès' letter of 11 October in which he confirmed his attitude to the war but at the same time declared his hostility to the Bonapartist regime. This statement, however, did not save his political reputation and shortly afterwards he gave up politics.—502

605 At one of the meetings held by the Welcome and Protest Committee in London on 26 and 28 November 1854 Jones said among other things that 'the democracy of Britain did not own the word *foreigner*—it looked on the exiles not as Frenchmen, or Italians, but as men, as brothers... At the same time, it desired to give the forthcoming demonstration a truly national and English character. If exiles were on the committee, it might be said exiles have got up the affair, and that it was not a genuine manifestation of British feeling. Therefore the committee would number only British names though it hoped to gather round itself hearts from every land' (*The People's Paper*, No. 135, 2 December 1854).—503

606 Marx has in mind the national liberation war in Spain against the Napoleonic rule (1808-14).—504

607 The reference is to the last, the third unpublished article of Marx's series *Revolutionary Spain*, sent to New York on 8 December 1854. The manuscript has not been found.—504

608 Marx carried out his plans in the article 'Progress of the War' which he wrote jointly with Engels on 14-15 December 1854.—505

609 Engels planned to write a critique of pan-Slavist ideas. Ever since his removal to Manchester in 1850 Engels had been studying the language, literature and

history of the Slav peoples. As can be judged from Marx' letters to Engels of 16 May and 26 June 1855, Marx negotiated the publication of Engels' pamphlet in Germany (see this volume, pp. 535 and 539). But these plans of Marx and Engels remained unfulfilled.

In April 1855 at Marx's request Engels wrote two articles on this subject under the title 'Germany and Pan-Slavism' (see present edition, Vol. 14, pp. 156-62). They were published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* and under changed titles in the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see Note 649).—505, 534, 535, 539

610 Engels spent Christmas in London. Engels' letter written on about 15 December 1854 has not been found.—505

611 Marx refers to the trial of the French Blanquist worker Emmanuel Barthélemy, accused of murdering two Englishmen. The English Press made a great fuss over the trial, which did not succeed in clearing up the motives behind the murder. Barthélemy was sentenced to death and executed on 22 January 1855.—505

612 In compliance with this plan Marx wrote two articles, on 29 December 1854 and 1 January 1855, which were published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* on 2 and 4 January 1855 under the general title 'Rückblicke' ('In Retrospect'). This marked the beginning of Marx's collaboration with this newspaper (see Note 603).—507

613 The formation of a Foreign Legion for the purpose of reinforcing the British in the Crimea was envisaged by the Enlistment of Foreigners Bill passed in Parliament on 22 December 1854. The Legion was not formed however owing to protests against the use of foreign mercenaries.—508, 520

614 This letter was published in English for the first time abridged in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Literature and Art.* Selections from Their Writings, N. Y., 1947, p. 106.—508

615 Marx and Heine met and became friends in Paris at the end of December 1843. Marx supported Heine in his disputes with the radical petty-bourgeois opposition who attacked Heine for his criticism of Ludwig Börne, one of their prominent representatives.—509

616 In reply to attacks in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in April 1848 Heine stated in the supplement to No. 144 of the same paper, on 23 May 1848, that he was compelled to accept the pension his French friends (the historian Mignet, in particular) succeeded in obtaining for him as he was in great straits owing to the prohibition of his books in Germany.—510

617 In a letter of 7 January 1855 Lassalle asked Marx to list the works containing official statistical data on the changes in England's economic position after the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 (see Note 72).—511

618 Marx has in mind his economic notes made from September 1850 to August 1853, when he resumed his economic research (see Note 45).—511, 522

619 In January 1854 Marx wrote the following articles for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung:* 'The Opening of Parliament' (on the 24th), 'Comments on the Cabinet Crisis' (on the 26th) and 'Parliamentary News' (on the 27th). At Marx's request Engels wrote for the *New-York Daily Tribune* the article 'The European War' (about 29 January) (see present edition, Vol. 13).—514

620 The reference is to the Aberdeen Coalition Government (see Note 343) which was defeated in the House of Commons on 29 January. On the basis of the material mentioned here and sent by Marx to Engels with his next letter of 31 January 1855, Engels wrote the article 'The Late British Government' for the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 1 February 1855. The same subject was used by Marx in the articles 'The Defeated Government' and 'Two Crises' for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* in early February 1855 (see present edition, Vol. 13).—515

621 In April 1853 and from March to May 1854 Marx devoted several articles to Gladstone's financial policy. They were published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* and *The People's Paper*. The most detailed analysis of Gladstone's budget is given in 'The New Financial Juggle; or Gladstone and the Pennies', 'Achievements of the Ministry', '*L. S. D.*, or Class Budgets, and Who's Relieved by Them', 'Riot at Constantinople.—German Table Moving.—The Budget' (see present edition, Vol. 12), 'British Finances.—The Troubles at Preston', 'British Finances' and others (Vol. 13). It has not been established which articles Marx sent to Engels.—515

622 The *Irish Brigade*—the Irish faction in the British Parliament from the 1830s to the 1850s. With the equilibrium existing between the Tories and the Whigs, the Irish Brigade, alongside the Manchester men (see Note 63), could influence the alignment of forces in Parliament and sometimes decide the fate of the government.—516

623 The reference is to the Franchise Bill. As early as February 1852 Russell made a preliminary statement of his intention to introduce it (see his speech in the House of Commons on 9 February 1852, *The Times*, No. 21034, 10 February 1852); however, it was never debated in Parliament.—516

624 Marx refers to the 'Removal of Some Disabilities of Her Majesty's Jewish Subjects' Bill, introduced by Russell in the House of Commons on 24 February and aimed at admitting Jews to the House. Russell's Bill passed the House of Commons but was rejected by the House of Lords. Marx assessed it in the article 'Parliamentary Debates.—The Clergy Against Socialism.—Starvation' (see present edition, Vol. 11).—516

625 At the sitting of the House of Commons on 31 May 1853 Russell stated that the British Parliament should not sanction a state subsidy to the Catholic Church in Ireland because the Catholic clergy were not sufficiently committed to the English Crown and the Constitution. Russell's speech was published in *The Times*, No. 21443, 1 June 1853.—516

626 These Bills were introduced in Parliament in November 1852. Marx analysed and assessed them in the articles 'The Indian Question.—Irish Tenant Right' (see present edition, Vol. 12) and 'From the Houses of Parliament.—Bulwers' Motion.—The Irish Question' (Vol. 14).—517

627 The *Transportation Bill*, which abolished deportation of criminals to penal colonies, was passed on 12 August 1853. After preliminary detention the transportees were given release certificates granting them the right to reside in Britain under police surveillance, employed as cheap labour for public works. Marx assessed this Bill in 'The War Question.—British Population and Trade Returns.—Doings of Parliament' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—518

628 Marx refers to the proposals on the public debt moved by Gladstone in the House of Commons on 8 April 1853. For details see Marx's articles 'The New Financial Juggle; or Gladstone and the Pennies', 'Achievements of the Ministry',

'Affairs in Holland.—Denmark.—Conversion of the British Debt.—India, Turkey and Russia', 'The Russian Humbug.—Gladstone's Failure.—Sir Charles Wood's East Indian Reforms' (present edition, Vol. 12).

At the sitting of the House of Commons on 28 July 1853 Gladstone moved a resolution on measures for creating a public consolidated fund to pay for shares of the South Sea Company, which in fact meant the failure of the plan for conversion of the public debt (see K. Marx, 'Financial Failure of Government.—Cabs.—Ireland.—The Russian Question', present edition, Vol. 12).—518

629 Here Marx gives the date of the reception in Constantinople of the news of the battle of Sinope on 30 (18) November 1853 (see Note 467).—518

630 On the Note of the four powers see Note 467; on the Vienna Note see Note 476.—518

631 The reference is to the article 'On the History of the Eastern Question' published in the *Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg*, No. 336, 18 February (2 March) 1854 in connection with John Russell's speech in the House of Commons on 17 February 1854. The article alluded to the collusion of the Russian and British governments in the Turkish question supporting its statement by reference to Seymour's secret correspondence in 1853 and the memorandum of 1844. Marx analysed the position adopted by the two powers in the articles 'The Documents on the Partition of Turkey' and 'The Secret Diplomatic Correspondence' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—519

632 Under a law in force in England since 1662 paupers who changed their place of residence or applied to a parish for alms could be returned to their former place of residence by court decision. On 10 February 1854 a Settlement and Removal Bill was introduced in the House of Commons envisaging prohibition of forced settlement of paupers in England and Wales. The Bill was rejected by Parliament.—520

633 Under a law in force in England since the early eighteenth century newly elected MPs were to take an 'oath of abdication' denying the right of any heirs of James II to the throne; the oath contained expressions of loyalty to Christianity. Refusal to take the oath deprived an MP of the right of active participation in the work of Parliament.—520

634 Engels' article 'The Late British Government' (see present edition, Vol. 13 and also Note 620).—520

635 The reference is to Ferdinand Lassalle's letter to Marx of 27 January containing cuttings from the January issues of the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* and the *Kölnische Zeitung*, and Roland Daniels' letter of 16 January 1855.—521

636 Marx writes about the traditional banquets of petty-bourgeois emigrants held to mark the anniversary of the February 1848 revolution in France.—521

637 A reference to the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 24).—521

638 A reference to the International Committee set up by representatives of the London Chartist Organising Committee (as the Welcome and Protest Committee was called since February 1855; see Note 604) and also French, German, Polish, Hungarian, Italian and other petty-bourgeois refugees. Jones was its President. At the end of 1855 the International Committee became an

independent organisation; renamed the International Association in 1856, it operated until 1859.—521

639 Judging by extant documents, Herzen did not attend the meeting, but received a written invitation to become a member of the International Committee (see Note 638).—521

640 An allusion to Herzen's view of 'old Europe' and 'young Russia' expounded most clearly in *Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie*, par A. Iscander, Paris, 1851; *La Russie et la vieux Monde. Lettres à W. Linton. Esq.*, par A. Herzen; *Le peuple russe et le socialisme. Lettre à Monsieur J. Michelet, professeur au Collège de France*, par A. Herzen. Seconde édition, 1855, and other works. These publications were used by Marx and Engels.—523

641 This may be a reference to Herzen's reply to Ivan Golovin's slanderous article (see this volume, pp. 523-24): 'Reply to Mr. Golovin. To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*', published in *The Morning Advertiser* on 15 February 1855.—525

642 Marx refers to the anonymous pamphlet *De la conduite de la guerre d'Orient. Expédition de Crimée. Mémoire adressé au gouvernement de S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon III par un officier général*, Bruxelles, 1855. Its authorship was ascribed to several persons, Prince Napoleon (Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte) among them. Marx assessed it in the articles 'On the History of the French Alliance' and 'The Brussels *Mémoire*' and Engels in 'Fate of the Great Adventurer' (see present edition, Vol. 14).—526

643 In January and February 1855 Marx read B. G. Niebuhr's *The History of Rome*, a new edition in three volumes, London, 1847-51, and simultaneously made a summary of it entitled 'Römische Geschichte'.—527

644 *Badinguet*—a nickname given to Napoleon III because in 1846 he escaped from prison in the clothes of the mason Badinguet. In April 1855 Napoleon III made an official visit to England.—534

645 Marx and his wife returned to London from Manchester about 6 May 1855.—535

646 In 1854, in connection with the Crimean War and the exacerbation of the Eastern Question, Bruno Bauer published several pamphlets, among them *De la dictature occidentale, Die jetzige Stellung Rußlands* and *Rußland und das Germanenthum*. It has not been established which of these is referred to here.—535

647 Marx may have had in mind his letter to Elsner of 17 April 1855, but he could have written to him after his return from Manchester, i.e. after 6 May 1855.—535

648 Marx has in mind the supporters of the Administrative Reform Association set up in May 1855 on the initiative of liberal circles in the City. Taking advantage of the alarm in the country caused by the plight of the British army in the Crimea, the Association hoped by means of mass rallies and with the Chartists' support to bring pressure to bear on Parliament and win broader access to government posts for members of the commercial and finance bourgeoisie. The Association failed in its strivings and soon ceased to exist. Marx repeatedly wrote about the Association's activity and its relations with the Chartists; see for instance his article 'The Agitation Outside Parliament' (present edition, Vol. 14).—536

649 Marx considered it essential to publish a critique of pan-Slavist theories in the *New-York Daily Tribune* in order to counteract the influence exerted on American public by the articles and pamphlets of a pan-Slavist contributor to the newspaper, A. Gurowski. The *New-York Daily Tribune* published after heavy editing Engels' two articles on pan-Slavism (see Note 609) under the titles 'The European Struggle' and 'Austria's Weakness' on 5 and 7 May 1855 respectively (see present edition, Vol. 14).—536

650 Dana's letter to Marx of 1 June 1855.—537

651 Engels wrote the survey 'The Armies of Europe' (see present edition, Vol. 14) from June to September 1855. He was helped in this work by Marx, who collected material for him on various European armies, the Spanish and the Neapolitan in particular, at the British Museum library. The survey was published unsigned in *Putnam's Monthly* in August, September and December.—537, 540

652 On 29 June Engels wrote 'From Sevastopol' (see present edition, Vol. 14) about the Allies' unsuccessful storm of Sevastopol on 18(6) June 1855—the fortieth anniversary of Waterloo. The main French attack was directed against Malakhov Hill and the English against the Redan (Third Bastion).—538

653 In a letter of 13 August 1855 which has not survived, Engels asked Weerth, then in Hamburg, to negotiate with Duncker about his, Engels', pamphlet on pan-Slavism (see Note 609). As emerges from Weerth's reply to Engels of 24 August, his negotiations with Duncker failed.—539

654 A mass demonstration organised by the Chartists was held in Hyde Park on 24 June 1855, in protest against a series of anti-popular measures adopted by Parliament (in particular, the prohibition of Sunday trading). Marx took part in this demonstration with other German revolutionary democrats and described it in 'Anti-Church Movement.—Demonstration in Hyde Park' (see present edition, Vol. 14).—539

655 Marx has in mind the police reprisals against the participants in the second mass demonstration held, despite the police prohibition, in Hyde Park on Sunday, 1 July 1855, in protest against Sunday Trading Bill (on the first demonstration see Note 654). Marx describes the events in which he took part in 'Agitation over the Tightening-up of Sunday Observance' (see present edition, Vol. 14).—541

656 A law prohibiting the sale of spirits had been in force in the State of Maine since 1851.

*Know-nothings*—a secret political organisation formed in the USA in 1854 against emigrants; the members of this organisation swore to answer 'I know nothing' to all questions about its activity and aims.—542

657 A reference to Szeredy's letter to Marx of 15 July 1855 containing a request for assistance in publishing and distributing his novel *Asiatic Chiefs* in Britain and the USA.—543

658 Marx made this request because he intended to write the pamphlet *Lord John Russell* (see present edition, Vol. 14).—543

659 Marx's pamphlet *Lord John Russell* was published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 28 August 1855 condensed into a single article. The pamphlet was published in full in German in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* as a series of six articles

which appeared from 28 July to 15 August 1855 (see present edition, Vol. 14).—545

660 On the first *Mémoire* see Note 642; the second *Mémoire—Deuxième mémoire adressé au gouvernement de S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon III sur l'expédition de Crimée et la conduite de la guerre d'Orient, par un officier général*, Genève, mai 1855—was ascribed to the French journalist Tavernier and the Belgian officer, adjutant of the War Minister, T. F. Sterckx. Like the first *Mémoire* it was aimed at justifying the actions of the French Command in the Crimean campaign.—545

661 Marx's letter to Dana has not been found.—546

662 On 15 June 1855 Charles Napier published in *The Morning Advertiser* his letters criticising the administrative system in the British Navy, the lack of talent among commanders, and in particular the criminal irresponsibility of James Graham, First Lord of the Admiralty, which came to light during the military operations of the Anglo-French fleet in the Baltic Sea in 1854 and 1855. *The Times* published Napier's article on 24 August 1855. Marx wrote about Napier's letters and his correspondence with Graham in the articles 'Napier's Letters.—Roebuck's Committee', 'Napier's Letter' and 'Another British Revelation' (see present edition, Vol. 14).—546

663 The information Marx had access to was presumably unreliable. It has not been established what newspaper he meant. Herzen met Engländer in 1849, but he already knew at that time that he was an agent of the French and Austrian police and would have nothing to do with him.—548, 553

664 Here Marx compares his enforced departure for Manchester (see Marx to Moritz Elsner, 11 September 1855, this volume, pp. 550-53) with the evacuation of the Southern Side of Sevastopol by the Russian troops on 28-29 August (8-9 September) 1855.—550

665 This is Marx's reply to Elsner, who wrote in his letter of 4 September 1855 about the financial straits of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* to which Marx contributed during that year (see notes 603 and 612).—550

666 Elsner's letters of 3 and 7 October 1855 to Marx.—554

667 The reference is to two Prussian Constitutions. The first was imposed by King Frederick William IV simultaneously with the dissolution of the Prussian National Assembly on 5 December 1848. It introduced a two-chamber system. The King retained the right not only to rescind the Chambers' decisions but also to revise certain articles of the Constitution. The further strengthening of the reaction led in April 1849 to the dissolution of the Second Chamber elected on the basis of the 1848 Constitution, to the replacement of universal suffrage with a three-class electoral system based on a high property qualification and to the introduction of a new, still more reactionary Constitution which came into force on 31 January 1850.—554

668 On 10 October 1855 *L'Homme*, the French refugee newspaper printed in Jersey, carried an open letter by a leader of petty-bourgeois democratic emigrants, Felix Pyat, to Queen Victoria in connection with her visit to France in August of that year. Anti-Bonapartist in content, this letter was provocative and adventuristic like all Pyat's utterances. It caused a polemic in the English and emigrant press, and serious fears that the so-called Aliens Bill might again come into force (see Note 75). To curry favour with Napoleon III the

Governor of Jersey expelled several French refugees from the island, Victor Hugo among them.—555, 557

669 Lassalle's letters to Marx of 24 September and October (exact date not established) 1855.—556

670 Marx lived in Paris from the end of October 1843 to 3 February 1845 when, on the demand of the Prussian Government, he was expelled from France and compelled to move to Brussels.—556

671 An allusion to Georg Weerth's former activity as a journalist. During the 1848-49 revolution he wrote essays and feuilletons (in verse and prose) for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.—556

672 Marx's letter to Jones has not been found.—557

673 The reference is to a book by Herzen which came out in London in early October 1855. It included the second and fourth parts of *My Past and Thoughts* and was entitled *My Exile in Siberia* (two volumes, London, 1855). The title was supplied by the publishers, Hurst and Blackett, and on about 17 October Herzen lodged a protest with them against the arbitrary change of the title. Reviews published in *The Leader*, (No. 290, 13 October), *Critic, London Literary Journal* (No. 25537, 15 October), *Atlas* (20 October), *Athenaeum* (No. 1460, 20 October), *The Economist* (10 November) and other papers highly appraised Herzen's book.—558

674 Engels' two articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune* were sent to the USA by the steamer *Asia*, which sailed from Liverpool and reached Halifax on 19 December. The newspaper published the first article as a leader entitled 'The State of the War' on 21 December 1855 and the second also as a leader, 'The War in Asia', on 26 December 1855. Engels' authorship of these articles was established during the preparation of this volume.—559

675 In his letter of 20 November 1855 Dana informed Marx that the *Tribune* editors had agreed to publish two articles by Marx every week and to pay him 10 dollars for each.—559, 560

676 Judging by Dana's letter (see Note 675) Marx proposed to organise the dispatch of articles to the *New-York Daily Tribune* directly from the Crimea probably expecting that the German emigrant O. Mirbach, a former Prussian artillery officer who intended to leave for Constantinople, would be the correspondent.—560

677 The article written by Engels on 12 December 1855 and edited by Marx was sent to the USA by the steamer *Pacific* on 16 December and published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 29 December 1855 under the title 'The Asiatic Campaign'. Marx's and Engels' authorship of this article was established during the preparation of this volume.—561

678 A nickname given to Bruno Bauer by Marx and Engels in the first half of the 1840s. The Young Hegelians called their own trend 'critical criticism'. See Marx and Engels, *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism* (present edition, Vol. 4).—562

679 Engels stayed in London from about 24 December 1855 to early January 1856.—563

680 The first volume of K. F. Köppen's book appeared in Berlin in 1857 entitled *Die Religion des Buddha und ihre Entstehung*, and the second volume in 1859 entitled *Die Lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche*.—563

681 Possible alterations in Engels' article of 12 December 1855 (see Note 677).—563

682 Marx sought to get his associates, former editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, including Weerth, to contribute to Weydemeyer's *Die Revolution* (see Note 2).—567

683 Joseph Weydemeyer left Europe on 1 October 1851. Owing to autumn storms the voyage lasted 38 days and the ship did not reach New York till 7 November 1851.—570

684 This letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—572

685 The reference is to a journal which Becker, Weydemeyer and Bürgers planned to start in the spring of 1851; their plan did not materialise.—575

686 At the sitting of the Cologne jury on 23 October 1852 Stieber presented as evidence a faked 'Minute-book' (see Note 259) which provided the defence with an additional material to expose the false nature of the whole trial.—576

687 Marx and Engels used addresses of several businessmen and trading houses for safe conveyance of the documents to the defence counsel at the Cologne Communist Trial, Schneider II, Esser I and von Hontheim. The list of these addresses is given in Vol. 11 of the present edition, pp. 590-91. See also this volume, p. 218.—578

688 The editors of the present edition do not have the original of this letter at their disposal and it is printed according to a copy in Cluss' letter to Weydemeyer of 28 March 1853.—579

689 An allusion to the fact that financial difficulties prevented Weydemeyer and Cluss from buying up from the printers all the copies of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* printed in New York.—579

690 Jenny Marx presumably refers to the unsuccessful attempt to publish Marx's and Engels' pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile*.—580

691 The *American funds*—money raised for the so-called German-American revolutionary loan (see Note 27).—580

692 The excerpt from Cluss' letter to Weydemeyer given here expounds the contents of part of Marx's letter to Cluss, which has not survived. The letter was probably written on about 1 May 1853, when Marx was visiting Manchester.—582

693 The reference is to Cluss' letter to Marx of 10 April 1853.—582

694 Engels planned to publish *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* in German in *Die Reform*. The last, twentieth, article of this work did not appear in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and was probably not written (see Note 214).—582

695 The excerpt from Cluss' letter to Weydemeyer given here contains an account of Jenny Marx's letter to Cluss of 20 May 1853 which has not survived.—583

696 Marx visited Engels in Manchester from 30 April to 19 May 1853.—583

697 This excerpt from Cluss' letter to Weydemeyer gives the contents of part of Marx's letter to Cluss which has not survived. The letter may have been written in February 1853.—584

698 Marx's letter to Cluss has not survived.—584

699 Jenny Marx presumably asks Engels to return Marx's letter to Jacob Schabelitz which she mentions here. The letter, which has not been found, was written at the end of November 1852. In his reply to Marx of 1 December Schabelitz agreed to accept Marx's terms for the publication of the pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*.—585

700 The circumstances of the duel between Schramm and Willich referred to here were distorted by the latter in the slanderous article 'Doctor Karl Marx und seine "Enthüllungen"'. Miskowsky was Schramm's second (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 494-95, and also Note 360).—586

701 Karl and Jenny Marx' letter to Cluss has not survived.—587

702 Probably a slip of the pen. The meetings of Polish refugees were held on 28 and 29 November 1853 (see Note 456).—587

# NAME INDEX


A

*Abdul Mejid* (*Abd Ul Medjid*) (1823-1861)—Sultan of Turkey (1839-61).—277, 289

*Aberdeen, George Hamilton Gordon, Earl of* (1784-1860)—British statesman, Tory, leader of the Peelites from 1850, Foreign Secretary (1828-30 and 1841-46) and Prime Minister in the Coalition Ministry (1852-55).—284, 295, 424, 432, 444, 446, 452, 516, 518

*Adair, Robert* (1763-1855)—British diplomat, associate of Charles James Fox.—489

*Agesilaus II* (c. 444-c. 360 B.C.)—King of Sparta (c. 401-c. 360 B.C.), brother of Agis II.—70

*Agis II* (died c. 401 B.C.)—King of Sparta (c. 427-c. 401 B.C.).—70

*Agostini, Cesare* (1803-1855)—Italian revolutionary, follower of Mazzini; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; after its defeat emigrated to England; subsequently parted with Mazzini.—280

*Albert, Prince Consort of Queen Victoria of Great Britain* (1819-1861).—423, 564

*Alberts*—secretary at the Prussian embassy in London in the 1850s.—243

*Alexander I* (1777-1825)—Emperor of Russia (1801-25).—492, 494-96

*Alexander of Macedon* (*Alexander the Great*) (356-323 B.C.)—general and statesman of antiquity.—310, 341

*Alexander, William*—English 18th-century physician; author of *The History of Women, from the Earliest Antiquity to the Present Time*.—208

*Altenstein, Karl* (1770-1840)—Prussian Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine (1817-38).—462

*Andersen, Hans Christian* (1805-1875)—Danish writer, poet, and author of fairy tales.—22

*Anneke, Carl Friedrich Theodor* (*Fritz*) (1818-1872)—Prussian artillery officer, discharged from the army for his political views; member of the Communist League; one of the founders and secretary of the Cologne Workers' Association in 1848; editor of the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung*; lieutenant-colonel in the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army (1849); after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Switzerland and later to the USA; fought in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—92, 139, 149, 351

*Anneke, Mathilde Franziska* (née *Giesler*) (1817-1884)—German writer, wife of Friedrich Anneke; contributed to German democratic periodicals in 1848-49, and later to German refugee newspapers in the USA.—331.

*Anschütz*—German musician, participant in the democratic movement of the 1840s in Germany, emigrated to London in the 1850s; friend of Ernst Dronke.—91, 97

*Anstey, Thomas Chisholm* (1816-1873)—British lawyer and radical politician; M.P. (1847-52); Attorney General for Hong Kong (1854-59).—440

*Arconati Visconti, Constanza, Marquise*

(1797-1870)—participant in the Italian national liberation movement.—200

*Arena, Antoine* (d. 1544)—French satirist.—356

*Aretino, Pietro* (1492-1556)—Italian Renaissance author of lampoons against the Pope and European monarchs.—126

*Ariosto, Lodovico* (1474-1533)—Italian Renaissance poet, author of *L'Orlando furioso*.—390

*Arnim, Ludwig Achim (Joachim) von* (1781-1831)—German romantic poet.—440

*Arnold, Franz*—German democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; after its defeat emigrated to the USA, became an associate of Adolph Cluss in the early 1850s, disseminated Marxism in the USA.—350

*Athenaeus* (late 2nd-early 3rd cent.)—Greek rhetorician and grammarian.—70

*Auerbach, Berthold* (1812-1882)—German liberal writer of stories idealising the life of German peasants, later an apologist for Bismarck.—563

*Auerswald, Hans Adolf Erdmann von* (1792-1848)—Prussian general, Right-wing deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly; killed during Frankfurt uprising in September 1848.—225

*Augustus (Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus)* (63 B.C.-A.D. 14)—Roman Emperor (27 B.C.-A.D. 14).—527

*Aumale, Henri Eugène Philippe Louis d'Orléans, duc d'* (1822-1897)—son of Louis Philippe, King of France; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1840s, Governor General of Algeria (1847-48); emigrated to England after the February 1848 revolution.—17, 200

*Aurangzeb, Mohi ud-din Mohammed* (1618-1707)—ruler of the Grand Mogul Empire in India (1658-1707).—332

B

*Babeuf, François Noël (Gracchus)* (1760-1797)—French revolutionary, advocate of utopian egalitarian communism, organiser of the Conspiracy of Equals.—195

*Bach, Alexander, Baron von* (1813-1893)—Austrian statesman, lawyer; Minister of Justice (1848); Minister of the Interior (1849-59).—106

*Bacon, Francis, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans* (1561-1626)—English philosopher, founder of English materialism; naturalist, historian and statesman.—544

*Badinguet*—see *Napoleon III*

*Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich* (1814-1876)—Russian democrat, journalist, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; later ideologist of Narodism and anarchism; opposed Marxism in the First International.—67, 306, 359-63, 373

*Balzac, Honoré de* (1799-1850)—French realist novelist.—203

*Bamberger, Louis* (b. 1821)—German refugee in London, editor of the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* (1848-51).—273, 321, 585

*Bamberger, Simon*—London banker.—273, 287, 294, 314, 315, 323, 351

*Bandiera* brothers, *Attilio* (1810-1844) and *Emilio* (1819-1844)—officers of the Austrian Navy; leaders of the Italian national liberation movement, members of the Young Italy society; executed for their attempt to raise a revolt in Calabria (1844).—56

*Bangya, János* (1817-1868)—Hungarian journalist and officer, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; after its defeat Kossuth's emissary abroad and at the same time agent-provocateur; later served in the Turkish army under the name of Mehemed Bey acting as a Turkish agent in the Caucasus.—31, 32, 45, 71, 93, 95, 101, 120, 124, 126, 130-32, 200, 208, 214, 232-34, 237-42, 252, 254, 256, 257, 267-70, 275,

281, 291, 296, 301-04, 312-14, 316, 319, 325, 386, 396, 434, 437, 477, 572

*Barbès, Armand* (1809-1870)—French revolutionary, leader of secret revolutionary societies during the July monarchy; was active in the 1848 revolution, deputy to the Constituent Assembly; sentenced to life imprisonment for participation in the popular insurrection of 15 May 1848, pardoned in 1854; emigrated to Belgium and abandoned politics.—32, 502, 521

*Barnum, Phineas Taylor* (1810-1891)—American showman, exhibited various freaks and rarities.—4, 103, 527

*Barthélemy, Emmanuel* (c. 1820-1855)—French worker, Blanquist, member of secret revolutionary societies during the July monarchy and participant in the June 1848 uprising in Paris; a leader of the Société des Proscrits Démocrates et Socialistes in London; sided with the Willich-Schapper group; executed in 1855 on a criminal charge.—128, 198, 224, 296, 299, 300, 505, 510, 515

*Barthold, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1799-1858)—German historian.—160

*Batthyány, Kasimir, Count of* (1807-1854)—Hungarian statesman, liberal aristocrat, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Hungarian revolutionary government of Szemere (1849); after the suppression of the revolution emigrated to Turkey, and then to France.—26, 31, 45

*Batthyány, Lajos, Count of* (1806-1849)—Hungarian statesman, liberal aristocrat; Prime Minister of Hungary (March-September 1848); pursued a policy of compromise with the Austrian monarchy; shot after the suppression of the revolution.—70

*Bauer, Bruno* (1809-1882)—German idealist philosopher, Young Hegelian; author of works on the history of Christianity; radical; national-liberal after 1866.—37, 38, 76, 85-87, 94, 97, 102, 146, 147, 449, 462, 486, 490, 505, 535, 538, 562

*Bauer, Edgar* (1820-1886)—German journalist, Young Hegelian; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; Prussian official after the 1861 amnesty; brother of Bruno Bauer.—151, 314, 450, 507, 562

*Bauer, Heinrich* (1813-c. 1852)—German shoemaker, prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League, treasurer of the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee; emigrated to Australia in 1851.—14

*Bayard, Pierre Terrail, seigneur de* (c. 1475-1524)—French warrior called by his contemporaries the *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche.*—453

*Bayer, Joseph August* (1821-1864)—Austrian army officer and writer; Chief of Staff of Görgey's army during the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, taken prisoner when the army capitulated in 1849, sentenced to death and later commuted to imprisonment in a fortress, pardoned in 1850.—310

*Beaumarchais, Pierre Augustin Caron de* (1732-1799)—French dramatist.—38, 297, 300

*Becker, August* (1814-1871)—German writer, member of the League of the Just in Switzerland, supporter of Weitling; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; in 1853 emigrated to the USA, where he contributed to democratic newspapers.—154

*Becker, Hermann Heinrich* (1820-1885)—German lawyer and journalist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; editor of the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* (May 1849-July 1850); member of the Communist League from 1850; one of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852), sentenced to five-year imprisonment; later a national-liberal.—9, 20, 23, 34, 115, 142, 143, 212, 222-24, 242, 245, 262, 468, 499, 570, 575, 577, 580

*Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886)—German revolutionary, participant in the democratic movement of the 1830s-50s and the international working-class movement; fought as an officer of the Swiss army in the war against the Sonderbund; prominent figure in the 1848-49 revolution; commanded the Baden people's militia during the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; active member of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—490

*Becker, Max Joseph* (d. 1896)—German engineer, democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, after its defeat emigrated to Switzerland and subsequently to the USA.—72, 582

*Beckmann*—Prussian police spy in Paris in the early 1850s, Paris correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.—194

*Beckmann*—Beckmann's wife.—194

*Bedeau, Marie Alphonse* (1804-1863)—French general, moderate republican politician; Vice-President of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; expelled from France after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851.—199

*Belfield, James*—a friend of Marx and Engels in Manchester.—219

*Bellune, duke of*—see *Victor, Claude Victor Perrin, duc de Bellune*

*Bem, Józef* (1795-1850)—Polish general, prominent figure in the national liberation movement, took part in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31 and the revolutionary struggle in Vienna in 1848; a leader of the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49); after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Turkey.—311

*Benningsen*—American clerk in Kossuth's office.—261

*Béranger, Pierre Jean de* (1780-1857)—French poet and song writer, author of political satires; democrat.—497

*Bergenroth, Gustav Adolph* (1813-1869)—German historian and journalist; petty-bourgeois democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; left Germany in 1850.—563

*Bermbach, Adolph* (1822-1875)—Cologne lawyer, democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly; member of the Communist League; witness for the defence at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); corresponded with Marx; subsequently a liberal.—20, 22, 24, 106, 107, 132, 134, 135, 136, 137, 142-43, 215, 216, 224, 230, 259

*Bernard, Martin* (1808-1883)—French revolutionary, democrat, leader of secret revolutionary societies during the July monarchy, prominent in the 1848-49 revolution, was sentenced to exile after the events of 13 June 1849, fled to England in the early 1850s and returned to France after the 1859 amnesty.—50

*Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Jacques Henri* (1737-1814)—French author, naturalist and traveller.—447

*Bernays, Karl Ludwig* (1815-1879)—German radical journalist, member of the League of the Just, an editor of *Vorwärts!*, the German refugees' newspaper published in Paris with Marx's collaboration; emigrated to the USA after the 1848-49 revolution.—274

*Bernhardt*—German democrat, refugee in the USA, an editor of the New York *Neue Zeit*.—547

*Berni, Francesco* (c. 1498-1535)—Italian Renaissance poet known for his adaptation of Boiardo's *L'Orlando innamorato*.—131

*Bernier, François* (1625-1688)—French physician, traveller and writer.—332-33, 341

*Berry, Charles Ferdinand de Bourbon, duc de* (1778-1820)—nephew of Louis XVIII of France.—496

*Bertin, Louis Marie Armand* (1801-1854)—French journalist; Orleanist; publisher of the *Journal des Débats* in 1841-54.—68, 334

*Bianca, von*—Cologne patrician; juryman in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—206, 238

*Bianchi, A.*—French democrat, emigrant in London in the 1850s.—32, 73
*Bibra, L.*—German innkeeper in London.—559
*Biscamp (Biskamp), Elard*—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated after its defeat; member of the editorial board of *Das Volk*, London newspaper of German refugees, which was published in 1859 with Karl Marx's assistance.—205
*Bischoffsheim, Louis Raphaël* (1800-1873)—French owner of a joint-stock bank with a branch in London.—385, 411, 481
*Blanc, Jean Joseph Louis* (1811-1882)—French socialist, historian; member of the Provisional Government and President of the Luxembourg Commission in 1848; pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie; a leader of petty-bourgeois emigrants in London from August 1848; deputy to the National Assembly of 1871; opposed the Paris Commune.—50, 51, 61, 68, 71, 73, 74, 76-77, 135, 136, 308, 388, 417, 418, 442, 502
*Blank, Karl Emil (Emilius)* (1817-1893)—German merchant in London; held socialist views in the 1840s-50s; married Frederick Engels' sister Marie.—5, 25, 89, 99, 185, 250, 286, 428, 561
*Blank, Marie* (1824-1901)—Frederick Engels' sister, married Karl Emil Blank in 1845.—272
*Blanqui, Louis Auguste* (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, utopian communist, organised several secret societies and plots; active participant in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, leader of the proletarian movement in France; repeatedly sentenced to imprisonment.—13, 199, 209, 324, 364, 502
*Blenker, Ludwig* (1812-1863)—German ex-officer, bourgeois democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to the USA, fought in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—542, 545
*Blesson, Johann Ludwig Urbain* (1790-1861)—German military writer, commander of the Berlin civic militia in June 1848.—160
*Blind, Friederike*—Karl Blind's wife.—373, 377, 389, 506
*Blind, Karl* (1826-1907)—German democratic journalist, active in the 1848-49 revolutionary movement in Baden, a leader of the German petty-bourgeois emigrants in London in the 1850s; a national-liberal in the 1860s.—260, 273, 275, 282, 325, 367, 372, 436, 438, 499, 500, 506, 548
*Blum, Robert* (1807-1848)—German democrat, journalist, leader of the Left wing of the Frankfurt National Assembly; took part in the defence of Vienna in October 1848, court-martialled and executed after the fall of the city.—241.
*Bode, Adolf Friedrich, Baron* (1807-1865)—author of works on forestry, taught at St. Petersburg Forestry Institute in 1840-55.—505
*Boiardo, Matteo Maria* (c. 1441-1494)—Italian Renaissance poet, author of *L'Orlando innamorato*.—131
*Boichot, Jean Baptiste* (1820-1889)—French republican, deputy to the Legislative Assembly in 1849; took part in the demonstration on 13 June 1849; later an émigré.—458, 461
*Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon I*
*Bonaparte*—dynasty of emperors of France (1804-14, 1815 and 1852-70).—388
*Bonaparte, Jérôme* (1784-1860)—younger brother of Napoleon I, King of Westphalia (1807-13), Marshal of France from 1850.—171
*Bonaparte, Joseph* (1768-1844)—eldest brother of Napoleon I, King of Spain (1808-13).—406
*Bonaparte, Louis*—see *Napoleon III*
*Bonaparte, Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul, Prince* (1822-1891)—son of Jérôme Bonaparte, cousin of Napoleon III.—526
*Bonaparte, Pierre Napoleon* (1815-1881)—cousin of Napoleon III; dep-

uty to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic.—171, 261

*Borchardt, Louis*—German physician, acquaintance of Engels in Manchester.—334, 336, 353, 357, 370, 374, 420, 554, 555

*Börnstein, Heinrich* (1805-1892)—German democratic journalist, lived in Paris from 1842; edited, with Marx's collaboration, the newspaper *Vorwärts!* founded by him in 1844; emigrated to the USA in 1849 and edited the *Anzeiger des Westens* (Chicago).—52, 274

*Bourbons*—royal dynasty in France (1589-1792, 1814-15, and 1815-30), Spain (1700-1808, 1814-68, 1874-1931, and from 1975), and a number of Italian states.—129, 497

*Bourqueney, François Adolphe, comte de* (1799-1869)—French diplomat, envoy (1841-44) and ambassador (1844-48) to Constantinople; envoy (1853-56) and ambassador (1856-59) to Vienna.—456

*Brunswick (Braunschweig), Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand, Duke of* (1721-1792)—Prussian general; commanded (from November 1757) the Prussian and allied forces in the Seven Years' War.—526

*Brenner-Guéniard*—owner of a fashion-shop in Basle.—287

*Brentano, Clemens* (1778-1842)—German romantic poet.—440

*Bright, John* (1811-1889)—English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and co-founder of the Anti-Corn Law League.—56, 111, 129, 132, 355, 411, 520

*Brockhaus, Heinrich* (1804-1874)—German publisher, owner and head of F.A. Brockhaus Publishing House in Leipzig.—158, 182

*Bruat, Armand Joseph* (1796-1855)—French admiral, commanded a squadron (1854) and the French Navy (1855) in the Black Sea.—547

*Brüggemann, Karl Heinrich* (1810-1887)—German liberal journalist and economist; editor-in-chief of the *Kölnische Zeitung* (1845-55).—367

*Brüningk, A., Baron von*—German refugee in London (from 1851), maintained contact with the German petty-bourgeois emigrants through his wife Maria Brüningk.—124, 125, 204, 205, 213, 265, 573, 574

*Brüningk, Maria, Baroness von* (d. 1853)—A. Brüningk's wife, niece of the Russian Princess Darya Lieven.—112, 114, 120-21, 124, 135, 152, 204, 205, 265, 274, 282, 297, 300, 313, 573, 574

*Brunnow, Philipp Ivanovich, Baron von, from 1871 Count* (1797-1875)—Russian diplomat, envoy (1840-54, 1858-60) and ambassador (1860-74) to London.—456, 457

*Buchheim*—German democrat, refugee in London in the 1850s.—499

*Buckup*—Bradford merchant.—326, 328, 451, 468

*Bülow, Adam Heinrich Dietrich, Baron von* (1757-1807)—Prussian army officer and military theoretician.—427

*Bürgers, Heinrich* (1820-1878)—German radical journalist, contributor to the *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842-43); member of the Cologne community of the Communist League (1848); an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; member of the Communist League Central Authority from 1850; sentenced to six years imprisonment at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—20, 23, 34, 134, 137, 195, 197, 212, 217, 238, 240, 242, 247, 251, 468, 544, 547, 559, 560, 570

*Bürgers, Lene*—Heinrich Bürgers' sister.—491

*Buridan, Jean* (c. 1300-c. 1358)—French logician and nominalist philosopher.—170

*Burns, Mary* (1821-1863)—Irish working-woman, Frederick Engels' first wife.—443

*Bute, John Stuart, Earl of* (1713-1792)—British Tory statesman, Prime Minister (1761-63).—488

*Butler, James Armar* (1827-1854)—British army officer, organised the defence of Silistria (1854).—472

*Butler, Samuel* (1612-1680)—English satirical poet, author of the poem *Hudibras*.—334

*Byng, John* (1704-1757)—British admiral, commanded a squadron in the Minorca expedition (1756); executed for breach of duty.—490

*Byron, George Gordon Noël, Lord* (1788-1824)—English romantic poet.—440

C

*Cabet, Étienne* (1788-1856)—French lawyer and writer, utopian communist, author of *Voyage en Icarie*.—71, 73, 135, 136, 542

*Calderón de la Barca, Pedro* (1600-1681)—Spanish dramatist.—447

*Cammarano, Salvatore* (1801-1852)—Italian actor, painter and playwright, wrote librettos for operas of Donizetti and Verdi.—199

*Campbell, Sir George* (1824-1892)—British official in India (1843-74), author of works on India; subsequently M.P., liberal.—347

*Campe, Johann Julius Wilhelm* (1792-1867)—German publisher and bookseller, co-proprietor of Hoffmann & Campe Publishing House in Hamburg from 1823.—102, 217, 254

*Canning, George* (1770-1827)—British statesman and diplomat, Tory; Foreign Secretary (1807-09, 1822-27) and Prime Minister (1827).—431, 494, 495

*Capo d'Istria, Giovanni Antonio (Joannes), Count* (1776-1831)—Greek statesman and diplomat; was in the service of Russia from 1809 to 1822, Second Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Russia (1815-22); President of Greece (1827-31); assassinated by foreign agents.—447

*Carey, Henry Charles* (1793-1879)—American vulgar economist, protectionist, advocated harmony of class interests in capitalist society.—62, 93, 345, 346, 378, 381, 384, 387, 392

*Carrel, Armand* (1800-1836)—French liberal journalist, co-founder and editor of the newspaper *La National*.—497

*Carrion-Nisas, Marie Henri François Elisabeth, baron de* (1767-1842)—French army officer, political leader and man of letters, took part in the French Revolution; Bonapartist during the Consulate and the Empire; fought in wars of Napoleonic France; author of works on military science.—159

*Cassagnac*—see *Granier de Cassagnac, Bernard Adolphe de*

*Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, second Marquis of Londonderry* (1769-1822)—British Tory statesman; Secretary for War and for the Colonies (1805-06, 1807-09), and Foreign Secretary (1812-22).—54

*Catherine II* (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-96).—489

*Catullus (Gaius Valerius Catullus)* (c. 87-c. 54 B.C.)—Roman poet.—462

*Cavaignac, Louis Eugène* (1802-1857)—French general and politician, moderate republican; took part in the conquest of Algeria; Governor of Algeria after the February 1848 revolution; War Minister of France from May 1848, directed the suppression of the June 1848 uprising of Paris workers; head of the executive (June-December 1848).—157, 199

*Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de* (1547-1616)—Spanish writer.—170, 362, 447, 480, 493

*Chaises, Adolph*—physician and democratic journalist, a leader of the democratic associations in Vienna during the 1848 revolution; refugee in Paris in the early 1850s.—194

*Chambray, Georges, marquis de* (1783-1848)—French general and military writer, fought in wars of Napoleonic France.—160

*Chamisso, Adelbert von* (1781-1838)—German romantic poet.—457

*Chapman*—one of Marx's creditors in London.—9

*Charles X* (1757-1836)—King of France (1824-30).—497

*Charles Albert (Carlo Alberto)* (1798-1849)—King of Sardinia and Piedmont (1831-49).—310

*Charras, Jean Baptiste Adolphe* (1810-1865)—French military and political figure, moderate republican; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; took part in suppressing the June 1848 uprising of Paris workers; opposed Louis Bonaparte; banished from France after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851.—199

*Chateaubriand, François René, vicomte de* (1768-1848)—French writer, statesman and diplomat, Minister for Foreign Affairs (1822-24), represented France at the Congress of Verona (1822).—447, 492-96

*Chatham*—see *Pitt, William*

*Chenu, Adolphe* (born c. 1817)—member of secret revolutionary societies in France during the July monarchy, secret police agent-provocateur.—52, 128, 301

*Cheodayeff (Cheodayev), Mikhail Ivanovich* (d. 1859)—Russian general, took part in the Patriotic war against Napoleon in 1812, commanded a corps and the infantry reserve during the Crimean war.—427

*Cherval, Julien* (real name *Joseph Crämer*)—Prussian policeman, spy for Prussia and France at the same time in Paris; gained entry into the Communist League and headed a Paris community of the separatist Willich-Schapper group; accused of complicity in the so-called Franco-German plot in Paris in February 1852; escaped from prison with the connivance of the French police; acted as a spy and agent-provocateur under the name of Nugent in 1853 and 1854.—112, 126, 130, 132, 215, 217, 222, 230, 243, 255, 301, 478, 577

*Chesney, Francis Rawdon* (1789-1872)—British army officer, general from 1855.—393, 426

*Choiseul, Étienne François, duc de* (1719-1785)—French diplomat and statesman, ambassador to Rome (1753-57) and Vienna (1757-58); Prime Minister of France (1758-70), and also Minister for Foreign Affairs (1758-61 and 1766-70) and Minister for War and the Navy (1761-66).—488

*Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero)* (106-43 B.C.)—Roman orator, statesman and philosopher.—89

*Clarendon, George William Frederick, fourth Earl of, fourth Baron Hyde* (1800-1870)—British statesman, Whig; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (May 1847-early 1852), Foreign Secretary (1853-58, 1865-66 and 1868-70).—516

*Clausewitz, Karl von* (1780-1831)—Prussian general and military theoretician.—305

*Cloots, Jean Baptiste, baron de (Anacharsis)* (1755-1794)—French author and politician, close to the Left Jacobins during the French Revolution, member of the Convention; Prussian by birth.—363

*Cluss, Adolph* (1825-1905)—engineer, member of the German and American working-class movement, member of the Communist League, secretary of the Workers' Educational Society in Mainz (1848); emigrated to the United States (autumn 1848); in the 1850s one of the first propagandists of scientific communism in America; later gave up politics; American architect well known in the late 19th century.—6, 18, 21, 24, 40, 42, 65, 71, 76, 81, 84, 85, 91, 92, 96, 98, 99, 102, 105-08, 115, 117, 122, 135-37, 139, 140, 144, 146, 148, 149, 152, 157, 158, 160-61, 164, 166, 172-74, 176, 180, 194, 196, 204, 205-08, 213, 216, 235, 255, 259-61, 263, 265-66, 271, 274, 282, 290, 293, 298-302, 303, 311-12, 315, 317, 318, 331, 335, 345, 348, 351, 366, 367, 370, 371, 377, 378, 387, 390, 391, 394, 396, 397, 398, 402, 403, 407, 409, 411, 428, 433, 437, 439, 441, 442, 444, 450, 453, 454, 461, 463, 469, 478, 479, 491, 525, 536, 558, 568, 569-70, 571, 573-76, 578-82, 584, 586-88, 590

*Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865)—English manufacturer and politician, a leader

of the Free Traders and co-founder of the Anti-Corn Law League, M.P.—56, 129, 132, 252, 276, 411

*Coeurderoy, Ernest* (1825-1862)—French journalist, republican, revolutionary; shared anarchist views; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in France; emigrated after its defeat.—135, 136, 138

*Coffinières, Antoine Siméon Gabriel* (1786-c. 1865)—French lawyer, author of works on civil law.—556

*Condé, Louis Joseph de Bourbon, prince de* (1736-1818)—French general and politician, took part in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), commanded the French Lower Rhine army in 1762; during the French Revolution commanded detachments of counter-revolutionary émigrés in the wars against the French Republic.—17, 489

*Cooper, James Fenimore* (1789-1851)—American novelist.—217, 301

*Cornelius, Wilhelm*—German radical journalist and businessman, a friend of Marx; refugee in London in the 1850s.—434, 502

*Cortés, Hernán (Fernando)* (1485-1547)—Spanish conqueror of the Aztec state (Mexico) in 1519-21.—501

*Cotta, Johann Georg, Baron von Cottendorf* (1796-1863)—German publisher, owner of a big publishing house from 1832.—391

*Cournet, Frédéric* (1808-1852)—French naval officer, republican, discharged from the Navy for his political views in 1847; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in France; emigrated to London after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; was killed in a duel with Barthélemy.—224, 299

*Csorich (Čorič), Anton, barun od Monte Creto* (1795-1864)—Austrian general, Croat by birth, lieutenant-field marshal (from 1849), took part in suppressing the October 1848 uprising in Vienna and in the war against revolutionary Hungary; War Minister in 1850-53.—460

*Czartoryski, Adam Jerzy, prince* (1770-1861)—Polish magnate; close friend of Emperor Alexander I of Russia; Russian Foreign Minister (1804-06); President of the Polish Government during the insurrection of 1830-31, after its suppression headed the Polish monarchist émigrés in Paris.—45

D

*Damm*—German democrat; President of the Baden Constituent Assembly in 1849; later emigrated to England.—154-56, 255

*Dana, Charles Anderson* (1819-1897)—American journalist, follower of Fourier, abolitionist; an editor (1848) and then editor-in-chief (1849-62) of the *New-York Daily Tribune*; an editor of the *New American Cyclopaedia* (1857-63); editor-in-chief of the *New-York Sun* (1868-97).—3, 13, 20, 25, 35, 37, 38, 42, 44, 49, 55, 58, 75-77, 80, 86, 90, 91, 97, 99, 102, 107, 115, 120, 126, 127, 131, 133, 137, 146, 148, 158, 180, 181, 183, 185, 189, 195, 210, 212, 214, 216, 219, 229, 236, 237, 255, 265, 272, 275, 288, 289, 292, 293, 315, 328, 331, 351, 352, 354, 390, 400, 404, 407, 412, 439, 484, 498, 500, 502, 503, 537, 546, 559, 560, 583

*Daniels, Amalie* (1820-1895)—wife of Roland Daniels.—22, 59, 107, 223, 224, 230, 232, 301, 547, 548, 549, 559

*Daniels, Franz Joseph*—big wine merchant in Cologne, brother of Roland Daniels.—386

*Daniels, Roland* (1819-1855)—German physician, member of the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League from 1850, one of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852), acquitted; friend of Marx and Engels.—9, 20, 22, 115, 142, 195, 212, 222, 238, 275, 386, 468, 479, 521, 544, 547, 549

*Dannenberg, Pyotr Andreyevich* (1792-1872)—Russian general, commanded a corps on the Danube and in the

Crimea in 1853-54.—470
*Dante Alighieri* (1265-1321)—Italian poet.—329
*Danton, Georges Jacques* (1759-1794)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, leader of the Right-wing Jacobins.—363, 521
*Da Ponte, Lorenzo* (1749-1838)—wrote librettos for a number of Mozart's operas.—556
*Darasz, Albert* (1808-1852)—prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement, took part in the 1830-31 insurrection; a leader of democratic organisations of Polish emigrants; member of the Central Committee of European Democracy.—171, 459
*Dasent, Sir George Webbe* (1817-1896)—English philologist specialising in Scandinavian languages, journalist; assistant editor of *The Times* (1845-70); had contacts with diplomatic circles.—276
*Decker, Karl von* (1784-1844)—German general and military historian, took part in wars against Napoleonic France.—535
*Delane, John Thaddeus* (1817-1879)—English journalist, editor-in-chief of *The Times*.—276
*Delane, William Frederick Augustus* (d. 1858)—English lawyer, one of the financial directors of *The Times*, father of John Delane.—276
*Della Rocco, Heinrico Morozzo*—Italian refugee, associate of Mazzini.—280
*Dembiński, Henryk* (1791-1864)—Polish general and prominent figure in the national liberation movement, participant in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, a commander in the Hungarian revolutionary army in the 1848-49 revolution, after its defeat emigrated to Turkey and then to France.—311
*Demidovs*—Russian aristocratic family, owners of minefields and iron and steel works.—411
*Demuth, Helene* (1820-1890)—housemaid and friend of the Marx family.—181, 364, 465, 537
*Denman, Joseph*—candidate for Manchester in the 1852 elections to Parliament.—111
*Derby, earls of*—British aristocratic family, many of them cotton magnates.—411
*Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Earl of* (1799-1869)—English statesman, Whig until 1853, later a Tory leader; Prime Minister (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68).—44, 49, 53-54, 56, 58, 69, 119, 147, 197, 215, 515
*Desmoulins, Lucie Simplice Camille Benoist* (1760-1794)—French writer, prominent figure in the French Revolution, Right-wing Jacobin, friend of Danton.—363
*Deutsch, Simon* (1822-1877)—Austrian bibliographer of Hebrew literature, radical, contributed to the Vienna *Der Radikale* in 1848; later emigrated to Paris, had connections with the Prussian police.—126
*Diderot, Denis* (1713-1784)—French Enlightenment philosopher, atheist; leader of the Encyclopaedists.—134
*Diebich-Zabalkansky, Ivan Ivanovich (Diebitsch, Hans Karl Friedrich Anton), Count* (1785-1831)—Russian field marshal-general, commander-in-chief (1829) of the Russian army during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29 and, from December 1830, of the army which crushed the Polish insurrection of 1830-31.—394
*Dietz, Oswald* (c. 1824-1864)—German architect; took part in the 1848-49 revolution, emigrated to London; member of the Communist League Central Authority, after the split of the League belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group, was a member of its Central Authority; later took part in the American Civil War on the side of the Union.—14, 151, 226, 230, 316, 576
*Diezel, Gustav* (1827-1864)—German scholar, lawyer.—505
*Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and writer; sympathised with the Young England group in the 1840s, later a

Tory leader; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68), Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80).—61, 132, 197, 253, 265, 276, 295, 472, 483, 516, 517, 519

*Dobrovský, Josef* (1753-1829)—Czech scholar and public figure, founder of Slav philology; his works contributed to the Bohemian national movement in the first half of the nineteenth century.—563

*Domenichi, Lodovico* (d. 1564)—Italian poet, author of an adaptation of Boiardo's *L'Orlando innamorato*.—131

*Donatus, Aelius* (4th cent.)—Roman grammarian.—188

*Donizetti, Gaetano* (1797-1848)—Italian composer.—199

*Douglas, Sir Howard* (1776-1861)—British general and military writer, author of works on artillery and fortification.—426

*Dralle, Friedrich Wilhelm* (b. 1820)—German journalist, democrat, refugee in London in the 1850s.—151, 154, 173, 194

*Dronke, Ernst* (1822-1891)—German journalist and writer, "true socialist" and, later, member of the Communist League and an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); after the 1848-49 revolution emigrated to Switzerland and then to England; supporter of Marx and Engels; subsequently gave up politics.—17, 32, 66, 71, 75, 76, 79, 86, 88-90, 91, 95, 97, 101, 109, 113, 120, 124, 133, 134, 138, 146, 148, 152, 158, 182, 189, 199, 200, 201, 204, 211, 219, 223, 231, 232, 234, 235, 239, 240, 243, 275, 282, 290, 296, 302, 303, 304, 312, 316, 319, 321, 323, 324, 326, 328, 356, 358, 362, 364, 372, 386, 391, 396, 397, 400, 402, 412, 436, 445, 451, 461, 463, 464, 465, 468-69, 473, 478, 480, 482, 500, 528, 534, 537, 542, 545, 560, 561, 574, 583, 584-85, 587, 589

*Duchâtel, Charles Marie Tanneguy, comte* (1803-1867)—French statesman, Orleanist, Minister of Trade (1834-36), Minister of the Interior (1839 and 1840-February 1848).—52

*Dulon, Rudolph* (1807-1870)—German pastor, a leader of the Friends of Light movement, which opposed the official church; emigrated to the USA in 1853.—71, 173, 417, 459, 462, 588

*Duncker, Alexander* (1813-1897)—German publisher.—539

*Duncker, Franz Gustav* (1822-1888)—German politician and publisher.—216, 232

*Dundas, Henry, Viscount Melville* (1742-1811)—British statesman, Lord Advocate for Scotland (1775-83), Home Secretary (1791-94), President of the Board of Control for India (1793-1801); Secretary for War (1794-1801), First Lord of the Admiralty (1804-05).—490

*Dupin, André Marie Jean Jacques* (1783-1865)—French lawyer and politician, Orleanist, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49) and President of the Legislative Assembly (1849-51), later Bonapartist.—47

*Durand*—French democrat.—199

*Dureau de La Malle, Adolphe Jules César Auguste* (1777-1857)—French scholar, philologist and archaeologist.—228

*Düsar, Pedro*—German democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, brother-in-law of Gustav Struve.—45

E

*Ebner, Hermann*—German journalist, secret agent of the Austrian police in the 1840s-50s.—22, 99, 222, 238, 276, 483

*Eccarius, Johann Georg* (1818-1889)—German tailor, prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, member of the League of the Just and later of the Communist League; a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the First International; took part in the English trade union movement.—26, 40, 107, 117, 120,

312, 397, 441, 446, 572, 583

*Elsner, Karl Friedrich Moritz* (1809-1894)—Silesian radical journalist and politician, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; an editor of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* in the 1850s.—502, 506, 507, 534, 539, 550, 553-55

*Engel, Johann Jacob* (1741-1802)—German writer, critic and philosopher, shared the philosophical views of the 18th-century Enlightenment.—307

*Engels, Elisabeth Franziska Mauritia* (1797-1873)—mother of Frederick Engels.—350

*Engels, Elise* (1834-1912)—sister of Frederick Engels.—249

*Engels, Friedrich* (1796-1860)—father of Frederick Engels, co-founder with Ermen of a cotton firm in Manchester (1837) and later in Engelskirchen.—16, 36, 38, 57, 66, 69, 97, 99, 103, 109, 110, 133, 148, 232, 283, 307, 315, 323, 339, 353, 428, 437, 479, 490, 525

*Enghien, Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon Condé, duc d'* (1772-1804)—French prince, a Bourbon; fought against the French Republic in the counter-revolutionary émigré army; shot on the order of Napoleon I.—129

*Engländer, Sigmund* (1828-1902)—Austrian journalist, emigrated to France (1848) and later to England; secret police agent.—126, 548, 553

*Erhard(t), Johann Ludwig Albert* (born c. 1820)—German shop assistant, member of the Communist League, one of the accused at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); acquitted.—143

*Ermen, Franz*—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—249

*Ermen, Gottfried*—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—36, 249, 329, 339

*Ermen, Peter (Pitt)* (born c. 1810)—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—165, 322

*Ersch, Johann Samuel* (1766-1828)—German bibliographer, professor of geography and statistics in Halle.—462

*Espartero, Baldomero, duque de la Vittoria* (1793-1879)—Spanish general and politician; leader of the Progresista Party; Regent of Spain (1841-43), head of government (1854-56).—485

*Espinasse, Charles Marie Esprit* (1815-1859)—French general, Bonapartist; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s-40s, in the coup d'état of 2 December 1851, and in the Crimean war.—482

*Espoz y Mina, Francisco* (1781-1836)—Spanish general, a guerrilla leader during the War of Independence (1808-14); active participant in the revolution of 1820-23, fought against the Carlists in 1833-36.—490

*Esser I, Johann Heinrich Theodor*—Prussian official, lawyer, clerical; Vice-President of the Prussian National Assembly (Centre) in 1848; counsel for the defence in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—228

*Estrées, Louis Charles César Letellier, comte d'* (1695-1771)—French marshal, took part in the Seven Years' War (1756-63), commanded the French army on the Rhine in 1762.—489

*Eugénie Marie Ignace Augustine de Montijo de Guzman, comtesse de Teba* (1826-1920)—wife of the emperor Napoleon III.—276, 297, 300

*Evans, Sir George de Lacy* (1787-1870)—British general, liberal politician, M.P.; commanded a division in the Crimea in 1854.—527

*Ewerbeck, August Hermann* (1816-1860)—German physician and man of letters, leader of Paris communities of the League of the Just (1841-46), member of the Communist League, which he left in 1850; Paris correspondent of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49.—45, 58, 66, 85, 87, 360, 542

F

*Feddersen*—an acquaintance of Ernst Dronke in Switzerland.—296

*Ferdinand I* (1751-1825)—King of the Two Sicilies (1816-25).—541
*Ferdinand II* (1810-1859)—King of the Two Sicilies (1830-59), son of Francis I.—541
*Ferdinand VII* (1784-1833)—King of Spain (1808 and 1814-33).—497
*Ferenczi*—Hungarian singer.—170
*Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas von* (1804-1872)—German materialist philosopher.—45, 161
*Fickler, Joseph* (1808-1865)—German democratic journalist, a leader of the Baden democratic movement in 1848-49, member of the Baden Provisional Government (1849); after the revolution emigrated to Switzerland, later lived in England and America.—92, 96, 151, 156, 173, 260, 542
*Fischer*—German journalist, democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, after its suppression emigrated to the USA, editor of the *Deutsche Zeitung* in New Orleans.—52
*Fleury, Charles* (real name *Carl Friedrich August Krause*) (b. 1824)—London merchant, Prussian spy and police agent.—235, 236, 240, 242-44, 302, 313, 321
*Florencourt, Franz von* (1803-1886)—German writer, editor of a number of periodicals, first liberal and later conservative; brother-in-law of Ferdinand von Westphalen (Jenny Marx's step-brother).—543
*Florencourt*—relative of Jenny Marx, brother of Franz von Florencourt.—543
*Flügel, Johann Gottfried* (1788-1855)—German lexicographer.—289
*Forster, Charles*—English theologian and traveller, author of works on Biblical history.—326-27, 527
*Foster*—English lawyer.—486
*Fould, Achille* (1800-1867)—French banker and politician, Orleanist, later Bonapartist, repeatedly Finance Minister between 1849 and 1867, Minister of State and Minister of the Imperial Court (1852-60).—17, 21, 47, 200, 388
*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—449
*Fox, Charles James* (1749-1806)—British statesman, Whig leader, Foreign Secretary (1782, 1783, 1806).—489
*Franceson, C. F.*—German philologist, author of Spanish language manuals.—364, 584
*Francis, Sir Philip* (pseudonym *Junius*) (1740-1818)—English journalist and politician, bourgeois radical, author of lampoons against the reactionary regime of George III.—489
*Francis I* (1777-1830)—King of the Two Sicilies (1825-30), son of Ferdinand I.—541
*Franck, Gustav* (d. 1860)—Austrian democrat, a refugee in London in the early 1850s.—154, 156, 173
*Frederick I* (*'Barbarossa'* or *'Redbeard'*) (c. 1123-1190)—German King (from 1152), Holy Roman Emperor (1155-90).—474, 475
*Frederick II* (1194-1250)—German King (1212), Holy Roman Emperor (1220-50).—475
*Frederick II* (*the Great*) (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—51, 365, 474, 488
*Frederick VII* (1808-1863)—King of Denmark (1848-63).—452
*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—307, 526
*Freiligrath, Ferdinand* (1810-1876)—German poet, member of the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49; withdrew from revolutionary activity in the 1850s.—4, 8, 14, 16, 21-22, 25, 32, 35, 40, 42, 45, 76, 79, 89, 99, 102, 107, 115, 118-19, 124, 125, 129, 134, 137, 152, 160, 161-62, 211, 221, 224, 235, 241, 245, 247, 255, 260, 262, 296, 297, 298, 305, 321-24, 344, 368, 385, 387, 389, 390, 411, 420, 472, 481, 499, 509, 510, 528, 547, 560, 568, 571, 578
*Freiligrath, Ida* (1817-1899)—wife of Ferdinand Freiligrath.—42
*Freiligrath, Wolfgang*—son of Ferdinand Freiligrath.—23

*Freire, Manuel* (1765-1834)—Spanish general, took part in the war of liberation from Napoleonic rule (1808-14).—492

*Freund*—German physician in London, doctor of the Marx family in the 1850s.—453, 462, 464, 465, 469, 481, 490, 498, 500-02, 550, 559

*Friedländer, Max* (1829-1872)—German democratic journalist, editor of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* and *Die Presse*, to which Karl Marx contributed in the 1850s-60s; cousin of Ferdinand Lassalle.—502

*Friedländer*—owner of a school in London.—282

*Friedländer*.—315

*Fröbel, Julius* (1805-1893)—German writer and publisher of progressive literature; democrat, later a liberal; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; emigrated to the USA after the revolution, returned to Europe in 1857.—44

*Fröhlich, R. A.*—Austrian philologist, wrote a manual of Slav languages.—201, 204

*Furrer, Jonas* (1805-1861)—Swiss politician, moderate liberal, lawyer; President of the Diet (1848) and then of the Swiss Confederation, Burgomaster of Zurich.—529

*Fürstenberg, Baron von*—Prussian landowner, juryman in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—206

G

*Gallenga, Antonio* (pen-name *Mariotti*) (1812-1895)—Italian journalist, took part in the Italian national liberation movement; from the 1830s lived mostly in England; contributed to the British press; wrote a number of works on the history of Italy.—541

*Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; in the 1830s and 1840s took part in the revolutionary movement in South America and the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; headed the struggle for Italy's national liberation and unification in the 1850s-60s.—198

*Garnett, Jeremiah* (1793-1870)—English journalist, a founder and editor (1844-61) of the *Manchester Guardian*.—561

*Garthe*—German democrat, a refugee in London in the 1850s.—155

*Gebert, August*—Mecklenburg joiner; member of the Communist League in Switzerland and later in London; after the split in 1850 belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group.—151, 169, 176-77

*George III* (1738-1820)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1760-1820).—488

*Gerstenberg, Isidor* (d. 1876)—London banker, adherent of Gottfried Kinkel.—150, 321, 322, 502, 581

*Gerstenzweig*—German merchant in London.—499

*Gervinus, Georg Gottfried* (1805-1871)—German historian, liberal; editor of the *Deutsche Zeitung* (1847-48); deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848.—276

*Gibbon, Edward* (1737-1794)—English historian, author of *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.—326

*Gibson, Thomas Milner* (1806-1884)—British politician and statesman, Free Trader, later liberal; President of the Board of Trade (1859-65, 1865-66).—57, 111

*Gipperich (Gibberich), Joseph*—German tailor, member of a Paris community supporting the separatist Willich-Schapper group after the split of the Communist League; agent of the Prussian police, one of the accused in the case of the so-called Franco-German plot in Paris in February 1852; escaped from prison with the connivance of the police; refugee in England from 1852.—222

*Girardin, Delphine de* (1804-1855)—French writer; wife of Émile de

Girardin.—47
*Girardin, Émile de* (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician; editor of *La Presse*; notorious for his lack of principles in politics; moderate republican during the 1848-49 revolution, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1850-51), later Bonapartist.—47, 526
*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory and later Peelite; leader of the Liberal Party in the second half of the nineteenth century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55, 1859-66), Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94),—284, 331, 334, 355, 515-19, 590
*Gnam*—German democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA in 1850.—17
*Göbel*—presiding judge of the Assizes in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—211, 238, 244
*Goegg, Amand* (1820-1897)—German journalist, democrat; member of the Baden Provisional Government in 1849; emigrated after the revolution; later member of the First International.—141, 146, 151-52, 154-56, 161, 166, 167, 173, 182, 267, 434, 499
*Goepp, Karl (Charles)*—American writer of German origin; was close to the German democratic refugees in the United States (1850s); co-author with Theodor Poesche of a book advocating 'united states of the world' under the aegis of the USA (1852).—366
*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—262, 447, 585
*Gö(h)ringer, Carl* (born c. 1808)—innkeeper in Baden; took part in the revolutionary movement there in 1848-49, after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to England; member of the Communist League, after its split belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group; owner of a public house in London which was the meeting-place of German refugees.—271, 316, 318, 498
*Goldheim*—Prussian police officer, secret agent of the Prussian police in London in the early 1850s.—240, 242, 244, 314-16, 318, 319, 321, 521
*Goldschmidt*—Danish journalist, author of an anti-Kinkel article published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* early in 1852.—95
*Golovin, Ivan Gavrilovich* (1816-1890)—Russian liberal landowner, journalist; emigrated to England, was close to Herzen and Bakunin in the 1840s and 1850s.—306, 359-61, 373, 438, 523, 524
*Gorchakoff (Gorchakov), Mikhail Dmitrievich, Prince* (1793-1861)—Russian general, commanded the Russian army on the Danube (1853-54), commander-in-chief of the Southern army (September 1854-February 1855) and of the army in the Crimea (February-December 1855); Governor-General of the Kingdom of Poland (1856-61).—433, 470
*Görgey, Arthur* (1818-1916)—military leader of the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, commander-in-chief of the Hungarian revolutionary army (April-June 1849), War Minister (from May 1849); voiced the conservative sentiments of the nobility, opposed development of the revolution and advocated agreement with the Habsburgs.—70, 101, 104, 128, 131, 134, 212, 267, 304, 310-11, 460
*Gorzowski, Thaddäus*—Polish refugee, member of the Polish Democratic Society.—172
*Götz, Theodor*—German democrat, refugee in England, a friend of Karl Marx.—508, 521, 522
*Grach*—Trier banker.—526
*Grach*—wife of the banker Grach.—526
*Grach, Friedrich* (1812-1854)—Prussian colonel, served in the Turkish army from 1841, commanded the defence of Silistria in 1854.—461
*Graham, Sir James Robert George* (1792-1861)—British statesman, Whig and later Peelite; Home Secretary in the Peel Government (1841-46), First

Lord of the Admiralty (1830-34, 1852-55).—56, 101, 129, 132, 252, 546

*Granier de Cassagnac, Bernard Adolphe de* (1806-1880)—French journalist, unprincipled politician, Orleanist before the 1848 revolution and later Bonapartist, deputy to the Corps législatif during the Second Empire, contributed to *Le Constitutionnel*, editor-in-chief of *Le Pays* in the 1850s.—126, 555

*Grant, James* (1802-1879)—English radical journalist and writer, editor of *The Morning Advertiser* (1850-71).—358

*Granville, George Leveson-Gower, Earl of* (1815-1891)—British statesman, Whig, subsequently a Liberal Party leader; Foreign Secretary (1851-52, 1870-74 and 1880-85); Lord President of the Council (1852-54, 1855-58, 1859-66), Secretary of State for the Colonies (1868-70, 1886).—456

*Greeley, Horace* (1811-1872)—American journalist and politician; founder and editor of the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—146, 272, 299, 346, 387, 503

*Greif*—Prussian police officer, one of the chiefs of the Prussian secret service in London in the early 1850s.—242-45, 270, 281, 301, 313

*Grey, Sir Henry George, Earl of* (1802-1894)—British Whig statesman; Secretary at War (1835-39) and Secretary of State for the Colonies (1846-52).—519

*Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl* (1785-1863)—German philologist, one of the founders of Germanic philology, author of *Die deutsche Grammatik* and of folklore adaptations, professor in Göttingen and then in Berlin; liberal.—563

*Gross, Magnus*—German democratic journalist, a refugee in the USA in the 1850s.—6, 260, 573

*Gruber, Johann Gottfried* (1774-1851)—German scholar, literary historian.—462

*Guérard, Johann*—Austrian army officer, author of a reference book on military science.—159

*Guibert of Nogent* (1053-1124)—French historian and theologian.—476

*Guilleminot, Armand Charles, comte de* (1774-1840)—French general and diplomat, took part in the wars of the French Republic and of Napoleonic France, Chief of Staff of the French interventionist army in Spain (1823); ambassador to Constantinople (1824).—497

*Guillermain*—refugee from Lyons.—76

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman, Orleanist; Foreign Minister (1840-48), in 1847 also Prime Minister; expressed the interests of big financial bourgeoisie.—48, 61

*Gülich, Gustav von* (1791-1847)—German economist and historian, author of works on the history of economics.—82

*Gurowski, Adam, Count* (1805-1866)—Polish journalist, emigrated to the USA in 1849, contributed to the *New-York Daily Tribune* in the 1850s.—370

*Gutzkow, Karl Ferdinand* (1811-1878)—German writer, member of the Young Germany literary group.—391

*Guyon, Richard Debaufre* (1803-1856)—Hungarian general, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, after its defeat emigrated to Turkey and joined the army there, Chief of Staff of the Turkish army in the Caucasus in 1854.—434

## H

*Häbling von Lanzenauer*—German landowner, juryman in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—206

*Haering*—Prussian postal clerk.—316, 319

*Hafiz, Shams ud-din Mohammed* (c. 1300-c. 1389)—Persian poet, Tajik by birth.—341

*Häfner, Leopold* (b. 1820)—Austrian

democratic journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to France, Paris correspondent of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Kölnische Zeitung*; police agent.—178, 185, 194, 206

*Hagen, Theodor* (1823-1871)—member of the Communist League in Hamburg, publisher of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.*—581

*Hain, August*—German refugee in London, member of the Communist League, supported Marx and Engels during the split in the League in 1850.—86, 87

*Halil Pasha* (d. 1856)—Turkish military leader and statesman, repeatedly held ministerial posts; Capudan Pasha (Naval Minister) in 1854-55.—408

*Hammel*—member of the Communist League in Magdeburg, belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group, opponent of Marx and Engels.—169, 177

*Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph, Baron von* (1774-1856)—Austrian historian, Orientalist, author of works on Turkish history.—423, 428

*Hansen*—Cologne worker, member of the Communist League, emigrated to the USA in the early 1850s.—79

*Harney, George Julian* (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the English labour movement, a leader of the Chartist Left wing, editor of *The Northern Star, Democratic Review, Red Republican* and *Friend of the People*; associate of Marx and Engels; in the early 1850s was close to petty-bourgeois circles and temporarily withdrew from the revolutionary trend in the labour movement.—11, 30, 31, 43, 60-61, 67, 89, 93, 96, 99, 107, 162, 164, 196, 266, 282, 401, 587

*Harney, Mary* (d. 1853)—wife of George Julian Harney.—282

*Harring, Harro Paul* (1798-1870)—German radical writer, emigrated in 1828, lived in various countries of Europe and America including the USA.—117

*Hatzfeldt, Sophie, Countess of* (1805-1881)—friend and supporter of Ferdinand Lassalle.—339, 478

*Hatzfeldt-Wildenburg, Edmund, Count of* (b. 1798)—husband of Sophie Hatzfeldt.—293

*Haupt, Hermann Wilhelm* (born c. 1833)—German shop assistant; member of the Communist League; arrested with other Cologne communists, he turned King's evidence and was released before the trial; fled to Brazil (summer 1852).—143, 144, 145, 197, 215

*Hauser, Kaspar* (1812-1833)—a foundling discovered in Nürnberg in 1828 and placed in the care of the Bavarian state; the story of his origin and tragic death provided the theme for a number of literary works.—36

*Hayward, Abraham* (1801-1884)—British lawyer and journalist; Tory at the beginning of his career, later Peelite; appointed Secretary of the Poor Law Board in 1854.—519

*Hebeler, Bernhard*—Prussian consul-general in London in the 1830s-60s.—100, 232

*Hecker, Friedrich Franz Karl* (1811-1881)—German democrat, a leader of the Baden republican uprising in April 1848, after its defeat emigrated to Switzerland and then to the USA; fought in the American Civil War on the side of the Union.—6, 98

*Heckscher, Martin*—Frederick Engels' physician, a German resident in Manchester.—353

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—45, 65, 87, 104, 306, 462, 556

*Heilberg, Louis* (1818-1852)—German journalist; political refugee in Brussels, member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee (1846) and later of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution, emigrated to London at the end of 1850.—124

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German

revolutionary poet.—61, 121, 276, 401, 438, 455, 469, 504, 509, 544, 568, 587

*Heinzen, Karl* (1809-1850)—German radical journalist, for a short time took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; from 1847 onwards, opponent of Marx; refugee in Switzerland, England and, from the autumn of 1850, in the USA.—6, 17, 52, 59, 60-62, 65, 94, 117, 141, 146, 161, 173, 185, 208, 263, 273, 308, 319, 351, 367, 391, 394, 395, 396, 417, 421, 423, 462, 542, 574, 575

*Heise, Heinrich* (1820-1860)—German democratic journalist, an editor of the newspaper *Die Hornisse* (1848-50); took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, later a refugee in England.—86, 114, 115, 121, 162, 187, 349, 356, 397, 419, 420, 421, 441-45, 451, 454, 463, 469, 471, 478, 479, 543, 583, 587-89

*Helmich, Julius*—Westphalian publisher and bookseller; 'true socialist'; refugee in the USA in the 1850s.—118, 161

*Henry IV (Henri IV)* (1553-1610)—King of France (1589-1610).—475, 497

*Hentze, A.*—German army officer, member of the Communist League, belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group; witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—15, 143, 155, 161, 223, 229, 317, 335, 577

*Herbert, Sidney, Baron of Lea* (1810-1861)—British statesman, Tory and later Peelite; Secretary at War (1845-46 and 1852-55) and Secretary for War (1859-60).—284, 472, 508

*Herstadt*—Cologne banker, juryman in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—206, 238

*Herweg*—German democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, refugee in London in the 1850s.—155, 156, 243

*Herwegh, Georg Friedrich* (1817-1875)—German democratic poet, took part in the 1848-49 revolution, emigrated to Switzerland; subsequently member of the German Social-Democratic Party.—199, 262

*Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich* (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher, journalist and writer; left Russia in 1847, from 1852 lived in England where he established the Free Russian Press and published the periodical *Polyarnaya Zvezda* (Polar Star) and the newspaper *Kolokol* (The Bell).—199, 235, 273, 275, 282, 286, 306, 317, 325, 345, 360, 362, 373, 436, 438, 521-25, 527, 537, 548, 553, 558

*Hess, Heinrich Hermann Josef, Baron von* (1788-1870)—Austrian general, subsequently field marshal; took an active part in crushing the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; commander-in-chief in Hungary, Galicia and the Danubian Principalities in 1854 and 1855.—546

*Hess, Moses* (1812-1875)—German radical writer, a leading 'true socialist' in the mid-40s; member of the Communist League, after its split belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group, later supported Lassalle.—89, 90, 192, 232, 236

*Hillgärtner, Georg*—German democrat, emigrated after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution.—152

*Hippocrates* (c. 460-c. 377 B.C.)—Greek physician, father of medicine.—344

*Hirsch, Wilhelm*—Hamburg shop assistant, Prussian police agent in London in the early 1850s.—9, 41, 59, 66, 218, 222-24, 232-34, 240-44, 266, 301-04, 312, 313, 315, 318, 319, 321, 324, 330, 335, 583

*Hochstuhl*—German democrat, emigrated to the USA in 1852.—66, 72

*Hodde, Lucien de la (Delahodde)* (1808-1865)—French writer, member of secret revolutionary societies during the Restoration and the July monarchy, police agent.—52

*Hoffstetter, Gustav von* (1818-1874)—Swiss army officer and military writer, took part in the war against the Sonderbund (1847), fought in

Garibaldi's army in 1849.—103
*Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—128
*Holyoake, George Jacob* (1817-1906)—English journalist, reformist, Owenite and Chartist in the 1830s and 1840s, prominent figure in the cooperative movement.—196
*Hontheim, Richard von* (d. 1857)—Cologne lawyer, counsel for the defence in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—222, 228, 231
*Horace* (*Quintus Horatius Flaccus*) (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—281, 291, 465
*Horner, Leonard* (1785-1864)—English geologist and public figure; factory inspector (1833-56), member of the Factories Inquiry Commission in 1833 and of the Children's Employment Commission in 1841; took the side of the workers.—189
*Hoyer, Johann Gottfried von* (1767-1848)—Prussian general and military historian.—160
*Hoyoll, Philipp* (b. 1816)—German artist; émigré in Manchester in the 1850s.—554
*Hudson, J. W.*—secretary of the Athenaeum club in Manchester in the 1850s.—209, 233
*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885)—French writer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, opposed Louis Bonaparte, banished from France after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851.—524, 555
*Hühnerbein, Friedrich Wilhelm* (born c. 1817)—German tailor, member of the Communist League and of the Committee of Public Safety during the Elberfeld uprising in May 1849.—28
*Hülsemann, Baron*—diplomatic representative of the Austrian government in the USA at the end of 1851 and in the first half of 1852.—117
*Hume, Joseph* (1777-1855)—British politician, a radical leader, M.P.—59, 284
*Hunt, Thornton Leigh* (1810-1873)—English radical bourgeois journalist, took part in the Chartist movement in the 1840s and 1850s.—196
*Huzel, Jacob* (born c. 1820)—German teacher; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA, sided with Marx and Engels in the early 1850s, friend of Adolph Cluss.—92, 139, 140, 149, 150, 152, 166, 265, 336, 575
*Huzzelwitt*—German refugee in the USA in the 1850s.—92

## I

*Imandt, Peter* (born c. 1824)—German teacher, took part in the Baden uprising of 1849; member of the Communist League; emigrated to Switzerland, later lived in London; supporter of Marx and Engels.—122, 125, 151, 154-56, 158, 161, 162, 167, 205, 207, 224, 233, 235, 241, 243, 274, 275, 290, 313, 350, 356, 372, 386, 401, 417, 442, 446, 468, 478, 480, 482, 498, 543, 545, 573, 574, 584, 589, 590
*Immermann, Karl Leberecht* (1796-1840)—German writer, journalist and critic; prominent figure in the development of the German theatre.—262
*Iskander Bey* (*Alexander Ilinski*) (1810-1861)—Polish-born Turkish general; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, after its defeat emigrated to Turkey; commanded Turkish troops on the Danube (1853-54), in the Crimea (1855) and in the Caucasus (1855-56).—470

## J

*Jacobi, Abraham* (1830-1919)—German physician, member of the Communist League, one of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852), emigrated to England (1853) and later to the USA, disseminated Marx-

ism there, fought in the American Civil War on the side of the Union; President of the Medical Academy in New York (1885-89).—20, 212, 351-53, 355, 358, 372, 375, 402, 403, 542, 587

*Jacoby, Johann* (1805-1877)—German radical journalist and politician, a Left-wing leader in the Prussian National Assembly (1848).—353

*Jellachich (Jellačić), Josef, Count* (1801-1859)—Austrian general, Ban of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia (1848-59), took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary and Austria.—460

*Jenni, Samuel Friedrich* (1809-1849)—Swiss publisher, radical, editor of the comic newspaper *Der Gukkasten* (Berne).—292

*Jérôme*—see *Bonaparte, Jérôme*

*Joest, Karl*—Cologne manufacturer, juryman in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—206, 559, 561

*Johnson, A.*—Bank of England clerk, acquaintance of Ferdinand Freiligrath.—32, 37, 43, 131, 146, 147, 152, 227

*Joinville, François Ferdinand Philippe Louis Marie, duc d'Orléans, prince de* (1818-1900)—French admiral, son of Louis Philippe; emigrated to England after the February 1848 revolution.—129, 200, 222

*Jomini, Henri, Baron von* (1779-1869)—Swiss-born general in the French and later the Russian army, military theoretician, author of works on strategy and military history.—305

*Jones, Ernest Charles* (1819-1869)—prominent figure in the English labour movement, proletarian poet and journalist, Left Chartist leader, editor of *The Northern Star, Notes to the People* and *The People's Paper*; friend of Marx and Engels.—3, 11, 15, 30, 37, 38, 42, 43, 56, 59, 60, 67, 70, 72, 75, 77, 89, 93, 96, 99, 107, 117, 136, 140, 150, 162, 175, 195, 207, 260, 266, 276, 319, 325, 350, 355, 357, 369, 371, 378, 389, 394, 397, 399, 401, 417, 482, 483, 502, 521-23, 525, 527, 536, 547, 557, 560, 562

*Jones, Jane* (d. 1857)—wife of Ernest Jones.—547

*Jones, Richard* (1790-1855)—English economist.—62

*Jones, Sir William* (1746-1794)—English Orientalist and lawyer, author of works on Oriental languages and literature.—341

*Jordan, Wilhelm* (1819-1904)—German author, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing and later Centre) (1848).—199

*Julius, Gustav* (1810-1851)—German democratic journalist, 'true socialist'.—236

*Jung, Georg Gottlob* (1814-1886)—German writer, Young Hegelian, responsible publisher of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, democrat; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848, later a national-liberal.—207, 223, 581

*Junius*—see *Francis, Sir Philipp*

*Juta, Jaan Carel* (b. 1824)—Dutch merchant, brother-in-law of Karl Marx, husband of his sister Louise.—350, 351, 406

*Juta, Louise* (1821-c. 1865)—Karl Marx's sister, Jaan Carel Juta's wife.—350, 351

K

*Kamm, Friedrich* (d. 1867)—German brushmaker, democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849, emigrated to Switzerland after the defeat of the revolution, member of the German Workers' Society in Geneva, emigrated to the USA in 1852.—152, 204

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—412

*Karger*—German democrat, refugee in the USA in the 1850s, contributor to the German-language newspaper *Pionier*.—433

*Kausler, Franz Georg Friedrich von* (1794-1848)—German military historian.—159

*Kellner, Gottlieb Theodor* (1819-1898)—German democratic journalist, took part in the democratic movement in Cassel during the 1848-49 revolution, publisher of *Die Hornisse* (1848-50); emigrated to the USA in 1851, editor of *Die Reform* (1853-54) and publisher of the *Philadelphia Demokrat* (from 1856).—273, 312, 318, 326, 349, 366, 428, 583

*Keogh, William Nicholas* (1817-1878)—Irish lawyer and politician, a leader of the Irish Brigade in Parliament, repeatedly held high judicial posts in Ireland.—516

*Khrulev, Stepan Alexandrovich* (1807-1870)—Russian general, army commander on the Danube and in the Crimea during the Crimean war, distinguished himself at the defence of Sevastopol.—470

*Kinkel, Gottfried* (1815-1882)—German poet and journalist, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, sentenced to life imprisonment by a Prussian court, escaped from prison and emigrated to England (1850); a leader of petty-bourgeois refugees in London; opposed Marx and Engels.—6, 15, 16, 21, 23, 31, 34, 42, 52, 71, 72, 73-74, 77, 80, 92, 94, 95, 98, 100, 107, 114, 118, 119, 121, 125, 136, 138-43, 148-57, 158, 161, 162, 164, 166, 167, 170, 172, 173, 180, 194, 196, 205, 206, 209, 213, 224, 233, 235, 236, 241, 245, 260-62, 265-66, 273, 274, 283, 304, 308, 313-17, 322, 331, 336, 353, 435, 471, 555, 567-69, 573-75

*Kinkel, Johanna* (née *Mockel*) (1810-1858)—German writer, wife of Gottfried Kinkel.—141, 164, 313, 555, 568

*Kinski, Countess* (née *Zichy*) (b. 1824)—Austrian noblewoman.—194

*Kirchmann, Julius Hermann von* (1802-1884)—German lawyer, writer and philosopher; radical; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; deputy to the Second Chamber in 1849; later member of the Progressist Party.—125

*Kiss, Miklós* (1820-1902)—Hungarian army officer, democrat, refugee, Kossuth's agent in France and Italy; maintained contact with Bonapartist circles.—171, 194, 268

*Klapka, Georg* (1820-1892)—general, commanded one of the Hungarian revolutionary armies in 1848-49, commandant of the Komorn fortress (June-September 1849); emigrated in 1849, maintained contact with Bonapartist circles in the 1850s; returned to Hungary after the amnesty (1867).—101, 106, 198, 311, 460

*Klein, Carl Wilhelm*—German worker, took part in the Elberfeld and Solingen uprisings of 1849, member of the Communist League; emigrated to the USA (1852), helped to organise workers' associations there; active in the working-class movement in Germany in the 1860s and 1870s, member of the First International.—365, 367, 390, 391, 398

*Klein, Johann Jacob* (c. 1818-c. 1896)—physician in Cologne, member of the Communist League, one of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852), acquitted.—20

*Klose, G.*—German refugee living in London, member of the Communist League, supported Marx during the split of the League in 1850.—124

*Knesebeck, Karl Friedrich, Baron von der* (1768-1848)—Prussian field marshal-general, took part in the wars against Napoleon.—538

*Köppen, Karl Friedrich* (1808-1863)—German radical journalist and historian; Young Hegelian.—563

*Korff, Hermann*—Prussian officer; democrat; discharged from the army for his political views (1847); responsible publisher of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); later emigrated to the USA.—118-20, 160

*Korn, Philipp*—Hungarian bookseller and writer, commanded the German Legion of the Hungarian revolutionary army during the 1848-49 revolution; after its defeat emigrated to

Turkey and then to England; returned to Hungary in 1860.—548, 553

*Kościelski, Władysław* (1818-1895)—Polish democrat, emigrant, general in the Turkish army under the name of Sefer Pasha (1850s).—360, 546

*Kościuszko, Tadeusz Andrzej Bonawentura* (1746-1817)—prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement in the 1790s; took part in the American War of Independence in 1776-83; leader of the Polish uprising of 1794.—68

*Kossuth, Lajos* (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement, head of the Hungarian revolutionary government during the 1848-49 revolution; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated first to Turkey and later to England and the USA; sought support among Bonapartist circles in the 1850s.—13, 21, 30-31, 70, 73-74, 101, 106, 128, 131, 141, 150, 151, 153, 158, 170, 171, 194, 197, 212, 237, 246, 261, 267-68, 269, 278-81, 283-84, 290, 291, 294, 299, 302, 304, 310, 316, 318, 356, 401, 441, 448, 504, 586

*Kothes, D.*—Cologne merchant, democrat; witness for the defence in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—215, 216, 228, 232, 239, 242, 302

*Kräusler*—Prussian professor, juryman in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—207

*Kriege, Hermann* (1820-1850)—German journalist, 'true socialist', member of the League of the Just; from 1845 to 1848 lived in emigration in New York where he founded and edited the newspaper *Der Volks-Tribun*; active in democratic organisations during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; again emigrated to the USA after its defeat.—353

*Krogh, Gerhard Christoph von* (1785-1860)—Danish general, commander-in-chief of the Danish army (July 1848-April 1849, 1850) in the Schleswig-Holstein war.—452

*Küntzel, H.*—Prussian army officer, military engineer, author of a fortification manual.—103

L

*Lafayette (La Fayette), Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert Motier, Marquis de* (1757-1834)—French general, took part in the American War of Independence and the French Revolution; a leader of the moderate constitutionalists (Feuillants); took part in the July revolution of 1830.—485

*La Ferronnays, Auguste Pierre Marie Ferron, comte de* (1777-1842)—French politician and diplomat, ambassador to Copenhagen (1817) and St. Petersburg (1819-27), Foreign Minister (1828-29).—495

*Lagarde, Augustin Marie Balthazar Charles Pelletier, comte de* (b. 1780)—French general and diplomat, ambassador to Madrid (1820-23).—494

*Lamennais (La Mennais), Hugues Félicité Robert de* (1782-1854)—French priest, writer, ideologist of Christian socialism.—31, 71, 497

*Lamoricière, Christophe Léon Louis Juchault de* (1806-1865)—French general, moderate republican; suppressed the June uprising of 1848; War Minister in the Cavaignac Government (June-December 1848); deputy to the Legislative and Constituent Assemblies; banished after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851.—200, 482

*Lampon*—English journalist, contributor to *The Times*.—277

*Lanckoroński, Count*—Polish refugee in London, agent of the Russian government.—172, 301

*Landolt, Ernestine*—see *Liebknecht, Ernestine*

*L'Aspée, Henry de*—Wiesbaden police official, emigrated to London in the early 1850s, helped to expose provocative methods used by the Prussian authorities in staging the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—316

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German writer and lawyer; promi-

nent figure in the German working-class movement; participant in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); a founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863).—46, 76, 88, 290, 293, 334, 339, 350, 354, 417-18, 419, 422, 430-33, 478, 481, 491, 502, 511, 514, 521, 543, 553, 556, 557, 588

*Law, John* (1671-1729)—Scottish economist and financier, Director-General of Finance in France (1719-20); notorious for his speculative scheme (issuing of paper money), which ended in a complete failure.—263

*Lawley, Francis Charles* (1825-1901)—British journalist, Gladstone's private secretary (1852-54); the *Times* correspondent in the USA (1854-65).—518

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician, a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats, editor of *La Réforme*; Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government (February-May 1848), deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies where he headed the Montagne party; emigrated to England after the demonstration of 13 June 1849.—31, 42, 50, 71, 73, 135, 136, 141, 246, 282, 295, 296, 299, 300, 317, 388, 401, 433, 459

*Le Flô, Adolphe Emmanuel Charles* (1804-1887)—French general, politician and diplomat, representative of the Party of Order, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic.—48

*Legendre, Louis* (1752-1797)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, a leader of the Right-wing Jacobins, friend of Danton.—521

*Lehmann, Albert*—German worker residing in London, leading figure in the League of the Just and the German Workers' Educational Society in London, later member of the Communist League, after its split (1850) belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group and its Central Authority.—41-42

*Lehon, Charles Amé Joseph, comte de* (1792-1868)—Belgian politician and diplomat, envoy to Paris (1831-42), enjoyed protection at the court of the Orleans.—47

*Lehon, comtesse*—wife of Charles Lehon, lived in Paris in the 1830s-1850s, enjoyed protection at the court of the Orleans.—47

*Lehon, Louis Xavier Léopold, comte de* (1832-1879)—French politician, Bonapartist, Chef de Bureau of Minister of the Interior Morny (from 2 December 1851), member of the Corps législatif (from 1856), son of Charles Lehon.—47-48

*Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, Baron von* (1646-1716)—German philosopher and mathematician.—440

*Leiden, Kosmos Damian*—wine-merchant in Cologne, juryman in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—207, 238

*Lelewel, Joachim* (1786-1861)—Polish historian and revolutionary, took part in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, a leader of the democratic wing of Polish emigrants in 1847-48.—172, 563

*Lenchen*—see *Demuth, Helene*

*Leroux, Pierre* (1797-1871)—French writer; utopian socialist, representative of Christian socialism; emigrant in England in 1851-52.—71, 73, 74

*Leroy, Achille*—see *Saint-Arnaud, Armand Jacques Achille Leroy de*

*Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim* (1729-1781)—German writer, critic and philosopher of the Enlightenment.—345

*Leven*—Cologne merchant, juryman in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—207, 238

*Lichnowski, Felix Maria, Prince von* (1814-1848)—Silesian landowner, Prussian army officer, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing); killed during the September 1848 uprising in Frankfurt.—225

*Liebknecht, Ernestine* (d. 1867)—

Wilhelm Liebknecht's first wife.—485-86

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, took part in the 1848-49 revolution, member of the Communist League and the First International, one of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—86, 223, 232, 244, 275, 290, 386, 485, 559, 577

*Lieven, Darya (Dorothea) Khristoforovna, Princess* (1785-1857)—wife of the Russian diplomat Khristofor Andreyevich Lieven; hostess of political salons in London and Paris.—204, 266, 431

*Lieven, Khristofor Andreyevich, Prince* (1774-1839)—Russian diplomat, envoy to Berlin (1810-12), ambassador to London (1812-34).—431

*Lièvre, Eugène*—French democrat, supporter of Hermann Kriege in the 1840s, emigrant in the USA in the 1850s.—323, 324, 542

*Lincoln, H. J.*—editor of *The Daily News*.—423-26, 427

*Lindenau, Bernhard August* (1779-1854)—astronomer and statesman in Saxony, moderate liberal; Minister of the Interior (1831-34), Prime Minister (1831-43).—462

*Linton, William James* (1812-1897)—English engraver, poet and journalist; democrat; republican; publisher of *The Leader*; sympathised with the Right-wing Chartists, contributed under the pen-name Spartacus to Chartist publications; lived in the USA from 1866.—107

*List, Friedrich* (1789-1846)—German economist, advocated protectionism.—45, 147

*Loch, George*—candidate for Manchester in the 1852 elections to Parliament.—111

*Lochner, Georg* (born c. 1824)—carpenter; active in the German working-class movement, member of the Communist League and later of the General Council of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—15, 372

*Löhr, Karl*—Bavarian army officer, wrote a book on the military art in Ancient Greece and Rome.—160

*Louis IX, 'Saint'* (1214-1270)—King of France (1226-1270).—497

*Louis XV* (1710-1774)—King of France (1715-1774).—489

*Louis XVIII (Louis le Désiré)* (1755-1824)—King of France (1814-15, 1815-24).—492, 494, 496, 497

*Louis Napoleon*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—10, 17, 27, 295, 388, 422, 447, 456, 496, 509

*Lowe, Robert, Viscount Sherbrooke* (1811-1892)—British statesman and journalist, contributor to *The Times*; Whig and later Liberal; M.P.; Vice-President of the Board of Trade (1855-58).—277

*Löwe, Wilhelm* (known as *Löwe of Calbe*, after the Prussian district of Calbe, which he represented in the Frankfurt National Assembly) (1814-1886)—German democratic politician, Vice-President of the Frankfurt National Assembly, adhered to the Left wing; after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution left Germany, but returned after the amnesty of 1861; sympathised with the progressists.—80, 92, 96, 150, 154, 224, 274, 300, 370, 547

*Löwenthal*—Frankfurt am Main publisher in the 1840s and 1850s.—99, 239

*Lüders, Alexander Nikolayevich, Count* (1790-1874)—Russian general, commanded a corps on the Danube (1853-54) and the Southern army (1855); commander-in-chief of the army in the Crimea (early 1856).—470

*Lüders, Wilhelm*—German democratic journalist, contributed to democratic newspapers in the 1840s and 1850s; refugee in London.—5, 6, 567

*Lüning, Otto* (1818-1868)—German

physician and journalist, 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s, national-liberal after 1866.—97

*Lupus*—see *Wolff, Wilhelm*

*Lütgen, A.*—author of *Feldzug der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Armee und Marine im Jahre 1850,* a book about the war between Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark.—451

*Lycurgus*—legendary Spartan law-giver said to have lived in the 9th-8th centuries B.C.—195

M

*Maas, Benjamin* (1822-1891)—German physician, utopian socialist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA after its defeat.—52

*MacCulloch, John Ramsay* (1789-1864)—Scottish economist who vulgarised David Ricardo's theories.—62, 540

*MacGowan, Dougal*—English printer; radical; supported the Chartists and printed *The Northern Star* (1837-45), later became its owner (January-April 1852); a creditor of Ernest Jones.—162, 482

*Machiavelli, Niccolò* (1469-1527)—Italian politician, historian and writer.—31, 125

*Madier*—French mechanic; democrat; emigrated to Britain in the early 1850s.—10, 25, 271

*Mahmud II* (1785-1839)—Sultan of Turkey (1808-39).—394

*Majer, Adolph* (born c. 1819)—German journalist and chemist, agent-provocateur who infiltrated into the Communist League; emissary of the separatist Willich-Schapper group in France in late 1850 and 1851; one of the accused on the case of the so-called Franco-German plot in Paris in February 1852.—199

*Malingre*—Kossuth's Paris correspondent.—268, 270

*Mallarmet*—French worker, socialist, chairman of the Fraternity communist club in Paris in 1848, emigrated to England after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution.—71

*Malmesbury, James Howard Harris, Earl of* (1807-1889)—British statesman, Tory, later Conservative, Foreign Secretary (1852, 1858-59).—446

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, author of a population theory.—62, 345, 382

*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von* (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1848-50), Prime Minister, and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1850-58).—132, 296, 349

*Mariotti*—see *Gallenga, Antonio*

*Marx, Edgar (Musch)* (1847-1855)—Karl Marx's son.—117, 406, 421, 453, 454, 457, 524, 528, 529, 530, 533, 541, 543, 549, 569, 578, 581, 590

*Marx, Eleanor (Tussy)* (1855-1898)—Karl Marx's youngest daughter, prominent figure in the British and international working-class movement; married Eduard Aveling in 1884.—509, 511, 515, 521, 524

*Marx, Francis Joseph Peter* (1816-1876)—British conservative journalist; landowner; friend and associate of David Urquhart.—360, 361, 363, 439-40

*Marx, Franziska* (1851-1852)—Karl Marx's daughter.—78, 79, 84

*Marx, Heinrich* (1777-1838)—Karl Marx's father, lawyer and Counsellor of Justice in Trier.—287, 579

*Marx, Heinrich Guido* (1849-1850)—Karl Marx's son.—575

*Marx, Henriette* (née *Pressburg*) (1787-1863)—Karl Marx's mother.—50, 183, 481, 581

*Marx, Jenny* (née *von Westphalen*) (1814-1881)—Karl Marx's wife.—1, 3, 5, 10, 35, 42, 50, 60, 65, 70, 79, 84, 89, 97, 100, 116, 117, 124, 131, 133, 138, 148, 159, 181, 183-86, 189, 198, 209, 213, 216, 237, 241, 252, 272, 286, 289, 303, 315, 322, 350, 354, 356, 364, 371, 375, 377, 385, 402, 408, 457, 461, 462-65, 467, 469, 478, 479, 481, 490, 500, 506-08, 511, 515, 521, 522, 525-26, 529, 541, 546, 554, 555, 557, 559, 561, 583, 585-90

*Marx, Jenny* (1844-1883)—Karl Marx's eldest daughter; journalist; active in the international working-class movement; married Charles Longuet in 1872.—23, 181, 421, 440, 453, 454, 541, 569, 578, 590

*Marx, Laura* (1845-1911)—Karl Marx's second daughter; married Paul Lafargue in 1868; active in the French working-class movement.—185, 186, 421, 453, 454, 541, 569, 578, 590

*Marx, Louise*—see *Juta, Louise*

*Massey, Gerald* (1828-1907)—English poet, sympathised with the Chartists; editor of the newspaper *The Spirit of Freedom* (1849); contributed, under the pen-names Bandiera and Spirit of Freedom, to Harney's Chartist publications *The Red Republican* and *The Friend of the People*; was influenced by Christian socialism and the reformist cooperative movement; withdrew from the working-class movement in the mid-1850s.—30

*Massol, Marie Alexandre* (1805-1875)—French journalist; utopian socialist; contributed to the newspapers *La Réforme* and *Voix du Peuple* (1848-50); friend of Proudhon.—31, 51, 67, 73, 74, 166, 180, 182, 186, 189, 196, 207, 260

*Maupas, Charlemagne Émile de* (1818-1888)—French lawyer, Bonapartist; Prefect of the Paris police (1851); an organiser of the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; Minister of Police (1852-53).—17, 268

*Mayne Reid*—see *Reid, Thomas Mayne*

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, a leader of the national liberation movement in Italy, head of the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London in 1850; sought support of the Bonapartists in the early 1850s but later opposed Bonapartism.—31, 34, 42, 46, 56, 59, 71, 73, 74, 76, 101, 106, 107, 135, 136, 141-42, 170, 172, 246, 268, 278-82, 283-84, 290, 295, 299, 315, 321, 371, 401, 454, 458, 459

*McElrath, Thomas* (1807-1888)—American lawyer, publisher and politician, supported the abolitionists; co-founder and business manager (1841-57) of the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—387

*Meiners, Christoph* (1747-1810)—German historian, wrote a number of works on the history of culture.—207

*Metaxas, Andreas, count* (1786-1860)—Greek statesman and diplomat, Prime Minister (1843-44), ambassador to Constantinople (1850-54).—447

*Metternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince von* (1773-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1809-21), Chancellor (1821-48), organiser of the Holy Alliance.—494

*Mevissen, Gustav von* (1815-1899)—German banker and politician, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie in the 1840s.—284

*Meyen, Eduard* (1812-1870)—German journalist, Young Hegelian; emigrated to England after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution.—124, 151, 154, 225, 304, 447, 497, 555, 568, 574, 590

*Meyer*—an acquaintance of Marx and Engels.—411, 421, 443, 478, 561

*Meyer (Mayer), Joseph*—German tailor; emigrated to England in the early 1850s; supporter of Willich; emigrated to the USA in 1852.—41-42, 277

*Mierosławski, Ludwik* (1814-1878)—prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement, took part in the insurrection of 1830-31 and in the 1848-49 revolution in Poland, Italy and Germany; later, a leader of the moderate wing of Polish democratic emigrants; sympathised with Bonapartism.—138

*Mill, James* (1773-1836)—Scottish philosopher (follower of Bentham), and economist, adherent of Ricardo's theory.—62

*Miller, Johann Martin* (1750-1814)—German poet and writer, representa-

tive of sentimentalism in German literature.—74

*Millerbacher, August Joseph*—Austrian postal official, shareholder of a publishing-house in Prague.—160

*Mina*—see *Espoz y Mina*

*Minié, Claude Étienne* (1804-1879)—French army officer, inventor of a new type of rifle adopted by the French army in 1852.—12

*Minutoli, Julius, Baron von* (1805-1860)—Prussian official and diplomat; chief of the Berlin police (1847-48), Consul-General in Spain and Portugal (1853-59).—540

*Miquel, Johannes* (1828-1901)—German lawyer, politician and banker, member of the Communist League up to 1852, later a national-liberal leader.—478, 480

*Mirbach, Otto von* (born c. 1800)—retired Prussian artillery officer, democrat, participant in the 1848-49 revolution; commandant of Elberfeld during the May 1849 uprising; left Germany after its defeat.—121, 559, 560

*Mirkhond, Mohammed bin Khäwandshäh bin Hahmüd* (1433-1498)—Persian historian.—341-42

*Miskowsky, Henryk Ludvic* (d. 1854)—Polish army officer, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; emigrated to Turkey after its defeat, later lived in London.—401, 448, 450, 586

*Mohammed Ali* (or *Mehemet Ali*) (1769-1849)—Viceroy of Egypt (1805-49), introduced a series of progressive reforms.—31, 457

*Mohammed* (*Muhammed, Mahomed*) (c. 570-632)—founder of Islam.—327, 332, 340

*Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard, Count von* (1800-1891)—Prussian army officer, subsequently field marshal-general, military writer, ideologist of Prussian militarism and chauvinism.—435

*Monk* (*Monck*), *George, Duke of Albemarle* (1608-1670)—English general and statesman; at first a royalist, then served in Cromwell's army; helped to restore the Stuarts to power in 1660.—485

*Monsell, William* (1812-1894)—Irish liberal, a leader of the Irish group in Parliament; Clerk of Ordnance (1852-57).—516

*Montalembert, Charles Forbes René de Tryon, comte de* (1810-1870)—French politician and writer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; Orleanist, leader of the Catholic party; supported Louis Bonaparte in the coup d'état of 2 December 1851.—49, 311

*Monteith, William* (1790-1864)—British general, diplomat and military historian; fought in the Russo-Persian war (1804-13) on the side of Persia; military and diplomatic adviser to the Persian government during the Russo-Persian war of 1826-28; criticised Palmerston's foreign policy in the 1840s.—440

*Montez, Lola* (1818-1861)—adventuress and dancer, mistress of Ludwig I, King of Bavaria in 1846-48.—300

*Montijo, Eugénie*—see *Eugénie Marie Ignace Augustine de Montijo de Guzman, comtesse de Teba*

*Montmorency, Mathieu Jean Félicité, comte* (1822), *duc de* (1767-1826)—French general and reactionary politician; Foreign Minister (1821-22), participant in the Verona Congress of the Holy Alliance (1822).—493

*Moreau, Jean Victor Marie* (1763-1813)—French general, fought in the wars of the French Republic against the coalition of European states.—310

*Morny, Charles Auguste Louis Joseph, duc de* (1811-1865)—French politician, Bonapartist, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); an organiser of the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; Minister of the Interior (December 1851-January 1852); President of the Corps legislatif (1854-56 and 1857-65), half-brother of Napoleon III.—12, 17, 47

*Morris, Mowbray* (1818-1874)—English publisher, manager of *The Times* from the late 1840s.—276

*Mott, Lucrezia* (1793-1880)—public figure in the USA, leader of women's movement for the abolition of slavery in the USA.—371

*Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus* (1756-1791)—Austrian composer.—556

*Müller, Franz Joseph*—legal counsellor in Cologne; conservative; father-in-law of Roland Daniels.—219

*Müller-Tellering, Eduard von* (born c. 1808)—German lawyer and journalist, democrat; contributed to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49; after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution emigrated to England, published slanderous accusations against Marx and Engels; emigrated to the USA in 1852.—80, 86, 87, 96, 263, 274, 331, 336

*Münch-Bellinghausen, Franz Theodor, Baron* (b. 1787)—Prussian official, juryman in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—206

*Musch*—see *Marx, Edgar*

N

*Nadaud, Martin* (1815-1898)—French bricklayer, journalist, follower of Proudhon; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51), adherent of the Montagne party; was banished after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851, lived in England up to 1859.—73, 417

*Napier, Sir Charles* (1786-1860)—British admiral, fought in the wars against Portugal (1810 and 1833-34) and in Syria (1840); commanded the British fleet in the Baltic in 1854; M.P.—458, 460, 546

*Napier, Sir Charles James* (1782-1853)—British general; fought in the Peninsular war (1808-14), commanded the British troops that conquered the Sind (1842-43), ruler of the Sind (1843-47).—310

*Napier, Sir Joseph* (1804-1882)—British politician, Tory M.P., Attorney-General for Ireland (1852) in the Derby Cabinet, Lord Chancellor for Ireland (1858-59).—517

*Napier, Sir William Francis Patrick* (1785-1860)—British general and military historian, fought in the Peninsular war (1808-14).—424, 490, 501, 506

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—10, 51, 103, 104, 158, 197, 305, 310, 406, 408, 411, 490, 496, 538

*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—Prince, nephew of Napoleon I, President of the Second Republic (December 1848-1851), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 30, 36, 44, 46-49, 51, 54, 68, 70, 77, 82, 84, 106, 122, 126, 166, 171-75, 185, 189, 195, 197, 199, 200, 207, 222, 237, 257, 261, 263, 268, 269, 276-79, 282, 297, 300, 302, 307, 388, 404, 409, 414, 444, 446, 452, 456, 487, 502, 524, 526, 534, 545, 555, 563, 568, 572

*Nasmyth, Charles* (1826-1861)—British army officer; war correspondent of *The Times* at Omer Pasha's headquarters on the Danube (1854); took part in the defence of Silistria.—472

*Naut, Stephan Adolf*—Cologne merchant, responsible publisher of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1849).—133, 468

*Nemours, Louis Charles Philippe Raphaël d'Orléans, duc de* (1814-1896)—son of King Louis Philippe of France; general, took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s, emigrated to England after the February 1848 revolution.—126

*Nesselrode, Karl Vasilyevich, Count* (1780-1862)—Russian statesman and diplomat; Foreign Minister (1816-56), Chancellor of State from 1845.—370

*Newcastle, Henry Pelham Fiennes Pelham Clinton, Duke of* (1811-1864)—British statesman, Peelite; Secretary for War and the Colonies (1852-54), Secretary for War (1854-55), and Colonial Sec-

retary (1859-64).—455, 520
*Newton, William*—British trade-union leader, radical, sympathised with Chartism; co-founder and leader of the Amalgamated Society of Mechanical Engineers.—196
*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—44, 45, 53, 143, 285, 334, 362, 410, 414, 423, 424, 446, 518, 519, 524, 525
*Nicholson, Renton* (1809-1861)—pub-owner in London, changed his occupation several times.—486
*Nothjung, Peter* (1821-1866)—tailor, member of the Cologne Workers' Association and of the Communist League, one of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—20, 134, 137, 143, 212, 231, 238
*Nowaïri (Novaïri), Schêhab-Eddyn-Ahmed-ibn-Abdulwalhab* (c. 1280-c. 1332)—Arabian historian.—340

O

*O'Connor, Feargus Edward* (1794-1855)—Left-wing Chartist leader, owner and editor of *The Northern Star*; reformist after 1848.—15, 31, 67, 547
*O'Flaherty, Edmond*—British Treasury official in charge of collecting taxes in Ireland in 1854.—519
*Omer Pasha (Michael Lattas)* (1806-1871)—Turkish general of Croatian origin, commander-in-chief on the Danube (1853-54), in the Crimea (1855) and in the Caucasus (1855-56).—368, 420, 424, 429, 431, 438, 458, 485, 561
*Opitz, Martin* (1597-1639)—German poet and translator, founder and theoretician of classicism in German literature.—471
*Oppenheim*—London banker.—275
*Oppenheim, Heinrich Bernhard* (1819-1880)—German democratic politician, economist and journalist; editor of *Die Reform* (Berlin) in 1848; refugee in 1849-50; later a national-liberal.—225, 568
*Orleans*—royal dynasty in France (1830-48).—12, 21, 47-49, 126, 129, 200
*Orleans, Duke of*—see *Louis Philippe I*
*Orleans, prince d'*—see *Joinville, François Ferdinand Philippe Louis Marie*
*Osten Sacken, Dmitry Yerofeyevich, Count* (1789-1881)—Russian general; during the Crimean war commander of a corps in the south of Russia (1853-54), and of the Sevastopol garrison (late 1854-55).—470
*Oswald*—German emigrant in London, tobacco merchant.—151, 154, 173
*Oswald, Eugen* (1826-1912)—German democratic journalist; took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden in 1848-49; emigrated to England after its defeat.—116
*Ottenberger, Joseph* (b. 1768)—Austrian scholar, teacher of history in Prague, author of a manual on military science in Ancient Rome.—160
*Otto I* (1815-1867)—King of Greece (1832-62), member of the Bavarian ruling family of Wittelsbach.—447
*Otto, Carl Wunibald* (born c. 1810)—German chemist, member of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848-49) and of the Communist League, one of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852), sentenced to five years imprisonment.—20, 212
*Otto, Karl Christian* (1817-1873)—Danish democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Schleswig-Holstein and Thuringia, emigrated to the USA in 1854.—458, 461
*Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso)* (43 B.C.-c. A.D. 17)—Roman poet.—199
*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—British utopian socialist.—192
*Oxford, Joseph*—head of the London firm in which Ferdinand Freiligrath was employed.—305, 387, 389, 528

P

*Pacifico, David* (1784-1854)—British tradesman of Portuguese origin in Athens.—456
*Pakington, Sir John Somerset* (1799-

1880)—British statesman, Tory, Secretary for War and the Colonies (1852), First Lord of the Admiralty (1858-59, 1866-67), Secretary for War (1867-68).—295

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman, Tory, Whig from 1830, Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55), Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-65).—54, 200, 276, 284-85, 295, 373, 378, 385, 387, 390, 392-93, 398, 404, 409-10, 412, 422, 431, 448, 450, 452, 456, 462, 472, 485, 490, 515, 516, 518-20, 523, 525, 555, 586

*Pam*—see *Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount*

*Parish, Henry Headley*—British historian in the first half of the nineteenth century.—455

*Paskievich (Paskiewitsch), Ivan Fyodorovich, Prince* (1782-1856)—Russian field marshal-general, fought in wars against Napoleonic France; commander-in-chief (from the summer of 1831) of the Tsarist troops who suppressed the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, Lieutenant (governor) of the Kingdom of Poland from 1832; commander-in-chief of the army which crushed the Hungarian revolution (1849), and of the troops on the western and southern borders of Russia (1854), commanded the Russian army on the Danube (April-June 1854).—461

*Peel, Sir Robert* (1788-1850)—British statesman, moderate Tory, Home Secretary (1822-27, 1828-30), Prime Minister (1834-35, 1841-46), repealed the Corn Laws in 1846.—195, 284, 368, 432

*Pélissier, Aimable Jean Jacques* (1794-1864)—French general, Marshal from 1855; participated in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s-early 1850s; commander-in-chief of the French army in the Crimea (May 1855-July 1856).—546

*Pellico, Silvio* (1789-1854)—Italian writer, arrested in 1820 for his contacts with the Carbonari and sentenced to twenty years imprisonment; released in 1830, published a book describing the hardships of convicts in Austrian prisons (1832); later abandoned politics.—558

*Perczel, Mór* (1811-1899)—Hungarian general, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, after its defeat emigrated to Turkey and in 1851 to England.—32, 311, 572

*Persigny, Jean Gilbert Victor Fialin, comte* (1808-1872)—French statesman, Bonapartist, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51), an organiser of the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; Minister of the Interior (1852-54, 1860-63).—17, 21, 27

*Peter the Hermit* (c. 1050-1115)—French monk and preacher, peasant leader in the First Crusade (1096-99).—59

*Petermann, August* (1822-1878)—German geographer and cartographer, editor of the periodicals *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt* in Gotha (from 1855).—535, 538

*Petzler, Johann*—German democrat; music teacher; refugee in London in the 1850s.—419

*Pfänder, Karl* (c. 1818-1876)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; painter; emigrated to London in 1845, member of the League of the Just, of the Communist League Central Authority, and later of the General Council of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—14, 28, 43, 72, 95, 126, 463, 538, 589

*Piali*—see *Zerffi, Gustav*

*Pieper, Wilhelm* (born c. 1826-1899)—German philologist and journalist, member of the Communist League; emigrated to London; was close to Marx and Engels in 1850-53.—8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 22, 23, 29, 33, 37, 67, 71, 117, 146, 175, 179, 183, 184, 186-93, 213, 231, 235, 265, 275, 289, 292, 312, 314, 316, 319, 325, 330,

341, 349, 350-53, 356, 359, 361, 367, 368, 369, 372, 376, 377, 385, 390-97, 406, 411, 421, 428, 429, 434-35, 438, 440, 457, 467, 472, 477, 482, 490, 498, 544, 569, 571, 583, 584, 587

*Pierce*.—482

*Pindar, Eduard*—Russian émigré in England in the mid-nineteenth century, an acquaintance of Marx and Engels.—81, 100, 147, 153, 179, 180, 184, 195, 202, 203

*Pitt, William (the Elder)*, from 1766 *Earl Chatham* (1708-1778)—British statesman, a Whig leader; Foreign Secretary and Secretary for War (1756-61), Prime Minister (1766-68).—487

*Pitt, William (the Younger)* (1759-1806)—British statesman, Tory, Prime Minister (1783-1801, 1804-06).—487, 489

*Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti)* (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—448

*Pleyel*—Hungarian army officer, participant in the 1848 revolution in Hungary, emigrated to the USA in 1852.—214, 215, 310

*Plümicke, J. C.*—German army officer, author of *Handbuch für die Königlich Preussischen Artillerie-Offiziere*.—305

*Pöckel, Gustav*—German refugee in the USA, acquaintance of Edgar von Westphalen.—542, 545

*Poenisch*—acquaintance of Marx in London.—182, 185

*Poesche, Theodor* (1826-1899)—German statistician; democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, after its defeat emigrated to England and then to the USA; co-author with Karl Goepp of a book advocating 'united states of the world' under the aegis of the United States (1852).—366, 369

*Polignac, Jules Auguste Armand Marie, prince de* (1780-1847)—French statesman of the Restoration, Legitimist and clerical; Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister (1829-30).—497

*Pompadour, Jeanne Antoinette Poisson le Normant d'Étioles, marquise de* (1721-1764)—mistress of King Louis XV of France, protectress of marshal Soubise.—488

*Pompey (Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus)* (106-48 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman.—349

*Pott, August Friedrich* (1802-1887)—German philologist, one of the founders of the comparative-historical method in linguistics.—462

*Pozzo di Borgo, Karl Osipovich, Count* (1764-1842)—Russian diplomat of Corsican descent, envoy (1814-21) and ambassador (1821-35) to Paris, ambassador to London (1835-39).—494

*Priessnitz, Vincenz* (1799-1851)—peasant in Austrian Silesia who discovered and began to use hydropathy.—106

*Prince of Prussia*—see *William I*

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist; one of the founders of anarchism; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848).—46, 74, 77, 135, 166, 182, 207, 257, 260-61, 263, 306, 381

*Prutz, Robert Eduard* (1816-1872)—German poet, journalist and literary historian; associated with Young Hegelians; publisher of the journal *Deutsches Museum* in Leipzig (1851-67).—391

*Pulszky, Francis(Ferenc) Aurelius* (1814-1897)—Polish-born Hungarian politician, writer and archaeologist; participated in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; emigrated after its defeat; contributed to the *New-York Daily Tribune* in the 1850s; returned to Hungary in 1867 after the amnesty; deputy to the Diet (1867-76, 1884-97).—106, 289, 291, 293, 295, 299, 367, 369, 405, 418, 485

*Pulszky, Therese* (1819-1866)—Hungarian authoress, wife of Francis Pulszky from 1848.—106, 174, 299

*Putnam, George Palmer* (1814-1872)—American publisher and journalist, published (from 1853) *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, to which Marx and Engels contributed.—546

*Püttman, Hermann* (1811-1894)—German radical poet and journalist, 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s.—483

*Pyat, Félix* (pen-name *Jules Mayret*) (1810-1889)—French journalist, playwright and politician; democrat; took part in the 1848 revolution; emigrated in 1849 to Switzerland and later to Belgium and England; was against independent working-class movement; conducted a slander campaign against Marx and the First International; member of the Paris Commune (1871).—50, 74, 170, 174, 462

R

*Radetzky, Josef, Count of Radetz* (1766-1858)—Austrian field marshal, commanded Austrian troops in Northern Italy (from 1831); suppressed the national liberation movement in Italy (1848-49); Governor-General of the Kingdom of Lombardy and Venetia (1850-56).—278, 281

*Raffles, Sir Thomas Stamford* (1781-1826)—British colonial official; Governor of Java (1811-16).—348

*Raspail, François Vincent* (1794-1878)—French naturalist and writer; socialist; sympathised with the revolutionary proletariat; took part in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848).—300, 589

*Raspail* (d. 1853)—wife of François Raspail.—300

*Rath, vom*—Cologne manufacturer, juryman in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—206, 238

*Rau*—an officer in Willich's volunteer corps during the 1848-49 revolution.—336

*Raveaux, Franz* (1810-1851)—German politician, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848-49; imperial commissioner in Switzerland, one of the five imperial regents in June 1849; member of the Baden Provisional Government; emigrated to Belgium after the revolution.—582

*Redcliffe*—see *Stratford de Redcliffe, Stratford Canning, Viscount*

*Reeve, Emilia* (d. 1865)—friend and admirer of Alexander Herzen.—558

*Reeve, Henry* (1813-1895)—English journalist and government official, Registrar to the Privy Council in 1853.—277

*Reichenbach, Oskar, Count* (b. 1815)—Silesian landowner; democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49); emigrated to England (1850) and later to America.—80, 92, 96, 136, 150, 154, 161, 166, 167, 173, 224, 233, 245, 246, 266, 274, 275, 282, 286, 300, 302, 313

*Reid, Thomas Mayne* (1818-1883)—British writer.—280, 290

*Reiff, Wilhelm Joseph* (b. 1824)—member of the Cologne Workers' Association and of the Communist League, expelled from the League in 1850; one of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—134, 137

*Reinhardt, Richard* (1829-1898)—German poet; emigrated to Paris; Secretary of Heinrich Heine; friend of the Marx family; later a businessman.—41, 44, 47, 49, 254, 290, 567

*Rémusat, Charles François Marie, comte de* (1797-1875)—French statesman and writer, Orleanist, Minister of the Interior (1840), deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; opposed Napoleon III's regime during the Second Empire; Foreign Minister (1871-73).—47, 130, 132, 200, 222, 263

*Reshid Pasha* (1802-1858)—Turkish statesman, repeatedly held the posts of Grand Vizier and Foreign Minister.—410

*Reuter, Max*—Prussian police agent in London in the early 1850s.—226, 227

*Ribbentrop, Adolph*—Prussian legal officer, refugee in Paris in the 1850s, August Ewerbeck's friend.—87

*Ribeyrolles, Charles* (1812-1861)—French democratic journalist and politician, an editor of *La Réforme* (1846-49); after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution emigrated to England; editor-in-chief of the newspaper *L'Homme* (1853-55); emigrated to Brazil in 1858.—527

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—English economist.—62, 345, 372, 378, 381-83, 392

*Ricciardi, Giuseppe, comte* (1808-1882)—Italian writer and journalist, took part in the Italian national liberation movement, author of works on the history of Italy.—541

*Richards, Alfred Bate* (1820-1876)—English playwright and journalist, wrote under the pen-name Englishman; opposed Cobden and the Manchester men; engaged in polemics with the Urquhartists in the 1850s.—317, 373

*Richter*—German craftsman, emigrated to England in the 1850s; supporter of Willich.—28, 33, 43

*Riego y Núñez, Rafael del* (1785-1823)—Spanish army officer, participant in the War of Independence (1808-14); a prominent figure in the 1820-23 revolution; executed after its defeat.—492

*Rings, L. W.*—member of the Communist League, refugee in London in the early 1850s, supporter of Marx and Engels.—28, 223, 372, 394, 577

*Ripley, Roswell Sabine* (1823-1887)—American military writer, army officer, general from 1861, took part in the war against Mexico (1846-48).—498, 500, 503, 506

*Riza Pasha* (1809-1859)—Turkish general and statesman, Capudan Pasha (Naval Minister) from December 1853 to January 1854, Seraskier (War Minister) from January 1854 to June 1855.—408

*Rodbertus-Jagetzow, Johann Karl* (1805-1875)—German economist and politician; leader of the Left Centre in the Prussian National Assembly during the 1848-49 revolution; advocated 'state socialism'.—125

*Roesgen, Charles*—employee in the firm of Ermen & Engels in Manchester.—36, 56, 67, 164, 187, 209, 328, 329, 335, 339, 343, 344

*Römer*—German refugee in London.—499

*Romulus Augustulus* (born c. 460)—last Emperor of the West Roman Empire (475-76).—45

*Ronge, Johannes* (1813-1887)—German clergyman, democrat, an initiator of the German Catholics movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution, emigrated to England after its defeat.—42, 92, 96, 154, 173, 194, 207, 210, 213, 266, 499, 548, 553, 555

*Ronge, Bertha Traun* (née *Meier*)—wife of Johannes Ronge.—74, 555

*Röser, Peter Gerhard* (1814-1865)—cigar-maker; prominent figure in the German working-class movement; Vice-President of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848-49); member of the Communist League, one of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852), sentenced to six-year imprisonment; later sympathised with the Lassalleans.—20, 134, 137, 212, 238, 247, 308

*Rothacker, Wilhelm* (1828-1859)—German writer, democrat, member of the Communist League; emigrated to the USA in 1850; editor of the newspaper *Hochwächter*, editor of the weekly *Die Menschenrechte* in Cincinnati (from 1853).—18

*Rothschild, Wilhelm Carl* (1828-1901)—one of the Frankfurt Rothschilds, studied at Göttingen University with Wilhelm Pieper.—343, 583

*Rouland, Gustave* (1806-1878)—French statesman, Bonapartist, President of the State Council (1863-64).—555

*Rózycki, Karol* (1789-1870)—Polish army officer, fought in the wars of Napoleonic France and in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, emigrated to France after its defeat.—138

*Rudolf I* (1218-1291)—Holy Roman Emperor (1273-91), founder of the Habsburg dynasty in Austria.—476

*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian; published, jointly with Marx, the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*; Marx's ideological opponent after 1844; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; German petty-bourgeois refugee leader in England in the 1850s.—14, 42, 44, 45, 65, 73, 92, 93, 96, 116, 126, 128, 141, 145-46, 150, 155, 173, 194, 207, 210, 213, 246, 263, 266, 298, 304, 308, 317, 345, 349, 359, 362, 373, 401, 417, 434, 450, 459, 462, 555, 567, 573-75

*Rumpf, E.*—German tailor; member of the Communist League; emigrated to London in 1851, supporter of Marx and Engels.—344

*Rushton, William Lewis*—English lawyer and philologist.—159

*Russell, John Russell, Earl* (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader; Prime Minister (1846-52, 1865-66), Foreign Secretary (1852-53, 1859-65), President of the Council (1854-55).—39, 44, 50, 53, 252, 284, 295, 422, 429, 472, 516-20, 543, 545

*Rutenberg, Adolf* (1808-1869)—German journalist, Young Hegelian; member of the editorial board of the *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842); national-liberal after 1866.—563

S

*Sabatier*—French emigrant in London in the 1850s; Blanquist.—32

*Sadleir, John* (1814-1856)—Irish banker and politician, a leader of the Irish Brigade in Parliament; Junior Lord of the Treasury (1853).—516, 518

*Saedt, Otto Joseph Arnold* (1816-1886)—Prussian legal officer, Public Prosecutor in Cologne from 1848, prosecutor in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—132, 138, 145, 216, 220, 229, 559, 577

*Saint-Arnaud, Armand Jacques Achille Leroy de* (1801-1854)—French general, marshal from 1852; Bonapartist; War Minister (1851-54); an organiser of the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; commander-in-chief of the French army in the Crimea (1854).—452, 471, 484, 527

*Sand, George* (pen-name of *Amadine Lucie Aurore Dupin, baronne Dudevant*) (1804-1876)—French writer of social novels; representative of the democratic trend in romanticism.—359-60, 362

*Santa Anna, Antonio Lopez de* (c. 1797-1876)—Mexican general and politician, participant in the War of Independence (1821), President of Mexico (1833-36, 1841-44, 1846-48, 1853-55), commander-in-chief during the war with America (1846-48).—504

*Sartiges, Étienne Gilbert-Eugène de* (1809-1892)—French diplomat, envoy to Greece, the USA and other countries.—117

*Sasonow, Nikolai Ivanovich* (1815-1862)—Russian journalist, democrat, radical, emigrated in the early 1840s.—32

*Sassanid (Sassanian) dynasty*—ruling dynasty in Persia (3rd-7th cent.).—340

*Savoye, Henri Charles Joseph* (1802-1869)—Palatinate lawyer, democrat; emigrated to France in 1832, taught German there; supporter of Ledru-Rollin; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); expelled from France after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851.—317

*Say, Jean Baptiste* (1767-1832)—French economist, representative of vulgar political economy.—62, 162

*Schabelitz, Jacob Christian* (1804-1866)—Swiss publisher and bookseller, father of Jacob Lukas Schabelitz.—255

*Schabelitz, Jacob Lukas* (1827-1899)—Swiss publisher and bookseller, member of the Fraternal Democrats society from 1846, member of the Communist League; maintained contact with Marx and Engels in the late 1840s and the early 1850s.—255, 264, 272, 275, 282, 287, 289, 292, 296, 298, 324, 579, 585

*Schapper, Karl* (1812-1870)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, a leader of the League of the Just; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; took part in the revolution of 1848-49 in Germany, a leader of the separatist group after the split in the Communist League in 1850; later a member of the General Council of the First International.—15, 66, 92, 121, 126, 158, 199, 222, 226, 227, 244, 264, 309, 378, 521

*Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von* (1755-1813)—Prussian general and politician; after the defeat of the Prussian army by Napoleon I in 1806, head of the commission for a reform of the army; War Minister (1807-10) and Chief of Staff (1810-13); took an active part in the liberation war of the German people against Napoleonic rule.—526

*Schärttner*—wife of August Schärttner.—162

*Schärttner, August* (1817-1859)—cooper in Hanau, active in the 1848 revolution and the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to London; member of the Communist League, after its split in 1850 joined the separatist Willich-Schapper group and became a member of its Central Authority.—103, 151, 154, 169, 173, 244, 316, 318

*Schickel, Johann* (1827-1909)—shop assistant in Mainz, member of the Communist League; emigrated to the USA in 1849.—18

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—124, 154, 187, 420, 452, 558

*Schily, Victor* (1810-1875)—German lawyer, democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to France; member of the First International.—92, 122, 151, 154, 162, 164, 186, 195, 434, 446

*Schily*—brother of Victor Schily.—187

*Schimmelpfennig, Alexander* (1824-1865)—Prussian army officer, democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, left Germany after its defeat; belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group; took part in the American Civil War on the side of the Union.—73, 92, 114, 125, 135, 151, 154, 204, 213, 224, 266, 297, 300, 313, 427, 433, 436, 439, 441, 443, 444, 558

*Schläger, Eduard*—German democratic journalist; refugee in the USA in the 1850s-70s; editor of the *Neu-England-Zeitung* and publisher of the *Deutsch-Amerikaner* in the early 1850s; returned to Germany in 1880.—349, 350, 366

*Schmidt, Ernst Friedrich Franz* (d. 1853)—German clergyman, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; emigrated to the USA after the 1848-49 revolution; supporter of Kossuth.—52

*Schmolze, Karl Heinrich* (1823-1859)—German cartoonist and poet, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated after its defeat.—162, 313

*Schnauffer, Karl Heinrich* (c. 1823-1854)—German poet and journalist, democrat; took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden in 1848-49, emigrated after the revolution, lived in the USA from 1851, edited the *Baltimore Wecker*.—157, 204, 491, 574

*Schneider II, Karl*—German lawyer, democrat; President of the Cologne Democratic Society and member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats (1848); deputy to the Second Chamber (extreme Left wing) in 1849; counsel for the defence at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—195, 217, 221-24, 226, 228, 231, 234-35, 237, 240, 242, 244

*Schöler, Caroline*—friend of the Marx family.—558

*Schramm, Conrad* (*Konrad*) (c. 1822-1858)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement, member of the Communist League, emigrated to London in 1849; responsible publisher of the *Neue*

*Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—6, 112, 115, 158, 274, 299, 325-26, 336, 542, 545, 569

*Schramm, Rudolf* (1813-1882)—German journalist, democrat; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; opposed Marx; supported Bismarck in the 1860s; brother of Conrad Schramm.—115

*Schulz* (d. 1852)—chief of police in Cologne, one of the organisers of the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—142, 197, 227, 252

*Schunck*—owner of a Manchester trading firm.—353

*Schunck*—wife of Schunck.—353

*Schürmann*—German lawyer, counsel for the defence at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—234

*Schurz, Carl* (1829-1906)—German journalist, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland and then to the USA, subsequently a US statesman.—74, 95, 125, 154, 167, 168, 172, 194, 197, 236

*Schütz, Jacob Friedrich* (1813-1877)—German democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, representative of the Baden Provisional Government in Paris; later a refugee in England, Switzerland and America.—92, 96, 115

*Schwezler von Lecton*—widow of an official resident in Frankfurt am Main.—225, 226

*Scott, Winfield* (1786-1866)—American general, commander-in-chief of the US army (1841-November 1861); during the war against Mexico (1846-48), commanded the army that captured Veracruz and Mexico City.—407, 501, 503

*Seckendorf, August Heinrich Eduard Friedrich, Baron von* (1807-1885)—Prussian legal officer, deputy to the Second Chamber (Centre) in 1849-51; public prosecutor at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—238

*Ségur, Alexandre Joseph Pierre, vicomte de* (1756-1805)—French writer.—208

*Seiler, Sebastian* (c. 1810-c. 1890)—German journalist, member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee in 1846, member of the Communist League, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to London in the early 1850s, moved to the USA in 1856.—36, 44, 45, 50, 278, 465, 466

*Selim Pasha (Zedlinsky)*—Turkish general of Polish descent, commanded the Turkish army on the Danube in 1853-54.—470

*Senior, Nassau William* (1790-1864)—English economist, vulgarised Ricardo's theory.—62

*Seymour, George Hamilton* (1797-1880)—British diplomat, envoy to St. Petersburg (1851-54).—422, 519

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English dramatist and poet.—21, 162, 391, 440, 502, 558

*Shamyl* (c. 1798-1871)—leader of the inhabitants of the mountains in Daghestan and Chechnya against the local feudal lords and tsarist colonisers in the 1830s-50s.—395, 418, 464, 477

*Sidmouth, Henry Addington, Viscount* (1757-1844) — British statesman, Tory; Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer (1801-04); as Home Secretary (1812-21) took repressive measures against the working-class movement.—54

*Sigel, Albert* (1827-1884)—German army officer, journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat, participant in the 1848-49 revolutionary movement in Baden; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to England, and in 1853 to the USA; took part in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—154, 173

*Sigel, Franz* (1824-1902)—Baden army officer, democrat; a military leader of the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland, then to England and, in 1852, to the USA;

took part in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—151, 158, 198, 310, 417

*Simon, August Heinrich* (1805-1860)—German lawyer, journalist and politician; democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; emigrated to Switzerland after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution and became a businessman.—554

*Simon, Ludwig* (1810-1872)—German lawyer, democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five imperial regents in June 1849; emigrated to Switzerland.—39, 40, 42, 44, 55, 102

*Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de* (1773-1842)—Swiss economist, representative of economic romanticism.—346

*Smitt, Fyodor Ivanovich* (c. 1787-1865)—Russian military historian.—138, 311, 393

*Soimonov, Fyodor Ivanovich* (1800-1854)—Russian general, commanded the Russian army on the Danube and the Crimea during the Crimean war, was killed at the battle of Inkermann.—470

*Solis y Rivadeneira, Antonio de* (1610-1686)—Spanish historian, poet and dramatist.—501, 503

*Solomon*—King of Judaea (c. 974-c. 937 B.C.).—349

*Soubise, Charles de Rohan, prince de* (1715-1787)—Louis XV's favourite; marshal, fought in the Seven Years' War (1756-63), commanded the French army on the Rhine (1761-62).—488-89

*Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu, duc de Dalmatie* (1769-1851)—Marshal of France and statesman, commanded the French forces in Spain from 1808 to 1814; War Minister (1830-34, 1840-45), Foreign Minister (1839-40), and Prime Minister (1832-34, 1839-40, 1840-47).—456

*Spartacus*—see *Linton, William James*

*Spielmann*—London banker.—322, 352, 356, 359, 368, 385

*Spinoza, Baruch (Benedictus), de* (1632-1677)—Dutch philosopher.—144

*Standau, Julius*—German teacher; participant in the democratic movement in Germany in the 1830s and 1840s and in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to the USA after the defeat of the revolution.—52

*Stanley*—see *Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Earl of*

*Stechan, Gottlieb Ludwig* (born c. 1814)—Hanover joiner, member of the Communist League; belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group after the split in the League (1850); rejoined the supporters of Marx and Engels in December 1851; head of a workers' society in London from January 1852.—14, 15, 19, 72, 227, 233, 521

*Steffen, Wilhelm*—former Prussian army officer; witness for the defence at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); emigrated to Britain in 1853 and afterwards to the USA; closely associated with Marx and Engels in the 1850s.—282, 290, 312, 401, 402, 409, 436, 480, 482, 521, 544, 548

*Stehely*—owner of the confectionery in Berlin where members of The Free group used to meet in the 1840s.—449

*Stein, Carl*—Cologne banker, witness for the defence at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—143

*Stein, Julius* (1813-1889)—Silesian teacher and journalist; democrat; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; an editor of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* (1850s); editor of the *Breslauer Zeitung* (from 1862).—502

*Steinthal*—owner of the Manchester trading firm in which Georg Weerth was employed.—217, 219, 334, 336

*Stenzel, Gustav Adolf Harald* (1792-1854)—German historian.—160

*Stéphanie-Louise-Adrienne* (née *Beauharnais*) (1789-1860)—Grand Duchess of Baden (from 1811), relative of Napoleon III.—36

*Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882)—chief of

the Prussian political police (1850-60); an organiser of and principal witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); jointly with Wermuth wrote the book *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*.—215, 218, 219, 222, 224-34, 240, 243, 298, 314-16, 318, 319, 321, 396, 577, 580

*Stirner, Max* (real name *Schmidt, Johann Caspar*) (1806-1856)—German Young Hegelian philosopher, an ideologist of individualism and anarchism.—50, 55, 135, 161, 170, 174, 449

*Stirner-Schmidt, Marie Wilhelmine* (née *Dähnhardt*) (1818-1902)—Max Stirner's wife.—130, 170

*Stopford, Sir Robert* (1768-1847)—English admiral, Commander-in-Chief of the British fleet in the Mediterranean (1837-41).—456

*Strassoldo, Julius Cäsar, Count* (1791-1855)—Austrian general, took part in suppressing the national liberation movement in Italy in 1848-49; commanded a division stationed in Milan (1853); assistant of Radetzky.—281

*Stratford de Redcliffe, Stratford Canning, Viscount* (1786-1880)—British diplomat, envoy and then ambassador to Constantinople (1810-12, 1825-28, 1841-58).—408

*Strauss*—German democrat, emigrated to London in the 1850s.—154

*Strauss, David Friedrich* (1808-1874)—German Young Hegelian philosopher and journalist.—462

*Streit, Feodor* (1820-1904)—German lawyer, journalist and publisher, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany.—161, 175, 182

*Strodtmann, Adolf* (1829-1879)—German writer, democrat; took part in the Schleswig-Holstein revolutionary movement (1848), left Germany in 1850; Gottfried Kinkel's biographer.—125

*Strohn, Wilhelm*—Communist League member; friend of Marx and Engels; refugee resident in Bradford.—88, 124, 132, 233, 236, 237, 245, 251, 255, 315, 321, 325, 328, 356, 386, 400, 542

*Struve, Amalie* (d. 1862)—participant in the German democratic movement (1848-49); Gustav Struve's wife.—45

*Struve, Gustav von* (1805-1870)—German journalist, democrat; a leader of the Baden uprisings in April and September 1848 and of the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated after the defeat of the revolution; a leader of German refugees in England; took part in the American Civil War on the side of the Union; returned to Germany in 1862.—45, 98, 142

*Sutherland, Harriet Elisabeth Georgiana Leveson-Gower, Duchess* (1806-1868)—big Scottish landowner, Whig.—273, 289

*Szemere, Bartholomäus* (*Bertalan*) (1812-1869)—Hungarian politician and journalist, Minister of the Interior (1848) and head of the revolutionary government (1849); emigrated after the defeat of the revolution.—31, 32, 45, 65, 71, 73, 77, 93, 95, 99, 101, 105, 106, 131, 133, 134, 174, 212, 237, 267-70, 277, 280, 291, 299, 302, 304, 313, 572

*Szeredy*—Hungarian refugee in London, author of the book *Asiatic Chiefs*.—543

*Szerelmey, Miklós* (1803-1875)—Hungarian army officer, military engineer and journalist; took part in the July 1830 revolution in France and the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; emigrated to England in 1850.—77, 93, 98, 100, 108

*Szirmay, Pál, Count* (1804-1883)—Hungarian refugee, emissary of Kossuth in Paris in the early 1850s.—268, 269

*Sznayde, Franz* (1790-1850)—participant in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, general of the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army in 1849.—138

T

*Tacitus* (*Publius Cornelius*) (c. 55-

c. 120)—Roman historian and orator.—180

*Taschereau, Jules Antoine* (1801-1874)—French journalist and politician, member of the editorial board of *Le National;* publisher of *Revue rétrospective* (1833-37 and 1848), in which a slanderous document against Blanqui appeared; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (Right wing) in 1848-49; later Bonapartist.—209

*Tausenau, Karl* (1808-1873)—journalist in Prague, head of the Central Committee of Democratic Societies in Vienna during the 1848 revolution; emigrated to London in 1849.—126, 173, 194, 555

*Tavernier*—author of anonymous pamphlets (1855) criticising actions of the French army command in the Crimean war.—545

*Taylor, Bayard* (1825-1878)—American traveller, writer and journalist, correspondent of the *New-York Daily Tribune.*—439

*Taylor, Tom* (1817-1880)—English writer of comedies and journalist; in the 1850s contributor to and in 1874-80 editor of *Punch.*—179

*Taylor, Zachary* (1784-1850)—American general and politician, big planter and slave-owner; commanded American troops on the Rio Grande during the war against Mexico (1846-48); President of the USA (1849-50).—501, 503

*Techow, Gustav Adolf* (1813-1893)—Prussian army officer, democrat, participant in the revolutionary events of 1848 in Berlin, Chief of the General Staff of the Palatinate revolutionary army; a leader of Revolutionary Centralisation, a refugee organisation in Switzerland; moved to Australia in 1852.—91, 92, 114, 130, 150, 152, 170, 174, 205, 244

*Tellering*—see *Müller-Tellering, Eduard von*

*Temme, Jodocus Donatus Hubertus* (1798-1881)—German lawyer and writer, democrat; Left-wing deputy to the Prussian National Assembly in 1848 and to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1849; later a progressist.—23, 34, 554

*Terence, Publius Terentius Afer* (c. 190-159 B.C.).—Roman dramatist.—403

*Tesseler, von*—juryman at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—206

*Thaly, Sigismund* (1814-1886)—Hungarian engineer, relative and friend of Kossuth, took part in the 1848-49 revolution, chief of the Komarom fortifications; left Hungary after the fall of the fortress; returned after the amnesty in the 1860s.—159

*Thierry, Jacques Nicolas Augustin* (1795-1856)—French liberal, historian of the Restoration.—61, 473-76

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman; Prime Minister (1836, 1840); deputy to the Constituent Assembly in 1848; head of the Orleanists after 1848; organised the suppression of the Paris Commune; President of the Republic (1871-73).—171, 263, 448

*Thomas, Antoine Léonard* (1732-1785)—French man of letters, shared views of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment philosophers; member of the French Academy (from 1767).—208

*Thoré, Étienne Joseph Théophile* (1807-1869)—French politician, lawyer and journalist, democrat, took an active part in the 1848 revolution; emigrated to England after the events of 15 May 1848; returned to France in 1860.—50

*Tolstoi, Yakov Nikolayevich* (1791-1867)—Russian man of letters; emigrated to Paris in 1823; from 1837 correspondent of the Ministry of Public Education and secret agent of the 3rd Department (a political police department set up under Nicholas I).—437

*Torrens, Robert* (1780-1864)—English economist, vulgarised Ricardo's teaching.—62

*Trübner, Nikolaus* (1817-1884)—German bookseller and publisher in London.—94, 102, 414, 472

*Tucker*—London publisher.—407, 412, 472, 473, 500, 536

*Tzschirner, Samuel Erdmann* (c. 1812-1870)—German lawyer, democrat; extreme Left leader in the Saxonian Diet, an organiser of the May 1849 uprising in Dresden, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland after the defeat of the revolution, member of the Revolutionary Centralisation Central Committee; later moved to England.—417

U

*Unger, Joseph* (b. 1828)—Austrian lawyer and politician, author of works on civil law.—208

*Urban, Karl, Baron von* (1802-1877)—Austrian army officer of Rumanian extraction, general from 1850; took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary.—460

*Urquhart, David* (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician, Turkophile, carried out diplomatic missions in Turkey in the 1830s; exposed the foreign policy of Palmerston and the Whigs, M.P. (1847-52); founder and editor of *The Free Press* newspaper.—284, 292, 357, 363, 364, 373, 395, 398, 407, 412, 413, 417, 419, 422, 428, 430, 438, 440, 448, 450, 455, 473, 486, 523

V

*Valentini, Georg Wilhelm, Baron von* (1775-1834)—Prussian general and military writer, fought in the wars against the French Republic and Napoleonic France; served in the Russian army (1810-11), fought in the Russo-Turkish war of 1806-12.—417

*Vallières*—French revolutionary, democrat, supporter of Barbès; emigrated to London in the 1850s.—32

*Vasbenter, Louis*—French democrat, an editor of the Proudhonist newspapers *La Voix du Peuple, Le Peuple* and others (1850); emigrated to England and later to the USA.—73

*Vehse, Karl Eduard* (1802-1870)—German historian, acquaintance of Georg Weerth.—237, 245, 254

*Venedey, Jakob* (1805-1871)—German radical journalist and politician, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; liberal after the 1848-49 revolution.—504, 509

*Vetter, Antal (Doggenfeldi)* (1803-1882)—Hungarian general, associate of Kossuth in 1848-49; emigrated after the defeat of the revolution.—170, 180, 237, 261, 299

*Victor, Claude Victor Perrin, duc de Bellune* (1764-1841)—French marshal, participant in the wars of Napoleonic France; War Minister (1821-23); an organiser of the French intervention in Spain (1823).—495

*Victoria* (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901).—276, 285, 446

*Villèle, Jean Baptiste Séraphin Joseph, comte de* (1773-1854)—French statesman of the Restoration, Legitimist; Prime Minister (1822-28).—492-94, 497

*Vindex, Gaius Julius* (d. 68)—Roman procurator of *Lugdunensis*, one of the three provinces of Gaul; a Gaul by birth; raised a revolt of Gallic troops against Nero (67) offering power to Galba, Roman governor of Spain; committed suicide after the quelling of the revolt.—304

*Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro)* (70-19 B.C.)—Roman poet.—394, 523, 555

*Visconti*—see *Arconati Visconti, Constanza, Marquise*

*Vittinghof*—German refugee in London, supporter of Arnold Ruge.—499

*Vogt, Karl* (1817-1895)—German natural scientist, vulgar materialist, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five imperial regents (June 1849); emigrated to Switzerland in 1849; received subsidies from Napoleon III in the 1850s and 1860s; exposed by Marx in his pamphlet *Herr Vogt*.—42, 44, 98, 125, 478

*Voltaire, François Marie Arouet* (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—291, 449

*Vorontsov, Mikhail Semyonovich, Prince* (1782-1856)—Russian statesman, general, took part in the wars against Napoleonic France, commander-in-chief of the Russian forces in the Caucasus and Governor of the Caucasus (1844-54).—395, 472

*Vulpius, Christian August* (1762-1827)—German writer, author of the novel *Rinaldo Rinaldini*.—296, 390

W

*Wade, John* (1788-1875)—British journalist, economist and historian.—61

*Wakefield, Edward Gibbon* (1796-1862)—British statesman and economist.—62

*Walmsley, Sir Joshua* (1794-1871)—British radical politician, M. P.—59.

*Walter, John* (1818-1894)—British publisher; chief owner and editor of *The Times*; moderate Liberal, M. P.—276

*Washington, George* (1732-1799)—American statesman; commander-in-chief of the North American army in the War of Independence (1775-83); first President of the USA (1789-97).—485

*Watts, John* (1818-1887)—British journalist, at first utopian socialist and follower of Owen, later a bourgeois liberal.—424, 427, 435

*Webb, James Watson* (1802-1884)—American journalist and diplomat; owner and publisher of the *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer* (1829-61); US plenipotentiary in Vienna (1849-50).—105, 174, 396

*Weber, Carl Maria von* (1786-1826)—German composer.—453

*Weerth, Georg* (1822-1856)—German proletarian poet and journalist; shop assistant; member of the Communist League; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); friend of Marx and Engels.—5, 6, 10, 16, 22, 27, 29, 79, 88, 132, 194, 198, 201, 202, 211, 215, 216, 217, 221, 225, 227, 229, 230, 232, 233, 236, 237, 239-42, 245-51, 254, 255, 297, 304, 391, 397, 455, 556, 560, 567, 568, 571, 578

*Weitling, Wilhelm* (1808-1871)—one of the early leaders of the working-class movement in Germany, a tailor by trade; member of the League of the Just, a theoretician of utopian egalitarian communism; emigrated to the USA in 1849.—72, 121, 122, 141, 173, 275, 296, 341, 351, 449

*Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of* (1769-1852)—British general and statesman, Tory; commanded the British army in the wars against Napoleon I (1808-14, 1815); commander-in-chief (1827-28, 1842-52), Prime Minister (1828-30), Foreign Secretary (1834-35).—53, 195, 197, 250, 393, 487-88

*Wenckstern, Otto von* (1819-1869)—German journalist, member of *The Times* and *Daily News* editorial board

in the early 1850s; Prussian spy in London.—438

*Westphalen, Anna Elisabeth Franziska*—Jenny Marx's sister.—581

*Westphalen, Caroline von* (d. 1856)—Jenny Marx's mother.—71, 409, 411, 463, 526, 575

*Westphalen, Ferdinand Otto Wilhelm Henning von* (1799-1876)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1850-58); Jenny Marx's stepbrother.—409, 411, 526

*Westphalen, Gerhard Julius Oscar Ludwig Edgar von* (1819-1890)—Jenny Marx's brother, member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee (1846); lived in America in 1847-65.—71, 434, 542, 575, 590

*Westphalen, Heinrich Georg von* (1768-1855)—Jenny Marx's uncle.—50, 55, 526

*Westphalen, Louise von* (1805-1861)—Ferdinand von Westphalen's wife.—50

*Weydemeyer, Joseph* (1818-1866)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; a responsible editor of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* (1849-50); emigrated to the USA in 1851; fought in the Civil War on the side of the Union; disseminated Marxism in the USA; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10-11, 13-19, 20, 25-29, 32, 33-43, 50, 52, 54, 55, 59-62, 65, 67, 70-72, 77, 79, 80, 81, 85, 88, 90, 94, 95, 96, 100, 102, 103, 106-08, 114, 117-20, 123, 126, 129, 131, 135, 137, 157, 160, 161, 164, 174, 175, 178, 180, 182, 185, 207, 210, 228, 251, 261, 263, 273, 301, 302, 303, 304, 311, 312, 314, 318, 323-24, 325, 330, 331, 335, 350, 359, 367, 371, 377, 401-03, 409, 412, 429, 569-72, 579, 580-84, 586-88

*Weydemeyer, Louise*—Joseph Weydemeyer's wife.—3, 19, 34, 35, 42, 54, 65, 81, 97, 116, 311, 319, 570, 572

*Whately, Richard* (1787-1863)—English theologian, philosopher and economist; liberal.—62

*Wilhelmi, Franz*—German democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; after its defeat emigrated to the USA, fought in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—6

*Wilkes, John* (1727-1797)—English journalist and radical politician, M. P.; author of lampoons against George III's absolutism.—489

*Wilks, Washington* (c. 1826-1864)—English radical journalist, an editor of *The Morning Star*.—429

*William I (Wilhelm I)* (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, King of Prussia (1861-88), Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—94, 96, 141, 151, 155, 573, 574

*Williams, Charles*—pseudonym used by Karl Marx for reasons of security.—277, 291

*Willich, August* (1810-1878)—Prussian officer, resigned from the army on account of his political views, member of the Communist League, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, a leader of the separatist group that split away from the Communist League in 1850; emigrated to the USA in 1853, general in the Union army during the Civil War.—6, 15, 29, 42, 44, 66, 72, 74, 80, 86, 92, 93, 96, 98, 100, 101, 103, 112, 114, 115, 120-21, 126, 128, 130, 135, 136, 141, 150, 152, 154-56, 158, 161, 162, 164, 167, 169, 172, 173, 195, 203, 206, 213, 222, 226, 235, 236, 244, 245, 260, 264, 265-66, 273, 274, 283, 296, 299, 304, 309, 313, 316, 317, 319, 325, 326, 330, 331, 335-36, 342, 345, 348, 351, 371, 378, 396, 398, 402, 403, 442, 444, 450, 569, 570, 573-77, 580, 582, 586, 587

*Willisen, Karl Wilhelm, Baron von* (1790-1879)—Prussian general and military theorist; royal commissioner in Posen (1848); commander-in-chief of the Schleswig-Holstein army in the war against Denmark (1850).—103, 104, 310, 451, 452

*Windischgrätz, Alfred, Prince zu* (1787-1862)—Austrian field marshal; commanded the army that crushed the uprising in Prague and Vienna (1848), led the Austrian army against the Hungarian revolution (1848-49).—460

*Wingham*—London magistrate.—223, 232, 235

*Winkelried, Erni* (*Arnold*) (d. 1386)—semi-legendary hero in the liberation war of the Swiss against the Habsburgs; legend has it that he sacrificed his life to secure victory over Duke Leopold of Austria in the battle of Sempach (1386).—14

*Wiss, Georg Eduard*—German physician and journalist, Young Hegelian, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to London in the early 1850s and then to the USA; editor of *Der Deutsche Correspondent* (Baltimore).—206, 449-50, 588

*Wolff, Ferdinand* (*Red Wolff*) (1812-1895)—German journalist, member of the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); emigrated after the 1848-49 revolution; supported Marx and Engels; subsequently gave up politics.—3, 22, 164, 305, 386, 391, 509, 571, 584

*Wolff, Pius Alexander* (1782-1828)—German actor and dramatist.—455

*Wolff, Wilhelm* (*Lupus*) (1809-1864)—German teacher, proletarian revolutionary, prominent figure in the Communist League; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); took an active part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to Switzerland after the revolution and later to England; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—3, 8, 10, 13, 14, 16, 26, 31, 32, 42-43, 55, 58, 94, 108, 111, 115, 133, 140, 142, 149, 160, 189, 199, 211, 219, 224, 231, 260, 290, 304, 312, 313, 324, 334, 336, 355-58, 364, 369-72, 374, 377, 386, 391, 394, 396, 397, 398-400, 402, 410, 412, 420, 421, 428, 444, 454, 458, 471, 480, 498, 506, 529, 536, 538, 547, 549, 554, 560, 570, 573, 578, 584, 586

*Wood*—innkeeper in London.—271

*Wood, Sir Charles, Viscount Halifax* (1800-1885)—British statesman, Whig; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1846-52), President of the Board of Control for India (1852-55), First Lord of the Admiralty (1855-58) and Secretary of State for India (1859-66).—136, 517

*Worcell, Stanislaw* (1799-1857)—Polish revolutionary, utopian socialist, took part in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, a leader of the democratic wing of Polish emigrants, member of Centralisation and of the Central Committee of European Democracy.—138, 359, 401, 438

*Worth, William Jenkins* (1794-1849)—American general, commanded American forces in the war against Mexico (1846-48).—503

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*Zerffi, Gustav* (pseudonym *Piali*) (1820-1892)—Hungarian journalist, emigrated to Turkey after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution, refugee in Paris from 1851 and in London from the spring of 1853; secret agent of the Austrian police.—171, 178, 183, 194, 196, 200, 267-70, 277, 291, 296-301

*Zimmermann*—German refugee in London, innkeeper.—271

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*Afrasiab*—character in old Persian legends, King of the legendary Turin; was repeatedly defeated in wars with Persia.—342
*Alcina*—character in Ariosto's *L'Orlando furioso*.—390

*Bazile*—character in Beaumarchais' *Le barbier de Seville*.—297, 300

*Birch, Harvey*—character in J. F. Cooper's novel *The Spy*.—217

*Cerberus* (Gr. myth.)—three-headed dog guarding the entrance to Hades; the name came to signify a fierce guard.—150, 266
*Christ, Jesus* (Bib.).—41, 42, 73, 296
*Corydon*—shepherd suffering from unrequited love in pastoral poetry.—336

*Don Quixote*—title character in Cervantes' novel.—493

*Faust*—title character in Goethe's tragedy.—262, 447
*Fridolin*—character in Schiller's ballad *Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer*, a kindly and modest enamoured youth.—452

*Goliath* (Bib.)—a Philistine giant slain by David during the war between the Philistines and the Israelites.—440

*Isegrim*—a wolf in Goethe's poem *Reineke Fuchs*.—585

*Jason* (Gr. myth.)—leader of the Argonauts in quest of the Golden Fleece, which was guarded by a dragon.—45
*Jesus* (Bib.)—see *Christ, Jesus*
*John* (Bib.)—one of the Twelve Apostles, Christ's favourite disciple.—284

*King Lear*—mythological King of Britain, hero of a legend that provided the theme for Shakespeare's tragedy.—162
*Kobes I*—a philistine, title character in a satirical poem by Heine; also nickname of Jakob Venedey (Kobes means Jakob in a dialect spoken in Cologne, where Venedey was born).—504, 509
*Krapülinski* (*Crapülinski*)—one of the main characters in Heine's poem *Zwei Ritter*, a spendthrift Polish nobleman (the name comes from the French word *crapule* meaning gluttony, hard drinking and also scoundrel, idler).—276, 438, 568

*Lazarus* (Bib.).—590
*Leporello*—Don Giovanni's servant in Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni*.—556
*Ligurio*—character in Machiavelli's comedy *Mandragola*.—125

*Malvolio*—character in Shakespeare's comedy *Twelfth Night*.—440
*Manu*—legendary law-giver of ancient India; the *Laws of Manu* were compiled by Brahmins between the first and fifth centuries.—348
*Mary* (Bib.).—310

*Nemesis* (Gr. myth.)—goddess of retributive justice.—402
*Nicia*—character in Machiavelli's comedy *Mandragola*.—125
*Noah* (Bib.)—patriarch, said to have survived the Deluge in a wooden ark built on an order from God.—326

*Pangloss, Doctor*—character in *Candide*, a philosophical novel by Voltaire.—449
*Pegasus* (Gr. myth.)—winged horse; to mount Pegasus, an expression that originated in the fifteenth century in Europe on the basis of later myths, means 'to be inspired'.—571
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*Ralpho*—character in Samuel Butler's satirical poem *Hudibras*.—334
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*Rhadamanthus* (Gr. myth.)—son of Zeus and Europa; one of the judges of the dead in the lower world.—30
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*Sancho Panza* (*Pansa*)—a character in Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.—170, 362
*Schelmufski*—character in works by the German satirist Christian Reuter (1665-after 1712); a liar and braggart, who liked to make up stories about his travels and adventures; Heine used this character in his poem *Zwei Ritter*.—587
*Schlemihl, Peter*—character in Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihl's wundersame Geschichte*, who exchanged his shadow for a magic purse.—457
*Siegwart*—hero of Johann Miller's sentimental novel *Siegwart. Eine Klostergeschichte*.—74
*Snug*—character in Shakespeare's comedy *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.—391

*Uriah* (Bib.)—husband of Bathsheba, a Hittite officer in the Israelite army. David who coveted his wife, contrived his death in battle.—442, 445

*Waschlapski*—character in Heine's poem *Zwei Ritter*, a Polish nobleman who leads a life of idleness in emigration.—401, 587

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*Deutsche Londoner Zeitung. Blätter für Politik, Literatur und Kunst*—a literary and political weekly published by German refugees in London from April 1845 to February 1851. It was edited by the petty-bourgeois democrat Ludwig Bamberger and supported financially by the deposed Duke Charles of Brunswick. Ferdinand Freiligrath was a member of the editorial board from 1847 to 1851. The newspaper carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—370

*Deutsche Schnellpost für Europäische Zustände, öffentliches und sociales Leben Deutschlands*—an organ of the German moderate democratic émigrés in the USA published twice weekly in New York from 1843 to 1851. In 1848 and 1851 its editor was Karl Heinzen; in 1851 Arnold Ruge was also on its editorial board.—116

*Deutsche Volkshalle*—a clerical daily in opposition to the Prussian Government, published in Cologne from 1849 to 1855.—282

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*Kölnische Zeitung*—a daily published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; in the 1850s it voiced the interests of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie.—7, 23, 34, 75, 89, 90, 95, 142, 206, 215, 238, 240, 243, 244, 297, 367, 504, 547, 575, 576, 578

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*Militär-Wochenblatt*—a weekly published in Berlin from 1816 to 1943.—164

*Le Moniteur universel*—a daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1901; from 1799 to 1869 it was an official government newspaper; it appeared under this title from 1811.—17, 404, 458

*The Morning Advertiser*—a daily published in London from 1794 to 1934; in the 1850s it was a newspaper of the radical bourgeoisie.—73, 112-13, 207, 210, 224, 231, 235, 243, 260, 357, 359, 364, 373, 377, 417, 438, 440, 462, 473, 486, 499, 515, 523-24, 546, 548, 558

*The Morning Chronicle*—a daily published in London from 1770 to 1862; the newspaper of the Whigs, in the early 1850s of the Peelites, and then of the Conservatives.—129, 143, 164, 276, 470, 482, 524

*Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer*—a newspaper of the Whig Party, published in New York from 1829 to 1861 first twice weekly and from 1832 weekly; its publisher and owner was James Webb.—396

*The Morning Herald*—a conservative daily published in London from 1780 to 1869.—132, 276, 406, 438, 546, 563

*The Morning Post*—a conservative daily published in London from 1772 to 1937; in the mid-nineteenth century it was the mouthpiece of the Right wing of the Whig Party grouped round Palmerston.—276, 289, 292, 295, 563

*La Nation, organe quotidien démocrate socialiste*—a newspaper of Belgian petty-bourgeois democrats published in Brussels from 1848 to 1856.—71, 73, 297

*Le National*—a daily published in Paris from 1830 to 1851; the newspaper of the moderate republicans in the 1840s.—447

*National-Zeitung*—a daily published in Berlin from 1848 to 1915; it followed a liberal line in the 1850s.—23, 225, 243

*National-Zeitung* (Basle)—see *Schweizerische National-Zeitung*

*The Naval and Military Gazette*—a weekly dealing with military problems and colonial policy, published in London from 1833 to 1886.—422

*Neu-England-Zeitung*—a German-language daily published by the petty-bourgeois refugees in Boston (USA) from 1846 to 1853; one of its editors was Eduard Schläger, and among its contributors were Adolf Cluss and Joseph Weydemeyer.—298, 299, 302, 317, 326, 330, 349, 369, 377, 387

*Neue Oder-Zeitung*—a German democratic daily published under this title in Breslau (Wrocław) from 1849 to 1855; in the 1850s it was the most radical paper in Germany; in 1855 Marx was its London correspondent.—360, 502, 506, 507, 515, 534, 537, 553-54

*Neue Preußische Zeitung*—a daily newspaper of the Prussian junkers and Court circles, published in Berlin from June 1848 to 1939; also known as *Kreuz-Zeitung* because the heading contained a cross bearing the device 'Forward with God for King and Fatherland!'—61, 210, 216, 226, 502

*Neue Pr. Z.*—see *Neue Preußische Zeitung*

*Neue Rheinische; N. Rh. Z.*—see *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Democratie*

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Democratie*—a daily newspaper of the revolutionary-proletarian wing of the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; it was published in Cologne under the editorship of Marx from 1 June 1848 to 19 May 1849, with an interval between 27 September and 12 October 1848.—34, 45, 76, 79, 99, 103, 120, 128, 138, 187, 215, 222, 225, 231, 240, 273, 360, 362, 366, 421, 423, 451, 542, 553, 567, 568, 577

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*—a theoretical journal of the Communist League; it was founded by Marx and Engels in December 1849 and published till November 1850.—3, 34, 52, 61

*Neue Zeit*—a weekly of the German petty-bourgeois democratic refugees in New York from 1855 to 1858.—547

*New Rhenish Gazette*—see *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Democratie*

*New-York Daily Tribune*—a newspaper founded by Horace Greeley in 1841 and published until 1924; till the mid-1850s it was a newspaper of the American Left-wing Whigs, then of the Republican Party; in the 1840s and 1850s it opposed slavery. Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862. The newspaper had several special issues, among them the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* and the *New-York Weekly Tribune*.—3, 4, 6, 10-11, 13, 17, 32, 36, 37, 40, 43, 44, 55, 58, 67, 69, 85, 94, 97, 106, 120, 145, 147, 161, 189, 207, 212, 246, 247, 252, 261, 268, 272, 288, 293, 298, 299, 315, 329, 332, 334, 345, 346, 350, 355, 359, 361, 365, 366, 369, 387, 395, 396, 398, 399, 404, 406, 414, 422, 429, 432, 433, 436, 437, 439, 447, 450, 455, 472, 473, 479, 485, 500, 508, 515, 536, 537, 542, 547, 548, 549, 559, 560, 571, 578, 579, 583, 586, 590

*New-York Enquirer*—see *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer*

*The New-York Herald*—a daily newspaper of the Republican Party published from 1835 to 1924.—162, 429

*The New-York Times*—a daily newspaper of the Republican Party founded in 1851.—357, 546, 548

*New-York Tribune*—see *New-York Daily Tribune*

*New-Yorker Abendzeitung*—a petty-bourgeois democratic newspaper published by German refugees in the USA in the 1850s.—260

*New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*—see *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*

*New-Yorker Demokrat*—a German-language newspaper published by the petty-bourgeois refugees in the USA from 1848.—52, 299, 302

*New-Yorker Deutsche Zeitung, herausgegeben von Freunden des Fortschritts*—a daily published in 1851 by Karl Heinzen, organ of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in the USA.—206

*New-Yorker Staatszeitung*—a German-language democratic daily founded in 1834; later an organ of the US Democratic Party.—44, 195

*The Northern Star*—a weekly, central organ of the Chartists; published from 1837 to 1852, first in Leeds, and from November 1844 in London. Its founder and editor was Feargus O'Connor, George Julian Harney being one of its editors.

Engels contributed to it from 1843 to 1850. From 20 March to 24 April 1852 it appeared as *The Star* and then up to November 1852 as *The Star of Freedom*.—15, 89, 107, 162, 164, 266

*Notes to the People*—a Chartist weekly edited by Ernest Jones and published in London in 1851 and 1852; Marx and Engels supported the journal, took part in editing and publishing it, and printed a number of articles in it between June 1851 and April 1852.—3, 15, 38, 42, 65, 72, 75

*The Observer*—an English conservative weekly published in London since 1791.—482

*Oesterreichische Militärische Zeitschrift*—a military journal published in Vienna once or twice monthly from 1808 to 1870 (with intervals).—164

*La Patrie. Journal du commerce, de l'agriculture, de l'industrie, de la littérature, des sciences et des arts*—a daily published in Paris from 1841 to 1871; in 1850 spoke for the Party of Order (the monarchist bourgeoisie) and later took a Bonapartist stand.—17, 73, 76

*The People's Paper*—a Chartist weekly, founded in London in May 1852 by Ernest Jones and published until 1858; Marx and Engels contributed to it from October 1852 to December 1856 and helped with its editing.—72, 89, 99, 107, 139, 140, 149, 150, 162, 175, 195, 207, 222, 224, 243, 266, 276, 317, 325, 364, 369, 399, 482, 483, 502, 522, 525, 527, 536, 575

*Philadelphier Demokrat*—a German-language democratic newspaper published under different titles from 1839 to 1918. First it appeared as *Der Demokrat;* under the above title it was published by L. A. Wollenweber and J. L. Hoffmann from 1847 to December 1853.—241

*Der Pionier*—a weekly of the German petty-bourgeois democratic refugees published in New York (1854-58) and Boston (1859-79); its editor-in-chief was Karl Heinzen.—433, 462, 542

*Полярная звезда (Polar Star)*—a literary and socio-political yearly voicing revolutionary-democratic views; it was published in London by A. I. Herzen from 1855 to 1862 and in 1869; eight books in all came out.—537

*The Portfolio*—a collection of diplomatic papers and documents published by David Urquhart in London. The series *The Portfolio; or a Collection of State Papers* was published in 1835-37; and another, *The Portfolio. Diplomatic Review,* in 1843-45.—393

*The Press*—a Tory weekly published in London from 1853 to 1866.—25

*La Presse*—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1866; mouthpiece of the opposition to the July monarchy in the 1840s; newspaper of the moderate republicans in 1848 and 1849, and later of the Bonapartists; from 1836 to 1857 it was edited by Emile de Girardin.—447, 526

*Putnam's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science, and Art*—a mouthpiece of the Republicans published in New York from 1853 to 1870; in 1855 it carried Engels' series of articles, *The Armies of Europe*.—537, 546, 547

*The Red Republican*—a Chartist weekly published by George Julian Harney in London from June to November 1850; it carried the first English translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Marx and Engels.—60

*Die Reform*—a German-language newspaper of the American Workers' Association, which consisted mostly of the German emigrant workers; it was published in New York from 5 March 1853 to 26 April 1854 first once a week, then twice a week, and from 15 October 1853 daily. Joseph Weydemeyer was its co-editor and Adolf Cluss a permanent contributor; it frequently printed articles by Marx and Engels from the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—312, 318, 326, 366, 370, 372, 391, 396, 397, 402, 403, 421, 439, 441, 443, 446, 450, 453, 462, 583, 587

*La Réforme*—a daily newspaper of democratic republicans and petty-bourgeois socialists published in Paris from 1843 to 1850.—31

*Republik der Arbeiter*—a workers' weekly published by Wilhelm Weitling in New York from 1850 to 1855; it voiced the views of egalitarian communists.—72, 275, 449

*Revista militar*—a military journal published in Lisbon from 1849 to 1916.—540

*Die Revolution*—a communist journal published by Joseph Weydemeyer in New York in 1852; two weekly issues appeared—on 6 and 13 January; two 'non-periodic' issues appeared in May and June.—3, 8, 11, 19, 25, 27, 29, 41, 43, 52, 58, 60, 65, 71, 72, 77, 95, 96, 102, 118, 120, 157, 160, 391, 570, 572

*Reynolds' Newspaper*—a radical weekly published in London from 1850; supported Chartists in the early 1850s.—502

*Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*—a daily founded on 1 January 1842 as an organ of the Rhenish bourgeois opposition; it was published in Cologne till 31 March 1843 and was edited by Marx from 15 October 1842 to 17 March 1843; it assumed a strongly pronounced revolutionary democratic complexion, which led to its suppression. Engels was one of its contributors.—507

*Schnellpost*—see *Deutsche Schnellpost für Europäische Zustände, öffentliches und sociales Leben Deutschlands*

*Schweizerische National-Zeitung*—a liberal daily published in Basle from 1842 to 1858.—166

*Северная пчела (Northern Bee)*—a semi-official government and literary newspaper published in St. Petersburg from 1825 to 1864.—433

*The Spectator*—a weekly published in London from 1828; first liberal and later conservative.—30, 224, 243, 260

*The Spirit of Freedom*—an English newspaper close to the Chartists; it was published by Gerald Massey in 1849.—30

*Staats-Anzeiger*—see *Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger*

*Staats- und Gelehrten-Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten*—a monarchist daily published in Hamburg from 1814 to 1868.—423

*Staatszeitung*—see *New-Yorker Staatszeitung*

*The Star; The Star of Freedom*—see *The Northern Star*

*The Sun*—a liberal daily published in London from 1798 to 1876.—7, 25

*The Sunday Times*—a weekly published in London from 1822; a mouthpiece of the Whigs in the 1850s.—536

*Tages-Chronik*—a democratic newspaper published in Bremen from 1849 to 1851. It was edited by Rudolph Dulon; from January 1851 it appeared under the title *Bremer Tages-Chronik. Organ der Demokratie.*—173

*Telegraph*—see *The Daily Telegraph*

*The Times*—a daily founded in London in 1785 under the title *Daily Universal Register;* appears under the above title from 1 January 1788.—20, 25, 26, 30, 59, 61, 106, 129, 143, 146, 189, 210, 224, 253, 276, 277, 282, 285, 295, 317, 319, 329, 355, 373, 405, 409, 410, 418, 422, 433, 435, 438, 439, 441, 455, 458, 460, 472, 514, 516, 518, 519, 523, 525, 546, 547, 564

*Tribune*—see *New-York Daily Tribune*

*Die Turn-Zeitung. Organ des socialistischen Turnerbundes*—a newspaper of German democratic emigrants in the USA; it was published from 1851 to 1861 monthly and later fortnightly, first in New York and from 1 November 1853 in Philadelphia; Cluss and Weydemeyer were among its contributors.—94, 96, 100, 102, 107, 119, 578

*Union*—see *The Washington Union*

*Das Volk*—a German-language newspaper published by the petty-bourgeois democrat Karl Heinzen in the USA in the 1850s.—319

*Volkshalle*—see *Deutsche Volkshalle*

*Der Wanderer*—a constitutional monarchist daily published in Vienna from 1809 to 1866.—410

*The Washington Union*—a newspaper of the Democratic Party in the USA published from 1846 to 1858; Wilhelm Pieper contributed to it in 1853 and 1854.—394, 397, 421, 482, 490

*Wecker*—see *Baltimore Wecker*

*The Weekly Press*—see *The Press*

*Wehr-Zeitung*—see *Deutsche Wehr-Zeitung*

*Westdeutsche Zeitung*—a democratic newspaper published by Hermann Becker in Cologne from 25 May 1849 to 21 July 1850.—34, 570

*The Westminster Review*—a quarterly published in London from 1824 to 1914.—404

*De Zuid-Afrikaan* or *The Zuid Afrikaan*—a newspaper published in English and Dutch in Cape Town from 1830 to 1930; Karl Marx contributed to it in 1854.—405, 414

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# GLOSSARY OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES[a]

| | |
|---|---|
| Adrianople | Edirne |
| Akkerman | Belgorod-Dnestrovsky |
| Argish | Argeş |
| Braila | Brăila |
| Breslau | Wrocław |
| Buseo | Buzău |
| Calugereni | Călugăreni |
| Constantinople | Istanbul |
| Erzerum | Erzurum |
| Fokshani | Fokşani |
| Frateshti | Frăteşti |
| Galatz | Galaţi |
| Giurgevo | Giurgiu |
| Hermannstadt | Sibiu |
| Isaktsha | Isaccea |
| Kalarash | Călăraşi |
| Kimpina | Câmpina |
| Kimpolung | Câmpulung |
| Komarom (Comorn). | Komárom and Kamarno (two towns) |
| Königsberg | Kaliningrad |
| Kustendje | Constanţa |
| Matchin | Maçin |
| Navarino | Pylos |
| Nissa | Niš |
| Ofen | Buda |
| Oltenitza | Oltenița |
| Rodosto | Tekirdag |
| St. Petersburg | Leningrad |
| Shumla | Shumen |
| Tiflis | Tbilisi |
| Tultsha | Tulcea |
| Turna | Turnu-Măgurele |
| Waitzen | Vác |
| Yenikale Str. | Straits of Kerch |

[a] This glossary includes geographical names occurring in Marx's and Engels' letters in the form customary in the press of the time but differing from the national names or from those given on modern maps. The left column gives geographical names as used in the original; the right column gives corresponding names as used on modern maps and in modern literature.

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# COLLECTED WORKS

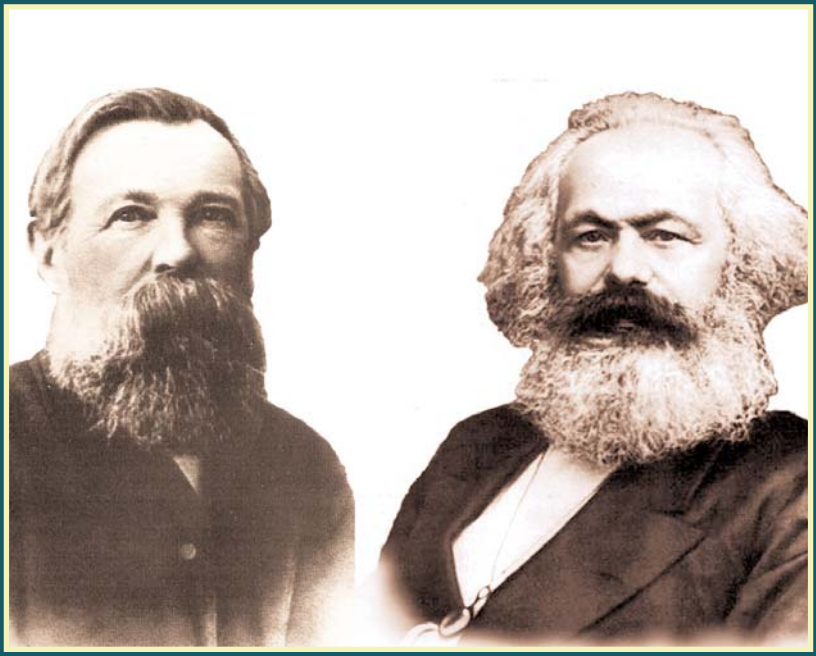

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Letters 1856-59

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 40

## Letters 1856-59

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Translated by

PETER and BETTY ROSS

# Preface

Volume 40 of this edition contains the correspondence of Marx and Engels from 1856 to 1859. The latter half of the 1850s rounded off the period of political reaction that had set in in Europe after the Revolution of 1848-49. The first capitalist world economic crisis (1857-58) heralded a new rise of the democratic and working-class movements.

During these years, Marx and Engels continued to develop their revolutionary teaching. They set out to arm the proletarian party, then in the process of formation, with the theory for the forthcoming battles. 'I hope to win a scientific victory for our party,' Marx wrote to his friend Joseph Weydemeyer on 1 February 1859 concerning the main goal he had set himself in his economic research (this volume, p. 377).

The letters in this volume reflect the further development of Marxist theory, of its three component parts—political economy, philosophy and the theory of the communist transformation of society—and the advance of Marxist thought in various other fields. They give an idea of the progress Marx was making in his economic studies. In 1857, he began to collate and sum up the vast material on political economy he had accumulated over many years. In 1857 and 1858, he wrote a series of economic manuscripts which form the first rough draft of *Capital*. In these manuscripts Marx worked out the theory of money in general terms and outlined his theory of surplus value, which Engels called Marx's second great discovery, the first being the materialist conception of history. These two discoveries turned socialism into a science.

The letters show what titanic labours these manuscripts cost him. The economic crisis, and the certainty that it would be

followed by profound revolutionary upheavals, made him hasten the work in every way. 'I am working like mad all night and every night collating my economic studies so that I at least get the outlines clear before the *déluge*,' he wrote to Engels on 8 December 1857 (p. 217). The correspondence shows that Marx made very great demands on himself as a scholar. Grudging in his judgments of his own achievements, he wrote to Engels with satisfaction on 16 January 1858: 'I had been overdoing very much my nocturnal labours.... I am, by the way, discovering some nice arguments. E.g. I have completely demolished the theory of profit' (p. 249).

The Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58, also known as the *Grundrisse der Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie* (they will be found, together with *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy. Part One,* 1859, in Vols. 29 and 30), testify that in his economic works too Marx was enriching other areas of social science, especially philosophy, and was also perfecting his method of research into social phenomena. Marx attached great importance to dialectics, reinterpreted in the materialist spirit on the basis of a critical understanding of Hegel's philosophy. Marx even had the intention, which he unfortunately never carried out, of writing a book on this subject. 'If ever the time comes when such work is again possible, I should very much like to write 2 or 3 sheets making accessible to the common reader the *rational* aspect of the method which Hegel not only discovered but also mystified' (p. 249).

As Marx built up his new economic theory, he was also developing the structure of his future economic work. The letters give us an idea of the scope and comprehensive nature of the work he planned, which was to cover the economic foundations and political superstructure of the capitalist system. His letters to Ferdinand Lassalle of 22 February and to Engels of 2 April 1858, and also the letter to Joseph Weydemeyer of 1 February 1859, show that Marx intended to publish the work in six books: 1) On Capital, 2) On Landed Property, 3) On Wage Labour, 4) On the State, 5) International Trade, 6) World Market (p. 270). Even while the first book was being written, some changes had to be made in this plan. Marx was unable to fit in all the material, so he decided to divide it into two parts, the first on the commodity and money, the second specifically on capital (the production of surplus value, etc.).

*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy. Part One,* which came off the press on 11 June 1859, was a major event in the

history of economic thought. Although, because of its limited range, the book could not include Marx's fundamental work on the theory of surplus value, it did contain the scientific prerequisites for it in the shape of a new theory of money and value. As can be seen from the letters, Marx considered it extremely important to popularise this work. The first successful attempt in this direction was undertaken by Engels, whose review is mentioned in the correspondence.

Marx began work on the second part shortly after sending the manuscript of the first to the publishers (Marx to Engels, 21 February 1859). However, he soon realised that he would need to do more research on a number of important aspects of surplus value and its transmuted forms (profit, interest and rent). The work dragged on and grew beyond the limits initially marked out for it. Furthermore, as the letters of 1859 show, Marx repeatedly had to break off in order to attend to urgent practical matters (the publication of the newspaper *Das Volk*, etc.). Subsequent letters give an idea of the further stages in his work.

Marx kept Engels constantly informed of the progress and results of his economic research. Engels readily helped him with advice, gave freely of the knowledge and experience he had acquired in long commercial practice, and supplied Marx with valuable material.

The correspondence published in this volume also gives some idea of Marx's and Engels' work in other fields of knowledge during this period, and of the variety and scope of their interests. They exchanged opinions on world history, the history of diplomacy, the history of various countries and peoples (among them Russia, Prussia and Poland), philology (especially in connection with Engels' study of the Slavonic languages), world literature, the natural sciences, and so on.

Prominent in Engels' work of the 1850s and early 1860s were studies in military history and the theory of warfare, for he was aware of the importance to proletarian revolutionaries of mastering military knowledge for the expected new outburst of revolutionary struggle. On 15 November 1857, Engels wrote to Marx that, should another revolution break out in Europe following the economic crisis, this would at once give 'a more practical slant' to his military studies (pp. 203-04).

Engels continued to publish reviews of current military events in periodicals, and also wrote a series of articles on the art of war and military history for *The New American Cyclopaedia* (see present edition, Vol. 18). The letters in this volume show that he did this

in close cooperation with Marx. The two friends helped one another in finding sources and selecting material, and some of the articles for the *Cyclopaedia* were, in effect, written by them jointly. Besides doing all the articles on specifically military problems, Engels constantly helped Marx by handling the military questions in the articles that Marx wrote for the *Cyclopaedia*, especially in the biographical essays on military and political leaders (Barclay de Tolly, Bem, Blücher and others). Marx used some of Engels' letters (pp. 163-64, 166-68, 178-80) as preliminary drafts of articles. For his part, Marx looked up references for Engels in the British Museum Library and copied out extracts from various sources.

Engels' articles for *The New American Cyclopaedia*, especially on general subjects, such as 'Army', 'Artillery', 'Cavalry', 'Fortification' and 'Infantry', were an important contribution to Marxist military science. Marx believed that in them Engels had given further proof of the universal relevance of the materialist conception of history. 'Your "Army" is capital,' he wrote to Engels on 25 September 1857. 'More graphically than anything else the history of the *army* demonstrates the rightness of our views as to the connection between the productive forces and social relations' (p. 186). He also praised Engels' other articles (see, for example, his letters to Engels of 10 June and 10 October 1859).

Marx valued his friend's ability to discuss questions of military history in the context of the political tasks that faced the proletarian revolutionaries, and to substantiate revolutionary tactics militarily. A case in point is Engels' pamphlet *Po and Rhine* (1859), in which military analysis serves to prove the need for a proletarian approach to the problem of Italy's unification, as well as to denounce the policies of the French Bonapartists and the Prussian and Austrian ruling circles. 'Have read it all; exceedingly clever; the political side is also splendidly done and that was damned difficult,' Marx wrote to Engels after he had gone over the pamphlet (p. 400).

Observing the spectacular development of the natural sciences in the mid-19th century, Marx and Engels considered it essential to interpret the latest scientific achievements in the light of their revolutionary world outlook. They regarded progress in these fields as expanding the scientific basis of their theories.

Engels' letter to Marx of 14 July 1858, containing an extensive programme for the study of the latest findings of science, shows that Engels had already conceived the idea of giving a philosophical generalisation, from a dialectical materialist position, of the

development of physics, chemistry, biology and the other sciences, which he eventually realised in his *Dialectics of Nature.*

Engels was one of the first to grasp the enormous significance of Darwin's theory of evolution. He read *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* in 1859, when the book was published, and wrote to Marx as follows: 'Darwin ... whom I'm reading just now, is absolutely splendid. There was one aspect of teleology that had yet to be demolished, and that has now been done. Never before has so grandiose an attempt been made to demonstrate historical evolution in Nature, and certainly never to such good effect' (p. 551).

In the years covered by this volume, political journalism remained for Marx and Engels their most important means of disseminating revolutionary ideas, and substantiating proletarian revolutionary tactics on crucial social and political problems. The correspondence reflects their intensive journalistic activities during this period. In many letters they discuss the contents of articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune* and other periodicals. Economic processes in the capitalist world were increasingly attracting their attention. Observing the rapid growth of capitalist production, Marx compared the 1850s with the dawn of the capitalist era, which was marked by abrupt changes in economic and social relations. 'There is no denying that bourgeois society has for the second time experienced its 16th century,' he wrote to Engels on 8 October 1858 (p. 346). Marx and Engels also saw the reverse side of the rise of the capitalist economy: the deepening of its inherent contradictions and the inevitability of periodic economic crises. In many letters they pointed to the world-wide scale of the 1857 crisis and noted the gradual involvement of different countries in it, its spread to various spheres of the economy, and the grave effect it had on the position of the masses. Apart from the series of articles on the crisis published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* Marx intended to write, jointly with Engels, a pamphlet on the subject (Marx to Engels, 18 December 1857). However, the plan did not materialise.

Marx and Engels followed current events very closely, especially the social and political shifts caused by the 1857 crisis. Although it did not lead directly to revolutionary upheavals, its revolutionising effect on society was very considerable. 'Taken all in all, the crisis has been burrowing away like the good old mole it is,' Marx wrote to Engels on 22 February 1858 (p. 274).

Marx and Engels considered it highly important that the 1857 crisis should have hit industry and finance in England, the most economically developed country in the capitalist world of that time. In a letter to Engels dated 8 December 1857 Marx pointed out that despite all the attempts by bourgeois economists and political writers to represent England's economy as stable and invulnerable, catastrophe had descended on this citadel of capitalism (p. 215). The economic upheaval in England was aggravating its internal situation and intensifying the dissatisfaction of the masses with the obsolete oligarchic system. As can be seen from the letters, Marx and Engels did not rule out the possibility that the economic crisis might give rise to violent political conflicts and demonstrations against the ruling class by broad social sections, especially the proletariat. As a result, England might be drawn into revolutionary events should they occur again in Continental Europe. As early as 31 March 1857, when the first symptoms of the economic difficulties appeared, Marx wrote to Engels: 'England is entering upon a *sérieuse* crisis ... and if the move is resumed on the Continent, John Bull will not maintain the stance of supercilious detachment he adopted in 1848' (p. 113).

The economic crisis had an even greater effect on France. The entrepreneurial fever prevalent in the Second Empire, the unbridled Stock Exchange speculation, the corruption at all levels of the state machinery, and the predatory policy of the banks, such as the Crédit mobilier, resulted in the economic crisis being particularly destructive. Marx wrote to Engels on 18 December 1857 about 'the general rottenness of the bankrupt State' (p. 225). Marx and Engels held that during the economic crisis Napoleon III's empire had taken yet another step towards its inevitable collapse, as was manifest, particularly, in the growing anti-Bonapartist mood everywhere. In a letter to Marx on 17 March 1858, Engels pointed to the ferment among the Paris workers, who openly displayed their republican convictions and their sympathies for Orsini, the Italian patriot executed for an attempt to assassinate Louis Napoleon. Deportations and arrests, he wrote, had borne as little fruit as the workers' settlements and the national workshops. The government's police measures and attempts to pose as a patron of the working class were unable to arrest the growing movement against the Bonapartist dictatorship (p. 289).

Developments in Germany, which were also considerably influenced by the crisis, seemed to give an indication of the changes that

were in the offing. Marx and Engels were particularly interested in the position of Prussia. In their opinion, the virtual restoration of absolutism there after the Revolution of 1848-49, an absolutism only scantily veiled by pseudo-constitutional institutions, had been a consequence of the German bourgeoisie's cowardly half-measures. In the 1850s, too, the bourgeoisie, with its constitutional-monarchy illusions and its fear of the masses, continued to display a timid circumspection. 'The bourgeois and philistines have, at any rate, got even worse since 1848,' Engels wrote to Marx on 17 March 1858. '...Plainly your good, honest German has not yet emerged from the hibernation that followed the strenuous exertions of 1848' (p. 292). However, the rapid growth of industry and trade, which Marx and Engels noted in their letters more than once, was deepening the conflict between the demands of economic and social development and the semi-feudal political system and making the fragmentation of the country more and more intolerable. In Prussia and the other German states all this was sowing the seeds of further conflict between the forces of progress and reaction.

In their letters of 1858 and subsequent years, Marx and Engels noted that Russia was becoming one of the hotbeds of revolutionary ferment in Europe. The crisis of the feudal serf system, aggravated by defeat in the 1853-56 Crimean War, and growing peasant unrest which drove the ruling circles to look for a solution in peasant reform, were seen by Marx and Engels as evidence that major revolutionary events were imminent in Russia. In a letter to Engels on 29 April 1858, Marx expressed the hope that should such events take place, the Tsarist autocracy's position would be undermined both within the country and internationally. 'The movement for the emancipation of the serfs in Russia strikes me as important in so far as it indicates the beginning of an internal development that might run counter to the country's traditional foreign policy' (p. 310).

The ideologists of the working class were coming round to the idea that a revolutionary Russia was arising in opposition to the Tsarist autocracy—the revolutionary movement's worst enemy—and they welcomed it as a powerful force for social progress and as a major factor in the struggle for the revolutionary renewal of the whole of Europe.

Events in the colonies were a further important topic of the correspondence. In the 1850s, Marx and Engels repeatedly denounced the capitalist colonial system in the press. Aware of the importance of working out a programme on the national and colonial question, and of the need to define the attitude of the working class to the national liberation movement of the oppressed

peoples, Marx and Engels unmasked the policy of colonial expansion, to which more and more Asian and African countries were falling victim, and the savage rule of the capitalist 'mother countries' in the colonies.

Engels' letter to Marx of 23 May 1856 in which, from personal knowledge, he describes the consequences of the English landlords' and bourgeoisie's domination in Ireland is a powerful expression of his views. He wrote that the country had been utterly ruined by wars of conquest, by punitive police measures and by the ruthless exploitation of the working people. '...Through systematic oppression,' Engels wrote, the Irish 'have come to be a completely wretched nation...' (p. 50). The famine of 1845-47, the mass emigration which completely depopulated the country, and the landowners' transition to large-scale sheep-breeding, accompanied by the expulsion of small tenant farmers (the 'clearances'), were an appalling tragedy for the Irish masses. Ireland had been reduced to an agrarian adjunct of capitalist England. Engels wrote that 'Ireland may be regarded as the earliest English colony and one which, by reason of her proximity, is still governed in exactly the same old way; here one cannot fail to notice that the English citizen's so-called freedom is based on the oppression of the colonies' (p. 49).

Marx and Engels witnessed a series of new colonial wars unleashed by the ruling classes of West European countries: the Anglo-Persian war of 1856-57, the Anglo-Franco-Chinese war of 1856-60, the Spanish-Moroccan war of 1859-60. In their letters they characterised these as wars of annexation and plunder. Engels called the British government's colonial actions 'military ventures' (p. 115). Marx gives similar descriptions (see his letters to Engels of 24 March and 22 May 1857).

The correspondence gives an idea of the sympathy with which Marx and Engels followed the development of the mass struggle against foreign oppression in the colonies and dependent countries. They showed particular interest in the great popular uprising of 1857-59 in India, which shook English rule there, and made references to it in many of their letters (Marx to Engels, 6 and 14 July, 23 September, 20 October 1857 and 14 January 1858; Engels to Marx, 24 September and 29 October 1857). In the uprising, started by the sepoys in the Bengal army, Marx and Engels saw indications of a true national liberation struggle, a sign of mounting resistance to the colonialists by the oppressed peoples. Although the insurgents were defeated, Marx and Engels regarded their action as a portent of the future collapse

of colonialism under the blows of the anti-colonial movement.

The Indian uprising convinced Marx of the correctness of his earlier conclusion that the national liberation movement and the proletariat's struggle against the capitalist system were closely interlinked. The blows dealt to capitalism in the colonies were shaking its position at home and making it more difficult for capitalism to use colonial resources for strengthening its domination, and facilitating the triumph of the proletarian revolution. 'In view of the drain of men and bullion which she will cost the English, India is now our best ally,' Marx wrote to Engels on 16 January 1858 (p. 249).

As in the preceding years, Marx and Engels devoted much attention in their letters to a wide range of problems concerning the foreign policies pursued by the ruling classes of the European powers and the history of diplomacy. In assessing the international situation after the Crimean War of 1853-56, Marx and Engels found it fraught with new complications and wars. They saw the Bonapartist Second Empire as the main source of military danger. Its rulers combined adventurism and ambitions for conquest with blatant demagogy in the national question, their purpose being to exploit the national movements in the interests of Bonapartist France. The proletarian revolutionaries regarded the denunciation of this 'most repulsive combination of Bonapartism and drivel about nationalities' (Marx to Lassalle, 22 November 1859) as one of their main tasks (p. 537).

This became particularly urgent in view of the war of France and Piedmont against Austria, which broke out in April 1859. The interference of Napoleon III in Italian affairs was motivated by the desire to avert a revolutionary explosion on the Apennine Peninsula, to strengthen the Second Empire's hegemony in Europe and, by external successes, to consolidate the shaky Bonapartist regime in France itself. The Piedmontese liberal-monarchist circles were acting in alliance with the Bonapartists, with whose aid they were trying to unify Italy under the House of Savoy, which ruled Piedmont (see Marx's letter to Lassalle of 4 February 1859). At the same time, the war against the Austrian monarchy, Italy's age-old oppressor, was welcomed by patriotic forces as a signal for the liberation struggle. Popular uprisings occurred in a number of Italian states. This drove Napoleon III to conclude a hasty peace with the Austrians, which Marx and Engels described as discreditable (see Engels' letter to Marx of 15 July 1859). As a result, Italy remained fragmented.

As can be seen from their letters, Marx and Engels considered it essential to show that French Bonapartism was as big a barrier to the national liberation and unification of Italy as the Austrian Empire, that the Bonapartist regime was a threat to all progressive forces in Europe, and that it was, in particular, an obstacle to a united Germany.

During the Italian crisis, when even democrats in Europe had fallen for Bonapartist propaganda and 'the confusion presently reigning in men's minds has reached a curious peak' (p. 436), Marx and Engels worked out clear-cut tactics to turn what was on both sides a dynastic war of annexation into a revolutionary war of liberation by the Italian and German peoples. They elaborated their views on the war in a number of writings published at the time (see, for example, Engels' *Po and Rhine* and Marx's 'On Italian Unity' in Vol. 16 of the present edition). The main points were also elucidated in the letters included in this volume.

Marx and Engels held that both Italy and Germany should be united 'from below', by revolutionary action on the part of the masses, and regarded the defeat of Bonapartism—the main opponent of a democratic solution to the Italian and German national problems—as the most urgent task. Hence the states in the German Confederation should not remain neutral; they should come out against Bonapartist France. According to Marx and Engels, this was in no way tantamount to supporting Austria. In their opinion, a war for the German people's national interests was bound to assume a revolutionary character and therefore contribute to the liberation of Italy, and rouse the revolutionary forces in other European countries, including France. Disclosing the essence of this tactic, Marx wrote to Engels on 6 May 1859 that it was absolutely essential that the proletarian revolutionaries 'do not identify' their cause 'with that of the present German governments' (p. 431). They should strive for a development of events that would lead to an all-European revolution, and it was particularly important that things should 'come to a head in Paris' (p. 430). The ideas on the 1859 Italian crisis contained in the letters of Marx and Engels hold an important place in the tactical arsenal of proletarian parties.

This volume also throws light on the efforts of Marx and Engels to create a proletarian party. They were above all concerned with the ideological education of their followers and comrades-in-arms, the proletarian revolutionaries who had been members of the

Communist League and who were to form the nucleus of the future party. Without predetermining its organisational structure, for they believed that this must depend on the actual conditions in which the working-class movement developed, Marx and Engels were working both to rally the proletarian forces internationally and, wherever possible, to unite the working class on a national scale. They thought it vital to strengthen the ties among the working-class leaders of various countries and, as can be seen from their correspondence, did everything to this end.

German workers and intellectuals wrote to Marx, seeking his advice on tactical matters. Thus, in the spring of 1856, he was approached from Germany by Johannes Miquel, a former member of the Communist League (Marx to Engels, 26 April and 7 May 1856). At the end of February that year, Gustav Levy visited Marx with a message from the workers of Düsseldorf, and Marx explained the need for meticulous organisation and propaganda, warning him of the danger of premature local uprisings in the midst of a general lull in the revolutionary movement (Marx to Engels, 5 March 1856).

Information on the state of the working-class movement in the USA was supplied to Marx and Engels by Joseph Weydemeyer. The organisers of the Communist Club in New York also kept in touch with Marx (Marx to Engels, 13 August 1858 and 9 February 1859, and Engels to Marx, 18 July 1859).

Marx and Engels pinned great hopes on the revolutionary wing of the English working-class movement, as represented by the Left Chartists led by Ernest Jones. Their activities opened up prospects for establishing a mass working-class party in England. It was with this in mind that Marx advised Jones to transfer the centre of agitation directly into the midst of the industrial proletariat. Jones 'should begin by *forming* a party, for which purpose he must go to the manufacturing districts,' Marx wrote to Engels on 24 November 1857 (p. 210).

However, these hopes were not justified. By then, the Chartist movement was steadily losing support among the masses. Jones' ideological vacillations, especially his tendency to follow the lead of the radical bourgeoisie, were a disturbing symptom. Marx repeatedly warned the Chartist leader about his mistakes (Marx to Engels, 24 November and 22 December 1857 and 14 January 1858). At one point, Marx and Engels even temporarily broke with Jones.

Jones' political vacillations reflected the rise of a reformist trend within the English working-class movement. Marx and Engels saw

it as the result of a privileged section forming in the English working class. On 7 October 1858, Engels wrote to Marx: '...The English proletariat is actually becoming more and more bourgeois, so that the ultimate aim of this most bourgeois of all nations would appear to be the possession, *alongside* the bourgeoisie, of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat. In the case of a nation which exploits the entire world this is, of course, justified to some extent' (p. 344). This development of a labour aristocracy, a new phenomenon detected by Engels and, at the time, characteristic only of England, was made possible by England's industrial and colonial monopoly, which enabled the English bourgeoisie to use part of its super-profits to buy off a section of the working class. 'In both respects,' Lenin wrote, referring to England's vast colonies and monopoly profit in the context of this passage in Engels' letter, 'England at that time was an exception among capitalist countries, and Engels and Marx, analysing this exception, quite clearly and definitely indicated its *connection* with the (temporary) victory of opportunism in the English labour movement' (*Collected Works,* Vol. 23, p. 112).

However, despite the decline of Chartism, Marx and Engels were convinced that the revolutionary trend in the English working-class movement would in some form be reborn and carry on Chartism's finest traditions. They therefore considered it essential to help to awaken the revolutionary energy of the British working class in every possible way.

The new development in the working-class movement in the late 1850s—the spread of strikes, the emergence of new professional and other organisations, and the workers' participation in political campaigns—stimulated Marx and Engels to step up their efforts to strengthen the nucleus of the future proletarian party. The situation demanded vigorous action, the intensified propagation of revolutionary theory and closer contact with the masses. Marx in particular resumed his participation in the London German Workers' Educational Society, in which sectarian and adventurist elements had prevailed for a period. By this time, however, Marx's comrades had regained their influence in the society.

Marx was seeking new ways of popularising the principles of the proletarian party then being formed. He thought it possible also to use Europe's progressive bourgeois press to this end. 'Times have changed,' he wrote to Lassalle on 28 March 1859, 'and I now consider it essential that our party should secure positions wherever possible, even if only for a time, so that others should not gain possession of the terrain' (p. 409). The long negotiations

Marx held with the editors of the Viennese liberal newspaper *Die Presse* on work as a correspondent reflect this attitude, as do the ideas he expressed on the terms under which a journalist committed to the cause of the proletariat could contribute to a bourgeois press organ (Marx to Engels, 16 April and 16 and 18 May 1859; to Lassalle, 22 February 1858, 28 March and 5 May 1859, and to Friedländer, 16 May 1859). Marx's main stipulation was the right to express his own views on political issues, without adapting to editorial policies.

It was at this time that Marx endeavoured to start a proletarian paper. From the letters published in this volume it can be seen how much energy he spent on converting the newspaper *Das Volk*, which had been published by the German Workers' Educational Society and other German workers' organisations in London from May 1859, into a mouthpiece of the proletarian party (see, in particular, his letters to Engels of 18 May and 10 June 1859).

From the beginning of July, Marx was its *de facto* editor, handling all administrative and business matters, whose management until then had left 'a great deal to be desired', as he had earlier written to Engels (p. 457). Under Marx's management, and thanks also to Engels' cooperation, the paper became a real communist propaganda organ, a medium for explaining the principles of the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolutionaries. However, it proved impossible to regularise its finances, and, after the sixteenth issue on 10 August 1859, the paper ceased publication.

The process of forming a working-class party inevitably involved the dissociation of the proletarian revolutionaries from the proponents of sectarian and reformist ideologies alien to them. Marx's and Engels' relationship with Ferdinand Lassalle, the father of a special brand of petty-bourgeois socialism and of an opportunist trend in the German working-class movement, provides a good illustration of this, and their correspondence with him is most revealing in this respect.

Lassalle first met Marx and Engels in Germany during the Revolution of 1848-49 and kept in touch with them in the years that followed. In his letters to Marx he called himself the latter's pupil. For some time, Marx and Engels considered him a man close to their own circle, though they had been hearing about the dissatisfaction of workers in the Rhine Province with Lassalle's arrogance and overweening behaviour (Marx to Engels, 5 March and 10 April 1856). However, they valued his energy and his

talent as a propagandist and orator, and hoped that he would overcome these failings.

Early in 1858, after reading Lassalle's two-volume work, *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos*, Marx came to the conclusion that Lassalle's views were far removed from the revolutionary materialist world outlook. '*Heraclitus, the Dark Philosopher* by Lassalle the Luminous One is, *au fond*, a very silly concoction,' he wrote to Engels on 1 February, stressing that essentially Lassalle confined himself to restating some of the propositions of Hegel's idealistic philosophy, of which, moreover, he only had a superficial understanding (p. 259). In a letter to Lassalle, on 31 May 1858, Marx tried to explain the need for a critical mastery of Hegel's dialectics, for a review of its idealistic basis, for divesting it of the 'mystical aura' given it by Hegel (p. 316).

It soon turned out that Lassalle also had differences with Marx and Engels on politics and tactics. In March 1859, he sent them his historical drama, *Franz von Sickingen*, which dealt with the uprising of the Swabian and Rhenish knights against their feudal lords in 1522-23, on the eve of the great Peasant War (1525). In analysing the drama Marx and Engels formulated some cardinal propositions of Marxist aesthetics. The letters to Lassalle from Marx on 19 April and from Engels on 18 May 1859 disclosed the essence of realism as the most progressive method of portraying life in art. Discussing the faults and merits of Lassalle's work, Marx and Engels reproached him above all for his departure from realism, for using abstract rhetoric in place of a truthful and visual portrayal of the characters, thus turning them into 'mere mouthpieces for the spirit of the times' (p. 420). The main character, Sickingen, has none of the traits of a rebellious knight. He epitomises the insoluble and therefore tragic contradiction between the leaders and the masses, a contradiction which Lassalle held to be a feature of any revolution. Lassalle's drama, in Engels' words, was 'too abstract, not realistic enough' (p. 444). Marx and Engels also held that Lassalle's inability to give a true picture of the historical situation betrayed itself in the way he virtually ignored the social background of the events he depicted—the peasants and the plebs in the grip of revolutionary ferment.

According to Marx and Engels, the characters in realistic works should be both individual and typical, and should reflect the nature of the class to which they belong. Moreover, realist authors should not express their ideas as reasoned arguments, but through full-blooded characters and lively action. In Marx's and Engels'

view, Lassalle shared, in an exaggerated form, a weakness of the great poet and dramatist Schiller—his inclination to abstract didacticism. A realist writer, however, should, as Engels pointed out, try for 'the complete fusion of greater intellectual profundity, of a consciously historical content', typical of Schiller's dramas, 'with Shakespearean vivacity and wealth of action', with Shakespeare's ability to portray true human passion and suffering, the complexity and contradictory aspects of human nature (p. 442).

In their letters, Marx and Engels touch on the problem of the writer's political position, and on the connection of literature and art with life. Believing that a definite ideological and political orientation is inherent in any work of art, the founders of Marxism always deplored attempts to separate art and politics—the theory of 'art for art's sake'. It was at that time that they condemned the tendency of the poet Ferdinand Freiligrath to oppose literary interests to party obligations (Engels to Marx, 28 November 1859, Marx to Engels, 10 December 1859). In the opinion of Marx and Engels, it was the organic combination of ideology and artistic mastery which made art and literature such a powerful lever of social progress.

Marx and Engels regarded as quite legitimate Lassalle's endeavour to make his drama topical, to link it with the vital task of uniting Germany, but they held that its political tendency was profoundly wrong. It was obvious to them that Sickingen, the knight, was in effect a reactionary whose movement aimed at a return to the era of feudal injustice and club-law, and that Lassalle was aggrandising the historical predecessor of the German Junkers, representing him as the true champion of national unification. Marx pointed this out to Lassalle: 'Have not you yourself—like your Franz von Sickingen—succumbed, to some extent, to the diplomatic error of regarding the Lutheran-knightly opposition as superior to the plebeian-Münzerian?' (p. 420).

The preference for chivalry and the burgher opposition Lassalle showed in his drama reflected his view of the part played by their historical successors—the Junkers and the bourgeoisie—in the cause of German unity. He underestimated the role of the masses in this process and had a nihilistic attitude to the peasants, whom he attributed to the reactionary mass. In contrast, Marx and Engels considered that only vigorous action by the working class and its ally, the peasantry, could give the struggle for national unity a truly democratic revolutionary character, and that the consolidation of this alliance would open up prospects for a transition to the socialist stage of revolution. 'The whole thing in

Germany will depend on whether it is possible to back the Proletarian revolution by some second edition of the Peasants' War' (p. 41).

Lassalle's position on the unification of Germany was laid wide open when in May 1859 he published the pamphlet *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preußens.* By aligning himself with the Prussophile bourgeoisie and the Junkers, Lassalle was virtually urging Prussia to avail itself of Austria's defeat to carry out its plans for unification, plans which envisaged no changes in the political or social system. Meanwhile, Lassalle depicted Napoleon III's Italian policy as objectively progressive.

These views were completely at odds with those of Marx and Engels. Characterising the essence of their political differences, Lenin wrote: 'Lassalle was adapting himself to the victory of Prussia and Bismarck, to the lack of sufficient strength in the democratic national movements of Italy and Germany. Thus Lassalle deviated towards a national-liberal labour policy, whereas Marx encouraged and developed an independent, consistently democratic policy hostile to national-liberal cowardice' (*Collected Works,* Vol. 21, p. 141).

'Lassalle's pamphlet is an enormous blunder,' Marx wrote to Engels on 18 May 1859 (p. 435). In a letter of 10 June that year, he told Lassalle that the pamphlet 'in no way corresponds with my own view or that of my party friends in England' (p. 460). Marx was particularly angered by Lassalle's posing as the spokesman of the party. He regarded it as a breach of party discipline to make statements in the press on behalf of the party without ascertaining the views of other members (p. 435).

Marx saw that Lassalle's position was very close to that of the liberal bourgeoisie, and also of pro-Bonaparte and Prussophile vulgar democrats such as Karl Vogt. Lassalle 'in point of fact was piping the same tune as Vogt', he wrote to Engels on 26 November 1859 (p. 542). Marx considered that Lassalle attempted to obstruct the public denunciation of Vogt as a Bonapartist agent and a slanderer of the proletarian revolutionaries because Vogt and Lassalle held identical views. In his work *Herr Vogt,* published in 1860 (this edition, Vol. 17), he therefore not only dealt a crushing blow at the political concepts of Vogt but, without mentioning Lassalle by name, attacked his views too.

Lassalle's literary and political activities were making his unreliability as a comrade-in-arms increasingly clear to Marx and Engels. Nevertheless, they had not yet finally lost hope of setting him on the right road, of stimulating him to act at least as a

fellow-traveller of the proletarian revolutionaries. Subsequent events, however, widened the rift and led to a final rupture.

The letters in this volume contain valuable biographical material on the life of Marx and his family and of Engels in these years.

The second half of the 1850s were hard years for Marx. As before, he was in serious financial difficulties and fighting for his very existence. 'I would not wish my worst enemy to have to wade through the quagmire in which I've been trapped for the past two months, fuming the while over the innumerable vexations that are ruining my intellect and destroying my capacity for work,' he wrote to Engels at a moment of extreme distress (p. 331). The moral and political atmosphere that surrounded the revolutionary refugees was also oppressive. After Orsini's assassination attempt, refugees in England were put under political surveillance and their letters were opened (see the letters of Marx to Engels of 2 and 5 March and Engels' letter to Marx of 4 March 1858). They had to face repeated insinuations in the bourgeois press, slanderous allegations by their enemies among the vulgar democrats (Kinkel, Heinzen, Vogt), the cowardly apostasy of their allies (Blind) and the withdrawal from politics of former friends (Dronke, Cluss and Freiligrath).

Marx, however, bore all his trials with courage and remarkable fortitude. The letters in this volume are permeated with optimism and the expectation of new revolutionary events.

The letters show vividly how the unique friendship between Marx and Engels strengthened with the years and how great was their mutual attachment. In Engels this manifested itself in his selfless willingness time and again to come to the aid of Marx and his family, to spend his energies on 'accursed commerce' (Engels to Marx, 17 November 1856) in order to be able to give Marx material support, and to take upon himself a considerable part of Marx's journalistic work so as to free him for economic research; while on Marx's part, it expressed itself in infinite gratitude, respect and trust. Whenever anything went amiss with Engels, Marx would be seriously alarmed. His friend's illness in the summer of 1857 caused him a great deal of worry. 'Nothing could please me more than to hear that your health is progressing,' he wrote to Engels on 21 September that year, having heard that there were signs of an improvement (p. 173).

Marx and Engels treated their comrades-in-arms with touching attention and great sensitivity. They grieved over the losses

unavoidable under the harsh conditions of life in emigration, and especially over the death of the proletarian poet Georg Weerth (see, in particular, the letter from Engels to Marx, written not before 27 September 1856, and the letters from Marx to Lassalle, 21 December 1857 and 22 February 1858). On the death of Conrad Schramm, an eminent member of the working-class movement, Engels wrote in sorrow to Marx on 25 January 1858: 'Our old guard is rapidly dwindling away during this long spell of peace' (p. 253). Marx and Engels showed unfailing concern for their old comrades in the Communist League, and kept up friendly relations with Wilhelm Wolff (Lupus), Friedrich Lessner, Georg Eccarius, Joseph Weydemeyer, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Peter Imandt and others.

The outstanding quality of Marx's relationship with his wife is illustrated by his remarkable love letter to Jenny Marx (21 June 1856) in Trier, where she had gone to visit her dying mother.

* * *

Volume 40 contains 317 letters by Marx and Engels, of which 307 were written in German and 10 in English. The great majority of the letters are being published in English for the first time. Only 73 appeared in English before (53 of these in incomplete form). These publications are indicated in the notes. The 11 letters by Jenny Marx included in the Appendix are given in English translation for the first time. The two letters by Karl Marx to Collet Dobson Collet written in June 1857 and Jenny Marx's letter to Engels of 31 July 1857 have never been published in any language before.

The dating of some of the letters was ascertained in the course of the preparation of this volume. Information on undiscovered letters mentioned in the text will be found in the notes. If a fact or event is referred to in several letters, the same note number is used each time.

Obvious slips in the text are corrected without comment. The authors' contractions of proper and geographical names and individual words are given in full. Defects in the manuscripts, where the text is missing or illegible, are indicated by three dots in square brackets. If the text allows a reconstruction of the missing or illegible passages, this is also given in square brackets. Anything crossed out by the authors is reproduced in the footnotes only where the disparity in meaning is considerable. If a letter is a rough copy, an extract quoted elsewhere, etc., this is marked either in the text itself or in the notes.

Foreign words and phrases in the letters are given in italics. If they were underlined by the authors they are in spaced italics. Words written in English in the original are given in small caps. Longer passages written in English in the original are placed in asterisks.

The volume was compiled, the text prepared and the notes written by Stanislav Nikonenko (letters from January 1856 to mid-February 1858), Natalia Martynova (letters from mid-February 1858 to early February 1859) and Tatyana Andrushchenko (letters from early February to December 1859 and the Appendix). Tatyana Andrushchenko also wrote the Preface. The volume was edited by Lev Golman and Tatyana Yeremeyeva (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). The name index and the index of periodicals were prepared by Yelena Vashchenko, the index of quoted and mentioned literature by Natalia Martynova, and the subject index by Tatyana Andrushchenko (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The translations were made by Peter and Betty Ross and edited by E. J. Hobsbawm, Nicholas Jacobs (Lawrence & Wishart), Richard Dixon, Lydia Belyakova and Victor Schnittke (Progress Publishers), and Larisa Miskievich, scientific editor (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The volume was prepared for the press by the editor Mzia Pitskhelauri.

*Note:* The name of the late Margaret Mynatt was unfortunately omitted from the list of editors who worked on Volume 38, the first of the thirteen volumes devoted to the correspondence of Marx and Engels.

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## LETTERS

January 1856-December 1859

# 1856

## 1

## MARX TO ENGELS[1]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 January 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Today I emptied the 6th and last medicine-BOTTLE. Pretty well again on the whole, save for persistent and highly perfidious piles.

I haven't touched on Cobden's pamphlet[2] in my ARTICLES, because I have devoted many tedious columns exclusively to the HISTORY of the DANUBIAN PROVINCES and Sweden.[3] I should be very glad if you would take on Cobden.

I shall add a short piece to your article[a] as soon as I have seen the 2nd edition of *The Times*. Its ANNOUNCEMENT yesterday AS TO THE '*UNCONDITIONAL* ACCEPTANCE'[4] was a sheer Stock Exchange swindle which brought it in a great deal of money. As early as 1772, at the Congress of Focşani,[5] Catherine II had already proposed to the Turks 'THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE PRINCIPALITIES UNDER THE COMMON PROTECTION OF THE PRINCIPAL POWERS OF EUROPE'. At the Library[b] I discovered a work of Herrmann's which appeared in Germany in 1841.[c] He got hold of a manuscript of Field Marshal Münnich's on the Crimean campaign under Anna[6] in one of the German libraries and published it with a foreword. I shall make excerpts from it for you if you are interested.

You may, perhaps, have seen in the *Augsburger* the high praise Fallmerayer accords to Muralt for his history of Byzantium from the 6th to the 16th century, which won a Petersburg Academy prize.[d]

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[a] F. Engels, 'The European War'. - [b] of the British Museum - [c] E. Herrmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des russischen Reiches*, Leipzig, 1843 (wrong date in the original). - [d] E. de Muralt, *Essai de chronographie Byzantine pour servir à l'examen des annales du Bas-Empire et particulièrement des chronographes slavons de 395 à 1057.* Fallmerayer's review of this book was published in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nos. 11 and 12 (supplement), 11 and 12 January 1856.

Have seen Bruno[a] again on various occasions. Romanticism increasingly turns out to be a 'prerequisite' for the critical criticism. In economics expresses enthusiasm for the Physiocrats, whom he misconstrues, and believes in the specifically beneficial effects of landed property. Moreover he rates very high the economic fantasies of Adam Müller, the German romantic.[7] In military science his *summus princeps*[b] is the 'genius' Bülow. I told him that these latest disclosures of his had fully enlightened me regarding his arduous work of ratiocination. As TO RUSSIA he says that the old state of affairs in the West must be swept away and that this could only be done from the East, since the Easterner alone feels real hatred—for the Westerner, that is—and Russia is the only close-knit power in the East, BESIDES being the only country in Europe where there is still 'cohesion'. As to our illusions about internal class struggles, he maintains that 1. the workers feel no 'hatred'; 2. if they did feel hatred, they would never have achieved anything by it; 3. they are a 'rabble' (who have no interest in the Synoptics[8]) and ought to be curbed and directed solely by force and cunning; 4. with them one silver groschen rise in pay is enough to settle 'the whole caboodle'. In any case, no one who was not a 'descendant of the conquerors' could play an historical role, except in the field of theory. And there something had doubtless been done during the past 16 years, though only in Germany and, indeed, by Bruno alone. It was thanks to him that 'scientific' theology had ceased to exist in Germany, the only place where it had existed, and that 'Tholuck was writing no longer'. *Voilà un résultat immense.*[c] In other respects, a pleasant old gentleman. Proposes to stay a year in England. I believe he is planning to *introduce into England* the 'scientific theology' which has ceased to exist in Germany. He declares Humboldt to be a complete ass because he has fraudulently arrogated to himself abroad the fame due to Bruno.

You should write to old Harvey about your ears. He is also treating Lina[d] from afar and, having heard that she is merely a GOVERNESS *in spe,*[e] has not even charged her a centime. Herewith Lina's first report, which you should return.

I am sending you a scrawl of Urquhart's[f] which they sent me before the paper came out.[9] The 'revelations' about the HISTORY OF CHARTISM [are] INDEED highly naive, since Urquhart turns out to be

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[a] Bruno Bauer - [b] great exemplar - [c] That's tremendous result. - [d] Caroline Schöler - [e] prospective - [f] 'The Chartist Correspondence', *The Free Press*, No. 15, 19 January 1856.

an English police spy while deluding himself that he played Cicero to Catiline. I see in the Berlin *National-Zeitung* that Bucher, Prussian minister *in spe,* has even adopted Urquhart's 'philosophy' which he repeats parrot-fashion. That's *très fort*[a] for a GERMAN.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 2

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 February 1856

Dear Marx,

You will be most annoyed with me for not having written for so long. But until I've coped with a number of jobs at the office which will keep me busy for the next fortnight or so, I shall hardly be in a position to turn my mind to anything else. On top of that my old man[b] keeps pestering me frightfully over purchases of yarn, etc., on his behalf, and I have to send him a confidential report at least twice a week.[10]

Enclosed Pan-Slavism No. II, in which want of substance is at least partially offset by verbosity.[11] With No. III I shall at last get *in medias res.*[c]

You should now read the *Guardian*'s Paris correspondent regularly; very odd things are happening there.[12] Over the past few days the correspondent of the *Examiner & Times* has provided even fuller and better particulars. I have just tried to buy the latest issues for you but they had all been sold out. Perhaps I can get them from Belfield.

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[a] very good - [b] Friedrich Engels Sr., father of Frederick Engels - [c] really into the thing

Bonaparte is VERY FAST ON THE DECLINE. That Drouyn de Lhuys is missing from the official list of senators for this year you will have seen, but not, I imagine, that recently, apropos a sensational act of opposition, he left his card on an Orleanist (Rémusat, if I'm not mistaken) with a bold line drawn through the title: *vice-président du Sénat.* Recently, the infantry were called out against the students escorting Monsieur Nisard home. At the cry: *Vive la ligne!*[a] the troops ordered arms and had to be speedily withdrawn lest fraternisation should become a *fait accompli.* The recent conspiracy in the south-west, on account of which *5,000* arrests (according to a *Bonapartist* statement) were made, had wide ramifications in the army; the NCO school at La Flèche was completely disbanded. Almost all the students were implicated and had to be returned to their regiments; IN FACT, it is said to have been very difficult to find *reliable* regiments to which they could be posted. When Bonaparte was at the Odéon recently with his spouse,[b] the university students who filled the pit sang the *Sire de Franc Boissy*[13] throughout the evening, carefully intoning some of the more embarrassing bits. In Paris the workers are singing a little ditty, having the refrain:

> Voilà qu'il part, voilà qu'il part,
> Le petit marchand de moutarde,
> Voilà qu'il part pour son pays
> Avec tous ses outils.[c]

In order that there should be no doubt about the identity of the *petit marchand de moutarde,* the police have banned the song.[d]

All these impudent manifestations of oppositional and positively anti-Bonapartist impulses, and Mr. Bonaparte's corresponding feebleness are proof that a great change is under way. The measures adopted during the coup d'état[14] will no longer do, and the courage to apply them is no longer there. You will have seen that even *The Times,* on two successive days, first described Napoleon personally as a mere stopgap so far as France was concerned—BECAUSE NOT ONE SINGLE MAN WAS TO BE FOUND IN WHICH THE NATION COULD PLACE ITS CONFIDENCE AND ESTEEM—and then characterised his entire general staff of ministers, etc., as swindlers and scoundrels.[e] In today's *Guardian* there is another nice story about

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[a] Long live the troops of the line! - [b] Eugénie - [c] He is leaving, he is leaving, / The little mustard-vendor./ He is leaving for his country / With all his belongings. [d] 'From Our Paris Correspondent. Paris, Monday Evening', *Manchester Daily Examiner & Times,* No. 305, 6 February 1856. - [e] A reference to the leading articles in *The Times,* Nos. 22278, 22279 and 22280, 31 January, 1 and 2 February 1856.

that rascal Fiorentino, Bonapartist court feuilletonist and Knight of the Legion of Honour. Mr Espinasse, too, had to decamp from Paris; he has been involved in scandals, concerning which I shall probably hear more in a day or two. Something is also afoot with de Morny; the fellow has more or less fallen out with his worthy brother[a] and is once more intriguing on his own account.

This Bonaparte, for whom in the past everything, however stupid, craven and infamous, turned out so well, will now discover that henceforward everything will go badly for him. This he is already discovering in the war and peace question; everyone blamed him for the war, no one thanks him for the peaceful turn of events. Incidentally, the matter of the peace is far from being settled. The preliminaries to the preliminaries contain, *au fond*,[b] nothing but the Bessarabian clause, and that is offset by a total disregard for Kars.[15] All the rest consists of nothing but bogus concessions. Moreover Bonaparte no longer cares a rap about the conditions upon which he makes peace. For him it is now his bread and butter that is at stake, as once with old Dolleschall,[c] and I'm convinced that the Russians know this better than he does himself. Never before have the French been so wholly indifferent to their *gloire*; since 1848 the fellows have been concerned with other things than the traditional *gloire* and parliamentary swindling.

So it seems as though we have safely weathered the Aliens Bill[16]—*au train que les choses vont en France*,[d] there will soon be no further need to worry one's head about the aspirations of Palmerston and Co. The Bonapartist house of cards will most likely collapse this summer just as did Louis Philippe's in the year of scandal 1847, and exactly when the gust of wind comes that completely demolishes the walls is a matter of mere chance. I now lead a very sober life, but on that day I shall get drunk in Manchester, probably for the last time.

Don't be long in telling me something more about old Bruno[e]; the fellow's new romantic turn is too amusing. Kindest regards to your wife and children.

Your

F. E.

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[a] Napoleon III - [b] at bottom - [c] Laurenz Dolleschall, censor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in 1842, claimed that he was forced to do this work because he had to support his family. - [d] the way things are going in France - [e] Bruno Bauer

## 3

## MARX TO ENGELS[1]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 February 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

I am still being *plus ou moins*[a] persecuted by State haemorrhoids and consequent DULLNESS of spirits. On top of which Pieper has just been playing me some music of the future.[17] *C'est affreux*[b] and makes one afraid of the 'future', including its poetical music.

At the Museum[c] I have made a number of historical discoveries about the end of the 17th and the early decades of the 18th centuries concerning the struggle between Peter I and Charles XII and the decisive role played in that drama by *England.* At that time the foreign policy of the Tories and Whigs differed quite simply in that the former sold themselves to France, the latter to Russia. This venality was taken for granted and is discussed and declared 'a matter of course' by contemporary writers. From the start, William III harboured MISGIVINGS about *Sa Majesté Czarienne,*[d] as is proved by his offensive and defensive treaty with Charles XII. Under him the ministers acted *contrary* to his inclination. From George I onwards things were easy for the Whigs since the ELECTORS of Hanover were already pursuing a foolish dynastic policy and regarded Verden and Bremen as the focal points of European interest. That mainly England contributed to turning Russia into a BALTIC POWER is, perhaps, less interesting than the fact that, as early as the beginning of the 18th century, this policy was already being denounced, and the future growth of the MUSCOVITE EMPIRE predicted with remarkable accuracy. Despite the unexampled indulgence of the official British and the direct aid they accorded Peter, the latter was at the same time engaging in underhand dealings with the Pretender.[e] In this his personal physician (Erskine), a relation of the Comte de Mar, acted as go-between. The main sources for the whole of this mysterious story are:

a) *Truth is Truth, as it is timed, or Our Ministry's present Measures against the Muscovite vindicated by Plain and Obvious reasons, tending*

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[a] more or less - [b] It's horrible - [c] the British Museum Library - [d] His Imperial Majesty (Peter I) - [e] James Edward Stuart

*to prove that it is no less the interest of Our British trade, than that of Our State, that the Czar be not suffered to retain a Fleet, if needs must that he should [have] a Sea Port in the Baltick* etc. London 1719.

The author[a] was ambassador in Petersburg from 1710-1715 and, as he says, was

*'dismissed the service because the Czar desired it; for that he had learnt, that I had given Our Court such Light into his affairs as is contain'd in this Paper',* etc.

b) *Mémoire présenté à Sa Maj. Britannique par M. Wesselowsky, Ministre de Sa Maj. Czar.* London 1717.

An apologia by the Russians respecting their underhand dealings with the Pretender, especially remarkable for being altogether in the style (although not yet with quite the polish) of Pozzo di Borgo and Co.,[18] hence evidence that qualitatively Russian diplomacy has made no progress since Pierre I.

c) *The defensive treaty concluded in the year 1700 between His late M. King William of Glorious Memory and His Present Swedish Maj. King Charles XII,* etc., to which some queries are appended (1716).

d) *The Northern Crisis, or Impartial Reflections on the Policies of the Czar.... 'Parvo motu primo mox se attollit in auras'.*[b] London 1716.

One of the most extraordinary pamphlets ever written. Might, with minor MODIFICATIONS, have appeared in the year 1853. Contains, as do also a) and c), evidence of English treachery. In a *postscript* the anonymous author[c] says:

*'I flatter myself, that this little History is of that curious Nature, and on Matters hitherto so unobserved, that I consider it with Pride, as a valuable New-Year's Gift to the present world; and that posterity will accept it, as the like, for many years after, and read it over on the Anniversary, and call it their *Warning-Piece.* I must have my Exegi Monumentum[d] as well as others.'*

e) *An Inquiry into the Reasons of the Conduct of Great Britain with Relation to the Present State of Affairs in Europe.* London 1727.[e]

Interesting only because it reveals that Ripperda, the Spanish diplomatic *chevalier d'industrie,* subsequently a minister, 'HAD A VERY PARTICULAR INTIMACY WITH THE RUSSIAN MINISTER', etc. Likewise the other leading double-dealer in the diplomatic world of the time, Baron Görtz.

f) *Tagebuch Peters des Grossen vom Jahre 1698 bis zum Schlusse des Neustädter Friedens, aus dem russischen Original übersetzt, so nach denen im Archive befindlichen und von Seiner Kaiserlichen Majestät eigenhändigen ergänzenden Handschriften gedruckt worden.* With a

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[a] George Mackenzie - [b] 'Having at first little impulsion, he presently rose into the air' (Virgil, *Aeneid,* IV, 176). - [c] Carl Gyllenborg - [d] 'I have raised a monument' (Horace, *Odes,* III,XXX, 1). - [e] by B. Hoadley

prefatory note by the Russian editor, Prince Mikhail Shcherbatov (Щербатовъ) (Petersburg, 2 August 1770), in German, Berlin and Leipzig 1773.

Although Catherine II naturally had this diary censored before publication, it nevertheless contains much that confirms the FACTS given in the above-mentioned pamphlets.

g) *Copies and Extracts of several letters written by the King of Sweden and his Ministers relating to the Negociations of Baron Görtz etc., published at Copenhagen by order of the King of Denmark.* London 1717.

h) *Letters which passed between Count Gyllenborg, the Baron Görtz, Sparre etc.*, published by authority. London 1717.

g) and h) are, of course, well known to all historians who, however, lack the key to the proper understanding of the same. Both publications turn more especially on Charles XII's plan, conceived as an act of vengeance upon England, to land a Swedish army on the English coast and proclaim the Pretender.

Besides these pamphlets there are a number of other writings which occasionally refer to the Swedish-English-Russian business, or English pamphlets obviously inspired by the Swedish ambassador Gyllenborg, as, for instance, *Remarks on Mr Jackson's Memorial etc.*

You can see what kind of means the Whigs resorted to from their having put it about

*'that the King of Sweden was a Roman Catholic and that the Czar was a good Protestant'*.

No one can fail to notice that, at the very time the English were making such a ridiculous hullaballoo about Austria setting up the Compagnie des Indes at Ostend, they formally placed their fleet at Peter's disposal and helped him found his ports in the Baltic. Yet from the *complaints of the English* BALTIC MERCHANTS of that time it transpires that Monsieur Peter was very far from gentle with them. England was, moreover, the first great European power to recognize his *imperial* title, etc. What the above-mentioned pamphlets prove above all is that she was acting neither under an illusion nor out of ignorance.

The following anecdotes about Peter from the *Memoirs of Frederick the Great's Sister*[a] will amuse you. Peter and the Czarina[b] were paying them a visit at Potsdam.

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[a] *Mémoires de Frédérique Sophie Wilhelmine, Margrave de Bareith, soeur de Frédéric le Grand....* Here and below Marx quotes from Volume I of *Mémoires*, pp. 41 and 44. (Later, historians questioned the authenticity of the *Mémoires*.) - [b] Catherine I

'La Czarine débuta par baiser la main à la reine[a] qu'il voulut embrasser, mais elle le repoussa. Elle lui présenta ensuite le duc et la duchesse de Mecklenbourg[b] qui les avaient accompagnés et 400 soi-disant dames qui étaient à sa suite. C'était pour la plupart, des servantes allemandes, qui faisaient les fonctions de dames, de femmes de chambre, de cuisinières et de blanchisseuses. Presque toutes ces créatures portaient chacune sur les bras un enfant richement vêtu; et lorsqu'on leur demandait, si c'étaient les leurs, elles répondaient en faisant des salamalecs à la Russienne: *Le Czar m'a fait l'honneur de me faire cet enfant.* La reine ne voulut pas saluer ces créatures' etc.[c]

In one of the rooms at Potsdam there stood a Priapus

'dans une posture très indécente. Le Czar admira cette statue beaucoup et ordonna à la Czarine de la baiser. Elle voulut s'en défendre, il se fâcha et lui dit en allemand corrompu: *Kop ab....* La Czarine eût si peur qu'elle fit tout ce qu'il voulut. Il demanda sans façon cette statue et plusieurs autres au roi[d] qui ne put les lui refuser' etc.[e]

I should like to put to some use the curious items I have discovered at the Museum. They are too retrospective for a newspaper. So I shall try *'Putnam'. But first* you must let me *know when* the 'IMPROVEMENTS IN MODERN WARFARE' can be ready, since Putnam will, of course, insist on having the goods he ordered first[19] before he considers any fresh offers.

I was most interested in the French business and would ask you to send me the *Examiner* whenever it contains similar stuff. Here the *Guardian* may be seen at Wylde's. Writing for the papers is at present very onerous, since *nothing* is happening in England and the turn economic affairs are taking is still far from clear. Crucial in this respect just now are the stock market swindles, concerning which the necessary material is wanting.

Have since seen Bruno[f] once or twice. The fellow clearly has

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[a] Sophie Dorothea - [b] Karl Leopold and Catherine - [c] 'The Czarina began by kissing the hand of the Queen, whom he sought to embrace, but was repulsed. Next she presented to her the Duke and Duchess of Mecklenburg who had accompanied them and 400 self-styled ladies belonging to her suite. These were, for the most part, German servants fulfilling the duties of ladies-in-waiting, chamber-maids, cooks and laundresses. Practically every one of these creatures carried a richly clad child in her arms; and, when asked if it was hers, would reply, making salaams Russian-fashion: *"The Czar did me the honour of presenting me with this child."* The Queen refused to greet these creatures' etc. - [d] Frederick William I - [e] 'in a most indecent posture. The Czar greatly admired this statue and commanded the Czarina to kiss it. When she demurred, he grew angry and said in bad German: *"Kop ab...."* ["Head off".] The Czarina was so frightened that she did all that he wished. He made no bones about asking for this statue and a number of others which the King was unable to refuse him' etc. - [f] Bruno Bauer

something in mind, having come *sans le sou*[a] to his *cher frère*.[b] He's a thorough-going old bachelor, anxiously concerned for his own conservation and preservation, and not without secret MISGIVINGS about his attitude to the present. Little by little he is discovering that London is a remarkable place, that in it there are 'contrasts between poor and rich' and other suchlike 'discoveries'. His would-be gentility and repudiation of the world on the one hand, and his childish curiosity and rustic astonishment at EVERYTHING and ANYTHING on the other, provide a far from edifying contrast. At present he is engaged mainly in mugging up English. As soon as I have another encounter with him I shall tell you about it.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 4

## MARX TO ENGELS[20]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 13 February 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

DEAR Fred,

According to a letter I've had from Imandt, Heise is gradually approaching extinction as a result of the undue amount of 'oil' he has been pouring on the lamp of life.[c] Imandt himself grumbles a great deal about the Scots, with whom it is impossible to have more than 12 lessons to teach them German, whatever

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[a] penniless - [b] dear brother (Edgar Bauer) - [c] In his letter to Marx of 6 February 1856 Imandt wrote that Heise, ill with tuberculosis, was drinking too much whisky.

ruses he adopts. The fellows are keen on "grasping" out of avarice.

But the great event, the event which has caused me to send this second epistle following hard on the heels of the first, is the *Seiler event.* You will recall what the auspices for this Sebastian Sheetanchor[a] looked like when last you were here. The old GREENGROCER proved RATHER adamant, and Seiler himself, with the happy instinct characteristic of the man, soon discovered that it would be altogether foolish to lay out some £200 on amortising the past rather than greasing the wheels of the future. So he takes the heroic decision to advise his father-in-law not to pay *one single creditor,* but rather look on unconcernedly should he be locked up. His intention, then, was to pass through the COURT OF INSOLVENCY and, thus purged, start a new career with the old man's help. This seemed very practical to the old man. Seiler for his part was tempted by the prospect—once initiated into the *crapuleuse*[b] company of the Queen's Bench[21]—of keeping open board thanks to generous supplies from wife and mother-in-law and, incidentally, of completing his immortal work on Alexander II—consisting of extracts from the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung,* upon which he has spread an equivocal syrup. The matter was AT ONCE put in hand. There began a golden era of *farniente*[c] and 'business errands' into town. But what was particularly embarrassing was that, despite the WARRANTS taken out against him and despite the OSTENTATIOUS EXHIBITION of his worthy person in the streets of London, not a single creditor took steps to have Sebastian arrested. The old GREENGROCER, whose faith in the 'personality' of his son-in-law was in no way reinforced by the latter's inviolability, told him the time had come to vacate the house and withdraw with his wife to a distant COTTAGE. During the actual removal some of the effects were confiscated by vigilant creditors, among them 7 pairs of boots belonging to Sebastian. Sebastian himself took care that there should be no secret about the COTTAGE either, since a quiet and secluded existence with his cabbage of a wife had no place whatsoever in his plans. In short, to such good effect did he intrigue with the cabbage, the mother-in-law and the GREENGROCER, that it has been decided to despatch him to the 'New World'—New York, OF COURSE—whither his spouse is to follow him once he has secured a 'position'. The matter now turns—he is expected to

[a] An ironical allusion to Sebaldus Nothanker (literally: Sheetanchor), the hero of Ch. Fr. Nicolai's novel *Das Leben und die Meinungen des Herrn Magister Sebaldus Nothanker.* - [b] lewd - [c] doing nothing

leave this week—on the number of £s he is to take with him for his travelling expenses. He is asking for £60. The GREENGROCER reckons that half as much will suffice. Sebastian plans, once in America, to extract one 5 pound note after the other from his dear spouse, to pamper his belly, to publish his *Kaspar Hauser* and Alexander II, and, as a grass widower, never to forego the sweet melancholy of separation from his cabbage. It would be interesting if a creditor did catch him after all. At all events he has succeeded in leaving England too as a 'financial' fugitive, only in more respectable CIRCUMSTANCES than those attending his departure from Germany, Belgium and Switzerland. His plan was that Pieper should go with him as companion. Pieper had only pretended to fall in with this plan so as to get a share of the 7 pairs of boots, but in the event he was forestalled by the BROKERS.

Pieper was here one evening not long ago giving lessons to the children when the POSTMAN knocked at the door downstairs. A letter for Pieper in a female hand. Invitation to a rendezvous. Since he was unfamiliar with the hand and equally with the signature, he gave himself over to great expectations and passed the letter to my wife to read. From the signature she at once recognised our ex-nurse, the fat old Irish slattern, who cannot write herself and therefore had the letter written by a third hand. You can imagine how we teased Fridolin[a] with our laughter. But he kept his rendezvous with the COW. Such, then, are his ADVENTURES. O King Visvamitra, what an ox you are![b]

Don't forget the Pan-Slavism.[11]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] Marx ironically compares Wilhelm Pieper with Fridolin, a character from Schiller's ballad *Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer*. - [b] H. Heine, 'Den König Wiswamitra...' (from *Buch der Lieder*, 'Die Heimkehr').

# 5

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 February 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

For the whole of this week I've had a visitor in the person of G. Levy from Düsseldorf, sent over as their delegate by the workers there. He only left yesterday and took up all my spare time, so that despite the best of intentions I did not succeed in writing to you. Further on I shall give you an account of the news, some of it important, of which he was the CARRIER.[a]

Not one of the 3 books you asked for was available at Norgate and Williams. I have *ordered* the *Lay of Igor*[22] but wanted to let you know about the other two first.

*Dobrowsky's 'Slavin', Hanka* edition, is very far from fulfilling the expectations aroused by its title. The book falls into 2 parts as regards the contents, if not the arrangement, viz.:

1. Short ESSAYS on Slavonic linguistic studies which, in view of more recent studies, could at most be of antiquarian interest (e.g. sample from the Wendish New Testament, Slavonic declension, on the Slavonic translation of the Old Testament, etc.).

2. An attempt, *wholly* devoid of polemic bite, to reconstitute the character of the Slav peoples *in integrum*.[b] This is done by taking excerpts from sundry works, mostly *German* writings. Here is a list of these essays, which make up the bulk of the book[c]:

'Slawische Völker'. (From Herder's *Ideen*[d] etc.)

'Sitten der Croaten'. (From von Engels' *Geschichte* von Dalmatien, Croatien, Slavonien. Halle 1798.)

'Sitten und Gebräuche der Illyrier, der Morlaken etc.' (From *ditto.*)

'Charakter der Illyrier'. (From Taube's *Beschreibung des Königreichs Slavonien.* Leipzig 1777.)

'Die Tracht der Illyrier'. (From Hacquet's *Beobachtungen auf einer Reise nach Semlin.*[e])

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[a] See this volume, pp. 23-25. - [b] as a whole - [c] Here Marx gives the titles of a number of chapters from Dobrowsky's book and some excerpts from it. - [d] J. G. Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit,* Theil 4. - [e] Serbian name: Zemun.

'Prokops Schilderung der Slawen und Anten'. (From Stritter's 'Geschichte der Slawen nach den Byzantinern' in Schlözer's *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte.*)

'Auszüge aus des Herrn Professor B. Hacquet's *Abbildung und Beschreibung der südwest- und östlichen Slawen'.*

'Volkstümliches der Russen'. (From Dupré de St. Maure, *Observations sur les moeurs et les usages russes.* Paris 1829. 3 vols.)

'Charakter und Kultur der Slawen im Allgemeinen'. (From Schaffarik, *Geschichte der slawischen Sprache,* etc. Ofen[a] 1826.)

That's about all. Appended is 'Der böhmische Cato' in Czech, 'from an old manuscript described by the late Voigt in *Acta litteraria'.*[23]

Dobrowsky writes in a bumbling, good-natured, naive style, with the greatest cordiality towards his German colleagues, whether 'late' or still living. All that seemed of interest to me in the *Slavin* were a few passages in which he directly recognises the Germans as the fathers of Slavonic historical and linguistic studies.

As regards linguistic studies, he cites among others 'Schlözer, *Vorschlag zu einer allgemeinen vergleichenden slawischen Sprachlehre und Wörterbuch'.*[24] Further, 'Schlözer, *Vorschlag, das Russische vollkommen richtig und genau mit lateinischer Schrift auszudrücken'.* In general 'Herr Hofrat Schlözer' would appear to be the patriarch of whom the others profess to be the disciples.

'Schlözer's *Nestor*: A work indispensable to anyone wishing to acquaint himself with the critical approach to Slavonic history in general and the Russian annals in particular.'

Of Voigt's *Geschichte Preussens*:

'Was *the first* to acquaint the *Bohemians* with the monuments of Antiquity.'[25]

Also cited:

'Johann Leonhard Frischen's *Programmen von der slawischen Literatur',* 1727-1736,

'which has elucidated the history of several Slavonic dialects'.

*'Slawischer Bücherdruck in Würtenberg im 16ten Jahrhundert. Ein literarischer Bericht von Chr. Friedr. Schnurrer,* Prof. in Tübingen, 1799'—

'a very valuable book which contains the finest and most important contributions to the history of Wendish and Croat bibliography'.

Others cited are: Schlözer, *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte.* Joh. Christoph de Jordan, *De originibus Slavicis opus* etc., Vienna 1745,

[a] Hungarian name: Buda.

fol. 2. Father Gelasius Dobner, *ad* Hajek, *Annales Bohemorum,* Prague 1761 and '63. (Of this Schlözer remarks: *primus delirare desiit.*[a]) Stritter, *Memoriae populorum ad Danubium e Script. Byzantinis,* Petersburg 1774. Gercken, *Versuch in der ältesten Geschichte der Slaven,* Leipzig 1771. Gatterer's *Einleitung in die synchronistische Universalhistorie,* Göttingen 1771, and Gebhardi, *Allgemeine Welthistorie,* 1789.

Of all these works *only* the titles are given, with the exception of the opinions extracted above. *Voilà le 'Slavin'.*[b]

As regards the 3rd work, the title is: Dr. M. W. Heffter, *Der Weltkampf der Deutschen und Slaven seit dem Ende des 5ten Jahrhunderts,* 1847 (costs 7/-). Even in his preface the author admits that he only has a detailed and first-hand knowledge of Slavonic history in so far as it refers to the Prussian 'Fatherland'. More than $^3/_4$ of his book of 481 pages is devoted to the period between the end of the 5th century and 1147. Only here and there does the remainder go beyond the 13th, or at latest the 14th, century, and then quite cursorily.

Having given you an opinion on these two works, I await your instructions whether or not to order them. Another book by Heffter has been published: *Das Slawentum,* Leipzig 1852 (45 pages or so). Constitutes the 10th booklet in the Brockhaus series *Unterhaltungen, Belehrungen etc.*[c] A popular compendium of Slavonic history. It was from this little book I learned that in 1849 Nicholas issued a ukase by which

> 'all his subjects were strictly forbidden to take part in Pan-Slavism'.

At the Museum I discovered, and made extracts from, 5 *manuscript* folio volumes on Russia (18th century only). They are part of the literary legacy of ARCHDEACON Coxe, known for his zeal as a collector.[26] They contain many original (hitherto unpublished) letters from English ambassadors in Petersburg to the Cabinet here, some of them VERY COMPROMISING INDEED. Amongst the papers dated 1768 there is a manuscript by one of the Embassy attachés on 'the character of the Russian nation'.[d] I shall send you some extracts from it. There is also interesting information on the Russian 'artels' by the Embassy chaplain, a cousin of Pitt's.[e]

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[a] the first to have ceased to rave - [b] There you have the *Slavin.* - [c] *Unterhaltende Belehrungen zur Förderung allgemeiner Bildung.* 1-27 Bändchen, Leipzig 1851-1856. - [d] *Various Papers on the Genius and Character of the Russians,* 1768 (MS). - [e] L. K. Pitt, *Ueber den russischen Handel* (MS).

Although anti-Russian, recent French writings are, with few exceptions, almost all tinged with Pan-Slavism. Thus Desprez,[a] but more particularly Cyprien Robert who, in Paris in 1848, published the journal, *La Pologne. Annales contemporaines des peuples de l'Europe orientale,* etc. The same man has published, among other things, *Les Slaves de la Turquie, édition de 1844, précédée d'une introduction,* etc., 8°, Paris 1852. Further, *Le Monde slave, son passé, son état présent et son avenir,* Paris 1852. A Parisian author,[b] whose *nom de guerre* is *Edmond,* but who is said to be a Pole, is exceptional in having published an exceedingly venomous attack on Russian pretensions to socialism, and comments on their communes, etc. I haven't yet been able to trace this, but shall have a look at the *Revue des deux Mondes* which apparently contains extracts from it.

I began this letter today with the intention of sending you masses of gossip. But, having strayed off in another direction and time being short, I shall leave that till tomorrow and confine myself for today to telling you that Heise, under the influence of strong liquor (so Imandt writes), is rapidly approaching his end[c]; that Oswald—of tobacco and refugee fame—who doesn't speak a word of French, has been appointed Professor of the French Language at University College, London; that Ruge's friends are putting it around that he's suffering from 'dropsy' though it's probably nothing but water on the brain; that a number of German worthies (Faucher, Meyen, Franck, Tausenau, etc.) will be meeting tomorrow *chez* mine host Kerb, in order to achieve an *entente cordiale* as to the Fatherland's requirements, and that 'Meyen' has expressed the 'hope' that he can persuade Bucher to 'take part' in this confabulation; finally, that Proudhon has become a director of the royal imperial French railways.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx,* Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

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[a] H. Desprez, *Les peuples de l'Autriche et de la Turquie.* - [b] Charles Edmond Chojecki - [c] See this volume, p. 12.

# 6

# MARX TO ENGELS[1]

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 March 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

DEAR Frederic,

Next week I shall take a closer look at the Heffter.[a] If there's anything to it, I shall order it. Eichhoff's *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature des Slaves,* Paris 1839, is very poor indeed. Apart from the grammatical section, which I'm unable to assess (but I notice that the Lithuanians and Letts are said to be Slavs. Isn't that NONSENSE?), the rest is mostly plagiarisms from Schaffarik.[b] The fellow also gives samples of the Slavs' vernacular poetry in the original, together with a French translation. Indeed, it was amongst these that I found Igor's expedition.[22] In essence, the poem is a call for unity on the part of the Russian princes just before the invasion by the Mongol hordes proper. The poem contains a curious passage, 'Voici les jolies filles des Gothes entonnent leurs chants au bord de la Mer noire'.[c] From this it would seem that the Getae or Goths celebrated the victory of the Turkish Polovtsians[27] over the Russians. The whole poem is epic-Christian, although heathen elements are still strongly in evidence. The Bohemian epic *Zaboi* (Samo?), in the anthology of Bohemian epic poetry in a German translation published by *Hanka and Swoboda,*[28] is, on the other hand, fairly polemical and fanatically anti-German. Appears to be directed against a German *capitano* of Dagobert's who was beaten by the Bohemians. But it is a call for vengeance as much upon Christianity as upon the Germans, who are reproached in the most naively poetical terms with having, amongst other things, sought to compel the worthy Bohemians to be satisfied with only one wife. Other folk poetry I discovered (the Poles have none save for *Adalbert's Prayer* to the Mother of God[29]) are:

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[a] M. W. Heffter, *Der Weltkampf der Deutschen und Slaven seit dem Ende des fünften Jahrhunderts....* - [b] P. J. Schaffarik, *Geschichte der slawischen Sprache und Literatur nach allen Mundarten.* - [c] Here are the pretty daughters of the Goths singing their songs on the shore of the Black Sea.

Götze, *Fürst Vladimir und seine Tafelrunde,*[a] 1819. *Stimmen des russischen Volkes,* 1828.

Kapper (Siegfried), *Slavische Melodien,* Leipzig 1844. By the same, *Die Gesänge der Serben,* 1852. (More comprehensive than [those] of Jakob.[b] Lastly, by Vuk Stephanovitsch, *Serbische Hochzeitslieder.* German by E. Wesely. Pest 1826.

Works which I have noted and shall be looking through for you next week are, besides the Cyprien and the Desprez[c]: *Südslavische Wanderungen im Sommer 1850,* 2 vols, Leipzig 1851.[d] (Has also been translated into English.) *Betrachtungen über das Fürstenthum Serbien,* Vienna 1851. *Die serbische Bewegung in Südungarn,* 1851 Berlin. *Slawismus und Pseudomagyarismus. Von aller Menschen Freunde, nur der Pseudomagyaren Feinde,* Leipzig 1842. *Die Beschwerden und Klagen der Slaven in Ungarn,* Leipzig 1843.

I don't remember whether the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* is to be had in Manchester. At present it is very interesting. The Prussian government has now, as once Louis XVIII, got its *chambre introuvable,* and the bureaucratic government is beginning to be afraid of the backwoods squires, who are taking their victory *au sérieux.*[30] During debates on rural parish, rural court, and land tenure relations, when, as old Dolleschall said, 'it's his bread and butter that is at stake'[e]—the clashes in the Prussian Chamber are becoming serious. You will have seen, among other things, that Count Pfeil claimed for landowners the privilege of flogging their people, and boasted of having himself performed heroic deeds in this line. Now the Left has dug up posters of 1848, signed by this same Pfeil in 1848, and altogether in the style of the 'crazy year'.[31] There have even been duels between the two sides, and today the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* carries a LEADER[f] roundly declaring that there are 'depraved scoundrels' in its party just as there are very 'noble' people in the Liberal Party. It preaches 'moderation', 'conciliation', 'a battle of principles, but no personalities'. The Left is adjured to reflect that 'the Mountain will always swallow the

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[a] The name of the publisher or translator is not indicated on the title-page of this book. It is probable, however, that it was not P. O. Götze but von Busse who translated it. - [b] A reference to *Volkslieder der Serben* by Therese Albertine Luise von Jakob-Robinson (she wrote under the pen-name of Talvj). - [c] Cyprien Robert, *Les slaves de Turquie*; H. Desprez, *Les peuples de l'Autriche et de la Turquie.* - [d] The author was S. Kapper. In English the book appeared under the title *A Visit to Belgrade.* - [e] Laurenz Dolleschall, censor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in 1842, claimed that he was forced to do this work because he had to support his family. - [f] 'Den Streitenden', *Neue Preußische Zeitung,* No. 54, 4 March 1856.

Gironde'[32] and to consider that 'peace or no peace, for Prussia there lies ahead a time of very great confusion, at home or abroad' and that at this moment a 'party split' means 'suicide'. Capital, is it not? And withal no one in Prussia cares a rap about the Chamber and its splits. All the more significant, then, this admission of fear. Father Leo delivered a lecture before the King[a] on *Münzer* (part of which was printed in the *Neue Preussische*[b]). One might almost think it was a direct riposte to your essay in the *Revue der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung*.[c] Essential, of course, that the Reformation be absolved of the responsibility of having given birth to the Revolution. Münzer was a 'fanatic' who said: *'intelligo ut credam'*.[d] Luther said: *'credo ut intelligam'*.[e] The *Spenersche*'s[f] reply was that in his later years Luther repented, etc., of the abject role he had played in politics. As you see, the ferment is at work even in official circles.

Apropos the Reformation, it was Austria who, from the start, laid the foundations of the Slav peril at a time when all races save the Russian were inclined to support the Reformation. With the Reformation came the translation of the Bible into all the popular Slav dialects. And thereby of course awakening national consciousness. On the other hand, deep-rooted alliance with the German Protestant North. Had Austria not suppressed this movement, Protestantism would have provided not only the foundations for the dominance of the German spirit, but also and equally, bulwarks against Greek-Orthodox Russia. Not a pitfall but Austria has driven the Germans into it and, in Germany as in the East, she paved the way for the Russians.

Did you read about last Friday's parliamentary sitting,[g] at which Evans reproached Palmerston for feigning incredulity when, 3 1/2 months ago, he warned him about Kars[15]; at which he said that Panmure in the despatch informing Simpson, 'YOU ARE NOMINATED SUCCESSOR OF RAGLAN', added 'TAKE CARE OF DOWB'. The unfortunate Simpson replied: 'REPEAT YOUR DESPATCH', whereat Panmure (*'Lord Carnot'* as Evans calls him), 'TAKE CARE OF DOWBIGGIN', a cousin of his[33]; at which, finally, Lord Hamilton slated *Evans* for having, after the battle of Inkerman,[34] advised Raglan to abandon cannon and TRENCHES and to embark the British army. The day before

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[a] Frederick William IV - [b] 'Leo über Thomas Münzer', *Neue Preußische Zeitung*, No. 51, 29 February 1856. - [c] F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany* (published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*). - [d] I understand in order to believe. - [e] I believe in order to understand. - [f] *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, 27 February 1856. - [g] A reference to the parliamentary sitting on 29 February 1856, reported on in *The Times*, No. 22304, 1 March 1856.

yesterday, poor Evans made *amende honorable.*[a] That there was a betrayal at Kars would seem to be pretty clear from the written account of a certain Swan,[b] recently returned from the East—a betrayal which took place not during the last few days but earlier, in order to bring the situation about.

Now for *Seiler.* Threatened with prosecution by the SHERIFF, he set off for America some 3 weeks ago by the Southampton STEAMER, fully intending on arrival in Halifax to telegraph the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung* (for which he once wrote) as follows: 'Sebastian Seiler, the famous author of *Kaspar Hauser,* has landed safely on the west coast of the Atlantic Ocean.' The great man left behind his Alexander II, 55 pages, mostly extracts from the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung,* one copy of which was to be sent on immediately in his wake. For it is to appear on both sides of the Atlantic. This gossipy rubbish he surrounded with a great deal of humbug, having parts of it copied out by his wife, sister-in-law, etc., so that one and all they were astounded by POOR Sebastian's untiring industry. Negotiations with the London booksellers over this Alexander II served to give a veneer of erudition to his 'business errands' to town where every day he carefully investigated the quality of the LOBSTER and suchlike, not forgetting the French 'omelette'. Besides this Alexander, he has left other unpleasant surprises behind. You will remember that Liebknecht signed a bill for him, lured on by the foolish hope that Seiler would deduct a few pounds in his favour from the amount discounted. The bill fell due but was not presented. Seiler made out that he had paid it. He had only renewed it. Two days after he left, Liebknecht got a letter from a lawyer in the City requiring him to pay the bill. Pieper, whom Seiler's green-bespectacled sister-in-law loves for the sake of his glassy eyes, was despatched to the GREENGROCER. Consternation in the FAMILY. For Sebastian had already received the money to pay the bill, but had poured it down his gullet. Love, however, overcomes all obstacles, and his wife is convinced that she can lay claim to love *only once,* and then only from Sebastian. Hence she is trying to arrange matters. But the GREENGROCER is grave and glum, becoming daily more enlightened as to the WHEREABOUTS OF HIS DEAR SON-IN-LAW. The thing is still pending. Meanwhile fresh bills, allegedly honoured, keep arriving every day.

*Levy.* Sent here by the Düsseldorf workers with a *twofold* mission.

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[a] Marx refers to Evans' speech in the House of Commons on 3 March 1856, published in *The Times,* No. 22306, 4 March 1856. - [b] This refers to *A Narrative of the Siege of Kars...* by H. Sandwith.

1. *Denunciation of Lassalle.* And, having considered the matter *very carefully,* I think *they are right.* Since the countess[a] got her 300,000 talers,[35] Lassalle has changed completely; deliberately repulsing the workers, a sybarite, coquetting with the Blues.[b] He is further accused of having constantly exploited the party for his filthy *personal ends* and wanting to make use of the workers themselves for *personal crimes* in the interests of the law-suit. The law-suit ended as follows: Count Hatzfeldt's head clerk, Stockum who, as you know, was subsequently sentenced at the Assizes to 5 years' penal servitude, had quarrelled with the count. He gave Lassalle to understand that he had in his possession documents which could have the count put in chains for perjury, forgery, etc. Lassalle promises him 10,000 talers. On the other hand, Lassalle persuades Kösteritz, the Chief Public Prosecutor (who has been compelled to resign as a result of this affair), to let Count Hatzfeldt know that there's a bill of indictment hanging over his head. Hatzfeldt is making a bolt for Paris when Lassalle hands him the incriminating documents *in return for his signing the settlement* with the countess, and withdraws the bill of indictment. (Kösteritz, of course, was acting purely as his INSTRUMENT.) Hence it was not his *legal* acumen that brought the law-suit to a sudden close, but a quite vulgar intrigue. Lassalle did not pay Stockum the 10,000 talers, and the workers are right in saying that such a breach of faith would be excusable only if he had handed over the money to the party instead of fraudulently keeping it for the countess. They report a host of personal dirty tricks which I cannot repeat because too many to remember. For instance, Lassalle gambled in foreign government paper with Scheuer of Düsseldorf, who advanced him the money for the purpose. They lost. Meanwhile Scheuer went bankrupt. Lassalle wins the law-suit. Scheuer demands the money he advanced Lassalle. The latter contemptuously draws his attention to §6 of the Code, which forbids gambling on foreign Exchanges. The workers say they turned a blind eye to everything done by Lassalle because of his plea that he was involved in the law-suit for reasons of honour. Now, having won, instead of getting the countess to pay him for his work and achieving independence, he is, they say, living shamefully under her thumb as *homme entretenu,*[c] WITHOUT ANY PRETEXT WHATEVER. He had always boasted about what he would do as soon as the law-suit had been won and now he was casting them aside, deliberately and defiantly, as redundant instruments of no further use. He had

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[a] Sophie von Hatzfeldt - [b] the aristocracy - [c] kept man

attended one more (private) meeting on New Year's Day because a French colonel was present. To everyone's astonishment, he addressed 60 working-men exclusively on the subject of 'the struggle of civilisation against barbarism', the Western Powers versus Russia. Apparently he had planned to go to Berlin, play the grand gentleman there and open a salon. On his return, he promised the countess in Levy's presence to set up 'a court of literati' for her. Likewise in Levy's presence, he was constantly reiterating his 'dictatorial aspirations', etc., etc. (he seems to see himself quite differently from the way we see him, regarding himself as able to subdue the world because of his ruthlessness in a private intrigue, as though a man of real worth would sacrifice 10 years to such a bagatelle). An instance, by the by, of how dangerous he can be: in order to smuggle a labour party man into the police, ostensibly as a spy, he *gave* him *one of my letters* with instructions to say he had stolen it from Lassalle to establish his credibility. The workers further say that, being the diplomat he is, he would not have behaved so brusquely towards them had it not been his direct intention to go over to the bourgeois party. At the same time, he believes his influence is such that if he climbed onto a table at a moment of insurrection and harangued the masses, etc., he could talk them round. According to Levy, he is so much hated that, whatever we might decide, the workers would massacre him should he be in Düsseldorf at the moment of action. They are, by the by, convinced that he would lose no time in placing himself at the disposal of the other side should he hear of anything suspicious.

These are nothing but isolated points, deduced from what I heard, and only partially retained. The *whole* thing made a *distinct* impression on myself and Freiligrath, however prejudiced in Lassalle's favour and mistrustful of workers' tittle-tattle I may have been. I told Levy that it was, of course, impossible to reach any conclusion on the strength of a report from one side only; suspicion was in place whatever the circumstances; they should continue to keep an eye on the man but for the time being avoid any public row; we might perhaps find some opportunity of forcing Lassalle to make his position clear, etc., etc.

*Qu'en pensez-vous?*[a] I should like to have Lupus' opinion too.

2. The second purpose of Levy's mission was to give me information on how things stand with the workers in the Rhine Province. The Düsseldorf workers are still in contact with the

[a] What do you think of it?

Cologne people, amongst whom there are no longer any 'gentlemen'. But those chiefly concerned with propaganda are now the *factory workers in Solingen, Iserlohn and district, Elberfeld* and the ducal-Westphalia area. In the iron districts the fellows are all for force, and are held back only by the prospect of a French revolution and the fact that 'the Londoners think the time is not yet ripe'.[36] If the thing drags on much longer Levy believes that a rising will be difficult to prevent. But whatever the circumstances, an insurrection in Paris would be the signal. These people seem to be firmly convinced that *we and our friends would instantly hasten to join them.* They naturally feel the need for political and military leaders. Not that one can in any way blame the chaps for that. But I fear that, with their exceedingly artless plans, they would be smashed to smithereens before we had so much as a chance of leaving England. At all events, we owe it them to point out exactly what is and what isn't feasible from the military point of view. I have, OF COURSE, declared that, *circumstances permitting,* we would range ourselves with the Rhenish workers; that any uprising, undertaken off their own bat, without prior initiatives in Paris or Vienna or Berlin, would be idiotic; that, should Paris give the signal, it would be advisable, whatever the circumstances, to risk all, since then even the ill-effects of a momentary defeat could themselves be no more than momentary; that I and my friends would seriously consider what direct action might be taken by the working population of the Rhine Province, and that in due course they should again send someone to London, but do *nothing* without prior agreement.

The tanners of Elberfeld (or Barmen?) who were pretty reactionary in 1848 and '49, are now particularly eager for revolution. Levy assures me that the workers in the Wupper valley regard you, personally, as 'their' man. It would seem, by the way, that on the Rhine the belief in a revolution in France is fairly widespread, and even the philistines are saying: 'This time it will be different from 1848. This time there'll be people like Robespierre, etc., instead of the chatter-boxes of 1848.' On the Rhine at least, democracy's reputation has sunk very LOW.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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# 7

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 March 1856

Dear Marx,

Much obliged to you for your exhaustive letter *ad Slavica.*[a] Eichhoff is already known to me as a philological quack who has actually out-quacked Klaproth (who did know something). I shall look into the business of the Goths in *Igor*[22] as soon as I have got the book. However, it has been established that a number of Goths remained in the Crimea until the 10th, and possibly the 11th, century; at least they figure as Goths in Byzantine [sources]. Could you let me know the title and price of Hanka and Swoboda's Bohemian anthology?[28] It is sure to be highly uncritical, for they are both complete asses.—Polish folk songs were published somewhere or other during the 40s.—I have found quotations from Götze, *Wladimir,*[b] etc., in Grimm's translation of Wuk's *Serbische Grammatik* with the comment 'unfortunately without the Russian text'. Kapper is a Prague Jew who published his *Südslavische Wanderungen* in the Bohemian constitutionalist paper[c] in 1848/49. He's a writer of *belles lettres,* but whether his translations are any good I couldn't say—*j'en doute cependant.*[d] All the Serbian wedding songs have been translated by the Jakob woman.[e] The political works you mention on the Hungarian and Turkish Serbs might be worth looking at if they are in the Museum.[f]

The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* isn't available in Manchester, but I followed the Pfeil business in the *Kölner* and the *Augsburger*[g] and derived much joy from it. However the penitent LEADER in the *N. Pr.*[h] was, of course, new to me; really too delightful, the sudden discovery that despite all the feudal gewgaws, nobility and bourgeoisie are today *au fond*[i] one.

What you say about Austria in regard to the Slavs and Protestantism is perfectly right. Fortunately a very strong form of

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[a] on things Slavonic - [b] See this volume, p. 20. - [c] probably the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* - [d] I doubt it, however. - [e] Therese Albertine Luise von Jakob-Robinson (pen-name: Talvj), who published the collection *Volkslieder der Serben.* - [f] the British Museum Library - [g] The *Kölnische Zeitung* and the *Allgemeine Zeitung* - [h] 'Den Streitenden', *Neue Preußische Zeitung,* No. 54, 4 March 1856. - [i] basically

Protestantism has survived in Slovakia, and has greatly contributed to the inaction of the Slovaks against the Hungarians,[a] while in Bohemia every serious national movement other than the proletarian will in addition receive a strong admixture of Hussite historical memories which in turn will weaken the specifically national element. Pity about the Slovenian peasants who fought so splendidly in the 15th century.

I shall read about the Kars affair. What is Swan's piece called?[b]

The course taken by the Seileriad will assuredly please everyone except Liebknecht and the GREENGROCER. An unpleasant whiff of the cesspit.

Lassalle. It would be a pity about the fellow because of his great ability, but these goings-on are really too bad. He was always a man one had to keep a devilish sharp eye on and as a real Jew from the Slav border was always to exploit anyone for his own private ends on party pretexts. And then his urge to push his way into polite society, *de parvenir*,[c] if only for appearance's sake, to disguise the greasy Breslau Jew with all kinds of pomade and paint was always repulsive. However all these were simply things which made it necessary to keep a sharp eye on him. But if he gets up to the kind of tricks that will actually result in his changing parties, I can't blame the Düsseldorf workers for the hatred they have conceived against him. I shall go and see Lupus this evening and put the matter to him. None of us ever trusted Lassalle but we did, of course, protect him against stupidities emanating from H. Bürgers. To my mind, everything should be allowed to proceed in the manner you prescribed for the Düsseldorfers. If he can be induced to commit a direct and OVERT ACT against the party, then we shall have him. But as yet there would seem to be none of that and in any case a row would be quite out of place.

The business of the Hatzfeldt woman and the 300,000 talers[35] was quite new to me. I imagined she was simply receiving something monthly or yearly. He can never be forgiven for having saved Hatzfeldt from the black and yellow jacket.[d] I shall come back to the other matters.

Your

F. E.

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[a] i.e. against the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-49 - [b] A reference to *A Narrative of the Siege of Kars...* by H. Sandwith. - [c] come up in the world - [d] See this volume, p. 23.

# 8

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] Tuesday [25 March 1856][37]

Dear Engels,

In one of my next letters I shall reply to your last. Today simply an inquiry, to which I should like, if possible, an answer *by return.* I did *not* send any article to the *Tribune* today because I hadn't finished reading the *Blue Book*[38] *on Kars*[a]—I only got hold of it late yesterday evening. I have to send off my article[b] on Friday, at the same time as the one I am expecting from you. Well, *ad rem*[c]:

A large part of the Blue Book is of a purely military nature; you will be able to see later whether anything can be done with it. But there's one point on which I want your critical OPINION, since it is also material to the political-diplomatic aspect of the matter and I have got to discuss it in *this* Friday's article. At the end of June the Turks proposed to send reinforcements to Redoute-Kaleh[d] in order to operate from there in the direction of Kutais,[e] etc. The British government, on the other hand, wanted to send a relief force to Erzerum via Trebizond and, it seems, to abandon Kars as a place of little importance, regarding Erzerum as the centre of resistance. At all events this dispute meant that the moment propitious for action was irretrievably lost. So that you may be FULLY informed on the QUESTION I append here the crucial EXTRACTS.

*Stratford de Redcliffe to Clarendon.* 28th June, 1855.

*'The Turkish ministers, who had talked of sending 10,000 men from Batoum[f] to Erzeroum, now, in their embarrassment, incline to another plan. They propose to form an entrenched camp at Redoute-Kaleh, and to concentrate there the corps of General Vivian—completed by a draft of 10,000 men from the Bulgarian army—that of General Beatson, and the detachment from Batoum, reduced to 7,000 men. The total of these combined forces would be about 30,000 of all arms. Stationary they might operate as a diversion in favour of the army at Kars or Erzeroum; advancing by Kutais or Georgia they might either attack the Russians in the rear or force them to retreat.'*

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[a] *Papers Relative to Military Affairs in Asiatic Turkey, and the Defence and Capitulation of Kars* (below Marx quotes in English from this collection). - [b] K. Marx, 'The Fall of Kars'. - [c] to the point - [d] Kulevi - [e] Kutaisi - [f] Batumi

*Id to id., 30th June, 1855.*

*'The meeting which I had previously announced, took place this morning at the Grand Vizier's[a] house on the Bosphorus. In addition to his Highness, the Seraskier[b] and Fuad Effendi were present. I was accompanied by Brigadier-General Mansfield.... It appears, that the Russians advancing from Gumri[c] with an amount of force varying from 20-30,000, had presented themselves before Kars; that a partial engagement of Cavalry had taken place, followed two days later by an attack, which had been repulsed, on the part of the enemy, and that the town was threatened with a siege.... It was clear, to all present, that whether the Russians besieged or turned Kars, the Turkish army required an effort to be made for its relief with all practicable despatch, and that of 3 possible modes of acting for that purpose, the only one likely to prove effective was an expedition by Kutais into Georgia. To send reinforcements by Trebizond would be at best a palliative. To establish an entrenched camp at Redoute-Kaleh, would, at this unhealthy season, be equivalent to consigning the troops to destruction. The real question was, whether a force numerically sufficient, and in all respects effective, could be collected in time at Kutais to make an excursion into Georgia and threaten the communications of the Russian army.... The Turkish ministers proposed that the expeditionary force should be composed of 12,000 men from Batoum and the neighbouring stations; of the troops made over to General Vivian, and estimated at 10,000 of all arms; of General Beatson's Irregular Cavalry, of 10,000 men to be detracted from the army in Bulgaria as the complement of the Turkish contingent; of 5,000 more derived from the same source; of an Egyptian regiment of horse now here, and of another regiment expected from Tunis. To these the Seraskier proposed to add 2,000 Albanians by way of riflemen. These several forces ... would present a total of 44,000 men, not perhaps to be reckoned with prudence at more than 36,000 effectives.'*

*Id. to id., 1st July, 1855*

* '...the proposed diversion at Redoute-Kaleh originated with the Porte.'*

*Clarendon to Stratford de Redcliffe.* July 13th, 1855.

*'...Her Majesty's[d] government are of opinion, that the wiser course would be to send reinforcements *to the rear of the Turkish army*, instead of sending an expedition to the rear of the Russian army. The reinforcements might go to Trebizond, and be directed from thence upon Erzeroum. The distance from Trebizond to Erzeroum is less than that from Redoute-Kaleh to Tiflis,[e] and the march is through a friendly instead of through a hostile country; and at Erzeroum the army would meet supporting friends instead of opposing enemies, and supplies instead of famine. If the army at Kars cannot maintain that position against the Russians, [...] it will be easier to defeat them by the whole force collected, than by divided portions of that force; and a defeat would be the more decisive, the further it took place within the Turkish frontier. Trebizond is a place where supplies of all kinds might be landed etc.'*

*Id. to id., 14th July, 1855 (telegraphic).*

* 'The plan for reinforcing the army at Kars contained in your despatch of the 30th June and lst inst., is disapproved. [...] Trebizond ought to be the base of

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[a] Ali Mehemet Pasha - [b] Rushdi Pasha, Turkish War Minister - [c] now Leninakan - [d] Victoria - [e] Tbilisi

operations, and if the Turkish army of Kars and Erzeroum cannot hold out at the latter place against the Russians, *it might fall back on Trebizond*, where it would easily be reinforced.'*

*Id. to id., 16th July, 1855.*

*'If, indeed, Omer Pasha ... should determine to take any part of his own army, with Tunisians and Albanians to Redoute-Kaleh, Her Majesty's government would have nothing to say to that proceeding, but as regards the contingent under General Vivian and General Beatson's Horse, Her Majesty's government abide by their opinion that they should be directed through Trebizond or Erzeroum.'*

*Lord Panmure to General Vivian*, 14th July, 1855.

*'...I place such full reliance on your professional ability, that I feel no anxiety lest you should undertake any expedition of a nature so wild and ill-digested as that contemplated by the Porte.... *A coup de main* by means of suddenly throwing an army on the coast to threaten, or even to attack an enemy's stronghold, is one thing, but a deliberate expedition to invade an enemy's country, and on his own territory to make war upon him, is quite another.'*

I must confess that Clarendon's strategy strikes me as curious in the extreme, as does also the fine distinction drawn by Lord Panmure Carnot favouring the Sevastopol '*coup de main*' against the Turkish plan for a strategic move in Georgia.

If possible, then, an answer to these points *by return.*

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 9

## MARX TO ENGELS[20]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 April 1856

DEAR Frederic,

It is high time I wrote again. I've been prevented from doing so by all kinds of domesticities.

Enclosed 1 letter from Levy to me, from Düsseldorf. The Touroute mentioned in the letter is a French ex-colonel. He called

yesterday while I was out and so I shall not be seeing him for several days as he has gone to Liverpool. He had a longish conversation with my wife, the quintessence of which is contained in *enclosure 2*,[39] composed by *Madame* herself. The M. mentioned in Levy's letter is Miquel.

In a few days' time you will receive *Igor*,[22] which has now arrived; Russian-German; the BLUE BOOK[a]; Destrilhes, *Confidences sur la Turquie* and a cutting from *L'Homme*, which I have mislaid and hence cannot send today, viz. a letter from a *déporté* in Cayenne, Tassilier by name, to M. le Ministre de la Marine,[b] in which the frightful abominations to which Boustrapa[40] subjects the deportees are revealed.[41] You would have had the BLUE BOOK long ago but *d'abord*[c] the PRESSURE of daily events has several times compelled me to suspend work on my articles[d] on this subject and write about other themes, so that I was unable to do without the book. Then the friends whom you know arrived. They wanted to have the NOVELTY just for *one* day, and had not yet returned it a week later.

AS TO THESE KARS PAPERS, *The Times*, in three fulminating LEADERS,[e] gave a rehash of the section covering August 1854 to ABOUT February 1855, i.e. *did not so much as touch on* the really interesting and crucial period. The object of this is, of course, to shift all RESPONSIBILITY from the Ministry onto Redcliffe and the Turkish pashas in Asia. The best of it is that the English government, as you will see from Destrilhes, forcibly kept at the helm Redcliffe's rotten Turkish ministry, thus partly condoning and partly bringing about the abominations of which Williams complains. That, however, is only a minor matter. By a procedure similar to the one used in Stieber's case[f]—namely, by producing proof of FALSIFIED DATES AND FORGED PASSAGES—I have, in my view, proved irrefutably that the responsibility for planning the fall of Kars and for the systematic execution of that plan, lay with the British GOVERNMENT, which furthermore had the good fortune this time to figure in Bonaparte's eyes as zealous 'in the cause'. I have not, OF COURSE, gone into the military aspect proper, i.e. the DEFENCE OF KARS; I have some MISGIVINGS, however, about the 'stature' of Williams.

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[a] *Papers Relative to Military Affairs in Asiatic Turkey, and the Defence and Capitulation of Kars* - [b] F. A. Hamelin - [c] first of all - [d] A series of articles entitled *The Fall of Kars* which Marx was writing for *The People's Paper*. It was based on his article of the same title written for the *New-York Daily Tribune*. - [e] 'The Capitulation of Kars', *The Times*, Nos. 22320, 22322 and 22323, 20, 22 and 24 March 1856. - [f] Marx refers to his pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*.

Jones, to whom I have shown my manuscript, intends IF POSSIBLE—i.e. if he can get together enough money to take St. Martin's Hall[a]—to LECTURE on the FALL OF KARS at the said venue before the debate on it in Parliament begins.

*There is now going on a bitter controversy between the Chartists and the Urquhartites at Newcastle upon Tyne, London, Birmingham, and several other places.*[42] As you will have heard, Jones, with Finlen for shadow, has proclaimed himself dictator of Chartism and set up a new organisation which, INDEED, is in process of growing but has, on the other hand, evoked a great storm of indignation against him.[43]

The 'speculation upon speculation'—not in ideas but in shares—which has invaded the Rhine Province and Berlin from France would appear to be proliferating as viciously there as on the other side of the Rhine. Jeremiads about this social MISCHIEF, this infatuation, are appearing in the Ministry's *Preussische Correspondenz*, in which the imminence of an 'inevitable' and general financial crisis IS SERIOUSLY AND EMPHATICALLY hinted at.

You will know about Heine's death, but not about Ludwig Simon of Trier pissing—passing water, I mean—on his grave in the New York *Neue Zeit* run by Löwe, quondam lion[b] of the Parliament of the 'Cherman' Nation[44] after its retreat to Stuckert.[c] This poet or minnesinger of the female Yid, Madame Hohenscheisse-esche or-linden of Frankfurt am Main, is naturally of the opinion that Heine was no poet; he had 'no sensibility', was full of 'malevolence' and calumniated not only Kobes I,[d] but even Berne's[e] lady friend, the great Berne's 'mouse', muse or moose—the Strauss woman.[f]

Down here there is A SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF SMALL TRADESMEN. This SOCIETY publishes a weekly rag[g] for the said protection. In that weekly our friend Seiler 'along with his wife' is pilloried as a 'SWINDLER'.

BUT greater things are afoot. Pieper, thanks to his genius, has again been living a freebooter's existence since January and, despite the not inconsiderable SUBSIDIES provided by me, has been daily on the *qui vive* vis-à-vis his LANDLADY. Now it has suddenly occurred to him that all he requires to become a great man is a

[a] a venue of public gatherings in London. The inaugural meeting of the International Working Men's Association was held there in September 1864. - [b] Löwe von Calbe - [c] Stuttgart (Marx deliberately uses this word and a number of others in this paragraph in their South German dialectal form). - [d] Nickname of Jakob Venedey under which he was ridiculed by Heine in his poem 'Kobes I' (*Kobes* means Jakob in the Cologne dialect). - [e] Ludwig Börne - [f] Jeanette Wohl-Straus. Heine described Börne's relations with her in his 'Ludwig Börne'. - [g] *Protection for Trade*

little capital. Seiler's SISTER-IN-LAW, the GREENGROCER'S 2nd daughter, a tallow-candle in green spectacles, has long been mortally in love with the said Pieper. Her entire person green like verdigris rather than veg., and GREENS to boot without ANY MEAT OF FLESH WHATEVER. While declaring her to be ugly as the day, Pieper has nevertheless discovered that she is not without intelligence, of which she gives incontrovertible proof by regarding our Hanoverian lambkin as a German Byron *manqué*. So, the day before yesterday, therefore, Pieper, to whom this person clings, not simply like a burr but like a CATERPILLAR, resolved to pour out his heart to Seiler's father-in-law. He did not wish to do so in front of his 'beloved' for fear he might have to kiss her, which indeed is HARD WORK for an occidental unaccustomed TO FEED UPON TALLOW. But in true Pieper-fashion, the declaration of love was combined with—a touch for a loan. Pieper could not disburden his heart to the GREENGROCER without inviting the GREENGROCER to disburden his POCKETS, not to say his till. On the grounds, that is, of his needing a little capital, SAY 20-40 POUNDS, TO CREATE HIMSELF A POSITION as a FASHIONABLE tutor. Meanwhile he intends to let his 'beloved' enjoy the pleasures of widowhood while still betrothed, nor will his compassion *ever* permit him to marry her. GREENS or no GREENS, the whole business is most unsavoury, but Pieper imagines he will come out of it as a man of honour, i.e. AT A CERTAIN EPOCH LOOMING IN THE FUTURE repay down to the last farthing the advances he 'hopes' to obtain from his would-be father-in-law, generously leaving him his daughter into the bargain. Since that fateful day he has been back to my house only once, for a minute, while I was out. Called himself a 'happy man'. Little Jenny called him 'BENEDICK THE MARRIED MAN',[a] but little Laura said: 'BENEDICK WAS A WIT, HE IS BUT "A CLOWN", AND "A CHEAP CLOWN" TOO.' The children are constantly reading Shakespeare.

Liebknecht has at last achieved something, to wit, a little Liebknecht.

By 'His Majesty's supreme and special command' my wife has received a passport from Berlin. In May she will travel to Trier with the whole FAMILY for *3-4 months.*

*Salut.* Regards to Lupus.

K. M.

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[a] Shakespeare, *Much Ado about Nothing*, Act V, Scene 4.

# 10

## ENGELS TO MARX[1]

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 14 April 1856

DEAR Marx,

I eagerly look forward to the BLUE BOOK.[a] But since I shall not have time for the process of chronological comparison to which you subjected it, you might give me a few hints some time as to the main snags; I shall have to confine myself solely to the MILITARY side, which I shall go through carefully, comparing it with Sandwith's book[b] when possible. Up here we've heard absolutely nothing about Jones' coup d'état[43] and the consequent pother; I must certainly start getting *The People's Paper* again.

Never before has the speculation shown such sparkling form in Germany. Mevissen is king of the Rhine Province, has bought the *Indépendance* jointly with Morny, and is setting up an international (HURRAH!) bank in Luxembourg (!). I have seen the jeremiad in the *Preussische Correspondenz*. However, steps have been taken to ensure that neither Manteuffel nor von der Heydt suppresses the swindle; Crédits mobiliers[45] are being set up in Hanover, Leipzig *et al.* and what these fail to accomplish is sure to be made good by unofficial crookery. The final phase of the gamble is now beginning: Russia is importing capital and speculation and, given these distances, these hundreds of miles of railways, the gamble may well develop in such a way as to come to an early and sticky end. Once we hear of THE GRAND IRKUTSK TRUNK LINE WITH BRANCHES TO PEKIN, etc., etc., that will be the moment for us to pack up. This time the CRASH will be quite unprecedented; all the ingredients are there: intensity, universal scope, and the involvement of all propertied and ruling social elements. What I find funniest is your worthy Englishman's unshakable conviction, that, in view of the 'sound' state of TRADE, nothing like that could possibly happen here. It is clear enough that no one is speculating heavily in industrial *production*, it being common knowledge that a modest amount of investment in direct production could bring about saturation in all markets within a year, and this particularly so long as the colossal calls on capital for communications persist. But

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[a] *Papers Relative to Military Affairs in Asiatic Turkey, and the Defence and Capitulation of Kars* - [b] H. Sandwith, *A Narrative of the Siege of Kars....*

as a result of speculation in communications, even industrial production is increasing out of all proportion, though more slowly than e.g. in 1833-36 or 1842-45. This year cotton prices are rising rapidly despite a hitherto unprecedented crop of 3,500,000 bales, which looks no larger this year than e.g. $2^1/_2$ million bales would have looked in 1850. Moreover, relative to England, the Continent is taking almost 3 times as much as 5 years ago, as is proved by the following table of exports from America between 1 September and 1 April each year (in thousands of bales):

| | 1856 | 1855 | 1854 | 1853 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Export to England over 7 months | 1,131 | 963 | 840 | 1,100 |
| to France over 7 months | 354 | 249 | 229 | 255 |
| to other European ports over 7 months | 346 | 167 | 179 | 204[a] |

So the Continent which, in 1853, took $\frac{45}{110} = \frac{1}{3}$ of the English figure, took $\frac{70}{113} = \frac{5}{8}$ in 1856. And to this must be added what was obtained by the Continent from England. As you can see, the growth of the industry on the Continent is out of all proportion to that in England, and the worthy British, BEING RATHER ON THE DECLINE, have every reason not to OVERTRADE in their cotton industry; 1853 and 1856, however, provide the best comparison, since in both years the crop was a very large one—3,300,000 and 3,500,000 bales. The substantial exports to France are purely fictitious, for a portion goes from Le Havre to Switzerland, Baden, Frankfurt and Antwerp. But it is in this enormous leap forward of industry on the Continent that the most viable embryo of English revolution lies.

While I see the rag *Protection for Trade* from time to time, I didn't, alas, have a chance to admire *amicum*[b] Sebastian[c] therein.

The Pieperiad is becoming distinctly distasteful. This little tale has some very amusing aspects, but also some nasty twists, and the thread of vanity running through it creates a disagreeable impression. Only let the fellow out of your sight for the space of 2 minutes and he'll go and do something idiotic on the assumption, shared by no one else, that he's a genius. I hope that he'll have to

[a] In the manuscript Marx added three noughts to all the figures in this table.
[b] friend - [c] Seiler

marry his tallow candle and that he *doesn't* get that little sum; it would serve him right.

Should the case arise, we must demonstrate our gratitude for the gallantry shown to your wife by supreme and special command.[a] Whatever happens he[b] must be given his ALLOWANCE of champagne in his *cachot*.[c]

I found the Lassalliads[39] most entertaining; the ringleted Jewish noddle must look charming indeed above the red nightshirt and the 'marquisian' drapery, while his every movement betrays the Polish Izzy. All things considered, the fellow must produce a most sordid and repulsive impression.

I am keeping Levy's letter here[d] and shall write to you, tomorrow if possible, about sundry matters concerning the workers' business. It would, by the way, be advisable to secure letters containing this sort of stuff with sealing wax. At the same time I shall return you Levy's letter.

I have already told you that I can hear again; three abscesses burst in my ear one after the other, and that did the trick.

Warm regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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## 11

## ENGELS TO WILHELM STEFFEN

### IN BRIGHTON

Manchester, 15 April 1856

Dear Steffen,

Can you recommend a good map of Germany suitable for military studies and not too expensive—scale about 1:100,000 or, better still, 1:80,000, 1:60,000, etc. In addition a map, in rather

[a] See this volume, p. 33. - [b] Frederick William IV - [c] cell - [d] See this volume, pp. 30-31.

more detail (1:60,000 to 1:40,000 would, of course, do), of the Rhine Province and Westphalia—a good one, however, and not too dear; the Prussian General Staff maps are, I believe, fearfully expensive and as yet incomplete. Even 1:150-200,000 might do for the map of Germany, that is not so important as that it should be good and really suitable. Provided it enables one to distinguish the *general features* of a battlefield, e.g. at Jena or Austerlitz,[46] even without an auxiliary plan, I shall be satisfied. The one for the Rhine Province and Westphalia should, of course, show what is shown on the 1 inch to the mile (about 1:60,000) English ORDNANCE MAP.

Little that's new up here. Lupus has a great deal to do at the moment, but for him, too, the lean holiday period is approaching. Is there a chance of your coming up to these parts in the summer?

Your
F. Engels

Add. as before:
Care of Mchr. Ermen & Engels

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## 12

## MARX TO ENGELS[1]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 16 April 1856

DEAR Frederic,

A packet went off to you today through the usual PARCELS company. It contains: 1. Kars PAPERS.[a] 2. *Igor*.[22] 3. Destrilhes, *Confidences sur la Turquie*. 4. 2 issues of *L'Homme*; in one, the letter from Cayenne, in the other, Pyat's litany to Marianne,[47] which he read aloud on 25 February of this year at a Chartist

[a] *Papers Relative to Military Affairs in Asiatic Turkey, and the Defence and Capitulation of Kars*

meeting in honour of the French Revolution. The good fellow was, of course, hoping to see a repetition of the row caused by his 'lettre à la reine'.[16] Was disappointed, however. From this you will also gather how subordinate is the attitude adopted by the French would-be revolutionaries here vis-à-vis 'Marianne'. 5. 2 cuttings from *The People's Paper,* my first 2 articles on the Kars PAPERS.[a] Shall also send you third and final instalments. Since the original of Article I had gone astray, and time, not to mention Ernest Jones, was pressing, I had to do a hasty rehash of the *Tribune* article out of my head, so that sundry bits of nonsense have crept in which will certainly not elude your keen nose. BUT NEVER MIND THAT! I mention it simply to let you know why I didn't send you the thing straight away.

The day before yesterday a little banquet took place to celebrate the anniversary of *The People's Paper.* On this occasion, the times seeming to require it, I accepted the invitation, the more so since (AS ANNOUNCED IN THE *PAPER*) I *alone* of the whole emigration was invited, and the first toast also fell to me, i.e. I was asked to propose one to the *souveraineté du prolétariat dans tous les pays.*[b] So I made a short SPEECH in English, which, however, I shall not allow to appear in print.[48] The end I sought has been achieved. Mr Talandier—who had to pay 2/6d for his TICKET—is now convinced, like the rest of the French and other émigré crews, that we are the Chartists' only 'intimate' allies and that, though we may hold aloof from public demonstrations and leave it to the FRENCHMEN to flirt openly with Chartism, it is always in our power to resume the position already allotted to us by history. This had become all the more necessary because, at the above-mentioned meeting of 25 February presided over by Pyat, the German lout *Scherzer* (OLD BOY) spoke and, in truly dreadful Straubingerian style,[49] denounced the German 'scholars', the 'intellectual workers', for having left them (the louts) in the lurch, thus forcing them to make fools of themselves in the eyes of the other nationalities. You will remember Scherzer from Paris days. I have met friend *Schapper* again several times and have found him very much the repentant sinner. The retirement in which he has been living for the past 2 years would seem RATHER to have sharpened his wits than otherwise. As you will realise, there are all sorts of contingencies in

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[a] The first two articles from Marx's series *The Fall of Kars* published in *The People's Paper* on 5 and 12 April 1856 and based on Marx's article of the same title for the *New-York Daily Tribune* mentioned further in the text. - [b] the sovereignty of the proletariat in all countries (see K. Marx, 'Speech at the Anniversary of *The People's Paper.* Delivered in London, April 14, 1856').

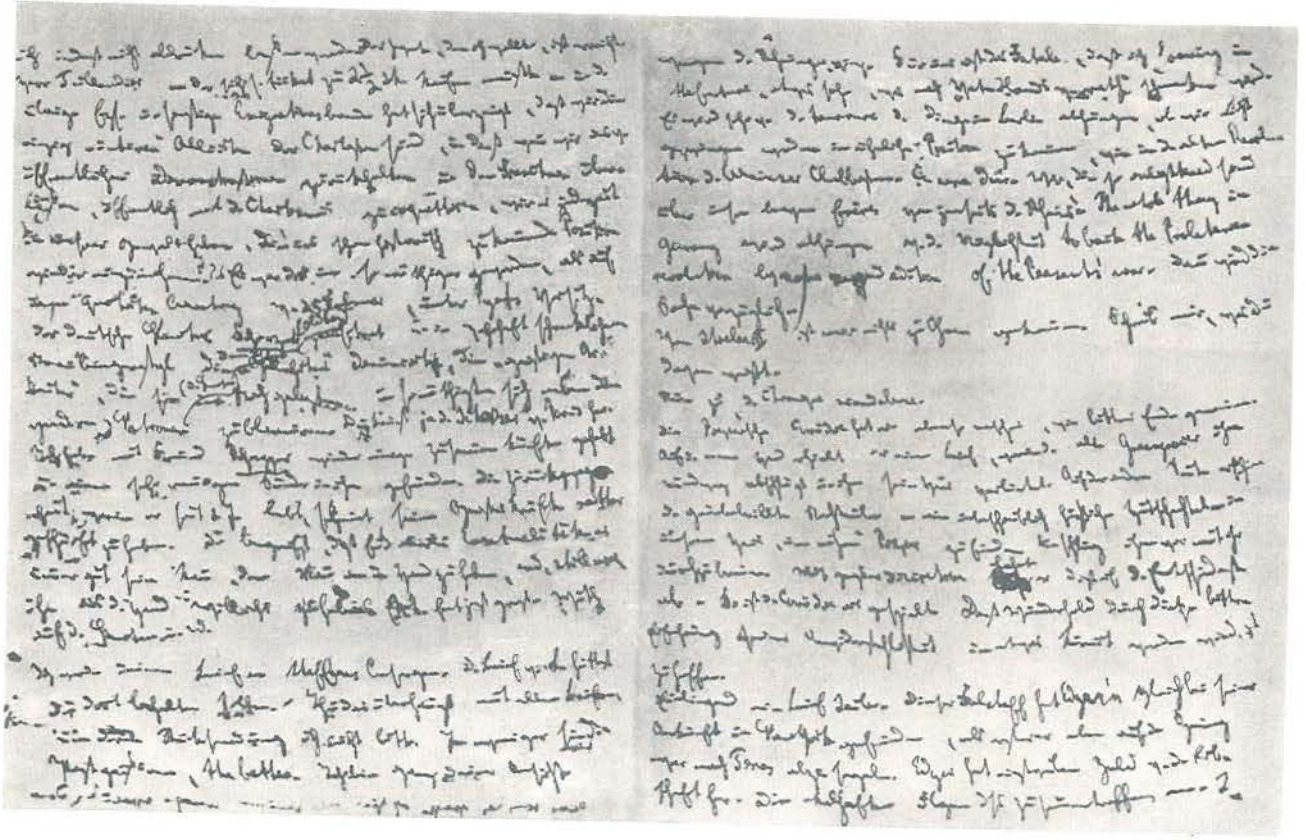

The second and third pages of Marx's letter to Engels of 16 April 1856

which it might be advantageous to have the man to hand AND, STILL MORE, to have him out of the hands of Willich. Schapper is now furiously angry with the Windmill[50] louts.

I shall forward your letter to Steffen. You ought to have kept Levy's letter[a] there. Do so in general with all letters I don't ask you to return. The less they go through the post THE BETTER. I fully agree with you about the Rhine Province. As for us, the worst of it is that, LOOMING IN THE FUTURE, I see something that looks like 'high treason'. Whether we are forced into the same kind of position as the Mainz Clubbists[51] in the old revolution will largely depend on the *tournure*[b] things take in Berlin. *Ça sera dur.*[c] We, who are so ENLIGHTENED about our good *frères* from across the Rhine! THE WHOLE THING IN GERMANY will depend on whether it is possible TO BACK THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION BY SOME SECOND EDITION OF THE PEASANTS' WAR. In which case the affair should go swimmingly.

I have heard nothing whatever about Stieber II. Write and tell me what you know on this score.

Now for the *chronique scandaleuse.*[d]

The Pieper comedy came to an end as abrupt as it was bitter. On the one hand, he got a letter in which the old GREENGROCER turned him down out of hand and forbade him the house. On the other, the green-bespectacled screech-owl—an indescribably hideous piece of baggage—turned up at our house in search of 'her' Pieper. She proposed that they should elope together. With great tact he refused quite unequivocally. So the comedy is over. It is to be hoped that this bitter experience, the result of his irresistibleness, will have some salutory effect upon Prince Charming.

Enclosed a letter from Seiler. As soon as this Falstaff arrived in New York he caught Edgar[e] just as the latter was about to set out for Texas. Edgar has in the meantime come into some money from the inheritance. The nasty consequences of this meeting with Seiler will be apparent to you from the letter.

A fine pair, Seiler and Conrad Schramm!

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 30-31. - [b] turn - [c] It will be tough. - [d] gossip column - [e] Edgar von Westphalen

# 13

# MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 26 April 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

DEAR Frederic,

Enclosed you will find

1. 2 Kars PAPERS, third and final instalments.[a]

2. An article on the Duke of York[b] which I gave Jones, and in which I imitate OLD Cobbett's manner *tant bien que mal.*[c] Sent especially for Lupus' information.

3. The SPEECH made by Frost, the old Chartist, in New York.[d]

4. A letter from Miquel. This last *to be returned.* For I have not yet replied, as I should like to have your detailed 'OPINION' before doing so. It's a somewhat ticklish matter. 'Questions, sometimes insidious',[e] and when replying it is difficult to know how far one can properly go.[52]

*Que dites-vous du discours de* M. de Walewski?[f 53] Everyone in London is furious with the GOVERNMENT and even the SHOPKEEPERS are mouthing revolutionary slogans.

If you can, send Pieper something. It is now possible that he will get a job as CORRECTOR on *The People's Paper.* All I can do now is keep him in commons. I have taken him seriously to task for his silly antics, which have landed him on the streets again. I could tell you a thing or two about politics down here, but to do so by post might be risky.

The news from Paris in today's *Advertiser* contains a brief but interesting report on an action brought against some members of Marianne[47]; they're conducting themselves splendidly.

In the *Presse* (Paris) some edifying aspersions on Bonaparte's

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[a] K. Marx, *The Fall of Kars,* Articles III and IV - [b] K. Marx, 'The House of Lords and the Duke of York's Monument'. - [c] after a fashion - [d] *The People's Paper,* No. 208, 26 April 1856 - [e] H. Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen,* Chapter 20. - [f] What do you say to M. de Walewski's speech? (The speech was reported in *The Times,* No. 22352, 26 April 1856.)

*législateur poète*—Belmontet—by Pelletan, in which the latter has so insulted the 'empereur'[a] that he will probably be expelled.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 14

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 May 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

I have another letter from Germany to send on to you. But since you haven't yet acknowledged *receipt* either of the PARCEL or of the *letter* enclosing Miquel's,[b] I don't know whether these things have reached you. Let me know by return. In the case of compromising letters, it's essential to be sure they are delivered.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 15

## MARX TO ENGELS[54]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 May[c] 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

DEAR Frederic,

Received your letter.[55] My PRESSURE upon you in YESTERDAY'S LETTER explicable *d'abord*[d] by the fact that an earlier parcel of my wife's

[a] Napoleon III - [b] See previous letter. - [c] April in the original - [d] first of all

did *not* arrive in Manchester, although sent by post. Secondly, however, you know how a man feels when he's kept on the hop by piles. *And such a man am I.*

I am glad to hear that you and Lupus are entirely of my opinion with regard to Miquel's letter[52]—the attempt to digest this 'wisdom' fairly 'turned my stomach'.

Unless something goes wrong with the pecuniary arrangements I have made, my family will be leaving in 10 to 14 days at the latest.[a] A pity you are so overworked, otherwise we might have done *un petit tour*[b] to Scotland.

I shall carry out your commissions at the Museum[c] as soon as I go there again.

Enclosed:

2 letters, 1. from Imandt; 2. from Cologne.[56] Would it not be best if I replied to the Cologne people through my wife? THERE EXISTS SOME JEALOUSY between Cologne and Düsseldorf AS TO THE LEADING OF THE PROLETARIAN MOVEMENT. BESIDES, I don't know whether the Cologne people are aware that the Düsseldorfers have completely broken with Lassalle who has fallen into general disrepute among them.

Yesterday the following comical missive arrived from Sheffield:

*Council Hall, Sheffield,
May 6th, '56.

Doctor,

The Sheffield Foreign Affairs Committee[57] instructs me to convey to you an expression of their warm thanks for the great public service you have rendered by your admirable *exposé* of the Kars Papers published in *The People's Paper*.[d] I have the Honour etc.

*Cyples*, Secretary.*

That is magnanimous, there being war to the death between *The People's Paper* and *The Free Press*, as between Chartism and Urquhartism generally.[42] The great Ironside went one step further and decreed THAT THE 'THANKS OF THE COUNTRY' WERE DUE TO DR. M.[e] ETC. It would have been much better had the chaps sent me the money they made out by reprinting the Palmerston articles under the title *Story of the Life etc.* (in pamphlet form).[58]

From New York Seiler has sent me—came today—'Das Recht deutscher vereinigter Staatenbürger in Europa' in the *Democrat*.[f] Will never be read, not in this world at any rate.

Since handing over your £2 to Pieper I haven't set eyes on him. Moreover, Jones has sent word that, up till *yesterday evening*, he had not delivered the work he had accepted for *The People's Paper*.

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[a] See this volume, p. 33. - [b] short trip - [c] the British Museum Library - [d] K. Marx, *The Fall of Kars*. - [e] Marx - [f] *New-Yorker Demokrat*

*Nous verrons.*[a] If he wilfully throws away this opportunity as well, let him go to the devil. Now's his chance, the silly ass.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Apropos! Have seen Heine's will[59]! A return to the 'living God', and a 'Recantation before God and man' if ever he wrote anything 'immoral'!

Didn't see Colonel Touroute again before he left for Germany.

Enclosed letters *not* to be returned. Regards to Lupus.

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## 16

## MARX TO ENGELS[20]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 May 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

The family went off yesterday.[b] I have been incapable of work this week, partly because of the TROUBLE in the house, partly because of a rheumaticky back such as I have never experienced before.

Herewith Bazancourt—the 'Napoleonic' account of the Crimean business.[c] Might not something be made of it for *Putnam's*?[60] It's urgent that I obtain the services of this firm since the money and gear needed for the journey have compelled me to accept through Zitschke a sole bill for £30 on myself, payable in 3 months' time. A man from *Putnam's* has been to see Freiligrath, and they are willing to take articles.

I have only read the excerpts from Bazancourt that were published in the French papers. To judge by them, it would appear to provide much amusing matter. The thing cannot, I

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[a] We shall see. - [b] See this volume, p. 33. - [c] Bazancourt, *L'expédition de Crimée jusqu' à la prise de Sébastopol.*

think, be treated other than flippantly. If done, it should not be made too short, but solely with the idea of filling up space.

Trübner, who looked like accepting my Swedish stuff two months ago but then gave no further sign of life, wrote yesterday and arranged an *entrevue*[a] on Tuesday to discuss the matter. That would provide 20 sheets of work.[61]

I am in a SERIOUS DILEMMA as to whether or not I should now go on a TRIP. On the one hand I've got to slog away at making money. On the other the doctor[b] has told me—and I believe he's right—that I should travel a bit and have a change of air, as my liver is again functioning irregularly. I AM NOT YET DECIDED what I should do. It's not as though staying here were especially economical, since I also have Pieper round my neck. But the main thing is my work.

As TO Bazancourt, let me know whether you need the first part as well. If nothing can be made of the thing it would be better not to buy it.

I am incapable of writing today, but must nevertheless ask you to clear up a philological doubt. In *Henry IV*, Shakespeare used the word 'hiren' for 'siren' and, according to a note made by that pedant, Johnson,[c] the form 'hiren' also occurs in other early English writers.[d] The substitution of h for s is QUITE in order, but might there not be some connection between 'hiren' and 'Hure',[e] and hence also 'siren'? Or with 'hoeren', *auris*,[f] etc.? You can see TO WHICH LOW STATE OF SPIRIT I am DEPRESSED today from the great interest I show in this matter.

I have received some very curious information about Ruge's tragedy, the *Neue Welt*, in which 'the tragedy of love turns into a farce'. Shall tell you about it in my next.

Herzen is going to Switzerland. I await your COMMUNICATIONS on Ireland.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] interview - [b] Freund - [c] Marx means Johnson's notes in *Plays of W. Shakespeare. With Notes of Samuel Johnson. King Henry IV* is in Vol. 4 of this edition. - [d] Notably in George Peele's play *The Turkish Mahomet and Hyrin in the Fair Greek* [Trans.]. - [e] whore - [f] to hear, hearing

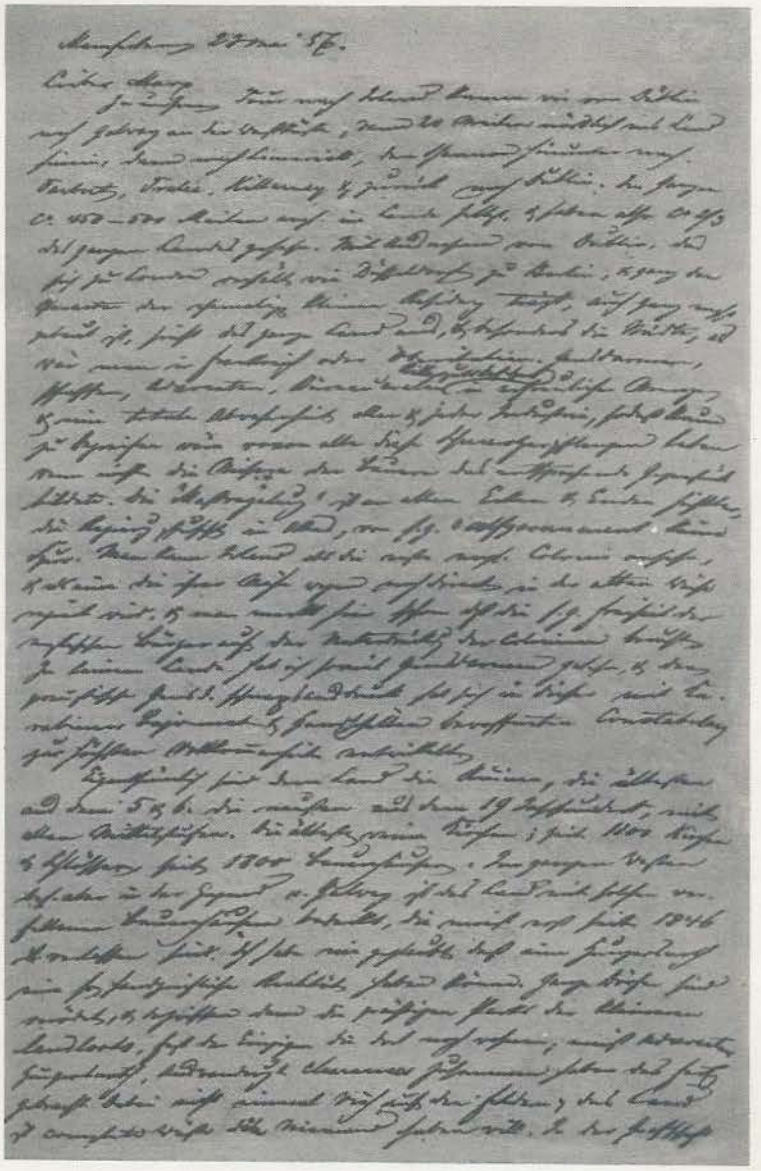

The first page of Engels' letter to Marx of 23 May 1856

# 17

## ENGELS TO MARX[62]

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 23 May 1856

Dear Marx,

During our trip to Ireland[63] we travelled from Dublin to Galway on the West Coast, then 20 miles north and inland, on to Limerick, down the Shannon to Tarbert, Tralee and Killarney, and back to Dublin. In all approx. 450-500 English miles within the country itself, so we have seen approx. $^2/_3$ of the entire country. With the exception of Dublin, which is to London what Düsseldorf is to Berlin, bears altogether the stamp of having been a small royal seat and is, moreover, built entirely in the English style, the whole country and particularly the towns give one the impression of being in France or Northern Italy. Gendarmes, priests, lawyers, bureaucrats, lords of the manor in cheerful profusion and a total absence of any and every industry, so that one could barely conceive what all these parasitic plants live on, were there no counterpart in the wretchedness of the peasants. The 'iron hand' is visible in every nook and cranny; the government meddles in everything, not a trace of so-called SELF-GOVERNMENT. Ireland may be regarded as the earliest English colony and one which, by reason of her proximity, is still governed in exactly the same old way; here one cannot fail to notice that the English citizen's so-called freedom is based on the oppression of the colonies. In no other country have I seen so many gendarmes, and it is in the CONSTABULARY, which is armed with carbine, bayonet and handcuffs, that the bibulous expression of your Prussian gendarme reaches its ultimate state of perfection.

Peculiar to the country are its ruins, the oldest 5th and 6th century, the most recent 19th, and every stage in between. The earliest, all churches; from 1100, churches and castles; from 1800, farmhouses. Throughout the west, but particularly the Galway region, the countryside is strewn with these derelict farmhouses, most of which have only been abandoned since 1846. I had never imagined that famine could be so tangibly real.[64] Whole villages are deserted; in between the splendid parks of the smaller LANDLORDS, virtually the only people still living there, lawyers mostly.

Famine, emigration and CLEARANCES[65] between them have brought this about. The fields are empty even of cattle; the countryside is a complete wilderness unwanted by anybody. In County Clare, south of Galway, things improve a bit, for there's some cattle at least and, towards Limerick, the hills are excellently cultivated, mostly by Scottish FARMERS, the ruins have been cleared away, and the country has a domesticated air. In the south-west, numerous mountains and bogs but also marvellously luxuriant woodland; further on, fine pastures again, especially in Tipperary and, approaching Dublin, increasing signs that the land is occupied by big farmers.

The English wars of conquest from 1100[a] to 1850 (*au fond*[b] they lasted as long as this, as did also martial law) utterly ruined the country. With regard to most of the ruins, it has been established that the destruction took place during these wars. Thus the very people have acquired their unusual character and, for all their fanatical Irish nationalism, the fellows no longer feel at home in their own country. IRELAND FOR THE SAXON! That is now becoming a reality. The Irishman knows that he cannot compete with the Englishman, who comes armed with resources in every respect superior to his own; emigration will continue until the predominantly, indeed almost exclusively, Celtic nature of the population has gone to pot. How often have the Irish set out to achieve something and each time been crushed, politically and industrially! In this artificial manner, through systematic oppression, they have come to be a completely wretched nation and now, as everyone knows, they have the job of providing England, America, Australia, etc., with whores, day labourers, *maquereaux*,[c] pickpockets, swindlers, beggars and other wretches. Even the aristocracy are infected by this wretchedness. The landowners, wholly bourgeoisified everywhere else, are here completely down-at-heel. Their country seats are surrounded by huge and lovely parks but all around there is desolation and where the money is supposed to come from heaven only knows. These fellows are too funny for words: of mixed blood, for the most part tall, strong, handsome types, all with enormous moustaches under a vast Roman nose, they give themselves the bogus martial airs of a *colonel en retraite*,[d] travel the country in search of every imaginable diversion and, on inquiry, prove to be as poor as church mice, up to their eyes

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[a] More precisely, from 1169, when the English feudal lords first invaded Ireland. - [b] in the main - [c] pimps - [d] retired colonel

in debt, and living in constant fear of the ENCUMBERED ESTATES COURT.[66]

About England's method of governing this country—repression and corruption (long before Bonaparte tried them)—more very shortly if you don't come up soon. What are the prospects?

Your
F. E.

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## 18

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 26 May 1856

Dear Marx,

Herewith the article,[11] but you should read it over first. Today the office again prevented me from doing so myself.

Bazancourt[a] will be of some use—Bonaparte's *Batrachomyomachia*.[67] But Vol. I absolutely essential. I shall send you 6/- worth of stamps for it tomorrow, or rather, they are enclosed herewith.

I would advise you to pack your bags at once, taking such papers as are absolutely necessary. Then you can work here as well as in Scotland, at least on certain subjects. We could do Bazancourt ±[b] together.[60] Admittedly, you would have to do most of the work for, with business expanding rapidly, commerce is making such demands on me that there can be no thought of regular and sustained work. If you finished this thing here (1 article would of course suffice), you could always either do parliamentary articles here, or else take a trip to Scotland and get down to some hard work here on your return. Until the Pan-Slavism is finished I should be reluctant to saddle myself with

[a] Bazancourt, *L'expédition de Crimée jusqu' à la prise de Sébastopol.* - [b] more or less

any other promises which I might eventually be unable to fulfil; but after all, your health is also a consideration and, as to that, I think I have something good for you—viz. light Bavarian beer and another dozen or so bottles of Bordeaux. Better, at all events—with a change of air—than HALF AND HALF, etc.

I may drop you another line tomorrow. Let me know what you decide to do.

Your
F. E.

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## 19

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 May 1856[a]
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I shall hardly be able to leave here before the end of *next* week, since the business with Trübner[b] will not have been decided before then and I must, besides, have a word with Zitschke, who is unlikely to be back in London until then. At all events I shall let you know beforehand when I shall be leaving.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] Year added by Engels. - [b] See this volume, p. 46.

## 20

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 June 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

I leave for Scotland at the end of this week, and shall come on to you from there after an interval of 6 days, but will of course give you prior notice. Should you write to me during this week, address the letters 'C. Marx, CARE OF P. Imandt, 29 Cowgate, Dundee'. There was a twofold reason for my decision to come to you *via* Scotland:

1. *Medical*, because I know that the sea-voyage will put me to rights and it was only the day before yesterday that I got rid of my rheumatism. Moreover, there have been other unpleasantnesses, including excessive bleeding at stool. I have, of course, also consulted my SURGEON.

2. *Pieper*. He will accompany me to Scotland and then return to London. Had I not agreed to this arrangement, the lad—he obtained the money for the trip from his former pupil, A. Rothschild—was fully determined to make his way to Paris on a false passport, allegedly with the intention of proceeding from there to Geneva on foot. You will realise what a strange and compromising end SUCH AN EXPEDITION LIKELY WAS TO ARRIVE AT.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 21

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 June 1856

Dear Engels,

PLAN AGAIN CHANGED. Why, when we meet. Pieper will accompany me to Hull, then return to London. I shall come on to you from Hull.[68]

Your
K. M.

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## 22

## MARX TO JENNY MARX[20]

IN TRIER[69]

Manchester, 21 June 1856
34 Butler Street, Greenheys

My darling Sweetheart,

I am writing to you again because I am alone and because it is irksome to converse with you all the time in my head without you knowing or hearing or being able to answer me. Bad as your portrait is, it serves its end well enough, and I now understand how it is that even the least flattering portraits of the mother of God, the 'Black Madonnas',[70] could have their inveterate admirers—more admirers, indeed, than the good portraits. At any rate, none of these 'Black Madonna' portraits has ever been so much kissed and ogled and adored as your photograph which, while admittedly not black, has a crabbed expression and in no way reflects your dear, lovely, kissable, *dolce*[a] countenance. But I put

[a] sweet

right what the sun's rays have wrongly depicted, discovering that my eyes, spoiled though they are by lamplight and tobacco smoke, can nevertheless paint not only in the dreaming but also in the waking state. There you are before me, large as life, and I lift you up in my arms and I kiss you all over from top to toe, and I fall on my knees before you and cry: 'Madame, I love you.'[a] And love you I do, with a love greater than was ever felt by the Moor of Venice.[b] Falsely and foully doth the false and foul world all characters construe. Who of my many calumniators and venomous-tongued enemies has ever reproached me with being called upon to play the romantic lead in a second-rate theatre? And yet it is true. Had the scoundrels possessed the wit, they would have depicted 'the productive and social relations' on one side and, on the other, myself at your feet. Beneath it they would have written: LOOK TO THIS PICTURE AND TO THAT.[c] But stupid the scoundrels are and stupid they will remain, *in seculum seculorum.*[d]

Temporary absence is good, for in a person's presence things look too much alike for them to be distinguished. At close quarters even towers appear dwarfed, whereas what is petty and commonplace, seen close at hand, assumes undue proportions. So, too, with the passions. Little habits which, by their very proximity, obtrude upon one, and thus assume the form of passions, vanish as soon as their immediate object is out of sight. Great passions which, by the proximity of their object, take on the form of little habits, wax large and resume their natural proportions under the magical effect of distance. So it is with my love. Mere spatial separation from you suffices to make me instantly aware that time has done for my love just what the sun and the rain do for plants—made it grow. My love for you, as soon as you are away from me, appears for what it is, a giant, and into it all the vigour of my mind and all the ardour of my heart are compressed. I feel myself once more a man because I feel intense passion, and the multifariousness in which we are involved by study and modern education, no less than the scepticism which inevitably leads us to cavil at every subjective and objective impression, is calculated to render each one of us petty and weak and fretful and vacillating. But love, not for Feuerbachian Man, not for Moleschottian metabolism, not for the proletariat, but love for a sweetheart and notably for yourself, turns a man back into a man again.

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[a] H. Heine, 'Die Jahre kommen und gehen...' (*Buch der Lieder. Die Heimkehr*). - [b] Shakespeare, *Othello.* - [c] Shakespeare, *Hamlet,* Act III, Scene 4. - [d] for ever and ever

You will smile, my dear heart, and wonder 'why this rhetoric all of a sudden?' But if I could press your sweet white bosom to mine, I would be silent and say not a word. Since I cannot kiss with my lips I must kiss with my tongue and frame words. I could, indeed, even frame verse, German *Books of Sorrow* after the manner of Ovid's *Libri Tristium*. He, however, had merely been banished by the Emperor Augustus; I have been banished from you,[a] and that is something Ovid could not understand.

There are, indeed, many women in the world, and a few of them are beautiful. But where else shall I find a face of which every lineament, every line even, reawakens the greatest and sweetest memories of my life? In your sweet countenance I can read even my infinite sorrows, my irreplaceable losses,[b] and when I kiss your sweet face I kiss away my sorrow. 'Buried in her arms, revived by her kisses'—in your arms, that is, and by your kisses—and let the Brahmins and Pythagoras keep their doctrine of re-birth, and Christianity its doctrine of resurrection.

To conclude with SOME FACTS. I have today sent Isaac Ironside the FIRST PAPER OF THE SERIES[61] and have, in addition, made notes (i.e. on the text of the despatches) in my own hand and in my own English.[c] I must say I felt a bit anxious when Frederic,[d] with that little quizzical look he has, calmly read through the stuff[e] before it was sent off. *Mais pour la première fois*[f] *he was quite astonished and exclaimed that this important work ought to be published in another form and, above all things, to be published in German.* I shall send the first issue to you and to old Schlosser, the historian, in Germany.

Apropos. I see from the *Augsburger*,[g] which refers directly to our circular letters[h] discussed at the communist trial in Cologne,[71] that another circular letter, 'reputedly' from the same source, has been sent out from London. It is a forgery, a miserable gallimaufry of our things, put together by Mr Stieber who, not having been accorded due honour in Prussia of late, now seeks to set himself up as a great man in Hanover. Engels and I intend to publish a counter-statement in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.[72]

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[a] There is a pun here in German, the word *von* meaning either *by* or *from*. - [b] the death of his children Guido, Franziska and Edgar - [c] See this volume, pp. 57-58. - [d] Frederick Engels - [e] K. Marx, *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century*. - [f] But for the first time - [g] *Allgemeine Zeitung*. Marx refers to a report from Hanover published in issue No. 169, 16 June 1856. - [h] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Address of the Central Authority to the League', March 1850, and 'Address of the Central Authority to the League', June 1850.

Farewell my dear heart. A thousand kisses to you, and the children too, from

Your
Karl

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## 23

## MARX TO ISAAC IRONSIDE[73]

### IN SHEFFIELD

[Draft]

Manchester, [21 June 1856]
34 Butler St., Greenheys

Dear Sir,

I received your letter d.d. June 14 this morning only, as it had to be sent to me here to Manchester where I shall stay for some weeks.

I have duly considered your proposal, and, on the whole, accede to it.[74] In a matter like this, it is impossible to mention expressly every small particular, to agree upon the size of type pp., neither can I anticipate that any difficulties may arise therefrom, nor from the reservations to make as to 'copy *used*'.

I shall therefore provide you in time for next Saturday's but one's publication with fully 2 columns of matter and keep you amply supplied every week to that extent.

It would be most convenient to me (if your arrangements admit of it) to receive a remittance say after every fresh weekly publication.

As to your reprinting the papers in your serials, I have no objection, reserving to myself, of course, the right of using the materials, later on, in any way I may see it fit to use them.

As I am sure that you will not suppress historical truth out of prejudice or party-consideration [...][a]

As to the latter point you will think it only just, that should any points be suppressed, which in my conviction are of decisive

[a] The sentence is unfinished in the original.

historical importance, I shall consider myself obliged to stop the publication.

In thanking you for the serials you were so kind to send me, I cannot but regret that you did not think fit to communicate to me the proof-sheets of the 'Story of the life of Lord Palmerston'.[58] Sentences, historical data, quotations from Palmerston's speeches—everything is so disfigured by *errata* that, in my opinion, the pamphlet, in its present form, is not only useless but positively mischievous.

A few words on the plan of the whole publication[a] will suffice. I do not adopt the usual manner of opening the whole theme by general considerations, but on the contrary commence with facts.[b]

In contradistinction to the usual manner of historical writers, I shall not commence this publication with general considerations, but with facts. The first chapter will be composed of despatches belonging to different epochs of that century, in order to show up the Russian spirit of English diplomacy during the 18th.[c]

I hope I need not tell you that I am no 'commercial' writer and that no [...][d]

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## 24

## MARX TO WILLIAM CYPLES[75]

### IN SHEFFIELD

[Draft]

[London,] 22 July 1856

Dear Sir,

I write again myself to show that I bear not the least ill will against you for which, indeed, there would be no cause. In your

[a] K. Marx, *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century*. - [b] This paragraph is crossed out in the original. - [c] Here the following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: 'There are to follow some English pamphlets belonging to the epoch of Peter I; having thus made the reader familiar 1) [with] the infamies of English diplomacy, 2) with the protest [...]. From one of these despatches you will see how England conspired with Russia to crush [...]. These despatches will form a more eloquent introduction to [...].' - [d] The manuscript breaks off here.

letter d.d. July 19,[a] you say: 'It could not be satisfactory etc.' Now as to my own satisfaction please to leave it altogether out of the question. As to Mr Ironside's 'satisfaction' I'll quote you the exact words of his 'note'.[b] Having told you, that already the first article had *'overdosed'* him, he continues as follows:

> 'They' (Dr Marx's articles) 'are entombing the paper. This must not be. *They must be brought to a close forthwith.* You must not have more than two more doses—this week and the next. You had better write him at once *to that effect.*'

I *positively* decline making myself guilty of manslaughter by administering another 'dose' to Mr Isaac Ironside and 'entombing' him in the sheets of his own paper.

Yours etc.
Dr K. M.

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## 25

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 28 July 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

A letter from my wife received today via Manchester brings news of her mother's[c] death on July 23. This will hasten her return to London.

At the same time a letter from Miquel, who is thinking of coming over here in a week or 10 days' time. Highly inconvenient just now.

Pieper lost his job a fortnight ago. Not his fault this time. He kept the thing secret so long as Lupus was here. The compositors conspired together to bring in a chap who belongs to their FRIENDLY SOCIETY.[76]

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[a] See this volume, p. 60. - [b] Below Marx quotes from a non-extant letter by Ironside to Cyples. - [c] Caroline von Westphalen

As regards Sheffield, the matter stands as follows:

In the last issue the fellows made some disgraceful cuts, whereupon Pieper wrote to Cyples: *'I am directed by Dr Marx to inform you that he cannot congratulate you upon the emendations, etc.'*[77]

Then the following letter arrived from Ironside[a]:

*Free Press Office, Sheffield,
July 19, 1856

Dear Doctor,

It could not be satisfactory either to us or to yourself to close your article in the abrupt way which you on the instant proposed. I am sorry that I was so unsuccessful in cutting down last week's contributions, and should have hesitated in doing so had it not unfortunately happened that there was really no other alternative. As to Mr Ironside's note, permit me to say that in another letter since received from him, he expresses regret that you should have construed his scrap as he did not intend it, and intimates a doubt that *I* have in some way offended you? I see no reason why our professional intercourse may not continue and be pleasant; and I venture to hope to receive the usual packet of copy for next week's issue. You will be so good as to excuse my tardiness in writing. I have been so busy. Your etc. *Cyples.**

*Reply*

*'July 22, 1856

'Dear Sir, I write again myself to show that I bear not the least ill will against you for which, indeed, there would be no cause. In your letter d.d. July 19, you say: "It could not be satisfactory etc." Now as to my own satisfaction please to leave it altogether out of the question. As to Mr Ironside's "satisfaction" I'll quote you the exact words of his "note". Having told you, that already the first article had *"overdosed"* him, he continues as follows:

"They" (Dr Marx's articles) "are entombing the paper. This must not be. *They must be brought to a close forthwith.* You must not have more than two more doses—this week and the next. You had better write him at once *to that effect.*"

'I *positively* decline making myself guilty of manslaughter by administering another "dose" to Mr Isaac Ironside and "entombing" him in the sheets of his own paper. Yours etc.

Dr K. M.'*

Since then the correspondence has lapsed. But still no sign of any *money*. Jones tells me I could have taken the fellows to court over the whole affair AT THE OUTSET.

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[a] Marx means Cyples.

As you can imagine, I am like a cat on hot bricks. I shall have to do something about lodgings when the FAMILY arrives, but have no idea how to get out of the old ones or move into new, having neither the MEANS nor any immediate prospects. My electric brush strives vainly to make my hair darker, for *atra cura*[a] is making it whiter than ever. Zitschke has decamped, so at least I am excused *sine die* from paying him.

Espartero and Pucheta in the Spanish farce—never before has history so nicely confronted the hero of the liberal bourgeoisie with the hero of the 'mob'.[78]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Freiligrath has no one above him now apart from the BOARD OF DIRECTORS, which meets every Saturday.

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## 26

## MARX TO ENGELS[20]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 August 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear E.,

The £5 note most gratefully received but not as yet the letter you promised me. Herewith a letter from the crazy Mirbach, which I have received—via Berlin!

No money from Sheffield yet. Today I got Pieper to send a dunning letter. Meanwhile there has been the following incident: Yesterday *Urquhart's* bulldog—THE CELEBRATED Collet—appeared at my house. He had come, he said, at the behest of the Grand Cophta[79] himself. Urquhart was *very sorry, regretted, indeed, very

[a] black care

much that Mr Ironside had interfered at all with my articles etc., which he thought of extraordinary value etc.* Then he asked me to tell him how the matter had come about. *Mr Urquhart imagined that the principal cause of the quarrel was the suppression of some parts of the copy etc.* I then told him what had happened[75] and showed him the written *corpora delicti.*[a] Next, he asked me *whether I was willing to enter upon any compromise, which question I flatly denied, telling him that I was no penny-a-liner and not to be treated like the London literary vagabonds.* It seemed he was only awaiting this statement in order to tell me with EXTRAORDINARY SOLEMNITY that Urquhart thought *The Free Press* 'inadequate'. *Mr Ironside was placed on the horns of a dilemma because *The Free Press* was, indeed, but an extract from the *Sheffield Free Press*—a paper, by the bye, twice the dimensions of the *F. P.*—and what was suited to the wants of the readers of the *Sh. F. P.* was not all palatable to the readers of the *F. P.* and vice versa. Mr Urquhart had, therefore, resolved upon starting in about a month a diplomatic journal at London.* He hoped that I would let him have the whole of the *Revelations*[80] and not bear him a GRUDGE. I returned a vague answer capable of being construed in the affirmative but leaving me free—if the conditions should prove too poor or the paper too crazy—to refuse. It will all depend on the nature of the paper. In London things are rather different from Sheffield, and, should Urquhart come out with his counter-revolutionary nonsense in such a way that collaboration with him would discredit me in the eyes of the revolutionaries here, I would be obliged, *of course, hard as it would be under the present miserable circumstances,* to decide against it. However, *nous verrons.*[b] At all events I have now received adequate satisfaction as regards my LITERARY POINT OF HONOUR, in as much as the chief has all but disowned his LIEUTENANT. This is a satisfactory dénouement, if only on account of Bucher and the democratic riff-raff.

There will now be much wrangling within the Urquhartite camp itself. It seemed to me that they evinced a bad TENDENCY to make a SCAPEGOAT of poor Cyples. E.g., Collet said he wasn't sure whether it was with Ironside's knowledge that Cyples had sent me the former's letter. To this I replied that Cyples seemed to be an honest fellow who had heard 'SECRET DIPLOMACY' so greatly decried that he naturally assumed 'PUBLIC DIPLOMACY' to be the rule at the *F. P.* OFFICE.

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[a] pieces of evidence - [b] we shall see

Received a letter today from my wife. She seems greatly affected by the old lady's[a] death. She will have to spend a week or 10 days in Trier in order to put up for auction what little in the way of effects her mother has left and to share the PROCEEDS with Edgar.[b] She has proposed the following scheme: After spending a few days more in the vicinity of Trier with a woman friend of hers, she will travel to Paris and thence direct to *Jersey*, having decided that we ought to spend September and October there. First, so that she herself can recuperate; secondly, because it's cheaper and pleasanter than London and, finally, so that the children should learn French, etc. She doesn't, of course, know anything about what has been taking place here. For the present I have written to say that it's a splendid scheme, although I cannot in fact see how it can be put into effect. Yesterday I again saw the *New-York Tribune* (WEEKLY). The whole paper is filled with nothing but the ELECTORAL DODGE and so it will be for months to come. We cannot hope seriously to tackle the *N.-Y. T.* until the presidential business is over.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

P.S. At Blind's, saw 2 volumes of Simon of Trier's émigré jeremiad.[c] Watered-down twaddle, every other word a solecism, callow botchery, weak-kneed affectation, foppish naive pretension, a mess of Grünian Jew's ears in beggar's broth, one long platitude—nothing of the kind has ever before appeared in print. All that was needed to give the 'German Parliament'[44] the final kick in the arse was this self-exposure on the part of one of its heroes. Needless to say, I did no more than leaf through it. I'd sooner swill soap-suds or hobnob with Zoroaster over mulled cow's piss than read through all that stuff. He and Co. are perpetually haunted by our ghost. L. Blanc, Blanqui, Marx and Engels are his Unholy Quadrinity which he never forgets. We two—the propounders of 'equal economic rights'—are said *inter alia* to have advocated '*Armed* (!) appropriation of capital'. Even the jokes we cracked about Switzerland in the *Revue* 'fill him with indignation'. 'No Civil List, no standing army, no millionaires, no beggars'[d]—

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[a] Caroline von Westphalen - [b] Edgar von Westphalen, Jenny Marx's brother - [c] L. Simon, *Aus dem Exil*, Bd. 1-2. - [d] Paraphrased quotation from Engels' 'The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution' published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (see present edition, Vol. 10, p. 177).

'Marx and Engels hope that Germany will never sink to such depths of degradation'. It's exceedingly odd, the way he speaks of us in the *singular*—'Marx and Engels *says*', etc.

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## 27

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 August 1856

Dear Marx,

The letter that didn't arrive must have melted in the heat. I don't know whether you down there too have suddenly been assailed by this tropical heat which has brought everything to a standstill, apart from the continuous sluicing and bathing of the outer man with water and the inner man with a variety of other fluids. Yesterday I was totally incapable of anything and barely in a condition to go out. I haven't stopped sweating since Thursday, even in my bath; and the sordid work at the office is so exhausting that afterwards one feels utterly down. Moreover the nights are equally stifling.

It's most satisfactory that the Urquhart business should have turned out as it did.[a] There's no doubt that what most impresses the rabble is our resolute manner. I hope it will be possible for the pieces[b] to appear in Urquhart's thing, *nous verrons*.[c]

I'm daily awaiting a letter from my mater summoning me to London. I am arranging matters in such a way as to be able to leave on Saturday, should the summons come. I shall be moving out of here on Saturday though I haven't yet taken new lodgings,

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[a] See previous letter. - [b] K. Marx, *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century*. - [c] we shall see

and still don't know whether I shall do so or spend a week knocking about, since I intend on my return to engage in all kinds of mad escapades.

My brother-in-law[a] has been here—a good chap, communist out of principle, bourgeois out of interest, as he himself most naively puts it, but he always uses '*we*' when referring to communist matters; tried to talk me into making tentative approaches to the Prussians about an amnesty, whereupon I, of course, gave a very determined answer and finally he, too, saw that 1. I couldn't do so, and 2. that the Prussians would tell me to shove it, etc.—The man seemed to have few illusions about my frame of mind and certainly had even fewer when he left. However, he was very surprised to find me so cheerful.

I shall write to Mirbach as soon as it gets a little cooler; it's too much to expect just now. 24 degrees Réaumur is no joke when one has to traipse round in clothes proper to the Exchange.

If the Jersey scheme can be carried out—it certainly has its good points and is not entirely impossible—make sure that while in Paris, your wife finds out exactly how things stand regarding route and communications, for otherwise she might get into serious difficulties. I believe that Saint-Malo is the only place in France to which steamers go from Jersey. Get one or two of the *crapauds*[81] to tell you what the position is. After all, you know several who have been there.

You can give the great Pieper my assurance that I read his great 'filtered' article on Spain in *The People's Paper*[b] before the original appeared in the *Tribune*,[c] HANG IT! *C'est beau.*[d] By the way, the *P. P.* deserves to be relegated to the w.c. Just consider this stinker: WE REGRET TO LEARN THAT LORD SO AND SO HAS CUT HIS FINGER, etc. You really must get Jones to give his SUB-EDITOR a damned good dressing-down for permitting such drivel.

On no account let the rabble in Sheffield sit on the money—they'll have to shell out in any case.

Your

F. E.

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[a] Karl Emil Blank - [b] W. Pieper, 'The Coup d'État in Spain', *The People's Paper*, No. 221, 26 July 1856. - [c] K. Marx, 'The Spanish Coup d'État', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4775, 8 August 1856 (an allusion to the fact that Marx helped Pieper in writing his article for *The People's Paper*). - [d] It's fine.

# 28

## MARX TO JENNY MARX[82]

### IN TRIER

[London,] 8 August 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

My one and only Sweetheart,

This morning, at the same time as your letter, I received a note from Frederic[a] containing 15 talers for Lenchen.[b] *Acknowledge it*, as he is *most meticulous* in such matters. More tomorrow; today I have the 'IMMORTAL COLLET' here in the room with me and am keeping him in check by saying *'I am obliged to write some lines to Mrs Marx'*.

LILY-WHITE SANDY is settled *IN REALITY*, not *IN FANCY*.

Much though I hanker after you and the children—and this *QUITE indescribably*—I should like you to stay on *in Trier for another week*. It would do you and the children no end of good. More tomorrow.

Your
K. M.

*P.S.* The Urquhartites are being damned importunate.[c] A good thing financially. But I don't know whether, *POLITICALLY*, I ought to get too involved with the fellows. A thousand kisses, my beloved sweetheart.

*P.S.II.* Lina[d] has got the famous post. Won't be taking it up *for weeks* yet.

It's ghastly for me, having to play the man of fashion *chez* Liebknecht now. HANG IT! On top of that, I have Pieper sleeping with me in your stead. HORRIBLE. In the same room, at any rate. *Engels is coming next week.*[83] That's a relief. For 3 weeks I've been as hypochondriacal as the devil.

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[a] Frederick Engels - [b] Helene Demuth - [c] See this volume, pp. 61-62. - [d] Caroline Schöler

## 29

## MARX TO COLLET DOBSON COLLET

IN LONDON

[Draft]

London, 11 August 1856
28 Dean St., Soho

Dear Sir,

I approve, of course, of the suggestions of your letter of the 8th inst. regarding the headings per 'chapters' and the cyphering of the notes at the bottom of the text.[a] As to the cutting of chapters into parts, you must of course use your discretion as called for by the exigences of space etc. The alterations considered necessary in Chapter II will be forwarded in the course of the week.

Y. f.
K. M.

C. D. Collet, Esq.

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## 30

## MARX TO ENGELS[20]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 September 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I would have ACKNOWLEDGED your last letter before this, but for ABOUT a fortnight past the whole day from morn till night has been spent in search of lodgings. In no circumstances could we remain

[a] K. Marx, *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century.*

in the old hole. At last we found a place—a whole house which we have to FURNISH ourselves. It is 9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, Hampstead Road. Rent £36. We are to move in on 29 September; this week we have to furnish it. We are in something of a quandary, as we have ABOUT £26 to pay out in town, and a great deal more for the new set-up. I.e. we are short of £10-£15—if only for the time being, since there is still a sizeable sum due to my wife from her brother[a] in Berlin as a result of the Trier legacy.[84] Yesterday he wrote to say that he couldn't send the money because the Lower Silesian Railway Bonds in which the capital due to my wife is invested could be sold *dans ce moment*[b] only at a considerable loss. As *M. le Ministre* sadly remarks:

> 'It is, to be sure, an unfavourable moment just now, since all genuine securities such as these have fallen sharply as a result of frenzied speculation in Crédit mobilier[45] and limited liability companies.'

If you can supply part of what is wanted, I think I can manage the remainder with the help of the pawnshop until the money arrives from Berlin. The worst of it is that there's no time to be lost.

I was terribly affected by the news of Weerth's death,[85] which I found hard to believe. Freiligrath, too, has already written to me about an obituary. But I must confess that I can't think of a likely paper in Germany. The only possibility might be an obituary in the *Tribune* until the times permit us to do something bigger and better. WHAT IS YOUR OPINION?

Today I have been invited to dine with the *Putnam's* chap[c] who is over here again. I don't know whether I shall go. My poor spoken English might put me to shame.

The *Tribune* has returned me the *unpublished* articles. These are, ALL IN ALL, Pan-Slavism[11] and my articles on the DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES.[3] Mr Dana says in his letter that, if I cannot place the things elsewhere, they will be legally responsible for any 'LOSS' incurred, since they failed to register their objections soon enough. In the opposite case, they expect to get PART of their EXPENSES back. *Nous verrons.*[d]

Bruno Bauer is bringing out 2 volumes of England.[86] No doubt he will write at length about his *cher frère's*[e] PIGSTY. I don't know what else he has seen in England.

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[a] Ferdinand von Westphalen - [b] at present - [c] Frederick Olmsted of *Putnam's Monthly Magazine* - [d] We shall see. - [e] dear brother (Edgar Bauer)

Pieper, whom I threw out on my wife's return, found his way back and settled in again 2 days later which, just now, is far from pleasant. When I move into our new home, I shall leave him behind, safely installed on my surety in the little hole you know in Dean Street.

A Prussian amnesty is expected on 15 October. Otto's mother died leaving 2,000 talers; these were confiscated by the Prussian government to pay the 'costs of the Cologne trial'.[71]

Strohn was here last Friday. The fellow has put on an enormous amount of weight, in consequence of which his spirits seem to have improved SOMEWHAT at the expense of his wits. Nor is his expression now so wry—benevolent, RATHER.

I have heard all sorts of details concerning Heine, recounted to my wife in Paris by Reinhardt. Shall write about these at length some other time. For the present only that

> 'Eight had barely struck, yet she
> Was quaffing wine with laughter free'[a]

came true LITERALLY in his case. While his corpse was still in the mortuary—on the day of the funeral—the *maquereau*[b] of Mathilde the mild, angelic child, did in fact appear on the doorstep and fetch her away. The worthy 'Meissner', who doled out such sloppy rubbish about Heine to the German public,[c] was paid in cash by 'Mathilde' to sing the praises of this trollop who had tormented POOR Heine to death.

But now for another story about Moses Hess. That lad's fame WAS DUE TO A GREAT PART—TO Sazonov. When Hess and the Moses woman[d] arrived in Paris, this Russian was in very sore straits, very down at heel, without money or credit and consequently very plebeian and revolutionary and receptive to ideas of world subversion. Sazonov heard that Moses was not without 'ducats'. He therefore took his stand behind Moses and in front of the Moses woman. The latter he bedded, the former he extolled AS A GREAT LITERARY LUMEN, putting him in touch with the editorial boards of reviews and newspapers. Vladimir,[e] OF COURSE, had a finger in every pie and a foot in every door. Thus he extracted enough ducats from the tight-fisted Moses to enable him to 'shine' again and to put out decoys for further credit. And with these Sazonov enticed a rich old Jewess with whom he entered into kosher WEDLOCK. From then on, however, he became a man of fashion again and turned

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[a] H. Heine, 'Ein Weib' (from *Romanzen*).- [b] pimp - [c] A. Meissner, *Heinrich Heine. Erinnerungen.* - [d] Sibylle Hess - [e] Nikolai Sazonov

his back on Moses, declaring him to be A VERY COMMON AND SUBORDINATE FELLOW. The Moses woman, however, was heartlessly abandoned and she is now running round Paris, scolding and cursing and telling anyone who will listen about the perfidious Muscovite's betrayal. Such, in a manner of speaking, is the story of the *Grandeur et Décadence de la Maison Moses.*[a]

Have you seen Golovin's paper, *Russia* etc., now appearing in London?

*Faute de moyens,*[b] *L'Homme* has temporarily ceased publication. *La Nation* has ceased to exist. The only thing still in the same LINE, though much poorer, is *Le National.*

Kindest regards to Lupus.

Your
K. M.

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## 31

## MARX TO ENGELS[20]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 26 September 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederick,

FIRST, I must ACKNOWLEDGE with THANKS RECEIPT of the money. I would have done so yesterday had we not been in a veritable HURLY-BURLY with our removal. It remains doubtful, moreover, whether we shall be out of here before Monday since, even with your money and what the pawnshop has yielded, we still haven't QUITE got the requisite amount. The present crisis on the European stock exchanges has come at an awkward time for us personally.

No news apart from what you may already know, namely that *Stirner* has died. A letter has also reached London, or so

[a] The Grandeur and Decline of the House of Moses (an ironical allusion to Balzac's *L'Histoire de la grandeur et de la décadence de Cézar Birotteau*).- [b] For want of means

Freiligrath tells me, from his 'ex-sweetheart'[a] in Australia, in which she says that she has married again but has at the same time turned religious and, by harping on the 'better life to come', has contrived to drive her *novum hominem*[b] into the 'madhouse'. This last is meant *verbatim*.

Well, I went to *souper* with the *Putnam's* man.[c] Besides myself, the only people present were Freiligrath and an old Yankee. The *Putnam's* man was a quiet, genial soul, the other Yankee a jaunty, witty chap. Putnam wants us if possible, after the Bazancourt,[60] to revert to the 'SHIPS AGAINST WALLS' question, as being of special interest to Americans in connection with the recent war.[d] Then again, something on floating batteries and gunboats; light or heavy guns, etc. All this seems to be with an eye to an American war, at a closer or more distant time, against England. Besides these *militaribus* I am then to write on Heine. In short, we can now engage in REGULAR INTERCOURSE with this very 'good' house.

Considering the rent, the house I have taken is very nice and could hardly have been let so cheaply were not the immediate neighbourhood, roads, etc., SOMEWHAT UNFINISHED. When you come up to London you'll find a complete HOME.

WHAT DO *YOU* THINK OF THE ASPECT OF THE MONEY MARKET? There is no doubt that the increases in the discount rate on the Continent are partly associated with the appreciation of silver against gold due to the Californian and Australian gold (the Belgian Bank is now giving only 19 frs. 40 c.—silver—for one *napoléon d'or*[e]) and hence bullion dealers everywhere where gold and silver are the legal STANDARD are withdrawing the latter from the banks. But whatever the reason for the increases in the discount rate, these are at least precipitating the DOWNFALL of the vast speculative transactions and, more specifically, of the GRAND PAWNINGSHOP AT PARIS.[f] I don't believe that the great monetary crisis will outlast the winter of 1857. Those stupid asses, the BRITISHERS, imagine that this time all is SOUND over here, as opposed to the Continent. Apart from the intimate connection between the OLD LADY OF THREADNEEDLE STREET and the Paris concern,[87] the asses overlook the fact that a large part of English capital is tied up in continental credits and that their 'SOUND' OVERTRADING (exports this year are expected to reach £110 million) is based on the Continent's 'UNSOUND' SPECULATION, just as their civilisational propaganda of 1854-56 was on the coup d'état of

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[a] Marie Wilhelmine Dähnhardt - [b] new man - [c] Frederick Olmsted - [d] the Crimean war, 1853-56 - [e] *napoléon d'or*—a twenty-franc gold coin issued by Napoleon I - [f] probably the Bank of France

1851. This time, however, as opposed to earlier crises, France has discovered the form in which speculation could be and has been propagated throughout the whole of Europe. In contrast to the Gallic *raffinement* of St. Simonism,[88] STOCKJOBBERY and imperialism, your English speculator at home appears to have reverted to the primitive form of simple and UNMITIGATED *FRAUD*. Witness Strahan, Paul and Bates, the TIPPERARY BANK OF SADLEIR MEMORY, the GREAT CITY FRAUDS OF Davidson, Cole and Co., now the ROYAL BRITISH BANK and, finally, the Crystal Palace affair[89] (4,000 bogus shares put into circulation). The BRITISHERS abroad speculate under continental COLOURS, those at home revert to *fraude simple*, and that's what the chaps call a 'SOUND STATE OF COMMERCE'.[90]

This time, by the by, the thing has assumed European dimensions such as have never been seen before, and I don't suppose we'll be able to spend much longer here merely as spectators. The very fact that I've at last got round to setting up house again and sending for my books[91] seems to me to prove that the 'mobilisation' of our persons is AT HAND.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 32

## ENGELS TO MARX[92]

IN LONDON

[Manchester, not before 27 September 1856]

[....] As regards Weerth[85] I shall write to [....] in Berlin, who might perhaps get something into a paper, *n'importe*[a] which, so long as it appears. For 10 days and more after my return from London[83] Lupus did not breathe a word of the news and not until quite late, just before 11 o'clock on the eve of my old man's

[a] no matter

arrival, did he come out with it. You can imagine how staggered and annoyed I was at this idiotic conduct. For the next 8-14 days I hardly had a moment to myself and couldn't even go and see Steinthal to find out more, let alone turn my thoughts to an obituary or the like. He has probably left some written work and I shall make sure I get a sight of it.

You might send me the Pan-Slavism[11] when you have an opportunity. As soon as I have the time I shall revise the thing and knock it into reasonable shape—for *Putnam's* (?) or anything else that might turn up in the meantime. *Now*, while the mischief is still in progress, I would offer the 'PRINCIPALITIES'[3] to an English paper or MONTHLY. How are things going on with Urquhart [....][61] very doubtful about it [....] I can see no possibility so far. In any case, we shall not be affected by the amnesty.

The stories about Moses[a] and the Moses woman[b] made us laugh a great deal.[c] So, just like Ewerbeck, *il s'est acheté une place au Père-Lachaise de la littérature française.*[d] [93]

Have not seen Golovin's *Russia*. You might send one or 2 issues so that I can see what it's like; it's quite unknown up here.

Bazancourt still on the stocks.[60] I think I shall finish it in about 10 days or a fortnight. It's not going so quickly after all, you see, I had no time to do any preparatory work. If only I had my *Tribune* articles on the war[94]! Now all the material has to be got together again. After this, we can offer them SHIPS AGAINST WALLS and then we should manage to keep the ball rolling all right.

That gold has depreciated against silver is no longer in any doubt. However it is also a fact that silver has *vanished*, but where to, I cannot quite make out. Such is the state of confusion that a great deal must have been buried or tucked away in China. Again, the BALANCE OF TRADE has recently been extremely favourable to India and China *vis-à-vis* England, the Continent and America taken together. At all events it must be highly gratifying for John Bull to find that he is already worth 6d IN THE POUND less.

The clouds gathering over the money market are sombre indeed, and the *Constitutionnel*'s old 'HORIZON POLITIQUE' may well come into its own again.[95] Last Tuesday's affair at the Bank, when 1 million in gold was withdrawn, is significant. It almost looks as though the storm is about to break, but this might, of course, be no more than a prelude. In theory, the crash cannot come until Russia is right up to the neck in speculation, but this is hardly to

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[a] Moses Hess - [b] Sibylle Hess - [c] See this volume, pp. 69-70. - [d] He has bought himself a place in the Père-Lachaise of French literature.

be expected and perhaps it is better so. Another thing which considerably restrains speculators over here is the high price of all raw materials, particularly silk, cotton and wool, where it is far from SAFE to do anything at all. When the CRASH comes, however, there'll be a rude awakening for the English. I should like to know how many of the Continent's speculative shares have found their way to England—vast numbers, I imagine. This time there'll be a *dies irae*[a] such as has never been seen before; the whole of Europe's industry in ruins, all markets over-stocked (already nothing more is being shipped to India), all the propertied classes in the soup, complete bankruptcy of the bourgeoisie, war and profligacy to the nth degree. I, too, believe that it will all come to pass in 1857, and when I heard that you were again buying furniture, I promptly declared the thing to be a dead certainty and offered to take bets on it.

Adieu for today; cordial regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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## 33

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 16 October 1856
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

After receipt of the POST OFFICE order we moved out[96] and, for the first 2 weeks, had to do a frightful lot of running to and fro between here and town in order to put things more or less straight in the house. Hence my silence.

[a] day of wrath

Herewith an excerpt from a book by Mieroslawski.[a] As you know he's not without *esprit*.[b] But there's also much *esprit de mauvais aloi*[c] in his writing, in particular a great deal of the *style amphigourique*[d] which the French have been at such tremendous pains to acquire since they became 'profound' and ceased being superficial Voltairians. Also much of that enthusiastic unguent used by 'unappreciated' nationalities to glorify their *passé*.[e] Hatred of Russia and even more of Germany; anti-Pan-Slavism but, on the other hand, free CONFEDERATION of Slav *nations* with the Poles as the *peuple Archimède*.[97] Distinct emphasis on social revolution in Poland as the basic condition of the political one; but seeks to show by means of historical deduction, which proves exactly the *reverse*, that orthodoxy lies in restoring the old agrarian communes (*gmina*=the Russian commune *latinised*).

In the past few weeks I have been studying the question of silver in greater detail and shall in due course give you an account thereof.

In my view Bonaparte will hardly be able to avoid the SUSPENSION OF CASH PAYMENTS and then, *va la Galère!*[f]

*Guardian* received. More very soon. Otto has been pardoned.

Your
K. M.

As regards the Urquhartites (who, until the week before last, with intervals, were reprinting my old stuff revised by me[98]) have made no progress at all as yet. However the matter must be decided before the week is out. Urquhart has been playing the oracle in *The Morning Herald* by disgorging these things, which are wholly new to him, as though they were long-cherished secrets of his. In the *National-Zeitung* the great Bucher—appropriating my very words—spoke of 'interesting revelations', but suppresses my name, giving the impression that they came from the *English* side. You can see how envious and irritating these scoundrels are.

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[a] L. Mieroslawski, *De la nationalité polonaise dans l'équilibre européen*. - [b] wit - [c] wit of base quality - [d] tortuous style - [e] past - [f] (Here)—come what may!

## 34

## MARX TO COLLET DOBSON COLLET[a]

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 23 October 1856

Dear Sir,

Having been absent from London during the last month, and seeing that your paper professed to be wanting space, I have deferred the continuation of my articles until to day. In transmitting the inclosed new manuscript it occurs to me that, from the difference in size between the old and new *Free Press*,[99] it would be desirable to come to a new understanding as to the terms on which my contributions to your paper are to take place.

In answer to your last letter I have to state that it is indifferent to me whether you reprint the old *pamphlets* in large or small type, but as to documents never before published I consider it would be spoiling the case to put them in small type. Concerning the alleged desirability of my own comments not taking the form of notes, you will see that this is being done only where really expedient, and that under the form of introductions to the different chapters they occupy already the space of the text. Lastly as to the suggestion of drawing parallelisms between the epoch I treat upon and the present time, it has been anticipated to a certain extent in the chapters you published. To trace systematically these parallelisms more would be altering my plan, which is rather to give new materials for a new history, than new reflections on well-known materials. To satisfy the wants of his readers in that respect I hold to be rather the duty of the editor.

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[a] This draft is written in Wilhelm Pieper's hand, the date in Marx's.

9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, London, where Marx lived from October 1856 to 1868

## 35

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 30 October 1856
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

DEAR Frederic,

I am at this moment dictating an article on Persia.[a] Hence no more than a line or two. Your £5 received. Could you possibly send me *some military stuff on Switzerland* before the week is out, for that is what's holding me up and preventing me from getting on with my articles. Will write at greater length very shortly.

Your
K. M.

Ruge is publishing:
1. *Stories of the Chase for Children.*[b]
2. Philosophical considerations on the religion of Ancient Egypt. He told this to Blind, who on the same occasion discovered that Papa Ruge hadn't so much as heard of Röth's book.[c]

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[a] K. Marx, 'The Anglo-Persian War'. - [b] A. Ruge, *Jagden und Tiergeschichte für Kinder.* - [c] E. Röth, *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie.* Bd. 1: *Die ägyptische und zoroastrische Glaubenslehre als die ältesten Quellen unserer speculativen Ideen.*

# 36

## MARX TO ENGELS[100]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 30 October 1856
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

The article on Bazancourt[60] is splendid. Enclosed the last bit of the Mieroslawski.[a] If I have seemed lazy about writing it is largely because my wife has been ill these past few months.

As you will yourself observe in the Mieroslawski, 1. the very man who holds *un royaume diplomatique*[b] in Poland to be impossible, wanted to bring about *une révolution diplomatique* there, i.e. under the AUSPICES OF Louis Bonaparte and Palmerston; 2. the fate of the 'democratic' *gmina* of the Lechites[c] in Poland is an inevitable one; the actual *dominium*[d] is usurped by the Crown, aristocracy, etc.; the patriarchal relations between *dominium* and peasant communities lead to serfdom; optional land-division creates a kind of *peasant middle estate*, the *ordre équestre*,[101] to which the peasant can rise only so long as wars of conquest and colonisation are still in progress, though both these necessarily tend to accelerate his DOWNFALL. As soon as the borderline is reached, this *ordre équestre*, incapable of sustaining the role of a true middle estate, turns into the lumpenproletariat of the aristocracy. A similar fate overtakes *dominium* and peasant among the Romanic population of Moldavia, Wallachia, etc. This type of development is interesting in that it shows how serfdom comes into being as a result of purely economic factors, without the intermediate link of conquest or racial dualism.

Your *Manchester Guardian* has the singular distinction of being regarded as the immediate cause of Bonaparte's statement against the English press. Please send me X[e] from time to time. Having discovered that Bonaparte's 1847 is approaching, Palmerston is

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[a] Excerpts from L. Mieroslawski's book *De la nationalité polonaise dans l'équilibre européen*. - [b] diplomatic kingdom - [c] See this volume, p. 75. - [d] landed property - [e] Presumably the sign of the correspondent who wrote the anti-Bonapartist articles in *The Manchester Guardian*.

bending every effort to jockey him into precisely the same position as he jockeyed Louis Philippe during the Sonderbund War[102]—into an alliance with Russia against England. Whereas on the one hand he takes him in tow against Austria in the filthy Neapolitan affair, in Turkey he sides against him with Austria.[103] Once again the French newspapers are full of MISGIVINGS about the machinations of perfidious Albion. The commercial crisis would certainly seem to have reached its consummation in the Russian railways. The bankruptcy of the CONTRACTORS to the 'palace of international industry'[104] affords a GLIMPSE into the participation of English capitalists in continental enterprises. In Germany the setting-up of industrial and banking undertakings goes on briskly. The Berlin *National-Zeitung* contains whole columns devoted solely to enumerating the names of these CONCERNS.

I learnt from Putnam's man, Olmsted, and an American travelling companion who was with him that Gurowski (the Pole) had acquired much influence with Dana. At the same time these gentlemen told me that the said worthy fellow received regular cash grants direct from the Russian *ambassade*[a] in Washington. This Gurowski advocated Pan-Slavism in opposition to ourselves, which was the only reason why your article[11] was rejected. When returning my manuscript on the Danubian Principalities,[3] Mr Dana forgot TO BLOT OUT a comment written in French by this self-same Gurowski, who remarks on my statistical data relating to the Romanian population:

> 'Tous ces chiffres sont exagérés pour faire mousser l'idée de nationalité Roumaine. Ils sont démentis par les faits, l'histoire et la logique.'[b]

So we can boast of having, or rather of having *had*, our articles inspected and censored directly by the Russian embassy. In the end Dana appears also to have seen through Gurowski.

Today a letter from Collet to whom I had sent some new stuff.[61] The fellow agrees to everything, except that he doesn't say anything about MONETARY TERMS although I expressly asked him about this point in my last letter. So I shall have to PUT ON THE SCREW all over again, since this is the only point of interest to me in my INTERCOURSE WITH THOSE CALIBANS.[c]

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[a] embassy - [b] 'All these figures are exaggerated for the purpose of inflating the idea of Romanian nationality. They are contradicted by the facts, by history and by logic.' - [c] Caliban is a character in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*.

Write to me soon concerning yourself and those about you. With kindest regards from my wife and children.

Children very well.

Your
K. M.

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## 37

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 17 November 1856

Dear Marx,

Day after day this accursed COMMERCE has prevented me from writing. I now have three lads to keep in control and am forever checking, correcting, telling off and giving orders. Add to this the running battle with manufacturers over bad yarn or late delivery, and my own work. I wish it might occur to Mr Bonaparte to rid France of his own person and me of all this turmoil.

Come to that, the said Bonaparte is in damned hot water. The spate of stories about placards and the unrest among the workers sent in by the *Times* correspondent, after the *Moniteur* article[a] had led to his being ordered *de parler plus haut*,[b] have made an enormous impression on the English philistines here.[105] Everyone believes in his SPEEDY DOWNFALL. The explanation for the sudden discovery that, *au fond*,[c] the fellow is after all an ass and indeed of a very ordinary kind, is as follows: he used to be a genius but has now so ruined himself by his profligate way of life that it has affected his brain. While there may, of course, be something in this, the fellow's behaviour has on the whole been quite

[a] 'Paris, le 23 octobre', *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 298, 24 October 1856. - [b] to talk louder - [c] at bottom

consistent, and only the English philistines can see any qualitative difference between the man he used to be and the man he is now.

Today's *Guardian* contains some interesting statistics about bankruptcies in France; I am sending it to you.

It looks as though the financial crisis will linger on through the winter, becoming gradually more acute though with occasional ups and downs. This means that in the spring it will be considerably worse than if it had broken out in acute form now. The greater the capital paid in to companies hitherto existing largely on paper and the greater the extent to which floating capital becomes fixed, the better. So long as the discount rate doesn't fall below 7 per cent—and the recent rise shows that it will have to be raised yet further—there is no prospect that even half the speculative companies will be able to obtain payment for their third or fourth calls. The Austrian Crédit mobilier[106] can't even collect the money for its second call, and yet the government enters into agreements in Austria, by which the Bank is compelled to resume CASH PAYMENTS!—I'd like to have the money Bonaparte has probably spent over the past 6 weeks to keep government stocks above 66 per cent; precisely because of the great efforts made towards that end, I shall account the day a turning-point when government stocks first drop *below* 66.[107]

The longer this chronic PRESSURE goes on, the more numerous will be the revelations concerning the dirty work of the Bonapartist clique and the greater the rage of the working-men who could not previously have been aware of the details. This chap Morny is really a prime example of a *suitier*,[a] nor would he seem to have any wish to return to Paris; *for him*, certainly, there could be no more appropriate way to invest his money than in Russian railways and government paper.

Never again, perhaps, will the revolution find such a fine *tabula rasa* as now. All socialist DODGES exhausted, the compulsory employment of labour anticipated and EXPLODED 6 years since, no opportunity for new experiments or slogans. On the other hand, however, the difficulties will be starkly in evidence; the bull will have to be taken literally by the horns, and I'd dearly like to see how the next French provisional government will set about cutting its teeth. Nothing, luckily, can be done this time except by dint of the most reckless courage, for we no longer have any reason to fear as swift an ebb as in 1848.

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[a] wastrel

Strohn has been here recently; had heard sundry things about the little man[a]; *entre nous*, the fellow is thinking seriously about setting up in business on his own! He imagines his patter will serve to entice customers away from his present principal.

I have in front of me at this moment James' *Naval History of England,* 1792-1820, mainly for the sake of SHIPS AGAINST WALLS.[b] It shows that the English had to fight very hard to gain NAVAL SUPERIORITY over the French and, more especially, the Spanish. Given parity of strength, the French and Spanish, during the early years of the war, were a match for the English on almost every occasion, and a mass of vessels was captured from the latter.[108] Though I haven't yet got beyond 1796, I can already see that under Napoleon the French fleet reached an absolute *nadir,* for which he was probably partly to blame.—The superiority of the English at sea lies chiefly in their better *gunnery;* the French always fired too high, though the Spanish were much better. The story about the *Vengeur,* said to have gone down on 1 June 1794 *au cri de vive la république*[c] is, by the way, a myth. The *Vengeur surrendered* to the English but, before she was actually seized, several French vessels again began to close; she rehoisted the French flag, the rescuers were beaten off and the English approached, but the ship went down, most of her crew being saved. She sank 4-6 hours after the end of the battle.

Kindest regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Ernst Dronke - [b] See this volume, p. 71. - [c] to cries of 'Long live the Republic!'

# 38

## MARX TO ENGELS[1]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 December 1856
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Frederic,

My wife is still dosing herself continually and hence the house is always in such a disarray that it is difficult for me to settle down and write.

As regards the Mieroslawski,[a] a providential 'apportionment' would appear to have taken place, most of the excerpts intended for you (there were ABOUT two sheets) having been torn out of the middle of the manuscript, probably for spills. However, you haven't lost much. I afterwards read Lelewel's *Considérations*—not to be confused with his popular history.[b] He, together with Maciejowski (?) (I cite the name from memory), provides most of the material upon which Mieroslawski exercises his mind. By the by, in my recent studies of Polish history, what led me *décidément* to plump for Poland was the historical fact that the intensity and the viability of all revolutions since 1789 may be gauged with fair accuracy by their attitude towards Poland. Poland is their 'external' thermometer. This is demonstrable *en détail* from French history. It is conspicuous in our brief German revolutionary period, likewise in the Hungarian. Of all the revolutionary governments, including that of Napoleon I, the Comité du salut public[109] is an exception only in as much as it refused to intervene, not out of weakness, but out of 'mistrust'. In 1794 it sent for the *employé*[c] of the Polish insurgents[d] and asked this *citoyen*[e] the following questions:

'How is it that your Kosciusko, a popular dictator, tolerates the existence alongside himself of a king[f] of whom, moreover, he cannot but know that he was put on the throne by Russia? How is it that your dictator does not dare effect the

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[a] L. Mieroslawski, *De la nationalité polonaise dans l'équilibre européen.* - [b] A reference to *Considérations sur l'état politique de l'ancienne Pologne et sur l'histoire de son peuple* (further in the text Marx quotes a passage from it in free translation), which constitutes Part 2 of Volume 2 of Joachim Lelevel's *Histoire de Pologne.* Part 1 of Volume 1 is entitled *L'Histoire de la Pologne racontée par un oncle à ses neveux.* - [c] representative - [d] Franciszek Barss - [e] citizen - [f] Stanislaus II Augustus

*levée en masse* of the peasants for fear of the aristocrats, who do not wish to be deprived of any of their "hands"? How is it that the revolutionary complexion of his proclamations pales in proportion to the distance his march removes him from Cracow? How is it that he *immediately* punished with the gallows the popular insurgents in Warsaw, whereas the aristocratic "*traîtres de la patrie*"[a] are allowed to remain at large, or are given refuge in the lengthy formalities of a trial? Answer!'

Whereat the Polish '*citoyen*' could only remain silent.

*Que dites-vous de Neuchâtel et Valangin?*[b] [110] This CASE has led me to try and remedy my highly inadequate knowledge of Prussian history. INDEED AND INDEED, never has the history of the world produced anything so sordid. How the nominal kings of France came to be real kings is also one long recital of petty struggle, betrayal and intrigue, but it is the history of the birth of a nation. Austrian history—the founding of a dynasty by a vassal of the German Empire—acquires interest from the circumstance that the vassal defrauds himself in his capacity as Emperor, from involvement in the East, Bohemia, Italy, Hungary, etc., and finally, too, from the circumstance that dynasty assumes such dimensions as to arouse fears in Europe of its becoming a universal monarchy. Nothing of all this in Prussia. She failed to subdue so much as one powerful Slav nation, and took 500 years to acquire Pomerania, and then only by 'barter'.[111] Come to that, the Margraviate of Brandenburg—as it was when taken over by the Hohenzollerns—hasn't been able to boast a single *conquest*, with the exception of *Silesia*. Perhaps it is because this was her *one and only* conquest that Frederick II's sobriquet is 'the One and Only'.[112] Petty theft, BRIBERY, outright purchase, succession intrigue, and such like shabby dealings is all that Prussian history really boils down to. What is interesting in feudal history elsewhere—the struggle of the monarch against his vassals, double-dealing with the towns, etc.—is all of it here dwarfed to a caricature because the towns are boringly small-minded, the feudal lords boorishly insignificant and the monarch himself a nonentity. During the Reformation, as during the French Revolution, she oscillated between perfidy, neutrality, separate peace treaties and snatching at scraps tossed to her by Russia in the course of partitions organised by the latter—*vide* Sweden, Poland, Saxony. Withal, a dramatis personae of rulers with only 3 masks—the Pietist,[113] the non-commissioned officer, the clown—succeeding one another as surely as night follows day, the only irregularity consisting not in the introduction of fresh characters but in the varying order of their appearance.

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[a] traitors to the country - [b] What do you make of Neuchâtel and Valangin?

What has kept the State on its legs nonetheless is *mediocrity—aurea mediocritas*[a]—meticulous book-keeping, an avoidance of extremes, the preciseness of the drill book, a kind of homespun vulgarity and 'ecclesial institutionalism'.[114] *C'est dégoûtant!*[b]

How is trade in Manchester just now? Can you let me have some particulars about the state of BUSINESS in the MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS?

I haven't yet informed you that papa Heise passed through on his way from Utrecht. Has now rejoined Imandt. He has filled out and looks better than ever.

Götz, too, suddenly turned up here again. Disappeared with equal suddenness. Freiligrath very satisfied with his business and with himself. Valdenaire—the 'agreer'[115] *manqué*—is over here on a visit from Trier. For what purpose, more in my next.

Finally, I have a ticklish matter to put to you. At the *end of December* I have some fairly substantial sums to pay out. Could you possibly let me have something before then? My wife's money has largely gone on setting up house and making up for very substantial losses in income.

When are you coming down here? What is Lupus doing?

Your
K. M.

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## 39

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 December 1856

Dear Engels,

You would oblige me greatly if you could send me the money before the week is out. I have just been to see Freiligrath and asked him whether he could advance me anything against my bill

[a] golden mean - [b] It's disgusting!

on America, which is drawable only in 2 or 3 weeks' time, *mais impossible*! I was expecting the money from *Putnam's* today; hasn't arrived. The TRANSACTIONS with Urquhart's wretched rabble—on whom I have claims—are still in suspense.[a] If I'm late with the first payment to my LANDLORD, I shall be *entièrement discrédité*.

In great haste.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

*P.S.* Can you send me any *bon mots* on the military aspects of the Prussia-Neuchâtel conflict?[110] They would be very timely. I have dealt with the diplomatic part myself.[b]

Red Wolff[c] is in Blackburn, Lancashire,[d] with his family. Schoolmaster at a salary of £60.

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[a] See this volume, p. 76. - [b] A reference to Marx's article 'The Right Divine of the Hohenzollerns'. - [c] Ferdinand Wolff - [d] Yorkshire in the original.

# 1857

## 40

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 January 1857
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

DEAR Frederic,

*D'abord*[a] my best wishes for the New Year, albeit retrospective. As a result of watery ink and several nights' writing, one of my eyes is so inflamed that writing is irksome to me.

Both the £5 (the second) and the MOUNTAIN WARFARE[b] received. For both of them MY BEST THANKS.

Is it true that Lupus has again been attacked and robbed by Manchester highwaymen? Or is the rumour circulating here simply an indiscriminate rehash of the old story?

The best thing old Hill can do is retire, either to paradise or to some idyllic Swiss HILL, so that he has to be replaced once and for all in your office and can no longer saddle you with double the work under the FALSE PRETENCE of his 'temporary' illnesses.

The Neuchâtel question[110] isn't quite so close to settlement as some papers make out. Both sides may already have gone too far with their braggadocio. Both have already brought discredit upon themselves: our Hohenzollern[c] with his *déférence* for Bonaparte, the Swiss with their 'dignified' attitude. Thus the rascals have deported several hundred factory workers to Piedmont because of their propagandist demonstrations. In this way the 'lenders'[d] hope to secure the esteem of Bonaparte and of Austria, TOO. What do you make of Lamoricière and Bedeau offering their *épées*[e] to the Swiss burghers? Obviously just an anti-Bonaparte gesture, since the

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[a] First - [b] F. Engels, 'Mountain Warfare in the Past and Present'. - [c] Frederick William IV - [d] Here and further in the text Marx puns on the words *Borger* (lenders) and *Bürger* (citizens, also burghers). The allusion is to the Swiss bankers who extended loans to French manufacturers. - [e] swords

fellows could be sure the lenders of Switzerland would not take them at their word.

There is great excitement in the *petite démocratie.* Just the kind of clash they want. On top of that, of course, your South German patriot regards the Swiss as kinsmen and in fact sees in the present clash nothing but a sequel to the 1849 campaign for the Constitution.[116] In addition, risings are expected in the Black Forest, etc. The Prussian, for his part, is certainly doing everything in his power to prevent A 'BREACH OF THE PEACE'. That is why Fatty[a] wrote to his brother-in-law[b] in Petersburg in terms reminiscent of the man who bade his wife stay him lest he jump out of the window. 'Stay me!' is a call our hereditary monarch has addressed to each of the great powers in turn. The question is whether they want to 'hold him back' and whether East and West, delighting equally in his discomfiture, will not add fuel to the flames. Whichever way the thing turns out, there will be no lack of red faces.

Proudhon is in process of bringing out an 'economic bible'[c] in Paris. *Destruam et aedificabo.*[d] The first part, or so he says, was set forth in the *Philosophie de la misère.*[e] The second he is about to 'reveal'. The scribble is appearing in German, translated by Ludwig Simon now duly installed as clerk with Königswärter (or some such name, the well-known banker to the *National*) in Paris. I have here a recent piece by one of Proudhon's disciples: *De la Réforme des Banques* par Alfred Darimon, 1856. Same old tale. The *démonétisation de l'or et de l'argent,* or rather *que toutes les marchandises* should be transformed into *instruments d'échange au même titre que l'or et l'argent.*[f] The piece has an introduction by Emil Girardin and betrays evident admiration for Isaac Péreire. Hence it enables one to get some idea of the kind of socialist coups d'état Bonaparte thinks himself capable of resorting to, even at the eleventh hour.

I have a whole LOT [OF] PAMPHLETS written by Bruno Bauer during the Russian war.[117] Feeble and pretentious. In company with his brother Egbert the worthy fellow has now rented from the Berlin municipality 50 acres of land outside Berlin. The intention is that the London Edgar's[g] mother-in-law—an old washerwoman or

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[a] Frederick William IV - [b] Alexander II - [c] This presumably refers to P. J. Proudhon's *Manuel du spéculateur à la bourse.* - [d] I shall destroy and I shall build. - [e] P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère,* Tomes I-II. - [f] The demonetisation of gold and silver, or rather that all merchandise should be transformed into instruments of exchange in the same way as gold and silver. - [g] Edgar Bauer

SOMETHING OF THE SORT—should look after the 'market side'. Bruno has written to Edgar telling him that this is the way to 'independence'. He is paying a rent of 5 reichstalers PER ACRE, i.e. 250 reichstalers a year. It's old fallow land. Bruno hopes that the profit and the produce from this land will enable him to write at leisure his *Geschichte des Urchristentums,*[118] intended as an 'historical' test-piece for his critique of the Gospels.[a] Nice critical fantasies these, and to some extent Bruno may have been influenced by the recollection that in Part 2 Faust becomes a land-owner.[b] Only he forgets that Faust obtained the money for that transformation from the Devil.

Lallerstedt, *La Scandinavie, ses craintes et ses espérances,* Swedish pendant to Mieroslawski's book.[c] Contains one or two FACTS of interest. In particular Lallerstedt recognises that, during the last century, England was constantly playing Russian tricks on Sweden. Recounts how Admiral Norris, sent by England on an ostensibly *anti*-Russian mission after the death of Charles XII, was bribed by Peter I with a precious stone of great value. Also has new material that throws light on the behaviour of Bernadotte.

Nothing new here. I go out little and hear little.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Mr Faucher from Berlin is one of the PRINCIPAL SUB-EDITORS of *The Morning Star.* In a diatribe against Lupus in the *London Illustrated News,* Horace Mayhew writes inter alia:

* 'Symptoms of being a confirmed old Bachelor: When a man cannot go anywhere without his umbrella, that's a symptom. When a man thinks every one is cheating him, that's a symptom. When a man does all the shopping himself etc.' *[d]

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[a] A reference to B. Bauer's *Kritik der Evangelien und Geschichte ihres Ursprungs,* Bd. I-IV. - [b] J. W. von Goethe, *Faust. Der Tragödie zweiter Teil,* Act V. - [c] L. Mieroslawski, *De la nationalité polonaise dans l'équilibre européen.* - [d] *The Illustrated London News,* No. 836 (supplement), 20 December 1856.

# 41

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 January 1857
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

Edgar von Westphalen has sent over a man—address enclosed—with two letters, one for me, and one for you. This man Erich wishes to establish connections with London business men and then return to New York. He has recommendations from New York, but none from England. With regard to Edgar's letter, he has given you and myself as references, you as an English merchant, me as correspondent of the *New-York Tribune.* I told him that we couldn't possibly provide information about his financial circumstances, since we knew nothing of them. REPLY: neither were we required to do so, but only to confirm, if asked, that he was 'Erich' of New York and had been 'recommended' to us from that quarter. IT IS ALTOGETHER A SILLY BUSINESS of the kind often initiated by Edgar. The fellow seems to be a decent sort of chap and I couldn't, of course, tell him that a recommendation from my brother-in-law was likely to be more of a hindrance than a help, even in our case. As regards yourself, I naturally made no promises but merely undertook to send you Edgar's letter, at the same time informing you that the 'recommendation', if requested, should *au fond*[a] be restricted to confirming the man's identity.

Cornelius will shortly be leaving London. Is to be manager of a joint stock mining company in Nassau. He has offered Roesgen's cousin what is said to be a good position (in an emigration agency) in Le Havre. *Guardians* received. The FACT concerning the floods is INTERESTING.[119]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] by and large

# 42

## MARX TO ENGELS[20]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 January 1857
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

I really have monumentally bad luck! For the past 3 weeks or so Mr Dana has been sending me the daily *Tribune*—obviously with the sole intention of showing me that they aren't publishing *any more* of my stuff. Except for some 40 lines on the MOVES of the Banque de France,[a] not a single line of mine has been included. Week after week I have put off drawing anything on the *Tribune* in the belief that the articles would sooner or later appear. BUT NOTHING OF THE SORT. My articles on Prussia, Persia, Austria all regularly REJECTED.[b] Having for some 4 years printed all my things (and yours TOO) under their own name, the curs have succeeded in eclipsing the name I was making for myself among the Yankees and which would have enabled me to find another paper, or to hold over their heads the threat of transferring to one. *Que faire?*[c] Good advice is valuable IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES. As soon as I draw something they will make it a pretext to get rid of me once and for all; and writing two articles a week in the hope of having *perhaps* one in ten published and paid for is a procedure too ruinous to carry on. And how can I draw anything unless something is published?

And then another piece of bad luck. I've had a look at the November, December and January numbers of *Putnam's*. No sign of the article on[d] Bazancourt.[60] Either it has got lost (although I took it to the main POST OFFICE myself) or it will not be coming out until later. I can't believe that the fellows had got the thing, don't want to publish it and fail to notify me out of sheer bad manners!

I have not yet succeeded in arranging any definite terms with

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[a] 'The Crisis in Europe' - [b] A reference to Marx's articles 'The Right Divine of the Hohenzollerns', 'The Anglo-Persian War' and 'The Maritime Commerce of Austria' (two articles) all of which were published in the *Tribune* later. - [c] What is to be done? - [d] In the original *von* (by)

the Urquhartites,[a] and besides, theirs is a tiny little sheet which may bring out short fragments of an article over a month and often not finish it off for 5 to 6 weeks.[61] At best they can serve only as a small, secondary source of income. The *Tribune*, in exceedingly poor and insipid LEADERS, is moreover adopting a view almost diametrically opposed to all that I write. RUSSIAN INFLUENCE is unmistakable.[b]

So here I am, without any prospects and with growing domestic liabilities, completely stranded in a house into which I have put what little cash I possessed and where it is impossible to scrape along from day to day as we did in DEAN STREET.[120] I am utterly at a loss what to do, being, indeed, in a more desperate situation than 5 years ago. I thought I had tasted the bitterest dregs of life. *Mais non!* And the worst of it is that this is no mere passing crisis. I cannot see how I am to extricate myself.

The miserable collapse of Switzerland's braggadocio[121] was only to be anticipated. In no way were the fellows driven TO EAT DIRT by *force supérieure*. For, as Cornelius saw with his own eyes in Paris, the discontent, not only among Parisians, but in the army as well, was so great that in no circumstances could Bonaparte have permitted the Prussians to carry out serious military operations—on the French frontier least of all. Hence his EFFORTS to settle the affair. The discredit of the Swiss is only matched by that of Bonaparte, who first offered to stand surety for Switzerland vis-à-vis the Prussians and vented his spleen in the *Moniteur* when Switzerland repudiated his authority; then offered to stand surety for Prussia vis-à-vis Switzerland, and now finds himself compelled to admit, in little semi-official articles, that Prussia refuses to enter into any obligation towards himself. He has virtually endorsed the démenti he received from the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*.[122] So low has the fellow sunk. In the meantime his half-brother, Morny, has had the foresight to secure for himself a post in the Russian service.

I don't know whether you've seen that Mr Ledru-Rollin has publicly invited the French 'Republicans' to take part in the elections of Boustrapa's[40] Corps législatif[123]? So he has descended to the naïveté of legal opposition. While this shows on the one hand that he has relinquished the grandiloquent title of pretender, it shows beyond a doubt on the other that opposition is again

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[a] See this volume, p. 76. - [b] An allusion to A. Gurowski's influence (see this volume, p. 81).

considered feasible actually inside France, and that the bourgeois Republicans are hastening to resume, along with the Orleanists,[124] a position in parliament that will enable them to shuffle the next revolution under the carpet.

I think I have already told you that the Brussels *Nation* has gone under, being now replaced by its rival the *National*, an inane, uninteresting Belgian gossip sheet. The noble *L'Homme*, too, has breathed its last. In its stead there appeared a *Journal des Proscrits* which proved incapable of surviving for more than a fortnight. In addition, diminutive pamphlets after the manner of Pyat's *Ave Maria* are published from time to time by the French *réfugiés*—inflated, hollow verbiage—printed crinoline save that they cost less to produce and are harder to sell.

The *Tribune* has discovered that, during the past 30 years (up till 1851), France has enriched herself far more than England and thus is *now* also her superior politically.[a] *The proof*: In France, the value (i.e. *nominal*) of landed property has increased twofold, in England not so much. True, the French estimate included houses while the English one did not; but since the English population increased by only 33 per cent in the area concerned, the same could be assumed of the *number* of houses (which the *Tribune* appears to equate with their value).

Erich has achieved his purpose here without any need for further references.

Your
K. M.

Your military exposé[125] WAS BEAUTIFUL. The *Augsburger* contained an article in which the passage at Constance is described as very difficult.[b] I have only skimmed over it.

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[a] 'That France is rapidly taking the leadership...', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4903, 6 January 1857. - [b] 'Die örtliche Vertheidigung des Bodensees', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 13, 13 January 1857.

## 43

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 22 January 1857][126]

Dear Marx,

Your letter arrived like a bolt from the blue. I had believed that everything was going splendidly at last—you in a decent house and the whole BUSINESS settled; and now it turns out that everything's in doubt. What damned stingy fellows these Yankees are; the people on the *Tribune* seem to imagine that, having squeezed you like a lemon, they must now proceed to squeeze another one. But the manner in which they are trying to break things off is particularly mean and cowardly. They want to force you to take the initiative. Furthermore, ever since Cluss fell so strangely silent, we've not had one reliable man in the whole of America.

*Que faire cependant?*[a] Since the *Tribune* is definitely intent on breaking with you this time, I think the best thing would be to establish connections with another New York paper. Might not something be arranged with the *Herald* or the *Times?*[b] In your place I would at once make a move and keep the chaps on the *Tribune* dangling until everything is arranged. In view of the fellows' shabby behaviour you need only consult your own interests and show no consideration for them. If you think that an *indirect* move would be better, let me know. I will gladly carry out the negotiations in *my* name, so that you shan't be compromised; I could write saying I have reason to believe that you don't get on as well as you used to with the *Tribune* people and that some arrangement might perhaps be made, etc., etc. *Enfin,*[c] anything you want, *pourvu que quelque chose soit faite.*[d]

I wouldn't put it beyond the *Tribune* fellows to have stirred up trouble with Putnam too. I should write at once to Putnam to clear the matter up. One doesn't even know whether to write the article on coastal fortifications or not.[e] At all events it would be advisable to keep this source of income open as well.

I shall send you £5 early in February and for the time being you can count on getting this every month. Even if it means my

[a] But what's to be done? - [b] *The New-York Herald* and *The New-York Times* - [c] In short - [d] provided that something is done - [e] See this volume, p. 81.

facing the new financial year with a load of debts, *c'est égal.*[a] I only wish you had told me about the business a fortnight earlier. For my Christmas present my old man gave me the money to buy a horse and, as there was a good one going, I bought it last week. If I'd known about this business of yours I would have waited a month or two and saved the cost of its keep. But NEVER MIND, that doesn't have to be paid for straight away. But I'm exceedingly vexed that I should be keeping a horse here while you and your family are down on your luck in London. It goes without saying, by the way, that you shouldn't let the promise of £5 a month deter you from approaching me again in case of hardships, for if anything can be done I shall do it. Anyhow, I've got to turn over a new leaf; I've been leading far too frivolous an existence of late.

Warm regards to your wife and children and let me know soon what you propose to do and how things stand.

Your
F. E.

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## 44

## MARX TO ENGELS[82]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 January 1857
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

*D'abord,*[b] very many thanks for your kind letter.

I wrote to Olmsted about 10 days ago; am therefore awaiting his reply. It strikes me that Dana's annoyance over Freiligrath's blabbing his secret has something to do with the *Tribune's*

[a] no matter - [b] First

behaviour, or rather with the fact that Dana has not brought his influence to bear.[127]

To work for *The New-York Herald* is out of the question; *The New-York Times* is the one to go for. I am thinking of approaching them unobtrusively through Dr Abraham Jacobi, who is at least discreet and whose quiet manner seems to impress the Yankees GENERALLY. I intend to write to him next Tuesday, and at the same time to Dana in such a manner as will at any rate involve him in a contretemps more disagreeable than he had bargained for. I should be grateful if you could let me have by Tuesday—after Tuesday I shall probably discontinue the articles for the *Tribune* pending further news from New York—a military article on *Persia.*[a] No need for much detail this time. Just a few general strategic VIEWS. The *Tribune* probably imagines that, now they have turned me out, I shall resign myself to abandoning the American camp altogether. The prospect of their 'military' and 'financial' monopoly going over to another paper is hardly likely to please them. Accordingly, I have *today* sent them a 'financial' piece.[128] An introduction to the *Persian war,*[129] however cursory, would be important because it would give them to understand that we still have a 'WAR' up our sleeves with which other papers could be helped to make a splash. The (military) prospects of the Russians and English need only be hinted at, of course.

So I shall postpone any outright rupture until I find out whether I can fix anything up elsewhere in New York. If I cannot and the *Tribune,* for its part, does not change its attitude, then the break will have to be made, of course. But in a sordid contest like this I believe it important to gain time. It seems to me the *Tribune* has come to believe that, since the 'great turn' taken by events in America,[130] it can dispense with all special editions (European ones, at least). It's truly nauseating that one should be condemned to count it a blessing when taken aboard by a blotting-paper vendor such as this. To crush up bones, grind them and make them into soup like PAUPERS in the WORKHOUSE—that's what the political work to which one is condemned in such large measure in a CONCERN like this boils down to. I am aware I have been an ass in giving these laddies more than their money's worth—not just recently but for years past.

Pieper is taking a schoolmaster's post SOMEWHERE between Portsmouth and Brighton; has been chasing after something of the kind for months.

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[a] F. Engels, 'Prospects of the Anglo-Persian War'.

What about that ADVENTURE of Lupus'? You forgot to say anything about it.

Your
K. M.

P.S. I envy fellows who can turn somersaults. It must be a splendid way of ridding the mind of vexation and bourgeois ordure.

I saw in *The Morning Advertiser* an excerpt, strategic in content, from the *Grenzboten* concerning the Persian business.

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## 45

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 February 1857

Dear Engels,

An ACKNOWLEDGMENT, in great haste, of the pounds that arrived today.

Enclosed a letter from Miquel. I wrote to him at once. The situation as regards the *Tribune* is as I foresaw. Once again not a word. So today I wrote the fellows a forthright letter as I had originally intended but did *not* tell them that meanwhile—until their answer arrives—I shall discontinue my articles entirely.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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# 46

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 February 1857
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, N. W.

Dear Engels,

Enclosed a letter from Olmsted in reply to my inquiry. So this particular ARTICLE wasn't accepted.[131] However, even after this letter I believe that they will be glad to publish 'SHIPS AGAINST WALLS'.[a] The question is, have you got the time to write it? No doubt we ought to try Putnam again before giving up altogether. At any rate it was exceedingly impertinent of that gentleman not to let me know what the position was until after 4 months. Since I shall in any case have to write to Olmsted, see if you can make out his *Christian name* from this letter.

You will probably have had Miquel's letter. Freiligrath tells me that, besides Ruge and Hess, Oppenheim and other disreputable good-for-nothings write for the *Jahrhundert.*

Freiligrath requests you not to let the matter of Weerth remain dormant. Assuming that that Jew Steinthal has got his hands on Weerth's diaries (about which the noble Campe has already written to Weerth's brother[b]), there is the additional danger that, should Weerth's relations get hold of them, they might *in usum delphini*[c] publish them amended and censored. It is to be hoped that Weerth's brother will approach you direct. If the diaries eventually turn up, this would also mean that you could appeal to the philistines' consciences. Incidentally, it is exceedingly mean of Steinthal to have no more than bluntly notified the old woman[d] of Weerth's death, without any details and without either preamble or postscript. That haggler with his saccharine smirk!

I have been rereading (but haven't quite finished) your essays on Pan-Slavism,[11] partly for my own edification, partly in order to note the passages which, in the event of a German version, would necessitate your referring to sources not readily available in

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[a] See this volume, p. 96. - [b] Karl Weerth - [c] Literally: for the use of the dauphin (the phrase was used in the second half of the 17th century to mark 'expurgated' editions of Latin authors intended for the French crown prince). - [d] Wilhelmine Weerth

England save at the British Museum. While thus engaged I discovered that the same unknown hand (provisionally I make so bold as to ascribe it to the Polish renegade Gurowski) which wrote above my rejected DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES articles,[a] 'Tout ces chiffrés sont éxagérés',[b] etc., etc. (nice French), has also adorned the Pan-Slavism articles with marginal glosses, viz.:

*ad*[c] *article I.* At the end: Σ. *C'est ni bon.*[d] (What the Σ is supposed to be (German C?) is beyond me.) (Nice French sentence! *C'est ni bon.* Period.)

*ad article IX.* Written at the top: *Changéz l'introduction*[e] and, as heading: '*Southern Slavi*'.

Again, re the sentence, 'BY THIS LOGIC ETC. IT WOULD FOLLOW THAT THE HINDOOS ARE THE MOST YOUTHFUL PEOPLE ETC.' he comments, 'THIS DEDUCTION IS ILLOGICAL'.

On the statistical survey of the Serbian race: 'GERMAN (instead of GERMAN) INFLUENCES DESTROYED THEM IN OTHER BRANCHES UNDER AUSTRIAN DOMINION.' (Nice English!) Again, on your censure of Montenegrin BRIGANDAGE, 'THIS (instead of 'TIS) NOT TRUE'.

Again, on 'CROATIA ETC. HAVE FOR CENTURIES PAST BEEN ANNEXED TO HUNGARY', he comments, 'BUT HUNGARY IS A COMPOUND OF THOSE VARIOUS LANDS'.

The passage about the Mohammedan Bosnians, 'THEY WILL HAVE TO BE EXTERMINATED, NO DOUBT ABOUT THAT' is distorted in true Russian fashion by striking out the next passage: 'THESE ARE, HOWEVER, BUT THE INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES OPPOSING THE ERECTION OF A SOUTH SLAVONIC EMPIRE ETC.'

That these notes are all of Russian inspiration is obvious. Likewise, that no Frenchman could have written French with this kind of ACCENTUATION and such mistakes; likewise and no less, that a Yankee would never talk about 'Southern Slav*i*' and would express himself altogether differently. Hence I should say that the provenance of these notes is beyond doubt. And if, as Olmsted's (Yankee) travelling companion maintained in front of myself, Freiligrath and Olmsted, Gurowski is in the direct pay of the Russian Embassy in Washington, the whole crisis with the *Tribune* becomes perfectly explicable. By the by, from the notes and deletions it transpires that originally it was still intended to publish a modified version of the articles on Pan-Slavism (up to and perhaps including No. 9), and that the idea was not completely abandoned until the fellow realised what we were driving at. Hence, too, Dana's belated decision.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 68, 81. - [b] All these figures are exaggerated. - [c] re - [d] It's neither good. - [e] Change the introduction

Since, in the midst of my own crisis, it is very edifying for me to hear about crises, drop me a few lines telling me how things are in the industrial districts. Not at all well, according to the reports in the London papers.

The two final volumes of Tooke's *History of Prices*—from 1849 onwards—have come out. It is, of course, a pity that in his unrelenting battle with the CURRENCY chaps and Peel's Acts,[132] the old gentleman is too exclusively concerned with the question of circulation. Still, it's interesting at this particular juncture.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 47

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 February [1857]
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

Are you laughing, are you weeping, are you waking, are you sleeping?[a] Have had no reply to the various letters I have sent to Manchester over the past 3 weeks. However, I assume they have arrived. Send me back what I enclosed in my last—Olmsted's letter—since I *must* answer it ONE WAY OR THE OTHER.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] G. A. Bürger, 'Lenore'.

## 48

## ENGELS TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH[133]

IN LONDON

[Manchester, not later than 25 February 1857]

...The only literary piece of Weerth's that has arrived here so far is a humoristic history of trade (a fragment from the Brussels-Bradford period, 1845-47),[a] but Steinthal is expecting a further packing case of papers. I shall most willingly do all I can to get the things, but it is important that Weerth's brother[b] should write a letter for me, so that I shall have some kind of authorisation. There should hardly be much difficulty; Steinthal is perfectly willing to help. But as regards details probably more than one point of disagreement will crop up.

The diaries, as far as my knowledge of them from Weerth's last stay here goes, contain only matter-of-fact notes.

Meanwhile, as I have already said, as soon as I am authorised to collect the things, I shall certainly make sure that I get everything....

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## 49

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 March 1857

Dear Marx,

It's rather as though God and the universe had conspired to stop me writing to you. Whenever I think I have caught up to

[a] G. Weerth, 'Humoristische Skizzen aus dem deutschen Handelsleben', *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 318, 14 November 1847; No. 337, 3 December 1847; No. 348, 14 December 1847; No. 33, 2 February 1848 (the middle part is extant in manuscript, the ending was published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Nos. 1-4, 1-4 June 1848; No. 16, 16 June 1848; No. 18, 18 June 1848; No. 28, 28 June 1848; No. 36, 6 July 1848). - [b] Karl Weerth

some extent with my commercial rubbish, I discover a whole pile of unsuspected arrears, am overrun by chaps, have to reply to hundreds of business queries on behalf of my old man and pander to fresh whims of Mr Gottfr.'s.[a] Just to make sure that I am sitting really fast, Freiligrath saddles me with Prussian ex-lieutenants, dabblers in bonds, who spend the entire day trying to borrow money (something he, Freiligrath, himself thought fit to warn me against) and who, after their departure, send me pawn tickets so that I can redeem their watches at my own expense. I am not in the least obliged to Freiligrath for landing me with the importunate fellow.[b] What is more I wrote to him today about my adventure with the brute. Let him clear the business up himself.

Last Friday[c] Mr Ernst Dronke turned up at the office all of a sudden from Glasgow. He was here for only an hour or two on business. I saw him almost exclusively in the presence of Charles,[d] when it wouldn't have done to argue with him or treat him roughly. On top of that his arrival was so sudden that I was unable to recall all of his intrigues. I treated him with reserve, just as I would treat an ordinary commercial traveller with whom I was only superficially acquainted and confined my remarks to trifling matters, and he was extremely careful to avoid any subject relating to the party. He shoved off during the afternoon and intends to come back in May, at which time I shall probably be in London. I hope he will remain a *commerçant* all his days; he certainly looks the part and the carefree existence seems greatly to his liking.

I presume you got the £5 note I sent you last Friday (or was it Thursday?).

The TORIES, FREETRADERS and Peelites could have done Pam no greater favour than put him in a minority over *this* question.[134] What luck the fellow has and how stupid are his opponents! There is a great deal of agitation up here just now, but since 4,000 new VOTERS are on the register, all small SHOPKEEPERS and CLERKS and OVERLOOKERS, and therefore predominantly pro-Bright, it is unlikely that there will be any change. Bob Lowe and Sir J. Potter (A BORN ALDERMAN[135] and once a mighty wencher) are to be nominated here. WILL NOT DO. You could probably let me have some details about Bob Lowe's early exploits in Australia and elsewhere. These would be very useful just now.[136]

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[a] Gottfried Ermen - [b] Hugo von Selmnitz - [c] 6 March - [d] Charles Roesgen

What is the price of Mieroslawski's thick book on Poland?[a] It's really essential to have a compendium of this kind—and what is the price of Lelewel's work on which it is based,[b] if you can find this out?

I shall, by the way, send you a few more *Guardians*; they contain some really capital witticisms. I suppose you got the six copies I sent you recently (IN 2 LOTS)? Morny has already smelt a rat good and proper; these purchases the fellow is making in Russia must worry Bonaparte to death. That was also a fine to-do over the Docks Napoléon, Berryer *jeune*[c] and Fox,Henderson & Co.[137]—you must have read about it in *The Times*.[d]

I'm most anxious to hear how the *Tribune* affair is progressing and likewise what you wrote to Olmsted. I think that I shall shortly be able to start work again and will see whether anything can be made out of China. The affair is bound to yield some interesting military aspect.[e] But no hope of that so long as I have to slave away in the office until 8 o'clock each evening and can't start work till 10 o'clock, after SUPPER, etc., etc., is over. At present I have to be at the office by 10 o'clock in the morning at the very latest and ACCORDINGLY go to bed at about one. *C'est embêtant!*[f] Just when one has really got into one's stride, one has to go to bed; *cela ne va pas. Enfin, nous verrons.*[g] This summer things have got to be reorganised, otherwise there'll be a rumpus at the office. I intend to organise myself in such a way that I work from 10 to 5 or 6 and then leave and be damned to the business.

Warm regards to your wife and children. You are all well, I hope?

*Tout à toi.*[h]

F. E.

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[a] L. Mieroslawski, *De la nationalité polonaise dans l'équilibre européen*. - [b] J. Lelevel, *Histoire de Pologne*, Tomes I-II. - [c] junior - [d] This probably refers to a report from Paris in *The Times*, No. 22624. 10 March 1857. - [e] F. Engels, 'The New English Expedition in China'. - [f] It's a nuisance! - [g] that won't do. Well, we shall see. - [h] All yours.

## 50

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 18 March [1857]
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

You must excuse me for not having acknowledged receipt of the £5 or of your letter before now. My wife is very unwell and our domestic arrangements generally are in such a state of crisis that I am quite bemused and cannot write.

*Guardians* received today. No answer yet from the *New-York Tribune*. The only thing I could say to Olmsted, of course, was that if he had failed to place the article[60] with Harper, he should send it back.

Proudhon's new book on economics, not yet to hand, has already run into 7 editions.[a]

How Miquel could believe I could write for the *Jahrhundert* is beyond my comprehension—a weekly rag whose contributors are Ruge, L. Simon, Meyen, B. Oppenheim, M. Hess, etc. I haven't read any of it but have seen the cover of No. 1, Vol. 2, on which is printed the following *list of contents*: 'Nach dem Kriege, vor der Entscheidung. IV. Von Arnold Ruge'. 'Briefe aus Paris, der Schweiz und London' (i.e., L. Simon, Kolatschek, Meyen). 'Der Geist unserer Zeit; zum Neujahrsgruss. Von Arnold Ruge'. 'Naturwissenschaft und Gesellschaftslehre. V. Von M. Hess'. 'Erziehung zum Glauben und Erziehung zur Humanität'. 'Notiz'.

Edgar Bauer is putting out a book, *Englische Eindrücke*.[b] Should be splendid.

I shall find out the price of Mieroslawski's and Lelewel's books (the latter's first volume nothing but a children's history).[c]

Concerning the blackguard—Bob Lowe—I have no information at present, but might find out something this week. He's the kind

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[a] P. J. Proudhon, *Manuel du spéculateur à la bourse*. - [b] E. Bauer, *Englische Freiheit*. - [c] L. Mieroslawski, *De la nationalité polonaise dans l'équilibre européen*; J. Lelevel, *Histoire de Pologne*. Tome I: 1. *L'Histoire de la Pologne racontée par un oncle à ses neveux*.

of fellow who would have been at home in the Société du dix Décembre.[138]

Every day brings fresh revelations about Pam's 'liberal' foreign policy. First, the 'SECRET TREATY' with Austria.[139] Now, the fact that he has given Bonaparte his word to suppress any kind of revolution in Naples. The latter, however, wanted this done only in so far as a 'Murat' restoration[140] was not subsumed under the heading 'revolution'. It was this 'MISUNDERSTANDING' which scuppered the Naples expedition.[103] In the COMMONS yesterday Pam denied the charge in a very 'AMBIGUOUS MANNER'.[a] But this week is likely to see the appearance of further documents which will give him the lie.

The Russians haven't acted with quite their usual circumspection this time. The first Continental paper since the crisis in Parliament[134] to defend Pam as a 'TRULY BRITISH MINISTER'[141] is the *Nord,* which usually affects a fanatical hatred of Pam. Even the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* speaks of 'UNPRINCIPLED COALITION'.

The *Persian* affair has fizzled out as I supposed: England has gained *nothing,* apart from a few nominal concessions; rather she has given way to the Persian court on the main issue.[129] Russia, on the other hand, has obtained a small piece of territory, as Layard yesterday confided to the gaping COCKNEYS. Needless to say, he did not have the courage to place these two FACTS in their correct causal nexus. He also repeated the assertion (already made by Disraeli in the Lower House without eliciting a word from Pam in reply) that, during the war with Russia, Pam *forbade* the Persians to take an offensive stand against the Russians as had been their intention. For at the time the fellows had hopes of recapturing the provinces that had been wrested from them. He had had the same admonition conveyed to them at the time of the Polish revolution (1830).

In order to assess correctly the Persian, as also the Chinese fracas, both should be compared with Pam's earlier doings in these REGIONS, since both are merely repetitions.[142] So long as he was at the helm, the first Chinese war was conducted in such a way that it could have gone on for 100 years without any result save an increase in the RUSSIAN OVERLAND TEA-TRADE and a growth of Russian influence in Pekin. It was only under Sir Robert Peel that this war was given an 'English' twist by Ellenborough.

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[a] An account of Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons was published in *The Times,* No. 22631, 18 March 1857.

It is to be hoped—and is indeed probable—that this time a parliament will be returned which will pledge itself to nothing save passive obedience to Pam. The dissolution of the former parties expressed as a *coalition ministry*, like that of Aberdeen,[143] seemed rather to make the MIDDLE CLASS feel able to rest on its laurels than to alarm it. This same dissolution expressed as *Pam's dictatorship* is bound to lead, not only to the most gratifying fiascos and complications abroad, but also to the most violent agitation if not to revolution at home. The old boy, who was partly responsible for the Manchester '*massacre en miniature*' and helped to draw up the 6 'GAGGING ACTS',[144] won't so much as turn a hair. *Mutatis mutandis*, Pam's DICTATORSHIP will be to the coalition ministry what the rule of the Royalists, who coalesced in the last French *Assemblée*, was to the rule of Bonaparte.[145] In England, things will at last be brought to a head.

Apropos *Bangya*. Since 1855 this same Bangya has been Sefer Pasha's *adlatus*.[a] He has married the daughter of a Circassian chief (which must be equally gratifying to his lawful wife in Pest and his unlawful one in Paris), and is now himself a Circassian chief. Through his connections in London he has recruited 300 Poles and shipped them to the BLACK SEA together with supplies of ammunition, etc. According to the news in the papers, they have run the gauntlet of the Russian CRUISERS and safely reached Sefer Pasha. WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THAT? The fellow, realising that his role was played out in the West, has embarked on a new one in the Orient. Whether again as a democratic *mouchard*[b] or in good faith is another question.

Write soon, as your letters are now essential TO [help me] PLUCK UP. The SITUATION is horrible.

*Salut* (to Lupus as well).

Your
K. M.

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[a] aide - [b] informer

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 20 March 1857

Dear Marx,

It had already occurred to me that you might once again be in something of a hole. Whatever can be done by me, will be done. If at all possible I'll send you another five-pound note next week or, if I can't get hold of one, a POST OFFICE ORDER. In the latter case, be sure to let me know at what POST OFFICE I should make it payable. I've had very heavy debts to pay this month, with people tracking me down to the office, so that there was no option but to stump up. Otherwise you'd have had the five pounds straight away. It's lucky, by the way, that this parliament business has begun, with China thrown in for good measure[134]; at this juncture the *Tribune* will need help again and will be forced to come to TERMS.

I've been sounding the *Guardian* chap about the possibility of making contact with REVIEWS and MAGAZINES up here. But this chap, too, seems to be hunting round in the hope of fixing up something for himself and there's not much to be got out of him. However, I shall see. Since he knows my opinion of Palmerston and declares it to be PREPOSTEROUS he is all the less likely to give us a recommendation *in politicis*.[a] All the same, I have a certain HOLD ON THE FELLOW but as yet haven't devised any way of exploiting it.

I share your view of Palmerston's intentions and prospects in the new parliament. Bonapartist despotism wielded by Pam together with a Corps législatif.[123] We shall see what that leads to.

According to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*,[b] the Circassians (which, not specified) have actually appointed Bangya 'head of the house'; he was selected for this snug berth precisely because he is a foreigner, so that none of the native chiefs could complain of having been slighted. What has become of Sefer Pasha (a man of quite a different stamp to Kościelski) is far from clear. I regard the whole thing as a stroke of genius on the part of the Russians, and we shall probably hear no more of the 300 Polish Spartans.[146]

The *Nord* must have changed its mind again. The *Guardian*'s Brussels correspondent quotes passages that are violently anti-

[a] as far as politics are concerned - [b] 'Pera. 20 Febr.', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 63, 4 March 1857.

Palmerston. Can you let me have the most relevant bit? That sort of thing never comes my way here and in any controversy I must always have CHAPTER AND VERSE immediately to hand.

While putting my old newspapers in order recently, I discovered the loss of one of the main bundles of *English* papers and cuttings from the *Guardian, Free Press,* etc., etc. Nothing, luckily, connected with our party archives—they are safely stored away. But *everything,* with a few exceptions, *relating to Palmerston*—Tucker's pamphlets,[147] the cuttings containing your articles you had sent me (many of these are also being sat on by Lupus, etc.). I needed and was looking for them precisely in order to refresh my memory as to detail. Have you got any duplicates you could send me, likewise the full text of your articles which appeared in Urquhart's *London* paper[61]? These should be fairly easy to get hold of. I would find the things particularly handy just now.

Bob Lowe's prospects up here are poor. Some of the philistines have come out against Bright; however I believe he will scrape through this time. Lowe will make an ass of himself as soon as he arrives here. But it would be splendid were he to get in.[136]

Warm regards to your wife and children. Write again soon and tell me how your wife is.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[20]

IN MANCHESTER

London, 24 March 1857
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

Herewith some anti-Palmerstoniana, viz.: 1. *Betrayal of England,* 2 COPIES. (*NB.* The self-same Coningham who here reproduces

excerpts from Anstey's speech[a] is now an ultra-PALMERSTONIAN candidate in Brighton.) 2. *TUCKER-PAMPHLETS,*[147] 8 COPIES. 3. *Anstey's speech.*[b] 4. *Palmerston for Premier.* 5. *Palmerston in Three Epochs.*[c] (With the exception of the *Hungarian* affair, cribbed from Urquhart, the remainder has been lifted by Mr Wilks—just like him, of course—from my articles in the *Tribune.*[148]) No need for you to preserve numbers 1 and 2; but possibly numbers 3, 4 and 5. Tomorrow, if I can find them, I shall send a few other pamphlets. AS TO THE *Nord,* note that the *Post* itself (in one of the numbers appearing between 4 and 9 March) carried the article I have mentioned.[d] Later, however, it changed its tune.

Now for PRIVATE AFFAIRS. *D'abord*[e] a letter has arrived from the *Tribune,* which I shall send you as soon as I have answered it. My threat to write to another paper has worked after all, at least up to a point. Despite its *very friendly* tone, the letter shows that I was not mistaken about these gentlemen. For what they propose is to pay for *one article* a week, whether or not they print it; the *second* I send at my own risk, and draw on it *if* printed. Thus they are *au fait*[f] cutting me down by one half. However I shall *agree* to it and *must agree to it.* Also, if things in England take the course I think they will, it won't be long before my income reaches its former level again.

I'm very sorry that, in the meantime, I must continue to depend on you, having so greatly fallen into arrears that everything that could be pawned has been pawned and the drop in income cannot be made up until I have found some new resource. On top of that, and since I cannot after all withhold the FACT from you, my wife is IN HIGHLY INTERESTING CIRCUMSTANCES. However, all I intended in my last was to explain why I hadn't answered for so long—*certainly not* ANYTHING ELSE. You will understand that even the most equable of men—and in a mess such as this I do INDEED possess a great deal of equanimity—will sometimes lose patience and let himself go, especially vis à vis his friends.

I should be most grateful if you could let me have a few *'humorous'* LINES, SAY 50 OR 100 ONES, on the Orlandian bravery[g] evinced by the English in Persia and before Canton.[134] The Bushire expedition,[149] as you will have seen, pivoted mainly on the

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[a] Coningham made use of Th. Anstey's speeches delivered during the debates in the House of Commons from 8 February to 1 March 1848. - [b] in the House of Commons on 23 February 1848 - [c] by W. Wilks - [d] 'From Our Own Correspondent. Brussels, March 6', *The Morning Post,* No. 25955, 9 March 1857 (see also this volume, p. 107). - [e] First - [f] in effect - [g] L. Ariosto, *L'Orlando furioso.*

espionage of one Captain Jones, who was sent to Bushire under FALSE PRETENCES as POLITICAL AGENT. Probably more tomorrow, as I want to send you the pamphlets today.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

*NB.* It does after all make a difference whether one stages a coup d'état first and elections afterwards, or elections first with a subsequent coup d'état in view. Without doubt Palmerston, or at least his PAPERS, have OVERDONE THEIR PART. Take the *Advertiser*, for instance, wallowing in filth up to its eyebrows. This has, OF COURSE, evoked a measure of reaction.

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## 53

## MARX TO COLLET DOBSON COLLET

IN LONDON

[Draft] [London,] 25 March 1857

Dear Sir,

Enclosed Chapter V of the diplomatic relations.[61] The forwarding of the gratification due for the printed contributions would oblige me. Should your time permit, you would oblige me by calling at my house any day except Friday. I have to communicate you some highly important information.[a]

The illness of Mrs Marx does not allow me seeing you at Ampton-place.

Yours truly
etc.

Mr D. Collet

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[a] Here Marx crossed out the words 'respecting Circassia' (a reference to the revealing material on J. Bangya which Marx included in his article 'A Traitor in Circassia').

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 31 March 1857
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

Received the £5.

I should like you to send me some *Manchester Examiners* if convenient. The BRIGHT PARTY'S EXPLANATIONS are of interest to me just now. It is only through their defeat that the election has acquired any historical POINT.[134] Palmerston's position will become dangerous only now, when he has a commanding majority inside Parliament, whereas outside Parliament there is a recrudescence—for the first time since the Anti-Corn Law League[150]—of SERIOUS ANTI-MINISTERIAL AGITATION. England is entering upon a *sérieuse* crisis—as *The Times* already intimates, with its reference to the CLOUD WHICH IT SEES GATHERING[a]—and if the MOVE is resumed on the Continent, John Bull will not maintain the stance of supercilious detachment he adopted in 1848. Pam's victory marks the culmination of events which began in June 1848.[151] Amongst the more intelligent members of the London PUBLIC the news from Manchester, accompanied as it was by a commentary in the shape of Pam's brazen address and speech,[b] was greeted with a kind of stupefaction. Seen from here—and all are unanimous on this point—Manchester has brought disgrace, serious disgrace, upon itself. Had *Punch* not been bought by Pam—*Taylor*, a chief editor thereof, has been given a post at the General Board of Health at a salary of £1,000—Potter, Turner, and Garnett, at any rate, would have figured in it next Wednesday. Send me some particulars about these laddies and their WHEREABOUTS.

Mr Dronke has written to Freiligrath telling him that he 'will break with his Jew and set up as an independent agent'.

I have provided Urquhart with some notes on Bangya[c]—in view of the latter's connections with Constantinople and Circassia.

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[a] 'Sir De Lacy Evans is the first-born...', *The Times*, No. 22641, 30 March 1857 (leader). - [b] Palmerston's speech before the electors of Tiverton published in *The Times*, No. 22641, 30 March 1857. - [c] K. Marx, 'A Traitor in Circassia'.

Enclosed a cutting from *Reynolds* about the editor of *The Morning Advertiser*—Mr Grant. Every word of it true.

Also Dana's letter. Let me have it back. In his enumeration of the articles published he mentions only the last ones,[a] and even some of these he didn't publish until 5 or 6 weeks after their arrival in New York when he saw that things were taking a new turn.[152] His proposal *re* money is the best possible indication that I was not mistaken about the gentleman's intentions. His remark about the length of the articles suits me well. I shall have all the less to send. What strikes me, though, is that for months past he has been able to find 2 or 3 columns for the most insipid London GOSSIP.

In Prussia too there is a minor parliamentary crisis. Once AGAIN the dictum 'Geniality leaves off where money matters begin'[153] would seem to be proving true there.

It seems highly probable that the Swiss will agree to expel all the refugees.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Did you take note of the bubbles that burst last week—the Australian Agricultural Company, the London and Eastern Bank, and the North of Europe Steam Company, one of the directors being Mr Peto?

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## 55

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 31 March 1857

Dear Marx,

You will have received the £5 note, K/S 84562, this morning. As regards 'depending on' me, don't give it another thought. I should

[a] K. Marx, 'The Anglo-Persian War', 'The Maritime Commerce of Austria'.

take umbrage if you were *not* to inform me when the SOVEREIGNS' armed intervention is required. I shall see how my finances go in April; I think I shall be able to manage a bit more during the second half, at any rate.

The *Tribune*'s proposal is most cunning and, since the chaps are practically *certain* to print only one article a week, I shouldn't send two save on special occasions such as the present elections, etc., etc. However, circumstances will come to your aid, and in all probability the good Yankees will have no reason to complain about the DULLNESS OF EUROPEAN POLITICS this summer and autumn, while their own merry-go-round will gradually come to a halt.

I have hardly followed the Persian and Chinese military ventures[a] at all, indeed there has been a great dearth of detail. About Captain Jones I know nothing. It would now be utterly impossible to get together the necessary material, but when we get fuller news about the last big cavalry attack in Persia I shall see what can be done.

The pamphlets have arrived.[b] If only I could get hold of your old *Tribune* articles![148] Most of the stuff is in them. Washington Wilks[c] and *Palmerston for Premier* contain only generalities, and Chisholm Anstey's speech[d] is fearfully *décousu*[e] though very important, more especially by reason of the personal matters relating to the *Portfolio*[154] but also, here and there, by reason of its contents. The only really cogent pamphlets are your two Tucker pamphlets, especially *Unkiar Skelessi*.[147] If you can supply me with any more material, *tant mieux*.[f] I have taken steps to improve the storage arrangements.

The eight thousand philistines who voted for the fattest man in Manchester (Potter) because he makes up for his lack of brains by the size of his bottom, are already ashamed of their victory. All the same, the elections have made an enormous impression here, and the 'Manchester' Party[134] is beginning to take stock of its performance over the past 6 years and to discover in what it has failed. I don't think we shall hear very much more of PEACE-PARTY TALK[155] for the time being, while on the other hand Bright (*if* he rallies) will, with one or two others, undoubtedly advocate a more far-reaching electoral reform and, before long, Jones may well receive some propositions from these bourgeois. For Pam the most gratifying thing must be his triumph over Bright, Gibson, Cobden,

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[a] A reference to the Anglo-Persian war of 1856-57 and the second Opium War, 1856-60. - [b] See this volume, pp. 110-11. - [c] W. Wilks, *Palmerston in Three Epochs*. - [d] in the House of Commons on 23 February 1848 - [e] disjointed - [f] so much the better

Miall and Fox (Oldham); I am inclined to believe that the fellow will get a WORKING MAJORITY of 60-100. But be that as it may, *nous aurons du Palmerston tout pur,*[a] and WITH A VENGEANCE

I've found one of the passages from the *Nord* in *The Morning Post,* but only eulogising his abilities.[b] The one in which he appears as a 'TRULY BRITISH MINISTER'[141] is not to be found.

Our local Palmerstonians and bourgeois offered Bob Lowe, should he be defeated here, the sum of *£2,000* to cover his election expenses in some other wretched hole. The ass refused, preferring the safety of Kidderminster, only to be trounced there. But never again will he be able to come to Manchester; he has behaved like a real blackguard—first he allows the philistines to compromise themselves on his behalf, then cries off and, *at the same time,* writes an article for *The Times* in which he says it would be scandalous if Manchester were *not* to return Bright.[c]

This time Philistia was tremendously divided. The vast majority of the bourgeoisie, a small majority of the lower-middle class, against Bright and Gibson. Quakers[156] and Catholics for Bright to a man; the Greeks likewise; the *established* Germans against him. A drunken anti-Bright man shouted: 'WE WON'T HAVE HOME POLICY, WE WANT FOREIGN POLICY.' What the rationale of the local elections more or less amounts to is: To hell with all questions of reform and class matters. After all, we philistines form the majority of voters, *cela suffit.*[d] The clamour against the aristocracy, etc., is tedious and produces no tangible result. WE DEARLY LOVE A LORD FOR ALL THAT. We've got FREE TRADE and as much *bourgeois* social reform as we require. We're flourishing like mad, especially since Pam reduced war INCOME TAX. So let's all foregather on territory where we are all equal, and let's be ENGLISHMEN, John Bulls, under the leadership of that TRULY BRITISH MINISTER Pam. Such is the present mood of the majority of philistines.

What is piquant about the business up here is the burial of the Anti-Corn Law League[150]; Smith P. Robinson (HON. SEC.) and George Wilson, 'THAT RESPECTABLE FIXTURE' are being thrown out of Newalls Buildings[157] and the GREAT LIBERAL PARTY is casting about for a new organisation. G. Wilson loses his snug berth and his status on the strength of which he rose to be CHAIRMAN of the Lancashire and Yorkshire railways at a salary of £1,000 per annum—another snug berth that will soon go west, permitting

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[a] we shall have unadulterated Palmerston - [b] 'From Our Own Correspondent. Brussels, March 6', *The Morning Post,* No. 25955, 9 March 1857. - [c] 'One of the greatest advantages...', *The Times,* No. 22634, 21 March 1857. - [d] that suffices

Wilson to go back to starch manufacturing as in the days of PROTECTION. But your Manchester philistine—even if a partisan of Bright—heaves a sigh of relief at the long-awaited demise of that old incubus, THE LEAGUE[136]!

Apropos, I believe that the Ch. Anstey pamphlet contains only a small part of Pam's reply[a]—the debate lasted 4 days. Couldn't you get hold of the rest? And could you send me a copy of Urquhart's new rag, *The Free Press*[99] or whatever it's called? What is there in it by you?

NB. You might also, *s'il y a lieu*,[b] send me the titles of anything else *of any use* concerning the Pam affair; I could then get them myself up here.

Hearty congratulations on your family prospects. What are the girls doing? They must be quite big by now. I look forward very much to seeing them at Whitsun. Warm regards to them and your wife.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 2 April 1857

D. M.,

Potter is a great big, enormously fat fellow, aged about 46 years, red haired and red faced, has been mayor of Manchester 3 times, VERY JOLLY, HAS NO BRAINS, but plenty of belly and bottom, introduced robes into the corporation here on the occasion OF THE QUEEN'S VISIT, for which he was dubbed a knight, is a lifelong whoremonger (a

[a] Engels presumably refers to the pamphlet *The Betrayal of England*, compiled of Anstey's speeches in the House of Commons debate lasting from 8 February to 1 March 1848. - [b] if called for

BACHELOR still), on particularly intimate terms with the celebrated Miss Chester (*alias* Polly Evans) whose brothel he has twice fitted out and towards whose LAW EXPENSES he allegedly contributed £50 when she appeared before the Liverpool Assizes on a charge of abortion and was acquitted. A man who will greatly please the COUNTRY SQUIRES and whose reputation rests solely on the fact that his father, Sir Thomas Potter, KNIGHT, was once leader of the local liberal movement and introduced Milner Gibson here. He himself is popular with whores, CAB-DRIVERS, PUBLICANS, street urchins and the less respectable variety of philistine GENERALLY. While he was MAYOR the police left the whores in peace. Views—moderate liberal.

J. A. Turner is a respectable philistine who has never forgotten that he once went bankrupt and who, within his restricted circle, makes himself *plus ou moins*[a] useful as chairman of the COMMERCIAL ASSOCIATION (the rival of the more liberal CHAMBER OF COMMERCE). Might also gain some influence in the House of Commons by his detailed knowledge of commercial questions. Is a Tory (moderate) and very rich. His elder son, Jack Turner, COMMONLY CALLED THE FAT BOY, is a great toper and a good billiards player. His second, an impudent lad, is a FOXHUNTER with considerable pretensions to good horsemanship, an ugly mug and red moustache. To the horror of his family, he married the ballet dancer Annie Payne.[158]

Your
F. E.

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## 57

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 9 April 1857
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

You must excuse me for being so late in answering. For a fortnight my wife has been in worse health than for many months

[a] more or less

past, and there has been great TROUBLE in the house. Be so good as to let me have Dana's letter back.

I am sending you through the parcels company a small bottle of eye lotion. Cornelius brought me a bottle of it from Paris, where he had had trouble with his eyes. For several weeks I had myself been suffering from inflammation of the eyes due to intensive work at night. The lotion put me right within a few days and will do you a similar service. All you have to do is put a few drops into the bad eye on getting up and on going to bed.

Conrad Schramm has died in Philadelphia of a chest complaint. I hear that in New York the *Neue Zeit* announcing his death has published an obituary of sorts. I haven't yet seen it.[159]

The apparent improvement on the Stock Exchanges is again petering out. Bank rate is rising again. Crédit mobilier[45] and French *rentes* are again going DOWN, while revelations of commercial sharp practice by joint stock companies in London and Paris are becoming increasingly frequent. In the latter place, I'm glad to say, the government is directly involved. You have, I suppose, read about the row between Péreire and Féline? I'd have copied it out for you had I not assumed that *The Manchester Guardian*'s [woman] correspondent CHRONICLES everything of that nature. I now see the Paris *Figaro* from time to time, the only *real* journal of the Empire; it has cast off all semblance of respectability.

I don't know whether I have already drawn your attention to the two new pieces of evidence against Pam. First, Herbert told his CONSTITUENTS in *South Wilts*[a] that he had given orders for the bombardment of Odessa[160]; upon his resigning, Pam sent an order written with his own hand to SPARE it. Secondly, Russell told the City electorate[b] that Palmerston had given him written instructions on how to conduct himself at the Congress of Vienna,[161] instructions which Clarendon forbade him to make public and in the execution of which LITTLE JOHN so splendidly BROKE DOWN. It's typical of old Pam to keep harping in *his* newspapers on Herbert's Odessa TREASON (it was Pam's popular rag, the *Advertiser*, that first drew attention to Herbert's family ties with Vorontsov[c]) and on Russell's Vienna TREASON.[162]

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[a] An account of S. Herbert's speech, delivered on 19 March, was published in *The Times*, No. 22633, 20 March 1857. - [b] An account of Russell's speech, delivered on 27 March, was published in *The Times*, No. 22640, 28 March 1857. - [c] 'The Sham Blockade of Russia', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19832, 12 January 1855.

I shall search out more anti-Palmerstoniana for you. Pam's speech against Anstey (a fat pamphlet) ought to be in my possession if Pieper hasn't pinched it from me. Lengthier works are Parish, *Diplomatic History of Greece* and Urquhart, *Central Asia.*[a] On the first topic you might also read the EXPOSITIONS by Thiersch[b] and Maurenbrecher[c] which came out in 1836 (?). (It's a long time since I set eyes on them.) Of all the *Blue Books,*[38] the one that has impressed me most strongly is that on the second Syro-Turkish War.[d]

I've only had 5 articles in *The Free Press.*[61] Liebknecht, etc., have filched them from me. However I'll get them together for you. In the last one I used the text of one of your articles, in which you speak of Peter I.[163] I've only just completed the introduction. But at first the chaps dragged their feet for months. Later, they brought it out rather more quickly. But now, when the first payment is due, I dun them in vain. If they don't do better on this POINT than hitherto, I shall have to sever the CONNECTION ALTOGETHER. They have given me a new contract, but what good is a contract to me if they don't abide by it *in puncto puncti*[e]?

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Regards to Lupus. Tell him that in Grimm[f] I have found the scientific derivation of Farina, the Eau de Cologne manufacturer, viz. Sanscrit: *vâri*[g]—Gen. *vârinas.*

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[a] *Diplomatic Transactions in Central Asia...* - [b] Fr. Thiersch, *De l'état actuel de la Grèce...* - [c] It has not been established which work by Maurenbrecher Marx had in mind. - [d] *Correspondence 1839-1841, Relative to the Affairs of the East, and the Conflict Between Egypt and Turkey* - [e] to the letter - [f] J. Grimm, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache.* - [g] water

## 58

## ENGELS TO JENNY MARX[164]

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 16 April 1857]

Dear Mrs Marx,

Herewith the article,[a] and at the same time 4 *Guardians*. A new map of London has now at last enabled me to locate your Grafton Terrace. You really are right out in the country, at the foot of Hampstead Hills and, if the hachures on the map are correct, in a highly romantic district. But if the result is nothing but ill-health, toothaches, swellings of the head and digestive upsets, it doesn't say much for country air and romanticism. At all events, I hope that both you and the Moor are by now feeling very much better.

Lupus suggests that the Moor's etymology of Farina is quite wrong and that the Sanscrit *vârinas* is, rather, the root of Varina shag.[b] This answer will certainly come as no surprise to the Moor and should therefore not be withheld from him. A new chapter is about to open in old Lupus' life. Don't be alarmed—it isn't marriage. On the contrary, it's divorce, for he's leaving the LANDLADY he's been with for 3 years, and moving closer to where I live. The old gent is now very popular with a group of German clerks who come to the Chatsworth from time to time, and over whom he presides with great dignity every Sunday night. They simply couldn't live without Lupus, any more than the English philistines who patronise the pub.

All eyes up here are fixed on fat Potter in anticipation of the day when he seconds the address in Parliament; a fine spectacle that will be!

Again, best wishes for your recovery. Warm regards to the girls—the air out there will undoubtedly suit them better. How they must have grown!

With warm regards,

Your

F. Engels

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[a] F. Engels, 'Changes in the Russian Army'. - [b] See previous letter.

## 59

## MARX TO ENGELS[82]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 April 1857

Dear Engels,

Be so kind as to write *by return*, telling me how to reply to the enclosed letter from Dana.[165] I must send off an answer by Friday's post.

By following Christ's precept 'if thy tooth offend thee, pluck it out',[a] I have at last found relief, at the same time discovering that this wretched tooth was the source of all the other ailments that have been plaguing me for months. You have located our house correctly. The title of Mr Edgar's[b] book is not *Englische Eindrücke* but *Englische Freiheit*.[c] 1/4 of it is said to be about Mormonism. The whole claims to provide the physiognomy OR, IF YOU LIKE, physiology of the national character. I haven't read any of it. Will write to you IN SOME DAYS.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, 22 April 1857][166]

Dear Moor,

This business of the Cyclopaedia[165] has come as a real boon to me, and to you too, no doubt. *Voilà enfin*[d] a prospect of making good your loss of earnings and, for me, a prospect of a regular

[a] Cf. Matthew 5:29, 30 - [b] Edgar Bauer's - [c] See this volume, p. 106. - [d] At last there's

occupation in the evenings. *La paix allait me démoraliser*[a]; ever since there have been no more articles to write for the *Tribune* I have been doing far too much loafing, for which there is every inducement up here. As to the *militaria*, Dana must provide an immediate answer to the following questions:

1. How many volumes, roughly, will the whole amount to and how far does he propose to get in Vol. 1 or Vols. 1 and 2?

2. Are the military articles to be confined primarily to defining technical terms, e.g. ARTILLERY, CASTRAMETATION, COLUMN, with historical notes and a brief synopsis of the individual branches of military science—thus e.g. artillery: 1. Definition. 2. History and present state. 3. Résumé of the branches of the modern science of artillery (gunnery, personnel, transport, use in the field and before fortresses, etc., etc.)?

3. Or is the intention to have additional articles on military history, e.g. under the HEAD Austerlitz, Arbela, etc., etc., brief *comptes rendus*[b] of the actual battles, and under Alexander, Caesar, Carnot, etc., etc., military biographies together with particulars in each case of any epoch-making progress?

Next, you must write to Steffen *at once* and ask him for the title or author of an encyclopaedia of military science, as short and complete as possible; one that has the most but also the shortest articles would be best, since all I want is to know at once what articles to do and to have the alphabetical material as complete and HANDY as possible. As soon as I have this I can start work on Letters A and B—perhaps even sooner, since I can do a lot of articles from *Brockhaus*[c] alone and a few more without it.

The PAY is quite profitable, even at $2 per large page; a lot of the stuff will only have to be copied or translated and the longer articles won't involve a great deal of work. I shall take a look at one or two English encyclopaedias straight away to see *what* military articles they contain, but then concentrate on *Brockhaus* which, after all, not only provides a better basis but is also more complete and is evidently looked upon by Dana as a model.

Should there be any philological sections for the taking, e.g. the Germanic languages, Middle High German, Old High German, etc., etc., literature (likewise in the Romance languages, especially Provençal), no harm would be done. Either the Jakob woman or Mr Gurowski will have taken on the Slav things; the former knows more about those languages than I do.

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[a] I was becoming demoralised by inactivity. - [b] accounts - [c] *Brockhaus' Konversations-Lexikon*

Which articles shall you be taking on? German philosophy, at any rate—biographies of modern English and French statesmen? Some financial pieces? Chartism? Communism? Socialism? Aristotle—Epicurus—Code Napoléon—and the like. Themes certainly harder to handle without any PARTY TENDENCY WHATEVER than the good old military stuff, where needless to say one always sides with the victor.

Take as many articles as you can and set up an office by degrees. Mr Pieper can toil away, too; he will do well enough for biographical pieces and will, at the same time, get some plain wholesome information into his genius' noddle. Lupus might also be prepared to do something in the early classical field; *je verrai!*[a]

Even though the work won't be very interesting (most of it, at any rate), I'm immensely tickled by the whole thing since it will mean an enormous LIFT for you. I was really hellish anxious this time about how the *Tribune* business would turn out, particularly when Dana tried to put you on half-pay. But now everything is going to be all right again and even though there's no immediate prospect of payment, it's still a very secure berth and one need have no qualms about doing one or two letters of the alphabet in advance; the money will arrive in its own good time.

Haven't you heard anything from Olmsted about *Putnam's*? I should very much like to have the article on Bazancourt[60]; maybe I can do something with it here through Acton. Apart from that there may be a possibility of doing something further with *Putnam's*—PROGRESS IN THE ART OF WAR, IMPROVEMENTS IN ARTILLERY, SMALL ARMS, etc., etc., SHIPS AGAINST STONE WALLS; I'm willing to do anything so long as the fellows undertake *to publish it.* Dana would certainly arrange it to make you less dependent on the *Tribune.* By the way, get the EDITOR of *Putnam's* to *write in person, cela vaut mieux.*[b]

You must also find out from Dana whether the articles should in general take up more or less space than e.g. in *Brockhaus*, and whether the whole is intended to be bigger or smaller than *Brockhaus.* Then we shall know what we are about. Also *when* they will pay—and by when the job must be completed. It's as well to know all this.

In your place I should offer to do the whole encyclopaedia alone; we could manage it all right. At all events, take whatever you can get. If we have 100 to 200 pages in each volume it won't be too much. We can easily supply that amount of 'unalloyed'

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[a] I shall see! - [b] that would be better

erudition so long as unalloyed Californian gold is substituted for it.

But now, warm regards to your wife and children; let me hear from you again soon.

Your
F. Engels

Most obliged for the eye lotion. I'm still having some trouble but think it's because I've recently been drinking more port than usual—DROP THAT!

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## 61

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 23 April 1857
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Fred,

I shall write to Dana not later than tomorrow. For me, the thing has come as a godsend, as you can imagine. It has also reassured my wife, which is important in her present SITUATION. I shall write to Steffen straight away (the fellow has changed his lodgings without notifying me, but is still in Brighton). Pieper, as you will remember from one of my previous letters,[a] has been a schoolmaster in Bognor since Christmas, AND I SHALL CERTAINLY LEAVE HIM THERE. He was becoming daily more vacuous, idle, useless and expensive. Under the iron rod of the parson in whose service he now is, he will again come to his senses. Moreover, the laddie left me just at a time when, because of my wife's condition, he thought himself indispensable and did not seem averse to the idea of my

[a] See this volume, p. 98.

pressing him to remain on more favourable terms. I DID NOTHING OF THE SORT but merely expressed my satisfaction at his having at long last found a post. In the event, it transpired that his 'indispensability' was merely a figment of his own imagination. My wife fulfils the function of secretary without all the BOTHER created by the noble youth. As tutor to the girls he was quite unsuitable. So both parties have benefited from the change and, if the fellow again becomes serviceable, as I am convinced he will, he'll be much fortified by the realisation that I do *not need* him in any way.

Hence there can be no question of setting up an office in London. There is no one here who is any good. It's possible—and this I shall know within a day or two—that Dana has approached Freiligrath direct. Our Freiligrath is again MALCONTENT with his post though it enables him to earn £300 very comfortably with little or nothing to do. What he finds tedious is, for one thing, the moaning and groaning of the shareholders, who vent their displeasure on him, and, for another, his admittedly ambiguous position, which places a great deal of responsibility on him while allowing him barely a semblance of autonomy. That, AT LEAST, is the interpretation he himself puts on his FEELINGS. What in fact LURKS beneath all this is, or so it seems to me, a general distaste for RESPONSIBILITY. A clerical post which would relieve him of it, as at Hood's, is and always will be his dream. Then, too, he is tormented by the conflict between his renown as a poet and the rate of exchange. So far as I can gather from his occasional CONFESSIONS, all these Crédits mobiliers[45] are privily assailed by considerable MISGIVINGS. He was assured by an old hand on the Stock Exchange that never, in a practice of 40 YEARS' STANDING, had he experienced a chronic state of crisis such as now prevails. I haven't yet got round to it, but some time I must really investigate the relationship between the rate of exchange and BULLION. The role played by money as such in determining the bank rate and the MONEY MARKET IS SOMETHING STRIKING AND QUITE ANTAGONISTIC TO ALL LAWS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. Worthy of note are the 2 newly published volumes of Tooke's *History of Prices*. A pity the old man's head-on collision with the CURRENCY PRINCIPLE chaps[132] should lead him to give such a one-sided TURN to all his disquisitions.

I wrote to Dana as much as a fortnight ago asking for the return of your Bazancourt.[60]

The Urquhartites—who have asked me to send them a detailed BILL—have paid me £10 on account[a]; this was most welcome, since

[a] See this volume, p. 120.

I owed that much to baker and butcher alone. The girls are growing up very quickly and their education, too, is becoming expensive. At the LADIES SEMINARY they frequent, they are having PRIVATE LESSONS with an Italian, a Frenchman and a DRAWING MASTER. Now I have also got to find a chap for music. They learn extraordinarily fast. The youngest one—the BABY[a]—is an astonishingly witty little thing and claims that SHE HAS GOT TWO BRAINS.

For my own part I would much prefer to supply Dana with articles on, say, Ricardo, Sismondi, etc. That sort of thing does at least admit of objective treatment from the Yankee point of view. German philosophy is difficult to write about in English. However, I shall suggest various things to Dana and leave the choice to him.

For the past six months I've been constantly having to call in the doctor for my wife. She is, indeed, very much run down.

Apropos. *Dr Freund has passed through the court of bankruptcy—assets £200, debts £3,000.*

The Bright and Cobden party cannot help but thrive now that Faucher is the foreign editor of their London paper, *The Morning Star.* I'm now on speaking terms with the chap since I can't help encountering him sometimes at Edgar Bauer's. The man considers himself the finest fellow in the world. 'Bruno Bauer has lost his self-confidence. He feels that it is I, not he, who will conquer Prussia.' He is A CURIOUS FREETRADER TOO, who doesn't even know what the MIDDLE CLASSES are. Prussia is, and ought to be, ruled by 'the officer and the student', 'I bowl over any English meeting at which I speak', 'I have made history. It was I who drew up Cobden's Canton MOTION',[167] to cite only a few of his tropes. The chap's a veritable Munchausen of mendacity, a veritable Ancient Pistol[b] of braggadocio, and once in 6 months it's amusing to listen to his boasting.

Have you—or Lupus—heard anything about a *Römische Geschichte* published somewhere near Heidelberg, which is said to contain much that is new[c]?

How goes it with the landlord of the Golden LION?

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] Eleanor Marx - [b] See W. Shakespeare, *King Henry IV, King Henry V* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor.* - [c] Th. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte,* Bd. 1-3.

# 62

## MARX TO ENGELS[20]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 May 1857

DEAR Frederick,

The £5 received.

Herewith a letter from Lassalle[a] which, when Lupus has seen it, you should return to me at the beginning of next week. What should I do about fellow? Reply or not reply? You'll be amused by the comical vanity of the laddie, who will do anything to become famous and, entirely without provocation, writes 75 sheets on Greek philosophy.[b]

I have written to Dana in exactly the terms you suggested. As regards your Bazancourt,[60] I had already urged him to return it. Steffen doesn't know of any book such as you require; he himself appears to be engaged on an English translation of Rüstow's *Cäsars Heerwesen.*

Pieper is on the point of falling back into his former foolishness. Has written me a 'genius's' letter. The enthusiasm—not the enthusiasm inspired in him by his new post, but that which he inspired in his new post *cum* attendant principal—appears AS USUALLY to have waned. He wishes to go to Switzerland as a 'courier', *or else* sever connections with his principal at midsummer and once again cut a dash in London with £20 in his pocket. When I next write I shall pour cold water on the genius. If he is ever to become 'serviceable' again this young man must endure the parson's lash for some while yet.

Have you read the Crédit mobilier's[45] last report? It was in *The Times.*[c] Indicates a DECLINE.

Pam AS REFORMER! He'll reform those boys WITH A VENGEANCE.

If you possibly can, write a military piece on Persia or China next week. My wife is drawing ever closer to the catastrophe and is finding her secretarial duties increasingly onerous.

As regards your toothache, I would advise you to have recourse to the same means as I did after eighteen months' hesitation. Pull

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[a] Lassalle's letter to Marx of 26 April 1857 - [b] Lassalle's *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos,* published later. - [c] 'The Crédit Mobilier of France', *The Times,* No. 22670, 2 May 1857.

the bugger out! I, too, always supposed my toothache to be rheumatic. Yet in the end a *corpus delicti* was discovered after all. When are you coming down here?

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

With the coming of spring the children always go down with various ailments. So it has been again, first the youngest[a] and Laura and now it's little Jenny's turn.

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## 63

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Monday, 11 May 1857

My dear Moor,

I return Lassalle's letter herewith. Effery eench the puerile Jew. What a pretty compilation it must be, likewise the thing that is going to 'set things alight' and about which he is so mysterious.[168]

We know, of course, that there is nothing to the fellow but it is difficult to find any positive reason for breaking with him, particularly as we have heard nothing further from the Düsseldorf workers.[b] From this letter he would appear to have ceased all intercourse with them, or rather they with him, since he finds nothing positive to say about how things are going with the workers in Germany. But whether he wouldn't again make use of a letter from you to regain some kudos in their eyes is another matter. In your place I should write to him—you can't very well do otherwise—but ask him outright how things stand with the workers' movement on the Rhine and especially in Düsseldorf, so

[a] Eleanor Marx - [b] See this volume, pp. 24-25.

working your letter that he will keep his mouth shut about it and must either *plus ou moins*[a] declare himself or be deterred from corresponding with you. Lupus was much amused by the letter but our discussion on the subject was interrupted. I should, by the way, also make a point of asking him how he comes to slip your letters into the hands of the police.

There is absolutely nothing to say about Persia; the campaign itself was rotten and the accounts are even more so. There was, of course, something to be said about China on the arrival of the last MAIL as there still is, but *now*, ten days after the last MAIL, it's too late to do anything. So I shall wait until the next MAIL arrives, when I shall at once set to work so that the article[b] will reach you in time for Friday or the following Tuesday. As far as possible, then, make your arrangements accordingly. I think the MAIL arrives at the end of this week.

WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH THE CHILDREN? I trust little Jenny is ALL RIGHT again. Warm regards to them all and also to your wife.

Your
F. E.

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## 64

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 20 May 1857

Dear Marx,

As you will no doubt see from the enclosed article,[b] it was written UNDER DIFFICULTIES. Each time I propose to do a *Tribune* article, it seems to bring out all the evil humours latent in my frame. On this occasion I'm sitting at home with linseed poultices on the left-hand side of my face in the hope of getting the better

[a] more or less - [b] F. Engels, 'Persia—China'.

of a nasty abscess; I've been put on a frugal diet and forbidden beer, but by good fortune ordered to take a glass of wine. It's alleged that I've been eating too much roast beef; at all events I have had continual trouble with my face for the past month—first toothache, then a swollen cheek, then more toothache and now the whole thing has blossomed out into a furuncle, as little Heckscher calls it. In addition, I have to drink mineral water and—great fun, this—go out at 7 o'clock each morning.

Everyone up here is an art lover just now and the talk is all of the pictures at the exhibition. The thing is proving *plus ou moins*[a] a FAILURE, financially, at any rate. Admittedly there are some very fine pictures, though most of those by the better or very best artists are no more than SECOND-RATE. Among the finest is a magnificent portrait of Ariosto by Titian. The later German and French schools very poor, hardly represented at all. Three-quarters consists of English trash. Best represented are the Spanish and Flemish and, after them, the Italians. *S'il y a moyen,*[b] you and your wife ought to come up this summer and see the thing. It wouldn't do to write about it for the *Tribune*; and I wouldn't know where to begin—the *Tribune* can find the usual chit-chat in any paper.

Lupus, as I believe I told you, has moved out and is again fighting the good fight with his LANDLADY. To make matters worse, his new LANDLADY was brought to bed a week after he moved in. Next door there's a chap who not only has a fiddle which he plays badly but also a French horn which he plays completely out of tune. Hence the study of the pedagogic sciences is attended by enormous difficulties, so that the old chap is spending more time than usual at the Chatsworth.

I shall be in London in a fortnight or 3 weeks' time, either during Whitsuntide or the week after.[169]

Warm regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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[a] more or less - [b] If possible

## 65

## MARX TO ENGELS[20]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 May 1857
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

It may be some consolation to you to learn that for the past 3 weeks right up to this very day, I have been submerged in pills and potions as a result of my old and, as I believe, hereditary LIVER COMPLAINTS. Only by dint of the utmost exertions have I been able to supply the 'goods'—for the *Tribune* I mean—being otherwise QUITE DISABLED. In order that my time should not be entirely wasted I have, *faute de mieux,*[a] been mastering the *dansk sprog*[b] and am presently applying myself to *Af mit Livs og min Tids Historie,* a colossal state haemorrhoid, *af*[c] (ex-minister) Ørsted. Opening oysters would be an altogether more amusing proposition. However, if the doctor's promises are anything to go by, I have prospects of becoming a human being again next week. Meanwhile I'm still as yellow as a quince, and vastly more crabbed.

As regards your own tribulations, I am firmly convinced that they all stem from a hollow tooth which ought to come out and which, by a series of concatenations, underlies all the other unpleasant symptoms. Heckscher will deny this, OF COURSE. However, when you come down here—which I greatly look forward to—it can do you no harm at least to accompany me to a really first-rate dentist and get him to examine your teeth. My view is based on the fact that two years ago, when I was suffering from very much the same trouble, Dr Freund also declared I had been eating too much meat, yet a few months ago a courageous visit to the dentist at last uncovered the source of the trouble. Your intermittent toothache is, of course, the main factor in my argument.

My wife expects to be confined at the end of the month, this time in not altogether agreeable CIRCUMSTANCES. It will be a long time now—another 3 weeks at very best—before I have accumulated enough to be able to draw on the *Tribune.* I tried to draw a bill on myself to cover the interim period, but failed with éclat. The

[a] for want of anything better - [b] Danish language - [c] by

actual HOUSEHOLD debts I can put off paying, but in the case of the rates this is possible only up to a certain point, and besides, the afore-mentioned circumstances call for certain preparations which have to be paid for on the nail.

As you will have seen in the papers, a second director of the Crédit mobilier[45]—the first was Place—viz. the BANKER Thurneyssen, has decamped leaving massive debts of ABOUT 30-40 million frs. This splendid institution's latest report[170]—that of 28 April ultimo[a]—reveals that, although the NET PROFIT still amounts to 23%, it has nevertheless fallen by about a half compared with 1855. According to Mr Péreire, the fall is due 1. to the *ordre* in the *Moniteur* of March 1856 by which Bonaparte forbade the Crédit to skim the cream off the excessive speculation then going on in France; 2. to the fact that, by an oversight, this *'ordre de la sagesse suprême'*[b] extended only to *sociétés anonymes*,[c] thus laying the Crédit open to highly improper competition in the shape of *sociétés de commandite*[d]; 3. to the crisis during the last 3 months of 1856. True, the Crédit sought to exploit that crisis to bring off a few financial *coups de main*, but was obstructed in this 'patriotic' work by the NARROW SELFISHNESS of the Banque de France and the syndicate of Paris BANKERS headed by Rothschild; 4. Bonaparte has still not permitted them to make the statutory ISSUE of 600 millions in paper money of their own devising. *That issue is still looming in the future.* Péreire seems to be exerting severe pressure on Bonaparte. Should the latter shrink from giving his authorisation, a MIDDLE COURSE would seem to be envisaged, namely to turn the Banque de France into the instrument of the Crédit by loftier means, i. e. new draft legislation. From this report it further transpires that the Crédit's business is still vastly disproportionate to its capital and that it has used the capital loaned by the public exclusively to further its gambles on the Bourse. As a quasi-state institution of Bonaparte's on the one hand, the Crédit mobilier declares that it is called upon to maintain the prices of FUNDS, SHARES, BONDS, in short, of all securities on the national Bourse, by advancing the money borrowed from the public to COMPANIES or INDIVIDUAL STOCK-JOBBERS for their operations on the Bourse. As a 'private institution', on the other hand, its main business consists in speculating on the rises *and* falls in the stock-market. Péreire reconciles this contradiction by something Moses Hess might well call 'social philosophy'.[171]

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[a] Published in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 120, 30 April 1857 and *The Times*, No. 22670, 2 May 1857 (see this volume, p. 128). - [b] order of the supreme wisdom - [c] joint-stock companies - [d] joint-stock companies with limited liability

I have omitted only one or two small items from your China-Persia article,[a] and altered an expression here and there. I agree with the whole thing, only I don't think that the troops stationed in Persia will be sent to China so soon. The treaty expressly stipulates that they will not leave Persia until the Persians evacuate Herat.[129] Pam won't spare them the hot season. That his instructions in this respect were again highly 'incomprehensible' would seem to follow from the fact that the Governor-General of India—Canning—tendered his resignation at the same time as the British general and the British admiral[b] committed suicide. Meanwhile, as announced in the *Vienna* newspapers, the main object has been attained. Persia has ceded two STRIPS OF LAND to Russia.

I have heard from Mickel[c] and shall send you his letter one of these days. Trusting I shall soon hear that you are fit and well again.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 66

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 May 1857

Dear Engels,

The enclosed arrived from Dana this morning. It puzzles me how the Yankee can expect the stuff for Vol. I[165] to be in New York by the beginning of July if he doesn't let us know what he wants until the end of May.

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[a] F. Engels, 'Persia—China'. - [b] Stalker and Etheridge - [c] Johannes Miquel

You might reconsider which articles one should offer to do, apart from the military. Philosophical stuff is, in fact, too badly paid and also difficult when it has TO BE DONE IN ENGLISH. Do you know if there happens to be any German or French book on the biographies of big industrialists?

I'm equally puzzled as to how aesthetics is to be dealt with in 1 PAGE, FUNDAMENTALLY, and on a Hegelian basis.

Does Lupus feel inclined to take something on?

Enclosed also a letter from Miquel. I do not, in fact, understand his theory of 'non-overproduction' and yet of 'lack of the wherewith to pay for production', unless it be that the utterly superficial blather of the utterly wretched CURRENCY chaps [132] has taken root in Germany.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 67

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 May 1857

Dear Marx,

Dana must be out of his mind to stipulate 1 page for aesthetics. Nor has the chap any inkling of military matters. See list of articles overleaf, occurring to me exclusively from *Brockhaus* and from memory. But since I must first check it against an *English* military encyclopaedia it can't be final; how could anyone remember all the technical expressions which in English begin with A? Apropos, there is an encyclopaedia of this kind by a hack of the most wretched variety, one J. H. Stocqueler.[a] Could you make inquiries about price, scope, etc., etc.?

[a] J. H. Stocqueler, *The Military Encyclopaedia.*

And then, if you please, he wants to have the articles—of the desired thoroughness and brevity—over there by 1 July. Once again, typical Yankee. Anyway, it proves that they are counting more on SHOW than on real substance, as is already evident from the $2 per page.

Send Dana the list—*as a provisional one*—and point out that since it's impossible to work ON SPECULATION at this PAY, he must say what he wants. (It's precisely these patched together articles, being the easiest, that make the PAY acceptable.) A 2nd list of *technical* expressions for A will follow very shortly. Once this is SETTLED he might just as well let us have the list up to D, E or G so that we can get on with it.

I know nothing about Airey's (General) former career. You might look it up in an ARMY LIST, which will at least provide the bare bones.

I know nothing about the *Spanish Armada* either, but this could be found—likewise *Ayacucho*.

I'm not yet in sufficiently good shape to be able to come up tomorrow, and propose to leave on Saturday.[169] Can one take a CAB from Camden STATION (to which one books the TICKETS) to your place? And how far is it?

I shall bring Miquel's letter with me; because of my illness I haven't seen Lupus for a whole week.

More when we meet. As you can imagine, I have my hands really full, what with arrears, etc., etc.

Your
F. E.

| | |
|---|---|
| * Abensberg (battle of 1809) | 1/4 p. |
| Abukir ditto | 1/4 p. |
| Axle (artillery) | 1/8 ditto |
| Acre (St. Jean-d'-Sièges of) | 1/4 ditto à 1/2 |
| Actium (battle of) | 1/8-1/4 |
| Adjutant | 1/4-1/2 |
| Afghanistan (invasion by English) | 2 |
| Åland Isles see Bomarsund | |
| Albuera (battle) | 1/4 |
| Aldenhoven ditto 1797 | 1/4 |
| Alessandria (fortress and sieges) | 1/4 |
| Algeria (French conquest of and English bombardment of) | 2-3 |
| Almeida (siege of in Peninsular War) | 1/4 |
| Amusette (artillery) | 1/10 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Anglesey (Marquis of) | 1/2 |
| Attack (in battle and siege) | 1/2 |
| Antwerp (fortress & sieges) | 1 |
| Approaches | 1/2 fully |
| Arbela (battle of) | 1/4 |
| Arquebusier | 1/8 |
| Aspern and Essling (battle 1809) | 3/4 |
| Augereau (Marshal) | 1/2 |
| Advanced guard | 1/2 * [172] |

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## 68

## ENGELS TO MARX [173]

### IN LONDON

[London,] Friday morning
[5 June 1857]

Dear Moor,

Instead of coming to see you I am once more condemned to no less than four days of hot poultices. My face is again very bad and the whole business has begun all over again. But this time I intend to get rid of it for good. This will, of course, postpone my departure for Manchester *ad infinitum*. If the thing clears up quickly I might be able to go out for a bit on Monday.

In case you have any news for me in the meantime, drop me a line. The address you know: 7 Grove Hill, Camberwell.

I am RATHER annoyed by this business, as you can imagine, but *que faire* [a]?

Warm regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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[a] what can be done?

## 69

## MARX TO COLLET DOBSON COLLET

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, about 10 June 1857][174]

Dear Sir,

According to your wish I send you the account for my contributions to *The Free Press.*[a] They fill somewhat more than 27 columns. You will excuse me for having interrupted. Since I had the pleasure to see you last, I was constantly labouring under serious liver complaints, and thus forced to interrupt my contributions to *The Free Press* which, however, I hope to be able to resume next week.

Yours truly
D. K. M.

Contributed to the London *Free Press* 26 columns; the column at $^1/_2$ Guinea; makes 13 Guineas. Received on them 10£. St.; remains due to me 3£. St. 13sh.

Published for the first time

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## 70

## MARX TO COLLET DOBSON COLLET[175]

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, after 10 June 1857]

Dear Sir,

Having myself not made up, but only copied the account forwarded to you, I felt, on receiving your note, very anxious, indeed, lest my claims should have been overstated. Consequently,

[a] K. Marx, *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century.*

I reexamined the reckonings. The case is simply this, that you make $22^1/_3$ columns, that you have omitted No. 34,[a] and that the only mistake on my part consists in having put down 4 columns for No. 34, which really amounts to $5^1/_2$ columns.

Yours truly
K. Marx

D. Collet, Esq.

Published for the first time

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## 71

## MARX TO ENGELS

[IN LONDON]

[London,] 15 June 1857

Dear Engels,

Are you laughing or are you weeping,
Are you waking or are you sleeping?[b] We here are seriously concerned about you. So write and tell us how you are. I hope you aren't being given any more hot poultices which, as a method of treatment, is *quite out-of-date* and has now more or less fallen into *disrepute*. But assuming you are using internal remedies only—as is rational and up-to-date—I fail to see why you have to keep yourself so anxiously secluded.

My wife very unwell. But she sounded the bugle too soon and as yet nothing has happened.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] Issue No. 34 of *The Free Press*, 1 April 1857, containing a section of Marx's *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century*. - [b] G. A. Bürger, 'Lenore'.

## 72

## MARX TO ENGELS[176]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 June 1857

Dear Engels,

From the enclosed letter you will see that Dana is expecting the manuscript soon.[a] What am I to tell him? I can't plead sickness, since I am continuing to send ARTICLES to the *Tribune*. It's a very awkward CASE.

My wife is still in the *status quo*. On top of that, a nasty cough and domestic worries, serious ones. I hope you are recovering. Steffen was here yesterday.

Your
K. M.

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## 73

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] Friday, 3 July [1857]
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

Shall be writing tomorrow. This is just to inform you that the second half of the note had still not arrived by this evening. Considering the bad luck which has been dogging me of late, it

[a] The reference is presumably to the article 'Army' requested by Dana for *The New American Cyclopaedia*.

may well have got lost. I couldn't go to Williams' since my wife's condition has meant—pretty well ever since you left[169]—that I can't leave her on her own.

Your
K. M.

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## 74

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 July [1857]

DEAR Frederic,

I am writing again TO GAINSAY my earlier note. No. II arrived on the stroke of 6. No letter has ever arrived so late before, and hence I wrote in order to avert possible MISCHIEF.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 75

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 July 1857
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

Rüstow[a] is not to be had at Williams'. And I wouldn't care to write to Steffen on this score for, being himself engaged on an

[a] W. Rüstow, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung C. Julius Cäsars.*

English rendering of the book, he tends to be mistrustful. So far as the ancient world is concerned, I believe you could restrict yourself to a few generalities and simply say—in the article itself[a]—that these themes are to be discussed under the headings 'Greek Army' and 'Roman Army'. This will save time, during which it will be possible not only to procure Rüstow but also to send you a mass of other data, for I have now discovered at the Museum,[b] after prolonged searching, a complete list of sources on the military history of Antiquity. But at the moment speed is the main consideration. As you know, I took your advice and sent Dana a second list.[177] So what excuse can I offer the man? I cannot plead illness, for if I do I shall have to interrupt my writing for the *Tribune* altogether and so reduce to nothing my already exiguous income. At a pinch Dana could have recourse to the man who already provides him with some of the military articles. In which case I would be elbowed out. To obviate this I shall have to write on Friday. But the difficulty is, what?

As you will understand, nothing could be more distasteful to me than TO PRESS UPON YOU while you are ill; nor, indeed, when you left here did I have any inkling that, in the state you are in, you would at once resume—and so SERIOUSLY at that—your work in the office.

My own situation is such that everything depends on whether I can persuade little Bamberger to discount a bill on myself this week. The end of the quarter has come, and all hell will now be let loose.

Freiligrath has written me a note from which I can see the Crédit mobilier's scare.[45] The constant fall in securities on the Paris Bourse, despite the prospect of a good harvest, has given rise to a veritable PANIC amongst the financiers.

The Indian affair is delicious.[178] Mazzini's putsch quite in the old official style.[179] The ass might at least have avoided dragging in Genoa!

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

There is a cheap *Dictionary of Military Science* by Campbell.

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[a] A reference to the article 'Army' for *The New American Cyclopaedia*. - [b] the British Museum Library

## 76

## MARX TO ENGELS[82]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 July 1857

Dear Frederic,

My wife has at last been brought to bed. The CHILD, however, not being viable, died immediately. In itself, this was no disaster. Yet partly because of the circumstances immediately attendant on it, which have branded themselves on my mind, and partly because of the circumstances responsible for this result, it is agonizing to look back upon. Nor is it possible to go into such matters in a letter.

*Salut.* Give my regards to Lupus and pass on the news to him.

Your
K. M.

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## 77

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, Saturday, [11] July 1857[a]

Dear Marx,

It was only this morning that your short note was brought to me from the office. The WAREHOUSEMAN who generally brings me my mail thought it more convenient to run his errand the next morning instead of the previous night. I was deeply affected by the contents of your letter, cryptic though it was, knowing how

[a] Engels dated the letter 10 July, which is a mistake, for 10 July 1857 was a Friday, not a Saturday.

painful it must be for you to write like that. You yourself may be taking the child's death stoically, but hardly your wife. How *she* is, you don't say, and hence I assume that all is well, but let me know *for certain* or I shan't have a moment's peace of mind. In this respect, your mysterious insinuations leave too much room for conjecture. Providing she herself is well it is perhaps better that it should now all be over.

Today I can *definitely* promise you the manuscripts for Dana for Friday, i.e. the articles 'Alma', 'Abensberg', 'Adjutant', 'Ammunition' and more such small stuff, thus pretty well finishing off the whole of A (except 'Algeria' and 'Afghanistan') up to Ap and Aq.[a] I have got together the material for all this and should be able to work without interruption since, as a result of my breathing fresh air again, my illness has suddenly taken a turn for the better, which in all likelihood will finally put paid to the thing. This turn took place *last night* and, since I've been ordered to take exercise in the open air outside the town, I shall not be going to the office until Thursday. As soon as I've finished these first articles, I'll tackle 'Army' (modern times, 1300 to 1850) and 'Artillery'; the first part of 'Army' I shall do last and, at the same time, let you have the list of B's. 'Artillery' will be ready to go off on Friday week, 'Army' as well perhaps. I may send you some of the shorter things tomorrow for Tuesday's post.

A couple of days ago Lupus left for France and Switzerland. The French vice-consul here, a businessman, gave him a passport without further ado. On his return he will probably pay you a visit (in approx. 3 weeks).

I dare not show my face at the office, but as soon as I can put in an appearance there I shall send you some more money.

Give my warm regards to your wife and assure her of my sincerest sympathy. Love to the girls, and see that they keep in good health.

Your old friend,

F. E.

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[a] This refers to the following items by Engels for *The New American Cyclopaedia*: 'Abensberg', 'Acre', 'Actium', 'Åland Islands', 'Albuera', 'Aldenhoven', 'Alessandria', 'Amusette' and 'Antwerp' (see this volume, pp. 136-37).

## 78

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 11 July 1857

DEAR Frederic,

The chief thing for you at present is naturally to recover your health. I shall have to see how I can put Dana off again. Don't worry your head about it. Next week I'll send you something on the military systems of Antiquity.

*Hastings*, or so I hear, is the *only* resort in England that is of real benefit to complaints like yours. So *that's* where you must go, the time having come to tackle your illness seriously.—The *use of iron* to inhibit further development of the malady is at any rate rational, WHATEVER MR HECKSCHER MAY THINK OF IT. You ought to consult yet a third doctor about this too. Assuming that none of the chaps knows more than half of his job, it's advisable to check one against the other.

My wife is getting better. However, her condition still makes it difficult for me to leave the house.

The revolution marches on apace AS SHOWN BY THE MARCH OF THE Crédit mobilier[45] and Bonaparte's FINANCES IN GENERAL.

With best wishes for your recovery,

Your
K. M.

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## 79

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 July 1857

Dear Engels,

You may be certain that despite all mishaps I and my wife (who, by the by, is well on the way to recovery) found our own AFFAIRS

less disquieting than your latest report on the state of your health. While delighted beyond measure that you should be improving, I am thoroughly alarmed to learn that you intend to return to the office—and to do so this very week. If nothing else, the whole course of your illness should have shown you that what you needed physically was to rest, recuperate and temporarily shake off the dust of the office. You must go to the seaside AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. If, at this crucial moment, you should be so childish (pardon the expression) as to shut yourself up in the office again, you will suffer further relapses, and your resistance to the disease will at the same time be progressively impaired. Such relapses might ultimately lead to an infection of the lungs, in which case all attempts at a cure would be fruitless. Surely it is not your ambition to go down to posterity as one who sacrificed himself on the altar of Ermen & Engels' office? One would feel sorry for a person with your complaint if he were compelled by circumstances to chain himself anew to his business rather than restore his health. In your case, however, all that is needed is a vigorous decision to do what is medically necessary. Only consider how long the trouble has been dragging on already, and how many relapses you've had, and you will see how necessary it is FOR SOME TIME TO LET MR ERMEN SHIFT FOR HIMSELF and to restore your health by breathing the sea air and enjoying relative leisure. I hope you will take the thing seriously and abandon your former mistaken system of alternating between medicine bottle and office. It would be unpardonable for you to persist in it.

I can only relate verbally the circumstances that attended my wife's confinement and UNNERVED ME FOR SOME DAYS. I cannot write about such things.

I have received your articles.[a] MY BEST THANKS FOR THEM.

The Indian revolt[178] has placed me in something of a quandary. As far as the *Tribune* is concerned, I am EXPECTED TO HAVE SOME SUPERIOR VIEW OF MILITARY AFFAIRS. If you can supply me with a few general axioms, I can easily combine them with the stuff I've already got together to make a readable article.[b] The situation of the insurgents in Delhi and the MOVES of the British army are the only points on which a few military generalities are needed. All the rest is MATTER OF FACT.

Mr Bamberger has kept me dangling for the past fortnight by

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[a] for *The New American Cyclopaedia* (see this volume, p. 144). - [b] Marx's article 'The Revolt in India' appeared in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5082, on 4 August 1857.

making bogus rendezvous at which he never appears. I shall now give the laddie up, of course.

Jones' wife died last April; he seems to be keeping relatively well.

A letter received from Imandt today. He has the EXPECTATION of a post which he puts at £300 a year. Regarding Dronke he tells me that he is said to be living *en famille* with a woman who is pregnant by him. It isn't Miss Smith, however.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 80

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 July 1857

Dear Frederic,

I have today sent you the Rüstow,[a] which you should return as soon as possible, since Steffen is working on it just now. I told him I wanted it *for myself*.

The enclosed notes are of little value, EXCEPT PERHAPS for a quotation or two.[180] I did, in fact, take a look at the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* but there was no time to read it properly. I fear that the notes will contain little that is new to you. Were taken from: Ersch and Gruber: *Encyclopédie universelle*[b]; Pauly: *Realencyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft* (1844-52). Impossible for me to read the works themselves just now. Pity I didn't apply myself to them sooner. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* seems to have been

[a] W. Rüstow, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung C. Julius Cäsars*. - [b] This probably refers to the French translation of *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste...* herausgegeben von J. S. Ersch und J. G. Gruber.

copied pretty well word for word from the German and French works and hence is difficult to get away from unless one reads the specialised writings.

My wife better physically; however still in bed; also extraordinarily out of temper for which, *au fond de coeur*[a] and UNDER PRESENT AUSPICES, I don't blame her though I find it wearisome.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

I trust your health keeps improving.

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## 81

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 July 1857

Dear Engels,

Received the *Cyclopaedia* stuff TO-DAY.[b] [181]

If at all possible will you send me some money? On Monday I'm threatened with the BROKER on account of rates and LANDLORD. Besides this the total WANT OF CASH during the past fortnight has made it impossible to obtain the small COMFORTS the doctor has prescribed for my wife, whose RECOVERY is very slow—indeed, she would seem to be getting weaker every day.

During this time I have been trying with conspicuous lack of success either to discount a bill or, as is quite customary in London, to raise a LOAN from a LOAN SOCIETY.[182] The latter operation calls for two respectable guarantors and my attempts to find them have been a total failure.

The money outstanding to me from the *Tribune* is so insignificant that I cannot think of drawing a bill on them for

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[a] at the bottom of my heart - [b] Engels' articles 'Arbela', 'Arquebuse', 'Aspern', 'Airey' and 'Attack'.

another 2 weeks. It would have been more if, on the one hand, I hadn't been previously compelled to overdraw and, on the other, the troubles at home had not caused some loss of earnings.

Nothing could be more distasteful to me than to burden you with my woes during your illness, but I'm so completely isolated that there is nothing else I can do.

I trust that, at the seaside, you will soon recuperate. Don't forget to let me have your address straight away.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Have attended to the enclosed letter for Imandt.

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## 82

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Waterloo near Liverpool,
29 July[a] (Wednesday) 1857

Dear Marx,

Here I am at last at the seaside, where I have been since the evening of the day before yesterday.[183] It's 3 miles beyond New Brighton, but to the north of the Mersey. Unfortunately I arrived with a raging cold which has temporarily aggravated the glandular trouble, caused me a great deal of pain and spoilt my sleep. The worst of it is that for a day or two I shall be pretty well incapable of work, my daily report for Heckscher and other such unavoidable notes being as much as I can manage. In the evening I'm in such intense pain and so enervated that up till now I haven't even been able to read. That this damned thing should have had to happen now! Thus, since Friday evening or Saturday morning all my time has been wasted first by interruptions, then

[a] wrong date in the original: 30 July

by my illness. I'm one of your really miserable figures, stooped, lame and weak and—e.g. as at present—beside myself with pain.

I had a hamper of wine sent to you from Manchester which will do your wife good: 6 bottles of Bordeaux, 3 of port, 3 of sherry. It should be there by now if the thing was properly attended to. Let me know the colour of the seals on the port and sherry so that I can keep a check on my wine merchant. Sherry ought to be *yellow,* port, I think, green. The Bordeaux bears the label Co. Destournel; I have just imported it.

You will have the *militaria*[a] as soon as at all possible. Unfortunately I don't know whether the post reaches London in 1 day; I shall only discover that from experience within the next few days.

I hope that the sea air will soon make me fit again for the usual drudgery. As things are now, I'm bored to death.

Warmest regards to your wife and daughters.

Your
F. E.

You'll have received the £5 note.

Address: F. E., care of Mr Swingwood,
Bath St., Waterloo near Liverpool

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## 83

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN WATERLOO NEAR LIVERPOOL

[London,] 9 August 1857

Dear Engels,

Today I am prevented from writing more than a few lines—just my best wishes for your recovery. My ANXIETY for your

[a] Articles on military matters for *The American Cyclopaedia*

BODILY welfare is as great as if I myself were ill—greater, perhaps.

How are things in regard to 'coughing'? So far as I can judge from your letters, at least you're not much troubled with it.

My doctor, who has treated a great many CASES such as yours, says that if a patient's condition does not permit of his bathing in the sea, he has successfully prescribed washing all over in heated (TEPID) sea water, the temperature being gradually reduced.

Let me know whether you are taking iron. In cases such as yours, as in many others, iron has proved stronger than the affliction.[a]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 84

## MARX TO ENGELS[184]

### IN WATERLOO NEAR LIVERPOOL

[London,] 15 August 1857

Dear Frederick,

I am delighted to hear that the sea is doing you good, as was to be expected. As soon as you are fit enough to bathe, it will take effect even more quickly.

The sea itself is, of course, the principal remedy. However, some medicaments ought to be taken internally, partly preventive, partly curative, so as to introduce into the blood those substances it lacks. As opposed to your assumptions in your letter to my wife[185] and basing myself on the most recent French, English and German literature, which I have been reading on the subject of your illness, I put forward the following, which you may submit to the scrutiny of any college of physicians or pharmacists:

[a] Marx uses an inversion of the German saying 'Not bricht Eisen', literally 'Necessity breaks iron', making a pun on the word 'Not', which also means 'affliction'.

1. Whereas cod-liver oil requires 3 months to take effect, iron does so in 3 weeks.

2. Cod-liver oil and iron are not mutually exclusive but complement each other during treatment.

3. A temporary *iron shortage in the blood* is the primary characteristic of your disease. Besides bathing in the sea, you must take iron, even should there no longer be any outward sign of the disease.

4. In your case the therapeutic element in cod-liver oil is iodine, since the oil's fattening properties are of no moment to you. Hence IODIDE OF IRON combines both the elements you need, one of which you would obtain from cod-liver oil. At the same time, it would spare your stomach the extra ballast inevitable in the case of cod-liver oil.

*Voilà mes thèses*,[a] and I hope you will give them your serious consideration so that, once cured, you do not suffer subsequent relapses which are said to be EXCEEDINGLY disagreeable.

As to the Delhi affair, it seems to me that the English ought to begin their retreat as soon as the RAINY SEASON HAS SET IN in real earnest. Being obliged for the present to hold the fort for you as the *Tribune*'s military correspondent,[b] I have taken it upon myself to put this forward.[186] NB, ON THE SUPPOSITION that the REPORTS to date have been true. It's possible that I shall make an ass of myself. But in that case one can always get out of it with a little dialectic. I have, of course, so worded my proposition as to be right either way. The persistent rumours about the fall of Delhi are being circulated throughout India by the government in Calcutta, no less, and are intended, as I see from the Indian papers, as the chief means of preventing unrest in the Madras and Bombay PRESIDENCIES. For your diversion I enclose herewith a plan of Delhi *which, however, you must let me have back.*

From most of the reports of the Banque de France[c] it is already apparent that, in place of d'Argout, there is a Bonapartist[d] at the helm who makes little difficulty about discounting operations and note issues. The financial *débâcle* in France must inevitably assume vast proportions, since a frenzied activity is contributing to it on every hand.

Imandt's presence has seriously disrupted my work. The POT is

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[a] Such are my theses - [b] See Marx's articles 'State of the Indian Insurrection' and 'The Indian Insurrection'. - [c] 'Situation de la banque de France et de ses succursales', *Le Moniteur universel*, Nos. 163 and 191, 12 June and 10 July 1857. - [d] Charles Gabriel Germiny

in effect the only medium through which one can establish any rapport with these SPIRIT-RAPPERS.

With best wishes for your health from myself and wife.

Your
K. M.

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## 85

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Waterloo, 21 August 1857

Dear Moor,

You will have received the articles this morning.[187]

I do, indeed, regard your theses as OPEN TO SOME OBSERVATIONS. That iron takes effect in 3 weeks as compared with 3 months for cod-liver oil is surely not to be taken literally. There could be absolutely no question of a disease of this kind being cured in 3 weeks; on the contrary, I should say that, iron or no iron, cases have more often been known to take 3 years rather than 3 weeks to cure.

That lack of iron in the blood is a *primary characteristic* of scrofula is certainly news to me. But whatever the literature on the subject, there is no doubt that, for some time past, it has become increasingly the fashion to reduce all diseases to lack of iron in the blood, a fashion which is already beginning to evoke a reaction; as to the disease of which, *more than any other*, this is known to be the primary characteristic—anaemia—some Frenchmen have latterly declared that iron has nothing at all to do with it. Exactly what the *primary characteristic* of scrofula is would seem to be still far from clear.

That iodine is one *amongst others* of the principal elements responsible for the effect of cod-liver oil is not in doubt. But it is

by no means the only one. If one takes iodine in other forms one doesn't make such good progress. Besides, cod-liver oil contains chlorine and bromine, both of which have a direct or indirect effect on the disorder, and to what extent that effect is helped by the gall constituents and volatile fatty acids has not yet been established. All I know is that Norwegian cod-liver oil, which has the bitter taste of gall, has done me more good than the Newfoundland or English product, which does not taste of it.

I took *iron iodide* all the time I was in Manchester (in between London[169] and Waterloo[183]) along with cod-liver oil, and the inflammation grew steadily worse until finally it became chronic. Since I have been here I haven't taken *any more* iron iodide and Heckscher and I agreed long ago that either iron iodide or Quévenne's iron should be used in *after-treatment.*

The fat in cod-liver oil is, *pour le moment,*[a] by no means useless ballast so far as I am concerned. Since regaining my strength, I am again accumulating fat. Needless to say, my diet may contain only a small proportion of ready-formed animal fats. Consequently I have to eat more starch flour and, in fact, I sometimes feel a positive craving for bread; I am eating twice as much meat, but four times as much bread as I usually do. The fat in cod-liver oil is an invaluable aid to this battening process, being taken in an exceedingly innocuous form and less of an irritant than animal fat or things cooked in fat.

So you see, iron has never been completely out of our view and, even after I had been taking it for more than 3 weeks without any result (and it may, indeed, in the then circumstances, have made matters worse), we have nevertheless already reserved it for my after-treatment. Heckscher, to whom I spoke about iron last Sunday, was definitely against my taking it again at this juncture, in view of previous experience, and I must agree with him. Later, of course. I repeat that, despite the unanimity of the literature on the subject, I shall continue to entertain grave doubts about the reduction of all diseases to iron shortage until we know more than we now do about the condition and the normal level of iron in the blood. At all events, *I* had sufficient iron in my blood at the start of this business, as any of the doctors who saw me at the time can testify. I am perfectly willing to believe that people of definitely scrofular habit—pallor, transparent skin, etc.—may be suffering from a shortage of iron.

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[a] at the moment

But *admis*[a] that this is the basic character, the INDISCRIMINATE and immediate use of iron is by no means indicated. It is extremely difficult to introduce iron into the blood otherwise than in the small amounts contained in ordinary food. Assuming, then, that the nature of my disease was the inability of the blood to assimilate the iron in food, how much less would it assimilate the iron in medicine? Sea air and sea bathing so invigorate the system as to restore the blood's ability in this respect. Thus it again assimilates the iron in meat and bread and, since I am eating more than formerly, concomitantly more iron. It is now, when this ability has been restored, that iron taken medicinally can help, although I believe that $^{9}/_{10}$ of it passes through the body unused and, even if one accepts the iron theory, the use of iron during *every* phase of the disease has been shown to be incorrect. On top of which one has to consider the wide variety of individual cases and constitutions. I myself, for instance, appear to be particularly sensitive to all metals; even the external application of quicksilver to prevent the local spread of the inflammation took effect very rapidly in my case, and it is quite possible that iron iodide, taken at a time when my blood was too disorganised to assimilate it, helped aggravate the inflammation.

At all events, and even admitting the iron theory, I don't see how your theses materially confute the assumptions in my previous letter,[b] in which I was, by the way, considering only the immediate use of iron, not in any specific form, and ruling out cod-liver oil.

Today I bathed in the sea for the first time. It did me no end of good and made me ravenously hungry. For the time being I am to bathe only every other day.

But now it's time for the post. Am working on 'Army'.

Many regards to your wife and children.

Your

F. E.

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[a] even granted - [b] See this volume, pp. 151-53.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Waterloo, 25 August 1857

Dear Marx,

My last letter was abruptly broken off because the post was leaving. I had meant to tell you about Lupus' adventures in France. He had neither time nor money enough to stop in London and therefore travelled straight through to Manchester, arriving with 2/- in his pocket. At Lille he was spotted by the French police and from then on they harried him. With his usual luck he arrived slap in the middle of the elections and a nice little assassination plot. He went to a small hotel near the Louvre, intending to visit Versailles. On this trip 2 *mouchards*[a] took possession of him, pushed their way into his carriage both on the way there and on the way back, and never let him out of their sight. Back at the hotel two *mouchards*, one an Alsatian Jew, sat at his table while he ate supper, and passed remarks about him in German, French and broken English. *'That chap eats with much appetite and his head is not worth a farthing. The telegraphic despatch has just arrived',*[b] etc. Lupus kept mum—compelled, of course, by his bad political conscience, else he'd have been dragged off to clink and made to establish in the Préfecture what kind of a wolf he was—and drowned his anger in drink, after which he went up to his room and stationed himself by the window—*au premier.*[c] From there he caught sight of his Versailles friends in the gateway. The gang, growing ever larger, shouted loud remarks to him while their chief parleyed with the landlady. Subsequently the fellows took over the whole house and roistered and caroused half the night through. They occupied the rooms above and to the left and right of Lupus who, as you can imagine, was in a fine STEW—on top of which it was stiflingly hot. The fellows woke him early in the morning, banging on the walls on either side and dragging tables, beds, etc., etc., across the floor

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[a] police spies - [b] In the original this sentence occurs twice: in English, as given here, and, prior to this, in the Alsatian dialect: 'Un was der Kerl noch mit einem Appetit fresse kann, un sei Kopp is doch nit e Pfennig wert.' - [c] on the first floor

above so that he almost took leave of his senses. Presently Lupus plucked up sufficient courage to visit the w.c. The Jew and his mate were sitting on the stairs and in a loud voice the Jew said 'The fellow's going for a shit now'. He ordered breakfast in his room and inquired when the train left for Strasbourg. One by one the fellows disappeared, for it was the day of the by-elections and they had achieved their aim of hounding Lupus out of Paris. Once again his Versailles friend was on the train and accompanied him in the same carriage as far as the fourth or fifth station, where another man took over. So conspicuously did the fellows push their way into the packed carriage that a French philistine jocularly remarked: *'Il y a donc un criminel parmi nous?'*[a] In this way he was escorted to Lyons, the Versailles chap having reappeared on the steamer from Châlons on the Saône. At Lyons Lupus went to the first hotel but discovered that waiters and all were on the pay-roll, pointed him out and notified the chaps by telegraph when he was arriving. Whenever he left the room the waiter gave a whistle while the man in the office shouted out: *'Le voilà!'*[b], whereupon he was compelled to pass in review before the *mouchard* élite. They continued to harry him on the train to Seyssel as far as the point at which a line branches off in the direction of Plombières, where Mr Bonaparte happened to be. From then on, as soon as they saw that he was not going to Plombières, Lupus was free. On the return journey he wasn't harried at all.

One can see what Mr Bonaparte has set in train with the Société du dix Décembre.[138] There is no mistaking the types, particularly as regards their roistering and the playful manner in which they make life a misery for suspects visiting Paris. Had Lupus not left, one of them would probably have started a brawl so as to have a pretext for taking him to the Préfecture. Just imagine how many chaps must be on the pay-roll if an entire cohort can be set on to Lupus, who is COMPARATIVELY unknown to them. And then the roping in of landlords, waiters, BOOTS, etc., etc., as collaborators.

I have just been bathing again which, while generally most invigorating and refreshing, seems at first rather to aggravate the inflammation. But that was only to be expected. On the whole I feel very well and the sores don't trouble me much. My old man is probably in Manchester by now; I shall know definitely tomorrow,

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[a] Is there a criminal among us then? - [b] There he is!

in which case I shall at once go to Manchester and then, within a few days, to a more bracing seaside resort, possibly the Isle of Man. So write to Manchester in the meantime. As soon as I'm completely recovered and no longer require such regular sea-bathing I intend to take a sea trip, probably by STEAMER via Dublin to Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight, where we could hold a council of war together. But that will depend on circumstances.

'Army' is making progress; Antiquity is done, Middle Ages will be short and then modern times. However, Antiquity alone will run to 6 or 7 pages; I shall have to see what further deletions can be made. But we can't be bound too strictly by Mr Dana's conditions. It won't be possible to let you have the thing by Friday because of the disruption caused by my old man—but by Tuesday, I hope. Apropos, hasn't Dana said anything at all about the manuscripts or the list for B? Why, I wonder? It would certainly be curious if one were not to hear anything at all from him. Kindest regards.

Your
F. E.

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## 87

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 August 1857

Dear Engels,

Herewith a note for you from Schramm. Drop him a line or two. I don't suppose there's much hope for him now.[188]

Lupus' adventure most amusing.

Why not go to Hastings, which is famed for its efficacy in cases like yours. It's the only specific watering-place of the kind in England. The Isle of Man, in so far as I had the pleasure of

seeing it in your company—not much of it, to be sure—is remarkable chiefly for its stench.

The situation in regard to Dana is a little awkward. During the acute phase of your illness I thought it inopportune to keep you informed of the details of the affair. It was quite some time ago that Dana sent me the enclosed B list (in which there are only two non-military articles, 'Blum' and 'Bourrienne'). On the same occasion he said that the sooner they got the contributions to the ensuing volumes, the better they would be pleased, while I, for my part, could always receive my fee immediately after sending in the articles. But what was I to do, at a time when the contributions to A could not be sent off, and any failure to respond to so urgent a request—on terms so favourable to myself—would inevitably have aroused suspicion? My only recourse was to refrain for a time from writing to New York, and then do so only at longish intervals—SAY, EVERY FORTNIGHT—so that later on it would still be open to me to tell them with some plausibility that domestic TROUBLES and my own indisposition had made any sort of writing very difficult for me, as the paucity of my contributions to the paper[a] also went to show. To send your B list to Dana in such circumstances would have been QUITE inexpedient and would have placed me in an even more invidious position. In the meantime I had also learned that Major Ripley[b] had become co-editor of the *Tribune*, so that in case of need Dana had a *pis aller*[c] for the *Cyclopaedia*.

WELL, on 24 July I despatched your first pieces.[181] August was nearly upon us and your condition seemed to have deteriorated again. On 11 August another package arrived from you.[d] Instinct warned me that a letter from New York was now imminent and would place me in something of a quandary since your illness meant that it was OUT OF [THE] QUESTION to speed up the work. So in order to leave a loophole for myself, I sent the package off to Dana together with a letter[189] in which I 1. informed him that the BULK of the contributions had gone off on 7 August (to make him think the manuscript had gone astray), at the same time telling him that the tardiness and delay were due to an indisposition which had not yet quite SUBSIDED. I took this step because it covered any eventuality. Thus, when Dana protests (probably at the beginning of September) the manuscript for A either will or will not be ready. In the first case, he either will or will not still be

[a] *New-York Daily Tribune* - [b] Marx seems mistakenly to identify George Ripley, editor of *The New American Cyclopaedia*, with the military writer Roswell Sabine Ripley. - [c] stop-gap - [d] the articles 'Abatis' and 'Afghanistan'

able to use it. If the former, nothing will have been lost. If the latter, the blame will be seen to attach to the post office. If not READY at all, then all the more need for him to be hoodwinked.

On 17 August[a] I received the enclosed letter from Dana.

As regards B, there can now be no question of adding to the list; rather, it must be polished off as quickly as possible. Otherwise we'll have to abandon the whole thing.

As a result my economic position has become completely untenable and even my position on the *Tribune* has grown precarious.

Be so good as to return the plan of Delhi and write and let me know what you think of the INDIAN AFFAIR.[b]

Your
K. M.

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## 88

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Ryde, Isle of Wight, 8 September 1857
Kelston Cottage, Trinity St.

Dear Marx,

I finally arrived today at my new lodgings[183] in the middle of a frightful downpour and tomorrow shall at once get down to the army again. Yesterday in Portsmouth I noted what was worth seeing on the military side, so all that now remains is the navy, which at this moment looks distinctly sparse. My health continues good and if the weather improves I hope I shall soon be completely cured. It takes half an hour to get here from Portsmouth and it's a

[a] April in the original - [b] See this volume, p. 152.

very aristocratic little spot, though lodgings are not as dear as in Waterloo. At the end of the week I shall doubtless know what the situation is as regards food. However the hotels, etc., etc., are scandalously expensive.

In Portsmouth one might almost be at home in Germany. One is barely aware of the NAVY in the town, which, by contrast, is lorded over by the subaltern—the false dignity, the affectation of reserve and the strangulated English that go to make up your OFFICER AND GENTLEMAN. Moreover, almost everyone goes around in uniform. I watched the 47th Regiment drilling, all of them bemedalled veterans of the Crimea,[a] newly arrived from the Mediterranean. The more simple evolutions were passable but the intricate 'model' manoeuvres, of which there are so many in the English manual, were carried out very shakily. Square formation from marching in open order, each file proceeding diagonally, thus /////, was botched completely and the most hellish confusion arose. By contrast the march past in line, with the entire battalion deployed, was very well done. The commanding officer was very calm but as with us there was cursing and swearing within the companies. All movements were executed at the same gait as ours, somewhat longer paces perhaps, but performed rapidly though with great nonchalance on the part of individual men. A Prussian lieutenant's comment would be: The chaps lack drill. Still very poor at the double. Shoot as though half-asleep. Conclusion: Manual rotten, men better than manual. So far little learnt from the French in the Crimea. The modern stuff either not introduced at all or else rottenly done.

I shall send you 'Army' as soon as it is finished. Warmest regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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[a] i.e. of the Crimean war of 1853-56 waged by Britain, France, Sardinia and Turkey against Russia

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## ENGELS TO MARX[190]

IN LONDON

[Ryde,] 10 September [1857,] Thursday

Dear Marx,

Herewith 'Bennigsen' and 'Barclay'.[a] I am taking a closer look at the Napoleonic generals, who will follow tomorrow or the day after. 'Army' ready shortly.

Your
F. E.

All that I know about Bennigsen is that in 1807, at the beginning of the campaign under Kamenski, he commanded the First Army (there were 2 of them, the 2nd under Buxhövden); on 26 December 1806, he was attacked by Lannes near Pultusk and, having the superiority in numbers, he held out (because Napoleon attacked the other army with the main force) and then, assuming himself to be the victor, wanted to attack in strength. He was soon given the supreme command and attacked Napoleon's winter quarters at the end of January 1807; was soon pressed hard and by mere chance evaded the trap which Napoleon had set for him; he fought at Eylau on 7 and 8 February.[191] On the 7th Napoleon captured Eylau (*Barclay de Tolly*, who directed the defence, *distinguishing himself*), and on the 8th the main engagement took place, Bennigsen being obliged to give battle in order to evade hot pursuit by Napoleon, and being saved from total defeat only by the toughness of his troops, the arrival of the Prussians under Lestock and the slowness with which Napoleon's individual corps appeared on the battlefield. In the spring Bennigsen entrenched himself at Heilsberg, because he was the weaker; he did not attack Napoleon while part of the French army was absent, engaged in the siege of Danzig[192]; but when Danzig had fallen and the French army was united, he attacked (!), let himself be held up by Napoleon's vanguard, which had only $^1/_3$ the strength he had, and then be manoeuvred back into his entrenched camp by Napoleon. This Napoleon attacked without success on 10 [June]

[a] The material that follows was used by Marx and Engels in their articles 'Bennigsen' and 'Barclay de Tolly'.

with only 2 corps and several battalions of the Guard, but on the very next day he forced Bennigsen out of his camp and caused him to beat a hasty retreat; however, Bennigsen suddenly went over to the offensive *without* waiting for a corps of 28,000 men, which was already in Tilsit, occupied Friedland and established himself there, with his *back to the river* and therefore with only *one* line of retreat, the Friedland bridge (always wrong to give battle *before* a defile). Instead of advancing rapidly before Napoleon could concentrate his corps, he let himself be held up for 5-6 hours by Lannes and Mortier ('coupe-gorge dans lequel Bennigsen s'était engagé',[a] says Jomini of this position) until at about 5 o'clock[b] Napoleon was ready and gave the order for the attack. The Russians were thrown back to the river, Friedland was captured, the bridge having been destroyed by the Russians themselves while their whole right wing was still on the other side and escaped only over fords and with the loss of its artillery. 20,000 men lost. Bennigsen

'avait fait fautes sur fautes dans cette journée ... il y eut dans sa conduite un mélange d'imprudence téméraire et d'irrésolution'.[c]

In 1812 he followed Russian headquarters around inveighing against Barclay in order to get his place, intriguing against him until Alexander relieved Bennigsen of his post. In 1813 he was ordered to lead the reserve army out of Russia into Bohemia, and when it arrived it was disbanded and Bennigsen disappeared.

Barclay de Tolly commanded a brigade at Eylau, etc. (see above); in 1812 commanded the First West Army and was War Minister; after Alexander's departure until Kutuzov's arrival was General-in-Chief, directed the retreat of the Russian army skilfully and had the great merit of resisting the clamourous demands of the Russians and of the whole headquarters to give battle. When he *had to* fight, as at Smolensk, he took up such a position that he could not be involved in a decisive battle,[193] and when this could no longer be avoided—shortly before Moscow—he selected a position by Gzhatsk which was almost impregnable from the front and could be bypassed only by a very big detour. The army had already occupied this position when Kutuzov arrived, and naturally he would not agree to it because it was not *he* who had chosen it, and so the Russians had to fight in the unfavourable position at

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[a] 'A robbers' den into which Bennigsen has ventured' (A. H. Jomini, *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon*, t. 2, p. 414). - [b] 14 June 1807 - [c] 'committed mistake after mistake on that day ... his conduct was a mixture of rash imprudence and irresolution' (A. H. Jomini, op. cit., t. 2, p. 421).

Borodino.[194] In 1813 and 1814 Barclay commanded not an independent corps, but all the Russians in the Allied Army under Schwarzenberg, and as these were in separate corps and often split up, it was an administrative and diplomatic rather than a combatant position,[195] and he proved himself, as earlier, to be one of the better of the average generals—having *bon sens*[a] and staying power—and at any rate the best of the older generals that the Russians had.

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## ENGELS TO MARX[196]

### IN LONDON

[Ryde, 11 or 12 September 1857]

[...] Berthier was a mere CLERK without an idea in his head, but frightfully zealous in the service and punctilious; when Napoleon sent him to Bavaria in 1809 to organise the troops before his own arrival, his *ordres et contreordres*[b] split the army into three. Half of it was with Davout at Regensburg, the remainder with Masséna at Augsburg, and the Bavarians in between at Abensberg, so that a rapid advance by Archduke Charles would have enabled him to defeat the various corps one by one. It was only Napoleon's arrival and the slowness of the Austrians that saved the French.

In 1813 Bernadotte was not a general at all but a diplomat. He prevented the generals under him from attacking and when, in contravention of this order, Bülow won his two victories at Grossbeeren and Dennewitz,[197] Bernadotte stopped the pursuit. He was in constant touch with the French. When Blücher marched to the Elbe to join up with him and to force him at last to act, he continued to prevaricate until Sir Ch. Stewart (the English commissary in his camp) told him that if he didn't march immediately, he wouldn't pay out another penny. This helped—

[a] common sense - [b] An allusion to Napoleon's words 'ordre, contreordre, désordre'.

nevertheless it was purely *honoris causa* that the Swedes appeared in the firing-line at Leipzig,[198] and during the whole campaign they lost less than 200 men in battle.—In 1798 Bernadotte was French ambassador in Vienna; to celebrate the anniversary of a victory over the Austrians he hoisted the tricolor, whereupon the populace stormed his residence and burned the flag. He left, but Napoleon decided against him and persuaded the Directory[199] TO LET THE MATTER DROP.[a] [...]

[...] Jomini, *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon*, t. II, p. 60 qq. (Napoleon says)[b]

'*Bernadotte* ... un homme fin, d'un extérieur brillant; les plans d'opération qu'il avait faits comme ministre de la guerre, prouvaient qu'il était meilleur lieutenant, que général en chef'[c] [p. 60].

'*Marmont*, jadis mon aide de camp et officier d'artillerie' [pp. 60-61].

'*Davout*, qui avait reçu une bonne éducation, avait la tête fortement organisée et des idées de guerre très justes. Ses manières rudes et un caractère à la fois soupçonneux et dur lui ont fait beaucoup d'ennemis, et dans les graves circonstances où il s'est trouvé, l'esprit de parti s'est déchaîné contre lui avec une grande injustice. Sévère, mais juste envers ses subordonnés, mieux qu'aucun autre il sut maintenir la discipline parmi ses soldats; aucun de mes maréchaux n'exigeait plus de ses subordonnés, et aucun ne les fit servir avec tant d'exactitude' [p. 61].

'*Soult*, d'un physique mâle, d'un esprit étendu, laborieux, actif, infatigable, avait fait preuve de talents supérieurs' [p. 61].

'*Lannes*; couvert de gloire et de blessures, ce brave manquait de principes faits sur la guerre; mais il y suppléait par un jugement admirable et sur le champ de bataille il ne le cédait à aucun de ses collègues' [p. 61].

'*Ney*. Lannes fut peut être aussi brillant que lui dans maintes attaques; mais la force d'âme que Ney déploya dans le grand désastre de 1812 où il commanda successivement tous les corps de l'armée, lui assigne le premier rang parmi les braves de tous les jours. *De même que plusieurs de ses collègues il n'entendait point la guerre en grand sur la carte*[d]; mais sur le terrain, rien n'égalait son assurance, son coup d'oeil et son aplomb' [p. 62].

'*Murat*, qui avait dû à sa bonne mine, à son courage et à son activité l'honneur d'être mon aide de camp et mon beau-frère, *n'a jamais été à la hauteur de la réputation colossale que je lui avais faite*. Du reste, il avait de l'esprit naturel, un courage brillant et une grande activité' [p. 63].

'*Masséna* reçut de la nature tout ce qui fait un excellent homme de guerre, doué d'un grand caractère, d'un courage éprouvé et d'un coup d'oeil qui inspirait les résolutions les plus promptes et les plus heureuses, on ne peut lui refuser une place distinguée parmi les capitaines modernes. Cependant il faut avouer qu'il brillait plus dans les combats que dans le conseil' [p. 63].

'*Brune* ne manquait pas de certain mérite, c'était pourtant pour tout prendre un général de tribune bien plus qu'un militaire redoutable'[e] [p. 64].

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[a] The relevant passages were used by Marx in his articles 'Berthier' and 'Bernadotte'. The facts connected with Bernadotte's diplomatic mission in Vienna are here distorted (see also this volume, pp. 169-70). - [b] Engels condenses some of the quotations from Jomini's book. - [c] Used by Marx in his article 'Bernadotte'. - [d] Here and below Engels' italics. - [e] Used by Marx in his article 'Brune'.

'*Mortier*, moins brillant, était pourtant plus solide, son calme et son sang-froid, passés en proverbe parmi les soldats, lui avaient valu plus d'un succès et il était du nombre de ceux qui pouvaient conduire un corps sous ma direction' [p. 64].

'*Bessières* avait fait ses preuves près de moi à l'armée d'Italie où il commandait mes guides à cheval. Il n'avait pour lui qu'un grand esprit d'ordre et une valeur reconnue. Il était méthodique et d'une timidité exessive dans le conseil' [p. 64].

'*Lefebvre*, duc de Dantzic, était un vrai grenadier. Enfant de la nature, il ne devait rien qu'à son esprit naturel, à une grande bravoure, et à un caractère simple et naif. Il savait se faire aimer du soldat et le mener droit à une position; c'était tout son mérite' [p. 64].

'*Jourdan* avait dû à la fortune une grande partie de sa réputation. Bon administrateur, laborieux, homme d'ordre et intègre. Et ayant de l'instruction, il eût été fort bon chef d'état major d'une grande armée sous un chef qui l'eut bien dirigé' [p. 64].

'*Macdonald* ... avait fort mal manoeuvré à la Trebbia' [...][a] [p. 65].

Berthier is not mentioned in this collection.

Apropos: what about your material on Bem? Of him it must be said that he excelled in command of smaller corps of 5-10,000 men and could inspire younger troops with self-assurance by good

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[a] '*Bernadotte* ... a man of refinement, of brilliant appearance; the plans of operations which he drew up in his capacity as War Minister proved him to be better as a subaltern than as a general-in-chief' (p. 60).

'*Marmont*, formerly my ADC and artillery officer' (pp. 60-61).

'*Davout*, who had a good education, possessed a well-organised brain and very correct ideas about war. His rough ways and a disposition at once suspicious and harsh earned him many enemies, and in the grave circumstances in which he found himself the spirit of prejudice broke loose against him with great injustice. Severe but fair towards his subordinates, he knew better than anyone else how to maintain discipline among his men; not one of my marshals demanded so much of his subordinates, and not one of them induced them to serve with such punctiliousness' (p. 61).

'*Soult*, with his manly build, his broad, hard-working, active and untiring mind, had demonstrated superior talents' (p. 61).

'*Lannes*; covered with glory and with wounds, this brave man lacked set principles concerning war; but he made up for this with his admirable judgment, and on the battlefield he was second to none of his colleagues' (p. 61).

'*Ney*. Lannes was perhaps as brilliant as he in many an attack; but the fortitude which Ney displayed in the great disaster of 1812, when he commanded all the corps of the army in succession, ranks him first among the brave men of all times. *Like many of his colleagues, he understood nothing about war on a large scale on the map;* but on the ground his assurance, his sharpsightedness and his poise were unequalled' (p. 62).

'*Murat*, who was indebted to his good looks, his courage and his activity for the honour of being my ADC and my brother-in-law, *never lived up to the colossal reputation which I had made for him.* For the rest, he had a natural wit, brilliant courage and great energy' (p. 63).

'*Masséna* received from nature all that goes to make an excellent soldier, endowed with a splendid character, a courage which stood the test and a sharpsightedness which inspired the most prompt and most felicitous decisions; he cannot be denied a distinguished place among the captains of our time. But it must be admitted that he shone more in battle than at the council table' (p. 63).

use of natural cover and [artillery] support; that he particularly distinguished himself in the small [mountain] warfare into which the whole of the first Transylvanian campaign[200] developed, but that he had A CONSIDERABLE DASH OF THE PARTISAN, which made him incapable of commanding bigger armies. In the second Transylvanian campaign, when masses of Russians invaded, he operated again with rash raids after the manner of partisans without any consideration for the relative strength of the opposing forces and thus lost not only Transylvania but the whole of his army too. His march into the Banat (before the second Transylvanian campaign) achieved nothing[201]; he seems to have been unable to cope with the greater masses he was in command of. Praise is due to his great fortitude and his art of arousing the men's confidence in his otherwise unmartial-looking person. He could quickly achieve superficial organisation and discipline, but was satisfied at that. He neglected to build up a body of picked troops, for which the first Transylvanian campaign provided time enough and which was the *greatest necessity*, and hence all the outward organisation—and relative discipline—disappeared at the first setback. His bigger campaign plans all bear a heavy *empreinte*[a] of partisan warfare; the basic features are mostly correct but presuppose far different means from those available, and even supposing that they were available they could be put to better use. E.g. his plan to abandon Hungary and break through to Italy via Trieste. Had the means for this been at his disposal and capable of being concentrated, the forces would thus have been provided with which to defeat Haynau,

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'*Brune* was not without a certain merit, but all considered, he was a tribune general rather than a formidable soldier' (p. 64).

'*Mortier*, less brilliant, was however more reliable; his calm and sangfroid, which became proverbial among his soldiers, won him success more than once, and he was one of those who could lead a corps under my direction' (p. 64).

'*Bessières* had proved his worth with me in the army of Italy, in which he commanded my mounted guides. All he had to distinguish him was a great spirit of order and a recognised valour. He was methodical and excessively timid at the council table' (p. 64).

'*Lefebvre*, Duke of Danzig, was a true grenadier. A child of nature, he owed everything to his natural wit, to his great bravery and his straightforward, naive character. He knew how to win the soldiers' love and lead them straight into action; that was where his merit lay' (p. 64).

'*Jourdan* owed much of his reputation to fortune. A good administrator, hard-working, a man of order and integrity. And had he had training, he would have made a very good chief of staff of a great army under a commander who directed him well' (p. 64).

'*Macdonald* ... manoeuvred very badly at La Trebbia' (p. 65).

[a] stamp

whereupon the Russians, instead of concentrating, would *have been obliged* to split up in order to hold what they had captured, and hence could have been defeated piecemeal. It must not be forgotten, however, that in an insurrectionary war these partisan methods are partially justified precisely because of the uncertainty concerning the means really available; the bigger the scale of the war, however, the less appropriate they become.[a]

[...] Can you find out what *Bockbrücken* (*ponts à chevalets*[b]) are in English? I should also like to have a description of the Austrian Birago pontoons and a brief excerpt—merely an outline—on the design of pontoons in the various armies (SEE Sir Howard Douglas, *Military Bridges*), also whether the Russians and Prussians still have canvas pontoons. I have no material here, and such as I have in Manchester is very old. I have something on English pontoons [...].

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## 91

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN RYDE

[London,] 15 September [1857]

Dear Engels,

You must excuse my silence and non-ACKNOWLEDGMENT of your various packages, due firstly to a great deal of work and secondly to numerous time-consuming errands in which 'inner compulsion' played no part whatever. I trust *your health continues to improve* despite the bad weather, and have still not abandoned the NOTION that you will be taking iron in the end. Only I'm afraid all this writing may be harmful to you.

I expect a letter from Dana on Friday. Today I sent him 'Barclay', 'Berthier', 'Blum', 'Bourrienne'[202] and your contributions.[c] It is important that I should send off the 2nd lot of B's next week. I have certain queries to put to you in my next about the

[a] Engels' description of Bem was partly reproduced in the article 'Bem' by Marx and Engels. - [b] trestle-bridges - [c] 'Barbette', 'Bastion' and 'Bayonet'

French generals who are next on my list. As to Bem's Polish DEEDS have found the following[a]:

'Distinguished himself at the battle of Iganin, when he engaged 40 Russian heavy calibre cannon with 12 light and 4 heavy guns, and subsequently at the battle of Ostrolenka.[203] Here he galloped his battery up to the line of Russian skirmishers, subjected the detachments which had crossed the Narev to devastating fire, withstood a hail of shot from 80 guns, and forced the enemy to withdraw. After this engagement promoted to colonel, shortly afterwards to command of the entire artillery and, when the Polish forces were concentrating at Warsaw, to general. During 5 and 6 September Bem committed all his guns to battle, siting his field pieces between the separate defensive works of the outer line. On the 6th, he advanced with 40 guns until he was just below Wola, already in Russian hands, but, having neither infantry nor cavalry in support, was compelled to retire. When the Polish army fell back on Praga during the night of the 7th, he occupied the bridge with 40 guns. On the morning of the 8th, however, he was informed of the agreement made with the Russians and of Malachowski's order to proceed with the artillery to Modlin. Cf. his memoir, *Allgemeine Augsburger Zeitung*, 1831, in which he discusses recent developments and attacks Krukowiecki.'[b]

I don't trust the above authority an inch and would therefore ask you to investigate and to do me a short, amended version of the passage concerned, if possible putting it straight into English.

I shall look up the information you ask for at the Museum tomorrow.[c]

Your

K. M.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN RYDE

[London,] 17 September[d] [1857]

Dear Engels,

*'Bernadotte'* is a difficult subject. The French generals who wrote under Louis Philippe are mostly his unqualified PARTISANS, just as

[a] The source quoted below has not been found. - [b] See J. Bem, 'Ueber die Vertheidigung Warschau's am 6 und 7 Sept. 1831', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nos. 470-75, 3-6 December 1831. - [c] A reference to the material for Engels' article 'Bridge, Military' which Marx promised to look up for him in the British Museum Library. - [d] April in the original

the present writers under Boustrapa[40] are his unqualified opponents. The main points at issue upon which I should appreciate information from you are:

1. His part in the battle of Austerlitz[204] as a consequence of the manoeuvres he executed before the same.

2. His conduct at the battle of Jena[46]; and *before* the battle of Eylau.[191]

3. His conduct at the battle of Wagram.[206]

As regards his embassy in Vienna, things were not quite as you present them.[a] It has been *shown* (by *inter alia* Schlosser, *Zur Beurtheilung Napoleons*) that the Bonapartist journals in Paris denounced Bernadotte as a royalist because he did *not* hang out the French flag. They drove him into taking the step which Bonaparte subsequently disavowed.

All in all, Bonaparte sensed that Bernadotte was the 'statesman' amongst his generals and one intent on pursuing his 'own plans'. He, and more notably his brothers, by their base and petty intrigues against Bernadotte, gave him greater prominence than he could otherwise have laid claim to.

Napoleon was, in general, beastly to anyone he suspected of 'self-seeking'.

Your
K. M.

*Blücher.* I'd like you to write something about his principal battles, his military qualities generally and, finally, the tactical merits upon which Griesheim lays so much stress.[b]

*Bessières, Brune, Brown, Bugeaud,* ditto.

*Bosquet* in the Crimean campaign.

Let me have Dana's list of B's as I have lost my copy.

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, p. 165. - [b] G. von Griesheim, *Vorlesungen über die Taktik.*

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Ryde, Friday, 18 September 1857

Dear Marx,

Your letter arrived yesterday afternoon, too late for me to get anything done for B. Moreover, I was in Portsmouth when the letter got here, so that more time was lost, otherwise I'd have been able to translate the Bem thing for you.[a] You seem to be having bad weather; here it's persistently fine, only too hot; last week there was an occasional heavy shower, but apart from that it was fine and warm all the time. The climate here is really marvellous and the vegetation, except for things needing very hot sunshine, is so southern one might almost be in Naples. The hedges are laurel. I'm improving rapidly, the actual complaint is quite *over*, there's no longer a sign of inflamed glands and my one concern now is the process—admittedly a lengthy one—of patching up, getting the sores to heal, and putting on flesh and fat. Bathing does me a great deal of good and I find I can swim like a fish again—proof of how well my treatment is going. I've been to see Pieper at Bognor; quite a nice little place, but not a patch on Ryde; I wonder how long he'll stay there—he's lucky, but for that very reason his 'yeenius' is again reasserting itself; he attributes his luck to personal merit and already half fancies himself king of Bognor. He's coming over on Sunday and Steffen too, perhaps. I am going to Brighton SOMETIME NEXT WEEK and sailing from there to Jersey; Schramm is also going there,[188] or so he writes. Why don't you slip down to Brighton and, if it can be fitted in with the work, come to Jersey too? Anyhow the sea-trip would do you good. What do you think? I shall stay here until Tuesday at any rate, perhaps even longer: *je verrai.*[b]

As to Bem, all I should say is this:

*At the battle of Iganin, where he commanded the artillery, he was noticed for the skill and perseverance with which he fought it against the superior Russian batteries. At Ostrolenka, he again commanded the artillery in this capacity[c]; when the Polish army

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[a] See this volume, pp. 166-68. - [b] I shall see - [c] as an artillery major

had been finally repulsed in its attacks against the Russians who had passed the Narev, he covered the retreat by a bold advance with the whole of his guns.[203] He was now created colonel, soon after general and called to the command in chief of the whole Polish artillery. When the Russians assaulted the entrenchments of Warsaw and took Wola, Bem advanced with forty guns against this, the principal work of the whole line, but the superior force of Russian artillery opposed to him prevented the Polish infantry from returning to the assault and compelled Bem to retire.*[a]

The other matters are quite trivial. I have no material to hand about Iganin; it was a quite unimportant engagement, the defence of a dam, rendered fruitless as usual by an outflanking movement—the 40 cannon of *heavy* calibre are certainly a figment, likewise the Russian *retreat* at Ostrolenka, which can only have referred to *tirailleurs*[b] and *soutiens*,[c] or a couple of exposed battalions. What I have said above puts the thing in the most favourable light, for Diebitsch *forbade* any pursuit.

Many thanks for the thing on bridges.[d] Wholly adequate. On Sunday or Monday I shall be sending you 'Battle', 'Battery' and any other B's I have finished, and then get on smartly with the remainder. I shall also let you have something on Blücher one of these days, as soon as I've read through Müffling.[e]

Which French generals and which of their exploits do you wish me to investigate more particularly? Allow me as much time as possible since I can't work very well for more than 2 hours at a stretch.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Part of this passage was used by Marx and Engels in their article 'Bem'. - [b] skirmishers - [c] second-line troops - [d] excerpts from various sources made by Marx for the article 'Bridge, Military', on which Engels was working - [e] [F.K.F.] Müffling, *Passages from My Life*.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN RYDE

[London,] 21 September 1857
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

Nothing could please me more than to hear that your health is progressing.

Last Friday, a letter arrived from Dana, cool and curt. I replied that I would complain to the POST OFFICE at once. Further, having *'Algeria'* and *'Ammunition'* to hand, I sent them off[207] with the comment that I had ***copies*** of them; also that I had *'Army'* in the *original,* and would send it off immediately a fresh copy had been made (I did this because in recent letters you have several times mentioned that 'Army' was almost finished); also, that *'Artillery'* would for the most part come under the HISTORY OF CANNON and that I *no longer* had the manuscript. The *only A's now remaining*—and these I would send on the off-chance, although it is probably by now too late—were, all told, 'Army', 'Armada' and 'Ayacucho'. I mentioned the last 2 because you can keep them *quite short,* while the material I have sent you will provide some original stuff on the Armada and Ayacucho (about Espartero). That's how matters stand.

Tomorrow I shall send off 3 more biographies.[a]

My circumstances won't permit me to come to Brighton, still less accompany you to Jersey.

On closer examination I find that all I want from you on the generals under B is an answer to my question about Bernadotte together with the essentials concerning Blücher, Bugeaud, Bosquet (in the Crimean War). I have enough on the other Frenchmen. Finally, Sir *G. Brown,* about whom I know nothing. Not much needed on the man.

I have sent Dana your B and C lists.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] 'Bennigsen' by Marx and Engels and 'Blum' and 'Bourrienne' by Marx

## 95

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Ryde, 21 September 1857

Dear Marx,

Steffen and Pieper have been here in company with a friend of Pieper's and, as the two last have only just left, I've hardly any time before the post goes to take a look at the enclosed article[a] or write to you about 'Bernadotte'.

*Austerlitz.*[204] He was sent to Iglau[b] by Napoleon in order to keep an eye on the Archduke Ferdinand in Bohemia. Having received in good time Napoleon's order to come to Brünn,[c] which he did, he was placed with his corps between Soult and Lannes (in the centre) where he helped repulse the outflanking movement of the allied right wing. I don't recall any particularly important action of Bernadotte's on this occasion, nor can I find anything in Jomini.[d]

*Jena.*[205] Here it is a fact that Bernadotte did indeed receive orders from Napoleon to march from Naumburg to Dornburg while Davout, who was also in Naumburg, was to march to Apolda. The order received by Davout stated that, if Bernadotte had already joined him, they might *both* march to Apolda together. Davout was in favour of the latter, having reconnoitred the Prussian lines of advance in person and satisfied himself that Bernadotte wouldn't meet the enemy in the Dornburg direction. He even offered *to place himself under Bernadotte's command.* The latter, however, insisted that, in the orders *he* had received, the passage relating to Apolda did not appear, and he moved off. The result was that on the 14th he spent the whole day marching round without meeting the enemy, while Davout was compelled to fight alone at Auerstedt. Had Bernadotte been there, or had he simply marched towards the thunder of the cannon on the 14th, this *au fond*[e] indecisive victory could have been every bit as decisive as the one at Jena. Only because of the meeting of the Auerstedt Prussian army with the fugitives from Jena and also

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[a] F. Engels, 'Battle'. - [b] Czech name: Jihlava. - [c] Czech name: Brno. - [d] A. H. Jomini, *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon,* t. 2. - [e] basically

because of the strategic preparations Napoleon had made for the battle, did the affair prove decisive after all in its consequences. *Why* Bernadotte did this nobody has ever found out. Jomini calls it *une exactitude trop scrupuleuse.*[a] Probably Bernadotte was glad to discredit Napoleon by sticking rigidly to his instructions, for in this instance the latter had undoubtedly acted on false premises.

*Eylau.*[191] When Bennigsen moved off to engage Ney's troops, who had ventured too far forward, Bernadotte being to their left rear, Napoleon laid a trap for him. Ney withdrew to the south and Bernadotte to the south-west with orders to lure Bennigsen towards the Vistula, while Napoleon marched north from Poland towards Bennigsen's communications. An orderly officer carrying written orders for Bernadotte was captured by the Cossacks and in this way Bennigsen learnt of the impending danger, which he just managed to elude. Bernadotte, on the other hand, remained without instructions as a result of the same incident and accordingly stayed to the rear of the line. I don't see that there is anything to reproach him with on this score.

*Wagram.*[206] On the first day of the battle

> 'Eugène[b] déboucha près de Wagram; mais, donnant ici au milieu des réserves ennemies, et n'étant pas soutenu par Bernadotte qui ne s'était engagé ni assez tôt ni assez franchement, il fut attaqué de front et en flanc, et ramené vertement jusqu'à ma garde.'[c]

I can discover nothing of special moment about Bernadotte on the 2nd day of the battle.

At all events Monsieur Bernadotte was not a great general; nowhere did he distinguish himself and even as a politician there was much of the Gascon in him—what an idea, wanting to become Emperor after Napoleon![d]

I have absolutely nothing to say about Bessières save that for the most part he was in command of the Guard, in particular the cavalry, a post that hardly demanded a superfluity of intelligence. He was brave, *voilà tout.*[e]

I intend to finish B this week if possible, or at any rate break

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[a] undue punctiliousness (A. H. Jomini, op. cit., p. 290) - [b] Beauharnais - [c] 'Eugène debouched near Wagram, but having arrived in the midst of the enemy reserves and not being supported by Bernadotte, who had not joined battle either early enough or resolutely enough, he was attacked on his front and flanks and was smartly driven back as far as my Guard' (A. H. Jomini, op. cit., t. 3, p. 266. Here Jomini quotes Napoleon). - [d] Engels' notes on Bernadotte were used by Marx in his article 'Bernadotte'. - [e] that's all

the back of the letter, after which I shall send you what is needed on Blücher. It's time for the post now.

Warm regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

What's the position as regards your trip?

Havelock seems to be the best chap in India, and it is a really tremendous feat to have marched 126 miles in a week in that climate, not to mention fighting 5 or 6 engagements. That it would end in a general outbreak of cholera might have been predicted.

I hardly see *The Times* at all here, otherwise I could write to you at greater length about India, but getting hold of newspapers to read here is altogether too difficult.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Ryde, 22 September 1857

Dear Marx,

Here is a bit more about Bernadotte at Wagram[206]: On 5 July, when the French attack had been halted—largely as a result of his irresolute conduct—Bernadotte was occupying the village of Aderklaa in the centre, and slightly in advance of the French line. On the morning of the 6th, when the Austrians moved up for a concentric attack, he was out in the open plain *in front of* Aderklaa instead of occupying the village in strength and positioning his front to the rear of it. When the Austrians arrived on the scene he thought this position too hazardous (on the previous day his troops had ultimately suffered severe losses owing to his irresolute conduct) and withdrew to a plateau *behind* Aderklaa, yet left the village *unoccupied,* whereupon Bellegarde's Austrians promptly occupied it in strength.

This endangered the French centre, and Masséna, who commanded it, sent forward a division which recaptured the place

only to be thrown out by d'Aspre's grenadiers. Then Napoleon himself arrived, assumed command and devised a new battle plan, thereby foiling the manoeuvres of the Austrians. If Jomini's account is at all accurate,[a] there can be absolutely no dispute about Bernadotte's blunders on this occasion.

'Army' is finished, so far as the historical side is concerned, up to the French Revolution. I shall now get on with the modern period and questions of organisation generally, with which I conclude, and then, as soon as possible, go back to doing B's so that you can keep on sending stuff, thus putting Mr Dana into a better humour. Meanwhile I have received a little more money and enclose a £5 note. Perhaps you will manage to spend one or two days in Brighton after all; I shall stay here a day or two longer and let you know when I am going there.

*Bugeaud.* Most of this is already implicit in the article 'Algeria'. He was a mediocre general whose victories in Algeria and Morocco are of no great significance. That he conquered Algeria with 100,000 men, adapted his conduct of the war there to the terrain and the enemy, and broke, or rather suppressed, the resistance of the Arabs (not the Kabyles), does not, to my mind, earn him a very high rating, for I don't believe he was responsible for the plans. He was something of a *sabreur*[b] and, on the Tafna,[208] showed not only that he was venal but also that he was irresolute when in a tight corner. With 100,000 men and subordinates such as Lamoricière, Changarnier, Cavaignac, Négrier and Duvivier, who had ten years of warfare behind them, he would not need very much natural ability to achieve something—especially since the French General Staff is *very good;* furthermore, his activity was largely confined to making dispositions (where there's no knowing how much was done *for him* by the staff) and to commanding the reserve, since only individual divisions and brigades were operating at any one spot.

*Bosquet.* On the Alma[209] he led the French right wing in an outflanking movement against the Russian left wing with a determination and speed which earned the recognition of the Russians; he even succeeded in getting the artillery onto the plateau up trackless defiles regarded as impassable. For this he would deserve high praise had he not been facing a numerically very much inferior opponent.—At Balaklava he was immediate-

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[a] A. H. Jomini, *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon*, t. 3. Engels' notes on Bernadotte (see this volume, pp. 164-65) were used by Marx in his article 'Bernadotte'. -
[b] swashbuckler

ly at hand to help disengage the English right wing, thus enabling the rest of the English light cavalry to withdraw under cover of his troops and discouraging the Russians from advancing any further. At Inkerman,[34] in the early hours of the morning, he was ready to intervene with 3 battalions and 2 batteries, but, his help having been refused, he placed 3 brigades in reserve behind the English right wing (on the Chernaya slope) and at 11 o'clock moved up with 2 of them into the firing line, whereupon the Russians began to withdraw. The English had committed all their troops whereas the Russians still had 16 battalions at their disposal and, but for Bosquet, the English would have been lost. The 16 intact Russian battalions covered the retreat. There could be little question of pursuit in this case, there being no more than 3,000 paces between the battle field and the edge of the plateau. On each occasion, then, Bosquet showed himself quick off the mark, alert, active, in short, an exemplary corps commander—as he did also throughout the time he led the covering corps on the Chernaya slope.[a] Whether he's up to much as a *général en chef* is hard to say; he has a number of qualities and if, as in his case, a man is a first-rate vanguard general, all that remains is for him to prove his *strategic* ability, but for this there was not much opportunity throughout the whole of the Sebastopol campaign.[210]

*Blücher.* During the 1794 campaign in the Palatinate[211] he distinguished himself as an outpost general and light cavalry commander. The best proof of this is to be found in his published diary, still regarded as a classic despite the bad German.[b] He kept the French constantly on the *qui vive,* while providing his headquarters with first-rate intelligence on the movements of the enemy, and he was continually carrying out *coups de main* and surprise attacks, for the most part successfully. At Auerstedt in 1806,[205] when his cavalry charge miscarried, his advice that it be repeated using all available reinforcements was rejected (*this from memory*). His withdrawal to Lübeck and the stubborn stand he put up is one of the few honourable episodes in this affair, though during the course of it his strategic moves were often of the Hussar type. Nor was it his fault that he was finally captured for, like the whole of the Prussian army, he was cut off and had, moreover, the longest detour to make round the rearguard. During the period up to 1813 he was regarded by Scharnhorst and the Tugendbund[212] (being one of its known leaders,

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[a] Almost the whole of this passage is reproduced in the article 'Bosquet' by Marx and Engels. - [b] G. L. Blücher, *Kampagne-Journal der Jahre 1793 und 1794.*

Gneisenau remained throughout his life SUSPECT in the King's[a] eyes) as the only possible and suitable leader and was dubbed a hero by them, as Hecker was by Blind and Co.[213] Nor could they have picked on a better man. He was, as Müffling says,[b] THE MODEL OF A SOLDIER while at the same time sharing to the full the intense popular antipathy to Napoleon and the French. Plebeian in his appetites, dialect, turns of phrase and manners, he had a tremendous gift for inspiring the common soldier with enthusiasm. As a soldier he possessed reckless courage, a keen eye for terrain, quickness of decision and enough intelligence to discover for *himself* what was best in more simple situations, and to rely on Gneisenau and Müffling in more complex ones. Of strategy, he had no inkling.

*'It was no secret to Europe, that Prince Blücher who had now, 1815, passed his 70th year, understood nothing whatever of the conduct of a war; so little, indeed, that when a plan was laid before him for approval, even relating to some unimportant operation, he could not form any clear idea of it or judge whether it was good or bad.'*

For he was quite incapable of reading a map, a strategical disability he shared with almost half of Napoleon's marshals. On the other hand he had Gneisenau, whom he trusted implicitly. Without Blücher, the campaign of 1813 and 1814 would have ended very differently; no other general of that time could have done what he did—namely, by means of a victory and a skilfully conducted pursuit (Katzbach[c]) weld the most refractory elements (Langeron and York in open rebellion against him) into a homogeneous army[214] capable of anything and with which, on his own responsibility, he could risk marching on Wartenburg and the Saale—militarily a most audacious but politically (because of Bernadotte) an essential move, thereby abandoning all his communications and compelling the sluggish large army (which he had saved in Silesia after the battle of Dresden,[215] by pursuing the French as far as Bautzen so that Napoleon had to turn against him) to chance its arm too at Leipzig.[198] Altogether it was a somewhat rebellious time, and Blücher had agreed with $^3/_4$ of the Army of the North (Bülow, Tauentzien, Wintzingerode) that if Bernadotte made no move they would, on their own responsibility, join up with Blücher. After the battle of Leipzig, Blücher was the only one who applied himself in any way to the pursuit, though

[a] Frederick William III - [b] [F. K. F.] Müffling, *Passages from My Life* (below Engels quotes from p. 225 of this book). - [c] Polish name: Kaczawa.

even this wasn't what it should have been—he was hampered by the presence of the princes. The strategic blunders that were so severely punished in the Montmirail region in 1814 must be laid at the door of Gneisenau and Müffling,[216] while the decision to march on Paris, *coûte que coûte*,[a] which resolved the campaign, must be credited to Blücher. The march on Waterloo in 1815 after the battle of Ligny[217] is another considerable feather in Blücher's cap; here he is almost without equal and no general except Blücher could have spurred his troops on to such EFFORTS—namely, to embark forthwith on the exemplary pursuit to Paris which ranks equally with that from Jena[46] to Stettin[b] as a classic prototype. That Blücher was able to overawe even abler generals is evident from his attitude to Langeron (who had commanded a large army against the Turks and was a cultivated French émigré) and to York, both of whom, for all their initial refractoriness, not only soon submitted to him, but actually went right over onto his side, becoming his best subordinates. *Au fond*[c] Blücher was a cavalry general; that was his speciality and in it he excelled because this is a purely tactical role which does not presuppose any strategic knowledge. He asked a great deal of his troops but they did it, and willingly, and I don't suppose any other 19th-century general save Napoleon and, more latterly, Radetzky, could have exacted from them what Blücher did. It should further be recognised that nowhere and at no time did he lose head or heart, that he was as dogged in defence as he was resolute in attack and that in difficult situations he was quick to make up his mind. *Enfin*,[d] in the 1813-15 war, which was half way to being an insurrectionary war, he was quite the right man and was well complemented by his staff; and such being the case he was a *very dangerous* adversary.[e]

Your
F. E.

Note O/H *06012*, Manchester, *15 Jan. 1857*

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[a] at whatever cost - [b] Szczecin - [c] Basically - [d] Finally - [e] Engels' description of Blücher here was used in the article 'Blücher' by Marx and Engels.

## 97

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN RYDE

[London,] 23 September [1857]

Dear Engels,

Very many thanks for the letter and enclosure.

I would, of course, very much like to see you before you leave. *If at all feasible* I shall come down to Brighton. The trouble is that the end of the quarter brings an accumulation of all the DIFFICULTIES one has been staving off throughout the summer. The main thing—and the only way out of my quandary—is to get on quickly with the *Cyclopaedia.* The coming of autumn also means redeeming this and that from the pawnshops.

I hope to have done with the biographies (all of them) by next week.[218] (Is there anything to be said about that jackass, *Sir G. Brown?*)

I have begun a SERIES in the *Tribune* on the Bonaparte régime's deeds of financial derring-do.[219] To this I devote the days when there is no Indian news. I should like also to have a personal discussion with you about India, MAP IN HAND. Up till now I have always managed instinctively to hit the nail on the head. But soon it will be time for me to provide a kind of *general military summary* of the affair.

A few days ago, on my way to the Museum,[a] I came such a purler that my forehead is still complaining.

I trust you are taking iron. A day or two ago I was talking to Dr Lichtenberg at the German hospital, a very knowledgable little chap. He said that it was indispensable in after-treatment.

Your
K. M.

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[a] the British Museum

# 98

## ENGELS TO MARX[220]

### IN LONDON

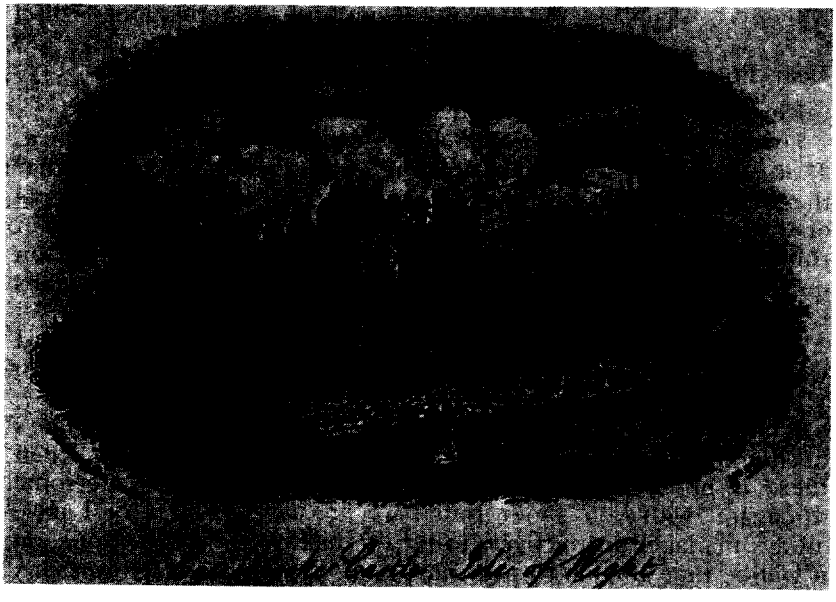

Ryde, 24 September 1857

Dear Marx,

Depicted above is the castle where Cromwell incarcerated Charles I for a while. I shall inspect it more closely on Sunday.

Your wishes concerning India coincided with an idea I had that you might perhaps like to have my views on the business. At the same time I took the opportunity of going over the contents of the latest MAIL map in hand and *voici ce qui en résulte.*[a]

The situation of the English in the middle and upper reaches of the Ganges is so incongruous that militarily speaking the only right course would be to effect a junction between Havelock's column and the one from Delhi, if possible at Agra, after each had done everything possible to evacuate the detached or invested

[a] here is the result

garrisons in the area; to man, besides Agra, only the neighbouring stations *south* of the Ganges, especially Gwalior (on account of the Central Indian princes) and to hold the stations lower down the Ganges—Allahabad, Benares, Dinapur—with the existing garrisons and reinforcements from Calcutta; meanwhile to escort women and non-combatants down river, so that the troops again become mobile; and to employ mobile columns to instil respect in the region and to obtain supplies. If Agra cannot be held, there must be a withdrawal to Cawnpore or Allahabad; the latter *to be held at all costs* since it is the key to the territory between the Ganges and the Jumna.

If *Agra* can be held and the Bombay army remains available, the armies of Bombay and Madras must hold the peninsula proper up to the latitude of Ahmedabad and Calcutta and send out columns to establish communications with the north—the Bombay army via Indor and Gwalior to Agra, the Madras army via Saugor and Gwalior to Agra, and via Jubbulpore to Allahabad. The other lines of communication would then run to Agra from the Punjab, assuming it is held, and from Calcutta via Dinapur and Allahabad, so that there would be 4 lines of communication and, excluding the Punjab, 3 lines of withdrawal, to Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Concentrating the troops arriving from the south at Agra would, therefore, serve the dual purpose of keeping the Central Indian princes in check and subduing the insurgent districts astride the line of march.

If Agra cannot be held, the Madras army must first establish communications with Allahabad and then make for Agra with the Allahabad troops, while the Bombay army makes for Gwalior.

The Madras army would seem to have been recruited exclusively from the ragtag and bobtail and to that extent is reliable. In Bombay they have 150 or more Hindus to a battalion and these are dangerous in that they may disaffect the rest. If the Bombay army revolts, all military calculations will temporarily cease to apply, and then nothing is more certain than that there'll be one colossal MASSACRE from Kashmir to Cape Comorin. If the situation in Bombay is such that in future also the army cannot be used against the insurgents, then at least the Madras columns, which will by now have pushed on beyond Nagpur, will have to be reinforced and communications established as speedily as possible with Allahabad or Benares.

The absurdity of the position in which the English have now been placed by the total absence of any real supreme command is

demonstrated mainly by 2 complementary circumstances, namely, 1. that they permit themselves to be invested when dispersed over a host of small, far flung stations while 2. they tie down their one and only mobile column in front of Delhi where not only can it do nothing but is actually going to pot. The English general who ordered the march on Delhi[a] deserves to be cashiered and hanged, for he must have known what we have only just learned, viz. that the British had strengthened the old fortifications to the point where the place could only be taken by a systematic siege, for which a minimum of 15-20,000 men would be required, and far more if it was *well* defended. Now that they are there they will have *to stick it out for political reasons*; a withdrawal would be a defeat and will nevertheless be difficult to avoid.[b]

Havelock's troops have worked wonders. 126 miles in 8 days including 6 to 8[c] engagements in that climate and at this time of year is truly superhuman. But they're also quite played out; he, too, will probably have to let himself be invested after exhausting himself still further by excursions over a narrow radius round Cawnpore. Or he will have to return to Allahabad.

The actual route of reconquest will run up the valley of the Ganges. Bengal proper will be easier to hold since the population has so greatly degenerated; the really dangerous region begins at Dinapur. Hence the positions at Dinapur, Benares, Mirzapur and particularly Allahabad are of the utmost importance; from Allahabad, it would first be necessary to take the Doab (between the Ganges and the Jumna) and the cities on these two rivers, then Oudh, then the rest. The lines from Madras and Bombay to Agra and Allahabad can only be secondary lines of operations.

The main thing, as always, is concentration. The reinforcements sent up the Ganges are scattered all over the place and so far not one man has reached Allahabad. Unavoidable, perhaps, if these stations were to be made secure and then again, perhaps not.[d] At all events, the number of stations to be held must be reduced to a minimum and forces must be concentrated for the field. If C. Campbell, about whom we know nothing save that he is a brave man, wants to distinguish himself as a general, he must create a mobile army, *coûte que coûte*,[e] whether or not Delhi is abandoned.

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[a] George Anson - [b] In the original Marx marked this paragraph with a vertical line in the margin (the italics are also his). - [c] The figures were inserted by Marx. - [d] In the original the first three sentences of this paragraph were marked with a vertical line by Marx. - [e] cost what it may

And where, *summa summarum,* there are 25-30,000 European soldiers, no situation is so desperate that 5,000 at least cannot be mustered for a campaign, their losses being made good by the garrisons withdrawn from the stations. Only *then* will Campbell be able to see how he stands and what kind of enemy is actually confronting him. THE ODDS ARE, HOWEVER, that LIKE A FOOL he will *se blottir devant*[a] Delhi and watch his men go to pot AT THE RATE OF 100 A DAY, in which case it will be all the more 'brave' simply to stay there until everyone has cheerfully met his doom. Now as in the past brave stupidity is the order of the day.[b]

Concentration of forces for the fighting in the north, vigorous support from Madras and, if possible, from Bombay, that's all. Even if the Mahratta princes[221] on the Nerbudda defect it can do little harm save by way of an example, for their troops are already with the insurgents. Certainly the very most that can be done is to hold out until the first reinforcements arrive from Europe at the end of October. But if a few more Bombay regiments revolt, that will be the end of strategy and tactics; it's there that the decision lies.[222]

I leave for Brighton on Tuesday at the latest and set out from there for Jersey at 10 o'clock on Wednesday night, but will let you have further details, and hope that you will come. Tomorrow shall start on 'Battery', etc.[223] Today I drove round the island and, as I again slogged away until 3 o'clock yesterday, now propose to have a good long sleep.

Your
F. E.

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[a] squat down before - [b] Marx marked the last two sentences with a vertical line in the original.

# 99

## MARX TO ENGELS[224]

IN RYDE

[London,] 25 September 1857

Dear Engels,

I presume you will have received today my letter of the day before yesterday acknowledging the £5. I cannot understand the delay, having myself taken it to the post on time.

Your *'Army'* is capital; except that I was thunderstruck by the sheer bulk of it—so much work can't possibly be good for you. And if I'd known that you would work late into the night I would rather have let the whole thing go to the devil.

More graphically than anything else the history of the ARMY demonstrates the rightness of our views as to the connection between the productive forces and social relations. Altogether, the ARMY is of importance in economic development. E.g. it was in the army of Antiquity that the *salaire*[a] was first fully developed. Likewise the *peculium castrense* in Rome, the first legal form according recognition to the movable property of others than fathers of families. Likewise the guild system in the corporation of the *fabri*.[225] Here too the first use of machinery on a large scale. Even the special value of metals and their USE as money would seem to have been based originally—as soon as Grimm's Stone Age was over—on their significance in war. Again, the division of labour *within* a branch was first put into practice by armies. All this, moreover, a very striking epitome of the whole history of civil societies. If you ever have the time, you might work the thing out from that point of view.

The only points I think you have overlooked in your account are: 1. the earliest manifestation of a ready-made mercenary system on a large scale AND AT ONCE among the Carthaginians (for our own PRIVATE USE I shall take a look at a work—previously unknown to me—by a Berlin man on the Carthaginian armies[b]); 2. the development of the army system in the 15th and early 16th centuries in Italy, where tactical ruses, at any rate, were perfected. Likewise an extremely humorous description of Machiavelli's

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[a] wages - [b] Presumably W. Bötticher's *Geschichte der Carthager*.

(which I shall extract for you) in his *History of Florence*[a] of how the *condottieri*[226] fought. (But if I come and meet you in Brighton (when?),[227] perhaps I had better bring you the Machiavelli. The *History of Florence* is a masterpiece.) Lastly, 3. the Asiatic military system as it first appeared in Persia and subsequently in various much modified forms among, *inter alia,* the Mongols and Turks.

In writing my biographies, etc., I naturally had to consult all sorts of encyclopaedias, including German ones. In so doing I discovered that, under the headings 'Labour', 'Classes', 'Production', etc., much had been systematically if stupidly cribbed from us. On the other hand, everyone had eschewed all mention of ourselves, even when devoting whole columns to Mr Edgar Bauer and other such panjandrums. *Tant mieux pour nous.*[b] The biographies in the German encyclopaedias are written for children under 8 years of age. The French, if biased, are at least urbane. The English encyclopaedias crib systematically from the French and German. In the latter, the same fellows appear to unload the same twaddle onto different publishers. Ersch and Gruber[c] not much good except in the later volumes, wherein many learned articles.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Pauly's *Realencyclopädie des Alterthums* is reliable.

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## 100

## ENGELS TO MARX[228]

IN LONDON

St. Hélier, Jersey, 6 October 1857
3 Edward Place

Dear Marx,

*L'affaire* Harney resolved itself when the noble fellow called on Schramm yesterday evening while I was there. He has grown a

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[a] N. Machiavelli, *Le Istorie Fiorentine* (in *Tutte le opere di Niccolò Machiavelli...,* t. 1). - [b] So much the better for us. - [c] *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*

big, jet-black beard thereby giving himself a strange appearance in some ways not unlike that of the greasy Jew in the boat that brought us ashore from the STEAMER; CERTAINLY an IMPROVEMENT. He made rather light of his Jersey POLITICS, saying he got A GREAT DEAL OF FUN out of them, etc.[229]; the more serious view he certainly takes of them will no doubt emerge later on. Afterwards he and I went on a mild spree and I got him to tell me about the constitution, etc., etc., here; not a word was said about the old days. For the time being he seems DAM'D GLAD to have withdrawn from high politics into his little *royaume des aveugles.* As a *borgne*[a] he's king of the opposition here, on his right THE FIRST GROCER, on his left THE FIRST TALLOW-CHANDLER IN THE TOWN. The battles are fought out in Royal Square and it was here that the GROCER knocked DOWN the *rédacteur en chef* of the *Impartial de Jersey,* a Bonapartist spy called Lemoine, the upshot of which was a lawsuit that has gone on for the past year and is to be decided on Monday. The *Impartial* has been suspended since the beginning of the monetary crisis in Paris and, so long as this lasts, will remain so. In Harney's view the whole history of Jersey may be divided into 2 periods: before and after the Hejira, or the expulsion of the *crapauds.*[230] They are noteworthy for the fact that nothing happened during either of them.

Schramm is busy with plans for new lodgings but will probably stay where he is after all. I urged him to move further south but, like most people in his condition, he tends to be contrary and also says that it is a question of money and that his relatives were already doing what they could. From Harney's description it's often downright cold here in winter when there's an east wind, and Schramm lives on the side of the town most exposed to the north-west winds. If, as he says, his difficulty in walking is no greater than it was three years ago, the disease may of course drag on for some time yet. Proof that here, too, people can contract consumption and die of it is provided by a case in this very house, for the daughter of my fat landlady succumbed to it. I hardly like to speak to him any more about moving south; it rubs him up the wrong way and he is after all very tetchy, as is only natural. As things stand I have not yet got down to work and there is also a mass of letters to be written; but tomorrow I shall make a start.

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[a] Engels alludes to the French saying, 'Au royaume des aveugles les borgnes sont rois' ('In the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed man is king').

Yesterday I walked to the north coast—5 or 6 miles from here, very good roads, a pretty avenue here and there, magnificent blackberries *en masse* and a few very lovely small inlets on the coast. The island forms a plateau and once you're on top, it rises very gently almost as far as the north coast, and the beds of the streams are quite shallow. From the northern end you can see a long stretch of France (west coast of the Département de la Manche) and the island of Sark. I couldn't see Guernsey.

Schramm's brother[a] has informed him that a friend of his, a (probably Prussian) lawyer by the name of Berger,[b] about 50 years old, will be arriving in a few days and will spend the winter here. Do you know this individual? Presumably the fellow lives in London, and it is always as well to be informed to some extent about Mr Rudolf Schramm's acquaintances. I have a vague recollection that a fellow of this description bumped into us once in London.

I have also tracked down Steffen's guerrilla warfare in respect of Berg and the Mark: Holleben, *Militairische Betrachtungen aus den Erfahrungen eines preussischen Offiziers.* This book is his chief authority and maintains that the hedge and ditch country in parts of the Mark and Cleves recalls La Vendée,[231] and is admirably suited to a people's war. Not so the people who live there, unfortunately—this being the flat, agricultural part of the Mark. For the rest the book is a good one, but just the thing to encourage Steffen's predilection for skirmishes and guerrilla warfare; it leans too far in this direction.

Enclosed the list for C with comments [232]

Kindest regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Rudolf Schramm - [b] Engels means Hermann Buck.

# 101

## ENGELS TO MARX[233]

IN LONDON

[St. Hélier,] Jersey, 19 October 1857
3 Edward Place

Dear Marx,

Herewith the BALANCE of the old sins of omission, also the original notes on the Armada. I couldn't quite decipher some of the names, which you will have to try and fill in.[234] I am now going on to the HISTORY OF CANNON.[235]

Schramm seems to me to be getting rather worse, though his condition changes from day to day. At present he has Berger[a] with him, a philistine sent by his brother,[b] who has taken lodgings in the same house and to whom he is giving English lessons. He's a dirty-minded old Prussian who tells lewd jokes devoid of wit about all the court rabble in Berlin, *que le diable l'emporte!*[c] I haven't seen FRIEND Harney for a week. He's awfully stupid and feels very COMFORTABLE indeed in his philistine role here, although even on his PAPER[d] he is clearly subject to the owner's censorship. He anticipates, of course, that sooner or later the English workers will do something or other, but that it won't be at all in the Chartist line, and anyway what he says is so much theoretical hot air and he would undoubtedly detest being jolted out of his petty philistine agitation here. HE IS VERY BUSY, BUT BUSY DOING NOTHING. His friend the GROCER, who thrashed the French spy,[e] has been fined £5.

Besides the HISTORY OF CANNON, I intend to do a few of the shorter things and send them to you from time to time so that Dana may see that we're keeping the ball rolling. But do send me those notes about which I wrote to you, and the list of military articles for *D.* I presume you got the letter containing the copy of the C list,[232] and also the article 'Military Bridges'[f] sent off later.

I have firmly resolved to return to Manchester in a fortnight's time. Business has taken a very nasty turn and it's important for

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[a] Engels means Hermann Buck. - [b] Rudolf Schramm - [c] the devil take him! - [d] *The Jersey Independent* - [e] Lemoine - [f] F. Engels, 'Bridge, Military'.

me to be there. Moreover, my health is now good; yesterday, I spent 7 hours in the saddle, and I have also bidden farewell to virtue.

Your
F. E.

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## 102

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN ST. HÉLIER IN JERSEY

[London,] 20 October 1857

DEAR Frederick,

You must excuse my long silence. In the first place, we've had a visitor for the past week, to wit Imandt junior (aged 13), who has arrived here from Trier en route to his uncle,[a] and I have had to show the lad round. In the second, much work.

Now *d'abord*,[b] your plan to return to Manchester. You must know whether or not your presence is necessary. It certainly won't do your health any good, for the weather over here is ABOMINABLE. Allen thinks that you owe it to yourself to spend far more time recuperating in a better climate than the Manchester ONE, since any relapse might be fatal. But it must be supposed that you consult your doctor[c] before coming to a decision.

The American crisis—its outbreak in New York was forecast by us in the November 1850 *Revue*[d]—is BEAUTIFUL and has had IMMEDIATE repercussions on French industry, since silk goods are now being sold in New York more cheaply than they are produced in Lyons. The lamentations of the English MONEY ARTICLE WRITERS, who complain that, while their English TRADE is SOUND, their customers abroad are UNHEALTHY, are as original as they are diverting. How are the Manchester manufacturers getting on? Those in Glasgow have, it now transpires, sent off a great deal on consignment.

[a] probably Peter Imandt - [b] first - [c] Martin Heckscher - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Review. May to October [1850]'.

What do you think of the English in India? As usual the chaps are lucky even in adversity. I now have a pretty detailed list of their troop shipments since 18 June, along with the dates on which, by the government's reckoning, they *ought* to arrive and the *locus*[a] of arrival. The following is a resumé:

| Day of | Arrival | Total | Calcutta | Ceylon | Bombay | Karachi | Madras |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| September | 20 | 214 | 214 | | | | |
| October | 2 | 300 | 300 | | | | |
| | 15 | 1,906 | 124 | 1,782 | | | |
| | 17 | 288 | 288 | | | | |
| | 20 | 4,235 | 3,845 | 390 | | | |
| | 30 | 2,028 | 479 | 1,549 | | | |
| October | | 8,757 | 5,036 | 3,721 | | | |
| November | 1 | 3,495 | 1,234 | 1,629 | | 632 | |
| | 5 | 879 | 879 | | | | |
| | 10 | 2,700 | 904 | 340 | 400 | 1,056 | |
| | 12 | 1,633 | 1,633 | | | | |
| | 15 | 2,610 | 2,132 | 478 | | | |
| | 19 | 234 | | | | 234 | |
| | 20 | 1,216 | | 278 | 938 | | |
| | 24 | 406 | | 406 | | | |
| | 25 | 1,276 | | | | | 1,276 |
| | 30 | 666 | | 462 | 204 | | |
| November | | 15,115 | 6,782 | 3,593 | 1,542 | 1,922 | 1,276 |
| December | 1 | 354 | | | 354 | | |
| | 5 | 459 | | | 201 | | 258 |
| | 10 | 1,758 | | 607 | | 1,151 | |
| | 14 | 1,057 | | | 1,057 | | |
| | 15 | 948 | | | 647 | 301 | |
| | 20 | 693 | 185 | | 300 | 208 | |
| | 25 | 624 | | | | 624 | |
| December | | 5,893 | 185 | 607 | 2,559 | 2,284 | 258 |
| January | 1 | 340 | | | 340 | | |
| | 5 | 220 | | | | | 220 |
| | 15 | 140 | | | | | 140 |
| | 20 | 220 | | | | | 220 |
| January | | 920 | | | 340 | | 580 |
| Sept.-Jan. | | 30,899 | 12,217 | 7,921 | 4,431 | 4,206 | 2,114 |

[a] place

| DAY OF | ARRIVAL | TOTAL | Calcutta | Ceylon | Bombay | Karachi | Madras |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | TROOPS DESPATCHED BY OVERLAND MAIL | | | | | |
| OCTOBER | 2 | 235 | ENGINEERS | 117 | | 118 | |
| | 12 | 221 | Artillerymen | | | | |
| | 14 | 244 | ENGINEERS | 122 | | 122 | |
| OCTOBER | | 700 | | 460 | | 240 | |

The 30,899 men are composed of:

*INFANTRY:* 24,739
*ARTILLERY:* 2,334
*CAVALRY:* 3,826

Of the ARTILLERY, only 100 men arrive at Calcutta in October. The actual ARRIVALS commence on 15 November. The first cavalry arrives on 10 November.[a]

Now that I'm onto figures, here are a few more particulars about Bonaparte's economy. The *FUNDED DEBT* authentic. The *FLOATED* for 1856 and 1857 based on an AVERAGE estimate; for the other years, the *Moniteur*. (The French maintain that this FLOATED DEBT is 2,000 mill., which is what it seems to work out at.)

*FUNDED DEBT*

*Louis Philippe*
(18 years)

| Year | Mill. frs |
|---|---|
| 1831 | 162½ |
| 1832 | 150 |
| 1841 | 187½ |
| 1844 | 325 |
| 1847 | 87½ |
| Total | 912½ |
| AVERAGE for 18 years: | 50 |

*Bonaparte*
(6 years 1852-57)

| Year | Mill. frs |
|---|---|
| DECREE OF APRIL 1852 | 100 |
| MARCH 1853 | 250 |
| DECEMBER 1854 | 500 |
| JULY 1855 | 750 |
| August 1855 (Filiated from EXCESS of the SUBSCRIPTION) | 31¼ |
| 1857 (BANK OF FRANCE COIN) | 100 |
| Total | 1,731,250,000 |
| AVERAGE for 6 years: NEAR | 300 |

[a] This table, slightly abridged, was appended to Marx's article 'The Revolt in India' published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, 14 November 1857.

*FLOATING DEBT*

| | Mill. frs |
|---|---|
| *Louis Philippe* ABOUT | 1,000 |
| *Republic end of 1851 no more than* | 700 |

*Increases under Bonaparte*

| | Mill. frs |
|---|---|
| 1852 | 50 |
| 53 | $262^1/_4$ |
| 54 | $205^3/_4$ |
| 55 | $152^1/_4$ |
| 56 | $335^1/_8$ |
| 57 | |
| Total | 1,005 and FRACTION |
| Increases since the time of the Republic | 700 |
| | 1,705 mill. |

In addition, all MUNICIPAL and DEPARTMENTAL treasuries also up to their eyes in debt, *par ordre de Muphti.*[a]

If one reflects that, at the fellow's accession, the FUNDED DEBT was ABOUT 4,000 mill. frs—i.e. from the time of the First Republic's *Tiers consolidé*[b] onwards—and that in 6 years he increased the FUNDED and FLOATING DEBT by ABOUT 2,700 millions, there can be no contesting that his stay in London was a fruitful one. Moreover, in *his* estimate of the *dette flottante* such curious tricks are played with the *SINKING FUND*, etc., that the AUDITING is exceedingly equivocal. But the fellow is not without a certain gambler's humour. By his reckoning there was no deficit *whatever* and no FLOATING DEBT in 1852—the 1st year of the imperial millennium. For he placed 50 million frs to the ACCOUNT of 1851 (in accordance with the absurd French practice, the 1851 budget was FIXED in August 1850, but not CLOSED until 1854), and debited 1853 with the balance. Unlike Louis Philippe, he ushered in his régime with a *NO DEFICIT*, but in 1853, the very next year, unblushingly presented the biggest FLOATING DEBT France had known since 1800. When in 1849 the Finance Minister, Passy, proposed that he limit and fund the FLOATING DEBT, he dismissed him forthwith and appointed Achille Fould. Come to that, his financial system is the same as Louis Philippe's save that it is *sans gêne,*[c] is taken to extremes, and SLEIGHTS OF HAND are the rule.

I shall send you what you require for the *Cyclopaedia* as soon as I have a moment to spare.

Your

K. M.

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[a] by order of the Mufti (i.e. of Napoleon III) - [b] *Tiers consolidé*—the French national debt after its reduction by two-thirds in 1797. - [c] brazen

Thank you for sending the articles.[a] The one name you failed to decipher was Lord Burleigh.

Best regards to Schramm.

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## 103

## ENGELS TO MARX[236]

IN LONDON

[St. Hélier,] Jersey, 29 October 1857
3 Edward Place

Dear Marx,

I shall be returning to Manchester a week from today,[183] but don't yet know what route I shall take. Your letter induced me to question Heckscher again (I had, of course, already consulted him concerning my return) about the possibility of a fatal relapse. From his reply I can only conclude that he believes a relapse might be fatal only if the lungs were affected, and is willing to guarantee that this will not be so in my case. At all events, he doesn't think Jersey is of much benefit to me any more; either the thing's over, or I must go much further south, and should anyhow return to Manchester, if only as an experiment, since I can always go away again. Now I'm simply waiting for some money and then I'll be off. By that time the HISTORY OF CANNON[235] will be finished and I'd rather do the other things—with possibly a few small exceptions—in Manchester where my books are. I should like to have the D list soon, otherwise Mr Dana will steal a march on us. What else does the noble fellow have to say, or haven't you heard from him?

So drastically has the iron acted on my blood that my pulse has begun racing madly and the blood is always rising to my head; it's

[a] A reference to the articles 'Armada' and 'Ayacucho' by Marx and Engels (see this volume, p. 173).

as though I'd been drinking—I feel quite fuddled and my excitation is such that I can't sleep at night. So for the time being I've had to stop taking it again. When I go back onto it in Manchester I shall have to reduce the dose considerably.

The advancing season is having a most debilitating effect on Schramm. Needless to say, he can only go out very little now and seldom comes into the town and only at the cost of considerable effort. The old philistine[a] sent to him by his brother[b] is a very bawdy fellow, who knows all the Berlin gossip, but in other ways stupid and boring. However, he'll be able to pester Konrad's worthy brother on Konrad's behalf, and this he has promised me to do. Schramm has had a door made in the wall between his bedroom and living-room which enables him to heat the former a bit and avoid going out into the hall in winter. This has put an end to the house-hunting. He'll hardly outlast the spring, poor devil.

Harney grows more stupid every day. Considering the nature of the feudal arrangements here,[237] he should be able to make A DEAL OF POLITICAL CAPITAL out of them, but he doesn't even begin to understand them and, moreover, ruins all the best points made by the little lawyer who supplies him with material and even complete articles. There is, by the way, much that is funny about this dead-and-alive feudal set-up, and the whole business is preposterous to a degree. A modern lawyer[c] for *Seigneur* and St. Hélier SHOPKEEPERS for vassals—the masquerade is altogether grotesque. Just now the fellows are holding feudal courts of justice; the *prévôt*[d] *du Seigneur* is a CARVER and GILDER who doesn't know a word of French and, although he's the second personage here, hasn't an inkling of what's going on. The *Seigneur* threatens to confiscate the houses of his unruly vassals, who make up some 60-70 per cent of the total number, while the vassals—DRAPERS and TALLOW-CHANDLERS—threaten to meet force with force. *Voilà*[e] the present state of affairs.

If you write to me on Monday, but IN TIME FOR THE MAIL, your letter will still find me here; whether I shall still be here on Thursday, I am not quite sure.

Warmest regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Hermann Buck - [b] Rudolf Schramm - [c] François Godfrey - [d] the highest court and police officer in medieval France - [e] such is

The Sepoys must have defended the ENCEINTE of Delhi very badly[238]; the real joke was the house-to-house fighting when, presumably, the NATIVE TROOPS were sent in first. So the actual siege—what came afterwards could hardly be described as such—lasted from the 5th to the 14th, long enough for breaches to be made in the unprotected wall by heavy naval guns firing at a range of 300-400 yards. These were already in position by the 5th or 6th. The cannon on the walls do not appear to have been effectively manned, otherwise the English wouldn't have been able to make so swift an approach.

The AMERICAN CRASH is superb and not yet over by a long chalk. We still have to see the collapse of the better part of the import houses; so far only one here and there would appear to have crashed. The repercussion in England would seem to have begun with the Liverpool Borough Bank. *Tant mieux.*[a] That means that, for the next 3 or 4 years, commerce will again be in a bad way. *Nous avons maintenant de la chance.*[b]

I haven't got a STAMP in the house and it is now midnight.

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## 104

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN ST. HÉLIER IN JERSEY

[London,] 31 October 1857

DEAR Frederic,

Have received two letters from Dana. Says first, that *'Army'* arrived in good time. *Secondly*, that, because of the COMMERCIAL CRISIS, notice has been given to all European correspondents except for myself and Bayard Taylor; I, however, am to confine myself STRICTLY to 1 ARTICLE PER WEEK—lately I had been trying to break

[a] So much the better. - [b] We're now in luck.

through this limitation—and for the time being write exclusively about the INDIAN WAR and the FINANCIAL CRISIS.

If you could let me have the HISTORY OF CANNON[235] by Friday, IT WOULD BE A GREAT BOON. As soon as the next mail arrives from India, you must write to me at some length about the Delhi affair or rather, IF POSSIBLE, do the whole article[a] since this time it has to be purely technical.

I sent the chaps ABOUT 8 sheets under the heading 'Blücher', the same being sub-titled 'THE SILESIAN ARMY IN THE CAMPAIGNS ETC.'.[239] As I had to spend so much time reading Clausewitz, Müffling,[b] etc., some degree of compensation was called for.

So far as your resolution as to Manchester is concerned, it seems to me QUITE RATIONAL, within Heckscher's LIMITATIONS. Allen, too, says that fatal consequences are likely to result only if the lung is affected but that, in the early days after such a business, it behoves anyone to take care of himself.

The doses of iron may have been somewhat too strong. At all events it should have an excellent effect on your BODY. The weather here has improved during the past few days.

I SHOULD MUCH LIKE, OLD BOY, TO SEE YOU BEFORE YOUR RETURN TO MANCHESTER. There is a certain irony of fate in my being personally embroiled in these damned crises. What SATISFACTION it would give Heinzen *s'il le savait*[c]!

The news AS TO Schramm is no less saddening for being predictable. What do you say to Cavaignac's DEATH and the idiocy of our liege-lord[d]?

With warm regards from the WHOLE FAMILY.

Your
K. M.

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[a] Engels did write it ('The Capture of Delhi'). - [b] C. von Clausewitz, *Der Feldzug von 1812 in Rußland, der Feldzug von 1813 bis zum Waffenstillstand und der Feldzug von 1814 in Frankreich* and *Der Feldzug von 1815 in Frankreich*; [F. K. F.] Müffling, *Passages from My Life....* - [c] if he knew - [d] King Frederick William IV of Prussia

# 105

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 November 1857

Dear Engels,

A week ago on Thursday[240] I waited at both the appointed places—which, however, was one too many—from 11 o'clock to 3. Then I gave the whole thing up IN DESPAIR.

I can write no more than a line or two, the article[a] having left me only a few minutes until posting time. Let me know definitely when I can have 'Cannon'.[235] It's a matter of getting the goods off to America at what is (for me) a crucial moment.

Meanwhile I haven't written a word about India. I have got to have some accurate military stuff on the subject, EVENTS having to some extent discredited myself and the *Tribune*.[241]

Though my own FINANCIAL DISTRESS may be dire indeed, never, since 1849, have I felt SO COSY as during this OUTBREAK. Furthermore you can set Lupus' mind at rest by telling him that, NOW THAT THE WHOLE STATEMENT IS BEFORE US, I have written an exhaustive ARTICLE for the *Tribune*[a] in which I show, if only on the basis of the table of DISCOUNT-RATES for 1848-54, that the crisis ought by rights to have set in 2 years earlier. Moreover the DELAYS are now explicable in such rational terms that even Hegel might, to his great SATISFACTION, have rediscovered the 'concept' in the 'empirical diversity of the world of finite interests'.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Go on sending me, as you started to do, as many Manchester papers as possible. Not only for the *Tribune*. I am thinking of writing about the crisis for the benefit of the fatherland.

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[a] K. Marx, 'The British Revulsion'.

## 106

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 15 November 1857

Dear Marx,

I'm sorry about your waiting for me last Monday—I didn't arrive at Euston Square until after 6, THANKS TO BAD ARRANGEMENTS OF THE RAILWAY COMPANY IN BRIGHTON, and travelled on to Manchester the same evening.

I'm in good health and everyone, even Heckscher, is surprised that I should have recovered so well. My memory is still poor, the DULLNESS persists to some extent, and alcohol no longer agrees with me. My last sore is healing up beautifully, a process which riding and a reduction of work at the office cannot fail to help; as to the latter I have agreed with our factory to put myself on SHORT TIME.

You should have 'Cannon'[235] for certain by next Friday's post. It can't be done before that and will amount to about 10 full sheets. The rest of C ought to follow shortly; most of it is trifling stuff which can be done quickly with the books I have here.

As soon as I can see daylight in my financial affairs (now in great confusion) I shall send you some money.

This time the crisis is developing in rather a curious way. For almost a year now, speculative share dealings in France and Germany have been in a state of what might be described as pre-crisis; only now, with the collapse of the main speculative share dealings in New York, has everything come to a head. As always, of course, the Yankees have been doing their swindling with foreign capital, but the really remarkable thing is that this time the capital has come predominantly from the Continent. The bureaucrats and rentiers in Germany, who have been eagerly buying up everything provided it was American, will be well and truly bled. Because of the above-mentioned pre-crisis and the few direct points of contact between continental and American stock-exchange swindles, the destructive repercussions of the latter are not immediately making themselves felt. But they soon will.

Speculation has affected not only shares but all raw materials and colonial produce, hence also all manufactured goods where the cost of the raw material is still strongly reflected in the price; hence the closer they are to the raw material and the dearer the raw material, the more they are affected. Yarns more than grey

goods, the latter more than printed or coloured goods, silk goods more than cotton goods. Here, we have had a pre-crisis in silk since August; approximately 20 manufactures have failed for an amount I would hesitate to put at less than £200,000 and of which only 35% to 40% at the most will be recovered. We are in for £6,000, which makes my share £300!!! or, taking the most optimistic view, £180 after payment of dividends. In these circumstances I shall probably have to come to a new agreement with my old man. That is by the way. The crisis in silk continues. The failure of Bennoch, Twentyman & Rigg (competitors of Blank's) has caught 5 silk ribbon manufacturers in Coventry to the tune of £100,000, the biggest sum being £40,000 and the smallest £6,000. In addition T. S. Reed & Co. of Derby, important silk spinners, doublers and manufacturers, became insolvent immediately after, and in consequence of, Bennoch's failure. In Glasgow a whole crowd of small and medium firms, besides those mentioned in the papers, have come a cropper without eliciting the least comment or inquiry. Whether the Maison Ernst Dronke is among them I don't know. Maybe he didn't have the sense to take advantage of the moment to make an honourable exit.

The enclosed chart,[a] which I have prepared from official printed reports supplied by our broker, will show you how the cotton market has fared this year. *Whenever the horizontal* black line passes between two of the eighths this means that the price was midway between, or $^1/_{16}$th, thus e.g. between $7\,^3/_8$d and $7\,^1/_2$d means $7\,^7/_{16}$d.

As far as industrial production itself is concerned, America's excess stocks would seem to be mainly in the west; from all I hear, stocks of manufactured goods in the eastern ports are very low. But that these are already A DRUG ON THE MARKET is borne out by the return of entire shipments from New York to Liverpool. $^3/_4$ of the local spinners are making for stock and only $^1/_4$ *at the most* have orders on their books. SHORT TIME pretty well general. A very active yarn commission house here, which 3 weeks ago had contracts worth £45,000, now has only £3,000 worth, so quickly have the spinners been able to deliver, despite SHORT TIME.

The peculiarly favourable advices from Madras and Bombay (sales with profit, which has not been the case since 1847) have revived the Indian trade. Everyone who possibly can is rushing into it. To the annoyance of the other commission houses, S. Mendel, INDIAN agent, has the whole of his big WAREHOUSE lit up

[a] See this volume, p. 205.

until 10 o'clock every night and sends out stuff for all he's worth. No DOUBT hundreds of spinners and weavers are shipping goods there on consignment. So we have a reserve crisis up our sleeve there in case this first impact proves incapable of overturning the old muck.[242]

The general appearance of the Exchange here was truly delightful last week. The fellows are utterly infuriated by my sudden and inexplicable onset of high spirits. INDEED, the Exchange is the one place where my current DULLNESS is transformed into resilience and BOUNCING. On top of that my predictions are, of course, always gloomy, which makes the asses doubly furious. On Thursday the situation was at its most dismal, on Friday the gentlemen were mulling over the possible effects of the suspension of the Bank Act[132] and, with COTTON rising another ld., word went round that the worst was over. By yesterday, however, the most delectable DESPONDENCY again prevailed; all the hosannas had been so much hot air and, since hardly anyone wanted to buy, the market here remained as bad as ever.

What promises this crisis a brilliant future is the immediate necessity of suspending the Bank Act at the *first impact*. The direct effect of this will be to land the Bank itself in Queer Street. In 1847 it was still possible to let things drag on as they had done since 1845, and not to resort to this measure until the very last and grimmest moment.

The extension and prolongation of the crisis are also assured. The combination of SHORT TIME and the silk crisis, which latter has already deprived the vast mass of the silk (HAND-LOOM) weavers of their livelihood, will of itself suffice to ruin the HOME TRADE completely this winter—up till the end of October it was still doing well. The American crisis is playing havoc with the Barmen and Elberfeld SMALLWARE MANUFACTURERS, the Elberfeld, Krefeld and Lyons silk manufacturers and the German, French and Belgian cloth manufacturers. The SMALLWARE MANUFACTURERS of Barmen are suffering particularly also due to Bennoch and Twentyman, while Draper, Pietroni & Co. are causing difficulties in Italy, especially Milan, the Duchies,[a] Bologna, etc.

Unless cotton comes down to 6d per pound even a momentary revival of the cotton industry here is out of the question. And at present it is still as high as 7 to 7 $^1/_4$d. From this you will see how remote here is the prospect of any change in the state of affairs. Nevertheless a momentary change in the spring is possible and,

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[a] Tuscany, Parma and Modena

indeed, probable. Not that this will mean 'good business', but rather that business can again be done so that the machinery of trade keeps turning and doesn't rust up. Never before has any crisis exhausted itself so rapidly and abruptly, and this one, coming after 10 years of prosperity and speculation, is least apt to do so. Nor is there another Australia or California to come to the rescue, while China will be in the doldrums for the next 20 years.[243] However the violence of this initial blow shows what colossal dimensions the thing is assuming. And in view of the recent enormous output of gold and the correspondingly vast expansion of industry, it could not be otherwise.

We can only hope that this 'improvement' in the crisis from the acute to the chronic stage sets in before a second and really decisive blow falls. A period of chronic pressure is needed to get the people's blood up. The proletariat will then fight better, with better *connaissance de cause*[a] and in greater unison, just as a cavalry attack succeeds much better if the horses have to cover the first 500 paces at the trot before arriving within charging distance of the enemy. I shouldn't care for anything to happen prematurely before Europe as a whole has been affected; the subsequent struggle would be harder, more tedious and fluctuating. Even May or June would be somewhat too early. The long period of prosperity is bound to have made the masses damned lethargic. However, sight drafts for a revolution will now be presented to us by our friends Kinkel & Co. for payment; that is to be expected, but NEVER MIND, we shall honour them soon enough, as these gentlemen will see.

It's capital that you should be collecting material on this crisis. I am sending you another 2 *Guardians* today. You shall have it regularly, and the *Examiner and Times* too now and again. I shall also advise you as frequently as possible of everything I learn so that we have a good STOCK OF FACTS.

I must say I feel just as you do. When the bubble burst in New York I grew very restless in Jersey and in the midst of this GENERAL DOWNBREAK I fell tremendously cheerful. The bourgeois filth of the last seven years has undoubtedly clung to me to some extent; now it will be washed away and I shall become a changed man. Physically, the crisis will do me as much good as a bathe in the sea; I can sense it already. In 1848 we were saying: Now our time is coming, and so IN A CERTAIN SENSE it was, but this time it is coming properly; now it's a case of do or die. This will at once give a more

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[a] knowledge of what they are doing

practical slant to my military studies. I shall apply myself without delay to the existing organisation and elementary tactics of the Prussian, Austrian, Bavarian and French armies, and apart from that confine my activities to riding, i.e. fox-hunting, which is the best school of all.

My kindest regards to your wife and children. They, too, will be in high spirits despite your bad luck. Day and night I worry over my inability to get you out of it.

Your
F. E.

In Failsworth, 4 miles from here, a manufacturer by the name of Liddle was yesterday hanged in effigy *optima forma*[a] while a weaver dressed as a parson read the BURIAL SERVICE. In place of the words 'MAY THE LORD HAVE MERCY UPON YOUR SOUL' he read: 'MAY THE LORD BLAST YOUR SOUL'.—NOW IS THE TIME FOR JONES, if only he knows how to make use of it.

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## 107

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 16 November 1857
7 Southgate

Dear Marx,

Enclosed the table[b] I forgot yesterday. I have just seen that today's *Guardian* has everything on Delhi. I'm going home now (6 o'clock) and shall do my best to go through it and get the article,[c] if only a short one, done for you; it can go off by the 2nd post as I think I shall have finished it by 12 o'clock. At such short NOTICE there can be no question of tidying it up or correcting the style.

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[a] with due formality - [b] See p. 205. - [c] F. Engels, 'The Capture of Delhi'.

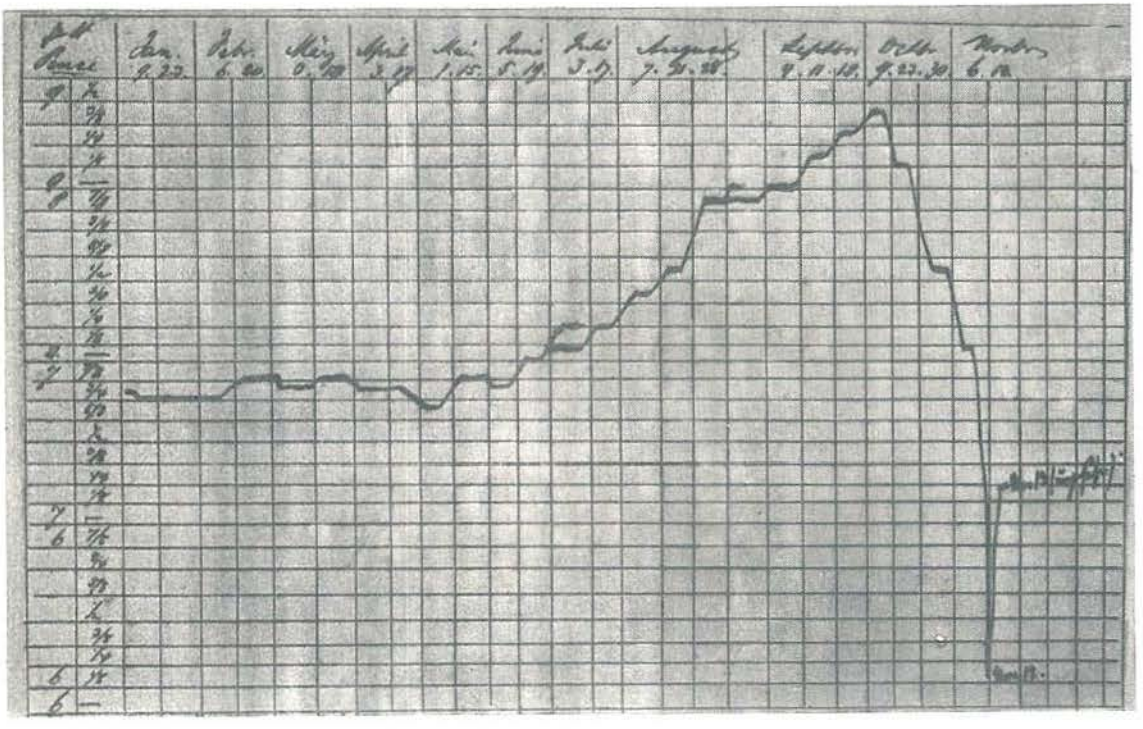

**Movements in the Price of Middling Orleans Cotton since 1 January 1857**

Two dates per month shown up to the end of July, 3 dates thereafter. Lowest level on 12 November when the Western Bank of Scotland disposed of its stocks *à tout prix*. On 13 November approximate level 7d; brokers were not quoting

[*Engels' explanation to the chart*]

In these circumstances it's most doubtful whether I shall be able to send you 'Cannon'[235] by Thursday. I have only two evenings left and I can't write every evening without my head starting to spin. So it will have to wait until a week today.

Your
F. E.

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## 108

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 17 November 1857
7 Southgate

Dear Marx,

I doubt whether yesterday's article[a] reached you soon enough. When I went to the post it had just turned midnight and the BOX was closed, so I dropped it in the EXTRA BOX, which means it must have left here at 9.15 this morning and arrived in London at 3:45, hence been delivered to you at about 6 o'clock.

About a month ago there was a share CRASH in Vienna, on which occasion 105 houses are said to have failed there to the tune of Fl. 14,000,000, or £1,400,000.

Nothing has been done here today. Tomorrow you will receive a whole bundle of *Guardians* and also some money from me, I hope.

Your
F. E.

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[a] F. Engels, 'The Capture of Delhi'.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[1]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 November 1857

DEAR Frederick,

You must excuse me for not having acknowledged receipt either of the money, or of the article[a] or of various letters. The comings and goings connected with DOMESTIC AFFAIRS have made such demands on my time that little was left for work.

The MONETARY PANIC in London has SUBSIDED to some extent during the past few days but will soon begin afresh with the assistance of, among others, Fould, who has come over here with a French bank director in order to regulate the export of gold from England to France. The actual SUSPENSION of the Bank Act[132] could, of course, only be effective in so far as it did away with the PANIC SURPLUS artificially created by the Bank Act. The BANKING DEPARTMENT should have had to declare itself insolvent the following day since the reserve fund amounted to no more than four or five hundred thousand pounds, whereas DEPOSITS—PUBLIC and PRIVATE—exceeded 17 millions. On the other hand this danger was created solely by the Act itself in that the metal reserve in the ISSUING DEPARTMENT was not much below one-third of the ISSUED NOTES. The Act precipitated the outbreak of the MONEY PANIC, thereby perhaps reducing its intensity. However, lendings by the Bank up to a maximum of 10% (on FIRST-RATE PAPERS) will keep a mass of transactions going which must ultimately lead to another CRASH. If, for instance, the price of corn, sugar, etc., is currently being maintained it is because their OWNERS are discounting the bills drawn on them for the same instead of selling the commodities. A fall in the price of these commodities seems to me inevitable and hence I believe that these chaps are simply heading straight for serious bankruptcies. That was EXACTLY THE CASE [IN] MAY 1847. As distinct from earlier crises, what is still to some extent supporting the so-called MONEY-MARKET in London is the existence of JOINT-STOCK BANKS which didn't really begin to expand until the last ten years. The interest they pay the philistines, small rentiers, etc., is 1% less than the Bank of England's official rate. The lure of 9% is too great to meet with any serious resistance. So the City mob has the philistines' small capital at its disposal to a greater degree than

[a] F. Engels, 'The Capture of Delhi'.

ever before. If just one of these BANKS were now to collapse, there would be a general uproar. Hence it is greatly to be regretted that the ROYAL BRITISH BANK should have crashed prematurely.

As for America, it seems almost certain that the PROTECTIONISTS will prevail as a result of the crisis. This will have lasting and disagreeable repercussions so far as the worthy English are concerned.

I don't know whether Steffen has already told you that he is leaving England. This is because the crisis has caused his sister (how, I don't know) to lose what little money she had. He is going to Germany to join forces with her, so that they can scrape along together. I think he's doing quite the wrong thing. I have it from a reliable source that Mrs Ruge (all she speaks is a kind of Saxon *patois*) is the only teacher of German in Brighton and, so greatly does demand exceed supply, that she is now launching her daughter[a] in the same TRADE. So Steffen's sister would find good EMPLOYMENT in Brighton were Steffen himself able to get on better with people. Apropos Ruge. Some months ago the old jackass sent out a prospectus for the resuscitation of the *ci-devant*[b] *Deutsche Jahrbücher*,[244] the main object of which is to combat materialism in the natural sciences and in industry; *idem* the proliferation of comparative linguistics, etc.—everything, in short, that calls for exact knowledge. To carry out his scheme he requires 1,000 subscribers *à* 10 talers. Over a period of 2 months *summa summarum* 40, I repeat 40, enthusiasts for 'intellectual freedom' have come forward. The muster-roll of his adherents in Germany is, CONSEQUENTLY, far from creditable.

I know nothing about Mr Dronke save that some months ago he urged Freiligrath to play the middleman (viz. the discounter) in a kite-flying operation upon which he thought to embark with old Naut. Freiligrath, of course, sent him away with a flea in his ear. Shortly afterwards he wrote saying that, though his circumstances were 'quite good', he was prepared to work anywhere as a clerk at a salary of £200-250, and asked Freiligrath to look out for a post of this kind. All this would seem to indicate that he is about to make his exit from the world of commerce.

Becker[c] has been released from prison; Bürgers, on the other hand, has been subjected to additional restrictions.

In one of your letters you say that the manufacturers will be able to make headway only when cotton is at 6d.[d] But won't the substantial curtailment of production soon bring COTTON prices down to that point anyway?

[a] Hedwig Ruge - [b] former - [c] Hermann Heinrich Becker - [d] See this volume, p. 202.

Jones is playing a very inane role. As you know, long before the crisis and with no particular end in view unless to provide a pretext for agitation during the lull, he proposed to hold a Chartist conference to which bourgeois radicals (not just Bright, but even men like Cunningham) were also to be invited.[245] The general idea was to come to a compromise with the bourgeois whereby *they* were to be given the BALLOT and, in return, accord MANHOOD SUFFRAGE to the workers. This proposal gave rise to splits in the Chartist Party and these in turn involved Jones even more deeply in his project. Now, instead of making use of the crisis and substituting genuine agitation for an ill-chosen pretext for agitation, he clings to his NONSENSE; he shocks the working-men by preaching co-operation with the bourgeois while in no way inspiring in the latter the slightest degree of confidence. To complete his ruin he is being cajoled by some of the radical papers. In his own sheet[a] that old ass Frost, whom he himself proclaimed a hero and appointed chairman of his conference, has attacked him in a brutally outspoken letter in which *inter alia* he tells him that if he considers that the co-operation of the MIDDLE CLASS is necessary—and *nothing* can be done *without* it—he should speak out *bona fide*. Who, Frost goes on to ask, gave him the right to draw up the programme for the conference *without* consulting his allies, and who empowered him to appoint Frost chairman and himself to play the dictator, etc.?[b] So now he's in hot water and, for the first time, is playing a role that is not merely *inane* but also *ambiguous*. I haven't seen him for some while but now intend to call on him. I believe him to be an honest man and, since in England it is impossible for *A PUBLIC CHARACTER* to render himself 'impossible' by his stupidities, all he has to do is extricate himself as soon as he can from his self-laid snare. The ass should begin by *forming* a party, for which purpose he must go to the manufacturing districts. Then the radical bourgeois will come to him in search of compromise.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] *The People's Paper* - [b] 'Mr. John Frost to the Secretary of the Chartists of Nottingham', *The People's Paper*, No. 289, 14 November 1857.

# 110

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 December 1857

Dear Marx,

Last week, what with prices eternally fluctuating and stocks building up, I was forced by the crisis to do a great deal of quill-pushing and so couldn't write to you but only send you *Guardians*.

In your last there's a SLIGHT MISTAKE. You say that if 'the price of corn, sugar, etc., is currently being maintained it is because their OWNERS are discounting the bills drawn on them for the same instead of selling the commodities'.[a] They, as the *drawees*, cannot discount the bills; all they have to do with bills is accept them and pay them when they fall due. The HOLDERS of commodities can only protect themselves against forced selling by obtaining advances on the commodities. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES this will be difficult, and in any case the amount of these advances will be reduced by the tremendous fall in the price of commodities (35% in the case of sugar!) and the certain knowledge that, as soon as *some degree* of forced selling becomes unavoidable, the value of the commodities will fall still further. So whereas the HOLDERS formerly received advances amounting to $^2/_3$ or $^3/_4$ of the *higher* value of the commodities, they will now receive at most $^1/_2$ of the *reduced* value, i.e. about half the previously obtainable advance. This will inevitably precipitate the crash. But there is also a possibility that the MINCING LANE AND MARK LANE TRADE[b] will continue a little longer in a slow decline before a few major bankruptcies occur. And come they will, as surely as in Liverpool and other ports. The amounts being lost on sugar, coffee, cotton, hides, dye-stuffs, silk, etc., etc., are colossal. The whole LOT of the 1857 cotton crop, estimated at 3 mill. bales (will be $3\,^1/_4$), is now worth £15,000,000 less than in September. One of the houses here has in transit 35,000 sacks of coffee on each of which there will be a loss of £1. The loss on Indian cotton is just as great—33%. As the bills

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[a] See this volume, p. 208. - [b] Mincing Lane—a street in London, centre of wholesale trade in colonial goods; Mark Lane—a street in London where the Corn Exchange is situated.

drawn in respect of these goods fall due, bankruptcies cannot fail to occur.

The big American house which, after 2 days of negotiation with the Bank of England, recently obtained a million-pound advance, thereby saving its skin, belonged to Mr Peabody, the 4TH JULY ANNIVERSARY DINNER man. [246] Latterly even Suse & Sibeth, the soundest of houses and the only people besides Frühling & Göschen whose bills continued to be negotiable in India after 1847 without a bill of lading as guarantee, have *allegedly* been compelled to appeal to the Bank for help. This firm, S. & S., are the greatest skinflints and so easily scared that they'd rather do no business at all than run any kind of risk.

Here things still look much as they did before. Some 8 to 10 days ago Indian and Levantine buyers suddenly appeared in the market, procured what they wanted at the lowest prices and thus helped some manufacturers heavily overstocked with cotton, yarn and cloth out of the worst of their predicament. Since Tuesday (Nov. 4th?[a]) everything has been quiet again. As for the manufacturers their expenses go on, SHORT TIME AND FULL TIME, coal and lubricants, etc., etc., remain just as before, and only WAGES have been reduced by $^1/_3$ to $^1/_2$. Moreover, nothing is being sold, most of our SPINNERS AND MANUFACTURERS are getting very short of FLOATING CAPITAL and many of them are rotten to the core. 8 to 9 of the smaller ones have already come a cropper in the past few days, but that is only the first sign that the crisis has caught up with this class. Today I heard that the Cookes, who own the huge factory in Oxford Road (Oxford Road Twist Company), have sold their HUNTERS, FOXHOUNDS, GREYHOUNDS, etc., etc., and that one of them has dismissed his servants and left his palace, which is now *TO BE LET*. They haven't gone bust yet, but will undoubtedly be in for it soon. Another fortnight, and the dance will really be in full swing here.

Sewell's and Neck's failure will have serious repercussions in Norway, which has not been affected hitherto.

Things in Hamburg look splendid. Ulberg and Cramer (Sweden), whose debts when they failed amounted to 12,000,000 banco marks (of which 7 mill. were bills on themselves!), *had a capital of not more than 300,000 marks!!* A whole lot of chaps have got into hot water simply for want of sufficient cash when a single bill fell due, although they might have had in their desks a hundred times that amount in currently worthless bills. Never has panic assumed so perfect and classic a form as in Hamburg just now. *Everything is*

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[a] (Nov. 4th?) added by Marx

*worthless*, utterly worthless, save for silver and gold. Last week also saw the failure of Christ. Matth. Schröder, a very old and wealthy house. J. H. Schröder & Co., London (his brother), telegraphed saying that if 2 million banco marks would be enough, he would send the equivalent in silver. Came the reply: 3 millions or nothing. He couldn't spare the 3 millions and Christian Matthias crashed.[247] We have debtors in Hamburg and have no idea whether they still exist or whether they've gone bust. In Hamburg the whole imbroglio is the result of the most colossal kite-flying operations that have ever been seen. They were at their most outrageous in the dealings between Hamburg, London, Copenhagen and Stockholm. Then, with the American CRASH and the fall in the price of goods, the whole business came to light and, for the moment, Hamburg is done for commercially. The German industrialists, especially those in Berlin, Saxony and Silesia, will be very hard hit.

Cotton is now $6^{9}/_{16}$d for MIDDLING and will no doubt soon come down to 6d. But the mills here will only be able to go on full time again provided increased production does not promptly force the price *above* 6d. Yet that is what would immediately happen just now.

Among our local philistines the crisis has induced a strong desire for the bottle. No one can bear to stay at home alone with his cares and his family. The clubs are livening up and the consumption of LIQUOR is rising sharply. The worse of a jam a chap is in, the more frenzied his efforts to cheer himself up. And then, the morning after, what more striking example of remorse, both alcoholic and moral!

This week I shall again apply myself to the *Cyclopaedia* and do as many of the C articles as possible. Just now I can't work much or for very long at a stretch, but I'll do what I can.

Warmest regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

Lupus is also involved in the crisis—but it will be his luck: his Samson has gone bankrupt, so his mornings are free.

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# 111

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 December 1857

DEAR Frederick,

While I was upstairs busy writing my last letter to you,[a] my wife down below was besieged by hungry wolves all of whom used the PRETEXT of the 'HEAVY TIMES' to dun her for money which she had not got. (Luckily £15 arrived from Germany a few days afterwards, thus enabling us TO SHIFT OFF THE EVIL DAY FOR A WEEK OR A FORTNIGHT.) WELL, in the above-mentioned circumstances I may have been a RATHER confused correspondent, but not too confused to recall my confusion that self-same evening, after posting the letter, and remark to my wife what a wry face you would pull at my bit about debtors receiving money on bills payable by themselves, etc. Ever since I have been keeping up her spirits, which have been much depressed by this *'petite guerre'*[b] with sundry scoundrels, by reflecting on how you would break it to me in the most gracious possible way. But I could hardly go so far as to expect that you would tone down the RIDICULOUS BLUNDER to a 'SLIGHT MISTAKE'.[c] MY BEST THANKS FOR THIS GRACE, SIR.

But to return to the matter in hand. According to *The Economist* it is true that the chaps in Mincing Lane and Mark Lane[d] had again been receiving LOANS on their PRODUCE, but this MOVE ceased last *Wednesday* or thereabouts. Corn, in particular, even showed an UPWARD TENDENCY for a day or two, but (flour actually) then dropped 3/- per 280 lbs as a result of the FRENCH DECREES permitting the free export of corn and flour, and significantly so yesterday as a result of the DOWNBREAK of corn prices in the Baltic. (*Nota bene*: In France, Bonaparte's measure had no more than a transient effect; though prices rose a little there, the rise immediately resulted in INCREASED SUPPLIES, which have still to find their way on to the French market.) A few corn merchants have failed here, but as yet only insignificant houses and then only OPERATORS UPON GRAIN FOR DISTANT DELIVERY. The big American SHIPMENTS arrive in the SPRING; the French will bombard England with corn AT ANY PRICE as soon as PRESSURE over

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[a] See this volume, pp. 208-10. - [b] guerrilla warfare - [c] See this volume, p. 211. - [d] Mincing Lane—a street in London, centre of wholesale trade in colonial goods; Mark Lane—a London street where the Corn Exchange is situated.

there grows MORE SERIOUS. In my opinion—and always supposing that, in accordance with the old adage, there are several good autumns in succession—*only now* will the effects of the REPEAL of the CORN LAWS[150] begin to tell on LANDLORDS and FARMERS in England and the ANTIQUATED AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS recur in no mean fashion. The satisfactory state of the HOME TRADE resulting from industrial PROSPERITY, and the succession of bad autumns have combined to make the experiment of 1847-57 inoperative and turn REPEAL TO A DEAD LETTER.[248]

I've had a gratifying experience with the *Tribune.* On 6 November I wrote an exposé for them of the 1844 Bank Act,[132] in which I said that the next few days would see the FARCE of SUSPENSION, but that not too much should be made of this MONETARY PANIC, the real *affaire* being the impending INDUSTRIAL CRASH.[a] The *Tribune* published this as a LEADER. 3 DAYS LATER *The New-York Times* (which has entered into a feudal relationship with the London *Times*) replied to the *Tribune* to the effect that, firstly, the Bank Act would *not* be suspended, extolled the Act after the manner of the MONEY-ARTICLE WRITERS of Printing House Square,[b] and declared the TALK of an 'INDUSTRIAL CRASH' in England to be 'SIMPLY ABSURD'. This was on the 24th. The following day the *N.Y.T.* received a telegram from the *Atlantic* with the news that the Bank Act had been *suspended*, and likewise news of 'INDUSTRIAL DISTRESS'. It's nice, by the by, to see Loyd-Overstone coming out with the true reason for his fanatical advocacy of the 1844 legislation—because it permitted the 'HARD CALCULATORS' to squeeze 20-30% out of the COMMERCIAL WORLD.[c]

Nice, too, that the capitalists, who so vociferously opposed the '*droit au travail*',[d] are now everywhere demanding 'public support' from their governments and hence advocating the '*droit au profit*'[e] at public expense in Hamburg, Berlin, Stockholm, Copenhagen and even England (in the form of SUSPENSION of the Acts). Also, that the philistines of Hamburg should have refused to hand out any more alms to the capitalists.

The astonishing thing about the whole business is the *affaire* in France and the attitude adopted towards it by most of the English press. Just as, after the American COLLAPSE, John Bull was represented as the calm, SELF-POSSESSED MERCHANT vis-à-vis his brother

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[a] K. Marx, 'The English Bank Act of 1844 and the Monetary Crisis in England'. [b] Square in London where the offices of *The Times* are situated. - [c] S. J. Loyd's speech in the House of Lords on 3 December 1857 (*The Times,* No. 22855, 4 December 1857). - [d] right to work - [e] right to profit

Jonathan, so now Jacques Bonhomme vis-à-vis John Bull. The Paris correspondent of the London *Economist* comments most ingenuously:

*'There has been not the slightest *disposition to have a panic*, though circumstances certainly appeared to justify one, and though the French have heretofore been extremely ready to rush into panics on the smallest pretexts.'*[a]

The PANIC now felt by the French bourgeoisie, despite their sanguine temperament, at the very notion of panic, is surely the best indication of what panic means in France on this occasion. The virtuous disposition of the Parisian bourgeois will, however, prove no more effective than the Hamburg ASSOCIATION FOR DISCOUNTING THE PANIC.[249] Last Sunday's *Observer* relates how the dissemination of horrible rumours about the Crédit mobilier[45] sent everyone rushing to the Bourse to rid themselves *à tout prix*[b] of their SHARES. French capital, despite the *cosmopolitan* nature therein descried by Mr Péreire, is still timid, niggardly and cautious in actual COMMERCE as it has always been. Crooked dealing (which, to be sure, has IN ITS TURN become the *sine qua non* of *respectable* trade and industry) actually exists only in branches in which the State is the *real EMPLOYER*, whether directly or indirectly. But there is no doubt that even an inherently—or, as Hegel would say, 'in himself'—bankrupt capitalist of the magnitude of the French GOVERNMENT can make SHIFT for rather longer than a PRIVATE CAPITALIST. The police measures against BULLION EXPORTS, now pretty well IN FULL VIGOR in France, and to an even greater extent the export, AT WHICH PRICES WHATEVER, of the products of the corn, silk and wine harvests, etc., have put off for a week or two the drain of BULLION from the Bank of France. Nevertheless, THE DRAIN WILL SET IN and even if, as in 1856 (October), it gets no further than the gutter, the catastrophe will be complete. Meanwhile French manufacturers are treating their workers as ruthlessly as though there had never been a revolution. THIS WILL DO GOOD. On the other hand Mr Bonaparte is using the bank as an entrepreneur for the construction of railways, now at a standstill. Doubtless the next step will be the issue of *assignats*[c] as soon as the DRAIN begins. If the fellow has the courage, and always providing he *can* pay the army properly, we may yet witness a pretty prologue.

Your information about conditions in Manchester is of the greatest interest to me, the newspapers having chosen to draw a veil over them.

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[a] Quoted from a report in *The Economist*, No. 744, 28 November 1857. - [b] at any price - [c] Paper money issued by the French revolutionary government in 1789; withdrawn in 1797.

I am working like mad all night and every night collating my economic studies so that I at least get the outlines clear before the *déluge*.[250]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

How is your *health*? It's a long time since you supplied a bulletin.

Since Lupus keeps a regular record of our *crisis* forecasts, tell him that last Saturday's *Economist* maintains that, during the final months of 1853, throughout 1854, the autumn of 1855 and 'THE SUDDEN CHANGES OF 1856', Europe has never had more than a HAIR-BREADTH ESCAPE from the IMPENDING CRASH.[a]

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## 112

## MARX TO CONRAD SCHRAMM[251]

### IN ST. HÉLIER IN JERSEY

London, 8 December [1857]
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Hampstead

Dear Schramm,

Write soon and tell us how Jersey suits you. I did not see Engels when he passed through London on his return journey because he gave me the wrong time for our meeting at the RAILWAY STATION.[b] Did that ass Reventlow reply? Not that I suppose there's anything at all to the whole affair, since in any case these AMERICANS are incapable of paying just now; I only ask because of the BEHAVIOUR of this mighty hero. And how about Mr Faucher? Has he paid up yet? That CRAZY *Berlinois*[c] GROWS FROM DAY TO DAY STUPIDER. WITNESS THE FOREIGN

[a] 'The Deeper Causes of the Recent Pressure', *The Economist*, No. 745, 5 December 1857. - [b] See this volume, p. 199. - [c] Berliner

NEWS OF *THE MORNING STAR*, a name that bears a certain analogy with *lucus a non lucendo*.[a] In fact the entire English press gets worse every day, even without German assistance. Quite apart from the seismic effects of the GENERAL CRISIS which must delight every connoisseur, it is truly a relief when one is no longer forced to listen every day to the ENGLISH SELF-LAUDATIONS AS TO THE 'BRAVERY' OF 'THEIR ENGLISH IN INDIA'. It was really getting on one's nerves, *this overtrading in other people's courage on the part of the English paterfamilias and penny-a-liner who lives quietly at home and is uncommonly averse to anything threatening him with the remotest chance of obtaining military glory*.

Apart from the family circle, I am now pretty well cut off here. I seldom see my few acquaintances nor, on the whole, is this any great loss. The life you lead in Jersey can hardly be much quieter. I fear that as time goes on you will weary of your stay, or have you struck up acquaintanceships OF ANY KIND? True, Harney is SO FAR quite a companionable fellow, but *toujours perdrix*[b] is, of course, apt to pall. I hope to see you again in the spring, provided you don't move further south. In any case DROP ONE OR TWO LINES.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 113

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 9 December 1857

Dear Moor,

In haste, a few more particulars about the crisis. In Hamburg, where the crisis has been grossly exacerbated by the pedantry of

[a] Literally: 'a grove from not being light'. The expression, first used by Quintilian in *De institutione oratoria* (I, 6, 34), illustrates the practice ascribed to ancient Roman etymologists of deriving words from their semantic opposites, as *lucus* ('grove') from *lucere* ('to shine, be light') because a grove is not light. Marx means that despite its name *The Morning Star* is rather unilluminating. - [b] Literally: always partridge. Here: always the same thing. The phrase is attributed to the confessor of King Henry IV of France.

the old and much-famed clearing bank, this is what has happened: Schunck, Souchay & Co. here had drawn bills on Hamburg. So as to be *really* on the safe side, and although the bills were on goods, etc., etc., they sent the drawees BANK OF ENGLAND SEVEN DAY BILLS. These were indignantly returned AS SO MUCH WASTE PAPER, and the bills drawn on Hamburg duly protested with the comment that only silver now had any value! Bills bearing the endorsements of Schunck, Souchay & Co. and 2 other equally good houses, maturing in 2 months, could not be discounted last week at less than 12½ per cent.

NB. If I give you the names of the houses concerned, it is on the understanding that this remains strictly between ourselves. I could get into the devil of a row if such an abuse of confidential information were to come to light.

The Liverpool and London PRODUCE houses will come a cropper before long. Things look grim in Liverpool; the chaps are stone broke and can't even summon up the energy to go bankrupt, while at the Exchange, or so I am told by someone who was there on Monday, faces are three times as long as they are here, though here too the storm clouds are growing steadily darker. Spinners and manufacturers are paying wages and buying coal with the money they get in for their goods and when that's gone they're sure to collapse. Yesterday the market was more listless and depressed than it had ever been before.

Someone told me he knew of 5 or 6 Indian houses whose stocks are such that they *cannot fail* to go to the wall in the very near future.

Only now are the fellows beginning to realise that the monetary speculation was the least important factor in the crisis, and the more they see this, the gloomier they look.

Health good. More tomorrow or the day after. Herewith a bundle of *Guardians*. Take a look at the little bits of local news, in which you'll find some very interesting facts.

Your
F. E.

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# 114

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 December 1857

Dear Moor,

Still VERY BUSY with bad debts and price reductions.

Never before has overproduction been so general as during the present crisis, and there's no denying that this applies to colonial produce and also to corn. That's what's so splendid, and is bound to have tremendous consequences. After all, so long as overproduction was confined to industry the thing was only half-way there, but as soon as agriculture is also affected, and in the tropics as well as in the temperate zone, it will become spectacular.

The outward and visible sign of overproduction is more or less always expansion of credit, but this time it's especially *kite-flying*: This system of making money by means of drafts on bankers or 'bill-brokers', which are either met or not before maturity according to how the thing has been arranged, is the *rule* on the Continent and among the continental houses in England. The commission houses here all do it. The system was taken to the most enormous lengths in Hamburg, where bills amounting to more than 100 million banco marks were in circulation. But there was some fearful kite-flying elsewhere and it was because of this that Sieveking, Sillam, Karr, Josling & Co., Draper, Pietroni & Co. and other London houses went under. For the most part they were the *drawees* in this LINE. Among the manufacturing businesses over here and in the HOME TRADE the thing was so arranged that instead of paying CASH IN A MONTH the fellows negotiated bills on themselves at 3 months and paid the interest. In silk manufacturing the practice increased proportionately to the rise in the price of silk. In short everyone operated in excess of his resources, *OVERTRADED*. Admittedly OVERTRADING is not synonymous with overproduction, but it amounts to exactly the same thing. A MERCANTILE COMMUNITY which has a capital of £20,000,000 thereby possesses an ability to produce, trade and consume measured by this sum. If, on this capital and as a result of kite-flying, it does business presupposing a capital of £30,000,000, production will rise by 50% and consumption will also rise as a result of

prosperity, but by no means to the same degree, *disons*[a] 25%. At the end of a certain period there will inevitably be an accumulation of goods of an order 25% in excess of *bona fide*, i.e. of average requirements, *even at a time of prosperity*. This alone would be bound to precipitate the crisis, even if the money market, the weathercock of trade, were not already pointing in that direction. All that's needed is a CRASH and then, in addition to this 25%, a further 25% at least of STOCKS of all NECESSARIES will become A DRUG ON THE MARKET. The present crisis provides an opportunity for a detailed study of how overproduction is generated by the expansion of credit and by OVERTRADING. There's nothing new about the thing as such, save for the remarkably clear-cut lines along which it is now developing. In 1837-42 and 1847 they were by no means so clear-cut.

That is the pretty situation in which Manchester and the cotton industry now find themselves. Prices are low enough to permit of what the philistines call A SOUND BUSINESS. But as soon as there is the slightest increase in production, cotton will start going up, since there's none to be had in Liverpool. So they'll have to carry on working SHORT TIME, orders or no orders. Now admittedly there are orders, but they're *from places that have not yet felt the intensity of the crisis*; the commission houses know this and so they aren't buying, for to do so would involve endless wrangles, and bad debts into the bargain.

Today the market was again very depressed. Yarn worth 14 to $14^1/_2$d is offered at $11^1/_4$d and anyone offering $10^3/_4$d can have it. The Indians are out of the market. The Greeks are stuck with their corn—almost all of them deal in this, it being their chief return freight (from Galatz and Odessa). The Germans can't buy for the reasons just mentioned. The HOME TRADE houses have *forbidden* their BUYERS to order anything at all. AMERICA OUT OF THE QUESTION. Italy is suffering from the general fall in price of her raw materials. Another month, and there'll be a very nasty situation here. Small spinners and manufacturers are going under every day.

Mercks in Hamburg only survived because of the 15 mill. advance from the government and on *one* day at least their house here sent away the spinners whose accounts were due. Mercks' head man in Hamburg is the ex-imperial minister Dr Ernst Merck, a lawyer but also partner.

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[a] let's say

Kindest regards to your wife and children. There's been no time today to go into your letter about France, etc., etc; *il faudrait trop réfléchir.*[a]

Your
F. E.

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## 115

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 17 December 1857

Dear Marx,

This crisis is keeping me hellishly *en haleine.*[b] Prices falling every day. Moreover we ourselves are already beginning to feel it. My old man was in a fix not long ago and we had to advance him money. However I don't imagine that it will prove serious, but that's neither here nor there just now.

Manchester is becoming ever more deeply involved. The effect of the constant pressure on the market is really tremendous. Nobody can sell anything. Every day we hear of lower offers, and anyone with a sense of the proprieties stops offering his goods for sale. Things look grim among the spinners and manufacturers. Yarn agents are no longer selling to factories except for CASH or against security. A few of the smaller people have already come a cropper but that's nothing compared with what's in store.[252]

Despite two substantial subventions, Mercks are in a complete fix, both here and in Hamburg. They are expected to go under any day, and only an extraordinary fluke could save them. The capital of the Hamburg house is said to total 4 to 5 million banco marks against LIABILITIES of 22 million (13 marks=£1). According to other reports the crisis has already whittled down the capital to 600,000 marks.

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[a] it would require too much thought - [b] on the alert

We shall have 4 more distinct crises: 1. colonial produce, 2. corn, 3. spinners and manufacturers, 4. HOME TRADE—this not before next spring. In the woollen districts things are already beginning, and very nicely too.

Don't forget to make a note of the BALANCE-SHEETS of the firms that have failed—Bennoch, Twentyman, Reed of Derby, Mendes da Costa, Hoare, Buxton, etc. All of them most edifying.

Your views on France have since been borne out by the newspapers almost to the letter. There is sure to be a CRASH over there and the first to be involved will be the speculators of central and northern Germany.

You will presumably have made a note of the proceedings relating to Macdonald, Monteith, Stevens (London and Exchange Bank).[a] The story of the London and Exchange Bank and the BORROWED NOTES counting as SECURITY is the most splendid I have ever read.

Apart from Hamburg, northern Germany has hitherto hardly been drawn into the crisis at all. But it's beginning there now too. Heimendahl (silk doubler and merchant) has gone under in Elberfeld, and Linde & Trappenberg (SMALL WARE MANUFACTURERS) in Barmen. Both respectable firms. So far the north Germans have suffered virtually nothing but losses; in their case, as over here, the temporary disruption of the money market has a less severe effect than the protracted period over which goods have been unsaleable.

Vienna's turn will also come.

Lupus is eating humble pie; we were right.

Distress has also begun to set in among the proletariat. There are as yet few signs of revolution, for the long period of prosperity has been fearfully demoralising. The unemployed on the streets continue to beg and to idle away their time. ROBBERIES by garrotters are on the increase, but not to any serious extent.

I now have to do so much running round seeing people in order to keep track of the crisis that there's damned little time left to do any work for Dana. That, too, must be attended to in the intervals. What has he to say? And how are his payments going?

Warm regards to your wife and children.

Your

F. E.

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[a] Reported in *The Times*, Nos. 22860, 22861, 22865 and 22866, 10, 11, 16 and 17 December 1857.

The *Guardian* always publishes the Manchester market reports on Wednesdays and Saturdays. A whole bundle goes off to you today. This morning it also published some more labour statistics.

Congratulations on your prediction about the Bank Act.[a]

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## 116

## MARX TO ENGELS[20]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 December 1857

DEAR Frederick,

Just a few lines written in great haste. I've just received a *3rd and final warning* from the rotten rate collector to the effect that, if I haven't paid by Monday, they'll put a BROKER in the house on Monday afternoon. IF possible, THEREFORE, send me a few pounds before Monday. Financial PRESSURE is now even greater than is USUALLY the case with me because, for ABOUT 3 weeks, I have had to pay for everything *in cash* and ANYTHING LIKE CREDIT has ceased, while at the same time $^2/_3$ of all the money I receive immediately goes to meet floating DEBTS. Moreover, there is only a very little coming in, since I have hitherto been unable to send the *Tribune* more than one article.[b] So FAR AS TO PRIVATE MATTERS.

I am working enormously, as a rule until 4 o'clock in the morning. I am engaged on a twofold task: 1. Elaborating the outlines of political economy.[250] (For the benefit of the public it is absolutely essential to go into the matter *au fond*,[c] as it is for my own, INDIVIDUALLY, TO GET RID OF THIS NIGHTMARE.)

2. The *present crisis*. Apart from the articles for the *Tribune*, all I do is keep records of it, which, however, takes up a considerable amount of time. I think that, somewhere ABOUT the spring, we ought to do a pamphlet *together* about the affair[253] as a *reminder* to the German public that we are still there as always, and ALWAYS THE SAME. I have started 3 large record books—ENGLAND, GERMANY, FRANCE. All the material on the American affair is available in the

[a] See this volume, p. 215. - [b] See this volume, p. 111. - [c] thoroughly

*Tribune*, and can be collated subsequently. By the by, I should be glad if you would send me the *Guardian*, if possible, *every day*. It not only doubles the work but also disrupts it if I have to deal with a week or so's arrears all at once.

In France, and specially at *Havre*,[a] the fun (commercial) will probably be started by the 'Germans', whom one cannot altogether help taking into account now. Moreover—apart from the GENERAL ROTTENNESS of the bankrupt State—trade itself would seem to be exceptionally rotten in Marseilles and Bordeaux, everywhere, that is, where infiltration and intervention by foreign elements has stung the beastly *crapauds*[81] out of their lousy, mean penny-pinching and TIMIDITY. *Au fond*,[b] only in such an immobile country was a Crédit mobilier[45] both possible and inevitable. THE MORE YOU BECOME ACQUAINTED WITH THE MESSIAS OF NATIONS, THE LESS YOU LIKE HIM.

Write to me whenever you have the time, for later on you're sure to forget all the *'chronique scandaleuse'* of the crisis which is so invaluable to us. I make excerpts from your letters and enter them in the principal record books.

*Salut*. Kind regards to Lupus. Pieper has the satisfaction of knowing that his ex-principal Saalfeld, with whose wife he had such a tremendous row, HAS GONE TO THE WALL.

Your
K. M.

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## 117

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[82]

IN DÜSSELDORF

London, 21 December 1857
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

Of the various letters you mention I have received only one, that sent *via* Freiligrath. I didn't answer, or rather was awaiting a

[a] Le Havre - [b] at bottom

private occasion for answering which, for reasons that cannot very well be committed to paper, did not present itself. I would point out, by the by, that it was you who *first* broke off the correspondence by failing for such a long time to answer a letter dated Manchester.[a]

MY THANKS FOR *Heraclitus*.[b] I have always felt a great TENDERNESS for this philosopher, whom I prefer above all the Ancients save Aristotle. [Later][c] philosophy—Epicurus (him in particular), Stoa and Scepticism—[I] had made the object of *special* study,[d] but for [political] rather than philosophical [...] reasons. While [tendering] my thanks, [I] must at the same time [say] that the work has *not* yet reached me.

Doubtless [Nutt's] will send it as soon as it comes into their [...]

[...] to write [... Mi]nistry. My views on Palmerston you know, and these have not changed. Besides, I know nothing whatever about the paper[e] since Austrian journals are nowhere on display here, and am thus quite ignorant of its general line. Whatever the case, I should be interested to see one or two numbers.[254]

I live in great isolation here, all my friends except Freiligrath having left London. Anyway, I have no desire for intercourse. *Relativement parlant*,[f] Freiligrath is doing quite well as MANAGER of the Swiss Bank and is still the same good-natured, sterling fellow he has always been. Lupus and Engels are in Manchester as before. We still lament the loss of Weerth.

The present commercial crisis has impelled me to set to work seriously on my outlines of political economy,[250] and also to prepare something on the present crisis. I am forced to fritter away [...] my days earning a living. [Only] the nights remain free for *real* work and that is disrupted by ill-health. I [have] not yet looked round for a publisher as I know from experience the [...] come of it [...] when I [...]. I cannot send you any news, living as I do like a hermit. Throughout last winter and summer my wife was very unwell, but has now recovered in some measure.

If you know Dr Elsner's address please send him my regards.

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[a] Marx means his letter to Lassalle of 8 November 1855 (see present edition, Vol. 39). - [b] F. Lassalle, *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos*. - [c] The manuscript of this letter is seriously damaged. The words in square brackets are editorial reconstructions. The marks of omission stand for passages that cannot be restored. - [d] Marx is referring to his *Nobebooks on Epicurean Philosophy* compiled in 1839 and his doctoral dissertation, *Difference Between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature* written in 1840-41. - [e] *Die Presse* - [f] relatively speaking

That old ass Ruge has, I am told, made an attempt to resuscitate his *Deutsche Jahrbücher*.[244] History will not put the clock back far enough to make this feasible.

Your
K. M.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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## 118

## MARX TO ENGELS[20]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 December 1857

DEAR Frederick,

Thou hast triumphantly snatched me out of the clutches of the Exchequer, praised be thy name—halleluiah!

Herewith a letter (with enclosure) from the great Lassalle[254] who now positively assures me that he is SERIOUSLY beginning to be known in Berlin by reason of his fame. These EFFUSIONS of a beautiful soul will amuse you and Lupus. The worthy Lassalle took up philosophy and Heraclitus[a] as he took up the Hatzfeldt case[35] and, if he is to be believed, eventually won his 'case'. It would, indeed, seem that the old school—both philologists and Hegelians—were surprised to see such a *posthumous* blossoming of a by-gone epoch. But we shall be seeing the thing for ourselves and, gift-horse or no, shall look it long and searchingly in the mouth—ON THE EXPRESS CONDITION, OF COURSE, that Heraclitus doesn't reek of garlic. *Fancy only this fellow going up and down the streets of Berlin and 'asking for himself' strutting like a peacock, a stride and a stand: biting his lips, with 'a political regard' as who should say: 'This is the man who has written Heraclit.'* The laddie might be of some service to us in finding a publisher, unless, perhaps, he's afraid that competition might endanger the reputation to which he also aspires in the field of economics, thereby losing him his 'case'. I have replied to Friedländer

[a] F. Lassalle, *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos.*

through Mr Lassalle saying that, while I, too, am 'anti-French', I am no less 'anti-English', and that the last thing I could do would be to write in favour of 'Lord Pam'. So I have turned the thing down. Should Friedländer send me the *Presse* so that I can see beforehand whose spiritual offspring it is, and if the fellows want no more than one MONEY ARTICLE a week—for which they would, of course, have to shell out—I might perhaps agree. There can be no question of POLITICS in this CASE.

I have written to Lassalle, brief and cool, to say that, while I had received the letter sent through Freiligrath, I hadn't answered it for reasons that could hardly be committed to paper. For the rest a few words, no more.[a]

Schramm has written to my wife from Jersey; an extremely witty letter. For his sins, Kosmos Leiden has lost 3 of his children; 2 daughters (including Mrs Mevissen) died of consumption and one of his sons went down with the *Pacific*.

In last Sunday's issue of *Reynold's* there is a significant attack upon those APOSTATES who advocate UNION with the MIDDLE CLASS. Meaning Jones. I haven't seen the laddie for a long time. He seems to be avoiding me, for which he must have his 'raysons'. However, I shall probably surprise him—ONE FINE MORNING.

Regards to Lupus.

Your
K. M.

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## 119

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 December 1857

DEAR Frederick,

Since our first task now is to get a clear idea of conditions in France, I have been re-examining all my extracts on FRENCH

[a] See this volume, pp. 225-27.

COMMERCE, INDUSTRY AND CRISES and reached certain conclusions which I shall briefly outline for you:

1. English, North European and American crises have *never* **directly** given rise in France to a 'French crisis'; rather the effects have been entirely *passive*—chronic DISTRESS, LIMITATION OF PRODUCTION, STAGNATION OF TRADE, and GENERAL UNEASINESS. The reason: France has a favourable balance of trade with the United States, the HANSEATIC TOWNS, England, Denmark. With Sweden and Norway the balance is unfavourable, but this is more than offset by Hamburg. CONSEQUENTLY these crises can never generate a *DRAIN OF BULLION* from France and hence will *not* create A PROPERLY SO-CALLED MONETARY PANIC there. If the Bank, notwithstanding, increases the bank rate, as has happened this time, it does so merely to prevent the capitalists from placing their money more advantageously in those countries. But so long as the EXPORT OF BULLION is the inevitable consequence, not of the balance of trade but simply of the avarice of the PROFITMONGERS, it can, as Bonaparte has now once more demonstrated, be stopped by the gendarmerie. If the country with the favourable balance of trade has not granted long-term credits or ACCUMULATED PRODUCE FOR THE EXPORT TO THE CENTRES OF THE CRISES—and both are repugnant to the PEDLAR-like[a] nature of your French manufacturer and merchant—it will have to endure losses, etc., but not an *acute* crisis. Louis Philippe, too, was misled by the apparent good fortune with which France emerges from the *first* phase of a GENERAL CRISIS. In his inaugural address before the Chambers on the eve of the February revolution, he congratulated *'la belle France'* UPON THIS PRIVILEGE.

2. Admitting all this, the first phase of the crisis has already affected FRENCH INDUSTRY and COMMERCE more seriously than on any similar occasion in the past.

3. In France the first effect of the crisis—AGREEABLE TO THE NATURE OF THE *crapaud*[81]—is the timorous curtailment of EXPENDITURE and BUSINESS. Hence an accumulation of money in the Bank of France coinciding with a huge drop in the circulation of BANK DISCOUNTS. Hence—owing to the circumstance that crises always happen in the *autumn* and that every French government fears political disturbances at the year's end should the bank rate be high at the SETTLEMENT of ACCOUNTS—reduction of the bank rate in December. In December 1847 Louis Philippe ordered the Bank to reduce the bank rate to 4%.

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[a] Marx used the word 'pedlarmassig' here, formed of the English word 'pedlar' and the German 'massig' meaning 'after the fashion of'.

4. The greater availability of capital in COMMERCE and industry simultaneously gives rise to greater BUOYANCY on the Bourse. This has been the case under Boustrapa[40] to an even greater extent than under Louis Philippe because he compelled the Bank by the Decree of 1852 to make ADVANCES ON RAILWAY SECURITIES and *fonds*[a] and Crédit foncier *papiers*, to rediscount the speculative BILLS discounted by the *Comptoir National d'escompte*,[255] and likewise to make him a further advance on the SECURITIES on which that institution had made advances already. Hence, e.g. the high price of French RAILWAY SHARES and BONDS although the RECEIPTS of the French railways since the outbreak of the crises in England have fallen disproportionately more than those over here. E.g. Orleans Railway RECEIPTS dropped by 24% between 29 October and 26 November and subsequently even further. Nevertheless on 22 December Orleans Railway was quoted at 1,355 whereas on 29 October it was at 2,985.[b] It also emerges from the MONTHLY REPORT of the BANK OF FRANCE for December that, while DISCOUNTS in December have dropped by 94,236,520 frs compared with October and 49,955,500 compared with November, ADVANCES ON RAILWAY SECURITIES have risen.[c]

5. The French crisis proper does not break out until the GENERAL CRISIS has attained a certain level in Holland, Belgium, the Zollverein,[256] Italy (including Trieste), the Levant and Russia (Odessa), because in these countries the balance of trade is distinctly *unfavourable* to France; hence the direct effect of PRESSURE is MONETARY PANIC in France. Once it has hit France, it recoils on those countries *d'une manière vraiment admirable*.[d] With *Switzerland*, France is on the same footing as the United States with England. The short-term balance of trade is consistently in France's favour. But since France is substantially *in debt* to Switzerland, the latter is always apt HEAVILY TO DRAW UPON IT in times of crisis.

6. When the French crisis proper breaks out, it will play the very devil both with the SECURITY MARKET and the SECURITY of that market, the State. (This will also TELL UPON England, which AT THE

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[a] stocks - [b] See 'Bourse du Jeudi 26 novembre 1857', *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 331, 27 November 1857; 'Bourse du Mardi 22 décembre 1857', *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 357, 23 December 1857; 'Bourse du Jeudi 29 octobre 1857', *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 303, 30 October 1857. In these sources the figure 2,985 refers to the shares of the Bank of France. The corresponding figure for Orleans Railways is 1,300, which bears out Marx's argument on the buoyancy of railway stock. - [c] 'Situation de la banque de France et de ses succursales', *Le Moniteur universel*, Nos. 282, 317, 345, 9 October, 13 November, 11 December 1857. - [d] in truly grand style

PRESENT MOMENT is again gambling in FOREIGN SECURITIES in a manner splendid to behold.) The swindling, which in Hamburg, England, the United States has been the province of PRIVATE CAPITALISTS, is practised in France by the State itself, and the French PEDLARS IN TRADE were all of them GAMBLERS on the Bourse. The RECOIL from the Anglo-American crisis sufficed to bring the railways TO A DEAD-LOCK. What does Mr Bonaparte do? Compels the Bank TO BECOME IN FACT [A] RAILWAY CONTRACTOR and to make advances to the fellows on the BONDS they were authorised to ISSUE by the SETTLEMENT of 30 November 1856. In 1858 these BONDS will run to ABOUT £9 million. Thus the Crédit mobilier,[45] which on 3 December was up to its ears in trouble, is preparing to amalgamate with the Crédit foncier and the Comptoir National d'escompte. Why? Because both the latter are legally entitled to receive ADVANCES from the Bank on their SECURITIES and to have their DISCOUNTS REDISCOUNTED. So Boustrapa's plan is clear, namely to make the BANK OF FRANCE the entrepreneur for all his fraudulent schemes with the help, not of its own capital, but of the capital which it has merely on deposit and which will drain away ON THE FIRST SIGNAL GIVEN IN THE NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES. IN FACT, this is also an admirable way of ruining the Bank. However it would hardly occur even to Mr Bona to have the *CALLS of the SHAREHOLDERS* paid by the BANK OF FRANCE. In 1858 these CALLS will amount to over £10 million for *French* railways alone under the SETTLEMENT of 30 November 1856. They will run to at least £30 million for the host of speculative concerns SUCH AS the MERCANTILE AND INDUSTRIAL CO OF MADRID (Rothschilds), the French-American Shipping Company, the Victor Emmanuel Railway, Herserange Ironworks Co., Austrian Railways, Saragossa Co., French-Swiss Railway, LAUSANNE-FRIBOURG RAILWAY, NASSAU COMPANY, Société Générale des Tanneries, Compagnie de la Carbonisation des Houilles, CHIMAY TO MARIENBOURG RAILWAY, Lombard-Venetian RAILWAY, South American STEAM NAVIGATION CO., etc. The French haven't an earthly hope of paying these CALLS. Moreover the GERMANS, HOLLANDERS, SWISS, the LARGE HOLDERS OF FR[ENCH] SECURITIES, will sell them AT ANY PRICE on the Paris Bourse at the first sign of SERIOUS ALARM, be it in France or due to PRESSURE AT HOME. So it seems that Boustrapa will hardly be able to extricate himself in 1858 unless he holds out for a bit longer with the help of martial law and *assignats*.[a] The whole rotten old structure is falling to pieces and the ludicrously rash surge hitherto manifested

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[a] Paper money issued by the French revolutionary government in 1789; withdrawn in 1797.

by the SECURITY MARKET in England, etc., will likewise end in disaster.[257]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Pieper arrived today on a visit.

As regards the *Comptoir National d'escompte de Paris*, be it also noted that this institution, which was set up by the provisional government for the purpose of making bills discountable on the basis of only two signatures and similar less stringent requirements, was empowered by Boustrapa in 1851, only a day or two after the coup d'état, TO MAKE ADVANCES ON *Rentes Françaises, les actions et obligations industrielles ou de crédit constituées en sociétés anonymes.*[a] Advances on these SECURITIES amounted to £940,000 in 1854/55 and nearly £1,500,000 in 1855/56. Moreover, in 1851 it was given the right TO ESTABLISH *un 'Sous Comptoir des Chemins de Fer'*,[b] whose sole BUSINESS was to make advances on RAILWAY SHARES and BONDS. At the end of JUNE 1852 its ADVANCES were £520,000, at the end of 1852 £1,240,000, 1852/53—£3,600,000; at the end of 1854: £4,560,000, i.e. ABOUT 9×the ADVANCES in 1851. It's the same delectable business that broke the neck of the *Scotch Exchange Banks* in 1846/47.

*Has Dr Borchardt not yet suspended his payments?*

I trust you won't go out tippling too much during the holiday and these exciting times in Manchester and that you'll pay due attention to your health. Warmest regards to Lupus.

WHAT IS FRIEND CHARLEY[c] about? and OLD Hill?

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[a] French government stocks, the shares and bonds of industrial and banking concerns incorporated with limited liability. - [b] a railway suboffice - [c] presumably Charles Roesgen

## 120

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 30 December [1857]

Dear Frederick,

Come what may I shall have to deal with the Lucknow-Oudh affair on FRIDAY (1ST OF JANUARY). Could you let me have ANY ARTICLE, HOWEVER SHORT, on this subject by the day after tomorrow.[a] IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY SEASONABLE.

A happy New Year to you.

Your
K. M.

The enclosed greetings are not to be handed to *Lupus* until New Year's Day.

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## 121

## ENGELS TO MARX[184]

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 31 December 1857

Dear Moor,

I have searched the whole town for newspapers containing INDIAN NEWS, having sent you my *Guardians* on the subject the day before yesterday. I can't get hold of the relevant numbers, either from the *Guardian* itself or from the *Examiner & Times*, nor has Belfield any left. I thought you had already dealt with this affair on Tuesday. In the circumstances I cannot do the article,[b] which is

[a] In reply to this request Engels wrote the article 'The Siege and Storm of Lucknow'. - [b] The article in question, 'The Siege and Storm of Lucknow', was written later and published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 30 January 1858. In it Engels used some of the ideas expressed in this letter.

all the more vexing in that this is the first afternoon in 4 weeks on which I'd have been able to do it without having to neglect urgent business. In future, let me know as early as possible what your intentions are as to military articles; just now 24 hours makes quite a difference to me.

In any case, detailed information is so frightfully scarce, what there is being based almost wholly on telegraphic despatches from Cawnpore to Calcutta, that it's virtually impossible to write a critical analysis.[258] The only points I can think of are these: It is 40 MILES from Cawnpore to Lucknow (Alam Bagh)—Havelock's forced marches show that in India 15 miles a day over a protracted period is a very long march. Accordingly, with only 2-3 marches ahead of him, Colin[a] ought to have arrived at Alam Bagh no later than the 3rd day after his departure from Cawnpore, WITH PLENTY OF DAYLIGHT STILL LEFT TO ATTACK AT ONCE. It is by these standards that Colin's march must be judged; I can no longer recall the dates. 2. He had, after all, some 7,000 men (far more had been counted on, so between Calcutta and Cawnpore the march must have gone atrociously badly and a great many men been lost) and if he beat the Oudhi with approximately 7,000 men (including the garrisons of Alam Bagh and Lucknow), it was no great feat. *An army of 5-7,000 Englishmen has always been thought fully sufficient to go anywhere and do anything in the open field in India. That stamps the opponents at once.* A further consideration is that the Oudhi, although the most warlike race of the Ganges valley, were greatly inferior to the Sepoys as regards discipline, cohesion, weapons, etc., etc., precisely because they had never come under direct European organisation. Hence the main battle took the form of *a running fight, that is to say a skirmishing engagement in which the Oudhians were pushed back from post to post. Now it is true the British are, with the Russians, the worst light infantry in Europe, but they have learnt something in the Crimea, and at all events they had this great advantage over the Oudhians that their line of skirmishers was properly and regularly supported by pickets and lines the whole under one individual commander and cooperating towards a single end; while their opponents in the normal Asiatic manner, dispersed in irregular clusters, everyone pressing to the front, thus offering a sixfold aim to the British, having no regular supports or reserves and each cluster commanded by its own clannish chief, acting independently of every other clan. For it must be repeated, up to now we have not heard

[a] Colin Campbell

in a single instance that any insurrectionary army in India had been properly constituted under a recognized chief.* No other indication as to the nature of the fighting is given in the despatches nor, for that matter, any description of the terrain or particulars about the employment of troops, so that it's absolutely impossible for me to say anything further (let alone from memory).

As to France, you are right IN EVERY PARTICULAR, so far as I can judge. There, too, things have taken a normal course up till now. Over here the affair is in its infancy so far as HOME TRADE is concerned; it is to this category that the two London houses in the Manchester TRADE belong. But that's only a beginning. This kind of firm can only become seriously embroiled when the pressure has lasted for 8-12 months. The course of the present crisis would seem to me to have more affinity with that of 1837-42 than with any other—if one disregards the splendid universality and all-embracing nature of the present one. Just now people here are deluding themselves into thinking that THE CRISIS IS OVER because the first phase, the monetary crisis with its immediate consequences, is over. *Au fond*[a] each individual bourgeois still believes that *his particular* branch of business, and notably his own business, has been THOROUGHLY SOUND and, being able to measure themselves against the STANDARD of such splendid swindlers as Monteith, Macdonald, etc., etc., they naturally imagine themselves to be uncommonly virtuous. Nevertheless, this will not compensate Mr. Troost for losing $^2/_3$ to $^3/_4$ of his fortune on his 35,000 sacks of coffee, nor Mr SENATOR Merck for the fact that his shipments and other such operations to the tune of 22 million banco marks will eat up the whole of his capital. John Pondu, a Scot who has shot up here like a gigantic mushroom over the past 5 years, has, together with 5 others, 7,000 bales of silk in transit on which the loss will be £300,000. All this will not come to a head until March or April, and the tremendous efforts to push up prices on the commodity market will be frustrated at regular intervals as vessels arrive. It would seem that icy weather and east winds are at present preventing ships from arriving here. Should this continue for a week or a fortnight, the price of all produce will undoubtedly rise, only to fall all the more precipitously as soon as a west wind brings in an entire fleet. *Voilà ce qui s'appelle l'offre et la demande en temps de crise.*[b] STOCKS of cotton, too, are beginning to pile up in Liverpool—400,000 bales by today's count, A RATHER MORE

[a] at heart - [b] That's what supply and demand is like in time of crisis.

THAN AVERAGE STOCK. There's still better to come and COTTON is sure to fall again in the spring; it has just risen $^1/_2$d because de Jersey & Co.—a local firm which supplies almost the whole of the Russian market—having heard last week that their cancellation of all the orders they had placed in America had duly arrived—went and bought about 6,000 bales in Liverpool. That livened up the market, and any spinners who could afford to do so went in and bought something so as to supply their needs at the low prices. This alarmed, or rather put heart into, some other houses here and they, too, bought yarn and cloth so as to come in at the 'bottom'. It won't last long; to start with we shall, I think, have moderate UPS AND DOWNS here, the tendency being generally downward, perhaps also rising a little—one can't say exactly—until somewhere or other the lightning strikes again. At all events, there's a bad year ahead for spinners and manufacturers, if only because of insufficient demand and excessive supply. Stagnating pressure—that is the greatest danger so far as our local bourgeois are concerned. Monetary crises are of small account here, since all credits are extremely short-term (2-6 weeks).

On Saturday I went fox-hunting—7 hours in the saddle. That sort of thing always keeps me in a state of devilish exhilaration for several days; it's the greatest physical pleasure I know. I saw only 2 out of the whole FIELD who were better horsemen than myself, but then they were also better mounted. This will really put my health to rights. At least 20 of the chaps fell off or came down, 2 horses were done for, 1 fox killed (I was in AT THE DEATH); otherwise no mishaps. Admittedly there were no real fox-hunters at the meet; they ride far better than I do, of course. I shall pass your thing on to Lupus.

And now, a happy New Year to all your family and to the year of strife 1858.

Your
F. E.

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# 1858

## 122

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 January 1858

Dear Engels,

No article having arrived from you today, I have sent *none* to New York and shall therefore send 2 next week. I hope you will have one READY by Tuesday,[a] it being absolutely essential to write about India since a great STRUGGLE over military no less than commercial matters is taking place between the *Tribune* and *The New-York Times*. The *Times*, you see, RETAINS the London *Times*.

Enclosed:

1 *Star*,

1 *Daily News*,

1 *Overland Mail* (the most recent not yet out).

No doubt this will be sufficient.

Your

K. M.

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## 123

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 January [1858]

Dear Engels,

Have had your note. You don't say whether you have received my letter *enclosing those of Lassalle and Friedländer*.[b] I'd like to be sure that both will be preserved.

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[a] F. Engels, 'The Siege and Storm of Lucknow'. - [b] See this volume, pp. 227-28

As to C, I am IN FACT in a considerable quandary. Nothing more has been sent to Dana since 27 November,[259] as I finished my own share of it (i.e. the non-military stuff) long ago. If circumstances in Manchester don't admit of your seriously applying yourself to the business this month, I shall have to give it up altogether and tell Dana on some PRETEXT or other that I can't go on with the *Cyclopaedia*. The fact that I send him long, new lists before polishing off the old ones cannot fail in the end to arouse his suspicions and compromise me. CONSEQUENTLY he's not even answering, let alone sending anything fresh. Nor can work of this kind be remunerative when there are constant hiatuses of a month or more.

STILL, I try to avoid mentioning the matter to you because the last thing I want is to subject you to any strain that might damage your health. YET sometimes it seems to me that, if you could manage to do a *little* every two days or so, it might act as a CHECK on your junketings which, from what I know of Manchester and AT THE PRESENT EXCITED TIMES, seem to me 'unavoidable' and far from good for you.

Nor can there be any question at present of my taking over the military stuff, which would entail spending a great deal of time at the Museum[a] to no real effect, for it's absolutely essential that I should finish off my other work[250]—and it takes up *all* my time—even if the house should come tumbling about my ears!

So, *my boy, try to come to a definitive resolution—one way or the other*.

Warm regards.

Your
K. M.

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[a] the British Museum Library

# 124

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 January 1858

Dear Moor,

You will have had the article[a] in good time, at any rate, as I posted it *before midnight* on Monday, which means that it must have been delivered between 12 and 1 o'clock.

I received Lassalle's letter and also wrote to tell you how amused Lupus and I were at the man who wrote Heraclitus.[b] Can my letter have gone astray?[260]

During the worst of the crisis it was absolutely impossible for me to think of anything but the GENERAL CRASH. I could neither read nor write and was, moreover, still irritable as a result of my illness. Then came the HOLIDAYS with fox-hunting and other such frivolities, but now that's all over and I am beginning to feel in need of a quieter occupation and way of life. Such being the case—with the added inducement of a good bout of catarrh—the letter C has come as a boon to me, and I shall embark on it this very evening. I don't imagine it will take me very long; at any rate I shall put my best foot forward and you will be able to send something off each week. Come to that, if '*Army*' arrived in October and in time for Volume I[261] then surely C, arriving in January, will be in time for Volume III. In view of the crisis the chaps won't be hurrying into print, otherwise Dana would have written long ago. If you hear from him, by the way, let me know.

Incidentally the crisis, presently at a standstill, is about to take a new turn, at least so far as Manchester and the COTTON industry are concerned. On Monday a great many spinners went to Liverpool and bought 12,000 bales in order to restock to some extent, since many of them had nothing left. This pushed up the price of cotton, and at the same time the Greeks entered the market here and bought a fair amount, which brought about a corresponding rise locally. In Manchester and in Liverpool, the price has already risen by $^3/_4$d (per lb) above the lowest point. Now the buyers are shying away again but, if the easterlies persist, cotton and yarn will

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[a] F. Engels, 'The Siege and Storm of Lucknow'. - [b] F. Lassalle, *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos.*

get even lower before the arrival of full shiploads round about February or March. What a thing to do, pushing up the price of yarn and cotton WITH FACTORIES ON SHORT TIME! It can only result in restricting demand more than ever and, if this has no immediate effect on prices, it is merely because production rises and falls *with* demand. The price of MIDDLING is again somewhere between $6\,^1/_4$ and $6^3/_8$—today probably $6^1/_2$d, although I haven't yet seen the closing prices.

As regards produce, too, the difficulty of investing money seems to have enabled the chaps to effect once again a small, temporary rise which will last until the wind goes round to the west.

The vast amount of surplus capital in the market is, by the way, truly astounding and proves yet again what colossal dimensions everything has assumed since 1847. It would not surprise me in the least if, even before the crisis has passed through its remaining phases, this superfluity of FLOATING CAPITAL were to bring about renewed speculation in shares. This superfluity of disposable capital has undoubtedly helped to keep speculation going in France, and to such good effect that now, having survived the panic, the Crédit mobilier[45] can claim to be one of the soundest institutions in the world.

The letter about Lassalle must have reached you; have another look for it. I wrote it 2 or 3 days after receiving Lassalle's letter.

Enclosed with my day-before-yesterday's article were a few lines from Lupus to your wife and the girls. Cordial regards to them from me.

Your

F. E.

Today a line or two from Schramm saying that he had been rather worse but has now improved again. His worthy brothers now seem to be making the crisis a pretext for leaving him very much in the lurch. He talks of going either to Krefeld or to Virginia so as not to have to worry about where his next meal is coming from! I shall send him five pounds.

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## 125

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 January 1858

Dear Moor,

Herewith the beginning of C.[262] I shall try and do a few more articles tomorrow evening. It seems to me that there are only 2 articles for which material will be difficult to obtain—perhaps impossible in sufficient quantity—namely, CAPS (PERCUSSION)[263] and 'CAMP' (ROMAN, HEBREW, GREEK). The excerpts I made from Rüstow about Caesar's camp[a] amount to *very little* for, though I had ordered my own copy of Rüstow, the bookseller supplied an altogether different book. In the case of PERCUSSION CAPS, what I chiefly need is the story of the discovery of potassium tetrachlorate and its explosive qualities, likewise the dates when percussion fire-arms were introduced into the various armies. These two things would be useful to have. If you could manage to go to the British Museum and rout out something on this for me I could soon have these articles ready also, otherwise they'll hang fire since the libraries I use up here have no information on the subject.

If, by the way, Monsieur Dana can't be bothered to reply when we send him our lists, he has only himself to blame. He could have sent a list for D long ago. Now I shall make one out myself. At all events the chap seems to be taking the whole business very lightly; I only hope he's sent you some money for it, otherwise it's high time to start kicking up a fuss.

Charley[b] is in Holland and will be going to Switzerland. Luckily the shortage of orders makes it possible for me to leave most of the tasks connected with the year's end to the office boys, so that I'm not unduly burdened with work. THAT'S ONE GOOD JOB.

I enclose today's *Guardian* from which you will see that there is still a lot of SHORT TIME here. Next week it may ease again somewhat. At present I am sending you only those *Guardians* in which there's something of commercial interest.

I am reading, *inter alia*, Clausewitz's *Vom Kriege*. An odd way of philosophising, but *per se* very good. On the question as to whether one should speak of the art or the science of war, he says that, more than anything else, war resembles commerce. Combat is

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[a] W. Rüstow, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung C. Julius Cäsars*. - [b] Charles Roesgen

to war what cash payment is to commerce; however seldom it need happen in reality, everything is directed towards it and ultimately it is bound to occur and proves decisive.[a]

Many regards to your wife and little ones.

Your
F. E.

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## 126

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 January 1858

DEAR Frederic,

I received your article[b] at 5 o'clock on Tuesday afternoon. It is HIGHLY AMUSING and will delight the Yankees. The news from India, by the by, is no longer quite so favourable to the worthy English. POOR Havelock!

I have definitely not had your letter about Lassalle.[c] So it has either got held up somewhere in Manchester or has been intercepted down here.[260]

Lupus' letter to the family, who send you their regards, HAS PRODUCED A GREAT SENSATION.

Pieper was here during the Christmas holidays. He arrived in a state of alcoholic remorse and was more vapid and boring THAN EVER. The older the fellow grows the worse he becomes. He seems to have acquired the pleasant habit of drinking first thing in the morning, not tea or coffee, but a PINT [OF] STOUT, which gives him A SHEEP'S EYE for the rest of the day. Indeed, the combination of dilettantism and sententiousness, *fadaise*[d] and pedantry makes him ever harder to stomach. And, as often in the case of such laddies,

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[a] C. von Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege*, Vol. I, Book 2, Chapter 3. - [b] F. Engels, 'The Siege and Storm of Lucknow'. - [c] See this volume, p. 240. - [d] vapidity

there lurks, beneath an apparently sunny temperament, much irritability, moodiness and crapulous despondency. He has presented the children with two daguerreotypes of his charming person which are truly sublime and might be entitled 'Pieper with countenance exposed'. Both confected on the very morning of his arrival by rail in London. The first, still drunk with sleep, A MOST ABJECT PICTURE OF MENTAL AND MORAL DEJECTION: great, big mouth, flaccid jowl, blurred, sprawling features, in his eyes A STUPENDOUS EXPRESSION OF NOTHINGNESS. In the 2nd our friend had already pulled himself together and remembered that he was the handsome and *aimable* Pieper. It is the awakening of complacency and its victory over UTTER DEGRADATION. The first portrait—PIEPER AS HE *IS*, the 2nd AS HE *APPEARS* TO HIMSELF and the world in general. As little Jenny aptly remarked, all that was wanting to put the fellow in a nutshell was his drama, *WHAT IS THE MATTER?*

I enclose an interesting document which the Urquhartites, with that IMPERTURBABLE importunity of theirs, have extracted from the BOARD OF TRADE.[264] In addition to the BAD STATE of England's balance of trade during the past 3 years, it will show you *inter alia* how much money was being made by *Prussia* at the time of the Russian war; further, that our *HANSA TOWNS* are AT THE HEAD of those regions whose balance of trade *favours* England.

The momentary LULL in the crisis is, or so it seems to me, most advantageous to our interests—PARTY INTERESTS, I mean. Even in 1848, after the first LULL, England suffered some very severe blows at 2 or 3 INTERVALS, and at that time the crater had already shifted from where it had been in April 1847, etc.

The 'Neapolitan Question',[103] which has caused earnest politicians such a lot of head-scratching, has now been resolved by the EARTHQUAKE IN A MOST DELIGHTFUL MANNER. At least that's what the POT-HOUSE POLITICIANS OF *THE MORNING ADVERTISER* say.

You won't forget to send the *Guardian*, will you?

Above all I beg you to take care of your health. Times will get better and will make considerable CLAIMS on your BODY. So temper it and see that it comes to no harm.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Apropos. In his last number of the *Pionier* Heinzen remarks that, while it was quite comprehensible that the stultified workers in Germany should have been deluded by two sophists into believing they formed a *distinct class because* they plied a *plane*, it

was altogether too much of a good thing when, as now, the cry of class was raised among the workers at every MEETING in America! He shouts about the obfuscation of the masses, who are not susceptible of wisdom. Proclaims 'spiritual revolution' and, in opposition to the class prophets, a new triumvirate—*Goethe, G. St.-Hilaire and Karl Heinzen!!!*

In recent weeks the *Crédit mobilier*[45] has pushed up the price of its shares to an exceptional height by the ANNOUNCEMENT OF A DIVIDEND OF 25 P.C., THIS TIME undoubtedly paid OUT OF CAPITAL.

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## 127

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 11 January [1858]

Dear Frederick,

'Campaign', etc.[262] received. In the next day or so I shall go to the Museum[a] to look up the matters in question.[b]

Affairs in India—with Windham for HERO—are again taking an interesting TURN. If we have fuller particulars this week, by Wednesday or thereabouts, I shall have to send off something on the subject to the *Tribune*.[265]

In elaborating the PRINCIPLES of economics[250] I have been so damnably held up by errors in calculation that in DESPAIR I have applied myself to a rapid revision of algebra. I have never felt at home with arithmetic. But by making a detour via algebra, I shall quickly get back into the way of things.

Your health bulletins are too cursory. I'd like you to go into more detail, FOR INSTANCE, have all your sores healed up?

More in my next.

Your
K. M.

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[a] the British Museum Library - [b] See this volume, p. 241.

The reading-room of the British Museum, London, where Marx worked

I hunted through Clausewitz,[a] more or less, when doing Blücher. The fellow possesses a COMMON SENSE bordering on the ingenious.

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## 128

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 14 January 1858
7 Southgate

Dear Marx,

Herewith the article,[b] though it has just occurred to me that by a ludicrous slip I have written Wilson throughout instead of *Inglis*; perhaps you would alter this as there's no time to do so now.

I shall do a few more C's for Tuesday, and finish 'Cavalry', which should make a good article and also be somewhat longer.

Apropos, have you done 'Coehoorn' (Baron)? If not I have some excellent material.

NB. I've *no material whatever* on *'Catapults'*—there should be something in Ersch and Gruber.[c]

The Lucknow garrison's greatest act of heroism consisted in the fact THAT THEY HAD TO FACE EVERY DAY THE 'COARSE BEEF' COOKED BY THE LADIES, *'ENTIRELY UNAIDED'*. Must have been damned badly cooked. *The Daily News* has something on Windham, but not enough.

Kindest regards to your wife and children.

Your

F. E.

My health is good. The sores have all been healed for the last 6 weeks. Heckscher is very satisfied with the way the thing is

[a] C. von Clausewitz, *Der Feldzug von 1812 in Rußland, der Feldzug von 1813 bis zum Waffenstillstand und der Feldzug von 1814 in Frankreich* and *Der Feldzug von 1815 in Frankreich*. - [b] F. Engels. 'The Relief of Lucknow'. - [c] *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste* ... bearbeitet und herausgegeben von J. S. Ersch und J. G. Gruber.

progressing, but he's still limiting what I eat and drink—not so much in quantity as in kind.

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## 129

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 15 January 1858

Dear Marx,

Judging by the enclosed letter from Harney, it seems most doubtful whether Schramm is still alive. I wrote to Harney straight away. As soon as I hear anything further I shall let you know.

Your
F. E.

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## 130

## MARX TO ENGELS[266]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 January 1858

Dear Frederick,

You, too, will have had a letter from Harney about friend Schramm. There was no prospect of recovery. A pity, though, that money worries—for which the fat London philistine[a] is to blame—should have clouded his last days.

[a] Rudolf Schramm, brother of Conrad Schramm

Your article[a] is SPLENDID and IN STYLE and MANNER altogether reminiscent of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in its heyday. As for Windham, he may be a very bad general, but on this occasion the man was undone by what was the making of him at the Redan[267]—unseasoned troops. I am generally of the opinion that in terms of bravery, self-reliance and STEADINESS this, the second army England has committed to India (and of which not a man will return), will not be able to hold a candle to the first, which seems to have dwindled away almost entirely. As regards the effect of the climate on the troops, while temporarily in charge of the military DEPARTMENT I showed in various articles by exact calculations that mortality was DISPROPORTIONATELY higher than stated in the official English despatches.[268] In view of the DRAIN OF MEN and BULLION which she will cost the English, India is now our best ally.

On Monday I shall again visit the Museum,[b] after which I shall send you 'Catapult'—along with the other stuff you ask for—drawn from the best sources. I have *not* done *'Coehoorn'*, as it would have taken me too much time to unearth the correct sources.

I am EXCEEDINGLY glad to learn that your health is progressing WELL. For the past 3 weeks I, too, have again been dosing myself and only stopped doing so today. I had been overdoing very much my nocturnal labours, accompanied, it is true, by mere lemonade on the one hand, but AN IMMENSE DEAL OF TOBACCO on the other. I am, by the way, discovering some nice arguments.[250] E.g. I have completely demolished the theory of profit as hitherto propounded. What was of great use to me as regards *method* of treatment was Hegel's *Logic* at which I had taken another look BY MERE ACCIDENT, Freiligrath having found and made me a present of several volumes of Hegel, originally the property of Bakunin. If ever the time comes when such work is again possible, I should very much like to write 2 or 3 sheets making accessible to the common reader the *rational* aspect of the method which Hegel not only discovered but also mystified.

Of all recent economists, Monsieur Bastiat with his *Harmonies économiques* represents the very dregs of fatuity at their most concentrated. Only a *crapaud*[81] could have concocted an harmonious *pot-au-feu*[c] of this kind.

What do you think of our friend Jones[245]? I still refuse to believe that the chap has sold himself. Perhaps his experience of

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[a] F. Engels, 'The Relief of Lucknow'. - [b] the British Museum Library - [c] stew

1848 lies heavy on his stomach. So great is his faith in himself that he may think himself capable of exploiting the MIDDLE CLASS or imagine that if only, ONE WAY OR THE OTHER, Ernest Jones could be got into Parliament, world history could not fail to take A NEW TURN. The best of it all is that—out of SPITE against Jones, OF COURSE—Reynolds is now posing in his paper[a] as the most rabid opponent of the MIDDLE CLASS and of all compromise. Mr B. O'Brien has likewise become an IRREPRESSIBLE CHARTIST AT ANY PRICE. Jones' only excuse is the enervation now rampant among the working class in England. However that may be, if he goes on as at present he will become either DUPE of the MIDDLE CLASS or RENEGADE. The FACT that he should now seek to avoid me as anxiously as he once used to consult me over the merest trifle is evidence of anything but a good conscience.

Herewith a letter for Lupus from Laura and Jenny. The two GIRLS naturally imagine that you might take umbrage at Lupus appearing to be preferred as a correspondent. Hence they have earnestly admonished me not to forget to tell you THAT YOURS SHALL BE THE NEXT TURN.

I shall wait another 3 weeks until the situation has pretty well come to a head and then write to Mr Dana saying that I cannot go on working for the *Tribune* if I'm restricted to *4 articles a month,* and that *6* is the minimum. In fact I am now invariably obliged to compress into 1 article sufficient material for 2, and hence am doing double the work for HALF THE PRICE. THIS WILL NEVER DO.

Did you enclose Lassalle's and Friedländer's letters[b] in the one about Lassalle[260] which went astray? For political reasons, it would be desirable to preserve them.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] *Reynolds's Newspaper* - [b] See this volume, pp. 227-28.

## 131

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 January 1858

Dear Engels,

I have received: 1. Copies of the *Guardian*; 2. C ('Carabine', etc.[269]). You have not told me whether you got my letter, together with an enclosure for Lupus, sent off a week ago today.[a]

Herewith a letter from Dana which you must return as it has not yet been answered. One disagreeable consequence so far as I am concerned is that I am already considerably in the fellows' debt, having miscalculated what was due to me and drawn a further amount after sending off 'Cannon'.[235] The PAY, by the by, isn't even A PENNY THE LINE.

As regards the new B articles Dana is asking for—and for me the main thing is to pay off as quickly as possible what I have overdrawn on Appleton, otherwise I shall be unable to draw anything on the *Tribune* and hence be stone broke—they are, with *one* exception, taken from the list you drew up. As regards that *one exception*—'THE HISTORY OF THE BENGAL REBELLION'—I suggest the most appropriate course would be tell Dana straight out it can't be done. How get hold of the sources at such short notice? Since it 'SHALL BE SENT AT ONCE' and must be 'AS BRIEF AS POSSIBLE', the work involved would be out of all proportion to the PAY and it would simply prevent us from getting on with the other articles. What is your opinion? The military side is the more important, but it seems to me that the whole, whether military or political, has not yet reached the stage where it could be 'sent AT ONCE'.

I cannot recall the MISTAKE IN [THE] BATTLE OF 'ALBUERA' to which Dana refers.[270]

Freiligrath writes to say that the great Ernst Dronke has arrived in London from *Paris*, having left the latter place for the first time on account of the attempted assassination.[271]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, p. 250.

There were some nice things from the Paris correspondent in *The Manchester Guardian* you sent me. How is business in Manchester? Everything seems to be going better than expected.

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## 132

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 January 1858

Dear Marx,

The letters have all arrived safely. It will be utterly impossible to do the BENGAL REBELLION in the time stipulated and I would advise you, while you are about it, to point out to Mr Dana that, had he been more prompt in agreeing to our proposals and the list we sent him, he would have had all these articles long ago. He can perfectly well fit in BENGAL REBELLION as HINDUSTAN REBELLION or something of the sort.[272] As to the alleged howler,[270] I can't look into it this moment, there being no time, but shall do so tomorrow. The item was taken from *Brockhaus*,[a] so it will probably be correct.

Lassalle's letter is still up here.

I have the material ready for 'Blenheim', 'Borodino' and many more and you will be receiving a LOT on Friday, provided the Indian MAIL doesn't necessitate my doing an article, which seems unlikely judging by the telegraphic despatch. I shall have to look up 'Bidassoa', etc. But what is all this about Dana saying he had already asked for *these articles*? It's the first I've heard of it.

Harney will have written to tell you that poor Schramm died a week ago on Friday. I have no details yet. I wrote and asked

[a] *Brockhaus' Konversations-Lexikon*

Harney,[273] should he find anything in your handwriting or mine, to take it away and hold it at our disposal—it would be too bad if anything of that kind were allowed to fall into the hands of Mr Rudolf,[a] who has become an out-and-out Prussian. I had not thought Schramm would have any serious attacks before the spring. The poor fellow was putting up a splendid fight against the disease while I was there and, from what I hear, continued to do so until the end. Our old guard is rapidly dwindling away during this long spell of peace!

Business here is very shaky. Every fortnight an attempt is made to push up cotton prices, the moment chosen being when a few spinners have to buy. It succeeds for three or four days and then prices fall again. Generally speaking we are now $^5/_8$d above the lowest point. It's much the same with ourselves. As soon as prices become thoroughly depressed as a result of a fortnight's stagnation, the Indian and Levantine buyers step into the market and force everything up; after that no one wants to buy and prices gradually fall again. Everything is still far from normal. The spinners are going on to full time, not because there is any real demand, but because others are doing so and because they're heartily sick of SHORT TIME. On the whole the spinners' position has deteriorated because the difference in price between raw cotton and yarn has diminished. The Germans are still buying very little. Prospects here are far from brilliant; every day trade suffers a CHECK because of attempts to force up prices and, if that doesn't happen, they say that THERE IS AN IMPROVED FEELING IN THE MARKET. IMPROVED BE DAMNED!

The enclosure for Lupus was a source of great pride and joy to the old man.[b] He sends his warmest regards to the writers. By the way I hardly saw him at all last week; we kept missing one another and later he had a slight touch of *tic douloureux*.[c]

Warm regards to the FAMILY.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Rudolf Schramm - [b] See this volume, p. 250. - [c] facial neuralgia

## 133

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 January 1858

Dear Moor,

Herewith 3 B articles.[274] I had meant, if possible, to do Windham[a] as well today, but in the first place the PARTICULARS are still very confused and it is absolutely essential to wait for the official report on the affair, for hitherto everything has been glossed over; and, secondly, I had no time this afternoon, was barely able to look over the 3 articles. Also, I have too bad a cold to risk going into town at midnight to post the letter. Tell Dana that the material is still incomplete.

Have you sent Dana my C list? If not, do so *now* so that he can reply in good time. Once again his C is LUDICROUSLY INCOMPLETE.

Unfortunately I couldn't make 'Borodino' any shorter since all previous accounts of the battle have been quite wrong.

Your
F. E.

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## 134

## MARX TO ENGELS[20]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 January [1858]
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill

DEAR Frederick,

The freezing weather which has set in here and the *real shortage of coal in this house* compels me—although there's nothing in the world I loathe more—to impose on you again. I have brought

[a] F. Engels, 'Windham's Defeat'.

myself to do so only after HEAVY PRESSURE FROM WITHOUT. My wife has pointed out to me that you had miscalculated through having sent a remittance from Jersey earlier than usual, and hence would not send anything this month unless I wrote expressly; that she had pawned her SHAWL, etc., etc., and was at a loss where to turn. In short, I *must* write, which is why I am doing so. Indeed, if these conditions persist, I'd sooner be miles under the ground than go on scraping along in this way. Always to be a burden on others while constantly tormented oneself by beastly trifles becomes unbearable in the long run. I personally can bury myself in my work and escape the *misère* by devoting my attention to universalities. My wife, OF COURSE, has no such refuge, etc., etc.

Lassalle's book arrived today[a]; it cost 2/—not the book, but the carriage. This circumstance ensured it a bad reception. 2 volumes of 30 sheets EACH. Have no more than squinted at it. In his preface the fellow deludes readers into believing that he has been gestating it since 1846. Seems altogether Old Hegelian. Very possibly the legal tradition of hermeneutics came in useful for the interpretation and comparison of passages. *Nous verrons,*[b] though the thing's too bulky to be read from cover to cover.

I have also heard from Mr Pieper. He imparts the interesting secret that, while here, he was suffering from 'abdominal difficulties' and hence 'may' have seemed a bore.

The Orsini, etc., conspiracy[271] might well put paid to the Prussian amnesty.[275] The day before yesterday the police here forced their way into Orsini's rooms *at midnight*, and INVEIGLED his maid[c] into accompanying them to Scotland Yard, where she was interrogated by Mr Richard Mayne and some French *mouchards.*[d] This escapade, besides compromising Mr Pam, failed in its purpose even more lamentably in that Martin Bernard has taken possession of all letters addressed to Orsini in London since the latter's arrest, Orsini himself having *burned* all the rest before leaving here.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] F. Lassalle, *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos.* - [b] We shall see - [c] Eliza Cheney - [d] police spies

# 135

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 January 1858

DEAR Frederick,

The 3 B articles received.[a] It's excellent that you should have made 'Borodino' longer. Since the fellows' columns are so IMMENSE and their PAY so bad, the only remedy is to lengthen the articles. I hope that when you come to do 'Cavalry' you will spin it out as much as possible so that I can get rid of my DEBTS to those curs.

In France things are splendid. The COOLNESS with which the *épiciers*[b] responded to the news of the attempted assassination[271] has exasperated the fellow.[c] The secret of this indifference of the *épiciers* is doubtless the unspoken desire of many of them that some sudden political event should get them out of their mess. The majority of the laddies had had their bills renewed by the Bank, Discount Association, etc., which were acting on the ORDERS of Boustrapa.[40] However, to put off is not to write off. A large number of French bourgeois, with commercial ruin staring them in the face, are anxiously awaiting the day of reckoning. They now find themselves in much the same STATE as Boustrapa *before* the coup d'état.[276] ANY POLITICAL PRETEXT FOR MAKING AN HONOURABLE EXIT WILL, CONSEQUENTLY, BE EAGERLY SEIZED UPON BY THE DAMNED FELLOWS—just as it was 10 years ago. Boustrapa knows this and now wishes to act the real 'despot'. *Nous verrons.*[d] If he pins his faith on Magnan, Castellane, etc., he will be left high and dry.[277]

In my economic work[250] I have now reached a point at which I could do with some information on practical matters from you, since nothing of the kind is to be found in theoretical writings. I mean, the *circulation* of capital—how it varies in various kinds of business; the effect of the same on profit and prices. If you can provide me with any information on the subject, it would be VERY welcome.

Mr Lassalle, in his preface to
*Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos*, says *inter alia*:

'All but a small part of the same' (the book) 'was completed early in 1846, and I was on the point of putting the concluding touches to it when suddenly an interest of a different kind—how true in *every* respect is Sophocles' dictum:

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[a] F. Engels, 'Berme', 'Blenheim', 'Borodino'. - [b] grocers - [c] Napoleon III - [d] We shall see.

"πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ, κοὐδὲν
ἀνθρώπου δεινότερον πέλει"[a]

—precipitated me into a welter of practical strife and prevented me over a period of nearly 10 years from devoting myself to the completion of this work.'

Do you suppose that Sophocles' verse, put into German by Lassalle, means: 'There's no more frightful specimen of *humankind* than the Countess Hatzfeldt!'[35]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 136

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 30 January 1858

Dear Marx,

Your two letters arrived together this morning. I enclose a fiver; unfortunately I'm very tight for money myself and Schramm touched me for five pounds at the beginning of January—in the circumstances there was absolutely no question of refusing, but in consequence I was even more broke. 'Windham'[b] will be ready for Tuesday.

Apropos, would you send me another copy of the B articles Dana asked for (both the original ones and those subsequently ordered) as I have mislaid mine.

How goes it with 'Camp', 'Catapults' and 'Caps' (Percussion)?[263]

Well, the would-be assassins[271] may not have bagged Bonaparte, but they caught K. Heinzen all right. You will recall his bloodthirsty threats of destruction in 1848 and his big talk about

[a] There are many wonderful things, and nothing is more wonderful than man' (Sophocles, *Antigone*, Lines 339-40). - [b] F. Engels, 'Windham's Defeat'.

the deadly weapons of modern science concerning which he, of course, knew nothing. Kossuth is a great man, but Kossuth forgot fulminating silver, etc. *Eh bien,*[a] after this business we shall hear no more of fulminating silver. I said at once, judging by the appalling number of injured and relatively few dead, that the bombs had been overfilled and had therefore burst into a mass of small splinters, none of which had much force. The asses went about it with more stupidity than cunning. With a filling of ordinary powder the bombs would inevitably have had a much greater effect. Instead they cram in as much fulminating mercury as the things will hold, thereby producing a hail of small, relatively innocuous splinters. Dr Larrey confirms my view. So MUCH FOR Heinzen.

On the 21st *courant*[b] there was another attempt on Bonaparte's life in the Bois de Boulogne, with a pistol; the fellow was arrested before he could pull the trigger. The affair has been hushed up. As soon as I can dispense with the relevant *Guardian* you shall have it.

I shall send for Charras' *Cent jours.*[c] Mightn't we go in for literary criticism in America? An article on the subject would certainly be interesting and not difficult to do.

Warm regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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## 137

## MARX TO ENGELS[1]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 February 1858
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Frederick,

£5 arrived. The simultaneous arrival of two letters, of which I sent off one on Thursday, the other on Friday, would seem to

[a] Well - [b] instant - [c] J. B. A. Charras, *Histoire de la campagne de 1815.*

indicate that refugees' letters are being held back, examined, etc., by the Post Office.

New B's are: *'Bidassoa'* (BATTLE OF), *'Blenheim'* (ditto), *'Burmah'* (WAR IN), *'Bomarsund'* (SIEGE), *'Borodino'* (BATTLE), *'Brescia'* (ASSAULT), *'Bridge-head'*, *'Bülow'*, *'Buda'* (SIEGE OF), *'Beresford'*, *'Berme'*.[a] When Dana says, 'MOST OF THEM I ASKED YOU BEFORE', he is mistaken, and is confusing *your* list of B's with *his own*. All he himself ordered was:

'Barbette', 'Bastion', 'Bayonet', 'Barclay de Tolly', 'Battery', 'Battle', 'Bem', 'Bennigsen', 'Berthier', 'Bernadotte', 'Bessières', 'Bivouac', 'Blindage', 'Blücher', 'Blum', 'Bolivar', 'Bomb', 'Bombardier', 'Bombardment', 'Bomb (Ketch, Proof, Vessel)', 'Bonnet', 'Bosquet', 'Bourrienne', *'Bridge'* (pontoon), Brown (Sir George), 'Brune', 'Bugeaud'.[a] (The ass has received the lot.)

I have done *'Catapult'* for you (not very much). Likewise the better part of *'Castrum'*[b] (but I still have to look up Greek camps in Wachsmuth, *Hellenische Alterthumskunde*, and Jewish in de Wette[c]). It's a lengthy business where PERCUSSION CAPS[263] are concerned because there are so many different types of gun-locks, etc., to be listed. I'd have already finished the job if it hadn't been for the new order from Dana. I'll send you all the rubbish at the same time. Besides, whenever I'm at the Museum,[d] there's such a LOT of stuff to look up that it's closing-time (now 4 o'clock) before I've so much as looked round. Then there's the journey there. So much time lost.

*Heraclitus, the Dark Philosopher* by Lassalle the Luminous One is, *au fond*,[e] a very silly concoction. Every time Heraclitus uses an image to demonstrate the unity of AFFIRMATION and NEGATION—and this is often—IN STEPS Lassalle and makes the most of the occasion by treating us to some passage from Hegel's *Logic* which is HARDLY improved in the process; always at great length too, like a schoolboy who must show in his essay that he has thoroughly understood his 'essence' and 'appearance' as well as the 'dialectical process'. Once he has got this into his speculative noddle, one may be sure that the schoolboy will nevertheless be able to carry out the process of ratiocination only in strict accord with the prescribed formula and the *formes sacramentales*.[f] Just so our Lassalle. The fellow seems to have tried to puzzle out Hegelian logic via Heraclitus, nor ever to have tired of beginning the process all over again. As for learning, there is a tremendous

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[a] All names and parentheses written in English by Marx. - [b] 'Camp' - [c] Probably a reference to W. M. L. de Wette's *Lehrbuch der hebräisch-jüdischen Archäologie*... - [d] the British Museum Library - [e] basically - [f] hallowed forms

display of it. But, as any well-informed person will know, provided one has the time and the money and, like Mr Lassalle, can have Bonn University Library delivered *ad libitum* to one's home, it is easy enough to assemble such an array of quotations. One can see what an amazing swell the fellow himself thinks he is in this philological finery, and how he moves with all the grace of a man wearing FASHIONABLE DRESS for the first time in his life. Since most philologists are *not* possessed of the speculative thinking dominant in Heraclitus, every Hegelian has the incontestable advantage of understanding what the philologist does not. (It would, by the by, be strange indeed if, by learning Greek, a fellow were to become a philosopher *in Greek* without being one *in German*.) Instead of simply taking this for granted, Mr Lassalle proceeds to lecture us in a quasi-Lessingian manner. In long-winded, lawyer's style he vindicates the Hegelian interpretation as opposed to the erroneous exegeses of the philologists—erroneous for want of specialised knowledge. Thus we are accorded the twofold gratification, first, of having dialectical matters which we had all but forgotten expounded to us at considerable length and, secondly, of seeing this 'speculative heritage' vindicated (qua special province of Mr Lassalle's philological-jurisprudential astuteness and erudition) vis-à-vis the unspeculative philologists. Despite the fellow's claim, by the way, that hitherto Heraclitus has been a book with 7 seals, he has to all intents and purposes added *nothing whatever that is new* to what Hegel says in the *History of Philosophy*.[a] All he does is to enlarge on points of detail which could, of course, have been accomplished quite adequately in two sheets of print. Still less does it occur to the laddie to come out with any critical reflections on dialectics as such. If all the fragments by Heraclitus were put together in print, they would HARDLY fill half a sheet. Only a chap who brings out his books at the expense of the frightful 'specimen of humankind'[b] can presume to launch upon the world 2 volumes of 60 sheets on such a pretext.

*Heraclitus, the Dark Philosopher*, is quoted as saying in an attempt to elucidate the transformation of all things into their opposite: 'Thus gold changeth into all things, and all things change into gold.' Here, Lassalle says, gold means money (*c'est juste*[c]) and money is value.[d] Thus the Ideal, Universality, the One (value), and things, the Real, Particularity, the Many. He makes use of this surprising insight to give, in a lengthy note, AN EARNEST OF HIS

[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie*. - [b] Sophie von Hatzfeldt (see this volume, p. 257) - [c] that is correct - [d] F. Lassalle, *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos*, Bd. I, S. 222-23.

DISCOVERIES IN THE SCIENCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. Every other word a howler, but set forth with remarkable pretentiousness. It is plain to me from this one note that, in his second grand opus, the fellow intends to expound political economy in the manner of Hegel.[278] He will discover to his cost that it is one thing for a critique to take a science to the point at which it admits of a dialectical presentation, and quite another to apply an abstract, ready-made system of logic to vague presentiments of just such a system.

But, as I remarked immediately after receipt of his first self-complacent letter, the Old Hegelians and philologists must indeed have been PLEASED to discover such old-fashioned virtues in a young man who passes for a great revolutionary.[a] On top of that, he bows and scrapes to all and sundry in the hope of assuring himself a favourable reception. As soon as I've skimmed through the stuff, I'll send it too.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 138

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 8 February 1858

Dear Moor,

At times last week I wasn't well. There would seem to be some slight vestige of my former complaint which, though too mild to take a serious hold, plagues me with all kinds of little miseries—a peculiarly sensitive skin, cuts slow to heal, abscesses on the fingers, and similar boring and idiotic things. Fortunately there is no longer any sign at all of septic glands, so I have nothing to fear on

[a] See this volume, p. 227.

that score. These little miseries crop up whenever I have a cold, and will doubtless continue to bother me off and on until I go to bathe in the sea again. Pending that I shall, at any rate, have to be careful. My piles, by the way, which have become something of a problem since I got back, act as a diversion; this may help at the time, but makes sitting impossible for the next day or two, except on horseback. Hence my silence last week and the dearth of contributions since Monday. Most evenings I could only *lie down.* However my cold is now SUBSIDING—so much so that yesterday I was again able to ride 28 miles, which means we shall be able to pitch in again tomorrow.

*Au fond*[a] Mr Lassalle doesn't seem to have taken much trouble over the dark Heraclitus. Lupus was much amused by your description of his method; it gave him some satisfaction to learn that Greek scholarship is not this gentleman's forte. When the book[b] arrives I shall let him study it.

Today friend Belfield again presented himself for election to the city council and suffered a resounding defeat. 196 votes against 143 in his favour.

I still have a few *Guardians* at home with some nice reports from Paris and shall send them to you in the next few days.

Warm regards to the FAMILY. There'll be some more *Cyclopaedia* stuff for Friday.

Your
F. E.

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## 139

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 February [1858]

Dear Engels,

That ass Dana (in a letter which I shall send you later and in which he leaves it UNDECIDED WHETHER OR NOT to honour the bill I drew

[a] in the main - [b] F. Lassalle, *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos.*

at the end of December) writes *inter alia*: *'In the article "*Artillery*" in speaking of the equipment of the Prussian army, you use the words *seam*-horses; what are they? I do not find them in any dictionary.'* Answer by return, so that I can write to the ass about it on Friday.

I suspected that all was not quite well with you. You really must take care of yourself. You've been overdoing things during the Manchester 'period of *Sturm und Drang*'.[279] More soon.

Your
K. M.

Did Harney DEAR send you also his *Independent*[a] NONSENSE? Who do you suppose concocted Schramm's life story? Harney makes out that THE CELEBRATED POET Freiligrath—alongside whom Engels ESQ. looks odd—was the publisher of the *Revue der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung*.[b]

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## 140

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 February 1858

Dear Moor,

Dana can't read—the word is TEAM-HORSES, i.e. THE HORSES HARNESSED TO ANY GUN OR CARRIAGE IN ORDER TO DRAW IT. The expression 'TEAM' crops up frequently elsewhere in the article[c] and if he wants an authority let him look up the article on 'Artillery' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Unfortunately I can't send you anything today. Yesterday I let myself be talked into attending a COURSING MEETING at which hares are hunted with greyhounds, and spent 7 hours in the saddle. All

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[a] *The Jersey Independent* - [b] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* - [c] F. Engels, 'Artillery'.

in all, it did me a power of good though it kept me from my work, and I haven't got far enough with the stuff I've begun—'Burmah', etc., etc.—to have a hope of getting it ready in time for tonight. It's sickening to read long works on 'Burmah', yet be unable to make a decent job of the thing, AS IT MUST BE PRETTY SHORT. But I shall have my revenge with 'Cavalry'. Dana will be getting Griesheim[a] *in toto* in so far as it applies.

Lupus has apparently retired from the world of pubs. During 4 visits to the Chatsworth, his regular haunt, I only ran into him once. Since I only go there on his account, it has been a great waste of time and something will have to be done about it.

I too have been sent Harney DEAR'S rubbish.[b] For this Harro Harring, who lives in Jersey (though I never saw him), must take the chief blame. The description of Krefeld is killing. Real vintage Harney. He has turned Schramm's death into yet another great melodramatic spectacle, the principal role being played by G. J. H.[c] of course. The whole affair, funeral and all, his letters headed HASTE! IMMEDIATE!, etc., and then the presumption of asking me to come to Jersey to figure among the *crapauds*[81] and Waschlapskis[d]—I find the whole affair repugnant. He's a rotten little blighter and Jersey is just the right place for him; moreover he is absolutely delighted at having involved his paper in a libel action brought by François Godfrey, Jersey's feudal lord.[237]

The 'Engels ESQ' certainly does look very odd. I ought never to forgive Harney, if only because the best he has to say of me boils down to *Esq. Grosse bête!*[e]

Jones, too, is evidently up to some pretty tricks. The obese Livesay, whom he appointed CHAIRMAN of his conference,[245] is a wretched little bourgeois who swears by Miall and who, in company with Sturge & Co., engineered the COMPLETE SUFFRAGE SECESSION as long ago as 1842 when all the petty bourgeois withdrew.[280]

But NEVER MIND. Mr Bonaparte *travaille pour nous.*[f] The way he is running things, we couldn't possibly ask for anything better. Espinasse, Minister of the Interior! THAT BEATS COCK FIGHTING. And on top of that, the idiocy of publishing those addresses.[281]

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[a] G. von Griesheim, *Vorlesungen über die Taktik.* - [b] See previous letter. - [c] George Julian Harney - [d] *Waschlapski,* of which the English equivalent would be Dishragski, is the name of a down-at-heel nobleman in Heine's satirical poem *Zwei Ritter.* By the *crapauds* and *Waschlapskis* Engels means French and Polish petty-bourgeois refugees in Jersey. - [e] Silly ass! (Engels wrote this paragraph in the margin.) - [f] is working for us

By the way, so that you don't start getting wrong ideas about my physical condition, let me tell you that yesterday I took my horse over a hedge and bank measuring 5 feet and some inches, the highest jump I've ever done. Clearly, EFFORTS of this kind presuppose moderately sound limbs if they are to be made without discomfort. After all, we want to show the Prussian cavalry a thing or two when we get back to Germany. The gentlemen will find it difficult to keep up with me for I've already had a great deal of practice and am improving every day. I'm getting quite a reputation, as time goes on. But only now am I getting to grips with the real problems of riding over difficult country; it's a highly complicated business.

Kind regards to your wife and children. A few articles at any rate will arrive by Monday. As regards India I think we might wait for one more mail, unless anything of real interest crops up.

Your
F. E.

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## 141

## MARX TO ENGELS[20]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 February 1858

Dear Engels,

You had promised to send me the *Guardian*. I was therefore expecting to get it today since France is now the only possible topic for reports and the fellows prefer a few gossipy anecdotes to ANY AMOUNT OF IDEAS. I assume the numbers you promised me will arrive tomorrow but would most urgently beg that in future you always let me have the things for Thursday or for Friday at the latest. *After* the appointed day they are, OF COURSE, no longer of any use to me for my reports.

For 3 days I shall now be on tenterhooks until I know whether or not my bill, which does not appear to have been despatched

from here until several weeks AFTER ITS DRAWING, has been honoured. At very best I shan't be able to draw anything more on the *Tribune* against the articles I have sent in until the matter with Appleton is SETTLED.[a] My estimate of the value of the last goods despatched to him was badly out. Moreover, a longish article on '*Bolivar*'[b] elicited objections from Dana because, he said, it is written IN A PARTISAN STYLE and he asked me to cite my AUTHORITIES. This I can, of course, do, although it's a singular demand. As regards the PARTISAN STYLE, it is true that I departed somewhat from the tone of a cyclopaedia. To see the most dastardly, most miserable and meanest of blackguards described as Napoleon I was altogether too much. Bolivar is a veritable Soulouque.[282]

I CONGRATULATE YOU UPON YOUR EQUESTRIAN PERFORMANCES. Only don't take too many breakneck jumps, as there will soon be more important occasion for risking your neck. You seem TO RIDE SOMEWHAT HARD THIS HOBBY-HORSE. In any case I don't believe that the CAVALRY is the speciality in which you will be of the greatest service to Germany. I would venture another little objection, viz. whether OVER-EXERTION IN ANY LINE is compatible with your health. '*Aurea mediocritas*'[c] in all types of exertion, or so at least a doctor assures me, should remain the norm for you for some time yet.

The Bonaparte affair[271] had indeed put a sorry end to the proposed Prussian amnesty.[275] Louis, by the way, is merely aping his putative uncle.[283] He is, in fact, not only *Napoléon le Petit* (in Victor Hugo's sense[d] as opposed to *Napoléon le Grand*) but he PERSONATES IN A MOST ADMIRABLE WAY THE LITTLENESS of the great Napoleon. I have looked up Cobbett for 1802-03 where I discover that the 'DEN OF ASSASSINS' AND ALL THAT LITERALLY appeared in the *Moniteur* of that time.[284] *Inter alia*, the *Moniteur* of 9 August 1802 declares word for word:

*'Either the English government authorises and tolerates these public and private crimes, in which case it cannot be said that such conduct is consistent with British generosity, civilisation, and honour; or it cannot prevent them, in which case it does not deserve the name of government; above all, if it does not possess the means of repressing *assassination* and calumny and protecting *social order*.'*[e]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, p. 251. - [b] K. Marx, 'Bolivar y Ponte'. - [c] The golden mean - [d] V. Hugo, *Napoléon le petit* (Hugo first used the phrase in a speech in the Legislative Assembly in 1851). - [e] This passage from an article in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 320, 9 August 1802 (datelined 'Paris, le 19 thermidor') is quoted by Marx in English according to *Cobbett's Annual Register*. From July to December, 1802, Vol. II.

If you haven't yet sent off the *back* numbers of the *Guardian*, try and let me have them by Monday, and the next ones by Friday.

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## 142

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 18 February 1858

Dear Moor,

Every day this week I have meant to write to you, and every day the steady rise in prices has stopped me from doing so. You will remember my telling you[a] that 6d for Middling Orleans was the highest price compatible with FULL TIME. Now, with Middling Orleans at $5^3/_4$d, $^7/_8$ of all spinners have gone on to FULL TIME, and the result of this asininity is that, out of sheer impatience, they've pushed Middling Orleans up to $7^3/_4$d in 6 weeks! Yarn and cloth haven't followed in the same proportion, of course; the manufacturer's MARGIN between the price of his raw material and the finished product has been reduced to below cost price and now the asses want to revert to SHORT TIME, which they ought never to have abandoned!

The *Guardians* will go off today at the same time.

I trust that your bill has been honoured. Since you had in any case advised them so long in advance, they should certainly have told you long ago had there been any intention of returning it.

Enclosed another little thing for Dana.[285] If the fellow wants to lay down the law on the strength of his paltry 2 dollars, then he deserves some rough words. At all events he can't expect more than we are already providing—largely original work instead of the measly compilations he is getting from elsewhere. Urge him to pay better and *que puis nous verrions*.[b] As regards Badajos,[270] the wretched *Brockhaus*[c] really led me astray.

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[a] See this volume, p. 231. - [b] then we shall see - [c] *Brockhaus' Konversations-Lexikon*

'Burmah' is A VERY LABORIOUS ARTICLE. Could you not take over 'Bülow' and 'Beresford'? Up here even the bare bones of the biographies are lacking, but I could let you have the chief points on the military side.

I shall discuss equitation another time. *Au fond*[a] the thing is the material basis for all my military studies, as you know. The *crapauds*[81] regard the sordid Bonaparte as a hero because he sits elegantly on a horse though only a passable rider; there are plenty of witnesses over here who know that he is A VERY INDIFFERENT FENCER[b] and that he shirks many an obstacle which YOUR HUMBLE SERVANT would tackle without a second thought. Moreover riding is the only physical accomplishment in which I have acquired a modicum of competence and anyway the element of danger in hunting and jumping is so small (probability 1:10,000) that it has an irresistible attraction. Anyway, *sois tranquille,*[c] if I break my neck it won't be by falling off a horse. Warm regards to all the FAMILY.

Your
F. E.

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## 143

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[286]

### IN DÜSSELDORF

London, 22 February 1858
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

Nutt has now sent me *Heraclitus.*[d] As soon as I have read it all I shall let you have my opinion. But you will have to wait a while

[a] at bottom - [b] i.e. jumper - [c] don't worry - [d] F. Lassalle, *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos.*

since I have exceptionally little spare time just now. As regards the Stoics, I did not myself study their relationship to Heraclitus in the matter of natural philosophy, because of the novice-like earnestness of their approach to this discipline. Of Epicurus, on the other hand, it can be shown *en détail* that, although he bases himself on the natural philosophy of Democritus, he is for ever turning the argument inside out. Cicero and Plutarch can hardly be blamed for not having grasped this since it has eluded even men of intellect such as Bayle, not to speak of Hegel *ipsissimus.*[a] Nor, for that matter, could one expect Hegel, the first to comprehend the entire history of philosophy, not to commit errors of detail.

From the papers you will have seen that Palmerston has fallen. Those best acquainted with the old rascal are generally inclined to suspect that his last BLUNDERS were *deliberate,* so that he could make his exit *pro tempore.* They affirm that *le dernier but de toute sa vie*[b] was to engineer a war between England and France, that he now believes he has managed to do so, that at first other hands are to be concerned with the execution of *his* plan and that, when the imbroglio has become sufficiently involved and is far enough advanced, THE NATION WILL BE FORCED TO CALL AGAIN UPON HIM. This latter opinion may be too recherché, but that Pam did not resign in any way *against his will* seems to me unquestionable.

Now, as to your cousin,[c] there's one thing I am willing to do, but the *Presse,* I assume, would not.[254] All I could commit myself to would be *one* article a week on trade, finance, etc., in any one of the three countries, England, France and the United States of America, depending on which is INTERESTING. This is also the *most practicable* form in which to attack Bonaparte. It is also a form which would permit me to have absolutely nothing to do with the *Presse* politically. It seems to me that just now there is widespread ignorance, especially about *French* financial affairs and French economic conditions in general. The question is whether the subject will be of sufficient interest to the *Presse,* or RATHER, to its readers. They, of course, must be the best judges of that. For a weekly article of this kind I would ask £1 STERLING. Moreover, it would be necessary for me to have a few copies of the *Presse* beforehand so that I could see whether MY PRINCIPLES would at all permit me to work for the paper. HOWEVER THAT MAY BE, will you thank your cousin on my behalf for having remembered me in this connection.

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[a] his very self - [b] the ultimate aim of his whole life - [c] Max Friedländer

Now let me tell you how my political economy[250] is getting on. I have IN FACT been at work on the final stages for some months. But the thing is proceeding very slowly because no sooner does one set about finally disposing of subjects to which one has devoted years of study than they start revealing new aspects and demand to be thought out further. On top of which I am not master of my time but RATHER its slave. Only the nights are left for my own work, which in turn is often disrupted by bilious attacks or recurrences of liver trouble. All things considered it would be most convenient for me to bring out the whole work in instalments without any rigid datelines. This might also have the advantage of making it easier to find a publisher, since less working capital would be tied up in the venture. You would, OF COURSE, oblige me by trying to find someone in Berlin prepared to undertake this. By 'instalments', I mean fascicles similar to those in which Vischer's *Aesthetik* came out.

The work I am presently concerned with is a *Critique of Economic Categories* or, IF YOU LIKE, a critical exposé of the system of the bourgeois economy. It is at once an exposé and, by the same token, a critique of the system. I have very little idea how many sheets the whole thing will amount to. Had I the means, the time and the leisure to finish the whole thing off completely prior to placing it before the public, I would condense it a great deal, a method for which I have always had a predilection. But printed thus, in successive instalments—easier for readers to understand perhaps but certainly detrimental to the form—it is bound to be rather more diffuse. *Nota bene:* As soon as you know definitely whether *or not* the thing can be done in Berlin, kindly write to me, since if it's no go there I'll try Hamburg. A further point is that I must be *paid* by the publisher who takes the thing on—a stipulation over which it might come to grief in Berlin.

The presentation—the manner of it, I mean—is entirely scientific, hence unobjectionable to the police in the ordinary sense. The whole is divided into 6 books: 1. On Capital (contains a few introductory CHAPTERS). 2. On Landed Property. 3. On Wage Labour. 4. On the State. 5. International Trade. 6. World Market. I cannot, of course, avoid all critical consideration of other economists, in particular a polemic against Ricardo in as much as even he, *qua* bourgeois, cannot but commit blunders *even from a strictly economic viewpoint.* But generally speaking the critique and history of political economy and socialism would form the subject of another work, and, finally, the short *historical outline* of the development of economic categories and relations yet a third. Now

that I am at last ready to set to work after 15 years of study, I have an uncomfortable feeling that turbulent movements from without will probably INTERFERE AFTER ALL. NEVER MIND. If I finish too late and thus find the world no longer attentive to such subjects, the fault is clearly MY OWN.

I was greatly amused by your remarks about Rudolf Schramm.[a] Sad to say, a worthier Schramm, Conrad, brother of the above and one of my best friends, died of consumption in Jersey some 4 weeks ago. The death within the past few years of Weerth, Schramm and Dr Daniels has been a blow to their friends, amongst whom I was happy enough to count myself.

There are turbulent times in the offing. If I were merely to consult my own private inclinations, I would wish for another few years of superficial calm. There could, at any rate, be no better time for scholarly undertakings and, after all, what has happened over the last ten years must have increased any RATIONAL BEING'S contempt for the masses as for individuals to such a degree that *'odi profanum vulgus et arceo'*[b] has almost become an inescapable maxim. However all these are themselves philistine ruminations which will be swept away by the first storm.

Your
K. M.

The connection between the latest events in France[271] and the commercial crisis is, perhaps, apparent only to a few. It becomes EVIDENT, however, if one considers 1. THE REAL ECONOMICAL STATE PRODUCED IN FRANCE BY THE LAST CRISIS; 2. asks oneself and *consciencieusement*[c] answers, why the attempted assassination brought forth the effects it did, effects which APPARENTLY STOOD IN NO PROPORTION WHATEVER, AND EVEN IN NO NECESSARY RELATION TO THE ALLEGED CAUSE.

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[a] in Lassalle's letter to Marx of 10 February 1858 (see this volume, p. 272) - [b] I detest and repudiate the common people (Horace, *Odes*, III, I, 1). - [c] conscientiously

## 144

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 February 1858

Dear Engels,

Herewith a letter from Lassalle, INTERESTING on account of the bit about Rudolf Schramm. What the chap says about my 'logic' amounts to nothing more than a *refusal* to understand me. All I did was *simplement* inform him that I *hadn't* written to him because MATTERS HAD COME TO A POINT at which a verbal explanation was necessary if written INTERCOURSE were to continue. IN FACT I had DONE this ticklish PASSAGE IN A VERY DIPLOMATICAL STYLE.[a]

In my reply I asked him, of course, to look round for a publisher in Berlin. It is my intention to bring the thing out by *instalments*,[b] having neither the time nor the means to complete the whole of it at leisure. This initial form may be detrimental to the form. Better for distribution, at any rate. Also makes it easier to find a publisher.

As for the lousy Yankees nothing, of course, could have given me greater pleasure than to write and tell Messrs Dana and Appleton to—. But the STATE OF AFFAIRS IS SIMPLY THIS:

I had overdrawn £20 on Appleton. According to my reckoning, the amount overdrawn was at most £5. However I had no alternative, since some accounts which were due at the end of December had to be paid. WELL. For the time being Mr Dana has now credited the *à compte*[c] of the *Tribune* with £20—a sum which I was to draw on the *Tribune* EXACTLY TOMORROW—in this way virtually cutting off all my resources until the manuscript sent to Appleton has paid off the damned thing. So until then I am IN A DEADLOCK. As soon as this chap Appleton has been paid in kind, thus enabling me to dip into the *Tribune*'s treasure-chest again, I am all for dropping him altogether—more especially if the Vienna *Presse* accedes to my suggestion of a weekly article on finance.[254] At all events I am of the opinion THAT EVEN THE MENACE TO STOP SUPPLY WOULD BRING ROUND DANA AND APPLETON, AND INDUCE THEM TO OFFER A BETTER PAYMENT. But this move can only be made when the present DEADLOCK has been resolved. By my reckoning some 30 or 32 columns will

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[a] See this volume, p. 228. - [b] See previous letter, p. 270. - [c] account

still remain to be sent if the swine have taken 'Bolivar'. Until then I shall be quite literally in the air. Moreover, the rascals know that they now have me in their power. Hence, none of the stuff that now remains to be done should be condensed more than is absolutely necessary to avoid making it insipid.

As far as 'Bülow' and 'Beresford' are concerned, I can write the biographies, but the *military part should be written entirely by you, in English*, in order that these articles should not stand out from the rest. Besides, mere indications are of no use to me in this case since following them up would, after all, involve research—an impossibility just now. As soon as you have finished with B, you must get to work on 'Cavalry', since this will pay off the debt.

SUCH, MY BOY, IS THE SITUATION. Fortunately events in the outside world offer a good deal of solace just now. Otherwise, in private I THINK I lead THE MOST TROUBLED LIFE THAT CAN BE IMAGINED. NEVER MIND! What could be more asinine for people of wide aspirations than to get married at all, thus letting themselves in for the *petites misères de la vie domestique et privée.*[a]

What will the good *Guardian* say now? The REVENGE of Milner Gibson and Bright is INDEED classic.[287] Between ourselves, I think that Pam HAD his *'raysons'*[b] for dissolving his own ministry and that all the apparent BLUNDERS which led to this RESULT were calculated ones so far as he was concerned.

From a PAPER which recently appeared in the *Moniteur* it transpires that, IF COMPARED WITH 1855 and '56, the STORED UP COMMODITIES IN THE FRENCH CUSTOMS *entrepôts*[c] are enormous,[d] while the *Economist*'s correspondent declares outright that Bonaparte caused the Bank TO MAKE ADVANCES on the same and thus ENABLED THEIR HOLDERS TO RETURN THEM. But with the approach of spring they will inevitably BE THROWN ON THE MARKET, AND THEN, THERE IS NO DOUBT, THERE WILL BE A *CRASH* IN FRANCE, ANSWERED BY CRASHES IN BELGIUM, HOLLAND, RHENISH PRUSSIA ETC.[e]

In Italy the economic situation is truly frightful. Side by side with INDUSTRIAL CRISIS, AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS. (This last, according to the CONCLUSIONS of an AGRICULTURAL CONGRESS IN FRANCE, very bad there too. The congress declared that THEY COULD NOT GO ON WITH 17 FRS. THE HECTOLITRE OF WHEAT.[288])

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[a] petty miseries of domestic and private life - [b] The original has *Grind*, a distorted form of the German *Gründe* (reasons). - [c] depots - [d] 'Situation des entrepôts à la fin du mois de décembre', *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 24, 24 January 1858. - [e] 'From Our Own Correspondent. Paris, Thursday', *The Economist*, No. 756, 20 February 1858.

TAKEN ALL IN ALL, the crisis has been burrowing away like the good old mole it is.[a]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 145

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 24 February 1858

Dear Moor,

Enclosed a fiver[b]—unfortunately I couldn't shell out yesterday, otherwise you would have had it 24 hours earlier—and the article 'Brescia'. Now there are only 'Burmah' (half-finished—it's long job searching out the reports on the latest war[289]) and 'Bomarsund' to be done for B, and after that the two biographies. As to these I can soon get together what is needed on 'Beresford', but I'm in a quandary with 'Bülow' because I find it absolutely impossible to get hold of a good book on the wars of liberation.[c] His resolution at Grossbeeren (he beat the French against Bernadotte's wishes) is to be commended and the victory at Dennewitz was a most remarkable one: 40,000 Prussians beat 70,000 Frenchmen.[197] However I shall have another look round. Once the stuff for B is finished I shall go on to 'Cavalry'.

I don't agree with the idea of dropping Appleton—unless that is, we have to go to the Continent. I find the encyclopaedic course most useful and, after all, the thing is going so slowly that it could be done entirely at one's leisure were financial circumstances not

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[a] Cf. references to the 'mole' in Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and 'Speech at the Anniversary of *The People's Paper*' (present edition, Vol. 11, p. 185 and Vol. 14, p. 656). - [b] Crossed out in the original: 'R/J 56641, Manchester, 16 Jan. 1857' (see next letter). - [c] the 1813-14 military campaigns against Napoleonic France

so pressing. Anyway you should threaten to resign as soon as the situation permits. I too believe that it would prove instantly beneficial.

In these circumstances the great Lassalle might be very useful. I trust he does what is necessary as regards the political economy, and likewise the Vienna *Presse*. He must have been very dilatory in the latter case, seeing that you had already written to him before about the financial article. I am keeping his letter here to show Lupus, since you've answered it anyway.

The historical irony whereby Mr Pam received his notice at the hands of Gibson and Bright is very pretty.[287] What the *Guardian* has to say about it you will be able to see from the 3 copies I am sending off at the same time as this letter. Pam, by the way, evidently intends to eliminate any possibility of his return—the prosecution of the wretched little publisher[a] in London, the witch hunt that ended in the cellar in Birmingham (see day before yesterday's *Sun*, A CAPITAL HOAX) and other gestures of subservience to Bonaparte that crop up every day cannot fail in the long run to infuriate John Bull.

In Italy the outlook can't be so very bad after all. Admittedly there are complaints about the delay in recovering outstanding debts but on the whole it's no worse than here in the HOME TRADE. We don't have very many more overdue accounts than is usually the case in Italy. Indeed the fellows are starting to order more freely again. Admittedly our own article can't be regarded as an absolute criterion, but it nevertheless provides a few pointers. Business is still *bad* over there, of course, but not exceedingly so. But all that can still come.

The Bonapartists must have become tremendously nervous. At Fould's *bal masqué* 75 *sergents de ville*[b] were ON THE PREMISES dressed as dominos. See the *Guardian*.

Warmest regards to the whole FAMILY.

Your

F. E.

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[a] Edward Truelove - [b] policemen

## 146

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 March 1858

Dear Marx,

On Wednesday, 24 February, I sent you a registered letter containing R/J 56641, Manchester, 16 Jan. 1857; a five-pound note. I trust that it reached you. If not, STOP PAYMENT at the Bank IMMEDIATELY. This evening I shall also send DIVERSE *Guardians*; another batch went off last Wednesday at the same time as the letter. In today's you'll find some interesting stuff about Orsini.

The shabby way in which Pam, as he made his exit, unleashed all manner of political persecution—first Bernard and Allsop and now that poor devil of a PUBLISHER[a]—was quite a lark. But even this hasn't put John Bull off his TRULY BRITISH MINISTER,[141] just a little grumbling here and there about the 2 *cives Romani* in Naples.[290] VERILY, the fellow has left an offensive stench behind him.

In today's *Guardian* you will see that in Preston, etc., etc., SHORT TIME is still the order of the day. Will soon be general again. At present prices MANUFACTURERS are losing on most things, while spinners are just able to subsist, and to subsist well in the case of a few articles. As soon as rising prices CHECK demand (hitherto the fear of *still* higher prices has momentarily increased it), that too will cease and the fun begin all over again.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Edward Truelove

# 147

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 March 1858

Dear Frederick,

I sent you *by return* a note acknowledging receipt of the £5. The scrawl contained nothing else save a few political comments, ALTOGETHER NOT 20 LINES.[291] But all the same, I find it exceedingly irritating that the post office here should be taking an immediate interest in my correspondence. Not long ago I wrote to Collet, that most respectable of men, and the letter vanished. Complaints availed me nothing. I SHALL NOW WATCH THE PROGRESS OF POST OFFICE INTERFERENCE. If there is a 3rd CASE of this kind I shall proclaim the fact above my signature in the London press. The canaille are welcome to read what I write about POLITICS. But my PRIVATE AFFAIRS are not such that I would care to have any old German POST OFFICE SPY go poking his nose into them; 50 swine of various nationalities are, it seems, regularly employed as interpreters by the London *cabinet noir*,[292] AT LEAST, THE URQUHARTITES SAY SO.

The information I sent you recently about the STATE of TRADE IN ITALY, and Milan in particular, was taken from the Turin papers, which are well supplied with correspondents in that region. While it is, of course, in the interests of Turin to paint the situation in Austrian Italy in the blackest possible colours, the reports from Milan went into details which had the real ring of truth.—As regards the STATE of FRENCH TRADE, you should read the contribution from the Paris CORRESPONDENT in today's *Times*.[a] True, the chap now seems to be blaming the thing on Orsini and the FRENCH COLONELS, *mais c'est ridicule*.[b]

I enclose a wretched scrawl by Pyat, Talandier and Co.,[c] which laddies couldn't rest for the fame accorded to Ledru-Rollin and Mazzini and Bernard, whereas they themselves had apparently been quite passed over by the French government. They believe that a revolution is in the offing and after all their 'activity' in London—Talandier had shouted himself as hoarse as *quondam*

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[a] The contribution datelined 'Paris, Saturday, Feb. 27, 6 p.m.', *The Times*, No. 22930, 2 March 1858. - [b] but it's ridiculous - [c] F. Pyat, A. Besson, A. Talandier, *Letter to the Parliament and the Press* (Marx seems to have used the French version of the letter).

Bornstedt—it was INDEED galling for the great men to have the attention of revolutionary Europe diverted from them by other INCIDENTS. Therefore, JUST IN THE NICK OF TIME, THEY ISSUED the clap-trap enclosed herewith.[293] No style, no sense, not even French, altogether in the style of the Porte St. Martin streetwalker so typical of the former *Charivari* contributor and COMPOSITOR of little TOASTS.[294] In order that this publication should not fail in its *purpose*, they sent the beastly little thing to all the PAPERS. Persigny-Palmerston Jenkins OF *THE MORNING POST* was instantly CAUGHT in the TRAP. In a LEADER written by himself he denounced the chaps and their opusculum TO THE HONOURABLE MR WALPOLE and, as an additional precaution, HE DID THE WHOLE PAMPHLET INTO BAD ENGLISH. More than that. In his INAUGURAL SPEECH Derby informed the HOUSE OF LORDS that the CROWN advocates had been instructed to look into the thing and see if legal proceedings could be taken against it.[a] In this way CITIZENS Talandier, Pyat and Besson have, with their insane concoction, succeeded in puffing themselves TO A DEGREE they could hardly have dared hope for.

As for Bernard, he will presumably have to spend a little longer in jug.

The insolence and IMPUDENCE with which Pam has placed himself at the head of the liberal opposition and nominated himself an HONOURABLE GENTLEMAN OPPOSITE,[295] IS TRULY WONDERFUL, but he can, of course, do exactly what he pleases with a House of Commons of his own creation.

Apropos. Can you tell me how often machinery has to be replaced in, say, your factory? Babbage maintains that in Manchester THE BULK OF MACHINERY IS RENOVATED on average EVERY 5 YEARS.[b] This seems to me somewhat STARTLING and not QUITE TRUSTWORTHY. The average period for the replacement of machinery is *one* important factor in explaining the multi-year cycle which has been a feature of industrial development ever since the consolidation of big industry.

What is Lupus up to? Give him my regards.

Your
K. M.

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[a] Derby's speech in the House of Lords of 1 March 1858 published in *The Times*, No. 22930, 2 March 1858. - [b] Ch. Babbage, *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures*, p. 285.

Another BATCH OF *Guardians* arrived today. 'Bidassoa' also received last week.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 March 1858

Dear Moor,

So once again the *cabinet noir*[292] has well and truly honoured you with its attentions. I had expected something of the sort but it's a bit steep to go and intercept letters. I think you would do better to have the address done in another hand, in which case they will only open the letters sent *to* you. I was expecting an acknowledgment from you and therefore took PARTICULAR care to ask our messenger daily and in so many words whether there were any letters for me—each time the answer was in the negative. And yet we have the asinine Félix Pyat announcing to the world *qu'il n'y a pas de police politique proprement dite, en Angleterre.*[a] Rarely have I come across a more bungled concoction, style and all.[293] Still the same old faith in the Constitution of 1848; one might almost be face to face with our own jackasses of the Imperial Constitution.[296] And what a ghastly style! *Après tout*[b] the idiots have achieved their aim and will, perhaps, earn themselves a cheap form of martyrdom. *Cette bête de*[c] Derby, falling straight into the trap like that, and allowing the riff-raff to have their way.

As to the question of machinery, it's difficult to say anything positive; at all events Babbage[d] is quite WRONG. The most reliable criterion is the PERCENTAGE by which a manufacturer writes down his

---

[a] that properly speaking there are no political police in England - [b] However - [c] That ass - [d] Ch. Babbage, *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures.*

machinery each year for wear and tear and repairs, thus recovering the entire cost of his machines within a given period. This PERCENTAGE is normally $7^1/_2$, in which case the machinery will be paid for over $13^1/_3$ years by an annual deduction from profits, i.e. will be replaceable without loss. E.g. I have £10,000 worth of machinery. At the end of the first year, when I draw up my balance-sheet, I enter

| | |
|---|---|
| from which I deduct $7^1/_2$% for wear and tear | £10,000<br>» 750 |
| | £9,250 |
| Expenditure on repairs | £100 |
| Cost of machinery | £9,350 |
| At the end of the 2nd year I deduct $7^1/_2$% [of] £10,000, and $7^1/_2$% [of] £100 | » 757 10 |
| | £8,593 10 |
| Expenditure on repairs | » 306 10 |
| Present cost of entire machinery | £8,900 |

etc. Now, $13^1/_3$ years is admittedly a long time in the course of which numerous bankruptcies and changes occur; you may enter other branches, sell your old machinery, introduce new improvements, but if this calculation wasn't more or less right, practice would have changed it long ago. Nor does the old machinery that has been sold promptly become old iron; it finds takers among the small spinners, etc., etc., who continue to use it. We ourselves have machines in operation that are certainly 20 years old and, when one occasionally takes a glance inside some of the more ancient and ramshackle CONCERNS up here, one can see antiquated stuff that must be 30 years old at least. Moreover, in the case of most machines, only a few of the components wear out to the extent that they have to be replaced after 5 or 6 years. And even after 15 years, provided the basic principle of a machine has not been superseded by new inventions, there is relatively little difficulty in replacing worn out parts (I refer here to spinning and flyer frames), so that it is hard to set a definite term on the effective life of such machinery. Again, over the last 20 years improvements in spinning machinery have not been such as to preclude the

incorporation of almost all of them in the existing *structure* of the machines, since nearly all are minor innovations. (Admittedly, in the case of carding, the enlargement of the carding cylinder was a major improvement which supplanted the old machines where *good* qualities were concerned, but for ordinary qualities the old machinery will be perfectly adequate for a long time yet.)

Babbage's assertion is so absurd that were it true, England's industrial capital must continually diminish and money simply be thrown away. A manufacturer who turns over his capital 5 times in 4 years, hence $6^1/_4$ times in 5 years, would, in addition to his average profit of 10%, have to earn annually a further 20% on approximately $^3/_4$ of his capital (the machinery) if he was to recoup without loss his outlay on the old machinery—i.e. would have to make 25%. This would, of course, vastly increase the cost price of all articles—more, almost, than it would be increased by wages—in which case where is the advantage of machinery? Annual WAGES amount to perhaps $^1/_3$ the cost of the machinery—undoubtedly less in the case of the smaller spinners and weavers, and wear and tear is supposed to amount to $^1/_5$—the thing is ludicrous. There is certainly not a single establishment in England in the regular LINE of big industry which replaces its machinery in 5 years. Anyone foolish enough to do so would go to the wall at the first CHANGE; the old machines, even though much inferior, would certainly have the advantage over the modern ones and would be able to produce much more cheaply, for the market follows not the people who charge 15% for wear and tear on every pound of twist, but those who charge only 6% (approx. $^4/_5$ of an annual depreciation of $7^1/_2$%) and hence sell at cheaper prices.

Ten to twelve years are enough to bring about changes in the character of the BULK of machinery, thereby necessitating its replacement to a greater or lesser extent. The period of $13^1/_3$ years will vary, of course, depending on bankruptcies, breakage of essential parts where a repair would prove too expensive, and similar contingencies, so one could make it a bit shorter. But certainly not less than 10 years.

I had finished 'Burmah' when I was compelled to make DIVERSE necessary ADDITIONS from another source. So I haven't done with it yet and the thing will have to wait until Tuesday. It will run to nearly 3 pages. There are still a few details to be looked up for 'Bomarsund'. On top of that I have to snatch whatever opportunity I can, since library hours are so similar to office hours that I can't always get there. As soon as I've dealt with these wretched things—likewise 'Bülow' and 'Beresford', which suffer from the

same snag—I shall again have A FAIR GALLOPING COUNTRY ahead of me and be able to clap on spurs with 'Cavalry', etc.

Many regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 March 1858

DEAR Frederic,

As regards the enclosed, which has clearly been delayed,[297] you might be so good as to discuss with Lupus the kind of answer you think would be suitable. *Don't* return the thing (but keep it) because such things are safer with you than with me just now. At present London is a gathering-point for *mouchards*[a] of all nations. Hardly a day goes by when the curs aren't *plus ou moins*[b] lynched.

MY BEST THANKS FOR YOUR *éclaircissements*[c] about machinery. The figure of 13 years corresponds closely enough to the theory, since it establishes a *unit* for ONE EPOCH OF INDUSTRIAL REPRODUCTION which *plus ou moins* coincides with the period in which major crises recur; needless to say their course is also determined by factors of a quite different kind, depending on their period of reproduction. For me the important thing is to discover, in the immediate material postulates of big industry, *one* factor that determines cycles. In considering the reproduction of machinery, as distinct from *capital circulant*, one is irresistibly reminded of the Moleschotts who also pay insufficient attention to the period of reproduction of the bony skeleton, contenting themselves RATHER, like the economists, with the average time taken by the human body to replace itself completely. Another question in respect of which I require only one example (approximate), is how, e.g. in your own mill or RATHER

[a] police spies - [b] more or less - [c] explanations

manufacturing business, FLOATING CAPITAL is apportioned over raw material and WAGES, and what portion on average you leave with your BANKER. Further, how you *calculate* turnover in your books. Here the theoretical rules are extremely simple and SELF-EVIDENT. But it is nevertheless just as well to have some inkling of how the thing looks in practice. The method of calculation used by businessmen is, of course, PARTLY based on illusions even greater than those of the economists; on the other hand it rectifies the latter's theoretical illusions by means of practical ones. You speak of 10% profit. I SUPPOSE THAT YOU DO NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE INTEREST and that this is doubtless shown along with the profit. IN THE 'FIRST REPORT OF THE FACTORY COMMISSIONERS' I have found the following STATEMENT, which serves as an average example:

| | |
|---|---|
| * Capital sunk in building and machinery ..... | £10,000 |
| Floating capital ..... | £ 7,000 |
| £500 interest on 10,000 fixed capital | |
| £350 interest on floating capital | |
| £150 Rents, taxes, rates | |
| £650 Sinking fund of $6^1/_2$ p.c. for wear and tear of the fixed capital | |
| £1,650 | |
| 1,100 contingencies (?), carriage, coal, oil | |
| £2,750 | |
| £2,600 wages and salaries | |
| £5,350 | |
| £10,000 for about 400,000 lbs raw cotton at 6d | |
| £15,350* | |

16,000 for 363,000 LBS TWIST SPUN. VALUE 16,000. *Profit* 650, OR ABOUT 4.2 P.C. Hence WAGES of OPERATIVES here ABOUT $^1/_6$.

It is true that in this case the total profit only amounts to ABOUT 10%, including interest. Mr Senior, however, who after all represents the manufacturers' interests, states that in Manchester the average profit including interest amounts to 15%.[a] It is a great pity that the above STATEMENT does not show the *number* of operatives, or the proportion of actual *WAGES* to what appears as *SALARIES*.

By the by, the manner in which even the best economists, SUCH AS Ricardo *ipsissimus*,[b] descend into sheer juvenile poppycock

[a] N. W. Senior, *Letters on the Factory Act...*, pp. 12, 13. - [b] himself

whenever they find themselves on the treadmill of bourgeois thought, struck me very forcibly in the following passage of Ricardo's, which I happened to come across yesterday. You will recall that A. Smith, who is still very old-fashioned, declares that by comparison with trade at home, overseas trade only gives ONE HALF OF THE ENCOURAGEMENT TO THE PRODUCTIVE LABOUR OF A COUNTRY ETC. To this Ricardo replies with the following example:

'Smith's argument appears to me to be fallacious; for though two CAPITALS, one Portuguese and one English, be employed, as Smith supposes, still a capital will be EMPLOYED in the foreign trade, double of what would be employed in the home trade. Suppose that Scotland employs a capital of a thousand pounds in making linen, which she exchanges for the produce of a similar capital employed in making silks in England, two thousand pounds, and a proportional quantity of labour will be employed by the two countries. Suppose now, that England discovers that she can import more linen from Germany, for the silks which she before exported to Scotland, and that Scotland discovers that she can obtain more silks from France in return for her linen, than she before obtained from England,—will not England and Scotland immediately cease trading with each other, and will not the home trade of consumption be changed for a foreign trade of consumption? But although two additional capitals will enter into this trade, the capital of Germany and that of France, will not the same amount of Scotch and of English capital continue to be employed, and will it not give motion to the same quantity of industry as when it was engaged in the home trade?'[a]

The assumption that in such circumstances Germany would buy her silks in England instead of France, and France her linen in Scotland instead of Germany is hardly what one would expect OF A FELLOW LIKE RICARDO.

Friend Thomas Tooke has died, and with him the last English economist OF ANY VALUE.

Did you overlook, in one of the *Guardians* you sent me, the item in which David Urquhart figures as an infanticide? The FOOL treated his 13-month-old baby to a Turkish bath which, as chance would have it, contributed to congestion of the brain and hence its subsequent DEATH. The CORONER'S INQUEST on this CASE lasted for 3 days and it was only by the skin of his teeth that Urquhart escaped a verdict OF MANSLAUGHTER. *Quel triomphe pour*[b] Pam.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, p. 420. (Marx quotes the passage in his own German translation.) - [b] What a triumph for

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 11 March 1858

Dear Moor,

Herewith something on 'Beresford' which I've been able to abstract from Napier.[a] I couldn't find anything about his expedition to Buenos Aires at the beginning of the century, but it was a glorious one and would be worth investigating. He capitulated, RUMP AND STUMP, with the whole English force.[298]

'Bülow' is IN HAND. Ditto 'Cavalry'. Still some particulars to be looked up on 'Bomarsund'. In India there's another article brewing for which I shall be on the *qui vive*.

Charras' *Campagne de 1815* is no longer obtainable in Brussels; said to be out of print and with no definite prospect of a reprint. In other words, Bonaparte has bought the publisher.[b] If you can run to ground a cheap (i. e. not exorbitant) copy in London, I'd like you to let me know; just now I'm studying this campaign.

I suspect that friend Dana is abridging our articles considerably, otherwise you couldn't possibly have miscalculated so badly. Go to Trübner's some time and have a look at the *Cyclopaedia*.

No news here, except that it's a ghastly winter; the weather changes I don't know how many times a day. Health very good. Am also taking iron.

Warm regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

A bundle of *Guardians* goes off today. As often as not there's nothing from their foreign correspondents just now. In today's more statistics on the UNEMPLOYED.[c]

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[a] W. F. P. Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula...* - [b] Alphonse Dürr - [c] This paragraph was added in pencil in the original.

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## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[299]

IN BERLIN

London, 11 March 1858
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

I was confined to bed when your letter arrived, [hence][a] the delay in replying. Now I am ALL RIGHT again. *D'abord*,[b] whatever the outcome of the NEGOTIATION ini[tiated] by you, whether successful or otherwise, I would like to express my warmest thanks for your exertions whose value is doubled by the fact that you yourself were in poor health. I hope that you are now perfectly well again. Friend Quételet[c] has calculated that, after Petersburg and Madrid, Berlin is the most insalubrious capital in Europe—as, indeed, having lived there 5 years, I personally can confirm by comparison with London, Brussels and Paris.

But to come to business. You will, perhaps, permit me to reply to question 4 first and then proceed in reverse.

1. The publisher shall have the right to cease publication *on receipt of the second instalment*, always provided I am given due notice. A proper contract, assuming he intends to publish *more than one* instalment, shall not be concluded before delivery of the third.[d]

2. As regards the fee, I shall, if necessary, agree to a minimum of 0 for the first instalment, for while I certainly cannot write the whole work gratis, I am even less prepared to see its publication come to grief over the question of money. I have no idea what authors are paid in Germany. But if you do not think 30 talers per sheet is too much, that is what you should ask,—less, if you think it excessive. Once the thing has been launched we shall see on what conditions the publisher can and will go on with it.

---

[a] Ms. damaged. - [b] First of all - [c] A. Quételet, *Sur l'homme et le développement de ses facultés....* Marx used an English translation of the book, *A Treatise on Man and the Development of the Faculties.* - [d] This refers to the large economic work planned by Marx. Only one instalment was published. It appeared under the title *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* in 1859.

3. Minimum length of the instalments SAY 4 sheets; maximum 6. It is to be desired, of course, that each instalment should form a relative whole. But the separate sections vary greatly in length.

Whatever the circumstances, the first instalment would have to constitute a relative whole and, since it lays the foundations for all that follows, it could hardly be done in under 5 or 6 sheets. But that is something I shall find out when I come to finish it off. It contains 1. Value, 2. Money, 3. Capital in General (the process of production of capital; process of its circulation; the unity of the two, or capital and profit; interest). This constitutes a pamphlet in its own right. As you yourself will have discovered from your economic studies, Ricardo's exposition of profit conflicts with his (correct) definition of value, thus giving rise among his followers either to a complete departure from his basis, or to the most objectionable eclecticism. I believe that I have cleared the matter up. (On closer examination the economists will, to be sure, find that ALTOGETHER IT IS A DIRTY BUSINESS.)

4. As to the total number of sheets I am myself very much in the dark since, in my notebooks, the material for the work is entirely in the form of monographs,[250] many of which go into a wealth of detail that would disappear in the course of compilation. Nor is it my intention to elaborate to an equal degree all the 6 books into which I am dividing the whole, but rather to give no more than the broad outline in the last 3, whereas in the first 3, which contain the actual nub of the economic argument, some degree of amplification will be unavoidable. I hardly think that the whole can be done in under 30 or 40 sheets.

With kind regards.

Your
K. M.

PS. If the publisher is agreeable, I could arrange for him to have the first instalment ABOUT the end of May.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 March [1858]

Dear Frederick,

'Burmah', 'Beresford', *Manchester Guardian* received. You haven't mentioned receiving a letter from me enclosing one from New York,[297] etc. Considering how things are with the post just now, it's important that I should know. DROP, THEREFORE, TWO LINES.

A longer letter soon.

Your
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 16 March 1858]

Dear Moor,

The letter with enclosure from New York[a] arrived here safely—when I sent off 'Beresford' last week I was in such a hurry that I completely forgot to acknowledge its receipt.

For the same reason I haven't yet been able to see Lupus and at this moment my head is again so full of damned COMMERCE that I can hardly summon what few wits I have, let alone work on Appleton's things. I shall finish 'Bomarsund' and if possible 'Bülow' in time for Friday, i. e. send off 'Bülow' tomorrow if possible, so that you'll have time to add the biographical part; the

[a] See previous letter.

only sources I have, by the way, are Siborne and Jomini.[a] For 'Bomarsund' I have to refer to the press again; there's nothing further about it in my papers.

Then I'll set to work with a will on 'Cavalry'. Unfortunately I can't lay my hand on anything about the Seven Years War,[300] the heyday of the cavalry. However, *nous verrons*.[b]

I'm annoyed at being unable to get through the things faster; but the second lot of B's was really a very tiring job and I quite definitely cannot work far into the night without suffering from insomnia for several days afterwards. Two evenings in succession is the maximum I can manage but, all the same, it's easier now than it was in the beginning.

Since Saturday, *nothing* whatever from Paris in the *Guardian*.

Your
F. E.

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## 154

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 17 March 1858

Dear Moor,

When you get this letter and today's *Guardian*, sent off at the same time, give your wife the Paris report to read. It gives one quite a turn to hear a Bonapartist and official relate how 100,000 *ouvriers*[c] in the Faubourg St. Antoine responded to Orsini's execution[271] with the cry *'Vive la République'*.[d] So deportations and arrests *à tort et à travers*[e] have borne as little fruit as the *cités ouvrières*[f] and the national *atéliers en gros*,[g] and it is gratifying, on the eve of the grand ball, to see such a roll-call take place and hear

[a] W. Siborne, *History of the War in France and Belgium, in 1815;* A. H. Jomini, *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon...* - [b] we shall see - [c] workers - [d] Long live the Republic. - [e] wholly at random - [f] workers' settlements - [g] workshops on a large scale

100,000 men reply, *'Present!'* I'm only sorry Orsini couldn't hear that cry.

A local philistine who was lately in Paris has returned with the news that since Orsini's attempt on Monsieur Boustrapa's[40] life two more had been made. The first was also mentioned in the English press; the fellow was arrested in the Bois de Boulogne at the moment he took aim with his pistol; the second was news to me; it appears that the fellow shot at or tried to stab him in the Tuileries gardens and was summarily shot by soldiers of the Guard in the gallery of June 1848 fame beneath the *terrasse du bord de l'eau.*[a] [301]

It seems that all threadbare patriotic notables want to make fools of themselves: mad old Landor must needs go and write to *The Times* today.[302] All that remains now is for Venedey to protest against Orsini.

But Boustrapa has indeed come to a pretty pass, and it is a pity that the *Constitutionnel* should no longer be in a position to declare that *l'horizon politique s'obscurcit.*[b] [95] What could be funnier than to find in the *Moniteur*, no less, a story about the officers at Châlon who, before risking rank and skin for the *empereur*, hurried to the *sous-préfet* to ask whether or not a republic had really been proclaimed in Paris?[c] But one can also see how, even in the army, the only genuine Bonapartists are the men at the top because these are compromised and lured on by the prospect of truly splendid bounties. For, after all, what has Boustrapa to offer the bulk of subalterns? The blackguard doubtless knows as well as we do that, aside from his Guard, there are few troops he can rely on. Unfortunately the Guard is strong and knows that, under *any* other government, it would either be relegated to the line or disbanded. It consists, as far as infantry is concerned, of 4 regiments of grenadiers, 2 of riflemen, 1 of gendarmes, 1 of Zouaves, 1 battalion of light infantry (17 infantry battalions all told); further, 2 regiments of cuirassiers, 2 of dragoons, 1 of mounted grenadiers, 1 of hussars, 1 of chasseurs—21 squadrons and a strong force of artillery. In all 18,000-20,000 men with 40-50 cannon, a nucleus solid enough to stiffen a somewhat wavering line. In addition everything has been so organised as to provide for a speedy concentration of troops from the Provinces (you only have to look at a railway map of France) so that a movement, if *anticipated*, would undoubtedly find itself confronted by 60,000-80,000 men. Victory over such vast numbers is to be

[a] waterside terrace - [b] the political horizon is lowering - [c] 'A Châlon-sur-Saône, dans la soirée...', *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 68, 9 March 1858.

achieved in 2 ways only: either by secret societies within the army itself—and these are said to be numerous—or by a determined anti-Bonapartist stand on the part of the bourgeoisie, as in February.[a] I don't believe that victory is possible in the absence of one, let alone both, of these conditions. There is no doubt that the lower echelons of the army are undermined by reds and the higher by Orleanists[124] and Legitimists,[303] nor that the *loi des suspects*[304] in conjunction with other repressive measures is making life impossible for the bourgeoisie. Boustrapa's mounting difficulties are daily forcing him into ever more desperate straits; he dare not risk war with Prussia, he has shut himself out of Italy; no one any longer believes in Boustrapian socialism; Algeria has no more campaigns to offer. All diversions being excluded, *reste la répression croissante,*[b] i. e. the virtual driving of the bourgeoisie into revolution. For the Orleanists and Legitimists the restoration of the constitutional republic under their joint rule must already be LOOMING IN THE DISTANCE as the most probable *pis aller*[c] should circumstances not hold out an immediate prospect of victory for either party. *Le cas de soulèvement donné*[d]—and it's bound to come in the course of this year—there is every chance that they will follow the pattern of February 1848, *sauf à lancer plus tard les troupes sur les faubourgs.*[e] And we know what will happen then. As soon as their fear of Bonaparte has made the troops unsteady enough to render the success of the insurrection *inevitable,* their fear of the *prolétaires* will make them induce the troops to put down the insurrection—*trop tard*[f]*!*—the flood will surge over them regardless, the troops will stand gaping—and then we shall see how much ground the water has gained since the last springtide of 1848.

Fortunately commerce in France is in such a state that it *cannot* improve until the chronic crisis has culminated in political revolution. I don't believe that the state of trade in France can possibly improve so long as Boustrapa remains at the helm. While the crisis lasts all the talk about 'confidence' being undermined by Orsini, Espinasse, etc., is mere idle euphemism; but under a régime of this nature it will become sober truth should the conditions responsible for the crisis cease to obtain. By the way, I have quite come round to your opinion that in France the Crédit mobilier[45] was no haphazard swindle but an altogether necessary institution, and that Morny's pilferings which it spawned were no

[a] i.e. during the February Revolution of 1848 - [b] there remains growing repression - [c] expedient - [d] Given an insurrection - [e] save that later they may send troops against the suburbs - [f] too late

less inevitable, for it was only the prospect of getting rich quick which made the Crédit mobilier viable in France. Under these circumstances it's a TOSS-UP which falls first—Boustrapa or the Crédit mobilier.—The prolongation of bills must inevitably give rise to enormous losses. The use of such means to overcome a crisis can be of avail only if the *reprise des affaires*[a] is a *real* one in industry too, but the mere fact of an EASY MONEY-MARKET cannot help anyone who has no credit—and I believe that in France credit is no longer accorded save by prolonging what has already been given.

Things in Prussia look pretty rotten to me. The tinpot little Chamber has greatly inflamed the parochial Prussian patriotism of the philistines there and even the arch-philistine, I fear, looks forward with assurance to the advent, along with the English marriage,[305] of an English constitution, albeit democratised. If only the corporal[b] were to make a fool of himself, and that right soon! In Prussia, I fear, it won't be too easy to get rid of the ROYAL FAMILY—unless, that is, the proletariat has made really enormous strides. The bourgeois and philistines have, at any rate, got even worse since 1848. In German Austria, too, nothing much seems to be happening. Plainly your good, honest German has not yet emerged from the hibernation that followed the strenuous exertions of 1848. Slav insurrections and the loss of Hungary and Italy will, by the way, serve their turn in Austria, and on top of that, in the big towns and industrial districts, the crisis will have repercussions which, just now and at this distance, are impossible to gauge. *Après tout*,[c] it's going to be a hard struggle.

But what if Boustrapa were to subdue the first big attempt at an uprising? I regard this as practically impossible, precisely because the measures he has adopted are such that things would not become serious save on a really major occasion. But supposing Boustrapa were to succeed, he'd be doubly in the soup. Pélissier would be *empereur*. The troops of the line, who would in any case show signs of weakness and irresolution, would be declared *non grata* and the Guard alone remain in favour—indeed more so than ever before. A sure means of fostering conspiracy in the army. Next, Boustrapa would have to go directly for the Orleanists and Legitimists, nor would Thiers get away with a couple of days in the Mazas burnishing his Brown Bess.[306] A sure means of utterly ruining commerce. If Boustrapa were ever to triumph, his downfall would be all the more assured.

---

[a] resumption of business - [b] the Prince of Prussia - [c] After all

I only hope the fellow won't be assassinated. In which case I believe things would turn out in the way Morny once described to him: 'Nous commencerions par jeter tous les Jérôme par la fenêtre et puis nous tacherions de nous arranger tant bien que mal avec les Orléans.'[a] Before the *faubourgs* had had time to collect their wits, Morny would have effected his palace revolution and, although the revolution from below would only be postponed for a short while, its basis would no longer be the same.

To return to our own private affairs, I've been able to find virtually nothing about Bülow in Jomini and Cathcart[b] and must see if I can unearth some other source. I shall try and get 'Bomarsund' done tonight. These two articles are preying on my mind.

As soon as the Indian mail brings details about Campbell's Lucknow expedition (in maybe a week or a fortnight's time), send me all the material you can lay hands on, so that I can make an *immediate* start. I shall be able to buy *The Times* up here, but *not* the other London papers, i. e. in single numbers.

Warm regards to your wife and children. I'd like to send you some more money but shall have to wait and see what further payments I shall have to make this month; as soon as I get some idea of this I shall do what I can, you may be sure of that.

Your
F. E.

Lupus has the solemn document from New York.[297] Isn't Kamm that Kinkelian 'proletarian' who used to run a brothel? F. Jacobi is a ridiculous little barrister from Münster who was the butt of everyone's jokes in Switzerland.

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[a] 'We would begin by throwing all the Jérômes out of the window and then get along as best we could with the Orleans.' - [b] A. H. Jomini, *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon...*; G. Cathcart, *Commentaries on the War in Russia and Germany in 1812 and 1813*.

## 155

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 March [1858]

Dear Engels,

My article[a] leaves no time for a letter today. Only this much. Rather than let yourself be held up any longer by a search for material, DROP 'Bülow', about whom *I* have sufficient *for* A COMMON *BIOGRAPHY* (brief), and get ON WITH 'CAVALRY'. *Periculum in mora.*[b] Secondly, I enclose a few delectable DOCUMENTS on the ITALIAN CONGRESS HOAX from the *Star.*[307]

Your letter of today[c] largely used in my article.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 156

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, 26 March 1858]

Dear Moor,

Herewith a five-pound note, number as below.[d] 'Cavalry' progressing well. I have again found some good stuff in Mommsen's *Römische Geschichte* (Hannibal's cavalry). Unfortunately it's difficult to get hold of anything about the Seven Years War.[300]

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[a] K. Marx, 'Bonaparte's Present Position'. - [b] Danger in delay (Livy, *History of Rome*, Vol. XXXVIII, Chap. 25). - [c] See this volume, pp. 289-93. - [d] The number of the note is no longer to be found in the original.

You'll have received the *Guardians* I sent off yesterday. They were the only ones containing reports from Paris or anything at all of special interest.

In haste—it's half past seven—and the office-boys are waiting to lock up.

Your
F. E.

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## 157

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

British Museum
[London,] 29 March 1858

DEAR Frederic,

The £5 most gratefully received.

Today a letter from Lassalle.[a] Duncker is prepared to publish my political economy on the following conditions. Every few months I am to supply instalments of 3 to 6 sheets (this was my suggestion). He is to have the right to cancel the arrangement at the third instalment. Indeed, no contract is to be definitely concluded until then. In the meantime he is to pay 3 friedrichsdors per sheet. (According to Lassalle, professors in Berlin get only 2.) The first instalment[b] is to be READY at the end of May, i. e. the manuscript.

*In my next* I must let you have an outline of the first instalment so that you can tell me what you think of it. For the past two weeks I have again been VERY SICKLY and have been taking medicine for my liver. I have been much subject to relapses of late owing to prolonged work by night and, by day, a multitude of petty annoyances RESULTING FROM THE ECONOMICAL CONDITIONS OF MY DOMESTICITY.

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[a] of 26 March 1858 - [b] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

I hope that you are quite well again. Write to me about this POINT.

Have had a letter from Harney today, returning my wife's letter to Schramm,[a] which is nice. The little man seems annoyed at my failure to write. He no longer addresses me as DEAR M. but as Dr M. WELL. Maybe I shall send him 4 lines or so, TO CONSOLE THE LOUSY LITTLE FELLOW.

In France, the dance is proceeding most satisfactorily. Conditions are very unlikely to remain peaceful throughout the summer. What do you think of the 5 pashaliks?[308] Originally it was intended to make Pélissier their supreme CHIEF. But on closer consideration Bonaparte decided THAT THIS WOULD BE IN FACT AN ABDICATION OF POWER ON HIS PART. So it's only a half-measure, and one whereby the Spanish institution of CAPTAIN-GENERALSHIP[309] has been introduced into France lock, stock and barrel. Now doesn't this imply a collapse of centralisation and, IN FACT, a diminution of the power of the army? WE MUST HOPE that the French business won't take a SPANISH TURN, but rather that this decentralisation will merely reduce the resistance to be encountered by the revolution.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Have you ATTENDED [noticed] that of late most of the French companies set up on the pattern of the Crédit mobilier[45] have appeared before the *tribunal criminel*?

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## 158

## MARX TO ENGELS[1]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 April 1858

DEAR Frederick,

The *Guardian* stories highly AMUSING.[b] A correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* (DIRECTLY UNDER PAM'S AUSPICES) writes of the great

[a] See this volume, pp. 566-68. - [b] Ibid., p. 289.

danger of being 'DEAF' in Paris, and says that all 'DEAF ENGLISHMEN' were being hounded by the police as Allsops. Also that ENGLISHMEN were leaving Paris *en masse*, partly because of police chicanery, partly for fear of an outbreak. For if the latter were to happen and the Bonapartists be victorious, the John Bulls feared they might be massacred by the MADDENED SOLDIERS, whereat the correspondent himself naively comments that IN SUCH A CASE [HE] SHOULD LIKE TO BE ANYWHERE ELSE BUT IN PARIS. This DESERTION by the Bulls AT THIS MOMENT OF COMMERCIAL DEPRESSION is queering the pitch of the Parisian *épicier*[a] and householder, whores, etc. Have you seen that 300 million francs have *AVOWEDLY* 'DISAPPEARED' FROM THE BUDGET, AND NOBODY KNOWS WHAT HAS BECOME OF THEM? There will, BY AND BY, be further REVELATIONS about Bonapartist FINANCE, and then the asses on the *Tribune* will realise the wisdom of *not* having published the very ELABORATED ARTICLES I sent them on the subject six months ago.[219] The fellows are asses and anything which is not, in the crudest sense, a 'question of the day' they tend to cast aside as UNINTERESTING, only to go and compile the most egregious rubbish about the selfsame subject as soon as it does become *à l'ordre du jour*.[b]

*Nota bene*: in the military clubs here it is being rumoured that EVIDENCE has been discovered among the papers left by Raglan that, 1. at the battle of the Alma[209] *he* rightly suggested to attack the Russians, not from the direction of the coast, but from the opposite flank, and drive them into the sea; 2. that he proposed to advance on Simferopol after the battle of the Alma; 3. that at Inkerman[34] it was only by dint of the most urgent pleas and MENACES that he extorted from Canrobert the order for Bosquet to hasten to his [Raglan's] assistance. It is further said that, if the boasting on the other side of the Channel were to continue, these PAPERS would be published, providing proof that the French were ever ready TO BETRAY THEIR DEAR ALLIES. Indeed, a few HINTS which de Lacy Evans dropped in the HOUSE OF COMMONS seem to indicate something of the kind.

I've been so ill with my bilious complaint this week that I am incapable of thinking, reading, writing or, indeed, of anything SAVE the ARTICLES for the *Tribune*. These, of course, cannot be allowed to lapse since I must draw on the curs *as soon as possible*. But my indisposition is disastrous, for I can't begin working on the thing for Duncker[c] until I'm better and my fingers regain their VIGOUR and GRASP.

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[a] grocer - [b] the order of the day - [c] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Crtique of Political Economy*.

The following is a SHORT OUTLINE OF THE FIRST PART. The whole thing is to be divided into 6 books: 1. On Capital. 2. Landed Property. 3. Wage Labour. 4. State. 5. International Trade. 6. World Market.

1. *Capital* falls into 4 sections. a) Capital *en général.* (*This is the substance of the first instalment.*) b) *Competition,* or the interaction of many capitals. c) *Credit,* where capital, as against individual capitals, is shown to be a universal element. d) *Share capital* as the most perfected form (turning into communism) together with all its contradictions. The transition from capital to landed property is also historical, since landed property in its modern form is a product of the action of capital on feudal, etc., landed property. In the same way, the transition of landed property to wage labour is not only dialectical but historical, since the last product of modern landed property is the general introduction of wage labour, which then appears as the basis of the whole business.

WELL (IT IS DIFFICULT FOR ME TO-DAY TO WRITE), let us now come to the *corpus delicti.*[a]

I. *Capital. First section: Capital in general.* (Throughout this section wages are invariably assumed to be at their minimum. Movements in wages themselves and the rise and fall of that minimum will be considered under wage labour. Further, landed property is assumed to be zero, i. e. landed property as a special economic relation is of no relevance as yet. Only by this procedure is it possible to discuss one relation without discussing all the rest.)

1. *Value.* Simply reduced to the quantity of labour; time as a measure of labour. Use-value—whether regarded subjectively as the USEFULNESS of labour, or objectively as the UTILITY of the product—is shown here simply as the material prerequisite of value, and one which for the present is entirely irrelevant to the formal economic definition. Value as such has no 'substance' other than actual labour. This definition of value, first outlined by Petty and neatly elaborated by Ricardo,[b] is simply bourgeois wealth in its most abstract form. As such, it already presupposes 1. the transcending of indigenous communism (India, etc.), 2. of all undeveloped, pre-bourgeois modes of production which are not in every respect governed by exchange. Although an abstraction, it is an historical abstraction and hence feasible only when grounded on a specific economic development of society. All objections to

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[a] the incriminating evidence. Here, the main topic. - [b] W. Petty, *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions...*; D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation.*

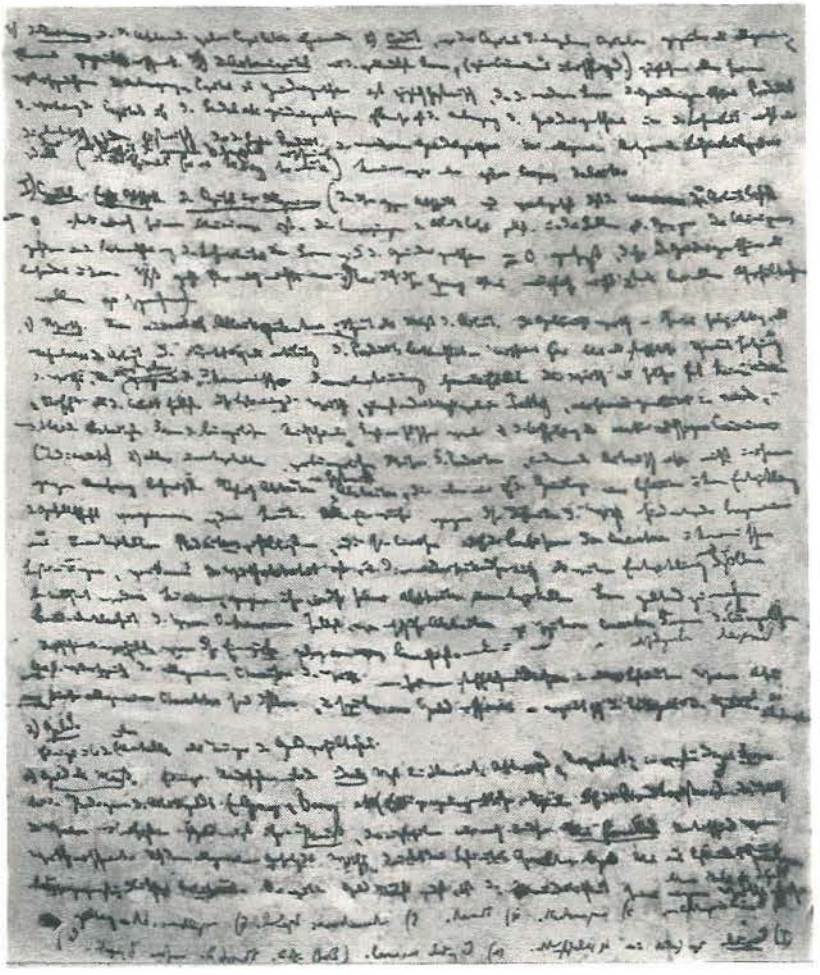

The second page of Marx's letter to Engels of 2 April 1858

this definition of value derive either from less developed relations of production or else are based on confused thinking, whereby the more concrete economic definitions from which value has been abstracted (and which may therefore also be seen, on the other hand, as a further development of the same) are upheld as against value in this its abstract, undeveloped form. In view of the uncertainty of *messieurs les économistes* themselves about the precise relation of this abstraction to later, more concrete forms of bourgeois wealth, these objections were *plus ou moins*[a] justified.

The contradiction between the general characteristics of value and its material existence in a particular commodity, etc.—these general characteristics being the same as those later appearing in money—gives rise to the category of money.

2. *Money.*

Some discussion of precious metals as vehicles of the money relation.

a) *Money as a measure.* A few comments on the *ideal* measure in Steuart, Attwood,[310] Urquhart; in more comprehensible form among the advocates of labour money (Gray, Bray,[b] etc. An occasional swipe at the Proudhonists). The value of a commodity translated into money is its *price.* For the moment price appears only in this *purely formal* distinction between it and value. Thus, in accordance with the general law of value, a specific amount of money merely expresses a specific amount of objectified labour. In so far as money is a measure, the variability of its own value is of no importance.

b) *Money as a means of exchange, or simple circulation.*

Here we need only consider the simple form of circulation as such. All the other conditions by which it is determined are external to it, and hence will not be considered till later (presuppose more highly developed relations). If the commodity be C and money M then, although simple circulation evinces the two circuits or final points: C—M—M—C and M—C—C—M (this latter constituting the transition to c), the point of departure and the point of return in no way coincide, save by chance. Most of the so-called laws put forward by economists do not consider money circulation within its own confines, but as subsumed under, and determined by, higher movements. All this must be set

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[a] more or less - [b] Marx means the following works: J. Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy...*; D. Urquhart, *Familiar Words...*; J. Gray, *Lectures on the Nature and Use of Money, The Social System...*; J. F. Bray, *Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy....*

aside. (Belongs in part to the theory of credit; but also calls for consideration where money appears again, but further defined.) Here, then, money as means of circulation (*coin*). But likewise as *realisation* (not simply evanescent) of price. From the simple statement that a commodity, in terms of *price*, has already been exchanged for money in theory before it is so exchanged in fact, there naturally follows the important economic law *that the volume of the circulating medium is determined by prices, not vice versa.* (Here, some historical stuff on the polemic concerning this point.) Again it follows that velocity may be a substitute for volume, but that a *certain volume* is essential to simultaneous acts of exchange in so far as the relation of these themselves is not that of + and −, an equalisation and consideration which will only be touched on at this juncture by way of anticipation. At this point I shall not go further into the development of this section and would only add that the lack of congruence of C—M and M—C is the most abstract and superficial form in which the possibility of crises is expressed. If the law concerning the determination of circulating volume by prices be developed, it will be found that the assumptions made here are by no means applicable to all states of society; hence the fatuity of comparing e.g. the influx of money from Asia into Rome and its effect on prices there *tout bonnement*[a] with modern commercial relations. On closer examination, the most abstract definitions invariably point to a broader, definite, concrete, historical basis. (OF COURSE, since to the extent that they are definite they have been abstracted therefrom.)

c) *Money qua money.* This is a development of the formula M—C—C—M. Money, the independent existence of value as opposed to circulation; material existence of abstract wealth. Already manifested in circulation in so far as it appears, not only as a means of circulation, but as realising price. In this capacity c), in which a) and b) appear to be no more than functions, money is the universal commodity of contracts (here the variability of its value acquires importance: value being determined by labour time); it becomes an object of HOARDING. (This would still seem to be an important function in Asia, as formerly in the ancient world and in the Middle Ages GENERALLY. Now persists only in a subordinate capacity within the banking system. In times of crisis money in this form again acquires importance. In this form money considered along with the world-historical DELUSIONS which it engenders, etc. Destructive properties, etc.) As the realisation of all

[a] just like that

higher forms in which value will appear; definitive forms in which all relations of value are externally concluded. Money, however, once fixed in this form, ceases to be an economic relation which is lost in its material medium, gold and silver. On the other hand, in so far as money comes into circulation and is again exchanged for C, the final process, the consumption of the commodity, again falls outside the economic relation. The principle of self-reproduction is not intrinsic to simple money circulation, which therefore implies something extrinsic to itself. Implicit in money—as the elaboration of its definitions shows—is the postulate *capital*, i.e. value entering into and maintaining itself in circulation, of which it is at the same time the prerequisite. This transition also historical. The antediluvian form of capital is commercial capital, which always generates money. At the same time the emergence of real capital, either from money or merchant capital, which gains control of production.

d) This simple circulation, considered as such—and it constitutes the surface of bourgeois society in which the underlying operations which gave rise to it are obliterated—evinces no distinction between the objects of exchange, save formal and evanescent ones. Here we have *the realm of liberty, equality and of property based on 'labour'*. Accumulation, as it appears here in the form of HOARDING, is merely greater thrift, etc. On the one hand then, the fatuity of the economic harmonists, modern free traders (Bastiat, Carey,[a] etc.), in upholding this most superficial and most abstract relation of production as *their* truth, as against the more advanced relations and their antagonisms. Fatuity of the Proudhonists and suchlike socialists, in contrasting the ideas of equality, etc., corresponding to this exchange of equivalents (or presumed AS SUCH), to the inequalities, etc., to which this exchange reverts and from which it emanates. In this sphere, appropriation by labour, the exchange of equivalents, appears as the law of appropriation so that exchange simply returns the same value in another material form. In short, while everything may be 'lovely' here, it will soon come to a sticky end and this as a result of the law of equivalence. For now we come to

3. *Capital.*

This is really the most important part of the first instalment and one on which I particularly need your opinion. But today I can't go on writing. My bilious trouble makes it difficult for me to ply

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[a] Fr. Bastiat, *Harmonies économiques*; H. Ch. Carey, *Essay on the Rate of Wages....*

my pen, and keeping my head bent over the paper makes me dizzy. So FOR NEXT TIME.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 159

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 9 April 1858

Dear Moor,

The study of your ABSTRACT of the first half-instalment[a] has greatly exercised me; IT IS A VERY ABSTRACT ABSTRACT INDEED—inevitably so, in view of its brevity,—and I often had to search hard for the dialectical transitions, particularly since ALL ABSTRACT REASONING is now completely foreign to me. The arrangement of the whole into 6 books could hardly be better and seems to me an excellent idea, although the dialectical transition from landed property to wage labour is not yet quite clear to me. The development of the monetary business, too, is really excellent, though again there are individual bits I can't quite make out, at least until I have looked up the historical background. However, I think that I shall get a better idea of the DRIFT when I've had the last part of capital in general, and shall then write to you at greater length about it. The abstract, dialectical tone of your synopsis will, of course, disappear in the development.

Yesterday I sent you two more *Guardians*. Now that the price has been reduced to 1d, the chaps are evidently cutting down on all expenses such as foreign correspondents, etc. Their attempt to produce a FIRST-CLASS PROVINCIAL PAPER failed completely. Hence the dearth of foreign news and the rarity of contributions from Paris.

[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

The thing about Fould in yesterday's *Guardian* isn't bad. But what's even better is the COTTON SUPPLY ASSOCIATION'S[311] report. How splendid that, 10 years after its introduction, FREE TRADE[150] should be repudiated outright by the free traders themselves. For all that this COTTON SUPPLY ASSOCIATION amounts to is an institution set up by these selfsame free traders with the object of boosting the cultivation of cotton everywhere in the world where soil and climate are not entirely unsuitable—and this, in direct opposition to FREE TRADE principles, by means of rewards, advances, gifts of seed, loans of machinery, etc., etc. If the State does something of this sort, it's all wrong, but if the MANCHESTER COTTON SPINNERS, who are much further removed from the NIGGERS, Bedouins, etc., in Africa than their own monarch, do the selfsame thing, then IT'S ALL RIGHT. This report is as pretty a satire on *laissez-faire*[312] clap-trap generally as one could hope to find. Very pretty, too, the admission that the import of English goods manufactured from American cotton has disrupted cotton cultivation in almost all other countries and that this last will now have to be restored by artificial means! These wretched English regard their monopoly in cotton spinning and weaving as something fine and natural to which no one could object; whereas the cotton-growing monopoly of the United States, engendered by the selfsame world market, must be smashed, even if this means ANTI-FREE TRADE measures. The thing ought to be called *Association for enabling the single spinners to buy cotton in the dearest market, the collective spinners paying the producer the difference between the market value and his cost of production*. Of course, this is to go on only until subsidised cotton growing can stand on its own legs; but after all that is exactly what Monsieur List is also seeking to do with his protective tariffs! The thing might supply you with material for an article, since the Yankees have a direct interest in it and the *Tribune*, too, is ANTI-FREE TRADE.

My prognostications that fluctuations in produce would be entirely dependent on the east and west winds and that, with MIDDLING ORLEANS COTTON above 6d, there could be no question of trade being either normal or brisk, have proved remarkably accurate.[a] As regards cotton, the fulfilment of my first prognostication will be apparent from the enclosed table which is a continuation of the one I sent you earlier on the price of Middling Orleans, and brings it up to date.[b] Sugar, coffee and tea have gone

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[a] See this volume, pp. 202, 213, 235-36, 239-40. - [b] Ibid., p. 205. The continuation of the table is not extant.

the same way, save that the existence of considerable stocks inhibited the temporary steep rise which the shortage of stocks made possible in the case of cotton. As for the second prognostication, there's still quite a lot of SHORT TIME, STRIKES, and stoppages due to unprofitable production and, since the crop will provide 3,000 M[a] bales whereas full production would now demand a minimum of 3,500 M (same ratio for other cotton producing countries), any attempt at revival by the cotton industry up to the end of this year will be hampered—quite aside from political convulsions—by the rising price of raw material, as indeed already happened at the end of February and the beginning of March (see table). Prices in general—even though there may be an initial fall—will rise, but at the same time there will be a CHECK to production proportionate to the rise. This, always SUPPOSING THAT [THERE IS] NO ROW ON THE CONTINENT, though the latter is a virtual certainty.

In one week, 19-26 February, *only 62 bales* of cotton of all qualities arrived in Liverpool! Normally they are counted in thousands.

What's this about the 300 million francs which are admitted to have vanished? All I remember having read is that, instead of a surplus of 40 million, Magne has a deficit—but I don't know the details. It really is priceless. Now the *'prince impérial'*[b] is also to be given his own household and a dotation—CASH MUST BE DEVILISH SCARCE!

I hope your bilious trouble is better. Obviously all this excitation caused by the crisis is to blame. In the evenings I am sometimes plagued by toothache as a result of the weather; but nothing worse.

Kind regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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[a] M stands for *mille* (Latin: thousand). - [b] Eugène, son of Napoleon III

# 160

## ENGELS TO JENNY MARX[313]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 14 April 1858

Dear Mrs Marx,

I trust that Moor is at last on the road to recovery and will soon be able to return unhampered to his labours on political economy.[250] I was also plagued with toothache last week. By Sunday it had gone, only to return with added virulence this evening just as I was settling down to sort out some preliminary stuff on the conquest of Lucknow[a] for the *Tribune*. Whether I shall succeed in these circumstances seems very doubtful. At any rate I shall try and read up the subject this evening and if possible concoct something, even if not much, tomorrow midday while I'm at the office. But it would at any rate be a good idea if Moor were to have a *sujet in petto*[b] so that, if the worst comes to the worst, there's something to send the fellows.

I still find working in the evenings very tiring and, if I go on for too long or for two evenings running, I get over-excited and suffer from insomnia, particularly when I've had a lot of writing to do during the day. And I also feel very stupid and lethargic in the evenings until I wake myself up by forcing myself to concentrate on some subject. My memory is better on the whole, although every day I still find that things I have done or heard the day before vanish so completely from my mind that they might never have happened, and it's only when I've been reminded of *individual details* that it all comes back to me. Otherwise I am physically strong and healthy again, able to stand up to strains and stresses and—*sauf le*[c] TOOTHACHE—to any kind of weather.

Lupus is still very lame and is having to spend more on CABS in one week than he usually does in a year. But he is improving visibly and in a week's time he'll probably again be able to stand a certain amount of walking. He sends everyone his best wishes.

How do you like the Bernard trial[314]? The French *mouchards*[d] and their worthy *confrère* MR Rogers are cutting a pretty figure.

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[a] F. Engels, 'The Fall of Lucknow'. - [b] subject up his sleeve - [c] save for the - [d] police spies

Yesterday's *Morning Post* drew a very nice picture of the trial's physiognomy. That Chevalier Estien was excellently portrayed.[a]

I have today received from DEAR Harney 3 more *Independents*[b] from which it transpires that his arch-enemy, Seigneur Godfrey, has begun a fresh libel suit against him.[237] The man will soon be thinking himself as 'greet' as the 'greet'[c] Lassalle.

'OUR FAITHFUL ALLY'[d] is now weighing on English commerce like a nightmare. Nobody wants to speculate or buy more than his immediate requirements because the whole of Philistia is expecting war, revolution or even more outlandish things in France.

Very best wishes to the girls and Moor,

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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## 161

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 April 1858

Dear Moor,

I wrote to your wife last week and the following day sent an article on Lucknow[e] and also *Guardians* (or cuttings, I don't remember exactly). I hope everything arrived safely. 2 more *Guardians* go off today. Russell's report in Tuesday's *Times*[f] did not have the makings of an article, but I'm saving it up until the arrival of the next mail; this is sure to bring the last part of the Lucknow story, when the whole thing can be polished off all at one go—with, I hope, the help of Campbell's despatches as well. Meanwhile I have thrown myself into 'Cavalry' again—shall leave

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[a] 'Trial of Simon Bernard', *The Morning Post*, No. 26298, 13 April 1858. - [b] *The Jersey Independent* - [c] Engels has *grauss*—South-German for *gross* (great). - [d] Napoleon III - [e] F. Engels, 'The Fall of Lucknow'. - [f] [W. H. Russell,] 'The Capture of Lucknow', *The Times*, No. 22972, 20 April 1858.

open bits of the historical section for the present until I can unearth the relevant sources, and shall get on with the tactical side. The article will probably take up 10 or 12 of my long double pages, and maybe more.

The *affaire* Bernard[314] will greatly mortify Monsieur Bonaparte and make quite an impression on the refugee *crapauds*[81] in London. James' speech, by the way, was feeble and *décousu*[a] and as usual old Campbell's summing up went against the PRISONER. The old donkey is vexed at losing the chance of an interesting legal case when he could have presided over 15 other judges.

The revelations made by Cavour and La Marmora[b] about their relations with Cavaignac and the latter's fear of Austria[315] will be of interest to the *républicains purs*. The more that comes to light about the *National*'s period of supremacy, the more pitiful it seems.

Your
F. E.

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## 162

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 29 April 1858

DEAR Frederick,

My long silence can be explained in one word—inability to write. This existed (AND TO SOME DEGREE EXISTS STILL) not only IN THE LITERARY, but IN THE LITERAL SENSE OF THE WORD. The few obligatory articles for the *Tribune*[c] were dictated to my wife, but even that was only possible by APPLYING STRONG STIMULI. Never before have I had such a violent *attaque* of liver trouble and FOR SOME TIME there was a

[a] disjointed - [b] C. B. Cavour's speech of 16 April 1858 in the Chamber of Representatives of the Kingdom of Piedmont, *The Times*, No. 22973, 21 April 1858; A. F. La Marmora's speech of 17 April 1858 in the Chamber of Representatives of the Kingdom of Piedmont, *The Times*, No. 22974, 22 April 1858. - [c] K. Marx, 'The French Trials in London', 'The Financial Position of France', 'Mr Disraeli's Budget', 'The English Alliance'.

fear that it might be sclerosis of the liver. The doctor wanted me to travel but *d'abord*[a] that was incompatible with the STATE OF FINANCE, and secondly I hoped from day to day to be able to start work again. The persistent urge to get down to WORK coupled with inability to do so helped aggravate my condition. However there's been an improvement during the past week. But I'm not yet capable of working. Whenever I sit down and write for a couple of hours I have to lie quite fallow for a couple of days. I hope to heaven that this state of affairs comes to an end next week. It couldn't have happened at a more inconvenient time. Obviously I overdid my nocturnal labours last winter. *Hinc illae lacrimae.*[b]

Your letters and *Guardians* arrived safely.

A book has appeared by Louis Blanc on the revolution of 1848.[c] Evinces the most candid admiration for the *'petit'*[d] which, or so he says, is what the workers call him. If read carefully, however, it makes the fellow look an ass for it shows that on every crucial occasion the workers acted without his knowledge or consent and generally returned him sentiment for 'sentiment', taking the view that they had thereby paid the oracle of Luxembourg his FULL PRICE.[316]

The movement for the emancipation of the serfs in Russia strikes me as important in so far as it indicates the beginning of an internal development that might run counter to the country's traditional foreign policy. Herzen, of course, has discovered afresh that 'liberty' has emigrated from Paris to Moscow.

Friend Bangya, AS IT SEEMS, has been caught out by Sefer Pasha's son[e] engaging in unauthorised correspondence with Philipson, the Russian general. It is said that he HAS BEEN SHOT together with a number of his Hungarian and Polish accomplices.[317]

Regards to Lupus.

Your
K. M.

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[a] first of all - [b] Hence these tears (Terence, *Andria*, I, i, 99). - [c] L. Blanc, *1848. Historical Revelations...* - [d] the little one - [e] Prince Ibrahim Karabatir

## 163

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 30 April 1858
7 Southgate

Dear Moor,

If travel you must, why not travel to Manchester, THAT'S EASY ENOUGH. Should the note I sent you yesterday have already disappeared, *ce qui serait bien possible*,[a] let me know; for 21/- you can now get an 8-day RETURN TICKET FIRST CLASS, and then, of course, you just disregard the RETURN. I shall try and arrange for a spare bed at my house, which should be possible for a few days, *anyhow*. For the rest we shall see. If you still have the money for the journey, come up straight away. We shall immediately send off to your wife anything you borrow from her; I've had no time to get a POST OFFICE ORDER today. I shall give the necessary instructions when I get home this evening. Come straight to *No 6 Thorncliffe Grove*, Oxford Road. If you don't actually leave tomorrow evening (there's a train at about 5 o'clock), let me know on Monday morning when you are arriving and I'll pick you up at the station—but say whether by NORTH WESTERN or GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY.

If you are arriving on Sunday, telegraph me tomorrow—it costs 2/6d for 20 words excluding the address. Send the telegram to my house.

Your
F. E.

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[a] which is quite possible

## 164

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 May [1858]

DEAR Frederick,

*I shall part on Thursday[a] by the Great Northern, leaves London at half past 2, arrives at Manchester at 7 p.m.[318]

Yours*
K. M.

Since yesterday I have been feeling much better and *au fond*[b] it was my intention to start work *sérieusement* on Monday. However AFTER CONSULTATION WITH THE DOCTOR, who thinks that I still need a week of gadding about, I have let my duty go hang.

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## 165

## ENGELS TO RUDOLF SCHRAMM

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

Manchester, 6 May 1858

To Mr R. Schramm in London

I have just received your note dated the 3rd.

After the death of my friend, Conrad Schramm,[188] I instructed Mr Harney to return to *us*, not you, the letters from Marx and myself found among his papers,[c] since those letters were not intended for you. And this indeed was done.

I can see no reason whatever why I should discuss with you matters which concerned no one but myself and my late friend

[a] 6 May 1858 - [b] by and large - [c] See this volume, pp. 252-53.

and party comrade. While Conrad was still alive your own friends were surprised at the indifference you showed towards his financial circumstances.

In so far as I had anything to say about the disposal of Conrad's effects, I have said it to his only possible executor, Mr Harney.

As to my 'sense of justice', which has nothing whatever to do with the case, you may perhaps have occasion to become better acquainted with it some day in Germany.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

F. E.

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## 166

## ENGELS TO JENNY MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 May 1858

Dear Mrs Marx,

Moor has been out riding for two hours today and feels so well after it that he's waxing quite enthusiastic about the thing. He has left town and gone home, and has asked me to drop you a line about that fool Cluss.[a] He thinks it might be a good thing for you to go and see Pfänder, who would probably elicit something from him. The main thing is that Monsieur Cluss should *come up here*, for we have got to know how we stand with him, and either he must declare himself IN A SATISFACTORY MANNER or else we must break with him. What good is the ass to us if he's so unreliable as first to come to you, his heart brimful and overflowing, stay for 3 hours with no other apparent object than to get back on to the old footing again, and then suddenly write you a letter as confused as it is ill-bred in which he retracts? We're only sorry that, in the midst of what is a far from rosy spell, such dolts should come and add to *your* troubles.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 374-75, 571.

If at all possible, see that the man comes up here so that we at least have the satisfaction of telling him exactly what we think of him.

I hope that Moor will persevere with his riding, for if he does he'll be able to write again in a week. Lupus' leg is much better too.

Your devoted
F. Engels

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## 167

## ENGELS TO JENNY AND LAURA MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 May 1858

Dear Jenny and Laura,

I cannot allow this note to go off to your mama without thanking you for the two lovely portraits which you asked Moor to bring me. They have found a temporary home on the CHIMNEY-PIECE in front of the looking-glass, but in a day or two will be given a splendid place of their own on the wall.

I hope Mr Schleiden suits you all right[a]; the man's far more solemn than you are, and I only hope you won't see fit to imitate him.

*Dai ritratti vedo con piacere che avete molto grandito tutte le due e che, benchè siate grande signorine adesso, vi sono sempre le vecchie faccie piene di franchezza ed ingenuità; e credete pure chè anch' io per voi sarò sempre il vecchio*[b]

Engels

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[a] Probably a reference to the book: M. J. Schleiden, *Die Pflanze und ihr Leben*. - [b] I see with pleasure from your portraits that you have both grown a lot and that, although you are now grown-up young girls, your faces are still as frank and artless as of old; and you must believe me still to be your old

# 168

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[82]

IN BERLIN

London, 31 May 1858
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

*Post tot discrimina rerum*[a] at long last a sign of life. As for me, what's been happening since my wife wrote to you[b] is simply this:

Having been totally incapable of writing—not only IN A LITERARY, BUT IN THE LITERAL SENSE OF THE WORD—for several weeks, and striven in vain to rebel against my illness; having, moreover, been pumped full of medicine and all TO NO USE, I was positively assured by my doctor that I must have a change of air, secondly that I must DROP all INTELLECTUAL LABOUR FOR SOME TIME and, finally, engage in riding as the main form of treatment. In itself the illness wasn't dangerous—enlargement of the liver—but on this occasion the accompanying symptoms were particularly revolting; moreover, in my family it has nasty implications in that it was the starting-point of the illness which led to my father's death. WELL. With the utmost reluctance I eventually gave way to the insistence of doctor and family, joined Engels in Manchester,[318] went in for riding and other physical EXERCISES and, after spending a month up there, finally returned to London fully restored. The illness—altogether a very expensive LUXURY in my circumstances—was all the more inopportune in that I had already begun to prepare the first instalment[c] for publication. I shall now settle down to this with a will. I trust you will be so kind as to tell the publisher[d] all about these ADVENTURES. You will readily be able to imagine the state of mind I was in during my illness when I tell you that liver complaints as such tend to make one hypochondriacal and that, in addition, my life was bedevilled by all manner of domestic circumstances, not to speak of the hitch over publication. Now I have recovered my accustomed good humour.

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[a] After so many setbacks (Virgil, *Aeneid*, I, 204). - [b] See this volume, p. 570. - [c] K. Marx. *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [d] Franz Gustav Duncker

During this time of tribulation I carefully perused your *Heraclitus*.[a] Your reconstruction of the system from the scattered fragments I regard as brilliant, nor was I any less impressed by the perspicacity of your polemic. In so far as I have any fault to find, it is largely formal. I believe your exposé could have been rather more condensed without in any way jeopardising the import. I should, moreover, have liked to find in the text proper some *critical* indications as to your attitude to Hegelian dialectic. This dialectic is, to be sure, the ultimate word in philosophy and hence there is all the more need to divest it of the mystical aura given it by Hegel. Finally, there are some details upon which I do not agree with you; e.g. your interpretation of Democritus' natural philosophy. These, however, are all minor points. I am all the more aware of the difficulties you had to surmount in this work in that ABOUT 18 years ago I myself attempted a similar work on a far easier philosopher, Epicurus[b]—namely the portrayal of a complete system from fragments, a system which I am convinced, by the by, was—as with Heraclitus—only *implicitly* present in his work, not consciously as a system. Even in the case of philosophers who give systematic form to their work, Spinoza for instance, the true inner structure of the system is quite unlike the form in which it was consciously presented by him. It is incomprehensible to me, by the by, how you found the time in the midst of all your other work to acquire so much Greek philology.

On the whole the present moment of time is a pleasing one. History is clearly about TO TAKE AGAIN A NEW START, and the signs of dissolution EVERYWHERE ARE DELIGHTFUL FOR EVERY MIND NOT BENT UPON THE CONSERVATION OF THINGS AS THEY ARE.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] F. Lassalle, *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos.* - [b] Marx means his doctoral dissertation *Difference Between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature.*

# 169

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 31 May 1858
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

DEAR Frederick,

It took me a week to acclimatise myself again; moreover, the abrupt discontinuation of riding did me no good to begin with. Not until this very day have I at last begun to feel as fit as I did on the day I left Manchester. I am now IN WORKING ORDER and shall at once start getting the stuff ready for publication.[a] All I wrote last week was 2 articles for the *Tribune*.[b] The rest of the time I kept constantly on the move, since the feeling of heaviness in my head and trouble with my bowels made me fear a relapse.

*Ad vocem*[c] *Cluss*. Before leaving, this young man visited Schapper again. When he got back from my house the worthy fellow discovered to his dismay that he had brought something back with him from Paris, viz. a chancre with all sorts of nasty secondary symptoms. He took to his bed and this, he told Schapper, was the reason for his withdrawal from the civilised world.

*Ad vocem Pélissier*. What we jokingly suggested in Manchester, namely that Pélissier would promptly enter into relations with the Orléans, has now happened IN REAL GOOD EARNEST, and become the talk of the town here.

What do you think of Bonaparte's thirst for confiscation?[319]

During my absence a book by Maclaren covering the entire history of CURRENCY came out in London[d]; to judge by the excerpts in *The Economist* it is FIRST-RATE.[e] The book isn't in the library[f] yet—nothing ever turns up there until months after publication. I, of course, am bound to read it before writing my treatise. So I sent my wife to the PUBLISHER[g] in the City. To our dismay, however, we discovered that it costs 9/6d—more than the whole of our

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [b] 'Lord Canning's Proclamation and Land Tenure in India' and 'The Financial Manoeuvres of Bonaparte.—Military Despotism' - [c] As regards - [d] J. Maclaren, *A Sketch of the History of the Currency...* - [e] *The Economist*, No. 768, 15 May 1858, pp. 536-37. - [f] of the British Museum - [g] Groombridge

fighting funds. Hence I should be most grateful if you could send me a POST OFFICE ORDER for that amount. There probably won't be anything that's new to me in the book, but after all the fuss *The Economist* has made about it and the excerpts I myself have read, my theoretical scruples won't permit me to proceed without having looked at it.

Don't you think you might have sufficient material to do something general on the STATE OF THE BRITISH FORCES IN INDIA and also something conjectural for Friday? IT WOULD BE A GREAT BOON FOR ME since reading over my own manuscript[a] will take me the better part of a week. The damnable part of it is that my manuscript (which in print would amount to a hefty volume) is a real hotchpotch, much of it intended for much later sections. So I shall have to make an index briefly indicating in which notebook and on which page to find the stuff I want to work on first.

I have at long last written to Lassalle.[b] You must grant me absolution for the plaudits I was obliged to accord *Heraclitus, the Dark Philosopher.* In a few unobtrusive asides—for praise is taken seriously only when offset by censure—I have to some extent, if very *piano-piano,* hinted at the real shortcomings of the *entreprise.*

Tomorrow or the day after I shall be getting some more Bangya numbers,[c] 2 of which I shall send to Manchester, 1 for you and 1 for Lupus. Apropos, in an issue of the *Tribune* I see that Pulszky is endeavouring to forestall the nauseous REVELATIONS by representing Bangya as *Metternich*'s spy and as one who betrayed General Stein.[d] So statesman Blind, WHILE GIVING A *TESTIMONIUM PAUPERTATIS* TO KOSSUTH, 'THE ILLUSTRIOUS GOVERNOR OF HUNGARY', in the *Advertiser,* nevertheless found himself obliged to invite him in so many words to make a 'counter-statement'. Kossuth, OF COURSE, held his tongue.

How is Gumpert progressing in the noble art of equitation? As for me, the pity of it is that I always have to break off just when I'm again making enough progress to take an interest in the thing.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] *Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58* - [b] See this volume, pp. 315-16. - [c] 'Recent Treachery in Circassia', *The Free Press,* No. 16, 12 May 1858. - [d] [F. Pulszky,] 'From Our Own Correspondent. London, April 23, 1858', *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5319, 8 May 1858.

# 170

## MARX TO ENGELS[20]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 June 1858

DEAR Frederick,

Enclosed 2 Bangya numbers,[a] ONE FOR YOU, THE OTHER FOR Lupus.

Have received from you 1. letter with the POST OFFICE NOTE; 2. SECOND LETTER; 3. ARTICLE FOR THE *TRIBUNE* (VERY AMUSING ONE, TOO[b]). Did not acknowledge receipt before because each day I was expecting the 2 Bangya numbers; also a lot of PRIVATE TROUBLES which took up my time.

Enclosed a letter from Lassalle.[c] It's an extremely odd business. I cannot reply until I have your own and Lupus' opinion. So I should like you to consult together at once and send me your *avis*[d] without delay. My own view is that Lassalle should not engage in a duel with that ass Fabrice and that, even from the standpoint of the duel, the assault by the two gentlemen from the 'High Court' has put any duelling OUT OF THE QUESTION. GENERALLY, it is my view—though having to decide whether or not the duel *as such* accords with *principle* seems to me ludicrous, OF COURSE—that in the PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, AT THIS PARTICULAR JUNCTURE, etc., etc., in contemporary history, members of the revolutionary party may respond to their PRIVATE ENEMIES with clubs, kicks and punches, but not engage in duels. But it would seem to me totally wrong if, after he has come out so categorically against all duelling, Lassalle WOULD ALLOW HIMSELF TO BE BULLIED by feudal GOSSIP.

Schapper came to see me yesterday. Told me, *inter alia*, that friend Caussidière, arriving drunk in a disreputable alley in New York one evening, apparently attacked a wench with his stick; her yells attracted half a dozen LOAFERS who promptly set upon Caussidière and beat him almost to death. The fat lout was PICKED UP unconscious by the police early next morning and it was 6 weeks before he was fit enough to be up and about again.

Seiler had a CASE [attack] of paralysis; at death's door for

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[a] 'Recent Treachery in Circassia', *The Free Press*, No. 16, 12 May 1858. - [b] F. Engels, 'The British Army in India'. - [c] Lassalle's letter to Marx of 4 June 1858 - [d] opinion

10 weeks; but weeds are indestructible. Heise is said to be dangerously ill again.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 171

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 9 June 1858

Dear Moor,

I return Lassalle's letter herewith.[a] Borchardt had already told me on Saturday with a look of triumph that our little Jew Braun had been in a brawl. It's extremely useful to know these details. As for our opinion, it's as clear as day that, by making so despicable an attempt on a person's life, both the gentlemen, the *Intendanturrat* no less than the *Assessor*, have adopted *in toto* the standpoint of the bludgeon, and that the only duel one *might* engage in with such laddies has already *taken place* during the brawl itself. If 2 chaps waylay a third and *both* of them set on him, I don't believe that any duelling code in the world would *permit* a subsequent duel with such riff-raff. If Mr Fabrice intended forcibly to provoke a duel by means of the horse-whip affair, either Mr Bormann ought to have looked on purely passively as a *witness*, or his presence was altogether superfluous. But when two men simultaneously set upon *one*, then we are dealing with *canaille*[b] for whom honour and FAIR PLAY do not exist and who have given proof that A FAIR DUEL cannot be fought with them. Indeed one would run the risk of being treacherously murdered.

So much for my own and Lupus' opinion, if we are to take the duelling code as the basis in law.

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[a] See this volume, p. 319. - [b] rabble

This apart we share your view that 1. duels are, on the whole, untimely for revolutionaries just now and 2. that Lassalle, having declared himself unequivocally against duelling 'on principle', would be greatly discredited were he now to engage in a duel.

So far as we are concerned, therefore, you can safely go ahead and tell our Ephraim Artful[a] not to fight but rather tranquilly restore his 'unshakable determination' with the help of the bottle, take the moon by the horns again as soon as may be and risk annihilation for the hundred and first time. As to the discovery that he appears to possess an adequate store of vanity, silence is, I think, the best form of congratulation.

Did you read the story about Fould's son[b]? He decamped to London with Mademoiselle Valérie[c] of the Gymnase and 1,600,000 francs. His old man[d] wrote to Pélissier and told him that he should *au cas de besoin, user d'autorité.*[e] Pélissier invited the loving couple to *déjeuner*[f] and told them: *Je vous donne ma bénédiction*[g] and wrote to the old man: *Que voulez-vous? Les jeunes gens seront toujours de jeunes gens!*[h] Whereat old Fould became the laughing-stock of Paris.

Your
F. E.

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## 172

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[82]

IN BERLIN

London, 10 June 1858
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

You would have had an immediate answer to your letter, but it seemed to me advisable—not in order to formulate my own views

[a] Lassalle - [b] Gustave Eugène Fould - [c] Wilhelmine Joséphine Simonin - [d] Achille Fould - [e] if need be, exercise his authority - [f] lunch - [g] I give you my blessing. - [h] What do you expect? Young people are all alike.

but because *tres faciunt collegium*[a]—to put the CASE to Engels and Lupus in Manchester and obtain their opinion. Since their views and my own coincide at every point, you may regard the following as our unanimous OPINION.

1. *From the standpoint of the duel.* It is as clear as day that by their despicable attack in the street the two gentlemen, the *Intendanturrat* and the *Assessor,* have adopted *in toto* the standpoint of the bludgeon and that the only duel which one *might* engage in with such laddies has already *taken place* during the brawl itself. If 2 chaps waylay a third and *both* of them set on him, we don't believe that any duelling code in the world would *permit* a subsequent duel with such riff-raff. If, by flourishing a horse-whip, Mr Fabrice intended forcibly to provoke a duel, either Mr Bormann ought to have looked on purely passively as a *witness,* or his presence was altogether superfluous. But when two men simultaneously set upon *one,* and one of them actually operates IN THE REAR of the person attacked, then we are dealing with *canaille*[b] who have given proof that A FAIR DUEL cannot be fought with them.

2. *Principle of the duel.* We don't believe that, generally speaking, an affair as relative as a duel can be subsumed under the category *good* or *bad.* That duelling as such is not rational there can be no doubt. Nor that it is a relic of a bygone stage of civilisation. However, a concomitant of the one-sidedness of *bourgeois* society is that, in opposition to the latter, certain feudal forms maintain the rights of the individual. The most striking proof of this is to be found in the United States where duelling is a civil right. Individuals may become locked in a mutual conflict so insupportable that a duel seems to them the only solution. However such deadly tension is not IN FACT possible vis-à-vis an indifferent person such as an *Intendanturrat,* an *Assessor,* or a lieutenant. This would demand a significant personal relationship. Otherwise a duel is an utter farce. It is invariably a farce when performed in deference to so-called 'public opinion'.

3. We therefore regard duelling as being purely dependent on circumstances; hence recourse may be had to it as an exceptional *pis aller*[c] in exceptional circumstances. In the CASE under discussion, however, all the circumstances argue quite emphatically against it, even if the attack in the street had not put it ALTOGETHER OUT OF THE QUESTION.

4. The really decisive factor is that you are not only opposed to all duelling on principle but have proclaimed this principle, and in

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[a] three constitute a panel - [b] rabble - [c] expedient

Fabrice's presence at that. So you would discredit yourself were you nevertheless to engage in a duel through fear of 'public opinion'.

5. In the case under discussion, a duel would have absolutely no meaning save as the observance of a *conventional* formality recognised by certain privileged classes. Our party must resolutely set its face against these class ceremonies and reject with the most cynical contempt the presumptuous demand that we submit to them. The present state of affairs is far too serious to permit of your consenting to such puerilities and it would be sheer puerility to engage in a duel with Mr Fabrice because he is an *'Intendanturrat'* and belongs to the clique qualified to fight duels, whereas if e.g. a tailor or cobbler were to set about you in the street, you would simply hand him over to the courts without any infringement of 'honour'. In the case under consideration you would not be fighting a duel with Fabrice, an individual who is indifferent to you, but with the *'Intendanturrat'*—which would be an absurd manoeuvre. In general, the fellows' insistence that differences with them must be settled by a duel as a *privilege* due to them—and all FASHIONABLE duels fall under this head—should be laughed to scorn. To acknowledge this claim would be altogether counter-revolutionary.

I have given you our view *in nuce*.[a] We shall be interested to hear how the affair progresses.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 173

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 2 July 1858
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

The delay in acknowledging your 'Cavalry'[320] due to great domestic TROUBLE. For weeks our youngest child[b] has been

[a] in a nutshell - [b] Eleanor Marx

suffering from HOOPING-COUGH, a most alarming illness, besides which my wife is very seedy. So my work has been damnably disrupted by this and all kinds of other domestic upsets.

You will remember that, while our friend Schramm was in Jersey, I secured him the position of correspondent to an American paper. Now that he's dead and after he had dunned them on several occasions, his fee of SOME 6 POUNDS has arrived and has, of course, fallen to Mr Rudolf[a] as pocket-money.

Otherwise nothing new here. That little London German rag once run by Gumpert has, I believe, now fallen to 'united democracy', *sub auspiciis*[b] of the great Blind under the title *Neue Welt*.[c]

I assume you have read the statements made in the *Star* by Mr Türr and by the Hungarian émigrés in Constantinople. If not, I shall send you *The Free Press*.[d] Meanwhile Kossuth still remains obdurately silent. Our excerpt from Bangya's story has appeared in the *Tribune*.[e] The row in New York will force Kossuth to speak. Thus I may have to come right out into the open in this matter. Pulszky had *de longue main*[f] provided a loophole in the *Tribune* when he described Bangya as a former spy of *Metternich's* (!).[g] Klapka, whom I met for a moment or two at Freiligrath's, remarked drily of Bangya: *'Finis coronat opus.'*[h] He seems to be very blasé about Kossuth. Is presently dabbling in Turkish shares.

Herewith two letters from New York.[321]

I have had no word from Ephraim Artful[i] for a fortnight. Being convinced, OF COURSE, that there was small likelihood of my letter being put to discreet use by him, I worded it with the utmost caution SO THAT IT WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR HIM TO ABUSE IT. Apart from the special CIRCUMSTANCES of the CASE, concerning which I gave him your opinion pretty well verbatim, I censured duelling only in so far as it is claimed as privilege of caste by fellows who believe that their insults *must* be punished otherwise than those of a tailor, cobbler, etc. The revolutionary thing to do, I told him, when confronted with such inane presumption and laddies of this ilk, was to adopt the 'standpoint of the lout' and the 'code of the bludgeon'. On the other hand, in reply to Ephraim's pedantry, I said that duelling was among the things Aristotle described as being 'indifferent' and which one could either take or leave as one

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[a] Rudolf Schramm - [b] under the auspices - [c] presumably *Die Neue Zeit* - [d] I. Türr, 'To the Editor of the *Presse d'Orient*', *The Free Press*, No. 18, 30 June 1858. - [e] K. Marx, 'A Curious Piece of History'. - [f] long ago - [g] [F. Pulszky,] 'From Our Own Correspondent. London, April 23, 1858', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5319, 8 May 1858. - [h] 'The end crowns the work.' - [i] Ferdinand Lassalle

pleased; I told him he was right in saying that it was a relic of a bygone stage of development but that, 'given the one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness of *bourgeois* relations, individuality could sometimes assert itself only in feudal form'.[a]

I trust that, come what may, you will send me an article on India[b] next week. There is ample material for an article for the *Tribune,* which will otherwise reprint stuff from *The Times,* etc. Anyway, all that matters is that articles should be sent.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Regards to Lupus.

Humboldt has published a very 'flattering' letter in the *Tribune* addressed to Fröbel,[c] who has published a book of his American travels.[d]

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## 174

## ENGELS TO MARX[1]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 14 July 1858

Dear Moor,

Up here we are now in the middle of the balance-sheet and hence I haven't had the leisure to write to you at greater length. I hope that your little Tussy[e] is better. Gumpert tells me that in the English climate whooping-cough is seldom dangerous and, though usually chronic, is benign. All the cases they've had in the hospital so far have ended well. He gave me both the reports (Marei's) this hospital has so far produced. They are highly scientific and I wish

[a] See also this volume, p. 322. - [b] F. Engels, 'The Indian Army'. - [c] A. Humboldt, 'A Private Letter to Mr. Julius Froebel', *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5335, 27 May 1858. - [d] J. Fröbel, *Aus America.* - [e] Eleanor Marx

I had had material of this kind when I was writing my book.[a] I also have copies of it for you which I shall be sending; individual bits may come in useful for your chapter on wage labour. No doubt you will derive some amusement from Marei's grandiose conception and sanguine expectations.

Have neither seen nor heard of the statements by Mr Türr, etc. The *Star* is not much read up here. So I'd be glad if you would just send *The Free Press*[b] and also, if possible, a copy for Lupus, who is still in Buxton, whither he was sent by Borchardt, and where, out of boredom, he may well do more walking than is good for his leg.

The two letters from New York which you mention in your last were *not* enclosed.[321]

Apropos. Kindly let me have Hegel's *Philosophy of Nature*[c] as promised. I am presently doing a little physiology which I shall combine with comparative anatomy. Here one comes upon highly speculative things, all of which, however, have only recently been discovered; I am exceedingly curious to see whether the old man may not already have had some inkling of them. This much is certain: were he *today* to write a *Philosophy of Nature*, subjects would come flocking in on him from all directions. One has no idea, by the way, of the progress made in the natural sciences during the past 30 years. Two things have been crucial where physiology is concerned: 1. the tremendous development of organic chemistry, 2. the microscope, which has been properly used only during the past 20 years. This last has produced even more important results than chemistry; what has been chiefly responsible for revolutionising the whole of physiology and has alone made comparative physiology possible is the discovery of the cell—in plants by Schleiden and in animals by Schwann (about 1836). Everything consists of cells. The cell is Hegelian 'being in itself' and its development follows the Hegelian process step by step right up to the final emergence of the 'idea'—i.e. each completed organism.

Another result that would have delighted old Hegel is the correlation of forces in physics, or the law whereby mechanical motion, i.e. mechanical force (e.g. through friction), is, in given conditions, converted into heat, heat into light, light into chemical affinity, chemical affinity (e.g. in the voltaic pile) into electricity, the latter into magnetism. These transitions may also take place

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[a] *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* - [b] I. Türr, 'To the Editor of the *Presse d'Orient*', *The Free Press*, No. 18, 30 June 1858. - [c] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Naturphilosophie...*

differently, backwards or forwards. An Englishman[a] whose name I can't recall has now shown that these forces pass from one to the other in quite specific quantitative proportions so that e.g. a certain quantity of one, e.g. electricity, corresponds to a certain quantity of each of the others, e.g. magnetism, light, heat, chemical affinity (positive or negative—combining or separating) and motion. The idiotic theory of latent heat is thus disposed of. But isn't this splendid material proof of how the reflex categories dissolve one into the other?

This much is certain—comparative physiology gives one a healthy contempt for man's idealistic arrogance in regard to other animals. At every step it is forcibly brought home to one how completely his structure corresponds to that of other mammals; he has basic features in common with all vertebrates and even—if less distinctly—with insects, crustaceans, tapeworms, etc. Here too Hegel's stuff about the qualitative leap in the quantitative sequence fits in very nicely. Finally, with the most primitive infusoria, one reaches the original form, the single cell existing independently, which again is not perceptibly distinguishable from the lowest vegetable life (single-celled fungi such as those causing disease in potatoes, the vine, etc., etc.) or, at a higher stage of development, from the germ right up to and including the human ovum and spermatozoon, and is identical in appearance to the separate cells in the living body (blood corpuscles, the cells of the epidermis and mucous membrane, secreting cells in the glands, kidneys, etc., etc.).

Some time you might also let me know what sort of a disease *dyspepsia crapulosa*[b] is. This isn't, as it happens, a bad joke but a scientifically recognised term.

If *The Times* has any particulars about India tomorrow, we shall see what can be done for the *Tribune*, otherwise it will be no go. So you'll see from tomorrow's *Times* more or less what can be expected.

Warm regards to the FAMILY.

Your

F. E.

The acceptance business successfully concluded.

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[a] James Joule - [b] digestive upset caused by over-eating

# 175

## MARX TO ENGELS[82]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 July 1858
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park

Dear Engels,

*D'abord*[a] I would beg you not to take fright at the contents of this letter since it is not in any way intended as an APPEAL to your already unduly overloaded exchequer. On the other hand it behoves us to put our heads together to see if some way cannot be found out of the present situation, for it has become absolutely untenable. It has already resulted in my being COMPLETELY DISABLED from doing any work, partly because I have to waste most of my time running round in fruitless attempts to raise money, and partly because my abstract thinking—due rather, perhaps, to my being physically run down—is no longer a match for domestic miseries. The general unpleasantness has made a nervous wreck of my wife, and Dr Allen who, of course, suspects where the shoe PINCHES but doesn't know the real state of affairs, has now told me repeatedly and positively that he cannot rule out brain fever or something of the sort unless she is sent to a seaside resort for a longish stay. I for my part know that circumstances being what they are, this course, even if feasible, would do her no good so long as she continues to be the victim of daily pressures and haunted by the spectre of final and unavoidable catastrophe. This last, however, cannot be long postponed and, even if it be staved off for a few weeks, there still remains the unbearable day-to-day struggle for MERE NECESSARIES and a general situation such as will inevitably bring everything to wrack and ruin.

There are in London so-called LOAN-SOCIETIES[182] which advertise LOANS of £5-200, *without* SECURITIES and on the strength of REFERENCES alone. I therefore attempted an operation of this kind, Freiligrath and an *épicier*[b] having offered to act as REFEREES. The result was that some £2 went on FEES. The final, negative, answer arrived the day before yesterday. I don't know whether I should make a further attempt of this kind.

To give you an idea of the real state of affairs, I have asked my wife to draw up a statement in respect of the £20 advanced by you

[a] First - [b] grocer

and the £24 I drew on the *Tribune* (of which £2 were overdrawn) on 16 June. From it you will see that, as soon as a fairly substantial sum such as this arrives, not a penny is left over even for the most urgent day-to-day expenses, let alone enjoyment of any kind; that exactly the same sickening STRUGGLE recommences the following day, and within a very short time the creditors, having received only the most meagre payments on account, once more begin to exert exactly the same pressure in respect of other bills which have accumulated in the meantime. At the same time you will see that my wife hasn't spent a FARTHING on clothes, etc., for herself, while the situation as regards the children's summer DRESSES is sub-proletarian. I think it is essential that you should go through these particulars since it would not otherwise be possible to arrive at a correct opinion of the CASE.

*Statement in respect of £20 received 19 May.* Paid out:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Rates (water, gas) | £7 | — |
| Pawnshop, interest | 3 | — |
| Redeemed from pawnshop, for | 1 | 10 |
| Wages | 2 | — |
| TALLYMAN (who had to be paid weekly for a coat and trousers) | — | 18 |
| Shoes and hats for the children | 1 | 10 |
| Baker | 1 | — |
| Butcher | 1 | 10 |
| *Epicier* | 1 | — |
| CHEESEMONGER | — | 10 |
| Coal | — | 10 |

*Statement in respect of £24 received 16 June from the 'Tribune'*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *School* for QUARTER February, March, April | £8 | — |
| Loaned by *Schapper* for daily expenses over 4 weeks, repaid | 3 | — |
| *Linen redeemed from pawnshop* | 2 | — |
| *Wages* | 1 | — |
| *TALLYMAN* | 1 | 4 |
| *Butcher* | 2 | — |
| *Epicier* | 2 | — |
| *GREENGROCER* | 1 | — |
| *Chemises, dresses, etc., for the children* | 2 | — |
| *Baker* | 2 | — |

Thus, after 17 June there was again not a single penny in the house and, to cover for four weeks day-to-day expenses which had to be paid in cash, we borrowed £4 from Schapper, about £2 of which, however, went on the abortive LOAN OPERATION IN FEES.

The full state of indebtedness, as it now stands in London, is as follows. (It will show you that a large part of the same consists in debts to small *épiciers* who have stretched their credit as far as it will go.)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Rates, due 25 June* | £9 | — |
| *School, due 2 August* | 6 | — |
| *Newspaper man* (for a year) | 6 | — |
| *TALLYMAN* | 3 | 9 |
| *Butcher* | 7 | 14 |
| *Baker* | 6 | — |
| *Epicier* | 4 | — |
| *GREENGROCER and coal* | 2 | — |
| *Milkman* | 6 | 17 |
| Owing to previous milkman and baker in Soho | 9 | — |
| *Dr Allen* (£7 paid out of last but one *Tribune* money) | 10 | — |
| *Lina Schöler* | 9 | — |
| *Schapper* | 4 | — |
| *Pawnshop* | 30 | — |

Of these debts, the only ones I don't consider urgent are those owing to Dr Allen, Lina Schöler, the old creditors in Soho and part of what is due to the pawnshop.

Thus the whole business turns on the fact that what little comes in is never earmarked for the coming month, nor is it ever more than just sufficient—after deducting regular outgoings on house, school, rates and pawnshop—to reduce debts to a level that will preclude one's actually being thrown out into the street. In some 4-5 weeks' time I shall have ABOUT £24 to draw on the *Tribune*. Of this £15 will immediately go on rates and rent alone. If only a minimum is paid out in respect of other debts—and it is very questionable whether the BUTCHER, etc., will be prepared to wait so long—the predicament will, on the other hand, again be compounded by the 4 weeks which have to be got through *d'une manière ou d'une autre*.[a] The LANDLORD is himself being harried by creditors and is dunning me for all he's worth. I fail to see what I am to do, unless it is possible to obtain a LOAN from a LOAN-SOCIETY or

[a] somehow or other

LIFE-INSURANCE SOCIETY. Even were I to seek to reduce expenditure to the utmost—e.g. take the children away from school, move into a wholly working-class lodging, get rid of the maids, live on potatoes—not even the auction of my household goods would suffice to satisfy the creditors in the vicinity and ensure an unhampered removal to some hidey-hole. The SHOW of RESPECTABILITY which has so far been kept up has been the only means of avoiding a collapse. I for my part wouldn't care a damn about living in Whitechapel,[322] provided I could again at last secure an hour's peace in which to attend to my work. But in view of my wife's condition just now such a metamorphosis might entail dangerous consequences, and it could hardly be suitable for growing girls.

I HAVE NOW MADE A CLEAN BREAST OF IT and I assure you that it has cost me no small effort to do so. But *enfin*,[a] I must speak my mind to somebody. I know that you yourself can do nothing to help. All I ask is your opinion on WHAT TO DO. I would not wish my worst enemy to have to wade through the QUAGMIRE in which I've been trapped for the past two months, fuming the while over the innumerable vexations that are ruining my intellect and destroying my capacity for work.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

I shall send you the things you ask for.[b]

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## 176

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 16 July 1858

Dear Moor,

It is very decent of you to have laid your difficulties plainly before me. Obviously there is need for immediate action. By my

[a] after all - [b] See this volume, p. 326.

reckoning then, about £50 *à* £60 is urgent, and the rest can wait a while. I could at once raise £30 towards this amount by means of a fresh acceptance, provided the fellow agrees to make out the acceptance at *4 months minimum*, otherwise I wouldn't be in a position to find the money. If he is willing it might also be possible to draw £20 at 4 months and another £20 at 6 months (plus interest) so that I should have to pay in November and January and you would at once get £40 clear. So go and see Freiligrath straight away and find out what can be done. It is, of course, absolutely essential that *the discounter retains the acceptances in his own portfolio, otherwise I shall be ruined.* The rascal ought not to ask more than the 20% I am calculating on, which already represents a loss of nearly £5.

In this way, or so it seems to me, you would be covered to the extent that you could, at a pinch, wait until it's time to draw your next bill. But in view of your wife's state of health even more will be needed, of course, and unfortunately I can't manage it. I can't even step across to Watts here in connection with his Provident Institution as I've fallen out with the fellow. However he only has a BRANCH-OFFICE up here; the head-OFFICE is in London and you can look it up in any DIRECTORY. The business is called the PEOPLE'S PROVIDENT ASSURANCE SOCIETY AND LIFE AND EQUITABLE INSTITUTION.[323] Freiligrath will easily get hold of a prospectus, TERMS, etc., for you and if there is anything to be done, which I doubt, he could also set the matter in train.

Though I've racked my brains I can think of no other method of raising money in England. It seems to me that the moment has come for you to have a go at your mater[a] or one or other of the Dutchmen.[b] Ultimately it is a question of wiping the slate clean and making A FRESH START; all this business of LOANS merely puts matters off and ultimately leads to an even worse crisis, quite apart from all the money—what with FEES, etc.—and time that is expended in attempts to raise the cash. Moreover, an acceptance on my part anticipates the money which I would otherwise have been able to send you over a period in small amounts and, although a lump sum is worth more to you than the ODD five-pound note now and again, this will certainly mean a corresponding loss of regular income.

You must really cast aside any reservations—*s'il y en aurait*[c]—in this case and attempt a *coup*. It's a question of finding a further

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[a] Henriette Marx - [b] the Philips family, Marx's Dutch relations - [c] if there are any

£50 or so and I can see absolutely no way of getting it other than through your relations.

Meanwhile I shall mull the thing over for a couple of days and see if anything occurs to me. At all events it would be as well to burn *this* correspondence so that the matter remains between ourselves.

Your
F. E.

If *absolutely necessary* I would accept £20 at 3 months and £20 at 6; anything shorter wouldn't do. Interest on top of this, so you would have £40 net.

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## 177

## MARX TO ENGELS[20]

IN MANCHESTER

London, 20 July 1858
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

When your letter arrived on Saturday I did not reply immediately because I first wanted to see what response I got to another 'ATTEMPT' before taking advantage of the authorisation you gave me. On Monday, however, I received an answer in the negative. Hence any further delay seemed impracticable. Accordingly to Freiligrath. Today he informed me in writing that the thing could be proceeded with on the TERMS you proposed, but not until 3 August since his USURER was unable to go ahead any earlier. I shall therefore write and tell him to put the business in hand by 3 August.

On Saturday I had a long letter from my mother. For I had asked Mrs Liebknecht, who was going to Germany, to take the old girl a portrait of our youngest child[a] with a brief note in which I

[a] Eleanor Marx

mentioned my being frequently ill but said nothing about our other circumstances.[324] The old girl's letter is such as to suggest the possibility of a meeting between us a few weeks hence. IF SO, I SHOULD ARRANGE THINGS. But I mustn't be too pressing IN THIS RESPECT. Otherwise she will promptly draw BACK.

Thank you for the *Tribune* article.[325] More tomorrow.

Your
K. M.

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## 178

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 July [1858]

Dear Engels,

From the enclosed letter of Freiligrath you will see that further DIFFICULTIES have arisen. But the 'new' terms seem to me *au fond*[a] better than the old, for though payment is nominally required in 3 months it need, IN FACT, only be made in 6 and the cost is 10% less.

Kindly reply at once ONE WAY OR THE OTHER. The matter is PRESSING. If it can be arranged in this way I shall, AT ANY RISK, immediately send my wife to a nearby seaside resort for a couple of weeks and, in the meantime, see what I can fix up with my mater—after the more unruly creditors have been placated, OF COURSE.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] in the main

# 179

## MARX TO ENGELS[326]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 8 August 1858
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

If I haven't written before, this was because it wasn't till yesterday that the matter was decided *for certain* and, indeed, in the affirmative. Every time I sat down to write to you, another letter arrived from the City to say there was nothing doing and that I should try and carry out the transaction with SOMEBODY ELSE. However, I wanted to tell you something definite ONE WAY OR THE OTHER. After he had negotiated with 6 different USURERS, and every time the fellows went back on their promise when it came to the point, Freiligrath eventually discounted the bill with his own tailor, after he had agreed to act as collateral. He had, *ab initio*,[a] made it *payable at his own bank*. The old chap went to a great deal of trouble over the matter, even to the extent of taking certain steps not altogether in keeping with his 'professional' status. So if you should happen to write to him, give him a little PAT on the back, an action to which he is not wholly impervious. The bill has been deposited with Freiligrath himself. The tailor declares that he is prepared to renew it, *whatever the circumstances*. But he would prefer to receive £20 in November so that he would only have to make out a new bill for the remaining £20 payable in January. (After receiving your letter,[327] I immediately informed Freiligrath that the thing could not be proceeded with *unless* there was a *certainty of renewal*.)

To my alarm I saw from your letter that you were ill again, and in the circumstances it was all the more embarrassing to me to have ANNOYED you. Please write *by return* saying how you are, or else get Dr Gumpert to write.

After receiving the money, I promptly paid off as much as possible and yesterday sent my wife to Ramsgate, since there was not another day to be lost. She really is extraordinarily unwell. If Ramsgate isn't too expensive, and she is thus able to have several weeks of sea bathing, I believe all will soon be RIGHT again.

[a] from the start

MEANWHILE I shall see if there's anything to be done with my mother. How I should answer the old girl in regard to my relations with Prussia is a very ticklish point. It's just *possible* that she might fork out if she thought my inheritance was under threat from the authorities. But again it's just *possible*—since she seems to me to be making her will—that she might in that case put everything in the care of the Dutchman,[a] which wouldn't suit me at all. *Que faire dans cette situation?*[b] She writes saying her days are numbered, but I believe that's just a manner of speaking. She probably wanted me to invite her to London, as indeed I would certainly have done had my time not been precious to me just now. For the past 2 months I have hardly been able to work, and the Duncker business is becoming urgent.[c]

I have written a lot for the *Tribune* of late so as to replenish my account a bit, but I'm getting damnably short of material. India isn't my department. Cherbourg[328] would have provided me with ample opportunity for political epigrams, except that I'm too ignorant of military matters to give the thing the proper depth. To me—though it's an altogether subjective opinion, not to say a prejudice—Cherbourg would seem to be no more than a DODGE, like all Boustrapa's[40] grand doings, a mere SLEIGHT OF HAND. At any rate, the *Moniteur*, no less, contained certain ominous hints to the effect that the military authorities are by no means happy about the choice of the spot and have raised a host of circumstantial objections to the lay-out of the works. It is, furthermore, FAR FROM BEING FINISHED and, in its present state, represents rather what's *to be* than what *is*. The only thing that is completely finished is the big equestrian statue of Napoleon. In Central India, or so it seems to me, the fall of Gwalior settles the matter. The Indian papers are all very hostile to Campbell and critical of his 'tactics'.

Enclosed a letter from Lassalle.[d] Ephraim Artful is a curious fellow. He demands of me AN IMMENSE DEAL OF DISCRETION and puts on a great show of secrecy, yet the whole scrawl[e] appears substantially in the *Kölner Zeitung*! There's a vein of absurd grandiloquence running through the man's letters. 'Then I addressed, etc., a trenchantly cutting memoir, etc.' 'I set Böckh and Humboldt in motion.' Humboldt wrote 'a fulminating letter'. 'I myself made a complaint direct to the Prince[f] couched in the *bluntest German*.' 'Truly *foudroyant*[g] arraignment of the minister[h].' 'Urgent plea.' 'In

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[a] Lion Philips - [b] What's to be done in this situation? - [c] Marx means the preparation for the press of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [d] Lassalle's letter to Marx of 23 July 1858 - [e] See this volume, pp. 321-23. - [f] William, Prince of Prussia - [g] crushing - [h] Ferdinand von Westphalen

absolute confidence.' 'My biggest pistol.' 'Hopeless.' 'Utmost secrecy *and* discretion.' 'If that's not sauce for the gander, etc.'

Our friend Bürgers will soon be out of prison again now. His main idea, it seems, is to play father to Daniels' children and to that end, first take over the post of bedfellow to Mrs Daniels. The latter has, however, written to Lina[a] saying that Bürgers isn't to be compared with her husband.

Apropos, Lupus will be interested to hear that little Jenny has received THE FIRST GENERAL PRIZE IN THE FIRST CLASS (which also includes the *English* prize), and little Laura the second. They are the youngest in the class. Jenny also got the prize for French.

*Salut.* I hope to hear some *good* news about your STATE OF HEALTH.

Your
K. M.

The *Telegraph* (enclosed) is also to be kept.

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## 180

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 August 1858
7 Southgate

Dear Moor,

Back at the office again since yesterday. I wasn't ill, by the way, merely wounded SURGICALLY and, though the wound is not yet quite healed, the purpose has been achieved. In no circumstances shall I be in a condition to do a *Tribune* article before next week.

How's the Appleton affair going? You once wrote saying you were enclosing two letters from America,[321] but you forgot to do so. Did they have any bearing on it? In a fortnight's time I shall probably be going to the seaside, where I might be able to get down to some hard work on the thing.

[a] Caroline Schöler

Ephraim's[a] letter is strange indeed. How can anyone be so stupid as to part with something like that, actually put down in black and white? That's what I really call dubbing oneself a fool *à perpétuité*.

Lupus and I send our hearty congratulations to the two girls[b] on their achievements. The old chap was delighted about it. His leg is still not up to much. Borchardt undoubtedly treated the thing the wrong way and Lupus has mucked up matters by undue zeal and unnecessary foot-slogging. The thing might have other disagreeable, if not serious, consequences later on. He was in Buxton and then in Devonshire where he again had to endure the horror of bad hotels, got nothing to drink and was colossally fleeced.

I hope your wife, too, is now better. The tailor will be able to have half the amount in October.

Your
F. E.

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## 181

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 August 1858

Dear Engels,

I am delighted to hear that my fears about your health were unfounded.

Of the two letters I meant to send you, one was from Weydemeyer (Milwaukee, Wisconsin) and the other from one A. Komp (New York), both of which arrived under the same cover. I had put them down on the table (my writing-table) to enclose them in my letter to you, forgot, and then couldn't find them. They are probably tucked away in one of the many

[a] Ferdinand Lassalle's - [b] Jenny and Laura Marx

notebooks that are strewn around, and will reappear when I leaf through them.[321]

I know nothing about the *Cyclopaedia* save that I've seen an advertisement for the second volume in the *Tribune*.[a] So it's still coming out and, if you have the leisure, you might occasionally do something for C.—subject, however, to two reservations: 1. I cannot go to the Museum[b] just now; 2. it would be of more immediate advantage to me to increase my balance at the *Tribune*. This has already decreased slightly since my wife went away and I cannot in any case write twice for them myself, as it's impossible for me to deal with subjects such as India, Montenegro, China, Bonaparte's military railway system and his installations at Cherbourg.[328] Hence, as soon as time permits (and, OF COURSE, without physical HARM to yourself), I would greatly prefer it if, in the immediate future, you were to write more often for the *Tribune*, ON ANY SUBJECT WHATEVER.

The sea is doing my wife a lot of good; at the beginning of this week she sent for all the children and Lenchen.[c] SO FAR SO GOOD; the only snag is that, UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, I shall hardly be able to let her stay there beyond next week. Mentally she is very much refreshed, but physically (save that her nerves are stronger) she is not yet all that she might be. In Ramsgate she has made the acquaintance of refined and, *horribile dictu*,[d] clever Englishwomen. After years during which she has enjoyed only inferior company, if any at all, intercourse with people of her own kind seems to agree with her.

Have you read the review in *The Times* of Gladstone's book on Homer?[e] There is much that is amusing in it (the review). A work such as this is, by the by, typical of your Englishman's incompetence in matters of 'philology'.

I presume that TRADE IN MANCHESTER is again LOOKING UP? Indeed, over the past few weeks the world has grown damned optimistic again.

Mr Pyat, still oppressed by the fact that his name was not given due prominence during the recent political prosecutions, has published a fresh *'lettre'*[f] about his *'lettre'* to the Parliament, containing a vindication of 'regicide'.[329] In order to compel the government to prosecute, he has flouted police regulations by

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[a] *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5319, 8 May 1858 - [b] the British Museum Library - [c] Helene Demuth - [d] horrible to mention - [e] W. E. Gladstone, *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age* (the review appeared in *The Times*, Nos. 23070 and 23071, 12 and 13 August 1858 under the title 'Mr. Gladstone's Homeric Studies'). - [f] F. Pyat, *Lettre au jury. Défense de la lettre au Parlement et à la Presse.*

letting the scrawl come out without the printer's name. But the government is inexorable. Pyat is not to be made a martyr, even to the tune of a 2/6d fine with COSTS in a magistrate's court. *Le pauvre Sire!*[a]

Warm regards to Lupus.

Your
K. M.

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## 182

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 August 1858

Dear Engels,

If at all possible, let me have 1 ARTICLE on India *or* Cherbourg by Friday.[328] *It's absolutely impossible for me to carry on any longer* without an *entremets* of this kind. You will understand how bereft of material I am when I tell you that yesterday I wrote (*via* Ramsgate, where the fair copy was made[b]) about the SLAVE-TRADE in Cuba.[330] On the other hand, it is now more than ever essential that I should jack up my credit a little.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Apropos. I inserted—not directly, but through a channel *viz.* that of Liebknecht, who himself made use of yet another channel—Kinkel's advertisement of a trip to the LAKES in the

[a] Poor devil - [b] Jenny Marx, who usually made the fair copies of Marx's articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune*, was in Ramsgate at the time.

*Neue Zeit* (a German rag in London).[a] The thing caused a scandal. Kinkel now denies it. Important you should write to me about it.

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## 183

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 September 1858
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

DEAR Frederick,

You must exercise your customary forbearance and excuse my long silence. The indisposition from which I was suffering even before leaving Manchester again became chronic—persisting throughout the entire summer—so that any kind of writing costs me a tremendous effort. For the same reason my manuscript[b] is only now about to go off (IN 2 WEEKS), but there will be 2 instalments AT ONCE. Even though I had nothing to do but correct the style of what had already been written, I might sometimes sit for hours before getting this or that phrase right. For ABOUT 8 DAYS, by the by, I have been much better and on the whole I find the cooler time of year more beneficial. Moreover, there is every prospect that, with my mother's help, I shall be able to put my domestic affairs entirely in order and also start to take HORSE EXERCISE again. The latter will be my prime concern, as soon as the BUSINESS has been attended to.

Meanwhile I have been writing very regularly for the *Tribune*, as I have no desire to make these chaps a gift of any money.

Find out from Lupus or (directly or indirectly) from Borchardt whether they know a Mrs von Paula (might sign herself Paulaw) who once lived in Breslau.[c] If so, I have something curious to tell you.

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[a] K. Marx, 'To the Editor of the *Neue Zeit*'. - [b] *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* - [c] Wrocław

*Re* Bangya, I had in my possession (but, alas, only for a few hours) some material relating to him—letters from Constantinople as well as cuttings from the Constantinople papers. The excerpts in *The Free Press* don't give such a clear idea of the thing.[a] It's the *affaire* of the 'CHIEF of the dynasty'[b] all over again. Kossuth would appear to be directly compromised. I have now SUMMONED him in the *Tribune*[c] TO DECLARE HIMSELF!

Apropos. I've had an amusing experience with the *Tribune*. By way of evaluating the 'REPORT of the COMMITTEE'[d] on the late crisis I sent the paper several articles specifically relating to banking, CURRENCY, etc., which they published as LEADERS.[331] Along comes a BANKER, a self-styled 'BULLIONIST', and writes a letter to the *Tribune*[e] in which he says 1. that never has so COMPREHENSIVE A SUMMARY of the whole subject been PENNED, etc., but 2. raises all kinds of objections and challenges the editors to reply. So reply the POOR DEVILS must needs do[f] and INDEED VERY SAD WORK they made of it. But such incidents can only do me good.

Our friend Jones HAS DECIDEDLY SOLD HIMSELF (BUT AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE PRICE) TO THE BRIGHT COTERIE. The idiot has ruined himself politically without rescuing himself commercially. I'll cut out the articles relating to him in *Reynolds's* and send them to you. But how little his apostasy—the laddie is preaching UNION OF THE MIDDLE AND WORKING CLASSES—has availed him (he has sold *The People's Paper* to the *Morning Star* fellows, has retained a mere couple of columns in the sheet for himself and is, moreover, already at loggerheads with his new allies over the financial terms) will be evident to you from the fact that the day before yesterday he went to Freiligrath and handed him a letter in German in which he asked for £4, failing which he would be 'locked up'. Freiligrath told him to address himself 'TO OUR FRIEND GILPIN'. That Gilpin is MANAGING DIRECTOR of the SWITZERLAND BANK and of the paper with which Jones has incorporated himself.

If you possibly have time, write ANYTHING for Friday. I wrote about the Chinese Treaty yesterday.[332]

Lina[g] is now STAYING with us, having lost her position again. *Salut.* Regards to Lupus.

Your
K. M.

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[a] 'The Russian Agent in Circassia', *The Free Press*, No. 20, 25 August 1858. - [b] See this volume, p. 109. - [c] K. Marx, 'Another Strange Chapter of Modern History'. - [d] *Report from the Select Committee on Bank Acts...* - [e] 'To the Editor of *N. Y. Tribune*', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5420, 4 September 1858. - [f] The editors' reply was published in the same issue as the Banker's letter. - [g] Caroline Schöler

Come what may, you must arrange to spend a few days here over Christmas or the New Year.

According to the latest report in *The Economist*, French trade has got worse rather than better over recent months.[a] (*Give the enclosed to Lupus.*)

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## 184

## ENGELS TO MARX[1]

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 October 1858

Dear Moor,

No doubt you will be writing about the Canning despatch tomorrow[333]; THE THING IS OUT OF MY LATITUDE ALTOGETHER. I have not read the newspapers at all regularly of late and have had a great deal to do, since Ermen has been over there for the past fortnight and I am having to cope with the whole shop on my own. Business here is tremendously good; for the past 6 weeks the spinners have been making 1d *à* $1^1/_4$d more per pound on coarse and medium counts than for the past 3 years and—quite unprecedented this—the local market in yarn rose 1d before the Liverpool chaps were able to get another $^1/_4$d for cotton. During the past 10-12 days the rise has slowed down somewhat, but all the spinners are booked up well ahead and demand is still quite strong enough to sustain prices. If it goes on like this much longer there'll be MOVEMENTS for increased wages. In France, too, the cotton spinners have for sometime been earning more than in recent years (this is positive; I have it from a cotton agent who was over there himself); how things look in other branches of commerce there I can't say exactly, but the state of the Bourse suggests a considerable improvement. All this looks damned rosy and the

[a] 'Accounts Relating to Trade and Navigation for the Seven Months Ended July 31, 1858', *The Economist*, No. 783 (supplement), 28 August 1858.

devil only knows how long it will last unless there is substantial overproduction with India and China in view. Trade must be absolutely splendid in India just now; the last Bombay MAIL but one advised sales—over a 14-day period—of 320,000 pieces of cotton cloth, and the last one a further 100,000. The chaps have already sold the whole lot forward, knowing only that it had been purchased in Manchester and not yet even shipped. Judging by the way the local philistines are talking and also by the state of the market, it seems to me that India and China will provide an immediate excuse for overproduction and, if we have a good winter, it may confidently be expected that kite-flying and the unbridled granting of credit will again go ahead merrily in the spring.

The Jones business is most distasteful. He held a meeting here and the speech he made was entirely in the spirit of the new alliance.[334] After that affair one might almost believe that the English proletarian movement in its old traditional Chartist form must perish utterly before it can evolve in a new and viable form. And yet it is not possible to foresee what the new form will look like. It seems to me, by the way, that there is in fact a connection between Jones' NEW MOVE, seen in conjunction with previous more or less successful attempts at such an alliance, and the fact that the English proletariat is actually becoming more and more bourgeois, so that the ultimate aim of this most bourgeois of all nations would appear to be the possession, *alongside* the bourgeoisie, of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat. In the case of a nation which exploits the entire world this is, of course, justified to some extent. Only a couple of thoroughly bad years might help here, but after the discoveries of gold these are no longer so easy to engineer. For the rest it is a complete mystery to me how the massive overproduction which caused the crisis has been absorbed; never before has such heavy flooding drained away so rapidly.

Reynolds will become a prominent personage thanks to Jones' manoeuvre; he is the only 'educated' man (*vulgo* 'scholar') who still poses as the representative of the proletariat—*au fond*[a] he is as bourgeois as Monsieur Jones has now become, though in a different way. For him this is a GODSEND. Be sure to send me the cuttings from his paper[b] you promised me.

There is still something wrong with Lupus' leg; he still can't walk fast without suffering for it, though he is walking passably well again.

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[a] in the main - [b] *Reynolds's Newspaper*

The little German poetaster whose account of his adventures with Kinkel and Freiligrath appeared last summer in the *Augsburger* is called Isaak Levi, alias Julius Rodenberg, a schoolfellow of Gumpert's.

If at all possible I shall come up for Christmas. It's splendid to hear that you will be arranging money matters with your mater. I hope this has meanwhile been done or is at least cut and dried. I am writing to Freiligrath today about the bill.

Warm regards to your wife and the girls.

Your

F. E.

*Has the manuscript gone off*[a]*?*

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## 185

## MARX TO ENGELS[1]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, Friday, [8 October[b]] 1858

DEAR Frederick,

You will today be receiving two packages AT ONCE since not all the stuff could go into one letter. It consists of:

1. Cuttings from *Reynolds's* relating to Jones. You will see for yourself where Reynolds is conveying FACTS, and opinions based on FACTS, and where he is venting his spleen. Reynolds is a far greater rogue than Jones, but he is rich and a good speculator. The mere FACT THAT HE HAS TURNED AN OUT AND OUT CHARTIST shows that this position must STILL be a 'profitable' one. I have read the speech Jones made in Manchester.[334] Since you did not see his earlier SPEECHES in Greenwich, etc., you couldn't have detected that he is making another TURN and seeking again to bring the 'alliance' more into accord with his former attitude.

2. Pyat's new *lettre*,[c] which contains one or 2 FACTS that are INTERESTING, otherwise in his former manner.[329] The marks in the

[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [b] Date inserted by Engels. - [c] F. Pyat, *Lettre au jury. Défense de la lettre au Parlement et à la Presse.*

margin have been scribbled by my BABY[a] and do not, therefore, have any bearing on the contents.

3. Mazzini's new manifesto.[b] Still the same old jackass. Save that now he is gracious enough not to consider *le salariat*[c] any longer as the absolute and final form. There's nothing funnier than the way he contradicts himself, on the one hand saying that in Italy the revolutionary party is organised according to his views and, on the other, proving after 'his own' fashion not only that it has the nation behind it, but also that there is every outward prospect of success—and finally *fails to explain* why, despite *Dio e Popolo* AND MAZZINI INTO THE BARGAIN, all is calm in Italy.

4. A little cutting from the Cincinnati *Hochwächter* containing a letter from 'General' Willich.

Considering the optimistic turn taken by world trade AT THIS MOMENT (although the vast accumulations of money in the BANKS of London, Paris and New York show that things cannot by any means be ALL RIGHT yet), it is some consolation at least that the *revolution has begun* in Russia, for I regard the convocation of 'NOTABLES' to Petersburg[335] as such a beginning. Similarly in Prussia things are worse than they were in 1847, and the ridiculous DELUSIONS AS TO THE MIDDLE CLASS PROPENSITIES OF THE PRINCE OF PRUSSIA will be exploded in an outburst of rage.[336] It will do the French no harm to see that, even without them, the world 'mov't' (Pennsylvania-fashion).[d] At the same time exceptional movements are on foot amongst the Slavs, notably in Bohemia, which, though counter-revolutionary, yet provide ferment for the movement. The Russian war of 1854-55,[e] wretched though it was and little though its consequences damaged the Russians (but rather the Turks), nevertheless clearly precipitated the present turn of events in Russia. The only circumstance which turned the Germans into mere satellites of France so far as their revolutionary movement was concerned, was the ATTITUDE of Russia. This absurdity will cease with an internal movement in MOSCOVY. As soon as the thing assumes clearer shape there, we shall have proof of the full extent to which the worthy Regierungsrat Haxthausen has allowed himself to be hoodwinked by the 'authorities' and by the peasants those authorities have trained.[337]

There is no denying that bourgeois society has for the second time experienced its 16th century, a 16th century which, I hope,

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[a] Eleanor Marx - [b] Published in *Pensiero ed Azione*, 14 September 1858 (for details see Marx's article' Mazzini's New Manifesto'). - [c] wage labour - [d] Marx has (*pennsylvanisch*) which presumably is a comment on 'mov't' and means: the way Germans in Pennsylvania speak English. - [e] the Crimean war

will sound its death knell just as the first ushered it into the world. The proper task of bourgeois society is the creation of the world market, at least in outline, and of the production based on that market. Since the world is round, the colonisation of California and Australia and the opening up of China and Japan would seem to have completed this process. For us, the difficult QUESTION is this: on the Continent revolution is imminent and will, moreover, instantly assume a socialist character. Will it not necessarily be CRUSHED in this little corner of the earth, since the MOVEMENT of bourgeois society is still in the ASCENDANT over a far greater area?

So far as China in particular is concerned, I have, by carefully analysing the movement of trade since 1836, established *first* that by 1847 the surge in English and American exports between 1844 and 1846 had proved a complete fraud and that, in the 10 years that followed, the average remained pretty stationary whereas imports from China into England and America rose enormously; *secondly*, that the only result of the opening up of the 5 ports[338] and the annexation of Hong Kong was a shift of trade from Canton to Shanghai. The other 'EMPORIUMS' do not count. The main reason for the FAILURE of this market would seem to be the opium trade—to which, indeed, every increase in the export trade to China has invariably been confined; however, another factor is the country's internal economic organisation, its MINUTE AGRICULTURE, etc., to demolish which will take an enormously long time. England's present TREATY with China[332] which, in my view, was worked out by Palmerston jointly with the cabinet in Petersburg and was given to Lord Elgin to take with him on his journey, is A MOCKERY FROM BEGINNING TO END.

Can you give me your sources for the PROGRESS of the Russians in Central Asia? I shall use the article[a] for *The Free Press*, at any rate.

My mother has suddenly and unexpectedly withdrawn into what, to me, is an inexplicable silence. I am inclined to think that third persons have put a spoke in the wheel. But the matter will resolve itself.

Regards to Lupus.

Your
K. M.

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[a] F. Engels, 'Russian Progress in Central Asia'.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 21 October 1858

Dear Moor,

For the past fortnight I've been VERY MUCH PUT OUT OF THE WAY by sundry slings and arrows—a rumpus at my LODGINGS necessitating a move and all that entails and, for good measure, a mass of other tiresome happenings. I haven't even found new LODGINGS yet and am hardly likely to be out of the TROUBLE before the end of next week.

Much obliged for the stuff relating to Jones, Mazzini and Pyat, likewise the 'enthusiastic general'.[a] The latter seems to have surrendered entirely to the vulgar German-American day-dream; *habeat sibi*,[b] let him go hang. *Quoad*[c] Jones, I should say that *Reynolds's* is a bit short on FACTS and presupposes some degree of familiarity with preceding events. This turn things have finally taken is hardly surprising in view of the contemptible way Monsieur Jones has already long been behaving. But simply to throw oneself away like that! Duncombe did at least get his debts paid and a good position into the bargain.

Pyat and Mazzini, even by comparison with formerly, are distinguishing themselves by a surprising poverty of intelligence.

Prospects for Mr Rudolf Schramm seem exceedingly poor. Now as always, the corporal[d] is confiscating newspapers and, if the telegraphic despatches are to be believed, did not even swear an oath on the Constitution yesterday. At any rate, the joyous day-dream which the Prussian bourgeois have deluded each other into believing will very soon evaporate, but I agree with you when you say that this won't be the end of the affair.[336] However, I'm not yet clear as to what course it will take. I should say that the bourgeoisie has not yet got over 1848 and 1849 to such an extent as to summon up sufficient courage simultaneously to confront on the one hand the aristocracy and bureaucracy, and, on the other, proletarian unrest. However, it's possible that, so long as nothing is going on in France, the proletarian movement will for a time seem too slight a threat to be very intimidating; but in that case its

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[a] August Willich - [b] for all I care - [c] As for - [d] William, Prince of Prussia

progress will have to be damned slow. If nothing happens in France—which, in view of the present state of the Crédit mobilier's[45] shares, is hardly to be expected—Prussia might, of course, see the formation of a movement similar to the one in Italy during the years 1846-48, with a proletarian background. But otherwise I'm afraid the bourgeoisie may come round again before it's too late.

The Russian affair is turning out very well.[335] There is unrest in the South now, too. Apropos. Could you obtain for me from Tchorzewsky, or whoever Herzen's agent is now, a few of his more recent publications? After all, these ought to contain something, e.g. his *Голоса изъ Росciи (Voices from Russia)* and the *Колоколъ* (*Bell*). Some material might be found in them, though hardly very much—but certainly now and again in the correspondents' reports, etc., etc.

My sources for the Central Asiatic stuff were Brockhaus' new volume *Unsere Zeit*[a] (partly copied from the *Preußisches Wochenblatt*) and Petermann's geographical *Mittheilungen*.[b] The material is all derived from Russian state papers. If you like I could write an article about the Russian treaty with China[339] (what a slap in the face for England and France!) for Tuesday, or thereabouts,[c] i.e. if not prevented by my exodus. Let me know, and also send your further comments on the connection you suspect exists between the Elgin treaty and Pam.[d] Or perhaps you have already dealt with this yourself?

India is now quite outside my LATITUDE. From the military point of view nothing at all remains to be said. So desultory has everything become that it's not even possible to do a survey of one month's events. Altogether, I'm in a quandary about subjects for articles to send you.

What's the position about the manuscript for Duncker[e]? NOW'S YOUR TIME. Come what may, there'll be a new ministry which will probably be rather more hesitant about *making its début* with the confiscation of a *scientific* work. I hope it has gone off. But let me know for sure, so that I can reassure Lupus too. Last Sunday he arrived at my place very much the worse for drink, but was safely escorted home. Since then his leg has been rather worse again; no doubt it took a knock.

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[a] *Unsere Zeit. Jahrbuch zum Conversations-Lexikon*, Bd. 2. - [b] *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt....* - [c] F. Engels, 'Russia's Successes in the Far East'. - [d] See this volume, p. 347. - [e] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

For the past four weeks, trade here has been going through a sticky period during which the spinners have had their profits cut by $^1/_2$d per lb as a result of a fall in yarn and a rise in cotton. However, they are still doing good business and, if cotton again comes down a bit, as is quite possible, it will take only a minimal increase in demand to restore the situation. Moreover, there are signs here and there of moves by the workers to obtain higher wages and, if business continues good, these will gather force.

How are things going with your mater? Best regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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## 187

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] Friday [22 October 1858][340]

Dear Engels,

I haven't a moment to lose today, for it's already 2 o'clock and I've still not begun the article.[341] I am just writing you these few lines to inform you that you must send something next week. Two articles a week means my spending an enormous amount of time hunting for material. Write about China. Another subject might be the ludicrous RIFLED CANNONS article in today's *Times*.[a]

Yesterday, after ages of silence, a letter arrived from Pieper—from *the hospital in Dalston* (London).

My mother has written me a fatuous letter. She has *postponed* our discussion until such time as *I* 'shall' visit her. Obviously there has been interference by a third party.

[a] 'The theory of war ...', *The Times*, No. 23131, 22 October 1858.

The manuscript[a] has not gone off yet and, Lupus or no Lupus, it will be weeks before I am able to send it.

Your
K. M.

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## 188

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 November 1858

DEAR Frederick,

*'Montalembert'*[b] WILL DO. Yesterday I wrote about Quasimodo's goings-on with the Portuguese.[342]

Enclosed you will find works by the great Blind, who now functions as a 'united' friend of the people. The £100 has also been remitted to him by Kinkel. Keep the stuff. You will observe that Pyat and Mazzini still stand head and shoulders above these German democrats in the matter of style, etc. Blind has also set his hand over here to the trade he learnt on the *Mannheimer Abendzeitung*. He gets a couple of acquaintances in Hamburg to send to *English papers* letters (composed by himself) in which mention is made of the stir created by his anonymous pamphlets.[343] His friends then write more letters, this time to the German press, saying what a fuss has been made by the English papers, etc. That, you see, is what it is to be a man of action.

Paid a visit to 'unhappy' Pieper in hospital. Has a syphilitic boil on his forehead. Otherwise the same old Pieper. Probably won't be cured before the end of December, when he proposes to take a trip to Hanover.

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [b] F. Engels, 'The Prosecution of Montalembert'.

I have the most damnable toothache and so can't write any more today.

Regards to Lupus.

Your
K. M.

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## 189

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 November 1858

DEAR Frederick,

For the past 10 days I have had the most appalling toothache and ulcers all over my mouth, i.e. inflammation of the gums, etc. HENCE IN VERY BAD HUMOUR, these having come on top of all my other troubles.

Your article[a] went off yesterday *as of Friday*, since I had sent nothing on that day. I myself wrote about the new Prussian ministry. Have now sent about six articles on Prussia dated Berlin to the *Tribune*.[b] So I don't imagine that you will be able to have ANY NEW MATTER concerning Prussia for next Tuesday. One subject that might be worth writing about, though in this case I fear our COMMON MATERIAL GOES NOT VERY FAR, would be the growth of industry in Prussia over the last 10 years. But WHENCE obtain the 'material'? As regards Japan I imagine the Yankees know more about it than we do, though in fact their knowledge is always exceedingly superficial. Those engaged in high politics (e.g. Mr Pulszky in the *Tribune*) are blathering away about a possible war in Italy between Austria on the one hand and Bonaparte and Piedmont on the other. I regard all that as nonsense. Might it not, on the whole, be a good idea to say something sensible for once about Bonaparte's

[a] F. Engels, 'The Prosecution of Montalembert'. - [b] K. Marx, 'The King of Prussia's Insanity' (2 articles), 'The Prussian Regency', 'Affairs in Prussia' (2 articles), 'The New Ministry' (2 articles).

*military* position vis-à-vis Germany generally? If you don't like that topic, do something on France, say, or Russia, or ANYTHING ELSE.

I had forgotten to enclose Blind's 'pamphlets'.[343] Unfortunately I can't lay my hands on the most idiotic one, *Aufruf an Schleswig-Holstein*—yes, here it is at last. In addition I am sending you a speech by that clown Edgar Bauer from the London *Neue Zeit.*[a] Keep the things.

Next week I have to pay more than one pound interest at the pawnshop. As it's impossible for me to draw on the *Tribune* just now, I'd be grateful if you would send me the pound.

Mind you write and tell me your opinion of Mr E. Bauer's 'Philosophy of History'.

*Salut.* Regards to Lupus.

Your
K. M.

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## 190

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

### IN BERLIN

London, 12 November 1858
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

*Post tot pericula!*[b] My answer to your last letter[c] was held up by an infamous toothache. I didn't answer your letter from Frankfurt[d] because you gave no address.

Well, *d'abord: beatus ille*[e] who is not seen through Köster's eyes but who sees with the eyes of Köster. I and Freiligrath had explained at length to Köster himself that throughout the summer

[a] E. Bauer, 'Vorträge über die Geschichte der Politik...', *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 20, 6 November 1858. - [b] After so many dangers! - [c] of 22 October 1858 - [d] This letter is not extant. - [e] first: Blessed is he (Horace, *Epodes*, II, 1).

the most severe liver trouble had virtually incapacitated me for work. And as for my 'splendid circumstances', Freiligrath and I had deemed fit to conjure up the brightest of pictures for the benefit of this average German bourgeois, while altogether concealing the darker side, since we both opined that even the best bourgeois of this type could not fail to derive a certain malicious satisfaction from the knowledge of what the *fuorusciti's*[a] circumstances were really like. So FAR Köster.

As regards the delay in sending off the manuscript,[b] I was first prevented from doing so by illness, and subsequently had to catch up on the other 'bread and butter' work. But the real reason is this: the material was to hand and all that I was concerned with was the form. But to me the style of everything I wrote seemed tainted with liver trouble. And I have a twofold motive for not allowing this work to be spoiled on medical grounds:

1. It is the product of 15 years of research, i.e. the best years of my life.

2. In it an important view of social relations is scientifically expounded for the first time. Hence I owe it to the Party that the thing shouldn't be disfigured by the kind of heavy, wooden style proper to a disordered liver.

My aim is not to produce an elegant exposé, but only to write as I usually do, which, during these months of sickness, was impossible—at least on this subject, although over the same period I was compelled to write, and hence did write, the equivalent of at least 2 printed volumes of English leading articles *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis.*[c]

I believe that even if someone less intelligent than you were to acquaint Mr Duncker with this state of affairs, he could not but sanction a mode of conduct which, so far as he as a publisher was concerned, merely signified the endeavour to give him the best value for his money.

I shall have finished about 4 weeks from now, having only just begun the actual writing.

There is a further circumstance which, however, you should not put to him until the arrival of the manuscript. The first section, *'Capital in General'*, is likely to run to *2 instalments* since I have discovered while elaborating it that here, at the very juncture where the most abstract aspect of political economy is to be discussed, undue brevity would render the thing indigestible to the public. But on the other hand this second instalment must come

[a] refugees' - [b] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [c] about everything under the sun and more

out *at the same time* as the first. This is demanded by their intrinsic coherence, and the whole effect depends upon it.

*Apropos.* In your letter from Frankfurt you said nothing about your economic work.[278] As far as our rivalry is concerned, I don't believe that the German public suffers from an *embarras de richesses* in this field. IN FACT economics as a science in the German sense of the word has yet to be tackled and to that end not just the two of us but a dozen will be needed. I hope, at any rate, that my work will result in drawing a number of better brains into the same field of research.

I should be infinitely obliged to you if you could write to me from time to time about conditions in Prussia and send me the relevant newspaper clippings.

My wife sends her regards and says she is afraid Köster is as mistaken about 'her beauty' as he is about her husband's health.

Freiligrath likewise sends his regards. He is completely immersed in his profession of banker. Hence you should not hold his silence against him.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 191

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 November 1858

DEAR Frederick,

Yesterday I wrote about Prussia.[a] So for Friday you have all the rest of the world at your disposal.

Have received the £1. The 'particular' pickle in which I find myself at the moment arises from the fact that I was compelled to pay out all AT ONCE more than £8 to the newspaper man, who had

[a] 'Affairs in Prussia'

been giving me credit for over a year. I'm stone broke, which in this weather is not COMFORTABLE. In Trier, my sister[a] would now seem to have frustrated my mother's perfectly rational INTENTIONS, or at least to have postponed THEIR REALISATION *sine die.*

Blind was here the day before yesterday with wife.[b] It was over a year since I had seen this FAMILY. From them I learnt sundry pieces of gossip.

1. Mrs Kinkel threw herself out of the window a week ago last Monday and has since been buried. Gottfried,[c] with a sublimity all his own, attended the post-mortem and delivered an 'oration' at the graveside. Freiligrath is so moved that he'll shun me, as a 'frivolous' man, for a fortnight at least.

2. Fröbel is over here. Has married a rich wife. Is returning to America. According to him Russia and America must share the world between them, a point of view that makes him feel very superior. He enthuses over American 'luxury' and GENTLEMANLIKENESS, despises the Germans and gives practical proof of this by engaging in the German slave trade to Central America. It's really too comical that, because deeply impressed by bourgeois society in its American reality, this son of Rudolstadt should believe himself more 'advanced' than the 'REST OF EUROPE'. Once they HAVE FOUND THEIR BREAD AND CHEESE, all these scoundrels require is some blasé pretext to bid farewell to the struggle.

3. Asinine Ruge, in a piece for Prutz, has proved that 'Shakespeare was not a dramatic poet' because he 'had no philosophical system', whereas Schiller, being a Kantian, is a TRULY 'dramatic poet'.[d] Prutz then wrote a 'vindication of Shakespeare'.[e] In addition, Ruge described Moleschott in the American papers as 'a silly ass', whereupon Heinzen sacked him from the *Pionier.* However, the old bounder is now finding a place for his inanities in Börnstein's *Anzeiger des Westens.*

4. The foolish Ewerbeck returned to Paris two years ago, corresponds regularly with Blind. Had let himself be inveigled by Ribbentrop into marrying Ribbentrop's maid, only to discover that the former was tumbling the latter, after which came divorce, lawsuit, etc. He was assistant in a Paris library, and was sacked by the priests. Writes to say he only has 1,200 frs left, threatens to come to England having read in the *Univers,* etc., that 'socialism and atheism' are flourishing in the latter country.

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[a] Emilie Marx - [b] Friederike Blind - [c] Gottfried Kinkel - [d] A. Ruge, 'Idealismus und Realismus im Reich des Ideals', *Deutsches Museum,* Nos. 14, 15, 19, 1 and 8 April, 6 May 1858. - [e] R. E. Prutz, 'Literaturgeschichte', *Deutsches Museum,* No. 24, 10 June 1858.

5. Dr Freund is said to be so down on his luck that he has allegedly approached people in the street for a shilling.

6. Loutish Landolphe has reappeared in England as a beggar and through Blind's intervention, has been engaged by Dr Bronner at a German school in Bradford.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 192

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 November 1858

DEAR Frederick,

ARTICLE received.[a] VERY GOOD. *Quoad*[b] Bonaparte, I have lately dealt with two separate points—the SHAM PROVOCATION of England in the Portuguese affair[342] and how the fellow is GENERALLY avenging Waterloo[217] only in so far as he can do so by SHAM DEMONSTRATIONS within the 'limits of the English alliance' and hence, IN FACT, with the permission of the English government, although he is, in reality, England's underling. Secondly, his edict *re* the CORN-GRANARIES,[c] by which this 'socialist' proposes to remedy the ruinously LOW PRICES OF CORN—dangerously low, in view of the grumbles of the PEASANTRY—by creating an artificial demand at the BAKERS' expense.[d] GENERALLY, A VERY DANGEROUS EXPERIMENT THIS, TO RAISE THE PRICE OF CORN THROUGH GOVERNMENT UKASES. Increasing the cost of bread will do more harm to his popularity in the towns than it can do good in the country.

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[a] F. Engels, 'Europe in 1858'. - [b] As regards - [c] Napoleon III's decree on grain reserves of 16 November 1858, *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 322, 18 November 1858. - [d] K. Marx, 'Project for the Regulation of the Price of Bread in France'.

I have not written about the GENERAL RISING of the bourgeoisie in Europe but did, of course, allude to it in what I wrote about Prussia. I have dealt with the Russian peasant movement ABOUT twice in 6 months,[a] the second time simply to show that on the first occasion my diagnosis was correct.

As regards the reform movement in England, all I have discussed latterly is Bright's meeting in Birmingham,[b] the gist of the article being THAT HIS PROGRAMME IS A REDUCTION OF THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER TO THE MIDDLE CLASS STANDARD.[344] Earlier on, ABOUT 8-12 WEEKS ago (I think Parliament was actually still sitting), a piece to the effect that WHIGGISM MUST DISSOLVE AND COALESCE WITH TORYISM INTO THE PARTY OF *THE* ARISTOCRACY.[c] That is all.

My wife is copying the manuscript[d] and it's hardly likely to go off before the end of this month. The reasons for the delay: long intervals of physical indisposition which, with the cold weather, has now come to an end. Too much domestic and financial TROUBLE. Finally, the first section is now longer because the two initial chapters, of which the *first, The Commodity,* did not appear at all in the rough draft while the *second, Money, or Simple Circulation,* was only sketched in the briefest outline, have been written at greater length than I originally planned.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

Mr Edgar Bauer is now the real, and Mr Lout and Weitlingian Scherzer the nominal, editor of the London *Neue Zeit.* Mr Edgar, of course, has a great deal to say on the subject of Mr Edgar and his lectures to the working men,[e] for he himself writes about everything concerning Mr Edgar. This CLOWN deems it necessary to take a revolutionary TURN. He presided at the Robert Blum ceremony. In an essay in the last issue the CLOWN makes the discovery that 'imperialism' has now been introduced into Prussia

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[a] K. Marx, 'Political Parties in England.—The Situation in Europe', 'The Question of the Abolition of Serfdom in Russia'. - [b] A reference to J. Bright's speech at a meeting of Birmingham constituents on 27 October 1858 (the meeting was reported in *The Times,* No. 23136, 28 October 1858). - [c] Marx expressed this idea in his article 'Political Parties in England.—The Situation in Europe'. - [d] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* - [e] E. Bauer, 'Vorträge über die Geschichte der Politik...', *Die Neue Zeit,* No. 20, 6 November 1858.

in constitutional form.[a] This same issue is not uninteresting by reason of an article from Struve's *Sociale Republik*[b] which was, however, written over here by a certain Feibel and in which Freiligrath, on the occasion of the publication of his poems in America, had himself extolled AS THE TRUE HERO OF THE PROLETARIAN PARTY.

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## 193

## MARX TO ENGELS[20]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 11 December 1858

Dear Engels,

Can you let me have an account of Bright's MEETING by Tuesday, so worded as to make it clear THAT THE WRITER WAS AT MANCHESTER?

Herewith Kinkeliana.[345] Freiligrath seems to think that, because the Kinkel woman has broken her neck, her husband has become a great man, or at very least a noble one. So melodramatically did Kinkel organise the funeral—with 'trembling hand' and 'laurel wreath', etc.—that Freiligrath, who could not wring from his lyre a single note of sorrow for the 'tragic' events, either in his own party (as at Daniels' death) or in the world GENERALLY (Cayenne,[346] Orsini AND SO FORTH), suddenly goes and hymns the wretched humbug. From *The Daily Telegraph* cutting you will see how the coterie is exploiting the death of the NASTY, 'acrimonious shrew' (for such was the affected, speciously clever, essentially coarse personage whose meanness was GLARINGLY displayed in, e.g., her ingratitude to Strodtmann and to Mrs von Brüningk once she had squeezed the latter dry, etc.) in just the same way as the creature herself exploited 'KINKEL'S HAT, SHOT THROUGH AND THROUGH', and wrote to Germany from London: *'Have you an idea what it is to be looked upon as a sort of mother to all emigrants?'* That was what

[a] E. Bauer, 'Preußens constitutioneller Imperialismus', *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 22, 27 November 1858. - [b] [G. Struve,] 'Bildung macht frei!', *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 22, 27 November 1858.

the creature wrote at a time when she and Gottfried, AS A SORT OF BEGGAR, were knocking at the doors of all the Jews in the City.

And there's something else I don't like in the palliative letter Freiligrath wrote me. I am expected to regard his opposition to the general craze for amnesty, i.e., IN FACT, to Rudolf Schramm's idiosyncrasy, as something revolutionary. But a few weeks ago our Freiligrath got himself *naturalised* English and would be a fool indeed were he to yearn nostalgically for the post of a badly paid clerk in Germany so long as those nice Crédits mobiliers[45] LAST. Very vividly do I remember Mrs Freiligrath—at a time when people were already drivelling about amnesty but the GENERAL BANK OF SWITZERLAND had as yet no place in the ROYAL EXCHANGE BUILDINGS—most earnestly seeking to persuade me not to raise any objection to the acceptance of amnesty.

All these people sense THAT THERE IS SOMETHING MOVING AGAIN. And, of course, are pushing their way onto the stage bearing banners of liberty.

Keep the enclosed poem and letter.

In this house things look MORE DREARY AND DESOLATE THAN EVER. Since my wife cannot even arrange Christmas festivities for the children—instead, she is beset on all sides by dunning letters, on top of which she is having to copy my manuscript[a] and, in between whiles, to run errands to the pawnshop in town—the atmosphere is gloomy in the extreme. Moreover, my wife is quite right when she says that, after all the *misère* she has had to go through, the revolution will only make things worse and afford her the gratification of seeing all the humbugs from here once again celebrating their victories over there. Women are like that. And the womanish behaviour of Freiligrath, etc., and other acquaintances justly embitters her. *À la guerre comme à la guerre,*[b] she says. But THERE IS NO *guerre.* It's day-to-day routine.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* - [b] One must take the rough with the smooth (literally: that's how it is in wartime).

## 194

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 16 December 1858

Dear Engels,

MY BEST THANKS. How welcome the money was you will see from the enclosed letter, which arrived at the same time. It is my belief that Schapper and I and 100 others know better what it is to 'fight' in London than do the 'scattered remnants' beside the old harridan's[a] grave. The Heckscher story calls for further investigation. Nice of Freiligrath to give the signal for a Kinkel REVIVAL in Germany. For Lupus' amusement I enclose some of my Berlin GOSSIP articles[b] which I have cut out of the *Tribune*; also your article on Montalembert, which Dana included under 'Paris', so that in *that* particular issue of the *Tribune* we represent the whole of Europe AT ONCE.[c]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

News will soon reach Lupus that the manuscript[d] has gone off, but I'll be blowed if anyone else in similar circumstances and with as rotten a liver could have got it done as soon.

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[a] Johanna Kinkel - [b] See this volume, p. 352. - [c] A reference to Engels' article 'The Prosecution of Montalembert' and Marx's 'The New Ministry'. - [d] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.*

# 195

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 17 December [1858]

DEAR Frederick,

£2 received with THANKS.

I knew about Blind's confection (just the kind of thing, as he told me himself, that Hecker used to do), although I wasn't, of course, aware of some of the nicer details. *D'abord,*[a] this *Telegraph Morning Express* is edited by several English Seilers, and all its telegraphic despatches, or at any rate the better part of them, are *reprinted* from London morning papers. I can vouch for the FACT that Blind smuggled a bogus 'TELEGR. DESPATCH' (dated Brussels) into *The Morning Advertiser.* This was, OF COURSE, instantly appropriated by the *Telegraph Morning Express.* Secondly, Dr Bronner is not merely *an* but *the* agent of Blind, [he] having 'no other' to send. I also believe it was he himself who 'decreed' that [the missive] be sent to Lupus, since Bronner never does anything [without] official sanction. In today's *Daily Telegraph* also, you will find in the letter from Berlin: *'Similar petitions have been presented to the (Holstein) Diet by the German merchants resident at Bradford and Liverpool.'* The industry of these little Baden fleas hatched in the democratic midden is touching. Even the Ancients indulged in sundry edifying reflections on the subject of flea jumps.

I've had a satisfying experience with the *Tribune.* For months that rotten sheet had published as LEADERS all my articles on China (a complete history of Anglo-Chinese trade,[b] etc.) and had even been complimented on them. But when the *official* text of the Anglo-Chinese treaty[332] was finally released, I wrote an article in which I said *inter alia* that the Chinese 'would now legalise the import of opium, likewise put an IMPORT DUTY on opium and, LASTLY, might even permit the cultivation of opium actually in China', and thus the 'SECOND OPIUM WAR' would SOONER OR LATER deal a DEADLY BLOW to the English OPIUM TRADE, and notably to the INDIAN EXCHEQUER.[c] WELL! Mr Dana printed this article as being from an 'OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT' in London, and himself wrote a bombastic LEADER

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[a] First - [b] K. Marx. 'History of the Opium Trade' (two articles). - [c] K. Marx, 'The British and Chinese Treaty'.

*refuting* his 'OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT'.[a] Now, [the day before yesterday][b] (on *Monday*, RATHER), my predictions were confirmed *word for word* in the HOUSE OF COMMONS by Fitzgerald and Stanley in the name of the Ministry.[347] So on Tuesday, qua 'OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT' I wrote a SOMEWHAT mocking though, of course, restrained piece about my 'castigator'.[348]

Apropos. My brother-in-law,[c] a tall and tedious if worthy Dutchman, is coming up to Manchester on business. And notably to ascertain the solvency of certain individuals. Send me *your private address*, as he wishes to contact you. But avoid any allusion to my PRIVATE AFFAIRS.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Little by little philistine Freiligrath is coughing up sundry things about Gottfried.[d] 1. that Gottfried is sending Gerstenberg to see various MERCHANTS in the City, suggesting they subscribe to the *Hermann*. After all, says he, the poor man has got to 'live' and make up for the *'loss'* incurred through the death of his wife. 2. He tells me that Gottfried, immediately after the Mockel woman's death, approached him and asked whether (and how big) *a deal* might be done with Cotta over her literary estate. 'After all', says Gottfried, 'I enjoy *the favour* of the public.'

It could be that Blind himself is again hoodwinking *The Morning Advertiser* and getting friend *Schütz* to send bogus telegraphic despatches from Brussels.

*Cluss* has married someone he met at Dr Wiss's in Baltimore.

*Apropos*, on the strength of Blind's recommendation, Bronner has found Landolphe the *grec*[e] a schoolmaster's post in Bradford.

Mr *Liebknecht* has introduced Edgar Bauer into the Workers' Society.[50] I WATCH HIM.

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[a] 'Our London correspondent suggests...', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5455, 15 October 1858 - [b] 'the day before yesterday' is deleted. - [c] Johann Carl Juta - [d] Kinkel - [e] swindler

## 196

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 December 1858

Dear Engels,

Yesterday I wrote about Buchanan's MESSAGE[349]—REVIEWED the English PAPERS' criticism thereof.[a] I should be very glad if you could let me have an article by Friday on, say, Campbell's latest campaign, or ANYTHING ELSE. Since the manuscript[b] must go off to Duncker before the end of this year there is, quite literally, no time to lose.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 197

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 28 December 1858

A Happy New Year!
Ditto to Lupus.
HOW WITH SERVIA?[350]
*Salut.*

K. Marx

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[a] J. Buchanan, 'The President's Message to the XXXVth Congress', *The Times*, No. 23181, 20 December 1858. The paper reviewed the 'Message' in the same issue, in a leader beginning with the words, 'There is nothing in the Message of President Buchanan...'. - [b] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

# 198

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 30 December 1858

DEAR Frederick,

Of COLONEL Hodges it has been observed—and this puts the seal on Pam's participation in the Serbian affair—that he was a sort of Palmerstonian Bangya.

I shall for a time again be writing articles on economics for the *Tribune* and also on Prussia,[a] so all the rest of the world is at your disposal. In addition, yesterday I wrote about Ireland and the CONSPIRACIES there and the government's DODGE.[b] Whenever I deal with a theme other than the two mentioned above I shall always advise you.

Will you be so good as to send me Lupus' private address.

*Salut*, and for the 2nd time, this time seasonably, a Happy New Year.

Your
K. M.

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[a] This probably refers to Marx's articles 'Project for the Regulation of the Price of Bread in France' and 'Affairs in Prussia' (three instalments). - [b] 'The Excitement in Ireland'

# 1859

## 199

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 January 1859[a]

Dear Engels,

Will you be so good as to send me Lupus' address.

If you have done with Serbia,[350] there is fresh material READY to hand in the (proposed) changes in the *Landwehr* in Prussia, on which I shall have to report.[351] Today's *Times* contains a detailed account dated Vienna of the latest *brouhaha* in Serbia.[b]

While Mr Edgar Bauer is editor[c] under THE AUSPICES of Scherzer and is even adopting 'class contradictions' and giving them a Berlin twist, Mr Gottfried Kinkel, who can't afford to let slip the opportunity presented by the Kinkel REVIVAL, is bringing out a weekly in London, to wit, the *Hermann* (not the Cheruscan, I presume, but Goethe's SIMPLETON).[352] Freiligrath, or so it *seems* from a brief note he sent me, is already REPENTANT of the BLUNDER[d] he committed. If you write, tell him (but *most politely,* OF COURSE, for he complains about the *crude, brash tone of your letters*) that in Manchester there is much talk among the Germans about *his* alliance with Kinkel; you might also slip in Heckscher's anecdote, quoting your source. At *this* particular time it is *of moment to us* that Freiligrath should break with these swine for good.

Apropos, Willich is now editing the gymnasts' paper in Cincinnati.[e] Was 'selected' as editor there. He accepted the appointment (doubtless obtained for him by Cluss so as to rid himself of the man) in a superb circular letter in which he says

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[a] 1858 in the original - [b] 'The Revolution in Servia', *The Times*, No. 23196, 6 January 1859. - [c] of *Die Neue Zeit* - [d] See this volume, pp. 359-60. - [e] *Die Turn-Zeitung*

that the time has come for him to take charge of propaganda since the people are not in need of military leaders just now.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 200

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 January 1859

DEAR Frederick,

Herewith letter from Freiligrath. (I had written him something about the Kinkel affair.) Prospectus for the *Hermann.*[353] Mr Willich's letter.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 201

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, between 13 and 15 January 1859][354]

Dear Engels,

If possible, let me have an article by Tuesday (I would then do *next Friday's*[a]); this is *crucial,* as I'd like to be able to send Duncker

[a] On Tuesdays and Fridays Marx sent articles to New York.

my manuscript[a] by Wednesday, which would be impossible unless I have Tuesday free.

The manuscript amounts to ABOUT 12 sheets of print (3 instalments) and—don't be bowled over by this—although entitled *Capital in General*, these instalments contain ***nothing*** as yet on the subject of capital, but only the two chapters: **1.** *The Commodity*, **2.** *Money or Simple Circulation*. As you can see, the part that was worked out in detail (in May, when I was staying with you[318]) is not to appear at all yet.[355] This is good on two counts. If the thing is a success, the third chapter on capital can follow very soon. Secondly, since the matter in the published part will, by its very nature, prevent the curs from confining their criticism solely to tendentious vituperation, and since the whole thing has an EXCEEDINGLY serious and scientific air, the canaille will later on be compelled to take my views on capital RATHER SERIOUSLY. Besides, I believe that, all practical considerations apart, the chapter on money will be of interest to experts.

I have had to alter your article on Bonaparte-Italy[b] somewhat, having myself written about the *same* subject on Tuesday.[c] Among the AGENCIES which are egging Bonaparte on you forget *Russia*. Pam did not visit Paris for nothing, nor were the Russian MOVES IN ITALY without significance, nor yet Russia's coquetry with Bonaparte since the Peace of Paris.[356] If Russia does no more than compel the Austrians, through Bonaparte, to sack their minister Buol and replace him with a Pan-Slav Russian agent, she will have achieved a great deal.

As Berlin correspondent I have promised an article on the *Prussian army* which you might do ONE OF THESE DAYS.[351]

*In the American press Ruge is emerging as the fanatical champion of the Prince of Prussia. Schramm*[d] has been given permission to return to Prussia (the warrant against him having been withdrawn) and to appear before a new jury without undergoing preventive detention.

Your
K. M.

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[a] *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'The Money Panic in Europe'. - [c] K. Marx, 'The War Prospect in Europe'. - [d] Rudolf Schramm

## 202

## MARX TO ENGELS[82]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 January [1859]

Dear Engels,

The ill-fated manuscript[a] is ready but can't be sent off as I haven't a FARTHING for postage or insurance. This last is essential since I have no copy of it. Hence I must ask you to let me have a little money by Monday (POST OFFICE IN TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD CORNER). If you could send £2 it would be most welcome as I have put off paying various small tradesmen until Monday, after which any further postponements will be absolutely out of the question. As you can imagine, it is far from pleasant for me to burden you again just now when you have paid, or have got to pay, Freiligrath's bill. BUT IRON NECESSITY. Next week—as I am giving myself a week's holiday *quoad*[b] the *next part* of the manuscript—I shall see if I can't manage to pull off some financial coup or other. I don't suppose anyone has ever written about 'money' when so short of the stuff. Most *autores* on this SUBJECT have been on terms of the utmost amity with THE SUBJECT OF THEIR RESEARCHES.

Should the thing prove a success in Berlin, there's a chance that I might get out of all this mess. It's HIGH TIME I did.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

If the thing proves a success in Berlin, it might be possible to strike a bargain with a London publisher in respect of an *English* translation, and there's no comparison between what one is paid over here and in Berlin. Besides, such an EVENT would dreadfully annoy our worthy enemies. The canaille believed that we were both of us done for—the more so just now when Mr Clown 'Edgar Bauer' has 'supplanted' us 'in the eyes of working-men', as Gottfried Kinkel is telling all and sundry in the City. With every word they publish, the canaille are making out their own death warrants and well may they wonder what 'SORT OF LIFE' we have preserved.

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [b] as regards

I'm uncertain whether I should mark the thing 'THE AUTHOR RESERVES TO HIMSELF THE RIGHT OF TRANSLATION'. (As you know, there's a copyright agreement between Prussia and England.) My aversion to all humbug and semblance of vanity or pretentiousness says 'No'. On the other hand my own interests say 'Yes'. The more so since some scrawl about monetary matters is published almost weekly in England. WHAT DO YOU THINK, SIR? This point requires an immediate answer since I myself must decide by Monday.

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## 203

## ENGELS TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH[357]

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

Manchester, 25 January 1859

Dear Freiligrath,

The bloody boy who was to have got the POST OFFICE ORDER yesterday idled away the time instead, which is why the 22/- will only arrive today. Many thanks for your trouble and for the outlay.

As to the *Neueste Rheinische Zeitung*,[358] due provision has been made, never fear. We have in the meanwhile learnt a great deal and forgotten nothing,[359] and that's more than the others can say. Of this you could find no better illustration than the *Hermann* (clearly a misprint for *Gottfried*, otherwise the title's meaningless[a]), which you recently described as the *Rheinische Zeitung*'s John the Baptist. It's a long time since I've read rubbish as insipid, namby-pamby, tail-wagging, lavish of compliments, conciliatory, propitiatory and atrociously written as is found in this, the latest product of the pseudo-noble sometime *Maikäfer*[360] which, to judge by its style and content, is aimed solely at and tailored to the tastes of the Camberwell philistines and the German ditto in the City. The man has even forgotten what little he managed to pick up in 1848 and has become a real bourgeois windbag. Now, since it was you who brought up the topic of this cheery customer,

[a] An allusion to Gottfried Kinkel's weekly *Hermann*.

presently touting round his 'grief', I will not conceal from you the fact that I have recently been asked by various philistines how it is that you have formed such a bond of friendship with Monsieur Kinkel. Though an exaggeration, this placed me, as you can imagine, in something of a quandary. Needless to say, I attributed it largely to the malicious exaggeration with which Kinkel and clique had seized on what was a mere encounter with you and blazoned it in all the papers as an offensive and defensive alliance—directed against us—and this I roundly denied. As for your social intercourse with the worthy citizen, all I could do was crack bad jokes, such as that, since poets live in a world apart, Kinkel could only pass himself off as a poet by citing his intercourse with you, etc. Suffice it to say that, although a poor diplomat, I succeeded well enough in defending the party's position. Moreover, it eventually transpired that one of the Jewish females who patronised the gentle Gottfried when he was last up here, had said: 'Ah, just let Kinkel, the naughty man, visit Manchester again—he seduced a girl of good family in London and keeps her as his mistress, and that's the reason why his wife....'[a]

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## 204

## MARX TO ENGELS[361]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, 26 January 1859]

DEAR Frederick,

The £2 safely received; the manuscript[b] gone off; wrote ECONOMICAL REVIEW for the *Tribune* yesterday.

More tomorrow, and SOMETHING VERY AMUSING TOO.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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[a] The manuscript breaks off here. - [b] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

## 205

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 27 January 1859

Dear Moor,

I look forward keenly to your communication. Meanwhile herewith some bits of Paris gossip.

Yesterday I wrote to Freiligrath about Kinkel, the pretext being provided by the good fellow himself. I had written to him about the matter of the bill, adding a few comments on the political and economic aspects of the international situation, and this inspired him to declare: 'The *Hermann* will undoubtedly be followed one day by a *Neueste Rheinische Zeitung*.'[358] What led him to mention Kinkel's rag I cannot imagine, unless he hoped to induce me to speak my mind on the subject of Johann Gottfried,[a] in which case he was not disappointed. I must say that his attempt to establish some sort of connection between ourselves and that rotten little paper annoyed me very much. The day before yesterday I tried twice to write him a letter,[b] but it was too crude, I was too angry, so I left the thing over until yesterday. I treated *him* very decently, but Monsieur Gottfried with considerable asperity. I told him that Kinkel was exploiting him in order to establish his credentials as a poet, since his own literary fame, spuriously acquired as a result of his wife's importunate advertising, would not otherwise endure; that the *Hermann* had only served to increase the contempt I had always felt for this vacuous, affected, dandyish jackanapes, and that I'd not forgiven the 'cur' the dirty tricks which he had played on you and me in America and was too cowardly to admit.[362] It was a three page letter; as I said, Freiligrath can have no complaint about the way I treated *him* but, indirectly and by reading between the lines, he will learn a great deal. I'm curious to see what he will do.

I have had another visitor in the person of a Wuppertal poet and distant relation[c] of mine; in London he made straight for Freiligrath, of course, who wrote saying that he seemed to be a nice chap. I replied that he was at any rate robust, healthy and neither vain nor affected—qualities which, modern German poets

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[a] Gottfried Kinkel. Engels ironically calls him Johann after his wife, Johanna Kinkel. - [b] See this volume, pp. 370-71. - [c] Carl Siebel

being what they are, made up for a comparative lack of talent. Freiligrath told this chap that his salary was a thousand pounds.

I was terribly annoyed at Freiligrath's surreptitious introduction of the *Hermann* into his letter, but he'll never play another trick of that kind on me, you may be sure of that.

Many regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

Just for a joke I enclose one of the rejected drafts of my letter to Freiligrath.

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## 206

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 January 1859

DEAR Engels,

All manner of TROUBLES prevented me from writing to you yesterday. Today is article day.[a] Till tomorrow, then. But I enclose the 'joke'.

I am writing today about Clotilde mild, angelic child.[363] I expect an article from you on Tuesday. Couldn't you write about the cotton trade, industrial prospects, etc., in Manchester? I deliberately left this field open in my economic article on Tuesday.[361]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Freiligrath showed me your letter. It's *splendidly* written.

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[a] 28 January was a Friday. On Tuesdays and Fridays Marx sent articles to New York.

## 207

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[1]

### IN MILWAUKEE

London, 1 February 1859
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Weiwi,

Your letter is dated 28 February 1858, arrived here (or at any rate reached me) at the end of May and is being answered in February 1859.[321] This is easily explained: During the whole of the spring and summer I suffered from liver trouble and it was only with difficulty that I found time for essential work. Hence such writing as was not absolutely necessary was OUT OF THE QUESTION. Later in the year, however, I was overwhelmed with work.

Well, to start with, I must convey cordial regards to you and yours from all members of the family, likewise from Engels, Lupus and Freiligrath. In particular I would wish to be most kindly remembered to your dear wife.

Engels is still in Manchester, also Lupus, who is giving lessons and doing moderately well; Freiligrath is MANAGER of a branch of the Swiss Crédit mobilier[364] in London; Dronke is a commission agent in Glasgow; Imandt (I'm not sure if you know him) is a teacher in Dundee; our dear friend Weerth died in Haiti,[365] alas,—an *irreplaceable* loss.

Things have gone badly rather than well for me during the past 2 years; for on the one side the good old *Tribune* made the crisis a pretext for halving my income although in times of prosperity they never gave me an extra penny; on the other, the time demanded by my work on political economy (of which more anon) compelled me (if with a heavy heart) to turn down very remunerative offers made me in London and Vienna. But I have got to pursue my object through thick and thin and not allow bourgeois society to turn me into a MONEY-MAKING MACHINE.

Mr Cluss was over here last May. I happened to be staying with Engels in Manchester at the time. Cluss called on my wife and accepted an invitation for the following day; and who failed to put in an appearance? Why, Cluss! He [dis]appeared from London

and never showed his face again. Instead he sent my wife a scrawl to which 'embarrassment' had given an uncouth *tournure*.[a] He didn't turn up in Manchester either. Subsequently we learned that he had allied himself with Mr Willich. This, then, also explains the mysterious discontinuation of his correspondence. If we were conceited we would feel duly chastened by the news that a fool like Willich had been able to oust us from the good graces of a shrewd chap like Cluss. But as it was, the whole story was so funny that it eliminated any bitter feelings.

I have broken with Ernest Jones.[245] Despite my repeated warnings, and although I had predicted exactly what would happen—namely that he would ruin himself and disorganise the Chartist Party—he took the course of trying to come to terms with the BOURGEOIS RADICALS. HE IS NOW A RUINED MAN, but the harm he has done to the English proletariat is incalculable. The fault will, of course, be rectified, but a most favourable moment for action has been missed. Imagine an army whose general goes over to the enemy camp on the eve of battle.

You'll have heard that Mr Kinkel has become a famous man again because Mrs Kinkel fell out of a window and broke her neck. The 'cheery' customer—never has he felt so jolly as since the death of the old Mockel woman—promptly decided to tout round his 'grief'. Freiligrath allowed himself to be misled by Gottfried's melodramatic scenes into writing a poem about Johanna[b] which he already regrets. For he has come to realise, firstly, that Gottfried is merry as a grig, and secondly that he immediately used the poem to disseminate to all and sundry the lie that Freiligrath had entered into an alliance with him and broken with us. A week later, in an attempt to exploit the Kinkel REVIVAL sparked off by his wife's death, Gottfried published in London a weekly dubbed the *Hermann*; unless this is the *Hermann* sung by Schönaich[c] and crowned by Gottsched,[366] the title ought to be *Gottfried*. In the first place the rag preaches peace with God and the world,[d] and secondly it is nothing more than a puff for Mr Gottfried vis-à-vis German Philistia in the City of London. Nothing more pitiful has ever seen the light of day, and we can thank our stars that the 10 years of exile have so completely laid bare the hollowness of our democratic friends. The *Kölnische Zeitung* is witty and daring by comparison.

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[a] twist - [b] F. Freiligrath, 'Nach Johanna Kinkels Begräbnis', 20 November 1858. - [c] Ch. O. von Schönaich, *Hermann, oder das befreyte Deutschland*... - [d] A pun: Gottfried (Kinkel's surname)=Gott (God)+Friede (peace)

What is really choice about Kinkel's exploitation of his wife's death is that the latter creature, who was suffering from heart disease, was outraged because our suave parson had seduced a Jewess by the name of Herz, and generally treated her 'coldly'. In Manchester the Jewish women swear that this is the reason why Johanna Mockel of blessed memory fell out of the window. Anyhow, this would show that, inane though Gottfried may be in other respects, he is cunning enough to exploit public CREDULITY. But that's enough about this humbug.

The wind of revolution which is blowing across the Continent of Europe has, of course, awakened all the great men[367] from their winter sleep.

At the same time as this letter, I am sending one—indeed, my first—to Komp. I have given up associations—*organised* ones. They were, I thought, compromising for our friends in Germany. *Over here*, on the other hand, after the dirty tricks I have suffered at the hands of the louts who have allowed themselves to be used as mere tools against myself by a Kinkel, a Willich or some other such humbug, and since the Cologne trial,[71] I have withdrawn completely into my study. My time was too precious to be wasted in fruitless endeavour and petty squabbles.

And now for essentials. My *Critique of Political Economy* is to be published in instalments (the first ones in a week or ten days' time[a]) by Franz Duncker of Berlin (Bessersche Verlagsbuchhandlung). It was only thanks to Lassalle's extraordinary zeal and powers of persuasion that Duncker was induced to take this step. He has, however, left himself a loophole. *A firm contract depends on the sale of the first instalments.*

I divide the whole of political economy into 6 books.

Capital; landed property; wage labour; the State; foreign trade; world market.

Book I, on capital, comprises 4 sections.

*Section I*: *Capital in general* comprises 3 chapters, 1. *The Commodity*; 2. *Money, or simple circulation*; 3. *Capital*. 1 and 2, ABOUT 10 sheets, make up the contents of the first instalments to be published. You will understand the *political* motives that led me to hold back the third chapter on 'Capital' until I have again become established.

The contents of the instalments now being published are as follows:

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[a] *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

*Chapter One*: *The Commodity*

A. *Historical notes on the analysis of commodities.* {William Petty (Englishman, Charles II's reign); Boisguillebert (Louis XIV); *B. Franklin* (first of his early works 1729)[a]; the Physiocrats; Sir James Steuart; Adam Smith; Ricardo and Sismondi.}

*Chapter Two*: *Money or simple circulation*

1. *Measure of value*

B. *Theories of the standard of money.* (Late 17th century, Locke and Lowndes, Bishop Berkeley (1750)[b]; Sir James Steuart; Lord Castlereagh; Thomas Attwood; John Gray; Proudhonists.)

2. *Medium of circulation*
   a) *The metamorphosis of commodities*
   b) *The circulation of money*
   c) *Coin. Token of value*
3. *Money*
   a) *Hoarding*
   b) *Means of payment*
   c) *Money of the world*
4. *The Precious metals*

C. *Theories of the medium of circulation and of money.* {Monetary system; *Spectator*,[368] Montesquieu, David Hume; Sir James Steuart; A. Smith, J.-B. Say; Bullion Committee,[c] Ricardo, James Mill; Lord Overstone and school; Thomas Tooke (James Wilson, John Fullarton).}

In these two chapters the Proudhonist socialism now fashionable in France—which wants to retain private production *while organising* the exchange of private products, to have *commodities* but not *money*—is demolished to its very foundations. Communism must above all rid itself of this 'false brother'.[d] But apart from all polemical aims, the analysis of simple money forms is, you know, the most difficult because the most abstract part of political economy.

I hope to win a scientific victory for our party. But the latter must itself now show whether its numbers are great enough to buy enough copies to banish the publisher's 'moral scruples'. The continuation of the venture depends on the sale of the first

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[a] B. Franklin, *A Modest Inquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency.* - [b] G. Berkeley, *The Querist...* - [c] This refers to *Report from the Select Committee on the High Price of Gold Bullion...* - [d] Cf. 2 Corinthians 11:26

instalments. Once I've got a firm contract, everything will be ALL RIGHT.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 208

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[82]

IN BERLIN

London, 2 February 1859
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

The manuscript[a] went off from here on 26 January; by 31 January notification had already got back *here* from Berlin that the manuscript had arrived. The parcels company received this notification from their correspondent. On the other hand there is your letter dated 31 January in which you say the manuscript hasn't arrived. So *whatever the circumstances* the Prussian government—friend Stieber perhaps—has spent 3 days rummaging through[b] the manuscript. Legally, so far as I am aware, all they were empowered to do was ascertain whether the parcel contained Brussels lace, other parcels being no concern of theirs. Who is going to assure me that some junior official hasn't amused himself by using a page or 2 for spills?

I presume that, in its own interest, the Prussian government hasn't taken any FALSE STEPS with my manuscript. Otherwise I should see to it that all hell was let loose in the London press (*Times*, etc.).

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [b] Marx makes a pun on the name *Stieber* and the verb *durchstöbern* (rummage through).

I shall write you a *proper letter* tomorrow or the day after. This is simply a business notification, and it's nearly time for the post.

Your piece, BY THE BY, pleased me enormously.

My wife sends her kindest regards; now that her *cher frère* has been dismissed,[a] she believes that manuscripts, at any rate, may safely be sent to Berlin.

*Salut.*

Your
K. Marx

I may bring out an *English version* of the first instalments straight away. Duncker must put on the title-page: *'*The author reserves to himself the right of translation*'.*

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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## 209

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 February 1859

DEAR Frederick,

The *Constitutionnel* wins since, according to *The Times*, the author was none other than Mr Boustrapa.[369]

Today came a letter (which I'll send you later) from Lassalle saying that the manuscript[b] has *not yet* arrived. Now take note: It went off on Tuesday (25); I was notified as early as *30th* January by the PACKET COMPANY here that the manuscript had arrived in Berlin. Lassalle's letter is dated 31 January. *Hence* the government has been *holding back* my manuscript for 3 or 4 days at least (if Duncker got the manuscript *after* Lassalle's letter went off). Maybe Mr Stieber has been rummaging through[c] it, or Mr von Patow has been endeavouring to make a hasty acquaintance with economics.

[a] This refers to Ferdinand von Westphalen, Jenny Marx's stepbrother, who until October 1859 was Prussian Minister of the Interior. - [b] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [c] Marx makes a pun on the name *Stieber* and the verb *durchstöbern* (rummage through).

Wrote to Lassalle straight off. *Your philistines* have *intercepted* the stuff you were sending me (for Tuesday). It didn't arrive. I waited until 3 in the afternoon. Then I dashed off another article.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 210

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[100]

### IN BERLIN

London, 4 February 1859
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

I've not yet had an acknowledgment of receipt from Mr Duncker and am therefore still in doubt whether the manuscript[a] is yet out of the clutches of the *authorities*. You will see from the enclosed note that it left London on 26 January.

*Ad vocem bellum*[b]: The *general* view here is that war in Italy is inevitable.[370] This much is certain: Mr Emmanuel[c] is in earnest and Mr Bonaparte was in earnest. What has swayed the latter is 1. *Fear of Italian daggers.*[371] Since Orsini's death, he has been constantly engaged in secret intrigues with the Carbonari, the go-between being *Plon-Plon*, the husband of 'Clotilde'.[d] 2. *An exceedingly bleak financial situation*: it is, in fact, impossible to go on feeding the French army 'in peacetime'; Lombardy is fat and fertile. Moreover a war would again make 'war loans' possible. Any other loan is 'impossible'. 3. Over the last two years Bonaparte's repute has dwindled daily amongst all parties in France, and his diplomatic TRANSACTIONS have also been a succession of FAILURES. So

[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [b] As regards the war - [c] Victor Emmanuel II - [d] Clotilde, the Princess of Savoy

something has *got* to happen if his prestige is to be restored. Even in the rural areas there is a great deal of grumbling about the ruinously low price of grain and Mr Bonaparte has tried in vain to push up the price of wheat artificially by means of his decrees on granaries.[a] 4. The parvenu in the Tuileries is being egged on by Russia. Given the Pan-Slav movement in Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, southern, northern and eastern Hungary, Illyria, etc., and a war in Italy, Russia would almost certainly break the resistance that Austria continues to offer her. (Russia regards the prospect of an internal agrarian revolution with horror, and war abroad might come as a welcome diversion to the government, quite apart from any diplomatic objectives.) 5. Mr Plon-Plon, son of the ex-King of Westphalia,[b] and his clique (headed by Girardin and a very mixed bag of Hungarian, Polish and Italian pseudo-revolutionaries) are doing all in their power to force the issue. 6. A war against Austria in Italy is the only one in which England, who cannot take a direct stand *for* the Pope, etc., and *against* so-called liberty, would remain neutral, at least at the start. Russia, however, would keep Prussia in check should the latter feel inclined, which I doubt, to intervene at the very outset of the campaign.

On the other hand one may be perfectly sure that Mr Louis Bonaparte is devilishly afraid of a really serious war. 1. The man is always full of misgivings and, like all gamblers, is far from resolute. He has always inched his way to the Rubicon,[372] but those standing behind him have invariably had to chuck him in. In every case—Boulogne, Strasbourg, December 1851[373]—he was, in the end, *forced* to proceed in earnest with his plans. 2. The exceptionally cool reception accorded his scheme in France is not encouraging, of course. The masses appear to be INDIFFERENT. On the other hand there have been outright and earnest remonstrations against it on the part of high finance, trade and industry, the clerical party and, finally, the senior generals (Pélissier, for example, and Canrobert). Indeed, prospects on the military side are far from rosy, even if the braggadocio in the *Constitutionnel*[c] is taken at its face value. Assuming France can muster all in all 700,000 men, 580,000 of these, at the very highest estimate, will be fit for military service. Deduct 50,000 for Algiers; 49,000 gendarmes, etc.; 100,000 (minimum) for guarding the cities (Paris,

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[a] Napoleon III, Decree on grain reserves of 16 November 1858, *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 322, 18 November 1858. - [b] Jérôme Bonaparte - [c] This refers to the article marked 'L. Boniface. Paris, le 29 janvier' in *Le Constitutionnel*, No. 30, 30 January 1859.

etc.) and fortresses of France; 181,000 at least for the army keeping watch on the Swiss, German and Belgian frontiers. This leaves 200,000 which, even if you add the minuscule Piedmontese army, is by no means AN OVERWHELMING FORCE to employ against the Austrians in their fortified positions on the Mincio and the Adige.

However that may be, if Mr Bonaparte draws back now, he will be done for so far as the bulk of the French army is concerned; and this might ultimately induce him to go ahead after all.

You apparently believe that in the event of such a war Hungary would rise. I very much doubt it. Austria will, of course, place a corps on the Galician-Hungarian frontier to observe the Russians, and this will simultaneously keep the Hungarians in check. The Hungarian regiments (in so far as they have not—and many of them already have—been dispersed among their enemies, e.g. the Czechs, Serbs, Slovenes, etc.) will be stationed in German provinces.

The war would, of course, have serious, and without doubt ultimately revolutionary consequences. But initially it will maintain Bonapartism in France, set back the internal movement within England and Russia, revive the pettiest nationalist passions in Germany, etc., and hence, in my view, its initial effect will everywhere be counter-revolutionary.

Be that as it may, you should expect *nothing* of the émigrés here. Apart from Mazzini who, at least, is a fanatic, they're a bunch of confidence tricksters whose one ambition is to extract money from the English. Mr Kossuth has positively sunk to the level of an itinerant LECTURER who hawks the same old nonsense round the various PROVINCES of England and Scotland and sells it over and over again to ever new audiences.[a]

The scoundrels here have all become so conservative that they would indeed deserve to be amnestied. Mr Gottfried Kinkel, for example, is publishing a weekly here, *Hermann* by name, compared with which even the *Kölnische Zeitung* is a daring and witty paper. (By indulging in sundry flirtations with aesthetic Jewesses, the suave, melodramatic parson is said, amongst other things, to have driven his wife to fall out of the window and break her neck. Freiligrath, being a kind-hearted fellow, was so taken in by the scenes of grief that he wrote a poem about the late Johanna Mockel,[b] only to discover a day or two later that the grief was

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[a] Kossuth's lectures were published in Brussels in 1859 under the title *L'Europe, l'Autriche et la Hongrie.* - [b] F. Freiligrath, 'Nach Johanna Kinkels Begräbnis'.

merely *feigned* and that never had Mr Gottfried felt so FREE and EASY as since the death of his spouse.) The fellow preaches '*optimism*' in a namby-pamby, hat-doffing, somewhat breathless manner. The paper should be called *Gottfried.* For my part I would rather write under Manteuffel's yoke than under that of the German philistines in the City of London. To Mr Kinkel, however, the yoke is all the sweeter and lighter for the fact of his being not one jot superior to the said philistines where character and insight are concerned. The to-do made by the 'Lewald' woman, *alias* 'Stahr', about the late Mockel has compromised the latter person still further.[374]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

It would be a great help to me if you could obtain in *Breslau,*[a] and let me have *as soon as possible,* particulars about a person of the female sex by the name (allegedly) of von Paula-Kröcher, who used to live there and is *now over here.*

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## 211

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 February 1859

Dear Engels,

It's a *fortnight ago* today since I sent the manuscript[b] to Berlin; since then 2 letters have gone off to Lassalle: up to this moment I've had no acknowledgment of receipt. Moreover, I had made this 'acknowledgment of receipt' a condition for the despatch of

[a] Wrocław - [b] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.*

the *preface*. As you can imagine, one begins to lose all patience when everything goes so wrong. I am quite ill with vexation.

Herewith Lassalle's letter. *Let me have it back.*

Today I have written about Bonaparte's rotten speech and his pamphlet.[a 375]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 212

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 February 1859

Dear Engels,

At last a letter from Duncker *today*. *He* didn't receive the manuscript[b] until 1 February. Not printed *this* week, because just completing some work or other—I don't know which—of Lassalle's.[c]

Enclosed a letter from Eccarius and Pfänder from which you will see that poor Eccarius is down with consumption. This is the most tragic thing I have yet experienced here in London.

Pieper, who had been discharged as cured, is back from Bognor again and in the German hospital. This time starvation treatment. SERVES HIM RIGHT.

I meant to send you the enclosed letters from Weydemeyer and Komp long ago.[321] I have at last replied to them.[d]

Dronke has been to Bonn, where one of his brothers was dying. Having obtained Flottwell's permission, he attended a ball given by

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[a] This refers to 'Discours de S. M. L'Empereur. Session législative de 1859' (*Le Moniteur universel*, No. 39, special edition, 7 February 1859) and the pamphlet inspired by Napoleon III: [A. La Guéronnière,] *L'Empereur Napoléon III et l'Italie*. - [b] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [c] F. Lassalle, *Franz von Sickingen*. - [d] See this volume, pp. 324, 338 and 374-78.

his [students'] 'corps' in Bonn. The little man[a] has written to Dingelstedt (*of Fulda*), through whom he hopes to arrange a performance of a *play* he himself has written. In addition, the little man writes 'Glasgower Briefe' for Prutz's *Museum*.[b] I had all this news from philistine Freiligrath.

From the latter, who came to see me yesterday (I myself being confined to the house with a bad throat), I also learned that Gottfried's—or Hermann's[c]—behaviour towards ladies is invariably so ludicrous (the buffoon now supposes he need only throw down his handkerchief) that he has become an object of general *dégoût*.[d] Moreover, Freiligrath has now also tumbled to the fact that Gottfried feels exceptionally 'FREE AND EASY' now that the Mockel woman[e] is dead and—strangest of all—*it now transpires* that, even *before the day of the funeral*, philistine Freiligrath and wife had discovered brother Hermann's 'lack of concern'.

According to Gottfried, the *Hermann*, to which the Prussian government has, as the Berlin *National-Zeitung* announces, granted a licence for postal distribution, is to cover the '*loss*' to his funds occasioned by his wife's death.

In due course, no doubt, Mrs Daniels will become Mrs Bürgers. She has written to Lina[f] saying that 'Bürgers has grown *still more* energetic and self-confident'. In proof of that 'self-confidence' she writes, '*we are* delighted by Freiligrath's poem about Mrs Kinkel,[g] which was mutilated by the "perfidious" *Kölnische Zeitung*'.

Steffen has written to Freiligrath asking for your address and mine as he has lost them. Steffen's address is: *W. Steffen, Harrison Square near Boston, Mass. U. St.*

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] Ernst Dronke - [b] *Deutsches Museum* - [c] An allusion to the weekly *Hermann* published by Gottfried Kinkel. - [d] disgust - [e] Johanna Kinkel - [f] Caroline Schöler - [g] F. Freiligrath, 'Nach Johanna Kinkels Begräbnis'.

## 213

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 February 1859

Dear Moor,

The news about Eccarius is truly staggering. What a heroic letter he wrote you![376] That such a fine chap should come to such a pitiful end! We are losing our best men during this wretched period of peace, and the new blood is very *pauvre*.[a]

Herewith Lassalle's letter. I'm glad the manuscript[b] has arrived.

What did Freiligrath have to say concerning my letter about Kinkel[c]? To me he wrote, 'ALL RIGHT, ALL RIGHT' and said he had given his answer to *you*. So you still owe it to me.

I am going home now and shall get an article on the Austrian and German federal army[d] done in time for the 2nd post.

Your
F. E.

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## 214

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 14 February 1859

Dear Marx,

Something I forgot to mention. Certainly you must reserve the translation rights on your book.[e] Even if only to stop some jackass or industrialist from massacring the thing. Moreover it is now a

[a] poor - [b] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [c] See this volume, pp. 370-71. - [d] F. Engels, 'German Resources for War'. - [e] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

mere legal formality which anyone can accomplish without any hesitation.

Statesman Blind has a friend in the telegraph office who occasionally sends the provincial papers some pretty tall stories by telegraph. More about this anon.

Your
F. E.

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## 215

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 February 1859

Dear Engels,

Herewith:

1. Letter from my brother-in-law (the CAPE MAN)[a] from which you will see that the fellow will be landing in London tomorrow. Since I am *sans sou*[b] (only last Saturday I had to pawn my wife's last 'spare' skirt in order to send Eccarius SOME COMFORTS) and have got to entertain the man decently—he is going to Trier and carries some weight in the TRANSACTIONS with my mother[c]—I must once again press you to mail me AT LEAST £1. Luckily I have what is known as mumps, which means that I only have to entertain the man here at home and, as an invalid, can refuse to do any gadding about.

2. Letter from Eccarius. I had told the latter (who seemed, I thought, to be improving a little) that if he needed wine he was to let me know. So you should send him ABOUT 2 BOTTLES OF port wine.

3. 2 enclosures from *The Free Press* (the more important for having been reprinted from *The New York Herald*) will give you some idea of the Chinese war[332] and Mr Palmerston's policy.[d]

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[a] Johann Carl Juta - [b] penniless - [c] Henriette Marx - [d] 'Revelation by a Russian of the Object of the Chinese War and Treaty', *The Free Press*, No. 24, 22 December 1858.

*Ad vocem*[a] *Freiligrath.* I came, most opportunely for him, on the very day he got your letter.[b] He gave it to me to read and excused himself for the non-political nature of the poem[c] on the grounds that he was a 'poet'. Also said he had written to you about the *Hermann* simply as a 'joke'.[d] WELL, AFTER THESE VERY MEAGRE EXPLANATIONS, he said he would write and tell you that he had made everything ALL RIGHT with me. By the by, your letter 'tickled' him tremendously. I told him that it was 'very well written' and he, of course, couldn't help laughing at me for looking to 'style' first of all ON SUCH AN OCCASION. The FACT is, Freiligrath realises that Kinkel has *used* him and, having used him, is actually becoming somewhat uppish towards him. (Thus, to Freiligrath's intense annoyance, the '*Schriften von Gottfried und Johanna Kinkel*' figure in large type among the *Hermann*'s advertisements and, under the *same* heading, '*F. Freiligraths Gedichte*' in small type, so that Freiligrath's poems are annexed to the works of Gottfried and Johanna. This greatly riles our philistine.) On the other hand, Freiligrath is very much beholden to Kinkel for having, apparently against all expectations, again put him in the way of a *political purgative* which, BY THE BY, and if I am not mistaken, has earned him high praise and even, it is said, presents from philistines in Germany. *Nota bene:* Mrs Daniels wrote to Lina[e] (in reply to some quips about the Kinkel CASE the latter had sent her): '*We*' (she and Heinrich, the quiet one[f]) '*are delighted* and *entranced* by Freiligrath's poem' and the day-dreaming Heinrich, who had grown 'still more self-confident and still more energetic', had actually discovered that 'the perfidious' *Kölnische Zeitung* had suppressed the 'most important verse', a verse which existed only in Heinrich's Olympian imagination.

What's this about Blind?

*Apropos.* Did you and Lupus see in the papers (maybe a month or six weeks ago) that *Madame* Bangya in Paris had been sentenced to six months hard labour for soliciting?

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

I've lost Lupus' address again. It's 59 Boundary Street, Greenheys, isn't it? At any rate I sent him a letter to that address.[377]

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[a] As regards - [b] See this volume, pp. 370-71. - [c] F. Freiligrath, 'Nach Johanna Kinkels Begräbnis'. See also this volume, p. 359. - [d] See this volume, p. 372. - [e] Caroline Schöler - [f] Heinrich Bürgers

Schapper's wife has produced a son, and the old fool, who now goes in for phrenology, has discovered that the seven days'-old IMP has a sanguine-choleric temperament.

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## 216

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, about 22 February 1859][378]

DEAR Frederick,

My brother-in-law[a] will be travelling to Manchester on Thursday and will probably come and see you on Friday. But you must let me have your exact address. On closer acquaintance, by the by, Juta proves to be a far from [healthy][b] chap. He suffers damnably from his liver, and hence must go to Carlsbad.[c] I should be glad if Gumpert would examine him and, since his liver is presently giving him a great deal of pain, do something to alleviate this. But *if the thing is really serious, Gumpert must not give any indication of the fact.*

Tomorrow I am writing about the FACTORY REPORT,[d] and expect an article from you, the more so as I am now working out *Capital*.[355]

Your
K. M.

*Nota bene.*

I have written asking Dana whether he can find me a YANKEE for the English edition of the *Political Economy*.[e] In which case, if the

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[a] Johann Carl Juta - [b] Ms. damaged. - [c] Karlovy Vary - [d] Marx means his article 'The State of British Manufactures', for which he used data from *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, for the Half Year Ending 31st October 1858*. - [e] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

thing looks like being *lucrative*, I should have to spend a few weeks in Manchester, putting it into English with you.

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## 217

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 February 1859

Dear Engels,

The bearer of these lines is my brother-in-law Juta, whom I most warmly recommend to you.

Your
K. Marx

Eccarius received the wine on Saturday and *believes* he can already feel the benefit of it. It seems probable that the wine will help him pull through.

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## 218

## MARX TO FRANZ DUNCKER

### IN BERLIN

London, 23 February 1859

Dear Sir,

The 'Preface'[a] enclosed herewith.

Yours very faithfully,
Karl Marx

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[a] to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

## 219

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN BERLIN

London, 23 February 1859

Dear Lassalle,

I have today sent off the preface[a] to Duncker. Perhaps you would be good enough to ensure that I am sent the fee *as soon as the manuscript has been printed.* I would certainly not write to you about this point had it not become a *question brûlante*[b] due to unforeseen circumstances.

I hope to have a letter from you soon and, notwithstanding your coyness, something about 'conditions in the homeland', or at least the gossip there, this being essential for forming an opinion.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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## 220

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[1]

IN BERLIN

London, 25 February 1859
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

*Iterum Crispinus.*[c]

It is Engels' intention to publish—*anonymously* to begin with—a short pamphlet entitled *Po and Rhine.*[379]

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[a] to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* - [b] burning question - [c] *Iterum Crispinus*—Crispinus again (Juvenal, *Satires*, I, 4). Here: It's me again.

*Main content*: Military proof, i.e. based on military science, that all the reasons advanced to the effect that Austria must have the Mincio line in order to protect *Germany*, correspond precisely to the argument that France must have the Rhine frontier in order to protect herself; further that, whereas *Austria*'s interest in the Mincio line is considerable, that of Germany, as a single power, is nil, and that Italy will always be dominated militarily by Germany so long as the whole of Switzerland isn't French. The thing is mainly directed against the strategists of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, but otherwise against Mr Bonaparte—from a national viewpoint, of course.

I am willing to stake all my 'powers of discernment'[a] on the fact that the publication of this pamphlet, which will entail hardly any outlay because consisting of only a few sheets, would, at the present time, actually be a *speculation* (IN THE EMINENT SENSE OF THE WORD) for a bookseller.

Since taking part in the Baden campaign,[380] Engels has made military matters his special study. Added to which his writing, as you know, is exceedingly plausible.

*However, the publisher must preserve the secret of the writer's identity* until the AUTHOR himself chooses to disclose it. You may be sure that the most eminent military writers of Prussia will be suspected of being at the bottom of the thing.

Now here we have something the publication of which is intimately related to the times—a question of the day. Hence it must be pushed through quickly. Do you think that Duncker will agree to do it? It would undoubtedly be in his own interests. One can never know in the case of purely scientific stuff whether and to what extent the philistines will buy it. Where questions of the day such as these are concerned, this can be calculated with almost mathematical exactitude.

Should Duncker agree, Engels authorises you to conclude the transaction in his name and on whatever terms you think fit. Should he refuse, might there not be some other possibility? I know a publisher in Hamburg who would take it.[b] But this fellow was always personally hostile to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, as he plainly told our friend Heine, and hence it would vex me sorely were he to obtain so much as a single line from any of us. Besides, he treated our never-to-be-forgotten and irreplaceable friend Weerth in the most outrageous fashion.

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[a] Marx has 'kritische Urteilskraft', an allusion to the title of Kant's book *Kritik der Urteilskraft*. - [b] Marx probably refers to J. Campe.

Let me have an answer as soon as possible, and please don't begrudge the considerable time and effort I cost you. I can only plead the GENERAL PARTY INTEREST.

Your
K. M.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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## 221

## MARX TO ENGELS[1]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 February[a] 1859

Dear Engels,

*Po and Rhine* is a first-class idea and must be put in hand straight away.[379] You must *set to* ***at once,*** time being *everything* in this case. I have written to Lassalle this very day and am sure that little Jew Braun will put the thing through.

The pamphlet (HOW MANY SHEETS? Let me have the answer to this *by return*) must first appear *anonymously* so that the public believes the author to be an eminent general. In the *second* edition, which you may account a certainty provided the thing comes out on time, you will reveal your identity in a 6-LINE foreword, and then it will be a triumph for our party. In my 'Preface'[b] I have done you a few *honneurs*; and thus it is all to the good if you yourself take the stage immediately afterwards.

Those dogs of democrats and liberal riff-raff will see that we're the only chaps who haven't been stultified by the ghastly period of peace.

In any case, you'll get the *copies* of the *Tribune. Not one* of the military articles[c] has so far been published. Mr Dana *didn't* print the first, which you wrote A LONG TIME AGO, but will probably do so now. I too constantly experience the like. It's often three months before the asses discover that we've foretold EVENTS for them, whereupon they print the relevant articles.

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[a] A slip of the pen in the original: 29 February. - [b] to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* - [c] Marx presumably means Engels' articles 'German Resources for War' and 'The Austrian Hold on Italy'.

My brother-in-law's[a] address is correct save that he forgot to add 'CITY (NEAR THE GENERAL POST OFFICE)'. But I imagine he'll be in Manchester by now and able to tell you about himself.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 222

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 February 1859

Dear Engels,

I am writing to you again this evening because TIME PRESSES. I am morally convinced that, *in view of what I've written to Lassalle*, Duncker will accept the pamphlet.[b] Admittedly, little Jew Braun hasn't written to me since my manuscript[c] arrived, and that was over four weeks ago. For one thing, he was busy with the publication of his own immortal, 'inflammatory' work[d] (STILL, the little Jew, even his *Heraclitus*,[e] although atrociously written, is BETTER THAN ANYTHING THE DEMOCRATS COULD BOAST OF), and then he will probably have to do the final proof-reading of my scrawl. For another thing, he may be a trifle stunned by the terrible knock on the head dealt him indirectly by my analysis of money. For his *Heraclitus* contains the following note which I shall now quote verbatim despite its interminable length (you've got to read it, though):

'If we remarked above that in the said fragment Heraclitus has specified the true nature and function of money in political economy' (Heraclitus in fact says:

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[a] Johann Carl Juta - [b] F. Engels, *Po and Rhine*. - [c] *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* - [d] F. Lassalle, *Franz von Sickingen*. - [e] F. Lassalle, *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos*. Further on Marx quotes Note 3 to p. 224 of Vol. I of this work.

'πυρὸς τ'ἀνταμείβεσθαι πάντα καὶ πῦρ ἁπάντων ὥσπερ χρυσοῦ χρήματα, καὶ χρημάτων χρυσός'[a]), 'this, we need hardly point out, is not to make a political economist of him, and hence it is far from our intention to suggest that he had grasped any of the wider implications of that fragment. But although this science neither existed nor could have existed at that time and therefore was not the object of Heraclitus' thought, it is correct to say that, precisely because he never goes by reflex categories but only by the speculative concept, Heraclitus has, in that fragment, discerned the nature of money in all its profundity and this more truly than many a modern economist. And it may not be altogether without interest or, indeed, so irrelevant as might at first appear, to observe how what is simply a consequence of that thought *automatically gives rise to the modern discoveries in this field.*'[b] (*Nota bene.* Lassalle doesn't know the first thing about these discoveries.)

'When Heraclitus suggests that money as a medium of exchange is the *antithesis* of all real products entering exchange and owes its *real existence* solely to the same' (I underline where Lassalle has underlined), 'this is not to say that money as such is itself a product invested with a material value of its own, one *commodity* among other commodities, as Say's school' (a nice Continental DELUSION that there is such a thing as Say's school) 'persists in regarding coin up to this very day; rather it is but the ideal *representative* of circulating real products, a *symbol of value* for the latter, which merely *stands for them.* And that is only in part a conclusion drawn from the fragment, in part only the concept implicit in it for Heraclitus himself.

'But if *all* money is merely the ideal unit or expression of value of all real circulating products and owes *its real existence* solely *to these,* which are at one and the same time its antithesis, it follows from the very consequence' (nice style! It follows from 'the very consequence') 'of this concept that a country's sum of values or its wealth may be increased only by an increase in real products, but never by an increase in money since money, of course, far from being even merely a factor of wealth and value' (now we have wealth *and* value; before it was sum of values *or* wealth), 'never expresses, as an abstract unit, more than the value which is situated in the products' (and a nice district, too[c]), 'and is *real* only *therein.* Hence the error of the balance of trade system.' (This is worthy of Ruge.) 'It further follows that *All* money is always equal in value to all circulating products, since it merely reduces the latter to an ideal unit of value, hence merely gives expression to *their* value; hence that, by an increase or decrease in the amount of money available, the value of this total sum of money will never be affected and will always remain equal only to that of all circulating products; that strictly speaking it is never possible to talk of the *value* of all money as compared with the *value* of all circulating products, because such a comparison supposes that the value of money and the value of products are *two* values in their own right, whereas only *one* value exists, which is realised in concrete form in the material product, and expressed as an abstract unit of value in money; or rather, *value* itself is nothing but a unit abstracted from real things, in which it does not exist *as such,* and finding its special expression in money; not only, then, does the value of all money *remain equal to* the value of all products but, properly speaking, all money **is** only the *value* of all circulating products.' (This ultra-bold type is the author's.) 'Hence it follows that, with an increase in the

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[a] 'All things are exchanged for fire and fire for all things, as wares are exchanged for gold and gold for wares.' Here and below the insertions in parentheses are Marx's. - [b] Marx's italics - [c] An allusion to a joke current at the time: one woman tells another of her son's death in action near Leipzig (1813), whereupon the other remarks: 'And a nice district, too!' ('Auch eine schöne Gegend!')

quantity of coin, since the value of the total remains the same, that of each individual coin can only fall, just as it will rise again with a decrease in the quantity of coin. It further follows that, since money is merely the unreal theoretical abstraction of value and represents the *antithesis* of *real products* and materials, money as such does not need to have any intrinsic *reality*, i.e. need not consist of any truly valuable material, but may equally be paper money, and it is precisely then that it corresponds most closely to its concept. All these and many other conclusions, which have only been reached, and along entirely different lines, since *Ricardo*'s studies and have by no means found universal acceptance, follow from the mere consequence of that speculative concept discerned by Heraclitus.'

I, of course, paid not the slightest heed to this Talmudic wisdom but roundly slated Ricardo for his theory of money which, by the way, did not originate with him but with Hume and Montesquieu. So Lassalle may feel this to be a personal insult. There was actually no harm in it, for in my anti-Proudhon piece[a] I myself adopted Ricardo's theory. But I'd had a perfectly ridiculous letter from little Jew Braun in which he said that he had 'the early publication of my manuscript at heart, *although* he himself was engaged in writing a major work on political economy'[278] for which he had 'allocated two years'. But if I were to 'deprive him of too much that was new, he might abandon the whole thing'. WELL, to this I replied that there was no fear of rivalry since this 'new' science could accommodate himself and me and a dozen more besides.[b] My disquisition on money will now show him, either that I know nothing of the subject—although if I'm wrong, so is the whole history of the monetary theory—or else that he is an ass, since, with a few empty abstract expressions such as 'abstract unit', he presumes to lay down the law about empirical matters which, if one wishes to hold forth about them, call for study, and prolonged study INTO THE BARGAIN. For this reason he may, in the innermost recesses of his heart, be nourishing something of a grudge against me just now. But—and this is what I have been leading up to—firstly, Lassalle has really too great a stake 'in the cause' and, secondly, he is too much of an 'Ephraim Artful' not to keep in with us *coûte que coûte*,[c] which is all the more necessary to him because of his quarrel with the Düsseldorf people.[d] Moreover, living in Berlin has made him see that, for an energetic fellow like himself, the bourgeois party holds out no prospects whatever.[381]

So with clever MANAGEMENT the man will be ours, body and soul, no matter how much he indulges in 'inflammatory' antics or makes

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[a] *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the Philosophy of Poverty by M. Proudhon* - [b] See this volume, p. 355. - [c] cost what it may - [d] See this volume, pp. 23-24 and 27.

Heraclitus pay for being the most succinct of philosophers by providing him with the most prolix of commentaries. For the same reason I am *sure* that *en cas de besoin*[a] he will *force* Duncker to take your pamphlet. I have, by the by, so framed my letter that he can show the whole of it to Duncker. It was, in fact, written for Duncker rather than Lassalle, though for all his artfulness Ephraim is unlikely to notice the fact.

Hence I consider it *certain* that Duncker will take the pamphlet, so the main thing now is for you to set to work on it *at once*, for this is like a newspaper article. There's no time to be lost. For the same reason—immediacy of impact—I believe you shouldn't exceed 4 or 5 sheets (if as much is needed). So you may regard yourself as totally absolved from the *Tribune* work (unless some martial occurrence steals a march on your pamphlet, which is improbable), until you've finished the thing. The most *sensible* thing to do would be to plead sudden illness and stay away from the office, so as to write the thing all at one go.

*Amicus Engels Senior, amicus Ermen (Gotofredus!), sed magis amicum* τὸ φρονεῖν'.[b]

'φεῦ, φεῦ, φρονεῖν ὡς δεινὸν, ἔνθα μὴ τέλη
λύει φρονοῦντι,'[c]

as your old man might say to you, like Tiresias did to King Oedipus, to which, however, you would reply that he

'«ἐν τοῖς κέρδεσι
μόνον δέδορκε, τὴν τέχνην δ'ἔφυ τυφλός»'.[d]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] in case of need - [b] Engels Senior is dear to me, Ermen (Gottfried!) is dear to me, but knowledge is dearer still. An adaptation of 'Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed magis amica veritas'—'Plato is dear to me, Socrates is dear to me, but truth is dearer still' (Ammonius Saccas, *Vita Aristoteles*). - [c] 'Alas, 'tis terrible to be wise when it brings the wise man no reward' (Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 324, 325). - [d] 'In usury but sharp-eyed, yet in his sooth-saying blind' (Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 396, 397).

## 223

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 March 1859

Dear Engels,

From the enclosed letter of Lassalle's[382] you will see that I know my men and what MANAGEMENT means.

As regards the letter, I would make the following observations:

1. You must now really follow my advice and *shun the office altogether for a few days.* I did, of course, put the thing in such a way as to suggest that I'd already read your manuscript.[a] A few days here or there are of no importance, but if you only work in the evenings you won't finish *in time.*

2. In your position you cannot agree to the small fee but must, if only *honoris causa,* settle for the alternative of half the net profits.

3. Lassalle's direction that you send the *title* (i.e. *not* write it on the manuscript), the foreword (which I'd suggest you don't write) and the table of contents to him personally (F. Lassalle, 131 Potsdamer Strasse, Berlin), is a sensible one. For parcels are being opened by the Post Office, and the government mustn't know the title, which would give them the key to the whole secret.

The manuscript, on the other hand, I shall send from here, as I sent my own manuscript[b] (i.e. insured), to Duncker *via* Fräulein Ludmilla Assing. Only I'll get *Pfänder* to put himself down as the sender.

4. You should indeed include something national, anti-Bonapartist, but the tone should be careful and gentlemanly. You can the more readily employ this colour in that the intention of your pamphlet is, IN FACT, a great victory for Mazzini vis-à-vis the National Assembly of 1848 (Radowitz[c]-Mincio),[383] and you enable Germans for the first time to interest themselves with a good conscience in Italy's emancipation.

NOW, GOOD-BYE, OLD BOY.

Your

K. M.

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[a] *Po and Rhine* (see this volume, pp. 391-92) - [b] *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* - [c] Marx refers to J. M. von Radowitz's speech of 12 August 1848 in the Frankfurt National Assembly.

In his latest *Gottfried* Mr Gottfried[a] kow-tows to Suse-Sibeth, whom he describes as a model merchanting house, likewise to that wretched publisher, Trübner, who has compiled a worthless American bibliography.[b] *Macte puer virtute.*[c]

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## 224

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 4 March 1859

Dear Moor,

Little Jew Braun[d] has managed things well; I agree to half the net profits. The work is going ahead fairly quickly,[e] 9 long double pages of the kind I send you for the *Tribune* are ready, 2 or 3 more will see the finish of the Po and then comes the Rhine, which won't be as long—barely 3 sheets in all. This evening, Saturday and Sunday will certainly dispose of the better part of the thing, and I shall let you have it by Wednesday, provided all goes smoothly. However I must be on my guard since I'll have all the official military writers against me, and if they can pick any holes in the thing they'll certainly do so. So better too short than too long, and the historical examples can be done quite briefly. Besides, if the manuscript arrives in Berlin at the end of next week, it will be soon enough; after all, there's going to be war.[370] So there's no need to worry about time. It's *impossible* just now to absent myself from the WAREHOUSE for several days. There's no real need and it wouldn't be much help. What holds one up is poring

[a] A reference to the weekly *Hermann* edited by Gottfried Kinkel. - [b] 'Commerzielle Briefe' and 'Amerikanische Literatur. Trübner's Bibliographical Guide to American Literature', *Hermann*, No. 7, 19 February 1859. - [c] Persevere in thy valour, o youth! (Virgil, *Aeneid*, IX, 641.) - [d] Ferdinand Lassalle - [e] Engels' work on *Po and Rhine*

over the map, which *must* be done *staccato*,[a] otherwise one gets bemused.

I'm not doing a foreword. That would be asking for too much.

Your
F. E.

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## 225

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 March 1859

Dear Engels,

Pamphlet[b] received. Will run to about 4 printed sheets if not more, considering the way pamphlets are printed. Have read it all; EXCEEDINGLY CLEVER; the political side is also splendidly done and that was damned difficult. THE PAMPHLET WILL HAVE A GREAT SUCCESS.

I've deleted nothing but one short sentence about Reuss-Schleiz; not where you discuss the 'natural frontiers' of that state[c] but in the first passage where it makes for *double emploi*[d] and detracts from the effect.

I suggest that the subtitle 'Military Studies' detracts from the effect and should be deleted.

Should you be writing to Lassalle tomorrow I'd like you to do something in your own name which I can't do in mine. The FACTS are as follows: Last Monday (7 March) something arrived from Berlin! What do you think it was? *The first proof-sheet*[e] and since then I have not had another. *Contrary to what Mr Duncker expressly said in his letter*, they did nothing at all about my manuscript for 6 weeks and would now seem to be printing 1 sheet a week. When your manuscript arrives they'll perhaps break off again and thus the thing may drag on for months. I find this quite deplorable,

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[a] with breaks in between - [b] F. Engels, *Po and Rhine*. - [c] See present edition, Vol. 16, p. 250. - [d] duplication - [e] of K. Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

and you might DROP SOME WORDS in your own name to Lassalle about the matter.[a] Do the fellows want to put the piece off until the very eve of war,[370] thereby ensuring that it comes to nothing and giving Mr Duncker an excuse to refuse the sequel?

Besides, I was counting on the money, and this delay has rendered intolerable my already distressing mode of existence. On this occasion Freiligrath (who is seeking IN EVERY WAY to reestablish himself)[b] was decent enough to try and negotiate bills for me here in London. However the thing came to nothing.

*Apropos* the *Tribune*. For the past 6 weeks they have not published one article either of yours or mine. The intrigues associated with a presidential election are already BEGINNING. In the light of experience I should say that the omission of our articles was a preliminary manoeuvre enabling them to notify me that they will only be requiring one article per week for the time being.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

I believe there will be war. However, a diplomatic intermezzo is necessary, partly on account of the clamour in Germany, partly on account of the vociferousness of the French bourgeoisie, lastly on account of the English Parliament; perhaps also in order that Russia may in the meantime extort sundry concessions from Austria. The Russians have achieved one main object. In 1846, when, for the first time, Austria's finances showed no deficit, Russia used the Cracow affair[384] to plunge her back into the most appalling financial predicament. In 1858 the Austrians appeared to have got their finances in some sort of order and announced an immediate payment by the Bank, which is why Bonaparte was promptly sent into the field and Austria's finances are back where they were in 1848. The dissolution of Parliament, the absence of government here in the interim, and subsequently Palmerston as FOREIGN MINISTER[385] are similarly moves required by Russia for the purpose of war.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 402-03. - [b] See this volume, pp. 360 and 366.

## 226

## ENGELS TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN BERLIN

Manchester, 14 March 1859
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Street

Dear Lassalle,

First of all my thanks for your *bons offices*[a] with Duncker, which have met with such outstanding success and will, for the first time in nearly ten years, give me the opportunity of appearing before the German public. I sent the manuscript to Marx last Wednesday[b] and he will have forwarded it on Thursday. The title page should read simply *Po and Rhine*, Berlin, Published by ... etc., etc. Marx and I both consider it better that the thing should first appear anonymously because specialised and, at the start, the name of a civilian could only be detrimental to a military paper. If the thing is successful, as I hope, it will be time enough to put my name to it. There's no need for a table of contents, the sections being merely numbered. Nor have I written a foreword.

Marx thinks it will amount to 4 sheets, which I doubt, but it all depends on the printing, of course.

As regards terms, I have decided in favour of half the net profits; it goes without saying, of course, that there should be the usual number of free copies, one of which you must naturally bespeak in advance. They can be sent through publisher's channels, though I'd like one (or else proofs) to be sent direct to me by post. I might bring it out in English. The matter lends itself less readily to a French translation which would, furthermore, be difficult to place; however, I shall see.

How is the printing of Marx's manuscript[c] getting on? So far I've only heard of *one* sheet having been printed, and yet the manuscript has been in Berlin for over a month. This seems to me very slow. One or two instalments at least should be out in time for the Leipzig Fair[386] and there's not long to go.

Reiterated promises notwithstanding, Marx hasn't yet sent me your *Heraclitus*,[d] which I greatly look forward to seeing, although both my Greek and the speculative concept have grown exceedingly rusty. I am equally anxious to read your play,[e] which I have

[a] good offices - [b] 9 March - [c] *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* - [d] F. Lassalle, *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos.* - [e] F. Lassalle, *Franz von Sickingen.*

seen advertised. Despite your versatility, I would never have expected you to take up this speciality as well.

Since I've been here I have been devoting myself largely to militaria, also dallying at intervals with an old love, comparative philology. But when one has engaged in noble commerce all day long, it's impossible to go beyond sheer dilettantism in so vast and extensive a discipline. And even though I once cherished the brash idea of writing a comparative grammar of the Slavonic languages, I gave it up long ago, the more so since Miklosich[a] has undertaken the same thing with such brilliant success.

So once again very many thanks and kind regards from your

F. E.

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## 227

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 March 1859

DEAR Frederick,

£5 received. THANKS.

Yesterday proof sheet II[b] arrived. If it goes on like this it'll take them three months. There can't possibly be more than one type-setter employed on this affair.

I don't know what to write about on Friday. Can you do something—on Armstrong's GUN, perhaps?

Mr Bruno Bauer has, I am told, written a pamphlet on the 'question of the day', pro-Russia and France and anti-Austria and England. He is now the ally of Manteuffel, in support of whom he has already written recently in the *Zeit*.[c]

I am sending you that CLOWN Edgar Bauer's paper. The man has become a great communist and working men's representative. He and his little rag are almost finished. The first article, 'Zank',[d] is a

[a] F. Miklosich, *Vergleichende Grammatik der slawischen Sprachen*. - [b] of Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* - [c] *Die Neue Zeit* - [d] *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 37, 12, March 1859.

direct attack on me. I am, it seems, quietly to join up with Mr Edgar and emerge from my 'surly' and 'distrustful' isolation. The CLOWN has turned into a real preacher. He doesn't dare attack the *Hermann* for fear the fellows may disclose his 'PAST'.

Kinkel's paper is doing excellent business. Prudently, he has quite given up writing himself. The money comes partly from a Dr Juch and partly from the Portuguese Jew, Castello (an old Portuguese financial house), who was talked into it by the great Gerstenberg.[a]

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## 228

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

### IN BERLIN

London, 16 March 1859
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

Your latest work[b] and accompanying letter have not yet arrived, nor are they to be here so soon. Despatch through publisher's channels is about as expeditious as if you were to send me the things via Petersburg, Kamchatka and North America.

If it's not too late, get them to print 'THE RIGHT OF TRANSLATION IS RESERVED' on the last manuscript[c] I sent you. Otherwise some of the German clowns over here might massacre the thing.

Owing to circumstances which I can't go into today (for I am dictating an article in English[d] while writing this note to you), I am very hard pressed for money. Might it be possible for you to carry out some sort of bill transaction for me in Berlin having a currency of a few weeks, in return for which you could subsequently take the fee Duncker owes me?

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[a] The letter is unsigned. - [b] *Franz von Sickingen* - [c] F. Engels, *Po and Rhine*. - [d] K. Marx, 'The War Prospect in Prussia'.

Yesterday I had a visitor from Paris, a man by whose judgment I set tremendous store. Speaking of war,[370] he said: '*Il n'y a pas deux opinions à Paris. Nous avons la guerre.*'[a] He was quite convinced that, were Bonaparte to draw back, he would crack up and, LIKE the *Empereur* Soulouque, would be betrayed by the army itself. Even the Parisian bourgeois, though rabid for peace, are already beginning to mutter that the fellow has no more courage than Louis Philippe.

There's one factor, by the by, which you must not overlook; Russia is stirring up the whole thing, and her ally, Palmerston (you only have to look at *The Times*) is doing all he can to drive Bonaparte to war. On top of that there'll soon be a change of ministry here, and then Palmerston will run the thing direct.[385] The pro-Poerio, etc., demonstrations here are wholly inspired by him. He has placed his son-in-law, Lord Shaftesbury, at the head of these, AS RESPONSIBLE EDITOR.[387]

I am now, AFTER ALL, beginning to believe that the war might hold out some prospects for us as well.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Don't forget, by the by, that if you write to me about certain conditions,[b] it will benefit a vast public, amongst whom a great many Germans. The *Tribune* numbers some 200,000 regular subscribers.

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## 229

## MARX TO FRANZ DUNCKER

### IN BERLIN

[London,] 17TH MARCH 1859

Dear Sir,

I am returning the proofs[c] in an envelope because advised by the Post Office over here that, while proofs may be sent from

[a] 'There's no two opinions about it in Paris. We shall have war.' - [b] i.e., about the position in Germany (see this volume, p. 391) - [c] of the book *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

Berlin to London, they must go from London to Berlin as letters.

*Page 32*, in the final lines I forgot to amend 'more profound *economic* differences between English and French, etc., political economy' to 'more profound *fundamental*, etc.'

*My memory may be deceiving me*, but it seems to me that the beginnings of the sentences on p. 33, both in the text and in the first note, were missing on p. 32.

Yours very faithfully,
K. M.

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## 230

## MARX TO ENGELS[388]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, 22 March 1859]

Dear Engels,

Herewith Eccarius' letter. Unfortunately he had to return to his tailor's sweat-shop for which, or so it seems to me, he is by no means sufficiently recovered.

I wrote about the Reform Bill today[389]; you should write (if your eyes [are alright], as I hope—otherwise, OF COURSE, DON'T THINK OF IT) about the likelihood of war.[a] This I regard as necessary, if the rascals on the *Tribune* are not to reprint anything.[390] Nothing from Berlin. Only 3 proof-sheets received[b] in *8* weeks.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] In response to this request Engels wrote the article 'War Inevitable'. - [b] of Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

## 231

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 March [1859]

Dear Engels,

I think you have misunderstood Lassalle's letter.[a]

All he says is:

'I'm most anxious to see what the pamphlet[b] *contains*. Marx's work[c] will *also* be appearing soon, etc.' By this he means he has *not read* your pamphlet. *Voilà tout.*[d] The same affectation as in the case of my manuscript which he purports *not to have read.* I had a letter from him this morning which I shall send on to you later. Had your manuscript not arrived he would at least have told me.

Your manuscript left London *the same* day as it arrived. Pfänder was given a receipt for it. Anyway it *is* sure to have arrived. Duncker is A SLOW COACH. To date (8 WEEKS) I have had only 3 proof-sheets.

Your
K. M.

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## 232

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[20]

IN BERLIN

London, 28 March 1859
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

*Ad vocem*[e] *financial predicament*: *D'abord*[f] many thanks for your offers of help. In the meantime, however, I have tried other

[a] Marx refers to Lassalle's letter to Engels of 21 March 1859. - [b] F. Engels, *Po and Rhine*. - [c] *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* - [d] That's all. - [e] As regards - [f] First

means, namely writing to my mother asking her if she will lend me the money for a few weeks. *Je verrai.*[a] Here in London a bill could have been negotiated only through Gerstenberg. But the latter, a petty pompous gentleman and Kinkel's patron, shall not have the gratification of being asked to do me a service, even a purely formal one.

*Ad vocem Duncker.* This Wednesday (day after tomorrow), the man will have had the manuscript[b] for almost 9 weeks. So far I've been sent only *3 proof-sheets.* Between ourselves I should say quite frankly that Duncker is regretting having undertaken the business and that's why he is handling it in this dilatory, Wetzlar chancellery fashion.[391] If he goes on like this the thing won't even be out by Easter. And this puts me in another quandary. I am negotiating with an Englishman over the English rendering of these first instalments. This last depends, of course, on the publication of the work in German, and since everything is done at high pressure in London, the Englishman is growing mistrustful. You absolutely cannot make an Englishman understand the German way of doing business.

You will see that the first section does not comprise the principal chapter, i.e. the 3rd, on *capital.* I thought this advisable on *political* grounds, for it's in III that the battle really begins and it seemed to me better not to frighten people *de prime abord.*[c]

*Ad vocem telegraphy.* I ACCEPT THE OFFER.[392] The matter isn't as simple as you think. Obtaining the information is nothing, but takes up *a great deal of time.* I shall set up office near the Exchange (where the telegraphic companies who despatch the things also have their offices). However, your cousin[d] must now let me know: 1. By what route does he want the despatches sent? There are 3 companies, one sends via France, the second via Ostend and the third via Antwerp. The only things which should be sent via France, I think, are those for which no French censorship can present a danger. This is, incidentally, the shortest route. 2. *What* does he want telegraphed? Different papers base their views of what is important on very different principles. 3. How frequently does he want me to telegraph? 4. Besides NEWS from England, do these people want news from America, in short, from outside Europe? He must give me exact instructions about all this since telegraphy demands first and foremost that all non-essentials should be omitted. 5. Finally, I must know at what hour of the day

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[a] I shall see. - [b] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* - [c] at the very outset - [d] Max Friedländer

the *Presse* prefers to receive its news (in the English provinces, at any rate, this varies with individual newspapers, according to the time they come out). In the case of extraordinary events no time could, of course, be laid down, as it could, presumably, for ordinary despatches. For stock-market news I would, of course, have an exceptional source of information in Freiligrath.

*Ad vocem 'Presse'*: I accept this offer, too: *Firstly*, because, unlike last time, no conditions are imposed on me as regards the treatment of specific political personalities. I make it an absolute principle never to assent to a *condition*. On the other hand, every newspaper has a right to expect tact of its correspondents. *Secondly*, because times have changed and I now consider it essential that our party should secure positions wherever possible, even if only for a time, so that others should not gain possession of the terrain. For the time being, of course, it must be used cautiously, but the most important thing is to acquire influence at various points against more crucial contingencies. I never received the copies of the *Presse* which you say Friedländer sent me, probably because they were wrongly addressed. I ought, by the by, to be sent a few numbers immediately; one has to find out from the actual paper *how*, not *what*, one should write for the Viennese public.

*Ad vocem your writing for the 'Presse'*. I am quite convinced you should write for them. True, it would be 'improper' for you, as a *Prussian*, to write for an *Austrian* paper just now. But on principle we should, as Luther says of God, 'use a thief to catch a thief',[a] and whenever we get the chance, contribute to the general state of disintegration and confusion. *Before* the start of the present troubles I would neither have written for the *Presse* myself, nor have advised you to do so. But the fermentation process has begun and now it's up to everyone to do what he can. It is now advisable to infiltrate poison, no matter where. Should we confine ourselves to writing for papers which *on the whole* share our viewpoint, we'd have to postpone all journalistic activity indefinitely. And should one really allow so-called 'PUBLIC OPINION' to have nothing but counter-revolutionary stuff pumped into it?

*Ad vocem 'Tribune'*: You certainly misunderstood me if you thought I was asking you to take the *Tribune*'s subscribers into account. The fact of the matter is this: My real business with the *Tribune* consists in writing leaders about anything I choose. Here, England heads the bill and France comes second. Much is of an

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[a] M. Luther, *Von Kauffshandlung und Wucher*.

economic nature. But since the change of course in Prussia,[336] I have amused myself on the sly by writing an occasional report from 'Berlin' and owing to my 'internal' ties with the Hohenzollern homeland I have been able to assess conditions there with great assurance. Among the said subscribers to the *Tribune* there are a great many Germans. Moreover, the German-American newspapers, whose name is legion, reprint stuff from it. This being so, it was important for me to give local colour to the occasional article I wrote from 'Berlin' in order that my polemic with the Prussian State might also be pursued in the New World. A little gossip is indispensable to local colour of this kind. Besides, present Prussian history consists largely of *chronique scandaleuse. Hinc illae lacrimae.*[a] In this respect your last letter served me to good purpose.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

*P.S.* Have just received a letter from Nutt, the City booksellers, advising me that your parcel has arrived. I shall collect it without fail today.

What is happening about Engels' pamphlet[b]? I sent it off on the 10TH OF MARCH. I'd have thought this kind of thing could have been done in 5 days.

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## 233

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 April 1859

Dear Engels,

Herewith letter from Lassalle. Herewith letter from Dana, which you must return. I shall wait to hear from you before answering it.[393]

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[a] Hence these tears (Terence, *Andria*, I, i, 99). - [b] *Po and Rhine*

Have written articles on the Reform Bill, MINISTRY.[389] My article for next week: *Indian Finances.*[a] All the rest of the world is therefore at your disposal.

So Palmerston, as was decided at Compiègne[356] (but in effect at Petersburg), is to return to the MINISTRY whatever its denomination. Without him Russia could not allow a war. Now, as in 1852 and 1855, Bright and Russell have pulled the chestnuts out of the fire for him.[394]

By the by, the debate in parliament was very funny. The Whigs and Radicals attacked the Tories largely on the grounds of their being REVOLUTIONISTS. Here, Bright's and Gibson's role most abject. (The latter even went so far as to declaim romantically *against* ELECTORAL DISTRICTS.[395]) On the other hand, the farce of Tories, in the name of the MIDDLE CLASS, advocating their own rubbish in opposition to Whigs and MIDDLE CLASS, who advocate theirs in the name of the WORKING CLASS. A sign of great progress in England.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 234

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

### IN BERLIN

London, 4 April 1859

Dear Lassalle,

All my attempts to raise money have failed. I have also had an answer in the negative from home—you know how much attached

[a] K. Marx, 'Great Trouble in Indian Finances'.

old people are to 'things finite'. Unpleasant though it is for me to approach you—since your own funds are on the ebb just now—I have no other choice. If 20 friedrichsdors is too much, send less. But draw the money from Duncker later on.

Has Engels' pamphlet[a] come out?

I shall write to you from here at length next week (this week there's absolutely no time). In the meantime my thanks for the play[b] and the accompanying letter.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 235

## MARX TO ENGELS[396]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 April 1859

Dear Frederick,

Have written to Dana telling him he can have the articles if he pays better.[397]

Pieper, finally cured and out of hospital (after a serious relapse), is off to Bremen. He has an ugly inflammation on his forehead.

Have you been following the exposure of Palmerston over the Italian question (1848)?[c]

Anstey is back from Hong Kong and is threatening to have his revenge on Palmerston. As an opponent, the latter will find Anstey not a little dangerous—more so, at any rate, than Urquhart.[398]

The financial muddle in India must be seen as the real result of

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[a] *Po and Rhine* - [b] F. Lassalle, *Franz con Sickingen* - [c] See this volume, pp. 431-32.

the Indian Mutiny.[178] A GENERAL financial BREAKDOWN seems inevitable unless those classes are taxed which to date have been England's most solid supporters. However, even that will be of no substantial help. The joke is that John Bull will now have to pay out annually between 4 and 5 million cash in India in order to keep the wheels turning, and will in this nice roundabout way restore his national debt to the proper progressive RATIO. It must certainly be admitted that the Indian market is being paid a damned high price for Manchester COTTONS. According to the report of the Military Commission 80,000 EUROPEANS as well as some 200,000 to 260,000 NATIVES will have to be maintained in India for years to come. This costs ABOUT £20 million and the total NET REVENUE amounts to no more than £25 million. Moreover, the mutiny has added a PERMANENT DEBT of £50 million or, according to Wilson's calculations, a permanent annual deficit of 3 million. In addition, there is the GUARANTEE of £2 million per annum to the RAILWAYS until they are running and, indefinitely, a smaller sum if their NET REVENUE falls short of 5%. So far (apart from the short stretch of railway that has been completed) India has got nothing out of the thing save the privilege of paying English capitalists 5% for their capital. But John Bull has cheated himself, or rather has been cheated by his capitalists. India's payments are merely nominal, whereas those of John Bull are real. E.g. a substantial part of Stanley's LOAN[399] was simply to be used for paying 5% to English capitalists, even in respect of railways the building of which has not yet begun. Finally, the revenue from opium, amounting hitherto to £4 million per annum, is under serious threat as a result of the Chinese treaty.[400] Whatever happens the monopoly is bound to collapse and in China itself the cultivation of opium will soon be in full swing. Revenue was derived from opium precisely because it was an article of contraband. To my mind the present financial catastrophe in India is a more serious affair than was the war in India.

What do you make of Duncker? Was there ever such a rascally slow coach?

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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## 236

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Monday, 11 April 1859

D.M.,

Article for *Friday* on war.[a] The Austrians evidently intend to seize the initiative after all. Very sensible. If I'm not mistaken I have already sent the plan of the war to the *Tribune*[b]: An Austrian offensive to defeat, first, the Piedmontese and then the invading French severally as they debouch from Mont Cenis, Mont Genèvre, the Col di Tenda and Bocchetta—was that it? I can no longer remember exactly. It'll be a very jolly affair.

What clever-clever SLOW COACHES they are in Berlin. They can't even print a pamphlet[c]! I've heard absolutely nothing more—it's enough to drive one insane.

*En attendant, vive la guerre!*[d] In 10 days' time they will, I hope, be at each other's throats in Alessandria or Casale, and then who knows what kind of foxes I shall be hunting next SEASON!

Your
F. E.

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## 237

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 April 1859

Dear Engels,

Yesterday Lassalle wrote to me about your pamphlet[e] as follows:

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[a] F. Engels, 'War Inevitable'. - [b] F. Engels, 'Chances of the Impending War'. - [c] This refers to Engels' *Po and Rhine*. - [d] In the meantime, three cheers for war! - [e] *Po and Rhine*

'Engels' pamphlet came out 3 days ago. Today I am sending him two copies by book post, as I shall do each day for 6 days in succession. For this is the only way we could devise' (!) 'of *avoiding* heavy postal charges on the one hand and, on the other, *preventing certain persons from guessing who was the pamphlet's author.* Write and tell him this.'[a]

Have you ever known such tomfoolery? To *distract* attention from you, they send you copies by book post '6 days in succession'!

Of the thing itself Lassalle writes:

'The pamphlet is truly impressive by reason of the pungency and sterling quality of the strategic knowledge evinced therein.'

(The 'pungency' of 'knowledge' may be regarded as a *lapsus pennae.*[b])

As to my own affair,[c] Lassalle writes:

'Duncker tells me that the instalments will be ready by mid-May.'

(So that's another month's delay.)

'He maintains he is getting on with the printing as quickly as he can. At any rate you are *utterly* wrong in supposing that he is deliberately dragging his feet. He's always rather slow.'

What I *do* know, however, is that another 10 days have gone by without my getting a proof-sheet.

Apropos. The *Neue Zeit* is on its last legs. Mr Edgar, who actually ended up by gracing its columns with a short story of his own contriving,[d] resigned a week ago—realising that the world was thoroughly unamenable to his genius. Last Saturday[e] it came out as a half number, and this week will probably see the end of it. The *Hermann*, too, according to current rumour, will soon depart this life. A good thing the curs snatched so eagerly at the opportunity of thus shamelessly laying bare their nonentity before all the world. Kinkel has KILLED the Kinkel humbug with his own hand. The CLOWN,[f] for his part, has found out just how 'easy' it is to take our place in communist literature.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] Here and below Marx quotes Lassalle's letter to him of 8 April 1859 (the italics are Marx's). - [b] slip of the pen - [c] i.e. the publication of the book *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* - [d] E. Bauer, 'Das Kloster', *Die Neue Zeit*, Nos. 38-42, 19 and 26 March and 2, 10 and 16 April 1859. - [e] 9 April - [f] Edgar Bauer

You explained the Austrian plan of attack in the *Tribune*[a] just as you describe it.

*Pas trop de zèle!*[b]

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## 238

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 16 April [1859]

Dear Engels,

I trust that by the time you get this note your toothache will have gone. It's a fiendish thing.

MEANWHILE I have made arrangements which, within a short time, will double my income and thus put an end to the habitual misery. Friedländer, Lassalle's cousin (sometime editor along with Elsner and Co. of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*), present editor of the *Presse* in Vienna (which, *en passant*, has 24,000 subscribers), offered, in January 1858, to appoint me correspondent to his paper.[254] I turned this down at the time because he stipulated that only Bonaparte, not Palmerston, be attacked. Now he has renewed the offer, ALL CONDITIONS LAID ASIDE. Since, however, this will *as a rule* involve only 1 article (20 frs) per week, it is comparatively unimportant. But I am at the same time to be their despatcher of telegrams (in French), 10 frs per telegram, and this, though time-consuming, is lucrative.

The only point that remains to be settled is that of instructions to a banking house in London, since telegraphing necessitates considerable expenditure. Negotiations—before the terms were SETTLED—extended over 3 weeks. It was only yesterday that I sent a definite answer to a letter received the same day from Vienna. So it will be 8-10 days before the thing gets under way.

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[a] F. Engels, 'Chances of the Impending War' - [b] Not too much zeal! (The dictum is attributed to Talleyrand.)

MEANWHILE the interest on our most valuable silver, watches, etc., is due for payment next Tuesday. By private TRANSACTIONS with the PAWNBROKER my wife has already put off the date of foreclosure for 3 weeks, but Tuesday is the *ultimus terminus*. So my request that you send me a few pounds goes hand in hand with the hope that this will definitely be the last time and the tax upon you will cease for good.

Be so kind as to send 1 copy[a] for me. As soon as you are in possession of several, Freiligrath and Pfänder ought each to have one.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 239

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 April [1859]

Dear Engels,

1. £5 ARRIVED. BEST THANKS.

2. I shall look out the *Tribunes* for you and send them IN THE COURSE OF THIS WEEK.

3. The *Tribune* which arrived today (dated *5 April*) contains an attack (enclosed),[b] probably by some idiot of a Hungarian, which you should answer by *Friday at the latest*. The ANSWER of the '14TH INST'[c] to which the idiot alludes is not to hand. However his own REPETITION will tell you everything he said in 'HIS SHORT ANSWER'.[401]

4. What did the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* say about your *Tribune* articles[402]?

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[a] F. Engels, *Po and Rhine*. - [b] [A.] Asbóth, '"Chances of the Impending War". To the Editor of *The N. Y. Tribune*'. *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5602, 5 April 1859. - [c] [A.] A[sbóth,] '"The Austrian Hold on Italy". To the Editor of *The N. Y. Tribune*', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5581, 11 March 1859.

5. Yesterday I saw Duncker's advertisement for *Po and Rhine* in the *Hamburger Correspondent.*

6. I myself have so far received 8 proof-sheets.[a] So the thing's approaching its end, but no doubt it will be another fortnight before Duncker sends any more.

7. *Ad vocem*[b] Lassalle, I shall deal with this *inter alia* in a longer letter tomorrow.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 240

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[403]

### IN BERLIN

London, 19 April 1859

Dear Lassalle,

I sent no separate acknowledgment of the £14 10/- because the letter was registered. But I should have written earlier had I not been plagued by a damned 'cousin from Holland',[c] who laid claim to my surplus working time in THE MOST CRUEL MANNER.

HE IS NOW GONE, and so I can breathe again.

Friedländer has written to me.[d] The terms are not as favourable as those originally communicated to you, but are nonetheless 'RESPECTABLE'.[254] Once a few subsidiary points have been settled between us—which will, I think, be done in the course of this week—I shall write to him.

Here in England the class struggle is progressing in a most gratifying way. Unfortunately there is no longer any Chartist paper in existence and hence I had to give up literary collaboration with that movement ABOUT two years ago.

Now I come to *Franz von Sickingen. D'abord,*[e] I must applaud

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* - [b] As to - [c] Johann Carl Juta - [d] See this volume, p. 416. - [e] First

both composition and action, and that's more than one can say of any other modern German play. IN THE SECOND INSTANCE, and aside from any reactions of a purely critical nature, the work excited me very much at the first reading and hence will induce this reaction to an even greater degree in more emotionally inclined readers. And that is another and very important aspect.

Now for THE OTHER SIDE OF THE MEDAL: *Firstly*—and this is purely a question of form—since you have chosen to write in verse, you could have put a touch more artistry into the iambics. However, though your neglecting to do so might well shock a *professional poet*, I regard it by and large as a merit, our breed of poetical epigones having retained nothing but formal polish. *Secondly*, the implicit conflict is not just tragic; it is the tragic conflict upon which the revolutionary party of 1848-49 justly foundered. Hence making it the fulcrum of a modern tragedy can only meet with my wholehearted approval. But then, I ask myself, is the theme in question suitable for the portrayal of that conflict? Balthasar may indeed imagine that had Sickingen not pretended that his rebellion was a knightly feud, but had instead raised the standard of opposition to the emperor and open war against the princes, he would have won. But are we able to share that illusion? Sickingen (and with him Hutten, more or less) went under, not because of his cunning, but because, as a *knight* and as *representative of a declining class*, he rebelled against existing reality, or rather against the new form of existing reality. Strip Sickingen of the appurtenances of the individual and his particular education, natural disposition, etc., and you have—Götz von Berlichingen. In this latter, *miserable* fellow the tragic opposition between knights on the one hand and emperor and princes on the other is adequately personified and that is why Goethe rightly made him his hero.[a] In so far as Sickingen—and even Hutten up to a point, although in his case, as in that of all ideologists of a class, such assertions call for substantial modification—is fighting the princes (he turns against the emperor[b] only because the emperor of knights has become the emperor of princes), he is, in fact, nothing more than a Don Quixote, if with some historical justification. The fact that he begins his rebellion in the guise of a knightly feud merely means that he begins it in *knightly fashion*. Were he to begin it in any other way, he would have to appeal directly and at the very outset to the towns and the peasants, i.e. the very classes whose development=the negation of knighthood.

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[a] J. W. Goethe, *Götz von Berlichingen*. - [b] Charles V

Unless, therefore, you wished to reduce the conflict to no more than what is portrayed in Götz von Berlichingen—and such was not your plan—Sickingen and Hutten were bound to go under because they imagined themselves to be revolutionaries (which cannot be said of Götz) and, just like the *cultivated* Polish aristocracy of 1830, turned themselves on the one hand into the organs of modern ideas while on the other actually representing a reactionary class interest.[404] The *aristocratic* representatives of revolution—behind whose catch-words of unity and liberty there still lingers the dream of the imperial past and of club-law—ought not in that case to monopolise the interest as you make them do; rather the representatives of the peasants (of these in particular) and of the revolutionary elements in the towns should provide an altogether significant and dynamic background. This would have enabled you to give expression in far greater measure precisely to the most modern ideas in their most unsophisticated form; whereas, in fact now, the dominant idea, apart from *religious* freedom, is civic *unity*. Then you would automatically have had to *'Shakespearise'* more, whereas your principal failing is, to my mind, *'Schillering'*, i.e. using individuals as mere mouthpieces for the spirit of the times. Have not you yourself—like your Franz von Sickingen—succumbed, to some extent, to the diplomatic error of regarding the Lutheran-knightly opposition as superior to the plebeian-Münzerian?

Again, I miss what is characteristic in the characters. I except Charles V, Balthasar and Richard of Trier. And was there ever a time of more robust character traits than the 16th century? To my mind Hutten is, to far too great a degree, merely a representative of 'enthusiasm', which is boring. Wasn't he also witty, an infernal wit, and hence hasn't he been done a grave injustice?

The extent to which even your Sickingen—who, by the way, is portrayed much too abstractly—suffers as a result of a conflict that is quite independent of all his personal calculations is evident from the necessity he is in of urging friendship with the towns, etc., upon his knights and, on the other hand, from the satisfaction with which he himself imposes club-law upon those same towns.

To come down to details, I would censure the sometimes excessive preoccupation of individuals with themselves—the result of your predilection for Schiller. E.g. on p. 121, when Hutten is telling Marie the history of his life, it would have been quite natural to make Marie say:

'The whole gamut of sensations',

etc., up to the words,

'And weighs more heavily on me than did the years'.

The preceding verses, from 'They say' to 'grown older', might follow *at this point*, but the comment, 'The virgin in a single night matures into a woman' (although showing that the love Marie knows is more than a mere abstraction), is completely pointless; still less should Marie have begun by reflecting upon her own 'ageing'. After recounting all that she had said during the 'one' hour, she might have given general expression to her feelings in the phrase about her "ageing'. Again, what offends me in the lines that follow is: 'I thought it was my *right*' (i.e. happiness). Why give the lie to the ingenuous view of the world which Marie has hitherto professed to hold, by turning it into a doctrine of rights? Maybe some other time I shall give you my opinion in greater detail.

I consider the scene between Sickingen and Charles V to be particularly felicitous, although the dialogue on both sides is rather too much in the nature of pleading; also the scenes in Trier. Hutten's lines about the sword I thought very fine.

Well, that's enough for this time.

You have made my wife into a special admirer of your play. Only Marie doesn't satisfy her.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

*Apropos.* There are some bad misprints in Engels' *Po and Rhine.* I append a list of them on the last page of this letter.[a]

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[a] The list is in Marx's handwriting.

## 241

## ENGELS TO ELISABETH ENGELS

### IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

Manchester, 20 April 1859

Dear Mother,

At last a modicum of peace and quiet in which to write to you again. I got both your dear letters and am glad to hear that you are all well and that the Blank children have recovered from the measles. I am very well; my back teeth are gradually breaking up, but not too painfully on the whole, otherwise there's absolutely nothing wrong with me; my appetite and digestion are first-rate and there hasn't been a trace of the old troubles.

So little Delius has finally been unable after all to help coming the Bradfordian over you. I should have thought he would mind his p's and q's a bit more, but since he has evidently begun to stir up these little troubles, I can only tell you that in Bradford talking big is in the very air, and that, in the long run, it's a sheer impossibility for a Bradfordian to tell the truth. Now that the little chap shares lodgings with Wilhelm Kutter, who is the greatest tall story teller under the sun, he seems increasingly to be acquiring the same virtue. If a Bradfordian were to tell me that twice two makes four, I would immediately begin to doubt the accuracy of the multiplication table. I'm warning you of this in advance, so that you're not too hard on the little chap; Bradfordians are all alike, they're fluent liars. The story about the horse originated simply from my having told the owner that, if he would sell the animal for less than £120, he was to *let me know*—nothing more. It's a long way from there to buying. Were it now to be offered me at £120, I would think twice before giving £100 for it, since it is in fact rather too light for me and for the same money I could get a very fine, strong hunter. Come to that, it's not such a tall story about his bolting into a shop. Any horse that's really mettlesome and has done little or nothing for a whole week will, with an indifferent rider, engage in all manner of strange antics, and whether the pair of them break their necks is entirely a matter of luck. But no horse is going to find it easy to take me into a shop against my will, you may be sure of that.

The other story, the one about Carl Siebel, is still more of a fabrication. Far from leading a dissipated life, he spends nearly every evening at home, hardly ever goes out and has hardly any

acquaintances. I don't believe there are twenty young men of his age in the whole of Manchester who live as soberly as he does. True, in the early days he did once or twice drink a glass too many, and indulged in all kinds of childish pranks but, being in the company of myself and a few acquaintances and seeing that we found nothing to admire in these puerilities, he gave it up. Altogether he's still half a child, terribly immature and incapable of coping with the most everyday problems. But time will take care of that. We Barmen lads all seem to have this in common—that it takes us a long time to emerge from uncouth adolescence; I must have been just as queer a fish when I was 23. His parents, by the way, must have gone about it very oddly if they could do nothing with the lad, for he has an excellent side to him, namely awareness of his own weaknesses, and, far from being self-willed, is on the contrary very amenable to persuasion. What prepossesses me in his favour is that, despite all the fulsome praise that has been lavished on his verses, he knows at the bottom of his heart that these are nothing but immature, unfinished, superficial affairs, and the nice young chap was awfully grateful to me when I explained this to him good-humouredly but no less clearly for that; for after he had presented me with the whole of his immortal works, I told him outright that, while they showed talent, it was wasted talent, and that none of his stuff was of any value as a work of art. The lad must really have been very much of a dilettante in Berlin, and in danger of going to the dogs among the belletristic riff-raff of the literary world there. Whenever I see him, I regularly take him to task on the subject and tell him he should turn his back on versifying for a time and make a thorough study of the classical poets of all nations in order to educate his very confused taste a little, and to learn German, of which he still knows nothing. If he does this, he may yet become a very steady sort of chap. His parents, by the way, ought to have sufficient gumption to place themselves on a rational footing with him—one that he can tolerate—or so arrange matters that he can gradually find the means and the opportunity of setting himself up, here or elsewhere, as an independent business man. The boy knows that he can at any time earn sufficient to live on by his writing, and if his dear papa has neither the intelligence nor the tact to treat him like a grown-up person, he has only himself to blame if the chap finally gets sick of the whole thing and decides to do nothing but write, when he would quite certainly *go completely to the dogs*. Old Siebel may perhaps imagine that I'm putting all kinds of nonsense into his son's head, but he can rest

assured that I am bringing my whole influence to bear on him to deter him from over-much writing (because the boy isn't yet ripe for it) and to make him realise that there's no more wretched existence than dependence on earnings from literary work, and that the sooner he comes to terms with his prosaic, bourgeois trade, the better (for without it, since he is *au fond*[a] reluctant to learn, there would be nothing to restrain him and he'd go to the dogs altogether). If he does this and gains a little more experience of life and sheds his awkwardness, I have no doubt he will become a very steady sort of chap and achieve something worthwhile in the literary field too. I like the boy very much since he is exceedingly good-natured, not at all conceited and very frank and straightforward. I normally see him twice a week or so.

I didn't know that E. Blank was in London and hope that he'll come up here one of these days; anyhow, a few months ago he promised he would. War or no war, by the way, let nothing prevent you from coming over here this summer—I'm counting firmly on it. As you know, we're bound for Scotland this summer, and in the meantime you can take another look at your Walter Scott so that you'll know what's what.

But now I must stop as it's 7 o'clock and I still have sundry business letters to write. I had really meant to enclose a note for Father, but it is absolutely impossible and I must have the statements done for him as well. So I'll write to him as soon as I can, in two or three days' time.

Meanwhile give him my love, and also to my brothers and sisters and their families.

With much love from your son,

Friedrich

You needn't, of course, tell Mrs Siebel every word I've said about Carl.

From the bottom of my heart I wish you many happy returns of the day, and hope that I shall be able to do so many, many times again.

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[a] at bottom

## 242

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 April 1859

Dear Frederick,

I have MODIFIED your ARTICLE[a] to accord with the latest NEWS.

You didn't, I suppose, waste your time (as I was obliged to do) wading through last Monday's parliamentary debates.[b] Their GIST was as follows:

1. England has been duped throughout the negotiations.
2. England is decidedly pro-Austrian.

*ad* 1. The English ministers had announced once before that everything was SETTLED. This was when the news of the evacuation of Rome[405] was appearing in all the papers. From statements made in the House of Lords it follows: that the Pope[c] really had requested that his territory be evacuated. France had repeatedly complained to the English about the falsity of her position in Rome. She had wished to withdraw but was prevented, on the one hand, by the Pope's apprehensions and, on the other, by the Austrians' refusal similarly to withdraw. This was actually the *official* PRETEXT Boustrapa[40] gave England to justify the scene with the Austrian ambassador on 1 January.[406] WELL, the Pope scotched that PRETEXT. Austria *ACTUALLY* withdrew 2 battalions from Bologna and had given ORDERS for the remaining troops to leave. Then Bonaparte discovered a pretext for *not* evacuating, and thus the whole business fell through. This put Mr Derby into a very BAD TEMPER and, TO SOOTH HIM, Bonaparte unbosomed himself about the 'ITALIAN QUESTION' to Lord Cowley, who telegraphed London saying he found his demands 'SATISFACTORY'. Thereupon Cowley was sent to Vienna bearing Bonaparte's demands which *England* had accepted. (This man Cowley is the selfsame swine who, in Vienna in 1848/49, intrigued against the German revolution.) This was at the end of February. Austria, being exceedingly reluctant to engage in a war and having at the time not progressed nearly so far in the matter of armaments as by the middle of March, *accepted*

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[a] 'The State of the Question.—Germany Arming' - [b] An account of the debates in the British Parliament on 18 April 1859 was published in *The Times*, No. 23284, 19 April 1859. - [c] Pius IX

*everything.* When Cowley arrived in London on his way back to Paris, both 'he' and the 'Ministry', as Derby himself says, were fully convinced that everything was SETTLED, and *again discredited themselves* by making a fresh statement to that effect before Parliament. So Cowley departs in sanguine mood for Paris. Here he learns that they've been playing blind man's buff with him and that, *at Russia's suggestion,* Boustrapa has agreed to A GENERAL CONGRESS at which, again *at Russia's suggestion,* only the 5 great powers were to be represented, i.e. Sardinia was to be excluded. Derby declared outright that *Russia's intervention* (although agreed with France; but *Bonaparte,* of course, could not reject CONDITIONS put to Austria by England in *his* name) was alone to blame for the fact that peace had not been achieved. On the same day Palmerston said in the House OF COMMONS that he didn't (OF COURSE) blame Russia; had England's mediation been successful Russia would not have played the role she would certainly play at a congress and which was her due where European questions were concerned. Although with very bad grace, Derby accepted the Russian proposal under certain conditions, of which THE PRINCIPAL was that the TERRITORIAL SETTLEMENTS of the Treaty of Vienna of 1815[407] should not be infringed. Austria, who had already assumed that everything was settled, now clearly perceived that war had been *decided upon* and that an attempt was being made to lead her by the nose. Hence her reply to the new English proposal was the outrageous demand that, by way of a preliminary to the congress, Sardinia must disarm. Whereupon Derby proposed to Bonaparte that Sardinia should be induced to consent to this outrage on condition that both France and England simultaneously undertook to guarantee her against a breach of the peace by Austria during the congress. That ass Bonaparte rejected this. Had he accepted he could have got his agents to stage some sort of fracas on the Austro-Piedmontese border, when England would have been BOUND DOWN TO AN OFFENSIVE TREATY WITH FRANCE AND SARDINIA AGAINST AUSTRIA, and Palmerston would have certainly compelled the Tories TO BE AS GOOD AS THEIR WORD. The Austrians, for their part, were alarmed by the ease with which, under certain circumstances, England was prepared to enter into an offensive alliance against them. They therefore promptly declared themselves in favour of the English proposal, and made Sardinia's disarmament a general disarmament. Then came the row as to whether disarmament should take place before the MEETING of the CONGRESS, as maintained by Austria, or after it, as maintained by Bonaparte, and then as to whether or not Sardinia should be admitted, etc. In short, all the

new difficulties stemmed from Bonaparte, 1) the QUIBBLES about disarmament; 2) after all, *he* and *Russia* had *proposed* the exclusion of Sardinia from the congress. So enraged was Derby last Monday that he is said to have literally shouted when he declared that England would now make one more, *ULTIMATE* proposal; but he was weary of TRIFLING and if that one failed he would no longer act as mediator, etc.

*ad* 2. Bonaparte could accept these latter proposals since they were *detrimental* solely to Austria in so far as she was in the lead with her armaments. He *had* to accept them if Derby was not to be given a pretext for taking an outright stand against him. Austria had to reject them if she was not to deprive herself of every advantage, etc. Bonaparte, who had counted on Derby's fall and Palmerston's accession, was IN A PLIGHT THE WORSE since in their speeches Derby and Disraeli had plainly indicated that they were tired of being duped by Bonaparte and Russia and had, moreover, definitely sided with Austria. Malmesbury said he failed to understand *upon what pretext* Bonaparte had intervened in the Italian imbroglio. Derby said that England would at first observe ARMED NEUTRALITY, but turn against any power which 'for no good reason' instigated a war. Derby said that England's interests in the Adriatic did not permit him to look on with folded arms; and that he would regard an attack on Trieste almost as a *casus belli.* Disraeli said that Austria had behaved with 'DIGNIFIED MODERATION' and that Sardinia was 'AMBIGUOUS, VEXING AND EVEN AMBITIOUS'. Finally they all said that the treaties of 1815 must be MAINTAINED, and repeatedly emphasised, with immediate reference to the TERRITORIAL SETTLEMENT IN ITALY, that those treaties 'INTENDED PUTTING A CHECK UPON THE ENCROACHING AMBITION OF FRANCE'.

This much is certain: The ruse whereby Derby, instead of resigning, consigned Parliament to the devil, thus temporarily banishing Palmerston into private life, has placed the Russo-French game in a serious dilemma.

There are only two alternatives.

Either Austria allows herself to be intimidated by minatory TELEGRAMS from London and Berlin, and WITHDRAWS Gyulay's ultimatum to Piedmont,[408] in *which* case not even God will be able to help Bonaparte. For then he will, IN FACT, be compelled to *disarm* and be treated by the army as a Soulouque. As it is, the workers in Paris have been infuriated by the turpitude of Blanqui's deportation to Cayenne.[409] Or else Austria wearies of diplomatic trifling and marches on Turin. In which case Mr Bonaparte has won a diplomatic victory in as much as Austria will

have been the first to declare war; but that diplomatic victory will have been bought at the expense of AN UGLY MILITARY DEFEAT. In which case I don't give 4 MONTHS PURCHASE FOR HIS CROWN AND DYNASTY.

I'll send you the *Tribunes* tomorrow.

Apropos.

The great imperial Vogt[410] has written Freiligrath an epistle in which he informs him that this imperial gang is bringing out a new newspaper in Zurich (or Berne, I forget which).[411] He invited Freiligrath to write for the feuilleton and to enlist the profound Bucher as political correspondent.

The platform upon which imperial Vogt proposes to build a new 'party' and which has, as he himself puts it, been most warmly welcomed by A. Herzen, is this: Germany surrenders her extraterritorial possessions. Does not support Austria. French despotism is transitory, Austrian permanent. Both despots to be allowed to bleed to death. (Even some predilection for Bonaparte in evidence.) Armed neutrality for Germany. A revolutionary movement in Germany, as Vogt 'knows on the best authority', is not to be thought of DURING OUR LIFETIME. CONSEQUENTLY, as soon as Austria has been ruined by Bonaparte, the fatherland will experience the spontaneous beginnings of a moderate, liberal-national development *à la* imperial Regency, and Vogt may yet become Prussian court jester. From Vogt's letter it is evident that he believes Freiligrath to be no longer connected with us in any way. The ignorance of this imperial Vogt about the people he is dealing with! Bucher, as an Urquhartite, is an *Austrian*. The great Blind, ON THE OTHER HAND, finding himself in the dilemma of being anti-Bonaparte as a German and anti-Austria as Rotteck, is AT THE PRESENT MOMENT convening a 'German Parliament',[a] as the telegraph will soon announce in Manchester.[412]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] K. Blind, 'Der Befreier Napoleon', *Hermann*, No. 15, 16 April 1859.

## 243

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[82]

IN BERLIN

London, 5 May 1859
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

From the enclosed letter dated April 12,[a] which I should like to have back, you will see that there is a very considerable difference between the terms offered me by your cousin Friedländer and the terms you originally communicated to me.[b] Nevertheless I replied *by return* accepting them.[413] I merely noted:

1. that I could not make disbursements for telegrams, a point, by the by, that hardly needed mentioning and had been anticipated in your letter;

2. that, if we came to an arrangement, I should like (though I did not make it a *conditio sine qua*[c]) to be able to draw on them with a BANKER here for articles, etc., sent, as is done in the case of the *Tribune*.

So far there has been no answer, which I find strange. If the editors have changed their minds, they might have had the decency to inform me. As you are aware, I did not in any way thrust myself forward in this matter. But, having accepted, I made one or two preliminary approaches to English newspapers, etc., and I am specially anxious not to be compromised in the eyes of these people and other acquaintances whom I have informed of the matter for business reasons. That I, for my part, have not yet sent off any article is only natural, since there is still no firm engagement.

The elections here have not, alas, turned out to be sufficiently Tory.[385] Had this been the case there would, BY and BY, have been the beginnings of a revolutionary movement here. Palmerston's return to the FOREIGN MINISTRY can now, AFTER SOME SHUFFLING, be

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[a] A letter from M. Friedländer inviting Marx to contribute to the Vienna newspaper *Die Presse*. - [b] See this volume, pp. 408-09. - [c] necessary condition

regarded as certain and hence Russia will again be in direct control of English policy.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 244

## MARX TO ENGELS[20]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 May 1859

DEAR Frederick,

Your article received.[414] You will have seen from a telegraphic despatch that Hess has come out against Gyulay's plan (perhaps one should describe it as *absence of plan*). Looked at from our—i.e. a revolutionary—POINT OF VIEW, it would be by no means undesirable if Austria were to begin either by suffering a reverse or, which is morally the same thing, by withdrawing into Lombardy again. This will greatly complicate matters and thus allow sufficient time for things to come to a head in Paris. All in all the state of affairs is such that, no matter on what side BLUNDERS occur, they will necessarily redound to our advantage. If, at the outset, Austria were to beat the Piedmontese army, take Turin and thrash the French as they debouched from the Alps, Russia might immediately turn against Bonaparte[415]—having in any case not yet *actually* entered into any obligations against Germany, and our rotten Prussian government would be extricated from the only dilemma that might cost it its neck. Again: Such a devastating defeat at the very beginning could bring about a mutiny in the French army and an anti-Bonaparte revolution in Paris. What then? At *this* juncture the upshot would be victorious armed intervention by the Holy Alliance[416] against a potential revolutionary government in Paris, something which certainly doesn't come into our *calcul.*[a]

[a] calculations

Even Radetzky had the revolutionary ardour of 1848 in his veins. On the other hand I believe that on both sides, Austrian and French, the war will now be conducted with reactionary mediocrity.

It was wrong of you not to have sent us at least two more pamphlets[a]—for Pfänder, who sent off your manuscript under his own name, and for Freiligrath. It would also be fitting to send a copy to P. Imandt (DUNDEE SEMINARY, *Dundee*). You must pay some heed to party relations and keep the chaps in good humour.

Apropos, I deleted the whole of the preamble to your last Friday's article,[b] firstly because I had my MISGIVINGS about the Austrians; secondly because it is absolutely essential that we do not identify our cause with that of the present German governments.

In my view, the worthy Palmerston will very shortly be back at the helm as FOREIGN MINISTER or War Minister. Those dolts of Tories are indeed making things too easy for him. First they go and spoil the Austrians' game by their miserable SHOW OF MEDIATION. Then, as soon as the Franco-Russian treaty has been made known, they bend every FORCE to deny its existence, so as to prove THAT THEY HAVE NOT BEEN TAKEN BY SURPRISE. This in turn gives *The Times* the opportunity to deride them and adopt a patriotic attitude towards Russia.[c] But the LONG AND SHORT of it is that *The Times*, like all the rest of Palmerston's papers (though these, depending on their allotted role, either oppose or support the various powers involved), is hinting at the necessity of reappointing THE TRULY BRITISH MINISTER[141] (*The Morning Advertiser* and *The Daily Telegraph*, which write for the MOB, are saying it openly). The wretched Tories ought instead to have 'lent credence to' the Russo-French treaty and seized on the chance of going for Pam. They had the best of OPPORTUNITIES. Firstly, Pam was in Compiègne[356] when the whole plan was hatched. Secondly, Mr Whiteside, speaking on behalf of the ministry, had in fact already told silly old John Bull[d] what had long been apparent from the Blue Books,[38] namely that in 1848 Austria approached Palmerston and offered to *relinquish the whole of Lombardy* but to install an Italian government in Venice under an Austrian ARCHDUKE, if he would mediate.[e] Piedmont had approached him at the same time, France ditto. What did Pam do?

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[a] F. Engels, *Po and Phine*. - [b] 'Prospects of the War' - [c] 'In our long list of telegrams...', *The Times*, No. 23295, 2 May 1859. - [d] A reference to J. Whiteside's speech in the House of Commons delivered on 25 March 1859, *The Times*, No. 23264, 26 March 1859. - [e] Marx refers to the Blue Book *Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Italy* published in 1849.

He rejected the proposal, on the PRETEXT that Venice, too, must be given up altogether. He gave this answer after a three weeks' silence. As soon as Radetzky was victorious he called upon the Austrians to carry out the plan they had divulged to him. In the Hungarian affair (with reference this time to the CONDITIONS upon which the already desperate Hungarians were willing to submit) he performed the same manoeuvre. The fellow's return to the ministry constitutes A REAL DANGER. In Germany, by the by, the fellows are beginning to see through him. In a book by Prof. Wurm of Hamburg (a history of the war in the East),[a] and a book on Nicholas by another German, whose name I can't recall, Pam is attacked outright as a Russian agent.

*Ad vocem* BUSINESS.[b] That ass Friedländer wrote to me on 12 April but had forgotten the crucial point, i.e. instructions to a banking-house. Instead, he spoke of an 'advance'. This last is NONSENSE. £8-10, and often £15, will be needed each week for telegrams. I wrote and told the ass so. Up till now no answer, although he regularly sends me the Vienna *Presse* (from which I gather that it now has 26,000 subscribers). Yesterday I wrote Lassalle a fulminating letter.[c] I see from the *Presse* that Lassalle has embarked on his articles and telegraphic despatches for that paper with great zeal albeit small talent. However he did not accept this post until I had 'given him permission' in writing,[d] not wanting—or so he says—to take the political risk without my CONSENT. It would be a rum business, would it not, if all the transaction led to was Lassalle's installing himself in that quarter? It's possible, however, that the delay is due to Friedländer's difficulty in arranging the financial side in Vienna during the present TROUBLES. MEANWHILE, out of impatience, I am devoting myself to algebra.

*Salut.*

*Is Lupus in Manchester?*

Your

K. M.

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[a] F. Wurm, *Diplomatische Geschichte der Orientalischen Frage*. - [b] See this volume, p. 416. - [c] Ibid., p. 409. - [d] Ibid., pp. 429-30.

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## MARX TO MAX FRIEDLÄNDER

IN VIENNA

London, 16 May 1859
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Sir,

I have been receiving the Vienna *Presse* regularly and my debt to you for sending it is the greater in that it throws light on conditions in Austria at this important juncture.

I have not yet had a reply to the letter I wrote you some weeks ago.[413] If, by chance, the proposed arrangement[a] has come to nothing as a result of the DERANGEMENTS of the Vienna money market,[417] *I would beg you to advise me of this by return*, for I have made certain agreements regarding telegrams with newspapers over here which commit me to financial outlays and which I shall accordingly terminate forthwith.

Yours very truly,
Dr K. Marx

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## 246

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 May 1859

Dear Engels,

From the enclosed letter of Lassalle's,[418] which I must have back *by return*, you will see how far things have progressed with the

[a] Marx's work for the Vienna newspaper *Die Presse* (see this volume, p. 432).

Vienna BUSINESS. I wrote to Friedländer at once. The fact is that Lassalle doesn't know that I get the *Presse* every day—I enclose a few excerpts from it—and thus have seen that, up to the time of my letter,[a] he regularly contributed to the paper, but that the latter stopped his telegrams from Berlin on account of their inordinate length; moreover his articles were inept and would be something of an embarrassment to *any* paper. It is possible that the whole business is off, but it is also possible that the COMMERCIAL PANIC in Vienna, comparable only to the one in Hamburg,[419] has so far prevented the chaps from making any ARRANGEMENT. *Nous verrons.*[b]

More in my next—highly comical, too. This much today: our[c] *ex-gérant*[d] Korff has been sentenced in New Orleans to 12 years penal servitude for FORGERY OF A BILL.

Ex-imperial regent Vogt[410] has sold himself to Bonaparte.[420]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 247

## MARX TO ENGELS[1]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 May 1859

Dear Engels,

Lassalle's letter[418] contains several POINTS upon which I shall haul him over the coals. *D'abord,*[e] the laddie talks about what he 'is to do for me'. But all I asked of him was that he, who set the whole thing in train and whose articles I was constantly seeing in the *Presse*, should enlighten me as to the mysterious silence from Vienna.[f] This was *his* BUSINESS. Secondly, he makes it look as

[a] See this volume, pp. 407-09. - [b] We shall see. - [c] A reference to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. - [d] ex-manager - [e] First - [f] See this volume, p. 429.

though he had contributed to the *Presse* only after a tremendous struggle, on 'my' insistence. But at one point in the same letter he admits that he had already begun sending articles to Vienna *before* I had stated my case. Then, however, he proceeds to reverse the 'nexus'. When he sent me Friedländer's offer he drivelled away for two pages about whether or not he should write to Vienna, and made the thing dependent on my decision. *D'abord*, it went without saying that, if I thought writing for the *Presse* good enough for me, I wouldn't think it beneath Lassalle. Moreover, I could see from his letter how anxious he was to obtain my CONSENT. Why then do we now have this self-aggrandizing misrepresentation of the causal nexus? What he says about 'bias' and having written to Friedländer 'telling him off' about it, is NONSENSE. As Austrian papers go and considering the circumstances, the Vienna *Presse* is edited cleverly and fairly, with far greater tact than Lassalle would be able to command. Finally, I did not invite the laddie's instructions as to what is or is not 'worthy' of me. I consider it RATHER ARROGANT of him to drop hints to me on the subject. If Friedländer manages to SETTLE the financial side, I shall *positivement* stand by my decision, which is in no way altered by the fact that Lassalle's articles don't seem to suit Friedländer. From recent issues of the *Presse* I see that the number of its subscribers has risen to 27,000.

Lassalle's pamphlet[a] is an ENORMOUS BLUNDER.[421] The publication of your 'anonymous' pamphlet[b] made him envious. Admittedly the position of the revolutionary party in Germany is difficult at present, yet a little critical analysis of the CIRCUMSTANCES suffices to make it plain. As regards the 'governments', it is clear from all points of view, if only in the interests of Germany's *existence*, that they must be urged *not* to remain *neutral* but to be, as you rightly say, *patriotic*. But the affair can be given *revolutionary* pertinence simply by stressing opposition *to Russia* more strongly than opposition to Boustrapa.[40] That's what Lassalle should have done vis-à-vis the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*'s anti-French clamour. Indeed, it is *this* point which, as the war goes on, will in practice involve the German governments in high treason and at which it will be possible to seize them by the throat. Incidentally, if Lassalle takes it upon himself to speak in the name of the party, he must in future either resign himself to being publicly disavowed by us, since circumstances are too grave to take account of feelings, or else he must first ascertain the views held by others besides himself before following

[a] *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preußens* - [b] *Po and Rhine*

the joint inspiration of fire and logic.[422] We must now absolutely insist on party discipline, otherwise everything will be in the soup.

The confusion presently reigning in men's minds has reached a curious peak. *D'abord*, THERE IS that traitor to the Empire, the 'imperial regent',[410] who has received cash payments from Paris.[420] In the Hamburg *Freischütz*, Mr Meyen praises Vogt's piece.[a] There is a type of vulgar democrat (some sincere ones among them believe that an Austrian defeat, complemented by revolution in Hungary+Galicia, etc., would bring about revolution in Germany. The dolts forget that revolution in Germany *now*=disorganisation of her armies and would benefit, not the revolutionaries, but Russia and Boustrapa), a type, I say, of vulgar democrat who delights in being able to pipe the same tune as the decembristising[138] Hungarians (Bangyas all) and Poles (in the Prussian chamber a few days ago Mr Cieszkowski called Nicholas the Poles' 'great Slav ally') and Italians. Another lot—e.g. Blind who seeks to combine patriotism and democratism—are making asses of themselves (and old Uhland too among their number) by demanding war *with* Austria against Bonaparte and, at the same time, an imperial parliament. *D'abord*, the asses fail to see that the conditions for the fulfilment of this repellent wish are entirely wanting. Secondly, however, they pay so little heed to what is really happening as to be wholly unaware that, in the only part of Germany which counts, namely *Prussia*, the bourgeois are proud of their Chambers, whose power is bound to grow with the growing embarrassment of the GOVERNMENT; that these bourgeois are justifiably (as recent transactions in the Chambers go to show) disinclined to be dictated to by Badeners and Württembergers under the style of 'parliament', just as the Prussian government is reluctant to be ruled by Austria under the style of 'Federal Diet'[423]; that these bourgeois know from the experience of 1848 that a parliament alongside their Chambers destroys the power of the latter while itself remaining nothing more than a phantasm. In fact there is much more revolutionary purchase in the Prussian Chambers, which have to vote budgets and which, in certain EVENTUALITIES, have part of the ARMY and the Berlin mob behind them, than in a DEBATING CLUB under the style of 'Imperial Parliament'. That Badeners, Württembergers and OTHER SMALL DEER take a different

[a] E. Meyen's review of K. Vogt's book *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas* was published anonymously under the title 'Oesterreich und Deutschland' in *Der Freischütz*, Nos. 55 and 56, 7 and 10 May 1859.

view because of their own importance goes without saying. There is a very real fear among our own party friends and other sincere revolutionaries that war against Boustrapa would mean a reversion to 1813-15. Finally, those who speak for the Crédit mobilier[45] in Germany (*Kölnische Zeitung*, Fould-Oppenheim, etc.) naturally share the democrats' apprehensions and pin their hopes on the Prussian dynasty's traditional short-sighted perfidy (Peace of Basle,[424] etc.). On the other hand, a section of the democratic and revolutionary party feels bound for patriotic reasons to adopt a Jahn-Arndtian tone. In view of all these CONFUSIONS, and since I believe that Germany's fate is hanging in the balance, I think it behoves the two of us to issue a party manifesto.[425] If the Vienna business[a] is settled, you must come up for the purpose at Whitsun. If not, I shall come to Manchester.

From these GENERAL THINGS I NOW come to the STATE OF PARTIES (German) in London, and here I must recapitulate certain matters which I considered too boring to recount to you so long as they were still in progress.

First, you will recall that Mr Liebknecht introduced the CLOWN E. Bauer into the so-called Communist Society[426] just when I had publicly broken with Bauer and that the CLOWN took over the *Neue Zeit* in which the ignorant blockhead, by his EXAGGERATION of the few communist catch-phrases he had picked up from Scherzer, turned our party into a laughing-stock. For me it was a most disagreeable affair—not because of the few louts in London, but because of the malicious glee of the democratic crew, because of the FALSE APPEARANCES evoked by smartly sending COPIES of the filthy rag to Germany and the UNITED STATES, because of the knowledge the CLOWN gained of the rotten state of the party; finally, because of the contacts he made with the International Committee here.[427] Throughout the time the CLOWN was editing the *Neue Zeit* and lecturing to the Society, Mr Liebknecht remained in the latter and, moreover, talked a great deal of nonsense about having to defend me against the great odium felt for me by the workers (i.e. louts), etc. Well, after only half a number (I sent it to you) of the *Neue Zeit* had appeared because of lack of money, Liebknecht acted as CHAIRMAN at a meeting to which the various associations had been invited for the purpose of saving the paper.[428] The result, of course, was nil. After this performance, I convened our people (a small gang, Pfänder, Lochner, etc., and a few newcomers, whom

[a] The question of Marx's contributing to the Vienna newspaper *Die Presse*.

Liebknecht had for a long time—ever since my removal out of town[429]—treated as his private club) and took the occasion to pitch into Liebknecht in a manner far from pleasing to him until he declared himself a contrite sinner. He said that an attempt had been made to bring out the *Neue Zeit* again, but had been frustrated by *his* vigorous intervention. I was therefore surprised to receive, a day or two later, what appeared to be a successor to the *Neue Zeit*, entitled *Das Volk*.[430] However, the matter was elucidated in a curious way, as follows (see also enclosed letter):

Mr CLOWN had finally written to Biskamp (you have a letter to him from Biskamp) saying that Kinkel had ruined the *Neue Zeit* by his intrigues, appeared to be seething with vindictive feelings, etc. WELL. Biskamp comes up to London and is *d'abord* STARTLED BY THE FACT that one of *his own* articles intended for the *Neue Zeit* has appeared in the *Hermann* somewhat watered down. He hurries to the CLOWN, who seems far from PLEASED to see him, says he is ill, simulates disillusionment and ends up by telling him that the whole thing is a mess, that he (Biskamp) should not get involved in it, that Kinkel is too strong, etc. But Biskamp, struck by the fact that Kinkel had transferred his *Hermann* to the *Neue Zeit*'s press, having given up his former press, and that he was printing *his* manuscripts, hastily sought out Hirschfeld at the press where he discovered—*Edgar Bauer*'s manuscript and proof corrections. IN ONE WORD, Mr Edgar had used the *Neue Zeit* to *sell himself to Kinkel* and—evidence of the man's fecundity—made the most of the occasion by printing Biskamp's manuscripts as contributions of *his own*. That oaf Kinkel! He seeks to ruin the *Neue Zeit*, not by giving the CLOWN money and allowing him to continue as editor, but by buying the said CLOWN who, throughout his editorship, had eschewed all polemic! But in this way Gottfried thought to rid himself once and for all of competition, however small. One more word about the activities of this same Gottfried. A third German paper made its appearance here, first under the title *Londoner Deutsche Zeitung*, then under the title *Germania*. This paper, edited by a certain Ermani, had Austrian leanings. Gottfried revealed that the editor had committed some felony, got Dr Juch to threaten him, bought up his paper and press for a mere song (whether out of the Revolutionary Fund or with money supplied by the Prussian Embassy isn't known) and, they say, intends to continue publishing the sheet under Juch's management and a different title. Kinkel's paper has 1,700 subscribers, is coming to be a source of income, and the fellow wishes to secure it against any competition or polemics.

After the CLOWN's betrayal, Biskamp, etc., founded *Das Volk*, and he and the louts first approached me indirectly through Liebknecht. Then Biskamp came to see me.

I told him that *we* could not contribute directly to a *small* paper nor, for that matter, to *any* party paper *which we did not ourselves edit*. However, the latter was a move for which every prerequisite was lacking at the moment. On the other hand *Mr Liebknecht* might give Biskamp the benefit of his collaboration. I appreciated, of course, that Gottfried has not been left in command of the field and that his dirty schemes should be BAFFLED, but all I would undertake to do was to let them have from time to time 'published' *Tribune* ARTICLES which they could use; to urge my acquaintances to take the paper; and, finally, to give them *verbally* any information that reached me and 'pointers' about this and that. On the other hand I stipulated that Biskamp should forthwith publish (he will do so in the very next number) a documented account of Bauer's and Kinkel's dirty work.[a] (I shall thus have killed 2 birds with one stone, even if the little paper ceases publication.) Further, that the CLOWN's objective heights must be abandoned and that the tone adopted must IN EVERY RESPECT be aggressive and polemical and, indeed, as amusing as possible.

CONSEQUENTLY, I would ask you, Lupus, Gumpert and anyone else you can get hold of (point out that our only interest in the thing is that it's anti-Kinkel) to subscribe to *Das Volk*, OFFICE: 3 Litchfield Street, Soho. (Quarterly subscription 3/6d post free.) Gumpert and Biskamp both come from Hesse-Cassel and since the former may have an occasional *bon mot* up his sleeve, he might send it to his compatriot. Finally, let me have the name of some fellow (a STATIONER) in Manchester to whom *Das Volk* could be sent for distribution. (Write to the Bradfordian[b] as well.)

I consider *Das Volk* to be a dilettante rag like our Brussels and Paris papers.[c] But covertly and without intervening directly, we can use it to worry the life out of Gottfried, etc., etc. Again, *the moment may come*, and that very soon, *when it will be of crucial importance that, not just our enemies, but we ourselves* should be able to publish our views in a London paper. Biskamp works for nothing and hence is all the more deserving of support.

What is really choice is that in No. 18 of the *Hermann*, the CLOWN wrote a highly inane, piddling sort of article in which he 'proves' that, because of 'England's neutrality', the present war is con-

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[a] An item on the subject appeared in *Das Volk*, No. 4. 28 May 1859 ('Vereins-Nachrichten'). - [b] Wilhelm Strohn - [c] the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* and *Vorwärts!*

deinned to be a 'hole and corner war'.[a] 'Conclusive' deeds are no longer possible on the unhappy Continent, which is the *reason why* noble England remains 'neutral'. In No. 19 the CLOWN is given a dressing-down by Blind from the indignant democratic-patriotic standpoint and by Bucher from the Urquhartite and thus, having been stamped upon by all parties, he will doubtless soon get the sack, even from the *Hermann*.[b]

This has been a very good lesson for the louts. Scherzer, that old-Weitlingian jackass, imagined that *he* could nominate party representatives. At *my* meeting with a deputation of the louts (I have refused to visit any association, but Liebknecht is CHAIRMAN of one and Laplander[c] of another[431]) I told them straight out that we owed our position as representatives of the proletarian party to nobody *but ourselves*; this, however, had been endorsed by the exclusive and universal hatred accorded us by every faction and party of the old world. You can imagine how taken aback the oafs were.

If you haven't any *Po and Rhine* left, you must order some. COPIES are also needed for Steffen, Weydemeyer and several reviews here.

Might it be possible to send poor Eccarius, who is again going to pieces in his sweat-shop, a fresh consignment of port?

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Have received a letter from Weydemeyer and Komp.[432] Shall send it you very soon. Thanks to them Duncker has already had orders for about 100 copies of my *Economy*[d] from the UNITED STATES.

Tell Lupus that, FROM THE BEGINNING, Beta (Bettziech), editor of *How do you do?*, was also Gottfried's real editorial factotum.

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[a] [E. Bauer,] 'Englische Neutralität', *Hermann*, No. 18, 7 May 1859. - [b] K. Blind, 'Der lokalisierte Krieg und die deutsche Volkspartei' and L. B[ucher], Louis Napoleon's Laufbahn', *Hermann*, No. 19, 14 May 1859. - [c] Albert August Anders - [d] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

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## ENGELS TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[433]

### IN BERLIN

Manchester, 18 May 1859
6 Thorncliffe Grove

Dear Lassalle,

You will have found it somewhat strange that I haven't written to you for so long, the more so since I owe you an opinion on your *Sickingen*.[a] But that is precisely what has kept me from writing to you for so long. With the current and universal barrenness of fiction I seldom have a chance to read such a work, and for years I have never had a chance to read one of this kind *in such a way* that the reading of it resulted in a detailed judgment, a precisely stated opinion. The rubbish isn't worth the trouble. Even the few better English novels I read from time to time, e. g. those of Thackeray, have never been able to elicit this interest in me, despite their undeniable literary and cultural significance. But, having lain fallow for so long, my judgment has lost most of its edge and I need a good deal of time before I can permit myself to express an opinion. Your *Sickingen*, however, deserves better treatment than that sort of stuff and so I've taken my time. The first and second readings of what is in every sense, both as regards material and treatment, a German national drama, stirred my emotions to the extent that I was compelled to put it aside for a while, the more so as my taste has become so vitiated in these lean times that it has reduced me, I'm ashamed to say, to a state in which sometimes even stuff of inferior quality inevitably has some effect on me at the *first* reading. So in order to be wholly unbiassed, wholly 'critical', I put *Sickingen* away, i. e. allowed a few of my acquaintances to borrow it (there are still a few Germans here who are more or less knowledgeable about literature). *Habent sua fata libelli*[b]—if they're borrowed one rarely sets eyes on them again, and so I actually had to recover my *Sickingen* by force. I can tell you that, after the third and fourth readings, my impression has remained unaltered and, in the knowledge that your *Sickingen* can stand up to criticism, I shall now speak my mind.

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[a] F. Lassalle, *Franz von Sickingen*. - [b] Books have their destinies—from Terentianus Maurus, *De litteris, syllabis et metris* ('Carmen heroicum', 258).

I know that I am not paying you any particular compliment when I state the fact that not one of Germany's present official poets would be remotely capable of writing such a play. However, fact it is and one all too characteristic of our literature not to be voiced. Taking the formal aspect first, your skilful manipulation of the plot and the thoroughly dramatic nature of the piece came as a very pleasant surprise. Admittedly you have taken a good many liberties with the versification but this is more bothersome in the reading than it would be on the stage. I should very much like to have read the stage version[434]; as the play stands here it could certainly not be performed; I have had with me here a young German poet (Carl Siebel), a distant relative who hails from my neighbourhood, and has had a good deal to do with the stage. He may be coming to Berlin as a reservist in the Prussian Guard, in which case I may take the liberty of giving him a note for you. He thought highly of your play but considered a performance quite impracticable by reason of the long speeches in which only one actor is occupied while the others may run through their entire miming routine 2 or 3 times so as not to stand there like dummies. The last two acts give adequate proof that you experience no difficulty in making your dialogue brisk and lively and since, with the exception of a few scenes (as happens in any play), the same thing would seem to be feasible in the first 3, I don't doubt you have taken this circumstance into account in your stage version. The *intellectual content* must, of course, suffer as a result—but that's inevitable, and the complete fusion of greater intellectual profundity, of a consciously historical content (both of which you ascribe, not without reason, to the German drama[435]), with Shakespearean vivacity and wealth of action will probably not be achieved—and perhaps not even by the Germans—until some time in the future. Indeed, that, to my mind, is where the future of the drama lies. Your *Sickingen* is entirely on the right lines; the chief protagonists in the action *are* representative of certain classes and tendencies, hence of certain ideas of their time, and derive their motives not from the petty appetites of the individual but from the very historical current by which they are borne along. But there is one advance that might yet be made in that these motives should emerge more of themselves, in a live, active, as it were spontaneous manner, more through the development of the action, while on the other hand reasoned debate (in which, by the way, I rediscovered with pleasure your old eloquence before the Assizes and the popular meeting[436]) becomes increasingly superfluous. You yourself seem to recognise this ideal as a goal, since

you draw a distinction between stage drama and literary drama; I admit that *Sickingen* could be turned into a stage drama along the lines indicated, difficult though this would be (for it is truly no mean accomplishment). The characterisation of the protagonists is linked with this. You quite rightly oppose the *cheap* individualisation now prevalent, which amounts to nothing more than petty intellectual fireworks and is an essential characteristic of ineffectual imitative literature. At the same time it seems to me that a person is not characterised merely by *what* he does, but also by *how* he does it; and in this respect it would, I think, have done the intellectual content of the play no harm had clearer distinctions and stronger contrasts been drawn between individual characters. The characterisation of the *ancients* no longer suffices today, and it is here, I think, that you might to your own advantage have paid rather more attention to the importance of Shakespeare in the historical development of the drama. But these are minor points which I bring up only to show you that I have also concerned myself with the formal aspect of your play.

Now, as regards the historical content, you have presented what to you were the two most important aspects of the movement of that period very vividly and with justifiable reference to subsequent developments: the national aristocratic movement represented by Sickingen, and the humanist-theoretical movement, with its more extensive ramifications in the theological and ecclesiastical field, the Reformation. The scenes I like best are those between Sickingen and the Emperor[a] and between the Legate and the Archbishop of Trier[b] (here, in the contrast between the narrow-minded German prince of the church and the worldly Legate with his aesthetic and classical culture and political and theoretical foresight, you have, too, pulled off a nice piece of individual characterisation which nevertheless stems directly from the *representative* character of the two protagonists); in the scene between Sickingen and Charles the characterisation is also very striking. However, in making Hutten tell his life-story,[c] the *content* of which you rightly describe as essential, you have chosen a desperate means of introducing that content into the play. Also of great importance is the conversation in Act V between Balthasar and Franz during which the former remonstrates with his master about the *genuinely revolutionary* policy he should have followed. It is here that the real tragedy becomes apparent; and, precisely

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[a] Charles V - [b] Richard von Greifenklau - [c] a scene between Hutten and Maria in Act III

because of this significance, it seems to me that it should have been rather more strongly indicated as early as Act III, in which there are several opportunities for this. But again I digress.

The attitude of the towns and the princes at that time is likewise portrayed more than once with great clarity, thereby pretty well exhausting what might be called the *official* elements of the movement as it then was. But something upon which I should say you had failed to lay due emphasis are the non-official, plebeian and peasant elements, with their concomitant theoretical representation. In its own way the peasant movement was just as national, just as hostile to the princes, as that of the aristocracy, and the colossal dimensions of the struggle in which it succumbed contrast most significantly with the levity with which the aristocracy, leaving Sickingen in the lurch, gave itself up to its historical calling of sycophancy. Even allowing for your concept of the drama which, as you will have seen, is rather too abstract, not realistic enough, in my opinion, I should say that the peasant movement deserved closer attention; certainly, the peasant scene with Joss Fritz is true to type and the individuality of this 'agitator'[437] is very accurately portrayed but, relative to the aristocratic movement, it does not represent with sufficient force what was then already a surging torrent of peasant agitation. In accordance with *my* view of the drama, which consists in not allowing the ideal to oust the real, or Schiller to oust Shakespeare, the introduction of society's plebeian section, so wonderfully colourful at the time, would have provided material of a quite different kind with which to animate the play, an incomparable backdrop for the national aristocratic movement going on down-stage, which would itself thus appear in its true light for the first time. What bizarre portraits does this period of dissolving feudal ties not bring forth! Vagabond beggar kings, hungry mercenaries and adventurers of all kinds—a Falstaffian[a] backdrop which, in a historical play in *this* sense, must needs be even more effective than in Shakespeare! But apart from that, I should say more particularly that neglect of the peasant movement is what has led you to give an incorrect idea, or so it seems to me, of one aspect of the national aristocratic movement also, while at the same time allowing the *truly* tragic element in Sickingen's fate to escape you. In my view, it never occurred to the bulk of the nobility then subject directly to the emperor to form an alliance with the peasants; their dependence on the income deriving from oppression of the peasants did not admit of this. An

[a] Falstaff is a character in Shakespeare's *Henry IV* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.

alliance with the towns would have been rather more feasible, but this did not come about either, or only in isolated instances. The national aristocratic revolution could, however, only have been effected by means of an alliance with the towns and the peasants, particularly the latter; and to my mind the tragic element lies precisely in the fact that this essential condition, alliance with the peasants, was impossible; that the policy of the aristocracy was therefore necessarily petty; that at the very moment when the aristocracy sought to take its place at the head of the national movement, the *bulk* of the nation, the peasants, protested against its leadership and hence ensured its downfall. To what extent there is any historical foundation for your assumption that Sickingen really did have some contact with the peasants, I am not able to judge, nor is it in any way relevant. So far as I can recall, by the way, whenever Hutten's writings are addressed to the peasants, they skate over the ticklish question of the aristocracy and seek to focus the peasants' wrath primarily on the clergy. But in no way do I dispute your right to portray Sickingen and Hutten as though it had been their intention to emancipate the peasants. However, this immediately presented you with the tragic contradiction whereby these two found themselves placed between the aristocracy on the one hand, who definitely did *not* want this, and the peasants on the other. Here, in my view, lay the tragic clash between the historically necessary postulate and the impossibility of its execution in practice. By discarding this element you reduce the tragic conflict to the fact that Sickingen does not join battle straight away with Emperor and Empire, but with one prince only[a] (although here too your tact rightly leads you to introduce the peasants), while his downfall is made to ensue from nothing more than the indifference and pusillanimity of the aristocracy. This would, however, have been quite differently motivated had you laid more stress at an earlier stage on the mounting peasant movement and the mood of the aristocracy, inevitably grown more conservative as a result of the earlier *Bundschuh* and Poor Konrad movements.[438] All this, incidentally, represents only one way in which the peasant and plebeian movement might be brought into the play; one could think of at least ten others which would be just as good, if not better.

As you can see, I am judging your work by a very high standard, indeed the *highest there is*, from both the aesthetic and the historical point of view, and the fact that I have to do so in

[a] Richard von Greifenklau

order to raise an objection here and there will provide you with the best proof of my appreciation. *Between ourselves* criticism has, of course, for years been necessarily as outspoken as possible in the interests of the party itself; but this aside, it is always a great pleasure to me and all of us when we are given fresh proof that our party, irrespective of the field in which it makes an appearance, invariably does so with distinction. And that is what you, too, have done on this occasion.

In other respects it would seem that world events are about to take a truly delectable course. It would be difficult to imagine a better basis for a thorough-going German revolution than that provided by a Franco-Russian-alliance. The water has to be right up to our necks before we Germans are gripped *en masse* by the *furor teutonicus*[a]; and this time we would seem to be in sufficient danger of drowning. *Tant mieux*.[b] In such a crisis all existing powers must necessarily be ruined and all the parties crumble one after another, from the *Kreuz-Zeitung* to Gottfried Kinkel, and from Count Rechberg to 'Hecker, Struve, Blenker, Zitz and Blum'[439]; in such a struggle the moment must necessarily come when only the most ruthless and resolute party is in a position to save the nation and, at the same time, the conditions be given which alone make it possible to jettison completely all the old trumpery—internal dissension on the one hand and, on the other, the Polish and Italian appendages which are the legacy of Austria. We must not cede an inch of Prussian Poland and what...[c]

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## 249

## MARX TO FRANZ DUNCKER

### IN BERLIN

London, 21 May [1859]

Dear Sir,

From a communication I have received from North America[432] I see that about 100 copies of the first instalment[d] have been ordered

[a] From Lucan's *Pharsalia*, I, 255. - [b] So much the better. - [c] End of letter missing. - [d] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

by party friends of mine. Whether you have already received the order, I do not know. However, I was advised at the same time that we can count on 100 more copies being ordered in the same circles as soon as the *price* is known. I would therefore request you to advise me of the latter *by return*. This does not, of course, mean that the work could not be advertised for the benefit of the general public in North America at some later date.

The slowness with which the matter is being handled would not appear to be in your own interest. It is certainly not in mine.

In the *list of printer's errors* for the sheets I have had I would request you to include the following: ...[a]

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## 250

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 23 May 1859

Dear Moor,

I entirely agree about the manifesto.[b] What ought we to do about printing it? It will probably have to be printed in London; make some inquiries about costs and other PARTICULARS so that we can launch it immediately it's been written.[425]

The *Völkchen*[c] business is very amusing, very satisfactory, and may turn out to be extremely useful.[430] As regards its distribution here, the following should be noted: While I could easily find an English 'STATIONER', he would never stand a chance of catching even a STRAY subscriber. To get hold of them we must have recourse to the FOREIGN BOOKSELLERS here, Dunnill and Palmer, Princess Street, and Franz Thimm, Princess Street. Lupus is taking out a subscription with Dunnill and Palmer, Gumpert and I with Thimm, who is our bookseller. The *Hermann* is very much on the wane here and there is a whole load of back-numbers; Thimm's manager, who doesn't seem overfond of Kinkel, tells me that the

[a] The end of the letter is missing. - [b] See this volume, p. 437. - [c] diminutive of *Volk*

subscribers get fewer every week. So send Thimm a dozen copies of the early numbers, particularly the one dealing with the Kinkel affair,[a] and another half-dozen or so to Dunnill and Palmer; as soon as it appears I shall set that chatterbox Heckscher in motion and he will start the thing circulating here as sure as 2×2=4. But the stuff for Thimm must be sent *direct* to the Thimm up here; the London chap would be perfectly capable of intercepting the things. Then, as soon as Thimm gets subscriptions here, the local salesmen will perhaps take a greater interest in the matter.

I shall deal with the battle of Casteggio next Friday; the affair is too insignificant to warrant 2 articles and the telegrams are too vague to permit of anything worthwhile being said about it.[b] Your old map of Lombardy has stood me in very good stead, the scale being approx. 1/160,000, hence quite large. Unfortunately the delineation of the ground is very poor.

Many regards,

Your
F. E.

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## 251

## MARX TO ENGELS[20]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 May 1859

Dear Engels,

If you could possibly let me have some 'TIN', you would *greatly* oblige me. That wretched Duncker, whom I had been counting on, appears to be putting the thing[c] off *ad infinitum*. Once again 11 days have gone by without my receiving anything from the dolt. Who do you think it is STOPS MY WAY? None other than Lassalle. First,

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[a] See this volume, p. 439. - [b] The *New-York Daily Tribune* published two articles by Engels on the battle of Casteggio (or Montebello) fought by the French and Austrians on 20 May 1859: 'Fighting at Last' and 'The Battle of Montebello'. They may have been two instalments of what was originally one article. - [c] Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

my thing was held up for 4 weeks on account of his *Sickingen*. Now that it is nearing its conclusion, the fool must needs cut in yet again with his 'anonymous' pamphlet,[a] which he only wrote because your own 'anonymous' pamphlet[b] gave him no respite. Can't the scoundrel see that decency, if nothing else, demands that my thing be brought out first? I shall wait a day or two, but after that write a really filthy letter to Berlin.

I have seen to your orders for Manchester. If you can possibly find the time tomorrow, write 20-30-40 lines for me in German on the subject of the war; I shall pass them on to Dishrag Liebknecht, not in your writing but by dictating them. There is no time to be lost since the *Volk* boasts only *one* type-setter and everything has to be ready by the morning of each Friday.

*A point not to be overlooked.* With something more original from the theatre of war we ought TO CATCH at least 50 more customers in London.[c] I shall MANAGE the thing in such a way that initially you and I are not directly responsible.

You will be able to judge Gottfried's[d] manoeuvres from the fact that last week in the East End the parson was selling his *Hermann* to the Whitechapel[322] public for a HALFPENNY, solely in order to stop the sale of the *Volk*. But where did the *fonds*[e] come from? Schapper tells me that *Willich* has been over here. In which case the fellows must have shared out the money and flung the small change to watchdog Heinzen, for the dog has ceased to bark. We shall get to the bottom of it.

As regards the business of publishing our manifesto[f] I SHALL LOOK OUT.[425]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Imandt is marrying his landlady's daughter, a Scotswoman. A nice district, too.[g]

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[a] *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preußens* - [b] *Po and Rhine* - [c] Engels wrote an article entitled 'The Campaign in Italy' for the *Volk* - [d] Gottfried Kinkel's - [e] funds - [f] See this volume, p. 437. - [g] An allusion to a joke current at the time: one woman tells another of her son's death in action near Leipzig (1813), whereupon the other remarks: 'And a nice district, too!' ('Auch eine schöne Gegend!')

## 252

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 May 1859

Dear Fred,

As things stand here just now, it's doubtful whether I shall be able to leave London, certainly not at the beginning of next week.

It is now a whole fortnight, or so I see from a note in my DIARY, since I sent that scoundrel Duncker *the last 3 proof-sheets* (i. e. sheets 9-11). The thing[a] was *ready*, therefore, and all the chap had to do was send me the clean proofs of *the last 3 sheets* for the *list of misprints*. Instead of that, what do I get? Lassalle's pamphlet[b] and, as we hadn't any money in the house and pretty well everything has been pawned that can be pawned, I had to send my last wearable coat to the pawnshop since there was 2/- to pay on this rubbish, which might perhaps cost 8d in Berlin. But to come to the point:

It is now EVIDENT, then, that a further fortnight's embargo has been placed on my thing in order to make way for Mr Lassalle. The work still to be done on it would take 3 hours at the most. But that infernal and conceited fool has decreed the embargo in order to secure the undivided attention *publici*.[c] Duncker, the swine, is happy as a sandboy, however, since it gives him a further excuse to postpone payment of my fee. I shan't forget the trick the little Jew has played. The speed with which his tripe was printed shows that he was *magna pars*[d] responsible for our stuff being delayed. Besides the oaf is so enamoured of his laborious emanations that he takes it for granted that I'm burning with impatience to see *his* 'anonymous' pamphlet and am 'objective' enough to take the killing of my stuff as a matter of course.

The confounded Jew in Vienna[e] hasn't written either.

Lupus is greatly mistaken about Liebknecht if he imagines that this worthy citizen could himself have composed a piece such as 'Der Reichsregent'.[410] Biskamp wrote it[f] (I gave him the FACTS) and it must be Biskamp that writes *everything*. Nothing is attributable to Liebknecht save the 'Politische Rundschau', dated London with the

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [b] *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preußens* - [c] of the public - [d] in large measure - [e] Max Friedländer - [f] [E. Biskamp,] 'Der Reichsregent', *Das Volk*, No. 2, 14 May 1859.

symbol π, and not even all of that.[a] Liebknecht's uselessness as a writer is only equalled by his unreliability and weakness of character, about which I shall have more to say later. The fellow would have been kicked out for good this week had there not been special circumstances that necessitated his being kept on for a while as a scarecrow.

Even if my private circumstances—apart from waiting for Duncker—were not likely to preclude my coming up to Manchester next week, there would be the further consideration that, were I to abandon my post, everything might easily go to rack and ruin in view of the vast intrigues being conjured up here, there, and everywhere by the émigré democrats, the merchants of Camberwell, the Weitlingians, etc., etc., and in view of the extraordinary feebleness of the people who are supposed to represent us here. Yesterday, by the by, I got Pfänder to give categoric instructions to that inert hunk of flesh, Schapper, to the effect that if he did not rejoin the Workers' Society (the so-called communist one)[50] forthwith and take over the MANAGEMENT thereof, I would sever all 'connections' with him. This is the one sphere in which we could make use of the hippopotamus, yet the fool thinks it beneath him. *Mais nous verrons.*[b] Never have we had a poorer STAFF. Pieper would have been very useful just now, instead of which he is in Bremen and doesn't even write.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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## 253

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 May [1859]

Dear Engels,

£5 received.

You must COLOUR YOUR WAR-ARTICLES A LITTLE MORE seeing that you are writing for A GENERAL NEWSPAPER, not for a scientific military journal.

[a] *Das Volk*, No. 3, 21 May 1859. - [b] But we shall see.

Something more descriptive and individual could easily be gleaned from the *Times* CORRESPONDENT, etc. I can't interpolate it myself as this would lead to unevenness of style. Failing this Dana will go and insert some utter nonsense off his own bat.

Today I am sending you 2 numbers (the last ones) of the *Presse* as samples, so that you can see whether you can use the PAPER.

At 7 o'clock yesterday evening Mr Liebknecht turned up with 6 lines for *Das Volk* having, by his failure to appear (and the idiot is always taking on all manner of things), thrown the entire setting INTO DISORDER, or so Biskamp tells me. I had told the blockhead exactly which bits of your pamphlet[a] were to be reproduced. Instead he tries to make a LEADER of it, in which, of course, he doesn't succeed. Bürgers *redivivus*[b] but far WORSE, since Bürgers could at least be used for purposes of attack in societies, etc.

Garibaldi has, in my opinion, deliberately been consigned to a position that will spell his ruin.

Unlike Kossuth who, with Klapka, has already 'recognised' 'Constantine' as the Russian king of Hungary, Mazzini (undoubtedly a greater authority on Italian patriotism than Mr Lassalle) is behaving very well.[440] I shall try and lay hands on the last, concluding number of his *Pensiero ed Azione*.[c] Send me your last copy of *Po and Rhine* for *Mazzini*. I shall write a short accompanying note, or *better still, write it yourself*.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Still nothing from Berlin today. I. e. 16 days to correct the misprints in the last 3 sheets[d]!

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[a] *Po and Rhine* - [b] reborn - [c] In his article 'Mazzini's Manifesto' Marx reproduced in English Mazzini's manifesto 'La Guerra' which appeared in *Pensiero ed Azione*, No. 17, 2-16 May 1859. - [d] Marx means his *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

## 254

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 May [1859]

Dear Engels,

Herewith a letter I have received from Dana. What should I answer?

Apropos. I have just learned from Biskamp, on the authority of the CLOWN[a] himself, that Bruno Bauer was definitely in the pay of Russia. He received 300 friedrichsdors from von Budberg, the Russian ambassador. The CLOWN was brought in as accomplice. Bruno dropped the thing because Budberg didn't treat him 'respectfully' and left him to *chambrer*[b] in the *antichambre*. He came to England for the purpose of attempting, with his brother—*par nobile fratrum*[c]—a similar transaction with the English government. Fell through, OF COURSE. WHAT DO YOU SAY TO THIS?

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 255

## MARX TO FRANZ DUNCKER

### IN BERLIN

London, 28 May 1859

Dear Sir,

You have not thought fit to reply to the letter in which I requested you to advise me of the price of the book.[d] Since the American mail leaves only twice a week, I have thus been

[a] Edgar Bauer - [b] cool down - [c] a noble pair of brothers (Horace, *Satires*, II, III, 243) - [d] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (see this volume, p. 447).

prevented from replying to my friends.[432]

After your receipt of my manuscript a fortnight elapsed before I got any acknowledgment. In it you said that printing was to commence a week later. That week turned into more than three weeks. About eight weeks ago Lassalle wrote to say that the thing would be finished by the middle of May. More than three weeks ago I received the last three proof-sheets. The amendments that were called for could easily have been made in a *single* day. Instead, work would again seem to have been completely suspended during that time, although printing was *complete.* I hereby declare that I am tired of this *systematic and deliberate procrastination* and that I hereby demand, and indeed categorically, that you desist from these machinations, the purpose of which seems to me exceedingly suspect. All my acquaintances in England are of the same opinion and have earnestly enjoined me to take the above step.

Yours faithfully,

Dr K. Marx

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## 256

## MARX TO FRANZ DUNCKER

IN BERLIN

[London,] 30 May 1859

Dear Sir,

I can find no misprint in the sheets sent to me.[a]

I am sending you the enclosed envelope so that you may, if you deem it worth while, have the postage refunded by the Prussian post. I paid 4/-and some d for this parcel and 2/-, etc., for the last but one. The envelope of the latter is in the hands of the English postal authorities, who declare that all such items, even if stamped, must be paid extra unless sent *via Calais.*

Yours faithfully,

Dr K. Marx

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[a] The proofs of Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.*

# 257

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 June 1859

Dear Engels,

Enclosed 1 copy of the *Presse* containing some particulars that may be of interest to you. No answer from that fellow, Friedländer,[254] needless to say. However, my present explanation for this is as follows: When he lectured Friedländer about bias,[a] Lassalle did so, OF COURSE, not only in his but also in my name. Friedländer believes that I am hand in glove with Heraclitus the Dark Philosopher.[b] So he naturally can't imagine that under PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES I can write for a Viennese paper. Every day the Vienna *Presse* contains veiled attacks upon the Berlin wiseacre. Thus, for instance, in a leading article on 29 May:

'But how can one demand a sense of national self-respect of those speculative minds which see in Napoleon III the avenging arm of history and, in his alleged genius for liberating the peoples, complacently admire the reflection of the ineptitude, pedantry and aridity of their own categorising intellects.'

The very insistence with which Lassalle required of me not to write any more to his cousin[c] is evidence that the fellow carried on his intrigues *in my name also.* Thus the blockhead has frustrated the best prospect I had for the summer. Besides, in certain eventualities it would be a good thing if I had some say in the Vienna *Presse.*

When you next write about Garibaldi, WHATEVER MAY BE HIS FATE, crack a joke about the curious position in which only 'his uncle's nephew'[d] could have found himself, namely that beside him the leader of the volunteer corps figures as a HERO. Can you imagine anything of the kind happening under the old Napoleon? By the by, in today's *Times* the Paris correspondent writes that the Bonapartists are already GRUMBLING loudly about Garibaldi's 'fame', and that 'A FEW SELECT POLICE' have been smuggled into his corps and send in detailed reports about him.[e] Adhering strictly to Mazzini's instructions, Garibaldi *omitted* all mention of Bonaparte in his proclamation.[441] Mazzini's latest thing[f] is not, by the by, as good as

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[a] See this volume, p. 434-35. - [b] Ferdinand Lassalle, author of *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos.* - [c] Max Friedländer - [d] Napoleon III - [e] *The Times,* No. 23321, 1 June 1859. - [f] Mazzini's manifesto 'La Guerra' published in *Pensiero ed Azione,* No. 17, 2-16 May 1859.

I thought. I had only run my eye over some excerpts. His old complaints about socialism. *We* can do nothing with him direct. But he could with advantage be used as an authority against Kossuth, etc. By the by, in his last number,[a] which I shall send you at the end of this week, you will reacquaint yourself with Mr Karl Blind's importance.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Incidentally, Blind is no longer with the *Hermann,* but is greatly mistaken if he's hoping to get onto the *Volk.* Feeble though the little sheet may be, it has made the entire emigration down here froth at the mouth with rage. Among others Tausenau and Co., who are paid by Kossuth-Bonaparte to form German 'OPINION' in London.

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## 258

## MARX TO FRANZ DUNCKER

### IN BERLIN

London, 2 June 1859

Dear Sir,

I am indeed very sorry if I wrote you an offensive letter.[b] Please allow me, therefore, to say a few words in extenuation. To begin with I have in fact been away from Germany for too long and have grown too accustomed to conditions in London to form a correct estimate of the way business is conducted in Germany. Secondly, as I informed Lassalle some two months ago,[c] I am engaged in negotiations with a London publisher with regard to an English rendering of the first instalment.[d] The constantly misleading information which I, constantly labouring as I was

[a] *Pensiero ed Azione* - [b] See this volume, pp. 453-54. - [c] See this volume, pp. 407-10. - [d] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.*

under a false assumption, have been forced to give this man regarding the appearance of the book, has more than sufficed to show me up as a REGULAR HUMBUG in the eyes of the aforesaid John Bull. The repeated and impatient inquiries of my friends and in the end, the rumour that the thing will not be coming out at all—a rumour carefully disseminated, out of what motives I cannot say, by a Berlin clique *here*—finally proved too much for my patience.

Lastly, I trust that, in consideration of these reasons, you will regard my letter merely as the hasty expression of an irritability aroused by all manner of circumstances and absolve me of any intention of wishing to give offence.

Yours very faithfully,

Dr K. Marx

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 June [1859]

DEAR Frederick,

You must excuse me for not writing to you before, and only these few lines. My time has been completely taken up with work and with running private and party errands.

*D'abord*[a] I was delighted to hear that you liked the first instalment,[b] for your opinion is the only one I value in this matter. To my wife's considerable AMUSEMENT, I awaited WITH SOME ANXIETY YOUR JUDGMENT.

*Ad vocem*[c] *'Volk'*: Admittedly its administration leaves a great deal to be desired, since there is only one type-setter, no errand-boy, etc., on top of which not a single 'trustworthy' despatch clerk has yet presented himself, and above all, no money. Nevertheless, recent issues have been virtually sold out and if ways and means

[a] First - [b] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [c] As regards

can be found of appointing a reasonably reliable despatch clerk, the thing will survive. Moreover, the 'little sheet', although only indirectly given a TURN by us, has set the whole of democracy by the ears. Not just here, but also in Switzerland, where Vogt-Kinkel have pitched into me in the *Handels-Courier* with one of those blackguardly little articles with which you are familiar.[a] I'll get them to reproduce it in the next number.[b]

I shall speak to Biskamp on the Manchester question. For his part, *he* asked me yesterday to write and tell *you* that *not a single* copy had been ordered in Manchester. It looks to me as though *Hollinger* (the printer) has already been bribed by Kinkel. *Nous verrons.*[c]

Kinkel, following an audience with Kossuth and money payments from Vogt, has gone over to the camp of high treason. Bucher and Blind have resigned in 'indignation'. Kinkel's colleagues are now as follows: Bamberger, Ed. Bauer, Beta (*How do you do?*) and Born[d] (our ex-Born's[e] brother). A fine lot. Add to which one or two old whores.

*Ad vocem Freiligrath.* Between ourselves, a rotter. Having now seen that things are taking a revolutionary TURN (you must have heard about the labour RIOT in Berlin[442]) and that Kinkel is becoming DISRESPECTABLE, he reviles him. But the sixth and last volume of his collected works ($^3/_4$ of it translated rubbish) published in America, which he has just received and sent me, concludes with the poem about Johanna Mockel,[f] whereas he has suppressed the *anti*-Kinkel poem.[g] This is a filthy thing to do and it was with very sceptical mien that I listened to his excuses on the subject. The devil take the bardic profession.

*Ad vocem Vogt.* Has placed himself at Prussia's 'disposal' in the *Volks-Zeitung* (Berlin).

*Ad vocem Duncker.* That dolt Duncker, to whom I had written in exceedingly rude terms about his dilly-dallying, has sent me a letter admitting outright that the last delay of 3 weeks (when *everything* had been completed save for the list of misprints) was *due to the publication* of the 'anonymous pamphlet',[h] the one concocted of 'sweat, fire and logic'.[422] I *deliberately* divulged to the press the fact that you were the author of *Po and Rhine,*[443] because

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[a] [K. Vogt,] 'Zur Warnung', *Schweizer Handels-Courier*, No. 150 (supplement), 2 June 1859. - [b] The article was reprinted with editorial comments in *Das Volk*, No. 6, 11 June 1859. - [c] We shall see. - [d] David Born - [e] Stephan Born - [f] F. Freiligrath, 'Nach Johanna Kinkels Begräbnis' (see this volume, p. 359). - [g] F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer'. - [h] [F. Lassalle,] *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preußens.*

I had good reason to suppose that the author of the 'anonymous pamphlet' was quietly 'switching places' with you. I must say, it's a bit thick, Mr Lassalle placing an embargo on me at will! The thing is coming out in Berlin this week—my first instalment, I mean.

Finally, whatever happens and as soon as the MEANS READY, I shall come to Manchester for a few days as we have all sorts of things to settle.[444]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Regards to lupullum.[a]

Tomorrow I shall send you copies of the *Presse* (in which quarter the 'anonymous one' has put a spoke in my wheel good and proper).

The rotten STAFF here is no joke, I assure you. Biskamp at least writes quickly and has a ready wit. Liebknecht is AN AWFUL NUISANCE. Due to his over-ingenious manoeuvrings, the little sheet was only able to publish the gossip about Kinkel and Bauer in a much attenuated form.[b]

Your article[c] appeared in the *Volk* on the same day it arrived. The last number contains the preface to my affair,[d] i. e. with such omissions as Mr Biskamp thought fit.

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## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[20]

### IN BERLIN

[London,] 10 June 1859

Dear Lassalle,

Since I wrote to you last I have had to prepare and send off 15 printed sheets for the English-American cyclopaedia, which is

[a] the little wolf, i.e. Lupus (Wilhelm Wolff) - [b] *Das Volk*, No. 4, 28 May 1859 ('Vereins-Nachrichten'). See also this volume, p. 439. - [c] F. Engels, 'The Campaign in Italy'. - [d] *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

appearing in New York.[a] This is no joke, what with my other work. Today is the day for the *Tribune* articles.[b] So there's not a minute to spare. Hence I'm merely writing to let you know that I got your letters as well as the pamphlet.[c]

This much for the present:

*Ad vocem*[d] *Sickingen*: Shall read it as soon as I have time and let you have a reply.[445]

*Ad vocem pamphlet*: In no way corresponds with my own view or that of my party friends in England. It is probable, by the by, that we shall express our view in print.

*Ad vocem Duncker*: Have written to tell him I'm sorry if my letter offended him. However it's a scandalous piece of procrastination. I received the last proof-sheet[e] as much as 5 weeks ago. You can't expect me—*once I have a contract*—to behave towards a publisher or permit myself to be treated by him as though he were printing the thing only as a 'favour' to yourself. One good turn he has already done me, and that is to lose me my *English* publisher until further notice.

*Ad vocem Vogt* (Imperial bailiff)[410]: *We possess evidence,* not only that the man has received money for himself from Bonaparte, but also money to suborn Germans in the interests of Franco-Russian propaganda.[420] Up till now he has succeeded only in the case of that politically negative quantity, Gottfried Kinkel.

*Ad vocem Proudhon*: Is said to have gone out of his mind and been put in a lunatic asylum in Brussels.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften,* Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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[a] *The New American Cyclopaedia* - [b] 10 June 1859 was a Friday. On Tuesdays and Fridays Marx sent off his articles to New York. - [c] [F. Lassalle,] *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preußens.* - [d] As regards - [e] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.*

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## MARX TO ENGELS[20]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 10 June 1859

Dear Frederick,

Two manuscripts received today. *One of them splendid*—yours on 'fortification', though I must say I feel some twinges of conscience about having made such demands on the little spare time you have. *One grotesque*, viz. Lassalle's reply to myself and you respecting his *Sickingen*.[445] A whole sheaf of closely written pages. Incredible that at this season and in the present historical circumstances, a man should not only find time to produce stuff of this kind himself, but actually presume that we have time to read it.

*Ad vocem*[a] *Volk*. Should your booksellers actually deliver the little paper to you, which I doubt, you and Lupus will be surprised to see in tomorrow's issue an announcement that there is some 'prospect' of our, etc., collaboration.[b] The diplomatic reasons which decided me to take this step will be communicated by word of mouth.

*Duncker*: Nothing yet received, neither money nor copies.[c] Tell Lupus about this; he'd already have had one otherwise.

*Ad vocem Schramm*[d]: This great man was a failure in Berlin. His wife's family council therefore decided that he should take a minor commercial post in Krefeld. Thereupon the 'failure' addressed a long scrawl to the Ministers in Berlin saying he had considered it his political duty to join combat with Minister Manteuffel, whom he abhorred, but now, having fulfilled that duty, and finding that Prussia was not *à sa hauteur à lui*,[e] requested to be released from the commonwealth of subjects. Granted, and Schramm arrived in London along with the other PARCELS. Now intends, as he warned the Hohenzollern cabinet, to get himself 'naturalised' an Englishman. The worst blow that has befallen Prussia since the battle of Jena.[46]

*Ad vocem Lassalle*. In reply to his gigantic manuscript, wherein, by the by, he also mentions the 'anonymous' pamphlet[f] he wrote

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[a] As regards - [b] 'Statement by the Editorial Board of the Newspaper *Das Volk*' - [c] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [d] Rudolf Schramm - [e] good enough for him - [f] [F. Lassalle,] *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preußens*.

'in the name of the party', I sent him (today) a letter about $^1/_3$ as long as the present one.[a] As regards the pamphlet, all I said was: 'Not our view at all. No point in writing about it, as we should be expressing our opinion publicly in print.'[446]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## MARX TO FRANZ DUNCKER

### IN BERLIN

Manchester,[444] 22 June [1859]

Dear Sir,

I would request you to send the balance of the fee for my book[b] *without delay* to my wife in London.

In the letter you wrote me at the end of May you said that the book would come out and the fee be paid '*next week*'. Neither the one nor the other was done until today, 22 June. Your principle would seem to be that a 'strictly scientific work' can never come out too late and, more particularly, that one should wait until such time as the general spread of the war[370] has stimulated a 'strictly scientific' interest.

The same circumstances as have induced you to sanction this further postponement might, perhaps, justify a postponement until 1860, particularly in view of what you say in your letter, namely that, in the case of scientific works *in respect of which there is no undertaking as to the time of publication*, it is customary for German publishers to place an embargo on their appearance in favour of topical works whenever this would seem to be opportune.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 459-60. - [b] *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

Since it is impossible for me to reply privately to the many inquiries I receive—in connection with these delays—I shall, after waiting a few days longer, issue a *public statement*.[447]

Yours very faithfully,

Dr K. Marx

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 July 1859

DEAR Frederick,

You must have been wondering about my long silence, but there was a perfectly natural explanation for it. During the first week[448] I had to scurry round like mad in an attempt to get *Das Volk* into some kind of order, and this week PRIVATE MATTERS obtruded.

WELL. The state of the *Volk* when I got back was as follows: Kinkel had been felled by our latest quips. (Since then I have gone on with the 'GATHERINGS'.[449] In the current issue I'll do this section by myself. Unless, of course, some piece of news gives Biskamp occasion to introduce a few more drolleries.) But at the same time *Das Volk* showed every sign of disintegrating, and it was doubtful whether it would continue to appear. During my absence debts had been contracted amounting to over £6, since the 'agents', printer,[a] old Uncle Tom Cobley and all suspected that my return would put an end to the fun. Biskamp was IN THE MOST DEJECTED STATE. He had been given notice by the *Kölnische*[b] (having been denounced by a competitor); to receive charity from Speck went against the grain, and he had therefore spent several nights camping out in the 'park'. Finally, the printer had been approached by 'genuine democrats, *likewise* socialists, but moderate, and inimical to any kind of personal politics (Blind?)', who were prepared to take over *Das Volk* and provide the necessary subsidies. SUCH WAS THE GENERAL STATE OF THINGS WHEN I ARRIVED AT LONDON.

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[a] Fidelio Hollinger - [b] *Kölnische Zeitung*

First I gave Biskamp £3, at the same time persuading him to accept a schoolmaster's post in Edmonton which, since he won't be required to live in, do any supervision or give more than 4 lessons, *will permit him to write just as much for the paper as hitherto.* OTHERWISE he would soon have been DISARMED by misfortune and idleness. He is moving there on the first of August. Actually he won't be any further away from London than I am.[429] On the other hand, it will be better for me if he is *not* present *in person* when I myself have more to do with the paper, as I intend to do BY and BY. I only paid out £1 5/- for the paper (debts) and compelled Garthe, Speck and a few louts to get together the sum of £3 15/- as part payment for Hollinger. In addition I had to repay Mr Liebknecht the 16/- he had advanced to Hollinger during my absence. Hence £5 1/- had to be expended before 'current' operations began. These included 15/- paid to Carstens,[a] 5/- for rent of the despatch room, 4/- for STAMPS, 2/6d advanced to Mr Hollinger in respect of No. 9. So as you can see, I've pretty well scraped the bottom of the barrel before I've begun. However, if we maintain the pressure for a few more weeks there is every prospect that the *Hermann* will go under and leave us in complete possession of the field. Moreover, with the new despatch arrangements the thing will become SELF-PAYING. I am of the firm opinion that, even if we have to set the little paper's sights rather lower for a time, we must, AT A CERTAIN MOMENT, give it a meaningful line. Should the *Hermann* go under we shall change over to Hirschfeld's press. (Cheaper, gives more credit, more expeditious.) FOR THE MOMENT, however, it's absolutely essential that a few more subsidies be sent from Manchester.

*Napoleon's peace*[450] exceeds all my expectations. Yesterday the French revolutionary gang in London were all of them exultant and Louis Blanc was running around like a madman; the Italians, however, are gnashing their teeth. Even Mazzini, although he *foretold* the result 6 weeks before the end of the war, succumbed AFTERWARDS all the same to the illusion that Bonaparte would at least throw THE AUSTRIANS out of Italy. I have read a letter (*PRIVATE* LETTER) from an Irishman who sleeps with the Duchesse de Padua in Paris. According to this man, the secret articles of the treaty stipulate two Turkish provinces for Austria; the amalgamation of the Prussian Rhine Province and Belgium into a 'Catholic state', or rather the use of this 'new empire' as a pretext for snapping up the delicious titbits.

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[a] Friedrich Lessner

The over-ingenuity of Prussia, with the support of Lassalle,[a] etc., has got Germany (and Prussia) into such hot water that the *only hope* of salvation lies in a ferocious revolution.

I would draw your attention to the first article in *The Free Press*,[b] which I am sending you.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 264

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Friday, 15 July[c] 1859

Dear Moor,

I'd have written something about the peace[450] for the *Volk*, but since I neither see nor hear anything of what's going on, I conclude that you are dealing with the subject yourself and hence that my article would be *double emploi*.[d]

Excepting the continuation of the war, nothing could be more welcome to us than *this* peace. Prussia discredited, Austria discredited, Bonaparte discredited, Sardinia and vulgar Italian liberalism discredited, England discredited, Kossuth ruined, Vogt & Co. discredited, no gains for anybody except the Russians and the revolutionaries, i. e. what little Jew Braun[e] would call a 'tidy revolutionary situation'.[451] But His Excellency Ephraim Artful[e] is the most discredited of all.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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[a] A reference to Lassalle's pamphlet *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preußens*. - [b] 'Memoir on Russia, for the Instruction of the Present Emperor', *The Free Press*, No. 7, 13 July 1859. - [c] A slip of the pen in the original: 14 July. - [d] needless duplication - [e] By 'little Jew Braun' and, below, 'Ephraim Artful' Engels means Ferdinand Lassalle.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 July 1859

DEAR Frederick,

Since the last number of the *Volk* proved so very exiguous, I intend this week to put something in about Russia. It would please me greatly if an article by you could appear at the same time. Wouldn't it be possible to do something military summing up the campaign, or else ridiculing the whole affair?[a] But it would have to be here by Thursday. If the little sheet fails to appear on Friday, it always means a serious loss of revenue; last time this fell off appreciably, another reason being that we suddenly had to change *all our agents* and get rid of Scherzer among others. The CLOWN Edgar Bauer (an admirer of Bonaparte) has uttered a mighty threat, viz. that *we* are to be attacked in the next *Hermann. Nous verrons*[b]....

Have you seen my book[c] advertised anywhere yet?

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Little Jenny has been awarded THE GENERAL PRIZE, Laura two special prizes.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

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[a] In compliance with Marx's request Engels wrote an article entitled 'The Italian War. Retrospect'. - [b] We shall see. - [c] *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

## 266

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 18 July 1859

Dear Moor,

I shall send you tomorrow or the day after the £5 still required to pay off the *Volk*'s arrears. It was too late for me to do it today, and besides I have the company of the 'little man', *scilicet*[a] Dronke, who sidled up to me at the Exchange; the little chap's business seems to be doing passably well. Apart from current day-to-day gossip, on which he holds forth like a pothouse politician, he seems reluctant to talk about *politicis*, particularly of the past, and this I encourage, for after all I treat him as an *extraneus*.[b] His knowledge, however, has not increased, and the profundity of his politics may be summed up in his remark that the Italians 'have *got* to hit out *now*, or they're not worth a thing'.

But to revert from the little man to the *Volk*; we must at once discuss what is to be done. If the £7 you took with you has vanished so quickly, and the louts' £3 15/- as well, the £3 I have in reserve will doubtless soon be gone too. *Que faire?*[c] I've heard nothing about Strohn's return. There's not much more to be done with Borchardt. As soon as Lupus returns—but heaven knows where he is—I shall at all events get him to carry out a reconnaissance. Before that I wouldn't care to approach him personally. Nor do I run across him any more, though I've several times kept half an eye open for him in Oxford Road.

At any rate you must let me know sometime exactly how matters stand financially under the new administration, so that I can have an answer ready to eventual queries. How many copies are now being sold? Have you cut down the newsboys, etc., to $^1/_2$d per copy? What do the total weekly expenses amount to and what is the income—hence what is the deficit?

Mr Thimm has been talked round very nicely. *Das Volk* is now displayed in his window IN A CONSPICUOUS POSITION, a much better one than the *Hermann* and the *Колоколъ*, which flank it. A few more 'Gatherings' and the last-named[d] will doubtless be done for

[a] to wit - [b] outsider - [c] What is to be done? - [d] Engels has 'den letzteren', probably a slip of the pen; 'den ersteren' ('the first-named') would fit the context better, as the 'Gatherings' were directed against the *Hermann*, not against the *Колоколъ*.

altogether.[449] The way in which Kinkel has suddenly taken to his heels is very funny.[a]

Next week's LEADER on the peace ought to be done by you. It's important, I think, since we've been lucky enough to get hold of the secret articles,[b] that this point be fully exploited. As you are making a *Tribune* article[c] out of it anyway, that should be easy for you. This point may well give the *Volk* a significance of quite a different order, and *exact* for it a position in the press. Think this over.

Let me know also *by return* what you people would like me to write about this week; then I shall do it on Wednesday evening.

I have sent for the *Portfolio* and am studying these and other Russian documents and Palmerstoniana; shall also get hold of as many BACK NUMBERS of *The Free Press* as possible. It's really high time I went through the stuff, seeing what importance the thing is now assuming. Can you tell me where the Russian memorandum on Russian policy[d] originated and which Prussian ministerial crisis brought it to the light of day[452]? So far as I am concerned the internal EVIDENCE and the classic phraseology are, of course, more than sufficient, but I need these FACTS for the debate with Philistia; anyway it is stupid of Urquhart to be so unnecessarily secretive.

Is there anything to be wormed out of Blind *quoad*[e] Vogt[420]? The 'little man' doesn't believe the thing, of course, and asks 'why, then, didn't *we* see to it that the documents were printed'?

Generally speaking the documents in Vol. 1 of the *Portfolio* are not the most important, though there are some nice things among them, particularly those by Pozzo di Borgo and the memorandum to the German governments.[f] What idiots they are and how the Russians must laugh at them!

The memorandum in *The Free Press* is a true classic from start to finish, including the almost comical way in which the worthy diplomats make out that regicide is at once self-sacrifice and a republican virtue. Still, it seems to be going a bit far when Nicholas[g] gives his son[h] this kind of lesson with regard to the

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[a] G. Kinkel, 'An unsere Leser', *Hermann*, No. 26, 2 July 1859. - [b] See this volume, p. 464. - [c] K. Marx, 'The Treaty of Villafranca'. - [d] 'Memoir on Russia, for the Instruction of the Present Emperor', *The Free Press*, No. 7, 13 July 1859. - [e] concerning - [f] 'Copy of a Despatch from Count Pozzo di Borgo, Addressed to Count Nesselrode. Dated Paris, 10th (22nd) December, 1826'; 'Copy of a Very Secret Despatch from Count Pozzo di Borgo, dated Paris, the 28th November, 1828'; 'Memoir on the State and Prospects of Germany, Drawn up under the Direction of a Minister at St. Petersburgh, and Confidentially Communicated to Several of the German Governments'. - [g] Nicholas I - [h] future Emperor Alexander II

murder of his own father; I should say this passage has been altered.[453]

Is it not possible to get hold of the complete document? Dronke tells me that in Glasgow there is a STATIONER by the name of Love in St. Enoch Square who sells the *Hermann* and would be a very suitable man to sell *Das Volk*. It might be a good idea to send him a few copies and a letter.

Have you sent it to America? It's about time you did. To Weydemeyer, Steffen and the chap in New York[a] who once wrote to you about communist matters.[297]

Warmest regards to your wife and the girls.

Your
F. E.

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## 267

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 July 1859

DEAR Frederick,

I would gladly have written the article on the peace, for it would simply have meant combining last Friday's *and today's* articles for the *Tribune*.[b] They were, moreover, good articles, for *ira facit poetam*.[c] However, as Biskamp has *begun* the thing, has already *announced* No. II,[d] and is effectively, or at least nominally, in command, *decency* precludes one interfering in this way. Once he is in Edmonton, his very remoteness will ensure that at crucial moments such as this the

[a] Friedrich Kamm - [b] Marx refers to his articles 'The Peace' and 'The Treaty of Villafranca'. - [c] Anger gives wings to one's words. An allusion to 'Facit indignatio versum'—'Indignation makes verse' (Juvenal, *Satires*, I, 79). - [d] [E. Biskamp,] 'Der Friede von Villa Franca', *Das Volk*, No. 11, 16 July 1859. The second instalment was published in the next issue of *Das Volk* on 23 July.

LEADER can be taken out of his hands without hurt to his *amour propre*—which is all he gets out of it.

But what the two of us *can* do to put some stiffening into the next issue, is support him on his left and right flanks. On the pretext of discussing Urquhart's document,[a] I shall briefly sum up Russia's PART in this tragi-comedy and at the same time disparage Bonaparte.[454] You, on the pretext of writing a final article on military affairs,[b] must also set about Bonaparte, etc. (and on the same occasion take a swipe at Prussia). In my view it is of the utmost importance *morally* that a belief in Bonaparte's greatness should not be allowed to *arise* among the Germans. As for Austria, the agreed LINE we have adopted of blaming everything on the sovereign[c] is SUFFICIENT.

*Ad vocem*[d] the *document.* Fell into the hands of the 'Prince of Prussia'[e] during the regency crisis on the occasion of Manteuffel's sudden removal.[336] More than that is not to be coaxed out of Urquhart's idiots. Certain passages have been *forged* because they didn't get hold of the *complete document.*[452] The *authenticity* of the whole is vouched for by the style peculiar to all, even 'secret', Russian documents, in which certain stereotyped, conventional untruths take turn and turn about. It is a LINE even Pozzo di Borgo adopts in his writing. The plain truth about Russia's machinations comes to light only with the chance publication of the documents of Russian agents not in the direct employ of the Russian state. E.g. Theyls' (a Dutchman) and Patkul's (came out in Berlin in 1796) memoirs and correspondence.[f]

*Portfolio.* I shall obtain for you (and myself) from Paris the complete edition published there of the PAPERS of which the *Portfolio* was allowed to contain only those authorised by Palmerston.

*Volk.* Agents' remuneration reduced to $^1/_2$d. Expenditure has been heavy because Biskamp required personal sustenance; because the rows the fellows were having with each other during my absence[444] meant that the administration was at sixes and sevens; because the entire staff has been changed since my return. By the end of the week I shall have a *full statement of accounts.* This involves a great deal of work in view of the way the thing has been run hitherto. £4-£5 worth of advertising will have to be obtained

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[a] 'Memoir on Russia, for the Instruction of the Present Emperor', *The Free Press,* No. 7, 13 July 1859. - [b] F. Engels, 'The Italian War. Retrospect'. - [c] Francis Joseph I - [d] As regards - [e] William - [f] W. Theyls, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Charles XII, roi de Suède*; J. R. von Patkul, *Berichte an das Zaarische Cabinet in Moscau, von seinem Gesandschafts-Posten bei August II, Könige von Polen,* Th. I-III.

this week in order to liquidate the debt to Hollinger for Nos 9 and 10.

Biskamp wanted to write a short review of my *Critique of Political Economy*, etc. I dissuaded him, for he knows nothing about the subject. But since he has undertaken (in the *Volk*) to say something about it, I should like you to do it for him[a] (say next week, but not this). Briefly on the method and what is new in the content. In this way you would set the tone for the correspondents down here. And likewise help frustrate Lassalle's plan to KILL me.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 268

## ENGELS TO MARX[455]

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 20 or 21 July 1859]

Dear Moor,

Herewith the article.[b] If it's too long cut it short somewhere and return me the manuscript of the *unprinted* portion so that I know where to start again.

Also a POST OFFICE order made out to you, this being the three pounds for the *Volk*.

The little man[c] pushes off tomorrow. He has bought the entire *Free Press* for 1859 as I have, ditto 1858. However much the Piccolo may chew away at it he won't digest a great deal. I asked him whether any money could be raised for the *Völkchen* in Glasgow; he thought *not*. I did this deliberately *en passant*. However, if you think it would serve some purpose I shall write to him; since he has just been partially restored to grace, it may

[a] Engels did write a review: 'Karl Marx. *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*'. - [b] F. Engels, 'The Italian War. Retrospect'. - [c] Ernst Dronke

perhaps bear fruit and he can fork out at least a few pounds himself. But I wouldn't care to do this without consulting you, for there's no knowing what boasts the little fellow might not subsequently make with a letter like that in his pocket. This apart, *père* Freiligrath, too, ought to fork out a £5 note. If the louts can pay, so can he, and after all if our party has to support the paper out of its own money for the present, the fat philistine must also do his bit.

Many regards to the FAMILY.

Your
F. E.

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## 269

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 July 1859

Dear Engels,

£3 received. Immediately paid out £2 to Hollinger and 15/- to Lessner. Out-of-town subscriptions are increasing (there are already 60) but are not payable until the end of the quarter and call for a weekly outlay on STAMPS. I am now convinced, 1. that there was a debt of ABOUT £7 of which I was not told before I left for Manchester[444]; 2. that the advertisements (instead of £5, receipts were ABOUT 20/-) and Mr Scherzer's London subscriptions—I have sacked him—were just a piece of private skulduggery. With proper MANAGEMENT, which is now under way but whose results won't make themselves felt for weeks to come, the advertisements alone will pay for the little sheet. Since more money is needed immediately, write to Dronke. If you tell the little man that for the time being the paper can only exist by party sacrifices and hence we are asking *all* party members to make such sacrifices, he can, if he wishes, get the letter printed. I am convinced that, within 6 weeks, the thing will be on a solid footing. But there can be no question of giving it up now that Gagern and

Co., in short the entire 1848 gang, are again taking the stage. Thimm has asked us to put his name in the paper as our distributor in Manchester. I could not carry out my intention this week, for I was overcome by a kind of cholera as a result of the heat and was vomiting from morning till night. Being able to write again today, I have written for the *Tribune*, A GLORIOUS VINDICATION of your military article,[a] basing it on Francis Joseph's and Bonaparte's manifestos.[b] The paper had been so much intimidated that it suppressed all your articles for a time. During my absence *Blind* was scheming to gain control of the *Volk*. I wrote him an exceedingly rude letter, which was followed by an INTERVIEW. After that, however, there'll be no dunning the man for money for a while. Philistine Freiligrath *hasn't even paid* his subscription, although pressed *twice*. Instead, when speaking to Mr Juch, he deprecated the 'undignified' tone of the *Volk*, although he tells *us* that he is *'delighted'* with it. *By and by we shall take our revenge upon these diplomatical fellows.*

You forgot to let me know whether you wish to do a review of my piece.[c] There is great rejoicing among the fellows here. They imagine the thing's a failure *because* they are ignorant of the fact that Duncker hasn't even advertised it yet. Should you write something, don't forget, 1. that it extirpates Proudhonism root and branch, 2. that the *specifically* social, by no means *absolute*, character of bourgeois production is analysed straight away in its simplest form, that of the *commodity*. Mr Liebknecht informed Biskamp that 'never has a book *disappointed* him so much', and Biskamp himself told me that he didn't see *'à quoi bon'*.[d] Is Lupus back?

In your second article on the war[e] you will not, I am sure, forget to stress the inadequate strength of the pursuit after victory had been won, and the pitiful whining of Bonaparte, who had at last got to the point where Europe did not, as hitherto, out of fear of revolution, permit him to *play* the old Napoleon within given limits. In this connection it would be pertinent to recall the 1796-97 campaign, when France was not able to take her time

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[a] Marx probably means Engels' article 'Historical Justice'. - [b] K. Marx, 'Truth Testified'. In this article Marx cites Francis Joseph's manifesto of 15 July 1859 (reported in *The Times*, No. 23364, 21 July 1859) and Napoleon III's speech at a reception for members of the State Council, the Senate and the Corps législatif in the Palace of Saint-Cloud on 19 July 1859 (*Le Moniteur universel*, No. 201, 20 July 1859). - [c] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [d] 'what use it was' - [e] 'The Italian War. Retrospect' (was published in three instalments in *Das Volk*)

preparing all her resources for 'A LOCALISED WAR' but, with her finances completely disrupted, had to fight not only beyond the Rhine, but also beyond the Mincio and the Adige. Bonaparte is actually complaining that his '*succès d'estime*' are now begrudged him.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Can't anything be got out of Heckscher?
Have you written *to Duncker*?
Ask Dronke to write for us as well.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 July 1859

Dear Moor,

Have written to Duncker.[456] Also about the total absence up till now of any advertisements of your book[a] in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Kölnische Zeitung*. I can't possibly do an article on it *this week*; it is quite an *undertaking* and I should have had NOTICE of it somewhat earlier. Besides, I've begun the military article[b] and want to get it finished quickly. However, I promise to do the article for next week.[c]

Some nonsense was edited into my last article. I said that, during the march from Pavia, the 5th corps so exerted itself on the 3rd and 4th[d] that, had the $4^1/_2$ hours lost through the halt been put to use, the result would not have been materially different, nor would the corps have arrived on the battle-field

[a] *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* - [b] 'The Italian War. Retrospect' - [c] 'Karl Marx. *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*' - [d] 3 and 4 June 1859. Engels speaks of the first instalment of his article 'The Italian War. Retrospect'.

appreciably earlier. In print it says that it was the halt alone which made that exertion possible, which 1. is just the opposite and 2. is nonsense. In the first place the troops were not in the least tired at 6 o'clock in the morning of the 3rd, having only *just moved off*, so that the halt could be of no benefit to them, and secondly the halt deprived them of the cool hours of the morning and forced them to march when the midday heat was at its greatest. To any military man, the sentence as it now stands would seem quite preposterous. Much good all these stylistic improvements do me anyway, if printing errors are responsible for the most egregious nonsense, e.g. *rest* for *thrust* (!) and so forth. My articles are particularly distinguished by this kind of nonsense, the remainder being tolerably well corrected.

How, by the way, could you permit Herwegh's lousy poem[a] to be included?

*Quanto al danaro*,[b] Dronke will be back here again in a fortnight's time (about 10 days from *now*, that is), so I shall have to put everything off till then. Nor have I any news of Lupus. Where to get money from in the meantime is difficult to say. I'll try Heckscher, but just now I have *my hands full* and a great deal of my time is taken up with the article on your book. If only Strohn were here! Gumpert is at home, confined to bed with laryngitis and unable to speak. However, I shall see; if at all possible Heckscher will have to keep the paper going this week. But the miserly Freiligrath should certainly be made to cough up.

How funny that you should have obtained so flattering an opinion from Mr Liebknecht too.[c] It's just like these folk. The gentlemen are so used to our doing their thinking for them that invariably and without exception they want to have everything presented to them not only on a platter, but already pre-digested, not only the quintessence in the smallest possible space, but also a detailed exposition, READY COOKED AND DRIED. One is expected to perform miracles, *ni plus ni moins*.[d] What does an ass of that species really want? As though he couldn't discover for himself from the first 3 lines of the preface that this first instalment was to be followed by at least 15 others before he got to the final conclusions. Naturally, the solutions to ticklish monetary problems, etc., mean nothing whatever to Liebknecht, seeing that such problems simply don't exist for him. But the least one could ask of

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[a] Engels refers to Georg Herwegh's poem written on the occasion of the Federal Marksmen's Festival in Zurich and published in *Das Volk*, No. 12, 23 July 1859. - [b] As for money - [c] See this volume, p. 473. - [d] neither more nor less

such a blockhead is that he should take in at least those few points that happen to suit his book. However, what recks a cow of Sunday?

The Russian document[452] ought not to be reprinted in such short BITS, otherwise one completely loses the thread.[a] Mr Petersen's lucubrations also become tedious in the long run.[b 457] It's true you were in difficulty last week.

Mr Bonaparte's speeches get ever more comical. The one he made before the diplomatic corps is really too funny.[c] And the fellow kept clapping his hand to his sword all the while! The fool seems quite seriously determined to impose himself on the world as the 'old one',[d] at least so far as *le dehors*[e] is concerned.

Kossuth has been spreading it about that he's been away in Lussinpiccolo![f]

Many regards.

Your
F. E.

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## 271

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 August 1859

DEAR Frederick,

*D'abord*[g] I must acknowledge the £2 10/-. This time I myself corrected the proofs of your article.[h] If it still contains misprints,

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[a] A reference to 'Russisches Memoir zur Belehrung des gegenwärtigen Kaisers' (*Das Volk*, Nos. 12-16, 23 and 30 July and 6, 13 and 20 August 1859), a German translation of 'Memoir on Russia' published in *The Free Press*, No. 7, 13 July 1859. - [b] [N.] P[etersen,] 'Feierstunden-Arbeit eines Arbeiters', *Das Volk*, Nos. 8-10, 12 and 16, 25 June; 2, 9 and 23 July; 20 August 1859. - [c] Napoleon III made this speech on 21 July 1859 and it was published in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 203, 22 July 1859. - [d] Napoleon I - [e] outward appearance - [f] Town in Lussin island in the Adriatic, then under Austrian rule. - [g] First - [h] 'The Italian War. Retrospect'

the printer is the only one to blame. Herwegh's rotten poem[a] got in without my knowing about it. I therefore compelled Biskamp to give an explanation in the last issue[b] and, INTO THE BARGAIN, I got him to publish the Landwehr soldier's song (as a fitting sequel to Herwegh).[458]

What is catastrophic so far as I'm concerned is that Biskamp isn't going to Edmonton but (it would seem) has accepted the post of tutor *chez* Bibra (the innkeeper) in the middle of the West End. If this is so I shall press for a written agreement with the gentleman. For, like all professional humorists he's a capricious, hysterical old woman, and we're not going to right the apple-cart so that someone else can drive it away. We must make sure we get *possession* of the thing.

Lina[c] is back here from Cologne. Bürgers has grown quite 'high-minded' since his release. He reprobates the *Volk*'s 'reversion' to the old manner of using 'bad jokes' to split the 'party'. For him, it would seem, the 'party' comprises anyone who is 'not' official, and that includes Vogt and Kinkel. Needless to say these 'hints' were given merely out of tender regard for 'me'. 'One' copy of my work[d] had arrived at Bermbach's for the dozen or so party friends in Cologne. Bürgers hadn't read it, of course, nor will he, 'but in my interests' expressed his indignation that the thing should be coming out 'by dribs and drabs' and not all 60 sheets AT ONCE. For the rest, he's tutor at some 'merchant's', which only takes up a few hours each morning, and apart from that he gives one other lesson. All in all, he earns 700 talers. His 'work' is confined to mornings. After the midday meal he starts 'recovering' from his half day's work and lounges about chatting by the hour at Mrs Daniels' house where, however, he has a serious rival in Dr Klein. But in the evenings he hurries to Löllchen's to preside with great dignity over the Cologne debating club until far into the night. He 'esteems' Lassalle's activities but hasn't 'read' anything of his, not even *Franz von Sickingen*. The spurious pretext of having contracted a serious chest complaint during his time in prison has provided him with a splendid means of masking his habitual idleness. In addition, the 'high-minded man' frequents 'music clubs'. As regards the Cologne trial[71] he actually repeated to Lina several most infamous and far from unwitting lies, e.g. that it was *us* not *him* and the other asses in Cologne who sent that ass

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[a] ['On the Occasion of the Federal Marksmen's Festival in Zurich',] *Das Volk*, No. 12, 23 July 1859. - [b] This explanation by the Editorial Board was published in *Das Volk*, No. 13, 30 July 1859. - [c] Caroline Schöler - [d] *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

Nothjung to Germany as emissary.[459] He has, it seems, grown 'even more handsome' than he used to be. *En passant*, Georg Jung has become a gambler and has apparently pretty well dissipated his fortune. A few weeks ago Countess Hatzfeldt again took up residence in Berlin.

As soon as you have some hours to spare, it would be a good thing to go ahead with 'Infantry'.[a] My finances are closely linked with this. I should like to send my wife to the seaside for a few weeks. But that would be feasible only if I could draw an additional sum on *America*.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 272

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 3 August 1859
7 Southgate

Dear Moor,

Herewith the beginning of the article about your book.[b] Take a good look at it and, if you don't like it *in toto*, tear it up and let me have your opinion. Through lack of practice I have grown so unused to this sort of writing that your wife will be greatly tickled by my awkwardness. If you can knock it into shape, do so. A few convincing examples of the materialistic viewpoint would not come amiss, in place of my indifferent reference to the February revolution.[c]

As soon as I've done with this thing, I shall set to work on 'Infantry', which will, however, demand a good deal of time and

[a] an article for *The New American Cyclopaedia* - [b] F. Engels, 'K. Marx. *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*'. - [c] Engels means the 1848 revolution in France and subsequent revolutionary events in other European countries.

trouble, despite Rüstow, who must, of course, be treated with some reserve.[a]

Can you shed any further light on the particulars contained in Crawshay's letter in *The Free Press* of 27 July regarding the Russian document?[b] Surely the 'German' isn't Mr Bucher? And in which German paper is the thing supposed to have appeared?[460]

When you saw Blind, did you speak to him about the Vogt affair?[461] *N'y avait-il rien à faire?*[c]

The gentle Heinrich[d] is acquitting himself well in his new role. Gloomy as ever, but all the lazier for that, redeeming the world by his courageous and intelligent GRUMBLING.

Lupus has had another adventure, this time with a parson who swapped travelling bags with him. The deadly earnestness of the affair was, however, alleviated by the fact that the bag that had been left behind contained the said parson's MAIDEN SERMON which he was due to rattle off the following day. This lent the thing certain humorous *extérieurs,*[e] otherwise Lupus was again on the point of exclaiming: *'There are so many rogues in this country, and not of the working class, but of the middle class.'*

Your
F. E.

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## 273

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 August 1859

Dear Engels,

As a result of an attack of vomiting that has now lasted for two whole days, I am as weak as a fly and hence cannot write more than a few lines.

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[a] W. Rüstow, *Geschichte der Infanterie.* - [b] G. Crawshay, 'The Russian Memoir of 1837', *The Free Press,* No. 8, 27 July 1859. - [c] Could nothing be done about it? - [d] Heinrich Bürgers - [e] aspects

Would it be possible to scrape together some money for the *Volk* by *Wednesday morning*?

Last Monday (Monday is always settlement day; i.e. a week ago today) the *total deficit* had been reduced to no more than about £2. (This did not, of course, include the charge for No. 13, which only has to be met today, and still less for No. 14, where payment doesn't fall due until today week. The issues are, of course, only charged at the end of the week following publication.) So things are in good shape. But today there is further expenditure to be met, in addition to the usual £1 extra (15/- for Lessner, 5 for the OFFICE). I myself am under so much PRESSURE that I cannot at this moment advance a *single* FARTHING and am, moreover, wasting an inordinate amount of time over the business. As for philistine Freiligrath, he imagines that he is giving adequate proof of his 'convictions' by maintaining a 'neutral' attitude towards ourselves and the *Hermann*.

Ledru and L. Blanc have united to publish a paper, the *Union Républicaine*. It is to appear at the beginning of next month from the same press as the *Volk*, and would benefit the latter in as much as Hollinger would then print by machine instead of by hand as heretofore.[462] It makes the continued existence of the *Volk* all the more essential, by the by.

Later on (as soon as I'm fit again), I shall write to Germany about the business. And to Borchardt too?

To make the thing a PAYING proposition more quickly, fresh outlays would be necessary in a town like London: errand-boys besides Lessner, etc.

Strohn not back yet?

No answer yet from Duncker, the swine?

Regards to Lupus and Gumpert.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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## 274

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 August 1859

Dear Moor,

Just now I'm in such a jam, paying off private debts which have accumulated in respect of the new financial year, that only in the case of direst need shall I be able to advance any money to the *Volk* during the next few weeks. I neither see nor hear anything of Strohn, but should know at once if he returned to Bradford. If the worst comes to the worst you could always write to Borchardt—I don't see why not. Then you could let me know and, if necessary, Lupus might also drop in on him. I neither see nor hear anything of Borchardt.

Yesterday evening, when about to write the 2nd article on your book,[a] I was interrupted in such a way as to preclude further work. I shan't be able to make up for lost time today and so the article will have to be put off till next week, greatly to my annoyance.

I was out of town from Saturday to Monday, and on Monday evening found the enclosed scrawl from Duncker.[463] The note I enclose will enable you to obtain the 6 copies of *Po and Rhine*; send me those you don't need. *Freiligrath has had one.* It's really high time the fool was forced to adopt a less equivocal position, or at very least to *shell out.*

Duncker is frankly trying to do me down. Lassalle mentioned 2,000 copies; now he claims to have printed only 1,000. Siebel, who is back here again, tells me that, to judge by his own experience of the pamphlet's success with booksellers, this must be a lie. *Que faire?*[b]

What do you think of the pretty excuse for failing to advertise your book?

So Mazzini has finally made his diplomatic revelations in a frightful tirade in *The Times.*[c] All the same, the facts are

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[a] F. Engels, 'Karl Marx. *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*'. - [b] What's to be done? - [c] G. Mazzini, 'To the Editor of *The Times*', *The Times*, No. 23381, 10 August 1859.

important and confirm our information and conclusions. Perhaps this will shake Urquhart's view that Mazzini's a RUSSIAN.[464]

*Salut.*

Your
F. E.

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## 275

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 August 1859

Dear Engels,

I received the enclosed note[a] on Thursday afternoon. I therefore hastened into town. Matters could only be arranged by my borrowing £4 from Garthe, which *will have to be returned.* On Monday I shall write to Borchardt. To abandon the paper now would seem to me foolish on several counts: 1. because this would save the now foundering *Gottfried*[b]; 2. because after the King of Prussia's[c] death there will be radical changes in Germany, when *we* must have a paper of our own; 3. because of the growing number of subscribers (although *for the time being* this is simply a disadvantage financially, since the cost in STAMPS increases weekly while payments aren't due until the *end of the quarter*). The *Volk* already wields considerable influence in the United States. For instance the preface to my book[d] has been reprinted from the *Volk* and variously commented on by German papers from New England to California.

You couldn't, I suppose, arrange to let me have your article[e] by Wednesday, there being nothing 'topical' about it this time?

---

[a] The note is not extant. - [b] the weekly *Hermann*, of which Gottfried Kinkel had been publisher until July 1859 - [c] Frederick William IV - [d] *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* - [e] F. Engels, 'K. Marx. *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*'.

Might it be possible to raise some money from German business employees in Manchester through your cousin Siebel?

I shall certainly succeed in getting some money out of Berlin and New York. But there's the next 6 to 8 weeks to be taken care of.

As TO Freiligrath, just come and TRY extracting one shilling from him if you can!

Incidentally, and between ourselves, we'd have done better over money if new deficits hadn't continually arisen as a result of renewed thefts. But these were perpetrated by the old agents. Beginning with Scherzer, I've thrown out *all* those who *had* compromised themselves. But what remained of the old leaven[a] wasn't any good and, even if these uncouth louts have been well-behaved hitherto, they blot their copybook when they make their *exit*. I finally threw out *the last* of them—Mr Lange—last week. It would have been relatively much easier to start up a completely new paper from scratch rather than, as Biskamp and Liebknecht did, *continue*, if only nominally, the existence of an organ that was rotten through and through.[b]

Herewith a letter from Dana.

Though I don't think much of his POETRY, could your RELATIVE Siebel do some little piece of verse for the *Volk*? But nothing sublime, please! So as to nettle Freiligrath, we simply must unearth some poet or other, even if we have to write the verse for him ourselves.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Copies of *Po and Rhine* next week.

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[a] I Corinthians 5:7 - [b] See this volume, pp. 437-39.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 26 August [1859]

DEAR Fred,

'*Das Volk' is no more.* I had already advanced to Hollinger the £2 you sent at the end of last week, for otherwise last Friday's issue (a week ago today) would not have come out. I have therefore paid it back to myself. In addition I owe Garthe £4 (for the paper) and ABOUT £2 more to Lessner, *£6 in all.* Moreover in Hollinger's case the deficit has accumulated—which doesn't, of course, concern us so immediately. However, it ought not to be allowed to grow any more. This can only be charged when the money for the subscriptions has come in. The *French* paper is not going to appear because of the amnesty.[465]

Borchardt, the braggart, wrote to say there was nothing doing in Manchester. First, because of the peace, then because of the amnesty. But more especially—and this was something he had not *himself* felt able to refute—because *Das Volk* was a scurrilous paper (oh, you idiot of a philistine!). I.e. not nice enough for the Steinthals and other such Ikeys. On the other hand a letter arrived at the same time from Lupus in which he spoke very highly of *Das Volk.* But the FACT is that as the paper improved, losses increased and readers fell off. Besides, that idiot Biskamp, with all sorts of people on at him, appeared to be jealous on account of his dwindling importance on the paper.

Lastly, in view of Liebknecht's ineptitude and Biskamp's instability and weakness, it would have become increasingly necessary for me to intervene directly in the editorial work (for if sales were low among the louts, they were correspondingly high among the German *diplomatic haute volée*[a] in London). Distances being what they are here, the thing was in any case taking up too much of my time, and my own circumstances ARE IN SUCH A DESPERATE STATE THAT I MUST LOOK TO THEM.

---

[a] upper crust

That wretch Dronke hasn't even subscribed for one copy. Your cousin Siebel, however, as you will see from the enclosed, is the *Hermann*'s bard under Beta's management.[a]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 277

## MARX TO ENGELS[466]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, 5 September 1859]

Dear Engels,

Could you possibly send me a military piece on China by Friday? I have written today (but not last Friday since I had a tiresome visitor) about Italy and Hungary.[b] The purely political stuff is AT AN END until the opening of Parliament.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] Probably a reference to the item 'Sprüche von Carl Siebel' in *Hermann*, No. 33, 20 August 1859. - [b] 'Kossuth and Louis Napoleon'

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## ENGELS TO MARX[467]

IN LONDON

Manchester, [8 September 1859]
7 Southgate

Dear Moor,

Unfortunately the article can't be sent today. It's now 7 o'clock and I still have at least half an hour's work at the office; it takes me $^1/_2$ hour to get home and, what is more, I haven't yet set eyes on *The Times*, nor should I be able to borrow it for this evening. I'd have to finish the whole thing by 11.30 at the latest if I were to get it off—it's *clairement impossible*, particularly in the case of names which have been wrongly telegraphed and can only be deciphered after one has spent ages poring over the map. However, I'll go over the material for Tuesday and, should the Calcutta MAIL be in by Monday, rectify it accordingly.

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## 279

## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LONDON

London, 17 September 1859

Dear Liebknecht,

I should ere now have returned Blind's letter of 8th September,[468] which you passed on to me, had not various passages therein made it *necessary* for me to take further steps to ascertain the facts of the case.

In this letter Blind maintains that he had had '*nothing whatever to do with the problem in question*' (i.e. with the *public* denunciation of Vogt). He further maintains that 'the remarks' he made '*in the course of a private conversation...*'[461] (implying that he's only spoken about Vogt '*in private*') '*were completely misinterpreted*'. The words

'completely misinterpreted' are used with reference to *myself*. It was *I* who '*completely misinterpreted*' Blind's 'remarks made in the course of a *private conversation*' and hence '*completely misrepresented*' them to you and Biskamp. The misrepresentation in question is not *witting, deliberate* misrepresentation, but misrepresentation due either to the inherent difficulty of Blind's account, or to the feebleness and natural perversity of my powers of comprehension.

As to which I would observe:

1. Vogt was a tool used by Bonaparte to corrupt liberals in Germany and German revolutionaries abroad. Vogt further offered 30,000 gulden to a certain liberal writer in Germany in order to win him over in the interests of Bonapartist propaganda.—These two *on-dit*[a] were imparted to *me* IN THE MOST SERIOUS MANNER by Blind on 9 May, the day of Urquhart's first meeting. He imparted them to Freiligrath. He imparted them to *others*. He repeated, or rather *reaffirmed*, them in your presence, in Hollinger's presence, in my presence, on the day we all three of us had AN INTERVIEW with him. In regard to these two points, therefore, there can be no question of any interpretation, false or otherwise. They have been admitted. They can be proved by evidence. They are FACTS in so far as we consider Blind's *statements* as FACTS.

2. Now as to Blind's '*interpretation*'—minus the *name* Vogt *qua* agent of Bonapartist corruption, and minus the affair of the 30,000 gulden—it is to be found in an article in the London *Free Press* dated 27 May with the heading: 'The Grand Duke Constantine to be King of Hungary'. Blind ***is*** the author of this article in which he says that **he* 'knows the name of a Swiss Senator to whom he (Prince Jerome Napoleon) broached the subject'*, and even knows what Plon-Plon DID BROACH TO THE SWISS SENATOR; in which he further *knows the attempts made ... to win over to the Russo-Napoleonic scheme some of the exiled German Democrats, as well as some influential Liberals in Germany'*; in which he further KNOWS that *'***large pecuniary advantages** were held out to them as a ***bribe***'*; and in which, finally, he is *'glad that these offers were rejected with indignation'*. This 'interpretation' is *printed* and did not therefore occur 'in the course of a *private conversation*'. Again, it would seem from this that Blind, far from having had nothing to do with 'the problem', played the part of initiator.

3. Add together 1. the *facts* related, and admitted to have been related, by Blind and 2. the 'interpretation' which Blind had

[a] rumours

printed and which is *legally verifiable* as such, and what do you get?

The anonymous pamphlet *Zur Warnung* minus a few irrelevant phrases. Whether or not Blind composed this pamphlet is therefore *completely immaterial.* He is *responsible for publishing* the elements which go to make it up.

He mentioned the *name* Vogt and the affair of the 30,000 gulden 'in the course of a private conversation'. Not only with me but with Freiligrath and others. And not as a private and '*confidential*' matter but as political denunciation. He *himself* had the 'interpretation' relating to these two POINTS printed.

It is quite immaterial, therefore, whether or not the pamphlet which subsequently came out was composed by him! All it contains is the sum total of verbal Blind and printed Blind. It *is* Blind added together. Hence it was not only *I* who regarded him as its author. Freiligrath did too. He even questioned him about it.

Author or otherwise, it in *no way* alters the case. He is still the *instigator* responsible.

You will recall that at the above-mentioned meeting he stated on his *word of honour* that he had not *composed* the pamphlet. *Composing* and *writing* are in effect two separate things. I now have *documentary, legally valid* evidence (*which is at your disposal*) to the effect that the pamphlet was printed by F. Hollinger, was handed to him by Blind, was written in Blind's *hand,* and was regarded by F. Hollinger as Blind's product.[469]

What remains, then, is *my* interpretation, described not merely as a 'misinterpretation' but a 'complete misinterpretation'.

As regards the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung,* the relationship between myself and that paper has always been one of outright *hostility.* What is at issue in the law-suit that is to be heard in open court at Augsburg on the 28th of October[470] is not a QUARREL between the A. *A. Z.* and Vogt but a *legal ruling* on the relationship between the German ex-imperial regent[410] Vogt and the French EMPEROR Louis Bonaparte. In my view, then, what is at issue for *every* German revolutionary, even if not a member of a 'Fatherland Association',[471] is *not,* in this instance, 'the affairs of a newspaper with which he had *nothing whatever* to do'; rather it is *his own* affair. That, however, is a matter of taste. *De gustibus,* etc.[a]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] *De gustibus non est disputandum*—Tastes are not matters for discussion.

## 280

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 September 1859

Dear Engels,

I have received your letter[472] together with the enclosure. My domestic AFFAIRS, by the by, have again reached the inevitable point of crisis, worse this time than ever before, because I can't see any way out. A go at my brother-in-law[a] ended IN NOTHING. Freiligrath's business is WINDING UP. Whether the Swiss will set up a new London agency, and for him, in 1860 is still in doubt. So he now has a better excuse than ever to refuse to handle any bill transactions. Dana has warned me about OVERDRAWING. Consequently I'm in a complete FIX. Apart from minor hazards (e.g. this week they are threatening to cut off the gas and water) the more considerable debts have all been mounting up and a substantial portion of these can no longer be put off. E.g. house, school, etc.

As I shall have to write to Duncker shortly about the second instalment, let me know whether he has advertised the first instalment in the press. It seems to me that he would gladly let THE WHOLE MATTER DROP.[473]

The damnable thing about it is that I no longer have a Bamberger in London. Otherwise I could certainly arrange a few ACCOMMODATION BILLS which I would subsequently pay with the money from America. In these CIRCUMSTANCES it can never be a question of anything but [MAKE]SHIFTS.

You must forgive me for telling you this tale of woe. But down here there is absolutely no-one to whom I can freely unburden myself.

As I've already told Lupus in my letter,[474] you will both be hearing from me shortly about some odd political scandals.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] Johann Carl Juta

# 281

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 September 1859

Dear Moor,

Lupus has just brought me your letter. I only got back the evening before last from a tour of Scotland with my parents[a] and have now packed them off home again.

A day or two before my old man arrived I had the most damnable bit of bad luck. At a drunken gathering I was insulted by an Englishman[b] I didn't know; I hit out at him with the umbrella I was carrying and the ferrule got him in the eye. The chap immediately put the matter in the hands of his LAWYER. I made the necessary counter-moves, and since his eye wasn't permanently damaged and he has now recovered, it at first seemed probable that the affair would be settled—though I would still be responsible for the costs. Now, however, the swine has suddenly done a *volte-face* and is threatening me with an ACTION; and if it came to that the thing would cost me over two hundred pounds, on top of which there would be a public scandal and a ROW with my old man, who would have to put up the money. However I still hope to get round the JOBBING LAWYERS; if all goes *really well* the DRUNKEN BRAWL will cost me forty or fifty pounds. The worst of it is that I'm completely in the hands of this swine and his SOLICITOR, can do nothing to force the issue and must put up with everything to avoid a scandal, otherwise the costs will be even heavier. Needless to say these blasted English don't want to deprive themselves of the pleasure of getting their hands on a BLOODY FOREIGNER.

So this time my troubles have certainly not come singly. I simply don't know what to do until I can see how the business is going to turn out. My English acquaintances are behaving very honourably and instantly took the thing up, but I'm going to be bled, that's certain, and how much, heaven only knows.

At all events I shall send you a five-pound note about Saturday or Monday to prevent the worst happening; meanwhile I can get it carried over to the October account. You may rest assured that I

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[a] Friedrich and Elisabeth Engels - [b] Daniells

shall do whatever I can, but as you can see for yourself I don't really know where I am myself at the moment.

Warm regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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## 282

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 23 September [1859]

DEAR Frederic,

BAD NEWS. This time I'm in some doubt whether the business down here CAN BE GOT OVER. There are *very nasty* difficulties in the way.

I'm also in some doubt about your own *affaire. Apart from the scandal*—if the fellow's eye is better, if it can be proved that he OFFENDED you first and, further, that he had already agreed to your compromise, etc.—I don't see that,under English law, there is very much he can do. In London you would at worst be fined £2-£5. It seems to me that the purpose of the whole thing is *TO OBTAIN MONEY ON FALSE PRETENCES.*

If the situation here is not to get *any worse*, I believe it essential that I should be able to send off 'Infantry' to Dana in ABOUT a week or 10 days from now. Although he said 15 September it certainly won't be too late and in any case he must admit that we have shown good will. The main thing is that it should be not so much profound as prolix.

If, immediately after your arrival in Manchester[475] and after having made inquiries about the 'Englishman',[a] you had departed again, *for London, say*, and made it known to the swine through a third party that you were on your way *to the Continent*, you would have been able to come to *any* arrangement you wanted. *This might still be possible* for, judging by Allen, etc., all Englishmen now believe that there will be a GENERAL AMNESTY[476] on the Continent and

[a] Daniells

hence are afraid that their debtors will QUIT THE COUNTRY. (After all, the Prussian amnesty is to be on the 15th of October.) Every stratagem should be used against a chap like that.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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## 283

## ENGELS TO MARX[477]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 Southgate
[between 24 and 26 September 1859]

Dear Moor,

Enclosed fiver B/B 95281 Manchester, 1 January 1859.

Shall deal with the other matters very shortly.

For the present just one more point to which an answer is required by return if possible.

1. How much money is needed to return to those subscribers to the *Volk* who have paid direct, the few pence due to them in respect of undelivered copies?

2. What arrangement was made about this with Thimm and others? Have the booksellers deducted what was not delivered, OR HOW? Or not paid at all yet?

I must have clarification of these matters, if possible *at once*, and I shall, if possible, raise the money—it can't amount to much—to settle the sorry business of the direct subscribers. Up here the bourgeois are complaining like mad that they've been cheated, and Lupus and I have to swallow it all. So let me have an answer at once. The day before yesterday Lupus was involved in a row on this account and I shall have to see the 'third party' as soon as possible.

*'Infantry'* is in hand and if at all possible I shall finish it before the week is out.

As to my own affair up here, surely you don't imagine that I, for my part, didn't also have SENSE enough to hand the thing over to a LAWYER and listen to his opinion. It's not a case of some miserable fine imposed by a magistrate but of an ACTION AT NISI PRIUS FOR DAMAGES, in which the *costs* alone could be as high as £200. You surely don't imagine that I shall let myself be swindled like this without lifting a finger; as to running away, I need hardly say that, my circumstances being what they are, there can be no question of it, even for a fortnight; and being as well known in Manchester as I am, no one here would imagine that I would run away from the firm, etc., in order to escape a lawsuit of this sort.

The real joke is that the use of pretty well any instrument gives a LAWYER a HANDLE with which to sway a BRITISH JURY, namely moral indignation at BLOODY FOREIGNERS who don't use their fists, etc. In which case the verdict goes against the FOREIGNER as sure as 2×2=4, and on top of that he has to fork out the costs. Anyway you can count on it that I shall fork out no more than is absolutely necessary. As yet the affair hasn't progressed an inch but I hope it will soon be settled so that I may at least get a clear idea of what can be done to help you through the crisis.

Many regards to your wife and the girls.

Your

F. E.

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## 284

## MARX TO BERTALAN SZEMERE[478]

### IN PARIS

London, 26 September 1859

My dear Franck,

In reply to your letter d.d. Sept. 23 I beg to state: 1) On the arrival at London of the *N. Y. T.* containing P's declaration, which to sign with his name he had not dared,[a] I sent the

[a] [F. Pulszky,] 'From Our Own Correspondent. Monday, August 7, 1859', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5720, 23 August 1859.

*N. Y. T.* two letters with a full statement of the case. Simultaneously, I addressed a *private note* to the Editor in which I insisted upon the necessity of exposing the manoeuvres and intrigues of the wide-mouthed charlatan.[479] *We shall, by and by, ascertain, whether or not my letters were published by the N. Y. T.*[a]

As to the great London Daily Papers, it is quite out of the question to induce them to give publicity to a full exposure of Kossuth. The statement, in the first instance, would imply a *libel case,* which to stand the editors are, or at least affect to be, afraid of, considering the difficulty to prove such charges of bribery, and to summon the witnesses before a British tribunal. In the second instance, Kossuth is too unmitigated a humbug to not share the secret sympathies of the venal London press-gang. I have, however, put down a summary for the *'Free Press'* (the Urquhartite paper which appears on the last Wednesday of every month)[b] I have authorised them, if they think it necessary, 'to dress the salad' in their own style, and I think myself warranted in supposing that the 'thing' is to come out *this very week.* In that case I shall forward you a copy. Although circulated among a very exclusive public, the *Free Press* finds its way to all the cabinets and capitals of Europe. It is well known at Constantinople. Besides, the statement having once appeared in the *Free Press,* some London correspondents, connected with the German press, and more or less influenced by me, will find it easier to transplant the thing to the Teutonic soil.

I enclose Asboth's declaration from the *N. Y. T.*[c] The turn now given to K's proceedings is, that that 'illustrious' patriot attempted only to prevent 'a premature *rising* in Hungary', and that the clever 'statesman' altogether succeeded in this 'difficult' task.

Some time ago, Urquhart had his correspondence with Kossuth (which I alluded to, as you will recollect) translated into Italian, and copiously distributed throughout Italy.[d]

2) *In regard to the wine-affair,* I became informed, soon after your departure from London, that my brother-in-law[e] was not to return to Amsterdam before October. I have, therefore, *not yet* written to him on the business.

*For England* I have till now vacillated between two men, both of whom, though in different ways, appear fit for undertaking the

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[a] K. Marx, 'Kossuth and Louis Napoleon'. - [b] [K. Marx,] 'Particulars of Kossuth's Transaction with Louis Napoleon'. - [c] A. Asbóth, 'The Peace of Villafranca and the Hungarian Cause', *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5727, 31 August 1859. - [d] Letters of L. Kossuth and D. Urquhart published in *The Free Press,* No. 16, 12 May 1858. - [e] Johann Carl Juta

task. The one is a German, without capital, but very energetical, speculative, and industrious. The other is an Englishman, who deals in French and German wines, a *'respectable'* merchant, although no large one. At all events, he has contrived to get on with his wine-business and to rise, in the short period of 6-7 years, from very small beginnings to comparative affluency. The former candidate would have been exclusively given to the business in question; the latter has the advantage of greater means, a settled concern, and established connexions. If, as will be decided in a few days, the German is, for the present, not yet ready to enter on the affair (and I have reason to think so), I shall make a conditional offer to the Englishman. You will then be informed of his conditions and may decide yourself.

Yours truly
A. Williams[a]

*P.S.* At this moment I receive your second letter. I think it is already answered by the preceding lines.

*27. Sep.* The proof-sheet of the 'thing' in the *Free Press* has been forwarded to me.

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## 285

## MARX TO ENGELS[480]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, 27 September 1859]

Dear Engels,

Your letter with enclosure received.

I knew as soon as the letter had gone off that some of my critical remarks were idiotic.[b]

I myself am involved in a COUNTY-COURT PROCESS on account of the *Volk*. As regards the 'direct' subscribers in Manchester, these were only Lupus and a 'cobbler' who had already cancelled his order *before* the paper ceased to be.

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[a] conspiratorial pseudonym of Karl Marx - [b] See this volume, p. 491.

Thimm has *not yet* paid and was, moreover, requested to pay only for the NUMBERS RECEIVED. How can we have done anything to the prejudice of the philistines in Manchester when they have not yet paid *a single* FARTHING?

Send the names of the fellows with claims. Tell Thimm (on Biskamp's behalf) that he must not send another FARTHING here until he hears from us again. You may instruct him to pay 'bona fide' claimants in Manchester.

Biskamp has now taken lodgings at my expense here in Hampstead. The POOR DEVIL has had an operation for PLEURISY at the German hospital, where he spent 1 1/2 weeks—*sans sou.*[a] All in all a nice state of affairs.

Today is article day, so I shall close.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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## 286

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 28 September [1859]

Dear Engels,

Yesterday evening I had a visit from Lessner, whom I had sent for in connection with the Manchester subscribers to the *Volk*.

Like Biskamp, he assures me that (apart from Lupus) there wasn't a single direct subscriber to the *Volk*. And up till now no one has sent a FARTHING to London.

After the *Volk* ceased publication Thimm wrote to Lessner asking for an account. Lessner replied that he could send him an account only in respect of the period in which he, Lessner, had been despatch clerk. He then sent him an invoice for the *individual numbers*. Up till yesterday there had been no reply from Thimm.

[a] without a penny

So I'd like to know what fellows are kicking up the fuss in Manchester and on what PRETEXT.

Down here we (and I especially) have unpleasantnesses enough in respect of the *Volk* without that.

The 'Particulars' about Kossuth in *The Free Press* are mine. (I have made 2 articles out of them for the *Tribune*[479] and shall see whether they are accepted.) I got them from Szemere, partly in writing, partly by word of mouth. Szemere was here a few weeks ago.

*Salut.* Regards to Lupus.

Your
K. M.

It's doubtful whether Biskamp will pull through. The poor devil is as low as can be. We seem to attract every damned spot of bother that's going.

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## 287

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[481]

### IN BERLIN

London, [not before 2 October 1859]
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

It is very good of you to be the first to take up the pen again, and this in a matter touching my interests, despite the fact that appearances speak against me.

As for my silence, let me say briefly:

First, I didn't get either of your letters until weeks after their despatch, namely on my return to London from a journey to Scotland *via* Manchester, made for business reasons.[444] Meanwhile

events had moved so fast that they had, as it were, removed the point of our debate.[a] For the POINT IN QUESTION did not relate—nor, between you and me, could it have related—to the nationalities issue, but rather to the most suitable policy to be pursued by the German revolutionaries towards their own governments and other countries. Now I would nevertheless have sent a reply, if a belated one, had there not been fresh grounds for delay. In one of your letters you asked for evidence relating to Vogt. That evidence was in the hands of Karl Blind. The 'worthy democrat', however, though privately inclined to play at moral indignation as well as stir up scandal, resisted all expostulations TO COME OUT. Consequently I broke with him. (He even denied authorship of *Zur Warnung*, the anonymous pamphlet published in London[461] and reproduced in the *Augsburger*.[b] However, I have succeeded in obtaining documentary evidence against him (Blind) in this matter,[469] to which I shall revert 'at the right time and the right place'.) This provided a fresh occasion for prolonging my silence. And, since 'the evil deed is accursed in that it must constantly engender evil'[c] my silence itself became an obstacle to my breaking it. On top of that—and I beg you not to regard this simply as a figure of speech—there was a whole series of domestic complications, as yet by no means eliminated, which in fact robbed me of all desire to write. So much for my silence, which, however, and despite all APPEARANCES TO THE CONTRARY, was in no way motivated by ill-will.

Now as to Duncker,

on my return to London I found a letter from him which apparently rendered it impossible for me to make any further direct approach to the man regarding the sequel.[473] On the other hand, not having written to you for so long, I couldn't possibly start off by suddenly writing to you about my own concerns. So I let the matter DROP, on the tacit assumption that, if I hadn't heard from Duncker by a certain date, I should have to approach another publisher.

However, one of your earlier letters led me to suppose that Duncker had undertaken to publish 2 instalments, or rather the first section ('Capital in General') in its entirety.[d] But on the other hand the first instalment[e] was much more compendious than had

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[a] See this volume, p. 460. - [b] [K. Blind.] *Zur Warnung, Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 173 (supplement), 22 June 1859. - [c] An allusion to the following lines from Schiller's drama *Wallenstein. Die Piccolomini*, V, 1: 'Das eben ist der Fluch der bösen That,/Daß sie, fortzeugend, immer Böses muß gebären' ('This is the curse of every evil deed,/That, propagating still, it brings forth evil'). - [d] See this volume, pp. 270 and 368. - [e] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

been originally planned, nor, for that matter, did I want him to be a 'publisher *malgré lui*[a]'. However, since the first 2 instalments form a whole, it would be desirable for them at least to appear under the same imprint.

I shall now be obliged to remodel the thing completely, as the manuscript for this second instalment is already a year old[250]; and, since my circumstances do not permit me to devote much time to the matter just now, I hardly think I shall be able to finish it before the end of December. That, however, would be at the *very outside.*

I am busy with an *English* rendering of the first instalment and this, too, has been disrupted by a bad domestic spell. At any rate I am assured of a better reception in England than in Germany where, so far as I am aware, nobody inquires after the thing or gives a straw for it. All I want is to place the whole of this *first section,* at least, before the German public. Should the latter continue to pay no heed to the work, I intend to put all subsequent sections straight into English and no longer concern myself with the German philistines.

*Vale faveque.*[b]

K. M.

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## 288

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 3 October 1859

Dear Moor,

What you wrote and told me about *Das Volk* was most welcome news. It now transpires that the philistine who raised an outcry had taken out a subscription with Thimm *après tout.*[c]

What's this about proceedings in the COUNTY COURT[d]?

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[a] against his will. Cf. Molière's *Le Médecin malgré lui.* - [b] Good-bye and farewell. - [c] after all - [d] See this volume, p. 495.

Because of sundry interruptions and an (otherwise insignificant) inflammation of the left eye which prevents me doing much writing by gas-light, 'Infantry' is not quite finished. You'll get it by Friday for sure.

My quarrel not settled yet and might still be damnably long-drawn-out. But I've got the scoundrel[a] pretty well pinned down and believe I can now stand back and watch; whatever happens, though, it's going to cost money—that's the most annoying thing about it; moreover, the LAW being what it is here, one can never be quite sure of one's case. At all events, things look a good deal better now.

*The Free Press* hadn't arrived the day before yesterday; I shall go and have another look presently. What sort of a branch is it that Urquhart has opened in Berlin?

So it now transpires that the Russian memorandum appeared in the *Preussisches Wochenblatt*! (I've only just seen the August number of *The Free Press*.)[482] Apart from what's in *The Free Press*,[b] have you any other scandalous stuff about great men[367]?

Your
F. E.

Have a complete account made out for Thimm as soon as possible, i.e. covering the pre-Lessner period as well; the fellow apparently intends to pocket the money. But send me a full list of the people who subscribed through Thimm, so that I can keep a check on reimbursements and send round a circular telling people that they can reclaim their money from Thimm.

Siebel's indifferent verse[c] was sent to the *Hermann* behind Siebel's back by a chap in Germany to whom he had written enclosing it. He promptly wrote to the editors, and only then did he learn how this had come about.

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[a] Daniells - [b] Engels means Marx's article 'Particulars of Kossuth's Transaction with Louis Napoleon'. - [c] 'Sprüche von Carl Siebel', *Hermann*, No. 33, 20 August 1859. See this volume, p. 485.

## 289

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 October [1859]

Dear Engels,

In view of the way things are managed here (Speck has gone bankrupt and disappeared; Garthe, the cashier, is in Brighton) and always have been managed so far as the *Volk* is concerned, it is impossible to obtain an accurate account AS TO FOREIGN [out-of-town] SUBSCRIBERS during the pre-Lessner period. Biskamp maintains that, with the exception of the very first issues, Thimm was always sent a dozen copies.

Hollinger is suing me for £12 and a couple of shillings arrears in respect of *Das Volk*, together with the type for the last issue, which did not appear. The dirty dog is trying to make out all of a sudden that I'm the 'proprietor', although the whole business, I won't say foundered (for your philistine here is a hopeless proposition), but closed down with a deficit because I *wasn't* the proprietor and was unable to knock the slipshod management into shape despite all the time I spent on it. Still less did I ever give the chap a legal guarantee. I think his account is wrong, for apart from the other moneys received, the fellow had had £7 from me *for the 3 penultimate issues alone* (his account covers the last 2 issues).—The 15/- for Lessner did not go through his hands but was paid direct by me.—However, I'm not going to engage in any controversy on the subject since I would thereby immediately acknowledge his right to sue *me*. The dirty dog will swear on oath and get one of his type-setters to swear on oath that I gave a guarantee. (Even were this the case he should have sued Biskamp first.) I shall call in Biskamp, etc., to give counter-evidence. Had I the means, I should have avoided all *public* proceedings, not by paying Hollinger, but by buying the debt he incurred with one Lisle, Hollinger's LANDLORD and *owner* of the press. Hollinger owes this man some £60 and has never paid him a FARTHING.

But circumstances being what they are, there can be no question of anything of the kind.

Unless I bring off some sort of coup—and I simply cannot see *how* I can do so—my position will become *completely* untenable. Freiligrath made another attempt at negotiating a bill. But

yesterday evening, at the same time as threatening letters from the LANDLORD, etc., etc., a letter arrived from him saying it was definitely no go. The enclosed letter from Lassalle, which I answered by return,[a] looks like good news to me. The thing[b] appears to be selling despite the *conspiration de silence*. Otherwise I wouldn't have received this *indirect* request from Duncker. I shall, by the by, be totally incapable of going on with the thing[473] until I've CLEARED up the worst of the domestic mess *d'une manière ou d'une autre*.[c] *Your articles* on my affair[d] have been reprinted in German papers from New York to California (with the tiny little *Volk* we hooked the whole of the German-American press). To show you the kind of rubbish that's appearing in Germany, I enclose a cutting of the advertisements in the Vienna *Presse*. *Il suffit*[e] TO READ the index. (BY THE BY, I am giving lectures about the first instalment to a *select* circle of artisans.[f] It seems to interest the chaps a great deal.[483])

Lastly, a report on two 'great men'.[367]

*Ad vocem*[g] *R. Schramm*. Some while ago this pitiful blockhead was in Ostend, whence he sent a contribution to the *Hermann*.[h] Not that I'm in the habit of reading that trashy sheet; I heard about this through Freiligrath. In his contribution R. Schramm declares that one could gauge the depths to which the Germans had sunk simply by listening to their conversations on the beach. Thus he had, for instance, overheard two ladies chattering away in broad Wuppertal accents and one of them had addressed the other as 'Mrs Engels'. So that's the kind of revenge this wretch takes! But by way of retribution the blockhead recently lost £2,000 (*teste*[i] Freiligrath), having, like a fool, entered the 'precious stones business'. This had, moreover, frustrated his scheme of starting a German paper of his own in London (was to have come out this month). To the chap's intense annoyance and as a riposte to his childish MALICE, I got Biskamp to see that the FACTS—non-appearance of the paper, gem trade and loss of money—were published in the *Weser-Zeitung*.

*Ad vocem K. Blind*. With regard to this *homme d'état*, I must go into greater detail.

About a fortnight after my return to London from Manchester, Biskamp told me that Blind had proposed, through Hollinger, that he (i.e. *Das Volk*) amalgamate with Blind and company but

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[a] See this volume, pp. 497-99. - [b] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [c] one way or another - [d] F. Engels, 'Karl Marx. *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*'. - [e] It suffices - [f] Marx has: *Knoten*. - [g] As to - [h] [C. Schramm,] 'Ostende 31. August', *Hermann*, No. 36, 10 September 1859 ('Vermischte Nachrichten'). - [i] witness

that I, and the communist element generally, must go. In our stead—sensible socialism. At that time I had, as you know, written nothing for the *Volk* save for a pleasantry or two.[a] However, I forthwith wrote Blind, not a letter, but a communication of ABOUT 10 LINES[484] in which I called him amongst other things an *'homme d'état'* and an 'important man', and alluded to his henchman 'Fidelio'[b] (i.e. Hollinger). Next day along comes Liebknecht, and tells me that Blind and Hollinger are sitting in the pub on the corner. The former, he said, was expecting me. I therefore went there with Liebknecht. Blind gave his word of honour that there was *nothing* in the thing. That swine Hollinger ditto. Hence I could only believe them. However, the meeting gave me a chance of finding out about other machinations of Blind's. *Inter alia*, the conversation came round to Vogt. Blind assured me on his *word of honour* (as he had already assured Freiligrath, though omitting his word of honour) that he had neither written the anonymous *Zur Warnung* nor launched it upon the world. I said this surprised me, since it contained no more than what he had told me *by word of mouth* on the occasion of Urquhart's meeting on 9 May.[461] I reminded him that he had assured me at the time that he possessed *tangible evidence*, knew the name of the man to whom Vogt had offered 30,000 or 40,000 gulden, but 'unfortunately' could not divulge it, etc. Well, Blind hadn't the face to deny this but expressly admitted it more than once in Liebknecht's and Hollinger's presence.

WELL! A few weeks ago the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* wrote to Liebknecht, who had sent them *Zur Warnung*. Liebknecht came to me.[470] I told him to go and find Blind, and that I should await the *homme d'état* 'in the pub at Blind's corner'. Blind was at some resort—St. Leonard's, I think. Liebknecht wrote to him; wrote once, twice. At last a letter from the *homme d'état*. In the coolest and most 'diplomatic' manner the latter regretted that 'I' should have called to see him in vain. Liebknecht, he went on, must understand that he (Blind) had no desire to intervene in the affairs of a 'paper with which he had absolutely nothing to do' and in a matter with which he had absolutely nothing to do. As for Liebknecht's allusions to 'remarks' let fall 'in the course of a private conversation', these could only be attributed to a 'complete' misunderstanding. And that, or so the *'homme d'état'* imagined, was that.

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[a] Marx means his reviews published in the section 'Gatherings from the Press'. - [b] Fidelio—the assumed name of Leonore, heroine of Beethoven's opera *Fidelio*.

I now took Liebknecht with me to Collet. I recalled that *The Free Press* of *27 May* ('The Grand Duke Constantine',[440] etc., p. 53) had contained a paragraph which I immediately suspected to be Blind's handiwork and which, taken in conjunction with Blind's *verbal* admissions before Liebknecht, Hollinger and myself, constituted the entire contents of the anonymous pamphlet, besides providing *proof* that it was not just *en passant*, in the course of a 'private conversation', that Blind had touched on this 'matter with which he had absolutely nothing to do'. Hence to Collet, who *instantly* declared Blind to be the AUTHOR. He still had Blind's letter in which the latter had enclosed his card but had asked that his *name* should not be disclosed. This was convincing evidence.

By a series of manoeuvres which it would take too long to describe here, I further extracted the enclosed (*which you must let me have back by return.* I have also shown it to Freiligrath). So much for the respectable citizen's 'word of honour'!

Well, last Saturday Liebknecht sent the *homme d'état* a letter (modelled on a letter from myself to Liebknecht in which I had summed the matter up in somewhat forceful terms[a]). We are awaiting the answer and will let you know the details.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## MARX TO BERTALAN SZEMERE[478]

### IN PARIS

London, 8 October 1859

My dear Franck,

I have received your last letter, in which you appear to suppose that, as yet, nothing has been done in the affair K. Now, this is altogether a mistake.

[a] See this volume, pp. 486-88.

1) On Thursday (Sept. 29), I sent you a copy of the *London Free Press* d.d. 28 Sept., containing a statement headed: *Particulars of K's Transaction with L. N.* On the very day of its issue that number of the *F. P.* was forwarded to *all* the newspaper offices of London. *The Times* published its article in K's favour[a] only *after* having made sure from the *F. P.*, that K. is as venal a fellow as the *Times* writers.

For the case of the number of the *F. P.*, sent to you, having been intercepted by the French Post-Office, I enclose the article above said in this letter.

2) The statement of the *F. P.* has been reprinted in English, Scotch and Irish provincial papers. A literal translation of it has, by friends of mine, been inserted in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*[b] and the Bremer *Weserzeitung*. Another German translation is said to have appeared in the Berlin 'Nationalzeitung'.

3) Simultaneously with your letter, I received to-day the *New York Tribune d.d. September 24* which, under the title 'K. and L. N.', brings an elaborate article of mine, filling two and a half columns, and put forward in a prominent place of the paper. The *Tribune* having always had a *faible*[c] for K., and P. being its London correspondent, this publication is a real success, the more so, since P. is nominally denounced in the article, and the apologetical passages of his own letter to the *New Y. T.*[d] are ridiculed. There exist at least some hundred smaller American papers, published in the English language, which receive their *mot d'ordre*[e] from the *Tribune*, and, consequently, will reprint that article. The German American press, from New York to San Francisco, will, by this time, have translated the article into the Teutonic vernacular.

Moreover, it should not be forgotten that New York is the centre of the Hungarian emigration in America.

If you [should] be unable to get the *Tribune* d.d. Sept. 24., I shall send you the article *on the condition of your remitting it*, since I possess no other copy, and stand in need of it should it be replied to by P.

4) K's letter to Mac Adam,[f] on which the *Times* leader remarks, has been generally ridiculed by the London papers, so much so

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[a] 'One of the most remarkable results...', *The Times*, No. 23428, 4 October 1859. - [b] [K. Marx,] 'Ludwig Kossuth und Louis Napoleon', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 276, 3 October 1859 (supplement). - [c] weak point - [d] [F. Pulszky,] 'From Our Own Correspondent. Monday, August 7, 1859', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5720, 23 August 1859. - [e] cue - [f] Kossuth's letter to J. M'. Adam was published in *The Times*, No. 23428, 4 October 1859.

that K. induced that same Mac Adam to declare in the same papers, that the letter was a *private* letter and not meant for publication.[a] As a specimen, of the manner in which K's letter was handled, I enclose a leader from the London *Daily Telegraph.*

5) If you can forward me any further particulars on K's proclamations and intrigues in Hungary, they will be very welcome, and are sure to find their way into the Press.

6) My stationer was unable to get the *Times*' copies you ask for. Generally, some days after their issue, London Daily papers are difficult of procuring.

7) The remark on *Perczel* in the *F. P.* article is based on a public declaration of his. I thought fit to allude to it, in order to throw confusion into the ranks of K's partisans as to the source from which the information proceeds.

8) From the note enclosed, you will see that the English merchant, on further consideration, declines entering upon the wine-affair. The German, I spoke of, has returned to the Continent. Thus I see no prospect of pushing on this affair in England.

As to my brother-in-law,[b] I have written to him, but not yet received his answer.

Yours truly
Williams[c]

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 10 October 1859

DEAR Frederick,

The money arrived on Saturday and really 'saved our lives', for on that day the gang of creditors, or part of it, launched a concerted attack. MY BEST THANKS. Likewise for the manuscript.[d]

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[a] J. M' Adam, 'To the Editor of *The Times*', *The Times*, No. 23431, 7 October 1859. - [b] Johann Carl Juta - [c] conspiratorial pseudonym of Karl Marx - [d] F. Engels, 'Infantry'.

I enclose herewith my *Tribune* article on Kossuth.[a] Let Lupus have a look at it as well. *Then send it back to me.* There'll be a major rumpus, since Pulszky is the *Tribune*'s London correspondent. The words[b] I *cite* re 'AUSTRIAN SYMPATHIES', 'ANTI-NAPOLEONIC RAGE', etc., are taken from Pulszky's LETTER *in* the *Tribune* in which he sought to defend Kossuth and Co.[c] IN FACT I'm surprised that, in THESE CIRCUMSTANCES and in view of its general *faible* for Kossuth, the *Tribune* printed the article. True, I enclosed a brief note in German which put heart into Dana.[479]

Collet has sent Kossuth 5 COPIES of the last *Free Press.* The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* has reproduced the thing.[d] Likewise the *Weser-Zeitung.*

Collet came to see me yesterday. Statesman Blind had called on him and complained forcefully about his (Collet's) having failed to preserve editorial secrecy vis-à-vis myself. He (Collet) must call on me to prevent my doing any more MISCHIEF. The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* was 'A RUSSIAN (!) ORGAN', which was why he (Blind) would not hold out a helping hand to it.[470] To me, Collet said: *'At the outset, he made upon me the impression of a very sneakish fellow.'* Statesman Blind, like the gentleman he is, has not deigned to answer Liebknecht, and imagines he's been able to spike my guns through Collet. THE FOOL! At the same time he tried to get Collet to tell him who had written about Kossuth in the [*Free*] *Press.*

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] 'Kossuth and Louis Napoleon' - [b] Marx has 'Werke' (works). - [c] [F. Pulszky,] 'From Our Own Correspondent. Monday, August 7, 1859', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5720, 23 August 1859. - [d] [K. Marx,] 'Ludwig Kossuth und Louis Napoleon', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 276 (supplement), 3 October 1859. (It was a German translation of Marx's article 'Particulars of Kossuth's Transaction with Louis Napoleon' published in *The Free Press*, No. 10, 28 September 1859.)

# 292

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 October 1859

Dear Engels,

I trust that you aren't ill or that some other misfortune hasn't befallen you, but would beg you, whatever the case, TO DROP SOME LINES since your protracted silence worries me.

Do please return me the cutting from the *Tribune*[a] which I enclosed in my last.

Duncker has now definitely declared himself willing to bring out the second instalment.[473] Lassalle speaks of his 'Italian' tactics *quasi re bene gesta*[b] and, in the course of pressing me to make a statement, lets fall the modest hope that perhaps I have revised 'my' opinion.[485]

The Kinkel or Schiller festival here, a festival, by the by, that will turn out to be an altogether wretched affair, is something Freiligrath, 'as a German poet', could not but associate himself with, though I warned him that he was required simply as an accessory to Gottfried.[486]

As regards the *Volk* I have avoided the COUNTY COURT PROCESS[c] by sacrificing ABOUT £5 while, on the other hand, getting Hollinger to recognise Biskamp as *PROPRIETOR* on the receipt; he (Biskamp) is therefore responsible for the balance, but since he possesses no property whatsoever, he is absolved of any further liability. This step—a highly unpleasant one under the ACTUAL CIRCUMSTANCES—had to be taken because Kinkel's gang was only waiting for the case in order to raise a public scandal, and not one of the paper's hangers-on was presentable enough to be exhibited in court.

At the request (ENCOMPASSED in two very plaintive, abject letters) of the *Augsburger Zeitung* I sent them the document relating to Blind.[487] It served the laddie right, the more so because he went to Collet and 1. tried to make use of him for sundry subterfuges, 2. denounced Liebknecht to Collet as 'BELONGING TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY'

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[a] the clipping with Marx's article 'Kossuth and Louis Napoleon' - [b] as a well-conducted action - [c] See this volume, p. 495.

and, finally, in order to blacken him completely, 3. described the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* as a 'Russian' organ.

Remind *Thimm* to settle his account with us.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 293

## ENGELS TO MARX[a]

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 October 1859

[...] The Blind affair is very funny indeed; it's always a particularly agreeable spectacle when a would-be diplomatic wiseacre comes a cropper. The fellow could be terribly discredited as a result. Needless to say he gave his 'word of honour' simply IN THE DIPLOMATIC SENSE OF THE WORD, just as it is no insult to call someone a swine IN A PARLIAMENTARY SENSE.[b] This enrichment of the language by Blind is worthy of recognition. What would be nicest of all, by the way, would be to discover that Mr Blind's 'evidence' had no basis other than hot air which, this sinister saviour of his country being what he is, I think highly probable.

Lupus is in despair over the deterioration of BITTER BEER, which is forcing him to drink PORTER and HALF AND HALF; this apart, he is keeping pretty well and is still living in Chatsworth.

Not long ago Siebel had a letter from a ludicrous German *literatus*[c] who, for lack of money, was seeking to sell himself to the revolution and wanted him to negotiate the deal, I being supposedly the purchaser. At the same time he threatened, should the revolution refuse to buy him, to throw himself into the arms

[a] The beginning of the letter missing; the date is at the end of the letter. - [b] See this volume, pp. 502-04. - [c] Hugo Oelbermann

of the Jesuits. They, however, wouldn't accept him *gratis*, for I need hardly tell you that the fellow is a colossal blockhead.

Warm regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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## 294

## ENGELS TO E. J. FAULKNER

### IN MANCHESTER

[Draft]

Manchester, 2 November 1859

Dear Faulkner,

Will something like the enclosed do? I shall call here again before 7 o'clock.

Yours
F. E.[a]

Mr Daniells

Sir,

After what happened between you and me on a certain evening,[b] I should have been the first to make to you that apology which one Gentleman owed to another under the circumstances, if you had not at once taken such steps as precluded me entirely from doing so. Indeed I at once requested a friend of mine to call upon you for the purpose but when he arrived it was too late. If Mrs Daniells as I hear feels aggrieved at anything I may have said, I should be very sorry not to withdraw most emphatically any expression which may have given umbrage to a lady whom I have not the honour of knowing and upon whose character it could

[a] In the rough copy this note to Faulkner was written after the draft of Engels' letter to Daniells. - [b] See this volume, p. 490.

therefore never enter into my intention to cast the slightest imputation.

As to the other matter between you and me, I am only sorry that it ever should have occurred and am prepared to pay to you £30.—in the shape of compensation.

I am Sir

Your obedient servant

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 November 1859

Dear Frederick,

Lessner hasn't got the names of the people to whom *Das Volk* was sent. All he knows is the number of copies (12) which he regularly despatched to Thimm.

Biskamp maintains that the books he ordered from Thimm were not for his own account but for that of the parson who employed him as a schoolmaster. Nor, come to that, had Thimm ever said a word about the matter. He will be writing to him about it, likewise about Panzer's acquisitive propensities. A few days ago he was taken on by the *Weser-Zeitung* at 50 talers a month.

My work is making poor progress.[473] I'm plagued by too many domestic disruptions and too many worries. You'll have heard about the 'grand' Schiller festival here.[486] Freiligrath and Kinkel, or rather Kinkel and Freiligrath, are to be its heroes. Seeing that the whole thing emanated from the Kinkel clique here and that even the invitations to form a committee were sent out by that wretch Beta, Gottfried's factotum, I wrote to Freiligrath weeks ago saying I hoped HE WOULD KEEP ALOOF FROM THE KINKEL DEMONSTRATION.[488] In reply I received a not exactly unequivocal letter from the fat philistine in which, *inter alia*, he said:

'Even should Kinkel secure Briseis in the shape of the festive address, this would be no reason for Achilles to withdraw sulking into his tent.'

So Kinkel is Agamemnon and Freiligrath Achilles[a]! Moreover, he says that the festival 'is relevant *in more ways than one*' (in what ways we shall presently see), and finally that he has written a poem on Schiller[b] commissioned by the city of Boston (United States).

Later I discovered from the *Hermann* that Freiligrath was acting as a member of the committee and that there was some talk of his having written a cantata on Schiller (set to music by Pauer)[c]; in other words, that the philistine had kept something back from me. Later still I got another letter from him in which he said I would seem to have been right after all, though his participation had partially frustrated Gottfried's plans.

Well, when I saw the man he told me with bated breath about all that had happened. Beta and Juch, Kinkel's agents, had heard from America that Freiligrath had written the poem on Schiller for Boston. Gottfried had, besides the address, reserved the festive cantata for himself. Believing, however, that *non bis in idem*,[d] and that it wouldn't be feasible to co-opt Freiligrath without conceding, or rather offering, him the poetic part (though they counted on his turning down the offer), Juch and Beta invited Freiligrath, on behalf of Kinkel's committee, to join that committee and write the cantata. Freiligrath said he had already composed a poem for Boston, gave an inconclusive reply but promised to serve on the committee. This last treated the matter as a mere formality and did not renew its request. Freiligrath, however, hastily sets to work (no such difficulties here as in the case of the *Volk* for which he never *could* manage as much as 3 lines), writes a cantata (in the same metre as Schiller's dithyrambs[e]; he read me the stuff—pomp and circumstance), hurries to Pauer, has it set to music and, through his friends in the Schiller festival choir, compels Kinkel and Co. to renew their invitation to him. Then he sends them the rubbish which, 'by an anachronism', happened to be already finished and complete, not only written but actually set to music, and likens himself at the end of his epistle to a 'menial' who has served his 'master' without waiting for orders (Messrs Kinkel, Beta, Juch and Co.)! (And it's the philistine himself who tells me this.)

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[a] In Homer's *Iliad* Agamemnon and Achilles quarrelled for the possession of Briseis, the captive queen of Lyrnessus. - [b] Here and below Marx refers to Freiligrath's poems 'Zur Schillerfeier. 10. November 1859' which are subtitled 'Festlied der Deutschen in Amerika' and 'Festlied der Deutschen in London'. - [c] 'Die Sitzungen des Schiller-Comité's', *Hermann*, No. 43, 29 October 1859. - [d] the same thing must not be done twice (from Roman law) - [e] F. Schiller, 'Dithyrambe'.

However the 'tension' between him and Gottfried was not yet at an end. Freiligrath attended the committee, where Gottfried behaved very coolly towards him. Now Freiligrath—'quite fortuitously' or so he says—had introduced into his cantata a passage during which it was 'essential' for Schiller's bust to be *unveiled*. Gottfried, no less fortuitously, had arranged for the climax of his sermon to coincide with the *'moment of unveiling'*. After a prolonged tussle, throughout which philistine Freiligrath sat in silence and let his friends (riff-raff of all kinds) do the talking, it was at length decided that the 'unveiling' should fall to Freiligrath, whereupon Gottfried, sighing heavily, declared that in that case he would now be obliged to address his entire oration to 'the veiled portrait'. Whereupon one of Freiligrath's pals rose to his feet and said that this difficulty could be overcome if Kinkel were to make his speech *after* the cantata. Gottfried, however, voiced his unqualified opposition to this, declaring with the utmost indignation that 'he had already made so many concessions over the affair that this could not possibly be demanded of him'. And that was the end of that. So the sermon will come first.

And Freiligrath told me all this rubbish with great seriousness and gravity; on the other hand he finds it perfectly natural that he should never have breathed a word to the committee about the Kinkel gang's having taken it for granted that his (Freiligrath's) supposed 'party friends' should not be invited to join the committee, thus making a Kinkel demonstration of it. Though he knew perfectly well that I wouldn't attend, he should never have permitted such 'ostracism' on the part of a committee on which he himself sits. Blind is on it, of course.

Ever since his poem about the Mockel woman,[a] Freiligrath has treated us 'strictly in private' as his friends while openly walking arm-in-arm with our enemies. *Qui vivra verra*.[b]

*Ad vocem*[c] *Blind*: The scoundrel has now been to see Hollinger. For the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* had written to him saying that, if he persisted in his reticence, he would be brought out into the open in the most unpleasant manner, and that they possessed a document incriminating him.[487] He accused Hollinger of having let the cat out of the bag. Hollinger, with justice, said *quod non*[d] and asked why Blind refused to admit responsibility for it. The latter told him that, while he had indeed written the manuscript, a friend of his had composed it. The fact of the matter is that while Blind wrote and composed it, Goegg supplied the most inculpating

[a] F. Freiligrath, 'Nach Johanna Kinkels Begräbnis'. - [b] He who survives will see. - [c] As to - [d] that such was not the case

bits. Now the respectable Goegg is 'apparently' Vogt's friend, as he needs must be since Fazy, through the Swiss bank, owns shares worth 25,000 frs in his looking-glass factory and generally serves him as BANKER. Hence Goegg's indignation at the act of 'high treason' can only be ventilated *sotto voce*. Such are the 'serious republicans'.

Couldn't you do me an ARTICLE on the recent changes in the Prussian army[a]?

Regards to Lupus.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 296

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 November 1859

Dear Moor,

Freiligrath really deserves to be severely chastised for once and I hope that an opportunity will present itself before the Schiller nonsense is over (or its after-pains).[486] Such poet's vanity and literary presumption combined with toadyism is altogether too much, and on top of that the *Augsburger*[b] credits him with political virtue!

I suppose you read about Vogt's law-suit[470] in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 297 *et seq.*[c]? The thing went quite well, but Biskamp's letter is shockingly discreditable. The fellow could

[a] In compliance with this request, Engels wrote, at the end of January and beginning of February 1860, the article 'Military Reform in Germany'. - [b] *Allgemeine Zeitung* - [c] The *Allgemeine Zeitung* carried reports on the case on 25 October 1859 and on the following days.

perfectly well have dealt with his private affairs in a separate note but, as things are, it is exceedingly distasteful that the editor of the *Volk* should send the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* a testimonial, begging to be taken on as correspondent, and that this should appear in print.[a] Vogt will make a great noise about it. Why do we always have such tactless idiots hanging round us?

But most satisfactory is the discrediting of Blind. The statement in your letter[b] and the document[487] have now obliged the worthy diplomat to come creeping out into the open, if only to save himself being discredited still further. He has boasted about the evidence he possesses and, if he holds his tongue, will seem an unmitigated liar.

Vogt is in no less nice a mess. Case dismissed for lack of jurisdiction, ordered to pay all the costs, and referred to a jury—what can he do?

He will have to sue either the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* before a Bavarian jury—in which case he will be doomed in advance—or the *Volk*—and then Blind will be SUBPOENAED—or else Blind himself. In any case, it will turn out badly for him, and I don't see how he can do anything but discredit himself still more.

All this is most consoling.

Garibaldi would seem to be playing a somewhat ambiguous role. A general of that ilk is in a difficult position. Once he had been forced to compound with the devil, there was no turning back. For Victor Emmanuel the obvious thing is, of course, first to exploit Garibaldi and then ruin him. *Altro esempio*[c] of how far you get with a 'practical attitude' in a revolution. It's a pity about the chap, though. Excellent, on the other hand, that Piedmont should lose its spurious character as representative of Italian unity.[489]

I shall do you an article about army reform in Germany when this affair has progressed a little further. Far-reaching things are happening in the sphere of military organisation, not only in Prussia but elsewhere, in Austria, etc. Everywhere the French style of uniform, etc., is being adopted, and in many respects this even means quite definitely putting the clock back. But so far everything's still rather confused; as soon as I can clarify my ideas a little I'll do the article for you.[d]

I also hope that soon there'll be something further for me to report on in China and the Far East GENERALLY. Likewise Morocco.[490]

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[a] Biskamp's letter, dated 20 October 1859, was published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 300, on 27 October 1859. - [b] to the Editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* - [c] Another example - [d] Somewhat later Engels wrote an article on the subject, entitled 'Military Reform in Germany'.

But none of this has come to a head yet. About Morocco next week perhaps.[a] Have you already written about it, or could you, perhaps, let me have some political information *ad vocem*[b] Pam on the subject so that I am *au fait*.

At the moment I'm deep in Ulfilas.[491] It was really high time for me to polish off that damned Gothic, which I'd always been so desultory about. To my surprise I find I know far more than I thought; if only I can get hold of another reference book, I think I shall polish this off completely in a fortnight. Then I shall go on to Old Norse and Anglo-Saxon, with which I've never been on more than nodding terms. So far, I've been working without a dictionary or other reference book save the Gothic text and Grimm.[c] However, that old fellow is really splendid.

What I need badly here is Grimm's *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*. Could you let me have it back?

I think I shall see Lupus this evening.

We are having a Schiller festival up here too (programme enclosed). Needless to say, I have nothing whatever to do with the thing. Mr Alfr. Meissner is sending a prologue, and Siebel will do the epilogue, straightforward recitation, of course, but done in proper form. In addition, this *flâneur* is producing a performance of 'Wallensteins Lager' [d]; I've been to two of the rehearsals and, if the chaps keep their nerve, it might be quite passable. The committee members are, without exception, a bunch of fools; among the public Borchardt plays at being in opposition. He's no less negatively pompous than the others are positively so, except that his negation is based on the same point of view as the position of the others, i.e. he admits that he is essentially one of their number.

*Salut.*

Your
F. E.

*Nil novi ab* Ephraim Artful?[e]

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[a] Early in December 1859 Engels wrote the article 'Progress of the Moorish War' and later several more articles on the subject. - [b] as regards - [c] J. Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik*, Th. I-IV. - [d] first part of Schiller's trilogy *Wallenstein* - [e] No news from Ephraim Artful (Ferdinand Lassalle)?

## 297

## ENGELS TO JENNY MARX[a]

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 5 November 1859

Dear Mrs Marx,

I must really beg you to forgive me for having been so shockingly remiss that Moor finally had to get you to extract the article in question[b] from me. However, I had no idea that it was needed for anything except staving off possible ructions on Mr Pulszky's part and hence was in no hurry at all about returning it.[c] But this time it really is enclosed.

Freiligrath, the fat philistine, is really behaving in a most disgraceful way and deserves to be well and truly chastised, for which an opportunity will, I trust, soon present itself. Most amusing is the Trojan War over the momentous question as to who should have the cantata and who the festive speech, and which is to come first, the speech or the cantata.[d] The philistines up here are greatly vexed by Lupus' and my refusal to get mixed up in the Schiller do. Only yesterday evening I had another sparring match with three enthusiastic Schillerians. These folk are quite unable to comprehend how anyone could fail to jump at such a beautiful opportunity for self-advertisement. They want to found a 'Schiller Institute'[492] here, i.e. a German club in which to read, eat, drink, hold lectures, do gymnastics, act plays, make music and goodness knows what else. Borchardt was silly enough to attend the preliminary meeting and to speak against it (he urged me to go too but for that very reason I stayed away) and when it was put to the vote, Hoyoll the crippled painter and one other man voted with him, and Borchardt, of course, suffered a spectacular defeat. Subsequently he subscribed £4 10/- to the thing, which makes him a member for 3 years. You have no idea what German erudition has suddenly come to light here on this occasion. There's a Dr Götze, a Dr Marcus, a Dr Dolch, a Dr Samelson, all fellows of whom one had never heard before. These and a few aesthetic Jews have taken charge of the whole thing, and once again erudition plays mentor to the Jews—save in the

[a] written in reply to Jenny Marx's letter of 4 November 1859 (see this volume, p. 573) — [b] K. Marx, 'Kossuth and Louis Napoleon'. - [c] See this volume, p. 507. - [d] Ibid., pp. 511-12.

case of Samelson, he's a doctor who, for the past four years, has 'quite recently settled in Manchester'. Nothing but self-advertisement and tittle-tattle, and they actually expect one to take part in it.

For that matter, I myself am indulging in tittle-tattle, as you see, and hence it would be best for me to break off altogether. Please give my warmest regards to the girls, and do not forget Moor.

Your
F. Engels

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## 298

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[20]

### IN BERLIN

London, 6 November 1859

Dear Lassalle,

You'd have had a reply from me sooner if my spare time hadn't been entirely taken up with a mass of repulsive domestic business.

1. Thank you for your good offices with Duncker.[493] You're mistaken, by the by, if you think that I expected glowing tributes from the German press, or gave a rap for them. I expected to be attacked or criticised but not to be utterly ignored, which, moreover, is bound to have a serious effect on sales. Considering how vehemently these people have, at various times, railed against my communism, it was to be expected that they would now unleash their wisdom against the theoretical argument in support of the same. For after all, Germany is not without its specialised journals on economics.

In America the first instalment[a] was discussed at length in the entire German press from New York to New Orleans. I only fear that it is too theoretical in tone for the working-class public there.

2. *ad vocem*[b] *Vogt.*

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* - [b] as to

You'll have been surprised by the information in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* concerning Vogt's law-suit[470] and by the strange company in which I find myself in that journal.[a]

Here, in brief, is the story:

Besides the *Hermann*, there used to be a so-called working-men's paper here, *Die Neue Zeit*, whose last editor was Edgar Bauer. One of his colleagues on that paper was Biskamp, who was a schoolmaster out in the country. The paper was opposed on what is called principle to the *Hermann*. For Edgar Bauer thought it was time he *played* at being a communist. I, needless to say, had *nothing* to do with this. Bauer wrote and told Biskamp that, in order to rid himself of a rival, Kinkel had transferred his sheet to the printer of the *Neue Zeit*[b] which last, depending as it did on that printer's credit, was completely in his power. On receipt of this letter, Biskamp rushed up to London to discover, not only that Kinkel had destroyed the *Neue Zeit* by swapping printers, but also that Edgar Bauer, the editor of the so-called 'working-men's paper', had joined the editorial staff of the *Hermann* and gone over to Kinkel.

A brief note re Biskamp: He was at one time a co-publisher of the *Hornisse*. He edited the *Bremer Tages-Chronik* in company with Dulon and Ruge. In Switzerland he joined the Communist League.[494] His relationship with Ruge meant that we never saw each other while he was in London. I took no notice of him, but he occasionally took notice in a polemical way of me. This man is a strange mixture of noble instincts, innate (and also physical) weakness, asceticism and idleness, Kantian moral consciousness and tactless whimsicality. His nervous irritability makes him liable to surrender any position 'on principle', to precipitate himself suddenly into the most hopeless situation, to endure it passively and stoically for a while, and then suddenly perpetrate stupidities bordering on the iniquitous. The man as I paint him here is not, of course, the man I used to know. I am painting a portrait which experience has gradually pieced together for me.

But to return to my story. Biskamp at once gave up his schoolmaster's post to take up 'the struggle of labour against capital' (i.e. Kinkel), started *Das Volk* without any means whatsoever except subsidies from a workers' society, etc. So long as the thing lasted he was, of course, on the verge of starvation. He had secured work as correspondent to a couple of papers in Germany, but lost this as soon as his new function became known. A few

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[a] *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 298, 25 October 1859. - [b] Fidelio Hollinger

private lessons barely enabled him to eke out the life of a *Bohémien*.

Before continuing I should point out that I have had *no* connection whatever with any of the public workers' associations (including the so-called communist one[50]) since 1851. The only workers with whom I foregather are 20-30 picked men to whom I give *private* lectures on political economy.[483] Liebknecht, however, is chairman of the workers' society which helped Biskamp to start *Das Volk*.

A few days after the birth of this paper Biskamp and Liebknecht came to see me and invited me to collaborate. At the time I declined outright, partly for want of time and partly because I was about to leave London for a longish spell.[444] All I promised was to obtain a few financial contributions from friends in England, which in fact I did. On that same day I related to both of them what Blind had told me with great moral indignation the day before about Vogt, and also named my source. Biskamp used this for an article,[a] as I later saw. During my absence he reprinted in *Das Volk* Blind's anonymous pamphlet,[b] which was printed by the same press as *Das Volk*. At the same time Liebknecht sent a copy of the pamphlet to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*[470] for which he supplies the English article. (As to this last circumstance, I should point out that the refugees here contribute to all papers indiscriminately. I believe myself to be the only exception to this, as I do not contribute to *any* German paper. Be it noted, by the by, that Palmerston, through the channel of the *Prussian* embassy, which in turn used *Williams*—the English bookseller—for its organ, has tried to get Liebknecht removed from the *A. A. Z.* on account of his ANTI-GOVERNMENTAL tendencies.)

After my return to London, *Das Volk* received from myself and Engels various contributions wholly unrelated to the *affaire* Vogt. Apart from a few attacks on Schleinitz's diplomatic circulars,[c] all I supplied was a humorous comment or two on Kinkel's aesthetic dissertations in the *Hermann*, viewed from a *grammatical* standpoint.[d] Life here in London is too tough for one not to indulge in distractions of this kind every 8 years or so.

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[a] [E. Biskamp,] 'Der Reichsregent', *Das Volk*, No. 2, 14 May 1859. - [b] [K. Blind,] 'Warnung zur gefälligen Verbreitung', *Das Volk*, No. 7, 18 June 1859. - [c] Schleinitz's despatches to the Prussian embassies in Britain, Russia and Germany (Berlin, June-July 1859) were reported in the *Neue Preußische Zeitung*, No. 170, 24 July ('Zu der "Vermittlung" '), No. 171, 26 July ('Preußische Depeschen'), No. 174, 29 July 1859 ('Deutschland'). - [d] Marx refers to his series of articles *Quid pro quo* and his reviews published in the section 'Gatherings from the Press'.

The paper came to a sudden end, mainly for lack of money. Biskamp, besides being wholly without means of subsistence, contracted a painful disease and had to go into the German hospital. When he was discharged he must literally have starved to death if I hadn't taken care of him. During this period he wrote to several German papers in the hope of becoming their correspondent, but to no effect. Then he got a letter from the editorial board of the *A. A. Z.*, whereupon he wrote them that shockingly discreditable epistle—behind the backs of his friends, of course.[a] Naturally he believed he was writing a private letter. The idiot is now overcome with contrition and for a couple of days has neither eaten nor slept. I don't know what will become of him. If I have told you all this at some length, it is not in order to justify the man's behaviour, but to explain it. If he were so venal a fellow as most of the 'democrats' here, he wouldn't have precipitated himself into a situation which he hadn't the strength to endure.

As to my statement in the *A. A. Z.*,[b] the circumstances are as follows:

As you know, Blind published his denunciation of Vogt. At the same time an anonymous article by him[c] appeared in the London *Free Press* (Urquhart's PAPER), containing much the same information—I enclose the article with this letter—but omitting Vogt's name and sundry other particulars.[440] Now when Vogt brought his action against the *A. A. Z.*, and the latter appealed to Liebknecht, he, being responsible to the *A. A. Z.*, naturally appealed to me and I to Blind. The latter refused to answer for his statements. It was all due to a misunderstanding, he said. The whole thing had nothing to do with him. He even went so far as to give his *word of honour* that he had had nothing to do with the anonymous pamphlet. Repeated requests were of no avail. This conduct was all the more infamous in that the worthy fellow knew that Vogt was citing *me*—privately in London and publicly in Switzerland—as the source of the denunciation so as to represent the whole thing as deriving from the malicious ill-will borne by the communist towards the 'eminent democrat' and 'ex-imperial regent'.[410] I therefore began by turning to Collet, who made no bones about stating that *Blind* had written the article in *The Free Press*. Next, I obtained a statement from the type-setter[d] who had set the type for the pamphlet.[487] Blind's duplicity called for

[a] E. Biskamp, [Letter to the Editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, dated 20 October 1859,] *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 300, 27 October 1859. - [b] K. Marx, [Letter to the Editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*]. - [c] [K. Blind,] 'The Grand Duke Constantine to Be King of Hungary', *The Free Press*, No. 5, 27 May 1859. - [d] A. Vögele

castigation. I had absolutely no intention of pulling this 'republican's' chestnuts out of the fire for him. Indeed, it is only by forcing him and Vogt to attack one another that the truth will come out. Finally, like any paper which accepts a denunciation of this kind, the *A. A. Z.* deserves to be supplied with any information that can possibly help to throw light on the facts.

I shall now have the whole of Germany's vulgar democracy about my ears, and Biskamp's folly will make this all the easier for them. Needless to say, it would never occur to me to skirmish in insignificant journals with all these insignificant scoundrels. However, I believe it necessary to make an example of *one* of them, namely Mr Eduard Meyen of the *Freischütz*,[a] *pour encourager les autres*.[b] I'm sending one copy to the *A. A. Z.*, one to the *Reform*[c] in Hamburg and I'd like the copy I sent you to appear in a Berlin paper.

I must save up my exposé of the Italian war,[485] an affair upon which I have in no way changed my views, for my next letter[d] (shortly).

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

*P.S.* Much as I detest alluding to this point, my financial affairs are in a dangerously critical state—so much so that I can hardly find time for my articles for the *Tribune*, let alone the political economy.[473] Admittedly I shall be receiving over £40 in 8 to 10 weeks' time. But for me the essential and crucial point is to *anticipate* its receipt. Can you help me with a bill transaction towards that end? In 8, or at most 10, weeks' time I shall be good for £50.

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[a] E. Meyen, 'Der Proceß Carl Vogt's gegen die Augsburger *Allg. Ztg.*', *Der Freischütz*, No. 132, 3 November 1859. - [b] to encourage the others - [c] K. Marx, 'Statement to the Editors of *Die Reform*, the *Volks-Zeitung* and the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. - [d] See this volume, pp. 536-39.

## 299

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 7 November 1859

Dear Engels,

I shall send you the Grimm.[a]

*I have not written anything yet about Morocco,*[490] or about the Caucasus,[495] or any military stuff on Asia. I have no diplomatic particulars about Morocco, so you will have to pick up your pen again. My circumstances are such as to preclude my doing sufficient work on the 2nd instalment, which I regard as of crucial importance.[473] It does, in fact, contain the pith of all the bourgeois stuff.

Biskamp's letter[b] is infinitely discreditable; in view of his situation one can explain but not excuse it. The whole of vulgar democracy is seeking to hush up the Blind affair in the German press while assailing me. E.g. Mr Meyen, present editor of the *Freischütz*.[c] I have now sent a sharply-worded statement to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* and the *Reform* in Hamburg.[d] I shall bring Vogt and Blind face to face even if it has to be done at gun point.

In a couple of lines in the *Tribune* the wretched Pulszky dismisses my letter[e] as emanating from the camp of the 'CRACKED' Urquhart.[f] The fellows dare not open their traps. For they don't know what kind of evidence we have at our disposal. For Kossuth, or so Szemere wrote and told me, secretly decamped after the treaty of Villafranca without a word to Klapka and the other officers. For he was afraid of being handed over to the

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[a] J. Grimm, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, Bd. 1-2. - [b] E. Biskamp, [Letter to the Editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 20 October 1859,] *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 300, 27 October 1859. - [c] [E. Meyen,] 'Der Proceß Carl Vogt's gegen die Augsburger *Allg. Ztg.*', *Der Freischütz*, No. 132, 3 November 1859. - [d] K. Marx, 'Statement to the Editors of *Die Reform*, the *Volks-Zeitung* and the *Allgemeine Zeitung*'. - [e] K. Marx, 'Kossuth and Louis Napoleon'. - [f] Marx refers to Pulszky's report of 11 October 1859 published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5775, 26 October 1859.

Austrians.[496] *Hence the greatest animosities against him in the Hungarian camp.* I shall give Pulszky a thorough lambasting.

Your
K. M.

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## 300

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[20]

IN BERLIN

London, 14 November 1859
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

I am answering your by return.

It isn't a question of *your* finding the money, but of a bill transaction. Would you allow me to draw on you at 3 months? *If so* you would be provided with *security* (guaranteed not only by myself, *but also by Engels*) *before* the bill fell due. It's a question, therefore, of an accommodation bill or, to put it more crudely, kite-flying. It still remains very doubtful, of course, *whether* I could manage to negotiate a bill of this kind over here. However there might be some CHANCE of it. Engels would have procured what was necessary had not all his liquid assets been tied up as a result of an action for causing bodily harm to an Englishman.[a] The affair is costing more than £100 and accommodation bills drawn in London on Manchester are only possible between businessmen.

I think it is now too late to insert the anti-Meyen statement.[b] Assuming the *Reform* and the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* accept it, it would arrive too late in Berlin.[c] Assuming they don't accept it, it will in any case be too late for any consideration of the great Meyen's article,[d] which will by then be outdated.

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[a] Daniells. See this volume, p. 490. - [b] K. Marx, 'Statement to the Editors of *Die Reform*, the *Volks-Zeitung* and the *Allgemeine Zeitung*'. - [c] i.e. the editorial office of the *Volks-Zeitung* - [d] [E. Meyen,] 'Der Proceß Carl Vogt's gegen die Augsburger *Allg. Ztg.*', *Der Freischütz*, No. 132, 3 November 1859.

As regards Vogt, it behoves our party—as opposed to vulgar democracy—to force him to pick up the gauntlet thrown down by Blind. Both gentlemen seem to be equally anxious to keep their distance. It was very clever of Vogt to make me out to be the source of the denunciation, but also to select as his target the *A. Z.* in Augsburg rather than the *Volk* in London. As regards myself, he can attribute the thing to rancour, if only because of the erstwhile opposition to him on the part of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. (You are doubtless aware that, when Lupus came to the National Assembly in Frankfurt, he opposed Uhland's vote of thanks to John, the imperial regent. Vogt seized this opportunity to vent his spleen and made an abusive speech attacking the *N. Rh. Z. en général* and Lupus in particular.[497] Lupus thereupon called him out. But Vogt thought his skin too valuable to the Fatherland to risk it in this way. Lupus thereupon threatened to box his ears publicly in the street. Thereafter Vogt never made an appearance unless flanked by his sister on one side and a woman acquaintance of his sister's on the other. And Lupus was too courteous, etc.) But again, Mr Vogt knew that Germany's vulgar democrats regard me as their *bête noire*. Furthermore, had he sued *Das Volk* instead of the *A. Z.*, Blind, etc., would have been legally compelled to give evidence on oath and the matter would have *been bound* to come to light. Finally, it was one thing to break a lance with a revolutionary paper direct, and quite another to do so with the reactionary *A. Z.* The way in which the 'noble' Vogt (Vogt the 'well-rounded', as his barrister described him,[498] is rather more TO THE POINT) attacked me in the Biel *Handels-Courier*[a] rejoiced my heart. I am, it seems, in communication with 'the police', live off the workers, and such-like inanities.

As to Kossuth, all the particulars about his transaction with Bonaparte were provided by Szemere (formerly Hungarian Prime Minister, presently in Paris).[479] I sent him my anti-Kossuth article[b] in the *Tribune* and shall let you have it as soon as he returns me the cutting from Paris. The nicest part of it is that Kossuth's agent, Pulszky, is the *Tribune*'s London correspondent.

The Schiller festival here was a Kinkel festival.[486] Freiligrath himself, who took part in it despite my warning, now realises that Gottfried used him simply as a tool. He told me that Kinkel's melodramatic speech was a veritable farce which literally had to be seen to be believed. You'd laugh heartily were I to tell you what

[a] [K. Vogt,] 'Zur Warnung', *Schweizer Handels-Courier*, No. 150 (supplement), 2 June 1859. The article was reprinted, with editorial comments, in *Das Volk*, No. 6, 11 June 1859. - [b] K. Marx, 'Kossuth and Louis Napoleon'.

went on behind the scenes between Kinkel and Freiligrath before the public performance actually took place.[a] In the days of the *N. Rh. Z.* Gottfried invariably figured in the press with a travelling-bag for attribute. Later on, it was a musket, then a lyre, then a distaff. Now our parson never does so without a black, red and gold flag.[499] The so-called 'working men' whom he has gathered round him belong to a guild; article 1 of the rules of their society runs: 'In accordance with the rules, all politics are to be excluded from the society's debates.' Before 1848 these same fellows enjoyed Bunsen's patronage.

Well, enough of gossip, for this note was simply intended to be *de re pecuniaria.*[b]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 301

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

### IN BERLIN

[London,] 15 November 1859

Dear Lassalle,

Could you possibly get the *Volks-Zeitung* to publish the following reply[c] to Blind's declaration in No. 313 of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*? If so, please send me 2 COPIES of it. *En passant*, I would draw your attention to the hymn of self-adulation struck up by Gottfried Kinkel in the latest *Hermann*[d] to the accompaniment of general rejoicing on the part of the Germans in London.

In haste.

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 511-12. - [b] about financial matters - [c] K. Marx, 'Declaration'. - [d] 'Das Schillerfest in London', *Hermann*, No. 45, 12 November 1859.

## 302

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 November 1859

Dear Engels,

I hope that a Morocco will arrive from you on Friday.[a] Apart from everything else, this is the time of the presidential elections, and in any case I fear that restrictions will again be put on the quantity of articles to be delivered. This fate will befall me all the sooner if, given the present shortage of material, I don't write about THEMES like this that interest the fellows.

You must also write something for me, PRIVATELY, OF COURSE, not for the *Tribune*, about the Schiller tomfoolery in Manchester. In my next I shall tell you about the Kinkel festival down here. Just now Freiligrath is deeply resentful of Gottfried. Meanwhile you should read the latest number of the *Hermann*[b] and see with your own eyes how 'Parson Charming' drools over himself.

The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* has not, it seems, accepted my declaration because it was apparently rendered superfluous by the one sent to them by Blind.[c] I have now sent them an answer to this slyboots from Baden with a *positive* demand—for I refer at the same time to the letters they wrote me[d]—that they print my answer.[e]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] At the beginning of December Engels wrote the article 'Progress of the Moorish War'. - [b] 'Das Schillerfest in London', *Hermann*, No. 45, 12 November 1859. - [c] K. Blind, 'Erklärung', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 313, 9 November 1859. - [d] See this volume, p. 508. - [e] The *Allgemeine Zeitung* did publish Marx's 'Declaration' in its issue No. 325 (supplement), 21 November 1859.

## 303

## ENGELS TO EMIL ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

Manchester, 16 November 1859

Dear Emil,

Our procedure and method of adjustment are simply as follows: The rollers are removed and the yarn laid over them, after which they are replaced; the upper roller is then moved upwards by means of screws (one at either end of the machine) until there is sufficient tension on the yarn.

1. The rollers are made of iron with rectangular pegs at the ends which fit into rectangular apertures (in the axle). This, however, applies only to the lower roller, which is rotated by the machine; the upper one rests in a simple socket and runs automatically with the other.

2. As already said, the screws are at either end of the upper roller and are tightened by the machine, not by hand.

3. The brushing cylinder has fixed mountings for its axle so as to ensure that it is in the right position immediately the yarn is in place and tightened. For all but the very fine counts we now have cylinders clothed alternately with brushes and wooden slats which rub against the yarn.

4. Your final question—how the connection is effected between the roller one inserts and the part that rotates—is not clear to me; however I think it has already been answered under 1.

It's impossible for me to make you a sketch of the machine, as I can't describe the wheels from memory. But you'll have no difficulty in making one of your own, since to the best of my knowledge all the essential parts correspond exactly to yours, and we use the same machine both for coarse and fine counts, altering the PULLEYS, if anything, in order to reduce the speed. For normal use the average diameter of the PULLEYS for the brushes is 20 inches and for the rollers 14 inches, the speed of the shaft being 163.90 revolutions per minute. For *really* fine counts we increase the diameter of the PULLEY for the rollers to 18 inches. The screws are driven by an 'OPEN AND CROSS STRAP'.

Our machines are made partly by ourselves, partly by Wren & Hopkinson; you wouldn't be able to buy a complete machine or individual parts over here unless you approached G. Ermen.

Tell Father that I shall make inquiries on behalf of Linkenbach, though with little prospect of success until he comes over himself. Young fellows who come over with good recommendations (and he should bring *as many as possible* to different houses) generally fix themselves up before long, whereas no one does so by remaining over there. However there's always a risk in coming here on the off chance.

My love to Lottchen,[a] Father, Mother, Elise,[b] Adolf,[c] and the two families, also to all the cholera refugees should still lodging with you. My new horse is a splendid goer.

Your
Friedrich

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## 304

## MARX TO ENGELS[500]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, 17 November 1859]

Dear Engels,

If you have nothing ready on Morocco[d] by tomorrow, there will be time enough until *Saturday* (i.e. via Cork[e]). I am writing today (not having written on Tuesday) about the Suez question.[501] The Morocco affair must follow. Otherwise they'll be compelled to copy from *The Times*.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] Charlotte Bredt - [b] Elise von Griesheim - [c] Adolf von Griesheim - [d] At the beginning of December Engels wrote the article 'Progress of the Moorish War'. - [e] seaport in Ireland

# 305

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 17 November 1859

Dear Moor,

As though it wasn't enough to be saddled with a Russian, I have a Genevan arriving today, and Ermen shows an increasing tendency to foist onto me the *onerous* side of representing the firm. Nevertheless I still had hopes this morning of finding time for an article, but it proved utterly impossible. Next Tuesday, however, you will get an article on Morocco,[a] *you may be sure of that.* This will be followed as soon as possible by more on the RIFLE VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT,[502] Prussian army reform[b] and diverse other matters.

The business of the ASSAULT has been settled.[c] Thirty pounds damages and twenty-five costs. It's been paid—partly by borrowing. The action was brought in London and, quite apart from the scandal up here, the publication in the German papers of *The Times* report of the affair would have been a nice juicy titbit for Kinkel & Co.

Schiller festival. Programme enclosed, likewise the original poetical creations consisting, as you will observe, of

Prologue by Meissner,
Catalogue by Samelson,
Epilogue by Siebel.

Pro- and epi- only saved by the antithesis of the catalogue.

The first part went OFF in a resounding failure. Dr Marcus (bankrupt woollen merchant with an Erlangen[d] doctorate *à* 66 talers, 20 silver groschen) read the committee's report in a lachrymose voice, Siebel declaimed the prologue passably well, but indistinctly, Theodores spoke flowery nonsense very indistinctly indeed, all that one could hear being rrrrrr—the choir sang splendidly—Morell delivered himself of platitudes in English, but audibly and fluently—'Die Kraniche des Ibykus'[e] sent the entire

[a] At the beginning of December Engels wrote the article 'Progress of the Moorish War'. - [b] F. Engels, 'Military Reform in Germany'. - [c] See this volume, p. 490. - [d] University town in Bavaria - [e] a poem by Schiller

audience to sleep. Fortunately this made everything so late that a full performance of the programme would have lasted until 1 o'clock in the morning. Samelson's stanzas were therefore consigned to the lumber room. The 'Armada'[a] was excellently recited by one Link, then came the play.[b] A very nice stage, but bad acoustics, excellent grouping, much—almost too much—activity constantly going on up stage. All in all, the lads acted quite well but were difficult to understand on account of the unduly voluminous beards they wore in front of their mouths and also because they didn't address the audience properly. The friar was good (Dolch, a former corps student, author of a *Geschichte des Deutschen Studententhums*, a fool and a donkey). Siebel's epilogue, delivered by Link in a most melodious voice and with much decorum, was effective. In short, part 2 saved the day; in the second part and in the piece dropped from the first the lads predominated (also indirectly attributable to a good deal of 'UNDERHAND INFLUENCE' on my part, for the introduction to *Wallensteins Lager* was composed from data supplied by me and was actually very good); the first was dominated by the wiseacres and self-assertive philistines and schoolmasters.

Now they propose to found a Schiller Institute[492] with the surplus, the surplus, however, being a deficit of £150!

On Saturday a festive guzzle which I didn't attend. Numerous toasts and readings of all the REJECTED ADDRESSES.

On Friday night the singers and actors went on carousing until four o'clock in the morning—a very merry affair.

Your
F. E.

What is all this about a brawl at the Crystal Palace[503]?

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[a] F. Schiller, 'Die unüberwindliche Flotte'. - [b] F. Schiller, *Wallensteins Lager*—first part of the trilogy *Wallenstein*.

# 306

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 19 November 1859
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

Today I'm sending you all sorts of curious things: 1. a letter[a] from philistine Freiligrath to me; 2. a letter from Orges (of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*) to Biskamp; 3. an issue (No. 43) of the *Gartenlaube*,[b] published in Leipzig, and 4. a letter from Imandt to me together with a cutting from the Trier *Volksblatt*.[504] Finally, I would advise you to buy today's *Hermann* as it contains the story, devised by Mr Beta, of the Schiller festival here and casts a strange light on the conduct of our friend Freiligrath.[c]

Before going into these matters and in case I forget, I would mention that the Hungarians in New York, Chicago, New Orleans, etc., have held meetings at which they resolved to send Kossuth a letter suggesting he vindicate himself with reference to my article in the *New-York Tribune*.[d] Otherwise they would renounce their ALLEGIANCE to him. I don't know whether I have told you about the latest news I have received from Szemere.[e] *D'abord*,[f] that after the peace of Villafranca, Kossuth decamped from Italy without a word to his officers, amongst whom Klapka. Kossuth was afraid Bonaparte would hand him over to Francis Joseph.[496] *Originally*, so Szemere now writes, this same worthy had not been included in the Bonaparte business. Klapka, Kiss and Teleki had, off their own bat, agreed with Plon-Plon to instigate a revolution in Hungary. Kossuth got wind of it and, from London, *threatened* to *denounce* them in the English press should they not include him in the compact. SUCH ARE THOSE WORTHIES.

In some ways I envy you for being able to live in Manchester, cut off as you are from the war between mice and frogs.[505] Down here I have to wade through all this ordure and do so in circumstances which already consume too much of the time I

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[a] dated 17 November 1859 - [b] containing H. Beta's article 'Ferdinand Freiligrath' - [c] [H.] B[eta,] 'Chronik unseres Schillerfestes', *Hermann*, No. 46, 19 November 1859. - [d] 'Kossuth and Louis Napoleon' - [e] See this volume, p. 523. - [f] First

should be devoting to my theoretical studies. Conversely, I'm glad that you only have to put up with all the ordure at second hand.

Last Thursday I received the enclosed letter from Freiligrath. What follows will help you understand the full extent of his depravity and pettiness. Throughout the time when that fellow (Blind) was playing his perfidious role vis-à-vis ourselves, he was on the most intimate terms with Freiligrath. He acted as his *homme d'affaires*—in the matter of the great Kinkel-Freiligrath controversy—on the organising committee for the Schiller festival. At that festival the Blind and Freiligrath families sat cheek by jowl throughout the performance. Well, on the following morning[a] *The Morning Advertiser* carried a report in which Freiligrath's poem was described as 'ABOVE MEDIOCRITY'[b]. The same critical sense (whereof, indeed, not much is needed to strip student Blind of his mask of anonymity) which told me that Blind, and Blind alone, had written the anti-Vogt paragraph in *The Free Press*,[c] also told me that he was the author of this article. The only thing which surprised me was that the obsequious sycophant had had the courage to speak about Freiligrath IN THIS COOL MANNER. I sent the latter the cutting. Whereupon I received from him the enclosed letter which, if one reads between the lines, more or less voices the suspicion that *I* was responsible for introducing a forgery into student Blind's EXERCISE—namely, the quip about Freiligrath. On Saturday I went to see Freiligrath. I didn't yet know about the statement he had made in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* (to wit, that he was not one of Vogt's accusers, *nor had he ever written a line for the 'Volk'*).[d] He was careful, too, not to breathe a word to me about it. I told him *de prime abord*[e] that I thought it by no means a crime on Blind's part to consider Freiligrath's poem as 'ABOVE MEDIOCRITY', for this was an aesthetic judgment; but that it did seem to me altogether too much when he allowed Blind to bamboozle him into thinking I had amended Blind's task for him—through some mysterious third party—and interpolated the quip about himself (Freiligrath). Greatly embarrassed, the philistine now admitted, *d'abord*,[f] that *he* had shown Blind *my* letter, and proceeded to show me the two letters from Blind. In the first, student Blind describes a person frequently seen near me at the Urquhartite meeting of 9 May[420] and who had *skulked round* him

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[a] 11 November 1859 - [b] 'Crystal Palace.—The Schiller Commemoration', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 21344, 11 November 1859. - [c] [K. Blind,] 'The Grand Duke Constantine to Be King of Hungary', *The Free Press*, No. 5, 27 May 1859. - [d] F. Freiligrath, 'Erklärung', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 319 (supplement), 15 November 1859. - [e] to begin with - [f] first

at the Crystal Palace (10 November).[503] In the second letter (Freiligrath was condescending enough to write to Blind saying he couldn't believe *I* had interpolated the insulting bit) Blind declares that that wasn't really what he'd meant to say. I next told the philistine that the only two Germans or, for that matter, persons, who had accosted me more than once on the platform on 9 May had been Blind and Faucher and NOBODY ELSE. Well now, Blind *knows* Faucher, whom he asked to be introduced to on the Schiller committee and whom he thanked on Freiligrath's behalf for backing Freiligrath's 'cantata' against the 'speech'.[a] Again, the slyboots from Baden failed to mention Faucher's name. (I immediately informed the latter of the fact.) For Faucher knows EDITOR Grant of *The Morning Advertiser*, and might help to get Blind kicked out of the LICENSED VICTUALLER PAPER were he to demand that Blind make a personal statement as to whether he (Faucher) had got him (Grant) to interpolate something in Blind's article, which is why student Blind is capable of remembering what Faucher's FEATURES were like on 9 May. He recalls that they were the same FEATURES that *skulked round* him at the Crystal Palace on 10 November. But he forgets that this individual he knows so well is that selfsame Faucher.

This whole business is so rotten—tortuous—and so typical of philistines Freiligrath and Blind that I had to go into this nonsense at some length. It's altogether typical of philistine Freiligrath that he should not deem himself accountable to *me* for his appearance in public with Kinkel and Co., for his statement in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, for his coquetry with the *Hermann*, for his intercourse with Blind at a time when he knew about that scoundrel's 'word of honour',[b] etc.—but believes that everything should revolve round somebody's having had the audacity to find his poem (I enclose it) 'ABOVE MEDIOCRITY' instead of crying it up AS THE VERY INCARNATION OF THE BEAUTIFUL AND SUBLIME.

I told him I didn't give a fig for *that* affair, compared with which there were far more important things at stake between myself and Blind, etc.

As for the 'machinations' against him on the part of Kinkel, etc., he had only himself to blame. Why demean himself with the fellows?

Finally I wanted to know what was contained in No. 43 of the *Gartenlaube*.[c] It then transpired that Mr Freiligrath was on very

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[a] by Kinkel (see this volume, pp. 512-13) - [b] See this volume, pp. 502-04. - [c] It contained Beta's article 'Ferdinand Freiligrath'.

close terms with Mr Beta, had entertained him in his own house and had 'suffered' Beta to write a fulsome biography of himself and an apotheosis of his family, and was irritated only at Beta's having concluded (at Kinkel's instigation, of course) with the suggestion that Freiligrath's poetry, like his character, was being ruined—*by me*. It was I who was to blame for the fact that Mr Freiligrath, never particularly prolific in the matter of original work, had for years pursued the business of banking rather than the business of poetry. Mr Freiligrath showed no feeling of shame in my presence for having demeaned himself by consorting with that scoundrel Beta, one-time sub-editor of Louis Drucker's *How do you do?* Nor for the gross flattery ladled out by that abject creature. What shocked him was to be publicly portrayed as 'influenced' by me. He wasn't sure whether he oughtn't to make some statement on the subject, being deterred from doing so only by his fear of a counter-statement on my part. The fellow thinks it 'in the nature of things' that, if he lets out a fart, it should cause a great flurry; that on the one hand he should serve Mammon and, on the other, be 'priest to the Muse'; that his want of character in practice should be hailed as 'political virtue' in theory. The man is sensitive to the tiniest pin-prick. His petty histrionic bickerings behind the scenes with Gottfried[a] he treats as weighty intrigues. On the other hand he considers it quite in order that my family should forego, not just recognition but even *notice*, of a closely reasoned work such as the instalment on money,[b] and that, as a result of my uncompromising political attitude, they should have to endure much *misère* and, in fact, lead a joyless existence. The man thinks that my wife should, moreover, gratefully bear with the *slights* publicly inflicted on myself in the knowledge that Mrs Freiligrath is eulogised and extolled and that even his Käthchen,[c] a SILLY GOOSE who doesn't understand a word of German, is commended to your German philistines. The man has not a vestige of fellow-feeling. Otherwise he would see how my wife is suffering, and how much he and his spouse contribute thereto. How false and ambiguous his behaviour is, both from the personal and the party point of view.

*Nevertheless, I cannot and dare not risk any kind of éclat*[d] *with the fellow.* He sees to my bills on the *Tribune*, something I'm bound to regard as a favour (although the standing thus gained with Bischoffsheim is to *his* advantage, not *mine*). Otherwise I should

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[a] Gottfried Kinkel - [b] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* - [c] Kätche, Freiligrath's daughter - [d] row

find myself in the same old quandary about how to get my money from the *Tribune*. On the other hand, nothing would please Kinkel and Co.—the whole of vulgar democracy (*including Mrs Freiligrath*)—more than that this row should take place. If only for that reason it shouldn't be allowed to happen *just now*. However, it will be hard for me to take all these slights lying down.

About the happenings at the Crystal Palace and subsequently on the Schiller committee in my next.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Another thing you should note in the latest rotten *Hermann* is the way Mr Blind commends himself as a prophet.[a]

The UPSHOT of all the *Hermann*'s revelations from Berlin *re* Stieber is that Duncker, the old policeman, is again trying to *take the place* of Stieber, his rival and enemy (since 1848).[b] Moreover, in the last issue but one of the *Hermann*, the reinstatement of Police Superintendent Duncker was declared by the Berlin correspondent to be the true aim of modern world history.[c]

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## 307

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[506]

### IN BERLIN

[London,] 22 November 1859

Dear Lassalle,

For one thing today is mailing day for America[d]; for another I have taken medicine. So writing is difficult either way. Hence I shall be quite brief.

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[a] [Blind,] 'Prognostikon des wahrscheinlichen Verlaufes des italienischen Krieges; geschrieben kurz vor Ausbruch desselben', *Hermann*, No. 46, 19 November 1859. - [b] [K. W. Eichhoff,] 'Stieber', *Hermann*, Nos. 36-38, 40, 42, 43; 10, 17, 24 September, 8, 22, 29 October 1859. - [c] [K. W. Eichhoff,] 'Berlin, 8. Nov. (Stieber)', *Hermann*, No. 45, 12 November 1859. - [d] It was a Tuesday. On Tuesdays and Fridays Marx sent off articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune*.

1. THANKS for your last letter but one. I shall, however, probably succeed in arranging a bill *on myself* here in London, at an exorbitant rate of interest.

2. You had best abandon your anti-Vogt statement now that the *Reform* has already printed a statement of mine.[a] My chief concern now is to compel Mr Vogt to pursue the matter in London.[b]

3. I have told Freiligrath that you have praised his poem on Schiller and criticised his conduct towards you.[507] He will now write to you. Read No. 43 of the *Gartenlaube* wherein Kinkel's sycophant, Mr Beta (sometime editor of the *How do you do?* published here by *Louis Drucker*, and presently *faiseur-en-chef*[c] of the *Hermann*, whose EDITORS are all recruited from the literary *Lumpenproletariat*), makes the discovery that Freiligrath 'seldom sang any more' after he had been 'inspired' by me.[d] During recent years Freiligrath has been whoring too much after the idols of Babylon, so great is his thirst for popularity. His wife may not be an altogether beneficent influence IN THIS RESPECT. I will dilate no further on this theme, except to say that I show more consideration for old personal and party friends than seems right to many very clever people in our party.

4. *Ad vocem*[e] *Bonaparte.* So far as I can see, the Italian war[370] has temporarily strengthened Bonaparte's position in France; betrayed the Italian revolution into the hands of the Piedmontese doctrinaires and their henchmen; made Prussia exceptionally popular with the liberal *vulgus*[f] by virtue of her Haugwitzian policy; increased *Russia's* influence in Germany; and, finally, propagated demoralisation of an unprecedented kind—a most repulsive combination of Bonapartism and drivel about nationalities. I for my part fail to see any reason why members of our party had to give dialectical support to these nauseous, counter-revolutionary illusions of philistine-liberal provenance. It is my belief that, from the moment when Disraeli publicly admitted the existence of an alliance between Bonaparte and Russia,[415] and more especially from the moment when Russia sent out her shameless circular note to the German courts,[g] the battle-cry should have been raised against the *Russo*-French

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[a] K. Marx, 'Statement to the Editors of *Die Reform*, the *Volks-Zeitung* and the *Allgemeine Zeitung*'. - [b] See this volume, p. 525. - [c] chief impresario - [d] [H.] B[eta,] 'Ferdinand Freiligrath', *Die Gartenlaube*, No. 43, 1859. - [e] As to - [f] common people - [g] A. Gortschakoff, 'Circularschreiben an die russischen Gesandtschaften vom 15 (27) Mai 1859', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 167, 16 June 1859.

alliance. Opposition to Russia would instantly have disposed of the delusion that there was anything anti-liberal about a turning against France.

Schleinitz's despatches,[a] which I have studied in detail, together with the statements made by the ministers over here, some direct to Parliament, some in the press, confirm my view that *Prussia* had no intention of intervening so long as the German frontier was not violated. Bonaparte, as the protégé of Russia and England, had at the time been given permission to conduct a 'localised' war in order to keep him in France. Prussia would not have dared lift a finger and, had she done so, there would have been war between Germany and Russia, than which nothing could be more desirable. But IN FACT there was no question of it, because Prussia would *never* have had the courage to take such a step. Rather it was a question, partly of exposing the Prussian government in all its miserable weakness, partly and above all of unmasking Bonapartist DELUSIONS. Nor would the game have been too difficult, since all the representatives of the revolutionary party from Mazzini to Louis Blanc, Ledru-Rollin and even Proudhon would have joined in. This would have meant that the polemic against Bonaparte's imposture could not have acquired the appearance of hostility to Italy or France.

I am not, of course, going into the matter thoroughly here, but merely jotting down a few points. However, I shall, with your permission, make one further observation. There is a possibility that things will come to a head again soon. In that case one of two things must prevail in our party: either no one speaks for the party without prior consultation with the others, or everyone has the right to put forward his views without any regard for the others. Now this last is certainly not to be recommended, since a public polemic would in no way benefit so small a party (which, I hope, makes up in vigour for what it lacks in numbers). I can only say that, during my travels through England and Scotland (this summer)[444]—for our old party friends are scattered about the country—I did not find anybody here who would not have wished you had modified your pamphlet[b] in many respects. I see a quite simple explanation for this, namely that foreign policy, in

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[a] to the Prussian embassies in Britain, Russia and Germany (Berlin, June-July 1859); reports on the despatches appeared in the *Neue Preußische Zeitung*, No. 170, 24 July 1859 ('Zu der "Vermittlung"'), No. 171, 26 July ('Preußische Depeschen') and No. 174, 29 July 1859 ('Deutschland'). See also p. 520 - [b] F. Lassalle, *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preußens.*

particular, presents a very different aspect according to whether you view it from English soil or from the Continent.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 308

## MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH

### IN LONDON

[London,] 23 November 1859

Dear Freiligrath,

I have just received a copy of your letter to Liebknecht[a] in which the following passage occurs:

'I possess only *one* letter from Vogt,[508] dated 1 April 1859. This letter, as Marx *conceded* only last Saturday, does not contain a single syllable that *might* be used to substantiate a charge against Vogt.'

Since accuracy is desirable in matters of this kind, I must register a formal protest in regard to this passage.

*Firstly*, I *conceded* nothing. To concede (*concédere*) presupposes a debate in which one of the assertions originally put forward is withdrawn and the opposing view accepted. Nothing of the kind happened between us. The initiative was mine. I told you something; I conceded nothing. The facts were as follows:

I recalled that you yourself had asked Mr Blind whether he was the author of the anonymous pamphlet,[b] since both the tone and the content of his verbal account tallied entirely with the pamphlet.[461] I stressed that, *before* encountering Mr Blind at Urquhart's meeting of 9 May,[420] I knew nothing of Vogt's participation in the Italian imbroglio, save only for his letter to you. I reminded you that, on the evening you showed me that letter, it never remotely occurred to me to infer therefrom that Vogt had been bribed, or anything of the kind. All I found in the letter was the same old, all too familiar, superficially liberal

[a] Freiligrath's letter to Liebknecht of 21 November 1859. - [b] *Zur Warnung*

pot-house politics of his. If I laid any emphasis on all this, it was—*à tout seigneur tout honneur*[a]—so as not to detract in any way from Mr Blind's merit in uncovering Vogt's high treason.

*Secondly*, however, it never occurred to me to say that 'Vogt's letter did *not contain a single syllable* that *might* be used to substantiate a charge against Vogt'. All I said was that, having read the letter, it would not occur to *me* to draw such a conclusion. But the immediate subjective impression made upon me by the letter is very far removed from an *objective judgment* on the content of the letter, or even on conjectures which *might* be made about it. I never had either the occasion or the opportunity to subject the letter to the critical examination necessary for such an objective judgment. That Mr Blind put a different construction on, for instance, the letters Vogt addressed to you, him, etc., is and was known to you. E.g. in his article in *The Free Press* (27 May)[b] *these* letters are expressly mentioned as *corpora delicti*,[c] even though no names are given. This is again the case in his statement in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.[d]

From Mr Vogt I now come to Mr Beta, whose No. 43 I bought after getting your letter.[e] Having perused the *opus*, I decided to do exactly what I have been doing for the past 10 years, namely ignore such stuff. But I have today heard from two very close friends (not in London) urging me to make a statement in the interests of the party. I shall first deliberate the pros and cons for twice 24 hours. If, after mature deliberation, I should decide to speak, my statement would contain essentially the following:

1. If an attempt were made *wrongly* to attribute to me any influence over you, this could at most apply to the brief life-span of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, at which time you were writing what was truly splendid and indisputably your most popular poetry.

2. *A biographical sketch* in a few sentences *of Mr Betziege*,[f] *alias Hans Beta*, starting from the time when he wrote for a blackmailing theatrical rag in Berlin, going on through his editorship of the *How do you do?* under Louis Drucker, vintner and clown (including my visit to the *How do you do*'s lair [509]) and his

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[a] honour to whom honour is due - [b] [K. Blind,] 'The Grand Duke Constantine to Be King of Hungary', *The Free Press*, No. 5, 27 May 1859. - [c] incriminating evidence - [d] K. Blind, 'Erklärung', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 313, 9 November 1859. - [e] [H.] B[eta,] 'Ferdinand Freiligrath', *Die Gartenlaube*, No. 43, 1859. - [f] Literally 'praying goat', a play on the name Bettzieh.

subsequent activities in Leipzig, when he simultaneously libelled me in the *Gartenlaube*, i.e. reproduced the tripe from the *How do you do?* and appropriated my anti-Palmerston pamphlets,[a] and ending up with his present occupation of factotum to Gottfried Kinkel. It might, perhaps, do some good if the German public were to be shown what a scoundrelly bunch of lumpenproletarians it is that is croaking loudest in the foul swamp of current German literature.

3. Two letters from Heine to myself which will enable the public to decide between the authority of Heine and the authority of Beta.

4. Finally, a couple of letters written to me by Johann Kinkel[b] and Johanna Kinkel at the time of the *N. Rh. Z.* I would use these to unseat the melodramatic parson from the high horse upon which this Father Brey[c] (it is in that sense that your version of Goethe should be amended) is charging me in what is for him the typical arena of a *Gartenlaube*.

I am telling you all this so that, as is fitting between friends, you will have been informed in advance should I decide to make a statement.[510]

As for Liebknecht, Kolb is clearly seeking to justify himself in Cotta's eyes by using your letter to sacrifice Liebknecht as a scapegoat, for his own, not Liebknecht's *quid pro quo. Peccant reges, plectuntur Achivi*[d] still holds good.

To obviate all misunderstanding I have, at the same time as this letter to you, sent Liebknecht a copy of the passages in it relating to the Vogt affair.

Your
K. M.

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[a] K. Marx, 'Lord Palmerston'. - [b] Gottfried Kinkel. Marx ironically calls him Johann after his wife, Johanna Kinkel. - [c] A character from Goethe's *Ein Fastnachtsspiel auch wohl zu tragieren Ostern, vom Pater Brey, dem falschen Propheten.* - [d] The chiefs sin, the Aacheans suffer. Paraphrase of *Quidquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi* (whatever madness possesses the chiefs, it is the Aacheans who suffer), Horace, *Epistle*, I, ii, 14.

# 309

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 26 November 1859
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

On Monday I sent you a long letter about the wrangles down here. On Tuesday I sent you the *Gartenlaube*[a] and Beta's article.[512] Well, every day I've been waiting to hear from you since, in AFFAIRS of this kind, it is only *your letters* that revive my wife's DROOPING SPIRITS. One can simply laugh off such rubbish if the rest of one's life is tolerable. But in my CIRCUMSTANCES THEY WEIGH HEAVILY UPON THE FAMILY.

Well, today I'm sending you:

1. *A letter from Lassalle* to myself.[513] The 'statement' I sent the *Volks-Zeitung* is the same as appeared in No. 325 of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.[b] (Another, two columns long, about my attitude to vulgar democracy, etc., appeared in No. 139 of the Hamburg *Reform*.[c] I took the opportunity of naming you as the author of *Po and Rhine*, a fact obstinately kept dark by that same vulgar democracy.) From Lassalle's letter you will see that he, who IN POINT OF FACT was piping the same tune as Vogt, would much rather the Berlin public did not know about my opposition to Vogt and his propaganda.

From the same letter you will see that he at last intends to set to work on *his 'Political Economy'*,[278] but is clever enough to wait another 3 months until he is in possession of my second instalment.[473] The motives for the consistent failure, even on the part of one who is 'friendly', to break the *conspiration de silence* are now plain.

I have taken the opportunity of giving Lassalle a brief outline of my views on the Italian question,[d] at the same time telling him that, should anyone wish at such a critical moment to speak in the name of the party, the following alternatives must hold good. Either he consults the others beforehand, or the others (euphemis-

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[a] 'Ferdinand Freiligrath', *Die Gartenlaube*, No. 43, 1859. - [b] K. Marx, 'Declaration'. - [c] K. Marx, 'Statement to the Editors of *Die Reform*, the *Volks-Zeitung* and the *Allgemeine Zeitung*'. - [d] See this volume, pp. 536-39.

tic for you and me) have the right to put their own view before the public, without regard for that anyone.

2. A letter from Liebknecht to Freiligrath. You will have seen from the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* that Freiligrath declared, firstly, that he had been made out to be Vogt's accuser 'without his knowledge and consent'; secondly, that 'he had never written a line for the *Volk*' (doesn't write at all).[a] Mr Kolb, who had *wrongly* construed a private letter from Liebknecht to himself and had been told off by Cotta *after* this statement of Freiligrath's, naturally sacrificed Liebknecht as a scapegoat.[511] But Freiligrath, who is a SUBALTERN of Fazy's, was outraged and wrote an exceedingly rude letter to Liebknecht.[b] I enclose Liebknecht's reply to it.[c]

Now Freiligrath's letter to Liebknecht contained the following passage:

> 'I possess only *one* letter from Vogt, dated 1 April 1859.[508] This letter, as Marx only last Saturday *conceded*' (I UNDERLINE), 'does not contain a single syllable that *might* be used to substantiate a charge against Vogt. Why on earth, then, should I be trying to prove him guilty of attempted bribery?'

Now although on the one hand Freiligrath is *indispensable* to me for drawing bills on New York, although on the other I wish for political reasons to avoid a breach with him, and, lastly, am fond of him personally WITH ALL HIS FAULTS, I could not do otherwise—it was absolutely essential—than send him a *formal protest* about the above lines. For who is to guarantee that he will not write the same thing to Vogt and that the latter will not have it published?

The matter he misrepresents was as follows:

During my meeting with him, at which the topic was Blind, not Vogt,[d] I told him (there was no question of a *debate*, and still less of *his* calling me to account, as might be inferred from the words 'Marx *conceded*') that *he himself* had considered Blind to be the author of the pamphlet,[e] the latter having told him what he had told me; also that, *before* my meeting with Blind on 9th May,[420] I had known nothing at all about Vogt's activities, save his letter to Freiligrath from which—as *he*, Freiligrath, would recall—I did not infer bribery, but rather found therein the same old, all too familiar, superficially liberal pot-house politics of his. This is, after all, not at all the same thing as '*conceding* that the letter did not

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[a] F. Freiligrath, 'Erklärung', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 319 (supplement), 15 November 1859. - [b] on 21 November 1859 - [c] Liebknecht replied on 23 November. - [d] See this volume, p. 533. - [e] *Zur Warnung*

contain a single line that *might* be used to substantiate a charge'. I pointed this out to him, at the same time expressing my astonishment at his failure to call Blind to account for having, in *The Free Press*,[a] treated similar letters (including Freiligrath's) as *corpora delicti*.[b] So far I have had no answer from him, although he usually replies at once. It is possible—and this would be disastrous—that he has taken this opportunity to sever old party ties which, or so it would seem, have long become irksome to him. HOWEVER THAT MAY BE, I was bound to protest against his account of the affair.

Enough of this rubbish.

Yesterday a Tory journalist told me it was *his* intention to provide evidence next week in a TORY WEEKLY (the *WEEKLY MAIL*, I THINK) to the effect that Garibaldi was receiving money from Bonaparte while still a merchant in South America. *Nous verrons*.[c]

Regards to Lupus.

Your
K. M.

*Apropos*. In my article in the *Tribune*[d] yesterday I said that I would shortly be writing about the RIFLE MOVEMENT over here. So I should be glad if you would write about it.[502]

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## 310

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 November 1859
7 Southgate

Dear Moor,

If I didn't write last week it was because I had given Lupus all the papers; nor did I recover them for several days having, in the

[a] [K. Blind,] 'The Grand Duke Constantine to Be King of Hungary', *The Free Press*, No. 5, 27 May 1859. - [b] incriminating evidence - [c] We shall see. - [d] K. Marx, 'The Invasion Panic in England'.

interval, repeatedly failed to get hold of him. Lupus is of the same opinion as myself, namely that Freiligrath's behaviour hardly admits of further party relations with him, but that on purely party grounds, and aside from your personal position, you are absolutely justified in avoiding any breach for the present *s'il y a moyen*[a]—it would be a triumph for Kinkel and Co. which they would trumpet abroad and exploit for all they were worth. But it's something we shan't forgive the weak-minded ass. If his relationship with Fazy really compelled him to make a statement at all, Freiligrath ought to have consulted *you*, which would at any rate have resulted in something other than the inane affair which he caused to be published in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.[b] He would seem to be dead keen on an amnesty, to judge by his strenuous denials of all participation in the *Volk*. But his getting on to personal terms with Mr Bettziech, receiving him in his own house, is something which Lupus, who went *with Freiligrath* to see Bettziech at the time of the *How do you do?* affair,[509] will never forgive him. And it really is a dirty trick. As things are now, however, it seems questionable whether we can go on much longer without an open breach with Freiligrath; he is increasingly subject to the literary man's itch, nor will madame[c] fail to point out morning, noon and night that Mr Beta, Kinkel and company do at least praise him publicly, whereas all he gets from us even privately is a MODICUM of recognition, and we can never be relied on to make him 'known by reason of his fame'.[d] However, Freiligrath is all too well aware that, while Kinkel and Co. may be of use to him in peacetime, he would be nothing without us at the moment of battle, and that he could never ally himself with our enemies without running all manner of unpleasant risks. He will, I think, take care not to go too far and will finally pin his hopes on our forbearance.

Your 'Declaration' in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*[e] will put Blind into a very nasty position. How, without discrediting himself, he will lie his way out of the pass his lies have brought him to, I fail to see.

These shabby goings-on must indeed be a sore trial to your wife. However, this rubbish, too, will pass and, I hope, soon. Within a few weeks it will no doubt be possible to drop Mr Freiligrath and

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[a] if possible - [b] F. Freiligrath, 'Erklärung', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 319 (supplement), 15 November 1859. - [c] Ida Freiligrath — [d] Probably an allusion to Nicolas Chamfort's dictum: 'Celebrity: the advantage of being known by those who don't know you' (*Maximes et Pensées*). - [e] K. Marx, 'Declaration'.

leave him to stew in his own juice. But now I must say goodbye for today; I am about to go home and shall send an article on the RIFLE MOVEMENT[502] by the night mail. There will be several of them, at any rate.

Warm regards to your wife and the YOUNG LADIES.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH[514]

### IN LONDON

[London, about 30 November 1859]

Dear Freiligrath,

I am neither Liebknecht's letter-writer, nor his ATTORNEY. I shall, however, send him a copy of that part of your letter which relates to him.

I have decided against the statement I had briefly envisaged, bearing in mind that *'odi profanum vulgus et arceo'*.[a]

While the statement was certainly *against* Beta, it was for that very reason bound to be also *about* you, as you will have seen from the SUMMARY. If only for that reason, I gave you notice of it, quite apart from the intimacy in which your family and his appear in his *opusculum*.[b]

You find it unpleasant to have your name mixed up in the Vogt affair. I don't give a damn for Vogt and his infamous lies in the Biel *Handels-Courier*,[c] but I will not have my name used as a mask by democratic tricksters. As you know, if someone is forced to call upon witnesses, no other person can 'object' to being cited as a witness. In accordance with ancient English legal USE, RESTIVE WITNESSES may, *horribile dictu*,[d] actually be crushed to death.

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[a] I loathe the profane rabble and shun it (Horace, *Odes*, III, I, 1). - [b] [H.] B[eta,] 'Ferdinand Freiligrath', *Die Gartenlaube*, No. 43, 1859. - [c] [K. Vogt,] 'Zur Warnung', *Schweizer Handels-Courier*, No. 150 (supplement), 2 June 1859. - [d] horrible to say

Finally, as regards party considerations, I am used to being treated on behalf of the whole party as target for mud-slinging by the press, and to seeing my private interests constantly damaged by party considerations; on the other hand, I am equally used to being unable to reckon on any kind of private consideration towards myself.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 312

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 10 December 1859

Dear Engels,

Article received.[a] I trust your health has improved.

As to the Freiligrath business, more in the course of this letter. I presume you saw the *Hermann* of a week ago today containing 'Vorletzte Sitzung des Schiller-Comités',[b] a self-portrait of the scoundrelly bunch of lumpenproletarians which has gathered round Gottfried Kinkel. The article was written by the worthy Beta.

What do you make of Mr Lassalle's notifying me ALL AT ONCE of his 'Political Economy'.[278] Does this not explain why my work[c] was, firstly, so much delayed and, secondly, so badly advertised? Lassalle *lives in Duncker's house*, or so I am told by Fischel of Berlin (was in England for a few days; editor of the Berlin *Portfolio*[482]—Urquhartite—of which Nos. 1 and 2 contain excerpts from my anti-Palmerston PAMPHLETS on Poland and Unkiar-Skelessi[d]). In

[a] F. Engels, 'Progress of the Moorish War'. - [b] *Hermann*, No. 48, 3 December 1859. - [c] *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* - [d] K. Marx, 'Der "wahrhaft" englische Minister und Russland am Bosporus' and 'Lord Palmerston und die polnische Insurrection. 1831' (excerpts from the pamphlet *Lord Palmerston*), *Das Neue Portfolio*, Berlin, 1859, Heft I; 1860, Heft II.

Berlin, it would seem, he (Lassalle) is noted for his vanity. The stick with which he was given a drubbing[a] was *his own*—a memento bought in Paris, *Robespierre's stick* bearing the device, *liberté, égalité, fratérnité!*

I wrote and asked Lassalle whether he might not be able to get hold of some money for me (against a bill on myself which I would give him).[b] He replied saying that he himself was living on credit until July, and had appropriated Duncker's FLOATING SURPLUS. Then he suggested I draw a bill on him (Lassalle), discount it here, and send him the money before it fell due. But over here the name of Lassalle is not, of course, worth $^1/_{100}$ of a FARTHING. I have latterly been cited at the COUNTY COURT by sundry fellows—quite small ones, such as the MILKMAN, etc., and can, in fact, see no way out of the crisis which has grown steadily worse for the past half year. Extra expenses, e.g. ABOUT £5 for the rotten *Volk* lawsuit, and Mr Biskamp, whom I have fed for three months (and am not yet quit of), have, indeed, contributed their mite to the predicament. But all in all that made little odds. What is really devilish is not having a Bamberger here in London any more, for there are at present considerable possibilities in regard to bill transactions. Had fat philistine Freiligrath so wished, he might even have procured me a LOAN, for after all the philistine had the security to hand. But the fellow imagined (and no doubt actually boasted) that he was doing a great deal if, a week before I drew a bill on the *Tribune*, he loaned me £2 for a week. I have, by the by, made various other attempts to find a usurer. BUT TILL NOW WITHOUT ANY RESULT.

I know that you yourself are in a fix as a result of being taken to court recently,[c] and hence am telling you about the STATE OF THINGS only because I feel a need to discuss it with SOMEBODY. I hope that our domestic misfortunes won't deter you from *coming up here for a few days.* It's absolutely essential for my girls to have a 'human being' in the house again for once. The poor children have been too early tormented by domestic misery.

*Now ad vocem*[d] *Freiligrath.*

Having waited a week, the philistine wrote the following letter:

'Dear Marx,

'I have received your letter of the 23 inst.' (November)[e] 'and Liebknecht's of the same date and, in order to simplify matters, am replying to both in this letter to you.

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[a] See this volume, p. 319. - [b] Ibid., p. 524. - [c] Ibid., pp. 490, 493, 499, 530. - [d] as to - [e] See this volume, pp. 539-40.

'As far as Liebknecht's letter is concerned, neither its presumptuous and impertinent tone, nor its content—an unsuccessful attempt to turn the tables—could surprise me! Very nice, I must say! The London correspondent of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* thinks fit to put my name at Mr Kolb's disposal *ad libitum* and without previously notifying me[a]; but I, if I protest against that abuse, must first give due notice!! The argument used by Liebknecht in support of this pretty doctrine is so jejune that it calls for no serious refutation on my part. I would simply remark that, in no circumstances and for no personal or party considerations whatsoever, shall I put up with arbitrary actions of this nature.

'That's all about and for Liebknecht!

'And now for your letter.

'I gladly allow your objection to the word "conceded" used in my letter to Liebknecht (of 21 November). I set no store by that word. Nor did it conceal any implication of any kind, and I might just as well have used "remarked" or "said". So without further contention I *concede* your *"conceded"*. If we were both of the same opinion from the start, so much the better!'

(The slyboots doesn't tumble to the fact that he is thereby *conceding my* opinion of Vogt and Blind.)

'As regards your anti-Beta statement you must, of course, do exactly as you think fit. All the same, I believe that your first impulse to ignore the thing was the better one and more worthy of you! Now that you have had more than twice 24 hours for deliberation, you will have decided one way or the other. Whether this way or that is quite immaterial to me!

'That you should have wished to inform me beforehand, "as is fitting between friends", of your anti-Beta statement is most deserving of thanks. For that matter your statement, so far as I can see, was to be directed against *Beta*, not against *myself*, and hence scarcely called for prior notification of your intention

'At all events let me not omit to mention *en revanche*[b] that I myself shall probably be publishing another statement in which I shall repeat, once and for all, that I object to the use of my name in connection with the Vogt affair.

Your
*F. Freiligrath.*'

UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES I could, of course, only reply IN A VERY MODERATE TONE to this letter, 'malicious' in intent and adorned with so many!! I therefore wrote by return:

'Dear Freiligrath,[c]

'I am neither Liebknecht's letter-writer, nor his ATTORNEY. I shall, however, send him a copy of that part of your letter which relates to him.

'I have decided against the statement I had briefly envisaged, bearing in mind that *"odi profanum vulgus et arceo"*.[d]

'While the statement was certainly *against* Beta, it was for that very reason bound to be also *about* you, as you will have seen from the SUMMARY. If only for that reason, I gave you notice of it, quite

[a] [W. Liebknecht,] 'Erklärung', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 327 (supplement), 23 November 1859. - [b] by way of a return - [c] See this volume, p. 546. - [d] I loathe the profane rabble and shun it (Horace, *Odes*, III, I, 1).

apart from the intimacy in which your family and his appear in his *opusculum.*[a]

'You find it unpleasant to have your name mixed up in the Vogt affair. I don't give a damn for Vogt and his infamous lies in the Biel *Handels-Courier,*[b] but I will not have my name used as a mask by democratic tricksters. As you know, if someone is forced to call upon witnesses, no other person can "object" to being cited as a witness. In accordance with ancient English legal USE, RESTIVE WITNESSES may, *horribile dictu,*[c] actually be crushed to death.

'Finally, as regards party considerations, I am used to being treated on behalf of the whole party as target for mud-slinging by the press, and to seeing my private interests constantly damaged by party considerations; on the other hand, I am equally used to being unable to reckon on any kind of private consideration towards myself.

'*Salut.*

Your
K. M.'

To this Freiligrath has not replied, and I don't know EXACTLY what footing we are on now.

Regards to Lupus.

Your
K. M.

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## 313

## ENGELS TO MARX[515]

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, 11 or 12 December 1859]

Dear Moor,

Herewith POST OFFICE ORDER for £5 payable at Camden Town. Beta is the dirtiest dog I have ever come across. The infamous article[d]

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[a] [H.] B[eta,] 'Ferdinand Freiligrath', *Die Gartenlaube,* No. 43, 1859. - [b] [K. Vogt,] 'Zur Warnung', *Schweizer Handels-Courier,* No. 150 (supplement), 2 June 1859. - [c] horrible to say - [d] [H.] B[eta,] 'Ferdinand Freiligrath', *Die Gartenlaube,* No. 43, 1859.

put me into a real rage. Unfortunately the chap's such a cripple already that no amount of beating could make him more misshapen than he is. However, sometime we shall have to wreak personal vengeance on the rascal. At any rate, some satisfaction can be derived from the fact that Kinkel's beautiful soul is forced to seek its mate in a filthy pig of this kind. Just think what it takes to produce one single Bettziech! Whole generations of crippled moles having, by the Darwinian process of NATURAL SELECTION, evolved to the highest degree the faculty to live on dung, with shit for their chosen element. Filthy, blatant lies and impotent malice—such are the tools with which that mendacious parson Kinkel's bad conscience seeks to keep on its legs. LET US GET THESE FELLOWS ONCE FACE TO FACE AGAIN, and you'll see what becomes of the gang of scoundrels.

Darwin, by the way, whom I'm reading just now, is absolutely splendid.[a] There was one aspect of teleology that had yet to be demolished, and that has now been done. Never before has so grandiose an attempt been made to demonstrate historical evolution in Nature, and certainly never to such good effect. One does, of course, have to put up with the crude English method.

Warm regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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## 314

## MARX TO ENGELS[516]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 December 1859
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

MY BEST THANKS FOR THE £5. You can imagine how opportune it was, for in a day or two my wife has to pay an instalment to some fellow at

[a] Ch. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection....*

the COUNTY COURT. Yesterday I attempted one last FAMILY coup which may, perhaps, succeed. In which case there would be a chance of our being able to breathe again.

In Russia the movement is progressing better than anywhere else in Europe. On the one hand the constitutionalism of the aristocracy versus the Tsar, on the other of the peasants versus the aristocracy. Moreover, having at long last realised that the Poles have not the least inclination to be dissolved in Slav-Russian nationality, Alexander blustered frightfully. Thus the extraordinary successes of Russian diplomacy during the past 15 years, notably since 1849, are more than counter-balanced. Come the next revolution and Russia will oblige by joining in.

You have, I imagine, read Bonaparte's uneasy document addressed to the *préfets* in which he demands that exact returns be made of, *inter alia*, all respectable Orleanists,[124] Legitimists,[303] republicans and socialists, but more especially of 'reliable' Bonapartists?

From the enclosed note you will see that that louse, Juch—PROPRIETOR of the *Hermann*—feels entitled to approach me about the Stieber affair.[517] The rotten swine had deleted from Eichhoff's denunciation of Stieber in the *Hermann*[a] everything relating to our trial,[71] the 'small, insignificant party' being alluded to only *en passant*. I shall give the low scoundrel a proper dressing-down while, of course, doing everything in my power to damage that rascal Stieber. Eichhoff, by the by, was simply a tool where all these Stieber revelations were concerned. The business originated with ex-policeman Duncker in Berlin, whose removal in 1848 was largely brought about by Stieber's yapping from the democratic camp. From then on Duncker got his private police to watch Stieber's every step until he finally thought the moment had come for him to be kicked out. Furthermore, that ass Eichhoff was stupid enough to show his ass's ears in his last article from Berlin in the *Hermann*, in which HE WOUND UP HIS DENUNCIATIONS AGAINST STIEBER—WITH WHAT? WITH THE REQUEST OF THE *RESTITUTIO IN INTEGRUM* OF VIRTUOUS Police Superintendent Duncker.[b]

Nothing but fools and rapscallions, all these chaps, against whom Freiligrath bears *no* grudge, even if they do 'take liberties with his name'.

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[a] [K. W. Eichhoff,] 'Stieber', *Hermann*, Nos. 36-38, 40, 42 and 43; 10, 17, 24 September and 8, 22 and 29 October 1859. - [b] [K. W. Eichhoff,] 'Berlin, 8. Nov. (Stieber)', *Hermann*, No. 45, 12 November 1859.

UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES I HOPE TO SEE YOU HERE FOR SOME DAYS.
Regards to Lupus.
*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Little Jenny has made a copy of a Raphael Madonna especially for you, and of 2 wounded French soldiers for Lupus.

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## 315

## ENGELS TO MARX[518]

IN LONDON

Manchester, [19 December 1859]
7 Southgate

Dear Moor,

I slaved away all day so as to have the afternoon free for the article and, when I came to light the gas, it burnt so low that the whole office had to stop work. At home it's been worse if anything for almost a week now; the prolonged spell of frost and fog has so increased the consumption of gas during the day that by the evening there's no pressure at all and hence no light. This makes it impossible for me to do the article today, and anyhow it may well gain by my having to wait until the day after tomorrow or Thursday, since the move from Ceuta against Tetuan should begin any day now.[519] Admittedly, this will be pretty awful for you, since it means you'll have to slave away tomorrow when you had been counting on me.

Siebel has been to Hamburg, where he was told by the literary Bohemians that 'Freiligrath has broken with Marx'. So you can see how Mr Kinkel is still carrying on the business of article-writing, self-advertising tittle-tattle even now that Mockel[a] is dead. Mr Strodtmann, presently on the Hamburg *Freischütz*, has apparently reverted to being a faithful disciple of Johann Gottfried.[b]

[a] Johanna Kinkel - [b] Gottfried Kinkel. Engels ironically calls him Johann after his wife, Johanna Kinkel.

My eyes are aching so I'll stop. Warm regards to your wife and children. I can't come at Christmas. G. Ermen has again been making changes at the office and this makes it impossible for me to go away, especially at the year's end, without incurring very great RESPONSIBILITY. I shall come for certain at Easter or Whitsun.

Your
F. E.

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## 316

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 December 1859

Dear Engels,

You do not appear to have read both Freiligrath's *and* Blind's statements in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* (supplement, of presumably 8, 9, 10 or 11 December).[a] This shows that the rumour that 'Freiligrath has broken with Marx' could have got about without Kinkel's help.

I have had a meeting with Juch about the Stieber proceedings in Berlin[517] (the charge against Eichhoff concerns only his comments about the communist trial—the case comes up on the 22nd—so that the whole of that trial will be re-enacted before the public in Berlin. I've sent Eichhoff my pamphlet.[b] If Schneider, Bürgers, etc., weren't so spineless, they could now take a lovely revenge); he also asked me about the Blind-Freiligrath alliance, of which I was then not yet aware. Unfortunately I am compelled for the time being (on material and 'possibly' political grounds) to show some *égards*[c] for the chap.

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[a] *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 345 (supplement), 11 December 1859. - [b] *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* - [c] consideration

In the last issue of the *Hermann*, student Blind got 'Borkheim'[a] to describe him (Blind) as the Kinkel of South Germany.[520]

I must now do my article. Don't know what about.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 317

## ENGELS TO JENNY MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 December 1859

Dear Mrs Marx,

I take the liberty today of sending you a dozen bottles of wine for the festive season in the hope that they will be to your liking and contribute to the FAMILY'S cheer.

The champagne and Bordeaux (Château d'Arcins) can be drunk at once, while the port wine should be allowed to rest a little and won't be in proper condition until about New Year.

I have been frankly annoyed here by the Freiligrath goings-on.[b] It's forever the same old thing with that belletristic lot; they always want the newspapers to pay them homage, always want their names kept before the public, and the most inept little couplet of their own devising is of greater moment to them than the most tremendous historical event. Since none of this is attainable unless organised by a coterie, it goes without saying that the latter becomes the prime requirement, and we poor communists are, alas, completely useless in that respect; worse still, we are fully alive to the swindle, deride this *organisation du succès*, and ourselves feel almost criminally averse to becoming popular personalities. Now it shows great stupidity if, for these reasons, such a poet feels ill at ease in such a party, for here there is absolutely none of the

[a] S. L. Borkheim, 'An die Redaction des *Hermann*', *Hermann*, No 50, 17 December 1859. - [b] See this volume, pp. 532-36, 543-44 and 548-49.

competition which he is bound to encounter everywhere else—and it shows even greater stupidity if he throws in his lot with a bunch in which competition from a Kinkel is a foregone conclusion. *Mais que voulez-vous?*[a] In order to exist a poet requires incense, a great deal of incense, and Mrs Poet consumes even more. Competition or no competition, Mrs Poet will always be in raptures for the side which daily parades before the public her noble genius of a Ferdinand, herself, her interesting offspring, her cats, dogs, rabbits, canaries and other vermin, and indeed, showers them with Bengal lights, sentimentality and romantic lies. And what Mrs Poet wants, Mr Poet must needs want also, and this all the more in that madame gives expression to his own innermost thoughts. *Das Volk,* INDEED! The *Gartenlaube* is a very different kind of paper, and unctuous Bettziech a very different kind of man from the communists.[b] After all in the *Gartenlaube* they still treat us as a poet's family and accord us a weekly mention, nor does crooked Bettziech ever let slip an opportunity to pay us a little compliment or give us a puff.—True, Kinkel is praised far more highly for his poetry, which is greatly inferior to ours, and they publish many more anecdotes about him, but the man is Bettziech's patron after all, and everything will come right in the end. And then, take the Schiller festival! These communists despise and deride Schiller, so how could one run a Schiller festival with them? But the Schiller festival is more important than all the rest of history put together and, after all, why was Schiller born a 100 years ago if not for us to write a cantata about him today?[c]

And then there is the further consideration that the noble Ferdinand's poetry pretty well dried up years ago and the little he still manages to extract from his noddle is appallingly bad. This necessitates thinking up DODGES such as collected editions, etc., and that's something that can't be done every day. So, in order that one should not be forgotten, a puff becomes daily more of a necessity. Who, IN FACT, ever talked about Freiligrath between 1849 and 1858? Nobody. It was Bettziech who first rediscovered this classic writer, who had been so lost from mind that he was used only as Christmas and birthday presents and no longer figured in literature but in the history of literature. And, of course, nobody was to blame for all this save Karl Marx, with his 'inspiration'. But once F. Freiligrath has been thoroughly warmed up by the incense

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[a] But what can you expect? - [b] An allusion to Beta's article 'Ferdinand Freiligrath' published in *Die Gartenlaube,* No. 43, 1859. - [c] This refers to Freiligrath's poem 'Zur Schillerfeier, 10. November 1859. Festlied der Deutschen in London'. See also this volume, p. 511.

of the *Gartenlaube*, then you'll see what poetry will come bubbling out of him!

How petty, shabby and paltry are the doings of these poets! Give me Siebel any day; he may be a rotten poet, but he does at least know that he is a thorough humbug and all he asks is to be allowed to advertise himself—nowadays a necessary *procédé* without which he would be a complete nonentity.

But you really mustn't take all this bickering too much to heart. As a 'personage'[a] Freiligrath is bound sooner or later to betray weaknesses such as will put him into our hands when the time is ripe. Meanwhile, no breach if it can be avoided.

I am very sorry that I shan't be able to come up on Friday, but there are such a lot of changes going on here that yesterday, for instance, I had to slave away till 9.45 at night, and there can be no question of getting away.

My warmest regards to Moor and the YOUNG LADIES.[b]

Your
F. Engels

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[a] Presumably an allusion to a line from Chapter 24 of Heine's satirical poem *Atta Troll* which describes the hero as 'no talent but a personage'. - [b] Jenny and Laura Marx

# APPENDIX

1

## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS[521]

IN MANCHESTER

[London, 28 March 1856]

Dear Mr Engels,

Moor wants to know whether you are coming here for Easter as we would all so very much like. In that case he would not send you the BLUE BOOKS.[38] Please drop us a line to say whether you are coming. Then we could take the thing to the PARCELS COMPANY on Monday. I have just posted your article.[522] Chaley[a] IS VERY BUSY with the KARS PAPERS[b] and is dictating to a somewhat seedy-looking Pieper. What do you make of the scandals in Berlin? Have you read the report from the Berlin correspondent[c] in today's *Times*?[d] Now we know the reason for the *Kreuz-Zeitung*'s sackcloth-and-ashes LEADERS.

I also have a bone to pick just now with the Minister of the Interior[e] about the little business of my inheritance. You will remember that my late uncle's[f] effects included a mass of letters and manuscripts belonging to my grandfather,[g] who was War Minister to the Duke of Brunswick. The Prussian State, with Mr von Scharnhorst for intermediary, had already entered into negotiations with my father[h] with a view to *purchasing* these manuscripts which contain material on the military history of the Seven Years War.[300] Then along comes my brother—and in the final statement relating to the estate I find the following curious entry: As regards the books which were found, the Minister of

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[a] Karl Marx - [b] K. Marx, 'The Fall of Kars'. - [c] Probably G. B. Wilkinson - [d] 'From Our Own Correspondent. Berlin, March 25', *The Times*, No. 22327, 28 March 1856. - [e] Ferdinand von Westphalen, Jenny Marx's step-brother - [f] Heinrich Georg von Westphalen - [g] Christien Heinrich Philipp von Westphalen - [h] Ludwig von Westphalen

State has, 'on grounds of piety', taken over the same for the sum of 10 talers. He had the comparatively worthless portion sold by auction in Brunswick for 11 talers and now, without asking, takes over, out of piety, the more valuable, which he has valued at 10 talers, but debits me with the cost of *carriage* from Brunswick to Berlin. Funny sort of piety! But now for the real *casus belli.* In addition, he gets Florencourt, the chief clerk, to write:

'Besides the books, a large number of papers, amongst them a number of the late Landdrost von Westphalen's manuscripts—some on military history—have also come to light. The latter are, however, for the most part exceedingly incomplete and defective and it seems improbable that the same are of any real literary interest.'

So they imagine that, without sending me a legal inventory and without having the papers valued, they can appropriate them by a *coup de main.* I strongly suspect that my brother, fired by patriotic zeal, promptly presented the manuscripts to the State, the more so in view of my mother's[a] letter, in which she tells me she had already written to them about the value of the papers and asked what they intended to do with them. Their silence is very peculiar. He believes that I, like the rest of my submissive sisters,[b] will simply leave everything to him, the mighty 'Cheeef' of the family. But there he's mistaken.

I have begun by making 'discreet inquiries' so that bit by bit I can lay claim to my 'PROPERTY'.

I shall be curious to see what they answer. With Berlin in its present state of excitation it would be very easy for us to create a scandal. But out of consideration for my mother we shall tread somewhat cautiously before we start one.

We hope to see you here next week.

With cordial regards, yours,

Jenny Marx

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[a] Caroline von Westphalen - [b] Anna Elisabeth Franziska von Westphalen and Lisette von Krosigk

2

## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS[523]

IN MANCHESTER

[London, about 12 April 1857]

Dear Mr Engels,

One invalid is writing for another by *ordre du mufti.*[a] Chaley's[b] head hurts him almost everywhere, terrible tooth-ache, pains in the ears, head, eyes, throat and God knows what else. Neither opium pills nor creosote do any good. The tooth has got to come out and he jibs at the idea. Now I am appealing to you to step into the breach with an article for Friday. No matter what subject. *There was, for instance, the sending of troops and ships for China, there was also a change in the organisation of the Russian army, or Bonaparte or Switzerland or yarn or anything else. One column will do.*[c] Assuming, of course, that you've got over your own eye-trouble. If you possibly can, drop us a note to let us know whether you are able to do the article. Did the eye lotion help at all?

Warm regards from
Jenny Marx

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3

## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS[524]

IN WATERLOO NEAR MANCHESTER

[London, 31 July 1857]

Dear Mr Engels,

The wine has just arrived. The children's exultation knew no end. The girls examined the bottles very closely and found the

[a] order of the mufti—a jocular nickname for Karl Marx - [b] Karl Marx's - [c] In reply to this request Engels wrote the article 'Changes in the Russian Army'.

sherry sealed in green and the port in pale lilac. The Bordeaux cheers us with its red smile. Tussy[a] set to work at once on the hamper and now she is sitting in it as in a little hut packed in straw and hay. Let me convey to you, dear Mr Engels, our warmest thanks for your great kindness. I am so weak and wasted. The wine will do me a world of good.

We are all so very worried about your indisposition and this fresh cold you have caught. But a cold is unavoidable at the beginning of a stay by the seaside. The evenings are already quite cool. So see that you dress especially warmly in the evenings. Karl is very much affected by your indisposition. He would very much like to go and see you but it is absolutely out of the question just now and that annoys him so much. Just leave the 'drudgery' for the time being.

Karl is BUSY shaping the INDIAN NEWS into an article.[b] Dear little Jenny and Laura are now replacing me in my capacity as secretary. They have ousted me altogether with the *chi-i-ief* of the household.

On Tuesday morning[c] a cab stopped in front of our door, and who do you think stepped out? Conrad Schramm, whom we thought dead long ago. That FOOL Seiler had already written an obituary notice about him in the evening papers. The poor fellow is very very unwell. A real picture of misery. Yesterday Karl got him admitted to the German hospital, where he is being very well looked after for £1 a WEEK. In his mind, by the way, Schramm is the same as of old, just as he was in his early, good period, when we all liked him for his buoyancy and FRANKNESS. He is continually cracking very good jokes about God and the world. But of the latter, so he thinks, he must soon take his leave. Fortunately he has kept free of the 'American clarity' by which old Mirbach and my brother Edgar distinguished themselves so very much.

Karl will be writing tomorrow.[d] Warmest greetings from all of us.

Your
Jenny Marx

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[a] Eleanor Marx - [b] K. Marx, 'Indian News'. - [c] 28 July 1857 - [d] No letters by Marx to Engels dated earlier than 9 August 1857 have reached us.

# 4

## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS[525]

### IN WATERLOO NEAR LIVERPOOL

[London, about 14 August 1857]

Dear Mr Engels,

We are all so pleased to hear that you are getting better again and feeling stronger. But Moor still insists that the real way to cure your illness is prolonged dosage with iron. He has been conscientiously studying medicine at the Museum,[a] and all modern doctors prescribe it and rate it above cod-liver oil; they are thus wholly in agreement with English doctors who, after years of practice, have come to the same opinion. By the by, he begs you most *urgently* not to overtax your brain with the work for Dana. Loafing and dozing and doing nothing are just as necessary as IRON.

No doubt you will have had the two further letters he addressed to Manchester.[b] One contained NOTICES about ARMIES, the other about the Armada.[180]

A few evenings ago that clown Edgar Bauer came to see us; truly a dried cod—without any cod-liver oil and on top of that with pretensions to *wit*. So frightful were his EFFORTS that I almost fainted, while Karl was sick—not just figuratively but in fact.

Jones has lost his wife and is now happy as a sandboy; he hails all INDIANS as Kossuths and applauds the INDIAN PATRIOTS.[526] His opponent, the high-minded Richard Hart, a PAID Urquhartist, is now a lawyer at the Coal Hole. Karl heard him pleading there.

I hope your next letter will bring yet more good news. We are all so very anxious about you.

The wine suits me splendidly. The sherry is truly excellent. The port seems not quite so good, but I like it particularly on account of its sweetness. It will put me to rights again.

With warm regards,

Jenny Marx

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[a] the British Museum Library - [b] See this volume, pp. 147-49.

5

# JENNY MARX TO CONRAD SCHRAMM[a]

IN ST. HÉLIER, JERSEY

[London,] 8 December [1857]
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Hampstead

Dear Mr Schramm,

It is so long since we have heard from you that we are all most eager for news. We often talk about you and, more keenly than anything else, regret our inability to help beguile and enliven somewhat your long, solitary winter days and hours.

If it isn't too much trouble, do let us have a sign of life some time.—What do you feel about the general mess? Wouldn't you say there was something really quite exhilarating about the way the rotten old structure is crashing and tumbling down? It is to be hoped that your relations aren't yet using the crisis as a pretext for turning their backs on you and hence that you yourself have not as yet suffered any material ill-effects. Though the American crisis has touched our purse all too appreciably, in as much as Karl is writing for the *Tribune* only once instead of twice a week, *all* its European correspondents except Bayard Taylor and Karl having been given their notice, you can nevertheless imagine how HIGH UP[b] the Moor is. He has recovered all his wonted facility and capacity for work, as well as the liveliness and buoyancy of a spirit long since blighted by great sorrow, the loss of our beloved child,[c] whose death I shall never cease to mourn in my heart. By day Karl works for his living and by night at the completion of his political economy.[250] Now, when the times require this work, and it has come to be a necessity, it will, no doubt, find some wretched publisher. Already not only we, but also Lupus and Steffen have felt the immediate impact of the crisis. The former has lost the better part of his lessons because the house has gone bankrupt, and the latter was no longer able to remain in Brighton because the Indian business[178] put an abrupt end to his instruction of the Indian CADETS. On top of that, his sister lost what little money she had through the *faillite*[d] of a banker. Little Dronke has started up

[a] Added to Jenny's letter was one by Marx written on the same day and likewise addressed to Schramm. - [b] in high spirits - [c] Edgar Marx - [d] bankruptcy

a business of his own in Glasgow. I believe that all the ranting in the Glaswegian press against 'unscrupulous people who start up businesses without any capital whatsoever' is directed against the little fellow. For the moment Freiligrath is still securely ensconced in his diminutive Crédit mobilier.[364] But if the sinister rumours about the Parisian Crédit mobilier and its steady decline prove true, he too will soon go tumbling after and have to bid farewell to his manager's desk. So far, the crisis would not appear to have made any deep impression on our good, honest friend Liebknecht, or at least *n'a-t-elle pas encore frappé son physique*[a]; he still retains unimpaired his notorious, fearsome, famous, fabulous appetite and his pristine love for a RASHER [OF] BACON.

Yesterday we heard from Engels in Manchester.[b] He says:

Among our local philistines the crisis has induced a strong desire for the bottle, no one can bear to stay at home, alone with his cares and his family, the clubs are livening up, and the consumption of liquor is rising sharply. The worse of a jam a chap is in, the more frenzied his efforts to cheer himself up. And then, the morning after, what more striking example of remorse, both alcoholic and moral! In Manchester, 8 or 9 manufacturers have already come a cropper in the past few days. But nowhere do things look so splendid as in Hamburg. Never has panic assumed so perfect and classic a form. The house of Ulberg and Cramer, whose debts when they failed amounted to 12,000,000 banco marks (of which 7 million were bills on themselves!), had a capital of not more than 300,000 marks!! Everything there is now worthless, utterly worthless, save for silver and gold. Last week also saw the failure of Christian Matthias Schröder. J. H. Schröder & Co. in London telegraphed saying that, if 2 million marks would be enough, he would send the equivalent in silver. Came the reply: 3 millions or nothing; he couldn't spare the 3 millions and Christian Matthias crashed. The big American house which, after 2 days of negotiation with the Bank of England, recently obtained a million-pound advance, thereby saving its skin, belonged to Mr Peabody.

This 4th JULY ANNIVERSARY DINNER MAN[246] calls to mind that lout Heinzen. Although the crisis has whittled down his *Pionier* to half its former size (despite the collaboration of student Karl Blind, that greatest of revolutionary statesmen), the rascal still continues to maintain that 'crises are mere Marxian inventions and figments of the brain'. Again, this gobbler-up of communists calls to mind

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[a] it has not yet affected him physically - [b] See this volume, pp. 211-13.

red Becker,[a] who has now been released, and this means, dear Mr Schramm, that willy-nilly you will have to make giant strides across the ocean with me, from Europe to America and back again, since with red Becker we are back once more in the dear Fatherland, the violet which will not, on this occasion, escape with a black, or rather blue, eye—back, indeed, in dear old Cologne, so that I cannot resist telling you something about our old friend Mevissen and his family. Quite a short while since, old Leiden lost 2 children from consumption, then Mrs Mevissen, while one of his sons lost his life when the *Pacifique* went down.

You can imagine how sullen and sulky all the democrats are at the moment. For now that they are again faced with the much abhorred knife-and-fork problem, and can no longer lay all the blame on princes and tyrants, there must needs be an end to political fiddle-faddle and ale-house oratory.

But now my chatter has lasted so long that it's time for me to bid you adieu. Warmest regards from myself and the girls, who are growing up to be so sweet and lovable and charming.

Your
Jenny Marx

Apropos. We have photographs of Freiligrath and Engels. If it's not too much trouble, will you have one done of yourself for us? Karl would so much like to have likenesses of his best friends around him.

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[a] Hermann Heinrich Becker

## 6

## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS[527]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, 9 April 1858]

Dear Mr Engels,

For the past week Karl has been so unwell as to be quite incapable of writing. He believes you will already have deduced from the laboured style of his most recent letter[a] that his bile and liver are again in a state of rebellion. I trust his medicines will finally take effect. The worsening of his condition is largely attributable to mental unrest and agitation which now, of course, after the conclusion of the contract with the publisher[b] are greater than ever and increasing daily, since he finds it utterly impossible to bring the work to a close. I now also intend to write straight away to the little Berlin Jew[c] who this time has proved a CLEVER manager. The children are well. Unfortunately they had to stay indoors all through the Easter holidays. The weather was too ghastly and the perpetual rain made our clayey soil so soft and muddy that it was like having the whole of Böckeburg clinging to one's soles. The *Guardians* with the two very interesting articles on France arrived today. From this we gather that you, too, are in Manchester and haven't risked an Easter TRIP. But fox-hunting no doubt?

Warmest regards from us all.

Your
Jenny Marx

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[a] See this volume, pp. 296-304. - [b] Franz Duncker; Jenny Marx refers to the contract for publishing Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [c] Ferdinand Lassalle

# 7

# JENNY MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[528]

## IN BERLIN

London, 9 April 1858[a]

Dear Mr Lassalle,

Since Karl last wrote to you[b] the liver complaint from which he was already suffering at the time—unfortunately it recurs every spring—has got so much worse that he has had to dose himself constantly. Today he feels quite incapable of writing and has therefore asked me to convey to you his heartfelt thanks for your kind efforts on his behalf. Nor can I help but express my pleasure at the successful conclusion of the contract, from which I gather that you are not yet completely engrossed in theoretical works and that, besides immersing yourself in *Heraclitus* (which I, too, have been studying a little), you have still retained your practical aptitudes and remained, as the English say, 'A CLEVER MANAGER'. Karl would long since have written to you at length about your work, but it's so difficult for him to write at all. The mental unrest and agitation he feels through not being able to bring his work to a close all at one go contribute greatly, of course, to the aggravation of his condition, likewise the tiresome work for our 'DAILY BREAD', which is another thing that certainly can't be deferred. However we hope that he'll be able to deliver the manuscript[c] on time.

As soon as he feels a little better he will write to you and, in the meantime, perhaps you will make do with this brief note of mine.

With warm regards

Jenny Marx

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[a] 1885 in the original - [b] See this volume, pp. 286-87. - [c] of his *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

# 8

# JENNY MARX TO MARX[529]

## IN MANCHESTER

[London, about 9 May 1858]

My darling Karl,

I'm sorry I haven't anything better to send you than Sch[...][a] Koller's[b] letter; I kept it back yesterday but maybe you ought to see it after all.

I hope that you will reach some definite POINT OF FACT with Friedländer; nothing much is ever to be got out of a German newspaper and it's beyond me how you could ask the *enormous* rate of £1 10/- for more than *one* article, especially since they have a correspondent[254] for their regular BUSINESS; they certainly can't want more than an *enjolivement*.[c] The most that can be extracted from the *Presse*, as an AVERAGE MAXIMUM, will be £2—don't delude yourself on that score. Engels is sure to say 'you'll be able to make at least £10 a week out of it'; though such delusions may be very agreeable at the time, they are often doomed to disappointment in the event.

The course of the revolution in Prussia[336] tickles me tremendously; particularly the 'ships, sails, masts and [waves]' speech made by liquor Prince Smith on his Baltic estate, and the rapturous applause it received. And on top of that the *Kölnische Zeitung*'s transports over von der Heydt, and the admiration evinced even by the *Presse* for the energy and determination shown by the democratic press in Berlin??!!

The girls would have written to you long ago, but little Jenny declared that she detested the idea of what was simply a private letter being subjected to threefold censorship. Hence her silence.

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[a] Ms damaged. - [b] Adolf Cluss (see this volume, pp. 374-75). - [c] adornment

Karl dear, it's frightful that I should have to BOTHER you amidst all your other tribulations; but, with Easter upon us, the fellows are growing rabid. Can't you manage to raise something, if only for Withers? They are the worst....

The others are better—they can still be staved off for a while. I went to see Miss Morton yesterday and explained matters to her.

Your
Jenny

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## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS[530]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, after 13 August 1859]

Dear Mr Engels,

Moor has just gone to the Museum[a] and has asked me to thank you for the £5 note you sent so promptly. And now, on top of all our other misfortunes, comes the COUNTY COURT. The affair's all the more vexing because I arrived just 5 minutes too late, otherwise the judge would certainly have granted me the right to make monthly payments as on the first occasion. You cannot conceive, dear Mr Engels, how painful it is for Karl and me to be such a constant burden on you and, with every letter, to despatch a fresh jeremiad appealing to your friendship and kindness.

Karl has had 6 copies of *Po and Rhine* for some time now. He forgot to tell you. Of those 6 copies he has given away 3 to acquaintances (Imandt, Juta and Cavanagh). I shall be sending you the rest next week.

The girls—just now they are practising a duet together and

[a] the British Museum Library

singing very nicely indeed—send you their love, to which I too add my warm regards.

Your
Jenny Marx

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## 10

## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS[531]

IN MANCHESTER

[London, 4 November 1859]

Dear Mr Engels,

Szemere is constantly pestering Moor for the *Tribune* article[a] he promised him. Another dunning letter arrived this morning. Karl, who is struggling with Friday's article, begs you to send him the Kossuth article as soon as possible.

Warmest regards from the girls and myself.

Your
Jenny M.

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## 11

## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS[532]

IN MANCHESTER

[London, 23 or 24 December 1859]

My dear Mr Engels,

My most heartfelt thanks for the Christmas HAMPER. The champagne will be a tremendous help in tiding us over the

[a] K. Marx, 'Kossuth and Louis Napoleon'.

otherwise gloomy holiday, and will ensure a merry Christmas Eve. The sparkling bubbles of the champagne will make the dear children forget the lack of a little Christmas tree this year, and be happy and jolly for all that.

I have been terribly irritated by fleshy philistine Freiligrath and his Westphalian rectitude and respectability. On the other hand I was greatly amused today by your letter about the fat man and the lean woman,[a] and I cannot understand why I sometimes let the wretches' behaviour upset me so. Had we been 'BETTER OFF' this year, I'd have seen the funnier side of all this trouble, but humour goes by the board when one is constantly having to struggle against the pettiest *misère*; never have I found it so oppressive as now, when our dear little girls, who are blossoming so sweetly, have to endure it too. And then, on top of that, the secret hopes we had long nourished in regard to Karl's book[b] were all set at naught by the Germans' *conspiration de silence*, only broken by a couple of wretched, belletristic feuilleton articles which confined themselves to the preface and ignored the contents of the book. The second instalment[473] may startle the slugabeds out of their lethargy and then they will attack its line of thought the more ferociously for having kept silent about the scientific nature of the work. *Nous verrons.*[c] I am, too, particularly curious to see what Ephraim Artful[d] is going to hatch out. For his conduct in the matter is not altogether clear; Prussian Blue, like Ferdinand the Pure,[e] must be treated with great circumspection just now, and an official breach with the latter must still be postponed. He's only so thick with Blind because the latter was his MAN-SERVANT in the great Kinkel affair and stood up for his rights on the boozy Schiller committee. Because Blind helped by seeing to it that the bust of Schiller was unveiled (the green serge cover positively refused to come off until 4 men had tugged at and tussled with it) during his cantata[f] and not during the LOW COMEDIAN'S SEMAPHORING,[g] he now has to stand publicly side by side with the arrant liar and cover the latter's mendacity and cowardice with his own political loyalty and purity. Fazy's miserable lackey! But enough of these dratted people! I am also sending you my brother's book[h] through Chaplin. It might interest you and provide you with matter for a

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[a] Ferdinand and Ida Freiligrath. See pp. 555-56. - [b] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [c] We shall see. - [d] Ferdinand Lassalle - [e] Ferdinand Lassalle and Ferdinand Freiligrath - [f] F. Freiligrath, 'Zur Schillerfeier. 10. November 1859. Festlied der Deutschen in London'. - [g] Kinkel's speech, see also this volume, pp. 512-13. - [h] Chr. H. Ph. von Westphalen, *Geschichte der Feldzüge des Herzogs Ferdinand von Braunschweig-Lüneburg...* Hrsg. von F.O.W.H. von Westphalen.

review. Actually *mon cher frère*[a] has virtually done us out of the legacy and it was a downright lie when he wrote and told me some years ago that these papers were nothing but useless disjointed notes with which absolutely nothing could be done, and which didn't even have any 'exchange value'.[b] I have ample cause to pick a quarrel with him, nor would anything be easier, in view of his present precarious political position, than to compromise him thoroughly. The Schleinitzes and Dunckers would be glad to take up the matter. Well, last week, without Karl's knowledge, I approached him about money. Since every attempt Karl had made to raise money had failed, I resolved in this extreme EMERGENCY to take the unpleasant step which I had hitherto avoided, even in the darkest days. Although Ferdinand refused to make me an 'advance', 'himself restricted to his pension', my letter has put me in a FALSE POSITION in regard to him, and my hands are completely tied. For the present I shall have to confine myself to reproaching him for the peculiar way he has treated my father[c] in the preface. Even the crazy, egoistic brother,[d] who embittered my father's existence and, up to the last year of his life, extorted from my mother[e] a yearly allowance paid out of her small widow's income, is dealt with better, more decently and in greater detail than our humane, truly noble and magnanimous father. The latter, it is true, 'knew his Shakespeare better than his Bible', a crime which is not forgiven him even in the grave by his pietistic[113] son. Moreover it was exceedingly strange that, touching as he did on our family circumstances, he should have omitted all mention of my father's second marriage and failed to name the second mother, who was the light of my father's life and who tended and nurtured her step-children with loyalty and love and devotion such as a woman's own children seldom meet with. This enabled him skilfully to cheat my brother Edgar and myself of her existence which he found intrusive. But this last is a matter of complete indifference and affects me very little; only father and mother should not have been treated and passed over in this way—and for that he must do penance. I am anxious to know what you will have to say about the military part of the book. Today little Jenny is copying the article[533] in my place. I believe my daughters will soon put me out of business, and I shall then

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[a] my dear brother - [b] See this volume, pp. 561-62. - [c] Ludwig von Westphalen - [d] Heinrich Georg von Westphalen - [e] Caroline von Westphalen

come on the register of 'those entitled to assistance'. A pity that there's no prospect of getting a pension after my long years of secretarial duties. Goodbye for today. Warmest regards from all, including your

Jenny Marx

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# NOTES
# AND
# INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] This letter was first published in an abridged English translation in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934].—3, 8, 19, 34, 37, 85, 208, 258, 296, 325, 343, 345, 374, 391, 393, 434

[2] This refers to Robert Cobden's pamphlet *What Next and Next?* published in London in early 1856. It attacked Britain's foreign policy during the Crimean War waged by Britain, France, Turkey and Piedmont against Russia (1853-56). In particular, Cobden condemned the draft peace treaty with Russia as failing to guarantee stable peace.—3

[3] This presumably refers to Marx's articles on the Danubian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia written for the *New-York Daily Tribune.* As can be seen from Marx's letter to Engels of 22 September 1856 (this volume, p. 68), they were not published, and have never been found. The articles touched on Swedish history, probably in connection with the conclusion on 21 November 1855 of a defence treaty aimed at Russia between the Kingdom of Sweden and Norway on the one hand, and Britain and France on the other.

Marx contributed to the *New-York Daily Tribune* from August 1851 to March 1862. At his request many of the articles for the *Tribune* were written by Engels. In fact it was not until August 1852 that Marx began sending his own articles. By agreement with the editors some of the articles dealing with individual European countries were datelined Paris, Berlin or Vienna (see this volume, pp. 352, 361, 368 and 410).

Marx's and Engels' articles in the *New-York Daily Tribune* dealt with key issues of foreign and domestic policy, the working-class movement, the economic development of European countries, colonial expansion, and the national liberation movement in colonial and dependent countries. Many of them were reprinted in the *Tribune's* special editions—the *New-York Weekly Tribune* and the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*—and were quoted by other American newspapers, in particular by *The New-York Times.* Some were reproduced in the Chartist *People's Paper,* London. The *Tribune* editors sometimes took liberties with the articles, printing them unsigned in the form of editorials, and making insertions, some of which were in direct contradiction to the content of the articles (see, e.g., this volume, pp. 81 and 100-01). A

number of articles were not printed at all. Marx repeatedly protested against these practices. In the autumn of 1857 he was forced to reduce the number of his contributions in view of the *Tribune*'s financial difficulties resulting from the economic crisis in the USA. After the outbreak of the American Civil War, he ceased contributing altogether, mainly because the *Tribune* had come under the sway of people who advocated a compromise with the slave-owning states and abandoned its initial progressive stand.—3, 68, 73, 81

4 Marx quotes a leading article from *The Times*, No. 22267, of 18 January 1856, which discussed the preliminary conditions for a peace treaty with Russia. The paper commented on the report, received the day before, about Russia's acceptance of the peace proposals put to her by her opponents in the Crimean war, and urged extensive military preparations to force Russia into 'unconditional acceptance' of the demands made on her.—3

5 A congress held at the Romanian town of Focşani in July and August 1772 aimed at ending the Russo-Turkish war started by Turkey in 1768. The Russian delegation proposed, in particular, that Wallachia and Moldavia should be granted independence under the joint protection of the European powers. No agreement having been reached at the congress, hostilities were resumed and continued until 1774.—3

6 This refers to an episode in the Russo-Turkish war of 1735-39, which had been provoked by incursions, in 1735, of the Crimean Tartars into the Ukraine and the invasion of the Caucasus by the Crimean Khan, a vassal of the Sultan. In May-June 1736, a Russian army under Field Marshal B. C. Münnich entered the Crimea and occupied the Western part of the peninsula, including Bakhchisarai, the Khan's capital. However, a shortage of provisions, forage and water and the outbreak of epidemics forced Münnich to withdraw to the Ukraine.—3

7 The principal works of Adam Müller, who belonged to the romantic school in political economy, are *Die Elemente der Staatskunst*. Theile I-III, Berlin, 1809 and *Versuche einer neuen Theorie des Geldes mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Grossbritannien*, Leipzig und Altenburg, 1816. Marx discussed Müller's views in Vols. I and III of *Capital* (present edition, Vols. 31 and 33).—4

8 *Synoptics*—the writers of the first three Gospels. Marx refers to Bruno Bauer's book *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker*. Bd. 1-2, Leipzig, 1841; Bd. 3, Braunschweig, 1842.—4

9 On 19 January 1856, David Urquhart's *Free Press* (No. 15) published under the heading 'The Chartist Correspondence' a number of documents on the Chartists' activities in 1839-41, including Urquhart's correspondence with the then British Prime Minister Lord Melbourne, Home Secretary Normanby and others. The letters show that Urquhart had abused the Chartist leaders' trust by giving the British government detailed information of Chartist plans and intentions.

While publishing some works attacking the foreign policy of the British ruling circles, in particular that of Lord Palmerston, leader of the Whig oligarchy, in *The Free Press* and other Urquhartite publications, Marx emphatically dissociated himself from Urquhart's conservative views and criticised them in the press.—4

10 This refers to Engels' duties as corresponding clerk and general assistant in the Ermen & Engels firm in Manchester, of which his father was co-owner. He

assumed the post in the early 1850s, largely because he wanted to be able to give material aid to the Marx family, and kept it until 1870. Engels' confidential business reports to his father mentioned in the letter have not come down to us.—5

11 Between January and May 1856 Engels wrote a series of articles on Pan-Slavism for the *New-York Daily Tribune*, which did not print them. The manuscripts have not been preserved.—5, 14, 51, 68, 73, 81, 100

12 Further in his letter Engels cites facts showing that opposition to Napoleon III's regime in France was mounting. Marx used them in his article 'The American Difficulty.—Affairs of France', published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 25 February 1856 (present edition, Vol. 14, pp. 602-04).—5

13 *Sire de Franc Boissy*—a French song containing satirical allusions to royalty and the government.—6

14 A reference to the repressions that were part of the Bonapartist coup d'état of 2 December 1851 in France.—6

15 Engels here refers to the discussion of the so-called Five Points or preliminary terms for peace between Russia and the coalition that fought Russia in the Crimean war (Britain, France, Turkey and Piedmont). The Five Points were presented to the Russian government through Austria in the form of an ultimatum by the Allied Powers in December 1855. They called for replacement of the Russian protectorate over the Danubian principalities by a protectorate of all the contracting parties, a revision of the Bessarabian border involving Russia's relinquishment of the territory along the Danube, neutralisation of the Black Sea, closure of the Straits to warships, a ban on the maintenance by Russia and Turkey of arsenals and navies in the Black Sea, and collective protection of the Sultan's Christian subjects by the Great Powers. The Allied Powers also reserved themselves the right to impose additional demands. The terms were accepted by the Russian government and provided the basis for the Paris peace talks.

The Turkish fortress of Kars in Transcaucasia was captured, after a long siege, by the Russians on 28 November 1855. The fall of Kars, the last major event of the Crimean war, speeded up the termination of hostilities. Under the Paris peace treaty (March 1856) Kars was returned to Turkey in exchange for the evacuation of Sevastopol and the other Russian towns held by the Allies.—7, 21

16 The *Aliens Bill* authorised the deportation of aliens from England at any time by decision of the British government. Enacted by Parliament in 1793, it was valid for one year and was renewed in 1802, 1803, 1816, 1818 and, in connection with revolutionary events on the Continent and Chartist demonstrations in England, in 1848. In later years too, conservative circles repeatedly sought its renewal. In particular, the question was discussed for several months from the autumn of 1855, following the publication on 10 October by *L'Homme*, a refugee newspaper appearing in Jersey, of an open letter by the French petty-bourgeois democrat Félix Pyat to Queen Victoria on the occasion of her visit to France in August of that year. The letter sharply attacked Britain's alliance with the Second Empire and was used as a pretext for the expulsion of the publisher of *L'Homme* and some other French refugees from the island and for press attacks on refugees in general. However, protests by progressive circles forces the authorities to refrain from further steps. On

1 February 1856 Palmerston declared in the House of Commons that the government would not seek renewal of the Aliens Bill.—7, 38

17 This may be an ironic reference to Richard Wagner, who—in his *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft* (1856) and other writings—called his works the 'music of the future'.—8

18 Marx refers to the diplomatic correspondence between Pozzo di Borgo, the Russian Ambassador to France, and Count Nesselrode, the Russian Chancellor of State. Marx knew of it from diplomatic documents published under the title *The Portfolio, or a Collection of State Papers* by David Urquhart in London from 1835 to 1837, and from the book *Recueil des documents relatifs à la Russie pour la plupart secrets et inédits utiles à consulter dans la crise actuelle,* Paris, 1854.—9

19 This work, intended by Engels for *Putnam's Monthly,* which published his series *The Armies of Europe* in the second half of 1855, was presumably never written.—11

20 This letter was first published in an abridged English translation in *The Letters of Karl Marx,* selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliff, New Jersey, 1979.—12, 30, 45, 54, 61, 67, 70, 93, 110, 128, 132, 224, 227, 254, 265, 319, 333, 359, 407, 430, 448, 459, 461, 518, 524

21 *Queen's Bench*—here the reference is to a London jail intended mainly for insolvent debtors.—13

22 Marx means *The Lay of Igor's Host,* a monument of old Russian literature describing the ill-starred campaign undertaken by Igor, Prince of Novgorod Severski, against the nomadic Polovtsians in 1185. The work was published in German several times. One edition appeared in Berlin in 1854 under the title *Lied vom Heerzuge Igors.* As follows from Marx's later letters to Engels, he found the *Lay,* in the language of the original and in French translation, in F. G. Eichhoff's book *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature des slaves...,* and later also a bilingual German edition, which he sent to Engels in Manchester.—15, 19, 26, 31, 37

23 *Acta litteraria Bohemiae et Moraviae,* Pragae, 1774-1783, were literary and historical collections published by the Czech Enlightenment historian Mikuláš (Adauctus) Voigt.—16

24 Marx means Schlözer's recommendations, quoted on p. 261 of Dobrovský's book, for the study of the Slavonic languages and the compilation of Slavonic dictionaries. The recommendations are contained in Schlözer's book *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte,* p. 330.—16

25 Dobrovský's words, taken from his book *Slavin* (p. 419), actually refer to *Acta litteraria Bohemiae et Moraviae* published by Mikuláš (Adauctus) Voigt, not to Johannes Voigt's *Geschichte Preußens.*—16

26 Archdeacon William Coxe, traveller, historian and writer, left his vast collection of manuscripts and books to the British Museum. Marx made excerpts from the following manuscript letters and reports of British diplomats in Russia: *Various Papers on the Genius and Character of the Russians, Rondeau to Walpole, Dispatch from Mr. Fuch (Finch) to Lord Harrington, Sir George Macartney to the Earl of Sandwich,* and *Sir James Harris to Lord Grantham.* He made ample use of them in his *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* (see present edition, Vol. 15).—17

[27] *Polovtsians* (Kipchaks or Cumans)—Turkic nomadic tribes who inhabited the South-Russian steppes from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. Following the Mongol invasion in the mid-thirteenth century some of them fled to Hungary and the Balkans, where they were absorbed, while those remaining were subjugated by the conquerors and merged with the peoples inhabiting the Golden Horde, the medieval Tartar-Mongol state.—19

[28] This refers to the so-called *Königinhof manuscript,* a collection of patriotic poems glorifying Bohemian antiquity, which the Czech philologist and poet Vaclav Hanka claimed to have discovered in a church in the village of Králowé Dwoře (in German: Königinhof) in 1817. It was published in Czech under the title *Kralodvorský Rukopis* in 1819, and in 1829 in Czech and in German, translated by the Czech poet Vaclav Alois Swoboda. Marx probably had the latter edition in mind.

In the 1880s the manuscript was revealed to be a recent imitation.—19, 26

[29] This apparently refers to 'Bogarodzica', a medieval Polish hymn to the Virgin first recorded in 1407. It is attributed to Adalbert (Wojciech), Bishop of Prague (957-997).—19

[30] *Chambre introuvable* was the name given by King Louis XVIII to the French Chamber of Deputies, which in 1815-16 consisted of extreme conservatives. It attacked the government from the right and was eventually disbanded by the King because of its arch-reactionary views.

Here Marx calls the Prussian Chamber of Representatives *Chambre introuvable* because it was dominated by the Junkers, whose extreme reactionary attitudes were worrying the government which feared they might provoke revolutionary tendencies.—20

[31] The expression 'the crazy year' ('das tolle Jahr') was first used by Johann Heinrich von Falkenstein in a chronicle published in 1739 to describe the popular unrest in Erfurt in 1509. Later it was widely used in literature to designate the revolutionary year 1848.—20

[32] This refers to the struggle in the French National Convention (which met on 20 September 1792) between the *Girondists,* i.e. the party of the big bourgeoisie (a number of whose leaders came from the department of Gironde), and the *Montagnards,* commonly referred to as the Mountain, who occupied the upper seats in the Convention, i.e. the Jacobins, which represented the progressive bourgeoisie and the masses. As a result of the popular uprising of 31 May-2 June 1793, the Girondist government was overthrown and the Jacobin revolutionary democratic dictatorship was established.—21

[33] The words 'take care of Dowb' were originally used by, and then popularly added to the name of, the British Secretary of War Panmure who, in an official dispatch of June 1855 informing General Simpson of his appointment as commander-in-chief in the Crimea, asked him to look after Panmure's nephew, the young officer Dowbiggin.—21

[34] At the *battle of Inkerman* in the Crimea (5 November 1854) the Anglo-French forces defeated the Russian army, but the latter's vigorous action prevented the Allies from storming Sevastopol, to which they lay siege instead. Engels describes the battle in detail in his article 'The Battle of Inkerman' (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 528-35).—21, 178, 297

[35] From 1846 to 1854 Ferdinand Lassalle handled Countess Sophie von Hatzfeldt's divorce suit against Count Edmund Hatzfeldt-Wildenburg. The

divorce was agreed to in July 1851. Later, the countess received 300,000 talers under the property settlement.—23, 27, 227

36 Gustav Levy's visit to Marx in London in late February 1856 was preceded by another, in the second half of December 1853, when he also came with a message from Düsseldorf workers. This shows that after the 1848-49 revolution the proletarian circles in the Rhine Province continued to regard Marx and Engels as their leaders. Already during his first visit Levy maintained that an uprising was needed in Germany and that the factory workers were ready for it. Marx, then too, argued that, with reaction rampant in Germany, an uprising would be premature, as would a resumption of the activities of the Communist League in Germany urged by Levy.—25

37 The letter is only dated 'Tuesday', but Marx's intention, mentioned in the letter, to send an article on Kars to New York on Friday is evidence that the letter was written on Tuesday, 25 March, since the article appeared in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 8 April 1856 and had to be mailed in London not later than Friday, 28 March, to arrive in time for that issue.—28

38 *Blue Books*—periodically published collections of documents of the British Parliament and Foreign Office. Their publication began in the seventeenth century.—28, 120, 431, 561

39 'Enclosure 2' has been preserved. Written in Jenny Marx's hand, it is the record of a talk she had with Colonel Touroute,, who related a number of facts compromising Lassalle. He pointed out, in particular, that the extravagant life Lassalle led in Countess Hatzfeldt's house, his use of her money for stock-exchange speculation, his arrogance towards workers, his self-assurance and dictatorial demeanour roused the indignation of the Düsseldorf workers.—31, 36

40 *Boustrapa*—nickname of Louis Bonaparte, composed of the first syllables of the names of the places where he and his supporters staged Bonapartist *putsches:* Boulogne (August 1840), Strasbourg (October 1846) and Paris (coup d'état of 2 December 1851).—31, 94, 170, 230, 256, 290, 336, 425, 435

41 Marx drew on Tassilier's letter for his article 'The France of Bonaparte the Little' (present edition, Vol. 14, pp. 615-20). Cayenne, in French Guiana, South America, a place of penal servitude for political prisoners, was dubbed the 'Dry Guillotine' on account of the high mortality among convicts caused by the harsh prison regulations and the unhealthy tropical climate. A translation of Tassilier's letter, sent by Marx to the Chartist *People's Paper,* was published on 12 April 1856.—31

42 Marx means the polemics between the Chartists and the Urquhartites, which had been exacerbated by the publication in Urquhart's *Free Press* (19 January 1856) of 'The Chartist Correspondence' (see Note 9). The Urquhartites' hostility towards the revolutionary trend in the British working-class movement found expression in attempts to represent the Chartists as demagogues and agents of the Russian Tsar. The Chartists, for their part, described the Urquhartites as reactionaries advocating a restoration of the customs and practices of the Middle Ages. A sharp controversy developed, in particular, over the future of Parliament. The Chartists held that it should be reformed on democratic principles and used as an instrument of social change, whereas the Urquhartites advocated total abolition of the representative system and a return to patriarchal forms of government.—32, 44

43 In February and March 1856 Ernest Jones, the Chartist leader, attempted to reorganise the activities of the National Charter Association. Writing in *The People's Paper,* he suggested that the Association should no longer hold conferences or elect leaders, but that he, Jones, and James Finlen should be recognised for life as the only members of its Executive. Jones believed that this form of centralisation would make for greater efficiency. His proposals were endorsed by the majority of the Chartist members, but led only to a temporary increase in membership (to about 2,000 by the beginning of March 1856) and local activation of Chartist propaganda. At the same time, Jones' attempts to act as the Association's only leader caused serious discontent among Manchester Chartists.

Marx and Engels, who maintained close ties with revolutionary Chartists, criticised Jones' efforts to galvanise the Chartist movement by such artificial measures, which, they predicted, could not ensure lasting success.—32, 34

44 This refers to the *German National Assembly* convened in Frankfurt am Main in May 1848 for the purpose of unifying Germany and drawing up an Imperial Constitution. Its mostly liberal deputies turned the Assembly into a mere debating club. In early June 1849 the Right-wing deputies and the moderate liberals left the Assembly after the Prussian King and other German monarchs had rejected the Constitution it had drafted. What remained of the Assembly moved to Stuttgart, where it was dispersed by Württemberg troops on 18 June 1849.

The petty-bourgeois democrat Löwe von Calbe was a deputy to the Assembly in 1848-49.—32, 63

45 Engels means the establishment of banks similar to the *Société générale du Crédit mobilier,* a big French joint-stock bank founded by the Péreire brothers in 1852. The Crédit mobilier was to mediate in credit transactions and help in setting up industrial concerns and building railways in France, Spain, Austria, Russia and other countries. It was closely associated with Napoleon III's government and under its protection engaged in large-scale speculation. It went bankrupt in 1867 and was liquidated in 1871.—34, 68, 119, 126, 128, 133, 142, 145, 216, 225, 231, 240, 244, 291, 296, 349, 360, 437

46 At the *battle of Jena* (14 October 1806) the French army, commanded by Napoleon, routed the Prussian army, thus forcing Prussia to surrender.

At *Austerlitz* (Czech name: Slavkov) Napoleon's army defeated the Austrians and Russians on 2 December 1805.—37, 170, 180, 461

47 *Marianne,* founded in 1850, was a secret republican society which opposed Napoleon III during the Second Empire.—37, 42

48 On 14 April 1856 Marx was invited as an official representative of the revolutionary refugees in London to a banquet commemorating the fourth anniversary of the Chartist *People's Paper.* In his address he spoke of the German and other proletarian revolutionaries' solidarity with the revolutionary wing of the Chartist movement, concentrating in particular on the historic role of the proletariat. The banquet was also addressed by the German Communist Wilhelm Pieper. The other speakers were mostly Chartists (James Finlen, Ernest Jones and others). Marx did not intend to publish his speech, but it was included in the newspaper report that appeared on 19 April 1856 under the heading 'Fourth Anniversary Banquet of *The People's Paper*' (present edition, Vol. 14, pp. 655-56).—38

[49] *Straubingers*—German travelling journeymen. Marx and Engels often ironically gave the name to backward elements of the German working-class movement who were still influenced by guild prejudices and mistrusted the revolutionary intelligentsia.—38

[50] A reference to the *German Workers' Educational Society* in London, which was founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other leaders of the League of the Just (in the 1850s the Society had its premises in Windmill Street, Soho). After the reorganisation of the League of the Just in the summer of 1847 and the founding of the Communist League, the latter's local communities played a leading role in the Society. In 1847 and 1849-50 Marx and Engels took an active part in the Society's work, but on 17 September 1850 they and a number of their followers withdrew because the Willich-Schapper sectarian and adventurist faction had temporarily increased its influence in the Society and caused a split in the Communist League. Later Schapper realised the faultiness of his position and took steps towards a reconciliation with Marx. The resultant weakening of the sectarians' influence made it possible for Marx and Engels to resume their work in the Educational Society in the late 1850. In 1918, the Society was closed down by the British government.—41, 363, 451, 520

[51] This refers to the German republican democrats who, following the capture of the fortress of Mainz by the French army in October 1792, formed the Friends of Liberty and Equality Society on the pattern of the Jacobin Club. The Mainz Clubbists joined the new administration (the Mainz Commune) and carried out a number of progressive reforms (abolition of feudal obligations, social-estate privileges and the guild system). Under the Clubbists' influence, the Rhenish German National Convention, convoked in Mainz in March 1793, proclaimed the merger of Mainz with the French Republic. The Clubbists' activity was violently terminated in July 1793, when the French army was driven out by the forces of the counter-revolutionary European coalition.—41

[52] In his letter of 6 April 1856 Johannes von Miquel, a former member of the Communist League, asked Marx to state his views on the attitude the proletariat should take to bourgeois parties in the event of a revolution in Germany. Miquel's own statements on this question testified to a retreat from the consistently revolutionary standpoint. He limited the tasks of the revolution to establishing a united centralised state and ignored the need for social change. He maintained that the proletariat should ally itself not only with the petty-bourgeois democrats but also with the bourgeois liberals and refrain from such revolutionary measures as might frighten the bourgeoisie away from the revolution.

No answer by Marx to Miquel is extant.—42, 44

[53] On 8 April 1856 Count Walewski, Foreign Minister of France, made a counter-revolutionary speech at a plenary session of the Congress of Paris convened to work out the peace terms following the Crimean war. He declared that British and French troops would continue to occupy Greece, while French and Austrian troops would remain in the Papal states to combat 'anarchy' (i. e. the national liberation movement). He attacked the Belgian press, describing its support for the French republicans and criticism of Napoleon III as incitement to 'insurrection and murder'.—42

[54] An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Literature and Art*, New York, 1947.—43

[55] This letter of Engels to Marx has not been found.—43

[56] The reference is to a letter of 25 April 1856 in which A. Hamacher conveyed greetings from Cologne, Elberfeld and Solingen workers and expressed their desire to maintain contact with Marx.—44

[57] The *Foreign Affairs Committees* were public organisations set up by the Urquhartites in a number of English cities between the 1840s and 1860s, mainly with the aim of opposing Palmerston's policy.—44

[58] In 1856 Marx's series of articles *Lord Palmerston,* originally intended for and partly published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see present edition, Vol. 12), appeared in Sheffield under the title *The Story of the Life of Lord Palmerston* (*The Free Press Serials,* No. 5, 1856). This was a reproduction of the series as published under the same title between December 1855 and February 1856 in several issues of *The Free Press,* the Urquhartites' London paper. Apart from this, one of the articles, published in *The Sheffield Free Press* in November 1855, appeared as a pamphlet in Sheffield in 1856 (*The Free Press Serials,* No. 4a).—44, 58

[59] This refers to Heine's third will, which he dictated to notaries F. L. Ducloux and Ch. L. E. Rousse on 13 November 1851.—45

[60] Engels made excerpts from Bazancourt's book between June and September 1856. In the autumn of that year he summed up the results of his critical analysis in an article entitled 'Saint-Arnaud'. Marx sent the article to the American journal *Putnam's Monthly,* but the editors returned it unpublished.—45, 51, 71, 73, 80, 93, 106, 124, 126, 128

[61] This refers to a work planned by Marx on the history of British and Russian diplomacy in the eighteenth century, of which he only completed five chapters of the Introduction. For these he made use of pamphlets, diplomatic documents and unpublished manuscripts, mostly of the period of the Northern War (the Russo-Swedish war of 1700-21), which he found in the British Museum Library. His negotiations with Nikolaus Trübner for publication of the work ended in failure. The chapters of the Introduction appeared by instalments in Urquhart's *Sheffield Free Press* from late June to early August 1856 as they were sent in by Marx. Eventually publication was stopped because of arbitrary editorial abridgements and printing errors. In June 1856 the London *Free Press* began reprinting the text from the Sheffield paper, and on 16 August 1856 it started reproducing the chapters from the beginning, with publication continuing until 1 April 1857. In both papers the unfinished work was printed under the title *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* (see present edition, Vol. 15).

In 1899 Eleanor Aveling, Marx's daughter, published it in London in book form under the heading *Secret Diplomatic History of the Eighteenth Century.*—46, 56, 73, 81, 94, 110, 112, 120

[62] This letter was first published in English in *Labour Monthly,* No. 10, 1932, London.—49

[63] Engels and his wife, Mary Burns, made a trip to Ireland in mid-May 1856.—49

[64] Between 1845 and 1847 potato blight caused widespread famine in Ireland. The poverty of the small tenants ruthlessly exploited by the big landowners had made the bulk of the population almost entirely dependent on a diet of potatoes grown on their own small patches. About one million people starved to

death, and the wave of emigration caused by the famine swept away another million. Large areas of Ireland were depopulated. The abandoned land was turned into pastures by the English and Irish landlords.—49

65 This refers to the mass eviction of Irish tenants, a policy pursued by the English and Irish landlords since the late 1840s to turn ploughland into pasture. It was stimulated by the falling demand for Irish corn owing to the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, and by England's growing need for Irish cattle and animal produce.—50

66 The *Encumbered Estates Court* was to enforce the Encumbered Estates Act for Ireland, passed by Parliament in 1849. This act was supplemented by a series of other acts in 1852 and 1853. The 1849 Act provided for the sale of mortgaged estates by auction if their owners were proved insolvent. As a result, the land of many ruined landlords passed into the hands of usurers, middlemen and rich tenants.—51

67 Engels compares Bazancourt's description of the Crimean war to *Batrachomyomachia* (The Battle of the Frogs and Mice), an Ancient Greek anonymous mock-heroic poem parodying Homer's *Iliad*.—51

68 Marx and Wilhelm Pieper travelled to Hull on 7 June 1856. From there Marx went to see Engels in Manchester, while Pieper returned to London to carry out a number of commissions for Marx, who returned to London about 20 July 1856.—54

69 Marx's wife Jenny and their three daughters stayed in Trier from 22 May to about 10 September 1856. She went there to visit her sick mother, Caroline von Westphalen, who died on 23 July. Marx's letter was sent from Manchester, where he was staying with Engels.—54

70 *Black Madonna*—a name given by some art specialists to early wood carvings of the Virgin Mary. It was used, in particular, by Karl Friedrich von Rumohr in his book *Italienische Forschungen* (Berlin, 1827), from which Marx made excerpts in Bonn in 1842 for his planned treatise on Christian art.—54

71 The *Cologne Communist Trial* (4 October-12 November 1852) was a trial of a group of Communist League members charged with 'treasonable conspiracy'. It was rigged by the Prussian police on the basis of forged documents and fabricated evidence, which were used not only against the accused but also to discredit the whole proletarian organisation. Seven of the twelve defendants were sentenced to prison terms of three to six years. Marx directed the defence from London, sending material revealing the provocative methods used by the prosecution. After the trial he and Engels exposed its organisers (see Engels' article 'The Late Trial at Cologne', published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, and Marx's pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 388-93 and 395-457).—56, 69, 376, 477, 552

72 The *Allgemeine Zeitung* did not publish this counter-statement.—56

73 Only part of the draft of Marx's letter to Isaac Ironside, editor of *The Sheffield Free Press*, has reached us. The beginning, up to and including the words 'I shall consider myself obliged to stop the publication', is written in pencil in Engels' hand with changes in ink by Marx. The rest of the text, with much struck out, is in Marx's writing. That the draft was written on 21 June 1856 can be seen from Marx's letter to his wife written on the same day. Ironside answered the letter on 23 June 1856.—57

74 This refers to the publication of Marx's *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* in *The Sheffield Free Press* (see Note 61). Further on Marx speaks of Ironside's intention to publish this work in the Urquhartites' *Free Press Serials,* an intention which failed to materialise.—57

75 This letter was written in reply to one from William Cyples, a member of the *Sheffield Free Press* staff, which Marx reproduced, together with his reply, in a letter to Engels on 28 July 1856. Marx's relations with the newspaper had been complicated by the arbitrary changes made by the editors in his *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century,* which soon led him to stop publication of the work in this paper (see Note 61).

The letter was first published in English as part of Marx's letter to Engels of 28 July 1856 in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx. 1844 bis 1883.* Herausgegeben von A. Bebel und Ed. Bernstein. Verlag von J. H. W. Dietz, Bd. II, Stuttgart, 1913.—58, 62

76 The *Friendly Societies* were workers' organisations whose main purpose was to provide material aid to their members in the event of disability and old age, pay funeral expenses and the like. This was done out of membership dues.—59

77 This refers to Marx's conflict with *The Sheffield Free Press* over the publication of his *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* (see Note 61). The following draft of a letter by Wilhelm Pieper to William Cyples has survived:

'28 Dean Street, Soho
London, 17 July 1856

'Sir,

'I am directed by Dr. Marx to inform you that he cannot congratulate you on the emendations you have thought fit to introduce in the copy destined for Saturday's publication.

'Passages that might safely have been omitted—for the sake of space—have been carefully preserved, while the most characteristic portions analyzing the policy of Peter I have been suppressed. This explains why he has interpolated about three lines of absolute importance for the understanding of the reader, in substitution for the same number of lines suppressed in another place, out of consideration for the pressure of space you allege in your letter to Dr. Marx.'—60

78 Marx means the concluding events of the fourth bourgeois revolution in Spain (1854-56): the resignation of Espartero's liberal government on 14 July 1856, the coming to power of the counter-revolutionary General O'Donnell, and the popular uprising, led by the ex-toreador Pucheta, against the new government in Madrid and a number of other cities. Espartero's refusal to support the insurgents and the weakness of their leaders contributed to the defeat of the movement. On 17 July the uprising was suppressed in Madrid and soon after in the other cities too. Marx described these events in his articles 'The Revolution in Spain' (see present edition, Vol. 15).—61

79 The *Grand Cophta* was the name of an omnipotent and omniscient priest who headed the non-existent Masonic 'Egyptian Lodge' which the famous eighteenth-century impostor 'Count' Cagliostro (Giuseppe Balsamo) claimed to have founded.—61

80 Contrary to Urquhart's intention to reserve the new publication of Marx's *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* for his projected journal, the five chapters of the Introduction that had been written were republished in *The Free Press,* the Urquhartites' London paper (see Note 61).—62

81 *Crapauds* (literally: toads) was the nickname of a group of opportunist deputies (the 'Bog') in the French Convention (1793-95) who vacillated between the Right and the Left wing. Marx and Engels in their letters often used the name in reference to French philistines, in particular French petty-bourgeois refugees, some of whom lived in Jersey until 1855 and later in Guernsey.—65, 225, 229, 249, 264, 268, 309

82 This letter was first published in English in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliff, New Jersey, 1979.—66, 97, 122, 143, 225, 315, 321, 328, 369, 378, 429

83 In the second half of August Engels went to London to meet his mother, who was visiting England.—66, 72

84 This refers to the legacy left to Jenny Marx by her mother, Caroline von Westphalen. Part of it consisted in shares which, at the time of the mother's death, were in the hands of her step-son, the Prussian Minister of the Interior Ferdinand von Westphalen.—68

85 Georg Weerth died of jungle fever on 30 July 1856 in Havana while on a tour of West Indian countries as agent of a German commercial firm. Marx and Engels did not learn of their friend's death until much later.—68, 72

86 Marx's information was inaccurate. The book on England, *Englische Freiheit*, was written not by Bruno, but by Edgar Bauer. Marx referred to it later in his letters to Engels of 18 March and 21 April 1857 (see this volume, pp. 106 and 122).—68, 122

87 The *Old Lady of Threadneedle Street*—a name for the Bank of England situated in Threadneedle Street, London.

By the Paris concern Marx means the Banque de France.—71

88 An allusion to the French bankers Isaac and Emile Péreire, who in the 1820s and 1830s adhered to the Saint-Simonist school. In 1852 they set up the joint-stock bank, Crédit mobilier (see Note 45), which they falsely claimed gave effect to the Saint-Simonist idea of overcoming class contradictions and achieving prosperity for all by introducing a new, rational system of public credit. The practical application of the scheme, which had the support of Napoleon III and was called ironically 'Bonapartist socialism' by Marx, led to an orgy of stock-exchange speculation and corruption in France.

Marx uses the term 'imperialism' further on in the sense of 'Bonapartism'.—72

89 The *Crystal Palace*—a structure of metal and glass in London's Hyde Park built for the 1851 Great Exhibition and used for various displays and shows later.—72

90 Marx used the data on the state of the European money market cited in this letter in a number of articles on the approaching economic crisis in Europe which he wrote for the *New-York Daily Tribune* in late September and the first half of October 1856 (see present edition, Vol. 15). These articles opened the long series of his contributions on the 1857 world crisis.—72

91 This refers to Marx's private library which he had built up in the 1840s and left in Cologne in May 1849 in the care of his friend Roland Daniels, a member of the Communist League, when Marx was expelled by the Prussian authorities. Shortly before his arrest in 1851, Daniels hid the books in the storehouse of his brother, a

wine merchant. Acquitted at the Cologne Communist trial at the end of 1852, Roland Daniels came out of prison a sick man and died of tuberculosis in August 1855. In early 1856 his widow undertook to send the books to Marx but, owing to the high carriage costs and other difficulties, Marx did not receive his library until December 1860 after some books had got lost.—72

92 The beginning of this letter has been torn off, the manuscript is damaged in a number of places (indicated by three dots in square brackets). Written in an unknown hand in the upper left corner is the date '27/28 Sept. 1856'. Being a reply to Marx's letters of 22 September and 26 September, the letter could not have been written before 27 September 1856.—72

93 An allusion to Ewerbeck's inordinate literary vanity, on which Engels also commented in a letter to Marx of 15 October 1851 in connection with the publication of Ewerbeck's book *L'Allemagne et les Allemands*, Paris, 1851 (cf. present edition, Vol. 38, p. 478).

The *Père-Lachaise* is a cemetery in Paris where many famous writers and artists are buried.—73

94 Engels means the regular reviews of the Crimean war which he wrote for the *New-York Daily Tribune* in 1855 and 1856 (see present edition, Vols. 12-14). Since Engels was not an official correspondent of the *Tribune*, the reviews were sent to New York by Marx. Most of them were published as leaders. Engels made no copies of the manuscripts he sent to Marx, while issues of the *Tribune* carrying his articles could not always be obtained in Manchester.—73

95 In the period immediately preceding the 1848 revolution in France the *Constitutionnel* newspaper announced almost daily: 'L'horizon politique s'obscurcit' ('The political horizon is darkening'). Marx cited this cliché in his article 'Bonaparte's Present Position', published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 1 April 1858 (see present edition, Vol. 15).—73, 290

96 The Marx family moved to 9 Grafton Terrace, London, about 1 October 1856.—74

97 An allusion to Mieroslawski's theory that the Poles had a special mission of liberation and were called upon to serve as an instrument of universal social change (Marx plays on Archimedes' famous words: 'Give me a fulcrum and I will move the earth').—75

98 Marx means the republication in the London *Free Press* of the part of the *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* which had earlier been published with abridgments and numerous misprints in *The Sheffield Free Press*, and in the same form in *The Free Press* (see Note 61).—75

99 This refers to the continued publication of Marx's *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* in *The Free Press* (see Note 61). From 16 August 1856 the paper was increased from four pages to eight. Marx and Engels called the enlarged edition the new *Free Press* (see, e.g., Engels' letter to Marx of 31 March 1857, this volume, p. 117).—76, 117

100 Part of this letter was first published in English in Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—80, 380

101 The *ordre équestre* (literally: the order of horsemen)—the social estate of the knights. In medieval Poland peasants who turned up for military service with a warhorse and arms of their own were enlisted in the cavalry, which entitled them to be elevated to knightly status.—80

102 In November 1847 Switzerland was plunged into a civil war unleashed by the *Sonderbund,* a separatist union of seven economically backward Catholic cantons which resisted progressive bourgeois reforms. The Guizot government of France, supported by the governments of Austria and Russia, came out in support of the Sonderbund and the Catholic Church. However, Lord Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary, seeking to weaken France, prevented her direct intervention in Swiss affairs and thereby contributed to her further rapprochement with Russia. The rout of the Sonderbund army by the Federal forces on 23 November deprived the European powers of a pretext for further diplomatic moves in the Swiss conflict.—81

103 In October 1856 France and Britain, fearing that the reign of reaction and terror in the Kingdom of Naples (the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies) might set off a revolutionary explosion, demanded that Ferdinand II, the Neapolitan King, should pursue a more flexible policy. Ferdinand II, confident of Austria's backing, refused to comply, whereupon France and Britain put their naval squadrons in the Mediterranean on the alert. However, the planned expedition against Naples did not take place owing to differences caused by Napoleon III's intention to instal a prince of the Bonaparte dynasty on the Neapolitan throne.

By the autumn of 1856, the struggle had intensified for the union of the Danubian Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia and for an end to their dependence on the Ottoman Empire. The British government, apprehensive of France's intention to instal a member of the Bonaparte dynasty as head of the united state, and fearing the growth of Russian influence in the principalities, actively supported Austria's and Turkey's opposition to the movement for unification (this is what Marx had in mind speaking about Palmerston's alliance with Austria on the Turkish issue). However, despite the diplomatic complications and the resistance of the reactionary aristocrats, the principalities merged in 1862 to form the single state of Romania.—81, 107, 243

104 This refers to the Crystal Palace in London (see Note 89).—81

105 The symptoms of economic crisis, the rise in unemployment and in the cost of living, the shortage of housing and food, and the increased taxation led to more frequent manifestations of the workers' discontent in Paris and other French cities, to which the government responded with mass arrests. Those arrested were accused of putting up posters in the streets threatening property owners, landlords, usurers and even Emperor Napoleon III.

The article in the *Moniteur* mentioned by Engels (it appeared on 24 October 1856) protested against attacks in English newspapers on the French government and some of Napoleon III's entourage. It had broad repercussions in the British press.—82

106 Banks patterned on the French Crédit mobilier (see Note 45) were established with the latter's participation in a number of Central European countries.—83

107 Marx used the data contained in Engels' letter and in *The Manchester Guardian* of 17 November 1856, also sent by Engels, in his article 'The Crisis in Europe' published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 6 December 1856 (see present edition, Vol. 15).—83

108 Engels means the wars Britain waged almost incessantly as a member of various anti-French coalitions against revolutionary and Napoleonic France in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (from 1793, when the French Republic officially declared war on it, up to the final fall of Napoleon's empire in 1815). Spain, which originally fought against France and suffered a number

of defeats, concluded a separate peace with the French in 1795 and, under pressure from the French Directory, and later from Napoleon, twice sided with France in the war against Britain (1796-1802 and 1804-08).—84

109 *Le Comité du salut public* (the Committee of Public Safety)—the central body of revolutionary government in France during the Jacobin dictatorship (2 June 1793-27 July 1794).—85

110 In September 1856 there was a royalist uprising in Neuchâtel. Many of the insurgents were arrested by the Swiss authorities. The King of Prussia insisted on their release. In reply, Switzerland demanded that he should relinquish his title to Neuchâtel. Under the pressure of France, on whose initiative a European conference on the issue was held in March 1857, Prussia was forced to renounce her claims.

In the eighteenth century the principality of Neuchâtel and Valangin (in German: Neuenburg and Vallendis) was under Prussian rule. It was ceded to France in 1806, during the Napoleonic wars. In 1815, by a decision of the Vienna Congress, it was incorporated into the Swiss Confederation as its 21st canton, while remaining a vassal of Prussia. On 29 February 1848 a bourgeois revolution in Neuchâtel put an end to Prussian rule and a republic was proclaimed. Prussia, however, laid constant claims to Neuchâtel up to 1857, thus causing an acute conflict with the Swiss Republic.—86, 88, 89

111 Marx presumably alludes to the fact that under the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna (1815) Prussia received what was known as Swedish Pomerania from Denmark. Denmark received in compensation the duchy of Lauenburg from Prussia.—86

112 The Polish region of Silesia, part of the Austrian Empire from 1526, was seized by Prussia during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48) caused by the claims of several European powers, above all King Frederick II of Prussia, to the Habsburg domains, which, in default of a male heir at the death of Emperor Charles VI, went to his daughter, Maria Theresa.—86

113 *Pietism* was a trend in the Lutheran Church that emerged in Germany in the seventeenth century. Distinguished by extreme mysticism, it rejected rites and attached special importance to personal religious experience.—86, 575

114 Marx developed these ideas on Prussia's history in his article 'The Right Divine of the Hohenzollerns' (see present edition, Vol. 15).—87

115 An allusion to the fact that in 1848 Valdenaire was a deputy to the Prussian National Assembly, in which the liberal majority favoured a constitution 'by agreement *(Vereinbarung)* with the Crown'. Marx and Engels ironically called the members of the Berlin Assembly 'agreers'.—87

116 Marx means the Imperial Constitution adopted by the Frankfurt National Assembly on 28 March 1849, but rejected by most of the German governments and in the first place by the King of Prussia. In May 1849 uprisings in defence of the Constitution flared up in Saxony, Rhenish Prussia and the South German states of Baden and Palatinate. In the last two a united insurgent army was formed, in which Frederick Engels fought. The movement was led by petty-bourgeois democrats, whose vacillation and passive defence tactics doomed it to defeat. The movement was finally suppressed in July 1849. Engels described it in *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* and *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* (see present edition, Vols. 10 and 11).—90

117 On the eve of and during the Crimean war Bruno Bauer published the following pamphlets: *Rußland und das Germanenthum,* Charlottenburg, 1853; *Rußland und das Germanenthum.* Zweite Abtheilung. *Die deutsche und die orientalische Frage,* Charlottenburg, 1853; *Deutschland und das Russenthum,* Charlottenburg, 1854; *Die jetzige Stellung Rußlands,* Charlottenburg, 1854; *Rußland und England,* Charlottenburg, 1854 (French edition: *La Russie et l'Angleterre,* Charlottenburg, 1854). These works, particularly the last two, were criticised in Marx's unfinished draft 'Pamphlets über die russische Kollision von B. Bauer', written in January 1857 (see present edition, Vol. 15).—90

118 This study by Bauer was first published in Berlin in 1874 under the title *Philo, Strauss und Renan und das Urchristenthum.*—91

119 In the spring of 1856 floods occurred in the valleys of the Rhône and the Loire. Feigning concern for the victims, Napoleon III visited a number of the affected towns and villages in a boat and personally handed out money. He also directed a message to the Minister of Public Works recommending measures to prevent such calamities.—92

120 The Marx family lived in Dean Street, Soho, an overcrowded and unhealthy London district where poorer refugees lived, from December 1850 to the autumn of 1856.—94

121 Marx means the concessions made by Switzerland to Prussia in the conflict over Neuchâtel (see Note 110).

Initially, the Swiss government had flatly refused to comply with Prussia's demand for the release of the arrested royalists who had rebelled in Neuchâtel in September 1856, and declared it was prepared to resist the threatened Prussian invasion. However, under pressure from Napoleon III, who did not want a war near the French frontier, the Swiss government released those arrested on 16 January 1857. The King of Prussia replied by rescinding the mobilisation order. The conflict was settled through diplomatic channels.—94

122 Marx presumably means the Swiss government's official report to the Federal Diet on the Prusso-Swiss conflict over Neuchâtel (see Note 110) published in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* on 1 January 1857. It maintained, in particular, that contrary to the assurances of the French government, the King of Prussia had assumed no commitments vis-à-vis the Emperor of France concerning renunciation of his claims to Neuchâtel and Valangin.—94

123 The *Corps législatif* was established, alongside the State Council and the Senate, under the Constitution of 14 February 1852, following the Bonapartist coup d'état of 1851. The members of the State Council and the Senate were appointed by the head of state, while the Corps législatif was an elected body, the elections being supervised by state officials and the police, so that a docile majority was always ensured. As its powers were confined to endorsing bills drawn up by the State Council, the Corps législatif was, in effect, a screen for Napoleon III's unlimited rule.—94, 109

124 The *Orleanists* were supporters of the Orleans dynasty which held power in France during the July monarchy (1830-48). They upheld the interests of the financial aristocracy and the big industrial bourgeoisie.—95, 291, 552

125 Marx means the second of Engels' articles entitled 'Mountain Warfare in the Past and Present' (see present edition, Vol. 15). The *New-York Daily Tribune* did not publish it. A copy of the article, written in Marx's hand, has reached us. Engels discusses the possibility of hostilities breaking out in the Swiss Alps,

particularly in the area between the city of Constance, near the Lake Constance, and Basle, in the event of the Prusso-Swiss conflict over Neuchâtel (see Note 121) growing into war.—95

126 The letter is undated. But since it is Engels' reply to a letter from Marx of 20 January 1857 and was answered by Marx on 23 January, it was presumably written on 21 or 22 January.—96

127 Marx alludes to the influence exerted on the *New-York Daily Tribune* editors by Count Gurowski, a Polish pan-Slavist journalist, of which he had been informed by Olmsted, an agent of *Putnam's Monthly*. Marx attributed to his influence the *Tribune* editors' rejection of some of his own and Engels' articles, and the delay in publishing others (see this volume, p. 81).—98

128 The *New-York Daily Tribune* did not publish the article.—98

129 This refers to the colonial war Britain was waging against Persia (Iran) in 1856-57. In October 1856 Persian troops seized the city of Herat, the centre of the principality of Herat, claimed by Persia and Afghanistan. Britain took advantage of this to declare war on Persia with a view to further expansion in the Middle East, directed against both Persia and Afghanistan. In November a British naval force captured several Persian strong points on the coast of the Persian Gulf. However, growing popular discontent in India compelled the British to hasten the conclusion of a peace treaty in March 1857, under which Persia relinquished her claims to Herat (later annexed to Afghanistan), while Britain withdrew her forces from the area.—98, 107, 134

130 Marx probably means the formation, in 1854, of the US Republican Party, which put forward a programme to limit Negro slavery in the Southern states, and the considerable success it scored in the 1856 Presidential election, its candidate getting over 300,000 votes, one-third of the total. Howard Greeley, the publisher of the *New-York Daily Tribune*, was one of the party's leaders.—98

131 A reference to the article 'Saint-Arnaud', which Engels wrote on the basis of C. L. Bazancourt's book *L'expédition de Crimée* (see Note 60).—100

132 Marx means the supporters of the *currency principle*, one of the schools of the quantity theory of money widely subscribed to in Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century. According to this theory, the value and price of commodities are determined by the quantity of money in circulation, and economic crises are caused mainly by violations of the laws of money circulation. The proponents of the quantity theory sought to maintain the stability of money circulation by means of obligatory gold backing of bank notes. The theory provided the economic justification for Peel's Bank Acts (introduced in England in 1844, and in Scotland in 1845). Under the 1844 Act, the Bank of England was divided into a Banking Department and an Issue Department and fixed proportions were laid down between the amount of bank notes issued and the bullion required to back them. However, the actual demand for currency forced the government to suspend the Act in 1847 and 1857 and to issue paper money in excess of the fixed limit.

Marx showed the untenability of the currency principle in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 30). He discussed the 1844 Bank Act in a number of articles (present edition, Vols. 12, 15 and 16).—102, 126, 135, 202, 208, 215

133 The original of the letter has not been found. Only an excerpt reproduced in Freiligrath's letter of 26 February 1857 to Karl Weerth, a high school teacher

in Detmold and brother of Georg Weerth, who died in Havana in July 1856, has reached us. Engels' letter was written in reply to Freiligrath's request of 11 February for enquiries to be made about Georg Weerth's papers, including his diaries, which his relatives wanted to publish in Germany. In a letter to Engels on 16 February Marx also mentioned Freiligrath's request (see this volume, pp. 100-01). On receipt of Engels' reply, Freiligrath, as he said in his letter to Karl Weerth, at once wrote to Detmold. It may therefore be assumed that Engels' letter was posted shortly before, probably about 25 February.—103

134 Engels means the vote of no confidence in Palmerston's government after a debate on the Anglo-Chinese conflict in the House of Commons lasting from 26 February to 3 March 1857. The conflict has been provoked by the bombardment of Canton in October 1856 in retaliation for the Chinese authorities' arrest of a contraband vessel sailing under the British flag. The bombardment was the prelude to another colonial war by Britain—later in alliance with France—against China, the Second Opium War (1856-60). After the vote Palmerston dissolved Parliament, and in the new election his candidates, who supported the aggression against China, beat the Opposition even in their stronghold, Manchester, securing a majority for Palmerston in the House of Commons. Marx dealt with these events in several articles published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* in March and April 1857 (see present edition, Vol. 15).

The *Free Traders* advocated non-interference of the state in the economy. Their stronghold was Manchester (hence the Manchester School and the Manchester Party). In the 1840s and 1850s the Free Traders were an independent political group which later formed the Left wing of the Liberal Party.

The *Peelites* were moderate Tories advocating concessions to the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie. The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 by their leader, Robert Peel, caused a split in the Tory party, with the Peelites forming an independent group that allied itself with the Whigs. In the late 1850s they joined the Liberal Party.—104, 107, 109, 111, 113, 115

135 *Aldermen*—members of local government in Britain chosen by borough and county councils.—104

136 The facts connected with the election campaign in Manchester and some data concerning Robert Lowe, John Potter and other candidates for Parliament related by Engels in this letter and those of 11, 20 and 31 March were used by Marx in his article 'The Defeat of Cobden, Bright and Gibson' (present edition, Vol. 15).—104, 110, 117

137 The fraudulent machinations of the *Docks Napoléon* joint-stock company and the breach by Napoleon III's government of its promise to keep young Arthur Berryer, who was implicated in the machinations, out of trouble if his father, the well-known lawyer Pierre Antoine Berryer, refrained from denunciations embarrassing to the ruling quarters, were later discussed by Marx in his article 'Portents of the Day' (present edition, Vol. 15).—105

138 The *Société du dix Décembre* (Society of December 10) was a secret Bonapartist society consisting mainly of *déclassé* elements and political adventurists. Set up in 1849, it owed its name to the election of Louis Napoleon to the Presidency of the French Republic on 10 December 1848. Marx gives a detailed description of the Society in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 149-51, 180-82, 186, 193-96).—107, 157, 436

139 The secret treaty guaranteeing Turkey's frontiers was signed by Britain, France and Austria in Paris on 15 April 1856.—107

140 From 1806 to 1808 the King of Naples was Joseph Bonaparte, elder brother of Napoleon I, and from 1808 to 1815 Joachim Murat, one of Napoleon's marshals.—107

141 "Truly British Minister"—an allusion to Lord Russell's description of Palmerston as a champion of British interests in his House of Commons speech of 20 June 1850, in which he sought to justify Palmerston's military and diplomatic moves against Greece in connection with the burning in Athens in 1847 of the house of the merchant Pacifico, a Portuguese Jew and British subject. Lord Russell argued that Palmerston was motivated by the need to uphold the prestige of British citizens. The actual aim of Palmerston's moves was to make Greece surrender several strategic islands in the Aegean.—107, 116, 276, 431

142 Marx means the policy of Britain's ruling quarters towards Persia, Afghanistan, China and other Asian countries during Palmerston's first term as Foreign Secretary (1830-41). Thus the British government declared the siege of Herat in November 1837 by Persian troops an act of hostility towards Britain and took advantage of it to send a naval squadron to the Persian Gulf. The Shah of Persia was forced to lift the siege in August 1838 and later to conclude a trade agreement with Britain advantageous to the latter.

Palmerston was also Foreign Secretary when Britain unleashed what came to be known as the First Opium War (1840-42), which marked the first stage in turning China into a semi-colony of West European capitalist states.—107

143 The Aberdeen coalition ministry (1852-55) consisted mainly of Peelites (break-away group of Tories) and Whigs. Junior posts were held by Radicals and leaders of the Irish faction in the House of Commons. Marx and Engels described the bankruptcy of this government of 'All the Talents' in the article 'The Late British Government' (present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 620-26).—108

144 Marx means the massacre by government troops of participants in a mass meeting for electoral reform in St. Peter's Field near Manchester on 16 August 1819. By analogy with the battle of Waterloo it was called Peterloo.

The *6 gagging acts*—the six exceptional laws passed by the British Parliament in 1819 after the massacre in St. Peter's Field. Introduced by the Tory ministry, of which Palmerston was a member, they virtually abolished habeas corpus and freedom of the press and of assembly.—108

145 An allusion to the power struggle in France that preceded the Bonapartist coup d'état of 2 December 1851. Louis Bonaparte, President of the Second Republic, was in conflict with the party of Order, the bloc of the two monarchist factions—the Legitimists, supporters of the Bourbons overthrown in 1830, and the Orleanists (see Note 124), who supported the junior (Orleans) branch of the Bourbon dynasty. The party of Order was the strongest force in the French Legislative Assembly which was disbanded by Bonaparte's supporters on 2 December 1851.—108

146 Engels ironically compares the Polish émigrés in the Turkish service who fought on the side of the North Caucasian mountaineers against Russia to the 300 Spartans who, headed by King Leonidas, defended the Pass of Thermopylae against the army of the Persian King Xerxes I in 480 B.C.—109

147 Engels means *Tucker's Political Fly-Sheets*, a series of 12 issues published by the Urquhartite Tucker in London in 1853 and 1854 and republished in 1855.

Issues 1 and 2 contained the pamphlets 'Palmerston and Russia' and 'Palmerston and the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessy', reproducing the content of articles 3, 4 and 5 of Marx's 8-article series on Palmerston published in *The People's Paper* in 1853 (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 341-406). The other issues carried mostly articles by David Urquhart also attacking Palmerston's foreign policy.—110, 111, 115

148 This refers to those articles of Marx's series *Lord Palmerston* which appeared in the *New-York Daily Tribune*. In contrast to *The People's Paper*, which published all eight articles and as a consecutive whole (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 341-406), the *Tribune* carried only six articles, in the form of four separate leaders under different titles: 'Palmerston', corresponding to articles 1 and 2 in *The People's Paper* (*NYDT*, 19 October 1853), 'Palmerston and Russia', corresponding to article 3 (*NYDT*, 4 November 1853), 'A Chapter of Modern History', corresponding to articles 4 and 5 (*NYDT*, 21 November 1853), and 'England and Russia', corresponding to article 7 (*NYDT*, 11 January 1854).—111, 115

149 Marx means the seizure by British naval forces of the Iranian port of Bushire in the Persian Gulf during the 1856-57 Anglo-Persian war (see Note 129).—111

150 The *Anti-Corn Law League* was founded in 1838 by the Manchester manufacturers and Free Trade leaders Richard Cobden and John Bright. It advocated the abolition of the high import duties on agricultural produce imposed—in the interests of the landed aristocracy—by a series of Corn Laws to maintain high prices for that produce on the home market. The struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landowners over the Corn Laws ended in their repeal (June 1846), after which the League announced its dissolution. Some of its branches, however, continued in existence for several years.—113, 116, 215, 305

151 Marx means the June 1848 uprising of Paris workers, whose defeat largely predetermined the failure of the 1848-49 revolution and the subsequent period of political reaction in Europe in the 1850s.—113

152 In his letter of 5 March 1857 Charles Dana wrote that of all of Marx's articles only the second instalment of the article on mountain warfare had not been published, and this because interest in the Swiss question had subsided. The two articles on Persia, he wrote, had been merged into one and published, while the second article on Austria's trade had been set and would be published as soon as space permitted. However, it was not until 4 August 1857 that this article entitled, like the first, 'The Maritime Commerce of Austria' actually appeared in print.—114

153 'Geniality leaves off where money matters begin'—this remark was addressed to the King of Prussia by David Hansemann, a leader of the liberal Rhenish bourgeoisie, on 8 June 1847 at a sitting of the First United Diet, from which the government was vainly trying to obtain endorsement of a fresh loan.—114

154 In a speech in the House of Commons on 23 February 1848 Anstey presented the facts relating to the publication in 1835, in Urquhart's series *The Portfolio*, of secret documents from the archives of the Grand Duke Constantine, Viceroy of Poland. The documents had been seized by Polish insurgents in 1830 and were later handed over by Polish refugees to Palmerston. It was only at the insistence of King William IV that Palmerston made them available for publication (for details see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 386-87).—115

155 The *Peace Party* or the *Peace Society* (*Society for Promoting Permanent and Universal Peace*) was an organisation founded by the Quakers in London in 1816. It was strongly supported by the Free Traders, who held that, given peace, free trade would enable Britain to make full use of her industrial superiority and thus gain economic and political supremacy.—115

156 The *Quakers* (or *Society of Friends*)—a religious sect founded in England during the seventeenth-century revolution and later widespread in North America. The Quakers rejected the Established Church with its rites, and preached peace.—116

157 *Newalls Buildings*—premises in Manchester where the Anti-Corn Law League met from 1838 onwards.—116

158 The information contained in this letter of Engels and in those of 11, 20 and 31 March 1857 was intended for use by Marx in his articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—118

159 The rumour about Schramm's death proved to be false.—119

160 The bombardment of Odessa by an Anglo-French squadron took place on 22 April 1854, soon after Britain and France joined Turkey in the war against Russia (the Crimean war, 1853-56). It was essentially a military demonstration.—119

161 Marx refers to the Vienna Conference of 1855, which was to work out the terms for peace between the participants in the Crimean war (1853-56). It was attended by representatives of Russia, Britain, France, Austria and Turkey and lasted, with intervals, from 15 March to 4 June 1855. The conference was preceded by several rounds of talks between the Ambassadors held in 1853 and 1854 on the initiative of Austrian Foreign Minister Buol, who sought to mediate between the belligerents. The conference produced no results.

Britain was represented by its Special Envoy Lord John Russell.—119

162 The facts mentioned in this paragraph were dealt with in greater detail by Marx in his article 'Result of the Election', published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 22 April 1857.—119

163 Marx probably means one of the articles on Pan-Slavism written by Engels for the *New-York Daily Tribune* but not published (see Note 11).—120

164 Engels wrote this letter in reply to Jenny Marx's of 12 April (see this volume, p. 563). The manuscript is not dated. However, the article 'Changes in the Russian Army', which was enclosed in the letter and was published in the *New York Daily Tribune* on 6 May 1857, was presumably sent to New York from London not later than Friday, 17 April, so the letter was probably written on about 16 April.—121

165 A reference to Dana's letter to Marx of 6 April 1857 inviting him to contribute to *The New American Cyclopaedia*, 'a popular dictionary of general knowledge' prepared by a group of progressive bourgeois journalists and publishers on the *New-York Daily Tribune* editorial staff and edited by Charles Dana and George Ripley. It was published in 16 volumes by D. Appleton and Company, New York, in 1858-63 and reprinted in 1868-69. A number of prominent US and European scholars wrote for it. On Engels' advice Marx agreed to contribute a number of articles. But Engels wrote most of them himself so that Marx could complete his economic research. Marx wrote mainly biographical essays on military and political figures with help from Engels in dealing with the military

aspect. Marx and Engels wrote their articles from revolutionary-proletarian, materialist positions notwithstanding the condition laid down by the editors that they should not express their party point of view. Because of this condition Marx limited the range of his subjects mainly to military matters and to studies on different countries, renouncing his initial intention of writing essays on the history of German philosophy, the Napoleonic Code, Chartism, socialism and communism. He held that these subjects could not be dealt with in a spirit of even apparent neutrality. It may have been for this reason also that Marx did not contribute the article 'Aesthetics', as originally planned.

The articles in *The New American Cyclopaedia* were published anonymously, and only volumes II, V and XVI contained lists of the authors of major articles. Marx was mentioned as the author of the articles 'Army', 'Artillery', 'Bernadotte', 'Bolivar', 'Cavalry', 'Fortification', 'Infantry', and 'Navy' (actually these articles, except for 'Bernadotte' and 'Bolivar', were written by Engels). Marx's and Engels' authorship of other articles has been established on the basis of the Marx-Engels correspondence, Charles Dana's letters to Marx, Marx's notebooks, which recorded the despatch of articles to New York, and of other archive material (conspectuses, extracts for articles, etc.). In all, the authorship of 81 articles has been established.

Marx and Engels contributed to *The New American Cyclopaedia* from July 1857 to November 1860, their articles (those we know of) appearing in volumes I-V, VII, IX and XII. They were also included, unchanged, in the 1868-69 edition of the *Cyclopaedia* but were not reprinted any more during the authors' lifetime. They were collected and published in 1933 in the Soviet Union in Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XI, Part II. The most complete publications of these articles are to be found in Volumes 14 (1959) and 44 (1977) of the Second Russian Edition of the *Works* of Marx and Engels and in Vol. 18 of the present edition (1982). However, these publications did not include the articles 'Austerlitz', 'Augereau' and 'Badajos', of which Engels was erroneously regarded as the author. When preparing the Russian edition, the editors established the true authors of a number of articles wrongly attributed to Marx and Engels by some bibliographers. Thus the articles 'Abd-el-Kader' and 'Chartism' were written by William Humphrey, 'Austerlitz' by Henry W. Herbert, 'Epicurus' by Hermann Raster, 'Socialism' by Parke Godwin, and 'Hegel' by Henry Smith. The article 'Aesthetics' cannot be by Marx either, for it conflicts with the views on the subject expressed in his works.—122, 134

166 The letter is not dated. Since it was in reply to Marx's letter of 21 April 1857 and Marx answered it on 23 April, Engels must have written it between these dates.—122

167 On 26 February 1857, speaking in the House of Commons about the British government's unlawful actions in the Anglo-Chinese conflict, Cobden tabled a resolution condemning Britain's military operations in China. After a long debate the motion was adopted, resulting in a vote of no confidence in Palmerston's government (see Note 134).—127

168 While working on *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos,* Lassalle was also writing a historical drama, *Franz von Sickingen.* In a letter to Marx on 26 April 1857 he said that it would in a sense 'set things alight'.—129

169 Engels arrived in London early in June 1857 and returned to Manchester at the end of the month.—131, 136, 141, 154

170 Marx analysed this report in two articles ('Crédit mobilier') published in

the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 30 May and 1 June 1857 (present edition, Vol. 15).—133

171 *'Social philosophy'* (*'Sozialphilosophie'*) was the term Moses Hess used in his works of the 1840s to denote the teachings of the French Utopian socialists (Saint-Simon, Fourier and others) and the petty-bourgeois social doctrines of Proudhon.—133

172 Most of these articles were soon written and published in *The New American Cyclopaedia* (in the present edition they are in Vol. 18). In addition, Engels undertook to write other 'A' articles ('Alma', 'Ammunition', 'Airey' and 'Army'—all ordered by Dana in his letter to Marx of 8 May 1857). Some articles mentioned in the list ('Axle', 'Approaches', 'Advanced Guard') were not published in the *Cyclopaedia* and probably not written by Engels. The articles 'Abukir', 'Anglesey' and 'Augereau' were in all probability written by other authors.—137

173 On coming to London in early June 1857, Engels had a relapse of the ailment about which he wrote to Marx on 20 May (this volume, pp. 130-31). He probably stayed with his brother-in-law Emil Blank, husband of his sister Marie.

Engels gives only 'Friday morning' as the date of this letter. In earlier editions it was dated 12 June 1857. But since it was written in early June and not later than 10 June (as can be seen from the fact that Marx wrote the draft of his letter to Collet on the back of this letter not later than 10 June—see Note 174), and moreover on a Friday, the letter can only have been written on 5 June.—137

174 The extant draft of the letter (on the back of Engels' letter to Marx of 5 June 1857) is not dated. However, since Collet replied to Marx on 10 June 1857, it may be assumed that the letter was written about 10 June.—138

175 The draft letter is not dated. It was written in reply to Collet's letter to Marx of 10 June, presumably immediately after it was received.—138

176 This letter is written on Dana's letter to Marx of 11 June 1857, which Marx mentions in the first lines. Dana wrote telling Marx that he was returning the manuscript of the article 'Saint-Arnaud' (see Note 60) rejected by *Putnam's Monthly;* Dana did not advise him to write the article 'Ships against Walls' because the editors refused to guarantee its publication. He also wrote that he hoped to be receiving articles for *The New American Cyclopaedia* soon.—140

177 Marx means the list of articles for *The New American Cyclopaedia* which he sent to Dana following the one drawn up by Engels on 28 May 1857 (see this volume, pp. 136-37). This list is not extant.—142

178 Marx refers to the Indian uprising of 1857-59 against British rule. It flared up in May 1857 among the Sepoy units of the Bengal army and spread to large areas of Northern and Central India. (Sepoys were mercenary soldiers recruited from among the Indians and serving under British officers.) Its main strength was provided by the peasants and the poor artisans. Directed by local feudal lords, the uprising was put down owing to the country's disunity, religious and caste differences, and the military and technical superiority of the colonialists.—142, 146, 413, 566

179 Mazzini, who secretly arrived in Genoa at the end of June 1857, and other supporters of revolutionary action, attempted to start an uprising in Italy with a view to liberating and uniting the country. A detachment of revolutionaries led

by Pizacono seized a ship bound for Tunis from Genoa and landed in the Kingdom of Naples. Attempts were also made to start uprisings in Leghorn and Genoa but, like the expedition to the South, they also failed. Pizacono and many of his associates perished in clashes with Neapolitan troops. Mazzini managed to avoid arrest and return to London.—142

180 This refers to excerpts which Marx made from the various sources on the military history of antiquity for Engels, who was working on the article 'Army' for *The New American Cyclopaedia.* The notes from the encyclopaedias of Ersch-Gruber and Pauly mentioned below in the text are extant. Marx also made excerpts, probably later, from Wilkinson's three-volume *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians,* London, 1837.—147, 565

181 A reference to the second batch of 'A' articles which Engels wrote for *The New American Cyclopaedia* in accordance with his list (see this volume, pp. 136-37). Judging by an entry in Marx's notebook made on 24 July 1857, Marx sent these articles to New York with the first batch of 'A' articles received from Engels on 14 July (see this volume, p. 146).—148, 159

182 The *Loan Societies*—a variety of the Friendly Societies in England (see Note 76)—granted workers low-interest loans repayable in instalments. Their funds, like those of the Friendly Societies, consisted of membership dues. Loans could be made to non-members, provided they had two reliable guarantors.—148, 328

183 From 27 July to 8 November 1857 Engels underwent medical treatment at the seaside: at Waterloo near Liverpool (until the end of August, when he returned to Manchester for a fortnight in view of his father's arrival there), at Ryde on the Isle of Wight (from the 8th to the end of September), and in Jersey (until 8 November), whence he returned to Manchester.—149, 154, 160, 195

184 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in K. Marx and F. Engels, *The First Indian War of Independence 1857-1859,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow [1959].—151, 233

185 The letter Engels sent to Jenny Marx from Waterloo, presumably about 11 August 1857, has not been found. It was written in reply to Marx's letter to Engels of 9 August.—151

186 Marx based his assumption of the possible retreat of the British troops from Delhi on the numerical superiority of the insurgents, who had captured this important fortress in the middle of May 1857, soon after the beginning of the Indian uprising (see Note 178). But the insurgents, who adhered to the tactics of passive defence and were demoralised by the treacherous behaviour of the local feudal lords, failed to take advantage of their superiority. This enabled the British to hold out until they received reinforcements. In mid-September they took Delhi.—152

187 The reference is presumably to articles for *The New American Cyclopaedia* or to material for articles which Marx intended to write for it with Engels' help on military questions.—153

188 Conrad Schramm, a member of the Communist League and a close friend of Marx and Engels, was ill with tuberculosis. In 1852 he went to the USA hoping to earn a living and improve his health. In the summer of 1857 he returned to London and, his condition having worsened, he was immediately placed in a hospital for German refugees. On 20 September he moved to Jersey where

Engels too soon came for treatment. Schramm died on 15 January 1858.—158, 171, 312

189 The letter, written presumably on 11 August 1857, when Marx despatched articles for *The New American Cyclopaedia*, has not been found.—159

190 This letter was published in earlier editions without the notes on Bennigsen and Barclay which Engels made for Marx's biographical articles for *The New American Cyclopaedia* (see Note 165). The notes were first published—separately from the letter—in 1977, in Vol. 44 of the Second Russian Edition of the *Works* of Marx and Engels, under the editorial heading 'Bennigsen and Barclay'. In the present edition the letter is published in full with the notes for the first time.—162

191 Here and below Engels describes events during the war of the Fourth Coalition (Britain, Russia, Prussia and Sweden) against Napoleonic France. After the defeat of the Prussian army by Napoleon in the spring of 1806 the main theatre of war shifted to East Prussia, where Napoleon encountered stubborn resistance from the allied army of Russia and Prussia.

The *battle of Preussisch-Eylau* on 7-8 February 1807 between the French army and Russian and Prussian forces was indecisive.—162, 170, 175

192 The French laid siege to Danzig (Gdansk) in March 1807. The garrison, consisting of Prussian troops and a Russian detachment, offered stubborn resistance. The fortress surrendered to superior enemy forces at the end of May 1807.—162

193 The *battle of Smolensk*, during the Patriotic War of Russia against Napoleon, took place on 16-18 August 1812. Units of the First and Second Russian armies (commanded by Barclay de Tolly and Bagration) which had joined up on 3 August rebuffed the attacks of Napoleon's troops to cover the withdrawal of the main forces. At the cost of heavy losses Napoleon captured the city, which was abandoned by the Russian rearguard after the main forces had withdrawn.—163

194 This passage reflects the tendentious presentation of the events of the Patriotic War of Russia, 1812, in Jomini's *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon* (Vols. 1-4, Paris, 1827) and other books (e.g. Bernhardi's *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben ... des Grafen von Toll*, Vols. 1-4, Leipzig, 1856), which Engels used as sources. In particular, they contain inaccuracies in explaining why Mikhail Kutuzov, newly appointed commander-in-chief of the Russian army, abandoned the *position at Gzhatsk* (more precisely at Tsarevo-Zaimishche), which it had occupied since 29 August 1812, and withdrew to Borodino. Kutuzov did so because he intended to give decisive battle with a more favourable balance of forces, for which it was necessary to win time and bring up reinforcements. The *battle of Borodino* was fought on 7 September. It brought about a turn in the war in Russia's favour, despite the forced but expedient abandonment of Moscow.—164

195 In the final version of their article 'Barclay de Tolly' Marx and Engels gave a more accurate description of Barclay's role. There the remark concerning the predominance of administrative and diplomatic functions in Barclay's activities during the war of the Sixth Coalition (Russia, Austria, Prussia, Britain, Spain, Sweden and other countries) against Napoleonic France, applied only to the 1814 campaign, and Barclay's role as military commander in a number of battles during the 1813 campaign is noted.—164

196 Published here are three short texts by Engels, probably fragments of a letter to Marx of 11 or 12 September 1857 which has not been preserved in full. Like other letters written at the time, they reflect Engels' help to Marx in writing biographical articles for *The New American Cyclopaedia*.

The first and third fragments (written on separate sheets) were published in the Second Russian Edition of the *Works* of Marx and Engels as the letter in question. The second fragment (written on two sheets) has never been published before. The approximate date of writing has been established on the basis of the previous letter of Engels to Marx, written on 10 September, and Marx's replies written on 15 and 17 September 1857.

The order in which the fragments are presented in this volume is the order in which they are assumed to have been written.—164

197 At the *battle of Grossbeeren* on 23 August and *of Dennewitz* on 6 September 1813, the Prussian corps under Bülow defeated the French. Both battles took place during the war of the Sixth Coalition (Russia, Austria, Prussia, Britain, Spain, Sweden and other countries) against Napoleonic France. In the 1813 campaign Bernadotte commanded the allied Northern Army, which included Bülow's corps.—164, 274

198 At the *battle of Leipzig* (16-19 October 1813) the allied armies of Russia, Austria, Prussia and Sweden defeated Napoleon and his allies. This 'battle of the nations' led to Germany's liberation from Napoleon's rule.—165, 179

199 The *Directory* (consisting of five directors of whom one was re-elected every year) was the leading executive body in France set up under the 1795 Constitution. It governed France until Bonaparte's coup d'état of 1799 and expressed the interests of the big bourgeoisie.—165

200 Engels refers to the military operations in Transylvania (then part of Hungary) of a revolutionary army against the Austrian forces, Romanian detachments, provoked into action against Hungary by the Austrian authorities, and a Russian detachment sent by the Tsarist government to help the Habsburg Empire. Started under Bem's command in December 1848, during the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, this campaign ended a few months later in the practically complete liberation of Transylvania from the counter-revolutionary forces. However, in the second Transylvanian campaign (mentioned below) called forth by a new concentration of counter-revolutionaries in the summer of 1849 and the arrival of fresh contingents of Tsarist troops, Bem's entire army was routed at the end of July 1849 and he himself had to flee to Turkey.—167

201 Bem's *march into the Banat* (a region in the Serbian Voivodina, then part of Hungary) was undertaken in the spring of 1849 to put down the Serbian movement for autonomy incited by the Austrian authorities and influenced by the Serbian big bourgeoisie, nobility and clergy. As in Transylvania, the struggle in the Banat with its population of Hungarians, Germans and Romanians as well as Serbs, was complicated by clashes between Serbians and non-Serbians, and the erroneous stand adopted by the Hungarian bourgeois and aristocratic revolutionaries on the national question. Only on 28 July 1849, shortly before the fall of the Hungarian Republic, did they officially agree to recognise the equality of all nationalities inhabiting Hungary.—167

202 The last two of these articles, 'Blum' and 'Bourrienne', were not ready for

despatch to New York that day. As is seen from Marx's notebook, they were sent off to Charles Dana on 22 September 1857.—168

203 Here and below Marx writes about Bem's participation in the Polish national liberation uprising of November 1830-October 1831. The majority of its participants were revolutionary gentry (*szlachta*) and its leaders came mostly from the aristocracy. It was suppressed by the Russian army with the support of Prussia and Austria.

At the *battle of Iganin* on 10 May 1831 the Polish insurgents were victorious in a clash with Russian troops.

At the *battle of Ostrolenka* on 26 May 1831 the Polish insurgents were defeated by Russian forces under Dibich. The final blow was delivered when the Russians captured Warsaw (see below) after storming its suburb Vola on 6 September. The remnants of the insurgent army fled to Prussia and Austria.—169, 172

204 The *battle of Austerlitz* (see Note 46) was an important event in the war of the Third Coalition (Austria, Russia, Britain and Sweden) against Napoleonic France (1805).—170, 174

205 On the *battle of Jena* on 14 October 1806 see Note 46. The same day Marshal Davout's army defeated the main Prussian forces at *Auerstädt*. The defeat of Prussia in these two battles led to the quick occupation of the Kingdom of Prussia by the French and to the retreat of the remnants of the Prussian army to the eastern frontier.

These battles occurred during the war of the Fourth Coalition against Napoleonic France (see Note 191).—174, 178

206 At the *battle of Wagram* (Austria) on 5-6 July 1809 during the war of the Fifth Coalition (Austria, Britain), Napoleon's army defeated the Austrians.—170, 175, 176

207 An entry in Marx's notebook shows that he sent Engels' articles 'Algeria' and 'Ammunition' to New York on 18 September 1857.—173

208 A reference to the *Treaty of the Tafna* of 30 May 1837 between Bugeaud and Abd-el-Kader, the leader of the Algerian liberation war which lasted, with short intervals, from 1832 to 1847. The French had resumed operations against Abd-el-Kader in 1835 in violation of the peace treaty concluded a year earlier. Under the treaty of the Tafna France again recognised the independence of Abd-el-Kader's state in Western Algeria, except for a few coastal towns. In 1839 the peace was again violated by the French, and the Algerian liberation struggle was resumed. When working on the article 'Bugeaud', Marx took into account Engels' opinion of this general. In particular, enlarging upon Engels' remark about Bugeaud's venality, Marx wrote: 'A secret article, not reduced to writing, stipulated that 30,000 boojoos (about $12,000) should be paid to Gen. Bugeaud' (present edition, Vol. 18, p. 212).—177

209 The *battle of the Alma* took place on 20 September 1854 between the Russian forces and the numerically superior allied forces of the French, British and Turks. It was the first battle after the Allies' landing in the Crimea (at Eupatoria) on 14 September. The defeat and withdrawal of the Russian forces left the road to Sevastopol open for the Allies.

The *battle of Balaklava* (mentioned below in the text) between the Russian and the allied Anglo-French and Turkish forces took place on 25 October 1854. Units of the Russian army tried to cut off the English and Turkish troops

taking part in the siege of Sevastopol from their base in Balaklava. They succeeded in inflicting serious losses on the enemy, especially on the English cavalry, but failed to achieve their main objective.—177, 297

210 A reference to the siege of Sevastopol by the French and British troops during the Crimean War (1853-56) which lasted from September 1854 to August 1855 (349 days).—178

211 This campaign took place during the war of the European coalition (Austria, Prussia, Britain, the Netherlands, Spain, Piedmont, Naples and other monarchies) (1792-97) against the French Republic. Prussia, a member of the coalition from 1792, concluded a separate peace with France in Basle in 1795.—178

212 The *Tugendbund* (Union of Virtue)—one of the patriotic societies founded in Prussia after its defeat by Napoleonic France in 1806-07. It united representatives of the liberal nobility and the bourgeois intelligentsia and aimed at spreading the idea of an anti-Napoleonic liberation war and supporting moderate liberal reforms in Prussia. The Tugendbund was banned on Napoleon's demand on 31 December 1809 by Frederick William III, who also feared its activities. However, it continued to exist secretly until the end of the Napoleonic wars.—178

213 An allusion to the 1848-49 revolutionary movement in Baden. The German petty-bourgeois democrat and journalist Blind took part in it, while the German republican Hecker was a military leader in the Baden uprising in April 1848.—179

214 The *battle of the Katzbach* (Silesia) was fought on 26 August 1813 during the war of the Sixth Coalition (Russia, Prussia, Austria, Britain, Sweden, Spain and Portugal) against Napoleonic France. The Silesian army, commanded by Blücher and consisting of a Prussian corps under York and two Russian corps under Langeron and Sacken, defeated the French army of Marshal Macdonald.—179

215 At the *battle of Dresden* on 26-27 August 1813 Napoleon's army routed the allied forces of Austria, Prussia and Russia (the Bohemian or chief army), commanded by the Austrian Field Marshal Schwarzenberg.—179

216 In a number of battles in the Montmirail region (east of Paris) Napoleon defeated separate units of Blücher's Silesian army in mid-February 1814 by taking advantage of their isolation from one another.—180

217 At the *battle of Waterloo* on 18 June 1815 the Anglo-Dutch and Prussian forces commanded by the Duke of Wellington and Blücher defeated Napoleon's army, thus deciding the allies' final victory over Napoleonic France. The outcome of the battle of Waterloo is credited to Blücher's army which was defeated by Napoleon at Ligny on 16 June but managed to escape French pursuit and join up with the Anglo-Dutch forces.—180, 357

218 Marx's notebook contains an entry of 29 September 1857 about the despatch to New York of his article 'Bessières' and the articles 'Bem' and 'Bosquet' written jointly with Engels.—181

219 As is seen from Marx's notebook, in September and October 1857 he wrote for the *New-York Daily Tribune* a series of five articles on the state of the Second Empire's finances and Napoleon III's financial policy. The articles were not printed. The manuscripts have not been found.—181, 297

220 The letter is written on notepaper bearing a picture of the ruins of a castle and the inscription: 'Carisbrooke Castle, Isle of Wight'.

On the first English publication of this letter see Note 184.—182

221 The *Mahratta principalities* (the Mahrattas or Marathas inhabited a large territory in Western India) were formed on the territory of the Mahratta state, which arose in the latter half of the seventeenth century during the struggle against the Empire of the Great Moguls. Later, particularly in the 1730s and 1740s, it underwent a process of feudal decentralisation. The confederation of the Mahratta principalities thus formed disintegrated in the second half of the eighteenth century. Weakened by the struggle with the Afghans and internal strife the principalities fell prey to the British East India Company which annexed a considerable part of their territories in the three Anglo-Mahratta wars (1775-82, 1803-05 and 1817-18) and made the remaining princes its vassals.—185

222 Marx used the contents of Engels' letter for his two articles, 'The Revolt in India', written on 29 September and 6 October 1857 (see present edition, Vol. 15). The purely military evaluation of possible British operations intended by Engels for Marx's information was supplemented with the political assessment of the aims of the Indian national liberation movement and the efforts of the British colonialists to preserve their rule in India.—185

223 As is seen from entries in Marx's notebook, on 29 September 1857 he sent to New York, besides 'Battery', three articles received from Engels: 'Bivouac', 'Blindage' and 'Bonnet'; on 6 October, he despatched one more batch of 'B' articles: 'Bomb'; 'Bomb-Ketch', 'Bomb-Proof', 'Bomb Vessel', 'Bombardier' and 'Bombardment'.—185

224 An abridged English translation of this letter was first published in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934]. The letter was published in full in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliff, New Jersey, 1979.—186

225 *Peculium castrense* (lit. camp property) (Roman law)—property given by fathers to sons during and for military service and which they could dispose of as they liked independently of their fathers' will.

*Fabri*—craftsmen in the Roman army engaged in building bridges, putting up defence and siege works, making arms, etc. They were formed into special detachments.—186

226 *Condottieri*—leaders of mercenary troops in the service of princes, city republics and Popes in Italy in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. Some of them usurped power in individual Italian states and founded new princely dynasties.—187

227 Engels' letter to Marx of 24 September 1857 shows that he proposed to stay in Brighton on 29-30 September, on his way to Jersey to complete his medical treatment (see Note 183). Available sources do not establish with certainty whether Engels and Marx met at the appointed time, but we know from Marx's own words (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 85) that he and Engels visited their sick friend Conrad Schramm in Jersey, most probably at the beginning of October 1857.—187

228 The letter is written on notepaper bearing a view of the Gulf of St. Catherine in Jersey from the pier.—187

229 Harney, the former leader of revolutionary Chartism, withdrew from the labour movement in the first half of the 1850s, when there was a general decline in the English proletariat's political activity. In the autumn of 1855 he went to St. Hélier, the capital of Jersey, to convey an address of solidarity from British radicals to Victor Hugo on the occasion of the British decision to expel him and other French emigrants from the island (see Note 16). Harney settled there and in mid-1856 became editor of *The Jersey Independent,* which he devoted almost entirely to local problems, criticising the local system from bourgeois-radical positions.—188

230 *Hejira* (or *Hegira*)—the flight of Mohammed and his followers from Mecca to Medina in 622, from which the Mohammedan era is dated.

Here Engels alludes to the expulsion of French petty-bourgeois democratic refugees from Jersey in the autumn of 1855 (see Note 16), and calls them *crapauds* (philistines) (see Note 81).—188

231 *Vendée*—a department in the west of France. During the French Revolution it was the centre of a royalist revolt in March 1793 in which the local peasant masses took part. The revolt was suppressed in 1795 but attempts to revive it were made in 1799 and later.—189

232 Engels refers to the list of articles beginning with 'C' for *The New American Cyclopaedia* which Dana sent Marx. Neither the list nor Engels' comments on it have been preserved.—189, 190

233 The letter is written on notepaper bearing a picture of a cave on the Grève au Lançon in Jersey.—190

234 Engels refers to the preliminary draft of the article 'Armada' for *The New American Cyclopaedia* which he wrote on the basis of excerpts made by Marx from various sources. Marx put the finishing touches to Engels' text. The material Engels sent for the *Cyclopaedia* presumably included also the article 'Ayacucho', to which Marx added a final paragraph before sending it and the article 'Armada' to New York on 23 October 1857, as an entry in his notebook shows (for these articles see present edition, Vol. 18).—190

235 This refers to the article 'Artillery', which Charles Dana asked Marx to write for *The New American Cyclopaedia* early in May 1857. Engels undertook to write the article but, busy with 'Army' and smaller articles for the *Cyclopaedia,* he did not begin it till after 19 October. Marx and Engels did not expect that the article could still be included in the current volume with the 'A' articles and thought, as this and the following letters show, that it could be inserted in some other volume, under the title 'Cannon' or as a historical part of the corresponding article ('The History of Cannon'). However, the article was finished by the end of November, despatched to New York on the 27th of that month, and included in Vol. II of the *Cyclopaedia* under the original title 'Artillery'.—190, 195, 198, 199, 200, 207, 251

236 The letter is written on notepaper with a picture of Princes Tower in Jersey.

On the first English publication of this letter see Note 184.—195

237 Many remnants of feudalism still survived in Jersey at the time. Local big landowners, lawyers and bankers (François Godfrey in particular) controlled all administrative institutions and the Royal Court. The radical Reform League

(consisting of local traders, small shipowners and bank clerks), founded by Harney in September 1857, and *The Jersey Independent* edited by him, came out against their arbitrary rule and encroachments on the interests of tenants.—196, 264, 308

238 Further on Engels describes the siege and storming of the insurgent-held fortress of Delhi by British troops during the Indian uprising of 1857-59 (see Note 178). The city fell on 19-20 September 1857. Engels dealt with these events in his article 'The Capture of Delhi' published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 5 December 1857 (see present edition, Vol. 15).—197

239 *The New American Cyclopaedia* carried the article 'Blücher' by Marx and Engels without any sub-titles (see present edition, Vol. 18).—198

240 Marx proposed to meet Engels who was returning from Jersey to Manchester via London after his long stay at the seaside (see Note 183). The two friends did not meet, probably because of the 'bad arrangements of the railway Company in Brighton', as Engels wrote to Marx on 15 November 1857 (see p. 200). Marx may also have confused the date of Engels' arrival in London: he was to be there on 9 November (Monday) and not on the 5th (Thursday). So Marx's remark 'a week ago on Thursday' seems to be a mistake. Besides, from the above-mentioned letter of Engels it transpires that it was on the Monday that their meeting was to take place.—199

241 Marx seems to refer to his two articles ('The Revolt in India') published as leaders in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 13 and 23 October 1857. When Marx wrote them, at the end of September and the beginning of October, he did not have sufficient information on the British siege of Delhi (which was finally captured on 20 September) and assumed that a successful storm of Delhi was hardly possible.—199

242 Engels' information on the rapid increase in exports of English textile goods to India was used by Marx in his article 'The Financial Crisis in Europe', published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 22 December 1857 (see present edition, Vol. 15).—202

243 The discovery of gold in California in 1848 and in Australia in 1851 helped to overcome the 1847 economic crisis and its aftermath. The temporary revival of industry and trade after the crisis was also due, to a certain extent, to European and American goods gaining access to the Chinese market as a result of the Anglo-Chinese war of 1840-42 (known as the first Opium War). In 1857, however, this access was hampered by a new military conflict of the European powers with China (see Note 134).—203

244 Ruge's intention to publish a new periodical to succeed to the *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst* (published in 1841-43) did not materialise.—209, 227

245 Ernest Jones proposed as early as April 1857 to hold such a conference and to invite bourgeois radicals. In calling for an alliance with the radicals in order to campaign jointly for electoral reform Jones hoped to revive the mass Chartist movement on this basis. However, he made serious political concessions to the radicals when working out a common platform for uniting with them. Of the six points of the People's Charter (universal suffrage, annual Parliaments, vote by secret ballot, equal constituencies, abolition of property qualifications for candidates to Parliament, and payment of M.P.s) he retained only the demand

for universal manhood suffrage. Jones' conciliatory policy caused discontent among the rank-and-file of the National Charter Association. After repeated postponements a joint conference of Chartists and bourgeois radicals was convened in London on 8 February 1858. Marx and Engels regarded Jones' conciliation with the radicals as a manifestation of his political vacillation and broke off their friendly relations with him until a few years later, when Jones again adopted a revolutionary stand.—210, 249, 264, 375

246 George Peabody was a big American financier. From 1851 onwards, he gave annual dinners in London to British aristocrats and American guests to mark the anniversary of US independence (proclaimed on 4 July 1776).—212, 567

247 Engels' information on Hamburg bankruptcies was reproduced almost word for word by Marx in his article 'The Crisis in Europe', published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 5 January 1858 (see present edition, Vol. 15).—213

248 Marx dealt in greater detail with the consequences of the repeal of the Corn Laws during the crisis in his article 'The Financial Crisis in Europe', published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 22 December 1857 (see present edition, Vol. 15).—215

249 This refers to the *Hamburger Garantie-Diskonto-Verein* founded at the end of November 1857 in connection with the money crisis in Hamburg, to facilitate the circulation of bills and banknotes bearing the stamp of this association.—216

250 In the summer of 1857 Marx began to write a series of economic manuscripts in order to sum up and systematise the results of his extensive economic research started in the 1840s and continued most intensively in the 1850s. (In the first half of the 1850s he filled 24 paginated and several unpaginated notebooks with excerpts from the works of bourgeois economists, books of statistics, documents and periodicals.) These manuscripts were preliminary versions of an extensive economic work in which he intended to investigate the laws governing the development of capitalist production and to criticise bourgeois political economy. Marx outlined the main points of this treatise in an unfinished draft of the 'Introduction' (one of the first manuscripts of the series) and in letters to Engels, Lassalle and Weydemeyer (see pp. 298-304, 269-71, 286-87, 376-78). Further economic study prompted Marx to specify and change his original plan. The central place in the series is occupied by the extensive manuscript, *Critique of Political Economy* (widely known as the *Grundrisse*), on which Marx worked from October 1857 to May 1858. In this preliminary draft of his future *Capital* Marx expounded his theory of surplus value. After the first instalment had been prepared for publication in 1859 under the title *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx added several more manuscripts to the series in 1861.

The manuscripts of 1857-61 were first published in German by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU in 1939 under the editorial heading *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie (Rohentwurf)*. These manuscripts and *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy. Part One* are included in Vols. 29 and 30 of the present edition.—217, 224, 226, 238, 244, 249, 256, 270, 287, 307, 499, 566.

251 This is a postscript to Mrs Marx's letter of 8 December 1857 to Conrad Schramm (see pp. 566-68).—217

252 Marx slightly changed the wording of this passage in his article 'The Crisis in

Europe' published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 5 January 1858, quoting it as a passage from a private letter from Manchester (see present edition, Vol. 15).—222

253 This idea did not materialise.—224

254 In his letter of 17 December 1857 to Marx, Lassalle enclosed a letter from his cousin Max Friedländer to Marx inviting him to contribute to the Vienna newspaper, *Die Presse*. Friedländer became one of its editors in 1856. Previously he had taken part in publishing the democratic paper *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, to which Marx also contributed throughout 1855. Not knowing the political line of *Die Presse* at the time, Marx did not agree, one of the reasons being probably the condition imposed by Friedländer: to criticise Napoleon III's policy and abstain from attacking Palmerston. In 1859 negotiations with Friedländer were resumed and lasted for a long time. Their success was hampered, on the one hand, by Lassalle's pro-Bonapartist statements during the Italian war of 1859 which evoked dissatisfaction on the part of Friedländer, who for a time thought that Marx approved of these statements, and on the other hand, by the editors' tendency to be duped by the pseudo-constitutional demagogy of the new Austrian government of Schmerling, which put Marx on the alert. Only in October 1861 when *Die Presse* criticised the government did Marx agree to be its London correspondent.—226, 227, 269, 272, 416, 418, 455, 571

255 *Crédit foncier* (Land Credit)—a French joint-stock bank set up in 1852 on the basis of the former Paris Land Bank. It granted short- and long-term loans on the security of immovable property at a definite interest. The Crédit foncier received considerable subsidies from the government.

*Comptoir national d'Escompte de Paris* (National Discount Bank of Paris) was founded in 1848 by the Provisional Government of the French Republic. Originally it discounted bills and granted credits on the security of goods stored in public warehouses. Under Napoleon III it became a joint-stock society (in 1853) and acquired the privilege of making advances on government bonds and shares of industrial and credit companies.—230

256 The *Zollverein*, a union of German states which established a common customs frontier, was set up in 1834 under the aegis of Prussia. Brought into being by the need to create an all-German market, the Customs Union subsequently embraced all the German states except Austria and a few of the smaller states.—230

257 Some of the thoughts expressed by Marx in this letter were developed in his article 'The Crisis in France', published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 12 January 1858 (see present edition, Vol. 15).—232

258 Further Engels refers to an episode in the Indian uprising of 1857-59 (see Note 178). After the fall of Delhi and Cawnpore in the summer of 1857, the centre of resistance to the British shifted to Oudh. A British garrison was besieged in Lucknow, the capital of that state, by the remnants of the Sepoy army and Oudh insurgents. General Havelock's force sent to relieve the garrison reached it in September but was compelled to remain besieged with it. It was not until November 1857 that the garrison was relieved by a force under General Colin Campbell from Cawnpore (Engels describes this episode). However, the insurgents' successful operations in Campbell's rear compelled him to leave Lucknow and return to Cawnpore. Campbell undertook another campaign to Lucknow three months later and captured the city on 19 March 1858.—234

259 According to Marx's notebook, on 27 November 1857 he sent two articles to *The New American Cyclopaedia*: Engels' 'Artillery' and his own 'Bugeaud'.—238

260 Engels' reply to Marx's letter of 22 December 1857 (see this volume, pp. 227-28) has not been found.—239, 242, 250

261 Engels' article 'Army' for *The New American Cyclopaedia* (on Marx's and Engels' contribution to the *Cyclopaedia* see Note 165) was published not in Vol. I but in Vol. II, which appeared in 1858.—239

262 On 7 January 1858 Engels sent Marx three 'C' articles: 'Campaign', 'Cannonade' and 'Captain', which, according to an entry in Marx's notebook, were despatched to New York the next day with Marx's articles 'The Siege and Storm of Lucknow' and 'Bolivar y Ponte'.—241, 244

263 The article 'Caps (Percussion)' was not printed in *The New American Cyclopaedia*.—241, 257, 259

264 Marx refers to statistical data on England's balance of trade and the cost of her imports and exports during the Crimean war, 1854-56. He obtained these figures from a report of the Manchester Foreign Affairs Committee (see Note 57), which was sent to him by the editors of the Urquhartite newspaper *The Free Press* before it was published. *The Free Press* itself did not publish it until 13 January 1858. Marx used these figures in his article 'British Commerce' (see present edition, Vol. 15).—243

265 During the march of General Campbell's troops from Cawnpore to Lucknow in November 1857 to relieve the garrison besieged by the Indian insurgents (see Note 258), General Windham's force, left behind to protect Cawnpore, was defeated by the insurgents on 27 November. This forced Campbell to return hastily to retake Cawnpore instead of consolidating in Lucknow. Later Engels described these events in the article 'Windham's Defeat', published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 20 February 1858 (see present edition, Vol. 15).—244

266 The original letter is dated 14 January 1858, which is an obvious slip of the pen. In fact the letter could not have been written earlier than 16 January for in it Marx informed Engels of Conrad Schramm's death on 15 January 1858, acknowledged receipt of Engels' article 'The Relief of Lucknow' despatched from Manchester to London on 14 January, as we see from Engels' letter of that date, and answered questions put to him in that same letter. Besides, in a letter to Engels on 23 January 1858 Marx mentioned this letter, saying it was 'sent off a week ago today', i. e., 16 January.

On the first English publication of this letter (datelined 14 January 1858) see Note 1.—248

267 Marx refers to the Great Redan, Bastion No. 3 of the Sevastopol fortifications, which was attacked by the British at the time of the allies' decisive storm of the fortress on 8 September 1855, during the Crimean war (1853-56) of Britain, France, Turkey and Piedmont against Russia. The storm was repulsed by Sevastopol defenders. On this episode and Windham's role in it see Engels' article 'The Great Event of the War' (present edition, Vol. 14).

On Windham's defeat by the Indian insurgents in November 1857 see Note 265.—249

268 Marx wrote about this in his articles on the Indian national liberation uprising, in particular in those published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*: 'The Revolt in India' (4 August 1857), 'Indian News' (14 August 1857), 'State of the Indian

Insurrection' (18 August 1857), etc. (present edition, Vol. 15).—249

269 On 22 January 1858 Marx made an entry in his notebook about the receipt from Engels and the despatch to New York of the second batch of 'C' articles for *The New American Cyclopaedia*, in particular 'Carabine', 'Carabineers', 'Carcass', 'Carronade', 'Cartouche', 'Cartridge' and 'Case Shot' (see present edition, Vol. 18). The article 'Carabineers' was not published in the *Cyclopaedia* nor has the manuscript been preserved.—251

270 At the end of his article 'Albuera' Engels noted that the siege of the French-held fortress of Badajos (Southwestern Spain) by the allied forces of Britain, Spain and Portugal was raised the day after their victory over the French at Albuera on 16 May 1811 (see present edition, Vol. 18, pp. 10-11). In fact the fortress was besieged by the allies three times during the Peninsular War between Britain and Napoleonic France. The first siege in May 1811 was lifted before the battle of Albuera because of the approaching French reserves. On 25 May, following the victory at Albuera, the allies resumed the siege but they were forced to raise it on 17 June. The allies laid siege to Badajos for the third time in March 1812 and took it on 6 April. As Engels pointed out in his letter to Marx on 18 February 1858 (see this volume, p. 267), the inaccuracy in the article 'Albuera' is accounted for by a mistake in one of the sources he used.—251, 252, 267

271 Marx refers to an attempt on the life of Napoleon III by the Italian revolutionary Felice Orsini on 14 January 1858. Orsini hoped thus to give an impetus to revolutionary actions in Europe and activate the struggle for Italy's unification. The attempt failed and Orsini was executed on 13 March of that year.—251, 255, 256, 257, 266, 271, 289

272 No special article on the 1857 national liberation uprising in India was written for *The New American Cyclopaedia*. Later the description of this uprising was included in the article 'Hindoostan' published in the *Cyclopaedia*.—252

273 Engels' letter to Harney has not been found.—253

274 As can be seen from an entry in Marx's notebook, on 29 January 1858 he sent to New York the following articles received from Engels together with this letter: 'Berme', 'Blenheim' and 'Borodino'. In view of a new request from Dana for 'B' articles, which Marx forwarded to Engels on 23 January (see this volume, p. 251), Engels put off 'C' articles and began fulfilling this request.—254

275 The amnesty of political emigrants who had taken part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany was not proclaimed by the Prussian government until early 1861.—255, 266

276 Marx refers to the position of Louis Bonaparte as President of the French Republic before the coup d'état of 2 December 1851. His term as president was to expire early in May 1852, and according to the republic's Constitution a person could be elected to the post a second time only after a four-year interval. So Louis Bonaparte was in danger not only of losing his power and salary but also of being prosecuted for numerous debts.—256

277 Marx developed these ideas in his article 'An Attempt on Bonaparte' published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 22 February 1858 (see present edition, Vol. 15).—256

278 Lassalle's book on political economy was published in Berlin only in 1864 under

the title *Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch, der Ökonomische Julian, oder: Capital und Arbeit*.—261, 355, 396, 542, 547

279 Marx alludes to the peak of the 1857-58 economic crisis experienced by the Manchester businessmen. He calls it the 'Sturm- und Drangperiode' by analogy with the well-known literary movement in Germany in the last three decades of the 18th century, which reflected the discontent of progressive sections of society with the feudal absolutist systems in German states.—263

280 In 1842 bourgeois radical Free Traders made attempts to obtain control of the Chartist movement. To divert the workers from the Chartists' social and political programme they put forward a vague demand for what they called 'complete suffrage'. Joseph Sturge, Edward Miall, Joseph Livesay and other radicals, supported by some conciliatory-minded Chartist leaders (Lovett and others), managed to convoke two conferences of bourgeois radicals and Chartists in Birmingham in 1842 to discuss a joint campaign for electoral reform. However, the Chartist majority at the conferences rejected the proposal to substitute a new 'Bill of Rights' and the 'complete suffrage' demand for the People's Charter, which led to a break between the Chartists and radicals.—264

281 After Orsini's attempt on the life of Napoleon III on 14 January 1858, *Le Moniteur universel* and other official newspapers began publishing chauvinistic addresses of loyalty by higher social and military circles. Many of them accused Britain of granting asylum to terrorists and assassins like Orsini and demanded that they be persecuted in their 'den'. The publication of these addresses was regarded in Britain as an indirect threat and caused an aggravation of Anglo-French relations in 1858.—264

282 When Marx wrote the article 'Bolivar y Ponte', the history of the Latin American countries' war for independence (1810-26) had not yet been adequately studied. Books and memoirs by European adventurers who had taken part in the war out of mercenary motives were widely read at the time (among them Ducoudray Holstein, a Frenchman who had become Bolivar's personal enemy, and the Englishman G. Hippisley). The authors of these books attributed numerous vices to Bolivar (perfidity, arrogance, cowardice) and presented his struggle against federalist and separatist elements for the unification of the Latin American republics as a striving for dictatorship. In reality, Simon Bolivar played an outstanding role in the struggle of several Latin American countries for liberation from the Spanish yoke, the establishment of republican forms of government and for progressive bourgeois reforms.

Marx had only the above-mentioned biassed sources at his disposal. Hence his inevitably one-sided view of Bolivar's personality in his article, in this letter and in *Herr Vogt* written later (see present edition, Vol. 17). His attitude to Bolivar was to a certain extent determined by the fact that the sources he used exaggerated Bolivar's striving for personal power, and over-emphasised the Bonapartist features against which Marx and Engels were then waging a relentless struggle. Nevertheless, Marx pointed out the progressive aspects of Bolivar's activity, such as his emancipation of Negro slaves, and on the whole appreciated the revolutionary anti-colonial struggle for national liberation in Latin America.—266

283 Marx alludes to the rumours about the illegitimate birth of Napoleon III, whose official father was Napoleon I's brother Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland in 1806-10.—266

284 Marx refers to an article in *Cobbett's Annual Register. From July to December, 1802* (Vol. II, London, 1810, columns 128-33) on the aggravation of Anglo-French relations during Napoleon's consulate because of the anti-Napoleonic statements in the press by French political refugees in England. Later Marx used this article and passages quoted in it from *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 320, 9 August 1802, for his article 'The French Trials in London' published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 27 April 1858 (see present edition, Vol. 15).—266

285 Engels presumably refers to his articles 'Camp' and 'Catapult' for *The New American Cyclopaedia.* Marx helped Engels to collect material for them (see, for example, Marx's letter to Engels of 1 February 1858). There is no entry in Marx's notebook about their despatch to New York. It is quite possible that Engels sent Marx the article 'Coehorn' with 'Camp' and 'Catapult'.—267

286 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955 and in full in *The Letters of Karl Marx,* selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliff, New Jersey, 1979.—268

287 After Orsini's attempt on the life of Napoleon III, Count Walewski, Foreign Minister of France, sent the British government a despatch on 20 January 1858 expressing his discontent at Britain's granting asylum to French political refugees. The despatch served as a pretext for Palmerston to introduce a new Aliens Bill, also called Conspiracy to Murder Bill (see Note 16), on 8 February 1858. According to this Bill, anyone living in the United Kingdom, an Englishman or a foreigner, who took part in a conspiracy to murder a person in Britain or any other country, was to be tried by an English court and severely punished. During the second reading of the new Aliens Bill the radicals Milner Gibson and John Bright, who had been defeated at the parliamentary elections in March 1857, when the Whigs, Palmerston's adherents, came to power, but were re-elected in the autumn of that year, moved an amendment censuring Palmerston's government for failing to give a fitting reply to Walewski's despatch. The House of Commons adopted the amendment by a majority vote, rejected the Bill and compelled Palmerston's government to resign.—273, 275

288 Marx analyses the state of France's economy, including agriculture, in early 1858 in his article 'The Economic Crisis in France' published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 12 March 1858 (see present edition, Vol. 15).—273

289 A reference to the second Anglo-Burmese war (1852) which resulted in the British capture of the Province of Pegu.—274

290 By '*2 cives romani* [Roman citizens]' Engels means the British Prime Minister Palmerston and Napoleon III. (He alludes here to the Latin expression 'civis Romanus sum'—'I am a Roman citizen' cited by Palmerston in his speech in the House of Commons on 25 June 1850.) Engels has in mind in particular their intention to send an English and a French squadron to the shores of Naples at the end of 1856 under the pretext of bringing pressure to bear on the reactionary regime there (see Note 103), and their repressive measures against democrats in France and Britain after Orsini's attempt on the life of Napoleon III.—276

291 Neither this letter, sent off apparently at the end of February 1858, nor Marx's letter to Collet mentioned below have been found.—277

292 A *cabinet noir* (black bureau)—a secret Post Office institution in France, Prussia, Austria and other states to inspect private correspondence. It existed at the time of absolute monarchies in Europe.—277, 279

293 In their 'Letter to the Parliament and the Press' of 24 February 1858 (an English translation was published in London as a separate booklet), Pyat, Besson and Talandier stated that the crowned personages who usurped political power as Napoleon III had done, deserved to die a violent death and that their assassination would be a justified historical act. The letter caused excitement among British ruling circles and in the British press. Marx sharply criticised such adventurist statements by French petty-bourgeois refugees and their terroristic ideas.—278, 279

294 An allusion to Félix Pyat, who contributed to the French satirical journal *Le Charivari* in the 1830s and 1840s and wrote a number of plays for the Théâtre du Port Saint-Martin (Paris).—278

295 The *Honourable Gentleman opposite*—a form of address used in the British Parliament in respect of an M.P. in the opposition.—278

296 Engels means the German liberals and petty-bourgeois democrats who supported the German Imperial Constitution of 1849 (see Note 116).—279

297 Marx refers to a letter he received from Friedrich Kamm dated 19 December 1857. Kamm, a German refugee in America, wrote that he and his friends had set up a Communist Club in New York and asked Marx to send him information about the communist movement in Europe, certain theoretical works and Communist League documents. He also asked for practical advice in organising the work of a newly founded club. Marx's reply has not been found, but his letter to Joseph Weydemeyer of 1 February 1859 shows that he corresponded with Albrecht Komp, another leader of the New York Communist Club (see this volume, p. 376).—282, 288, 293, 469

298 In 1806, an English expedition under Captain Popam and General Beresford was sent to capture Buenos Aires, which belonged to Spain, then an ally of Napoleonic France. Meeting with no serious resistance from the Spanish colonial authorities, Beresford's force seized Buenos Aires but was surrounded and compelled to surrender by the Argentine patriots.—285

299 This letter is Marx's reply to Lassalle's letter of 3 March 1858, containing a number of questions regarding the publication of Marx's economic work (see this volume, pp. 269-71).

On the first English publication of Marx's letter see Note 82.—286

300 The *Seven Years War* (1756-63)—a war of Britain and Prussia against Austria, France, Russia, Saxony and Sweden. As a result of it France ceded many of its colonies (including Canada and almost all its possessions in the East Indies) to Britain, while Prussia, Austria and Saxony were obliged to recognise in the main its pre-war frontiers.—289, 294, 561

301 Engels refers to the underground gallery connecting the Tuileries Palace with the Seine embankment, where some participants in the June 1848 uprising in Paris were detained after its defeat.—290

302 In his letter to the Editor of *The Times*, published in the newspaper on 17 March 1858 (issue No. 22943), the English poet W. S. Landor refuted the evidence of some witnesses concerning his participation in Orsini's attempt on

the life of Napoleon III, expressed indignation at this, 'the basest of crimes', called the Emperor 'the most legitimate *sovran* in the universe', and declared that he 'detests and abominates democracy'.—290

303 The *Legitimists*—supporters of the Bourbon dynasty overthrown in 1830. They upheld the interests of the big hereditary landowners.

During the Second Republic the Orleanists (see Note 124) and the Legitimists formed the 'party of Order', an influential conservative bloc in the Legislative Assembly (1849-51), which Engels has in mind when he speaks, further on in the text, about the joint rule of these groups under the constitutional-republican system.—291, 552

304 A reference to *La loi relatif à des mesures de sûreté générale* (Law on Public Security Measures) known as *La loi des suspects* (Suspects Law) adopted by the Corps législatif (see Note 123) on 19 February and promulgated on 28 February 1858. It gave the Emperor and his government unlimited power to exile to different parts of France or Algeria or to banish altogether from French territory any person suspected of hostility to the Second Empire.—291

305 Engels refers to the marriage in London on 25 January 1858 of Frederick William, the son of Prince William of Prussia (later King and Emperor William I), and the English Princess Victoria Adelaide Marie Louise, Queen Victoria's eldest daughter.—292

306 In 1848, during the Second Republic, the monarchist Louis Adolphe Thiers actively supported Louis Bonaparte's candidature for the presidency. But later, as a leader of the Orleanist wing of the 'party of Order' plotting the restoration of the Orleans dynasty, he and other members of the party entered into conflict with Louis Bonaparte and his *entourage*. During the Bonapartist coup d'état of 2 December 1851 Thiers was arrested and, after a short detention in the Mazas prison in Paris, was banished from France. Upon his return in August 1852 he became a member of the 'society opposition'.—292

307 Marx refers to a conference of the delegates of the *Italian National Constitutional League*, the liberal-minded big bourgeoisie and nobility, held in London on 1 March 1858. It adopted a number of mainly declarative resolutions, proclaiming the necessity to form a federation of Italian states, introduce a Constitution preserving the monarchic government, and carry out a number of liberal reforms. A special resolution condemned Orsini's attempt on the life of Napoleon III.—294

308 Under Napoleon III's decree of 27 January 1858 the whole of French territory was divided into five military districts, with Paris, Nancy, Lyons, Toulouse and Tours as their centres and Marshals Magnan, Baraguay d'Hilliers, Bosquet, Castellane and Canrobert as their commanders. Marx calls these districts *pashaliks* (a comparison earlier used by the French republican press), to emphasise the similarity of the unlimited powers of the reactionary Marshals and the despotic power of the Turkish pashas.—296

309 *Captain-generalships*—administrative districts set up in Spain and its colonies in the sixteenth century, during the period of absolute monarchy. Civil and military power in these districts was concentrated in the hands of captain-generals, who acted as royal governors.—296

310 Thomas Attwood's views on the ideal unit of money were set forth in the book *The Currency Question. The Gemini Letters*, London, 1844, written anonymously by T. B. Wright and J. Harlow who called themselves 'Gemini'.—301

311 The *Cotton Supply Association*—a Free Trade organisation founded in Manchester in 1857 to promote the import of cotton from India, Africa and other countries.—305

312 *Laissez-faire, laissez-aller*—the formula of economists who advocated Free Trade and non-intervention by the state in economic relations.—305

313 This is the reply to Mrs Marx's letter to Engels of 9 April 1858 (see this volume, pp. 569).—307

314 Surgeon Simon Bernard, a Frenchman living in London, was tried as an accomplice in Felice Orsini's attempt on the life of Napoleon III (manufacture of bombs and so on). The trial took place in London from 12 to 17 April 1858. Bernard was acquitted by the Central Criminal Court on 17 April.—307, 309

315 In April 1858 the Chamber of Representatives of the Kingdom of Piedmont discussed a conspiracy bill. Introduced at the request of Napoleon III's government, it envisaged measures against attempts on the life of foreign monarchs. During the debate on 16 and 17 April, Prime Minister Cavour and General La Marmora recalled the summer 1848 events and exposed the policy of the bourgeois republican general Cavaignac, then head of the executive in France, who refused to support revolutionary Italy in her struggle against Austria.—309

316 Marx refers to the Government Commission on the Workers' Question which met at the Palais du Luxembourg and was presided over by Louis Blanc. The Commission was set up on 28 February 1848 by the Provisional Government of the French Republic under pressure from workers who demanded a Ministry of Labour. It consisted of workers and employers and acted as a mediator in labour conflicts, often taking the side of the employers. On the very next day after the mass actions of 15 May 1848, the government disbanded the Luxembourg Commission.—310

317 Later Marx wrote two articles on this subject: 'A Curious Piece of History' and 'Another Strange Chapter of Modern History', published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 16 June and 23 September 1858.—310

318 Marx stayed with Engels in Manchester from 6 to about 24 May. To recover his health he practised sport, riding, etc. While in Manchester Marx continued working on the economic manuscript of 1857-58 (see Note 250), intending to complete his research and begin preparations for publication of the first part of his work, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.—312, 315, 368

319 Marx refers to Napoleon III's representation to the Council of State on the introduction of a law on confiscation of landed property of philanthropic institutions and converting it into state interest-bearing securities.

Marx discussed this problem at length in his article 'Bonaparte's Financial Manoeuvres.—Military Despotism' (present edition, Vol. 15).—317

320 Marx received Engels' article 'Cavalry', written for *The New American Cyclopaedia*, by 22 June 1858 and, as seen from an entry in his notebook, sent it off to New York the same day.—323

321 Marx means J. Weydemeyer's letter of 28 February 1858 from Milwaukee and A. Komp's letter of 15 June 1858 from New York, both written to him. Marx did not enclose them in his letter to Engels and they were mislaid among his papers. Some time later, Marx found them and replied to Weydemeyer on 1 February 1859 (see this volume, pp. 374-78). His letter to Komp has not been

found but we may judge of its contents by the above-mentioned letter to Weydemeyer. Komp was a leader of the New York Communist Club, and his letter to Marx contained information and requests similar to those contained in a letter from Friedrich Kamm, another leader of the Club, written on 19 December 1857 (see Note 297). After replying to his American correspondents, Marx forwarded their letters to Engels on 9 February 1859 (see this volume, pp. 384-85).—324, 326, 337, 339, 374, 384

322 *Whitechapel*—a working class district in London's East End.—331, 449

323 The *People's Provident Assurance Society* was founded by John Watts, an English reformer and Owenite, in London in 1853. In 1857 a branch-office was opened in Manchester.—332

324 Marx's letter to his mother has not been found.—334

325 This presumably refers to Engels' article written between 16 and 20 July 1858 and published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 13 August. Marx made an entry in his notebook on 27 July about the despatch of the article to New York, giving its heading as 'Transport of Troops to India' (see present edition, Vol. 15). The *Tribune* editors introduced changes into the article and printed it under the heading 'How the Indian War has been Mismanaged'.—334

326 The original letter is dated 4 August 1858, which is presumably a slip of the pen, for in it Marx mentions events about which he could have learned from the newspapers only later: the opening of the Cherbourg naval port after its reconstruction and the actions of Napoleon III's government in connection with this. Engels' reply of 10 August 1858 warrants the assumption that Marx wrote the letter on 8 August.

On the first English publication of the letter see Note 20.—335

327 This seems to refer to Engels' letter in reply to Marx's letter of 25 July 1858 (see this volume, p. 334). The letter has not been found.—335

328 Marx refers to the festivities on the occasion of the opening, on 4 August 1858, of the Cherbourg naval port after its reconstruction.

On the invitation of the French government, Queen Victoria of the United Kingdom and the Prince Consort Albert attended the ceremony. According to Napoleon III's plans, the reception given them was to relax the tension in Anglo-French relations after Orsini's attempt on the life of Napoleon III (see Note 271). However, the demonstration of France's naval strength in Cherbourg aroused new British apprehensions. In this connection Napoleon declared in a Note of 7 August 1858 that the reconstruction of the naval port did not pursue any hostile aims towards Britain.—336, 339, 340

329 Félix Pyat's letter was written on 14 July 1858 and published separately under the title *Lettre au jury. Défence de la lettre au Parlement et à la Presse.* It supplemented the letter of 24 February 1858 by Pyat, Besson and Talandier (see Note 293).—339, 345

330 The article on the slave trade in Cuba written by Marx for the *New-York Daily Tribune* was not published.—340

331 Marx refers to his articles 'The English Bank Act of 1844' and 'Commercial Crises and Currency in Britain', printed in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 23 and 28 August 1858 as leaders, and 'British Commerce and Finance', published on 4 October.—342

332 Marx refers to the unequal treaties signed in Tientsin in June 1858 by Britain

and France with China during the second Opium War (1856-60). The treaties made new ports available to foreign trade; foreign diplomatic representatives were authorised in Peking; foreigners were allowed to travel freely in the country for commercial or other purposes; Britain and France received economic privileges through the introduction of new commercial rules legalising the opium trade, and were paid indemnities.

Marx discussed these treaties in his articles written in August and early September for the *New-York Daily Tribune:* 'History of the Opium Trade' and 'The Anglo-Chinese Treaty' (see present edition, Vol. 16). However, the article mentioned in this letter was not published in the *Tribune.*—342, 347, 362, 387

333 Engels refers to the official despatches of Lord Canning, Governor General of India, of 17 June and 4 July 1858 to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the British East India Company (they were published in *The Times,* No. 23117, 6 October 1858).

In these despatches Canning defended his proclamation of 3 March 1858 on the confiscation, in favour of Britain, of the lands of Oudh, including the estates of the local feudal lords who had joined the Indian uprising. (Marx assessed this proclamation in his article 'The Annexation of Oudh' published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 28 May 1858; see present edition, Vol. 15.) Canning's point of view was not shared by a number of prominent colonial officials and M.P.s who favoured a more flexible policy towards the Indian feudal lords and hoped to win them over with promises to leave their domains intact.

Marx did not write any article about Canning's despatches.—343

334 Engels seems to refer to Jones' speech at a Chartist meeting in Manchester on 4 October 1858, a brief account of which was published in *The Leader,* No. 446, 9 October 1858, in the 'Political Foreshadowings' section.

About Jones' temporary vacillations and his policy of compromise with bourgeois radicals see Note 245.—344, 345

335 Marx writes here about the revolutionary situation in Russia after her defeat in the Crimean war (1853-56). Fearing the growing peasant unrest, Alexander II's government was forced to start preparations for the abolition of serfdom. On 3 January 1857 a Secret Committee consisting of high government officials and headed by the Emperor was formed to discuss the peasant question. In January 1858 the Committee was made public and renamed the Chief Peasant Question Committee.

To discuss the draft peasant reform, it was proposed to hold in St. Petersburg a congress of deputies of the Gubernia Landowners' Committees, called by Marx the 'convocation of notables' by analogy with the convocation of notables in France on the eve of the French Revolution. The congress took place in the autumn of 1859.—346, 349

336 In view of the insanity of Frederick William IV of Prussia the question arose of appointing Regent his brother, Prince William of Prussia (later King and Emperor William I). The Prussian bourgeoisie hoped that the Regency would lead to liberal reforms and remove Manteuffel's reactionary ministry, although the reactionary measures taken by the Prince of Prussia in 1848 gave little ground for such hopes. Nevertheless, similar illusions about the advent of 'a new era' were widespread among liberal monarchist circles. Prince William was appointed Regent on 7 October 1858.—346, 348, 410, 470, 571

337 In his book *Studien über die innern Zustände, das Volksleben und insbesondere die*

*ländlichen Einrichtungen Russlands* (Th. 1-3, Hannover-Berlin, 1847-52), the Prussian official and writer August Haxthausen who toured Russia in the 1840s, gave a false idea of the material well-being of the Russian peasantry. He advocated preservation of the peasant commune arguing that this was the only way to save Russia from the revolutionary consequences of its toiling people becoming proletarian. He thought that the abolition of serfdom should be carried out gradually because, he wrote, the necessary conditions for the wage labour system did not exist in Russia.—346

338 This refers to one of the main provisions of the *Nanking Treaty* Britain concluded with China as a result of the Anglo-Chinese war of 1840-42 (known as the first Opium War). It was the first of a series of unequal treaties imposed on China by the Western powers, treaties that reduced it to the status of a semi-colony. Under the Nanking Treaty five Chinese cities—Canton, Shanghai, Amoy, Ninbo and Fuchon—were opened to English trade.—347

339 Under the *Aigun Treaty* of 28(16) May 1858, the left bank of the Amur, from the confluence of the Shilka and the Argun to the sea, was recognised as Russian territory, while the question of the Ussuri Area, from the confluence of the Ussuri and the Amur to the sea, was left open until the final fixing of the frontier between Russia and China. Navigation on the Amur, Sungari and Ussuri was prohibited to all states except Russia and Ching China. The treaty thus returned to Russia the left bank of the Amur developed by the Russians in the seventeenth century and taken from it under the Nerchinsk Treaty of 1689. Besides, it thwarted the British diplomats' attempt to exacerbate Russo-Chinese relations and closed the Amur to West-European shipping. The treaty was ratified by Russia on 8 June 1858.—349

340 This letter is dated only 'Friday'. The exact date of its writing was established on the basis of facts mentioned in it, in particular Marx's reference to an article on rifled cannon published in *The Times* on 22 October 1858.—350

341 Marx seems to refer to his article 'Mr. John Bright' printed in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 12 November 1858 as a leader, without any heading. It bears signs of the editors' interference (see present edition, Vol. 16).—350

342 A reference to the conflict between France and Portugal caused by the seizure of the French merchant vessel *Charles et Georges* by the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique on 29 November 1857. The vessel had on board a number of East-African Negroes who were to be shipped, allegedly as free emigrants, to the French island of Réunion.

The Franco-Portuguese talks continued for almost a year but brought no results. On 13 October 1858 Napoleon III, whom Marx calls here Quasimodo (a character from Victor Hugo's *Notre-Dame de Paris*), sent a special Note to the Portuguese Government demanding the return of the confiscated vessel and the release of its captain. The demand was backed by the despatch of two French warships to the Portuguese capital. Portugal was compelled to yield.

Marx touches on the subject in his article 'The French Slave Trade' published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 1 December 1858 with considerable editorial changes (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 621-23).—351, 357

343 This presumably refers to Blind's articles published anonymously in 1858 under the general heading *Flügblätter des Vereins 'Deutsche Einheit und Freiheit' in England*.—351, 353

344 John Bright, a British radical and Free Trade leader, put forward a

programme for electoral reform. Of the six points of the People's Charter (universal suffrage, annual Parliaments, vote by secret ballot, equal constituencies, abolition of property qualifications for candidates to Parliament, and payment of M.P.s), he retained only the demand for vote by secret ballot. The other demands were either omitted altogether or drastically moderated. Thus Bright suggested that suffrage should be granted only to persons paying property tax; in place of equal constituencies he suggested fairer representation for the existing constituencies.—358

345 Marx refers to Freiligrath's letter to him of 6 December 1858 and Freiligrath's poem 'Nach Johanna Kinkels Begräbnis' (written on 20 November 1858 on the occasion of the death of Cottfried Kinkel's wife, Johanna Kinkel, and published in *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 24, 11 December 1859).—359

346 *Cayenne*—a place in French Guiana where political prisoners were sent for penal servitude. The high mortality caused by the hard prison conditions and the unhealthy tropical climate earned it the nickname of the 'Dry Guillotine'.—359

347 Marx is mistaken here. Fitzgerald and Stanley could not have spoken in the House of Commons on Monday, 13 December, for Parliament did not meet from 2 August 1858 to early January 1859. On 14 December *The Times* (No. 23176) reprinted excerpts from Lord Stanley's speech of 13 December 1858 before the young cadets of the Manchester military school, one of the topics being the situation in India. (The speech was reported in greater detail in *The Manchester Guardian*.) Fitzgerald too may have spoken at this meeting. This warrants the assumption that Marx actually meant these speeches.—363

348 Marx means his new article on the Anglo-Chinese Treaty. It was not published by the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—363

349 In his Message to the XXXVth Congress of 6 December 1858, President James Buchanan expressed US aggressive intentions as regards Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Brazil, Paraguay and other countries of Central and South America and US strivings for supremacy on the American continent. In the sphere of home policy, Buchanan asked Congress to increase allocations for the navy and the Postal Department in 1858 and urged the construction of a Pacific railroad.

Marx's article about Buchanan's message was not published by the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—364

350 Marx had asked Engels to write an article for the *New-York Daily Tribune* about the events in the principality of Serbia. On 30 November 1858 the so-called St. Andrew Skupština met after a long interval. At the session, the liberals, who had joined forces with the supporters of the Obrenović dynasty, clashed with the ruling Ustavobranitelji (Defenders of Constitution) group representing the big landowners, traders and the top officialdom. The conflict led to the deposition of Alexander Karageorgević and the reinstatement of Miloš Obrenović, who agreed to carry out a number of liberal reforms. The St. Andrew Skupština abolished the oligarchic council set up under the 1838 Constitution, restored the Skupština as a permanent legislative body, and declared freedom of the press. Though the liberal reforms were moderate and short-lived, the fall of the Ustavobranitelji regime gave an impulse to Serbia's economic and cultural development.

It is unknown whether Engels wrote the article on Serbia.—364, 366

351 Presumably Engels did not write any article on the proposed changes in the Prussian army. Later, when France and Piedmont were on a collision course with

Austria, he wrote the article 'German Resources for War' (on 10 February 1859) in which he also described the state of Prussia's armed forces (see present edition, Vol. 16).—366, 368

352 Gottfried Kinkel called his weekly after Arminius (Hermann), the leader of the Germanic tribes' struggle against Roman rule in the first century A. D. Marx hints at the coincidence of this title with the name of the hero of Goethe's poem 'Hermann und Dorothea', a simple, patriarchally-minded man striving for peace and a domestic idyll.—366

353 The prospectus for the *Hermann* was an advertisement announcing the forthcoming publication of the weekly, dated 24 December 1858 and signed by Kinkel.

Marx's letter to Freiligrath about 'the Kinkel affair' has not been found.—367

354 The letter is not dated. The approximate time of its writing has been established on the basis of the facts mentioned in it, in particular the reference to Marx's rewriting of Engels' article on Napoleon III's policy, as a result of which the article 'The Money Panic in Europe' virtually written by them both, was sent to New York, its final version having been written on 13 January 1859 (see present edition, Vol. 16). The letter could hardly have been sent off to Manchester later than 15 January because, judging by its opening lines, Marx was expecting a new article for the *New-York Daily Tribune* from Engels by Tuesday, 18 January.—367

355 Marx means the 'Chapter on Capital', which constitutes the bulk of his economic manuscripts of 1857-58 (see Note 250) and was written from October 1857 to May 1858 (see present edition, Vols. 29 and 30).—368, 389

356 In the autumn of 1858, Palmerston, then head of the Whig opposition to the Derby-Disraeli Tory Cabinet, was invited by Napoleon III to Compiègne in order to clarify his position on the impending Franco-Austrian war. At the meeting Palmerston did not object to the Austrians being expelled from Italy, but in his speech at the opening of Parliament on 3 February 1859 he condemned France's action.

On Russia's influence on Napoleon III's policy see Marx's article 'The War Prospect in France' (present edition, Vol. 16).

The *Peace Treaty of Paris* concluded the Crimean war (1853-56). It was signed at the Congress of Paris on 30 March 1856 by Austria, Britain, France, Prussia, Sardinia and Turkey, on the one hand, and Russia, on the other. Under the treaty, Russia ceded the mouth of the Danube and part of Bessarabia, renounced its protectorate over the Danubian principalities and its protection of Christians in Turkey, agreed to the neutralisation of the Black Sea and returned the fortress of Kars to Turkey in exchange for Sevastopol and other Russian towns held by the Allies. By skilfully exploiting the differences between Britain and France the Russian diplomats at the Congress blocked the attempts to impose even more onerous peace terms on Russia.—368, 411, 431

357 This draft of Engels' letter to Freiligrath was enclosed by Engels in his letter to Marx of 27 January 1859 (see this volume, p. 373). As follows from that letter, a three-page fair copy was sent to Freiligrath on 26 January. Neither the fair copy nor the other draft versions which Engels made while writing the letter have been preserved.—370

358 In a letter to Engels that has not reached us Freiligrath probably wrote about

the projected publication of a new revolutionary newspaper which was to be a sequel to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, organ of the proletarian wing of the democratic movement during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany. Freiligrath seems to have given an incorrect interpretation of the trend of the future newspaper as against that of the petty-bourgeois weekly *Hermann* which Gottfried Kinkel began to publish on 1 January 1859.—370, 372

359 Engels paraphrases the dictum 'They have learned nothing and forgotten nothing', which during the restoration of the Bourbons (1815-30) was often applied to their conservative supporters who had failed to draw any lessons from the French Revolution. The dictum was first used, also in referring to the French extreme royalists, by Rear Admiral Chevalier de Panat in a letter to the journalist Mallet du Pan in 1796. In later years it was often attributed to Charles Talleyrand.—370

360 The handwritten weekly *Der Maikäfer, eine Zeitschrift für Nicht-Philister* (May-Bug, a Journal for Non-Philistines) was founded by Gottfried Kinkel and Johanna Mockel in Bonn in 1840, at the time when the literary May-Bug Club was set up. With the outbreak of the revolution in Germany in 1848, both the journal and the club ceased to exist. Marx and Engels gave an ironic characterisation of the periodical and the club in the pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 244).—370

361 The letter is not dated. The approximate time of its writing has been established on the basis of a reply letter from Engels. The article mentioned below was not published by the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—371, 373

362 Between September 1851 and March 1852 Gottfried Kinkel toured America in an attempt to raise a so-called German-American revolutionary loan. It was to be floated among German refugees and Americans of German extraction and used to begin an immediate revolution in Germany. During the tour Kinkel conducted a slanderous campaign against Marx and Engels. The attempt to distribute the 'revolutionary loan' failed. Marx and Engels in a number of works and letters denounced the undertaking as an adventurist attempt to produce a revolution artificially during a period when the revolutionary movement was on the wane.—372

363 Marx's description of Princess Clotilde, daughter of King Victor Emmanuel of Piedmont (Sardinia), as a 'mild, angelic child' is clearly ironic. When writing about her forthcoming marriage to Napoleon III's cousin, Jerôme Bonaparte (nicknamed Plon-Plon), in his article 'Louis Napoleon's Position' mentioned in this letter, Marx notes that Clotilde, 'despite her young years, is very strong-minded' (Vol. 16, p. 169).—373

364 See Note 45.—374, 567

365 Marx is mistaken here: Georg Weerth died in Havana, Cuba (see Note 85).—374

366 In 1751 J. Ch. Gottsched published in Leipzig an epic poem by Ch. O. von Schönaich devoted to Arminius (Hermann), the leader of the Germanic tribes that had revolted against Roman rule. Gottsched supplied the poem with a laudatory preface, and on his recommendation the Leipzig University crowned Schönaich with the laurels of a poet in 1752.—375

367 The *'great men'* (die 'großen Männer') was the nickname Marx and Engels

applied to German and other refugees, primarily petty-bourgeois democrats, who after the 1848-49 revolution engaged in pseudo-revolutionary activities, organised plots, raised 'revolutionary loans', formed governments in exile, and the like. In their joint work *The Great Men of the Exile* (present edition, Vol. 11) Marx and Engels gave a satirical description of some of them.—376, 500, 502

368 In its issue of 19 October 1711, *The Spectator* propounded the idea that the price of commodities depended on the mass of money in circulation, a view shared by Montesquieu and Hume. In criticising this view in his *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* Marx referred to this issue of the journal (present edition, Vol. 30).—377

369 In his article 'The French Army' sent to the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 31 January 1859, Engels opposed his calculations concerning the strength of the forces France could field in Italy in case of war to the exaggerated figures contained in Louis Boniface's article datelined Paris, 29 January 1859, which appeared in the *Constitutionnel,* No. 30, on 30 January 1859. Engels pointed out that the *Constitutionnel* data had been furnished by the Emperor himself (see present edition, Vol. 16, p. 171). A report of 31 January from Paris, published in *The Times,* No. 23219, on 2 February 1859, stated outright that Napoleon III, whom Marx calls in this letter Mr Boustrapa (see Note 40), was the author of the article in the *Constitutionnel.*—379

370 This refers to the war preparations of the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont) and France against Austria. The war (29 April to 8 July 1859) was launched by Napoleon III, who under the banner of the 'liberation of Italy' strove for aggrandizement and needed a successful military campaign to shore up the Bonapartist regime in France. Piedmont ruling circles hoped that French support would enable them to unite Italy under the aegis of the Savoy dynasty. The war caused an upsurge of the national liberation movement in Italy. The Austrian army suffered a series of defeats. However Napoleon III, frightened by the scale of the liberation movement in Italy, abruptly ceased hostilities. On 11 July, the French and Austrian emperors concluded a separate preliminary peace in Villafranca. France received Savoy and Nice; Lombardy was annexed to Sardinia; the Venetian Region remained under the Austrians.—380, 399, 401, 405, 462, 537

371 Marx refers here to the *Carbonari,* members of secret political societies in Italy and France in the first half of the nineteenth century. In Italy they fought for national independence, unification of the country and liberal constitutional reforms.

In the latter half of the 1850s a number of attempts were made on the life of Napoleon III, including one by the Italian revolutionary Orsini (see Note 271). Some of these attempts were attributed to the desire to teach Napoleon III a lesson for the breach of his commitments to the Carbonari organisation, of which he was a member in 1831. Part of the questions touched upon in this letter are discussed in the articles 'The Money Panic in Europe' by Marx and Engels, 'Louis Napoleon's Position' by Marx and 'The French Army' by Engels (all three are in Vol. 16 of the present edition).—380

372 The *Rubicon*—the name of a river in Northern Italy, on the boundary between Umbria and Cisalpine Gaul, which Caesar crossed with his army in 49 B.C. thereby starting a civil war with Pompey. *To cross* (or *pass*) *the Rubicon*—to embark on an undertaking from which one cannot turn back.—381

373 Marx refers to the abortive Bonapartist coups in Boulogne on 6 August 1840

and Strasbourg on 30 October 1836, and to the coup d'état in Paris on 2 December 1851 which led to the establishment of Napoleon III's dictatorship and the proclamation of the Second Empire in 1852.—381

374 Marx probably means the tribute to Johanna Mockel, Gottfried Kinkel's wife, published in *The Daily Telegraph* by the German writer Fanny Lewald (Stahr). Marx mentions it in his letter to Lassalle of 3 March 1860 (see present edition, Vol. 41).—383

375 The *New-York Daily Tribune* did not publish this article by Marx.—384

376 On 8 February 1859 Georg Eccarius wrote to Marx saying it had been definitely established that he had consumption. While expressing his readiness to endure his misfortune with fortitude, he wrote about his apprehensions concerning the possible consequences of his disease for his family. In conclusion he asked Marx to send him books for self-education.—386

377 The letter has not been found.—388

378 The letter is not dated. The approximate time of its writing can be deduced from Marx's mentioning that his brother-in-law, Johann Carl Juta, would be travelling to Manchester, and from the fact that on 22 February 1859 Marx wrote a letter of recommendation to Engels for him.—389

379 Engels informed Marx of his intention to write the pamphlet *Po and Phine* (see present edition, Vol. 16) in a letter written in the second half of February 1859 (it has not reached us). In the same letter he obviously outlined the content of the planned work, which Marx then set forth in this letter to Lassalle. Engels finished the pamphlet by 9 March 1859.—391, 393

380 Engels took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising in June-July 1849 with the detachment of August Willich, whose adjutant he was. He participated in four battles, including the big one at Rastatt.—392

381 Marx refers to the fact that Ferdinand Lassalle was close to the opposition elements of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie grouped round the Berlin *Volks-Zeitung*. On 31 January 1859 Lassalle, who became disappointed in the newspaper, wrote to Marx as follows: 'The *Volks-Zeitung*, the only halfway democratic newspaper in Berlin, has rushed over to the ministerial camp and plays a role unique for its unworthiness in the history of the democratic press.'—396

382 In this letter, written at the end of February 1859, Lassalle informed Marx that he had reached an agreement with Franz Duncker regarding the publication of Engels' *Po and Rhine*. He stated the terms and suggested that the pamphlet should be published in French translation too.—398

383 In his speech in the Frankfurt National Assembly on 12 August 1848 General Radowitz asserted that Austria's boundary along the Mincio (in other words, continued Austrian rule in Northern Italy) guaranteed Germany against French invasion. This doctrine was refuted in Engels' pamphlet *Po and Rhine* and in Marx's article 'The War Prospect in Prussia' (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 216, 235 and 270).—398

384 A reference to the national liberation and anti-feudal uprising in the city of Cracow, which had been under the joint control of Austria, Russia and Prussia from 1815. The insurgents seized power on 22 February 1846 and set up a National Government, which issued a manifesto abolishing feudal services. The

uprising was put down in early March 1846. In November 1846, Austria, Prussia and Russia signed a treaty incorporating Cracow in the Austrian Empire.—401

385 Further events showed that Marx's forecast was true. In April 1859 the British Parliament was dissolved and new elections in June 1859 brought to power a government headed by Palmerston, who had been in opposition until then.

The ideas expressed by Marx in this and other letters of that period concerning the situation in Europe in view of the maturing military crisis, were developed in his article 'The War Prospect in France' written for the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see present edition, Vol. 16).—401, 405, 429

386 Engels means one of the three annual fairs in Leipzig, the spring fair, at which all German publishing houses used to exhibit their books.—402

387 After a long imprisonment, the Italian liberal Carlo Poerio and his associates, participants in the 1848-49 revolution, were expelled by the Neapolitan authorities and placed on a ship bound for America. On the way, the captain set them free at a British port. On 12 March 1859 *The Times* (No. 23252) published a letter to the editor by Lord Shaftesbury hailing Poerio and his friends as 'honest and heroic men'. To support them a committee was set up in London with Lord Shaftesbury as President. Palmerston, too, was a member.—405

388 The letter is not dated. The time of its writing is clear from the enclosed letter of Eccarius to Marx, written on 20 March 1859, and from Marx mentioning his article on the Reform Bill, which was presumably sent to New York on 22 March, Tuesday, one of the two weekdays when articles were despatched to America.—406

389 Besides 'The New British Reform Bill' (see present edition, Vol. 16), Marx wrote two more articles on the 1859 Reform Bill, on 22 March and 1 April 1859, but they were not published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and have not reached us.—406, 411

390 Marx has in mind cases when the *New-York Daily Tribune* reprinted articles from the London *Times*.—406

391 From 1693 to 1806 Wetzlar was the seat of the *Reichskammergeriecht* (Imperial Court of Justice) which examined disputes between the lands, complaints connected with taxation, and other questions. It was also the highest court of appeal for the lands and cities comprising the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. It was notorious for procrastination and red tape.—408

392 Marx means the new proposal Max Friedländer had made to him in the course of negotiations on Marx's work for the Vienna newspaper *Die Presse* (see also Note 254). It was forwarded to him by Lassalle in a letter written at the end of March 1859, and Marx's letter is the reply to it. This time Friedländer did not stipulate that Marx should abstain from criticising Palmerston and proposed that, besides articles, Marx should send telegraphic despatches on current events. In his letter Lassalle also asked Marx for advice concerning his own work for the paper. Marx wrote about the negotiations also in his letter to Engels of 16 April 1859 (see this volume, p. 416).—408

393 On the letter from Lassalle see Note 392.

In his letter of 15 March 1859 Charles Dana informed Marx that it was impossible to find a publisher in America for the English translation of *A*

*Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* and offered his help in selling 50-100 copies of the German edition of the book in America. Dana also requested Marx to write articles on 'Fortification' and 'Infantry' for *The New American Cyclopaedia.* Both articles were written by Engels (see present edition, Vol. 18).—410

394 In 1852 the Tory government of Derby was brought down by the Free Traders led by Bright, and Palmerston became Home Secretary in the new coalition government of Aberdeen. The fall of the Aberdeen government in 1855, caused by setbacks in the Crimean War, cost Russell the post of Foreign Secretary, while Palmerston headed the new, Whig government. During the second Derby ministry (1858-59), opposition by Bright and Russell contributed to the government's resignation, clearing the field for Palmerston's second cabinet.—411

395 On 31 March 1859 the House of Commons rejected, after a second reading, the Reform Bill proposed by the Tory government of Derby-Disraeli, which led to the government's fall. In the preceding debate, on 24 March, Bright and Gibson spoke against the Bill. Gibson quoted Bright, who said in one of his earlier speeches that 'there was no Bill so revolutionary as a bad Bill'. While favouring the preservation of some elements of the obsolete system of 'rotten boroughs', Gibson opposed the new distribution of electoral districts proposed by the government.

The ideas expressed in this letter were probably discussed in greater detail in Marx's article on the Reform Bill written on 1 April 1859, which was not published by the *New-York Daily Tribune* editors.—411

396 The letter was first published in an abridged English translation in K. Marx, *On Colonialism and Modernization,* New York, 1969.—412

397 This letter to Charles Dana has not been found.—412

398 While a member of the House of Commons, Thomas Chisholm Anstey, together with David Urquhart, repeatedly criticised Palmerston's foreign policy. As Attorney-General of Hong Kong in 1854-58, he came out against corruption and abuses by the British colonial administration, for which he was virtually removed from office. Upon his return to England in 1859, *The Times* printed, on 9 April, a statement by M.P. Edwin James announcing his intention to publish documents bearing on Anstey's dismissal.—412

399 Marx refers to the *India Loan Bill* introduced in the British House of Commons on 14 February 1859 by Secretary of State for the Affairs of India Stanley. The loan of £7,000,000 was required to cover the extra expenses of the British administration in India. Marx wrote about the Bill and India's financial position in general in his article 'Great Trouble in Indian Finances' (present edition, Vol. 16).—413

400 Marx means the Shanghai Anglo-Chinese trade agreement of 8 November 1858, which supplemented the Tientsin Anglo-Chinese Treaty of 1858. It established general rules of trade and listed goods free from export and import duties (articles of consumption intended for foreigners) and those subject to duties. The import of opium into China was formally allowed only in the form of foreign medicine which, however, was tantamount to the legalisation of the opium trade, though on a restricted scale.—413

401 On 5 April 1859 the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5602, printed a reader's letter signed 'Asbóth' with comments on Engels' article 'Chances of the Impending

War' (see present edition, Vol. 16). The author referred to an earlier letter of his, about Engels' article 'The Austrian Hold on Italy' (see Vol. 16). That other letter, signed 'A', appeared in the *Tribune*, No. 5581, on 11 March 1859 (in Asbóth's second letter the date was given incorrectly as '14th inst'). The later letter largely repeated the first. Asbóth considered the assessment of Austria's possibilities in the impending war given by Engels in his two articles insufficiently thorough and exaggerated.—417

402 In a letter which has not reached us, Engels may have informed Marx of a review of American newspapers published in a supplement to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 102, on 12 April 1859. Much space in the review was devoted to the *New-York Daily Tribune* which, in the words of the author, had published 'a number of interesting military-scientific articles on the North Italian theatre of war'. The review stressed that the *Tribune* editors were strongly influenced by the ideas of German revolutionaries.—417

403 Marx wrote this letter in reply to one from Lassalle of 8 April 1859. In his letter Lassalle forwarded a postal order to Marx, informed him of the publication of Engels' pamphlet *Po and Rhine* and asked for Marx's opinion on his drama *Franz von Sickingen*. He had sent Marx three copies of his drama (for Marx, Engels and Freiligrath) on 6 March 1859, together with a note explaining the 'tragic idea' of the drama. The aesthetic principles formulated in the note and in the preface to *Sickingen*, and embodied in the drama, were at variance with the demands Marx and Engels made upon realistic art, namely, truthfully to depict in the idiom specific to it the concrete reality of a definite social environment at a given period of history. Lassalle saw the essence of drama in the tragic conflict of the hero—the bearer of a certain abstract idea, in this case a revolutionary one—with the masses, who are incapable of grasping this idea in an adequate form owing to their backwardness and ignorance. This compells the hero to deviate from his ideals in practice and resort to 'cunning' *(Pfiffigkeit)*, and ultimately dooms him to defeat.

In his reply Marx gave a critical analysis of *Sickingen* from a dialectical-materialist standpoint and, in effect, argued against Lassalle's principles and the political tendency of the drama.

In English this letter was published, abridged, in Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955, and in full in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliff, New Jersey, 1979.—418

404 This refers to the Polish national liberation uprising of November 1830-October 1831. Its participants belonged mostly to the revolutionary gentry, and its leaders to the aristocracy. The uprising was crushed by Tsarist Russia aided by Prussia and Austria. Lack of support by the peasants, due to the leaders' refusal to abolish serfdom, contributed to its defeat. See also Engels' speech 'On the Polish Question' (present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 549-52), and his *The Peasant War in Germany*, where he writes about the failure of the nobility to win over the peasants in Germany in 1522 and in Poland in 1830 (Vol. 10, p. 444).—420

405 This refers to the withdrawal of the French troops that had occupied Rome during the suppression of the Roman Republic in 1849 and stayed on in subsequent years, as did the Austrians, who in 1849 had occupied the territory of the Legations, Marke and part of Umbria, belonging to the Roman Republic.—425

406 At a reception of the diplomatic corps in the Tuileries on 1 January 1859, Napoleon III said to the Austrian Ambassador J. A. Hübner: 'I regret that our relations with your Government are not as good as formerly.' This statement led to a diplomatic conflict with Austria, war against which had been decided on much earlier: in July 1858, in Plombières, a secret agreement had been reached between France and Piedmont, under which France was promised Savoy and Nice in exchange for participation in the forthcoming war against Austria.—425

407 A reference to the *Final Act* of the Congress of Vienna held by European monarchs in 1814-15. Signed on 9 June 1815, it laid down the frontiers of European states and their regimes—based on the principle of legitimism—as decreed by the victor powers. The Final Act sealed the political fragmentation of Germany and Italy.—426

408 Marx refers to the ultimatum the Austrian government presented to Piedmont on 19 April 1859 in a letter by Count K. Buol-Schauenstein, Austria's Foreign Minister, to Count Cavour, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Piedmont (published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 116, supplement, 26 April 1859). It demanded that Piedmont should disarm within three days and disband the detachments of Italian volunteers. Refusal to comply with these demands would be regarded as a *casus belli*. On 29 April the Austrian army under Field Marshal Gyulay crossed the frontier river Ticino, thus starting the Austro-Italo-French war of 1859.—427

409 Louis Auguste Blanqui was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for his part in the 1848 revolution. In the spring of 1859, having served his term in Belle-Île and Corsica, he was deported to Algeria. Following the amnesty of 16 August 1859, he returned to Paris.—427

410 Ridiculing Karl Vogt, Marx often puns on his name. *Vogt* or *Landvogt* was the name of provincial governors or other officials in the German Empire in the Middle Ages.

By calling him 'the great imperial Vogt', Marx alludes to the fact that he was one of the five members of the Regency of the Empire *(Reichsregentschaft)* formed in Stuttgart in early June 1849 by the 'Rump' of the Frankfurt National Assembly. The Regency's attempts to enforce the Imperial Constitution (see Note 116) by parliamentary means ended in failure.—428, 434, 436, 450, 460, 488, 521

411 Vogt and his followers intended to publish a weekly, *Die Neue Schweiz*, in Geneva. Later that title was dropped in favour of *Neue Schweizer Zeitung*.

On Vogt's letter to Freiligrath and the 'Programme' appended to it see Marx's exposé *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17, p. 115).—428

412 Marx alludes to Blind's call for the union of 'the leaders of all German popular parties' contained in his article published in the *Hermann* on 16 April 1859. According to Blind, this was to put an end to the confusion of opinions on the Italian crisis. Blind himself pronounced against both the pro-Austrian and pro-Bonapartist stand in this article.—428

413 Marx's reply to Friedländer's letter of 12 April 1859 has not been found.—429, 433

414 The *New-York Daily Tribune* did not publish this article by Engels, which presumably dealt with the Austro-Italo-French war, then in its early days.—430

415 The reference is to the secret Paris treaty of 19 February (3 March) 1859 concluded between France and Russia. Russia undertook to adopt a 'political and military stand which most easily proves its favourable neutrality towards France' and not to object to the enlargement of the Kingdom of Sardinia in the event of a war between France and Sardinia on the one hand and Austria on the other. Information about this secret treaty leaked into the press but the Russian Foreign Minister Gorchakov officially denied the existence of any written obligations to France. Marx refers to this treaty in his article 'The Financial Panic' (present edition, Vol. 16).—430, 537

416 The *Holy Alliance*—an association of European monarchs founded in September 1815, on the initiative of the Russian Tsar Alexander I and the Austrian Chancellor Metternich, to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries. During the 1848-49 revolution and subsequent years, counter-revolutionary circles in Austria, Prussia and Tsarist Russia attempted to revive the Holy Alliance in a modified form.—430

417 Marx refers to the commercial panic in Vienna started by the bankruptcy on 5 May 1859 of the big firm of Arnstein & Eskeles. Marx deals in detail with this subject in the article 'Highly Important from Vienna' (present edition, Vol. 16).—433

418 A reference to Lassalle's undated letter to Marx written in all probability in mid-May 1859. Marx discusses it in this letter and in one to Engels dated 18 May 1859.—433, 434

419 Marx compares the commercial panic in Vienna in the spring of 1859 (see Note 417) to that in Hamburg during the economic crisis in the autumn of 1857.—434

420 On 9 May 1859 Marx, while attending a public meeting organised by Urquhart in connection with the Italian war, was told by the German democrat Karl Blind that Vogt was in receipt of subsidies from the French government for Bonapartist propaganda and had offered bribes to some writers to induce them to come out in support of Napoleon III (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 116-17).—434, 436, 460, 468, 533, 539, 543

421 In his anonymous pamphlet *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preußens. Eine Stimme aus der Demokratie,* published in May 1859, Lassalle advocated the dynastic unification of Germany under the aegis of the Prussian monarchy, as against the idea of Germany's unification as a democratic republic put forward by Marx and Engels in 1848. Lassalle also tried to justify the neutrality of Prussia and other German states in the Austro-Italo-French war of 1859, an attitude which, he argued, contributed to the weakening of Austria, Prussia's rival, and the establishment of Prussian hegemony. At the same time he justified the policy of Napoleon III, in particular his demagogy on the nationalities question (the so-called principle of nationalities), and hailed the Bonapartist Second Empire as the potential 'liberator' of Italy.—435

422 Marx uses Lassalle's words here. In a letter to him Lassalle described his work on the pamphlet about the Italian war as follows: 'In the last few days, writing nights through, I have tried to weave from logic and fire something ... which will not be lost on the people in any case...'—436, 458

423 The *Federal Diet*—a representative body of the German Confederation, an ephemeral union of German states, founded in 1815 by decision of the

Congress of Vienna. Though it had no real power, it was nevertheless a vehicle for feudal and monarchical reaction. During the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, reactionary circles made vain attempts to revive the Federal Diet, intending to use it to prevent the democratic unification of Germany. After the defeat of the revolution, the Federal Diet received its former rights in 1850 and survived till 1866.—436

424 The *Peace of Basle* was concluded on 5 April 1795 separately between France and Prussia, the latter being a member of the first anti-French coalition. The treaty was the consequence of the French victories as well as of the differences between the members of the coalition, in particular between Prussia and Austria.—437

425 No manifesto was issued.—437, 447, 449

426 Marx refers to the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 50).—437

427 The International Committee was set up in London on 25 January 1855 on the initiative of Ernest Jones. On 6 May 1856 it was renamed the International Association. It included English Chartists and French, German, Polish, Italian, Hungarian, Spanish and Russian political refugees in London. The Association's political and ideological heterogeneity hampered the performance of its main function, promotion of the international cooperation of democratic forces. The Association ceased to exist in 1859.—437

428 The last two issues of the weekly *Die Neue Zeit*—Nos. 41 and 42 of 10 and 16 April 1859—had only two pages instead of the usual four. It was one of these issues that Marx sent Engels.

The meeting mentioned by Marx was held at the London hotel *Germania* on 1 May 1859 on Liebknecht's initiative. Attended by members of German workers' societies in London, it decided to start publication of *Das Volk*, a weekly representing the views and interests of the German workers in Britain.—437

429 Early in October 1856 the Marx family moved to a London suburb.—438, 464

430 *Das Volk*—a German-language weekly published in London from 7 May to 20 August 1859—was founded as the official organ of the German Workers' Educational Society in London. Its first issue appeared under the editorship of the German journalist and petty-bourgeois democrat Elard Biskamp. Beginning with issue No. 2 Marx took an active part in its publication: he offered advice, edited articles, organised material support, and so on. In issue No. 6 of 11 June, the Editorial Board officially named Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Ferdinand Freiligrath, Wilhelm Wolff and Heinrich Heise as its contributors (see present edition, Vol. 16).

Marx's first article in the paper—'Spree and Mincio'—was printed on 25 June. Under Marx's influence *Das Volk* began to turn into a militant revolutionary working-class newspaper. In the beginning of July Marx became its virtual editor and manager.

*Das Volk* carried Marx's preface to his work *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, six of his articles, seven articles by Engels and his review of Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

*Das Volk* reflected the elaboration by Marx and Engels of questions concerning the revolutionary theory and tactics of the working-class struggle, described the class struggles of the proletariat, and relentlessly fought the

exponents of petty-bourgeois ideology. It analysed from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism the events of the Austro-Italo-French war of 1859 and the questions of German and Italian unification, exposed the foreign policy of Britain, Prussia, France, Russia and other states, and consistently opposed Bonapartism and its overt and covert supporters.

In all, sixteen issues appeared. The newspaper ceased publication for lack of money.—438, 447

431 This refers to a branch of the German Workers' Educational Society in London and to an association, close to it, formed by German refugee workers in London's East End in November 1858.—440

432 In his letter of 24 April 1859 from New York, Albrecht Komp told Marx that there were favourable opportunities for selling copies of the first instalment of his book, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, in the USA. Enclosed was a letter from Joseph Weydemeyer of 27 March 1859 confirming Komp's information.—440, 446, 454

433 On 21 March 1859 Lassalle wrote to Engels telling him that he had sent copies of his drama *Franz von Sickingen* to England for him, Marx and Freiligrath. In this connection Lassalle referred to his letter to Marx of 6 March where he had explained his motives for writing the drama, and the aesthetic principles underlying it. He probably meant the note—appended to that letter—in which he elucidated his concept of the 'tragic idea' (see Note 403).

This letter of Engels', with the critical analysis of Lassalle's play, continued the polemic, started by Marx in his letter to Lassalle of 19 April 1859 (see this volume, pp. 418-21), on the evaluation of the historical events and characters presented in the drama, on its political message and on problems of aesthetics and art.

On the first English publication of Engels' letter see Note 100.—441

434 In early 1858 Lassalle published anonymously a stage version of his drama *Franz von Sickingen*. But when the Royal Court Theatre refused to put it on, Lassalle published it as a literary drama (at the beginning of 1859).—442

435 Here and below Engels refers to ideas Lassalle put forward in the preface to his *Franz von Sickingen*. Engels argues against them in one form or another.—442

436 Engels refers to the trial of Lassalle on 3-4 May 1849. He was arrested in Düsseldorf on 22 November 1848 on a charge of inciting people to offer armed resistance to the government in his speech at a popular meeting in Neuss (near Düsseldorf). The proceedings against him were delayed by the legal authorities in every possible way. At Lassalle's request, expressed in his letters to Marx and Engels, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* came out in defence of him and of other persecuted Düsseldorf democrats (see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 344-46, 463-65, 474-76; Vol. 9, pp. 339-41, 377-78, 383-88). Marx and Engels also took part in the efforts of democratic organisations to speed up the investigation. The jury acquitted Lassalle.—442

437 Engels calls the leader of the peasant movement of the early 16th century an "agitator" *(Wühler)*, the name moderate constitutionalists in Germany in 1848-49 applied to republican democrats.—444

438 The *Bundschuh* and the *Poor Konrad* were secret peasant associations whose activities prepared the Peasant War in Germany in 1525 (see Engels' *The Peasant*

*War in Germany,* present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 431-38, 440 and 441).—445

439 A reference to the German Republicans and petty-bourgeois democrats, the names of whose leaders occur in the refrain of a song popular in South Germany during the 1848-49 revolution:

'Hecker, Struve, Blenker, Zitz und Blum,
Bringt die deutschen Fürsten um!'
('Hecker, Struve, Blenker, Zitz and Blum,
Slay the German princes!').

With these lines Engels opens his work *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution,* in which he criticises the petty-bourgeois democrats' attitude during the revolution (see present edition, Vol. 10, p. 149).—446

440 *The Free Press,* No. 5, of 27 May 1859 carried Karl Blind's anonymous note 'The Grand Duke Constantine to Be King of Hungary' exposing the plans for giving the Hungarian throne to the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia. Marx mentioned this article in his *Herr Vogt* (see Vol. 17, pp. 122-24). Blind also hinted at the possibility of some refugee German democrats and liberals being bribed by the Bonapartists.

The same issue of the journal carried an excerpt from a private letter comparing Kossuth's tendency to yield to Bonapartist demagogy in the nationalities question with Mazzini's critical attitude to it. Marx may have drawn on the two items for the facts he relates to Engels.—452, 504, 521

441 This refers to the proclamation which Garibaldi addressed to the local population upon the entry of his volunteer corps into Lombardy in May 1859 (see 'Garibaldi's Proclamation to the Lombards', *The Times,* No. 23319, 30 May 1859).—455

442 The reference is probably to the workers' demonstrations for better living conditions held in Berlin on 1 and 4 June 1859. Some of the participants were arrested.—458

443 On 14 May 1859 *Das Volk* (issue No. 2) announced the publication of the pamphlet *Po and Rhine.* On Marx's initiative, the announcement suggested that the author of the pamphlet was a prominent member of the proletarian party. In its issue No. 5 of 4 June *Das Volk* carried an editorial on the publication of Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* It contained extracts from the Preface to the book and for the first time named Engels as the author of *Po and Rhine.*—458

444 Marx came to Engels in Manchester approximately on 12 June 1859 to discuss questions connected with the publication of *Das Volk.* From Manchester he went to Scotland to visit former members of the Communist League Peter Imandt and Heinrich Heise, with whom he discussed the financing of the paper. Marx returned to London about 2 July.—459, 462, 470, 472, 497, 520, 538

445 This refers to Lassalle's letter to Marx and Engels of 27 May 1859, in which he replied to the criticism of his drama *Franz von Sickingen* contained in Marx's letter of 19 April and Engels' letter of 18 May 1859 (see this volume, pp. 418-21 and 441-46). In essence Lassalle argued against Marx's and Engels' view of the principles of drama and artistic creation and against their conception of the historical events presented in his drama. Lassalle tried to justify his attempts to glorify the German nobility and play down the historical role of peasant

uprisings, describing the peasantry as class with reactionary tendencies, and Thomas Münzer, the ideologist of the plebeian peasant masses, as a religious fanatic.—460, 461

446 Marx and Engels refrained from openly attacking Lassalle's pamphlet in the press. However, indirect polemic against him could be found in their newspaper articles, in Engels' pamphlet *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* and in Marx's *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vols. 16 and 17). It concerned the appraisal of the Austro-Italo-French war of 1859, the policy of the ruling classes of France and Prussia and the ways of unifying Italy and Germany.—462

447 Marx did not have to issue a public statement because his book, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (see present edition, Vol. 30), had appeared, as he soon learned, on 11 June 1859.—463

448 Marx means the first week after his return to London. He came back about 2 July 1859 (see Note 444).—463

449 *Das Volk* regularly published 'Gatherings from the Press', a column with quotations from and critical comments on Kinkel's weekly *Hermann*. Besides Marx, Elard Biskamp took part in writing it (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 625-34). Marx's biting 'Gatherings' forced Kinkel to resign from the editorial board of the weekly. He announced his resignation in the *Hermann*, No. 26, 2 July 1859.—463, 468

450 On 8 July 1859 the emperors of France and Austria held a separate meeting—without the King of Piedmont—in Villafranca, at which they reached an agreement on an armistice. The meeting was initiated by Napoleon III, who feared that the protracted war might give a fresh impulse to the revolutionary and national liberation movements in Italy and other European states. On 11 July France and Austria signed a preliminary peace under which Austria was to cede to France its rights to Lombardy and France was to transfer this territory to Piedmont. Venice was to remain under the supreme power of Austria, and the rulers of the states of Central Italy were to be restored to their thrones. It was intended to create a confederation of Italian states under the honorary chairmanship of the Pope.

The Villafranca preliminaries formed the basis of the peace treaty concluded by France, Austria and Piedmont in Zurich on 10 November 1859.—464, 465

451 Presumably an allusion to Lassalle's letter to Marx and Engels of 27 May 1859 (see Note 445), in which he asserted that 'a collision ... that *constantly recurred in all* or almost all the past revolutions, and is bound to recur in future ones, is the tragic collision of the *revolutionary situation* itself'.—465

452 In publishing the 'Memoir on Russia' on 13 July 1859 the editors of *The Free Press* wrote that the document had been discovered during the 'Prussian ministerial crisis'. This put Engels on his guard and made him, like Marx (see his letter to Engels of 19 July 1859, this volume, p. 470), doubt the authenticity of some of the passages.

And indeed, from subsequent issues of *The Free Press* (of 27 and 31 July 1859) it appeared that the publication was based not on the original document but on material published in the German conservative newspaper *Preussisches Wochenblatt zur Besprechung politischer Tagesfragen*, Nos. 23, 24 and 25, June 9, 16 and 23, 1855. This publication quoted neither the source from which the document had been taken nor its title or the full text. Later Bismarck in his

memoirs (*Gedanken und Erinnerungen,* Stuttgart, 1898, Bd. 1, S. 111-112) stated outright that the publication had been a forgery.

Though Marx and Engels were sceptical about the document, they did not know that it was completely false. Therefore Marx had it reprinted, from *The Free Press,* in the *New-York Daily Tribune* (early August) and in *Das Volk* (late July-early August 1859) prefacing it with an 'Introductory Note' (see present edition, Vol. 16, p. 415).—468, 470, 476

453 The 'Memoir on Russia, for the Instruction of the Present Emperor', published in *The Free Press,* said that Russia's interests demanded the murder of Prince Alexei (son of Peter I) and Peter of Holstein, i. e., Peter III.—469

454 Marx means his series of articles "Quid pro Quo", which he began publishing in *Das Volk* (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 445-64). The series remained unfinished as the newspaper ceased publication. In the published instalments the 'Memoir on Russia' was not dealt with.—470

455 The letter has no date. It was written in reply to Marx's letter of 19 July 1859 (this volume, pp. 469-71) and answered by Marx on 22 July (pp. 472-74). So the letter must have been written between these dates.—471

456 Engels' letter to Duncker has not been found.—474

457 From late June to 20 August 1859 *Das Volk* published a series of articles entitled 'Feierstunden-Arbeit eines Arbeiters' ('Spare-Time Work of a Worker'). The author advocated schools for workers and disparaged the bourgeois phrases about the sanctity of private property, the need for forgiveness and conciliation with one's enemies.

The earlier instalments appeared unsigned but the last three were marked by the letter 'P'. The series was written by the Danish refugee N. Petersen.—476

458 In its 'Feuilleton' column, *Das Volk,* No. 13, 30 July 1859, carried a poem by a Landwehr soldier from Frankfort on the Oder describing the mechanism of the needle gun. The editors supplied it with ironical comments.—477

459 Early in May 1851 Peter Nothjung was sent on a tour of Germany as an emissary of the Cologne Central Committee of the Communist League. On 10 May he was arrested in Leipzig. The documents seized from him enabled the authorities of Prussia and other German states to arrest more League members.—478

460 Crawshay's letter, published in *The Free Press,* No. 8, 27 July 1859, stated that the 'Russian Memoir' had been published in 1855 in a German newspaper (it was the *Preussisches Wochenblatt zur Besprechung politischer Tagesfragen*—see Note 452) and that it had been translated for *The Free Press* by 'a German'. The letter gave no indication as to the identity of that 'German'.—479

461 About the middle of July 1859 Marx talked with Blind, Liebknecht and Hollinger, the owner of the print-shop in which *Das Volk* was printed, about the anti-Vogt anonymous pamphlet *Zur Warnung (A Warning)* which had been reprinted in *Das Volk,* No. 7, 18 June and the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 173, 22 June. The pamphlet exposed Vogt as a bribed Bonapartist agent. During the conversation, Marx gave it as his opinion that the pamphlet had been written by Blind as it contained facts which the latter had related to him at a public meeting on 9 May 1859 (see Note 420); Marx also pointed out that the proofs of the pamphlet, discovered by Liebknecht in Hollinger's print-shop

in mid-June and sent by him to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* contained corrections in Blind's handwriting. However, Blind, unwilling openly to attack Vogt, denied his authorship. His attitude was later condemned by Marx in his polemical work *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 122-32).—479, 486, 498, 503, 539

462 The project to publish the *Union Républicaine* did not materialise. See this volume, p. 484.—480

463 Engels means Duncker's letter of 3 August 1859, which was in reply to Engels' letter, no longer extant, of 25 July. Duncker wrote that he had sent six copies of Engels' pamphlet *Po and Rhine,* and would advertise Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* in German papers several weeks after its publication because, he maintained, this would make for better sales.—481

464 The Urquhartite *Free Press* had been suggesting that Mazzini was a 'Russian agent'. This idea had been expressed, in particular, in the note 'Kossuth and Mazzini' published in *The Free Press,* No. 5, 27 May 1859.

By Mazzini's 'diplomatic revelations' Engels means his assertions in *The Times* (No. 23381, 10 August 1859) about the existence of a secret agreement between Bonapartist France, Tsarist Russia and the Austrian Empire on combating national liberation movements in Europe.—482

465 Marx means the *Union Républicaine,* which was to be published by Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc (see this volume, p. 480).

Napoleon III's amnesty for political offenders (16 August 1859) was to ensure his government the support of liberal circles.—484

466 The letter is not dated. The time of its writing may be established by reference to Marx's mentioning his article about Italy and Hungary. He probably means the article 'Kossuth and Louis Napoleon' published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 24 September (No. 5748) and dated 5 September 1859. It is quite possible that Marx sent Engels the letter on the same day.—485

467 The letter is not dated. But since it was in reply to Marx's letter presumably written on 5 September 1859 (see Note 466), the time of its writing can be approximately established by comparing the two letters. Marx asked Engels to send him by Friday (i. e., 9 September) 'a military piece on China' (probably in connection with the resumption of the Western powers' second Opium War against China). Being unable to supply the article by the appointed day, Engels informed Marx of this on the eve, i. e., on 8 September.—486

468 Blind's letter to Liebknecht of 8 September 1859 is quoted in full in Marx's *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 122).—486

469 Marx means the written declaration given to him on 17 September 1859 by August Vögele, the compositor, testifying that the pamphlet *Zur Warnung* had been set in Fidelio Hollinger's print-shop, that the manuscript was in Blind's hand and that Hollinger had named Blind as the author of the pamphlet (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 123, 124-25 and 319).—488, 498

470 On 22 June 1859 the *Allgemeine Zeitung* reprinted the pamphlet *Zur Warnung,* which induced Vogt, in July, to bring an action for libel against the paper. The case was heard on 24 October 1859. In early August the editors of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* had asked Liebknecht for proof of the accusations against Vogt contained in *Zur Warnung.* Liebknecht requested Marx to help him obtain Blind's admission that he, Blind, was the author of the anonymous pamphlet. Marx considered such an admission necessary also because Vogt had declared

Marx to be the author of the pamphlet. Besides, Marx wanted to expose the cowardice of this petty-bourgeois democrat who dared not challenge Bonaparte's agents openly and was, as it were, aiding and abetting Vogt in his dispute with the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. Though Marx emphatically condemned the paper's conservative views, in this case he assisted it in the interests of the common struggle against Bonapartism. The court dismissed Vogt's action (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 111-32, also pp. 3 and 8-9).—488, 503, 507, 514, 519, 520

471 Marx refers to the *Friends of the Fatherland Society (Vaterlandsfreundegesellschaft)*—a republican association of German refugees in London that existed in the 1850s and 60s. Karl Blind, Ferdinand Freiligrath and Fidelio Hollinger were among its members.—488

472 The letter has not been found.—489

473 After the publication, in June 1859, of the first instalment of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (see present edition, Vol. 30), Marx intended, as previously agreed with the Berlin publisher Duncker, to prepare for the press and publish as the second instalment the 'Chapter on Capital', which constitutes the bulk of his main economic manuscript of 1857-58; and then publish the remaining parts of his economic work (see Notes 250 and 355).

As he proceeded with his plan, however, he realised that he would have to do more research to formulate the basic propositions of his economic theory. But his journalistic activity and other party obligations, above all the need to refute publicly Vogt's slanderous allegations against proletarian revolutionaries, temporarily diverted him from his economic studies. It was not until 1861 that he resumed them in earnest. Later Marx decided to publish his researches not as the second and further instalments of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* but as a large independent work.—489, 498, 502, 508, 511, 522, 523, 542, 574

474 The letter has not been found.—489

475 Marx means Engels' return to Manchester on 20 September 1859, after accompanying his parents on a short tour of Scotland (see this volume, p. 490).—491

476 Speculation of this kind probably stemmed from the amnesty for political offenders demagogically granted by Napoleon III on 16 August 1859 (see Note 465) and from the expectations of a similar amnesty in Prussia in connection with the forthcoming enthronement of William I.—491

477 The letter is not dated. It was written in reply to Marx's letter of 23 September 1859. Marx answered it, presumably, on 27 September (see Note 480). So this letter seems to have been written between these two dates.—492

478 Marx's letters of 26 September and 8 October 1859 to Bertalan Szemere, the former Prime Minister of the Hungarian revolutionary government, is evidence of his desire to strengthen contacts with refugee Hungarian revolutionary democrats. In these letters Marx criticises Kossuth's attitude in the years of emigration, in particular his tendency to take Napoleon III's demagogy in the nationalities question at face value, and his illusions concerning the possibility of using the French Emperor as an ally in the struggle for Hungary's liberation. This criticism does not extend to Kossuth's activity during the 1848-49 revolution, when he headed the revolutionary forces fighting for Hungary's national independence and, in the words of Engels, was 'a truly

revolutionary figure, a man who in the name of his people dares to accept the challenge of a desperate struggle' (Vol. 8, p. 227).—493, 504

479 On 23 August 1859 the *New-York Daily Tribune* published an anonymous item marked 'From Our Own Correspondent' (written by the Hungarian emigrant Ferenc Pulszky) which was an attempt to justify Kossuth's ties with Napoleon III. Early in September Marx sent two articles to the paper exposing the ties of both Kossuth and his followers, including Pulszky, with Bonapartist circles. The facts testifying to Kossuth's dealings with Napoleon III, which Marx cited in the two articles were given to him by Bertalan Szemere on 1 September 1859 when the latter visited him in London. The *Tribune* published, on 24 September, one article by Marx on the subject, 'Kossuth and Louis Napoleon' (present edition, Vol. 16), possibly combining the two he had sent. Whether Marx's private letter to the *Tribune* editor, Charles Dana, was used in it is not known, for the letter has not been found. On 28 September the London *Free Press* published Marx's article 'Particulars of Kossuth's Transaction with Louis Napoleon', which was a condensed version of the *Tribune* article.—494, 497, 507, 525

480 The letter has no date. The approximate date of its writing has been deduced from Marx's acknowledgment of the money Engels sent him in a letter written between 24 and 26 September (see Note 477), and from the fact that Marx wrote it on an 'article day', i. e., a day when he sent material to the *New-York Daily Tribune*. In this case it was, most likely, Tuesday, 27 September. It has also been taken into account that this letter preceded the one Marx wrote to Engels on 28 September 1859.—495

481 The letter is not dated. It is the reply to Lassalle's letter of 30 September 1859. In sending the latter on to Engels on 5 October 1859, Marx wrote that he had answered it 'by return' (see this volume, p. 502). Taking into account the time letters took to get from Berlin to London, it may be assumed that Marx received Lassalle's not earlier than 2 October.

On the first English publication of Marx's letter see Note 20.—497

482 The article 'The New Portfolio' published in *The Free Press*, No. 9, 31 August 1859 reported the forthcoming publication in Berlin of a collection of diplomatic documents and materials corresponding to the *Portfolio* series published by David Urquhart in London (see Note 18). The German series, edited by Eduard Fischel, appeared in Berlin in 1859-60 under the title *Das Neue Portfolio. Eine Sammlung wichtiger Dokumente und Aktenstücke zur Zeitgeschichte.* The above-mentioned article also said that the 'Memoir on Russia' first appeared, in German, in the *Preussisches Wochenblatt* and that the publication in *The Free Press* was a translation from the German (see Note 452).—500, 547

483 Marx means the lectures on political economy he gave in the German Workers' Educational Society in London in the autumn of 1859, after the publication of his *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* The draft of one of the lectures has been published in the present edition under the title 'On the Division of Labour' (Vol. 16, pp. 617-18).—502, 520

484 This communication has not been found.—503

485 In a letter to Marx written in October 1859 Lassalle again tried to prove the correctness of the tactics he had advocated in his pamphlet *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preußens* (see Note 421). Marx replied to him on 22 November,

supplementing his criticism of Lassalle's anti-proletarian, pro-Bonapartist position on this question with fresh arguments (see this volume, pp. 536-39).—508, 522

486 Marx refers to the festivities to mark the centenary of Schiller's birth on 10 November 1859. The preparations in London were handled by a jubilee committee consisting of petty-bourgeois refugees headed by Gottfried Kinkel, who hoped to use the festival for his own publicity purposes.—508, 511, 514, 525

487 This refers to August Vögele's written declaration (see Note 469), which Marx sent to the editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* on 19 October 1859 in connection with Vogt's law-suit against the paper (see Note 470).—508, 513, 515, 521

488 Marx's letter to Ferdinand Freiligrath has not been found.—511

489 Engels seems to refer to the planned march of Romagnese and Tuscan volunteers under Garibaldi to Central and South Italy with a view to reactivating the struggle for Italy's unification. The plan had been put forward by Italy's democrats headed by Mazzini, who were not satisfied with the Villafranca treaty (see Note 370). The march was to take place in late October or early November 1859.

Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, and his liberal following at first sought to exploit Garibaldi for the unification of Italy under the aegis of the Sardinian dynasty, but fearing an outbreak of popular unrest in Central Italy they succeeded in having the expedition cancelled.—515

490 In the summer of 1859 hostilities resumed in the second Opium War in China (1856-60).

In October 1859 Spain declared war on Morocco and invaded the country. This colonial incursion met with stubborn resistance and brought the Spaniards no success. The fighting continued until March 1860. In April a peace treaty was concluded under which Spain received indemnities and insignificant territorial concessions.—515, 523

491 At the time, Engels was studying the Gothic translation of the Bible made by the Visigothic bishop Ulfilas. The extant fragments of Ulfilas' Bible, the main written monument of the Gothic language, were available in a number of editions prepared by different German scholars.—516

492 The Schiller society, founded in Manchester in November 1859 in connection with the centenary of Schiller's birth, was conceived as a cultural and social centre of the city's German colony. At first Engels was critical of the society and kept aloof from it. But after certain amendments were made in the Rules, he became a member of its board, in 1864, and later President of the society, devoting much time to it and exercising a considerable influence on its activities.—517, 531

493 Marx means Lassalle's negotiations with the Berlin publisher Duncker on the publication of the second instalment of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (see also Note 473).—518

494 The *Communist League*—the first German and international communist organisation of the proletariat formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847, as a result of the reorganisation of the League of the Just (a secret association of workers and artisans that appeared in the 1830s and had communities in Germany, France, Switzerland and

England). The League's members took an active part in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany in 1848-49. In 1849 and 1850, after the defeat of the revolution, it was reorganised and continued its activities. In the summer of 1850 disagreements arose between the supporters of Marx and Engels and the sectarian Willich-Schapper group, which resulted in a split within the League. Owing to police persecutions and arrests of League members in May 1851, the activities of the Communist League as an organisation practically ceased in Germany. On 17 November 1852, on a motion by Marx, the London District announced the dissolution of the League.

The Communist League played an important historical role as the first proletarian party based on the principles of scientific communism, as a school of proletarian revolutionaries, and as the historical forerunner of the International Working Men's Association.—519

495 Marx refers to the war waged by the mountaineers of Daghestan and Chechnya under Shamil against Tsarist Russia. Having defeated Shamil's main forces and taken him prisoner (August 1859), the Russians were breaking the resistance of separate detachments of Shamil's followers.—523

496 During the Italian war of 1859 Kossuth was in Italy where, on his initiative, a Hungarian legion has been formed to fight against Austria on the side of Piedmont and Bonapartist France. He hoped to win independence for Hungary with the help of the latter.

On the Villafranca peace see Note 450.—524, 532

497 On 26 May 1849 Wilhelm Wolff, who shortly before had taken over the seat of a moderate deputy in the Frankfurt National Assembly, spoke in the Assembly against the adoption of an address to the German people drawn up by the poet Uhland in the name of moderate democrats, and proposed declaring the Imperial Regent of Germany, Archduke John of Austria, and his ministers traitors to the people. His speech was sharply criticised by bourgeois deputies, Karl Vogt in particular.—525

498 Marx puns on the phrase *abgerundete Natur* ('an intellectually mature character') used by barrister K. Hermann, who represented Vogt in his lawsuit against the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (see Note 470). The phrase can also mean 'well-rounded character' (in the physical sense), and it is in this sense that Marx later used it in his polemical work *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 28).—525

499 Marx and Engels ridiculed these attributes of Kinkel in their satire *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 252-55).

*Black, red and gold* symbolise the unity of Germany; petty-bourgeois democrats associated the colours with the idea of a union of autonomous lands in the manner of the Swiss Confederation.—526

500 The letter is not dated. By its contents it is close to Marx's letter to Engels of 16 November 1859. Marx's mentioning that he wanted an article about the war in Morocco 'by tomorrow', and that he was writing an article about the Suez question, 'not having written on Tuesday', suggests that 'tomorrow' means Friday (Tuesday and Friday being the days when Marx sent articles to the *New-York Daily Tribune*), and that this letter was written on Thursday, 17 November.—529

501 Marx's article about the events connected with the building of the Suez Canal, which had aggravated the contradictions between Britain and France, was not published by the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—529

502 The rifle volunteer movement started in Britain at the end of 1850 as a reaction to Napoleon III's aggressive policy, which was seen as holding the threat of a French invasion of the British Isles. Progressive circles believed that the movement could also help reform the extremely conservative British military system.

An article by Engels on the volunteer movement in Britain appeared in the *New-York Daily Tribune* later (see F. Engels, 'The British Volunteer Force', present edition, Vol. 17). Engels also wrote a series of articles on the subject for the Manchester weekly *The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire* (present edition, Vol. 18).—530, 544, 546

503 On 10 November 1859 the Crystal Palace (see Note 89) was the scene of festivities to mark the centenary of Schiller's birth, with German petty-bourgeois refugees, above all Kinkel, playing the main role.—531, 534

504 The cutting from the *Volksblatt* presumably was a report on Vogt's lawsuit against the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (see Note 470) containing slanderous attacks on Marx and his followers.—532

505 Marx alludes to *Batrachomyomachia* (The Battle of the Frogs and the Mice), an old anonymous Greek parody of Homer's *Iliad*.—532

506 This letter is the reply to two letters by Lassalle, dated mid-November and 20 November 1859. Marx reverts to the disagreements with Lassalle over the assessment of Napoleon III's policy and the tactical line on the question of Italy's and Germany's unification, and answers Lassalle's attempts to prove the correctness of his stand formulated in a letter written in October 1859 (see Note 485).—536

507 In a letter to Marx written in mid-November 1859 Lassalle praised Freiligrath's poem 'Zur Schillerfeier. 10. November 1859. Festlied der Deutschen in London' and at the same time expressed offence at Freiligrath's failing to acknowledge his drama *Franz von Sickingen*, which Lassalle had sent him for comment.—537

508 At the beginning of April 1859 Vogt sent Freiligrath and others his political 'Programme' calling on the states of the German Confederation to maintain neutrality in the war France and Piedmont were preparing against Austria. Vogt urged political leaders to support his 'Programme' in the press (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 115).—539, 543

509 On 19 August 1851 Marx, accompanied by Ferdinand Freiligrath and Wilhelm Wolff, visited the offices of the London German weekly *How Do You Do?* and demanded satisfaction of the publisher Louis Drucker and the editor Heinrich Beta, who had printed an item containing insulting allusions to Marx's connection with the Prussian Minister of the Interior, Ferdinand von Westphalen (Jenny Marx's stepbrother).—540, 545

510 Marx decided against making his statement (see this volume, p. 535).—541

511 On 15 November 1859 the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* published Freiligrath's statement (see this volume, p. 533) appending to it a note by Gustav Kolb, the Editor-in-Chief, claiming that in his letter to the newspaper Liebknecht had named Freiligrath among the persons who could come forward with charges against Vogt. Actually, Liebknecht had only written that Freiligrath could, together with Marx, confirm that Blind was the author of the pamphlet *Zur Warnung* (see Note 461).

Cotta was the publisher of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*.—543

512 The long letter mentioned by Marx has probably not been preserved. Another letter containing the *Gartenlaube* and Beta's article was sent, most likely, on 19 November 1859 though that was a Saturday, not a Tuesday (see this volume, pp. 532-36).—542

513 This refers to Lassalle's letter of 20 November 1859, written in reply to Marx's letter of 15 November (see this volume, p. 526). In this letter Lassalle tried to persuade Marx not to publish his declaration against Vogt and Blind in the *Volks-Zeitung* (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 8-9).—542

514 This letter to Freiligrath is quoted in full in Marx's letter to Engels of 10 December 1859 (see this volume, pp. 548-49) and has come down to us only in this form. When reproducing the letter Marx did not date it, but he wrote it, as he informed Engels, immediately upon receiving Freiligrath's reply to his letter of 23 November. Freiligrath's reply is also quoted in full in the above-mentioned letter to Engels. Freiligrath, however, had not answered Marx's letter at once but, as Marx wrote, had done so after 'having waited a week', i. e., on 30 November. Marx's letter to Freiligrath quoted in his letter to Engels was written at about this time too.—546

515 The letter is not dated, but it may be assumed from its contents that it was written in reply to Marx's letter of 10 December 1859. Marx answered on 13 December. So Engels must have written his letter between these two dates.—550

516 This letter was first published in English in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934].—551

517 The note mentioned is a letter to Marx from A. Peza, a London bookseller, of 11 December 1859, communicating Hermann Juch's request to appoint the place and time for a meeting. Juch, the proprietor of the London weekly *Hermann,* wished to see Marx in order to get information on the Cologne Communist trial (see Note 71) which he needed because Wilhelm Stieber, the chief of the Prussian political police and the central figure in that trial, had lodged a complaint in a Berlin court against Karl Eichhoff, the Berlin correspondent of the *Hermann,* who had denounced Stieber on its pages (see this volume, p. 536).

In May 1860 Eichhoff was sentenced to 14 months' imprisonment.—552, 554

518 The letter is not dated, but since Marx answered it on 20 December 1859, it may be assumed that it was written the day before. This is confirmed by Engels' mentioning that he had been unable to write the article on Morocco for the day when material was usually despatched from London to New York, in this case Tuesday, 20 December. The last day when an article due to get to London

from Manchester by December 20 ought to have been written was December 19, and that was the day when Engels wrote this letter.—553

519 Engels refers to the events of the Spanish-Moroccan war of 1859-60 (see Note 490). His next article on the subject published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*—'The Moorish War'—was written in mid-January 1860 (see present edition, Vol. 16).—553

520 In a letter published in the *Hermann* on 17 December, Borkheim maintained that Blind enjoyed the same prestige in Baden and Württemberg as Kinkel in Prussia.—555

521 The letter is not dated, but it has much in common in content with Marx's letter to Engels of 25 March 1856. Mrs Marx's mentioning of the report 'from the Berlin correspondent in to-day's *Times*' is evidence that she wrote the letter on 28 March.—561

522 Probably one of Engels' articles on Pan-Slavism for the *New-York Daily Tribune* not published by the editors (see Note 11).—561

523 The letter is not dated. Jenny Marx's asking whether the eye lotion had helped Engels, and the fact that Marx had notified him of the despatch of the lotion in a letter of 9 April 1857 warrant the assumption that Jenny was writing a few days after 9 April. Engels answered her letter about 16 April 1857 (see this volume, p. 121).—563

524 The letter is not dated. Judging by its contents, it was in reply to Engels' letter to Marx of 29 July 1857 and the parcel he had sent the Marx family in London (see this volume, pp. 149-50). Of great help in dating the letter is Jenny's mentioning that Marx was busy 'shaping the Indian news into an article'. Judging by an entry in Marx's notebook, the article was despatched to the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 31 July 1857.—563

525 The letter is not dated. It is the reply to Engels' letter to Mrs Marx of about 11 August 1857, which has not been found. Marx mentions Engels' letter to Jenny in his letter to him of 15 August (see this volume, p. 151). Mrs Marx presumably answered Engels' letter shortly before that date.—565

526 Jenny Marx means Jones' statement in the press in support of the popular uprising in India (see Note 178).—565

527 The letter is not dated. But since Jenny Marx mentions her intention 'to write straight away' to Lassalle, and her letter to him is dated 9 April 1858, there is good reason to believe that her letter to Engels was written on the same day. This assumption is corroborated by Jenny's mentioning the arrival of the *Manchester Guardians* sent by Engels to London on 8 April, of which he informed Marx the next day (see this volume, pp. 304-05).—569

528 This is the reply to Lassalle's letter to Marx of 26 March 1858, in which Lassalle wrote that he had come to terms with the Berlin publisher Duncker on the publication of Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.—570

529 The letter is not dated. As can be seen from its contents, it was written during Marx's stay with Engels in Manchester in May 1858 (see Note 318). Jenny probably wrote a few days after Marx's arrival there (6 May), since she mentions the enclosure of Cluss' letter to Marx which she had received after Cluss had visited her. On 11 May Engels communicated to Jenny a request by Marx concerning Cluss which probably had something to do with Cluss' letter which Jenny had forwarded to Marx (see this volume, p. 313).—571

530 The letter is not dated. It was obviously written after 13 August 1859 since Jenny mentions the receipt by Marx of six copies of Engels' pamphlet *Po and Rhine* and Marx's intention to send some of them to Manchester the following week. Marx had promised to send copies of the pamphlet in a letter to Engels of 13 August 1859 (see this volume, p. 483).—572

531 The letter is not dated. It may be assumed that it was written on 4 November 1859, because Engels answered it on 5 November 1859 (see this volume, p. 518) and because Jenny writes about Marx's 'struggling with Friday's article'. 4 November was a Friday, one of the two days when Marx sent articles to the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—573

532 This letter, written in reply to Engels' letter of 22 December 1859, is not dated. As can be seen from its contents, Jenny wrote it a day or two before Christmas, i. e., on 23 or 24 December 1859.—573

533 This article of Marx's for the *New-York Daily Tribune* has not been found.—575

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*Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Bogdanovich, Prince* (1761-1818)—Russian general and military figure, Scottish by birth; field-marshal general from 1814; took part in the wars against Napoleonic France and Sweden; War Minister (1810-12); commanded a Russian army in the campaign of 1812 against Napoleon and Russian and Russo-Prussian troops in 1813-14.—162-64, 168, 259

*Barss, Franciszek* (1760-1812)—Polish lawyer, representative of Polish insurgents in France in 1794.—85

*Bastiat, Frédéric* (1801-1850)—French economist and politician.—249, 303

*Bates, Robert Makin* (born c. 1791)—English banker, partner of a firm which went bankrupt in June 1855; was sentenced to penal servitude for financial machinations.—72

*Bauer, Bruno* (1809-1882)—German philosopher and writer, Young Hegelian.—4, 7, 11, 68, 90, 91, 127, 403, 453

*Bauer, Edgar* (1820-1886)—German philosopher and writer, Young Hegelian; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; editor of the London newspaper *Die Neue Zeit* (1859); Bruno Bauer's brother.—12, 68, 90, 106, 122, 127, 187, 353, 358, 363, 366, 369, 403, 415, 437, 438, 440, 453, 458, 459, 466, 519, 565

*Bauer, Egbert*—German journalist, Young Hegelian, publisher in Charlottenburg; brother of Bruno and Edgar Bauer.—90

*Bayle, Pierre* (1647-1706)—French sceptic philosopher, critic of religious dogmatism.—269

*Bazancourt, César Lecat, baron de* (1810-1865)—French military writer, Bonapartist.—45, 51, 71, 73, 80, 93, 124, 126, 128

*Beatson, William Ferguson*—British general; commanded a Turkish cavalry detachment on the Danube (1854) and in the Crimea (until September 1855).—29, 30

*Beauharnais, Eugène de, prince* (1781-1824)—French general, stepson of Napoleon I; took part in the wars of Napoleonic France; Viceroy of Italy (1805-14).—175

*Becker, Hermann Heinrich ('Red Becker')* (1820-1885)—German lawyer and journalist, member of the Communist League from 1850; sentenced to five-year imprisonment at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); in later years a national-liberal.—209, 568

*Bedeau, Marie Alphonse* (1804-1863)—French general and moderate republican politician; Vice-President of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; expelled from France after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—89

*Beethoven, Ludwig van* (1770-1827)—German composer.—503

*Belfield, James*—Marx's and Engels' acquaintance in Manchester.—5, 233, 262

*Bellegarde, Heinrich Joseph Johannes, Count von* (1756-1845)—Austrian field marshal; took part in the wars against Napoleonic France.—177

*Belmontet, Louis* (1799-1879)—French poet and journalist; Bonapartist.—43

*Bem, Józef* (1795-1850)—Polish general; took part in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31 and in the revolutionary struggle in Vienna in 1848; one of the commanders of the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49); later served in the Turkish army.—166-67, 168-69, 171, 172, 259

*Bennigsen, Levin August Theophil (Leonti Leontievich), Count* (1745-1826)—general in the Russian army; came from Hanover; participant in the assassination of Paul I; took part in the wars against Napoleonic France; in the campaign of 1812 against

Napoleon was chief of the Russian General Staff (August-November).—162, 163, 173, 175, 259

*Beresford, William Carr, Viscount* (1768-1854)—British general and Tory politician; took part in the Peninsular war (1808-14); commander-in-chief of the Portuguese army from 1809 to 1820.—259, 268, 273, 274, 281, 285, 288

*Berkeley, George* (1685-1753)—Irish subjective idealist philosopher; bishop; in economic works regarded labour as the main source of wealth; exponent of the nominalistic theory of money.—377

*Berlichingen, Götz (Gottfried) von* (1480-1562)—German knight; took part in the peasant uprising of 1525; elected the leader of the Gay Bright Troop of the Odenwald peasants, he betrayed them at the crucial moment.—419, 420

*Bermbach, Adolph* (1821-1875)—Cologne lawyer, democrat; member of the Communist League; witness for the defence at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); liberal in later years.—477

*Bernadotte, Jean Baptiste Jules* (1763-1844)—Marshal of France, took part in the wars of the French Republic and Napoleonic France; heir to the Swedish throne and regent of Sweden in 1810; fought in the war against Napoleon I in 1813; King of Sweden and Norway as Charles XIV John (1818-44).—91, 164, 165, 166, 169-70, 173-77, 179, 259, 274

*Bernard, Martin* (1808-1883)—French democrat, a leader of secret societies during the July monarchy; participant in the 1848-49 revolution, was sentenced to exile, fled to England in the early 1850s; returned to France after amnesty in 1859.—255

*Bernard, Simon François (Bernard le Clubiste)* (1817-1862)—French republican; emigrated to England after the defeat of the 1848 revolution; in 1858 he was accused by the French Government of being an accomplice in Orsini's attempt on the life of Napoleon III but was acquitted by the British Court.—276-78, 307, 309

*Berryer, Arthur*—agent of the French Government in the joint-stock company, Docks Napoléon; son of lawyer Pierre Antoine Berryer; in March 1857 was sentenced to two-year confinement for participating in the money machinations of the company's governors.—105

*Berthier, Louis Alexandre, prince de Neuchâtel, duc de Valengin, prince de Wagram* (1753-1815)—Marshal of France, took part in the wars of the French Republic and Napoleonic France; chief of Napoleon I's General Staff.—164, 166, 168, 259

*Besser, W.*—publisher in Berlin.—376

*Bessières, Jean Baptiste, duc d'Istrie* (1768-1813)—Marshal of France, took part in the wars of the French Republic and Napoleonic France.—166, 167, 170, 175, 259

*Besson, Alexandre*—French refugee in London; fitter; joined a group of republicans, supporters of Félix Pyat; later a member of the First International.—277, 278

*Beta* (pen-name of *Bettziech, Johann Heinrich*) (1813-1876) — German journalist, refugee in London, follower of Gottfried Kinkel.—440, 458, 485, 511, 512, 532, 534, 537, 540, 545, 546, 547, 549-51, 556

*Bettziech, Johann Heinrich*—see *Beta*

*Bibra, L.*—owner of a German hotel in London.—477

*Birago, Karl, Baron von* (1792-1845)—Austrian military engineer, worked out a system of pontoon bridges.—168

*Bischoffsheim, Louis Raphaël* (1800-1873)—owner of a French joint-stock bank with a branch in London.—535

*Biskamp (Biscamp), Elard*—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated after the defeat of the revolution; member of the editorial board of *Das Volk*.—438-39, 450, 452-53, 458, 463, 464, 469, 471, 473, 477, 483, 484, 487, 496, 497, 501, 502, 508, 511, 518, 520-23, 548

*Blanc, Jean Joseph Louis* (1811-1882)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, historian; member of the Provisional Government and President of the Luxembourg Commission in 1848; pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie; a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees in London from August 1848.—63, 310, 464, 480, 538

*Blank, Karl Emil* (1817-1893)—German merchant in London, closely connected with socialist circles in the 1840s-50s; husband of Frederick Engels' sister Marie.—65, 422, 424

*Blank, Marie* (née *Engels*) (1824-1901)—Frederick Engels' sister, Karl Emil Blank's wife from 1845.—422

*Blanqui, Louis Auguste* (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, utopian communist.—63, 427

*Blenker, Ludwig (Louis)* (1812-1863)—German democrat, officer; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; subsequently emigrated to the USA and fought in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—446

*Blind, Friederike* (née *Ettlinger*)—Karl Blind's wife.—356

*Blind, Karl* (1826-1907)—German democratic journalist; took part in the Baden revolutionary movement in 1848-49; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in London in the 1850s; national-liberal in the 1860s.—63, 79, 179, 318, 324, 351, 353, 356, 357, 362, 363, 388, 428, 436, 440, 456, 458, 463, 468, 473, 479, 486-87, 488, 498, 502-09, 513, 515, 521, 523, 544

*Blücher, Gebhard Leberecht von, Prince von Wahlstatt* (1742-1819)—Prussian field-marshal general, took part in the wars against Napoleonic France.—164, 170, 172, 173, 176, 178-80, 198, 247, 259

*Blum, Robert* (1807-1848)—German democratic journalist; leader of the Left in the Frankfurt National Assembly; took part in the defence of Vienna against counter-revolutionary forces in October 1848; court-martialled and executed after the fall of the city.—158, 168, 173, 259, 358, 446

*Böckh, Philipp August* (1785-1867)—German philologist and historian of antiquity; professor and for the number of years rector of Berlin University.—336

*Boisguillebert, Pierre Le Pesant, sieur de* (1646-1714)—French economist, predecessor of Physiocrats, founder of classical political economy in France.—377

*Bolivar y Ponte, Simón* (1783-1830)—South American politician, one of the chief leaders of the South American Spanish colonies in their war of independence; President of the Republic of Colombia (1819-30).—259, 266

*Bona*—see *Napoleon III*

*Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Bonaparte, Eugène Louis Jean Joseph* (1856-1879)—son of Napoleon III, got the title of Imperial Prince at his birth.—306

*Bonaparte, Jérôme* (1784-1860)—youngest brother of Napoleon I; King of Westphalia (1807-13), Marshal of France from 1850.—170, 293, 381

*Bonaparte, Joseph* (1768-1844)—eldest brother of Napoleon I; King of Naples (1806-08) and of Spain (1808-13).—170

*Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul* (1822-1891)—son of Jérôme Bonaparte, cousin of Napoleon III; adopted the name of Jérôme after the death of his elder brother (1847); commanded a corps in the Italian war of 1859; went by the name of Plon-Plon and the Red Prince.—381, 487, 532

*Boniface, Louis* (b. 1796)—French journalist, Bonapartist.—381

*Borchardt, Louis*—German physician, one of Engels' acquaintances in Manchester.—232, 320, 326, 338, 341, 467, 480-82, 484, 516, 517

*Borkheim, Sigismund Ludwig* (1825-1885)—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated after its defeat; London merchant from 1851.—555

*Bormann*—assessor of commissariat in Berlin; took part in Fabrice's attack on Lassalle in May 1858, was prosecuted.—319, 320, 322

*Born, David*—Stephan Born's brother.—458

*Born, Stephan* (real name *Buttermilch, Simon*) (1824-1898)—German typesetter, member of the Communist League; leaned towards reformism during the 1848-49 revolution; turned his back on the workers' movement after the revolution.—458

*Börne, Karl Ludwig* (1786-1837)—German writer and critic; advocated Christian socialism towards the end of his life.—32

*Bornstedt, Adalbert von* (1808-1851)—German journalist, founder and editor of the *Deutsche-Brüsseler Zeitung* (1847-48); supported the adventurist plan of a revolutionary legion's invasion in Germany; member of the Communist League until his expulsion in March 1848; a secret agent of the Prussian police in the 1840s.—278

*Börnstein, Heinrich* (1805-1892)—German democratic journalist, founder and editor of *Vorwärts!* in Paris (1844); emigrated to the USA in 1849; publisher of the *Anzeiger des Westens* in the 1850s.—356

*Bosquet, Pierre Joseph François* (1810-1861)—French general, Marshal of France from 1856; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s-1850s, commanded a division (1854) and then a corps in the Crimea (1854-55).—170, 173, 177-78, 259, 297

*Bötticher, Johann Friedrich Wilhelm* (1798—1850) — German philologist and historian.—186

*Bourrienne, Louis Antoine Fauvelet de* (1769-1834)—French diplomat and politician, personal secretary of Napoleon Bonaparte (1797-1802), chargé d'affaires in Hamburg (1804-13), went over to the Bourbons.—158, 168, 173, 259

*Boustrapa*—see *Napoleon III*

*Braun*—see *Lassalle, Ferdinand*

*Bray, John Francis* (1809-1895)—English economist, utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen; supporter of the theory of 'labour money'.—301

*Bredt, Charlotte*—see *Engels, Charlotte*

*Bright, John* (1811-1889)—English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; M.P. (from 1843).—104, 110, 113, 115, 116-17, 127, 210, 275, 342, 358, 359, 411

*Brockhaus, Heinrich* (1804-1874)—German publisher, owner of F. A. Brockhaus Publishing House in Leipzig.—17

*Bronner, Eduard*—German physician, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Baden Constituent Assembly in 1849; emigrated to England.—357, 362, 363

*Brown, Sir George* (1790-1865)—British general; took part in the Peninsular war (1808-14) and in the Crimean war (1853-56).—170, 173, 181, 259

*Brune, Guillaume Marie Anne* (1763-1815)—Marshal of France, Right Dantonist Jacobin during the French Revolution, later Bonapartist; took part in the wars of the French Republic and Napoleonic France.—165, 167, 170, 259

*Brüningk, Maria, Baroness von* (d. 1853)—wife of Baron A. von Brüningk; helped Gottfried Kinkel to escape from prison in 1850; maintained ties with petty-bourgeois refugees in London from 1851.—359

*Brunswick, Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand, Duke of* (1735-1806)—ruler of Brunswick (1780-1806), field-marshal general of the Prussian army; participant in the Seven Years War (1756-63) and in the wars against revolutionary and Napoleonic France.—561

*Buchanan, James* (1791-1868)—American statesman; member of the Democratic Party; President of the United States (1857-61); advocate of slave-owners' interests.—364

*Bucher, Lothar* (1817-1892)—Prussian official and journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; refugee in London (1850-61); correspondent of the Berlin *National-Zeitung*, shared foreign policy views of David Urquhart in the 1850s; in later years a national-liberal.—5, 18, 62, 75, 428, 440, 458, 479

*Buck, Hermann* (born. c. 1807)—Prussian official and businessman, Rudolf Schramm's friend.—189, 190, 196

*Budberg, Andrei Fyodorovich, Baron* (1817-1881) — Russian diplomat; chargé d'affaires in Frankfurt from January 1848, envoy to Berlin (1852-56, 1858-62) and Vienna (1856-58), ambassador to Paris (1862-68).—453

*Bugeaud de la Piconnerie, Thomas Robert* (1784-1849)—Marshal of France, Orleanist; an organiser of the wars of conquest in Algeria and Morocco, author of works on military questions.—170, 173, 177, 259

*Bülow, Friedrich Wilhelm, Count von Dennewitz* (1755-1816)—Prussian general, took part in the wars against Napoleonic France.—4, 164, 179, 259, 268, 274, 281, 285, 288, 293, 294

*Bunsen, Christian Karl Josias, Baron von* (1791-1860)—Prussian diplomat, writer and theologian; envoy to London (1842-54).—525

*Buol-Schauenstein, Karl Ferdinand, Count von* (1797-1865)—Austrian statesman and diplomat, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister (1852-59).—368

*Bürger, Gottfried August* (1747-1794)—German poet.—102, 139

*Bürgers, Heinrich* (1820-1878)—German radical journalist, contributor to the *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842-43); member of the Communist League (1848), an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung;* member of the Communist League Central Authority from 1850; one of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); subsequently a liberal.—27, 209, 337, 385, 388, 452, 477, 479, 554

*Burleigh*—see *Cecil, William, Baron Burgley*

*Busse, von*—translator into German of texts included in the book *Fürst Wladimir und dessen Tafelrunde.*—20

*Buxhöwden, Fyodor Fyodorovich (Friedrich Wilhelm), Count von* (1750-1811)—Russian general; took part in the wars against Napoleonic France in 1805 and 1806.—162

*Byron, George Gordon Noel, Lord* (1788-1824)—English romantic poet.—33

C

*Caesar (Gaius Julius Caesar)* (c. 100-44 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman.—123, 141, 241

*Campbell, E. S. N.*—British army officer, author of a military dictionary.—142

*Campbell, John, Baron* (1779-1861)—British lawyer, Whig M.P., Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench (1850-59), Lord Chancellor (1859-61); handled a lawsuit against Simon Bernard in 1858.—309

*Campbell, Sir Colin, Baron Clyde* (from 1858) (1792-1863)—British general, field marshal from 1862; took part in the Crimean war in 1854-55; Commander-in-Chief of the British army during the Indian national liberation uprising of 1857-59.—184, 185, 234, 293, 308-09, 336, 364

*Campe, Johann Julius Wilhelm* (1792-1867)—German publisher and bookseller, co-proprietor of the Hoffmann & Campe Publishing House in Hamburg from 1823.—100, 392

*Canning, Charles John, Earl* (from 1859) (1812-1862) — British statesman, Tory and subsequently Peelite; Governor-General of India (1856-62); organised the suppression of the Indian national liberation uprising of 1857-59.—134, 343

*Canrobert, François Certain* (1809-1895)—Marshal of France, senator, Bonapartist; an active participant in the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; commander-in-chief of the French army (September 1854-May 1855) in the Crimea; commanded a corps in the Italian war of 1859.—297, 381

*Carey, Henry Charles* (1793-1879)—American economist, advocated harmony of class interests in capitalist society.—303

*Carnot, Lazare Nicolas* (1753-1823)—French mathematician, political and military figure in the French Revolution, Jacobin; took part in the Thermidor coup in 1794.—21, 30, 123

*Castellane, Esprit Victor Elisabéth Boniface, comte de* (1788-1862)—Marshal of France, Bonapartist; an active participant in the coup d'état of 2 December 1851.—256

*Castello*—Portuguese banker.—404

*Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Marquis of Londonderry, Viscount* (1769-1822)—British statesman, Tory; Secretary for War and for the Colonies (1805-06, 1807-09), Foreign Secretary (1812-22).—377

*Cathcart, Sir George* (1794-1854)—British general and military writer.—293

*Catherine I* (1684-1727)—second wife of Peter I (from 1712); Empress of Russia (1725-27).—10

*Catherine II* (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-96).—3, 10

*Catherine Ivanovna* (1691-1723)—niece of Peter I, from 1716 wife of Karl Leopold, Duke of Mecklenburg.—11

*Catiline (Lucius Sergius Catilina)* (c. 108-62 B. C.)—Roman politician, organiser of a conspiracy against the aristocratic republic.—5

*Caussidière, Marc* (1808-1861)—French democrat, took part in the Lyons uprising of 1834; Prefect of the Paris Police after the February 1848 revolution; deputy to the Constituent Assembly; emigrated to England in June 1848 and later to the USA.—319

*Cavaignac, Louis Eugène* (1802-1857)—French general and politician, moderate republican; took part in the conquest of Algeria; War Minister of France (May-June 1848), directed the suppression of the June 1848 uprising of the Paris workers; head of the executive (June-December 1848); was

in opposition to Napoleon III's government after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851.—177, 198, 309

*Cavanagh*—one of Marx's acquaintances in London.—572

*Cavour, Camillo Benso, conte di* (1810-1861)—Italian statesman, head of the Sardinian government (1852-59, 1860-61); pursued a policy of unifying Italy under the supremacy of the Savoy dynasty relying on the support of Napoleon III; headed the first government of united Italy in 1861.—309

*Cecil, William, Baron Burgley* (or *Burleigh*) (1520-1598)—British statesman, Chief Secretary of State (1558-72), Lord High Treasurer (1572-98) and Chief Minister of Queen Elisabeth.—195

*Chamfort, Sébastien Roch Nicolas, dit de* (1741-1794)—French writer.—545

*Changarnier, Nicolas Anne Théodule* (1793-1877)—French general and politician, monarchist; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848-51); expelled from France after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851.—177

*Charles I* (1600-1649)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1625-49); beheaded during the English Revolution.—182

*Charles II* (1630-1685)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1660-85).—377

*Charles V* (1500-1558)—Holy Roman Emperor (1519-56) and King of Spain under the name of Charles (Carlos) I (1516-56).—419-21, 443, 445

*Charles XII* (1682-1718)—King of Sweden (1697-1718).—8, 10, 91

*Charles Louis (Karl Ludwig Johann)* (1771-1847)—Archduke of Austria, field marshal, took part in the wars against the French Republic and Napoleonic France; War Minister (1805-09).—164

*Charras, Jean Baptiste Adolphe* (1810-1865)—French military writer, moderate republican; opposed Louis Bonaparte; expelled from France after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851.—258, 285

*Cheney, Eliza* (born c. 1832)—Felice Orsini's housemaid.—255

*Chester* (alias *Polly Evans*)—mistress of Potter, Mayor of Manchester.—118

*Chojecki, Karol Edmund* (pseudonym—*Charles Edmond*) (1822-1899)—Polish journalist, writer and dramatist, lived in France from 1844.—18

*Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero)* (106-43 B.C.)—Roman statesman, orator and philosopher; helped expose Catiline's conspiracy in 63 B.C.—5, 269

*Cieszkowski, August, Count* (1814-1894)—Polish philosopher and economist, owner of an estate in the Posen district from 1847; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; member of the Prussian Provincial Diet (from 1852).—436

*Clarendon, George William Frederick Villiers, Earl of, Baron Hyde* (1800-1870)—British statesman, Whig, later Liberal; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (1847-52); Foreign Secretary (1853-58, 1865-66, 1868-70).—28-30, 119

*Clausewitz, Karl von* (1780-1831)—Prussian general and military theoretician.—198, 241, 247

*Clotilde, princesse de Savoie* (1843-1911)—daughter of Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia; wife of Prince Joseph Napoléon (Plon-Plon) from 1859.—373, 380

*Cluss, Adolf* (1825-1905)—German engineer; member of the Communist League; emigrated to the USA (1848), where, in the 1850s, he was a member of German-American workers' organisations; one of the first propagandists of scientific communism in America.—96, 313, 317, 363, 366, 374, 375, 571

*Cobbett, William* (c. 1762-1835)—British politician and radical journalist; published *Cobbett's Annual Register* from 1802.—42, 266

*Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865)—English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League, M.P.—3, 115, 127

*Coehorn (Cohorn* or *Coehoorn), Menno, Baron van* (1641-1704)—Dutch general and military engineer.—247

*Colin*—see *Campbell, Sir Colin, Baron Clyde*

**Collet, Collet Dobson*—English radical journalist and public figure, editor and publisher of *The Free Press,* organ of Urquhart's followers (1856-65).—61, 62, 66, 67, 76, 81, 112, 138, 277, 504, 507, 508, 521

*Coningham, William* (b. 1815)—English radical M.P.; author of the anti-Palmerston pamphlet *The Betrayal of England;* delegated to the Chartist conference in February 1858.—111, 210

*Constantine (Konstantin Nikolayevich)* (1827-1892)—Grand Duke of Russia, second son of Nicholas I, Admiral-General, head of the Naval Department (1853-81) and commander-in-chief of the Navy (1855-81).—452

*Cookes*—owners of textile factory in Manchester.—212

*Cornelius, Wilhelm*—German radical journalist, refugee in London in the 1850s; one of Marx's friends.—92, 94, 119

*Cotta, Johann Georg, Baron von Cottendorf* (1796-1863) — German publisher, owner of a large publishing house in Augsburg in 1832-63, publisher of the *Allgemeine Zeitung.*—363, 541, 543

*Cowley, Henry Richard Charles Wellesley, Earl of* (1804-1884)—British diplomat; ambassador to Paris (1852-67).—425-26

*Coxe, William* (1747-1828)—English historian and traveller, archdeacon in Wiltshire from 1804; collected and published historical documents.—17

*Crawshay, George*—English journalist, supporter of David Urquhart; an editor of *The Free Press* (1856-60).—479

*Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—leader of the English Revolution; Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653.—182

**Cyples, William* (1831-1882)—English journalist and politician, Urquhartite; contributor to *The Sheffield Free Press* and Secretary of the Sheffield Foreign Committee (1856).—44, 59, 60, 62

D

*Dagobert I* (born c. 605-639)—Frankish king (629-39).—19

*Dähnhardt, Marie Wilhelmine*—see *Stirner-Schmidt, Marie Wilhelmine*

*Dana, Charles Anderson* (1819-1897)—American journalist, an editor and in 1849-62 editor-in-chief of the *New-York Daily Tribune,* an editor of *The New American Cyclopaedia* (1857-63).—68, 81, 93, 97, 101, 114, 119, 122-28, 134, 136, 140, 142, 144-45, 158-60, 168, 170, 173, 177, 190, 195, 197, 223, 238, 239, 241, 250-52, 254, 257, 259, 262, 263-64, 266, 267, 285, 361, 362, 389, 393, 410, 412, 452, 453, 483, 489, 491, 494, 507, 565

*Daniells*—a man from Manchester who started a lawsuit against Engels in 1859.—490, 491, 500, 510, 524

*Daniels, Amalie* (née *Müller*) (1820-1895)—Ronald Daniels' wife.—337, 385, 388, 477

* Asterisks are placed before the names of correspondents of Marx and Engels.—*Ed.*

*Daniels, Roland* (1819-1855)—German physician, member of the Communist League, from 1850 member of its Cologne Central Authority; defendant at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); acquitted by the jury; friend of Marx and Engels.—271, 337, 359

*Darimon, Louis Alfred* (1819-1902)—French politician, journalist and historian; shared and propagated Proudhon's views.—90

*Darwin, Charles Robert* (1809-1882)—English naturalist, founder of the theory of natural selection of species.—551

*Davout (Davoust), Louis Nicolas, duc d'Auerstaedt, prince d'Eckmühl* (1770-1823)—Marshal of France, participant in the wars of Napoleonic France.—164, 165, 166, 174

*Delius*—one of Engels' acquaintances in Bradford.—422

*Democritus* (c. 460-c. 370 B. C.)—Greek philosopher, a founder of the atomistic theory.—269, 316

*Demuth, Helene (Lenchen)* (1820-1890)—housemaid and devoted friend of the Marx family.—66, 339

*Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Earl of* (1799-1869)—British statesman, Tory leader; Prime Minister (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68).—278, 279, 425-27

*Desprez, Félix Hippolyte* (1819-1898)—French diplomat, historian and journalist.—18, 20

*Destrilhes*—author of the book *Confidences sur la Turquie* (1855).—31, 37

*Dibich-Zabalkansky, Ivan Ivanovich (Diebitsch, Hans Karl Friedrich Anton), Count* (1785-1831)—Russian field marshal, commander-in-chief of the army during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29, and of the troops which crushed the Polish insurrection of 1830-31.—172

*Dingelstedt, Franz, Baron von* (from 1876) (1814-1881)—German poet and novelist, court dramatist.—385

*Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and writer, a Tory leader; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68); Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80).—107, 427, 537

*Dobner, Job Felix (Gelasius)* (1719-1790)—Czech monk, author of works on the history of Bohemia.—17

*Dobrovský, Josef* (1753-1829)—Czech scholar and public figure; founder of the scientific philology of the Slavonic languages.—15, 16

*Dobrowsky*—see *Dobrovský, Josef*

*Dolch, Oskar*—a participant in the Schiller festivals in Manchester in November 1859.—517, 531

*Dolleschall, Laurenz* (b. 1790)—police official in Cologne (1819-47); censor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—7, 20

*Douglas, Sir Howard, Baronet* (1776-1861)—British general and military writer, author of works on artillery and fortification.—168

*Dowbiggin*—British officer, participant in the Crimean war, Lord Panmure's nephew.—21

*Dronke*—Ernst Dronke's brother.—384

*Dronke, Ernst* (1822-1891)—German journalist, at first a 'true socialist', later a member of the Communist League and an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung;* emigrated to Switzerland and then to England after the 1848-49 revolution; subsequently withdrew from politics.—83, 104, 113, 147, 201, 209, 251, 374, 384-85, 467, 469, 471-73, 475, 485, 566

*Drouyn de Lhuys, Édouard* (1805-1881)—French diplomat and politician; Orleanist in the 1840s, Bonapartist after 1851; Foreign Minister (1848-49, 1851, 1852-55, 1862-66).—6

*Drucker, Louis*—German journalist, democrat; publisher of the comic weekly *How Do You Do?* in London.—535, 537, 540

*Duke of Brunswick*—see *Brunswick, Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand*

*Dulon, Rudolph* (1807-1870)—German pastor, a leader of the Friends of Light movement opposing the official church; editor-in-chief of the *Bremer Tages-Chronik* (1849-51); emigrated to the USA in 1853.—519

*Duncker*—Prussian official, Police Superintendent in Berlin in 1848.—536, 552, 574

**Duncker, Franz* (1822-1888)—German politician and publisher, founder and editor of the *Volks-Zeitung*.—295, 297, 315, 336, 349, 354, 364, 367, 376, 379-80, 384, 390, 391-92, 394, 397, 398, 400-01, 402, 404, 405, 407, 408, 412, 413, 415, 418, 440, 446, 448, 450-51, 453, 454, 456, 458, 460-62, 473-74, 480, 481, 489, 498, 502, 508, 548, 569

*Duncombe, Thomas Slingsby* (1796-1861)—British radical politician; participated in the Chartist movement in the 1840s, M.P.—348

*Dupré de Saint-Maure, Jean Pierre Emile* (1772-1854)—French writer and politician; several times travelled to Russia.—16

*Dürr, Alphonse*—publisher in Leipzig.—285

*Duvivier, Franciade Fleurus* (1794-1848)—French general, participant in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s-40s; took part in suppressing the June 1848 uprising in Paris.—177

E

*Eccarius, Johann Georg* (1818-1889)—German tailor; prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, journalist; member of the League of the Just and later of the Communist League; a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, member of the General Council of the First International; subsequently took part in the British trade union movement.—384, 386, 387, 390, 406, 440

*Eichhoff, Frédéric Gustave* (1799-1875)—French philologist.—19, 26

*Eichhoff, Karl Wilhelm* (1833-1895)—German socialist, journalist; in the late 1850s exposed Stieber as a police spy in the press and was brought to trial for this; member of the First International and one of its first historians.—536, 552, 554

*Elgin, James Bruce, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine* (1811-1863)—British diplomat, envoy extraordinary to China (1857-58, 1860-61).—347, 349

*Ellenborough, Edward Law, Earl of* (1790-1871) — British statesman, Tory, member of the House of Lords; Governor-General of India (1842-44), First Lord of the Admiralty (1846), President of the Board of Control for India (1858).—107

*Elsner, Karl Friedrich Moritz* (1809-1894)—Silesian radical journalist and politician, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; an editor of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* in the 1850s.—226, 416

*Emmanuel*—see *Victor Emmanuel II*

*Engel, János Keresztély (Jahann Christian von)* (1770-1814)—Hungarian historian.—15

*Engels, Charlotte* (née *Bredt*) (1833-1912)—wife of Emil Engels, Frederick Engels' brother.—529

**Engels, Elisabeth Franziska Mauritia* (née *van Haar*) (1797-1873)—mother of Frederick Engels.—422, 424, 490, 529

**Engels, Emil* (1828-1884)—brother of Frederick Engels, a partner in the

Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen.—528, 529

*Engels, Friedrich* (1796-1860)—father of Frederick Engels.—5, 65, 72, 97, 104, 146, 157, 158, 222, 397, 424, 490, 529

*Ephraim*—see *Lassalle, Ferdinand*

*Epicurus* (c. 341-c. 270 B. C.)—Greek materialist philosopher.—124, 226, 269, 316

*Erich*—American businessman.—92, 95

*Ermani*—editor of the German emigrant newspaper *Germania* published in London in April-May 1859.—438

*Ermen, Gottfried*—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—37, 104, 146, 343, 397, 528, 530, 554

*Ersch, Johann Samuel* (1766-1828)—German bibliographer, professor of geography and statistics in Halle, a publisher of *Allgemeine Encyclopädie*.—147, 187, 247

*Erskine (Areskine), Robert (Robert Karlovich)* (mid-17th cent.—1718)—Scottish physician, physician-in-ordinary of Peter I.—8

*Espartero, Baldomero, duque de la Vittoria* (1793-1879)—Spanish general and politician, leader of the Progresista Party; Regent of Spain (1841-43), head of government (1854-56).—61, 173

*Espinasse, Charles Marie Esprit* (1815-1859)—French general, Bonapartist; actively participated in the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; after Orsini's attempt on the life of Napoleon III (January 1858) was Minister of the Interior during five months.—7, 264, 291

*Estien, François*—police inspector in Paris, eye witness of Orsini's attempt on the life of Napoleon III, testified at Simon Bernard's trial (April 1858).—308

*Etheridge* (d. 1857)—British admiral, commanded the British navy in the Anglo-Persian war (1856-57); committed suicide.—134

*Eugène*—see *Bonaparte, Eugène Louis Jean Joseph*

*Eugène, prince*—see *Beauharnais, Eugène de, prince*

*Eugénie Marie Ignace Augustine de Montijo de Guzmán, comtesse de Teba* (1826-1920)—Empress of France, wife of Napoleon III.—6

*Evans, Sir George de Lacy* (1787-1870)—British general and liberal politician, M.P., took part in the Crimean war.—21, 22, 297

*Ewerbeck, August Hermann* (1816-1860)—German physician and writer, lived in Paris; member of the Communist League until 1850.—73, 356

F

*Fabrice*—counsellor of commissariat in Berlin; with Bormann's participation attacked Lassalle in May 1858, for which he was prosecuted.—319, 320, 322-23

*Fallmerayer, Jakob Philipp* (1790-1861)—German historian and traveller.—3

*Farina, Giovanni Maria* (1686-1766)—Italian businessman, founder of the first factory of eau de Cologne.—120

*Faucher, Julius (Jules)* (1820-1878)—German writer, Young Hegelian; refugee in England from 1850 till 1861; contributor to *The Morning Star*.—18, 91, 127, 217, 534

**Faulkner, E. J.*—one of Engels' acquaintances in Manchester.—510

*Fazy, Jean Jacob (James)* (1794-1878)—Swiss journalist and statesman, radical; head of government of the Geneva Canton (1846-53, 1855-61); founder of the Swiss State Bank, pursued a pro-Bonapartist policy in the 1850s.—514, 543, 545, 574

*Feibel, Heinrich*—German journalist, President of the Workers' Educational Society in Wiesbaden in the 1840s; in 1852 was sentenced to one-year penal servitude by the Wiesbaden court; a refugee in England.—359

*Féline.*—119

*Ferdinand Karl Joseph von Este* (1781-1850)—Archduke of Austria, field marshal, took part in the wars against Napoleonic France.—174

*Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas* (1804-1872)—German philosopher.—55

*Finlen, James*—Chartist, member of the Executive of the National Charter Association in 1852-58.—32

*Fiorentino, Pier Angelo* (1809-1864)—Italian writer; lived in Paris from 1835; contributed to the Bonapartist press in the 1850s and 1860s.—7

*Fischel, Eduard* (1826-1863)—German journalist, editor of the Berlin Urquhartist journal *Das Neue Portfolio* (1859-60); criticised the foreign policy of Palmerston and Napoleon III.—547

*Fitzgerald, John David, Lord* (1816-1889) — Irish lawyer and liberal politician, M.P.; held high judicial posts in British administration in Ireland.—363

*Florencourt, Franz von (François Chassot de)* (1803-1886) — German writer, editor of a number of periodicals; first liberal and later conservative; brother-in-law of Ferdinand von Westphalen.—562

*Flottwell, Eduard Heinrich von* (1786-1865)—Prussian statesman, Minister of Finance (1844-46), *Oberpräsident* of Posen and later of Westphalia; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848-49; Minister of the Interior (1858-59).—384

*Fould, Achille* (1800-1867)—French banker and politician, Orleanist, subsequently Bonapartist; several times was Minister of Finance and held other governmental posts from 1849 to 1867.—194, 208, 275, 305, 321, 437

*Fould, Gustave Eugène* (1836-1884)—Achille Fould's son.—321

*Fox, William Johnson* (1786-1864)—English politician and journalist, Free Trader, M.P.—116

*Francis Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-1916).—470, 473, 532

*Franck, Gustav* (d. 1860)—Austrian democrat; refugee in London in the 1850s.—18

*Franklin, Benjamin* (1706-1790)—American physicist, economist and politician; took part in the American War of Independence.—377

*Frederick II (the Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—11, 86

*Frederick William I* (1688-1740)—King of Prussia (1713-40).—11

*Frederick William III* (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—179

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—21, 33, 36, 89, 90, 198, 482

*Frédérique Sophie Wilhelmine*—see *Wilhelmine Friederike Sophie, Margravine of Bayreuth*

**Freiligrath, Ferdinand* (1810-1876)—German revolutionary poet, member of the Communist League; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); clerk of the London branch of the Swiss Bank in the 1850s.—24, 45, 61, 68, 71, 87, 97, 100, 101, 103, 104, 113, 126, 142, 209, 225-26, 228, 249, 251, 263, 324, 328, 332-35, 342, 345, 353-55, 359-61, 363, 366, 367, 369, 370, 372-75, 382, 385-86, 388, 401, 409, 417, 428, 431, 458, 472, 473, 475, 480-81, 483, 487, 488, 489, 501-04, 508, 511-14, 517, 526, 527, 532-35, 537, 539, 542-50, 552-57, 567, 568, 574

*Freiligrath, Ida* (née *Melos*) (1817-1899)—Ferdinand Freiligrath's wife.—360, 385, 536, 537, 545, 556, 574

*Freiligrath, Käthe (Käthchen)* (1845-1904)—Ferdinand Freiligrath's daughter.—535

*Freund*—German physician in London, doctor of the Marx family in the 1850s.—46, 127, 132, 148, 151, 310, 357

* *Friedländer, Max* (1829-1872)—German democratic journalist, member of the editorial boards of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* and *Die Presse* (Vienna); Ferdinand Lassalle's cousin.—227, 237, 250, 269, 408, 409, 416, 418, 429, 432-35, 450, 455, 571

*Frisch, Johann Leonhard* (1666-1743)—German linguist and naturalist.—16

*Fröbel, Julius* (1805-1893)—German radical writer and publisher of progressive literature; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; emigrated to America in 1849; returned to Germany in 1857.—325, 356

*Fröbel, Karolina* (née *von Armansperg*) (1821-1888)—Julius Fröbel's wife.—356

*Frost, John* (1784-1877)—English radical, joined the Chartist movement in 1838; sentenced to deportation for life to Australia for organising a miners' uprising in Wales in 1839; was pardoned in 1856 and returned to England.—42, 210

*Fuad Pasha, Mehemmed* (1814-1869)—Turkish statesman, repeatedly held the posts of Grand Vizier and Foreign Minister in the 1850s and 1860s.—29

*Fullarton, John* (1780-1849)—British economist, author of works on money circulation and credit; opposed the quantitative theory of money.—377

G

*Gagern, Heinrich Wilhelm August, Baron von* (1799-1880)—German politician, moderate liberal; deputy to and President of the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre).—472

*Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; chief organiser of the defence of the Roman Republic (April-July 1849); led the Italian people's struggle for national independence and the unification of the country in the 1850s-60s; headed the Alpine riflemen in the Italian war of 1859.—452, 455, 515, 544

*Garnett, Jeremiah* (1793-1870)—British journalist, a founder of *The Manchester Guardian*, its editor from 1844 to 1861.—113

*Garthe*—German democrat, a refugee in London in the 1850s; cashier of *Das Volk*.—464, 482, 484, 501

*Gatterer, Johann Christoph* (1727-1799)—German historian, professor in Göttingen from 1759.—17

*Gebhardi, Ludwig Albrecht* (1735-1802)—German historian.—17

*Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, Étienne* (1772-1844)—French zoologist, a forerunner of Darwin's theory of evolution.—244

*George I* (1660-1727)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1714-27).—8

*Gercken, Philipp Wilhelm* (1722-1791)—German historian.—17

*Germiny, Charles Gabriel Le Bègue, comte de* (1789-1871)—French statesman and financier, Bonapartist, Governor of the Crédit Foncier (1854-56) and Director-General of the Bank of France (1857-63).—152

*Gerstenberg, Isidor* (d. 1876)—banker in London, a supporter of Gottfried Kinkel.—363, 404, 408

*Gibson, Thomas Milner* (1806-1884)—British statesman, Free Trader, later

liberal, President of the Board of Trade (1859-65, 1865-66).—115, 116, 118, 273, 275, 411

*Gilpin, Charles*—managing director of the London branch of the Swiss Bank, creditor of *The People's Paper*; M.P.—342

*Girardin, Émile de* (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician; editor of *La Presse* (the 1830s-60s, with intervals); moderate republican during the 1848-49 revolution, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1850-51), later Bonapartist, lacked principles in politics.—90, 381

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory and later Peelite, a leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55, 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—339

*Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton, Count Neithardt von* (1760-1831)—Prussian field-marshal general; an organiser of the liberation struggle against Napoleonic rule, Chief of Staff of Blücher's army in 1813-14 and 1815.—179, 180

*Godfrey, François*—lawyer, big landowner and banker in Jersey.—196, 264, 308

*Goegg, Amand* (1820-1897)—German democratic journalist, member of the Baden Provisional Government (1849); emigrated after the revolution; later member of the First International.—513-14

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—91, 244, 366, 419, 541

*Golovine (Golovin), Ivan Gavrilovich* (1816-1890)—Russian liberal landowner, journalist; emigrated to England, was close to Herzen and Bakunin in the 1840s and 1850s.—70, 73

*Görtz, Georg Heinrich von, Baron von Schlitz* (1668-1719)—Swedish statesman, held several ministerial posts from 1715.—10

*Gottfried*—see *Kinkel, Gottfried*

*Gottsched, Johann Christoph* (1700-1766)—German writer and critic of the early Enlightenment.—375

*Götz, Theodor*—German democrat, refugee in England, a friend of Marx.—87

*Götze*—a participant in the Schiller festivals in Manchester in November 1859.—517

*Götze, Peter Otto von (Piotr Petrovich)* (1793-1880)—Russian official and writer; Baltic German by birth; translated Serbian and Russian folk songs into German.—20, 26

*Grant, James* (1802-1879)—English radical journalist and writer, editor of *The Morning Advertiser* (1850-71).—114, 534

*Gray, John* (1798-1850)—English economist, utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen, an author of the 'labour money' theory.—301, 377

*Griesheim, Adolf von* (1820-1894)—German manufacturer, partner in the Ermen & Engels firm, husband of Elise, Frederick Engels sister.—529

*Griesheim, Elise* (née *Engels*) (1834-1912)—Frederick Engels' sister, Adolf von Griesheim's wife.—529

*Griesheim, Karl Gustav Julius von* (1798-1854)—Prussian general and military writer.—170, 264

*Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl* (1785-1863)—German philologist, author of a historical grammar of the German language and of folklore adaptations; professor in Göttingen and then in Berlin; liberal.—26, 120, 186, 516, 523

*Groombridge*—publisher in London.—317

*Gruber, Johann Gottfried* (1774-1851)—

German historian of literature, a publisher of *Allgemeine Encyclopädie*.—147, 187, 247

*Grün, Karl Theodor Ferdinand* (pen-name *Ernst von der Haide*) (1817-1887)—German journalist, 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s; petty-bourgeois democrat during the revolution of 1848-49; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing).—63

*Gumpert, Edouard* (d. 1893)—German physician in Manchester, a friend of Marx and Engels.—318, 324, 325, 335, 345, 389, 439, 447, 475, 480

*Gurowski, Adam, Count* (1805-1866)—Polish journalist; betrayed the national liberation movement; emigrated to the USA in 1849; contributed to the *New-York Daily Tribune* in the 1850s, disseminated pan-Slavist ideas.—81, 94, 101, 123

*Gyllenborg, Carl, Count* (1679-1746)—Swedish statesman, envoy to London (1715-17), Secretary of State from 1718 and Prime Minister (1739-46).—9, 10

*Gyulay, Franz* (or *Gyulai, Ferenc*), *Count von Maros-Németh und Nadaska* (1798-1868)—Austrian general, Hungarian by birth; took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; War Minister (1849-50); during the Italian war of 1859 commanded the Austrian army (April-June 1859).—427, 430

H

*Hacquet, Belsazar (Balthasar)* (1739-1815)—Austrian scientist and ethnographer.—16

*Hájek z Libočan, Václav* (c. 1500-1553)—Czech chronicler, priest.—17

*Hamelin, François Alphonse* (1796-1864)—French admiral, commander-in-chief of the French fleet in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea (1853-54); Minister of the Navy (1855-60).—31

*Hamilton, Lord Claud* (1813-1884)—British politician, M.P. from 1839.—21

*Hanka, Václav* (1791-1861) — Czech philologist and historian; held conservative pan-Slavist views.—15, 19, 26

*Hannibal* (c. 247-183 B.C.)—Carthaginian general.—294

*Harney, George Julian* (1817-1897)—a leader of the Left-wing Chartists, editor of *The Northern Star* and other Chartist periodicals; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels; at the end of 1851 temporarily distanced himself from the labour movement and drew closer to democrats.—188, 190, 196, 218, 248, 252-53, 263, 264, 308, 312-13

*Harper, James* (1795-1869)—American publisher, founder and head of the Harper and Brothers publishing firm.—106

*Harring, Harro Paul* (1798-1870)—German writer, radical, emigrated in 1828.—264

*Hart, Richard*—English journalist, Urquhartite, lawyer in Coal Hole.—565

*Harvey*—English physician.—4

*Hatzfeldt, Sophie, Countess von* (1805-1881)—German aristocrat who broke with her husband; friend and follower of Lassalle.—23, 24, 27, 227, 257, 260, 478

*Hatzfeldt-Wildenburg, Edmund, Count von* (1798-1874)—Sophie Hatzfeldt's husband.—23, 27

*Haugwitz, Christian August Heinrich Kurt, Count von* (1752-1832)—Prussian statesman, Foreign Minister (1792-1804, 1805-06).—537

*Havelock, Sir Henry* (1795-1857)—British general, took part in several colonial wars and in suppressing the national liberation uprising in India in 1857.—176, 182, 184, 234, 242

*Haxthausen, August Franz Ludwig Maria, Baron von* (1792-1866)—Prussian official and economist, author of works on the agrarian system and the peasant commune in Russia.—346

*Hecker, Friedrich Karl Franz* (1811-1881)—German democrat, a leader of the Baden republican uprising in April 1848; after its defeat emigrated to Switzerland and later to the USA where he fought in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—179, 362, 446

*Heckscher, Martin*—Frederick Engels' physician, a German resident in Manchester; helped *Das Volk* with money.—131, 132, 145, 149, 154, 191, 195, 198, 200, 247, 361, 366, 448, 474, 475

*Heffter, Moritz Wilhelm* (1792-1873)—German historian and philologist.—17, 19

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—135, 199, 216, 249, 255, 259-61, 316, 326, 327

*Heimendahl*—German merchant and manufacturer, owner of a silkspinning factory in Elberfeld.—223

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—14, 32, 42, 45, 55, 69, 71, 392, 541, 557

*Heine, Mathilde (née Mirat)* (1815-1883)—Heinrich Heine's wife.—69

*Heinzen, Karl* (1809-1880)—German radical journalist, took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to Switzerland, later to England and, in the autumn of 1850, to the USA.—198, 243-44, 257, 356, 449, 567

*Heise, Heinrich* (1820-1860)—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution, emigrated to England; friend of Marx and Engels.—12, 18, 87, 320

*Henry IV* (1553-1610)—King of France (1589-1610).—218

*Heraclitus* (c. 540-c. 480 B. C.)—Greek philosopher, a founder of dialectics.—227, 259, 260, 262, 268-69, 315, 394-96, 455, 570

*Herbert, Sidney, Baron of Lea* (1810-1861)—British statesman, at first Tory and later Peelite; Secretary at War (1845-46, 1852-55), Secretary for War (1859-60); nephew of Prince Vorontsov.—119

*Herder, Johann Gottfried von* (1744-1803)—German writer and literary theorist of the Enlightenment; a founder of the *Sturm-und-Drang* trend.—15

*Hermann*—see *Arminius*

*Herrmann, Ernst Adolf* (1812-1884)—German historian, author of works on the history of Russia.—3

*Herwegh, Georg Friedrich* (1817-1875)—German democratic poet.—475, 477

*Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich* (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher and writer; emigrated in 1847.—46, 310, 349, 428, 467

*Hess, Heinrich Hermann Josef, Baron von* (1788-1870)—Austrian general, later field marshal, took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; commanded the Austrian army (June-July 1859) in the Italian war of 1859 after Gyulay's retirement.—430

*Hess, Moses* (1812-1875)—German radical, writer, a 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s; member of the Communist League; sided with the separatist Willich-Schapper group; Lassallean in the 1860s.—69, 73, 100, 106, 133

*Hess, Sibylle* (née *Pesch*) (1820-1903)—Moses Hess' wife.—70, 73

*Heydt, August, Baron von der* (1801-1874)—Prussian conservative statesman, Minister of Trade, Industry and Public Works (December 1848 to 1862).—34, 571

*Hill*—employee at the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels in the 1850s-60s.—89, 232

*Hirschfeld, Rudolph*—owner of a print-shop in London, which printed *Die Neue Zeit* and the weekly *Hermann;* Marx's pamphlet *Herr Vogt* was printed here in 1860.—438, 464

*Hoadley, Benjamin* (1676-1761)—English bishop.—9

*Hodges, George Lloyd* (1792-1862)—British colonel and diplomat, Consul General in Serbia (1837-39), then in Egypt (1839-40); Palmerston's protégé.—365

*Hohenscheisseesche (Hohenscheisselinden).*—32

*Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian Kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—86, 88, 93, 410

*Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Karl Anton, Prince von* (1811-1885)—Prussian general and statesman, Prime Minister (November 1858 to 1862).—461

*Holleben, Heinrich von* (1789-1864)—Prussian general and military writer, participant in the wars against Napoleonic France, took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Germany.—189

*Hollinger, Fidelio*—German refugee, owner of a print-shop in London which printed *Das Volk.*—458, 464, 471, 472, 480, 484, 487, 488, 501-04, 508, 513, 519

*Homer*—semi-legendary Greek epic poet, author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey.*—339, 512

*Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus)* (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—9, 271, 353, 453, 541, 546, 549

*Hoyoll, Philipp* (b. 1816)—German painter, a participant in the Schiller festival in Manchester in November 1859.—517

*Hübner, Joseph Alexander, Count von* (1811-1892)—Austrian diplomat, envoy (1849-56) and ambassador (1856-59) to Paris.—425

*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885)—French writer, republican; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies, opposed Louis Bonaparte in 1848-51; emigrated to Jersey after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; deported by the local authorities at the end of 1855.—266

*Humboldt, Alexander, Baron von* (1769-1859)—German scientist, naturalist and traveller.—4, 325, 336

*Hume, David* (1711-1776)—Scottish philosopher, historian and economist, an early adherent of the quantitative theory of money.—377, 396

*Huss, Jan (Hus, John)* (c. 1369-1415)—Bohemian religious reformer and ideologist of the national (Hussite) movement, burnt at the stake as a heretic.—27

*Huth, Friedrich*—head of a German commercial firm in London, where Ferdinand Freiligrath worked in 1846-48.—126

*Hutten, Ulrich von* (1488-1523)—German poet, advocate of the Reformation, ideologist and participant in the knights' uprising in 1522-23.—419-21, 443, 445

## I

*Ibrahim Karabatir, Prince*—son of the Circassian prince Sepher Pasha, participant in the wars of the Caucasian mountaineers against Tsarist Russia.—310

*Igor Svyatoslavovich* (1150-1202)—Novgorod-Seversky prince, was defeated by the Polovtsians in 1185.—19

*Imandt, Peter* (b. 1824)—German teacher; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated first to Switzerland and, in 1852, to England; member of the Communist League; supporter of Marx and Engels.—12, 18, 44, 53, 87, 147, 149, 152, 374, 431, 449, 532, 572

*Inglis, Sir John Eardley Wilmot* (1814-1862)—British general; took part in suppressing the national liberation uprising in India in 1857-59.—247

**Ironside, Isaac*—English journalist, Urquhartite, editor of *The Sheffield Free Press* and an editor of the London *Free Press* (1856-64).—44, 56-62

J

*Jacobi, Abraham* (1830-1919)—German physician, member of the Communist League, one of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852), acquitted; later emigrated to the USA.—98

*Jacobi, Fritz* (d. 1862)—German democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution, emigrated to the USA in 1852.—293

*Jahn, Friedrich Ludwig* (1778-1852)—German writer, organised the sports movement *(Turn- und Sportbewegung)* in Germany, prominent in the German people's liberation struggle against Napoleon's rule; nationalist.—437

*Jakob*—see *Robinson, Therese Albertine Luise*

*James, Edwin John* (1812-1882)—English lawyer, M.P.; counsel for the defence at Simon Bernard's trial in April 1858.—309

*James Stuart,* so-called *James III* (1688-1766)—son of James II; pretender to the English throne.—8-10

*James, William* (d. 1827)—English military writer.—84

*John (Johann)* (1782-1859)—Archduke of Austria, field marshal; fought in the wars against Napoleonic France; Imperial Regent of Germany (June 1848-December 1849).—525

*Johnson, Samuel* (1709-1784)—English lexicographer, compiler of a dictionary of the English language (1755); published an eight-volume edition of Shakespeare's works (1765).—46

*Jomini, Antoine Henri, Baron* (1779-1869)—Swiss-born general serving in the French and later in the Russian army; military theoretician, author of several works on strategy and military history.—163, 165, 174-75, 177, 289, 293

*Jones, Ernest Charles* (1819-1869)—English proletarian poet and journalist, Left-wing Chartist leader, editor of the *Notes to the People* and *The People's Paper;* friend of Marx and Engels; in 1858 came to an agreement with bourgeois radicals, which was the cause of Marx's and Engels' temporary break with him (till 1860).—32, 34, 38, 42, 44, 60, 65, 115, 204, 210, 228, 250, 264, 342, 344, 345, 348, 375, 565

*Jones, Jane* (née *Atherley*) (d. 1857)—Ernest Jones' wife.—147, 565

*Jones, John Felix* (d. 1878)—English naval officer and military topographer; agent in Bushire (1855-58).—112, 115

*Jordan, Johann Christoph*—German historian, author of a book on the origin of the Slavs (1745).—16

*Joss, Fritz from Untergrombach* (died c. 1525)—organiser of secret peasant alliances and conspiracies in South Germany.—444

*Joule, James Prescott* (1818-1889)—English physicist, experimentally substantiated the law of conservation of energy.—327

*Jourdan, Jean Baptiste, comte* (1762-1833)—French general, marshal from 1804, fought in the wars of the French Republic and Napoleonic France.—166, 167

*Juch, Hermann*—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat, refugee in London, Kinkel's supporter, editor of the *Hermann* (from July 1859).—404, 438, 473, 512, 552, 554

*Jung, Georg Gottlob* (1814-1886)—German democratic journalist, Young Hegelian, a manager of the *Rheinische Zeitung;* deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—478

*Juta, Johann Carl* (1824-1886)—Dutch merchant, husband of Karl Marx's sister Luise, bookseller in Cape Town.—363, 387, 389, 390, 394, 418, 489, 494, 506, 572

*Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis)* (born c. 60-died after 127)—Roman satirical poet.—391, 469

K

*Kamenski, Mikhail Fedotovich, Count* (1738-1809)—Russian field-marshal general.—162

*Kamm, Friedrich* (d. 1867)—German artisan, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated first to Switzerland and, in 1852, to the USA; an organiser of the Communist Club in New York (1857).—288, 293, 469

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—356, 392, 519

*Kapper, Siegfried* (1821-1879)—Czech writer and poet, translator of Slavic legends and songs into German.—20, 26

*Karadžić, Vuk Stefanović* (1787-1864)—Serbian philologist, historian and folklore specialist, founder of the modern Serbian literary language.—20, 26

*Karl Leopold* (1679-1747)—Duke of Mecklenburg (1713-28).—11

*Karstens*—see *Lessner, Friedrich*

*Kerb*—owner of a tavern in London.—18

*Kinkel, Gottfried* (1815-1882)—German poet and democratic journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; sentenced to life imprisonment by Prussian court; in 1850 escaped and emigrated to London, a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees; editor of the *Hermann* (1859); opposed Marx and Engels.—203, 293, 340, 345, 351, 356, 359, 361, 363, 366, 367, 369, 370, 371, 372, 375, 376, 383, 385, 386, 388, 399, 404, 408, 415, 438-40, 446, 447-48, 449, 458-60, 463, 468, 477, 482, 508, 511-13, 519, 520, 525-27, 530, 533-36, 537, 541, 545, 547, 551, 553-56, 574

*Kinkel, Johanna* (née *Mockel*) (1810-1858)—German writer, wife of Gottfried Kinkel.—356, 359, 361, 363, 371, 372, 375, 382, 385, 388, 458, 513, 541, 553

*Kiss, Miklós* (1820-1902)—Hungarian army officer, democrat, refugee, Kossuth's agent in France and Italy.—532

*Klapka, György* (1820-1892)—general in the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49); emigrated in 1849; maintained contact with Bonapartist circles in the 1850s.—324, 452, 523, 532

*Klaproth, Heinrich Julius* (1783-1835)—German philologist, orientalist and traveller.—26

*Klein, Johann Jacob* (c. 1818-c. 1896)—Cologne physician, member of the Communist League, one of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852), acquitted.—477

*Koenigswarter, Maximilien* (1815-1878)—French banker, deputy to the Corps législatif (1852-63).—90

*Koesteritz von*—Chief Public Prosecutor in Düsseldorf, took part in the divorce case of Countess Hatzfeldt.—23

*Kolatschek, Adolph* (1821-1889)—Austrian journalist and politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49); petty-bourgeois democrat.—106

*Kolb, Gustav Eduard* (1798-1865)—German journalist, editor-in-chief of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* (1837-65).—541, 543, 549

*Komp, Albrecht*—German refugee in the USA, an organiser of the Communist Club in New York (1857); Joseph Weydemeyer's friend. — 338, 376, 384, 440

*Korff, Hermann*—Prussian ex-officer, democrat; manager of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); later emigrated to the USA.—434

*Kościelski, Władisław* (1818-1895)—Polish democrat; took part in the Posen national liberation movement (1848), maintained ties with the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung;* general in the Turkish army (1850s).—109

*Kościuszko, Tadeusz Andrzej Bonawentura* (1746-1817)—Polish general and leader of the national liberation uprising of 1794; took part in the American War of Independence (1776-83).—85

*Kossuth, Lajos* (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement; head of the revolutionary government (1848-49); after the defeat of the revolution emigrated first to Turkey and later to England and the USA; sought for support in the Bonapartist circles in the 1850s.—258, 318, 324, 342, 382, 452, 456, 458, 465, 476, 494, 497, 505-07, 523, 525, 532, 565, 573

*Köster, Heinrich* (1807-1881)—German philologist and teacher, an acquaintance of Ferdinand Lassalle and Ferdinand Freiligrath.—353-55

*Krosigk, Lisette von (Louise Friederike Ottilie Caroline)* (née *von Westphalen*) (1800-1863)—Jenny Marx's stepsister.—562

*Krukowiecki, Jan* (c. 1770-1850)—Polish general, Governor-General of Warsaw during the 1830-31 Polish insurrection, headed the government (August-September 1831).—169

*Kutter, Wilhelm*—one of Engels' acquaintances in Bradford.—422

*Kutuzov, Mikhail Illarionovich, Prince of Smolensk* (1745-1813)—Russian general, field marshal, took part in the wars with Turkey and Napoleonic France, commander-in-chief of the Russian army in 1812.—163

L

*La Guéronnière, Louis Étienne Arthur Dubreuil Hélion, vicomte de* (1816-1875)—French journalist and politician; Bonapartist in the 1850s.—384

*Lallerstedt, Sven Gustaf* (1816-1864)—Swedish journalist and historian.—91

*La Marmora (Lamarmora), Alfonso Ferrero, marchese de* (1804-1878)—Italian general and statesman; War Minister (1848, 1849-55, 1856-59) and Prime Minister (July 1859-January 1860) of Piedmont; commanded a Sardinian corps in the Crimea (1855); Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Italy (1864-66).—309

*Lamoricière, Christophe Léon Louis Juchault de* (1806-1865)—French general, moderate Republican; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s-40s and in suppressing the June 1848 uprising in Paris; expelled from France after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851.—89, 177

*Landolphe*—French socialist, a refugee in London; joined the sectarian Willich-Schapper group in 1850.—357, 363

*Landor, Walter Savage* (1775-1864)—English poet, writer and critic; was suspected of being an accomplice in Orsini's attempt on the life of Napoleon III in 1858.—290

*Lange, F. W. L.*—German refugee in London, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in Lon-

don, one of the distributors of *Das Volk*.—483

*Langeron, Alexander Fyodorovich (Louis Alexandre Andrault), Count* (1763-1831)—general in Russian service; French by birth; took part in the wars against Napoleonic France.—179

*Lannes, Jean, duc de Montebello, prince de Siévers* (1769-1809)—Marshal of France, participant in the wars of Napoleonic France.—162, 163, 165, 166, 174

*Larrey, Félix Hippolyte, baron* (1808-1895)—French military surgeon, a private doctor of Napoleon III; in January 1858 examined those injured by the bomb explosion during Orsini's attempt on the life of Napoleon III.—258

* *Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German journalist and lawyer, petty-bourgeois socialist; took part in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863); an initiator of the opportunist trend in the German Social-Democratic movement.—23-24, 27, 36, 44, 128, 129, 225-28, 237, 239-40, 242, 250, 252, 255-57, 259-61, 262, 268, 271-72, 275, 286, 295, 308, 315, 316, 318-21, 322, 324, 336, 338, 353-55, 376, 378-81, 383, 384, 386, 391, 392, 393-95, 396-97, 398-401, 402, 403, 404, 407, 408, 410-12, 414-16, 418-21, 429, 432, 433-35, 441-46, 448, 450, 452, 454, 455, 456, 458, 459-60, 461, 465, 471, 477, 481, 497, 502, 508, 516, 518, 524, 526, 536, 538, 542, 547, 548, 570, 574

*Layard, Sir Austen Henry* (1817-1894)—English archaeologist and radical politician; subsequently liberal, M.P.—107

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician, a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats, editor of *La Réforme;* Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government (February-May 1848), deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (leader of the Montagnards); emigrated to England after the demonstration of 13 June 1849.—94, 277, 480, 538

*Lefebvre, Pierre François Joseph, duc de Dantzig* (1755-1820)—Marshal of France, participant in the wars of Napoleonic France.—166-67

*Leiden, Kosmos Damian*—wine-merchant in Cologne, juryman in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—228, 568

*Lelewel (Lelevel), Joachim* (1786-1861)—Polish historian and revolutionary; took part in the 1830-31 Polish insurrection; a leader of the democratic wing of Polish emigrants.—85, 105, 106

*Lemoine*—French journalist, editor of the newspaper *Impartial* published in Jersey; Bonapartist agent.—188, 190

*Lenchen*—see *Demuth, Helene*

*Leo, Heinrich* (1799-1878)—German historian and journalist, extreme monarchist, an ideologist of Prussian Junkers.—21

*Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim* (1729-1781)—German writer, critic and philosopher of the Enlightenment.—260

*Lessner, Friedrich* (1825-1910)—German tailor; member of the Communist League, where he was known as Karstens; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; defendant at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); refugee in London from 1856; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—464, 472, 480, 484, 496, 500, 501, 511

*Lestock*—see *L'Estocq, Anton Wilhelm von*

*L'Estocq, Anton Wilhelm von* (1738-1815)—Prussian general; took part

in the war against Napoleonic France in 1806-07.—162

*Levi, Isaak*—see *Rodenberg, Julius*

*Levy, Gustav*—German socialist from the Rhine Province; was delegated by Düsseldorf workers to Marx in London in 1856; later an active member of the General Association of German Workers.—15, 22-25, 30-31, 36, 41

*Lewald* (married name *Stahr*), *Fanny* (1811-1889)—German writer, in the 1830s-40s associated with the Young Germany group.—383

*Lichtenberg*—doctor of a German hospital in London.—181

*Liddle*—English manufacturer.—204

*Liebknecht, Ernestine* (née *Landolt*) (d. 1867)—Wilhelm Liebknecht's first wife.—66, 333

* *Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League; a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; one of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—22, 27, 33, 66, 120, 340, 363, 437-38, 439, 440, 449-52, 459, 464, 473, 475, 483, 484, 503, 504, 507, 508, 520, 539, 541, 543, 546, 549, 567

*Link*—a participant in the Schiller festival in Manchester in November 1859.—531

*Linkenbach*—an acquaintance of Frederick Engels' father.—529

*Lisle*—owner of a print-shop in London, where *Das Volk* was printed.—501

*List, Friedrich* (1789-1846)—German economist, advocated protectionism.—305

*Livesay, Joseph* (1794-1884)—English businessman, philanthropist, Free Trader; presided at a joint conference of Chartists and Radicals in February 1858.—264

*Livy (Titus Livius)* (59 B.C.-A.D. 17)—Roman historian.—294

*Lochner, Georg* (born c. 1824)—carpenter; prominent figure in the German working-class movement, member of the Communist League and German Workers' Educational Society in London; later member of the General Council of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—437

*Locke, John* (1632-1704)—English philosopher and economist.—377

*Löllchen (Löllgen), Johann Adam*—innkeeper in Cologne in the 1840s.—477

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—377

*Louis XVIII* (1755-1824)—King of France (1814-15, 1815-24).—20

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of France (1830-48).—7, 81, 169, 193-94, 229-30, 405

*Love*—bookseller in Glasgow.—469

*Lowe, Robert, Viscount Sherbrooke* (1811-1892)—British statesman and journalist, Whig and later Liberal, M.P.; Vice-President of the Board of Trade (1855-58); Chancellor of the Exchequer (1868-73); Home Secretary (1873-74).—104, 106, 110, 116

*Löwe, Wilhelm* (1814-1886)—German democrat, a leader of the Left wing of the Frankfurt National Assembly (known as *Löwe von Calbe* after the Prussian district of Calbe in which he was elected); leader of the rump of the Assembly in Stuttgart; emigrated to England, then to New York (1853-61), where he edited the *Neue Zeit*.—32

*Lowndes, William* (1652-1724)—English economist and statesman, Secretary of the Exchequer (1695-1724).—377

*Loyd, Samuel Jones, Lord Overstone* (1796-1883)—English banker and economist, Whig; inspirer of Robert Peel's financial policy; leader of the 'Currency Principles School'.—215, 377

*Lucan (Marcus Annaeus Lucanus)* (A.D. 39-65)—Roman poet.—446

*Lupus*—see *Wolff, Wilhelm*

*Luther, Martin* (1483-1546)—German theologian and writer; leader of the Reformation; founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany; ideologist of the German burghers.—21, 409, 420

M

*Mac Adam, John*—Scottish journalist from Glasgow; supported the national liberation movement in Hungary, Italy and other European countries in the 1850s.—505-06

*Macdonald, Jacques Étienne Joseph Alexandre, duc de Tarente* (1765-1840)—Marshal of France, participant in the wars of Napoleonic France.—166, 167

*Machiavelli, Niccoló* (1469-1527)—Italian politician, historian and writer.—186-87

*Maciejowski, Wacław Aleksander* (1793-1883)—Polish historian and lawyer, author of works on the history of Poland and history of law of Slav states.—85

*Mackenzie, George*—British diplomat, Ambassador in Russia (1710-15).—9

*Maclaren, James*—English economist of the 19th century, studied the history of money circulation.—317

*Magnan, Bernard Pierre* (1791-1865)—Marshal of France, Bonapartist, an organiser of the coup d'état of 2 December 1851.—256

*Magne, Pierre* (1806-1879)—French statesman, Bonapartist; Minister of Finance (1855-60, 1867-69, 1870, 1873-74).—306

*Małachowski, Kazimierz* (1765-1845)—Polish general, commander-in-chief of the Polish army (from August 1831) during the 1830-31 Polish insurrection; emigrated to France.—169

*Malmesbury, James Howard Harris, Earl of* (1807-1889)—British statesman, Tory, Foreign Secretary (1852, 1858-59), Lord Privy Seal (1866-68, 1874-76).—427

*Mansfield, Sir William Roser, Baron Sandhurst* (1819-1876)—British general, military adviser to the British Embassy at Constantinople (1855-56), Chief of Staff of the British army during the national liberation uprising in India in 1857-59.—29

*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von* (1805-1882)—Prussian conservative statesman; Minister of the Interior (November 1848-November 1850), Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1850-58).—34, 383, 403, 461, 470

*Mar, John Erskine, Earl of* (1675-1732)—Scottish statesman, leader of the uprising in support of the pretender to the English throne James Stuart (1715).—8

*Marcus*—a participant in the Schiller festival in Manchester in November 1859.—517, 530

*Marei*—compiler of hospital reports in Manchester.—325-26

*Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de, duc de Raguse* (1774-1852)—Marshal of France, took part in the wars of Napoleonic France, later sided with the Bourbons.—165, 166

*Marx, Edgar (Musch)* (1847-1855)—son of Karl Marx.—56, 566, 575

*Marx, Eleanor (Tussy)* (1855-1898)—Karl Marx's youngest daughter.—127, 129, 323, 325, 333, 346, 564

*Marx, Emilie* (1822-1888)—sister of Karl Marx.—356

*Marx, Franziska* (1851-1852)—daughter of Karl Marx.—56

*Marx, Heinrich* (1782-1838)—father of Karl Marx; lawyer, Counsellor of Justice in Trier.—315

*Marx, Heinrich Guido (Fawksy)* (1849-1850)—son of Karl Marx.—56

*Marx, Henriette* (née *Pressburg*) (1787-1863)—mother of Karl Marx.—332-34, 336, 341, 345, 347, 350, 356, 387, 408

* *Marx, Jenny* (née *von Westphalen*) (1814-1881)—wife of Karl Marx.—7, 14, 31, 33, 36, 43-44, 54-57, 59, 63, 66, 68, 69, 74, 80, 82, 84, 85, 87, 97, 105, 106, 110, 112, 117, 118, 121, 125-28, 130-32, 139-41, 143-46, 148, 150, 151, 153, 155, 161, 176, 189, 196, 204, 213, 214, 222, 223, 226, 228, 240, 242, 247, 255, 258, 265, 282, 285, 289, 293, 296, 306, 307, 308, 309, 311, 313-15, 324, 328, 329, 331, 332, 334, 335, 338, 339, 340, 345, 350, 355, 358-60, 373, 374, 379, 387, 417, 421, 457, 462, 469, 478, 491, 493, 510, 517, 518, 535, 542, 545, 551, 554, 555-57, 561-76

* *Marx, Jenny* (1844-1883)—Karl Marx's eldest daughter.—33, 129, 130, 243, 250, 253, 314, 331, 337, 338, 466, 553, 557, 563, 564, 571, 575

* *Marx, Laura* (1845-1911)—Karl Marx's second daughter.—33, 129, 250, 253, 314, 331, 337, 338, 466, 557, 563, 564

*Masséna, André, duc de Rivoli, prince d'Essling* (1756-1817)—Marshal of France, participant in the wars of the French Republic and Napoleonic France.—164, 165, 166, 177

*Mayhew, Horace* (1816-1872)—English journalist and humourist writer.—91

*Mayne, Sir Richard* (1796-1868)—Chief of Police in London from 1850.—255

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, leader of the national liberation movement, head of the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); in the early 1850s sought for support among the Bonapartists; subsequently opposed Bonapartism.—142, 277, 346, 348, 351, 382, 398, 452, 455, 464, 481, 538

*Mecklenburg, Duchess of*—see *Catherine Ivanovna*

*Mecklenburg, Duke of*—see *Karl Leopold*

*Meissner, Alfred* (1822-1885)—German democratic writer, 'true socialist' in the mid-forties, subsequently a liberal.—69, 516, 530

*Mendel, S.*—English merchant in Manchester.—201

*Merck, Ernst von* (1811-1863)—German businessman, in 1848-49 deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly and Imperial Minister of Finance, member of the Hamburg Senate.—221, 235

*Metternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince von* (1773-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1809-21) and Chancellor (1821-48), an organiser of the Holy Alliance.—318, 324

*Mevissen, Elise von* (née *Leiden*) (d. 1857)—daughter of Kosmos Damian Leiden, wife of Gustav von Mevissen.—228, 568

*Mevissen, Gustav von* (1815-1899)—German banker and politician, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie.—34, 568

*Meyen (Mayen), Eduard* (1812-1870)—German writer, Young Hegelian; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; subsequently a national-liberal.—18, 106, 436, 522-24

*Miall, Edward* (1809-1881)—English writer and radical politician, M.P. (1852-57, 1869-74); flirted with the Chartists in the 1840s.—116, 264

*Mierosławski, Ludwik* (1814-1878)—prominent figure in the Polish na-

tional liberation movement; took part in the 1830-31 Polish insurrection and in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; later a leader of the moderate Polish democratic émigrés; sought for support among the Bonapartist circles in the 1850s.—75, 80, 85, 91, 105, 106

*Miklosich, Franz von (Miklošić, František)* (1813-1891)—professor of Slavic philology at Vienna University (1849-86); founder of the comparative grammar of Slavic languages; Slovenian by birth.—403

*Mill, James* (1773-1836)—English economist and philosopher.—377

*Miquel, Johannes von* (1828-1901)—German politician, member of the Communist League; later a national-liberal.—31, 42-44, 59, 99, 100, 106, 134, 135, 136

*Mirbach, Otto von* (born c. 1800)—retired Prussian artillery officer, democrat; commandant of Elberfeld during the May 1849 uprising; emigrated from Germany.—61, 65, 564

*Mockel, Johanna*—see *Kinkel, Johanna*

*Moleschott, Jakob* (1822-1893)—Dutch physiologist and philosopher, taught in Germany, Switzerland and Italy.—55, 282, 356

*Molière* (real name *Jean Baptiste Poquelin*) (1622-1673)—French dramatist.—499

*Mommsen, Theodor* (1817-1903)—German historian, author of works on the history of Ancient Rome.—127, 294

*Montalembert, Charles Forbes René de Tryon, comte de* (1810-1870)—French politician and journalist; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848-51); Orleanist, leader of the Catholic circles; supported Louis Bonaparte during the coup d'état of 2 December 1851, but soon afterwards joined the opposition.—351, 361

*Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Secondat, baron de La Brède et de* (1689-1755)—French sociologist, economist and writer.—377, 396

*Morell, John Daniel* (1816-1891)—English philosopher, theologist and man of letters; a participant in the Schiller festival in Manchester in November 1859.—530

*Morny, Charles Auguste Louis Joseph, duc de* (1811-1865)—French politician, Bonapartist; an organiser of the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; Minister of the Interior (December 1851-January 1852); President of the Corps législatif (1854-56, 1857-65); ambassador to Russia (1856-57); stepbrother of Napoleon III.—7, 34, 83, 94, 105, 291-93

*Mortier, Edouard Adolphe Casimir Joseph, duc de Trévise* (1768-1835)—Marshal of France, took part in the wars of Napoleonic France.—163, 166, 167

*Morton*—one of the acquaintances of the Marx family in London.—572

*Müffling, Friedrich Karl Ferdinand, Baron von* (1775-1851)—Prussian general, later field-marshal general; military writer; took part in the wars against Napoleonic France.—172, 179, 180, 198

*Müller, Adam Heinrich, Ritter von Nitterdorf* (1779-1829)—German journalist and economist, representative of the so-called Romantic school, which expressed the interests of feudal aristocracy.—4

*Münnich (Münich), Khristofor Antonovich (Burkhard Christoph), Count von* (1683-1767)—Russian field-marshal general, engineer; commander-in-chief of the Russian forces in the Crimea and Bessarabia during the Russo-Turkish war of 1735-39; German by birth.—3

*Muñoz Benavente, José (Pucheta)* (1820-1856)—Spanish bull-fighter; active participant in the 1854-56 revolution; a leader of popular masses in Mad-

rid; was killed at the barricades.—61

*Münzer, Thomas* (c. 1490-1525)—leader of the urban plebeians and poor peasants during the Reformation and the Peasant War of 1525 in Germany; advocated ideas of egalitarian utopian communism.—21, 420

*Muralt, Eduard von* (1808-1895)—Swiss theologian and historian; Byzantinist; from 1837 curator of theological manuscripts and books at the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg.—3

*Murat, Joachim* (1767-1815)—Marshal of France; took part in the wars of Napoleonic France, King of Naples (1808-15).—107, 165, 166

N

*Napier, Sir William Francis Patrick* (1785-1860)—British general and military historian.—285

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—83, 85, 124, 162, 163, 164, 165, 170, 174-75, 177, 179-81, 266, 336, 455, 473, 476

*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—nephew of Napoleon I, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—6, 7, 31, 42-43, 45, 51, 75, 80-84, 89, 94, 105, 107, 109, 133, 157, 170, 193, 194, 214, 216, 229-231, 256, 257-58, 264, 266, 268, 273, 275, 285, 290-92, 296, 306, 308-09, 317, 336, 352, 357, 368, 380, 381-82, 384, 392, 401, 405, 416, 425-28, 430, 434, 435-36, 437, 455, 456, 460, 464-66, 470, 473, 474, 476, 487, 488, 507, 525, 532, 537, 538, 544, 552, 563

*Napoléon, Prince*—see *Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul*

*Naut, Stephan Adolf*—Cologne merchant, from 1 April 1849 responsible editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.—209

*Négrier, François Marie Casimir de* (1788-1848)—French general; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s; participated in suppressing the June 1848 uprising in Paris.—177

*Nesselrode, Karl Vasilyevich, Count* (1780-1862)—Russian statesman and diplomat, Foreign Minister (1816-56); State Chancellor (from 1845).—468

*Ney, Michel, duc d'Elchingen* (1769-1815)—Marshal of France; fought in the wars of the French Republic and Napoleonic France.—165, 166, 175

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—17, 432, 436, 468

*Nicolai, Christoph Friedrich* (1733-1811)—German writer, publisher and bookseller, advocate of 'enlightened absolutism'.—13

*Nisard, Jean Marie Napoléon Désiré* (1806-1888)—French critic and historian of literature; professor at the Sorbonne in the 1850s.—6

*Norgate*—bookseller in London.—15

*Norris, Sir John* (c. 1660-1749)—British admiral, in 1719-21 commanded the squadron in the Baltic sea sent to help Sweden in the war against Russia.—91

*Nothjung, Peter* (1821-1866)—German tailor; member of the Cologne Workers' Association and of the Communist League; one of the accused at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—478

*Nutt, David* (d. 1863)—English bookseller and publisher in London.—226, 268, 410

O

*O'Brien, James* (pseudonym *Bronterre*) (1805-1864)—Irish journalist, ideologist of the Chartist movement; gave up revolutionary positions after 1848-49; founded the National Reform League in 1849.—250

*Oelbermann, Hugo*—German writer.—509

*Olmsted, Frederick Law* (1822-1903)—American landscape architect, author of books on England and North America; contributor to the *Putnam's Monthly Magazine;* in 1856 travelled to Europe to study park designing.—68, 71, 81, 97, 100, 101, 102, 105, 106, 124

*O'Meagher, J. B.*—correspondent of *The Times* in Paris (1850s-60s.).—82

*Omer Pasha (Michael Lattas)* (1806-1871)—Turkish general of Croatian origin, commander-in-chief on the Danube (1853-54), in the Crimea (1855) and in the Caucasus (1855-56).—30

*Oppenheim, Heinrich Bernhard* (1819-1880)—German democratic politician, economist and journalist; refugee in Switzerland, France and England (from 1849); subsequently a national-liberal.—100, 106, 437

*Orges, Hermann, von* (1821-1874)—German journalist; an editor of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* (1854-64).—532

*Orleans*—royal dynasty in France (1830-48).—293, 317

*Orsini, Felice* (1819-1858) — Italian democrat and republican; prominent figure in the struggle for Italy's national liberation and unification; executed for his attempt on the life of Napoleon III.—255, 276, 277, 289-91, 359, 380

*Ørsted, Anders Sandøe* (1778-1860)—Danish lawyer and statesman; Prime Minister (1853-54).—132

*Oswald, Eugen* (1826-1912)—German democratic journalist; took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden in 1848-49; emigrated to England after its defeat.—18

*Otto, Carl Wunibald* (born c. 1810)—German chemist, in 1848-49 member of the Cologne Worker's Association and of the Communist League; one of the accused at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—69, 75

*Overstone*—see *Loyd, Samuel Jones, Lord Overstone*

*Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso)* (43 B.C.-c. A.D. 17)—Roman poet.—56

P

*Padua, Duchess of*—see *Arrighi de Casanova, duchesse de Padoue*

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman; at first Tory, from 1830, Whig; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51); Home Secretary (1852-55); Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-65).—7, 21, 44, 58, 80, 104, 107-08, 109-11, 113, 115, 116, 119, 128, 134, 226, 228, 255, 275, 276, 278, 284, 347, 349, 365, 368, 387, 401, 405, 411, 412, 416, 426, 427, 429, 431, 468, 470, 516, 520, 541, 547

*Pam*—see *Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount*

*Panmure, Fox Maule Ramsay, Baron Panmure, Earl of Dalhousie* (1801-1874)—British statesman, Whig, Secretary at War (1846-52) and Secretary for War (1855-58).—21, 30

*Panzer.*—511

*Parish, Henry Headley*—British historian in the first half of the nineteenth century.—120

*Passy, Hippolyte Philibert* (1793-1880)—French economist and politician, Orleanist; several times member of the government during the July monarchy; Minister of Finance (December 1848-October 1849).—194

*Patkul, Johann Reinhold von* (1660-1707)—Livonian nobleman; from 1701 was in Russian service as Privy Councillor and general, Russian envoy to Poland (1704-05).—470

*Patow, Erasmus Robert, Baron von* (1804-1890)—Prussian statesman, Minister

of Trade, Industry and Public Works (April-June 1848), Finance Minister (1858-62).—379

*Pauer, Ernst* (1826-1905)—Austrian composer and pianist; from 1851 lived in London; professor at the Royal College of Music and director of a German song society.—512

*Paul, Sir John Dean* (1802-1868)—English banker; went bankrupt in June 1855; was sentenced to penal servitude for financial machinations.—72

*Paula-Kröcher (Paulaw)* from Breslau (Wrocław).—341, 383

*Pauly, August Friedrich von* (1796-1845)—German philologist, from 1830 professor of a grammar school in Stuttgart; publisher and editor of *Real-Encyklopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*.—147, 187

*Payne, Annie*—English ballet dancer.—118

*Peabody, George* (1795-1869)—American financier, philanthropist; head of a bank firm in London (from 1837).—212, 567

*Peel, Sir Robert* (1788-1850)—British statesman, moderate Tory; Home Secretary (1822-27, 1828-30), Prime Minister (1834-35, 1841-46); repealed the Corn Laws in 1846.—102, 104, 107

*Pélissier, Aimable Jean Jacques* (1794-1864)—Marshal of France, took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s-early 50s; commander-in-chief in the Crimea (May 1855-July 1856); ambassador to London (1858-59); commander of the army of observation at Nancy (1859).—292, 296, 317, 321, 381

*Pelletan, Pierre Clément Eugène* (1813-1884)—French journalist and politician, moderate republican.—43

*Perczel, Mór* (1811-1899)—Hungarian general; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Turkey and in 1851 to England.—506

*Péreire, Isaac* (1806-1880)—French banker, Bonapartist; deputy to the Corps législatif; founded the joint-stock bank Crédit mobilier together with his brother Émile Péreire (1852).—90, 119, 133, 216

*Persigny, Jean Gilbert Victor Fialin, comte* (1808-1872) — French statesman, Bonapartist; an organiser of the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; Minister of the Interior (1852-54, 1860-63); ambassador to London (1855-58, 1859-60).—278

*Peter I (the Great)* (1672-1725)—Tsar of Russia (1682-1721), Emperor of Russia (from 1721).—8-11, 58, 91, 120

*Petermann, August* (1822-1878)—German geographer and cartographer, editor of the periodicals *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' geographischer Anstalt* in Gotha (from 1855).—349

*Petersen, Niels Lorenzo* (1814-died after 1889)—prominent figure in the Danish and international working-class movement; Communist League member; contributed to *Das Volk* (1859); later member of the First International; a leader of the Left wing of the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark.—476

*Peto, Sir Samuel Morton* (1809-1889)—English businessman, M.P., liberal.—114

*Petty, Sir William* (1623-1687)—English economist and statistician, founder of the classical school of political economy in Britain.—298, 377

*Pfänder, Karl* (c. 1818-1876)—German artist; refugee in London from 1845, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, of the Communist League and later of the General Council of the First

International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—313, 384, 398, 407, 417, 431, 437, 451

*Pfeil, Count von*—Prussian Junker, member of the Prussian Provincial Diet.—20, 26

*Philips*—Dutch relatives of Karl Marx.—332

*Philips, Lion* (1794-1866)—Dutch merchant, maternal uncle of Karl Marx.—336

*Philipson, Grigory Ivanovich* (1809-1883)—Russian general; took part in the war against Caucasian mountaineers.—310

*Pieper, Wilhelm* (born c. 1826-1899)—German philologist and journalist; member of the Communist League; refugee in London; was close to Marx and Engels in 1850-53.—8, 14, 22, 32-33, 35, 41-42, 44, 46, 53, 54, 59-60, 61, 65, 66, 69, 76, 98, 120, 124, 125, 128, 171, 174, 225, 232, 242-43, 255, 350, 351, 384, 412, 451, 561

*Pierre*—see *Peter I (the Great)*

*Pitt, L.K.*—cousin of William Pitt the Younger, priest at the English trading station in St. Petersburg.—17

*Pitt, William (the Younger)* (1759-1806)—British statesman, Tory; Prime Minister (1783-1801, 1804-06).—17

*Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti)* (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—381, 425

*Place, Henri*—French financier, a governor of the joint-stock bank Crédit mobilier.—133

*Plato* (c. 427-c. 347 B. C.)—Greek philosopher.—397

*Plon-Plon*—see *Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul*

*Plutarch* (c. 46-c. 125)—Greek writer, historian and philosopher.—269

*Poèrio, Carlo* (1803-1867)—Italian liberal, participant in the national liberation movement; Prefect of Police and Minister of Education in Naples (1848); was imprisoned (1849-59); in 1859 was deported to South America but en route fled to England.—405

*Pondu, John*—businessman in Manchester.—235

*Potter, Sir John* (d. 1858)—British liberal, M.P., was elected mayor of Manchester three times.—104, 113, 115, 117, 121

*Potter, Sir Thomas* (1773-1845)—English tradesman and politician, a leader of Manchester liberals and founder of *The Manchester Guardian*, was twice elected mayor of Manchester; John Potter's father.—118

*Pozzo di Borgo, Karl Osipovich, Count* (1764-1842)—Russian diplomat; Corsican by birth; envoy to Paris (1814-21), ambassador to Paris (1821-35) and to London (1835-39).—9, 468, 470

*Prince of Prussia*—see *William I*

*Procopius* (end of 5th cent.-after 562)—Byzantine writer, author of an eight-volume history of Justinian's wars against the Persians, Vandals and Goths, which contained data on the Slavs.—16

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist; a founder of anarchism.—18, 90, 106, 301, 303, 377, 396, 460, 473, 538

*Prutz, Robert Eduard* (1816-1872)—German poet, journalist and historian of literature, liberal; associated with Young Hegelians; publisher of the journal *Deutsches Museum* in Leipzig (1851-67).—356, 385

*Pucheta*—see *Muñoz Benavente, José*

*Pulszky, Ferenc* (1814-1897)—Hungarian politician, writer and archaeologist; Pole by birth; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary;

emigrated after its defeat; contributed to the *New-York Daily Tribune* in the 1850s.—318, 324, 352, 493, 505, 507, 517, 523, 525

*Putnam, George Palmer* (1814-1872)—American publisher and journalist, published the *Putnam's Monthly Magazine* (from 1853).—11, 68, 71, 81, 88, 96, 100, 124

*Pyat, Félix* (1810-1889)—French journalist, playwright and politician, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1848 revolution; from 1849 refugee in Switzerland, Belgium and England; later opposed Marx and the First International.—37, 38, 95, 277-79, 339, 340, 345, 348, 351

*Pythagoras* (c. 571-497 B.C.)—Greek mathematician and philosopher.—60

Q

*Quételet, Lambert Adolphe Jacques* (1796-1874) — Belgian mathematician, statistician and astronomer.—286

*Quintilian (Marcus Fabius Quintilianus)* (c. 35-c. 96)—Roman rhetorician.—218

R

*Radetzky, Josef, Count von Radetz* (1766-1858)—Austrian field marshal; suppressed the national liberation movement in Italy (1848-49); Governor-General of the Kingdom of Lombardy and Venetia (1850-56).—180, 431, 432

*Radowitz, Joseph Maria von* (1797-1853)—Prussian general and statesman; a Right-wing leader in the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49).—398

*Raglan, Lord Fitzroy James Henry Somerset, Baron* (1788-1855)—British general, field marshal from November 1854, commander-in-chief of the British forces in the Crimea (1854-55).—21, 297

*Raphael Sanzio (Raffaello Santi)* (1483-1520)—Italian painter of the Renaissance.—553

*Rechberg und Rothenlöwen, Johann Bernhard, Count von* (1806-1899)—Austrian statesman and diplomat, conservative; Prime Minister (1859-60) and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1859-64).—446

*Redcliffe*—see *Stratford de Redcliffe, Stratford Canning, Viscount*

*Reinhardt, Richard* (1829-1898)—German poet, refugee in Paris, Heinrich Heine's secretary, friend of Marx and Engels.—69

*Rémusat, Charles François Marie, comte de* (1797-1875)—French statesman and writer, Orleanist; opposed Napoleon III's regime during the Second Empire.—6

*Reventlow*—American acquaintance of Conrad Schramm and Joseph Weydemeyer; published the newspaper *Der Hochwächter* in Cincinnati (1857-58).—217

*Reynolds, George William MacArthur* (1814-1879)—British politician and journalist, democrat; publisher of *Reynolds's Newspaper*.—250, 344, 345

*Ribbentrop, Adolph*—Prussian legal officer; refugee in Paris in the 1850s; supported Feuerbach; August Ewerbeck's friend.—356

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—English economist.—127, 283, 284, 287, 298, 377, 396

*Richard von Greifenklau* (1467-1531)—Elector and Archbishop of Trier (1511-31); opponent of the Reformation; took part in suppressing the knights' uprising (1522-23) and the peasant uprising (1525).—420, 443, 445

*Ripley, George* (1802-1880)—American writer, journalist and literary critic, an editor of the *New-York Daily Tribune* (from 1849) and *The New American Cyclopaedia* (1857-63);

founded communist colonies in the USA (1840s).—159

*Ripley, Roswell Sabine* (1823-1887)—American officer and military writer; general from 1861, participant in the war against Mexico (1846-48).—159

*Ripperda, Johann Willem* (1682-1737)—Dutch adventurer at the service of Philip V of Spain (1715-26); got the title of Duke and ministerial post.—10

*Robert, Cyprien* (b. 1807)—French journalist and philologist, professor of Slavic literature and Slavic languages at the Collège de France (1845-57).—18, 20

*Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de* (1758-1794)—Jacobin leader in the French Revolution, head of the revolutionary government (1793-94).—25, 548

*Robinson, Smith P.*—Honorary Secretary of the Anti-Corn Law League.—116

*Robinson, Therese Albertine Luise* (née *von Jakob*) (1797-1870)—German writer (pseudonym *Talvj*), translator of Serbian folk songs into German.—20, 26, 123

*Rodenberg, Julius* (real name *Levi, Isaak*) (1831-1914)—German poet, writer and journalist.—345

*Roesgen, Charles*—clerk at Ermen & Engels in Manchester.—92, 104, 232, 241

*Rogers, John*—English policeman, witness at Simon Bernard's trial (April 1858).—307

*Röth, Eduard Maximilian* (1807-1858)—German philosopher.—79

*Rothschild, Alfred de* (b. 1842)—son of Lionel Nathan de Rothschild (head of the Rothschild banking house in London); in 1850-52 Wilhelm Pieper's pupil; later a banker.—53

*Rothschild, James, baron de* (1792-1868)—head of the Rothschild banking house in Paris.—133

*Rothschilds*—dynasty of bankers with branches in many European countries.—231

*Rotteck, Karl Wenzeslaus Rodecker von* (1775-1840)—German historian and politician, liberal.—428

*Ruge, Agnes* (née *Nietzsche*) (1814-died after 1894)—wife of Arnold Ruge.—209

*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; German petty-bourgeois refugee leader in England in the 1850s.—18, 46, 79, 100, 106, 209, 227, 356, 368, 395, 519

*Ruge, Hedwig*—Arnold Ruge's daughter.—209

*Rushdi Pasha, Mehemet* (1809-1879)—Turkish statesman, several times held the post of War Minister (Seraskier) in the 1850s and 1860s.—29

*Russell, John Russell, Earl* (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader; Prime Minister (1846-52, 1865-66), Foreign Secretary (1852-53, 1859-65), President of the Council (1854-55).—119, 411, 431

*Russell, Sir William Howard* (1820-1907)—English journalist, military correspondent of *The Times*.—308

*Rüstow, Wilhelm Friedrich* (1821-1878)—German officer and military writer, democrat; refugee in Switzerland.—128, 141-42, 147, 241, 479

S

*Saalfeld*.—225

*Sadleir, John* (1814-1856)—Irish banker and politician, a leader of the Irish Brigade in Parliament; committed suicide when the Tipperary Bank, whose director he was, went bankrupt.—72

*Šafařik, Pavel Josef* (1795-1861)—Slovak philologist, historian and archaeologist; representative of the liberal wing of the national movement; supported the programme of Austro-Slavism.—16, 19

*Saint-Hilaire*—see *Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, Étienne*

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—72

*Samelson, Adolph* (1817-1888)—German surgeon, oculist, held liberal views; emigrated to Manchester in 1857; took part in the Schiller festival in November 1859.—517-18, 530

*Samo* (d. 658)—founder and head of the first political union of Western and partly Southern Slavs, named after him (623-58).—19

*Sandwith, Humphry* (1822-1881)—English military physician, took part in the Crimean war; from February 1855 inspector-general of hospitals and head of medical staff in the Turkish army defending Kars.—22, 27, 34

*Sasonov, Nikolai Ivanovich* (1815-1862)—Russian radical journalist; emigrated in the early 1840s (lived mainly in France), contributed to various newspapers and magazines.—69

*Say, Jean Baptiste* (1767-1832)—French economist, representative of vulgar political economy.—377, 395

*Schaffarik*—see *Šafařik, Pavel Josef*

*Schapper, Karl* (c. 1812-1870)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; a leader of the League of the Just; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; a leader of the sectarian group during the split in the Communist League in 1850; again became a close associate of Marx in 1856; member of the General Council of the First International.—38, 41, 317, 319, 329, 330, 361, 389, 449, 451

*Schapper, Susannah*—wife of Karl Schapper.—389

*Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von* (1755-1813)—Prussian general, reorganised the Prussian army; War Minister (1807-10) and Chief of Staff (1807-13); an organiser of national struggle against Napoleonic rule.—178, 561

*Scherzer, Andreas* (1807-1879)—German tailor, member of a Paris commune of the Communist League, which was close to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group in 1850; later emigrated to London, a leader of German Workers' Educational Society in London, publisher of *Die Neue Zeit* and contributor to *Das Volk*.—38, 358, 366, 437, 440, 466, 472, 483

*Scheuer*.—23

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—14, 356, 420, 444, 498, 508, 512, 513, 514, 516-17, 525, 527, 530-34, 536, 537, 556, 574

*Schleiden, Matthias Jakob* (1804-1881)—German botanist, a theorist of the cell structure of organisms.—314, 326

*Schleinitz, Alexander, Baron von* (1807-1885)—Prussian statesman, Minister of Foreign Affairs (June 1848, 1849-50, 1858-61).—520, 538, 575

*Schlosser, Friedrich Christoph* (1776-1861)—German historian, democrat.—56, 170

*Schlözer, August Ludwig von* (1735-1809)—German historian and statistician, author of works on the history of Russia and on the ancient Russian chronicles.—16, 17

*Schneider II, Karl*—German lawyer, democrat; participant in the 1848-49

revolution; counsel for the defence at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—554

*Schnurrer, Christian Friedrich von* (1742-1822)—German theologian and Orientalist.—16

*Schöler, Caroline* (1819-1891)—teacher in Cologne, friend of the Marx family.—4, 66, 330, 337, 342, 385, 388, 477

*Schönaich, Christoph Otto, Baron von* (1725-1807)—German poet, author of an epic poem glorifying Arminius (Hermann), chief of the Germanic tribe of the Cherusci.—375

* *Schramm, Conrad (Konrad)* (c. 1822-1858)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement; in 1849 emigrated to London and later to Jersey; responsible editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue;* member of the Communist League and its London Central Authority; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—41, 119, 171, 187-90, 195, 196, 198, 217, 228, 240, 248, 252-53, 257, 263, 264, 296, 312-13, 324, 564, 566, 568

* *Schramm, Rudolf* (1813-1882)—German democratic journalist, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; emigrated to England; supporter of Bismarck in the 1860s; brother of Conrad Schramm.—189, 190, 196, 248, 253, 312, 324, 348, 360, 368, 461, 502

*Schröder, Christian Matthias* (1812-1892)—head of a large banking firm in Hamburg; went bankrupt at the end of 1857.—212, 567

*Schröder, John Henry* (1784-1883)—head of a large banking firm in London; brother of Christian Matthias Schröder.—213, 567

*Schütz, Jacob Friedrich* (1813-1877)—German democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; later lived as an émigré in England, Switzerland and the USA.—363

*Schwann, Theodor* (1810-1882)—German biologist; a theorist of the cell structure of organisms.—326

*Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp, Prince zu* (1771-1820)—Austrian field marshal, participant in the wars against Napoleonic France; commander-in-chief of the allied troops of the anti-French coalition in 1813-14.—164

*Scott, Sir Walter* (1771-1832)—Scottish poet and novelist.—424

*Sefer Pasha*—see *Sepher Pasha*

*Seiler, Sebastian* (c. 1810-c. 1890)—German journalist, member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; refugee in London in the early 1850s; in 1856 moved to the USA.—13, 22, 27, 33, 35, 41, 44, 319, 362, 564

*Selmnitz, Hugo von*—Prussian retired officer, Ferdinand Freiligrath's acquaintance.—104

*Senior, Nassau William* (1790-1864)—English economist, vulgarised Ricardo's theory.—283

*Sepher Pasha (Sepher Bey)* (1795-1859)—Circassian prince; being in the Turkish service, took part in the Russo-Turkish war (1826-28); directed the Circassians' military operations against Russia in 1855-59.—108, 109, 310

*Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of* (1801-1885)—British politician; head of parliamentary group of the Tory philanthropists in the 1840s; from 1847 a Whig; Palmerston's son-in-law.—405

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English dramatist and poet.—33, 46, 55, 127, 274, 356, 420, 442, 444, 575

*Shcherbatov, Mikhail Mikhailovich, Count* (1733-1790)—Russian historian and journalist.—10

*Siborne (Siborn), William* (1797-1849)—English military topographer and historian.—289

*Sickingen, Franz von* (1481-1523)—German knight who joined the Reformation; leader of the knights' uprising in 1522-23.—419-21, 443-45

*Siebel, Emilie* (née *Kampermann*) (1812-1878)—Karl Siebel's mother.—424

*Siebel, Karl* (1836-1868)—German poet; Engels' distant relative, lived in England (1856-60); helped to propagate works by Marx and Engels.—372, 422, 424, 442, 481, 483, 485, 500, 509, 516, 530, 531, 553, 557

*Siebel, Karl August* (b. 1805)—merchant in Barmen, Karl Siebel's father.—423

*Simon, Ludwig* (1810-1872)—German lawyer, democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five Imperial regents in June 1849; emigrated to Switzerland, lived in Paris (1855-70).—32, 63, 90, 106

*Simonin, Wilhelmine Joséphine* (pseudonym *Valérie*) (b. 1836)—French actress.—321

*Simpson, Sir James* (1792-1868)—British general, chief of staff (February-June 1855), commander-in-chief of the British army in the Crimea (June-November 1855).—21

*Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de* (1773-1842)—Swiss economist, representative of economic romanticism.—127, 377

*Slör, Balthasar*—participant in the Peasant War of 1525 in Germany, friend and adviser of Franz von Sickingen.—419, 420, 443

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—284, 377

*Socrates* (c. 469-c. 399 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—397

*Sophie Dorothea* (1687-1757)—wife of Frederick William I of Prussia.—11

*Sophocles* (c. 497-406 B.C.)—Greek dramatist.—257, 397

*Soulouque, Faustin Elie* (c. 1782-1867)—President of the Republic of Haiti (1849), Emperor of Haiti under the name of Faustin I (1849-59).—266, 405, 427

*Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu, duc de Dalmatie* (1769-1851)—Marshal of France and statesman; took part in the wars of Napoleonic France; War Minister (1830-34, 1840-45), Foreign Minister (1839-40) and Prime Minister (1832-34, 1839-40, 1840-47).—165, 166, 174

*Speck*—assistant manager of *Das Volk*.—463, 464, 501

*Spinoza, Baruch (Benedictus) de* (1632-1677)—Dutch philosopher.—316

*Stahr*—see *Lewald, Fanny*

*Stalker, Forster* (d. 1857)—British general, commanded British land forces in the Anglo-Persian war of 1856-57; committed suicide.—134

*Stanislaus II Augustus (Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski)* (1732-1798)—King of Poland (1764-95).—85

*Stanley, Edward Henry, Earl of Derby* (from 1869) (1826-1893)—British statesman, Tory, Conservative in the 1860s and 1870s, then Liberal; Colonial Secretary (1858, 1882-85) and Secretary of State for India (1858-59), Foreign Secretary (1866-68, 1874-78); son of Edward Derby.—363

* *Steffen, Wilhelm*—former Prussian army officer, witness for the defence at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); emigrated to Britain in 1853 and afterwards to the USA; closely associated with Marx and Engels in the 1850s.—36-37, 41, 123, 125, 128, 140, 141, 147, 171, 174, 189, 209, 385, 440, 469, 566

*Stein, Maximilian, Baron* (1811-1860)—Austrian army officer; during the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary was

chief of the General Staff of the revolutionary army; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Turkey where he assumed the name of Ferhad Pasha; fought against Russia in the Caucasus (1857-58).—318

*Steinthal*—owner of the Manchester trading firm in which Georg Weerth was employed in 1852-56.—72, 100, 103, 484

*Stephens (Stevens), John Edward*—English banker, a governor of the London and the Eastern Bank, was brought to trial for financial machinations in December 1857.—223

*Steuart, Sir James,* afterwards *Denham* (1712-1780)—English economist, one of the last representatives of mercantilism.—301, 377

*Stewart* (afterwards *Vane*), *Charles William, Marquis of Londonderry* (1778-1854)—British general.—164

*Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882)—Prussian police officer, an organiser of the prosecution at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852), chief of the Prussian political police (1850-60).—31, 41, 56, 378, 379, 536, 552, 554

*Stirner, Max* (real name *Schmidt, Johann Caspar*) (1806-1856) — German Young Hegelian philosopher, an ideologist of individualism and anarchism.—70

*Stirner-Schmidt, Marie Wilhelmine* (née *Dähnhardt*) (1818-1902)—Max Stirner's wife.—71

*Stockum, Franz August von*—merchant in Düsseldorf, Count Hatzfeldt's solicitor in his divorce case, was sentenced to prison for forgery in 1855.—23

*Stocqueler, Joachim Hayward* (1800-1885)—English journalist, compiler of the military encyclopaedic dictionary.—135

*Strahan, William* (born c. 1808)—English banker, partner of a firm which went bankrupt in June 1855; was sentenced to penal servitude for financial machinations.—72

*Stratford de Redcliffe, Stratford Canning, Viscount* (1786-1880)—British diplomat, envoy to Constantinople (1810-12, 1825-28, 1841-58).—28-31

*Stritter, Johann Gotthelf* (1740-1801)—Russian historian, author of works on the history of Slavs and ancient Russia, German by birth.—16, 17

*Strodtmann, Adolf* (1829-1879)—German democratic writer; took part in the revolutionary movement in Schleswig-Holstein in 1848; emigrated in 1850; admirer and biographer of Gottfried Kinkel.—359, 553

*Strohn, Wilhelm*—member of the Communist League, refugee resident in Bradford; an acquaintance of Marx and Engels.—69, 84, 439, 467, 475, 480, 481

*Struve, Gustav von* (1805-1870)—German democratic journalist; a leader of the Baden uprisings in April and September 1848 and of the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; one of the leaders of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in England; fought in the US Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—359, 446

*Sturge, Joseph* (1793-1859)—British politician, Free Trader; joined Chartists with the purpose of retaining the working class under the influence of the radical bourgeoisie.—264

*Swan*—see *Sandwith, Humphry*

*Swingwood*—150

*Swoboda (Svoboda), Václav Alois* (1791-1849)—Czech writer and poet, translated Czech folk songs into German.—19, 26

* *Szemere, Bertalan (Bartholomäus)* (1812-1869)—Hungarian politician and journalist; Minister of the Interior (1848) and head of the revolutionary government (1849); emigrated after the defeat of the revolution.—493-95, 497, 504-05, 523, 525, 532, 573

T

*Talandier, Pierre Théodore Alfred* (1822-1890)—French democratic journalist; took part in the 1848 revolution; emigrated to London after the coup d'état of 1851.—38, 277, 278

*Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice, prince de* (1754-1838)—French diplomat, Foreign Minister (1797-99, 1799-1807, 1814-15); represented France at the Vienna Congress (1814-15).—416

*Talvj*—see *Robinson, Therese Albertine Luise*

*Tassilier*—French printer; exiled to Cayenne in June 1848.—31

*Taube, Friedrich Wilhelm von* (1728-1778)—Austrian lawyer, historian and economist, government official from 1763; made a trip to Southern Slav countries in 1776-77.—15

*Tauentzien von Wittenberg, Bogislaw Friedrich Emanuel, Count* (1760-1824)—Prussian general, took part in the wars against Napoleonic France in 1813-14.—179

*Tausenau, Karl* (1808-1873)—Austrian democrat; participant in the 1848 revolution; emigrated to London in 1849.—18, 456

*Taylor, Bayard* (1825-1878)—American traveller, writer and journalist, correspondent of the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—197, 566

*Taylor, Tom* (1817-1880)—English dramatist and journalist, in the 1850s contributor to and in 1874-80 editor of the satirical magazine *Punch;* Secretary to the Board of Health from 1854.—113

*Tchorzewsky, Stanislaw*—Polish refugee in London, owner of a bookshop; Alexander Herzen's friend, his agent in publishing and distributing Russian emigrant literature.—349

*Teleki, László, Count* (1811-1861)—Hungarian politician and writer, represented the Hungarian Republic in France (1848-49); after the defeat of the revolution remained in France.—532

*Terence (Publius Terentius Afer)* (c. 190-159 B.C.)—Roman author of comedies.—310, 410

*Terentianus Maurus* (latter half of the 2nd cent.)—Roman grammarian.—441

*Thackeray, William Makepeace* (1811-1863)—English writer.—441

*Theodores*—a participant in the Schiller festival in Manchester (November 1859).—530

*Theyls, Willem*—Dutch diplomat; at the beginning of the 18th century served at Dutch Embassy in Turkey; carried out diplomatic missions for the Russian government.—470

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836, 1840), deputy to the Constituent (1848) and Legislative (1849-51) Assemblies; head of the Orleanists after 1848; organised the suppression of the Paris Commune (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73).—292

*Thiersch, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1784-1860)—German philologist and teacher; sympathised with the Greek national liberation movement; travelled to Greece in 1831-32.—120

*Thimm, Franz*—bookseller in Manchester.—447, 467, 473, 492, 496, 500, 511

*Tholuck, Friedrich August Gottreu* (1799-1877)—German Protestant theologian, pietist.—4

*Thurneyssen, Auguste*—one of the governors of the Crédit mobilier.—133

*Titian (Tiziano Vecellio)* (1477-1576)—Italian painter of the Venetian school.—131

*Tooke, Thomas* (1774-1858)—English economist, adherent of the classical

school in political economy.—102, 126, 284, 377

*Touroute*—French retired colonel, lived in Germany.—30, 45

*Troost, Abraham Eduard Robert* (1816-1874)—German businessman, co-owner of Abr. Troost u. Söhne, a firm which had branches in Elberfeld and Manchester.—235

*Trübner, Nikolaus* (1817-1884)—German bookseller and publisher in London, David Nutt's partner.—46, 52, 285, 399

*Truelove, Edward*—publisher in London, in February 1858 was put on trial for publishing a pamphlet justifying Orsini's attempt on the life of Napoleon III.—275, 276

*Tucker, E.*—London publisher.—110, 111, 115

*Turner, Jack*—son of James Aspinall Turner.—118

*Turner, James Aspinall* (1797-1867)—English cotton manufacturer and politician, Tory, President of the Manchester Commercial Association, M.P.—113, 118

*Türr, István (Ahmet Kiamil Bey)* (1825-1908)—Hungarian officer, participant in the 1848-49 revolutions in Italy and Germany; refugee in Turkey, fought in the Crimean War on the side of the Allies and in the war of the Caucasian mountaineers against Russia.—324, 326

U

*Uhland, Johann Ludwig* (1787-1862)—German romantic poet; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848-49.—436, 525

*Ulfilas (Wulfila)* (c. 311-383)—Westgothic bishop, founder of the Gothic alphabet, translator of the Bible into Gothic.—516

*Urquhart, David* (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician, Turkophile; carried out diplomatic missions in Turkey in the 1830s; M.P. (1847-52), Tory, opposed Palmerston's policy; founder and editor of *The Free Press*.—4-5, 32, 44, 61, 64, 66, 73, 75, 88, 94, 110, 111, 113, 117, 120, 126, 243, 277, 284, 301, 412, 428, 440, 468, 470, 482, 487, 494, 500, 503, 521, 523, 533, 539, 547, 565

V

*Valdenaire, Victor* (1812-1881)—German democrat, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—87

*Valérie*—see *Simonin, Wilhelmine Joséphine*

*Venedey, Jakob* (1805-1871)—German radical journalist; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; liberal after the 1848-49 revolution.—32, 290

*Veselovsky (Wesselowsky), Fyodor Pavlovich* (died in the 1760s)—Russian diplomat, Secretary of the Embassy (1707-11, 1716) and envoy to London (1717-20).—9

*Victor Emmanuel II* (1820-1878)—King of Piedmont (Sardinia) (1849-61), King of Italy (1861-78).—231, 380, 515

*Victoria* (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901).—29, 117

*Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro)* (70-19 B.C.)—Roman poet.—9, 315, 399

*Vischer, Friedrich Theodor* (1807-1887)—German Hegelian philosopher, critic and writer; member of the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848); author of a voluminous work on aesthetics.—270

*Vivian, Sir Robert John Hussey* (1802-1887)—British general; commanded

the Turkish troops on the Kerch Peninsula (1855-56).—28-30

*Vögele, August*—German refugee, compositor in Hollinger's print-shop in London (1859).—521

*Vogt, Karl* (1817-1895)—German natural scientist, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five imperial regents (June 1849); emigrated in 1849; later received subsidies from Napoleon III; slandered proletarian revolutionaries.—428, 434, 436, 458, 460, 465, 468, 477, 479, 486-88, 498, 503, 514, 515, 519, 520, 521-22, 523-25, 533, 537, 539-43, 546, 549, 550

*Voigt, Johannes* (1786-1863)—German historian, author of a voluminious work on the history of Prussia.—16

*Voigt, Mikuláš (Adauctus)* (1733-1787)—Czech historian, philologist and numismatist of the Enlightenment; collector of ancient literary texts.—16

*Voltaire, François Marie Arouet* (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—75

*Vorontsov (Woronzoff), Mikhail Semyonovich, Prince* (1782-1856)—Russian statesman, general, commander-in-chief of the troops in Transcaucasia and Governor-General in the Caucasus; uncle of Sidney Herbert.—119

W

*Wachsmuth, Ernst Wilhelm Gottlieb* (1784-1866)—German historian, professor in Leipzig.—259

*Walewski, Alexandre Florian Joseph Colonna, comte* (1810-1868)—French diplomat and statesman, son of Napoleon I and Polish Countess Marie Walewska; Foreign Minister (1855-60).—42

*Walpole, Spencer Horatio (Horace)* (1806-1898)—British statesman, Tory, Home Secretary (1852, 1858-59, 1866-67).—278

*Watts, John* (1818-1887)—English utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen; later a liberal and philanthropist; a founder of the People's Provident Assurance Society in London (1853), in 1857 set up a branch of this society in Manchester.—332

*Weerth, Georg Ludwig* (1822-1856)—German proletarian poet and journalist, member of the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49; friend of Marx and Engels.—68, 72, 100, 103, 226, 374

*Weerth, Karl* (1812-1889)—German naturalist, teacher of a grammar school in Detmold, brother of Georg Weerth.—100, 103

*Weerth, Wilhelmine* (1785-1868)—Georg Weerth's mother.—100

*Weitling, Wilhelm Christian* (1808-1871)—German tailor; one of the early leaders of the working-class movement in Germany; theorist of utopian egalitarian communism; emigrated to the USA in 1849.—358, 440, 451

*Weselý, Eugen* (1799-1828)—Austrian poet and writer, translated folk songs of Southern Slavs into German.—20

*Wesselovsky*—see *Veselovsky, Fyodor Pavlovich*

*Westphalen, Anna Elisabeth Franziska von* (b. 1807)—Jenny Marx's stepsister.—562

*Westphalen, Caroline von* (née *Heubel*) (1779-1856)—Jenny Marx's mother.—59, 63, 562, 575

*Westphalen, Christian Heinrich Philipp von* (1724-1792)—secretary and friend of the Duke of Brunswick; took part in the Seven Years War, author of a work on its history; Jenny Marx's grandfather.—561, 562, 575

*Westphalen, Edgar von* (1819-c. 1890)—Jenny Marx's brother, member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee (1846); lived in America in 1847-65.—41, 63, 92, 564, 575

*Westphalen, Ferdinand Otto Wilhelm Henning von* (1799-1876)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1850-58); Jenny Marx's stepbrother.—68, 336, 379, 561, 562, 574-75

*Westphalen, Heinrich Georg von* (1768-1855)—Jenny Marx's uncle.—561, 575

*Westphalen, Johann Ludwig von* (1770-1842)—Jenny Marx's father, Privy Councillor in Trier.—561, 575

*Wette, Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de* (1780-1849)—German theologian, author of works on the so-called biblical archaeology.—259

* *Weydemeyer, Joseph* (1818-1866)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA in 1851, one of the first propagandists of scientific communism there, participant in the US Civil War on the side of the Northerners; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—338, 374, 384, 440, 469

*Weydemeyer, Louise* (née *Lüning*) (b. 1822)—wife of Joseph Weydemeyer.—374

*Whiteside, James* (1804-1876)—Irish lawyer and politician, Tory, M.P., Attorney-General (1858-59, 1866).—431

*Wilhelmine Friederike Sophie, Margravine of Bayreuth* (1709-1758)—the eldest daughter of Frederick William I of Prussia, sister of Frederick the Great.—10

*Wilkinson, G. B.*—correspondent of *The Times* in Berlin in the 1850s.—561

*Wilks, Washington* (c. 1826-1864)—English radical journalist, an editor of *The Morning Star*.—111, 115

*William I* (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, Prince Regent (1858-61), King of Prussia (1861-88) and Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—292, 336, 346, 348, 368, 470

*William III* (1650-1702)—Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the Netherlands (1672-1702), King of England, Scotland and Ireland (1689-1702).—9

*Williams*—bookseller in London.—15, 141, 520

*Williams, Sir William Fenwick, Baronet 'of Kars'* (1800-1883)—British general; in 1855, during the Crimean War, directed the defence of Kars, M.P. (1856-59).—31

*Willich, August* (1810-1878)—retired Prussian officer, member of the Communist League; participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; a leader of the sectarian group that split away from the Communist League in 1850; in 1853 emigrated to the USA, took part in the US Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—41, 346, 348, 366-67, 375, 376, 449

*Wilson, George* (1808-1870)—British manufacturer and politician, Free Trader, President of the Anti-Corn Law League (1841-46).—116-17

*Wilson, James* (1805-1860)—English economist and politician, Free Trader, founder and editor of *The Economist;* M.P. (1847-59), Financial Secretary to the Treasury (1853-58), Chancellor of the Indian Exchequer (1859-60).—377, 413

*Windham, Sir Charles Ash* (1810-1870)—British general, took part in the Crimean war in 1854-56; suppressed the Indian national liberation uprising of 1857-59.—244, 247, 249, 254

*Wintzingerode, Ferdinand Fyodorovich, Baron von* (1770-1818)—German-born Russian general, participant in the wars against Napoleonic France.—179

*Wiss, Georg Eduard*—German physician and journalist, Young Hegelian; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; in the early 1850s emigrated to London and later to the USA; associate of Kinkel.—363

*Withers*—London creditors of the Marx family.—572

*Wohl-Straus, Jeannette* (1783-1861)—friend of Ludwig Börne.—32

*Wolff, Ferdinand (Red Wolf)* (1812-1895)—German journalist, member of the Communist League; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); emigrated from Germany; associate of Marx and Engels; subsequently gave up politics.—88

*Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus)* (1809-1864)—German teacher, proletarian revolutionary; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League from March 1848; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); emigrated to Switzerland, later to England; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—24, 27, 33, 37, 42, 44-45, 59, 70, 72, 87, 89, 91, 99, 108, 110, 120, 121, 124, 127, 128, 130, 131, 135, 136, 143, 144, 156, 157, 158, 199, 213, 217, 223, 225, 226, 227, 228, 232, 233, 236, 239, 240, 242, 250, 251, 253, 262, 264, 275, 278, 282, 288, 293, 307, 310, 314, 318-20, 322, 325, 326, 337, 338, 340, 341, 342-43, 344, 347, 349, 351-53, 361, 362, 364-66, 374, 388, 432, 439, 440, 447, 450, 459, 461, 467, 473, 475, 479-81, 484, 489, 490, 492, 495, 497, 507, 509, 514, 516, 517, 525, 544, 545, 550, 553, 566

*Woronzow*—see *Vorontsov (Woronzoff), Mikhail Semyonovich, Prince*

*Wuk*—see *Karadžić, Vuk Stefanović*

*Wurm, Christian Friedrich* (1803-1859)—German historian and journalist, professor in Hamburg.—432

*Wylde*.—11

Y

*York, Frederick Augustus, Duke of York and Albany, Earl of Ulster* (1763-1827)—second son of George III of Great Britain; field marshal from 1795; commander-in-chief of the British army (1798-1809; 1811-27).—42

*York (Yorck von Wartenburg), Hans David Ludwig, Count* (1759-1830)—Prussian general, later field-marshal general, participant in the wars against Napoleonic France.—179

Z

*Zitschke*—creditor of Marx in London.—45, 52, 61

*Zitz, Franz Heinrich* (1803-1877)—German lawyer, democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849; emigrated to the USA.—446

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*Achilles* (Gr. Myth.)—the bravest Greek warrior in the Trojan War, hero of Homer's *Iliad*, the first song of which describes Achilles' quarrel with the Greeks' leader Agamemnon and his withdrawal into his tent.—512

*Agamemnon* (Gr. Myth.)—legendary king of Argos, leader of the Greeks in the Trojan War, a hero of Homer's *Iliad*.—512

*Balthasar (Slör, Balthasar)*—a character

in Lassalle's *Franz von Sickingen*.—419, 420, 443

*Benedick (Benedict)*—a character in Shakespeare's comedy *Much Ado About Nothing;* a wit and mocker who pretended to be a women-hater but soon fell in love and married.—33

*Berlichingen, Götz (Gottfried)*—a character in Goethe's play of the same name and in Lassalle's *Franz von Sickingen*.—419, 420

*Brey*—a character in Goethe's *Ein Fastnachtsspiel auch wohl zu tragieren Ostern, vom Pater Brey, dem falschen Propheten,* a lewd hypocrite.—541

*Briseis* (Gr. Myth.)—prisoner and beloved of Achilles who caused a quarrel between him and the Greeks' leader Agamemnon in the Trojan War.—512

*Caliban*—a character in Shakespeare's comedy *The Tempest,* half-a-man, half-a-monster.—81

*Capuchin*—a character in Schiller's *Wallensteins Lager*.—530

*Charles V* (Emperor)—a character in Lassalle's *Franz von Sickingen*.—419-21, 443, 445

*Crispinus*—a character from Juvenal's satire, a courtier of the Roman Emperor Domitian.—391

*Don Quixote*—the title character in Cervantes' novel.—419

*Falstaff, Sir John*—a character in Shakespeare's tragedy *King Henry IV* and his comedy *The Merry Wives of Windsor;* a sly fat braggart and jester.—41, 444

*Faust*—hero of a medieval German legend, the title character in Goethe's tragedy and Marlowe's play *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*.—91

*Fidelio*—fictitious name of Léonore, heroine in Beethoven's opera *Fidelio oder die eheliche Liebe;* a dedicated woman ready to sacrifice herself in the name of love.—503

*Fridolin*—character in Schiller's ballad *Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer,* a kindly and modest enamoured youth.—14

*Hermann*—a character in Goethe's poem *Hermann und Dorothea,* a philistine who sought to keep aloof from the storms of life.—366

*Hutten, Ulrich von*—a character in Lassalle's *Franz von Sickingen*.—419-21, 442, 445

*Jacques le bonhomme (Jack the Simpleton)*—ironic nickname of the French peasant; in a broad sense—a mocking name of the French.—216

*Jenkins*—a name which came to denote a flatterer and toady in England.—278

*John, Saint (the Baptist)* (Bib.).—370

*John Bull*—the main character in John Arbuthnot's book *The History of John Bull* (18th cent.); the name is often used to personify England or Englishmen.—73, 113, 116, 215, 275, 276, 297, 413, 431, 457

*Jonathan (Brother Jonathan)*—the jocular nickname of Americans (from the name of Connecticut's Governor Jonathan Trumbull, whom George Washington called Brother Jonathan).—215-16

*Joss, Fritz*—a character in Lassalle's *Franz von Sickingen*.—444

*Kobes I*—the title character in a satirical poem by Heine; the German journalist Jakob Venedey was ridiculed under this name.—32

*Legat (Der päpstliche Kardinal-Legat)*—a character in Lassalle's *Franz von Sickingen*.—443

*Mammon*—the idol of wealth among some ancient peoples.—535

*Marie*—a character in Lassalle's *Franz von Sickingen,* Sickingen's daughter.—421

*Matthew* (Bib.)—one of the evangelists.—122

*The Moor of Venice*—see *Othello*

*Munchausen*—an extravaganty mendacious story-teller.—127

*Nothanker*—a character in Christoph Friedrich Nicolai's novel *Das Leben und die Meinungen des Herrn Magisters Sebaldus Nothanker,* a priest.—13

*Oedipus* (Gr. Myth.)—King of Thebes, hero of Sophocles' tragedies *Oedipus Tyrannus* and *Oedipus at Colonus.*—397

*Orlando Furioso*—title character in Lodovico Ariosto's epic poem.—111

*Othello*—the title character in Shakespeare's tragedy *Othello, the Moor of Venice.*—55

*Pistol*—a character in Shakespeare's tragedies *King Henry IV* and *King Henry V* and his comedy *The Merry Wives of Windsor;* braggart and liar.—127

*Priapus* (Gr. Myth.)—God of fields, gardens and fertility, patron of sensual pleasures.—11

*Quasimodo*—a character in Hugo's *Notre-Dame de Paris;* his name came to personify ugliness.—351

*Richard von Greifenklau*—Elector and Archbishop of Trier, a character in Lassalle's *Franz von Sickingen.*—420, 443

*Samson* (Bib.)—a hero famous for his supernatural strength and courage.—213

*Sickingen, Franz von*—title character in Lassalle's play.—419-21, 443-45

*Teiresias (Tiresias)* (Gr. Myth.)—a blind prophet who predicted Oedipus tragic destiny; a character in Sophocle's tragedy *Oedipus Tyrannus.*—397

*Visvamitra*—mythical King in ancient Indian epic poem *Ramayana* who tried to get hold of the miraculous cow Sabala, which would fulfil all his wishes; a character in Heine's poem from the cycle *Buch der Lieder. Die Heimkehr.*—14

*Waschlapski*—a character in Heine's poem *Zwei Ritter,* a Polish nobleman, who leads a life of idleness in emigration.—264

*Zoroaster* (or *Zarathustra*) (6th cent. B.C.)—legendary founder of Persian religion.—63

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*Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst*—a Young Hegelian literary and philosophical journal published in Leipzig from July 1841 under the editorship of Arnold Ruge. Earlier (1838-41) it appeared under the title *Hallische Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst.* In January 1843 it was closed down by the government.—209, 227

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*The Jersey Independent*—an English democratic newspaper published in Jersey from 1855 to 1875 (twice weekly until 1858, then—daily); from July 1856 to November 1862 it was edited by George Julian Harney.—190, 263, 308

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*Kölnische Zeitung*—a daily published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; it took an anti-revolutionary stand and attacked the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49; in the 1850s it expressed the interests of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie.—26, 103, 336, 375, 382, 385, 388, 437, 463, 474, 571

*Колоколъ* (*The Bell*)—a revolutionary-democratic newspaper; it was published by Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Ogaryev from 1857 to 1867 in Russian and in 1868-69 in French *(La Cloche)* with Russian supplements; it was published in London until 1865, then in Geneva.—349, 467

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*Neue Oder-Zeitung*—a German democratic daily published in Breslau (Wrocław) from March 1849 to 1855; it was founded as a result of the split in the editorial board of the opposition Catholic *Allgemeine Oder-Zeitung* published from 1846; in the 1850s it was the most radical German newspaper. Marx was its London correspondent in 1855.—416

*Das Neue Portfolio. Eine Sammlung wichtiger Dokumente und Aktenstücke zur Zeitgeschichte*—a periodical collection of diplomatic documents and papers published in German in Berlin in 1859-60 under the editorship of Eduard Fischel, Urquhart's supporter.—547

*Neue Preußische Zeitung*—a conservative daily published in Berlin from June 1848 to 1939; organ of the Prussian Junkers and Court circles; it was also known as the *Kreuz-Zeitung* because the heading contained a cross bearing the device 'Forward with God for King and Fatherland!'—20, 21, 26, 94, 107, 435, 446, 520, 538, 561

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a daily newspaper of the revolutionary-proletarian wing of the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; it was published in Cologne under the editorship of Marx from 1 June 1848 to 19 May 1849 (with an interval between 27 September and 12 October 1848); Engels was among its editors.—103, 249, 370, 392, 434, 525, 526, 540, 541

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*—a theoretical journal of the Communist League published by Marx and Engels from December 1849 to November 1850.—21, 64, 263

*Neue Schweizer Zeitung*—a radical weekly published by the German refugee August Brass in Geneva in 1859-60.—428

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*Die Neue Zeit. Organ der Demokratie*—a newspaper of German refugee workers; it was published in London from June 1858 to April 1859.—324, 341, 353, 358, 366, 403, 415, 437, 438, 519

*New-York Daily Tribune*—a newspaper founded by Horace Greeley in 1841 and published until 1924; it was an organ of the Left wing of the American Whigs

until the mid-1850s and later of the Republican Party; in the 1840s and 1850s it voiced progressive views and opposed the slave-owning system. Marx and Engels contributed to the newspaper from August 1851 to March 1862.—28, 31, 38, 63, 68, 73, 92-96, 97-99, 101, 105, 106, 109, 111, 115, 123, 124, 130, 131, 140, 142, 146, 148, 152, 159, 181, 193, 199, 215, 224, 233, 237, 244, 250, 251, 266, 272, 297, 305, 307, 309, 317-18, 324, 325, 327, 329-30, 334, 336, 337, 339, 340-42, 352, 361, 362, 365, 371, 374, 393, 397, 399, 401, 405, 406, 409, 410, 414, 416, 417, 428, 429, 439, 448, 460, 468, 469, 473, 493, 494, 497, 505, 507, 508, 522, 523, 525, 527, 532, 536, 544, 548, 566, 573

*The New-York Herald*—a daily newspaper of the Republican Party published from 1835 to 1924.—96, 98, 387

*The New-York Times*—a daily newspaper of the Republican Party founded in 1851.—96, 98, 215, 237

*New-Yorker Demokrat*—a German-language newspaper published by the petty-bourgeois refugees in the USA from 1848.—44

*New-Yorker Staatszeitung*—a German-language democratic daily published from 1834; later an organ of the US Democratic Party.—22

*Le Nord. Journal international*—a monarchist daily published in French in Brussels (from 1855 to 1892) and in Paris (from 1894 to 1899); it was connected with the ruling circles in Tsarist Russia.—107, 109, 111, 116

*The Observer*—a conservative weekly published in London since 1791.—216

*Overland Mail*—a government weekly published in London from 1841 to 1914.—237

*Pensiero ed Azione*—a bimonthly organ of the Italian democrats edited by Giuseppe Mazzini; it was published in London in 1858 and 1859, and in Lugano and Genoa in 1860.—346, 452, 455

*The People's Paper*—a Chartist weekly published by Ernest Jones in London from 1852 to 1858. Marx and Engels contributed to it from October 1852 to December 1856 and helped with its editing. In June 1858 it fell into the hands of bourgeois dealers.—31, 34, 38, 42, 44, 65, 210, 274, 342

*Der Pionier*—a weekly published in New York (1854-58), then in Boston (1859-79); organ of the German petty-bourgeois democratic refugees; its editor-in-chief was Karl Heinzen.—243, 356, 567

*La Pologne. Annales contemporaines politiques, religieuses et litteraires des peuples de l'Europe orientale*—a pan-Slavist weekly; it was published in Paris from 1848 to 1850 under the editorship of Cyprien Robert.—18

*Portfolio*—see *Das Neue Portfolio*

*The Portfolio*—a collection of diplomatic papers and documents published by David Urquhart in London. The series *The Portfolio; or a Collection of State Papers* came out from 1835 to 1837, and a new series, *The Portfolio. Diplomatic Review*, from 1843 to 1845.—115, 468, 470

*Post*—see *The Morning Post*

*Die Presse*—a liberal daily published in Vienna from 1848 to 1894; in 1861-62, when the newspaper held anti-Bonapartist views, it printed a number of articles and reports by Marx.—226, 228, 269, 272, 275, 409, 416, 429, 432-37, 452, 455, 459, 502, 571

*La Presse*—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1866; mouthpiece of the opposition to the regime of the Second Empire in the 1850s; later a Bonapartist newspaper.—42

*Preußische Correspondenz*—see *Preußische Litographische Correspondenz*

*Preußische Litographische Correspondenz*—a semi-official organ of the Prussian Ministry of Foreign Affairs published in Berlin.—32, 34

*Preußisches Wochenblatt*—a conservative weekly published in Berlin from 1851 to 1861.—349, 500

*Protection for Trade*—a London weekly, organ of the society for the protection of small tradesmen.—32, 35

*Punch, or the London Charivari*—a comic weekly of a liberal trend, founded in London in 1841.—113

*Putnam*—see *Putnam's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science, and Art*

*Putnam's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science, and Art*—a Republican monthly published in New York from 1853 to 1857 and from 1866 to 1870; in 1855 it carried Engels' series of articles *The Armies of Europe*.—11, 45, 73, 93, 124

*Die Reform*—a liberal daily published in Hamburg in 1848-92.—522-24, 537, 542

*Revue; Revue der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung*—see *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*

*Revue des deux Mondes*—a literary and political fortnightly published in Paris since 1829.—18

*Reynolds's Newspaper. A Weekly Journal of Politics, History, Literature and General Intelligence*—a radical weekly published by George Reynolds in London from 1850; it was connected with the labour movement.—114, 228, 250, 342, 344, 345, 348

*Rheinische Zeitung*—see *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*

*Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*—a daily founded by the Rhenish bourgeois opposition and published in Cologne from 1 January 1842 to 31 March 1843. In April 1842 Marx began to contribute to it and in October of the same year became one of its editors.—7, 20

*Russia and the United States Correspondent*—a liberal weekly; it was published in London from 16 August to 19 November 1856 under the editorship of I. G. Golovin in Russian, English, German and French.—70, 73

*Schweizer Handels-Courier*—a daily published in Biel (canton of Berne). It appeared under this title from 1853 to 1909; expressed Bonapartist views in the 1850s-1860s; its editors were closely connected with Karl Vogt.—458, 525, 546, 550

*The Sheffield Free Press*—an English newspaper published in Sheffield from 1851 to 1857 by David Urquhart and his supporters.—62

*Die Sociale Republik*—a weekly of the German petty-bourgeois democrats; it was published in New York from 1858 to 1860 under the editorship of Gustav Struve (until 1859).—359

*The Spectator*—a literary journal published in London in 1711-12 and 1714.—377

*Die Spenersche*—see *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*

*Staats- und Gelehrten-Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten*—a monarchist daily published in Hamburg from 1814 to 1869.—418

*Star*—see *The Morning Star*

*The Sun*—a liberal daily published in London from 1798 to 1876.—275

*Telegraph*—see *The Daily Telegraph*

*Telegraph Morning Express*—a daily published in London from 1855 to 1858.—362

*The Times*—a daily published in London since 1785.—3, 6, 21, 22, 31, 42, 82, 105, 107, 113, 116, 119, 128, 133, 176, 215, 223, 237, 278, 290, 293, 308, 325, 327, 339, 350, 358, 364, 366, 378, 379, 405, 425, 431, 452, 455, 473, 481, 486, 505, 506, 529, 530, 561

*Tribune*—see *New-York Daily Tribune*

*Die Turn-Zeitung. Organ des socialistischen Turnerbundes*—a newspaper of the German democratic refugees in the USA; from 1851 to 1861 it was published monthly, then—twice a month; published in New York, and from 1 November 1853 in Philadelphia; Adolf Cluss and Joseph Weydemeyer contributed to it.—366

*L'Univers religieux, philosophique, politique, scientifique et littéraire*—a clerical newspaper founded in Paris in 1833; in the 1850s it supported Bonaparte.—356

*Unsere Zeit. Jahrbuch zum Conversations-Lexikon*—a liberal literary and political journal published in Brockhaus' Publishing House in Leipzig from 1857 to 1891; from 1865 the journal appeared under the title *Unsere Zeit. Deutsche Revue der Gegenwart. Monatsschrift zum Conversations-Lexikon.*—349

*Das Volk*—a German-language weekly published in London from 7 May to 20 August 1859; it was founded as the official organ of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; Marx took part in its publication beginning with issue No. 2 and in early July he virtually became its editor and manager.—439, 447, 449-52, 456, 457, 459, 461, 463, 465-68, 469-71, 473, 476-77, 480-82, 484, 492, 495, 496, 501, 502, 508, 511, 512, 515, 519, 520, 525, 533, 543, 545 548, 556

*Volksblatt*—a German newspaper published in Trier.—532

*Volks-Zeitung*—a democratic daily published in Berlin from 1853.—458, 522, 524, 526, 537, 542

*Vorwärts! Pariser Deutsche Zeitschrift*—a German newspaper published in Paris from January to December 1844 twice a week. Marx and Engels contributed to it.—439

*The Weekly Mail*—a Tory weekly published in London from 1858 to 1860.—544

*Weser-Zeitung*—a German liberal daily published in Bremen from 1844 to 1930.—502, 505, 507, 511

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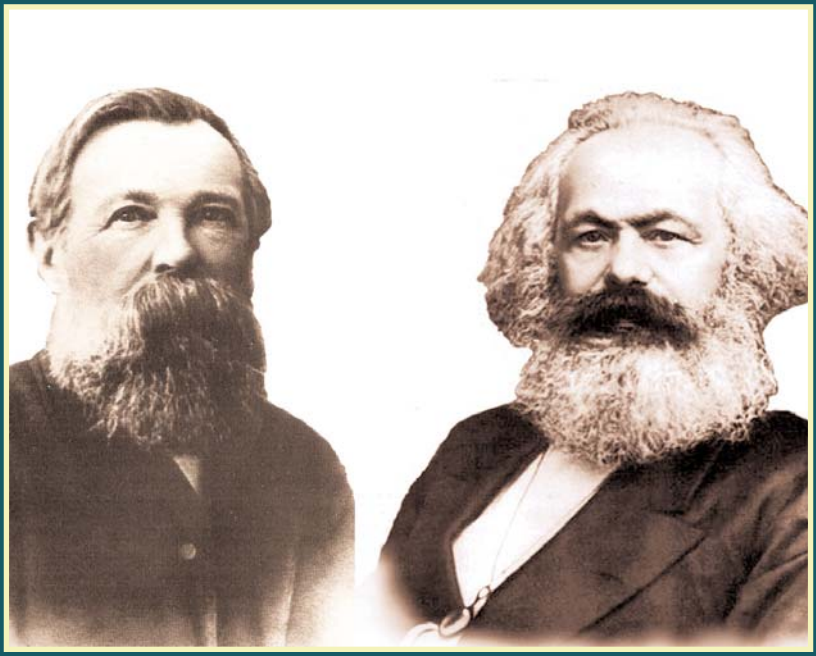

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Letters 1860-64

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 41

## Letters 1860-64

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Translated by

PETER and BETTY ROSS

# Preface

Volume 41 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains their letters to each other and to third persons from January 1860 to September 1864. This material provides an irreplaceable insight into their life and work, enabling us to follow the composition of their writings, and to build up a picture of their practical revolutionary activities.

This period saw the continuous rise of the bourgeois democratic and national liberation movements which had been growing in Europe and America ever since the world economic crisis of 1857. The rapid development of capitalism in Britain, France, Germany and some other European countries accelerated the liquidation of the political and social survivals of feudalism. In Germany and Italy, where the bourgeois revolution had not yet been completed, the movement for national unification once more got into its stride. In Russia, even after the abolition of serfdom in February 1861, peasant disturbances continued, and revolutionary tendencies were growing among the progressive intelligentsia. In 1863, a national liberation uprising began in Poland. In the USA, the Civil War was being fought between the capitalist North and the slave-owning South. There was growing opposition in France to the Bonaparte regime. The struggle of the oppressed peoples under the Austrian monarchy was gathering momentum. In Mexico, the bourgeois revolution triumphed.

As a result of the industrial revolution, serious changes were taking place in the proletariat's numerical strength, composition and class consciousness. In 1859-60 the London building workers' strike, which had repercussions far beyond Britain, vividly demonstrated the irreconcilability of proletarian and bourgeois class interests. The working-class movement had set out on a course of independent struggle, which testified to its gradual emancipation from the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie. In the first half of the 1860s, these processes became manifest, in England, with the further growth of trade-unionism and the workers' awakening to political activity; in France, with the growing class awareness of the proletariat; in Germany, with the

establishment of the General Association of German Workers (1863). In addition, there was the active participation by workers of various nationalities in the revolutionary struggle for freedom and democracy in the American Civil War and in Garibaldi's detachments in Italy. The realisation by progressive workers that their interests ran counter to those of the ruling classes, the increased feeling of class solidarity and the strengthening of international contacts led to the foundation, on 28 September 1864, of the International Working Men's Association (the First International).

In 1860-64, Marx and Engels regarded as the main task the further elaboration of economic theory, which was of crucial importance for the development of the working-class revolutionary movement. They were also close followers of current events, which they analysed in their articles for progressive bourgeois newspapers. The rise of the working-class and democratic movement highlighted the need for establishing a proletarian party and promoting international contacts between proletarian revolutionaries.

Marx considered it his principal duty to write an economic work which would arm the proletariat with a knowledge of the laws of capitalist society's development and would provide economic proof of the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution. On 15 September 1860, he wrote to Lassalle that his work had an 'expressly revolutionary function' (p. 193). In June 1859, the first instalment of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* was published (see present edition, Vol. 29). Early in 1860, Marx began preparing the second instalment which, in his own words, was to contain the *'quintessence'* of his economic theory (p. 12).

Marx wanted to finish this work as soon as possible. Engels, too, considered the early appearance of Marx's work 'of paramount importance' (p. 14). However, Marx interrupted his work in order to publish a repudiation of the libellous attacks on him made by Karl Vogt. Not until a year and a half later, at the beginning of June 1861, was he able to resume his economic studies (p. 292). True, they were often interrupted subsequently because of recurring material difficulties and ill health (see, e.g., pp. 353 and 435). Moreover, Marx was constantly widening the scope of his study, perfecting its structure and developing its propositions. Although Marx worked hard and with the utmost dedication, the project, which was to be his masterpiece, *Capital,* stretched out over many years.

Marx's and Engels' letters make it possible to follow the different stages in the writing of *Capital* and to see how, in the process of preparing the second instalment of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* Marx exceeded the original planned limits of the manuscript so that by the summer of 1863 he had written a far bigger second rough draft of the future work (the first version of *Capital* was the manuscript of 1857-58; see present edition, Vols. 28 and 29). The manuscript of 1861-63, which Marx called *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* consists of 23 notebooks (present edition, Vols. 30-34). The problems of the future Volume I of *Capital* are here worked out in detail, and some important propositions in Volumes II and III are expounded. The greater part of the manuscript is taken up by a historical-critical section (*Theories of Surplus Value*).

In a letter to Ludwig Kugelmann of 28 December 1862, Marx mentions for the first time his intention of calling his work *Capital* and of using the original title, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* solely as a subtitle. He decided to use the manuscript of 1861-63 for a book which was to deal with 'capital in general' (p. 435). Its new structure had, in the main, taken shape by January 1863. In a letter to Engels of 29 May 1863, he wrote that he intended to 'make a *fair copy* of the political economy for the printers (and give it a final polish)' (p. 474). Evaluating his own work, Marx noted in a letter to Engels dated 15 August 1863 that he had 'had to demolish everything and even build up the *historical* section out of what was in part quite unknown material' (p. 488).

Late in July or in August 1863, the work on *Capital* entered a new stage. Marx revised the manuscript of 1861-63, the result of which was the third rough draft of the theoretical part of *Capital,* consisting of three books (the manuscripts of 1863-65). He worked on the first book (the future Volume I of *Capital*) until the summer of 1864.

The letters reflect the titanic work done by Marx in those years: the study and analysis of a mass of factual material (official reports, press publications), and the critical interpretation of works by the classic bourgeois political economists and by representatives of vulgar political economy. In his letter to Lassalle of 16 June 1862, Marx attacks the eclecticism of the German vulgar economist Roscher, who 'merely goes snuffling round amidst the wealth of set *answers* ... always with an eye to the prejudices and the interests of his paymasters' (p. 379).

Not only do the letters illustrate the various stages of Marx's

work on *Capital*; they also contain some of the conclusions at which he was arriving in the course of his research. Thus, in his letters to Engels of 2 and 9 August 1862, he outlines 'a lengthy and complex affair' (p. 394)—the formation, as the result of competition and the flow of capital from one branch to another, of the average rate of profit, and the proof of the possibility of absolute ground rent 'without infringing the law of value' (p. 403). He also indicates the practical revolutionary significance of this problem for substantiating the need to abolish private landed property from the viewpoint of the proletariat's interests (p. 398). Lenin commented that these letters give 'a remarkably popular, concise, and clear exposition of the theory of the average rate of profit on capital and of absolute ground rent' (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 21, p. 68).

In a letter to Engels of 28 January 1863, Marx mentions the 'considerable controversy' about the way in which the machine differs from the tool (p. 449), gives a brief historical outline of the growth of machine production and, finally, formulates the concept of the industrial revolution: 'The *industrial revolution,*' he writes, 'began as soon as mechanical means were employed in fields where, from time immemorial, the final result had called for human labour..., where, by the nature of things and from the outset, man has not functioned purely as *power*' (p. 451).

Worthy of special attention is the letter from Marx to Engels of 6 July 1863. In it, Marx formulates the basic theses of his theory of social reproduction, which he also presents in the form of an economic table (pp. 490-91). This analysis of the reproduction and circulation of the aggregate social capital was to be expounded later in detail and at a higher theoretical level in Section III of the second volume of *Capital.*

Marx carried on his economic studies in close and fruitful contact with his friend Engels. He not only obtained from him data on the organisation of production, but also kept him advised of the progress he was making in his research and consulted him on many important matters. 'Can't you come down for a few days?' he wrote to Engels on 20 August 1862. 'In my critique I have demolished so much of the old stuff that there are a number of points I should like to consult you about before I proceed' (p. 411).

The letters in the present volume bear evidence to the encyclopaedic knowledge of Marx and Engels and the vast scope and diversity of their scientific interests. They enthusiastically welcomed Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species,* published in

1859. Both Marx and Engels valued it highly as a work that affirmed the idea of development in nature, refuted the idealistic interpretation of its laws, and bore out materialist dialectics. In 1863-64, Marx and Engels read and exchanged views on books by Sir Charles Lyell, Thomas Henry Huxley, Perceval Barton Lord, Theodor Schwann, Mathias Jakob Schleiden and others. Marx was also studying mathematics with a view to substantiating differential and integral calculus in terms of dialectics.

A number of letters testify to the interest taken by Marx and Engels in ancient history, the history of religion, and law. Marx read in the original Greek, 'for recreation', Appian on the civil wars in Rome. Appian attracted him because 'he probes the material basis' of those wars (p. 265). Marx liked the way Appian described his favourite hero, Spartacus, as a 'great general..., of noble character'. Marx's letters to Lassalle of 11 June and 22 July 1861, and Engels' letter to Marx of 2 December 1861 contain a critique of Lassalle's work, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte.* In this connection Marx and Engels discussed Roman law, particularly its application in West European countries, and raised the general philosophical problem of the relationship between form and content (p. 318). Criticising Lassalle's idealistic approach to the legal categories, his faith 'in the "idea of law", absolute law' (p. 330), they demonstrated that the law is conditioned by the production and property relations (pp. 294, 317-18).

As before, Engels pursued his special interest in languages (he had resumed his studies of Russian and Serbian), and in the theory and history of the art of war. The letters reflect the wide range of military problems with which he concerned himself at the time. Engels analysed, from the standpoint of historical materialism, the military aspects of current international affairs (with special reference to the US Civil War), and also wrote about his articles for newspapers and *The New American Cyclopaedia.*

The letters of Marx and Engels from 1860 to 1864 give a detailed picture of their work as journalists. They continued contributing, until March 1862, to the progressive American newspaper, the *New-York Daily Tribune,* of which Marx was an official correspondent for eleven years. At the beginning of the 1860s, it spoke for the Republican party and actively opposed slavery in America. Although nominally only Marx was correspondent for the *Tribune,* he continued writing for it in collaboration with Engels. Engels also contributed to *The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire* and to the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* in Darmstadt.

In May 1861, Marx was invited to write for the liberal Viennese newspaper *Die Presse,* which was popular not only in Austria, but also in Germany. Marx set great store by the opportunity to publish articles in the European periodical press. He accepted the offer of *Die Presse* and began, in October 1861, sending articles to Vienna; however, for political reasons the editors did not always publish them. 'The rotten *Presse* is printing barely half my articles,' he wrote to Engels on 27 December 1861. In December 1862, Marx had to give up contributing to this newspaper altogether.

The letters of Marx and Engels are an important supplement to their journalism, making it possible to reconstruct how the articles were written and how, by exchanging opinions, they arrived at a common view on various matters. The letters often contain more abrasive, emotional judgments on various personalities than the articles. They reflected the spontaneous reaction of Marx or Engels to this or that instance of personal behaviour and were not intended for publication.

Marx and Engels gave much attention at the time to the national liberation movement in Italy. They followed in detail the heroic campaign of Garibaldi's 'Thousand' in Sicily and in South Italy in 1860 and had a high opinion of his revolutionary tactics (p. 205). They identified themselves with the Italian people's revolutionary war, which was making possible the unification of the country by revolutionary means, and attributed an all-European significance to the Italian problem, as relevant to unmasking the true aims of Napoleon III's European policy—the exploitation of the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples in his own selfish interests. 'Garibaldi is a veritable godsend. Otherwise, Bonaparte would have been restored to popularity and sustained by the Russo-Prussian-Austrian Holy Alliance,' Marx wrote to Engels on 15 September 1860. The leaders of the working class exposed the policy of the Piedmontese government of Cavour, who was trying to unite Italy under the aegis of the Savoy dynasty. This was objectively leading to the subordination of Italy to Bonapartist France. 'Cavour is actually Bonaparte's tool,' Marx wrote to Lassalle on 2 October 1860. Marx also noted the dangerous flagging of the revolutionary spirit in Garibaldi's army (pp. 203-04), the causes of which he disclosed more fully in his articles on Italy (see present edition, Vol. 19).

Marx and Engels also regarded the problem of Germany's unification as closely connected with the revolutionary struggle of the Italian people. This struggle, in their opinion, was reducing

the threat to Germany from Bonapartist France (p. 132). Two factors, they believed, could create conditions for the unification of Germany by revolutionary-democratic means in the first half of the 1860s: first, the constitutional conflict that had developed in 1860 between the Prussian government and the bourgeois liberal majority of the Diet (Landtag) over the problem of reorganising the Prussian army; second, the national liberation struggle of Schleswig and Holstein against Danish domination in 1863-64. His visit to Germany in 1861 convinced Marx of the growing mood of opposition, the revolutionary ferment and the disillusion of the German people with the 'new era' proclaimed by 'handsome William' (p. 312).

Right up to the outbreak of the Austro-Prussian war in 1866, Marx and Engels retained their hopes of the country's unification by revolutionary-democratic means. They severely criticised the indecision and cowardice of the German liberal bourgeoisie and the reactionary policy of Bismarck, who was using the Danish War of 1864 as a first step on the road to the unification of Germany 'from above' by 'iron and blood'.

With unfailing attention, Marx and Engels followed the maturing crisis in the social and political system of the Second Empire in France. They stressed in their letters that Napoleon III was seeking a way out of it in foreign policy adventures and trying to use in his own interests the aspirations of the Italian and German peoples for unification. They denounced the demagogic subterfuges to which he was resorting in order to camouflage his predatory policy. Bonaparte, wrote Marx on 29 March 1864 to Lion Philips, 'set his *troupiers* up in business as "freedom" exporters' (p. 513). In 1861, Britain, France and Spain launched their armed intervention in Mexico, where the bourgeois revolution had triumphed. On the part of Napoleon III, the Mexican expedition, openly colonial in character (pp. 349-50), was an attempt to strengthen his position by victories overseas (p. 453). Marx foresaw the inevitable failure of the expedition and the fall of Napoleon's empire. 'I myself am in no doubt,' he wrote to Engels on 15 August 1863, 'that Mexico will be the hurdle at which he'll break his neck' (p. 489). Marx derided the Bonapartist methods of political demagogy, which, under conditions of colonial war, had assumed particularly grotesque forms. He also pointed out another danger of the British-French-Spanish intervention. Napoleon III and Palmerston wanted to use Mexico as a base for intervention in the US Civil War on behalf of the slave-owning Confederacy (see, e.g., p. 489).

One of the key issues in the correspondence between Marx and Engels during this period was the US Civil War. In their letters, as in their articles, they analysed its causes, disclosed its true nature and motive forces and pointed out its significance not only for the United States but for Europe. Marx and Engels were only able to throw light in the press on the early stage of the war, as their contributions to the *New-York Daily Tribune* and *Die Presse* ended in 1862. The letters are particularly valuable, since they interpreted the course of the Civil War from beginning to end. They furnish a methodological basis for studying the history of that war and many problems of the United States's subsequent development.

The letters show that, even before the outbreak of the Civil War, Marx and Engels were following the growing antagonism between North and South closely, and were aware that a clash was unavoidable. They regarded it as a result of the irreconcilable struggle between two social systems, capitalist production developing in the North and the plantation system in the South, based on slave labour. The preservation of slavery was incompatible with the capitalist development of the country as a whole. The problem of whether the American farmers would be given access to land in the West, or if slavery would spread all over the States, was at the root of the Civil War. Realising that hostilities were already imminent, Engels wrote to Marx on 7 January 1861: 'The least irruption of irregulars from the North might result in a general conflagration. At all events, one way or another, slavery would appear to be rapidly nearing its end' (p. 242).

Marx and Engels regarded the Civil War in the USA as a specific form of bourgeois-democratic revolution whose victory would open the way to the rapid development of capitalism in North America. They therefore vigorously supported the North, objectively the vehicle of social progress. They assessed the significance of the Civil War in the context of the overall outlook for the revolutionary movement in Europe and America, considering that it could give a powerful stimulus to social struggle and the development of the working-class movement. 'The slavery crisis in the United States,' Marx wrote to Lassalle on 16 January 1861, even before the beginning of the war, 'will bring about a terrible crisis in England...; the Manchester cotton lords are already beginning to tremble' (p. 246). Later, in a letter to Engels of 29 October 1862, Marx pointed out that events in America 'are such as to transform the world' (p. 421).

As the letters show, Marx studied the history of the secession of the Southern states very carefully and revealed its true nature and

aims. Drawing on American sources, he refuted the claims of the British bourgeois press about its 'peaceful nature'. He demonstrated that secession was not an act of self-defence, but a predatory war for the expansion of slavery. For fifty years, the slave-owners had been waging a steady offensive struggle against the North. After the election of Abraham Lincoln as President in 1860, they went over to open military operations and on 12 April 1861 unleashed a war against the Union. Marx described secession as 'usurpations without exception' by a handful of slave-owners, a policy that was at odds with the interests of the vast majority of the population even in the southern states and met the 'strongest opposition' there (pp. 301, 305-09).

Marx, and especially Engels, followed the course of military operations in the USA. Engels summed up the major battles and analysed the strategy and tactics of the two sides (see Engels' letters to Marx of 12 June and 3 July 1861, 5 and 23 May and 30 July 1862, 11 June 1863, 9 June and 4 September 1864 and many others). While noting the progressive nature of the war on the part of the Northerners, Marx and Engels severely criticised the methods of the Federal government, which was afraid to give the war a nationwide revolutionary character and proclaim the abolition of slavery. They also deplored the professional incompetence, indecision, cowardice and instances of outright treachery on the part of the Federal government ministers and generals in the army of the North who were associated, through material interests, with the slaveowners of the South (pp. 307, 386-87, 414 and others). Marx stressed in 1862 that 'the way in which the North is waging the war is none other than might be expected of a *bourgeois* republic, where humbug has reigned supreme for so long' (p. 416).

The military failures of the North sometimes made Engels doubt the possibility of its winning, and he confided this to Marx (pp. 386-88, 414-15 and others). Marx pointed out in his replies that, in assessing the prospects of the war, consideration must be taken not only of the strength of the armies on both sides, but of the totality of economic, socio-political and military factors (pp. 400, 420-21). He wrote to Engels on 10 September 1862: 'It strikes me that you allow yourself to be influenced by the military aspect of things a little too much' (p. 416).

In the letters of this period, the fundamental proposition of Marxist military science is developed: that the character of a war and the methods of its conduct are mutually determined. '...Unless the North instantly adopts a revolutionary stance, it will get the

terrible thrashing it deserves,' Engels wrote to Marx on 30 July 1862. Marx also emphasised that 'wars of this kind ought to be conducted along revolutionary lines, and the Yankees have so far been trying to conduct it along constitutional ones' (p. 400). He was certain that sooner or later the people would compel the government to change its mode of waging the war.

Subsequent events confirmed Marx's predictions. In the middle of 1862, having realised the need for decisive action, Lincoln put through a series of revolutionary-democratic measures, the main ones being the emancipation of the slaves, and the Homestead Act, which gave great numbers of American farmers access to the land. These measures, described by Marx as of 'historical import' (p. 421), became a turning-point in the history of the Civil War and ensured the ultimate victory of the North. 'The fury with which the Southerners are greeting Lincoln's acts is proof of the importance of these measures,' Marx wrote to Engels on 29 October 1862.

As early as during the Civil War, Marx and Engels noted the socio-economic factors that favoured the preservation of racial discrimination and of national and social oppression in the USA after the Republicans' victory and the abolition of slavery. As fighters for the proletarian revolution, they denounced American bourgeois democracy, describing the USA as the 'archetype of democratic humbug' (p. 562). 'The *people* have been cheated,' wrote Engels, and the bourgeoisie is always ready to compromise with the slave-owners for the sake of 'the almighty dollar' (p. 457). The record of the Civil War bore out Marx's and Engels' conclusion that the bourgeois-democratic republic was only a stage on the road to proletarian revolution. As Engels wrote to Marx on 15 November 1862, '...the bourgeois republic should be utterly discredited..., so that ... it may never again be preached on its own merits, but only as a means towards, and a form of transition to social revolution' (p. 428).

During the period in question, Marx and Engels were keeping a close watch on the revolutionary events in Russia and Poland. As can be seen from their letters, it was at this time that they began to regard a peasant revolution in Russia as a potential stimulus to proletarian revolution in Europe. They envisaged support for the general European revolutionary movement in the campaign for the abolition of serfdom in Russia which, in the late 1850s and early 1860s, had produced a revolutionary situation there. 'In my view,' Marx wrote to Engels on 11 January 1860, 'the most momentous thing happening in the world today is the slave

movement—on the one hand, in America, ... and in Russia, on the other... Thus, a "social" movement has been started both in the West and in the East. Together with the impending downbreak in Central Europe, this promises great things' (p. 4; see also p. 7). Even after the abolition of serfdom, Marx and Engels continued studying the unceasing actions of the peasants, robbed by the 1861 reform.

Marx and Engels also discussed the implications of the peasant movement in Russia for the national liberation struggle in Poland, which they regarded as being of general European significance and which, given the favourable development of events, could become the starting-point of a revolution in Europe. They considered that an uprising in Poland could call forth mass peasant actions in Russia which, in their turn, would benefit the movement in Poland. An alliance of the Russian and Polish revolutionary movements could ensure the success of an uprising in Poland. On learning of the Polish insurrection, which began in January 1863, Marx wrote to Engels: 'What do you think of the Polish business? This much is certain, the era of revolution has now fairly opened in Europe once more... This time, let us hope, the lava will flow from East to West and not in the opposite direction...' (p. 453).

Marx and Engels also hoped that the Polish insurrection and the peasant revolution in Russia would lead to a revolutionary upsurge in Germany, and above all in Prussia, which was undergoing an acute political crisis. Deprived of support from Russian tsarism, the Prussian monarchy would lose its hegemony in Germany. Engels wrote to Marx on 17 February 1863: 'Monsieur Bismarck knows that it will be a matter of life and death for him if there's revolution in Poland and Russia' (p. 456).

In view of the vast importance of this question for Germany's future, Marx and Engels felt something had to be done to stimulate democratic circles in Germany to take resolute action in defence of the insurgent Poles and oppose the internal reaction. With this aim in view, they decided, as early as in February 1863, to write a pamphlet, *Germany and Poland* (pp. 455, 457-59), in which they would trace, on the strength of concrete historical material, Prussia's predatory policy towards Poland and the rise of the Hohenzollern dynasty. The idea was to demonstrate the absolute incompatibility of Germany's interests with those of 'the Hohenzollerns' own state' (p. 462), i.e. of reactionary Prussia, which was the main obstacle to the unification of Germany by democratic means. Just as scathingly they denounced (also on the historical plane) the

hypocritical policy of the British and French governments which, while posing as Poland's protectors, were pursuing their own selfish ends (see, for example, pp. 462-63). Marx and Engels also disclosed the treacherous role of the Polish nobility where their own people's interests were concerned (pp. 470-71).

In analysing the motive forces of the insurrection and its prospects, Marx and Engels agreed that it could only succeed given the broad participation of the peasant masses (p. 483). They therefore attached special importance to the movement in Lithuania, where an active part was being played by the peasants—a movement which extended beyond the bounds of the Kingdom of Poland, to other provinces of the Russian empire (p. 464). However, as early as in the summer of 1863 it was clear that the chances of success were slight. The movement in Poland did not develop into an agrarian revolution, and the struggle of the peasants in Russia was by this time on the wane. The tsarist government not only quelled the Polish insurrection but used it as a pretext for suppressing the revolutionary movement at home, thereby slowing down its further development.

The main cause of the insurrection's failure, Marx and Engels held, was that the leadership had been taken over by the bourgeois-landowner party of 'whites'. These were afraid to rely on the popular masses and placed all their hopes on support from the government of Napoleon III and Palmerston. Marx and Engels noted with alarm the growth of Bonapartist illusions among the Polish democrats. On 15 August 1863 Marx wrote to Engels: 'The Polish affair has gone completely off the rails because of ... Boustrapa [Napoleon III.—*Ed.*], and the influence his intrigues have given the Czartoryski party' (p. 489). The same social and political factors, in Engels' opinion, were behind the military failures of the insurgents. He also pointed out the weak sides of their military organisation—the lack of experienced commanders, the shortage of arms, and the low standard of leadership, which led to considerable losses at the very beginning of the uprising (pp. 461, 464, 466, 476, 483, 492).

Marx and Engels endeavoured to give practical support to the Polish revolutionaries. They considered that sympathy for the Polish liberation movement among the workers and democratic circles in the West European countries should be used to organise aid to the insurgents, and to strengthen the internationalism of the workers of different countries. In their letters, Marx and Engels wrote with outrage of the 'foul conduct' of the Prussian government, which gave every possible assistance to Russian

tsarism in crushing the insurrection. They also denounced the treacherous behaviour of the German liberal bourgeoisie, which had become an accomplice of reaction. Marx wrote to Engels on 7 June 1864 that the 'Prussian liberal press is too cowardly even so much as to remark on the continued surrender of Polish refugees by the Prussians' (p. 538).

The late 1850s and early 1860s marked a new stage in the practical revolutionary activities of Marx and Engels, aimed at setting up a revolutionary proletarian party. They had no plan specifying the organisational forms of such a party as yet; the structure of the Communist League was ill-suited for the needs of a mass workers' movement. During this period, Marx and Engels were endeavouring to rally round them and educate the most advanced representatives of the proletariat, and to protect them from libel and harassment by class enemies.

The letters show how determinedly Marx and Engels sought ways and means of influencing the working-class movement (pp. 9, 13-14, 261, 455 and others). They widened their personal ties with members of the working-class and democratic movements, resuming old contacts and getting to know representatives of the new generation of workers in Britain, Germany, Switzerland, France, Belgium and the USA. Their closest associates were their old comrades-in-arms, Johann Georg Eccarius, Wilhelm Wolff, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Victor Schily, Wilhelm Eichhoff, Carl Pfänder and others, many of whom had been members of the Communist League. In 1859, Marx rejoined the German Workers' Educational Society in London (p. 11); his lectures helped to imbue its members with a spirit of proletarian solidarity and taught them the rudiments of a revolutionary scientific world outlook.

With great attention and hope, Marx and Engels followed the renewed political activity of the British proletariat. As a result of the blockade by the Northerners' navy of the Southern ports in the USA, there was a 'cotton famine' in Europe, especially in Britain. Closely connected with this was a crisis in the British cotton industry, involving a sharp fall in production and a deterioration in the workers' condition. British government circles, which were planning armed intervention in the USA on the side of the rebels, tried to win the support of the masses by trading on the plight of the workers. The British proletariat, however, came out resolutely against the bourgeoisie's interventionist plans. Marx and Engels approved of the mass meetings held by workers in London, Manchester and other cities in 1862-63 to express their

solidarity with the opponents of slavery in the USA (pp. 440, 468). On 26 March 1863, Marx attended one such meeting in St. James' Hall, and in his letter of 9 April 1863 to Engels he commented with satisfaction: 'The working men themselves spoke *very well indeed,* without a trace of bourgeois rhetoric or the faintest attempt to conceal their opposition to the capitalists' (p. 468). These meetings did much towards educating English workers in the spirit of internationalism. At the same time, Marx and Engels noted the 'sheeplike attitude' and 'servile Christian nature' of the majority of the workers in England. They considered freeing these workers from the influence of bourgeois ideology a primary task. Through the German Workers' Educational Society in London Marx established contacts with the English trades-union leaders who, in acknowledgment of his services to the working class, invited him as guest of honour to the inaugural meeting of the First International on 28 September 1864.

Marx corresponded actively with his old colleague Joseph Weydemeyer, whom he called 'one of our *best* people' (p. 117). He helped Weydemeyer to organise *Stimme des Volkes,* the newspaper of the Chicago Workers' Society (pp. 115-19). Taking part in the campaign for the defence of Auguste Blanqui, who was in prison, Marx established 'direct links with the decidedly revolutionary party in France' (p. 298). Marx and Engels saw that in France, as in Britain, there was a noticeable growth of political activity by the working class, although its forces were still very weak (p. 477).

Marx and Engels were also keeping a finger on the pulse of the working-class movement in Germany, drawing a great deal of information, in particular, from the letters of Wilhelm Liebknecht, who returned to his homeland in 1862. '...His continued sojourn in Berlin is most important to us,' Marx wrote to Engels on 7 June 1864 (p. 537). Liebknecht's activities in the General Association of German Workers, guided by the advice and directions of Marx and Engels (pp. 537, 539), helped to disseminate the ideas of scientific communism among the German workers. The establishment of direct contacts with them was of great importance. In June 1864, a number of their representatives came from Solingen to visit Marx in London. '...Now as ever,' he informed Engels after a talk with them, 'all were our resolute supporters' (p. 533). At the end of 1862, Marx began corresponding with Ludwig Kugelmann, a participant in the revolution of 1848-49, and with Johann Philipp Becker, an eminent leader of the democratic and working-class movement, whom he considered 'one of the noblest German revolutionaries' (p. 356).

A vital task in the efforts to form a proletarian party was the defence of the proletarian fighters, of the party 'in the broad historical sense' (p. 87) from calumny and attacks by the ideologists and agents of the bourgeoisie. In the late 1850s, the petty-bourgeois democrat Karl Vogt launched a smear campaign against Marx and his associates. In December 1859, he brought out a pamphlet, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung,* a piece 'full of the most outrageous calumnies' (p. 23). He resorted to falsification of the facts and to barefaced lies to libel the Communist League, portraying its members as conspirators in secret contact with the police and accusing Marx of personal motives. The libel was taken up by the European bourgeois press and also by a number of German papers published in the USA.

Marx's and Engels' letters in 1860 testify to their correct assessment of the 'Vogt's libellous work' (p. 56) as an attempt to discredit the nature and objectives of the battle being fought by the proletarian revolutionaries. Marx's steps against Vogt had 'nothing to do with private interests', he wrote to Ferdinand Freiligrath on 23 February 1860. Vogt, he emphasised, was indiscriminately slinging mud at the party (pp. 56, 57). Under these conditions Marx and Engels considered a fitting rebuff to Vogt to be 'crucial to the *historical vindication* of the party and its subsequent position in Germany' (p. 54). The answer to his pamphlet was Marx's devastating exposé *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17).

The correspondence enables us to trace step by step the different stages in the writing of this book. Marx spent nearly a year on *Herr Vogt,* interrupting his economic research and the work on *Capital.* To obtain the necessary information, he sent out a great many letters to friends, acquaintances and others who could help in unmasking Vogt. He also consulted his personal archives and studied a vast quantity of other material. *Herr Vogt* was written in close collaboration with Engels, who helped Marx at every stage of the work. The preparations for the writing and the book itself played an important part in rallying the proletarian revolutionaries, especially the German ones (in Germany and Switzerland) and in consolidating their prestige with the masses.

When he began work on the pamphlet, Marx brought a lawsuit against the Berlin *National-Zeitung,* a bourgeois daily which in January 1860 had reproduced Vogt's vilest insinuations in two leading articles. Marx's aim in instituting the proceedings was the public unmasking of the libeller (pp. 21-22). However, as is clear from Marx's correspondence with Weber (his lawyer in Berlin)

and others, the suit was dismissed. Marx's complaint was successively rejected at four judicial levels on the pretext that 'no discernible public interest was involved'. In his letters, Marx revealed the class nature of the Prussian legal system and the true reasons why the Berlin courts had rejected his case. 'It is, of course, "an issue of *public* importance" to the Prussian government that we should be traduced to the utmost,' he wrote sarcastically to Engels on 24 April 1860 (p. 129).

Marx's *Herr Vogt,* which came out on 1 December 1860, denounced Vogt as a paid Bonapartist agent (p. 132) and gave a true picture of the views and activities of the proletarian revolutionaries. Engels greeted its appearance enthusiastically. 'The thing's splendid,' he wrote to Marx on 3 December 1860 (p. 222), and in his letter of 19 December, he described it as Marx's 'best polemical work' (p. 231).

The revolutionary theory of Marx and Engels affirmed its influence within the working-class movement in struggle against bourgeois ideology, reformism, opportunism and petty-bourgeois socialism. During the period covered by this volume, Marx and Engels considered that their main objective in this field was criticism of the reformist theory and opportunist tactics of Ferdinand Lassalle, who claimed the role of organiser and theoretician of the working-class movement in Germany. Meanwhile, working out a truly scientific programme and tactics had become a matter of cardinal importance to the German working-class movement in the early 1860s as it had grown numerically and adopted a course of independent political struggle, and needed, in particular, to define its position on the most urgent problem facing the country, that of unification.

Marx and Engels took a positive view of Lassalle's efforts to free the German proletariat from the influence of the bourgeois Party of Progress and the cooperativistic ideas of Schulze-Delitzsch. It was his practical activity that they approved of. '...It's quite a good thing that an audience for anti-bourgeois stuff should be recaptured in this way,' Engels wrote to Marx on 20 May 1863 (p. 473). The foundation in May 1863, with Lassalle's direct participation, of the General Association of German Workers initiated the recovery of the independent working-class movement in Germany. Marx and Engels saw this as a service by Lassalle.

However, Lassalle's programme for the working-class movement encountered harsh criticism from Marx and Engels. In the summer of 1862, as a result of discussions with Lassalle in London, Marx became convinced that 'all we had in common

politically were a few remote objectives' (p. 400). He severely criticised 'An Open Reply to the Central Committee on the Convocation of the General German Workers' Congress in Leipzig', drawn up by Lassalle as a platform for the Association. Lassalle's programme created the illusion that it was possible to achieve socialism without a consistent revolutionary class struggle, by agitation for universal suffrage and by setting up production associations with state assistance. 'He solves the wages v. capital problem "with delightful ease",' wrote Marx ironically (p. 467).

Marx and Engels stressed that Lassalle did not understand the true conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat as set forth and substantiated in their writings. On the subject of Lassalle's 'Workers' Programme', Marx wrote to Engels on 28 January 1863: '...the thing's no more nor less than a badly done vulgarisation of the *Manifesto* and of other things we have advocated so often that they have already become to a certain extent commonplace' (p. 452). In their letters, Marx and Engels repeatedly criticised Lassalle for his distortion of the ideas he had borrowed from them, his 'historical and theoretical blunders' (p. 479), his boastfulness and petty conceit (see pp. 389, 390, 440-41, 488-89, 534).

Marx and Engels were particularly worried by Lassalle's tactics. With the constitutional conflict deteriorating, Lassalle's attacks exclusively on the bourgeois-liberal Party of Progress were playing into the hands of reaction. Condemning this flirting with the government (Marx and Engels did not yet know of Lassalle's direct negotiations with Bismarck), Engels wrote to Marx on 11 June 1863: 'The chap's now operating purely in the service of Bismarck' (p. 478). As early as in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848), Marx and Engels wrote that in fighting feudal reaction the German workers should seek an alliance with the bourgeoisie, 'whenever it acts in a revolutionary way'. They considered it necessary, however, to encourage among the workers 'the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat' (present edition, Vol. 6, p. 519). Lassalle 'could have found out perfectly well from the *Manifesto* what attitude one ought to adopt towards the bourgeoisie at times such as these', wrote Engels (p. 494).

The differences with Lassalle were over matters of principle, which is why Marx and Engels avoided joint political actions with him lest he compromise them (pp. 261, 399-400, 469-70). At the same time, they considered that any public criticism of Lassalle would be injudicious, since his agitation was contributing to the political unification of the German working class. They foresaw,

however, that an open attack on his reformist and sectarian views was unavoidable. This is shown by a letter from Marx to Engels of 12 June 1863, in which he wrote that he was only waiting for an opportune moment to reply publicly to Lassalle in order '1) to show the public how and where he had cribbed from us; 2) how and where we differ from his stuff' (p. 480). Meanwhile, however, having realised the futility of trying to influence him, they virtually broke with Lassalle in 1863-64 by gradually ceasing to correspond with him. At this time, Marx and Engels considered that their task was the theoretical elaboration and dissemination of a scientifically based strategy and tactics for the German working-class movement. They maintained a regular correspondence with their supporters in Germany, who were carrying on active revolutionary propaganda among the workers.

The letters that Marx and Engels wrote in September 1864 after receiving the news of Lassalle's death give an objective assessment of his activity and his role in the German working-class movement. Marx stressed that Lassalle 'was one of the *vieille souche* [old stock] and the foe of our foes' (p. 560). In a letter to Marx of 4 September Engels noted that as a political leader, Lassalle was undoubtedly 'one of the most significant men in Germany', and by way of a summing-up he continued: 'For us he was a very uncertain friend now and would, in future, most certainly have been our enemy' (p. 558).

The letters in this volume show how, thanks to his theoretical and journalistic activities and expanding contacts with the working-class movement, Marx's name had become known to a new generation by the time of the establishment of the International Working Men's Association. The services he had rendered predetermined his role as leader of the First International, and its development on a Marxist ideological platform.

The correspondence during the period covered by the present volume is an important source of biographical information about Marx and Engels. It reveals their nobility of character and gives an insight into their domestic life and into their circle of friends. Marx's letters testify to his abiding love and respect for his wife. Arriving in Trier in December 1863, he writes to her, remembering events of thirty years ago: 'I have made a daily pilgrimage to the old Westphalen home (in the Neustrasse), which interested me more than any Roman antiquities because it reminded me of the happiest days of my youth and had harboured my greatest treasure' (p. 499).

The years 1860-64 were a difficult period for both men. Late in

1860 Jenny Marx fell seriously ill, and illness struck Marx himself down early in January 1861. These troubles were followed by serious financial difficulties. Having ceased to contribute to the *New-York Tribune* and *Die Presse,* he had lost a small but steady source of income. To prevent himself and his family from 'actually being relegated to the streets', as Marx wrote to Ludwig Kugelmann on 28 December 1862 (pp. 435-36), he decided to work in a railway office, but was rejected because of his bad handwriting. He was rescued by Engels' consideration, unselfishness, and constant readiness to help a friend in need. 'I can't tell you how grateful I am,' Marx wrote to Engels on 28 January 1863, 'although *I myself* ... did not require any *fresh* proof of your friendship to convince me of its self-sacrificing nature' (p. 448).

Meanwhile, Engels continued working in the offices of the Ermen & Engels firm 'as clerk with a percentage of the profits, in return for a guarantee that I shall become a partner in a few years' time' (p. 134). He regularly sent Marx part of his income, also giving material aid to other comrades. In March 1860, Engels received the news of his father's death. A little while later, his mother, whom he loved very much, fell dangerously ill. 'I might acquire a hundred other businesses, but never a second mother,' he wrote to her on 27 February 1861. A heavy loss to Engels was the sudden death in January 1863 of Mary Burns, his faithful companion in life. 'I simply can't convey what I feel,' he wrote to Marx on 7 January 1863 (p. 441). 'I felt as though with her I was burying the last vestige of my youth' (pp. 446-47).

Marx and Engels were always ready to come to the assistance of friends and fellow fighters who were having a hard time in emigration. In the summer of 1860, Marx, in spite of his own personal circumstances, rented a room for Eccarius, who was seriously ill, in an attempt to provide the conditions for his early recovery. Subsequently, both Marx and Engels stepped in to help their comrade and his family.

In May 1864, death claimed an old friend and close associate of Marx and Engels—Wilhelm Wolff, who had been living in Manchester since 1853. After Wolff's death, Marx wrote to his wife: 'In him we have lost one of our few friends and fellow fighters. He was a man in the best sense of the word' (p. 523).

Marx and Engels bore their trials and tribulations with courage and fortitude. They were helped in this by their great friendship and their implicit faith in the historical justice of the cause of the working class. It was from this that they drew the strength to continue the struggle.

* * *

Volume 41 contains 340 letters written by Marx and Engels. Most of them were written in German, 17 were in English, 2 in French, and a number were written in two languages (9 in German and English, and one in German and Danish). The majority of these letters are being published in English for the first time. Only 114 have already appeared in English, of which 87 were abridged. All these publications are mentioned in the notes. The letters of Jenny and Laura Marx in the Appendices are being published in English for the first time.

Obvious slips of the pen have been corrected without comment. Proper names, geographical names and words abbreviated by the authors have been expanded, also without comment. Passages struck out by the authors are reproduced in footnotes only when they contain an important idea or shade of meaning.

Defects in the manuscript are explained in the footnotes, and passages in which the text has been lost or is indecipherable are indicated by three dots in square brackets. Wherever a presumable reconstruction has been possible, the restored passages have been enclosed in square brackets.

Foreign words and expressions have been retained in the language of the original, the translation being given in footnotes where necessary. Small caps have been used to indicate English words and expressions occurring in German-language letters. Longer passages written in English in the original are placed in asterisks.

The volume was compiled, the text prepared and the notes written by Galina Kostryukova (letters from January 1860 to mid-June 1861) and Galina Voitenkova (letters from mid-June 1861 to mid-September 1864). They also jointly wrote the Preface. Valentina Smirnova was the editor. Yelena Makarova in conjunction with Andrei Pozdnyakov prepared the indexes of names, quoted and mentioned literature, and periodicals (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The translations were made by Peter and Betty Ross and edited by E. J. Hobsbawm and Nicholas Jacobs (Lawrence & Wishart), Glenys Ann Kozlov, Yelena Kalinina, Margarita Lopukhina, Mzia Pitskhelauri, Victor Schnittke and Andrei Skvarsky (Progress Publishers) and Norire Ter-Akopyan, scientific editor (USSR Academy of Sciences).

The volume was prepared for the press by the editors Nadezhda Rudenko and Anna Vladimirova.

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## LETTERS

January 1860-September 1864

# 1860

## 1

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER[1]

[London, after 11 January 1860]

11 January 1860

Dear Marx,

Today I am sending you, under separate cover, a copy of the supplement to No. 349 of last year's *Kölnische Zeitung*.

The Wilhelm Joseph Reiff mentioned therein as having a warrant out against him for "immoral conduct" is, so I am told, none other than the Reiff who appeared at the trial of the Communists in Cologne and who is presently over here and living off the party.

Now I have written to Reiff today (care of Liebknecht, not knowing how else to get in touch with him), informing him that I can no longer take any interest in him—that I forbid him to continue to use me as a reference—and that I will not tolerate his visits!

Thus, for my part, I have acted as I thought fit. What attitude the party will wish to adopt towards this dirty business is its own affair. You are now in possession of the facts!

Your

F. Freiligrath

*I* had never received the said 'Reiff' at my house because the fellow was suspect, and more than suspect, on account of his conduct at the communist trial,[2] whereas the 'fat rhymester'[a] had taken him under *his* protection and saddled Liebknecht with him. Since then, the fellow has been living off Liebknecht, the Laplander,[b] Lessner, Schröder, etc., and other poor devils, besides having the hat passed round at the Workers' Society,[3] etc.

The above letter from Freiligrath is all the news of the Teuton that I have had since the great retreat.[4] And what an absurd letter it is. How grotesque the grandeur behind which there lurks the

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[a] Freiligrath - [b] Anders

mentality of a cringing cur. F. seems to think that prose can be put to rights with the help of exclamation marks. 'The party' is to 'adopt an attitude'. Towards what? Towards Wilhelm Joseph Reiff's 'immoral conduct'—or 'this dirty business', as Beta's friend describes it. What an imposition. By the way, I might mention *en passant* that the 'Association of German Men',[5] founded by an equivocal compositor called Zinn, has nominated Prince Albert, Gottfried Kinkel, K. Blind and F. Freiligrath as its 'honorary freemen'. The Cheruscan[6] has, of course, accepted the charter.

Next Monday I have to pay a £1 instalment at the Marylebone COUNTY-COURT.[7] At the same time, I have received from the Westminster COUNTY-COURT (ON BEHALF OF A BAKER) the enclosed scrap of paper, which you must return to me. What I foresaw is coming to pass. No sooner has one philistine found his way to the COUNTY-COURT than he is followed by another. If things go on like this, I really don't know how I can keep my head above water. What is so disastrous about these constant interruptions is that I simply cannot get on with my work.[8]

The review in the Darmstadt *Militär-Zeitung* is most WELCOME.[9] Your recent pamphlet[a] has assured you a position as a military critic in Germany. As soon as you get the opportunity, you must publish something under your own name, adding beneath it 'Author of *Po and Rhine*'. Our rascally enemies shall see BY and BY that we're able simply to impress the public without first seeking permission from it or its Betas.

In my view, the most momentous thing happening in the world today is the slave movement—on the one hand, in America, started by the death of Brown,[10] and in Russia, on the other. You will have read that the aristocracy in Russia literally threw themselves into constitutional agitation and that two or three members of leading families have already found their way to Siberia.[11] At the same time, Alexander has displeased the peasants, for the recent manifesto declares outright that, with emancipation, 'THE COMMUNISTIC PRINCIPLE' must be abandoned.[b] Thus, a 'social' movement has been started both in the West and in the East. Together with the impending DOWNBREAK in Central Europe, this promises great things.

I have just seen in the *Tribune* that there's been another slave revolt in Missouri, which was put down, needless to say.[12] But the

[a] *Po and Rhine* - [b] This refers to the item 'Progress and Final Issue of the Peasantry Question. A Memorial submitted to the consideration of the Chief Peasantry Question Committee by the President, Adjutant-General Rostoffzeff' in *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 1417, 11 January 1860.

signal has now been given. Should the affair grow serious BY and BY, what will become of Manchester?

Leonard Horner has resigned his post. His last brief report is replete with bitter irony.[a] Could you possibly find out whether the Manchester MILL-OWNERS had a hand in his resignation?

It appears from the 'FACTORY INSPECTORS' REPORTS' (of '1855'-'1859 first six months') that, since 1850, industry in England has made miraculous progress. The state of health of the workers (ADULTS) has improved since your *Condition of the Working-Class* (which I have reread at the Museum[b]), whereas that of the children (mortality) has deteriorated.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 2

## MARX TO BERTALAN SZEMERE

### IN PARIS

London, 12 January 1860

My dear Sir,

Thanks for the point you have in my affair.[13] This letter has been delayed, because I had entered into negotiations, on behalf of your publication, with a publisher who, having put me off from day to day, withdrew at last.[14]

Bentley is not your man. Try once with John Murray. In writing to those fellows, never forget to sign as ancient Minister. This is something with those flunkeys.

Yours truly
A. W.[c]

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[a] *Report of Leonard Horner, Esq., Inspector of Factories, for the Half Year ended the 31st October 1859*, dated 14 November 1859, in *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, for the Half Year Ending 31st October 1859*, London, 1860. - [b] the British Museum Library - [c] A. Williams, an alias used by Marx in some of his letters.

Would you be so kind to inform me, in your next letter, of the real state of things in Hungary?

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Revue d'histoire comparée*, t. IV, No. 1-2, Budapest, 1946

Reproduced from the original

## 3

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 January 1860

Dear Engels,

Have you already heard about Vogt's pamphlet,[a] in which there are the most horrible scurrilities concerning me? And, what is more, the thing is being jubilantly acclaimed by the Teutonic[b] bourgeoisie. The first edition has already been sold out. Yesterday, a LEADER in the *National-Zeitung* contained a long defamatory passage from it.[c] (Any chance of your laying hands on this particular number of the *Nat.-Zeit.*? I haven't been able to get hold of it here.) Now, what ought I to do? Mr Lassalle would seem to have taken such umbrage at my last letter that there hasn't been a word from him since.[15]

I should be grateful if you could have an article READY for Friday or Saturday[d] (there is a ship sailing via Cork).

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - [b] Marx uses the archaic form 'teutschen' instead of the standard 'deutschen' (German, Germanic). - [c] 'Karl Vogt und die Allgemeine Zeitung', *National-Zeitung*, No. 37, 22 January 1860. - [d] 27 and 28 January

# 4

# ENGELS TO MARX[16]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 26 January 1860

Dear Moor,

Tomorrow being *Tribune* day,[17] I'm sorry that there should again be no material to hand; the few notes on Morocco in *The Times*[a] don't even run to the engagement at Cabo-Negro,[18] nor has anything else happened. However, you'll have enough material with the parliamentary stuff.[b] I am still waiting to hear about the reform of the Prussian army as well.[19]

Your opinion of the importance of the slave movement in America and Russia[c] is already being confirmed. The Harpers-Ferry affair,[10] with its sequel in Missouri,[12] is bearing fruit. Everywhere the free NIGGERS[d] in the South are being hounded out of the states, and I have just seen from the first New York cotton report (W. P. Wright & Co of 10 January 1860)[e] that the planters HURRIED their COTTON ON TO THE PORTS IN ORDER TO GUARD AGAINST ANY PROBABLE CONSEQUENCES ARISING OUT OF THE HARPERS-FERRY AFFAIR. In Russia, too, the confusion is growing admirably; the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*'s St. Petersburg correspondent is very good on this subject, though he pays more attention to the constitutional movement among the aristocracy,[f] which, however, also provides a certain impetus for the peasants, of course.

In India we have the makings of a tremendous crisis. As far as the views of the local philistines on the subject are concerned, CONFER the enclosed MARKET REPORTS. Now yarn prices are mostly so high, almost higher than the peak in 1857, and yet cotton is $2^3/_8$ to $2\,^1/_2$d *cheaper*. Twenty-six new mills are under construction in Burnley alone, and a proportionate number in other places.

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[a] 'Spain and Morocco', *The Times*, Nos. 23523, 23524 and 23526, 23, 24 and 26 January 1860. - [b] See Marx's article 'English Politics' in Vol. 17 of the present edition. - [c] See this volume, p. 4. - [d] Engels, who uses the English word, may have been unaware of its racist connotations. - [e] 'Commercial Matters', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5839, 11 January 1860. - [f] 'Zur russischen Leibeigenschaftsfrage und die Finanz-Verhältnisse des Staats', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nos. 3 and 5 (supplement), 3 and 5 January 1860; 'Die Bauern-Emancipation in Russland', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 16 (supplement), 16 January 1860; 'Die russische Leibeigenschaft und der Adel', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 18 (supplement), 18 January 1860.

Everywhere, by degrees, the workers are getting a 10% rise in wages and will shortly receive even more. In my view, the practice of operating on fictitious capital is again just as RIFE in Indian business as it was in 1846/47, and most people are buying only because they *have* to, and cannot stop. But, even if that were not so, the increase in production alone will bring about a colossal COLLAPSE this autumn or in the spring of 1861 at the latest.

Already these idiotic English believe that they will shortly inundate France.[20] A jackass of a calico printer—ONE OF THE SHARPEST—says that, with a 30% protective tariff in *France,* the business he could do there would be 15% more profitable than on any other market. The fool imagines that monopoly prices will continue to obtain in France, even if the monopoly is abolished. It has occurred to no one that the whole thing is a piece of sharp practice, the aim being to get at John Bull where he is notoriously vulnerable, and ultimately to fleece him good and proper.

Who, actually, is the Mr Fischel who wrote the Duke of Coburg's[a] pamphlet for him[21] and now writes for *The Free Press*? Even from the excerpts from his pamphlet I could see that the Coburg chap has Urquhartite LEANINGS.

Dronke is now in Liverpool and holds a very good agency for a Franco-Spanish copper mining company—£500 guaranteed and the possibility of earning up to £1,000, or so I'm told. Garnier-Pagès got it for him. He comes here quite often, but always steers clear of me, sending me his regards *post festum.*

Lupus has had a bad bout of bronchitis but is better now though still very anxious about himself and not yet fully recovered. Once again he has so arranged matters as to be in a chronic state of strife with his LANDLADY.

I have a great deal to do at the office just now, hence the irregularity of my correspondence. Nor, for the time being, do I see that anything can be done about this excessive drudgery unless, as I hope, there is a crisis.

Many regards to your wife and the YOUNG LADIES.[b]

Your

F. E.

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[a] Ernst II - [b] Marx's daughters—Jenny, Laura and Eleanor

# 5

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 January [1860]

Dear Engels,

I have ordered Vogt's pamphlet[a] and shall also have one sent to you. It is the record (or first complete version) of his ineffectual lawsuit in Augsburg, together with an introduction. The latter is directed especially against myself and would seem to be a second and amended edition of Müller-Tellering.[22] As soon as the stuff arrives, we must see what we can do. Faucher told me WITH AN INTENSE PLEASURE that Vogt treats me pretty well *en canaille*[b] and with EXQUISITE contempt. The scoundrel tries to make the German philistine believe I am living here like a Dr Kuhlmann at the workers' expense, etc. (Needless to say, I have kept the whole squalid business from my wife.)

A new military weekly has come out in Berlin.[c] It seems to me that, *on pretext* of asking him about this paper's WHEREABOUTS, you should IMMEDIATELY write to Lassalle. It is essential for us to have some sort of connection in Berlin just now. L.'s reply to you will show whether we can carry on with him or not. In the latter case—which, all things considered, would not be pleasant—I should have to have recourse to Dr Fischel (Prussian assessor), about whom more anon. There is no reason why, in your letter to L., you should not let fall the remark that *I* consider the obstacles (or at least his warnings IN THAT REGARD) he placed in the way of my publishing a statement on Vogt in the *Volks-Zeitung* (the same, that is, as appeared in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*[d]), to be a kind of CONSPIRACY with Vogt on his and Duncker's part. Then, of course, you might drop a word or two to the effect that, in view of the ambiguous attitude of sundry old party friends (a few incidental HITS UPON Freiligrath[4]), the difficulty of my position and the infamies I have to contend with, my TEMPER is, at times, a trifle frayed; further, that I have mentioned to you a letter I wrote to L. which the latter has apparently taken amiss.[e] You, for your part, will naturally suggest that L. knows me too well not to overlook an

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[a] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - [b] as less than nothing - [c] *Militärische Blätter* - [d] K. Marx, 'Declaration', 15 November 1859. - [e] Marx to Lassalle, 22 November 1859 (see present edition, Vol. 40).

occasional brusque remark, etc. Then he will at least cease to beat about the bush. I am altogether of the opinion that a certain amount of diplomacy is now called for—if only to find out just where we stand. After all, compared with the others, L. is still a HORSE-POWER.

The fact is the various gangs—first the imperial rascals,[23] secondly the German National Association[24] and, lastly, the liberals, are presently doing everything in their power to destroy us morally in the eyes of the German philistines. There can hardly be any doubt that, despite all the clamour for peace, THERE WILL BE A NEW WAR, probably within the year, very probably before the advent of summer. In any case, the international situation is so complex that it is of the utmost importance to vulgar democracy and liberalism to stop us obtaining a hearing from, or access to, German philistia (i.e. the public). There comes a point when one can no longer turn a blind eye—i.e. show indifference—in personal and party matters. Vogt's CASE does not lend itself to exactly the same treatment as that of a Tellering, a Heinzen or *tutti quanti.*[a] In Germany this same ventriloquist is looked on as a scientific celebrity; he *was* imperial regent and *is* financed by Bonaparte. You might also—just, as it were, *en passant*—ask the noble Lassalle what action *he* thinks appropriate in the matter of V. In his letters to me, L. has *committed* himself too deeply to perform a complete volte face. At all events, an attempt must be made to force the fellow to adopt a definite position—*aut, aut.*[b] [25]

Fischel is a Prussian Urquhartite. In the Berlin *Portfolio,* of which he is the publisher, he has alluded to my anti-Pam[c] pamphlets and printed some extracts from them.[26] (On Urquhart's express instructions.) He had been invited by the Urquhartites to come to England where he was paraded before the FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEES[27] as evidence of the triumphant 'belief' (in Urquhart) on the Continent. I met him while he was over here. He offered me his good services, should I require them in the North German press.

*Hip-hip-hurray and away to Italy*[d] (by that louse Bamberger in Paris) is said to contain attacks on your articles in the *Volk.*[28]

*What did Mr Orges say in his statement?*[29] *I missed it.*

If possible, write something for Tuesday[e] (it doesn't have to be long) on the military importance of Savoy (and Nice) to France.[f] Cf. *Times* OF TODAY, Normanby in the HOUSE OF LORDS.

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[a] all the rest - [b] either or - [c] anti-Palmerston - [d] [L. Bamberger,] *Juchhe nach Italia!,* Bern and Geneva, 1859. - [e] 31 January - [f] Engels wrote the article 'Savoy and Nice'.

Apropos! 'In recognition of my services to the development of communistic principles', I have received an invitation to the anniversary celebrations on 6 February of the 'Workers' Educational Society' down here. (For these chaps still regard themselves as heirs to the old Windmill Association.)[30] Similar invitations, if for different reasons, have gone out to Schapper, Pfänder and Eccarius. *Circumstances being what they are,* I have, of course, accepted the invitation, thus wiping out all traces of the old quarrel with the working men's bunch. Mr *F. Freiligrath* has *not* been invited. Indeed, I must now take care not to run into Potbelly. For in my present state of fury over the filthy Vogt affair—and F. F.'s *magna pars*[a] therein[4]—fearful eruptions might well ensue. Regards to Lupus.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 6

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

### IN BERLIN

London, 30 January 1860

Dear Lassalle,

I was very glad to get your letter. For I had believed—and had written to tell Engels so[b]—that your reason for not writing was pique at my last letter.[15]

I can only spare a minute or two since I have a leader to write today for the *New-York Tribune.* Quite briefly then:

1. I shall send you the pamphlet on the *'Communist Trial'*[c] straight away. So far as I am aware, you have already had one from me.

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[a] large part - [b] See this volume, p. 6.- [c] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.*

2. Vogt has been careful not to let his *Telleringian* concoction—i.e. the first version[31]—reach us here. Neither Freiligrath (whom I have just seen) nor Kinkel, nor the *Hermann,* nor *any of the booksellers over here* have had it. The imperial rascal[23] wishes, OF COURSE, to steal a march on me.

What I know, I have learned from the *National-Zeitung.*[a] A pack of *Stieberian* lies. I have written and told my *lawyer in Berlin*[b] to sue the *N.-Z.* for *libel.* What do you think of this? Let me know *by return.*

From your letter I see that Vogt himself admits having been bought *indirectly* by Bonaparte,[32] for *I know* about the *manoeuvres* of your revolutionary Hungarians. I denounced them in London in an *English* paper[c] and had five COPIES sent to Mr Kossuth. He kept his trap shut. In New York, and elsewhere, *Hungarian refugees* have adopted resolutions *censuring him.*

Your reasoning *ad vocem* Vogt eludes me. I shall *write a pamphlet* as soon as I get hold of his rubbish. But I shall begin by saying in the foreword that I *don't give a damn* about the opinion of *your German public.*

*Liebknecht* is an upright man. The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* is—to *my* mind—just as good as the *N.-Z.* and the *Volks-Zeitung.*[33]

To judge by the excerpts I have seen in the *N.-Zeitung,* Vogt is some kind of Chenu or de la Hodde.[34]

3. About my work on political economy—the second instalment, when it appears, will contain only the conclusion of section I, Book I, and there are six books.[35] Hence you cannot wait *until it is finished.*[36] However, you would, in *your own interests,* be well-advised to await the next instalment which contains the *quintessence.* Appalling circumstances are to blame for the fact that it isn't yet in Berlin.

*Salut.*

K. M.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften,* Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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[a] 'Karl Vogt und die Allgemeine Zeitung', *National-Zeitung,* No. 37, 22 January 1860. - [b] Eduard Fischel - [c] K. Marx, 'Particulars of Kossuth's transaction with Louis Napoleon', *The Free Press,* No. 10, 28 September 1859. It was an abridged version of Marx's article 'Kossuth and Louis Napoleon', published in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 5748, 24 September 1859.

# 7

# ENGELS TO MARX

## IN LONDON

Manchester, 31 January 1860

Dear Moor,

I intend to write to Ephraim Artful[a] tomorrow; a diplomatic missive such as this ought not to be sent off without due reflection. For a day or two now, I have been mulling over *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine,* a kind of sequel to *Po and Rhine.* I have made up my mind to offer the thing to Duncker; it won't be more than 2 sheets long and might provide a good pretext for getting in touch with Ephraim. At all events, I shall write the thing in the course of next week, after which I shall immediately send the manuscript to Berlin. Apart from one or two matters concerning the French revolutionary campaigns in Nice and Savoy, no preparatory work is called for, so it will be soon done.

Obviously Mr Vogt must be given a thorough lambasting; but it's difficult to say anything until we know what the fellow has actually published.[b] At all events, you might just as well use Fischel as anyone else, provided he really does have connections.[c] Moreover, little Jew Braun[d] will now see that the significance of your statement[e] and of the whole set-to between Vogt and the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*[37] is of quite a different order to what the Berlin philistine at first imagined. As things stand, we must maintain all these connections, while the *conspiration du silence* and other intrigues, to which we must meanwhile turn a blind eye, will subsequently release us from all obligations as soon as some crisis necessitates a breach on genuinely political grounds.

As to the chances of a fresh set-to, I am entirely of your opinion.[f] But I believe that if, despite Vogt and Co., we are to keep our end up so far as the public is concerned, we shall have to do it through our scientific work. We haven't the money to organise the émigré press and several times we have seen that an émigré paper or German pamphlets printed in London never

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[a] Ferdinand Lassalle - [b] This refers to Carl Vogt's pamphlet, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung,* Geneva, 1859. - [c] See this volume, p. 10. - [d] Lassalle - [e] K. Marx, 'Declaration', 15 November 1859. - [f] See this volume, p. 9.

command a public (in Germany) unless the thing can be kept going for a year at least. In Germany itself direct political and polemical action, as our party understands it, is a sheer impossibility. So, what remains? Either we hold our tongues or we make EFFORTS that are known only to the emigration and the American Germans but not to anyone in Germany, or else we go on as we have begun, you in your first instalment[a] and I in *Po and Rhine*. That, I think, is the main thing just now and, if we act accordingly, no matter how much Vogt may howl, we shall soon be back on a FOOTING such as will enable us (WHENEVER REQUIRED) to publish the necessary personal statements in one German paper or another. The early appearance of your 2nd instalment[38] is obviously of paramount importance in this connection and I hope that you won't let the Vogt affair stop you from getting on with it. Do try for once to be a little less conscientious with regard to your own stuff; it is, in any case, far too good for the wretched public. The *main* thing is that it should be written and published; the shortcomings that catch your eye certainly won't be apparent to the jackasses; and, when times become turbulent, what will it avail you to have broken off the whole thing before you have even finished the section on capital in general?[8] I am very well aware of all the other interruptions that crop up, but I also know that the delay is due mainly to your own scruples. Come to that, it's surely better that the thing should appear, rather than that doubts like these should prevent its appearing at all.

Mr Orges has issued a *pur* personal statement[b] which reveals who this queer fish is. Originally a Prussian lieutenant of artillery at the military college in Berlin (1845-48), at the same time, he pursued his studies and obtained his doctorate; he left the service in March 1848 (his application to resign is dated 19 March '48) and went to Schleswig-Holstein where he joined the artillery; in 1850, he joined the crew of a merchant vessel, in which he 'served' and sailed round the world; in 1851, he attended the Exhibition in London,[39] which he reported for the A. *A. Z.*; he was then consorting with Schimmelpfennig, Willich, Techow, etc., and, subsequently, became the A. *A. Z.*'s military editor. At all events, there's more to the man than anyone else on the paper, which he has set on its feet again. The leaders I attributed to Heilbronner are all by him. Nevertheless, I'll still be able to deal with him good and proper.

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[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [b] See this volume, p. 10.

The invitation from the louts[a] has come at a fairly opportune moment. But I trust that you won't, of course, allow yourself to be drawn into anything else, for this is ground we know only too well; fortunately you live some distance away.

Many regards,

Your
F. E.

The Prussians have approached my old man[b] with the intention of confiscating my assets to the tune of 1,005 talers, 20 [silver groschen] 6 pfennigs[40] because of my alleged desertion from the Landwehr.[41] My old man told them that he had no access to my assets, whereupon they calmed down. I am to be sentenced on 18 February.

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8

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 31 January 1860

Dear Engels,

Your article[c] received. Very good.

Herewith a letter from Lassalle which arrived yesterday and to which I replied immediately, if briefly.[d] Only a pamphlet written by *us jointly* will get us out of this business. I have also written secretly to Fischel in Berlin, asking whether it is feasible to bring a libel suit against the *National-Zeitung*.[42] Vogt's piece[e] (*not* to be had *at any* booksellers in London; he has sent it neither to Freiligrath nor to Kinkel, nor to any of his other acquaintances over here. Obviously he wished to steal a march on us. I have thus had to order it) is, so far as we are concerned, clearly a de la Hodde-Chenusian concoction.[34] I have read the *second* article in

[a] See this volume, p. 9. - [b] Friedrich Engels, Sr., Frederick Engels' father - [c] 'Savoy and Nice' - [d] See this volume, pp. 11-12. - [e] *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859.

the *Nat.-Z.*[a] from which I see *inter alia* that Lupus (described as Casemate Wolff, Parliamentary Wolff) is alleged to have sent a circular to a reactionary Hanoverian paper in 1850.[43] It gives a réchauffé of all the foul refugee gossip of 1850-52. The jubilation of the bourgeois press is, of course, unbounded, and the tone of Lassalle's letter—kindly show it to Lupus and then *file* it—clearly betrays the impression it has made on the public.

Yesterday I saw Freiligrath for a moment. I approached him very ceremoniously (if he has the slightest sense of honour he must make an anti-Vogt statement), and all our entreview[b] amounted to was the following: '*I:* I've come to ask you to lend me the pamphlet on the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* lawsuit which I've been seeking in vain at all the booksellers and must certainly have been sent you by your friend Vogt. *F.* (very melodramatically): Vogt is not my friend. *I:* Lassalle has written to me that I must reply at once. You haven't got the pamphlet, then? *F.* No. *I:* Good evening.' (He held out his honest right hand and shook mine Westphalian-fashion.) *Voilà tout.*[c]

I was assured by Juch (owner and present editor of the *Hermann,* whose acquaintance I made in connection with the Stieber affair and Eichhoff's trial[44] in Berlin), that Kinkel hadn't yet had a copy from Vogt either. This same Juch had, however, been sent numerous Vogtian tirades against us which he did not print. This chap—who is, incidentally, quite honest in his own way—has got to be kept mellow for the time being. Since only the *Hermann* is now appearing in London, it would have been dreadful to have to confront Vogt's gang unarmed, here on our own ground.

*Apropos!* As a result of my first meeting with Juch,[d] on my advice, Eichhoff cited friend *Hirsch,* who is doing time in Hamburg for forgery, as a witness for the defence. Consequently, the trial, due to begin on 26 January (I read about this in the *Publicist*), was again adjourned after a heated argument. Stieber has now done with Hirsch.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

Imandt has just told me that Heise is dead.

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[a] 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', *National-Zeitung,* No. 41, 25 January 1860. - [b] Thus in the original. - [c] That's all. - [d] in December 1859, after the 13th

# 9

# MARX TO BERTALAN SZEMERE

IN PARIS

London, 31 January 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

My dear Sir,

I conclude from your silence, that you have taken offence at my last letter,[42] but I dare say, without any sufficient reason. You will not deny that by your own letter, the last but one, *you* did release me from the promise I had made to you.[45] On the other hand, you may any day write to Berlin, and ascertain from Mr Duncker, the publisher, that he has called upon me not any longer to delay the sending of the manuscript due to him.[8] Lastly, my proposal of Mr Kavannagh was, of course, meant to serve *you,* not *me,* and I proposed it only as a *pis-aller.*[a]

Meanwhile, I took care to have a notice of your pamphlet (or rather of its impending appearance) inserted in the *Weser-Zeitung,* by a friend of mine. So soon as your pamphlet has come to my hands, I shall feel happy to give a large article on the same in the *New-York Tribune.* Kossuth has tried, by another letter to McAdam, at Glasgow, to attract public attention in England. This time his effort has proved a complete failure.

There is one affair, in which I require information on your part, and think myself justified to ask it from you.

Prof. Vogt (the tool of James Fazy at Genf,[b] who is intimately connected, as Vogt is, with Klapka and Kossuth) has published a pamphlet on his lawsuit with the A. *A. Zeitung*[c]. This pamphlet contains the most absurd calumnies against myself, so that I cannot but *reply* to the scandalous libel, though I regret the time to be applied to so mean a subject. Well. He now contends that he received the money for his propaganda from revolutionary Hungarians, and, half and half, insinuates, that the money came *directly* from Hungary. How incredible, since Kossuth himself could get none from that source. Can you inform me somewhat exactly about Klapka's circumstances at the time before the

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[a] last resort - [b] Geneva - [c] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung,* Geneva, 1859.

outbreak of the Italian war?[46] Since I shall be forced, in the pamphlet I intend writing,[a] to speak of Kossuth et Co., somewhat largely, you will oblige me by adding what new points you have found out regarding his recent transactions. Has he, out of the 3 millions, spent any part for paying or for arming a Hungarian corps? (I mean apart from the money given to military and civil dignitaries.[b])

The time becomes very critical, and, I hope, no misunderstanding shall prevent our common action.

Yours truly
A. W.[c]

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## 10

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 1 February 1860

Dear Moor,

This time, then, the business is growing more serious every day. Mr Altenhöfer and the devious Häfner in Paris have each published personal, if somewhat vague, statements in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.[47] Now we get Lassalle's sagacious letter.[48] The chap is himself already almost a Bonapartist, at a time when coquetting with Bonapartism seems to be the order of the day in Berlin, so Mr Vogt will undoubtedly find the ground favourable *there*. A fine notion of Lassalle's, that one shouldn't use one's connection with the Augsburg *A. Z.* against Vogt and Bonaparte, yet Vogt can use Bonapartist money for Bonapartist ends and keep his hands perfectly clean! In the eyes of these folk, it is actually meritorious of Bonap. to have beaten the Austrians; the specific Prussian spirit and Berlin punditry are again in the

[a] *Herr Vogt* - [b] See K. Marx, 'Kossuth and Louis Napoleon', present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 502-03. - [c] A. Williams, an alias used by Marx in some of his letters.

ascendant and things in that city must look almost as they did after the peace of Basle.[49] There's no reasoning with such people. Lassalle seems to excrete this paltry, niggling pap as naturally as his turds, and maybe a good deal more easily—what answer can one give to such inanities and facile wisdom! Extraordinary advice, the chap doles out!

Let's wait until we've got the pamphlet,[a] and in the meantime cast round for somewhere to print and someone to publish our riposte. If possible, Germany and the opposing party's headquarters, Berlin. The business of the 3,000 copies is plainly a lie of Vogt's.[50] However, there's scandal enough and to spare. I shall go and see Lupus today and tell him to rack his brains for all the material he can lay hands on concerning Vogt. In the meantime, I shall sort through the papers dealing with 1850/52 and you must look out our old manuscript about the émigrés.[b] So far, I have no idea of what the fellow actually says.

Regards to the FAMILY.

Your
F. E.

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## 11

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 2 February 1860

Dear Moor,

Conferred with Lupus last night. It was only while reading Lassalle's letter[c] out to him that I became fully aware not only of the chap's philistinism and arrogance, but also of his 'method'. Even in the paltriest of trifles, the fellow is Absolute Spirit Old Hegelian style and, just as he proposes in economics to assume the

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[a] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*. - [c] See this volume, pp. 16 and 19.

role of a higher unity between you and the economists, the finite contradiction,[51] so too he is already assuming the role of a higher unity between you and Vogt. Yours, the 'principle', Vogt's the 'Italian policy'[52]—and very nice too! What egregious schoolmaster presumption to start off by telling us we should declare Vogt hadn't been bribed, and then to proceed to take seriously, and thus reduce to absurdity, the one good joke in Fröbel's statement![53]

Lupus wonders whether, under Prussian law, the *National-Zeitung* mightn't be compelled to accept a statement from you. I, too, believe the Press Law contains some such article. If so, we should invoke it immediately on receipt of the pamphlet[a]; for, as Lassalle rightly remarks, *habent sua fata libelli*[b]; what that will be in the pamphlet's case one cannot tell, and the quicker the rejoinder, the surer will be its effect.

*Quoad*[c] our pamphlet, we are at a disadvantage in being personally on the defensive and unable to return lies for lies. Then there's another disadvantage—namely, that the public= Philistia already detests us in advance, for while we do not actually stand convicted of *odium generis humani*,[d] we are guilty of *odium generis* bourgeois,[e] and that amounts to exactly the same thing.

On the other hand, we are at an advantage in being able to provide an exposé of our Italian policy which puts the matter on a totally different plane, leaves aside the personal aspect and places us in a favourable position, not perhaps in the eyes of the Berlin liberals, but in those of the greater part of Germany, in that we stand for the popular, national side. The Savoy affair in particular is something of a godsend to us.[54]

Now it seems to me that, as soon as the pamphlet arrives (couldn't Lass. send it by post?), you should pack your bags and come up here, when we can decide once and for all what to do and how and where. I should gladly seize on the opportunity to come to London, but, as your wife is to be kept in the dark, it would be better if you were to come up here, the more so since, if any work is to be done, I couldn't stay so long in London. Another thing to be decided is whether I should appear on the title page; there's only one reason I can see against it, which, however, seems to me *quite conclusive*; but we'll discuss that when we meet.

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[a] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - [b] Books have their fate (Terentianus Maurus, *De litteris, syllabis et metris*, 'Carmen heroicum', 258). - [c] As regards - [d] hatred of the human race - [e] hatred of the bourgeois

The Savoy piece shall be done[a] and Lassalle and Duncker written to tomorrow. The epistle destined for L.[b] had, of course, not yet been sent.

It is extraordinary that I should have first learned of Heise's death via Dundee[c] and London. After all, the little chap[d] was here last Thursday or Friday and came to see me. I was out, however, and he also missed me at the club that evening. But, if he'd known about it, he'd surely have got someone else to tell me, as he usually does. He saw Charles,[e] too.

*Salut.*

Your
F. E.

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## 12

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 February 1860

Dear Engels,

After one minor alteration, or rather the deletion of *one* sentence, C. D. Collet yesterday declared himself willing, but, at the same time, said that, as Urquhart was the actual editor, he must first submit the thing to him, which means a delay of 24 hours.[55] Collet admitted that I could, of course, publish the statement *malgré eux*,[f] but, if it was done the way he suggested, I could subsequently, TO A CERTAIN DEGREE, fall back on him and Urq. WELL. I conceded this and intend to see what Father U. has to say. (For the sequel see immediately below.)

Incidentally, it's no go either with a pamphlet or a statement in the newspapers—*just now*. The pamphlet would BE KILLED by the self-same press WHICH NOW TRUMPETS THE GRANDEUR OF VOGT. The latter's

[a] F. Engels, *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*. - [b] See this volume, p. 13. - [c] A reference to Peter Imandt, who lived in Dundee, Scotland. See this volume, p. 16. - [d] Ernst Dronke - [e] Charles Roesgen - [f] despite them

attack on me—he is obviously seeking to represent me as an insignificant and rascally bourgeois blackguard—(this emerges from everything I've learnt from hearsay up till now) is intended to be the *grand coup* of bourgeois vulgar democracy—and likewise of the Russo-Bonapartist riff-raff—against the party as a whole. Hence it must likewise be countered with a *grand coup*. Furthermore, *the defensive* does not suit our purpose. *I shall sue the National-Zeitung.* I've now *made up my mind* to do so. Not a great deal of money will be required for the time being—I am referring to the preliminary deposition in court. But lawyers will be exceptionally keen to make themselves available for, whatever happens, the lawsuit will make a great noise throughout the length and breadth of Germany. As soon as I have Fischel's letter[a] (it will arrive, I think, tomorrow) I shall issue a brief statement to the various German newspapers announcing that I am instituting an action for libel against the *N.-Z.* in Berlin. In its second article,[b] which I have got, I have already discovered items so actionable as to bring about its immediate undoing in a legal sense.[c] This lawsuit will be the peg on which we can hang the whole of our riposte to *the public at large* in court. Later on, we can turn our attention to that bastard Vogt.

When you consider that in a week or two, in connection with Stieber, the Cologne communist trial[2] will be re-enacted all over again,[44] this vile attack could, if skilfully exploited, help rather than hinder us, for this will AT ONCE enable us to state our case forcefully to the mass of the workers.

On the other hand, what *evidence* can Vogt or the *National-Zeitung* produce against us? At the most, there is Techow's gossip[56] and, perhaps (in THE WORST CASE), some not altogether pleasant reviews by Lüning[57] but, these apart, the fact that Vogt knows nothing of conditions here and makes the most absurd mistakes is apparent if only from his article in the Biel *Handels-Courier.*[d]

So my plan is this: *Next* week, as soon as Vogt's rubbish[e] arrives, I shall come and visit you for a few days in order to talk the whole thing over.[58] As to the costs of the action, Dronke (who, by the by, owes me money) must also bear his share. (Whatever happens you must come here a few days at Easter.)

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[a] See this volume, p. 15. - [b] 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', *National-Zeitung,* No. 41, 25 January 1860. - [c] See this volume, pp. 40-45. - [d] [K. Vogt,] 'Zur Warnung', *Schweizer Handels-Courier,* No. 150 (extraordinary supplement), 2 June 1859. - [e] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung,* Geneva, 1859.

For the rest (I have already written to everyone imaginable), in addition to procuring the necessary material for the action, I'm working on my *Capital*.[8] If I set about it with determination, it will be finished in 6 weeks and, *after* the lawsuit, it will be a *success*.

A fine thing it would be—with a crisis in the offing, with the KING OF PRUSSIA[a] at death's door, etc.—if we were to allow ourselves to be finished off in this way by Imperial Vogt[23] *et cie.*, or even—*autore Lassallo*[b]—to cut our own throats.

The enclosed piece of paper will tell you WHAT MR VOGT IS NOW ABOUT and how, in your pamphlet, you can deal him a contemptuous kick, if only by way of a marginal note.[59]

Your
K. M.

As you will see from the contents of my letter, the anti-Blind operation[60] is proceeding independently of the German operation, but will be used to further the latter.

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## 13

## MARX TO JOACHIM LELEWEL

### IN BRUSSELS

[*Draft*]

London, 3 February 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

My dear Lelewel,

I have not had the pleasure of corresponding with you since 1848 when a letter of recommendation from you was brought to me in Cologne by a Pole.[c] I am writing to you today on a personal matter.

One Vogt, a professor at Geneva, has published a pamphlet[d] full of the most outrageous calumnies against my person and my

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[a] Frederick-William IV - [b] on Lassalle's advice - [c] Presumably Władysław Kościelski - [d] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859.

political life. On the one hand, he represents me as a man of no account and on the other imputes to me the most infamous motives. He falsifies my entire past. Having had the privilege of enjoying a close relationship with you during my stay in Brussels—I shall never forget the embrace with which you honoured me on the occasion of the anniversary of the Polish Revolution on 22 February 1848[61]—I would request you to address me à private letter in which you assure me of your friendship and testify to the nature of the honourable relations I maintained in Brussels with the Polish emigration.[62]

Fraternal greetings,

Yours
Charles Marx

Mrs Marx, who asks to be remembered to you, has made a copy of this letter for your benefit, my handwriting being illegible.

Written in French

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## 14

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 4 February 1860

D. M.,

One keeps changing one's mind every night as is inevitable, since we've not yet set eyes on the stuff.[a]

The Hirsch affair is truly splendid.[b]

The lawsuit in Berlin also strikes me as a very good idea, always assuming they allow it, though I don't see how they can deny you justice.[c]

*Re* Lupus[d] and the affair in general, I waded through the

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[a] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*. - [b] See this volume, p. 16 - [c] This refers to the lawsuit Marx intended to bring against the *National-Zeitung* (see this volume, p. 22). - [d] See this volume, pp. 15-16.

better part of the records for 1850/52 yesterday evening. Lupus cannot recollect anything at all and I have to keep jogging his memory. Not that I'm much better; since those days so much BITTER BEER has flowed down my gullet that many things are difficult to ascertain. As regards Lupus the following emerges:

1. In 1851, *not 1850,* when the document appeared in the *Karlsruher Zeitung* (our plan of campaign against the democrats[a]), Lupus was still in Zurich[b] and was attacked by the fellows as one who happened to be in their midst and was a member of *our* League.[63]

2. Another document, however, had appeared previously in, if I'm not mistaken, the *Hannoversche Zeitung,* namely a circular from the Cologne Central Authority composed by Bürgers.[64] But I can't ascertain exactly whether it happened in the *Hann. Ztg.* You must go into this.

3. Vogt has jumbled all of this up and has Lupus writing a document in *London* in 1850 which was produced in *Cologne* at a time when Lupus was still in Zurich. (L. came to London after 5 May and before 21 July 1851.) All that remains to be ascertained is whether Bürgers' document really did appear in the *Hann. Zeitung,* and how it fell into the hands of the Hanover police. The letters I wrote you between February and April 1851 are bound to contain some mention of it.[c] Let me have particulars about this; without them I hardly imagine that Lupus' statement[d] will suffice.

The item in *The Times* (original source Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*) had already been noted.[59]

I am starting on my thing[e] today. Up till now, the Vogt rumpus has prevented me from doing so. This time I shall again describe myself as the 'author of *Po and Rhine'* so as to get that personage all the more firmly established in the field of military literature—if I put my own name to it *the immediate result would be a conspiration du silence.* At the same time, however, i.e. about a fortnight after it comes out, I shall get Siebel to arrange for an appropriate review to appear in the papers. In general, this fellow

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Address of the Central Authority to the League, June 1850'. - [b] Wolff lived in exile in Zurich from August 1849 to May 1851. - [c] See Engels' letter to Marx of 27 June 1851 (present edition, Vol. 38). - [d] W. Wolff, 'Erklärung', *Die Reform,* No. 18, 11 February 1860; *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 44 (supplement), 13 February 1860, and *Volks-Zeitung,* No. 47, 24 February 1860. - [e] F. Engels, *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine.*

could be very useful to us in the Vogt rumpus; he has masses of connections.

Many regards to the FAMILY.

Your
F. E.

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## 15

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 February 1860

Dear Engels,

Nothing from Berlin yet.[a] If Izzy weren't a knave, incidentally, he would have sent me the *National-Zeitung* of his own accord, if nothing else, as soon as it came out.

Now, as regards the extract from the *N.-Z.* for Lupus,[b] what I wrote, on the first occasion, was from memory and was not intended as a basis for a *public* statement. On the second occasion, I was copying, and to avoid misunderstanding, am doing so again. I can't send the original as I haven't a second one to spare.

*Extract from No. 41 of the N.-Z., dated 25 January.* (It is the concluding passage in the LEADER):

> 'Only one further thing is worthy of note: The open letter to the National Association immediately fell into the hands of the Hanoverian reactionary party and was made known by this last; in 1850 another "circular" (as Vogt recollects, written by Parliamentary Wolff *alias* Casemate Wolff) was sent from London to the "proletarians" in Germany, and simultaneously allowed to fall into the hands of the Hanoverian police.'

No answer as yet from that bloody Urquhart.[c]

I have carefully gone through all the old letters and newspapers and put on one side what we may need 'in due course'. You must

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[a] See this volume, pp. 12 and 22. - [b] This refers to the item 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', *National-Zeitung*, No. 41, 25 January 1860. - [c] See this volume, p. 21.

see to it that I find 'the whole lot' (letters, newspapers, etc.) at your place in Manchester, so that I can get together what is relevant. We really mustn't allow those blackguardly democrats—now, of course, gloating over our discomfiture—to make us accountable for their revolutionary travel plans, revolutionary paper money, revolutionary gossip, etc. And, starting with Gottfried Kinkel, Vogt's secret correspondent over here, they have got to be shown up in the eyes of Germany.

Your
K. M.

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## 16

## MARX TO FRANZ DUNCKER

### IN BERLIN

London, 6 February 1860

Dear Sir,

Would you very kindly arrange to print the enclosed *written* statement,[a] which I am sending *simultaneously* to the *National-Zeitung* and the *Publicist* (what its politics are I do not know, but it would appear to be widely read over here) in Berlin; likewise, to the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the *Frankfurter Journal*, the *Hamburg 'Reform'* and the *Augsburg 'Allgemeine Zeitung'*.

I should be much obliged if you would pass the following on to Lassalle:

Time does not permit my replying to him today.

The article on Kossuth,[b] which I sent Szemere in Paris ON THE EXPRESS CONDITION that it be returned immediately, has been in his hands for months now. I shall now hold a pistol to his head—allegorically speaking, OF COURSE.

I should be most grateful if Lassalle would send Vogt's book[c] *by post* direct to Engels at his private address, 6 Thorncliffe Grove,

[a] K. Marx, 'To the Editors of the *Volks-Zeitung*. Declaration'. - [b] K. Marx, 'Kossuth and Louis Napoleon'. - [c] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859.

Oxford Road, Manchester, where I am going to stay.[58] Finally, I should be glad if he would send to the same address copies of such Berlin papers as accept the statement.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

K. Marx

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## 17

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 February 1860

Dear Moor,

Received the circular addressed to Collet.[a] Comes altogether à propos, yesterday's *Daily Telegraph* having carried two columns about Vogt's shit[b] and the Brimstone Gang.[65] If it amounts to no more than what's in the *Telegr.*, then Izzy has been frightened by a fart. To 'parry the thrust', all one has to do is hold one's nose.

Mr Ronge is up here. He hurried along to Siebel, saying he wished to be introduced to me!! Furthermore, he asked whether I also belonged to the Brimstone Gang—IN FACT, if it weren't for him, S., and if it weren't for S., I myself, wouldn't have heard about the nonsense in the *Telegr.*

S., who's an out-and-out charlatan and knows it, is dead keen to be of service to us in this business. He's got masses of connections and, best of all, is quite above suspicion. The fellow knows that the whole robber band, Kinkel and Co., are just as much humbugs as he is, and in us he has at last found people who are totally impervious to his humbug, *inde*[c] an unbounded admiration.

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[a] K. Marx, 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette.' - [b] [K. Abel,] 'The Journalistic Auxiliaries of Austria', *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 1439, 6 February 1860. See also this volume, pp. 74-76. - [c] hence

Oughtn't we to scan the daily press for the circular tomorrow?[c]
*Vale.*

Your
F. E.

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## 18

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 February 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, etc.

Dear Engels,

Of the COPIES despatched to you,[a] send 1 to Dronke, 1 to Dr Bronner in Bradford. I have sent one to Borchardt myself.

The *D. T.* (*Daily Telegraph*), Monday's issue, p. 5, contained a filthy article (IN FACT, from Berlin, but dated Frankfurt a. M.)[b] based on the two in the *National-Zeitung*. I instantly threatened the dogs with a LIBEL action,[c] and they will open their traps and apologise.

Letters from Fischel (there's another way of bringing a lawsuit, which actually involves no money), Lassalle (absurd in the extreme), Schily (interesting), etc. More details tomorrow.

I now have to pay the printing costs (will be ABOUT £1), £1 to be paid next Monday at the COUNTY-COURT, and shall need something, partly to get to Manchester with and partly so as to leave a modicum here. At the same time, before departing hence, I shall have to make, and get others to make, all manner of AFFIDAVITS.

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[a] K. Marx, 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette'. - [b] [K. Abel,] 'The Journalistic Auxiliaries of Austria', *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 1439, 6 February 1860. See also this volume, pp. 74-76. - [c] K. Marx, 'To the Editor of *The Daily Telegraph*'.

Apropos. *Wiehe* is now going to state before the magistrate that he signed a *false* DECLARATION at the insistent request of **Blind** and Hollinger.[66]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Statements[a] sent off yesterday to *Nat.-Zeit., Kölnische Zeitung, Volks-Zeitung, Publicist* (Berlin), *Reform,* Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung, Frankfurter Journal.* The statement was a brief one. Firstly, that I shall take legal proceedings against the *N.-Z.;* secondly, a reference to the English anti-Blind 'LIBEL'[b] enslosed with the statement.

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## 19

## MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH

### IN LONDON

London, 8 February 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Freiligrath,

As an old party friend and an old personal friend, I consider it my duty to keep you informed of the steps I have taken in the furtherance of the Berlin lawsuit, by reason of which they must soon, though not immediately, become known to the public.

You will recall or have seen from the printed English circular[b] sent you that, besides Hollinger's written statement, *Blind* cited that of certain compositor, *Wiehe,* in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*[c] (etc.) as evidence that I had been guilty of 'a plain

[a] K. Marx, 'To the Editors of the *Volks-Zeitung.* Declaration'. - [b] K. Marx, 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette'. - [c] K. Blind's statement in the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 313, 9 November 1859. See this volume, pp. 60-62.

falsehood' and that 'the imputation' that he, Blind, was the author of the pamphlet *Zur Warnung,* and that the latter had been printed for him by Hollinger or, indeed, had come off Hollinger's printing-press 'was a lie'. I am now sending you an *exact copy* of the sworn statement made by this man **Wiehe** before the magistrate in Bow Street. Of that statement I received an *officially* attested duplicate. One copy of the same is already on its way to Berlin for the Public Prosecutor's dossier.

It would, I think, be superfluous were I at this point to add a *single word of comment* to the document.

Your
K. M.

'One of the first days of November last—I do not recollect the exact date—in the evening between 9 and 10 o'clock I was taken out of bed by Mr F. Hollinger, in whose house (3, Litchfield Street, Soho) I was then living, and by whom I was employed as compositor. He presented to me a paper to the effect that I had been continuously employed by him during the preceding 11 months, and that during *all* that time a certain German flysheet "Zur Warnung" (A Warning) had *not* been composed and printed in Mr Hollinger's Office, 3, Litchfield Street, Soho. In my perplexed state,—and not aware of the importance of the transaction I complied with his wish, and copied and signed the document. He promised me money, but I never received anything. During that transaction Mr Charles Blind, as my wife told me at the time, was waiting in Mr Hollinger's room. A few days later Mrs Hollinger (Mr F. Hollinger's wife) called me down from dinner and led me into her husband's room, where I found Mr Charles Blind alone. He presented me the same paper which Mr Hollinger had presented me before, and entreated me to write and sign a second copy, as he wanted two, the one for himself, the other for publication in the Press. He added that he would show himself grateful to me. I copied and signed again the paper.

'I herewith declare the truth of the above statements and that:

'1. During the eleven months, mentioned in the document, I was for *six* weeks *not* employed by Mr Hollinger, but by a Mr Ermani.

'2. I did *not* work in Mr Hollinger's Office just at the time, when the flysheet "Zur Warnung" (A Warning) was published.

'3. I heard at the time from Mr Voegele, who then worked for Mr Hollinger, that he, Voegele, had together with Mr Hollinger himself composed the flysheet in question, and that the manuscript was in Mr Blind's handwriting.

'4. The types of the pamphlet were still standing, when I returned into Mr Hollinger's service. I myself broke them into columns for the reprint of the flysheet (or pamphlet) "Zur Warnung" (A Warning) in the German paper "Das Volk", published at London by Mr Fidelio Hollinger, 3 Litchfield Street, Soho. The flysheet appeared in No. 7, d. d. 18 June 1859 of "Das Volk".

'5. I saw Mr Hollinger give to Mr William Liebknecht, of 14, Church Street, Soho, London, the proofsheet of the pamphlet "Zur Warnung", on which proofsheet Mr Charles Blind *with his own hand* had corrected 4 or 5 mistakes. Mr Hollinger hesitated at first giving the proofsheet to Mr Liebknecht, and when

Mr Liebknecht had withdrawn, he, F. Hollinger, expressed to me and my fellow workman Voegele his regret for having given the proofsheet out of his hands.

'Johann Friedrich Wiehe.

'Declared and signed by the said Johann Friedrich Wiehe at the Police Court Bow Street, London, this 8th day of February, 1860, before me Th.[a] Henry. Magistrate of the said Court.'[b]

Police Court
Royal Coat of Arms
Bow Street[c]

I would beg you, for the time being, not to show this copy of the affidavit to *anyone*. What the consequences would be under English *criminal law* will not escape you.

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## 20

## MARX TO ENGELS[67]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 February 1860

Dear Engels,

To have offered your pamphlet[d] at two louis d'or per sheet is SHAMEFUL. Pamphlets of this kind ought to be sold, not by the sheet, but as a whole. Even 40 talers per sheet would be too little. Incidentally, Campe is better than Duncker. The publisher[e] who brings out the Darmstadt *Militär-Zeitung*[f] would gladly take the pamphlet, too. Actually, the main thing is that it should come out quickly and, if I were you, I would settle this matter, at least, by telegraph with that louse, Duncker.[68]

I have been IN A SECRET and CONFIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE with '*The Daily Telegraph' since the day* the shit[g] appeared. For before making *amende honorable,* the fellow[h]—I was as rude as hell to him

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[a] 'J' in the manuscript. 'Th' is correct. - [b] Marx gives the document in English. - [c] Marx drew a circle round the words representing the stamp. - [d] F. Engels, *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine.* - [e] Eduard Zernin - [f] *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* - [g] [K. Abel,] 'The Journalistic Auxiliaries of Austria', *The Daily Telegraph,* No. 1439, 6 February 1860. See this volume, pp. 74-76. - [h] the Editor of *The Daily Telegraph*

in my letter[42]—wants to await his correspondent's reply, whereas I demanded the *immediate* insertion of at least a brief note. Whatever he does or does not insert, I shall now bring down a LIBEL ACTION on his head. The circumstances of the case being what they are, any lawyer would happily undertake the thing on spec., as did, for instance, Edwin James, who VOLUNTEERED in Ernest Jones's LIBEL ACTION against Reynolds.[69] I wrote to Ernest Jones about this yesterday.[42] On the same Tuesday as the thing appeared,[a] by the by, I wrote to the EDITOR of Palmerston's MOB-PAPER[b] saying, *inter alia:* 'THAT LETTER PURPORTING TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN FROM FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAIN, BUT WHICH WAS IN FACT INDITED AT BERLIN, IS NOTHING BUT A CLUMSY AMPLIFICATION OF TWO LEADERS ETC. ETC.' in the Berlin *National-Zeitung.*[c] The writer, i.e. *The Daily Telegraph*'s swine of a Berlin correspondent, is a Jew by the name of Meier,[70] a relative of the CITY-PROPRIETOR's who is an English Jew by the name of Levy. Hence, both these fellows rightly accuse Heine—*juvante*[d] Vogt—of being a baptised Jew. Herewith Izzy's last letter, which you should retain as a *curiosity.* Calls himself objective, does he? Inimitable, the plasticity of this most unhellenic of all Wasserpolack[71] Jews! My only reply to the fellow was an *immediate* announcement in the papers—including the *Volks-Zeitung*—to the effect that I was bringing a libel action against the *N.-Z.*[e] (In each case I enclosed the circular about Blind,[f] although, according to the great Izzy, I ought 'not to delude myself as to the force of that argument'.)

All this week, by the by, I've been prevented from writing anything for the *Tribune.* I have had to send out fifty letters at least,[72] running round to see Collet and God knows who else not CONSIDERED. And on top of that there was the correspondence with the beastly *Telegraph* and the correspondence with the *Star,*[g] to which I sent the whole of my correspondence with the *Telegraph.* The enclosed letter from the *Star* is to be put on your files. I have also written to Reynolds.[42] Shall see what he does. Then there was the running in connection with Wiehe and going to the police. The result you will find below. Two replies so far to my letters to the Continent—in so far as they weren't just to newspapers. One from Schily. Priceless. Contains the whole Brimstone Gang[65] and

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[a] In fact it appeared on Monday, 6 February 1860. - [b] K. Marx, 'To the Editor of *The Daily Telegraph*'. - [c] 'Karl Vogt und die Allgemeine Zeitung' and 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', *National-Zeitung,* Nos. 37 and 41, 22 and 25 January 1860 respectively. - [d] with the help of - [e] K. Marx, 'To the Editors of the *Volks-Zeitung.* Declaration'. - [f] K. Marx, 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette'. - [g] *The Morning Star*

Bristlers[a] story. Another letter from Szemere. Most valuable on account of disclosures about, the revolutionary Hungarians' 'own' (excluding Bonapartist) *funds* out of which, so Vogt maintains, *his money* was received. A letter from Imandt, not so bad.[b] One or two points, at any rate. I am still awaiting an answer, notably from Mr Reinach in Neuchâtel, who is said to be a walking *chronique scandaleuse*[c] on the subject of the imperial bailiff.[23] (Apropos. *What address did the spy Häfner give* in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung?*[47] There's a POINT I want to verify with him.) Have also written to Borkheim[42] (whom I have never met personally). Was CHIEF of the Brimstone Gang in Geneva who hung out at the Café de la Couronne and with whom on your occasional excursions you sometimes used to get tipsy, or so Schily tells me in his letter.

I have drawn up the indictment against the *Nat.-Zeit.* for the public prosecutor's office at the Berlin municipal court. It will go off before I come up to you. But I must wait until I have Fischel's answer with regard to the commencement and conclusion, the prescribed form of address, etc. Should I send the package (since it has to include all manner of manuscripts, documents) to Berlin by post or by PARCEL COMPANY? It should at all events be REGISTERED.

I have rummaged through everything I have here in London in the way of letters and newspapers for the period 1848-59, and sorted out and put in order what we need. Now you must get things ready so that I *find everything* that's available in one *'great pile'* when I get to Manchester.

Well, on Monday there was the working-men's banquet,[d] attended by eighty people. An indignant anti-Vogt resolution was unanimously adopted by 'the proletarians'. The beastly *Hermann* asked me to report on it. This I refused to do, but told them to obtain a brief account from Papa Liebknecht.

Apropos, to RETURN *à nos moutons,*[e] i.e. Lassalle. Not knowing, when I got his first letter, whether you had written to him as we had originally agreed (when CIRCUMSTANCES were otherwise), I told him in a couple of lines that I had thought the only explanation for his many-month-long silence must be annoyance at my last, somewhat rude (in fact excessively rude), letter. I said that I was glad this was not the case, and also that I had informed you of my

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[a] See this volume, pp. 70-71 and Marx's *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 38-47). - [b] See *Herr Vogt,* present edition, Vol. 17, p. 41. - [c] gossip column - [d] See this volume, p. 11. - [e] The phrase 'revenons à nos moutons' (literally, 'to return to our sheep') occurs in a mediaeval French farce about the lawyer Patelin. In a figurative sense it means 'to return to the matter in question'.

misgivings.[a] WELL! What a FUSS the brute goes and makes about it! How presumptuous the moral attitude adopted by the chap towards Liebknecht![73] And this is the fellow who resorted to the most impudent means and consorted with the most impudent individuals *au service de la comtesse de Hatzfeldt!* Has the brute forgotten that, though I wanted to have him admitted to the League, he was rejected on account of his ill-repute by the unanimous decision of the Central Authority in Cologne? IN FACT, I believe, delicacy impelled me to keep the fellow in the dark about all this, as also about the working men's deputation sent over to see me a few years ago from Düsseldorf, which adduced the most scandalous and in part irrefutable allegations against him![74] And now just look at the pretentious ape! No sooner—looking through his Bonapartist-tinted spectacles—does he think to descry some weak point in us, than he puffs himself up, pontificates, and strikes an—absurd, need one say?—attitude! And contrariwise, how completely do his legal instincts desert him for fear that I should not, TO THE BENEFIT OF MY TENDER FRIEND Lassalle, allow myself without more ado to be pushed into the background by Vogt. How he contradicts himself! How mean he becomes! One shouldn't 'stir things up even more'. 'They' wouldn't 'take it kindly'. Not take it kindly! They! For the sake of his pale-ale Berlin philistines, I am to let myself be browbeaten by schoolmaster Squeers, alias Zabel! Now I know just what to think of Mr Lassalle.

I *immediately* wrote to Blind—or perhaps, I should say, put into an envelope the circular, which affects him so very closely.[b] He has kept his trap shut, of course. Instead, the brute goes running around town in the hope that things can be sorted out by tittle-tattle (*vide* below how much good that will do him). For the past few weeks the man's been indulging in *feverish* activity, publishing pamphlet after pamphlet, blowing his own trumpet in the *Hermann* for all he's worth, sucking up, fore and aft, to the few bourgeois whose acquaintance he made on the Schiller committee,[75] pressing his own candidature as secretary of the recently conceived Schiller Association,[76] now denying his 'Patriots',[77] now making himself important in their eyes by means of semicovert, statesmanlike allusions, etc. Well, all this amounts to, as you will instantly realise, is a drowning man clutching at a straw.

No one has behaved so abjectly as that potbellied philistine Freiligrath. I sent him the circular.[b] He didn't so much as

[a] See this volume, p. 11. - [b] K. Marx, 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette'.

acknowledge its receipt. Does the brute believe that I couldn't, if so minded, immerse him up to the eyebrows in the lake of brimstone[a]? Has he forgotten that I possess a hundred or more of his letters? Does he imagine that I don't see him because he shows me his backside? Yesterday, I also sent the philistine the ensuing palliative, ON THE EXPRESS CONDITION that he should not say a word about it to *anyone,* including his friend the crypto-democrat Karl Blind. That will tickle him, and ere long he'll begin to feel uneasy at the undue proximity of the *felonious* friend in whose *company* he appeared before the public (as I reminded him QUITE *en passant* in my last letter[b]) in the pages of the A. *A. Z.*[c] Almost everyone, except for Freiligrath, even distant acquaintances, are behaving decently to me at this time of crisis.

But to come to essentials. Firstly, I discovered through Juch that *Wiehe* once committed a theft in Bremen, which was why he had to come to London. Secondly, I learnt through Schapper that Wiehe introduced himself to him as a compositor on the *Volk,* and it was he who had obtained the fellow's present job for him. I briefed Schapper, who quietly intimated to Wiehe that he knew about the Bremen affair, but then proceeded to read my circular aloud in the presence of his EMPLOYER and to CROSS EXAMINE him. The fellow admitted everything. What the outcome was, you will see from the following document of which I possess an officially authenticated duplicate. One is going to Berlin. The other I shall keep here and employ in no uncertain manner against the nay-sayer.[d] One further point. This will show you the *kind* of people these 'honest fellows' consort with. I had, of course, let Wiehe know that I would compensate him for the loss of half a working day, the time he would have to spend with me at the police court. When all had been done, I gave him 2/6d. He remonstrated. Well, how much a day do you earn? I asked. ABOUT 3/-, said he, but I want five from you. After all, I ought to get something for telling the truth.

But the best is yet to come. *I:** You have declined the money offer made by Blind and Hollinger in order to bribe you? *He:* Why decline! The rogues promised, but never gave me anything.* That's compositor Wiehe for you. But Hollinger is a villain of far deeper dye. Vögele, whom I had arranged to see yesterday, did *not* turn up. Doubtless Blind-Hollinger made it worth his while to keep away. But

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[a] The word used is 'Schwefelpfuhl', perhaps by analogy with 'Schwefelbande'—Brimstone Gang. Cf. *Revelation,* 20:10. - [b] See this volume, pp. 30-32. - [c] K. Marx, 'Declaration', 15 November 1859. - [d] Karl Blind

they'll have thrown their money down the drain. For I know that *this* chap has still got a conscience, and so I shall work on him.[78] My circular misled them into approaching the wrong man. They believed it meant that I wouldn't be able to get at Wiehe himself. Well, now *ad rem*[a]:

'One of the first days of November last—I do not recollect the exact date—in the evening between 9 and 10 o'clock I was taken out of bed by Mr F. Hollinger, in whose house I then lived, and by whom I was employed as compositor. He presented to me a paper to the effect that during the preceding 11 months I had been continuously employed by him, and that during *all* that time a certain German flysheet "Zur Warnung" (A Warning) had not been composed and printed in Mr Hollinger's Office, 3, Litchfield Street, Soho. In my perplexed state, and not aware of the importance of the transaction, I complied with his wish, and copied, and signed the document. Mr Hollinger promised me money, but I never received anything. During that transaction Mr. Charles Blind, as my wife informed me at the time, was waiting in Mr Hollinger's room. A few days later, Mrs Hollinger called me down from dinner and led me into her husband's room, where I found Mr Charles Blind alone. He presented me the same paper which Mr Hollinger had presented me before, and entreated me to write, and sign a second copy, as he wanted two, the one for himself, and the other for publication in the Press. He added that he would show himself grateful to me. I copied and signed again the paper.

'I herewith declare—upon my oath—the truth of the above statements and that:

'1. During the 11 months mentioned in the document I was for *six* months[b] *not* employed by Mr Hollinger, but by a Mr Ermani.

'2. I did *not* work in Mr Hollinger's Office just at that time when the flysheet "Zur Warnung" was published.

'3. I heard at the time from Mr Voegele, who then worked for Mr Hollinger, that he, Voegele, had, together with Mr Hollinger himself, composed the flysheet in question, and that the manuscript was in Mr Blind's handwriting.

'4. The types of the pamphlet were still standing when I returned to Mr Hollinger's service. I myself broke them into columns for the reprint of the flysheet "Zur Warnung" in the German paper "Das Volk" published at London, by Mr Fidelio Hollinger, 3, Litchfield Street, Soho. The flysheet appeared in No. 7, d. d. 18th June, 1859, of "Das Volk".

'5. I saw Mr Hollinger give to Mr William Liebknecht, of 14, Church Street, Soho, London, the proofsheet of the pamphlet "Zur Warnung", on which proofsheet Mr Charles Blind with his own hand had corrected 4 or 5 mistakes. Mr Hollinger hesitated at first giving the proofsheet to Mr Liebknecht, and when *Mr Liebknecht* had withdrawn, he, F. Hollinger, expressed to me and my fellow workman Voegele his regret for having given the proofsheet out of his hands.

Johann Friedrich Wiehe
Police Court, Bow Street[c]

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[a] to the matter in hand - [b] The original of the letter says 'six weeks'. See this volume, p. 31, and also p. 129 in Vol. 17 of the present edition. - [c] Marx drew a circle round the words representing the stamp.

'Declared and signed by the said Johann Friedrich Wiehe at the Police Court, Bow Street, this 8th day of February, 1860, before me **Th.**[a] **Henry,** Magistrate of the said court.'[b]

I deliberately brought the matter before Henry, he being the GOVERNMENT'S MAGISTRATE who attends to all the political cases. The brand of English found in the above is not my responsibility, unlike the precise enumeration of the FACTS. WHAT DO YOU SAY NOW, SIR! 'The argument lacks force', says Izzy. *Vive*[c] Izzy! For CONSPIRACY against myself, combined with ATTEMPT AT BRIBERY OF WITNESSES, so the MAGISTRATE says, I could **now** get Mr Blind run out of town. So much for petty bourgeois artfulness!

Your
K. M.

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## 21

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 9 February 1860

Dear Moor,

As soon as I have Dronke's address, he shall receive a copy. Meanwhile, one will go off today to Dr Bronner.[d]

So the *Telegraph* is going to apologise?[e] Most gratifying; up till today nothing has appeared.

I am very much looking forward to hearing further details.

Make sure that Wiehe and Vögele *don't slip out of your hands. Cela se pourrait*[f]; when a few pounds are being offered, there is always the fear that something of the kind may happen.

Enclosed fiver D/M 34115, Manchester, 4 January 1859; if it's not enough, let me know and I'll send you another £ or two.

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[a] 'J' in the manuscript. 'Th' is correct. - [b] Marx quotes the document in English. - [c] Long live - [d] Engels means Marx's statement 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette'. See this volume, p. 29. - [e] See this volume, pp. 32-33. - [f] It would be quite possible

Because of the office boys I don't care to send out to the P[OSTAL] O[RDER] OFFICE unnecessarily and hence would rather put it off until I'm able to lay hands on another fiver. However, you can send your wife the money from here,[79] or else have it beforehand, *comme il te plaira.*[a]

Still no sign either of the *National-Zeitung*[b] or of Vogt[c]?

I'm leaving now and intend to finish at least the rough draft of the manuscript[d] today and tomorrow.

*Vale.*

Your
F. E.

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## 22

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 12 February 1860

Dear Moor,

You will have had the £5, or at least I hope so.

The Wiehe document[e] is most welcome. *Après ça*[f] our shinishter[g] Blind will doubtless tuck his tail between his legs. In the meantime, you have, I trust, obtained one from Vögele.[78] The more evidence the better.

So, the *Kölnische Zeitung* has, after all, published your declaration[h] and, at the same time, taken another swipe at Blind? So much the better.

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[a] as you wish - [b] This refers to the issues containing the items 'Karl Vogt und die Allgemeine Zeitung' and 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', Nos 37 and 41, 22 and 25 January 1860. - [c] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - [d] F. Engels, *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* - [e] See this volume, p. 37. - [f] After that - [g] Engels writes 'finschtre' (instead of 'finstre'), presumably mimicking Blind's articulation. - [h] K. Marx, 'To the Editors of the *Volks-Zeitung*. Declaration'.

Strohn is in Hamburg and behaving very well over this particular affair, or so I hear. I shall write to him. He too can prove useful.

*Saludi.*

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx,* Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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## 23

## MARX TO J. M. WEBER

### IN BERLIN

London, 13 February 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Sir,

Last week I wrote to a friend[a] in Berlin requesting him to recommend a lawyer for a *libel action,* which I am compelled to bring against the Berlin *National-Zeitung.*[42] Today I have received a reply in which my friend names you, Sir, as the most eminent lawyer in Berlin.

I am therefore taking the liberty of asking whether you will agree to act as my lawyer in the *libel action,* further information concerning which is given below.

Should the provisional *retaining fee* of 15 talers herewith enclosed not suffice, kindly *telegraph* me. I shall then immediately despatch whatever additional sum may be required.

I enclose herewith the power of attorney and trust that this instrument will suffice. I would earnestly beg you to institute the action *forthwith,* lest it become *statute-barred,* and should be much obliged if you would inform me by *telegraphic despatch* that you are taking the necessary steps.

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[a] Eduard Fischel

I have simultaneously begun an ACTION FOR LIBEL against *The Daily Telegraph* here in London, which paper printed an English version[a] of the *National-Zeitung*'s calumnious articles.[b]

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

Dr Karl Marx
(*verte*[c])

The articles in the *National-Zeitung* alluded to in the preceding letter are to be found in No. 37 (dated *Sunday*, 22 January 1860) and No. 41 (dated Wednesday, 25 January 1860), both of them leaders. In subsequent letters I shall take occasion to characterise the *animus* by which these articles were inspired. But the *specific points* on which I wish to bring an action for libel, and which seem to me the most cogent from the legal point of view, are the following:

1. In No. 41 (*article* is headed *'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht'*), column 3 (towards the bottom) reads:

'In the *Allgemeine Zeitung* Blind has twice declared[d] outright that he is not the author' (i.e. of the flysheet *Zur Warnung*); 'nor does he say this to exculpate Vogt, with whom he does not agree, but simply for the benefit of the Marx-Liebknecht-Biscamp camp ... he' (Blind) 'is obviously not a member of the Marx party in the narrower sense. It appears to us that the latter did not find it too difficult to turn him into a *scapegoat*, and *if the charges levelled at Vogt were to carry any weight*, they had to be attributed to a definite person who would have to be responsible for them. The *Marx party* could very easily *saddle Blind with the authorship of the pamphlet because* and *after* he had expressed similar views to those contained in it in *conversation with Marx* and in an article in *The Free Press*.[e] *By making use of Blind's assertions and turns of phrase the pamphlet could be* **fabricated** and made to look as if he' (i.e. Blind) 'had concocted it.'

Here, then, I am actually accused of having **'fabricated'** a *pamphlet* in another man's name. Furthermore, in the same article (same column, further up), the *National-Zeitung* itself informs its readers that I had sent the A. *A. Z.* a *'deposition by the compositor Vögele'*,[80] in which the latter said that 'he knew Blind's handwriting from previous manuscripts; he himself had set the first part of the pamphlet on Hollinger's press, and Hollinger himself had set the rest'; thus, in the passage quoted above, the *National-Zeitung*

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[a] [K. Abel,] 'The Journalistic Auxiliaries of Austria', *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 1439, 6 February 1860. - [b] 'Karl Vogt und die Allgemeine Zeitung' and 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', *National-Zeitung*, Nos. 37 and 41, 22 and 25 January 1860. - [c] PTO - [d] Blind's statements in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nos. 313 and 345, 9 November and 11 December 1859. - [e] [K. Blind,] 'The Grand Duke Constantine to Be King of Hungary', *The Free Press*, No. 5, 27 May 1859.

insinuates not only that *I fabricated* a pamphlet and fraudulently made it appear to be a *'concoction'* of Blind's. It insinuates outright that I had *wittingly* sent the Augsb. *Allg. Zeitung a* **spurious** document. And, to crown its *animus calumniandi,*[a] it goes on:

'Thereupon, on 2 November, Hollinger declared that it was a malicious invention to say that the pamphlet had been printed in his workshop or that Blind was its author, adding that his compositor, Wiehe, who had worked for him for 11 months, concurred with this statement. Marx, always ready with an answer, replied in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* on November 15[b]:

'"Hollinger's declaration is simply ridiculous. Hollinger is aware that he has formally infringed English law by publishing the pamphlet without declaring the place of publication." *In addition,* Marx several times insists that, before the pamphlet came out, Blind had communicated its contents to him verbally and had put down in writing exactly what later appeared in the pamphlet; hence, because of the similarity in content and form, Blind had, *de prime abord,*[c] been regarded as the author.'

Here, *in order to introduce* the passage cited above, which is defamatory to myself, the *National-Zeitung* omits *deliberately* that part of my statement in the supplement to the Augsburg *A. Z.* of 21 November 1859 which is of most significance to lawyers, and to English lawyers in particular. I enclose the cutting from the Augsburg *A. Z.*, in which I have underlined for your benefit what was *deliberately* omitted from my statement by the *National-Zeitung.*[d]

In accordance with universal legal usage, it should now be incumbent on the *Nat.-Zeit.* to prove that its defamatory charge against me is *true.* But I shall let you have *legal* evidence to the effect that it is *false.* You will even see that under English law I am now in a position, should I so *wish,* to have Mr Blind consigned to the galleys for CONSPIRACY against me.

2. No. 37 of the *Nat.-Zeit.,* the leading article entitled *Karl Vogt und die 'Allgemeine Zeitung',* column 2, reads (I quote):

'Vogt reports on p. 136 et. seq.: Among the refugees of 1849 the term *Brimstone Gang*[65]; **or** the name of the Bristlers,[e] referred to a number of people who, originally scattered throughout Switzerland, France and England, gradually congregated in London, where they revered Herr Marx as their visible leader.'

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[a] deliberate libel - [b] This refers to Marx's 'Declaration' of 15 November, published in the supplement to the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 325, 21 November 1859. - [c] from the very start - [d] Marx presumably refers to point 2 of his 'Declaration'. - [e] See this volume, p. 70, and Marx's *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 38-47).

I shall let you have evidence to the effect that in this passage two quite distinct *Genevan* societies have been lumped together, neither of which **ever** had, or sought to make, *any* connection with me. But this I consider to be of no more than secondary importance. The *actual* passage upon which I wish the *second* point in the libel action to be based is one that occurs subsequently and which I shall now quote:

> 'One of the chief occupations of the Brimstone Gang' (ostensibly under my command), was *to compromise people at home in Germany in such a way that they were forced to pay money so that the gang should preserve their secret without compromising them.* **Not just one, but hundreds of letters were written to people in Germany threatening to denounce them for complicity in this or that act of revolution unless a certain sum of money had been received at a specified address by a certain date.'**

It will now be incumbent on the *National-Zeitung* to substantiate the charge of boundless depravity it brings against me by producing in court, not *hundreds of letters,* not *one* letter, but *one single line* containing infamous blackmail of this nature, and of which it can be proved that it emanated, I won't say *from myself,* but from *any person* with whom I have ever had anything to do. The passage cited above continues as follows:

> 'Following the principle that "whoever is not unconditionally for us, is against us", the reputation of anyone who opposed *these intrigues*' (i.e. the blackmailing letters previously described) 'was ruined, not just among the refugees, but also by means of the press. The "proletarians"' (as whose chief I am portrayed) 'filled the *columns of the reactionary press* in Germany with their *denunciations* of those democrats who did not subscribe to their views; *they became the confederates of the secret police in France and Germany.'*

It will, of course, be easy for the *Nat.-Zeit.* to find in the '*columns* of the reactionary press' *thus filled,* **one single line** emanating from myself or friends of mine which contains *'denunciations'* against any 'democrat' whomsoever.

It is absolutely correct—and this is the *only* FACT—that Ferdinand Freiligrath wrote a satirical poem[a] about Mr Kinkel's *revolutionary loan* and his *revolutionary tour* of the *United States,*[81] a poem which was first published by my friend Weydemeyer in a journal appearing in New York,[b] and subsequently printed in the

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[a] F. Freiligrath, 'An Josef Weydemeyer. Zwei poetische Episteln', Epistel 1.- [b] *Die Revolution*

*Morgenblatt.*[a] But that could certainly not be described as a *'denunciation'*. In actual fact, the so-called democratic emigration (German) filled the German press with the most inane tittle-tattle about myself. There was only *one* instance which I felt merited the trouble of a reply, but the paper to which I sent the rectifying statement did *not* print it.[b]

The only German paper for which I have written since going into exile has been the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*. I was its correspondent from about the beginning of January until July 1855. Not once did I devote *a single line* to the émigrés.

As regards Liebknecht's articles for the Augsb. *Allg. Zeitung* which likewise *never* contained a line about émigrés—and which, by the by, reflect great credit to him (their content, I mean)—these have nothing whatever to do with me. I shall be writing to you about this at greater length.[c]

Needless to say, my *alliance with the secret police in Germany and France* has for me the spice of novelty.

3. In the above cited No. 41, 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', the *National-Zeitung* identifies the 'party of the proletariat', as whose chief it describes me, and hence *myself,* with 'a conspiracy of the most infamous sort, with the manufacturing of counterfeit paper-money on a massive scale, etc.' which purportedly took place in Switzerland in 1852, and likewise with similar 'machinations' in 1859 which purportedly caused the German states, 'after the Peace of Villafranca', to raise the matter with the Swiss 'Federal Council'.

Later, I shall show in greater detail that I had nothing whatever to do with these matters having, indeed, abandoned all agitation since *September 1850,* and that, while the Cologne communist trial was pending (1851-52),[2] I *disbanded* the communist society to which I belonged,[63] nor have I *since that time* belonged either to a *secret* or to a *public* society. That the *Nat.-Zeit.* was *deliberately* libellous on this point, too, may be deduced from the fact that it **must have known** from the *communist trial in Cologne* that *I myself,* through counsel there, denounced as a *police agent* the fellow said to have been active in Switzerland in 1852, and that Stieber himself was forced to admit that this fellow had been my enemy since 1850. If necessary, I can provide you with evidence to the

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[a] *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* - [b] This presumably refers to the 'Statement' by Marx and Engels which was to be published in the *Weser-Zeitung* and the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung* in early 1851 (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 535-36). - [c] See this volume, pp. 66-67.

effect that this fellow (*Cherval,* real name Crämer) *never* had any connection with me, even *before 1850.*

4. The final point in the libel action should be based on the following passage in No. 41, 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', column 2, which runs:

> '*Where the money* for this generously distributed paper' (i.e. the *Volk,* published in London) 'came from, is known to the gods; men, however, are well aware that Marx and Biscamp have no money to spare.'

Taken in conjunction with the animus of the two leading articles, with the way I am lumped together with secret police, reactionaries and a *Brimstone Gang* extorting money through chantage and revolutionary threats, this sentence can only imply that I obtained money for the *Volk* in a dishonest fashion or by underhand means. It is now up to the *National-Zeitung* to substantiate this libel. I, for my part, shall provide you with information, not only about the financial contributions obtained by me for the *Volk,* but also, in so far as this is necessary, about my own—in Mr Zabel's eyes, dubious—financial circumstances; and that information will be such as will enable you to prove the very *opposite* of the defamatory insinuation put forward by the *Nat.-Zeit.*

I would beg you, when you reply to this letter, to let me know upon which points you require further elucidation.[a]

*P. S.* Since it would otherwise be too late to post this letter, I shall send on the *power of attorney* tomorrow. If at all possible, this evening under separate cover.

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[a] There follow, in Jenny Marx's handwriting, the date and address, reproduced in this edition at the beginning of the letter.

# 24

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 February 1860

DEAR FREDERICK,

The book[a] arrived today. Nothing but shit. Sheer tripe. Luckily, the worthy *National-Zeitung* has reprinted in its two leaders (No. 37 and No. 41) *all* the passages which are **actionable** and in which all the scurrilities are concentrated.

Today (on receiving a second letter from Fischel), I at once sent Legal Counsellor *Weber* (the leading lawyer in Berlin) an indictment together with a retaining fee of 15 talers (£2 10sh).[b] The case would have cost me *nothing* if, instead of instituting a private action for libel, I had had recourse to the Royal Prussian Public Prosecutor, but as I wrote and told Fischel,[c] I could not expect the Royal Prussian Public Prosecutor to 'display especial zeal in upholding the honour of my name'. Moreover, the whole procedure costs very little.

Of the £5 you sent me, £2 10 has therefore gone to Weber, £1 today to the COUNTY-COURT, 5/—to Vögele and 2/—on the two AFFIDAVITS he made[d]; also a LOT on stamps for letters. Before going to the CITY today I had to borrow a further £1 from a baker, repayable on Wednesday.

Luckily, Urquhart has written Collet a rude letter in which he lashes out at him for sending me the PRINTER'S BILL.[82] This (i.e. my publication) was, he said, an expense chargeable to his agitational activities. So I don't have to pay *him.*

*Tomorrow* I shall be faced with yet another *expense* and I don't know how I'm going to meet it. For I have got to call on that bastard Zimmermann (*from Spandau*, a Vogtian and, at the same time, an *advocate to the Austrian Embassy*) so that he can supply me with the wording for the power of attorney which must go off to Weber *without delay.* There's no time to be lost, you see, because actions of this kind become 'statute-barred' remarkably quickly in Prussia.

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[a] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - [b] See this volume, pp. 40-45. - [c] ibid., p. 40. - [d] ibid., p. 37.

In addition to the *Volks-Zeitung,* the Berlin *Publicist* has published my statement,[a] the latter having placed it alongside an extract from the English anti-Blind circular.[b] This last I have today sent to Louis Blanc and Félix Pyat, together with the AFFIDAVITS of Wiehe[c] and Vögele.

The *Kölnische Zeitung* and the *N.-Z.* did not publish my statement.[83]

Mr F. Freiligrath—whom (with seeming benevolence) I shall compromise in no mean fashion—did not even acknowledge receipt of the things I sent him.

You must surely have got my last important communication?[d]

After I've settled the matter of the power of attorney tomorrow, I shall leave on Wednesday[e] (having notified you beforehand) for Manchester where, in addition to our indispensable meeting, I have business connected with Roberts.

You will have gathered from the foregoing that I'm now stone-broke.

Your
K. M.

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## 25

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 February 1860

Dear FREDERICK,

Enclosed COPY of Vögele's affidavit[78] which I thought I had sent you on Saturday.[f]

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[a] 'To the Editors of the *Volks-Zeitung.* Declaration'. - [b] K. Marx, 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette'. - [c] See this volume, pp. 31-32 and 37. - [d] ibid., pp. 32-38. - [e] 15 February - [f] 11 February. Marx probably sent the affidavit without a covering letter, or the letter is no longer extant.

Borkheim has handed me the manuscript of his narrative 'THE RISE, PROGRESS AND DECLINE' of the *Brimstone Gang*.[84] He is, as I've already told you, FIRST clerk of a firm in Mark Lane; earns between £600 and £700 a year.

My correspondence with Schily is still going on, of course, since I have to CROSS-EXAMINE him on specific POINTS.

Did Lassalle post you Vogt's book[a]? In reply to his letter, I told the fool to address the thing to you.[b]

I expect to have an answer by telegraphic despatch tomorrow from Legal Counsellor Weber.[c]

There are a number of matters still to be settled tomorrow.

If MEANS are available, I may *possibly* depart some time tomorrow. I can't say for certain, as unforeseen events may detain me a day longer. At any rate, make sure that I find *all the letters and* PAPERS thrown together in 'one great pile'.

The pitiable *Hermann* (apparently at the instigation of Kinkel, WHO IS ABOUT MARRYING AN ENGLISHWOMAN WITH £2-3000 A YEAR) did not publish the resolution adopted by the Workers' Society.[d] *Mais ces messieurs y penseront.*[e]

The beastly *Telegraph*[f] wrote to me again today and referred me to yesterday's piece by their beastly correspondent.[g] I'll play the scoundrel a merry tune.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Have not yet heard anything from Papa Blind.

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[a] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - [b] See this volume, p. 27 (Marx's letter to Franz Duncker of 6 February 1860). - [c] ibid., p. 40. - [d] ibid., p. 34. - [e] But these gentlemen will have cause to think it over. - [f] *The Daily Telegraph*. - [g] This refers to K. Abel, author of the note published in *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 1439, 6 February 1860. See this volume, pp. 74-76.

# 26

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 February 1860

Dear Engels,

£5 received.

I shall be leaving tomorrow at ABOUT 7.30 a.m. (Euston Street[85]).

From *Schaible's* statement[a] enclosed herewith (this cutting is from *The Daily Telegraph*) you will see that the powder I administered has proved effective. *FACTS* prejudicial to the Genevan *advocatus imperii*[b] will now emerge.

I at once wrote a brief note to Schaible, the contents of which were as follows:

His statement was important in being anti-Vogt and hence pro-main issue. It did nothing to alter Blind's *'WILFULLY FALSE'* and in no way *'ERRONEOUS'* STATEMENT in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.[c] Still less his *CONSPIRACY*, of which he could, I said, convince himself by reference to the COPY I enclosed of Wiehe's *AFFIDAVIT*,[d] which has yet to play its *public* role. You will observe that, IN ORDER TO SAVE BLIND FROM THE WORST, the fellows will come out with genuine FACTS against Vogt and actually grovel in the dust at our feet.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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[a] Ch. Schaible, 'The Vogt Pamphlet. To the Editor of *The Daily Telegraph*'. In this statement, published in *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 1447, 15 February 1860, Schaible claimed to be the author of the pamphlet *Zur Warnung* (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 130-31). - [b] imperial advocate (a reference to Vogt) - [c] No. 313, 9 November 1859 - [d] See this volume, p. 37.

## 27

## ENGELS TO FRANZ DUNCKER

IN BERLIN

Manchester, 20 February 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your note of the 13th and regret that I am only now able to send the manuscript enclosed herewith.[a] I hardly imagine that it will run to more than 3 printed sheets.

I don't quite understand the provisos you make concerning considerations of principle, unless you wished to make a general proviso to the effect that you must see the manuscript beforehand.[86] I cannot believe that you wish to assume moral, logical and aesthetic responsibility for everything you publish, from Marx to Jacobus Venedey and from Lassalle to Palleske, or to associate your publishing house with the line of the *Volks-Zeitung*, on which I cannot comment since it is not to be had in Manchester. If, however, the considerations of principle are connected with Lassalle's pamphlet on Italy,[b] which admittedly does not tally with my views on the subject, I do, of course, respect such reservations on your part, but I also know that Lassalle is certainly the last person who would wish this to be taken into account. I am therefore writing to Lassalle[c] in the firm conviction that he would consider it an insult, were he thought capable of doing the slightest thing to obstruct the publication of a piece that differed from his own views on the subject.

[Should][d] you feel, however, that the pamphlet is unacceptable to your publishing house by reason of its length or its principles, I would request you to deliver it *within twenty-four hours of receipt* to Mr B. Afinger (Sculptor),
Linienstrasse 173, Berlin.

I have sent the letter to Borkheim.

I remain,

Yours truly,
Friedrich Engels

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[a] F. Engels, *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*. - [b] [F. Lassalle,] *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preussens. Eine Stimme aus der Demokratie*, Berlin, 1859. - [c] See this volume, pp. 51-52. - [d] Illegible.

# 28

# ENGELS TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

## IN BERLIN

Manchester, 20 February 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

Dear Lassalle,

Many thanks for sending me Vogt's concoction.[a] More about this below.

As Duncker has doubtless told you, I have offered him a sort of sequel to *Po and Rhine*[b] which he accepts subject to the proviso 'considerations of principle'.[c] Even though I find it somewhat surprising that the publisher and not the author should be responsible for the principles advanced in a work, I have, nevertheless, tried in vain to discover what can be meant by this. Surely D. isn't claiming that his publishing house is simply an extension of the *Volks-Zeitung,* which, by the way, I never see up here. Finally, it occurred to me that D. may have got wind of the fact that my views on the Italian question are different from yours and made this proviso out of excessive concern for your pamphlet.[d] I'm convinced that, should this be the case, I would only have to draw your attention to it, for you to reassure D. *on this score.* In view of your objectivity, you would, I know, consider it an insult, were anyone to suppose you capable of even remotely desiring the suppression of a work because it was opposed to your own views on a question of this kind. In fact, I had to spend a long time thinking things over before I could make up my mind to raise this point with you, being afraid you might be offended with me for assuming such imputations to be possible, even at third hand. But since there seems no other explanation for D.'s 'considerations', I have no choice.

Settling Vogt's hash will be mere child's play. We dealt with this ancient, warmed-up drivel as much as eight years ago[87] (though the little Genevan philistine in his secluded corner doesn't know it) and we'll jolly well demolish it so that nothing's left but the stench,

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[a] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung,* Geneva, 1859. - [b] F. Engels, *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine.* - [c] See this volume, p. 50. - [d] [F. Lassalle,] *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preussens, Eine Stimme aus der Demokratie,* Berlin, 1859.

peculiar to Vogt, which he has injected into it. Incidentally, the statements of Blind,[a] Biscamp[b] and, in particular, Lupus[c] have compromised the fellow to such an extent that, if things go on like this, there'll be literally nothing left to do. And now we have Schaible's statement about the provenance of the pamphlet *Zur Warnung*,[d] which completely nullifies the legal proceedings in Augsburg[88] and will ultimately compel Vogt, should he wish to demonstrate the contrary, to do so in London. All this has, of course, meant our rummaging through the whole of our archives, in which we have the life histories of the entire democratic gang; we can do for every one of them. This ignoramus Vogt, with his letter from Techow[56] (which Vogt stole, to boot) and his paltry, parochial Genevan gossip, imagines that we others are just as ignorant, just as low and just as cowardly as he. He is in for a surprise.

Most cordially,

Yours,
Engels

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## 29

## MARX TO J. M. WEBER

IN BERLIN

Manchester, 21 February 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

Dear Sir,

The power of attorney was not sent off to you immediately after my first letter[e] because, further on in that same letter, I had requested you to telegraph me. Having waited a few days, it

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[a] K. Blind, 'Gegen Karl Vogt', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 44 (supplement), 13 February 1860. - [b] [E. Biskamp,] 'Erklärung', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 46 (supplement), 15 February 1860. - [c] W. Wolff, 'Erklärung', *Die Reform*, No. 18, 11 February 1860, *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 44 (supplement), 13 February 1860, and *Volks-Zeitung*, No. 47, 24 February 1860. - [d] See this volume, p. 49. - [e] ibid., pp. 40-45.

seemed to me best to wait until the latest date (namely yesterday, 20 February) by which your written reply might be expected to reach London from Berlin.

Since this did not arrive and since, on the other hand, you did not reject by telegraph my request that you should act as my lawyer, I assume that you have accepted my brief. To avoid further loss of time, I am therefore sending you the following in this registered letter:

1. The power of attorney;

2. 7 enclosures, *together with translations* where the original is in English.

These enclosures comprise:

1. A. Vögele's affidavit[78];

2. J. F. Wiehe's affidavit[a];

3. My English anti-Blind circular.[b]

4. and 5. Two letters concerning this matter from the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* to me.[89]

6. Dr Schaible's statement in the *London 'Daily Telegraph'* of 15th February 1860, page 5, column 5, paragraph headed 'The Vogt Pamphlet'.

7. A letter from K. Blind to Liebknecht dated 8 September 1859.[90]

Tomorrow, by which time I shall, perhaps, have received a letter from you, I shall take the liberty of sending you some comments on these documents. However, you will see at first glance that the infamous conduct attributed to me in No. 41 of the *National-Zeitung,* where I am portrayed as the anonymous fabricator of papers allegedly circulating in other people's names, is irrefutably *shown* in law to be an infamous libel.

As regards the *affidavits* (statements made in court in lieu of an oath), all I would say is this:

You will note that in affidavit *enclosure II,* the words *'UPON OATH'* have been deleted by the magistrate. For he explained to us that a statement made before him was the equivalent of a sworn statement, *that a false statement was a felony* and hence *punishable with TRANSPORTATION* but that, under English law, an oath could properly be administered only in the presence of the defendant.

The rest I shall leave for tomorrow, pending which I remain, Sir,

Your very obedient Servant,

Dr. K. Marx

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[a] See this volume, pp. 31-32 and 37. - [b] K. Marx, 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette'.

I am not *certain* how long I shall be staying up here and hence would request that all letters be sent to my home address,

9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, London.

On *the power of attorney* I have left a space for the names of the *National-Zeitung*'s editors.

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## MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH[91]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 23 February 1860[a]
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

Dear Freiligrath,

I am writing to you again and, indeed, for the last time, about the Vogt affair. You have not so much as ACKNOWLEDGED receipt of my first two communications,[b] a courtesy you would have extended to any philistine. I cannot possibly surmise that you imagine I am trying to extort a letter from you for any public purpose. As you are aware, I possess at least 200 letters of yours, in which there is more than enough material to establish your relations with me and with the party, should it prove necessary.

I am writing to you because, as a poet and a man up to his eyes in business, you would seem to misconceive the significance of the lawsuits I am conducting in Berlin and London.[92] They are crucial to the *historical vindication* of the party and its subsequent position in Germany; this applies all the more to the lawsuit in Berlin in that it is taking place at the same time as the Eichhoff-Stieber case,[44] which turns mainly on the Cologne communist trial.[2]

The GRIEVANCES you may perhaps be nourishing against me are the following:

1. That I abused your name (or so you told Faucher).
2. The kind of 'scene' I made you in your OFFICE.

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[a] 1850 in the original. - [b] See this volume, pp. 30-32.

*Re* 1. I personally have *never* mentioned your name, except for saying in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* that Blind had told you much the same as he told me.[a] *This is a* FACT. From the first I realised how important it was to call attention to the *real origins* of the pamphlet,[b] and I had the *right* to cite a witness in connection with what Blind had said.

As for *Liebknecht's* letter to the editor of the A. *A. Z.*, in which he mentions your name and mine (with reference to Blind[93]), he will, if necessary, confirm *on oath* that this was done *without my knowledge,* just as he sent the Augsb. *Allg. Zeit.* the pamphlet *'Zur Warnung' without my knowledge* and *during my absence in Manchester.* When Vogt sued the A. *A. Z.* and the latter turned to him [Liebknecht], he was still in doubt as to whether or not I should disavow him, as I could have done, and was in fact surprised when I immediately said I would do all I could to help him.

If—*in the letter I wrote you*[c]—I took his side in the matter of your letter to him, this was simply because it seemed ungenerous, in a man of your repute and social standing, to write so harshly to an obscure party member living in a garret and one with whom you had hitherto been on friendly terms.

As regards the irritable tone of my own letter, there were various reasons for that.

Firstly, I was deeply wounded by the fact that you seemed more inclined to believe Blind than myself.

Secondly, from a letter you wrote me in a very irritable vein regarding *The Morning Advertiser* (Schiller Festival article[d]) you would seem to consider me capable of the enormity, not only of surreptitiously introducing into Blind's article something injurious to yourself, but of actually denouncing this to you as Blind's handiwork.[94] I was at a complete loss to imagine what I could have done to deserve such injurious suspicions.

Thirdly, you showed Blind a private letter I had written you.

Finally, I had the right to expect—and all the more so after the *'Gartenlaube' article,*[95] that you should include in your statement in the *A. A. Z.*[e] some allusion, however faint, that would obviate any appearance of its being a personal breach with myself and a public

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[a] K. Marx, 'Declaration', 15 November 1859. - [b] *Zur Warnung* - [c] on 23 November 1859 (present edition, Vol. 40) - [d] [K. Blind,] 'Crystal Palace.—The Schiller Commemoration', *The Morning Advertiser,* No. 21344, 11 November 1859. - [e] F. Freiligrath. 'Erklärung', *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 319 (supplement), 15 November 1859.

repudiation of the party. The fact that your second statement[a] actually appeared alongside Blind's[b] and your name served as a screen for his lying and fraudulence could hardly be expected to delight me. Incidentally, I give you *my word of honour* that, *prior* to their publication, I had *no knowledge whatsoever* of **any** of the statements made by Liebknecht in the A. *A. Z.*[96]

*Re* 2. The day I came to your office, the two issues of the *National-Zeitung*[c] (the *first* contained the libellous excerpts and comments later reprinted in the *Telegraph*[d]) had just reached me from Berlin. There was utter commotion at home, and my poor wife was in a truly pitiful state. At the same time, I received a letter from Germany informing me that, besides your statements published in the A. *A. Z.*, Vogt's libellous work included a letter of yours, from which your close relationship with Vogt was all too apparent,[97] and that, in particular, your name was the only one of any note out of which Vogt made political capital and which lent plausibility to his infamies in the eyes of the public. Imagine yourself in similar circumstances and then ask yourself whether, in your own case, spleen might not momentarily have prevailed over reason.

Let me repeat once again that this letter has nothing to do with *private interests.* In the London lawsuit I could have you SUBPOENAED as a witness without your prior permission. As regards the Berlin lawsuit, I am in possession of letters from you which, if required, I could place on the record. Nor do I stand alone in this matter. From every side—Belgium, Switzerland, France and England—Vogt's libellous attack has brought me unexpected allies, even from among people who belong to quite a different school of thought.

But in the first place it would anyhow be better for both parties, as for the cause, to act *en entente.*

In the second, I must tell you frankly that I cannot resign myself to losing, as a result of irrelevant misunderstandings, one of the few men whom I have loved as *friends,* in the eminent sense of the word.

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[a] F. Freiligrath, 'Erklärung', *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 345 (supplement), 11 December 1859. - [b] K. Blind, 'Erklärung', *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 345 (supplement), 11 December 1859. - [c] containing the items 'Karl Vogt und die Allgemeine Zeitung', *N.-Z.,* No. 37, 22 January, and 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', *N.-Z.,* No. 41, 25 January 1860 - [d] [K. Abel,] 'The Journalistic Auxiliaries of Austria', *The Daily Telegraph,* No. 1439, 6 February 1860.

If I have failed you in any way, I am at all times ready to admit to my error. *Nihil humani a me alienum puto.*[a]

Finally, I understand very well that, in your present position, any affair such as the one under consideration could only be obnoxious to you.

You, for your part, will realise that it is *impossible* to count you out altogether.

Firstly, because Vogt is making political capital out of your name and pretending to have your approval in his indiscriminate mudslinging at a party which prides itself on counting you as one of its number.

Moreover, you happen to be the *only member* of the former Cologne Central Authority[b] who, between the end of 1849 and the spring of 1851, lived in Cologne and has since that time lived in London.

Inasmuch as we have both consciously, each in his own way, out of the purest of motives and with an utter disregard for private interests, been flourishing the banner for *'la classe la plus laborieuse et la plus misérable'*[98] high above the heads of the philistines for years now, I should regard it as a contemptible offence against history, were we to fall out over trifles, all of them attributable to misunderstandings.

In sincere friendship

Your
Karl Marx

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Ergänzungshefte, No. 12, Stuttgart, 1911-1912

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

[a] Nothing human is alien to me—an allusion to Terence's *Heautontimorumenos*, I, 1, 25. - [b] of the Communist League

# 31

# MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN BERLIN

Manchester, 23 February 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

Dear Lassalle,

I am at present having to conduct two lawsuits, one in Berlin and another in London,[92] while, at the same time, simply working for a living, and am unable to write you more than a few lines.

I must say that, having seen the book, I'm astonished at the 'great deal of truth' you discovered in Vogt's romance,[a] no less than at the pusillanimous advice you gave me.

As for the only part that *wasn't pure invention*—Techow's letter,[56] or rather the substance thereof—I refuted this 7 years ago in a pamphlet which appeared in New York under the title *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness,* and to such good effect that all the yapping curs, who then still all belonged to the same pack, held their tongues and *dared not utter a single word in reply.*

What I should like you to do and what would be of inestimable use to me, would be to find out *who* is the *Daily Telegraph's correspondent in Berlin* and where the brute lives, the number of the house and the name of the street. I believe he's a Jew called Meier.[70] It shouldn't be at all difficult for you, in view of the position you occupy in Berlin, to find this out. Please advise me of it forthwith.

I enclose the pamphlet on the communist trial.[b]

Your
K. M.

*P. S.* As for my *mistrust* (you compel me to talk like statesman Blind, *vide* the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*[99]), that's something at least you can't complain of. Take, for instance, the enclosed note from Baltimore (United States). That note was sent to me in confidence.[100] The official allegations against you (among them the assertions of a workers' deputation from Düsseldorf[c]) are in the

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[a] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung,* Geneva, 1859. - [b] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.* - [c] See this volume, p. 35.

League's[a] files, which are neither in my possession nor am I authorised to use them.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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Published in English for the first time

## 32

## MARX TO J. M. WEBER

### IN BERLIN

Manchester, 24 February 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

Dear Sir,

I find it surprising that as late as yesterday I should still have been without an acknowledgment from Berlin of the registered letter despatched to you on 13 February.[b]

Yesterday I mailed you from here—Manchester—in a second registered letter, the power of attorney together with seven other enclosures[c] and, with reference to the said (numbered) enclosures, am today taking the liberty of sending a few additional notes on the chief points which I consider it necessary to stress in the action for libel against the Berlin *National-Zeitung*. At the same time, I enclose a letter of 19 November 1852,[101] and a copy of the *Revelations* published by me in 1853.[d]

*I. a) The anonymous pamphlet 'Zur Warnung'.*

In No. 41 of the Berlin *National-Zeitung*, leading article, 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', page 1, column 3, there is a passage which runs as follows:

> 'The *Marx party* could very easily saddle Blind with the authorship of the pamphlet because and after he had expressed similar views to those contained in it *in conversation with Marx* and in an article in *The Free Press*.[e] By making use of Blind's assertions and turns of phrase the pamphlet could be *fabricated* and made to look as if ***he***' (i.e. Blind) 'had *concocted* it.'

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[a] the Communist League's - [b] See this volume, pp. 40-45. - [c] ibid., p. 53. - [d] *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* - [e] [K. Blind,] 'The Grand Duke Constantine to be King of Hungary', *The Free Press*, No. 5, 27 May 1859.

Altogether the whole intent of this column is to depict me as the *fabricator* of the said flysheet and, at the same time, to charge me with the infamy of having made it look as though it had been *concocted by Blind.*

Before dealing with the evidence provided in the enclosures I sent you yesterday, it would, I think, be pertinent to give you a concise history of this controversy.

In the course of its lawsuit with Vogt, the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* printed amongst other documents the following letter from me[a]:

'October 19, 1859
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, London

'Sir,

'As long as I had a hand in the German Press I attacked the *Allgem. Zeitung* and the *Allgem. Zeitung* attacked me. However, this does not of course prevent me from assisting the *Allgem. Zeitung,* as far as it lies in my power, in a case in which it has in my view fulfilled the *primary* duty of the press: that of the denunciation of HUMBUGS. The *enclosed document* would be a *legal* document here in London. I do not know whether it is the same in Augsburg. I have procured the said document because Blind refused to stand by statements which he had made to me and others, which I passed on to Liebknecht, and which allowed the latter no doubts about the denunciation contained in the anonymous pamphlet.

'Yours very sincerely, Dr K. Marx.'

The document enclosed in the letter to the *Allg. Zeit.* and also printed by the latter, runs:

'I hereby declare in the presence of Dr Karl Marx and Wilhelm Liebknecht that the flysheet published anonymously and without indication of the place of printing under the title *Zur Warnung,* which was reproduced in No. 7 of the *Volk,* had been

'1. composed and printed in the printshop of Fidelio Hollinger, 3 Litchfield Street, Soho, I myself composing part of the manuscript and F. Hollinger the other part; 2. that it was written in Karl Blind's hand, which was known to me from Karl Blind's manuscripts for the *Hermann,* and from anonymous flysheets written by Karl Blind, ostensibly printed at "Frankfurt am Main", but in fact composed and printed at F. Hollinger's, 3 Litchfield Street, Soho; 3. that Fidelio Hollinger in person told me Karl Blind was the author of the flysheet *Zur Warnung,* directed against Prof. Vogt. *August Vögele,* Compositor. The authenticity of the above signature is attested by *W. Liebknecht, Dr. K. Marx.* London, 17 September 1859.'[b]

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[a] K. Marx,[Letter to the Editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*]. - [b] See also Marx's *Herr Vogt,* present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 124-25.

(See *Vogt's piece, 'Mein Prozess gegen die "Alg. Zeitung"*;Documents, pp. 30, 31.)

In reply, the following letter from Karl Blind, together with the depositions of Hollinger and Wiehe, appeared in No. 313 of the *Allgem. Zeitung* and in the *Kölnische Zeitung*:

'*London*, 23 Townshead Road, St John's Wood, 3 November 1859. In order to refute the allegation that I am the author of the flysheet *Zur Warnung*, I need do no more than make public the following document. This only in self-defence—not as a vindication of Karl Vogt, whose mode of action I and my friends of the republican party must unconditionally condemn in view of all that we have learned over the past six months. I can testify to the accuracy of the information provided by Mr Julius Fröbel to the effect that offers of money emanating from Vogt did, beyond doubt, arrive here, for the purpose of persuading Germans over here to influence the Press at home in the sense already mooted. *Karl Blind*.'

a) 'I hereby declare that the assertion of the compositor Vögele printed in the *Allg. Z.*, No. 300, to the effect that the pamphlet *Zur Warnung* mentioned there was printed in my printshop or that Herr Karl Blind was its author, is a *malicious fabrication. Fidelio Hollinger*. 3 Litchfield Street, Soho, London, November 2, 1859.'

b) 'The undersigned, who has lived and worked in No. 3 Litchfield Street for *the past 11 months*, for his part testifies to the correctness of Herr Hollinger's statement. London, November 2, 1859. *J. F. Wiehe*, Compositor.'

(Cf. *Vogt*'s book, Documents, pp. 37 and 38.)[a]

To this I replied in No. 325 of the *Allg. Zeit.*,[b] the relevant cutting from the A. *A. Z.* having been sent you in my first letter from London.[c]

Karl Blind, for his part, published a further rejoinder in the supplement to the *Allg. Zeit.* of 11 December, in which the editors declare:

'The following is the substance of Mr Karl Blind's statement: Having *repeatedly based my testimony on the documents signed by Herr Hollinger, the printer, and Herr Wiehe, compositor*, I declare here for the last time that the allegation (which is latterly put forward merely as an insinuation) that I am the author of the pamphlet frequently referred to is a downright untruth. The more recent statements about me contain *distortions of the crudest sort*. Let me repeat: I say this merely in self-defence against the Marx-Biscamp-Liebknecht camp, and not as a vindication of Vogt, my opposition to whom I have already voiced.'

The editors of the *Allgem. Zeit.* commented on this statement as follows:

'Since the further elucidation in these pages of the above circumstances, or the controversy over them, has long ceased to be of any interest to the public at large, we would request the gentlemen concerned to desist from any further exchanges.'[d]

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[a] Marx also quotes these documents in *Herr Vogt*, p. 126. - [b] K. Marx, 'Declaration', 15 November 1859. - [c] See this volume, p. 42. - [d] See also Marx's *Herr Vogt*, pp. 126-27.

(Cf. *Vogt*'s book, Documents, pp. 41, 42.)

Thus, the files were closed for the time being. No sooner had I got hold of the articles in the *National-Zeitung* containing the excerpt from Vogt's pamphlet and the commentary thereon, than I brought out the English circular *(enclosure III)*, addressed to the Editor of the London *Free Press*.[a] The aim was to impel K. Blind to bring an action for *injuria* against me, thus affording me the opportunity, first of providing legal proof in London as to the printing and provenance of the pamphlet *Zur Warnung*, and secondly of compelling its real author to produce incriminating evidence against Vogt in an English court of law.

The immediate consequence of this circular (enclosure III), which I sent to Karl Blind as soon as it came off the press, was K. Blind's *statement*, which appeared in the *Allgem. Zeitung* of 13 February, in the supplement to No. 44. In this statement, entitled *Against Karl Vogt*, while reiterating that he was not the 'author' of the anti-Vogt flysheet *Zur Warnung*, Blind was, nevertheless, forced by my circular to come out with sundry arguments to the effect that Vogt was an agent for Bonapartist propaganda in London. This was the *immediate* consequence of my first move, namely the publication of the circular (enclosure III).

In the meantime, I had procured the two affidavits of the compositors Vögele and Wiehe (enclosures I and II). These affidavits proved, *firstly* that my claim that the flysheet *Zur Warnung* had been printed in Hollinger's printshop and written in Blind's hand, was *true*. *Secondly*, that Hollinger's and Wiehe's depositions, published by Blind both in No. 313 of the *Allg. Zeit.* and in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, and again cited by him in the *Allg. Zeit.*'s supplement of 11 December, were *false*. *Thirdly*, that Blind and Hollinger (see enclosure II, the compositor Wiehe's affidavit) entered into a CONSPIRACY in order to obtain false evidence against me and disparage me as a liar and slanderer in the eyes of the public. A CONSPIRACY of this nature is a *criminal offence* under English law. Only one circumstance has restrained me from prosecuting Hollinger and Blind, and that is consideration for Blind's family.

I sent copies of the affidavits of the two compositors Vögele and Wiehe (enclosures I and II) to several refugees who consort with Blind, to whom they showed them. The *immediate consequence* was *Dr Schaible's statement* in *The Daily Telegraph* of 15 February 1860,

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[a] K. Marx, 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette'.

in which Schaible declares himself to be the *author* of the flysheet *Zur Warnung,* and accepts responsibility for the imputations against Vogt contained therein. (See enclosure VI.) Hence, if Vogt wishes to prove his innocence, he will have to begin his lawsuit all over again—in London. Schaible's statement to the effect that he is the author of the flysheet *Zur Warnung* in no way alters the fact that the flysheet was printed in Hollinger's printshop, that Blind caused it to be printed, that it was written in Blind's hand,that the depositions of Hollinger and Wiehe cited by him were false and, finally, that Hollinger and Blind were trying to extricate themselves from the snare and compromise me by giving false evidence.

I need hardly point out that the two affidavits of Vögele and Wiehe (enclosures I and II) and Dr Schaible's statement in *The Daily Telegraph* of 15 February (enclosure VI) put you in possession of positive evidence as to the *falsity* of the *National-Zeitung*'s libel[a] adduced by me under Ia) of this letter.

b) *My relations with the 'Allgemeine Zeitung'.*

The two letters from the Editor of the *Allgem. Zeitung* to me dated 16 October 1859 (enclosures IV and V),[89] and my reply to the same, dated 19 October 1859, quoted above under Ia), represent my *entire correspondence* with the *All. Zeitung.* Hence, all this amounted to was my placing at the disposal of the *Allgem. Zeit.* a written document which could not fail to throw light on the *provenance* of the flysheet, the publication of which had led to Vogt's prosecution of the *Allgem. Zeit.*

On 9 May 1859, on the occasion of a public meeting held by David Urquhart, K. Blind informed me of all those allegations against Vogt which were later repeated in *Zur Warnung,* although that pamphlet *did not appear until the following June.* He assured me that he was in possession of the evidence. I did not attach much importance to this information, as I had already been convinced by Vogt's pamphlet entitled *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas,* as well as by his association with Fazy, the 'tyrant of Geneva', and Fazy's association with L[ouis] Bonaparte, that Vogt was a Bonapartist agent. It was all the same to me, whether it was with good or evil intent, whether paid or unpaid. Two or three days after Blind had told me this, Mr Biscamp, with whom I had never been connected in any way, either personally or politically, was brought to my house by Liebknecht. Biscamp suggested that my

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[a] 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', *National-Zeitung,* No. 41, 25 January 1860.

friends and I might care to support *Das Volk*, the paper he had founded, by making financial and literary contributions to it. Initially, I rejected his proposition, firstly because my time was in fact very much taken up, and secondly because I needed to learn more about *Das Volk*, of which there had so far been only one issue, before I could invite my friends to contribute to it. In this connection, I stressed that I had so far eschewed on principle *any* kind of participation in German newspapers published in London. During this talk I repeated to Liebknecht, in the presence of Biscamp, what Blind had told me at Urquhart's meeting. At the same time, I also mentioned the tendency of South Germans to exaggerate out of an inflated sense of their own importance. Subsequently, in No. 2 of the *Volk* of 14 May, under the heading 'Der Reichsregent als Reichsverräter', Mr Biscamp published, on his own responsibility and with his own interpolations, an article that is quoted in *Vogt*'s piece, *Mein Prozess*, etc., Documents, pp. 17, 18, 19.[102]

Later, about the *middle of June*, at a time when I was away from London and staying in Manchester,[103] Liebknecht received from Hollinger, in the latter's printshop, the proofsheet of the flysheet *Zur Warnung*, which he instantly [recognised] as being a reproduction of the information transmitted to me verbally by Blind, and the manuscript of which, as he learnt from the compositor Vögele, Blind had entrusted to Hollinger for printing. Liebknecht sent this proofsheet to the *All. Zeit.*, which published it, thus laying itself open to Vogt's libel action. Liebknecht was all the more justified in taking this step (about which I knew nothing, since I was not then in London) because he knew that Blind, Vogt's accuser, had been personally invited by Vogt to collaborate in the proposed work of propaganda. Vis-à-vis someone who took it upon himself to pay a *premium* for all articles in the German press favourable to Bonaparte's plans (see Vogt's admission to that effect in his book,[a] letter to Dr Loening, Documents, p. 36), duty demanded that such widely read newspapers as the *Allgem. Zeit.* be utilised as 'a warning'.

As soon as Vogt brought his libel action against the A. *A. Z.* for reproducing the flysheet *Zur Warnung*, the Editor of the *Allg. Zeit.* wrote to Liebknecht urgently requesting that he produce proof. Liebknecht appealed to me. I referred him to Blind and, on his request, went with him to see the latter, as you will perceive from

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[a] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859.

Blind's letter (enclosure VII). We failed to find Blind, who was at the seaside resort of St Leonards. Liebknecht wrote to him twice. His letters remained unanswered for weeks until, perhaps, Blind thought that the Augsburg lawsuit was nearing its end. (His calculations were thrown out by the fact that the *Allg. Zeit.* had meanwhile succeeded in getting the case adjourned.) Eventually, Blind replied to Liebknecht in a letter dated 8 September (enclosure VII), in which he says with the most barefaced effrontery that, 'as already remarked', he had had '*no share whatever* in the said affair', and that he might, '*on some future occasion,* be willing to discuss *verbally* ... the observations made in the course of private conversation'. Liebknecht brought this letter to me.

I now perceived that, if Blind's tongue was to be loosened, forceful measures were needed. I recalled having read in the London *Free Press* of 27 May an anonymous article ('The Grand Duke Constantine to be King of Hungary')[a] which contained the substance of the flysheet *Zur Warnung* and of Blind's verbal communications to me. The style and content of the article never for a moment left me in doubt that Blind was the author of it. To make quite sure, I went with Liebknecht to see Mr Collet, the responsible editor of *The Free Press.* After some prevarication, he declared Blind to be the author of the article in question. Shortly afterwards, I obtained the written statement of the compositor Vögele to the effect that the flysheet had been composed in Hollinger's printshop and that the manuscript was written in Blind's hand.

Liebknecht now wrote another, even longer letter to Blind, in which he notified him that we now had proof of his connection with the flysheet *Zur Warnung,* drew his attention, in particular, to the article in *The Free Press,* and once more requested him to provide such information as might be available to him. K. Blind did not answer, nor indeed did he once break his silence either *before* or during the legal proceedings in Augsburg. There could thus no longer be any doubt that K. Blind was firmly determined to adhere to a policy of denial and diplomatic impassivity. *In these circumstances,* I told Liebknecht that I was prepared, should the *Allg. Zeit.* ask me to do so *in writing,* to send it Vögele's statement which I had in my possession. And this is in fact what I did, after

[a] *The Free Press,* No. 5, 27 May 1859. Marx gives the text of the article in *Herr Vogt,* present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 123 and 317.

receipt of the *Allg. Zeit.*'s two letters of 16 October, in my reply of 19 October.

The reasons which impelled me to take this step were as follows:

*Firstly*: I owed it to Liebknecht, who had first heard from myself about Blind's remarks concerning Vogt, to provide proof that he was not merely repeating random allegations against third parties.

*Secondly*: The *Allg. Zeitung* was, in my view, wholly justified in reprinting the pamphlet *Zur Warnung*, knowing as it did that its source was one whom Mr Vogt had personally invited to collaborate in his work of propaganda. The circumstance that the *Allg. Zeit.* belongs to a party hostile to myself and has always treated me personally in a hostile manner, even to the extent of repeatedly publishing the most fatuous gossip about me, in no way alters that view, no more than does the circumstance that, since I, accidentally, *do not come within the jurisdiction* of the Augsburg Court of Justice, I cannot be *subpoenaed* as a witness by the *Allgem. Zeit.*

*Thirdly*: In the *Biel 'Handels-Courier'*, No. 150 of 2 June, supplement (cf. p.31 of the Documents in Vogt's book), Vogt had published a lampoon against me,[a] obviously on the assumption that I was the author of the anti-Vogt article which Biscamp had published in the *Volk* on 14 May.[b] Similarly, when he took action against the *Allg. Zeit.*, it was on the assumption that I was the author of the flysheet *Zur Warnung*. Blind was evidently determined to perpetuate this *quiproquo*,[c] which suited Vogt so well.

*Fourthly*: and, *so far as I was concerned*, this was the *chief factor*. I wished to bring about a direct encounter between Vogt and his accusers, and on ground, moreover, such as would ensure a conclusive issue to the affair and leave no loopholes for either party. To achieve this, it was essential that I force both the real author and the publisher of the flysheet *Zur Warnung* to come out of their hiding places. That I had reckoned correctly is shown by Dr Schaible's statement[d] (enclosure VI) and Blind's letter to the *Allg. Zeit.* of 13 February, Supplement to No. 44, already cited.

My correspondence with the *Allg. Zeit.* is confined to the two letters (enclosures IV and V) from Dr Orges,[89] and my reply of 19 October, cited above (under Ia). This sufficed for Mr Vogt (and the *National-Zeitung*) to dub me a contributor to the *Allg. Zeit.* and to present himself to the German public as the

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[a] See this volume, p. 22. - [b] {E. Biscamp,} 'Der Reichsregent', *Das Volk*, No. 2, 14 May 1859. - [c] confusion - [d] Ch. Schaible, 'The Vogt Pamphlet. To the Editor of *The Daily Telegraph*', *D. T.*, No. 1447, 15 February 1860.

innocent victim of a conspiracy between the reactionaries and the extreme Left.

Liebknecht has been a correspondent of the *Allg. Zeit.* since 1855, just as Mr Vogt himself was once its correspondent. Liebknecht will, if necessary, testify **on oath** to the truth, namely that I *never* made use of him to smuggle so much as a single line into the *Allg. Zeit.* His connection with the *Allg. Zeit.* neither has nor has had anything whatever to do with me. Besides, his articles are confined *exclusively* to English politics, and the views he upholds in the *Allg. Zeit.* are the same as those he has upheld and upholds in radical German-American papers. There is not a line in any of his articles which does not contain *his* views and which he could not, therefore, uphold anywhere. As regards England's *foreign* policy, Liebknecht subscribes to much the same anti-Palmerston views as Bucher in the Berlin *National-Zeitung.* As regards England's *internal* policy, he has always supported the most progressive English party. He has *never* written a line in the *Allg. Zeit.* about the tittle-tattle of the London refugees.

So much for my alleged relations with the *Allgem. Zeitung.*

II. In No. 41 of the *National-Zeitung,* the leader, 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', p. 1, column 2, line 45 from the top *et seq.*, runs:

> 'In May last year, a newspaper, *Das Volk,* was founded in London by the same Biscamp mentioned a short while since.... *Where the money for this generously distributed paper came from, is known to the gods; men, however, are well aware that Marx and Biscamp have no money to spare.*'

Taken in conjunction with the whole of the article in No. 31, and likewise the leader in No. 37 of the *National-Zeitung,* where I am depicted as the 'confederate of the secret police in France and Germany', and especially with reference to the passage I shall presently cite under III, the lines I have just quoted imply that the money for *Das Volk* was procured by me *dishonestly.*

As to this, I would merely observe that

Vogt himself, in his pamphlet discussed by the *National-Zeitung, quotes,* on [p.] 41 of the 'Documents', which comprise the beginning of his book, the following editorial note in No. 6 of the *Volk,* dated 11 June:

'We are pleased to inform our readers that K. Marx, Fr. Engels, Ferd. Freiligrath, W. Wolff, H. Heise, etc. ... are *determined* to grant their support to *Das Volk.*'[a]

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[a] See 'Statement by the Editorial Board of the Newspaper *Das Volk*', present edition, Vol. 16, p. 624.

Thus, up till the middle of June, I had *not as yet given any support* to the *Volk,* nor up to that point had I had anything to do with its *financial* affairs. However, I might perhaps mention in passing that at the time Biscamp earned his living in London as a tutor and, throughout, edited the *'Volk' gratis.* Similarly all the contributors, from the time the paper first came out until its collapse, wrote for it *gratis.* Hence the only production costs that had to be met were those of printing and distribution. These, however, always markedly exceeded the paper's returns. Before I collaborated on the paper, losses were met by public collections among Germans in London. Later, I procured between £20-25 (133 to 166 talers) which were contributed *exclusively* by Dr Borchardt, general practitioner, Dr Gumpert, ditto, Dr. Heckscher, ditto, Wilhelm Wolff, teacher, Friedrich Engels, a businessman (all resident in Manchester), and myself. Although some of these gentlemen were not at all in sympathy with the political opinions held by myself, Engels and W[ilhelm] Wolff, they all thought it high time to come out against Bonapartist machinations amongst the émigrés (and this was the *Volk*'s principal aim).

Lastly, the *Volk* left debts amounting, I think, to £8 (53 talers), for which Biscamp is liable, and in respect of which Hollinger possesses a promissory note of his.

That is the whole of the *Volk*'s *financial history.*

As far as Mr Biscamp is concerned, he has himself declared *in the supplement to No. 46 of the 'Allg. Zeit.' of 15 February 1860:*

> 'My entire political association with Mr Marx is *confined* to the few journalistic contributions he made to the weekly paper I founded, ... the *Volk.*'

As regards my own sources of income, all I need say here is that, since 1851, I have been a regular contributor to the *New-York Tribune,* the foremost English American paper, for which I have written not just articles, but leaders, too. The paper has some 200,000 subscribers and pays accordingly. In addition, I have for several years contributed to the *Cyclopaedia Americana* published by Mr Dana, one of the editors of the *New-York Tribune.* I hope to obtain from Mr Dana in New York a letter relating to these circumstances in time for the court proceedings.[a] However, should this letter fail to arrive soon enough, I need only refer you to Mr *Ferdinand Freiligrath,* MANAGER of the General Bank of Switzerland, 2 Royal Exchange Buildings, London, who has for many years been good enough to cash my bills on America.

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[a] Marx cites Dana's letter in *Herr Vogt,* present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 323-24.

The effrontery of Vogt and his ally the *National-Zeitung* in casting aspersions on me because of my participation in a newspaper which *did not pay a penny,* is all the greater for the fact that, on p. 226 of his book discussed in the *National-Zeitung,* this same Vogt openly admits that 'furthermore', too, 'he would *obtain the money'* required for his purposes *'wherever he could lay hands on it'.*

III. In No. 37 of the *National-Zeitung,* leader entitled *'Karl Vogt und die "Allgemeine Zeitung"',* page 1, column 2, line 22 from top, *et seq.,* the *National-Zeitung* says—and this passage, which I now quote, I consider to be the *most incriminating* of all from the point of view of the libel action:

'Vogt reports on p. 136 et seq.: Among the refugees of 1849 the term *Brimstone Gang,* **or** the name of the *Bristlers,* referred to a number of people who, originally scattered throughout Switzerland, France and England, gradually congregated in London, where they revered *Herr Marx* as their visible leader.... *One of the chief occupations of the Brimstone Gang was to compromise people at home in Germany in such a way that they were forced to pay money so that the gang should keep secret the fact of their being compromised.* **Not just one, but hundreds of letters were written to people in Germany, threatening to denounce them for complicity in this or that act of revolution unless a certain sum of money had been received at a specified address by a given date....** The "proletarians"' (as whose chief I am portrayed) '*filled the columns of the reactionary press in Germany* with their *denunciations* of those democrats who did not subscribe to their views. *They became the confederates of the secret police in Germany and France.*'

As regards this infamous passage, which the *National-Zeitung* takes over lock, stock and barrel from Mr Vogt, thus ensuring its circulation among its 9,000 subscribers, I would remark:

*Firstly*: As I have already mentioned in my first letter to you,[a] it will now be incumbent upon the *National-Zeitung* to produce from amongst these **'hundreds'** of threatening letters, *one solitary letter* or *one solitary line* of which I or any person known to be connected with me was the author.

*Secondly*: I repeat what I have already said in my first letter,[b] namely that, since July 1849, I have *never* written for any German paper except the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* of Breslau[c] (1855), at a time when it was under the editorship of Dr Elsner and Dr Stein. As the issues of the paper will themselves reveal, and as Messers Elsner and Stein will assuredly be willing to testify, I never thought it worth my while to devote so much as a single word to the emigration.

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[a] See this volume, p. 42. - [b] ibid., p. 44. - [c] Wrocław

As for the *columns* in the 'reactionary press' which I and my friends filled with 'denunciations', it will be incumbent on the *National-Zeitung* to produce just *one such column.* On the other hand, it is both *true* and demonstrable that a large proportion of the German émigrés in London systematically filled German newspapers of all complexions with their hostile gossip about me for years on end. I have *never* made use of my connections, either with the *New-York Tribune,* or with the Chartist papers, or with *The Free Press,* for the purpose of retaliation.

As for my 'alliance with the secret police in France and Germany', Hörfel, a notorious French police spy, was the chief agent in Paris for Kinkel's émigré association. He in turn was connected with Beckmann, who was both a Prussian police spy and a correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung.* Again, one Engländer, likewise a notorious French police spy, was for a considerable time the Paris correspondent of Ruge's clique. This was how 'the democratic émigrés in London' succeeded in setting up, all unwittingly, of course, an 'alliance with the secret police in France and Germany'.

Finally Vogt, and with him the *National-Zeitung,* mentions

'a number of people who, among the refugees of 1849, went by the name of the *Brimstone Gang* **or** *Bristlers* and who, originally scattered throughout Switzerland, France and England, gradually congregated in London, where they revered *Herr Marx* as their visible leader'.

This passage I regard as of secondary importance. Nevertheless, with a view to elucidating and unmasking the libellous intentions of Vogt and the *National-Zeitung,* I would make the following observations:

The *Brimstone Gang* was the name given to a society of young German refugees who lived in Geneva in 1849/50 and set up their headquarters in the Café de l'Europe in that city. This was neither a political nor a socialist society but, in the true sense of the term, a *'society of young blades'* who were seeking to overcome the first pangs of exile by indulging in mad escapades. It consisted of *Eduard Rosenblum,* medical student; *Max Cohnheim,* shop assistant; *Korn,* chemist and pharmacist; *Becker,*[a] engineer, and *L. S. Borkheim,* student and artilleryman. I had never seen any of these gentlemen save Mr Becker, and him only once, at the Democratic Congress in Cologne in 1848.[104] In mid-1850 all the members of

[a] Max Joseph Becker

the society except for Korn were expelled from Geneva. The group scattered to the four winds.

I am obliged to Mr Borkheim, now manager of a big commercial enterprise in the City (44 Mark Lane), for the above notes concerning a *society of which I had been hitherto entirely ignorant.*[84] I first made Mr Borkheim's acquaintance only *about a fortnight since,* after I had written to him asking for information.[42]

So much for the Brimstone Gang.

Now, as regards the *Bristlers,* this was a term of abuse which one *Abt,* at present secretary to the Bishop of Freiburg,[a] applied to the *Workers' Educational Association in Geneva.* For Abt had been declared *dishonourable* by a general refugee society which comprised members (refugees) of the Workers' Educational Association as well as former members of the Frankfurt Parliament. To avenge himself, he wrote a pamphlet, in which he christened the Workers' Educational Association *'Bürstenheimers'* [roughly: 'Bristlers'] because the Association's President at the time was a *brush* maker [*Bürsten*macher] by the name of Sauern*heimer.*[105] *There was never any kind of connection* between this Workers' Educational Association in Geneva and myself or the communist society in London to which I belonged.[106] In the summer of 1851, two of its members, Schily, a lawyer now in Paris, and P. Imandt, now professor at the training college in Dundee, were expelled by the Swiss authorities and made their way to London where they joined the Workers' Society then headed by Willich and Schapper[107]; this, however, they left a few months later. Their relationship to me was that of compatriots and old personal friends. The only person in Geneva with whom I ever had anything to do since my expulsion from Prussia (1849) was Dronke, now a businessman in Liverpool.

Thus, the names *Brimstone Gang* and *Bristlers,* like the two quite distinct societies they denoted, were *exclusive* to Geneva. There was *never any* connection between the two societies and myself. They first became known in *London* through the leaders in the *National-Zeitung,*[b] excerpts from which were reprinted by a London paper, *The Daily Telegraph.*[c]

Thus, my connection with the 'Brimstone Gang' and the 'Bristlers' is a deliberate fabrication on the part of Vogt, the *National-Zeitung* having made itself his mouthpiece.

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[a] Étienne Marilley - [b] 'Karl Vogt und die Allgemeine Zeitung' and 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', *National-Zeitung,* No. 37, 22 January 1860, and No. 41, 25 January 1860. - [c] [K. Abel,] 'The Journalistic Auxiliaries of Austria', *The Daily Telegraph,* No. 1439, 6 February 1860.

IV. The *National-Zeitung,* No. 41, leader 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', page 1, column 1, line 49 from the top, says:

> To begin with, Vogt simply alludes to the *'party of the proletarians'* **'under Marx'.**

In this way I am identified with the *'party of the proletarians'* and hence *everything* the paper says about that party also applies to *myself personally.*

Now, further on in the same article, column 2, line 19 from the top et seq., we read:

> 'In this way a *conspiracy of the most infamous sort* was devised in 1852, which aimed at damaging the Swiss workers' associations by *manufacturing counterfeit paper money* on a massive scale. (See Vogt for further details.) This conspiracy would have caused the greatest difficulties for the Swiss authorities if it had not been uncovered in time.'

And, further on in the same column, line 33 from top:

> 'The party of the "proletarians" nourishes a particular hatred for Switzerland', etc.

The *National-Zeitung* must have known from the Cologne communist trial of October 1852[2] (just as Vogt knew from my *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial*) that I *never* had anything to do with Cherval, who is said to have been responsible for the machinations in Switzerland in 1852 (Mr Schapper of 5 Percy Street, Bedford Square, London, with whom Cherval had connections *before* the Cologne trial, is prepared to provide all the necessary information on the subject); that *during* the communist trial in Cologne I denounced Cherval, through the medium of counsel, as an ally of Stieber's; that, according to the depositions *wrested* from Stieber, when Cherval was in Paris in 1851, hatching the *complot franco-allemand* under Stieber's direction,[108] he [Cherval] belonged to a society *hostile to myself.* The *National-Zeitung* knew from Vogt's book, which it made the subject of two leading articles, that, *after* the Cologne trial was over, I had also denounced Cherval as a *mouchard*[a] in the work, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne,* which I sent to Switzerland for printing. During the Cologne trial, when Cherval arrived in London, ostensibly after escaping from prison in Paris, but in fact as a *mouchard,* [he] was welcomed with open arms by the Workers' Society, then run by Willich and Schapper, only to be expelled in consequence of the cross-examination to which, at my

[a] police spy

instigation, counsel (notably Schneider II) subjected Stieber *re* Cherval during the proceedings in Cologne.

Hence it was the *most barefaced* and *deliberate libel* on the part of Vogt and his associate, the *National-Zeitung*, to make me responsible for the alleged activities in Switzerland of an individual notoriously my enemy, whom I had exposed and persecuted. Vogt speaks of *Marx's associates* in Geneva with whom Cherval consorted. At the present time, as in 1852, I have *no* connections with *anyone whomsoever in Switzerland.*

Let me repeat what I told you in an earlier letter[a]: On 15 September 1850 my friends and I disassociated ourselves from one section of the London Central Authority of the then extant German communist society (called 'Communist League'),[63] namely from that section which, under Willich's leadership, took part in the (come to that, highly innocuous and puerile) revolution-and conspiracy-mongering of the 'Democratic Emigration'. We removed the Central Authority to Cologne and entirely suspended *all* correspondence with any part of the Continent except for Cologne. As the Cologne trial was to show, that correspondence contained nothing of a criminal nature. From the spring of 1851 onwards, immediately after the arrest of individual members of the society in Cologne, we (the *London* section of the society) *broke off every single connection with the Continent.* The only man—not personally known to me, by the by—with whom I continued to correspond *about ways and means of defending the arrested men,* was a friend of theirs, Mr *Bermbach,* former deputy of the Frankfurt National Assembly. My friends in London met once a week for the purpose of frustrating the police machinations unblushingly resorted to and daily renewed by Stieber. In mid-November (1852), *after* the conclusion of the Cologne trial, I, with the consensus of my friends, declared the 'Communist League' *disbanded,* nor, since that time, have I belonged either to a *secret* or to a *public* society. Ferdinand Freiligrath, who belonged to the communist society, was in Cologne from the autumn of 1848 until the spring of 1851, and has lived in London from the spring of 1851 until the present, can testify to the absolute truth of the foregoing account. For that matter, sufficient proof is provided by the enclosed letter of 19 November 1852, postmarked London and Manchester, which my friend F. Engels has discovered amongst his old papers.[b]

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[a] See this volume, p. 45.- [b] ibid., p. 83.

I arranged for the enclosed pamphlet,[a] quoted by Vogt and the *National-Zeitung,* to be printed in Boston (in America) after the original edition of 2,000 copies published by Schabelitz in Basle had been confiscated on the Baden border. From this, no less than from the Stieber-Eichhoff case,[44] when it eventually comes up in Berlin, you will see that the communist society, to which I belonged until mid-November 1852, committed *no offence whatsoever* on which to base an indictment; also that, on the other hand, in spite of the very restricted means at our disposal, my London friends and I so effectively demolished the web of intrigue spun by the police that in the end they actually proposed to secure the prisoners' *conviction*—as *Hirsch,* once Stieber's agent and now in gaol in Hamburg, relates in his confessions in the *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung* of 22 April 1853[b]—by getting Hirsch to travel to Cologne under the name of Haupt, and perjure himself in the name of the Haupt he was impersonating. This coup was on the point of being perpetrated when, Hirsch says, Mr von Hinckeldey wrote saying that,

> 'The State Prosecutor hopes that thanks to the happy constitution of the jury it will be possible to get a verdict of guilty even *without extraordinary measures,* and he' (Hinckeldey) 'therefore asks you not to trouble yourselves further.'

It goes without saying that the only value the enclosed pamphlet would have in a court of law would lie in the light it throws on my struggle with Stieber, Hinckeldey and the then Prussian police system. The societies therein alluded to have belonged to the realm of history for years now.

V. Finally, in order to leave you in no doubt as to the significance to me of the libel suit against the *National-Zeitung,* I will allude very briefly to the *repercussions here in London* of the leaders in the *National-Zeitung.*

*The Daily Telegraph* (a newspaper appearing in London) *of 6 February 1860* published an article of two and a half columns under the heading *The Journalistic Auxiliaries of Austria.*

This article, dated *Frankfurt am Main,* but in fact written in *Berlin,* is, as the most fleeting comparison will reveal, a mere paraphrase if not, in part, a word for word translation of the two leaders in Nos. 37 and 41 of the *Nat. Zeit.* on account of which I am suing it. I shall be sending you the said issue of the *Daily*

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[a] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.* - [b] W. Hirsch, 'Die Opfer der Moucharderie', *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung,* Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6; 1, 8, 15 and 22 April 1853.

*Telegraph* within the next few days. In this *Telegraph* article, as in the *National-Zeitung,* firstly, my friends and I are portrayed as 'confederates of the secret police'; and, secondly, there is a word for word translation of the whole of the passage from the *National-Zeitung,* to which I refer under IV, concerning the Brimstone Gang, the blackmailing letters, my complicity in Cherval's money forgery in Switzerland, etc.

No sooner had this article appeared than I at once wrote to the editor of the *Daily Telegraph,* demanding an *amende honorable,* in default of which I would bring an ACTION FOR LIBEL against him.[a] He replied, saying that he had sent my letter to his correspondent in Germany and would await the latter's reply. That reply was published in the *Daily Telegraph* of *13 February* 1860. The following is a literal translation (I shall let you have the original in a few days' time):

'*Frankfort-on-the-Maine, Feb. 8.* I shall not be long in disposing of the remarks addressed to you by Dr Marx in reply to a communication of mine. The letter addressed to you by him has been simply misdirected. If the learned gentleman had offered his observations to Dr Vogt himself, or to one of the *hundred German editors* who quoted the book of Dr Vogt, his behaviour would only have been what the case seems to demand. As it is, however, Dr Marx, leaving unrefuted the numerous accusations raised against him in his own country, prefers cooling his anger by attacking the only English paper that has received into its columns a statement printed and reprinted before *in almost every German city of any magnitude.* The learned gentleman seems to be utterly oblivious of the fact that he has not the slightest right to complain of the publication of a certain piece of unpleasant intelligence by an *English* paper, *so long as he does not deem it convenient to call to account the originators and propagators of the mischief in his fatherland.* I conclude these lines by declaring my readiness to acknowledge the untruthfulness of the statements put forth in the communication alluded to the moment Dr Marx will have satisfied the world of their falsity. If he is in possession of the evidence required for such a purpose, *nothing would be easier for him than to accomplish so desirable an object. There are at least fifty German cities* at his disposal where he will have to institute lawsuits, and bring the editors to condign punishment. *Unless he chooses to pursue this course,* it is not the duty of the correspondent of an English paper to retract what *he* did *not* assert, but *merely repeated* on the *uncontradicted authority of the most respectable sources.*'

Merely *en passant* I would draw attention to the exaggerations with which the *Daily Telegraph*'s Berlin correspondent (a Jew by the name of Meier,[70] I believe) endeavours to cloak his plagiarisms from the *National-Zeitung.* First there are a hundred German editors, then many thousands (in other words, as many editors as there are towns of any importance in Germany) and, finally, *at*

[a] K. Marx, 'To the Editor of *The Daily Telegraph*'.

*least* fifty editors whom I would have to sue. Incidentally, by the *most respectable* sources, he means *his only source,* the Berlin *National-Zeitung.*

Again merely in passing, I should mention that in my letter of 6 February to the Editor of the *Daily Telegraph,* a letter which, as he wrote and told me himself, he forwarded to his German correspondent, I had disclosed to the Editor of the *Telegraph,* and hence also to his correspondent, that I intended to bring a *libel action against the Berlin 'National-Zeitung'.*

What seems to me the one point of crucial importance here is that the *Daily Telegraph,* skulking behind its correspondent, *is refusing me any kind of satisfaction until I have taken action against a German paper.* It invokes the 'respectable' authority of the *National-Zeitung,* which was alone in printing, *in this context,* the very assertions made by it.

You can imagine what a scandal the *Telegraph* article created in London. For that scandal I have the *National-Zeitung* to thank. If only for my family's sake, I shall have to bring an ACTION FOR LIBEL against the *Telegraph,* for which the necessary retaining fees will amount in this country to at least £200—before the case has been decided. The *depths of depravity* to which Vogt is capable of descending will have been apparent to you from the dastardly insinuation that I owed my alleged connections with the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* to the fact of my wife's being the sister of the former Prussian minister, von Westphalen.

I now await *by return of post* (unless a letter has been despatched to me previously) notification that you have received the following letters:

1. Letter from London of 13 February, together with a retaining fee of 15 talers.
2. Letter from Manchester of 21 February, together with power of attorney and seven *enclosures.*
3. This letter from Manchester of 24 February, enclosing the pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* and a letter which I wrote Engels on 19 November 1852, postmarked in London and Manchester.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

Dr Karl Marx

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# 33

# MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

## IN LONDON

[*Draft*]

Manchester, 27 February 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

Dear Liebknecht,

You should let Schapper have a look at Vogt's book.[a] Go and see him. He will tell you what I've written to him.[42]

According to the letter from my lawyer in Berlin,[b] which arrived yesterday, things are going well. The information I sent him included what was required in respect of yourself. Deal thoroughly with all that part of Vogt's book relating to you, so that I can have it at any time. But stick absolutely *rigidly* to the FACTS.

Next, it is essential that the resolution backing me and censuring Vogt, adopted by the Workers' Educational Society on 6 February 1860[c] and signed by the Society's chairman,[d] should be authenticated *immédiatement* (i.e. the signature) before the magistrate. So, have a word with Weber[e] if necessary.

Kindest regards to your wife and yourself.

Your
K. M.

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[a] *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung* - [b] J. M. Weber - [c] See this volume, p. 34. - [d] Georg Müller - [e] Josef Valentin Weber

# 34

# MARX TO KARL SCHAPPER

## IN LONDON

[*Draft*]

Manchester, 27 February 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

Dear Schapper,

I have written to Liebknecht asking him to let you have a look at Vogt's book,[a] so that you can see for yourself how important the Berlin lawsuit against the *National-Zeitung* (the one against the *Telegraph*[b] is secondary) is to the historical vindication of our party and its subsequent position in Germany. Yesterday I had a letter from my lawyer in Berlin[c] from which I gather that Mr Zabel of the *National-Zeitung* will probably atone for his pro-Vogtian zeal by becoming intimately acquainted with the interior of a penal establishment. My lawyer thinks it important that you should make the following affidavit,[109] as soon as possible, or one along similar lines, before a London magistrate (the one in Bow Street is our man; he already knows Liebknecht, who could go with you):

*'I declare herewith, that, in the year, etc., Cherval (alias Crämer, etc.) was introduced by myself into the London Branch of the German friendly society called "Der Bund" (the Union)[63] (a society, by the by, which has ceased to exist long time since); that in etc. 1848 the said passed through Cologne where he had a short interview with me, which I did not even mention to Dr Karl Marx. Cherval being an individual utterly unknown to Dr K. M.; that in 1851/52 during his stay at Paris, Cherval belonged to, and corresponded with that branch of the German friendly society called "Der Bund" which at the time was directed by myself and Mr Willich, now living at Cincinnati, U. St.; that, during the autumn of 1852, after his return from Paris to London, Cherval entered the public German Working-men's Society, called "Der Arbeiterbildungsverein", of which he had formerly been a member and which, at the time, was directed by myself and the above said Mr Willich; that consequent upon the revelations publicly made at Cologne against Cherval during the trial of

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[a] See this volume, p. 77. - [b] *The Daily Telegraph* - [c] J. M. Weber

Dr Becker[a] and others, and upon other information derived from other sources, the said Cherval was publicly expulsed from the German Workmen Club above named, and, soon after, disappeared from London.'*

Engels sends you his kindest regards; he will, by the by, be coming down to London himself sometime in the spring. I beg you to lose no time.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

In the affidavit mention is made of a 'FRIENDLY SOCIETY', this being the sort of thing that doesn't sound at all suspect to an English magistrate; besides, you can interpret FRIENDLY SOCIETY in any way you wish.

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## 35

## MARX TO MUZEMBINI

### IN LONDON

[*Draft*]

Manchester, 27 February 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road[b]

My dear Muzembini,

Mr Faucher, I suppose, will have told you that I am just now busied with two actions for libel, the one being carried on at Berlin against the *National-Zeitung*, the other at London against the *Daily Telegraph*, both relating to Vogt, the Bonapartist agent's pamphlet against myself.[c]

In regard to the latter it is of the highest importance for me to be exactly informed of the relations of General Klapka with the

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[a] Hermann Becker - [b] Marx wrote under the date: 'Enclosed in the letter to my wife. To Muzembini, under the above date, as follows:' - [c] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*.

General Bank of Switzerland and the Ottoman bank, of the mutual relations of these two banks, of the relations of the Ottoman bank with Musurus, and of the latter's relations with Russia. You will highly oblige me by giving me the information wanted, and by directing it to my present address.

With my best compliments to Mrs Muzembini

Yours truly,
K. Marx

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## 36

## MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH

IN LONDON

Manchester, 29 February 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

Dear Freiligrath,

Your letter really warmed my heart, for there are very few people with whom I strike up a friendship, but when I do I adhere to it. My friends of 1844 continue to be my friends today. As to the strictly official part of your letter, however, this is based on some grave misapprehensions, hence the following by way of clarification:

1. *The Eichhoff-Stieber case*[44]

The 'material' which I passed on to Juch (on which occasion I also pointed out to him that there were two reasons why he and Eichhoff did not deserve my support: *firstly*, the way in which they had referred to the Cologne trial[2] in the *Hermann*[a]; *secondly*, my conviction that Eichhoff is simply a tool of the ex-police official Duncker, who is seeking to avenge himself on Stieber as Vidocq once did on Gisquet in Paris; nevertheless, I would, I said, do all in my power to help overthrow Stieber and bring him to book, if only to avenge the death of my friend, Dr Daniels), this 'material', I say, amounts to the following:

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[a] [K. Eichhoff,] 'Stieber', *Hermann*, Nos. 36-38, 40, 42, 43; 10, 17, 24 September, 8, 22, 29 October 1859.

I gave Juch a copy of the *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*; N. B. this publication of mine, which was printed first in Switzerland and later in Boston, was cited by Vogt as a well-known book, and was in no sense 'something secret'.

I told Juch that it contained all I knew.

Finally, I pointed out to him that Lewald (Eichhoff's defence counsel) must examine Hirsch, who was in jail in Hamburg, as a witness. This was done. Hirsch has now admitted on oath that the 'minute-book' was a *Prussian fabrication* and an *indictable* offence in every other respect.

Hence the 'revelations' produced by the trial, thanks to my 'material', *exonerate* the former members of the League[63] from any semblance of legal *culpa*[a] and *'expose'* the *Prussian police system*, which, once installed as a result of the 'Cologne trial' and the infamous pusillanimity of the Cologne jury, grew to be such a power in Prussia that it has finally become intolerable to the bourgeois themselves and even to Auerswald's ministry. *Voilà tout.*[b]

Besides, I'm *astonished* that you could even imagine that I might hand the police anything on a platter. I would remind you of letters sent from Cologne (1849-50),[110] which you knew about and in which I was reproached *in so many words* with having dragged my feet too much (at the time, I did so for very good reasons, certainly not out of concern for myself) in regard to agitation by the League.

2. *My lawsuit against the 'National-Zeitung'*

I would point out *d'abord*[c] that, after the 'League' had been disbanded at *my behest* in November 1852, I *never* belonged to any society again, whether *secret* or *public*; that the *party*, therefore, in this wholly ephemeral sense, ceased to exist for me 8 years ago. The lectures on political economy I gave, after the appearance of my book[d] (in the autumn of 1859), to a few picked working men, amongst whom were also *former* members of the League, had nothing in common with an exclusive society—less even than, say, Mr Gerstenberg's lectures to the Schiller Committee.[75]

You will recall that the leaders of the fairly ramified Communist Club in New York[111] (among them Albrecht Komp, MANAGER of the General Bank, 44 Exchange Place, New York) sent me a letter, which passed through your hands, and in which it was tentatively suggested that I should reorganise the old League. A whole year passed before I replied,[112] and then it was to the effect that since

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[a] guilt - [b] That is all. - [c] first - [d] *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

1852 I had not been associated with *any* association and was firmly convinced that my theoretical studies were of greater use to the working class than my meddling with associations which had now had their day on the Continent. Because of this 'inactivity' I was thereupon repeatedly and bitterly attacked, if not by name at least by inference, in Mr Scherzer's London *Neue Zeit*.

When Mr Levy came over from Düsseldorf (for the first time), on which occasion he frequently called on you, too, he actually proffered me a factory operatives' insurrection, no less, in Iserlohn, Solingen, etc. I told him bluntly that I was against such futile and dangerous *folly*. I further informed him that I no longer belonged to any 'league'; nor, in view of the danger presented to the people in Germany [by] such a connection, could I have *anything* to do with it, no matter what the circumstances. Levy returned to Düsseldorf, and as I was shortly afterwards informed by letter, spoke very highly of you while denouncing my 'doctrinaire' indifference.[113]

Since 1852, then, I have known *nothing* of '*party*' in the sense implied in your letter. Whereas you are a *poet*, I am a *critic* and for me the experiences of 1849-52 were quite enough. The 'League', like the *société des saisons* in Paris[114] and a hundred other societies, was simply an episode in the history of a party that is everywhere springing up naturally out of the soil of modern society.

There are two things I have to prove in Berlin (I mean with regard to this hoary and outdated business of the League):

*First*, that since 1852 no such society has existed of which *I* have been a member,

*next*, that in as much as he slings Telleringian mud, and worse, at the communist society that existed up till November 1852, Mr Vogt is a *scoundrelly and infamous slanderer*.

As to the latter point, *you*, of course, are a witness and *your letter to Ruge* (summer of 1851) proves that, during the period *with which we are solely concerned here*, you regarded attacks of this kind as being directed against yourself, too.

You were a co-signatory to the statements in the *Morning Advertiser*, the *Spectator*, the *Examiner*, the *Leader*, and the *People's Paper*.[a] *One* copy of these is on *the court files in Cologne*.

Nor did you raise the least objection when I reverted to this matter in my *Revelations* (p. 47) (*Boston* edition).[b]

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, [Public Statement to the Editors of the English Press]. - [b] See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 433.

Again, your name appears—as treasurer—in the appeal we published requesting contributions for the convicted men.[115]

But there's hardly any need to go into all this again.

What is **imperative**, however, is that my lawyer in Berlin[a] should be sent the following letter *from me to Engels*, this being a *legal* document by virtue of the fact that it was sent without an *envelope* and bears *both* London and Manchester *postmarks*.

'London, 19 November 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

'Dear Engels,

'Last Wednesday,[b] at my suggestion, the League *disbanded*; similarly the continued existence of the League on the Continent was *declared* to be *no longer expedient*. In any case, since the arrest of Bürgers-Röser, it had to all intents and purposes already ceased to exist there. Enclosed a *statement* for the English papers,[c] etc. In addition I am writing, for the *Lithographierte Korrespondenz*, an article' (instead, I wrote the pamphlet published by Schabelitz[d]) 'on *the dirty tricks played by the police*, etc., and also an appeal to America for money for the prisoners and their families. Treasurer Freiligrath. Signed by all our people.' (The few remaining lines are irrelevant.)

**'Your K. M.'**[e]

In the case of such a document I cannot, of course, delete *any names*. This is the only document in which, with a view to *substantiating a fact*, namely the *disbandment of the League*, I make use of your name, in as much as it happens to occur in a letter written by *me* in 1852. I cannot see how that would compromise you.

I should like to use *one* letter of yours, written in 1851, for the pamphlet which is to appear *after* the hearing.[f] **Nothing** in the least compromising about it, legally speaking. But since this will take many weeks, I shall arrange matters with you by word of mouth.

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[a] J. M. Weber - [b] 17 November 1852 - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, [Public Statement to the Editors of the English Press]. - [d] Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* - [e] See present edition, Vol. 39. - [f] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*.

From the above it follows that:

The 'meetings, resolutions and transactions of the party' *since 1852* belong to the *realm of fantasy*, as you might have known in any case without my telling you and, judging by a great many of your letters to me, evidently did know.

The *only* activity in which I persisted after 1852, for as long as it continued necessary—i.e. until the end of 1853—in company with a few *kindred spirits* on the other side of the Atlantic, was of the kind described by Mr Ludwig Simon in 1851 in the *Tribune* as a 'SYSTEM OF MOCKERY AND CONTEMPT',[116] and was directed against the *emigration's democratic humbug* and *revolution-mongering*. Your anti-*Kinkel* poem,[a] no less than your correspondence with me during that time, prove that you and I were entirely *d'accord*.

However, this has nothing to do with the lawsuits.

Tellering, **Bangya,** Fleury, etc., *never* belonged to the 'League. That dirt is thrown up by storms, that no revolutionary period smells of attar of roses, that even, at times, one becomes a target for all manner of garbage, goes without saying. *Aut, aut.*[b] However, when one considers the tremendous efforts made to combat us by the whole of the official world, who did not so much skim as wade through the depths of the *Code pénal* in order to ruin us; when one considers the slanderous attacks of the 'democracy of folly' which could never forgive our party for having more brains and character than itself; when one knows the *parallel* history of all the other parties; when one finally asks oneself what can *actually* be held (other than, say, *the infamies refutable in court*, of a Vogt or a Tellering) against the party as a whole, one can only conclude that what distinguishes it in this, the nineteenth century, is its *purity*.

Can one escape the filth in bourgeois intercourse or TRADE? But in the latter, the filth has its natural habitat. Example: Sir R. Carden, *vide* the Parliamentary Blue Book on corrupt election practices.[c] Example: Mr **Klapka,** concerning whose personal details I am now very well informed. Kl. is not one whit better, and possibly worse, than **Bangya** whom, by the by, he and Kossuth have been sheltering *to this day* in Constantinople, despite his heroic deeds in Circassia and despite *my* public denunciation,[d]

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[a] F. Freiligrath, 'An Josef Weydemeyer', Zwei poetische Episteln. Epistel 1. - [b] Either, or. - [c] *Report of Committee on the Operation and Effects of the Corrupt Practices Prevention Act 1854. Evidence, Appendix and Index,* London, 1860. - [d] K. Marx, 'A Traitor in Circassia', 'A Curious Piece of History' and 'Another Strange Chapter of Modern History'.

simply because he knew *too much* about them. As a person Bangya was more decorous than Kl. He kept a mistress; **for years** Klapka allowed a mistress to keep *him*, etc. The filth of a Tellering may well be counterbalanced by the purity of a Beta, and even the dissoluteness of a Reiff finds its equivalent in the chastity of a Paula[a] who, at any rate, was not a member of the party, nor made any pretence so to be.

The honourable meanness or mean honourableness of solvent (and this subject only to highly ambiguous provisos, as every trade crisis goes to show) morality is to my mind not one whit superior to disrespectable meanness, from the taint of which neither the first Christian communities, nor the Jacobin Club, nor our erstwhile 'League' could remain entirely free. But bourgeois intercourse accustoms one to the loss of one's sense of respectable meanness or mean respectability.

3. *The special matter of Vogt and Blind.*

Following the affidavits made by Vögele[78] and Wiehe[b] (as everyone knows, a false affidavit entails transportation) and following the statements extracted in consequence thereof—from Blind in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*[c] and from Dr Schaible (*Daily Telegraph* of 15 February)[d]—the affair has **resolved itself** to the extent that your testimony relating to this point has *now* been rendered quite superfluous. As regards the Blind case, my only problem is an *embarras de richesses*.

In this matter I approached Ernest Jones, with whom I had not consorted for two years on account of his foolish, but now *publicly* disavowed, attitude to Bright, Gilpin, etc.[117] I approached *him* firstly because he, like many others, some of them quite unknown to me, let me know spontaneously, immediately *after* the *Telegraph* of 6 February had appeared, how profoundly indignant he was at the infamous conduct of Vogt, who had had the effrontery to assert that the Communist League had been founded and, from 1849 to 1852, had operated, with one end in view, namely *to extort money from compromised people in Germany by threatening to denounce them*; who traced back my 'connection' with the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* to my 'relationship by marriage' to von Westphalen, etc. (For my wife's sake I was glad of this demonstration, since one can

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[a] Paula-Kröcher - [b] See this volume, pp. 31-32 and 37. - [c] K. Blind, 'Gegen Karl Vogt', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 44 (supplement), 13 February 1860. - [d] Ch. Schaible, 'The Vogt Pamphlet. To the Editor of *The Daily Telegraph*', *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 1447, 15 February 1860.

hardly expect ladies to grow a political thick skin; moreover, it is precisely by catastrophes that they are accustomed to gauge whether a friendship is in earnest or in jest); *secondly*, because I was deterred by consideration, not for Blind, but for his wife and children, from discussing his *case, most invidious from a legal point of view*, with a *true-blue English lawyer*. It was this same consideration that deterred me from sending the *English* circular[a] to the *Morning Advertiser* or to any *English* daily other than the *Telegraph*.

What Jones told me was this:

'You can go—and I myself will go with you—to the magistrate and at once take out a WARRANT for Blind's arrest for CONSPIRACY on the strength of Wiehe's affidavit. But bear in mind that this is a **criminal** ACTION and that, once it has been reported, you will have no power to withdraw it.'

I then asked Jones (who can tell you this all over again; he lives at 5 Cambridge Place, Kensington, W.) whether it wasn't possible for him to warn Blind and thus induce him to make a statement that would include, not only everything he knew about Vogt, but also an admission of the falsity of the *depositions* adduced by him in the A. *A. Z.*[b]

Jones replied:

'In CONSPIRACY, and hence criminal, CASES, any *attempt by the advocate* TO COMPOUND OR BRING ABOUT A COMPROMISE would itself be punishable under criminal law.'

Jones will act as my COUNCIL in the *Telegraph* affair.

After Jones's pronouncements, I found myself in a most awkward and embarrassing situation, for, on the one hand, I owed it to *my family* to compel the *Telegraph* to recant; on the other, I did not wish to take any steps that might be *legally* injurious to Blind's *family*. As an expedient I sent to Blind's friend Louis Blanc a copy of both affidavits and a letter, part of which reads (I quote):

'NOT FOR MR BLIND WHO HAS RICHLY DESERVED IT, BUT FOR HIS FAMILY, I SHOULD REGRET BEING FORCED TO LODGE A CRIMINAL ACTION AGAINST HIM.'

This last move evoked Schaible's statement (POOR DEAR), just as the printed circular,[a] which I had sent to Blind immediately after it came out, had evoked his anti-Vogt statement *the self-same day* in

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[a] K. Marx, 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette'. - [b] K. Blind's statements in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nos. 313 and 345, 9 November and 11 December 1859.

the A. *A. Z.*[a] Blind may have the hole-and-corner cunning of a man from Baden, but he had forgotten that he was confronting someone who would be *ruthless* the moment his own honour, or that of his party, was at stake.

This is how matters stand: The action against *The Daily Telegraph* has been instituted but my SOLICITOR will delay matters *until after* the case against the *National-Zeitung* has been decided. Had Schaible told me frankly what he knew against Vogt (Schaible is Blind's TAME ELEPHANT, of course), it would have been wholly unnecessary for me, after his statement had appeared in the *Telegraph* of 15 February, to lodge the affidavits in London. In Berlin, where it will have *no legal* repercusions on Blind, this will, of course, be unavoidable. Whether Schaible was the real (literary) author of the 'flysheet'[b] or not does nothing to alter the facts established in the affidavits, namely that the depositions adduced by Blind in the A. *A. Z.*[c] were false, that they were obtained by means of a CONSPIRACY, that the flysheet had been printed in Hollinger's printshop, written in Blind's hand and handed over by him to Hollinger to be printed.

Distasteful though these matters certainly are, they are not more distasteful than European history as a whole since 1851, with all its achievements in the diplomatic, military and literary fields.

'For all that and all that',[d] the *philistine upon me* will always be a better device for us than *I beneath the philistine.*[e]

I have frankly stated my views, with which I trust you are largely in agreement. Moreover, I have tried to dispel the misunderstanding arising out of the impression that by 'party' I meant a 'League' that expired eight years ago, or an editorial board that was disbanded twelve years ago.[f] By party, I meant the party in the broad historical sense.

With sincere assurances of my friendship,

Your

K. Marx

P. S. I have just had a letter from my wife, and should accordingly be much obliged if you would draw £16 on the

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[a] K. Blind, 'Gegen Karl Vogt', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 44 (supplement), 13 February 1860. - [b] *Zur Warnung* - [c] See this volume, pp. 60-61. - [d] An allusion to Freiligrath's poem 'Trotz alledem!' - [e] Cf. *Judges*, 16:9 - [f] This refers to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

*Tribune* on Saturday (*the day after tomorrow*) (not on Friday as I am also including the Tuesday article). As usual, the plenipotentiary-general[a] will pay you a call.

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## 37

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN BERLIN

Manchester, 3 March 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

Dear Lassalle,

I am replying by return, albeit briefly (though, I hope, intelligibly), for I am up to my eyes in work connected with the two lawsuits.

1. *Ad vocem*[b]: *My action against the 'National-Zeitung'.*

You cannot give an opinion on the possible outcome of this action since you don't know, on the one hand, what papers I have in my possession, or, on the other, how *totally* unfounded Vogt's lies are. But you ought to have favoured the *attack* from the very outset. The second action is against the *Daily Telegraph* in London, for having enlarged on and reproduced the articles in the *N.-Z.*[c] The *Telegraph* is the *vilest* daily paper in London, which is saying a great deal, but it is assuredly not *small.* It has the **largest** circulation of *all* the London daily papers. Is specially subsidised by *Palmerston.* This is the reason why it devotes so much space to the mud slung *at me.*

I am enclosing my *Knight of the Noble Consciousness* herewith.

2. The '*superbe gestus*'[d] exists only in your imagination.[118] On the other hand, Engels, Wolff and my wife, to whom I showed *both*

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[a] Presumably Helene Demuth. - [b] Re - [c] 'Karl Vogt und die Allgemeine Zeitung' and 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', *National-Zeitung*, Nos. 37 and 41, 22 and 25 January 1860. - [d] 'haughty gesture'

your letters, are *unanimously* agreed that they betray what looks uncommonly like *disconcertedness* at Vogt's libellous piece[a]—always assuming that *tres faciunt collegium.*[b]

I sent you the note,[c] etc., in order to demonstrate to you *ad oculos*[d] how *you* would flare up when confronted with a piece of infernal rubbish which has neither *appeared in print* nor approaches the level of Vogt's infamies.

Vogt has charged me with *punishable* FACTS. In your letters I could find no trace of indignation at this worthy citizen to whom, for good measure, I am expected to make a public *amende honorable.* Had Vogt known of your relations with me and been in possession of Wiss's note, he would have published it as an authentic document relating to the history of the 'Brimstone Gang'.[65] To suggest that (other than in a letter to *you*[e]) I had alluded anywhere—and in public—to Blind's anti-Vogt stuff, is a flippant allegation on your part. That V. is a *Bonapartist agent* has become perfectly clear to me from his book.[f] When Willich (Techow merely wrote[56] what Willich had prompted him to in 1850) slung mud of a similar kind at me in the *United States* in 1853,[g] Weydemeyer, Dr Jacobi and Cluss came out spontaneously, even before I myself could have been notified of it, with a public statement to the effect that the whole thing was an infamous piece of slander.[h] None of my friends in Germany had uttered a word of protest against this extravagant attack; instead they wrote admonishing me in patriarchal tones.

Hence it was wholly pertinent to use the note, etc., for the purpose of putting you in *my* position, or rather of instilling in you a correct, if somewhat less dispassionate and doctrinaire, view of the same.

What I sent you was *not a copy* of Dr Wiss's letter but the original (i.e. the copy sent me from America). Dronke knows nothing about the note.

There's no question of a *dossier.*[119] In a private letter to the

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[a] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung,* Geneva, 1859. - [b] three constitute a panel - [c] See this volume, p. 58. - [d] right before your very eyes - [e] See Marx's letters to Lassalle, one written not before 2 October and the other on 6 November 1859, present edition, Vol. 40, pp. 497-98, 518-22. - [f] C. Vogt, *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas,* Geneva and Berne, 1859. - [g] A. Willich, 'Doctor Karl Marx und seine "Enthüllungen"'. In: *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung,* Nos. 33 and 34, 28 October and 4 November 1853. - [h] J. Weydemeyer, A. Cluss, A. Jacoby, 'An die Redaction der New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung'. In: *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung,* No. 37, 25 November 1853.

recipient of Wiss's letter,[a] I referred to you as one of the most competent people in our party and an intimate friend of myself and Engels.[120] Evidently the recipient, whom I may not name *without asking him first*, showed Wiss the letter, or at any rate told him what was in it. *Hinc* Wiss's *lacrimae*.[b] I have no connection with Wiss and *never* have had. Earlier on, he had offered his services to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and submitted an article which I threw into the waste paper basket unacknowledged. He has published half a dozen idiotic articles *against me*[c] in *New York* (in Weitling's *Republik der Arbeiter*).

I used the word *'official'* allegations[d] simply by way of contrast to Wiss's *'confidential'* letter. I can see now—I was writing in haste—how very comical it was.

*Who* the Düsseldorf people[e] were I cannot say without committing a breach of confidence. Suffice it to observe, however, that *I* did *not* get in contact with them. As for the *ingratitude* of the workers towards you, that's a mere bagatelle compared with what I have had to put up with. However it isn't *Levy*, either as a person or collectively. *Becker*,[f] *Bermbach, Erhard, Uhlendorff* (the last name *unknown* to me) have *never* written me a single line either *against* you or *about* you.[121]

*I* did *not* 'ally myself' with Becker. The League's Central Authority had been transferred to Cologne.[122] It was there that the final decisions had to be taken. (This 'League', like everything connected with it, has *long* been a thing of the *past*. With two or three exceptions, its documents are in America.) Becker was enrolled there. Thus, *he* established liaison with me.

If you will now compare the aforementioned FACTS with *your* interpretation of the same, your particular aptitude for 'mistrust' will become plain to you.

As to my mistrust, *I* know (and you would *oblige* me by quoting *other* instances) that, during my eighteen years of public activities, there have been only *two* instances when this mental disorder might, with some *plausibility*, have been imputed to me.

a. In the *N. Rh. Zeit.* I accepted a denunciation of Bakunin[g] which had originated in Paris from two wholly unrelated sources.

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[a] Adolf Cluss - [b] Hence Wiss's tears (an allusion to a phrase in Terence's *Andria*, I, 1, 99). - [c] G. Wiss, *Die elementaren Richtungen der Zeit*. In: *Republik der Arbeiter*, Nos. 12-22 and 24, 18 and 25 March; 1, 8, 15, 22 and 29 April; 6, 13, 20 and 27 May; 10 June 1854. - [d] See this volume, p. 58. - [e] ibid. - [f] Hermann Becker - [g] [A. H. Ewerbeck,] 'Bakunin', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 36, 6 July 1848.

One of these sources was a Polish acquaintance of mine. The other was the *Paris Lithographierte Korrespondenz*, which meant that, even were *I* not to print the denunciation, *every* newspaper editor would have had it. A *public* accusation was in the interests of the cause and in the interests of Bakunin. I had Bakunin's counter-statement in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* reprinted *without delay*.[a] Kościelski, whom he had sent to Cologne as his second to call me out, examined the *letters from Paris*, whereupon he was so convinced that it had been my *duty* as an editor to publish the denunciation (I printed it without comment, as though it were an article) that he wrote *by return of post* and told Bakunin he could no longer act as his second. K. came to be one of the *N. Rh. Z.*'s best and most useful friends. I printed a public apology to Bakunin in the *N. Rh. Z.*,[b] made it up with him personally in Berlin (August 1848) and, later, broke a lance for him in the *Tribune* (1851).[123]

b. In the *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial* several people, particularly **Schapper,** *O. Dietz* and, to a lesser extent, *Willich*, are treated unjustly; however,

*Schapper himself* (and Dietz in a letter to Schapper) has admitted that in principle I was in the right so far as they were concerned;

that they got mixed up in acts of such folly that only by a miracle could they have expected to elude suspicion;

that Willich was *out of his mind* at the time and capable of *any* move *against me*, indeed was guilty of *infamous* moves against me and my friends.

Finally:

The remark: 'As to my *mistrust*, at least you can't complain about that'[c]

was a **legitimate** reply to your remark: (I quote from memory) 'As regards those who know you, no harm will be done to you by Vogt's pamphlet, etc.' It was to this anodyne assurance I was retorting.

As to the 'great deal of truth',[d] I must take another look at your letter in London.

I trust that all points have now been settled.

Your
K. M.

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[a] M. Bakunin, 'Erklärung', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 47 (supplement), 16 July 1848. - [b] Editorial statement in the column 'Französische Republik', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 64, 3 August 1848. - [c] See this volume, p. 58. - [d] ibid.

Just one thing more. You advised me to postpone the 'action' until I had actually read Vogt's book.[a] Were the excerpts in the *N.-Z.* not enough? Could anyone who was *'integer vitae scelerisque purus'*[b] wait any longer?

Adolf Stahr—mightn't *he* know the *Telegraph*'s[c] correspondent? At all events, the latter came out with some stuff after Mrs Kinkel's death that smacked of Fanny Lewald.[124]

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## 38

## MARX TO J. M. WEBER

### IN BERLIN

Manchester, 3 March 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

Sir,

I have received your letter of 22 February and would first tender you my best thanks for your acceptance of my brief.

I fully endorse the manner in which you propose to handle the case. Should the count I mention be dismissed on formal grounds, its ventilation is, nevertheless, of the utmost importance, at any rate so far as the public is concerned.

By way of a commentary on the enclosures sent herewith[d] and as a final exposé of the facts at my disposal, I am taking the liberty of making a few additional observations, but should, perhaps, first point out that, since I have not got a copy of my letter to you of 13 February,[e] the numbering corresponds to that of the counts set out in my last letter of 24 February.[f]

*ad IV. ad vocem*[g] *Cherval.*

You will have seen from your copy of the *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* that Mr *Karl Schapper* was one of the two leaders of the section of the 'Communist League'[63]

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[a] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - [b] 'blameless in life and clear of offence' (Horace, *Odes*, I, xxii, 1) - [c] *The Daily Telegraph* - [d] See this volume, p. 95. - [e] ibid., pp. 40-45. - [f] ibid., pp. 59-75. - [g] *Re IV, Concerning*

inimical to me in 1850 whom I accused of wrongly construing the purpose of the then still extant secret society which ought, I felt sure, to disseminate opinions but steer clear of any kind of conspiratorial activity, and that I therefore publicly accused Messrs Schapper and Co., not only through the medium of counsel at the Cologne court,[a] but also in the above-named pamphlet, afterwards published in Switzerland and America, of having provided Stieber and his agents with *pretexts* for their police machinations, thereby bringing about the prosecution of my friends in Cologne.

While the admission of his errors before a magistrate could not but be a blow to Mr Schapper's self-esteem, I knew him to be a man of honour (he was proof-reader to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848/49), and I therefore wrote to him from here, asking him to swear an affidavit to this effect before a London magistrate.[b] He at once proved equal to my expectations. (See *Enclosure a) Translation: Enclosure f. 1.*)

Like myself, Mr Schapper has for many years eschewed *all* political agitation.

Schapper's affidavit also clears up the obscurities that may have remained in respect of my relations with the wretched Cherval, regarding which, by the by, the *National-Zeitung* could not have been in doubt had they *done no more than skim through* the reports, *published in all the leading Prussian papers*, of the *public* proceedings at the communist trial in Cologne (October and November 1852). It was their bounden duty to do so before making such calumnious allegations against me. It was all the more their bounden duty in as much as *they themselves* repeatedly referred to the said trial in their leading articles. Schapper's affidavit *proves* that Cherval was *never* connected with me, but only with my then opponents. As regards Cherval, I have this to add:

From an old letter, which *I* wrote to Friedrich Engels in Manchester (28 October 1852) and which he has kept, I would cite the following passage:

'That Cherval was a police spy is borne out by the following:

'*Firstly*, his miraculous escape from prison in Paris immediately after sentence;

'*Secondly*, his unmolested stay in London, although a common criminal;

'*Thirdly*, Mr de Rémusat (I have authorised Schneider II to name him if necessary) tells me that Cherval offered him his services as agent to the Princes of Orleans. Thereupon, he wrote

[a] Karl Schneider II - [b] See this volume, p. 78.

to Paris and was sent the following documents (of which a copy was shown me) from which it emerges that Cherval was first a Prussian police spy and is now a Bonapartist one.'[a]

The contents of the passage cited above will be *corroborated* by the *lawyer, Mr Schneider II* from Cologne, should you consider it necessary to summon him to Berlin as a witness. The Monsieur de Rémusat mentioned in the excerpt from the letter to Engels was, if I am not mistaken, a minister under Louis Philippe, or at any rate one of the most outstanding deputies of Louis Philippe's day, and one of the most eminent writers of the so-called doctrinaire party of that time.

*ad* II (*ad vocem* funds for the journal *Volk*)

I am sending you, *Enclosure b (translation Enclosure f, 2)*, my own affidavit concerning the *source* of the money placed at the *Volk*'s disposal by me.[125]

Since I have to stay in *Manchester* for some time, as my legal adviser in the libel action against the London *Daily Telegraph* lives up here, I had to swear the affidavit before a Manchester JUSTICE OF THE PEACE. In accordance with *English* law, therefore, it bears no stamp.

*ad* I, I have nothing further to add.

*ad* III, I would remark:

As regards my 'connection' with the 'secret police', I could have my brother-in-law, the erstwhile Prussian Minister, von Westphalen, called as *a witness*. However, my wife, his sister, wishes to avoid this *family scandal if it is at all possible to do so*. That is something I must leave **entirely** to your discretion.

*Enclosure b)* (*translation:* Enclosure f, 3) contains an affidavit by G. Müller, chairman of the public German 'Workers' Educational Society' in London.[3] It is the *only* working men's association (save for the *secret* society, the 'Communist League' already mentioned, which was disbanded at my behest in November 1852) to which I belonged in London since my arrival there (September or August 1849) until my resignation from the same (mid-September 1850) which was *publicly* announced in various German papers [b] (including the then still extant *Londoner Deutsche Zeitung*[c]). It is, in fact, the *only* German *working men's association* with which I have had anything whatever to do during *my* time of *residence in London*. Now, at its anniversary banquet (6 February 1860, the *very* day the *National-Zeitung*'s articles were reproduced in the London newspaper, the

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 39, p. 222. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, [Statement on Resignation from the German Workers' Educational Society in London], - [c] *Deutsche-Londoner Zeitung*

*Daily Telegraph*) that same association voted a unanimous resolution backing me and censuring Vogt, although I had kept aloof from it for *ten years.*

Its president had this resolution drawn up in *legal* form in London, as you will see from the enclosure.

*ad* V. I enclose herewith *(under Enclosure d)* the article the *Daily Telegraph* paraphrased from the *National-Zeitung*; likewise the reply from the *Daily Telegraph*'s (Berlin) correspondent in response to my complaint (under Enclosure *e*), of which I provided a translation in my letter of 24 February.[a]

I now consider it to be *quite* unnecessary for the name of my friend *Ferdinand Freiligrath* to be mentioned at all during the course of the lawsuit, with the **sole exception** of the letter to F. Engels dated 19 November 1852, enclosed in my letter to you of 24 February.[b] I consider that letter *essential* if the facts are to be established in court.

In addition to the supplementary information which you will find below, this letter contains the following enclosures:

*Enclosure* a) Schapper's affidavit; b) my own affidavit; c) G. Müller's affidavit; d) *Daily Telegraph* of 6 February, p. 5, column 1, article headed 'THE JOURNALISTIC AUXILIARIES OF AUSTRIA'; e) *Daily Telegraph* of 13 February, p. 2, column 6, headed *GERMANY.* (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT), FRANKFORT ON THE MAINE, FEBR. 8; f) translation of the three affidavits; g) *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness,* published in New York, December 1853. h) *Letter from Flocon,* member of the Provisional Government, Paris, 1 March 1848[c]; i) *letter from Lelewel,* Brussels, 10 February 1860[d]; k) 1. letter from L. Jottrand, Brussels, 19 May 1849[e] and 2. letter from the same, Brussels, 25 February 1848; l) 1 copy of *Zwei politische Prozesse. Verhandelt vor den Februar-Assisen in Köln,* Cologne 1849[126]; m) letter from Ernest Jones. London, 11 February 1860[f]; n) letter from the *Sheffield Foreign Affairs Committee,*[27] 6 May 1860, Sheffield[g]; o) letters from David Urquhart. Glasgow. December 9, 1854; p) translations of enclosures m), n), and o).

The only document that I still have to send you is a letter from the editor of the *New-York Tribune*[h]—which I expect to receive any day now—concerning my relations, from mid-1851 until the present, with this, the leading *American English* newspaper.[i]

I remain, Sir, your very obedient Servant,

Dr Karl Marx

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[a] See this volume, p. 75.- [b] ibid., pp. 59, 73 and 83. - [c] See *Herr Vogt,* present edition, Vol. 17, p. 320. - [d] ibid., p. 322.- [e] ibid., pp. 320-21. - [f] ibid., p. 323. - [g] ibid., p. 315. - [h] Charles Dana - [i] See Vol. 17, pp. 323-24.

*Supplementary Information*

Needless to say, the only points in Vogt's lampoon which I shall touch on in the action against the *National-Zeitung* are those actually incorporated by that newspaper in its leader, whether simply as they stood, or in the shape of comments; also, in regard to the *National-Zeitung*, only such points as are *punishable by law*. All else must be kept in reserve against such time as, the proceedings being *concluded*, I can reply to Vogt in writing.[a]

Hence the only purpose of this supplementary information is the following:

1. To provide some additional observations on those passages in the *National-Zeitung* which, though *quite irrelevant* to the actual case for the prosecution, might possibly be of use in *replying to defence counsel*.

2. Being myself the son of a lawyer (the late Justizrat Heinrich Marx of Trier, for many years *bâtonnier* of the *barreau*[b] there, noted for his integrity of character no less than for legal ability), I know how important it is for a conscientious lawyer to be quite clear about his client's character. In addition, you will perceive that *certain* points given in *ad* 2 might be used to advantage during the proceedings.

*ad* 1) The passage from the *National-Zeitung*, quoted under III in my letter of 24 February[c] (No. 37 of the *National-Zeitung*, column 2, line 65 from the top *et seq.*), goes on:

> 'To *fill in* the picture Vogt publishes among other documents a long letter by Techow, a former lieutenant, dated August 26, 1850,[d] in which', etc.

Now for a start there is nothing, not a single line, in that letter—though anyone who had read *only* the *Nat.-Zeit.* and not Vogt's lampoon[e] might easily be tempted to think there was—about what the *Nat.-Zeit.*, aping Vogt and in concert with him, had *just before* maintained, i.e. 'the compromising of people at home in Germany in order to extort money from them by threats of denunciation', or 'connections with the secret police in France and Germany', and so forth.

What Techow really says, amounts to no more than this: that he went drinking with myself, Engels and Schramm (now dead, then—*1850*—manager of the *Revue*[f] brought out by Engels and

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[a] Marx means his *Herr Vogt*. - [b] President of the Bar - [c] See this volume, p. 69. - [d] See also Marx's *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 75-99. - [e] *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - [f] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*

me in Hamburg), and took in deadly *earnest* the *pranks* we played upon him while *he* sought to impress us as an exceedingly serious and self-important *emissary* from a secret society in Switzerland.[127] This applies to the *theoretical* part of his letter, notably the account of his conversation with us (it never took place in *that* form) which evinces the strangest misapprehensions and the most comical misrepresentations. No one, I assume, would expect me, a man who, for over fifteen years, has been publishing his views in German, French and English, to concern myself seriously with an account of my theory written by an ex-lieutenant who has spent no more than a few hours of his whole life in my company and at a wine tavern at that. Mr Techow's *deviousness* and *mauvaise foi*[a] are clearly discernible from the fact that he had earlier written to me and Engels from Switzerland, attacking Willich (see *Enclosure g: The Knight of the Noble Consciousness*, pp. 3-4[b]), while later, in his letter, which was never published, he did not hesitate to disseminate Willich's delusions (at that time Willich was actuated by the most absurd delusions about the importance of his own person and the snares laid for him by imaginary rivals) and his slanderous allegations against myself, although the tiniest glimmer of common sense would have told him that a few days spent in London consorting exclusively with those who were *then* our enemies did not entitle him to pronounce a verdict one way or the other.

So far, I have discussed only what one might describe as the theoretical part of Techow's letter (reproduced in Vogt[c]—whether tampered with or not I can't, of course, say—on pp. 142 *et seq.*).

I now come to the most *incriminating* part of the letter, in which he speaks of the duel between my friend Conrad Schramm, now dead, and Willich. Had the *National-Zeitung* reprinted the letter, I would have enclosed one from Schramm, written long *after* the duel, in which he reproached me with letting myself be influenced by Willich *because* I had advised him [Schramm], albeit vainly, *not to fight*.

Here I need do no more than refer you to *Enclosure g*, pp. 5-9.[d] (When this appeared in New York in December 1853 they, Willich and C. Schramm, were both in America.)

As regards the pamphlet (Enclosure g), I consider it necessary to tell you something about how it came into being.

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[a] bad faith - [b] See present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 485-87. - [c] *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung* - [d] K. Marx, *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness*, present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 489-96.

In December 1852, just a few weeks after the end of the communist trial in Cologne, I sent the ms. of my *Revelations* concerning that trial to Basle—to Schabelitz, the publisher. Having delayed publication for months, S. made such blunders over dispatching it that the entire consignment destined for Germany was confiscated at the Baden border. In the event, I sent the ms. to the *United States* of North America where it appeared in Boston in March 1853, first in serial form in the *Neu-England-Zeitung*, and then as a pamphlet in its own right.

The appearance of the *Revelations* in America coincided with that of Mr *Willich* himself who, together with *Kinkel*, had gone there to drum up a *revolutionary loan*[81] since, according to the view *published* by Kinkel in the German American papers at the time, 'revolutions are as easily made as railroads', always provided 'the necessary cash' is in hand.[a] It was this kind of balderdash against which I took a decided stand. After the appearance of the *Revelations* in America, Willich allowed at least four months to elapse *before publishing a rejoinder* in the New York *Criminal-Zeitung*.[b]

It contained the self-same calumnies and balderdash as Techow's letter (indeed, in his letter sent to Switzerland in 1850, Techow was merely repeating what Willich had whispered in his ear when he was in London, and what Willich was to *publish* in New York in 1853). It was all the more essential that I should answer, in that my articles in the *New-York Tribune* had earned me a publicly recognised position in the English-American Press. Meanwhile, I had decided that I should deal with the matter pertinently if in a jocular vein, as indeed I did in *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness*. Needless to say, Techow could have *replied*, as could Willich. However, they deemed it wiser to remain silent and *not* to break that silence in the seven years since that time.

What insidious inanity, therefore, on the part of the *National-Zeitung* (intent only on avenging itself for the criticism I bestowed on it in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848/49[c]), to foist on the public as *authentic truth* tittle-tattle that had long since been publicly *refuted*.

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[a] G. Kinkel, 'Denkschrift über das deutsche Nationalanlehn zur Förderung der Revolution', *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, 2 March 1852. - [b] A. Willich, 'Doctor Karl Marx und seine "Enthüllungen"', *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, Nos. 33 and 34, 28 October and 4 November 1853. - [c] This presumably refers to the following articles: K. Marx, 'The Berlin *National-Zeitung* to the Primary Electors', K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Speech from the Throne', and F. Engels, 'The Debate on the Law on Posters'.

When Vogt's book arrived in London, by the by, I *sent it* with an accompanying letter *to Mr Techow in Australia* and shall no doubt be able to place his reply before the public in four months' time.

Incidentally, the following account of how the letter came to be published is *typical* of Vogt.

For in a letter from Paris dated 6 February 1860 Schily, a lawyer, writes:

'This letter' (i. e. Techow's) 'passed through different hands before reaching mine, where it remained until, following my expulsion from Switzerland (summer of 1851), it came into the possession of Vogt *via* Ranickel (a working man who had connections with Willich). For I had been unable to put my papers in order, having been picked up quite unexpectedly, without prior notification or an expulsion order, in the streets of Geneva, where I had been sent into forced residence, and forcibly conveyed *via* sundry lock-ups to Basle, whence I was sent on my way. My papers were put in order for me by friends and in this Ranickel had a hand, which is how he came into possession of that document. I later wrote to Ranickel from London, asking for the document, but did not get it. As a man specially trusted by Willich (he once shared his lodgings at Besançon), he may well have had other intentions or instructions.... Ranickel is now said to have a *highly successful établissement* as a book-binder, and to number among his clientèle the *gouvernement of Geneva* (the head of which is Fazy, Vogt's patron). Not content with idolising Willich, Ranickel acted as Vogt's *informer*.'

Such is the *honest* manner in which Mr Vogt acquired Techow's letter.

I would ask you not to mention *Schily's name,* should this point be raised, since Vogt, *qua* Bonapartist agent, is powerful enough to have Schily banished from France.

I need say nothing further on this score save that, no sooner had Willich published (in 1853)[a] the balderdash now reproduced in Techow's letter, than there instantly—before, indeed, I could possibly have been notified in England—appeared in the self-same *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung,* a devastating riposte[b] written by Joseph Weydemeyer (former Prussian Lieutenant of artillery, subsequently co-editor of the Frankfurt *Neue Deutsche Zeitung,* presently DEPUTY-SURVEYOR in the State of Iowa[c]) who was in Frankfurt am Main and a member of the 'Communist League' throughout the time of the rift in London and the Communist trial in Cologne. The said statement was also signed by

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[a] in his article 'Doctor Karl Marx and seine "Enthüllungen"' - [b] J. Weydemeyer, A. Cluss, A. Jacoby, 'An die Redaction der New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung. 7. November 1853', *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung,* No. 37, 25 November 1853. - [c] See this volume, pp. 115-16.

Dr A. Jacobi, now a general practitioner in New York, who was himself among the accused at Cologne, but was acquitted.

As regards the following passage, No. 37 of the *National-Zeitung*, column II, line 31 from top *et seq.*:

> 'They' (i.e. myself and co.) 'continued the work of the *Rheinische Zeitung* among the refugees. *In 1849 this paper had counselled against any participation in the movement* and had also constantly attacked *all the members of Parliament*, etc.'

allow me to make the following observations:

It is perfectly correct that, unlike the *National-Zeitung*, the *Neue Rh. Zeit.* never sought to make a milch cow of the revolution; rather that paper was kept on its feet only at considerable financial sacrifice and at great personal risk to myself, until such time as suppressed by the Prussian government. The absurd allegation, particularly so when coming from the *National-Zeitung*, that 'in 1849 the *Neue Rh. Zeit.* had counselled against any participation in the movement', is best refuted in the columns of the paper itself. As to the *manner* in which I conducted myself during the revolution, I would refer you to Enclosure I) (*Zwei politische Prozesse* etc.).

Similarly, it is true that the *Neue Rhein. Zeit.* always dealt with Mr Vogt and the other windbags of the Frankfurt *National Assembly* ironically and in accordance with their deserts. Come to that, as he himself admits in his pamphlet, by 1846 Vogt was already *a naturalised Swiss citizen*, i.e. a national of a *foreign* state, and hence should have had absolutely no say in Germany. That the *Neue Rhein. Zeit.* *'attacked all'* the members of Parliament is *incorrect*. It was on the most amicable terms with many members on the extreme Left. The extent to which even Vogt and Co. sought to curry favour with the newspaper almost up to the time of its demise is plainly evident if only from the fact that, when they founded the *March Association*,[128] they sent out a *circular* throughout the length and breadth of Germany in which the public was strongly recommended to subscribe to '*good*' and '*the best*' newspapers, the *'good'* being accorded one asterisk and *'the best'* two. The *Neue Rhein. Zeit.* was honoured with 'two asterisks'.[a] No sooner had this scrap of paper come into my hands than I wrote a short leader in the *Neue Rhein. Zeit.* (I believe it was an issue in March 1849) protesting against this unsolicited patronage on the part of people whom I esteemed neither for their personal character nor for their political intelligence.[b]

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[a] See also Marx's *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, p. 104. - [b] K. Marx, 'The March Association'.

*ad* 2) In 1842 (at the age of twenty-four) I was editor-*in-chief* of the old *Rheinische Zeitung* which, subject first to *single,* and then to *double* censorship, ended up by being *compulsorily* closed down by the Prussian government (spring, 1843). One of the men with whom I was working at the time was Mr *Camphausen,* Prime Minister of Prussia after the March revolution. The old *Rhein. Zeit.* can be said beyond all doubt to have disrupted the power of the censorship in Prussia. (I would observe *in confidence*—not, of course, for public consumption—that *after the 'Rhein. Zeit.' had been closed down,* overtures were made to me by the Prussian government through the medium of Geheimer Revisionsrat [Privy Auditor Councillor] Esser, a friend of my father's. Esser, I should explain, was taking the waters with me at Kreuznach, where I married my present wife. *After this communication,* I left Prussia for Paris.)

In Paris I published the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* in company with Friedrich Engels, Georg Herwegh, Heinrich Heine, and Arnold Ruge. (I later broke with Herwegh and Ruge.) At the end of 1844 I was expelled from Paris (by Guizot) at the instigation of the Prussian Embassy there and left for Belgium.[129] The standing I enjoyed *amongst French radicals* during my stay in Paris can best be gauged from *Enclosure h*), a letter from Flocon of 1 March 1848, recalling me to France in the name of the Provisional Government, and annulling Guizot's expulsion order. (***In confidence:*** While in Paris in the summer of 1844, after the bankruptcy of the publisher (Julius Fröbel) of the *Deutsch-Französ. Jahrbücher,* I received from Dr Claessen, on behalf of Camphausen and other *Rhein. Zeit.* shareholders, a letter—enclosing 1,000 talers—describing my services in such glowing colours that, for this very reason, I shall *not* enclose it.)

I lived in Brussels from the beginning of 1845 to the beginning of March 1848, when I was again expelled and returned to France on the strength of Flocon's letter. In Brussels, besides unpaid contributions to sundry radical newspapers in Paris and Brussels, I wrote the *Critique of Critical Criticism* in collaboration with Fr. Engels (a book about philosophy, published by Rütten, Frankfurt am Main, 1845),[a] *Misère de la Philosophie* (book on economics, published by Vogler in Brussels and by Frank in Paris in 1847),[b] *Discours sur le libre échange* (Brussels 1848),[c] a work in two volumes on latter-day German philosophy and socialism[d] (not published;

[a] *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism* - [b] *The Poverty of Philosophy* - [c] 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade' - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology.*

see my preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* F. Duncker, Berlin 1859), and numerous pamphlets.[130] During the whole of my stay in Brussels I gave unpaid lectures on 'political economy' at the *Brussels German Workers' Educational Society.*[131] These were about to appear in book form when publication was interrupted by the February Revolution.[132] Typical of my standing among the radicals (of very varying complexions) in Brussels is the fact that, in the public *société internationale,*[61] *I* was committee member for the Germans, *Lelewel* (an old man of eighty, veteran of the Polish Revolution of 1830/31 and learned historian) for the Poles, *Imbert* (later *gouverneur* of the Tuileries in Paris) for the French, and *Jottrand,* a Brussels lawyer, former member of the *Constituent Assembly*[133] and leader of the Belgian radicals, for the Belgians, who was also chairman. From the two letters written to me by Jottrand, now an old man (*Enclosures k, 1,* and *k, 2*), as also from Lelewel's letter (*Enclosure i*), you will see what my relationship with these gentlemen was during my stay in Brussels. Jottrand's letter (*Enclosure k, 2*) was written after a dispute I had had with him at a public meeting on 22 February 1848, following which I had notified him of my resignation from the *société internationale.*[134] He wrote me the second letter, when I founded the *Neue Rhein. Zeitung* in Cologne.

My second period of residence in Paris lasted from March until the end of May 1848.[135] (*In confidence:* Flocon offered to help myself and Engels finance the founding of the *N. Rh. Z.* We refused because, as *Germans,* we did not wish to take subsidies from a *French government,* even if *friendly.*)

From May 1848 until the end of May 1849 I was editor of the *Neue Rh. Zeit.* in Cologne. From *Enclosure l)* you will see that I was elected one of the three chairmen of the Rhenish-Westphalian democrats.[136] (*In confidence:* When I arrived in Cologne, I was invited by a friend of Camphausen's to go to him in Berlin. I disregarded the insinuation.)

In Paris from June 1849 till August 1849. Expelled under Bonaparte's presidency.

*From the end of 1849*[137] *until now, 1860,* in London. Publications: *Revue der Neuen Rh. Zeitung*[a] in Hamburg, 1850, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (in New York, 1852), *Diplomatic Revelations of the 18th Century* (London, 1856), *Critique of Political Economy,* lst instalment, Duncker, Berlin, 1859, etc. Contributor to the *New-York Tribune* from 1851 up till the present. For as long as I

[a] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*

remained a member of the *German Workers' Society*[3] (end of 1849 to September 1850) I gave unpaid lectures.

*From Enclosure o* (it *is confidential*) you will see how I came to make *David Urquhart's* acquaintance. From that time onwards I have contributed to his *Free Press.* I agree with him in matters of *foreign policy (opposition to Russia and Bonapartism),* but not of *internal policy,* in which I support the *Chartist Party* (which opposes him). For 6 years now I have contributed *gratis* to the latter's publications (in particular the *People's Paper*). (*See Enclosure m.*)

My anti-Palmerston articles[a] written for the *New-York Tribune* in 1853, have been repeatedly reprinted in pamphlet form in England and Scotland, to the tune of 15-20,000 copies.

You will see from *Enclosure n,* which was sent me in 1856 at the behest of the Sheffield club by the secretary of one of the Urquhartite clubs, which are concerned solely with diplomacy, how I stand with the Urquhartites, despite our differences over *internal* policy.

The *letter in Enclosure n* stems from *Ernest Jones,* BARRISTER-AT-LAW in London, acknowledged leader of the Chartist Party, also recognised poet.

Translations of *Enclosures o, n,* and *m* will be found in *Enclosure p.*

A typical example of the kind of tittle-tattle about me disseminated by certain German quarters in London will be found in the letter from my friend Steffen[b] (formerly Prussian lieutenant and teacher at the Divisional School, at present in Boston) quoted on p. 14 of *Enclosure g, 'The Knight of the Noble Consciousness'.*

Despite ten years of unremitting attacks on myself, I have *never* burdened the German public with a *single* word of my life story. Vis-à-vis my lawyer, in a case such as the present one, I considered it indispensable.

As regards the *Italian war,*[46] I should add that *my* views on the subject are absolutely in accord with those expressed by my friend *Fr. Engels* in the well known pamphlet *Po and Rhine,* published by Fr. Duncker in Berlin in 1859. The manuscript of the said work was sent to me by Engels *before* it was dispatched to Berlin.

We are in favour of a free and independent Italy and in 1848 said as much in the *Neue Rh. Zeit., in terms more forthright* than any other German paper, and the same goes for Hungary and Poland. But we do not wish Bonaparte (in collusion with Russia) to make

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[a] *Lord Palmerston* - [b] See present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 504-05.

Italian freedom or the question of any other nationality a *pretext* for ruining *Germany*.

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## 39

## MARX TO COLLET DOBSON COLLET[138]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 March 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

My dear Sir,

Having been absent from here for a few days, I was prevented answering your letter immediately.

As to the Printers' Bill,[139] which I had taken the liberty to ask you for in a letter addressed to you on the 6th of February[42] (if I am not mistaken), you have forgotten transmitting it to me. Pray, send it to Mrs Marx.

As to Schaible's declaration (*extorted* by my proceedings against Blind[a]), it will be sufficient to remark:

1-st) Whether Blind be the *'literary'* author of the fly-sheet, is a question I have not to deal with. He *is* the author in the *legal* sense of the word.

Schaible's declaration (which 'circumstances', he says in the *Telegraph*,[b] prevented him for three months from making, but which I extorted *in no time* by sending to *Louis Blanc* a copy of the two *Affidavits*[c] at the Bowstreet Police-Court) proves much *against* Vogt. It proves nothing *for* Blind. It does not exculpate him in any respect. He has *written* (if not *drawn up*) the manuscript; he has *printed* it in Hollinger's office; he *paid* Hollinger's Printer's Bill; he made *two false* declarations in the Augsburg Gazette[d]; he and Hollinger entered into *conspiracy* against me in order to induce (and with what success you know)

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[a] See this volume, p. 49. - [b] *The Daily Telegraph* - [c] See this volume, pp. 31-32 and 37. - [d] Blind's statements in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 313, 9 November 1859 and No. 345 (supplement), 11 December 1859.

the compositor Wiehe to give them *false* evidence. This is not all. Blind, as you know from the letter he addressed in September to Liebknecht, had the cool impudence of stating that he had *nothing at all* to do with the whole affair. Lastly, all the successive steps now taken by him and Schaible were *forced* upon him by the menace suspended over his head for a criminal action for 'conspiracy'.

2) Dr Schaible may, for aught I know, have allowed himself to be made Blind's scape-goat. He, as I know, belongs so to say to the household furniture of Blind's.

3) The principal political end I aimed at, has been obtained by Schaible's declaration. It makes void and annuls the proceedings at Augsburg,[140]—mere mock proceedings; there being present no witnesses, no accuser, no (real) accused, and, in point of fact, *no tribunal,* since Vogt, in his wisdom, had appealed *not* to *that* description of Bavarian tribunal which, according to the Bavarian law, *had* to decide on the case. In respect to this same Vogt, it will suffice to say that at *Geneva,* his own place of residence, a Swiss paper (*Die Neue Schweizer Zeitung, The New Swiss Gazette,* in its number of *November 12, 1859*) has declared to have indignantly repulsed Vogt's attempt at bribing it with *French* money.[a] That same paper, in a leading article, called upon Vogt to take judicial proceedings against itself, same way as I, in a declaration signed with my name, and published in the *Augsburg Gazette* and the *Hamburg 'Reform',* had called upon him to sue the *Volk* at London.[141] Vogt, although a Genevese *Ständerath,*[b] and, therefore, a public servant, rested mute to these appeals, while enlisting the favour of the stupid German Liberals by the Augsburg comedy, or rather *farce.*

You will be so kind to *consider this letter as confidential,* since the lawyers who carry on my actions for libel at Berlin and London, think it fit that, except on the most urgent emergency, I should not break my silence until *after* the judicial proceedings have been closed.

Yours faithfully

K. Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

Reproduced from the copy in Marx's notebook

Published in English for the first time

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[a] See also Marx's *Herr Vogt,* present edition, Vol. 17, p. 187. - [b] member of the Council of Cantons (the Second Chamber of the Swiss Parliament)

# 40

## MARX TO BERTALAN SZEMERE[142]

IN PARIS

Manchester, 13 March 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

My dear Sir,

I have not yet received your *book*.[a] Otherwise I should have given a *compte rendu*[b] of it in the *New-York Tribune*.

I sent you the article against Kossuth[c] on the *express condition* of its being returned to me. I attach *not the least* importance to that article, but I want it for specific purpose.

I have instituted two actions for libel at Berlin and London against newspapers[d] which had the impudence of reprinting extracts from Vogt's libel.[e] I observed, for 10 years, a strict silence in the face of the most reckless calumnies, but I know that *now* the moment *has* arrived of publicly exposing them.

My friend from whose house I am addressing these lines to you may perhaps (he is a merchant) become useful to you. Send him a *catalogue* (Mr Frederick Engels, care of Messrs Ermen and Engels, Manchester) of your wines. But do not use such fellows as Stoffregen for your agents.

Yours truly
Williams[f]

In a few days I shall return to London.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934. First published in the language of the original (English) in *Századok*, Nos. 4-6, Budapest, 1959

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[a] B. Szemere, *La Question hongroise (1848-1860)*, Paris, 1860. See also this volume, p. 6. - [b] review - [c] K. Marx, 'Kossuth and Louis Napoleon'. See also this volume, p. 12. - [d] *National-Zeitung* and *The Daily Telegraph* - [e] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - [f] A. Williams, an alias used by Marx in some of his letters.

# 41

# MARX TO LUCIEN JOTTRAND

IN BRUSSELS

Manchester, 13 March 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

My dear Sir,

You will excuse me for having not before acknowledged the receipt of the letter you had the kindness to address me from Bruxelles. I thank you for that letter, although I shall abstain from using it in *any* way. Should I think it opportune laying before the public any official documents, relating to my past life, *the Bruxelles episode*—as far as it refers to my relations with the Belgian radicals—would be best characterised by two letters of yours (d.d. 25 févr. 1848[a] and 19 mai 1848 [b]) which I have now found among my papers.

Since you belong to the American school of Republicans (whose opinions I do only accept in regard to some *political* questions), it may interest you to know that, for about 3 years, I am one of the principal writers in the *New-York Tribune,* the first Anglo-American paper. I have improved this connexion for giving M. Spilthoorn, on his passage through London, letters of recommendation for the *U. St.* Should you, on any occasion, want to publish anything—relating to the affairs of your country—in the *Tribune,* you may rely on my willingness of obliging you.

The shameless attacks (on behalf of which I have instituted *two actions for libel,* one at Berlin, one at London) recently made against me, proceed all from the Bonapartist camp. Monsieur Louis Bonaparte, through the instrumentality of M. Mocquard, his secrétaire intime, has publicly thanked the *New-York Times* for having done its best (and this its 'best' was of a very shabby description) to counteract my *New-York Tribune* strictures (since 1852) of the Lesser Empire.[143]

I have the honour

To be your humble servant

K. Marx

I am here at Manchester for a few days only. My address is: 9, Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, London.

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[a] See this volume, p. 102. - [b] Marx quotes the letter in *Herr Vogt,* present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 320-21.

If you read German books, I shall give me the pleasure of sending you a copy of the first part of my "Kritik der Politischen Oeconomie" being now in progress of publication at Berlin.

First published, in the language of the original (English) and in Russian, in *Voprosy istorii KPSS,* No. 4, Moscow, 1958

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## 42

## ENGELS TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN BERLIN

Manchester, 15 March[a] 1860

Dear Lassalle,

Very many thanks for the trouble you have been to with Duncker in connection with my pamphlet.[b] I would have agreed to the arrangement of my being named had not another publisher[c] accepted it in the meantime (when this reaches you, the thing will probably be out) and were I not determined that the 'author of *Po and Rhine*' should first carve out a place for himself in military literature before making his official entry (i.e. on the title page) as a civilian before the lieutenants. When you say that you would be sure to convince us and hence believe it would be in our own interests not to commit ourselves *by name* to the views we have held so far in regard to the Italian business, your argument is, no doubt, of crucial value *subjectively* speaking; similarly we can assure you that we are just as sure of our ability to convince you, the more so since our views are based on a careful study of diplomatic material which, at least on certain points, is available in pretty complete form to the public in London, as it surely is *not* to the public in Berlin (where, indeed, it does not for the most part exist at all).

Marx got your letter the day before yesterday and will be answering it.[d] In the meantime I enclose the *Knight of the Noble Consciousness,*[e] previously forgotten.[f]

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[a] A slip of the pen in the original: February. - [b] F. Engels, *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine.* - [c] G. Behrend - [d] See this volume, pp. 116-17. - [e] by Marx - [f] See this volume, p. 88.

Apropos. A few days ago we got a letter from Nothjung. After his release, the poor devil was declared to have forfeited his right of domicile in Mülheim 'by reason of his many-year-long absence' (!!!),[144] and has been forbidden to show his face within five miles of Cologne. He has become a photographer in Breslau[a] where, after a great deal of trouble, he has obtained a resident's permit. Now he has got to pay an entry fee, a household fee, and umpteen others such as are only to be found in a Prussian dictionary. This, as you can imagine, the poor chap is in no position to do after his long spell in prison which, to make matters worse, has rendered him homeless (in what sort of country can such things happen!) and so odious are the laws still obtaining there that he cannot exist unless he gets all this business settled. Mightn't it be possible to do something for him over there? Such a thing would have been unheard of in the Rhine Province before 1848, and even the bourgeois who helped to impose such shocking laws on us ought to help poor devils of this kind. Homeless because of a many-year-long absence in a Prussian fortress—just try telling that to an Englishman! His address is P. Nothjung, Photographer, Zwingergasse No. 7, in the Baths. With the connections you have in Breslau, it should be easy for you to do something for him. Our ex-tailor, by the way, seems to have acquired quite a tidy education at his fortress-university, and writes quite civilised letters.

Just now I'm writing trivia about the reorganisation of the army in Prussia and have offered these to Duncker.

*Tout à vous*[b]

F. Engels

Before I forget. Marx has written to red Wolff,[145] of whom, however, we haven't heard for years. In the meantime Vogt, accompanied by the *homme entretenu*[c] and SWINDLER Klapka, has been to dine with Plon-Plon yet again.

I have re-opened this letter, having closed it without putting in the *Knight,* in order to tell you that we are unable to find the only copy of the thing that's still up here in Manchester. Someone must have pinched it. Marx has still got some in London and is writing to ask that some of them be sent up here forthwith, whereupon we shall immediately send you one.

You would greatly oblige me if you could send me, by return of mail and unstamped, a few numbers of the *Volks-Zeitung* and the

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[a] Polish name: Wrocław. - [b] Ever yours - [c] kept man

*National-Zeitung* in which the army's constitution is discussed, and also one or two little pamphlets that have appeared over there on the subject—all of them together in *one* wrapper. Otherwise, it takes ages for me to get the things over here, and I shouldn't see the newspapers at all.

First published in: *F. Lassalle, Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften,* Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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## 43

## MARX TO J. M. WEBER

IN BERLIN

London, 27 March 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Sir,

I am enclosing herewith the *last* two documents needed to complete what has already been sent. The *first* is a letter from the editor-in-chief of the *New-York Tribune* to me.[a] I have included a German translation.

The *second* document is highly important in that it proves that the wretched Cherval, *alias* Nugent, *alias* Crämer, far from being in touch with me when he was *in Geneva,* was hounded out of that city as a result of my book about the Communist trial in Cologne.[b] The letter is from Johann Philipp Becker in Paris (Becker fled after the affair of 1830/31, in 1848/49 he first commanded the volunteers in Baden, then he was colonel of the revolutionary army in Baden and the Palatinate; he is now a business man in Paris and, so to speak, the doyen of the German émigrés) and is directed to Rheinländer, a merchant in London, with whom he has business connections. Mr Rheinländer, who is an acquaintance of mine, was good enough to let me have the letter.[c]

Apart from this letter, I have also sent you:

1. Dated 21 Feb. Power of attorney, together with enclosures.

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[a] A letter from Charles Dana. See this volume, p. 68.- [b] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.* - [c] Marx quotes it in *Herr Vogt,* present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 60-63.

2. Dated 24 Feb. A letter, together with enclosures.
3. Dated 3 March. Two packages with enclosures.[a]

I now look forward to receiving by return of post, firstly, a confirmation that these various letters, etc., have arrived, secondly, some news about the progress of the libel suit.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Dr Karl Marx

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## 44

## MARX TO BERTALAN SZEMERE

IN PARIS

London, 4 April 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

My dear Sir,

I have *not yet* received your pamphlet.[b]

Mr Engels is my *best* friend and, consequently, will do everything to prove useful to you.

[As to][c] Stoffregen, I do *not* know him, but was [told in] Manchester by different merchants tha[t he is] a person lacking *tact,* intrusive etc. Stil[l] in some lower layers of the Lancashire society, he may, possibly, sell your wines as well as anybody else.

You will oblige me by sending me *by next post* the address of General Perczel. I want an explication on his part.[d] Which are your relations with P.?

*Les choses marchent.*[e]

Yours truly

A. Williams

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Revue d'histoire comparée,* t. IV, No. 1-2, Budapest, 1946

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[a] See this volume, pp. 53, 59-76, 92-104. - [b] B. Szemere, *La Question hongroise (1848-1860),* Paris, 1860. - [c] Manuscript damaged. - [d] See this volume, pp. 125-26. - [e] Things are going well.

# 45

# ENGELS TO MARX

## IN LONDON

Manchester, 8 April 1860

Dear Moor,

During the last few days of my stay in Barmen[146] the contract relating to the Manchester business has been subjected to thorough legal scrutiny. This convinced me that everything over here was hanging in the balance and that I must get back without a moment's delay. I left on Friday morning at 6 o'clock and was back here by 12 noon yesterday, i.e. in 30 hours. *The thing was, we wanted to secure Charley.*[a] This was accomplished yesterday evening, in so far as it was necessary, and now I shall have to wait and see what Gottfried[b] does. However, my base of operations is now secure.

Under the circumstances, I shan't be able to come to London until everything here has been settled. Until then I shall be up to my eyes in business matters and legal quibbles, and there's nothing I can do about it. In the meantime I have learned from Gumpert and Siebel what they know. I've neither seen nor heard anything of my pamphlet.[c] You might return me the copy you have, also the letter (presumably from Fischel?) G. sent you,[d] so that I know what is going on. Open the letter if you haven't already done so; this will save writing to and fro.

G. told me that there had been some further unpleasantness at my lodgings; I'm moving out straight away.

I neither saw nor heard anything of the Prussian police. No one demanded my passport or anything of that kind. The few policemen I ran into in Barmen gave me a MILITARY SALUTE, that was all.

Industry on the Rhine has developed enormously and the constitutional system has bitten deep into the citizenry. Things have changed vastly since 1848, though sufficient of the old leaven still remains.

Still no reply from Weber[e]? If it doesn't arrive soon, there'll be nothing else for it but to get Ephraim Artful[f] to take him to task.

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[a] Roesgen - [b] Ermen - [c] F. Engels, *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine.* - [d] See this volume, pp. 113-14, 133. - [e] ibid., p. 92. - [f] Lassalle

Kindest regards to your wife and the YOUNG LADIES. Immediately I've sorted things out up here I shall come and see you.

Your
F. E.

Will you also send the key to the lower bookcase. What is all this about the parcel of letters that was supposedly left in the bedroom, or so Gumpert maintains?

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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## 46

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 April 1860

Dear Engels,

Great disappointment today when, instead of yourself, your letter arrived. However, we saw that it only made 'good sense'.

Siebel has carried out his mission well and with great discretion.[147]

I still haven't been able to find the key.[a] However, the 'upper' key also fits the lower key-hole. It locks both compartments.

I shall send you Weydemeyer's letter shortly.

Before leaving Manchester I confided to Gumpert, etc., such fables as I thought necessary to justify my *non-trip* to Holland.

Freiligrath has written me a friendly letter. Up till now I have neither answered him, nor seen him.

The only letter I have had from Gumpert that was addressed to *you* was intended for me—from Liebknecht, who informs me that the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* has given him notice.[148]

No news from Fischel.

Nor yet from Weber.

I shall post you your pamphlet[b] from here on Thursday.[c] Borkheim has advertised it in the *Hermann* (latest issue)[d] and I in

[a] See previous letter. - [b] F. Engels, *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*. - [c] 11 April - [d] *Hermann*, 7 April 1860.

the *Tribune*; Liebknecht will now (Wednesday) advertise it in the *New Orleans Paper*.[a]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

The American papers (*New-Yorker Staatszeitung*, etc.) are full of Vogt's drivel. The fellows over there got the book[b] sooner than we did in London.

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## 47

## MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

### IN PARIS

London N.W., 9 April 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

My dear friend Becker,

First, my most sincere thanks for your letter, for the verbal information you gave to Siebel and for *sending the correspondence*. Apart from anything else, I ought to account *Sieur*[c] Vogt's attack a blessing, if only because it has brought me into closer contact with the doyen of our revolution and our emigration. I do not, by the by, share the Philistines' astonishment at the consistency of your behaviour. Hitherto I have always found that, once they set out on a revolutionary course, all men of really reliable character—I would mention only old Levasseur, Cobbet, Robert Owen, Lelewel and General Mellinet—constantly draw fresh strength from their

[a] Presumably the *Deutsche Zeitung*. - [b] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*. - [c] Mr

setbacks and become ever more resolute, the longer they swim in the stream of history.

The next reason for my writing—other than the desire to convey my thanks to you personally—is that I have been commissioned by my old friend J. Weydemeyer to enlist correspondents in Europe for the *Stimme des Volks.* This paper, I should say, has been founded in Chicago by the *American Workers' League,*[149] whose headquarters have moved from New York to Chicago. It is a daily paper and may acquire even greater importance since Chicago is increasingly becoming the metropolis of the North-West. I enclose the heading of the prospectus.

*Terms are as follows:* You would have to contribute *once* a week. Fee 2 dollars per article. This would come to ABOUT £5 or 125 fr. a quarter. The fee is a small one, nor could it be otherwise in the case of a workers' paper. On the other hand, my friend Weydemeyer's character is a guarantee of prompt payment, which cannot exactly be said of German-American papers elsewhere. If you agree to this request, you could start *next* week, but notify me beforehand.

The parcel containing the invaluable correspondence came by post, the day before S. arrived in London. I shall get them bound and always keep them at your disposal. Among them is a document of a column mutinying against Willich,[a] which is highly characteristic of this Don Quixote.

I should be very glad—and it would be of great importance to my pamphlet[b]—if you, with your intimate knowledge of Fazy, could send me a *thumb-nail sketch* of his goings-on *since the coup d'état,* also a vignette of the man's character. I regard Vogt simply as the servant of Fazy, whom I once saw in Paris (1843) and whom I at once sized up correctly by his being a former contributor to the *National* (on which the best of them were *bad*).

Lommel's little work[c] is entertaining and has some useful revelations about 1847/48. But I can't agree with his extremely parochial ideas about the origins of the year of revolution. However it is, perhaps, the very narrowness of his outlook that enables him to portray vividly and with true insight the ground with which he is personally familiar.

Your two little poems about Leibniz and 'What of it?' pleased me enormously and it would be a good idea if you were to enclose

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[a] See Marx's *Herr Vogt,* present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 82-83. - [b] *Herr Vogt*
[c] [G. Lommel,] *Hinter den Coulissen,* Geneva and New York, 1859.

them (assuming you agree to my proposal) with your first article for Weydemeyer. W.'s address is:

J. Weydemeyer, CARE OF Chicago Arbeiterverein, BOX 1345, Chicago, Ill. United States. (Ill. stands for Illinois.)

With fraternal greetings,

Yours truly,
K. Marx

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Jg. 6, Stuttgart, 1888 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

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## 48

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[150]

IN BERLIN

London, 9 April 1860
(The old address)

Dear Lassalle,

Since your last letter, all manner of things have happened. Engels' father has died and Engels has spent a fortnight in Prussia by permission of the Prussian Government. I myself, however, have been overwhelmed with business, and even now can only write quite briefly.

1. My lawyer[a] in Berlin has asked me to undertake *not to mention his name.* If, however, despite the mass of material I have sent him and despite various reminders, these six weeks of silence are prolonged, you will have to prod him, for the case becomes statute-barred on 22 April.

2. Vogt visited Plon-Plon in Paris. He was seen by acquaintances of mine, who spoke to him. Nevertheless, he had the effrontery to state, or cause it to be stated, in the German papers that *he had not been to Paris.*

3. Have *not* received the Humboldt.[151]

4. I shall send you the *Knight of the Noble* [*Consciousness*] today.[b]

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[a] J. M. Weber - [b] See this volume, pp. 108-09.

5. My old friend *J. Weydemeyer* has given up his post as DEPUTY-SURVEYOR in the state of Wisconsin at the request of the American *'Workers' League'* (a public society with branches throughout the United States)[149] which has moved its *headquarters* from New York to Chicago (Illinois). W. will assume the editorship there of a daily paper founded with the help of workers' shares.[a] Chicago is increasingly becoming the centre in the American North-West where German influence predominates. W. has asked me to enlist correspondents for the paper and this I have done over here, in Paris and in Switzerland.[b] I invite you to undertake the German articles (if possible at least *two* a week). There is no question of payment. But as party work it is *very* important. W. is one of our *best* people. If, as I hope, you agree to this, you should start directly and send your articles to:

'J. Weydemeyer, CARE OF Chicago Arbeiterverein, BOX 1345, *Chicago* (Illinois), *United States*.'

6. While leafing through the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (necessary on Vogt's account) I was glad to discover a short leader in which we broke a lance with the *Vossische*[c] for Miss Ludmilla Assing.

7. Would it be possible for you to send me a brief sketch of what the worthy Zabel of the *National-Zeitung* has been up to, since reaction set in? The sketch could appear in my pamphlet[d] as a letter signed by you. You would, moreover, find yourself in the company of *highly honourable refugees* who are writing about other people for this work. Some anonymously, others under their own names. Several do *not* belong to our faction of the party.

Your
K. M.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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[a] *Stimme des Volkes* - [b] See this volume, pp. 115-16, 118-19. - [c] *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* - [d] *Herr Vogt*

# 49
# MARX TO GEORG LOMMEL

IN GENEVA

[*Draft*] [London,] 9 April 1860

To G. Lommel. (Geneva)

Citizen,

I have been told by Siebel, whom I saw a day or two since at Freiligrath's while on his way back from Switzerland, that a letter sent by me from Manchester on 26 February to the editors of the *Neue Schweizer Zeitung,*[42] and intended for you, has fallen into Brass's hands. For I had been informed that you were the editor of the *Neue Schweizer Zeitung,* a paper I have never seen. It was in this belief that I wrote to you, since your name was known to me through its having featured with such great credit in the annals of the revolution. I would not have written to Mr Brass.

What I wanted of you was to learn something about Vogt's activities. Material concerning the activities of V. and other Bonapartist agents has been pouring in from people belonging to the emigrations of various countries and to the various schools of thought within the revolutionary party. But I wish to set to work with discrimination and a strict regard for the truth. A contribution from you, with your intimate knowledge of how things stand in Switzerland, would therefore be of the utmost value to me.

With regard to your book *Hinter den Coulissen,* a copy of which was given me by Siebel, I found this of great interest and believe it is important that the second part should appear. In the case of *the latter,* I might be able to get hold of a financially reliable bookseller for you *over here.* With regard to part I, I think I could dispose of 300 copies at 1 franc apiece, partly by direct sales at the various societies in London, partly through booksellers. But *first* the copies would have *to be here.* If this appeals to you, send the copies to the booksellers 'Petsch, etc., London'.

Finally, I have one more proposal to make you. My friend J. Weydemeyer (previously co-editor of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* in Frankfurt) has given up his post as DEPUTY-SURVEYOR in the state of Wisconsin at the request of the Workers' League in the *United States* (which has moved its headquarters from New York to Chicago),[149] in order to take over the editorship in Chicago of *Die Stimme des Volks,* a daily paper founded by the Working Men's and

Gymnastic Club.[152] I have been asked by him to enlist correspondents in Europe, and this I have done over here, in Paris and in Berlin. I am taking the liberty of inviting you to act as correspondent for *Switzerland,* initially on the basis of *one* contribution per week. Fee 2 dollars (10 frs.) per article—payments, as might be expected from a paper of this kind and particularly at the outset, will be modest for the time being, but will improve as the paper grows. Hitherto there has been only *one* daily in the state of Illinois, the *Staatszeitung.*[a] Day by day, however, Chicago is increasingly becoming the centre of the entire North-West of America, where there is a very large German population. I can guarantee *prompt* payment. If you agree to this proposal, will you start straight away *this week* and be good enough to advise me. The address is:

J. Weydemeyer, CARE OF Chicago Arbeiterverein, BOX 1345, *Chicago* (Illinois), *United States.*

To come back to Vogt, you will have seen a statement of mine (beginning of February)[b] in various German newspapers to the effect that I shall reply to his lampoon[c] after settlement of the libel action I have brought against the Berlin *National-Zeitung* for printing excerpts from Vogt's concoction.[d]

On pp. 180-181 (cf. the passage) Vogt speaks of a 'conspiracy' he foiled at the Lausanne working men's festival. Can you give me any information about this piece of boasting? The passage runs as follows:[153] What is the truth of the matter?

Finally, I would take the liberty of pointing out that your account of Vogt's activities, which you could send me in the form of a letter, thereby finding yourself in the highly honourable company of other refugees (though it cannot appear until later by reason of the lawsuit in Berlin[e]), would figure in my pamphlet[f] as a section in its own right, contributed by you, and I would, of course, pass on to you the fee per sheet paid me by the publisher in respect of the section you had contributed. I say this because I know full well what it is to be a refugee, having myself lived under those conditions almost uninterruptedly for seventeen years, and it would be most unjust if one of us were to accept payment from a publisher at the expense of another. Owing to the lawsuit in

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[a] *Die Tägliche Illinois Staats-Zeitung* - [b] K. Marx, 'To the Editors of the *Volks-Zeitung.* Declaration', 6 February 1860. - [c] C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung,* Geneva, 1859. - [d] 'Karl Vogt und die Allgemeine Zeitung' and 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', *National-Zeitung,* Nos. 37 and 41, 22 and 25 January 1860. - [e] See this volume, pp. 40-45 and 59-76. - [f] *Herr Vogt*

Berlin and also because Vogt's main attack, etc., is directed against me, my pamphlet will be in great demand and will find a good publisher in Germany. One is inclined to ask whether a concentration of attacking forces would not be desirable in the interests of the cause. On that point you will, of course, be entirely your own judge and under no circumstances should you misconstrue my plain speaking.

With fraternal greetings,

Yours truly,
K. M.

When writing to me, address your letters: A. Williams,[a] Esq., 9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, London.

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## 50

## ENGELS TO EMIL ENGELS

### IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

Manchester, 11 April 1860

Dear Emil,

What do you think G. Ermen's *latest* proposals are?

1. He wants to buy mother out by instalments and assume sole control of the business.

2. Under the terms envisaged in the contract *I* am to stay on with him as clerk for another four years!

At so cheap a price does the fellow think to buy us out of our inheritance in the firm of Ermen & Engels and obtain my grateful assent to my own degradation vis-à-vis himself.

The negotiations were quite amicable. The proposals affecting myself I turned down flat, whereupon he held out the prospect that I *might* become a partner in four years, whereupon I demanded guarantees before I could consider the matter and told him that we were all of the opinion that, if there was to be a

[a] An alias used by Marx in some of his letters.

parting of the ways, it would mean division in kind and competition. This surprised him greatly, and the matter progressed no further. He had imagined that we in Barmen were urgently in need of money (as to which I enlightened him) and wanted to exploit the opportunity. In short, he was very disappointed by the conversation and will doubtless make some other approach. More when I see you.

After this affair, we can be more certain of Charles[a] than ever; he actually believes that we two will be able to make Gottfried[b] do anything, perhaps even retire into private life.

Your
F. Engels

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## 51

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 April 1860

Dear Engels,

BEST THANKS for the hundred pound note. It came as a glorious surprise THIS MORNING. The whole family was filled with glee.

You may or may not have seen that the *Kölnische Zeitung* (*Schlesinger*, London) has had the impudence to talk about the Brimstone Gang[65] and its Russian redolence. WELL! Through the good offices of my bankrupt friend Speck I am now hot on the trail of the whole Brimstone Gang here in London.

*D'abord*,[c] you'll have seen in the papers that Palmerston has amused himself by presenting Mr *Reuter* (the Jew from Trieste of telegraph fame)[d] to the Queen.[e] And who do you think is factotum to this grammatically illiterate Jew Reuter?—*Siegmund Engländer*, who was expelled from Paris because, although a spy in

[a] Roesgen - [b] Ermen - [c] First - [d] Julius Reuter. A list of persons presented to Queen Victoria on 28 March 1860, was published in *The Times*, No. 23580, 29 March 1860. - [e] Victoria

the pay of France (600 frs. per month), he was discovered to be a 'secret' **Russian** spy. This same Reuter, together with Engländer, Hörfel and **Schlesinger,** was a partner in a Bonapartist lithographic news agency in Paris (an *honorary member* being one Esterhazy, a MAN ABOUT TOWN and the cousin of Esterh., the Austrian ambassador); they fell out, etc. Mr *Bernhard Wolff, chief proprietor of the Berlin 'National-Zeitung'* and owner of the Berlin telegraphic bureau, is hand-in-purse (partners) with *S. Engländer,* who is at present editing European world history in Reuter's name. N. B. Russia has now joined the 'Austro-German Telegraphic Union' and, *'pour encourager les autres',*[a] has got Pam to present her Reuter to the QUEEN. I am to get a detailed account of Schlesinger's entire *curriculum vitae,* as well as that of Reuter's.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

My thanks to Siebel for the notes, which arrived today. Also for his *Religion und Liebe.*[b] My wife thinks highly of the latter.

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## 52

## MARX TO J. M. WEBER

IN BERLIN

London, 13 April 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Sir,

A fortnight ago yesterday I sent you the final documents, at the same time requesting you to acknowledge receipt of the letters and enclosures previously despatched, and also to let me know briefly how the case is progressing.[c] I am exceedingly worried by the

[a] 'to encourage the others' - [b] [C. Siebel,] *Religion und Liebe. Roman aus dem Tagebuche eines Anonymen,* Hamburg, 1860. - [c] See this volume, pp. 110-11.

complete absence of news, the more so since, in your letter of 22 February, you say the action will become statute-barred on *22 April* and, after receiving the said letter, I had expected an early communication from you.

I remain, Sir, Your most Obedient Servant,

Dr Karl Marx

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## 53

## MARX TO ENGELS[67]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 April 1860

Dear Engels,

Have had some most valuable material from Lommel today.[a] However, he volunteered to submit to a further CROSS-EXAMINATION, and one such has already gone off to him today.[42] It was also much needed. Moreover, in the letter in which I buttered him up, I suggested he should send 300 copies of his *Hinter den Coulissen* to Petsch (the booksellers) here. I would promote the sales (in working men's clubs, etc.). Now he wants an advance of 150 francs. I think that you in Manchester should CLUB together *forthwith* and raise a few pounds, while I would find the rest down here. The man is *invaluable* to us. He has also written about this to Siebel. Hence I shall also drop the latter a couple of lines today. Siebel should do nothing without first consulting me.

I enclose Weydemeyer's letter.

*Not a word yet* from that confounded lawyer,[b] to whom I sent a reminder last Friday.[c] However, he's got the retaining fee, and I his acceptance of the brief. So, I cannot imagine that he will lay himself open to a lawsuit against himself.

A lot more sanctimonious preaching from Lassalle, together

[a] See this volume, pp. 118-19. - [b] J. M. Weber - [c] See previous letter.

with a printed essay (on *Fichte's political legacy*[a]) for Walesrode's political pocket edition, not yet out.[b] It appears from L.'s letter that he has read your pamphlet,[c] which means it *has come out in Berlin.* Presumably the publisher will only start advertising it now, along with the Easter eggs. L.'s letter is altogether fatuous. He's been ill again. He is again writing a 'major work'.[d] Aside from this major work, he has in his mind a clear outline of three other major works, including the 'political economy', and is, in addition, studying 6-7 unnamed sciences 'with productive intent'. The Countess,[e] he writes, has lost a great deal of money, for which reason he must go to Cologne. Probably misguided speculation in railways, etc.

Mont Sion does in fact exist, or so I see from the map included in the BLUE BOOK on Savoy[f] (in the Genevois, EX-NEUTRAL).

Apropos.

Questions for Lupus:

1. In one of his letters from Zurich I find that he was acquainted with Brass. Could he supply any information about him?

2. Did the rump parliament in Stuttgart[154] pass a resolution whereby the former imperial regents have the right to recall the German parliament on any particular occasion?

Do you or Lupus know anything about a request for annexation sent in 1849 by the then provisional government of the Palatinate to the French National Assembly?

When are you coming down here?

Your

Moor

Haven't seen Freiligrath yet. The idea of meeting the chap is 'awful',[g] and yet I've got to swallow the bitter pill. If only for diplomatic reasons, after our mutual assurances of friendship.

And then, he has written to me in an AMIABLE manner.

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[a] Lassalle, *Fichte's politisches Vermächtniss und die neueste Gegenwart.* - [b] *Demokratische Studien* - [c] *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* - [d] *Das System der erworbenen Rechte* - [e] Sophie von Hatzfeldt - [f] *Papers relating to proposed Annexation of Savoy and Nice to France and memorial on the relations between Switzerland and Savoy as a Neutral*, London, 1860. - [g] Marx uses the dialectal form 'öklig' for 'eklig'.

# 54

# MARX TO MÓR PERCZEL

## IN ST HÉLIÉR

London, 16 April 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear General,

In furtherance of a work I intend to publish on Bonapartist machinations,[a] I am taking the liberty of addressing myself to you as one of the most vigorous champions of European liberty. During the recent war in Italy[46] you issued a statement in which you showed that you had seen through the humbug and had therefore made a timely exit from the stage—proof, if proof were needed, of your superiority to that clown, Kossuth, and his sycophants. Having unfortunately lost that statement, I had recourse to Szemere in Paris.[b] He referred me to you. Hence, if you would be so kind as to let me have a copy of the said statement, together with your comments on the deception practised on the Hungarians in Italy, you would be doing a service to the good cause.

As early as last summer (1859), in articles of mine which appeared in the *New-York Tribune*[c] and the *London 'Free Press'*,[d] I mentioned your name as that of the only military representative of the Hungarian emigration not to have succumbed to the bribes and wiles of the diplomats of France and Russia, or allowed himself to be impressed by Kossuth's phantasmagoria, and, in the new book I propose to write, I should be glad to allot you the place of honour that befits you.

I am taking the liberty of reminding you that, as early as 1848-49, when Editor-in-Chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, I was the most determined advocate of revolutionary Hungary in Germany. Now, as then, I consider *Hungary's independence and sovereignty to be the conditio sine qua of Germany's release from slavery.* But with no less determination do I reject the endeavour to

[a] *Herr Vogt* - [b] See this volume, p. 111. - [c] 'Kossuth and Louis Napoleon' - [d] 'Particulars of Kossuth's Transaction with Louis Napoleon'

debase the *nationalities* by using them as a cloak for Muscovite-Decembrist[155] intrigue.

I am, Sir, etc.

Yours,
Dr Karl Marx

First published in Hungarian in *Párttörténeti Közlemények*, No. 4, Budapest, 1966 and in the language of the original (German) in: Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, Berlin, 1973

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## 55

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 17 April 1860

Dear Engels,

I trust that your indisposition isn't serious. Also that you are taking care of yourself and not over-working.

I have sent Lommel *the 150 francs* today.[a] (What you don't manage to scrape together in Manchester will be collected here.) For the following reasons:

1. If he is to retrieve the books[b] from the bookbinders', he has got to pay 50 frs. That leaves him 100 frs. To haggle over that would be *exceedingly impolitic* and would not command any respect for our party.

2. The main thing is that the so-called advance be sent to the chap quickly and *unconditionally*. In that way, he'll be beholden to us. The other half he shall have BY AND BY and thus will remain *ENGAGED* to us.

3. As soon as he has the money, he will leave for Savoy whence he will send back reports.

4. From Petsch's note enclosed herewith (I gave him the copy Siebel brought back with him) you will see that he believes that he can make a profit on what is, in fact, an interesting pamphlet.

5. L. is a decent chap. Otherwise he'd sell himself. From the papers Becker has sent me, I see that Lommel was a leading light

[a] See this volume, p. 123. - [b] [G. Lommel,] *Hinter den Coulissen.*

in the old Republican Party. Also a friend of Heinzen's. What a clamour there'll be from the latter over this defection!

I am in two minds about Siebel's work for the *Strassburger Zeitung*.[a]

Your
K. M.

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## 56

## ENGELS TO GOTTFRIED ERMEN

### IN MANCHESTER

*Copy* Manchester, 19 April 1860

Sir,

I have no hesitation in expressing my regret that you should have taken offence at my taking home the book of calculations during dinner-time. As books have been taken home, before, by others connected with the office, I did not expect it would have caused you any annoyance. As to any intentions on my part of taking any undue advantage, you are aware that the whole of the calculations contained in the said book are so much out of date that not one of the elements given therein agrees with the present real cost. I could not, therefore, have any such intention, and [I] hope the feeling now expressed by you is not in any way influenced by the prospect of the arrangements for winding up, or otherwise settling, the affairs of the firm, it being the interest of all parties that such matters should be conducted in a friendly and accommodating spirit.

I am, Sir,

your obedient servant,
Fred. Engels

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[a] Presumably the *Strassburger Korrespondent für West- und Mitteleuropa*.

## 57

## MARX TO J. M. WEBER

IN BERLIN

London, 21 April 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Sir,

Eleven days ago I sent you a letter,[a] in which I notified you that I had still not received either an acknowledgment of, or a reply to, the numerous letters (enclosing documents, power of attorney, etc.) despatched from here and Manchester over the past two months, although your letter of 22 February had led me to expect an early communication and, according to that same letter, the action will become statute-barred on 22 April (i.e. tomorrow). I therefore requested an explanation.

Having received no reply to that letter either, I am forced to conclude

*Either* that my letters failed to arrive, although every one, save the last, was registered;

*Or* that at least one of your letters has been intercepted.

Therefore, should this letter suffer the same fate as its predecessors, I shall lodge a complaint both with the General Post Office over here and with the Prussian Embassy; I shall also, if need be, make a public protest in the columns of the *London 'Times'*.

I am, Sir, Your most Obedient Servant,

Dr K. Marx

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[a] Obviously the letter of 13 April 1860, see this volume, pp. 122-23.

# 58

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 April 1860

DEAR Frederick,

Herewith a letter from Weber. From that letter I learn for the first time (what the jackass might have been kind enough to tell me earlier on) that he did not *originally* file a civil but a *criminal* action for *injuria* against Zabel, which means that, under Prussian law, the application has to be countersigned by the Royal Procurator's Office. Since this has been refused, he has appealed. It is, of course, 'an issue of *public* importance'[156] to the Prussian government that we should be traduced to the utmost.

From his letter you will see that he also instituted the civil action on the 18th.

Will you let Dr Heckscher know about this business and give him some notes (a few lines) on the subject for the Hamburg *Reform*?[a] He has himself repeatedly offered to do me a service of this kind, and the matter has got to be brought out into the open (if only to instil a little caution into the Prussian government). I am also writing to Siebel to this effect. Indeed, the public must not be allowed to suppose that the matter has lapsed.

The stuff from Lommel (I have got six or seven more documents from him)[b] contains ample CIRCUMSTANTIAL EDIVENCE of Vogt's bribery. Vogt no longer feels *safe* in Geneva and has therefore applied for Schwyz citizenship. I hope, by the by, that one of these days you will write me a proper letter telling me just how *your* affairs are going. It's not very friendly of you to treat me with the reserve that might be appropriate in the case of others.

How goes it with your health? I've been most anxious about it.

Your

K. M.

The Perrier business had been prearranged with Bonaparte, but never attained the dimensions originally envisaged.[157] J. Perrier was in Paris *with* Fazy, and was seen there by Becker's son.[c]

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[a] See this volume, p. 134. - [b] ibid., p. 123. - [c] Gottfried Becker

No answer as yet from Fischel, to whom I wrote[42] on the subject of your pamphlet[a] (Schily has also badgered him about it).

While, in the West German *Strassburger Zeitung*,[b] the literary Zouaves keep up the skirmish, so too do the literary Cossacks in the German *Baltische Monatsschrift* (Riga); we 'Teutons' are thus under attack on both flanks.[c]

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## 59

## MARX TO GEORG RHEINLÄNDER

### IN LONDON

[London,] 24 April 1860

Dear Rheinländer,

I should be much obliged to you if you would request Mr Stecher to tell you exactly (as exactly as possible) *when* Cherval first came to Geneva, *how long* he stayed there, and *when* he performed his vanishing act.

It would be nice to see you again some time. I have all sorts of things to tell you.

Yours,
K. Marx[158]

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[a] *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* - [b] *Strassburger Korrespondent für West- und Mitteleuropa* - [c] See also Marx's article 'Garibaldi in Sicily.—Affairs in Prussia', present edition, Vol. 17, p. 385.

# 60

# MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

## IN BERLIN

London, 24 April 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

Many thanks for Humboldt[a] and Fichte.[159] I hadn't yet read the latter, and it was CLEVER of you to throw it into the fray. When your letter arrived, I got Engels to send me both your letter and the one from Counsellor Weber in Berlin. From this last I see that the matter of not mentioning his name applied *solely* to my public announcements in the newspapers[b]; hence I was, in this instance, labouring under a misapprehension.

Today I have heard from Weber. From his letter it would appear that he *began* by filing a criminal action. He then received the following communication dated 18th inst.

'The original documents are returned to Dr Carl Marx, c/o Counsellor Weber, together with the notification that *no issue of public importance* is raised by this matter which could make it desirable for me to take any action (Art. XVI of the Prolegomena to the Penal Code of April 14, 1851). Berlin, April 18, etc. Lippe.'

Weber has appealed to the Chief Public Prosecutor[c] against this ruling. At the same time, in order to prevent its becoming statute-barred and to keep open another course of action, he has filed the action for *injuria* with the civil judge.

With my pamphlet[d] in view, I am, of course, having investigations made in Paris and Switzerland, and have even sent an emissary[e] to Geneva. I now have *proof* that Vogt is a French agent. At the moment, he no longer feels safe in Geneva and is therefore sounding out the possibility of becoming a citizen of another canton.

Apropos. An acquaintance of mine[f]—a Berliner—staunchly maintains that a certain Mayer or Meier,[70] of the firm Abraham M. and Co. (or Sons), who lives in Viktoriastrasse, Berlin, is the

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[a] *Briefe von Alexander von Humboldt an Varnhagen von Ense aus den Jahren 1827 bis 1858*, Leipzig, 1860. - [b] See this volume, p. 116. - [c] Schwarck - [d] *Herr Vogt* - [e] Carl Siebel - [f] Julius Faucher

correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph.* Could you not get your lady friends to investigate?

Shall reply to your letter anon.

No doubt you'll have left Berlin by the time this note reaches you.

Your
K. M.

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## 61

## MARX TO J. M. WEBER

IN BERLIN

London, 24 April 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose a retaining fee of 15 talers, at the same time advising you that I fully agree to all the measures adopted by you.

I remain, Sir,

Your Obedient Servant,

Dr Karl Marx

*P. S.* As a result of investigations that I have started in Paris and Switzerland, notably in Geneva,[160] I now have *proof* (*after* the proceedings I intend to publish it in pamphlet form) that Professor Karl Vogt is no more than a common French agent. I believe, by the by, that the annexation of Nice and Savoy will have opened the eyes of even the blindest of men to the 'Italian work of liberation',[161] the danger that is threatening Germany and the rightness of those who *uttered timely warnings.*

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# 62

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 May 1860

Dear Frederick,

Herewith:

1. *Letter from Fischel.*[162] Gumpert's belief that he sent me a letter written to you from Berlin is a DELUSION. The letter to you which he sent contained Liebknecht's letter to me.[a]

2. *Letter from Szemere.* I haven't written to him for a long time because I disliked intensely the way he flattered Badinguet[163] and Pam in his pamphlet.[b] However, I shall now give him a piece of my mind.

3. *Letter from Emmermann and Beust to Schily.*[164] What do you think of these worthies? Beust, buckling on his sword and accusing me of prevarication just because he got scared and decamped from Cologne! You needn't return the letters to me, but had better file them.

As regards Fischel's suggestion, I must first know more about the kind of newspaper he envisages, the line it will take, etc.

I'm very glad that it was Schimmelpfennig who was Techow's addressee[56] for that will enable me to present the one in terms of the other. It's also a good thing that Willich prevented a reply to Schapper. I shall treat him with mild irony.

Have met Freiligrath. The philistine clearly wishes to remain on good terms with us. Beyond this, doesn't want to be drawn into the 'scandal'. His views have become mediocre in the extreme.

I hope to hear from you soon.

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, p. 113. - [b] B. Szemere, *La Question hongroise (1848-1860)*, Paris, 1860.

## 63

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 7 May 1860]

Dear Moor,

Heckscher sent the story to the *Reform*[a] straight away, but with what success I don't yet know; as usual, having made a great song and dance about his influence, he now says he can't promise it will appear, etc.

Meanwhile Siebel has got it into the *Mittelrheinische Zeitung*.

Any news from Berlin?

Mr Szemere has put me to great expense over the Tokay. The wine's so sweet that no one can drink it, so I've sent back the whole lot, apart from a bottle or two, and shall, of course, have to bear all the expenses, customs duty, etc., etc. He writes most civilly, offering me other wines, but charges three times as much as Charles's[b] wine merchant in Pest. The fellow is trying to make huge profits out of his *'entreprise toute patriotique'. Nous verrons.*[c]

Siebel is ill with some 'genius's ailment' on which, as usual, he prides himself. I shall go and see him this evening.

I haven't heard a word about my pamphlet[d] or seen anything in the papers. It's the *conspiration du silence* all over again.

Apropos. Reiff has come up here, or so he says, on the advice of Liebknecht, Lochner, etc.! He wants me to help him with money; is a street musician. I've told him that in the circumstances I would first have to write to you, which didn't seem to please him.—Said you were angry, etc., etc. *Que faire?*[e] What do you think of the chap? In any case, I can't do much for him.

My brother Emil is here and is negotiating with Ermen. I shall probably be remaining with Gottfried[f] as clerk with a percentage of the profits, in return for a guarantee that I shall become a partner in a few years' time. I'm trying to make the contract as onerous as possible for G. so that, when the time comes, he'll be only too glad to let me go. By the end of this week, or at any rate in the course of the next, everything will probably have been fixed

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[a] See this volume, p. 129. - [b] Charles Roesgen - [c] 'wholly patriotic enterprise'. We shall see. - [d] *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* - [e] What should we do? - [f] Gottfried Ermen

up. For the next few weeks, by the way, I shall probably have to drudge fittingly, for Monsieur Gottfried intends to make great changes and do a lot of reorganising the moment he's in sole charge of the CONCERN.

Many regards to your wife and the young ladies.

Your
F. E.

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## 64

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 May 1860

Dear Frederick,

Reiff is a scoundrel. No one sent him up to Manchester. He disappeared from here after he had been exposed. He was thrown out of the League[63] back in 1850. During the preliminary investigation at the Cologne trial[2] he actually turned traitor. I've just found a letter of Bermbach's which refers to this.[a] So, have nothing to do with him.

As to your pamphlet,[b] you'll have found something in Fischel's letter. By the by, in your place I shouldn't hesitate to exploit friend Siebel's minor literary connections (as soon as he's up and about again, that is) for the purpose of combating the *conspiration du silence*. Had you actually put your name to the pamphlet, the public would have seized upon it, if only out of curiosity. Behrend, by the by, seems to be even worse than Duncker.

Szemere is a man who likes to ask others to do him a service, but who keeps his own pocket-flaps buttoned. You have now done enough for him and, if I were you, I would leave his wine to its *mission toute patriotique*.[c]

---

[a] Marx quoted Bermbach's letter in his letter to Engels of 20 July 1852. See present edition, Vol. 39, pp. 134-35. - [b] *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* - [c] wholly patriotic mission

I don't much care for the SETTLEMENT with G. Ermen. The question is, whether your family is or is not leaving any capital in the business. If the former, it might provide a vantage point from which to negotiate.

From your letter it would appear that you are once again going to cancel or postpone your trip down here. Considering how rapid communications are, you ought really to be able to spare a couple of days.

What do you think of the Sicilian business?[165]

Things in Vienna are said to be very revolutionary.

The English are, of course, now plaguing us with talk about Bruck. The day before yesterday a chap was again badgering me about it. He asked: 'NOW, WHAT DO YOU SAY OF BRUCK'S SUICIDE?' 'I'LL TELL YOU, SIR. IN AUSTRIA THE ROGUES CUT THEIR OWN THROATS, WHILE IN ENGLAND THEY CUT THEIR PEOPLE'S PURSES.'

Borkheim has just written to me from Dublin. He will be arriving in Manchester on Saturday[a] evening and will come and see you on Sunday.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

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## 65

## MARX TO EDUARD FISCHEL[142]

IN BERLIN

[London,] 8 May 1860

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your letter and for your trouble. I shall shortly be sending you a letter from little Faucher on the subject of Mayer.[b]

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[a] 11 May - [b] See this volume, pp. 131-32.

As for the proposed newspaper, I would not be averse to becoming involved in it.[162] Only I would first have to know something more about its establishment, political outlook, etc. As regards foreign policy (and this, as from England, would no doubt be the main thing), I believe that we are in substantial agreement. On the other hand, there might well be considerable differences of opinion in regard to internal policy. The main thing, of course, is to know what attitude the newspaper intends to adopt in Prussia. If it eschews an emphatically one-sided party viewpoint, I should say that, at the present time, when Germany is in danger, people of varying political views could work *together* against foreign foes, without making any mutual concessions.

Yours very truly,
K. Marx

Also written (8 May) to Engels, Borkheim, Eccarius, Petsch, and Weydemeyer.[a]

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## 66

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 May 1860

Dear Moor,

My brother[b] left this evening because my mother is seriously ill and sent for him by telegram.

Matters have been pretty well settled with Ermen. My family is leaving capital amounting to £10,000 in the business, which it will have to make over to me when I become a partner. My material position will improve straight away, or at least the percentage of my share. I shall tell you all about this when I come down at Whitsun. Providing, that is, that everything's settled by then, and

[a] Marx's note to the copy of the letter in his notebook. - [b] Emil Engels

nothing has happened to my mother, so that I am, in fact, able to come. But I'm rather afraid she may have caught the infection from my father. I feel as though typhoid fever has now got a grip on our family.

About the other points, tomorrow.

Siebel wants to know whether, amongst the papers he brought back, you have found the pamphlet, *Die Sphinx auf dem französischen Kaiserthron*[a]; Schily has noticed that it's missing and is afraid he may have lost it.

Saw Lupus yesterday. The bone's still troubling him, and rheumatism into the bargain. It almost looks as though Gumpert's intervention is bringing the matter to a head, which is just as well, since it will be over all the sooner, and then L. will be back on his pins again.

Regards to the FAMILY.

Your
F. E.

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## 67

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 May 1860

Dear Moor,

My mother in grave danger. Two telegrams from Barmen. No one's allowed to see her. I'm to go over there again, the necessary steps are being taken. How it will turn out I cannot say. This business has put my mind into a turmoil; apparently it really is typhoid.

I can't write to you about anything else today, my mind being altogether too full, and besides it's too late. For seven weeks now

[a] [K. Grün,] *Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, die Sphinx auf dem französischen Kaiserthron*, Hamburg, 1860.

I've been living in a state of continual tension and excitation which has now reached a climax—never has it been so bad. Fortunately, I am ALL RIGHT again physically. If I have to go to Barmen, I can probably so arrange things as to spend another day in London *en route,* in which case I shall see you.[166]

Many regards.

Your
F. E.

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## 68

## MARX TO CARL SIEBEL

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 May [1860]

Dear Siebel,

Herewith the answer from Berlin from which it appears that the criminal action has been dismissed. The civil action will never make any headway.[a] Kindly send the *Mittelrheinische Zeitung* a few lines setting forth the facts of the case. Let me have the letter back as soon as you've shown it to Gumpert and Lupus.

I have not yet approached a publisher about the pamphlet[b] and am wondering whether to try Leipzig or Hamburg.

Engels left here yesterday evening,[166] *sain et sauf.*[c]

I have not received the *Sphinx*[d] from you but it doesn't matter. I do not regard Boustrapa[167] as a sphinx, still less Mr Karl Grün as an Oedipus.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, p. 129. - [b] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt.* - [c] safe and sound - [d] [K. Grün,] *Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, die Sphinx auf dem französischen Kaiserthron,* Hamburg, 1860.

*Apropos.*

If you were to send the *Mittelrheinische Zeitung* a note about the progress of my case, dated 'Berlin', you might take the opportunity of slipping in a word or two about the Eichhoff-Stieber case,[44] which was decided on 10 May in the Court of the First Instance in Berlin. For Eichhoff has been given an eighteen-month sentence for 'libelling' Stieber. The libel suit rested mainly on the denunciation of Stieber (in the London *Hermann*) for perjury, theft, etc., perpetrated by him in the course of the Communist trial in Cologne (1852).[2] Below I cite various instances that are characteristic of the proceedings in the Prussian law court.

1. Eichhoff's denunciation rested (except for my pamphlet,[a] which he could not, of course, mention) on the reports printed by the *'Kölnische Zeitung' during* the proceedings in Cologne,[b] the authenticity of which has *never* been challenged either by Stieber or by anyone else. The court declared these reports to be *inadmissible* evidence. Whenever it was in the interests of Stieber, the court allowed as *authentic* the reports in the *Vossische Zeitung*[c] (probably deriving from Stieber himself), **because** they had been declared 'authentic' by Signor Stieber. Whenever it went *against* the interests of Stieber's denunciator, the selfsame court declared the meagre record kept by the clerk of the court to be the only *authentic* source.

2. Goldheim, a police official, and Greif, a police lieutenant, Stieber's chief fellow-culprits and his subordinate tools in the Communist trial of 1852, were wholly exempted from CROSS-EXAMINATION because the court did not wish to expose these gentlemen to the alternative (as the presiding judge[d] frankly stated) 'of either committing perjury or testifying against themselves'. On the other hand, their statements were allowed as evidence for Stieber's **defence.**

3. In 1851, Stieber and Greif had got the Prussian police spy Reuter to break into Oswald Dietz's house and steal papers, which (although they were in fact quite irrelevant to the charge[168]) were produced in evidence by Stieber during the Cologne trial. This

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[a] *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* - [b] Reports on the Communist trial in Cologne were published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* from 5 October to 13 November 1852, under the title 'Assisen-Procedur gegen D. Herm. Becker und Genossen. Anklage wegen hochverrätherischen Complottes'. - [c] Reports on the Cologne Communist trial were published in the *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen (Vossische Zeitung)* from 6 October to 16 November 1852, under the title 'Die Verhandlungen des grossen Kommunistenprozess vor dem Assisenhofe zu Köln. - [d] Göbel

*theft* was one of the counts upon which Eichhoff's denunciation of Stieber rested. And now just listen to this! Drenkmann, the Royal Procurator, enunciated the following brand-new theory of theft:

'The question as to whether or not the papers were acquired by theft may,' he said, 'be left in abeyance; in forming an opinion of *the accused*, it is of no account. Had they in fact been acquired by theft, the police official who had thus obtained them could not be accused of theft in the legal sense, but *at most* of immoral conduct. A theft in the legal sense demands a *dolus malus*.[a] This, however, *cannot* be *assumed* of police officials who might have instigated such a theft, since they would have been acting, not for their private advantage, but in the *interests* of the State.'

Thus, if a Prussian police official breaks into a house in London and 'steals' from it, he is 'at most' committing an immoral action, but not a crime in law. This is a suspension of COMMON LAW imposed upon the English by the Prussian State.

4. Hirsch, in prison in Hamburg, had testified on oath that the minute-book [169] had been fabricated by himself and Fleury under Greif's supervision. Why wasn't Hirsch taken to Berlin to be cross-examined as a witness there during the trial?

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## 69

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 May 1860

Dear Engels,

The enclosed is from Lassalle.[b] Let me know *by return* what you think I should write and tell him *re* Fischel.

I do not fall in with his suggestion about Berlin.

Nothing yet from Lommel.

Your

K. M.

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[a] evil intent - [b] Lassalle's letter to Marx of 24 May 1860 suggesting that Marx should testify at Eichhoff's trial in Berlin. For Marx's reply see this volume, pp. 145-55.

# 70

# ENGELS TO MARX

## IN LONDON

Manchester, 31 May 1860

Dear Moor,

I return Ephraim Artful[a] herewith. His proposal *re* yourself is truly crazy.[b] After all, there's nothing you could say, either, about what happened in Cologne. However, Ephraim might be of some use in the matter. At least he has more PLUCK than the old women actually involved at Cologne, who always prefer to endure everything patiently. But it might also be worthwhile trying to see if there's anything to be done from Cologne.

*Ad vocem*[c] Fischel, perhaps we'd better tell the fool the more or less unvarnished truth and give him a bit of a lesson about the extent to which the word 'reactionary' has come to be [just] an empty phrase in his mouth. You might also take the opportunity of getting him to explain just why He, Ephraim the Profound, agrees in effect with our own and Fischel's 'anti-Palmerstonianism'. An enigma—at least so far. A private set-to between L. and F. in Berlin can't possibly concern us, and F. has behaved too well for us to drop him on some pretext or other just to please L. The only thing to do, presumably, is to give the Dark Heraclitus[d] a mysterious intimation or two to the effect that 'reactionary' cuts no ice in foreign policy, in which field much greater 'jackasses' than Fischel are of service, provided they know all the ropes. How horrorstruck our far-sighted revolutionary thinker and pragmatic Royal Prussian court democrat would be, if he heard that Urquhart proposes to extend the power of the Crown. So nice a speculative distinction may be drawn, by the way, between this separate field of FOREIGN POLICY, on the one hand, and internal policy, on the other, that you'll certainly enjoy pointing out to him how, in foreign policy, the subjectively reactionary is, for the nonce, objectively revolutionary, thereby putting the man's mind at rest. Just help the man make the transition and he'll be satisfied theoretically, however much our connection with Fischel may rile

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[a] Ferdinand Lassalle's letter - [b] See this volume, p. 141. - [c] As regards - [d] i.e. Lassalle. An allusion to his book *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos.*

him in practice, and rile him the more for the knowledge that it was Fischel who saw to my pamphlet.[a]

You might also observe for his benefit how revolutionary a mode of action it is, first to deprive the Germans, or get others to deprive them, of their best territory and the very basis of their national existence on the pretext that the present rulers of that territory are reactionaries, and then to expect revolution. And it mightn't be a bad idea to say something about superstitious belief in the revolutionary initiative of the *crapauds*.[b] The whole to be presented in the usual allusive manner so that he'll have to chew it over for the space of four weeks and then wipe the slate clean by writing you a four-page letter to which you won't reply.

My coming up here on Saturday[c] was most useful. By Sunday I had already found out a great deal that is important to negotiations, and now have the draft contract to study.

Best regards to your wife and children.

Siebel wants to leave.

Your
F. E.

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## 71

## MARX TO EDUARD FISCHEL[142]

IN BERLIN

[London,] 1 June 1860

Sir,

For the past three weeks I have been suffering from a liver complaint, which has made it quite impossible for me to write or work and from which I have not yet wholly recovered. As a result, I have got into such arrears with my work that the next few weeks are spoken for, and hence I shall *under no circumstances* be able to

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[a] *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* - [b] toads. Engels means the French philistines. - [c] 26 May

start contributing immediately to the new newspaper.[a] Could you send me one or two numbers of the same for my perusal? And likewise give me some advice about the PRINCIPAL MANAGERS of the new undertaking? Black, red and gold is a *couleur* which can now be used to some effect vis-à-vis other countries.[170]

I recommend to you Mr Georg Lommel, 85 rue du Nord, Café Court, Genève, for the post of Geneva correspondent of the paper.

Geneva is now a major seat of Bonapartist intrigue, and Lommel is well informed. I am convinced that he would agree to act as your correspondent on very reasonable terms.

*Ad vocem*[b] *Abel:* Many thanks for this discovery.[171] Who is Abel? You would greatly oblige me by sending a few more details; indeed I should like to have this information as soon as possible.

I have doubtless already told you that the Chief Public Prosecutor[c] has upheld the Public Prosecutor's[d] dismissal of my libel action on the grounds that no 'public interest' would be served thereby.[e] So the civil action will now be going ahead.

You will have seen in the papers that Reuter, the Jewish confidence trickster who owns the London telegraphic bureau, was presented to the Queen.[f] Quite simply the facts are as follows: Reuter's factotum—he himself being barely able to write grammatically—is the Viennese refugee *Sigmund Engländer.* This Engländer was previously in Paris, where he contributed to a lithographic news bulletin run under the auspices of the then minister of police[g]; at the same time, he was a French *mouchard.*[h] When the Oriental war[i] broke out, he was expelled from Paris because it had been discovered that he was a *Russian* spy. He then came to London where he eventually entered the service of Reuter, with whom he had already had connections earlier on. Now, since the entire European press is controlled by Reuter *via* his telegraphic bureau, and the telegraphic bureau by the Russian embassy *via* Engländer, you will understand why Pam presented Reuter to the Queen. So far as I know, the presentation had something to do with Russia's entry into the Austro-Prussian Telegraphic Union. I have informed Collet of the FACTS. Perhaps you for your own part may be able to make use of them.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

K. Marx

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[a] See this volume, p. 137 - [b] Re - [c] Schwarck - [d] Lippe - [e] See this volume, pp. 129, 131. - [f] Victoria. See this volume, p. 121. - [g] Maupas - [h] police spy - [i] the Crimean war (1853-56)

None of Engels' pamphlets,[a] except for *one* copy, has yet reached either Engels or myself. It would also seem that the publisher[b] has not even inserted the usual publisher's advertisement in the newspapers.

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## 72

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

### IN BERLIN

[London, about 2 June 1860][c]

Dear Lassalle,

For some three weeks past I've been suffering from a liver complaint, which has prevented me from doing any [kind][c] of work, and which I haven't completely shaken off yet. This state of affairs makes me a very poor letter-writer.

Well, before I reply to your letter, just one or two preliminaries. The *Daily Telegraph*'s Berlin correspondent is called Abel. Can you provide me with any particulars about this individual?

Schwarck, the Chief Public Prosecutor, has in turn dismissed the criminal action against the *National-Zeitung* on Appeal on the grounds that no 'public interest' would be served thereby. It won't be long now before the civil action is preferred.

Now for your letter.

I shall not come to Berlin.[172] I did not go to Cologne and all I knew of the sworn evidence given there by Stieber was derived from the reports in the *Kölnische Zeitung*.[d] It is upon those reports that my critique in the *Revelations*[e] is based. Hence I could be of no use as a witness in this case. If they want to have me testify about one point or another, I am prepared to make a deposition

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[a] *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* - [b] G. Behrend - [c] Manuscript damaged. - [d] Reports on the Cologne Communist trial were published by the *Kölnische Zeitung* in October and November 1852 under the heading 'Assisen-Procedur gegen D. Herm. Becker und Genossen. Anklage wegen hochverrätherischen Complottes'. - [e] *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*

(as apparently has often been done by other refugees) at the Prussian Embassy in London.

During the early stages of the Eichhoff case Juch, the editor of the *Hermann,* appealed to me for help in this respect.[173] I gave him the *Revelations,* recommended that Schneider II be summoned as *witness* from Cologne, and pointed out the necessity of questioning Hirsch, who was in gaol in Hamburg. The latter interrogation would seem to have been conducted most ineptly. Indeed, it would be absolutely essential to convey Hirsch *bodily* to Berlin to act as a witness. Only in this event could there be a proper CROSS-EXAMINATION that would publicly lay bare the whole disgraceful operation, since Hirsch was fully initiated into these mysteries of Stieber-Goldheim-Greif-Fleury.

Another essential witness would be Cherval (Joseph Crämer), at present in Paris. As he did a bolt from Aachen after forging some bills, Prussia could undoubtedly demand his extradition. But the government will take good care not to do so. Apart from that, he's a French *mouchard*[a] and therefore under Bonaparte's protection.

Most of the other people whom it might be important to examine are in America. Only one is still over here, a certain de L'Aspée from Wiesbaden, who is employed as an INTERPRETER by the English police. I have taken the necessary steps [to ar]range a meeting [with him] and shall see whether he is *willing* either to [travel] to Berlin [or] to submit to questioning at the Prussian Embassy. In 1853, [he] sent *The Times* an article denouncing [St]ieber. The article was suppressed owing to Bunsen's intervention and did not [appear].

I shall [now] adduce a few points, which you may, perhaps, be able to put to use. I wrote the *Revelations* immediately after the Cologne trial was over. However, I subsequently made further investigations into this *casus,* which is of special interest to me. But first let me say what a capital idea it was of Eichhoff's to cite the chief fellow culprits, Goldheim and Greif, as witnesses for the defence. As things stand, the only way to get at Stieber *et cie.* would be for the government to institute an inquiry into the Cologne trial. But it'll take good care not to.

Stieber (see page 10 of my *Revelations*)[b] is said to have testified *on oath* in Cologne that 'his attention had been drawn' to 'the conspiracy's archives' in the keeping of Oswald Dietz in London by the copy of 'the papers found on Nothjung' which were sent to

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[a] police spy - [b] See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 405.

him in London from police headquarters in Berlin. A mere examination of the Cologne records, which must necessarily contain the papers found on Nothjung, should be enough to refute this perjured evidence.

The actual state of affairs was as follows: Cherval (Joseph Crämer) was the Paris correspondent of the Willich-Schapper League[174] and, as such, corresponded with Oswald Dietz. At the same time, Cherval was an agent of the Prussian ambassador in Paris, Prince Hatzfeldt. Not only did he denounce Dietz, as secretary of his London committee, to Hatzfeldt, he also wrote Dietz *letters* that were intended for use as evidence later on. Stieber and Greif (as *Greif himself* told Hirsch in Fleury's presence) acted on Hatzfeldt's information. What they found out through Reuter was where Dietz lived, after which Fleury, on Stieber's orders, burgled Dietz's lodgings accompanied by Reuter. This, too, is known to Hirsch.

*En passant,* the following circumstance may be relevant, with which Mr Hirsch is familiar. Fleury had made exact copies of the letters stolen at Reuter's and given them to Hirsch to read. Among those letters was one from Hanover written by Stechan in which he mentioned a remittance of 30 talers for the refugees. Stieber (together with his friend Wermuth in Hanover) altered this to *530 talers for the leaders.* Stechan, who, so far as I know, is now in Edinburgh, could perhaps swear an affidavit to this effect. Stieber (according to the *Köln. Zeit.*, see p. 11 of the *Revelations*[a]) further stated on oath that the Dietz archives had arrived in Berlin on 5 August 1851, having been sent to him from London. The FACT is that Stieber took those 'archives' with him from London to Paris on 20 July 1851. This is a point which the above-mentioned L'Aspée could, if he so wished, corroborate on oath.

Mr Greif testified on oath in Berlin that he did not know Hirsch, or knew him only very slightly. The FACT is that Hirsch was introduced to Fleury by Greif at 39 Brewer Street, Golden Square, the private residence of Alberts (then, as now, *secretary to the Prussian Embassy* in London) at that time, after Greif had first got Hirsch to give him a report on the activities of the revolutionary emigration. From that time on, Greif, Fleury, and Hirsch worked together (under the direction of Greif), and were, in particular, jointly responsible for composing the forged minute-book.

The month of April 1853 found Goldheim and Stieber back in London where they were intent on engineering a link between

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 406.

Kossuth's mysterious gunpowder plot and the Berlin conspiracy (Ladendorf's).[175] At that time (i.e. many months after the Cologne trial), Hirsch constantly accompanied them in London and worked together with them.

Considering that the police have acknowledged their Fleury in court, let me provide a character sketch of these Prussian agents in London: The said Fleury is called Krause, and is the son of Krause the cobbler, who was executed in Dresden some 22 to 25 years ago for the murder of Countess Schönberg and her maid. Some time after the Cologne trial, this same Fleury-Krause was convicted of forgery in London and sentenced to two or three years in the HULKS. Having now served his sentence, he is once again up to his old activities.

The French plot (*complot allemand-français*)[108] was engineered under Stieber's direction by Cherval in company with Greif, Fleury, Beckmann, Sommer and the French spy, Lucien de la Hodde (under the name of Duprez). At Cherval's instigation, Greif (who, like Stieber, swears he does not know the Franco-Prussian spies Cherval and Gipperich) went to North Germany where he was to find out the abode of a certain tailor named Tietz and obtain possession of the letters Cherval had written him on police instructions. He went to the home of Tietz's betrothed in Hamburg, saying he had come 'as a friend' of Tietz's and would take into safe keeping any potentially dangerous correspondence. However, the coup misfired.

Greif also corresponded with Maupas, through de la Hodde-Duprez, about the release of Cherval and Gipperich. No sooner had Cherval arrived in London than he was taken on by Greif at a regular salary of £1 10s a week. In particular, Greif sent him to Jersey to prepare a major political conspiracy there. Subsequently, the association between Greif and Cherval came to an end. If Mr Hirsch so wishes, he can affirm all these matters on oath. They are important, not only because Greif has again perjured himself, but also because they concern the relationship between Cherval and Stieber and the 'veracity' of the statements made at Cologne by Stieber in respect of Cherval. At the very time when Stieber *swore* in Cologne that he knew nothing of the whereabouts, etc, of Cherval (see p. 27 of the *Revelations*[a]), Cherval was cooperating with Greif, who himself was acting on Stieber's orders. But the case could be *legally* proven only, of course, by obtaining depositions from Hirsch (who might perhaps talk in open court)

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 418.

and from Cherval (who cannot be got hold of). Needless to say, Alberts, secretary to the Embassy, won't speak; nor will de la Hodde, Beckmann, Maupas, etc.

Hirsch and Fleury (the latter had rented a lithographic press at Stanbury's Printing Works, Fether [Fetter] Lane, Fleet Street, London, to that end) had been instructed by Greif to produce leaflets, such as 'To the Rural Proletariat', 'To the Children of the People', etc., which Greif sent to the Prussian government as emanating from the Marx party.

After the sudden 'disappearance' of the witness Haupt of Hamburg in the course of the communist trial at Cologne, Hinckeldey sent a courier to the Prussian Embassy in London with the request that someone be found to take over Haupt's role, and to 'swear' Haupt's denunciations before the Assizes. The Police Presidium, he said, would give a reward of a thousand talers. In his letter, Hinckeldey wrote that the very existence of the political police depended upon the outcome of this trial. Hirsch, having first consulted Fleury (out of the 'noblest' motives, as he himself subsequently said), declared himself willing. Everything was well in train when Fleury returned with tidings of the Prussian Embassy's refusal. A further communication from Hinckeldey read:

'The State Prosecutor hopes that thanks to the happy constitution of the jury it will be possible to get a verdict of guilty even *without extraordinary measures,* and he' (Hinck.) 'therefore asks you not to trouble yourselves further.'

For the same reason, the order previously sent to Beckmann, the Prussian spy in Paris, bidding him come to Cologne and corroborate Stieber's statements regarding the *complot allemand-français* was countermanded.

But now we come to the most curious part of the story, which is also perfectly known to Mr Hirsch and is typical of Stieber no less than of Goldheim.

Fleury had learned that I intended to have the actual handwriting of the alleged signatories of the minutes (W. Liebknecht, Rings, and Ulmer) officially authenticated in London. He knew that a refugee called Becker lived in the same house as Willich. He therefore wrote the following letter in Becker's name:

*'To the Royal Presidium in Berlin;*

*dated from London*

'It is the intention of Marx and his friends here to discredit the signatures on the League Minutes by having handwriting specimens legally authenticated. These

specimens are to be produced in the Court of Assizes as the really authentic ones.

'Everyone familiar with English laws knows that on this point they can be manipulated and that a person who vouches for the authenticity of a thing does not actually give any true guarantee.

'The person who gives you this information does not recoil from giving you his name in a matter like this where the truth is at stake. Becker, 4 Litchfield Street.'

Stieber had declared before the Assizes at Cologne that he had had the minute-book for a fortnight (before producing it in court), and had duly deliberated before putting it to use; he further declared that it had reached him through a courier, Greif. Mr Goldheim, on the other hand, in a letter to the Prussian Embassy in London, said:

'The minute-book was produced so late only in order to avoid scrutiny as to its authenticity.

The letter signed 'Becker' was addressed to the Police Presidium in Berlin. Had it really emanated from Becker, therefore, it must have gone to Berlin. Instead, the letter went to Goldheim, the police official, at the Frankfurter Hof in Cologne, and a *cover* to that letter to the Police Presidium in Berlin containing a note: 'Herr Stieber in Cologne will give a *complete explanation* as to its use.' Thus, Stieber knew to what end the letter had been forged. Moreover, Fleury had written expressly to Goldheim on the subject.

Thus, between Fleury, Goldheim, Stieber and Prussian Police Presidium there was tacit collusion over the forgery.

(Stieber did not make use of the letter, having already been compelled to drop the minute-book since, independently of the authentications provided by me, Schneider II had not only discovered other signatures of Liebknecht's and Rings' in Cologne, but had also concluded from a much earlier letter of mine that the forger was Hirsch. Stieber got wind of the fact that Schneider had compared Liebknecht's, etc., signatures at the Record Office, and that other counsel had done the same. It was then that, at the following session, he came out with the imaginary *H.* Liebknecht (see pp. 38-40 of *Revelations*[a]).)

Stieber knew the minute-book to be a fake. Why otherwise should he fear authentication of the genuine signatures?

On 29 October, Goldheim arrived in London. Stieber had sent him there to confer on the spot with Fleury and Greif and devise

[a] See present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 427-29.

some coup that might save the minute-book. He had to return empty-handed, having told Fleury that, rather than compromise the chiefs of police, Stieber was resolved, if needs be, to expose him, Fleury.

As a last recourse, Fleury now brought Hirsch a specimen of handwriting for him to use to copy out a statement, sign the latter with Liebknecht's name, and then attest it before the LORD MAYOR while falsely declaring himself (Hirsch) to be Liebknecht. On handing Hirsch the said specimen to be copied, Fleury told him that the handwriting was that of the person who had written the minute-book, and that Goldheim had brought it (the specimen) back from Cologne with him.

(Hence it follows that the minute-book produced in Cologne was not the same as had been *written* by Hirsch and Fleury. Stieber himself had had it copied. The chief difference between it and the one fabricated by Fleury and Hirsch—a few insignificant alterations apart—lay in the fact that, whereas the minutes provided by Fleury had been unsigned, *signatures had been appended* to those submitted by Stieber.)

Hirsch copied out the statement in handwriting as similar as possible to that of the specimen. (This *last* was still in his possession when he left London.) The statement was to the effect that the undersigned, i.e. Liebknecht, declared the authentication of his signature obtained by Marx and Co. to be false, and this, his signature, to be the only genuine one. While *en route* to the LORD MAYOR, Hirsch declared that he would not take an oath before him, whereupon Fleury said he would do so himself. First he called in at the *Prussian consulate* (where, of course, he was well known) and got the Prussian consul to endorse his handwriting (as that of Liebknecht). Then, together with Hirsch, he betook himself to the LORD MAYOR for the purpose of attestation. The LORD MAYOR, however, asked for guarantees, which Fleury was unable to provide, and thus no oath was taken. (One day later—but *trop tard*[a]—Fleury obtained credentials from a lawyer.)

All this dirty business came to light in an affidavit Hirsch swore before Jardine, the Bow Street magistrate. The affidavit was sent to Göbel, the president of the Appellate Court, and two copies went off simultaneously to Schneider II and the lawyer Esser.

Whether Hirsch can be conveyed bodily from Hamburg to Berlin to testify in open session and confront Stieber-Goldheim-Greif, I cannot say. The present régime being what it is, there can

[a] *too late*

be no question of getting hold of Cherval—now, what is more, an avowed 'civiliser' and 'LIBERATOR'.

In the case of my own testimony, I could not, of course, without being guilty of all manner of indiscretions, in any way show how one fact or another had come to my knowledge. Moreover, such evidence would not constitute proof.

The trial would be altogether straightforward were the government *de bonne foi*.[a] As things are, it is most difficult to conduct.

Now I come to Fischel.[b]

My relations with David Urquhart and his followers (I won't say party because, apart from the sect which holds him to be a prophet in all disciplines, Urquhart can, in his own *proper* domain of FOREIGN POLICY, boast supporters among *all* English parties, from the Tories to the Chartists) have been amicable since the appearance, in 1853, of my first anti-Palmerston pamphlet.[c] Ever since, there has been a constant interchange, they providing me with information, I making unpaid contributions to their *Free Press* (e.g. my *Revelations of the diplomatic history of the 18th century,* or again, the *Progress of Russia in Central Asia,*[176] etc.), and placing at their disposal my personal knowledge of Russian agents such as Bangya, etc. Now, Fischel is the Urquhartites' recognised and, as it were, *official agent* in Berlin and my knowledge of his activities there is confined to what I have heard about the *Portfolio.*[26] This was how I came into contact with Fischel (it was only by chance that I ran into him at a London newspaper office,[d] on which occasion I asked him to convey my regards to you). He has carried out various commissions for myself and Engels in Berlin. We have never exchanged so much as a word, either verbally or in writing, on the subject of internal policy, nor for that matter have I done so with Urquhart since the time when I told him once and for all that I was a revolutionist, and he retorted no less frankly that all revolutionists were agents or DUPES of the Petersburg cabinet.

In the letters we have exchanged with Fischel he has always observed the utmost discretion and confined himself solely to the *one* field of foreign policy in which we are in accord with the Urquhartites.

You will have read Urquhart's writings, and hence it would be otiose for me (aside from the strain already involved in writing so long a letter in my present state of health) to embark on an analysis of this highly complex figure here. He is, I grant you,

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[a] in good faith - [b] See this volume, pp. 136-37, 141-45. - [c] *Lord Palmerston* - [d] Presumably that of *The Free Press.*

subjectively reactionary (romantic) (though not, indeed, in the sense of any *real* reactionary party but, as it were, metaphysically so); this in no way precludes the movement in foreign policy, of which he is the head, from being *objectively revolutionary.*

The fact that some of his German followers such as Bucher, Fischel, etc. (I don't know the latter's *Moskowitertum,* but I know what's in it without reading it), have chosen to adopt some of his 'Anglo-Saxon' fads—which, by the by, are not without a kind of perverse critical sense—, is to me a matter of complete indifference, just as in a war against Russia, say, it would be a matter of indifference to you whether, in firing on the Russians, the motives of your neighbour in the firing-line were black, red and gold or revolutionary. Urquhart is a *power,* of which Russia is afraid. He is the only *official* personage in England who has the courage and honesty to affront PUBLIC OPINION. He's the only one of them who is incorruptible (whether by money or ambition). Finally, and strange to say, I have so far encountered *none but honest men* among his followers, and hence feel bound to regard Fischel as such until I have *proof* of the contrary.

As for F.'s relations with the Duke of Gotha,[a] I have very good reason to believe that they are not *venal.* Seeing that this Gotha chap belongs to the English dynasty, which Urquhart is using against Palmerston and ministerial usurpation generally ('Why doesn't anyone ever shoot at cabinet ministers?' Humboldt asks, presaging such usurpation), what could suit him better than to promote anti-Russian and anti-Palmerston sentiment in Germany in his (Gotha's) name? This is why Fischel's pamphlet, *Despoten und Revolutionäre,* was translated into English as *The Duke of Coburg's Pamphlet,* and was thought important enough by Palmerston to warrant a personal reply in the form of a pamphlet (anonymous), which has greatly compromised him.[177] For Palmerston had hitherto made the unfortunate House of Coburg the scapegoat for *his* Russophilia, and the pamphlet compelled him to abandon this FALSE PRETEXT.

It is very possible, indeed probable, that Fischel's anti-Palmerstonianism is of little significance in Berlin. On the other hand, so far as England (and thus *par ricochet*[b] Germany) is concerned, it is important in that this controversy is being skilfully exploited by the Urquhartites and magnified into the *German* view of Palmerston, for the furtherance of the English controversy.

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[a] Ernst II - [b] indirectly

Hence, in the war that we, together with the Urquhartites, are conducting against Russia, Palmerston and Bonaparte, and in which people of *all parties and classes* in every capital of Europe as far as Constantinople are playing their part, Fischel, too, is a component. On the other hand, I have never exchanged so much as a syllable with Bucher, because to do so would have been *pointless*. Were he living in Berlin instead of London, it would be quite a different matter.

Should we enter into a *revolutionary* phase in Germany, this will, of course, put an end to *diplomacy*—of a kind, by the by, that entails not the least concession on either side nor even a shadow of pretence. And even then this English connection will be useful to us.

Come to that, it goes without saying that, in foreign policy, there's little to be gained by using such catchwords as 'reactionary' and 'revolutionary'. In Germany now there is no such thing as a *revolutionary* party, and to me the most loathsome form of reaction is Royal Prussian court democracy as practised, say, by the *National-Zeitung* and also, to some extent (their acclaim of that scoundrel Vincke, the Regent,[a] etc.) by the *Volks-Zeitung*.

At all events, the Urquhartites have the advantage of being 'educated' in foreign policy, so that the ignorant members obtain their inspiration from the educated ones; the advantage, too, of pursuing a definite goal, the fight against Russia, and being engaged in a life and death struggle with that mainstay of Russian diplomacy, DOWNING STREET AT LONDON.[178] Let them imagine, if they wish, that this struggle will result in the establishment of 'Anglo-Saxon' conditions. It is up to us revolutionaries to go on using them so long as we have need of them. This does not prevent us from actually knocking them on the head wherever they threaten to frustrate our internal policy. The Urquhartites have never reproached me for also writing under my own name in the Chartist newspaper that was their bugbear until its demise—Ernest Jones's *People's Paper*. E. Jones laughed at Urquhart's oddities, ridiculed them in his paper and yet, in that same paper, acknowledged his outstanding worth in the matter of FOREIGN POLICY.

Finally, despite his fanatical hatred of the French Revolution and everything 'universal', Urquhart's romanticism is exceedingly liberal. The freedom of the individual, if in a very topsy-turvy

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[a] William, Prince of Prussia

way, is to him the be-all and end-all. It is true that, in order to achieve it, he dresses up the 'individual' in all manner of ancient garb.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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## 73

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 June 1860

Dear Engels,

I have written Izzy ABOUT ten pages, eight of them on the Cologne trial and two on Fischel.[a] It was difficult enough for me, because I'm still not fit and am dosing myself constantly.

It's really sickening. Lommel advised me of the despatch of the parcel by rail [a few][b] days ago.[179] It ought to have been here long since.

Fischel has written to tell me that the *Daily Telegraph*'s correspondent in Berlin is a certain Abel.

Have had a letter from Schily. From it I see that Siebel has notified him of the arrival of your pamphlets[c] in Manchester. I shall have to send off Schily's copy *via* Rheinländer. I must also have one copy to use for my own pamphlet.[d]

Could you let me have something short on the Garibaldi affair for the *Tribune* by *Wednesday*[e]? If that's not possible, by *Friday*.[f]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] See previous letter. - [b] manuscript damaged - [c] *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* - [d] *Herr Vogt* - [e] 6 June - [f] On about 7 June, Engels wrote the article 'Garibaldi in Sicily'.

Apropos. It transpires from Schily's letter that Moses[a] is also correspondent of the *Espérance* (and so Bonapartist that *one Frenchman* actually broke off his friendship with him) and of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.

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## 74

## MARX TO BERTALAN SZEMERE

### IN PARIS

[London,] 2 June 1860

My dear Sir,

My protracted silence was owed to two circumstances. On my return from Manchester I was overwhelmed with business. Afterward, I fell sick. I am still under medical treatment and little apt for writing.

As to your affair with Mr Engels, the delay was caused by a second sudden departure for Germany having become necessary on his part.[180] On his return for Manchester he passed through London and told me that he would immediately settle the little bill. He regretted not having been able to prove more useful to you, but had not thought of charging you with the expenses incurred by the sending back of the wines.[b]

I have read your book[c] with much pleasure and profit. I concur in the main views you take of the conditions necessary for the restoration of Hungary, but I dissent from the apology passed on Bonaparte and Palmerston. The latter has, in 1848-9, betrayed Hungary, as well as Italy. He had before acted in the same way in regard to Poland; he, afterwards, treated in the same way Circassia. He is still what he was since 1829—a *Russian* agent, bound to the Petersburg cabinet by ties it is not in his power to cut through. Russia, of course, wants the destruction of the Austrian

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[a] Moses Hess - [b] See this volume, p. 134. - [c] *La Question hongroise (1848-1860)*, Paris, 1860.

Empire, but what she not wants is the formation of the constituent elements of that empire into independent and self-sustaining states. A true reconstitution of Hungary would even more stand in the way of Russian Eastern diplomacy than tottering, vacillating and frightened Austria. I should have wished, in your own interest, and that of your country, that you had not reprinted the memorial to Palmerston,[181] not spoken of the true interest of Russia, and avoided even alluding to the dismemberment of Turkey. As it is, you have estranged exactly that portion of English politicians which was most willing to do you justice, and was least influenced by Kossuth's sycophants. (Kossuth has in these latter times given out—through his agents—and even succeeded in forcing the opinion into some weekly papers, that you were intriguing against him, because he was a Republican, in principle at least, while you belonged to the 'Constitutional and Aristocratic party'.)

You excuse the liberty I have taken in frankly stating the points on which I cannot but dissent from you. The interest I take in your writings and your doings will, I hope, serve as a sufficient excuse. When will you come again over to London?

Yours truly
A. Williams[a]

À propos. Perczel answered me in a letter in which he *acknowledges the truth* of the somewhat eccentric compliments I showered upon him, but at the same time very politely declines giving the explanations asked for.[b] His letter seems written in a rather melancholic, melodramatic, and depressed mood of mind.

As a curiosity I may still tell you that a Professor at the University of Moscow has held, during the past winter, a lecture on the first part of the 'criticism of political economy' published by myself.[182]

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Reproduced from the original

[a] An alias used by Marx in some of his letters. - [b] See this volume, p. 111.

## 75

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 June 1860

Dear Engels,

Can you let me have some money by Monday[a]? Altogether I have laid out ABOUT £13 on the lawsuit and the Vogt affair up till now, and my being unwell has prevented me from doing any articles for the past three weeks.

Siebel left yesterday.

Very many thanks for your portrait.

I have something *most important* politically to tell you (tomorrow). I cannot write any more today as a visitor is waiting for me downstairs.

Your
K. M.

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## 76

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 June 1860

Dear Frederick,

The £10 safely received. BEST THANKS.

Your portrait is splendid. You shall have a similar one of me.

The stuff from Lommel hasn't arrived yet.[b] When he complained, he was told that a parcel of this kind (for economy reasons he had sent it *par petite vitesse*[c]) always takes several weeks.

The following is an extract from Lommel's last letter:

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[a] 18 June - [b] See this volume, p. 155. - [c] by goods

'You will have seen the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* of 8 June. Reading between the lines, one perceives in its Berne report, presumably written by Tscharner, co-editor of the *Bund*, a denunciation by the Vogtians to their lord and master in Paris and thence, indirectly, to the Federal authorities in Berne, likewise to Germany's princely courts. It's the same old tale of conspiracy—German demagogues trying to stir up trouble between France and Germany in order to make possible a central republic. Vogtian intrigue no longer cuts any ice at all, either in Federal circles or in Geneva; nevertheless, it still appears to have some effect on the limited intelligence of the German princes. This conspiratorial bogey held up to them by Badinguet[163] is actually said to have induced the timid fellows to grant him the audience in Baden-Baden he so ardently desired.[183] For the past fortnight the *Allgemeine* has been quietly discarding the choicest of the notes I sent it from Savoy and Turin, and Vogt, who returned here ten days ago, has told a worker that a stop will soon be put to the activities of the fellows responsible for the scrawls in the German papers and that people will be in for more surprises before long.'

A pamphlet by About has now come out in Paris: *Napoléon III et la Prusse.*[a] In the first place SOFT SAWDER for Germany. Her great men, he says, are all of them HOUSEHOLD WORDS in France, e.g. 'Goethe, Schiller, Humboldt, *Vogt*, Beethoven, Heine, Liebig, etc.' France is completely disinterested, although constantly provoked. Then came some rubbish about German unity being brought about with the help of France. Then a highly superficial review of conditions obtaining in Prussia at present. (Even the Niegolewski affair is discussed at length![184]) The only way she can save herself is to side with France's 'democratic principle' against Austria's feudalism. In other words, this democratic principle consists in basing princely dictatorship on *'suffrage universel'. Satis superque!*[b]

However, it's capital that Royal Prussian court democracy should now be getting into a nasty fix; let's hope that the Prince Regent,[c] too, will soon have compromised himself sufficiently.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] Marx means Ed. About's pamphlet *La Prusse en 1860*, Paris, 1860. - [b] More than enough! - [c] William, Prince of Prussia

# 77

## ENGELS TO MARX[185]

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 20 June 1860

Dear Moor,

*Amicus*[a] Lommel would certainly appear TO DRAW RATHER LARGELY ON HIS IMAGINATION in ascribing the chief part in the Baden-Baden business to the Bonapartist denunciations.[b] But it's undoubtedly quite correct that there's something behind the business and that Vogt, Bonaparte and Co. are also resorting to this stratagem.

How nice it is that the Little Germans' National Association-mongering[24] should now be opportunely depicted in About's pamphlet[c] as virtually promoting Bonapartist interests. Presumably our friend Izzy will soon be making a change of front now; as a result of this pamphlet, the gentlemen will either reveal themselves as Bonapartists or else find themselves in a considerable dilemma with that Prussian Germany of theirs.

I happened to come by the old Danish *Kjämpe-Viser*[d]; very nice stuff in places along with a great deal of rubbish. Here is one that Uhland has translated[186]:

Herr Oluf han rider saa vide
Alt for hans bröllup at byde,
Men dandsen den gaaer saa let gjennem.

Der dandse fire, der dandse fem,
Ellerkongens datter rekker Haanden frem.
Velkommen, Herr Oluf, lad blive din fig
Bi lidet, og träd her i dandsen med mig.

Jeg ikke tör, jeg ikke maa,
Imorgen skal mit bröllup staa.
Hor du, Herr Oluf, träd dandsen med mig,
To bukkeskinds stövle de giver jeg dig.

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[a] Friend - [b] See this volume, p. 159. - [c] *La Prusse en 1860*, Paris, 1860. - [d] Epic songs. Engels presumably refers to [Syv, P.,] *Et Hundrede udvalde Danske Viser, om allehaande mærkelige Krigs-Bedrivd og anden selsom Eventyr, som sig her udi Riget ved gamle Kæmper, navnkundige Konger, og ellers fornemme Personer begivet haver, af Arilds Tid til denne nærværende Dag...*, Kiøbenhavn, 1787.

To bukkeskinds stövle, sider vel om been,
Forgyldene spore derom spend.

Jeg ikke tör, jeg ikke maa, imorgen etc.

Hor du, Herr Oluf, träd dandsen med mig,
En silke skjorte giver jeg dig.

En silke skjorte hviid og fiin
Den blegte min moder veg maaneskin.

Jeg ikke tör, jeg ikke maa etc.

Hor du, Herr Oluf, träd dandsen med mig,
Et hoved af guld det giver jeg dig.

Et hoved af guld maa jeg vel faa,
Men dandsen med dig tör jeg saa.

Og vil du ikke dandsen med mig,
Sot og sygdon följe dig.

Hun slog honom mellem sine Härde,
Aldrig var han slagen rärre.

Hun löfte honom paa sin genger röd,
Og riid nu hjem til din fästemö.

Der han kom til borgeleed,
Hans moder staar og hviler ved.

Hor du, Herr Oluf, kjär sönnen min
Hvor bär du nu saa bleg en kind?

Jeg maa vel bäre kinden bleg,
Jeg saa väret i Elle konens leg.

Hor du, Herr Oluf, min sön saa grud,
Hvad skal jeg svare din unge brud?

I skal sige, jeg er udi lunden,
Aat pröve min Hest og saa mine Hunde.

Aarle om morgen, dag det var,
Der kom den brud med brudeskar.

De skjänkte mjöd, de skjänkte viin;
Hvor er, Herr Oluf, brudgom min?

Han er gangen udi lunden
At pröve sin Hest og saa sine Hunde.

Hun tog det skarlagen röd,
Der laae Herr Oluf og var död.[a]

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[a] Herr Oluf fares both far and wide,
To fetch the wedding-guests he doth ride.
Maidens dance on the green land,

Four and five, a blithe band.
The Elf King's daughter gives him her hand.
Welcome, Herr Oluf, why wouldst thou flee?
Step into the ring and dance with me.

But dance I neither will nor may.
Tomorrow dawns my wedding day.
Oh list, Herr Oluf, come dance with me,
Two buckskin boots I'll give to thee.

Two buckskin boots to fit you well,
Two gilded spurs for a magic spell.

But dance I neither will nor may, etc.

Oh list, Herr Oluf, come dance with me,
A silken shirt I'll give to thee.

A shirt all shining white so fine.
My mother bleached it with pale moonshine.

But dance I neither will nor may, etc.

Oh list, Herr Oluf, come dance with me,
A pile of gold I'll give to thee.

Gladly I'd take your gold away,
But dance I neither dare nor may.

An thou, Herr Oluf, dance not with me,
Sickness and plague shall follow thee.

And then she touched him on the chest.
Never such pain had clutched his breast.

She helps him, half-swooning, his mount to bestride:
Now get thee hence to thy fair bride.

As to his own door he drew near,
His mother was trembling there with fear.

Tell me quickly, oh quickly, my son,
Why are thy looks so pale and wan?

How should they not be pale and wan?
'Tis from the Elf King's realm I come.

Oh list, dear son I love so well,
What to your bride am I to tell?

Say to the forest I am bound,
To exercise my horse and hound.

Next morning, when it was scarcely day,
There came the bride with her company.

They poured the mead, they poured the wine.
Where is Herr Oluf, bridegroom mine?

I like this much better than Uhland's overpolished translation. But another one about 'Sir Jon'[a] is even nicer.

Your
F. E.

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## 78

## MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN PARIS

[London,] 23 June[b] 1860

Dear Becker,

Would you be so kind as to forward the enclosed letter to *Lommel*?[42] I am sending it through you because I only have an address for Lommel in Geneva which no longer appears to be certain. At any rate, in his last few letters L. has neither mentioned the letters I sent him, nor answered my inquiry regarding the failure to arrive (should have come weeks ago) of a parcel he had advised me of.

Give Schily my kindest regards. I would ask you to arrange the letter Ranickel wrote him to be sent me as soon as possible.[c]

It was not until a day or two ago that I became capable of work again and I am still to a certain extent convalescent.

The publishers of the *Deutsche Zeitung*, which is to come out in Berlin at the beginning of July, have approached me through a third person[d] about contributions. I have not yet given them a

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He's ridden hence, for the forest bound,
To exercise his horse and hound.

The bride uplifted the scarlet red.
There lay Herr Oluf, and he was dead.

(Translated by Alex Miller)

[a] See this volume, p. 375. - [b] In the manuscript, mistakenly: January. - [c] Marx quotes an extract from Ranickel's letter to Schily in *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, p. 55. - [d] Eduard Fischel

definite answer. I am first asking for further particulars concerning the new organ's staff and politics. However, from the advertisements that have so far appeared in the papers it seems to me to be *'pro-National Association'*[24] and, or so a friend in Berlin[a] writes, it might be feasible to exert a strong external influence on its stand. Write and let me know if you and Schily would act as joint correspondents for the paper, which evidently has *fonds,* should you get an invitation to this effect either direct from Berlin or via London! I should like to have an answer about the matter *by return,* because I would not, of course, drop any hints to this effect in Berlin unless I was certain of your accepting in Paris.

One merit of About's pamphlet[b] is that the current Gotha catch-phrases[187] are here officially adopted for Bonapartist use.

I haven't seen Sasonow over here.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

I would ask you to send on the letter to Lommel as soon as possible.

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## 79

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 25 June 1860]

Dear Moor,

Did you see in the *Kölnische Zeitung*'s 'Miscellaneous News' of Thursday or Friday[c] that Izzy has once again contrived to be thrown out of the Viktoria Theatre?

To get himself talked about, I can see the chap keeping someone to give him an annual box on the ears, come the time

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[a] Probably Fischel. - [b] Ed. About, *La Prusse en 1860.* - [c] 21 and 22 June

when his own Jewish effrontery no longer does the trick. Meanwhile, his brilliant talent for being belaboured and chucked out remains unimpaired.

Many regards to the FAMILY.

Your
F. E.

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## 80

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 June[a] 1860

DEAR Frederick,

I am still 'very poorly', as red Wolff[b] used to say, though for the past week or so I've no longer been dosing myself. However, I am making 'forced marches' every day on Allen's orders and shall doubtless be fit again before the week is out.

Lina[c] is with us on 'holiday'. Will be here for ABOUT a month. Still no news from Siebel.

I would be grateful if, by Friday or Saturday,[d] you could [write] an article for the *Tribune* either on the DEFENCES OF ENGLAND, or on Garibaldi or on Indian TRADE.[e] Since Wilson became the INDIAN CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, the wretched *Economist* has said virtually nothing about India. Nor should you forget (although it won't yet be necessary *this* week) to let me have ABOUT a quarto page or so on the military *significance of Bohemia* to Germany or rather Russia, to whom Vogt proposes to cede her.[f]

*Apropos:*

Have just received *Pro domo und Pro patria gegen Karl Vogt* by Jakob Venedey, Hanover 1860 (40 pages). Considering this

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[a] In the manuscript, mistakenly: July. - [b] Ferdinand Wolff - [c] Lina Schöler - [d] 29 or 30 June - [e] See this volume, p. 168. - [f] in his *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas*, Geneva and Berne, 1859

fellow's point of view it is not altogether bad. Has some FACTS about Vogt's cowardice.

Jakob's passages relating to ourselves are as follows.

A friend writes obligingly:

'It is disgraceful that in his triumph over the *Augsburg Zeitung*[a] and the "Brimstone Gang",[65] this man Vogt should also drag Venedey in his wake' (p. 4).

'No more than a word or two *pro domo*.[b] Could Karl Vogt have forgotten that all the stale, insipid morsels he dished up to his readers in his *Erklärung*[c] against me—"noble Jakob", "blond soul", "imperial teardrop" and sundry other epithets—had been dished up ten years ago fresh, fragrant and seasoned with the spice of wit by Marx, Engels and company in the Rhenish newspaper.[d] Do I have to remind him that in the self-same article, 'Der Reichsregent',[e] which the Augsburger [*Allgemeine Zeitung*] used as the point of departure for its accusations against Vogt, this "dirty gang, a handful of malicious vagabonds in London", as Vogt describes it, gave battle along lines identical to those adopted by Vogt in his *Erklärung* against myself? Nevertheless, Karl Vogt did not feel that this prevented him from accusing me of having borrowed from Messrs Marx, Engels and company the "defamatory statements" I made about him. Vogt is well aware that, in jibing at me, he is simply repeating their words' (p. 7).

'This pamphlet of Vogt's[f] about his lawsuit has all the air of a triumphal march and, indeed, Karl Vogt—not that he himself appears the more justified in consequence—has consigned to London in complete disarray the A. A. and likewise the "London Brimstone Gang"' (p. 6).

*Voilà tout.*[g]
*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

[On the back of the letter:]

Fred. Engels, 7 Southgate, St. Mary's, *Manchester.*

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[a] The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* - [b] *Pro domo* (or *de domo sua*)—on behalf of myself, concerning my own affairs. The phrase derives from a speech by Cicero, 'De domo sua ad pontifices'. - [c] in the *Schweizer Handels-Courier*, No. 162 (extraordinary supplement), 16 June 1859 - [d] Presumably the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. - [e] [E. Biscamp,] 'Der Reichsregent', *Das Volk*, No. 2, 14 May 1859. - [f] *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - [g] That's all.

# 81

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 June 1860

Dear Frederick,

I didn't read about Izzy's adventure.[a]

You will see from the enclosed letter from Weber how rottenly the Prussian scoundrels are behaving.[188] It now seems that there is nothing to be expected from the High Court, either.

What splendid jurisprudence! First, I'm forbidden my 'libel action' because it is not in the interests of the Prussian government. And then the 'action for *injuria*' is not allowed to proceed in public because there is no 'indictable offence' to hand. This is tantamount to 'pleading' on behalf of the *National-Zeitung*.

How liberal, by contrast, Bavaria turned out to be with regard to Vogt.[189] That's 'Prussian progress' for you.

Get Heckscher to publish another short notice in the *Reform*. The way the Prussians handled the case must at least be brought to the attention of the public.

From the evidence I sent Weber and which Weber included in his indictment it was apparent to the scoundrelly gang that the *National-Zeitung* would inevitably have been convicted had the case been allowed to 'come up'. Hence all this dirty chicanery.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, p. 164.

## 82

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 26 June 1860
7 Southgate

Dear Moor,

It's highly problematical whether I shall be able to do the article[a]; my brother-in-law,[b] who is in London at this moment, has declared himself for tomorrow or the day after.

So, don't count on it too much. I could at most speculate about Garibaldi's chances on the mainland; my knowledge of Indian trade wouldn't run to an article.

Your
F. E.

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## 83

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 27 June 1860]

Dear Moor,

Let me have the enclosed back; I shall immediately write a few lines for Siebel about the Berlin affair and send them to him with my reply to be passed on. The same applies to Heckscher.[c]

I shall see if I can still do Bohemia today.[d] It is close on 8 o'clock and I'm still at the office. Whether I shall be able to do anything on Garibaldi tomorrow, I don't know yet; 1. no material, 2. my brother-in-law.[b] *Enfin,*[e] I shall do my best.

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[a] See this volume, p. 165. - [b] Karl Emil Blank - [c] See this volume, p. 167. - [d] ibid., p. 165. - [e] In short

So Izzy appears in public with Vogt and is secretly our ally.[190] *Cela n'est pas mal.*[a] Write to Meissner at once.[191]

Your
F. E.

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## 84

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 June [1860]

Dear Frederick,

Your enclosure returned herewith. I shall write to Meissner.[191]

I already knew about the comical affair of Lassalle yesterday, for the *National-Zeitung* carried a highly eulogistic LEADER about the admirable *Studien*.[b]

What do you make of the infamous conduct of the Prussian government?[188]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

By the by, you should now put your name on everything. It was a disadvantage from the very start that the thing[c] should have appeared anonymously.

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[a] Not bad, that. - [b] See previous letter. - [c] Engels' *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine.*

## 85

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, after 28 June 1860]

Dear Moor,

Encl. an article on the RIFLE parade[a]; the subject occurred to me just when I was about to despair. Go over it thoroughly; I haven't the time to do so myself.

Those Prussians really do have a 'nice style' just now. Since the action against the *National-Zeitung* could only serve to introduce a strident note of discord into the general constitutional harmony, the case must be stopped at all costs. The judges, 'and there still are such in Berlin',[192] are being got at and I'm quite positive that Mr Weber has been got at, too. It's quite plain to me from the whole tone of his letters. All the more need, then, to press on with the pamphlet[b] so that the noble Prussians can be shown that they are not, after all, able to suppress such things. Those swine. Might it be, perhaps, that they quietly affected such a liberal attitude towards me,[c] in order to behave all the more abominably to yourself?

If possible, I shall do Bohemia this evening.[d] Incidentally, you should devise the pamphlet—difficult though this may be—in such a way as to make it absolutely impossible for the Prussians to ban it. And above all be quick, for it is probable that between now and 1861 the daydream of peace will gain ascendency and hence interest in high treason wane. Do try and be a bit superficial for once, so that you get it done in time.

Your

F. E.

Lommel's parcel there yet?[179]

Lupus leaves next week for a month's holiday in Ireland, etc., etc.

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[a] F. Engels, 'The British Volunteer Force'. - [b] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*. - [c] See this volume, p. 112. - [d] ibid., p. 165.

# 86

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 July [1860]

Dear Frederick,

As regards Meissner, the thing strikes me as somewhat dubious, since he is pretty well hand in glove with Vogt and Co. At any rate, I shan't send him a manuscript[a] unless he concludes a contract beforehand.

*What about Bohemia?* I must have it now, otherwise I shall be held up. Anyway, it need only be brief, you know.[b]

I should also like you to devote a few sentences to a discussion of the military inanities contained in the following utterances of Falstaff Vogt's.[c]

1. This man, who has made such a detailed study of the relationship between 'Energy and Matter',[193] maintains that, within their *present* boundaries, the United Danubian Principalities are capable—*qua independent* kingdom—of forming a 'bulwark' against Russia and, indeed, of withstanding the Russians, Austrians and Turks.

2. As the main proof of Badinguet's[163] altruism and policy of non-conquest he puts forward the argument that, after the 'glorious' Crimean campaign,[d] he did not annex either 'Russian' or 'Turkish' territory.

I am still not yet quite fit. One day, I feel a bit better, the next day a bit worse.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

Apropos. I have seen (thanks to a young ENGLISHMAN by the name of Green) a letter from Garibaldi in which he heartily reviles Bonaparte and hopes eventually to draw his sword against him.[194]

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[a] Marx means his *Herr Vogt*. - [b] See this volume, pp. 165, 168, 170. - [c] in Vogt's *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas* - [d] the Crimean war (1853-56)

## 87

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 17 July [1860]

Dear Engels,

After sundry adventures, which I shall relate some other time, the parcel from Lommel[a] will certainly arrive today or tomorrow, via Cologne. I already have the consignment note (railway) from Geneva.

A couple of days ago I had a letter from Eccarius in which he told me that his tailoring had come to an end, i.e. the state of his health did not permit him to carry on with it. The doctor had said that he couldn't help him. What he needed was a change of air, etc. Accordingly, I have rented a lodging for him in this neighbourhood at my own expense (away from his FAMILY, OF COURSE, who are staying at their old place); he takes his meals with us ditto and has nothing to do save potter about the Heath[b] and send one article a week to Weydemeyer, who pays him 3 dollars per article. I hope he will pull through. I have likewise bought him some port. But I can't carry on like this, since at the present moment, when our cash box is at a low ebb, the other additional expenses he involves us in are already a burden.

Couldn't you do something quickly on Garibaldi, or on the Prussian government, which has pushed through its army reform behind the backs of the Chambers,[195] or something else of the kind?

It's nice that Garibaldi has had Farina hounded out.[196]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 155, 158. - [b] Hampstead Heath

## 88

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 July 1860

Dear Engels,

On Monday evening Palmerston is to put forward his proposals on England's FORTIFICATIONS[a]—a big DODGE, this. It would be a good idea if you could let me have a short article on the subject for the *Tribune* by Wednesday[b] (for it's not till Wednesday that I have to send the thing off *from here*).[c]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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## 89

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 23 July 1860]

Dear Moor,

You shall have the article on FORTIFICATION[d] if I can possibly manage it, but under no circumstances will you be able to get it by the first post.

What do you make of Kinglake's REVELATIONS?[e] It wouldn't be a bad thing at all if the magnificent magnanimity of the Prince Regent[f] in Baden-Baden[197] turned out to be nothing more than a *pauvre*[g] stereotype of the Villafranca affair and Francis Joseph to

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[a] Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on 23 July 1860 (*The Times*, No. 23680, 24 July 1860). - [b] 25 July - [c] About 24 July, Engels wrote the article 'British Defences'. - [d] F. Engels, 'British Defences'. - [e] Engels means Kinglake's speech in the House of Commons on 12 July 1860 on Napoleon III's policy vis-à-vis Italy (*The Times*, No. 23671, 13 July 1860). - [f] William, Prince of Prussia - [g] poor

be the genuinely 'magnanimous man'. Your princes, by the way, would seem after all to have realised that this time their heads are at stake; not that that is going to save them.

Just now I am reading Ulloa's *Guerre d'indépendance de l'Italie 1848/49.* Of all the military scribblings that have come my way (by PROFESSIONAL WRITERS) this is the most idiotic and slovenly. His criticism is so much hot air, the facts are distorted or not properly known and invariably flung together in a jumble. This Ulloa, who was a captain in the Neapolitan artillery in 1848, has called himself 'general' ever since Plon-Plon took him under his wing. This gang pullulates with mysterious generals. Moreover, if this SPECIMEN is anything to go by, the Neapolitan officers must really be a rotten lot.

If Garibaldi doesn't make a move soon,[198] things may turn out badly for him, unless the business in Naples goes well, which doesn't seem likely by the look of it. No doubt there'll be a few more defections before Milazzo and Messina, but the prospects for an expedition to the Continent may deteriorate. The navy won't place any obstacles in his way for, after all, they have no wish to fight Italians, but there certainly seems to be a rabid gang within the Neapolitan army who might resist along with the foreigners, nor can G. afford a defeat. If he had 10,000 reliable men he could, of course, finish the whole thing off in three days. He must now have between 5,000 and 6,000 men, not counting the Sicilians, of course.

Enclosed five pounds; it may enable you to give poor Eccarius a bit of extra help.

Your
F. E.

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## 90

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 July [1860]

Dear Engels,

The £5 arrived. Ditto the article.[a]

I shall send you the *Report* on FORTIFICATIONS.[b] Did you see Urquhart's lamentations on the subject in the latest *Free Press* of 4 JULY?[c] If you would care to write about it in English, and this would seem to be most apposite, you should send the thing here when it is finished. I would then see what could be done with publishers, or *at worst* get it into a revue or a weekly.[199]

What Kinglake said[d] was correct, as is borne out by the absurd manner in which the *Moniteur* reported his speech.[e]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 91

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 July [1860]

Dear Engels,

Enclosed herewith the final nonsuit from the High Court.[200] It would be useless to go on to the Supreme Tribunal. It would

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[a] F. Engels, 'British Defences'. - [b] *Report of the Commissioners appointed to consider the Defences of the United Kingdom; together with the Minutes of Evidence and Appendix; also Correspondence relative to a Site for an Internal Arsenal*, London, 1860. - [c] 'Mr. Urquhart on the Invasion of England', *The Free Press*, Vol. VIII, No. 7, 4 July 1860. - [d] See this volume, p. 173. - [e] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 197, 15 July 1860.

simply add to the costs. It's imperative that I now send Weber his 32 talers 3 silver groschen and 6 pfennigs so that the chap can let me have the documents (including *his indictment*) by return. I need them for the pamphlet,[a] which will be ready for my wife to copy (and she'll do it quickly) within the next 8-10 days.

What is to be done next (I mean in the newspapers)?

A lawsuit like this (note, e.g., the deplorable tone, reminiscent of newspaper polemics, of the High Court's findings) is something I have not come across before. These Prussian curs need a thorough hiding. It's a good thing, by the by, that they've supplied me with 'material'.

Nevertheless, the craven rabble in the High Court did see fit to disallow Mr Vogt's insinuations about 'extortion', etc.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Eccarius has been lodging a few doors away from us for nearly three weeks now and is feeling better.

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## 92

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 August [1860]
7 Southgate

Dear Moor,

Encl. £5, F/L 12596 for the expenses. Lupus absolutely insisted on standing £4 of it. So, here we have the celebrated High Court of the Miller of Sanssouci.[192] I should like to know what its decisions and reasoning would have been, had a Prussian official been treated in this way instead of you.

It would be quite useless to set the Supreme Tribunal in motion; but might you not seek an opinion from a FIRST RATE Prussian LAWYER?

[a] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*.

Their muddled argument shows quite plainly that the rascals have been manipulated by the Ministry itself. They've no wish for a lawsuit that would create a scandal and might upset the drowsy harmony of universal 'ministerialism'. Moreover, Schleinitz himself would be convicted in the person of the *National-Zeitung*.

Your enclosure returned herewith. But now press on *à tout prix*[a] with the pamphlet[b] and publishing arrangements! If possible, I shall do something further for you on Caribaldi[c] next week.

You might inquire from the *Tribune* whether they would like to have a series of 4 or 5 articles on RIFLED FIRE ARMS, INCLUDING ALL THE LATEST IMPROVEMENTS—I won't do the thing on spec.[201]

Your
F. E.

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## 93

## MARX TO J. M. WEBER

IN BERLIN

London, 2 August 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Sir,

I regret that, having been out of town for a few days, I did not receive your letter until today.[202] I enclose the sum of 32 Reichstalers, and, while tendering my best thanks for your careful attention to my affairs to date, would request you *to go ahead with the appeal in the Supreme Tribunal.* Though I do not expect to be successful, no stone should be left unturned in the endeavour to obtain *justice.* Legally the argument put forward by the High Court appears to me to be quite untenable.

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[a] at all costs - [b] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt.* - [c] Engels wrote the article 'Garibaldi's Movements'.

I should be exceedingly grateful if you would send me *by return* your petition of 21.6.60 or, should the latter have to remain on the files for the time being, ask your secretary to make a summary of the charges contained therein (along with a list of the documents supporting the individual charges) and remit me the same.

I have, Sir, the honour to be

Your obedient Servant

Dr Karl Marx

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## 94

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 August [1860]

Dear Frederick,

Have sent the £5 to Weber.

I am getting on with the pamphlet[a] *as fast as I can.* What hinders me somewhat is the inability to write on certain days when my state of health is particularly ''orrible'.[b]

I've decided, by the by, to go on to the Supreme Tribunal officials. They are now on vacation. Before they sit again, my pamphlet will have appeared (and with it my critique of the Prussian proceedings to date). We won't let the chaps off without a tremendous scandal.

Write something about Garibaldi for me by Wednesday.[c]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*. - [b] In the original: 'öklich' instead of 'ekelig'. - [c] 8 August. Engels wrote the article 'Garibaldi's Movements'.

# 95

## ENGELS TO JENNY MARX[203]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 15 August 1860

Dear Mrs Marx,

I shall do the article,[a] *tant bien que mal,*[b] if I possibly can. Today Siebel has landed me with a young fellow from Barmen, which means I can't do anything; however, I shall probably get down to it tomorrow. By the way, it's irresponsible on Moor's part not even to answer my questions concerning Siebel.[204] For ten days now I've been putting off writing to S., and he might at least let me know what I am to tell the fellow. It's absurd, too, that nothing has yet been done about publishers; heaven knows how long negotiations will eventually take. Then, what with the notoriously dilatory methods of German printers, we'll find that we've arrived, *piano ma sano,*[c] in the year 1861 and there'll be no one to blame but Mr Moor himself, with his thoroughness and his failure either to do anything about publishers himself, or to put Siebel in a position to do something. Meanwhile, things will be in full swing everywhere in Europe, and the public will have lost all interest in who exactly belonged to the original Brimstone Gang,[65] how the pamphlet *Zur Warnung*[60] came into being, or what is and is not true in Techow's letter.[56] We're forever producing truly splendid things, but take care to see that they never appear on time, and so they are all flops.

An immediate riposte to Vogt three sheets long would, AFTER ALL, have been of far greater value than anything that has since been done. Insist for all you're worth on something being done—and *done immediately*—about a publisher, and on the pamphlet[d] being finished at long last. Otherwise, we shall wreck all our chances and ultimately find ourselves without any publisher *at all.*

But now for something comical—a great secret, however, that mustn't go beyond the four walls of No. 9 Grafton Terrace. Just imagine! That ridiculous Siebel, arriving in Barmen, goes and falls head over heels in love with a philistine girl,[e] becomes engaged and intends to marry very shortly and settle down to a life of

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[a] 'The Sick Man of Austria' - [b] for better or worse - [c] slowly but surely - [d] *Herr Vogt* - [e] Reinhilde von Hurter

domesticity in B. What a GREENHORN! He's ashamed to tell me and doesn't know that I know about it; but he's written and told someone else here under the seal of etc., etc. It's going to be a jolly nice marriage indeed if the affair isn't broken off again.

Please give Moor and the YOUNG LADIES my warm regards,

Yours

F. Engels

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## 96

## MARX TO J. M. WEBER[205]

IN BERLIN

London, 20 August 1860

Sir,

About a fortnight ago I requested you to let me have a copy of the *charges* preferred by you to which the High Court ruling was an answer.[a] I must now repeat that request since, without such a copy, I am unable to comprehend certain points in the High Court document.

I have, Sir, the honour to be

Your most obedient Servant,

Dr K. Marx

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[a] See this volume, p. 178.

## 97

## MARX TO BERTALAN SZEMERE

IN PARIS

London, 21 August 1860

My dear Sir,

I was most agreeably surprised on receiving the few lines you were so friendly to address to me.

My own silence is easily accounted for. For a long time after the arrival of your last letter, I was labouring under the most heavy and distressing liver-complaint, a complaint which almost disables you from writing. Later on, I was told by some acquaintance of mine, that you sojourned at London, so that I was not sure whether any letter addressed to Paris was likely to find you.

Great events, as you justly remark, have come to pass, but of all things the most dangerous that, in my opinion, could happen to Europe, would be a war between the *legitimate counterrevolution,* seated at Warsaw, and the *illegitimate counterrevolution* seated at the Tuileries. Still, we must take the situation as it is, and make the best of it. If Garibaldi, whose real intentions I have ascertained from private letters communicated to me, has momentaneously been forced to strike his own flag, I hope that in the coming spring the occasion will offer of separating once for all the cause of nationalities from the cause of French counterrevolution.

I have one thing to ask of you. Kossuth has in the latter times worked hard to reconquer his lost influence in the United States. I intend baffling his manoeuvres, and would therefore feel much obliged, if you would communicate to me, *so soon as possible,* and *as circumstantially as possible,* the late adventures of that mock-hero. He has been (or is) at Paris; what was he doing there? He has been at Turin; what was he about? Perhaps, you could also add some curiously grotesque details of his first appearance in Italy, during the war of 1859.[46]

With the events before us, it is of the highest importance, that on the one hand the good understanding between the German party of liberty and the Hungarians should be raised above every doubt—and I shall soon have the occasion of speaking (not by word of mouth, but by print[a]) to Germany on this point; that on

[a] Marx means his book, *Herr Vogt.*

the other hand Kossuth, the would-be representative of the Hungarian Nation, should be disavowed on both sides.

Here at London I still live, and shall continue to live, in my old house, 9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill. If you visit again London, I hope you will not again forget my address. Mrs Marx, moreover, was very disappointed in missing the occasion of making the personal acquaintance of a man whose great intellectual powers she has already become familiarised with by his writings.

Yours truly
A. Williams

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## 98

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 August 1860

Dear Engels,

You can attribute my long silence to the persistently frightful state of my liver, as a result of which I have to devote every spare moment to work.

I wrote to Siebel *re* publishers ABOUT ten days ago[42] and await his reply. The long delay is due partly to my relative inability to work and partly to the fact that it was not till recently that I had all the available material. By the by, I believe that, with the exception of the Italian affair[206] (Austria's craving for intervention was a Bonapartist figment), nothing more is going to happen this year (write SOMETHING about Garibaldi. What do you think of Bangya's friend Türr?[207]), so there'll be an interim period during which pamphlets of this kind will still be readable.

The enclosed letter from Schily will tickle you very much. *Let me have it back.* Today I sent Schily your *Nice, Savoy, etc.*

ABOUT a fortnight ago I sent Dr Zimmermann (formerly chairman of a Prussian Municipal Court) a letter, in which I put to him questions relating to my case (questions of form).[42] However,

he deemed it necessary to confer with other brethren of the same craft in Berlin. No doubt I shall get his written opinion in the course of this week. I shan't allow the Prussians to get off so lightly.

I'm in a great fix over money.

Mr Weydemeyer's journal[a] is already at an end; i.e. he has resigned from the editorial board and intends to go to New York as a SURVEYOR. However, his colleague[b] is going to make the paper pay by *selling* it to a political party. Weydemeyer has at last come to realise that he's too honest for American journalism.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

How's business in Manchester? India? HOME MARKET?

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## 99

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 August 1860

Dear Engels,

Is there still an opening for Eccarius with the tailor in Manchester? If so, he must leave here as he's fit for work again (he's still living out here), business in London is bad and he would, besides, have to go back to the sweatshop.[c]

The wherewithal to send him up there with his FAMILY is being procured down here.

For your information, I should tell you that I believe he is suffering from a disease of the spinal cord. His wife is a revolting creature, a curious amalgam of aspirations after respectability (CHURCHWARDEN'S DAUGHTER) and Irishness. Her housekeeping is sloven-

[a] *Stimme des Volkes* - [b] Julius Standau - [c] See this volume, p. 172.

ly. As for him, his energy is of the passive kind—not at all active, particularly since the disease has grown worse. From the outset, therefore, he ought not to be cossetted in Manchester, should he come up there. For the thumbscrew will have to be applied to him, otherwise she will get ideas into her head.

I must have something about Garibaldi soon. That's the only thing that interests the Yankees.[207]

Today a letter arrived from my Berlin lawyer[a] containing his petition to the Supreme Tribunal. You shall have it later. He himself hasn't properly grasped the point about the flysheet and Blind[b]; however, he's taken in the rest pretty well.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 100

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 September 1860

Dear Engels,

Herewith a letter from Weydemeyer.

Secondly, a letter from my lawyer.[c] You should send me back the latter. Clearly the chap hasn't grasped the point about the flysheet and I'd let him have further information on the subject in the unlikely event of the Supreme Tribunal's referring the case back to the Municipal Court for an actual hearing. Here we have one of the beauties of Prussian jurisprudence. I have now been through five provisional courts to obtain 'bureaucratic permission' actually to conduct the lawsuit. Such things could only happen in the 'enlightened State' of Prussia.

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[a] J. M. Weber - [b] See this volume, pp. 23, 42, 59-63. - [c] See previous letter.

It is now three o'clock, so I don't suppose your Garibaldi article[a] will arrive today. I wouldn't BOTHER you so much about the affair if it wasn't for the fact that, during the elections, the Yankees are reading nothing about foreign affairs SAVE for the melodramatic events in Italy.[206] Aside from that, articles on the HARVEST and TRADE at most, on which subjects one cannot, of course, decently write more than once a week.[208]

Your
K. M.

La Moïse's[b] general is 'Sauernheimer', appointed General of the 'Bristlers'[c] by Abt. *Package received* (Thursday).[209]

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## 101

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, after 2 September, 1860]

Dear Frederick,

I should be very glad if you could send me the *Guardians*.

I thought I had acknowledged receipt of the £5 in my last letter.[d] Have received a letter from Gumpert, dated Scotland. More anon.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Have not heard anything from Siebel yet.

The next turn of events will, I think, be Piedmont *contra* Mazzini.

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[a] 'Garibaldi's Progress' - [b] Sibylle Hess - [c] See this volume, p. 71.- [d] See previous letter.

## 102

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN AACHEN

London, 7 September 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

I was delighted to hear from you again at last, although sorry that you should have no better news for me as regards your health. I myself am still suffering from my liver complaint; not as painful as gout (nor as distinguished, at least in English eyes), but perhaps even more disruptive when it comes to brain-work.

There are two main reasons for postponing the publication of my anti-Vogt piece,[a] aside from my being necessarily engaged on more urgent work. These are:

1. I wanted to wait until the end of the lawsuit against the *National-Zeitung,* but have now decided not to.

The lawsuit has passed through the following stages: First the Public Prosecutor[b] and then the Chief Public Prosecutor[c] dismissed the action, because 'no public interest' would be served by *ex officio* intervention. Next came the civil action. The *Municipal Court* issued a 'ruling' to the effect that the action be dismissed, because the defamatory passages were merely (which, N.B., is incorrect) 'quoted'. The *High Court* declared the Municipal Court's argument to be *mistaken,* but arrived at the same conclusion, because the libellous passages neither did nor could refer *to me* (this the court proves by dint of 'misquoting'), the *National-Z.* had no intention to insult, etc. The very style of the 'ruling' is enough to betray the fellows' embarrassment. Now we have reached the *Supreme Tribunal.* Thus, I have now so far improved my knowledge of Prussian justice as to know that it is up to the officers of the judiciary whether a private individual gets a *public hearing* at all. For all these rulings are mere 'preliminaries' aimed at precluding any sort of encounter between myself and the *Nat.-Z.* in open court. In his letters Legal Counsellor Weber, who appears to know nothing about my friendly relations with the

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[a] *Herr Vogt* - [b] Lippe - [c] Schwarck

Prussian government, throws up his hands in dismay at these 'inexplicable' rulings.

As you know, I instituted the lawsuit against the *Nat.-Z.* before I was in possession of *Vogt*'s book.[a] However, I was on the right track, for the *Nat.-Z.*, with commendable tact, had picked out *all*—but really *all*—the actionable *libels* (I am speaking here of calumnies within the meaning of the Code, not mere abuse by the fellows, which I did not wish to attack in court) from Vogt's concoction and had even, in some cases, added to their sting. But on every single count I found myself in the position, not of demanding that my opponent provide *proof that it was true,* but of myself being able to provide *proof that it was false.* The only exception was the matter of hundreds of threatening letters sent to Germany for the purpose of extorting money. In this instance, of course, it was the *N.-Z.*'s business to get friend Vogt to send them one of those threatening letters.

Hence the courts realised that, as soon as the case came up in open court, the verdict must go against the *N.-Z.*, and this, not to mention a legal victory for me, would indeed be 'contrary to the *public* interest'. The '*Supreme Tribunal*' will find some other subterfuge. But in this way the Prussians are at any rate supplying me with material whose pleasing repercussions in the London press will soon be brought home to them.

2. The real snag just now is the question of a *publisher.*

The thing can't very well appear in Prussia since various passages relating to Stieber, etc., would lay the publisher open to prosecution. My negotiations in Hamburg, etc., have so far been of no avail. Either the chaps want to have nothing to do with it, or else they take the liberty of laying down conditions as to the tone and contents of the piece, to which I cannot, of course, agree. O. Meissner would have taken the thing, had he not previously published *Demokratische Studien,* to which, besides yourself and Grün, Vogt, along with his whole clan, Bamberger, Simon, etc., contributed.

The best thing would be to get the thing printed over here and distributed on the Continent by some German bookseller here (as Vogt did from Geneva). But, unlike Vogt, I have no Bonapartist subsidies, with which to get the pamphlet of some 12 to 15 sheets printed in this country.

So that's how matters stand. As you will have gathered, my attitude towards Vogt is not as mild as German publishers would

[a] *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung,* Geneva, 1859.

wish it to be vis-à-vis the Herr Professor. I treat him *en canaille*[a] and as a figure of fun, i.e. in accordance with his deserts.

Masses of inquiries have reached me from Switzerland and America about the publication of the scrawl.

My wife sends her kind regards. For months I have avoided Freiligrath, not wanting to have a disagreeable encounter with him; nor, at a crucial moment, could I relish the cowardly hedging (on account of his business connection with James Fazy, who is his principal). {But what I thought particularly unseemly was the way he continued to consort with Blind on an intimate footing, after I had shown him *legal* documents *proving* that Blind had, under incriminating circumstances, extracted from Wiehe, the compositor, a *false* deposition for publication in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* relative to the flysheet *Zur Warnung*.[210]} Nevertheless, in the eyes of the world *we* are 'friends' just as we have always been. But intercourse between our families has been completely broken off. As you know, my wife is of a determined disposition.

I hope you will soon send better news of yourself.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 103

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 September 1860

Dear Engels,

I hope to get an article from you for Saturday.[b] If at all possible.

Herewith Zimmermann's legal opinion on the questions I put to him.[c] (*To be returned* to me next week.)

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[a] like dirt - [b] 15 September - [c] See this volume, pp. 182-83.

Also, for your amusement, a copy of a letter given to me by Eccarius.

Your
K. M.

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## 104

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 September 1860

Dear Engels,

THANKS FOR THE ARTICLE.

I enclose herewith Eichhoff's piece[a] which, however, you must return to me intact within 2 or 3 days at the outside. *It doesn't belong to me.* The scrawl had no sooner come out than it was confiscated in Berlin. This copy is the only one to be had in London. Part II, about Patzke, etc., so badly written, is excruciatingly funny. Moreover, it shows you what those stinking courts of justice in Berlin are like. And the infamous press there, venting all of its liberal leonine courage on Bombalino and reserving none for its Patzke, its tribunals and its utterly contemptible Prince Regent.[b]

Garibaldi is a veritable godsend. OTHERWISE, Bonaparte would have been restored to popularity and sustained by the Russo-Prussian-Austrian Holy Alliance.[211]

Our gentle Heinrich Bürgers—but you'll see this for yourself from the enclosed epistle from Lassalle (also to be returned)—has gone over to the Prince Regent. Lassalle wrote to me first, from Aachen, where he is taking the waters for *gout*. Amongst other things, he says that in Cologne and Düsseldorf, where the Workers' Associations have been reorganised under the leadership of two young barristers unknown to us,[c] my anti-Vogt piece[d] is eagerly awaited. Borkheim brought back the same news from

[a] K. W. Eichhoff, *Berliner Polizei-Silhouetten*, Berlin, 1860. - [b] William, Prince of Prussia - [c] Bessel and Knorsch - [d] *Herr Vogt*

Switzerland. In reply to Lassalle's pressure, I told him[a] that all we can hope for (and such, judging by Siebel's letters, is the case) is to get the printing done in London, whence Petsch would transact business in Germany through the usual channels (Leipzig), and in other countries direct. To this end, I wrote, *money* is needed. Next I get the fellow's letter. But he won't get off so easily. I'm writing to him again today.[b] He'll have to disgorge at least £30 by way of *conscience-money*. Borkheim is contributing £12. Thus, the major part of the expenses would already be met. Herewith a specimen proof from Hirschfeld. It would amount to £4 10/- a sheet. But there'd be as much on it as on two ordinary sheets. Take a look at the final pages of the conclusion to L.'s endless letter, where he lavishes much praise on my political economy.[c] He would seem *not* to have understood much of its economics—as is plainly evident from the way he expresses himself.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

*Apropos.*

The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* says the *Demokratische Studien* (Walesrode, Bamberger, Lassalle, Vogt, Grün, Oppenheim, etc.) were written by 8 genuine and 2 'artificial' Jews.

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## 105

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 15 September 1860

Dear Moor,

I return herewith the legal stuff.[d] The letter from Jacob Weasel[e] will follow tomorrow, as will the Eichhoff,[f] which Gumpert is still reading. I found the letter from our Weasel most cheering, or, rather, it brought a smile to my lips; it's a splendid tonic for your

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[a] See this volume, p. 187. - [b] ibid., pp. 192-94. - [c] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [d] See this volume, p. 184. - [e] Ferdinand Lassalle - [f] K. W. Eichhoff, *Berliner Polizei-Silhouetten*, Berlin, 1860.

liver, if nothing else. The things about the Prussian government are quite interesting, but the best of it is that the chap imagines we should *now* concede that he is right over the Italian question!!! *Now,* when, in Italy itself, Cavour is actually being attacked and threatened by the revolutionary party! What naïveté. Now, with Garibaldi on the point of attacking Bonaparte in Rome,[a] we are to admit that, in the spring of this year, we should have joined forces with Cavour and Bonap. and—*qui sait?*[b]—might yet join forces with them! True, Mr Weasel is very reticent about the present.

You must at all costs avoid having your pamphlet[c] printed in London. I immediately wrote to Siebel once again. Firstly, the thing would be confiscated at once, perhaps actually on the frontier or at Leipzig, and secondly, even if this didn't happen, distribution would again be so appallingly bad that no one would ever set eyes on the thing. The experience is one we have been through hundreds of times with émigré literature. Always the same ineffectuality, always money and labour gone down the drain—not to mention the irritation. And then, where's the money to come from? According to your letter, it will call for £50 to £60 or more, and Lassalle certainly *won't* get us £30. Come to that, the thing ought to be worded in such a way that it could be printed and distributed in Germany; of what use to us is a riposte to Vogt which no one ever sets eyes on? And I simply don't see why we need any confiscable content here. Even with the press regulations as they now are, you can still say enough to drive the Prussians mad, and that, after all, is preferable to satisfaction *in partibus*[d] of which the public remains unaware and which, as it were, you give yourself merely in private.

Some three weeks ago I sent an article on the RIFLE MOVEMENT[e] to the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* in Darmstadt and, because in my dealings with those professional soldiers I couldn't risk sailing UNDER FALSE COLOURS, I told the fellows in an accompanying letter[f] that I had fought in the campaign in Baden on the side of the insurgents.[212] They did print the article all the same and it has now appeared in English over here as well.[g] If possible, I shall

[a] See this volume, p. 171. - [b] who knows? - [c] *Herr Vogt* - [d] *In partibus (infidelium)* means, literally, in parts inhabited by unbelievers. The words are added to the title of Roman Catholic bishops appointed to purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries. Here they mean 'outside the sphere of reality'. - [e] F. Engels, 'Eine Musterung englischer freiwilliger Jäger'. - [f] F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*'. - [g] The translation was made by Engels himself, with minor alterations. It appeared under the title 'A German Account of the Newton Review' in *The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire,* No. 2, 14 September 1860.

send it to you this evening; there is no need to return it to me, as I shall be getting a copy of my own in a week's time. This is a connection of great value to me as regards military affairs.[213]

The business of the Holy Alliance[a] is pretty disastrous and in France will be of enormous help to Bonap. Garibaldi, that's the only redeeming feature. Meanwhile, I'm anxious to know how the liberal philistines in Prussia will feel about her coming under Russia's aegis again. Nowhere else in the world, by the way, does the gutter-press equal that of Berlin; this time it even seems to have gone too far for the Weasel. I'll tell you this—it's impossible so much as to pick up the *National-* or the *Volks-Zeitung*; the stench of their boring balderdash and know-all *fadaise*[b] carries half a mile or more.

At the National Association,[24] too, Mr Miquel held forth with genuine National Association sagacity. As for Heinrich,[c] he has at long last discovered his standpoint.

Regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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## 106

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

### IN AACHEN

[London,] 15 September 1860

Dear Lassalle,

I am writing very briefly to make sure this note still finds you.

1. I wrote to Freiligrath (day before yesterday)[42] about an answer to your question.[214] None arrived.[d] Answering such questions *conflicts,* of course, *with his duty to his office.*

2. As regards the book on Vogt[e]: After trying this, that and the other, I have come to the conclusion that *printing in London* is the

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[a] See this volume, p. 189. - [b] inanity - [c] Bürgers (see this volume, p. 189). - [d] See this volume, p. 195. - [e] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt.*

only possibility. By the by, deliberately written so as not to be *confiscable.* Although not printable in Berlin, it would, like any other book, be distributed in Germany from Leipzig; in Switzerland, Belgium, America direct from here. Engels is paying for one share, I for another. But the thing's expensive since a sheet costs $4^1/_2$ pounds sterling over here. You must contribute a share if you can. I have optimistically arranged for printing to begin not later than next week. If the money has not been collected, nothing will be lost, save the sum to be paid for what has already been printed.

3. Garibaldi shared my opinion of *Bonaparte's* **mission,**[a] just as Mazzini did. I have actually seen letters of Garibaldi's on this score. However, the past is no longer of any concern. As soon as Garibaldi has divested the Italian cause of Bonaparte (and *such is his object, expressly stated in a letter he wrote* to an English acquaintance of mine, Green),[b] all disputes *within the revolutionary party* will cease. But what is important now is that *we* should come to an agreement on a programme. If you would care to make a *brouillon,*[c] Engels, Wolff and I will agree possible modifications with you. The time is approaching when our 'small' if, in a certain sense, 'powerful party' (inasmuch as the others do not know what they want, or do not want what they know) must devise its plan of campaign. That *we in particular* (here in England) should adopt a national stance seems to me tactically correct—quite apart from any inherent justification.

4. As for our attitude towards Russia, I think you are mistaken. The view that I and Engels have formed is a quite independent one, having, I may say, been laboriously evolved over many years from the study of Russian diplomacy. True, Russia is hated in Germany and, in the very first issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* we presented an anti-Russian war as the revolutionary mission of Germany. But hating and understanding are two altogether different things.

5. Your praise of my book[d] gave me great pleasure, coming as it did from a competent judge. I think that Part II may very likely come out before Easter. It will take a somewhat different form, more popular TO SOME DEGREE. Not, of course, as a result of any impulse from within myself, but, first, because Part II has an expressly revolutionary function, and, second, because the conditions I describe are more concrete.

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[a] See this volume, p. 171. - [b] ibid. - [c] draft - [d] *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

In Russia my book has caused a considerable stir, and a professor in Moscow has given a lecture on it.[182] Moreover, many Russians, in particular, have written to me very kindly about it. Ditto German-speaking Frenchmen.

6. *Ad vocem*[a] *H. Bürgers.*[215] How like the gentle Heinrich. He was, it is true, nominally co-editor of the *N. Rh. Z.*, but never wrote for it, except for one article,[b] of which I deleted one half and rewrote the other. So enraged was he about this (it happened during the early days of the paper) that he asked for a general vote. This I conceded as an exception, at the same time explaining that a newspaper office should be ruled dictatorially and not by general vote. Universal suffrage went universally against him. After that, he wrote nothing more. Prison, by the by, is said to have had a very moderating effect on him. Give me Casemate Wolff[c] any day. Admittedly, his temperament is diametrically the opposite of Bürgers'.

What has vexed me more than Bürgers is that Miquel, a Göttingen lawyer and a very gifted and energetic member of our party, has joined Bennigsen.

7. *Polizei-Silhouetten* by Dr Eichhoff published in Berlin. Badly written, but contains some delectable things. Throws a fine light on the liberal 'police' and the 'law-courts' in Berlin. Was instantly confiscated. One copy arrived here safely.

8. I must confess my complete ignorance of *Prussian legal procedure.* I never imagined I should get *material* justice. But I did think the procedure was such that I would at least succeed in getting as far as a *public hearing.* That was all I wanted.

Under (old) Rhenish procedure, did a private action for *injuria* or libel also depend on prior permission being obtained from officers of the judiciary, i.e. the government?

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] As regards - [b] [H. Bürgers,] 'Hr. v. Ladenberg und die Volksschullehrer', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* No. 182, 30 December 1848. - [c] Wilhelm Wolff

## 107

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[216]

IN AACHEN

[London, 15 September 1860]

Dear Lassalle,

Have just received this letter[a] which I am sending off to follow my first.

Your
K. M.

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## 108

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 September [1860]

Dear Engels,

You must let me have the Eichhoff[b] and Lassalle's letter back **by return of post.**

I am counting on getting an article on Garibaldi, Lamoricière, or the CHINESE WAR for Saturday.[c]

Shall probably be writing to you at greater length tomorrow.

In great haste.

Your
K. M.

·Although my finances here are in a horrible muddle, I have sent my wife and children to Hastings for a week. I have not the means to keep them there any longer. Unfortunately, they've had rain almost all the time.

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[a] From Ferdinand Freiligrath - [b] K. W. Eichhoff, *Berliner Polizei-Silhouetten* - [c] 22 September

# 109

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 September 1860

Dear Engels,

The family arrived back safely yesterday.

With regard to the enclosed letter from Dana I should explain that, after your visit to London,[217] I wrote to Dana[42] saying I would rather he assigned the 'NAVY' article to some other contributor to the *Cyclopaedia*.[218] After that, I didn't hear from him and thought the matter had been DROPPED until the enclosed letter turned up yesterday. If you could possibly do the thing—however briefly and superficially DOES NOT MATTER—it would be of *enormous help* to me, *particularly just now,* since, to obtain a breathing-space, I was forced on 14 September to *draw an anticipatory* bill on Dana, having a life of 2 months (payable 2 months after date). When writing to him, I reminded him of our long-standing friendship, as this was, in fact, against the PRINCIPLES of the *Tribune*. However, my letter crossed his, so just now it behoves us to keep him happy, quite apart from the necessity of his continuing to believe that we can do everything. So, if it is at all possible, you would oblige me more than I can say by doing the thing. Ten pages was the maximum prescribed by Dana. FIFE DO ALSO,[a] if not otherwise feasible. The point is that something should go off.

How WITH Lamoricière?[b]

What do you think of the Garibaldi situation?

Kossuth was balked by Mazzini's intervention; he had been sent by Bonaparte. Garibaldi was to have by-passed Rome and marched on Venice direct.[219]

Now, *ad vocem*[c] *Vogt.*

The thing's[d] being printed here.

1. *Money.* All I have to pay is £25. £12 from Borkheim, Lassalle has promised me £8. There remains £5. The other printing costs, *ditto* distribution costs *will be met by Petsch, the publisher.* We are SHARERS TO EQUAL PARTS in the profits, after deduction and refund of

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[a] Five will also do - [b] See this volume, p. 195. - [c] as regards - [d] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt.*

the costs. I told Petsch this was now the only condition upon which I would have the thing published in London.

2. The thing is not *confiscable.* This was a misapprehension on Lassalle's part. I had told him, on the contrary, that, though *not* confiscable, it could *not appear* in Berlin because no publisher there would print it because of the communist trial.[44]

3. We are no longer in the 1850-58 era. Petsch has his agents in Leipzig, Berlin, and Hamburg. So, the thing will be distributed through *ordinary* booksellers' channels in Germany. In Belgium, Switzerland, and America, Petsch will sell *direct* through his agents there, thus saving a great deal of time. Advertisements in the newspapers, booksellers' notices, etc., will be attended to here, with my assistance. We shall send Siebel 50 copies to be distributed to journals, etc. Confiscation I hold to be *out of the question.* Vogt is not the Prince Regent,[a] and Stieber has officially fallen into disgrace. I am deliberately keeping myself *en réserve* where *politics* are concerned.

4. We are saving time, for in Germany we might spend months yet doing the rounds; also time on proof-correcting, etc. It is Petsch's first publication (along with an anti-About pamphlet of Borkheim's[b]), and he will go to no end of pains, if only in his own interests.

5. If the thing goes well, as I have every reason to suppose, Petsch will publish pamphlets, whether by you or me, in German or English and put an end to BURKING by German publishers. (2 sheets already printed.)

On this occasion, therefore, necessity would appear to have been a virtue. *Qu'en pensez-vous?*[c] I believe that *Po and Rhine*[d] ditto *Savoy,*[e] etc., would have created much more of a stir had they come out here in London.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Apropos. You rightly considered *Ex-Reichs-Vogt* an unsuitable title. *Karl Vogt* seems unsuitable to me because I don't want to put 'Karl Marx' after *Karl Vogt.* Hence my proposed title, *Dâ-Dâ-Vogt.* For, as I reveal in the section containing the critique of Vogt's

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[a] William, Prince of Prussia - [b] [S. L. Borkheim,] *Napoleon III und Preussen,* London, 1860. - [c] What do you think? - [d] F. Engels, *Po and Rhine.* - [e] F. Engels, *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine.*

*Studien,*[a] Dâ-Dâ is an Arab writer who is made use of by Bonaparte in Algiers as Vogt is in Geneva. Dâ-Dâ will PUZZLE your philistine, and it's funny.

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## 110

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 October 1860

Dear Moor,

Where has your family been to, if they are now safely back home?[b] I'm completely in the dark. To the SEASIDE, perhaps, or to the country? I hope it has done them good.

'NAVY' is most inconvenient just now.[c] I'm having the hell of a time with the LAWYERS over matters connected with the firm—no one in Germany has an inkling of the way things drag on here, and it's precisely this week that the fellows must needs descend on me with a mass of files, etc. However, I shall do my best[220] but it certainly won't be a quick job, for I'm in no way *au fait.*

*Quanto a*[d] Vogt: I must say that I don't like your title at all.[e] If you want to give him a nickname, surely it must be one that is comprehensible to people without their having to read the book; alternatively it should only appear in the actual book *after* the explanatory bit. To my mind, the simpler and more unaffected the title the better, except that Bonaparte, or at least Plon-Plon, should, if possible, figure in it as well as Vogt. If you object to 'Carl' Vogt, call him Herr Vogt, though I don't see why 'Carl' cannot appear above 'Karl'—no one is going to make a joke about it.

Printing in London: I have no confidence in a publishing operation that requires us to advance all or half the money. The enclosed letter from Siebel shows that he was far from giving up

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[a] C. Vogt, *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas.* - [b] See this volume, pp. 195, 196, 201. - [c] ibid., p. 196. - [d] As regards - [e] See previous letter.

the affair for lost, quite the contrary, and was only waiting for instructions in order to act (let me have it back, it hasn't been answered yet). I've seen only too often what happens when things are printed abroad, and I fear that it will be exactly the same this time. If Vogt is an exception (and, after all, his thing was printed in *Frankfurt*!), he was also backed up by the press, which certainly isn't going to happen to *us*. Besides, Mr Petsch is having to *pay* for the advertisements, etc., etc., and hence won't be particularly keen to advertise too much. *Tu verras*.[a] At all events, you would certainly have been able to find a publisher in Germany long ago, had you got Siebel moving properly, and I always prefer it this way[b]; furthermore, Hirschfeld's little press is *not* going to be in overmuch of a hurry. However, the thing is under way, and we shall have to see how it turns out. It would be best, I think, if, in addition to the title, you were to include nothing but the *chapter headings* in the advertisement; that would be quite sufficient. And, above all, see that the thing gets finished.

When 3-4 sheets have been printed, you might send me copies.

Apropos: What do 5 or 10 of Dana's pages amount to?[c] I've no idea.

Lamoricière has been ignominiously surprised by the Piedmontese.[221] He was completely unprepared on that flank, his defences were directed exclusively against Garibaldi, and he had manned the worthless citadels in the towns with small garrisons fit only to deal with uprisings. Hence the succession of surrenders; overall, the Piedmontese were 6 to 1. At Castelfidardo the Austrians fought very well, likewise at Ancona, which is in no sense a fortress on the landward side; but, on the whole, the papal army shows how little can be achieved with a force which, though good in part, is heterogeneous and commanded by all kinds of foreign officers. Admittedly the Piedmontese were 3 to 1.

From a military point of view, Garibaldi appears to be getting short of breath. He has dispersed his good troops among the Sicilian and Neapolitan battalions to such an extent that he no longer has any kind of organisation, and as soon as he reaches a moderately well defended river line with a fortress he does not command, as at Capua, he comes to a halt. Not that it matters much for the time being, since the 30,000 Neapolitans can't subsist on that small strip of land, and will have to disband in a fortnight

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[a] You'll see. - [b] See this volume, p. 191. - [c] Engels means the size of the article on the navy that Marx requested him to write (see this volume, p. 196).

or advance, which they won't succeed in doing. But, unless he has some really exceptional strokes of luck, it's hardly likely that G. will reach the Quirinal[222] so quickly. On top of that, the Cavourians are now raising a hubbub; before long, these wretched bourgeois will be able to make his position untenable, so that as a *pis aller*[a] he'll be forced to attack before he's capable of winning. Apart from this, it would be essential to trounce the Neapolitans as quickly as possible and then induce the Piedmontese to fraternise before Victor Emmanuel joined them, for by then it would be too late, and they would stay loyal to Victor Em. But it is of the utmost significance that the French in Rome[223] should have been publicly placed by G. in the same category as the Austrians in Venice. Whether their expulsion will or will not be effected forthwith is of lesser significance.

Things in Austria look splendid. A National Association[24] philistine, a Rhenish Prussian, who lives in Bavaria (Franconia), relates that people from Munich, who recently attended the railway festival in Vienna, never doubting the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*'s reports about conditions in Austria, returned quite dumbfounded, so different had they found everything. The Austrians had told them that it was all humbug and that conditions there were no longer bearable. He also said that the bourgeoisie in Austria already had a specific for the financial imbroglio: *in Austria 20% of all landed property belongs to the clergy, and this must be confiscated.* Can one imagine a more splendid revolutionary situation? What is all that supercilious Prussian sophistry along with its National Association when compared with such a programme?

The writings of Prince Frederick Charles[b] and Mr Waldersee[c] have convinced me beyond doubt that the Prussians have organised and trained their army so splendidly that they must inevitably be beaten. In order to remedy the defect arising from 45 years' lack of war experience, they have created a mock conventional war in the shape of manoeuvres where everything is different from real war, and where soldiers and officers are expressly instructed to retreat on any pretext and where completely wrong notions and things are drummed into them. E.g., on manoeuvres soldiers are not, of course, permitted to enter and

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[a] last resort - [b] [Friedrich Karl, Prinz,] *Eine militärische Denkschrift,* Frankfurt am Main, 1860. - [c] F. G. Waldersee, *Die Methode zur kriegsgemäßen Ausbildung der Infanterie für das zerstreute Gefecht...,* Zweite Auflage, Berlin, 1852.

occupy houses; the houses, therefore, are *marked* as being occupied by posting soldiers round the outside. In Schleswig *during a battle* a Prussian captain received the order to occupy a farm, whereupon he posted his men round its perimeter fence, just as though on manoeuvres! Waldersee saw this with his own eyes. Prince Fr. Charles, by the way, is by no means a bad chap as soldiers go and absolutely detests the pointless grind of the Prussian parade ground. But, whether he's any good as a commander, it is impossible to say.

Your
F. E.

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## 111

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 October 1860

Dear Engels,

One of my letters must have failed to reach you, for I wrote and told you that my FAMILY was spending a week at the SEASIDE.[a]

As regards Dana's pages,[b] one of your large pages (e.g. in *Artillery*) was the equivalent of one of Dana's.

My impression of Siebel's letter was exactly the opposite of yours,[c] namely his helplessness. *Meissner*, by reason of the *Demokratische Studien*, is actually in the enemy camp. Moreover, it would appear from his private conversation with Siebel that he expected a 'dignified' discussion and regards Vogt as a great man. *O. Wigand* is a *personal enemy* of mine and, years ago, on my offering to entrust him with the *Eighteenth Brumaire* (even for nothing), wrote me a churlish reply.[224] *Oelbermann* in Bonn is a mere fantasy. I know the meridian of Bonn. All in all, the pamphlet[d] is pretty well unpublishable in Germany (especially as

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[a] See this volume, pp. 195, 196, 198. - [b] ibid., pp. 196, 199. - [c] ibid., p. 199.
[d] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*.

Siebel has no connections with Leipzig publishers), judging by the style that has become established during the 10 years of reaction. And then to have the manuscript actually hawked round from one man to the next, thereby causing the whole thing to be blabbed out, without finding a taker—or only after protracted wanderings! I should, of course, prefer Cotta, Brockhaus or even Campe to Mr Petsch; but circumstances being what they are, I still regard him as a WINDFALL. Borkheim, who is a very good businessman, has great faith in Petsch. Finally, our last experiences in Germany were hardly encouraging.

Printing will go ahead more quickly this week at Hirschfeld's. He still had all kinds of stuff that had to be finished.

I shall think about the *title* again. The fact that Dâ-Dâ will PUZZLE your philistine pleases me and fits in with my SYSTEM OF MOCKERY and CONTEMPT.[a] Nevertheless (the title will, of course, be printed last), I shall again discuss it exhaustively with my critical conscience.[b] Contents are as follows: I. The Brimstone Gang. II. The Bristlers. III. *Police Matters.* 1. Confession. 2. The Revolutionary Congress in Murten. 3. Cherval. 4. The Communist Trial in Cologne. 5. Joint Workers' Festival in Lausanne. 6. Miscellany. IV. Techow's Letter. V. Imperial Regent and Count Palatine. VI. Vogt and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* VII. The Augsburg Campaign. VIII. Vogt's *Studien.* IX. Agency. X. Patrons and Accomplices. XI. Lawsuit against the *National-Zeitung.* XII. Appendices.

As you have no time just now for articles, write to me *privately* when anything of a military nature happens in Italy, informing me, quite briefly, of the *chief points.* I shall then myself DODGE what is necessary into shape.

J. Ph. Becker wants to go to Naples[c] (accompanied by Schily). He wants to raise a German volunteer corps there. (!!!)

I am completely broke. If you could send me a £ or two before the week is out, it would be very WELCOME.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

The effrontery of *The Times* (yesterday's) in suggesting that Garibaldi inspired 'CONFIDENCE' so long 'AS HE COULD BE BELIEVED TO BE *THE AGENT OF THE SECRET INTENTIONS OF NAPOLEON III*',[d] is truly staggering.

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[a] See this volume, p. 84. - [b] Marx apparently means his wife Jenny. - [c] See this volume, pp. 237, 246. - [d] *The Times,* No. 23739, 1 October 1860, leading article.

Edwin James, the clown, was in such a FUNK that he fled all the way back to London, arriving the day before yesterday.[225] In the Plon-Plonist *Opinion nationale* Kossuth has addressed a letter to Garibaldi, which was written both in the spirit and at the behest of the Bonapartists.

Your RIFLE article[a] has gone the rounds of the London press[226] and has even been discussed in the pro-government *Observer*. This was a SENSATION.

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## 112

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

### IN BERLIN

[London,] 2 October 1860

Dear Lassalle,

Forwarded your letter to Freiligrath forthwith.

When I wrote saying you should 'muster' a quota, I was, OF COURSE, deliberately using an ambiguous term. Only do not enlist the help of anyone who is not a *personal* friend of mine. I should be glad, by the by, to receive the contribution at an early date. Come to that, I don't believe it will be *à fonds perdu*,[b] for we shall at least recoup the cost of production.

Engels wrote an essay on the English RIFLES[c] for the Darmstadt *Militär-Zeitung*, which he subsequently translated for the Manchester *Volunteer Journal*. It has been reproduced and discussed by the entire London Press.[226]

From letters that have come to me straight from Garibaldi's camp, things would seem to be in rather parlous state. Cavour is actually Bonaparte's tool and controls Victor Emmanuel. Garibaldi is in a difficult position vis-à-vis Bonaparte and the Piedmontese army, the more so in that all the bourgeois and aristocratic riff-raff in Italy are on the side of Cavour. Somewhat to the

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[a] 'A Review of English Volunteer Riflemen' - [b] Money down the drain - [c] 'A Review of English Volunteer Riflemen'

detriment of his own army, G. has been compelled to disperse his best troops amongst Neapolitan riff-raff and Piedmontese *troupiers*.[a]

You will forgive me, if I do not reply to your letter this time, nor, indeed, write more than a few lines. Besides being taken up (agreeably) with proof-correcting[b] and my habitual tasks, I have the added blessing of a most frightful catarrh, affecting the whole of the left side of my head.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

The Supreme Tribunal has not yet reached a decision. As soon as the case is disposed of and I am debarred from public proceedings, I shall publish a sheet (pamphlet), *Prussian Justice*[227] over here.

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## 113

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 5 October 1860

Dear Moor,

Enclosed £5 note E/L 33688 Manchester, 12 Jan. 60.

I would have sent it sooner, but Gumpert touched me for ten pounds, after which I had to wait a day or two so as not to make myself conspicuous by drawing a lot of money all at once.

As to printing in London, the chief consideration, of course, is that the thing[c] should appear and appear **quickly**; but printing in Germany was preferable and could undoubtedly have been arranged. However SHARP Petsch may be, a German publisher, e.g. Meissner (who is far from being the philistine you imagine him to

[a] soldiers - [b] of the pamphlet *Herr Vogt* - [c] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*.

be—just take a look at his list) is in a much stronger position to break the *conspiration du silence.* Nor do I account it in any way a blessing that the party is thus also compelled to invest capital, for we've little enough as it is.

Title—I would repeat, and this is quite definitely Lupus's opinion also, that at any rate, a title that requires one to read half the book before one finds out what it means could not be more unhappy. Your philistine has long since ceased to take such an interest in Vogt as to PUZZLE over why you should call him Dâ-Dâ. The only thing that can make Vogt interesting is his connection with Bonaparte and Plon-Plon, and *this* you must emphasise in the title, if you are to arouse the philistine's curiosity. So far as the *title* is concerned, your system OF MOCKERY AND CONTEMPT[a] is unlikely to produce anything but a title that is affected or contrived. A simple title is surely the best; MOCKERY AND CONTEMPT comes in the book soon enough.

So, *père*[b] Garibaldi has drubbed the Neapolitans again after all, and taken 2,000 prisoners.[228] The impression the chap makes on the troops must be tremendous. It's an excellent thing that Türr should have been discredited along with Rüstow's theory.[c] Otherwise, the latter would undoubtedly have taken it into his head to become the German Garibaldi; among the bourgeois republicans, the chap could come to be dangerous. It will probably be all up with Bombalino before long; the troops will soon have nothing left to eat and will disperse, for the area is not large enough to support them. Apart from that, there's nothing to be said about the affair for the time being. By the way, there's no denying that the *rè galantuomo*[d] is playing his hand with a great deal of PLUCK if he should now go to Naples.

The success of my RIFLE article[e] was not altogether fortuitous. I sent the little sheet,[f] boldly marked in red, to the main London papers and the press up here and wrote to them more or less as follows: *The Correspondent, for England, of the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* presents his compliments to the Editor of the ... and begs to call his attention to an article of his in the *Volunteer Journal* (a copy of which is sent by post) on the Newton review. As this is the first professional opinion of a foreign military paper on the voluntary movement, it may be of interest.*—Quite anony-

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[a] See this volume, pp. 83, 202. - [b] father - [c] See this volume, p. 389. - [d] Gallant king (Victor Emmanuel II) - [e] 'A Review of English Volunteer Riflemen' - [f] *The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire*

mously, of course. I didn't write to *The Times* but they published an excerpt, nevertheless.[a]

Siebel has sent me a portrait of his betrothed,[b] very pretty. Marie Antoinette with just a tiny *soupçon* of the virtuous Eugénie, but exceedingly mannish, notwithstanding—SHE WILL WEAR THE BREECHES. His 'sensible creature' will surprise him yet. *Madame la baronne,* her mother, was a milliner-cum-shop assistant in Düsseldorf and is still said to frequent Küpper's beer garden, where she puts away her 3 or 4 pints in an afternoon. Or so the philistines say.

According to the latest reports, Garibaldi is the grandson or great-grandson of the Dr Jos. Bapt. Maria Garibaldi of Ajaccio who was sent to Germany by King Theodore Neuhof, married Miss Katharina von Neuhof in Westphalia and, after the overthrow of his brother-in-law, settled in Nice.[229] His face certainly has a Westphalian cast to it. Ewerbeck and Willich are both caricatures of G. in their own way.

In number one, volume three, of Kolatschek's German monthly there is said to be a very pointed article against Vogt.[c]

Kind regards to the FAMILY.

Your

F. E.

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## 114

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 11 October 1860

DEAR Frederick,

I'm extremely busy at this moment. Shall write to you on Saturday.[d] Some good stuff in Brass's pamphlet.[e]

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[a] 'A German Account of the Volunteers', *The Times,* No. 23733, 24 September 1860. - [b] Reinhilde von Hurter. - [c] [A. Kolatschek,] 'Die Juchheisten' in *Stimmen der Zeit,* October 1860. - [d] 13 October - [e] A. Brass, *Was Noth ist,* Geneva, 1860.

If possible, let me have a word or two of guidance (by Saturday) on Garibaldi's GRAND BATTLE.[228]

Your
K. M.

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## 115

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

### IN BERLIN

[London,] 23 October 1860

Dear Lassalle,

You will forgive me for writing no more than a few lines. Apart from my usual preoccupations, I am just now snowed under with proof-sheets.[a]

I should be *greatly* obliged if you could let me have such money as you are able to send by the beginning of November, since I have given the printer (as a matter of fact, printers in London are paid *by the week*) an I.O.U. payable at the beginning of November.

Today I received a final nonsuit from the Supreme Tribunal. It reads:

'Your appeal of August 23 of this year against the ruling on July 11 of this year of the Criminal Senate of the Royal High Court in the action for libel brought by Dr. K. Marx against Dr. Zabel, editor of the *National-Zeitung*, is hereby dismissed as without foundation after consideration of the relevant documents. For the Royal High Court did not find *an objective defamation of the plaintiff* in the two leading articles of the *Nat.-Zeit.* in question, nor did it find that there was an *intention to insult the plaintiff*. It was right, *therefore*, to refuse permission to proceed with the proposed action for libel.

'The question whether there is an objective act of defamation, or an intention to insult, essentially pertains to matters of fact and the conclusions regarding them can only be disputed by an appeal to the Royal Supreme Tribunal if the decision of

[a] of *Herr Vogt*

the Appeal judge is based on an error in law. However, such an error is not evident in the present instance. The costs, etc.'

How is your health? Mine is still pretty precarious.
*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 116

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 October 1860

Dear Engels,

Herewith the letter from Weber, to whom I must therefore send ABOUT 6 talers; so ends the spree with Prussian justice.[a] You can pass on this news to Siebel.

Later on, I shall publish ABOUT one sheet ON PRUSSIAN JUSTICE[227] here in London, but not until the book[b] is safely in Germany.

During the first 4 weeks, all went very slowly at Hirschfeld's, partly because Zinn, the compositor, left him in the lurch, and also because he had a great deal to do and one of my sheets amounted to more than 2 ordinary printed sheets. However, last week I entered into a written agreement with him whereby he has got to finish by 15 November.

In the last number of *Stimmen der Zeit*, Kolatschek has brought the thing[c] up again in the 'Juchheisten', in which friend Lassalle, among others, comes off ''orribly'.[d]

How goes it with the *Navy*[e]?

Do you think there might actually be war this autumn?

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[a] See previous letter. - [b] K. Marx's *Herr Vogt*. - [c] See this volume, pp. 206, 212. - [d] In the original: 'öklich' instead of 'eklig'. - [e] See this volume, pp. 196, 198.

What with proof-correcting and a host of petty things to do, I've had my hands so full that for a while I hardly had time to write to you.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 117

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 November 1860

Dear Engels,

A week ago on Friday,[a] I sent you Weber's last letter, which I *must have back.*

I hope nothing untoward has happened, since I haven't heard a thing from you.

My hands are completely full, partly PRIVATE BUSINESS, partly proof-corrections[b] (always to be done twice over); last week, too, as a result of the Supreme Tribunal ruling,[c] I had to completely rewrite the bit about the lawsuit[d]; finally the *Tribune.*

Is it true that *The Manchester Guardian* occasionally has some interesting stuff from Paris now?

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Now you can see what would have happened if I had relied on Siebel. Over a fortnight ago, I wrote[42] asking whether he would be

[a] See previous letter. - [b] K. Marx's *Herr Vogt.* - [c] See this volume, pp. 207-08. - [d] See *Herr Vogt,* present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 259-95.

willing to see to the copies (their despatch) for journals, etc., in Germany (and for which?). Needless to say, no reply.

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## 118

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN BERLIN

London, 5 November 1860

Dear Lassalle,

I herewith acknowledge with many thanks the £12, which arrived on Saturday.[a] However, you should *not* approach the two people you name.[b]

*Szemere*'s statement surprised me as much as anything emanating from the Hungarian emigration could surprise me.[230] In no circumstances can Szemere be said to be guided by personal motives, but he suffers from 'statesmanship'!

As soon as I've done with the BUSINESS of printing[c] and at last have my hands free, I shall write to you at length.

Your
K. M.

This time there seems good reason to hope that victory in the United States will go to the REPUBLICAN PARTY (whose organ is the *Tribune*).[231]

I have today written to *Weber*, my lawyer, asking him to hand over the papers pertaining to the lawsuit to you,[42] and would be glad if you would temporarily *house* them for me.

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[a] 3 November 1860 - [b] Franz Duncker and Ludmilla Assing - [c] *Herr Vogt*

# 119

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 November 1860

Dear Engels,

From your letter, I see that you are yourself in straitened circumstances.[232] Nevertheless, not having anything pawnable left, I must ask you to send me the £5 you promised, and to do so, if possible, in the *course of this week*. Next Saturday (17 November), I have to pay Hirschfeld £25 against bills and haven't yet got together quite enough money.

The book[a] (12 sheets, 24 in terms of normal printed pages) will be ready next week. Because of the Supreme Tribunal's verdict,[b] I have had to completely rewrite the bit about the *lawsuit*,[c] originally only a few pages long. It will now run to about 1 printed sheet. The whole of the last sheet in *brevier* (*appendices*). I haven't sent you the *individual* sheets because, in this case, as in any other, it would have detracted from the general EFFECT of the work. I shall send you 6 copies, 1 for you, 1 for Lupus, 1 for Gumpert, 1 for Borchardt, 1 for Heckscher, and 1 for Charley.[d]

Your question concerning Lommel's pamphlet,[e] about which you had heard no more 'and which was where the money went' seems to imply some sort of reproach. *D'abord*,[f] even if it hasn't yielded a *centime*, I could **not** have written 'Agency', the most important chapter in the personal attack upon Vogt, without the help of Lommel. In reply to my various CROSS-EXAMINATIONS, the man had to write at least 40 letters. Add to which, he let me have his anti-Vogt statement, originally intended for the *Allgemeine Zeitung*.[233] I cannot see that people who are complete strangers to our party are under any obligation to work for us gratis. Besides, Petsch told me yesterday that he had sold 2 or 3 pounds' worth and would anyhow get rid of the rest—if not already sold out (he has just readvertised them in Germany)—in the UNITED STATES and Australia.

As soon as you have read the book, you will abandon the view that it could have been placed in Germany (by 1880, maybe)

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[a] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*. - [b] See this volume, pp. 207-08. - [c] See *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 259-95. - [d] Charles Roesgen - [e] [G. Lommel,] *Hinter den Coulissen*, Geneva and New York, 1859. - [f] Firstly

through the offices of Siebel whose connections are *solely* literary. I've heard from Siebel.

I have given way to you over the title and (yesterday) inserted *Herr Vogt.* My wife was absolutely against this and intent on *Dâ-Dâ Vogt,* remarking most learnedly that, even in the case of Greek tragedy, the title and content would often seem at first glance to be unconnected.

I don't know whether you have seen Kolatschek's *Stimmen der Zeit.* The article 'Juchheisten' (in which our friend Lassalle comes off badly) does in fact contain some information (although that jackass Kolatschek overlooks this), which sheds light on *Vogt's* reason for selling himself to Bonaparte. At the beginning of 1858 a joint-stock company, 'La Cimentaire', a dubious type of loan bank, was founded in Geneva. Besides the managing director, who was never named, there was Vogt, *co-director.* By the end of 1858, the directors had consumed *the entire capital. Bankruptcy.* The MANAGING DIRECTOR was locked up. Criminal proceedings were to follow. From the National Council in Berne, Vogt rushed to Geneva. *Fazy quashed the case.* The shareholders did *not get a single centime.*

From those same 'Juchheisten' (why, BY THE BY, does not Kolatschek, having sold himself to the Austrians, call them *Juchheiten?*) I see that *Juchhe! nach Italien!*[a] (for I could not bring myself to read the Vogt clique's *Demokratische Studien,* which Borkheim had put at my disposal), i.e. 'L. Bamberger', banker in Paris, editor of the *Mainzer Zeitung* in 1848, disgusting cockroach, has presumed to speak of 'communists on half-pay'.[b] Hence I have written a short note about this wiseacre and have included him among Vogt's accomplices, and likewise introduced a few poor jests about the rest of the Juchheisten, L. Simon, Hartmann (the one who told Borkheim in Switzerland that Vogt had done me in), and H. B. Oppenheim.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] [L. Bamberger,] *Juchhe nach Italia!,* Berne and Geneva, 1859. - [b] L. Bamberger, 'Des Michael Pro Schriftenwechsel mit Thomas Contra, aus dem Jahr 1859', *Demokratische Studien,* Hamburg, 1860.

# 120

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] City, 14 November 1860

Dear Engels,

Our letters crossed.[234] These few lines, acknowledging the £5 which arrived this morning, are being written at Borkheim's office.

There is a simple explanation for my having written so seldom of late, and then only a few lines at a time, namely overwork, indisposition and TROUBLE of all kinds. By the end of next week, when my hands will again be free, I shall be writing to you just as before.

I have today sent you by post the number of *Stimmen der Zeit* I mentioned yesterday,[a] but I must have it back by next Wednesday[b] at the latest, since it is borrowed.

I shall include the notice from the *Guardian*,—which I found helpful, thank you for it—among the 'Appendices' in the concluding chapter.[235]

Biscamp *married* the day before yesterday: an American whore. Good luck to him!

Imandt has written. Has a daughter. Has grown *thin* as a rake, has been ill all the summer and still is. *Pauvre diable!*[c]

Borkheim sends his regards. B. has obtained permission from his firm to trade privately in wines and asks you to remember him, should you feel able to help him in this LINE (*every conceivable* type of wine).

No other news.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, p. 212. - [b] 21 November - [c] Poor devil!

## 121

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 November 1860

Dear Engels,

Since Monday,[a] my wife has been prostrated by an extremely virulent nervous fever. Yesterday, on Dr Allen's orders, I found all 3 children lodgings away from home, for he was afraid of a possible infection. Allen says the illness is a dangerous one, but he *hopes* she'll pull through. Last Saturday my wife was already feeling most unwell and I noticed symptoms of fever, and therefore wanted to call the doctor. But she refused. Sunday ditto. On Monday, of course, I wouldn't be put off any longer, and she herself felt that it wasn't just any ordinary cold or some such.

Szemere's here. Will also be passing through Manchester and will call on you.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 122

## MARX TO BERTALAN SZEMERE

IN LONDON

[London,] 21 November [1860]

My dear Szemere,

Mrs Marx having fallen very seriously sick (*Nervenfieber*[b]), I was precluded from seeing you on Sunday, and visiting you on one of the following days. Mr Borkheim has told me that he saw you on Sunday last.

[a] 19 November - [b] nervous fever

The article in the *Augsburg Gazette* alluding to you, has been written by Dr Biscamp,[a] one of my friends, and living in my immediate neighbourhood.

With the best compliments of Mrs Marx and myself

Yours truly,
K. Marx

The *Courrier du Dimanche* of Nov. 18 publishes a letter d.d. 'Vienna, 14 Nov. 1860.'—which is written altogether in the sense [of] your public declaration.[230]

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Revue d'histoire comparée*, t. IV, No. 1-2, Budapest, 1946

Reproduced from the original

## 123

## MARX TO BERTALAN SZEMERE

### IN LONDON

[London,] 22 November 1860

My dear Szemere,

My best thanks for your friendly letter and the Kossuth-Cobden-Memorandum[236] which I forgot mentioning in my last.

The state of Mrs Marx has not yet improved.

Engels, whom you must consider as my *alter ego* and who is the author of the pamphlet 'Po und Rhein'[b] I gave you on a former occasion, lives *No. 6, Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road, Manchester.*

The *Courrier du Dimanche* I receive from time to time by a friend at Paris.[c] Is that Ganesco not a Wallachian? At all events, his name does not point to a French origin.

With my best compliments,

Yours truly,
K. Marx

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Revue d'histoire comparée*, t. IV, No. 1-2, Budapest, 1946

Reproduced from the original

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[a] [E. Biscamp,] 'Die politischen Emigrationen und die Tuilerien', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 312 (supplement), 7 November 1860. - [b] *Po and Rhine* - [c] Probably W. Schily

# 124

## MARX TO ENGELS[237]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 November 1860

Dear Frederick,

Best thanks for the £10 and the 'NAVY'[a] (splendid article).

Now, as regards my wife's illness, it is in one respect better and in another worse than I was aware. For, until the character of the disease was definitely determined, Allen concealed its true nature from me. Yesterday this was no longer possible. What my wife has got is—SMALL POX, and very badly, too, although she has been twice vaccinated against it. (Tell *no one* about it except Lupus.) And that's why Allen promptly removed the children from the house. It's a ghastly disease. Should Lenchen catch it, I shall at once send her to hospital. So far, I have done the nursing (the bulk of it) myself. But, as I find it too exhausting, I hired a nurse as soon as the £10 arrived today. For many weeks my wife had been in an exceptionally nervous state owing to our many TROUBLES, and was thus more liable TO CATCH the contagion in an omnibus, shop, or the like.

Writing articles is almost OUT OF THE QUESTION for me. The only occupation that helps me maintain the necessary QUIETNESS OF MIND is mathematics. During the past weeks I have written *de omnibus rebus*[b] for the *Tribune*, mainly on the WARSAW CONGRESS, the STATE OF POLAND, ITALY, FRANCE and the money market.[238] Nothing about China yet.

Have you had the Kolatschek?[c]

The doctor has allowed my wife claret, taken in small doses, as she is exceptionally weak. Last night was dreadful—indeed, at the moment, I myself am SICK as well.

The devil alone knows what misfortunes we suffer.

I have boarded the poor children out with the Liebknechts, who live quite close by and to whom I sent the VICTUALLERS daily. They

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[a] F. Engels, 'Navy'. - [b] about everything under the sun - [c] See this volume, p. 213.

objected to going to BOARDING SCHOOL because of the RELIGIOUS RITES.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 125

## MARX TO FRANZ DUNCKER

### IN BERLIN

London, 24 November 1860

Sir,

I should be greatly obliged if you would insert the declaration[a] overleaf in the *Volks-Zeitung* as soon as possible and let me have a copy thereof.

You will probably receive a copy of my *anti-Vogt* pamphlet[b] next week. I am sending 3 copies to my friend Lassalle, 1 for himself, 1 for the Countess Hatzfeldt and 1 for Miss Ludmilla Assing.

Would you be so kind as to apprise L. of this; also of the fact that for the past week my wife has been prostrated by a very grave nervous fever, so that, on doctor's orders, I was compelled to lodge the 3 children elsewhere. L. will realise that, in the circumstances, I cannot write letters, but he would greatly oblige me by writing himself.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,
K. Marx

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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[a] K. Marx, *Declaration*, 24 November 1860. - [b] *Herr Vogt*

## 126

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 November [1860]

Dear Frederick,

My wife's condition has improved, in so far as this is possible under the circumstances. It is going to be a lengthy business. What might be called the paroxysm of the disease is now over.

Allen believes that the only explanation for the infection is the state of extreme nervous excitation in which she has been these many months.

Perhaps you would be kind enough to ask Heckscher to send the enclosed to the *'Reform' without delay.*

The day before yesterday, Petsch actually advertised *Herr Vogt* in the *Hermann* and the *Athenaeum* as due to appear this week.[a]

From its date you will see that I scribbled the piece for the *Reform* as long ago as Saturday. I had intended to send it to you with an accompanying letter, but suddenly felt so unwell that any kind of writing was OUT OF QUESTION. Allen gave me some medicine, and today I feel all right again. Regards to Lupus.

Your

K. M.[b]

Sir,

Your acceptance of the following declaration would much oblige me. You will be receiving a copy of my anti-Vogt pamphlet in the course of next week.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Karl Marx

*To the Editorial Board of the* Reform

*Declaration*

At the beginning of February 1860 the editorial board of the *Reform* were kind enough to publish a declaration by myself[c] which began with these words:

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[a] The advertisement appeared in the *Athenaeum* on 24 November and in the *Hermann* on 1 December 1860. - [b] Given below is the text of Marx's declaration published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 336 (supplement), 1 December 1860. - [c] K. Marx, 'To the Editors of the *Volks-Zeitung*. Declaration'.

'I hereby make it known that I have taken steps preparatory to instituting legal proceedings for libel against the Berlin *National-Zeitung* in connection with the leading articles in Nos. 37 and 41 regarding Vogt's pamphlet *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung.* I reserve the right to answer Vogt in writing at a later date.'

In the course of February 1860 I brought a libel suit in Berlin against *F. Zabel,* the responsible editor of the *National-Zeitung.* My lawyer, Legal Counsellor Weber, resolved at first on an *official investigation.* With a ruling of April 18, 1860 the Public Prosecutor[a] refused to 'take action' against F. Zabel, on the grounds that there was *'no public interest'* involved. On April 26, 1860 his refusal was confirmed by the Chief Public Prosecutor.[b]

My lawyer then began *civil proceedings.* The Royal *Municipal Court* in a ruling of June 8, 1860 *prohibited* me from proceeding with my *lawsuit* on the grounds that the genuinely defamatory 'utterances and statements' of F. Zabel's were '*merely quotations* from other persons', and that 'the intention to insult' was not present. The Royal *Court of Appeal* for its part declared in a ruling of July 11, 1860 that the alleged use of *quotation* did not affect the culpability of the articles, but that the defamatory passages contained in them did *not* refer to my '*person*'. Furthermore, 'in the present case' the intention to insult 'could not be assumed'. Thus, the Royal Court of Appeal confirmed the negative ruling of the Municipal Court. In a ruling of October 5, 1860, which I received on October 23 of this year, the Royal *Supreme Tribunal* found that 'in the present case' no 'legal error' on the part of the Royal Court of Appeal 'could be discerned'. The *prohibition on suing F. Zabel* was thus definitely sustained and my claim *did not reach the stage of being accorded a public hearing.*

My *reply to Vogt* will appear in a few days.

London, November 24, 1860

*Karl Marx*

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[a] Lippe - [b] Schwarck

## 127

## MARX TO ENGELS[239]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 November 1860

Dear Engels,

My wife is now *out of danger.* Tell *Lupus straight away,* and give him my warm regards. The thing will drag on for a *long time,* and, as Allen says, when she is well again, she must *go away* at once for at least 4 weeks.

As for myself—the danger of infection being *greatest* for 10 days as from *yesterday*—I had myself *revaccinated* yesterday. Ditto Lenchen. A circumstance that has been of great help to me was having an appalling toothache. The day before yesterday, I had a tooth pulled out. While the fellow (Gabriel, he's called) did, in fact, pull out the root, after causing me great PHYSICAL PAINS, he left in a splinter. So, the whole of my face is sore and swollen, and my throat half closed up. This physical pressure contributes much to the disablement of thought and hence to one's powers of abstraction for, as Hegel says, pure thought or pure being or *nothingness* is one and the same thing.

Well, during these ten days, the isolation will have to be more stringent than ever.

I cannot write, of course, while in this state and, since the bill of £50 drawn on Dana 2 1/2 months ago[a] has in any case not been properly worked off—my wife had all manner of NERVOUS COMPLAINTS even before her illness, so that sundry matters were left undone and hence I'm in a great fix—I would ask you, at least during the next fortnight, to do as much writing as possible. Under the present circumstances it might seem to be appropriate to write to my old lady.[b] But ever since she allowed the Prussian corporal[c] to marry into the family, all INTERCOURSE has ceased in consequence of certain remarks passed by me. There has been an appalling spate of dunning from all quarters. To alleviate it, in some quarters at any rate, I have handed out the greater part of the £10. I wouldn't write about all this to you, who already do all you can and more, but *que faire?* But what's to be done? Moreover, all

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[a] See this volume, p. 196. - [b] Henriette Marx - [c] Johann Jakob Conradi (married Marx's sister, Emilie).

avenues are closed to me, for, strangely enough (due perhaps to the improvement), I cannot leave the house, since at the very time when I should be seeing as little of her as possible (which, of course, she can't be told), my wife wants me to be near her all the time.

Allen is of the opinion that, if she hadn't been twice vaccinated, she would not have pulled through. As things are, he considers even the SMALL POX to be a blessing. For, so he told me yesterday, he thought her nervous condition was such that this ailment was preferable to a nervous fever or something of that kind, which might otherwise have afflicted her.

The poor children are very scared. Allen is going to vaccinate them and the whole Liebknecht family on Friday.

You will probably be getting *Herr Vogt* on Friday.[a] There was some delay last week, because *I* was unable to complete the revision of the final sheets on time.

*My best thanks for the wine.* Even before it arrived, Allen had prescribed wine for me, along with another medicine of a less pleasant kind.

Your
K. M.

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## 128

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 3 December 1860

Dear Moor,

As a result of God alone knows what combination of circumstances, I've had to draw out such a frightfully large sum of money in the past 4 weeks that I absolutely *must* wait a day or two now. If possible, I shall get a pound off to you tomorrow, and more as soon as I can, in the course of the next few days. For a

[a] 30 November

while, at least, I am reduced to drawing only small amounts at a time; the point is that where Ermen is concerned, it behoves me just now TO APPEAR TO LIVE WITHIN MY INCOME (which I did *not* do during the last financial year); in view of the negotiations, this is an expedient that I simply cannot allow myself to be deprived of. If I could think up some pretext, I would try to borrow £5 for a fortnight from Gumpert, but I couldn't do so without his guessing what the reason was, and anyway I don't know whether he would have it at this season. I know very well what a fix you are in and shall do all I can—but the £10 I sent you recently has already been debited in advance to December's account, which means that that month is already heavily mortgaged. All the same, you'll get something tomorrow for sure.

I was ready to do an article[a] for you this evening (last Friday[b] my eye was so inflamed that writing by gas-light was out of the question), but Szemere—who sends you his regards—has just turned up, and so it's OUT OF THE QUESTION today as well. I shall do all I can tomorrow evening.[c]

Books[d] received. The thing's splendid. Especially the 'Studies' and 'Agency'; *cela est écrasant.*[e] More about the rest shortly. Most of the copies have already been distributed.

Your
F. E.

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## 129

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 5 December 1860

Dear Moor,

Herewith at last the famous POST OFFICE ORDER for £2—PAYABLE Charing Cross since I didn't know of a MONEY ORDER OFFICE closer to you; let me know for future occasions.

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[a] See this volume, p. 220. - [b] 30 November - [c] See this volume, p. 223. - [d] K. Marx's *Herr Vogt*. - [e] it's annihilating

Lupus has specially requested me to tell you in advance how much he enjoyed the dressing-down you gave Mr Simon. The more I read of the book,[a] the better it pleases me. But shocking misprints and spelling mistakes. Once there's *Russian* instead of *Austrian* Emperor. Moreover, it looks bad when all the foreign words that your wife wrote in roman characters are printed in roman type. This invariably happens in the case of foreign printers and special precautions have to be taken to avoid it.

What you have omitted are résumés. E.g. at the end of the 2 chapters: 'Bristlers' and 'Brimstone Gang'; again, after 'Police Matters', after all the personal business (i.e. *before* the 'Studies'), and elsewhere, résumés would also have been appropriate, for in that way you would have presented your philistine *ad oculos*[b] with a general impression. It would have meant only four extra pages and would have been extremely effective in a book in which the material and the innumerable names—the latter pretty well unknown to the said philistine—tend to be somewhat overwhelming; it would also have brought out the artistry of the whole arrangement, which is truly admirable.

How is your wife?

Your
F. E.

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## 130

## MARX TO ENGELS[237]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 December [1860]

Dear Engels,

Best thanks for the article.[240]

My wife is getting on very well, and I believe the wine is doing her more good than any medicine. But at night, when she is

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[a] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*. - [b] plainly and visibly

restless, can't sleep, and is even a little delirious, it's still very disturbing.

How about letting me have another article by Saturday,[a] *about my lawsuit*—perhaps, dated from *Berlin*? When I find writing LEADERS awkward, I date them from Berlin, Paris, etc. Such articles are easier to get through.

Might not something be said about the Chinese war? Or Bonaparte's military preparations, etc.?[241]

At the moment, I have absolutely no 'ideas' about anything. What I have got is an ''orrible'[b] headache.

The children—poor little devils—are still living in exile.[c] To cheer them up, I have sent them a bottle or two of wine. The day before yesterday, the little one[d] saw me walking past Liebknecht's house and shouted from the window: 'HALLOO, OLD BOY!'

Apropos! As soon as Freiligrath heard of my wife's illness (didn't, of course, know what it was), he, of course, wrote me a letter full of 'feeling'. But when I sent him *Herr Vogt*—with, of course (you can see just how many ideas I have from the way 'of course' has cropped up 3 times in 3 lines), a friendly inscription, and he had occasion to write to me about SOMETHING ELSE, he forgot to say a word about the book, or TO ACKNOWLEDGE its receipt. To suggest that he had forgotten to do so, he wrote at the bottom of his letter, 'In great haste'. I believe there are certain parts that worry him stiff. Firstly, his 'indiscretion' *re* Vogt. But *Fazy*, in particular. He was intending to move to Geneva in the spring. One wonders whether the disclosure of the Fazy scandal might not prove a hindrance.

Blind, who had already ordered a copy from Petsch last Thursday,[e] didn't get one until yesterday [Tuesday]. The thing wasn't distributed in London until then so as to prevent MR ALBERTS, OF THE PRUSSIAN EMBASSY, warning Berlin before my package of books arrived there. In London, of course, there have been a lot of jibes at my 'undignified' mode of attack. Twelve COPIES were ordered yesterday by that louse Trübner.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] 8 December - [b] In the original: 'öklüchen' instead of 'ekeligen'. - [c] See this volume, pp. 214, 216. - [d] Eleanor Marx - [e] 29 November

# 131

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 December 1860

Dear Frederick,

Best thanks for the £2. The OFFICE closest to me is the CAMDEN TOWN MONEY OFFICE.[a]

As regards the want of résumés, you are perfectly right. They were there originally, but were *deleted* by me when I saw how much the affair had grown without my noticing it. For, printed in the normal way, the thing[b] would amount to a very stout volume. You will find, by the by, that in Chapter XI, 'A Lawsuit', all the personal stuff is so thoroughly dinned into your philistine that it will remain with him for the rest of his days.

As for Monsieur Edouard Simon, the cur described you in his mud-slinging article[242] (a malicious translation of Techow's 'police spy') as *'le mouchard toujours affairé'*.[c] Whereat I took it upon myself to make an example of the laddie, since insults aimed at you vex me more than those directed against myself.

Apropos—BY THE BY—as soon as Lupus has got through the thing, I'd be grateful if he could drop me a line or two. My wife's greatest pleasure at the moment consists in letters about it. On the whole, she is getting on well, but slowly.

Mr Philistine Freiligrath, that 'snotty Westphalian snout',[d] wrote to me yesterday as follows:

> 'Your *book*,' (not *pamphlet*, egad!) 'has been sent me by Petsch. Many thanks! From what I have read so far, I find it is, as I expected, full of wit and malice. There is so much detail as almost to make it difficult to get a general idea of it. You will excuse me if I do not enter into the case as such. Even today I still deplore the whole dispute from which now, as before, I would sooner stand aloof.'

What do you think of those two last sentences? The swine, who was already aware of Vogt's lies and Blind's turpitude, but now has them before him in black and white, is unwilling (not, mark you, that I invited him to do so) 'to enter into the case as such'. And 'now, as before,' he 'would sooner stand aloof from the whole

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[a] See this volume, p. 222. - [b] *Herr Vogt* - [c] the ever busy spy - [d] J. Fischart, *Affentheurliche, Naupengeheurliche Geschichtklitterung*, Ch. 3, p. 68.

dispute'. It now seems to me that he hasn't yet read the whole of it, for he would then see just *where* he stands. I have now discovered the secret of his intimacy with Blind (it is business, of course, that ties him to Vogt-Fazy). Namely, on the occasion of the Schiller festival, Freiligrath had 20,000 copies of his poem[a] printed at a cost of £40-60. He wanted to make *a business* of it. But didn't sell *forty*. Since his speculation had failed, it now behoved him 'to palm off' the cost, as Petsch aptly put it, onto the Schiller committee.[75] In this Blind was his most servile TOOL. *Hinc*[b] the 'reciprocal good turn' done by the snotty Westphalian snout.

You will find the misprints you reprobate listed in the errata. Originally, the list was 3 times as long. But since it looked bad, we shortened it. The fault lies entirely with Hirschfeld, a ninny who has no control over his compositor. Petsch isn't having anything else printed by him.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Should something or other occur to you that might do for a military pamphlet of 1-3 sheets, Petsch would be delighted, for he now wants to achieve the status of 'publisher and bookseller'. He's a very nice chap.

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## 132

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 12 December [1860]

Dear Engels,

BEST THANKS FOR ARTICLE.[240]

The item in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* (if one disregards their own comments) is no more than a paragraph that appeared in the

[a] F. Freiligrath, *Zur Schillerfeier. 10. November 1859. Festlied der Deutschen in London.* - [b] Hence

*Londoner Lithographierte Korrespondenz* (Schlesinger); with few exceptions, it was in *all* the German papers, for the most part under the heading 'London'.

The shorter version of the advertisement was confined to papers published in *England.* In the *German* papers, the table of contents was included.[243]

I am sending you herewith the advertisement in the *Buchhändlerbörsenblatt,*[a] composed by Petsch himself. The well-known 'politician' he speaks of at the end is *magnus*[b] L. Bucher, who indicated as much when talking to Borkheim.

The advertisements in the German papers probably appeared in the course of this week. A little after the book's arrival, it being undesirable (in view of the *Lawsuit*[c]) to alert the Prussians.

Advertisements have been sent to the:

*Allgemeine Zeitung; Breslauer Zeitung; Bund* (Berne); *Deutsche Allgemeine*[d]*; Frankfurter Journal; Hamburger Nachrichten; Freischütz; Reform; Karlsruher Zeitung; Kölnische Zeitung; Königsberger Hartung*[e]*; Mannheimer Journal; National-Zeitung; Neue Preussische Zeitung; Publicist;* Berlin *Volks-Zeitung; Ost-Deutsche Post; Presse; Rostocker Zeitung; Schwäbischer Merkur; Trier'sche Zeitung; Zeitung für Norddeutschland; Zürcher Neue Zeitung*[f]*; Neue Süddeutsche*[g] (Munich); *Morgenblatt; Wochenblatt des Nationalvereins*[h]*; Deutsches Museum; Illustrirte Zeitung; Ausland* (Augsburg); *Historische Deutsche Monatsschrift* (Brunswick).

*New-Yorker Staatszeitung; New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung; New-Yorker Abendzeitung.*

*Times; Athenaeum; Critic; Saturday Review; Illustrated News; Manchester Guardian; Hermann.*

Copies sent *inter alia* to Cotta, the *Reform,* Duncker, 6 to Siebel; various to the English papers (*Sat. Review, Athenaeum, Critic, Ill. News*); Lommel, Brass, Fischel. Over 50 free copies despatched in all, but only a few of them to newspapers.

41 sold in London to date.

*Nota bene:* Lommel's *Hinter den Coulissen* is now in great demand in Germany. There have even been orders from Riga.

*Bucher* (who contributes articles to the supplement of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung,* e. g., the one on Persigny and

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[a] Advertisements about the publication of *Herr Vogt* appeared in the *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel,* Nos. 150, 151 and 153; 5, 7 and 12 December 1860. - [b] the great - [c] Reference is to Chapter XI of *Herr Vogt.* - [d] *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* - [e] *Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung* - [f] *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* - [g] Marx apparently means the *Süddeutsche Zeitung.* - [h] *Wochenschrift des Nationalvereins*

Palmerston) has promised Borkheim he will write a review for the *A. Z.* I fear Biscamp may forestall him.

Liebknecht has placed advertisements and lengthy excerpts in 4 German-American and 4 English-American papers. He is now, I might add, literary correspondent to the last-named.

'Mr Vogt' writes signed articles for some of the more obscure American-German papers. Rails at 'Bonaparte'.[a] Declared that my pamphlet would *never* come out.

My wife is much better. But the children probably won't be allowed home for another fortnight. I myself have to spend almost all day with her and am feeling far from well. However, that will resolve itself as soon as she is in a more normal state of health.

A week ago, Allen cancelled the prescription for claret and prescribed port instead. I should be grateful, therefore, if you would send me a few bottles of the latter.

My library has arrived.[244] Still at the CUSTOM HOUSE, for the 'COMMISSIONERS' have not yet decided whether I am to have it DUTY FREE.

Now, just guess how I got to the bottom of *Ludwig Simon*'s secret. (See appendix 16c.[b])

Regards to Lupus.

Your
K. M.

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## 133

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 18 December 1860

Dear Moor,

In addition to Szemere, my brother-in-law[c] also descended on me on Sunday. Sz. is off to Liverpool today and may return;

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[a] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - [b] See K. Marx's *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 328-29, and this volume, pp. 234-35. - [c] Karl Emil Blank

my brother-in-law leaves tomorrow—so I've been in no position to do an article. Something on Austria[a] for Saturday[b] if possible.

As a person, Sz. is quite a decent chap; he has an Austrian's bonhomie and, at a time of revolution in Hungary, might even be energetic, resolute and clearsighted; but *en dehors de son pays*[c] he certainly has little in the way of knowledge or ideas. At any rate, I couldn't extract a great deal of sense from him in this respect. It's odd that, having adopted such a decidedly Bonapartist stance in his pamphlet,[d] he should now have performed a complete volte-face. He made me, *inter alia,* the following conciliatory proposal: What, he inquired, would my attitude be if, given the disintegration of the Empire, the Habsburgs were to remain merely Kings of Hungary, and German Austria revert to Germany?[e] Whereupon I told him, of course, that such a solution might be perfectly acceptable to *us* and that we would gladly make the Hungarians a present of the whole robber band. His negotiations regarding the wine business here went off quite well. Cobden's recommendations and the acquaintances he struck up *chez* Cobden in Paris have made things much easier for him.

If at all possible, I shall send you another two pounds tomorrow; unfortunately it's too late today.

Regards to your wife, who is getting better, I hope, and the girls.

Your
F. E.

Apropos port! I've none left that's drinkable, but shall try and lay my hands on some decent stuff tomorrow and send it off straight away.

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[a] Engels wrote 'Austria—Progress of the Revolution' - [b] 22 December - [c] outside of his own country - [d] B. Szemere, *La Question hongroise (1848-1860)*, Paris, 1860. - [e] See this volume, p. 230.

# 134

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 December 1860

Dear Frederick,

My wife is now much better. Allen thinks that the children—running two households is not only very inconvenient, but also expensive—will be able to come back on Sunday[a] or Monday. I myself shall then resume my contributions to the *Tribune,* which has had only 2 articles[245] in nearly 5 weeks. Let me have another one by Saturday if you can.

For the past two days, I have been confined to bed and taking medicine, but Allen says it is nothing of any consequence and I should be fit again in 3 or 4 days. Apparently, it's the result of the EXCITEMENT, etc.

As regards your view of Szemere, I would inform you, *strictly on the quiet,* that I am entirely of the same mind. The really funny part is that I had proposed to him, ironically, that they should keep the Habsburgs for themselves, that Pest would be the final place of refuge for the same, etc.[b]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] 23 December - [b] See this volume, p. 229.

## 135

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 19 December 1860

Dear Moor,

Enclosed the £2 on Camden Town.

The more I read of the book,[a] the more difficult I find it to imagine how Vogt will pass off these stories that 'will never come out'.[b] 41 copies in London in a few days is a great deal; by now it will be even more. This is, of course, the best polemical work you have ever written; it's simpler in style than the Bonaparte[c] and yet just as effective where this is called for.

Your
F. E.

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## 136

## MARX TO ENGELS[67]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 December 1860

Dear Frederick,

THANKS for the £2. I have sent Lenchen to the POST OFFICE to collect it.

My wife, or so Allen thinks, will not have any pock marks. She is, of course, still very indisposed (and it's precisely when they're recovering that sick people grow more restive and impatient), but Allen is perfectly satisfied with her PROGRESS.

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[a] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*. - [b] See this volume, p. 228. - [c] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.

As for myself, I am today (the worst thing was lack of sleep) much the better for having slept soundly all night and hope to be ALRIGHT again in 2, or, at the most, 3, days' time.

Having been too unwell to go out this week, I don't know how the book[a] has been selling in London. Though I've been told by Liebknecht that the London Workers' Society[3] has bought 6 copies for its library this week.

Zimmermann of Spandau (now a lawyer in London), formerly a member of parliament, bosom friend of Vogt, once a great traducer of the *Volk* and of my own person, last week gave a dinner at which the lawyer Höchster (*connu*[b] from Elberfeld, now a very busy *avocat* in Paris) was present; our friend Rheinländer also attended. Zimmermann declared that Blind was hopelessly compromised. As TO Vogt, he [Zimmermann] had been reluctant to credit bribery, although aware of the chap's vanity and frivolity. But now my work had convinced him that Vogt was nothing but an ordinary *'mouchard'*[c] only distinguished from *muchardus vulgaris*[d] by the size of his salary, etc. Moreover, he (Z.) had written to acquaintances in Switzerland in order to leave Mr Vogt in no doubt about his views.

Bucher has written and told Borkheim that the case against Vogt has been fully proved. Also that my work had eradicated any 'prejudice he might have had against Marx's agitational activities'. He had, he wrote, expressed his views on these two points in the Camberwell[e] businessmen's circle (to which he gives lectures on the history of German jurisprudence) and written ditto to 'influential persons in Germany'.

Zimmermann and Bucher are of importance here because of the philistines.

In the course of my ordeal—during the past 4 weeks—I have read all manner of things. *Inter alia* Darwin's book on *Natural Selection.*[f] Although developed in the crude English fashion, this is the book which, in the field of natural history, provides the basis for our views. By comparison, A. Bastian's *Der Mensch in der Geschichte* (3 stout volumes; the chap's a young Bremen doctor who has spent several years travelling round the world), with its attempt to present psychology in terms of 'natural science' and history in terms of psychology, is bad, muddled, and amorphous.

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[a] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt.* - [b] known - [c] police spy - [d] common police spy - [e] district in London - [f] Ch. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life,* London, 1859.

The only useful thing in it is a few ethnographical ODDITIES now and again. And, what is more, very pretentious and atrociously written.

Apropos. As regards Ludwig Simon, try and guess how I succeeded in catching out the gentle Kunigunde.[a]

Lassalle, from whom I got a letter a few weeks ago, is very ill. Not gout—osteitis? Is publishing, or so he writes, 'a long and important work' with Brockhaus in 2 volumes,[b] 17 hours in bed, 3 hours up, and busy proof-correcting this 'long and important work'. I can hardly suppose the anti-Vogt piece, which I sent him, will serve to alleviate his aches and pains. But whose fault is it that he's a Berlin 'idealist politician'?

Have I already written and told you[c] what a 'crassly material basis' there is to the intimacy between Freiligrath and student Blind[d]?

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 137

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 December 1860

DEAR Frederick,

My best thanks for the wine and the £5. My wife finds the port excellent.

I am my old self again today.

Keil writes from Leipzig to say that, immediately on its arrival, the book[e] sold 120 copies.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 234-35. - [b] F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte,* Leipzig, 1861. - [c] See this volume, p. 226. - [d] The nickname 'student' dates back to 1847, when Blind's name figured in the press in connection with the revolutionary movement. - [e] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt.*

Richter (of the *Reform*) writes from Hamburg to say it's in great demand.

My wife sends you her best regards.

Your
K. Marx

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## 138

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 December 1860

DEAR Frederick,

Herewith a cutting of the advertisement for *Herr Vogt* from the *Genfer Grenzpost*[a]; the enormous LETTERS are themselves indicative of the love Brass feels for Vogt. By the by, in the last 5 numbers of the *Grenzpost* there are some *very good* articles.

Up till now, or so Petsch told me yesterday, 80 copies have been disposed of in London. On the other hand, he complains, 'not a single one'[b] in Manchester.

Otherwise, to the best of my knowledge, nothing has appeared so far in the German press except in the *Reform*, which has mentioned the thing (favourably) several times[c] and has promised a long article next week. So far as the *Allgemeine Augsburger Zeitung* is concerned, it's all rather odd. They have been sent 2 lengthy reviews, one by that shit Biscamp, the other by Mr L. Bucher for the supplement. And still not a word. BUT *nous verrons*.[d]

Well now:

1. *L. Simon*.[e] The book was almost finished, up to the last page, when, late one evening, being on my way to Hirschfeld's about some proof-correcting, I called in for a moment at friend Rheinländer's OFFICE in the City. With an exceedingly cheerful

[a] *Genfer Grenzpost*, No. 12, 22 December 1860. - [b] In the original the dialectal form 'ooch jar keene nicht'. - [c] *Die Reform*, Nos. 148, 150 and 152, 10, 15 and 19 December 1860. - [d] we shall see - [e] See this volume, pp. 228, 233.

countenance, he told me that young Höchster (the lawyer's son) had come over from Paris and gone into business here in London. Rheinländer knows the Höchsters, father and son, very well from his Paris days. Young Höchster—I saw him later at R.'s—is an innocuous lad quite without political—I wouldn't say views—but ideas. He was once clerk to a banker—Königswärter[a] or some such (at the moment I'm not quite sure whether I've got this well-known Bonapartist name right), where L. Simon was CHIEF *clerc*. R. asked Höchster about the gentle Kunigunde. 'Oh,' says he, 'he's not popular at the office. Although CHIEF of the *clercs*, he's so unsure of himself that he refers everything to the PRINCIPAL, and he's got very little idea of business. He's bad-tempered, and then a lot of his time is taken up with politics. The famous E. About comes to see him nearly every evening, and they work together. I have myself seen them correcting the proofs of one of their joint publications.' On CROSS-EXAMINATION by R., it then transpired that this joint work was *La Prusse en 1860*.[b] In Königswärter's Bonapartist office, L. Simon was RATHER boastful about his connection with E. About, and young Höchster, being like a newborn babe in politics, believed he was telling R., against whom, of course, he does not harbour the least suspicion, something that was altogether to L. S.'s credit. What is particularly odd is that later, at the dinner given by Zimmermann (to which Höchster JUNIOR was not invited) R. very artlessly asked old Höchster what he thought of my denunciation of L. S. Höchster *aîné*[c] declared that for many years past, he had on principle stayed away from politics which had already been his undoing twice. All the same, he said, he found the thing hard to credit; but R. insisted that my source was a very 'reliable' one.

2. *Blind* has avenged himself in the grand manner. He has notified Petsch et Co. that he will no longer favour them with his custom. Such is 'the blind man's revenge'. Old Žižka!

3. About Freiligrath—who will today derive comfort from the plaster you applied to his snotty snout—and the material basis of his relations with Blind, I have, if I am not mistaken, already written to you.[d] What actually happened was this:

At the time of the Schiller festival (1859), the noble poet, *through his agent Blind*, first offered the famous cantata[e] to the management at the Crystal Palace.[246] They were to pay him £40 DOWN IN CASH for permission to *publish* the renowned cantata and, *on the day* of the

[a] Maximilien Koenigswarter - [b] Ed. About, *La Prusse en 1860*, Paris, 1860. - [c] Senior - [d] See this volume, p. 226. - [e] F. Freiligrath, *Zur Schillerfeier. 10. November 1859. Festlied der Deutschen in London.*

Schiller festival, they were to sell it *in the Crystal Palace,* other sales being reserved by the mercantile poet for himself. The management thanked Mr F. profusely for his kindness and begged him to peddle his cantata himself.

Thereupon the noble chap, ostensibly at his own expense, got Hirschfeld to print 20,000 copies of the tripe. The cost of production was £40. The noble poet's plan was that *half* the profits should go to the Schiller Institute[75] and the other half to his *propriis laribus,*[a] which, after deduction of production costs (his retail price was 6d per copy), would have meant that he would CLEAR £210 for himself, and, on top of that, gain kudos in Germany for his magnanimity.

But he had counted his chickens before they were hatched. Perhaps a few hundred COPIES (ALL IN ALL) were sold throughout the whole of England, and these were disposed of only by bringing the utmost pressure to bear on private individuals.

So now he found himself in trouble.[b] Then Blind worried away at the Schiller Committee from morn till night and from night till morn in an endeavour to induce them to bear the printing costs, in which, after fierce altercations, he finally succeeded. *Hinc illae lacrimae.*[c]

The disposal of the many COPIES left in stock was entrusted by Freiligrath to his blind friend, and last November (1860) this indefatigable little sharper engineered his own Schiller festival in London, so as to get rid of F.'s rubbish. No wonder, then, that F. is now, as before, 'on intimate terms' with his precious Blind.[d] F. knows better than anyone else on which side his bread is buttered, *avant tout*[e] when it comes to SHOP INTEREST (including, OF COURSE, literary fame).

Whilst on this subject, I should mention another DROLLERY characteristic of Blind.

On the quiet, without a word to friend Freiligrath or friend Kinkel (and drawing on the famous £100 fund), the pensive Blind had had printed something preliminary, or a preliminary something on Schiller and Blum.[f] At half past seven in the morning, he, ere others dreamt of evil, placed outside the entrance to the Palace[246] a boxful of his 'radical pamphlets' guarded by messenger-boys borrowed from the *Morning Advertiser* who pressed

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[a] own hearth - [b] In the original, 'Holland in Not' (Holland in trouble)—a phrase, dating back to the Netherlands' war of liberation against Spanish oppression (1572-1609). - [c] Hence these tears (Terence, *Andria,* I, 1, 99). - [d] See this volume, p. 226. - [e] above all - [f] K. Blind, *Schiller. A Sketch of His Career and Works,* London, 1859.

the rubbish into the hand of each arrival. Anyone who asked what it cost was relieved, according to his outward APPEARANCE, of 6d, 3d, or as little as 1d. Anyone who didn't ask got the rubbish for nothing. And thus, even before Kinkel's speech[a] of F.'s cantata[b] was due to take place, the Badenese slyboots had gone one better and forced his trash onto all and sundry.

*Salut.* The children at home again. Regards to Lupus,

Your

K. M.

THANKS FOR THE ARTICLE.[c]

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## 139

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 December 1860

*In great haste*

Dear Engels,

A letter has just arrived from J. Ph. Becker in Naples, asking that Borkheim send him *by return for Garibaldi*:

1. *Po and Rhine.*[d] (*I* still have one copy of it that I discovered at Petsch's. So, that's ALL RIGHT.)

2. *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine.*[e] (My copy went to Schily long ago. I hope you have *one* and would ask you to despatch it *forthwith by post* to S. L. Borkheim, 44 Mark Lane, City, London.)

3. *Herr Vogt.*

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] G. Kinkel, *Festrede bei der Schillerfeier im Krystallpalast*, London, 1859. - [b] F. Freiligrath, *Zur Schillerfeier. 10. November 1859. Festlied der Deutschen in London.* - [c] F. Engels, 'Austria—Progress of the Revolution'. - [d] F. Engels, *Po and Rhine.* - [e] F. Engels, *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine.*

# 1861

## 140

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 January 1861

Dear Frederick,

I have mislaid your letter received this morning[232] and hence cannot remember how much it would cost to send the *Revelations*[a] to Petsch. Those I still had in stock had already been sent to him last week.[247]

Have heard from Siebel. He had just returned to Elberfeld after spending his honeymoon in Paris. Has distributed the 6 copies and ordered 6 more.[b] It would be a good thing if you could give him some advice as to how it should be advertised.

Toby[c] has let out a prolonged cry of pain in the *Freischütz*.[248]

The most ghastly misprint (not listed) in *Herr Vogt*, repeated 3 or 4 times, was 'Nationalrat' [National Council] for 'Ständerat' [Council of States]. I have got Petsch to send out a correction explicitly to the *Genfer Grenzpost*.

The King of Prussia's[d] death is most opportune. *Qu'en dites-vous?*[e]

My wife is improving daily, although she's still very weak. On Saturday, I emptied the *last* medicine bottle.

Borchardt has yet to be hauled over the coals.[f]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - [b] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*. - [c] Marx refers to Eduard Meyen comparing him to Punch's dog. Punch is one of the main characters in the traditional English puppet-show, *Punch and Judy*, from which the famous comic journal takes its name. On this, see also K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, p. 239. - [d] Frederick William IV - [e] What do you think of it? - [f] See this volume, p. 240.

The whole FAMILY asks me to send you their warmest greetings and best wishes for the New Year. My letter's so short because my brother-in-law and sister[a] are here. They sail tomorrow for the Cape of Good Hope.

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## 141

## MARX TO CARL SIEBEL

IN ELBERFELD

London, 3 January 1861
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Siebel,

HAPPY NEW YEAR! To you and your BETTER HALF.

I must acknowledge with many thanks the arrival of my library,[244] ditto of your letter.

Of the 6 COPIES of *Herr Vogt* you ordered, will you kindly send one to the *Kölner Anzeiger*, one to the *Zeitung für Norddeutschland* (Hanover), 3 to any literary journals you please. The main thing is that you yourself should read through a copy and yourself do a notice of it.

As for the *Kölner Anzeiger*, you might use this little sheet as a weapon against the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

Sales of the book are going so well that Petsch is 'contemplating' a second edition. In such an event, it would be of the utmost importance that you should, if possible, supply me with *everything* that appears about it in Germany (I see nothing here but the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, and the *Volks-Zeitung*), and keep me *au courant*.[b]

Ed. Meyen has already vented a heartrending 'cry of pain' in the *Freischütz*.[248] *Vivat sequens!*[c]

---

[a] Johann Carel (Jaan Carel) and Louise Juta - [b] in the know - [c] Long live the sequel!

Next time, you might try and find time to write to me at somewhat greater length.

I have been very unfortunate of late. My wife was dangerously ill for 5 weeks and I had to lodge the 3 children elsewhere.

As regards Schily, we'll knock some sense into him again.

*Salut.*

Your
K. Marx

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## 142

## MARX TO CARL SIEBEL

IN BARMEN

[London,] 3 January 1861

Dear Siebel,

I have just noticed that a letter I sent you—in reply to the one received from you today—was wrongly addressed, namely, *Elberfeld, poste restante*, C. Siebel, jun. This I now rectify.

Again my best wishes.

I have just heard from Engels[232] who tells me that the busybody Dr Borchardt is most annoyed because I refer in *Herr Vogt* to the '3 German physicians'[a] in Manchester as fellow SUBSCRIBERS to *Das Volk*.[b] POOR FELLOW, THIS FULL-MOUTHED WISEACRE.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] Louis Borchardt, Eduard Gumpert and Martin Heckscher - [b] See present edition, Vol. 17, p. 119 and also this volume, p. 68.

# 143

## ENGELS TO MARX[249]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 January 1861

Dear Moor,

The *Revelations*[a] will be despatched from here today or tomorrow post-paid to Petsch. The fellow had best stick a small label on the title page—London, A. Petsch & Co., 1861—so that people know where it is to be had.

Can't you get me Toby's cry of pain[248]?

Shall write to Siebel.

In none of the German papers save the *Kölnische*[b] have I found so much as an advertisement—which is surely odd.

Our old enemies are not escaping the fate they deserve. The editor *en chef* of the late lamented *Strassburger Correspondent* was, according to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*,[c] "a certain Mr *Wolfers* of Cologne"—the worthy Wolfers of Dumont's paper[d]—couldn't you somehow convey this to Biscamp for transmission to the Augsburg *A. Z.*? Also, that the chap is not a Rhinelander but a beastly Belgian. Schwanbeck dead of delirium tremens, the worthy Brüggemann disappeared and consigned to oblivion, and Wolfers openly in the pay of Bonaparte—what more can you ask?

Doubtless King William I will now make a real ass of himself as well. When he tells the Berliners that much has happened that was unjust,[e] perhaps he is referring to the enforced dismissal of Stieber.[250] Apropos. Another friend, griffin *Greif*,[f] would appear from a report in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*[g] to be gravely ill as the result of an apoplectic fit. It's a good sign, these chaps being bowled over like ninepins. That the change of monarch[251] should go so nicely hand in hand with the Austrian revolution[252] of all things, is capital. Even the *Wochenschrift des Nationalvereins*[h] now

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[a] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - [b] *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 341, 8 December 1860. - [c] *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 1, 1 January 1861. - [d] *Kölnische Zeitung* - [e] [King William I's speech to a deputation of Berlin municipal officers on his ascension to the throne,] *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 5, 5 January 1861. - [f] Engels has 'Vogel Greif', which means both 'bird Greif' (a personal name), and 'bird griffin'. - [g] *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, No. 2, 3 January 1861. - [h] 'Heidelberg, 21. December', *Wochenschrift des Nationalvereins*, No. 35, 28 December 1860.

declares that, unless Prussia moves fairly quickly, Austria will inevitably gain ascendancy in Germany. Things are going famously in Austria. Nothing could be more favourable than that stubbornly irresolute jackass Francis Joseph. Things are going famously and will be getting too much for Mr Bonaparte as well as for Franzl.

In North America things are also hotting up. With the slaves the situation must be pretty awful if the SOUTHERNERS are playing such a risky game.[253] The least irruption of irregulars from the North might result in a general conflagration. At all events, one way or another, slavery would appear to be rapidly nearing its end and hence also COTTON PRODUCTION. What repercussions this will have on England we shall soon see. And with such powerful movements under way, a jackass like Bonaparte thinks he can go on fishing in troubled waters indefinitely.

Many regards,

Your
F. E.

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## 144

## MARX TO ENGELS[67]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 January 1861

Dear Frederick,

I myself only had Toby's cry of pain[248] for rapid perusal. Last week, by the way, I ordered 2 COPIES through Petsch, one of which you shall have.

Siebel's present address is Carl Siebel jun., *Barmen* (Kleine Wertherstrasse, No. 25).

Petsch has already advertised the *Revelations*[a] in the *Buchhändler-Börsenblatt*.[b] I've forbidden him to do so elsewhere out of consideration for Schapper.

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[a] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - [b] *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel*, Nos. 150, 151 and 153, 5, 7, and 12 December 1860.

As regards booksellers' advertisements of *Herr Vogt*, I have so far *seen* them only in the *Reform*,[a] the *Publicist*,[b] the *Freischütz*,[c] and the *Grenzpost*.[d] Incidentally, I got Petsch to write, under my supervision, to all the chaps concerned, and thus the *mystère* will resolve itself within the next few days. He thinks it doesn't depend on the newspapers but on the *booksellers*, who have been putting the thing off until after Christmas and the New Year. And the advertisement goes into the newspapers only through the agency of the bookseller who is responsible for local sales. *Mais nous verrons!*[e]

You can see what a hapless creature I am! Last Wednesday,[f] (JUST A WEEK AGO) I got a cold and cough accompanied by a stabbing pain in the region of the liver, so that not only coughing, but turning my carcass from one side to the other, caused me physical PAINS. This seemed to me to indicate an inflammation. It was the first time I had felt a *dolor*[g] of this kind, although Allen had often asked me searchingly whether I had. This time—particularly since I am already encumbered with a hair-raising DOCTOR'S BILL, not to mention other BILLS,—I have SO FAR been treating myself. The treatment was simple—no smoking, CASTOR OIL, drink only lemonade, eat little, no spirits whatever, do nothing, stay at home (since the cold air at once sets me coughing). I'm not quite well yet and somewhat weak. By the by, you might sometime ask Gumpert what one ought to do about such acute attacks, should they recur. I shall ask Allen as soon as I can go out again and am once more completely fit.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

My wife (who is slowly improving, but still very weak) and the children send their regards.

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[a] *Die Reform*, Nos. 148, 150 (supplement) and 152, 10, 15 and 19 December 1860. - [b] *Publicist*, Nos. 295 and 296, 15 and 16 December 1860. - [c] *Der Freischütz*, No. 150, 15 December 1860. - [d] *Genfer Grenzpost*, No. 12, 22 December 1860. - [e] But we shall see! - [f] 2 January - [g] pain

# 145

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 January 1861

Dear Engels,

Yesterday I received the enclosed scrap of paper and thus can no longer avoid paying the agents £2 5/- for the books.[254] In addition, the TRANSPORT thereof to my house will cost ABOUT 10/-. Duty has been waived. I'd certainly not write to you about this nasty matter, but *dura necessitas*,[a] since I haven't a farthing.

Overleaf you will find a copy of a scrawl penned by *H. Beta at Gottfried Kinkel's behest* on the subject of *Herr Vogt.*

Your
K. M.

*Magazin für Literatur des Auslands. 1861. No. 2.*

'*Herr Vogt*—by Karl Marx. In the early years of the "refugees", many a little sum was doubtless expended on getting secret police to smell out frightful secrets and conspiracies. While the labour was great, the yield was rather pitiful. But as regards the *fear* inspired in many a refugee by the secret police, it was indeed quite desperate. Some men actually went mad as a result. Others, it is true, liked to boast about this fear, and to let all and sundry know that almost every state in Europe had assigned special spies to them. Boasting it was, not hypochondria. The devil in person eluded the notice of these small fry, even when he had them by the scruff of the neck. They ate and drank with him, entertained him as a friend at their tea-tables, and never noticed that his only object was to betray them,—not for 30 pieces of silver, not he! He was prepared to pay, and pay a lot, for the printing of this pamphlet with his own money. For ten years now the said Mr Karl Marx would seem to have laboured and snooped and nabbed letters and copied them so that he might appear on his own account and for his own delectation as the first among all your Vidocqs and Stiebers. All the long-forgotten rubbish and mistakes perpetrated by the emigration ten years since have been made use of, copied, extracted from friends over a cup of tea—not that one would wish to pillory the latter. In the space of ten years, any man, whether a refugee or not, is liable to write something nonsensical or over-hasty in private, counting on the discretion of friends, on its being swept away in the flow of time. But when friends carefully glean these occasional slips and snippets and deck them out with whimsy, thus raising a cloud of dust and filth, as in Mr Marx's pamphlets, when, for example, *things uttered in an agitated hour ten years since*[b]—(*voilà* Godofredum)[c]—are printed in bold so that one sees Mr Marx's desire to make a ribaldry, a disgusting little anecdote out of

[a] hard necessity - [b] Marx's italics. - [c] That's Gottfried (Marx's remark).

them,—then indeed everyone deserves to be pilloried. Mr Marx is a master of constructive denunciation. Vidocq, Ohm, Stieber, etc., are mere lambs by comparison. Many will delight in wading through this churned-up filth, for it is masterly calumny[a]; but we would urge caution on our readers: in the simian wilderness there are malicious baboons who, for want of other weapons, resort to ordure with which they bombard friend and foe alike. Beware: Throughout almost the whole of his 190 pages Mr Marx engages in this type of strategy, a type which eschews all expenditure on ammunition. Read it, by all means, but keep close at hand a basin of water and strong soap, not forgetting your smelling bottle!

H. B.'

Such is Gottfried's Beta (Betziche), former editor of Drucker's *How Do You Do*, and Gottfried's eulogistic arse-crawler in the *Gartenlaube*, etc. A fine crew! What a style and what nonsense!

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## 146

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[255]

IN BERLIN

London, 16 January 1861
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

*D'abord*,[b] my best if belated wishes for a Happy New Year.

My wife is now convalescing. Her illness resulted in my falling seriously ill myself; and, at present, I am suffering from inflammation of the liver. And a very nice New Year's gift too! Hitherto, the complaint has merely been chronic. Now it is becoming acute.

This is the explanation for my silence, despite the very close sympathy felt both by my wife and myself for your sufferings. I hope that when you next write you'll have a better account to give me of yourself. If you would care to send me a *fairly detailed* report on your illness, I shall consult a doctor whom I regard as a veritable aesculapian *genius*.[c] However, he does not live here, but in Manchester.

---

[a] Bettziech has 'Calummie' instead of 'Calumnie'. Marx underlines the sixth letter to draw attention to the misspelling. - [b] First. - [c] Dr Eduard Gumpert

I was greatly tickled by the Royal Prussian Amnesty[256] which in effect excludes all refugees from its indulgence. Gottfried Kinkel, who has recently joined the National Association,[257] could, however, return, if a correct interpretation were put on the 'act of grace'. As for Bucher, Freiligrath, Borkheim, Zimmermann of Spandau, and many others, they have long been 'naturalised Englishmen'.

Faucher, former London correspondent of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, afterwards co-editor of the (MANCHESTER SCHOOL[258]) *Morning Star*,—a chap, by the by, with whom anyone can *consort* since he does not conceal but, indeed, openly flaunts, a lack of character typical of the Berliners, and who isn't actually taken politically *au sérieux*[a] by any of his acquaintances,—believes that he can now play the Prussian Cobden. Good luck to him. Such, at least, was his plan when he left London.

One of my friends, J. Ph. Becker, is at present with Garibaldi in Caprera. He has written, telling me that the Mazzinists were almost exclusively responsible for the serious part of the south Italian movement, that Garibaldi does not exactly possess a superfluity of brains, and that the utmost confusion reigns in his friends' camp. Garibaldi, by the by, agrees with Mazzini in believing that Cavour isn't even well-intentioned with regard to Victor Emmanuel, that he is rather Bonaparte's direct tool and that the Gaeta intervention,[259] as well as Farina's appointment to Sicily and Farini's to Naples, etc., are nothing but carefully calculated moves to compel Vic. Em. to make fresh territorial concessions to France, and concessions in favour of Murat in southern Italy. Which will succeed, and soon become manifest.

The slavery crisis in the United States will bring about a terrible crisis in England in a year or two; the Manchester COTTON LORDS are already beginning to tremble.

I seldom read German stuff. Recently, however, I happened upon A. Bastian, *Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, etc. I think it's a bad book, formless and pretentious. His endeavour to explain psychology in terms of 'natural science' amounts to little more than a pious wish. His endeavour to explain history in terms of 'psychology', on the other hand, shows that the man does not know what psychology is, or, for that matter, history.

Darwin's work[b] is most important and suits my purpose in that it provides a basis in natural science for the historical class

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[a] seriously - [b] Ch. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*. London, 1859.

struggle. One does, of course, have to put up with the clumsy English style of argument. Despite all shortcomings, it is here that, for the first time, 'teleology' in natural science is not only dealt a mortal blow but its rational meaning is empirically explained.

I have lately had the opportunity of seeing rather more German newspapers. Ghastly stuff. And, withal, a self-satisfied mediocrity which is indeed NAUSEOUS.

Could you send me the 2nd volume of Eichhoff's *Polizei-Silhouetten*? Not to be had here.

Another thing I have just read is Walesrode's *Totenschau*.[a] Has some nice tales! But lamely presented, though this is excusable in view of the time of its publication.

Wishing you all good health, and with regards from my wife,

Your

K. M.

Mierosławski, who has just been in Paris, told my friend Schily that things looked 'bad'. At the same time, he expressed himself most unfavourably with respect to 'Klapka'. Yet I myself can't quite make up my mind about Mierosławski.

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## 147

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 18 January [1861]

Dear Frederick,

You must excuse my failure to acknowledge receipt of the £3 ere now. On Monday I had a relapse and, since there was no sign of improvement on Tuesday, I had to have recourse to Allen again, so that I am at present UNDER MEDICAL TREATMENT. Writing means that I have to stoop, which hurts, and so I kept putting it off. As you see, I am as tormented as Job, though not as god-fearing.

[a] [L. Walesrode,] *Eine politische Todtenschau*, Kiel, 1859.

Siebel—whose time appears to be very valuable since there hasn't been a single line from him—has sent me 2 Cologne *Anzeigers*, containing two short reviews favourable to my book.[a] The bookseller's advertisement was in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* supplement of 1 January.

I'd be glad if you would let me have for *The Times* a short critique in *English* of the Prussian amnesty[b] [256]—because of Allen's orders that I should refrain altogether from writing for at least another week. The following are the main points to be emphasised:

1. That the amnesty is the lousiest to have been proclaimed in any country (not excluding Austria) since 1849; (*mesquin*,[c] typically Prussian);

2. That the state of the 'liberal' Prussian press may be judged by the plaudits it bestows upon this piece of ordure;

3. That, *whenever* a new government comes to power in Prussia, an amnesty is proclaimed in respect of certain minor misdemeanours, resistance to gendarmes, insults to officials, etc., and that the present amnesty is in fact no more than this.

4. In effect *all refugees*—i.e. all who took part in the revolution of 1848/49—are excluded from the amnesty. The prospect held out to those refugees '*liable to be sentenced by Our civil courts*' and who are permitted 'to return without let or hindrance' (as though everyone had not always been 'legally' entitled to return), is that the Ministry of Justice will *'ex officio'* lodge *'pleas for clemency'* on their behalf. This, in effect, guarantees nothing. This absurd formula was chosen presumably because Prussia is a 'state under the rule of law' whose constitution precludes the king from suppressing any judicial inquiry. A pretty mockery in a state where, on the admission of the Prussian *Gerichtszeitung* (in Berlin), there has been no justice for the past ten years. Furthermore, sentences *in absentia* could be AT ONCE pronounced and quashed. This 'legal' coquetry is indeed deserving of recognition when Stieber, Greif, and Goldheim continue to be left at large—ditto Simons, Manteuffel, etc.

5. Beastliest of all is § 4 of the amnesty, whereby 'all those liable to be sentenced by military tribunals in the near future' must first 'appeal' for William's 'clemency', whereupon he 'will reserve his final decision until such time as he has received a report from Our Military Department of Justice'.

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[a] *Herr Vogt* - [b] See this volume, pp. 249 and 253. - [c] mean

Consider in this connection that, given the Prussian Landwehr's[41] constitution, it is most exceptional for a Prussian refugee to be outside the jurisdiction of a 'military tribunal'; that the 'plea for clemency' is categorically prescribed, and nothing positive is promised in return for this humiliating procedure; finally that, more than any refugee, William himself is in need of an 'amnesty' since, from a strictly legal standpoint, he had no business to intervene in Baden,[260] etc.

*The Times* will undoubtedly accept a critique of this kind with the utmost pleasure. I would send it simultaneously to other papers as well, just signing it, of course, 'A PRUSSIAN REFUGEE'. At the same time, I would write a personal letter to the Editor.[a]

It is the only way we can give these Prussian dogs, and the corporal[b] in charge of them, their deserts.

Your
K. M.

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## 148

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 January [1861]

Dear Frederick,

Today I promptly sent off two COPIES (one to *The Times*, one to the *Standard*) of the statement about the AMNESTY.[c]

What do you think of the statement by Bucher *et cie*?[261]

You will have seen in the Prussian press how Gottfried[d] is again pushing himself into the foreground via the newspaper mob.

The advertisement (bookseller's) for my book has also appeared in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*. This week it has again been sent to *all* the Berlin papers. The scoundrels on both sides intend to burke the thing.

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[a] See this volume, p. 248. - [b] William I - [c] ibid., pp. 248, 249. - [d] Kinkel

As to my condition, Allen is of the *same* view as Gumpert. But, whatever it may be, it is a highly disgusting condition, which incapacitates one for work. There is also some attendant physical pain, though today it's much better. I'm still taking medicine and Allen calls every three days. He was here again today. Riding, CHANGE OF AIR, etc. But I can't, of course, tell him where the shoe pinches. I have wondered off and on whether I might not fix something up with a LOAN SOCIETY through Borkheim so as to put my affairs in some sort of order, these having become much disorganised as a result of medical expenses, the impossibility of drawing on the *Tribune*, etc. But each time I get to the point, my heart sinks into my boots, for Borkheim (despite all his GOOD QUALITIES) is a braggart and every day—or rather each time I see him—he goes on about the money he is owed by refugees.

If you could send me an article whenever you have the time and the inclination [it would][a] be very welcome. I am still INCAPABLE. Most welcome of all would be an article from you for Saturday[b] on French armaments,[c] or on things French generally.

In my view there is *no* alliance between Russia on the one hand and Prussia and Austria on the other. It's simply that Russia, who always protects herself on two sides, has concluded certain agreements (relating to Poland and the Danubian Principalities) with the chaps in Warsaw[262]; but it's also *quite certain* that she has struck a new bargain with Bonaparte against other 'contingencies'.

Apropos: It might, perhaps, be even better if you wrote about Schleswig-Holstein.[d] One point: the foul behaviour of the Berlin press, which constantly abuses Austria for 'impeding' Prussia's anti-Danish moves. Now that Austria has given its consent, it wails about 'snares', issues warnings, urges peace, etc. *Vide Volks-Zeitung*, *Kölnische Zeitung*, etc. See that you lay about the Berlin press. In the past I used to do so frequently in the *Tribune*. But it has to be constantly repeated.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] Manuscript damaged. - [b] 26 January [c] See this volume, p. 257. - [d] Engels wrote the article 'German Movements'.

## 149

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN BERLIN

[London,] 28 January 1861

Dear Lassalle,

I am writing to you today in some haste, not from home, but from the City. In a few days, you shall have a longer letter and a reply *to all your inquiries.* First, my thanks for your package. I have passed one COPY of the petition to Freiligrath. Engels will receive No. II; No. III will be retained by me. It is a truly splendid document and is part and parcel of the history of the present era.[263]

Perhaps you would be good enough to see that the enclosed note is delivered to Mr Eichhoff *without delay.*[264]

Owing to the current state of your health, friendly duty precludes my spurring you on to fresh labours. OTHERWISE I would have declared an anti-Zabel pamphlet, such as you envisage, to be a political deed.

My wife sends her kindest regards to you and the countess.[a] Her convalescence is proceeding satisfactorily. I, for my part, expect I shall be able to forego all medicine for some time to come (I finished the last BOTTLE yesterday).

My best respects to the countess. In my next letter to you I shall take the liberty of enclosing a line or two for her.

*Tout à vous*[b]

K. Marx

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[a] Sophie von Hatzfeldt - [b] Ever yours.

# 150

## MARX TO ENGELS[67]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 January 1861

Dear Engels,

When misfortunes come, they never come singly, as you will see from the enclosed letter from Dana. They have protested a bill for £30 I drew on them at 2 months' date on 10 December and, furthermore, have cancelled *all* articles for the next 6 weeks. Yesterday I went straight to Freiligrath, of course, and, if he is to have adequate security, about the only way out is for him to try and discount a bill which I shall give him on myself at 3 months. How I shall continue to make SHIFT here I can't imagine, for the rates, school, house, GROCER, butcher and God knows what else are denying me any further RESPITE. What a dirty trick it was of Dana's to refer in his statement of accounts to the critical period of 1858/59 when my contributions were reduced to 1 article per week purely *as an exception*,[265] an agreement that was in any case rendered null and void years ago *per usum*[a] and, what's more, explicitly by letter. Now he is deducting *all* the articles they *didn't* print last year. Conversely, allowing his incorrect assumption that the agreement of 1858/59 remains in force, he would still not have the right to condemn me to $1^1/_2$ months' idleness. And yet there's no action I can take against the chaps, since I'm entirely dependent on them. I really don't know what to do, though I have long seen this crisis looming up.

Lassalle's letter also enclosed. In his present missive, he shows no sign of remembering the impression Vogt's rubbish[25] had made on him. Still, it is better to see the light late rather than not at all. As to his proposed revival of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*—*la* Hatzfeldt, about whom I enclose a memorandum[263] for you, has 300,000 talers at her disposal—I would, circumstances being what they are, clutch even at this straw, but the tide in Germany hasn't risen high enough yet to bear our ship. The thing would prove abortive from the very outset.

Toby[b] has again written to Borkheim, inquiring whether it was true that he had never heard about our £90 refugee affair. I was despised in Germany, he said, hence the universal silence. Even

[a] by usage - [b] Eduard Meyen

the great L. Walesrode has declared that no one need reply to such scurrilities, etc. *En passant,* I should be grateful if you would send Borkheim—seeing that he contributed £12 to *Herr Vogt*—a *reply* to his letter. It is a point upon which he is very touchy.

Bucher and Rodbertus, who had been on the list of deputies for Berlin, were *struck off* by infuriated Little Germans[266] following the publication of their statement.[261] The latter is bad, but the way *Bucher* serves G. K. (Gottfried Kinkel) in the last issue of the *Hermann*[a] is good.

Mr Kolatschek wrote yesterday asking for a complimentary copy of *Herr Vogt* in order to review it. This has been sent. There have been relatively large sales of the pamphlet in Petersburg and Riga; on the other hand, *nothing* (maybe 6 copies) in Cologne.

The story Lassalle tells about Zabel is a good one.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

The swinish *Times* didn't take your amnesty piece.[b] Nor did the *Standard.* Now get the thing into the *Guardian,* which you should send down here and from which I shall take it and arrange through Borkheim for it to appear in the swinish *Hermann,* etc., and elsewhere.

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## 151

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 31 January [1861]

Dear Frederick,

Letter containing £10[232] received with very many thanks.

I must now be off, mainly for the purpose of paying the gas and rates, otherwise the fellows will send in the broker. As for the other cads, I shall have to see how I can arrange matters with them.

---

[a] L. Bucher. [Letter to the Editor of *Hermann.*] In: *Hermann,* Nr. 108, 26. January 1861. - [b] See this volume, pp. 248-49.

I shall write to you at greater length as soon as I hear from you tomorrow.[267]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Enclosed Lassalle's memorandum.[263]

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## 152

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, 31 January 1861]

Dear Marx,

It's difficult to answer Borkheim's letter.[a] All local commission houses which buy GOODS for the Italian market *operate* there *themselves*. Hence they would regard an order from London as the action of a competitor and duly ignore it. Reuss, Kling & Co. and A. S. Sichel are the main houses in this line, but they certainly won't accept *small* orders. At all events, make sure that whoever approaches these people does *not* mention my name; it would serve no purpose whatever and might make me look a complete ass. If the order is of any size and the intention is to start a regular connection, the buyer would do best to come up himself and go to the manufacturers direct. The people here who buy for the London houses are exclusively in the EAST INDIA TRADE or else small chaps whom I don't know.

That's all I have to tell you today.

I can't imagine what fellows he is referring to who are up to all kinds of nonsense.

Your
F. E.

Thursday.[b]

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[a] See this volume, p. 253. - [b] 31 January.

# 153

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

London, 2 February 1861

Dear Frederick,

Yesterday I got the enclosed note from Freiligrath[a] which doesn't make matters any more agreeable. You must write and tell me at once what I ought to do.

In fact, I've been so BOTHERED from all sides that my head is going round and round and, on top of that, there is the unpleasantness of having to annoy you with all my *petites misères.*

I have written to Dana, who is definitely in the WRONG *legally,* but with little prospect of success.[b] The fellows know that one needs them and that they, for their part, don't need one at this moment.

Weren't you going to send me the *Nazione*—certain letters of Mazzini's? Forgotten? You will shortly be getting the confiscated issue of the *Courrier du Dimanche* from me.

Bucher maintains—he asked Borkheim to tell me—that his review will still appear in the *Allgemeine Zeitung.* You will doubtless have seen that at every opportunity the scoundrelly Blind brings his name before the public as an *homme d'état.*[c]

The rotten book business has cost me more than £4 all in all. What a strange fate this LIBRARY has![244]

No news from Siebel? His connections certainly seem to be exceedingly limited.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

*Thimm* told Petsch a day or two ago that *Herr Vogt* has been the object of some particularly malicious abuse in Manchester. Brass, expressly for his own personal satisfaction, has ordered new type to be cast so that *Herr Vogt* can be advertised in an even more conspicuous manner. Given the large number of Swiss in Manchester, is it not possible to sell at least 1 COPY of the *Grenzpost* there?

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[a] See this volume, pp. 252, 258. - [b] ibid., p. 252. - [c] statesman

## 154

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 4 February 1861

Dear Moor,

I can't manage more than a line or two today. Provided the tailor is prepared to discount the bill for £35 if I draw it and so arrange it that the money doesn't have to be paid until July or August, VERY WELL, I shall draw it. But I must be able to count on the utmost discretion, for it could cost me my position. If Gumpert has got some money in (I haven't seen him since Friday), I might even be able to arrange it without that.[a]

Your
F. E.

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## 155

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 February 1861

Dear Moor,

You can write and tell Freiligrath that we don't need his tailor. Gumpert has obtained so much money in payment of his accounts that he can lend me the greater part of what is needed, to be repaid monthly £5 AT A TIME; the business has therefore been fixed up. Freiligrath can have the £30 any day and then he need only pay the expenses, which I shall likewise remit to him within 24 hours of my knowing the amount. As far as I'm concerned, he can

[a] See this volume, pp. 255, 256-57 and 258.

write to me about it direct and you need not bother about this whole thing any more. I shall then make sure that I get at least part of the amount put down to the next financial year.

Your letters returned herewith. Not until my last had gone off,[232] did I discover that, according to Dana's calculations, you have drawn payment for 19 more articles than they printed. Nevertheless, the fact remains that it is a dirty rotten business and, in this respect, the *Tribune* is behaving in true PENNY PAPER fashion. Its socialism amounts to nothing more than the highly contemptible petty bourgeois mania for getting the best out of a bargain.

Lassalle has become Isidor P-B[a] again. What sort of politician is this who thinks he has reduced a government to pulp because he has demonstrated that it was guilty of inconsistency in so trifling a matter? He must have some fine notions of parliamentary rule and what stands for law and justice under that rule. The man is incorrigible. One can only wonder what his monumental work in two volumes[b] will be about. At all events, anything can happen now that he has made such a complete volte-face *in re* Vogt.[25] As to his little paper,[c] if I were you, I would advise him to start a weekly in opposition to the *Preussisches Wochenblatt, Berliner Revue, Wochenschau des Nationalvereins,*[d] etc. *La* Hatzfeldt's 300,000 talers, which both of them will hang on to very tightly indeed, and madame's Lucullan mode of life won't leave enough in the way of an income to keep a daily going. There'd soon be a dearth of cash. On the other hand, a weekly of this description doesn't cost much and it would certainly be a nice source of income for us. Lassalle would, of course, have to pay us properly, i.e., English rates, otherwise it's no go. Besides, the thing would come in very useful as a mouthpiece for us.

Our Prussian corporal[e] is suffering from a truly colossal attack of the shits. In every speech, the oaf talks of the impending life-and-death struggles.

The *Volunteer Journal* has published a revised version of my *Tribune* article on French armaments.[268] This evening I shall, if possible send off a dozen copies to all the newspapers; the thing may create a sensation. I am also sending you one; since the scoundrels in New York are not at all interested in it now, and in any case it has been much shuffled about, no harm can be

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[a] Prussian Blue - [b] F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte,* Leipzig, 1861. - [c] See this volume, p. 252. - [d] *Wochenschrift des Nationalvereins* - [e] William I

done. My pamphlet[269] comes out next week; all I have left to do is read a few proofs and write the preface.

Bucher seems to be behaving quite decently.

Warm regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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## 156
## MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH
### IN LONDON

[London,] 7 February 1861

Dear Freiligrath,

I have so arranged matters with Engels that you can obtain the £30 *any day you like*, ditto the expenses at 24 hours' notice. The *tailleur*[a] thus becomes redundant, and I would ask you to let Engels know *when* he is to send the money.[b]

I shall myself be obliged to go to Holland, since I won't otherwise be able to weather the current crisis. Would you be so good as to inquire from some business friend of yours what the position is in regard to *passports* in Holland—whether one has to have a passport? The *Tribune*'s 'turpitude',[c] coinciding as it did with other misfortunes, was all the more disastrous for me in that it prevented me from making futher arrangements about my wife's convalescence in accordance with doctor's orders. Although I don't belong to the category of 'German martyrs' and have always been inimical to that category, I nevertheless think I have had my fair share of refugee-trouble.

Besides Lassalle's,[d] I have received offers of journalistic employment from 2 other quarters in Germany. However—and doubtless

[a] tailor - [b] See this volume, pp. 255, 256-57. - [c] ibid., pp. 252, 255, 257. - [d] ibid., p. 252.

you share this view—I don't believe the tide has risen high enough for me to agree to anything of the kind just now.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

You can see what a HUMBUG OLD Ruge is by comparing Engels' *Reichsverfassungskampagne*[a] in the *Revue* with the version Arnold has palmed off on you.

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## 157

## ENGELS TO ELISABETH ENGELS

IN BARMEN

Manchester, 13 February 1861

Dear Mother,

I am returning herewith the contracts, 7 copies, duly signed, having kept the 8th here.[270] I must say that, if it hadn't been for your sake, I could have made up my mind to do so only with difficulty. It was hard for me thus to exclude myself for no valid reason or on no good pretext, or so it seemed to me, from the only family business that remains to us—remains with any *certainty*. I believe that I also had a right to it and that my brothers[b] had no right to assume that I should, without more ado and for no reason at all, relinquish that right in their favour. What I demanded was certainly not unfair; moreover, I had put forward that demand quite early enough for it to be taken into account during the deliberations. Emil Blank conceded as much when he was here. But I was told absolutely nothing more, and

[a] F. Engels, *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution*. - [b] Hermann, Emil and Rudolf

not till the others had settled everything did they approach me with the demand that I agree to forgo my claim, basing that demand—in Emil's[a] letter—on reasons which may be very businesslike, but which *I*, for one, would not have cared to bring up in this way vis-à-vis my brothers; and, by way of consolation, *I* am left with Emil's *assurance* that Gottfr. Ermen, or so Emil is *convinced,* will not break his contract with me. This conviction is outweighed by that of our lawyer, who told Emil more than once that the contract *qua contract* affords me no legal guarantees. They have the business in Engelskirchen, and I have Emil's conviction.

Mother dear, I have swallowed all this and much more for your sake. Not for anything in the world would I contribute in the smallest way towards embittering the evening of your life with family disputes over inheritance. I believe that my conduct when I was at home,[146] just like my letters, has amply demonstrated that I was very far from seeking to place obstacles in the way of any agreement and that, on the contrary, I gladly made sacrifices so that everything might be settled in accordance with your wishes. That is why I have signed the thing without more ado. Whatever the cost, I would not wish you to be plagued with such things any longer, or to worry about them. Nor shall I bear any grudge against my brothers, or so much as mention the matter to them, unless they absolutely force me to do so, for it has been settled, and I have no desire to parade my belief that I have made a sacrifice. But I considered it my bounden duty to tell you frankly what my motives were in this matter, and it goes without saying that I never remotely supposed you could, perhaps, have arranged matters more favourably for me. On the contrary, I know that, throughout the negotiations I, too, was always in your thoughts and that you did all you could for me.

The matter is now settled, and that is that. You are unlikely ever to hear another word from me about it, and I need not say that, when Emil comes over here, I shall, as always, give him a fraternal welcome; though our views may have differed in this case, he is, nevertheless, a fine lad, who has always taken my interests over here very much to heart.

The dressing-gown has arrived, and I am very glad of it as it's freezing again, but the red epaulettes are a trifle *outré* for local taste. By the way, I now have the company of a young ratter, who has strayed into the house.

---

[a] Emil Engels

I hope you have got over your cold all right; it will also do you good to be freed from all the worry about the inheritance. But still, if possible, you should buy the Sieg.[a]

Warmest regards to Hermann, Rudolf, the Blanks and the Boellings.

With much love,

Your son
Friedrich

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## 158

## MARX TO ENGELS[67]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 February 1861

Dear Frederick,

You must really forgive me for not having answered your very kind letter[b] before now. In the meantime, you will have received a communication from philistine Freiligrath.

I have had, and still have, an enormous amount of running about to do. For I intend to go to Holland so as to put my affairs over here in order, otherwise they will get out of hand. There are two things I require for the purpose, a passport and money, both of which I shall manage to get hold of here *d'une manière ou d'une autre*.[c] (I may have to go as far as Aachen.)

I haven't written to Lassalle yet. No doubt something in the nature of a weekly[d] would be best, but, then again, what a risk we should run, given the indiscretion of our friend, if he were there on the spot as editor-in-chief, and thus in a position to get us all into hot water! He would, of course, immediately stress that the thing was a party organ, so that we, too, should be held responsible for every imbecility and our position in Germany would be ruined before we had so much as regained it. This requires the most careful consideration.

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[a] Engels is referring to a plot of land by the river Sieg. - [b] See this volume, pp. 256-58. - [c] in one way or another - [d] See this volume, pp. 252, 257.

The *conspiration de silence* in the German press is having a seriously adverse effect on sales of *Herr Vogt*. After a good start, they have accordingly come to a STANDSTILL. The *Allgemeine Zeitung* seems pretty well determined *not* to carry Bucher's review either. At any rate, we shall know one way or another in the next few days, for, if it intends to publish it at all, it can't go on putting it off much longer. Kolatschek is a certainty.

My wife recommends that you read *Hans Ibeles* by Johanna Mockel,[a] in which Willich figures as Wildemann, etc., Mrs von Brüningk as Platonina, and that blackguard Kinkel as *Don Juan*. I myself know nothing about the rubbish save for what my wife has told me. She says that the book provides irrefutable evidence that Johanna Mockel threw herself out of the window because she had been crossed in love. (BY THE BY, my wife's complexion is still far from smooth and probably won't be for some time to come.) At any rate, it's commendable in Parson Kinkel[271] that he should make money out of the late Mockel's CONFESSIONS by selling them to Cotta, and then consume it with Minna Werner, by whom he already has a child. Parsons are the cleverest of men. However, Johanna Mockel was an acrimonious body and her breath, for all her love of music, was acrid, too.

Have had the *Nazione*.[b] Very good. Ditto the *Volunteer Journal*. But not your pamphlet.[269]

Vogt will never forgive Vincke for having put him in the shade so completely. Incidentally, those Prussian swine are making fools of themselves IN EVERY RESPECT. Firstly, the blackguards ask Bonaparte to continue his intervention at Gaeta[272]; secondly, the rascals have joined Bonaparte and Russia in declaring themselves in favour of continued French intervention in Syria.[273] Austria opposes this, and, of course, so does Palmerston, FOR APPEARANCE'S SAKE. And the way they're carrying on at home! The rotten bunch is bound to come a cropper.

Wilhelm Liebknecht has been almost completely laid off by his American newspapers as well. One of the papers[c] for which he wrote was SACKED in New Orleans.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] Johanna Mockel, *Hans Ibeles in London*, Stuttgart, 1860. - [b] See this volume, p. 255. - [c] Presumably the *Deutsche Zeitung*

# 159

# MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

## IN BERLIN

[London,] 15 February 1861

Dear Lassalle,

I did not, as I had intended, send off a second letter to you on the heels of my first,[a] because, in the meantime, a *crisis* had supervened, i.e., a financial crisis. Dana wrote from New York, saying that it (the *Tribune*) had dismissed *all* its European correspondents, retaining nobody save myself, but that 1. the *Cyclopaedia*[b] was to be temporarily suspended; 2. my contributions were to be suspended for 6 weeks; 3. finally, that in future I was to write one article less per week.

Under these circumstances and in view of the expenditure arising out of my wife's illness, I have got to go to Holland and see my uncle Philips, if I am to put my financial affairs in some sort of order. Since I require money for the trip I have drawn a bill on you for £20 (ABOUT 34 talers) payable at 6 weeks' sight. I shall send you the required sum from Holland *before the expiry date* or else *bring it to Berlin in person,* for I may possibly come as far. I shall come, by the by, simply as a *traveller* if, that is, I cross the Dutch border and enter Germany. (If I were Karl Heinzen—Heineke the lusty knave[274]—I should say OVERSTRIDE.)

Your
K. Marx

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[a] See this volume, p. 251. [b] *New American Cyclopaedia*

# 160

## MARX TO ENGELS[275]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 February 1861

Dear Engels,

I am leaving tomorrow on a passport made out not to me, however, but to Bühring,* valid for Holland. This created a vast amount of TROUBLE, as did raising enough money for me to get away at all. Have paid quite small sums on account to the most pressing creditors; in the case of others (e.g. GROCER), I invoked the American crisis and obtained a respite, but only on condition that my wife paid *weekly* during my absence. In addition, she has to pay £2 18/- in rates next week.

Nota bene. I presume you got a letter from my wife (ABOUT a week ago) in which she thanked you for the wine? She is a little worried lest it should have fallen into the wrong hands. The children, too, are greatly obliged to you for the wine. They would seem to have inherited their father's fondness for the bottle.

I shall probably go to Berlin as well—without a passport—to look into the matter of a weekly[a] (Apropos—in Berlin William I is called *Handsome William*), and survey the dungheap generally.

In the last number of the *Hermann,* that swine Blind published a letter Mazzini had written him.[b] The importunate slimy creature clearly succeeded in convincing Mazzini that he represents the German émigrés. He uses the said *Hermann* as a receptacle for his filthy twaddle—patriotic—on the subject of Schleswig-Holstein, and also makes the latter an occasion for writing letters under his own name to the *Globe,* etc. Through Bronner—with him and Schaible he constitutes the 'Association for Freedom and Unity'[276]—he extorted so much money from a Bradford merchant that he was able to start a rotten little rag in Hamburg—the *Nordstern*—so as to throw his weight about in the North, while in

* Bühring—formerly represented the Faucher proletariat, his FREE-TRADE proletarians—has real inventive genius, but is not a business man, hence invariably swindled while others exploit his inventions.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 252, 257, 261. - [b] 'Mazzini an Karl Blind über die Stellung Italiens zu Deutschland', *Hermann,* No. 112, 23 February 1861.

the South, through Schaible's agency, he courts notoriety as 'Blind, man of iron' in the columns of the Stuttgart *Beobachter* (a kind of South German *Volkszeitung*). The purpose of all this business on the part of the wretched creature is, on the one hand, to shout down the disgrace inflicted on him in *Herr Vogt*[a] and, on the other, to become Hecker *secundus. Le pauvre hère.*[b]

The Cologne people have done my library proud.[244] The *whole* of Fourier stolen, ditto Goethe, ditto Herder, ditto Voltaire and, what to me is ghastliest of all, the *Economistes du 18 siècle* (brand-new, cost me some 500 fr.) and many volumes of classical Greek writers, many single volumes of other works. If I go to Cologne, I'll have something to say about it to that National Association man Bürgers. Hegel's *Phenomenology* and *Logic* ditto.

During the past fortnight there's been such a lot of confounded running around to do—real ingenuity was needed to prevent a complete break-up of the household—that I have read no newspapers whatsoever, not even the *Tribune* on the AMERICAN CRISIS. However, for recreation in the evenings I have been reading Appian's Civil Wars of Rome in the original Greek.[c] A most valuable book. The fellow comes of Egyptian stock. Schlosser says he is 'soulless', probably because he probes the material basis of the said civil wars. Spartacus emerges as the most capital fellow in the whole history of antiquity. A great general (no Garibaldi he), of noble character, a REAL REPRESENTATIVE of the proletariat of ancient times. Pompey a real shit; acquired spurious fame only by misappropriating, as Sulla's 'YOUNG MAN', etc., Lucullus's victories (over Mithridates), then Sertorius's (Spain), etc. As a general, was the Roman Odilon Barrot. As soon as he was brought face to face with Caesar and had to show what stuff he was made of—a mere louse. Caesar perpetrated the most stupendous military blunders, deliberately crazy ones, to discountenance the philistine opposing him. Any ordinary Roman general—Crassus, say—would have annihilated him six times over during the battle in Epirus.[277] But anything could be done with Pompey. In *Love's Labour's Lost,* Shakespeare would seem to have had some inkling of what Pompey was really like.[d]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] See K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 111-32. - [b] The poor devil! - [c] Ἀππιανοῦ Αλεξανδρέως πωμαϊκά. - [d] In Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost* (Act 5, Scene 2) the clown Costard impersonates Pompey.

I shall write to you from Holland.[278] You will know without my telling you how grateful I am for the outstanding proofs of friendship you have given me.

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## 161

## ENGELS TO ELISABETH ENGELS

IN BARMEN

Manchester, 27 February 1861

Dear Mother,

I would have liked to answer your dear letter straight away, but with Emil's[a] being here, have been so taken up with current business that it has been quite impossible. Well, he left yesterday morning and will probably reach Engelskirchen tonight. Dear mother, you have no need to worry about the possibility of my bearing any grudge against my brothers[b] over the matter of the firm; it wouldn't occur to me. It was extremely disagreeable for me to have to withdraw from the family business in this way, nor could I find it agreeable when something I looked upon as a *right* to which I was entitled was lightly passed over for all kinds of reasons that had no bearing whatever on that right, my assent being, so to speak, demanded as a matter of course.[c] I do not suggest that things haven't been arranged as well as, if not better than, they might have been had my claim been taken into consideration, but this is precisely what no one has taken the trouble to explain to me, and you cannot deny that, in the circumstances, it was expecting rather much of me to sign the thing. But having done so, I regard it as settled and you can count on me not to bear any of my brothers the slightest grudge about that. We shall need one another often enough and, besides, you know that I'm not in the least inclined to play the noble soul of whom no one takes note. I am sure Emil didn't notice any

[a] Emil Engels - [b] Hermann, Emil and Rudolf - [c] See this volume, p. 260.

ill-temper on my part, still less any manifestation of annoyance towards himself, nor indeed could he have done, since I have now resigned myself to the thing and my only wish is that the business in Engelskirchen should yield good results for the four of us.

So, do not grieve over it, mother dear. For myself, the thing is over and done with, so much so that even the painful sensation I undeniably experienced, when I signed it, is likewise over and done with, disposed of and forgotten. If, I thought, this one aspect of the thing is disagreeable to *me,* then how many more such moments—far more disagreeable ones—must you have gone through in the course of the negotiations? And then I rejoiced at being able to put a stop to it all with one stroke of the pen. I might acquire a hundred other businesses, but never a second mother.

I am very well, by the way. Emil enjoyed himself here very much, and will have written to tell you that we have just about finished with Gottfr.,[a] so that that affair, too, will at last be in order. Well, goodbye, and mind you keep fit and look after yourself properly. My warmest regards to Hermann,[b] the Rudolfs,[c] the Blanks, and the Boellings.

With much love,

Your son
Friedrich

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## 162

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[67]

IN BERLIN

7 March 1861
Zalt-Bommel, Holland
(c/o L. Philips)

Dear Lassalle,

As I've already written and told you,[d] I intend to proceed from here to Berlin in order to discuss with you personally the

[a] Gottfried Ermen - [b] Hermann Engels - [c] Rudolf Engels and family - [d] See this volume, p. 263.

possibility of joint politico-literary enterprises, but also and more especially to see you again.

Now, however, I should like you to tell me exactly how matters stand as regards the following point. The only passport I have is an old one issued by the French when I was expelled in 1849.[279] I could not bring myself to approach the Prussian Embassy in London. Nor did I wish to become a naturalised Englishman (like Freiligrath, Bucher, Zimmermann, etc.) and travel on an English passport. The following question arises: In 1845, when pursued in Belgium by the Prussian government,[280] I obtained through my brother-in-law[a] a Prussian expatriation permit. On the pretext of my having ceased to be a Prussian subject, I was, as you know, expelled by the Prussian government in 1849. However, in the eyes of the law, all refugees who had spent 10 years outside the country would equally have ceased to be Prussian 'subjects'. I have never been naturalised abroad. Further, in accordance with the resolution passed by the Preliminary Parliament[281] of 1848—a resolution that was regarded as virtually binding by all German governments on the occasion of the elections to the Frankfurt parliament[282]—all refugees, even though, like Vogt, etc., they might have been naturalised abroad, could avail themselves of their German citizenship and everywhere qualify for election to parliament. I invoked this when, in 1848, I requested that my Prussian citizenship be reinstated. This was refused by the Prussian ministry of the day, though they didn't venture to treat me as a foreigner until all was up with the revolution.

In practice, the only importance that attaches to this question just now is whether I shall be able to get to Berlin unimpeded. If only I can succeed in crossing the border, I shall have nothing to fear in Berlin; on the periphery, however, it's a more ticklish matter.

As you know, I am here with my uncle[b] (who looks after my mother's affairs and has, in the past, frequently made me substantial advances against my share of the inheritance) in order to put my parlous finances in order. He's a stubborn man, but the fact of my being a writer greatly appeals to his vanity. So, when you write to me, you must refer to the success (*lucus a non lucendo*[c])

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[a] Wilhelm Robert Schmalhausen - [b] Lion Philips - [c] Literally: 'a grove from not being light'. The expression, first used by Quintilian in *De institutione oratoria* (I, 6, 34), illustrates the practice ascribed to ancient Roman etymologists of deriving words from their semantic opposites, as *lucus* ('grove') from *lucere* ('to shine, be light'), because a grove is not light.

of my recent anti-Vogt pamphlet, our joint plans for a newspaper, etc. and, above all, so couch your letter that I can demonstrate my 'confidence' in my uncle by giving him the letter to read. Nor should you omit to mention something about politics. *Vous m'entendez, mon cher.*[a]

With kindest regards to you and the countess.[b]

Your
K. Marx

(Zalt-Bommel is near Nymwegen. I don't imagine that the name is familiar to you. However, it attracted some attention as a result of the recent floods.)

The *conspiration de silence,* with which the entire German press has greeted my last piece,[c] precisely as it did the previous ones, I really find most flattering, however detrimental it may be to sales. I trust your health has improved.

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## 163

## MARX TO ANTOINETTE PHILIPS

### IN ZALT-BOMMEL

Berlin, 24 March 1861
13 Bellevuestrasse
(Address: Dr F. Lassalle)

My dear Cousin,

I cannot thank you enough for your precious letter which fails only in being too short, although you have acted up to the English rule of packing the best things in the smallest compass.

I arrived at Berlin on Sunday last (17th March[d]), at 7 o'clock in the morning. My travel was not marked by any incident save a 6 $^1/_2$ hours' delay at Oberhausen, an abominably tedious little place. Lassalle who lives in a very fine house, situated in one of the finest

[a] You take the point, my friend. - [b] Sophie von Hatzfeldt - [c] *Herr Vogt* - [d] In the original: 18 March.

streets of Berlin, had everything prepared for my reception, and gave me a most friendly welcome. The first hours having been talked away and my railway-fatigue chased by some rest and some refreshments, Lassalle introduced me at once to the house of the countess of Hatzfeldt who, as I soon became aware, dines every day in his house at 4 o'clock p. m., and passes her evenings with him. I found her hair as 'blond' and her eyes as blue as formerly, but for the remainder of her face I read the words imprinted in it: twenty and twenty make fifty seven. There were in fact wrinkles full of 'vestiges of creation', there were cheeks and chin betraying an embonpoint which, like coal beds, wants much time to be formed, and so forth. As to her eyebrows, I was at once struck by the circumstance that they had improved instead of deteriorating, so that art had by far got the better of nature. On later occasions I made the general remarks that she perfectly understands the art of making herself up and of finding in her toilette-box the tints no longer derived from her blood. Upon the whole, she reminded me of some Greek statues which still boast a fine bust but whose heads have been cruelly 'beknappered' by the vicissitudes of time. Still, to be not unjust, she is a very distinguished lady, no blue-stocking, of great natural intellect, much vivacity, deeply interested in the revolutionary movement, and of an aristocratic *laissez aller* very superior to the pedantic grimaces of professional *femmes d'esprit.*[a]

On Monday, my friend Lassalle drew up for me a petition to the chief of the Prussian police for my restoration to the civil rights of a Prussian subject.[b] On Tuesday, Lassalle himself, who is a man of extraordinary audacity, carried the petition to Herr von Zedlitz (Polizeipräsident, partisan of the Junkerpartei and the king's[c] confidant) and, what with menaces, what with flatteries—Zedlitz considering this direct appeal to himself, instead of to the subaltern authorities, as a compliment paid to his person—he has so far succeeded that to-day the ministerial paper—*Die Preussische Zeitung*—announces my return to the 'fatherland'. Still I have not yet received an official answer in regard to my re-naturalisation.

On Tuesday evening Lassalle and the countess led me to a Berlin theatre where a Berlin comedy, full of Prussian self-glorification, was enacted.[d] It was altogether a disgusting affair. On Wednesday evening I was forced by them to assist at the performance of a ballet in the Opernhouse. We had a box for

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[a] clever women - [b] See present edition, Vol. 19, p. 339. - [c] William I - [d] See this volume, p. 288.

ourselves at the side—*horribile dictu*[a]—of the king's 'loge'. Such a ballet is characteristic of Berlin. It forms not, as at Paris, or at London, an *entrejeu*,[b] or the conclusion, of an opera, but it absorbs the whole evening, is divided into several acts, etc. Not a syllable is spoken by the actors, but everything is hinted at by mimickry. It is in fact deadly—dull. The scenery, however, was beautiful; you assisted for instance at a sea-voyage from Livorno to Naples; sea, mountains, seacoast, towns, etc., everything being represented with photographical truth.

On Thursday Lassalle gave a dinner in honour of my return, gentlemen and ladies being invited. Among the celebrities there were the old general von Pfuel, 'Schlachtenmahler'[c] Bleibtreu, Hofrath Förster (a known Prussian historiograph and formerly called the 'Hofdemagog',[d] he being a personal friend of the late king[e]) and so forth. Hofrath Förster brought out a toast on my humble self. I was seated at table between the countess and Fräulein Ludmilla Assing, the niece of Varnhagen von Ense and the editor of Varnhagen's correspondence with Humboldt.[f] This Fräulein, who really swamped me with her benevolence, is the most ugly creature I ever saw in my life, a nastily Jewish physiognomy, a sharply protruding thin nose, eternally smiling and grinning, always speaking poetical prose, constantly trying to say something extraordinary, playing at false enthusiasm, and spitting at her auditory during the trances of her ecstasis. I shall to-day be forced to pay a visit to that little monster which I treated with the utmost reserve and coldness, giving her to understand by friend Lassalle that the power of attraction works upon myself always in a *centrifugal* direction and that, when I happen to admire a person very much, I am very apt to steal altogether out of its presence.

The state of things here is illboding for the powers that be. The Prussian Exchequer labours under a deficit, and all the old parties are in a movement of dissolution. The chamber of deputies will have to be re-elected during this season, and there is every probability that, during the process of its reconstitution, a great movement will pervade the country. This may, as my friend Lassalle thinks, be the proper moment for starting a newspaper[g] here in the Prussian capital, but I have not yet come to a firm

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[a] horrible to say - [b] interlude - [c] war artist - [d] court demagogue - [e] Frederick William IV - [f] *Briefe von Alexander von Humboldt an Varnhagen von Ense aus den Jahren 1827 bis 1858*, Leipzig, 1860. - [g] See this volume, pp. 252, 257, 261.

resolution. The necessity of waiting for the official answer of the authorities to my petition may prolong my sojourn beyond the term originally contemplated.

You see, my dear child, I have much seen during a few days, but still you may be sure that I always wish myself back to Bommel.[a]

With my best compliments to yourself, your father,[b] and the whole family, believe me always

Your most sincere admirer

Charles Marx

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## 164

## MARX TO CARL SIEBEL

IN BARMEN

28 March 1861

c/o (Letter to me to be enclosed in an envelope)
13 Bellevuestrasse, Berlin, Dr F. Lassalle

Dear Siebel,

The secret of my journey, which WILL HAVE PUZZLED you to some extent, is as follows:

As a result of the crisis in America the *Cyclopaedia Americana*,[c] to which I was a contributor, has been completely suspended; similarly my contributions to the *Tribune*, my main resource, have been suspended until the end of April, and reduced by half for the period immediately thereafter (*apart from myself all* their European correspondents have been provisionally dismissed). This was compounded by a double misfortune: *Herr Vogt*, which, combined with the lawsuit, etc., cost me nearly £100, and a frightful stroke of ill-luck in that my wife (although twice vaccinated) caught small-pox and was ill for two months during which time I had to run two households, since the children couldn't remain at home.

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[a] Zalt-Bommel - [b] Lion Philips - [c] *New American Cyclopaedia*

So, I had to look round for other resources. Party friends here had already proposed to me starting a newspaper[a] in the autumn. Hence my presence here. More in my next.

In the meantime, I have run into financial difficulties here (I shan't be staying much longer). If you could lend me 100-150 talers, you would oblige me.

Before returning to England I intend to see you at *all* events, if only on account of the newspaper project (for which 20,000 talers are READY). So, you must write and tell me, at *all* events, at which inn in Elberfeld I might best put up for 24 hours.

Your
K. Marx

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## 165

## MARX TO CARL SIEBEL

IN BARMEN

[Berlin,] 2 April 1861

Dear Siebel,

A letter, which arrived from Amsterdam today, brought the pleasant tidings that I shall be able to SETTLE my chief financial difficulties (which run to hundreds of pounds), since my uncle[b] (who looks after my mother's affairs) has declared himself agreeable so far as the main issue is concerned. I am thus rid of my *chief worry*, but as regards the *secondary matter* I wrote to you about,[c] I shall have to rely on you.

I am bored stiff here. I am treated as a kind of LION and am forced to see *a great many* professional 'wits', both male and female. *C'est affreux.*[d] What is keeping me here (*not for more than another week*, I hope) is the circumstance that I refuse to leave until I have forced the Prussian government to recognise my REINTEGRATION. (*Prima facie*,[e] they are not making any difficulties about it, but are trying to shelve it.)

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[a] See this volume, pp. 252, 257, 261, 271-72. - [b] Lion Philips - [c] See previous letter. - [d] It's awful. - [e] On the face of it.

I shall be spending only one day in Elberfeld. Kindly write and tell me *by return,* how *quickly* one can get from Elberfeld to Aachen where I have an appointment.

For Part II of my political economy,[8] I have dismissed Duncker in favour of Brockhaus. (Not that the latter knows this yet, but I have a sure means of forcing his hand.)

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 166

## MARX TO ANTOINETTE PHILIPS

IN ZALT-BOMMEL

Elberfeld, 13 April 1861

*To Miss Nanette*

My sweet little Cousin,

I hope you have received the letter I sent you from Berlin[a] although you were cruel enough to leave your admirer without one single word of acknowledgement. Now, my cruel little witch, how will you be able to defend such a line of conduct? Were you not aware that a world of Philisteans hemmed me in, and that half an army of antiquated beauties and detestable blue stockings, did their best to transform me into an ass? Old Circe, as you are aware, metamorphosed the companions of Ulysses into pigs. These modern Circes have so far civilised themselves as to take to the asinine line. And was it not your duty, under such circumstances, to come to my rescue? Beware that I take my revenge, and conspire with *Waradje*[283] against the tranquillity of your heart.

'An's Vaterland, das theure schliess' dich an'[b] is a very fine sentence, but, quite confidentially, I may tell you that Germany is

[a] See this volume, p. 269-72. - [b] 'Join the dear Fatherland' (F. Schiller, *Wilhelm Tell,* Act II, Scene 1).

a beautiful country to live out of it. For my own part, if I were quite free, and if, besides, I were not bothered by some thing you may call 'political conscience', I should never leave England for Germany, and still less for Prussia, and least of all for that *affreux*[a] Berlin with its 'Sand'[b] and its 'Bildung'[c] and 'seinen überwitzigen Leuten'.[d]

At Berlin everybody who has some spirit to lose, is of course extremely anxious for fellow sufferers. If the *ennui,* that reigns supreme at that place, be distributed among a greater lot of persons, the single individual may flatter itself to catch a lesser portion of it. For this reason the countess Hatzfeldt, Lassalle's Egeria, tried everything to prolong my sojourn in the metropolis of tschakos[e] without heads. Yesterday she made her last effort, and we had the following scurrilous conversation:

*She.* 'This, then, is the thank for the friendship we have shown you, that you leave Berlin so soon as your business will permit?'

*I.* 'Quite the contrary. I have prolonged my stay at this place beyond the due term, because your amiability chained me to this Sahara.'

*She.* 'Then I shall become still more amiable.'

*I.* 'Then there remains no refuge for me but running away. Otherwise I should never be able to return to London whither my duty calls me.'

*She.* 'This is a very fine compliment to tell a lady, her amiability is such as to drive you away!'

*I.* 'You are not Berlin. If you want to prove me the sincerity of your amiability, do run away with myself.'

*She.* 'But I fear you will abandon me at the first station.'

*I.* 'I am quite sure of not "leaving the girl behind me"[f] at the next station. You know that when Theseus, having eloped with the Greek beauty,[g] abandoned her at some station or other, there at once the god Bacchus descended from the Olymp and carried the forlorne one in his arms to the abode of eternal pleasures. Now, I do not doubt but a god is already waiting for you at the first railway station behind Berlin, and I would be the most cruel of mortals to frustrate you of such a rendezvous.'

But enough of these fooleries. In true real earnest, I feel most happy in the idea of soon seeing again yourself and the whole Bommel family circle. Recommend myself to your 'rival',[h] and tell

[a] awful - [b] Allusion to the sandy soil of Brandenburg province, in whose central part Berlin is situated. - [c] education - [d] its awfully witty people - [e] shakos - [f] Paraphrased refrain of an old Irish song: 'The girl I left behind me. - [g] Ariadne - [h] Henriette Sophia van Anrooij

her that the deepest sentiments are the most difficult of being expressed in words. In that way she ought to interpret my silence, the respectful silence I have till now observed.

And now, my little charmer, farewell and do not altogether forget

Your knight-errant
Charles Marx

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## 167

## MARX TO LION PHILIPS[284]

### IN ZALT-BOMMEL

London, 6 May 1861[a]
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Uncle,

First, let me express my heartfelt thanks for the great friendship you have again shown me and the delightful hospitality extended to me under your roof. So as to avoid all suspicion of flattery, I shall make only the most fleeting allusion to the enormous pleasure I derived from consorting with a man of your experience who, on the one hand, observes the passing world with so humane, unbiassed and original an eye and, on the other, has preserved intact the fire and impetuosity of youth.

My onward journey from Bommel went entirely according to plan. In Rotterdam I found Jacques[b] on the pier, spent a couple of hours chatting with him and then, the self-same day, hurried on to Amsterdam, where my business was speedily settled the next day. August[c] and family—this time with the addition of his wife's niece from Rotterdam—were well and happy. August entrusted me with a special mission, namely to shake up Monsieur Jacques a little on my return to Rotterdam, for he is suffering *plus ou moins*[d]

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[a] In the original: 1851 - [b] Jacques Philips - [c] August Philips - [d] more or less

from 'world-weariness', an illness which may simply be attributed to the fact that, unlike the great majority of mankind, he is self-critical and has not yet succeeded in adopting any definite political standpoint such as might be satisfactory to himself. On my return journey from Amsterdam I got to Rotterdam at half past nine at night, and had to board the STEAMER for London at 7 o'clock the following morning (Sunday).[a] In the short time I spent with Jacques it was not, of course, possible for me to answer all the questions he put to me or even touch very briefly on all the points he raised. Therefore, having previously consulted his employers, Jacques decided to continue our discussion in London. I arrived in the world capital on Monday and found the whole family well and cheerful. Jacques turned up last Wednesday[b] and left again yesterday morning, to the great regret of my family who would have liked to keep him here longer. We have arranged to conduct a kind of political correspondence with one another.

You will recall, dear Uncle, how you and I would often remark in jest that nowadays the rearing of human beings lags far behind cattle rearing. Now, having seen the whole of your family, I must declare you to be a *virtuoso at rearing human beings.* Never in my life have I made the acquaintance of a finer family. All your children have independent characters, each one an individual, each with his own intellectual predilections, and all equally distinguished by their humane culture.

Here in London there is great consternation over the course of events in America.[285] The acts of violence which have been perpetrated not only by the SECEDED STATES, but also by some of the CENTRAL OF BORDER STATES—and it is feared that all 8 BORDER STATES, namely Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, Maryland, and Delaware, will side with the secessionists—these acts of violence have rendered *all compromise* impossible. There can be no doubt that, in the early part of the struggle, the scales will be weighted in favour of the South, where the class of propertyless white adventurers provides an inexhaustible source of martial militia. IN THE LONG RUN, of course, the North will be victorious since, if the need arises, it has a last card up its sleeve in the shape of a slave revolution. For the North, the great difficulty is the QUESTION [of] HOW TO GET THEIR FORCES TO THE SOUTH. Even AN UNOPPOSED MARCH—in this season—of 15 MILES PER DAY, WOULD BE SOMETHING TRYING; but Charleston, the nearest attackable point, is 544 miles from Washington, 681 from Philadelphia, 771 from New

[a] 28 April 1861 - [b] 1 May

York and 994 from Boston, and the three last-named towns are the main operational bases against the South. The distance of Montgomery, the seat of the SECESSIONIST CONGRESS,[286] from those same places is 910, 1,050, 1,130 and 1,350 MILES RESPECTIVELY. A cross-country march would therefore seem to be QUITE OUT OF THE QUESTION. (Use of the railways by the NORTHERN INVADERS would merely lead to their destruction.) Hence, all that remains is sea transport and naval warfare which, however, might easily lead to complications with foreign powers. This evening the English government is to announce in the Commons what ATTITUDE it intends to adopt in such an eventuality.

For myself personally, developments in America are naturally RATHER damaging since transatlantic newspaper readers have neither eyes nor ears just now for *anything* save their own affairs. However, I have received an advantageous offer from the Vienna *Presse* which I mean to accept provided certain ambiguities are satisfactorily cleared up.[a] I should have to write for it from London. My wife has a specific objection to our moving to Berlin, as she does not wish our daughters to be introduced into the Hatzfeldt circle, yet keeping them out of it altogether would be difficult.

I have today had an extremely amicable letter from Lassalle. He has still heard nothing more from von Zedlitz, the Police President, regarding my RENATURALISATION. The conflict between police and public in Berlin has now, so Lassalle tells me, entered a new phase.

With warm regards to you and yours from myself and the whole family,

Your affectionate nephew
K. Marx

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[a] See this volume, p. 279.

# 168

## MARX TO ENGELS[287]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 May 1861

Dear Frederick,

*Habes confitentem reum.*[a] But the *circonstances atténuantes*[b] for my not writing were as follows: *D'abord*[c] I spent, as you know, the greater part of my time in Berlin at Lassalle's house where it would have been *impossible* for me to write to *you* without my telling Lassalle what was in the letter, and THAT DID NOT SERVE MY PURPOSE. Later, I was continually *en route,* from Berlin to Elberfeld, Cologne, Trier, Aachen, Bommel,[d] Rotterdam, and Amsterdam. Lastly, my original plan, as I wrote and told my wife, had been to go from Rotterdam to Hull and from Hull to Manchester so that I could give you a *detailed verbal report.* This was frustrated by my cousin Jacques Philips. For, as I was about to leave Rotterdam, he told me he would be coming to London the following day, AND HE WAS AS GOOD AS HIS WORD. So, of course, I had to proceed direct to London in order to do him the *honneurs* there. He did not leave here until the day before yesterday.

In any case, I now hope that you will come to us for a few days at Whitsuntide. I heard in Elberfeld that you wanted to visit your family at Whitsuntide. Even if you do, you could so arrange matters that you spend at least a couple of days with us. I have much to tell you, and this can be done better by word of mouth than in writing. Moreover, it irks my womenfolk if you always give London a miss.

First, then, to BUSINESS. For a start, I squeezed £160 out of my uncle[e] so that we were able to pay off the greater part of our debts. My mother, with whom any discussion about cash is out of the question, but who is rapidly nearing her end, destroyed some I.O.U.s I had given her in the past. That was the distinctly pleasant result of the two days I spent with her. I myself said nothing to her about MONEY MATTERS and it was she who took the initiative in this connection. Further, when in Berlin, I paved the way for me to establish a connection with the Vienna *Presse*,[288] should the need arise; in view of the present situation in America, this will doubtless prove indispensable. Finally, I have arranged

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[a] Your prisoner has a confession to make (Cicero, *Pro Q. Ligario,* paraphrased). - [b] extenuating circumstances - [c] First - [d] Zalt-Bommel - [e] Lion Philips

through Lassalle for the second part of my political economy[8] to be published by Brockhaus instead of Duncker. As to Duncker, Camilla Essig (alias Ludmilla Assing) rightly remarked to me that, if one wants to keep a book secret, one must get Duncker to publish it. However, I do at least figure in the recent piece by Rau-Rau[a]—the German Say.

Apropos. With regard to your *Po and Rhine*, etc., I am told by *la* Hatzfeldt—who converses with all the Prussian generals at the house of her brother-in-law, General von Nostitz, and whose nephew Nostitz is, furthermore, an aide-de-camp to 'handsome William'[b]—that your pamphlet is considered in high, if not the highest, military circles (including, *inter alia*, that of Prince Charles Frederick) to be the product of an anonymous Prussian general. The same thing happened in Vienna, or so I was told by assessor Friedländer (brother of the editor of the Vienna *Presse*). I myself have discussed it with General Pfuel, now 82, but still mentally alert and become very radical. Pfuel didn't know, of course, that we had conferred on him the honorary title of 'von Höllenstein'.[289] He has, by the by, fallen out of favour and is ranked by the Court with the Jacobins, atheists, etc.

NOW TO POLITICAL BUSINESS.

In Berlin there is, of course, no *haute politique*.[c] Everything revolves round the struggle with the police (not that the latter are in the least presumptuous just now, being a model of civility and tolerance) in that people would like to see Zedlitz, Patzke, etc., removed from office and punished; secondly, round the opposition between the military and civilians. It is over these issues (in bourgeois circles, other particularly sore points are the military bills and tax exemption for the landowners) that matters will come to a head.[290] (Count Tavernier, an artillery officer, told me that they would like nothing better than to turn their batteries on the Garde du Corps.) The prevailing atmosphere is one of general dissolution, and people of every rank regard a catastrophe as inevitable. This would seem to be more the case in the capital than in the provinces. Curiously enough, military circles share the general conviction that the *first* clash with the *crapauds*[d] will result in a trouncing for the Prussians. Berlin is in a cheeky, frivolous mood. The Chambers are despised. In one theatre I visited, a comical ditty about Vincke was sung to the accompaniment of loud

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[a] K. H. Rau, *Lehrbuch der politischen Oekonomie*. Bd. I, *Grundsätze der Volkswirthschaftslehre*, Leipzig und Heidelberg, 1860. - [b] William I - [c] high politics - [d] Here, the French (literally—toads).

applause. Among a broad section of the public there is much dissatisfaction with the existing press. At the coming new elections (in the autumn) to the Second Chamber, there is no doubt that most of the fellows who sat in the Prussian National Assembly will be elected.[291] This is important, not on account of the said fellows, but because 'William the Handsome' mistakes them for red republicans. All in all, 'handsome William' has been dogged by the *spectre rouge*[a] ever since he became king. He considers his popularity as a 'liberal' to be a trap set for him by the overthrow party.

Now, under the circumstances it might, in fact, not be inopportune if we could bring out a paper[b] in Berlin next year, although I personally find the place unpleasant. 20-30,000 talers would have to be got together in association with Lassalle, etc. BUT *hic jacet*.[c] Lassalle put the proposal to me direct. At the same time, he confided that he would have to be editor *en chef* along with myself. And Engels? I inquired. 'Well, if three aren't too many, Engels can also be editor *en chef*, of course. Though you two ought not to have more votes than me, for otherwise I would always be outvoted.' As reasons why he, too, must take the helm he stated: 1. that he was generally regarded as being closer to the bourgeois party and hence could procure funds more easily; 2. that he would have to sacrifice his 'theoretical studies' and his theoretical tranquillity and ought, after all, to get something out of it, etc. If, however, we were unwilling, he went on: 'I would still be prepared, as before, to assist the paper financially and in literary ways; that would be an advantage to me; for I should have the benefit of the paper without the responsibility for it,' etc. This was just sentimental hot air, of course. Lassalle, dazzled by the esteem earned him in certain learned circles by his *Heraclitus*[d] and, in another circle, consisting of spongers, by his good wine and food, doesn't know, of course, that he is of ill repute with the public at large. And then his intractability; his obsession with the 'speculative concept' (the fellow actually dreams of a new Hegelian philosophy raised to the second power, which he intends to write), his inoculation with early French liberalism, his arrogant pen, importunity, tactlessness, etc. If subjected to rigid discipline, Lassalle might be of service as one of the editors. Otherwise, we would simply make fools of ourselves. But, in view of the great friendliness he showed me, you can see how difficult it was for me

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[a] red spectre - [b] See this volume, p. 252, 257, 261, 271-73. - [c] Here is the snag
[d] F. Lassalle, *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos*, Berlin, 1858.

to speak my mind. So, I was generally non-committal and told him I could settle nothing without prior discussion with you and Lupus. (That was the main reason why I didn't write to you from Berlin, for I didn't want to have a reply from you about this while I was there.) If we decide against it, the countess[a] and Lassalle intend to set out on a year's trip to the East or to Italy. BUT HERE'S THE RUB.[b] He now expects me to give him an answer, which I can't put off any longer. *Qu'en dis-tu?*[c]

He's a frightfully pompous fellow, and so I had no alternative but to be constantly ironical at his expense, which wounded his *amour-propre*, the more so in that it aroused in the countess, whom he has impressed as a universal genius, a disquieting urge to emancipate herself from this Buddha. At certain times, strangely enough, *la* Hatzfeldt's voice has a Jewish intonation that has been acquired from and instilled in her by him.

Lupus's reservations about the Prussian police are QUITE OUT OF PLACE. The only difficulty that still remains can at most affect those who had formerly taken the military oath of allegiance. Assessor Friedländer tells me that Lupus is STILL THE MOST POPULAR MAN in Breslau and in another district of Silesia as well, I forget the name. Elsner has turned into a good-for-nothing on the *Schlesische Zeitung*, just as Stein has on the *Breslauer*. Nevertheless, a go-ahead democratic party has again been formed in Breslau. The enclosed excerpt from the *Preussische Gerichts-Zeitung* was inserted at my instigation by its editor, Stadtrichter Hiersemenzel.[d] Actuarius Stein, who has returned to Berlin from Zurich, sends Lupus his kindest regards.

You shall hear of my negotiations with the Prussian government and/or police in my next letter.[292]

Apropos. I have a present for you from Lassalle, a fine military atlas, which you must come and fetch in person.

*Salut* to you, Lupus and Gumpert.

Your

K. M.

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[a] Sophie von Hatzfeldt - [b] Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act III, Scene 1 (paraphrased). - [c] What do you think of it? - [d] 'Zur Auslegung des Amnestie-Erlasses vom 12. Januar 1861' (On the Interpretation of the Decree on the Amnesty of 12 January 1861), *Preussische Gerichts-Zeitung*, No. 26, 1 May 1861. The continuation of the article appeared in No. 30 of 15 May 1861.

# 169

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[67]

IN BERLIN

London, 8 May 1861
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Lazarus,

*Post tot discrimina rerum.*[a] If anyone is responsible for my silence—during my travels, that is, for here in London I had to spend my first week playing Amphitryon[b] to my cousin from Rotterdam[c]—it is the countess.[d] She had promised that I would find her portrait and a letter from her at Zalt-Bommel. Since neither of these materialised, and since I am a strict observer of the *jus vindictae*,[e] I didn't write either. In addition, my time at Bommel was completely taken up. On the one hand, I had business with my uncle,[f] and on the other, I had to pay court to my cousin.[g] So, YOU SEE, SIR, WRITING WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION. My stay in Trier was useful in as much as my mother destroyed some old I.O.U.s. Incidentally the old woman also intrigued me by her exceedingly subtle esprit and unshakable equanimity.

First, then, to the financial side. Herewith an interim payment of £20. You still have £10 to come. The concatenation of circumstances was as follows: My uncle gave me £150 in cash to pay bills due at the beginning of May. He promised to send a further bill to London a few weeks later. In the meantime, therefore, I borrowed the enclosed £20 from my cousin,[c] ditto some money for the household, and a third amount for the repayment of various small loans in Germany. If, however, you must have the outstanding £10 straight away, let me know at once.

I couldn't go to Manchester as I had originally planned[h] because my cousin from Rotterdam[c] decided to travel to London hard on my heels. The pretext was his interest in discussing politics with me. IN FACT, however, I believe he wanted to make the acquaintance of his various female cousins. I wrote to Engels the day before yesterday about the plans for the newspaper[i] and shall

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[a] After so many vicissitudes (Virgil, *Aeneid*, I). - [b] playing the host - [c] Jacques Philips - [d] Sophie von Hatzfeldt - [e] law of retaliation - [f] Lion Philips - [g] Antoinette Philips - [h] See this volume, p. 279. - [i] See this volume, p. 281.

doubtless have an answer from him in a day or so. Conditions in America will probably be such that, even if nothing comes of the newspaper enterprise, I may move to Berlin for a semester or thereabouts, ALWAYS SUPPOSED THAT I GET MY RENATURALISATION. London, I CAN'T DENY IT, possesses an extraordinary fascination for me, although, to a certain extent, I live a hermit's life in this gigantic place.

**Apropos.** Blanqui is still in Mazas prison[293] (Paris) where he is being *physically* maltreated by the gendarmes, etc., on *the instructions of the examining magistrate.* Taking advantage of the general amnesty, he had travelled from here to Paris—with no plans for conspiracy whatever—as an agent for a businessman. In England, as elsewhere in Europe, the scoundrelly press TRIES TO BURKE THE WHOLE AFFAIR. I have made an appointment for next Saturday with Simon Bernard, who knows more about the matter,[294] and we shall then discuss the subject thoroughly. We intend, possibly in concert with Ernest Jones, to hold a PUBLIC MEETING about this outrage. As soon as I have spoken to Bernard and am better informed I shall send a report to the countess. But I would ask you to see to it at once through one channel or another that an item about this *guet-apens*[a] appears in the Breslau papers. The German papers reprint one another's stuff, as you know.

To turn from tragedy to tragi-comedy, did you see in the newspapers that workers in Geneva boxed Fazy's ears in broad daylight?

Kossuth's behaviour here during the lawsuit[295] was lamentable. Having at first taken the floor with such swagger in his AFFIDAVITS, etc., he bowed and scraped during the hearing itself, assumed as insignificant and subdued an air as possible, disavowed all *revolutionary* designs or intentions on his own part and thus stupidly deprived himself of the sympathies of a public predisposed in favour of such melodramatic characters.

I don't know whether you have followed the parliamentary debates on the MacDonald CASE.[296] Palmerston's provocative behaviour towards Prussia[b] has, in fact, no other aim than to explode the idea (Schleinitz's) of an Anglo-Prussian alliance. I need hardly tell you to what purpose, for you know the story.

Toby Meyen, in a Berlin letter to the Hamburg *Freischütz*, has produced very curious explanations of my stay in Berlin.[c] *D'abord*,[d]

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[a] trap - [b] Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on 26 April 1861, *The Times*, No. 23918, 27 April 1861. - [c] 'Berliner Briefe', *Freischütz*, No. 49, 23 April 1861. - [d] First

Countess Hatzfeldt is said to have offered me 20,000 talers to found a newspaper. *Secundo,* I had imagined that *Herr Vogt* had won me support among the middle classes, on which score, however, I suffered a bitter disappointment. And, *ultimo,* I gave the thing up in despair, since 'not one man of letters' wished to have 'anything to do' with me. Good shot, Toby!

Rodbertus's pamphlet[a] is highly commendable as regards its tendency. Otherwise, what is good in it isn't new and what is new in it isn't good. Roscher[b] on the other hand is the true representative of professorial erudition. *Fausse science,*[c] as Fourier would say.

Don't forget to knock at Brockhaus's door[d]; 10-20 sheets, for I can never estimate the length in advance.

And now, *mon cher,* I must conclude by most cordially thanking you for the kind and amiable way in which you took me in and entertained me and, more especially, put up with my incivilities. As you know, I was beset by worries and am also troubled with my liver. But the chief thing is that we laughed together a great deal. *Simia non ridet,*[e] and thus we have shown ourselves to be truly consummate Buddhas.

I enclose two small photographs, one for the countess, to whom I would ask you to convey my best respects, and one for yourself.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[67]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 May 1861

Dear Frederick,

Herewith *d'abord*[f] a photograph. Lupus and Gumpert shall each have ditto as soon as I have got some more prints. I had the thing

[a] [J. K.] Rodbertus, *Sociale Briefe an von Kirchmann.* Dritter Brief..., Berlin, 1851. - [b] W. Roscher, *System der Volkswirthschaft.* Band I: *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie...,* Stuttgart and Augsburg, 1858. - [c] False knowledge - [d] See this volume, p. 274. - [e] A monkey doesn't laugh. - [f] first

done, partly for my cousin in Rotterdam,[a] partly IN EXCHANGE for the photographs I had been given in Germany and Holland. Secondly, a cutting from a Düsseldorf paper about *Herr Vogt.* Lastly, I enclose a copy of the *Free Press*[b] which is admittedly somewhat out-of-date, since you and Lupus did not, perhaps, follow the parliamentary debate on the Afghanistan affair very closely. It was the greatest CHECK Pam had experienced since 1848.[297]

What you say about the plan for a newspaper in Berlin corresponds precisely to my own view and I had already, *mutatis mutandis,*[c] intimated the main points to Lazarus.[d] And—though I had already told him positively in Berlin that I would undertake nothing of the kind without you and Lupus—I had, nevertheless, positively pledged myself to lay the matter before you 'seriously and objectively', and thus *salvavi animam meam.*[e]

Apropos Lassalle-Lazarus. In his *magnum opus* on Egypt,[f] Lepsius proved that the exodus of the Jews from Egypt was nothing other than the story Manetho relates of the expulsion from Egypt of 'the *leper* folk', with an Egyptian priest named Moses at their head. Lazarus the leper is thus the archetype of the Jew and of Lazarus-Lassalle. Save that in our Lazarus's case, leprosy has gone to the brain. Originally, his disease was secondary syphilis that wasn't properly cured. As a result, he developed caries in one of his legs, and something of this still remains, according to his doctor, Frerich[g] (I don't know how that famous professor spells it), in the form of neuralgia or SOMETHING OF THE SORT in one of his legs. To the detriment of his own physique, our Lazarus is now living as luxuriously as his counterpart, the rich man,[h] and it is this, I think, that is mainly preventing his recovery. He has acquired altogether too much refinement and would, for instance, regard going into a pub as an outrage. Curiously enough, he asked me at least four times whom I meant by Jacob Wiesenriesler[i] in *Vogt.* However, considering his vanity, which has now grown truly 'objective', this was only *usus naturae.*[j] We are all to be sent his new legal masterpiece (*Dharma*).[298]

While in Berlin I also went to see Friedrich Köppen. I found him still very much as he always was. Only he's grown stouter, and 'grizzled'. I went out on the spree with him twice and it was a real

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[a] Jacques Philips - [b] 'Mr Dunlop's Motion for a Select Committee on the Affghan Papers', *The Free Press,* Vol. IX, No. 4, 3 April 1861. - [c] with the necessary alterations - [d] See this volume, pp. 281, 283-84. - [e] saved my soul. Cf. Ezekiel 3:19, 21. - [f] R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien,* Bd. I-XII, Berlin, 1849-59. - [g] Friedrich Theodor von Frerichs - [h] See Luke 16 : 19-31. - [i] Marx is referring to Lassalle. - [j] in accordance with his nature.

treat for me. He made me a present of his two volume *Buddha*,[a] an important work. Amongst other things, he told me how those scoundrels, Zabel *et cie*, had gained possession of the *National-Zeitung*. That paper was originally founded in 1848, with a fully paid-up share capital (but with no proper contract, IN A LOOSE WAY). Mügge, Köppen, and others, exerted themselves to that end. Rutenberg became editor-in-chief, with Zabel as his deputy, and, lastly, the Jew Wolff[b] as manager. The paper made rapid headway as a result of its pale-ale-swigging philistine moderation and its service to the parliamentary Left.[299] Rutenberg was elbowed out by his *sociis*[c] on the pretext, false or real, that he was adopting too conservative a line and was accepting gratifications from Hansemann. Zabel brought in a *faiseur*[d] who did his writing for him, while Zabel frequented sundry public houses where he conversed with pale-ale-swigging philistines and thus ensured the growth of the paper's popularity. The *coup d'état* (Manteuffel's)[300] and the various arbitrary anti-press measures, the severity of which did not abate until the end of 1850, provided a welcome excuse *not* to convene the shareholders. Meanwhile, the paper, which, with the suppression of the revolutionary press and the rise of the Hinckeldey-Stieber régime, found itself for the first time in its true element, acquired stature in the eyes of the philistines. It became a going concern and, in ABOUT 1852, some of the shareholders grew importunate and demanded a statement of accounts, a general meeting, etc. The most refractory were then taken on one side by Jew Wolff and divinity student Zabel. It was divulged to them in confidence that, if the paper were not to be ruined, dead silence must be religiously kept in respect of its finances, since it was, in fact, bankrupt. (In fact, the shares, originally 25 talers, were by then already worth 100.) So, on no account must it be flushed, *d'une manière ou d'une autre*,[e] out of its shy financial retreat. As a special concession, however, an *exception* would be made in their (i.e., the most troublesome shareholders') case and the amount they had invested would be returned to them in exchange for their shares. In this way, the most dangerous were indemnified. This farce was repeated on several occasions. The majority of those who were thus bought off, however, received—strictly in proportion to the passive resistance they put up—at the most 40, at the lowest 5%, of the sum they had originally invested.

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[a] C. F. Koeppen, *Die Religion des Buddha und ihre Entstehung*, Bd. 1-2, Berlin, 1857-59. - [b] Bernhard Wolff - [c] partners - [d] factotum - [e] in one way or another

To this day, a considerable proportion of the liberal milksops have not received a FARTHING, nor are they any more capable of extracting a statement of accounts. They keep silent for fear of the *Kreuz-Zeitung*.[a] Such is the *escroquerie*[b] that has enabled Jew Wolff and divinity student Zabel to become leading dignitaries of *liberalismus vulgaris*, with 'surplus money' at their disposal. A pity I hadn't heard this tale before!

Rutenberg has been handed over by Manteuffel to Schwerin as an expressly guaranteed item of stock-in-trade. With his scissors he is now snipping the *Staatszeitung* to rights—a paper nobody reads any more. A type of *London Gazette*. Bruno,[c] who is said to have fared hellish badly, vainly offered his services to the present ministry—i.e., in the form of continued contributions to the semi-official *Preussische Zeitung*. He is now the principal contributor to Wagener's (*Kreuz-Zeitung*) *Staatslexikon*. Besides, he's a FARMER at Rixdorf, or whatever the miserable hole is called.

One day, I witnessed a session of the second chamber from the press gallery. I had similarly witnessed a session of the Prussian Agreers[301] in the summer of 1848. *Quantum mutatum ab illis!*[d] Not that they were Titans either—far from it! A cramped assembly room. Nothing much in the way of visitors' galleries. The fellows sit on benches (as compared with the arm-chairs of the 'Gentlemen'),[302] an odd combination of government office and schoolroom. A Belgian Chamber is imposing by comparison. Simson or Samson, or whatever the president's name is, avenges himself—with all the grotesque and brutal magisteriality of a ministerial *huissier*[e] [303]—for the kicks dealt him by Manteuffel when dispensing discipline with his ass's jawbones among the philistines cowering below. In any other assembly this unspeakable SPECIES of servile insolence personified would already have had his ears boxed. In Berlin one is repelled, especially at the theatre, by the prevalence of uniforms (apropos, in the very first few days, *la* Hatzfeldt took me to a box close to that of 'handsome William' and company, in order to insult the royal family. Three hours of ballet. This was the only performance of the evening. Yet another aspect of Berlin), yet one cannot but rejoice when one espies, here and there among the crowd of kow-towing bureaucratic schoolboys, some chap in uniform who at least holds his head erect and sits up straight. Vincke happened to be speaking—indeed, he never lets a session go by without doing so. I had, in fact, flattered

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[a] *Neue Preußische Zeitung* - [b] piece of swindling - [c] Bruno Bauer - [d] How much they have changed! (Virgil, *Aeneid*, ii, paraphrased.) - [e] doorkeeper

the fellow. Had I heard him speak before, the portrait would have turned out very differently.[304] In an indifferent comedy, *Die Journalisten,* by Freytag which I saw in Berlin, one of the characters is a fat Hamburg philistine and wine MERCHANT named *Piepenbrink.* Vincke is the spit and image of this Piepenbrink. The most revolting Hamburg-Westphalian patois, a torrent of hastily gabbled words, not a sentence correctly constructed or complete. And this is the Mirabeau of Hasenheide![a] The only figures in this gathering of pygmies who at least look decent are Waldeck, on one side, and Wagener and Don Quixote von Blanckenburg,[b] on the other.

Went to see Siebel in Elberfeld. Had supper with him in Barmen. Pretty, young wife, sings well, admires her Carl—found her not unpleasing. Siebel just the same as ever. Consorts mainly with a liberal journalist (formerly Münster correspondent to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*),[c] poets, musicians, and painters. The best among them, I thought, was Seel. Siebel took me to the 'California' in Barmen, a boring bunch. They drank my health. I got Siebel to tell them I had lost my voice, and he replied on my behalf with a few boring jokes which, however, were in the RIGHT PLACE. Siebel says that his father copies everything he does—writing verse and drinking, so that he's said to be a block, off the young chip.

In Cologne I called on Schneider II and Dr Klein. Just the same as ever—if anything, have gone even further. Spent a couple of hours tippling with them. In one pub saw, also incognito, Stuhlgang Königswinter (Wolfgang Müller).[d] Called on Mrs Daniels. Not that ninny and National Association man Bürgers. But more about this later. I've indulged in so much chat that I haven't yet touched on essentials. Some more anon.

*Totus tuus*[e]

K. M.

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[a] a vicinity of Berlin - [b] Moritz von Blanckenburg - [c] Stierlin - [d] In the original a pun on the word *Stuhlgang* (evacuation of the bowels) and the pseudonym of Wilhelm Müller—Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter. - [e] All yours.

# 171

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 May 1861

DEAR Frederick,

I missed Gumpert. First, I went to Euston Square[305] at 5 in the afternoon and waited there till 6. Later on, at ABOUT 8 O'CLOCK, I went to London Bridge Station. In neither case did I catch him.

Perhaps you would be so kind as to write and tell us *when* you are coming.[a]

As regards your own relations with Prussia,[b] let me begin by giving you the opinion of the leading jurists with whom I spoke in Berlin. Everything depends upon *whether or not you were conscripted.* If not, your CASE as a *Landwehr*[41] man is one for the ordinary civil courts. It would seem, by the by, that the Prussians are officially concerned only with your Elberfeld affair, not the one in Baden.[306]

I don't know if you have read the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* of 19 April last. The final news item from Paris[c] reads (I quote):

> 'By way of a warning to booksellers, *Herr Vogt* by Karl Marx has been placed on the list of proscribed books, thus frustrating the appearance of a much abridged French version, which is now in press.'

I had intended to give you a further account of my journey today, but Mr Bühring has just come to see me, so I must get this note off.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, p. 279, 291. - [b] ibid., p. 15. - [c] 'Paris, 17. April', *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 109, 19 April 1861.

# 172

# MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[307]

IN BERLIN

[London,] 29 May 1861

Dear Lassalle,

I have written to a friend[a] in Germany[42] who, I hope, will send you the remaining £10 (67 talers) within a week *at the latest.* I'm horribly put out by this business, but my uncle,[b] as is the wont of such old gentlemen, while on the whole doing what he promised, is at least creating difficulties for me.

Because of conditions over there,[308] my American articles[c] continue to be wholly in abeyance for the time being, and will so continue until circumstances in Europe again acquire some interest for the TRANSATLANTICS.

In Paris the workers are in a most sorry plight as a result of the American crisis. Ditto in Lyons.

The whole of the official press in England is, of course, in favour of the SLAVEHOLDERS. They are the selfsame fellows who have wearied the world with their ANTISLAVE TRADE philanthropy. But COTTON, COTTON!

Engels has been here on a three-day visit. He is not yet going to move. If he did so, he'd have to give up his position, break his contract and incur severe financial loss, and this, he declares, he is unwilling to do SAVE IN DECISIVE TIMES, nor has he any intention of falling, perhaps before 3 months are out, into the clutches of Prussia's common law WITHOUT DOING ANY GOOD TO ANYBODY.[d] Circumstances, he thinks, are not yet ripe for the setting up of a paper.[e] He thanks you very much for the MILITARY MAPS.

In my letter to the countess[309] which you passed on to her, I gave her a more circumstantial and *accurate* account of Bonaparte's infamy vis-à-vis Blanqui, indeed of the WHOLE CASE.[f] No doubt she will have told you about it. Please convey my kindest regards to her. I hope she is now in better health.

I am curious to hear more about your TRANSACTIONS with the Prussian government. THANKS for the zeal you have displayed.

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[a] Carl Siebel - [b] Lion Philips - [c] Marx means his articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune.* - [d] See this volume, p. 290. - [e] ibid., pp. 252, 257, 281. - [f] ibid., pp. 284, 298.

To help overcome the intense annoyance I feel about my IN EVERY RESPECT UNSETTLED SITUATION, I am reading Thucydides.[a] At least, these Ancients remain ever new.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 June 1861

Dear Frederic,

I have had a letter from Vienna today. To start with, Friedländer[b] wants me to send him 2 articles, 1 about the business in America (in which I am to provide a brief political and military résumé of the whole mess, for 1 or 2 leaders) and 1 on the situation in England. Later (i.e. when he has had these articles) he will let me have his further suggestions; and, in fact, I am to get £1 for each article, 10/- for mere news-letters. This is good pay by German standards and I shall have to agree to the thing, *car il faut vivre.*[c] Since I should like to get the 2 sample articles off this week, you must do the military part about America for me.[d] I will then fit it into the political part.

A week ago I made a serious start on my book.[310] Have heard nothing more of Lassalle, save what his cousin Friedländer[e] (Lassalle does not and must not know anything about the transactions with the *Presse*) wrote and told me from Berlin, namely:

'Since his return from Breslau,[f] F. Lassalle has been partly busying himself with the affair of your naturalisation, whose satisfactory outcome I believe he prejudices

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[a] Thucydides, *De bello peloponnesiaco.* - [b] Max Friedländer - [c] for one's got to live - [d] See this volume, pp. 294-96. - [e] Julius Friedländer - [f] Polish name: Wrocław

by his excessive zeal and his memoranda tending to prove too much, and partly spending his time perusing and reading out loud the numerous letters that pour in from professors and privy councillors thanking him for a book so *fine*, so *interesting* and so *witty*, etc.[a] These letters provide him with a grand opportunity to make conversation about his "excellent" book, thus proving that he is quite insensible to little titillations of this kind and wholly immune to vanity. The poor countess,[b] who is fighting off a severe attack of influenza, finds it ever more difficult to play her official role of opposer, and I, too, am beginning to tire of acting as seconder.'

So much for Friedländer.

As regards the goings-on in the so-called National Association[257] down here and Kinkel's consequent downfall, I shall write tomorrow, having still to write to Berlin and Vienna today.

*Salut.* Regards to Lupus.

CAVOUR'S DEATH! *Qu'en pensez-vous?*[c] Garibaldi, the jackass, has made a fool of himself by a solidarity letter[311] to the Yankees.[312]

Your
K. M.

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## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[67]

### IN BERLIN

[London,] 11 June 1861

Dear Lassalle,

Perhaps you would be so kind as to pass on the enclosed letter to the countess.[313]

Many thanks for your book,[a] which arrived here a day or two since (I immediately sent the other copies to their respective destinations in Manchester). I began at the end, namely with the Pelasgian affair, and then went back to the law of succession at the beginning, having now progressed as far as p. 215. It is an important work in every respect. However, I cannot send you a criticism, assessment, etc., until I have read right through the

[a] F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte.* - [b] Sophie von Hatzfeldt - [c] What do you think about it?

whole thing. Merely *en passant*, then: In *India*, adoption is the prevailing form. *English* law has taken a course diametrically opposed to that of French law. Complete testamentary freedom (whereby no Englishman or Yankee is compelled to leave his family a farthing) dates back to the bourgeois revolution of 1688 and evolved in the same measure as 'bourgeois' property developed in England. Thus, it would seem after all that, aside from its specifically Roman origins, etc., complete testamentary freedom, indeed the making of wills generally, is a DELUSION, which, in bourgeois society too, must have roots of its own, independent of mythology, etc.

I have, alas, had a letter from Germany saying that the £10 cannot be remitted to you before the *end of this month. Until then,* I must trust to your diplomatic finesse. As you know, I was disagreeably surprised by the fact that my uncle,[a] who honoured the bills I currently owed, put off giving me the additional amount I asked for until SOME MONTHS LATER. All the same, I couldn't help laughing at such a typically Dutch turn of events.

Whether or not I am accorded Prussian nationality there might still be some question of myself and FAMILY travelling to Berlin on *my passport* as a 'foreigner', and spending the winter there.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX[314]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 12 June 1861

Dear Moor,

Unfortunately, I haven't been keeping any newspapers on the American war, besides many of the places are not to be found on the map. The essential points are as follows:

The South had been quietly arming for years, particularly since

[a] Lion Philips

the fuss over the presidential elections[253] and, at the very last moment, had received money and arms *en masse* as a result of the treachery on the part of Buchanan's ministers.[315] By 4 March, therefore, the North was completely crippled. Moreover, prior to the fall of Sumter,[285] Lincoln did not or could not do anything, save effect a somewhat greater concentration of his few regular troops (18,000 in all, the majority scattered about the West on anti-Indian duties) and refurbish their equipment. Now finally, after the attack on Sumter, the North was sufficiently aroused to silence all outbursts on the part of the opposition, thereby making powerful military action a possibility. 75,000 men were drafted and may now be serving, but it would seem that ten times that number were eager to volunteer, so that there may be up to 100,000 men now serving even though they won't by any means have been concentrated yet. A further call-up by Lincoln is expected daily and will take less time, for everything is better prepared now. The 75,000 men, or rather the element occupying positions in the Washington region, on the Ohio facing Kentucky, and in St Louis (Missouri) (i.e. not counting the reserves in Ohio and Pennsylvania), have been sufficient for the time being to restore the balance between the forces of North and South along the line of the Potomac and momentarily even to permit a limited offensive by the North.

For the South, just as for the North, the primary objective was Washington. The South's offensive in that direction was far too weak; beyond Richmond the main force was evidently not strong enough to put in a timely thrust. All they managed to do was send a mobile column to Harper's Ferry on the Potomac above Washington. This POSITION is ideally suited to an offensive against the North (Maryland and Pennsylvania), for it lies at the confluence of the Shenandoah, an important river, and the Potomac, is extremely strong tactically and commands both rivers completely. Seemingly, it was not without intent that the Federal Armory was sited up there by a government that foresaw and favoured future secession. The occupation of Harper's Ferry disrupts the control of the Potomac line by Union troops at a sensitive spot and will immediately afford the Southern troops complete command of both banks, assuming they advance *en masse* to this line.

The fate of Maryland and Delaware was dependent on Washington being held by the North; cut off from the South and occupied by Union troops, they at once fell to the Union. A second success for the North.

The reconquest of Missouri by the St Louis Germans[316] was the third success and one of enormous importance, for whoever holds St Louis blocks the Mississippi. The extent to which Kentucky's neutrality is favourable to North or South will probably depend on circumstances and events. For the time being, at any rate, it will restrict the theatre of war to[a] the area that lies further east.[b]

Result: Thus, for all its preparations, the South has achieved nothing, save that the North, after only 1 month's preparation, has already wrested from it the national capital and three slave states, while a fourth slave state doesn't dare secede;[317] also that the South's offensive on the Potomac has come to a halt, whereas the North has already advanced beyond this river, as yet without meeting resistance. For every man the South can still produce, the North will produce three or four. The seceded states have about $7^1/_2$ million inhabitants, of which more than 3 million are slaves; a minimum of 1 million whites must be deducted to guard the slaves, so that barely $2^1/_2$ million are left as the aggregate of the population available for war. If 10% of these are mobilised, probably the largest number ever mobilised for defensive purposes, this will produce at most 250,000 men. But there would certainly not be a muster of that order. Switzerland, with pretty well the same population—rather more than 2 millions—has *on paper* about 160,000 militiamen. By contrast the North—reckoning the free states alone—numbers nearly 20 millions, *all* of whom are available with the exception, perhaps, of California, Utah and the territories in the far West. If we say the available population amounts to 17 millions and if we assume that not 10% but simply one third of that, i.e. $3^1/_3$%, are available for an offensive war, we arrive at over 500,000 men, more than enough to quell the South, even if it exerts itself to the utmost. Man for man, there is no question that the people from the North are markedly superior to those from the South, both physically and morally. Your pugnacious SOUTHERNER has a good deal of the cowardly assassin in him. Each of them goes about armed, but only because this will enable him, during a quarrel, *to fell his antagonist before the latter expects to be attacked.* That is the aver...

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[a] In the original the words 'Virginia and Carolina' were crossed out here. - [b] In the original: west.

# 176
# MARX TO ENGELS[249]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 June[a] 1861

Dear Frederick,

I have put off writing for so long because Weber (the Palatine watchmaker) had promised me a *report* on the London National Association[257] meeting, which was the scene of Kinkel's strange experience and was attended by Weber as a guest. I did not receive the enclosed from him until today. You will have seen from the last *Hermann* what it was all about.[b] The final meeting has been adjourned until Saturday week.[c] In the meantime, Juch, having been given the necessary SUPPLIES by a German businessman in the CITY, has set off to Coburg with the intention of getting the central committee of the National Association there to expel Zerffi (and hence *implicite*[d] Kinkel). It's really splendid that Gottfried's boot-licking attitude to the English should have inspired such fanatical rage in all the liberal bourgeois in the CITY.

Letters have even arrived from Bonn, threatening Gottfried 'with a drubbing' should he return. The secret behind the support given to MacDonald by Zerffi (no doubt acting on instructions) and Gottfried[318] is this: Gottfried holds an English appointment as lecturer at the Kensington Museum,[319] the good Zerffi likewise at an Ashley (Shaftesbury)[e] INSTITUTION. Gottfried's only ALLIES are the louts of the 'apolitical' choral and other drinking societies. Last week Gottfried bribed these people (probably with English money) to join the National Association *en bloc*. (For anyone can become a member of the beastly association by obtaining a card from Trübner, at a MINIMUM CONTRIBUTION of 3/-.) Again, Gottfried held a private meeting of his followers and sent a deputation to Heintzmann asking him to resign voluntarily (on account of the insult to Gottfried's dignity) from his position as chairman, failing which a motion would be proposed to that end.

BY THE BY, I should not forget to tell you that, while the row was going on, my friend Rheinländer joined the National Association

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[a] A slip of the pen in the original: 9 June. - [b] 'Protokoll der Versammlung der Londoner Mitglieder des Nationalvereins am 1. Juni 1861', *Hermann*, No. 128, 15 June 1861. - [c] The meeting Marx writes about took place on Tuesday, 18 June 1861. - [d] by implication - [e] Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper

(after talking it over with me), and brought in some fifty members (mostly clerks) from his Islington Choral Society; it was they more than anyone else who kicked up the anti-Gottfried row.

Rheinländer tells me that never before has the German business contingent in the City taken sides so fanatically over a political issue. How priceless it would be if Gottfried were forced to resign from the National Association because of his kow-towing to a foreign government! That would put paid to his status among the German MIDDLE CLASS riff-raff, and where would he be without them? Gottfried is aware that this is the issue upon which he will stand or fall, and is therefore busying himself after his own fashion. What particularly irks him just now is the way everyone is saying that 'the *Volk* and "Marx" had been right about him after all'.[320] He told an acquaintance of Hirschfeld's, the printer, that the 'Brimstone Gang[65] were the invisible leaders of the whole business'. Nice, is it not, that we, who haven't raised a finger, should be endowed by our enemies with such mystical 'powers'?

The second enclosure I am sending you (which please return as I have got to answer it) is a letter from *la* Hatzfeldt.[321] I shall keep her as my private correspondent in Berlin as she has incomparably more political nous (not to mention her good contacts) than 'the step that bears in itself the systematic principle of its walking'. (*Lassalle,* Vol. II, p. 545.)[a] (Apropos. I presume you and Lupus have had L.'s opus?) There are two passages in her letter I should explain to you. With regard to the Blanqui affair, I had arranged for a letter to be sent her from Brussels (from Denonville).[b] Initially, it's a matter of obtaining money to print a pamphlet, emanating from Denonville, about the—infamous—Blanqui trial. (Debates, etc., and discussion thereof.) Blanqui himself has, through Denonville, expressed his heartfelt gratitude to me and to the *parti prolétaire allemand (in partibus)*[c] for the sympathy we have shown him.[322] I consider it a very good thing that we should again have direct links with the decidedly revolutionary party in France.

Second point: In the letter in which I notified Lassalle that there was nothing doing just now so far as the newspaper was concerned, I endeavoured to sugar the pill by saying that I might perhaps come to Berlin next winter.[d]

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[a] F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte.* - [b] Louis Watteau - [c] German proletarian party (in exile). *In partibus infidelium*—literally: in parts inhabited by infidels. The words are added to the title of Roman Catholic bishops holding purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries. - [d] See this volume, pp. 283-84.

*La* Hatzfeldt's assessments of official democracy in Berlin is perfectly correct. She doesn't, of course, come into contact with the genuine rank and file, nor, of course, is she familiar with the prevailing mood in the pubs—which is better.

Many thanks for your letter about America.[a] If anything of importance (military) should happen, you will, I presume, not fail to write and let me have your views about it. From the picture I have gained of General Scott—now 76, to boot—from the Mexican War[323] (see Ripley[b]), I would expect him to make tremendous BLUNDERS—if, that is, the old jackass isn't supervised by others. Above all, slow and irresolute. Incidentally, from the facts appearing in the *Tribune* I see that the North is now speaking openly of a slave war and the abolition of slavery.[c]

Yesterday in the COMMONS, on the occasion of the Schleswig-Holstein affair, Lord Montagu, having previously given notice of his intention, raised the matter of Palmerston's London Protocol (on the Danish Succession) of 1850,[324] etc. The Old Man[d] had recourse to his usual method. Hardly had Montagu embarked on his speech than he was brought up short by a pre-arranged COUNT-OUT of the House.

On Saturday[e] I have £2 to pay out in rates and should be most grateful if you could send this to me. *At the beginning of July I shall be getting a bit more money.* The fact that I have already spent what I brought back with me will not surprise you, since, besides the debts which occasioned the trip,[278] nothing has been coming in for nearly 4 months, while school and doctor alone ate up nearly £40.

What's this about L. Simon, of whom there is some mention in the last part of *la* Hatzfeldt's letter?[325] Was Simon in the *Landwehr*[41]? At any rate, you have sinned more[326] than Ludwig (who was nowhere in the field, etc.). I don't understand the business. Regards to Lupus.

Your
K. M.

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[a] ibid., pp. 294-96. - [b] R. S. Ripley, *The War with Mexico*, 2 vols., New York, 1849. - [c] Marx presumably refers, among others, to the article 'Salient Features of the War' in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6270, 27 May 1861. - [d] Palmerston - [e] 22 June 1861

# 177

## MARX TO ENGELS[249]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 July 1861

Dear Frederic,

I was delighted to see Lupus here, as was the whole FAMILY. Despite his gout, the old man had quite a youthful air. He immediately handed over your letter,[232] and £2, which promptly went to the TAX GATHERER. I was expecting to get a SUPPLY from Germany this morning, but nothing has arrived yet. Since I am completely without REVENUE for the time being and yet IN A CONTINUAL COURSE OF CONSUMPTION (this being how some economists account for 'profit', which they see as deriving, not from the costs of production, but from the costs of consumption[327]), any supplies from Manchester would be most welcome.

Please write and tell me *at once* what you think about the moves (military) in Virginia. The BLUNDERS made by officers of the militia—Brigadier-General Pierce, by nature a 'tailor' from the State of Massachusetts—will, of course, recur often enough on both sides.[328] Is Washington still threatened? Do you believe that the SOUTHERNERS' position at Manassas JUNCTION is an offensive one? Or aren't the fellows engaged rather in a withdrawal? In Missouri the defeat of the SOUTHERNERS seem certain,[329] and who should now turn up there but the terrible 'COLONEL Börnstein'? From a private letter to Weber it transpires that 'COLONEL Willich' is in command of a corps from Cincinnati. He would not appear to have gone into action yet.

On studying these American affairs more closely, I have come to the conclusion that the conflict between South and North—for 50 years the latter has been climbing down, making one concession after another—has at last been brought to a head (if we disregard the effrontery of 'CHIVALRY'S' fresh demands) by the weight which the extraordinary development of the NORTH WESTERN STATES has thrown into the scales. The population there, with its rich admixture of newly-arrived Germans and Englishmen and, moreover, largely made up of SELF-WORKING FARMERS, did not, of course, lend itself so readily to intimidation as the GENTLEMEN of Wall Street and the Quakers of Boston. According to the last census (1860), it had grown by 67 p. c. between 1850 and 1860, in

which year it numbered 7,870,869, whereas, according to the same census, the entire free population of the seceded SLAVE STATES was ABOUT 5 million. These NORTH WESTERN STATES furnished not only the BULK of the ruling party, but also the President[a] in 1860.[330] It was also this self-same area in the North that first came out unequivocally against any recognition of the independence of a SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY. They cannot, of course, allow the lower reaches and estuary of the Mississippi to pass into the hands of foreign states. Again, in the Kansas affair[331] (from which this war really dates), it was the population of these NORTH WESTERN [States] who came to blows with the BORDER RUFFIANS.

A closer look at the history of the secession movement reveals that secession, constitution (Montgomery), Congress ibid., etc., are USURPATIONS[286] without exception. Nowhere did they allow the people *en masse* to vote. This 'USURPATION'—which is concerned, not only with secession from the North, but also with consolidating and intensifying the oligarchy of the 300,000 SLAVE LORDS in the South *vis-à-vis* the 5 million WHITES—has been the subject of highly characteristic articles which appeared in the Southern PAPERS at the time.[b]

And now let us turn to high politics—Kinkel and the National Association in London.[c] You will no doubt recall that, a week ago last Saturday, Heintzmann had adjourned the meeting (a fact he advertised in the *Hermann*[d]), because Juch had been sent to Coburg, THERE TO MOVE A *placitum patrum*.[e] At the same time, the GREAT Heintzmann had convened an extraordinary meeting for Tuesday[f] to commemorate the Battle of Waterloo,[332] etc.

Foxy Gottfried, however, together with Zerffi, sent out secret circulars to their people (see last *Hermann*) summoning them to a meeting on Saturday.[g] Gottfried and his people, having now got the field to themselves, effectively held their meeting behind the backs of the others. Gottfried (as one of the vice-presidents of the National Association) took the chair, and Zerffi (as a member of the committee of the self-same National Association) acted as secretary. It goes without saying that the resolutions pertaining to the MacDonald business,[318] etc., that were adopted at this meeting were agreeable to Gottfried and Zerffi. Now, on the following

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[a] Abraham Lincoln - [b] See this volume, pp. 305-09. - [c] ibid., pp. 297-98. - [d] Marx refers to the 'Protokoll der Versammlung der Londoner Mitglieder des Nationalvereins am 1. Juni 1861', *Hermann*, No. 128, 15 June 1861. - [e] senatorial decision - [f] 18 June - [g] 15 June. The details are contained in an editorial on the National Association meeting of 15 June 1861 in the *Hermann*, No. 130, 29 June 1861.

Tuesday, Heintzmann called for a reading of the minutes of the last meeting at which he had taken the chair, and acted as though he knew nothing whatever about the interim meeting held by Gottfried and Co. Nor did Gottfried and Zerffi, who were present, call for the reading of the relevant minutes or, for that matter, say a single word about the meeting they themselves had arranged. What Gottfried did do, however, was to write to Juch the following day, requesting him to reproduce in the *Hermann* the minutes of his, Gottfried's, meeting enclosed in his letter. He even ominously invoked an agreement which he had made with Juch on handing over the *Hermann.* The latter, however, said '*quod non*'[a] (see last *Hermann*). The day before yesterday,[b] it would seem, the row was discussed at a meeting of the National Association at Seyd's Hotel. But I haven't had a report on it yet.

This will give you some idea of what the 'Machiavellismus Gottofredi Magni'[c] is like. You will further see from the last *Hermann*'s account of the meeting of the National Association[d] that Blind—who has as many little dodges up his sleeve as there are fleas on a dog—invited 'Dralle'[e] to join, in order to secure for himself a vote of thanks as the saviour of Schleswig-Holstein.[f] This was, however, CAPPED BY Heintzmann, who didn't even give Dralle's NOTION a chance to be put to the vote. This same *summus*[g] Blind got a third party to ask Weber, etc., whether he should 'appear as a speaker' at the MEETING to be held by the German communist association and the Frenchmen's associations in honour of the June insurrection.[333] Reply: If he wanted a drubbing—yes.

*Ad vocem*[h] Lassalle's work:[i]

Lupus has made me a present of his copy, for disposal as follows: to be sent by you to my cousin, addressed to: 'A. Philips, Advokaat,[j] Keizergracht bij de Westermarkt. L. L. 267, *Amsterdam.*'

You must, of course, erase Lassalle's dedication to Lupus. My cousin is interested in the theory of jurisprudence.

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[a] 'no go' - [b] 29 June - [c] 'Machiavellianism of the great Gottfried' - [d] 'Protokoll der außerordentlichen Sitzung der Londoner Mitglieder des Deutschen Nationalvereins, abgehalten den 18. Juni 1861, in Seyd's Hotel, 39, Finsbury Sqre', *Hermann,* No. 130, 29 June 1861. - [e] A pun on the name *Dralle* which also means 'buxom'. - [f] See this volume, p. 264. - [g] sublime - [h] As to - [i] F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte.* - [j] Barrister

You yourself, in order to get a foretaste—both of what is insipid and what is good in Lassalle's book, should, for a start, read the foreword to Volume I and Chapter XLI in Volume II, beginning at p. 517.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 178

## ENGELS TO MARX[249]

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 3 July 1861

Dear Moor,

Your questions about the state of affairs in Virginia are easier put than answered. Is Washington still threatened? Not immediately, otherwise the SOUTHERNERS would not have evacuated so much territory; but one doesn't know, of course, how the opposing sides compare in terms of strength. Should the first major attack by the Northerners be decisively repulsed, it's impossible to say what might happen, for there is no knowing where they would come to a halt again. However, the chances are three to one that, even in that case, the Potomac would form an adequate obstacle.

The position at Manassas JUNCTION is determined by the SOUTHERNERS' need to maintain communications with North-West Virginia along the railway to Paris and Strasburg. If M. J. is lost, their nearest railway communication with West Virginia (on the far side of the mountains) would be the line from Richmond via Gordonsville to Staunton—80 miles to the south; they would lose the opportunity of rapidly moving their reserves, particularly those immediately to the rear of their dispositions, from west to east, etc., as need arose, while any elements in West Virginia could be cut off or forced to make a wide detour. Such is the

significance of the position—whether it has any tactical importance I can't say, for no conclusions at all can be drawn from the maps. All in all, the war in West Virginia will now turn on the railway junctions.

The affair at Big Bethel[328] is of no significance. Tactically speaking, it was abominably MISMANAGED; a night attack carried out with volunteers like these and, what's more, with each column separated from the rest, could only end in confusion, mutual slaughter, and panicky flight.

On the other hand, the North would seem to be at fault in 2 respects: 1. the massive strength of the newly formed and fully mobile corps doesn't appear to have been called on at all; they were kept kicking their heels some 400-500 miles from the scene of the fighting, whereas on the Potomac they would have been worth their weight in gold, and 2. BRAVE OLD Scott would again appear to have made colossal plans for an encirclement[334] which can only lead to a colossal dispersal of his troops; to what extent this may lead to defeats, given the slack ways and unknown heroes of the South, it is impossible to determine.

What is this about not voting on secession?[a] According to all the papers up here, the resolutions at the conventions were ratified in each state by popular vote.

Let me know how *il capitano che'l gran Sepolcro liberò di Cristo, Goffredo il Magnanimo*[b] subsequently got on in the affair.

Enclosed SL 62585, five pounds, Liverpool, 12 May 1860.

I shall see if I can't send you some more towards the end of the week.

How did Lupus get on at the Prussian Embassy?[335]

Many regards to the LADIES.

Your

F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p. 301. - [b] Gottfried the Magnanimous, who liberated Christ's great sepulchre. Engels ironically likens Gottfried Kinkel to Godfrey of Bouillon, a character in Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*. See this volume, pp. 297-98, 301-02.

# 179

## MARX TO ENGELS[249]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 July 1861

Dear Engels,

Your letter enclosing £5 most gratefully received.

For the past 3 days I have had a foul inflammation of the eyes which has prevented me from doing any writing or reading. However, I believe it will pass in a couple of days.

Lupus found Alberts extremely obstructive. (I would mention in passing that the latter is Bernstorff's factotum. Also chief police agent and chief pimp to the more select visitors from Prussia.) However, with his own particular brand of rudeness, he finally browbeat Alberts into entering a long scrawl on his Swiss passport to the effect that Lupus, an exile, was availing himself of the amnesty, etc., to travel to Wiesbaden, etc., for such and such a purpose. Initially, he had been told that, because of his 10 years' residence abroad—so this is the story they dish out to everyone—he had lost his Prussian citizenship. He should therefore have himself naturalised as an Englishman and travel on an English passport.

Zedlitz, BY THE BY, told Lassalle shortly before his resignation that I had republican or, at least, anti-royalist views, and it was their unvarying principle never to renaturalise anyone of that *couleur*. They didn't want to set a *praecedens* in my CASE.[292] Winter, Zedlitz's successor, told Lassalle he could not reverse his predecessor's decision. Finally Schwerin, who was also being pestered by Lassalle and wanted to be rid of him, said he would refer the matter to the Berlin municipal council—which, however, he *won't* do. During the debate in the Chamber on the subject of refugees, Vincke *et cie* applauded loudly when Schwerin announced that the government would always reserve the right to decide each particular case as it thought fit.[336]

As to the secession business, the matter has been quite wrongly represented in the English papers.[a] Everywhere, with the exception of South Carolina, there was the strongest opposition to secession.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 301, 304.

*First: Border slave states.*[a] A convention of the border states was held in the winter of 1861.[337] Those invited were Virginia, Kentucky, Arkansas, Maryland, Delaware, Tennessee and North Carolina. For this purpose, further conventions were held in each of the above states so that delegates might be sent to the General Convention.

*Delaware refused* even to call a convention for this purpose.

*Tennessee* ditto. Its Democratic legislature took it out of the Union by *coup de main.* Admittedly, an election was later held to ratify this invalid act. This took place under a reign of terrorism. More than $^1/_3$ didn't vote at all. Of the remainder, $^1/_3$ were against secession, including the whole of East Tennessee, which at this moment is arming to oppose the secessionists.

*Kentucky.* 100,000 for the Union ticket, only a few thousand for secession.

*Maryland* declared itself in favour of Union, and has now elected 6 Union men as members of Congress.[338]

*North Carolina* and even *Arkansas* elected Union delegates, the former actually by a large majority. Subsequently terrorised.

*Virginia.* The people elected a Union convention (by a majority). Some of these chaps allowed themselves to be bought. When the Southern fever was at its height—fall of Sumter[285]—an Ordinance of Secession was passed *secretly* by 88 to 55. All other moves—while the Ordinance continued to be kept secret—aimed at the capture of the Federal Navy Yard at Norfolk and the Federal Armory at Harper's Ferry were carried out secretly. Were betrayed to the Federal authorities before their execution. An alliance with Jefferson Davis' government was concluded in secret, and a huge mass of Confederate troops was suddenly pitched into the territory. Under their protection (truly Bonapartist, this), it now voted for secession. 50,000 Union votes nevertheless, despite the systematic terrorism. As you know, North Western Virginia has now publicly broken with the secessionists.

*Second: Gulf States.*[339] A popular vote proper was taken only in a few states. In most of them, the *conventions,* which were chosen to decide the attitude of the southern states to Lincoln's election (subsequently, at the Montgomery Congress,[286] it was *they* who formed the delegates), usurped the power not only to decide on secession but also to recognise the Constitution, Jefferson Davis, etc. How this actually came about you will learn from the extracts below, taken from Southern American papers.

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[a] See this volume, p. 277.

*Texas*, where, after South Carolina, there is the largest SLAVE PARTY and TERRORISM, nevertheless 11,000 votes for Union.

*Alabama.* No popular vote either on secession or on the new Constitution, etc. The convention elected here PASSED the ORDINANCE OF SECESSION by 61 votes to 39. The 39 were from the NORTHERN COUNTIES, peopled almost exclusively by whites, but they represented more FREE MEN than the 61; for, in accordance with the *UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION,* each slave-holder also votes for $^3/_5$ of his slaves.

*Louisiana.* More UNION VOTES than SECESSION VOTES were cast at the election for delegates to the convention. But the DELEGATES defected.

The interests of the mountain districts, the west of Carolina, the east of Tennessee, the north of Alabama and Georgia, are very different from those of the southern SWAMPS.

The 2nd Decembrist nature[340] of all this manoeuvring for secession (which is also why the fellows were compelled to provoke a war so that with the cry 'THE NORTH AGAINST THE SOUTH' they could keep the movement going), which will be apparent to you from the following excerpts, is also evident from the fact that the traitors in Buchanan's administration who were at the head of the movement—War Secretary Floyd, Navy Secretary Toucey, Treasury Secretary Cobb, Secretary of the Interior Thompson—together with the leading senators of the South, were deeply involved in the DILAPIDATIONS running to many millions which, in the course of December 1860, had been referred by Congress (House of Representatives) to a COMMITTEE of ENQUIRY. For some of these fellows, it was, at least, a question of escaping the penitentiary. Hence they are the most willing tools of the 300,000-strong SLAVEHOLDERS oligarchy. It goes without saying that the concentration, status, and resources of the latter enable it TO PUT DOWN any opposition for the time being. Among one section of the 'POOR WHITES', they found the MOB that served them in place of Zouaves.[341]

*Georgia. 'The Griffin Union'*[a]:

'It is mere mockery for the same men who made the Constitution in Montgomery to come back to Georgia and ratify it under the name of a state convention.'

*The Macon Journal*:

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[a] Marx quoted American newspapers in English. Words in parentheses are Marx's and are written in German and English.

'The State Conventions ... called for another purpose ... assume that they are the people, and under such an assumption of power can appoint delegates to a General Convention without consulting the people. *All the acts of the Congress of their Confederacy are passed in secret session with closed doors,* and what is done is kept from the people.'

*The Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel* (largest Georgia PAPER):

'*The whole movement for secession,* and the formation of a new Government, so far at least as Georgia is concerned' (and Georgia is the most populous of the slave states), 'proceed on only a *quasi consent* of the people, and was pushed through, under circumstances of great excitement and frenzy—*by a fictitious majority.* With all the appliances brought to bear, etc., the election of the 4th of January showed a falling off of nearly 3,000, and an absolute majority of elected deputies of 79. But, upon assembling, by wheedling, coaxing, *buying,* and all the arts of deception, the convention showed a majority of 31' (against Union). '...*The Georgia Convention* and the *Confederate Congress* have gone forward in their work, as none can deny, without authority from the people.'[a]

*Alabama. 'The Mobile Advertiser':*

'The Convention has adopted the permanent Constitution in behalf of the State of Alabama... The great fact stands forth that the delegates were not chosen for any such purpose.'

*The North Alabamian:*

'The Convention made haste to usurp the prerogative, and ratify the Constitution... It is a remarkable fact that the substantial, physical force of the country, the hardfisted, handworking men, expected to do all the fighting when the country calls, *were from the beginning opposed to the Ordinance of Secession.*'

*Mississippi.* Similar complaints about usurpation in the *Jackson Mississippian* and *Vicksburg Whig.*

*Louisiana. 'New Orleans True Delta':*

'Here secession succeeded only by suppressing the election returns... The government has been changed into *despotism.*'

At the STATE CONVENTION of Louisiana (New Orleans) on 21 March 1861, OLD *Roselius* (one of the leading POLITICIANS in the UNITED STATES), said:

'The Montgomery instrument[342] ... did not inaugurate a government of the people, but *an odious and unmitigated oligarchy.* The people had not been permitted to act in the matter.'[b]

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[a] Marx quotes J. Guthrie [Address to the citizens of Louisville, Kentucky, on 16 March in reference to the condition of the country]. His source was probably the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6210, 21 March 1861. - [b] Ch. Roselius' speech in the Convention of Louisiana on 21 March 1861, *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6217, 29 March 1861.

In *Louisville,* Kentucky, Senator *Guthrie* (PRO-SLAVERY MAN, Treasury Secretary under Pierce) said on 16 March 1861 that the whole movement was a 'PLOT' and 'USURPATION'. Inter alia:

'In Alabama a majority of the popular vote was cast against going out, but a small majority of the delegates were for secession, they took Alabama out, and refused the people to have any voice in the matter. The vote of Louisiana, too, was against secession, but the delegates suppressed it,' etc.

Your
K. M.

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## 180

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 July 1861

Dear Engels,

Your last letter[232] *together with enclosure,* or rather the enclosure minus letter, most gratefully received.

The grand tragi-comedy of Gottfried Kinkel has come to a worthy end, and POOR Gottfried has been knocked on the head.

To put the grand goings-on into a nutshell, what actually happened was this: On 15 June, Gottfried and Co., as I have already related,[a] had, off their own bat, held a special meeting, at which they passed resolutions agreeable to themselves. On 18 June, Heintzmann took the chair at an extraordinary meeting, whose agenda did not include the great point at issue, since they were still awaiting a reply from Coburg.

The crucial meeting finally took place on 6 July, an answer HAVING MEANWHILE ARRIVED from the oracle at Coburg.[343] Both parties were there in force, including the 35 members of the Association of German Men[5] bought by Gottfried for cash. However, before the day of the meeting there had already been a considerable

[a] See this volume, pp. 301-02.

amount of agitation. For instance, the Association of German Men had been harangued by Heinztmann *et cie* and told about Gottfried's machinations. The chairman of that association, a SHIP AGENT by the name of Schmidt (a Hanoverian), went over to the 'patriotic' side, of course,

Heintzmann—BY THE BY—has, of course, a twofold interest in view: on the one hand, to appear pleasing to the Prussian government, on the other, perhaps to obtain *hac via*[a] from that government some important TRUSTIVE office connected with the forthcoming industrial exhibition.[344] From what I hear, the fellow has performed the office of chairman after the true heavy-handed fashion of your Royal Prussian Elberfeld prosecutor. Not that this isn't the right way to handle the melodramatic Gottfried.

Well then, after the meeting (on 6 July) had been declared open, Heintzmann called for the reading of the minutes of 1 and 18 June. Neither Kinkel nor Zerffi dared so much as suggest that their minutes of the 15th should be read. Thus, they admit the illegality of the meeting secretly organised by themselves. Next, Heintzmann read out the letter from Coburg. The oracle over there had written as follows: While expulsion from the National Association could, of course, only be effected by the senate at Coburg, expulsion from the *comité* (as in Zerffi's case) was a local matter and hence must be decided in London.

Now, it so happened that the election of new officials to the London National Association was in general due to take place on 6 July. Hence, when Schmidt moved that they proceed with the agenda and allow the elections to decide the case, his motion was carried.

Gottfried made a very long speech and generally conducted himself in a melodramatically excited manner. The few hairs he still possesses stood on end. He was by turns acrimonious and threatening and even, at times, had recourse to irony, a field that is quite foreign to him. Throughout his speech, the utmost disorder reigned. Hissing. Notably, too, reiterated shouts of 'Gottfried', which he always regards as a grievous outrage. But oddest of all, it seems, was the manner in which, during the succeeding debate, even though he no longer had the floor, Gottfried kept leaping to his feet in order to interrupt, whereupon Heintzmann, raising a menacing arm, caused him by a mere gesture to subside into his seat.

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[a] thereby

At the elections Gottfried and his whole gang were thoroughly trounced. Heintzmann was elected chairman by 133 votes to Gottfried's 5. So, even the fellows he had suborned voted for the most part against him. No sooner had these results been proclaimed than he apparently adopted a most 'dignified' pose, a synthesis of the 'dying gladiator' and 'Christ crucified'. Has Gottfried deserved this of 'his beloved Germany'?

In the meantime, however, that creature Blind—who, as a 'republican', does not, of course, belong to the National Association—had succeeded by dint of obsequiousness, sharp practice, and intrigues of all kinds in having himself loudly acclaimed as the courageous and patriotic champion of Schleswig-Holstein at both the National Association meetings of 15 and 18 June.[a]

So much for this war between mice and frogs.[b] You will have seen that even the *Kladderadatsch* contained a joke or two at the expense of the noble poet.[c]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 181

## MARX TO ANTOINETTE PHILIPS

### IN ZALT-BOMMEL

[London,] 17 July 1861

My sweet little Cousin,

I hope you will not have mis-interpreted my long silence. During the first time I did not exactly know where to direct my letters to, whether to Aachen or to Bommel. Then, there came a

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[a] See this volume, pp. 264-65. - [b] An allusion to *Batrachomyomachia* (The Battle of the Frogs and the Mice), a Greek poem which parodies Homer's *Iliad*, and also to G. Rollenhagen's poem *Froschmeuseler, der Frösch und Meuse wunderbare Hofhaltunge*. - [c] Kinkel. Marx refers to 'Der deutsche Mann. Ein Spielzeug für Wortklauber', *Kladderadatsch*, No. 29-30, 30 June 1861.

heavy pressure of business, and during the last 2 or 3 weeks I laboured under a most disgusting inflammation of the eyes which very much limited the time I had disposable for writing or reading. So, my dear child, if I must plead guilty, there are many attenuating circumstances which I trust you, as a gracious judge, will allow to influence your sentence. At all events, you would do me great wrong in supposing that during all that time one single day had passed away without the remembrance, on my part, of my dear little friend.

My Berlin affair has not yet been brought to a definite issue. You will remember that during my stay in the Prussian metropolis the Hohenzollern authorities seemed to yield, and even furnished me with a passport for one year. Yet hardly had I turned my back upon them, when Lassalle, to his utter astonishment, received a letter from the Polizeipräsident v. Zedlitz to the purpose that I could not be 'renaturalised' because of my *'politische Bescholtenheit'*.[a] At the same time the Prussian government declared that *all* the Political Refugees, having been absent from Prussia for more than 10 years, had lost their right of citizenship, had become foreigners, and would, consequently, like all other foreigners, only be re-naturalised at the pleasure of the king. In other words, they declared their so-called amnesty[b] to be a mere delusion, sham and share. This was a point I had tried to drive them to during my Berlin stay, and it was more than even the Prussian press and the Prussian chamber of deputies were able to bear silently with. Consequently, the case gave rise to bitter discussions in the journals, and to an interpellation of the cabinet in the *Abgeordnetenhaus*.[c] For the nonce the ministry escaped by means of some equivocous and contradictory statements, but the whole affair contributed not a little to disillusion people in Germany as to the 'new era' inaugurated by what the Berliners irreverently call the 'Schöne Wilhelm'.[d] [345] Lassalle, with his usual stubbornness, tried hard to get the better of the authorities. First he rushed to Zedlitz and made him *such a scene* that the Freiherr[e] got quite frightened and called his secretary for assistance. A few weeks later, Zedlitz having been removed from his post, in consequence of hostile demonstrations against him by the Berlin mob, Lassalle called upon Geheimrath[f] Winter, the successor of Zedlitz, but the 'successor' declared that his hands were bound by the decision of

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[a] political unreliability - [b] See this volume, pp. 248-49. - [c] Chamber of Deputies - [d] 'Handsome William' - [e] Baron - [f] Privy Councillor

his 'predecessor'. Lassalle, lastly, caught hold of Count Schwerin, the minister of the Interior who, to escape from the violent expostulations of my representative, promised him to leave the whole case to the decision of the Berlin magistrate—a promise he is, however, not very likely to keep.[336] As to myself, I have attained at least the one success of forcing the Berlin government to throw off its liberal mask. As to my return to Berlin, if I should think proper to go there before May 1862, they could not prevent it because of the passport granted to me. If I should delay my return, things will perhaps have so altered in Prussia, that I shall not want their permission. It is really ridiculous that a government should make so much fuss, and compromise itself so much, for fear of a private individual. The conscience of their weakness must be awful.

At the same time I had the good fortune of being honoured by the singular attention of the French government. A person at Paris whom I do not know, had a translation of my pamphlet *Herr Vogt* already in print, when an order on the part of M. de Persigny forbade him going on with the translation. At the same time a general warning was communicated to all the booksellers at Paris against selling the German original of *Herr Vogt.* I got only acquainted with this occurrence by a Paris correspondence published in the *Allgemeine Augsburger Zeitung.*[a]

From the Gräfin Hatzfeldt I have received a letter filling 16 pages.[b] Take an example of this, my dear child. She has gone—of course, in company of Lassalle—to a bathing place near Frankfurt on the Main. Thence they will proceed to Switzerland, and, after a month's sojourn there, to Italy. She feels much *ennuyée*[c] and thinks herself much to be pitied, because she has no other business on hand save that of amusing herself. It is in fact a bad plight for an active, stirring and rather ambitious woman whose days of flirtation are gone by.

*A propos.* I have sent from Manchester to August[d] the two volumes of Lassalle's new juridical work[e] and should like to hear whether the packet has found out its address. From Jacques[f] I have heard nothing.

I think not, my dear child, that Mrs Marx and her daughters will fina an occasion of paying this year a visit to Bommel, because the Doctor thinks a seabath during the hot season would be the

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[a] See this volume, p. 290. - [b] Sophie von Hatzfeldt's letter to Marx of 14 June 1861 - [c] bored - [d] August Philips - [e] F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte.* - [f] Jacques Philips

best she could do for getting rid of the remainders of the terrible disease that befell her last autumn.[a] On the other hand, I hope *you* will not forget your promise to visit London where all the members of the family will feel happy to receive you. As to myself, I need not tell you that nothing in the world would give me greater pleasure.

I hope, my sweet little charmer, you will not prove too severe, but, like a good Christian, send me *very soon* one of your little letters without revenging yourself for my too long protracted silence.

Recommend me to your father, to my friend 'Jettchen', the Doctor,[b] your brother Fritz and the whole family, and believe me always

Your most sincere admirer

Charles Marx

I am quite astonished at the news of the *attentat*[c] on his Prussian Majesty,[346] alias 'Der schöne Wilhelm'.[d] How could any person of common understanding risk his own head in order to kill a brainless ass?

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## 182

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 July 1861

Dear Engels,

I do not believe that you can apply to the Prussian Embassy in London for a 'certificate of good conduct'[347] without presenting the fellows with a document most compromising to yourself.

Neither under Prussian nor international law is the Prussian Embassy a supervisory body obliged to issue *testimonia* as to the

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[a] See this volume, p. 216. - [b] Antonie Johannes Wouters van Anrooij - [c] attempt - [d] 'handsome William'

conduct of foreigners or Prussians. Only insofar as it issues *passports* does it have to consider whether someone's reputation, either as a result of a court decision or by *rumor publicus,* is that of a criminal. As for the rest, it is SUPPOSED TO KNOW NOTHING about private INDIVIDUALS. What it does know, it knows *per abusum*[a] as a *moucharderie*[b] institution. Thus, a certificate of good conduct from that quarter would be tantamount to a certificate of good conduct from the illegal (and hence *officially non-existent*) *secret political police, sub auspiciis*[c] of Alberts, the Embassy clerk. But you cannot recognise such an authority, and the chief of police in Barmen would be very hard put to it, were you to ask him to indicate the paragraph in the Prussian statute book according to which the Prussian Embassy in London possesses such attributes.

The same cannot be said of the Prussian consul in Manchester. Consuls are commercial, not political representatives of their state. Hence they are SUPPOSED to know the businessmen of their locality and, in particular, those of their own nationality. Hence the consul would be able to give a certificate to the effect that X. X. has lived in Manchester for 10 years as a respectable businessman and is known to be such. The Prussian government has no right whatever to demand any other kind of testimonial and would be too cautious to do so *officially.* But the former it can demand, because your request for renaturalisation has put you on the same footing as FOREIGNERS of whom suchlike testimonials, etc., may be required when they apply for naturalisation in Prussia.

The Prussian government has no more right to demand any sort of testimonial concerning your *political conduct* than, say, a *confession of political faith* executed by you yourself.

I have heard nothing more either from Vienna[d] or from Dana, although the latter sends me the *Tribune* every week.

Brockhaus will not definitely make up his mind[e] until I have sent him the manuscript.[310] This is a far from pleasant condition since he will submit the manuscript to the judgment of his idiots of literary advisers over there. Come to that, I'm not progressing as fast as I should like, owing to much domestic TROUBLE.

Have you read any of Lassalle's book[f]? Have you sent the book to my cousin[g]? This last is of importance to me, since I am sorely in need of that youth's *bons offices.*[h]

Lassalle and the countess[i] are at a spa near Frankfurt am Main.

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[a] by abuse - [b] institution for police spies - [c] under the auspices of - [d] See this volume, p. 292. - [e] ibid., pp. 274 and 285. - [f] F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte.* - [g] August Philips - [h] good offices - [i] Sophie von Hatzfeldt

I was called upon by an emissary from the Poles, who at the same time brought me a whole bundle of J. Ph. Becker's letters, sent by Schily, which I haven't yet read. Hasn't paid me a second visit, probably because he didn't like the home-truths I told him about the poor outlook for any kind of CONSPIRACY in Prussia just now. You shall have the Becker letters as soon as I've read them; ditto a letter from Lassalle to me, as soon as I have answered it.[a]

Heard anything from Lupus?

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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## 183

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[348]

### IN BERLIN

[London,] 22 July 1861[b]

Dear Lassalle,

You must attribute my somewhat prolonged silence to sundry 'ATTENUATING CIRCUMSTANCES'. *D'abord,*[c] I have as yet not succeeded—despite the most positive assurances that have been given me in this respect—in putting my financial affairs in order and thus, which galls me more than anything else, letting you have the remaining £10.

*Secundo:* For a few weeks now I have been suffering from a horrible inflammation of the eyes (better just during the last day or two) which made *all reading and writing* exceedingly irksome.

Let me begin by thanking you sincerely for your endeavours with regard to my renaturalisation. At least, we have managed to compromise the Prussian government and demonstrate the emptiness of its so-called amnesty.[d] I believe that O. Becker's

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[a] See this volume, pp. 316-19. - [b] In the original: 1862. - [c] Firstly - [d] See this volume, pp. 248-49 and 312.

strange attempt at assassination[346] (it's not clear from the newspapers whether he's a Russian or a German) will greatly contribute to a frightful termination of the 'new era'.[345]

I have read the 2nd part of your work[a] (when I wanted to begin on the first, I was prevented by my eye-trouble) and have derived very great pleasure from it. I began with No. II because the subject was more congenial to me; not that this will prevent me from subsequently considering the thing in its totality.

You have misconstrued to some extent the very brief comments in my previous letter[b]—no doubt it was the way I put it that was to blame. *D'abord,* by *'testamentary freedom'* I didn't mean freedom to make a will, but freedom to make it with complete disregard for one's family. In England, the will as such goes back a very long way, nor can there be the slightest doubt that the Anglo-Saxons adopted it from Roman jurisprudence. That the English, even at a very early date, considered testacy rather than intestacy to be the norm, is evident from the fact that as far back as the Late Middle Ages, if a *pater familias* died *ab intestato,*[c] *only* the obligatory portions went to his wife and children, according to circumstances, whereas $^1/_3$ or $^1/_2$ fell to the Church. For the priests assumed that, had he made his will, he would for the salvation of his soul have left a certain amount to the Church. Generally, it seems to be in this sense that wills in the Middle Ages had a religious connotation and were made for the benefit of the deceased rather than the survivors. But the point I was trying to make (I am not, of course, concerned here with feudal property) was that, after the revolution of 1688, the restrictions governing family settlements, to which the testator had till then been *legally* subject, were lifted. That this was in keeping with the system of free competition and the society based thereon cannot seriously be questioned; nor that Roman law, modified to a greater or lesser extent, was adopted by modern society because the *legal* idea that the subject of free competition has of himself corresponds to that of the Roman *person* (not that I have any intention of enlarging at this juncture on what is a most important point, namely that the *legal* representation of certain property relations, though undoubtedly deriving from them, is not for all that, and cannot be, congruent with them).

You have shown that the adoption of the Roman will originally rested on a misconception (and still does, so far as the sagacity of

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[a] F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte.* - [b] See this volume, pp. 293-94.
[c] intestate

learned jurists is concerned). But it by no means follows from this that the will in its *modern* form—no matter with what misconceptions of Roman law modern jurists may construe it—is the *misconceived* Roman will. If this were so, it might be said that every attainment of an earlier age adopted by a later one is a *misunderstanding of the past.* It is certain, for instance, that the 3 unities, as theoretically construed by the French dramatists[349] in Louis XIV's day, rest on a misconception of Greek drama (and of Aristotle as the exponent thereof). On the other hand, it is equally certain that they understood the Greeks in a way that corresponded exactly to their own artistic needs. Hence their continued adherence to this so-called 'classical' drama long after Dacier and others had provided them with a correct interpretation of Aristotle. It is also certain that all modern constitutions are largely based on a *misconception* of the English constitution, adopting as essential precisely that which appears to be declining in the English constitution—and which continues to exist in England *in name* only *per abusum*[a]—e.g. a so-called responsible *cabinet.* The misunderstood form is precisely the general one. It is the one that lends itself to general USE at a certain stage in the development of society.

Whether, for example, the English would or would not have had the form of will they now have (which, although it derives directly from the Roman and corresponds to Roman forms is *not* the Roman) without Rome is, to my mind, neither here nor there. Now, let me put the question another way, e.g.: *Might* not *legacies* (and under the so-called will of today the chief beneficiary becomes, in fact, merely a *universal legatee*[350]) have arisen of themselves out of bourgeois society, even without any reference to Rome? Or, in place of legacies, just written instructions on the part of the *defuncti*[b] as to the disposal of their assets?

What still seems to me not *proven* is that the Greek will was imported by Rome, although there would admittedly seem to be every probability that this is so.

You will have seen that Blanqui's sentence—one of the most outrageous that have ever been pronounced—has been confirmed in the court of appeal.[293] I am now curious to see what his friend in Brussels[c] will have to tell me.

My wife sends her kindest regards.

Your
K. M.

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[a] by abuse - [b] deceased - [c] Louis Watteau

As regards Brockhaus,[a] I shall consider the matter as soon as I have finished.[310] Hitherto I have never sent a manuscript out on spec.

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## 184

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 August 1861

Dear Frederick,

This is to inform you in much haste that the £5 has been most gratefully received.

An odious little sheet was sent to me yesterday entitled *Thusnelda*[b]—by Kinkel and Zerffi, attacking Heintzmann *et cie.* Rarely have I encountered such abysmally stupid juvenilia.

The worthy Heinrich Bürgers has made a pro-National Association[24] speech at the Gürzenich,[351] and there was a general *frisson* of pleasure when he breathed the name of the noble man of Gotha.[c]

Handsome William appears to be completely out of his mind. The fool is studying folio volumes on the coronation of Frederick I.

I am sending you the *Thusnelda* herewith. Look after it for me.

Also enclosed an article on the COUNTING OUT OF THE HOUSE ON THE OCCASION OF THE DANISH QUESTION.[d]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 274, 285, 315. - [b] *Thusnelda. Teutonisch-satyrisch-humoristisches Klatschblatt* - [c] Ernest II - [d] See this volume, p. 299.

# 185

## MARX TO ANTOINETTE PHILIPS

IN ZALT-BOMMEL

[London,] 24 September 1861

My sweet little Cousin,

You must excuse me for sending you today only a few lines. The fact is that I reserve to myself the pleasure of addressing you a real letter' in a few days. For the present, I wish only to learn, by your gracious interference, whether August[a] has at last received *Lassalle's work*.[b] Lassalle *bothers me with a new letter as to this subject*, he considering of course 'his work' as something awfully important. He presses me to answer him by *next post*, and thus I must again call upon you. You will much oblige me by informing me as soon as possible of the real state of the case.

*Apropos*. The book was to be sent to August from Manchester, not from London, but I have been assured that *it had been* sent from Manchester to Amsterdam. Of course, I don't care a fig for the whole 'loss', if loss there be, since August would certainly not much miss 'the work'. But courtesy obliges me to make these researches.

In writing me, you will be of course so friendly to inform me at the same time of what you are doing and so forth, knowing my deep interests in all that concerns you.

My best compliments to your father and the whole family.

Believe me always your most sincere admirer

K. M.

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[a] August Philips - [b] F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*.

# 186

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 September 1861

DEAR Frederick,

Our youngest[a] has had jaundice ever since I got back[352]; her condition had been unsatisfactory long before that. Yesterday the yellowness was gone from her eyes, and there is every indication that she is on the mend.

I sent one article to the *Tribune* the week before last and one this week.[b] In two weeks' time we shall know (meanwhile I am continuing with one article per week) whether things can go on in this way.

The *Vienna 'Presse'*, or so I gather from what the *Times* CORRESPONDENT wrote yesterday,[c] has finally revised its attitude towards Schmerling and hence it may now be possible to establish a connection with the paper.

In the issue of Kolatschek's *Stimmen der Zeit* that arrives in London this Monday (or so Kolatschek has written and told Borkheim) there is a special supplement on *Herr Vogt*.[d]

Very many thanks for the *Manchester Guardians* (most useful to me just now) and the BRITISH ASSOCIATION PUBLICATION.[353]

At the beginning of this week, a young officer by the name of E. Oswald—dressed in Garibaldi OFFICER UNIFORM—called here with an introduction from Schily. A former Prussian lieutenant, he joined Garibaldi as a volunteer, and was promoted lieutenant under Medici. After the disbandment of Garibaldi's army, he went to Paris, where he took employment as a worker in a factory to make ends meet. He is now over here and intends to go to America to join in the struggle. What he needs are funds to get him there. A sailing vessel leaves here every week for New York, and the fare is only £6. Borkheim is prepared to put up £5 on his own account and that of one or two acquaintances. So it's up to a few liberal philistines (Borchardt, etc.) in Manchester to raise a further small sum, partly to provide the passage money. The £6,

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[a] Eleanor Marx - [b] 'The American Question in England' and 'The British Cotton Trade' written on 18 and 21 September 1861. - [c] Report from Vienna. 23 September 1861, *The Times*, No. 24049, 27 September 1861. - [d] See this volume, p. 324.

however, does not include food. Borkheim turned *d'abord*[a] to Kinkel with a view to obtaining Oswald's travelling expenses from the revolutionary funds.[81] But Gottfried said: *quod non.*[b] (When in Zurich, Borkheim had succeeded by this means in procuring the money for Anneke's passage to America.) Nor will the American Embassy give a single FARTHING. Oswald seems to me to be an excellent young man and entirely unassuming into the bargain. Once he got to New York, a recommendation from me to Dana would be very useful to him. However, something must be done about it quickly, for his stay in London simply means *faux frais de production.*[c]

Oswald says that, as a soldier, Türr isn't worth twopence either. A mere intriguer. Garibaldi kept him on, primarily because he had been recommended by an Italian friend of Garibaldi's, previously associated with Türr, but more especially by virtue of his function as the 'REPRESENTATIVE OF HUNGARY'. Whenever Garibaldi employed him in any kind of independent military role, he was dissatisfied with him. Rüstow, too, evidently took little or no part in the affair. Officially his duty was that of 'historiographer' of the war. Oswald says of Garibaldi that he is essentially a guerrilla leader, but would be unable to cope with a larger army on a larger terrain. His strategical advisers are Cosenz and Medici.

When are you going to Germany?[354]

Best regards from all the family. Regards to Lupus, Gumpert, etc.

Your
K. M.

Have seen Meyen's sample issue of the *Berliner Reform.* Pure or rather filthy rubbish.

*Apropos.* Have just had a letter from my niece,[d] who says that August Philips in Amsterdam has still not received the Lassalle.[e] Perhaps you would find out whether it was sent off by the office.

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[a] first - [b] no - [c] overhead costs - [d] Marx's cousin, Antoinette Philips - [e] F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte.*

# 187

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 30 October 1861

Dear Engels,

Circumstances have finally CLEARED to the extent that I have at least got firm ground under my feet again and am no longer in a state of complete suspense. As you know, shortly after my return from Manchester[352] and as soon as I thought the moment opportune, I again started writing for the *Tribune* at weekly intervals. Last week included, I had sent them 6 articles.[355] Then, in the *last* mail, the first 2 articles[a] actually came back in print, the first of them (over 3 columns on English opinions on the UNITED STATES) in a PROMINENT PLACE and particularly REFERRED TO on the front page of the paper. To this extent, then, the matter is in order and hence I am assured of £2 per week.

*Secondly:* I had, as you know, already written to the Vienna *Presse* from Manchester, asking for 'information'.[356] About 3 weeks ago I got an answer which was *politically* entirely satisfactory to me. (In the meantime, the paper has modified its attitude to Schmerling.) At the same time, Friedländer (on behalf of Zang, the proprietor) asked for 2 sample articles. These[b] I sent off and yesterday morning I got an answer to the effect 1. that the articles had appeared with due prominence on the front page,[357] 2. that I was engaged on a regular basis from November, £1 per article, 10sh. per news-letter.

As regards the *Tribune*, I must first of all find some way of drawing bills, for it can hardly be arranged through Freiligrath in future.

For the rest, this twofold engagement holds out an assured prospect of putting an end to the harried existence led by my family over the past year, and also of finally completing my book.[310] Thanks to you, I was able to placate the more pressing of the blackguards at the beginning of September, but even so, the

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[a] K. Marx, 'The American Question in England' and 'The British Cotton Trade', *New-York Daily Tribune*, Nos. 6403 and 6405, 11 and 14 October 1861.-
[b] K. Marx, 'The North American Civil War' and 'The Civil War in the United States', *Die Presse*, Nos. 293 and 306, 25 October and 7 November 1861.

harassment was still quite intolerable, and in October it again reached a crescendo. I am writing today to my old lady[a] to find out whether anything can be squeezed out of her. I shall likewise see if I can raise something from a LOAN SOCIETY. My chief concern, of course, is to put my affairs into some sort of order, pending the availability of amounts WORTH DRAWING from New York and Vienna, and above all to have leisure in which to work during the interval that must necessarily elapse. In the MEAN TIME, we have pawned everything that was not actually nailed down and, what is even worse, my wife is seriously unwell. When it was simply a case of enduring the pressure of day-to-day adversities, she did this bravely, but she has been cast down by the complete absence of prospects. In the meantime, the favourable news from Vienna and New York has already evoked a favourable reaction.

Borkheim had strangely misled both himself and me over Kolatschek's *Stimmen der Zeit.* True, No. 39 carried a contribution running to a printer's sheet headlined 'K. Vogt und K. Marx', but it was written by the student *Abt,* the 'lowest of the low', whom you will remember from Geneva. Having taken due note of the actual content of my pamphlet[b] in the first 2 pages, he devotes the remaining 14 to railing in the most rabid and villainous fashion against me and, notably, Schily and Imandt, on account of the 'Bristlers'.[358] He concludes by saying that, if I don't recant, he will attack me 'at the only vulnerable spot he knows' and compromise me in a manner 'that I shall regret'. Needless to say, I didn't take the slightest notice of the scoundrel. But something very odd must have happened to put Mr Kolatschek at Abt's mercy, for, as Abt says, he had had the scrawl as far back as January and had refused to print it until September.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Don't forget to send me as detailed a report as possible on the *status quo* in Manchester.

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[a] Henriette Marx - [b] *Herr Vogt*

# 188

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 November 1861

Dear Frederick,

You must excuse me for my failure to send a more prompt acknowledgement of the £5, ditto the wine. Very many thanks for both. It so happened that I have been very busy of late, on top of which I have had a great deal of domestic BOTHER.

Once again, the *Tribune*'s front page calls attention to an article of mine as 'MOST INTERESTING'.[a] Odd the way these YANKEES[312] hand out *testimonia* to their own CORRESPONDENTS.

I had an answer from my old lady[b] yesterday. 'Soft' words, BUT NO CASH. She also tells me what I have long known, namely that she is 75 and is suffering from many of the infirmities of old age.

Up till now I have also been vainly trying to raise a LOAN over here. The guarantors I was able to produce were not, as I had in any case already suspected, sufficiently respectable. Many chaps have been more fortunate in this line. E. g. that scoundrel Beta got £50 out of a LOAN society on the guarantee of Mr—Edgar Bauer!

Russia's goings-on in Poland aren't bad at all. No less nice are the GESTS and EXPLOITS of handsome William.[359]

You may perhaps have seen from the German, or also from some of the English newspapers, with what persistent importunity citizen and statesman Blind is 'blossoming' into a German Mazzini.[c]

Apropos. While you were away,[360] I received *avis*[d] from Holland that Lassalle's books[e] had *not* been received by my cousin.[f] Perhaps you would be so good as to make inquiries about it.

Write soon, for I have an especial need of your letters during what is still a highly critical interlude for me.

If you have a moment, could you write me a report on the Armstrong controversy[361] for the *Presse?*

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] K. Marx, 'The London *Times* and Lord Palmerston', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6411, 21 October 1861. - [b] Henriette Marx - [c] See this volume, p. 264. - [d] notification - [e] F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*. - [f] August Philips

# 189

## MARX TO LOUIS WATTEAU[362]

IN BRUSSELS

[London,] 10 November 1861

Dear Citizen,

My reply to your last letters has been delayed for so long because I was waiting from day to day for news from a lady you know.[a] At last I have learned that she left for Italy some months ago but will shortly be returning to Berlin.

If the first letter for L.[b] has not arrived, I imagine that the fault must lie in the address; it was marked *via Gibraltar* instead of *via Southampton*. After I had been advised of this mistake, I corrected the address on the second letter. This I not only franked but also registered. I enclose the receipt from the English post office.

The 50 francs I am sending you comes from a German working men's club.[c] In my next letter I shall send you a further contribution. Please be so kind as to acknowledge receipt and send copies of your pamphlet[363] in return.

It would be useful if you were to write me a letter I could send to Berlin and which would establish the monetary resources needed for a <rescue attempt>.[d] I should return it to the appropriate quarter.

Rest assured that there is no one more interested than myself in the lot of a man[e] whom I have always regarded as the brains and inspiration of the proletarian party in France.

*Salut.*

K. M.

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[a] Sophie von Hatzfeldt - [b] Cyrill Lacambre - [c] the German Workers' Educational Society in London - [d] The words in brackets are crossed out in the original. - [e] Auguste Blanqui

# 190

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 November [1861]

Dear Engels,

*Iterum Crispinus!*[a]

Well, this is how matters now stand.

On 9 November, I drew £16 on the *Tribune* for the 8 articles then sent. Out of this £16, I paid £3 apiece on account to butcher, baker, TEAGROCER, OILMAN, MILKMAN, and GREENGROCER. I spent 10/- on coal, which will all be gone by tomorrow. Your £5 went for the most part on the repayment of small cash loans. So, I'm broke, and there are further debts to be paid—the LANDLORD, school fees, the cobbler, and essential purchases for the family against the winter. I write for the *Presse* almost every day. With the *Presse* and the *Tribune* combined I might be able to make SHIFT. But in view of the constantly reaccumulating deficit (not a milliard, admittedly[364]) and a whole year's loss of income this really can't be done.

Now there has been yet another disaster.

As you know, I advanced Petsch & Co. £25 for the printing of *Vogt,* it being agreed that this was to be repaid out of the SALE of COPIES, before any other deductions. Moreover, they owe me a few pounds for *Hinter den Coulissen,*[b] the *Communist Trial*[c] and the *18th Brumaire,*[d] etc.[247]

On the other hand, I obtained newspapers and books from the fellows to the value of £10 9/-, if only to be in possession of some security.

Koller (an *associé*[e]) has now had a row with Petsch, who is not in the business at present. There's a lawsuit pending between the two over the *firm's liquidation.*

The rascally Koller, whom I pressed about my claim, wrote instead advising me of his suit in the COUNTY-COURT[7] regarding the £10 9/-. I went to see Zimmermann. He told me that my suit

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[a] *Ecce iterum Crispinus* (Behold, this Crispinus again). Juvenal, *Satirae,* IV, 1 (figuratively: the same again). - [b] [G. Lommel,] *Hinter den Coulissen. Historisch-politische Bilder aus der Neuzeit,* I. Theil. Vom Oktober 1847 bis Mai 1848. - [c] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.* - [d] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.* - [e] partner

would cost me about £30-£60 in a SUPERIOR COURT, and that it would be better if I established my claim in the form of a counter-claim in the COUNTY-COURT, to which I had been summoned by Koller. Nor does he himself practise in the COUNTY-COURTS. So, to this end, I shall have to see an English SOLICITOR before the week is out (and as soon as possible), which I can't do without CASH.

If I were quit of this wretched situation and did not see my family oppressed by MISERABLE adversities, how overjoyed I would be at the fiasco of the Decembrist financial system, so long and so frequently prognosticated by me in the *Tribune.*

So William the Handsome or handsome William has done some plain speaking in Silesia: 'If you elect democrats, we shall be ruined.' 'Soldiers are the only answer to democrats.'[365]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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## 191

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 November [1861]

Dear Engels,

This is to acknowledge, in much haste, receipt of the £5, also the *Manchester Guardians* which arrived the day before yesterday.

I am now going straight to a SOLICITOR.[a] My wife is very much affected [...][b] and I fear the thing will end badly, if there is a long STRUGGLE.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] See this volume, p. 327. - [b] Word illegible.

## 192

## ENGELS TO MARX[249]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 27 November 1861

Dear Moor,

Have the YANKEES gone quite out of their minds, playing such a mad trick on the CONFEDERATE COMMISSIONERS?[366] The FACT that even over here in the Channel, a warship was lying in wait for the MAIL STEAMER shows that general instructions had gone out from Washington. There could be no clearer *casus belli*[a] than to forcibly seize political prisoners on board a foreign vessel. The fellows must be completely crazy to saddle themselves with a war against England. If war should really break out, you could send your letters to New York *via* Germany or Le Havre, under cover to a third party, but you'll have to take care that you're not aiding and abetting the ENEMIES of the QUEEN.[b]

I was delighted to hear that Bakunin had bolted. The poor devil must have been very much the worse for wear. What a way to make a journey round the world![367]

Monsieur Bonaparte would also seem to get no money and Fould pretty well at his wits' end.[364] I can't help wondering what's going to happen there.

Things are going swimmingly in Russia and Poland, and now there's also a chance that good old Prussia may at long last be involved in a crisis, provided the electors don't allow themselves to be intimidated again.[368] But the purse, the purse! That may well serve to keep the few 'men of Progress' afloat a little while longer. In Cologne it is even rumoured that good old Heinrich Bürgers might stand for Parliament.

Varnhagen's *Tagebücher*[c] must be quite interesting. All the same, the fellow was a scurvy, cowardly knave. There was quite a witty article about the thing in the *Kreuz-Zeitung*,—full of spite and malice, of course.[d]

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[a] cause of war - [b] Victoria - [c] K. A. Varnhagen von Ense, *Tagebücher. Aus dem Nachlaß Varnhagen's von Ense*, Bd. I-II, Leipzig, 1861. - [d] 'Varnhagen und seine "Pulverkammer"', *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, 24 November 1861 (supplement).

On 1 December, I shall send you another fiver.
Many regards,

Your
F. E.

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## 193

## ENGELS TO MARX[369]

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 2 December 1861]

I/Z 07595, *Newcastle on Tyne*, 14 August 1860

Dear Moor,

The above is the number of the enclosed fiver, which could not go off till today, as the first of December fell on a Sunday. Once again, I didn't register it.

During the past few days I have at last read some of the Lassalle.[a] His stuff about retroaction may be quite plausible, but doesn't hold water, as is apparent, e.g., in the case of divorce legislation, of which it might also be said, and has in fact been said by many a Berlin philistine: 'If I'd known how difficult it was to get divorced, I should never have got married.' By the way, it's grossly superstitious of the fellow to go on believing in the 'idea of law', absolute law. His objections to Hegel's philosophy of law are for the most part perfectly justified, but he hasn't yet really got into his stride with his new philosophy of mind; even from the philosophical standpoint he should have progressed sufficiently to regard the process alone, not just its momentary result, as the absolute, in which case no other idea of law could follow than precisely the historical process itself. The style's nice, too. 'The hand-wringing despair of the contradictions', etc., and then the introduction. Pure Ephraim Artful. I dare say I shan't get very much further, unless I find it might come in useful as a course in Roman law, in which case I shall read the whole thing. How,

[a] F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*.

by the way, one could think it worthwhile to send so simple and, *au fond*,[a] insignificant an idea chasing right through the *Corpus juris*,[370] applying it to every single point—as though it would gain weight in the process—is quite beyond my comprehension. But even nicer is the assumption that this WILD GOOSE CHASE, conducted in and around the 'plenitude of the concrete', is the *proof* of his pudding and he must therefore remain infallible ever after.

In Berlin things will now begin to hum. The new little Chamber's half-hearted 'progress' democracy[371] will prove too red for handsome William, after all, and by March they'll already find themselves in a state of mild chronic crisis. I am curious to see what happens. If only the chaps in the Chamber aren't too timid, they will yet succeed in toppling the handsome one, but I don't trust that democratic breed.

I hope your wife is feeling better. Cordial regards to her and the girls.

Your
F. E.

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## 194

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 December [1861]

Dear Engels,

Didn't send an acknowledgment sooner because afflicted by great TROUBLE. My wife is very indisposed. I shall write to you this evening, as I have to concoct an article today.[b]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] basically - [b] Presumably 'The Principal Actors in the *Trent* Drama', which Marx dated 4 December 1861.

# 195

## MARX TO ENGELS[372]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 December 1861

Dear Engels,

From my PERTINACIOUS silence you may discern with what reluctance I write to you at all. Considering the great efforts—greater, even, than you can manage—that you make on my behalf, I need hardly say how much I detest perpetually boring you with my lamentations.

The last money you sent me, plus a borrowed pound, went to pay the school bill—so that there shouldn't be twice the amount owing in January. The butcher and *épicier*[a] made me give them I.O.U.s, one for £10, the other for £12, due on 9 January. Although I didn't know with what I should pay them, I couldn't risk being sued lest I bring the whole house tumbling about my ears. I owe the LANDLORD £15, and shall owe him £21 in January. Ditto the GREEN GROCER, the baker, the news agent, the milkman, and the rest of the rabble whom I had placated with payments on account after my return from Manchester,[352] lastly the TALLYMAN, since the onset of winter meant buying indispensable items of winter clothing, which therefore had to be got on tick.

The amount I can expect at the end of the month is £30 at most, since those scoundrels from the *Presse* are *not* printing some of my articles. I have, of course, first to accustom myself to keeping within the 'bounds of German reason'. (Incidentally, though, they are making quite a splash in their paper with my contributions.)

What I have to pay (including interest at the pawn-shop, etc.) amounts to £100. It is remarkable how, despite an occasional helping-hand, the loss of all income combined with debts that are never quite paid off invariably brings the same old muck to the surface again.

Today I have written to *Dronke* because he still owes me some money. But just gently nudging his memory, not urging; I made so bold as to tell him that, if he could make me an advance, you would guarantee its repayment.[373]

Once I'm out of this mess, New York and Vienna will allow me at least to jog along again.

---

[a] grocer

My wife was in a dangerous nervous condition, and for a few days Dr Allen was most alarmed. He knows, or rather suspects, where the shoe pinches, but is too tactful to say anything untoward. The poor woman is still very out of sorts, but so resilient is she by nature that, as soon as things take a turn for the better, I feel sure she will be all right again.

There isn't going to be *war* with America, as I have said from the very beginning in the *Presse*,[a] and I am only sorry I didn't have the means to exploit the boneheadedness of a Stock Exchange dominated during this silly season by Reuter and *The Times*.

I agree with your STRICTURES ON Izzy[b] (who writes from Florence to say he 'has had a *very* interesting meeting' with Garibaldi, etc.). The 2nd volume is more interesting, if only by reason of the Latin quotations. Ideologism permeates everything, and the dialectical method is *wrongly* applied. Hegel never described as dialectics the subsumption of vast numbers of 'CASES' UNDER A GENERAL PRINCIPLE.

My writing is progressing, but slowly.[310] Circumstances being what they were, there was, indeed, little possibility of bringing such theoretical matters to a rapid close. However, the thing is assuming a much more popular form, and the method is much less in evidence than in Part I.[c]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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## 196

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 December 1861

Dear Frederick,

Best thanks for your letter.[232]

IN COMPENSATION for services previously rendered,[d] Dronke sent £5 by return, and yesterday he himself came up to town where he had a meeting with one of his directors.

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[a] K. Marx, 'The *Trent* Case', *Die Presse*, No. 331, 2 December 1861. - [b] See this volume, pp. 330-31. - [c] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [d] See this volume, p. 332.

He is going to try and discount the bills. I told him at once that an essential condition was that they should not be put into circulation before they fell due.

That bastard Koller has resorted to another manoeuvre. He has not allowed the case to proceed in the COUNTY COURT[7] but has brought it before the SHERIFF COURT[374] and increased the sum for which he is suing me to £20—alleging that I had undertaken to be jointly responsible for all the costs of *Vogt*. This, namely, by way of a REPLY to my counter-claim.[a]

My attorney, Sidney Herbert, has deemed it *formaliter*[b] necessary to file a *counter-suit* at the same COURT. The whole difficulty centres on the fact that my AGREEMENT with Petsch was not made *in writing*.

My wife is feeling better.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 197

## MARX TO ENGELS[249]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 December 1861

Dear Engels,

You know how the Dronke business came about.[c] I wrote to him, not because of the bill, but to dun him. In the circumstances, I was, of course, compelled to inform him of the critical situation I was in, a situation which he, like anyone else, must, and did, find quite natural in view of the American affair. As a result of this communication, he came to see me and, thus, the arrangement was made which, to begin with, I would never even have thought of, had you not *expressly* stated in your letter[232] that you would accept the bills if I was able to get them discounted through

[a] See this volume, pp. 327-28. - [b] formally - [c] See this volume, pp. 332 and 333.

Freiligrath or 'some other person'. I say this much in order to absolve myself of any semblance of indiscretion.

There is *nothing* doing with F., as I already knew beforehand. He only had the tailor and by the time of the *Tribune* affair he'd already lost him, because two of his clerks had obtained articles of clothing to the value of £70 on his recommendation and decamped without paying. Moreover, my RELATIONS TO F. were SO CHANGED that, when he arranged to have even my bills on the *Tribune* discounted again by Bischoffsheim, he did so only with reluctance. But, even if he had *wanted* to, he **couldn't** particularly since the latent bankruptcy of his bank *court par les rues de Londres.*[a]

This letter will go off at the same time as one to *Dronke*, informing him that I embarked on the TRANSACTIONS with him as a result of a misunderstanding and asking him therefore to regard them as *non avenues.*[b] I also told him that, if he could discount the bills on *me* personally WITHOUT ANY INTERVENTION OF OTHER PERSONS, this would be agreeable to me. I had to tell him that, because I can see no way out, and indeed my situation is one of the utmost peril.

His address, letters to be marked *private*, is 49 Oldhall Street, Liverpool. Judging by what Dronke says (though I believe he's in Newcastle and not in Liverpool at all), he would simply try to arrange the matter with his own BANKER.

Unfortunately, I couldn't help informing my wife of the contents of your letter, insofar as it referred to the bill transaction. And news of this kind always brings on a kind of paroxysm.

As to *war with America,* Pam may *possibly* succeed in bringing it about, but not without difficulty. He has got to have a *PRETEXT* and it *doesn't* seem to me *as though Lincoln will give him one.* Some of the Cabinet, Milner Gibson, Gladstone, *plus ou moins*[c] Lewis, can't be so easily BEFOOLED as John Russell.

Taken by and large, the Americans have not been at fault, either *materially* or *formally*, under *English* maritime law, which is in force there.[375] AS TO THE QUESTION OF *MATERIAL* RIGHT, the English CROWN LAWYERS have themselves given a decision along these lines.[376] They have therefore adduced, since Pam needed a PRETEXT, an *ERROR in forma,* a TECHNICALITY, A LEGAL QUIBBLE. But this, too, is erroneous. Under English maritime law one must distinguish between two cases. Whether A NEUTRAL SHIP CARRIES *BELLIGERENT* GOODS AND PERSONS OR *CONTRABAND OF WAR,* either in the form of objects or persons. In the latter case, the ship with CARGO and persons is TO BE SEIZED AND BROUGHT INTO A PORT FOR ADJUDICATION. In the first instance—if

[a] is the talk of London - [b] null and void - [c] more or less

it is established *beyond doubt* that the GOODS (properly speaking an impossibility in the case of persons) have not *passed* into the possession of a neutral, the BELLIGERENT GOODS or persons may be seized ON THE HIGH SEAS, while the ship, etc., gets off scot-free. This sort of jurisprudence has—if we disregard the AUTHORITIES—been constantly asserted by England, as I have discovered for myself by consulting Cobbett's Register[a] on all the squabbling that has gone on with neutrals since 1793.

Conversely, since the English CROWN LAWYERS confined the problem to an ERROR *in forma* and thus conceded the Yankees the *right* to seize all English ships with BELLIGERENTS aboard and bring them into port FOR ADJUDICATION, the Yankees may very well—and in my view will—declare that they are satisfied with this concession, that in future they will commit no *formal* infringements in case of seizure, etc., and deliver up Mason and Slidell FOR THE NONCE.

If Pam is absolutely set on war, he can, of course, bring it about. In my view, *that is not his intention.* If the Americans act in the way I imagine they will, Pam will have provided stupid John Bull with fresh proof that he is 'THE TRULY ENGLISH MINISTER'.[377] The chap will then be free to do whatever he likes. He will seize this opportunity,

1. to force the Yankees to recognise the Declaration of Paris on the rights of the neutrals[378];

2. to use this as a pretext for *something he has hitherto not dared to do,* namely request and prevail upon the English Parliament to sanction the abandonment of the OLD ENGLISH MARITIME LAW, the said abandonment having been subscribed to by Clarendon—on his (Pam's) instructions—unbeknown to the Crown and without the prior knowledge of Parliament.

Pam is an old man, and, since the time of Catherine II, the Russians have been trying to enforce the declaration published in Paris. There are still two things they lack: *the sanction of the English Parliament* and *the accession of the UNITED STATES.* On this occasion, both would be achieved. It seems to me that these warlike alarums are simply theatrical props with which to make stupid John Bull believe that the definitive abandonment of his own MARITIME LAWS in favour of Russia is a victory over the Yankees won thanks to the PLUCK of the 'TRULY ENGLISH MINISTER'.

Additional reasons for these warlike alarums seem to be: Diversion of attention from Poland (for at public meetings even fellows such as Conningham from Brighton are demanding the

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[a] *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*

STOPPAGE of FURTHER PAYMENT of the DUTCH-RUSSIAN LOAN[379]) and diversion of attention from Denmark where Russia is engaged at this moment in ousting Glücksburg, the HEIR PRESUMPTIVE appointed by herself.[380]

It is, OF COURSE, possible that the Yankees won't give way, and, in that case, Pam will be forced into war by his preparations and rodomontade to date. However, I would rate the odds at 100 to 1 against.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 198

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 December 1861

Dear Engels,

When the outside world first began to 'dun' me, I wrote—since I didn't want to be always pestering you—not only to my mother and other relations, but also to Siebel. Now that young man, as I see from his letter, has again written to you. Consider the matter as *non avenue*.[a]

I am extremely vexed that you should have had to give Dronke an I.O.U. for my sake. Originally, he promised to arrange the matter in less onerous a form and to give longer TERMS.[373]

I don't yet know quite how I am to weather this crisis. Whatever happens—since otherwise it would be plainly impossible—I shall write to my LANDLORD and tell him that he cannot be paid *now*, that I intend to give him a bill, etc.

The court case is also going wrong.[b] Since the point at issue turns on PARTNERSHIP, my LAWYER considers it necessary—if I am not

[a] not having happened - [b] See this volume, pp. 327-28 and 334.

to be made to pay the £20—that the case be removed from the SHERIFF'S COURT[374] and taken before a SUPERIOR COURT. I am due to appear at the SHERIFF'S COURT on January 3rd. My mistake lay in not having concluded a *written* contract with A. Petsch. Sidney, my attorney, believes I should be pretty safe in the SUPERIOR COURT.

The rotten *Presse* is printing barely half my articles. They're jackasses. I wonder how they propose to pay, whether I'm expected to write individual articles on 'spec', or what?

In the meantime, may I wish you in advance every happiness for the New Year. If it's anything like the old one, I, for my part, would sooner consign it to the devil.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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## 199

## MARX TO JOSEF VALENTIN WEBER

IN LONDON

[London,] 15 January [1862]

Dear Weber,

I have just had some TICKETS from Urquhart for a meeting next Monday.[381]

Of the 3 TICKETS enclosed, one is intended for you. You can also take in some friends on it.

Will you please let the Workers' Society[a] have the other 2 TICKETS. (These will gain admission for as many as wish to go.) At the same time, I should be obliged—since I have not got the Society's address—if you would inform them that I cannot give a lecture[382] on Monday because of the meeting.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] the German Workers' Educational Society in London

## 200

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 February 1862

Dear Engels,

My prolonged silence is due, not to anything 'intrinsic', but to the sordid state of affairs which I didn't want to bore and plague you with.

As you know, on New Year's Day, I was able to SETTLE only that part of my debts which couldn't, or so it seemed, be put off any longer (e. g. my LANDLORD, to whom I shall owe a whole year's rent by the end of next month). Most of the money went on debts upon which bills had been drawn.

The *Vienna 'Presse'*, as was only to be expected in view of the present rotten state of affairs in Germany, has not turned out to be the milch-cow it should have been. I am supposed to receive £1 per ARTICLE. But since the fellows only print perhaps one article in four, and quite often *none at all,* damn-all comes of it except loss of time and annoyance at having to write on spec, whether or no the gracious editorial board condescends to accord the article its imprimatur.

I had to give way in my lawsuit with Koller,[a] the main reason being that, as soon as the SOLICITOR wanted a £30 advance since the case went to a SUPERIOR COURT, I was not, of course, able to produce that sum. I had to pay the SOLICITOR £5 for himself and for the COUNSEL he had retained, and also come to an arrangement with Koller whereby I am to pay him £18 by monthly instalments of £2; I paid him the first £2 on the last day of January, and have to pay the next £2 at the end of February, but what with, I don't know.

During the past 2 months the *Presse* has printed so little of my stuff that I have no balance there worth mentioning.

What makes the situation even PLEASANTER is that for nearly 2 months now little Jenny has been undergoing medical treatment. The child has grown visibly thinner. Jenny is now already old enough to feel the full strain and also the stigma of our circumstances, and I think this is one of the main causes of her

[a] See this volume, pp. 327-28, 334 and 337.

physical indisposition. (Apropos. Yesterday Allen prescribed *wine* for her, and I'd therefore be grateful if you could send down a few bottles.) For instance, unbeknown to us, she called on Mrs Young to see whether she mightn't go on the stage.

TAKE ALL IN ALL, leading such a dog's life is hardly WORTH WHILE.

As regards the copies of Urquhart's paper,[a] I haven't yet been able to get hold of them. Write and let me know *with which issue to begin,* and Collet will do what is necessary. Herewith the chap's denunciation of Bakunin,[b] whom I haven't seen. He is living at Herzen's place.

Have you by any chance inquired whether Lassalle's opus[c] did in fact go off to August Philips?

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 201

## MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER[383]

IN GENEVA

London, 26 February 1862

Dear Becker,

You must attribute my prolonged silence to one thing only—my inability to help. The American civil war has meant the total loss of my principal source of income for a whole year. Subsequently (a couple of months ago), this 'business' was resumed, but on a very 'restricted' basis.[384] So far as acquaintances are concerned, however, I can count very few who have any means at their disposal. E. g., it is some while since that I wrote to Siebel on your behalf[42] but I am told by Borkheim that he gave no signs of life. In Manchester, a few 'revolutionary adventurers, who were sailing

[a] *The Free Press.* See this volume, p. 344. - [b] Probably Collet's article 'Bakunin' in *The Free Press,* Vol. X, No. 3, 5 March 1862. - [c] *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*

to the United States for the good cause,' had scraped the bottom of the barrel.

Now, as regards the subscription to your work,[a] I shall do *my utmost* but can hold out little hope. All the riff-raff in the associations here—with the exception of the Workers' Educational Society,[3] which has nothing in the way of *funds*—is *constitutional,* and actually favours the Prussian National Association.[24] The fellows would sooner give money to have a work like yours suppressed. As you probably know, these Germans, both young and old, are all of them pert men of sterling worth and practical insight, and look upon people like you and me as immature fools who have still not recovered from their revolutionary fancies. Nor is the riff-raff at home any better than it is abroad. The time I spent in Berlin,[b] etc., convinced me that any attempt to influence the canaille by *literary* means would prove utterly futile. The fellows' self-complacent stupidity, which possesses in its press—that pitiable press—an extraordinary elixir of life, is beyond belief. And then the spiritual passivity to boot—nothing short of a *sound thrashing* would reanimate your stolid German who, having lost his philosophical illusions and applied himself to money-making and 'Little Germany' and 'practical constitutionalism', is now no better than an impulsive CLOWN. So far as I'm concerned, Germany may altogether [...],[c] but a roomful of precocious and decrepit children.[d]

The *Hermann* is the property of the erstwhile Royal Prussian Procurator Heintzmann: 'with God for King and Fatherland', 'a modicum of Little Germany' and moderation in the exercise of freedom. A namesake of yours, one Becker from Leipzig, who writes for that paper, is a good chap but not influential enough to help us in a matter such as a subscription. Engels only returned to Manchester a few days ago after an absence of several months. He and Wolff (of Breslau)[e] will do what they can. However, with the exception of the above-named and 3 or 4 others, the numerous German population in Manchester consists of the same philistines as it does here and everywhere else.

*Quoad*[f] *'Vogt'*[g], do with it as you please. It goes without saying, of course, that I could not but be *delighted* if the pamphlet which

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[a] J. Ph. Becker, *Wie und Wann? Ein ernstes Wort über die Fragen und Aufgaben der Zeit,* Geneva, London. Manchester, 1862. - [b] See this volume, pp. 279-82, 286-89. - [c] Manuscript damaged. - [d] Allusion to a passage in Heine's poem, 'Zur Beruhigung' (paraphrased). - [e] Wilhelm Wolff - [f] As regards - [g] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt.*

the press has all but killed by silence in Germany, could be used to some effect at least in Switzerland. A French translation was made in Paris, without my previous knowledge, and was already being printed but *vanished* by supreme imperial ukase.[a] So, in fact, there is *no* French edition.

Let me assure you, my dear friend, that nothing could be more painful to me than to have to stand by helpless and passive and witness the struggles of a man such as yourself. I admire your steadfastness, your fervour, and your energy. The Ancients—I think it was Aeschines—said that one should endeavour to acquire worldly goods so that one might help one's friends in need! What profound and humane wisdom lies therein!

At the earliest possible opportunity I shall let you know the result of communications to various persons about the subscription.

In the meantime, farewell. My wife asks to be kindly remembered to you.

Yours
K. M.

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## 202

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 February 1862

Dear Moor,

Today I am sending you, CARRIAGE PAID, a case containing:
8 bottles of claret,
4 bottles of old, 1846, hock,
2 bottles of sherry.

I haven't any port that would suit the circumstances. I trust it will do Jenny good. Poor child! However, I don't imagine that the

[a] See this volume, pp. 290, 313.

thing is of any consequence. She has grown a lot and, with care and exercise, will doubtless regain her strength.

I shall get the £2 for Koller[a] off to you tomorrow or on Monday.[b]

This year, I am spending more than my income. The crisis is affecting us badly,[385] we have no orders, and, starting from next week, shall be working merely half-time. Nevertheless, I have to get hold of the £50 for Dronke within 4 weeks and next week there's a year's rent to be paid for my lodgings. I'm moving out; this morning that damned Sarah[c] stole the money from my coat pocket. So, don't address *anything more* to Thorncliffe Grove. I'm living with Mary nearly all the time now so as to spend as little money as possible; unfortunately, I can't dispense with my LODGINGS, otherwise I should move in with her altogether. I haven't got any new lodgings as yet and shall have to go and look for some.[386] Write again soon and let me know how things are going. What is the *Tribune* up to?[384]

Would you like a military article on America for the *Presse*?

The numbers of *The Free Press* I am short of are October-February 1861/62.

Best wishes to your wife and the girls.

Your
F. E.

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## 203

## MARX TO ENGELS[249]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 March 1862

Dear Engels,

I am sending my wife to a LOAN OFFICE today to see what can be done there, for I've had a disgustingly rude letter from my LANDLORD, and, if the fellow puts a BROKER into the house, I shall be sued by all and sundry.

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[a] See this volume, p. 340. - [b] 3 March - [c] Sarah Parker

The wine hasn't arrived yet.

I should be grateful if you could let me have *this week* (by Friday morning[a]) an article in *English* on the American war.[387] You can write it *without the slightest misgiving.* The *Tribune* will print it as the LETTER OF A FOREIGN OFFICER. *Nota bene:* The *Tribune* hates McClellan, who is in league with the Democratic Party and, *throughout the period* in which he was COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF ALL THE ARMIES, prevented any action by *intervening directly* not only on the Potomac (where this may have been justified), but in *every* theatre of war, especially in the west. (He was also at the bottom of the highly infamous intrigue against Frémont.[388]) Moreover, out of *esprit de corps* and a hatred of CIVILIANS, this same Mac has sheltered all the army's traitors, e.g., Colonel Maynard and General Stone. The latter's arrest took place a day or 2 after Clellan had been dismissed as COMMANDER IN CHIEF of all the armies. Similarly, the *New York Herald*'s impudent 'REPRESENTATIVE'[b] in Washington was arrested as a SPY against McClellan's wishes, having on the previous day entertained McC.'s entire STAFF to a champagne breakfast.

You will recall my having told you from the start that nothing would come of the expectations regarding the China trade. This is confirmed by the latest BOARD OF TRADE report:[c]

| | *1860* [£] | *1861* [£] |
|---|---|---|
| *China* | 2,872,045 | 3,114,157 |
| *Hong Kong* | 2,445,991 | 1,733,967 |
| Total | 5,318,036 | 4,848,124 |

So, a decrease in total exports. More of them direct, fewer via Hong Kong. In the meantime, the Russians have seized another fine island off Korea.[d] Add to this their new 'OCCUPATIONS' in Java,[e] and their supremacy of the NORTHERN PACIFIC is assured.[389] The extent to which Pam's influence has *russified* the *entire* English press is borne out by its profound silence over Russia's PROGRESS in this area, ditto its passive attitude vis-à-vis Poland.

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[a] 7 March - [b] Malcolm Ives - [c] 'Accounts relating to Trade and Navigation for the Year ended December 31, 1861. Exports of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures', *The Economist*, No. 966, 1 March 1862. - [d] Tsushima - [e] Should read 'Japan'. See this volume, p. 347.

Apropos. Will you be so good as to let me know *at long last* what has become of the Lassalle[a] that was intended for my cousin Philips,[b] since, failing that knowledge, I am unable to write to the said cousin.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 204

## ENGELS TO MARX[249]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 5 March 1862

Dear Moor,

Enclosed Post Office Order for £2, Camden Town.

The book[a] went off long ago, i.e. on 9 October, in a parcel to our agent E. Schröder in Amsterdam, and was enclosed in bale no. 118 for B. ter Haar and Son of that city. I enclosed a note to Schröder at the time, asking him to see to the thing. Everything was correctly addressed to your cousin;[c] so all he can do, if he hasn't got it yet, is approach Schröder.

You shall have the article.[387] The braggarts of the South are now getting a splendid thrashing. Most cheering of all is the reception met with everywhere by the gunboats on the Tennessee river as far up as Florence, Alabama (here the mussel shoals begin, disrupting navigation). So in west Tennessee, in the plains, the majority is also decidedly pro-Union. 15,000 prisoners, including Johnston, the Confederates' best general, who decided Bull Run by his rapid concentration on the centre, is no laughing matter.[390]

I shall be seeing Lupus this evening. If he can advance me something until 1 July, I shall get it for you. I myself shall be *au*

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[a] F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*. - [b] See this volume, pp. 313, 315, 320, 322, 341, and this page (the next letter). - [c] August Philips

*sec*[a] until then. Should there be [no] peace or some other settlement in America, it may well be that my total income from 1 July 1861-62 will be reduced to £100 and I shall thus run into debt. We have a whole heap of goods and can't sell a thing and, if we are saddled with them until matters in America have been straightened out, we are likely to lose all the profit made up till the end of December.[385] However, I imagine the scrap will continue, for I don't see how the fellows can make peace.

What's this about a Russian island off Korea?[b] And what's this about occupations in Java? (QUERY Japan?) *Je n'en sais rien.*[c] How about the *Free Presses?*

By the way, according to your figures, trade with China has surely increased significantly. 10 years ago, if I remember rightly, it alternated between 1 and 3 millions.

How is little Jenny? Warm regards to her, your wife and Laura.

Your
F. E.

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## 205

## MARX TO ENGELS[249]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 March 1862

Dear Frederick,

My best thanks for the POST OFFICE order and the wine. That swine Koller, who has an I.O.U. of mine, had already dunned me yesterday.[d]

I enclose herewith the 3 last *Free Presses.*[e] I haven't yet seen Collet in person, but feel sure he will be able to get hold of the other numbers as well.

In my letter to you, read Japan for Java.[f] I obtained the actual FACTS from sundry numbers of the *Tribune* which contained the

[a] without cash - [b] See this volume, p. 345. - [c] I know nothing about it. - [d] See this volume, p. 340. - [e] ibid., pp. 344, and this page (the previous letter). - [f] ibid., p. 345.

official Russian communiqués and reports from American consuls—all of them suppressed by the English press. I sent the relevant numbers to **Urquhart** and haven't yet got them back. I had previously used them for a *Presse* ARTICLE on the Russian advance in Asia. However, the jackasses didn't print it. Now, you know what a bad memory for names I've got. So, at the moment I can't provide you with the names. The first island[a] lies exactly half way between the south-western extremity of Japan and the Korean mainland. It has a large harbour and, according to the American account, is capable of becoming a second Sevastopol.[b] As regards the other islands that are actual Japanese possessions, one of them, if I am not mistaken, is called Jeso.[c] However, I shall see if I can retrieve the documents.

Chinese trade, compared with what it was like up to 1852, has certainly increased, but by no means on the same scale as have all other markets since the Californian-Australian discoveries.[391] Moreover, in earlier REPORTS Hong Kong, as an English possession, is shown separately from China, so that exports under the heading 'China' invariably (from the 40s on) amount to less than total exports. Finally, the increment achieved since 1859 fell back in 1861 to its former level.

In consequence of the American crisis, the BOARD OF TRADE report for 1861[d] shows a considerable change in the ranking order of the various markets for English exports. *India* leads with £17,923,767 (including Ceylon and Singapore. India alone, £16,412,090).

*Second market Germany,* normally 4th. *1860:* £13,491,523. *1861:* £12,937,073 (not including what goes via Holland and, to a lesser degree, via Belgium). In view of Germany's economic importance to England, what a diplomatic advantage it would give us, circumstances being different, over bluff John Bull!

*France* this year the 5th market. *1860:* £5,249,980. *1861:* £8,896,282. However, that includes Switzerland as well. England, on the other hand, now ranks as the *premier market* for France.

Out of the total exports of £125,115,133 (1861), £42,260,970 go to English 'POSSESSIONS' and 'COLONIES'. If one adds to that what England exports to other parts of Asia, Africa and America, there remains at most 23 to 24% for export to the countries of Europe.

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[a] Tsushima - [b] 'Russian Progress in Asia', *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6497, 30 January 1862. - [c] Hokkaido - [d] 'Accounts relating to Trade and Navigation for the Year ended December 31, 1861. Exports of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures', *The Economist,* No. 966, 1 March 1862.

Should Russia continue to advance in Asia at the same rapid pace as during the past 10 years, until all her EFFORTS are concentrated on India, it will be the end of John Bull's world market, a demise that will be hastened by the United States's protective tariff policy, which that country will certainly be in no hurry to relinquish, if only out of REVENGE against John. Moreover, John Bull is discovering to his horror that his main colonies in North America and Australia are becoming protectionist to the same extent as he himself is becoming a FREE-TRADER.[392] The complacent, brutal stupidity with which John has acclaimed Pam's 'SPIRITED POLICY' in Asia and America, will one day cost him damned dear.

To me it does not seem very PROBABLE that the SOUTHERNERS will have concluded peace by July 1862. When the NORTHERNERS have 1. secured the BORDER STATES—and it is upon these, in fact, that everything has centred from the start[a]—and 2. the Mississippi as far as New Orleans and Texas, the war may well enter a 2nd phase during which the NORTHERNERS will make no great exertions of a military nature but, by isolating the GULF STATES,[339] finally bring them to the point of voluntary RE-ANNEXATION.

During this war Bull has acted with what must be wholly unprecedented effrontery.[393]

In terms of brutality on the English side, the *Mexican Blue Book*[b] exceeds anything previously known in history. Menshikov appears a GENTLEMAN compared with *Sir C. Lennox Wyke.* Not only does this blackguard evince the most immoderate *zèle*[c] in the execution of Pam's secret instructions but, by his insolence, also seeks to avenge himself for the fact that, in the exchange of diplomatic dispatches, Señor Zamacona, the Mexican Foreign Minister (now resigned) and erstwhile journalist, invariably proves himself superior. As for the chap's style, herewith a few examples from his dispatches to Zamacona.

*'The arbitrary act of stopping all payments for the space of two years[394] is depriving the parties interested of their money *for that space of time, which* is *a dead loss of so much value* to them.' 'A starving man may justify, in his own eyes, the fact of stealing a loaf on the ground that imperious necessity impelled him thereto; but such an argument cannot, in a moral point of view, justify his violation of the law, which remains as positive, *apart from all sentimentality,* as if the crime had not had an excuse. *If he was actually starving,* he should have first asked the baker to assuage his hunger, but *doing so'* (starving?) *'of his own free will,* without permission, *is acting* exactly as the Mexican government *has* done towards *its creditors on the present occasion.'* 'With regard to the *light* in which you view the question, as *expressed* in

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[a] See this volume p. 277. - [b] *Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Mexico.* Parts I-III, London, 1862. - [c] zeal

your above named note,[a] you will excuse me for stating that *it cannot be treated of partially,* **without** *also* taking into consideration the opinions of those who directly suffer *from the practical operation of such ideas as emanating from yourself.*' 'I had a full right to complain ... of having first of all *heard* of this extraordinary measure ... by *seeing* it in printed bills *placarded through* the public streets....'[b]

'I have a duty to perform both to my own *Gvt.* and to that to *which* I am accredited, *which* impels me...,' etc.[c]

'I suspend all official relations with the Government of this Republic until *that* of Her Majesty[d] shall adopt such measures as *they* shall deem necessary.*'[e]

Zamacona writes and tells him that the INTRIGUES of FOREIGN DIPLOMATISTS in the past 25 years have been largely to blame for the TROUBLES in Mexico.[f] Wyke replies that

*'the population of Mexico is so degraded as to make them dangerous, not only to themselves, but to everybody coming into contact with them!'*[g]

Zamacona writes, saying that the propositions he [Wyke] has made would put an end to the Republic's independence, and were incompatible with the dignity of any independent state.[h] Wyke replies:

*'Excuse me for adding that such a proposition as I have made to you does not necessarily become undignified and impracticable simply *because you, an interested person,*'* (i.e., Foreign Minister of Mexico) *'are pleased to say so.'*[i]

But *satis superque.*[j]

According to a letter from Schily to Rheinländer, things look most precarious in Paris and, unless there is war, Badinguet[163] cannot hold on for another year. What bad luck for the chap that he should have the Parisians to govern, and not the Berliners, who admire him.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

PS. 1. How do I translate GIGS into German?

2. What are FEEDERS ON CIRCULAR FRAMES?

3. Could you inform me of all the different types of workers employed, e.g., at your mill (all, that is, EXCEPT THE WAREHOUSE), and in what proportion to each other? For in my book[310] I need an

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[a] Zamacona to C. Wyke, 21 July 1861. - [b] C. Wyke to Zamacona, 22 July 1861. - [c] C. Wyke to Zamacona, 23 July 1861. - [d] Victoria - [e] C. Wyke to Zamacona, 25 July 1861. - [f] Zamacona to C. Wyke, 25 July 1861. - [g] C. Wyke to Zamacona, 26 July 1861. - [h] Zamacona to C. Wyke, 27 July 1861. - [i] C. Wyke to Zamacona, 30 July 1861. - [j] More than enough

example showing that, in mechanical workshops, the *division of labour,* as forming the basis of manufacture and as described by A. Smith, does not exist. The proposition itself has already been set forth by Ure.[a] All that is needed is an example of some kind.

I must write and tell the chaps at the *Presse* that some new ARRANGEMENT will have to be made. It's all the same to me if they *don't* print the best articles (although I *always* write them in such a way that they can print them). But financially it's no go if, out of every 4 or 5 articles, they print 1 and only pay for 1. That places me far below the PENNY-A-LINERS.

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## 206

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 8 March 1862]

Dear Moor,

Encl. what I had promised. The second article will follow next week.[b] I haven't seen Lupus yet; shall call on him this evening. The *Free Presses* and your letter have arrived.[c]

Do you know a Prussian refugee by the name of Sippel (Sippel),[d] a mathematician? Apparently, the chap was tutor to a family by the name of Montgomery in Hampstead, was arrested before the amnesty[256] while travelling with this family in Prussia and not released until several months later, and is now said to be applying for a post as professor of mathematics at the University of Belfast. Someone up here wants to know more about the man, presumably in connection with some BUSINESS or other.

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[a] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* vols. I-II, London, 1776; A. Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures: or, an Exposition of the Scientific, Moral and Commercial Economy of the Factory System of Great Britain,* 2nd ed., London, 1835. - [b] See this volume, pp. 345, 346. - [c] ibid., p. 347. - [d] In the original the name is written in both German and Roman characters.

Telegrams should be addressed in future to: 7 South Gate St. Mary's Manchester.

In haste.

Your
F. E.

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## 207

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 March 1862

Dear Engels,

Because your article[a] failed to arrive, I have been unable to write to New York today. My relations with the *Tribune* are no longer such that, if (assuming they print the article) I send them SOMETHING ELSE in place of the sequel, they will print it. Rather, I am convinced that they are on the point of giving me my *congé* again along with all the other European correspondents. Their format has been reduced. They print perhaps one article in 3 or none at all. These are the usual indications of such a procedure.

So, let me have the sequel by Tuesday[b] or better still, the *conclusion*, since it is only the conjectural part relating to the future that can be of any real interest to them.

I'm not getting on very well with my book,[310] since work is often checked, i.e. suspended, for weeks on end by domestic disturbances. Little Jenny is still by no means as well as she should be.[c]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 345, 346, 351. - [b] 18 March - [c] See this volume, pp. 340-41.

# 208

## MARX TO ENGELS[249]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 April 1862

Dear Frederick,

My wife was discreet enough not to write to Dana. What the intention was is now unmistakably evident from the fact that the fellows don't even send me the *Tribune* any more.[395]

Enclosed letter from Friedländer. Arrived on Saturday.[a] Fine ideas these Germans have. I am to send him an article on the opening [of the exhibition[344]], which, with the SEASON TICKET needed to this end, the clothes I'd have to buy and sundry incidental expenses, would cost me at least 10 guineas—and, IN EXCHANGE, the prospect of selling a total of 4 to 6 articles *à* £8 (*summa summarum*[b]), or, at very best, *à* £12. And, since one must always assume the minimum where these chaps are concerned, I should actually lose money on the 4 articles! I have written to tell him[42] that I am confined to my room and cannot therefore send off on Thursday the desired inaugural sermon but shall, from time to time, submit a few articles on the exhibition along with the other ones. So far as the 'other' articles are concerned, the cat is now out of the bag.[c] 1 article per week (*à* £1), and even that is hedged about with somewhat hypothetical clauses. I must accept, of course, and have already accepted, since something is better than nothing at all. What the chaps are particularly interested in at the moment is America, and I should be grateful if you would send me an article (before the end of the week that is) on the progress of the war (I mean the battle of Corinth[396]), and generally write to me from now on whenever military events take a new turn. If only to disseminate correct views on this important matter in the land of the Teutons. (I had already revised your earlier articles for them; were published, what's more.[d])

In his new science, Vico says that Germany is the only country in Europe where an 'heroic tongue' is still spoken.[e] Had he had

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[a] 26 April - [b] in all - [c] Marx uses the expression *des Pudels Kern* (the core of the matter) from Goethe's *Faust*, Teil I, Sc. 3. - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'The American Civil War'. - [e] G. Vico, *Principj di una scienza nuova*.

the pleasure of becoming acquainted with the Vienna *Presse* or the Berlin *National-Zeitung*, the old Neapolitan would have abandoned this preconceived idea.

On arriving in London,[397] I found a letter from my LANDLORD, in which he said he would call today (28 April) in order to get the rest of the £20. However, he can't have a centime. During my month's absence, the list of debts relating to IMMEDIATE NECESSITIES has, of course, grown. In addition, there are 2 extra items that must be paid for and are even more urgent than the LANDLORD. Firstly, £7 for the piano MASTER since, CIRCUMSTANCES being what they are, my wife had to give him notice and hence must also pay him. Secondly, £10's worth must be redeemed from the pawn-shop, whither have departed not only the children's things but also those of the maids, right down to their boots and shoes. Because of the LANDLORD, I have so far remained incognito (*excepto* Borkheim), so that my wife may tell him that I have not yet returned and attempt to put him off *indefinitely*. For it's a question of SHIFTING.

So far Borkheim has advanced £20; promises the remainder for the beginning of next week.[398]

My wife saw Dronke in the street with madame and offspring, but they didn't see her.

As regards *Ariadne, adhuc sub judice lis est.*[a] For the disputed point in this case is a legal one. In Diodorus[b] she figures as a star. I don't find her shown as a constellation. Rather, indeed, as a *planetoid*, No. 43, Plate II, *Mädler*, latest issue, 5th Edition (which I have), Berlin 1861. So, at all events, the girl is in the firmament. As things stand, it is a nice legal point as to whether you or Lupus have won. Your general contention that all those persons placed by the Greeks among the stars live on in the astronomical charts would also seem to be doubtful in the extreme.

What was it you wanted besides the English army ESTIMATES? As soon as I am 'mobile' again, I shall see to the matter.

Kinkel has departed with his tail between his legs. He makes no reply. Instead, a line or two from his man Beta in which the swine attests that it was only after 6 months' urging on his part that Gottfried let him have the necessary biographical notes (which, from time immemorial, the said swine has been using regularly every 2 years) and the photograph, etc., at the request of Keil, editor of the *Gartenlaube*. But the real joke is that, *after* the MacDonald affair,[296] Keil and Beta (Juch has the relevant letter

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[a] The case is still before the court (Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 78). - [b] [Diodorus Siculus,] *Diodori bibliotheca historica*.

written by the last named and Eichhoff has seen it) refused to proceed with the matter, and it was only with difficulty that Gottfried engineered the final 'set-to'.[399] However, I am writing to Eichhoff, instructing him to drop the matter for the time being, since otherwise he'll take the edge off Gottfried's defeat.[42] For Juch is too cowardly to come out with Beta's letter. Otherwise, he would have already done so of his own accord in a note appended to the latter's statement.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Little Jenny is still far from being her proper self.[a] Our youngest[b] has been seriously ill but is now recovered.

You should read the enclosed excerpts from Urquhart.[c]

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## 209

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[400]

IN BERLIN

London, 28 April 1862
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

You'll be terribly angry with me, OLD BOY, and justifiably so, but, at the same time, with absolutely no justification. If I postponed writing to you from one day to the next, it was because I was hoping from one day to the next to put my affairs so far in order as to be able at least to pay off the £10 I owed you and, besides, write to you with an *easy mind.* Instead, the situation has grown worse every day. The *Tribune,* with which I had taken up

[a] See this volume, pp. 340-41, 352. - [b] Eleanor Marx - [c] From *The Free Press* published by Urquhart.

again—though at $^1/_3$ of my former income—has finally *got rid* of all its foreign correspondents. So, I now find myself in a complete vacuum. I have no intention of treating you to a tale of woe of any sort; it's a wonder I haven't actually gone *mad.* If I mention the beastly mess at all, it's simply so that my other misfortunes should not be compounded by a misunderstanding with you.

What you say about J. Ph. Becker in your last letter is absolutely wrong.[401] I. e., you don't know the man except from hearsay. He is one of the noblest German revolutionaries there has been since 1830, a man who can be reproached with nothing save an enthusiasm which fails to take account of circumstances. As for his connections with the Italians, a bosom friend of Orsini's[a] has *entrusted me* with papers that leave no room for doubt on this score, whatever the Italians, and even Garibaldi, may say. As for his relationship with Türr—whom I had denounced over here in *The Free Press* even *before* 1859[402]—all it amounts to is this: During the Baden campaign[403] Becker made Türr a lieutenant. Hence a kind of comradely relationship. Had Becker intended to exploit this connection and accept the offers made him in Paris by Türr *in the presence* of one of my London friends,[b] he would not have endured the martyrdom which he, a man of 60, is in fact enduring. I know full well the sources whence Becker has obtained his exiguous financial support. They are confined to people within our *closest* circle. True, he fell foul of some of the Italians because his strongly Teutonic sentiments caused him to reject certain *well-intentioned* plans. It is indeed exasperating that men of Becker's stamp should be so egregiously slandered.

As for *my book,*[310] it won't be finished for another two months. During the past year, to keep myself from starving, I have had to do the most despicable hackwork and have often gone for months without being able to add a line to the 'thing'. And there is also that quirk I have of finding fault with anything I have written and not looked at for a month, so that I have to revise it completely. At all events, the work loses nothing thereby, and *pro anno*[c] the German public has, after all, far weightier things to think about.

*Ad vocem*[d] your book[e] which I have of course now quite finished, and individual chapters reread, it strikes me that you apparently haven't read *Vico's 'new science'.* Not that you'd have found anything in it immediately to your purpose; but it does provide a philosophical view of the spirit of Roman law,

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[a] Marx probably means Simon François Bernard. - [b] Victor Schily - [c] for this year - [d] As regards - [e] *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*

contrasting with that of the legal philistines. You would scarcely be able to work your way through the original, as it is not only written in Italian but in a very peculiar *Neapolitan* idiom.[a] However, I commend the French translation, *La Science nouvelle*, etc.; traduite par l'auteur de l'essai sur la formation du dogme catholique. *Paris*, Charpentier, Editeur—1844. To whet your appetite, I shall do no more than quote the following sentences:

'L'ancien droit romain a été un poème sérieux, et l'ancienne jurisprudence a été une poésie sévère dans laquelle se trouvent renfermés les premiers efforts de la métaphysique légale.' '...l'ancienne jurisprudence était très poétique, puisqu'elle supposait vrais les faits qui ne l'étaient pas, et qu'elle refusait d'admettre comme vrais les faits qui l'étaient en effet; qu'elle *considérait les vivans comme morts*, et *les morts comme vivans dans leurs héritages*.' 'Les Latins nommèrent *heri* les *héros*; d'où vient le mot *hereditas* ... l'héritier ... représente, vis-à-vis de l'héritage, le père de famille défunt.'[b]

Vico contains in embryo Wolf (Homer),[c] Niebuhr (*Römische Königsgeschichte*),[d] the fundamentals of comparative linguistics (even if in fanciful form) and a whole mass of really inspired stuff. So far, I have never been able to get hold of his legal writings proper.

Under the circumstances in which I now find myself (and have found myself for the better part of a year) I shall not be able to do a critique of your book until BY AND BY. On the other hand, I should be grateful, *not for my own sake*, but for that of my wife, if, without a prior *quid pro quo* on my part, you could let Brockhaus advertise the first part of the political economy.

*Never* have the English middle classes (and aristocracy) put their foot in it with such effrontery as during the great struggle that is taking place on the far side of the Atlantic. By contrast, the English WORKING CLASS, which suffers most from the *bellum civile*,[e] has never before shown itself as heroic and noble. This is the more admirable when one knows, as I do, all the mechanisms that were set in motion, both here and in Manchester, to incite them to stage

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[a] G. Vico, *Principj di una scienza nuova*. - [b] 'Ancient Roman law was a grave poem and ancient jurisprudence austere poetry which contained the first attempt to formulate legal metaphysics.' '...ancient jurisprudence was highly poetical in that it supposed true those facts that were not so, and refused to admit the truth of facts that were so indeed; in that it *regarded the living as dead*, and *the dead as living in their inheritance*.' 'The Latins called *heroes heri*; whence comes the word *hereditas* ... the heir ... represents, vis-à-vis the inheritance, the deceased *pater familias*.' - [c] F. A. Wolfius, *Prolegomena ad Homerum sive de operum homericorum prisca et genuina forma variisque mutationibus et probabili ratione emendadi*, Vol. I, Halis saxonum, 1795. - [d] B. G. Niebuhr, *Römische Geschichte*, Th. I-III, Berlin, 1827-32. - [e] civil war

a demonstration.[404] The only major organ they still have, the *Newspaper* owned by that low-down scoundrel Reynolds,[a] has been bought by the SOUTHERNERS, as have the most important of their LECTURERS. BUT ALL IN VAIN!

Varnhagen's book[b] interested me a great deal and I can understand how *timely* its appearance was. On no account must you fail to *congratulate* Ludmilla about it *on my behalf.* Nevertheless, this has not raised Varnhagen in my esteem. I find him shallow, insipid and paltry and would ascribe his abhorrence of Counsellor to the Legation Kölle to the shock of encountering his own double.

Please return the enclosed letter from the *régicide* Simon Bernard. Do you think I should get involved in the matter? I rather think not.

My kindest regards to the Countess.[c] She shall soon have a letter from me all to herself. I hope she has never allowed herself to be misled by trifles such as my omitting to write, nor ever doubted the lasting attachment and admiration I feel for her.

Your
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX[249]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 5 May 1862

Dear Moor,

There was no end of trouble at the office last week, on top of which I didn't feel very well, hence didn't manage to write. Friedländer's magnanimous letter returned herewith. Those people have peculiar ideas of London![d]

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[a] *Reynolds's Newspaper* - [b] K. A. Varnhagen von Ense, *Tagebücher. Aus dem Nachlaß Varnhagen's von Ense,* Bd. I-II, Leipzig, 1861 (published by Ludmilla Assing). - [c] Sophie von Hatzfeldt - [d] See this volume, p. 353.

As to the *Tribune*, I saw in the *Manchester Examiner and Times'* LITERARY GOSSIP an item to the effect that Dana is resigning from the *Tribune* '*ON ACCOUNT OF DIFFERENCES OF OPINION WITH MR HORACE GREELEY*'. So, that old jackass WITH THE FACE ANGELIC seems to have been behind it all.[405] But I wouldn't let the fellows off just like that without at least writing to Dana, asking for further elucidation as to what it all means and who is now MANAGING the *Tribune* in his place, so that you know whom you are to have recourse to. If the chaps want to sever the connection, at least get them to say so; I wouldn't just tamely put up with indirect hints. If you were subsequently to go to another New York journal, they could always say that *you* were being disloyal to them. Besides, they must surely give a reason.

Borkheim writes to say that he has paid the balance of the money, so I hope you will be saved from arrest.[a]

*Ad vocem*[b] Ariadne, there's no doubt I'm right.[c] All the old *constellations* still exist on the modern charts. What Diodorus maintains is not authoritative. The fellow wasn't an astronomer. Moreover, it was a question of the wording. I betted on constellation. But subsequently it struck me, too, that she figures among the recently discovered asteroids; that, however, has absolutely nothing to do with the case, of course.

What I want besides the WAR DEPARTMENT ESTIMATES (for 1862) is a PAPER laid before Parliament which sets out the new organisation of the *Indian native army* (as it has *existed* since 1861) (i.e., the number of regiments with their old and new names and in what way these have been retained or renumbered).[d]

Can you send me *The Free Press* for April? I shall try and get hold of the May issue up here.

As regards America:

1. Battle of Corinth.[396] May be classed with all well fought major modern battles, in which the antagonists have been of approximately equal strength. Eylau, Wagram, Lützen, Bautzen (admittedly the French were much stronger here, but, being without cavalry, they were incapable of pursuit), Borodino, Magenta, Solferino.[406] The battle, to use Clausewitz's words, smouldered away like damp powder, exhausting both sides, and, when it was over, the *positive* advantages gained by the victorious side were of a moral rather than a material nature.[e] At all events, the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 354, 355-56. - [b] As regards - [c] See this volume, p. 354. - [d] 'Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Organisation of the Indian Army', London, 1859. - [e] C. von Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege*, Bd. I, Berlin, 1832, Viertes Buch: 'Das Gefecht', S. 283.

momentary advantage gained by Beauregard on Sunday[a] was more intensive and much greater than that gained by Grant and Buell on Monday. The bulk of the trophies went to the Confederates, even though they were ultimately beaten, i.e., compelled to forego their attack and withdraw. That is the tactical aspect. But the strategic one is this:

Beauregard had concentrated all the troops he could get hold of so as to pounce on the approaching Federal divisions, one by one when possible. This miscarried; the troops under Grant, Buell and Wallace were sufficient to repulse him. Had they lost this battle, the Federals would have lost Tennessee; now they have kept it. It was thanks only to the redoubts at Corinth that Beauregard was not at once compelled to move further south. Whether these earthworks are capable of protecting him from an attack by Halleck (who has now assumed command), there is no way of telling. No more can we credit the rumour that he has received massive reinforcements from Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama. If this is to some extent the case, they can certainly be nothing but raw recruits, who will be more of a hindrance to him than a help. On the other hand, the forces at Pittsburg Landing were so close to being evenly matched that, *without reinforcements*, Halleck, too, will find it difficult to carry out an assault on a fortified camp or undertake some other major offensive operation. We don't know what troops the Federals still have in Tennessee or Kentucky, other than those engaged at Pittsburg Landing, so it's hard to say what the odds are. In the meantime, the Unionists have cut the railway from Memphis to Chattanooga (i.e., to Richmond, Charleston, Savannah), both to the west as well as to the east of Corinth. Consequently, Beauregard is restricted to one railway (to Mobile and New Orleans), and the question arises whether his troops will be able to subsist in Corinth for any appreciable time.[407]

2. Virginia. Hero McClellan is IN A DEAD FIX. I think this will mark the passing of his spurious glory. He has had another division transferred to him from McDowell, but that won't help him much. All that can save him are the *ironclads*, yet another of which (the *Galena*) has sailed for Monroe. Concerning this topic, see today's *Morning Star*, American news; of great interest to Austria. You will also learn from it why, not long ago, the *Monitor* lay quietly at anchor when the *Merrimac*, the *Yorktown*, etc., seized the 3 transports. If they cleared the rivers to right and left and engaged

[a] 6 April

the flanks and rear with their guns, these ships could once again save this jackass or traitor,[a] in the same way as the gunboats at Pittsburg Landing saved Sherman (who had nothing but young troops, who had never been under fire before).

3. MOUNTAIN DEPARTMENT. Frémont is still at Wheeling, the result being that the mountainous portion of south Virginia as well as east Tennessee is still in enemy hands. I.e., *the very best Union regions*! Impossible to explain why. At all events, the Confederate regiment that was raised in Knoxville, Tennessee, as recently as the beginning of April, will doubtless go over at the first shot.

Bonaparte is up to his tricks again in America. He'll take good care not to stir up that hornet's nest. Before the year was out (*vide 'Morning Star'*), his ironclads and likewise all French merchantmen would be gone from the ocean, and then farewell to pleasure!

Apropos. You will have seen in today's *Standard* (or *Morning Herald*) that *General Hecker* has become chief NIGGER catcher (Manhattan[b]). *Be sure to keep the paper.*

What do you make of the Prussian elections? So colossal is the government's defeat that it's tantamount to a decisive victory for the same.[408] For it can only drive handsome William to extremes. Now they are sending him nothing but democrats! The *Hamburger Correspondent*[c] as well is already saying that, under the present electoral law, there is nothing to be done and that it is impossible to govern. The worthy Twesten has already completely relapsed into parliamentary cretinism and wants to move a vote of no confidence in the ministers. At any rate, troubles are mounting, and the tide is rising.

How is little Jenny placed for wine? Tell me which kinds Allen usually recommends. I can now send you some port as well, old, light, no spirits, which I *highly* recommend; but only after it has been *well filtered*, for the crust has loosened.

Warm regards.

Your
F. E.

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[a] McClellan - [b] Joseph Alfred Scoville - [c] *Staats- und Gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartaiischen Correspondenten*

# 211

## MARX TO ENGELS[249]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 May [1862]

Dear Frederick,

As soon as you have shown it to Lupus, send back the enclosed, exceedingly odd letter, which was published, although mutilated, in the *Siècle*, the *Temps* and the *Progrès de Lyon*, by the *jeunesse hongroise à Paris*,[a] and sent to me by Schily.[409] This same '*jeunesse*' now proposes to let loose a pamphlet containing remarkable revelations about the Kossuth-Klapka-Türr triumvirate in Paris.

Apropos. You might communicate the FACTS contained in the letter to Eichhoff, 57 Ranelagh Street, Liverpool. He can get the thing into the *Zeitung für Norddeutschland* (Hanover).

A little while ago, so Schily writes, the Bern *Bund*[b] (mightn't you be able to look this up at the Club?) carried a statement by a Hungarian refugee in which Vogt is called 'the Palais Royal's[410] fattened sow', while Fazy, Kossuth, Klapka, and Türr figure as 'scoundrels and *gamblers*'.

I have got back 330 copies of *Vogt*[c] from that blackguard Koller. If only I knew of an opening! Might this not be the moment to dispose of them at a 100 p.c. loss? I. e., in Geneva and Bern. How opportune that would be just now!

I shall send you the April *and May* numbers of the *Press*.[d] In future you shall have them regularly. I shall procure the other stuff for you, i.e. the ESTIMATES.

As TO WINE, what the children most prefer, of course, is a motley collection. I believe that, according to Allen, claret and port are best.

I shall write to Dana again. I sorely miss their sending me the *Tribune*. This is a rotten trick of Greeley's and McElrath's. I discovered two things in the final March numbers of the *Tribune*. First, that McClellan had been *fully* informed a week beforehand about the withdrawal of the CONFEDERATES.[e] Secondly, that during

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[a] young Hungarians in Paris - [b] *Der Bund. Eidgenössisches Centralblatt. Organ der freisinnig-demokratischen schweizerischen und bernischen Politik* - [c] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt* (see this volume, pp. 327, 337-38, 340). - [d] *The Free Press* - [e] Marx probably has in mind the article 'President Lincoln's Strategy' in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6542, 24 March 1862.

the *Trent* affair,[366] Russell of *The Times* was taking advantage of what he had ferreted out in Washington in order to gamble on the New York Stock Exchange.[a]

In Prussia, things will get to the point of a *coup d'état*, not however to a *coup d'éclat*.[b]

The explanation for Bonaparte's present manoeuvres in Mexico[411] (the affair was originally of Pam's contriving) is that Juárez will acknowledge only the official debt of £46,000 to France. But Miramón and his gang had issued, through the Swiss bankers Jecker et Co., government bonds to the tune of 52,000,000 dollars (on which ABOUT 4 mill. dollars had been paid). These government bonds—Jecker et Co. merely *hommes de paille*[c]—fell into the hands of Morny et Co. for next to nothing. They are demanding that Juárez acknowledge the same. *Hinc illae lacrimae*.[d]

Schurz is—a Brigadier-General with Frémont!!!

Your
K. M.

Borkheim paid me the balance last Friday.[e]

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## 212

## ENGELS TO MARX[249]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 12 May 1862

Dear Moor,

Herewith in all haste £10 (O/A 40602, Manchester, 24 Jan. 1862), with which to set the butcher's mind at rest. Since I arrive in London at 5 o'clock tomorrow morning and have to leave again at 7 in the morning, I shall not, alas, be able to meet you.

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[a] 'The Censorship of the Press', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6541, 22 March 1862. - [b] A play on words meaning (here) decisive clash. - [c] men of straw - [d] Hence these tears (Terence, *Andria*, I, i, 99). - [e] See this volume, pp. 354, 359.

What makes me lose confidence in any success where the Yankees are concerned isn't so much the military situation as such, which is what it is only as a result of the indolence and indifference apparent throughout the North. Where, amongst the people, is there any sign of revolutionary vigour? They allow themselves to be thrashed and are downright proud of the lambasting they get. Where, throughout the North, is there the slightest indication that people are in real earnest about anything? I've never encountered the like of it before, not even in Germany at the worst of times. On the contrary, what the Yankees would already seem to relish above all else is the prospect of doing down their government creditors.

*Au revoir.*

Your
F. E.

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## 213

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 18 May 1862]

Dear Moor,

You must excuse my not writing. Never have I been so overrun as I have this week. Austrians, backwoodsmen,[412] Frenchmen and, then, today, Borkheim is saddling me with his *associé*[a]—a nice prospect! I no longer know whether I'm coming or going. And, on top of it all, one's expected to go drinking with the whole crew and make oneself agreeable. May the devil take the exhibition.[344]

In the greatest haste,

Your
F. E.

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[a] partner

## 214

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 May 1862

Dear Engels,

A week ago last Thursday, you wrote saying you intended to send some wine for little Jenny and Co.[413] I showed the children your letter. The wine failed to arrive so they were disappointed. I attach importance to it just now because it's a distraction for them, and the house is otherwise very forlorn.

Nothing could be worse than the kind of oppressiveness which now broods over the whole place.

Luckily, I have neither heard nor seen anything of the EXHIBITION[344] or its visitors, and hope that this 'immunity' will continue, since I am now in no position to entertain PEOPLE.

As soon as you have a moment to spare, let me know briefly what you think of the military operations in the UNITED STATES, particularly McClellan's deeds of derring-do.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 215

## ENGELS TO MARX[249]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 23 May 1862

Dear Moor,

The wine was delayed for the same reason as the letter. In such matters I have to attend to everything myself and, before getting to the stage of buying the hamper, etc., I'm frequently distracted.

I have had to dispense with port on this occasion too, since it is at my lodgings and I wasn't able to get it sent over to the WAREHOUSE. The hamper is leaving today. The red wine and 1846 Hochheimer are specially for little Jenny. The 3 bottles with the red seal and no label are 1857 Rüdesheimer (the same as we drank up here); too stimulating for invalids, though excellent for those in good health.

Strohn was here (as you can see, *cela ne finit pas* with these visits[a]). He was in Berlin shortly before the dissolution[408] and indulged in much carousing with the Rhenish deputies. The fellows took the whole situation tremendously seriously, trusted in their omnipotence, and have relapsed into parliamentary cretinism almost as felicitously as at any time in 1848.[414] Red Becker,[b] whose hair has become much paler in the meantime, trotted round all day in EVENING DRESS, black from top to toe, and a dress-coat. His paunch is fatter than ever. Mr Rudolf Schramm, LATE OF Striegau,[415] was also gadding about there and complaining to all who would listen to him that nowhere did the public wish to elect him, which was beyond his comprehension. One evening Schramm was talking some colossal rubbish about England, whereupon Strohn said to him: 'Now listen, Mr Schramm, if I'd been in England as long as you, I'd be ashamed to talk such nonsense; you must have been asleep the whole time you were there.' Whereat Schramm, usually so insolent, replied: 'In England, you know, I was compelled, on account of my wife, to mix with company where I was not in my element and, for that very reason, couldn't see the people I should like to have seen!!!'

McClellan is carrying on in his familiar manner. The Confederates always give him the slip because he never makes straight for them, his excuse being that they are A GOOD DEAL stronger than he is. That is why they keep on running away. Never before has a war been waged like this, in return for which he will get his vote of thanks. In the meantime, these wretched little rearguard actions and the constant desertions are certainly enough to demoralise the Confederates severely, and, if it comes to a decisive battle, they'll find this out.

The capture of New Orleans was a daring feat on the part of the navy.[416] Quite outstanding—the passage of the forts, especially. Afterwards everything was simple. The moral effect on the Confederates was obviously enormous, and the material effect will

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[a] no end to these visits (see this volume, p. 364). - [b] Hermann Heinrich Becker

already have made itself felt. Beauregard in Corinth now has nothing left to defend; the position had served a purpose only so long as it protected Mississippi and Louisiana, particularly New Orleans. Strategically, Beauregard has been put in a position where one lost battle will leave him no alternative but to disband his army and employ them as guerrillas, for without a large city in the rear of his army as a focal point of railways and resources, he *cannot* marshal massed bodies of men.

If the Confederate army is beaten in Virginia, it must, after the demoralising incidents of the past, quickly disband of its own accord and operate as guerrillas. Admittedly, its prospects are better, because the numerous rivers run from the mountains to the sea athwart its line of withdrawal, and also because it is facing that jackass McClellan; however, it is in the nature of things that it will be forced either to accept a decisive battle or to split up into bands *without* a battle. Just as the Russians were compelled to fight at Smolensk and Borodino[417] *against* the will of the generals who had judged the situation correctly.

If Beauregard, or the army of Virginia, wins a battle, however big, it can be of little help. The Confederates are not in a position to derive the slightest benefit from it. They can't advance 20 English miles without getting stuck and hence must await a fresh attack. They lack everything. Incidentally, I regard such an eventuality as quite impossible without outright treachery.

So, the fate of the Confederate armies now hangs on one single battle. We have still to examine the prospects for guerrilla warfare. Now, it is exceedingly surprising that in this of all wars the part played by the population should have been not so much small as non-existent. In 1813, French communications were repeatedly disrupted and harassed by Colomb, Lützow, Chernyshev and a score of other leaders of irregulars and Cossacks; in 1812, in Russia, the population vanished completely from the French line of march; in 1814 the French peasants took up arms and killed allied patrols and stragglers, but here nothing whatever is happening. They abide by *the outcome of the big battles* and console themselves with *victrix causa diis*, etc.[a] All that boasting about a war to the knife has turned out to be just rubbish. And how can guerrillas be expected to fare on such a terrain? I certainly anticipate that the WHITE TRASH of the South[418] will try something of the sort after the final disbandment of the armies, but I'm too

[a] *Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni*—the conquering cause was pleasing to the Gods, but the conquered one to Cato (Lucan, *Pharsalia*, I, 128).

convinced of the bourgeois nature of the planters to doubt for one instant that this would at once turn them into rabid pro-Unionists. Just let those others make an attempt at BRIGANDAGE and the planters everywhere will receive the Yankees[312] with open arms. The BONFIRES along the Mississippi may be attributed solely to the 2 chaps from Kentucky who are said to have arrived in Louisville—certainly not *by* the Mississippi. The fire in New Orleans was easily organised and will be repeated in other cities; elsewhere, too, a great deal will undoubtedly be burnt down, but the affair must inevitably bring to a head the SPLIT between the planters and the merchants on the one hand, and the WHITE TRASH on the other, and then it will be all up with secession.

The fanatical support for the Confederation among the New Orleans merchants is accounted for simply by the fact that the fellows had to accept a mass of CONFEDERATION SCRIPS in exchange for cash. I know of several examples here. This should not be forgotten. A good, big forced loan is a splendid means of shackling the bourgeois to the revolution and diverting them from their class interests by way of their personal interests.

Kindest regards to your wife and the girls.

Your

F. E.

Lupus was again suffering badly from gout. He is going to Germany in 5 weeks' time.

You must surely have read that thing about Bernard saying that they have put him into a lunatic asylum?[a] Is the affair above-board or is there some suggestion of FOUL PLAY?

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[a] See this volume, p. 369.

# 216

## MARX TO ENGELS[249]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 May 1862

Dear Frederick,

The children and the WHOLE FAMILY send you their best thanks for the spirituous hamper.

In Eichhoff's letter enclosed herewith, you will find, recaptured to the life, the kind of polemics beloved of Parson Kinkel. Where would Gottfried be without his piss-a-bed![a]

I may not have written to tell you yet that Dr Klein in Cologne has won 35,000 talers in the Prussian lottery; he will now probably marry Mrs Daniels, provided he hasn't changed his mind.

It's quite true that Bernard, always very eccentric and having in any case overworked during the past few weeks, has become subject to 'hallucinations'. The only UNFAIR thing about it is that this was instantly seized upon as an opportunity to put him away, which was quite unnecessary since the family in Dorking to whom he was tutor was prepared to look after and assume responsibility for him. Ditto Allsop. But the presence of the latter, who had provided the money for Orsini's assassination attempt,[419] and his renewed intercourse with Bernard, had long been worrying Bonaparte's police, at whose request the English police had long been keeping an eye on Bernard.

*Last Saturday*[b] I received from my Gas Company a summary demand that I pay them £1 10/- before *next Saturday*, failing which (it's a final notice) I shall be 'cut off'. Since I am now *sans sou*,[c] I am forced in this mess to turn to you.

The blowing up of the *Merrimac* seems to me a clear indication of cowardice on the part of the Confederate swine.[420] The curs might still have hazarded another throw. It's truly marvellous how *The Times* (which backed all the anti-Irish COERCION BILLS[421] with such intense enthusiasm) is now lamenting that 'liberty' will be lost should the North tyrannise over the South.[d] *The Economist* is no less pleasing. In the last issue, it declares that it finds the financial good fortune of the YANKEES—the non-depreciation of their paper

[a] Heinrich Beta, whose real surname was Bettziech, rendered here by Marx as *'Bettseicher'*. - [b] 24 May - [c] without a sou - [d] Report by the *Times* correspondent of 13 May 1862, *The Times*, No. 24256, 27 May 1862.

money—*incomprehensible* (although the thing is as plain as a pike-staff).[a] Up till then it had, for week after week, consoled its readers with talk of such depreciation. Although it now admits to not understanding what it should know about *ex officio* and hence to having misled its readers on the subject, it presently consoles them with gloomy reflections on the 'military operations', of which it officially understands nothing.

What made paper operations exceptionally easy for the YANKEES[422] (given the main factor—confidence in their cause and hence in their government) was undoubtedly the circumstance that, as a result of secession, the West was virtually stripped of paper money, i.e. of a CIRCULATING MEDIUM generally. All the banks whose principal SECURITIES consisted in BONDS issued by the SLAVE STATES, went bankrupt. In addition, there was a drain of CURRENCY amounting to MILLIONS which had circulated in the West in the form of actual bank notes issued by the SOUTHERN BANKS. Then, partly as a result of the Morrill Tariff[423] and partly as a result of the war itself, which had largely put a stop to the import of luxury goods, throughout the whole period the YANKEES had a favourable balance of trade, and hence rate of exchange, vis-à-vis Europe. An unfavourable rate of exchange might have gravely affected the philistines' patriotic confidence in paper.

How absurd, by the by, is John Bull's concern over the interest UNCLE SAM will have to pay on the national debt! As though it weren't a bagatelle by comparison with Bull's national debt, besides which the UNITED STATES is now undoubtedly richer than were the BULLS in 1815, with their debt of a milliard.

Hasn't Pam got Bonaparte into a fine old mess in Mexico?[424]

I have now—if only out of DESPERATION—really put my nose to the grindstone and am writing away for dear life—at the political economy I mean.[310]

1 article a week is coming out in the *Presse*. That, in fact, is all I send them, in accordance with Mr Friedländer's letter.[b]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

My regards to MRS BORTMAN AND SISTER.[425]

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[a] 'Extent and Bearing of Federal Successes', *The Economist*, No. 978, 24 May 1862. - [b] See this volume, p. 353.

# 217

## ENGELS TO MARX[249]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 29 May 1862

Dear Moor,

Herewith the POST OFFICE ORDER for £2, payable Kentish Town, which, if I'm not mistaken, is the office closest to you.

Siebel has been blessed with a baby daughter.

Anneke is with Buell's Army and, as from today, will be writing for the Augsburg paper.[a] I feel somewhat anxious about Halleck's troops; the thing's been dragging on so long and he would not seem to be getting any reinforcements after all,[426] although Spence's lies in *The Times* certainly do not mean anything.[b] Willich is colonel (THE ETERNAL COLONEL!) commanding the 32nd Indiana Regiment.

As for the business of Klein,[c] I am heartily glad for his sake, poor devil. I'll return Eichhoff's letter to you as soon as I've read it to Lupus, but I can't go and see him at the moment, as I have a swollen tonsil, which has kept me at home these past few evenings.

It now seems as though some kind of guerrilla warfare has started up after all, but certainly nothing of any significance and, should there be just one victory, reinforcements will move up together with some cavalry and soon put paid to the thing. A defeat might well prove disastrous.

Your
F. E.

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[a] *Allgemeine Zeitung* - [b] J. Spence's letter to the *Times* editor of 26 May 1862, *The Times*, No. 24258, 29 May 1862. - [c] See this volume, p. 369.

# 218

## ENGELS TO MARX[249]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 June 1862

Dear Moor,

I hope you got the POST OFFICE ORDER for £2 I sent off last Friday on Kentish Town POST OFFICE.[a]

So, at last we learn from Anneke's letter that on 26 April Halleck had rather more than 100,000 men and 300 cannon incl. Pope and Mitchel, and that he was awaiting the arrival of Curtis and Sigel with further reinforcements. Up till 29 April the state of the army appears to have been passable on the whole, nor does Anneke say anything about sickness. Hence, I consider the talk of sickness to be pure invention. Still, one is bound to admit that Stanton and Halleck have a way of making both press and public mistrustful; it should actually be easy enough to have one correspondent with each army who would write what the general tells him so that the public at any rate can get some sort of news.

The big battle, then, will doubtless be fought as soon as Sigel and Curtis arrive. Spence's estimate that 120,000 men are needed to keep the BORDER STATES in order is ludicrous;[b] in Kentucky hardly a man would appear to be under arms (apart, perhaps, from the recruits at the training camp at Louisville, from whom Sigel's corps will doubtless be formed) and in Nashville, according to Anneke, there are nothing but convalescents, etc.; otherwise, apart from Halleck's and McClellan's armies, the only ones still remaining in the BORDER STATES are Frémont (who apparently has no army at all yet), Banks (who must be very short of men) and McDowell, though they all count as part of the *regular* army. However, Spence errs in the other direction, 1. at this moment the armies of the FEDERALS certainly do not amount to a total of 500,000 men, 2. they have undoubtedly allocated more than 90,000 to the coast. My rough estimate is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| On the coast | 100,000 men |
| Banks & Frémont | 30,000 " |

[a] See this volume, p. 371. - [b] J. Spence's letter to the *Times* editor of 2 June 1862, *The Times*, No. 24263, 4 June 1862.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sigel & Curtis | 30,000 | men |
| McClellan | 80,000 | " |
| At Washington | 30,000 | " |
| McDowell | 30,000 | " |
| Halleck | 100,000 | " |

Hence a total of 400,000 men in the field, to which should be added approx. 60,000 recruits, convalescents and small detachments who are probably dispersed about Missouri, along each bank of the lower Ohio and Tennessee, and partly among the cities of the North-East; *summa summarum* 460,000 men. I am confirmed in this by the new draft of 50,000 men which will be followed very shortly by another of equal size; evidently, the intention is to maintain the army at its normal strength of 500,000 men.

It was a colossal blunder on Stanton's part, and sheer boastfulness, to put a stop to recruiting. Materially, it has done a great deal of harm and was the cause of all that waste of time at Corinth and Richmond; and morally the present revocation will do even more harm—aside from the fact that it will now be much more difficult to get recruits. It's not as though there weren't plenty of men available; as a result of immigration, the Northern States must have, in terms of total population, at least 3-4% more men aged between 20 and 35 than any other country.

In other respects in his letters Monsieur Anneke appears to be the same grumpy old FAULTFINDER and knowall he always was, who judges the army, not in accordance with circumstances or even the enemy, but rather with the old, trained European armies and not even these as they are, but as they *ought* to be. The blockhead would do well to reflect on the confusion he himself must have experienced often enough during manoeuvres in Prussia.

The comedy in Berlin is getting very funny indeed. The ministry assures the Chamber of its liberalism and the Chamber assures the King of its royalism. *Embrassez-vous et que cela finisse!*[427] In other respects, it is undoubtedly a sign of progress that people are getting so nicely and so rapidly embroiled in parliamentary intrigue; however, there'll be a conflict all right. Very fine, too, that nothing came of the whole Hesse-Cassel affair until the Elector[a] had personally insulted handsome William,[b] whereupon it really did come to nothing.[428]

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[a] Ludwig III - [b] William I

How is little Jenny getting on?

Warm regards to your wife and the children. Eichhoff's thing[a] returned herewith.

Your
F. E.

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## 219

## ENGELS TO CARL SIEBEL

IN BARMEN

Manchester, 4 June 1862

Dear Siebel,

You're a fine one, you are, notifying me of your daughter's birth after the same fashion as I [use] to acknowledge your various letters and packages. My heartiest congratulations. I hope you'll have a lot of fun with her. Is your wife all right?

Here things trundle along as always. All the same, I'm gradually beginning to notice how demoralising this quiet routine is; one is drained of all one's energy and becomes thoroughly indolent. I even read another novel recently.

The so-called—*salva venia*[b]—Schiller Institute[429] (also known as the Jerusalem Club) has become a purely Jewish institution and, between 1:30 and 3, the din there is enough to drive one out of one's mind. In fact, I very seldom visit the noble institution now. What's happening is typically Jewish. To start off with they thank God for having a Schiller Institute, and barely are they installed than, apparently, it's not good enough for them, and they want to put up a large building, a veritable temple of Moses, and to move the thing there. That, of course, is the shortest road to bankruptcy. And it's *for that* you had to write a prologue and act as producer! And that's what they call a German national

[a] See this volume, p. 369. - [b] if one may refer to it thus

institution! Mark my words, in a couple of years you'll be sent a circular: '*Re* the bankruptcy of the late Schiller Institute', etc.

'Re' your letters, let me reply very briefly as follows. So far as the affair with Marx is concerned, he would certainly not have turned to you if my resources hadn't already been exhausted, as was indeed the case, which meant that I could do nothing just then. As for red Becker (whose pamphlet[a] was of great interest to me, partly because it contains a RECANTATION of his former 'wild' opinions, and also because the Prussian government has forcibly turned the chap into a local bigwig again, and hence into a Deputy), the fellow is no *immediate* concern of ours. He has never belonged to *our* party as such, has always been a mere *democrat*, and he only became involved in the business of the Communist trial in Cologne[2] because he regarded the affair as an opportunity for agitation. In fact, during the trial he disassociated himself completely from the rest of the accused and enjoyed a special position. Since then he has avowedly become a royal Prussian democrat, has come out in favour of the monarchy, etc. So, *politically* we have no connections whatever with the man, which would not, of course, preclude my being on a personally friendly footing with him until such time as we came into direct political conflict with his people. He will do well enough for the present Prussian Chamber.

I believe that, when I was in Barmen,[354] I mentioned to you a little Danish folk-song I had discovered in the *Kjämpeviser* and had translated into German verse specially for your benefit.[430] I enclose it. Unfortunately, I wasn't able to do anything like justice to the lively, defiantly cheerful tone of the original—it's the liveliest I know. However, you'll have to content yourself with the translation (almost literal, by the way). I don't think the thing has been translated into German before.

Please convey my compliments and good wishes to your wife.

Your
F. E.

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[a] H. Becker, *Meine Candidatur zum Abgeordnetenhause* (Wahlkampf am 6. Dezbr. 1861), Dortmund, 1862.

## 220

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, about 6 June 1862]

Dear Engels,

You will forgive me for not acknowledging the £2 before now. During the past week, I have been so BOTHERED that I couldn't find time. The LANDLORD and half a dozen other monsters kept me RUNNING.

Herewith 2 COPIES of the Lassalle[a] (1 for you, 1 for Lupus). Write and tell me what you think of it.

Have had a letter from Steffen, will send it to you within the next few days, as soon as I've answered it. He is in Boston. Seems very much depressed. Weydemeyer is a LIEUTENANT COLONEL.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 221

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[67]

IN BERLIN

[London,] 16 June 1862

Dear Lassalle,

Bucher has indeed *sent* me 3 *Julian Schmidts*,[a] but none of the other works you mention.[b] *Mr Schmidt*, *Mr Schmidt* (of which I have sent Engels and Wolff[c] the copies intended for them) was all

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[a] F. Lassalle, *Herr Julian Schmidt der Literarhistoriker*, Berlin, 1862. - [b] F. Lassalle, *Die Philosophie Fichte's und die Bedeutung des Deutschen Volksgeistes*, Berlin, 1862; *Ueber Verfassungswesen*, Berlin, 1862 (Lassalle mentioned these works in his letter to Marx on 9 June 1862). - [c] Wilhelm Wolff

the more welcome to me for arriving at a time when I was feeling far from cheerful. Moreover, although I had only read, or rather leafed through, very little of Schmidt's stuff, I have at heart always detested the chap as the quintessence of MIDDLE-CLASS SNOBBISM, no less revolting in literature than elsewhere. As you rightly intimate, your attack is aimed indirectly at the MIDDLE-CLASS cultural vulgarians. Here it's a case of aiming at the donkey blows intended for the driver.[a] Since we can't for the present actually 'CROP' the driver's ears for him, it increasingly behoves us to slice the heads off the noisiest and most pretentious of his cultural donkeys—with our pens, notwithstanding POOR Meyen who, in the *Freischütz*, found 'this literary playing at guillotines' as puerile as it was barbaric.[b] What especially tickled me was the *Schwabenspiegel* and the 'seven wise men'—I almost said 'seven Swabians'—of Greece.[431] Incidentally—since in the case of Julian Schmidt, Julian the Grabovite[432] (which is unjust, because it looks like a blow aimed at the Apostate,[c] or, at any rate, casts SOME RIDICULE on the other Julian), one may permit oneself to digress—I was at one time greatly interested in the σοφὸς[d] as the mask peculiar to Greek philosophy (using mask here in the best sense). First, we have the seven Swabians or wise men as FORERUNNERS, mythological heroes, next, in the middle, Socrates, and finally, the σοφὸς as the ideal of the Epicureans, Stoics, and sceptics.[433] I derived further amusement from drawing a comparison between this σοφὸς and what is (IN SOME RESPECTS) his caricature, the French '*sage*' of the 18th century. And then the σοφιστὴς[e] as a necessary variant of the σοφὸς. It is typical of the moderns that the Greek combination of character and knowledge implicit in the σοφὸς has survived in popular consciousness solely in the form of sophists.

Julian—not Julian the Grabovite, but Julian the Apostate—was the cause of a recent brush I had with Engels who, as I was already aware when the dispute began, was essentially in the right. But so specific is my aversion to Christianity that I have a predilection for the Apostate and do not like to see him identified either with Frederick William IV or with any other romantic reactionary, not even *mutatis mutandis*.[f] Don't you feel the same?

Your admonition as to Rodbertus and Roscher reminded me that I still had notes to make from and about both.[434] As regards

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[a] Marx plays here on the German proverb 'to hit the bag instead of the donkey'. - [b] Marx presumably refers to Meyen's first article from the series 'Berliner Briefe' published in *Der Freischütz*, No. 49, 23 April 1861. - [c] Julian the Apostate - [d] wise man - [e] Sophist - [f] altered as necessary

the Rodbertus,[a] I failed to do it justice in my first letter to you.[b] There's really much in it that is good. Except that his attempt to produce a new theory of rent is almost puerile, comical. For he would have us believe that, in agriculture, raw materials are not taken into account because—the German farmer, or so Rodbertus maintains, does not himself regard seed, fodder, etc., as expenditure, does not take these production costs into account, i.e., he *reckons wrong.* In England, where the FARMER has been reckoning correctly for over 150 years now, rent ought *not*, therefore, to exist. Hence the conclusion would not be that drawn by Rodbertus, namely that the tenant pays rent because his RATE of profit is higher than in industry, but rather because, in consequence of his wrong reckoning, he contents himself with a lower RATE of profit. This one example, by the by, suffices to show me how the partial under-development of German economic conditions necessarily tends to confuse people. Ricardo's theory of rent as it now stands is undoubtedly false, but every objection that has been raised against it is either due to a misunderstanding of it or at best demonstrates that certain phenomena do not, *prima facie*,[c] tally with Ricardo's theory. Now, this latter fact in no way discounts a theory. On the other hand, the positive theories that set out to refute Ricardo are vastly more false. Puerile though Mr Rodbertus's positive solution may be, it does, nevertheless, tend in the right direction, but to go into that here would take too long.

As regards the Roscher, it will be some weeks before I can sit down with the book[d] beside me and write any comments on it. I shall reserve this fellow for a *note.* Such professorial schoolboys have no place in the *text.* Roscher undoubtedly has a considerable—and often quite useless—knowledge of literature, although even here I seem to discern the Göttingen *alumnus*[e] rummaging uneasily through literary treasures and familiar only with what might be called official, RESPECTABLE literature. But that's not all. For what avails me a fellow who, even though he knows the whole of mathematical literature, yet understands nothing of mathematics? And so complacent, self-important, tolerably well-versed, eclectic a dog, too! If only such a professorial schoolboy, by nature totally incapable of ever doing more than learn his lesson and teach it, of

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[a] J. K. Rodbertus, *Sociale Briefe an von Kirchmann.* Dritter Brief: Widerlegung der Ricardo'schen Lehre von der Grundrente und Begründung einer neuen Rententheorie, Berlin, 1851. - [b] See this volume, p. 285. - [c] on the face of it - [d] W. Roscher, *System der Volkswirthschaft,* Stuttgart and Augsburg, 1858. - [e] pupil

ever reaching the stage of teaching himself, if only such a Wagner[a] were, at least, honest and conscientious, he could be of some use to his pupils. If only he didn't indulge in spurious evasions and said frankly: 'Here we have a contradiction. Some say this, others that. The nature of the thing precludes my having an opinion. Now see if you can work it out for yourselves!' In this way his pupils would, on the one hand, be given something to go on and, on the other, be induced to work on their own account. But, admittedly, the challenge I have thrown out here is incompatible with the nature of the professorial schoolboy. An inability to understand the *questions* themselves is *essentiellement*[b] part and parcel of him, which is why his eclecticism merely goes snuffling round amidst the wealth of set *answers*; but, here again, not honestly, but ALWAYS WITH AN EYE TO THE PREJUDICES AND THE INTERESTS OF HIS PAYMASTERS! A stonebreaker is RESPECTABLE by comparison with such *canaille*.

*Ad vocem*[c] *Toby*. If you believe you can use Toby Meyen, then use him. Only don't forget that the company of a dunderhead can be very compromising unless great precautions be taken.

We are, indeed, but few in number—and therein lies our strength.

We shall all be very glad to see you over here. It will greatly please my family, not to mention myself, as they hardly ever see a 'human being' now that my English, German and French acquaintances all live *outside* London. I haven't seen *Mario*. No doubt friend 'Blind' warned him against visiting 'such a dreadful person'.

*Salut*.

Your
K. M.

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[a] character in Goethe's *Faust* - [b] essentially - [c] As regards

## 222

## MARX TO ENGELS[435]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 June 1862

Dear Engels,

The idea of pouring out my *misère* to you again sickens me, but *que faire*[a]? Every day my wife says she wishes she and the children were safely in their graves, and I really cannot blame her, for the humiliations, torments and alarums that one has to go through in such a situation are indeed indescribable. As you know, the £50 went on debts, more than half of which remain to be paid.[398] The £2 on gas. The wretched money from Vienna won't arrive till the end of July, and then there'll be damned little of it, since the swine aren't even printing 1 article a week now. To that must be added the fresh expenditure since the beginning of May. I won't say anything about what, in London, is the truly parlous situation of being without a centime for 7 weeks—since for us it is a chronically recurring state of affairs. But from your own experience, you will at any rate know that, all the time, there are current expenses that have to be paid in cash. This has been done by putting back in pawn the stuff that had been redeemed at the end of April. But that source was exhausted weeks ago, so much so that, a week ago, my wife attempted to sell some books of mine 'in vain'. I feel all the more sorry for the unfortunate children in that all this is happening during the EXHIBITION SEASON,[344] when their friends are having fun, whereas they themselves live in dread lest someone should come and see them and realise what a mess they are in.

For the rest, I myself, by the by, am working away hard and, strange to say, my grey matter is functioning better in the midst of the surrounding *misère* than it has done for years. I am expanding this volume,[310] since those German scoundrels estimate the value of a book in terms of its cubic capacity. Incidentally, another thing I have at last been able to sort out is the shitty rent business (which, however, I shall *not so much as allude to* in this part).[434] I had long harboured MISGIVINGS as to the absolute correctness of Ricardo's theory, and have at length got to the bottom of the

[a] what can one do?

swindle.[a] Again, since we last saw each other, I've hit on one or two pleasing and surprising novelties in connection with what's already going into this volume.

I'm amused that Darwin,[b] at whom I've been taking another look, should say that he *also* applies the 'Malthusian' theory to plants and animals, as though in Mr Malthus's case[c] the whole thing didn't lie in its *not* being applied to plants and animals, but only—with its geometric progression—to humans as against plants and animals. It is remarkable how Darwin rediscovers, among the beasts and plants, the society of England with its division of labour, competition, opening up of new markets, 'inventions' and Malthusian 'struggle for existence'. It is Hobbes' *bellum omnium contra omnes*[d] and is reminiscent of Hegel's *Phenomenology*,[e] in which civil society figures as an 'intellectual animal kingdom', whereas, in Darwin, the animal kingdom figures as civil society.

Buckle has played a trick on Ruge by dying. In his imagination, Ruge had envisaged another library to be written by Buckle and 'transposed' into German by Ruge. POOR Ruge! And POOR Buckle who, this very day, is traduced by a 'friend' in a *testimonium pietatis*[f] in *The Times*.[g]

Have you and Lupus received the 2 *Julian Schmidts*[h] I sent off?

Apropos. If it could be done very briefly, without making undue demands on you, I should like to have a sample of Italian book-keeping (with explanations). It would help to throw light on Dr Quesnay's *Tableau Économique*.[436]

*No one* comes to see me, and I'm glad of it, for I don't give a ..... for the sort we have here. A fine crew!

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 394-98. - [b] Ch. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, London, 1859. - [c] T. R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population, as It Affects the Future Improvement of Society, with the Remarks on the Speculations of Mr. Goldwin, M. Condorcet, and Other Writers*, London, 1798. - [d] war of all against all (Th. Hobbes, *Leviathan, or the Matter, Form and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil*). - [e] G. W. Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes*. - [f] an obituary - [g] J. S. Glennie's obituary of Buckle, *The Times*, No. 24275, 18 June 1862. - [h] F. Lassalle, *Herr Julian Schmidt der Literarhistoriker* (see this volume, p. 376).

I've heard from Lassalle. He may come over here in July. In the late autumn he will make a start on the initial draft of his 'Political Economy', which, however, is going to take him a 'long time'. He's in for a surprise.

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## 223

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 3 July 1862]

Dear Moor,

Since the new financial year has begun and I shall not have to pay back the £50 to Borkheim[398] for a fortnight or so, we can repeat our recent *coup de main*. You will find herewith I/Q 86445. Ten pounds, Manchester, 31 Jan. 1861. Bank of England note. The second half tomorrow.

The speculation on the cotton market and the consequent daily rise in prices has kept me so busy that I don't know whether I'm coming or going. I shall write as soon as I have time.

How is little Jenny?

Your

F. E.

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## 224

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 July [1862]

Dear Engels,

Best thanks for the £10 of which *pars* I[a] arrived today.

I hear that Mr Gumpert was down here; didn't come to see me. WELL, I SHALL TRY TO DO WITHOUT HIM.

[a] part I (see previous letter)

Herewith 1 *Press*[a] and two very clever 'talks' by Lassalle.[b]

The enclosed letter from Lassalle was brought me by the Austrian 'Captain (retd.)' Schweigert, a worthy, stupid fellow. The joke is that Rüstow—with the added support of 2 Rüstow brothers—has proposed or is proposing so to use the National Association,[24] the Gymnastic Association, etc., as to have, at the crucial moment—in the smaller German states, at least—a ready-made *militia commanded by Mr Rüstow* to pit against the army. It's a damn silly plan. And, on top of that, the money for it is to come from London! I don't believe Lassalle shares these DELUSIONS. All he wants is to make himself seem important in the eyes of Schweigert, etc.

I hope that you, at any rate, will come to London IN THE COURSE OF THE SEASON. Little Jenny is no longer unwell, but has grown more delicate than her constitution warrants. Whatever happens, by the by, we must manage to arrange sea-bathing for her.

Is Lupus in Germany by now?[437]

What is the position with regard to the 'ASSOCIATES' of the BRITISH ASSOCIATION?[353] Are the old cards still valid? Lupus has got mine.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 225

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 11 July [1862]

Dear Engels,

Lassalle has been here for the past 2 days and proposes to stay for several weeks. Now, you really ought to come down for a few days, seeing that he is in any case much 'OFFENDED' by the failure on

[a] *The Free Press*. See this volume, p. 362. - [b] *Ueber Verfassungswesen* and *Die Philosophie Fichte's und die Bedeutung des Deutschen Volksgeistes*, Berlin, 1862.

your and Wolff's part ever to acknowledge receipt of his writings. Anyway, you had intended to spend a few days visiting the EXHIBITION.[344]

If this letter is somewhat scanty, it's because I'm working like a Trojan on the book.[310]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 226

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 July [1862]

Dear Engels,

Have been to see Freiligrath, was *ALL RIGHT*.[438]

Izzy—whose vanity would tickle you immensely—is leaving next week. Come on Friday[a] if you can. Reinhardt, who has become a *commerçant*,[b] also came to see us yesterday.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

What do you think of McClellan?[c]

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[a] 25 July - [b] businessman - [c] See this volume, pp. 386-87.

## 227

## ENGELS TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN LONDON

Manchester, 23 July 1862

Dear Lassalle,

I should have written to you long since and thanked you for the many packages you have been kind enough to send me. I resolved to do so often enough over the past 18 months, but have been so taken up with *doux commerce*[a] that my private correspondence with all and sundry is badly in arrears. Now I hear you are in London and I would have liked to have come down last Saturday, but simply could not get away. I presently cherish a similar plan in respect of Friday[b] evening, but cannot yet say for certain whether I shall be able to carry it out. If at all possible, it shall be done, in which case I shall telegraph Marx at midday on Friday. But if it proves impossible, why shouldn't you come up here on Friday evening or Saturday morning and spend a few days taking a look at the home of cotton? Then we could also slip over to Liverpool which is well worth the trouble, especially since you are concerning yourself with political economy. There's a room in my lodgings at your disposal. It only takes you 5 $^1/_2$ hours to get here.

So, think the matter over and, if I should be unable to take Saturday off, you can decide on the spur of the moment, leave London at 9 o'clock on Saturday morning, and be here by 2.45. We shall then be able to discuss everything else by word of mouth—either here or there.

In the meantime, cordial regards from

Yours,
F. Engels

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[a] gentle commerce - [b] 25 July

# 228

## ENGELS TO MARX[249]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 30 July 1862

Dear Moor,

I was very sorry not to have been able to come on Friday.[a] Apart from anything else, I had more or less fallen out with Ermen, and hence could neither ask a favour of him, nor stay away without saying a word. Otherwise, nothing would have prevented me from coming, not even the risk of missing something important on the Saturday.

Things are going awry in America and, in fact, Mr Stanton is AFTER ALL chiefly to blame in that, after the conquest of Tennessee, sheer boastfulness led him to stop recruiting, so that the army was doomed to grow constantly weaker at the very time when it particularly needed reinforcing with a view to a rapid and decisive offensive. With a steady influx of recruits the war had hitherto not, perhaps, been decided, but there could be no doubt about its successful outcome. Moreover, the run of victories had ensured a brisk supply of recruits.

This measure was all the more inane in that, at that very time, the South was calling up all men aged between 18 and 35, i.e. staking everything on one throw. It is these men, who have meanwhile become seasoned troops, that have since enabled the Confederates to gain the upper hand everywhere, and assured them the initiative. They pinned down Halleck, drove Curtis out of Arkansas, beat McClellan and, in the Sbenandoah Valley, under Jackson, gave the signal for guerrilla bands, which are now already penetrating as far as the Ohio. Stanton could not have acted more stupidly had he tried.[439]

Again, when Stanton saw that he would be unable to oust McClellan from the command of the Potomac Army, he perpetrated the stupidity of reducing McClellan's strength by detaching special commands to Frémont, Banks and McDowell, and *dispersing the forces with a view to displacing McClellan.* Not only was McClellan defeated as a result, but public opinion is

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[a] See this volume, pp. 384 and 385.

laying the blame for that defeat, not on McClellan, but on Stanton. Serves Mr Stanton right.

None of this would have signified, and it might even have been all to the good in as much as the war might at last have been conducted along revolutionary lines. But there's the rub. Defeats don't spur these Yankees on, they just make them flabby. If things have come to such a pass that, to get recruits at all, they say they are prepared to take them on for *only 9 months,* then this is tantamount to admitting: 'We're in the shit and all we want is a make-believe army to do some sabre-rattling during the peace negotiations.' Those 300,000 volunteers, that was the criterion, and in refusing to muster them, the North is declaring that it doesn't, *au fond,*[a] give a damn about the whole thing. And then, what cowardice on the part of the government and Congress! They shrink from conscription, from resolute fiscal measures, from attacking slavery, from everything that is urgently necessary; everything's left to amble along at will, and, if some factitious measure finally gets through Congress, the honourable Lincoln hedges it about with so many clauses that it's reduced to nothing at all. It is this flabbiness, this wilting like a pricked balloon under the pressure of defeats, which have destroyed an army, the strongest and the best, and left Washington virtually undefended, it is this complete absence of any resilience among the people at large which proves to me THAT IT IS ALL UP. The occasional MASS MEETING, etc., means nothing at all, and doesn't even rival the excitement of a presidential election.

Add to that a complete want of talent. One general more stupid than the other. Not one who would be capable of the slightest initiative or of an independent decision. For 3 months the initiative has again rested wholly with the enemy. Then, the fiscal measures, each one crazier than the last. Fecklessness and cowardice everywhere except among the common soldiers. The same applies to the politicians—just as absurd, just as much at a loss. And the *populus* is more feckless than if it had idled away 3,000 years under the Austrian sceptre.

For the South, on the other hand—IT'S NO USE SHUTTING ONE'S EYES TO THE FACT—the affair is a matter of life and death. Our not getting any cotton is one proof of this. The guerrillas in the Border States are another. But, in my view, what clinches the matter is the ability of an agrarian population, after such complete isolation from the rest of the world, to endure such a war and, having suffered

[a] at bottom

severe defeats and the loss of resources, men and territory, nevertheless to emerge victorious and threaten to carry their offensive into the North. On top of that, they are really fighting quite splendidly, and what remained of UNION FEELING, save in the mountain districts, will now, with the re-occupation of Kentucky and Tennessee, undoubtedly evaporate.

If they get Missouri, they will also get the TERRITORIES,[440] and then the North might as well pack up and go home.

As I have already said, unless the North instantly adopts a revolutionary stance, it will get the terrible thrashing it deserves—and that's what seems to be happening.

How is little Jenny getting on?

Cordial regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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## 229

## MARX TO ENGELS[441]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 30 July [1862]

Dear Engels,

From the enclosed scrawls you will partly see how BOTHERED I am. So far, the LANDLORD has allowed himself to be placated; he has yet to receive £25. The piano chap, who is being paid in instalments for the piano, should already have had £6 at the end of June, and is a most ill-mannered brute. I have rate demands in the house amounting to £6. The wretched school fees—some £10—I have fortunately been able to pay, for I do my utmost to spare the children direct humiliation. I have paid the butcher $6 on account (the sum total of my quarterly takings from the *Presse*!), but I'm again being dunned by that fellow, not to mention the baker, the TEAGROCER, the GREENGROCER, and such other sons of Belial as there may be.

The Jewish NIGGER Lassalle who, I'm glad to say, is leaving at the end of this week, has happily lost another 5,000 talers in an ill-judged speculation. The chap would sooner throw money down the drain than lend it to a 'friend', even though his interest and capital were guaranteed. In this he bases himself on the view that he ought to live the life of a Jewish baron, or Jew created a baron (no doubt by the countess[a]). Just imagine! This fellow, knowing about the American affair,[405] etc., and hence about the state of crisis I'm in, had the insolence to ask me whether I would be willing to hand over one of my daughters to *la* Hatzfeldt as a 'companion', and whether he himself should secure Gerstenberg's (!) patronage for me! The fellow has wasted my time and, what is more, the dolt opined that, since I was not engaged upon any 'business' just now, but merely upon a 'theoretical work', I might just as well kill time with him! In order to keep up certain *dehors*[b] vis-à-vis the fellow, my wife had to put in pawn everything that wasn't actually nailed or bolted down!

Had I not been in this appalling position and vexed by the way this parvenu flaunted his money bags, he'd have amused me tremendously. Since I last saw him a year ago, he's gone quite mad. His head has been completely turned by his stay in Zurich (with Rüstow, Herwegh, etc.) and the subsequent trip to Italy and, after that, by his *Herr Julian Schmidt*,[c] etc. He is now indisputably, not only the greatest scholar, the profoundest thinker, the most brilliant man of science, and so forth, but also and in addition, Don Juan *cum* revolutionary Cardinal Richelieu. Add to this, the incessant chatter in a high, falsetto voice, the unaesthetic, histrionic gestures, the dogmatic tone!

As a profound secret, he told me and my wife that he had advised Garibaldi not to make Rome the target of his attack but instead proceed to Naples, there set himself up as dictator (without affronting Victor Emmanuel), and call out the people's army for a campaign against Austria. Lassalle had him conjure 300,000 men out of thin air—with whom, of course, the Piedmontese army joined forces. And then, in accordance with a plan approved, so he says, by Mr Rüstow, a detached corps was to make, or rather set sail, for the Adriatic coast (Dalmatia) and incite Hungary to revolt, while, heedless of the Quadrilateral,[442] the main body of the army under Garibaldi marched from Padua to Vienna, where the population instantly rebelled. All over in 6

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[a] Sophie von Hatzfeldt - [b] appearances - [c] F. Lassalle, *Herr Julian Schmidt der Literarhistoriker.*

weeks. The fulcrum of the action—Lassalle's political influence, or his pen, in Berlin. And Rüstow at the head of a corps of German volunteers attached to Garibaldi. Bonaparte, on the other hand, was paralysed by this Lassallean *coup d'éclat*.[a]

He has just been to see Mazzini, and 'the latter, too,' approved and 'admired' his plan.

He introduced himself to these people as the 'representative of the German revolutionary working class' and assumed they knew (to use his own words) that his (Izzy's) 'pamphlet on the Italian war[b] had prevented Prussia's intervention' and, IN FACT, that he had controlled 'the history of the past three years'. Lassalle was absolutely furious with me and my wife for poking fun at his plans, quizzing him as 'an enlightened Bonapartist', etc. He shouted, blustered, flung himself about and finally got it fixed in his mind that I was too 'abstract' to understand politics.

AS TO AMERICA, it's of no interest whatever, he says. The Yankees have no 'ideas'. 'The freedom of the individual' is merely a 'negative idea', etc., and other antiquated, mouldering, speculative rubbish of the same ilk.

As I have said, if circumstances had been different (and he hadn't disrupted my work), the chap would have amused me tremendously.

And on top of it all, the sheer gluttony and wanton lechery of this 'idealist'!

It is now quite plain to me—as the shape of his head and the way his hair grows also testify—that he is descended from the negroes who accompanied Moses' flight from Egypt (unless his mother or paternal grandmother interbred with a NIGGER). Now, this blend of Jewishness and Germanness, on the one hand, and basic negroid stock, on the other, must inevitably give rise to a peculiar product. The fellow's importunity is also niggerlike.

If, by the by, Mr Rüstow was responsible for thinking up the march from Padua to Vienna, I should say that he also has a screw loose.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

One of our NIGGER's great discoveries—which, however, he only confides to his 'closest friends'—is that the Pelasgians were of

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[a] brilliant coup - [b] [F. Lassalle,] *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preußens. Eine Stimme aus der Demokratie*, Berlin, 1859.

Semitic descent. The main evidence: in the Book of Maccabbees,[a] the Jews send emissaries to solicit the help of Greece on grounds of kinship. Furthermore, an Etruscan inscription has been found in Perugia, and this was simultaneously deciphered by Hofrat Stücker in Berlin and an Italian, and both independently converted the Etruscan into the Hebrew alphabet.

So that we can no longer discomfit him with 'BLUE BOOKS',[443] he has bought 20 pounds' worth of BLUE BOOKS (under Bucher's guidance).

He has converted Bucher to socialism, or so he maintains. Now Bucher's quite a fine little man, if a cranky one, and, in any case, I can't believe that he has accepted Lassalle's 'foreign policy'. Bucher is the 'compositress' in *Julian Schmidt*.[444]

If you'd been here just for a day or two, you'd have been able to lay in enough material to keep you laughing for a whole year. That's why I was so anxious to have you here. One doesn't get an opportunity like that every day.

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## 230

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 31 July 1862]

Dear Moor,

No doubt you will understand that, after the heavy outgoings last month, it will be impossible for me to get hold of £25 for you just now. I have postponed till August all heavy outgoings on my own account (LANDLADY and quarterly account), moreover, because of the bill, I have had to give Borkheim an order, which will similarly have to be met in August. I shall see what can be done before tomorrow. I still owe Lupus £10, and he will ask for it immediately on his return,[445] which might be any day now. If you

[a] The Bible (The Old Testament)

add this to last month's outgoings, you will see that it takes a tidy slice out of the new financial year. However, I shall see this evening how much will have to be paid out, and hence how much I shall be able to send you.

If only I knew what the balance looked like and how I stand! But the day after tomorrow Charles[a] leaves for Warsaw, where we have incurred a bad debt, and then the whole caboodle will come to a dead stop again.

Your
F. E.

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## 231

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 August 1862

Dear Moor,

The enclosed £10 is all I am able to send you today. This is how things stand: Last month's outgoings: a quarter's stabling for my horse £15, LANDLADY £25 (old Hill agreed to debit this to July because I paid it yesterday), to Borkheim £50, to you £10, total £100. Still outstanding this month: to Lupus £10, Borkheim—for the order—£15, bookseller about £10 (carried over from 1861), in addition, petty expenses: tailor, shoemaker, shirts, and such like, cigars some £25 and the above-mentioned £10, in all £70, or £170 in two months, *excluding* CURRENT EXPENSES. So, you can see how I stand. On top of that, I am pretty well positive that I exceeded my income in the last financial year and that my income for this one will be very poor. I dare say you might succeed in staving the people off a bit longer, something that can't be done in the case of my creditors since the people here have a habit of descending on one at the office and demanding settlement so that, after the 2nd or 3rd CALLING, one is morally obliged to pay them.

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[a] Roesgen

Should Lupus not require the £10 I still owe him until the end of September, or be satisfied with payment by instalments, I shall, of course, let you have it.

The stories about Lassalle are exceedingly funny. His strategical plan[a] is the finest I have ever come across. That Rüstow should have approved it is quite possible. The chap's as vain as Izzy and well on the way to being just as crazy. Cf. his maunderings about the campaign of 1860 in Vol. II of the *Demokratische Studien*.[b]

The author[c] of the *Europäische Pentarchie* has unloosed a new opus, *Europa's Cabinette und Allianzen*. And a superb jackass the Russians have bought themselves, too. Never before have I come across anything so stupid and muddle-headed. When he theorises about international law, the fellow's really choice for he puts forward 3 or 4 different theories that are mutually exclusive. Added to which, Christianity *à outrance*,[d] and flattery of all things Russian laid on so crassly that one can't help laughing out loud at the thought of the money the Russians have chucked away on him. It redounds to Germany's credit that they shouldn't have been able to buy a single fellow worth his salt to write in favour of Russia[e] and, when they chance to nab one, such as B. Bauer, that he should instantly turn into a dolt.[446] His master-plan envisages a Russo-French alliance, Prussia at the head of Little Germany,[24] Austria, her capital removed to Budapest, to get the Danubian principalities and all the territory north of the Balkans—this spread out like an old cowpat over 300 pages of the most dreary twaddle. If you'd like to have the thing, I'll send it you.

Your

F. E.

O/D 13134 Manchester 27, Jan. 1862—£5
O/D 24296 Manchester 27, Jan. 1862—£5

£10

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[a] See this volume, pp. 389-90. - [b] F. W. Rüstow, 'Die Brigade Milano', *Demokratische Studien*, Hamburg, 1861. - [c] Goldmann - [d] in excess - [e] Germany in the original

# 232

## MARX TO ENGELS[447]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 August 1862

Dear Frederick,

Best thanks for the £10.

I very much dislike your being in financial difficulties on my account, but *que faire?*[a] Who is capable of withstanding such a crisis as the American one?[385] Not to mention my peculiar bad luck in having a rotten rag like the Vienna *Presse* to deal with. OTHERWISE, the fellows might, at least, have been able to make up for the loss of the *Tribune* TO SOME EXTENT. Do you suppose, perhaps, that the time has now come for me to approach, say, the *Evening Post* (THE ABOLITIONIST PAPER in New York) about my contributing to it?

All things considered, it's a real miracle that I have been able to get on with my theoretical writing to such an extent. I now propose after all to include in this volume an extra chapter on the theory of rent, i.e., by way of 'illustration' to an earlier thesis of mine.[134] Let me say a word or two about *what will, in the text, be a lengthy and complex affair,* so that you may **let me have your opinion** on it.

As you know, I distinguish 2 parts in capital: *constant capital* (raw material, *matières instrumentales,*[b] machinery, etc.), whose value only *reappears* in the value of the product, and secondly *variable capital,* i.e., the capital laid out in wages, which contains less materialised labour than is given by the worker in return for it. E.g. if the daily wage=10 hours and the worker works 12, he replaces the variable capital + $^1/_5$ of the same (2 hours). This latter surplus I call SURPLUS VALUE.

Let us assume that the *rate of surplus value* (that is the length of the working day and the surplus labour in excess of the necessary labour performed by the worker to reproduce his pay) is given, e.g.=50 p.c. In this case, in a 12 hour working day the worker would work e.g. 8 hours for himself, and 4 hours ($^8/_2$) for the EMPLOYER. And indeed, let us assume this to apply to all TRADES so that any variations there may be in the AVERAGE WORKING TIME simply allow for the greater or lesser difficulty of the work, etc.

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[a] what is one to do? - [b] auxiliary materials

In these circumstances, given *equal* exploitation of the worker in *different* TRADES, different capitals in different spheres of production will, given *equal size,* yield very *different* AMOUNTS OF SURPLUS VALUE and hence *very different rates of profit,* SINCE PROFIT IS NOTHING BUT THE PROPORTION OF THE SURPLUS VALUE TO THE TOTAL CAPITAL ADVANCED. This will depend on the *organic composition* of the capital, i.e., on its division into constant and variable capital.

Let us assume, as above, that the surplus labour=50 p.c. If, therefore, e.g. £1=1 working day (no matter whether you think in terms of a day or a week, etc.), the working day=12 hours, and the necessary labour (i.e. reproductive of the pay)=8 hours, then the wage of 30 workers (or working days)=£20 and the value of their labour=£30, the variable capital *per* worker (daily or weekly) =£$^2/_3$ and the value he creates = £1. The AMOUNT of SURPLUS VALUE produced by a capital of £100 in DIFFERENT TRADES will vary greatly according to the proportion in which the capital of £100 is divided into constant and variable capital. Let us call CONSTANT CAPITAL C, and VARIABLE CAPITAL V. If, e.g. in the COTTON industry, the composition was C 80, V 20, the value of the product would=110 (given 50 p.c. surplus value or SURPLUS LABOUR). The amount of the surplus value=10 and the profit rate=10 p.c., since the profit=the proportion of 10 (the SURPLUS VALUE) : 100 (the total value OF THE CAPITAL EXPENDED). Let us suppose that, in a large tailoring shop, the composition is C 50, V 50, so that the product=125, the surplus value (at a rate of 50 p.c. as above)=25 and the profit rate=25 p.c. Let us take another industry where the proportion is C 70, V 30, hence the product=115, the profit rate=15 p.c. Finally, an industry where the composition=C 90, V 10, hence the product=105 and the profit rate=5 p.c.

Here, given *equal exploitation* of labour, we have IN DIFFERENT TRADES very DIFFERENT AMOUNTS OF SURPLUS VALUE AND HENCE VERY DIFFERENT RATES OF PROFIT for capitals of equal size.

If, however, the above 4 capitals are taken together, we get:

| | *Value of the product* | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. C 80 V 20 | 110 | profit rate=10 p.c. | Rate of surplus |
| 2. C 50 V 50 | 125 | profit rate=25 p.c. | value in all |
| 3. C 70 V 30 | 115 | profit rate=15 p.c. | cases=50 p.c. |
| 4. C 90 V 10 | 105 | profit rate= 5 p.c. | |
| *Capital* | 400 | *Profit*=55 | |

On 100, this makes a PROFIT RATE of $13^3/_4$ p.c.

If the *total capital* (400) of the *class* be considered, the profit rate would=$13^3/_4$ p.c. And capitalists are brothers. As a result of competition (TRANSFER OF CAPITAL OR WITHDRAWAL OF CAPITAL FROM ONE TRADE TO THE OTHER), capitals of *equal* size in *DIFFERENT* TRADES, DESPITE THEIR DIFFERENT OGRANIC COMPOSITIONS, YIELD THE *SAME AVERAGE* RATE OF PROFIT. In other words, the *AVERAGE* profit, which F.I. A CAPITAL OF £100 yields IN A CERTAIN TRADE, it yields, not as a capital specifically applied to the same nor, therefore, in the proportion in which it of itself produces SURPLUS VALUE, but as an *aliquot part* of the total capital of the capitalist class. It is a SHARE the dividend on which will be paid in proportion to its size out of the total amount of the SURPLUS VALUE (or unpaid labour) produced by the total variable (laid out in wages) capital of the class.

If then 1, 2, 3, 4 in the above illustration are to make the same *AVERAGE PROFIT,* each category must sell its goods at £$113^1/_3$. 1 and 4 will sell them at *more than their* value, 2 and 3 at *less.*

The *price* so regulated=THE EXPENSES OF CAPITAL+THE AVERAGE PROFIT (F.I. 10 p.c.), is what Smith called the *NATURAL PRICE, COST PRICE,*[448] etc. It is the *AVERAGE PRICE* to which competition between DIFFERENT TRADES (by TRANSFER OF CAPITAL or WITHDRAWAL OF CAPITAL) reduces the prices in DIFFERENT TRADES. Hence, competition reduces commodities *not* to their *value,* but to the *cost price,* which, depending on the organic composition of the respective capitals, is either *above, below* or = to their *values.*

Ricardo confuses *value* and *cost price.* He therefore believes that, if there were such a thing as *absolute rent* (i.e., rent *independent* of variations in the fertility of the soil), AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE, etc., would be constantly sold for *more than* its *value,* because at *more than* cost price (THE ADVANCED CAPITAL+THE AVERAGE PROFIT). That would demolish the fundamental law. Hence he denies absolute rent and assumes only differential rent.

But his identification of *VALUES* OF COMMODITIES and *COST PRICES OF COMMODITIES* is totally wrong and has traditionally been taken over from A. Smith.

The facts are as follows:

If we assume that the *AVERAGE* COMPOSITION of all *NOT* AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL is C 80, V 20, then the product (assuming that the rate of surplus value is 50 p.c.)=110 and the profit rate=10 p.c.

If we further assume that the AVERAGE COMPOSITION of *AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL* is C 60, V 40 (in England, this figure is statistically fairly correct; rent for pasture, etc., has no bearing on this question, being determined not by itself, but by the CORN RENT), then the

product, given equal exploitation of labour as above=120 and profit rate=20 p.c. Hence, if the farmer sells his AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE for what it is *worth,* he is selling it at 120 and not at *110,* its *cost price.* But *landed property* prevents the farmer, like his BROTHER CAPITALISTS, from equalising the *value* of the product to the *cost price.* Competition between capitals cannot enforce this. The landowner intervenes and pockets the *difference between value and cost price.* A low proportion of constant to variable capital is in general an expression of the poor (or relatively poor) development of the productive power of labour in a particular sphere of production. Hence, if the AVERAGE COMPOSITION of AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL is e.g. C 60, V 40, while that of NOT AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL is C 80, V 20, this proves that agriculture has not yet reached the same stage of development as industry. (Which is easily explicable since, apart from anything else, a prerequisite for industry is the older science of mechanics, while the prerequisites for agriculture are the completely new sciences of chemistry, geology and physiology.) If the proportion in agriculture becomes C 80, V 20 (in the above premise), then *absolute rent* disappears. All that remains is *differential rent,* which I shall also expound in such a way as to make Ricardo's assumption of the constant DETERIORATION OF AGRICULTURE appear MOST RIDICULOUS AND ARBITRARY.

Having regard to the foregoing definition of *COST PRICE* as distinct from *VALUE,* it should further be noted that, besides the distinction between constant capital and variable capital, which arises out of the *immediate production process* of capital, there is the further distinction between *fixed and circulating capital,* which arises out of the *circulation process* of capital. However, the formula would become too involved if I were to seek to incorporate this in the above as well.

There you have—ROUGHLY, for the thing's fairly complicated—the critique of Ricardo's theory. This much you will admit—that by taking into account the *ORGANIC COMPOSITION OF CAPITAL,* one disposes of a mass of what have so far seemed to be contradictions and problems.

Apropos. There are certain reasons, of which I shall inform you in my next letter, why I should be **very glad** if you would write me a detailed military critique (I shall deal with the political aspect) of Lassalle-Rüstow's liberation nonsense.[a]

Your
K. M.

[a] See this volume, pp. 389-90, 393.

Regards to the ladies.

Imandt has announced himself. Izzy leaves on Monday.

It will be evident to you that, given my view of 'absolute rent', *landed property* (UNDER CERTAIN HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES) does INDEED *put up* the prices of raw materials. Very important, communistically speaking.

Assuming the correctness of the above view, it is *by no means essential* for *absolute rent* to be paid under all circumstances or in respect of *every type of soil* (even if the composition of AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL is as assumed above). It is not paid when *landed property* does *not* exist, either factually or legally. In such a case, AGRICULTURE offers NO PECULIAR RESISTANCE TO THE APPLICATION OF CAPITAL, which then moves as easily in this element as in the other. The agricultural produce is then sold, as masses of industrial products always are, at *cost price* for *less* than its value. In practice, *landed property* may disappear, even when capitalist and landowner are one and the same person, etc.

But it would be otiose to go into these details here.

*Differential rent as such*—which does not arise from the circumstance that CAPITAL is employed ON LAND INSTEAD OF ANY OTHER FIELD OF EMPLOYMENT—presents no difficulty in theory. It is nothing other than SURPLUS PROFIT which also exists in every sphere of industrial production wherever capital operates under better than AVERAGE CONDITIONS. It is firmly ensconced in agriculture only because founded on a basis as solid and (relatively) stable as the DIFFERENT DEGREES OF NATURAL FERTILITY of various types of soil.

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# 233

## MARX TO ENGELS[369]

IN MANCHESTER

London, 7 August [1862]

Dear Engels,

The LANDLORD came to see me on Monday[a] and told me that, after having foreborne so long, he would hand things over to his LAND AGENT, unless I paid him within the shortest possible time. And that means putting the BROKER in. I likewise—oddly enough on the same day—got a final demand for the rates, as well as letters from the *épiciers*,[b] most of them acquainted with the LANDLORD, threatening to prosecute me and withhold PROVISIONS.

Lassalle left on Monday evening. I saw him once more after all these EVENTS had taken place. From my DEJECTED air, he saw that the crisis, which he had long known about, had led to a catastrophe OF SOME kind. Questioned me. Having heard my tale, he said he could let me have £15 by 1 January 1863; also that bills could be drawn on him for any desired AMOUNT, provided payment over and above the £15 were promised by you or someone else. More he could [not] do, he said, in view of his straitened circumstances. (That I can well believe, for, while here, he spent £1 2/- *daily* on CABS and cigars alone.)

Might you perhaps be able to do something in this way, using Borkheim as *escompteur*,[c] so as to stave off the crisis? Of the £10, I paid 6 to the piano man, a nasty brute who wouldn't have hesitated to bring me before the COUNTY COURT.[7] With 2 of the pounds I redeemed things that were in pawn and put what was left at my wife's disposal.

I assure you that if it wasn't for FAMILY DIFFICULTIES, I would far rather move into a MODEL LODGING-HOUSE than be constantly squeezing your purse.

There is, in addition, another circumstance, namely Dr Allen's telling me that it's absolutely essential for little Jenny to spend at least a fortnight at the seaside, ditto for our youngest[d] who had jaundice of some kind last year and isn't ALL RIGHT once again.

Izzy also told me that he would perhaps found a paper when he returned in September. I told him that, if *he paid well*, I would be its English correspondent, without assuming any other kind of

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[a] 4 August - [b] grocers - [c] discounter - [d] Eleanor

RESPONSIBILITY or political PARTNERSHIP, since all we had in common politically were a few remote objectives.

I don't quite share your views on the AMERICAN CIVIL WAR,[a] I do not believe THAT ALL IS UP. From the outset, the NORTHERNERS have been dominated by the representatives of the BORDER SLAVE STATES,[b] who were also responsible for pushing McClellan, that old PARTISAN OF Breckinridge, to the top. The South, on the other hand, acted as a single whole right from the very start. The North itself turned slavery into a pro- instead of an anti-Southern military FORCE. The South leaves PRODUCTIVE LABOUR to the slaves and could thus take the field undisturbed with its fighting force intact. It had a unified military leadership; the North did not. That there was no strategical plan is evident if only from the manoeuvrings of the Kentucky Army after the capture of Tennessee. In my view, all this is going to TAKE ANOTHER TURN. The North will, at last, wage the war in earnest, have recourse to revolutionary methods and overthrow the supremacy of the BORDER SLAVE STATESMEN. One single NIGGER REGIMENT would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves.

The difficulty of raising 300,000 men is, I should say, purely political. The North-West and New England[449] wish to and will compel the government to abandon the diplomatic warfare they have waged hitherto, and are now making TERMS ON WHICH THE 300,000 MEN SHALL COME FORTH. If Lincoln doesn't give way (which he will, however), there'll be a revolution.

As regards the lack of military talent, the choice of generals, hitherto dependent purely on diplomatic and party chicanery, has hardly been calculated to bring it to the fore. However, I should say that General Pope was a man of energy.

As for financial measures, they are clumsy as, indeed, they are bound to be in a country where IN FACT taxation has hitherto been non-existent (so far as the country as a whole is concerned), but not nearly as silly as the measures taken by Pitt *et cie.*[450] I should say that the present depreciation of money is attributable not to economic, but to purely political grounds, namely DISTRUST. It will therefore change, when policy changes.

The long and the short of it is, I think, that wars of this kind ought to be conducted along .revolutionary lines, and the YANKEES[312] have so far been trying to conduct it along constitutional ones.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 386-88. - [b] ibid., p. 277.

Imandt is here. Another very tiresome interruption at the moment. I believe my work will run to 30 sheets.[310]

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## 234

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 8 August 1862

Dear Moor,

In giving you an account of my expenditure, I never remotely intended to deter you from further 'squeezing', as you call it. On the contrary, we shall, I think, go on giving each other as much mutual aid as we can, it being quite immaterial so far as the cause is concerned which of us happens to be the 'squeezer' at the moment and which the 'squeezed', roles that are, after all, interchangeable. My only object in drawing up this statement was to demonstrate the impossibility of laying my hands on more than £10 just at the moment.

I assume that you promptly requisitioned the £15 in cash from Lassalle, or what exactly does 'by January'[a] mean? That he doesn't want to fork out till then? Now as regards bills, I for my part can perfectly well draw from £40 *à* £45 or some 260 to 300 talers on Lassalle, at 3, preferably 4 months' date, provided Borkheim will cash them. I shall also be able to send you another £10 in cash if I keep Borkheim waiting till September for the money I owe him for wine. That would make 10 from me, 45 for the bill, 15 Lassalle, total £70. But it would mean that I was completely cleaned out for some little while, not that that would really matter, provided it got you out of the mire and enabled little Jenny to go to the SEASIDE. Since Borkheim is constantly having to disburse money on the Continent—and he knows that, come what may, I have *got* to honour the bill if I don't want my position here to be ruined, there's absolutely no reason why you shouldn't go and ask him whether he's willing to negotiate the thing for us. You can tell

[a] See this volume, p. 399.

him that just now, when times are bad for COTTON, I am honour-bound to draw as little money as possible from the firm and hence would sooner adopt this method. You have far less cause to feel ill at ease with him about the affair than I have, so go and see him at once and arrange matters so that I can draw on Monsieur le Baron[a] forthwith.

Lupus arrived on Monday, in the grip of influenza and rheumatism, which confined him to bed for a day, the only one he spent in London. As soon as he felt a little better, he came straight up here. That was why he didn't come and see you. He is now better, but, being *in monetibus*[b] likewise on his beam ends, came straight to me about the £10.

You've absolutely got to pull off another financial coup, otherwise I cannot see how on earth we're going to make up for the loss of the *Tribune*. Nor are the other New York papers in any kind of a position to take the place of the *Tribune* so far as you are concerned[c]; but, should a suitable occasion arise, it would do no harm to try, as something might come of it. With 30 sheets, the book[310] will raise at most some £70, but how do things stand with Brockhaus? Did you discuss the matter at all with Lassalle? And how much longer will it take?

I have again made contact with the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* and shall see how it goes, though 1 article every 6 weeks is the maximum here. Mightn't you be able, through your *mussurus*[d] or otherwise, to arrange for me to contribute military articles to an English paper in London? But all this is marginal stuff and, unless we can discover the art of shitting gold, there would hardly seem to be any alternative to your extracting something from your relations by one means or another. *Réfléchis-là-dessus.*[e]

Shall write to you shortly about Lassalle's war plans and your theory of rent,[f] though I must say I'm by no means clear about the existence of 'absolute' rent—for, after all, you have to prove it first. I've got frightful piles and can't go on sitting down any longer.

Regards to the FAMILY.

Your

F. E.

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[a] Ferdinand Lassalle - [b] as regards money - [c] See this volume, p. 394. - [d] myrmidon (from the Yiddish *m'schores*) - [e] Think about it. - [f] See this volume, pp. 389-90, 393, 394-98.

# 235

## MARX TO ENGELS[369]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 August 1862

Dear Engels,

Izzy doesn't want to pay the £15 before 1 January.[a]

So, I've been to see Borkheim. You are to draw 400 talers on Lassalle (I didn't, of course, in speaking of Lassalle to Borkheim, say anything AS TO THE £15 to be paid by Lassalle). At 3 months. Then, however, the thing will have to be *renewed,* as I told Borkheim that it wasn't payable until 1 January. (This being the date stipulated by Lassalle.)

So, the main thing is that you should send Borkheim the bill.

As regards the *theory of rent,* I shall, of course, have to wait until I get your letter.[b] But what follows will simplify the 'debate', as Heinrich Bürgers would say:

I. All I have to prove *theoretically* is the *possibility* of absolute rent, without infringing the law of value. This is the point round which the *theoretical* controversy has revolved from the time of the physiocrats[451] until the present day. Ricardo denies that possibility; I maintain it. I likewise maintain that his denial rests on a theoretically false dogma deriving from A. Smith—the supposed identity of *COST PRICES*[c] and *VALUES OF COMMODITIES.* Further, that where Ricardo illustrates the thing with *examples,* he invariably presupposes conditions in which there is either no capitalist production or (factually or legally) *no landed property.* But the whole point is to examine the law precisely when such things do exist.

II. As regards the *existence* of absolute rent, this would be a question that would require *statistical* solution in any country. But the importance of a purely theoretical solution may be gauged from the fact that for 35 years statisticians and practical men generally have been maintaining the existence of absolute rent, while the (Ricardian) theoreticians have been seeking to explain it away by dint of very forced and theoretically feeble abstractions. Hitherto, I have invariably found that, in all such QUARRELS, the theoreticians have always been in the wrong.

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[a] See this volume, p. 401. - [b] ibid., pp. 394-98; 402. - [c] ibid., pp. 396-97.

III. I demonstrate that, even presupposing the existence of absolute rent, it by no means follows that the worst cultivated land or the worst mine pays rent UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES; rather, these will, in all likelihood, have to sell their products at market value, but at *less than* their *individual* value. In order to prove the opposite, Ricardo invariably supposes—which is theoretically false—that, UNDER ALL CONDITIONS OF THE MARKET, it is the commodity produced in the *most unfavourable* circumstances which determines the market value. You yourself had already put forward the correct argument against this in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher.*[a]

That is all I have to add as to rent.

As regards Brockhaus, Lassalle has promised to do his utmost[b] and I believe he will, having solemnly declared that he can neither publish *his magnum opus* on political economy, nor set to work on it—which in his case amounts to the same thing—until my book[310] has come out.

*Salut.* Your

K. M.

Borkheim further adds:

You are to draw the 400 talers on Lassalle at 3 months and renew it a fortnight before due date, till 1 January 1863. If you can't manage to pay in instalments, Borkheim will see to it that Lassalle gets the money on the first due date.

As for the *Evening Post,*[c] I should be glad if you could draft a letter for me, since I'm very bad at writing colloquial English.

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## 236

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, before 12 August 1862]

Herewith the bill on Baron Artful.[d] *You must* advise him of it, date, day when due, etc., also that he will receive the money on

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[a] F. Engels, 'Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy' (present edition, Vol. 3). - [b] See this volume, p. 402. - [c] ibid., p. 394. - [d] Ferdinand Lassalle

due date and that there will be an extension till 1 Jan., when I shall remit him the difference of £15.

Your

F. E.[a]

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## 237

## ENGELS TO MARX[452]

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 13 August 1862]

Dear Moor,

I am unable to answer the preceding letter, since I don't know exactly what you told Borkheim and am therefore afraid of introducing inconsistencies into the affair. I could, of course, only assume Lassalle was back in Berlin. You should now go straight to Borkheim and see that the bill is returned and then sent by you to Lassalle for acceptance. Otherwise, of course, nothing at all can be done. How this misunderstanding could have arisen I fail to comprehend.

Your haemorrhoidarius,

F. E.

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## 238

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN BERLIN

London, 13 August [1862]

Dear Lassalle,

In order to postpone the crisis, at least for a few weeks, *Engels* has drawn a bill on you through Borkheim for 400 talers at

[a] Here follows a note in Marx's handwriting: 'signed 12 August 1862 (3 months after date). 12 August 1862.'

3 months from 12 August.[a] He will remit you the *covering amount before due date.* Then the bill will be renewed until 1st January, when Engels will send you 300 talers and you, in accordance with your promise, will yourself pay 100.

All you have to do for the time being is to accept the bill drawn by Engels. ALTOGETHER, this amounts to £60 and hence doesn't help me. But, at any rate, the present crisis will be averted and some way out may be found in the mean time.

I am literally on tenterhooks and my work has been VERY MUCH TROUBLED and disrupted.

There is some prospect of my getting another Yankee paper.[b]

Where are you?

What are you up to?

What's your old man[c] up to?

*Salut* from myself and FAMILY.

Your

K. M.

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## 239

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

### IN WILDBAD

London, 14 August 1862

Dear Lassalle,

Yesterday, I sent off a couple of lines to you in Berlin. Today I hear that you are at Wildbad. Hence I shall, in a few words, repeat the brief purport of the brief lines which may, perhaps, not reach you.

In order to stave off the catastrophe threatening my affairs, *Engels* drew a bill on you for £60 (400 talers) through Borkheim on *12 Aug.* Due at 3 months date from 12 Aug. Borkheim is to discount this bill for me here. *Engels will remit you the covering*

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[a] See this volume, pp. 404, 405 and next letter. - [b] *The Evening Post* (see ibid., pp. 394 and 404). - [c] Heimann Lassal, Ferdinand Lassalle's father.

*amount before due date.* (Then he will renew the same bill up to 1 January 1863, when he will send you a further remittance of £45 and you will pay £15, as you offered to do.) The only essential thing now is to have *your acceptance.* Borkheim sent the bill straight off to Berlin, whence it will return probably before the end of this week or early in the next. Then it will at once be sent to you for acceptance. I should be very glad if you could telegraph S. L. Borkheim, 27 Crutched Friars, London, saying: 'I SHALL ACCEPT MR F. ENGELS' BILL OF £60.' Namely, so that Borkheim should not raise any further difficulties about the DISCOUNT. In my case, there is greater *periculum in mora*[a] than I can say.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 240

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 August 1862

Dear Frederick,

Just a few lines as I have a mass of business errands to run today.

The misunderstanding consists solely in there 'not having been one'.

Before writing to you, I had told Borkheim that I did *not* know whether Lassalle was in Berlin, and hence that there was no certainty of an immediate acceptance. Borkheim had, nevertheless, promised to DISCOUNT the moment he had your signature. He subsequently thought better of it.

He decided, not to DISCOUNT in person, as he had originally intended, BUT TO HAVE THE BILL DISCOUNTED BY ONE OF HIS FRIENDS CONNECTED WITH BERLIN.

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[a] danger in delay

To that end, he naturally required Lassalle's acceptance. The latter, or so I learned from Bucher yesterday, is at present at Wildbad, where Lassalle SENIOR[a] is more or less on the point of kicking the bucket. I immediately wrote to Baron Izzy.[b]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 241

## MARX TO WILHELM SCHWARZ

IN LONDON

London, 19 August 1862
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Sir,

Might I, as *London correspondent* of the Vienna *Presse*, request that I be sent a PRESS TICKET for the Exhibition?[344]

Though I was asked months ago by the Editor of the *Presse* to write a number of *general* reports on the Exhibition,[c] other work has precluded my acceding to that request until now.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

Dr Karl Marx[453]

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[a] Heimann Lassal, Ferdinand Lassalle's father - [b] See this volume, pp. 406-07.
[c] ibid., p. 353.

## 242

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[239]

IN ZURICH

London, 20 August [1862]

Dear Lassalle,

I imagine that, excursions into the High Alps and Italy notwithstanding, you will be spending a few days in Zurich, or at least receiving *poste restante* letters there. To make doubly sure, I have also informed Mr Rüstow that I have written to you '*poste restante* Zurich'.

Despite the 'position' I am in, I would rescind the whole transaction if the bill on you were not already in the hands of 'Meyer Brothers', Berlin. Actually, this was not altogether in accordance with the agreement, since Borkheim had originally promised me he wouldn't let the bill out of his hands until you returned to Berlin. However, I couldn't see that any harm had been done since, in the case of this first bill, I had thought the use of your name was a mere *formality* and had no idea it had any connection with your 'public existence' or might serve to spark off some civil drama or other. For I believed that Engels' security for 'an amount' of 400 talers would meet the case, even if the 'worst came to the worst' and, as regards 'the due date', I knew Engels to be a *model* of 'punctuality and promptitude' in money matters, particularly where bills are concerned. Otherwise, I wouldn't have involved you in this BUSINESS.

It being no longer possible to rescind the thing without making myself and Engels look foolish in Borkheim's eyes, I shall send you Engels' bond the day after tomorrow.[a] For it takes 3 days to get a reply from Manchester. *As soon as you have the same,* it would be good if you wrote to '*Meyer Brothers*' (this being the name of the firm in Berlin which has Engels' draft), telling them you will accept *on your return.*

Let me say once again how much I regret having involved you in the matter—a rash act for which the overlooking of certain premises on your part and mine is to blame. Meanwhile, I remain,

Your

K. M.

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[a] See this volume, p. 413.

# 243

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 20 August [1862]

Dear Engels,

I've had a whole series of mishaps over the bill.

*First* Borkheim, who means very well but also enjoys bragging and chooses just the wrong moment to prevaricate *post festum,*[a] promised to discount the bill *(out of his own pocket).* He did so, *knowing* that Lassalle's acceptance wasn't to be had for some little while. Then, without a word to me, he sent it through Bruckner (Brothers) to Berlin so as to get it discounted by the said Bruckners. Perhaps—he pretends to have forgotten how it all began—he took fright in the meantime.

*Secondly:* Baron Artful,[b] with whom I discussed the transaction on the eve of his departure[c] when he declared himself 'prepared to do anything', writes *today* from Wildbad[454] whither I had sent him an advice[d]:

> 'If I am to accept, I shall have to have a bond from Engels himself in which he undertakes to put me in possession of the covering amount *a week before due date.* Not, of course, (!) that I doubt you wrote at his behest, but simply because, if I have to accept a bill which I cannot meet myself I must, if unforeseen circumstances are to be precluded and the worst comes to the worst, at least possess a personal written undertaking from the man who can and is to send me this remittance.'

I thereupon wrote the baron, who is now in *Zurich* (has left Wildbad) and 'may' be going on to Italy in a few days' time, a very ironical letter,[e] telling him that I would forthwith request you to send the bond to me. This I now do.

Yesterday Borkheim read me his letter to you.[455] I'd be very glad if you would write to him privately saying he should do everything possible to obtain the money for me, since I am (and this is true) in *dire* need, while Lassalle's return will be delayed by his adventures abroad.

(By the by, I wrote and told Izzy[f] that, on receipt of your bond, he should write to 'Meyer' Brothers in Berlin, who have the bill,

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[a] after the event - [b] Ferdinand Lassalle - [c] See this volume, p. 399. - [d] ibid., pp. 406-07. - [e] ibid., p. 409. - [f] ibid.

saying he will accept it on his return—if, that is, he's not going to be long enough in any one place for the bill to be sent on for his acceptance.)

Say what you will, DEAR BOY, it really is embarrassing to have to BOTHER you as I do with my *misères*! If only I knew how to start some sort of BUSINESS! All theory, dear friend, is grey, and only BUSINESS green.[a] Unfortunately, I have come to realise this too late.

With the £20 advanced by Borkheim, I first of all paid the rates, then the shoemaker who was proposing to sue me, etc. I used £5 to send my FAMILY to Ramsgate yesterday, since little Jenny could not remain here any longer. I cannot thank you enough for having made this possible. She's the most perfect and gifted child in the world. But here she had to suffer twice over. Firstly from physical causes. And then she was afflicted by our pecuniary TROUBLE. How glad I was today that my wife and children were away and were thus spared the sight of Izzy's letter!

Can't you come down for a few days? In my critique I have demolished so much of the old stuff that there are a number of points I should like to consult you about before I proceed.[310] Discussing these matters in writing is tedious both for you and for me.

One point about which you, as a practical man, must have the answer, is this. Let us assume that a firm's machinery at the outset=£12,000. It wears out ON AN AVERAGE in 12 years. If then £1,000 is added to the value of the goods every year, the cost of the machinery will have been paid off in 12 years. Thus far, A. Smith and all his successors. But, IN FACT, this is only an AVERAGE CALCULATION. Much the same applies to machinery having a life of 12 years as, say, to a horse with a life—or useful life—of 10 years. Although it would have to be replaced with a new horse after 10 years, it would in practice be wrong to say that $^1/_{10}$ of it died every year. Rather, in a letter to FACTORY INSPECTORS,[b] Mr Nasmyth observes that machinery (at least some types of machinery) RUNS BETTER in the second year THAN IN THE FIRST. AT ALL EVENTS, in the course of those 12 years does not $^1/_{12}$ of the machinery have to be replaced *in natura*[c] each year? Now, what becomes of this fund, which yearly replaces $^1/_{12}$ of the machinery? Is it not, in fact, an accumulation fund to extend reproduction aside from any

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[a] A paraphrase of Mephistopheles' words (Goethe, *Faust*, Part I, Scene 4). - [b] J. Nasmyth's letter to the factory inspector Horner of 6 November 1852, *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, for the Half Year ending 31st October 1856*, London, 1857. - [c] in kind

CONVERSION OF REVENUE INTO CAPITAL?[456] Does not the existence of this fund *partly* account for the *very different* rate at which capital accumulates in nations with advanced capitalist production and hence a great deal of *capital fixe,* and those where this is not the case?

Piles or no piles, you might at least let me have a brief answer to this.

As for the Rüstow-Lassalle plan[a] your comments would be of value to me because of Bucher.[b]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 244

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 21 August 1862]

Dear Moor,

The enclosed note for Lassalle.[c] Don't get so worked up about these asininities. Just see that the bill comes back, and send it to Lassalle for acceptance; or have this done direct from Berlin. You must realise that I can no more prevail on Borkheim than you can—probably less. I know he likes to show off.

In great haste.

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 389-90, 393, 398.- [b] ibid., p. 391.- [c] ibid., p. 413.

## 245

## ENGELS TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[237]

IN BERLIN

Manchester, 21 August 1862

Dear Lassalle,

As requested by you, I hereby confirm (indeed this goes without saying) that, 8 days before due date, I shall send you in Berlin the covering amount in respect of the bill I drew on you for 400 talers maturing 13 November 1862, and, if you will let me know at which banker's this sum is to be paid in, I shall see that it is paid in there by 5 November.

With most cordial regards,

Your
F. Engels

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## 246

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, beginning of September 1862]

Dear Moor,

I am up to my eyes in the cotton racket, which has assumed colossal proportions[385]—those with courage are making a lot of money; but Ermen & Engels, alas, have no courage—it is putting me to a hell of a lot of work. I shall write to you as soon as I possibly can.

Your
F. E.

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# 247

## ENGELS TO MARX[249]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 9 September 1862

Dear Moor,

You have no idea how I've had to buckle to during the past few days. Cotton, blast it, has risen fivefold on average, and you really wouldn't believe how much work is involved in keeping all the customers informed of these successive increases.

I trust the Lassalliad over that wretched bill has been cleared up and that you're in possession of the money. I've at last reached a point at which I can go to Germany for a fortnight, leaving on Friday[457]; unfortunately, I won't be able to stop in London as the time at my disposal is very short and everything I've heard about that idiotic exhibition[344] has made me hate it so much that I'm downright glad I shan't be seeing it. But drop me another line to say how things went with the bill and how little Jenny is getting on—before I leave.

What with the cotton pother, the theory of rent[a] has really proved too abstract for me. I shall have to consider the thing when I eventually get a little more peace and quiet. Likewise the question of wear and tear[b] where, however, I rather suspect you have gone off the rails. Depreciation time is not, of course, the same for all machines. But more about this when I get back.

Individual chaps up here have made a hell of a lot of money during this rise. None of it will stick to ourselves, partly because the good Gottfried[c] is indeed a breech-wetter and partly because spinners in general haven't made a *sou* during this period. It's all gone into the pockets of the commission houses.

The Bull Run affair No. II was a splendid little show by STONEWALL Jackson who is by far the best chap America has. Had he been supported on his front by an attack on the part of the main Confederate army, and had everything gone right (or only partially so), then Monsieur Pope would doubtless have been done for.[458] But as it was, the affair came to nothing, save that the Confederates gained an important moral advantage—respect for their spirit of enterprise and for Jackson—and a few square miles

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[a] See this volume, pp. 394-98, 403-04.- [b] ibid., pp. 411-12.- [c] Gottfried Ermen

of ground; on the other hand, however, they have speeded up the unification and concentration of the *entire Federal army* before Washington. The next STEAMER will most probably bring us news of fresh engagements, in which the Federals might well be victorious if their generals weren't so bloody stupid. But what can you expect of such rapscallions! Pope is the lousiest of the lot; all he can do is brag, countermand, lie, and keep quiet about his reverses. Indeed, that know-all of the General Staff, McClellan, now strikes one yet again as being positively intelligent. What is more, the order that all future major-generals are to sit the exam for the Prussian ensign's sword-knot.[459] It's too pitiful and, in contrast to the spineless goings-on in the North, the chaps in the South, who, at least, know what they want, seem to me like heroes. Or do you still believe that the gentlemen of the North will suppress the 'REBELLION'?

*Adieu!*

Your
F. E.

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## 248

## MARX TO ENGELS[249]

IN MANCHESTER

London, 10 September [1862]

Dear Engels,

My FAMILY has got back from Ramsgate; little Jenny is very much better.

Lassalle's letter, containing a letter for Meyer Brothers with whom the bill is lodged in Berlin, and also his acceptance, didn't arrive till yesterday. In the meantime, Borkheim had already gone away on holiday. Up till now he has paid £40 in driblets, the last 15 of the 40 thirteen days ago, when I *was leaving*.[460] For I wanted to pester my uncle.[a] But he, too, was travelling on the Continent.

[a] Lion Philips

From there (*passant par* COLOGNE, etc.) I went to Trier to see my mater—fruitlessly, however, as I at once suspected when *Monsieur l'oncle* was not to be got hold of. On the 17th of this month, I have to pay a bill [of exchange] for £6 (SIX POUNDS) to my butcher, and Borkheim won't have got back by then, his intention being to spend ABOUT 4 WEEKS bustling round Switzerland, etc.

As to the YANKEES,[312] I am firmly of the opinion, now as before, that the North will win in the end[a]; true, the Civil War may pass through all kinds of episodes, perhaps even ceasefires, and be long-drawn-out. The South would or could conclude peace only on condition that it gained possession of the BORDER SLAVE STATES.[b] In that case, California would also fall to it, the North-West would follow suit and the entire Federation, with the exception, perhaps, of the NEW ENGLAND STATES,[449] would again form one country, this time under the ACKNOWLEDGED SUPREMACY OF THE SLAVEHOLDERS. It would be the reconstruction of the UNITED STATES on the basis demanded by the South. But that is impossible and won't happen.

The North, for its part, can conclude peace only if the CONFEDERACY is restricted to the old slave states, and then only to those bounded by the Mississippi RIVER and the ATLANTIC. In which case the CONFEDERACY would soon come to a happy end. In the intervening period, ceasefires, etc., on the basis of a status quo could at most occasion pauses in the course of the war.

The way in which the North is waging the war is none other than might be expected of a *bourgeois* republic, where humbug has reigned supreme for so long. The South, an oligarchy, is better suited to the purpose, especially an oligarchy where all productive labour devolves on the NIGGERS and where the 4 million 'WHITE TRASH'[418] are *flibustiers*[c] by calling. For all that, I'm prepared to bet my life on it that these fellows will come off worst, 'STONEWALL Jackson' notwithstanding. It is, of course, possible that some sort of revolution will occur beforehand in the North itself.

Willich is a brigadier-general and Stephens,[d] or so Kapp told me in Cologne, is also said to be on his way to the wars now.

It strikes me that you allow yourself to be influenced by the military ASPECT of things A LITTLE TOO MUCH.

As to the economic stuff, I don't propose to burden you with it on your journey.[e]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 400, 415. - [b] ibid., p. 277. - [c] filibusters - [d] Wilhelm Steffen - [e] See this volume, p. 414.

You might perhaps write and tell me where and when you will be passing through London on your journey. If at all feasible, I shall come and meet you.

It is possible (even though all manner of things still stand in the way) that I shall enter an English railway office at the beginning of next year.[a]

WHAT ABOUT Garibaldi?[461]

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## 249

## MARX TO WILHELM WOLFF

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 October 1862

Dear Lupus,

You will have received the *Barmer Zeitung*, misprints and all.[462] The enclosed cutting from the *Elberfelder Zeitung* was sent me by Siebel, with a note to the effect that the article from the *Barmer* was in fact reprinted by the *Niederrheinische*,[b] ditto by the *Märkische Volks-Zeitung* (the latter is published in Hagen).

Is Engels back?[457]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] See this volume, p. 436. - [b] *Niederrheinische Volks-Zeitung*

## 250

## ENGELS TO MARX[249]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 16 October 1862

Dear Moor,

Every single day throughout the whole of last week and this, I was all-set to write to you, but was prevented from doing so by the confounded COTTON business. *Ces messieurs*[a] had, of course, done as little work as possible while I was away,[457] so that my hands have been completely full.

Lupus asked me to tell you that he got the things all right.[b] The case is a most amusing one. Those poor, mendacious Prussians! They invariably make fools of themselves the moment they commit something to paper!

I presume you got the £10 note I sent you on the day of my departure? Again I got stuck in Barmen and Engelskirchen for too long, having spent a whole fortnight sauntering along the Moselle, the Rhine, and in Thuringia. I went straight to Trier via Brussels and Luxemburg, and then on foot to Kochem, etc., giving Cologne a complete miss.

Bismarck's appointment was hailed by the bourgeois with peals of laughter.[463] The chaps were altogether amazingly confident and in a somewhat daredevil mood. They have at last hooked the worthy William with a financial question and know he's bound to give way to them in the long run; but they take a remarkably idyllic view of the course of events and imagine that, provided they just keep the fellow dangling for a while, he'll come to them of his own accord. They're in for a surprise. At all events, things are bound to come to a head some time in the spring. It's killing, by the by, to see what an inspiring effect a financial question of this kind has on the philistines. Schulze-Delitzsch and co. become positively witty, the only man to remain 'sherioush'[c] being Virchow; but nay, he is not alone—Heinrich Bürgers, too, conducts himself with fitting dignity in Weimar, where he sounds the trumpet on behalf of the Imperial Constitution of the year dot.[464] I must say that Schulze-Delitzsch, the little provident society

[a] These gentlemen - [b] A reference to Marx's article 'A Note on the Amnesty', see this volume, p. 417. - [c] In the original '"ernscht" ischt der Mann' (instead of 'ernst ist, etc.').

man who has never been, nor asked to be, more than a wretched philistine, seems to me positively respectable by comparison with scoundrels such as Bürgers and the great Miquel, who are saving the fatherland in Weimar through Prussian supremacy.[465]

I now understand about Kinkel, too. He's a complete caricature of a certain upholsterer in Coblenz who is, in his own way, a unique example of a Rhinelander, with all the prejudices and narrow-mindedness of a race that curses the Prussians, loathes the French, sympathises with Austria, is Catholic and democratic in one and the same breath, but excels at putting its best foot forward. I know because we marched over the Kochemer Berg together. If Kinkel were to see this lad, whom his physical appearance apes in every particular, the shock would knock him over backwards.

What do you make of America? The financial CRASH, inevitable in view of these stupid paper money measures, would seem to be imminent.[422] Militarily speaking, the North may now perhaps begin to recover a bit.

What is little Jenny doing?

Many regards to your wife and the girls.

Your

F. E.

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## 251

## MARX TO ENGELS[369]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 October 1862

Dear Engels,

It isn't right that, during your HOLYDAYS, you should never have time to spend so much as one day in London.

Since going to the seaside, little Jenny has been much better, but she's still not her proper self. For a year she's been losing weight instead of putting it on.

Lassalle, who is exceedingly incensed with me, tells me that, since he has not got a banker, the remittance should be sent to

him personally at his Berlin address, 13 Bellevuestrasse. This month, he is being taken to court on account of one of his famous speeches.[466]

Schily was here for a week, looking very wretched and ill, whereas his friend Imandt, who was also here before I left for Holland and Trier,[460] has grown frightfully obese. It's almost as though a second back had formed on top of his old one.

As regards America, I believe the Maryland campaign[467] to be decisive in as much as it has shown that even in this most Southern-minded part of the BORDER STATES[a] there is little support for the CONFEDERATES. But the whole struggle revolves round the BORDER STATES. Whoever has those, will dominate the UNION. The fact that Lincoln promulgated the PROSPECTIVE emancipation decree at a time when the CONFEDERATES were advancing into Kentucky also shows that no further consideration is now being shown the LOYAL SLAVE HOLDERS in the BORDER STATES.[468] The southward migration of slave holders with their BLACK CHATTEL from Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee has already assumed vast proportions and if, as is certain, the struggle goes on a bit longer, the South will have lost all support there. It was the South that began the struggle for the territories.[440] The war itself has been instrumental in destroying its power in the BORDER STATES, which, in the absence of any market for the BREEDING OF SLAVES or the INTERNAL SLAVE TRADE, have been daily loosening their ties with the South anyhow. In my opinion, therefore, the sole concern of the South will now be defence. But its only chance of success lay in an offensive. If there is confirmation of the news that Hooker is to be given active command of the Potomac Army, McClellan to be 'withdrawn' to the 'theoretical' post of COMMANDER IN CHIEF and Halleck to assume supreme command in the West, the conduct of the war in Virginia might take on a more energetic character. Moreover, the most favourable time of year for the CONFEDERATES is now GONE.

From the point of view of morale, the failure of the Maryland campaign was of really tremendous importance.

As regards finance, the UNITED STATES know from the time of the War of Independence, as we know from our observation of Austria, how far one may go with depreciated paper money.[469] The fact remains that the Yankees have never exported so much grain to England as this year, that the present harvest is again far above AVEGARE and that the balance of trade has never been so favourable for them as during the past 2 years. As soon as the new

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[a] See this volume, p. 277.

system of taxation (vapid though it is, and truly Pitt-like[450]) is introduced, there will, at last, be a REFLUX of paper money, of which there has hitherto only been a steady *issue.* This will render unnecessary any increase in the issue of paper on the present scale, and further depreciation will thus be CHECKED. What has made even the depreciation prevailing up till now less dangerous than it would have been in similar circumstances in France, or even England, is the fact that the Yankees have never prohibited the existence of *two prices,* a GOLD PRICE and a PAPER PRICE. The inherent disadvantage of the thing takes the form of a national debt, for which there has never been the appropriate funding, and a PREMIUM FOR JOBBING AND SPECULATION.[470]

When the English boast that their depreciation never exceeded $11^1/_2$ p.c. (according to others it amounted to more than twice that figure DURING SOME TIME), they choose to forget that they not only continued to pay the old taxes, but every year they paid new ones in addition to the old, so that the REFLUX of bank notes was assured in advance, whereas the Yankees have in effect conducted the war for $1^1/_2$ years *without taxation* (except for the greatly reduced import duties) simply by means of repeated issues of paper. Such procedure, which has now reached a turning-point, means that the depreciation is, in fact, still relatively modest.

The fury with which the Southerners are greeting Lincoln's acts is proof of the importance of these measures.[471] Lincoln's acts all have the appearance of inflexible, clause-ridden conditions communicated by a lawyer to his opposite number. This does not, however, impair their historical import and does, in actual fact, amuse me when, on the other hand, I consider the drapery in which your FRENCHMAN enwraps the merest trifle.

Like others, I am of course aware of the distasteful form assumed by the movement *chez* the Yankees; but, having regard to the nature of a 'bourgeois' democracy, I find this explicable. Nevertheless, events over there are such as to transform the world, and nothing in the whole of history is more nauseous than the attitude adopted towards them by the English.

Regards to Lupus. *Salut.*

Your

K. M.

£10 safely received.

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## 252

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 November 1862

Dear Engels,

I have just been to see Freiligrath. He will send the 400 talers to Lassalle. You are to send him £60, and he will then advise you of the rate of exchange, etc.

As to the renewal, there is no difficulty. You can draw for £45 or ANY SUM LESS THAN £60 and send me the bill so that Lassalle can endorse it. Once that is done, it is discountable over here. You can made it payable *at 3 months*. For the renewal, however, Lassalle's endorsement will be needed and hence cannot be obtained in respect of the present payment. Lassalle himself is awaiting this renewal, having had my letter.[42] Write and let me know at once what is to be done.

Your
K. M.

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## 253

## ENGELS TO MARX[369]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 5 November 1862

Dear Moor,

The £60 will go off to Freiligrath tomorrow. I can't say what is to be done about renewing the bill until I know whether the bill will be discountable *for certain* as soon as Lassalle accepts it, and who will attend to the discounting. On the one hand, it would serve no purpose to worry Lassalle unduly with bills that would

not bring you in money immediately, and, on the other, it could hardly be much use to me if Borkheim (to whom the same CONSIDERATIONS apply) sent me the money merely in small DRIBLETS. Then there are the expenses.

*Quant à l'Amérique,*[a] I, too, of course, believe that the Confederates in Maryland have suffered an unexpected and very significant blow to their morale.[b] I am also convinced that the *definitive* possession of the BORDER STATES will decide the outcome of the war.[c] However, I am by no means certain that the affair will develop in as classical a form as you seem to imagine. In spite of all the hullabaloo raised by the Yankees, there is still no sign whatsoever that the people regard the business as being truly a question of their national existence. On the contrary, the successes of the Democrats at the polls prove that the party that is weary of war is growing.[472] If only there were some evidence, some indication, that the masses in the North were beginning to act as in France in 1792 and 1793, everything would be splendid. But the only revolution to be anticipated seems more likely to be a democratic counter-revolution and a hollow peace, which will also divide up the BORDER STATES. That this would not settle the affair by a long chalk—GRANTED. But it might do so temporarily. I must confess I feel no enthusiasm for a people who, faced with an issue as colossal as this, allow themselves to be beaten again and again by a force numbering $^1/_4$ of their own population and who, after 18 months of war, have gained nothing save the discovery that all their generals are jackasses and their functionaries, crooks and traitors. Things must assuredly take a different course, even in a bourgeois republic, if it is not to be landed completely in the soup. What you say about the iniquitous way the English view the affair corresponds entirely to my own opinion.

The DISTRESS up here is gradually becoming acute. Gumpert tells me that the more serious cases of illness in his hospital are all characteristic of typhoid and that cases of tuberculosis, whose origin can be traced back to the last 8 or 9 months, are rapidly increasing. I imagine that by next month the working people themselves will have had enough of sitting about with a look of passive misery on their faces.

Kind regards.

Your

F. E.

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[a] As for America - [b] See this volume, p. 420. - [c] ibid., p. 277.

A German businessman from Copenhagen, an ex-democrat of 48, called on Freiligrath and, in consequence of a discussion about Schleswig-Holstein, was referred by the latter to Blind.[a] I told the man that Blind was an old chatterbox.

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## 254

## MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE[239]

IN BERLIN

London, 7 November 1862
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

Freiligrath is sending you £60 today, this being the covering amount for the bill. The *renewal* of the same, about which I advised you when the operation began, will be effected only in so far as Borkheim is in receipt of a bill on you from me *at 2 months after date* (dated 6th November, hence payable about 9 January 1863) for the sum of 100 talers, or £15.

From the few lines you wrote me from time to time, I can see that your rancour persists, as, no doubt, the form of the letters was intended to indicate.

The long and the short of it is that you are both in the right and in the wrong. You ask me to send you a copy of the letter you wrote from Baden.[b] For what purpose? So that you could ascertain whether your letter mightn't actually have provided a *pretext* for the one I wrote to Zurich?[c] Granting you all your POWER OF ANALYSIS, can you, with *your* eyes, detect what was read by *my* eyes and, more particularly, can you deduce therefrom the conditions under which my eyes were reading? In order to prove to me that I had misread your words, you would have to equate first the readers and then the circumstances of the readers, an equation you would

[a] See this volume, p. 264. - [b] Wildbad. See this volume, p. 410. - [c] ibid., p. 409.

again tackle as Lassalle under Lassallean conditions and not as Marx under Marxian conditions. Hence nothing could come of it but fuel for fresh controversy. How little the POWER OF ANALYSIS helps in such transactions is evident to me from your letter. For you ascribe to me something I didn't *mean.* Whatever the circumstances, I myself must be the best judge of the latter. The *wording* of the letter may support your view, but, as to the *meaning* that lay behind the words, I myself am, *de prime abord,*[a] better informed than you. You hadn't so much as an inkling of what had got my back up, namely the impression gained from reading your letter (*wrongly,* as I now discover on re-reading it in a more serene frame of mind) that you *doubted* whether I was acting with Engels' consent. I concede that I made no mention of this in my letter and that, leaving the personal relationship aside and simply having regard to our business relationship, it was an absurd supposition. STILL, IT APPEARED SO TO ME AT THE MOMENT I WROTE TO YOU. I further concede that this, my real grievance, was not expressed, perhaps not even hinted at, in my letter; rather, the ISSUE has been ON A FALSE POINT. Such is the sophistry of all passion.

So, anyhow, you are in the wrong because of the way you interpreted my letter; I am in the wrong because I wrote it and supplied the *materia peccans.*[b]

Is there to be an outright split between us because of this? I believe that the substance of our friendship is strong enough to withstand the SHOCK. I confess to you, *sans phrase,*[c] that I, as a man on a powder barrel, permitted myself to be swayed by circumstances in a manner unbecoming to an *animal rationale.* But, at all events, it would be ungenerous of you, as a jurist and prosecutor, to hold against me a *status animi*[d] in which I would have liked nothing better than to blow my brains out.

So, I trust that, 'despite everything',[e] our old relationship will continue untroubled.

Since that time I have been on the Continent, in Holland, Trier, etc., in order to arrange my affairs.[460] *J'ai abouti à rien.*[f]

I had intended to send you the Roscher,[g] but discovered that the cost of sending it would be 10/-, the price, if not the actual value, of the Roscher. However, I hope to find an opportunity soon.

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[a] first and foremost - [b] the inflammatory material - [c] without beating about the bush - [d] state of mind - [e] An allusion to F. Freiligrath's poem 'Trotz alledem!' - [f] I have achieved nothing. - [g] W. Roscher, *System der Volkswirthschaft.*

My cousin in Amsterdam[a] writes to say that, at his suggestion, your book[b] will be discussed at length in the Amsterdam legal journal by their most learned jurist.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

I have been prevented from doing any work at all on my book[310] for some 6 weeks and am now going ahead, but only with interruptions. However, it will assuredly be brought to a conclusion BY AND BY.

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## 255

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

*In haste*

London, 9 November [1862]

Dear Engels,

Three of Eccarius' children have died in rapid succession from scarlatina. In addition, his utter poverty. Raise a small sum among your acquaintances and send it to him at 22 Denmark Street, OPPOSITE St. Giles Church.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] August Philips - [b] F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte.*

## 256

## MARX TO ENGELS[239]

IN MANCHESTER

[London, 14 November 1862]

Dear Engels,

Since you have just sent money to Eccarius and, on top of that, paid out the large sum for Lassalle's bill,[a] you will, of course, be very *'blanc'*.[b] Nevertheless, I must ask you to send me a small sum *by Monday*,[c] for I have to buy coal and 'victuals', which, SINCE the *épicier*[d] has been refusing me credit for the past 3 weeks, I must, nevertheless, buy *from him* cash down until the swine has been paid off, otherwise I shall be prosecuted.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 257

## ENGELS TO MARX[249]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 15 November 1862

Dear Moor,

You're right, I am very broke and, like the Prussian government, intensely preoccupied with 'saving'. In the hope that, by leading a domesticated life in Hyde Road,[386] I shall be able to make good the deficiency, I enclose herewith a five-pound note, O/L 28076, Manchester, 28 Jan. '62. At the same time, I am sending you a hamper of wine *per* Chaplin and Horne, containing

[a] See this volume, p. 422. - [b] broke - [c] 17 November - [d] grocer

about one dozen claret and 2 bottles of old 1846 hock for little Jenny, the rest being made up of 1857 hock. 24 bottles in all.

I am impatiently awaiting the STEAMER that will bring us news of the New York elections. If the Democrats win in New York State, I shan't know what to make of the Yankees any more.[473] That a people placed in a great historical dilemma, and one, in which its very existence is at stake to boot, should turn reactionary *en masse* and vote for abject surrender after 18 months' fighting, is really beyond my comprehension. Desirable though it may be, on the one hand, that the bourgeois republic should be utterly discredited in America too, so that in future it may never again be preached ON ITS OWN MERITS, but only as a means towards, and a form of transition to, social revolution, it is, nevertheless, annoying that a rotten oligarchy, with a population only half as large, should evince such strength as the great fat, helpless democracy. Should the Democrats win, by the way, it will give the worthy McClellan and the WESTPOINTERS[474] a fine advantage and the show will soon be over. The fellows are capable of concluding peace, should the South agree to rejoin the Union ON CONDITION that the President shall always be a SOUTHERNER and Congress always consist of an equal number of SOUTHERNERS and NORTHERNERS. They are even capable of immediately proclaiming Jefferson Davis President of the UNITED STATES and actually surrendering all the BORDER STATES, if peace is not to be had otherwise. Then it's goodbye to America.

Besides, the only apparent effect of Lincoln's emancipation[468] so far is that the North-West has voted Democrat for fear of being overrun by Negroes.

To descend from the sublime to the ridiculous, what do you think of worthy William?[a] At last the fellow is himself again; he has expiated his liberal sins and said *'mater peccavi'*[b] to the crippled Elizabeth.[c] In return for this, the Lord has endowed him with strength wherewith to smite the scrofulous mob of liberals[475] and for that, says William, 'for that I need the military'. So rabid is the fellow that even Bismarck is no longer reactionary enough for him. That you're a fool, Schapper, we know and you yourself know, but that you are *such a fool,* etc., etc. Things are going swimmingly, and what could be better than that, 14 years after 1848, the liberal bourgeoisie should have been landed in the most extreme revolutionary dilemma, and all because of a miserable 6 million talers, or about £850,000 sterling? If only the old jackass

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[a] William I - [b] Mother, I have sinned (paraphrase of *pater peccavi,* Luke 15:21). - [c] The Queen dowager, wife of the late Frederick William IV.

doesn't let up again. True, he's fairly going it now, but these Prussians can't be relied on, not even for their stupidity. If things go on as they are, a set-to is absolutely inevitable and, when it really comes to the point, William will be amazed to see just how the 'military' join in,—the common soldiers, that is, who won't thank him for having to fight for a 3 rather than a 2 year spell of service.

My warm regards to your wife and the girls.

Your
F. E.

Apropos. Will you send me the 4 last *Free Presses*? I can never get them here unless I fetch them on the proper day which I invariably forget to do.

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## 258

## MARX TO ENGELS[249]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 17 November [1862]

Dear Engels,

Best thanks for the £5.

It seems to me that you take too one-sided a view of the American fracas.[a] At the AMERICAN COFFEEHOUSE I have looked through a lot of Southern PAPERS and from them it is plain that the Confederacy is in a very tight corner. The English papers suppressed information on the battle of 'Corinth'.[476] The Southern papers depict it as the most exceptional stroke of ill-luck to have befallen them since the call to arms. The State of *Georgia* has declared the CONFEDERATE 'conscription bill' to be null and void. *Virginia*, in the person of Floyd THE THIEF, has contested the right of 'Jefferson Davis's *creatures*' (sic) to continue raising men in that State. Oldham, who represents *Texas* in the Richmond Congress,

[a] See this volume, p. 428.

has formally protested against the transport to the East, i.e., Virginia, of the South-West's 'crack troops'. From all these DISPUTES two things undeniably emerge:

That the CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT has overreached itself in its frantic efforts to fill the ranks of the army;

that the STATES are asserting 'STATE RIGHTS' vis-à-vis the Confederacy[477] just as the latter made a PRETEXT of them vis-à-vis the Union.

I consider the victories scored by the Democrats in the North[478] to be a reaction and one which was made all the easier for that conservative and BLACKLEG element by the poor manner in which the Federal Government waged the war and by its FINANCIAL BLUNDERS. For that matter, it's the sort of reaction that occurs in every revolutionary movement and that was so strong at the time of the National Convention, for instance, that the proposal to submit the King's[a] death to *suffrage universel* was considered counter-revolutionary, and so strong under the Directory that Mr Bonaparte I had to bombard Paris.[479]

On the other hand, elections prior to 4 Dec. 1864 will not affect the composition of Congress; hence, they will merely act as a spur to the Republican government, over whose head a sword is hanging. And, in any case, the Republican House of Representatives will make better use of its term of office, if only out of hatred for the opposing party.[480]

As TO McClellan, in his own army he's got Hooker and other Republicans, who would arrest him any day if ordered to do so by the government.

Add to that the French attempt at intervention[481] which will evoke a reaction against the reaction.

So things are not, I think, too bad. Rather, what might possibly do damage to my views is the sheeplike attitude of the working men in Lancashire. SUCH A THING HAS NEVER BEEN HEARD OF IN THE WORLD. The more so since those scoundrels of manufacturers themselves don't even pretend to be 'making sacrifices', but are content to leave to the rest of England the honour of keeping their army on its feet—i.e., let the rest of England bear the cost of maintaining their variable capital.

Of late, England has made more of an ass of itself than ANY OTHER COUNTRY, the working men by their servile Christian nature, the bourgeois and aristocrats by the enthusiasm they have shown for slavery IN ITS MOST DIRECT FORM. But the two manifestations are complementary.

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[a] Louis XVI

As TO OUR 'handsome William',[a] the chap is IN FACT delectable. Bismarck's government, by the by, is nothing more nor less than the Little German progressists' pious wish come true.[482] They used to rave about the 'man of progress', Louis Bonaparte. Now they see what having a 'Bonapartist' government in Prussia means. After all, Bismarck was in a sense appointed by Bonaparte (and Russia).

I shall look out the *Presses* for you.

*Salut* (also to the ladies).

Your
K. M.

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## 259

## MARX TO ENGELS[249]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 November 1862

Dear Engels,

I acknowledge, *with many thanks* and in great haste, receipt of the first half of the ten-pound note.

If only the Mexicans *(les derniers des hommes!)*[b] were once more to beat the *crapauds*,[483] but even in Paris these particular swine—the allegedly radical bourgeois—are now talking of *'l'honneur du drapeau'*.[c]

Unless Spence prevails over the NORTHERNERS, nothing will do any good, not even McClellan's BAD GENERALSHIP.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] William I - [b] the dregs of humanity! - [c] the honour of the flag

## 260

## MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH[484]

IN LONDON

[London,] 15 December 1862

Dear Freiligrath,

The £5 returned herewith 'by hand' with my best thanks. You will excuse its arriving 5 days late. The family in Trier was so taken aback by the sudden and unexpected death of my brother-in-law, R. Schmalhausen, that there was some delay over sending me the money.

I have been spending a few days in Liverpool and Manchester,[485] those CENTRES OF COTTONOCRACY AND PRO-SLAVERY ENTHUSIASM. AMONG THE GREAT BULK OF THE MIDDLE-CLASSES AND THE ARISTOCRACY OF THOSE TOWNS YOU MAY OBSERVE THE GREATEST ECLIPSUS OF THE HUMAN MIND EVER CHRONICLED IN THE HISTORY OF MODERN TIMES.

I shall drop in at your OFFICE for a couple of minutes one of these days, since I also have some LITERARY BUSINESS to talk over with you.

One of these days, I shall reply to *'les paroles d'un croyant'*.[a 486]

Kindest regards from my family to yours.

Your
K. M.

First published in the supplement to: Franz Mehring, *The Freiligrath-Marx Correspondence,* Moscow-Leningrad, 1929 (in Russian)

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## 261

## MARX TO ENGELS[239]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 December 1862

Dear Engels,

Since leaving you,[485] I have had A MOST EVENTFUL TIME OF IT.

On Monday,[b] there were the Manichaeans[487] who, however, did not all come by appointment. I shared out £15 among them. I

[a] words of a believer - [b] 22 December

gave the worst one a bill for £12 at 6 weeks' sight (actually 7, since I dated it from the end of this year), trusting to a CHAPTER OF ACCIDENTS.

On Wednesday[a] my wife left for Paris. She returned last night. Everything would have been ALL RIGHT if, just before she got there, Abarbanel had not been paralysed by a stroke, which left him helpless and confined to bed, although mentally unaffected. All in all, the series of mishaps that befell her was tragi-comical. First, a great storm at sea: her boat got through, another in her immediate vicinity (she travelled via Boulogne) went down. Abarbanel lives outside Paris. My wife went to see him by rail. Something happened to the engine which meant 2 hours delay in the journey. Later, an omnibus in which she was travelling overturned. And yesterday the wheels of the CAB she had taken in London became entangled with those of another. She got out and arrived here *per pedes*,[b] accompanied by 2 boys carrying her luggage. One thing, by the by, was achieved in Paris, where she sow Massol, etc.[c] As soon as my work[310] comes out, it will be published *in French*.

But now for the worst piece of ill-luck. Marianne (Lenchen's sister[d]), whom Allen treated for a heart complaint a year ago, began to feel unwell on the day my wife left. By Tuesday evening, 2 hours before my wife's return, she was dead. During those seven days I, together with Lenchen, was responsible for the nursing. Allen HAD MISGIVINGS FROM THE FIRST DAY. The funeral is at 2 o'clock on *Saturday*,[e] when I shall have to pay the UNDERTAKER £7 10/- in cash. So, this must be got hold of. A fine Christmas show for the poor children.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] 17 December - [b] on foot - [c] See this volume, p. 439. - [d] Helene Demuth's step-sister Anna Maria Creuz - [e] 27 December

# 262

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 26 December 1862

Dear Moor,

Lupus gave me your letter[42] yesterday and I send herewith O/I 85335, Manchester, 28 Jan. 1862 £5, Bank of England, M. 97. £5 note of the Boston Bank, payable at Masterman's in London. Unfortunately, old Hill hasn't got £10 in Bank of England notes, but the other one is also CASH.

The events that took place at your house and during your wife's trip are surprising indeed and, what is more significant, quite *exceptionally unlucky*. But, in any case, it's excellent news that you should have some prospect of publication in France. HOW IS THIS TO BE MANAGED? And have you heard from Brockhaus?[a]

I fear the good Burnside will get a drubbing on the Rappahannock.[b] He must have a particular proclivity for it, since he seems incapable of deciding to risk more than 40,000 men at one go. I'm surprised, by the way, that the CONFEDERATES should fight there, instead of falling back slowly on Richmond and fighting there; this may yet happen.

Many regards,

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 402, 404. - [b] ibid., pp. 437-38.

## 263

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[488]

IN HANOVER

London, 28 December 1862
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Sir,

A while ago, Freiligrath showed me a letter he had received from you.[486] I would have written sooner had not a series of accidents that befell my family rendered me incapable of writing for SOME TIME.

I was delighted to see from your letter how warm an interest is taken by you and your friends in my critique of political economy. The second part has now at last been finished, i.e. save for the fair copy and the final polishing before it goes to press.[310] There will be about 30 sheets of print. It is a sequel to Part I,[a] but will appear on its own under the title *Capital,* with *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* as merely the subtitle. In fact, all it comprises is what was to make the third chapter of the first part, namely 'Capital in General'.[35] Hence it includes neither the competition between capitals nor the credit system. What Englishmen call 'THE PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY' is contained in this volume. It is the quintessence (together with the first part), and the development of the sequel (with the exception, perhaps, of the relationship between the various forms of state and the various economic structures of society) could easily be pursued by others on the basis thus provided.

The reasons for the long delay are as follows. In the first place, a great deal of my time in 1860 was taken up with the Vogt rumpus, since I had a lot of research to do on material which was in itself of little interest, besides engaging in lawsuits, etc. In 1861, I lost my chief source of income, the *New-York Tribune,* as a result of the American Civil War. My contributions to that paper have remained in abeyance up till the present. Thus, I have been, and still am, forced to undertake a large amount of hackwork to prevent myself and my family from actually being relegated to the

[a] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.*

streets. I had even decided to become a 'practical man' and had intended to enter a railway OFFICE at the beginning of next year. Luckily—or perhaps I should say unluckily?—I did not get the post because of my bad handwriting. So, you will see that I had little time left and few quiet moments for theoretical work. It seems probable that the same circumstances will delay my finishing the book for the printers for longer than I should have wished.

As regards publishers, on no account shall I give the second volume to Mr Duncker. He was sent the manuscript for Part I in December 1858, and it came out in July or August 1859. There is some, but not a very promising, prospect of Brockhaus publishing the thing. The *conspiration de silence* with which I am honoured by the German literary rabble as soon as the latter finds out that the thing can't be dismissed with insults is, quite apart from the tendency of my works, unfavourable from the point of view of sales. As soon as I have a fair copy of the manuscript (upon which I shall make a start in January 1863), I shall bring it to Germany myself, it being easier to deal with publishers on a personal basis.

There is *every prospect* that, as soon as the German edition appears, arrangements will be made in Paris for a French version. I have absolutely no time to put it into French myself, particularly since I am going either to write the sequel in German, i.e. to conclude the presentation of capital, competition and credit, or condense the first two books for *English* consumption into one work. I do not think we can count on its having any effect in Germany until it has been given the seal of approval abroad. In the first part, the method of presentation was certainly far from popular. This was due partly to the abstract nature of the subject, the limited space at my disposal, and the aim of the work. The present part is easier to understand because it deals with more concrete conditions. *Scientific* attempts to revolutionise a science can never be really popular. But, once the scientific foundations are laid, popularisation is easy. Again, should times become more turbulent, one might be able to select the colours and nuances demanded by a popular presentation of *these particular* subjects. On the other hand, I had certainly expected that, if only for the sake of appearances, German specialists would not have ignored my work so completely. Besides, I had the far from gratifying experience of seeing party friends in Germany, who had long interested themselves in this branch of knowledge and sent me gushing encomia on Part I in private, not lift a finger towards getting a critique or even a list of the contents into such journals

as were accessible to them. If these be party tactics, then I must confess that they are an impenetrable mystery to me.

I should be most grateful if you could write to me occasionally about the situation at home. We are obviously heading for revolution—something I have never once doubted since 1850. The first act will include a by no means gratifying rehash of the stupidities of '48-'49. However, that's how world history runs its course, and one has to take it as one finds it.

With best wishes for the New Year,

Your
K. Marx

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## 264

## ENGELS TO MARX[249]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 30 December 1862
252 Hyde Road

Dear Moor,

On Friday I sent you a registered letter containing 10 pounds, £5 in a Bank of England note and £5 in a COUNTRY NOTE of the Boston Bank payable at Masterman & Co., BANKERS, London.[a] Having heard nothing from you since, I feel a little uneasy.

Burnside's defeat is being abominably exaggerated.[489] Clearly it must affect the army's morale, but by no means so badly as if they had been beaten in the open field. The tactical arrangements appear to have been very poor. The flank attack by the left wing would obviously have had to be developed first before the frontal attack went in under Sumner. But this was completely mismanaged. Sumner was evidently in dire trouble before Franklin even had so much as a chance of becoming properly engaged. Again, Burnside seems to have been incapable of making up his mind about his reserves. The successes on the left wing should have

[a] See this volume, p. 434.

persuaded him to send at least part of them there, since, after all, that was evidently where the affair would have to be decided; instead he employed them on his front, and too late even there, namely, 1. as *reliefs* rather than reinforcements for Sumner's beaten troops, and 2. so close to nightfall that it was dark before half of them were actually engaged. This is, of course, what I have gleaned from the indifferent material in the American papers and without any knowledge of the terrain. However, it seems to me that Burnside would probably have been able to dislodge the rabble merely by means of an outflanking movement, especially since he appears to have had 150,000 men against 100,000. But he was obviously inhibited by the belief that Washington could be protected only so long as the army lay squarely between it and the enemy. However, the stupidity of allowing the Confederates a month in which to consolidate their position and then engaging them in a frontal attack admits of no criticism other than a kick in the arse.

Mary and Lizzy[a] send their regards.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Mary and Lizzy Burns

# 1863

## 265

## MARX TO ENGELS[249]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 January 1863

Dear Frederick,

Happy New Year!

I've had so much running about to do this week, not to mention SICKNESS, that I never got round to acknowledging receipt of your letter containing the money.[a]

No reply from Brockhaus so far.[b] I've heard, by the by, that the 'head of the house', as Bangya used to say, is absent from Leipzig.

Through Abarbanel, my wife made the acquaintance in Paris of a certain Reclus, who has some sort of a POSITION in economic literature, and also knows German. The said R., together with Massol (an agent in COMMERCE) who doesn't know German, and a number of others, is willing to apply himself to my work.[c] They have a Brussels publisher at their disposal. In Paris, party spirit and solidarity still prevail within the *parti socialiste.* Even chaps like Carnot and Goudchaux are saying that, come the next upheaval, Blanqui ought to be made leader.

Burnside would seem to have perpetrated grave tactical blunders at the battle of Fredericksburg.[489] He was clearly shy about employing so large a force. But as regards the basic folly, 1. his having waited 26 days, a contributing factor was undoubtedly outright betrayal by the military authorities in Washington. Even the New York CORRESPONDENT of *The Times* admitted that it was weeks before Burnside received equipment that had been promised at an earlier date[d]; 2. the fact that he did, nevertheless,

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[a] See this volume, p. 434. - [b] ibid., pp. 402, 404, 434. - [c] ibid., p. 433. - [d] Ch. Mackay's report of 12 December 1862, *The Times,* No. 24440, 27 December 1862.

proceed to make this attack is symptomatic of the man's moral weakness. The worthy *Tribune* was beginning to question his ability and to threaten him with dismissal. Out of enthusiasm and ignorance, that paper is doing a great deal of harm.

The Democrats and McClellanists naturally howled in unison in order to make the setback seem worse than it was. The 'rumour' that McClellan, 'the Monk' of *The Times,* has been called to Washington, must be laid at Mr Reuter's door.

'Politically', the defeat was a good thing. It wouldn't have done for the chaps to have had a stroke of luck before 1 January 1863. Anything in that line might have led to a cancellation of the 'Proclamation'.[468]

*The Times* and co. are hellish annoyed by the workers' meetings in Manchester, Sheffield, and *London.*[490] It's excellent that the scales should thus be removed from the Yankees' eyes. Not that Opdyke (MAYOR of New York and POLITICAL ECONOMIST) hadn't already declared at a meeting in New York:

*'We know that the English working classes are with us, and that the governing classes of England are against us.'*

I greatly regret that Germany should not be staging similar demonstrations. They cost nothing and are very remunerative 'internationally'. Germany would be all the more justified in doing so in that she is helping the Yankees more in this war than France did in the eighteenth century.[491] It's the same old stupid German failure to emphasise or to vindicate in the eyes of the world what the country really accomplishes.

Have had a letter from Izzy, together with a pamphlet.[a] Contents of letter: I am to send back the Roscher.[b] *Contents of pamphlet:* Continuation of the lecture on the Prussian Constitution.[c] *Substance:* Lassalle is the greatest politician of all time, and of his own in particular. It is Lassalle, AND NO MISTAKE, who has discovered—and this on the basis of a theory untainted by any premises and pure without any qualifications—that the true constitution of a country is not the written one, but consists in the real 'relations of power', etc. Even the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* and Bismarck and Roon subscribe to 'his' theory, as he proves by means of quotations. Hence his public may rest assured that, just as he has discovered the correct theory, so he is in possession of the correct solution for the 'present time'. And that solution is:

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[a] F. Lassalle, *Was nun? Zweiter Vortrag über Verfassungswesen,* Zurich, 1863. - [b] W. Roscher, *System der Volkswirthschaft.* - [c] F. Lassalle, *Ueber Verfassungswesen. Ein Vortrag gehalten in einem Berliner Bürger-Bezirks-Verein,* Berlin, 1862.

'Since the government continues its military expenditure, etc., despite the resolutions of the Chamber, etc., thus *belying* the existence of a constitutional government, etc., the Chamber will prorogue until such time as the government declares that it will desist from that expenditure'.[a]

Such is the power of 'stating the facts'. To save them work, he has provided the wording of the decree to be promulgated by the Chamber.

Old Heiman[b] has safely removed to Abraham's bosom.

Regards and COMPLIMENTS OF THE SEASON TO THE LADIES.[c]

Your
K. M.

I see that there's been a fall in cotton prices. In my opinion, however, this is only temporary.

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## 266

## ENGELS TO MARX[492]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 January 1863[d]

Dear Moor,

Mary[e] is dead. Last night she went to bed early and, when Lizzy[f] wanted to go to bed shortly before midnight, she found she had already died. Quite suddenly. Heart failure or an apoplectic stroke. I wasn't told till this morning; on Monday evening[g] she was still quite well. I simply can't convey what I feel. The poor girl loved me with all her heart.

Your
F. E.

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[a] F. Lassalle, *Was nun?*, pp. 30-31. - [b] Heimann Lassal, Ferdinand Lassalle's father - [c] Mary and Lizzy Burns - [d] Wrong date in the original: '1862'. - [e] Mary Burns - [f] Lizzy Burns - [g] 5 January

## 267

## MARX TO ENGELS[239]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 January 1863

Dear Engels,

The news of Mary's[a] death surprised no less than it dismayed me. She was so good-natured, witty and closely attached to you.

The devil alone knows why nothing but ill-luck should dog everyone in our circle just now. I no longer know which way to turn either. My attempts to raise money in France and Germany have come to nought, and it might, of course, have been foreseen that £15 couldn't help me to stem the avalanche for more than a couple of weeks. Aside from the fact that no one will let us have anything on credit—save for the butcher and baker, which will also cease at the end of this week—I am being dunned for the school fees, the rent, and by the whole gang of them. Those who got a few pounds on account cunningly pocketed them, only to fall upon me with redoubled vigour. On top of that, the children have no clothes or shoes in which to go out. In short, all hell is let loose, as I clearly foresaw when I came up to Manchester[485] and despatched my wife to Paris[b] as a last *coup de désespoir*.[c] If I don't succeed in raising a largish sum through a LOAN SOCIETY OR LIFE ASSURANCE (and of that I can see no prospect; in the case of the former society I tried everything I could think of, but in vain. They demand guarantors, and want me to produce receipts for rent and rates, which I can't do), then the household here has barely another two weeks to go.

It is dreadfully selfish of me to tell you about these *horreurs* at this time. But it's a homeopathic remedy. One calamity is a distraction from the other. And, *au bout du compte*,[d] what else can I do? In the whole of London there's not a single person to whom I can so much as speak my mind, and in my own home I play the silent stoic to counterbalance the outbursts from the other side. It's becoming virtually impossible to work UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES. Instead of Mary, ought it not to have been my mother, who is in any case a prey to physical ailments and has had her fair share of

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[a] Mary Burns - [b] See this volume, p. 433. - [c] despairing throw - [d] in the final count

life...? You can see what strange notions come into the heads of 'civilised men' under the pressure of certain circumstances.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

What arrangements will you now make about your ESTABLISHMENT? It's terribly hard for you, since with Mary you had a HOME to which you were at liberty to retreat from the human imbroglio, whenever you chose.[493]

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## 268

## ENGELS TO MARX[492]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 13 January 1863

Dear Marx,

You will find it quite in order that, this time, my own misfortune and the frosty view you took of it should have made it positively impossible for me to reply to you any sooner.

All my friends, including philistine acquaintances, have on this occasion, which in all conscience must needs afflict me deeply, given me proof of greater sympathy and friendship than I could have looked for. You thought it a fit moment to assert the superiority of your 'dispassionate turn of mind'. *Soit!*[a]

You know the state of my finances. You also know that I do all I can to drag you out of the mire. But I cannot raise the largish sum of which you speak, as you must also know. Three things can be done:

1. LOAN SOCIETY. To what extent my guarantee would serve here remains to be seen—scarcely at all, no doubt, since I am not a HOUSEHOLDER.

[a] So be it then!

2. Life assurance. John Watts is MANAGER of the European Life & Guarantee Society, of which the London OFFICE is certainly in the DIRECTORY. I don't see what there is to prevent you insuring your life for £400, and he will certainly make you a loan of £200 on the policy, since that is his business. If not completely RUINOUS, this is definitely the best way. So, you had best go straight to him, inquire about the TERMS and then inform me of them straight away.

3. If the worst comes to the worst, I might be able to raise about £25 in *February*—certainly not before—and am also prepared to sign a bill for £60, though I have got to have *every assurance* that it won't have to be paid till after 30 June 1863, i.e. be *assured* of an extension until then. I must be given the necessary guarantees to that effect. In which case you would have to extract what was lacking from your uncle in Holland[a] without fail.

I can see no other possibility.

So, let me know what steps you take and I will see to my side of it.

Your
F. E.

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## 269

## MARX TO ENGELS[239]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 January 1863

Dear Frederick,

I thought it advisable to allow some time to elapse before replying. Your position, on the one hand, and mine, on the other, made it difficult to view the situation 'dispassionately'.

It was very wrong of me to write you that letter,[b] and I regretted it as soon as it had gone off. However, what happened was in no sense due to heartlessness. As my wife and children will testify, I was as shattered when your letter[c] arrived (first thing in

[a] Lion Philips - [b] See this volume, pp. 442-43. - [c] ibid., p. 441.

the morning) as if my nearest and dearest had died. But, when I wrote to you in the evening, I did so under the pressure of circumstances that were desperate in the extreme. The LANDLORD had put a BROKER in my house, the butcher had protested a bill, coal and provisions were in short supply, and little Jenny was confined to bed. GENERALLY, under such CIRCUMSTANCES, my only recourse is cynicism. What particularly enraged me was the fact that my wife believed I had failed to give you an adequate account of the real state of affairs.

Indeed, your letter was welcome to me in as much as it opened her eyes to the *'non possumus'*,[a] for she knows full well that I didn't wait for your advice before writing to my uncle[b]; that I couldn't, in London, have recourse to Watts whose person and OFFICE are both in Manchester; that since Lassalle's latest dunning notice[c] I have been unable to draw a bill in London and, lastly, that £25 in February would not enable us to live in January, still less avert the impending crisis. As it was impossible for you to help us, despite my having told you we were in the same plight as the Manchester workers, she could not but recognise the *non possumus*, and this is what I *wanted*, since an end has got to be put to the present state of affairs—the long ordeal by fire, ravaging heart and head alike, and, on top of that, the waste of precious time and the keeping up of FALSE APPEARANCES, this last being as harmful to myself as it is to the children. Since then we have been through three weeks such as have at last induced my wife to fall in with a suggestion I had made long ago and which, for all the unpleasantness it involves, not only represents the only way out, but is also preferable to the life we have led for the past three years, the last one in particular, and which will, besides, restore our SELF-ESTEEM.

I shall write and tell all our creditors (with the exception of the LANDLORD) that, unless they leave me alone, I shall declare myself insolvent by the FAILING OF A BILL IN THE COURT OF BANKRUPTCY. This does not, of course, apply to the LANDLORD, who has a right to the furniture, which he may keep. My two elder children[d] will obtain employment as GOVERNESSES through the Cunningham family. Lenchen is to enter service elsewhere, and I, along with my wife and little Tussy, shall go and live in the same CITY MODEL LODGING HOUSE in which Red Wolff[e] once resided with his family.

Before coming to this decision, I naturally first wrote to sundry acquaintances in Germany, naturally without result. At all events,

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[a] Literally, 'we cannot'. - [b] Lion Philips - [c] See this volume, pp. 422, 423, 424. - [d] Jenny and Laura Marx - [e] Ferdinand Wolff

this will be better than going on as we are, which is impracticable, in any case. It was as much as I could do, and involved all manner of humiliations, to obtain by dint of false promises the peaceable withdrawal of the LANDLORD and butcher, together with the BROKER and a bill of exchange. I haven't been able to send the children to school for the new term, since the old bill hasn't been paid; nor, for that matter, were they in a presentable state.

But by adopting the above plan I shall, I think, at least attain tranquillity without intervention of any kind by third parties.

Finally, a matter unconnected with the above. I'm in considerable doubt about the section in my book that deals with machinery.[494] I have never quite been able to see in what way SELF-ACTORS changed spinning, or rather, since steam power was already in use before then, how it was that the spinner, despite steam power, had to intervene with his motive power.

I'd be grateful if you could explain this.

Apropos. Unbeknown to me, my wife wrote and asked Lupus for £1 for IMMEDIATE NECESSITIES. He sent her two. It's distasteful to me, but *factum est factum.*[a]

Your
K. M.

Abarbanel is dead. Sasonow, too, has died in Geneva.

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## 270

## ENGELS TO MARX[237]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 26 January 1863

Dear Moor,

Thank you for being so candid. You yourself have now realised what sort of impression your last letter but one[b] had made on me. One can't live with a woman for years on end without being fearfully affected by her death. I felt as though with her[c] I was

[a] a fact is a fact - [b] See this volume, pp. 442-43. - [c] Mary Burns

burying the last vestige of my youth. When your letter arrived she had not yet been buried. That letter, I tell you, obsessed me for a whole week; I couldn't get it out of my head. NEVER MIND. Your last letter made up for it and I'm glad that, in losing Mary, I didn't also lose my oldest and best friend.

To turn to your affairs. Today I went straight to Watts, whom I had believed to be still in London; he does have an OFFICE in London, by the way, at No. 2 Pall Mall. It's no go with him. His company has stopped making loans. He gave me another address. The man is willing but, depending on the circumstances, requires *two or even more* SURETIES for the interest, premium and repayment. Unfortunately, we can't comply with that. Whom could we find? Gumpert, at most, but it's doubtful whether he would be acceptable. In addition, a third person would in any case be required, since neither of us has citizen status and, finally, the EXPENSES are deductible from the LOAN in advance, so that little would be left.

It then occurred to me to sell part of the yarn bought on spec and, instead of repaying the amount to Ermen (to whom the money belongs), send it to you. This might possibly have worked, since the matter wouldn't have come up for discussion until July and much can change in the meantime. But NO CHANCE. Today the market is so flat that I would have had to sell at a loss rather than a profit and might not even have managed to make a sale at all this week.

I can't borrow any money. E. might, and probably would, refuse me, and I can't lay myself open to that. To borrow from a third party up here, a usurer, would mean giving E. the best of reasons for releasing himself from his contract with me. And yet, I can't stand by and see you carrying out the plan you told me about in your letter.[a] I therefore had a go at old Hill's bills, helped myself to the enclosed for £100 on John Rapp & Co., due 28 February, and endorsed it in your favour. I don't imagine it will come to light before July, and then we'll have a further reprieve. It is an exceedingly daring move on my part, for I'm now certain to incur a deficit, but the risk must be taken. I assure you I should never have dared do it had not Charles,[b] who had drawn up a sort of balance sheet covering all items over the last six months, told me this afternoon that in my case the thing works out at approx. £30 *à* £50 more than I might have expected. I have made about £330 *à* £350 during the six months.

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[a] See this volume, p. 445. - [b] Roesgen

But equally you yourself must now realise that, as a result of the unusual exertions I have had to make since 30 June 1862, I have really been drained dry and you shouldn't therefore count on any remittances at all from me until 30 June, save perhaps for trifling amounts. What the prospects will be after 30 June God only knows, for we're earning *nothing* at the moment, since the market is no longer rising.

The bill itself is as good as CASH. Freiligrath will be delighted to discount it for you; there's very little paper better than that in circulation. But be so kind as to acknowledge receipt; a great deal of mail is being stolen just now and, since you're not in COMMERCE, anyone can pass himself off as Dr K. M.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[369]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 January 1863

Dear Frederick,

A strange concatenation of events made it quite impossible for me to write to you yesterday to acknowledge receipt of your letter enclosing the bill.

I am well aware what a *risk* you were running in thus affording us such great and unexpected help. I can't tell you how grateful I am, although *I myself,* in my inner forum, did not require any *fresh* proof of your friendship to convince me of its self-sacrificing nature. If, by the by, you could have seen my children's joy, it would have been a fine reward for you.

I can tell you now, too, without beating about the bush that, despite the straits I've been in during the past few weeks, nothing oppressed me so much as the fear that our friendship might be severed. Over and over again, I told my wife that the mess we were in was as nothing to me compared with the fact that these

bourgeois pinpricks and her peculiar exasperation had, at such a moment, rendered me capable of assailing you with my private needs instead of trying to comfort you. Domestic peace was CONSEQUENTLY much disrupted, and the poor woman had to suffer for something of which she was in fact innocent, for women are wont to ask for the impossible. She did not, of course, have any inkling of what I had written, but a little reflection should have told her that something of the kind must be the result. Women are funny creatures, even those endowed with much intelligence. In the morning my wife wept over Marie[a] and your loss, thus becoming quite oblivious to her own misfortunes, which culminated that very day, and in the evening she felt that, except for us, no one in the world was capable of suffering unless they had children and the BROKER in the house.

In my last letter I asked you about the SELF-ACTOR.[b] The question, you see, is as follows: In what way, *before* its invention, did the so-called spinner intervene? I can explain the SELF-ACTOR, but not the state of affairs that preceded it.

I am inserting certain things into the section on machinery.[494] There are some curious questions which I originally failed to deal with. To elucidate these, I have re-read all my note-books (excerpts) on technology[495] and am also attending a practical (purely experimental) course for working men given by Prof. Willis (in Jermyn Street, the Institute of Geology, where Huxley also lectured). For me, mechanics presents much the same problem as languages. I understand the mathematical laws, but the simplest technical reality that calls for ocular knowledge is more difficult for me than the most complicated combinations.

You may or may not know, for of itself the thing's quite immaterial, that there is considerable controversy as to what distinguishes a *machine* from a *tool*. After its own crude fashion, English (mathematical) mechanics calls a TOOL A SIMPLE MACHINE and a MACHINE A COMPLICATED TOOL. English technologists, however, who take rather more account of economics, distinguish the two (and so, accordingly, do many, if not most, English economists) in as much as in one case the MOTIVE POWER emanates from man, in the other from A NATURAL FORCE. From this, the German jackasses, who are great on little matters like this, have concluded that a *plough*, for instance, is a machine, and the most complicated JENNY,[496] etc., in so far as it is moved by hand, is not. However, if we take a look at the machine in its *elementary* form, there can be no doubt that the

[a] Mary Burns - [b] See this volume, p. 446.

industrial revolution originates, not from *motive power,* but from that part of machinery called the WORKING MACHINE by the English, i.e. not from, say, the use of water or steam in place of the foot to move the spinning wheel, but from the transformation of the actual spinning process itself, and the elimination of that part of human labour that was not mere EXERTION OF POWER (as in treadling a wheel), but was concerned with processing, working directly on the material to be processed. Nor, on the other hand, can there be any doubt that, once we turn our attention from the *historical* development of machinery to machinery on the basis of the present mode of production, the only decisive factor is the *working machine* (e.g. in the case of the sewing-machine). For, as everyone knows today, once this process is mechanised, the thing may be moved, according to size, either by hand, water or a steam-engine.

To those who are merely mathematicians, these questions are of no moment, but they assume great importance when it comes to establishing a connection between human social relations and the development of these material modes of production.

Re-reading my technological and historical excerpts has led me to the conclusion that, aside from the invention of gunpowder, the compass and printing—those necessary prerequisites of bourgeois progress—the two material bases upon which the preparatory work for mechanised industry in the sphere of manufacturing was done between the sixteenth and the mid-eighteenth century, i.e. the period during which manufacturing evolved from a handicraft to big industry proper, were the *clock* and the *mill* (initially the flour mill and, more specifically, the water mill), both inherited from Antiquity. (The water mill was brought to Rome from Asia Minor in Julius Caesar's time.) The clock was the first automatic device to be used for practical purposes, and from it the whole theory of the *production of regular motion* evolved. By its very nature, it is based on a combination of the artist-craftsman's work and direct theory. Cardan, for instance, wrote about clock-making (and provided practical instructions). German sixteenth-century writers describe clock-making as a 'scientific (non-guild) handicraft', and, from the development of the clock, it could be shown how very different is the handicraft-based relation between book-learning and practice from that, e.g., in big industry. Nor can there be any doubt that it was the clock which, in the eighteenth century, first suggested the application of automatic devices (in fact, actuated by springs) in production. It is historically demonstrable that *Vaucanson*'s experiments in this field stimulated the imagination of English inventors to a remarkable extent.

In the case of the *mill,* on the other hand, the essential distinctions in the organism of a machine were present from the outset, i.e. as soon as the water mill made its appearance. Mechanical motive power. *Primo,*[a] the motor for which it had been waiting. The transmission mechanism. Lastly, the working machine, which handles the material, each existing independently of the others. It was upon the mill that the theory of *friction* was based, and hence the study of the mathematical forms of gear-wheels, cogs, etc.; likewise, the first theory of measurement of the degree of motive power, the best way of applying it, etc. Since the middle of the seventeenth century almost all great mathematicians, in so far as they have concerned themselves with the theory and practice of mechanics, have taken the simple, water-driven flour mill as their point of departure. Indeed, this was why the words *Mühle* and MILL, which came to be used during the manufacturing period, were applied to all driving mechanisms adapted for practical purposes.

But in the case of the mill, as in that of the press, the forge, the plough, etc., the actual work of hammering, crushing, milling, tilling, etc., is done from the outset *without* human labour, even though the MOVING FORCE be human or animal. Hence this type of machinery is very old, at least in its origins, and, in its case, mechanical propulsion proper was applied at an earlier date. Hence it is virtually the only kind of machinery that occurs during the manufacturing period as well. The *industrial revolution* began as soon as mechanical means were employed in fields where, from time immemorial, the final result had called for human labour and not therefore—as in the case of the above-mentioned tools—where the actual material to be processed had *never, within living memory,* been directly connected with the human hand; where, by the nature of things and from the outset, man has not functioned purely as POWER. If, like the German jackasses, one insists that the application of animal POWERS (which is just as much *voluntary motion* as the application of human powers) constitutes machinery, then the application of this form of locomotor is far older than the simplest of manual tools in any case.

Izzy, as was inevitable, has sent me the speech he made in his defence (has been sentenced to four months) before the court.[497] *Macte puer virtute.*[b] To begin with, that braggart has had the pamphlet you've got, the speech on 'the workers' estate', reprinted in Switzerland with the pompous title *Workers' Programme.*[498]

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[a] First - [b] 'God speed to thy valour, O youth!', Virgil, *Aeneid,* IX, 641.

As you know, the thing's no more nor less than a badly done vulgarisation of the *Manifesto*[a] and of other things we have advocated so often that they have already become commonplace to a certain extent. (For instance, the fellow calls the working class an 'estate'.)

WELL. In his speech before the Berlin court, he had the effrontery to say:

> 'I further maintain that this pamphlet is not just a scientific work like so many others, a mere compendium of ready-made answers, but that it is, in very many respects, a scientific *achievement,* an exposé of new scientific ideas.... I have ushered into the world comprehensive works in varied and difficult fields of scholarship, sparing myself neither pains nor nocturnal vigils in my endeavour to enlarge the frontiers of scholarship as such, and I may, perhaps, say with Horace: *militavi non sine gloria*[b] But this *I myself* tell you: Never, not even in my most comprehensive works, have I penned a *single* line that was reasoned with more rigorous scholarship than was this production from its first page to its last.... Cast an eye, therefore, on the contents of this pamphlet. The contents are nothing less than a *philosophy of history,* compressed into 44 pages.... It is an exposé of the objective, reasoning thought process, which has underlain European history for more than a millennium now, a discovery of the innermost soul, etc.'

Is not this the most egregious effrontery? The fellow evidently thinks himself destined to take over our stock-in-trade. And withal, how absurdly grotesque!

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

Get Lupus to give you today's *Star,* and take a look at the letters it has reprinted from *The Morning Herald* on the subject of *The Times* and Delane.

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[a] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party.*—[b] 'I served with some distinction', Horace, *Carminum* III.

## 272

## MARX TO ENGELS[369]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 February 1863

Dear Frederick,

I enclose divers Urquhartiana. Of late, the fellows have really distinguished themselves by their stupidity. Take, for example, their 'philosophy' with regard to the movement in the UNITED STATES.[a]

I'd have written before now, but for some twelve days I've been STRICTLY forbidden *all* reading, writing, or smoking. I had some kind of inflammation of the eye, combined with a most obnoxious affection of the nerves of the head. Things have improved to such an extent that I am venturing to write again for the first time at this moment. In between whiles I indulged in all manner of psychological fantasies about what it would feel like to be blind or insane.

What do you think of the Polish business?[499] This much is certain, the ERA OF REVOLUTION has now FAIRLY OPENED IN EUROPE once more. And the general state of affairs is good. But the comfortable DELUSIONS and almost childish enthusiasm with which we welcomed the revolutionary era before February 1848, have gone by the board. Old comrades such as Weerth, etc., are no more, others have fallen by the wayside or gone to the bad and, if there is new stock, it is, at least, not yet in evidence. Moreover, we now know what role stupidity plays in revolutions, and how they are exploited by blackguards. Incidentally, the 'Prussian' enthusiasts for the 'Italian' and 'Hungarian' nationalities[500] are already finding themselves in a fix. The 'Prussians' are not going to deny their Russian sympathies. This time, let us hope, the lava will flow from East to West and not in the opposite direction, so that we shall be spared the 'honour' of the French initiative. Apart from that, the adventure in Mexico is providing a truly classical epilogue to the farce of the LOWER EMPIRE.[501]

The 'Herzenian' soldiers[502] appear to be setting about things in the traditional manner. However, there's little to be deduced

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[a] This presumably refers to the first instalment of the anonymous article 'Origin and Objects of the Treason in the United States', *The Free Press*, Vol. IX, No. 2, 4 February 1863.

therefrom, either in respect of the masses in Russia, or EVEN the bulk of the Russian Army. We know what was done by the 'intelligent bayonets'[503] of the French, not to mention our own Rhineland ruffians in Berlin in 1848. But at present you should WATCH *The Bell,* for Herzen *et cie.* now have the chance to demonstrate their revolutionary integrity—in so far as it is compatible with Slav PREDILECTIONS.

The Urquhartites will probably say that the Polish insurrection was stirred up by the St. Petersburg cabinet as a 'diversion' from Urquhart's INTENDED INVASION OF THE CAUCASUS.[504]

In the UNITED STATES things are going damned slowly. I hope that J. Hooker will extricate himself.[505]

Well, make sure you first let me know what you're doing with yourself in Manchester now. It must be a damned lonely place for you. I know from my own experience how the region round Soho Square still sends a shiver down my spine if I happen to be anywhere near there.[506]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 273

## MARX TO ENGELS[249]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 17 February [1863]

Dear Frederick,

I am really worried by your silence. I hope you aren't ill. Conversely, I hope I haven't again given offence *malgré moi.*[a] If, in my letter, acknowledging the £100, I discussed machinery, etc.,[b] this was really done to divert you, and distract you from your misery.

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[a] despite myself - [b] See this volume, pp. 448-52.

The Polish business and Prussia's intervention[507] do indeed represent a combination that impels us to speak. Not in person, partly so as to avoid any appearance of competing with the student Blind,[a] partly so as not to deny ourselves entry to Germany. But the Workers' Society here would serve well for the purpose. A manifesto should be issued in *its* name,[508] and issued IMMEDIATELY. You must write the *military* bit—i.e. on Germany's military and political interest in the restoration of Poland. I shall write the diplomatic bit.

Well, OLD BOY, let me have an answer and, if you've got anything on your mind, SPEAK OUT LIKE A MAN in the assurance that no one takes a warmer interest in your weal and woe than does

Your
Moor

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## 274

## ENGELS TO MARX[249]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 17 February 1863

Dear Moor,

You must excuse my long silence. I was in a very forlorn state, and it was high time I extricated myself from it. I tried Slavonic languages but the loneliness was unbearable. I had to force myself to seek distraction. That helped, and I am now my old self again.

The Poles are really splendid fellows. If they manage to hold out until 15 March, there'll be a general conflagration in Russia. At first, I was devilish afraid the business might go wrong. But now there would seem to be almost more chance of victory than of defeat. Nor should it be forgotten that the *younger* members of the Polish emigration have a military literature of their own in which all matters are discussed with special reference to Polish condi-

[a] An allusion to K. Blind's article 'Deutschland und Polen'.

tions, or that, in that literature, the idea of guerrilla warfare in Poland plays a leading role and is discussed in great detail.[509] Oddly enough, the only two leaders to have been named so far are Frankowski, a Warsaw Jew, and Langiewicz, a Prussian lieutenant. The Russian messieurs, in view of their ineptitude, are bound to suffer appallingly as a result of guerrilla warfare.

Have you seen that Bakunin and Mierosławski are dubbing one another liars, and are at loggerheads over the Russo-Polish frontiers? I have ordered[a] the *Kolokol,* from which I shall presumably find out more about it.[510] Incidentally, I shall have to do some hard swotting before I can work my way through it again.

The Prussians are behaving infamously as always.[507] Monsieur Bismarck knows that it will be a matter of life and death for him if there's revolution in Poland and Russia. Not that there's any hurry over Prussian intervention. So long as it's not necessary, the Russians won't permit it, and when it does become necessary, the Prussians will take care not to go.

If things go wrong in Poland, then we shall probably face a year or two of acute reaction, for in that case the Православный Царь[b] would again become head of a Holy Alliance,[511] which last would again cause Monsieur Bonaparte to be looked on as a great liberal and champion of nations by the stupid *crapauds.*[c] Apropos, how funny it is to see the entire English bourgeoisie pitching into Boustrapa,[167] now that Kinglake has made public a small, improperly digested and improperly heard fragment of *the same* tittle-tattle about him and his LOT[d] as we've been telling them for ten years without their believing us. Revelations about the court in Paris are again becoming quite the rage and, in the *Guardian,* Mr Tom Taylor[e] is portentously dishing up all that stuff *re la* Solms, Bonaparte, Wyse, the Jecker affair, etc., that we've long known far more about. There's only one thing of interest, namely that Jecker had already supplied money for the Strasbourg or the Boulogne conspiracy—which, Taylor doesn't know. This, then, accounts for the connection.

Things don't look too good in YANKEELAND. Indeed, by a stroke of irony not uncommon in world history, the Democrats have, in the eyes of the philistines, now become the WAR-PARTY while the

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[a] See this volume, p. 454. - [b] Orthodox Tsar - [c] French philistines - [d] A. W. Kinglake's speech in the House of Commons on 12 July 1860, *The Times,* No. 23671, 13 July 1860 (see this volume, pp. 173-74). - [e] John Eduard Taylor

bankrupt poetaster Ch. Mackay is once more thoroughly discredited. I also hear from private sources in New York that the North is continuing to arm at a quite unprecedented rate. But, on the other hand, signs of moral prostration are daily more in evidence and the inability to win grows daily greater. Where is the party whose victory and *avènement*[a] would be synonymous with prosecuting the war *à outrance*[b] and with every available means? The *people* have been cheated, more's the pity, and it's lucky that peace is a physical impossibility or they'd have concluded it long since, if only so that they could again devote themselves to the ALMIGHTY DOLLAR.

A Confederate major who took part in the fighting at Richmond[458] as a member of Lee's staff, recently told me that, according to documents which Lee himself showed him, the REBELS had no fewer than 40,000 STRAGGLERS at the end of this battle! In particular, he spoke with great respect of the FEDERALS' western regiments, but is in other ways a jackass.[c]

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## 275

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 19 February 1863

Dear Moor,

As regards Poland I am entirely of your opinion.[d] I've been toying with the idea of a pamphlet for the past fortnight. However, your suggestion is better, as it means that the diplomatic stuff goes in at the same time and it's an advantage to do the thing together.

How many sheets is the whole to amount to and how many of those do you think ought to be devoted to my bit? The form it

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[a] advent to power - [b] to the utmost - [c] end of letter missing - [d] See this volume, p. 455.

takes will more or less depend on this. Who will print it? And when will your bit be ready for printing?

About machinery[a] anon.

Your
F. E.

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## 276

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 February 1863

DEAR FREDERICK,

I think our best course *re* the Polish business would be as follows:

The proclamation for the workingmen, i.e. in the name of the Society,[508] should amount to one sheet of print *at most,* military and political TOGETHER. So, write that first. I shall then fit mine in. *The Society will print this.*

However, it would also be a good idea for us to deal with the subject in greater detail in a pamphlet,[512] and there you must determine the number of sheets entirely in accordance with the material. The diplomatic bit, which I am READY to do at any time, would in fact only be an appendix. AS TO a publisher, I intend to write to Hanover IMMEDIATELY you advise me of the number of sheets.

Apropos, send me a power of attorney for Bucher *re* Duncker, apropos *Po and Rhine.*[b]

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 449-51. - [b] F. Engels, *Po and Rhine.*

# 277

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 21 February 1863]

Dear Moor,

I shall send you the stuff for the manifesto[a]—quite brief—, but it is pretty sure to contain a good deal that partly encroaches on your province—you will have to deal with this.

*Ad vocem*[b] pamphlet: I thought of dividing the thing up as follows: 1. Russia's military position vis-à-vis the West and South *before*, 2. ditto *after*, the 3 partitions of Poland, 3. ditto after 1814,[513] 4. the attitude of Russia and Germany after the restoration of Poland. (Something will have to be said here about Prussian Poland, linguistic boundaries, and the statistical proportions of the mixed population.) All in all, at most 3-4 sheets; title: Germany and Poland. Political-Military Considerations on the Occasion of the Polish Uprising of 1863.[512] It would then be up to you to go over your notes in the meantime and prepare them to the extent of being able, immediately on receipt of the ms., either to fit them in at the appropriate places or include them as an appendix and refer to them as necessary. If you have any further observations to make about this, write and tell me as soon as possible so that I can bear them in mind.

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p. 458. - [b] *Re*

# 278

## MARX TO ENGELS[369]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 February 1863

Dear Engels,

At the HEIGHT of my own crisis I wrote to Dronke.[42] ABOUT A MONTH AFTER that, I had a letter from him to say that he had been away. Yesterday, he turned up here unexpectedly and left today after a further meeting.

He told me (the *initiative* was his) that he wanted to help raise a substantial sum so that I could work in peace for a year. He then mentioned you. I told him (I didn't think it necessary to go into detail on this occasion) that you had done a great deal and would not have a penny to spare for many months TO COME.[a] His rejoinder: 'It's not a question of months but of one to two years.' He is to discuss the matter with you personally.

To what extent all this should be taken seriously or is simply bragging, you will best be able to judge for yourself.

Apropos. My 'liver' is very swollen, add to which I have twinges of pain when I cough and feel some discomfort when pressure is applied. Will you inquire from Gumpert about a *household remedy*. If I go to Allen, the upshot will be a complete course of treatment and for that, quite apart from numerous other considerations, I have no time just now.

My chief anxiety about the Polish affair[499] is that beastly Bonaparte will find a pretext for moving up to the Rhine and extricate himself from a nasty situation again.

Send me (since you have more material to hand on the subject) a few notes (detailed) on the conduct of Frederick William the Just[b] in the year 1813 after Napoleon's failure in Russia. This time we must go for the dismal House of Hohenzollern.

I left Dronke *in doubt* as to whether the second volume was already being printed or not.[310]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 447-48. - [b] Frederick William III

I have just noticed in the 2ND EDITION of *The Times* that the Prussian Second Chamber has finally done something worthwhile.[514] We shall soon have revolution.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[369]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 March 1863

Dear Frederick,

You must know that for the past few weeks eye trouble has almost entirely prevented me from reading or writing. Hence the need to make up for lost time by some hard slogging. *Hinc*[a] my silence.

Dronke has sent me £50.

The enclosed letter from Dr Kugelmann, which kindly return, will show you what muddle-headed fellows these German 'party members' are. My work on economics[310] 'isn't opportune' and yet I am expected, for the sake of the cause, to carry on with the *whole* business after this volume has appeared, merely for the theoretical satisfaction of a few high-minded souls. What I am expected to live on while engaged in my 'inopportune works' is not, of course, a question these gentry worry their heads about for one moment.[515]

The Langiewicz affair is disgusting.[516] But I am hoping that it won't put paid to the business yet, even temporarily. Meanwhile, I am deferring the work on Poland[512] so as to be able to see EVENTS when they have reached a rather more advanced stage.

Politically, the view I have reached is this: that Vincke and Bismarck do, in fact, *accurately* represent the principle of the Prussian State; that the 'State' of Prussia (a very different creature from Germany) cannot exist either *without* Russia as she is, or *with*

[a] Hence

an independent Poland. The whole history of Prussia leads one to this conclusion which was drawn long since by Messrs Hohenzollern (Frederick II included). This princely consciousness is infinitely superior to the limited mentality of the subject that marks your Prussian liberal. Since, therefore, the existence of Poland is necessary to Germany and completely incompatible with the State of Prussia, the State of Prussia must be erased from the map. Or the Polish question simply provides further occasion for proving that it is impossible to prosecute German interests so long as the Hohenzollerns' own state continues to exist. Down with Russian hegemony over Germany means just the same as away with mischief, with the old sodomite's brood.[a]

What strikes me as very significant about the latest turn of events in America is the fact that they are again proposing to hand out *letters of marque.*[517] *Quoad*[b] England, this will put an entirely different complexion on the matter and may, UNDER FAVOURABLE CIRCUMSTANCES, lead to war with England, so that self-satisfied John Bull will find not only his COTTON but also his CORN WITHDRAWN from under his nose. At the beginning of the CIVIL WAR *Seward* had, off his own bat, had the presumption to *accept* the resolutions of the 1856 Congress of Paris as *provisionally* valid for America, too. (This came to light with the publication of the despatches concerning the *Trent* affair.)[518] In Washington, Congress and Lincoln, enraged at the OUTFITTING OF SOUTHERN PIRATES in Liverpool, etc., have now put an end to the lark. This has greatly alarmed the Stock Exchange here, though the faithful hounds of the press are obeying orders, of course, and not mentioning the affair in the papers.

You will doubtless have noted with satisfaction how Pam, the old scoundrel, is playing precisely the same game as in 1830/31[519] (I have compared his speeches) and likewise getting *The Times* to play it.[c] This time the progress of the affair is SO FAR GOOD. Louis Bonaparte is about to find himself in the soup (when this happened to the luckless Louis Philippe in 1831 the whole of Europe suffered) and IN A VERY UGLY DILEMMA WITH HIS OWN ARMY. Mexico[411] and those genuflections before the Tsar in the *Moniteur* (into which Boustrapa[167] was pushed by Pam) might well cost him his neck. So great was his alarm that he ordered the publication of the despatches demonstrating that his good will had been thwarted

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[a] An allusion to the Prussian Hohenzollerns. See also Heinrich Heine's *Schloßlegende.* - [b] Concerning - [c] This refers to a leading article in *The Times,* No. 24514, 24 March 1863.

by Pam alone. (Although his CASE was *identical,* the luckless Louis Philippe went so far as to allow the impudent Pam to claim in Parliament that *'if it were not for the *perfidy of the French* and the intervention of Prussia, Poland would still exist'*.) He believes that he will thereby influence PUBLIC OPINION in England, as though the latter were not satisfied with Pam's SOP to the effect that Bonaparte wanted to reach the Rhine! And as though Pam did not manufacture three-quarters of this PUBLIC OPINION himself! The wretched Plon-Plon hadn't the courage to say that Pam was working for Russia; rather, he maintains that wicked Russia is seeking to foment discord between France and England![520] Here once again I recognise the very image of my *homme du Bas Empire,*[a][501] the wretched fellow who never dares stage his *coups d'état au delà des frontières*[b] *without the permission of Europe's Supreme Authority.* Had the wretched fellow the courage to tell the unvarnished truth about Pam (or simply threaten to do so), he could saunter up to the Rhine undisturbed. But now he has bound himself hand and foot, thus delivering himself completely into Pam's power, as did Louis Philippe before him. Much good may it do him.

The goings-on in Staleybridge and Ashton are very cheering.[521] So the double chins and pot-bellies have at last ceased to 'respect' the *prolétaires.* Edmund Potter[c] makes a great fool of himself today in *The Times*[d] which, faced with the unpopularity it now enjoys in such large measure, POUNCES UPON THAT ASS in order to CATCH a ha'pennyworth of popularity.[e]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] man of the Lower Empire - [b] beyond the frontiers - [c] In the original: John Potter. - [d] This refers to Edmund Potter's letter 'To the Editor of the *Times*', *The Times,* No. 24514, 24 March 1863. - [e] *The Times,* No. 24514, 24 March 1863, leader.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 8 April 1863

Dear Moor,

I have been meaning to write to you for the past six days and have been continually prevented from doing so. Especially by the worthy Eichhoff. The poor devil allowed himself to be so thoroughly cheated in Liverpool by Prussian lieutenants on the run and commercial swindlers that he has become responsible for about £100's worth of debts OVER AND ABOVE the capital that was thrown down the drain, not by him, but by his partner. He'd come here, he said, to stay for some time and would accept any post that was offered him; he was making a great mystery of what he was doing here, etc. However, it soon became apparent that, instead of looking round for posts, he was engaging in all kinds of mysterious agency transactions and it's now plain to me that he is conducting a BLOCKADE-RUNNING BUSINESS TO THE CONFEDERATE STATES on behalf of little Dronke, who is very deeply involved in this line. Hence all the secrecy, though the GREENNESS of our friend is such (it is really beyond all bounds) that the secret keeps leaking out all the time. *Enfin,*[a] the chap has little to do just now, and I'm often saddled with him in the afternoons. Since he refuses to be straightforward with me, I can't, of course, do anything much to help him, save in cases where he actually asks my advice.

I fear the Polish business is going wrong.[499] Langiewicz's defeat[516] would already seem to have made its mark in the Kingdom.[b] The Lithuanian movement is by far the most important because 1. it extends beyond the borders of Congress Poland[522] and 2. because the peasants here play a greater part and the thing, if one looks towards Kurland, becomes unmistakably agrarian but unless this movement makes good progress and revives that in the Kingdom, I don't imagine the prospects are very considerable. Langiewicz's conduct seems to me as very dubious. *Which* party first broke the contract of alliance—which was absolutely essential to the success of the uprising—it will be difficult to establish. But it would be interesting to know how

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[a] Finally - [b] the Kingdom of Poland

much truth there is in the rumours that link Mierosławski, on the one hand, and Kościelski, on the other, with Plon-Plon.[a] If I'm not mistaken, Branicki has long since been a Plonplonist.

The worthy Kugelmann certainly seems to have the most wonderfully magnanimous plans for you. That men of genius must also eat, drink and be housed and even pay for these things, is much too prosaic a notion for these honest Germans, and to suspect them of so much as harbouring it would be virtually tantamount to an insult. I should like to find out who the know-all was who confided to him that I have disowned my book.[523] You will doubtless enlighten the good man on this score. As to the new edition (which, according to the same premises, would certainly be ANYTHING BUT *opportune*), this is not a suitable moment in any case, now that the English proletariat's revolutionary energy has all but completely evaporated and the English proletarian has declared himself in full agreement with the dominancy of the bourgeoisie.

I have read the new things by Lyell and Huxley,[b] both very interesting and pretty good. Lyell has some rhetoric but also some fine witty remarks, e.g. where, having vainly quoted all the naturalists in an attempt to establish the qualitative difference between men and apes, he finally quotes the Archbishop of Canterbury[c] as asserting that man differs from beasts by virtue of religion. Apropos, just now the old faith here is being well and truly sniped at, and from all sides. It will soon be found necessary to concoct a platitudinous system of rationalism for the protection of religion. Owen got someone to reply to Huxley in *The Edinburgh Review*: the answer conceded all the essential facts of the case and took issue only with the phraseology.[d]

Little Dronke evidently thought there was something tremendously heroic in his intention to raise £250 with his banker on my acceptance and actually pay the expenses and interest, amounting to less than £15, himself. My refusal, when confronted with such heroism, to undertake to provide the £250 within a year—you're the best judge of why I couldn't do so[e]—struck him as *mesquin*[f] in the extreme. I assure you that, but for you, I would have kicked

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[a] See this volume, p. 466. - [b] Ch. Lyell, *The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man with Remarks on Theories of the Origin of Species by Variation*, 2nd ed., London, 1863. Th. H. Huxley, *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature*, London-Edinburgh, 1863. - [c] J. B. Sumner, *A Treatise on the Records of the Creation...* Quoted on pp. 496-97 of Lyell's book. - [d] 'Professor Huxley on Man's Place in Nature', *The Edinburgh Review*, No. 240, April 1863, pp. 541-69. - [e] See this volume, pp. 447-48. - [f] niggardly

the little blackguard in the arse. I was so annoyed that I got tight and while still in a state of tightness wrote you a furious letter[232] on the subject, which doubtless contained some pretty splendid stuff, for I have absolutely no recollection of what I wrote. I merely mention the matter now, so that you can view it in its proper context.

*Vale.*

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[369]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 9 April 1863

Dear Frederick,

Little Tussy was delighted with the letter and its contents and cannot be dissuaded from replying in 'person'.

I have known all about Mierosławski's Plonplonism[524] for years now through J. Ph. Becker and Schily. Anyway, I had deduced it even earlier from a book he published during the last Russo-Turkish war.[a] One of the things the magnanimous fellow proposed therein was the partition of Germany into 2 countries. But I've never heard anything of the kind in connection with Kościelski. As for M.'s ludicrous vanity and boundless credulity the minute his vanity is tickled, Becker sent me a highly comical account of it from Italy in 1860.

*Izzy* has already brought out 2 more pamphlets about his trial[b];

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[a] L. Mierosławski, *De la nationalité polonaise dans l'équilibre européen*, Paris, 1856. - [b] F. Lassalle, *Der Lassallesche Criminalprozess*, Zurich, 1863; *Das Criminal-Urtheil wider mich mit kritischen Randnoten zum Zweck der Appellationsrechtfertigung* [Leipzig, 1863].

luckily he has *not* sent them to me. On the other hand, the day before yesterday I received his open *reply* to the central working men's committee for the Leipzig working men's (read *louts*') congress.[525] He gives himself all the airs of a future working men's dictator—self-importantly dispensing the phrases he has borrowed from us. He solves the wages v. capital problem 'with delightful ease' (*verbotenus*[a]). The workers, that is, are to agitate for *general suffrage,* after which they are to send people like himself into the Chamber of Deputies, armed 'with the naked sword of science'. Next they organise workers' factories, for which the *state* advances the capital and, BY AND BY, these institutions spread throughout the country. This, at any rate, is surprisingly new! Let me quote a sentence for you:

'If, today, a German labour movement is already discussing the question as to whether the *association should be conceived in the light of his*' (Schulze-Delitzsch's) '*ideas or of mine,* the merit is largely *his*; and that is where his *true* merit lies—a merit which cannot be esteemed too highly.... The cordiality with which *I acknowledge that merit* should not prevent us, etc.'

*Ça ira*[b]!

At the very time when Palmerston was in Glasgow, another great man announced his coming, the student *Karl Blind.* Prior to his arrival, he sent an item to the Glasgow *North British Mail* under the heading 'M. Karl Blind', beneath which the paper had inserted the ominous word '*COMMUNICATED*'.

This remarkable *communiqué*—written *by himself,* like all the items about him circulating in the press, and inserted in the paper by that jackass McAdam—opens with the following *unique* introduction:

*'At the present moment when a patriot exile is about to visit Glasgow, for the purpose of bringing under public notice the merits of the Polish question, it is fitting that a few remarks should be made upon his political career, and more especially so from *the unfortunate fact* that he is *comparatively* unknown in Scotland. German by birth and German by exile, Mr Karl Blind's efforts have not *come so prominently and so persistently before Europe* as to have gained for him *universal admiration* from the liberating party, or *universal execration* from the oppressing party. He has hitherto stood in that middle way, where *he has the honour of being both beloved and hated*; but in these *two contending ranks* which have rendered to him their tribute *after its* kind **the whole of Europe is not ranged,** Mr Karl Blind having *the satisfaction of knowing* there *is a third section of his friends* who are simply indifferent. He therefore comes before the

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[a] literally - [b] Here: It will go. *Ça ira*—is the refrain of a popular song of the French Revolution.

Scottish public with perhaps less prejudice against him than has been *the case* with most of the *distinguished exiles* who *preceded* him'.*[a]

There follows a short biographical note on the GREAT UNKNOWN in which Scotland and 'THE THIRD SECTION' OF MANKIND are informed that the said 'MR KARL BLIND' IS A NATIVE OF BADEN, AND WAS ORIGINALLY, *LIKE KOSSUTH AND MAZZINI, TRAINED TO THE LAW.* That the 'BADISH REVOLUTION' was THE *RESULT* OF *HIS* PROPAGANDISM', that the 'GOVERNMENTS OF BADEN AND THE PALATINATE' had sent him to Paris in June 'IN THE CAPACITY OF DIPLOMATIC ENVOY', etc., and that he acts 'IN THAT SPIRIT OF COOPERATION WHICH SO DISTINGUISHES THE MORE CELEBRATED EXILES!'

Isn't that 'naice'[b]?

My wife has now been confined to bed for a fortnight and has gone almost completely deaf, heaven knows why. Little Jenny has had another attack of diphtheria of some sort. If you could send me some wine for both of them (Allen wants little Jenny to have port), I'd be most grateful.

Here in London a parson (as distinct from the atheists who preach in John Street) has been giving deistic sermons for the public, in which he makes Voltairian fun of the Bible. (My wife and children went to hear him twice and thought highly of him as a humorist).

I attended a TRADE UNIONS meeting chaired by Bright.[526] He had very much the air of an INDEPENDENT[527] and, whenever he said 'IN THE UNITED STATES NO KINGS, NO BISHOPS', there was a BURST OF APPLAUSE. The working men themselves spoke *very well indeed,* without a trace of bourgeois rhetoric or the faintest attempt to conceal their opposition to the capitalists (who, by the by, were also attacked by papa Bright).

How soon the English workers will throw off what seems to be a bourgeois contagion remains to be seen. So far as the main theses in your book[c] are concerned, by the by, they have been corroborated down to the very last detail by developments subsequent to 1844. For I have again been comparing the book with the notes I made on the ensuing period. Only your small-minded German philistine who measures world history by the ell and by what he happens to think are 'interesting news items', could regard 20 years as more than a day where major developments of this kind are concerned, though these may be again succeeded by days into which 20 years are compressed.

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[a] 'M. Karl Blind', *North British Daily Mail,* 30 March 1863. - [b] In the original: 'scheen' (instead of 'schön'). - [c] See this volume, p. 465.

Re-reading your work has made me unhappily aware of the changes wrought by age. With what zest and passion, what boldness of vision and absence of all learned or scientific reservations, the subject is still attacked in these pages! And then, the very illusion that, tomorrow or the day after, the result will actually spring to life as history lends the whole thing a warmth, vitality, and humour with which the later 'grey on grey' contrasts damned unfavourably.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 April 1863

Dear Engels,

Lassalle sent me the enclosed piece of nonsense *marked in red* (the newspaper is that of E. Meyen[528]) a week ago today; so, it arrived just *one* day after I had written you the letter in which I gave you a short excerpt from Izzy's latest pamphlet.[a] He now clearly expects me to enter the lists on his behalf. *Que faire?*[b]

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, p. 467. - [b] What should I do?

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## ENGELS TO MARX[369]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 21 April 1863

Dear Moor,

It is hard to say what is to be done about Lassalle; *après tout,*[a] I'd have assumed it to be beneath the great Izzy's dignity to reply to such petty Meyenian tittle-tattle[b] with the heavy artillery of a formal démenti. Let the chap clear up his own messes; if he's any good, he needs no testimonials from you, and why should you compromise yourself, now that you've told him that he can't go hand in hand with us, or we hand in hand with him?[c] Anyhow, what arrant stupidity to involve himself in the affairs of the Schulze-Delitzsch louts[529] and try to form a party for himself out of that, of all things, on the basis of our earlier works. The very endeavour of S.-D. and other such rabble in these bourgeois times to raise the outlook of the *louts* to the bourgeois level must needs be welcome to us, for otherwise we'd have to deal with this business during the revolution, and in Germany, where the small state system so greatly complicates matters, we might be confronted with this piddling stuff as something new and practical. That is now disposed of and we now have our opponents where we want them; the lout has achieved self-consciousness and thus finds himself in the ranks of the petty-bourgeois democrats. But to regard these fellows as representatives of the proletariat—it took Izzy to do that.

Lupus and I were greatly amused by the funny tale about student Blind.[d] Lupus has had another severe attack of gout, aggravated by the obstinate way he insists on going out and giving lessons when not yet fully recovered, and only sending for the doctor when it's far too late and he's used up all his medicine. But it's no use remonstrating; *'I'm going!'*

Latterly I've been reading Russian history in reverse, i.e., first Catherine and the partition of Poland,[513] then Peter I. I must say that one would have to be an oaf to work up any enthusiasm for the Poles of 1772. After all, in most parts of Europe at that time the aristocracy was caving in with decency if not *esprit,*[e] even

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[a] after all - [b] See this volume, p. 469. - [c] ibid., p. 291. - [d] ibid., p. 467. - [e] wit

though its general maxim may have been that materialism consists in what one eats, drinks, fucks, wins at gaming or is paid in return for one's knavery; but no aristocracy save the Polish adopted so stupid a method as selling itself to the Russians. In other respects, the general venality of the *gentils-hommes*[a] all over Europe presents a very jolly spectacle. Another thing that greatly interested me was the matter of Monsieur Patkul. This fellow was in fact the founding father of Russian diplomacy generally, and already possessed all its wiles *in nuce*.[b] If you haven't been able to procure his reports to the Russian government, published in Berlin in 1795,[c] we'll try and get ourselves a copy by advertising in the *Buchhändlerbörsenblatt*. How small, by the way, were the contributions made by his successors! Always the same turns of speech, always the same approach, whatever the country. A necessary ingredient, come to that, is the objectivity of your Livonians,[530] whose interests, far from being national, are at most local and private. A Russian would never be capable of such things.

Another very pretty affair is the *coup d'état* Catherine II brought off against Peter III. It was here Boustrapa[167] learnt his most important lessons; the Russian commonness served him as a model down to the very last detail. It's ridiculous the way all such dirty dealings are invariably repeated in every particular.

I have no port at present nor is anything good in that line to be had ON THE SPUR OF THE MOMENT. However, I'll look out for some, and meanwhile go down into the cellar to fetch up some hock and some claret (the former for the healthy, the latter for the invalids). For which reason I shall now close this letter, enclosing a few STAMPS for little Tussy.

Your
F. E.

There are duplicates of some of the STAMPS. Over here these may be used for swaps. I can supply large quantities of Italian, Swiss, Norwegian and certain German ones.

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[a] gentlemen - [b] in embryo - [c] J. R. von Patkul, *Berichte an das Zaarische Cabinet in Moscau, von seinem Gesandtschafts-Posten bey August II. Könige von Polen*. Theile I-II. Berlin 1792-1797.

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## MARX TO JOSEF VALENTIN WEBER

IN LONDON

[London,] 22 April 1863
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Weber,

Will you stand *surety* for me with a LOAN SOCIETY (for £15 to £30)?

I would not have troubled you with this request if

1. the matter were not an *entirely formal one, entailing no risk to yourself,* for I shall be getting £200 from home at the beginning of July;

2. Pfänder, who would otherwise have been my second surety, had not unexpectedly had to go to Manchester for several weeks.

In addition to other cases of illness in my family, I myself have been suffering from my periodic liver complaint for many weeks now and have thus been *literally incapable of writing a single line.* Hence the delay over the work for the Society[a] which was more disagreeable for me, of course, than for the Society itself.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 285

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 20 May 1863

*Moro viejo, Moro viejo,*
*El de la vellida barba.*[b]

What's the matter with you, no longer sending word of your fortunes and *rebus gestis*[c]? Are you ill or stuck fast in the depths of

[a] See this volume, p. 455. - [b] Old Moor, Old Moor, / He of the hoary beard. - [c] activities

political economy? Or have you appointed little Tussy your correspondence secretary? Or how?

What do you think of the worthies in Berlin who have come to the conclusion that it is questionable whether their president is permitted to call a minister to order, should the minister say that, for all he cared, the whole Chamber could be triple damned, etc.[531] Never has a parliament clung more patiently and more inopportunely to the thesis that the bourgeois opposition, in its struggle with absolutism and the Junker camarilla, is under an obligation to let itself be kicked. It's our old friends of 1848 all over again. However, on this occasion times are somewhat different.

Lassalle's goings-on and the rumpus they have created in Germany are really becoming obnoxious.[532] It's high time you finished your book[310]; if only to provide us with propagandists of a different kind. In other respects, it's quite a good thing that an audience for anti-bourgeois stuff should be recaptured in this way, though it's disastrous that friend Izzy should thereby carve out a position for himself. However, that's something we have never been able to prevent, any more than the heroic swordsman's postures assumed in public by Karl Blind vis-à-vis the Grand Duke of Baden.[a]

By the way, if you want to see how much time it takes before new scientific discoveries, even in wholly unpolitical fields, make any headway, you should read Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*. Schmerling in Liége had discovered the fossilised human skull from Engis and shown it to Lyell as far back as 1834,[b] when he also brought out his thick book.[c] Nevertheless, it was only quite recently that anyone thought the thing worthy of serious investigation. Similarly, Perthes[d] in Abbeville had correctly identified the flint instruments in the Somme basin and their geological age as early as 1842, but it was not until the end of the fifties that the thing was noticed. Such are those scoundrels, the patriarchs of science.

Lupus has again suffered severe attacks of gout but is better now.

I am also working hard at Serbian and the ballads collected by Vuck Stef. Karadžić.[e] It comes more easily to me than any other Slavonic language.

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[a] Frederick I - [b] In the original: '1843'. - [c] P. C. Schmerling, *Recherches sur les ossemens fossiles découverts dans les cavernes de la province de Liége*, V. I-II, Liége, 1833-1834. - [d] Boucher de Crèvecoeur de Perthes. - [e] [Karadžić V. S.] В. Ст. Караџић, *Народне српске пјесме*. Кн. I-IV. У Липисци и у Бечу, 1823-1833.

Enclosed a few more STAMPS. A great deal of thieving in this article is going on at the OFFICE just now.

Your
F. E.

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## 286

## MARX TO ENGELS[67]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] British Museum, 29 May 1863

DEAR FREDERICK,

My long silence will AT ONCE be explicable to you if you picture to yourself a badly swollen liver with ALL ITS 'APPURTENANCES'. For ABOUT 12 weeks now I have been enduring more of this NONSENSE than ever before. Nor can you have any conception of how it affects a person's morale, namely the feeling of heaviness in the head and paralysis in the limbs. More specifically, one can't bring oneself to do anything, not even, *inter alia,* to write letters. For the past two weeks the thing has again been endurable. This business has made writing of any kind so impossible that, despite various repeated attempts, I have *not managed* the stuff on Poland,[533] which I'm very glad of now, since it would have simply deprived me of the chance of going to Prussia without being of any immediate benefit.

Meanwhile I wasn't, of course, idle, though unable to work. What I did, on the one hand, was fill in the gaps in my knowledge (diplomatic, historical) of the Russian-Prussian-Polish affair[534] and, on the other, read and make excerpts from all kinds of earlier literature relating to the part of the political economy I had elaborated.[535] This at the BRITISH MUSEUM. Now that I am more or less able to work again, I shall cast the weight off my shoulders and make a *fair copy* of the political economy for the printers (and give it a final polish). If it were possible for me to retreat into isolation at the moment, the thing would progress very quickly. AT ALL EVENTS, I shall take it to Germany in person.[a]

[a] See this volume, pp. 435-36.

Little Jenny is not quite her proper self. She has had a nasty cough for the past fortnight.

As to Izzy, he had—or so I've been told in confidence by Freiligrath (he showed me Izzy's letter)—asked F. to write *a poem* for him on the 'new' movement,[536] i.e. sing Izzy's praises. However, he was mistaken in F. In his letter he says inter alia: 'Each day hundreds of newspapers carry my name to the furthest corners of Germany.' '*My* proletarians! etc.' Well, since F. won't sing his praises, he has found another poet. Herewith a sample:

'Thou German *proletariat,* come heed
The clarion call, nor any longer stay!
Here stands a man prepared to pave the way
To thy prosperity. Be thine the *deed*!
He hath no truck with lofty parliaments,
Nor doth he flaunt his gift of eloquence,
Speaks for us all with homely wit and colour,
Man of the People, *Ferdinand Lassalle!*

'Tis not for *others,* not to fill *their* purse
That you shall sweat and toil your lives away,
While *they* wax sleek and richer every day
And *you* more ragged as your lot grows worse.
The fruits of labour shall be *yours* alone,
'Tis *you* shall reap the harvest you have sown.
So hearken all unto the man of valour,
To the virile voice of *Ferdinand Lassalle.*'

*Macte puer*![a] If that isn't sauce for the gander!

My warm regards to Lupus. Now don't indulge in tit for tat but let me hear from you soon.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] God speed, O youth! (Virgil, *Aeneid,* IX, 641.)

## 287

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 June 1863

Dear Engels,

A bill [of exchange] (the BUTCHER's) on myself for £6 falls due next Monday (15 June). If you can let me have the money by then, it could be returned to you later, as soon as the transaction with Dronke has been completed.[a]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

What do you make of La France, EH? And Poland? And our 'valiant compatriots' in Berlin?

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## 288

## ENGELS TO MARX[369]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 June 1863

Dear Moor,

Herewith £5 Bank of England note R/X 46271, 31 Jan. 1862, Manchester. "—"—" 5 "—"—" S/R 92394, 14 Oct. 1862, London, with which the butcher will, I hope, be placated. Since I cannot post the letter myself, it would be best if you would acknowledge its receipt.

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[a] See this volume, p. 465.

I was very worried by your long silence but have meanwhile heard that you were unwell and hope that that is now over. How is little Jenny's cough?

Latterly, things would not seem to have been going so well in Poland. The movement in Lithuania and Little Russia is evidently weak, nor do the insurgents in Poland seem to be making any headway. The leaders are all either killed in action or captured and shot, which would seem to show that they have to expose themselves a great deal in order to egg on their men. Qualitatively the insurgents are no longer what they were in March and April, the best chaps having been expended. However, these Poles are always unknown quantities, and affairs might take a turn for the better, although the odds against it are worsening. If they hold out, they might yet become part of a general European movement which would be the saving of them; on the other hand, should things go wrong, it will be all up with Poland for the next 10 years, for an insurrection like this exhausts a people's fighting potential for many years to come.

I should say that the chances of there being a European movement were good because the ordinary citizen has once more rid himself of all fear of the communists and might even, if need be, go into action with them. The French elections prove this no less plainly than do the goings-on in Prussia since the last elections.[537] However, I scarcely think that a movement of this kind would originate in France. The election results in Paris were altogether *too* bourgeois; wherever the workers put up candidates of their own, they lost, nor for that matter did they have the power to force the bourgeoisie to put up radicals. Besides, Bonaparte knows how to keep large cities in check.

In Prussia they would still be chattering away if the good Bismarck hadn't put a stop to it.[538] Whatever turn things may take there, peaceful constitutional progress is now at an end and your philistine must get ready for the fray. And that's enough to be going on with. Little though I esteem the valour of our old friends the democrats, it is, nevertheless, here more than anywhere else, I should say, that combustible material is accumulating and, since it is scarcely possible that the Hohenzollerns will fail to perpetrate the worst blunders in FOREIGN POLICY, it might well happen that, with half the troops deployed at the Polish frontier and the other half on the Rhine, Berlin would be left free and a coup would result. It would be a poor enough outlook for Germany and Europe were Berlin to find itself in the van of the movement.

What surprises me most is that a peasants' movement should not

have arisen in Greater Russia. In this instance, the Polish uprising would seem to have had a positively unfavourable effect.

In America things are in a pretty pickle. FIGHTING JOE'S[a] rodomontade has made him look a frightful ass,[539] Rosecrans slumbers and Grant alone is performing well. His move on Vicksburg from the south-west to the north-east, his isolation of the relief army, his repulse of the same, then the rapid advance on Vicksburg and even the energetic if fruitless assaults, are all first-class. I do not believe it will be possible to muster enough relief troops on time. On the other hand, we have so often seen American generals suddenly perform well for a couple of weeks and then revert to the most dreadful bungling, that it's quite impossible to tell what their future moves will be.

I was already familiar with Lassalle's poem (*genitivus objectivus*[b]) from a pamphlet Siebel sent me and which you presumably have as well. Very jolly. The chap's now operating purely in the service of Bismarck and, one of these days, when Monsieur B. tires of him, he might well find himself under lock and key, making the acquaintance of Prussian common law, which he always seems to confuse with the Code.[540] It's nice, by the way, that, after the stand he took in Vogtibus,[25] *he* should now find himself under the aegis, not only of the *Augsburger*,[c] but also of the *Kreuz-Zeitung*.

I am now reading Kinglake[d] and am becoming more convinced than ever that somewhere in every Englishman's brain a board is nailed up beyond which nothing penetrates.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Nickname for General Hooker - [b] a genitive indicating an object, i.e., in this case, showing that the poem was about Lassalle (see this volume, p. 475) - [c] *Allgemeine Zeitung* - [d] Engels means the first two volumes of A. W. Kinglake's *The Invasion of the Crimea; its Origin, and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan.*

# 289

## MARX TO ENGELS[369]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 June 1863
British Museum

Dear Engels,

I hereby acknowledge the £10 with many thanks. Being uncertain whether you would be able to send the money *for Monday,* and in view of the great fear of bills of exchange which obtains in this house, I had simultaneously written to Dronke.[42]

For the past four weeks little Jenny has again had a slight cough. Today I sent her to see Dr Allen.

I myself am not quite fit either, but am rid of my worst complaint.[a] IN THE MEANTIME, which would certainly delight Vogt, I have been wolfing *sulphur!*[541]

Izzy has sent me (and you, too, perhaps) the speech he made in court about *indirect taxation.*[b] One or two individual bits are good, but for one thing it is, on the whole, *written* in an unbearably officious, chatty style, with absurd pretensions to scholarship and consequentialness. In addition, it is *essentiellement* the confection of a *'pupil'* who cannot wait to make a name for himself as a 'thoroughly learned' man and original scholar. Hence the abundance of historical and theoretical BLUNDERS. One example may suffice (should you not have read the thing yourself). To impress the court and the public, he tries to give a kind of retrospective history of the argument against indirect taxation and therefore, going back at random beyond Boisguillebert and Vauban, cites Bodin,[c] etc. And here he shows himself to be the schoolboy *par excellence.* He omits the *physiocrats,* clearly ignorant of the fact that everything A. Smith, etc., wrote on the subject was cribbed from them and that in general they were the protagonists where this 'QUESTION' was concerned. Likewise, 'indirect taxation' is, in true schoolboy fashion, seen as 'bourgeois taxation', and so indeed it was 'in the Middle Ages', but not today (not, at least, where the

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[a] See this volume, p. 474. - [b] F. Lassalle, *Die indirecte Steuer und die Lage der arbeitenden Klassen,* Zurich, 1863. - [c] [P. Boisguillebert,] *Le détail de la France;* S. Vauban, *Projet d'une dixme royale;* J. Bodinus, *De republica libri sex.*

bourgeoisie is developed), to discover which he need seek no further than Mr R. Gladstone *et co.* in Liverpool.[542] The jackass doesn't appear to know that the argument against 'indirect' taxation is one of the platforms of the English and American friends of 'Schulze-Delitzsch' *et cie,* and hence isn't at any rate directed *against* them—the FREETRADERS,[543] I mean. Again, in true *schoolboy* fashion he *applies* a proposition of Ricardo's to the Prussian real estate tax. (Quite wrong, this.) Quite touching, how he imparts to the court *'his'* discoveries, the fruit of the most profound 'learning and truth' and of terrible 'night vigils', namely that,

in the Middle Ages 'landed property' prevailed,

in later times 'capital', and at present

the '*principle* of the workers' *estate', 'labour',* or the *'moral principle of labour'*; and, on the same day as he was imparting this discovery to the louts,[466] Senior Councillor to the Government Engel (knowing nothing about him) was imparting it to a more distinguished audience at the Academy of Singing.[a] He and Engel exchanged 'epistolary' congratulations upon their 'simultaneous' scientific findings.

The 'workers' *estate'* and the *'moral principle'* are indeed achievements on the part of Izzy and the Senior Councillor to the Government.

I have not been able to bring myself to write to the fellow since the beginning of this year.

If I commented on his stuff, I'd be wasting my time; besides, he appropriates every word as a 'discovery'. To rub his nose in his plagiarism would be absurd since, in view of the state they are in after he has finished with them, I have no desire to relieve him of our ideas. Nor would it do to accord recognition to such rodomontade and *indiscretions.* The fellow would instantly exploit it.

So, there's nothing to be done but wait until he ultimately boils over. Then I shall have a very nice excuse, namely that (like Senior Councillor to the Government Engel) he is for ever insisting it's not *'communism'.* So, in my reply, I shall say that, had I wished to take any notice of him, these repeated asseverations of his would have compelled me

1. to show the public how and where he had cribbed from us;
2. how and wherein we differ from his stuff.

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[a] E. Engel, *Die Volkszählungen, ihre Stellung zur Wissenschaft und ihre Aufgabe in der Geschichte.*

Hence, so as not to compromise 'communism' in any way or injure him, I had ignored him completely.

Come to that, the chap is making all this hullabaloo out of sheer vanity. Throughout 1859 he was heart and soul for the Prussian liberal bourgeois party. Now he may find it more convenient to attack the 'bourgeois' under the AUSPICES OF THE GOVERNMENT than to attack the *'Russians'*. To rail against the Austrians and adulate the Italians has always been as typical of your Berliner as to keep one's trap shut about the Russians, which is what the valiant lad does.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 290

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 June 1863

Dear Engels,

The 'little man'[a] writes to me today from Liverpool saying that the business of the money[b] has got to be settled, i.e. decided, *now*, since he must attend to it *in person* and may have to leave on business any day. Believe me, I find it highly disagreeable that you should assume ANY OBLIGATION WHATEVER towards the little man on my behalf. *Mais que faire?*[c]

I have been going to the British Museum and shall continue to do so until the end of this month since, if only for the sake of my liver, I must do all I can to elude the nagging at home that is the inevitable consequence of PRESSURE FROM WITHOUT. As soon as peace is restored, I shall devote myself to the fair copy of the beastly book, which I intend to hawk round Germany myself.[d] Once that is

[a] Ernst Dronke - [b] See this volume, pp. 465-66, 476. - [c] But what can one do? - [d] See this volume, pp. 435-36, 474.

done, then will be the time to get a French translation under way in Paris and cast round in London with a view to an English rendering. For, on this occasion, if only because of Izzy, it's imperative that we don't hide too much of our light under a bushel.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 291

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 24 June 1863

Dear Moor,

I have absolutely no idea what the little BUSYBODY[a] wants. Why doesn't he write and tell me that he wants the matter settled *now*? He wrote and told *me* that, *if I* ***didn't*** *reply,* he would draw on me as arranged. So far as I'm concerned, if a matter is settled, it's settled and I therefore thought it totally unnecessary to send him another written assurance a fortnight before the date stating that I would do what I had already undertaken to do, both verbally and in writing. Basing myself on *your* letter, which casts quite a different light on his motives, I have now written to him as requested.[232] My acceptance will be for £250. Make sure he sends you the *whole amount,* since he has undertaken to pay the expenses and interest himself.

Have finished Kinglake.[b] Never before has there been anything as superficial (though some of the material is very good, if scrappy), stupid and ignorant as his Battle of the Alma. Only *la part des français*[c] is well and accurately depicted—in general, at least. Otherwise, much that is highly amusing to the military reader.[d]

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[a] Ernst Dronke - [b] A. W. Kinglake, *The Invasion of the Crimea.* - [c] the part played by the French - [d] Engels discussed the book in 'Kinglake on the Battle of the Alma' (see present edition, Vol. 19).

Things are going rottenly in Poland. The Polish government's grand effect, the mass uprising in June, has obviously come to grief[544] owing to a shortage of weapons and, failing any external imbroglios, a gradual decline is now inevitable.

Your policy in regard to Izzy is quite right.[a] Besides, what's the use of all this camaraderie towards a chap who either finds himself compelled by circumstances to go along with us at a crucial moment, or else openly becomes our enemy. To allow the fool to steal one's ideas for years on end and be rewarded for it by having to answer for all his stupidities—that's a bit too much.

Someone has sent for me.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[369]

IN MANCHESTER

London, 6 July 1863

Dear Engels,

*D'abord,*[b] my best thanks for the £250. About four months ago Dronke sent me £50, and today £200.

Unfortunately, little Jenny still isn't quite as she should be. The cough hasn't completely gone yet, and the child has grown too 'light'. I shall send her to a resort with the others as soon as the school term is over. Although I have great confidence in Allen, I should be glad if *Gumpert,* who I presume will be going on holiday on the Continent, would pay us a flying visit here, see for himself how things are, and let me have his opinion. To be frank, I am much alarmed about the child. To lose flesh at this age seems to me most dubious.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 479-80.- [b] First

Palmerston PLAYS HIS OLD TRICKS in the Polish affair.[a] The Notes presented to the Russians had originally been sent from St. Petersburg to London.[b] Pam *bought Hennessy* from Urquhart by giving the said Irish blackguard a remunerative post (sinecure) with a Franco-English railway in France. Indeed, the *venality* of the POLITICIANS here eclipses anything that goes on in that line on the Continent. No one at home or in France can have any conception of this absolute shamelessness. As for 'COUNT *Zamoyski*', I had repeatedly told the Urquhartites that the fellow betrayed the Poles in 1830/31 by leading an intact corps *across* the Austrian border instead of *against* the Russians. In the end, this fellow has aroused their suspicions because of his perpetual personal underhand dealings with Pam.[c]

The SOUTHERNERS' expedition against the North[545] was, in my opinion, forced on Lee by the clamour of the Richmond PAPERS and their SUPPORTERS. I regard it as a *coup de désespoir*.[d] This war, by the by, is going to be a lengthy business, which is, so far as *European* interests are concerned, altogether desirable.

Izzy has sent me yet another pamphlet, his speech at Frankfurt am Main.[e] Since I now spend 10 hours a day working *ex officio* at economics,[310] I can hardly be expected to waste my leisure hours on reading these schoolboy essays. So, for the present the thing's been filed away. My spare time is now devoted to differential and integral calculus. Apropos, I have a superfluity of works on the subject and will send you one, should you wish to tackle it. I should consider it to be almost essential to your military studies. Moreover, it is a much easier branch of mathematics (so far as mere technicalities are concerned) than, say, the more advanced aspects of algebra. Save for a knowledge of the more ordinary kind of algebra and trigonometry, no preliminary study is required except a general familiarity with conic sections.

Will you write me a reasonably well-founded assessment of the enclosed pamphlet by the 'Duc du Roussillon'—you may still have some recollection of him under the name of 'Pi'[f]—since he writes to me daily asking me for my 'opinion'?

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[a] See this volume, pp. 462-63. - [b] This presumably refers to the Notes on the Polish question Britain, France and Austria sent to the Russian government on 17 and 18 June 1863. - [c] 'The Intervention in Poland', *The Free Press*, V. XI, No. 7, 1 July 1863. - [d] act of despair - [e] *Arbeiterlesebuch. Rede Lassalle's zu Frankfurt am Main am 17. und 19. Mai 1863.* - [f] This seems to refer to the pamphlet [Pi de Cosprons,] *Mémoire sur l'origine scythocimmérienne de la langue romane*, par M. le duc du Roussillon.

If at all possible in this heat, will you take a reasonably close look at the enclosed. *'Tableau Économique'* which I am substituting for Quesnay's table[546] and let me know your objections, if any. It embraces the whole process of reproduction.

As you know, *A. Smith* sees the *'NATURAL'* or *'NECESSARY PRICE'* as being composed of wages, profit (interest) and rent—i.e. as wholly resolved into *revenue.* This nonsense has been taken over by Ricardo, although he excludes rent from the catalogue as being purely fortuitous. Nearly *all* economists have taken this over from Smith, and those who contest it succumb to some other folly.

Smith himself is conscious of the nonsensicality of subsuming the *gross product* of a society *simply under revenue* (which may be consumed annually), whereas in the case of *each individual* branch of production he resolves price into *capital* (raw materials, machinery, etc.) and *revenue* (wages, profit, rent). If this were so, a society would have to start each year *de novo,*[a] *without capital.*

Now as regards my table, which figures in one of the last chapters of my work by way of *recapitulation,* the following is essential to a proper understanding of it:

1. The figures, which are arbitrary, represent millions.

2. Here *means of subsistence* are taken to mean *everything* that goes into the *consumption fund* each year (or might *without accumulation,* which is *excluded* from the table, go into the consumption fund).

In Class I (means of subsistence) the *gross product* (700) consists of *means of subsistence* which are, by their very nature, *not* therefore included in *constant capital* (raw materials and machinery, buildings, etc.). Similarly, in Class II, the *entire product* consists of commodities that constitute *constant capital,* i. e. re-enter the process of reproduction in the form of raw materials and machinery.

3. *Ascending* lines are *dotted, descending* ones *continuous.*

4. *Constant capital* is that part of capital that consists of raw materials and machinery. *Variable capital* that which is exchanged for labour.

5. For example, in agriculture, etc., one part of the same product (e.g. wheat) goes to form means of subsistence, whereas another part (wheat, for instance) re-enters reproduction in its natural form (e.g. as *seed*) as a raw material. But this does nothing to alter the case, since such branches of production figure under Class II or Class I according to which capacity is involved.

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[a] afresh

6. The hub of the matter, then, is as follows:

*Category I. Means of subsistence.* Working materials and machinery=e.g. £400 (i.e. that part of *these* that is included in the annual product as *dechet*[a]; that part of the machinery, etc., which is not used up does not figure *at all* in the table). The variable capital exchanged for labour=100, reproduces itself as 300, since 100 replaces wages in the shape of the product, and 200 represents surplus value *(unpaid surplus labour).* The product=700, of which 400 represents the value of the constant capital which, however, has passed entirely into the product and must hence be replaced.

In the case of this relationship between variable capital and surplus value it is assumed that the worker works $^1/_3$ of the working day for himself and $^2/_3$ for his NATURAL SUPERIORS.

Hence 100 (variable capital), as is indicated by the dotted line, is paid out in money as wages; with this 100 (indicated by the descending line) the worker buys the *product* of this class, i.e. means of subsistence for 100. Thus, the money flows back to capitalist class I.

The surplus value of 200 in its general form=*profit,* which, however, is split up into *industrial profit* (*commercial* included), and further into *interest,* which the industrial capitalist pays in money, and rent, which he likewise pays in money. This money paid out for industrial profit, interest and rent, flows back (indicated by descending lines) since the product of class I is bought in return for it. Hence all the money laid out by the industrial capitalist within class I flows back to him, while 300 of the product, 700, is consumed by the workers, *entrepreneurs,* MONIED MEN and LANDLORDS. In class I this leaves a *surplus* of products (of means of subsistence) of 400, and a deficit of constant capital of 400.

*Category II. Machinery and raw materials.*

Since the *gross product of this category,* not only that part of the product which replaces constant capital, but also that which represents the equivalent of wages and surplus value, consists of *raw materials* and *machinery,* the revenue of this category cannot be realised in its own product but only in the product of category I. Disregarding accumulation, as is done here, category I can, however, buy only as much from category II as it needs for the replacement of its constant capital, while category II can lay out on the product of category I only that part of its product which represents wages and surplus value *(revenue).* Hence the workers

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[a] depreciation

in category II lay out their money, $=133\,^1/_3$, on the product of category II. The same thing happens with the surplus value in category II, which, as *sub* I, is split up into industrial profit, interest, and rent. Hence 400 in money flows from category II to the industrial capitalists in category I, who, in return, transfer the remainder of their product, =400, to the former.

With this 400 in money, class I buys what is necessary to replace its constant capital, =400, from category II, to which the money paid out in wages and consumption (by the industrial capitalists themselves, the MONIED MEN and the LANDLORDS) thus flows back. Hence category II retains $533\,^1/_3$ of its gross product, and, with this, it replaces its own constant capital, which has been used up.

The movement, partly within category I, partly between categories I and II, also shows how money flows back to the respective industrial capitalists in both categories, money which will again go to pay wages, interest and rent.

*Category III* represents reproduction as a whole.

The gross product of category II is shown here as the constant capital of society as a whole, and the gross product of category I as that part of the product which replaces the variable capital (the wages fund) and the revenues of the classes which share the surplus value between them.

I have put Quesnay's table underneath and will explain it in SOME WORDS in my next letter.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

*Apropos.* Edgar Bauer has been given a post in—the Prussian Press Department.

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## 293

## MARX TO ENGELS[369]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 August 1863

DEAR Frederick,

May the devil take me, as the red one[a] used to say, if I didn't get up every morning this week with the firm intention of writing to you. But no sooner did I reach my study than I allayed my conscience by pleading that all I wanted was to add half a dozen lines to the manuscript at the point where I had broken off the day before.[547] And once I had departed from the path of righteousness, I saw that the evil deed is accursed in that it must constantly engender evil.[b]

My family left for Hastings last Friday.[548] The departure took place so tardily because Lenchen had had to spend a fortnight in Germany in connection with family affairs.

The enclosed photographs[549] (the children forced me to have mine taken) will soon be followed by those of Jenny and Laura.

In one respect, my work (preparing the manuscript for the press) is going well. In the final elaboration the stuff is, I think, assuming a tolerably *popular* form, aside from a few unavoidable M—C's and C—M's.[c] On the other hand, despite the fact that I write all day long, it's not getting on as fast as my own impatience, long subjected to a trial of patience, might demand. At all events, it will be 100 p. c. more comprehensible than No. 1.[d] When, by the by, I consider my handiwork and realise how I've had to demolish everything and even build up the *historical* section[e] out of what was in part quite unknown material, I can't help finding Izzy a bit of a joke; for he has already got *'his'* political economy in hand and yet everything he has peddled around hitherto has shown him to be a callow schoolboy who trumpets abroad as his very latest discovery, with the most repulsive and impertinent garrulity, theses that we were doling out 20 years ago as small change to our PARTISANS, and ten times better at that. In other respects, too, this

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[a] Ferdinand Wolff - [b] Paraphrase of a passage from Schiller's *Die Piccolomini*, Act V, Scene 1. - [c] M[oney]—C[ommodity], C[ommodity]—M[oney]. - [d] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [e] See Economic manuscript of 1861-63, Notebooks VI-XV (present edition, Vols. 31-33).

same Izzy is storing up in his MANURE factory our party faeces excreted 20 years ago which he proposes to use as fertilizer for world history. Thus, for instance, he got the *Nordstern* to print a letter of support from *'Herwegh'* (who has undoubtedly given proof of his *platonic* love of the 'principle of labour').[a] Because the same *Nordstern* is edited by that ne'er-do-we'el Bruhn, whom Lassalle bought from Blind. Thus, Izzy has nominated *'Moses Hess'* his 'proconsul in the Rhine Province', etc. And he still seems unable to shake off the *idée fixe* that his praises should be sung by *Freiligrath,* who would never dream of doing so. For he has again got his Leipzig 'proconsul'[b] to SUMMON F. urgently, citing the good example of G. Herwegh. If only he knew how F. and I had laughed about this renewed onslaught!

'Oh Izzy, Oh Izzy, didst thou not see
That Herwegh and Moses thy gallows would be?'

The philistines down here are furious with *The Times* for having fobbed them off so nicely over the CONFEDERATE LOAN.[550] After all, those worthies might have known if only from Cobbett's disclosures, that *The Times* is nothing but a 'COMMERCIAL CONCERN', which doesn't give a damn how the BALANCE turns out, providing it is a BALANCE IN ITS OWN FAVOUR.[551] The *Times* chaps, such as *J. Spence*—'THAT MAN', according to the *Richmond Enquirer,* 'WHOM WE HAVE PAID IN SOLID GOLD'—obtained the LOAN SCRIPS partly *for nothing,* partly at a 50 p. c. DISCOUNT on the nominal rate. So, to cry them up till they reached 105 was a nice piece of business.

It is, I should say, of prime importance to the UNITED STATES that they should seize the remaining ports, Charleston, Mobile, etc., because they may be involved in a clash with Boustrapa[167] any day now. That same imperial Lazarillo de Tormes is presently caricaturing, not only his uncle,[c] but even himself. For after all, the 'SUFFRAGE' in Mexico is a pretty caricature, not only of the SUFFRAGE whereby he turned himself into a Frenchman, but also of that whereby he made Nice and Savoy French.[552] I myself am in no doubt that Mexico will be the hurdle at which he'll break his neck, provided he hasn't been hanged first.

The Polish affair has gone completely off the rails because of this same Boustrapa, and the influence his intrigues have given the Czartoryski party. Colonel *Łapiński,* who returned a few days

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[a] Georg Herwegh's message to Lassalle of 5 June 1863 announcing his accession to the General Association of German Workers, *Nordstern,* No. 221, 18 July 1863. - [b] Marx means O. Dammer. - [c] Napoleon I

since from the ill-fated trip he undertook with Bakunin and to which Palmerston put so neat an end on the Swedish coast,[553] complains bitterly about the committees in Warsaw, London and Paris being wholly under Bonap.-Czartor. influence.

Our fatherland would seem to be in a pitiful state. In the absence of a licking administered from without, there's no doing anything with these curs.

Apropos. Since you wrote your book about England,[a] a second *Children's Employment Commission Report*[b] has at long last appeared. It shows that all those horrors that were banished from certain spheres of industry by the FACTORY ACTS, have proliferated with redoubled vigour wherever there is no control! It would make a splendid sequel to your book, once the complete reports have come out.

My congratulations to Gumpert. At any rate, he has seen to it that his marriage did not remain childless.

In Borchardt's case, the flesh would appear to be more urgent than befits his priestly office. And he'll make all the other Jewesses jealous.

Is Lupus back? If so, give him my kindest regards. There's nothing I should like better just now than to have you here for a couple of days so that I could chat and go drinking with you. It's such a long time since we were together.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

'Pi' has been answered.[c]

Apropos. Among the curious information I have gleaned at the Museum, was the following:

'*Verum inventum, hoc est, munera Germaniae, ab ipsa primitus reperta, non ex vino,* ut calumniator (an Englishman, that is) [quidam] sceptice invehit, sed vi inami et corporis et reliquo orbi communicata, etc.', auctore *Michaelo Maiero, Francofurti,* 1619.[d]

The *munera* and discoveries *Germaniae* are:

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[a] *The Condition of the Working Class in England* - [b] *Children's Employment Commission (1862). First Report of the Commissioners,* London, 1863. - [c] See this volume, p. 484.- [d] [M. Mayer,] '*The true discovery or the achievements of Germany, first discovered by herself, not in intoxication from wine,* as a certain calumniator ... sceptically maintains, but by strength of body and mind and communicated to the rest of the world, etc.', author *Michael Mayer, Frankfurt,* 1619.

'Roman imperial dignity, gunpowder, book printing, religious reform, the medicaments of Theophrastus Paracelsus, the secrets of the Rosicrucians[554]—*Inventum politicum, bellicum, litteraricum, theologicum, medicum, chymicum.*'[a]

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## 294

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 September 1863

Dear Frederick,

My family has been back for ABOUT 10 days.[b] Little Jenny is much better and has stopped coughing. She is now taking salt water baths at home, i.e. baths with sea salt. ABOUT 2 months ago I, too, started taking a bath at home every morning, sluicing myself with cold water from head to foot, since when I have been feeling much better.

The most interesting acquaintanceship I have struck up here is that of Colonel *Łapiński*. He is without doubt the cleverest Pole—besides being an *homme d'action*[c]—I have ever met. His sympathies are all on the German side, though in manners and speech he is also a Frenchman. He cares nothing for the national struggle and only knows the racial struggle. He hates all Orientals, among whom he numbers Russians, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, etc., with equal impartiality. He spent some time here in company with *Urquhart*, but, not content with describing him as a 'humbug', he actually doubts his probity, which is unjust.

The 'Circassian' princes exhibited in England by Urquhart and Łapiński[d] were two—menials. Łapiński maintains that Urquhart is being well and truly led by the nose by Zamoyski, who in turn is himself simply a tool of Palmerston's and hence, by this circuitous route, of the Russian Embassy. Although of Catholic stock, he (Łap.) finds Urquhart's relations with the Catholic bishops in

[a] Discoveries in the field of politics, war, literature, theology, medicine, chemistry. - [b] See this volume, p. 488. - [c] man of action - [d] Hadji Hayden Hassan and Kustar Ogli Ismael

England highly suspect. As soon as 'action' was called for, he says,—e.g. the equipping of a Polish corps to invade Circassia,[504] which Ł., too, regards as the best diversion—Urquhart allowed himself to be dissuaded by Zamoyski. By and large, Urquhart only wants to 'talk'. He is a 'big liar' and he (Łap.) took it particularly amiss that he should have made him (Ł.) his co-liar without consulting him beforehand. Not a soul in Circassia knows Urquhart, who spent only 24 hours there and doesn't speak the language. By way of illustrating U.'s imaginative powers, he mentioned the latter's boast that he (Urq.) had killed *Chartism* in England!

There has been another purge of the National Government in Warsaw.[555] This had been infiltrated by Czartoryski's supporters as a result of the intrigues of Bonaparte and Palmerston. Three of these were *stabbed* and that, *pro nunc,*[a] has intimidated the rest. (The said Czartoryski party was headed by Majewski.[b]) The power of the National Government is evident from the fact that the Grand Duke Constantine accepted a *passport* from it for a journey abroad. According to Ł., Herzen and Bakunin are thoroughly CHAPFALLEN because your Russian, upon being scratched a little, has again revealed himself to be a Tartar.

Bakunin has become a monster, A HUGE MASS OF FLESH AND FAT, and is barely capable of walking any more. To crown it all, he is sexually perverse and jealous of the seventeen year-old Polish girl who married him in Siberia because of his martyrdom.[c] He is presently in Sweden, where he is hatching 'revolution' with the Finns.[553]

In Poland, Ł. said, it had been necessary *de prime abord*[d] to disregard the peasantry, that 'ultra-reactionary rabble'. But they were now ripe for the fray and would rise at the government's call for a *levée en masse.*[e]

Without Austria, he went on, the movement would have come to grief long ago and, if Austria were to close her frontiers in earnest, the rebellion would be done for in 3 weeks. But Austria was cheating the Poles. Solely out of desperation, because Francis Joseph knew that he was threatened by a Russian-Serbian-Romanian-Italian-French-Hungarian-Prussian bomb did he go to Frankfurt, and it was for the same reason that the Pope[f] had issued his latest edict in support of Poland.[556]

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[a] for the moment - [b] Melinski in the original. - [c] Antonina Bakunina - [d] at first - [e] levy in mass - [f] Pius IX

Ł. told me there could be no doubt whatever that it was not just Bangya who had an understanding with Russia, but also Stein, Türr, Klapka, and Kossuth.

His aim now is to raise a German legion in London, even if only 200 strong, so that he can confront the Russians in Poland with the black, red and gold flag,[170] partly to 'exasperate' the Parisians, partly to see whether there is any possibility whatsoever of bringing the Germans in Germany back to their senses.

What's lacking is money. Efforts are being made down here to exploit all the German societies, etc., to this end. You must be the best judge of whether anything can be done in this LINE in Manchester. The cause as such would appear to be excellent.

Give my regards to Lupus and tell him that I've sent on his letter to Eccarius.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 295

## ENGELS TO MARX[237]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 24 November 1863

Dear Moor,

As I have heard nothing more from your wife, I can only hope your health has improved in the meantime, and that you are rid of your boils. The main thing is to stick to wine-drinking and meat-eating. During the past few days my evenings at the office—the only time I can contemplate writing private letters—have been much interrupted, otherwise you'd have heard from me before.

Things are getting critical in Germany. In one way, the Danish business[557] has come at the wrong time, while, in another, it can only precipitate the crisis. Funny, how the English press is

suddenly finding the Schleswig-Holstein question so absolutely crystal-clear, when for years it has claimed it was so complicated that, as Dundreary[a] says, 'NO FELLOW CAN UNDERSTAND THAT'. For us, however, the admissions in the English press suffice. But what a masterly stroke the Protocol of 1852 was on the Russians' part! So long as my only source of information was the stupid *Free Press*, I couldn't make head or tail of it; really, the gift those jackasses have for confusing everything surpasses even Dundreary's. That Prussia and Austria should have signed the Protocol was an unspeakable infamy, and those concerned must pay for it with their blood.

Again, it's really rather funny that the whole question of the succession should now turn on whether the Augustenburg fellow, as the child of a morganatic marriage, is qualified to succeed.[558]

In Prussia, Bismarck's insolence would seem to be wavering a bit after all. The disavowal of the Landrat election intrigues, and the repeal of the Press Decree are significant omens.[559] *J'espère qu'ils ne reculent que pour mieux sauter.*[b] Lassalle, too, is playing a part in the press controversy. Wagener was tactless enough (vis-à-vis his tacit ally, Lassalle) to cite his opinion of the liberal press[c] in justification of the Press Decree.[d] This evoked roars of laughter and bad jokes from Virchow and Gneist. Lassalle has made a thorough mess of his campaign, which won't, of course, prevent him from beginning all over again. Yet the jackass could have found out perfectly well from the *Manifesto*[e] what attitude one ought to adopt towards the bourgeoisie at times such as these.

Many regards to your wife and the girls.

Your

F. E.

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[a] Presumably Palmerston. - [b] I hope they are only withdrawing, the better to advance. - [c] This refers to Lassalle's pamphlet, *Die Feste, die Presse und der Frankfurter Abgeordnetentag. Drei Symptome des öffentlichen Geistes.* Düsseldorf, 1863. - [d] Wagener's speech in the Chamber of Deputies on 19 November 1863, *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 326, 22 November 1863. - [e] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party.*

## 296

## MARX TO ENGELS[239]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 December 1863

DEAR FREDERICK,

Two hours ago a telegram arrived, saying my mother[a] was dead. Fate laid claim to one of our family. I myself have already had one foot in the grave. Circumstances being what they were, I, presumably, was needed more than my mater.

I have got to go to Trier to settle the question of the legacy. Was in much doubt as to what Allen would say, as it is only 3 days since I first began taking a recuperative WALK of half an hour a day.

However, Allen has given me 2 enormous bottles of medicine to take with me and actually thinks it advisable for me to go. The wound hasn't stopped discharging yet, but all along the route I should find good Samaritanesses[b] to apply the plaster for me.

I must now ask you to send me enough money *by return* to enable me to leave for Trier *forthwith.*

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 297

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 3 December 1863

Dear Moor,

Herewith U/O 16055 & 56, two fivers, in all £10, dated Manchester, 13 Jan. '63, for your trip to Trier. I trust our

[a] Henriette Marx - [b] Cf. Luke 10:33,34.

compatriots' Schleswig-Holstein enthusiasm won't spoil your visit too much. I've swotted up the whole question[324] and have come to the conclusion

1. that the Schl.-Holst. theory is a lot of rubbish;

2. that in Holstein the Augustenburg fellow would certainly seem to be in the right[558];

3. that in Schleswig it's difficult to say who is entitled to succeed—but the male line, if at all, only *as Denmark's vassal;*

4. that the London Protocol is certainly valid in Denmark, but is certainly not so in Schleswig and Holstein because the Estates were not consulted;

5. that the German right to Schleswig is confined to the *south,* which is German by nationality and free choice, so that Schleswig would have to be partitioned;

6. that at present Germany's only chance of liberating the Duchies lies in *our starting a war against Russia for the benefit of Poland.* Then Louis Napoleon would be our obedient servant, Sweden would instantly throw herself into our arms, and England, *hoc est*[a] Pam, would be hamstrung; then we could take anything we liked from Denmark with impunity.

THEM IS MY SENTIMENTS. I'd like to enlarge upon them in a pamphlet, if you could find a publisher for it in Germany.[560] Needless to say, I'd put my name to it. *Qu'en dis-tu?*[b]

Lupus is better, but still a bit unsteady on his pins.

Many regards to the FAMILY. I was damned glad to see your scratchy scrawl again.

Your

F. E.

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[a] in other words - [b] What do you say to that?

# 298

# MARX TO ENGELS[67]

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 December 1863

Dear Frederick,

Very many thanks for the £10. Ditto, retrospectively, for the port. It has done me a power of good. Besides the wine, I have (up till now) been having to swill $1^1/_2$ quarts of the strongest London STOUT every day. It struck me as a good theme for a short story. From the front, the man who regales HIS INNER MAN with port, claret, stout and a truly massive mass of meat. From the front, the guzzler. But behind, on his back, the OUTER MAN, a damned carbuncle. If the devil makes a pact with one to sustain one with consistently good fare in circumstances like these, may the devil take the devil, I say. Incidentally, I still feel light-headed and my knees are those of a broken-down hack, but I imagine the journey will put a stop to all this. Little Tussy told me apropos the OUTER MAN: 'BUT IT IS YOUR OWN FLESH!' By the by, I can't speak too highly of Dr Allen's behaviour towards me. He remarked, by the by, apropos the operation, that GERMAN PHILOSOPHERS were always self-consistent.

As regards the 'sea-girt',[a] by and large, I agree with you.[b] Obviously, the whole succession business is merely of diplomatic significance. As TO DENMARK, she is not, I think, bound by the Treaty of London[380] in as much as the Danish Parliament was intimidated by Russian warships when the vote was taken. I enclose herewith Urquhart's nonsense,[c] R. Schramm's nonsense,[d] lastly a *Danish* pamphlet, which is of interest on at least two counts, 1. with regard to the fellows from whom the Schleswig-Holstein movement originally stemmed; 2. with regard to the stand taken by the peasants in Holstein.

In today's *Times* you will find under the heading 'Schleswig-

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[a] Schleswig-Holstein is meant. 'Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlungen' are the opening words of a patriotic song popular at the time of the Duchies' struggle against Danish rule in 1848-49. - [b] See this volume, p. 496. - [c] Presumably the material on the Schleswig-Holstein question published in *The Free Press*, Vol. XV, No. 12, 2 December 1863. - [d] R. Schramm, *Die rothe Fahne von 1848 und Die schwarzweisse Fahne von 1863*, Berlin, 1863.

Holstein' an item by Dr Thudichum that is typical of German historiography.[a]

I shall certainly get hold of a publisher for you in Germany. So, buckle to straight away.

I shall drop you a couple of lines as soon as I am in Trier. I also have to go to Holland, for my uncle[b] is my MONSTER creditor.[561]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

But one mustn't irritate the Danes. They've got to understand that Scandinavians and Germans have a *common* interest in opposing Russia and that nothing could be more advantageous to themselves than the separation of the German element.

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## 299

## MARX TO JENNY MARX[239]

IN LONDON

Trier, 15 December 1863,
Wednesday
Gasthof von Venedig

Dear sweet darling Jenny,

I arrived here exactly a week ago today. Tomorrow I am going to Frankfurt to see Aunt Esther[c] (NB: the lady, who was in Trier, was formerly in Algiers, and lives with my aunt, is also my father's sister, also an aunt, is called Babette,[d] familiarly 'Bäbchen', is rich). From Frankfurt I shall go to Bommel,[e] as I wrote my uncle[b] yesterday, probably to his dismay.

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[a] Letter to the editor of *The Times* signed 'A German who is fond of facts', *The Times*, No. 24733, 4 December 1863. - [b] Lion Philips - [c] Esther Kosel - [d] Babette Blum - [e] Zalt-Bommel

If I have been so long in writing to you, this was certainly not out of forgetfulness. Quite the reverse. I have made a daily pilgrimage to the old Westphalen home (in the Neustrasse), which interested me more than any Roman antiquities[562] because it reminded me of the happiest days of my youth and had harboured my greatest treasure. Moreover, every day and on every side I am asked about the *quondam*[a] 'most beautiful girl in Trier' and the 'queen of the ball'. It's damned pleasant for a man, when his wife lives on like this as an 'enchanted princess' in the imagination of a whole town.

The reason I didn't write was that every day I hoped to have something definite to say, but up to this moment don't yet know of anything definite. For this is how matters stand. On my arrival I naturally found everything under seal save for such furniture as was in daily use. My mother, with her usual mania for assuming 'supreme command', had told Conradi not to bother about anything; she had so arranged matters that Uncle would see to 'everything'. What she gave Conradi was a notarial copy of a sort of will, which contained nothing but the following terms: 1. She left all the furniture and linen to Emilie[b] with the exception of the gold- and silverware; 2. To her son Carl she leaves the 1,100 talers, etc.; 3. To Sophie,[c] father's portrait. That's all there is to the will. (NB: Sophie has 1,000 talers a year, for the most part given her by the Philipses. So, after all, you see, my relations are decent 'folk'.)

Apart from this scrap of paper, my mother had lodged another (now *invalid*) legally attested will. This was of an earlier date and was *nullified* by the more recent will. It had been drawn up before Emilie's marriage. In it she had made Emilie the beneficiary of everything of which she was entitled to dispose. In addition, she had appointed Uncle Martin[d] and Uncle Philips her executors. She—or rather her bibulous notary Zell (deceased)—forgot to *repeat* this clause relating to executors in the scrap of paper which now alone is valid and which I have described above, so that if Uncle is the executor, it is only thanks to our *bonne grace*.[e] (For which I, of course, have my own 'reasons'.) As yet, I know nothing about the actual value of the estate, because all the papers are in the *sealed* cupboard. The seals have not yet been removed because of the time-consuming formalities that have to be gone through before the Dutch powers of attorney (for Juta[f] and Sophie) can arrive here. So far as I am concerned this will take too long. I am

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[a] sometime - [b] Emilie Conradi - [c] Sophie Schmalhausen - [d] Martin Presburg - [e] good graces - [f] Louise Juta

therefore giving Conradi power of attorney. Besides, there's nothing left here in Trier (Grünberg[563] was sold long ago) except 5 casks of 1858 wine, which my mother refused to sell at the right moment, and some gold- and silverware. This will be shared out equally among the heirs. The real assets, however, are all in Uncle's hands.

My mother died at 4 in the afternoon of 30 November, on the very day and at the very hour of her marriage. She had predicted that she would die at that time.

Today I am attending to the things for Mr Demuth and Lieschen. I shall write to you at greater length from Frankfurt or Bommel. Greetings and much love to everyone. Above all and in particular, please give the CHINESE SUCCESSOR[a] a thousand kisses on my behalf.

Your
Karl

(I hope to be able to send you some money in my next letter.)

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## 300

## MARX TO ENGELS[239]

IN MANCHESTER

Zalt-Bommel, 22 December 1863

Dear Engels,

You will see from the address that I am back in Holland, where I arrived safely yesterday. In Trier, where the papers and effects left by my mother had been placed under seal, the unsealing could not take place because the Dutch powers of attorney, which must pass through the hands of an endless succession of authorities,

[a] Nickname for Marx's daughter, Eleanor.

had not yet arrived. I left a power of attorney for my brother-in-law Conradi for submission to the Department of Trier and proceeded to headquarters here, firstly because my uncle[a] holds by far the largest part of the assets, secondly because he is the executor of the will. However, in any case it will be another 5-6 weeks before I receive payment of the money. Since my wife has to pay a butcher's BILL for £10 on 10 January 1864 (i.e. a *bill of exchange*), I should be very glad if you could attend to it.

The carbuncle has gone the way of all flesh, but now for good measure my back is wickedly plagued with furuncles and last night, for example, thanks to these pestilential objects, I couldn't get a wink of sleep which would, after all, only have been fair after travelling here from Frankfurt a.M. The husband[b] of a cousin[c] of mine is the town's only doctor and medical officer of health, so I am not in want of Aesculapian assistance.

Throughout the Rhine Province, from Trier to Frankfurt a.M. and thence via Giessen and Cologne right up to the Dutch frontier, I heard nothing but abuse of Prussia. Little, very little, Schleswig-Holsteinianism. For the most part, it was regarded as 'Prussian artfulness'.

I spent only one day in Frankfurt (where I had to visit two old aunts[d]) and hence wasn't able to see any publishers. However, I spoke to an acquaintance who will write to me *here* (after he has consulted with a publisher on my behalf).[e]

When writing your pamphlet,[f] it might be better if you were now to include some actual events as well, not forgetting the systematic blunders perpetrated by the Prussian government, the men of Progress[371] and the regular—since 1815 inveterate—Schleswig-Holstein HUMBUGGERS.[324]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

You might drop me a line or two. Address Charles Marx, CARE OF Mr Lion Philips, Zalt-Bommel, Holland.

*'Tu n'es pas un Yankee, s'écria le fanatique... Depuis que tu es ici, je t'observe. Dans la figure du Saxon il y a du taureau et du loup; dans la tienne il y a du singe et du chien. Tu*

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[a] Lion Philips - [b] Dr. A. van Anrooij - [c] Henriette van Anrooij, née Philips - [d] Esther Kosel and Babette Blum - [e] See this volume, p. 498. - [f] ibid., p. 496.

*as peur de la liberté, tu parles de ce que tu ne sais pas, et tu fais des phrases. Tu es un Français!*[a] (195-196, *Paris en Amérique* by *Edouard Laboulaye.*) (*Paris* 1863.)

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## 301

## MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH

### IN LONDON

Zalt-Bommel, 23 December 1863

Dear Freiligrath,

Your letter arrived today, having been sent on to Trier by my wife and from Trier to this address by my sister.[b] I left London two days after you called (on Monday[c]). Otherwise, I should have had to keep traipsing into the City to see to the issue of powers of attorney for the executors of the will, which, in view of my physical condition at the time, would have been more irksome than a sea-crossing.

'Dr Liebknecht' has been living in *Berlin* for about a year now. His address is: *13 Neuenburger Strasse.* I know nothing about the affair.[564] But one thing surprises me about the bookseller. He continued to pay Wilhelm Liebkn. the fees on behalf of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* throughout the time L. was its correspondent. Hence it was in his power to deduct L.'s debt.

It was inexcusable of L., no matter what the circumstances, to make improper use of your name. But you have no responsibility whatever towards the bookseller, since Williams could have recovered the money himself.

Warmest regards.

Your

K. M.

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[a] 'You're not a Yankee, the fanatic exclaimed... I've been watching you ever since you've been here. A Saxon's face has something of a bull and a wolf; yours has something of a monkey and a dog. You're afraid of liberty, you speak of things you know nothing about and you use an affected language. You're a Frenchman!' - [b] Emilie Conradi - [c] 7 December

# 302

## MARX TO ENGELS[67]

### IN MANCHESTER

Zalt-Bommel, 27 December 1863

DEAR FREDERICK,

I wrote and told you last Wednesday about the recurrence of my furunculosis and the 'bitter' night I passed.[a] The next day Dr van Anrooij discovered that a damned carbuncle had reappeared beside the furuncles, almost exactly beneath the site of the old one. Ever since then—leaving aside the ill-effects of such a discovery on one's morale—I have been in loathsome pain for much of the time, particularly at night. My uncle,[b] a splendid old BOY, applies my poultices and cataplasms with his own hands, while my charming and witty cousin[c] with the dangerously dark eyes nurses and cossets me in exemplary fashion. Nevertheless, in view of these circumstances, I would gladly set out for HOME, but that is temporarily out of the question on physical grounds. The Dr has opened up the agreeable prospect of my being troubled by this loathsome complaint until well into January. He will tell me when my condition permits a removal to London. However, this second Frankenstein on my back is less ferocious BY FAR than was the first one in London, as you will already have gathered from the fact of my being able to write.

I gave up smoking completely 2 1/2 months ago and it's unlikely that I'll start again very soon.

Anyone wishing to spew up politics in disgust should take it daily in the form of the telegraphic pills dispensed by the small Dutch newspapers.

However, we are in for a spectacle, and the comical thing so far as Germany is concerned is that it will start with a movement in favour of the 'legitimate' duke,[d] accompanied by clamorous requests for a 36th potentate.[565]

Those scoundrelly parliamentary cretins, who had assembled in Frankfurt a.M., set aside without debate a resolution moved by a German from Posen in which the TRUE QUESTION between Germany and Russia was presented in highly comprehensive and rational form.[566]

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[a] See this volume, p. 501. - [b] Lion Philips - [c] Antoinette Philips - [d] Friedrich of Augustenburg

My best wishes for the New Year. Will you also convey them to Lupus?

Your
K. M.

P.S. Apropos. Like all 'dametjes',[a] my cousin keeps an album, and I've promised to help her collect photographs for it, *inter alia* yours. If you have a spare photograph perhaps you would be so good as to enclose it in the letter I trust you will at long last be writing me here.

*P.S.* I was about to place this letter in its envelope when the Dr walked in and, without more ado, operated on me again. The business was over IN NO TIME AND NOW THINGS WILL GO ON SWIMMINGLY.

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[a] young ladies

# 1864

## 303

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN ZALT-BOMMEL

Manchester, 3 January 1864

Dear Moor,

The many CHRISTMAS drinking-sprees and consequent GENERAL UNFITNESS FOR BUSINESS have rendered me utterly incapable of replying any sooner. However, the affair is now happily over.

I am sending your wife the amount in question.[a] For the rest, I'm delighted to hear that your second carbuncle has been operated on, and that you are thus over this latter crisis. You'll have got damned thin as a result of this tedious business.

The Schleswig-Holstein affair has come off the rails again good and proper. If, as I believe, there's war in the spring, we shall have Denmark, Sweden, France and Italy against us and, possibly, England. In Hungary and Poland Plonplonism,[524] to which Kossuth had already pointed the way, is in full swing.[567] I see only two ways out here: 1. either revolution in Berlin as soon as the troops have left and, in Vienna, a corresponding movement with concessions of an adequate kind to Hungary and, perhaps, also to Poland. That's what would be most favourable, and there would be nothing to fear in such a case. But it is also what is most improbable, in view of the confusion that prevails. Or, alternatively, 2. a restoration of the Holy Alliance[511] for which, as always, the partition of Poland would provide the cement (Russia has a greater interest in Poland than in Denmark and also the prospect, come the armistice, of having Austria and Prussia under her thumb, i.e. being able to impose her own conditions).

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[a] See this volume, pp. 500-01.

Then the Russians would take over from the Prussians in Berlin and play the policeman, whereat we would be done for, and Bonaparte cock of the walk.

The mock war in Schleswig under Wrangel can't last very long.[568] In the first place, the Danish fortifications will make even the initial encounters too bloody and, in the second, Boustrapa[167] is too much in need of a popular war not to seize this opportunity. What more could he ask than the restoration of the Holy Alliance and a war for both Poland and the Rhine with, for good measure, England and Italy and all the small states of Europe on his side?

Apropos. Our worthy Faucher, who shows himself a rabid Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg man in the Chamber,[a] is, at the same time, sending *The Manchester Guardian* anti-German articles in which he arse-licks to the English bastards of *The Times*. Shouldn't one do something to unmask this louse?

If the curs in the Prussian Chamber were now to take their courage in both hands, they could straighten things out to their own satisfaction within the space of 6 weeks. Handsome William's reply shows what a fix the government is in.[569] No one will fork out, not even the worthy von der Heydt, and they know they won't get any money *par force*.[b]

Lupus has just come to pick me up and sends you his kindest regards.

Here's to a good recovery and a Happy New Year.

Your

F. E.

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[a] J. Faucher's speech in the Chamber of Deputies on 1 December 1863, reported in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 338, 4 December 1863. - [b] by force

## 304

## MARX TO ENGELS[570]

IN MANCHESTER

Zalt-Bommel, 20 January 1864

Dear Frederick,

As you see, I am still here and 'let me tell you something else, Sir', I am in fact once more unable TO MOVE ABOUT. This is a disease of truly Christian perfidiousness. When I got your letter, I was congratulating myself on the way the old wounds had healed, but that self-same evening a large furuncle erupted just below my neck on the left-hand side of my chest and, antipodally to it, one on my back. Although irksome, it did not, at least, prevent me from walking and, in fact, I accompanied my uncle and cousin[a] on a stroll across the Rhine (Waal). But a few days later, yet another carbuncle appeared on my right leg, close beneath the spot of which Goethe says: 'And if the noble fellow has no bum, on what does he propose to sit?'[b] Now this is the most painful and embarrassing boil I have had so far, and I trust will be the last of a long series. In the meantime, I can neither walk, stand, nor sit, and find even lying down damned difficult. So you see, *mon cher*, how nature in her wisdom is persecuting me. Would she not be better advised to inflict these trials of patience upon a good Christian—someone of the same stamp as Silvio Pellico? Besides the carbuncle beneath my buttock, I should inform you that another furuncle has erupted on my back, while the one on my chest has only just begun to heal so that, like a veritable Lazarus (*alias* Lassalle), I am assailed on all sides at once.

Apropos Lazarus, I am reminded of Renan's *Life of Jesus* which is, in many respects, simply a novel full of pantheistic-mystical extravaganzas. However, the book also has some advantages over its German predecessors and, since it isn't long, you ought to read it. It is, of course, a derivative of the German stuff. Most remarkable. Here in Holland the German critico-theological tendency is so much *à l'ordre du jour*[c] that the clergy openly profess it from the pulpit.

As regards the Schleswig-Holstein affair, I hope that it will lead to clashes in Germany itself.[571] How well Russia knows her

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[a] Lion and Antoinette Philips - [b] From Goethe's epigram *Totalität*. - [c] the order of the day

Pappenheimers,[a] both Austrian and Prussian, is evident from the COOL IMPUDENCE with which she is, at this juncture, allowing the *Petersburg Journal* to print the Warsaw Protocol.[b]

The German petty princes are taking the fiction of the Schleswig-Holstein movement very seriously. They genuinely believe that *Germania* cannot have enough of them and is therefore intent on enthroning a 35th.[c]

I am writing you no more than a short letter, and that only with great effort, since it's agony for me to sit. But I shall expect an early reply from you; it CHEERS ME UP to see your handwriting.

Don't forget to enclose your photograph. I have promised my cousin as much, and how is she to believe in our Orestes-Pylades relationship, if I can't even *commovere*[d] you to send a photograph? Address as before CARE OF Mr L. Philips.

*Salut* to yourself and Lupus.

Your
K. M.

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## 305

## MARX TO LION PHILIPS[239]

IN ZALT-BOMMEL

London, 20 February [1864][e]

Dear Uncle,

I shall begin at the end. I arrived here yesterday ABOUT NOON in a frozen condition, FOR IT WAS DEVILISH COLD. My reception was all the warmer, and thus I enjoyed the delights inseparable from a complete contrast. *En passant*,[f] yesterday and today were the coldest days there have been in London. So it seems I am fated to bring winter

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[a] The German phrase 'seine Pappenheimer kennen' (to know who one is dealing with) derives from Schiller's *Wallensteins Tod*. III, 15. - [b] *Journal de Saint Pétersbourg*, No. 293; 26, 27 and 28 December 1863 (7, 8 and 9 January 1864). - [c] See this volume, p. 503. - [d] induce - [e] Manuscript damaged. - [f] By the way

not only to Bommel but also to London. *I wish the Prussians in Schleswig-Holstein the full enjoyment of this 'seasonable weather'.[572] If their patriotism or rather* their 'loyal and royal enthusiasm'[a] *is not cooled down by that, then, Sir, we must give it up!*

Our little child[b] *was quite enchanted by the really beautiful Dolly, Madame August[c] had chosen for her. I enclose some lines on the part of the child. She did not leave off bothering myself till I had promised her to enclose also for you a letter which she pretends to be written in Chinese characters and which an English friend has sent her.*

[In Amsterd]am[d] I found the whole family well and cheerful. [August[e]] was very busy and so I said [nothing] at all to him about financial matters. At the insurance office I was given thousand guilder notes, most of which I changed in Rotterdam, with Jacques'[f] help, into bills and ABOUT a quarter into BANKNOTES.

Nor, during the two days I was in Rotterdam, did Jacques have overmuch spare time. One day, he was pleading in a small town nearby and, the other, he had to attend a court of appraisal. On the whole, I should say that, since becoming engaged, he has had much more of 'AN EYE TO BUSINESS' than previously. I don't doubt that in a few years' time he will have a sound practice, the more so since he likes legal work. He himself told me that he wins nearly all his doubtful cases, and, if he goes to the trouble of telling one something like that, he can be taken at his word. He and I laughed a great deal about a man whom he describes as '*the* client' *par excellence.* This man, he told me, was still young and, over the next 30 years OR MORE, might litigate away a lot more of his assets!

Incidentally, August also has a quite peculiar faith in the infallibility of the courts. He opines, for example, that the English lose nothing by the high cost of their legal procedure. People who didn't engage in litigation had just as much chance of obtaining justice as those who did. *In point of fact, it seemed his opinion that dear law is as good as cheap law, and perhaps better; and he is a fellow who knows something about such things.*

August gave me the 3 parts of the *Aardrijkskunde,*[g] and, on top of that, Jacques provided me with a work on political economy (Dutch) by Vissering,[h] a professor at Leyden, and a copy of

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[a] Marx uses the Berlin dialectal form *Untertanenbejeisterung* instead of *Untertanenbegeisterung.* - [b] Eleanor Marx - [c] August Philips' wife - [d] Manuscript damaged. - [e] August Philips - [f] Jacques Philips - [g] Geography - [h] S. Vissering, *Handboek van praktische staathuishoudkunde.*

*Camera obscura.*[a] So I'm well stocked up with Dutch literature. Nothing in Frisian was to be had in Amsterdam, although in one bookshop alone there were works in 88 *modern* languages. The Negro languages seemed to have greater appeal to the Amsterdamers than Frisian, *but man always contrives to neglect the things that are nearest to him*.

*Sorje Oppenheim,*[b] which was already creating a great sensation in Amsterdam, has been performed here by my daughters to piano accompaniment *and they hope to perform it one day before their uncle*.

A great bundle of newspapers, etc., from various latitudes has accumulated for me here, *but I am firmly resolved to know nothing of politics until Monday next.

Now, my dear uncle, I bid you farewell. Despite carbuncles and furuncles, I consider the two months I have lived in your house, as one of the happiest episodes of my life, and I shall always feel thankful for the kindness you have shown me.

You will, of course, tell Rothhäuschen[c] that I send him my compliments and that I regret having been forced giving battle to him.

My best compliments to the whole family, especially Jettchen,[d] Dr Anrooij, and Fritz.[e] Mrs Marx and the girls also send their compliments. Please to give the enclosed lines to Netchen.[f]

Yours truly,

Charles M.*

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[a] Hildebrand, *Camera obscura.* - [b] A popular song - [c] Marx puns on the name of A. Roodhujzen. 'Rothhäuschen' means 'little red house'. - [d] Henriette Sophie van Anrooij - [e] Friedrich Philips - [f] Antoinette Philips

## 306

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 25 February 1864

DEAR Frederick,

Just a few lines for the present to let you know of my return.[561] As soon as the weather permits, I shall come up to Manchester for *2 days* so as to see you in person again and, at the same time, give you an account of my AFFAIRS.

I have completely recovered and only one or two spots (specially on the upper part of my leg), which are in the final stages of healing up, continue to trouble me A LITTLE. I haven't grown thin, but stout, despite my illness. True, I have given up smoking completely.

Pieper's sudden appearance on our doorstep was a real surprise. He's here to settle in his sister as a GOVERNESS. He spent 4 yrs as a schoolmaster in Bremen. Last year 'he ate the bread of the National Association',[24] and even went to Italy at Augustenburg's[a] expense. He's the same bore and lout as he always was.

With kind regards to you and Lupus.

Your
K. M.

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## 307

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] Friday, [11 March] 1864

DEAR Frederick,

Tomorrow I shall leave from Euston Station at 10 and arrive AT MANCHESTER ABOUT 5 p.m.[573]

[a] Friedrich of Augustenburg

It WOULD BE FOOLISH to go on waiting for good weather.

What has also prevented me from coming DURING THE TWO LAST WEEKS—SOME NEW AND UNEXPECTED FURUNCLES BREAKING THROUGH DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE BODY.

YOURS
Moor

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## 308

## MARX TO LION PHILIPS[574]

IN AACHEN

London, [29 March 1864]
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Dear Uncle,

I presume all of you are already or still in Aachen, and am therefore sending this letter there. Had you decided to wait for the fine weather, you'd have had to stay at Bommel until now. Here, at any rate, March has been QUITE ABOMINABLE, apart from one or two fine days—cold, wet, and changing from one moment to the next. This may be one reason why I haven't so far rid myself of those confounded brutes, my furuncles. I curse them, but under my breath.

LITTLE Eleanor has had a rather bad cough for the past two days which is what is preventing her from writing to you. However, she asks me to send you many salutations and, *in regard to the Danish Question, begs me to tell you, that 'she don't care for such stuff', and that 'she considers one of the parties to the quarrel as bad as the other, and perhaps worse'*.

The difficulty about understanding Prussia's policy is due solely to people's delusion in crediting it with serious and far-sighted aims and projects. The Mormon Bible,[575] for instance, is similarly most difficult to understand, precisely because there isn't an iota of sense in it. What Prussia was primarily aiming at was to make the army popular, an aim which the Schleswig-Holstein campaigns

were already having to subserve in 1848.[576] Secondly, she was intent on closing the territory against German volunteer forces, democrats and the small states. Finally, Prussia and Austria, by exerting PRESSURE FROM WITHOUT, were to enable the Danish king,[a] who is hand in glove with them, to compel the Danes to make certain concessions at home and abroad. Austria could not, of course, leave Prussia to play this role on her own, and, at the same time, seized on the opportunity to effect a closer alliance with her against OTHER PERIPETIES.

The conference meets in London on 12th April.[577] The *very most* it will do is resolve that Schleswig and Holstein be bound to Denmark in a *personal union*—maybe less, certainly not more. How little in earnest the whole affair is, despite powder, shot and blood-letting, will be apparent to you if only from the fact that, up till this moment, neither Prussia nor Austria has declared war on Denmark, nor Denmark on Prussia and Austria. There is no better way of throwing dust in people's eyes than to set armies marching, horses stamping, and cannon thundering.

DESPITE ALL THAT, SERIOUS CONFLICTS may BE IMMINENT. Once again, Bonaparte finds himself virtually compelled to set his *troupiers* up in business as 'freedom' exporters because of the great DISAFFECTION which is not only prevalent in Paris, but provokingly rearing its head in the elections.[578] And this time, the way has been paved for him by those dogs of Prussians.

Garibaldi's trip to England and the great ovations he will receive FROM ALL SIDES here[579] are, OR at least are meant to be, merely the prelude TO A NEW RISING AGAINST AUSTRIA. As an ally of the Prussians in Holstein and Schleswig and an ally of the Russians by virtue of the state of siege in Galicia,[580] Austria has made things very easy for her enemies. What with the present conditions in Poland, Hungary, and Italy, the popular sentiment in Germany, and the total change in England's position, a new Holy Alliance[511] would enable even Napoleon *le Petit*[b] to play the great one. At this moment, the best thing would be for peace to continue, for any kind of war would delay the outbreak of revolution in France.

May God damn ME IF THERE BE ANYTHING MORE STUPID THAN THIS POLITICAL CHESSBOARD!

There were two other things I had actually meant to write to you about—Roman division and darkness in outer space. But as the light is failing, my paper is running out and it's almost time

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[a] Christian IX - [b] the Little, i.e. Louis Bonaparte. The nickname derives from Victor Hugo's pamphlet *Napoléon le Petit*.

for the last post, I must conclude for the time being by sending my kindest regards to the whole family. Ditto to Karl[a] and his wife, not forgetting Jean.[b]

Your affectionate nephew,
K. Marx

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## 309

## MARX TO LION PHILIPS[239]

IN ZALT-BOMMEL

London, 14 April 1864
1 Modena Villas,
Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Dear Uncle,

I hope that the cough has gone the way of all flesh. As for myself, there hasn't been a sign of a FURUNCLE for a few days, and my doctor[c] thinks that I am now rid of the things for good. And high time, too. The sun seems to be breaking through at last. But there's still a nasty wind blowing from the East. Eleanor's cough has gone. However, her sister Jenny has a very persistent COUGH, [which][d] will disappear [only] with a change of wind.

Conradi had already written to me before I got your letter, and I had replied, saying he could send the money here direct.[e]

At the Museum[f] I have been taking a look at Boethius's *De arithmetica* (he wrote at the time of the *Völkerwanderung*) on Roman division (he didn't, of course, know *any other sort*). From this and a number of other works with which I have compared it, I see that moderately simple calculations, such as household and commercial accounts, were never done with [figures] but with pebbles and similar tokens on an abacus. On this abacus several

[a] Karl Philips - [b] Jean Philips - [c] Allen - [d] Manuscript damaged. - [e] See this volume, p. 501. - [f] the British Museum Library

parallel lines were drawn and whatever was used, whether pebbles or other visual signs, denoted units on the first line, tens on the second, hundreds on the third, thousands on the fourth, etc. Such abacuses were in use throughout almost the whole of the Middle Ages and are still employed by the Chinese today. As for more complex mathematical calculations, at the time when these are found among the Romans, the latter already had the multiplication table—Pythagoras's—which, however, was still very awkward and cumbersome, for that table consisted partly of its own characters, partly of letters of the [Gre]ek (later Roman) alphabet. But [since] division merely boils down to the analysis of the dividend into factors and the tables in question were taken to fairly high figures, this must have sufficed for the reduction of expressions such as MDXL, etc. Every number, e.g. M, was separately reduced to the factors which it formed with the divisor, after which the quotients were added together. Thus, for example, M divided [by] two=D (500), D divided by 2=250 e[tc]. That the ancient method placed insuperable difficulties in the way of very complex calculations is evident from the artifices to which that outstanding mathematician Archimedes had recourse.

As regards the 'darkness of outer space', this necessarily follows from the theory of light. Since colours only appear when light-waves are reflected by solids and since, in the *intervals* between the heavenly bodies, there is neither *atmosphere* nor any other kind of solid, these intervals must be pitch black. They allow the whole light-ray to pass through, which is simply another way of saying that they are dark. Moreover, space outside the atmosphere of the planets, etc., is fated to be damnably *'koud en kil'*[a] since the rays generate warmth only when they strike a solid, which is also why, summer or winter, it is icy cold in the higher air strata of our atmosphere—that is, owing to the thinness, hence the relative insubstantiality, of these layers. BUT

> Ought this affliction to afflict us
> Since it but adds to our delight?[b]

And what good are light and warmth WHERE THERE IS NO EYE TO SEE THE ONE, AND NO ORGANIC MATTER TO FEEL THE OTHER? Long ago the worthy Epicurus had the sensible idea of banishing the gods to the intermundia (i.e. the *empty* spaces of the universe)[581] and, indeed, R.'s[c] 'perfect curs' are fit denizens for those cold, cool, pitch dark, *'stoffelooze wereldruimte'*.[d]

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[a] icy cold - [b] From Goethe's *Westöstlicher Diwan* ('An Suleika'). - [c] Probably Roodhujzen's. - [d] spaces devoid of matter

You can see what a good Dutchman I've become from the fact that little Jenny has already read half the *Camera obscura*[a] and Laura, *me docente*,[b] a large part OF THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE *Aardrijkskunde*,[c] while even Eleanor knows *'Dans Nonneken dans'* and *'Klompertjen en zijn wijffjen'*[d] by heart.

Best compliments from THE WHOLE FAMILY to you, and Karl, not forgetting *madame la générale*.[e] With the weather being so fine, you surely won't have overlong to wait for your own *beau jour*.[f]

Your affectionate nephew,

Karl Marx

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## 310

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 19 April 1864
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, N. W.

DEAR FREDERICK,

The furunculosis persisted until ABOUT a week ago, which made me very 'peevish' and it was not until a day or two since that I was able to start work again.

This month, April the first's privilege of being ALL FOOL'S DAY, has been extended, at least in London, to the whole of April. Garibaldi and Palmerston FOR EVER on the WALLS of London![582] Garibaldi with Pam and *Clanricarde*, and extolled by the ENGLISH POLICEMEN, at the Crystal Palace![583] In England there aren't any *mouchards*[g]! The Bandiera brothers would have something to say about that.[584] Garibaldi and 'Karl Blind'! What a talent for puffing himself up the last-named hydrocephalous crab-louse displays! 'Mr Karl

[a] by Hildebrand - [b] with me as tutor - [c] Geography - [d] 'Dance, little nun, dance' and 'The shoe and his wife' (Dutch nursery rhymes) - [e] Probably the wife of Karl Philips' father-in-law, a general. - [f] fine day - [g] police spies

Blind', the *Athenaeum* announces, 'HAS JOINED THE SHAKESPEARE COMMITTEE!'[585] The fellow doesn't understand one line of S. I had to put up considerable resistance and have doubtless completely forfeited Weber's[a] esteem. For the Workers' Society[3] (incited by W.) wanted me to compose an address to Gar., and then call on him with a deputation. I REFUSED FLATLY.

When are you going to come here? The family is expecting you.

Tomorrow sees the start of the conference[577] that will cause the scales to fall from the Teutons' eyes. Collet has announced himself for Thursday[b] and, at the same time, sent me a whole LOT of German literature on the Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburg mess. Tomorrow I shall have to get down to a serious study of this disagreeable affair so as to be ready with my answers for the fellow, who has the entire genealogy[586] at his fingertips. You may have noticed that the wretched Disraeli has spared Pam the trouble of answering Osborne's and Kinglake's motions on Schleswig-Holstein at the impending conference. Yesterday, Disraeli gave notice that he would put the PREVIOUS QUESTION. In all the SERIOUS AFFAIRS of the past 2 or 3 years (e.g. the Afghanistan business[297]) he has extricated OLD Pam from the MUDDLE.

You will see how pitiful (I mean what a DONKEY) Garibaldi is—he has been half KILLED, incidentally, by John Bull's EMBRACE—from the following, which is not, OF COURSE, common knowledge.

At the secret revolutionaries' congress in Brussels (September 1863)—which had Garibaldi as its nominal CHIEF—it was decided that G. should go to London, but do so incognito and thus catch the metropolis unawares. He was then to COME OUT for Poland IN THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE WAY. Instead of that, the fellow goes and fraternises with Pam! I'd rather be a louse in sheep's clothing than a man of such brave stupidity, as Shakespeare says in *Troilus and Cressida*.[c]

Kindest regards to Lupus and Lizzy.[d]

Your
K. M.

Little Jenny still has a cough but strikes me as being much better. The new house[587] has, IN FACT, cheered her up a great deal.

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[a] Josef Valentin Weber - [b] 21 April 1864 - [c] Act III. Scene 3 - [d] Lizzy Burns

# 311

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 29 April 1864

Dear Moor,

You will, presumably, at long last have rid yourself of the furunculosis. Meanwhile, Lupus has been suffering most vilely from the rheumatic headaches he was already having when you were here,[573] and from which he has since had no respite—on the contrary, they have got worse and worse so that he's had no proper sleep for weeks. He's already been confined to bed again on several occasions, and that sod Borchardt does nothing at all about it; he treats the touch of gout Lupus has got in his toe (but which doesn't bother him at all *now*, whereas the headaches and insomnia are really sapping his strength) with colchicum and doesn't even give him an occasional dose of opium. Once or twice I have spoken to Lupus pretty seriously about the matter, but you know how much good that does. He believes himself to be under an obligation to B., and that's that. All the QUACK has done is to cup him of ten ounces of blood! That was the day before yesterday. This evening I shall visit Lupus again and see how things are going. Three weeks ago I too had a violent and most painful attack of rheumatism of the respiratory muscles, but Gumpert cured me of it within 24 hours.

The Garibaldi tomfoolery[a] came to a fitting end. The way the chap was shown the door after a week of being gaped at by the SWELLS is really too splendid and could happen nowhere but in England. It would be the ruin of anyone except Garibaldi, and even for him it's tremendously mortifying to have served the English aristocracy as a NINE DAYS' WONDER and then to have been thrown out into the street. They treated him as an out-and-out romantic. How could the fellow submit to it and how he could be so stupid as to take these Dundrearys for the English people? However, anyone who is not now convinced of the wholly bourgeois nature of this gentleman will never be convinced. For to respect the English press is almost worse than respecting the PEELERS.[588] And as for his EXIT! Well, that beats everything.

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[a] See this volume, p. 516.

But our friend Bismarck is also a *lumen*.[a] Of him it might even be said: *n'est pas Soulouque qui veut*.[b] First he mimics Bonaparte's Press Laws, and now he's sending worthy Corporal William to Schleswig to induce the people to vote for annexation by Prussia![589] This jackass seems to imagine that the highways and byways are strewn with Savoys and Nices and that these are to be had for the taking.[590] As the *Dagbladet* quite rightly points out, by the way, the Prussian reactionary press has been in such a state of exaltation since the capture of Düppel,[591] and the chaps are so above themselves that one can count with certainty on the gang's coming a really bad cropper within a very short space of time.

I was a bit surprised by the way the Prussian army carried out the assault. The attack took place with 4 brigades (24 battalions) against 4 Danish brigades (16 battalions), i.e. by no means disproportionate superiority for an assault of this kind. Admittedly, the Danes had been greatly worn down by artillery fire but so, for that matter, had the Russians at Sevastopol, and to an even greater extent.[592] However, the fact that in 20 minutes the Prussians took the first 6 field-works and then, in 2 hours—N.B. without orders, for the worthy prince[c] wanted to call it a day—the whole peninsula,[d] including the bridgehead, and inflicted losses of 5,000 on approximately 13,000 Danes, is more than one might have credited the fellows with. You will, by the way, remember that I have always said Prussian fire-arms—rifles as well as guns—were the best in the world, and that has been borne out here. On the other hand, the conference[577] will soon reveal what marionettes their diplomats are. What with Russia, Boustrapa,[167] and Palmerston, aided and abetted by the 'grand' policy of Bismarck, the 'fall' that follows after pride can hardly be long in coming. But how about money? After all, the 22 millions from the public treasury and the railway loan of 6 millions must have been squandered by now, and what then?

I shall descend on you one of these Friday evenings but not, of course, without writing to you first.

Write soon, and give my regards to the FAMILY.

Your

F. E.

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[a] shining light - [b] Not everyone who wants can be a Soulouque (Victor Hugo, *Napoléon le Petit*, paraphrased). - [c] Friedrich Karl of Prussia - [d] Sundewitt

# 312

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Sunday, 1 May '64
6.50 p.m.

Dear Moor,

I have just been to see Lupus, who also had Gumpert and Borchardt with him. They don't agree over the diagnosis, which doesn't matter a rap for the time being, since it's a question of restoring his strength first, and here G. at once intervened more energetically. Yesterday I asked B. about port but he thought that, as L. wasn't quite lucid, he would be better without it and, only this morning, suggested—Spanish fly! Today Lupus is to get a beerglassful of champagne every 2 hours and this evening will, in addition, be given brandy in the BEEF TEA he takes in between times. That scoundrel Borchardt who only last Wednesday let ten ounces of his blood!![a] For the rest, the situation is very bad, because whichever diagnosis may be right, one is as bad as the other. B.'s diagnosis is meningitis, inflammation of the inner scalp with a tendency to suppurate. G. hadn't yet been able to make one this morning, but thought that, in addition to the above, there might be uraemia (passage of urine into the blood as a result of degeneration of the kidneys) or anaemia with a localised affection of the nervous system. He had another call to make after the consultation, and so I was unable to talk to him at any length; as soon as I have heard his opinion I shall write to you.

I should like you to come up tomorrow for a few days.[593] I foresee that I shall be very busy this week, and it's always a good thing, of course, if one of us sees the doctors a couple of times a day and promptly obtains whatever has to be obtained. Besides, it would be very nice for me anyway. If you are coming, send me a telegram from your station of departure to 7 Southgate, St. Mary's; it only costs a shilling.

In order to force his hand over the consultation, I was compelled to tell B. yesterday that you had just as much confidence in G. as I had and that, if Lupus were to die, you would never forgive me had I failed to call G. in for a

[a] See this volume, p. 518.

consultation. He took it very badly, but we are certainly not going to allow Lupus to be murdered for the sake of this bastard's vanity.

Your
F. E.

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## 313

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 2 May 1864

Dear Moor,

The outlook for Lupus grows daily worse. His state of delirium is getting more and more chronic. He still recognises the people who come to see him quite well, but in between times he talks in a completely RAMBLING fashion and it is only after taking a strong dose of stimulants that he has his more lucid moments. However, these moments are becoming dimmer and briefer all the time. Gumpert has very little hope now; his diagnosis is softening of the brain as a result of the prolonged headaches brought on by cerebral hyperaemia and of the insomnia thus induced. There's no longer any question of Borchardt's meningitis; he has accepted G.'s diagnosis and generally does everything G. suggests, though he seems to have very hazy ideas about the origin of the headaches.

Each day Lupus spends in this stupor, from which stimulants are incapable of rousing him, naturally makes matters worse and, if the next 3-4 days bring no improvement, the poor devil will go under either from debility or apoplexy or, if he pulls through, he'll be an *idiot*. This alternative—death or imbecility—is really too frightful. Gumpert, of course, is extremely guarded when talking about his colleague but I'm sure of the fact that L. could have been saved if the headache had been properly treated and if, in particular, something had been done to enable L. to *sleep*. But it was not until last Thursday, after five weeks of insomnia, that B.

gave him some opium. On top of that the blood-letting on Wednesday. He has persisted in treating him for gout, prescribing nothing but colchicum and the like. It was only the onset of delirium that evidently caused him to have second thoughts.

There is another consultation at 9 tomorrow morning which I shall also attend to see what he does. B. intends to get a male nurse for him today. If only the poor fellow pulls through!

Your
F. E.

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## 314

## ENGELS TO MARX[492]

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 2 May 1864]
Monday evening 8.30

Dear Marx,

Lupus is going rapidly downhill. He's having hallucinations, keeps jumping out of bed, etc. What we're short of now is a man to sit up with him and stop him injuring himself. There is only one professional male nurse up here, and he is engaged. Admittedly, Borchardt could get hold of one from a nearby lunatic asylum, but so long as there is the slightest chance of recovery he doesn't, of course, want that kind of person, being anxious to avoid subsequent gossip and the harm it would do L. He now wonders whether you might perhaps have a reliable man, who *doesn't* need to be a *nurse* by profession, far better not, but is simply reliable in that he will do what he is told and not fall asleep—maybe you have such a man and can send him up here first thing tomorrow, for we are provided for only up till tomorrow and *periculum in mora.*[a] *S'il s'en trouve,*[b] send him **at once** to Borchardt, Rusholme Road, Manchester.

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[a] there is danger in delay - [b] If one is to be had

If you have nobody, Borch. asks that you telegraph him first thing tomorrow (it costs a shilling), so that he and Gumpert can continue to look round up here.

I have just telegraphed you to this effect, but the present letter is necessary to an understanding of the telegram.

Your
F. E.

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## 315

## MARX TO JENNY MARX[239]

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 9 May 1864

Dear Jenny,

Poor Lupus died today, at 10 minutes past 5 in the afternoon. I have just left his death-bed.

I went to see him on the evening of the day I arrived from London,[a] but he was unconscious. The next morning he recognised me. I saw him in company with Engels and the two doctors[b] and, when we were leaving, he called after us (in a weak voice): 'You will come back, won't you?' It was a moment of lucidity. Soon afterwards he relapsed into a state of apathy. Up till Thursday—or really Friday[c]—evening, things hung in the balance so that there was some doubt about the outcome. But he was unconscious from Friday evening until the moment of his passing away. So long did it take for him to die, though he was not in pain. He was unquestionably the victim of that bombastic bungler.[d] I shall write at greater length tomorrow.

In him we have lost one of our few friends and fellow fighters. He was a man in the best sense of the word. His funeral will be on Friday.[e]

Your
Karl

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[a] 3 May - [b] Louis Borchardt and Eduard Gumpert - [c] 5 and 6 May - [d] Borchardt - [e] 13 May

# 316

## MARX TO JENNY MARX[239]

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 10 May 1864

Dear Jenny,

Poor Lupus, as it now transpires—and as Borchardt already knew—had accumulated a nest-egg by dint of hard and unremitting work.

In his will (of December 1863) he appointed Engels, Borchardt and myself his executors, and the notary has just read us his will. In it he leaves:

1. £100 to the Manchester Schiller Institute[429]
2. £100 to Engels
3. £100 to Borchardt and
4. The entire residue, amounting to six or seven hundred pounds, to me (to you and the children should I *predecease* him; he took care of all eventualities), likewise his books and all other effects.

I must now go to his lodgings and sort out his papers. Luckily he was living—during the final 6 or 7 weeks, at any rate—with exceptionally good and worthy people and enjoyed the best possible nursing. The inane telegrams about nursing attendants[a]—of which Gumpert knew nothing—were sheer ostentation and consequentiality on the part of Bombastus B.

A thousand kisses to you and the children.

Your
Karl

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[a] See this volume, p. 523.

# 317

## MARX TO JENNY MARX[239]

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Friday, 13 May 1864

Dear Heart,

Today was the day of our good comrade's funeral.[a] We purposely didn't send out any invitations, otherwise half the town would have been there. So, it was attended by Borchardt, Gumpert, Engels, Dronke, Steinthal, Marotzki (the Friends of Light[594] Protestant pastor at whose house Lupus used to teach and who came as a personal friend), Beneke (one of the leading business men here), Schwabe (ditto), 3 other business men, a few boys and some 15-20 members of the 'LOWER CLASSES' amongst whom Lupus was very popular. I naturally made a short funeral oration. It was an office by which I was much affected so that once or twice my voice failed me. Freiligrath wrote, begging to be excused, because of the presence in London of his principal, Fazy. Engels, and more especially Dronke, refused to countenance this excuse, and tomorrow D. will be taking him to task in London.

I shall have to stay here for at least another 3 or 4 days in order to get through with the whole business, pay the estate duty, swear oaths, etc. Naturally I shall not leave Manchester until everything is settled.

At first, it was thought that poor Lupus was suffering from incipient softening of the brain. This was wrong, however. Gumpert had previously said that he was suffering from cerebral hyperaemia *(excessive accumulation of blood in the brain).* This was confirmed at the *post mortem,* which also proved that he would still be alive today had he received correct treatment of the most common or garden kind. Borch. had completely and utterly neglected the thing in the *most unscrupulous way.* And yet one can't raise a shindy about it, if only because of B.'s family, who were deeply attached to Lupus (especially B.'s eldest daughter) and did a great deal for him, and whom he for his part thought highly of. All the same I refused B.'s invitation to dinner today (at which Engels, etc., were to be present) on the grounds that I could not accept hospitality on the day of Wolff's funeral.

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[a] Wilhelm Wolff's

Dronke asks you to excuse him for not having replied to your letter. The poor little man was too much distressed by the death of his children to be able to write.

Lupus had carefully kept all our children's letters, and it was only a few weeks ago that he again told Mrs Borchardt how much he enjoyed getting little Tussy's notes.

The day before yesterday Marotzki (while confirming the children, amongst them one of the younger Borchardts) pronounced a public eulogy on Lupus in his church. I don't believe anyone in Manchester can have been so universally beloved as our poor little friend (who as a child broke both legs and was in pain for years until they had healed again). Amongst the letters he left, I found evidence of the warmest sympathy on the part of all kinds of people—pupils, both girls and boys, and, in particular, their mothers.

My warmest greetings to all.

Your
Karl

Send 3 photographs of DEAR Eleanor *immédiatement.*

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## 318

## MARX TO HIS DAUGHTER, JENNY

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] *Tuesday,* 17 May 1864

Sweet child, Badman,

Probably I shall leave Manchester on Thursday (May 19) this week, and probably *Engels will come with me.*[595] If arrangements be changed, I'll advertise you timely.

I visited Ernest Jones yesterday and renewed my old friendship with him. He received me very cordially. Eichhoff, who is here at this moment, and sends to all of you his compliments, wrote me this morning that the son-in-law of Dr. Rohde—Marriett—has suddenly died; the daughter[a] being thus thrown back upon

[a] Thekla Marriet

Liverpool and the parents. Eichhoff has at last settled down as a commercial employé.

Little Dronke, who to-day arrived from London, told funny stories as to the meeting he had a few days since with Freiligrath. Fazy, Freiligrath's master, was present at the rendezvous at 2 Royal Exchange Buildings.

Strohn, an old friend of mine—who, unhappily, finds himself in a very bad state of health, and whom I was hardly able to recognise—came down from Bradford to see me; Eichhoff having told him of my sojourn at Manchester.

Gumpert has been blessed with a son.

I address these lines to you, because you will probably have to make room for Engels, your room being, I believe, the only disposable one. You don't want to care about wine which we bring with us, but a dozen bottles of Pale Ale for our Manchester man will be welcome. *I cannot finish my business here,*[596] because this week is a holiday for lawyers here. So things will not be settled before next week, and in my absence.

I have seen, from Möhmchen's[a] letter, with great concern, that Marie Lormier is not going on in the right direction. These doctors are a lot of quacks.

Any letter you'll address me, will still find me at Manchester, if you post it tomorrow before 5 o'clock p.m.

I hope, my dear child, to find you in full bloom. My humble compliments to your successor, and my knowing wink to mine secretary.[597]

Your truly
Old one

I should very much like to buy here Manchester silk for the *whole* family, but the delay that, consequent upon the holiday, has taken place in the settlement of affairs, prevents me from indulging my fancy.

G. J. Harney, as you may tell Möhmchen, has again married, and, moreover, left Europe for Australia.[598]

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[a] Jenny, Marx's wife

## 319

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN BARMEN

Manchester, 24 May 1864

Dear Hermann,

You must excuse my keeping you waiting some little while for a reply to your letter of the 7th and that of the 18th.

As regards the £1,000, I shan't be able to remit this to you before 1 July, or perhaps a little later. That is to say I must await the statement of accounts on 30 June of this year, since G. Ermen will release himself from the contract if so much as a penny is missing from the £10,000 I have to put up. Until then, therefore, I must tread carefully. I also mentioned this to Mother in my letter of 7 April,[599] and hence the best thing would be for you to pay Wiebelhaus & Busch from over there. In any case, for a sum of the order of £1,000, I wouldn't be able to lay my hands on bills as short as a week after date. More about this matter, then, in July or August; I am in no hurry whatever.

It had struck me, by the way, that this £1,000 could be partially reimbursed by my prevailing on G. E. to send off to you *in advance* the interest amounting to £375 due on 30 June; but, since our bankers are now paying us 6% interest, he'll take good care not to give you the money at 5%.

As regards my balance with you over there, this should be dealt with as follows:

On 30 June, the £10,000 which, under the terms of the contract, must remain here, will be debited to *me* over there. Deduct from that the portion of my balance there on which *the interest accrues to me; as to the remainder* **I** *must refund* **you** *the interest à 5%.* The portion of my balance of which Mother has the usufruct would best continue to be credited to me *separately,* since it doesn't figure in my favour when interest is calculated and would therefore only muddle up the calculation.

The one question that may have to be considered in this connection is the exchange rate at which £s are to be converted into talers. In my view, the simplest thing in all present and future cases relating to my account would be to take the average rate of 6 talers 20 silver groschen, as Father also used to do in his books, so that the £10,000 will be debited to me as 66,666.20 talers, while all

reimbursements made by me in £s will be credited at the same rate. Think it over and let me know what you think about it.

As regards the transfer of the £10,000 to my account, you have no need to advise G. E. further; the contract, to which you are all subject, is sufficient.

Very many thanks for the pictures. They've touched up your face a bit more than is necessary; apart from that, they're very good. But you must now see to it that the other ones for my album follow on soon, and also remind the good Boellings about it, for so far I have none of them at all. In the case of the Blanks, I don't have one of Maria Senior, Emil Junior, Rudolf, and the younger ones.

Apropos. Should Ermen & Engels over there be asked to pay the costs of an insertion, to which I was a co-signatory, in the deaths' column of the *Kölner,*[a] *Breslauer*[b] and Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung,* I would ask you to attend to it and debit me accordingly.[600]

Give my love to Mother, if she is still in Barmen, and tell her that I've been keeping very well. Much love to Emma[c] (she's still not as plump as she used to be, but I trust that will resolve itself) and the little ones as well as to Rudolf[d] and family, the Blanks, and the Boellings.

Your
Friedrich

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## 320

## MARX TO ENGELS[249]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] Thursday, 26 May 1864

Dear Frederick,

It came as a very 'pleasant' surprise this morning (I had not been able to sleep the preceding night) to find my chest again adorned with two 'charming' FURUNCLES. Will you consult Gumpert

[a] *Kölnische Zeitung* - [b] *Breslauer Zeitung* - [c] Emma Engels - [d] Rudolf Engels

as to what I should do? I don't want to take iron since I already have a tendency to cerebral congestion. Nor do I wish to go to Allen, there being nothing I dread so much as having to recommence a regular course of treatment, thus disrupting my present work, and I simply must get the thing done at long last.[547] Despite all that people said about how well I looked, I have all the while felt there was SOMETHING WRONG and the tremendous resolution I have to summon up before I can tackle more difficult subjects also contributes to this sense of inadequacy. YOU EXCUSE THIS SPINOZISTIC TERM. Have OUR POOR Lupus's books been sent off to London?[601] I am worried about their non-arrival because—or so I understood—your WAREHOUSEMEN were supposed to have sent them off on Thursday (last).

WHAT DO YOU SAY OF GRANT'S OPERATIONS?[602] All that *The Times* chooses to admire, OF COURSE, is Lee's strategy disguised as RETREATS.[a] Says Tussy this morning, 'IT CONSIDERS THIS VERY CANNY, I DARE SAY.' There's nothing I would be happier to see than success for Butler. It would be of inestimable value, were he to enter Richmond first. It would be bad if Grant had to retreat, BUT I THINK THAT FELLOW KNOWS WHAT HE IS ABOUT. It is to him, at any rate, that credit is due for the first Kentucky campaign, Vicksburg and the drubbing Bragg received in Tennessee.

Enclosed a note from Jones, in view of which you will, no doubt, be able to invite him FOR ANOTHER DAY.[603]

The WHOLE FAMILY send you their regards.

Your
K. M.

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[a] *The Times*, 25 and 26 May 1864, leading articles.

# 321

## ENGELS TO MARX[249]

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 30 May 1864

Dear Moor,

The books haven't gone off yet, nor has the wine. They will go off together. Have heard nothing from either Borchardt or the lawyer; shall call on the latter the day after tomorrow and give him the power of attorney.[604]

Gumpert says that, if the furuncles are *merely stragglers,* you should do nothing further about them. I discussed little Jenny with him; he says it would seem to be a chlorotic condition and that sudden attacks of asthma are common in such cases, and are due to circulatory disorders; nothing could be done save treat the condition as a whole, nor could he think of anything beyond what Allen is already doing. Anyhow, he didn't seem to take too serious a view of the thing.

The Virginian campaign is once again characterised by inconclusiveness, or more precisely, by the difficulty of taking it to any sort of decision on terrain like this.[602] I set no store by the news received *per Scotia*; all it means is that a week's rain has saved Lee from the necessity of fighting battle after battle *à la Solferino.*[605] And for him, that means a great deal. Another 2 such battles and his army, which had to withdraw to a new position every night and was in any case in a very sorry state, would hardly have been capable of making a stand anywhere *before* Richmond. Certainly Grant also benefited from the standstill, but not to the same extent. The reinforcements he is now obtaining won't be worth very much. But I shouldn't be surprised if Lee were soon to withdraw to Richmond. Then the decisive battle will take place there.

Bismarck seems to have colossal good luck; it really looks as though there's going to be an Augustenburgian peace.[606] As yet I can make neither head nor tail of it, but my view would seem to be confirmed by the very hectoring article in today's *Morning Post.*[a] (It says, *inter alia,* that *Schleswig* should be partitioned and—the *Eider* form the new frontier between Danish and German

[a] *The Morning Post,* No. 28222, 30 May 1864, leading article.

*Schleswig*!) Nevertheless, plausible though it all seems, I can hardly see the Russians giving up, without more ado, all the spoils of 1851/52,[607] the less so since they would not, so far as one can see, get anything in return.

I have been engrossed in the arithmetic in your *Francoeur*,[a] a section you would seem pretty well to have ignored, if the failure to correct the scandalous printing errors in the figures is anything to go by. Though individual bits are quite elegant, the *practical* aspect of arithmetic is handled in a shockingly inept and superficial manner, being better taught at any German school. I also doubt whether it is practical to discuss things such as roots, powers, series, logarithms, etc., even at elementary level, *merely* in terms of numerals (without any recourse to algebra and, IN FACT, without presupposing an elementary knowledge of the same). Although the use of numerical examples by way of illustration may be a good idea, I should say that to limit oneself to numerals is, in this case, less conducive to clarity than simple algebraic treatment with a+b, precisely because the general expression is simpler and clearer in algebraic form and is something which cannot be dispensed with here. Admittedly, this particular section is really beneath the dignity of the mathematician *par excellence*.

I shall send you *Danske*[b] papers tomorrow. In several Jutland towns Prussian officers are said to have objected very strongly before carrying out the confiscation in accordance with orders. Generally speaking, there have been no complaints anywhere about the troops, only about the generals and their orders. In the *Dagbladet* England is, if anything, more roundly abused than in Germany.

No other news, save that it's bitterly cold. Warm regards to your wife and the girls. I HOPE TUSSY IS CONTENT WITH THE COTTON.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Presumably L. B. Francoeur's *Cours complet de mathématiques pures*. - [b] Danish

# 322

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 June 1864

Dear Frederick,

Herewith

1. A scrap of paper sent me today in a wrapper from Brussels by jackass Kertbeny;

2. Cutting from the *Rheinische Zeitung* containing an obituary of Lupus—written by Elsner, now one of the editors of the *Breslauer Zeitung,* from which the *Rheinische* has reprinted it[a];

3. Another cutting from the *Rhein. Zeit.,* in which I would draw your attention to the article 'Der feudale Sozialismus'[b];

4. Letter from one Klings of Solingen to one Moll over here. To enable you to understand this letter, I should explain that Moll (and also a companion of his[c]) is a working man from Solingen, who (along with the aforesaid companion) has evaded a 4 months' prison sentence (the result of Lassalle's performances last year). Klings, ditto a working man, is Baron Izzy's authorised representative in Solingen.

The two Solingen refugees came to see me here; they informed me of their enthusiasm for Izzy and how the workers had harnessed themselves to his carriage when he was last in Solingen. They assumed as a matter of course that we two were hand-in-glove with Izzy (who, when last in Elberfeld, made a speech about Lupus[608]). Klings, they said, was a former member of the League,[63] as were all the *working men* who were *leaders* of Izzy's movement in the *Rhine Province,* and that, now as ever, all were our resolute supporters. He also showed me Klings' letter, and I asked whether I might have it to send to you.[609] To this he assented. So, don't return it. I did not, of course, enlighten the chaps as to our relations, or rather non-relations, with Izzy, but got others to drop some pretty vague hints.

Now the men are hanging about here, unemployed. 50 talers are to be sent them from Solingen, the local Workers' Society[3] is

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[a] [K. F. M. Elsner,] 'Kasematten-Wolff', *Breslauer Zeitung,* Morgen-Ausgabe, 24 May 1864; *Rheinische Zeitung,* No. 145, 26 May 1864. - [b] 'Feudaler Sozialismus', *Rheinische Zeitung,* No. 149, 30 May 1864. - [c] Julius Melchior

giving them £2; we shall be collecting a bit more here, and it would be a good thing if Manchester could contribute a pound or two. The fellows must be conveyed to America, since they are factory hands (Solingen cutlers, etc.) and are quite unsuitable for London *handicrafts.*

'What's come over me?' I asked myself more than once while reading Izzy's *Lohnarbeit und Kapital.*[a] For in its essentials it seemed to me familiar, literally so (if embellished in the Izzian manner), yet not cribbed direct from the *Manifesto,*[b] etc. Then, a couple of days ago, I happened to look out my series of articles on 'Wage-labour and Capital' in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1849) which were in fact merely a printed version of lectures I had delivered in 1847 at the Brussels Workers' Society.[131] There I found my Izzy's immediate source and, as a special act of friendship, I shall reproduce the whole caboodle from the *N. Rh. Z.* as a *note* or *appendix* to my book—ON FALSE PRETENCES, of course, and without any mention of Izzy.[610] He won't enjoy it in the least.

The books have arrived,[601] ditto the wine, for which many thanks. Tussy asks me 'TO GIVE YOU HER LOVE AND TO TELL YOU THAT YOUR COTTON HAS SOMEWHAT IMPROVED'.

Borkheim has made ABOUT £2,000—under the patronage of *Oppenheim,* the 'Jew Süss'[c] of Egypt. Oppenheim, to whom, according to the account B. himself gave me, he played more or less the part of jester in the land of the pyramids, wanted to keep him there on the spot. But Europeans die there like flies, so B. arranged instead to be entrusted from time to time with a little bit of business by Abul Haim, as Oppenheim is called by the Arabs. This summer he will again visit Constantinople to that end.

The girls and madame send you their kindest regards.

MY COMPLIMENTS TO Liccy.[d]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

Apropos.

Wherever honours are being handed out, there friend Freiligrath is sure to be. Cf. Elsner's obituary. Remember Harney's funeral oration for Schramm. And now New York has seen the

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[a] F. Lassalle, *Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch, der ökonomische Julian, oder: Capital und Arbeit,* Berlin, 1864. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party.* - [c] J. Süss-Oppenheimer - [d] Lizzy Burns

publication by a local society of a very sumptuous *Record of the Revolution*[a] in which all the EVENTS, documents, etc., of the present Civil War are REGISTERED from the time it first started. WELL, this RECORD has been sent gratis to some 20 or 30 people (including various European libraries), among them the QUEEN OF ENGLAND,[b] J. Stuart Mill, Cobden, Bright, and—Freiligrath. He informed me of this, with the phrase that the Yankees had 'afforded him great pleasure and done him a great honour', and gave me the accompanying letter to read along with the printed list of the fortunate few. I should dearly like to know what the good fellow has done, might do, or intends to do for the Yankees. But *loi générale*[c]: Freiligrath is to receive the *honneurs* on behalf of the German nation because the worthy citizen adopts so worthy and neutral an attitude, 'and, come to that, hasn't really learnt anything'.[611]

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## 323

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 3 June 1864

Dear Moor,

I beg to confirm my last[d] and today would humbly inform you that Lupus's will passed through the COURT OF PROBATE[612] the day before yesterday and that I have taken possession of the document in question. I have also shown it to the bank and had it registered there, and on Monday or Tuesday[e] shall draw the money from the bank (I can do this on my own without Borchardt) and remit it to you. There is about £230. I shall try and see B. tomorrow or on Monday and shall then do all I can to get the matter speedily wound up. The approximate amount of estate duty—£12[f]—will

[a] *The Rebellion Record: a Diary of American Events...* - [b] Victoria - [c] general law - [d] See this volume, p. 531. - [e] 6 or 7 June - [f] In the original: '£120', apparently a slip of the pen

be retained by me up here plus a bit extra for the LAWYER'S bill, etc. The latter tells me that to safeguard oneself against any possibility of future claims one should, about 1 month after PROBATE (i.e., as from 1 July), insert 3 successive notices in the *Gazette*,[a] *Times* and LOCAL PAPERS, addressed to undeclared creditors and limiting the period of liability. This means the final settlement will be somewhat further delayed. The demand for payment of duty will be made in September or thereabouts (so until then interest on the amount in question will be recoverable), after which we shall have to deal with Wood's account and pay over the money; it will then be possible to dispose of the matter finally.

I have discovered the chap to whom Lupus went to be photographed and who has the original negative. I have had 24 prints done, 4 of which I enclose; you might give one each to Pfänder and Eccarius, and if you want any more they are yours for the asking. I took this opportunity of having another one taken of myself, the result of which you will find enclosed; people here say it is very good.[b]

*Free Press* received with thanks. What will POOR Collet set his hand to, now that Othello's OCCUPATION is GONE? And that poor, clever boy[c] who is party to all the secrets of highest diplomacy?

Many regards. How goes it with the furuncles?

Your
F. E.

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## 324

## MARX TO ENGELS[613]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 June 1864

Dear Frederick,

Have received your photogram, also those of Lupus. I need AT LEAST 4 more COPIES of the latter. Your photogram is excellent. The

[a] *The London Gazette* - [b] See this photograph between p. 538 and p. 539. - [c] Probably Urquhart

children say that it makes you look a 'pleasant subject'.[a] As the new photograms we intended to have taken have not yet materialised, little Jenny yesterday sent you the glass thing. The *Dagbladet* received with THANKS.

The enclosed letter from Liebknecht which I got yesterday will interest you in several respects. You should place it in the archives, like the other letters of this kind I send you. I immediately replied to L., generally commending him for his attitude and only reprimanding him for the silly stipulation—our collaboration—he made in regard to the proposed publication of Lassalle's PAPER—now happily abandoned.[614] I explained that, while we consider it politic to give Lassalle a completely free rein for the time being, we cannot identify ourselves with him in any way.... In the course of this week I shall send him (Liebknecht) some money. The poor devil seems to be doing damned badly. He has given a very good account of himself and his continued sojourn in Berlin is most important to us.

Borkheim showed me a letter from the great Orges, presently in Vienna. O. intimates that 'softening of the brain' has 'got the better' of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung,* that 'particularism' rather than 'Teutonism' holds sway over the paper, that one of the four proprietors of the Augsburg *A. Z.* had 'insulted' him (the 'great Orges') 'almost personally', that his hands had long been tied and he had finally resigned, etc. SERVES O. RIGHT. The fellow treated us vilely over the Vogt affair.[b]

Borkheim has given me very exact particulars in writing, authenticated on the spot, concerning progress on the Suez Canal. I shall see that Daud Pasha[c] is advised of the same.

As for the Danish affair, the Russians are in a very difficult position. They drove Prussia into the war by promising her the earth and, as a *quid pro quo* for Prussia's help, past and present, over the Polish business,[507] held out great prospects in regard to Schleswig-Holstein. Needless to say, handsome William,[d] now that he looks upon himself as WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, cannot be fobbed off in the same way as his brilliant predecessor.[615] As for Palmerston, his hands are tied by the Queen.[e] Bonaparte, whom the Russians and their Pam wanted to use as a scapegoat to propitiate the Germans, HAS REASONS OF HIS OWN for playing the deaf-mute. Come to that, aside from a possible secret treaty with Prussia, the Russians are now chiefly concerned with 'German

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[a] In the original 'anjenehmer Jejenstand' instead of 'angenehmer Gegenstand'.
[b] See this volume, pp. 10, 13-14. - [c] Urquhart - [d] William I - [e] Victoria

sympathies'. It is therefore possible that, under SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, they will 'sacrifice' Schleswig-Holstein, just as, in the 3rd partition of Poland, Catherine II declared the cession of the present kingdom of Poland to the Prussians to be a great sacrifice on her part—with the mental reservation, of course, that, when the time came, the sacrifice would be retrieved.[513] The outrageous step the Russians have now taken in the Caucasus,[616] watched by the rest of Europe with idiotic indifference, virtually compels them—and indeed makes it easier for them—to turn a blind eye to what is happening elsewhere. These 2 affairs, the suppression of the Polish insurrection and the annexation of the Caucasus, I regard as the two most important events to have taken place in Europe since 1815. Pam and Bonaparte can now say that they have not ruled in vain, and, if the Schleswig-Holstein war[572] has served no other purpose than to hoodwink Germany and France about those two great events, it will have done its job for the Russians, whatever the outcome of the London Conference.[577] You will see from Liebknecht's letter that the Prussian liberal press is too cowardly even so much as to remark on the continued surrender of Polish refugees by the Prussians. Bismarck has killed it stone dead with the Schleswig-Holstein business.

The AMERICAN NEWS looks very good to me; I was particularly delighted by today's LEADER in *The Times,* in which it is proved that Grant has been continually beaten and may perhaps be punished for his defeats—with the capture of Richmond!

*Salut.*

Your
Moor

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# 325

## ENGELS TO MARX[249]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 9 June 1864

Dear Moor,

Your telegram received; the other halves of the five banknotes follow herewith. I have cleaned up the glass photogram[a] a bit and now find that it's very good. I shall show it to Gumpert and his wife this evening.

Clearly it's of the utmost importance to us that Liebknecht should be in Berlin—to spring surprises on Izzy and also, at an appropriate moment, quietly to enlighten the workers at large about our attitude towards him. At all events, we must keep him there and support him to some extent. If you send him some money now, it will encourage him a great deal and, if you think any more is needed, let me know and I'll send you a five pound note for him.

Apropos obituary for Lupus. We must do a kind of biography; I think we ought to have it printed in Germany as a pamphlet, with the whole of the parliamentary debate[b] as an appendix. Let's not allow the thing to slide.[617]

What do Borkheim's reports say about progress on the Suez Canal? Have matters actually got to a stage that points to its early completion?

I'm very anxious to see how things go in Virginia. The sides still seem to be almost evenly matched and mere chance, the opportunity of scoring an isolated victory over just one of Grant's corps, might restore Lee's superiority. The battle before Richmond may be fought under quite different circumstances, for Butler is certainly weaker than Beauregard, otherwise he wouldn't have let himself be forced on to the defensive and, even if one were as strong as the other, Lee, if he linked up with Beaur. at Richmond, would certainly be stronger than Grant and Butler combined. For Lee can debouch with his entire force from his fortified camp on each side of the James River, whereas Grant must detach part of

[a] See this volume, p. 536.- [b] W. Wolff's speech in the Frankfurt National Assembly on 26 May 1849 (see K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*, VI, present edition, Vol. 17, and F. Engels, *Wilhelm Wolff*, X, present edition, Vol. 24).

his troops (to the south side of the river). But I am hoping that Grant will, nevertheless, go through with the affair; at all events, there can be no doubt that, after the first battle in the Wilderness, Lee has shown little further inclination to engage in decisive encounters in the open field,[618] on the contrary, he has always kept his main force in fortified positions and only committed himself to brief attacks. I also like the methodical pace of Grant's operations. On such terrain and with such an opponent it's the only correct method.

A collection for the Solingen chaps[a] won't produce anything up here; however, it goes without saying that I shall send you something for them. Let me know, when you've reached that stage, how much they have got for the journey and how much it will cost.

Three days ago our old Hill finally handed in his cash box, but is, understandably enough, still quite incapable of tearing himself away from the office. He still haunts it every day, just as he has always done. It was not until today that he stayed away, at least for the morning, but after his dinner couldn't stand it any longer.

Many regards.

Your
F. E.

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## 326

## MARX TO ENGELS[67]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 June 1864

Dear Frederick,

Thanks for *Dagbladet*.

Before I start on this letter—and so that I don't forget—here's a question for you: Are the following word groups I found in a Belgian etymologist's work[b] of any value?

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[a] Moll and Melchior (see this volume, pp. 533-34). - [b] H. J. Chavée, *Essai d'étymologie philosophique ou Recherches sur l'origine et les variations des mots qui expriment les actes intellectuels et moraux.*

*Sanskrit Wer* (couvrir, protéger, respecter, honorer, aimer, chérir[a]), *adjective Wertas* (EXCELLENT, RESPECTABLE), *Gothic* Wairths, *Anglo-Saxon* Weorth, *English* worth, *Lithuanian* werthas, *Alemannic Werth.*

*Sanskrit Wertis, Latin* virtus, *Gothic* Wairthi, *Teutonic* Werth.

*Sanskrit Wal* (couvrir, fortifier[b]), *valor, value.* (???)

Strohn is here. Arrived yesterday. Leaves for Bradford again tomorrow. Seems to me very much better. Also more PLUCKY now.

I and various other people here have collected so much for the two Solingen chaps[c] that only 2 more pounds are needed to enable them to leave for New York by sailing-vessel and not be completely broke on arrival there. I am also giving them a note for Dr Jacobi, by which means we shall discover what the modest little man is ABOUT.

Herewith a letter I have received from Liebknecht who also sent a piece from the *Grenzboten* about Lupus.[d] Liebknecht will by now have got my second letter containing a 'real consideration' (as Mr Patkul calls it in his secret despatches[e]).

The Russians would seem to be claiming Schleswig-Holstein for themselves under the heading of Oldenburg,[619] and to be 'compensating' Prussia for it. This TRANSACTION WOULD BE TOO CLEVER.

A Dutch orientalist, Professor Dozy of Leyden, has brought out a book[f] to prove that 'Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are figments; that the Israelites were idolaters; that they carried round a "stone" in the "*arke des Verbonds*"[g]; that the tribe of Simeon (driven out under Saul) went to *Mecca* where they built a heathen temple and worshipped stones; that, after the release from Babylon, Ezra invented the myth of the creation up to and including Joshua, and also wrote laws and dogmas, thus paving the way for reform, monotheism, etc.'.

That's what they write and tell me from Holland; they also say that the book has created a great sensation among theologians there, particularly since Dozy is the most learned orientalist in Holland and, what's more—a professor at Leyden! Outside Germany at any rate (Renan, Colenso, Dozy, etc.) there is a remarkable anti-religious movement.

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[a] cover, protect, respect, honour, love, cherish - [b] cover, fortify - [c] Moll and Melchior (see this volume, pp. 533-34, 540). - [d] 'Eine Erinnerung an den Communisten Wolff', *Die Grenzboten,* 1864, I. Semester, 2. Band, pp. 398-400. - [e] J. R. von Patkul, *Berichte an das Zaarische Cabinet in Moscau...* - [f] R. Dozy, *De Israëlieten te Mekka.* - [g] Ark of the Covenant

The children send you their love, and my wife asks me to dun you for her chain.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

(You might let me have your 'PRIVATE ADDRESS' in case there should be ANYTHING else I want to communicate to you of a Saturday evening.)

*Send me Ernest Jones's* ADDRESS.

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## MARX TO LION PHILIPS[67]

IN ZALT-BOMMEL

London, 25 June 1864
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Uncle,

Very many thanks for your detailed letter. I know how onerous writing is for you on account of your eyes and, indeed, the last thing I expect is that you should answer every one of my letters. I was glad to see from what you wrote that you are physically fit, and that your equanimity has not been shaken by the revelations of Prof. Dozy.[a] However, since Darwin demonstrated that we are all descended from the apes, there is scarcely ANY SHOCK WHATEVER that could shake 'our ancestral pride'. That the Pentateuch[b] was concocted only after the return of the Jews from Babylonian captivity had already been pointed out by Spinoza in his *Tractatus theologico-politicus.*

In the enclosed note Eleanor herself thanks you for your photogram, which is as good as such shadow pictures can ever

[a] See this volume, p. 541.- [b] the first five books of the Old Testament (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy)

hope to be. The child had already placed 'her letter' on my desk some 3 or 4 days ago.

I have had a recurrence of FURUNCLES and only got rid of them a fortnight ago. Since my work was greatly impeded by this tiresome complaint—and, in addition, the doctor's orders precluded strenuous or prolonged mental work—I have, which will surprise you not a little, been speculating—partly in American FUNDS, but *more especially* in English stocks, which are springing up like mushrooms this year (in furtherance of every imaginable and unimaginable joint stock enterprise), are forced up to a quite unreasonable level and then, for the most part, collapse. In this way, I have made over £400 and, now that the complexity of the political situation affords greater scope, I shall begin all over again. It's a type of operation that makes small demands on one's time, and it's worth while running some risk in order to relieve the enemy of his money.

All is well, on the whole, with my family. The doctor wishes little Jenny to have a CHANGE OF AIR and, unless you or fate have any objection, I and my 3 daughters will descend upon you towards the end of the summer.

By now the fruitless outcome of the conference[577] will have been made known ALL OVER EUROPE by telegraph. The only people in this diplomatic tragi-comedy who are imperturbably pursuing their former aims and playing a masterly game are *les russes.*[a] On the one hand, they are reviving the Holy Alliance,[511] chivvying the German oxen into war, and thus diverting the eyes of Europe from their own colossal successes in Poland and Circassia; on the other, they are inciting Denmark to resist and will, thanks to Mr Palmerston, eventually succeed in getting England to declare war in support of the Protocol of 1852[380] which, as *documentary evidence* has now shown, was dictated by Russia[620]! The English, who did not go to war for Poland although pledged to do so by the treaties of 1815 and who did not go to war for Circassia despite the fact that possession of the Caucasus assures Russian hegemony in *Asia,* are to go to war and—I THINK IT PROBABLE—will go to war, for a treaty dictated by Russia, while that same Russia officially sides with the opponents of that very treaty! *C'est incroyable*![b] There's not a vestige of sympathy for Denmark amongst the English people (although, needless to say, antipathy and to spare for Prussia and Austria); it proved impossible to hold ONE SINGLE PUBLIC MEETING in support of the Danes; the fund started by

[a] the Russians - [b] It is unbelievable!

a few aristocrats for the Danish wounded PROVED A COMPLETE FAILURE; but the English people have no more say in their foreign policy than the man in the moon. The PUBLIC OPINION advanced in *The Times*, etc., is 'prescribed' by the wishes of OLD Pam himself.

Between 19 and 21 June Copenhagen was on the brink of revolution. The king[a] had received a *Russian* despatch advising him to declare himself in favour of a personal union of the Duchies with THE DANISH CROWN. The king, a creature of the Russians (who placed his son[b] in Athens, his daughter[c] in England, and himself on the Danish throne), came out in favour of the Russian proposal, which was opposed by his minister, Monrad. Only after a two-day debate, Monrad's resignation and demonstrations IN THE STREETS OF COPENHAGEN, did the brand-new KING draw in his horns, BUT IN THIS WAY RUSSIA HAS AGAIN SHOWN THE CLOVEN FOOT. Quite apart, by the by, from its being in Russia's specific interest that the war should continue and spread, it is in her general interest that the peoples of Europe, of whom she is the common foe, should bloody each other's heads. The AIRS Prussia gives herself—handsome William as WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR—are comical. This pomp and circumstance will come to a sudden and sticky end.

To give you an idea of what the GOOD *Palmerston* is like, I enclose with *The Morning Post* (Palmerston's private monitor) a cutting of a speech made by *Ferrand* during a parliamentary debate.[d] It is concerned solely with the appointment of a *CHARITY INSPECTOR*. From the passages I have marked, you will see the sort of things that are said to Pam's face in Parliament but without ever penetrating his hippopotamus's hide.

I deliberately avoided seeing Garibaldi DURING HIS STAY AT London.[e] I wouldn't mind visiting him at Caprera, but here in London HE SERVED ONLY AS A PEG FOR EVERY SELF-IMPORTANT FOOL TO HANG HIS *carte de visite* UPON.

Warmest regards to THE WHOLE FAMILY. My wife also sends her regards to you AND FAMILY.

YOURS TRULY,

Ch. Marx

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[a] Christian IX - [b] William - [c] Alexandra - [d] W. Ferrand's speech in the House of Commons on 16 June 1864, *The Morning Post*, No. 28238, 17 June 1864. - [e] See this volume, pp. 516, 518.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 July 1864

DEAR Frederick,

Did you get the letter I sent you ABOUT 2 WEEKS ago, with the enclosure from Liebknecht, etc.?[a]

No answer yet from Elsner.[621]

I've been taking medicine again for ABOUT 10 days, and today have got a species of INFLUENZA as well. Hence NOT ABLE TO-DAY FOR BETTER WRITING.

THANKS FOR *Dagbladet.*

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 329

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 July 1864

DEAR Frederick,

On 3 June you wrote and told me that you would be SETTLING the business of the money with Borchardt the following day.[b] I have 3 reasons for wishing the thing to be settled:

1. Because of Borchardt;

2. I do not know by what rumour (perhaps deriving from Germany, *Trier*) I have come to be known as a 'legatee'. It's

[a] See this volume, pp. 540-42.- [b] See this volume, p. 535.

fantastic what bills I've been sent, dating back to ANCIENT TIMES (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* included).

3. Had I had the money during the past 10 days, I'd have made a great deal of money on the Stock Exchange here. The time has come again when, with WIT and VERY LITTLE MONEY, it's possible to make money in London.

For these reasons I'd like the business to be settled, after deduction, OF COURSE, from my share of the sums required for duties and other outgoings—to the LAWYER, etc.

YOU WILL MUCH OBLIGE ME BY SETTLING THESE THINGS BEFORE JULY 15. You must excuse me for bothering you in view of your CHARGE OF BUSINESS, BUT THERE ARE VERY SERIOUS INTERESTS AT STAKE.

Many thanks for settling the Freiligrath affair.[a] Is the portrait he sent you the sinister Faustian one little Jenny has got in her album?

My wife, who attended an auction to buy the things she still required, has purchased a sturdy CARVING KNIFE AND FORK for you and will send them off today. I had told her there were none in your household.

Greetings from the EMPEROR OF CHINA[b] *et cie.*

Your
K. M.

My nose, mouth, etc., still bunged up with influenza so that I can neither smell nor taste.

During this time, being utterly incapable of work, have read Carpenter, *Physiology*, Lord, ditto, Kölliker, *Gewebelehre*, Spurzheim, *The Anatomy of the Brain and the Nervous System*, and Schwann and Schleiden, on the cells business.[c] In Lord's *Popular Physiology*, there's a good critique of phrenology, although the chap's religious. One passage recalls Hegel's *Phenomenology*; it reads:

*'They attempt to break up the mind into a number of supposed original faculties, such as no metaphysician will, for a moment, admit; and the brain into an equal number of organs, which the anatomist in vain asks to be shown, and then proceed to attach one of the former unadmitted suppositions as a mode of action to one of the latter undemonstrated existences.'*

As you know, 1. I'm always late off the mark with everything, and 2. I invariably follow in your footsteps. So it's probable that I

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[a] See this volume, p. 548. - [b] Marx's daughter Jenny - [c] Th. Schwann, *Microscopical Researches into the Accordance in the Structure and Growth of Animals and Plants;* M. J. Schleiden, *Contribution to Phytogenesis.*

shall now devote much of my spare time to anatomy and PHYSIOLOGY and, in addition, attend lectures (where there will be practical demonstrations and dissection).

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## 330

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 5 July 1864

Dear Moor,

When I wrote to you on 3 June, saying I would settle the business of the money on the 4th,[a] this can only have related to the money in the *bank,* about which I did actually make arrangements straight away. It didn't occur to me that you would want any more money for the present, and we had in fact agreed that you would write and say if you did wish to have any more; hence I simply left it on deposit with that philistine Steinthal, who does, after all, pay 5%.

But to SETTLE the matter of the *legacy* from the 3rd to the 4th of June would have been promising more than I or anyone else could do. I believe I also wrote and told you that this might be a fairly lengthy business, depending as it did on all sorts of legal formalities (ADVERTISING a request to Lupus's undeclared creditors, payment of estate duty, etc.) which can't be hurried along. However, I'll leave no stone unturned to wind up the affair quickly.

But this is not, of course, to say you won't get an approximate share of the bequest as soon as you want it. You'll be getting a minimum of £600—I hope more—so we'll be able to send you another £350 or so, and I shall see to it that you actually get it *this week.* I shall also badger Borchardt to send in his bill, for this is partly why much still remains to be settled.

If only you'd dropped me a couple of lines before now, I should have been able to procure the £350 for you at any time, i.e. within

[a] See this volume, p. 535.

a day or two. Today I can't do anything. I've been slaving away at the office all day, arguing with lawyers and G. Ermen (the DEED OF PARTNERSHIP isn't ready yet, and until then G. E. refuses to recognise my right to act as a partner[270]), on top of which I've had Dronke here. Now it's nearly 7 o'clock, and I've still had no DINNER, nor have I yet finished work. So you see how things are.

Many regards.

Your

F. E.

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## 331

## MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH

IN LONDON

[London,] 12 July 1864
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park

Dear Freiligrath,

I got a letter today (just now) on which the address would appear to be written in your hand. If that is so, I should like to know *how* the letter reached you? It is from that blackguard Brass (in Berlin) who has the impudence to ask me to forward a scrawl to Biscamp.[622] Having lost sight of that vagabond Biscamp years ago, I have, moreover, no idea how to rid myself of the scrawl, since the creature's WHEREABOUTS are not known to me.

I am writing from my bed, having had to take to it for several days because of what was a very dangerous carbuncle. This damned complaint keeps incessantly cropping up again.

On the 15th inst. I shall send Lenchen to you bearing £30, returned with many thanks—if, that is, I am not myself capable, though I think I shall be, of betaking myself between now and the 15th (inclusive) to the City, where I have other business to attend to.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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# 332

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

Ramsgate, 25 July 1864
46 Hardres Street

Dear Frederick,

You will see from the address that I am spending a few days in Ramsgate.

It was a far from agreeable surprise to discover that my FURUNCLE was in fact an extremely malignant CARBUNCLE and, what is more, has had the impudence to erupt just above my penis. So, for ABOUT 10 days, I've been obliged to spend most of my time in bed—and in this heat, too! The thing is clearing up pretty quickly here; however, my confidence has completely evaporated now that the disease has unexpectedly cropped up again in such a malignant form.

Jenny and Tussy are here with me; Laura is coming the day after tomorrow and in ABOUT 8 or 10 days we shall go to Holland, during which time my wife will betake herself to the seaside.

Apropos. *Don't forget to send the latter* her *chain,* as she will need this for her watch when at the resort. She says all you have to do is put it in a little box and have it posted, so sending it off couldn't possibly put you to much trouble.

I hope you have now sorted things out with Ermen and are no longer being BOTHERED by LAWYERS.[a]

As for the Schleswig-Holstein affair, I'm not yet wholly convinced that it won't end in a personal union between the Duchies and Denmark. The jealousy between Prussia and Austria and that felt by both towards the German Confederation, as well as the quarrel between Augustenburg[b] and Russia's pretender, Oldenburg,[c] etc., mean that such a solution is still at least a possibility, even at this late hour. Incidentally, as far back as 1851, Palmerston put forward the Duke of Oldenburg[d] *en passant* and as a *pis aller*[e] as candidate for Schleswig-Holstein.

I shall write and tell Laura to send you *The Free Press.*

Your philistine on the spree lords it here as do, to an even

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[a] See this volume, p. 548. - [b] Friedrich of Augustenburg - [c] Peter Nikolaus Friedrich, Grand Duke of Oldenburg - [d] August Paul Friedrich - [e] last resort

greater extent, his better half and his female OFFSPRING. It is almost sad to see venerable Oceanus, that age-old Titan, having to suffer these pigmies to disport themselves on his phiz, and serve them for entertainment.

BEST COMPLIMENTS from Jenny and Tussy. Life at the seaside suits both of them admirably. *Addio.*

Moor

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## 333

## MARX TO LION PHILIPS[239]

IN ZALT-BOMMEL

London, 17 August 1864
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Uncle,

I found your letter waiting for me here when I came back from the British Museum yesterday evening. It was already too late for me to reply straight away. I need not tell you how alarmed I and all the family were by the contents of your letter.[623] One thing we failed to understand. Why didn't you leave the house instantly with Nettchen[a]? I would advise you to do so even now. When the same thing happened in my family, I immediately sent the children away; and the giantess[b] can be nursed perfectly well without you. Why court danger unnecessarily? You will forgive me for interfering, but I feel too worried about you TO MINCE MATTERS. In fact, I am sorry that I am not with you in person, for this disease has no effect upon me, as I know from experience and, had you really insisted on not leaving the house (BUT WHY NOT?), I could have stood by you at this time of crisis, for in such crises two are better able than one, and three better able than two, TO KILL TIME AND ROUGH IT.

I have written to Nettchen about our own recent doings,[42] and she will pass on to you what little is worth mentioning. On the

[a] Antoinette Philips - [b] a servant in the Philips household

whole, things are going quite well here and all members of the family are reasonably fit.

Just now there's a political and social lull here. Everyone who can, makes off, either abroad or to seaside resorts in this country. The monotony is broken only by daily reports of terrible RAILWAY ACCIDENTS. Capital over here isn't as much subject to police supervision as on the Continent, and hence it's of no concern whatever to the RAILWAY DIRECTORS HOW MANY PEOPLE ARE KILLED DURING AN EXCURSION SEASON, IF ONLY THE BALANCE LOOKS TO THE COMFORTABLE SIDE. All attempts to make these RAILWAY kings responsible for their HOMICIDAL NEGLECT OF ALL PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES have hitherto come to grief as a result of the great influence exerted by the RAILWAY INTEREST in the HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Another source of distraction over here is the ANXIETY PREVAILING IN MERCANTILE CIRCLES BECAUSE OF THE RISE OF THE RATE OF DISCOUNT! It is certain that, if the present RATE OF DISCOUNT remains at its present high for a few more weeks, there will be a great CRASH among the myriads of SWINDLING JOINT STOCK COMPANIES, which have been springing up like mushrooms this year. Already, here and there in the CITY a major bankruptcy heralds the approaching storm.

I recently had an opportunity of looking at a very important scientific work, Grove's *Correlation of Physical Forces.* He demonstrates that mechanical motive force, heat, light, electricity, magnetism and CHEMICAL AFFINITY are all in effect simply modifications of the same force, and mutually generate, replace, merge into each other, etc. With great skill he dismisses such odious metaphysical-physical phantasms as '*latent* heat' (as good as 'invisible light'), electric 'fluid' and similar verbal *pis aller*[a] which come in handy as understudies in place of ideas.

I hope to have good tidings of you soon. So much am I taken up with thoughts of you that I am unable to compose myself sufficiently to read the important AMERICAN NEWS today.

The whole family send their warmest regards. Kindly remember me to Jettchen, the doctor, Fritz[b] *et cie.*

Your affectionate nephew

K. M.

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[a] last resort - [b] Henriette Sophia van Anrooij, Antonie Johannes Wouters van Anrooij, Friedrich Philips

## 334

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 31 August 1864

DEAR Frederick,

I returned from Ramsgate[a] exactly three weeks ago today. The trip to Holland has fallen through, because a maid in my uncle's[b] household suddenly contracted smallpox.

Last week my wife had a severe attack of cholerine which did, for a spell, look like becoming dangerous. Yesterday she left for Brighton (solo).

I have sundry letters from Liebknecht here which, however, I shall not send as I don't know whether you are in Manchester. The enclosed scrawl by Collet[c] will amuse you, and, should you not be there, it doesn't really matter. What naïveté on C.'s part! Since (to use an Austrian construction) I had done a long article on the RUSSIAN CLAIMS for him, which he *didn't* print, he expects me to take an interest in his ridiculous rubbish.

The enclosed letter from Elsner is in reply to my wife's asking him for biographical notes on Lupus.[d]

I've been operative again for a couple of days. Before that I was still troubled with sickness and INCAPABLE. If you haven't left yet, let us know at once. We hope to see you on your way through at any rate. The children send you their love. Jenny can hardly wait to show you her GREENHOUSE.

I haven't yet quite made up my mind about the Schleswig-Holstein affair, and more facts will be needed before a clear picture can be gained of it. You were right when you predicted the rebirth of the Holy Alliance.[e] Bonaparte would seem to have a strong 'inclination AT LEAST' to make 'a fourth in the alliance'.[f] Since the outbreak of the Polish revolution to date, the utter despicability of the fellow has Manifested itself in the clearest and most genuine light.[624]

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[a] See this volume, p. 549. - [b] Lion Philips - [c] Marx apparently means the item [C. D. Collet,] 'Groundlessness of Any Claim of Russia to Holstein-Gottorp' in *The Free Press*, Vol. XII, No. 5, 4 May 1864. - [d] See this volume, pp. 588-89. - [e] See this volume, pp. 505-06. - [f] Paraphrase of a passage from Schiller's ballad *Die Bürgschaft*.

I've had an opportunity of looking at Grove's *Correlation of Physical Forces*. He is beyond doubt the most philosophical of the English (and indeed German!) natural scientists. Our friend Schleiden has an inborn proclivity for *fadaise*,[a] although he, by mistake, discovered the cell.

Herewith Pieper's card.[625] It accidentally fell into Liebknecht's hands and he has returned it to me.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Be so good as to send me Ernest Jones's Manchester address. DON'T FORGET!

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## 335

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 2 September 1864

Dear Moor,

I had assumed from your last letter[b] that you'd be in the depths of the Dutch fens, hence my pertinacious silence. I couldn't find your address in Holland. I sent your wife the watch and chain on 6 August, in a box, by registered mail, and trust it arrived safely.

I intend to travel from Hull to Hamburg next Thursday, the 8th, or Saturday, the 10th September, in order to take a look at OUR NEW PROPERTY in Schleswig and Holstein and shall, provided there are no passport difficulties, also go from Lübeck to Copenhagen. I shall not be returning before the end of September and, if at all feasible, shall spend a day in London on the way back.

The PARTNERSHIP business has at last been settled, and the contracts signed,[c] so I hope to have 5 years' peace from that direction.

We have left our house in Tennant Street[626] and have been living for the past fortnight about 500 paces further along, in a

[a] inanity - [b] See this volume, p. 549. - [c] ibid., p. 548.

somewhat larger house with 2 living-rooms downstairs; thus we have bettered ourselves after much the same fashion as you did by your last removal. The address is 86 Mornington Street, Stockport Road, Manchester. Letters to be addressed to me by name as before.

Jones's address is 52 Cross Street, Manchester.

The Danes still believe, or rather fear, that a personal union will be established and, since editors Bille, of the *Dagbladet,* and Ploug, of the *Faedrelandet,* are both deputies and undoubtedly have good sources, and, since the present ministers are also good Russians, I feel convinced that powerful intrigues towards that end are being conducted by Russia. However, Monsieur Bismarck certainly has other things in view and, if he is to gain positive advantages, i.e. if he is to mediatise Schleswig-Holstein,[627] I think he will need the Augustenburg chap[a] pretty badly. This much is certain, never has Prussian dynastic policy involving the partition of Germany along the Main been so insolently advocated, and as for the rotten liberal gang, they seem to be taking quite kindly to it. Should this be the case—and I shall find out easily enough in Germany—the Prussian bourgeoisie will be giving us a tremendous lever for the next SET-TO. I am sure by the way that Elsner is right, at least about the old provinces[628] being intolerably flushed with victory. Indeed, I shall take care not to go there. It will be bad enough even on the Rhine.

To the worthy Gottfried's[b] intense alarm, I told him about Monsieur Bonaparte's ardent desire to join the Holy Alliance[c] on the very day the matter became known. The fellow's bound to come to a bad end. To ruminate perpetually about 'business' is very aging, as I can see from Gottfried, who has much the same attitude to trade as B. has to politics, and whose train of thought is also similar. As the years go by, one dreams of retirement and, if it's not feasible, one's health suffers. *N'est pas Palmerston qui veut.*[629] *Ce cher*[d] Bonaparte is, I should say, very much ON THE DECLINE. So much the better; once he starts to flag, he'll soon be done for.

Best wishes to the girls. But why didn't you drop me a couple of lines to say you were not going to Holland and that your wife was ill?

Your

F. E.

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[a] Friedrich of Augustenburg - [b] Gottfried Ermen - [c] See this volume, p. 552. - [d] That dear

# 336

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 September 1864

Dear Frederick,

Yesterday afternoon I received a letter from Freiligrath, of which copy below; from it you will see that Lassalle has been gravely wounded in a duel in Geneva. I went to see Freiligr. that same evening. However, he had not received any more telegrams. Incidentally, he told me—*entre nous*[a]—that his bank was in a state of crisis, aggravated by the affair in Geneva and the role Fazy had played in the same.[630]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.[b]

'Dear Marx,

'I have just had a letter from Klapka in Geneva, containing the sad news that, on 30 August, Lassalle fought a duel in Geneva with a Wallachian pseudo-prince[c] and was mortally wounded. Herewith the details from K.'s letter....

'"Lassalle had been conducting a love-affair here, though with perfectly honourable intentions as he wished to marry the girl,[d] the daughter of the Bavarian envoy, von Dönniges. The father objected to the marriage, the girl deceived poor Lassalle; a man to whom she had been previously engaged, the above-mentioned pseudo-prince, arrived from Berlin; then came explanations, an unpleasant exchange of letters, and a challenge ensued. Lassalle's seconds were Colonel Rüstow and my fellow countryman, General Count Bethlen. Lassalle, as befitted a man of his reputation and political position, behaved with no less courage than dignity. He was shot in the stomach and is now laid up at the Hôtel Victoria with his life hanging in the balance. Unfortunately for him, the bullet is lodged deep in the body, so the wound might well become gangrenous. I went to see him at once upon my arrival and found him dictating his will, but otherwise calm and resigned to death. I am exceedingly sorry for him; often one does not get to know a person until his end is near at hand.

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[a] between ourselves - [b] There follows the text of Freiligrath's letter in Marx's handwriting in the original (see also p. 557). - [c] J. von Racowitza - [d] Helene von Dönniges

Let us hope that, despite the doctors' unfavourable prognoses, he will come safely through the crisis."

'So much for Klapka.'

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## 337

## MARX TO JENNY MARX[239]

### IN BRIGHTON

[London,] 2 September 1864

Dear Jenny,

Yesterday I got a letter from Freiligrath—copy below—from which you will see that Lassalle has been gravely wounded in a duel in Geneva. We were genuinely dismayed by the news since, whatever one may say, L. is too good to go under in this way. After receiving the letter, I went to see Freiligrath, i.e. at his private address, knowing that Ida[a] was away. He seemed very 'agreeably' surprised by my visit. His daughter Louise was with him. The rest of the crew are coming back at the end of this week. Louise had been staying in Brighton for a fortnight with *Franziska Ruge*. Bearing in mind the Freilig.-Ruge, etc., connection, you should take care with your baroness's cards.[b] Ruge would be just the fellow to turn something like that to account.

Freilig. was by no means as 'moved' as he made out in his letter, but cracked his little jokes as always, even on the subject of L. He told me that his bank was in a state of crisis and that the Geneva affair in particular and the role played therein by Fazy were doing it a great deal of harm.[630] Finally, here is Tussy's LAST. It being plain from F.'s letter that L. had fought a duel on account of a lady[c] he wished to marry, Laura recalled how he told every woman he could 'only love her for 6 weeks'. So, says Tussy, 'HE IS *WARRANTED* FOR 6 WEEKS'.

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[a] Ida Freiligrath - [b] Jenny Marx had visiting cards which read, 'Mme Jenny Marx, *née* Baronesse von Westphalen'. - [c] Helene von Dönniges

Little Jenny is working like mad in her GREENHOUSE. All are well and send their love.

THE OLD ONE

F.'s letter[a]

'I have just had a letter from Klapka in Geneva. He writes:

'"Lassalle had been conducting a love-affair here, though with perfectly honourable intentions as he wished to marry the girl, the daughter of the Bavarian envoy, Mr von Dönniges. The father objected to the marriage, the girl deceived poor Lassalle; a man to whom she had been previously engaged, the above-mentioned pseudo-prince,[b] arrived from Berlin; then came explanations, an upleasant exchange of letters, and a challenge ensued. Lassalle's seconds were Colonel Rüstow and my fellow countryman, General Count Bethlen. Lassalle, as befitted a man of his reputation and political position, behaved with no less courage than dignity. He was shot in the stomach and is now laid up at the Hôtel Victoria with his life hanging in the balance. Unfortunately for him, the bullet is lodged deep in the body, so the wound might well become gangrenous. I went to see him at once upon my arrival and found him dictating his will, but otherwise calm and resigned to death. I am exceedingly sorry for him; often one does not get to know a person until his end is near at hand. Let us hope that, despite the doctors' unfavourable prognoses, he will come safely through the crisis."

'So much for Klapka. I cannot but confess' (what an affected way of putting it—as though he was on the rack!) 'that I was deeply affected by the news and immediately telegraphed Klapka, asking him to convey my sympathy and grief to Lassalle, if he should still be alive. Klapka will reply by telegraph and I shall immediately pass on to you anything I learn.'

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[a] The copy of the letter is in Marx's handwriting. - [b] J. von Racowiţa

# 338

## ENGELS TO MARX[369]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 September 1864
86 Mornington Street,
Stockport Road

Dear Moor,

Your telegram[631] arrived yesterday even before I had opened your letter, my attention having first been claimed by all kinds of business. You can imagine how surprised I was by the news. Whatever Lassalle may have been in other respects as a person, writer, scholar—he was, as a politician, undoubtedly one of the most significant men in Germany. For us he was a very uncertain friend now and would, in future, most certainly have been our enemy; but nevertheless, it's very galling to see how Germany destroys all those in the extreme party who are in any way worth their salt. What jubilation there will be amongst the manufacturers and amongst the Progress swine, for L. was indeed the only man actually inside Germany of whom they were afraid.

But what an extraordinary way to lose one's life: To go and fall seriously in love with a Bavarian envoy's daughter[a]—this WOULD-BE Don Juan—, ask for her hand, clash with an ex-rival,[b] not to say Wallachian swindler, and get himself shot dead by the same. Such a thing could only happen to L., with his strange and altogether unique mixture of frivolity and sentimentality, Jewishness and chivalresquerie. How could a political man like him exchange shots with a Wallachian adventurer?

You can see with what speed the news travelled from the fact that his death had already been announced on Thursday evening in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, which arrived here at midday yesterday[c]—2 hours after your telegram.

What do you think of things in America? Lee is making masterly use of his fortified camp at Richmond, and small wonder, this being already the third campaign to revolve around it.[632] He is pinning down Grant's massive force with comparatively few men and is employing the better part of his own troops for offensive action in West Virginia and as a threat to Washington and

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[a] Helene von Dönniges - [b] J. von Racowiţa - [c] Saturday

Pennsylvania. A first-class object-lesson for the Prussians, who could learn from it down to the last detail how to conduct a campaign centred upon the fortified camp of Coblenz, but who are, of course, far too arrogant to learn anything from these improvised generals. Grant—discharged from the army for drunkenness 6 years ago when a lieutenant, subsequently a bibulous engineer in St. Louis—has much UNITY OF PURPOSE and considerable contempt for the lives of his cannon-fodder; he would also seem to be very resourceful as a *small-scale* strategist (i.e. day-to-day operations), but I look in vain for any signs that he has enough breadth of vision to be able to survey the campaign as a whole. It seems to me that the campaign against Richmond is on the point of collapse; the impatience with which G. is attacking now in one place now in another, but nowhere proceeding methodically with saps and mines is a bad sign. Altogether, so far as the Yankees are concerned, the engineering branch would seem to be in a poor state; for this calls, not only for theoretical knowledge, but also for a tradition of practice which cannot be readily improvised.

Whether Sherman will cope with Atlanta seems doubtful, but his chances are, I think, rather better.[633] Skirmishing by guerrillas and cavalry to his rear are unlikely to do him much harm. The fall of Atlanta would be a hard blow for the South, Rome would fall at the same time and that's where their gun foundries, etc., are; in addition, the railway connection between Atlanta and South Carolina would be lost.

Farragut is the same as always. The fellow knows what he's about. But whether Mobile itself will fall is very doubtful. The town is very strongly fortified and can, so far as I know, only be taken from the landward side, since vessels of deep draught can't approach near enough. But how stupid to split up the attacking forces on the coast, where Charleston and Mobile are being attacked simultaneously instead of one after the other, but each time with all available forces.

I don't set much store by the peace-talk that is now so prevalent. Not even by the negotiations allegedly conducted direct by Lincoln. All this I regard as an electioneering ploy. As things now stand, I should say that Lincoln's re-election is fairly certain.[634]

My mother is at Ostende and will be going home again on Saturday,[a] as a result of which news I have changed my travelling arrangements[b] and shall be leaving for Ostende on Thursday

[a] 11 September - [b] See this volume, p. 553.

evening. I'm afraid I shall only be able to catch the night train to London which gets in before 6 a.m. But, if I can manage it, I shall take the 4.15, thus getting to Euston station at 9.15, when I shall either go straight on to Dover (*s'il y a moyen*[a]), or spend the night at the hotel at London Bridge Station. If the latter, I shall write to you beforehand, in which case we might be able to meet.[635] Meanwhile, write and tell me what you think about America.

Best wishes to the GIRLS.

Your
F. E.

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## 339

## MARX TO ENGELS[369]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 September 1864

DEAR FREDERICK,

During the past few days my thoughts have been damnably preoccupied with Lassalle's misfortune. After all, whatever else he may have been, he was one of the *vieille souche*[b] and the foe of our foes. And then the thing came so unexpectedly that it's hard to believe so noisy, STIRRING, PUSHING a person is now dead as a door-nail and compelled to hold his tongue ALTOGETHER. As regards the cause of his death, you are perfectly right.[c] It is one of the many indiscretions he committed in the course of his life. WITH ALL THAT, I am sorry that our relationship should have been clouded in recent years, though the fault lay with him. On the other hand, I am very glad that I resisted every incitement from whatever quarter and never attacked him during his 'year of triumph'.[636]

Heaven knows, our ranks are being steadily depleted, and there are no reinforcements in sight. I'm convinced, by the by, that this catastrophe would never have happened had L. not consorted with MILITARY ADVENTURERS and *révolutionnaires en gants jaunes*[d] in Switzer-

[a] if it can be done - [b] old stock - [c] See this volume, p. 558. - [d] kid-glove revolutionaries

land. But he was *fatalement* drawn again and again to this Coblenz of European revolution.[637]

The 'Bavarian envoy's daughter'[a] is none other than the daughter of Dönniges of Berlin, a fellow university demagogue[638] of Rutenberg and co.'s, originally one of that little weed Ranke's *jeunes*[b] GENTS—or rather, since they were no GENTLEMEN, *jeunes gens*[c]—whom he got to edit beastly old German imperial annals,[d] etc. What that capering little troll Ranke regarded as wit—playful anecdotalism and the attribution of all great events to mean and petty origins—was strictly forbidden these YOUNG MEN FROM THE COUNTRY. They were supposed to stick to what was 'objective' and leave wit to their master. Our friend Dönniges was regarded as something of a rebel, since he contested Ranke's monopoly of wit, in deed if not word, and showed *ad oculos*[e] in various ways that he, no less than Ranke, was a born 'valet' of 'history'.[639]

Well, I wonder what will become of the organisation built up by L.[640] Herwegh, that platonic friend of 'labour' and practical friend of the 'Muses', isn't the right man. In general, none of its lesser leaders are anything but RUBBISH. According to what Liebknecht writes, the Schulze-Delitzsch Association in Berlin[641] can now boast no more than 40 MEMBERS. How things stand over there is clear from the fact that our Wilhelm Liebkn. is A CONSEQUENTIAL POLITICAL PERSONAGE. Should L.'s death lead fellows like Schulze, etc., to make insolent remarks about the deceased, we can only hope that L.'s official supporters conduct themselves in such a way as to enable us to enter the lists IF NECESSARY. I must now find out who has his correspondence. I shall at once obtain an INJUNCTION—for already the mob of memoir vultures such as Ludmilla,[f] etc., are circling round these literary remains—prohibiting the publication of a single line of mine or yours. If necessary, this can be legally enforced in Prussia.

So far as America is concerned, I consider the present moment, *entre nous*,[g] to be extremely critical. If Grant suffers a major defeat, or Sherman wins a major victory, so ALL RIGHT. Just now, at election time, a chronic series of small CHECKS would be dangerous. I fully agree with you that, to date, Lincoln's re-election is pretty well assured, *still 100 to 1*.[h] But election time in a country which is

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[a] Helene von Dönniges (see this volume, p. 558) - [b] young - [c] young men - [d] *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs unter dem Sächsischen Hause.* Herausgegeben von Leopold Ranke, Bd. 1-3, Berlin, 1837-1840. - [e] patently - [f] Ludmilla Assing - [g] between ourselves - [h] See this volume, pp. 559-60.

the archetype of democratic humbug is full of hazards that may quite unexpectedly defy the logic of events (an expression which Magnus Urquhartus considers no less idiotic than 'THE JUSTICE OF A LOCOMOTIVE'). An armistice would seem to be quite essential to the South, if it is to be saved from complete prostration. It was the first to raise this CRY, not only in its northern organs, but actually in those of Richmond, although, now that the said cry has evoked an echo in New York, the *Richmond Examiner* is scornfully tossing it back to the Yankees.[312] It is altogether symptomatic that Mr Davis should have decided to treat Negro soldiers as 'prisoners of war'—the last official order of his war secretary.[a]

Lincoln has at his disposal considerable means for achieving election. (Needless to say, the peace proposals made by him are MERE HUMBUG.) The election of an opposition candidate would probably lead to a genuine *revolution*. Nevertheless, there is no mistaking the fact that during the next 8 weeks, in the course of which the matter will be decided *pro tem*, much will depend on military eventualities. This is undoubtedly the most critical moment since the beginning of the war. Once this has been SHIFTED, OLD LINCOLN CAN BLUNDER ON to his heart's content. The old man, by the by, cannot possibly 'create' generals. He'd be better able to select ministers. Yet the CONFEDERATE PAPERS attack their ministers just as the Yankees do those in Washington. Should Lincoln succeed this time—as is highly probable—it will be on a far more radical PLATFORM and in completely CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES. Then the old man will, lawyer-fashion, find that more radical methods are compatible with his conscience.

I hope to see you tomorrow! Regards to Madame Liz.[b]

Herewith a photograph of Laura. I am hourly awaiting that of Jenny, but it has not, alas, arrived yet. *Salut* OLD BOY.

Your

K. M.

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[a] James Alexander Seddon - [b] Lizzy Burns

## 340

## MARX TO SOPHIE VON HATZFELDT[239]

IN BERLIN

London, 12 September 1864
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

My Dear Countess,

You will realise how surprised, dismayed and shocked I was by the utterly unexpected news of Lassalle's death. He was one of the people by whom I set great store. For me it is all the more distressing in that of late we had no longer been in touch. The reason for this was neither *his silence* alone—for it was he who was the instigator, not I—nor my own illness, which lasted over a year and of which I only rid myself a few days ago. There were also reasons which I could tell you by word of mouth but not in writing. Let me assure you that no one can feel greater sorrow over Lassalle's untimely end than I. And, above all else, I feel for you. I know how much the deceased meant to you and what his loss must mean. One thing you can be glad of. He died young, at a time of triumph, as an Achilles.

I hope, my dear Countess, that your proud and courageous spirit will enable you to withstand this blow fate has dealt you, and that you will never doubt the wholly loyal devotion of

Your sincere friend,
Karl Marx

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# APPENDICES

## 1

## JENNY MARX TO MARX

### IN MANCHESTER[642]

[London,] 16 March 1860[a]

My Dear Karl,

A thousand thanks for the letter[42] and the SPECIE. I have not got Rheinländer's address, since you took your address book away with you. But, so as to lose no time, I have, none the less, written to him and directed the letter to Mark Lane, care of Gänsewinkel. I could not think of anybody who might be able to tell me his address, which is not indicated in his letters. If you think the letter might fail to reach him by this means, you had better write to him yourself. I shall at once betake my HUMBLE BEING to Baccalaureus and make my report. We have indeed learned of late to distinguish true and loyal friends from shams. What a difference between the lesser folk and the GRANDEES. Lassalle, by the by, has grown fearfully stupid and narrow-minded; even that modicum of lawyer's acumen he had has gone to the devil, and Heraclitus has made him hellishly DULL and dark.[b] None of his *raisonnements*[c] is valid, each overturning the last. Nothing could have given me greater pleasure than the news about your book. Russia has always been good ground for you.[643] In the long run, everything is going better than I had sometimes dared to hope in my hours of solitude. One becomes so beset by doubts and fears and in the end one despairs of everything, particularly when one thinks of the universal duplicity, baseness and cowardice—the Germans' behaviour with regard to the Humboldt CASE[644] alone is enough to

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[a] The letter, dated by Jenny Marx ''50', bears a note in Engels' handwriting saying 'Should read'60' ('Soll sein 60'). - [b] An allusion to Lassalle's book *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos*. - [c] arguments

make them worthy of being liberated, KICKED and Jena-ed[645] by Bonaparte. Oh, what a crew! Just a few lines today. A thousand greetings from your dear, good, cheerful children and your

Jenny

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## 2

## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, 14 August 1860]

Dear Mr Engels,

Moor has asked me to say that, if you possibly can, you should concoct an article[a] for him by Friday[b] or Saturday. Several have, alas, already fallen by the way, and even today's still seems to me problematical.[c] ANYTHING WILL DO. Maybe some chat about the attack on Venice—no matter what.

This week I hope to start copying the pamphlet.[d] The thing is taking ages, and I'm afraid Karl is making too *thorough* a job of it.

My pet bugbear is the 'analysis of Techow's letter'[56] and that, I should say, is where the snag lies. Everything else is making better headway.

Every day Schily and Becker send us piles of fresh documents, which are being incorporated into the thing. And I'm sorry to say that nothing has been done about finding a publisher yet. But the whole business is to be completed this week. 'And he who disbelieves it is mistaken.'[e]

Warm regards from the girls and myself.

Yours,

Jenny Marx

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[a] See this volume, p. 179. - [b] 17 August - [c] This refers to Marx's article 'The New Sardinian Loan.—The Impending French and Indian Loans'. - [d] Karl Marx, *Herr Vogt*. - [e] Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzifal*, IX.

## 3

## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, after 5 October 1860]

Dear Mr Engels,

Another proof-sheet[a] has just arrived, which Moor must look over at once and send back to the City. He has therefore asked me to tell you—in haste, as the last post goes soon—that the highly welcome £5 note has been safely received.

With warm regards from us all.

Yours,
Jenny Marx

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## 4

## JENNY MARX TO LOUISE WEYDEMEYER

Hampstead, 11 March 1861

My dear Mrs Weydemeyer,

Your kind letter arrived this morning and, so you can see how delighted I was to get it, I am sitting down straight away to write to you at some length since, from your friendly lines, I conclude that you like to hear from us, and that your recollection of us is as cordial as is ours of you. Indeed, how could such old party comrades and friends, on whom fate has imposed much the same joys and sorrows, the same sunny and gloomy days, ever become strangers, even though time and oceans have separated us? And thus from afar I hold out my hand to you as to one who is a plucky and loyal fellow fighter and fellow sufferer. Yes, my dear Mrs Weydemeyer, our hearts have often been heavy and troubled and I can imagine only too well what you have latterly had to

[a] of Marx's *Herr Vogt*

endure, what struggles and worries and deprivations, having often been through the same thing myself. But suffering tempers us and love keeps us going.

During our early years here, we did indeed suffer bitterly, though today I will not dwell upon the many dark memories, the many losses we had to endure, nor upon the dear, sweet loved ones who have gone to their rest and whose images we always bear silently and with profound sorrow in our hearts.[a] Let me tell you today about a new period in our lives which, along with much that is sad, has, nevertheless, brought many a bright moment. In 1856, I and our three remaining girls[b] made a trip to Trier. My dear mother's delight on my arrival with her little grandchildren was indescribable but, alas, of short duration. The truest and best of mothers fell sick and, at the end of eleven days' suffering, her dear, weary eyes, having rested once more in benison on myself and the children, closed for ever. Your dear husband, who knew my affectionate mother, will best be able to gauge my sorrow. After our dearly loved one had been laid to rest, I left Trier, having arranged for the division between my brother Edgar and myself of what little my dear mother had bequeathed to us. Up till then, we had been living in 3 wretched furnished rooms in London. With the few hundred talers that my mother left, after all the sacrifices she had already made on our behalf, we settled into the small house we still occupy, not far from lovely Hampstead Heath[646] (a name that you, as the translator of *The Woman in White*,[c] will no doubt recall). It is indeed a princely dwelling compared with the holes we lived in before and, although it was furnished from top to bottom for little more than £40 (in which SECONDHAND RUBBISH played a leading role), I felt quite grand at first in our SNUG PARLOUR. All the linen and what little else remained of earlier finery were redeemed from 'Uncle's'[d] and I again had the pleasure of counting the damask table napkins which are, besides, all of old Scottish descent. Although the glory did not last for long—for soon one thing after another had to make its way back to the 'POP-HOUSE' (as the children call the mysterious shop with its three golden balls)—we did, nevertheless, revel in our domestic comfortableness. Then came the first American crisis and halved our income.[265] This meant a return to a more frugal way of life

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[a] Jenny Marx means the death of her children Heinrich Guido, Franziska, and Edgar. - [b] Jenny, Laura, and Eleanor Marx - [c] A book by Wilkie Collins. - [d] the pawnbroker's shop

and debts. These last were necessary if our daughters' education, but recently begun, was to continue along the same lines as before.

And this brings me to the highlight of our existence—the brighter aspect of our lives—our dear children. I am convinced that, if your dear husband was fond of the girls even as small children, he would be truly delighted with them, now that they are well-grown, blooming young damsels. Even at the risk of your regarding me as a very complacent and indulgent mother, I cannot resist singing the dear girls' praises. They are both endowed with exceptionally warm hearts, are gifted and have becoming modesty and maidenly good manners. Little Jenny will be seventeen years old on the 1st of May. She is a girl of great charm and very attractive appearance, with her thick, shiny dark hair and equally dark, shining, gentle eyes and dark, Creole-like complexion, which has, however, acquired a genuine English bloom. Her childlike face, round as an apple, wears a sweet and good-natured expression and, when the smiling lips part to reveal her nice teeth, one forgets her not very beautiful little snub nose. Little Laura, who was fifteen years old last September, is perhaps prettier and has more regular features than her elder sister, whose very opposite she is. As tall, slender and finely built as little Jenny, she is in all other respects lighter, more radiant and transparent. The upper part of her face might be described as beautiful, so lovely is her curly, wavy chestnut hair, so sweet the dear, greenish sparkling eyes, which flicker like eternal *feux de joie*, so noble and finely shaped is her forehead; however, the lower part of her face is somewhat less regular, nor is it as yet fully developed. A truly blooming complexion distinguishes both sisters, and both are so little given to vanity that I sometimes cannot help feeling secretly surprised, the more so since the same could not be said of their mother in her earlier days, whilst still in pinafore dresses. At school they have always carried off the first prize. They are completely at home in English and know quite a lot of French. They can read Dante in the Italian and also know a bit of Spanish; only German is their weak point and, although I do everything in my power to impose an occasional German lesson upon them, they never really bow to my wishes and neither my authority nor their respect is very much in evidence. Little Jenny has a special talent for drawing and her pastels are the finest adornment of our rooms. Little Laura so neglected drawing that, to punish her, we stopped her taking lessons. On the other hand, she practises the piano with great zeal and sings German and English duets with her sister most delightfully. Unfortunately, it was only very

belatedly, some eighteen months ago, that the girls were able to begin their musical education. To obtain the money for it was quite beyond us, nor did we possess a piano; indeed, the one we have got now and which I have hired is a veritable rattle trap. The girls make us very happy with their sweet, modest behaviour. But their little sister is the idol and spoilt darling of the entire household.

The baby had only just been born when my poor, dear Edgar departed this life, and all the love we felt for the dear little boy, all our tenderness towards him, was transferred to his little sister, whom our elder daughters tended and nursed with almost maternal solicitude. Indeed, a more delightful child can hardly be imagined—pretty as a picture, guileless and with a whimsical sense of humour. A particular characteristic is her charming way of talking and story-telling. The latter has been learned from the Grimm Brothers, who are her companions by day and by night. We all of us read her the fairy tales until we can read no more, but woe betide us if so much as a syllable is left out in Rumpelstiltskin or in King Thrushbeard, or in Snow-White. The child, who has already absorbed English with the air she breathes, has also learnt German from these fairy tales and speaks it exceptionally grammatically and precisely. She is a real PET of Karl's and dispels many a care with her laughter and chatter. In the domestic sphere 'Lenchen' still remains my staunch, conscientious companion. Ask your dear husband about her, and he will tell you what a treasure she has been to me. For sixteen years now she has weathered storm and tempest with us.

Last year we suffered intense provocation in the shape of an infamous attack by the 'well-rounded character' and the vile behaviour of the entire German, American, etc., press. You would not believe how many sleepless nights and worries the whole business has caused us.[647] The case against the *Nationalzeitung* cost a great deal of money and, when Karl had finished his book,[a] he was unable to find a publisher. He had to have it printed at his own expense (£25) and, now that it has come out, it is being hushed up by the base, cowardly, venal press. I am exceedingly glad that you liked the book. Your opinion of it agrees almost word for word with that of all our friends. Needless to say, the silence quite deliberately maintained by the press has meant far fewer sales than we might rightfully have expected. In the meantime, we shall have to be content with the great encomiums

[a] *Herr Vogt*

of everyone who matters. Even opponents and enemies have acknowledged it as highly important. Bucher called it a compendium of contemporary history, and Lassalle writes to say that, as a work of art, it has given him and his friends indescribable pleasure, its fund of wit having occasioned them endless glee and delight. Engels considers it to be Karl's best book,[a] as does Lupus. Congratulations are flooding in from all sides, and even that old cur Ruge has called it a 'good piece of nonsense'. I wonder whether a similar silence is being maintained in America. It really would be too infuriating, the more so since all the newspapers there have opened their columns to stupid lies and calumnies. Perhaps your dear husband can do something about making the book known.

Hardly had I finished copying the manuscript,[b] while it was still being printed, when I suddenly became very unwell. A most frightful fever took hold of me, and the doctor had to be called in. On 20 November he arrived, examined me carefully and at length and, after a long silence, came out with the following words: * My dear Mrs Marx, I am sorry to say, you have got the smallpox—the children must leave the house immediately.* You can imagine the horror and distress of the household on hearing this pronouncement. What was to be done? Undismayed, the Liebknechts offered to take the children in, and by midday the girls, laden with their small belongings, had already betaken themselves into exile. As for me, I became hourly more ill, the smallpox assuming horrifying proportions. My sufferings were great, very great. Severe, burning pains in the face, complete inability to sleep, and mortal anxiety in regard to Karl, who was nursing me with the utmost tenderness, finally the loss of all my outer faculties while my inner faculty—consciousness—remained unclouded throughout. All the time, I lay by an open window so that the cold November air must blow upon me. And all the while hell's fire in the hearth and ice on my burning lips, between which a few drops of claret were poured now and then. I was barely able to swallow, my hearing grew ever fainter and, finally, my eyes closed up and I did not know whether I might not remain shrouded in perpetual night!

But my constitution, aided by the most tender and constant care, got the better of it and now here I sit, once more in perfect health, but with a face disfigured by scars and a dark red

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[a] See this volume, p. 231. - [b] of *Herr Vogt*

tinge—quite *à la hauteur de la mode couleur de 'Magenta'*.[a] It was not till Christmas Eve that the poor children were allowed to return to the paternal fold for which they had been yearning. Our first reunion was indescribably touching. The girls were profoundly moved and could scarcely refrain from weeping over my appearance. Five weeks before, I didn't look too bad alongside my blooming daughters. Since I was by some miracle still without a grey hair in my head and had still kept my teeth and figure, I was habitually considered to be well-preserved—but how changed was all this now! To myself I looked like a rhinoceros, a hippopotamus, which belonged in a zoological garden rather than in the ranks of the Caucasian race. But do not be unduly alarmed! Things are no longer quite so bad today, and the scars are beginning to heal. Scarcely had I been able to leave my bed than my dear, beloved Karl fell ill, laid low by excessive anxiety, worry and troubles of all kinds. For the first time, his chronic liver complaint became acute. However, God be praised, he recovered after four weeks' suffering. In the meantime, we had again been temporarily reduced to half pay by the *Tribune*[b]; instead of earning something from the book, a bill of exchange had to be paid. On top of that, there was the huge expense occasioned by this most frightful of all maladies. In short, you can imagine how things have been with us all this winter. As a result of all this business, Karl decided to make a foray into Holland, the land of his fathers, and of tobacco and cheese. He wants to see if he can wheedle some SPECIE out of his uncle. At the moment, therefore, I am a grass widow, waiting to see whether the great Dutch expedition will be successful. On Saturday, I got the first letter expressing some hopes and containing 'sixty gulden'. Such an affair is not, of course, quickly concluded and calls for careful manoeuvres, diplomacy, and proper management. Still, I hope that Karl will get something out of that country and leave it the poorer.

As soon as he meets with some SUCCESS in Holland, he intends to make a little clandestine trip to Berlin[278] in order to spy out the terrain and, perhaps, arrange for a monthly or weekly publication. Recent experience has shown us only too plainly that we cannot possibly manage without an organ of our own. Should Karl

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[a] Magenta, a deep purplish red reminiscent of the colour of blood, was fashionable in Paris in 1859. It owes its name to the North Italian town of Magenta, where the French forces defeated the Austrians in a bloody battle on 4 June 1859. - [b] See this volume, p. 252.

succeed in setting up a new party organ, he will assuredly write to your husband, asking him to send reports from America. Hardly had Karl left when our faithful Lenchen also fell ill and is still laid up. However she is on the mend. My hands are completely full therefore, and this letter has been written in the greatest HURRY. But I neither could nor would remain silent, and it has done me good to pour out my heart for once to our oldest and most loyal friends. So, I will not apologise for having written to you in such great detail and about anything and everything. My pen ran away with me, and I can only hope and wish that these scribbled lines may give you a little of the pleasure that I got when I read yours.

I immediately attended to the matter of the bill of exchange and arranged everything just as though my lord and master were here.

My girls send their love and kisses to your dear children—one Laura to the other—and in my thoughts I embrace each of them. To you yourself, my dear friend, I send my most affectionate greetings. In these hard times, you must be plucky and keep your head unbowed. The world belongs to the brave. Keep on being your dear husband's loyal, unwavering support, while remaining yourself pliable in mind and in body, the loyal, 'unrespectable' comrade of your dear children, and let us have word of you from time to time.

Your very affectionate

Jenny Marx

How often have I thought of the lovely potato soup you used to give me in Frankfurt. Unfortunately, it cannot be made here. There is no cream, and an egg beaten up in a drop of milk is not half as good. Which reminds me of Dronke, and so I shall have to start another sheet in order to give you some news of old friends. Engels is in Manchester, as before. His father is dead, he has inherited, but is engaged in a law-suit with his partner, is in the clutches of the lawyers and by no means out of the wood financially.

Lupus makes a livelihood by giving lessons in Manchester. He is just the same as ever—a decent, hardworking chap of simple habits. He is held in very high regard up there, and his main battles are fought with his landlady who, he being a bachelor of long standing, now cuts down his tea, now depletes his sugar, now interferes with his coal supply. Dronke has had a real stroke of luck, having obtained a commission agency through Garnier-Pagès which earns him nearly £1,000 a year. He has become an out-an-out philistine, boastful and repulsive; he has not behaved

nearly as well towards Karl or any of his oldest friends as might have been expected. He has a penchant for that fat philistine Freiligrath, who is still living comfortably off his post as MANAGER of a rotten bankrupt firm. He has changed considerably for the worse and has not treated us in a friendly manner![4] For political and diplomatic reasons an open breach with him is to be avoided. We maintain a factitious relationship. I have broken completely with the distaff side of the family. I am not fond of half MEASURES. So, I don't see anybody just now. Pieper has gone away and is living as a teacher in Bremen—he has come down badly in the world and become a slovenly flibbertigibbet. Yesterday, Dr Eichhoff arrived here from Berlin. He is the first refugee from the régime of 'handsome William' as the Berliners call their present sovereign. Imandt is a married man in Scotland.—Red Wolf a teacher in some God-forsaken spot—turned philistine—*aussi*[a] married, 3 children. And that is all I can remember in haste about our old acquaintances.

Well, then, that's what I call gossip! But now, and for the last time, farewell.

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## 5

## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, before 16 March 1861]

My dear Mr Engels,

How can I thank you for all the love and devotion with which you have stood by us for years now in our sorrows and afflictions? I was so happy when I saw there was five times as much as I had expected, that it would be hypocritical not to admit it, and yet my joy was as nothing compared with Lenchen's! How joyously her almost lifeless eyes lighted up when I ran upstairs and told her: 'Engels has sent £5 for your COMFORTS.'

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[a] also

It seems to me that the inflammation has gone down a bit—yesterday the doctor also thought her somewhat better, though she is still dangerously ill. The only question is whether she may not get too weak and whether some kind of haemorrhage or gangrene won't set in. The worst thing is that we are not yet allowed to give her any tonic, for all STIMULANTS likely to aggravate the inflammation must be avoided. We have all had some really anxious days and nights, and I myself have been doubly anxious since I don't really know how Karl is getting on, whether he is in Berlin, or where he is.[278] There was no letter again today.

Poor Lupus, how sorry I am for him, lying there helpless and in great pain, deprived of solicitous nursing and wholly *à la merci* of a rapacious LANDLADY, though in fact his afflictions are largely his own fault. What's the point of such awful pedantry, such conscientiousness? You ought to take the old gentleman more in hand and, above all, wean him from GIN and BRANDY, those arch-enemies of gout. Excuse this hasty note; there is so much to do and think about and today I have still to fit in a trip to town where a pawn ticket is due—BUT NEVER MIND, so long as we pull Lenchen through, and my beloved Karl soon sends good tidings.

Warm regards from the girls and from your

Jenny Marx

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## 6

## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, between 21 and 24 March 1861]

My dear Mr Engels,

Hitherto I have sent you so many epistles of complaint that I now feel impelled to bring you BETTER NEWS for once. First, so far as it is humanly possible to say, Lenchen will recover. The doctor is very satisfied with her condition and extremely optimistic. The rambling, singing, weeping and raving that so alarmed us has subsided to a great extent, and a MUTTON CHOP has just been taken

up to her. Your help enabled me to give her all the COMFORTS, a constantly warm room, wine, and even the luxury of eau de Cologne, which is such a great help in an illness like this, particularly in view of the frequent fainting fits. Besides this good news, I can at long last report the safe arrival of a letter from Moor.[42] He has been in Berlin since Sunday[a] and is staying with Lassalle, who welcomed him with the greatest affability. At one dinner he sat between the daughter of Babylon[b] (shades of Weerth[c]) and the indescribably ugly Ludmilla.[d] I wish him joy! Apart from that, he doesn't go into any details, for he was in a hurry to send off 50 talers to me. He simply says that prospects are good and that he won't come home empty-handed. I only fear that his home-coming may be somewhat further delayed. With warmest regards from us all.

Yours,
Jenny Marx

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## 7

## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, beginning of April 1861]

Dear Mr Engels,

I find it incomprehensible that Moor shouldn't have written to you yet. I had thought you were quite *au courant* with[e] the Marx FAMILY AFFAIRS, and even hoped I might learn further details from you, since this time my dear lord and master's letters to me are quite exceptionally prone to the 'lapidary style'. So far, I have had to content myself with the most sketchy outlines and the driest of FACTS; however, I do know a little more than you, and hence will hasten to pass on that modicum, the more so since it is, in the

[a] 17 March - [b] Sophie von Hatzfeldt - [c] 'Worth' in the original; the nickname 'daughter of Babylon' was used by Weerth in his letters. - [d] Ludmilla Assing - [e] knew all about

main, most satisfactory. To begin at the beginning. The uncle[a] has fallen in with all the son's[648] proposals and, as soon as Karl arrives in Bommel, will settle the financial business. Now, as to the rumours in the papers, they are all wrong, as you no doubt supposed, nor has it ever remotely occurred to Karl that the family might move to and settle down in Berlin. What he did propose to effect there, however, was his renaturalisation.[292] I don't quite understand this and don't know why Karl should be in such a hurry to become a Royal Prussian 'subject' again. I'd rather have remained a 'stray *groschen*'[b] (red Wolff's[c] late-lamented threepenny bit) a while longer. Negotiations over this have prolonged his stay in Berlin. The government wanted to settle the matter by according him Berlin citizenship with which Karl refused to be satisfied, and thus the whole business has dragged on from day to day. Today Karl writes to say that he doesn't expect to hear for certain before the 12th and until then must continue to be bored stiff. Little Izzy still seems addicted to drivelling and the speculative notion. In other respects, he really gave proof of the utmost friendship for Karl, whose inseparable companion he has been. Now, Moor would have proceeded straight from Berlin to Bommel, had he not received from his mother an invitation, which has left him undecided whether or not he should go to Trier. If he does go there, it means yet more delay before he comes home, and he could hardly be here before a fortnight is out.[278] Lassalle's head seems to be filled with dreams of a great newspaper; he also maintains that he could contribute 20,000 talers to it. But what a risky venture for Karl—a daily paper, and on the countess's own ground, too![d] I myself feel small longing for the fatherland, for 'dear', beloved, trusty Germany, that *mater dolorosa* of poets—and as for the girls! The idea of leaving the country of their precious Shakespeare appals them; they've become English to the marrow and cling like limpets to the soil of England. It's a good thing your warrant has been withdrawn[e]; thus you're free to go, after all. I assume that Schily and Imandt will be in the same category as yourself. Yesterday I had news of the former through Rheinländer. For months the poor fellow has been so ill and miserable that he finds it difficult even to write and it costs him a tremendous effort to drag himself from one place to another. His friends, it seems, had pretty well given him up and believed him to be

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[a] Lion Philips - [b] Berlin dialect in the original: 'Jroschen' instead of 'Groschen', and 'jeblieben' instead of 'geblieben'. - [c] Ferdinand Wolff - [d] Countess von Hatzfeldt intended to finance the newspaper (see this volume, pp. 252, 257, 261, 280-81, 291). - [e] See this volume, pp. 290, 291.

consumptive. He now pins his faith on Morrison's pills, that worst of all quack medicines. The extent of the havoc wrought by these poisonous pills may be gauged from the fact that he actually feels somewhat drawn to the National Association.[24] (At its last meeting here, Hans Ibeles[a] and Rudolf Schramm had a fearful set-to—Schramm launched a furious onslaught upon the reverend gentleman who, replying with priestly unction, was accorded the laurels by a good-for-nothing audience made up of clerks, Islington choristers, etc.) Rheinländer had also had a letter from Schily with news about *la Moïse*.[b] Sauernheimer,[c] the general, who had for many years been her lover, was getting married; to protect himself against Mrs Hess, who had threatened to create a public scandal in the church, he surrounded himself with a number of policemen. Mrs H. was not allowed into the church and had to content herself with parading in all her finery outside the church door. She is said to lead a very gay life and for a change, when things are bad, to do sewing for a German tailor. From time to time, she calls on Schily who can never forget having often seen her tipsy in Geneva. Besides this tragi-comical affair, he also relates that in Paris Mirès is said to have advanced Eugénie[d] vast sums for the Pope,[e] and that 'little Mathilde',[f] too, is in bad odour.

I was most interested to hear from you about the Lancashire STRIKES, since it's impossible to get a clear idea of what's going on from the newspapers.[649] At any rate, inopportune though this opposition on the part of the English workers may be, and unedifying as are its results, it is a heartening manifestation by comparison with the Prussian workers' movement and the social question in the shape it assumes over there—namely, Schulze-Delitzsch, cum the capital-loving Straubingers,[650] their savings banks and distress funds!

As regards Lenchen's health, it is improving steadily, if only very slowly. She is still very, very weak, but is already spending hours out of bed, and today she even walked up and down outside the house in the sunshine.

I am glad to hear that poor Lupus is back on his feet again. Please give him my warmest regards; similarly the girls ask me to send you their most cordial regards with this gossipy scrawl.

Let us hear from you again soon. With warm regards,

Yours,

Jenny Marx

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[a] Gottfried Kinkel; an allusion to Johanna Kinkel's book *Hans Ibeles in London*. - [b] Sibylle Hess - [c] See this volume, pp. 185, 71. - [d] Montijo - [e] Pius IX - [f] Mathilde Bonaparte

Apropos. I really cannot resist depicting for you a little scene from life in London. A week ago last Wednesday, immediately after dinner, I saw a vast concourse outside our door; all the children of the neighbourhood had gathered round a man who was lying flat on his face outside our house. Never in my life have I seen anything like it. No Irishman, in the depths of degradation, could equal this skeleton. Moreover, the man, clad in filthy rags, appeared to be unusually tall. When I arrived on the scene, neighbours had already brought out food and SPIRITS, but in vain. The man lay there motionless, and we thought he must be dead. I sent for a POLICEMAN. When the latter had arrived and taken a look at him, he at once addressed him as 'YOU MEAN IMPOSTOR!' and dealt him a blow that sent his hat flying, after which he picked him up like a PARCEL and shook him. And who did I find staring straight at me with perplexed, despairing eyes?—the Laplander[a]! You can imagine my horror. He went staggering off and I sent after him with some money which, however, he refused. He said to Marian: 'No, please, I don't need money', and set it down on a stone, then called out to the POLICEMAN, 'THAT'S FOR YOUR ATTENTION.' Sad, is it not?

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## 8

## JENNY MARX TO BERTA MARKHEIM

IN FULDA

London, 6 July [1863]

My dear Mrs Markheim,

On Saturday, just as we were about to sit down at table, I received a letter addressed in an unfamiliar hand. Being more used to getting disagreeable letters than cheerful ones, I resolved to put aside this strange luncheon guest. But the children said

[a] Anders

'open it, there may be something nice inside', and how pleasantly surprised I was, how moved and grateful when I found it was an indirect token of your existence and your affection, and that you had again been thinking of me with love, loyalty and sympathy, without so much as a reminder on my part.

I am certain that it will be some sort of satisfaction to you to learn that your unexpected contribution has helped us—indeed made it possible—to send little Jenny to a seaside resort, a course which, in the doctor's opinion, has, alas, again become a sad necessity. The poor child is again suffering from a most obstinate cough, which has failed to respond either to medicines or to the warm summer weather but which will, I trust, be banished by sea air and bathing.[a]

The other two are cheerful and well. Laura now accompanies her Papa on many of his visits to the British Museum, to which end she has been given a TICKET. The little one[b] has just moved out of the 'spelling' stage into that of 'reading with obstacles'—not exactly a race. Grimm's fairy tales are a great delight to her and Snow-White, Sleeping Beauty, King Thrushbeard and Brother Merry are now the heroes of her childish fantasies.

My dear Karl had a great deal of trouble with his liver this spring. However, despite all the setbacks, his book is now making gigantic strides towards completion.[c] It would have been finished sooner, had he kept to his original plan of limiting it to 20 or 30 sheets.[d] But since the Germans really believe only in 'fat' books,[e] and the far more subtle concentration and elimination of all that is superfluous counts for nothing in the eyes of those worthies, Karl has added a lot more historical material, and it is as a volume of 50 sheets that it will fall, like a bomb, on German soil. Alas for our German soil! Abroad, one feels almost ashamed of being a German—and as for the honour of being 'Prussian'! Could anything be more pitiful than the spectacle presented by Prussia? It is difficult to say which is the more deplorable, the king, the ministers, the camarilla—or the servile populace and, above all, the miserable, cowardly, toadying, silent press! One often feels tempted to turn away in disgust from all politics, and indeed I wish we could observe the scene purely as 'amateurs'; but for us, unfortunately, it always remains a vital question.

Karl hopes to go to Germany in September. Perhaps he will see Dr. K.[f] then, too, and will be in your vicinity as well. Do, please,

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[a] See this volume, p. 483. - [b] Eleanor Marx - [c] See this volume, pp. 474, 188. - [d] ibid., p. 435. - [e] ibid., p. 380. - [f] Ludwig Kugelmann

let me have some direct news from you before long. With most heartfelt and grateful good wishes from us all and, especially, from

Your
Jenny Marx

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## 9

## JENNY MARX TO BERTA MARKHEIM

### IN FULDA

Hampstead, 12 October 1863

My dear Mrs Markheim,

On writing the date, I now see to my great dismay that I have let more than a month go by without answering your last kind letter. I got it just after we returned home from Hastings[548] and, for many petty and mundane reasons, failed to reply at once and, as you know, nothing is more dangerous in correspondence than procrastinating instead of responding to the first warm impulse of the heart and at once setting one's pen at a canter, lest the nib become encrusted with ink. I am not only pleading on my own behalf today, I must also put in a word for my lord and master, who in this respect has a much blacker list of sins with which to reproach his guilty conscience. He has, of course, received Dr Kugelmann's letter,[a] and I really have no excuse to offer for his failure to write, other than to say that, in general, he is one of the worst correspondents the world has ever known and often keeps his oldest and best friends waiting for months, even years. If he now treats Dr K. in the same manner as he does his oldest and best friends, he (Dr K.) must be good enough to make allowances for such dilatoriness, and I trust that you, my dear Mrs Markheim, will put in a good word on his behalf. Should he not write very soon, it will, I imagine, be because he hopes to see him in person in the not too distant future; just as it is his intention to

[a] See this volume, p. 461.

visit Frankfurt and call on you. For we have recently learned that an old aunt of Karl's,[a] his late father's only sister, is living in Frankfurt and would love to see him again after so many, many years.[b]

Our stay in Hastings, a delightful and beautifully situated spot, where we spent our time either *beside, upon* or *in* the sea, has done us all a great deal of good, particularly our ailing little Jenny, whose cheeks have again filled out and grown rosy.

Her cough has not quite gone, but it seldom recurs and then only in very mild form, and she has also got her appetite back. Touch wood, touch wood! And I only hope we shall spend a less wretched winter than the last one.

We are closely following the course of events in our fatherland but, with the best will in the world, I cannot share your opinion nor give myself up to sanguine hopes. Perhaps the prolonged anxiety and dismal experiences of the immediate past have clouded my mind and obscured my vision so that I see everything in darker colours and paint things grey on grey.[651]

I hope I shall soon hear from you again and, in sending you my family's warmest greetings, I bid you farewell for today.

Yours ever,
Jenny Marx

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## 10

## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, beginning of November 1863]
9 Grafton Terrace

Dear Mr Engels,

Moor sends you herewith the 'MOST NOBLE Daoud Bey's'[c] *Free Press*. It will amuse you a lot. Karl, alas, cannot write himself. For the past week he has been very unwell and is tied to the sofa.

---

[a] Esther Kosel - [b] See this volume, p. 499. - [c] David Urquhart

2 boils appeared on his cheek and back. The one on his cheek responded to the household remedies one normally uses for such things. The other, on his back, has assumed such dimensions and is so inflamed that poor Moor is enduring the most frightful pain and gets no respite either by day or by night. You can imagine, too, how depressed this business makes him. It seems as though the wretched book will never get finished.[a] It weighs like a nightmare on us all. If only the LEVIATHAN were LAUNCHED!

With warmest regards from us all.

Yours,
Jenny Marx

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## 11

## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, about 24 November 1863]

My dear Mr Engels,

It's so long since we heard from you that Karl has an ardent desire for news of you. For a week now, he would *seem* to have been out of danger. The good, strong wine and enormous meals have enabled him to withstand the pain and the debilitating effect of the heavy discharge of pus. Unfortunately, he can't sleep at all and is still having very bad nights. The doctor[b] is very satisfied with the way the complaint is progressing and hopes that the suppuration will stop in 4 to 6 days. He is now getting up from time to time and today has been conveyed from the sickroom to the living-room.

He sends you the enclosed circular from the Workers' Society as well as a letter from the 'Chair'[652]—this little thing will divert the man 'who for 15 years has fought and suffered for the working

[a] See this volume, p. 488. - [b] Allen

class'[a] (presumably he means drinking champagne with the red-haired beauty b. 1805[b]) from a course acceptable to the police to one that is unacceptable to the police.[653] Write soon. With warm regards from us all.

Yours,
Jenny Marx

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## 12

## JENNY MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BERLIN

[London, about 24 November 1863]

My dear Mr Liebknecht,

When I last wrote to your dear wife, I had little conception of the horrifying days lying immediately ahead of us. For 3 weeks my beloved Karl was *desperately ill*, for he was suffering from one of the most dangerous and painful illnesses—a CARBUNCLE on his back. I need add nothing to those few lines. You and your dear wife know how much you mean to us. Nor, even if I wanted to, could I tell you in detail all we went through during these weeks, so I will say no more and, at the behest of my beloved husband, now on the road to recovery, pass on to you the enclosed circular, issued by the Workers' Society.[652] Aside from the interest attaching to Polish affairs, it was, I believe, sent into the world to put a stop to the 'pro-police movement' on the part of certain persons.[c] The 'Chair' at once swallowed the thing hook, line and sinker, and asked for 50 copies for distribution to the communities.[d] Karl is sending it to you to make you *au fait* with the matter.

All the same, now that I have executed my task, let me just tell you how our family afflictions began. Karl had already been ailing

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[a] A quotation from a speech made by Lassalle in Solingen on 27 September 1863 as reported in the *Berliner Reform*, No. 229, 1 October 1863. - [b] Sophie von Hatzfeldt - [c] This refers to Lassalle (see end of previous letter). - [d] of the General Association of German Workers

for months, he found it intensely difficult to work and, in an attempt to find some alleviation, smoked twice as much as usual, and took three times as many pills of various kinds—BLUE AND ANTIBILIOUS, etc. About 4 weeks ago he got a boil on his cheek; though it was very painful, we got the better of it with the usual household remedies. Before it had quite gone, a similar one erupted on his back. Although it was inordinately painful and the swelling grew daily worse, we were foolish enough to believe we would be able to get rid of it with poultices, etc. Also, in accordance with German ideas, my poor Karl almost completely deprived himself of food, even eschewing the miserable 4 ALE,[a] and lived on lemonade. At last, when the swelling was the size of my fist and the whole of his back misshapen, I went to Allen. Never shall I forget the man's expression when he saw that back. He waved me and little Tussy out of the room, and Lenchen had to hold Karl while he made a deep, deep incision, a great gaping wound from which the blood came pouring out. Karl remained calm and still, and did not flinch. Then began a round of hot poultices, which we have now been applying night and day every 2 hours, like clockwork, for the past fortnight. At the same time, the doctor ordered 3-4 glasses of port, and half a bottle of claret daily, and four times as much food as usual. The object was to restore the strength he had lost so as to help him withstand the frightful pain and the debilitating effect of the heavy discharge of pus. That is how we have spent the last fortnight—I need tell you two no more. Lenchen also fell ill from worry and exertion but is a little better again today. Whence I myself drew strength, I cannot tell. The first few nights I was the only one to sit up with him, for a week I took it in turns with Lenchen, and now I sleep on the floor in his room, so as to be always at hand. How I feel, now that he's recovering, you will be able to guess.

He sends you both his cordial regards, as do my poor daughters. Please write, both of you, as soon as you can and as much as you can. He greatly enjoys getting letters. Please excuse my writing so incoherently.

Your old friend,

Jenny Marx

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[a] ale at 4d a quart

## 13

## LAURA MARX TO ENGELS[654]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 10 June 1864
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park, N.W.

Dear Sir,

I have been commissioned by Dr Marx to acknowledge the receipt of the second half of the banknotes the first half of which arrived here Yesterday. Also to express his thanks for the photographs received this morning.[a]

As to the Biography which You intend writing, he says that as You have the necessary papers etc., You can commence it at once, while he writes to Dr Elsner for further materials.[621]

I think I have now said all I have been requested to say.

I am, dear Sir,
Obediently Yours,
L. M. Secretary

F. Engels Esq.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50, Moscow, 1981

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## 14

## JENNY MARX TO KARL FRIEDRICH MORITZ ELSNER

### IN BRESLAU[b]

[London, middle of June 1864]
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Sir,

We assume you are the author of the fine obituary of our late, dear friend W. Wolff, which appeared in the *Breslauer Zeitung*.[c] My husband is anxious to write a detailed biography of him, but

[a] See this volume, p. 539. - [b] Polish name: Wrocław. - [c] [K. F. M. Elsner,] 'Kasematten-Wolff', *Breslauer Zeitung*, Morgen-Ausgabe, 24 May 1864.

has no material whatever on the earlier phases of our friend's life.[621] You would be doing him a great service if you could help him in this respect by passing on to him in as much detail as possible everything you know about Wolff, especially his childhood and the earlier part of his life. We have been on the closest terms with him ever since 1845. Hence what we are concerned with is rather the earliest period of his life. My husband, who has just recovered from a grave and very wearisome illness, has directed me to ask you, Sir, as an old and trusted friend of the deceased, to do us this kindness, and I hope that you will soon pass on to us everything you can call to mind about our dear, dear Wolff.

With cordial regards from my husband and myself.

Yours,
Jenny Marx,
*née* von Westphalen

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# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934]. Marx began his letter on a form of the General Bank of Switzerland under the letter from Freiligrath, who was manager of the bank's London branch.—3

[2] The *Cologne trial* (4 October-12 November 1852) was organised and stage-managed by the Prussian government. The defendants were members of the Communist League arrested in the spring of 1851 on charges of 'treasonable plotting'. The forged documents and false evidence presented by the police authorities were not only designed to secure the conviction of the defendants but also to compromise their London comrades and the proletarian organisation as a whole. Seven of the defendants were sentenced to imprisonment in a fortress for terms ranging from three to six years. The dishonest tactics resorted to by the Prussian police state in fighting the international working-class movement were exposed by Engels in his article 'The Late Trial in Cologne' and, in greater detail, by Marx in his pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11).—3, 22, 44, 54, 72, 80, 135, 140, 375

[3] The *German Workers' Educational Society* in London was founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other members of the League of the Just (an organisation of German craftsmen and workers, and also of emigrant workers of other nationalities). After the reorganisation of the League of the Just in the summer of 1847 and the founding of the Communist League, the latter's local communities played the leading role in the Society. During various periods of its activity, the Society had branches in working-class districts in London. In 1847 and 1849-50, Marx and Engels took an active part in the Society's work, but on 17 September 1850 Marx, Engels and a number of their followers withdrew because the Willich-Schapper sectarian and adventurist faction had succeeded in temporarily increasing its influence in the Society and caused a split in the Communist League (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 483 and 632). In the late 1850s, Marx and Engels resumed their work in the Society. It existed until 1918 when it was closed down by the British government.—3, 94, 103, 232, 342, 517, 533

[4] This refers to the refusal by Freiligrath, former member of the Communist League and an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, to help Marx unmask the Bonapartist agent Carl Vogt. In a statement published in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* on 15 November 1859, he declared that he had nothing to do with the accusations levelled at Vogt. In so doing, he virtually dissociated himself from the attempts to establish the author of the anonymous anti-Vogt flysheet *Zur Warnung*, which had been launched by Karl Blind and was falsely attributed to Marx by Vogt. Marx deals with the matter in *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17) and in his letters to Engels of 19 and 26 November 1859, and to Freiligrath of 23 and 28 November 1859 (present edition, Vol. 40).—3, 9, 11

[5] The *Association of German Men* was an organisation of German refugees in London set up after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution in Germany.—4, 309

[6] An ironic reference to Gottfried Kinkel, who had named the weekly he was publishing in London *Hermann* after Arminius (Hermann), chieftain of the old German tribe of Cheruscans.—4

[7] *County-court*—local judicial court for civil actions in England.—4, 327, 399

[8] Marx means his work on the second instalment of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (see also Note 35).—4, 17, 23, 274, 280

[9] On 26 November 1859, the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* (No. 95-96) carried a review of Engels' anonymously published pamphlet *Po and Rhine*. It endorsed Engels' critique of the theory that Germany's security depended on German domination of Northern Italy.—4

[10] In October 1859, the Abolitionist farmer John Brown, at the head of a band of eighteen (including five Blacks), seized a government arsenal of Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in an attempt to provoke an insurrection of slaves in the Southern states. The band was surrounded by regular troops and almost wholly destroyed. Brown was seriously wounded. He and five of his comrades were tried and hanged in Charleston. The Brown uprising started a mass anti-slavery movement (see Note 12).—4, 7

[11] Marx followed the movement for the emancipation of peasants in Russia using a variety of sources, among them the Prussian *Allgemeine Zeitung*. In the present case, he presumably drew on an article 'Rußland und Polen', reprinted in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of 6 December 1859 (No. 340) from the *Neue Hannoversche Zeitung*, and the article by the *Allgemeine Zeitung*'s St. Petersburg correspondent 'Zur russischen Leibeigenschaftsfrage und die Finanz-Verhältnisse des Staats', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 3 (supplement) and No. 5 (supplement), 3 and 5 January, 1860.—4

[12] There was an abortive black uprising in the town of Bolivar, Missouri, in December 1859. Marx refers to a note published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 30 December 1859 (No. 5830).—4, 7

[13] In his letter of 16 December 1859 (it has not been found) Marx probably asked Szemere to help him out of his financial difficulties. In his reply of 29 December Szemere informed Marx that his efforts had been to no avail.—5

[14] On 11 December 1859 Szemere wrote to tell Marx that he intended to publish a pamphlet on Hungary and asked Marx to help him in having it translated into English and published in Britain. Szemere's pamphlet appeared in Paris in 1860 under the title *La Question hongroise (1848-1860)* and in London, in

Bentley's publishing house, the same year, under the title *Hungary, from 1848 to 1860*.—5

[15] Marx means his letter to Lassalle of 22 November 1859 (see present edition, Vol. 40) criticising the latter's tactics on the question of Germany's and Italy's unification as set forth in Lassalle's pamphlet *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preußens. Eine Stimme aus der Demokratie* (see Note 52).—6, 11, 17

[16] An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: Marx and Engels, *On the United States*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979.—7

[17] Marx sent articles to the *New-York Daily Tribune* on Tuesdays and Fridays; 27 January 1860 was Friday.—7

[18] At Cabo Negro (a mountain ridge in Morocco) a battle of the 1859-60 Spanish-Moroccan war was fought in mid-January 1860 (see also Engels' article 'The Moorish War', present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 554-55).—7

[19] This refers to press reports about the Prussian government's intention to submit a bill to the Diet providing for longer army service and a bigger military budget. The bill, tabled on 9 February 1860, was rejected by the Diet's liberal majority, and this precipitated a Constitutional crisis (see Note 290). The proposed reform of the Prussian army was discussed by Engels in the articles 'Preparations for War in Prussia' (present edition, Vol. 17) and 'The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party' (Vol. 20).—7

[20] On 24 January 1860, Britain and France signed a commercial treaty which envisaged a temporary reduction of import duties on English cottons and woollens and French silks and the lifting, from July 1860, of duties on imported raw materials.—8

[21] This refers to Fischel's pamphlet *Despoten als Revolutionäre*, published anonymously in Berlin in 1859. The same year it appeared in English under the title *The Duke of Coburg's Pamphlet*. See also p. 153 of this volume.—8

[22] When writing this letter, Marx evidently had not yet received Vogt's pamphlet. What he calls the introduction was actually the second section. The first contained a verbatim report of the court proceedings against the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in Augsburg in October 1859. Vogt had sued the newspaper for reprinting, in June of that year, Karl Blind's anonymously published pamphlet *Warnung zur gefälligen Verbreitung*, which exposed him as a Bonapartist agent (Marx calls it, for brevity, *Zur Warnung*; for details of it see his polemic *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 111-32).

Marx likens Vogt's piece to the petty-bourgeois democrat Müller-Tellering's libellous pamphlet *Vorgeschmack in die künftige deutsche Diktatur von Marx und Engels* (Cologne, 1850).—9

[23] By the *gang of imperial rascals* (Reichshalunkenbande) Marx means Karl Vogt and his associates, an allusion to the fact that Vogt had been a member of the Imperial Regency (see Note 154). Marx also often sarcastically refers to him as the 'Imperial Vogt', the German word *Vogt* being the medieval name for bailiffs appointed by the German Emperor.—10, 12, 23, 34

[24] The *German National Association* (Deutscher National-Verein) was the party of the German liberal bourgeoisie favouring the unification of Germany (without Austria) under the aegis of the King of Prussia. The Association was set up in Frankfurt am Main in September 1859. Its supporters were nicknamed Little Germans.—10, 160, 164, 192, 200, 319, 342, 383, 393, 511, 580

[25] Lassalle took an unseemly stand on Marx's controversy against Vogt. In November 1859 he had virtually prevented Marx from publishing a declaration against Vogt and Blind in the *Volks-zeitung* (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 8-9). In this connection Marx wrote to Engels, on 26 November, that Lassalle was, in effect, 'piping the same tune as Vogt' (present edition, Vol. 40, p. 542). In late January 1860, after the publication of Vogt's libellous pamphlet *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung,* Lassalle wrote to tell Marx of his displeasure with the latter for sharing the opinion, current in democratic circles, that Vogt was a paid Bonapartist agent. In a letter written at the beginning of February, Lassalle sought to dissuade Marx from bringing a lawsuit against the *National-Zeitung* for reprinting Vogt's calumnies.—10, 252, 257, 478

[26] In 1859 and 1860, Fischel was editing in Berlin *Das Neue Portfolio. Eine Sammlung wichtiger Documente und Aktenstücke zur Zeitgeschichte,* a collection of diplomatic documents modelled on *The Portfolio, or a Collection of State Papers,* published by Urquhart in London from 1835 to 1837.

Excerpts from Marx's *Lord Palmerston* (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 341-407) appeared in Fischel's *Portfolio,* Hefte I and II, 1859-60.—10, 152

[27] The *Foreign Affairs Committees* were public organisations run by the Urquhart and his supporters in a number of English cities between 1840s and 1860s, mainly with the aim of opposing Palmerston's policies.—10, 95

[28] This referts to the pamphlet *Juchhe nach Italia!,* written by Bamberger in Paris and published, with Vogt's help, anonymously by Reinhold Waist in Frankfurt am Main, but marked 'Bern und Genf, Vogts Verlag, 1859' on the title page. It contained no direct polemic against Engels' articles on the Italian campaign in the *Volk* (see present edition, Vol. 16).—10

[29] On 12 January 1860, Hermann Orges, editor of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung,* published a statement in that paper refuting the fabrications about him in Vogt's pamphlet *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung* (see also Engels' letter to Marx of 31 January 1860 in this volume).—10

[30] Marx means the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 3) whose offices were in Great Windmill Street, Soho, in the 1850s.—11

[31] This refers to Vogt's pamphlet *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung.* On Tellering's 'concoction' see Note 22.—12

[32] In a letter written in late January 1860, Lassalle informed Marx that Vogt had, on his own admission, been receiving money from Hungarian revolutionaries. At the same time, Lassalle sought to exonerate Vogt and expressed doubts about his having been bought directly by Louis Bonaparte's government.—12

[33] Here Marx replies to Lassalle's attacks on Liebknecht. In the above-mentioned letter Lassalle urged Marx to break off party relations with Liebknecht because Liebknecht contributed to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung.*—12

[34] Adolphe Chenu and Lucien de la Hodde were police spies and agents provocateurs, the former the author of the libellous concoction *Les Conspirateurs. Les sociétés secrètes. La préfecture de police sous Caussidière. Les corps-francs,* the latter the author of the equally libellous *La naissance de la République en février 1848,* both published in Paris in 1850. Marx and Engels discussed the two books in a joint review in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.*

*Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, No. 4, 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 311-25).—12, 15

35 Marx means the initial plan of his economic work, which envisaged the following books: 1) Capital, 2) Landed Property, 3) Wage Labour, 4) The State, 5) Foreign Trade and 6) The World Market (see Marx's Preface to his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, present edition, Vol. 29). Book I was to comprise four sections: 1) Capital in General, 2) The Competition of Capitals, 3) Credit, 4) Joint-Stock Capital. The first instalment of Book I, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, published in 1859, contained the two introductory chapters of the section 'Capital in General' (a chapter on the commodity and a chapter on money). The second instalment was to be wholly devoted to capital in general.—12, 435

36 In a letter written late in January 1860, Lassalle told Marx he considered it necessary to postpone the writing of his own work on political economy until the publication of Marx's book. Lassalle's book appeared in Berlin in 1864 under the title *Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch, der ökonomische Julian, oder: Capital und Arbeit*.—12

37 This refers to Vogt's lawsuit against the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. See also Note 22.—13

38 In 1860, Marx, engrossed in writing his polemic against Karl Vogt, interrupted the preparation of the second instalment of Book I of his economic work (see Note 35). It was not until the summer of 1861 that he resumed his economic studies.—14

39 This refers to the Great Exhibition, the first world industrial and commercial fair, held in London from May to October 1851.—14

40 An order to this effect was issued by the Elberfeld District President (Landrat) on 20 January 1860.—15

41 The *Landwehr* was part of Prussia's armed forces and consisted of men who had done their term of active service and service in the reserve. Under Prussia's laws, it was only raised in the event of war or the threat of war. The Prussian government's order to call up the Landwehr in the Rhine Province, issued at the beginning of May 1849, precipitated a popular uprising in Rhenish Prussia. In Elberfeld, Iserlohn, Solingen and a number of other cities, the Landwehr joined the movement in support of the Imperial Constitution. After the defeat of the uprising, many of the insurgents were forced to emigrate. Landwehr members guilty of breaches of army discipline were subject to the jurisdiction of courts-martial. This applied also to ex-members of the Landwehr returning to Prussia from exile.—15, 249, 290, 299

42 This letter by Marx has not been found.—15, 17, 33, 34, 40, 71, 77, 104, 118, 123, 130, 163, 182, 192, 196, 209, 210, 291, 341, 353, 355, 422, 434, 460, 479, 550, 567, 578

43 For Vogt's attacks on Wolff, see Marx's *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 72-73.—16

44 In late 1859, the German socialist Eichhoff was brought to trial by the Prussian authorities for publishing in the London weekly *Hermann* a series of articles exposing the part played by Wilhelm Stieber, chief of the Prussian political police, in organising the trial of the Communist League members in Cologne in 1852.

In December 1859, Hermann Juch, the editor of the weekly, asked Marx for information on the Cologne trial, which he needed for Eichhoff's defence (see Marx's letter to Engels of 13 December 1859, present edition, Vol. 40 and also pp. 80-81 of this volume). In May 1860 a Berlin court sentenced Eichhoff to 14 months imprisonment.—16, 22, 54, 74, 80, 140, 197

45 In his letter of 15 January 1860, Szemere told Marx that, if he was very busy, he, Szemere, could himself find a translator for his book *La Question hongroise (1848-1860)* (see also Note 14).—17

46 This refers to the war between the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont) and France on the one hand, and Austria on the other (29 April to 8 July 1859).—18, 103, 125, 181

47 The supplement to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 28 (28 January 1860), carried statements by its editor Altenhöfer and a journalist called Häfner denying, in rather vague terms, the accusations against them in Vogt's pamphlet *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*.—18, 34

48 Lassalle's letter to Marx of late January 1860 (see notes 32 and 33).—18

49 This refers to the separate peace concluded by Prussia with the French Republic in Basle on 5 April 1795. It was the result of French victories and French diplomatic skill in exploiting the differences between members of the first anti-French coalition, above all Prusso-Austrian friction. The peace with Prussia initiated the collapse of the coalition; Spain concluded a separate peace treaty with France in Basle on 22 July 1795.—19

50 Late in January 1860, Lassalle wrote to Marx (see notes 32, 33 and 48) that Vogt's pamphlet *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung* had been printed in 3,000 copies and all had been sold.—19

51 Engels evidently means the book Lassalle was writing, *Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch...* (see Note 36).—20

52 An allusion to the fact that, during the 1859 Italian war, Lassalle in effect supported Napoleon III's interference in Italy's affairs, camouflaged as struggle for its 'liberation', and was in agreement with Vogt on this issue. Lassalle set forth his views on the problem in the most concentrated form in his pamphlet *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preußens. Eine Stimme aus der Demokratie*, published anonymously in Berlin at the beginning of May 1859. In it, he also backed the Prusso-Bonapartist policy of neutrality for the German states in the Italian war and favoured the defeat of Austria, which Prussia should exploit to unite Germany from above.—20

53 In his statement of 20 January 1860, published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 24, on 24 January, the journalist Julius Fröbel, a petty-bourgeois democrat, described Vogt as a paid Bonapartist agent, and his conduct as 'high treason against the German nation'. Engels ridicules Lassalle, who, in a letter to Marx at the end of January 1860, argued against this statement.—20

54 Engels means the annexation of Savoy and Nice by France as a result of the war it waged in alliance with Piedmont against Austria in 1859. This act exposed Napoleon III's aggressive designs.—20

55 Marx means his statement to the editor of *The Free Press* exposing petty-bourgeois democrat Blind's aiding and abetting the Bonapartist agent Vogt. It was not published in *The Free Press*, but appeared in London on

4 February 1860 as a leaflet under the title 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette' (its text is reproduced in Vol. 17 of the present edition, pp. 10-11). In a letter of 13 February 1860 (this volume, pp. 46-47) Marx informed Engels that excerpts from the statement had been printed by the Berlin *Publicist*. In some letters Marx referred to the statement as the 'English circular' or the 'circular against Blind'.—21

56 This refers to Techow's letter to Schimmelpfennig of 26 August 1850, in which Techow gave a distorted rendering of a conversation he had had with Marx (see Marx's *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 75-99).—22, 52, 58, 89, 133, 179, 568

57 Marx probably means Otto Lüning's review, published in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* on 22, 23, 25 and 26 June 1850, of the first four issues of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.* Lüning concentrated, in particular, on Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* and gave a distorted account of Marx's views on the dictatorship of the proletariat (for details see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 387-88).—22

58 Marx visited Engels in Manchester on 16 February and stayed until 25 March 1860.—22, 28

59 This refers to a note in *The Times*, No. 23533, 3 February 1860, on a statement by Vogt in connection with the annexation of Savoy and Nice then being prepared by France. To sidetrack attention from Napoleon III's real designs, Vogt declared that France was willing to let Switzerland have the neutral provinces of Savoy—Faucigny, Chablais and the Genévois—in return for the free use of the Simplon. The pro-Bonapartist content of this statement was exposed by Engels in the pamphlet *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* (present edition, Vol. 16) and by Marx in *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17, p. 195).—23, 25

60 Marx means his attempts to make the petty-bourgeois democrat Blind publicly admit that he, Blind, was the author of the anonymous flysheet *Zur Warnung* (see Note 4). This was essential because Vogt, in his pamphlet *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, had attributed the flysheet to Marx. Marx also wished to expose, in the person of Blind, the cowardice of the petty-bourgeois democrats reluctant to come out openly against Bonapartist agents (see this volume, pp. 30-32 and 37, and present edition Vol. 17, pp. 111-32).—23, 179

61 This refers to the meeting held in Brussels on 22 February 1848 by the Democratic Association to mark the second anniversary of the Cracow insurrection. Marx and Engels both made speeches (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 545-53).

The *Democratic Association* was set up in Brussels in the autumn of 1847, with the active co-operation of Marx and Engels. It consisted of proletarian revolutionaries—mainly German refugees—and radical bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats from other countries. Lucien Jottrand, a Belgian, was President, Marx was Vice-President for the Germans, and Joachim Lelewel, a leader of the democratic wing of the Polish emigration, was Vice-President for the Poles.—24, 102

62 Marx reproduced Lelewel's reply, dated 10 February 1860, in the Appendices to his *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 322).—24

63 This refers to the *Communist League*, the first German and international communist organisation of the proletariat, formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847 as a result of the reorganisation

of the League of the Just. The programme and organisational principles of the Communist League were drawn up with the direct participation of Marx and Engels. League members took an active part in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany in 1848-49. After the defeat of the revolution, the League was reorganised and continued its activities. In the summer of 1850, differences arose between the supporters of Marx and Engels and the sectarian Willich-Schapper group, which tried to impose its adventurist tactics of immediately unleashing a revolution regardless of the existing conditions and practical possibilities. The discord led to a split within the League in September 1850. Because of police persecution and arrests of League members, the activities of the League as an organisation virtually ceased in Germany in May 1851. On 17 November 1852, on a motion by Marx, the League's London District announced the dissolution of the League (see this volume, pp. 72, 82-84).—25, 44, 73, 78, 81, 92, 135

64 Engels means an address by the Cologne Central Authority to the Communist League of 1 December 1850 ('Die Centralbehörde an den Bund'), drawn up by supporters of Marx and Engels, mainly by Bürgers. It fell into the hands of the Saxon (not Hanover) police at the arrest of League member Peter Nothjung in Leipzig on 10 May 1850 and was published, in June 1851, in the *Dresdner Journal und Anzeiger* and the *Kölnische Zeitung* (not the *Hannoversche Zeitung*).—25

65 The original *Brimstone Gang* (Schwefelbande) was a students' association in Jena University in the 1770s whose members were notorious for their brawls. Later the expression Brimstone Gang came to be applied to any group of ill repute. In Geneva in 1849-50 it was also the jocular name for a small company of German refugees, inoffensive and happy-go-lucky idlers. In his pamphlet *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Vogt included Marx and his party associates in the 'Brimstone Gang', although they had nothing to do with it (for details see this volume, pp. 70-71 and Marx's *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 28-37).—28, 33, 42, 89, 121, 166, 179, 298

66 Marx was trying to make Karl Blind admit that he, Blind, was the author of the flysheet *Zur Warnung* (see notes 4 and 60). In November 1859, Johann Wiehe, compositor at Fidelio Hollinger's press, where it had been printed, was forced by Blind and Hollinger to write a statement denying Blind's authorship (for the text of the statement see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 126). Karl Vogt reproduced Wiehe's statement in his pamphlet *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*. However, on 8 February 1860, Wiehe took out an affidavit in a London police court which virtually confirmed Blind's authorship (see this volume, pp. 31-32, 37-38).—30

67 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in *The Letters of Karl Marx*. Selected and Translated with Explanatory Notes and an Introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—32, 123, 231, 242, 252, 261, 267, 283, 285, 293, 376, 474, 497, 503, 540, 542

68 Engels' pamphlet *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* was published anonymously by G. Behrend in Berlin in April 1860.—32

69 In 1858 and 1859, J. W. M. Reynolds was conducting libellous campaign against Ernest Jones, taking advantage of the latter's political blunders and vacillation (see Note 117). In 1859, Jones sued him for libel and won the case.—33

70 Later Marx learnt from Eduard Fischel's letter of 30 May 1860 that *The Daily Telegraph*'s Berlin correspondent and the author of the item 'The Journalistic Auxiliaries of Austria', which contained a summary of Vogt's libellous pamphlet, was Karl Abel.—33, 58, 75, 131

71 *Wasserpolacken*—the original name for the Oder ferrymen who were mainly natives of Upper Silesia; subsequently it became widespread in Germany as a nickname for Silesian Poles.—33

72 Marx wrote these letters to people who could supply material for his book against Vogt and his lawsuit against the *National-Zeitung*.—33

73 On Lassalle's criticism of Liebknecht see Note 33.—35

74 In mid-June 1850, Marx, through the Solingen worker Carl Wilhelm Klein, recommended to the Cologne District of the Communist League that Lassalle be admitted to the League. On 18 June, Peter Gerhard Röser, a leader of the League's Cologne District, wrote to tell Marx that the Cologne communists could not admit Lassalle because he 'persists in his aristocratic attitudes and is not as concerned for the working men's general welfare as he ought to be'.

For the accusations levelled at Lassalle by Düsseldorf workers, see Marx's letter to Engels of 5 March 1856 (present edition, Vol. 40).—35

75 This refers to the committee appointed to organise the celebrations of the centenary of Friedrich von Schiller's birth on 10 November 1859. Composed of petty-bourgeois regufees, it was headed by Gottfried Kinkel.—35, 81, 226, 236

76 Marx evidently means the plans for establishing a Schiller society in London similar to the one set up in Manchester in November 1859 in connection with the Schiller centenary (see Note 429).—35

77 The *Patriots* (Vaterlandsfreunde) was a society of German republican refugees in London in the 1850s and 1860s. It included, among others, Karl Blind, Ferdinand Freiligrath and Fidelio Hollinger.—35

78 On 11 February 1860, the compositor Vögele took out an affidavit confirming, in effect, that Blind was the author of the flysheet *Zur Warnung* (see Note 60). Marx reproduced the affidavit in *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17, p. 319).—37, 39, 47, 53, 85

79 Engels has in mind Marx's trip to Manchester (see Note 58).—39

80 Marx had sent Vögele's deposition (for its text see this volume, p. 60) and a covering letter to the Editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 3) to help the newspaper in the suit brought against it by Vogt (see Note 37).—41

81 This refers to the so-called *German-American revolutionary loan* which Kinkel and other petty-bourgeois refugee leaders sought to float among German refugees and Americans of German extraction in 1851 and 1852. The funds raised were to be used for starting an immediate revolution in Germany. To publicise the loan, Kinkel went on a tour of the United States in September 1851, but it ended in failure. Marx and Engels denounced the whole undertaking as a futile and harmful attempt to produce a revolution artificially at a time when the revolutionary movement was at a low (see, in particular, Marx's *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 313-15).—43, 98, 322

[82] The bill for the printing, by the *Free Press* publishers, of Marx's statement 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette' (see Note 55).—46

[83] Obviously, Marx had not yet received Engels' letter of 12 February 1860 informing him that his statement, 'To the Editors of the *Volks-Zeitung*. Declaration', had been published in the supplement to the *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 41, on 10 February.—47

[84] This refers to Borkheim's letter to Marx of 12 February 1860 setting forth the history of the 'Brimstone Gang' (see Note 65). Marx reproduced the letter in full in *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 29-32).—48, 71

[85] Marx means Euston Station in London.—49

[86] As can be seen from Duncker's letter to Engels of 27 February 1860, he disagreed with Engels in assessing the stand taken by the various German political parties on the Italian question and therefore insisted on *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* being published under the author's name. Engels, for his part, wanted a mere statement that the pamphlet was by the author of *Po and Rhine* (see this volume, p. 25 and Note 68).—50

[87] This refers to the refutation by Marx and Engels of the slanderous accusations levelled at the Communist League during the trial of communists in Cologne in 1852. See Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, Engels' 'The Late Trial at Cologne' (present edition, Vol. 11), and Marx's *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness* (Vol. 12).—51

[88] Engels means Vogt's lawsuit against the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* (see Note 22).—52

[89] Two letters of 16 October 1859 from Hermann Orges, editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, requesting Marx to send Vögele's statement concerning the provenance of the flysheet *Zur Warnung*. The statement was to be used as evidence against Vogt (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 123-24 and 317-18, and this volume, p. 66).—53, 63, 66

[90] In this letter Blind tried to prove that he had had nothing to do with the flysheet *Zur Warnung*. Marx reproduced the letter in his *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17, p. 122).—53

[91] A rough draft of this letter has been preserved. It was published by M. Häckel in *Freiligrath's Briefwechsel*, Berlin, 1968. The texts of the draft and final version are practically identical.—54

[92] Marx means the lawsuits he intended to bring against the Berlin *National-Zeitung* and the London *Daily Telegraph* for reprinting Vogt's libellous fabrications against himself and his associates (see also this volume, pp. 40-45, 59-76).—54, 58

[93] In a statement to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* of 5 November 1859, published in the supplement to No. 319 of that paper on 15 November, Freiligrath declared that he had never contributed to the *Volk* newspaper and had been named among Vogt's accusers against his own will. A note by *A. Z.* editor Gustav Eduard Kolb, published together with the statement, claimed that the information in question concerning Freiligrath derived from Liebknecht's reports from London and a private letter of his dated 12 September 1859, which said, in particular: 'Should Vogt bring his action before London courts, and he is morally forced to do so, Marx and Freiligrath will act as witnesses, and so will I.' It is this letter of Liebknecht's that Marx means here.—55

[94] An anonymous article by Blind on the Schiller centenary festival in London, published in *The Morning Advertiser* on 11 November 1859, described Freiligrath's jubilee poem as being 'above mediocrity'. In a letter to Marx dated 17 November, Freiligrath hinted that this passage had been interpolated at Marx's request. For details see Marx's letter to Engels of 19 November 1859, present edition, Vol. 40.—55

[95] The illustrated literary weekly *Die Gartenlaube*, No. 43, 1859, carried an article, 'Ferdinand Freiligrath', signed 'B' (an abbreviation of 'Beta', the pen-name of Johann Heinrich Bettziech), which attributed the flagging of Freiligrath's powers as a poet to the 'influence' of Marx. See on this Marx's letters to Engels of 19 and 26 November and Engels' letter to Marx of 11 (or 12) December 1859 (present edition, Vol. 40).—55

[96] Marx means Liebknecht's private letter to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (see Note 93) and his statement of 15 November in the supplement to the *A. Z.*, No. 327, of 23 November 1859 in which Liebknecht stressed that he had never named Freiligrath among the accusers of Vogt.—56

[97] Marx had been misinformed. Vogt's pamphlet contained no letters by Freiligrath to Vogt.—56

[98] *'La classe la plus laborieuse, et la plus misérable'* is a paraphrase of Saint-Simon's expression 'la classe la plus nombreuse, et la plus pauvre'.—57

[99] Blind's statement in question, published in the supplement to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 44, on 13 February 1860, opened with the words: 'In his latest work, Vogt speaks of my "Russophobia" and my "mistrust".'—58

[100] The note, written by a German refugee in the USA (probably Georg Eduard Wiss) and forwarded to Marx by Cluss, described Lassalle as a man of extreme ambition, dangerous to any party because he would stop at nothing to achieve his ends.—58

[101] Marx means his letter of 19 November 1852 notifying Engels of the dissolution of the Communist League (see present edition, Vol. 39, and this volume, p. 83).—59

[102] Marx means Biscamp's article 'Der Reichsregent'. The words 'Der Reichsregent als Reichsverräter' ('The Imperial Regent as a traitor to the Empire') open one of its paragraphs. See also Marx's *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 117-18.—64

[103] Marx stayed with Engels in Manchester from approximately 12 June to 2 July 1859.—64

[104] The reference is to the First Rhenish District Congress of Democratic Associations, held in Cologne on 13 and 14 August 1848. Marx and Engels took part in its deliberations. The Central Committee of the three democratic associations in Cologne, set up prior to the Congress, was confirmed as the Rhenish Regional Democratic Committee. At the initiative of the Communist League, a resolution was passed on the need to carry on work among the factory proletariat and the peasants.—70

[105] Marx gives a detailed explanation of the name 'Bürstenheimer' in his *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 38-47).—71

[106] Marx means the Communist League. See Note 63.—71

[107] This refers to the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 3) which was headed by Willich and Schapper after the split of the Communist League.—71

[108] In September 1851, a series of arrests was made in France among members of the Communist League local communities affiliated to the Willich-Schapper faction. The adventurist conspiratorial tactics of the faction had caused a split in the League in September 1850. In disregard of the obtaining conditions it aimed at engineering an immediate uprising. This enabled the French and Prussian police to fabricate the so-called *complot franco-allemand* (Franco-German plot). Julien Cherval, an *agent provocateur* in the pay of the Prussian minister to Paris and, simultaneously, of the French police, succeeded in establishing himself as the leader of one of the League's Paris communities. In February 1852, the arrested were convicted on charges of sedition. Cherval was given a chance to escape from prison. The attempts by the Prussian police to implicate the League led by Marx and Engels in the Franco-German plot failed completely. Konrad Schramm, an associate of Marx arrested in Paris in September 1851, was soon released for lack of incriminating evidence. The trumped-up charges were nonetheless repeated by the Prussian police officer Stieber at the trial of communists in Cologne in 1852, which he had helped organise. Marx exposed Stieber's perjuries in the chapter 'The Cherval Plot' of his *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 407-19).—72, 148

[109] As can be seen from Marx's *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17, p. 266) Schapper took out an affidavit to this effect at the Police Court at Bow Street on 1 March 1860.—78

[110] Marx means the differences on organisational questions that arose in the summer of 1850 between the Communist League Central Authority in London and the Cologne District Authority. The position of the former was set forth by Marx and Engels in the June 'Address of the Central Authority to the League' (see present edition, Vol. 10). In a number of letters to London that summer League members in Cologne expressed reservations about certain propositions in the 'Address'.—81

[111] The *Communist Club in New York* was set up in 1857 at the initiative of the German revolutionary refugees Friedrich Kamm and Albrecht Komp. Marx's associates Joseph Weydemeyer, Friedrich Adolph Sorge, Hermann Meyer and August Vogt were active members.—81

[112] Marx means his letters to Weydemeyer of 1 February 1859 (see present edition, Vol. 40) and to Komp, presumably of the same date (not found).—81

[113] Gustav Levy visited Marx in London in late February 1856. On a previous visit, in the latter half of December 1853, he had come on a mission from Düsseldorf workers.—82

[114] *La Société des Saisons*, active in Paris between 1837 and 1839, was a secret republican socialist organisation led by Auguste Blanqui and Armand Barbès.—82

[115] An appeal of the committee organising support for the communists convicted in Cologne, written by Marx, was directed to German workers in America care of Adolph Cluss. On 10 January 1853, the latter incorporated it in a message to German Americans, which he published in the *California Staats-Zeitung*. Marx's text was also included in the 'Appeal for support of the representatives of the

proletariat sentenced in Cologne, and their families' issued by the administrative council of the Socialist Gymnastic Society on 16 January 1853, and published in the *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 621-25).—83

116 Marx evidently means the article by Ludwig Simon, former deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly, containing sallies against him and Engels, of which Weydemeyer advised him in a letter of 10 March 1852.—84

117 In an attempt to revive the mass Charter movement, in April 1857 Ernest Jones proposed calling a Chartist conference, to be also attended by John Bright, Charles Gilpin and other bourgeois radicals. In drafting the platform for union with the radicals, he made a number of important political concessions. Of the six points of the People's Charter (universal suffrage, annual Parliaments, vote by secret ballot, equal constituencies, abolition of the property qualifications for candidates to Parliament, and the payment of M.P.s) he retained only the demand for universal manhood suffrage. Jones' conciliatory policy caused discontent among the rank-and-file of the National Charter Association. After repeated postponements a joint conference of Chartists and bourgeois radicals was convened in London on 8 February 1858. A sharp critique of Jones' position is given in Marx's letters to Engels of 16 January and 21 September and Engels' letters to Marx of 11 February and 7 October 1858 (present edition, Vol. 40).—85

118 This is in reply to a passage in Lassalle's letter to Marx and Engels of late February 1860, which said: 'You [Marx] conclude your letter by passing on to me with a haughty gesture a message from Baltimore purporting to show that at least I have no grounds for complaining about your mistrust of me.' (See note 100).—88

119 In his letter to Marx and Engels of late February 1860, Lassalle maintained that they were collecting a 'dossier' on him and that the note by Wiss (see Note 100) had been sent in reply to a request from them.—89

120 Not all of Marx's letters to Cluss for the period 1852-54 have been found. Some have reached us only in the form of excerpts quoted by Cluss in his letters to Weydemeyer (see present edition, Vol. 39). The letter Marx refers to here has not been found, either in full or in excerpt.—90

121 Marx is dispelling Lassalle's suspicion that the persons named had something to do with the accusations levelled at him, Lassalle (see Note 74).—90

122 The decision to transfer the Central Authority of the Communist League (see Note 63) from London to Cologne was adopted by the Authority at its session of 15 September 1850. Marx, Engels and their supporters dissociated themselves from the faction led by August Willich and Karl Schapper, which set up a separate league with its own authority.—90

123 Marx means article XVIII from Engels' series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, which was published over Marx's signature in the *New-York Daily Tribute* in 1851-52. The article spoke highly of Bakunin's part in the Dresden insurrection in 1849 (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 90). See also the item 'Michael Bakunin' by Marx (present edition, Vol. 12).—91

124 Marx evidently means the tribute to Johanna Mockel, wife of Gottfried Kinkel, by the German writer Fanny Lewald (married name: Stahr), published in the

London *Daily Telegraph*. See also Marx's letter to Lassalle of 4 February 1859 (present edition, Vol. 40).—92

125 Marx refers to that affidavit in his *Herr Vogt* and gives its date, 3 March 1860 (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 266).—94

126 The pamphlet *Zwei politische Prozesse. Verhandelt vor den Februar-Assisen in Köln*, published in Cologne in 1849, contained the minutes of the trial of that newspaper held on 7 February 1849 and of the trial of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats, held on the following day.

At the first trial, Karl Marx, as editor-in-chief, Frederick Engels, as co-editor, and Hermann Korff, as responsible publisher, were accused of insulting Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel and calumniating the police officers who arrested Andreas Gottschalk and Friedrich Anneke, in the article 'Arrests' published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 35, on 5 July 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 177-79).

At the latter trial, Karl Marx, Karl Schapper and the lawyer Schneider II were charged with incitement to revolt in connection with the appeal by the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats of 18 November 1848 on the refusal to pay taxes (see present edition, Vol. 8, p. 41). The jury acquitted the defendants in both cases. For the speeches of Marx and Engels at these trials see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 304-22, 323-39.—95

127 This refers to the *Revolutionary Centralisation*, a secret organisation founded by German refugees, mostly petty-bourgeois democrats, in Switzerland at the beginning of 1850.

Its Central Committee, based in Zurich, was headed by Tzschirner, a leader of the Dresden insurrection in May 1849; Fries, Greiner, Sigel, Techow, Schurz and J. Ph. Becker, all participants in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, were prominent members. The organisation included Communist League members d'Ester, Bruhn and others, as well as Wilhelm Wolff. In July and August 1850 the leaders of the Revolutionary Centralisation approached members of the League's Central Authority with the proposal of a merger. On behalf of the Authority, Marx and Engels rejected the merger as potentially dangerous to the class independence of the proletarian party. By the end of 1850, the Revolutionary Centralisation had disintegrated as a result of the mass expulsion of German refugees from Switzerland.—97

128 The March Association, with its headquarters in Frankfurt and branches in a number of German cities, was named after the March 1848 revolution in Germany and was set up by the petty-bourgeois democrats Julius Fröbel, Heinrich Simon, Arnold Ruge, Karl Vogt and other Left-wing deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly late in November 1848. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* sharply attacked the Association's revolutionary phrase-mongering, indecision and inconsistency in fighting the counter-revolution (see the article 'Ein Aktenstück des Märzvereins' in No. 181, 29 December 1848). See also Marx's *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 103-05.—100

129 Agreement on the expulsion of Marx and several contributors to the revolutionary-democratic newspaper *Vorwärts!* was reached by Arnim, Prussian envoy to Paris, and Guizot, the French Minister, in December 1844. The expulsion order was issued by the French government in January 1845. On 3 February, Marx moved from Paris to Brussels.—101

130 This presumably refers to the lithographed circulars which Marx and Engels issued on behalf of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee. Only

one of these, the 'Circular Against Kriege' by Marx and Engels, has reached us (see Vol. 6 of the present edition).—102

131 The *German Workers' Society* in Brussels was founded by Marx and Engels at the end of August 1847 for the political education of German workers living in Belgium. Run by Marx, Engels and their associates, it provided a legal centre for the propagation of scientific socialism and a rallying point for the revolutionary proletariat in Belgium. The finest members of the Society joined the Brussels community of the Communist League. The Society played an important part in establishing the Brussels Democratic Association. The Society's activities ceased soon after the February 1848 bourgeois revolution in France, when many of its members were arrested and expelled by the Belgian authorities.—102, 534

132 Marx's work, based on the lectures on political economy which he gave in Brussels in the latter half of December 1847 (see also Note 610), was first published in 1849, as a series of editorials in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* under the heading *Wage-Labour and Capital* (present edition, Vol. 9). A draft outline of the concluding lectures on wage labour and capital was found among Marx's manuscripts. It is entitled *Wages* and bears, on the cover, the words: 'Brussels, December 1847'. For it see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 415-37.—102

133 Marx means the Belgian National Congress. Elected during the 1830 revolution, it proclaimed the country's independence.—102

134 This refers to the Democratic Association, of which Marx was a vice-president (see Note 61). In his letter of 25 February 1848, Jottrand requested Marx to withdraw his resignation. As a result, Marx decided to continue in his function.—102

135 Marx's memory fails him here. On about 6 April 1848, he and Engels left Paris to take a direct part in the revolution in Germany.—102

136 Marx means his election to the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats which was endorsed by the First Rhenish Congress of Democrats, held in Cologne on 13 and 14 August 1848.—102

137 Marx came from Paris to London on about 26 August 1849.—102

138 This letter is reproduced from the copy Marx made in his notebook. The copy is preceded by the words (An D. Collet) [To D. Collet].—104

139 Marx evidently means the bill of the *Free Press* publishers stating the cost of printing his leaflet 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette'.—104

140 This refers to Vogt's lawsuit against the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (see Note 22).—105

141 Marx obviously means his 'Declaration' of 15 November 1859 (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 8-9) which, however, did not appear in *Die Reform*. On 19 November 1859 *Die Reform* published Marx's 'Statement to the Editors of *Die Reform*, the *Volks-Zeitung* and the *Allgemeine Zeitung*' (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 4-7).—105

142 This letter is reproduced from the copy Marx made in his notebook.—106, 136, 143

143 The *Lesser Empire* is Marx's caustic designation for the Second Empire, i.e. that of Napoleon III, as against the empire of Napoleon I.—107

144 Engels is mocking the phraseology of Prussian official documents. Nothjung

was sentenced to six years in prison at the trial of communists in Cologne in 1852.—109

145 In a letter of 11 March 1860 Lassalle requested Marx to get in touch with Ferdinand Wolff and offer him for translation into French the book *Briefe von Alexander von Humboldt an Varnhagen von Ense aus den Jahren 1827 bis 1858* (see also Note 151).

Mars's letter to Wolff has not been found.—109

146 Engels stayed in Barmen from 23 March to 6 April 1860 in connection with his father's death.—112, 260

147 In the spring of 1860 Siebel visited Paris and Geneva and obtained, through J. Ph. Becker and Georg Lommel, some documents at Marx's request and information which Marx needed for his book against Vogt.—113

148 In the letter of 28 March 1860 Liebknecht wrote to Marx that the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* had given him notice as its correspondent, and requested Marx to help him find work as correspondent for some American newspaper. The letter, sent to Engels' address in Manchester, was, in the latter's absence (see Note 146), forwarded by Gumpert to Marx in London.—113

149 The *American Workers' League* was a mass political organisation set up in New York on 21 March 1853. The majority of its members were immigrant German workers. Joseph Weydemeyer was on the League's organising Central Committee. The League worked for the establishment of trade unions, fought for higher wages and shorter hours, and sought to encourage independent political action by the workers. It virtually ceased its activities in 1855, but resumed them, in New York, in 1857, under the name of the General Labor Union. The Chicago Workers' Association, formed in 1857, was one of its branches. In 1860, it took over the leadership of US workers' organisations, while the General Labor Union ceased to exist.—115, 117, 118

150 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: Marx and Engels *On the United States*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979.—116

151 This refers to the book *Briefe von Alexander von Humboldt an Varnhagen von Ense aus den Jahren 1827 bis 1858*, Leipzig, 1860, which was published, with Lassalle's help, by Ludmilla Assing, niece of the German liberal writer Varnhagen von Ense. In the letter of 11 March 1860, Lassalle promised to send Marx a copy at once.—116

152 *Gymnastic Clubs*—organisations of German democratic emigrants, including workers, set up in the USA by former participants in the 1848-49 revolution. At a congress in Philadelphia on 5 October 1850 the Gymnastic Clubs united into a *Socialist Gymnastic Association* which maintained contacts with German workers' organisations in America and published the *Turn-Zeitung*, a newspaper to which Weydemeyer and Cluss contributed regularly in 1852 and 1853.—119

153 Marx did not copy out the passage from Vogt's pamphlet in the draft of his letter. He did reproduce it in his *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 70). He also reproduced the corresponding passage from Lommel's reply of 13 April 1860 (p. 71).—119

154 On 6 June 1849 the rump of the Frankfurt National Assembly, which had moved to Stuttgart, formed an Imperial Regency, consisting of five members of the Left faction (moderate democrats). Their attempts to enforce by parliamentary means the Imperial Constitution drawn up by the Frankfurt

Assembly and rejected by the German princes failed completely. On 18 June the rump National Assembly was disbanded by Württemberg troops.—124

155 *Decembrist* was Marx's way of referring to the Second Empire in France (an allusion to Louis Bonaparte's coup d'état of 2 December 1851).—126

156 Marx plays on a passage from the ruling of 18 April 1860 by Lippe, Public Prosecutor at the Royal Municipal Court in Berlin, rejecting Marx's libel suit against Zabel on the grounds that 'no issue of public importance is raised by this matter which could make it desirable for me to take any action' (see this volume, p. 131).—129

157 This refers to the attempt by a group of Geneva radicals, supporters of James Fazy, to seize, on 30 March 1860, the towns of Thonon and Évian (on the southern shore of Lake Geneva), which under the Turin treaty of 24 March 1860 between France and the Kingdom of Sardinia were to be turned over to France (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 199-201).—129

158 The original of Marx's letter bears the following pencil note, presumably by Rheinländer: 'Cherval came to Geneva from England in early 1853 (beginning of March or beginning of February) and stayed there for over a year, until his expulsion in the summer of 1854.'—130

159 In his letter of 16 April 1860 Lassalle informed Marx that he was sending a printed copy of his as yet unpublished article 'Fichtes politisches Vermächtniß und die neueste Gegenwart', which was to appear in the *Demokratische Studien* published by Walesrode. In his article, Lassalle discussed Fichte's *Politische Fragmente aus den Jahren 1807 und 1813* (J. G. Fichte, *Sämmtliche Werke*, Bd. 7, Berlin, 1846, S. 507-613).—131

160 This refers to Siebel's trip to Switzerland (see Note 147).—132

161 Under the 1858 Plombières agreement, France was to get Nice and Savoy for taking part in the forthcoming war against Austria on the side of the Kingdom of Sardinia. Although in the course of the Austro-Italo-French war (see Note 46) France violated the agreement by making a separate truce with Austria in Villafranca on 11 July 1859, it did, nonetheless, obtain Nice and Savoy under the Turin treaty of 24 March 1860.—132

162 On 2 May 1860, the German journalist Eduard Fischel, a supporter of David Urquhart, the English conservative political writer, invited Marx to contribute to the *Deutsche Zeitung*, which was to be published, with Fischel's participation, in Berlin. For this, see Marx's letters to Fischel of 8 May and 1 June 1860 (this volume, pp. 136-37 and 143-44). For Marx's view of Fischel and the Urquhartites in general, see his letter to Lassalle of 2 June 1860 (this volume, pp. 152-55).—133, 137

163 This refers to Napoleon III, who in 1846 escaped from prison wearing the clothes of a stonemason named Badinguet.—133, 159, 171, 350

164 Marx means the letters of Emmermann to Schily of 29 April 1860 and of Beust to Schily of 1 May 1860, both of which contained libellous statements about Marx.—133

165 Marx is referring to the events of the 1859-60 Italian bourgeois revolution—the peasant uprising in Sicily, started in April 1860, the insurrection in Palermo and the preparation of Garibaldi's expedition. On 11 May, three days after Marx wrote this letter, Garibaldi's 'Thousand' landed in Sicily. See also Marx's

articles 'Sicily and the Sicilians' and 'Garibaldi in Sicily.—Affairs in Prussia' (present edition, Vol. 17).—136

166 Engels left for Barmen on about 12 May 1860. On his way there and back he stopped over briefly with Marx in London.—139

167 *Boustrapa*—nickname of Louis Bonaparte, composed of the first syllables of the names of the cities where he staged putsches: Strasbourg (30 October 1836), Boulogne (6 August 1840) and Paris (coup d'état of 2 December 1851, which culminated in the establishment of a Bonapartist dictatorship).—139, 456, 462, 471, 489, 506, 519

168 The papers Reuter stole from Dietz were documents of the Willich-Schapper sectarian adventurist faction, which Dietz had joined after the split within the Communist League in the autumn of 1850 (for details see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 403-07). The Communist League members tried in Cologne had had nothing to do with those documents.—140

169 This refers to the so-called 'original minute-book' of the London Central Authority of the Communist League. A fabrication of Prussian police spies, it formed the basis of the prosecution's case at the Cologne trial of communists in 1852 (for details see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 420-43).—141

170 In reply to Marx's question about the programme of the *Deutsche Zeitung*, Fischel wrote on 30 May 1860 that one of its slogans was 'Black, red and gold' (i.e., the unification of Germany, black, red and gold being its national colours).—144, 493

171 Marx thanks Fischel for informing him, in his letter of 30 May 1860, that K. Abel, and not a certain Meier, as Marx had previously assumed (see this volume, pp. 33 and 58), was the Berlin correspondent of *The Daily Telegraph*.—144

172 Lassalle had suggested that Marx should go to Berlin to testify at the Eichhoff trial (see Note 44). The material on the police machinations attending the Communist trial in Cologne, mentioned below in this letter, was used by Marx in his polemic *Herr Vogt*, Appendix 4 (present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 64-67).—145

173 On Marx's meeting with Hermann Juch see also his letters to Engels of 13 and 20 December 1859 (present edition, Vol. 40).—146

174 Marx means the sectarian adventurist faction led by August Willich and Karl Schapper that split away from the Communist League after 15 September 1850 and formed an independent organisation with its own Central Authority (see also notes 63 and 108).—147

175 To create a pretext for reprisals against political refugees, the British authorities in April 1853 accused the proprietors of a rocket manufactory in Rotherhide, near London, of conspiratorial dealings with Kossuth, which Marx ironically calls 'Kossuth's gunpowder plot' by analogy with the Catholic gunpowder plot against James I of England in 1605.

Ladendorf, Gercke, Falkenthal, Levy and several other petty-bourgeois democrats were arrested in 1853 on the strength of a denunciation by the police agent Hentze, a former member of the Communist League. They were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from three to five years in 1854 on trumped-up charges of conspiracy.—148

176 This article, published in *The Free Press* under the headline 'Russian State Papers Respecting Her Recent Advance to Our Indian Frontiers', was based on Engels' article 'Russian Progress in Central Asia', which appeared as a leader in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 3 November 1858 (present edition, Vol. 16). In preparing the article for *The Free Press*, Marx changed the opening and concluding sections.—152

177 Here Marx draws on Eduard Fischel's letter to the Editor of *The Free Press*, published on 30 November 1859 under the headline 'The Coburg Pamphlet and Lord Palmerston'.—153

178 The official residence of the British Prime Minister is in Downing Street.—154

179 An allusion to Georg Lommel's letter of 28 May 1860 in which he notified Marx of having sent him a parcel (presumably with material exposing Karl Vogt).—155, 170

180 Engels stayed in Barmen from 23 March to 6 April 1860 in connection with the death of his father and, presumably, from 12 to 25 May in view of the grave illness of his mother.—156

181 This refers to the 'Mémoire adressé à Lord Palmerston...' of 11 June 1859, in which Szemere, as former Prime Minister of Hungary, urged Palmerston to contribute to the efforts for Hungary's independence. Szemere included the 'Mémoire' as a separate chapter in his book *La Question hongroise (1848-1860)*.—157

182 Marx drew this information from a letter of Victor Schily dated 6 March 1860. Schily's source was Nikolai Sasonow, a Russian émigré journalist, resident in Paris. Sasonow also mentioned the lecture in his letter to Marx of 10 May 1860 (Marx quotes it in *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, p. 42). The name of the Russian professor has not been established.—157, 194

183 Napoleon III met Prince Regent William of Prussia and the princes of other German states in Baden-Baden on 15 to 17 June 1860. On this see Marx's articles 'The Emperor Napoleon III and Prussia' and 'Interesting from Prussia' (present edition, Vol. 17).—159

184 At a sitting of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies on 12 May 1860, deputy Niegolewski of the Grand Duchy of Posen exposed the Prussian authorities' intrigues there.—159

185 An excerpt from this letter was first published in: Marx and Engels, *On Literature and Art*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, pp. 229-31.—160

186 Engels quotes the old Danish folk song 'Elveskud' ('The Wood King's Daughter'). A German translation of it by Johann Gottfried Herder, entitled 'Erlkönig', was put to music and became widely known. Another German translation, by Wilhelm Grimm, though philologically superior, failed to win popularity. No translation by Ludwig Uhland has been discovered.—160

187 On 26 June 1849 the liberal deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly, who had walked out after the Prussian King's refusal to accept the Imperial Crown, met in Gotha for a three-day conference which resulted in the formation of the Gotha party. It expressed the interests of the pro-Prussian German bourgeoisie and supported the policy of the Prussian ruling circles aimed at uniting Germany under the hegemony of Hohenzollern Prussia.—164

188 This refers to the letter of Legal Counsellor Weber of 22 June 1860 informing Marx of the rejection by the Berlin Royal Municipal Court, on 8 June 1860, of his libel suit against the *National-Zeitung* (see Marx's *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, p. 271).—167, 169

189 Vogt had brought his suit against the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in the Bavarian city of Augsburg (see Note 22).—167

190 An allusion to the fact that Lassalle, as well as Vogt, had contributed to the *Demokratische Studien* almanach published by Meisner in 1860. Among other items, it contained Lassalle's article 'Fichtes politisches Vermächtniß und die neueste Gegenwart' and Vogt's article 'Ein Blick auf das jetzige Genf'.—169

191 This seems to refer to the negotiations on the publication of Marx's *Herr Vogt*, which originally was to appear in Meissner's publishing house in Hamburg.—169

192 A dictum traceable to Jean Stanislas Andrieux's short story 'Le meunier de Sans-Souci', which is based on the tradition about a miller who won a suit in a Berlin court against King Frederick II over his mill, which was to be pulled down to make room for the Sanssouci palace.—170, 176

193 An ironic allusion to the book *Kraft und Stoff* (Energy and Matter) (1855) by the German physiologist Ludwig Büchner, a vulgar materialist like Vogt.—171

194 Garibaldi's letter to Green, written in the summer of 1860, was used by Marx in his article 'Interesting from Sicily.—Garibaldi's Quarrel with La Farina.—A Letter from Garibaldi' (see present edition, Vol. 17).—171

195 On the reform of the Prussian army see Note 19.—172

196 This refers to an episode of the 1859-60 Italian revolution (see Note 165), the expulsion from Sicily of Giuseppe La Farina, an emissary of Cavour's, in July 1860. For details see Marx's article 'Interesting from Sicily.—Garibaldi's Quarrel with La Farina.—A Letter from Garibaldi' (present edition, Vol. 17).—172

197 An allusion to the fact that Napoleon III's negotiations with Prince Regent William of Prussia in Baden-Baden (see Note 183) could involve a betrayal of Austria's interests, just as the treaty concluded by Napoleon III with Francis Joseph in Villafranca in July 1859 (see Note 161) involved a betrayal of Italy's interests. In the course of the latter talks Napoleon III proposed leaving Lombardy to Austria in exchange for an Austrian undertaking to maintain neutrality in the event of France's attempting to seize the German territories on the left bank of the Rhine. Kinglake touched on the matter in the House of Commons speech mentioned by Engels. See also Marx's *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, p. 172.—173

198 Garibald's army crossed over from Sicily to the mainland on 19 August 1860.—174

199 On 24 July Engels wrote the article 'British Defenses', and in late July the article 'Could the French Sack London?'. They were published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, Nos. 6020 and 6021, 10 and 11 August 1860 (see present edition, Vol. 17).—175

200 This refers to the rejection by the Royal High Court of Legal Counsellor Weber's appeal against the ruling by the Berlin Royal Municipal Court on Marx's libel suit against the *National-Zeitung* (see Note 188). The High Court

ruling, dated 11 July 1860, had been forwarded by Weber to Marx (for details see Marx's *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 282-83).—175

201 Between late October 1860 and the first half of January 1861 Engels wrote 'The History of the Rifle', which appeared in eight instalments in the *Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire* between 3 November 1860 and 19 January 1861 (see present edition, Vol. 18).—177

202 Weber's letter had reached Marx as early as 29 July but it was not until 2 August, when Marx got the money for the payment of Weber's fee and the legal costs from Engels and Wolff in Manchester, that he was able to answer it (see this volume, pp. 175-77).—177

203 This letter was written in reply to the one from Mrs Marx of 14 August 1860 (see this volume, p. 568).—179

204 This refers to the negotiations concerning a publisher for Marx's *Herr Vogt*. Engels' words to the effect that 'it's irresponsible on Moor's part not even to answer my questions concerning Siebel', refer to his letter to Marx of 27 June (see this volume, pp. 168-69) and, presumably, another letter, which has not reached us.—179

205 The address on the envelope is in Mrs Marx's hand: 'Herrn Justiz-Rath Weber, Berlin, 11. Brüderstrasse'. Weber answered Marx on 27 August. He drafted his reply on Marx's letter under the signature.—180

206 Marx means Garibaldi's successful operations, after his landing on the mainland on 19 August 1860 (see Note 198), to free Southern Italy from the rule of the Neapolitan Bourbons.—182, 185

207 On 1 September 1860 or thereabouts, Engels wrote the article 'Garibaldi's Progress' and a few days later the article 'Garibaldi in Calabria' (see present edition, Vol. 17). On Türr see Marx's article 'Affairs in Prussia.—Prussia, France and Italy' (ibid.).—182, 184

208 In late August and early September Marx dealt with these subjects in two articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune*, 'Corn Prices.—European Finances and War Preparations.—The Oriental Question' and 'British Commerce' (see present edition, Vol. 17).—185

209 This refers to an article and money sent by Engels. Marx added the line on Thursday, 2 September.—185

210 For details on the flysheet see Note 60.—188

211 In September 1860, the press announced the forthcoming meeting of the Emperors of Russia and Austria and the Prince Regent of Prussia. It was held in Warsaw in October. See also Marx's article 'Russia Using Austria.—The Meeting at Warsaw' (present edition, Vol. 17).—189

212 This refers to the uprising in Rhenish Prussia, the Bavarian Palatinate and Baden in the spring and summer of 1849 in support of the Imperial Constitution adopted by the Frankfurt National Assembly. Despite its limitations, the Constitution was seen by the people as the only surviving gain of the revolution. The volunteer corps commanded by August Willich, was the staunchest unit in the insurgent army. Engels was Willich's adjutant.—191

213 Engels contributed to the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* from 1860 to 1864. His articles for that newspaper have been included in vols. 18 and 19 of the present edition.—192

214 In his letter of 11 September 1860 Lassalle asked Marx to make enquiries to Freiligrath about the financial position of the General Bank of Switzerland. Freiligrath was an employee of its London branch.—192

215 In his letter of 11 September 1860 Lassalle told Marx that Bürgers had urged Prussian hegemony in a speech before the National Association in Coburg.—194

216 Marx wrote this note on the top of the first page of the letter by Freiligrath to him of 15 September 1860 answering Marx's enquiry, made at Lassalle's request, about the financial position of the General Bank of Switzerland (see Note 214).—195

217 This refers to Engels' stay with Marx in May 1860 (see Note 166).—196

218 *The New American Cyclopaedia* was a sixteen-volume reference work prepared by a group of progressive bourgeois journalists and publishers on the *New-York Daily Tribune* editorial board (Charles Dana, George Ripley and others). It appeared between 1858 and 1863 and was reprinted unchanged in 1868-69. A number of eminent US and European scholars wrote for it.

Notwithstanding the editors' express condition that articles should be non-partisan in character, those of Marx and Engels reflect their revolutionary proletarian, materialist views.

Marx and Engels contributed to the *Cyclopaedia* from July 1857 to November 1860. Their articles for it have been included in Vol. 18 of the present edition.—196

219 Marx discussed this in more detail in the article 'Affairs in Prussia.—Prussia, France and Italy' (present edition, Vol. 17).—196

220 Engels wrote the article on 22 November 1860 or thereabouts (see present edition, Vol. 18).—198

221 Despite the victorious advance of Garibaldi's army (see notes 165 and 198), in September 1860 the peasants began to dissociate themselves from the revolution because the propertied classes were sabotaging Garibaldi's pro-peasant decrees. The initiative passed to the Piedmont government, which sent its troops to the Papal States.

*Lamoricière* commanded the Papal troops at the time.—199

222 The *Quirinal*—one of the seven hills on which Rome is situated. Engels alludes to Garibaldi's appeal of 10 September 1860 stating his intention to advance on Rome and, upon completing the unification of the country, to proclaim Victor Emmanuel King of Italy from the Quirinal.—200

223 After bringing about the collapse of the Roman Republic in 1849, the French interventionist troops stayed in Rome until 1870.—200

224 Otto Wigand was a publisher in Leipzig. Marx obviously means Wigand's letter of 20 March 1852 stating his refusal to bring out *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* on account of 'the risks vis-à-vis the state this involves'.—201

225 An allusion to the fact that Edwin James, who went to see Garibaldi in Italy in the autumn of 1860, had been datelining his reports in *The Times* from a different city each time.—203

226 Engels' article, published in *The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire,* was reprinted in abridged form on 21 September 1860 in *The Morning Herald,* No. 24831, *The Standard,* No. 11267, *The Manchester Guardian,* No. 4397 and *The Sun,* No. 21273, and on 22 September in *The Morning Advertiser,*

No. 21615. Brief excerpts were given in *The Times*, No. 23733, on 24 September.—203

227 Marx did not write a pamphlet on this subject.—204, 208

228 On 1 October 1860 at Volturno, Garibaldi's forces defeated the army of Francis II, King of the Two Sicilies, thereby completing, by and large, the liberation of Southern Italy.—205, 207

229 There is no evidence to support these data on Garibaldi's background.—206

230 This apparently refers to a statement by Szemere on Emperor Francis Joseph's diploma of 20 October 1860 granting a modicum of autonomy to the non-German parts of the Austrian Empire. Szemere's statement has not been found (see also Marx's *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, p. 225).—210, 215

231 This refers to the 1860 US Presidential election, which was contested by the Republican and the Democratic Party. The Republican Party was formed in 1854, on the basis of a broad coalition embracing the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, farmers, workers and craftsmen in the North-eastern states. Its establishment as a force opposed to the Democratic Party reflected the antagonisms between the rapidly developing capitalism of the North and the system of slave labour in the South. The Republican Party, controlled by the Northern bourgeoisie, favoured the restriction of slavery to the southern states, the free settlement of the West, and protective tariffs to promote the development of national industry. On 7 November 1860 the Republican candidate, Abraham Lincoln, was elected President.—210

232 This letter by Engels has not been found.—211, 238, 240, 253, 257, 300, 309, 333, 334, 466, 482

233 Marx means Lommel's statement of 5 April 1860 exposing Vogt's pro-Bonapartist activities. Lommel enclosed it in his letter to Marx of 13 April 1860, upon learning that the statement would not be published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. Marx quotes an extract from that letter in *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 71).—211

234 Marx means his letter of 13 November. Engels' letter in question, presumably of the same date, has not been found.—213

235 This refers to the comment of the *Manchester Guardian*'s Paris correspondent, in its issue of 12 November 1860, that 'Louis-Napoleon spends his gold in vain in supporting such newspapers as the *National-Zeitung*' (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 326).—213

236 By the Kossuth-Cobden memorandum Marx evidently means the summary, sent to him by Szemere, of a conversation that Kossuth had had with British MP William Sandford on 30 May 1854. Szemere's source had been a letter from Richard Cobden, leader of the English Free Traders. An excerpt from the memorandum bearing on Hungary's relations with Austria and Russia was quoted by Marx in *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 328).—215

237 Excerpts from this letter were first published in English in a footnote in *The Letters of Karl Marx*. Selected and Translated with Explanatory Notes and an Introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—216, 223, 413, 446, 493

238 Only five of the articles written by Marx for the *New-York Daily Tribune* between September and November 1860 were published: 'British Commerce'

(written on 8 September), 'Russia Using Austria.—The Meeting at Warsaw' (17 September), 'Affairs in Prussia.—Prussia, France and Italy' (27 September), 'Preparations for War in Prussia' (23 October) and 'Great Britain—A Money Stringency' (10 November) (see present edition, Vol. 17).—216

239 First published in English in full in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—220, 409, 424, 427, 432, 442, 444, 495, 498, 500, 508, 514, 523, 524, 525, 550, 556, 563

240 This article, as well as the one Marx received on 12 December, was written by Engels at Marx's request (see this volume, pp. 220 and 222). It is not known whether the *New-York Daily Tribune* published it.—223, 226

241 In late January 1861 Engels wrote the article 'French Armaments'. Originally intended for the *New-York Daily Tribune*, it was revised by the author for *The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire*, in which it appeared on 2 February 1861, No. 22 (see present edition, Vol. 18).—224

242 Marx means Édouard Simon's article 'Le procès de M. Vogt avec la Gazette d'Augsbourg', published in *Revue contemporaine* of 15 February 1860. In it Simon used various turns of phrase from Techow's letter (see Note 56).—225

243 Here and further in the text the reference is to advertisements announcing the publication of Marx's *Herr Vogt*.—227

244 This refers to Marx's private library which he had collected in the 1840s and left in the safekeeping of his friend, Communist League member Roland Daniels, in Cologne in May 1849, when expelled by the Prussian authorities. Shortly before being arrested in 1851, Daniels hid the books in the warehouse of his brother, a wine merchant. Acquitted at the Cologne Communist trial in late 1852, he came out of prison a gravely sick man. He died of tuberculosis in August 1855. At the beginning of 1856 Daniels' widow took steps to send the books to Marx, but owing to the high transportation costs and other problems, it was not until December 1860 that he received his library, with some books missing.

A list of the books of this library, compiled by Daniels and with notes by Marx, has been preserved.—228, 239, 255, 265

245 Marx evidently means the articles by Engels whose receipt he acknowledged in his letters of 5 and 12 December 1860 (see Note 240).—230

246 The Crystal Palace in London was built of metal and glass to house the Great Exhibition of 1851.—236

247 The London publisher Albert Petsch was to distribute the unsold part of the Boston edition of Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (1853). Several copies of Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, published in New York in 1852, were likewise turned over to Petsch for sale. The two works are in Vol. 11 of the present edition.—238, 327

248 This refers to Eduard Meyen's libellous article 'Die neue Denunciation Karl Vogt's durch K. Marx' in the *Freischütz*, Nos. 155 and 156, 27 and 29 December 1860, and No. 1, 1 January 1861.—238, 239, 241, 242

249 An extract from this letter was first published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States*, New York, 1937—241,

297, 300, 303, 305, 329, 334, 344, 346, 347, 353, 358, 362, 363, 365, 369, 371, 372, 386, 414, 415, 418, 427, 429, 431, 437, 439, 454, 455, 529, 531, 539

250 In May 1860, Stieber was tried on a charge of abuse of power. Although acquitted, he was forced to resign in November of that year.—241

251 In January 1861, the Prussian Crown passed to William I, who from 1858 to 1861 had been Regent during the reign of Frederick William IV.—241

252 The late 1850s saw a rise in the national liberation struggle of the peoples of the Austrian Empire and, as a result, an inner political crisis. In an attempt to contain the revolutionary and democratic forces, the government of Francis Joseph made a number of half-hearted concessions to the national liberation movement late in 1860. See Engels' article 'Austria—Progress of the Revolution' (present edition, Vol. 17).—241

253 The victory of the Republican Party at the 1860 election (see Note 231) gave the capitalist North of the USA a stronger position vis-à-vis the Southern slaveowners, who had dominated the Federal organs of power for a long time. Lincoln's election to the Presidency was taken by the Southern states as a pretext for secession. South Carolina was the first to quit the Union. It was followed by Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas and Florida. See Marx's article 'The American Question in England' (present edition, Vol. 19).—242, 295

254 A reference to Marx's private library (see Note 244).—244

255 A short extract from this letter first appeared in English in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934]. In 1979, the letter was published, considerably abridged, in *The Letters of Karl Marx.* Selected and Translated with Explanatory Notes and an Introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.—245

256 A supreme Decree on Amnesty *(Allerhöchster Gnaden-Erlaß wegen politischer Verbrechen und Vergehen)* was issued in Prussia on 12 January 1861 in connection with the Coronation of King William I. See also this volume, pp. 248-49.—246, 248, 351

257 This refers to the London branch of the German National Association (see Note 24). The branch was set up with Kinkel's help in 1860.—246, 293, 297

258 *The Manchester School*—a trend in economic thinking which reflected the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. Its supporters, known as Free Traders, advocated removal of protective tariffs and non-intervention by the government in economic life. The centre of the Free Traders' agitation was Manchester, where the movement was headed by two textile manufacturers, Richard Cobden and John Bright, who founded the Anti-Corn Law League in 1838. In the 1840s and 1850s the Free Traders were a separate political group, which later formed the Left wing of the Liberal Party.—246

259 Marx means the siege by Piedmontese troops of Gaeta fortress, the last stronghold of Francis II, King of the Two Sicilies. Gaeta fell in February 1861.—246

260 This refers to the participation of William I, then Prince of Prussia, in suppressing the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849.—249

261 In mid-January 1861 Rodbertus, Berg and Bucher published a statement on the unification of Germany (*Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 13, 13 January, supplement; *Der Beobachter*, Nos. 17, 18 and 19; 20, 22 and 23 January). They argued that, together with Prussia, the future Germany should include Schleswig-Holstein and Austria so as to have access both to the North Sea and—via Austria's possessions in Italy—to the Mediterranean. They advocated a 'Great Germany' and held that the country should be unified through the consolidation of the German Confederation.—249, 253

262 An allusion to the negotiations held in Warsaw in October 1860 (see Note 211).—250

263 This presumably refers to the petition drawn up by Lassalle for Countess Sophie von Hatzfeldt in connection with her divorce case, completed in 1854 (*Klage der Gräfin Hatzfeldt wegen ungesetzlicher Vermögensaneignung* [Complaint by Countess Hatzfeldt about Unlawful Appropriation of Property]). The petition was submitted to the Prussian Chamber of Deputies at the beginning of 1861. Appended to it was a memorandum to the Ministry which contained a sharp critique of Prussia's reactionary regime.—251, 252, 254

264 In this note Marx presumably informed Eichhoff of his intention to translate into English the latter's pamphlet *Berliner Polizei-Silhouetten*, which appeared in 1860, and have it published, whole or abridged, and probably with his own commentaries, in *The Times*. In his letter of 16 February 1861, Eichhoff agreed to the project, but Marx was unable to carry it out.—251

265 On 21 March 1857 Marx received a letter from Charles Dana, editor of the *New-York Daily Tribune*, informing him that in view of the economic recession only one of his articles a week would be paid, whether published or not, while the others would only be paid if published. In October of the same year, Dana informed Marx that, for the same reasons, the *Tribune* had discharged all its correspondents in Europe except Marx and B. Taylor, and was requesting Marx to confine himself to one article a week.—252, 570

266 I.e., supporters of the German National Association (see Note 24).—253

267 This may refer to Engels' letter to Marx of 31 January 1861, or to some other letter, which has not been found.—254

268 Engels means his article 'French Armaments', which he wrote at Marx's request in late January 1861 (see this volume, p. 250). He revised it for *The Volunteer Journal* since, after Dana's letter (see Note 265), he had good cause to fear that the *New-York Daily Tribune* would not publish it.—257

269 This refers to the pamphlet, F. Engels, *Essays Addressed to Volunteers*, London-Manchester, 1861. It included five articles published in *The Volunteer Journal* in 1860 and early 1861: 'A Review of English Volunteer Riflemen', 'The French Light Infantry', 'Volunteer Artillery', 'The History of the Rifle', and 'Volunteer Engineers: Their Value and Sphere of Action' (all five will be found in Vol. 18 of the present edition). The pamphlet appeared on 16 March 1861.—258, 262

270 After the death of Engels' father in March 1860, his brothers proposed that he should renounce his title to the family concern in Engelskirchen in their favour. One of their arguments was that he had lived abroad since 1849. By way of compensation, he was to receive £10,000 to consolidate his legal and financial standing with the Ermen & Engels firm in Manchester, of which

Engels hoped eventually to become a co-owner. His brothers' proposal infringed Engels' rights, since under English law the transfer of a deceased co-owner's title was highly complicated and problematic. Engels had lengthy talks with Gottfried Ermen on the terms of his continued collaboration with the firm (see this volume, pp. 134-35). It was not until 25 September 1862 that a contract was signed providing for Engels' eventual partnership. He became a co-owner in 1864 (see this volume, p. 548).—259, 548

271 Kinkel started out in life as a pastor's assistant in the Protestant community in Cologne.—262

272 During the siege of Gaeta (see Note 259), French warships kept the fortress supplied with provisions and ammunition. They left the Gaeta roadstead on 19 January 1861.—262

273 In January 1859 an anti-feudal uprising by Maronite peasants (the Maronites are a Christian sect recognising the authority of the Pope but retaining the ancient rites of the Eastern Church) erupted in Northern Lebanon. It spread to central Lebanon and, in the spring of 1860, led to bloody clashes between Maronites and Druses (a Moslem sect). The religious strife was fanned by British and French emissaries and the Turkish authorities. Napoleon III exploited the disturbances as a pretext for sending an expeditionary corps to Lebanon in August 1860. Pressure from Britain, Russia and Austria forced France to withdraw its troops the following year. For details see Marx's article 'Events in Syria.—Session of the British Parliament.—The State of British Commerce' (present edition, Vol. 17).—262

274 Heineke the lusty knave is the hero of the German folk song *Heineke, der starke Knecht*, a parody of 16th-century grobian literature. In his work 'Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality' (present edition, Vol. 6) Marx compared Heinzen's journalistic writings with samples of grobian literature.—263

275 First published in English, abridged, in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934. A fuller English publication appeared in *The Letters of Karl Marx.* Selected and Translated with Explanatory Notes and an Introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—264

276 Blind published pamphlets, *Flugblätter des Vereins 'Deutsche Einheit und Freiheit' in England*, on behalf of that Association in London.—264

277 In the course of the Civil War in Rome (49-45 B.C.), Caesar followed Pompey, his rival, to Epirus and defeated him at Pharsalus, Thessaly, on 6 June 48 B.C.—265

278 Marx stayed at Lion Philips' in Zalt-Bommel, Holland, from 28 February to 16 March 1861. Thence he went to Berlin, where he stayed until 12 April. During that visit to Germany, he also went to Elberfeld, Barmen, Cologne and Trier. He returned to London on 29 April.—266, 299, 574, 577, 579

279 Following an abortive coup by petty-bourgeois democrats on 13 June 1849, a state of siege was proclaimed in Paris, bringing in its wake reprisals against democrats and socialists. On 19 July, the French authorities notified Marx that he was being expelled from Paris to Morbihan, a marshy and insalubrious region in Brittany. Rather than go there, Marx decided to emigrate to England and settle in London. He left Paris on 24 August.—268

280 Expelled from France by the Guizot government, Marx moved to Brussels on 3 February 1845. However, in December of that year the Prussian government, taking advantage of Marx's coming under its jurisdiction as a Prussian subject, demanded his expulsion from Belgium. As a result, Marx was forced to relinquish Prussian nationality. For details see the article 'The Conflict between Marx and Prussian Citizenship' and 'Marx's Statement on the Rejection of His Application for Restoration of His Prussian Citizenship' (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 407-10, and Vol. 19, pp. 345-52).—268

281 The *Preliminary Parliament*, or *Preparliament* met in Frankfurt am Main from 31 March to 4 April 1848. A council of representatives of the German states, it set up a Committee of Fifty to prepare the ground for the convocation of an all-German National Assembly (see Note 282) and produced a draft of the 'Fundamental Rights and Demands of the German People'.—268

282 The *Frankfurt Parliament*, or the German National Assembly, opened in Frankfurt am Main on 18 May 1848. It was convened to unify the country and draw up a Constitution. The liberal deputies, who were in the majority, turned the Assembly into a mere debating club. At the decisive moments of the revolution, the liberals condoned the reactionary policy of the counter-revolutionary forces. In spring 1849, the liberals walked out of the Assembly after the Prussian and other governments had rejected the Imperial Constitution it had drawn up. The Rump of the Assembly moved to Stuttgart, and was dispersed by the Württemberg forces on 18 June 1849 (see Note 154).—268

283 *Waradje* (from the Dutch word *waaràtje*, truly, indeed) is the favourite word of one of the characters in Hildebrand's novel *Camera obscura*, a timid, ignored admirer. Here, the reference seems to be to Pastor A. Roodhujzen, Antoinette Philips' future husband.—274

284 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: Karl Marx, *On America and the Civil War*. Edited and translated by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1972. A longer extract appeared in *The Letters of Karl Marx*. Selected and Translated with Explanatory Notes and an Introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, 1979.—276

285 In 1861 the conflict between the capitalist North and the slaveowning South of the USA (see Note 253) assumed the form of armed struggle. On 12 April rebel Southern troops bombarded Fort Sumter (South Carolina) thus unleashing a civil war that lasted until 1865. After the outbreak of the rebellion, four more states—Arkansas, Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee—seceded from the Union. For details see this volume, pp. 294-309 and Marx's articles 'The North American Civil War' and 'The Civil War in the United States' (present edition, Vol. 19).—277, 295, 306

286 This refers to the Congress of the secessionist states (see Note 253) which met in Montgomery, Alabama, on 4 February 1861. Attended by representatives of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina, it proclaimed the establishment of the Southern Confederacy, adopted a Constitution and formed a government. On 18 February, Jefferson Davis was elected President of the Confederate States.—278, 301, 306

287 An except from this letter was first published in English in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895*. A Selection with Commentary and

Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934]. A longer extract appeared in *The Letters of Karl Marx*. Selected and Translated with Explanatory Notes and an Introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—279

288 It was not until September 1861 that Marx agreed to contribute to the Austrian liberal newspaper *Die Presse*, of which the German journalist Max Friedländer was an associate editor. Marx gave his consent after having made sure that, in the domestic sphere, *Die Presse* was opposing the reactionary forces and was also critical of the government of Anton von Schmerling, a liberal.—279

289 The reference is to General Pfuel's part in the suppression of the national liberation uprising in Posen, a duchy under Prussian rule, in the spring of 1848. On his orders the heads of the insurgents taken prisoner were shaved and their hands and ears branded with lunar caustic (in German *Höllenstein*, i.e. stone of hell). Hence his nickname, 'von Höllenstein'.—280

290 This refers to the 1860 military reform in Prussia (see Note 19) and the bill on the taxation of the estates of the higher nobility submitted to the Prussian Diet that year. Initially turned down by the Upper House, the bill was passed in May 1861.

The debates over the reorganisation of the Prussian army gave rise, in the early 1860s, to a Constitutional conflict between the government and the liberal bourgeois majority in the Diet. The conflict stimulated the popular movement. Clashes with police and troops became more frequent. The Constitutional conflict was not resolved until 1866, when, under the impact of Prussia's victory over Austria, the Prussian bourgeoisie knuckled down before the government and endorsed its entire previous record.—280

291 Agreers Assembly (Vereinbarungsversammlung) was Marx's ironic way of referring to the Prussian National Assembly, which met in May 1848. Convoked to draw up a Constitution, it sought to do this not on the basis of its sovereign and constituent rights but 'by agreement with the Crown' (the principle formulated by the Camphausen-Hansemann government and adopted by the majority of the Assembly). The Crown used the agreement principle as a screen for preparing a coup d'état. On 5 December 1848, the Prussian National Assembly was disbanded.—281

292 During his stay in Berlin in the spring of 1861 (see Note 278) Marx took a series of steps to have his Prussian citizenship restored. The Berlin Police Presidium turned down his application, based on the Supreme decree on amnesty, for the rights of a Prussian subject and suggested that he should rather seek to be naturalised in Prussia. However, his application to this effect was refused by the Berlin Police President, von Zedlitz, in June 1861, and by Prussia's Minister of the Interior, Schwerin, in November (see present edition, Vol. 19).—282, 305, 579

293 In March 1861, Blanqui, who had returned to France after the amnesty of 1859, was arrested on charges of organising a secret society. On 14 June, he was sentenced to four years in prison, despite the absence of incriminating evidence.—284, 318

294 Marx met Simon Bernard on Saturday, 11 May 1861. As follows from Bernard's letter to Marx of 13 May, Marx told Bernard during their conversation that Sophie von Hatzfeldt was willing to lend a sum of money to organise Blanqui's escape. Thanks to Marx's efforts and the campaign he had

launched, articles in defence of Blanqui appeared in the German, Italian and American progressive press (see also Note 309).—284

295 This refers to the proceedings instituted on behalf of the Emperor of Austria against Kossuth and Messrs Day and Sons who had manufactured a large amount of Hungarian paper money in England. Applying to the English court, the Austrian government demanded an end to such actions and the destruction of the banknotes produced. On 27 February 1861, the Vice-Chancellor's Court granted the justice of this demand. On 12 June, the Court of Chancery turned down the defendants' appeal and confirmed the initial ruling.—284

296 In September 1860, British Army Captain MacDonald, travelling in Germany, was arrested in Bonn on charges of disobeying the local authorities. He was kept in detention for six days, brought before a court and fined. The British government took advantage of the incident to whip up an anti-Prussia propaganda campaign. It was not until May 1861 that the conflict was resolved.—284, 354

297 This refers to the Parliamentary debate in March 1861 on Alexander Dunlop's proposal for setting up a commission of inquiry into the falsification of diplomatic documents in 1839 by the British Foreign Office, then headed by Palmerston. In 1839 the British Parliament issued a Blue Book on Persia and Afghanistan (Correspondence relating to Persia and Afghanistan) containing, among other documents, a number of letters by A. Burnes, the British representative in Kabul, on the Anglo-Afghan war (1838-42). The letters had been selected and presented by the Foreign Office in such a way as to conceal Britain's provocative role in unleashing the war. Shortly before his death Burnes sent duplicates of his letters to London. Those not included in the Blue Book were published by his family (A. Burnes, *Cabool, Being a Personal Narrative of a Journey to and Residence in That City, in the Years 1836, 7 and 8...*, London, 1842; J. Burnes, *Notes on His Name and Family (Including a Memoir of Sir Alexander Burnes)*, Edinburgh, 1851). On 19 March 1861 Palmerston, speaking in the House of Commons, refused to discuss the matter as too far back in time and irrelevant. See Marx's article 'The London *Times* and Lord Palmerston' (present edition, Vol. 19).—286, 517

298 An ironic reference to Lassalle's book *Das System der erworbenen Rechte;* Dharma is a concept of Indian, particularly Buddhist, religion and philosophy. In religion, it denotes God, the Absolute. In philosophy, it stands for religion, morality, justice, law and order. In Buddhist literature it signifies, above all, Buddha's teaching.—286

299 This refers to the Left wing of the Prussian National Assembly (see Note 291), which consisted of bourgeois radicals and liberals.—287

300 In November and early December 1848 Prussia witnessed a coup d'état which culminated in the establishment of the arch-reactionary Brandenburg-Manteuffel Ministry and the dissolution of the National Assembly.—287

301 Marx means the Prussian National Assembly (see Note 291), one of whose sittings he attended somewhere between 7 and 10 September, during his trip to Berlin and Vienna in late August and early September 1848 with a view to strengthening ties with democratic and workers' organisations.—288

302 The reference is to the Upper and Lower Chambers of the Prussian Diet.—288

303 When the coup d'état was being plotted and carried out in Prussia (see Note 300), the Frankfurt National Assembly undertook to settle the conflict between the Prussian National Assembly and the Crown. With this aim in view, first Bassermann (a liberal) and later Simson and Hergenhahn arrived in Berlin as imperial commissioners. Their mediation benefited the counter-revolutionary forces because it diverted the democrats in Germany from giving effective support to the Prussian National Assembly in its struggle against the Brandenburg-Manteuffel Ministry.

Marx ironically compares Simson to Samson, the Old Testament hero who slew a thousand Philistines with the jawbone of an ass (Judges, 15:15).—288

304 Marx means the description of Vincke he gave in his *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 250-58).—289

305 Euston Square is in front of Euston Station, London.—290

306 The Elberfeld uprising of workers and petty bourgeoisie broke out on 8 May 1849 and served as a signal for armed struggle in a number of cities in the Rhine Province in defence of the Imperial Constitution. The immediate occasion of the uprising was the attempt of the Prussian government to suppress the revolutionary movement on the Rhine by armed force, destroy the democratic organisations and the press, and disarm the army units which disobeyed its orders and supported the Imperial Constitution. Engels played an active part in the uprising. At a trial held in April and May 1850, most of the participants in the Elberfeld uprising were found guilty and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. See Engels' article 'Elberfeld', (present edition, Vol. 9).

In June and July 1849, Engels was fighting in the ranks of the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army (see Note 212).—290

307 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in Karl Marx, *On America and the Civil War*. Edited and Translated by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1972.—291

308 See notes 253 and 285.—291

309 This letter to Sophie von Hatzfeldt has not been found. As can be seen from Hatzfeldt's reply, dated 14 June 1861, Marx had requested her assistance in drawing public attention to the harsh treatment of Blanqui in prison, and asked for money to finance the printing of a pamphlet by Louis Watteau on Blanqui's trial (see Note 293 and p. 295 in this volume). Marx also suggested organising meetings and the publication of a series of articles in Germany in connection with the trial. A number of articles on Blanqui appeared in the German and Italian press with the help of the German writer Ludmilla Assing.—291

310 This refers to Marx's work on the second instalment of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, which he started on completing his polemic writing, *Herr Vogt* (see Note 38). In the period 1861 to 1863 he produced a vast manuscript (200 sheets of print), the second rough draft of *Capital*.—292, 315, 319, 323, 333, 352, 370, 380, 384, 401, 402, 404, 411, 426, 433, 435, 460, 461, 473, 484

311 In May 1861, in connection with the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States, the Federal Government offered Garibaldi a commanding post in the army of the North. The offer was made through the US Minister to Brussels, who went to see Garibaldi on Caprera Island. Garibaldi replied with a letter expressing warm sympathy for the Unionists, but refused to accept the post in

the belief that it was an ordinary internecine war with no bearing on the slavery issue. He said he would be willing to fight on the side of the Northerners if it was to become a war to end slavery.—293

312 *Yankees* was the nickname given by British soldiers to residents of New England in the eighteenth century. During and after the Civil War (1861-65) it was used to denote the Northerners.—293, 325, 368, 400, 416, 562

313 This letter has not been found.—293

314 The end of this letter has not been found. The available part was first published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States*, New York, 1937.—294

315 In the four months between Lincoln's election and his inauguration (on 4 March 1861) the pro-Southern faction in Buchanan's Administration (Secretary of War Floyd, Secretary of the Treasury Cobb and others) used their powers to strengthen the South and prepare the ground for civil war. Troops loyal to the Union were transferred from the South to the Far West and dispersed to different garrisons. Arms and ammunition were shipped to the South and large sums of money sent there. Even before the outbreak of hostilities representatives of the slaveholders, with the connivance of the government, opened negotiations with Britain to obtain financial and military aid (on this see also p. 307).—295

316 In May 1861 four volunteer regiments, consisting mostly of German immigrants, were formed in St. Louis, Missouri. They encircled the Secessionists' military camp outside the city and forced them to surrender, thus preventing them from seizing the arsenal and coming out against the Union arms in hand.—296

317 This refers to the slave states bordering on the North which refused to join the Confederacy: Delaware, Missouri, Maryland and, later, Kentucky. For details see Marx's article 'The Civil War in the United States' (present edition, Vol. 19).

On the *border states* see p. 277.—296

318 Marx means Zerffi's Kinkel-inspired articles in defence of MacDonald published in the English press (see Note 296). This aroused acute discontent within the National Association and caused a split in its London branch.—297, 301

319 *South Kensington Museum* (now *Victoria and Albert Museum*) included a museum of ornamental and applied art, a national gallery of British art, an art library and a royal college of art.—297

320 This refers to the reviews 'Gatherings from the Press', which were directed against Kinkel's newspaper *Hermann*. They appeared in June and July 1859 in the weekly *Das Volk*, in whose publication Marx took a direct part (see present edition, Vol. 16).—298

321 A letter from the Countess von Hatzfeldt to Marx of 14 June 1861 (see also Note 309).—298

322 In connection with Blanqui's prosecution (see Note 293) a correspondence developed between Marx and Blanqui's friend Watteau (Denonville) on how to launch a campaign in Blanqui's defence (see notes 294 and 309). In a letter to Watteau of 18 May 1861, which has not been found, Marx presumably offered

help on behalf of German communists. In his reply (8 June) Watteau wrote that he had shown Marx's letter to Blanqui, who 'was deeply moved by the German proletarians' sympathy'. In the same letter Watteau requested Marx's aid in publishing a pamphlet on Blanqui's prosecution which exposed the unseemly methods of the Bonapartist police and judiciary. As follows from the correspondence between Blanqui and Watteau, and from Marx's letter to Watteau of 10 November 1861 (see this volume, p. 326), Marx sent the latter money for the publication of the pamphlet and took part in discussing plans for freeing Blanqui from detention. He informed Sophie von Hatzfeldt of these plans, and she agreed to provide money for the purpose.—298

323 The *Mexican War* (1846-48) was caused by the expansionist designs of the US slaveholding planters and big bourgeoisie. As a result of the war, the USA seized nearly half of Mexico's territory, including Texas, Upper California, New Mexico and other areas.—299

324 The *Schleswig-Holstein question* was prominent in nineteenth-century European diplomacy. The Congress of Vienna (1815) recognised the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein to be possessions of Denmark in personal union with the Danish King. At the same time, Holstein was declared a member of the German Confederation. During the 1848-49 revolution, an anti-Danish national liberation movement developed in the duchies which was, however, defeated.

At a conference in London attended by representatives of Austria, Britain, Denmark, France, Russia and Sweden, a protocol on the Danish succession was signed on 2 August 1850 which proclaimed the indivisibility of the Danish Crown possessions, including the two duchies. This document formed the basis for the London Protocol of 8 May 1852 on the integrity of the Danish monarchy (see Note 380).

Denmark's attempts to fully subject the duchies aggravated Danish-Prussian relations and were exploited as a pretext for intervention by Prussia, which regarded the reunification of Schleswig and Holstein with Germany as the first step towards the union of Germany under Prussia's aegis.—299, 496, 501

325 In her letter of 14 June 1861 Sophie von Hatzfeldt touched on the possibility of Engels' return to Germany following the amnesty proclaimed in Prussia (see this volume, pp. 247-49) and in this connection wrote that Ludwig Simon had been officially notified that he would only be allowed to return to Prussia if he petitioned the King for a pardon.—299

326 An allusion to Engels' participation in the Elberfeld and Baden-Palatinate uprisings (see Note 306).—299

327 A gibe at the vulgar economists who maintained that profit was merely an extra charge on the consumer over and above the price. Marx attacks this view in his economic manuscript of 1861-63 and in Volume III of *Capital* (present edition, vols. 32 and 37).—300

328 Marx means the abortive attempt of Unionist troops under General Francis Edwin Pierce to capture the Confederates' fortifications at Big Bethel near Fort Monroe, Virginia, in the small hours of 10 June 1861. One Unionist column opened fire on another by mistake. Later the Confederates compelled the Unionists to retreat in disarray.—300, 304

329 This refers to the victory of the Northerners, commanded by N. P. Lyon, over the Missouri pro-Secessionist militia led by Governor Jackson at Boonville on 17 June.—300

330 Marx means the victory of the Republican Party in the 1860 elections (see Note 231).—301

331 Marx means the armed struggle in Kansas in 1854-56 between supporters and opponents of slavery (the latter were mostly farmers). It began after the adoption, in May 1854, of *An Act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas,* which let the population of the two Territories decide for themselves whether they wanted slavery or not. Despite a series of successes by the anti-slavery forces, Kansas fell to the slavery party, who had received armed support from the Federal government. However, most of the population continued the struggle and in 1861 won the admission of Kansas to the Union as a free state. The struggle in Kansas was, in effect, the prelude to the US Civil War.

The *Border Ruffians* were gangs of pro-slavery thugs brought into Kansas from Missouri during the Kansas war.—301

332 At the *Battle of Waterloo,* on 18 June 1815, the Anglo-Dutch and Prussian forces, commanded by the Duke of Wellington and Blücher, defeated Napoleon's army.—301

333 By the *German communist association* and the *Frenchmen's associations* Marx means the German Workers' Educational Society (see Note 3) and the numerous French refugee societies in London.

The *June insurrection*—the uprising of the Paris proletariat of 23-26 June 1848.—302

334 General Winfield Scott's strategy, later known as the *Anaconda Plan,* called for the encirclement of the rebel states by the Federal Army and Navy and the gradual contraction of the ring until the rebellion was crushed.—304

335 In view of the amnesty of 12 January 1861 (see Note 256) Wilhelm Wolff, in the summer of 1861, applied to the Prussian Embassy in London for a passport to visit Wiesbaden.—304

336 Marx cites these facts from Lassalle's letter of 1 July 1861.—305, 313

337 The *Border Slave State Convention,* or *Washington Peace Conference,* was held in February 1861, on Virginia's initiative. Attended by 21 states, with the border states playing the most active part, it was a last, unsuccessful, attempt to resolve peacefully the dispute between the Secessionists and the Union.—306

338 Marx means elections to the US Congress. An extraordinary session of it opened on 4 July 1861.—306

339 *Gulf States*—the states lying along the Gulf of Mexico (Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas). They formed the core of the Secessionist Confederacy.—306, 349

340 An allusion to Louis Bonaparte's counter-revolutionary coup d'état in France on 2 December 1851.—307

341 The *'poor whites'*—the landless free population of the Southern slave states. On their part in the Civil War see Marx's article 'The North American Civil War' (present edition, Vol. 19).

*Zouaves* was the name given to French infantry regiments raised in Algeria from the Berber tribe of Zouaves.—307

342 This refers to the *Constitution of the Confederate States of America* which was adopted by the Congress in Montgomery on 11 March 1861 (see Note 286).—308

[343] Marx means Feodor Streit's letter of 2 July 1861, written on behalf of the National Association.—309

[344] This refers to the second Great Exhibition (world industrial fair) held in London from May to November 1862.—310, 353, 364, 365, 380, 384, 408, 414

[345] When Prince William of Prussia (King of Prussia from 1861) assumed the regency in October 1858, he dismissed the Manteuffel Ministry and entrusted power to moderate liberals. The bourgeois press hailed this 'liberal' course as a 'New Era'. William's actual aim, however, was to consolidate the monarchy and Junkers.—312, 317

[346] On 14 July 1861 student Oskar Becker made an abortive attempt on the life of William I, King of Prussia, in Baden-Baden.—314, 317

[347] In view of the Decree on Amnesty (see Note 256) Engels' relatives were exploring the possibility of his return to Germany. In reply the police superintendent of Elberfeld stated that Engels had to send in an appropriate application and a certificate of loyalty issued by the Prussian Embassy in London.—314

[348] A brief extract from this letter was first published in English in: Marx and Engels, *On Literature and Art*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976. In less abridged form, the letter appeared in *The Letters of Karl Marx*. Selected and Translated with Explanatory Notes and an Introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—316

[349] This refers to one of the basic aesthetic principles of Classicism, the unity of time, place and action in drama. It was formulated in 1674 by the French theorist of Classicism, Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, in his poem *L'art poétique*.—318

[350] A *legacy* (bequest) in Roman law was a stipulation by the testator in his will granting a person a certain right or other benefit based on the property bequeathed.

A *legatee* was one to whom a legacy was bequeathed. As distinct from the legatee in this restricted sense, the heir under a will is the *universal legatee*, who assumes the liabilities of the deceased as well as his property and rights.—318

[351] The *Gürzenich* is a reception building erected in Cologne in 1441-52, in the mid-19th century used as a venue for various functions and festivities.—319

[352] Marx was Engels' guest in Manchester from the end of August to the middle of September 1861.—321, 323, 332

[353] This probably refers to the *Report of the Thirtieth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science; held at Oxford in June and July 1860*, London 1861.

The *British Association for the Advancement of Science* was founded in 1831 and still exists. It meets annually and publishes reports on these meetings. The Association's 31st annual meeting was held in Manchester between 4 and 11 September 1861. Marx, who was staying with Engels in Manchester at the time, attended the sittings of the Economic Science and Statistics Section.—321, 383

[354] Engels went on holiday to Germany on about 3 October 1861 and stayed with his family in Barmen till the end of the month.—322, 375

[355] Marx means, in particular, the articles 'The American Question in England', 'The British Cotton Trade', 'The London *Times* and Lord Palmerston', and

'The London *Times* on the Orleans Princes in America' (see present edition, Vol. 19). The other two articles were evidently not published.—323

356 In his letter to *Die Presse*, which has not been found, Marx inquired about the newspaper's stand on the Cabinet crisis in Austria in the autumn of 1861.—323

357 An editorial introductory note to Marx's article 'The North American Civil War', published in *Die Presse* on 25 October 1861, said: 'We have received from London a first communication on the North American Civil War from one of the leading German journalists, who knows Anglo-American relations from long years of observation. As events on the other side of the ocean develop, we shall be in a position to present communications, deriving from the same competent pen, which will outline the salient features of the war.'—323

358 Marx refers to the chapter 'Bristlers' in his polemic book, *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17).

For *Bristlers* see this volume, p. 71.—324

359 With mass rallies taking place in Warsaw, the Governor-General of the Kingdom of Poland, Count Lambert, on 14 October 1861 introduced martial law. On the night of 15 October many arrests were made, accompanied by clashes between Tsarist troops and members of the population. This was followed by the closure of all Catholic churches in Warsaw.

In referring to the 'exploits of handsome William' Marx means William I's speech on the occasion of his coronation in Königsberg on 18 October 1861, in which he stressed the divine origin of the sovereignty of the Kings of Prussia.—325

360 Marx means Engels' holiday in Germany (see Note 354).—325

361 This refers to the rifled cannon invented by William Armstrong in 1854 and adopted by the British army in 1859. A try-out in the war against China gave rise to doubts about its resistance to wear and the convenience of its breech, and caused a controversy about its advantages over the Joseph Whitworth gun (see also Engels' article 'On Rifled Cannon', instalments III and IV, present edition Vol. 17).—325

362 This is the only letter of the Marx-Watteau correspondence on the Blanqui case to have been found (see Note 322). The French original is in the collection of the Blanqui papers at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris.

The last paragraph of the letter was first published in Roger Garaudy's book, *Les sources françaises du socialisme scientifique*, Paris, 1948, p. 217. The letter was published in full, except for three obliterated words, in Vol. 30 of the Second Russian Edition of the *Works* of Marx and Engels in 1963 and in the language of the original in *La Pensée*, No. 125, Paris, 1966. The three obliterated words, since deciphered with the aid of modern technical facilities, read *tentative de sauvetage* and are evidence of Marx's involvement in the plans for rescuing Blanqui. The full text of the letter, including these three words, was published by Maurice Paz in *La Nouvelle revue socialiste. Politique. Culture*, No. 20, 1976.

In a letter to Marx dated 22 January 1862 Blanqui thanked him for what he was doing in his behalf.—326

363 Watteau's pamphlet failed to appear as no publisher had been found for it.—326

364 An allusion to the financial crisis experienced by Bonapartist France in the autumn of 1861, when the national exchequer was one milliard francs in the

red. On this see Marx's articles 'Monsieur Fould' and 'France's Financial Situation' (present edition, Vol. 19).—327, 329

365 'If you elect democrats...' is a quotation from the speech William I made in Breslau (Wrocław) in November 1861, on the eve of elections to the Prussian Provincial Diet (see Note 368).

'Soldiers are the only answer to democrats' ('Gegen Demokraten helfen nur Soldaten') is a quotation from the poem *Die fünfte Zunft* by the monarchist Wilhelm von Merckel, published as a leaflet in the autumn of 1848. The Prussian reactionary writer Karl Gustav von Griesheim took it as the title of his pamphlet, published anonymously in Berlin in late November 1848.—328

366 The reference is to the detention of the British mail steamer *Trent* by the Unionist warship *San Jacinto* on 8 November 1861 and the arrest, aboard the *Trent*, of James Murray Mason and John Slidell, Confederate emissaries going to Europe on a diplomatic mission. On this see Marx's articles 'The *Trent* Case', 'The Anglo-American Conflict', 'The News and Its Effect in London' and other relevant items in Vol. 19 of the present edition.—329, 363, 462

367 In April 1857, Bakunin, who had been kept in prison at the Peter and Paul fortress in St Petersburg from 1851, was exiled for life to Siberia. In April 1861 he escaped (via Japan and America) to England, arriving in London in December.—329

368 This refers to the second round of elections to the Lower House (Chamber of Deputies) of the Prussian Diet, held on 6 December 1861.—329

369 Part of this letter was first published in English in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934.—330, 399, 403, 419, 422, 448, 453, 460, 461, 466, 470, 476, 479, 483, 488, 558, 560

370 The *Corpus juris civilis* is the general title of law books that emerged as a result of the codification of Roman law under the Byzantine emperor Justinian I between 528 and 534. These are: *Codex constitutionum, Digesta, Institutiones,* and *Novellae.*—331

371 Engels means the victory won by the Party of Progress at the elections to Prussia's Chamber of Deputies in November and December 1861.

The *Party of Progress*, formed in June 1861, spoke for the German bourgeoisie. Its slogans were the unification of Germany under the aegis of Prussia, the convocation of an all-German Parliament, and the formation of a strong liberal Ministry responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. Fearing a popular revolution, the Party of Progress gave no support to the basic democratic demands—universal suffrage, freedom of the press, freedom of association and freedom of assembly.—331, 501

372 This letter was first published in English in part in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934, and in full in: *The Letters of Karl Marx.* Selected and Translated with Explanatory Notes and an Introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—332

373 In December 1861 Dronke lent Marx £50, repayable on 30 March 1862.—332, 337

374 *Sheriff*—the chief executive officer of a shire or county, charged with the execution of the laws and the serving of writs, and in some cases having judicial powers.—334, 338

375 This refers to the *Trent* incident (see Note 366) which was exploited by the textile manufacturers and some members of the Palmerston Cabinet for stepping up the anti-Unionist campaign in Britain. Lord Russell demanded the release of Mason and Slidell within a week's time on pain of a declaration of war by Britain. But other Cabinet members refused to support this line. (See Marx's articles 'Controversy over the *Trent* Case' and 'Progress of Feeling in England' and other relevant items in Vol. 19 of the present edition.)—335

376 Marx means the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General, the two highest-ranking legal officials in Britain. For their decision on the *Trent* case see Marx's articles 'The Anglo-American Conflict', 'The News and Its Effect in London' and 'Controversy over the *Trent* Case' (present edition, Vol. 19).—335

377 *Truly British Minister*—an ironic allusion to Lord Palmerston based on a passage from Lord Russell's speech in the House of Commons on 20 June 1850. Referring to Palmerston he said: '...so long as we continue the government of this country, I can answer for my noble Friend that he will act not as the Minister of Austria, or as the Minister of Russia, or of France, or of any other country, but as the Minister of England'.—336

378 This refers to the Declaration on the principles of international maritime law adopted by the Congress of Paris on 16 April 1856. It banned privateering and safeguarded merchantmen of neutral states against attack by belligerent powers. The adoption of the Declaration was a diplomatic victory for Russia, which from 1780 had opposed Britain's claims to the right to inspect and seize the ships of neutral states.—336

379 The reference is to the agreement signed by Russia, Britain and the Netherlands in London on 19 May 1815 on defraying Russia's expenses incurred in driving out Napoleon's army from the Dutch and Belgian provinces. The governments of Britain and the Netherlands undertook to pay in compensation part of Russia's debts to the Dutch bankers Hope & Co., and the interest on that debt as of 1 January 1816. The agreement stipulated that payments would be suspended if the Belgian provinces seceded from the Netherlands. After the revolution of 1830, when an independent Belgian state was formed, the Netherlands government stopped the payments. On behalf of the British government, Palmerston signed a new agreement with Russia on 16 November 1831 confirming Britain's financial obligations.—337

380 Under the London Protocol of 8 May 1852 on the integrity of the Danish monarchy, signed by Austria, Britain, Denmark, France, Prussia, Russia and Sweden, the Emperor of Russia, being a descendant of Duke Charles Peter Ulrich of Holstein-Gottorp, who had reigned in Russia as Peter III, was one of the lawful claimants to the Danish throne, who waived their rights in favour of Duke Christian of Glücksburg. This provided an opportunity for the Tsar to claim the Danish Crown in the event of the extinction of the Glücksburg dynasty.—337, 497, 543

381 This refers to a meeting held by the Urquhartites on 27 January 1862 in connection with the impending Anglo-French intervention against the Union in the US Civil War. Marx did not attend.—339

382 Marx probably means the lecture he was to give in the German Workers' Educational Society in London at Weber's request, expressed in a letter of 10 December 1861, on the views of the German vulgar economist Wirth and the stand advocated by the latter's newspaper, *Der Arbeitgeber*, which proclaimed the community of interests of labour and capital.—339

383 This letter was written in reply to one from Becker of 13 February 1862 requesting Marx to organise a subscription in London for the publication of Becker's book *Wie und Wann* and offering to translate into French a section in Marx's *Herr Vogt* which had evoked particular interest in Switzerland. Part of the present letter was first published in English in: Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—341

384 In September 1861 after a six-month interval, Marx resumed for a short time his contributions to the *New-York Daily Tribune.*—341, 344

385 Engels means the cotton crisis produced by the interruption in the supply of American cotton during the US Civil War (1861-65) as a result of the blockade of the southern ports by the Union's navy. The cotton shortage came on the eve of, and interlocked with, a production glut.—344, 347, 394, 413

386 At the time, Engels was hiring lodgings for Mary and Lizzy Burns at 252 Hyde Road, Ardwick. He kept his own lodgings at 6 Thorncliffe Grove until 1864.—344, 427

387 On 7 March Engels wrote the first part of the article requested by Marx, and on 18 March probably the second part (see p. 351). However, the *Tribune* did not publish this article. Engels made use of the first part for his article 'The War in America' (see present edition, Vol. 18) published in *The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire* on 14 March 1862. Marx translated the text intended for the *Tribune* into German, added more recent data and sent the text to *Die Presse,* which published it on 26 and 27 March 1862 (see 'The American Civil War', present edition, Vol. 19).—345, 346

388 In October 1861 Frémont was dismissed from his post of commander of the army in Missouri for issuing a proclamation granting freedom to the slaves of rebels. For details see Marx's article 'The Dismissal of Frémont' (present edition, Vol. 19).—345

389 This refers to Russia's abortive attempt in 1861 to establish a naval station on Tsushima island off the coast of Japan. Marx must have drawn his data from the editorial 'Russian Progress in Asia' in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* No. 6167, 30 January 1862, which gave an inaccurate and tendentious account of the affair.—345

390 Engels means the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson on the Tennessee and the Cumberland by the Federals under Grant in February 1862. For details see the article 'The American Civil War' by Marx and Engels (present edition, Vol. 19). There are two inaccuracies in Engels' letter here. In the fighting referred to, the Southern troops were commanded, not by J. E. Johnston, who had won the battle of Bull Run, but by A. S. Johnston. Moreover, the latter had not been taken prisoner, as reported in *The Times* of 5 March 1862, which Engels read, but had withdrawn. *The Times* had given Johnston's name without his initials, and this misled Engels.

The battle fought on the Bull Run river near Manassas, Virginia, on 21 July 1861 was the first major engagement of the US Civil War. The Federal army was defeated by the Secessionist forces.—346

391 Gold was discovered in California and Australia in 1848 and 1851 respectively. The result was the 'gold rush', the mass immigration of would-be prospectors from Europe and America.—348

392 This refers to the triumph of the Free Trade principles in Britain in the mid-19th century. The Free Traders, members of the industrial bourgeoisie,

advocated laissez-faire, the lifting of protectionist customs duties, because Britain, having completed its industrial revolution and established itself as the leading industrial power, could afford to compete freely against other countries in the world market.—349

393 Britain's ruling quarters carefully concealed their pro-Southern stand during the war, since public opinion supported the Northerners. On 13 May 1861 the government made public *Her Majesty's Proclamation of Neutrality* which, by treating the South as a belligerent, marked the first step towards recognition of the Confederacy. It gave the rebels diplomatic, financial and military aid. In the *Trent* incident (see Note 375) it openly sided with the South.—349

394 On 17 July 1861 the Mexican Congress suspended all payments on foreign debts for two years, which was taken by Britain, France and Spain as a pretext for intervention. To avoid war, the Mexican government, headed by Benito Pablo Juárez, reversed the decision in November 1861 and agreed to meet the claims of the three powers.—349

395 In a letter dated 28 March 1862 Dana requested Marx to stop sending articles for the *Tribune* on the grounds that American domestic affairs left no space in the paper for reports from London.—353

396 The battle mentioned by Marx took place on 6 and 7 April 1862. On the 6th, the Southern forces, commanded by Beauregard, defeated Grant's army at Pittsburg Landing (northeast of Corinth), but on the 7th, following the arrival of General Buell's forces, the Northerners counter-attacked and threw the Southerners back to Corinth. Engels probably wrote no article on the fighting at Corinth, but he gave an analysis of it in his letter to Marx of 5 May 1862 (see this volume, pp. 359-60).—353, 359

397 Marx stayed with Engels in Manchester from 30 March to 25 April 1862.—354

398 While Marx was in Manchester, Engels gave him a bill for £50 to be drawn on Borkheim.—354, 380, 382

399 Marx is relating the story of the publication of Beta's (Bettziech's) laudatory article on Kinkel headed 'Ein Nichtamnestirter'. It appeared in the journal *Die Gartenlaube*, No. 2, 1862, pp. 21-24, and No. 3, pp. 38-41. Marx got the details from a letter by K. W. Eichhoff dated 26 April 1862.—355

400 A short extract from this letter was first published in English in: Karl Marx, *On America and the Civil War*. Edited and Translated by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1972. In abridged form, the letter appeared in: *The Letters of Karl Marx*. Selected and Translated with Explanatory Notes and an Introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—355

401 In October 1860 Johann Philipp Becker came to Italy with a view to raising a Swiss-German volunteer detachment to help Garibaldi. Lassalle, who was going to visit Italy, asked Marx for a letter of recommendation to Garibaldi, Mazzini or one of their associates. Marx gave him a message for Becker, which Lassalle did not use because he heard negative rumours about Becker in Italy. These were being spread by pro-Bonapartist refugees in Italy with whom Becker had refused to collaborate.—356

402 Marx presumably means his article 'A Traitor in Circassia' (present edition, Vol. 15) exposing the secret police agent Bangya, with whom Türr was closely associated.—356

403 In June and July 1849 the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army was fighting against the Prussian forces in Baden. Becker, who commanded a corps of the people's militia, covered the retreat of the insurgents' main forces. For details see Engels' *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* and 'Johann Philipp Becker' (present edition, vols. 10 and 27).—356

404 This refers to attempts by Britain's ruling classes to stage mass demonstrations, involving the working class, to influence public opinion in favour of Britain's intervention in the US Civil War on the side of the slave states. See Marx's articles 'English Public Opinion' and 'A London Workers' Meeting' (present edition, Vol. 19).—358

405 In March 1862 Marx finally ceased to contribute to the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see also Note 395).—359, 389

406 The battles mentioned by Engels were fought during the Napoleonic wars (Preussisch Eylau, 1807; Wagram, 1809; Borodino, 1812; Lützen, 1813, and Bautzen, 1813) and the Austro-Italo-French war of 1859 (Magenta and Solferino).—359

407 The data and analysis of hostilities contained in this letter were used in Marx's article 'The English Press and the Fall of New Orleans' and 'The Situation in the American Theatre of War' by Marx and Engels (present edition, Vol. 19).—360

408 The spring of 1862 saw an aggravation of the Constitutional conflict between Crown and Diet in Prussia (see Note 290). The liberal majority (mostly members of the Party of Progress) in the Chamber of Deputies refused to endorse the budget as presented and demanded that it be concretised to prevent the use for military purposes of funds which came under other headings. In the face of this opposition, the King disbanded the Diet on 11 March. The 'New Era' Ministers resigned (see also Note 345). At the new elections, held on 28 April and 6 May, the Party of Progress again carried the day. The military reform bill was rejected once more.—361, 366

409 On 15 April 1862 Schily sent Marx a letter from Paris including the material on the differences existing among the Hungarian refugee leaders.—362

410 The *Palais Royal* in Paris was the residence of Prince Napoleon (Plon-Plon)—362

411 In December 1861 Britain, France and Spain launched an armed intervention in Mexico aimed at overthrowing the progressive Juárez government and turning Mexico into a colony. However, serious differences soon developed between the three powers as a result of which Britain and Spain withdrew their forces in April 1862. The French command refused to negotiate with the Mexican government and opened hostilities on 19 April. In the second half of the year, more French forces were sent to Mexico.

For the Bonapartist ruling circles' fraudulent Mexican loan, see Marx's article 'An International *Affaire* Mirès' (present edition, Vol. 19).—363, 462

412 *Backwoodsmen* was the name given to early colonists in North America, people settling in remote uninhabited areas. In a figurative sense, *backwoodsmen* means narrow-minded provincials.—364

413 Marx presumably means Engels' letter of 5 May 1862 (see this volume, p. 361).—365

414 Engels means the conciliatory policy of the Prussian National Assembly, which sought to accomplish the tasks of the 1848 revolution by purely parliamentary methods, without enlisting the support of the masses.—366

415 In 1848, Rudolf Schramm was a deputy to the Prussian National Assembly from the constituency of Striegau (Strzegom). Marx and Engels described his parliamentary activity in the pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile* (present edition, Vol. 11).—366

416 New Orleans was surrendered by the Southerners on 29 April 1862, shortly after the fall of the forts protecting the approaches to the city from the Mississippi. The Northern troops entered New Orleans on 1 May. The capture of the city, an important political and military centre of the Confederacy, was a major success for the Unionist army.

The analysis of the fighting given by Engels in this letter was used by Marx in the article 'The Situation in the American Theatre of War' (present edition, Vol. 19).—366

417 This refers to the battles fought at Smolensk, 16 to 18 August, and Borodino, 7 September 1812 in the course of Russia's liberation war against aggression by Napoleonic France.—367

418 *White trash* was the contemptuous name with which slaveowning planters dubbed the poor whites in the Southern states.—367, 416

419 On 14 January 1858 the Italian patriot Felice Orsini made an abortive attempt on the life of Napoleon III and was executed in March 1858.—369

420 The *Merrimack*, the rebels' first armoured vessel, destroyed several Unionist warships in March 1862. To prevent her falling into the hands of the Northerners, she was blown up by the Confederates on 11 May 1862, after they had evacuated the Norfolk naval base in Virginia.—369

421 The *Coercion Bills*, passed by the British Parliament in 1833 and 1847, aimed at suppressing the revolutionary movement in Ireland. They introduced a state of emergency throughout Ireland and gave extraordinary powers to the British authorities.—369

422 In 1862 large amounts of paper money ('greenbacks') were issued in the USA to cover the costs of the Civil War. This gradually led to inflation.—370, 419

423 The *Morrill Tariff*—the protectionist tariff sponsored by the Republican Justin Smith Morrill. Passed by the House of Representatives in May 1860, it became law on 2 March 1861, after being approved by the Senate. It raised customs duties considerably.—370

424 In April 1862 the British and Spanish troops were withdrawn from Mexico following the Palmerston government's refusal to continue to collaborate with France in the armed intervention there (see also Note 411).—370

425 This refers to Mary and Lizzy Burns. Engels was renting lodgings in Hyde Road (see Note 386) under the name of Frederick Boardman. Mary Burns figured as Mary Boardman.—370

426 Engels means the advance of the Northern troops under General Halleck on Corinth, Mississippi, in April and May 1862. Its very slow progress gave rise to press allegations by pro-Secessionist correspondents (including James Spence) about Halleck's army finding itself in dire straits.—371

427 *Embrassez-vous et que cela finisse!* (Embrace and have done with it!) is an allusion to an episode in the French Revolution: on 7 July 1792 Lamourette, a deputy to the Legislative Assembly, proposed ending all political strife by a fraternal kiss. Following his appeal, members of antagonistic groupings embraced each other. However, as was to be expected, this artificial attempt at a reconciliation proved a failure. The 'fraternal kiss' was forgotten the next day.

Engels uses the dictum ironically, in reference to the debates in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, which was elected on 6 May 1862 (see Note 408) and first met on 19 May.—373

428 The *Hesse-Cassel affair*—the long conflict in Hesse-Cassel (1850-62) between Elector Ludwig III's reactionary government and the Chamber of Deputies, which demanded the reintroduction of the moderate liberal Constitution of 1831. The liberal party was supported by Prussia, which feared a strengthening of Austria in the struggle for hegemony in Germany. However, Prussia's attempts to influence the Hesse-Cassel government with a view to having the Constitution reintroduced were foiled by Ludwig III. The Prussian General Willisen sent to Hesse-Cassel in May 1862 with a message from William I was given an insulting reception. The Constitution of 1831 was reintroduced at the end of June 1862, after Prussia had presented Ludwig III with an ultimatum and mobilised two army corps.—373

429 The *Schiller Institute* was set up in Manchester in November 1859 in connection with the centenary of Friedrich Schiller's birth. Its founders intended it as a cultural and social centre for Manchester's German community. Initially, Engels took almost no part in the Institute's activities, but in January 1864 he became a member of its Directorate, and eventually its chairman.—374, 524

430 Engels presumably means his translation of the old Danish song *Herr Jon,* contained in the collection *Et Hundrede udvalde Danske Viser, om allehaande moerkelige Krigs-Bedrivt og anden selsom Eventyr, som sig her udi Riget ved gamle Kaemper, navnkundige Konger, og ellers fornemme Personer begivet haver, af Arilds Tid til denne naervaerende Dag...,* published by P. Syv.

The text of Engels' translation follows:

Herr Lave, der ritt zum Inselstrand
Zu frein um des schönsten Mädchens Hand.
Ich reite mit, sagte Jon.

Er freite die Braut und führt' sie nach Haus,
Ritter und Knappen kamen heraus.
Hier reite ich, sagte Jon.

Sie setzten die Braut auf den bräutlichen Thron,
Den Herren liess brav einschenken Herr Jon.
Trinkt drauf los, sagte Jon.

Sie führten die Braut zum Brautbett herfür,
Sie vergassen den Schnürleib zu lösen ihr.
Will's schon lösen, sagte Jon.

Herr Lave rode to the island strand
To sue for the loveliest maiden's hand.
I'll ride with you, said Jon.

He took her home, his new-won bride,
The knights and squires all came outside.
I'm coming too, said Jon.

They sat the bride on the bridal throne,
The cups were filled by request of Herr Jon.
Now drink away, said Jon.

They led the bride to the bridal chamber,
But to loosen her stays did not remember.
I'll loosen them, said Jon.

Herr Jon der schloss so rasch die Tür!
Jetzt sagt Herrn Lave gut' Nacht von mir.
Ich liege hier, sagte Jon.

Kam die Botschaft zu Herrn Lave hinein:
Herr Jon schläft bei der jungen Braut dein.
Das tu ich, sagte Jon.

Herr Lave pocht ans Kämmerlein:
Steht auf Herr Jon und lasst uns ein.
Bleibt draussen, sagte Jon.

Er stiess mit Schild und Speer an die Tür:
Steht auf Herr Jon und kommt herfür.
Da könnt Ihr warten, sagte Jon.

Und kann meine Braut nicht sein ungeschoren,
So trag ich das zu des Königs Ohren.
Jawohl, sagte Jon.

Früh am Morgen, da war es Tag,
Herr Lave bringt zum König die Klag.
Ich will mit, sagte Jon.

Ich hatte gefreit eine Jungfrau mir,
Jetzt hat Jon geschlafen bei ihr.
Das tat ich, sagte Jon.

Und liebt Ihr beide die Jungfrau sosehr,
So müsst Ihr brechen um sie einen Speer.
Ist mir recht, sagte Jon.

Als die Sonn' am Morgen tat aufgehen,
Da kamen die Ritter den Kampf anzusehen.
Hier bin ich, sagte Jon.

Den ersten Gang den ritten sie,
Herrn Jon's Ross fiel nieder auf die Knie.
Hilf jetzt Gott, sagte Jon.

Herr Jon locked upright speedily!
Now bid Herr Lave goodnight for me.
I'll lie down here, said Jon.

Then with the news to Herr Lave they hied:
Herr Jon is sleeping beside your bride.
I am indeed, said Jon.

Outside, Herr Lave began to knock!
Get up, Herr Jon, unfasten the lock.
You stay out there, said Jon.

He banged on the door with shield and spear.
Get up, Herr Jon, and come out here.
No, you must wait, said Jon.

If my bride must be molested so,
Then to the King's ear it must go.
Of course it must, said Jon.

In the early morning, at break of day,
Herr Lave set out for His Majesty.
I'm coming too, said Jon.

I married myself a fair young bride,
All night Herr Jon has lain by her side.
I have indeed, said Jon.

If you both love the maiden fair,
Then you must break a spear for her.
I'll go with that, said Jon.

Later that day, when the sun was bright,
The knights came out to watch the fight.
Well, here I am, said Jon.

The first pass of the joust rode they,
Herr Jon's horse knelt as if to pray.
God, help me now, said Jon.

Zum zweiten Gang anrannten die Pferd',
Herr Lave fiel nieder auf die Erd'.
Da liegt er, sagte Jon.

Herr Jon nach seinem Hofe geht,
Draussen sein Mädchen wartend steht.
Du bist mein, sagte Jon.

Jetzt hat Herr Jon verwunden seinen Harm,
Jetzt schläft er in seines Mädchens Arm,
Jetzt hab' ich sie, sagte Jon.

The horses charged in the second pass,
Herr Lave fell down upon the grass.
Now there he lies, said Jon.

Back to his castle Herr Jon did ride,
His maid was waiting for him outside.
Now you are mine, said Jon.

Herr Jon has righted a grievous wrong,
He sleeps in his maid's arms all night long.
I have her now, said Jon.

*(Translated by Alex Miller)*—375.

431 The *Schwabenspiegel* is a code of common law compiled in Swabia in the 13th century, a period of feudal fragmentation in Germany. Julian Schmidt, in his book, mistakenly describes it as a monument of Swabian poetry.

Julian Schmidt erroneously listed among the 'seven wise men' of Greece (Solon, Bias, Pittacus, Cleobul, Chilon, Myson and Thales, all of whom lived in the 7th-6th centuries B.C.) Pythagoras, Heraclitus, Democritus and other later philosophers who derived all natural phenomena from a single source.

*Die sieben Schwaben* (The Seven Swabians) is a German comic folk story.—377

432 An allusion to the fact that Julian Schmidt's book was a success with the German liberal bourgeoisie, in particular the supporters of Wilhelm Grabow, president of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies.—377

433 The *Epicureans, Stoics* and *Sceptics* were the principal Greek philosophical schools of the Hellenistic period.—377

434 In the summer of 1862 Marx was engaged in studies on rent of land (see Notebooks X and XI of his Economic Manuscript of 1861-63).—377, 380, 394

435 Part of this letter was first published in English in: Marx and Engels *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955. It first appeared in English in full, minus the postscript, in *The Letters of Karl Marx*. Selected and Translated with Explanatory Notes and an Introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—380

436 Marx means the table of reproduction and circulation of social capital contained in Quesnay's *Analyse du tableau économique*. Marx used the edition, *Physiocrates... Avec une introduction sur la doctrine des Physiocrates, des commentaires et des notices historiques*, par M. Eugène Daire. Première partie. Paris, 1846. He gives a detailed analysis of the table in Notebook X of his Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 31) and in his study on

the subject incorporated in Engels' *Anti-Dühring* (Ch. X, Part II, present edition, Vol. 25).—381

437 In 1862, following the Order of Amnesty (see Note 256), Wilhelm Wolff made an unsuccessful attempt to restore his Prussian citizenship. It was probably with this end in view that he went on a second trip to Germany in the summer of that year (he made the first in the summer of 1861).—383

438 An allusion to money matters between Marx and Freiligrath mediated by Engels.—384

439 The ideas Engels expressed here were developed by Marx in the article 'A Criticism of American Affairs', published in *Die Presse* on 9 August 1862 (present edition, Vol. 19).—386

440 The *Territories* were divisions of the USA that had not yet been granted full state rights. Engels may be referring to the 'old Northwest', a Territory formed by the Congress in 1787. By the time of the Civil War, the states of Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio and Minnesota (the last named partly outside its boundary) had been formed there.—388, 420

441 The letter was published in English for the first time in part in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* New York, 1937, and in full in: *The Letters of Karl Marx.* Selected and Translated with Explanatory Notes and an Introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—388

442 The *Quadrilateral* was the stronghold of Northern Italy, formed by the fortresses of Verona, Legnago, Mantua and Peschiera.—389

443 *Blue Books*—periodically published collections of documents of the British Parliament and Foreign Office. They have been appearing since the seventeenth century.—391

444 In his *Herr Julian Schmidt der Literarhistoriker* Lassalle gives a critical analysis of Schmidt's *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* in the form of remarks and commentaries to the text by the compositor and his wife.—391

445 Engels means Wilhelm Wolff's return from Germany (see Note 437).—391

446 Engels is referring to the pamphlets of the German idealist philosopher Bruno Bauer *Rußland und das Germanenthum,* Charlottenburg, 1853; *Rußland und England,* Charlottenburg, 1854; *Die jetzige Stellung Rußlands,* Charlottenburg, 1854, and others. Marx attacks Bauer's foreign-policy views in his unfinished work 'Bruno Bauer's Pamphlets on the Collision with Russia' (present edition, Vol. 15).—393

447 First published in English in part in the *Labour Monthly,* London, 1923, Vol. 5, No. 4, and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—394

448 In this letter Marx uses the term *cost price (Kostpreis, Kostenpreis)* in the sense of price of production (c+v+average profit).—396

449 *New England*—a highly industrialised region in the northeast of the USA (comprising the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut). It was the centre of the Abolitionist movement.—400, 416

450 To cope with Britain's increased national debt, William Pitt's government set up in 1786 a redemption fund, to finance which it raised existing and introduced new, indirect taxes.

The *Tax Bill,* passed in the USA in April 1862, was shelved. To cover its military expenditure the Federal government had recourse to the emission of paper money (see Note 422).—400, 421

451 The *physiocrats* were a school of bourgeois political economy that emerged in France in the 1750s. They held Nature to be the only source of wealth, and agriculture the only sphere of the economy where value was created. Advocates of large-scale capitalist farming, they showed the moribund nature of the feudal economy, thus contributing to the ideological preparation of the bourgeois revolution in France. Marx gave a critical analysis of the physiocrats' views in Notebook VI of his Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 31).—403

452 Engels penned this letter on the back of Borkheim's letter to him of 12 August 1862. Borkheim had written to say that Lassalle was away from Berlin and therefore no acceptance could be obtained for a bill issued by Engels.—405

453 On 27 August 1862 the board of the Great Exhibition in London issued Marx, as a correspondent of *Die Presse,* with a free pass to the Exhibition for its duration.—408

454 This letter has not been found.—410

455 Marx probably means Borkheim's letter to Engels of 12 August 1862 (see Note 452).—410

456 Marx discusses the use of the replacement fund in the function of accumulation fund in Notebook XIII of his Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 32).—412

457 Engels travelled in Germany from 12 to 29 September 1862. After a journey along the Mosel and Rhine and a trip to Thuringia, he stayed with his relatives in Barmen and Engelskirchen.—414, 417, 418

458 This refers to the Federals' ill-starred offensive on Richmond in August 1862. At the second battle of Bull Run (for the first see Note 390) near Manassas (southwest of Washington) on 29 and 30 August 1862, their forces, commanded by General Pope, suffered a severe defeat and had to retreat towards Washington. To prevent the fall of the capital, the Federal command had to bring in reinforcements.—414, 457

459 In August 1862 the War Department in Washington ordered that henceforth only officers of the regular army could be promoted to Brigadier General or Major General. Volunteer officers could only be raised to those ranks for distinction in action and provided they had displayed the appropriate military qualifications.—415

460 From 28 August to 7 September 1862 Marx was in Zalt-Bommel and Trier to settle his financial affairs.—415, 420, 425

461 On 29 August 1862, during his march on Rome, Garibaldi was seriously wounded and taken prisoner in a clash with Royal troops at Astromonte. The capture of Italy's national hero evoked an outcry in many countries, Britain included. On this see Marx's article 'A Meeting for Garibaldi' (present edition, Vol. 19).—417

462 Marx refers to his article 'A Note on the Amnesty' (see present edition, Vol. 19). Based on data sent to him by Wilhelm Wolff from Manchester in a letter written between 10 and 12 September 1862, it revealed the demagogic nature of the 1861 political amnesty in Prussia (see Note 256) and was rather widely read in Germany. The article appeared in the *Barmer Zeitung* and was reprinted in the *Niederrheinische Volks-Zeitung* and the *Märkische Volks-Zeitung*.—417

463 On 23 September 1862, at the height of the Constitutional crisis (see Note 408), Bismarck was appointed Prime Minister of Prussia. This move signalled the government's resolve to go ahead with the planned military reform, despite the refusal of the Chamber of Deputies to provide the funds for it.—418

464 This refers to the Constitution adopted by the Frankfurt National Assembly on 28 March 1849 (it was rejected by the King of Prussia and other German monarchs). On 28 September 1862, about 200 deputies to the diets of various German states, meeting in Weimar, urged the convocation of an all-German Parliament with a view to establishing, in keeping with that Constitution, a united federal all-German state, its members enjoying autonomy in internal affairs.—418

465 On 21 March 1848, King Frederick William IV of Prussia declared that he was ready, for the salvation of Germany, to 'assume the leadership of the whole nation'. Hence the phrase 'Prussian leadership', which won currency as a euphemism for Prussia's striving to unite the country under its supremacy.—419

466 On 12 April 1862 Lassalle made a speech at a meeting of handicraftsmen in Oranienburg, a suburb of Berlin. It was published as a pamphlet under the heading *Ueber den besondern Zusammenhang der gegenwärtigen Geschichtsperiode mit der Idee des Arbeiterstandes*. The pamphlet was confiscated and legal proceedings instituted against Lassalle. On the second publication of this speech see Note 498.—420, 480

467 On 4 September 1862 the Confederates launched an offensive in Maryland which ended in their defeat at Antietam Creek on 17 September. For details see Marx's articles 'Comments on the North American Events' and 'The Situation in North America' (present edition, Vol. 19).—420

468 Lincoln's *Emancipation Proclamation* of 22 September 1862 declared all Black slaves in the rebellion-ridden states free as of 1 January 1863 and granted them the right to enrol in the army and navy. But as the freed Blacks were given no land, they continued to be exploited by their former masters, the rich planters, who had retained their dominant position in the South. Nor did the emancipation end racial discrimination.

The Confederate forces that invaded Kentucky on 12 September 1862 were defeated by the Unionists at Parryville on 8 October.—420, 428, 440

469 Marx means the chronic financial crisis in Austria that set in in 1848. It led to an enormous growth of the national debt, the massive emission of paper money and depreciation of currency. On this see Marx's article 'Highly Important from Vienna' (present edition, Vol. 16).

On the financial measures of the US government see Note 422.—420

470 To raise funds for military needs the Lincoln Administration paid bankers extending it loans in bullion an annual interest of 12 per cent instead of the

usual 5. According to *The Times*, in October 1862, the interest even rose to 29 per cent.—421

471 Marx means a series of revolutionary-democratic measures carried out by the Lincoln Administration from mid-1862 onwards. These included, besides the Emancipation Proclamation (see Note 468), the Homestead Act of 20 May 1862 which, by distributing public lands without compensation to everyone wishing to cultivate it, provided a democratic solution to the agrarian problem. Of great importance were also the purge of the army and administration of traitors, and the Act on the confiscation of rebels' property. These and other measures ensured the victory of the North in the Civil War.—421

472 This refers to the State and Congressional elections held in October and November 1862, which brought substantial losses for the Republicans as compared with previous elections, and victory for the Democrats in a number of states. For details see Marx's article 'The Election Results in the Northern States' (present edition, Vol. 19).—423

473 In the elections of 4 November 1862 the New York State governorship went to the Democrat Horatio Seymour. Democrats also won the majority of Congress seats in New York.—428

474 *West Point*, near New York, is the site of a military academy. Founded in 1802, it was the United States' only higher military educational establishment in the mid-19th century. Its graduates fought both in the Unionist and in the Confederate army. McClellan, too, studied at West Point. On this see Marx's article 'American Affairs' (present edition, Vol. 19).—428

475 Engels evidently means the wave of dismissals, started on 23 October 1862, of Prussian officials who had supported the opposition in the Provincial Diet during the Constitutional conflict in Germany (see notes 408 and 463).—428

476 At the battle of Corinth, Mississippi, fought on 3 and 4 October 1862, the Unionists, commanded by General Rosecrans, defeated the Confederates, led by generals Van Dorn, Price and Lovell.—429

477 Marx uses the word *Sonderbund* (separate union), which may be an allusion to the Swiss *Sonderbund*, the separatist union formed in 1843 by Switzerland's seven Catholic, economically backward cantons to resist progressive bourgeois reforms in the country. The decree of the Swiss Diet of July 1847 on the dissolution of the Sonderbund served as a pretext for the latter to open hostilities against the other cantons early in November. On 23 November 1847 the Sonderbund army was defeated by the federal forces.

Marx developed the ideas contained in this letter in his article 'Symptoms of Disintegration in the Southern Confederacy' (present edition, Vol. 19).—430

478 Marx means the returns of the autumn elections in the Northern States (see notes 472 and 473).—430

479 This refers to the suppression by General Napoleon Bonaparte of a royalist mutiny against the Thermidorian Convention in Paris on 4 and 5 October (12 and 13 Vendémiaire) 1795.—430

480 A Presidential election was due in November 1864. The 38th Congress elected in the autumn of 1862 and first convened in December 1863 (see notes 472 and 473) was to meet for its 1864 autumn session in December, after the Presidential election.—430

481 On 30 October 1862 the French government sent a message to Britain and Russia calling for joint action by the three powers to impose a ceasefire in the USA, lift the blockade and open the Southern ports to European trade. On 8 November Russia, and later Britain, rejected Napoleon III's proposal to interfere in US home affairs.—430

482 Calling for the unification of Germany under the aegis of Prussia, the Party of Progress (see Note 371) was advocating a Little Germany (see Note 24).—431

483 This refers to French armed intervention in Mexico (see Note 411).

By *crapauds* (French: toads; figuratively, nonentities) Marx means the Bonapartist generals.—431

484 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: Karl Marx, *On America and the Civil War,* New York, 1972.

From 1858, Marx had had serious differences with Freiligrath over the Vogt affair (see Note 4), the attitude to Kinkel and other matters. In the spring of 1862, following Freiligrath's breach with Kinkel, who had joined the National Association (see Note 24), relations between Marx and Freiligrath began returning to normal.—432

485 Marx stayed with Engels in Manchester and then with Eichhoff in Liverpool approximately from 5 to 13 December 1862.—432, 442

486 This refers to a letter by Ludwig Kugelmann to Freiligrath of 21 November 1862 with inquiry about the progress of Marx's economic studies. In forwarding the letter to Marx on 3 December, Freiligrath called it 'paroles d'un croyant' (an allusion to F. de Lamennais' book *Paroles d'un Croyant,* published in Paris in 1834). Marx's reply to it (see Note 488) marked the beginning of his correspondence and friendship with Kugelmann.—432, 435

487 The *Manichaeans* were adherents of a religion that originated in the Middle East in the 3rd century A.D. In colloquial German, *Manichäer* also means an implacable creditor (by analogy with the phrase *mahnender Gläubiger*—dunning creditor).—432

488 This letter opened the Marx-Kugelmann correspondence, which continued until 1874. In 1902 Marx's letters to Kugelmann dealing with the basic problems of the international working-class movement and Marxist theory were published by Karl Kautsky in the journal *Die Neue Zeit.*

The English translation of this letter first appeared in: Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann,* Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1934.—435

489 This refers to the abortive offensive of the Union army under Burnside on the Confederates' strongly fortified positions near Fredericksburg, on the southern bank of the Rappahannock (Virginia), in December 1862. The Union forces had reached Fredericksburg on 17 November but it was not until 13 December that they began to cross the river and advance. On the night of 14 December, after a series of unsuccessful attacks, Burnside's troops were forced to withdraw to the northern bank.—437, 439

490 In late December 1862, workers and democrats in London, Manchester and Sheffield held mass meetings of solidarity with the Union states in their struggle to end slavery.—440

491 Marx obviously means the active participation in the US Civil War of immigrant Germans, veterans of the 1848-49 revolution in Germany. This

applied, in particular, to Joseph Weydemeyer, a close friend and associate of Marx and Engels.

During the American War of Independence (1775-83) France was helping the North American colonies against Britain, her rival in trade and the struggle for colonies.—440

492 First published in English in full in a footnote in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—441, 443, 522

493 This refers to the lodgings occupied by Mary and Lizzy Burns (see Note 386).—443

494 Marx means the section on machinery in Notebooks V and XIX-XX of his Economic Manuscript of 1861-63. Later this material formed the basis of Chapter XV of Vol. I of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 35).—446, 449

495 Marx means his excerpts from: J. H. M. Poppe, *Geschichte der Technologie seit der Wiederherstellung der Wissenschaften bis an das Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Bd. 1-3, Göttingen, 1807-11; J. Beckmann, *Beyträge zur Geschichte der Erfindungen*, Bd. 1-5, Leipzig, 1783-1800; *Technisches Wörterbuch oder Handbuch der Gewerbekunde*. Bearbeitet nach Dr. Andrew Ure's *Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures and Mines* von Karl Karmarsch und Friedrich Heeren, Prag, 1843-44. Erster Band, and other works—contained in Marx's London notebooks of excerpts (1850-53).—449

496 The *jenny* was a spinning machine invented by James Hargreaves in 1765. He named it after his daughter, Jane.—449

497 This refers to the speech Lassalle made in the Berlin criminal court on 16 January 1863. It was published as a pamphlet, under the title *Die Wissenschaft und die Arbeiter*. Eine Vertheidigungsrede vor dem Berliner Criminalgericht, Zürich, 1863.—451

498 Marx means the second publication of Lassalle's speech of 12 April 1862 (see Note 466). It appeared in Zurich in 1863 under the title *Arbeiterprogramm. Ueber den besondern Zusammenhang der gegenwärtigen Geschichtsperiode mit der Idee des Arbeiterstandes*.—451

499 In January 1863 an uprising against Tsarist oppression erupted in the Kingdom of Poland (see Note 513). It was an expression of the Poles' striving for national independence and of the crisis of feudal relations within the Kingdom. On 22 January 1863 the National Committee, which headed the uprising, put forward a programme of struggle for Poland's independence and a number of democratic agrarian demands. In May the Committee constituted itself the National Government. However, its inconsistency and indecision, in particular its failure to abolish the privileges of the big landowners, alienated the peasants, the majority of whom stayed away from the uprising. This was one of the main causes of its defeat. The movement was, by and large, crushed by the Tsarist government towards the autumn of 1863, though some units of the insurgents continued the struggle until the end of 1864.

The leaders of the uprising pinned great hopes on help from the West European powers, but these confined themselves to diplomatic representations and, in effect, betrayed the insurgents.

The Polish uprising was enthusiastically supported by Russian and West European democrats.—453, 460, 464

500 Marx probably means the Little Germans (see Note 24) who supported the national liberation struggle of the Italians and Hungarians against Austrian domination, their aim being a weakening of Austria, Prussia's main rival in the drive for the unification of Germany 'from above', under the supremacy of the ruling classes.—453

501 This refers to the French intervention in Mexico (see Note 411).

The *Lower Empire* (*Bas-Empire* in French) is the name sometimes given to the Byzantine Empire and also to the late Roman Empire. In a more general sense, the name is applied to any state going through a period of decline and disintegration. Marx means the Second Empire in France.—453, 463

502 An allusion to Alexander Herzen's 'Fraternal Appeal to Russian Warriors', published in *Kolokol* (The Bell), No. 155, 1 February 1863. It called on Russian officers and soldiers to receive as brothers the Polish recruits brought into the army under the levy declared in Poland by the Tsarist government in October 1862.—453

503 In 1849, the bourgeois republican Armand Marrast, President of the French Constituent Assembly, requested General Changarnier to bring in troops for the protection of the Assembly, which was being threatened by the Bonapartists. Changarnier refused, declaring that he disapproved of *'baionnettes intelligentes'*, i. e. soldiers meddling in politics.—454

504 Marx presumably means the attempt, in 1863, to organise a military expedition to Circassia involving Urquhartites and Polish émigrés. The party was to be carried by the ship *Chesapeak*.—454, 492

505 General Joseph Hooker succeeded Burnside as commander of the Army of the Potomac in January 1863, after the latter's dismissal following the defeat on the Rappahannock (see Note 489).—454

506 Marx's eight-year-old son Edgar died at 28 Dean Street, Soho, on 6 April 1855.—454

507 In 1863 the Prussian government, fearing the spread of the Polish national liberation uprising to the parts of Poland held by Prussia, and hoping to win Russia's support for its endeavours to unite Germany under Prussian supremacy, offered the Tsarist government military aid for the suppression of the uprising. On 8 February, on Bismarck's initiative, the two Parties concluded the Alvensleben convention (so called after the Adjutant General of the King of Prussia, who signed it) on joint action against the insurgents. The convention was not ratified.—455, 456, 537

508 Marx carried out this plan, if only in part, at the end of October 1863 when he wrote a 'Proclamation on Poland by the German Workers' Educational Society in London' (present edition, Vol. 19) which was published in November as a leaflet on behalf of the Society (see Note 3).—455, 458

509 In 1861 a Polish youth society was formed in Paris by the most active element of the Polish national liberation movement. In October of that year the society started a military school in Genoa to train officers for an insurrection in Poland. The instructors at the school, which was later transferred to Cuneo (also in Italy), prepared a number of military manuals and had them published in Paris.—456

510 The dispute between Bakunin and Mierosławski was provoked by the 'Letter of the Polish Central National Committee in Warsaw to the Editors of the *Kolokol*'

published in that journal on 1 October 1862. It recognised the right of the peoples of Lithuania, Byelorussia and the Ukraine to self-determination as one of the main principles of the future national liberation uprising. The letter evoked a sharp protest from Mierosławski and other moderate Polish democrats advocating the great-power slogan of the inviolability of Poland's frontiers of 1772. Bakunin attacked this stance in the pamphlet *Le comité central de Varsovie et le comité militaire russe. Réponse au général Mieroslawski*, London, 1862. Mierosławski replied with the pamphlet *Dernière réponse à M. Michel Bakounine*, published in Paris on 20 January 1863. The Mierosławski-Bakunin polemic was given broad coverage in the press.—456

511 Engels speaks about the possible revival of the *Holy Alliance*, the association of European monarchs founded at the Congress of Vienna on 26 September 1815 on the initiative of Emperor Alexander I of Russia and the Chancellor of Austria, Metternich, for protecting the 'legitimate' regimes restored after the victory over Napoleon and for suppressing revolutionary and national liberation movements.—456, 505, 513, 543

512 The pamphlet, on which Marx worked from mid-February to the end of May 1863, failed to materialise. Marx's numerous manuscripts, drafts and excerpts on the subject were published by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU in the *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. XIV, Moscow, 1973 and also in Warsaw in: Marks K., *Przyczynki do historii kwestii polskiej (Rękopisy z lat 1863-1864)*, 1971. No manuscripts by Engels relating to the pamphlet in question have been found.—458, 459, 461

513 There were three divisions of Poland between Prussia, Austria and Russia, in 1772, 1793 and 1795. As a result, Russia obtained Lithuanian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian territories, while Prussia and Austria gained portions of Poland proper. By decision of the Congress of Vienna, 1814-15 (see Note 511), a large part of the original Polish lands was annexed to Russia under the name of the Kingdom (Tsardom) of Poland.—459, 470, 538

514 On 18 February 1863 the liberal majority in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies criticised the Prusso-Russian convention against the Polish insurgents (see Note 507) and passed a resolution urging the Prussian government to remain neutral.—461

515 This refers to Kugelmann's letter to Marx of 18 March 1863.—461

516 On 10 March 1863 Langiewicz, who led a unit of insurgents in the Sandomierz province, in South Poland, was proclaimed 'dictator' by the conservative bourgeois and landowner party of the 'Whites'. His government, established as a result of backstage intrigues, opposed the revolutionary leadership of the uprising, notably the National Central Committee of the petty-bourgeois and *szlachta* (gentry) party of the 'Reds', which was acting as a provisional national government. However, as early as 19 March Langiewicz abandoned his unit, which was being pushed back by superior forces of the Tsarist army, and fled to Austria.—461, 464

517 *Letters of marque* were licenses granted by the state to private persons to seize and destroy enemy and neutral vessels carrying cargoes for enemy states. The Paris declaration of 1856 on maritime law (see Note 378) abolished privateering.—462

518 On America's stand with regard to the resolutions of the 1856 Congress of Paris see Marx's article 'The Washington Cabinet and the Western Powers' (present edition, Vol. 19).

On the *Trent* affair see Note 366.—462

519 Marx is referring to Palmerston's treacherous policy towards Poland. The immediate occasion for these comments were extracts from Palmerston's speech on Poland in the House of Commons on 23 March 1863, given in *The Times* and *The Morning Star* on the following day. Marx's manuscripts for the book on Poland he intended to write (see Note 512) contain the following passage from *The Morning Star* of 24 March: 'For he told the House of Commons again last night that his view of the Polish question was quite unaltered—that he adheres now to the position he took up in 1831: that our obligations are exhausted by a note "representing in friendly terms to the Emperor of *Russia* considerations as to the arrangements he would make for the re-establishment of tranquility in Poland".' (See *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. XIV, Moscow, 1973, p. 512.)—462

520 This refers to the speech by Plon-Plon (Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte) in the Senate on 18 March 1863. In his manuscripts for a book on Poland (see Note 512) Marx called this speech a 'farce' (*Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. XIV, Moscow, 1973, p. 502).—463

521 There were riots by starving unemployed weavers in the industrial towns of Ashton and Staleybridge, Lancashire, in March 1863 caused by the cotton crisis in Britain during the US Civil War of 1861-65 (see Note 385). Large forces of police, and regular troops of infantry and cavalry were employed against the rioters.—463

522 The Polish insurrection started off a wave of peasant risings against the landowners and Tsarist autocracy in Lithuania and West Byelorussia in February and March 1863. The Lithuanian provincial committee, which led the movement both in Lithuania and in Byelorussia, declared its solidarity with the programme of the Polish insurrection put forward by the Provisional National Committee in Warsaw. The armed insurgent units in Lithuania and Byelorussia consisted mostly of peasants, and also included artisans, students and members of the landless nobility. Their leaders were the revolutionary democrats Konstanty Kalinowski, Zygmunt Sierakowski and Walery Wróblewski. The special significance of the Lithuanian risings lay in their democratic tendency and the opportunities they created for the movement to spread into Russia.

*Congress Poland* was the part of Poland annexed to Russia by decision of the Congress of Vienna (1814-15) under the name of the Kingdom (Tsardom) of Poland.—464

523 Engels is referring to the following passage in Kugelmann's letter to Marx of 18 March 1863: 'I have been repeatedly told of late that Engels' *Condition of the Working Classes in England* is inaccurate and one-sided, indeed that the author himself has disowned his work as a piece of immature juvenilia. *Is it true?* I can't believe it.' Further on Kugelmann suggested that the book should be republished.—465

524 *Plonplonism*—from Plon-Plon, nickname of Napoleon III's cousin, Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte, who led a Bonapartist faction that sought to distract the masses from struggle against the existing regime by means of large-scale social demagoguery and ostensible opposition to the policy of

Napoleon III. Plon-Plon took an equally demagogic stand on the national liberation struggle of the Hungarian, Italian and Polish peoples and acted, in effect, as a vehicle of Napoleon III's foreign policy, recruiting supporters for it among bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democratic émigrés.—466, 505

525 On 10 February 1863 the Leipzig central committee for the convocation of a general German working men's congress requested Lassalle to set forth his views on the problems of the working-class movement. Lassalle responded by writing a pamphlet entitled *Offnes Antwortschreiben an das Central-Comité zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitercongresses zu Leipzig* (Zurich, 1863). He suggested that the pamphlet be made the 'official manifesto of the movement'. Below Marx quotes from pp. 11, 23, 36 et seq. of the pamphlet.—467

526 On 26 March 1863 the London Trades Union Council held a meeting at St James's Hall to express the British workers' solidarity with the North American States' struggle to abolish slavery. It was chaired by John Bright, an opponent of Britain's armed intervention in the US Civil War on the side of the Southern States.—468

527 The *Independents* were a Protestant trend in England. In the 1580s and 1590s they constituted the left wing of the Puritan movement and were in radical opposition to absolutism and the Church of England. During the English revolution of the seventeenth century, the Independents formed a political party which held power under Oliver Cromwell (1649-53).—468

528 This refers to an item in the *Berliner Reform* of 10 April 1863 which gave a distorted account of the talks on the joint publication of a newspaper Marx had had with Lassalle when visiting Berlin in the spring of 1861. On 13 April 1863 Marx wrote a refutation, which was published by the *Berliner Reform* on 17 April (see present edition, Vol. 19).—469

529 Schulze-Delitzsch's agitation among German workers and handicraftsmen for the establishment of co-operative societies and savings banks with funds contributed by the workers themselves was an attempt to distract them from the revolutionary struggle against capital and to perpetuate the bourgeoisie's influence on the proletariat. By claiming that co-operative societies were capable of improving the workers' condition within the framework of capitalism and saving the handicraft producers from ruin, Schulze-Delitzsch was preaching the harmony of the capitalists' and workers' interests. In his pamphlet *Offnes Antwortschreiben ...* (see Note 525) Lassalle attacked these views and, instead, advocated universal suffrage and the reformist idea of producers' associations to be set up by workers with the aid of the state, which he regarded as a supra-class institution.—470

530 The *Livonians* were the inhabitants of Livonia, a Baltic area which is now part of the Latvian and Estonian republics within the USSR. Originally inhabited by the Livs, an extinct Finno-Ugric group, Livonia was conquered by the German Knights in the thirteenth century and formed the nucleus of the Livonian Order. In the second half of the sixteenth century it became part of the Rzecz Pospolita (Poland); and in the seventeenth century, joined Sweden. In 1721, as a result of the Northern War, it was included in the Russian Empire and in 1783 was constituted a separate gubernia, Livland, within Russia.—471

[531] This refers to an episode of the Constitutional conflict in Prussia (see Note 408). In May 1863 a clash in the Prussian Diet between War Minister Roon and Deputy Sybel gave rise to a controversy over whether the president of the Diet had the right to interrupt speakers, in particular government Ministers. The Bismarck government was adamant on the issue, denying this right to the president. Engels pokes fun at the debate started in this connection by the deputies of the Party of Progress (see Note 371) and the draft resolution they tabled. On 15 May the Diet recognised by a majority vote the president's right to interrupt any deputy. In retaliation, the Diet was closed down by Royal decree on 27 May, ahead of time, and a restrictive decree on the press issued on 1 June.—473

[532] In April and May 1863 a sharp political struggle developed between Lassalle and the bourgeois Party of Progress (see Note 371) in connection with Lassalle's propaganda campaign preparatory to the establishment of the General Association of German Workers (see Note 536). Lassalle's stepped-up attacks on the Party of Progress were countered by sharp articles in the bourgeois press accusing him of collaboration with Bismarck.—473

[533] Marx means the manifesto on the 1863 insurrection in Poland (see Note 508) which he intended to write jointly with Engels on behalf of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 3).—474

[534] This refers to Marx's work on the book on Poland which he planned to write in collaboration with Engels. Its tentative title was *Deutschland und Polen. Politisch-militärische Betrachtungen bei Gelegenheit des polnischen Aufstands von 1863* (see this volume, pp. 455 and 459 and Note 512).—474

[535] By the time when he was making the excerpts in question Marx had written the greater part (Notebooks I-XXI) of the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (see Note 310). The excerpts are in eight 'Supplementary Notebooks' (Beihefte), marked with the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H. When writing the last two notebooks of the 1861-63 manuscript (XXII and XXIII), filled up between May and July 1863, Marx was already drawing on the 'Supplementary Notebooks'.—474

[536] By the *new movement* Marx means the *General Association of German Workers*, the political organisation founded at the congress of workers' associations in Leipzig on 23 May 1863. Lassalle was elected president of the Association. Its establishment was a milestone in freeing the German workers from the influence of the liberal bourgeoisie and forming an independent political organisation of the proletariat. However, the reformist programme imposed on the Association by Lassalle (see Note 525) was an obstacle to its becoming a revolutionary party of the proletariat. Lassalle's policy was meeting with growing opposition within the Association from Liebknecht, Becker, Klings and other members who relied on the support of Marx and Engels.—475

[537] Engels means the elections to the *Corps législatif* in France held on 31 May and 1 June 1863, and the elections to the Chamber of Deputies of the Prussian Diet on 6 May 1862.—477

[538] The Prussian Diet was closed down on 27 May 1863, ahead of time (see Note 531).—477

[539] Unionist General Joseph Hooker, defeated by numerically inferior Confederate forces at Chancellorsville, Virginia, on 2-4 May 1863, and himself wounded

in the fighting, on 6 May issued an order congratulating his army on its 'achievements of the last seven days'.—478

540 This refers to the *Code civil*, the Civil Code adopted in France in 1804. It was introduced by Napoleon I in the conquered regions of West and Southwest Germany and remained in force in the Rhine Province after its incorporation into Prussia in 1815.—478

541 An allusion to the Brimstone Gang (see Note 65).—479

542 Marx means the bourgeois philanthropist Robert Gladstone and his associates in Liverpool.—480

543 The *Free Traders* were British industrialists advocating non-interference by the state in business, notably the repeal of the protectionist Corn Laws. Their centre was Manchester. The movement was led by the textile manufacturers Cobden and Bright, who founded the Anti-Corn Law League in 1838.—480

544 Widespread discontent with the policy of the bourgeois and landowner party of the 'Whites', who usurped the leadership of the uprising (see Note 499) in April-May 1863, prompted the revolutionary elements within the insurgents' organisation in Warsaw to take over power at the end of May. One of the slogans of the new National Government, composed of moderate 'Reds' (see Note 516), was the formation of a universal militia with a view to enrolling the peasant masses in the guerrilla struggle. However, within ten days the 'Whites' reasserted themselves in the National Government. Reluctant openly to reject the popular slogan of a universal militia they 'postponed' its implementation indefinitely. As a result, the insurrection remained fragmented and failed to assume nationwide proportions.—483

545 In the summer of 1863 the Southerners made an unsuccessful attempt to launch a fresh offensive in Pennsylvania.—484

546 The *Tableau économique* given below by Marx corresponds to the Table of the Reproduction Process contained in Notebook XXII of his economic manuscript of 1861-63, p. 1394 (see Note 310). Later Marx gave an analysis of the reproduction and circulation of the aggregate social capital in *Capital*, Vol. II, Part III (present edition, Vol. 36).

On Quesnay's table see Note 436.—485

547 In late July or in August 1863 a new stage began in Marx's work on *Capital*, when he rewrote the 1861-63 manuscript (see Note 310) producing, by the beginning of 1866, a third rough draft of the theoretical part of *Capital* (three books). In the present letter Marx writes about his work on Book I.—488, 530

548 Marx's wife and daughters spent three weeks on holiday in Hastings, on the South coast of England, from 14 August to 4 September 1863. The main reason for their stay was the health of Jenny, the Marx couple's eldest daughter, who had been unwell throughout the spring and summer of 1863.—488, 583

549 These photographs have not been found.—488

550 In March 1863 bonds were issued in a number of European countries for a 7% Cotton Loan of the Confederate States of America to the tune of £3 million. Although not officially quoted at the London Stock Exchange, they were rapidly distributed thanks to the publicity given to the loan by *The Times*.—489

551 In his article 'Bourbon War and the London Newspaper Press' published in *Cobbett's Weekly Register,* Vol. 45, No. 6, February 8, 1823, pp. 354-81, William Cobbett described *The Times* as follows (p. 375): 'Here is a pretty concern!... it is a trading concern; a concern for making money; a concern with which truth or falsehood can have nothing at all to do.'—489

552 After seizing Mexico City in 1863, the French interventionists on 18 June set up a Supreme Junta, composed of 35 conservatives nominated by the French commander. The junta called an assembly of notables, who on 10 July proclaimed Mexico an 'empire' under the rule of Archduke Maximilian of Austria, a placeman of Napoleon III. Marx ironically compares this 'suffrage' by the Mexican notables with the elections of 10 December 1848 in France, in which Louis Bonaparte secured the Presidency of the French Republic, and with the referendum he held in 1860 in Savoy and Nice, after their annexation by France as a result of the 1859 Austro-Italo-French war.—489

553 In March 1863, Polish refugees in England fitted out a corps of about 200 Poles, Frenchmen and Italians for participation in the Polish uprising. Commanded by Colonel Lapiński, they were to sail to Lithuania on the steamer *Ward Jackson* and join the insurgents there. However, the expedition failed due to poor organisation and inadequate security precautions. On arrival in Malmö, in April, the ship and the members of the expedition were detained by the Swedish authorities. Bakunin who had joined the corps at the Swedish port of Hälsingborg, after the detention of the ship, went to Stockholm, where he stayed till October trying to establish contacts with Swedish and Finnish revolutionaries.—490, 492

554 The *Rosicrucians* were members of secret mystical societies, active in Germany and other European countries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The name is believed to derive from Christian Rosenkreutz, the reputed fifteenth-century founder of the Society. Another theory traces the name to the Society's emblem, which features the cross and roses.—491

555 On 17 September 1863 the bourgeois and *szlachta* (gentry) party of the 'Reds' formed a new National Government, which operated until 17 October.—492

556 An assembly of German princes was held on Austria's initiative in Frankfurt am Main from 15 August to 1 September 1863 to discuss a draft reform of the German Confederation. In view of William I's refusal to attend, it ended in failure marking another defeat for Austria in its struggle against Prussia for supremacy in Germany.

The *edict in support of Poland,* issued by the cardinal vicar of Rome, called for a solemn procession and public prayers in favour of Poland in early September.—492

557 The death, on 15 November 1863, of the childless King Frederick VII terminated the personal union of the duches of Schleswig and Holstein with Denmark. The enthronement of Christian IX, named heir to the Danish Crown by the London Protocol of 8 May 1852 (see notes 324 and 380), and the promulgation, on 18 November, of a new Constitution proclaiming the final incorporation of Schleswig and Holstein into the domains of the Danish monarch led to a rise of the anti-Danish national liberation movement in the two duchies and a sharp aggravation of Danish-German differences.—493

558 This refers to Friedrich of Augustenburg. On 30 December 1852 his father, Christian of Augustenburg, renounced the Danish throne in favour of

Christian IX. However, after the death of Frederick VII (see Note 557) Friedrich of Augustenburg on 16 November 1863 proclaimed himself Duke of Schleswig and Holstein as Frederick VIII.—494, 496

559 The October 1863 elections to the Prussian Diet brought another victory for the Party of Progress. On 21 November, the newly elected Chamber of Deputies enforced the repeal of the decree, imposed on 1 June 1863, abolishing the freedom of the press.—494

560 Engels did not carry out his intention to write a pamphlet on the Schleswig-Holstein question.—496

561 Marx left for Trier on 7 December 1863. From there he went to see his relatives in Frankfurt am Main and then travelled on to Zalt-Bommel to stay with Lion Philips, his mother's executor (see this volume, pp. 500-01). Marx was taken ill in Zalt-Bommel and did not return to London until 19 February 1864.—498, 511

562 During Marx's young years in Trier, the address of the von Westphalens' house was 389 Neugasse (later Neustrasse).

*Roman antiquities*—the local inhabitants were very proud of the ancient Roman architectural monuments in Trier.—499

563 *Grünberg*—a small vineyard that belonged to Marx's father.—500

564 In his letter of 16 December 1863 Freiligrath informed Marx of a demand by Williams, a London bookseller, that Liebknecht return the money he had borrowed from him, this loan having been guaranteed by Freiligrath.—502

565 An ironic reference to the resolution of the Prussian Diet recognising Friedrich of Augustenburg's right to the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein (see notes 557 and 558) and urging immediate help for him. The words a *36th potentate* are an allusion to the fact that the German Confederation comprised 35 (according to other data, 34) states and four free cities.—503

566 The representatives of Prussia and Austria at the Federal Diet meeting in Frankfurt am Main in late December 1863 to consider the problem of Schleswig and Holstein were instructed to refrain from discussing the Polish question.—503

567 On Kossuth's ties with Plon-Plon see Marx's *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17).—505

568 Two motions—one on the occupation of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, and another on the so-called execution—were tabled at the German Federal Diet on 7 December 1863 following the promulgation of the new Danish Constitution (see Note 557). The latter motion was proposed by Prussia and Austria, who wanted no open violation of the 1852 London Protocol (see Note 380). Under pressure from Austria and Prussia, their proposal was adopted, and by 31 December Saxon and Hanover troops had occupied the whole of Holstein, meeting with no resistance from the Danes. Friedrich of Augustenburg was proclaimed Duke of Schleswig and Holstein under the name of Frederick VIII (see Note 558).—506

569 On 18 December 1863 the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, in an address to King William I, refused to allocate the emergency funds for the forthcoming war against Denmark. In his reply of 27 December William rejected the address. Engels probably knew the text of the reply from *The Times*, where it was published on 2 January 1864.—506

570 Parts of this letter were first published in English in: Marx and Engels, *On Literature and Art*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976 and in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—507

571 The enthronement of Christian IX as King of Denmark (see notes 557 and 558) led to a controversy in Germany over the status of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The smaller and medium-sized German states, through their representatives in the German Federal Diet, supported Friedrich of Augustenburg as claimant to the two duchies. In conformity with the London protocol of 1852, Austria recognised Christian IX's title to them. Prussia (Bismarck), while ostensibly taking a stand similar to Austria's, from the outset worked for the annexation of Schleswig and Holstein to Prussia. The so-called execution (see Note 568) failed to eliminate the inner-German differences.

The *Warsaw Protocol*, mentioned by Marx below, was signed by Russia and Denmark on 5 June 1851. It proclaimed the indivisibility of the Danish Crown possessions, including Schleswig and Holstein.—507

572 The entry of Austro-Prussian troops into Schleswig on 1 February 1864 opened the *Danish war*, which marked an important stage in the struggle to unify Germany under Prussia's aegis. The purpose of the war was to sever Schleswig and Holstein from Denmark. Under the Vienna treaty of 30 October 1864, the two duchies were declared co-possessions of Austria and Prussia. After the 1866 Austro-Prussian war they were annexed to Prussia.—509, 538

573 On 12 March 1864 Marx came to stay with Engels in Manchester for a few days to tell him about his trip to Germany and Holland (see Note 561).—511, 518

574 First published in English in: *Marx on Revolution*, Tr. by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1971.—512

575 The *Mormons* are members of a religious sect founded in the United States in 1830 by Joseph Smith (1805-1844). The *Book of Mormon* which he wrote in 1830, allegedly on the basis of divine revelation, tells, in the name of the prophet Mormon, of the migration of Israelite tribes into America, which is claimed to have taken place in antiquity.—512

576 In the spring of 1848, Schleswig and Holstein were swept by a national liberation movement against Danish domination and for unification with Germany. The states of the German Confederation, with Prussia at the head, opened hostilities against Denmark, but it soon became clear that the Prussian government had no intention to uphold the interests of the liberation movement. The seven-month truce concluded in Malmö on 26 August 1848 nullified the revolutionary and democratic gains in Schleswig and Holstein and virtually ensured the continuance of Danish domination. The Prusso-Danish war, resumed at the end of March 1849 and carried on until 1850, ended in victory for Denmark, which retained Schleswig and Holstein. (See also Note 324.)—513

577 At the end of February 1864, after the Prussian troops had entered Jutland (see Note 572), the British government, to prevent the spread of hostilities, proposed calling in London a conference of the powers signatory to the 1852 protocol on the integrity of the Danish monarchy (see Note 324) with a view to settling the Prusso-Austro-Danish conflict. However, the conference, initially due to open on 12 April 1864, was repeatedly postponed because Prussia and Austria, who were doing everything to delay its convocation, did not send their

representatives. Though it did open eventually, the two-month deliberations (25 April to 25 June) produced no results because of sharp contradictions between the participants. No sooner did the conference close than Prussia and Austria resumed the fighting in Denmark.—513, 517, 519, 538, 543

578 Marx means the elections to the French *Corps législatif* of 31 May-1 June 1863.—513

579 At the time, Garibaldi was preparing to visit England (he arrived in early April 1864) with a view to raising funds for another expedition to end Austrian domination in Venetia (see also Note 582).—513

580 On 29 February 1864 Austria introduced a state of siege in Galicia, thus preventing any help to the Polish insurgents.—513

581 According to Epicurus, there is an endless multitude of worlds whose origin and existence is governed by their own natural laws. Gods exist too, but outside those worlds, in the spaces between them, and exert no influence whatever on the evolution of the universe or on human life.—515

582 The British government hoped to exploit Garibaldi's visit to England in April 1864 (see Note 579) to bring pressure to bear on Austria. It also had to take into account the enthusiastic welcome given to Italy's national hero by the public at large. Official honours were therefore bestowed on him at the beginning of his visit. However, the British bourgeoisie were angered by Garibaldi's meeting with Mazzini, who lived in London as a political émigré, and by his speeches in support of the Polish insurgents. A campaign against the Italian revolutionary was launched in the press. In connection with a request by Napoleon III for Garibaldi's immediate expulsion from Britain, the House of Commons discussed his health and a number of bourgeois newspapers hastened to announce that he 'was ill and leaving for Caprera'. Garibaldi denied this fabrication, declaring that he intended to visit several English cities. The result was an open statement by Gladstone to the effect that Garibaldi's further stay in Britain was undesirable. Soon after that, at the end of April, Garibaldi left the country.—516

583 Meetings in honour of Garibaldi were held at the Crystal Palace (see Note 246) on 16 and 18 April.—516

584 In 1844 letters from the *Bandiera brothers* to Mazzini containing the plan for their expedition to Calabria were opened by order of Sir James Graham, the British Home Secretary. The members of the expedition were arrested. The Bandieras were executed.—516

585 The *National Shakespeare Committee* was formed in England in 1863 to organise the celebration of the tricentennial of Shakespeare's birth on 23 April 1864.

Blind's admission to the Committee was announced in the *Athenaeum*, No. 1902, 9 April 1864.—517

586 An allusion to the fact that the aggravation of the Schleswig-Holstein conflict was alleged to be the result of a purely dynastic dispute that developed after the death of the childless King Frederick VII of Denmark (see notes 557 and 558).—517

587 In March 1864, after inheriting a small legacy from his mother, Marx and his family moved to a new house at 1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, in northwest London.—517

588 *Peelers* was a nickname for members of the Irish constabulary, founded in 1812-18 by Sir Robert Peel; also, by extension, a nickname for the police in England.—518

589 A decree issued on 1 June 1863 imposed severe restrictions on the press in Prussia.

In late April 1864 King William I visited the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein with a view to inducing their population to vote for a merger with Prussia in the forthcoming plebiscite which was to decide their status.—519

590 An allusion to France's annexation of Savoy and Nice under a treaty she concluded with the Kingdom of Sardinia in Turin in 1860. In keeping with that treaty, plebiscites were held in Savoy and Nice in April to create the illusion of a voluntary merger.—519

591 The Danish stronghold of *Düppel (Dybböl)* in Schleswig was stormed and captured by Prussian troops on 18 April 1864, in the course of the war that Prussia and Austria were waging against Denmark (see Note 572).—519

592 Engels means the defence of Sebastopol in the Crimean war of 1853-56.—519

593 Marx went to Manchester to see the sick Wilhelm Wolff on 3 May and stayed there until 19 May 1864.—520

594 The *Friends of Light* was a religious trend that opposed the Junker-backed arch-reactionary hypocritical pietism predominant in the official church. It was an expression of the bourgeoisie's dissatisfaction with the reactionary order in Germany in the 1840s.—525

595 Engels arrived in London on 19 May and stayed with Marx for four days.—526

596 Marx means the formalities involved in the transfer of the inheritance left to him by Wilhelm Wolff.—527

597 Jenny, Marx's eldest daughter, was jocularly called 'the Emperor of China' in the family, her sister Eleanor was 'the Successor', and the other sister, Laura, was 'the Secretary'.—527

598 Some time earlier, Harney had been invited by friends to settle in Australia, which probably gave rise to rumours that he had gone there. In fact, he did not follow up the invitation, emigrating with his wife and son to America in May 1863.—527

599 This letter has not been found. It may have contained an account of Frederick Engels' dealings with Gottfried Ermen and financial transactions with Hermann Engels.—528

600 This refers to the obituary of Wilhelm Wolff, published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 144 (supplement), 23 May 1864, and other German newspapers over the signatures of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Ernst Dronke, Louis Borchardt and Eduard Gumpert (see present edition, Vol. 19).—529

601 Marx means the books bequeathed to him by Wilhelm Wolff.—530, 534

602 In May 1864 the Union forces commanded by Grant launched their third offensive on Richmond. It was not until 3 April 1865 that the city was taken (see also Note 632).—530, 531

603 In this note, written on 23 May 1864, Ernest Jones expressed his regret at having failed to meet Marx on the eve of the latter's departure from Manchester. It was in Manchester that they had first met a week earlier, on 16 May, after not having seen each other for several years (see this volume, p. 526).—530

604 This refers to the power of attorney issued to Engels by Marx to take over the property bequeathed to him by Wilhelm Wolff (see present edition, Vol. 19, Appendices).—531

605 At *Solferino*, on 24 June 1859, the Austrian army was defeated by the Franco-Italian forces.—531

606 An ironic reference to the fact that, prior to the resumption (28 May 1864) of the London conference of European powers on the Schleswig-Holstein problem (see Note 577), Prussia and Austria had agreed on the candidature of Prince of Augustenburg as duke for Schleswig-Holstein (see Note 558), the Prince having promised in return a number of concessions to Prussia. However, his negotiations in Berlin with William I, Crown Prince Frederick William and Bismarck produced no results. The London conference, too, failed to reach agreement.—531

607 An allusion to the Warsaw Protocol of 1851 (see Note 571) and the London Protocol of 1852 (see Note 380).—532

608 In May 1864 Lassalle toured Germany in connection with the festivities to mark the first anniversary of the General Association of German Workers (see Note 536). In a speech he made in Elberfeld he called Wilhelm Wolff an 'outstanding fighter for the cause of the working class'.—533

609 In a letter to Friedrich Moll and Julius Melchior of 27 May 1864, Karl Klings describes the celebration in Germany of the first anniversary of the General Association of German Workers (see Note 536), stressing, in particular, that working-class audiences enthusiastically reacted to speakers' references to Marx and Engels. Klings requested Moll and Melchior to tell Marx that the workers wished to 'be worthy of such champions of their cause' as Marx and Engels.—533

610 Marx gave lectures on wage-labour and capital at the German Workers' Society in Brussels in the latter half of December 1847. These lectures formed the basis of his *Wage-Labour and Capital*, published as editorials in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Nos. 264-67 and 269, 5-8 and 11 April 1849 (present edition, Vol. 9). Later he gave up his intention to reproduce *Wage-Labour and Capital* as an appendix to Vol. I of *Capital*. He did, however, cite individual passages from it in notes to Volume I (see present edition, Vol. 35, author's notes to Part VII). In the Preface to the first German edition of Volume I Marx pointed out that Lassalle had borrowed many important theoretical propositions from his writings 'without any acknowledgement'.—534

611 Marx paraphrases the dictum 'They have learned nothing and forgotten nothing', which won currency during the restoration of the Bourbons (1815-30). Attributed to Charles Talleyrand, but in fact coined by Rear Admiral Chevalier de Panat in a letter to the journalist Mallet du Pan in 1796, it referred to royalists who failed to draw any lessons from the French Revolution.—535

612 The *Probate Court (Court of Probate)* existed in England from 1857 to 1873. Its function was to prove wills and issue titles to the management of property.—535

613 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: Marx and Engels, *The Civil War in the United States*, New York, 1937.—536

614 In his letter of 3 June 1864 Liebknecht described the position in the General Association of German Workers, notably the growing opposition within its ranks to Lassalle's dictatorial leanings. He wrote that he had refused to work for the newspaper Lassalle intended to start, because Marx and other 'veteran party comrades' had not been invited to contribute. He also gave an account of his moves in support of Marx and asked for advice on how best to counteract Lassalle's policies within the Association. Marx's reply has not been found.—537

615 An ironic allusion to Frederick William IV, during whose reign, in 1852, the London Protocol, unfavourable to Prussia, was signed (see Note 380).—537

616 In May 1864, Russian troops captured the Kbaada area (now Krasnaya Polyana), the Caucasian mountaineers' last resistance centre. This marked the end of the Caucasian wars started by the Tsarist government in the late eighteenth century and the final incorporation of the Caucasus into Russia.—538

617 Preparing to write a detailed biography of Wilhelm Wolff, Marx in June 1864 drew up a brief list of dates on the subject (see his 'Biographical Notes on Wilhelm Wolff', present edition, Vol. 19). However, the project failed to materialise. In 1876, Engels carried it out in his series of articles, 'Wilhelm Wolff', published in the journal *Neue Welt* (see present edition, Vol. 24).—539

618 The battle in the Wilderness, Virginia, 5 to 7 May 1864, opened the Union troops' last, third campaign to seize the Confederate capital, Richmond (see Note 632).—540

619 Russia put forward Peter Nicholaus Friedrich, the Grand Duke of Oldenburg, as pretender to the Schleswig-Holstein throne. Marx is alluding to the fact that the Romanov dynasty was related to the Oldenburg house through Peter III (see Note 380). From the second half of the eighteenth century many of the Oldenburg princes lived in Russia.—541

620 Marx probably means the publication *Le Traité de Londres*, Copenhagen, 1863, and the tendentious commentaries to it in *The Free Press* (in particular, the leading article 'The Treaty of London' in No. 1, 6 January 1864).—543

621 In connection with Marx's work on the biography of Wilhelm Wolff (see Note 617) Marx's wife had written, on his behalf, to the journalist K. F. M. Elsner requesting him to send whatever information he had on Wolff's youth (see this volume, p. 589). Elsner failed to do so.—545, 588, 589

622 In the letter in question, Brass requested Biscamp to contribute to the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, which he was publishing in Berlin.—548

623 The letter contained the news that a maid in Lion Philips' house had contracted smallpox. As a result, Marx cancelled his intended visit to Zalt-Bommel with his daughters.—550

624 In speaking of the rebirth of the Holy Alliance, Marx means the meeting of King William I of Prussia with Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria in Carlsbad in June 1864, and with Emperor Alexander II of Russia in Potsdam and Bad Kissingen in July (business talks were carried on by Bismarck, Gorchakov and Rechberg). Worried by the Prusso-Austro-Russian rapprochement and Prussia's stepped-up military activity in Denmark, the British government proposed that

Britain and France take joint action against Prussian aggression. However, Napoleon III refused because of France's grave internal position and foreign-policy setbacks.—552

625 This refers to the card announcing Pieper's engagement to Ida Gravenhorst.—553

626 After the death of Mary Burns, Engels moved from 252 Hyde Road to 4 Tennant Street, Chorlton-on-Medlock where he lived in 1863-64.—553

627 *Mediatisation*—the degrading of princes, formerly independent members of the Imperial German Confederation, to the status of subjects of a bigger German sovereign. Here the reference is to Prussia's attempts to bring Schleswig-Holstein under her hegemony.—554

628 The *old provinces*—Brandenburg, East Prussia, West Prussia, Posen, Pomerania and Silesia, i.e. the provinces that constituted the Kingdom of Prussia before the Congress of Vienna (1815). The Rhine Province was annexed to Prussia in 1815.—554

629 *N'est pas Palmerston qui veut*—not everyone who wishes to be Palmerston is Palmerston. In paraphrasing the famous dictum *'N'est pas monstre qui veut'* from Victor Hugo's pamphlet *Napoléon le petit*, Engels was alluding to the fact that in 1864 Palmerston, aged 80, was still Prime Minister of Britain.—554

630 Fazy suffered a crushing defeat at the elections to the Geneva Canton Council in August 1864, following the exposure of his financial machinations as President of the General Bank of Switzerland. After the elections, Fazy's supporters caused disturbances by attacking voters who had opposed him at the polls. When Swiss government troops were sent to Geneva to restore order, Fazy fled to France.

Freiligrath was a member of the board of the London branch of the General Bank of Switzerland.—555, 556

631 This telegram has not been found. Presumably, it contained the news of Lassalle's death.—558

632 *Richmond*, the capital of the Southern Confederacy, was the rebels' main stronghold, protected by their elite troops. In the course of the Civil War, the Northerners fought three major campaigns to seize it. The first ended in their defeat at Bull Run on 21 July 1861 (see Note 390). In the second—spring and summer 1862—they were repulsed and had to retreat to Washington (see Note 458). The third, launched in May 1864 and crowned by the capture of Richmond on 3 April 1865 (see Note 618), was crucial in securing the Union's victory in the war.—558

633 In May 1864 the Union command embarked on a new plan for crushing the Confederacy, which in many respects coincided with the strategic propositions put forward by Marx and Engels in the article 'The American Civil War' as early as March 1862 (see present edition, Vol. 19). Simultaneously with Grant's offensive on the Central Front in Virginia (see Note 602) General Sherman launched, on 7 May 1864, his famous 'march to the sea'. Fighting his way through Georgia at the cost of heavy losses, he seized Atlanta on 2 September and reached the sea on 10 December. By cutting the Confederate territory in two, Sherman's march provided the conditions for the rout of the main Confederate forces in Virginia in the spring of 1865.—559

634 On 8 November 1864, Presidential and Congressional elections were to be held in the United States. The National Convention of the Republican Party in Baltimore adopted, on 7 June 1864, a campaign programme calling for the abolition of slavery throughout the territory of the Union, and renominated Abraham Lincoln as candidate for the Presidency.—559

635 After briefly meeting Marx in London on 8 September 1864 and visiting his mother in Ostende, Engels travelled in Schleswig-Holstein until mid-October.—560

636 Marx means the year-long period of Lassalle's large-scale propaganda activities that followed the establishment of the General Association of German Workers in May 1863 (see Note 536) and his election to its presidency.—560

637 The city of *Coblenz* in Western Germany was the centre of the counter-revolutionary emigration during the French Revolution. After the defeat of the 1848-49 European revolutions, many petty-bourgeois refugees flocked to Switzerland.—561

638 The *demagogues* were members of an opposition movement among German intellectuals. The word won circulation in this sense after the Carlsbad Conference of Ministers of German States in August 1819, which adopted a special resolution against the 'intrigues of demagogues'.—561

639 This refers to Wilhelm Dönniges' work 'Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs unter der Herrschaft König und Kaiser Ottos I. von 951 bis 973' in *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs unter dem Sächsischen Hause.* Herausgegeben von Leopold Ranke. Erster Band. Dritte Abtheilung. Berlin, 1839. In calling Dönniges a born 'valet' of history, Marx is alluding to the saying, 'No man is a hero to his valet', which was quoted, in particular, by Hegel in his *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte.*—561

640 Marx means the General Association of German Workers (see Note 536).—561

641 This refers to the Berlin Workers' Association, founded in January 1863. It was under the influence of the Party of Progress. Schulze-Delitzsch frequently gave lectures on the co-operative movement to its members (see also Note 529).—561

642 From 16 February to 25 March 1860, Marx stayed in Manchester discussing with Engels and Wilhelm Wolff plans for exposing the Bonapartist agent Karl Vogt, who was libelling Marx and his associates.—567

643 This refers to Marx's book *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* which was published in 1859 and soon became known in Russia (see this volume, pp. 157, 193-94).—567

644 Jenny Marx evidently means Wilhelm von Humboldt's abortive attempt to introduce a modicum of constitutionalism. The onslaught of reaction forced him to resign the post of Minister of the Interior, which he had held from January to December 1819, and retire from politics altogether.—567

645 Jenny Marx has *'gejenant',* the past participle form of the *'jenaen',* which she coined from the name of the town of Jena. On 14 October 1806 Napoleon's army routed Prussia's forces near Jena, compelling Prussia to surrender.—568

646 From December 1850 to the autumn of 1856 the Marx family lived at 28 Dean Street, Soho, and after that at 9 (later 46) Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill.—570

647 This refers to the libellous campaign against Marx and his associates launched by Karl Vogt and supported by the bourgeois press. The barrister K. Hermann, who represented Vogt in his lawsuit against the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (see Note 22), described him as an *'abgerundete Natur'* ('an intellectually mature character'). The phrase can also mean 'potbelly', and Marx puns on it in his polemical work *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 28).—572

648 Presumably an allusion to the Prodigal Son.—579

649 There were riots among Lancashire textile workers in connection with the cotton shortage caused by the Union's blockade of the Secessionist states during the US Civil War.—580

650 *Straubingers*—travelling journeymen in Germany. Marx and Engels used the term to denote German artisans and also certain participants in the working-class movement who were still swayed by guild prejudices and the petty-bourgeois illusion that it was possible to return from capitalist large-scale industry to small handicraft production.—580

651 These remarks refer to the continuing Constitutional conflict between Bismarck and the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (see Note 290). On 2 September the Chamber was disbanded, but at the new elections the Party of Progress, the unfavourable conditions notwithstanding, again won the majority and succeeded in getting all its leaders (Jacoby, Schulze-Delitzsch, Waldeck and others) into the Chamber.

Jenny's pessimistic remarks are consonant with Marx's assessment of the developments in Germany contained in his letter to Engels of 15 August 1863, in which he says: 'Our fatherland would seem to be in a pitiful state'. —584

652 By the *circular* Jenny Marx means the 'Proclamation on Poland by the German Workers' Educational Society in London', written by Marx (see Note 508).

By a *letter from the 'Chair'* she means a letter from J. Vahlteich, secretary of the General Association of German Workers (see Note 536), to Wilhelm Wolff in his capacity of member of the committee to raise funds for the Polish uprising of 1863-64. Vahlteich expressed the Association's support for the 'Proclamation on Poland by the German Workers' Educational Society in London' and the Association's readiness to back it up with vigorous action. He also requested 50 copies of the 'Proclamation' for circulation to the Association's branches.—585, 586

653 A sarcastic allusion to Lassalle's petitions to the Berlin Chief of Police of 3, 15 and 17 November 1863 requesting the Prussian authorities to put an end to police harassment of the General Association of German Workers and instruct the police to ensure order during the Association's meetings. The agitation of the Association, he stressed, did not conflict with the interests of the Prussian state.—586

654 This letter was written in reply to one from Engels dated 9 June 1864 (see this volume, pp. 539-40).—588

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*Anders, Albert August (the Laplander)* (b. 1802)—German journalist; emigrated to London, member of the Communist League, a leader of a branch of the London German

Workers' Educational Society (from the end of 1858).—3, 581

*Anneke, Carl Friedrich Theodor* (1818-1872)—Prussian artillery officer, discharged from the army for his political views; member of the Cologne community of the Communist League; participated in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany and in the US Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Northerners.—322, 371-73

*Anrooij, Antonie Johannes Wouters van* (1816-1893)—physician in Zalt-Bommel.—314, 501, 503, 504, 510, 551

*Anrooij, Henriette Sophia van (Jettchen)* (1825-1902)—Karl Marx's cousin, daughter of Lion Philips, wife of Antonie Johannes Wouters van Anrooij.—275, 314, 501, 510, 551

*Appian of Alexandria* (d. in the 170s A.D.)—Roman historian.—265

*Archimedes* (c. 287-212 B.C.)—Greek mathematician and engineer.—515

*Aristotle* (384-322 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—318

*Armstrong, William George, Baron of Cragside* (1810-1900)—English inventor of rifled cannon.—325

*Assing, Ludmilla (Camilla Essig)* (1821-1880)—German authoress, published *Diaries* of a well-known German writer, Varnhagen von Ense; Lassalle's friend and Marx's acquaintance.—117, 210, 217, 271, 280, 358, 561, 578

*Auerswald, Rudolf von* (1795-1866)—Prussian statesman, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (June-September 1848), Minister without portfolio (1858-62).—81

*August Paul Friedrich* (1783-1853)—Grand Duke of Oldenburg (1829-53).—549

*Augustenburger*—see *Friedrich Christian August, Prinz von Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg*

B

*Badinguet*—see *Napoleon III*

*Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich* (1814-1876)—Russian revolutionary and writer; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; later an ideologist of Narodism and anarchism; opposed Marxism in the First International.—91, 329, 341, 456, 489, 492

*Bakunina, Antonina Ksaverievna* (née *Kwiatkowska*) (c. 1840-1887)—Bakunin's wife.—492

*Bamberger, Ludwig* (1823-1899)—German democratic journalist, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland, later lived in England, Holland and France; a banker in Paris; returned to Germany in the late 1860s and became a National-Liberal.—10, 187, 190, 212

*Bandiera* brothers, *Attilio* (1810-1844) and *Emilio* (1819-1844)—Austrian naval officers; participants in the Italian national liberation movement; members of the Young Italy society; executed for their attempt to raise a revolt in Calabria (1844).—516

*Bangya, János* (1817-1868)—Hungarian journalist and army officer; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; later Kossuth's emissary abroad and at the same time a secret police agent; under the name of Mehemed Bey served in the Turkish army and was a Turkish agent in the Caucasus (1855-58).—84, 85, 152, 182, 439, 493

*Banks, Nathaniel Prentiss* (1816-1894)—American general and politician, a Republican, Governor of Massachusetts (1858-61); commanded the Union forces in Virginia (1862) and Louisiana (1862-64) during the US Civil War.—372, 386

*Barrot, Camille Hyacinthe Odilon* (1791-1873)—French politician and lawyer, leader of the liberal dynastic opposition until February 1848; from December 1848 to October 1849 headed the monarchist coalition Ministry.—265

*Bastian, Adolf* (1826-1905)—German ethnographer.—232, 246

*Bauer, Bruno* (1809-1882)—German idealist philosopher, Young Hegelian.—288, 393

*Bauer, Edgar* (1820-1886)—German philosopher and writer, Young Hegelian; editor of the London newspaper *Die Neue Zeit* (1859); Prussian official after the 1861 amnesty; Bruno Bauer's brother.—325, 487

*Beauregard, Pierre Gustave Toutant* (1818-1893)—American general; took part in the war against Mexico (1846-48); commanded the Southern troops in Virginia (1861-early 1862), Mississippi (1862), and in Charleston (September 1862-April 1864).—360, 367, 539

*Becker*—German refugee in London.—149-50

*Becker*—Leipzig correspondent of the *Hermann* in the 1860s.—342

*Becker, Gottfried* (1827-1865)—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to America (1853); fought in the US Civil War; son of Johann Philipp Becker.—129

*Becker, Hermann Heinrich ('Red Becker')* (1820-1885)—German lawyer and journalist, participated in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League from 1850; sentenced to five years' imprisonment at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); a member of the Party of Progress in the 1860s, later a National-Liberal, member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (1862-66).—79, 90, 366, 375

*Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886)—German revolutionary, took part in the democratic movement of the 1830s-50s, the international working-class movement and the 1848-49 revolution; after the defeat of the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849) left Germany; prominent figure in the First International and delegate to all its congresses; editor of the *Vorbote;* friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—110, 114, 115-16, 127, 129, 163, 164, 202, 237, 246, 316, 341-43, 356, 466, 568

*Becker, Max Joseph* (d. 1896)—German engineer, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849 and after its defeat emigrated to Switzerland and later moved to the USA.—70

*Becker, Oskar* (1839-1868)—son of a Baltic German, studied at a gymnasium in Odessa; student at Leipzig University; sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment for an attempt on the life of King William I of Prussia in 1861, pardoned in 1866.—314, 316

*Beckmann*—Prussian police spy in Paris in the early 1850s, Paris correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.—70, 148, 149

*Beethoven, Ludwig van* (1770-1827)—German composer.—159

*Behrend, G.*—German publisher.—108, 135, 145

*Beneke*—merchant in Manchester.—525

*Bennigsen, Rudolf von* (1824-1902)—German politician, advocate of Germany's unification under Prussia's supremacy. President of the National Association (1859-67), from 1867 leader of the Right wing in the National-Liberal Party.—194

*Bentley, Richard* (1794-1871)—head of a publishing house in London.—5

*Bermbach, Adolph* (1821-1875)—German lawyer, democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly; member of the Communist League; witness for the defence at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); Marx's correspondent; liberal in later years.—73, 90, 135

*Bernal Osborne, Ralph* (1808-1882)—English liberal politician, M.P., Secretary of the Admiralty (1852-58).—517

*Bernard, Simon-François* (1817-1862)—French politician, republican; emigrated to England after the defeat of the 1848 revolution; in 1858 was accused by the French Government of being an accomplice in Orsini's attempt on the life of Napoleon III but was acquitted by the British court.—284, 356, 358, 368, 369

*Bernstorff, Albrecht, Count von* (1809-1873)—Prussian diplomat, envoy to London (1854-61), Foreign Minister (1861-62), ambassador to London (1862-73).—305

*Bessel*—German lawyer, chairman of the German Workers' Educational Society in Cologne (1860).—189

*Beta*—see *Bettziech, Heinrich*

*Bethlen, Gergely, Count* (1818-1867)—Hungarian army officer, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, emigrated after its defeat; Lassalle's second.—555, 557

*Bettziech, Heinrich* (pen-name *Beta*) (1813-1876)—German democratic journalist, refugee in London, follower of Gottfried Kinkel.—4, 85, 244-45, 325, 354, 355, 369

*Beust, Friedrich von* (1817-1899)—Prussian army officer, resigned for political reasons; committee member of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848); an editor of the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung* (September 1848-February 1849); took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to Switzerland; professor of pedagogy.—133

*Bille, Carl Steen Andersen* (1828-1898)—Danish journalist and politician, member of the National-Liberal Party, editor and owner of *Dagbladet* (1851-72), member of the Lower Chamber of the Rigsdag (Parliament).—554

*Biscamp (Biskamp), Elard*—German democratic journalist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated after its defeat; member of the editorial board of *Das Volk* published by German refugees in London in 1859 with Marx's active participation.—41, 45, 52, 61, 63, 64, 66-68, 166, 213, 215, 228, 234, 241, 548

*Bischoffsheim, Louis Raphaël* (1800-1873)—French financier, shareholder of a French bank which had a branch in London.—335

*Bismarck-Schönhausen, Otto Eduard Leopold, Prince von* (1815-1898)—statesman of Prussia and Germany, diplomat, Prussian envoy to St. Petersburg (1859-62) and Paris (1862); Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-72, 1873-90); Chancellor of the North German Union (1867-71) and of the German Empire (1871-90); carried through the unification of Germany under the aegis of Prussia.—418, 428, 431, 440, 456, 461, 477, 478, 494, 519, 531, 538, 554

*Blanc, Jean Joseph Louis* (1811-1882)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, historian; member of the Provisional Government and President of the Luxembourg Commission in 1848; pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie, a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees in London from August 1848.—47, 86, 104

*Blanckenburg, Karl Henning Moritz von* (1815-1888)—Prussian politician, leader of the Right-wing conservatives, member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (from 1852), North German (1867-71) and German (1871-73) Imperial Diets; abandoned politics in 1873.—289

*Blank, Emil*—son of Marie and Karl Emil Blank, Frederick Engels' nephew.—529

*Blank, Karl Emil* (1817-1893)—German merchant in London; connected with socialist circles in the 1840s-50s; husband of Frederick Engels' sister Marie.—168, 228, 259, 261, 267, 529

*Blank, Marie* (1824-1901)—Frederick Engels' sister; married Karl Emil Blank in 1845.—529

*Blank, Rudolf* (b. 1851)—son of Marie and Karl Emil Blank, Frederick Engels' nephew.—529

*Blanqui, Louis Auguste* (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, utopian communist, organiser of conspiracies and secret societies; took an active part in the 1830 and 1848 revolutions, a leader of the French proletariat; was repeatedly sentenced to imprisonment.—284, 291, 298, 318, 326, 439

*Bleibtreu, Georg* (1828-1892)—German battle-painter.—271

*Blind, Friederike*—Karl Blind's wife.—86

*Blind, Karl* (1826-1907)—German democratic journalist; took part in the Baden revolutionary movement in 1848-49; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in London in the 1850s-early 1860s; later a National-Liberal.—4, 23, 30, 31, 33, 35-39, 41-42, 47-49, 52, 53, 55, 56, 58-66, 85-87, 89, 104-05, 184, 188, 224-26, 232, 233, 235-36, 255, 264-65, 302, 311, 325, 379, 424, 455, 467-68, 470, 473, 489, 516-17

*Blum, Babette (Bäbchen)* (c. 1791-c. 1865)—sister of Karl Marx's father.—498, 501

*Blum, Robert* (1807-1848)—German democratic journalist; leader of the Left in the Frankfurt National Assembly; took part in the defence of Vienna against counter-revolutionary forces in October 1848; court-martialled and executed after the fall of the city.—236

*Bodin (Bodinus), Jean* (1530-1596)—French philosopher and economist, ideologist of absolutism.—479.

*Boelling, Friedrich* (1816-1884)—German merchant, Frederick Engels' brother-in-law.—261, 267, 529

*Boelling, Hedwig* (1830-1904)—Frederick Engels' sister, wife of Friedrich Boelling.—529

*Boethius, Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus* (c. 480-524)—Roman Neoplatonist, translator and commentator of treatises by ancient philosophers and mathematicians.—514

*Boisguillebert, Pierre Le Pesant, sieur de* (1646-1714)—French economist, predecessor of physiocrats and father of classical bourgeois political economy in France.—479

*Bombalino*—see *Francis II*

*Bonaparte, Louis*—see *Napoleon III*

*Bonaparte, Mathilde Letizia Wilhelmine* (1820-1904)—Jérome Bonaparte's daughter, cousin of Napoleon III.—580

*Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon I*

*Bonaparte, Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul* (1822-1891)—cousin of Napoleon III; during the Second Republic deputy to the Constituent and Legislative assemblies; a divisional commander (1854) in the Crimea; commanded a corps in the Austro-Italian-French war of 1859, went by the name of Prince

Napoleon, Plon-Plon, and the Red Prince.—109, 116, 174, 198, 203, 205, 463, 465

*Borchardt*—Louis Borchardt's wife.—526

*Borchardt*—Louis Borchardt's elder daughter.—526

*Borchardt*—Louis Borchardt's younger daughter.—526

*Borchardt, Louis*—German physician, one of Engels' acquaintances in Manchester.—29, 68, 211, 238, 240, 321, 490, 518, 520-25, 531, 535, 545, 547

*Borkheim, Sigismund Ludwig* (1825-1885)—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated after its defeat; London merchant from 1851; a friend of Marx and Engels.—34, 48, 50, 70, 71, 113, 136, 190, 196, 197, 202, 212, 213, 214, 227, 228, 232, 237, 246, 250, 252-55, 321-24, 341, 354, 359, 363, 364, 382, 391, 392, 399, 401, 403-07, 409-12, 415-16, 423, 424, 534, 537, 539

*Börnstein, Heinrich* (1805-1892)—German democratic journalist, in 1844 founded *Vorwärts!* in Paris and edited it with Marx's collaboration; emigrated to the USA in 1849; editor of the *Anzeiger des Westens* (St. Louis), took part in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—300

*Boucher de Crèvecoeur de Perthes, Jacques* (1788-1868)—French archaeologist and author, known for his study of material culture of primitive society.—473

*Bragg, Braxton* (1817-1876)—American general; commanded the Southern Army in Kentucky and Tennessee during the Civil War.—530

*Branicki, Ksawery, Count* (1812-1879)—Polish magnate, a leader of Polish conservative-monarchist refugees in Paris, was close to Prince Napoleon (Plon-Plon).—465

*Brass, August* (1818-1876)—German journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to Switzerland after its defeat; editor-in-chief of the *Neue Schweizer Zeitung* (1859-60); later a National-Liberal and supporter of Bismarck.—118, 124, 206, 227, 234, 255, 548

*Breckinridge, John Cabell* (1821-1875)—American statesman, Democrat; Vice-President (1857-61); a leader of the rebellion of Southern slave-owners; Secretary of War for the Confederacy (1865).—400

*Bright, John* (1811-1889)—English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; leader of the Left-wing Liberals (from the early 1860s); held several posts in the government.—85, 468, 535

*Brockhaus, Heinrich* (1804-1874)—German publisher and bookseller, owner and head of F. A. Brockhaus Publishing House in Leipzig.—202, 233, 274, 280, 285, 315, 319, 357, 402, 404, 434, 436, 439

*Bronner, Eduard*—German physician, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Baden Constituent Assembly in 1849; emigrated to England.—29, 38, 264

*Brown, John* (1800-1859)—American farmer; a revolutionary leader in the Abolitionist movement; fought against slave-owners in Kansas (1854-56); tried to organise an uprising of Black slaves in Virginia in 1859; was put on trial and executed.—4

*Bruck, Karl Ludwig, Baron von* (1798-1860)—Austrian statesman, diplomat and big manufacturer; Minis-

ter of Trade, Industry and Public Works (1848-51); Minister of Finance (from 1855); committed suicide in April 1860.—136

*Bruckner* brothers—Borkheim's acquaintances.—410

*Brüggemann, Karl Heinrich* (1810-1887)—German liberal journalist; editor-in-chief of the *Kölnische Zeitung* (1845-55).—241

*Bruhn, Karl von* (b. 1803)—German journalist, member of the League of Outlaws, the League of the Just and subsequently of the Communist League from which he was expelled in 1850; editor of the Lassallean paper *Nordstern* in Hamburg (1861-66).—489

*Brüningk, Maria, Baroness von* (d. 1853)—wife of Baron A. von Brüningk, a German refugee in London.—262

*Buchanan, James* (1791-1868)—American statesman, Democrat; State Secretary (1845-49); minister to London (1853-56); President of the United States (1857-61); advocate of slave-owners' interests.—295, 307

*Bucher, Lothar* (1817-1892)—Prussian official and journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution emigrated to London; correspondent of the Berlin *National-Zeitung;* later a National-Liberal, supporter of Bismarck.—67, 153, 154, 227, 232, 234, 246, 249, 253, 255, 258, 262, 268, 376, 391, 408, 412, 458, 573

*Buckle, Henry Thomas* (1821-1862)—English historian and sociologist, positivist.—381

*Buell, Don Carlos* (1818-1898)—American general; fought in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners; commanded an army in Tennessee and Kentucky (1862).—360, 371

*Bühring, Karl Johann* (b. 1820)—German worker, member of the Communist League.—264, 290

*Bunsen, Christian Karl Josias, Baron von* (1791-1860)—Prussian diplomat, writer and theologian, was close to the Prussian court, ambassador to London (1842-54).—146

*Bürgers, Heinrich* (1820-1878)—German radical journalist, member of the Cologne Community of the Communist League (from 1848); an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* member of the Communist League Central Authority from 1850; was sentenced to six years' imprisonment in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); member of the National Association and the Party of Progress in the 1860s.—25, 83, 189, 192, 194, 265, 319, 329, 403, 418, 419

*Burns, Lydia (Lizzy, Lizzie)* (1827-1878)—Irish working woman, took part in the Irish national liberation movement; Frederick Engels' second wife, Mary Burns' sister.—370, 398, 431, 438, 441, 517, 534, 562

*Burns, Mary* (1821-1863)—Irish working woman, Frederick Engels' first wife.—344, 370, 398, 431, 438, 441-43, 446, 449

*Burnside, Ambrose Everett* (1824-1881)—American general, Republican; commanded the Northern Army on the Potomac (November 1862-January 1863) during the Civil War.—434, 437-39

*Bustrapa*—see *Napoleon III*

*Butler, Benjamin Franklin* (1818-1893)—American politician and general; commanded the expeditionary Northern Army during the Civil War.—530, 539

C

*Caesar (Gaius Julius Caesar)* (c. 100-44 B. C.)—Roman general and statesman.—265, 450

*Campe, Johann Julius Wilhelm* (1792-1867)—German publisher and bookseller, co-proprietor of the Hoffmann & Campe Publishing House in Hamburg.—32, 202

*Camphausen, Ludolf* (1803-1890)—German banker, a leader of the Rhine liberal bourgeoisie; Prime Minister of Prussia from March to June 1848; pursued a policy of collaboration with the reactionaries.—101, 102

*Cardan(o), Gerolamo* (1501 or 1506-1576)—Italian mathematician, philosopher and physician.—450

*Carden, Sir Robert Walter* (b. 1801)—British official, Tory M. P.—84

*Carnot, Lazare Hippolyte* (1801-1888)—French journalist and politician; republican; member of the Provisional Government (1848); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative assemblies during the Second Republic; after 1851 a leader of the republican opposition to the Bonapartist regime.—439

*Carpenter, William Benjamin* (1813-1885)—English naturalist and physiologist.—546

*Catherine II* (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-1796).—336, 470-71, 538

*Cavour, Camillo Benso, conte di* (1810-1861)—Italian statesman, head of the Sardinian government (1852-59, 1860-61); pursued a policy of unifying Italy under the supremacy of the Savoy dynasty relying on the support of Napoleon III; headed the first government of united Italy in 1861.—191, 203, 246, 293

*Charpentier, Gervais* (1805-1871)—French publisher and bookseller.—357

*Chavée, Honoré Joseph* (1815-1877)—Belgian philologist.—540

*Chenu, Adolphe* (born c. 1817)—member of secret revolutionary societies in France during the July monarchy, secret police agent-provocateur.—12, 15

*Cherval, Julien* (real name *Joseph Crämer*)—Prussian policeman, spy in Paris for Prussia and France; gained entry into the Communist League and headed a Paris community of the sectarian Willich-Schapper group, accused of complicity in the so-called Franco-German plot in Paris in February 1852; escaped from prison with the connivance of the French police; acted as a spy and agent-provocateur under the name of Nugent in Switzerland in 1853-54.—45, 72, 73, 75, 78-79, 92-94, 110, 130, 146-49, 152, 202

*Christian IX* (1818-1906)—Prince of Glücksburg, King of Denmark (1863-1906).—337, 513, 544

*Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero)* (106-43 B.C.)—Roman statesman, orator and philosopher.—166, 279

*Claessen, Heinrich Joseph* (1813-1883)—German physician and politician; liberal; member of the Board of Directors of and contributor to the *Rheinische Zeitung*; Camphausen's confidential agent.—101

*Clanricarde, Ulick John de Burgh, Marquis and Earl of* (1802-1874)—British diplomat and politician, Whig, Ambassador to St. Petersburg (1838-41), Lord Privy Seal (1857-58).—516

*Clarendon, George William Frederick Villiers, Earl of, Baron Hyde* (1800-1870)—British statesman, Whig, later Liberal; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1847-1852); Foreign Secretary (1853-58, 1865-66, 1868-70).—336

*Clausewitz, Karl von* (1780-1831)—Prussian general and military theoretician.—359

*Cluss, Adolf* (1825-1905)—German engineer; took part in the workers' movement in Germany and the USA; member of the Communist League, secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society in Mainz (1848); emigrated to the USA (autumn 1848); one of the first propagandists of scientific communism in America in the 1850s; later abandoned politics; known as an American architect of the late 19th century.—89, 90, 99

*Cobb, Howell* (1815-1868)—American statesman, Democrat, Governor of Georgia (1851-53), Secretary of the Treasury (1857-60) in the Buchanan Administration, took an active part in the Southern slave-holders' rebellion.—307

*Cobbett, William* (c. 1762-1835)—British politician and radical journalist; published *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register* from 1802.—114, 336, 489

*Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865)—English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; M.P.—215, 229, 246, 535

*Coburgs*—members of the Saxe-Coburg-Gotha dynasty; ruled in Belgium, Portugal, Britain and several other European states.—153

*Cohnheim, Max*—German petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the Baden revolutionary movement in 1848-49; emigrated after the defeat of the revolution.—70

*Colenso, John William* (1814-1883)—English clergyman and theologian, criticised some Bible texts.—541

*Collet, Collet Dobson*—English radical journalist and public figure, editor and publisher of *The Free Press*, organ of Urquhart's followers.—21, 28, 33, 46, 65, 104, 105, 144, 341, 347, 517, 536, 552

*Collins, William Wilkie* (1824-1889)—English novelist.—570

*Colomb, Friedrich August von* (1775-1854)—Prussian army officer, subsequently general; fought against Napoleonic France.—367

*Coningham, William* (b. 1815)—English radical M.P.—336

*Conradi, Emilie* (1822-1888)—Karl Marx's sister, wife of Johann Jakob Conradi.—220, 499, 502

*Conradi, Johann Jakob* (1821-1892)—engineer in Trier, Marx's brother-in-law.—220, 499, 500, 501, 514

*Constantine (Konstantin Nikolayevich)* (1827-1892)—Russian Grand Duke, second son of Nicholas I, Admiral-General, head of the Naval Department (1853-81) and commander-in-chief of the Navy (1855-81); Viceroy of Poland (1862-63).—492

*Cosenz, Enrico* (1820-1898)—Intalian general; took part in the national liberation movement in Italy; commanded a division during Garibaldi's revolutionary campaign in South Italy (1860); Chief of the General Staff (1882-93).—322

*Cotta, Johann Georg, Baron von Cottendorf* (1796-1863)—German publisher, owner of a large publishing house (1832-63); publisher of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.—202, 227, 262

*Crassus (Marcus Licinius Crassus)* (c. 115-53 B.C.)—Roman politician and general; suppressed the slave uprising under Spartacus in 71 B.C.—265

*Creuz, Anna Maria (Marianne)* (1835-1862)—Helene Demuth's stepsister.—433, 581

*Curtis, Samuel Ryan* (1807-1866)—American general and politician; Republican; Congressman (1857-

61); commanded the Northern troops in Missouri and Arkansas (1861-62) during the Civil War.—372, 386

*Czartoryski, Władysław, Prince* (1828-1894)—Polish magnate, a leader of the Polish conservative monarchist émigrés, a diplomatic representative of the Provisional National Government in Paris from May 1863.—489, 490, 492

D

*Dacier, André* (1651-1722)—French philologist, translator of and commentator on works by ancient authors.—318

*Dâ-Dâ*—Arabian writer, translated Bonapartist pamphlets into his native tongue on the instructions of the Algerian authorities (1850s).—197-98, 202, 205, 212

*Dammer, Otto* (d. 1910)—German chemist; a leader of the General Association of German Workers and its representative in Leipzig.—489

*Dana, Charles Anderson* (1819-1897)—American journalist, Fourierist, Abolitionist; an editor (1848) and then editor-in-chief (1849-62) of the *New-York Daily Tribune*; an editor of the *New American Cyclopaedia* (1857-63).—68, 95, 110, 196, 199, 201, 220, 252, 255, 257, 263, 315, 322, 353, 359, 362

*Daniels, Amalie* (1820-1895)—Roland Daniels' wife.—289, 369

*Daniels, Roland* (1819-1855)—German physician, member of the Communist League from 1850; defendant in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852), acquitted by the jury; died of tuberculosis contracted in prison, friend of Marx and Engels.—80

*Dante, Alighieri* (1265-1321)—Italian poet.—571

*Darwin, Charles Robert* (1809-1882)—English naturalist; founded the theory of natural selection.—232, 246, 381, 542

*Davis, Jefferson* (1808-1889)—American politician, Democrat; an organiser of the Southern slave-holders' revolt; President of the Confederate States of America (1861-65).—306, 428, 429, 562

*Delahodde*—see *Hodde, Lucien de la*

*Delane, John Thadeus* (1817-1879)—English journalist, an editor of *The Times* (1841-77).—452

*Demuth*—Helene Demuth's relative.—500

*Demuth, Helene (Lenchen)* (1820-1890)—housemaid and devoted friend of the Marx family.—88, 216, 220, 231, 354, 433, 445, 488, 548, 572, 575-77, 580, 587

*Denonville*—see *Watteau, Louis*

*Dietz Oswald* (c. 1824-1864)—German architect; took part in the 1848-49 revolution, emigrated to London; member of the Communist League Central Authority, after the split of the League (1850) belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group, was a member of its Central Committee; later took part in the American Civil War on the side of the Union.—91, 140, 146-47

*Diodorus Siculus* (c. 90-21 B.C.)—Greek historian.—354, 359

*Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and writer; leader of the Conservative Party in the second half of the 19th century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68); Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80).—517

*Dönniges, Franz Alexander Friedrich Wilhelm von* (1814-1872)—German historian and diplomat, Ranke's pupil; author of works on German medieval history; Bavarian envoy to

Switzerland (1862-64).—555, 557, 558, 561

*Dönniges, Helene von* (1845-1911)—Franz Alexander Friedrich Wilhelm von Dönniges' daughter: fiancée of Janko von Racowiţa, Romanian nobleman.—555-58, 561

*Dozy, Rheinhart Pieter Anne* (1820-1883)—Dutch orientalist, professor at Leyden University; author of several works on the history of the Arabs.—541, 542

*Dralle, Friedrich Wilhelm* (b. 1820)—German democratic journalist; emigrated to London after 1852; a leader of the London branch of the National Association.—302

*Drenkmann*—court officer in Berlin.—141

*Dronke, Ernst* (1822-1891)—German author, a 'true socialist', a member of the Communist League and an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); after the 1848-49 revolution emigrated to Switzerland and then to England; sided with Marx and Engels at the time of the split in the Communist League (1850); later withdrew from politics and engaged in commerce.—8, 21, 22, 29, 38, 71, 89, 332-35, 337, 344, 354, 460, 461, 465, 476, 479, 481-83, 525-27, 548, 575

*Drucker, Louis*—German democratic journalist; publisher of the comic weekly *How Do You Do?* in London.—245

*Dumont (Du Mont), Joseph* (1811-1861)—German journalist, moderate liberal; publisher of the *Kölnische Zeitung* from 1831.—241

*Duncker*—Prussian official; Police Superintendent in Berlin in 1848.—80

*Duncker, Franz Gustav* (1822-1888)—German politician and publisher.—9, 13, 17, 21, 27, 28, 32, 48, 50, 51, 102, 103, 108, 109, 135, 210, 217, 227, 274, 280, 436, 458

E

*Eccarius*—Johann Georg Eccarius' wife.—183

*Eccarius, Johann Georg* (1818-1889)—German tailor; prominent figure in the German and the international working-class movement, journalist; member of the League of the Just and later of the Communist League; a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, member of the General Council of the First International; took part in the British trade union movement.—11, 172, 174, 176, 183, 189, 426, 427, 493, 536

*Eichhoff, Karl Wilhelm* (1833-1895)—German socialist, journalist; in the late 1850s exposed Stieber as a police spy in the press and was brought to trial; refugee in London (1861-66); member of the First International from 1868 and one of its first historians; member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party from 1869.—16, 54, 74, 80-81, 140-41, 189, 190, 194, 195, 247, 251, 355, 362, 369, 371, 374, 464, 526-27, 576

*Elizabeth* (1801-1873)—Queen of Prussia, wife of Frederick William IV.—428

*Elsner, Karl Friedrich Moritz* (1809-1894)—Silesian radical journalist and politician; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; in the 1850s an editor of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* to which Marx contributed in 1855.—69, 282, 533-34, 545, 552, 554, 588, 589

*Emmermann, Karl*—chief forester from the Rhine Province; commanded an infantry unit of the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army in 1849; emigrated to Switzerland.—133

*Engel, Ernst* (1821-1896)—German statistician, director of the Prussian Royal Statistical Bureau in Berlin (1860-82).—480-81

*Engels, Elisabeth Franziska Mauritia* (1797-1873)—Frederick Engels' mother.—120, 137, 138, 256-61, 266, 267, 528-29, 559

*Engels, Emil* (1828-1884)—Frederick Engels' brother; a partner in the firm of Ermen & Engels in Engelskirchen.—120, 134, 137, 259, 260, 266, 267

*Engels, Emma* (b. 1834)—Hermann Engels' wife.—529

*Engels, Friedrich* (1796-1860)—Frederick Engels' father.—15, 116, 138, 266, 528, 575

*Engels, Hermann* (1822-1905)—Frederick Engels' brother; manufacturer in Barmen.—259, 261, 267, 528-29

*Engels, Rudolf* (1831-1903)—Frederick Engels' brother; manufacturer in Barmen.—259, 261, 266, 267, 529

*Engländer, Sigmund* (1828-1902)—Austrian journalist; emigrated to France (1848) and later to England; secret police agent.—70, 121-22, 144

*Epicurus* (c. 341-c. 270 B.C.)—Greek materialist philosopher, atheist.—515

*Erhard(t), Johann Ludwig Albert* (born c. 1820)—German shop assistant, member of the Communist League; one of the accused at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); acquitted by the jury.—90

*Ermani*—publisher and bookseller in London.—31, 37

*Ermen, Gottfried,*—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—106, 112, 120-21, 127, 134-37, 222, 260, 267, 386, 414, 447, 528-29, 548, 549, 554, 575

*Ernst II* (1818-1893)—Duke of Saxony, Coburg and Gotha (1844-93); brother of Prince Albert, Queen Victoria's husband; opposed the policy of uniting Germany under Prussia's supremacy (early 1860s); supported Bismarck from 1866.—8, 153, 319

*Esser, J. P.*—Prussian judiciary officer, democrat; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly in 1848 and to the Second Chamber (Left wing) in 1849.—101

*Esser I, Johann Heinrich Theodor*—Prussian official, lawyer, advocate of clericalism, Vice-President of the Prussian National Assembly (Centre) in 1848; counsel for the defence in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—151

*Esterházy von Galántha, Anton, Count* (1825-1865)—cousin of Georg Esterházy von Galántha.—122

*Esterházy von Galántha, Georg, Count* (1811-1856)—Austrian diplomat.—122

*Eugénie Marie Ignace Augustine de Montijo de Guzman, comtesse de Teba* (1826-1920)—French Empress, wife of Napoleon III.—206, 580

*Ewerbeck, August Hermann* (1816-1860)—German physiologist and man of letters; leader of the Paris communities of the League of the Just, later member of the Communist League until 1850.—90, 206

*Ezra*—reformer and codifier of Judaism.—541

F

*Farini, Luigi Carlo* (1812-1866)—Italian statesman and historian; championed the unification of Italy under the Savoy dynasty; Minister of Public Education (1851-52); Sardinian Minister of the Interior

(1860); Vicegerent of Naples (November 1860-January 1861); head of the Italian Government (1862-63).—246

*Farragut, David Glasgow* (1801-1870)—American naval officer, admiral (from July 1862); fought in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners; commanded a flotilla during the seizure of Mobile, Alabama (August 1864).—559

*Faucher, Julius (Jules)* (1820-1878)—German writer, Young Hegelian; Free Trader; refugee in England from 1850 to 1861; contributor to *The Morning Star*; returned to Germany in 1861; member of the Party of Progress.—9, 54, 79, 131, 136, 246, 264, 506

*Fazy, Jean Jacob (James)* (1794-1878)—Swiss journalist and statesman, radical; head of government of the Geneva Canton (1846-53, 1855-61); founder of the Swiss Bank, pursued a pro-Bonapartist policy.—17, 63, 99, 115, 129, 188, 212, 224, 226, 284, 362, 525, 527, 555, 556

*Ferrand, William Bushfield*—English landowner, Tory.—544

*Fichte, Johann Gottlieb* (1762-1814)—classical German philosopher.—124, 131

*Fischart, Johann* (*c.* 1545-1590)—German satirist.—225

*Fischel, Eduard* (1826-1863)—German journalist; belonged to the Party of Progress; assessor of the Berlin Municipal Court from 1858; editor of the Berlin Urquhartist journal *Das Neue Portfolio* (1859-60); sharply criticised the foreign policy pursued by Palmerston and Napoleon III.—8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 22, 29, 34, 40, 46, 112, 113, 130, 133, 135, 136, 141-44, 152, 153, 154, 155, 163, 164, 227

*Fleury, Charles* (real name *Carl Friedrich August Krause*) (b. 1824)—merchant in London; Prussian spy and police agent.—84, 141, 146-51

*Flocon, Ferdinand* (1800-1866)—French journalist and politician; petty-bourgeois democrat; an editor of *La Réforme*; member of the Provisional Government (1848).—95, 101-02

*Floyd, John Buchanan* (1807-1863)—American statesman, Democrat; Governor of Virginia (1850-53); Secretary of War (1857-60); fought in the Civil War on the side of the Southerners.—307, 429

*Förster, Friedrich Christoph* (1791-1868)—Prussian historian, writer and poet.—271

*Fould, Achille* (1800-1867)—French banker and politician, Orleanist, subsequently Bonapartist; several times Minister of Finance between 1849 and 1867; Minister of State and Minister of the Imperial Court (1852-1860).—329

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—265, 285

*Francis II* (1836-1894)—King of Naples and Sicily (1859-60); son of Ferdinand II nicknamed King Bomba for the bombardment of Messina in 1848.—189, 205

*Francis Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-1916).—173, 242, 492

*Francoeur, Louis Benjamin* (1773-1849)—French mathematician, author of several textbooks on mathematics, astronomy and mechanics.—532

*Frank, A.*—Paris publisher in the 1840s-early 1860s.—101

*Franklin, William Buel* (1823-1903)—American general, participated in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners; commanded two corps in the battle of Fredericksberg, Virginia.—437

*Frankowski, Leon* (*c.* 1843-1863)—

participant in the Polish national liberation movement; member of the Central National Committee, belonged to the party of the 'Red'; leader of the insurgents in the Lublin province in 1863; taken prisoner and executed on June 4.—456

*Frederick I* (1657-1713)—first King of Prussia, crowned in Königsberg on 18 January 1701.—319

*Frederick I* (1826-1907)—virtual ruler of Baden from 1852; Grand Duke of Baden from 1856.—473

*Frederick II (the Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—462

*Frederick William III* (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—460

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—23, 238, 271, 377, 428, 537

*Freiligrath, Ferdinand* (1810-1876)—German poet; member of the Communist League; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); clerk of the London branch of the Swiss Bank in the 1850s-1860s; withdrew from revolutionary activity in the 1850s.—3, 4, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 30, 31, 35, 36, 43, 47, 54-57, 67, 68, 73, 80-88, 95, 113, 118, 124, 133, 188, 192, 195, 203, 224-26, 233, 235-37, 246, 251, 252, 255, 256, 258, 261, 268, 323, 335, 384, 422, 424, 425, 432, 435, 448, 475, 489, 502, 525, 527, 534-35, 546, 548, 555, 556, 557, 576

*Freiligrath, Ida* (1817-1899)—Ferdinand Freiligrath's wife.—556, 576

*Freiligrath, Louise* (married name *Wiens*)—Ferdinand Freiligrath's daughter.—556

*Frémont, John Charles* (1813-1890)—American traveller and politician; Left-wing Republican; candidate to the presidency (1856); commanded the Northern troops in Missouri (up to November 1861) and Virginia (1862) during the Civil War.—345, 361, 363, 372, 386

*Frerichs, Friedrich Theodor von* (1819-1885)—German clinician and pathologist, professor at Berlin University and director of a clinic from 1859.—286

*Freytag, Gustav* (1816-1895)—German playwright and novelist.—270, 289

*Friedländer, Julius*—assessor in Berlin, brother of Max Friedländer.—280, 282, 292

*Friedländer, Max* (1829-1872)—German democratic journalist; member of the editorial boards of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* (1855) and *Die Presse* (1862) to which Marx contributed; cousin of Ferdinand Lassalle.—280, 292, 323, 353, 358, 370

*Friedrich Christian August, Prince of Schleswig - Holstein - Sonderburg - Augustenburg* (1829-1880)—Duke of Schleswig-Holstein under the name of Friedrich VIII (from 1863).—494, 496, 503, 508, 511, 549, 554

*Friedrich Karl Nikolaus, Prince* (1828-1885)—Prussian general, Commander-in-Chief of the Prussian and then of the Allied army in the Danish war of 1864.—200-01, 280, 519

*Fröbel, Julius* (1805-1893)—German writer and publisher of progressive literature; democrat, later liberal; participated in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; emigrated to America in 1849; returned to Europe in 1857.—20, 61, 101

G

*Gabriel*—a dentist in London.—220

*Ganesco, Grégory* (c. 1830-1877)—French journalist, Romanian by

birth; during the Second Empire a Bonapartist; subsequently supported the Thiers government; editor of *Courrier du Dimanche* (1860-61).—215

*Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; participated in the revolutionary movement in South America (1830s-40s) and in Italy (1848-49); led the Italian people's struggle for national liberation and the unification of the country (1850s-60s); supported the Paris Commune in the 1870s.—155, 165, 168, 171, 172, 174, 178, 181, 182, 184, 185, 189, 191, 192, 193, 195, 196, 199, 200, 202-07, 237, 246, 265, 293, 321, 322, 333, 356, 389-90, 417, 513, 516-18, 544

*Garnier-Pagès, Louis Antoine* (1803-1878)—French politician, moderate republican; member of the Provisional Government (1848); during the Second Empire, member of the Corps législatif (from 1864) and the Government of National Defence (1870-71).—8, 575

*Gerstenberg, Isidor* (d. 1876)—London banker, a supporter of Gottfried Kinkel.—81, 389

*Gibson, Thomas Milner* (1806-1884)—British politician; a leader of the Free Traders, subsequently liberal; President of the Board of Trade (1859-65, 1865-66).—335

*Gilpin, Charles*—managing director of the London branch of the Swiss Bank, creditor of *The People's Paper;* M.P.—85

*Gipperich (Gibberich), Joseph*—German tailor; member of a Paris community supporting the separatist Willich-Schapper group after the split of the Communist League; one of the accused in the case of the so-called Franco-German plot in Paris in February 1852; later emigrated to England.—148

*Gisquet, Henri-Joseph* (1792-1866)—French businessman and politician; prefect of the Paris police (1831-36).—80

*Gladstone, Robert* (1811-1872)—British businessman, philanthropist; William Gladstone's cousin.—480

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory and later Peelite; a leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55, 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—335

*Glennie, John Stuart*—British author, accompanied Buckle in his journey in Palestine (1862).—381

*Glücksburg*—see *Christian IX*

*Gneist, Heinrich Rudolf Hermann Friedrich von* (1816-1895)—German lawyer and politician, professor at Berlin University, member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (from 1858) and of the North German and German Imperial Diets (1867-84); belonged to liberal opposition (early 1860s); National-Liberal from 1866.—494

*Göbel*—presiding judge of the Assizes in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—140, 151

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—159, 265, 379, 507, 515

*Goldheim*—Prussian police officer, a secret agent of the Prussian police in London in the early 1850s.—140, 146, 147, 149-51, 248

*Goldmann, Karl Eduard* (died c. 1863)—German journalist.—393

*Goudchaux, Michel* (1797-1862)—French banker, republican; Minister of Finance in the Provisional Government (1848); a leader of the republican opposition to the Bonapartist regime in the 1850s.—439

*Grabow, Wilhelm* (1802-1874)—Prussian politician, moderate liberal; President of the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848; Deputy Chairman (1850-61) and Chairman (1862-66) of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies.—377

*Grant, Ulysses Simpson* (1822-1885)—American general and statesman, Republican; commanded the Northern troops in Kentucky and Tennessee in 1861-62; Commander-in-Chief from March 1864; Secretary of War (1867-68), President of the USA (1869-77).—360, 478, 530, 531, 538-40, 558-59, 561

*Greeley, Horace* (1811-1872)—American journalist and politician; founder and editor of the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—359, 362

*Green*—Marx's acquaintance in London.—171, 193

*Greif*—Prussian police officer; one of the chiefs of the Prussian secret service in London in the early 1850s.—140, 141, 146-50, 241, 248

*Griesheim, Karl Gustav von* (1798-1854)—Prussian general and writer; reactionary; War Ministry representative in the Prussian National Assembly (1848).—328

*Grimm* brothers—see *Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl* and *Grimm, Wilhelm Carl*

*Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl* (1785-1863)—German philologist, professor at Berlin University, author of a historical grammar of the German language, and of the folklore adaptations; liberal.—572, 582

*Grimm, Wilhelm Carl* (1786-1859)—German philologist, co-author of his brother Jacob Grimm in his main works; professor in Göttingen and then in Berlin; liberal.—572, 582

*Grove, Sir William Robert* (1811-1896)—British physicist, qualified as a barrister.—551, 553

*Grün, Karl Theodor Ferdinand* (pen-name *Ernst von der Haide*) (1817-1887)—German writer, a 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s; petty-bourgeois democrat during the 1848-49 revolution; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing).—138, 139, 187, 190

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman; de facto directed France's domestic and foreign policy from 1840 until the February revolution of 1848.—101

*Gumpert*—Eduard Gumpert's wife.—539

*Gumpert, Eduard* (d. 1893)—German physician in Manchester; a friend of Marx and Engels.—68, 112, 113, 133, 138, 139, 185, 190, 204, 211, 222, 240, 243, 245, 250, 256, 282, 285, 290, 322, 423, 447, 460, 483, 490, 518, 520-21, 523, 524, 525, 529, 531, 539

*Guthrie, James* (1792-1869)—American statesman and big businessman; Democrat; Secretary of the Treasury (1853-57) in the Pierce Administration; advocated compromise with the slave-owners of the South.—308-09

## H

*Habsburgs* (or *Hapsburgs*)—dynasty of emperors of the Holy Roman Empire from 1273 to 1806 (with intervals), of Spanish kings (1516-1700), of emperors of Austria (1804-67) and of Austria-Hungary (1867-1918).—229, 230

*Hadji Hayden Hassan*—Circassian deputy to London in 1862.—491

*Häfner, Leopold* (b. 1820)—Austrian journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; participated in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to France.—18, 34

*Halleck, Henry Wager* (1815-1872)—American general, moderate Re-

publican; commander of the Missouri Department (November 1861-March 1862) and the Mississippi army (March-July 1862); Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Army (July 1862-March 1864).—360, 371-72, 386, 420

*Hansemann, David Justus* (1790-1864)—German capitalist, banker, a leader of the Rhine liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Minister of Finance (March-September 1848).—287

*Harney, George Julian* (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the English labour movement, a Chartist leader (Left wing); editor of *The Northern Star* and other Chartist periodicals; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels.—527, 534

*Hartmann, Moritz* (1821-1872)—Austrian writer; a 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (extreme Left).—212

*Hatzfeldt zu Trachenberg-Schönstein, Maximilian Friedrich Karl Franz, Count von* (1813-1859)—Prussian diplomat; envoy to Paris in 1849; Sophie von Hatzfeldt's brother.—147

*Hatzfeldt, Sophie, Countess von* (1805-1881)—friend and follower of Ferdinand Lassalle.—35, 124, 217, 251, 252, 257, 269-71, 275, 278, 280, 282-85, 288, 291, 293, 298, 299, 313, 315, 326, 358, 389, 563, 578, 579, 586

*Haupt, Hermann Wilhelm* (born c. 1831)—German shop assistant, member of the Communist League; arrested with other Cologne Communists he turned King's evidence and was released before the trial; fled to Brazil.—74, 149

*Hecker, Friedrich Karl Franz* (1811-1881)—German democrat, a leader of the Baden republican uprising in April 1848; emigrated to the USA where he fought in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—265, 361

*Heckscher, Martin*—Frederick Engels' physician, a German who lived in Manchester.—68, 129, 134, 167, 168, 211, 218, 240

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—19, 220, 265, 281, 330, 333, 381, 546

*Heilbronner, Karl* (1789-1864)—Bavarian writer and traveller, contributed to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.—14

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—33, 101, 159, 342, 462

*Heintzmann, Alexis* (born c. 1812)—Prussian lawyer, liberal; member of the Committee of Public Safety during the Elberfeld uprising in May 1849; emigrated to London; Chairman of the London branch of the National Association (1861).—297, 301, 302, 309-11, 319, 342

*Heinzen, Karl* (1809-1880)—German journalist, radical; from 1847 Marx's opponent; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland, later to England and in the autumn of 1850 to the USA.—10, 127, 263

*Heise, Hermann* (1820-1860)—German democratic journalist; participated in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, later emigrated to England.—16, 21, 67

*Hennessy, John Pope* (1834-1891)—Irish politician, M. P.—484

*Henry, Sir Thomas* (1807-1876)—English judge.—32, 38, 53, 78

*Heraclitus* (c. 540-c. 480 B. C.)—Greek philosopher, one of the founders of dialectics.—142, 281, 567

*Herder, Johann Gottfried von* (1744-1803)—German writer and literary theorist.—265

*Herwegh, Georg Friedrich* (1817-1875)—German democratic poet; participated in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated to Switzerland; supported Lassalle in the 1860s.—101, 389, 489, 561

*Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich* (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher and writer; left Russia in 1847; lived in England (from 1852) where he established the Free Russian Press and published the periodical *Polyarnaya Zvezda* (Polar Star) and the newspaper *Kolokol* (The Bell).—341, 454, 492

*Hess, Moses* (1812-1875)—German radical writer, a 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s; member of the Communist League; after the split in the League sided with the sectarian Willich-Schapper group; a Lassallean in the 1860s.—156

*Hess, Sibylle* (*née Pesch*) (1820-1903)—Moses Hess's wife.—185, 580

*Heydt, August, Baron von der* (1801-1874)—Prussian statesman; Minister of Trade, Industry and Public Works (from December 1848 to 1862); Minister of Finance (May-September 1862, 1866-69).—506

*Hiersemenzel, Karl Christian Eduard* (1825-1896)—German lawyer, judge in Berlin from 1859, editor of the *Preußische Gerichts-Zeitung*; Lassalle's friend.—282

*Hildebrand* (1814-1903) (real name *Beets, Nicolaas*)—Dutch poet and writer.—274, 510, 516

*Hill*—employee at the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels in the 1850s-60s.—392, 434, 447, 540

*Hinckeldey, Karl Ludwig Friedrich von* (1805-1856)—Prussian government official, Chief Commissioner of Berlin police from 1848; chief of the police department in the Ministry of the Interior from 1853.—74, 149, 287

*Hirsch, Johann Peter Wilhelm* (b. 1830)—commercial clerk from Hamburg; Prussian police agent in London in the early 1850s.—16, 24, 74, 81, 141, 146-51

*Hirschfeld, Rudolph*—owner of a printshop in London which printed *Die Neue Zeit* and the weekly *Hermann*; Marx's pamphlet *Herr Vogt* was printed there in 1860.—190, 199, 202, 208, 211, 226, 234, 236, 298

*Hobbes, Thomas* (1588-1679)—English philosopher.—381

*Höchster*—Ernst Hermann Höchster's son; an employee in the Koenigswarter Bank in Paris, later at a private firm in London.—235

*Höchster, Ernst Hermann* (born c. 1811)—Elberfeld lawyer, petty-bourgeois democrat, Chairman of the Committee of Public Safety during the uprising in Elberfeld (May 1849); emigrated after the failure of the uprising; lived in Paris in the 1860s; abandoned politics.—232, 235

*Hodde, Lucien de la* (*Delahodde*, pseudonym *Duprez*) (1808-1865)—French writer; participated in secret revolutionary societies during the Restoration and July monarchy, police agent.—12, 15, 148, 149

*Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—460, 462, 477

*Hollinger*—Fidelio Hollinger's wife.—31, 37

*Hollinger, Fidelio*—German refugee, owner of a printshop in London which printed *Das Volk*.—30-32 36, 37, 41, 42, 60-65, 68, 87, 104

*Homer*—semi-legendary Greek epic poet, author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.—311, 357

*Hooker, Joseph* (called '*Fighting Joe*') (1814-1879)—American general, Abolitionist, Republican; first commanded a corps of the Northern army on the Potomac (1862) and then the whole Potomac army (January-June 1863).—420, 430, 454, 478

*Horace* (*Quintus Horatius Flaccus*) (65-8 B.C.).—Roman poet.—92, 354, 452

*Hörfel, Gustav*—Austrian petty-bourgeois democrat; emigrated to Paris in 1850 and became an agent of the French police.—70, 122

*Horner, Leonard* (1785-1864)—English geologist and public figure, factory inspector (1833-59).—5

*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885)—French writer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; opposed Louis Bonaparte.—513, 519

*Humboldt, Alexander, Baron von* (1769-1859)—German naturalist and traveller.—116, 131, 153, 159, 271, 567

*Huxley, Thomas Henry* (1825-1895)—English naturalist, biologist; a friend and follower of Charles Darwin; popularised his teaching.—449, 465

I

*Imandt, Peter* (born c. 1824)—German teacher; democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated first to Switzerland and, in 1852, to London; member of the Communist League; follower of Marx and Engels.—16, 21, 34, 71, 213, 324, 398, 401, 420, 576, 579

*Imbert, Jacques* (1793-1851)—French socialist; took part in the Lyons uprising of 1834; refugee in Belgium in the 1840s; Vice-President of the Brussels Democratic Association (1847); commandant of the Tuileries after the February 1848 revolution.—102

*Ives, Malcom*—American journalist, Democrat; contributor to *The New-York Herald* from the late 1850s.—345

*Izzy—Lassalle, Ferdinand*

J

*Jackson, Thomas Jonathan* (1824-1863)—American general; commanded the Southern troops in Virginia (1861-63) during the Civil War; was nicknamed Stonewall Jackson after the battle of Bull Run (July 1861).—386, 414, 416

*Jacobi, Abraham* (1830-1919)—German physician, member of the Communist League, defendant at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852), acquitted by the jury; later emigrated to the USA where he disseminated Marxism in the workers' press; took part in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners; President of the Medical Academy in New York (1885-89).—89, 99, 100, 541

*James, Edwin John* (1812-1882)—British lawyer, M.P.; counsel for the defence at Simon Bernard's trial in April 1858.—33, 203

*Jardine, David* (1794-1860)—British lawyer; a magistrate in London from 1839.—151

*Jecker, Jean Baptiste* (c. 1810-1871)—Swiss banker; French subject from 1862; was close to the ruling circles of Bonapartist France; assisted the French intervention in Mexico; held as hostage and shot by the Communards —363, 456

*Jettchen*—see *Anrooij, Henriette Sophia van*

*Johnston, Albert Sidney* (1803-1862)—American general, Commander of

the Western Department of the Confederate army (1861-62) during the Civil War; killed in the battle of Corinth.—346

*Johnston, Joseph Eggleston* (1807-1891)—American general, took part in the Mexican War (1846-48), during the Civil War, commander of the Southern troops in Virginia (1861-62), later in Tennessee and Mississippi.—346

*Jones, Ernest Charles* (1819-1869)—prominent figure in the English labour movement, proletarian poet and journalist, Left-wing Chartist leader; friend of Marx and Engels.—33, 85, 86, 95, 103, 154, 284, 526, 530, 542, 553, 554

*Jottrand, Lucien Léopold* (1804-1877)—Belgian lawyer and journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; President of the Brussels Democratic Association (1847).—95, 102, 107

*Juárez, Benito Pablo* (1806-1872)—Mexican statesman, fought for national independence; leader of the Liberals during the Civil War (1858-60) and French intervention in Mexico (1861-67); President (1858-72).—363

*Juch, Hermann*—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat, refugee in London, Kinkel's supporter, editor of the *Hermann* (from July 1859).—16, 36, 80, 81, 146, 297, 301, 302, 354, 355

*Julian (Flavius Claudius Julianus), the Apostate* (c. 331-363)—Roman Emperor (361-63).—377

*Juta, Johann Carl (Jaan Carel)* (1824-1886)—Dutch merchant, husband of Karl Marx's sister Louise.—239

*Juta, Louise* (1821-c. 1865) — Karl Marx's sister, Johann Carl Juta's wife.—239, 499

*Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis)* (born c. 60-died after 127)—Roman satirical poet.—327

K

*Kapp, Friedrich* (1824-1884)—German historian and politician, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; refugee in the USA (1850-70); visited Germany in the early autumn of 1862.—416

*Karadžić, Vuk Stefanović (Карџић, Вук Стефановић)* (1787-1864)—Serbian philologist, historian and folklore specialist, founder of the modern Serbian literary language.—473

*Kavannagh (Cavanagh)*—one of Marx's acquaintances in London.—17

*Keil, Ernst* (1816-1878)—German journalist, publisher and bookseller, petty-bourgeois democrat, founded the weekly *Gartenlaube*.—233, 354

*Kertbény, Károly Mária* (real name *Benkert*) (1824-1882)—Hungarian man of letters, liberal, was in contact with the leaders of the 1848-49 revolution.—533

*Kinglake, Alexander William* (1809-1891)—English historian and politician, Liberal M.P. (1857-68).—173, 175, 456, 478, 482, 517

*Kinkel, Gottfried* (1815-1882)—German poet and democratic journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; sentenced to life imprisonment by a Prussian court; in 1850 escaped and emigrated to England; a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees in London; an editor of the *Hermann* (1859); opposed Marx and Engels.—4, 12, 15, 16, 27, 28, 43, 48, 70, 84, 98, 236, 237, 244, 246, 249, 253, 262, 293, 297, 298, 301, 302, 304, 309-11, 319, 322, 354, 355, 369, 419, 580

*Kinkel, Johanna* (née *Mockel*) (1810-1858)—German writer, Gottfried Kinkel's wife.—92, 262, 580

*Klapka, György* (1820-1892)—general in the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49); emigrated in 1849; maintained contact with Bonapartist circles in the 1850s; returned to Hungary after the amnesty (1867).—17, 79, 84, 85, 109, 247, 362, 493, 555-57

*Klein, Johann Jacob* (c. 1818-c. 1896)—Cologne physician, member of the Communist League; a defendant in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); acquitted by the jury; took part in the German workers' movement in the early 1860s.—289, 369, 371

*Klings, Karl* (born c. 1825-died after 1874)—German metal-worker, member of the Communist League, then of the General Association of German Workers; emigrated to the USA in 1865 where he worked in the Chicago Section of the First International.—533

*Knorsch*—German lawyer, Chairman of the German Workers' Educational Society in Düsseldorf (1860).—189

*Koenigswarter, Maximilien* (1815-1878)—French banker, deputy to the Corps législatif (1852-63).—235

*Kolatschek, Adolph* (1821-1889)—Austrian journalist and politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49); petty-bourgeois democrat; publisher of the *Deutsche Monatsschrift* (1850-51) and the *Stimmen der Zeit* (1858-62).—206, 208, 212, 216, 253, 262, 321, 324

*Kölle, Christoph Friedrich Karl* (1781-1848)—German diplomat and writer; secretary of the Württemberg embassies in Paris, The Hague, Munich, Karlsruhe and Dresden (1806-14); Württemberg chargé d'affaires in Rome (1817-33).—358

*Koller*—a partner in the London publishing house of Petsch & Co.—327, 328, 334, 340, 344, 347, 362

*Kölliker, Rudolf Albert von* (1817-1905)—German histologist and embryologist; professor of anatomy at Würzburg University (1849-1902).—546

*Komp, Albrecht*—German refugee in the USA, an organiser of the Communist Club in New York (1857); Joseph Weydemeyer's friend.—81

*Köppen, Karl Friedrich* (1808-1863)—German radical journalist and historian; Young Hegelian; later an authority on the history of Buddhism.—286, 287

*Korn, Adolf* (1822-1904)—Prussian officer (until 1845); took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to Switzerland after its defeat and to Argentina in 1857.—70, 71

*Kościelski, Władysław* (1818-1895)—Polish democrat; took part in the national liberation movement in Posen (1848), emigrated to Berlin; maintained contact with the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; general in the Turkish army under the name of Sefer Pasha in the 1850s.—23, 91, 465, 466

*Kosel, Esther* (c. 1786-1865)—sister of Karl Marx's father.—498, 501, 584

*Kossuth, Lajos* (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement; head of the revolutionary government (1848-49); after the defeat of the revolution emigrated first to Turkey and later to England and the USA; sought for support in the Bonapartist circles in the 1850s.—12, 17, 18, 27, 84, 106, 125, 148, 157, 181, 182, 196, 203, 215, 284, 362, 468, 493, 505

*Krause, Carl Friedrich August*—see *Fleury, Charles*

*Krause, Friedrich August* (d. 1834)—shoemaker, Charles Fleury's father.—148

*Kugelmann, Ludwig* (1828-1902)—German physician, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; member of the First International; corresponded with Marx from 1862 to 1874; friend of Marx and Engels.—435-37, 461, 465, 582, 583

*Kuhlmann, Georg* (b. 1812)—secret informer in the service of the Austrian government; in the 1840s preached 'true socialism' among the German artisans, followers of Weitling, in Switzerland; posing as a prophet he used religious phraseology.—9

*Küpper*—an innkeeper in Düsseldorf.—206

*Kustar, Ogli Ismael*—Circassian deputy to London in 1862.—491

L

*Laboulaye, Edouard René Lefebvre de* (1811-1883)—French lawyer, journalist and liberal politician.—502

*Lacambre, Cyrill*—French physician, refugee in Spain in the 1860s; Blanqui's close friend.—326

*Ladendorf(f), August*—German petty-bourgeois democrat, philosopher; sentenced to five years' imprisonment on a trumped-up charge of conspiracy (1854).—148

*La Farina, Giuseppe* (1815-1863)—Italian liberal politician, writer and historian; a leader of the revolutionary movement in Sicily (1848-49); Cavour's emissary in Sicily in 1860 (up to July); adviser to the viceroy of Sicily (October 1860-January 1861).—172, 246

*Lamennais (La Mennais), Hugues Félicité Robert de* (1782-1854)—French abbot and philosophical writer.—452

*Lamoricière, Christophe Léon Louis Juchault de* (1806-1865)—French general, moderate Republican; took part in suppressing the June 1848 uprising in Paris; War Minister in the Cavaignac government (June-December 1848); expelled from France after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; commanded the Papal army in 1860.—195, 196, 199

*Langiewicz, Maryan Melchior* (1827-1887)—participant in the Polish national liberation movement; a Right-wing leader during the 1863 insurrection in Poland, after its defeat fled to Austria where he was arrested and kept in prison until 1865.—456, 461, 464

*Łapiński, Theophil (Teofil)* (1827-1886)—Polish general; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; served in the Turkish army under the name of Tevfik Bey; fought against Russia in Circassia (1857-58); headed a military expedition to help the Polish insurgents in 1863.—489, 491-93

*L'Aspée, Henry de*—Wiesbaden police official; emigrated to London in the early 1850s, helped to expose provocative methods used by the Prussian authorities in staging the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—146, 147

*Lassal, Heimann* (d. 1862)—German merchant; Ferdinand Lassalle's father.—406, 408, 441

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German journalist and lawyer; took part in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863).—6, 9-13, 15, 16, 18-21, 23, 26-29, 33-35, 38, 48, 50-52, 58, 59, 88, 90-92, 108-110, 112, 116, 117, 124, 131, 132, 141-43, 145, 152, 155, 160, 164, 167, 169, 186-92, 194-97, 203, 204, 207, 208, 210, 212, 217, 233, 245, 247, 251-54, 257, 258, 261, 263, 267, 269-72, 275, 278-82, 284-86, 291-93, 298, 302, 303, 305, 312, 313, 315-20, 322, 325, 330, 333,

341, 346, 355, 358, 376-79, 381-85, 389-91, 393, 398, 399, 401-13, 415, 419, 422, 424-27, 440, 441, 445, 451, 452, 466, 469, 470, 473, 475, 478-80, 482-84, 488, 489, 494, 507, 533, 534, 537, 539, 555-58, 560, 561, 563, 567, 573, 578, 579, 585, 586

*Lee, Robert Edward* (1807-1870)—American general; took part in the war against Mexico (1846-48); suppressed the uprising of John Brown (1859); during the Civil War commanded the Confederate forces in Virginia (1862-65); Commander-in-Chief of the Confederate army from February to April 1865.—457, 484, 530, 531, 539, 540, 558

*Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, Baron von* (1646-1716)—German philosopher and mathematician.—115

*Lelewel, Joachim* (1786-1861)—Polish historian and revolutionary; took part in the 1830-31 Polish insurrection; a leader of the democratic wing of the Polish emigrants (1847-48).—23, 95, 102, 114

*Lenchen*—see *Demuth, Helene*

*Lepsius, Karl Richard* (1810-1884)—German Egyptologist.—286

*Lessner, Friedrich* (1825-1910)—German tailor; participant in the German and international working-class movement, member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; a defendant at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); refugee in London from 1856; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London and of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—3

*Levasseur de la Sarthe, René* (1747-1834)—leading figure in the French Revolution, deputy to the Convention, Jacobin; author of the memoirs on the French Revolution.—114

*Levy, Gustav*—German socialist from the Rhine Province; sent as delegate by Düsseldorf workers to Marx in London in 1856; later an active member of the General Association of German Workers.—82, 90

*Levy, Joseph Moses* (1812-1888)—a founder and the publisher of *The Daily Telegraph*.—33

*Lewald, Fanny*—see *Stahr, Fanny*

*Lewald, Otto* (1813-1874)—German lawyer, Fanny Lewald's brother.—81

*Lewis, Sir George Cornewall* (1806-1863)—British statesman, Whig, Secretary to the Treasury (1850-52), Chancellor of the Exchequer (1855-58), Home Secretary (1859-61) and Secretary for War (1861-63).—335

*Liebig, Justus, Baron von* (1803-1873)—German agrochemist.—159

*Liebknecht, Ernestine* (d. 1867)—Wilhelm Liebknecht's first wife.—77, 216, 573, 586, 587

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; participated in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League; refugee in London; a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; returned to Germany in 1862; opposed Lassalle's policy of conciliation with Bismarck; one of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party (Eisenach); member of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—3, 12, 31, 34, 35, 37, 41, 44, 53, 55, 56, 60, 61, 63-67, 77, 78, 105, 113, 114, 133, 134, 149-51, 216, 221, 224, 228, 232, 262, 502, 537-39, 541, 545, 552, 553, 561, 573, 586, 587

*Lincoln, Abraham* (1809-1865)—American statesman, a leader of the Republican Party; President of the

United States (1861-65); under the influence of the masses carried out important bourgeois-democratic reforms during the Civil War, thus making possible the adoption of revolutionary methods of warfare; was shot by a slave-owners' agent in April 1865.—297, 301, 306, 335, 387, 400, 420, 421, 428, 462, 559, 561, 562

*Lippe, Leopold, Count zur* (1815-1889)—Prussian statesman and lawyer; Public Prosecutor in Berlin (1860); Minister of Justice (1862-67).—131, 144, 186, 219

*Lochner, Georg* (born c. 1824)—carpenter; prominent figure in the German working-class movement; member of the Communist League, German Workers' Educational Society in London and the General Council of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—134

*Loening*—German publisher.—64

*Lommel, Georg*—German petty-bourgeois democrat, participant in the Baden uprising (April 1848); emigrated to Switzerland.—115, 118, 119, 123, 126, 127, 129, 141, 144, 155, 158, 160, 163, 164, 170, 172, 211, 227, 327

*Lord, Percival Barton* (1808-1840)—British physician and diplomat.—546

*Lormier, Marie*—an acquaintance of the Marx family.—527

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—318

*Louis XVI* (1754-1793)—King of France (1774-92); guillotined during the French Revolution.—430

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orléans, King of France (1830-48).—93, 462, 463

*Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, Count of Paris* (1838-1894)—grandson of Louis Philippe, pretender to the French throne.—94

*Lucan (Marcus Annaeus Lucanus)* (39-65)—Roman poet.—367

*Lucullus (Lucius Licinius Lucullus)* (c. 117-c. 56 B.C.)—Roman general, famous for his wealth and sumptuous feasts.—257, 265

*Ludwig III* (1806-1877)—Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt (1848-77).—373

*Lüning, Otto* (1818-1868)—German physician and journalist; a 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s; an editor of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*.—22

*Lupus*—see *Wolff, Wilhelm*

*Lützow, Ludwig Adolph Wilhelm, Baron von* (1782-1834)—Prussian army officer, later general; took part in the wars against Napoleonic France.—367

*Lyell, Charles* (1797-1875)—British scientist, geologist.—465, 473

M

*McAdam (Mac Adam), John*—Scottish journalist from Glasgow; supported the national liberation movement in Hungary, Italy and other European countries in the 1850s.—17, 467

*McClellan, George Brinton* (1826-1885)—American general and big railway businessman; was close to the Democrats; championed a compromise with Southern slave-owners; Commander-in-Chief of the Northern army (November 1861-March 1862) and Commander of the army on the Potomac (March-November 1862) during the US Civil War; candidate for the presidency (1864).—345, 360-62, 365-67, 372, 384, 386, 387, 400, 415, 420, 428, 430, 431, 440

*Macdonald*—British army officer, arrested in Bonn and brought to trial

on the charge of insubordination to local authorities (September 1860).—284, 297, 301, 354

*McDowell, Irvin* (1818-1885)—American general; during the Civil War commanded the Northern troops in Virginia (1861-62).—360, 372, 386

*McElrath, Thomas* (1807-1888)—American lawyer, publisher and politician, Abolitionist, co-founder and business manager (1841-57) of the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—362

*Machiavelli, Niccolò* (1469-1527)—Italian politician, historian and writer.—302

*Mackay, Charles* (1814-1889)—Scottish poet and journalist; New York special correspondent of *The Times* in 1862-65.—439, 457

*Mädler, Johann Heinrich von* (1794-1874)—German astronomer.—354

*Majewski, Karol* (1833-1897)—participant in the Polish national liberation movement, member of the Central National Committee; was close to the party of the 'Whites'; headed the National Government of Poland (June-September 1863).—492

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—British clergyman and economist; author of a population theory.—381

*Manetho* (end of the 4th-first half of the 3rd cent. B.C.)—Egyptian high priest and annalist during the reigns of Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II; author of a history of Egypt written in Greek.—286

*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von* (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman; Minister of the Interior (1848-50); Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1850-58); deputy to the Lower Chamber (1859 and 1860) and Upper Chamber (1864) of the Prussian Provincial Diet.—248, 287, 288

*Marianne*—see *Creuz, Anna Maria*

*Marie Antoinette* (1755-1793)—Queen of France (1774-93); wife of Louis XVI, guillotined during the French Revolution.—206

*Marilley, Étienne* (1804-1889)—Swiss clergyman, Bishop of Fribourg (Freiburg) (1846-79); inspired the anti-democratic revolt in Fribourg on 24 October 1848.—71

*Mario, Alberto* (1825-1883)—Italian politician and writer; took part in Garibaldi's revolutionary campaign in South Italy (1860).—379

*Markheim, Berta*—a close acquaintance of Marx's wife Jenny.—581, 583, 584

*Marotzki, H. E.*—Protestant pastor in Manchester.—525, 526

*Marriet* (d. 1864)—Rode's son-in-law.—526

*Marriet, Thekla*—Rode's daughter, Marriet's wife.—526

*Marx, Edgar* (1847-1855)—Karl Marx's son.—570, 572

*Marx, Eleanor (Tussy)* (1855-1898)—Karl Marx's youngest daughter.—8, 113, 135, 143, 180, 192, 195, 214, 216, 217, 221, 224, 228-30, 237, 240, 243, 258, 264, 272, 278, 283, 304, 313, 321, 331, 344, 355, 362, 365, 368, 369, 374, 380, 388, 399, 411, 419, 429, 433, 442, 444, 445, 449, 466, 468, 471, 473, 488, 494, 497, 500, 509, 510, 512, 514, 516, 524, 526, 527, 530, 532, 534, 537, 542, 543, 549, 550, 552, 554, 556, 557, 560, 568, 570-73, 575, 580, 581, 582, 587

*Marx, Franziska* (1851-1852)—Karl Marx's daughter.—670

*Marx, Heinrich* (1777-1838)—Karl Marx's father; lawyer, Counsellor of Justice in Trier.—96, 101

*Marx, Heinrich Guido* (1849-1850)—Karl Marx's son.—670

*Marx, Henriette* (née *Pressburg* or *Presborck*) (1787-1863)—Karl Marx's mother.—220, 221, 268, 273, 279, 283, 324, 325, 337, 416, 442, 495, 499, 500, 579

*Marx, Jenny* (née *von Westphalen*) (1814-1881)—Karl Marx's wife.—8, 9, 20, 24, 39, 56, 76, 79, 85, 87, 88, 94, 101, 104, 113, 122, 135, 143, 176, 179, 182, 188, 192, 195, 201, 212, 214-18, 220, 221, 223-25, 228-31, 234, 238, 240, 243, 245, 247, 251, 258, 262-64, 272, 278, 279, 304, 313, 318, 324, 328, 331-35, 343, 344, 347, 353, 354, 357, 368, 374, 380, 388-90, 399, 411, 419, 429, 433, 434, 439, 442, 444-46, 448, 449, 468, 493, 494, 498, 499, 501, 502, 505, 510, 523-25, 527, 532, 534, 542, 544, 546, 549, 552, 553, 554, 556, 567-78, 580, 581, 583-89

*Marx, Jenny* (1844-1883)—Karl Marx's eldest daughter.—8, 113, 135, 143, 180, 192, 195, 214, 216, 217, 221, 224, 228-30, 237, 240, 243, 258, 264, 272, 278, 283, 304, 313, 331, 340, 343, 344, 347, 352, 355, 361, 362, 365, 366, 368, 369, 374, 380, 382, 383, 388, 399, 401, 411, 414, 415, 419, 428, 429, 433, 442, 444, 445, 449, 468, 475, 477, 479, 483, 488, 491, 494, 510, 514, 516, 517, 524, 526, 527, 531, 532, 534, 537, 542, 543, 546, 549, 550, 552, 554, 556, 560, 562, 568, 570, 571, 572, 573, 575, 580, 581, 582, 584, 587

*Marx, Laura* (1845-1911)—Karl Marx's second daughter.—8, 113, 135, 143, 180, 192, 195, 214, 216, 217, 221, 224, 228, 229, 230, 237, 240, 243, 258, 264, 272, 278, 283, 304, 313, 331, 344, 347, 362, 365, 368, 369, 374, 380, 388, 411, 419, 429, 433, 442, 444, 445, 449, 468, 488, 494, 510, 516, 524, 526, 527, 532, 534, 537, 542, 543, 549, 550, 552, 554, 556, 560, 562, 568, 570, 571, 572, 573, 575, 580, 581, 582, 587, 588

*Mason, James Murray* (1798-1871)—American politician, big slave-owning planter, Chairman of the Senate commission on foreign affairs, advocate of secession; was sent by the Southern Confederacy on a diplomatic mission to England in the autumn of 1861; commissioner of the Confederacy in London (1862-65).—329, 336

*Massol, Marie Alexandre* (1806-1875)—French journalist; utopian socialist; contributed to the newspapers *La Réforme* and *Voix du peuple* (1848-50); Proudhon's friend.—433, 439

*Masterman, John* (c. 1782-1862)—British banker and politician, Tory M.P.—434, 437

*Maupas, Charlemagne Émille de* (1818-1888)—French lawyer, Bonapartist; Prefect of the Paris police (1851); an organiser of the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; Minister of Police (1852-53).—144, 148, 149

*Mayer, Michael* (d. 1622)—German alchemist, physician-in-ordinary and counsellor of Emperor Rudolph II, author of works on chemistry, medicine and philosophy.—490

*Maynard*—American army officer, agent of the Southerners during the Civil War.—345

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, leader of the national liberation movement, head of the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850); sought for support among the Bonapartists in the early 1850s; subsequently opposed Bonapartism.—185, 193, 196, 246, 255, 264, 325, 390, 468

*Medici del Vascello, Giàcomo* (1817-1882)—Italian general, fought in the national liberation war of 1848-49 and defended the Roman Re-

public (April-July 1849); participated in Garibaldi's revolutionary campaign in South Italy (1860).—321, 322

*Meissner, Otto Carl* (1819-1902)—publisher in Hamburg, printed Marx's *Capital* and other works by Marx and Engels.—169, 171, 187, 201, 204

*Melchior, Julius*—a worker from Solingen, member of the General Association of German Workers, emigrated to the USA in 1864.—534, 540, 541

*Mellinet, François Aimé* (1768-1852)—Belgian general of French descent; took part in the revolution of 1830 and democratic movement in Belgium; Honorary President of the Democratic Association in Brussels.—114

*Menchikoff (Menshikov), Alexander Sergeyevich, Prince* (1787-1869)—Russian general and statesman; was sent on an extraordinary mission to Constantinople (1853), Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy in the Crimea (1853-55).—349

*Merckel, Wilhelm von* (1803-1861)—German poet, lawyer, Councillor of the High Court in Berlin (1850-61).—328

*Meyen, Eduard* (1812-1870)—German writer, petty-bourgeois democrat; editor of the *Berliner Reform* (1861-63); subsequently a National-Liberal.—238, 239, 241, 242, 252, 284, 285, 322, 377, 379, 469, 470

*Mierosławski, Ludwik* (1814-1878)—prominent figure of the Polish national liberation movement; took part in the 1830-31 Polish insurrection and in the 1848-49 revolution; sought for support among the Bonapartists in the 1850s; was proclaimed dictator of the Polish National Government at the beginning of the 1863 Polish insurrection; emigrated to France after its defeat.—247, 456, 465, 466

*Mill, John Stuart* (1806-1873)—English economist and positivist philosopher.—535

*Miquel, Johannes von* (1828-1901)—German politician and financier; member of the Communist League in the 1840s; a founder of the National Association (1859); a National-Liberal from the 1860s.—192, 194, 419

*Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel Victor Riqueti, comte de* (1749-1791)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, advocate of constitutional monarchy.—289

*Miramón, Miguel* (1832-1867)—Mexican general, a leader of the Conservative Party; led the counter-revolutionary mutiny against the Liberal government; head of the insurgents' government (1859-60); supported French interventionists and their protégé Maximilian in 1862-67; was shot by Mexican republicans.—363

*Mirès, Jules Isaac* (1809-1871)—French banker.—580

*Mitchel, Ormsby MacKnight* (1809-1862)—American astronomer, director of the observatory in Cincinnati (1845-59); general of the Northern army (1861-62) during the Civil War.—372

*Mithridates VI Eupator* (132-63 B.C.)—King of Pontus (Asia Minor), fought three wars against the Romans; was defeated in the third war (74-63 B.C.) first by Lucullus and finally by Pompey.—265

*Mockel*—see *Kinkel, Johanna*

*Mocquard, Jean François Constant* (1791-1864)—French politician and man of letters, active participant in the coup d'état of 2 December 1851, Louis Bonaparte's private secretary and chief of his office from 1848.—107

*Moll, Friedrich* (c. 1835-1871)—a worker from Solingen, member of

the General Association of German Workers, emigrated to the USA in 1864, a founder of the General Association of German Workers in New York.—533, 534, 540, 541

*Monk (Monck), George, Duke of Albemarle* (1608-1670)—English general and statesman; originally a royalist, later served in Cromwell's army, helped to restore the Stuarts to power in 1660.—440

*Monrad, Ditlev Gothard* (1811-1887)—Danish bishop and politician, Minister of Education and Worship (1848, 1859-63), Prime Minister and Minister of Finance (1863-64), leader of the National-Liberal Party in the 1850s.—544

*Montagu, Robert, Lord* (1825-1902)—British politician, Conservative M.P.—299

*Montgomery, Alfred*.—351

*Morny, Charles Auguste Louis Joseph, duc de* (1811-1865)—French politician, Bonapartist; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); an organiser of the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; Minister of the Interior (December 1851-January 1852); President of the Corps législatif (1854-56, 1857-65); stepbrother of Napoleon III.—363

*Morrill, Justin Smith* (1810-1898)—American politician, Republican, Congressman from Vermont (1855-67); author of law on protective tariffs (1861).—370

*Mügge, Theodor* (1806-1861)—German writer and journalist, Young Hegelian.—287

*Müller, Georg*—Chairman of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (1860).—77, 94, 95

*Müller, Wilhelm* (literary pseudonym *Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter*) (1816-1873)—German poet; physician in Düsseldorf in the 1840s.—289

*Müller-Tellering, Eduard von* (born c. 1808)—German lawyer and writer, petty-bourgeois democrat; contributed to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); emigrated to England after the defeat of the revolution; libelled Marx and Engels in the press; emigrated to the USA in 1852.—9, 10, 12, 82, 85

*Murat, Napoleon Lucien Charles, Prince* (1803-1878)—French politician, Bonapartist; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; cousin of Napoleon III.—246

*Murray, John* (1808-1892)—British publisher.—5

*Mussurus Bey (Constantin)* (1807-1891)—Turkish diplomat, Greek by birth; envoy (1851-56) and Ambassador (1856-85) to London.—80

*Muzembini*—Marx's acquaintance in London.—79

*Muzembini*—Muzembini's wife.—80

N

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—430, 460, 489, 513, 568

*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—Prince, nephew of Napoleon I, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—10, 12, 18, 63, 64, 102, 103, 107, 129, 133, 146, 154, 156, 159, 160, 164, 171, 189, 191, 192, 193, 196, 198, 202, 203, 205, 212, 224, 241, 242, 246, 250, 262, 291, 329, 350, 361, 363, 369, 370, 390, 431, 456, 460, 462, 463, 471, 477, 489, 492, 496, 506, 513, 519, 537, 538, 552, 554

*Napoleon, Prince*—see *Bonaparte, Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul*

*Nasmyth, James* (1808-1890)—Scottish engineer, inventor of the steam-hammer.—411

*Neuhof, Theodor Stephen, Baron von* (c. 1686-1756)—son of a Westphalian nobleman, adventurer; in 1736 was proclaimed King of Corsica under the name of Theodore I but soon dethroned; made several abortive attempts (1738, 1743 and 1744) to seize the throne of Corsica.—206

*Niebuhr, Barthold Georg* (1776-1831)—German historian of the ancient world.—357

*Niegolewski, Władysław Maurycy Grzymała* (1819-1885)—Polish lawyer and politician, petty-bourgeois democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848), member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies for Posen from 1849.—159

*Normanby, Constantine Henry Phipps, Marquess of* (1797-1863)—English statesman, Whig M.P., Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1835-39), Secretary for War and the Colonies (1839); Home Secretary (1839-41); Ambassador to Paris (1846-52).—10

*Nostitz, August Ludwig Ferdinand, Count von* (1777-1866)—Prussian general, close to William I; Sophie von Hatzfeldt's brother-in-law.—280

*Nostitz, Friedrich Wilhelm Nicolas, Count von* (1835-1916)—Prussian army officer; August Nostitz's son and Sophie von Hatzfeldt's nephew.—280

*Nothjung, Peter* (1821-1866)—German tailor, member of the Cologne Workers' Association and of the Communist League; a defendant at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); sentenced to six years' imprisonment.—109, 146

O

*Oelbermann*—a publisher in Bonn.—201

*Ohm*—police agent.—245

*Oldenburg*—dynasty of Danish kings (1448-1863), and of Schleswig-Holstein dukes (1460-1863); Emperor Peter III of Russia (1761-62) also belonged to this dynasty.—541

*Oldenburg, August Paul Friedrich*—see *August Paul Friedrich*

*Oldham, Williamson Simpson* (1813-1868)—American lawyer and politician, Democrat; took part in the rebellion of Southern slave-owners; a member of the Confederacy Congress.—429

*Opdyke, George* (1805-1880)—American businessman, economist; Mayor of New York (1862-63).—440

*Oppenheim*—a banker in London.—534

*Oppenheim, Heinrich Bernhard* (1819-1880)—German politician, economist and journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; an editor of *Die Reform* (Berlin) in 1848; from 1849, a refugee in Switzerland, France and England; subsequently a National-Liberal.—190, 212

*Orges, Hermann, von* (1821-1874)—German journalist; an editor of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* (1854-64).—10, 14, 66, 537

*Orleans, Prince*—see *Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, Count of Paris*

*Orsini, Felice* (1819-1858)—Italian revolutionary, democrat and republican; prominent figure in the struggle for Italy's national liberation and unification; executed for his attempt on the life of Napoleon III.—356, 369

*Osborne*—see *Bernal Osborne, Ralph*

*Oswald, Ernst*—former Prussian army officer, took part in Garibaldi's revolutionary campaign in South Italy (1860); emigrated to the USA at the end of 1861.—321, 322

*Owen, Sir Richard* (1804-1892)—

English naturalist, opponent of Darwin's theory of evolution.—465

*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—Welsh utopian socialist.—114

P

*Palleske, Emil* (1823-1880)—German actor and author.—50

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman; Tory and, from 1830, Whig; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51); Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-65).—10, 88, 103, 121, 122, 133, 144, 152, 153, 154, 156, 173, 228, 262, 284, 286, 299, 335, 336, 337, 345, 349, 363, 370, 462, 463, 467, 484, 490, 491, 492, 494, 496, 516, 517, 519, 537, 538, 543, 544, 549, 554

*Pam*—see *Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount*

*Paracelsus* (real name *Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim*) (1493-1541)—German physician and naturalist.—491

*Parker, Sarah*—Frederick Engels' housemaid.—344

*Patkul, Johann Reinhold* (1660-1707)—Livonian nobleman; was in the Russian service from 1702.—471, 541

*Patzke*—Prussian police official, chief of the Berlin police (late 1850s-early 1860s).—189, 280

*Paula-Kröcher (Paulaw)*.—85

*Pellico, Silvio* (1789-1854)—Italian writer, arrested in 1820 for his contacts with the Carbonari and sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment; released in 1830; published a book describing the hardships of convicts in Austrian prisons (1832).—507

*Perczel, Mór* (1811-1899)—Hungarian general; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; emigrated to Turkey after the defeat of the revolution and to England in 1851.—111, 125, 157

*Perrier, John*—Swiss radical politician; member of the Grand Council (1852, 1856-60); Fazy's supporter.—129

*Persigny, Jean Gilbert Victor Fialin, comte* (1808-1872)—French statesman, Bonapartist, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51), an organiser of the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; Minister of the Interior (1852-54, 1860-63), Ambassador to London (1855-58, 1859-60).—227, 313

*Peter I (the Great)* (1672-1725)—Russian Tsar (1682-1721); Emperor of Russia from 1721.—470

*Peter III* (1728-1762)—Emperor of Russia (1761-62).—471

*Peter Nikolaus Friedrich, Grand Duke of Oldenburg* (1827-1900)—Russia's nominee to the Schleswig-Holstein throne (1864), ceded his claims to it in favour of Prussia in 1866.—549

*Petsch, Albert*—publisher and bookseller in London; printed Karl Marx's *Herr Vogt* at the end of 1860.—118, 123, 126, 190, 196, 197, 199, 202, 204, 211, 218, 224-27, 234, 235, 237, 238, 239, 241, 242, 243, 255, 327, 334, 338

*Pfänder, Karl* (c. 1818-1876)—German artist; prominent in German and international working-class movement; refugee in London from 1845, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, of the Communist League Central Authority and later of the General Council of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—11, 472, 536

*Pfuel, Ernst Heinrich Adolf von* (1779-1866)—Prussian general; commandant of Berlin (March 1848); headed the suppression of the up-

rising in Posen in May 1848; Prime Minister and Minister of War in September-October 1848.—271, 280

*Philips*—Dutch relatives of Karl Marx.—272, 499

*Philips, Antoinette (Nannette)* (c. 1837-1885)—Karl Marx's cousin, daughter of Lion Philips.—269, 272, 274, 276, 283, 311, 313, 320, 322, 503, 504, 507, 508, 510, 550

*Philips, August* (d. 1895)—Karl Marx's cousin, lawyer in Amsterdam.—276, 302, 313, 315, 320, 322, 325, 341, 346, 426, 509

*Philips, Friedrich (Fritz)*—Karl Marx's cousin, banker in Zalt-Bommel.—314, 510, 551

*Philips, Jacques*—Karl Marx's cousin, lawyer in Rotterdam.—276, 277, 279, 283, 286, 313, 509

*Philips, Jean*—Karl Marx's cousin, merchant in Aachen.—514

*Philips, Karl*—Karl Marx's cousin; merchant in Aachen.—514, 516

*Philips, Lion* (1794-1866)—Dutch merchant, maternal uncle of Karl Marx.—263, 268, 272, 273, 276, 277, 279, 283, 291, 294, 314, 320, 415, 444, 445, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 507-10, 512, 514, 516, 542, 550, 551, 552, 574, 579

*Pi de Cosprons, Honoré (duc du Roussillon)*—French philologist and historian.—484, 490

*Pieper, Wilhelm* (born c. 1826)—German philologist and journalist; member of the Communist League; refugee in London; was close to Marx and Engels in 1850-53.—511, 553, 576

*Pierce, Francis Edwin* (d. 1896)—American general, commanded the Northerners' troops in Virginia.—309

*Pierce, Franklin* (1804-1869)—14th President of the USA (1853-57); Democrat.—300

*Pitt, William (the Younger)* (1759-1806)—British statesman, Tory, Prime Minister (1783-1801 and 1804-06).—400

*Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti)* (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—492, 580

*Plon-Plon*—see *Bonaparte, Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul*

*Ploug, Parmo Carl* (1813-1894)—Danish poet, journalist and politician, a National-Liberal, editor of the *Faedrelandet* (1841-81), member of the Upper Chamber of Rigsdag (Parliament).—554

*Pompey (Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus)* (106-48 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman.—265

*Pope, John* (1822-1892)—American general, Republican; commanded a Northern army on the Mississippi (1862) and then in Virginia during the Civil War.—372, 400, 414, 415

*Potter, Edmund*—British manufacturer and politician, Free Trader; in the early 1860s Chairman of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, M.P.—463

*Presburg, Martin Isacq* (1794-1867)—merchant in Nijmegen, maternal uncle of Karl Marx.—499, 502

*Pyat, Félix* (1810-1889)—French journalist and playwright; politician; petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1848 revolution; from 1849 refugee in Switzerland, Belgium and England; later opposed Marx and the First International.—47

*Pythagoras* (c. 570-c. 500 B.C.)—Greek mathematician and philosopher.—515

## Q

*Quesnay, François* (1694-1774)—French economist, founder of the school of Physiocrats; a physician by profession.—381, 485, 487

*Quintilian (Marcus Fabius Quintilianus)* (c. 35-c. 96)—Roman rhetorician.—268

R

*Racowiţa, Janko von* (d. 1865)—Romanian nobleman, fatally wounded Lassalle in a duel in 1864.—555, 557, 558

*Ranickel*—German bookbinder, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to Switzerland after its defeat.—99, 163

*Ranke, Leopold von* (1795-1886)—German historian, professor at Berlin University, ideologist of the Junkerdom.—561

*Rau, Karl Heinrich* (1792-1870)—German economist.—280

*Reclus, Michel Elie* (1827-1904)—French ethnographer and journalist, utopian socialist, participated in the 1848 revolution; expelled from France after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; returned in 1855; during the Paris Commune director of the Bibliothèque nationale.—439

*Reiff, Wilhelm Joseph* (born c. 1824)—member of the Cologne Workers' Association and of the Communist League, expelled from the League in 1850; a defendant at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); sentenced to five years' imprisonment.—3, 4, 85, 134, 135

*Reinach, Arnold* (c. 1820-1870)—German petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to Switzerland.—34

*Reinhardt, Richard* (1829-1898)—German poet, refugee in Paris, Heinrich Heine's secretary, friend of the Marx family.—384

*Rémusat, Charles François Marie, comte de* (1797-1875)—French statesman and writer, an Orleanist; Minister of the Interior (1840); opposed Napoleon III's regime during the Second Empire.—93, 94

*Renan, Joseph-Ernest* (1823-1892)—French philologist and historian of Christianity, idealist philosopher.—507, 541

*Reuter, Max*—Prussian police agent in London in the early 1850s.—140, 147

*Reuter, Paul Julius, Baron* (1816-1899)—founder of the telegraph agency in London (1851).—121, 122, 144, 333, 440

*Reynolds, George William MacArthur* (1814-1879)—British politician and journalist; publisher of *Reynolds's Newspaper*.—33, 358

*Rheinländer, Georg Friedrich*—member of the Outlaws' League in Paris, later refugee in London, member of the London branch of the German National Association.—110, 130, 155, 232, 234, 297, 298, 350, 567, 579, 580

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—British economist.—378, 380, 396, 397, 403, 404, 480, 485

*Richelieu, Armand Jean du Plessis, duc de* (1585-1642)—French statesman during the period of absolutism, Cardinal.—389

*Richter, Jakob Ferdinand* (1814-1875)—German journalist, liberal, publisher of *Die Reform*.—234

*Rings, L. W.*—member of the Communist League, refugee in London in the early 1850s; supporter of Marx and Engels.—149, 150

*Ripley, Roswell Sabine* (1823-1887)—American army officer and military writer; general from 1861, participant in the war against Mexico (1846-48), wrote a history of this war.—299

*Roberts, William Prowting* (1806-1871)—English lawyer, participated

in the Chartist and trade union movements.—47

*Rodbertus-Jagetzow, Johann Karl* (1805-1875)—German economist and politician, proponent of Prussian 'state socialism'.—253, 285, 377, 378

*Rode*—German refugee in Liverpool.—526

*Roesgen, Charles*—an employee in the firm of Ermen & Engels in Manchester.—21, 112, 121, 134, 211, 392, 447

*Rollenhagen, Georg* (1542-1609)—German pastor and teacher.—311

*Ronge, Johannes* (1813-1887)—German clergyman; an initiator of the German Catholics movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution, emigrated to England after its defeat.—28

*Roodhujzen, A.*—pastor in Zalt-Bommel, future husband of Antoinette Philips.—510, 515

*Roon, Albrecht Theodor Emil, Count von* (1803-1879)—Prussian statesman and military figure, War Minister (1859-73) and Naval Minister (1861-71); reorganised the Prussian army.—440

*Roscher, Wilhelm Georg Friedrich* (1817-1894)—German economist, professor at Leipzig University, founder of 'historical school' in political 'economy.—285, 377, 378, 379, 425, 440

*Rosecrans, William Starke* (1819-1898)—American general, commanded Northern troops in Mississippi and Tennessee (1862-63) during the Civil War.—478

*Roselius, Christian* (1803-1873)—American lawyer and politician, Whig, professor at Louisiana University; championed preservation of the Union.—308

*Rosenblum, Eduard*—German student; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, emigrated after its defeat.—70

*Röser, Peter Gerhard* (1814-1865)—cigar-maker; prominent figure in the German working-class movement; Vice-President of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848-49); member of the Communist League; a defendant at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852), sentenced to six years' imprisonment; later sympathised with the Lassalleans.—83

*Rostoffzeff (Rostovtsev), Yakov Ivanovich, Count* (1803-1860)—Russian statesman, member of the State Council (1856), took part in the preparation of the Peasant Reform (1861); Chairman of the 'drafting commissions' (1859).—4

*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian; published, jointly with Marx, the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*; Marx's ideological opponent after 1844; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing); German petty-bourgeois refugee leader in England in the 1850s.—70, 82, 101, 259, 381, 556, 573

*Ruge, Franziska*—Arnold Ruge's daughter.—556

*Russell, John Russell, Earl* (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader, Prime Minister (1846-52, 1865-66), Foreign Secretary (1852-53, 1859-65).—335

*Russell, Sir William Howard* (1820-1907)—English journalist, military correspondent of *The Times* in Washington (1861-62).—363

*Rüstow, Alexander* (1824-1866)—Prussian army officer and military writer; Friedrich Wilhelm Rüstow s brother.—383

*Rüstow, Cäsar* (1826-1866)—Prussian army officer and military writer;

Friedrich Wilhelm Rüstow's brother.—383

*Rüstow, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1821-1878)—German army officer and military writer, democrat; refugee in Switzerland; chief-of-staff of Garibaldi's troops during the campaign in South Italy (1860); Lassalle's friend.—205, 322, 383, 389, 390, 393, 398, 409, 412, 555, 557

*Rutenberg, Adolf* (1808-1869)—German journalist, Young Hegelian; editor of the *National-Zeitung* (1848); a National-Liberal after 1866.—287, 288, 561

*Rütten, Joseph Jakob* (1805-1878)—head of a publishing house in Frankfurt am Main.—101

S

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—57

*Sasonow, Nikolai Ivanovich* (1815-1862)—Russian journalist, democrat and radical; emigrated abroad in the early 1840s; contributed to various newspapers and magazines; Marx's acquaintance.—164, 446

*Sauernheimer*—German brushmaker; refugee in Switzerland and Chairman of the German Workers' Association in Geneva in the early 1850s.—71, 185

*Saul* (11th cent. B.C.)—first King of Israel (c. 1025 B.C.).—541

*Say, Jean Baptiste* (1767-1832)—French economist.—280

*Schabelitz, Jacob Lukas* (1827-1899)—Swiss publisher and bookseller; member of the Fraternal Democrats society from 1846; member of the Communist League; maintained contact with Marx and Engels in the late 1840s and the early 1850s.—74, 83, 98

*Schaible, Karl Heinrich* (1824-1899)—German physician and writer; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, emigrated to England.—49, 52, 53, 62, 63, 66, 85, 86, 87, 104, 105, 264, 265

*Schapper, Karl* (c. 1812-1870)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; a leader of the League of the Just; member of the Communist League Central Authority; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; a leader of the sectarian group that split away from the Communist League in 1850; resumed contact with Marx in 1856; member of the General Council of the First International.—11, 36, 71, 72, 77, 78, 79, 91, 92, 93, 95, 133, 147, 242, 428

*Scherzer, Andreas* (1807-1879)—German tailor; member of a Paris community of the Communist League which sided with the Willich-Schapper sectarian group in 1850; later refugee in London; a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; publisher of *Die Neue Zeit* and contributor to *Das Volk*.—82

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—159, 236, 274, 488, 552

*Schily, Victor* (1810-1875)—German lawyer, democrat, took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, later refugee in France; member of the First International.—29, 33, 34, 48, 71, 99, 130, 133, 138, 155, 156, 163, 164, 182, 202, 215, 237, 240, 247, 316, 321, 324, 350, 356, 362, 420, 466, 568, 579, 580

*Schimmelpfennig, Alexander* (1824-1865)—Prussian army officer, democrat, participated in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated after its defeat; supported the

sectarian Willich-Schapper group; fought in the US Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—14, 133

*Schleiden, Matthias Jakob* (1804-1881)—German botanist, a theorist of the cell structure of organisms.—546, 553

*Schleinitz, Alexander, Baron von* (1807-1885)—Prussian statesman; Minister of Foreign Affairs (June 1848, 1849-50, 1858-61).—177, 284

*Schlesinger, Max* (1822-1881)—German journalist, emigrated to London in 1848; correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.—121, 122, 227

*Schlosser, Friedrich Christoph* (1776-1861)—German historian.—265

*Schmalhausen, Sophie* (1816-1883)—Karl Marx's eldest sister, wife of Wilhelm Robert Schmalhausen.—499

*Schmalhausen, Wilhelm Robert* (1817-1862)—lawyer in Maastricht; Karl Marx's brother-in-law.—268, 432

*Schmerling, Anton von* (1805-1893)—Austrian liberal statesman; Imperial Minister of the Interior (July-December 1848), Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (September-December 1848); Austrian Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior (1860-65).—321, 323

*Schmerling, Philippe Charles* (1791-1836)—Belgian physician and palaeontologist.—473

*Schmidt*—agent of a ship company, Chairman of the Association of German Men in London; member of the London branch of the National Association.—310

*Schmidt, Heinrich Julian Aurel* (1818-1886)—German critic and historian of literature; moderate liberal; supported Bismarck from 1866.—377

*Schneider II, Karl*—German lawyer, democrat; President of the Cologne Democratic Society and member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats (1848); defended Marx and Engels at the trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on 7 February 1849; counsel for the defence at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—73, 93, 94, 146, 150, 151, 289

*Schöler, Caroline* (1819-1891)—teacher in Cologne; friend of the Marx family.—165

*Schönberg, Countess*.—148

*Schramm, Conrad (Konrad)* (c. 1822-1858)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement; member of the Communist League; refugee in London from 1849; responsible editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue;* friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—96, 97, 534

*Schramm, Rudolf* (1813-1882)—German democratic journalist, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; emigrated to England after the defeat of the revolution; opposed Marx; supporter of Bismarck in the 1860s; Conrad Schramm's brother.—366, 497, 580

*Schröder*—German refugee in London.—3

*Schröder, E.*—agent for the firm of Ermen & Engels in Amsterdam.—346

*Schulze-Delitzsch, Franz Hermann* (1808-1883)—German economist and politician; advocated unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy; a founder of the National Association; a leader of the Party of Progress in the 1860s; tried to detract workers from the revolutionary struggle by organising cooperative societies.—418, 467, 470, 480, 561, 580

*Schurz, Karl* (1829-1906)—German petty-bourgeois democrat; partici-

pant in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to Switzerland, later to the USA, where he took part in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners; later American statesman.—363

*Schwabe*—merchant in Manchester.—525

*Schwanbeck, Eugen Alexis* (1821-1850)—German journalist, contributed to the *Kölnische Zeitung* (1847-49).—241

*Schwann, Theodor* (1810-1882)—German biologist; founder of the theory of the cell structure of organisms in 1839.—546

*Schwarck*—Chief Public Prosecutor of the Prussian Royal Court of Appeal.—131, 144, 145, 186, 219

*Schwarz, Wilhelm*—member of the board of the Great Industrial Exhibition in London (1862).—408

*Schweigert, Ludwig*—former Austrian army officer, member of the National Association.—383

*Schwerin, Maximilian Heinrich Karl, Count von* (1804-1872)—Prussian statesman, Minister of Religious Worship, Public Education and Medicine (March-June 1848); deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing); Minister of the Interior (1859-62); later National-Liberal.—288, 305, 313

*Scott, Winfield* (1786-1866)—American general, Commander-in-Chief of the US army (1841-November 1861).—299, 304

*Scoville, Joseph Alfred* (1815-1864)—(pen-name *Manhattan*)—American journalist, supporter of the Democrats; during the Civil War New York correspondent of the London papers *The Morning Herald* and *The Evening Standard;* opposed the policy of the Lincoln Administration.—361

*Seddon, James Alexander* (1815-1880)—American statesman, Democrat; War Secretary of the Confederacy (1862-65) during the Civil War.—562

*Seel, Johann Richard* (1819-1875)—German cartoonist, Engels' acquaintance in the 1840s.—289

*Sertorius (Quintus Sertorius)* (c. 122-72 B. C.)—Roman politician and general; praetor in Spain (83-81 B.C.); led the struggle of the Iberian tribes against Rome (80-72 B.C.).—265

*Seward, William Henry* (1801-1872)—American statesman; a leader of the Right-wing Republicans; governor of New York State (1839-43); Senator from 1849; candidate for the presidency (1860); Secretary of State (1861-69); advocated a compromise with the Southern slave-owners.—462

*Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of* (1801-1885)—British politician; head of parliamentary group of the Tory philanthropists in the 1840s; a Whig from 1847; Palmerston's son-in-law.—297

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English poet and dramatist.—265, 282, 517, 579

*Shelley, Mary Wollstonecraft* (1797-1851)—English writer; Percy Bysshe Shelley's second wife; wrote *Frankenstein or the Modern Prometheus.*—503

*Sherman, William Tecumseh* (1820-1891)—American general and politician; took part in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners (1861-65), in May-December 1864 commanded the troops that made a successful "march to the sea"; commander-in-chief of the US army (1869-84).—361, 559, 561

*Sidney, Herbert*—British lawyer.—334, 338

*Siebel*—merchant in Barmen, Carl Siebel's father.—289

*Siebel, Carl (Karl)* (1836-1868)—German poet; Engels' distant relative, lived in England (1856-60); helped to propagate works by Marx and Engels, Vol. I of *Capital* in particular.—25, 26, 28, 112-15, 118, 122, 123, 126, 129, 131, 134, 135, 138, 139, 140, 143, 155, 158, 165, 168, 179, 180, 181, 182, 185, 190, 191, 197, 198, 199, 201, 202, 206, 208, 209, 212, 227, 238-42, 248, 255, 272, 273, 289, 291, 337, 341, 371, 374, 375, 417, 478

*Siebel, Reinhilde*—Carl Siebel's wife.—179, 206, 239, 289, 374, 375

*Sigel, Franz* (1824-1902)—German army officer, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolutionary movement in Baden; emigrated to Switzerland and later to England; went to the USA in 1852, where he took part in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—372

*Simon, Édouard* (1824-1897)—French journalist, born in Berlin; Bonapartist spy.—223, 225

*Simon, Ludwig* (1810-1872)—German lawyer, democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five imperial regents in 1849; emigrated to Switzerland, lived in Paris (1855-70).—84, 187, 212, 228, 233, 234, 235, 299

*Simons, Ludwig* (1803-1870)—German lawyer; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848; Minister of Justice (1849-60).—248

*Simson, Martin Eduard Sigismund von* (1810-1899)—Prussian politician and lawyer; member and President (from December 1848 to May 1849) of the Frankfurt National Assembly; imperial commissioner to Berlin (November 1848); member (from 1859) and President (1860-61) of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies.—288

*Sippel*—German refugee in England in the 1850s-60s.—351

*Slidell, John* (1793-1871)—American politician, member of the Senate Commission for Foreign Affairs; advocate of secession; in autumn 1861 was sent on a diplomatic mission to France by the Confederacy; commissioner of the Confederacy in Paris (1862-65).—329, 336

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—Scottish classical economist.—351, 396, 397, 403, 411, 479, 485

*Socrates* (470 or 469-399 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—377

*Solms, Marie Laetitia Studolmine* (1833-1902)—French writer and journalist; Louis Bonaparte's niece.—456

*Sommer*—Prussian police agent in Paris in the early 1850s.—148

*Soulouque, Faustin Élie* (c. 1782-1867)—President of the Republic of Haiti (1847-49), proclaimed himself Emperor of Haiti under the name of Faustin I (1849-59); the anti-Bonapartist press ironically referred to Napoleon III as Soulouque.—519

*Spartacus* (d. 71 B.C.)—Roman gladiator who headed the biggest revolt of slaves in Rome (73-71 B.C.).—265

*Speck*—assistant manager of *Das Volk*.—121

*Spence, James*—merchant in Liverpool, the *Times* correspondent; repeatedly came out in defence of Southern slave-owners during the Civil War.—371, 372, 431, 489

*Spilthoorn, Charles Louis* (1804-1872)—Belgian lawyer; republican; took part in the democratic movement and the Belgian revolution of 1830; member of the Brussels Democratic Association; President of the Ghent Democratic Association.—107

*Spinoza, Baruch (Benedictus) de* (1632-1677)—Dutch philosopher.—542

*Spurzheim, Johann Kaspar (Christoph)* (1776-1832)—German phrenologist.—546

*Stahr, Adolf Wilhelm Theodor* (1805-1876)—German writer, author of historical novels and works dealing with the history of art and literature.—92

*Stahr, Fanny* (née *Lewald*) (1811-1889)—German writer.—92

*Stanbury, G.*—owner of a printshop in London in the 1850s.—149

*Standau, Julius*—German teacher, took part in the German democratic movement in the 1830s-40s and in the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849; emigrated to the USA after the defeat of the revolution; an editor of *Die Stimme des Volkes* in 1860.—183

*Stanton, Edwin McMasters* (1814-1869)—American lawyer and statesman; Attorney-General (1860-61); Secretary of War (January 1862 to 1868); took part in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—372, 373, 386, 387

*Stechan, Gottlieb Ludwig* (born c. 1814)—Hanover joiner, member of the Communist League, after the split in the League in 1850 belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group; rejoined the supporters of Marx and Engels in December 1851; headed a workers' society in London from January 1852.—147

*Stecher, G.K.*—former headmaster of a secondary school in Baden; emigrated after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; engaged in lithography.—130

*Steffen, Wilhelm*—former Prussian army officer, witness for the defence at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); emigrated to England in 1853, later to the USA; closely associated with Marx and Engels in the 1850s.—103, 376, 416

*Stein, Julius* (1813-1889)—Silesian teacher and democratic journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; an editor of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* in the 1850s; editor of the *Breslauer Zeitung* from 1862.—69, 282

*Stein, Maximilian, Baron* (1811-1860)—Austrian army officer; chief-of-staff of the revolutionary army during the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; after its defeat emigrated to Turkey where he assumed the name of Ferhad Pasha; fought against Russia in Circassia (1857-58).—493

*Steinthal*—owner of the Manchester trading firm in which Georg Weerth was employed in 1852-56.—525, 547

*Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882)—Chief of the Prussian political police (1850-60); an organiser of and principal witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); jointly with Wermuth wrote the book *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.*—12, 16, 44, 54, 72, 73, 74, 80, 93, 140, 141, 145-51, 187, 197, 241, 244, 245, 248, 287

*Stierlin*—German liberal journalist, member of the Democratic Association in Münster; correspondent of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.*—289

*Stoffregen, Ludwig* (b. 1815)—German teacher of music; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; in 1850 emigrated to England where he became a religious poet.—106, 111

*Stone, Charles Pomeroy* (1824-1887)—American general; commanded the Northern troops in Virginia (1861); after the defeat at Ball's Bluff (October 1861) was arrested on suspicion of high treason; released in August 1862.—345

*Streit, Feodor* (1820-1904)—German

lawyer, journalist and publisher; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; a leader of the National Association.—309, 310

*Strohn, Wilhelm*—member of the Communist League; a friend of Marx and Engels; refugee in Bradford, England.—40, 366, 527, 541

*Stücker*—Aulic Councillor.—391

*Sulla (Lucius Cornelius Sulla)* (138-78 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman, consul (88 B.C.), dictator (82-79 B.C.).—265

*Sumner, Edwin Vose* (1797-1863)—American general, fought in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners; commanded two corps in the battle of Fredericksburg, Virginia, in 1862.—437, 438

*Sumner, John Bird* (1780-1862)—English clergyman, Archbishop of Canterbury (1848-62).—465

*Süss-Oppenheimer, Joseph* (1692-1738)—as court financier to Charles Alexander, Duke of Württemberg, he was in charge of his treasury and all his affairs; hated by the people for his machinations; executed.—534

*Syv, Peder Pedersen* (1631-1702)—Danish linguist, poet; published a popular collection of Danish folksongs.—160, 375

*Szemere, Bartholomäus (Bertalan)* (1812-1869)—Hungarian politician and journalist; Minister of the Interior (1848) and head of the revolutionary government (1849); emigrated after the defeat of the revolution.—5, 17, 18, 27, 34, 106, 111, 125, 133, 134, 135, 156, 157, 181, 210, 214, 215, 222, 228, 229, 230

T

*Tasso, Torquato* (1544-1595)—Italian poet.—304

*Tavernier, Count*—artillery officer.—280

*Taylor, John Edward* (1831-1905)—owner and editor-in-chief of *The Manchester Guardian*.—456

*Techow, Gustav Adolf* (1813-1893)—Prussian army officer, democrat, participant in the 1848 revolutionary events in Berlin, Chief of the General Staff of the Palatinate revolutionary army; emigrated to Switzerland, became a leader of the Revolutionary Centralisation, a refugee organisation; moved to Australia in 1852.—14, 22, 52, 58, 89, 96-99, 133, 179, 202, 225, 568

*Tellering*—see *Müller-Tellering, Eduard von*

*Terence (Publius Terentius Afer)* (c. 195-159 B.C.)—Roman comic verse dramatist.—57, 90, 236, 363

*Terentianus Maurus* (latter half of the 2nd cent.)—Roman grammarian.—20

*Thimm, Franz*—bookseller in Manchester in the 1850s-60s.—255

*Thompson, Jacob* (1810-1885)—American statesman, Democrat, Secretary of the Interior (1857-61) in the Buchanan Administration.—307

*Thucydides (Thukydídes)* (c. 460-400 B.C.)—Greek historian.—292

*Thudichum, Friedrich Wolfgang Karl* (1831-1913)—German historian of law, professor in Tübingen from 1862.—498

*Tietz, Friedrich Wilhelm* (born c. 1823)—German tailor, member of the Communist League, after its split in 1850 belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group.—148

*Toucey, Isaac* (1792-1869)—American statesman, lawyer, Democrat; General-Attorney (1848-49), Senator (1852-57), Secretary of the Navy (1857-61) in the Buchanan Administration.—307

*Trübner, Nikolaus* (1817-1884)—German bookseller and publisher in London.—224, 297

*Tscharner, Johann Karl* (1812-1879)—Swiss lawyer and radical journalist, an editor of the newspaper *Der Bund*.—159

*Tschernyschew (Chernyshev), Alexander Ivanovich, Prince* (1785-1857)—Russian general and statesman, fought in the wars against Napoleonic France; headed War Ministry (1828-52).—367

*Türr, István (Ahmed Kiamil Bey)* (1825-1908)—Hungarian army officer, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Italy and Germany; fought in the Crimean War on the side of the Allies; took part in the Garibaldi's revolutionary campaign in South Italy (1860); general of the Italian army (from 1861).—182, 205, 322, 356, 362, 493

*Tussy*—see *Marx, Eleanor*

*Twesten, Karl* (1820-1870)—German politician, lawyer, member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (from 1861) and North German Imperial Diet (from 1867); a leader of the Party of Progress; a founder of the National-Liberal Party (1866).—361

U

*Uhland, Johann Ludwig* (1787-1862)—German romantic poet, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left centre) in 1848-49.—160, 163

*Uhlendorff*—German democrat, member of the Cologne Workers' Association.—90

*Ulloa Calà, Girolamo* (1810-1891)—Italian army officer, took part in the national liberation and revolutionary movements in Italy in 1848-49; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to France; commanded the Tuscan army in the Austro-Italo-French war of 1859.—174

*Ulmer, Johann*—member of the Communist League, refugee in London in the early 1850s; supporter of Marx and Engels during the split in the Communist League.—149

*Ure, Andrew* (1778-1857)—English chemist and economist; author of several works on the economics of industry.—351

*Urquhart, David* (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician; Turcophile; carried out diplomatic missions in Turkey in the 1830s; Tory M.P. (1847-52); founder and editor of *The Free Press*.—8, 10, 21, 28, 46, 63, 64, 95, 103, 142, 152, 153, 154, 175, 339, 341, 348, 355, 454, 484, 491, 492, 497, 536, 537, 562, 584

V

*Varnhagen von Ense, Karl August* (1785-1858)—German writer and literary critic of the liberal trend.—271, 329, 358

*Vauban, Sébastien Le Prestre de* (1633-1707)—French marshal and military engineer, criticised France's taxation system.—479

*Vaucanson, Jacques de* (1709-1782)—French mechanic, improved the design of looms; inventor of automatic toys.—450

*Venedey, Jakob* (1805-1871)—German radical journalist and politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; liberal after the 1848-49 revolution.—50, 165, 166

*Vico, Giambattista* (1668-1744)—Italian philosopher and lawyer.—353, 356, 357

*Victor Emmanuel II* (1820-1878)—King of Sardinia (1849-61), King of

Italy (1861-78).—200, 203, 205, 246, 389

*Victoria* (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901).—121, 122, 144, 329, 350, 535, 537

*Vidocq, François Eugène* (1775-1857)—French secret police agent; chief of the secret criminal police (1812-27); his name was used to denote any cunning sleuth and rogue.—80, 244, 245

*Vincke, Georg, Baron von* (1811-1875)—Prussian politician, a leader of the Right wing in the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848-49; deputy to the Second Chamber (Right wing) in 1849; member of the Chamber of Deputies in the Prussian Provincial Diet in the 1850s-60s; moderate liberal.—154, 262, 280, 288, 289, 305, 461

*Virchow, Rudolf* (1821-1902)—German naturalist and politician; a founder and leader of the Party of Progress.—418, 494

*Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro)* (70-19 B.C.)—Roman poet.—283, 288, 451, 475

*Vissering, Simon* (1818-1888)—Dutch economist and statistician.—509

*Vögele (Voegele), August*—German refugee, compositor in Hollinger's printshop in London (1859).—31, 36-39, 41, 46, 47, 53, 60-65, 85

*Vogler, Carl Georg* (born c. 1820)—German publisher in Brussels; member of the Communist League.—101

*Vogt, Karl (Carl)* (1817-1895)—German naturalist; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five imperial regents (June 1849); refugee in Switzerland from 1849; in the 1850s-60s received subsidies from Napoleon III; slandered Marx and Engels.—6, 9, 10, 12-20, 22-28, 33, 34, 35, 39, 41, 42, 48, 49, 51-58, 60-64, 66, 67, 69, 70-79, 81, 82, 84-89, 91, 92, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 104, 105, 106, 109, 114-20, 129, 131, 132, 158, 159, 160, 165, 166, 167, 169, 171, 176, 179, 202, 205, 206, 211, 212, 217, 218, 219, 224, 225, 226, 228, 231-34, 252, 257, 262, 268, 362, 435, 478, 479, 537

*Voltaire (pen-name for François Marie Arouet)* (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—265

W

*Wagener, Hermann* (1815-1889)—German journalist and politician, editor of the *Neue Preußische Zeitung* (1848-54); a founder of the Prussian Conservative Party.—288, 289, 494

*Waldeck, Benedikt Franz Leo* (1802-1870)—German radical politician and lawyer; a Left-wing leader and Vice-President of the Prussian National Assembly in 1848; deputy to the Lower Chamber of the Prussian Provincial Diet (from 1861) and North German Imperial Diet (from 1867); a leader of the Party of Progress.—289

*Waldersee, Friedrich Gustav, Count von* (1795-1864)—Prussian general and military writer, Minister of War (1854-58).—200, 201

*Walesrode, Ludwig Reinhold* (1810-1889)—German democratic journalist; publisher of the *Demokratische Studien* (1860-61).—124, 190, 247, 253

*Wallace, Lewis* (1827-1905)—American general, fought in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners; commanded a division in Tennessee (1862).—360

*Watteau, Louis* (pen-name *Denonville*) (b. 1824)—French physician and

journalist; took part in the French revolutionary movement in the 1840s-early 1850s; later refugee in Belgium; Louis Auguste Blanqui's close friend.—298, 318, 326

*Watts, John* (1818-1887)—English journalist, utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen; later a liberal.—444, 445, 447

*Weber, J.M.*—Prussian lawyer, Legal Counsellor, Marx's lawyer in the trial against the Berlin *National-Zeitung* in 1860.—40-46, 48, 52, 53, 59, 61, 63, 64, 69, 73-78, 83, 87, 92-95, 99, 102, 103, 110-13, 116, 122, 123, 128, 129, 131, 132, 167, 170, 176, 177, 178, 180, 184, 186, 208, 209, 210, 219

*Weber, Joseph Valentin* (1814-1895)—German watch-maker, took part in the Baden revolutionary movement in 1848; refugee in Switzerland, later in London; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.—77, 297, 300, 302, 339, 472, 517

*Weerth, Georg* (1822-1856)—German proletarian poet and journalist; shop assistant; member of the Communist League; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49; friend of Marx and Engels.—453, 578

*Weitling, Wilhelm Christian* (1808-1871)—German tailor; one of the early leaders of the working-class movement in Germany; member of the League of the Just; theorist of utopian egalitarian communism; emigrated to the USA in 1849.—90

*Wermuth, Karl Georg Ludwig* (born c. 1804)—chief of police in Hanover; an organiser of and witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); in collaboration with Stieber wrote the book *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.*—147

*Werner, Minna*—Gottfried Kinkel's second wife.—262

*Westphalen, Caroline von* (d. 1856)—Jenny Marx's mother.—570

*Westphalen, Edgar von* (1819-c. 1890)—Jenny Marx's brother.—570

*Westphalen, Ferdinand Otto Wilhelm Henning von* (1799-1876)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1850-58); Jenny Marx's step-brother.—76, 85, 94

*Weydemeyer, Joseph* (1818-1866)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; a responsible editor of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* (1849-50); emigrated to the USA in 1851; colonel in the army of the North during the US Civil War; disseminated Marxism in the USA; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—43, 89, 99, 113, 115-19, 123, 172, 183, 184, 376, 571, 572, 573, 575

*Weydemeyer, Louise*—Joseph Weydemeyer's wife.—569-76

*Wiehe*—Johann Friedrich Wiehe's wife.—31, 37

*Wiehe, Johann Friedrich*—compositor in Hollinger's printshop in London (1859).—30-33, 36-39, 42, 47, 49, 53, 61, 62, 63, 85, 86, 105, 188

*Wigand, Otto* (1795-1870)—German publisher and bookseller, owner of a firm in Leipzig which published works of radical authors.—201

*William* (1845-1913)—son of King Christian IX of Denmark, King of the Hellenes under the name of George I (1863-1913).—544

*William I (the Conqueror)* (1027-1087)—King of England (1066-87).—537, 544

*William I* (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia; Prince Regent (1858-61); King of Prussia (1861-88) and Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—154, 159, 173, 189, 197, 241, 248, 249, 257, 264, 270, 280, 281, 288, 312, 314, 319, 325, 328, 331, 361, 373, 418, 428, 429, 431, 506, 519, 537, 544, 576

*Williams*—bookseller in London.—502

*Willich, August* (1810-1878)—Prussian army officer, retired for political reasons; member of the Communist League; participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; a leader of the sectarian group that split away from the Communist League in 1850; emigrated to the USA in 1853; general in the Northern army during the Civil War.—14, 71, 73, 78, 89, 91, 97, 98, 115, 133, 147, 206, 262, 300, 371, 416

*Willis, Robert* (1800-1875)—English scientist, mechanical engineer and archaeologist; gave lectures to workers in 1854-67.—449

*Wilson, James* (1805-1860)—British economist and politician; Free Trader, founder and editor of *The Economist;* financial secretary to the Treasury (1853-58); Chancellor of the Indian Exchequer (1859-60).—165

*Winter*—Prussian official; chief of police in Berlin from the middle of 1861.—305, 312

*Wiss, Georg Eduard*—German physician and journalist; Young Hegelian; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA in the early 1850s; associate of Kinkel.—89, 90

*Wolf(f), Ferdinand (Red Wolf[ff])* (1812-1895)—German journalist, member of the Communist League; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49; emigrated from Germany after the 1848-49 revolution; associate of Marx and Engels; subsequently gave up politics.—109, 165, 445, 488, 576, 579

*Wolf (Wolfius), Friedrich August* (1759-1824)—German philologist, student of ancient culture and Homer's epic poems in particular.—357

*Wolfers, Franz Anton von* (b. 1813)—German journalist, Belgian by birth; member of the editorial board of the *Kölnische Zeitung* in 1847-49.—241

*Wolff, Bernhard* (1811-1879)—German journalist, owner of the Berlin *National-Zeitung* from 1848, founder of the first telegraph agency in Germany (1849).—122, 287, 288

*Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus)* (1809-1864)—German teacher, proletarian revolutionary; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League from March 1848; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49; took an active part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to Switzerland and later to England; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—8, 11, 16, 19, 20, 24, 26, 52, 67, 68, 88, 124, 138, 139, 170, 176, 193, 194, 205, 211, 216, 218, 220, 223, 225, 228, 237, 282, 285, 286, 293, 298, 299, 300, 302, 304, 305, 316, 322, 342, 346, 351, 354, 362, 368, 371, 376, 381, 383, 384, 391, 392, 393, 402, 417, 418, 421, 434, 446, 452, 470, 473, 475, 490, 493, 496, 504, 506, 508, 511, 517, 518, 520-26, 530, 533, 535, 536, 539, 541, 552, 573, 575, 577, 580, 588, 589

*Wolfram von Eschenbach* (1170-1220)—German Minnesinger poet, author of the *Perceval,* a poem of chivalry (1198-1210; published in 1783).—568

*Wood*—lawyer in Manchester.—536

*Wrangel, Friedrich Heinrich Ernst, Count von* (1784-1877)—Prussian general, took part in the counter-revolutionary coup in Prussia and dissolution of the Prussian National Assembly in November 1848; commander-in-chief of the Prussian and Austrian forces during the war with Denmark (1864).—506

*Wyke, Sir Charles Lennox* (1815-1897)—British diplomat, minister plenipotentiary (1860-61) and special representative (1862-63) in Mexico.—349, 350

*Wyse, Thomas* (1791-1862)—British politician and diplomat, Lord of the Treasury (1830-41); envoy in Athens (1849-62); Lucien Bonaparte's son-in-law in the 1820s.—456

Y

*Young*.—341

Z

*Zabel, Friedrich* (1802-1875)—German journalist, editor of the Berlin *National-Zeitung* (1848-75).—35, 45, 78, 117, 129, 207, 219, 251, 253, 287, 288

*Zamacona, Manuel*—Mexican journalist and politician; Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1861.—349, 350

*Zamoyski, Władisław, Count* (1803-1868)—Polish magnate and general; took part in the 1830-31 insurrection; after its defeat a leader of the Polish conservative monarchist refugees in Paris.—484, 491, 492

*Zang, August* (1807-1888)—Austrian liberal journalist, founder and publisher of the Viennese newspaper *Die Presse*; member of the Loer Austria Provincial Diet.—323

*Zedlitz-Neukirch, Konstantin, Baron* (1813-1889)—Prussian official; chief of police in Berlin in 1861.—270, 278, 280, 305, 312

*Zell*—notary in Trier.—499

*Zerffi, Gustav (Hirsch)* (1820-1892)—Hungarian journalist, after the 1848-49 revolution a refugee in Turkey, in Paris from 1851, and in London from the spring of 1853; secret agent of the Austrian police; Kinkel's follower; member of the London branch of the National Association.—297, 301, 302, 310, 319

*Zernin, Eduard*—German journalist, publisher of the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*.—32

*Zimmermann, Ernst Wilhelm Eduard*—Burgomaster of Spandau, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing); emigrated to England after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution.—46, 182, 188, 232, 235, 246, 268, 327

*Zinn*—German refugee in London, compositor in Hirschfeld's printshop in London; founded the Association of German Men in 1858.—4, 208

*Žižka, Jan* (c. 1360-1424)—Bohemian general and a Hussite leader.—235

## INDEX OF LITERARY AND MYTHOLOGICAL NAMES

*Abraham* (Bib.).—441, 541

*Achilles* (Gr. myth.)—the bravest Greek hero in the Trojan War, the central figure in Homer's *Iliad*.—563

*Amphitryon* (Gr. myth.)—King of Tiryns. His name was associated with lavish hospitality.—283

*Ariadne* (Gr. myth.)—daughter of Minos, King of Crete, who gave

Theseus a clue of thread to guide him through the mazes of the Labyrinth after he had slain the monster Minotaur. Theseus carried her off with him, but then abandoned her on the Island of Naxos, where she became a priestess and wife of Dionysus (Bacchus).—275, 354, 359

*Bacchus*—see *Dionysus*

*Brother Merry*—the title character of a fairy-tale by the Grimm brothers.—582

*Buddha*—the title applied to Siddhartha Gautama, a religious philosopher and the founder of Buddhism.—282, 285

*Christ, Jesus* (Bib.).—311

*Circe*—a sorceress in Homer's *Odyssey* who turned Odysseus' companions into swine.—274

*Costard*—the clown in Shakespeare's comedy *Love's Labour's Lost*.—265

*Crispinus*—a character from a satire by Juvenal, a courtier of the Roman Emperor Domitian.—327

*Dionysus (Bacchus)* (Gr. and Rom. myth.)—god of wine and fertility.—275

*Don Juan*—legendary nobleman; a libertine; hero of plays, poems, and operas in several European languages.—262, 389, 558

*Don Quixote*—the title character of Cervantes' novel.—115, 289

*Dundreary*—the main character of Tom Taylor's satirical comedy *Our American Cousin*.—494, 518

*Egeria* (Rom. myth.)—the nymph who advised the Roman king Numa Pompilius.—275

*Falstaff, Sir John*—a character in Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor* and *King Henry IV*; a sly, fat braggart and jester.—171

*Faust*—hero of the medieval German legend and of Goethe's tragedy.—546

*Frankenstein*—the title character of Mary W. Shelley's novel; he creates a monster that destroys him; from his name being taken to be the name of the monster he created, Frankenstein also came to denote anything that becomes dangerous to its creator.—503

*Godfrey of Bouillon*—the hero of Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, an idealised knight of the First Crusade (1096-99).—302, 304

*Heineke*—a servant and athlete, hero of a German song, a parody on the so-called Grobian literature of the 16th century; Karl Heinzen's nickname.—263

*Ibeles, Johannes*—a character in Johanna Kinkel's novel *Hans Ibeles in London*.—580

*Isaac* (Bib.).—541

*Jacob* (Bib.).—541

*Job* (Bib.).—247

*John Bull*—the title hero of John Arbuthnot's book *The History of John Bull* (1712); the name is often used to personify England or Englishmen.—8, 336, 348, 349, 370, 462, 517

*Joshua (Josue), the son of Nun* (Bib.).—54

*King Thrushbeard*—the title character of a fairy-tale by the Grimm brothers.—572, 582

*Kunigunde (Cunégonde)*—the heroine of Voltaire's philosophical novel *Candide*.—233, 235

*Lazarillo*—the hero of the anonymous Spanish novel, *Lazarillo de Tormes*

(mid-16th cent.), a smart fellow.—489

*Lazarus* (Bib.).—286, 507

*Leviathan* (Bib.)—585

*Mephistopheles*—the devil in Goethe's tragedy *Faust.*—411

*Moses* (Bib.)—286, 374, 390

*Oceanus* (Gr. myth.)—the father of the sea and river gods, personifying the element of water.—550

*Oedipus* (Gr. myth.)—the King of Thebes who solved the riddle of the Sphinx and saved the city from the monster; hero of Sophocles' tragedies *Oedipus Rex (Oedipus Tyrannus)* and *Oedipus at Colonus.*—139

*Oluf*—character in an old Danish folk ballad.—160, 161-63

*Orestes* and *Pylades* (Gr. myth.)—names of heroes generally associated with true friendship.—508

*Othello*—the title character of Shakespeare's tragedy *Othello, the Moor of Venice.*—536

*Piepenbrink*—a character in Freytag's comedy *Die Journalisten.*—289

*Rumpelstiltskin (Rumpelstilzchen)*—the title hero of a fairy-tale by the Grimm brothers.—572

*Samaritan* (Bib.)—495

*Samson* (Bib.)—288

*Simeon* (Bib.)—541

*Sleeping Beauty*—the title heroine of a fairy-tale by the Grimm brothers.—582

*Snow-White*—the title heroine of a fairy-tale by the Grimm brothers.—572, 582

*Squeers, Wackford*—a character in Dickens' *Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby,* a cruel and greedy hypocrite.—35

*Theseus* (Gr. myth.)—King of Athens and founder of the Athenian state.—275

*Toby*—the dog of Punch, the chief character in the traditional English street puppet show 'Punch and Judy' and also the name of the humorous weekly.—238, 242, 284, 285, 379

*Ulysses* (or *Odysseus*)—a character in Homer's epic poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey;* king of Ithaca, noted for his eloquence, sagacity and resourcefulness; a leader of the Greeks in the Trojan War.—274

*Uncle Sam*—personification of the United States; probably a jocular interpretation of the initials U.S.—370

*Wagner*—a character in Goethe's tragedy *Faust,* a pedantic, narrow-minded scholar.—379

*Wildemann*—a character in Johanna Kinkel's novel *Hans Ibeles in London.*—262

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## WORKS BY KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

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*Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*—a German newspaper published under this title in Leipzig from 1843 to 1879.—227

*Deutsche Londoner Zeitung. Blätter für Politik, Literatur und Kunst*—a literary and political weekly published by German refugees in London from April 1845 to February 1851. It was edited by the petty-bourgeois democrat Ludwig Bamberger and financially backed by the deposed Duke Charles of Brunswick. The newspaper carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—94

*Deutsches Museum. Zeitschrift für Literatur, Kunst und öffentliches Leben*—a German democratic weekly published in Leipzig from 1851 to 1867.—227

*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*—a German-language yearbook published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge; only the first issue, a double one, appeared in February 1844. It carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—101, 404

*The Economist. Weekly Commercial Times, Bankers' Gazette, and Railway Monitor: a Political, Literary, and General Newspaper*—a weekly published in London since 1843 under different subtitles; organ of the big industrial bourgeoisie.—165, 345, 348, 369

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*The Globe and Traveller*—a daily published in London from 1803 to 1921; organ of the Whigs until 1866, and later of the Conservatives.—264

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*Hamburger Nachrichten*—a daily published from 1792; during the 1848-49 revolution, it expressed the interests of the bourgeoisie demanding an Imperial

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*Hannoversche Zeitung*—a daily, organ of the Hanover government founded in 1832.—25

*Hermann. Deutsches Wochenblatt aus London*—a weekly of the German petty-bourgeois democratic refugees; it was published in London from 1859; Gottfried Kinkel was its publisher and editor from January to July 1859.—12, 16, 34-35, 48, 60, 80, 113, 140, 218, 227, 253, 264, 297, 301, 302, 342

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*Kölnische Zeitung*—a daily published under this title in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; during the 1848-49 revolution and in the period of reaction following it, expressed the interests of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie. From 1831 it was published by Joseph du Mont.—3, 27, 30, 39, 47, 61-62, 70, 121, 140, 145, 147, 164, 227, 239, 241, 250, 529, 558

*Kölnischer Anzeiger und Rheinische Handels-Zeitung*—a German daily published under this title in the 1860s.—239, 248

*Kolokol (Колоколъ) (The Bell)*—a revolutionary-democratic newspaper; it was published by Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Ogaryov from 1857 to 1867 in Russian and in 1868-69 in French *(La Cloche)* with supplements in Russian; it was published in London until 1865, then in Geneva.—454, 456

*Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger*—a daily newspaper, official organ of the Prussian government, published in Berlin from 1851 to 1871.—288

*Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*—a German daily published in Berlin from 1785; also known as *Vossische Zeitung* after its owner Christian Friedrich Voss.—117, 140

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*Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser*—a German daily literary paper published in Stuttgart and Tübingen from 1807 to 1865; in 1840 and 1841 it printed several articles by Engels.—44, 227

*The Morning Advertiser*—a daily published in London from 1794 to 1934; in the 1860s it was a newspaper of the radical bourgeoisie.—55, 82, 86, 236

*The Morning Herald*—a conservative daily published in London from 1780 to 1869.—361, 452

*The Morning Post*—a daily published in London from 1772 to 1937: in the mid-19th century organ of the Right-wing Whigs grouped round Palmerston.—531, 544

*The Morning Star*—a daily of the English Free Traders published in London from 1856 to 1869.—33, 246, 360-61, 452

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*National-Zeitung*—a daily published in Berlin from 1848 to 1915; it voiced liberal views in the 1850s.—6, 12, 15, 20, 22, 24, 26-27, 29-30, 33-34, 39-50, 54, 56, 59, 62-63, 66-67, 69-76, 78, 79, 81, 87, 88, 92-94, 96-100, 109, 110, 117, 119, 122, 145, 154, 167, 169, 170, 177, 187, 192, 202, 207, 219, 227, 287, 354

*La Nazione. Giornale politico quotidiano*—a daily published in Florence from 1859.—255, 262

*Neue Deutsche Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a daily published in Darmstadt from July 1, 1848 to April 1, 1849 and then in Frankfurt am Main until it was suppressed on December 14, 1850. Joseph Weydemeyer was one of its editors.—99, 118

*Neu-England Zeitung*—a German-language daily published by the petty-bourgeois refugees in Boston (USA) from 1846 to 1853; Joseph Weydemeyer was among its contributors.—98

*Neue Oder-Zeitung*—a German democratic daily published in Breslau (Wrocław) from 1849 to 1855; in the 1850s it was the most radical paper in Germany; Marx was its London correspondent in 1855.—44, 69, 91

*Das Neue Portfolio. Eine Sammlung wichtiger Dokumente und Aktenstücke zur Zeitgeschichte*—a periodical collection of diplomatic documents and papers published in Berlin in 1859-60 under the editorship of Eduard Fischel, Urquhart's supporter.—10, 152

*Neue Preußische Zeitung*—a conservative daily published in Berlin from June 1848 to 1939; organ of the Prussian Junkers and Court circles, also known as the *Kreuz-Zeitung* because the heading contained a cross bearing the device: "Forward with God for King and Fatherland!"—76, 85, 190, 227, 239, 241, 246, 249, 288, 329, 440, 478

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a daily newspaper of the revolutionary proletarian wing of the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; it was published in Cologne under Marx's editorship from 1 June 1848 to 19 May 1849, with an interval between 27 September and 12 October 1848. Engels was among its editors.—87, 90-93, 98, 100-103, 117, 125, 166, 193-94, 202, 252, 289, 534, 546

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*—a theoretical journal of the Communist League published by Marx and Engels from December 1849 to November 1850.—96, 102, 259

*Neue Schweizer Zeitung*—a radical weekly published in Geneva by the German refugee August Braß in 1859-60.—105, 118

*Neue Süddeutsche*—see *Süddeutsche Zeitung*

*Die Neue Zeit. Organ der Demokratie*—a newspaper of the German refugee workers; was published in London from June 1858 to April 1859.—82

*Neue Zürcher-Zeitung*—a Swiss paper published in German from 1821; pro-Bonapartist in the 1850s and 1860s.—227

*The New Orleans True Delta*—an American paper published in New Orleans, Louisiana, from 1835 to 1866.—308

*New-York Daily Tribune*—a newspaper founded by Horace Greeley in 1841 and published until 1924; organ of the Left-wing American Whigs until the

mid-1850s, and later of the Republican Party; in the 1840s and 1850s it voiced progressive views and opposed slavery. Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862. The newspaper had several special issues, among them the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune* and the *New-York Weekly Tribune*.—4, 7, 11, 17, 33, 68, 70, 84, 88, 91, 95, 102, 106-07, 110, 114, 125, 155, 165, 173, 177, 196, 209-10, 216, 230, 250, 257, 258, 263, 265, 272, 291, 299, 308, 315, 321, 323, 325, 327-28, 335, 344, 345, 347, 352-53, 355, 359, 362-63, 394, 402, 435, 440

*The New-York Herald*—a daily newspaper of the Republican Party published in New York from 1835 to 1924.—345

*The New-York Times*—a daily newspaper founded in 1851, later organ of the Republican Party.—107

*New-Yorker Abendzeitung*—a German-language newspaper published by petty-bourgeois democratic refugees in the USA in the 1850s.—227

*New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*—see *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*

*New-Yorker Staatszeitung*—a German-language democratic daily published from 1834; later an organ of the US Democratic Party.—98, 114, 227

*Niederrheinische Volks-Zeitung. Düsseldorfer Journal*—a German daily published in Düsseldorf from 1848 to 1862; from 1863 it was published under the title of *Rheinische Zeitung*.—417

*Nordstern*—a German weekly published in Hamburg in 1860-66; from 1863 expressed Lassallean views.—264, 489

*The North Alabamian*—an American weekly published under this title in Tuscumbia, Alabama, from 1831 to 1907.—308

*North British Daily Mail*—a liberal bourgeois paper founded in Glasgow in 1847.—468

*The Observer*—a conservative weekly published in London since 1791.—203

*L'Opinion nationale*—a daily published in Paris from 1859 to 1874.—203

*Ost-Deutsche Post*—an Austrian daily of the moderate liberals published in Vienna from 1848 to 1866.—227

*The People's Paper*—a Chartist weekly, founded in London in May 1852 by Ernest Jones and published until 1858; from October 1852 to December 1856 Marx and Engels contributed to the newspaper and helped with the editorial work.—82, 103, 154

*Portfolio*—see *Das Neue Portfolio*

*Press*—see *The Free Press*

*Die Presse*—a liberal daily published in Vienna from 1848 to 1894; in 1861 and 1862, when the newspaper held anti-Bonapartist views, it printed a number of articles and reports by Marx.—227, 278-80, 292, 321, 323, 325, 327, 332-33, 338, 340, 344, 348, 351, 354, 370, 388, 394, 408

*Preußische Gerichts-Zeitung*—a liberal weekly published in Berlin from 1859 to 1866; beginning with No. 44 for 1861 it appeared under the title of *Deutsche Gerichts-Zeitung*. Its editor-in-chief was K.Ch.E. Hiersemenzel.—248, 282

*Preußisches Wochenblatt*—a conservative weekly published in Berlin from 1851 to 1861.—257

*Die Preußische Zeitung*—a daily published in Berlin from 1851 to 1859; organ of the Manteuffel and later of Hohenzollern-Auerswald Ministries.—270, 288

*Le Progrès de Lyon*—a daily published from 1860.—362

*Der Publicist*—a liberal newspaper published in Berlin from 1845 to 1874.—16, 27, 30, 47, 227, 243

*Die Reform*—a liberal daily published in Hamburg in 1848-92.—25, 27, 30, 105, 129, 134, 167, 218, 227, 234, 243

*Republik der Arbeiter*—a workers' weekly published by Wilhelm Weitling in New York from 1850 to 1855; it voiced the views of the representatives of the egalitarian communism.—90

*Die Revolution*—a communist journal published by Joseph Weydemeyer in New York in 1852; two weekly issues appeared on 6 and 13 January; two "non-periodic" issues appeared in May and June.—43

*Revue*—see *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*

*Reynolds's Newspaper. A Weekly Journal of Politics, History, Literature and General Intelligence*—a radical weekly published by George Reynolds in London from 1850; it was connected with the labour movement.—358

*Rheinische Zeitung*—a German daily published under this title in Düsseldorf from 1863 to 1866, and in Cologne from 1867 to 1874.—533

*Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*—a daily founded by the Rhenish bourgeois opposition and published in Cologne from 1 January 1842 to 31 March 1843. Marx began to contribute to it in April 1842, and from 15 October of the same year to 17 March 1843 he was one of its editors.—101

*Richmond Enquirer*—an American paper published under various titles in Richmond, Virginia, from 1804 to 1877.—489

*Richmond Examiner*—an American paper published in Richmond, Virginia, from 1848 to 1866.—562

*Rostocker Zeitung*—a German daily founded in 1711 and published under this title from 1847 to 1927.—227

*The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*—a conservative weekly published in London from 1855 to 1938.—227

*Schlesische Zeitung*—a German daily published in Breslau (Wrocław) from 1742 to 1945; the newspaper of the constitutional monarchists on the eve of and during the 1848-49 revolution; a conservative newspaper in the 1860s.—282

*Schwäbischer Merkur*—a German liberal daily published in Stuttgart from 1785 to 1885.—227

*Schweizer Handels-Courier*—a daily published in Biel (Canton of Berne). It appeared under this title from 1853 to 1909; expressed Bonapartist views in the 1850s and 1860s; its editors were closely connected with Karl Vogt.—22, 66, 166

*Le Siècle*—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939; a moderate republican newspaper in the 1860s.—362

*The Spectator*—a weekly published in London from 1828; at first liberal, then conservative.—82

*Staats- und Gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheiischen Correspondenten*—a monarchist daily published from 1814 to 1869.—361

*Staats-Zeitung*—see *Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger*

*The Standard*—a conservative daily founded in London in 1827.—249, 253, 361

*Star*—see *The Morning Star*

*Stimme des Volkes*—a German-language workers' daily published in Chicago (USA) in 1860, Joseph Weydemeyer was its editor.—115, 117-18, 183

*Stimmen der Zeit*—a German petty-bourgeois monthly and later weekly published in 1858-62 by Adolph Kolatschek. It appeared first in Gotha and then in Weimar, Leipzig, Heidelberg and Vienna simultaneously.—206, 208, 212-13, 321, 324

*Straßburger Korrespondent für West- und Mitteleuropa*—a German Bonapartist paper published till 1860.—127, 130, 241

*Straßburger Zeitung*—see *Straßburger Korrespondent für West- und Mitteleuropa*

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*—a German paper published under this title in Munich from 1859 to 1862.—227

*Die Tägliche Deutsche Zeitung*—a German-language daily published in New Orleans (USA) from August 1848 to April 1907 (under this title appeared from 1855 to 1872).—114, 137, 144, 262

*Telegraph*—see *The Daily Telegraph*

*Le Temps*—a conservative daily published in Paris from 1861 to 1943.—362

*Thusnelda. Teutonisch-satyrisch-humoristisches Klatschblatt*—a satirical journal of the German petty-bourgeois refugees published in London in 1861.—319

*The Times*—a daily founded in London in 1785 under the title of *Daily Universal Register;* appears as *The Times* from 1788.—7, 10, 25, 121, 128, 146, 173, 202, 206, 227, 248-49, 253, 284, 321, 333, 363, 369, 371, 372, 381, 439, 452, 456, 461-63, 489, 498, 506, 530, 536, 538, 544

*Tribune*—see *New-York Daily Tribune*

*Trier'sche Zeitung*—a German daily founded in 1757, appeared under this title from 1815.—227

*The Vicksburg Whig*—an American paper published in Vicksburg, Mississippi, from 1839 to 1863.—308

*Das Volk*—a German-language weekly published in London from 7 May to 20 August 1859; it was founded as the official organ of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; Marx took part in its publication beginning with issue No. 2 and in early July he became its de facto editor and manager.—10, 31, 36, 37, 45, 60, 64, 66-68, 94, 105, 166, 232, 240, 298

*Volks-Zeitung*—a German democratic daily published in Berlin from 1853.—9, 12, 25, 30, 33, 47, 50-51, 109, 154, 192, 217, 227, 239, 250, 265

*The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire*—a military weekly published in Manchester from August 1860 to March 1862; Engels was its contributor.—203, 205, 257, 262

*Vossische Zeitung*—see *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*

*Weser-Zeitung*—a German liberal daily published in Bremen from 1844 to 1930.—17

*Wochenschrift des Nationalvereins*—a German weekly of the National Association published under this title in Coburg from 1860 to 1865.—227, 241, 257

*Zeitung für Norddeutschland*—a German liberal paper published in Hanover from 1848 to 1872.—227, 239, 362

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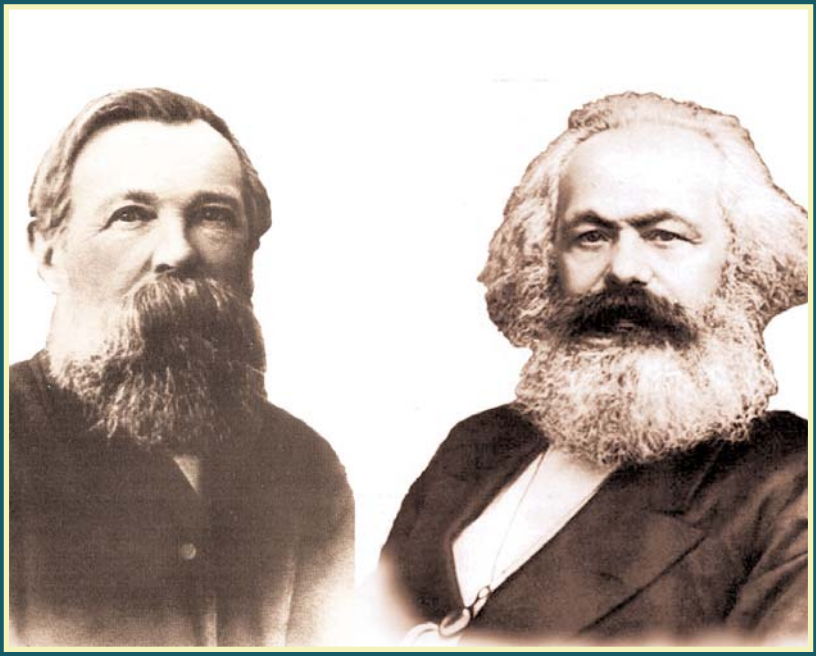

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Letters 1864-68

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 42

## Letters 1864-68

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# Preface

Volume 42 of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels contains their correspondence from October 1864 to March 1868. Chronologically, the volume covers the period, very important for the history of Marxism and the international working-class movement, of the founding and the early years of the International Working Men's Association (the First International). This period was also marked by the publication of Marx's most important work, Volume One of *Capital.*

With the foundation of the International the correspondence of Marx and Engels became particularly intense and ideologically rich, and the circle of people with whom they corresponded, active members of the working-class movement in various countries, grew wider. An important place in their letters is devoted to the pressing problems of the organisation and revolutionary tactics of the working class, to the theory and practice of the proletarian struggle.

Marx and Engels had countless ties with the working-class movement. This can be seen from the numerous letters published in this volume that deal with the activity of the International Working Men's Association, an organisation set up with Marx's direct participation. These letters are one of the most important sources revealing the history of the emergence of the International and the way that it turned under the guidance of Marx and Engels into a true centre for uniting the militant forces of the working class. All of Marx's previous activity had prepared him for the task of leading the movement of the international proletariat, and Engels was fully justified in writing later that among those who attended the meeting in St Martin's Hall,

London, on 28 September 1864 to proclaim the International 'there was only one person who was clear as to what was to happen and what was to be founded: it was the man who had already in 1848 issued to the world the call: "Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!"' (see Frederick Engels, 'Marx, Heinrich Karl', present edition, Vol. 27).

'Marx was the heart and soul of this organisation' is how Lenin described the role of the founder and leader of the first international mass organisation of the proletariat (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 21, Moscow, 1977, p. 49).

The letters included in this volume throw light on Marx's many-sided activity in the International Working Men's Association, his leading role on its guiding body, the Central (General) Council, his active participation in all the discussions that took place in the Council, the drafting of its decisions and the preparation of congresses of the International, their agendas and resolutions. From the letters it is also obvious that after the founding of the International Engels constantly helped Marx in guiding it. Until his move from Manchester to London in 1870, Engels could not take part directly in the work of the General Council, but during those years too Marx discussed all important questions concerning the International with him, kept him informed of the course of discussions in the Council and of the decisions being drafted, and made use of his recommendations. Engels helped to draw up the tactical line of the International, explaining it in letters to active members of the working-class movement, particularly in Germany, and frequently wrote to the press to present the position of the International Working Men's Association on various questions.

Marx guided the activity of the new organisation with characteristic confidence, skilfully overcoming the difficulties obstructing the path of the development of an independent proletarian movement. He constantly thwarted attempts by petty-bourgeois democrats and supporters of sectarian and reformist trends to deflect the International Working Men's Association from a revolutionary course and to subject it to tasks and aims alien to the interests of the working-class movement.

Marx's letters to Engels of 4 November, to Joseph Weydemeyer and Lion Philips of 29 November 1864 and others show what an effort it cost Marx, right from the foundation of the International, to counteract the constant attempts by petty-bourgeois elements to exert their influence over it. Thanks to Marx's endeavours the new organisation acquired a truly proletarian class character. The

first considerable success in this respect, of historic significance, was the adoption by the Central Council of the Inaugural Address and Provisional Rules of the International drafted by Marx. As Marx himself admitted, it was no easy task to work out a common platform for all the different contingents of the working class, with their different levels of development, that had been drawn into the ranks of the International. But Marx, author of its first programme and its associated documents, performed this task brilliantly. Without making the slightest concession of principle to sectarian trends, these documents did not shut the doors of the international organisation to the British trade unions, the French and Belgian Proudhonists, or the German Lassalleans. On learning from Marx of the content of the Inaugural Address, Engels wrote that he could not wait to see it and that 'it must be a real masterpiece' (see this volume, p. 20).

While guiding the International and drafting all the most important documents that set out the strategy and tactics of the proletarian movement, Marx persistently did his utmost to ensure that in the daily battles for particular and purely economic demands the workers should gain an understanding of the common tasks of their class struggle against capitalism. The establishment of firm contacts by the International with the working-class organisations in various countries, the setting up of sections of the International in the main European countries, its active support of the strike movement in 1865-67, and the victories gained by striking workers in a number of industries in Britain and France thanks to this support—all this helped to enhance the authority of the International Working Men's Association and helped the workers to realise gradually the strength of proletarian solidarity.

As the correspondence shows, during this period Marx and Engels devoted considerable attention to the formation and ideological training of progressive militants of the working class. Marx sought to create a strong nucleus of proletarian revolutionaries on the General Council and administrative bodies of the International in various countries. Under his direct influence, the Germans Georg Eccarius, Friedrich Lessner and Karl Pfänder, the Frenchman Eugène Dupont, the Englishman Robert Shaw, the Swiss Hermann Jung and other members of the General Council acquired the necessary theoretical knowledge and became acquainted with scientific socialism. The letters from Marx and Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht, Paul Lafargue, Johann Philipp Becker, Joseph Weydemeyer and other eminent figures in the

working-class and socialist movement show how patiently and persistently they taught their friends and comrades, helping them with advice, responding to their requests and criticising their shortcomings and mistakes.

In the period of the activity of the International the need for an independent workers' press was particularly acute. 'It is impossible to have a movement here without its own press-organ,' Marx wrote to Engels on 2 December 1864. From the inception of the International Working Men's Association Marx and Engels directed their efforts towards setting up press-organs for it in Britain, France, Germany and Switzerland. They endeavoured to take part personally in the production of a number of newspapers and to lend them a revolutionary character. They also concerned themselves with the composition of the editorial boards and contributors and encouraged like-minded people to work on them (see Marx's letters to Engels of 2 December 1864, 9 May and 26 December 1865 and others). Thanks to this, the leaders of the International not only organised the widespread publication of its documents in various countries, but also trained a whole galaxy of working-class journalists who propagated its ideas.

Marx attached great importance to the establishment of close relations between the International and the British trade unions. He strongly supported the participation of their representatives in its founding, believing that this would help to disseminate the ideas of the International in Britain, then the citadel of the capitalist world and the country with the most developed and organised working-class movement (see Marx's letter to Ludwig Kugelmann of 29 November 1864). Marx saw the further drawing of the British trade unions into the ranks of the International as an important way of broadening its mass base in the British Isles, and also as a means of overcoming the narrow-mindedness typical of British trade unions, expressed in their efforts to limit their activity to the economic struggle. To arouse the political activity of the trade unions and turn them into real centres of resistance to the capitalist system—this was the task that Marx set before the International in including, among other things, the question of the trade unions in the agenda of the Geneva Congress (see Marx's letter to Hermann Jung of 20 November 1865). The General Council relied on the support of the trade unions, organising campaigns to aid strikers both in Britain and on the Continent and thereby helping to kindle a spirit of proletarian solidarity in British workers.

The leaders of the large London trade unions represented a considerable force on the General Council, and from the very beginning of the International Marx sought to use the authority of these 'real worker-kings of London' (p. 44) in order to strengthen the position of the International in Britain. At the same time, taking into account the ideological dependence of many trade union leaders on bourgeois liberals and radicals, he did his utmost to counteract any reformist tendencies shown by them. Marx's tactics aimed at removing obstacles to making the British working class a revolutionary force. He frequently managed to encourage reformist-minded trade union leaders to act in a revolutionary way.

One of the most striking episodes in the activity of the International in Britain was its participation in the broad movement for electoral reform that began in spring 1865. On Marx's advice, the British members of the General Council joined with representatives of the radical bourgeoisie in the leadership of the Reform League to campaign for the demand for universal suffrage. After beginning in London, the movement gradually gained strength, spreading to the provinces, and its powerful dimensions gave Marx grounds for hoping that it would be successful. 'If we succeed in re-electrifying the political movement of the English working class,' he wrote to Engels on 1 May 1865, 'our Association will already have done more for the European working class, without making any fuss, than was possible in any other way.'

Using the influence of the International on British workers, Marx strove to give the reform movement a radical nature, to turn it into a national struggle for a democratic political system in Britain, to encourage workers to stand for their own political platform, regardless of the position of the bourgeois parties (see Marx's letters to Kugelmann of 23 February 1865 and 9 October 1866, to Engels of 13 May 1865, and others). In this connection the drawing into the struggle for reform of those strata of British trade union workers who had previously been indifferent to politics both pleased Marx and encouraged high hopes. 'We have succeeded in attracting into the movement,' he wrote to Ludwig Kugelmann on 15 January 1866, 'the only really big workers' organisation, the English "*Trade Unions*", which previously concerned themselves *exclusively* with the wage question.'

The reform movement did not yield the expected results, however. The unity of its supporters was undermined by the bourgeois radicals who renounced the League's original pro-

gramme calling for universal suffrage. After having come 'to a *compromise with the bourgeoisie*' (Marx to Johann Philipp Becker of 31 August 1866), the reformist trade union leaders began playing up to the radicals. This enabled the ruling circles in Britain to limit themselves to introducing a moderate reform in 1867 that extended the franchise to the top strata of the working class only. The need to assert a truly proletarian world outlook and principles of revolutionary tactics of the proletariat, to counter reformist ideology and practice had now become even more evident. It was to this end that the subsequent activity of Marx and his associates in the International in Britain was directed.

As can be seen from their correspondence, Marx and Engels focused their attention also on the prospects for the development of the German working-class movement. As Corresponding Secretary for Germany on the General Council, Marx hoped that the German proletariat would become one of the leading national detachments of the International Association. The objective prerequisites for this existed. The activity of the Communist League and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* during the revolution of 1848-49 prepared the ground for the dissemination of the ideas of scientific socialism in Germany. However, the propagation of these ideas and the principles of the International came up against serious obstacles there. Reactionary legislation prevented the formation of the sections of the International. On the other hand, the very ideas of the international class solidarity of workers encountered resistance from Ferdinand Lassalle's followers, who had inherited his sectarian dogmas and nationalistic approach to the working-class movement. 'As long as these abominable Lassalleans rule the roost in Germany, that country will be infertile ground for the "*International Association*",' Marx wrote to Engels on 13 February 1865.

A number of Marx's and Engels' letters written shortly after Lassalle's death in 1864 contain an assessment both of his services to the cause of the liberation of the German working-class movement from the tutelage of the liberal 'patrons' (Schulze-Delitzsch and others) and of the harm that his mistaken views and tactics had done to the development of the class consciousness of the German workers. In a letter to Kugelmann of 23 February 1865 and a number of other letters, Marx noted that Lassalle did not understand the real conditions for the liberation of the working class, had only a superficial knowledge of the ideas of

scientific socialism, and tended to vulgarise economic theory. In campaigning for the solution of the social question by setting up producer associations with state help, Lassalle was fostering the illusion of the 'social mission' of the reactionary Prussian monarchy (see this volume, p. 101). At the same time he denied the expediency of the economic struggle of the working class and opposed the creation of trade unions, the true centres of organisation of the workers. By orienting the latter towards attaining their goals by reformist means, Lassalle began the opportunist trend in the German working-class movement.

In a number of letters Marx and Engels criticised Lassalle's political tactics. They condemned the absolute importance that he attached to the demand for universal suffrage, which he proclaimed as the most effective way of liberating the proletariat. The example of Bonapartism in France enabled them to foresee the demagogical use of this demand by the Prussian counter-revolution. They also strongly condemned Lassalle's policy of flirting with Bismarck and his attempt to form an alliance with the Prussian Junkers against the bourgeoisie, particularly after they learnt of Lassalle's direct negotiations with the head of the Prussian government. 'Objectively it was the act of a scoundrel, the betrayal of the whole workers' movement to the Prussians,' Engels wrote to Marx on 27 January 1865.

In opposition to the Lassalleans, Marx and Engels sought to set the German working-class movement on the revolutionary path. They attached great importance to bringing the General Association of German Workers, founded by Lassalle in 1863, into the International (see Marx's letter to Carl Siebel of 22 December 1864). The Association had many healthy proletarian elements within its ranks, including former members of the Communist League, and Marx hoped that if the General Association of German Workers joined the International this would be an important step towards overcoming Lassalleanism and that eventually it would be possible radically to reshape this organisation, to change its programme and tactics and also its organisational principles. However, the Lassallean leaders of the Association opposed its joining the International.

In the struggle against the influence of Lassalleanism on the German working-class movement an important part was played by Engels' pamphlet *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* published in Germany in February 1865. Marx and Engels discussed its plan and content in detail in their letters. In them they denounce the social demagogy of the Prussian

government and Bismarck's use of the Bonapartist tactics of manoeuvring between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, reveal the inconsistency and cowardice of the bourgeois opposition Party of Progress and determine the tasks of the working class in the struggle for democratic transformations in Germany (see, for example, Marx's letters to Engels of 3, 10 and 18 February 1865). The ideas expressed in their letters were developed in the pamphlet, in which Engels stressed that the main thing in the tactics of the working class was to avoid compromise with reaction, to denounce the anti-revolutionary role of the bourgeoisie and to pursue the policy of creating an independent proletarian party.

An important milestone in the break by Marx, Engels and their supporters with the Lassalleans was the cessation of their short-lived cooperation on the Berlin *Social-Demokrat.* The letters of Marx and Engels reflect their relations with this newspaper of the General Association of German Workers quite fully. By agreeing to contribute to it, Marx and Engels hoped to influence the German working-class movement in the spirit of the principles of the International, and later Marx intended to make use of the *Social-Demokrat* to propagate the ideas of *Capital.* On 14 November 1864 he wrote to Engels: 'It is important for us to have a mouthpiece in Berlin, especially for the sake of the association I was involved in founding in London, and for the sake of the book I am planning to publish.' However, the *Social-Demokrat*'s servile attitude to Bismarck's government and the cult of Lassalle that was blown up out of all proportions in its columns caused Marx and Engels to review their decision. Convinced that, in spite of their warnings, the newspaper's editor Schweitzer was still trying to justify the policies of the Prussian ruling circles and to sing the praises of Lassalle, they both announced publicly that they refused to contribute to it (pp. 96-97, 98-99, 104-05, etc.).

After the break with the *Social-Demokrat* Marx and Engels continued to strengthen contacts with the German workers, relying on the progressive elements who were disillusioned with Lassalle's dogmas and the tactics of making advances to government circles, and helped a considerable section of the German proletariat to part company with Lassalleanism.

Marx and Engels gave constant support to Wilhelm Liebknecht and later to August Bebel in their struggle to consolidate the forces of the German working class on a revolutionary basis, on the platform of the International. This help was particularly great at the time when the question of the ways of the national

unification of Germany was being decided and circumstances demanded that German proletarian revolutionaries should put up a firm challenge to Bismarck's policy of uniting the country from above, under the supremacy of Prussia, by opposing to it the policy of revolutionary democratic unification from below. At that juncture, as Marx and Engels frequently stressed in their letters, it was most important to denounce the militaristic regime of the united state being created by Bismarck, to support democratic demands and to rally militant detachments of the German proletariat on a national level (pp. 297-98, 300, etc.). Marx and Engels expressed their warm approval of Liebknecht's speeches criticising the policies of the Prussian ruling circles from the tribune of the North German Reichstag to which he was elected with Bebel in 1867. 'Liebknecht is doing very well,' Engels wrote to Marx on 13 October 1867 concerning one of the denunciatory speeches by this true parliamentarian of the working class. The activity of Liebknecht, Bebel and their supporters, the creation of German sections of the International, the increasing influence of its ideas among the German workers, and the growing opposition to the Lassallean leadership in the ranks of the General Association of German Workers—all this inspired Marx and Engels with the conviction that the working-class movement in Germany would take the path of revolutionary struggle and master the principles of scientific socialism.

Seeking to consolidate the position of the International in France, Marx did his utmost to counter the claims of bourgeois republicans to leadership of its local organisations. To this end, on his initiative the Central Council adopted decisions on the conflict in the Paris section (see Marx's letters to Engels of 25 February and 7 March 1865 and to Hermann Jung of 13 March 1865). At the same time Marx was constantly searching for ways of overcoming the belief of a section of French workers in utopian Proudhonist doctrines. This is why in the letters published in this volume so much space is devoted to criticism of Proudhon's petty-bourgeois views that had a perceptible influence during this period not only on the French, but also on the Belgian and to some extent on the Swiss working-class movement. A generalised criticism of Proudhon's views was provided by Marx in his letter to Kugelmann of 9 October 1866 where he sums up the results of the Geneva Congress at which the difference between Proudhon's views and the revolutionary line of the leadership of the International became particularly evident: 'Beneath the *cloak of*

*freedom* and anti-governmentalism or anti-authoritarian individualism these gentlemen, who for 16 years now have so quietly endured the most wretched despotism, and are still enduring it, are in actuality preaching vulgar bourgeois economics, only in the guise of Proudhonist idealism!'

Analysing the causes of the spread of Proudhonist utopias, Marx points to Proudhon's 'pseudo-critique' of the bourgeois system, to his outwardly radical phraseology that impressed the *'jeunesse brillante'* (brilliant youth) and students, and also the backward, semi-artisan strata of workers engaged in small-scale production (p. 326). Marx strongly condemns the Proudhonists for their disparaging attitude to 'all *revolutionary* action, i.e. arising from the class struggle itself, every concentrated social movement, and therefore also that which can be achieved by *political means* (e.g., such as limitation of the working day *by law*)' (ibid.). In a letter to Engels of 20 June 1866 Marx describes the sharp reproof which, in the course of a discussion on the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, he delivered to a number of French members of the General Council of the International who were seeking in a spirit of Proudhonist nihilism to call nations and nationalities 'obsolete prejudices'.

Marx's letters in this volume also show what importance he attached to the setting up of sections of the International in countries like Belgium (see his letters to Léon Fontaine of 15 April and 25 July 1865) and Switzerland (see his letters to Johann Philipp Becker of 13 January, Kugelmann of 15 January 1866 and others). For propagating the principles of the International Working Men's Association and founding its sections in the USA Marx made use of contacts with Joseph Weydemeyer, Sigfrid Meyer and other participants in the European revolutionary movement who emigrated to America. Marx and Engels followed closely the development of the working-class movement in the USA, noting each of its successes with pleasure. Thus, Marx rated the results of the workers' congress in Baltimore very highly: 'The watchword there was organisation for the struggle against capital, and, remarkably enough, most of the demands I had put up for Geneva were put up there, too, by the correct instinct of the workers' (p. 326).

During this period Marx and Engels paid great attention to drafting the platform of the International on the national

question. They substantiated the tactics of the international proletarian organisation in relation to the national liberation movement, regarding the support of the working class for the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations as one of the most important conditions of its own liberation. The correspondence of Marx and Engels reveals how much energy Marx spent on organising public meetings and gatherings in defence of the fighters for Poland's independence. Unlike the Proudhonists, the leaders of the International regarded the demand that Poland should be reorganised on a democratic basis as an integral part of the struggle for the democratic transformation of Europe, in which the working class had a vital interest. Marx's consistently internationalist standpoint on the Polish question was also reflected in his polemic with the English radical journalist Peter Fox, one of the leaders of the British National League for the Independence of Poland. Although supporting Poland's national sovereignty, Fox shared the Francophile attitudes of the English radicals and the illusions of the Right bourgeois-aristocratic wing of the Polish national movement concerning 'assistance' to it from the ruling circles of the Western powers (see Marx's letters to Engels of 10 December 1864, 25 February and 4 March 1865, to Jung of 13 April 1865, and others). In his polemic with Fox Marx argued that the Polish revolutionaries should look not to the Western powers, who had treacherously betrayed the interests of insurgent Poland, but to the European proletariat, its true and selfless ally. In the opinion of Marx and Engels, the prime role in the liberation of Poland should be played by the united efforts of the representatives of the Polish national liberation and Russian revolutionary movements, their joint struggle against the common foe—Tsarist autocracy.

An important contribution to the elaboration of the national and colonial question and the substantiation of the principles of proletarian internationalism was made by Marx and Engels in connection with determining the International's position on the liberation struggle of the Irish people. Their letters that deal with this problem formulate a number of fruitful ideas concerning the interdependence and inter-connection of the national liberation and proletarian movements. The national liberation of Ireland and the revolutionary democratic transformation of its agrarian structure was regarded by Marx as an essential prerequisite for the successful development of the British proletarian movement and for ridding the British workers of reformist and chauvinistic prejudices. In his letters to Engels of 2 and 30 November 1867, he

set out the basic demands of his proposed programme on the Irish question, which he trusted would receive the support of the British working class. The main ones were: Irish self-government and independence from Britain, an agrarian revolution and the introduction of protective tariffs to ensure the country's economic independence. Noting that the British ruling classes had virtually established colonial rule in Ireland, introducing the practice of 'clearing' estates, i.e. evicting Irish peasants from the land in the interests of English landlords and capitalists, Marx in a letter to Engels described this as a blatant manifestation of national enslavement mixed with social oppression: 'In no other European country has foreign rule assumed this form of direct expropriation of the natives' (p. 461).

On the initiative of Marx the General Council of the International conducted a campaign of support for the Irish people, while Marx himself in his public statements constantly defended the fighters for Irish independence, the Fenians. He stressed that the activity of these petty-bourgeois revolutionaries reflected the protest by the mass of the peasantry against the policy of eviction from the land, and also the discontent of the urban poor with the colonial regime. Describing Fenianism, Marx pointed out that it 'is characterised by socialist (in the negative sense, as directed against the appropriation of the soil) leanings and as a lower orders movement' (p. 486).

At the same time Marx and Engels were clearly aware of the weaknesses of Fenianism and emphasised that conspiratorial, adventurist tactics, and the use of terroristic methods of struggle did harm to the national liberation movement and prevented the establishment of international unity of action between the British proletariat and the Irish working people (see Marx's letters to Engels of 28 November and 14 December 1867 and of Engels to Marx of 29 November and 19 December 1867).

Commenting on the importance of the struggle to liberate Ireland and the participation of English workers in this struggle expressed in the letters of Marx and Engels, Lenin wrote in 1914: 'In the Irish question, too, Marx and Engels pursued a consistently proletarian policy, which really educated the masses in a spirit of democracy and socialism. Only such a policy could have saved both Ireland and England half a century of delay in introducing the necessary reforms, and prevented these reforms from being mutilated by the Liberals to please the reactionaries' (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, Moscow, 1977, pp. 441-42).

The correspondence of Marx and Engels illustrates Marx's truly colossal work on his main life's work, *Capital.* In a number of cases letters alone enable us to ascertain precisely what problems of economic theory were of interest to him at this or that point in time, to date the different preliminary versions of *Capital* and to determine the nature of non-extant manuscripts. From the letters we can get an idea of the way in which Engels helped Marx during the writing of *Capital,* of their constant exchange of views on problems of political economy, and of Engels' part in collecting factual material, determining the specific features of capitalist production and the influence of the economic situation, crises, etc., on it (see, for example, Engels' letters to Marx of 12 April 1865, 26 and 27 August 1867 and others).

Aware of the role that his work would have to play in the development of scientific socialism and the proletarian movement, Marx devoted all his energies to it, 'studying by day and writing by night'. 'I have *not an hour to spare,*' he wrote during this period (pp. 263 and 214). Marx hoped to 'deal the bourgeoisie a theoretical blow from which it will never recover' (letter to Carl Klings of 4 October 1864). Explaining to Ludwig Kugelmann the reasons for his refusal to attend the Geneva Congress of the International, Marx wrote on 23 August 1866: 'I consider that what I am doing through this work is far more important for the working class than anything I might be able to do personally at any *congrès quelconque* [congress whatsoever].'

In January 1866 Marx began to prepare Volume One of *Capital* for publication on the basis of the manuscripts of 1863-65. At first he assumed that it would contain the first two books 'The Process of Production of Capital' and 'The Process of Circulation of Capital', but already in the course of the work he decided that it would contain only the first book. And although he himself wrote that he had begun recopying it and '*polishing the style*' (Marx to Engels of 13 February 1866), much more than that was involved. Some chapters were considerably expanded by introducing new material. Thus, for the sections on the working day, machinery and the general law of capitalist accumulation, Marx made extensive use of factual data in the recently published Blue Books (containing the reports of parliamentary commissions, such as the Children's Employment Commission), about which he informed Engels on 21 July 1866 and in a number of other letters (p. 296).

The extreme exhaustion resulting from his scientific work and the performance of his numerous duties as a leader of the International and the constant material hardships had a serious

effect on Marx's health. As can be seen from many letters, the preparation of the manuscript of the first volume of *Capital* for the publishers was frequently interrupted by acute bouts of ill health which forced Marx to put aside the work. 'Dear Mr Kugelmann, you can believe me when I tell you there can be few books that have been written in more difficult circumstances,' Jenny Marx confided in Kugelmann in a letter of 24 December 1867, 'and I am sure I could write a secret history of it which would tell of many, extremely many unspoken troubles and anxieties and torments' (p. 578). Nevertheless, in November 1866 Marx was able to send the first part of the manuscript to Hamburg, and on 2 April 1867 he informed Engels that he had completed the book and would take the manuscript to the publisher himself in a few days' time.

The Marx-Engels correspondence from May to August 1867 reflects the work of proof-reading the first volume. Marx systematically sent sheets of print to his friend in Manchester. Thus Engels was the first reader and most competent reviewer of Marx's great masterpiece. After reading the greater part of it, he congratulated the author on elucidating the most complex economic problems 'simply and almost sensuously merely by arranging them suitably and by placing them in the right context' (p. 405). 'The theoretical side is quite splendid,' Engels remarked in his letter of 1 September 1867, adding: 'The *résumé* on the expropriation of the expropriators is most brilliant and will create quite an effect.'

At the same time Engels made certain suggestions for improving the structure of the book and expounding a number of questions. In this respect, his letters to Marx of 16 and 26 June and 23 August and Marx's letters to Engels of 3, 22 and 27 June and 24 August 1867 are of considerable interest. Taking account of Engels' suggestions, Marx wrote a special appendix on the form of value.

Marx greatly appreciated Engels' opinion of *Capital*. He wrote: 'That you have been satisfied with it so far is more important to me than anything the rest of the world may say of it' (p. 383). A striking document revealing the collaboration between the two great thinkers and revolutionaries, and a moving testimony to Marx's profound gratitude to his friend, is Marx's letter to Engels written on 16 August 1867 at 2.0. a.m. when he had just finished correcting the last sheet of Volume One of *Capital*. 'So, *this volume is finished.* I owe it to **you** alone that it was possible! Without your self-sacrifice for me I could not possibly have managed the immense

labour demanded by the 3 volumes. I embrace you, full of thanks!'

The publication of Volume One of *Capital* (September 1867) became an outstanding event in the history of human thought. As Lenin said, in his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* and particularly in *Capital* Marx 'revolutionised' political economy (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, Moscow, 1978, p. 49). Volume One of *Capital* contains a thorough analysis and explanation of the essence of capitalist exploitation, reveals and expounds the economic laws of the motion of bourgeois society and shows the inevitability of capitalism being replaced by a new social system as a result of a revolution carried out by the working class. In this work Marx gave the proletariat a mighty ideological weapon in its struggle for the socialist transformation of society. 'Marx's economic theory alone has explained the true position of the proletariat in the general system of capitalism,' stressed Lenin (*Collected Works*, Vol. 19, Moscow, 1977, p. 28). History has confirmed the correctness of Marx's comparison of Volume One of *Capital* with 'the most terrible missile that has yet been hurled at the heads of the bourgeoisie (landowners included)' (p. 358).

The letters included in this volume also deal with the steps taken by Marx and Engels to popularise Volume One of *Capital* and its main ideas. On 27 April 1867 Engels wrote to Marx: 'I am convinced that the book will create a real stir from the moment it appears, but it will be very necessary to help the enthusiasm of the scientifically-inclined burghers and officials on to its feet and not to despise petty stratagems.' To attract attention to *Capital* Marx and Engels sent copies to their comrades and acquaintances, circulated notices through the publisher Otto Meissner announcing its publication, wrote reviews for various press organs and published extracts from the preface to Volume One in various periodicals.

Engels played a most important part in propagating Volume One of *Capital*. In order to thwart a possible 'conspiracy of silence' by bourgeois scholars, Engels suggested attacking 'the book *from the bourgeois point of view*'. Marx fully approved of his friend's plan, describing it as *'the best tactic'* (p. 427).

Engels prepared a series of brilliantly written reviews for liberal and democratic newspapers (see present edition, Vol. 20). Their publication made it impossible for bourgeois ideologists to ignore *Capital* and helped to expose attempts to belittle the importance of Marx's work and distort its content.

However, the main aim behind all the efforts by Marx and Engels to disseminate and propagate *Capital* was to equip the working-class movement with a revolutionary economic theory, to introduce workers to truly scientific ideas concerning ways of getting rid of capitalist exploitation. It is no accident that in his letter of 30 November 1867 Marx asked Kugelmann to explain to Liebknecht 'that it really is his duty to draw attention to my book at *workers' meetings*'. Engels in his turn wrote to Hermann Meyer on 18 October 1867: 'I hope you will be able to bring Marx's book to the attention of the German-American press and of the workers. With the 8-hour-agitation that is in progress in America now, this book with its chapter on the *working day* will come at just the right time for you over there, and, in other respects too, it is likely to clarify people's minds on a variety of issues.' Other letters in this volume also testify to the true party concern for the working-class movement and the practical application of the conclusions of Marx's economic theory.

The correspondence of Marx and Engels for this period shows what great importance they attached to the publication of *Capital* in other languages. Already on 31 July 1865, when the book was only being prepared for publication, Marx expressed the idea of making an English translation straightaway from the proofs of the German text. Subsequently, Marx and Engels returned frequently to the discussion of this question, looking for a translator and a publisher (see Engels' letters to Marx of 24 June and 23 August 1867; Marx's letters to Engels of 27 June and to Kugelmann of 11 October 1867 and 6 March 1868). Unfortunately, the English edition of Volume One of Marx's main work did not come out during his lifetime.

At the same time efforts were made to prepare a French translation of Volume One. Marx believed that a French edition of *Capital* would help the French workers to realise how invalid Proudhon's reformist projects were for solving the social question. 'I consider it to be of the greatest importance to emancipate the French from the erroneous views under which Proudhon with his idealised petty-bourgeoisie has buried them,' he wrote to Ludwig Büchner on 1 May 1867. The search for a translator and publisher, as several letters show (including those of Marx to Engels of 28 November 1867 and to Victor Schily of 30 November 1867), turned out to be no easy matter in this case too. Marx was not able to realise his intention of bringing out a French translation of Volume One of *Capital* until 1872-75.

The publication of Volume One of *Capital* was, as Marx

intended and the publisher insisted, to be followed by that of the two other volumes. Marx immediately set about revising his manuscripts of the second and third books of *Capital*, elaborating certain problems in greater detail as he went along. Thus, in his correspondence with Engels the question of the replacement of fixed capital is discussed (pp. 409-13); 'for the chapter on ground rent' (pp. 507-08) Marx asks Engels for help in selecting books and consultations on agro-chemistry, etc. 'We must keep a close watch on the recent and very latest in agriculture...,' he writes to Engels on 25 March 1868.

Marx showed a rare conscientiousness in his studies. Again and again he would return to what might appear to be sufficiently studied problems, making use of new material. This was one of the reasons for the delay in the preparation of the subsequent volumes of *Capital*. It was Engels who completed this task after Marx's death on the basis of Marx's manuscripts.

A subject of constant attention for Marx and Engels during the period under review was not only the state and level of development of the working-class movement in different countries, but also the general economic and political position of these countries, and the international situation. All this had to be taken into account in elaborating the tactics of the international working-class movement at different stages. Therefore, many of the letters in this volume contain a description of the most important events that took place during these years in Europe and beyond the Continent, new phenomena in economics, including those related to the economic crisis of 1866, and in political life. Marx and Engels discussed with each other and their acquaintances the details of the struggle of the political parties in England, the symptoms of the imminent bankruptcy of the Bonapartist regime in France, the situation in Germany produced by the growing rivalry between Prussia and Austria, Prussia's victory in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and the first steps to carry out Bismarck's plan for uniting the country by 'blood and iron'. The founders of Marxism made a thorough examination of the alignment of forces in the international arena, and of the positions of the European powers in the conflicts that followed one after another (the Luxemburg crisis of 1867, the international complications arising from the Rome expedition of Garibaldi and his followers, the Crete uprising, etc.) and testified to the growing danger of a new war. The assessments made by Marx and Engels

of all these events are remarkable for their historical accuracy and depth. They were based on a dialectical-materialist analysis of the phenomena in question, which made it possible to reveal their class roots and essence, to expose the contradictory aspects, to determine the possible consequences and to conclude from this what tasks confronted the working class.

Marx and Engels made a close study of the course of the US Civil War, which entered its final stage during this period. Their letters contain assessments of military operations and forecasts on the future development of events, a profound analysis of which enabled Marx and Engels to conclude that things were coming to a head and that the economic, moral and political advantages of the North would lead to the defeat of the slave-owning South.

The revolutionising influence of the US Civil War on the development of the democratic and working-class movement was obvious to Marx and Engels. At the same time they also saw the limitations of the bourgeois democracy of the Northern states, and also the anti-democratic, sometimes downright counter-revolutionary trends in the policies of the bourgeois ruling circles of the North. Criticising President Johnson, who succeeded Lincoln, Marx and Engels noted that his policies reflected the desire of the big bourgeoisie in the North to ally with the defeated planters of the Southern states, and to continue the system of racial discrimination against the 'liberated' Black people, etc. Engels wrote to Marx on 15 July 1865 that renewed hatred towards blacks was 'coming out more and more violently' and that Johnson 'is relinquishing all his power vis-à-vis the old lords in the South.... Without coloured suffrage nothing can be done, and Johnson is leaving it up to the defeated, the ex-slaveowners, to decide on that. It is absurd.' That is why when Johnson was defeated in the 1866 elections Marx gave the main reason for this in a letter to François Lafargue in a single sentence: 'The workers in the North have at last fully understood that white labour will never be emancipated so long as black labour is still stigmatised' (p. 334).

This statement by Marx is yet further confirmation that the events of his day, including questions of international politics, were seen by him and Engels primarily from the viewpoint of the interests of the revolutionary proletariat. Already during the founding of the International Marx called on the working class to proclaim its own independent policy opposed to that of the ruling classes. In his letter of 25 February 1865 to Engels he emphasised: 'The working class has its own foreign policy, which is most

certainly not determined by what the middle class considers opportune.'

It was from this standpoint that Marx and Engels elaborated the tactics of the working class in connection with the growing threat of war in Europe. They condemned with severity the wars unleashed by the ruling classes for territorial, dynastic and anti-popular ends, and linked the struggle against such wars and against militarism in general with the liberation movement of the proletariat against the capitalist exploitatory system. It is no accident that when the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 broke out, Marx did his utmost to see that the International dissociated itself from the aggressive, expansionist tendencies introduced by the ruling circles of Germany and Italy into the struggle for the national unification of these countries, which was objectively progressive in the given historical situation. Marx and Engels saw these tendencies as a source of further aggravation of international contradictions, of fresh military conflicts. They predicted that the war of 1866 would be fraught with new, even more extensive military conflicts, first and foremost between Prussia and France. In a letter to Engels of 27 July 1866 Marx stressed that the end of the war would not lead to a lasting peace in Europe. 'That we shall soon be back to bashing is clear enough,' Engels replied to him on 6 August 1866. All this required the further mobilisation of the forces of the working class for the struggle against the threat of war.

Criticising the pacifist illusions of the bourgeois-democratic League of Peace and Freedom, Marx and Engels at the same time supported the idea of joint action by the working class with all truly anti-militarist forces prepared to stand up for peace between nations in deeds and not just in words. Guided by Marx the International tirelessly carried on an energetic struggle for peace, consistently denouncing the foreign policy and diplomacy of the ruling classes in the capitalist countries.

From this volume it is clear that from 1864 to 1868 Marx and Engels continued to study the natural and social sciences, in particular world history, philology, ethnography and philosophy. Marx's letter to Engels testifying to Marx's interest in higher mathematics and his study of differential calculus was written at the end of 1865. In their letters Marx and Engels exchange views on books they have read, talk about discoveries in various spheres of science and assess new scientific hypotheses (see, for example,

pp. 7-8, 184-85, 212, 232, 291-92, 304-05, 320-25, 495, 547-49, 557-59).

Their letters show the leaders of the proletariat to be men with an extraordinarily wide range of interests, capable of discerning and assessing fruitful ideas and discoveries marking the steady advance of science. These discoveries, as Marx and Engels so rightly assumed, served as further proof of the correctness of the proletarian revolutionary world outlook and dialectical-materialist views on the development of nature and society. Thus, in the research on the social system of ancient and mediaeval Germany by the German historian Georg Maurer, Marx saw the 'Mark theory' as factual confirmation of the view, expressed earlier by Marx himself, that communal property in land came first, that everywhere it preceded the emergence of private property in land (see his letter to Engels of 14 March 1868). The striving of Marx and Engels to make full use of the latest achievements of the various sciences shows that Marxism, both during its formation and throughout its subsequent development, rested on the finest achievements of human thought.

The biographical material contained in the letters in this volume gives a clear picture of the great thinkers and revolutionaries, and enables the reader to form a clear idea of the conditions in which they lived and struggled and the characteristic features of the theoretical and practical activity at the time when, after the founding of the International, they virtually became the leaders of the mass international proletarian movement. An important document in this respect that supplements the correspondence, is Marx's 'Confession' (answers to questions in a semi-humorous questionnaire) which reveals the richness and integrity of his personality (see Appendices).

From the material in the volume it is clear that both Marx and Engels were extremely high-principled and unwavering on scientific and political questions, yet possessed the necessary flexibility in solving the urgent tasks of the working-class movement, and also that they were exceptionally modest and lacked any trace of personal vanity. Marx who frequently wrote that the whole burden of the leadership of the International lay virtually on him, stated in a letter to Liebknecht of 21 November 1865 that he could not read out his report on the German working-class movement at the London Conference because, as he wrote, 'I was too personally introduced in it'. Resolute and high-principled in criticising the errors of friends and comrades, Marx and Engels were always ready to encourage and support

them and to come to their assistance. On 8 December 1864 Marx wrote to Engels: '*Apropos Liebknecht*... I have sent him money several times in the course of the last six months and now I want to send his wife something ... since I know they are in dire straits. I would appreciate it if you would make a contribution, too.'

Marx's service to the cause of the working class is exemplary. In a letter to Kugelmann of 9 October 1866, for example, he writes that if he were prepared 'to take up a practical trade' he could dispose of his pecuniary troubles entirely. But Marx never strove for personal well-being, although the hardships endured by his family caused him no little suffering. 'Working for the cause', for the party, for the liberation of the working class and the whole of the working people, that was Marx's aim throughout his life. 'I laugh at the so-called "practical" men and their wisdom,' he wrote on 30 April 1867 to Sigfrid Meyer, admitting what sacrifices the writing of *Capital* had cost him. 'If one wanted to be an ox, one could, of course, turn one's back on the sufferings of humanity and look after one's own hide. But I should really have thought myself *unpractical* if I had pegged out without finally completing my book....' And to his future son-in-law Paul Lafargue Marx wrote: 'You know that I have sacrificed my whole fortune to the revolutionary struggle. I do not regret it. Quite the contrary. If I had to begin my life over again, I would do the same' (p. 308).

The letters in this volume supplement the works written by Marx and Engels in the period in question. They provide an important source for studying Marxist ideas and the creative and revolutionary biographies of Marx and Engels, and for elucidating their leading role in the development of the working-class liberation movement at the stage when the foundations of the international proletarian struggle for socialism were being laid.

* * *

Volume 42 contains 344 letters from Marx and Engels, of which 159 are published in English for the first time and 185 were published earlier, most of them in part only. These publications are mentioned in the Notes. Of the 12 items included in the Appendices, two were written in English and the rest are published for the first time in this language.

During the work on the text of the volume and the notes and indexes to it the dating of some of the letters was established more accurately as a result of additional research. The two letters from Marx to Engels of 6 February 1865, printed earlier as indepen-

dent ones, are published in this volume as one letter.

Obvious slips of the pen are corrected without comment. Proper names, geographical names and individual words contracted by the authors are given in full, except when these contractions were made for the sake of conspiracy or cannot be deciphered. Defects in the manuscript are indicated in the footnotes and passages with missing or illegible words are marked by three dots in square brackets. If the context allows a presumable reconstruction to be made of the missing or illegible words, these words are also given in square brackets. Passages crossed out by the authors are reproduced in the footnotes only in cases where there is a significant discrepancy. If a letter is a rough copy or a draft, a postscript to a letter of another person, or a fragment quoted elsewhere, this is marked either in the text itself or in the Notes.

Foreign words and expressions are retained in the form in which they were used by the authors with a translation where necessary in the footnotes and are italicised (if underlined by the authors, they are given in spaced italics). English words and expressions used by Marx and Engels in texts originally written in German, French and other languages are printed in small caps. Longer passages written in English in the original are placed in asterisks. Some of the words are now somewhat archaic or have undergone changes in usage. For example, the term 'nigger', which has acquired generally—but especially in the USA—a more profane and unacceptable status than it had in Europe during the 19th century.

Information on undiscovered letters mentioned in the text will be found in the Notes. If a fact or event is referred to in several letters, the same note number is used each time.

The volume was compiled, the text prepared and the Preface, Notes and the Subject Index written by Vladimir Sazonov and edited by Lev Golman (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C. C.P.S.U.). The Name Index, the Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature and the Index of Periodicals were prepared by Natalya Kalennikova (Institute of Marxism-Leninism).

The translations were made by Christopher Upward and John Peet and edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Nicholas Jacobs (Lawrence & Wishart), Glenys Ann Kozlov, Lydia Belyakova, Elena Kalinina and Margarita Lopukhina (Progress Publishers), and Larisa Miskievich, scientific editor (Institute of Marxism-Leninism).

The volume was prepared for the press by the editors Svetlana Gerasimenko, Elena Kalinina and Anna Vladimirova (Progress Publishers).

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## LETTERS

October 1864-March 1868

# 1864

## 1

## MARX TO CARL KLINGS[1]

### IN SOLINGEN

[Draft]

London, 4 October 1864
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill[a]

Dear Friend,

I was glad to receive further signs of life from the workers of the Rhine Province, as conveyed in your letter of 28 September.[2]

*B. Becker* or *M. Hess*? I know them both; both are old members of the movement. Both are honest. Neither of them is capable of leading a movement of any import. Becker is a weak man, in fact, and Hess a muddle-head. It is therefore difficult to decide between the two. I also think it scarcely signifies which of the two you elect, as there will be no difficulty in finding the right people at the decisive moment.

Enquiries have reached me, e.g. from Berlin, as to whether I would accept the presidency?[3] I replied that it was *impossible,* because for the present I am still forbidden to take up residence in Prussia.[b] However, I would certainly think it a *good gesture by the party,* vis-à-vis both the Prussian government and the bourgeoisie, if the workers' congress were to *elect* me, to which I would make a public reply explaining why I can*not* accept the election. Such a step would be important for the following reason in particular: a big public MEETING of workers took place here in London on 28 September, with English, German, French and Italian workers participating. The Parisian workers had, moreover, sent over a special delegation, headed by Tolain, a worker, who was put up as

[a] The Marx family lived here from March 1864 to March 1875. - [b] At this point, the following passage is deleted from the manuscript: 'in any case, if I were to assume the leadership, the government would immediately suppress the whole thing.'

a candidate by the working class in Paris in the last elections for the Corps législatif.[4]

At this MEETING, a *Comité* was elected—an *international Comité* to represent the workers' interests, which is directly linked to the workers in Paris and includes the leaders of the London workers. I was elected as representative of the German workers (and my old friend Eccarius, the tailor, along with me).[a] If I were thus nominated by the German congress—although I would have to *decline* the election now—the *Comité* and with it the workers in London and Paris would regard this as a gesture on the part of the German workers. Next year, the *Comité* will be calling an *international workers' congress* in Brussels.[5] Unfortunately, I shall not be able to attend in person, as I am still exiled from the model state of Belgium, just as I am from France and Germany.

I shall send you some '*Manifestoes*'[b] at the first *safe* opportunity.

This letter will be brought to you by one of my friends[c] from Barmen.

I have been sick throughout the past year (being afflicted with carbuncles and furuncles). Had it not been for that, my work on *political* economy, '*Capital*', would already have come out. I hope I may now complete it finally in a couple of months and deal the bourgeoisie a theoretical blow from which it will never recover.

Farewell; you may count on my remaining ever a loyal champion of the working class.

Yours
K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Bolshevik*, No. 8, 1934

Printed according to the original

[a] At this point, the following passage is deleted from the manuscript: 'to establish a liaison between the German workers' movement and the English one.' - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - [c] At this point in the manuscript, the following words are deleted: 'C. Siebel from Barmen or'.

## 2

## MARX TO SOPHIE VON HATZFELDT[6]

### IN BERLIN

[Copy]

London, 16 October 1864
Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

My dear Countess,

In recent weeks I have been so seriously ill that I was obliged to keep to my bed and hence, unfortunately, to defer until now my reply to your friendly letter of 1 October.

I assure you that I still cannot bring myself to accept Lassalle's death as a *fait accompli*! I see him in my mind's eye so full of life, spirit, energy and plans, so very, very young, and now suddenly his voice is silenced and his breath departed—I find it impossible to reconcile the two, to conceive of both simultaneously, and the reality oppresses me like an awful, nightmarish dream.

You are quite right to imply that no one appreciated Lassalle's greatness and significance better than I. He himself was most aware of this, as his letters to me show. As long as the correspondence between us lasted, I always expressed to him my heartfelt appreciation of his achievements, on the one hand, while always frankly advising him of my criticisms and reservations regarding those things I considered faulty, on the other.

In one of his last letters to me he wrote, in that peculiarly forceful manner he had, of the satisfaction that this gave him. But, apart from all his abilities, I felt affection for him *as a person*. The pity is that we have always concealed this fact from one another, as if we were going to live for ever...[a]

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

Printed according to the original

[a] The end of the letter is missing.

## 3

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 November 1864

Dear Engels,

Your long silence worries me. I presume you are back.[7] Why have we not heard from you?

I have all kinds of important things to tell you, which I shall do immediately as soon as you give some sign of life.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

## 4

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 2 November 1864

Dear Moor,

The crisis and its innumerable vexations must be my excuse for not writing to you earlier. Never in my whole life have I had such a glut of Jewish chicanery as now, and you can just imagine how much correspondence that entails.

Later this week, I shall go and see Borchardt to complete the business of Lupus' legacy,[8] which is now about to be concluded.

My travels[7] took me as far as Sonderburg[a]; I did not go to Copenhagen, in part because I had neither the time nor a passport, and in part because Bille, the editor of the *Dagbladet*,

[a] Danish name: Sønderborg.

had just arrived in Lübeck when I was in Kiel, and so I had no contact in Copenhagen at all, never having seen any of the other papers anywhere.

Schleswig is a curious country—the east coast very pretty and prosperous, the west coast also prosperous, heath and moors in the middle. All the bays extremely beautiful. The people are decidedly one of the biggest and heaviest of all the human races on Earth, especially the Frisians on the west coast. One only needs to travel across the country to be convinced that the main stock of the English comes from Schleswig. You know the Dutch Frisians, in particular those colossal Frisian women with their delicate white and fresh red complexions (which also predominate in Schleswig). They are the ancestral types of the northern English, and in particular those colossal women, who are also found here in England, all are of decidedly Frisian type. There is no doubt in my mind that the 'Jutes' (Anglo-Saxon *eotena cyn*), who migrated to England with the Angles and Saxons, were Frisians, and that the Danish migration to Jutland, as to Schleswig, dates only from the 7th or 8th century. The present Jutland dialect is proof enough of this.

These fellows are great fanatics and, for that reason, really took my fancy. You must have read something by that extraordinary 'Dr K. J. Clement of North Friesland'. The man is typical of the whole race. These fellows are in deadly earnest about their struggle against the Danes, which is their whole purpose in life, and the Schleswig-Holstein theory is not an end but a means for them. They regard themselves as a physically and morally superior race to the Danes, and indeed they are. Bismarck was really kidding himself when he thought he could get the measure of such people by his own methods.[9] We have held out against the Danes for fifteen years and became consolidated on our territory, and are we supposed to let these Prussian bureaucrats get us down?—that's what these fellows were saying.

The situation regarding language and nationality is most bizarre. In Flensburg, where the Danes claim that the whole of the northern part is Danish, especially by the harbour, all the children, who were playing down by the harbour there in droves, spoke *Low German.* On the other hand, north of Flensburg the language of the people is Danish—i.e. the Low Danish dialect, of which I hardly understood a word. The peasants in the tavern at Sundewitt,[a] however, spoke Danish, Low German and High

[a] Danish name: Sundeved.

German by turns, and neither there nor in Sonderburg, where I always addressed the people in Danish, was I answered in any language but German. At all events, Germanisation has encroached considerably on North Schleswig, and it would be very difficult to make it entirely Danish again, certainly more difficult than German. I would rather it was more Danish, for one day something will surely have to be given up to the Scandinavians here, for decency's sake.

I have recently been doing some work on the philology and archaeology of the Frisians, Angles, Jutes and Scandinavians, and here, too, I have come to the conclusion that the Danes are no more than a nation of advocates, who will *knowingly and brazenly lie*, even in matters of scholarship, if it is in their interest. Mr Worsaae ON THE DANES ETC. IN ENGLAND TO WIT.[a] By way of contrast, next time you come here I will show you a book, which is in the main very good, by the lunatic Clement from North Friesland about Schleswig and the migration to England in the 6th to 8th centuries.[b] The fellow is certainly knowledgeable, despite his eccentricity. But he does appear to be a prodigious drinker.

To my surprise, the Prussians in Schleswig created a very good impression, particularly the Westphalians, who looked like giants at the side of the Austrians, but admittedly much more ponderous. The whole army went around entirely unshaven, with their buttons undone and generally bearing themselves in a most unsoldier-like fashion, so that the natty Austrians acted almost like Prussians here. Amongst the officers of the Prussian artillery and engineers I encountered several very agreeable fellows, who told me all kinds of interesting things, but the infantry and cavalry maintained a most dignified reticence and enjoyed a thoroughly bad reputation with the population. There was a notable lack of enthusiasm for Prince Frederick Charles' conduct of the war, and no one at all, not even those who had been decorated, had a good word to say about the distribution of rewards. The non-commissioned officers behaved well towards the older soldiers, and indeed generally when in company; on the other hand, I did see one of the Brandenburg sappers drilling recruits in Sonderburg, a real old infamous Prussian. It was, by the way, remarkable to observe the different tone that prevailed in the 3rd and 7th army corps in this respect. Your March Tribe, as Georg Jung has

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[a] J. J. A. Worsaae, *An Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland.* - [b] K. J. Clement, *Schleswig, das urheimische Land des nicht dänischen Volks der Angeln und Frisen und Englands Mutterland, wie es war und ward.*

it, submit to being kicked around and trampled on, whereas with the Westphalians (amongst whom there is a very strong admixture of Rhinelanders from the right bank) the non-commissioned officers mostly associate with their men *d'égal à-égal*.[a]

What do you think of the commercial crisis? I think it is all over, i.e. the worst is. It is a pity these things do not come to a proper head.

Can you explain: *Rüm Hart, klar Kimmang*?

Give my kindest regards to your wife and the girls.

Your
F. E.

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## 5

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS[10]

### IN BARMEN

Manchester, 2 November 1864

Dear Hermann,

No joy with the Niersteiner. The wine arrived here with a distinct sourness to it, it does not taste at all as it did at your house, and I shall therefore have to forgo any more orders.

The money crisis, I think, is over. Now only 3 things can have any effect:

1. possible major insolvencies owing to bad news from India. Such are, however, not expected by those most deeply involved. India had its crisis in the spring, when discount was at 32% in Bombay.

2. large deliveries of cotton arriving in Liverpool, say 100,000 bales in one week, which would mean the sudden completion of a mass of loss-making contracts and consequent insolvencies. This danger also appears to be receding. The Liverpool men know how deeply they are all implicated and are being extremely tolerant towards each other. Those who cannot pay the difference lost *in*

[a] as an equal among equals

*full* are offering part of it, and a settlement is usually reached. Moreover, the deliveries arriving are moderate, and the cotton now at sea (400,000 bales from India and China) will probably come little by little, and no one will be hit very hard.

A favourable factor in *both* cases is that the money market is experiencing a decided lift and confidence is returning.

3. if in America Lincoln were *not* elected. However, his re-election is as certain as anything ever can be in America. I have no doubt that the war will be continued until the South is totally subjugated,[11] irrespective of who becomes President, but if McClellan should be elected, at least 6 months of uncertainty would ensue, until people learned precisely what his policy was. But after the elections in the individual states, there can be no question of that happening.

The result of all this will, in my view, be as follows: the American war will continue, certainly, until late next year, and will end with bands of Southerners resorting to brigandry, as in Naples 2 years ago,[12] in the course of which much cotton will be burnt. We shall therefore remain dependent on the same sources for our cotton as in the past year. Supplies from these are only increasing slowly. However, since consumption has become more and more limited owing to high prices, stocks of finished goods, even in the hands of the individual consumers themselves, must now be exceedingly small, and as consumption after all absolutely requires a very large quantity of cotton goods, I believe that increased demand will fully accommodate the increased supply of raw cotton, and, consequently, not only will the downward trend cease to continue, but by next summer we ought, by and large, to see a general rise.

During the money crisis the price of cotton was not determined by the state of the cotton trade but by the state of the money market in general. I believe we've got over that now, and prices will once more be determined naturally by supply and demand, and then with the healthy state of business and the absolute deficiency in stocks, and with prices lower now, I am sure we can expect business to thrive with prices as a whole rising.

There may yet be sporadic shocks, perhaps from India, perhaps from Liverpool. We may, in consequence, again find ourselves momentarily somewhat depressed, but it cannot last, nor will it be of any import, and it would assuredly be an error to speculate *à la baisse*[a] on such evidence. Conversely, I am equally

[a] on prices falling

persuaded that any attempt to force prices up again rapidly would immediately be frustrated by the customers here and by the money market, too. This was already shown yesterday. Cotton has risen 3-3 $^1/_2$d. above its lowest point, yarns 1d., in some instances 1 $^1/_2$d. Yesterday, the spinners were demanding a further increase of approx. 1d., and business[a] came to an immediate halt. If we succeed in forcing prices down another $^1/_2$ PENNY *à* 1 PENNY in Liverpool, the spinners will be able to accept the prices being offered; otherwise, the purchasers will presumably have to pay the extra in the end, as the demand is undeniably there.

SEWINGS were still very quiet, especially seven LEAS, for which there is not a buyer to be found.

This is my opinion. We are covered for one to two months and are expecting substantial ORDERS in a week or two.

Please pass on my regards to Emma, the little ones, Rudolf, the Blanks and the Boellings, and, if you are writing to Engelskirchen, then to mother[b] and everyone there, too. The chicaneries arising from the fall in prices have caused me a deal of botheration.

Your
Frederick

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## 6

## MARX TO ENGELS[13]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 November 1864

Dear FREDERICK,

I was very pleased to hear from you again.

All well here. Myself included, since your departure from here[7]

[a] The manuscript breaks off here. The end of the letter is printed according to the *Deutsche Revue*. - [b] Elisabeth Engels

until the day before yesterday, when yet another carbuncle appeared below my right breast. If the thing does not clear up quickly and others appear, I intend to use Gumpert's arsenic remedy this time.

I would translate your runic *rüm hart,* etc.[a] as Dutch-Frisian for open heart, clear horizon. But I fear that there may be a quite different explanation, so I give up the riddle.

You must send all the *enclosed papers* back to me as soon as read. *I still need them.* So that I do not forget any of the things I wanted to tell you, I am going to number them.

1. *Lassalle and Countess Hatzfeldt.*

The lengthy document is a copy of a circular that Herwegh's wife (*honi soit qui mal y pense*[b]), Emma, sent to Berlin immediately after the catastrophe,[14] so that EXTRACTS from it could be put in the newspapers. You will see from it how cleverly Emma manages to put herself and her spineless Georg in the limelight at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of the report; how the account evades two important points, *firstly* Rüstow's meeting with Dönniges and daughter, when the latter must have *renounced* Lassalle before the scene recounted by Emma took place. *Secondly*: how the duel came about. Lassalle wrote the insulting letter. But then something happened which is *not* reported and which led directly to the duel.

The suppression of two such important and crucial points makes one sceptical of the accuracy of the account.

*The Hatzfeldt letter.* On her arrival in Berlin I got Liebknecht to take her a brief letter of condolence from myself.[c] Liebknecht wrote to me[d] that she was complaining 'I left Lassalle in the lurch', as if I could have done the man any greater service than by keeping my mouth shut and letting him do as he liked. (In his last speech before the Düsseldorf assizes, he played the part of Marquis Posa with handsome William as Philipp II,[e] whom he was trying to persuade to suspend the present constitution, proclaim universal direct suffrage and ally himself with the proletariat.[15]) You can see what is behind her letter and what she wants of me. I wrote a very amicable but diplomatically discouraging letter in reply.[f] The latterday Redeemer! That personage and the sycophants, who surround her, are mad.

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[a] See this volume, p. 9. - [b] the shame be his who thinks ill of it (the motto of the English Order of the Garter) - [c] See present edition, Vol. 41, p. 563. - [d] on 30 September 1864 - [e] Marquis Posa and Philipp II are characters from Schiller's *Don Carlos*; William—King William I of Prussia. - [f] See this volume, p. 5.

Third page of Marx's letter to Engels of 4 November 1864

Apropos. A couple of NUMBERS of E. Jones' *Notes to the People* (1851, 1852) happened to fall into my hands again; as far as the economic articles are concerned, the main points in them had been written directly under my guidance and partly even in direct collaboration with myself.[a] WELL! What do I find in them? That at that time we conducted the same polemic—only better—against the co-operative movement, since it claimed, in its present narrow-minded form, to be the *last word*, as Lassalle conducted against Schulze-Delitzsch in Germany 10-12 years later.

In his last will and testament Lassalle has 'installed' Bernhard Becker, the unfortunate fellow, who was Juch's editor on the *Hermann* for a while, as his successor in the office of President of the General Association of German Workers[2]—in his 'last will and testament' (like a ruling prince). The Association's congress meets in Düsseldorf this month,[16] and strong opposition to this 'decree' by last will and testament is expected.

Also enclosed, letter from a worker in Solingen, Klings,[2] in fact the clandestine leader of the Rhineland workers (former member of the League[17]). *This letter is not to be returned but filed.*

2. *WORKINGMEN'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION.*

Some time ago, London workers sent an address to workers in Paris about Poland and called upon them to act jointly in the matter.[b]

For their part, the Parisians sent over a deputation headed by a worker named *Tolain*, who was the *real workers' candidate in the last elections in Paris*,[4] a thoroughly nice fellow. (His *compagnons* were quite nice lads, too.) A PUBLIC MEETING in St Martin's Hall was called, for 28 September 1864, by Odger (shoemaker, President of the local COUNCIL OF ALL LONDON TRADES' UNIONS and, in particular, also of the TRADES' UNIONS SUFFRAGE AGITATION SOCIETY,[18] which is connected with Bright) and Cremer, a MASON and secretary of the MASONS' UNION. (These two had arranged the big TRADE-UNION MEETING on North America chaired by Bright in St James's Hall, ditto the Garibaldi manifestations.[19]) A certain *Le Lubez* was sent to ask me if I would participate *pour les ouvriers allemands*,[c] and, in particular, whether I was willing to provide a German worker to speak at the MEETING, etc. I provided them with Eccarius, who put on a splendid

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[a] E. Jones, 'A Letter to the Advocates of the Co-operative Principle, and to the Members of Co-operative Societies', 'Co-operation. What It Is, and What It Ought to Be' (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 573-89). - [b] 'To the Workmen of France from the Working Men of England', *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 112, 5 December 1863. - [c] for the German workers

performance, and I was also present myself in a non-speaking capacity on the PLATFORM. I knew that on this occasion 'people who really count' were appearing, both from London and from Paris, and I therefore decided to waive my usual standing rule to DECLINE ANY SUCH INVITATIONS.

(*Le Lubez* is a young Frenchman, i.e. in his thirties; however, he grew up in Jersey and London, speaks capital English and is a very good intermediary between the French and English workers.) (Music teacher and *leçons*[a] OF FRENCH.)

At the MEETING, which was *chock-full* (for THERE IS NOW EVIDENTLY A REVIVAL OF THE WORKING CLASSES TAKING PLACE), Major Wolff (Thurn-Taxis, Garibaldi's adjutant) represented THE LONDON *ITALIAN* WORKINGMEN'S SOCIETY.[20] It was resolved to found a 'WORKINGMEN'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION', whose GENERAL COUNCIL is to have its seat in London and is to 'intermediate' between the workers' SOCIETIES in Germany, Italy, France, and England. Ditto that a General WORKINGMEN'S CONGRESS was to be convened in Belgium in 1865. A PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE was set up at the MEETING, with Odger, Cremer and many others, some of them former Chartists, former Owenites, etc., representing England, Major Wolff, Fontana, and other Italians representing Italy, Le Lubez, etc. for France, Eccarius and myself for Germany. The COMMITTEE was empowered to co-opt as many people as it chose.

SO FAR SO GOOD. I attended the first meeting of the committee. A *Sub-Committee* (including myself) was set up to draft a *déclaration des principes* and provisional rules.[21] Indisposition prevented me from attending the meeting of the Sub-Committee and the subsequent meeting of the full committee.

At these two meetings, which I did not attend,—that of the Sub-Committee and the subsequent one of the full committee—the following occurred:

Major *Wolff* had submitted the regulations (statutes) of the *Italian Workers' Associations* (which possess a central organisation, but, as emerged later, are essentially associated BENEFIT SOCIETIES) to be used by the new Association. I saw the stuff later. It was EVIDENTLY a concoction of *Mazzini's*, and that tells you in advance in what spirit and phraseology the real question, the labour question, was dealt with. As well as how the NATIONALITIES question intruded into it.[22]

What is more, an old Owenite, Weston—now a MANUFACTURER himself, a very amiable and worthy man—had drawn up a

[a] lessons

programme full of extreme confusion and of indescribable breadth.

The subsequent full committee meeting instructed the Sub-Committee to remodel Weston's programme, ditto Wolff's REGULATIONS. Wolff himself left to attend the congress of the ITALIAN WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS in Naples and persuade them to join the central association in London.

A further meeting of the Sub-Committee, which again I did not attend, as I was informed of their rendezvous too late. At this meeting, '*une déclaration des principes*' and a revised version of Wolff's rules were presented by Le Lubez and accepted by the Sub-Committee for submission to the full committee. The full committee met on 18 October. Eccarius wrote to me that it was a case of *periculum in mora*,[a] so I went along and was really shocked when I heard the worthy Le Lubez read out a fearfully cliché-ridden, badly written and totally unpolished preamble PRETENDING TO BE A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, with Mazzini showing through the whole thing from beneath a crust of the most insubstantial scraps of French socialism. What is more, the Italian rules had by and large been adopted, whose aim, apart from all their other faults, was really something quite impossible, a sort of central government of the *European* working classes (with Mazzini in the background, of course). I remonstrated mildly, and, after prolonged debate, Eccarius proposed that the Sub-Committee should subject the thing to further 'editing'. However, the 'SENTIMENTS' expressed in Lubez' DECLARATION were carried.

Two days later, on 20 October, Cremer representing England, Fontana (Italy) and Le Lubez met at my house. (Weston was unable to be present.) I had not previously had the papers (Wolff's and Le Lubez') in my hands, so could not prepare anything; but I was absolutely determined that NOT ONE SINGLE LINE of the stuff should be allowed to stand if I could help it. To gain time, I proposed that before we 'edited' the preamble, we ought to 'discuss' the RULES. This was done. It was 1 o'clock in the morning before the first of the 40 RULES was adopted. Cremer said (*and that was my whole aim*): we have nothing to put before the committee that is to meet on 25 October. We must postpone it until 1 November. But the Sub-Committee can meet on 27 October and attempt to reach a definite conclusion. This was agreed and the 'papers' were 'bequeathed' to me for my perusal.

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[a] danger in delay (Livy, *History of Rome*, Vol. XXXVIII, Chap. 25)

I could see it was impossible to make anything out of the stuff. In order to justify the extremely peculiar way in which I intended to edit the SENTIMENTS that had already been 'carried', I wrote AN ADDRESS TO THE WORKING CLASSES[a] (which was not in the original plan; A SORT OF REVIEW OF THE ADVENTURES OF THE WORKING CLASSES SINCE 1845); on the pretext that all the necessary facts were contained in this 'Address' and that we ought not to repeat the same things three times over, I altered the whole preamble, threw out the *déclaration des principes* and finally replaced the 40 RULES by 10. Insofar as INTERNATIONAL POLITICS is mentioned in the 'Address', I refer to COUNTRIES and not to NATIONALITIES, and denounce Russia, not the *minores gentium.*[b] The Sub-Committee adopted all my proposals. I was, however, obliged to insert two sentences about 'DUTY' and 'RIGHT', and ditto about 'TRUTH, MORALITY AND JUSTICE' in the preamble to the rules,[c] but these are so placed that they can do no harm.[23]

At the meeting of the General Committee my 'ADDRESS', etc., was adopted with great enthusiasm (UNANIMOUSLY). The debate on the form of publication, etc., is to take place next Tuesday.[d] Le Lubez has a copy of the 'Address' for translation into French and Fontana one for translation into Italian. (For a start there is a weekly CALLED *Bee-Hive*,[e] edited by Trade Unionist Potter, a sort of *Moniteur.*) I am to translate the stuff into German myself.

It was very difficult to frame the thing so that our view should appear in a form that would make it ACCEPTABLE to the present outlook of the workers' movement. In a couple of weeks, the same people will be having MEETINGS on the franchise with Bright and Cobden. It will take time before the revival of the movement allows the old boldness of language to be used. We must be *fortiter in re, suaviter in modo.*[f] You will get the stuff as soon as it is printed.

3. *Bakunin* sends his regards. He left today for Italy where he is living (Florence). I saw him yesterday for the first time in 16 years. I must say I liked him very much, more so than previously. With regard to the Polish movement, he said the Russian government had needed the movement to keep Russia itself quiet, but had not counted on anything like an 18-month struggle. They had thus provoked the affair in Poland. Poland had been defeated by two things, the influence of Bonaparte and, secondly, the hesitation of

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[a] K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - [b] smaller nations - [c] K. Marx, 'Provisional Rules of the Association'. - [d] 8 November - [e] *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 160, 5 November 1864. - [f] strong in deed, mild in manner

the Polish aristocracy in openly and unambiguously proclaiming *peasant socialism* from the outset.[24] From now on—after the collapse of the Polish affair—he (Bakunin) will only involve himself in the socialist movement.

On the whole, he is one of the few people whom after 16 years I find to have moved forwards and not backwards. I also discussed Urquhart's DENUNCIATIONS with him. (Apropos: the International Association will probably lead to a rupture between myself and these friends![25]) He inquired a great deal after yourself and Lupus. When I told him of the latter's death, he said straightaway that the movement had suffered an irreplaceable loss.

4. *Crisis.* By no means burnt out on the Continent yet (esp. France). Incidentally, what the crises have lost in intensity, they have now gained in frequency.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 7

## ENGELS TO MARX[26]

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 November 1864

Dear Moor,

Your Frisian solution is quite right, but for one word. In *North* Frisian, *Kimmang* means: look, or eye; these North Frisians are of a speculative disposition and have substituted the *inward* horizon for the outward one, rather as Wagener is now calling for an 'inward Düppel'.[27] It is an old sailors' saying.

The Herwegh and Hatzfeldt papers returned enclosed. What was the further provocation you refer to which Lassalle inflicted on the Walachian[a] and was suppressed by Emma[b]? Lassalle's fatal error was obviously that he did not throw the hossy[c] straight on

[a] Janko von Racowiţa - [b] Emma Herwegh - [c] Helene von Dönniges

the bed in the boarding house and deal with her appropriately, it was not his fine mind but his Jew's pizzle she was interested in. It is yet another of these affairs that only Lassalle could get involved in. That it was *he*, who forced the Walachian into the duel, is doubly crazy.

Old Hatzfeldt's idea that *you* should write an *apotheosis* of the latterday Redeemer[a] is really priceless.

The letter from the Solingen worker[b] was *not* enclosed.

I cannot wait to see the Address to the Workers,[c] it must be a real masterpiece, to judge by what you tell me of the people involved. But it is good that we are again making contact with people who do at least represent their class, which is what really matters ultimately. The effect on the Italians will be particularly good, as there is some chance that this will at last put an end to this *Dio e popolo*[d] among the workers—it will come as quite a surprise to the worthy Giuseppe.[e] Incidentally, I suspect that there will very soon be a split in this new association between those who are bourgeois in their thinking and those who are proletarian, the moment the issues become a little more specific.

Concerning Lupus' legacy, we had a meeting with the lawyer this morning.[8] The sum still owing to you will amount to a little over *£200*; as soon as I have the money, I shall send most of it to you. There are still some details we do not know exactly, so we cannot finally calculate yet. The tax authorities want a list of all the books, and the exact value of the clock Lupus left. Please send me something itemising all the larger works and at the end just: so MANY PAMPHLETS ETC., everything IN ONE CLUMP.

I must close now, as I have to go to a Directors' meeting of the Schiller Institute,[28] of which I am chairman, as you know, to Mr Borchardt's annoyance. Happily, beer has been introduced.

Kind regards to your wife and the girls.

Your

F. E.

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[a] Ferdinand Lassalle - [b] Carl Klings (see this volume, p. 15) - [c] K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - [d] 'God and People' - [e] Mazzini

# 8

## ENGELS TO MARX[29]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 9 November 1864

Dear Moor,

In respect of the legacy,[8] a further £200 enclosed in 2/2 *à* £100 banknotes. All being well, there will be approx. £40 to come. I'll send the other two halves as soon as you telegraph receipt.

You will have received the *Dagblätter*[a] with the celebrated article. Unfortunately, I could not find the 2nd section of the article, but there was not much in it.

The end appears to be approaching at Richmond.[30] However, as long as Lee is not obliged to stay entirely on the defensive, which in particular means pulling all his troops back from the Shenandoah Valley as well, and as long as Richmond is not *completely encircled*, all the advances Grant makes against the defences at Richmond or Petersburg will be of little importance. It is just as it was at Sevastopol, which was not encircled either.[31] I cannot imagine what Monsieur de Beauregard will do, probably no more than Hood before him, if as much. I have no confidence at all in this much-vaunted hero.

I am sending you yesterday's *Guardian*[b]; you must have a look at the RELIEF Committee's report in it, and see what a difference there is between Mr Marie's *ateliers nationaux* and those of your English gentlemen.[32] In the case of the former, tasks of doubtful utility were performed, but most of the money that was spent passed into the hands of the workers, who had lost their jobs. Here, tasks of similarly doubtful importance (but ultimately of definite utility to the bourgeoisie) were also performed, but of the £230,000 a mere £12,100 is going to pass into the hands of the FACTORY OPERATIVES, for whom the whole sum was intended (in other words, just that which is set down as being for UNSKILLED LABOUR). The ACT FOR THE RELIEF OF THE DISTRESSED FACTORY OPERATIVES is thus turned into one FOR THE RELIEF OF THE UNDISTRESSED MIDDLE CLASSES, who thereby save on rates.

All my regards.

Your

F. E.

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[a] i.e. *Dagbladet* - [b] 'Central Executive Relief Committee', *The Manchester Guardian*, No. 5686, 8 November 1864

[Note by Marx]

Please return this letter, as I am going to file it on account of the remarks at the end.

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## 9

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 November 1864

Dear Engels,

I have had to stay mainly *in bed* for almost a week on account of the carbuncle. The thing is now *healing up*. However, as the carbuncle is just below the breast, I still have trouble leaning forward in order to write. So, to keep it as brief as possible:

1. Please send the *enclosed* letters addressed to me back to me (both the one from Schweitzer and the one from Liebknecht) and reply *by return*, as the people need our reply as soon as possible.[34]

My view is that we should *promise* occasional contributions from time to time. It is important for us to have a mouthpiece in Berlin, especially for the sake of the association I was involved in founding in London,[a] and for the sake of the book[b] I am planning to publish. It is also important that whatever we do, we do it *together*.

If you agree with me, you can *send* me a few lines for these chaps, or say in a few lines what statement *I* am to make in your name.

2. You will receive the 'ADDRESS' along with the 'PROVISIONAL RULES', etc., in a few days. The thing was not quite so difficult as you think, because we are dealing with 'workers' all the time. The only LITERARY MAN in the Association is the Englishman, Peter Fox, a writer and AGITATOR who is, at the same time, one of the people from *The National Reformer* (atheist but anti-Holyoake). I am

[a] International Working Men's Association - [b] *Capital*

sending you the very kind note he passed on to me concerning the 'ADDRESS'. Mazzini is RATHER DISGUSTED that his people are among the signatories, *mais il faut faire bonne mine à mauvais jeu.*[a]

3. Your stuff from the *Guardian*[b] I find most valuable. I had already pieced this abomination together from the 'FACTORY REPORTS', but only in a most laborious and fragmentary fashion.

4. 2 COPIES received from the Manchester SOLICITOR for signing, etc. In a day or two, I shall send you the signed copies, along with the list (inventory), etc., which you will then have to record. Of course, I can no longer reel off a complete list of all the stuff we left in the flat, etc., and put a value on it.[8]

That old HUMBUG McCulloch has died. I hope the British Museum buys up his ECONOMICAL LIBRARY. But no doubt Edinburgh will get in first.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

I have just come across P. Fox's letter, which I am enclosing; please send it back as soon as you have had time to peruse it.

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## 10

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 16 November 1864

Dear Moor,

Glad that the carbuncle is getting better. Let us hope it is the last. But do take arsenic.

Acknowledgement from the charming private secretary[c] gratefully received.

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[a] but one has to grin and bear it - [b] *The Manchester Guardian* (see this volume, p. 21) - [c] Laura Marx (a reference to Marx's receipt of money in respect of Wolff's legacy; see this volume, p. 20)

A few lines for Schweitzer enclosed.[35] It is a very good thing that we shall again be getting a voice in the press; also very good that Liebknecht is going to be co-editor (as long as he is under no illusions); that does at least provide some safeguard. Meanwhile, we shall do better if we conceal our enthusiasm, as 1. Liebknecht is no diplomat, and one cannot rely too much on his CLAIRVOYANCE, 2. the countess[a] will, above all, be trying to swamp the paper from beginning to end with a deliberate 'apotheosis',[b] and 3. we really must find out first who else has been approached. Perhaps you are better informed than I am, but in the letters from Liebknecht you sent me there is no mention of the paper nor of this man Schweitzer, so I am very much in the dark. For that reason, I have asked for some clarification about the company we shall be seen to be keeping. We might after all find ourselves cheek by jowl with Mr Karl Grün or some such scum.

And what a dreadful title: *Der Socialdemokrat*! Why do these fellows not simply call it the *Proletarier*?

Enclosed papers returned with thanks. Why haven't you sent the Solingen letter[c] you promised?

Amid the nonsense written by Emma Herwegh,[d] I notice there is a further attempt to turn Lassalle into a demi-god, as follows: only his mighty spirit kept him alive for so long, anyone else would have given up the ghost 2 hours after being wounded—but you ask Allen some time about the way peritonitis develops following a wound, and he will tell you inflammation hardly sets in at all within 2 hours, and is scarcely ever fatal in *less than* 24 hours, and usually not until much later. These people are really given to deification.

Schaaffhausen in Bonn has given a pretty lecture on man and apes, pointing out that Asiatic anthropoids have rounded heads, like the human beings there, but in Africa both are long-headed, and commenting that, with the present state of knowledge, this is the strongest argument against the unity of the human race. Someone ought to try saying that at a gathering of naturalists in England!

It is splendid how Müller and the Rev. Cappell have made fools of that gang Kinkel, Juch & Co. even from the gallows. It is a long time since I have come across anything quite so absurd as the conduct of these fellows. How fortunate Gottfried[e] is in the people whose cases he takes up! First MacDonald, then Müller. And then

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[a] Sophie von Hatzfeldt - [b] of Lassalle - [c] See this volume, pp. 15, 20. - [d] ibid., p. 12. - [e] Gottfried Kinkel

the way these gentlemen threw their weight around was the immediate cause of Koehl cutting that other lad's throat in the Thames marshes.[36] Just you wait and see what a mass of MARE'S NESTS they unearth concerning that affair, too.

Kindest regards to the family.

Your
F. E.

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## 11

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 November [1864]

DEAR FRED,

1. I am sending the stuff for the SOLICITOR. You will have to copy the enclosed inventory and put it into whatever shape you think fit.[a]

2. *Ad vocem*[b] *Solingen.* I had put the letter out READY when I sent you the *last but one* letter-package, and it hasn't been 'seen any more since then'.[c] I suspect it has ensconced itself in a notebook and WILL TURN UP one fine morning.

3. *Ad vocem Schweitzer.*

Is a Dr of Law, formerly of Frankfurt am Main. Published a confused pamphlet *against* Vogt in 1859.[d] Subsequently, a social novel I have not read.[e] Declared his vigorous support for Lassalle. Later, during Lassalle's lifetime, he got to know sundry writings of ours at Liebknecht's house while staying in Berlin and, even at that time, sent me a message through Liebknecht saying how amazed he was at finding that everything about Lassalle that he liked had been plagiarised.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 20, 23. - [b] With regard to - [c] J. W. Goethe, 'Der Fischer'. - [d] J. B. Schweitzer, *Widerlegung von Carl Vogt's Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europa's.* - [e] J. B. Schweitzer, *Lucinde oder Capital und Arbeit.*

I have written, like you, concerning the *prospectus of contributors*.[37] Have sent Liebknecht German translation of the address of the INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE at the same time, with a view to eventual publication in the paper. (The stuff will appear today or tomorrow and will be sent to you.[a])

As far as Lassalle's apotheosis is concerned,[b] the Hamburg *Nordstern*, edited by that jackass Bruhn (who at the same time continues to print *Heinzen's* ELUCUBRATIONS, as though nothing had happened), is exclusively dedicated to this matter just as before, and the *Social-Demokrat* can scarcely compete with it in that respect.

Old Hatzfeldt seems to be most disappointed by the letter I sent in reply to her 'ploy',[c] although it was most delicate and considerate in tone. Since that time, she has—kept silence.

*Social-Demokrat* is a bad title. But there is no need to throw away the best titles immediately on things that may prove to be FAILURES.

Wilhelm Liebknecht is an unquestionably big man among the Berlin workers, as you can see from the Berlin correspondence of *The Morning Star*. I am only afraid he will soon be sent packing.

4. *Ad vocem Peritonitis*,[d] it says in *Andral: 'Clinique Médicale'*: *'La Péritonite aiguë* ... en certains cas un petit nombre d'heures s'écoulent entre l'époque de l'invasion de la maladie et celle de la mort, tandis que d'autres fois la péritonite, toujours aiguë par ses symptômes, ne devient mortelle qu'au bout de 30 à 40 jours.'[e]

And under the rubric:

'*Péritonite par violence extérieure*'[f] he describes the case of a Parisian worker who was kicked in the stomach by a horse, in the region of his navel. Was only taken to the Charité[g] *le surlendemain*, 'offre tous les symptômes d'une phlegmasie aiguë du péritoine'[h] (later confirmed by *ouverture du cadavre*[i]). Died *du 5-ème au 6-ème jour*,[j] and amongst the general OBSERVATIONS concerning this case, it says: 'jusqu'au dernier moment, on n'observe aucun trouble des facultés intellectuelles et sensoriales.'[k]

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[a] K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - [b] See this volume, pp. 20, 24. - [c] ibid., p. 12. - [d] ibid., p. 24. - [e] '*Acute peritonitis* ... in some cases just a few hours elapse between the onset of the disease and death, whereas on other occasions peritonitis, which is always acute in its symptoms, does not cause death for from 30 to 40 days.' - [f] 'Peritonitis due to external violence' - [g] hospital in Paris - [h] two days later, 'exhibits all the symptoms of acute phlegmasia of the peritoneum' - [i] autopsy - [j] on the 5th or 6th day - [k] 'until the very last, no disturbance of the mind or senses is observed' (see G. Andral, *Clinique médicale, ou choix d'observations recueillies à l'hôpital de la Charité (clinique de M. Lerminier)*, t. 4, Paris, 1827, pp. 511, 532, 533)

5. *Take care to keep* the enclosed memorandum for student Blind published in a rag in which he has puffed himself up with surpassing zeal since 1859.[38] This '*Beobachter' est le 'grand' organe de la démocratie Suabaise*[a]!

6. Prof. Huber has held his 'labour convention' with ABOUT 100 workers' associations. He is conservative in politics but a co-operator as far as POLITICAL ECONOMY is concerned. His *Leipzig Convention* nearly ended in a real 'thrashing' for Huber and his comrades, with the great majority declaring themselves to be 'radical' in politics.[39]

7. I gather all kinds of things have been published by the COMMITTEE in Manchester about the COTTON-FAMINE[40]—I mean IN REGARD TO THE WORKINGMEN. Can you get hold of it for me?

8. My chest still hurts me when I write and lean forward. Hence this 'itemised' letter.

Regards to Gumpert.

Ditto to Madame Lizzy.[b]

Your

K. M.

[Enclosure: List relating to W. Wolff's Legacy]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| SILVER WATCH | £2 | |
| *BOOKS*: | | |
| Schlosser, *Weltgeschichte* | £1 | 10s. |
| Schleiden, *Studien* | | 3s. |
| *Schiller's Werke* | | 10s. |
| Duller, *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes* | | 5s. |
| Duncker, *Geschichte* | £1 | |
| Mommsen, *Geschichte* | | 10s. |
| Schoemann, *Griechische Alterthümer* | | 5s. |
| Lange, *Römische Alterthümer* | | 3s. |
| Preller, *Griechische Mythologie* | | 5s. |
| Nösselt, *Weltgeschichte* | | 4s. |
| Völter, *Geographie* | | 5s. |
| Mortimer-Ternaux, *Histoire de la Terreur,* 2 v. | | 5s. |
| Arago, *Astronomie Populaire* | | 10s. |
| Müller, *Physik* | | 3s. |
| Baer, *Magnetismus* | | 1s. |
| Figuier, *Année scientifique,* 3 vol. | | 5s. |

[a] is the '*grand*' organ of Swabian democracy - [b] Lizzy Burns

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mignet, *Révolution française* | | 5s. |
| Egli, *Handelsgeographie* | | 2s. |
| Ritter, *Europa* | | 3s. |
| Cotta, *Geologische Briefe* | | 2s. |
| Garrido, *Spanien* | | 1s. |
| Freytag, *Bilder aus dem Leben des Volkes* | | 2s. |
| Moleschott, *Lehre der Nahrungsmittel* | | 3s. |
| Harting, *Die Macht des Kleinen* | | 1s. |
| Grube, *Biographieen aus der Naturkunde* | | 1s. |
| *Reisen des Marco Polo* | | 1s. |
| Kiesselbach, *Gang des Welthandels* | | 1s. |
| Jacobs, *Hellas* | | 1s. |
| Smith, *English Latin Lexicon* | | 5s. |
| Rost, *Griechisch-Deutsches Lexicon* | | 5s. |
| Giebel, *Säugethiere* | | 5s. |
| Tschudi, *Thierleben der Alpenwelt* | | 5s. |
| Freytag, *Soll und Haben* | | 2s. |
| Pauli, *Bilder aus England* | | 1s. |
| Overbeck, *Pompeji* | | 10s. |
| Guhl, *Leben der Griechen und Römer* | | 10s. |
| Lau, *Sulla* | | 1s. |
| Macauley, *History of England* | | 10s. |
| Frankenheim, *Völkerkunde* | | 1s. |
| *Stieler's Handatlas* | £1 | 10s. |
| Berghaus, *Physikalischer Schulatlas* | | 5s. |
| Spruner, *Historischer Schulatlas* | | 5s. |
| Mozin, *Dictionnaire* | £1 | |
| 55 PAMPHLETS | | 10s. |
| 102 ELEMENTARY SCHOOLBOOKS | £31 | |

I have put a much higher valuation on the stuff than it would fetch if sold, what with the selling-price of SECONDHAND BOOKS in England. On the other hand, all kinds of things are missing that I have not been able to remember. There is thus COMPENSATION. If you want to add anything regarding the other goods and chattels, please do so.

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## 12

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 November 1864

Dear Moor,

I received enclosed today from Schweitzer.[41] Herwegh and Hess—fine company. As things stand and as I am not very familiar with the exact circumstances, I shall have to leave it to you to answer the man *on behalf of both of us*, as he wants his answer by return. Moses[a] of all people!

Please return the letter to me and let me know what you have written, and I can then confirm your statement to him later on.

Solicitor's stuff received.[8]

Kindest regards.

Your
F. E.

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## 13

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, 24 November 1864]

Dear Fredrick,

Letter from the old Hatzfeldt woman enclosed, which I would like sent back *by return*.[42]

Also enclosed the letter from the man in Solingen[b] which has turned up again, and Schweitzer's letter.

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[a] Moses Hess - [b] See this volume, p. 15.

I sent off 3 'Addresses'[a] to you today, 1 for yourself, 1 for Gumpert and 1 for Ernest Jones. If you can distribute some more anywhere (gratis), you only have to ask.

As for Schweitzer, I have written—not to him but to Liebknecht—that we both dislike the company, but we intend FOR A NONCE to adopt *bonne mine à mauvais jeu*,[b] but to *disown* them *immediately* as soon as they do anything silly. I also ask why Bucher and especially *Rodbertus* are not among them![43]

Moses[c] and Herwegh (who are, incidentally, of some stature, compared with B. and Ph. Becker, IN A LITERARY SENSE) are, after all, more highly regarded by people in Germany than by us. At least, one cannot publicly denigrate them, as one can fellows like Grün, etc.

In great haste.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

I have just been obliged to write long letter to the old woman[d] to extricate myself from the Blind affair she has tried to involve me in. Student Blind has, of course, not let the opportunity slip by of puffing himself up, by issuing a 'protest' in the name of the Republic[e] and selecting a few passages from Lassalle's speeches which are indeed quite sickeningly royalist.[44] Also to advise her against reproducing the 'wanted' portraits of her enemies.[45]

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[a] K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - [b] an attitude of grin and bear it - [c] Moses Hess - [d] Sophie von Hatzfeldt - [e] ['A Republican Protest',] *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung*, No. 270, 29 September 1864; 'Republikanischer Protest', *Hermann*, No. 2407, 8 October 1864; *Die Westliche Post*, October-beginning of November 1864.

# 14

# MARX TO SOPHIE VON HATZFELDT

## IN BERLIN

London, 24 November 1864
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

My dear Countess,

I have just informed you by telegraph[46] (to avoid all delay in reply) of my view that the two photograms of von R. *et* Co.[a] should, *in no circumstances*, appear together with Lassalle's in the pamphlet. It would, on the one hand, dishonour the deceased, and, on the other, give the publication a gaudy appearance which should be avoided completely. Furthermore, as you know, '*contra hostem vindicatio aeterna sit*'[b] is my motto too, but, for revenge to be successfully executed, it is advisable *not* to initiate the public in one's vindictive '*intent*'.[45]

'*Ex ossibus ultor*'[c] would seem to me the best title for Lassalle's portrait. They were also my *last words* spoken at the graveside of my never-to-be-forgotten friend W. Wolff[47] some six months ago.

As regards ex-student *Blind*, that fellow who made himself known before 1848 by peddling Heinzen's nonsense and as the *homme entretenu*[d] of the wife of the Jewish banker Cohen[e] (whom he later married in London), so I would ask you to remember that in my piece *Herr Vogt* (see pp. 58-69 and *Appendices* 9 and 11)[f] I do not merely describe this student Blind as a '*deliberate liar*', but I prove by reference to *legal documents* that this wretched man fabricated '*false witness*' to cast suspicion on myself and to extricate his neck from a noose that this creature had made for himself for the purpose of *merely making himself look big* (which is indeed this rascal's sole purpose in every public step, or rather crawl, he undertakes).[48]

Then Blind succeeded in deflecting the catastrophe of his

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[a] Janko von Racowiţa and Helene von Dönniges - [b] A paraphrase of an article from the Twelve Tables (a code of law of ancient Rome) which says: 'Adversus hostem aeterna auctoritas [esto]' (III, 7); Marx uses the word *vindicatio* in the sense of revenge. - [c] 'Let the avenger rise' (Virgil, *Aeneid*, IV, 625: 'ex oriare aliquis nostrius ex ossibus ultor'). - [d] kept man - [e] Friederike Ettlinger, Cohen's and later Karl Blind's wife - [f] See present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 116-32, 315, 317-20.

political operations—by *simply saying nothing.* In this he was sustained firstly by the fact that *Freiligrath* (*this entre nous*[a]) unfortunately continued to parade publicly as his friend, and that *Lassalle,* although I had strongly urged him to do so, neglected to force my pillorying of Blind *d'une manière ou d'une autre*[b] on the attention of the German public.[49] This appeared necessary to me because the liberal press in Germany instinctively took the side of a scoundrel like Blind, and therefore sought to hush up my attack. Lassalle considered Blind too insignificant. It was only later that he discovered that there are times when one cannot decline a 'combat with a flea'.[c]

When Lassalle was here in London,[50] he sought to enlighten Louis Blanc and Mazzini about Blind on his personal visits to them, but in vain. The man is exactly what Mazzini, Ledru, etc., had hoped, but failed, to find in the other Germans of standing, a servile lackey and sycophant. Through his relations with these people he makes the English think that he represents Germany, and he impresses the Germans by his boasting here. Yet the whole of this fellow's activity consists in writing, in conjunction with 3 or 4 South Germans,[d] *from, for and about 'Karl Blind'* and, at every possible opportunity, to force on the English, Germans and Americans his 'unofficial judgment' as the self-appointed representative of '*German republicanism*' (a party, which is well known to exist only on the moon, since the German bourgeois is interested in a constitutional monarchy, the feudal lord in an aristocratic monarchy, and the worker in general not in *mere forms of state,* but in the form of state as the expression of economic social conditions, and, at all events, has never recognised ex-student Blind as representative). He is a true master of dictating letters to one of his 6 satellites,[51] in which they call on the said, etc., 'Karl Blind' to do this or that, or congratulate him on this or that, and then—by oversight or OTHERWISE—the replies from the same Karl Blind gain entry to the press.

As one of the 'YOUNG MEN' who were active in the service of F. Hecker, Blind learnt that art, which is by no means rare among the South Germans, of self-defamation and creating a spurious PUBLIC OPINION about people who are essentially nonentities. In London he thought himself far enough advanced along the road or to have served long enough in the 'Democratic cause' to

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[a] between ourselves - [b] in one way or another - [c] Heinrich Heine, *Atta Troll. Ein Sommernachtstraum,* 11. - [d] Marx presumably has in mind, first and foremost, Eduard Bronner and Karl Heinrich Schaible.

exploit for himself those arts he had acquired in the service of others.

Regarding his education, it is, as I told Lassalle during his sojourn here, that of a *Baden publican*,[a] who has read Rotteck's *Weltgeschichte*, Welker's *Staatslexikon* and Mr Struve's republican Almanac.[b]

In his manoeuvres in Germany Mr Blind enjoys the particular support of Mr *Gustav Rasch* of Berlin.

Bernhard Becker, as the former SUBEDITOR of the London *Hermann*, best knows how Blind composed *with his own fair hand* the paeans of praise to himself that appeared e.g. in the *Hermann*. He does this mostly and on average. By way of variation he will occasionally get a certain *Dr Bronner* in Bradford or his *Schaible* (see '*Herr Vogt*') via London to put their names to *his* epistles. All the agitation of this person is nothing but a tissue of lies, self-deception and hot air. In this field, however, he has no rivals. He demonstrated the height of his dexterity when Garibaldi visited London.[19] He first spread the rumour in the English papers that he was an *intimate* friend of Garibaldi. Imposing himself as is his custom, he issued 'addresses' to Garibaldi from London and you know that in his kind-hearted naivety Garibaldi will write a nice letter back to anyone. Then he descends on the Isle of Wight (before Garibaldi made his ceremonial entry to London), and 'appoints' with him the date on which Garibaldi would receive the German deputation (Blind, you see, had so arranged things as to get a few Germans, including Kinkel and *unfortunately* my friend Freiligrath as well, to elect him as the leader of a deputation) and at the same time sends mysterious hints to some London papers[c] that Garibaldi WAS '*CLOSETED*' WITH 'HIS FRIEND' (Blind) and, of course, settled some very important affairs of state with him.[52] But Blind's masterstroke is still to come. As serving-man to the European 'kings of democracy'[d] (for so he designates Mazzini, Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, and indeed COMPARED WITH student Blind even they are 'great men'[e]), our Baden trickster manages so to arrange things that he, as a member of the society and a leader, fetches Garibaldi from the Duke of Sutherland's, where he is staying, and escorts him in the Duke's State Carriage

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[a] An allusion to Karl Blind's father, Johann Adam Blind who was a publican in Mannheim. - [b] G. Struve, *Die neue Zeit. Ein Volkskalender auf das Jahr 1.* - [c] 'Interview of Karl Blind with Garibaldi', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 22726, 11 April 1864. - [d] Marx quotes Karl Blind - [e] Cf. the title of Marx and Engels' pamphlet: *The Great Men of the Exile* (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 227-326).

to Ledru Rollin and Louis Blanc. He seizes the opportunity to have the carriage stand for a while outside Mr Blind's house for Garibaldi to 'PAY HIS COMPLIMENTS TO Madame Karl Blind'. By skilful MANAGEMENT all this even appears in *The Times*,[a] and at the moment when Garibaldi is being idolized by all London. Perhaps you recall how 'Rameau', the nephew, in Diderot's wonderful piece, bursts out in admiration at the genius of Bouret, the general tax-collector, who cunningly devised a way to disaffect his little dog from himself and make it prefer the minister! This Garibaldi-farce was Blind's Bouret-prank! It is my belief that from that time on he began *bona fide* to think himself a great man! He has really got hold of something with Schleswig-Holstein! Did you not know then that for years Blind has been deriving his chief importance from acting as a 'representative' for Schleswig-Holstein against Denmark, saying 'he' had 'forced' the German tyrants into war against Denmark,[9] and that was why friend Rasch dedicated his piece about the 'orphaned' kith and kin[b] to him! Did you not know that in the Prussian House Prof. Virchow (probably at Mr Rasch's instigation) cited Blind's great influence in the Schleswig-Holstein affair[c] as proof of what a single man can do by his own efforts for a whole nation! The shameless man had made those German jackasses believe that he had got the English to change their view of Schleswig-Holstein! His feeble leaflets about Schleswig-Holstein are just about (and that is saying something) the most stupid thing that has appeared in this LINE. (Incidentally, Mr ex-student's best friend and associate is that lout Karl Heinzen in America, whose business for 20 years past has been to slander me in a manner such as even Lassalle never experienced. I have *never* thought it worth the trouble to reply to this fellow, but I was astonished that the *Nordstern*—for a long time also a major mouthpiece for student Blind—is *constantly* printing Heinzen's filth, which is extremely hostile to the principles of the workers' party, and generally makes propaganda for Mr Heinzen.)

But Garibaldi, Schleswig-Holstein, America, Lassalle, all are for the ex-student only a pretext for puffing up his own self-importance! The modest fellow wrote in his own fair hand a short while ago to the '*Glasgow Sentinel*' that the whole of Europe

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[a] 'General Garibaldi', *The Times*, 19 April 1864. - [b] G. Rasch, *Vom verlassenen Bruderstamm. Das dänische Regiment in Schleswig-Holstein*, Bd. 1-3; *Vom verrathenen Bruderstamm. Der Krieg in Schleswig-Holstein im Jahre 1864*. Bd. 1-2. - [c] R. Virchow's speech in the House of Representatives on 9 December 1863. In: *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen der* [...] *beiden Häuser des Landtages, Haus der Abgeordneten*, 13 Sitzung, Bd. 1.

(literally) was not yet divided into two hostile camps with regard to 'Karl Blind', but that a *tiers parti* existed in this respect, too![a] In *The Observer* he describes himself as 'THE ILLUSTRIOUS CHIEF OF THE GERMAN REPUBLICANS'.[b]

A few more little touches to the description of this man, who, if one views him aright, is a *highly comical character.*

After his success with Garibaldi MR KARL BLIND JOINED THE SHAKESPEARE COMMITTEE,[53] as was stated in the *Athenaeum*![c] He had now clearly progressed to the status of 'literary' representative of Germany, too!

During the skirmish in Baden (1849),[54] Struve, as he himself recounts in a piece about the 'Baden revolution',[d] sent the 'young man', as he calls Blind, as Under-Secretary to Schütz, who had been appointed Secretary, from Mainz to Paris, to rescue ex-student Blind from conflict with Brentano. The government to which Blind was directed as Under-Secretary to Secretary Schütz,—the *provisional government no longer existed* when Secretary and Under-Secretary arrived in Paris. Nevertheless, in mysterious hints in English papers, he let it be understood that he held an important diplomatic post as agent of the German 'republican government' in Paris!

In the first few years after 1849 he lived in *Belgium* with his present wife. Since this woman has children from her marriage to the dead banker (and they inherited) and she also has children by Blind (at that time still illegitimate), a court in Baden ruled that Cohen's children should be taken away from his widow Cohen because of her 'immoral' relations with ex-student Blind. The court in Brussels gave this ruling legal force in Belgium, and this caused Blind to flee to England together with his wife and the children. He later got English papers to print (and was brazen enough to boast *publicly* of it on a visit to South Germany) that he had been *expelled* from Belgium for **political** reasons![e]

His next deed you will see from the enclosed cutting, which he had printed in many London papers. What provoked it was the report disseminated in some papers that Garibaldi had declared his support for the *slave-owners*! Blind used this to extort a short letter from Garibaldi with 'CORDIAL GREETINGS FOR MRS BLIND'. You can see what lies he told Garibaldi from his remark 'I THANK YOU FOR YOUR

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[a] 'M. Karl Blind', *North British Daily Mail*, 30 March 1863. - [b] Marx refers to the reports on Blind's meetings with Garibaldi published in *The Observer*, Nos. 3804, 3805 and 3806, 10, 17 and 24 April 1864. - [c] *The Athenaeum*, No. 1902, 9 April 1864. - [d] G. Struve, *Geschichte der drei Volkserhebungen in Baden*. - [e] 'M. Karl Blind', *North British Daily Mail*, 30 March 1863.

GOOD NEWS'.[a] What on earth could this 'GOOD NEWS' have been in October 1864? Blind was obviously writing Garibaldi the most monstrous lies about the progress of 'republicanism' in Germany, which is presumably just awaiting Blind's arrival to lash out.

The most splendid aspect of the affair is that the London paper to which Blind is a regular contributor, the *mouthpiece of the publicans* (a most appropriate context to a 'Blind'), is a fanatical supporter of the Confederates![b] And by the by, the paper—*The Morning Advertiser*—is at one and the same time the mouthpiece of spirits, the LOW CHURCH (English pietism),[55] the SWELL-MOB which is concerned with gambling, PRICEFIGHTS AND SO FORTH, and the most lickspittling poodle of Palmerston's. FROM A LITERARY STANDPOINT, it cannot be counted among the English daily press and is in general only read in TAPROOMS.

So much for the man.

In Lassalle's lifetime he issued an address casting doubt on the former's integrity.[56] But Lassalle—as far as I know—did not think it worth the trouble of a reply. I was only surprised that B. Becker, who is fully aware of Blind's doings, did not then take the opportunity to blazon abroad *my revelations about Blind.*[c]

One of the reasons why I have joined the International Working Men's Association here is to expose that man. After the statements I have made against Blind, branding him as a '*deliberate liar*' and a '*falsifier of evidence*', I cannot of course further involve myself in polemic against the fellow. I reserve the right to treat him as a *figure of comedy* should the occasion arise. If I should now take his scrawl against Lassalle, which I have incidentally *not seen*, as grounds for an attack on him, people here, who know of my implacable hostility to Blind, will think that in fact I am only using Lassalle's name as a pretext for personal spite.

But do send me the (printed) declaration by the workers. I shall ensure that it gets into a *German* paper here and if student Blind then makes any further moves, perhaps he will give me the opportunity to let me fall upon him.

At all events, you may depend on it that he will be shown *no* favours. In the meantime, the best thing you can do is to disseminate my revelations about Blind as a '*deliberate liar*' and '*falsifier*' as far as possible *in Germany*. (If his scrawl about Lassalle had set any mice stirring here, a word or two about it *at all events*

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[a] Blind published Garibaldi's letter to him in *The Morning Advertiser*, 9 November 1864. - [b] i.e. the southern slave-owning states - [c] Marx means his revelations about Blind in *Herr Vogt*.

would have reached my ears.) This would force him to break his silence and so enable me to open my mouth again concerning a fellow whom I have *publicly* declared to be *atrocious.*

Apart from anything else, it would be quite impossible for me to travel to Berlin on account of the fresh outbreak of the fearful carbuncle disease that I have been struggling against for 14 months with slight interruptions.

You may, however, be sure that I shall seize whatever opportunity I find appropriate (but you will have to leave it to me to choose whatever moment appears favourable to me) to rebuff all malicious attacks on the friend who has been prematurely taken from me.

Yours very respectfully
K. M.

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## 15

## ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[57]

### IN ST LOUIS

Manchester, 24 November 1864

Dear Weydemeyer,

I was most pleased to hear from you again at long last.[58] We have been without your address for years, otherwise you would already have received a reminder from me earlier on. My address is still Ermen & Engels and will probably continue to be so for five years or so yet, unless the storm breaks in Germany. Marx' address is No. 1, Modena Villas, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, London, but Dr Marx, London, will also suffice if need be.

Our plump little pig Blind is showing off here in Europe, wherever he can, just as he did over there, it is the only little pleasure the poor wee creature has, and he indulges it with an assiduity worthy of a better cause and greater success. However, ever since Marx belaboured him so thoroughly in *Herr Vogt*, he has been keeping out of our range.

As far as Lassalle's flirtations with Bismarck are concerned, they are beyond dispute. The passages quoted by Blind[a] were, of course, actually uttered by Lassalle in the speech he made in Düsseldorf in his defence and published by him, so there is nothing to be done there.[15] For all his distinctive qualities, Lassalle had that Jewish respect for momentary success, which made it impossible for him to deny Louis Bonaparte his respect, or to refrain from professing such overtly Bonapartist principles as he did. Those, who were more closely acquainted with him, knew that these things were not occasional happenings. You can readily imagine that this was as disagreeable to us as it was grist to the mill of piglet Blind, and that alone would have been sufficient ground for us to have had nothing to do with all Lassalle's agitation during his lifetime, although there were other reasons, too. Nevertheless, that is all over and done with now, and we shall have to see whether his agitation was just a flash in the pan, or whether there was really something to it.

You will have heard that our poor Lupus died here on 9 May of this year. His was a loss for the party of an altogether different order from Lassalle's. We shall never again find such a steadfast fellow, who knew how to talk to the people and was always there when things were at their most difficult. For 4 long weeks he had the most terrible headaches, his German doctor[b] neglected him, and at length a vessel burst in his brain from the colossal pressure of the blood, he gradually lost consciousness and died 10 days later.

Nothing of much interest is happening here in Europe. The suppression of the Polish uprising[24] was the last decisive event; for his assistance in this, the Tsar[c] gave Bismarck permission to take Schleswig-Holstein from the Danes. It will be a long time before Poland is capable of rising again, even with help from outside, and yet Poland is quite indispensable to us. The despicable behaviour of the liberal German philistines is to blame; if those curs in the Prussian Chamber had had more insight and courage, all might be well—Austria was ready to march in support of the Poles at any time, and it was only Prussia's attitude that prevented it, and the treachery of Mr Bonaparte, who was, of course, only prepared to keep his promises to the Poles if he could do so *safely*, i.e. if he was covered by Prussia and Austria.

That war of yours over there[11] is really one of the most

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[a] 'Ein republikanischer Protest', *Die Westliche Post*, October-beginning of November 1864. - [b] Louis Borchardt - [c] Alexander II

stupendous things that one can experience. Despite the numerous blunders made by the Northern armies (enough by the South, too), the tide of conquest is rolling slowly but surely onward, and, in the course of 1865, at all events the moment will undoubtedly come when the *organised* resistance of the South will fold up like a pocket-knife, and the warfare turn into banditry, as in the Carlist war in Spain[59] and more recently in Naples.[12] A people's war of this kind, on both sides, has not taken place since great states have been in existence, and it will, at all events, point the direction for the future of the whole of America for hundreds of years to come. Once slavery, the greatest shackle on the political and social development of the United States, has been broken, the country is bound to receive an impetus from which it will acquire quite a differed position in world history within the shortest possible time, and a use will then soon be found for the army and navy with which the war is providing it.

It was incidentally quite understandable that the North had some difficulty in providing itself with an army and generals. From the outset, the South's oligarchy had brought the country's few military forces under its control, it supplied the officers and furthermore raided the arsenals. The North found itself with no resources other than the militia, while the South had been training for years. From the outset, the South had a population accustomed to the saddle for use as light cavalry, on a scale the North could not match. The North adopted the habit, introduced from the South, of filling positions with party supporters; the South, in the midst of a revolution and with a military dictatorship, could brush that aside. Hence, all the blunders. I do not deny that Lee is a better general than any the North has, and that his latest operations around the fortified camp at Richmond[30] are masterpieces from which our glorious Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia could learn much. But, ultimately, the determined attacks of Grant and Sherman made all strategy superfluous. It is clear that Grant is sacrificing a colossal number of men, but what else could he do? I have absolutely no idea of the level of discipline in your army, its cohesion under fire, its capacity and willingness to endure hardship, and in particular the nature of its *MORALE*, i.e. what can be demanded of it without its becoming demoralised. With such scanty reports and no proper maps, one needs to know all this before permitting oneself any judgment on this side of the water. What does seem certain to me, however, is that the army now commanded by Sherman is the best you have, as superior to Hood's as Lee's is to Grant's.

Your field-manual and elementary tactics are, as I hear, positively French—the basic formation thus presumably being the column with intervals between platoons. What kind of field artillery do you now have? If you can enlighten me on these points, I shall be greatly obliged. What has become of the great Anneke? Since the battle at Pittsburgh-Landing was all but lost[60] because he was not supplied with everything which he should have had, according to the Prussian field-manual, he has quite vanished from my view. Of the Germans who have joined in the war, Willich appears to have given the best account of himself, whereas Sigel has UNMISTAKEABLY demonstrated his mediocrity. And Schurz, the valiant Schurz, farting away amidst the shower of bullets and shells, what foes is he demolishing now?

Apropos. The Prussian cannons that smashed Düppel[a] and Sonderburg[61] from 6,500 paces were our old long bronze 24-pounders, rifled and rebuilt as breech-loaders, 54-pound shells with 4-pound-charge! I've seen them with my own eyes.

Kindest regards to your wife.[b]

Your
F. Engels

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## 16

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 November [1864]

DEAR FREDERICK!

Weydemeyer's letter returned enclosed (how odd it should come at the same time as the one from the countess[c])[58] with Schweitzer's letter,[d] which I forgot to enclose yesterday.

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[a] Danish name: Dybböl. - [b] Louise Weydemeyer - [c] Sophie von Hatzfeldt - [d] See this volume, p. 29.

I still need to hold on to the 'clipping'.[a]

The position is now as follows:

1. It was not until after I wrote to you that I saw that Blind has sent an answer to the Swabian *Beobachter* via Dr Bronner (unsigned, of course, but dated Bradford; letter, naturally, *written* by *Blind himself*, in which he firstly proves that by his influence over '7' million Germans he in fact shaped American politics; secondly, he has the impudence to say that the Vogt affair has been disposed of by statements from all sides.[62] So, I have grounds here for replying and referring to the 'AFFIDAVITS',[63] and, at the same time, an extract from Weydemeyer's letter would kill two birds with one stone, firstly exposing Blind's influence on America and secondly giving the old countess some kind of satisfaction as far as Lassalle is concerned.

2. These *'Republican Protests'*, which Blind has sent with the *same date* to St Louis, Frankfurt am Main and the London *Hermann*, are only *identical* in their general drift. In the shit in the *Hermann* and the *Frankfurter Journal*,[b] which I shall try to send you later today, this *Baden publican*[c] has simply put together the passages which were *most damaging* to ourselves, whilst across the ocean he is more insolent and resorts to bare-faced lies.

But the *real* '*POINT*' is this, a 'POINT' typical of the way he manufactures his pamphlets: in the *European* edition he says that the protest comes from *American and European republicans*, whilst in the American edition he calls upon the *American government* to protest. Here we have caught the dog *in flagranti*.[d]

3. Since Lassalle is dead and can do no more harm, we must of course—as far as possible, i.e. without compromising ourselves—defend him against these petty-bourgeois scoundrels.

My plan is therefore this: to reply (briefly) in the *Swabian Beobachter*; 1. putting the record straight about the '*statements from all sides*' in the Vogt affair; 2. giving an extract from Weydemeyer's letter about Blind's influence in America; 3. exposing the fellow afresh by comparing the European and American editions of his 'Republican Protest'; finally 4. concluding that it is NOT WORTH WHILE defending Lassalle against such a comical character.

If this seems all right to you, send me a wire and I will tie the whole business up tomorrow, amongst other things in order to have some peace with the 'old girl'. I said in my letter to her, by

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[a] from *Die Westliche Post* with Blind's article 'Ein republikanischer Protest' - [b] *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung* - [c] See this volume, p. 33. - [d] red-handed

the way, that Lassalle only has himself to blame for being kicked by that jackass, because, although I strongly and repeatedly urged him to do so, he did not give all possible publicity in Germany to my denunciation of Blind in *Herr Vogt*.[a]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 17

## MARX TO SOPHIE VON HATZFELDT

IN BERLIN

[London,] Saturday, 26 November 1864

My dear Countess,

These few lines in the greatest of haste (there being just time before the last post goes) to inform you that I have been fortunate enough to be vouchsafed the opportunity to get a hold on Blind *immediately* and deliver him a vigorous kick for his attack on our Lassalle.[62]

I shall send you my attack on him on Monday which will appear in the form of a short letter to the Stuttgart *Beobachter*.[b] You will then learn of the circumstances of the case, too.

Yours very respectfully
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, p. 30. - [b] K. Marx, 'To the Editor of the Stuttgart *Beobachter*'.

## 18

## MARX TO SOPHIE VON HATZFELDT

IN BERLIN

London, 28 November 1864

My dear Countess,

From the enclosed[a] you will see the circumstances that have presented me with the opportunity to renew my tussle with ex-student Blind and, at the same time, deliver him a kick in the name of Lassalle.

You must arrange for publication in the papers at your disposal, but *not before two days have elapsed* after you receive this, so that Mayer of Swabia—i.e. the editor of the *Beobachter* in Stuttgart—has no excuse for refusing it.[64]

Yours very respectfully
K. Marx

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## 19

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[57]

IN ST LOUIS

London, 29 November 1864
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, N. W.

Dear Weiwi,

The whole household and myself were extraordinarily pleased to hear from you and your family again. My wife asserts that she wrote to yours[b] *last* and is thus expecting to have the first letter back from her.

[a] K. Marx, 'To the Editor of the Stuttgart *Beobachter*'. - [b] Louise Weydemeyer

I am, at the same time, sending you by mail 4 copies of a printed 'Address',[a] of which I am the author. The newly established INTERNATIONAL Workers' Committee, in whose name it has been put out, is not without significance. Its *English* members consist chiefly of the heads of the TRADE-UNIONS here, in other words, the real worker-kings of London, the same people who organised that gigantic reception for Garibaldi and who, by that monster meeting in St James's Hall (under Bright's chairmanship), prevented Palmerston declaring *war on the United States*, which he was on the point of doing.[19] On the French side, the members are unimportant figures, but they are the direct spokesmen of the leading 'workers' in Paris. There is likewise a link with the Italian associations, which recently held their congress in Naples.[22] Although I have been systematically refusing to participate in any way whatsoever in all the 'organisations', etc. for years now, I accepted *this time* because it concerns a matter by means of which it is possible to have a significant influence.

For the past 14 months I have been suffering almost constantly from carbuncles, which often threatened my life. More or less cured now.

Engels will have written to you of the loss of our friend Lupus.[b]

Curiously enough, I received a letter from Berlin last Friday, in which the old Hatzfeldt woman urged me to defend Lassalle against Blind's 'Republican Protest'.[42] The next day I received your letter to Engels, containing the *much amended American* edition of the same garbage. By a third coincidence, I was, at the same time, sent 2 numbers of the Swabian *Beobachter* (from Stuttgart) which I never see otherwise. In the first number the editor[c] was poking fun at a letter from Mr Blind to the American nation which had been translated from the English by 'Mr Blind' and sent to him and to other South German editors; in it, '*almost at official request*', as he puts it, he gives his inexpert opinion on Lincoln's election, etc.[d] In the same number, the editor said that one can see from my book attacking Vogt[e] what Blind's vanity leads to, etc. Whereupon, Blind sent the *enclosed* reply through his man-of-straw, Dr Bronner of Bradford, 1. setting out just how powerful his influence in America was, and 2. having the impudence to say that the Vogt affair was 'a put-up-job'.[62] This then enabled me (using your letter and copying the passages relating to Blind) to put out the

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[a] 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - [b] Wilhelm Wolff - [c] Karl Mayer - [d] 'Bescheidenheit — ein Ehrenkleid', *Der Beobachter*, No. 245, 21 October 1864. - [e] *Herr Vogt*

statement[a] as desired by the old Hatzfeldt woman against that clown, without identifying myself with those aspects of Lassalle's agitation[b] which are not to my liking. Write soon.

Your
K. Marx

The source of Blind's boastful epistle which I am copying out for you is No. 268 of the *Beobachter* (Stuttgart), 17 Nov., 1864.

It is absolutely essential that you write me a few lines, *suitable for publication*, about Mr Blind's *American* influence.

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## 20

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[65]

### IN HANOVER

London, 29 November 1864
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, N. W.

Dear Friend,

Today you will receive from me by post 6 copies of the 'ADDRESS OF THE WORKINGMEN'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION',[c] of which I am the author. Please be so good as to convey a copy with my kindest regards to Madame Markheim (Fulda). Give one to Mr Miquel as well.

The Association—or rather its Committee—is important because the leaders of the London TRADE-UNIONS belong to it, the same people who organised that enormous reception for Garibaldi and thwarted Palmerston's plan for a war with the United States by means of the monster meeting in St James's Hall.[19] The leaders of the Parisian workers are also in contact with it.

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[a] K. Marx, 'To the Editor of the Stuttgart *Beobachter*'. - [b] See this volume, pp. 40-42. - [c] 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'

In the last few years I have been much afflicted with illness (e.g., in the last 14 months by a recurrence of carbuncles). My private circumstances have improved in consequence of a legacy from the death of my mother.[a]

I think that my book on capital (60 sheets) will at last be ready for the press next year.[66]

You will doubtless understand the reasons for *not* allowing myself to become involved in Lassalle's movement in his lifetime, without my spelling them out in detail. However, that cannot deter me—the more so since persons close to him are urging me to do so—from taking up his defence, now that he is dead, against such despicable curs as the clamorous K. Blind.[b]

I am afraid that in mid-spring or early summer of next year there will be war between Italy, Austria and France. This will be very damaging for the movement in France and England, which is growing significantly.

I hope to hear from you soon.

Yours very respectfully
K. Marx

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 1, Stuttgart, 1901-1902

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## 21

## MARX TO LION PHILIPS[67]

IN ZALT-BOMMEL

London, 29 November 1864
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Uncle,

I hope that you are in the best of health despite the ABOMINABLE weather. All is well here. Except that, to the great alarm of the whole family, I had a most malignant carbuncle below the left breast at the beginning of this month, which kept me in great pain for 2-3 weeks. Other than that, everything has been going well.

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[a] Henrietta Marx (died 30 November 1863) - [b] See this volume, pp. 40-42.

The trade crisis, which I predicted to you long before its actual arrival,[a] has by this time long since lost its edge, although its consequences in the manufacturing districts proper are still very considerable. On the other hand, I believe a political crisis is to be expected in the spring or early summer. Bonaparte has again reached the point where he will have to make war again if he is to raise a loan. The Venetian business is being kept open (I am acquainted with some of the agents there) so that it can provide a point of contact if need be.[68] It is possible that Bonaparte will again find a way out, and then he will keep the peace (for he is no REAL Napoleon), but that is rather improbable.

The enclosed printed 'Address'[b] is written by myself. The matter hangs together like this: in September the Parisian workers sent a delegation to the London workers to demonstrate support for Poland. On that occasion, an international Workers' Committee was formed. The matter is not without importance because 1. in London the same people are at the head who organised the gigantic reception for Garibaldi and, by their monster meeting with Bright in St James's Hall, *prevented war with the United States.*[19] In a word, these are the real workers' leaders in London, with one or two exceptions all workers themselves. 2. On the Parisian side, Mr Tolain (*ouvrier*[c] himself, as well) *et* Co. are at the head, i.e., the same people who were prevented by a mere intrigue on the part of Garnier-Pagès, Carnot, etc., from entering the Corps législatif at the last elections in Paris as representatives of the workers there,[4] and 3. on the Italian side, it has been joined by the representatives of the 4-500 Italian workers' clubs which held their general congress in Naples some weeks ago,[22] an event which even *The Times* considered important enough to merit a few dozen lines in the paper.[d]

Courtesy toward the French and the Italians, who always require florid language, has obliged me to include a few superfluous turns of phrase in the preamble to the 'Rules',[e] though not in the 'Address'.[23]

A few days ago I received a letter from America from my friend Weydemeyer, Colonel in the regiment stationed at St Louis (Missouri). Amongst other things, he writes—and these are his exact words:

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[a] Marx to Lion Philips, 17 August 1864 (present edition, Vol. 41). - [b] 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - [c] worker - [d] *The Times*, No. 25021, 4 November 1864. - [e] K. Marx, 'Provisional Rules of the Association'.

'We are regrettably being detained here at St Louis, since, in view of the many "conservative" elements here, a military force is a continuing necessity to prevent a break-out and the possible release of the numerous Southern prisoners.... The whole campaign in Virginia is a BLUNDER, which has cost us innumerable men. But for all that, the South will not be able to hold out much longer: it has sent its last man into battle and has no fresh army to call upon. The present invasion of Missouri, like the incursions into Tennessee, has only the character of a RAID, a foray: there can be no thought of a lasting re-occupation of districts that have been lost.'[a]

When you reflect, my dear Uncle, how at the time of Lincoln's election $3^1/_2$ years ago it was only a matter of making *no further concessions* to the slave-owners, whereas now the avowed aim, which has in part already been realised, is the *abolition of slavery*, one has to admit that *never* has such a gigantic revolution occurred with such rapidity. It will have a highly beneficial influence on the whole world.

At a public MEETING this week the fellow-member of our race *Benjamin Disraeli* has again made a dreadful laughing-stock of himself by assuming the mantle of guardian angel of the HIGH CHURCH[69] and CHURCH RATES, repudiating criticism in religious affairs.[b] He furnishes the best evidence of how a great talent unaccompanied by conviction creates rogues, albeit gold-braided and 'RIGHT HONORABLE' ones.

Those jackasses in Germany have again made a proper laughing-stock of themselves over the Müller affair,[36] with ex-parson Kinkel at their head.

With kindest regards from the whole family to you and from me to Jettchen, Dr, Fritz[c] *et* Co.

Ever your faithful nephew

K. M.

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[a] Marx quotes from J. Weydemeyer's letter to Engels written in October 1864. - [b] An account of Disraeli's speech at the meeting in Oxford on 25 November 1864 was published in *The Times*, No. 25040, 26 November 1864. - [c] Henriette van Anroij, Dr van Anroij and Friedrich Philips

# 22

## MARX TO ENGELS[29]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 December 1864

DEAR FRED,

THANKS FOR THE *GUARDIAN*.[a]

I did send on a few COPIES of the 'Address'[b] to E. Jones afterwards, with a letter to him saying that he would probably receive one from you first. He writes today that he has neither seen nor heard anything from you. His address is 55, not 52, Cross Street. He says in his letter that, when the Assizes are over, he will form a branch association in Manchester amongst his acquaintances.

Could you by any chance dig up the address of the musician *Petzler* (maybe from the Manchester directory, or the Schiller Association[28])? He has *a lot of* contacts among the Manchester workers, and without ANY INTERVENTION ON YOUR PART I could put him in touch with E. Jones *from here*. You would only need to send me Petzler's address.

The worst thing about agitation of this kind is that one gets very BOTHERED as soon as one becomes involved in it. E.g. Address to Lincoln now on the agenda again, and again I had to compose the thing[c] (which is far more difficult than writing a proper work)—so that the phraseology to which that kind of writing is limited, is at least distinguishable from vulgar-democratic phraseology.[70] Fortunately, Mr Fox is doing the Polish business which is coming up in connection with 29 November, the anniversary of the Polish revolution of 1830.[71]

In the Committee, since the address for Lincoln is to be handed over to Adams, *some* of the English wanted to have the deputation introduced BY A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT—as is CUSTOMARY. This desire was suppressed by the majority OF the ENGLISH and the unanimity of the continentals, and it was declared instead that such OLD ENGLISH CUSTOMS OUGHT TO BE ABOLISHED. On the other hand: M. Le Lubez, as a real *crapaud*,[d] wanted the address to be directed not to Lincoln but TO THE

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[a] *The Manchester Guardian* - [b] K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - [c] K. Marx, 'To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America'. - [d] philistine

AMERICAN PEOPLE. I made him look suitably foolish and made it clear to the English that FRENCH DEMOCRATIC ETIQUETTE is not worth a FARTHING more than MONARCHICAL ETIQUETTE.

Apropos. Naturally it is impossible to have a movement here without its own press-organ. *The Bee-Hive* (weekly, organ of the TRADES-UNIONS) was therefore declared to be the organ of the Association. By a stroke of ill-luck, to which the workers are particularly susceptible, a scoundrel called *George Potter* (in the BUILDING STRIKES[72] he acted as MOUTHPIECE in *The Times*, but with articles written not by *himself* but by *others*) has installed himself as MANAGER with a clique of shareholders, who have so far formed the majority. The COMMITTEE, whose English members are mostly *Bee-Hive* shareholders (a share costs only 5s., and no one can have more than 5 votes, even if he holds 5,000 shares; thus 1 vote per share up to a maximum of 5), has therefore decided that we should set up a share-fund here which will enable us to create shareholders AND TO SWAMP THE OLD MAJORITY. I would appreciate it if you would let us have a contribution for this purpose as well. The whole operation must, of course, be confined to the close friends of the members of the Committee, as otherwise counter-measures would be promptly taken by the other side (i.e. before the GENERAL MEETING OF SHAREHOLDERS which is not far off now).

Besides the *Hermann*, there was also another little paper here, the *Londoner Anzeiger*, which belongs to the worthy Jewish bookseller Bender. It is trying to build itself up as a competitor to the *Hermann*, as the editorship has been taken over by a certain L. Otto von Breidtschwerdt, although he writes under the name of L. Otto. I shall hardly become directly involved in the thing at all, as I had my fill with the *Volk*, but it is good for reprinting statements in London as soon as they appear in the German newspapers, e.g. like the one against Blind.[a]

This Otto first got to know Eccarius, at whose suggestion he became a German member of the INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE. He is a Swabian, Stuttgarter born and bred. Quite a young fellow, ABOUT 27 OR 28. Very much like my wife's elder brother.[b] Began as a cadet in the Austrian army, where he learnt all kinds of languages and was stationed all over the place. Subsequently studied in Tübingen. As a person, he is a very pleasant, witty fellow and well-mannered. His head is still stuffed full of petty Swabianisms and Germanic nonsense. For all that, very good knowledge and ability. But he

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[a] K. Marx, 'To the Editor of the Stuttgart *Beobachter*'. - [b] Ferdinand von Westphalen

seems to me to have more inclination than a gift for writing; dull, doctrinaire. He is useful as a go-between with South Germany and especially the Land of the Swabians. Also writes in the *Augsburger*[a] from time to time, which is, incidentally, entirely what you would expect from the Vogt standpoint.

I wrote to Mr Klings that it was difficult, but also quite unnecessary, to decide between Moses and Bernhard.[b] Both were honest and both incompetent. I said that, at the present moment, it was neither here nor there who has the title of President. When the time became decisive, there would be no difficulty in finding the right people.[c]

I am very much afraid I can feel another carbuncle starting on my right hip. Allen knows nothing about it as I have been treating myself for some time. If I went to him now about the arsenic business, which after all you cannot start without a doctor and to which he might perhaps not even agree, he would give me the most dreadful dressing down for having been carbuncling for so long behind his back!!

YOURS
K. M.

In his reply to Mayer the Swabian (via his man-of-straw Bronner),[d] Blind states that Lincoln and Frémont were fighting for his vote because it would decide the ELECTION.[62] And in an American newspaper, *The Radical Democrat*,[e] that *he* was responsible for the *Polish* revolution.

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[a] *Allgemeine Zeitung* - [b] Moses Hess and Bernhard Becker - [c] See this volume, p. 2. - [d] [K. Blind,] Article marked 'Bradford, 25. Oct.', *Der Beobachter*, No. 268, 17 November 1864 - [e] *Missouri Democrat*

## 23

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 December 1864

Dear Engels,

You will find enclosed

1. *Free Press.*[a]
2. Swabian *Beobachter.*

(With the latter, I have managed to get the fellow at least to adopt an ironical tone towards Blind again, whereas, as a result of the letter transmitted by Bronner,[b] he was so bowled over by Blind's boasting—I have sent the scrawl to *Weydemeyer*—that he absolutely drew in his horns and paid compliments to the '*excellent man*'. Incidentally, the editor—*hinc illae lacrimae*[c]—is the man whom I referred to in *Herr Vogt* as the 'garrulous Swabian, Karl Mayer',[d] and who is moreover the son of that Mayer the Swabian so incessantly derided by Heine.[73])

3. Letter enclosed from Red Becker.[e] I had, you see, sent a copy of the statement[f] to the *Rheinische Zeitung.* Please return Becker's letter to me.[74]

*Apropos Liebknecht.* At the end of the year he is, of course, in a very tight spot. I have sent him money several times in the course of the last six months and now I want to send his wife[g] something in the form of a Christmas present for the children, since I know they are in dire straits. I would appreciate it if you would make a contribution, too. But you must let me know quickly, as *periculum in mora.*[h] I would then send the whole lot to Frau Liebknecht at the same time.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] Presumably *The Free Press,* No. 12, 7 December 1864, with the article [C.D. Collet,] 'Russia's Designs on the Pope'. - [b] See this volume, p.51. - [c] hence these tears (Terence, *Andria,* I, 1, 99) - [d] See present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 120 and 205. - [e] Hermann Heinrich Becker - [f] K. Marx, 'To the Editor of the Stuttgart *Beobachter*'. - [g] Ernestine Liebknecht - [h] danger in delay (Livy, *History of Rome,* Vol. XXXVIII, Chap. 25)

# 24

# MARX TO ENGELS[33]

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 December 1864

DEAR FRED,

MY COMPLIMENT TO MRS LIZZY.[a]

You had already given me your PRIVATE ADDRESS some time ago, but not the 'FIRM' to which to write. I am very glad to have it now, as I sometimes find it desirable to drop you a few lines ON SATURDAYS.

The £5 for Wilhelm[b] is already on its way to Berlin today.

You have not sent me back the Becker.[74] However cunningly 'the Red' fancies he has extricated himself from the matter, his letter is a DOCUMENT WHICH ONE FINE MORNING HE MAY FIND TO TURN UP for unforeseen purposes. The old Hatzfeldt woman will, incidentally, ensure that the statement[c] gets to the right person.[64]

WHAT ABOUT SHERMAN'S EXPEDITION?[75]

Apropos. Your POOR-HOUSE *Purdy* is said to have published an absolutely disgraceful document during the COTTON-FAMINE,[40] recommending reducing support to a minimum, on the grounds that the HEALTH OF THE COTTON-OPERATIVES was said to have improved; as a result of this, FAMINE DISEASES are said to have broken out in the EAST OF LANCASHIRE. (That was in the early days of the COTTON-FAMINE.) Do you know anything about it? And, in general, can you obtain for me the OFFICIAL PAPERS in Manchester (of the Committee,[d] etc.) relating to the COTTON-FAMINE?

Lothario Bucher, whom Lassalle appointed executor to his will and to whom he left £150 a year pension, has, as you probably already know, gone over to Bismarck's camp. Baron Izzy[e] would perhaps have done the same himself as 'Minister of Labour', Marquis Posa to Philipp II of the Uckermark,[f] but not IN THE SMALL WAY OF Lothario, with whom the Hatzfeldt woman has fallen out and who can now shake hands with Edgar Bauer and the Prussian consul in Milan, Mr R. Schramm. The Prussians were looking for a post for Mr Schramm 'where yer don't need no exam'.[g] I also

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[a] Lizzy Burns - [b] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [c] K. Marx, 'To the Editor of the Stuttgart *Beobachter*'. - [d] See this volume, p. 27. - [e] Lassalle - [f] Marquis Posa and Philipp II are characters from Schiller's *Don Karlos*. By 'Philipp II of the Uckermark' Marx means William I. - [g] Berlin dialect in the original here: 'wo ken Examen nicht netig.'

fancy Mr Rodbertus' intentions are 'none too 'onourable' because he is claiming to 'have *entirely divorced* the social question *from politics*',[a] a sure sign that he has got the ministerial itch. What a contemptible gang, all that riff-raff from Berlin, Brandenburg and Pomerania!

I fancy there is a SECRET UNDERSTANDING between Prussia, Russia and France for THE WAR AGAINST AUSTRIA IN NEXT SPRING. Venetia will, of course, provide the WAR-CRY.[68] The Austrians are behaving with abysmal cowardice and stupidity. This ensues from Francis Joseph himself interfering personally in Austrian politics. Buol-Schauenstein, etc., all the sensible *hommes d-état*,[b] are obliged to keep their traps shut, and the Russian agents, such notorious fellows as the present Austrian FOREIGN MINISTER,[c] are giving all the orders. For all that, the Austrians' behaviour would be inexplicable, unless these fellows either have faith in Prussia's perfidious promises or are determined to accept the long-standing promise of compensation in Turkey.

What do you say to Collet's profound discoveries—based on Urquhart—about Nebuchadnezzar and the Russians' Assyrian ancestry, and the further discovery, which is cited as 'Urquhart's', that IN ITALY THE POPE IS THE ONLY REAL THING?[d]

Today's *The Miner and Workman's Advocate*—the *Moniteur*[e] of the mineworkers in England and Wales—is printing the whole of my 'Address'.[f] The London 'BRICKLAYERS' (over 3,000 men) have announced they are joining the International Association, and they are fellows who have *never* before joined a MOVEMENT.

There was a *SUB-COMMITTEE*[21] meeting last Tuesday,[g] at which Mr Peter Fox (his real name is P. Fox André) presented his address on Poland[71] to us. (This kind of thing is always dealt with beforehand in the SUBCOMMITTEE before going to the GENERAL COMMITTEE.) The piece is not badly written and Fox has endeavoured to apply the concept of 'class', at least a semblance of it, although it is normally alien to him. His real forte is FOREIGN POLICY, and it is only as a propagandist of atheism that he has had dealings with the WORKING CLASSES AS SUCH.

But easy though it is to get the English workers to accept a rational approach, one has to be all the more careful the moment

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[a] Marx quotes almost literally Liebknecht's letter to him of 2 December 1864. - [b] statesmen - [c] Alexander Mensdorff-Pouilly - [d] [C.D. Collet,] 'Russia's Designs on the Pope', *The Free Press*, No. 12, 7 December 1864. - [e] mouthpiece - [f] K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association', *The Miner and Workman's Advocate*, No. 93, 10 December 1864. - [g] 6 December

men of letters, members of the bourgeoisie or semi-literary people become involved in the movement. Fox, like his friend Beesly (Professor of Political Economy at the University of London, he took the chair at the founding MEETING in St Martin's Hall[a]) and other 'DEMOCRATS', have a fanatical 'love' of France, which, as far as *FOREIGN POLICY* is concerned, they extend not only to Napoleon I but even to Boustrapa,[76] as opposed to what they call, not without justice, the English aristocratic tradition, and as a continuation of what they call the English democratic tradition of 1791/92. WELL! Not content in his address (which, incidentally, is not to appear as an address from the whole Association but as an address from the *English* section concerning the POLISH QUESTION, *endorsed* by the whole Committee) with telling the Poles, which is true, that the French people has been traditionally more sympathetic towards them than the English, Mr Fox WINDS UP HIS ADDRESS mainly by consoling the Poles with the passionate friendship that THE ENGLISH WORKING CLASSES have conceived FOR THE FRENCH DEMOCRATS. I opposed this and unfolded a historically irrefutable tableau of the constant French betrayal of Poland from Louis XV to Bonaparte III. At the same time, I pointed out how thoroughly *inappropriate* it was that the *ANGLO-FRENCH*-ALLIANCE should appear as the 'core' of the *INTERNATIONAL* ASSOCIATION, albeit in a democratic version. To cut matters short, Fox's address was accepted by the SUBCOMMITTEE on condition that he altered the '*TAIL*' in accordance with my suggestions. Jung, the SWISS SECRETARY (from French Switzerland), declared that, as a *MINORITY* on the GENERAL COUNCIL, he would move that the address be rejected as ALTOGETHER 'bourgeois'.[77]

Our *Major Wolff* has been locked up by the Piedmontese for the moment in the fortress of Alexandria.

*Louis Blanc* has written to the General Secretary *Cremer* that he approves the 'Address' and regrets not having been able to attend the St Martin's Hall MEETING, etc. ALTOGETHER, the sole purpose of his letter is to get him co-opted an HONORARY MEMBER. Foreseeing that attempts of this kind would be made, I had, however, fortunately got the BY-LAW accepted that no one (except workers' *SOCIETIES*) could be *invited* to join and that nobody at all could be an *honorary member*.[78]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 15-16.

Gumpert will get the photograph as soon as he sends me the long-promised one of his wife.

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## 25

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 December 1864

Dear Frederick,

In great haste. Please send Becker's letter back to me.[a] I hope you have not lost it.

Happy New Year!

Your
K. M.

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## 26

## MARX TO SOPHIE VON HATZFELDT

### IN BERLIN

[Draft]

London, 22 December 1864
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

My dear Countess,

A few days ago, a friend in Hamburg sent me the *Nordstern* containing my statement against Blind,[b] duly emended with misprints.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 52,53. - [b] K. Marx, 'To the Editor of the Stuttgart *Beobachter*'.

It was at your request that I made this statement, although its composition did not come easily to me as I did *not* agree with Lassalle's *political tactics.* However, all my scruples were removed by Blind's shameless outburst against the deceased in the *St Louis 'Westliche Post'*.[44] I had not the slightest idea which papers you would send the statement to. The *Nordstern* was the furthest from my mind. Mr Bruhn has now seized upon this opportunity to make an 'indecent gesture' in my direction, by hinting to his readers in the commentaries that I had sought access to his emporium through the back door and had been granted it as an act of extreme graciousness only because a third party had intervened especially on my behalf.[64] I have no doubt that his accomplice in America[a] will make use of this. Is it Mr Bruhn's desire that I should be forced into exposing him publicly for the conceited nonentity that he is?

If Bruhn, Bernhard Becker and *tutti quanti* set out to oppose me and my efforts in any manner whatsoever that I consider harmful to the workers' movement itself, a storm will break about these gentlemen's heads that will take their breath away. Reasons of long-standing personal friendship and party interest, which held me back vis-à-vis Lassalle, can no longer have the slightest force in respect of these *dii minorum gentium.*[b] This I am stating once and for all, so that I cannot later be charged with ambiguity or inconsiderateness.

*In no circumstances,* do I wish the *Eighteenth Brumaire* to be published, and, if steps have already been taken to this end, they are to be checked forthwith.[79]

I scarcely dare express any good wishes for the New Year, knowing as I do that the old year has left you, my dear Countess, only with memories.

Yours very respectfully
K. M.

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[a] Karl Blind - [b] Literally: minor gods; here, creatures of a lesser kind.

## 27

## MARX TO CARL SIEBEL

IN ELBERFELD

London, 22 December 1864
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Siebel,

A Happy New Year!

You will perhaps have seen that Engels and I have agreed to become contributors to the Berlin *Social-Demokrat*.[80] Nevertheless—this *entre nous*[a]—either that paper will have to dissociate itself from the apotheosis of Lassalle, or we shall dissociate ourselves from it. But the poor devils have a lot to contend with.

You will have received the 'Addresses'[b] sent to you and have no doubt guessed I am the author. For the sake of the movement *here*, it is important for us that German workers' associations should join the Central Committee here. (As has happened in many cases with the Italians and the French.) Now Liebknecht has written to me that the Berlin printers' association will be joining, but that it is very doubtful whether the 'General Association of German Workers'[2] will join, on account of the intrigues of Mr Bernhard Becker, whose importance was *'invented'* by Lassalle. (*Entre nous* this is perhaps Lassalle's *only invention.*)[81]

Today I wrote the old Hatzfeldt woman a kind of threatening letter, *sub rosa*,[c] of course.

Now it would be highly desirable for you to pay a brief visit to Solingen to explain on my behalf to the cutler, *Klings*, how exceedingly important it is that the Association of German Workers should decide to join the International Association at its congress in Düsseldorf on 27 December of this year.[82] You might surreptitiously hint that, for such nonentities as B. Becker, etc., what matters is, naturally, not the cause but the *'infiniment petit'*,[d] i.e., their own persons. But such a hint must be dropped *diplomatically*, without implicating me.

You understand that it is necessary that the General Association of German Workers should join only for a start, on account of our

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[a] between ourselves - [b] K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - [c] allusively (see previous letter) - [d] infinitely small

opponents here. At a later date, the whole organisation of this association will have to be broken up, as its basis is fundamentally wrong.

If you do not now at last write me a few lines, I shall presume that you have become totally disloyal to me, and will proclaim you excommunicated.

Your
K. M.

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# 1865

## 28

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG[83]

IN LONDON

Manchester,[84] [about 8 January 1865]
58 Dover Street, Oxford Street

My dear Jung,

I felt rather shocked at reading in the 'Beehive' and the 'Miner' of this week that at our last Committee-sitting

'It was *unanimously* agreed to invite Messrs Beesly, *Grossmith*, Beales and Harrison, to the soirée which is to be held on the 16th'.[a]

I do not mention the mere anachronism, that no such resolution was taken on *last Tuesday's* sitting.[b]

What I object to is the positive falsehood that *Mr Grossmith* was invited.

This *Grossmith*, although he seldom or never attends our sittings, figures as a member of the Committee under all our addresses.

How could *our* Committee invite a *member of our Committee* to a soirée *given by our Committee*? Shall this, perhaps, form a sort of *premium* to be gained by regular absence from our weekly séances?

Since I cannot return to London before the end of next week, you'll much oblige me

By asking at next Tuesday's sitting, who is the *writer* of the report in the 'Beehive' and the 'Miner'?

Who empowered that writer to make our Committee the *'unconscious'* instrument of exalting *Mr Grossmith*?

You will understand at once how important it is to nip in the bud any attempt at turning our Committee into the tool of local ambitions, or any sort of intrigues.

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[a] *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 169, 7 January 1865; *The Miner and Workman's Advocate*, No. 97, 7 January 1865. - [b] on 3 January

You will oblige me, by informing me, under the above address,—and supposing you to make the interpellation—what answer was given to you.[85]

*Salut et fraternité.*

K. Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

Reproduced from the original for the first time

## 29

## ENGELS TO RUDOLF ENGELS[10]

### IN BARMEN

[Manchester,] 10 January 1865

Dear Rudolf,

My view of the American war[11] is this: the South is gradually becoming exhausted and cannot replace its armies. The North has not yet mobilised the half of its resources. The South is limited to defence, so much so in fact that counter-attacks such as, e.g., Longstreet undertook in the Shenandoah Valley, are now a thing of the past. Hood attempted yet another one, but, in so doing, revealed his own impotence and decided the whole campaign at one stroke.[86] The North is superior to its Southern opponents at all points and, furthermore, has Sherman's 40,000 men at its disposal who can go wheresoever they please, everywhere destroying the South's forces, communications, resources and supplies deep in the South's own territory.[75] Charleston is certain to fall in 4-6 weeks at the latest, once Sherman has encircled it on land.[87] The South has but one army left, that at Richmond.[30] That will assuredly be quite decisively beaten in the present year, and with that the defence of the South *by armies* will be at an end. A guerrilla war, brigandry, etc., may then ensue and will probably do so into next year.

If the South arms its Negroes, that will be so much the better for the North. However, they will take good care not to. At the last moment, if at all. The Negroes are not so stupid as to allow themselves to be massacred for the whip that flays their backs.

There will certainly still be moments when things look better for the South than they do now, but we have seen that happen too often before, and I shall not be deceived by that. Such moments are merely *a respite.*

I do not believe we shall get cotton from America; but I do believe we shall see a temporary fall. Cotton is at present so subject to speculation that prices are affected by every vicissitude of public opinion. There are, moreover, 500,000 bales in Liverpool, and the people here do have a tendency to fly to extremes immediately and shout: the South is done for, is bound to surrender in 14 days, etc.—a rise is thereby inconceivable. We shall be at the mercy of whatever news we receive, though always with the proviso that we know the STOCK in Liverpool to be double what it was last year. I also believe we shall see the year 1865 close below present prices, as we must expect more cotton from all parts.

Your
Friedrich

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## 30

## MARX TO HIS DAUGHTER JENNY

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 January 1865
58 Dover Street

My sweet child,

I wanted to leave Manchester tomorrow, but I'll be hardly able to do so before Sunday (15th Jan.) next.[84] Ernest Jones, whom I am anxious to speak, is busily engaged in the neighbouring towns and has invited me (and Engels) for next *Friday* evening when he'll be at home. I have not yet seen him, and could not see him before that day. This is one cause of delay. There are others, but at all events I shall not stay longer than until Sunday.

The German translation of the 'Address to the Working Classes'[a] has been reprinted in the *Mainzer Zeitung*, the 'Address to Lincoln'[b] in the *Berliner Reform* and the London *Hermann*. The latter honour is probably due to Mr Juch's anxiety lest his rival Bender might monopolize 'our protection'.

The weather here was abominable. Today 'the sun shines', as Müller has it, but its rays are reflected by the ice drops covering the dirty streets. Even the sunbeams must here always have something disagreeable to fall upon.

I have not yet seen a Borchardt, and as to the Gumperts, I had only a few minutes' conversation with the Dr yesterday evening.

On my arrival I did not find Frederick, but in his stead a letter informing me that he would be back from fox-hunting at 6 o'clock. Meanwhile he had taken all precautionary measures for making my '*entrée joyeuse*'[c] (with your great historical knowledge you'll not be at a loss as to the '*entrée joyeuse*'). Whether his change of domicile is an improvement, seems a rather debatable question. At all events, the people are less impudent.

Apropos. There is much '*chronique scandaleuse*' just now in the Freiligrath world, as far as it is connected with the General Bank of Switzerland. There has appeared a pamphlet at Genève, disclosing the scandalous mismanagement of Fazy,[d] Freiligrath's 'natural superior'. He has been forced to resign his post as supreme director of the bank, and '*um zu retten, was zu retten ist*'[e] (*literally* this) Jew *Reinach* has been put into his place, assisted by a Frenchman and—*Karl Vogt* who has the despicable meanness of betraying, and denouncing, and publicly declaring against Fazy, his old idol, the man in fact of whom he is a mere 'creature'.

I suppose you are aware that the first '*abonnement number*'[f] of the 'Social-Democrat' has been *confiscated* by the police at Berlin.[88] This is a rather favourable accident. Those fellows stand in need of some small political martyrdom.

I hope all is right at home. The cat being gone, the mice ought to dance. Pay my compliments to Ma, 'Success', 'Mine Own' and the 'Prophet'.[g] As to yourself, my dear Aaron, I dreamt of you last

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[a] K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - [b] K. Marx, 'To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America'. - [c] 'joyful entrance' (a French medieval expression used to welcome the arrival of a prince or king into one of his own towns). - [d] *James Fazy. Sein Leben und Treiben. (Von einem Westschweizer), Neue Zürcher-Zeitung*, Nos. 321-360, 16 November - 25 December 1864. - [e] to save what can yet be saved - [f] regular issue for the subscribers - [g] Mrs Marx, Laura, and Eleanor Marx and Helene Demuth

night, and saw you in your bloomer costume, performing the most wonderful jumps, almost flying through the air, after you had before done the Davenport trick in the most admirable manner.[89] I felt quite proud and chuckled in my sleeves over the success of my old acquaintance, and had the most lively remembrance of the rather unplastic dance you had in bygone times executed before the golden calf, in the desert.[a]

Show Ma the inclosed. She will remember Bochum-Dolfs, from Paris. He is now the happy father of 10 children with whom he 'vagabonds' through the world.

First published, in Russian, in *Voinstvuyushchy materialist*, Book 4, 1925, and in the language of the original, English, in *The Socialist Review* (London), No. 44, September 1929

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## 31

## MARX TO JOHANN BAPTIST VON SCHWEITZER[1]

### IN BERLIN

[Draft]

*To. J. B. v. Schweitzer ('Social-Demokrat')*

London, 16 January 1865

Sir,

Despite its brief existence, your *Social-Demokrat* has already carried *two attacks* on the *'International Association'*. I am only awaiting the *'third'* before my friends and I *publicly* dissociate ourselves from any connection with your paper. In the event of such a dissociation, I should be compelled to deal *'critically'* with certain things which, in deference to party interests, I have hitherto not aired, and this may not be at all to the liking of certain gentlemen. The first attack on the 'International Associa-

[a] Here a strip of paper is cut off at the bottom of the page, presumably bearing Marx's signature. The paragraph that follows is a postscript in the left-hand corner of the first page of the letter.

tion' was contained in an inane passage in B. Becker's 'Message'.[90] I did not hold you responsible for it for the very reason that it was a 'message' and you unfortunately have an official connection with the 'General Workers' *Association*'[2] (emphatically not to be confused with the working *class*).

The bare-faced, lying gossip of Mr Moses Hess[a] is another matter; if you had had the slightest consideration for me and my friends you would *under no circumstances* have accepted it, you could only have accepted it *with the intention of provoking me.*

With regard to Moses' fabrication itself, I shall be making a public statement about it *after* I have obtained certain information from Paris.[91] Regarding your acceptance of that abomination of an article, I should be obliged if you would inform me *whether I am to consider same as a declaration of war by the 'Social-Demokrat'*?

Your most obedient servant

K. Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

Printed according to Marx's Notebook for 1865

## 32

## MARX TO ENGELS[92]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 January 1865

DEAR FREDERICK,

Letters enclosed

1. from Weydemeyer,
2. from Schily,
3. from Liebknecht. I must have all 3 back.
4. from Schweitzer and 5. a scrawl about *Vogt*, which I would also like back.

By way of explanation for letters 2, 3 and 4, the following: I do not know whether you get the *Social-Demokrat* (or have taken out a

[a] [Moses]H[ess], 'Paris, 10. Jan. [Arb.-Associationen. Internat. Arb.-Assoc. *Avenir national*], *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 8, 13 January 1865.

subscription to it). (If neither should be the case, Bender can always send you one from here, as he has ordered 6 copies on the off-chance.)

There was a contribution in the *Social-Demokrat* from that jackass Moses Hess,[a] in which he related how *we* had approached *L'Association* (paper of the Paris associations) asking them to print a translation of our address[b] (on the contrary, Massol had made Schily an *offer* to that effect) and join our Association; they are said to have refused, however, because *we* had originally approached Tolain and others who were Plon-Plonists.[93] Tolain himself had admitted as much, etc.

I discovered this scrawl on the day after my return from Manchester.[84] Therefore wrote furious letters to Paris[94] and Berlin.[c] From Schily's and Schweitzer's letters it emerges that the whole thing can be blamed on Hess' asininity (mixed with a certain amount of MALICE, perhaps) and on Liebknecht's asininity *toute pure*.[d]

The affair created a great furore in the *Comité* here yesterday. Le Lubez, entirely on Tolain's side, declares the whole thing to be slanderous, since fellows like Horn (Einhorn, rabbi) and that gas-bag Jules Simon (of *La Liberté*[e]) are on the *Comité* of *L'Association*. However, at my suggestion, it was resolved not to send the 500 CARDS OF MEMBERSHIP to Paris until Schily had reported further from Paris.[95]

The Association is doing famously here. At its soirée,[f] which I did *not* attend, ABOUT 1,200 people (they would have had 3× as many if the hall had been big enough) gathered, which brought approximately £15 into our exceedingly depleted EXCHEQUER.

Letter has come from Geneva about joining,[96] and from DIFFERENT PARTS OF ENGLAND.

There will be a MEETING for the Poles in the course of February (especially to collect money for the *new* émigrés, which also explains *Lord* Townshend as CHAIRMAN), organised by the (English) POLISH LEAGUE, the *Polish* society here and our Association.[97]

What do you say to Lassalle's 'bequest', as described by Liebknecht?[98] Is it not exactly like his own Sickingen, who wants to compel Charles V to 'assume the leadership of the movement'?[g]

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[a] [Moses] H[ess], 'Paris, 10. Jan. [Arb.-Associationen. Internat. Arb.-Assoc. *Avenir national*], *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 8, 13 January 1865. - [b] K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - [c] See this volume, pp. 64-65. - [d] pure and simple - [e] *La Liberté de penser* - [f] See this volume, p. 60. - [g] Sickingen and Charles V are characters in Lassalle's *Franz von Sickingen*.

Yesterday, I sent *Article on Proudhon*[a] to Schweitzer, in response to his urgent request (and also to make up to him for having bitten his head off instead of Liebknecht's for the BLUNDER in the *Soc.-Dem.*). You will see from it that several very savage blows, ostensibly aimed at Proudhon, strike home at our '*Achilles*'[b] and were intended to do so.

Apropos. Each secretary of our Association will receive a package of CARDS OF MEMBERSHIP next week (for the 'Association', not for the '*Comité*', of course) for distribution (ls. for annual subscription, 1d. for the CARD). You must get rid of a few in Manchester. It will not be many. But let me know about HOW MANY I can send for this purpose? It is IN FACT ONE OF THE WAYS AND MEANS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS BURNS. WILL SHE, PERHAPS, BECOME A MEMBER? LADIES ARE ADMITTED.

YOURS TRULY
K. M.

P.S. I left a pair of winter BOOTS (shoes) at your house in Dover Street, ditto new pair of knitted stockings, and probably the 2 silk handkerchiefs as well. I only mention it so that you can DROP A WORD to your landlords 'some time or other' so that they know that an eye is kept on them.

By means of a most ingenious experiment Prof. Tyndall has managed to separate out the rays of the sun into a *heat-ray*, which even melts platinum, and a *cold light-ray which has no heat at all.* This is ONE OF THE FINEST EXPERIMENTS OF OUR DAYS.

P.S. II

Liebknecht has also sent me a note from the editors, urgently asking for a contribution from you. For the moment they are thinking either of the YANKEE WAR or the *Prussian Army Reform*, as they say their paper is read by more people of standing than any other Berlin paper.

Now, as far as the YANKEE WAR is concerned, you explained to me before that it was not suitable for the *Social-Demokrat.*

Regarding the *Prussian Army Reform*, the paper would be a very good place for it. Only QUESTION for *me* is *this*: would not an analysis of this topic involve you in a one-sided conflict with the men of Progress,[99] which would be undesirable at this moment and on *this* topic, since the King[c] has declared he will not give way

[a] K. Marx, 'On Proudhon [Letter to J. B. Schweitzer]'. - [b] Ferdinand Lassalle - [c] William I

on any point, so has naturally turned the question into a burning constitutional issue?[100] Or can you treat the question, in accordance with your military view, in such a way as to kill *both* birds, which is what is *wanted*?

At all events, as I have already sent the paper an article DIRECTLY (signed by me), you can be published there, too. And you ought to do so, while there is still an organ in existence at all.

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## ENGELS TO MARX[101]

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 27 January 1865

Dear Moor,

I will send the letters back to you tomorrow or on Sunday, as I simply have to read this dreadful handwriting and these pale inks by daylight; yesterday evening I was only able to skim through them.

Moses[a] really has been extraordinarily tactless (no doubt the *head of the party*[b] took a certain malicious pleasure in it), but Liebknecht even more so. But I am surprised the latter has not already committed more such gaffes, it always was his FORTE.

I am sending the fellows the little Danish folksong about Tidmann, who is struck dead by the old man at the Thing for imposing new taxes on the peasants.[c] It is revolutionary but not indictable, and above all it is directed against the feudal nobility, which the paper[d] *absolutely must condemn*. I am making a few remarks to that effect. I shall probably be able to do the article on the reorganisation of the army[e] as soon as I get the new military budget proposals, etc.; I am writing to ask them to send them to

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[a] Moses Hess (see this volume, pp. 65,66) - [b] Bernhard Becker - [c] F. Engels, 'Herr Tidmann. Old Danish Folk Song'. - [d] *Der Social-Demokrat* - [e] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*.

me and am telling them at the same time that I shall be coming out against the government—PAST AND PRESENT—just as much as against the men of Progress,[99] and that the article must *not be published* if the first point is unacceptable to them.[102] As far as the American war is concerned, perhaps something can be made of it at a later date after all. The present phase is not yet complete, the calm, to use J. Grimm's term, is 'inorganic'.

Good old Lassalle is after all gradually being unmasked as a common or garden scoundrel. It has never been our practice to judge people by what they thought but rather by what they were, and I do not see why we should make an exception in the late Izzy's case. Subjectively, his vanity may have made the affair seem plausible to him, but objectively it was the act of a scoundrel, the betrayal of the whole workers' movement to the Prussians. Throughout, the stupid fop does not seem to have obtained from Bismarck anything at all in return, nothing specific at all, let alone guarantees[98]; he seems just to have taken it for granted he would *definitely* do Bismarck in the eye, in exactly the same way as he could not fail to shoot Racowiţa dead. That's Baron Izzy all over for you.

Incidentally, it will not be very long now before it becomes not merely desirable but *necessary* to make this whole affair public. We can only gain from it, and, if the business with the Association[a] and the paper in Germany bears fruit, the fellow's heirs will have to be thrown out soon enough now. Meanwhile, the proletariat in Germany will soon see what it has got in Bismarck.

Kind regards to the LADIES.

Your
F. E.

I can only see my way to disposing of approx. $^1/_2$ dozen cards; I will see Jones about it, I'm very busy just now.

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[a] General Association of German Workers

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## MARX TO ENGELS[103]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 30 January 1865

Dear Engels,

*Tout d'accord.*[a] As far as your anxiety about confiscation is concerned, what you must do is to announce quite briefly, as a foreword to the first article,[b] that you are firstly going to throw light on the subject from the military point of view, secondly you are going to criticise the bourgeoisie and, thirdly, the reaction, etc., and the attitude of the workers' party to the question, etc., whereby *the drift* can already be narrowly outlined or hinted at. This will, *de prime abord*,[c] make it more difficult for the government to confiscate. If it does so in spite of that, the *Social-Demokrat* will thereby be hurled into a new phase (for the fellows cannot at present confiscate without releasing the confiscated material, or taking it to court), and, at the same time, you must keep a copy of the manuscript of No. III. It is then the easiest thing in the world to publish it in the one of the 2 German papers *here*[d] and then send COPIES of it to Hamburg, etc., where one or other of the bourgeois papers is sure to print it.

It seems to me that Schily has allowed himself to be duped by M. Hess. This is quite evident from all Moses' epistles to the *Social-Demokrat*. (CF. F.I. No. 15 of the *Social-Demokrat*[e] which has just arrived and is, on the whole, full of the most revolting 'Lassalleanism'. The gentlemen from Iserlohn speak of 'Lassalle-Lincoln'.[f]) Moses is our *adversary*, has forgotten neither our 'expulsion from Brussels' nor our 'ejection from Cologne'[104] and always counts it to Lassalle's credit that he had the 'tact' so necessary for a 'leader of the people' to take M. Hess seriously.

By the way, being the 'organ of the General Association of German Workers', the *Social-Demokrat* finds it extremely difficult to extricate itself from the apotheosis-soup.

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[a] In complete agreement (see previous letter) - [b] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*, Chapter 1. - [c] from the outset - [d] The reference is presumably to the *Hermann* and the *Londoner Anzeiger*. - [e] A reference to Hess' report 'Paris, 25. Jan. [Associationswesen. Clerus. Der oppositionelle Wahlsieg]', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 15, 29 January 1865. - [f] Quoted from the report 'Iserlohn, 25. Januar', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 15, 29 January 1865.

Incidentally, since we now know that Izzy planned to trade off the workers' party to Bismarck[98] (we were previously quite unaware of *how*) so that he might become known as the 'Richelieu of the Proletariat', I shall not now have any scruples about making it *sufficiently plain* in the preface to my book that he is a parrot and plagiarist.[105]

I wonder whether the 'poems': 'To follow Lassalle is our every wish'[a] and other nonsense which *the workers* are sending to the *Social-Demokrat,* do not emanate directly or indirectly from the old lady.[b] At all events, I have already told the editors several times in writing that this nonsense has got to stop BY and BY.[106]

What sort of fellows the men of Progress[99] are is evident yet again from their conduct regarding the combination question.[107] (*En passant,* the Prussian Anti-Combination Law, like all continental laws of this kind, has its origin in the decree of the *Assemblée Constituante of 14 June 1791,*[108] by which the French bourgeois imposed the most severe penalties on ANYTHING OF THE SORT, in fact workers' associations of any kind,—e.g. loss of civil rights for a year—on the pretext that this constituted *restoration of the guilds* and is in contravention of *liberté constitutionelle*[c] and the '*droits de l'homme*'.[d] It is so characteristic of Robespierre that, at a time when it was a crime punishable by the guillotine to be 'constitutional', as defined by the *Assemblée* of 1789, all of its laws directed *against* the workers remained in force.)

Here in London Mr Bright has again spoiled his whole rapport with the workers by his SPEECH opposing the application of the Ten Hours' Bill[109] to the BIRMINGHAM TRADES.[e] A bourgeois of that kind really is INCORRIGIBLE. And the fellow does that at a moment when he wants to make use of the workers to beat the oligarchs!

Apropos. As I have now told the *Social-Demokrat* twice that they must purge their paper of this infantile 'apotheosis' as far and as quickly as possible, it will doubtless do no harm if you make similar remarks to the editors when you send your article.[f] If we allow them to use our names, then we can, at the same time, demand that *now,* when people are *aware of Lassalle's intended treachery,* they should not help to throw dust in the eyes of the

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[a] Quoted from an anonymous poem published in the section 'Einsendungen von Arbeitern' in *Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 15, 29 January 1865. - [b] Sophie von Hatzfeldt - [c] constitutional liberty - [d] 'rights of man' - [e] J. Bright's speech in the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce on 19 January 1865. In: *The Times,* No. 25087, 20 January 1865. - [f] *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*

workers or turn themselves into a vehicle for just any kind of loutish rubbish.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[101]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 February 1865

Dear FREDERICK,

Enclosed letter from Strohn to be returned; write to me and let me know your thoughts about the publishing business at the same time.[110]

This 'Siebold' is the Siebold of champagne fame, NO DOUBT ABOUT THAT. I really am rather afraid that he did not merely find my reception of his bubbly enthusiasm very dry, but THAT HE CAUGHT SOME QUEER WORDS AT GUMPERT'S DOOR, AS I TOLD YOU AT THE TIME. At all events, it is nice of the fellow and quite typical of wine-salesman politics to go straight from us to Karl Blind and run as his MESSENGER to Hamburg. Has Blind perhaps also placed an order for 'sparkling wines' and granted his most gracious protection to scum-scoundrelism as well? I hope for the sake of bubbly's good reputation that Siebold is no such VENAL scum, although there was no mistaking that while one of his eyes was sparkling with enthusiasm, the other HAD AN EYE TO BUSINESS. Regarding Freiligrath, I FEEL SURE that he is much TOO CAUTIOUS to agree *publicly* in any way to collaborate (*in partibus*,[a] it goes without saying) with Blind. HOWEVER, I SHALL TRY TO ASCERTAIN THE FACT. At all events, it is very good that Strohn has so gratifyingly baulked Ruge and Blind. I sent off

[a] to all appearances (*In partibus infidelium*—literally: in parts inhabited by unbelievers. The words are added to the title of Roman Catholic bishops appointed to purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries).

a few sarcastic marginalia to him earlier today,[111] intended specifically for Meissner, concerning the *nobile par*[a] of antagonistic brothers.

You must excuse the scraps of English in my epistle as there was a SITTING OF THE COUNCIL yesterday which lasted until ONE O'CLOCK. ('Liquor' and 'smoke' are *banned* from these 'SITTINGS'.) The first thing was the answering epistle from Lincoln, which you may find in tomorrow's *Times*[112] and certainly in *The Daily News* and *The Star*.[b] In the reply to the LONDON EMANCIPATION SOCIETY[113] (which counts among its members such illustrious figures as Sir Charles Lyell and the 'Voice of World History', alias K. B.[c]), published in yesterday's *Evening Star*, the old man drily dismisses the fellows with two formal clichés, exactly as he had done in his earlier answer to the *Manchester* branch of the EMANCIPATION SOCIETY; whereas his letter to us is in fact everything we could have asked for, and, in particular, the naive assurance that the *United States* could not involve itself directly in 'PROPAGANDISM'. At any rate, it is the only answer so far ON THE PART OF THE OLD MAN that is more than a strictly formal one.

*Secondly*, a delegate was there from the Poles (*aristocrats*), who have links with the 'LITERARY SOCIETY',[114] through whom these gentlemen conveyed their solemn assurance, with an eye to the forthcoming MEETING on Poland, that they are *democrats* and that every Pole is *now* a democrat, since the aristocracy has dwindled away to such a degree that they would be *mad* not to recognise the *impossibility* of restoring Poland without a peasant rising. WHETHER or not these fellows believe what they say, at all events, the last lesson they had does not seem to have been entirely wasted on them.[24]

*Thirdly*, there were statements from various TRADES UNIONS about their joining. Ditto from an association in *Brussels* which is promising to organise branches throughout Belgium.[115]

I then handed over an issue of the *Daily St. Louis Press* which had arrived just yesterday containing leader about our '*ADDRESS TO THE WORKINGMEN*'[d] and an excerpt from it which had obviously been arranged by Weydemeyer.[e]

But now the most remarkable thing of all.

Cremer, OUR HONORARY GENERAL SECRETARY, had received a written invitation for the 'COUNCIL', as well as a private visit, from a PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE which is meeting *privatim* at the London

[a] noble pair (Horace, *Satires*, II, III, 243) - [b] *The Morning Star* - [c] Karl Blind - [d] K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - [e] *St.-Louis Daily Press*, No. 22, 10 January 1865.

Tavern next Monday. Object: MONSTER MEETING for MANHOOD SUFFRAGE. *Chairman:—Richard Cobden!*

The point is this: as E. Jones told us previously, these fellows have been a complete failure in Manchester. They have therefore adopted A BROADER PLATFORM, in which *REGISTRATION* 'FOR PAYING POOR-RATE' figured instead of MANHOOD SUFFRAGE, however. That is what is stated in the printed circular sent to us. However, since various indications made it clear to them that nothing less than MANHOOD SUFFRAGE can attract ANY CO-OPERATION WHATEVER ON THE PART OF THE WORKING CLASSES, they have announced they are prepared to accept the latter. A *big* demonstration in London would lead to similar ones in the provinces, write the provincials 'yet once again', having 'all ready' realised that they are not able TO SET THE BALL A-GOING.

The next question raised yesterday was this: should our SOCIETY, I.E. COUNCIL, agree to what these fellows want (they include all the old SHAM CITY AGITATORS such as Sam. Morley, etc.) and send a few delegates to attend the transactions of their provisional committee as 'watchmen'? Secondly, if these fellows pledge themselves *directly* to the slogan of MANHOOD SUFFRAGE and the PUBLIC MEETING is being called under this slogan, should we promise our support? *The latter* is, you see, just as crucial to these fellows as it was in the American business.[113] Without the TRADES UNIONS, no mass MEETING is possible, and without us, the TRADES UNIONS are not to be had. This is also the reason why these gentlemen have come to us.

Opinions were *very* divided, for which *Bright's* latest silly tricks in Birmingham were much to blame.[a]

On my motion, it was decided that: 1) the delegation should be sent (in my motion, I excluded FOREIGNERS from it; but Eccarius and Lubez were elected on to it as 'Englishmen' and *silent* witnesses) just as 'observers'[116]; 2) SO FAR AS THE MEETING IS CONCERNED, we should act with them *firstly* if MANHOOD SUFFRAGE is proclaimed directly and publicly in the programme, and *secondly* if people *selected by us* are included on the *permanent* committee, so that they can keep an eye on those fellows and compromise them in the event of fresh treachery, which, as I made plain to all of them, is *at any rate intended.* I am writing to E. Jones about the matter today.[117]

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, p. 71.

# 36

## MARX TO ENGELS[118]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 February 1865

DEAR FREDERICK,

Enclosed

1. Letter from Siebel[119] reporting on his meeting with Klings, with which I had 'charged' him.[a] My only comment on it is that I am not going to interfere in the affair *any further*. If Klings succeeds—without *our* help—in getting rid of B. Becker and his testamentary importance, together with the beastly old girl,[b] that suits me. There is nothing to be done with the Workers' Association[2] as bequeathed by Baron Izzy.[c] The sooner it is disbanded, the better.

2. *Rheinische Zeitung* with leading article,[120] probably by Red Becker.[d] It amounts to an APPEAL *ad misericordiam*[e] from the 'men of Progress'.[99]

My opinion is now that *the two of us* must issue a statement, and that this crisis particularly gives us the opportunity to reoccupy our 'LEGITIMATE' position. ABOUT 10 days ago, I wrote to Schweitzer that he must stand up to Bismarck and the workers' party must drop even the appearance of flirting with Bismarck, etc.[121] By way of thanks, he has 'all ready' been philandering with Pissmarck more than ever.

'Yet again' Moses Hess is 'all ready' *denouncing* the 'International Association'[122] for the second time in No. 16 of the *Social-Demokrat,* which contains the letter I wrote about Proudhon,[f] bristling with misprints. I wrote a furious letter to Liebknecht about it yesterday,[111] telling him that this was the **very last** warning; that I do not give a FARTHING for 'good will' when its actions are those of ill-will; that I cannot make it clear to the members of the 'INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE' here that things like that occur *in bonne foi*[g] out of pure stupidity; that while their gutter rag continues to eulogise Lassalle, even though they know what treachery he had up his sleeve,[98] and while it conducts this

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[a] See this volume, pp. 58-59. - [b] Sophie von Hatzfeldt - [c] Ferdinand Lassalle - [d] Hermann Heinrich Becker - [e] for mercy - [f] K. Marx, 'On Proudhon [Letter to J. B. Schweitzer]'. - [g] good faith

cowardly flirtation with Bismarck, it has the effrontery to let the Plonplonist[93] Hess accuse us here of Plonplonism, etc.

My opinion is now that we should take up Moses' denunciation or insinuation in order *d'abord*[a] to issue a brief declaration of war against Bonaparte Plon-Plon, at the same time making honourable mention of Moses' friend, the Rabbi Ein-Horn. Then we should use this to declare ourselves ditto against Bismarck, as well as against the rogues or fools who are dreaming or drivelling about an alliance with him for the sake of the working class. Then, of course, in conclusion the beastly men of Progress should be told that they have, on the one hand, run their cause into the ground by their political cowardice and helplessness, and that, on the other hand, if they are demanding an alliance with the working class against the government—which at the moment is, of course, the only correct line—then they would at least have to make the concessions to the workers that accord with their own principle of 'FREETRADE' and 'DEMOCRATISM', in other words, repeal of all the exceptional laws against the workers, which in addition to the combination laws quite specifically include the present Prussian legislation on the press. They would ditto have to proclaim, at least in principle, the restoration of universal suffrage, which was abolished by the coup d'état in Prussia.[123] This would be the minimum to be expected of them. Maybe something ought to be put in about the military question as well. At all events, the thing needs to be tied up quickly. And you must get your 'ideas' about the whole statement down on paper. I will then add mine to it and knead it all together, will send the whole thing back to you once again AND SO FORTH. The moment seems to me to be favourable for this 'coup d'état'. We cannot miss this moment for our '*restitutio in integrum*'[b] out of consideration for Liebknecht or for anyone else.

AT THE SAME TIME, you must not fail to let the *Social-Demokrat* have your article on the military question[c] SO SOON AS POSSIBLE.

I would of course write to them—*quoad*[d] statement—that, if they do *not* accept same immediately, same will 'all ready' appear in other papers.

If they do accept it, well and good, and it will not even matter if it blows them sky high. (Although Bismarck will take care not to resort to forcible measures at the present moment.) If they do not accept it, we have a decent excuse for getting rid of them.[e] At all

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[a] first of all - [b] restitution to full rights - [c] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party.* - [d] regarding - [e] See this volume, pp. 79-80.

events, the air must be cleared and the party purged of the stench left behind by Lassalle.

Your
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX [101]

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 5 February 1865
Mornington St[reet]

Dear Moor,

I fully agree about the statement.[a] But you will have to do it yourself, or I shall never get the military article[b] done. I fear the thing is getting to be so long that it will only be feasible in pamphlet form. I and II are finished (except for revision), III not yet. I have had a lot of interruptions, Blank was here, etc., etc. So, you do the statement. The exceptional law also includes the restriction on the right of association and assembly, all the legislation concerning *journeymen's road books*[124] and finally Article 100 of the penal code: Incitement of citizens to hatred and contempt (another Napoleonic legacy). Then, if you can work it in, some indication that in a predominantly agricultural country like Prussia it is despicable to attack only the bourgeoisie in the name of the industrial proletariat, without even mentioning the brutal patriarchal exploitation of the rural proletariat by the big feudal aristocracy. It is less important to say anything about the military question, but the *budget question* should be given prominence: what use is it to the workers to have a parliament elected by universal suffrage, if it is as powerless as Bismarck wants to make the

[a] See previous letter. - [b] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*.

present bourgeois parliament—whose successor it would after all be? And if it cannot even reject new taxation?

Those are my thoughts *ad hoc*.[a] So, get going and sent the thing to me straightaway.

*Meissner.* SO FAR SO GOOD. You should go there yourself, of course. *Conto a metà*[b] has its advantages if you reserve the contractual right to inspect the books and documents and if Meissner is prepared to make you an interest-free advance equal to $^2/_3$ of the fee you are claiming anyway. Strohn's letter seems to suggest that Meissner WOULD RATHER NOT PART WITH ANY MONEY IF HE COULD HELP IT.[66] At all events, you must go there yourself with the manuscript[c] and settle it.

Moreover, get on with it quickly now. The time is really ripe for the book, and our names again command respect in the public eye. You know how fashionable it is to procrastinate in publishing in Germany. So, do not miss the moment—it may make an enormous difference to the impact it produces.

*Siebold.* I have told you before that lads like that are not to be trusted and I was sure from the beginning that he would call on Blind in London. The assumption that he had picked up some odd remarks *ad portam Gumperti*[d] is quite unnecessary. The fellow has always done that and will always do so. But it is a good thing we have our eye on him 'all ready'.

I gather from Siebel's letter,[119] which I am keeping here, that the Lassalle Association[2] will very soon be ruined, thanks to its officers' roguish tricks and embezzlement, and a very good thing too that it 'will have turned out thus'. The beastly old girl[e] and her cliques will do the rest. The less we concern ourselves about the whole filthy business, the better. LET IT ROT AND BE DAM'D TO IT.

I find the *Social-Demokrätchen*[f] more repugnant with every passing day. That shitty Hess, who is, in relation to us, really acting like a secret employee of Lassalle, with his protectorial airs; Mr Schweitzer's bloody pretentious articles on the encyclical and Bismarck, flirting with every kind of trash and only scolding the bourgeoisie,[g] the complete lack of sparkle and talent, and the absence even of any common sense, with just a few exceptions, it is all a bit too much for me. Lassalle-worship three times a week,

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[a] on the subject - [b] a joint account - [c] of *Capital* - [d] at Gumpert's door (see this volume, p. 72) - [e] Sophie von Hatzfeldt - [f] Literally: *Little Social-Demokrat* - [g] Engels is referring to the following articles by Schweitzer published as leaders in *Der Social-Demokrat* (Nos. 5, 6 and 14; 6, 8 and 27 January 1865): 'Das Kirchenthum und die moderne Civilisation', 'Das Ministerium Bismarck und die Regierungen der Mittel- und Kleinstaaten' and 'Das Ministerium Bismarck. I'.

the devil can stomach that, and it is good that the crisis is coming. I shall tell these gentlemen so in my next letter as well, have had no opportunity to do so until now. Apropos, how are you addressing your letters to *Liebknecht*? I would like to give him a telling-off from time to time as well, or encourage him, *s'il y a lieu*.[a]

I must stop now. Best wishes and do send the statement *straightaway*. I shall have finished the article by Wednesday or Thursday.

Your
F. E.

I have tried to sound out my brother-in-law[b] about Siebel, but I could discover nothing except that he is 'always drunk', runs around with actresses, and his wife wants to divorce him.

MY BEST COMPLIMENTS TO THE LADIES.

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## 38

## MARX TO ENGELS[101]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 February [1865]

Dear Engels,

As good luck would have it, in the feuilleton section in the *Social-Demokrat* which arrived today your call for the crushing of the aristocracy comes right after my article[c] condemning even a 'pseudo-compromise'.

In the first instance, I now believe it is better to send in the few lines below,[125] instead of the statement I had originally intended.[d] They will inevitably provide the *occasion* for a *further statement*. But

[a] if there are grounds for doing so - [b] Karl Emil Blank - [c] F. Engels, 'Herr Tidmann. Old Danish Folk Song', K. Marx, 'On Proudhon [Letter to J. B. Schweitzer]'. - [d] See this volume, pp. 75, 76-77.

my 'aesthetic' sense tells me—on further reflection—that the latter would not be entirely appropriate, because it would come *too soon* after Becker's APPEAL.[120] These few lines, on the other hand, will *quite certainly* provoke a real tussle between Schweitzer and Red Becker etc., in which we can then intervene and declare *our* policy briefly, forcefully and *without any beating about the bush.*

I enclose letter from the unfortunate Liebknecht[126] and note sent him by the old Hatzfeldt woman; there is still not enough 'Lassalle' in the paper[a] for her liking.

As TO Klings, I am not going to answer at all. Let the fellows manage by themselves.[b]

Letter from Schily just received (can only send it to you in a few days time), from which it emerges:

1. that Moses'[c] insinuations were pure invention,

2. that our plan will have a 'fantastic' effect in Paris, and the workers there are not taking any notice whatsoever of *L'Association*, which Mr A. Horn, Löb Sonnemann and other riff-raff use to indulge their self-importance.[95]

If the attached statement meets with your approval, make a copy of it and sign it. Then send it back. I will then put my name to it as well and post the thing to Berlin.

Apropos. Lincoln's answer to us is in today's *Times*.[112]

[Postscript]

Liebknecht's private address is: '13 Neuenburger Strasse, *Berlin*'. You can send to *Mrs* Liebknecht at that address whenever you want to write privately. Poor W. Liebknecht is obviously in an exceedingly embarrassing situation. He will have to be told that it is a case of either bending or breaking. In the latter case, I should think he could certainly earn an honest living as a schoolmaster in Manchester.

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[a] *Der Social-Demokrat* - [b] See this volume, p. 82. - [c] Moses Hess

## 39

## ENGELS TO MARX[29]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 February 1865

Dear Moor,

Statement[a] enclosed. They will take exception to the fact that we refer to Moses[b] *by name,* which, when published, could be regarded as a breach of editorial secrecy. Do not forget to give Liebknecht instructions about this, so that a justifiable technical objection of this kind does not delay the matter again.

Liebknecht is becoming more and more stupid. He calls it a compromise that we should not merely sanction in silence every stupid thing that appears in the paper[c] but also tolerate the paper *casting aspersions* on our own affairs and actions,[126] in defiance of every convention. But we always have a fine LOT of agents to act for us and will certainly not be such jackasses as Lassalle and 'bequeath' anything to them, *s'il y avait de quoi.*[d] If things go wrong in Berlin, Liebknecht would do best to come over, leaving his family behind, we will then see what can be done, he will be able to make acquaintances soon enough at the Schiller Institute[28] here, and whatever else can be done, will be; I think he might very well manage to settle down here like that, and if not, nothing is lost, and if it works out all right, he can bring his family over later. If he brings his family along straightaway, he will *certainly* go to the dogs here, because the cost will then be so much greater that the attempt cannot possibly last long. It will not be easy to obtain work teaching children, as Lupus did; but he can, of course, explore the possibilities.

Bender has sent me a bill for 5s. per quarter for my subscription to the *Social-Demokrätchen,* which seems exorbitant to me.

The devil knows how one's work here is subject to all kinds of interruptions. Another committee meeting of the Schiller Institute yesterday, so this evening is the first time since Friday that I have managed to get down to the military question.[e]

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - [b] Moses Hess - [c] *Der Social-Demokrat* - [d] if there were anything to bequeath - [e] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party.*

The attempt by Hatzfeldt and Klings to throw out Bernhard Becker has been a complete fiasco, and Klings has been thrown out. Whatever happens we must avoid soiling our hands in *that* dirty business; it is just as the worker said in the Gürzenich[a] in 1848: they may fall as they will, a rogue will always come out on top.

What mad German Schweitzer writes 'as who'! This second LEADER on Bismarck's ministry is once again as pretentiously abstruse as it could possibly be, even though there is no longer any direct flirtation with Bismarck, and it is good that he openly calls Prussia's policy *anti-German.*[b] But how naive of Liebknecht that he demands that *we* ought to make clear to them what their attitude to the government should be, whereas what he should do is to ask above all for a categorical statement from Mr Schweitzer as to *what attitude he intends to adopt towards the government.*

It looks to me as if a compromise is at hand in Prussia now, with the Prussian Chamber rescuing its prerogative regarding the budget, *but giving way on everything else.* Bismarck will certainly not think of seriously disputing the budget-prerogative in the long run, since, if he did so, he would get neither money nor credit and he is badly in need of both. Meanwhile, the affair can still founder on any number of trivial details.[100]

In America, the start of the Richmond campaign in March or April will probably be decisive for the whole year.[30] If Grant succeeds in driving Lee out, the CONFEDERACY is PLAYED OUT, their armies will break up, and only bandit-warfare, like that already rife in West Tennessee now and in general nearly everywhere, will remain to be overcome. In reality, the only army the SOUTHERNERS now have is Lee's; everything depends on its destruction. Now we can already assume that the area from which Lee procures his supplies is confined to South Virginia, the Carolinas and at most part of Georgia.

*Salut.*

Your

F. E.

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[a] A hall in Cologne used for public meetings during the 1848-49 revolution. - [b] [J. B. Schweitzer,] 'Das Ministerium Bismarck. II', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 18, 5 February 1865.

# 40

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 9 February 1865

Dear Moor,

Manuscript enclosed, now swollen to the dimensions of a full-sized pamphlet[a] and no doubt now quite unsuitable for the little paper.[b] So far, it has only been very cursorily revised and will have to be gone through again. Regarding the military question, some statistics about the population fit for military service have yet to be inserted, and some more about the petty bourgeoisie at the end, which I quite forgot in the 'heat of battle'. You will notice, by the way, that the piece has been thrown together straight out of my head, without any kind of literary sources, since it had to be finished quickly. I now await your comments on it.

But where next with it? To Liebknecht or to Siebel, to find a publisher? What do you think? Best outside Prussia, probably, or do you think there is nothing in it that might lead to confiscation? I have lost all my instinct for the publishing situation in Prussia. Let me know your opinion on this point, too—the possibility of publication in Prussia.

Another S. D. (Sow's Dirt)[c] has just arrived. What a lot of feeble whining about the position of the party. No cut or thrust at all. For ever keeping the little back-door open for Bismarck. Peaceful collaboration! And then Moses,[d] who has come round to the point of view that the bourgeoisie and the government in France are vying with each other to do the *right thing* by the workers. France these days is a real paradise for Moses. It is a bit too much even for Schweitzer to stomach, he has put a ? after it.

Should I leave that section in III in, about the present workers' movement?

It seems to me that Roon's speech really does imply compromise. The man is prepared to negotiate.[127] For that reason, the piece

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[a] *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* - [b] *Der Social-Demokrat* - [c] Engels is referring to *Der Social-Demokrat,* No. 19, 8 February 1865, containing Schweitzer's article 'Die deutsche Social-Demokratie' and Hess' article 'Paris, 4. Febr. [Neue Gesetzvorschläge betr. Cooperativ-Associationen. Die internationale Arbeiter-Association. Unterrichtsfrage]'. - [d] Moses Hess

must come out *fast*. So, do let me know soon what you think with respect to publisher.

Your
F. E.

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## 41

## MARX TO ENGELS[29]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 February 1865

Dear FREDERICK,

The thing[a] is good. Although the style is too slapdash in places, it would be NONSENSE to polish or elaborate it at all now, as the main thing is to get it out IN THE NICK OF TIME, as the conflict[100] is 'all ready' on the point of being resolved.

My advice therefore is this:

Send the pamphlet straight to *Meissner* in Hamburg and tell him that *speed of publication* is paramount; and he should let you know immediately whether he will take it (leaving him to decide the fee), because then you would attract attention to the thing in advance in the Berlin and Rhineland papers.

The thing is much too long and 'too cheeky' for the *Social-Demokrat* in present circumstances. But I would arrange for notices, short ones, in the *Social-Demokrat* (through Eccarius), in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* through Siebel, and maybe even send a notice to the *Rheinische Zeitung*, to the effect that a pamphlet by you is being published at such and such a place, in which you are simply setting out our position on this specific question, as opposed to that of the Reaction, men of Progress[99] and Lassalleans, along with treatment of the PURELY MILITARY QUESTION.

Even if there are still things you have got to add to it, send the manuscript IMMEDIATELY ad Meissnerem (Hamburg) all the same and tell him that a few additions are to follow relating to such-and-such page (you can mark the places). There should have been

[a] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party.*

rather more mention of the *country people*, which your German lout is far too inclined to ignore as non-existent. To judge by Strohn's last letter, he himself is probably away from Hamburg again, so that the piece cannot be sent to him but will have to go direct to Meissner.

An evil wind of reconciliation is blowing in Berlin, fanned from the direction of *Russia* this time and further strengthened by the turn for the worse in the business with Austria. The *Petersburger Zeitung* advises unconditionally making concessions to the chamber in the matter of *budget-approval* and *two-year military service*. It says, amongst other things:

'The present time appears to us, if not an alarming one, then, nevertheless, a grave one, and if circumstances do not become especially advantageous, it is still to be feared *that the future will be dismal*. In times of distress and danger, however, as history has proved only too often, *the strict enforcement of discipline in the army and the civil service is rarely enough on its own*. The real power of the state is then based, as it always is in general, far more on the unity of government and people. Although we do not underestimate the *conciliatory manner*, in which the government approached the people's representation in this year's session, nevertheless, in view of what we have just said, we cannot suppress the desire that this conciliatory spirit may *also spread to action*.'[a]

It appears that the Muscovites need their Prussians for the wheeling-movement they are about to execute *against* Austro-*Galicia*, as announced in the *Moscow Newspaper*.[b] According to the same *Moscow Newspaper, this* final subjugation of Poland, which however necessarily means the ruthless continuation of Muraviov's policy, would '*open a hole into the heart of Germany*'. Our good 'men of Progress' and equally good 'Lassalleans' are missing all that by sleeping.

Letter from Schily enclosed.

To Moses'[c] great distress, the 'INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION' is creating a great stir amongst the workers in Paris. As a result of Moses' gaffe, Tolain has stepped down. (We have *not* formally accepted his resignation.) *H. Lefort* (editor of the *Avenir*,[d] etc.), who is also on the editorial committee of *L'Association*, has at his request been appointed LITERARY DEFENDER (ATTORNEY GENERAL) of *our* Association in Paris. The latter is already under attack from *Horn* (a paragraph in the Rules[128]). This Jew Horn will soon notice that Moses Hess is not the only German around. *Fribourg* has opened a

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[a] Quoted (with some digressions) from the article 'Die Eröffnung der preussischen Landtags-Session' published in *St.-Petersburger Zeitung*, No. 10, 14 (26) January 1865. Italics by Marx. - [b] *Московскія вѣдомости* - [c] Moses Hess - [d] *L'Avenir national*

*bureau de renseignement*[a] for us; CARDS OF MEMBERSHIP were sent to him the day before yesterday.

At the preparatory session for the Polish meeting,[97] I also saw OLD Oborski again, who does *not* send his regards.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Apropos. The fact that Lincoln answered us[112] so courteously and the 'BOURGEOIS EMANCIPATION SOCIETY'[113] so brusquely and purely formally[b] made the *The Daily News* so indignant that they did *not* print the answer to us. However, since they saw, to their dismay, that *The Times* was doing so, they had to publish it *later* in *The Express.*[c] *Levy* also had to eat humble pie. The difference between Lincoln's answer to us and to the bourgeoisie has created such a sensation here that the West End 'clubs' are shaking their heads at it. You can understand how gratifying that has been for our people.

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## 42

## MARX TO ENGELS[118]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 11 February [1865]

DEAR FRED,

It being Saturday today, I am assuming you won't be sending off your thing[d] this very day, so there will still be time for these 'supplementary' suggestions for changes:

1. In the passage where you *ask what the workers want?* I would not answer as you do that the workers in Germany, France and

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[a] information bureau - [b] See this volume, p. 73. - [c] 'President Lincoln and the International Working Men's Association', *The Express*, 6 February 1865. - [d] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party.*

England are demanding this and that. The answer sounds as though (at least, that's what it will be *taken to mean*) we have accepted Izzy's[a] slogans. I would be inclined to say rather[b]:

It would seem that the demands put forward at the present moment by the most advanced workers in *Germany* amount to the following, etc. This doesn't commit you at all, which is all to the good, as later on you yourself criticise universal suffrage if not accompanied by the requisite conditions. (Morever, in England e.g., etc., the word 'direct' would indeed be meaningless, it is after all only the opposite of the 'indirect' suffrage invented by the Prussians.) The form in which the louts in Germany conceive of state intervention *à la* Lassalle is such that one must ANYHOW take care not to identify oneself with 'same'. It would be a lot more dignified (and safer), if you took the louts at their word and *let them say for themselves* what *they* want. (I say the *louts* because they are the really argumentative section who have been *infected by Lassalle.*)[129]

2. I would not say that the 1848-49 movement failed because the bourgeois opposed *direct universal suffrage.* What happened was rather that this was proclaimed by the people of Frankfurt to be an ancient German right and proclaimed by the Imperial Regent[c] with all due formality.[130] (In my opinion, too, as soon as the matter comes up for serious discussion in dear old Germany, this franchise must be treated as a rightfully *existing* law.) As that is no place for a lengthy exposition, I would make do with the following phrase: that the bourgeois at that time preferred peace and servitude to the mere *prospect* of struggle and freedom, or something of that sort.

Taken as a whole, it's a very good piece, and 'Oi' am particularly tickled by the passage which shows that the present louts' movement IN FACT only exists *par la grâce de la police.*[d]

In great haste.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

I have crossed out the bit where you console the reactionaries, I DON'T KNOW WHY, by saying that a soldier does not turn reactionary in

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[a] Lassalle's - [b] A sentence deleted by Marx follows here: 'This is not the place for you to set out your own view—or alternatively you could drop the introductory section and just say the following:'. - [c] Archduke John of Austria - [d] by gracious permission of the police

the 3rd year—or not for long—although you later say the opposite.

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## 43

## ENGELS TO MARX[118]

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 13 February 1865

Dear Moor,

Your SUGGESTIONS came just in time yesterday and have both been used. How necessary the one about the demands of the louts in particular was,[a] was further brought home to me by Nos. 20 and 21 of the Sow's-Dirt[b] which arrived today.

By the by, our attitude seems to be bearing fruit in spite of everything. There is a certain revolutionary note in No. 21 which was entirely absent before. By the by, I've written to Liebknecht that there's no point in raising a storm, they must just drop their flirting with reaction and make sure the aristocracy and reaction get their SHARE, too, but for the rest *abuse* neither them nor the bourgeoisie, which is superfluous in quiet times.[131]

But one can see that Izzy[c] has given the movement a Tory-Chartist character,[132] which it will be difficult to get rid of and which has given rise to a tendency in Germany which was previously unheard of among the workers. This nauseating toadying to the reaction comes through everywhere. WE SHALL HAVE SOME TROUBLE WITH THAT. You wait and see, the louts will be saying, what's that Engels after, what has he been doing all the time, how can he speak in our name and tell us what to do, the fellow's up there in Manchester exploiting the workers, etc. To be sure, I

[a] See previous letter. - [b] *Der Social-Demokrat* - [c] Lassalle

don't give a damn about it now, but it's bound to come, and we shall have Baron Izzy to thank for it.

Your
F. E.

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## 44

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 13 February 1865
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

You'll see from the enclosed how things stand with regard to our statement[a] about Moses.[133] At the same time, you will have read Moses' scrawl in the last *Social-Demokrat*.[b]

This time I believe Liebknecht is right: Mr von Schweitzer is pretending to see in our statement only a personal attack on Moses; he 'overlooks' the stand against Bonapartism, etc., probably knowing full well WHAT HE IS ABOUT. It might perhaps not come amiss to Schweitzer if a public *break* (who knows whether he has committed himself to something which will soon force one or not?) were occasioned by this Moses business, *instead of ad vocem*[c] *Bismarck*? I have therefore written him letter (copy retained[134]) in which I *d'abord*[d] give him a summary of our relations to date and ask him where in all this we for our part have gone 'beyond the bounds'? And I analyse the Moses CASE once more. I then say that because of Moses' latest silly outburst, our statement is TO A CERTAIN DEGREE out-of-date, and the matter can therefore be allowed to rest.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - [b] [Moses] H[ess], 'Paris, 7. Febr. [Amerika.—Der Orient.—Italien.—Die Internationale Arbeiter-Association]', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 21, 12 February 1865. - [c] concerning - [d] firstly

As far as the *other point* in the statement is concerned, the hint to the workers, we would be setting out our position at length *elsewhere* on the attitude of the workers towards the Prussian government. At the same time, I took the opportunity—apropos of the telegram in today's *Times* about the Prussian ministerial statement—to make our opinion *quoad*[a] Bismarck and Lassalle[135] clear to Mr von Schweitzer once again.

(I would in fact not be at all surprised if Bismarck were to *reject outright* the repeal of the Combination Laws to the extent that some of the men of Progress[99] have now been obliged to demand. The right of combination, and all that it entails, interferes too much with police domination, the Rules Governing Servants,[136] the flog-'em and birch-'em rural aristocracy and bureaucratic tutelage in general. As soon as the bourgeoisie (or some of them) appear to turn serious, the government will certainly make a joke and do a *volte-face*.[b] The Prussian state can *not* tolerate COALITIONS and TRADES UNIONS. That much is certain. On the contrary, *government support* for a few lousy co-operative societies suited their dirty game to a tee. Officials becoming even more nosey, control of 'new' money, bribery of the most active of the workers, emasculation of the whole movement! However, since the Prussian government is so short of money just now, this plan is scarcely more to be feared than the Order of the Swan of old![137]

Nota bene, Lassalle was *opposed to the campaign for the right of combination*. Liebknecht improvised it among the Berlin printers against Lassalle's wishes. That was the starting-point of the whole affair that beau Becker[c] has now taken over.[138])

For the present we should—in my opinion—exercise 'restraint' *quant au*[d] the *Social-Demokrat*. I.e. write *nothing* (Eccarius excepted). Things will soon reach such a pass that we shall either have to break *openly* with it, or we shall be able to collaborate with it in a proper manner. Moses will have to receive his chastisement on some later occasion.

MEANWHILE, I am *delighted* that you have got into the swing again. You are by nature always able to get back to working at speed. I take it my letter came in time?[e]

As long as these abominable Lassalleans rule the roost in Germany, that country will be infertile ground for the '*INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION*'. For the present, we must be patient. The

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[a] concerning - [b] about-turn - [c] Bernhard Becker - [d] with regard to - [e] See this volume, pp. 86-88.

Prussian government will put an end to this foul morass of Izzyness[a] soon enough.

Apropos. Cutting from the latest *Hermann* enclosed. You must make a few bad jokes about this notice from Messrs Blind-Wolffsohn, for me to pass on to Eccarius for insertion *in his London correspondence.*[139] I have been so put out by this lousy correspondence with Berlin (apart from the amount of time the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION inevitably takes up) that I absolutely must make up the lost ground.

Tyndall has succeeded in using a simple mechanical technique to break down sunlight into heat-rays and pure light-rays. The latter are cold. You can *light your cigar straight* from the former, and through a burning-glass they can melt platinum, etc.

* My best compliments to Mrs Burns. I am indeed very glad to hear that the *o* was an inorganic intrusion upon her name, and that she is a namesake of the great poet.[b] If Mrs Gumpert declines becoming a member of a *Workingmen's* Association, I hope Mrs Burns will not follow that example, but will believe with her namesake that 'a man is a man for all that'.[c]*

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

HAVE AN EYE UPON JONES! HE IS A FELLOW 'TOO CLEVER BY HALF'!

Apropos. I think I should be in a position to send you the cards by Tuesday. I SEND ABOUT 2 DOZEN, which you don't need to dispose of all at once. But give *some of them to E. Jones.*

The latter has written to me about the electoral agitation (whereupon I wrote him that he should write me a 2nd letter[117] which I could read out *at the Comité.* Which he duly did).[140] But he didn't say *anything* in his letter about the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION. As he is a *fox* and I want to pin him down, you should insist that he forms A BRANCH COMMITTEE immediately (the number of MEMBERS doesn't matter *for the present*) and that he and his friends take out CARDS OF MEMBERSHIP. They must realise that the '*INTERNATIONAL*' is the only means and method of establishing co-operation (political) *between London and the provinces*!

Concerning the cards, our RULES are as follows: *existing societies* (UNIONS, etc.) who wish to affiliate *in that capacity* need only take out *corporate membership.* That doesn't cost them anything, or they can

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[a] Lassalleanism - [b] Robert Burns - [c] R. Burns, *Is There for Honest Poverty.*

make a voluntary donation. On the other hand, *every member* of such a society who wishes to become an INDIVIDUAL MEMBER of the Association, must take out his annual membership card at 1s. 1d. In France and Belgium, because of the laws there, it has 'turned out' that they will all *have to* become 'INDIVIDUAL' MEMBERS of the *English* society, since they are not able to join as societies. Every branch society or affiliated society *outside* London and ENVIRONS elects a secretary to correspond with us. We can 'reject' people we disapprove of.

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## 45

## MARX TO VICTOR LE LUBEZ[1]

IN LONDON

London, 15 February 1865

My dear Lubez,

The very success of our association warns us to be cautious. In my opinion, M. Beales joining our council would spoil the whole affair.[a] I believe him an honest and sincere man; at the same time, he is nothing and can be nothing save a Bourgeois politician. He is weak, mediocre and ambitious. He wants to stand for Marylebone at the next Parliamentary election. By that single fact he ought to be excluded from entering our committee. We cannot become *le piedestal* for small parliamentary ambitions.

You may be sure that if Beales is admitted *le ton cordial, sincère et franc*[b] that distinguishes now our Debates, will be gone, and make place to *word-mongering*. In the wake of Beales will follow *Taylor*, this unbearable nuisance and tufthunter.

In the eyes of the world, Beales' admission will change the whole character of our society, we will diminish into one of the numerous societies which he favours with patronage. Where he has driven in the wedge, others of his class will follow, and our

[a] See this volume, pp. 109-10. - [b] the cordial, sincere and frank atmosphere

efforts, till now successful at freeing the English working class movement from all middle class or aristocratic patronage, will have been in vain.

I know beforehand that if Beales be admitted, there will arise questions mainly of a social sort, which will force him to tender his demission. We will have to issue manifestos on *the land question*, etc., which he *cannot* sign. Is it not better not to let him instead of giving him afterwards an opportunity of denying us.[a]

I know that after the foolish step taken by Mr Dell,[b] there will be certain difficulties in ensuring this candidature.

I would think that by means of quiet talks with the chief English members, the whole question could be [settled][c] before it is put before the committee again.

Yours fraternally
K. Marx

Apropos. For all his enthusiasm for Poland, Mr Beales has as yet done nothing other than follow the Duke ...[d] in throwing all the demonstrations for Poland into confusion. Yesterday, he attempted the same trick again, under similar instigation.

First published abridged in the language of the original (English) in: I. Tchernoff, *Le Parti républicain au coup d'état et sous le Second Empire*, Paris, 1908 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 31, Moscow, 1963

Reproduced from the text of Tchernoff's book, verified with the manuscript copy in French written in an unknown hand

## 46

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, 16 February 1865]

Dear Frederick,

Jones has written, asking me to send him about 1 dozen cards; I am sending you 1 dozen for him and 1 for yourself. What you can't

[a] The rest of the letter, missing in the English original, has been translated from the extant French manuscript. - [b] See this volume, p. 110. - [c] Manuscript damaged - [d] An omission in the original; Marx presumably means Duke Townshend.

dispose of WITHIN A REASONABLE period of time you can send back. Price 1s. 1d. PER CARD.

I remind you AGAIN that *Petzler* may, in my opinion, be very useful in *this matter*. For years now he has had many PERSONAL RELATIONS (as SINGMASTER and socialist) with the Manchester workers.

You must return enclosed letter (to Lessner) when you have read it. How do you think we should MANAGE this business? *I* shall keep my mouth shut, of course, but *Lessner* won't be able to do that.[141]

I am pleased to see in today's *Times* that the Prussian Chamber has accepted the motion *against* the Combination Laws. The government will now arrange for it to be rejected in the *LORDS HOUSE*. Red Becker[a]—no doubt spurred on by your literary contribution[b]—has brought in the amendment about the rural population.[142]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 47

## MARX TO ENGELS[101]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 February 1865

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed 2 letters from Liebknecht, 1 to you and 1 to me. Ditto an *earlier* one from Schweitzer.

My view is this:

Once Liebknecht has given in his notice,[143] *il faut en finir.*[c] If he had put the matter off, we could have done so, too, since your pamphlet[d] is on the stocks.

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[a] Hermann Heinrich Becker - [b] F. Engels, 'Herr Tidmann. Old Danish Folk Song'. - [c] we must put an end to it - [d] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party.*

I consider Schweitzer to be incorrigible (probably has a secret arrangement with Bismarck).

What confirms me in that view is

1. the passage I have underlined in his letter of 15th enclosed[144];

2. the *timing* of the publication of his 'Bismarck III'.[145]

To do justice to both points, I shall now *copy out* for you *word for word* a passage from my letter to him[134] of 13 February:

'...since our statement[a] has become partially out-of-date, following the correspondence from M. Hess in No. 21 received today, we will allow the matter rest there.[125] Our statement did, of course, contain another point as well: praise of the anti-Bonapartist stance of the Parisian proletariat and hint to the German workers that they should follow this example. We regarded this as more important than our sally against Hess. Meanwhile, we shall set out our views in detail elsewhere on the relation of the workers towards the Prussian government.[b]

'In your letter of 4 February you say that I warned Liebknecht myself not to overstep the mark, so that he would not be sent to the devil. Quite right. But I wrote to him at the same time that one could say *anything* if one put it in the right way.[c] A form of polemic *against* the government which is "possible" even for the Berlin meridian is certainly very different from flirting with the government or even pretending to compromise with it! I wrote to you myself that the *Social-Demokrat* must eschew even the appearance of doing so.[121]

'I see from your paper that the ministry is making ambiguous and procrastinatory statements with regard to the repeal of the Combination Laws. On the other hand, a *Times* telegram reports that it was in favour of the proposed state aid for the co-operative societies.[d] It would not surprise me at all if *The Times* had for once telegraphed a correct report!

'Combinations and the TRADES UNIONS they would give rise to are of the utmost importance not merely as a means of organising the working class for the struggle against the bourgeoisie—just how important is shown among other things by the fact that even the workers of the United States cannot do without them, in spite of franchise and republic—but in Prussia and indeed in Germany as a whole the right of combination also means a breach in the domination of the police and the bureaucracy, it tears to shreds

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - [b] See this volume, pp. 89-90. - [c] ibid., pp. 75-76. - [d] *The Times*, No. 25107, 13 February 1865.

the Rules Governing Servants[136] and the power of the aristocracy in rural areas, in short, it is a step towards the granting of full civil rights to the "subject population" which the Party of Progress,[99] i.e. any bourgeois opposition party in Prussia, would be crazy not to be a hundred times more willing to permit than the Prussian government, to say nothing of the government of a Bismarck! As oppossed to that, however, the aid of the Royal Prussian government for co-operative societies—and anyone who is familiar with conditions in Prussia also knows in advance its necessarily minute dimensions—is worthless as an economic measure, whilst, at the same time, it serves to extend the system of tutelage, corrupt part of the working class and emasculate the movement. Just as the bourgeois party in Prussia discredited itself and brought about its present wretched situation by seriously believing that with the "New Era" the government[146] had fallen into its lap by the grace of the Prince Regent,[a] so the workers' party will discredit itself even more if it imagines that the Bismarck era or any other Prussian era will make the golden apples just drop into its mouth, by grace of the king. It is beyond all question that Lassalle's ill-starred illusion that a Prussian government might intervene with socialist measures will be crowned with disappointment. The logic of circumstances will tell. But the *honour* of the workers' party requires that it reject such illusions, even before their hollowness is punctured by experience. The working class is revolutionary or it is nothing.'

WELL! He replied to this letter of mine of 13th with his letter of 15th, in which he demands that in all 'practical' questions I should subordinate myself to *his* tactics; he replies with '*Bismarck III*' as a fresh specimen of these tactics!! And really it now seems to me that the *impudent* manner in which he raised the question of confidence apropos of the statement against Hess was not due to any tenderness for Moses but to the *firm resolution* not to give space in the *Social-Demokrat under any circumstances* to our hint to the German workers.

So, as a break must be made with the fellow after all, it had best be done at once. As far as the louts in Germany are concerned, they can scream as much as they like. Those of them who are any good will after all have to rally round us sooner or later. If the statement given below seems all right to you, make a copy of it, sign it and send it to me. As it was scrawled in great haste, alter

---

[a] William I

anything that seems unsuitable to you, or re-write the whole thing, just as you wish.

Your
K. M.

*To the Editor of the 'Social-Demokrat'*

The undersigned promised to contribute to the *Social-Demokrat* and permitted their being named as contributors on the express condition that the paper would be edited in the spirit of the brief programme submitted to them. They did not for a moment fail to appreciate the difficult position of the *Social-Demokrat* and therefore made no demands that were inappropriate to the meridian of Berlin. But they repeatedly demanded that the language directed at the ministry and the feudal-absolutist party should be at least as bold as that aimed at the men of Progress.[99] The tactics pursued by the *Social-Demokrat* preclude their further participation in it. The opinion of the undersigned as to the royal Prussian governmental socialism and the correct attitude of the workers' party to such deception has already been set out in detail in No. 73 of the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* of 12 September 1847, in reply to No. 206 of the *Rheinischer Beobachter*[a] (then appearing in Cologne), in which the alliance of the 'proletariat' with the 'government' against the 'liberal bourgeoisie' was proposed. We still subscribe today to every word of the statement **we** made then.

I'll send the Weydemeyer back to you tomorrow. What do you say to the 'Freiligrath-Blind' *Eidgenossenschaft*.[b] [147]

For a couple of days now, I have had a carbuncle on my posterior and a furuncle on my left loin. All very nice.

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[a] A reference to Marx's article 'The Communism of the *Rheinischer Beobachter*'. - [b] confederation

## 48

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 20[-21] February 1865

Dear Moor,

The letter from Matzeratt enclosed.[a]

*Quant à*[b] Petzler, so the photographer is an altogether different Petzler from the other one. I saw the photographer, you know, the day before yesterday, at a scientific soirée at the Schiller Institute,[28] and the fellow is at least 20 years younger and looks quite different. Heaven knows what has become of the musician.

Your
F.E.

[Pencilled note on the reverse of the letter]

Quite forgot to post the letter yesterday. No ANSWER YET FROM HAMBURG.[c]

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## 49

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 February 1865

Dear Moor,

In great haste, herewith the statement.[d] Schweitzer's letter is 'rotten to the core'.[e] The fellow has the job of compromising us,

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[a] See this volume, p. 94. - [b] With regard to - [c] from Meissner (see this volume, pp. 84-85. - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - [e] See this volume, pp. 94-95.

and the longer we have our dealings with him, the deeper we'll sink into the mire. So, the sooner the better! Liebknecht's and Schweitzer's letters likewise returned. You must have given Liebknecht a terrible dressing down if my letter appeared 'kind' to him! [131]

Enclosure from Meissner. This time it really is full steam ahead with the publication,[a] and that's what really matters. I replied to his proposal to fix the number of copies himself as follows: suits me, but he must then *tell* me how many there are to be, he only gets the *first* impression for 2 *louis-d'or.* (N.B. In the meantime, he will have had to make up his mind and get things ready for printing.)

In haste.

Your
F. E.

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## 50

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, before 22 February 1865]

Dear Frederick,

Enclosed some secret contributions to the *crème bonapartiste* as a Sunday *treat* and *pour la bonne bouche.*[b] [148]

You must keep these scraps of paper. My compliments to Mrs Lizzie.[c]

Your
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 31, Moscow, 1963

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[a] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party.* - [b] as a special delicacy - [c] Lizzie Burns

## 51

## ENGELS TO OTTO MEISSNER

IN HAMBURG

Manchester, 22 February 1865

Dear Sir,

Your kind letter of 17th inst. has only just been delivered to me, since postal communication via Ostende has been interrupted for three full days, and I am greatly obliged to you for your prompt agreement to publish, and more especially for your rapid prosecution of the printing.[a]

I accept your fee of 2 *louis-d'or* per sheet of print and likewise leave it to you to decide the number of copies to be printed, under the condition, however, that you inform me of it in your next letter; it goes without saying [that I] am only making [over the first impression][b] for this fee.

Announcements in the n[ewspapers shall be] attended to forthwith.

The apparent delay in [despatch] here, to which you justifiably allude, arose from the following: I finished on Saturday evening, 11 February, and wrote the accompanying letter late that night; the letter was taken to the post on Monday 13th at 10.00 a.m. and went by the mail-boat from Dover that Monday evening—no later than it would have done if I had posted it on Saturday evening. The pious English do not allow mail-steamers to leave on Sunday evening, at least not to Ostende.

Yours respectfully

Fr. Engels

I hope to receive 12 copies by post here on 27th or 28th inst.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

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[a] Engels refers to his pamphlet *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - [b] The manuscript is damaged; here and below the words in square brackets are reconstructed according to Engels' letter to Marx of 22 February 1865.

## 52

## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT[149]

### IN HANOVER

[London, 23 February 1865]

In the few brief excerpts, which Eccarius gives from my speech at the workers' society, there are certain things *that convey precisely the opposite of what I said.*[150] I have written to him about it, leaving it to him whether to correct it or not in the next piece he contributes, as it is not very important in the present circumstances.[111]

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## 53

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[65]

### IN HANOVER

London, 23 February 1865
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Friend,

Yesterday I received your letter, which I found most interesting, and will now reply to the various points.

First of all, I shall briefly describe my attitude towards *Lassalle*. Whilst he was pursuing his agitation, our relations were suspended, 1. on account of his bombastic self-adulation, which he managed to combine with the most shameless plagiarism of writings by myself and others; 2. because I *condemned* his *political* tactics; 3. because, even *before* he began his agitation,[50] I had fully explained and 'proved' to him here in London that direct *socialist* intervention by a '*Prussian state*' was an absurdity. In his letters to me (from 1848 to 1863), as well as when we met personally, he had always declared himself a supporter of the party I represent.

As soon as he had become convinced in London (at the end of 1862) that he could not play his game *with* me, he resolved to set himself up as 'workers' dictator' *against* me and the old party. In spite of all that, I acknowledged his merits as an agitator, although towards the end of his brief career even that agitation appeared to me in an increasingly dubious light. His sudden death, our friendship of old, the grief-stricken letters from Countess Hatzfeldt, my indignation at the *cowardly impudence* of the bourgeois papers towards the man they had feared so much while he was alive, all these things induced me to publish a short statement attacking that wretch Blind[a] but not dealing with the *substance* of Lassalle's doings (Hatzfeldt sent the statement to the *Nordstern*[b]). For the same reasons, and in the hope of being able to drive out those elements whom I thought dangerous, Engels and I promised to contribute to the *Social-Demokrat* (it has published a translation of the 'Address',[c] and, at its request, I wrote an article about Proudhon[d] when the latter died) and allowed our names to be put out as contributors, after Schweitzer had sent us a *satisfactory programme of its editorial board.*[34] We had a further guarantee in *W. Liebknecht* being an unofficial member of the editorial board. In the meantime, it soon became clear—the proof of this came into our possession—that *Lassalle* had in fact *betrayed* the party. He had entered into a formal contract with Bismarck (with *no* guarantees *of any kind* in *his* hands, of course). At the end of September 1864, he was to go to Hamburg and there (together with the crazy Schramm and the Prussian police spy Marr) '*force*' Bismarck to incorporate Schleswig-Holstein, i.e. to proclaim such in the name of the 'workers', etc., in return for which Bismarck promised universal suffrage and a few spurious socialist measures.[98] It is a pity that Lassalle was unable to play this farce through to its conclusion! It would have made him appear deuced foolish and an utter gull! And it would have put paid to all such attempts for ever!

Lassalle got on the wrong path because he was, like Mr Miquel,[151] a '*realistic politician*', only on a larger scale and with grander aims! (By the bye, I had long ago seen through Miquel sufficiently to explain his conduct to myself[e] by the fact that the National Association[152] offered a splendid excuse for a petty

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[a] K. Marx, 'To the Editor of the Stuttgart *Beobachter*'. - [b] See this volume, pp. 56-57. - [c] K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - [d] K. Marx, 'On Proudhon [Letter to J. B. Schweitzer]'. - [e] See this volume, pp. 107 and 112.

*Hanoverian* lawyer to make himself heard beyond his own four walls, in Germany at large, and then to exploit the enhanced '*reality*' of his own self retrospectively in his native Hanover, playing the '*Hanoverian*' Mirabeau under '*Prussian*' protection, furthermore.) Just as Miquel and his present friends eagerly seized hold of the 'New Era'[146] inaugurated by the Prussian Prince Regent in order to national-associate and to fasten on to the 'Prussian leadership',[153] just as in general they cultivated their 'pride of citizenship' under *Prussian protection*, so Lassalle wanted to play the Marquis Posa of the proletariat to the Philipp II of the Uckermark,[a] with Bismarck as intermediary between himself and the Prussian monarchy. He was merely imitating the gentlemen of the National Association. But, if the latter were invoking Prussian 'reaction' in the interests of the middle class, he was shaking hands with Bismarck in the interests of the proletariat. Those gentlemen had more justification than Lassalle, inasmuch as the bourgeois is accustomed to regard the interest he perceives immediately in front of his nose as 'reality', and as this class has, in fact, compromised everywhere, even with feudalism, whereas the working class must in the nature of things be genuinely 'revolutionary'.

For a histrionically vain character like Lassalle (who was not, however, to be bribed with such paltry things as office, mayoralties, etc.), it was a most seductive thought that he, Ferdinand Lassalle, might perform a deed for the direct benefit of the proletariat! He was, in fact, too ignorant of the real economic conditions required for such a deed to be critically self-consistent! The German workers, on the other hand, had '*demoralised*' too far in consequence of the despicable '*realistic politics*' with which the German bourgeoisie had tolerated the reaction of 1849-1859 and watched the people's minds being stultified, for them not to hail such a mountebank of a saviour who was promising to help them reach the promised land with one bound!

So, to take up the thread where I left off above! Hardly had the *Social-Demokrat* been established when it became clear that the old Hatzfeldt woman was planning to execute Lassalle's 'testament' posthumously. She had contact with Bismarck through Wagener (of the *Kreuz-Zeitung*[b]). She placed the 'Workers' Association' (Gen. German),[2] the *Social-Demokrat*, etc., at Bismarck's disposal. The

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[a] Marquis Posa and Philipp II are characters in Schiller's drama *Don Carlos*. Here Marx calls William I of Prussia 'the Philipp II of the Uckermark'. - [b] *Neue Preussische Zeitung*

annexation of Schleswig-Holstein was to be proclaimed in the *Social-Demokrat*, Bismarck to be generally acknowledged as patron, etc. The whole of this fine plan was *frustrated* because we had Liebknecht in Berlin and on the editorial board of the *Social-Demokrat*. Although Engels and I disliked the editorial board of the paper, its lickspittling cult of Lassalle, its occasional flirting with Bismarck, etc., it was, of course, more important publicly to stay with the paper for the time being in order to thwart the intrigues of the old Hatzfeldt woman and prevent the workers' party from being totally compromised. We therefore put on *bonne mine à mauvais jeu*,[a] although *privatim* we were constantly writing to the *Social-Demokrat* telling them that they should stand up to Bismarck just as much as to the men of Progress.[99] We even tolerated that affected fop, Bernhard Becker, who is taking the importance bequeathed to him in Lassalle's testament quite seriously, intriguing *against* the INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION.[b]

In the meantime, Mr Schweitzer's articles in the *Social-Demokrat* were becoming more and more Bismarckian. I had earlier written to him to say that, although the men of Progress can be *intimidated* over the 'Combination question', the *Prussian government* would *never under any circumstances* concede the complete abolition of the Combination Laws because that would entail breaching the bureaucratic system, giving freedom of thought and expression to the workers, tearing up the Rules Governing Servants,[136] abolishing flogging and birching by the aristocracy in rural areas, etc., etc., which Bismarck could never allow, it being altogether incompatible with the Prussian *bureaucratic* state.[c] I added that, if the Chamber were to repudiate the Combination Laws, the government would resort to empty *phrases* (such as e.g. that the social question requires 'profounder' steps to be taken, etc.) in order to preserve them. All this has come to pass. And what did Mr von Schweitzer do? He wrote an article *in support of* Bismarck[145] and is reserving all his heroism for such *infiniment petits*[d] as Schulze, Faucher, etc.

I believe that Schweitzer, etc., mean it *sincerely*, but they are '*realistic politicians*'. They wish to take due account of the *existing* state of affairs and not leave this *privilege* of 'realistic politics' to Messrs Miquel *et* Comp. alone. (The latter seem to wish to reserve the right of INTERMIXTURE with the Prussian government.) They know that the workers' papers and the workers' movement in

[a] a brave face on it - [b] See this volume, pp. 64-65. - [c] ibid., p. 90, 95-96. - [d] nonentities

Prussia (and hence in the rest of Germany) only exist *par la grâce de la police*.[a] They thus want to take the circumstances as they are, not to irritate the government, etc., quite as our '*republican*' realistic politicians want to 'put up with' a Hohenzollern *emperor*. As I am not a 'realistic politician', however, I found it necessary together with Engels to serve notice on the *Social-Demokrat* in a public statement[b] (which you will probably soon see in one paper or other).

You will see at the same time why there is *nothing* I can do in Prussia at the moment. The government there has flatly refused to restore my Prussian citizenship.[154] I should only be permitted to *agitate* there in a manner agreeable to Mr von Bismarck.

I prefer my agitation here through the '*International Association*' a 100 times. The effect on the *English* proletariat is direct and of the greatest importance. We are now STIRRING the GENERAL SUFFRAGE QUESTION here, which is, naturally, of *quite different significance* here than in Prussia.[155]

As a whole, the progress made by this 'Association' has *exceeded all expectations* here, in Paris, in Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy. Only in Germany, of course, I am opposed by Lassalle's successors who 1. are stupidly afraid of forfeiting their own importance; 2. are aware of my avowed opposition to what the Germans call 'realistic politics'. (It is this sort of '*reality*' that puts Germany so far behind all civilised countries.)

Since any person who takes out a card at 1 SHILLING can become a MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATION; since the French have chosen this form of INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP (ditto the Belgians) because the law prohibits them from joining us as an 'association'; and since the situation is similar in Germany, I have now resolved to ask my friends here and in Germany to form small SOCIETIES, regardless of how many MEMBERS there may be in each locality, each member of which will acquire AN ENGLISH CARD OF MEMBERSHIP.[156] Since the English society is *public*, there is no obstacle to this procedure even in France. I should appreciate it if you, too, would get in touch with London in this way in your neighbourhood.

My thanks to you for your prescription. Oddly enough this vile disease had broken out once more 3 days before it arrived. So, the prescription was most timely.

In a few days I shall send you another 24 ADDRESSES.[c] I have just been interrupted in my writing by a friend, and, as I very

[a] by the grace of the police - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - [c] K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'.

much want to send off this letter, I shall take up the other points in your letter next time.

Yours
K. M.

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Printed according to the original

## 54

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 24 February 1865

Dear Moor,

I'm a bit concerned at not having heard from you today, in view of the furuncles and carbuncles you mentioned, in the most interesting places (or rather most interested). I hope you are not LAID UP.

I was particularly disappointed as I hoped to get the explanation—as well as the Weydemeyer—about the unspeakable mess the *Social-Demokrat* fellows made of your speech at the London Workers' Society festivity. They make you speak pure *S.-D.* Eccarius never reported that to them.[150] This piece of infamy and the reprint of the article from the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* in the following number, *ostensibly about universal suffrage, about which it says not a word,*[157] is proof enough for me that the fellow[a] has simply been bought and has the job of compromising us. I hope the statement[b] is on its way. We must not delay a moment longer.

But *quelle bête notre ami*[c] Liebknecht, who is supposed to keep an eye on the newspaper and *never reads it on principle*!

Your
F. E.

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[a] Schweitzer - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - [c] what a fool our friend

## 55

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 February 1865

Dear FRED,

I quite forgot—*you must excuse me—to send back Weydemeyer's letter. I enclose it. Ditto a letter of Dr Kugelmann with enclosure of wiseacre Miquel's letter.[151] Ditto a prescription* from Kugelmann. Oddly enough the prescription arrived just after the disease had broken out afresh. (Nota bene, the passage in Kugelmann's LETTER, saying I wrote that I wanted to defend Lassalle, referred to *Blind's* attack.[62] I have now told him (Kugelmann) the plain truth.[a] Return the letters from Kugelmann and Miquel.) I have had the prescription made up and have already taken the POWDER, but I would still like Gumpert's opinion of it. It's a most troublesome business. Unlike last year, however, my faculties are *not* affected and (*to the extent that sitting down for a long time is not physically troublesome*) I am perfectly able to work. Incidentally, I have the feeling in every part of my CADAVER that the stuff is about to burst out all over.

Strohn passed by here. He was still in Hamburg when your manuscript[b] came in, in the nick of time to recommend to Meissner that he should accept it. Strohn was informed that a manuscript from Rüstow on the same topic was rejected. Apropos. Have you taken any steps yourself regarding your pamphlet in the newspapers, or AM I TO DO IT? On this occasion, Eccarius himself was responsible for the incomprehensible BLUNDER.[150] When his article arrived, I wrote to him at once (22 February) enquiring whether the thing had been *falsified* by Schweitzer?[111] *Quod non.*[c]

When I sent our statement[d] to that jackass Wilhelm[e] (23 February), I wrote this to him:

'In the few brief excerpts, which Eccarius gives from my speech at the workers' society,[f] there are certain things that *convey precisely the opposite of what I said.* I have written to him about it, leaving it

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[a] See this volume, pp. 101-05. - [b] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party.* - [c] Not so. - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - [e] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [f] German Workers' Educational Society in London

to him whether to correct it or not in the next piece he contributes, as it is not very important in the *present* circumstances.'[a]

My letters to Eccarius and Liebknecht have been written so that, if Schweitzer (who from the private letter he had just previously received from me[b] VERY WELL KNEW WHAT HE WAS ABOUT, of course) should try to use Eccarius' BLUNDER to defend himself, we could *if necessary* cut off this *retraite.*[c] MEANWHILE, I HAVE TOLD ECCARIUS PRIVATELY not to make any BOTHER about the whole filthy business until such time as Schweitzer's own behaviour requires it. Eccarius was very unwell, and that is probably to blame for the NONSENSE. On the other hand, I imagine that Schweitzer, who already had Wilhelm's resignation[143] in his possession and was therefore prepared for a statement from us, was delighted to accept the report, 1. so as to show by means of the passage about *Prussia* what *extravagant* demands we were making of *him,* and 2. by means of the conclusion to the report that we did IN FACT share *his* views. The *galantuomo*[d] is forgetting, by the way, that I have kept copies of my *private letter to him.*[134]

I have informed Liebknecht that, if Schweitzer should turn it down, he should put the thing in the *Berliner Reform* and tell Schweitzer about this at the same time, and also that I have simultaneously sent the statement to two Rhineland papers, so that Schweitzer cannot *procrastinate* this time. I have in fact sent 2 COPIES to Siebel, instructing him to insert the thing in the *Rheinische Zeitung* and the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* (the latter being the workers' paper) *two days after receipt of my letter,* and to send us a report on any comments in the local press.[158] So, this time there is nothing Schweitzer can do about it any more. I would not be surprised if the Lassalleans, especially in the Hamburg *Nordstern,* declared we had *sold ourselves to the bourgeoisie.* BUT NEVER MIND!

The 'INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION' has managed so to constitute the majority on the committee to set up the new REFORM LEAGUE that the *whole leadership* is in our hands.[155] I have put the full details in a letter to E. Jones.[111]

Such a conflict has broken out in Paris between our own representatives that we have sent Lubez to Paris to clarify matters and effect conciliation.[95] His CREDENTIALS state that Schily has been attached to him as an adjunct, and I have given Schily private instructions.[159] We could have sold 20,000 cards in Paris, but since one group was accusing the other of having Plon-Plon behind

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[a] See this volume, p. 101. - [b] ibid., pp. 95-96. - [c] retreat - [d] honourable man

them, etc., the distribution of cards has had to be suspended for the time being. Under this military despotism, people are naturally highly suspicious of each other (my impression is that this time both sides are doing each other an injustice), and they are not capable of sorting out their differences and reaching an understanding by MEETING or through the press. A further factor is this: the workers seem to want to take things to the point of *excluding* any LITERARY MAN, etc., which is absurd, as they need them in the press, but it is pardonable in view of the repeated treachery of the LITERARY MEN. Conversely, the latter are suspicious of *any workers' movement*, which displays hostility towards them.[160]

(Apropos these 'LITERARY MEN', I am reminded that the workers here (*English*) want *to make me editor* when *The Bee-Hive*[a] is transformed, which is to happen in 3 months time, and have already informed me of this. However, I shall mull over the matter in all its multifarious aspects, before making a move in one direction or another.)

So, what we have in Paris is, on the one hand, *Lefort* (a LITERARY MAN, well-to-do into the bargain, in other words 'bourgeois' but with an unsullied reputation, and, as far as *La belle France*[b] is concerned, the real founder of our Association), and, on the other, *Tolain, Fribourg, Limousin,* etc., who are workers. WELL, I shall let you know the outcome. At all events, Wolff, an acquaintance, who has just returned from Paris, tells me that there is growing interest in the 'INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION'. The *Débats*[c] has also intervened in the matter.

As far as the London UNIONS, etc., are concerned, every day brings about new ADHESION, so that BY AND BY we are becoming a force to be reckoned with.

But that is where the difficulty begins as well. Already MR *BEALES (THE REGISTERING BARRISTER of Middlesex,* one of the *most popular* people in London at present, President of the POLISH LEAGUE,[97] co-founder of the NEW REFORM LEAGUE, IN FACT THE GO-BETWEEN between WORKINGMAN and MIDDLE CLASS, *honest* and well-meaning to boot) has got himself proposed as MEMBER for our COUNCIL. The opportunity arose because as a SUB-COMMITTEE together with him we were to prepare the Polish MEETING (Marquis Townshend in the chair) for next Wednesday.[161] This was most unfortunate for me. I could, of course, have prevented the matter *by force*, as all the CONTINENTALS would have voted with me. BUT I DID NOT LIKE ANY SUCH DIVISION. So, by

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[a] See this volume, pp. 154-55. - [b] beautiful France - [c] *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*

means of private letters[a] to the PRINCIPAL ENGLISH MEMBERS, I have managed to persuade Beales' PROPOSER[b] *not* to bring forward his MOTION again. The '*official*' reason given was: 1. that Beales WILL STAND FOR MARYLEBONE at the next parliamentary elections and that our Association must by all means avoid appearing TO SERVE THE INTERESTS OF ANY PARLIAMENTARY AMBITION; 2. that Beales and we ourselves can be of greater assistance to each other, if we sail our separate ships. Thus, the danger has been temporarily averted. Incidentally, other parliamentarians, such as Taylor, *etc.* (fellows, who have close links with Mazzini), had taken it into their heads to tell us that the TIME *was not* OPPORTUNE for a Polish meeting. I answered through our COUNCIL that the WORKING CLASS has ITS OWN FOREIGN POLICY, which is most certainly not determined by what the MIDDLE CLASS considers OPPORTUNE. They always considered it OPPORTUNE TO GOAD ON THE POLES AT THE BEGINNING OF A NEW OUTBREAK, TO BETRAY THEM DURING ITS PROGRESS BY THEIR DIPLOMACY, AND TO DESERT THEM WHEN RUSSIA HAD THROWN THEM DOWN. In fact, the chief purpose of the MEETING is to raise money to support them. Are the poor émigrés (*this time mostly* WORKINGMEN and PEASANTS and thus not in the least PROTECTED BY PRINCE ZAMOYSKI *et* Co.) to starve because it appears to the ENGLISH MIDDLE CLASS JUST NOW INOPPORTUNE TO MENTION EVEN THE NAME OF POLAND?

Cutting enclosed by *Mr Blind from The Morning Star.*[162] Mazzini, who did tell Fontana that Blind was a *liar,* was absolutely furious that *his Italian Workers' Association*[20] here sent out the Italian version of my 'Address'[c] into the world without the omissions Mr Mazzini had *expressly* demanded, e.g. the passages attacking the MIDDLE CLASS.

Your
K. M.

Apropos. Some port wine and claret would do me a world of good UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 92-93. - [b] William Dell - [c] K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'.

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## ENGELS TO CARL SIEBEL

### IN ELBERFELD

Manchester, 27 February 1865

Dear Siebel,

Marx has sent you our statement denouncing the *Social-Demokrat* in Berlin.[a] In the meantime, to do something positive to prevent the people from lumping us together with Bismarckery, I have written a pamphlet,[b] and O. Meissner in Hamburg has accepted it. I should be grateful if you would arrange for a notice concerning it to be placed in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* and other papers to which you have access, with something like the following content:

A pamphlet by *Fr. Engels* entitled *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* will shortly be published by Otto Meissner in Hamburg. It originated at the request of a so-called 'social-democratic' paper[c] to the author to express his views on the subject in that paper.[d] Detailed treatment of the subject, however, required more space than a newspaper could command; the pro-Bismarck direction adopted by the latest 'Social-Democracy' furthermore made it impossible for the people at the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* to collaborate with the organs of *this particular* 'Social-Democracy'. In these circumstances, the above-mentioned work is being published *independently* in pamphlet-form...[163]

You will need to act quickly as Meissner has written that the pamphlet was already going to be *distributed* on 24 February. It will vex the Lassallean clique most dreadfully, the men of Progress[99] no less so, and not least Monsieur Bismarck. There are some most impudent things in it which have previously, for the most part, been passed over with tactful timidity. As long as the press does not again totally ignore the thing[164] with its fulminations against all and sundry, the story will have some effect.

So, be quick now! This is all important. For the *Rheinische Zeitung* I shall supply the necessary material through Dr Klein in Cologne.

Best wishes to your wife. Your

F. E.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - [b] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - [c] *Der Social-Demokrat* - [d] See this volume, pp. 67-69.

N.B. You can further add: and sets out the views of the 'Social-Democrats' of 1848 with regard to both the government and the Party of Progress.

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## 57

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 27 February 1865

Dear Moor,

As you had *positively* promised to take the necessary steps regarding the newspapers[a] *immediately* Meissner sent a positive reply, I counted on it that this had been done. Meanwhile, today I dispatched the necessary to Siebel,[b] Liebknecht and Klein in Cologne (for the *Rheinische Zeitung*),[163] as there is no time to lose. If you have anyone else who can do anything, please write to them—PERHAPS Kugelmann? His letter returned enclosed, ditto Miquel whose high-faluting refashioning of the theory into a platform for mayoral dignity and bourgeois benevolence greatly amused me.[151] It is more or less how Heinrich Bürgers will view the world if he should ever become mayor of Nippes or Kalscheuren.

Jones has got SESSIONS again, I have not been able to see him yet. More tomorrow, 7 o'clock has just struck and I must post this letter.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Engels refers to the publication of a notice about his pamphlet *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* (see this volume, p. 84). - [b] See this volume, pp. 111-12.

I have no port wine in the WAREHOUSE and will have to get hold of some first, but will do so immediately.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 3 March 1865

Dear Moor,

You must excuse me for neglecting my correspondence this week. Borkheim was here and took up a lot of my time; he left this evening; then there is COTTON-PANIC following Sherman's advance,[75] with endless letter-writing and vain attempts to dispose of our STOCK. I think Richmond will be abandoned within a fortnight, and, unless by some miracle Lee manages to get a fresh respite of 2-3 months, the final, decisive battle will be fought within 4 weeks.[30]

I must go home now and write to Meissner and Siebel, who is putting himself to a lot of trouble—he says he has sent you the statement.[a] I am glad the thing is finally published; *still nothing* in the damned *Social-Demokrat* of 1 March—presumably, they tried to go back on it?[165] It's a load off my mind that we have at last made the break with that gang. So, now we have the grand concluding article on Bismarck[b] which was supposed to patch everything up. *O, jerum, jerum, jerum!*[c]

Your
F. E.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - [b] A reference to the fifth article of the series 'Das Ministerium Bismarck', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 28, 1 March 1865. - [c] *O, jerum, jerum, jerum! O quae mutatio rerum!* (Oh, dear me, dear me, dear me. A crazy world. Lord, hear me!)—part of the refrain from a student song attributed to Höfling.

I have in my hurry not managed to find any decent port, but sent claret yesterday. Will keep looking for some port.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 March 1865

Dear Fred,

Our statement[a] is in today's *Social-Demokrat*. Although claiming that the statement from these 'gentlemen' requires no further comment, Mr Schweitzer has, nevertheless, '*anonymously*' devoted one of his 'bloody pretentious' leaders[166] to us. Lassalle and B. Becker, 'President of Mankind', for ever! At all events, I have Mr Schweitzer's exceedingly humble letter of invitation, etc. in my possession. Siebel has sent 5 newspapers (the *Barmer*, the *Elberfelder*, the *Düsseldorfer*, the *Rheinische* and the *Neue Frankfurter*) carrying the statement.[158] The enclosed cutting is from the *Elberfelder*. I am glad, firstly, that we are 'out' and, secondly, that we were 'in'. If we had not been, we would never have penetrated the '*mystères* of Lassalle'.

I have written to Kugelmann (please send his prescription back to me) about your pamphlet[b] (it looks *very good* in print; if there is a 2nd impression, only a sentence here and there would need to be altered). Can you send me another 2 copies? I would like to use Eccarius' good offices to put two short notices in Bender's rag[c] (London) and in the *Hermann*, but that will hardly be possible unless I let them have 2 copies.[167]

The '*Polish Meeting*' (Wednesday) went off very well, and *full*, although the bourgeois had done everything they could to wreck it by declaring it 'inopportune'.[d] [168]

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - [b] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - [c] *Londoner Anzeiger* - [d] See this volume, pp. 109-10.

*Affairs in France are very complicated.*[95] I will tell you about it and send you Schily's REPORT (I have to translate extracts from it this very day and accordingly inform the SUBCOMMITTEE of it) in my next letter. For the moment, I shall just mention that there is A FIGHT between our original workers' representatives and the politico-social gentlemen (including the boss of the *Association*[a] so admired by Moses[b]) as to *who* is to be in contact with us. The [French],[c] particularly the *Parisian* workers (although already links with 25 other French cities, too) literally regard the London COUNCIL as a workers' government 'abroad'.

Major Wolff has returned after serving his sentence in Alessandria.

Apropos: did I tell you that *Mazzini* later secretly communicated his 'displeasure' to Fontana after all (and his predilection for K. Blind, whom he had himself branded as a 'liar'[d])?

Your wine came yesterday; received with THANKS.

For the past week my brother-in-law[e] from the Cape[f] has been here again; he leaves next Tuesday. My niece[g] from Maastricht came with him (daughter of my sister, widow Schmalhausen); I shall have to take her back IN ABOUT A WEEK LATER.

My old trouble is plaguing me in various sensitive and 'aggravating' places, so that sitting down is difficult.

Apropos: is the Lupus affair[8] still not quite wound up? Ditto I never heard a word from Mr Borchardt about the outstanding money he was going to collect in. You will see from the enclosed scrawl, which is just one example, how I am being sent claims of every conceivable kind, things I had totally forgotten about. This is the most recent to have raised its head from the days of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. It is something I have to take into account in every possible way because otherwise the fellows will make a public scandal.[h]

It seems all up with CONFEDERACY.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, p. 118-19. - [b] Moses Hess - [c] Manuscript illegible - [d] See this volume, p. 110. - [e] Johann Carl Juta - [f] Cape of Good Hope - [g] Caroline Schmalhausen - [h] See this volume, pp. 117-18.

I wonder if you could send me the papers from the Manchester press relating to the COTTON-CRISIS?[40]

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 March 1865

Dear Moor,

Yours of the day before yesterday received, as was the *Social-Demokrat* today containing that droll article excommunicating us.[166] It really makes one laugh.

I have been at home with 'flu most of today, but I shall go and see the lawyer about the Lupus affair[8] as soon as possible. Everything will be straight as soon as the fellow completes; Borchardt has been paid his £100 (i. e. less the money he has already had), and the Schiller Institute[28] its £100, too; furthermore, I gave the lawyer approx. £150 to cover tax and am only waiting for his account now before remitting the rest to you directly. I shall put together a provisional balance sheet for you in a day or two so that you can see how things stand.

Things from Siebel and a certain Lange enclosed.[a] *Qu'en penses-tu?*[b] Send the stuff back, as well as the letter from *Meissner*, which I must have for my correspondence with him. I am sending him the cuttings for him to see that we have also got people to push things along.

The *Kölnische Zeitung* has also printed our statement,[c] but only up to the words that the *Social-Demokrat*'s tactics preclude our further participation in it.

Bruhn returned enclosed. HOW THE HELL CAME YOU TO OWE THAT FELLOW ANY BRASS?[d] However much it is, I shall send it to you at once.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 135-38. - [b] What do you think of it? - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - [d] See this volume, pp. 117-19.

2 COPIES of the pamphlet[a] despatched herewith. They are the last ones. But I have ordered some more. There is an announcement about the pamphlet in the *Kölner Zeitung*.[b]

What kind of 'PAPERS from the Manchester *press* relating to the COTTON-CRISIS' are you talking about? Surely you mean from the RELIEF COMMITTEE[32]? I have not seen Maclure for some time; as soon as I encounter him, I shall have a word with him about it.

Gumpert does not think much of Kugelmann's phosphate of lime. At all events, it is not a specific remedy. He says you ought to take arsenic. Returned enclosed.

I must now go to the Schiller Institute to chair the *Comité*. By the by, one of the fellows there, a chemist,[c] has recently explained Tyndall's experiment with sunlight[d] to me. It is really capital.

Your
F. E.

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## 61

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 March[e] 1865

DEAR FRED,

My brother-in-law[f] is leaving today to return to the Cape. I've got to accompany him onto the ship. So, I'm very short of time—hence just the following in the utmost brevity:

1. *Ad vocem*[g] *Bruhn*. A worker in Paris received a letter from a worker in Hamburg saying that Bruhn is slandering us in every way he can. Firstly, he says I owe him 60 talers which I never

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[a] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers'* Party. - [b] *Kölnische Zeitung* - [c] probably Carl Schorlemmer - [d] See this volume, p. 91. - [e] In the original: May. - [f] Johann Carl Juta - [g] As regards

repaid. Secondly, you and I are said to have sold the Prussian government, or rather 'Police-Chief Stieber', a manuscript about the refugees.[169] The Parisian sent the letter to Lessner, who passed it on to me. I replied to Lessner by return of post, for communication to the Parisian, that I had *never* had any financial dealings with Bruhn (which I believed at that time to be the case), and in general considered that for Bruhn to ever have 60 talers to his name was like something out of Munchausen. Furthermore, I explained the affair of Bangya and the manuscript, in which connection our declaration of April 1853[a] in the *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*[b] and references to it in *Herr Vogt* page such and such[c] were to be consulted. WELL! Then Bruhn's letter arrived. So, I racked my brains and think I remember the following: in the spring of 1849 I came to Hamburg to collect money for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. I had just enough in my POCKET to get to Hamburg. However, stayed 14 days in a FIRST-RATE hotel. I explained to Baron Frisch, who later intended to send us donations, that I needed money to pay the hotel bill and my return fare. I now have a dim recollection that since I didn't want to take the money as a 'PRESENT' from him and he for his part didn't want it back, it was agreed that *Bruhn*, who was just as much a scoundrel then as now, should receive it. I had forgotten the whole bloody business; however, I now wrote to Bruhn[111] that I couldn't remember any financial transaction with *him*. Since the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was banned when I got back to Cologne from Hamburg and I myself was kicked out of Prussia, it was possible that in the whirl of events at the time *I* had forgotten.[170] It is still striking that he waited from 1849 to 1865 to *remind* me. But it was a simple matter. He should let me know by letter how much he thought he had on me and send me Grübel's address. I would then write to Grübel myself. If the latter *confirmed* what he said, his demand would be satisfied. This procedure is absolutely essential, as I am *still* uncertain about the matter *even at this moment*, and the way I have been fleeced by claims of this kind is really scandalous.

2. From the *enclosed from Schily* you will see what transpired in Paris whither we sent Le Lubez to settle the disputes that had broken out there. (We had given *Schily* ditto FULL POWER to negotiate,[d] as we were aware of Le Lubez's bias towards Lefort.[95] Here I should just mention in passing that *Béluze*, President of the

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[a] In the original: January 1852. - [b] K. Marx, 'Hirsch's Confessions'. - [c] See present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 219-20. - [d] See this volume, pp. 108-09.

People's Bank,[171] who controls the few Paris Associations and their organ *L'Association*, is *with* Lefort.) *What else happens*—which will only be concluded this evening, as far as our intervention is concerned—in the *next letter*.[a]

3. The things from *Siebel* returned. It strikes me as *most unfortunate* that he gives *London* as the origin of the notice put in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*,[b] thus exposing *me* as the presumed author.

4. Letter from Liebknecht enclosed.

5. One copy of the circular from the Geneva BRANCH-ASSOCIATION[c] enclosed.

6. The letter from Meissner enclosed.

7. *Lange*: not to be directly rebuffed.[d] Write and tell him that he would do best to post the thing to you, 2 COPIES, and you would send one to me each time. As he rightly realises himself, after our recent experience we would have to hold back *for the present* from making contributions to any German paper. He would, of course, have the same right as any other EDITOR of a journal to reprint whatever extracts he liked from your pamphlet.[e]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

The first numbers (2 sheets) of Blind's *Eidgenosse* have come, with the only contributions by Blind, Struve and Rasch.[172] Trivia. Emblem consisting of hand with dagger, to kill the 'tyrants'.

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[a] See this volume, p. 130 - [b] [F. Engels,] 'Notice Concerning *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*'. - [c] 'Aufruf an alle Arbeiter, Arbeitervereine und Arbeiterassociationen in der Schweiz zum Beitritt der "Internationalen Arbeiter-Association"'. - [d] See this volume, p. 116. - [e] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 March [1865]

Dear Fred,

I can only write these few lines today, as I have much else to do.

The statement from Herwegh and Rüstow[a] is good. The impudence of Mr Schweitzer, who knows perfectly well that all I need to do is publish his own letters, is fantastic. Though what else can the wretched cur do?

As you will already have guessed, the scrawl he quotes from the *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung* is from student 'Blind'.[173] I'm sending you the first No. of this '*lackey*'[b] of the deposed Kings of Democracy and Holloway-type 'selfadvertisers' and 'puffers'. You must arrange for a few jokes about the fellow to reach Siebel, for him to hawk around to the various papers.

By the by, if there should be a 2nd impression of your pamphlet,[c] we can, in a short preface, make a brief official statement on *our* position with regard to the Lassalle shit and the *Social-Demokrat*. It would be, of course, *beneath* our dignity to take up the cudgels directly with that gang of riff-raff in minor journals.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] concerning the breach with *Der Social-Demokrat* - [b] *Der Deutsche Eidgenosse* - [c] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party.*

## 63

## ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER[57]

### IN ST LOUIS

Manchester, 10 March 1865

Dear Weydemeyer,

At last I have got down to answering your letter of 20 January. I had sent it to Marx who—partly because he was indisposed—kept it a very long while, IN FACT did not return it until a week ago today,[a] so that my letter could no longer catch the STEAMER; I was too occupied with business on that day.

My best thanks for your detailed answers to my questions.[b] With the negligent reporting on militaria[c] in the papers here, I had lost the thread of all the 'combined' operations; I found the Red River expedition[174] quite puzzling and I was not much wiser about Sherman's move eastward from Vicksburg,[75] as there was no mention here of the Southern corps advancing from New Orleans. These combined operations with a point of meeting up not merely in the enemy's territory but even behind his very lines show precisely how crude are the ideas of strategy of a nation that has no experience of war whatever. And yet if the noble Wrangel and Prince Frederick Charles had not been 2 to 1 in the Danish war[9] they would have got up to much the same tricks. The battle at Missunde[175] and the 2 inexplicable 'demonstrations' (to give a nameless thing some kind of name, nevertheless) against Düppel[27] before the assault were, if anything, even more childish.

As to Grant's conduct at Richmond,[30] I am trying to explain it in another way. I am completely of the same opinion as you that *strategically* the only correct thing was to attack Richmond from the *west*. However, it seems to me—insofar as one can form a judgement from such a distance and from such vague reports—that Grant preferred the eastern side for 2 reasons:

1. because he could provision himself more easily there. Whilst on the western side he commanded only the roads to Fredericksburg and to Tennessee (both crossing areas that had been exhausted), on the eastern side he had the Fredericksburg line, and the York and James RIVERS as well. Since the difficulty of supplying large armies with provisions has played an important part

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[a] See this volume, p. 107. - [b] ibid., pp. 39-40. - [c] military matters

throughout the war, I would not like to condemn Grant out of hand until I am clear on that score. You reproach him with having turned his back to the *sea*. But if one controls the sea and has secure points of embarkation (Monroe and Norfolk), then that is an *advantage*. Compare Wellington's campaigns in Spain and the Crimean campaign, where the Allies, who had been victorious on the Alma, positively *ran away from the enemy* in order to ensure their rear the protective cover of the sea south of Sevastopol.[176] That the possession of the Shenandoah valley was the best way to secure Washington is clear. But? The question arises

2. did Grant (and Lincoln) *want* to have Washington completely secure? On the contrary, it seems to me that with the loose constitution of the Federation and the great indifference to the war in some parts of the North, Lincoln never seriously wanted to drive the Confederates out of Richmond, that, on the contrary, he just wanted to pin them down in a position where they represented something of a threat to Washington, Pennsylvania and even New York. I believe that without that he would have got neither the recruits nor the money to finish the war. I certainly believe that Grant would have very much liked to have taken Richmond in the last 3-4 months, but he has not sufficient forces to do so. I see them estimated at from 70-90,000 men and Lee at 50-70,000. If this ratio is approximately correct, then, with his attack acknowledged to be strategically wrong, he has done everything possible to frustrate any offensive defence by Lee, and to encircle Richmond on at least 3 sides out of 4. For, after distinguishing himself amongst all the other generals of North and South in the last 2 years just by his brilliant use of counter-attacks, I cannot believe that Lee would now abandon this tactic unless *forced to*. It was, however, a stupendous gain for the North if it succeeded in pinning down the South's best army at Richmond, in one corner of the southern territory, because of a childish *point d'honneur*,[a] until the whole hinterland was cut off and militarily disrupted for the South, firstly by conquest of the Mississippi valley and then again by Sherman's campaign, until finally, and this seems to be the case now, all the Union's available troops are marching on Richmond and one decisive blow can put an end to the whole business.

The latest news we have is from New York, dated 25 February, i.e. it includes the taking of Charleston and Wilmington, and Sherman's advance from Columbia to Winnsborough. This Sher-

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[a] prestige

man appears to be the only fellow in the North who knows how to use his men's legs to win battles. But he must, incidentally, have splendid lads under him. I can't wait to see what will happen. If Lee assesses his desperate situation aright, he has no choice but to pack up and go south. But where to? The only way *open* to him is to Lynchburg and Tennessee; but that would be exceedingly hazardous to march into such a narrow mountain valley with just one railway, and Knoxville and Chattanooga fortified ahead of him. Besides, that would probably mean sacrificing Beauregard, Hardee and all other Confederate troops positioned in North Carolina, and exposing his flank to Sherman. Or he could advance from Petersburg, turn Grant's left flank and march directly south against Sherman? Daring, but better; the only way to draw to himself the remnants of the fleeing armies, delay Grant by destroying the railways and bridges, and fall on Sherman with superior strength. If the latter offers battle to this combined force, he will certainly be beaten; if he falls back toward the coast, he will open up the road toward Augusta for Lee who will there be able to make his first respite. But Sherman and Grant would then surely join forces and Lee would then again be faced by a superior force, this time as good as in open country; for I do not believe the Confederates can again concentrate so many heavy guns in any one place inland as to organise another Richmond there. And even if they were to do so, they would only be jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire. Or else—invasion of the North? Jefferson Davis would no doubt be capable of this, but that would also spell the end within a fortnight.

Now, however, Lee can only send some of his forces southwards as well to join with Beauregard and company and stop Sherman, and this seems to me the most probable course. In this case, Sherman will probably give them a proper 'drubbing', as they say in South Germany, and then Lee will really be stuck. But even if Sherman were to be defeated, Lee would only have gained one month's respite, and the troops advancing from every part of the coast—not to mention Grant's successes in the meantime against the weakened Richmond army—would soon make his position as bad as it had been before. One way or another, the game is up, and I look forward to the arrival of each STEAMER with expectancy; there is a positive deluge of exciting news just now. The strategic speculations of the numerous SOUTHERN SYMPATHISERS here are most comical to listen to, they are all epitomised by the remark made by the Polish general Sznayde in the Palatinate who said after every rout, 'We are doing exactly what Kossuth did.'

Incidentally, I am most grateful to you for your explanations about military organisation in America, it was only as a result of them that I obtained a clear picture of many aspects of the war there. I have been familiar with the *canons Napoléon* for many a long year, the English had *already replaced them* (light, smooth-bore 12-pounders with a charge weighing $^1/_4$ of the ball) when Louis Bonaparte re-invented them. You may have any number of Prussian howitzers, as they have all been withdrawn now and replaced by rifled 6-pounders and 4-pounders (which fire 13-pound and 9-pound heavy shells). I am not surprised that the ELEVATION of your howitzers is only 5°, it was no higher with the old long howitzers the French had (until 1856), and, if I am not mistaken, the English ones were only a little more. In general, the high-angle fire from howitzers has been used for a long time only by the Germans; its great unreliability in range-finding in particular had brought it into disrepute.

Now to other matters.

A Frankfurt lawyer 'von Schweitzer' had indeed established himself in Berlin with a little paper called *Der Social-Demokrat* and asked us to write for it. As Liebknecht, who is in Berlin, was to join the editorial board, we accepted.[a] But then, firstly, the little paper embarked on an insufferable cult of Lassalle, whilst we meanwhile received positive proof (the old Hatzfeldt woman told Liebknecht about it and urged him to work for the same ends) that Lassalle was *much more deeply* implicated with Bismarck than we had ever realised. There was an actual alliance between the two which had gone so far that Lassalle was to go to Schleswig-Holstein and there to advocate the annexation of the duchies by Prussia, while Bismarck had rather less definitely consented to the introduction of a sort of universal suffrage and more definitely to the right of combination and concessions regarding social policy, state support for workers' associations, etc.[98] The foolish Lassalle had *no guarantee whatever* from Bismarck, *au contraire*[b] he would have been put in prison *sans façon*[c] as soon as he became troublesome. The gentlemen on the *Social-Demokrat knew this*, but, for all that, they continued to intensify their cult of Lassalle. In addition to that, the fellows allowed themselves to be intimidated by *threats* from Wagener (of the *Kreuz-Zeitung*) into paying court to Bismarck, flirting with him, etc., etc. That was the last straw. We published the enclosed statement[d] and made our exit, with

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[a] See this volume, pp. 22, 23-24. - [b] on the contrary - [c] without ceremony - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'.

Liebknecht doing likewise. The *Social-Demokrat* then declared that we did not belong to the Social-Democratic Party,[166] which excommunication naturally did not bother us. The whole Lassallean General Association of German Workers[2] has taken such a wrong road that nothing can be done with it; however, it will not last long.

I was asked to write about the military question, which I did, but, in the meantime, relations between us became more strained, and the article turned into a pamphlet,[a] which I have now had published separately; I am now sending you a copy of it by the same STEAMER. To judge by the newspapers I receive, the thing appears to be creating quite a furore, especially on the Rhine, and it will, at any rate, make it very difficult for the workers to ally themselves with reaction just now.

The INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION in London is going from strength to strength. In Paris especially, in London no less so. It is also going well in Switzerland and Italy. Only the German Lassalleans are refusing to bite, and in present circumstances least of all. However, we are again receiving letters and offers from all sides in Germany, a decisive change has taken place, and the rest will turn out right.

The only reply I can make to your wife's[b] question is that I have not yet entered into a state of *holy* matrimony.

Photographs enclosed, of Lupus and myself, I have come out a little too dark; but it is the only one I have left.

Schimmelpfennig has taken Charleston—Hurrah!

Write soon.

Your
F. Engels

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[a] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - [b] Louise Weydemeyer's

## 64

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 March[a] 1865

Dear Moor,

Schweitzer's brazenness really is ludicrous. But it does show how hard he has been hit by our withdrawal[b] and how well he knows that *very much* depends on it for his petty paper. After Herwegh and Rüstow have come out in *support* of **our** statement,[c] anything can happen. Schweitzer will soon become aware of the effect his big talk has had, especially on the Rhine. Siebel has done a capital job in circulating the pamphlet.[d] The *Bonner Zeitung* has twice published long extracts already and is intending to produce still more. The *Rheinische*[e] has also got a long extract as well. Our standing with the Rhineland workers being what it is, this agitation-by-clique against us won't get very far.

Siebel had already sent me the little piece from the *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung*.[173] Student Blind as always. He is having to make a couple of phrases of Lassalle's last a whole year. I haven't received the *lackey*[f] yet.

The legacy business is complete, the LAWYER will send the statement of account next week, he has still got approx. 10s. to collect in or pay out, he wasn't sure which. So, I can send you the money on Monday then.[8] Meanwhile, *my* statement of account enclosed, according to which another £[g] approx. are due to you.

The ideas Liebknecht has about Manchester! He has got nothing to gobble and asks me what a house '*with garden*' costs here! The fellow is simply soft in the head. Schweitzer, he said, *could* not sell himself to Bismarck because he would have been *obliged* to use the good offices of the beastly old woman.[h]

I'm finding the new movement a terrible fag, by the way. It's the devil's own job letter-writing in the evening as well for the party and publisher, etc., until 1 or 2 o'clock, after letter-writing all day at work.

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[a] The original has: February. - [b] from the *Social-Demokrat* - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - [d] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - [e] *Die Rheinische Zeitung* - [f] *Der Deutsche Eidgenosse* - [g] No figure in the original. - [h] Sophie von Hatzfeldt

Siebel has sent me Lange's pamphlet.[a] Confused, Malthusian with some Darwinian ingredients, flirting with all and sundry, but several good passages against Lassalle and the bourgeois consumers' co-op fellows. I'll send it to you in the next few days.

Schily's letter also returned enclosed which I found most entertaining. Our old comrade is turning himself into a very useful diplomat.[159] How did the two of you settle the dispute?

It's impossible to get anywhere with Jones. Hardly are the SESSIONS over when the Assizes begin. THE TRADE IN CRIME SEEMS HIGHLY FLOURISHING.

*Adios*, and my kindest regards to the LADIES.

Your
F. E.

EXECUTION of Will W. Wolff

*Debit*

| | |
|---|---|
| Payment from Steinthal & Co. incl. interest | £1,083-9-3 |
| " " " Heywood BROTHERS incl. interest | " 234-14-9 |
| Debts collected by Dr Borchardt ..... | " 66-13-0 |
| | £1,384-17-0 |

*Credit*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| To payment to Marx ..... | | £234-14-9 | |
| " " " do ..... | | " 350-0-0 | |
| " " " do ..... | | " 200-0-0 | |
| " " " do ..... | | " 40-0-0 | |
| | | £824-14-9 | |
| " " to Borchardt ..... | | £ 100-0-0 | |
| " " Schiller Institute[28] ..... | | " 100-0-0 | |
| " " Engels ..... | | " 100-0-0 | |
| " " Wood, Solicitor ..... | | " 150-0-0 | |
| Paid by Borchardt | Payment to LANDLORD ..... | " 13-4-9 | |
| | " funeral expenses .... | " 57-11-0 | |
| | " of 2 bills ..... | " 1-2-4 | |
| | " of PROBATE DUTY . | " 30-0-0 | 1,376-12-10 |
| | | Balance | 8-4-2 |

[a] F. A. Lange, *Die Arbeiterfrage in ihrer Bedeutung für Gegenwart und Zukunft.*

There is also a certain amount in interest I have got to make over to you for the period from 9 November (when I received the balance of approx. £633 from Steinthal but only sent you £200 in the first place and also held back other payments). I can't attend to it today as the cashier has already left and locked away the relevant book; you will receive it along with Wood's statement of account; but it won't be much. Most of the interest due arose from the fact that the £633 remained with Steinthal from May until November, which produced approx. £16 extra for you.

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## 65

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 March 1865

Dear Engels,

There are mistakes in your financial statement, viz. you sent me £235 on *8 June*, £350 at the beginning of *July* (the letter enclosing the money isn't dated, but I can tell from a letter of 5 July which said it was about to be sent) and £200 on *9 November 1864*; on the other hand, the last *£40* itemised on the statement *you said would eventually follow* (in the enclosed letter dated 9 November) but you *never sent it*. I hope that you will be able to convince yourself of this on checking your books again, and if so, that you will send me the money by return of post, before I leave for the continent (with my NIECE[a]), which will probably be at the end of this week.[177]

With regard to *Schweitzer's brazenness*, I have decided on a different course. There are some things about which one would be glad to enlighten the public but can only do so *in response to direct provocation*, and then one must not miss the OPPORTUNE TIME OF A REPLY. And such is the case with Schweitzer's comments connected with

[a] Caroline Schmalhausen

the garbage from Blind.[173] I intend to reply in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* actually on behalf of *both of us*, but I shall sign in *my name* alone, as it would be *ludicrous to imply you shared responsibility for 'Achilles'*,[178] and as I shall be quoting mainly (*exclusively*, if my plan works out) from Schweitzer's letters to me anyway.

My plan therefore is this:

Schweitzer is reproducing, in print, the lies put out by the *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung*, knowing them to be lies. (Is the article in the form of an editorial in the paper, or what?) Viz.: 1. neither Lassalle's name nor any mention of Lassalle appeared in the prospectus we received 'printed as manuscript'. (Liebknecht had prevented that.) 2. In note of 30 December Schweitzer *most humbly* asks my pardon for so brazenly using passage from private letter of condolence, as both introduction and conclusion to his hymn of adulation. 3. By means of short extracts from Schweitzer's letters from 30 December 1864 to 15 February 1865 (his last letter), I shall show that the conflict over '*tactics*' was a lasting one from the *first*, trial number[a] right up until we announced our withdrawal,[b] and was by no means a quarrel suddenly picked, as man-of-honour Schweitzer pretends, with his support for Blind's shit. At the same time, this little mosaic of excerpts from Schweitzer's letters will show with what *servility* this selfsame brute behaved towards us, until he suddenly turned *vicious* on being kicked. This will make salutory reading for bourgeois and workers alike (and for Rüstow). All in all, good *introduction* for the break with 'Lassalleanism', which is in any case inevitable. (Of course, as far as student Blind is concerned, if that water-newt should ever COME OUT again, I shall always treat Lassalle as a dead lion set beside a live ass. It is indecent that such an 'uneducated' Baden publican should even presume to put himself on a level with a man who has studied Heraclitus and the Roman law of inheritance.)

Let me know by return if you approve of my plan, as I can't afford to lose any time.[179] (And don't forget to tell me in what form Blind's twaddle appeared in the *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung*.) In my opinion, it's necessary.

Although, unlike you, I don't have the pleasure of corresponding with the Too-Clever-By-Half,[c] nor of being able to foul his nest for him, nevertheless I've been infernally HARASSED just recently, quite apart from the furuncles, which won't go away; e.g., last night I didn't get to bed until 4 o'clock in the morning.

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[a] of 15 December 1864 - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - [c] Gottfried Ermen, Engels' partner

Besides my work on the book,[a] the *International Association* takes up an enormous amount of time, as I am in fact the head of it. And what a waste of time! (And it would come just now, with the French business[95] and the election business[155] here, etc., all at the same time.) E.g. the French shit:

*28 February.* Tolain and Fribourg here from Paris. Meeting of the *Central Council*, where they state their case and bicker with Le Lubez until 12 o'clock at night. Then reconvene in Bolleter's tavern, where I had another 200 odd cards to sign. (I have now got them to change this stupid practice by having our handwriting engraved on the plate, and only the General Secretary[b] signs by hand. Meanwhile, the remaining 1,000 cards of the old edition had to be signed in the old style.)

*1 March.* Polish meeting.[168]

*4 March. Subcommittee*[21] *meeting about the French question* until 1 o'clock in the morning.

*6 March. Subcommittee meeting* about ditto until 1 o'clock in the morning.

*7 March. Sitting of the Central Council* until 12 o'clock at night. *Resolutions passed. (I enclose resolutions,* along with the private instructions which the Central Council is sending to Schily, who, as you can see from resolution V, *has been appointed Central Council delegate (ambassador) at Paris.)*[180]

(This meeting of 7 March, in which Le Lubez was utterly *culbuté*,[c] was very embarrassing and stormy, and left the English in particular with the impression that the Frenchmen stand really in need of a Bonaparte!) In between times, people *dashing this way and that* to see me in connection with the conference with Bright which was held last Saturday (11 March), etc. Reported briefly on same to Jones (he had enquired beforehand about it on Friday), instructed him to convey the letter to you.[181]

Well, *mon cher, que faire?*[d] He who says 'A' must also say 'B'.

You will see from the enclosed *Nordstern* (see the 2 first leaders) that, despite his hatred for us, Bruhn immediately seized the opportunity to *attack* Schweitzer, out of sheer *professional jealousy.*[182] This is most important since Bruhn's paper is of longer standing, and this has at least sowed *dissension in the camp of these fellows themselves.*

A short notice about your pamphlet will appear in Bender's *Anzeiger*[e] this week. I sent one to the *Hermann* (Juch), saying he

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[a] *Capital* - [b] William Cremer - [c] overturned - [d] what is to be done, my dear fellow? - [e] *Londoner Anzeiger,* 17 March 1865

should form his *own* opinion of it, etc.[a] This he will do. I chose this approach because with Juch I'd always poked fun at the notices sent to the *Hermann* by Blind, for Blind and about Blind, and the two of us here are generally regarded as *one* person.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 66

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

### IN LONDON

[London,] 13 March 1865

My dear Jung,

Mr Cremer has quite *misunderstood* me (and I shall write him *immediately* upon that point). I was so far from any intention of moving new amendments on Tuesday evening[b] to the old resolutions[183] that, before the arrival of your letter, I had to-day posted to Schily a letter *containing the very same resolutions.* I wrote him at the same time to wait with their communication until Thursday next, so as to give Mr Le Lubez the time to fulfil his functions, viz. to communicate himself the resolutions.

What I said to Cremer, and to Fox ditto, was, that if Le Lubez and Mr Wolff, by their foolish behaviour, had not excited the feelings, and killed the time, the resolutions would and might have been *rédigées* in a way more polite on the one, and more *logical*, on the other hand; [so that] f.i. Resolution II (concerning Lefort's [defensive ways]) might, by a short phrase, have lost its aspect, while Resolution IV concedes *too much* to Lefort etc. All this might have been mended, and I expressed to Mr Cremer my regret that it had, after the vote on the *contents* of the resolutions, not been left to the subcommittee[21] to give it the convenient stylistic *form.*

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[a] See this volume, p. 134. - [b] 14 March

Yet, I should consider it the *greatest folly* to reopen the questions once settled, and which, as far as the *substance* of the resolutions goes, have been settled in the most fair spirit. I should consider it, particularly, quite unworthy of the Central Council to *rescind one single word* after the exhibitions Le Lubez and Wolff have made of themselves. Moreover, by my letter to Schily such a course has become *impossible.*

You will, of course, oblige me by communicating to me your *résumé historique*—but I beg you to understand me well. I shall like to read it, as the thing itself interests me, but not in order to control your writing.[184] I am convinced beforehand that you will not embitter the spirits. I fear Mr Le Lubez has already sent to *his* friends private despatches in that childish spirit.

Yours fraternally
K. Marx

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## 67

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 14 March 1865

Dear Moor,

The business of the £40 is based solely on a statement of the business I made out in November, in which this £40 figures as 'CASH' to you, but undated. I had the impression myself that I had *not yet* sent you this £40, but as I had no opportunity to check, I could only go by the memorandum. Today I checked my account in the ledger, but I couldn't deduce anything relevant from that either. But if you've not had the £40 and, at the same time, I too have the vague feeling that that is the position, that's good enough, and I've already given the cashier instructions to have the money ready tomorrow.

On the question of the statement in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*,[a] I'm in complete agreement. Though on the whole it doesn't matter at all if Mr Schweitzer occasionally takes it into his head to indulge in such barefaced effrontery, I did, nevertheless, find it galling that this vulgar upstart rogue should be allowed to get away with such behaviour towards us. Furthermore, if his smarmy letters aren't published *now*, they won't be any use at all later. It's always nice when someone like that gets the scolding he deserves for once. So, do it straightaway, and please ask Dresemann to send 2 COPIES, so that I can have one.

In haste.

Your
F. E.

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## 68

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 March 1865

DEAR FRED,

There are a lot of things, some of them important, that I want to write to you about. But as there's A VERY GREAT DEAL OF BUSINESS to do in connection with my departure tomorrow,[177] just the following bare facts:

The remaining HALVES of the notes received.

You can send the POST OFFICE order to my wife.

I've sent off a note from Bender asking for 50 copies, etc., of your pamphlet,[b] etc., to *O. Meissner* direct, as I had to write to him today. It is possible that Meissner's answer may arrive *too late* for the *next Londoner Anzeiger*. Since Bender does at present

[a] See this volume, p. 129. - [b] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*.

without doubt know best how to disseminate things of this kind in England, you should send him *a note about the price of the pamphlet* **by return** if you can (i.e. if you know it yourself). He will then advertise it straightaway in the next number. His address is 8 Little Newport St., Leicester Square.

I did a short, highly condensed little article for Bender, such as I thought would be suitable for his paper,[a] a kind of prospectus of contents, and sent Juch conversely, contrariwise and notwithstanding, just your pamphlet itself, asking him to do a critique of it in his own way and according to his own point of view.[b] Then I received enclosed note from Juch (*to be kept*). There certainly wasn't the time for a critical review. So, I sent the notice originally intended for Bender (in today's *Hermann*) to Juch[c] (and the enclosed message to Bender instead[d]). At the same time, I wrote to Juch—diplomacy becoming increasingly important—that I couldn't meet his request because I was going away, that he should print copious extracts in a later number; I would discuss his difficulty in finding contributors with him when I returned to London. (I am thinking of placing Eccarius there, instead of with the *Social-Demokrat*.) I sent him ditto a copy of my statement against Schweitzer, although the *Hermann* won't be able to print it until next Saturday's edition (copies sent at the same time to *Reform* in Berlin and to the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*[e]); no amendments in the version for the *Hermann* except a stab at Blind inserted at the beginning.

Bender has written to me ditto:

'Most obliged and grateful for notice you sent; but we now need a review as well.'

I've passed this on to Eccarius.

Also enclosed a number of the *Rheinische Zeitung* sent to me by Liebknecht with HIS SPEECH.[185] His wife[f] has written to mine; they are really down on their luck. He still owed the *Social-Demokrat* £5, etc. I can't send him anything at the present moment.

*Nordstern* enclosed. You must *keep* this document. You can see these gentlemen are now trying to make out that that wretch Schweitzer completely *falsified* Lassalle.[186] So, my statement against Schweitzer, which also repudiates Lassalle, even though very

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[a] *Londoner Anzeiger* - [b] See this volume, pp. 130-31. - [c] K. Marx, 'Review of Engels' Pamphlet *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*'. - [d] K. Marx, 'Synopsis of Engels' Pamphlet *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*'. - [e] K. Marx, 'Statement [Regarding the Causes of the Breach with the *Social-Demokrat*]'. - [f] Ernestine Liebknecht

indirectly, comes at a most opportune moment. It will all come out in the wash by and by.

It appears from the enclosed letter from Bruhn that I was right about Frisch.[a] I've sent him the 6 talers (not 60!), although I'm not convinced by it, at the same time saying that I would 'make further enquiries' regarding the 50, etc.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Apropos. *Klings* called in on his way to America. He had all kinds of interesting things to report to me. A real 'Rhineland' worker.

On *5 March* the *Cologne* branch of the *General Workers' Association*[2] decided to issue a protest (along the lines of our statement[b]) against the *Social-Demokrat*, and *against B. Becker* as well, who is a kind of Biscamp Secundus. They have *STOPPED THE MONEY SUPPLIES*. And this refusal to pay taxes is catching.

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## 69

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ALBERT LANGE[101]

### IN DUISBURG

[Copy]

Manchester, 29 March 1865
7 Southgate

Dear Sir,

I must offer you my profound apologies for allowing your kind letter of the 2nd-4th inst. to remain unanswered for so long. I

[a] See this volume, pp. 117-18. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'.

only hope you will not condemn me unheard. My excuse is that for the first few days I was greatly preoccupied in part with an accumulation of current business, but in part also with the large amount of urgent correspondence, which one always faces when one suddenly appears before the public again after long *otium cum (vel sine) dignitate*[a] and at the same time has such merry adventures as we have had with the *Social-Demokratchen*.[34] In addition to all that, I moved house, and that momentarily threw my papers into some disarray, in which your letter was mislaid; I only found it again the day before yesterday and I now hasten to reply to you.

I am most grateful to you for so kindly offering to send your *Sphinx* and other publications[187] to Marx and myself. My bookseller here is Mr Franz Thimm, Manchester, through whom you may send everything to me. Sending things via the bookseller requires 3-4 weeks as a rule; if you would send me at least the first few Nos. in a simple open wrapper by post (it does not cost much), I should be obliged to you and will gladly reimburse you. Communications for Marx should be sent to me here, and he will receive them within 12 hours of arrival. As you yourself rightly realise, I could not commit myself at all at this stage regarding possible future contributions; let us leave the question open for the time being, although, in your case, we are at least not running the risk of incurring the suspicion of wishing to rule over any section of the proletariat in Germany from England.

Meanwhile, the involuntary delay in my reply has given me the opportunity to obtain your publication on the working-class question[b]; I read it with great interest. I, too, was immediately struck on first reading Darwin[c] by the remarkable similarity between his description of the vegetable and animal life and the Malthusian theory. Only my conclusion was different from yours, viz.: that it is to the everlasting disgrace of modern bourgeois development that it has not yet progressed beyond the economic forms of the animal kingdom. The so-called 'economic laws' are not eternal laws of nature but historical laws that appear and disappear, and the code of modern political economy, insofar as the economists have drawn it up correctly and objectively, is for us merely a summary of the laws and conditions in which modern bourgeois society can exist, in a word: its conditions of production

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[a] honourable (or dishonourable) leisure (Cicero, *Oratio pro Sextio*, 45) - [b] F. A. Lange, *Die Arbeiterfrage in ihrer Bedeutung für Gegenwart und Zukunft*. - [c] Ch. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection*....

and exchange expressed and summed up abstractly. For us, therefore, none of these laws, insofar as it is an expression of *purely bourgeois relations*, is older than modern bourgeois society; those which have been more or less valid for all previous history, are thus only an expression of such relations as are common to all forms of society based upon class rule and class exploitation. Amongst the former we may count the so-called Ricardian law,[188] which is valid neither for serfdom nor for the slavery of antiquity; amongst the latter, whatever part of the so-called Malthusian theory can be sustained.

The parson Malthus filched this theory, like all his other ideas, directly from his predecessors; the only part of it which is truly his is the purely arbitrary application of the two progressions.[189] The theory itself has long since been reduced by the economists in England to rational dimensions; the population exerts pressure on the means—not of subsistence, but of *employment*; mankind could multiply more rapidly than modern bourgeois society can stand. For us yet another reason to proclaim this bourgeois society to be a barrier to development which must fall.

You yourself raise the question of how the increase in the means of subsistence can be made to keep pace with the increase in population; but excepting one sentence in the preface, I find no attempt at an answer. We start from the premise that the same forces which have created modern bourgeois society—the steam engine, modern machinery, mass colonisation, railways and steamships, world trade—and which through the unending commercial crises are already now working towards its ruin and ultimate destruction—that these means of production and exchange will also be sufficient to reverse the relationship in a short while and to raise the productive power of every individual to such an extent that he will produce enough for the consumption of 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6 persons, that enough people will become superfluous to urban industry to devote far more manpower than before to agriculture, that science will at last be applied to agriculture on a large scale as well and as systematically as in industry, that those areas of South Eastern Europe and Western America which have been inexhaustibly fertilised for us by nature itself will be exploited on a far mightier scale than before. Not until all these areas have been turned by the plough and there is then dearth, will it be time to say *caveant consules*.[190]

Not enough is being produced, that is the root of the whole matter. But *why* is not enough being produced? Not because the limits of production have been reached—even for today and by

present-day means. No, but because the limits of production are determined not by the number of hungry bellies, but rather by the number of purchasers with full *purses*. Bourgeois society has no desire, and can have no desire, to produce more. Those impecunious bellies, the labour which cannot be utilised *with profit* and is thus incapable of purchasing, fall prey to the mortality figures. Let us assume that there is a sudden boom in industry, such as is constantly occurring, to enable this labour to be employed with profit, then the labour will acquire the money with which to purchase, and the means of subsistence have as yet always been found. It is the endless *circulus vitiosus*[a] in which the whole political economy revolves. One takes bourgeois conditions in their entirety as one's premise, and then proves that each separate part is a necessary part thereof—ergo, an 'eternal law'.

I was greatly amused by your description of the Schulzian co-operatives.[191] We have been through all that here in a different form, although it is now more or less a thing of the past. People in Germany have yet to develop their proletarian pride.

There is a remark about old Hegel which I cannot let pass without comment: you deny him any deeper knowledge of the mathematical sciences. Hegel knew so much mathematics that none of his disciples was capable of editing the numerous mathematical manuscripts he left behind. The only man who, to my knowledge, has enough understanding of mathematics and philosophy to be able to do so is Marx. That the detail of the philosophy of nature is full of nonsense I will of course gladly grant you, but his *real* philosophy of nature is to be found in the second part of the *Logic*, in the theory of Essence, the true core of the whole doctrine.[b] The modern scientific theory of the interaction of natural forces (Grove's *Correlation of Forces*, which I think first appeared in 1838) is, however, only another expression or rather the positive proof of Hegel's argument about cause, effect, interaction, force, etc. I am no longer a Hegelian, of course, but I still retain a deep feeling of piety and devotion for the titanic old fellow.

Yours very respectfully

Friedrich Engels

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[a] vicious circle - [b] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*. Erster Theil. *Die objektive Logik*. Zweites Buch. *Das Wesen*.

## 70

## MARX TO SOPHIE VON HATZFELDT

IN BERLIN

London, 10 April 1865

My dear Countess,

I shall be obliged if you would hand the copy of the '18th Brumaire' with my marginal amendments, i.e., corrections, to Mr Wilhelm Liebknecht.[79]

I have read Becker's[a] attacks on you with the greatest indignation, and, to judge from letters I have received from people of the most divergent views, the scoundrel has thereby generally done harm not to you, but only to himself. I am in entire agreement with Mr Rüstow that it is incomprehensible that any section of the Association of German Workers could calmly listen to such scandalous talk. The most elementary sense of decency should make such infamy impossible.[192]

Yours most respectfully
Karl Marx

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## 71

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

IN MANCHESTER

London, 11 April [1865]

Dear Fred,

Returned home some twenty-four hours ago.[177] So, for the moment just a few lines to let you know.

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[a] Bernhard Becker

Letter from Wilhelmchen[a] enclosed. I sent him the STAMPS he asked for.

*Quoad*[b] B. Becker, I didn't get to see his dirty work until I got here. But thought reply really was needed.[c] (Rüstow and Herwegh have replied in the *Nordstern* on behalf of Hatzfeldt. Rüstow calls B. Becker a '*police-spy*'.[192]) Sent it to *Rheinische* and *Düsseldorfer*.[d] As soon as copies arrive, 1 for you.

I shall attend a SITTING of the 'INTERNATIONAL' this evening for the first time for 3 weeks. In the interval, revolution. Le Lubez and Denoual gone, Dupont APPOINTED FRENCH SECRETARY. As a result of Le Lubez's intrigues, and more particularly those of Major Wolff who is A TOOL in Mazzini's hand, the Italian delegates Lama and Fontana have left. Pretext: Lefort (who has meanwhile announced his departure in the journal *L'Association*[193]) must keep his post as DEFENDER GENERAL IN THE PARIS PRESS. The Italian WORKING MEN'S CLUB[20] has not withdrawn from the Association, but no longer has a REPRESENTATIVE on the COUNCIL. Meanwhile, I shall get Bakunin to lay some counter-mines for Mr Mazzini in Florence. The English SHOEMAKERS' UNION—5,000 strong—has joined the Association during my ABSENCE.[194]

How's the COTTON-CRISIS? I WANT INFORMATION ON THAT POINT.

In great haste.

Your

K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

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## 72

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 12 April 1865

Dear Moor,

It's good to have you back again, and I certainly hope this lousy squabble will soon be over. Letters from Dronke and Borkheim

[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [b] With regard to - [c] K. Marx, 'The "President of Mankind"'. - [d] *Rheinische Zeitung* and *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*

enclosed. I had told the latter how it was possible to work with Kolatschek's great-German organ supporting Austrian rule in Hungary, Poland and Italy, as we would immediately have all our friends in the other countries down on us, hence the vague reply.[195]

I had always half expected that the naive *fraternité* in the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION would not last long. If there were an active *political* movement among the workers here, just the same SPLITS would occur. It will pass through a lot more such phases and will take up a great deal of your time. But it does still remain something quite different from Lassalle's Association.[2]

I couldn't resist a hearty laugh when I read in Wilhelmchen's[a] letter that the *official* Berlin community of that Association consists of 5 people, as there was recently a perfectly serious report in the *Social-Demokrat* of their transactions, in which they congratulated each other on *such a large* turn-out.[b]

*Ad vocem*[c] COTTON-crisis, things are looking quite cheerful here. Cotton (MIDDLING Orleans) stood at 31 3/4d in July, was quoted at 14 3/4d last Thursday, and today, if one is selling, it hardly fetches 14d. So, it has depreciated by more than half. It was still worth 27d on 30 December, which is a fall of 12 1/2-13d in 3 months! On top of that, there's been a fall in flax, wool, sugar and all IMPORTS GENERALLY, which makes a loss of at least £40-50 mill. stg. You will readily understand that all the philistines are in a cold sweat. In Liverpool, *bankruptcy has altogether gone out of fashion now.* Anyone who becomes insolvent goes to his creditors (generally people there have only a couple), notifies them and offers them such and such an amount, which is always accepted at once as they are glad to get *anything at all* and have got to avoid any scandal so that the whole rotten edifice doesn't collapse. Hundreds of such settlements are said to have been reached on the quiet, and today rumour even has it here that one of the biggest Stockport manufacturers, who owns 3 big factories and is reputed to have made £200,000 over the last few years in COTTON-SPECULATION alone, has just come to a similar understanding on the quiet. But what we've seen so far is nothing. The bills, which were drawn from India against the white cotton, run out in the next 6 weeks, and there will be many more besides Joyce who will come to grief. A lot of people in Scotland are finished as well, and one fine day it's bound to be the turn of the banks, and that'd be the end of the

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[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht's - [b] *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 43, 5 April 1865. - [c] Regarding

matter. The spinners and manufacturers are becoming bankrupt by the dozen in Austria, too—in the whole of Bohemia only 'the great Liebig' is still on his feet, all the others have gone bust—and in Poland it's all just starting as well.

Industry itself is not much affected. The small fry mostly went bust ages ago or quietly melted away, and the big ones can operate reasonably profitably once more, if they can get any orders at all. Among them, the only ones who are going bust are those who have bad machinery or who couldn't keep their fingers out of COTTON. Everyone is making a loss on their stocks of cotton yarns and fabrics. We too could sing you a woeful song about that, twice as woeful for me in particular as it would have been if droned out last year. That's what comes of being an *associé*.[a]

Glorious is also the ethics of trade, as at present. You buy something today, and by the time it's delivered, it is worth 3, 4, or 5d a pound less. This leads to all kinds of dirty tricks and repudiations, as people try to get out of these unprofitable contracts at any cost, and that lands you in interminable altercations and squabbling correspondence. I'm sick to the teeth with it. You can have no idea how much letter-writing and aggravation this entails.

I hope your wife got the £3? Final statement of account enclosed, I'll send the £12 in a few days, it's too late for a POST OFFICE order today.

Best wishes.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

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[a] partner

# 73

# MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

## IN LONDON

London, 13 April 1865
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, N. W.

Dear Jung!

* In No. 30 of *Der weisse Adler, 223 Münstergasse, Zürich* there is a report of our Polish Meeting of 1 March.[168] This report must have been translated from the *Daily News* or some other English *middleclass paper* which, intentionally, suppressed the Resolution, proposed in the name of the 'International Association', and unanimously adopted by the St Martin's Hall Meeting.

As you are the *Swiss Secretary*, it belongs to you to rectify the report, and to request the *Editor* of the paper to print the notice[196] which I translate literally from the Report in *The Bee-Hive*.[a]

Yours fraternally *
K. Marx

It goes without saying, dear Jung, that you can change the concluding words at your discretion. Since you are *plus ou moins*[b] a Frenchman, I simply wanted to draft the scheme for you in German.

First published in *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, Jg. 6, Leipzig, 1916

Reproduced from the English original. The last paragraph translated from the German

Published in English for the first time

[a] *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 177, 4 March 1865. - [b] more or less

# 74

## MARX TO LÉON FONTAINE[197]

### IN BRUSSELS

[Draft]

London, 15 April 1865

Dear Citizen,

At its last sitting (see enclosure) the Central Council appointed me *pro interim*[a] to be secretary for Belgium in place of Citizen Le Lubez, whose resignation as Council Member was unanimously accepted. Citizen Dupont has taken his place as secretary for France.

I will, if you wish, later give you a brief account of the disagreeable incidents which occurred within the Central Council. In my opinion, they were really instigated by a person alien to our Council, well known as an Italian patriot[b] but an inveterate enemy of the interests of the proletariat, without which republicanism could be no more than a new form of bourgeois despotism. Did he not, as one of his most blindly faithful followers[c] confessed to me, go so far as to demand that all the passages hostile to the bourgeoisie should be deleted from the Italian translation of our '*Address*'.[d]

Despite these regrettable incidents and the more or less voluntary resignation of several individuals, our Association is making glorious headway. Founded only a few months ago, today it already numbers almost 12,000 members in England alone.

The Central Council will be much obliged to you if you send me *an official report on the present state of our society in Belgium.*

In your correspondence please be so kind as to keep the official letters, which are destined for the Central Council's archives, separate from such private communications as you may be good enough to send me.

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[a] provisionally - [b] Giuseppe Mazzini - [c] Giuseppe Fontana - [d] K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'.

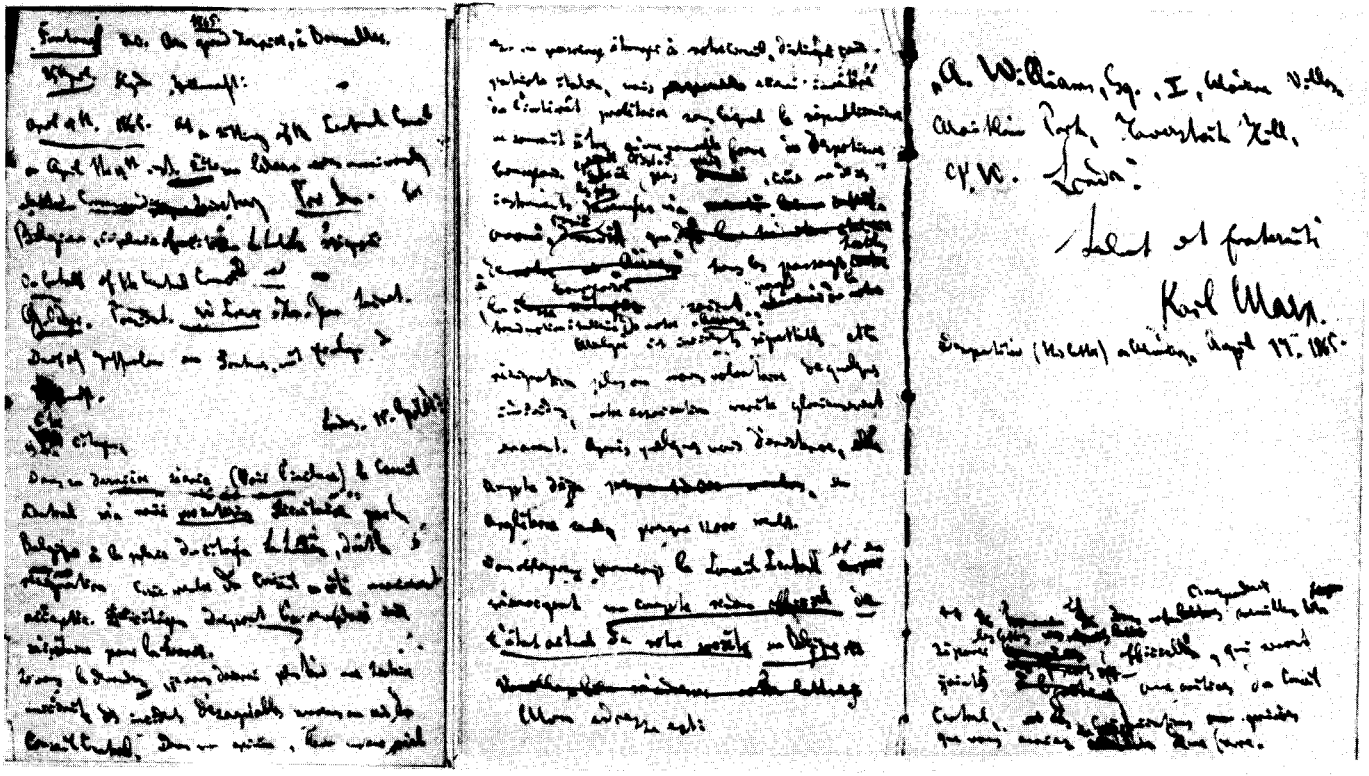

Pages of Marx's Notebook for 1864-65 with the rough draft of his letter to Léon Fontaine of 15 April 1865

My address is: A. Williams,[a] Esq., 1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, N. W. London.

Greetings and fraternity.

Karl Marx

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## 75

## ENGELS TO MARX[29]

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 16 April 1865

Dear Moor,

The *Nordsterns* returned enclosed. Herwegh and Rüstow have certainly acquired a funny Dido[b] dog in Reusche. The fellow is a real comic turn with his solemn declarations. The inevitable oath beside Lassalle's dead body makes a precious counterpart to Willich's apple-tree.[198] It's a real blessing that these people live so far away and that they still show a certain reserve in their attempts to approach us.

I haven't received No. 43 of the *Social-Demokrat*, so let me have it some time if there's anything particular in it.

Your
F. E.

What do you say about Richmond?[30] I had expected that Lee would act like a *soldier* and surrender, instead of taking to his heels, at least so as to secure better terms for the army. But it's better the way it is. He has ended like a scoundrel, and the tragedy closes on a comic note.

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[a] Marx's conspiratorial pseudonym - [b] A reference to Engels' dog.

## 76

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] SATURDAY, 22 April 1865

DEAR FRED,

The scribble from the *Rheinische Zeitung* enclosed.

I'll write a detailed letter to you tomorrow. I'm as limp as a wet rag today, partly from working late at night (nothing practical), partly from the diabolical muck I've been taking.

Dronke would be ALL RIGHT, if I could turn copper into gold like he does. AS IT IS, we must utilise the moment when the bourgeois papers are competing to print denials of SLANDER which tomorrow, if the struggle is being fought in earnest, they perhaps wish to have endorsed.

*Salut.* MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS LIZZY.[a]

Your
Moor

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## 77

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG[1]

IN LONDON

[London,] 25 April 1865

Dear Jung,

I hope I may have the pleasure of your company at my house on Monday evening (ABOUT 8 O'CLOCK OR LATER, if that hour is too early for you) for a MEETING with Ernest Jones and a small SUPPER. Apart from yourself, *only* Odger, Cremer and P. Fox. Had I

[a] Lizzy Burns

wished to invite *more* guests, I should have had to ask *too many* for the purpose of the evening. This *entre nous*.[a]

I have just written to Cremer[111] that he should issue the letter of authority for P. Vinçard immediately, which Dupont must then deliver to Vinçard forthwith. It would be best if Dupont could despatch the thing to Vinçard *direct* without it having to go by way of Fribourg.

Vinçard had already written to Lubez that he would *not* accept if he did not receive the POWERS *direct* from London.[199] In a letter to Fribourg Lubez promised to inform the 'CENTRAL COUNCIL' of this, but did not do so. I have reason to believe that Fribourg subsequently '*forgot*' the matter, not unintentionally.

I shall give you a verbal account of what further occurred in Paris (which was for the most part good); but in the meantime you should tell Dupont.

*Salut et fraternité.*

K. Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

Printed according to the original

## 78

## MARX TO ENGELS[29]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 MAY 1865

DEAR FRED,

You must excuse me for not writing until today and thus breaking my LAST PROMISE. It happened not because it is 'sheer delight to break one's word',[b] but because I really am OVERWORKED, as completing my book,[c] on the one hand, and the 'INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION', on the other, are making very heavy demands on my time.

Today is little Jenny's birthday, and this evening I shall be having Ernest Jones to my house along with Odger, Cremer, Fox

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[a] between ourselves - [b] Paraphrased quotation from F. Rückert's poem 'Die Weisheit des Brahmanen'. - [c] *Capital*

and Jung, so it will be a political birthday party. Laura HAD 'THE QUESTION POPPED' by one Charles Manning, born in South America, English father, Spanish mother. He's rich and generally a nice fellow, BUT LAURA 'DOES NOT CARE A PIN FOR HIM'. 'SHE HAS ALREADY KNOWN HOW TO DAMP' the passionate southern temperament. However, as my girl is a friend of his sisters, and he is frightfully IN LOVE, it is A DISAGREEABLE CASE.

I enclose a '*curiosity*'. The *Nordstern*'s correction makes it a worthy organ of the German louts.

I am also enclosing for you THE LATTER END of a letter from Schily, whose report on the Moses woman[a] will amuse you.

The great achievement of the 'INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION' is this: The REFORM LEAGUE is OUR WORK. On the inner committee of 12 (6 MIDDLECLASSMEN and 6 WORKINGMEN), the WORKINGMEN are ALL MEMBERS OF OUR COUNCIL (including Eccarius).[155] WE HAVE BAFFLED all attempts by the middle class TO MISLEAD THE WORKING CLASS. This time the movement in the provinces is completely dependent on that in London. Ernest Jones, e.g., had DESPAIRED TILL WE SET THE BALL A-GOING. If we succeed in re-electrifying the POLITICAL MOVEMENT of the ENGLISH WORKING CLASS, our ASSOCIATION will already have done more for the European working class, WITHOUT MAKING ANY FUSS, than was possible IN ANY OTHER WAY. And there is every prospect of success.

You know that the *Italian* society[20] has not withdrawn from the ASSOCIATION, but its DELEGATES have from the COUNCIL.[b] We now have *Spaniards* on it instead. ONE ROMAN NATION FOR THE OTHER. If those fellows don't appoint new delegates soon, as we have asked them to, Bakunin will have to arrange FOR SOME LIFE ITALIANS.

*Weber junior*[c] has been thrown out of the workers' society here for making false reports to the *Social-Demokrat* and for stirring up trouble in the branch society 'Teutonia', which is run by two fanatical Prussians by the name of Klinker.[200]

Our joint statement[d] really was successful beyond all expectation. Not merely have we blown apart the 'General Association of German Workers'[2] as an organ of the Prussian government and in SIX WORDS generally cleared the heads of the German workers of their intoxication with royalty. The present *split in the Party of Progress*[99] was also the direct result of our stand.

The *CHIVALRY OF THE SOUTH* has ended worthily. In addition, Lincoln's ASSASSINATION was the most stupid act they could have committed. *Johnson* is STERN, INFLEXIBLE, REVENGEFUL and as a former

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[a] Sibylle Hess - [b] See this volume, p. 140. - [c] Louis Weber - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'.

POOR WHITE has a deadly hatred of the oligarchy. He will make less fuss about these fellows, and, because of the treachery, he will find the TEMPER of the North commensurate with his INTENTIONS.

Did you see how Blind HEADS the letter of condolence from the 'influential' Germans?[201] Blind is a genius in his way. IN THE VERY NICK OF TIME he does not merely go running to Freiligrath, etc., but has enough presence of mind to realise that, of the other signatories, ALPHABETICALLY 'Berndes' would open the list. So, he runs first to Freiligrath, etc., and gets him first of all to form a group and, after that worthy (who is now at one with Ruge as well), certain other INFLUENTIALS, I almost said INFINITESIMALS, such as Heintzmann and Kinkel, and puts himself 'alphabetically' at the top. Then he goes running to Berndes and gets him to start a second column next to himself, so that another lot of names, Trübner, etc., follows on. That is how the matter appears in *The Times*. In the same day's *Morning Star* the second column is added to the bottom of the first, with Blind AT THE TOP OF THE WHOLE, AND HIS FOOTMAN Freiligrath after him, etc. And not content with that, at his instigation, the *Star* of the same number also carries a notice on the front page THAT 'KARL BLIND HEADS, ETC.'.

Isn't that genius for you?

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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## 79

## ENGELS TO MARX[29]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 3 May 1865

Dear Moor,

A belated many happy returns to little Jenny on her—20th?—birthday. THE OTHER AFFAIR LOOKS JUST LIKE LAURA ALL OVER.[a] But what else

[a] See this volume, p. 150.

can one say except repeat the verdict of the Stalybridge jury: SERVES HIM RIGHT.

I'll be sending all the things back to you in a few days time. I was very pleased to see in the *Nordstern* that something has at last been started against Becker[a] and Schweitzer in Solingen, too.[202] As all I have seen concerning this business *since your departure* has been the *Social-Demokrat* and two letters from Liebknecht, I am not at all clear as to what has come to pass on the Rhine in this connection; from the miserable silence maintained by the *Social-Demokrat* about developments in the General Association of German Workers, I could only *deduce* that things must be looking bad for these gentlemen. But it is understandable that I really do need to know how things stand on the Rhine, especially since in the beginning the scoundrels had some momentary success there. If you've got any material on it, please let me have it, I'll send everything back to you, and in general I will as a rule send all the documents back in future because now you need to have this stuff together.

Have you taken out a subscription to the *Nordstern*? It would be a good thing if you did, because we've got to know what's happening.

It is vital for us to have some contacts with the workers on the Rhine so that in future we can counter intrigues of that kind from the outset. Apropos, peculiar things seem to have been happening to Klings. Some jackass gave him my address as *58 Dover Street*. Klings goes there, does not find me, of course, and goes to see Rode in Liverpool, and the latter tells Eichhoff I'd pretended to be out when Klings called, did not wish to see him, what is this supposed to mean, etc., to a man like Klings who was after all going to 'organise everything' in America with Weydemeyer and the others (which others?), etc., etc. Monsieur Rode, whom I've never met, did thereby express his surprise that I had 'not yet' sent him a copy of my pamphlet.[b] Can you understand that?

The statement attacking the President of Mankind is very good.[c] Just what was needed and no more.

The worst of it is that the people in Germany will now demand that someone assumes the leadership over them, and who can do it? Eccarius would be the man, but he won't want to leave London.

The International Association really has gained an enormous amount of ground in such a short time and with so little to-do. But

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[a] Bernhard Becker - [b] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - [c] K. Marx, 'The "President of Mankind"'.

it is a good thing it is at present occupied in England, instead of eternally having to deal with the disorders in France. So, you have something to compensate you for the time it's cost you.

How's the book[a] going?

As far as the strategic situation is concerned, at Richmond Grant has achieved a precise replica of the battle of Jena,[203] and with the same result: the whole of the enemy army is trapped.[30] Only he didn't have so far to march to gather the fruits.

Johnston has now surrendered, too, so I've won my wager of 2 months ago: that by 1 May the SOUTHERNERS would have no army left. Whoever still offers resistance will be taken in as a BRIGAND, and rightly so. At any rate, Johnson will insist on confiscation of the great estates, which will make the pacification and re-organisation of the South rather more acute. Lincoln would scarcely have insisted on it.

The SOUTHERN SYMPATHISERS here are consoling themselves for the hypocritical wailing they were obliged to put on over the assassination,[b] by prophesying that it'll be Grant I, Emperor of America, within 4 weeks. What jackasses they have made of themselves!

Incidentally, their 'Majesties'[c] must be absolutely furious that Lincoln's assassination has made such a colossal impact throughout the world. None of them has yet had such an honour.

Best wishes to your wife and the girls.

Your
F. E.

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[a] *Capital* - [b] of Abraham Lincoln - [c] Engels uses the South-German dialect here: 'Färschten'.

## 80

## MARX TO ENGELS[29]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 May 1865

Dear Fred,

You need not send anything back (except Schily's letter[a]). Just keep the things safely. I enclose one *Free Press* (the queer article on the 'Reconstruction of Italy' is from the pen of the High Priest himself, from Urquhart[b]), also two *Nordsterns* (one of them somewhat out of date). I've got a subscription to the latter, but no longer to the *Social-Demokrat*. The latest *Nordstern* will give you some idea of the situation on the Rhine.[204] Incidentally, the *total number* of the faithful whom B. Becker still commands is barely 1,000.

Before I forget: there were several allusions to your pamphlet[c] in the debate in the Prussian Chamber. *Gneist*, for instance, said the Minister of War[d] would not persuade them, even if his statistics spoke with the tongue of *'Engels'*. (Laughter.) (That is how the affair appeared in the *Berliner Reform*.[e])

As everywhere, the London workers, of course, also include a knot of asses, fools and rogues, rallying round a scoundrel. The scoundrel in this case is 'George Potter', a rat of a man, supported by a venal but witty Irishman by the name of *Connolly*, who is a dangerous stump-orator. Although the bourgeoisie hate the said Potter as chief strike-manager, they do, nevertheless, support him against our people because they smell venality in him, whereas they know that our people are true men. This Potter derives his power particularly from the fact that he is presently the manager of *The Bee-Hive*, the official organ of the trades unions, although he uses it against the *official council* of these unions which is in our hands.[18] Since the paper is based on shares, the idea is now to distribute as many shares as possible (5sh. per share) amongst our workers. For my part I have undertaken to collect the money for about 30 shares. For this, I'm counting on you (single handed or with friends) for £5, I write to Dronke for £1 and I will pay the rest myself. (Although my function with the Central Council costs me a *lot* of money,

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[a] See this volume, p. 150. - [b] D. Urquhart, 'Construction of the "Kingdom of Italy"', *The Free Press*, 3 May 1865. - [c] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - [d] von Roon - [e] [Account of Gneist's speech in the House of Deputies,] *Berliner Reform*, No. 69 (supplement), 22 March 1865.

compared with what I can afford.) The money must already be AT HAND *this* week, as the General Meeting of the SHAREHOLDERS is next week. If we are only strong enough (and Odger, for instance, has guaranteed 50 SHARES) to elect the *DIRECTORS*, we shall have that rogue Potter (who is only the *MANAGER*) UNDER OUR THUMBS. This matter is of decisive importance for the whole movement.[205]

E. Jones was here, very charming SOCIALLY SPEAKING. But between ourselves, *he* is *only* trying to use our Association for electoral agitation. Of the 12 cards I sent him, he returned 11, he had not sold a single one, whereas POOR Schily, for instance, paid for 24 for himself alone. I told him he should just put them back in his pocket again, I would dispose of them later, but I could not appear in front of the English workers and tell them that. BY AND BY HE *WILL* FIND OUT that if only for speculative reasons he should not have treated the business so lightly and RATHER CONTEMPTIBLY. I will write to him and tell him to hand over the 'ADDRESSES'[a] to you. You can give them to whomsoever you please. They are just dead weight with him. Incidentally, I don't take kindly to the fact that he was here to wangle a job as *RECORDER* out of Sir G. Grey either.

Today I am to submit an '*ADDRESS TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON*.'[206] Mr *Le Lubez* wants to return to the COUNCIL as—DELEGATE FOR DEPTFORD, the same fellow as resigned as *DELEGATE FOR FRANCE*,[b] BUT HIS ADMITTANCE (WE HAVE TO *CONFIRM* THE DELEGATES) WILL NOT RUN QUITE SO SMOOTHLY AS HE SEEMS TO FANCY. I would be pleased if you could form even just A BRANCH OF 6 MEN in Manchester, and could get yourself elected as their CORRESPONDENT FOR LONDON. FOR THE CORRESPONDING people are *eo ipso*[c] MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL, and have a seat and a vote on it, WHEN AT LONDON.

NEW BRANCHES have been formed in Lyon, Neufchâteau (*département des Vosges*) and St Denis. The French BRANCHES (apart from Paris) are not linked with Paris, in view of the existing laws, but directly with London.

I'm hoping to put the finishing touches to my book[d] by 1 September (despite numerous interruptions). It's going ahead well, although I am still not quite well.

Your

K. M.

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[a] K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - [b] See this volume, p. 140. - [c] of themselves - [d] *Capital*

# 81

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 12 May 1865

Dear Moor,

Schily's letter returned enclosed. That passing glimpse of the family life of Moses and the Moses woman[a] was most entertaining. Many thanks for the *Nordsterns*. The reports in them provide a check on the negative evidence of the *Social-Demokrat*, which I am keeping on until June (and if it is not being taken anywhere in London accessible to you, I am willing to continue taking it, one never knows what may happen).

By the by, the rag in question—i.e., the *Social-Demokrat*—has now gone into such decline that one really feels sorry for it. Poor Schweitzer's heroic soul is at its last gasp, every shred of an idea and all the fruits of his reading have already been used up and he hasn't even a fart left in him to serve up to his readers. Nor is Mauses[b] producing anything any more, Mauses, the last hope of the new 'party'.[207] 'News of the Association' is a complete blank, too—literary section re-printed from the Augsburger *Allgemeine Zeitung*.[208] After four months editorship during one of the most turbulent periods we have known since 1848, that milksop has been pumped dry, right down to the dregs, and those are the fellows who wanted to annex the whole German proletariat by one trick.

*Ad vocem*[c] Potter: five pounds encl., you can take some, i.e., five of the SHARES in my name and five in Samuel Moore's, whom I've admittedly not yet seen, but he's sure to take some; we'll send you PROXY for the general meeting.[d] If Gumpert also wants 5 SHARES, you can pass some of those 20 on to him—so: 5 for me, 5 for Moore, the remaining 10 to be distributed to other people, but make sure that, if the people are *not quite reliable*, you reserve the right to take them back again.

As for the suggestion that *I* should form a BRANCH of the International Association here, it's quite out of the question. Apart

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[a] Moses and Sibylle Hess. See this volume, p. 150. - [b] Moses Hess. Engels makes a pun on the name *Moses* and the word *Maus* (mouse). - [c] concerning - [d] See this volume, pp. 154-55.

from Moore and Gumpert, I see no one here, as I can't broach that kind of thing with the Kyllmanns or we would have a squabble at once. Besides, my position as its correspondent for London would impose all kinds of obligations on me, which I would be unable to fulfil as soon as real contacts with the workers were found or arose here. *Et à quoi bon?*[a] I wouldn't be able to take any of the burden off your shoulders anyway.

Apropos. Moses is still up to his tricks against the International Association in the *Social-Demokrat*[209]; if you haven't read the piece, I'll send it to you.

The number of the banknote is: B/C 48498, Manchester, 4 January 1864.

The tongues of Engels, etc., are not a reference to me, as I thought myself at first, but to the statistician Privy Councillor *Engel* in Berlin who sorted out the things for Roon which I *criticised*.[b]

Jones must be allowed to go his own way. He doesn't seem to me to have any real confidence in the proletarian movement any more. I can never find him here anyway, he's always away.

Your
F. E.

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## 82

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 May 1865

Dear Fred,

The £5 received with thanks. Will be invested as suggested.

You are right about the Committee in Manchester.[c]

*Quoad*[d] E. Jones, it is necessary to march with him for the time being. He and his people will be figuring at the next Manchester

[a] And what would be the use? - [b] See this volume, p. 154. - [c] ibid., pp. 155, 156. - [d] Regarding

CONFERENCE (NEXT TUESDAY) together with our DELEGATES (Odger and Cremer ON THE PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION), Howell as secretary of the REFORM LEAGUE (BRICKLAYER, ONE OF THE MEMBERS OF OUR COUNCIL) and Beales and Mason Jones as bourgeois representatives of the same LEAGUE.[210]

Without us this REFORM LEAGUE would never have come into existence, or else it would have fallen into the hands of the MIDDLECLASS. The glorious failure of BAINES'S BILL (which will result in a CHANGE OF MINISTRY and the COMING IN of the Tories), originally SUPPORTED BY THE GOVERNMENT, WHICH WANTED SOME SUCH SMALL MEASURE FOR THE HUSTINGS, occurred in the Lower House itself with direct reference to the 'extravagant' demands recently put up by the WORKING CLASS (I.E. OUR MEN).[211]

As Dronke wrote me, Reinach I, who is now MANAGING DIRECTOR of the BANK OF SWITZERLAND, will be ruthlessly putting an end to the OFFICE in London, which is causing nothing but expenses. Reinach I is, of course, not bound by the same political and personal considerations as Fazy[212] and Klapka were.

A ghastly carbuncle has broken out again on my left hip, NEAR the INEXPRESSIBLE PART OF THE BODY.

Regards to MRS Lizzy.[a]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

Apropos. Monsieur Le Lubez, who had miscalculated about how important and dangerous he is, WANTS NOW TO RETURN TO THE CENTRAL COUNCIL IN THE CAPACITY OF A REPRESENTATIVE 'FOR GREENWICH'! We replied that *d'abord*[b] we had to wait for certain letters to come, which he had written to France at the time of the CONFLICT.[213]

I hardly think the *Social-Demokrat* will see out another quarter. Moses[c] believed himself safely ensconced and didn't want to give up his prestigious position as Lassalle's really secret agent at any price.[207] *Le pauvre diable!*[d]

Lassalle's will is now proven. He has left **nothing** to B. Becker apart from his 'NOMINATION', accompanied by rules of conduct dictated 'with all severity and authority'.

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[a] Lizzy Burns - [b] first of all - [c] Moses Hess - [d] The poor devil!

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## MARX TO ENGELS[101]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 May 1865

Dear Fred,

Cutting enclosed which includes my address to Johnson.[a]

Edgar's[b] reappearance did, of course, surprise us greatly. Quite the fellow I thought him, and his career quite as I expected it. It is a pity that he could not always have been right-hand to Garibaldi. He would have suited him to a tee. But the poor devil is still very weak. He will be staying here for some time, apropos of which you could be doing a good work by contributing to the replenishment of my *wine-cellar.*

I am working like a horse at the moment, as I must make use of the time when I am fit for work, and the carbuncles are still with me, though they only trouble me locally and do not disturb the brain-pan.

In between times, since one cannot always be writing, I am doing some differential calculus $\frac{dx}{dy}$. I have no patience to read anything else at all. Any other kind of reading always drives me back to my writing-desk.

Special meeting of the 'International' this evening. A good old codger, an old Owenist, *Weston* (carpenter), has put up the following two propositions that he is constantly defending in *The Bee-Hive*:

1. that a general rate in the rise of the rate of wages would be of no benefit to the workers;

2. that the Trades-Unions for that reason, etc., are *harmful.*

If these two propositions, in which *he* alone in our society believes, were to be accepted, we should be in a terrible mess, both in respect of the Trades-Unions here and the infection of strikes now prevailing on the Continent.

He will be supported in the matter by a native Englishman—since non-members are also admitted to this meeting—who has written a pamphlet to the same effect.[c] I am, of course, expected

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[a] K. Marx, ['Address from the Working Men's International Association to President Johnson']. - [b] Edgar von Westphalen's - [c] T. J. Dunning, *Trades Unions and Strikes: Their Philosophy and Intention.*

to produce a refutation. I ought therefore really to have worked out my *réplique* for this evening, but I thought it more important to get on with writing my book,[a] and so I shall have to rely on improvisation.

I know in advance, of course, what the two main POINTS will be:

1. that *wages* determine the value of commodities;

2. that if the capitalists pay 5s. today instead of 4, tomorrow they will sell their commodities for 5s. instead of 4 (being ENABLED to do so by the increased demand).

Trite though that is, and however little it penetrates the topmost surface of things, it is, nevertheless, not easy to explain to the ignorant all the competing economic questions involved. YOU CAN'T COMPRESS A COURSE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY INTO 1 HOUR. BUT WE SHALL DO OUR BEST.[214]

Edgar regards it as a GOOD OMEN that he met you first in England. He liked Lizzy[b] very much.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

It is a most strange irony of fate that this Edgar, who never exploited anyone other than himself and was always a WORKMAN in the strictest sense of the word, went through A WAR OF and WITH STARVATION for the slave-owners. Ditto that both brothers-in-law have for the moment been ruined by the American war.

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## 84

## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN BERLIN

[London, about 25 May 1865]

Dear LIBRARY,

I should prefer it if the translation of the Address[c] could appear in the *Reform*[d] and the *Rheinische Zeitung*. It will, of course,

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[a] *Capital* - [b] Lizzy Burns - [c] K. Marx, ['Address from the Working Men's International Association to President Johnson']. - [d] *Berliner Reform*

be necessary to say that the original is in English, and it will do no harm if I am named as the author.[215] The bourgeois papers are still holding it against us that of *A. Lincoln*'s replies to the various messages of congratulations on his RE-ELECTION, only the reply to ours[a] was more than a *formal* ACKNOWLEDGEMENT of RECEIPT.[112]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 85

## MARX TO ENGELS[29]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 June 1865

DEAR FRED,

You must excuse my long silence. The whole time I have been suffering throughout from bilious nausea (probably on account of the heat), had all kinds of other TROUBLES as well, and apart from that I have used the time, when fit to write, for official work on my book.[b] You know how, when one is in such a condition, one is always resolving to send letters but never manages to.

Not much new to report. The valiant *Nordstern* did not appear since my last despatch to you, probably for lack of money. I received it again today, and it does not mention the interval at all. As you will see, the rag is nothing but a dungheap of loutism. In their denunciation of B. Becker, these fellows are now declaring everyone a 'traitor' who dares to lay a finger on even one syllable of the truth as revealed by Lassalle.[216] Meanwhile, Mr B. Becker has provisionally ceded his chairmanship to that lout Fritzsche (of Leipzig) and set up his residence in Berlin in order to do business with Mr Bismarck directly.

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[a] K. Marx, 'To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America'. -
[b] *Capital*

A pretty shambles Baron Izzy's whole movement has degenerated into! But the fellow obviously had the right instinct for how to make himself Saviour of the German louts! Meanwhile, the 'unfaithful one'[a] is living in blissful happiness as a boyar lady with her Wallachian[b] in Bucharest.

I have had no letters from Liebknecht for some while. But that is no doubt because for a long time, while my correspondence was suspended, I did not answer the notes that used to come in almost daily from him, none of them having anything to say, and each successive one invariably confirming the nullity of its precursor.

In respect of the 'INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION', I will just mention the following here:

The Italian gentlemen have *come back* and indicated to us last Tuesday[c] that they have yet once again nominated Major Wolff as their delegate. Mr Mazzini appears to have convinced himself that he may need us, whereas we care not a FARTHING for him.

A YANKEE by the name of Leon Lewis (in Paris at the moment) has become the American secretary. In my opinion, he is worthless, although he has plenty of money and even more ambition. The fellow imagined that by founding a paper, *The Commoner*, he could revolutionise England in 24 hours or in 6 months at the very least. He offered this paper-to-be to us as our organ, but found that we are setting very business-like and by no means enthusiastic conditions, and so he has 'temporarily' left for France with his wife, who is also a great politician, I suspect to see if he can apply his 'LEVER' there with any more success.

I should like your advice on the following point:

I read a PAPER (which would perhaps cover two printed sheets) at the CENTRAL COUNCIL about the question raised by Mr Weston[d] as to the effect of A GENERAL RISE OF WAGES, etc.[214] The first part of it is a reply to Weston's nonsense; the second A THEORETICAL exposition, insofar as it was appropriate for the occasion.[e]

Now they want to have it printed. On the one hand, that could perhaps be useful to me, since they are in contact with J. St. Mill, Professor Beesly, Harrison, etc. On the other hand, I have my doubts:

1. to have 'Mr Weston' as adversary is not exactly 'vairy-flettering';

2. the second part of the paper contains, in an extraordinarily condensed BUT RELATIVELY POPULAR FORM, many new ideas which are

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[a] Helene von Dönniges - [b] Janko von Racowiţa - [c] 20 June - [d] See this volume, pp. 159-60. - [e] K. Marx, *Value, Price and Profit.*

anticipated from my book,[a] whilst at the same time it does, of necessity, have to skate over a lot of problems. The question is, whether it is advisable to anticipate things of that kind in such a way? I think you can decide on this better than I can because you can look at the matter with more detachment from a distance.

I also had a lot of trouble TO PUT OFF the *CONGRESS* announced for this year, in the face of pressure from Schily, J. Ph. Becker, and some of the Paris COMMITTEE. I did, however, succeed—and that was decisive—in persuading the COUNCIL here that in view of the electoral agitation, etc., there should only be a preliminary (private) *conference in London* this year, to which the CENTRAL FOREIGN COMMITTEES would each send one delegate (not the AFFILIATED SOCIETIES BUT THEIR ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEES). I am certain that the Brussels Congress would come to nought. The time was not yet ripe for it.[217]

Our Eccarius has become one of the main London electoral agitators and would have accepted the invitation to agitate in the country (on £2 per week), if this were not the height of the tailoring SEASON. He has a peculiarly dry, humorous manner of speaking which particularly appeals to the English.

Edgar[b] is already much recovered. An odd fish for whom fodder and fancy clothes really are the only things of account; as egotistical as a dog or a cat, BUT A KIND-NATURED ONE. His brain has also begun to display certain activity.

Johnson's policy likes me not. A ludicrous AFFECTATION of severity towards individuals; hitherto excessively VACILLATING and weak when it comes down to it. The reaction has already set in in America and will soon be much fortified if the present lackadaisical attitude is not ended immediately.

What do you say to the debates in the Prussian Chamber? At any rate, the revelations about the judicial system, etc., following in rapid succession were splendid. Ditto the obvious blow which the National Association Great-Prussia men[152] received, as was shown particularly in the Polish debates.

*Ad vocem*[c] *Poland*, I was most interested to read the work by *Elias Regnault* (the same who wrote the 'histoire des principautés danubiennes'), 'La Question Européenne, faussement nommée La Question Polonaise'. I see from it that Lapiński's dogma that the Great Russians are *not Slavs* has been advocated on linguistic, historical and ethnographical grounds in all seriousness by Monsieur *Duchiński* (from Kiev, Professor in Paris); he maintains

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[a] *Capital* - [b] Edgar von Westphalen - [c] Regarding

that the real Muscovites, i.e., inhabitants of the former GRAND DUCHY OF MOSCOW, were for the most part Mongols or Finns, etc., as was the case in the parts of Russia situated further east and in its south-eastern parts. I see from it at all events that the affair has seriously worried the St Petersburg cabinet (since it would put an end to *Panslavism* in no uncertain manner). All Russian scholars were called on to give responses and refutations, and these in the event turned out to be terribly weak. The purity of the Great Russian dialect and its connection with Church Slavonic appear to lend more support to the Polish than to the Muscovite view in this debate. During the last Polish insurrection [24] Duchiński was awarded a prize by the National Government for his 'discoveries'. It has ditto been shown geologically and hydrographically that a great 'Asiatic' difference occurs east of the Dnieper, compared with what lies to the west of it, and that (as Murchison [a] has already maintained) the *Urals* by no means constitute a dividing line. Result as obtained by Duchiński: *Russia* is a name usurped by the Muscovites. They are not Slavs; they do not belong to the Indo-Germanic RACE at all, they are *des intrus*,[b] who must be chased back across the Dnieper, etc. Panslavism in the Russian sense is a cabinet invention, etc.

I wish that Duchiński were right and AT ALL EVENTS that this view would prevail among the Slavs. On the other hand, he states that some of the peoples in Turkey, such as Bulgars, e.g., who had previously been regarded as Slavs, are non-Slav.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

Philistine Freiligrath descended on us with wife and daughter[c] 2 weeks ago! He now has his immediate superior Reinach on his back who is here 'to investigate' and is giving him a proper roasting.

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[a] R. I. Murchison, E. de Verneuil, Count Alexander von Keyserling, *The Geology of Russia in Europe and the Ural Mountains*. - [b] intruders - [c] Ida and Käthe Freiligrath

## 86

## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BERLIN

[London,] 24 June 1865

Dear Liebknecht,

You must explain to yourself my long silence by continuing indisposition and much work in intervals when I have been capable of it. Your letters, moreover, contained nothing which would have required urgent reply.

The *Nordstern* has most likely been suspended for a while owing to lack of money? At least, it has not arrived here for a couple of weeks. A fine gutter rag, to be sure! The declaration by various associations[a] that anyone who so much as lays a finger on the articles of faith as revealed by Lassalle is guilty of high treason, is priceless. *Haut-goût*,[b] INDEED!

What is Mr B. Becker doing in Berlin, and how is the *Social-Demokrat* 'surviving'?

You have quite the wrong notion of Dr Kugelmann. I have been in correspondence with him for years past. He was a socialist back in 1848, in Düsseldorf. As TO Pieper, the VERY NAME OF Kugelmann was not known to him when he was here.[218]

I have not yet written to Stumpf because I have not been writing any letters over this period. As regards the letter he entrusted to Bruhn, I have not, of course, ever set eyes upon it.[219]

The INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION is making great strides *despite* the 'ENORMOUS SUPPORT' it is receiving from Germany.[220]

As regards the 'Louis Bonaparte',[c] I could see from your DROPPING OF THE SUBJECT that the matter has come to nothing.[79] I am RATHER glad of this, as I shall later be having it re-printed in the essay-collection all the same.

What is old Hatzfeldt doing? And the fracas over the will?[221]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] A reference to the various branches of the General Association of German Workers (see this volume, p. 161). - [b] strong meat - [c] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.*

What are Messrs E. Bauer, Bucher *et* Co. up to?
Edgar[a] will probably be staying here a while longer yet.[b]

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## 87

## MARX TO ELEANOR MARX

IN LONDON

[London,] 3 July 1865
Maiden Tower

Dear Miss Lilliput!

You must excuse the 'belated' character of my answer. I belong to that sort of people who always look twice at things before they decide one way or the other. Thus I was rather startled on receiving an invitation on the part of a female minx, quite unknown to me. However, having ascertained your respectability, and the high tone of your transactions with your tradespeople, I shall feel happy to seize this rather strange opportunity of getting at your eatables and drinkables. But, pray, don't neglect the latter, as spinsters usually have bad taste of doing. Suffering somewhat under an attack of rheumatism, I hope you keep your reception room clear of anything like draught. As to the ventilation required, I shall provide for it myself. Being somewhat deaf in the right ear, please put a dull fellow, of whom, I dare say, your company will not be in want, at my right side. For the left, I hope you will reserve your female beauty; I mean the best-looking female amongst your guests.

I am somewhat given to tobacco-chewing, so have the stuff ready. Having from former intercourse with Yankees taken to the habitude of spitting, I hope spittoons will not be missing. Being rather easy in my manners, and disgusted at this hot and close English atmosphere, you must prepare for seeing me in a dress

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[a] Edgar von Westphalen - [b] See this volume, p. 159.

rather adonistic. I hope your female guests are somewhat in the same line.

Adieu, my dear unknown little minx.

Yours for ever
Doctor Crankey

*No British wines*, I hope!

First published, in Russian, in *Voinstvuyushchy materialist*, Book 4, 1925 and in the language of the original, English, in *The Socialist Review* (London), No. 44, September, 1929

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## 88

## ENGELS TO MARX[29]

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 15 July 1865

Dear Moor,

Liebknecht has been expelled from Prussia; has he written to you since and given you his address? The poor devil will probably need money, and a few pounds will be more valuable to him at this moment than otherwise. But where should they be sent to?

Mr Johnson's policy is less and less to my liking, too. NIGGER[a]-hatred is coming out more and more violently, and he is relinquishing all his power vis-à-vis the old lords in the South. If this should continue, all the old secessionist scoundrels will be in Congress in Washington in 6 months time. Without COLOURED SUFFRAGE nothing can be done, and Johnson is leaving it up to the defeated, the ex-slaveowners, to decide on that. It is absurd. Nevertheless, one must still reckon on things turning out differently from what these barons imagined. After all, the majority of them have been completely ruined and will be glad to sell land to immigrants and speculators from the North. The latter will arrive soon enough and make a good number of changes. I think the MEAN WHITES will gradually die out. Nothing more will become of this RACE; those who are left after 2 generations will merge with the immigrants to make a completely different RACE.

[a] See p. XL of the Preface.

The NIGGERS will probably turn into small SQUATTERS as in Jamaica. Thus ultimately the oligarchy will go to pot after all, but the process could be accomplished immediately at one fell swoop, whereas it is now being drawn out.

I don't think that you would win many laurels by a disputation with MR Weston, and it would certainly not make a good début in English economic literature.[a] Otherwise, I cannot see it would do much harm to anticipate a few odd points from your book[b]—N. B. if the latter is *really* almost finished now—how does it stand? The ultimate and final date for completion was 1 September, and the price, you remember, is 12 bottles of wine.

In the elections here Jones has been working BODY AND SOUL for Heywood, but as a TEETOTALLER and PERMISSIVE BILLS man[222] he won't pull much with the workers. Moore has been working hard, too. The Manchester SNOBS will be gladdened by James, the fellow wants to become a JUDGE and nothing more. The election is costing him a pretty penny, just for the champagne his committee and cronies have swigged. TALK ABOUT BRIBERY, CORRUPTION AND TREATING, fellows like that fat Knowles came in droves to the Queen's Hotel, where the headquarters was, gorged their fill and swigged rivers of champagne, and everything was settled with a slip of paper on which a committee-member wrote: valid for 2 LUNCHEONS and 3 BOTTLES CHAMPAIGN. In Lancaster, the 3 candidates together disbursed £20,000, and there was free booze for a whole week in every pub. I was here in the Queen's Hotel at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the elegant SMOKING ROOM looked like the old den in Windmill Street,[223] and customers were served by CELLAR BOYS in white shirt-sleeves and aprons, instead of BARMAIDS in satin dresses. The whole company was drunk, and at half past six the landlord had to have the hotel cleared by a police patrol. My task consisted in getting James' committee people to tipple until they were incapable of doing their job, and in several cases I was successful beyond expectation.

I've had a very hard time at the office, Charles[c] was away, Franz Ermen ditto, and a colossal amount of work to boot. Things are better now. I am now on Grimm's Fairy Tales, German heroic epic, ancient Frisian law, etc. As soon as I have got through that somewhat, I'll have a serious go at Old Norse. The poetry in it is a tough nut because of its deliberate obscurity and all the many names in the mythology, and I can see it's NO USE doing this just as

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[a] See this volume, pp. 159-60, 162. - [b] *Capital* - [c] Charles Roesgen

a side line; I need to spend 4 weeks all at once on it and nothing else, when I have little to do.

Many regards to the LADIES.

Your
F. E.

Moore has been asking me about the SHARES for *The Bee-Hive*; how do things stand? AND HOW DID YOU GET ON WITH POTTER?[205]

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 25 July 1865

Dear Moor,

How do you like our Prussian Mirabeaus in—the **Zoological** *Gardens*? Harkort and Co. as wild animals, Bismarck himself could not have thought that up.[224]

By the by, it seems certain to me that Mr Bismarck decidedly wants to have a collision. For me the most convincing evidence of this is the behaviour of Schweitzer's shit-rag,[a] which is being confiscated every day now. The workers are now suddenly expected to take the part of the Deputies, after being called on for 6 months not to get excited; there are to be mass meetings, etc., and every effort is to be put into agitating against the government. Further corroboration is provided by the unanimous refrain from the reactionary press, which is comparing the banquet with the February banquets in Paris,[225] and finally the government's whole proceeding, the pointless provocations, etc. Meanwhile, it was to be expected that Bismarck would come a cropper. Wasn't cleverly enough organised anyway.

[a] *Der Social-Demokrat*

On the other hand, Schweitzer-Becker seem to want to take the opportunity to make a decent EXIT. The *Social-Demokrat* and the Association[a] are to be suppressed so that those gentlemen can be whitewashed. I've stopped reading that rag as of lst inst., incidentally. Bismarck seems to have had his fill of paying for it, and so have I. So, if anything should happen, I shall have to rely on you for information.

32° Réaumur in the shade in Germany! They say people are still only living in the cellars. It's as sultry as the tropics here, too.

Kindest regards.

Your
F. E.

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## 90

## MARX TO LÉON FONTAINE[226]

### IN BRUSSELS

[Draft]

[London,] 25 July 1865

Dear Citizen,

Some considerable time ago I sent a letter to you by an Englishman, who was to visit Germany and travel through Brussels. Since then I have had no news, either from you or from my Englishman. I shall not refer back to my reply to your letter, but will deal solely with current matters.

Mr Le Lubez has rejoined the Central Council as delegate from an English branch,[b] and the Italian society in London[20] has reinstated Mr Wolff as its representative on the Council.[c]

Mr Charles Limousin, one of our correspondents in Paris and editor of the *Tribune ouvrière...*, following the seizure of the *Tribune ouvrière*, and being unable to find another printer in Paris, went to Brussels in an attempt to bring out the paper there. Whilst

[a] General Association of German Workers - [b] in Greenwich (see this volume, p. 158) - [c] See this volume, p. 162.

there, he investigated the state of our affairs. He was told that, after it had unanimously approved your proposal that it should amalgamate with our Association, the Société Fédérative had withdrawn:

1. because it insisted on the right to choose its own correspondents and not have them imposed on it by the Central Council;

2. because it refused to pay for the membership cards, although it remitted lf. 50 just as before.

According to Mr Limousin's letter, you had then approached the Société typographique, but with the same result owing to the same difficulties.

With regard to the election of correspondents, the Central Council has acknowledged the right of affiliated societies to choose their own representatives. It has only retained the power to confirm them. Things were different in Brussels because no society had yet been constituted there. Would it not be possible to reach a compromise, whereby the societies would accept you as their correspondent, but they would, for their part, choose an administrative committee, as was done in Paris and Geneva?

With regard to the dues, the societies will readily realise that the Central Council would be prevented from any general action if all the affiliated societies claimed the right not to pay dues. It appears that the objection is to paying dues *twice*. Would it not be possible to find an amicable solution to these matters? The Central Council will make any concession compatible with its responsibilities.

For my part, I am convinced that your actions were dictated solely by your zeal for the common cause, and I am appealing to this same zeal in asking you to work for reconciliation and restoration of relations. You would oblige me greatly by replying immediately, firstly because I have to give the Central Council a report on this affair, and secondly because a *preliminary conference* of members of the various administrative committees will be taking place in London on 25 September.[217]

The Central Council is persuaded that the congress cannot take place this year, but the preliminary conference in London will make preparations for it.[a]

With fraternal greetings

Ch. Marx

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Translated from the French

[a] See this volume, pp. 173-74.

## 91

## MARX TO ENGELS[101]

### IN MANCHESTER[a]

[London,] 31 July 1865

Dear Engels,

As you may have suspected, the reasons for my prolonged silence are not the most pleasant.

For two months I have been living solely on the pawnshop, which means that a queue of creditors has been hammering on my door, becoming more and more unendurable every day. This FACT won't come as any surprise to you when you consider: 1. that I have been unable to earn a FARTHING the whole time and 2. that merely paying off *the debts* and furnishing the house cost me something like £500. I have kept accounts (AS TO THIS ITEM) PENCE for PENCE, as I myself found it unbelievable how the money disappeared. To top that, I have been sent every conceivable, antediluvian IOU from Germany where God knows what rumours had been circulated.

To begin with, I wanted to come up to you to discuss the matter with you in person. But, at the present moment, any time lost cannot be made up as it is not good to interrupt my work. Last Saturday I told the Sub-Committee of the 'INTERNATIONAL'[21] that I was going away, so as at least to have a fortnight for once completely free of disturbance for PUSHING ON with my work.

I assure you that I would rather have had my thumb cut off than write this letter to you. It is truly soul-destroying to be dependent for half one's life. The only thought that sustains me in all this is that the two of us form a partnership together, in which I spend my time on the theoretical and party side of the BUSINESS. It is true my house is beyond my means, and we have, moreover, lived better this year than was the case before. But it is the only way for the children to establish themselves socially with a view to securing their future, quite apart from everything they have suffered and for which they have at least been compensated for a brief while. I believe you yourself will be of the opinion that, even from a merely commercial point of view, to run a purely proletarian household would not be appropriate in the cir-

[a] The letter bears the stamp: International Working Men's Association / Central Council / London.

cumstances, although that would be quite all right, if my wife and I were by ourselves or if the girls were boys.

Now, regarding my work, I will tell you the plain truth about it. There are 3 more chapters to be written to complete the theoretical part (the first 3 books). Then there is still the 4th book, the historical-literary one,[227] to be written, which will, comparatively speaking, be the easiest part for me, since all the problems have been resolved in the first 3 books, so that this last one is more by way of repetition in historical form. But I cannot bring myself to send anything off until I have the whole thing in front of me. WHATEVER SHORTCOMINGS THEY MAY HAVE, the advantage of my writings is that they are an artistic whole, and this can only be achieved through my practice of never having things printed until I have them in front of me *in their entirety.* This is impossible with Jacob Grimm's method which is in general better with writings that have no dialectical structure.[228]

The *English* version will be dealt with differently on the other hand. Fox has no doubt that he can find me a publisher as soon as I get the first sheets of print back. I would then arrange with Meissner that, in addition to the proofs for correcting, he would also send me the clean proof of each sheet, so that the German could be corrected at the same time as it is being translated into English. Regarding the latter, I shall of course need your assistance. I am expecting my real earnings from this work to come from the English edition.[229]

As far as the 'INTERNATIONAL' is concerned, the position is as follows:

I made over the £5 to Cremer to buy shares in *The Bee-Hive.* But since Cremer, Odger, etc., were going up to Manchester at that time, nothing came of it, and Potter HAD THE BETTER OF IT.[205] They decided to postpone the matter until the next meeting of shareholders (actually, the annual one). But I don't think that anything will come of it. Firstly, because the squabble between Odger and Potter has become a public scandal. Secondly, because *The Miner and Workman's Advocate* has offered its columns to us.[230] (Apropos. At a recent meeting with the *Miner* we undertook to let it have contributions gratis. So, if you have time to write a little article on FOREIGN POLITICS (**Prussian,** etc.), now and then, send it to me to be passed on to the paper.)

According to our Rules a public *congress* ought to be held in Brussels this year. The Parisians, Swiss and some of the people here, too, are going for it hammer and tongs. In the present circumstances—especially since I have so little time to write the

necessary documents for the CENTRAL COUNCIL as well—I can only foresee a disgrace. Despite considerable opposition from the other side, I have succeeded in turning the public congress in Brussels into A PRIVATE PREALABLE CONFERENCE in London (25 September) which only DELEGATES OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEES will attend and at which the future congress is to be *prepared. Official* reasons given for postponing the congress were:

1. The need for PREALABLE UNDERSTANDING between the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES.

2. The obstacles to the Association's propaganda arising from the STRIKES IN FRANCE, the elections, REFORM MOVEMENT and WORKINGMEN'S EXHIBITIONS IN ENGLAND.[231]

3. The ALIEN BILL RECENTLY PRESSED in Belgium[232] which rules out Brussels as a RENDEZVOUS for an INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S CONGRESS.[217]

I do not see the *Social-Demokrat* any more, as the Workers' Society[a] has also stopped it.[200] Nor am I taking the *Nordstern* any more, but I do see it occasionally at the Society. It said the Rhineland branches had on the main question deserted Bernhard.[b]

Edgar[c] is a very expensive guest for us, especially in the present circumstances, and he does not seem in the least inclined TO DECAMP.

In consequence of the hot weather and related biliousness, I have again been vomitting nearly every day for the past 3 months, as I did previously in Brussels.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 5 August 1865

Dear Engels,

MY BEST THANKS FOR THE £50 AND the speed with which the help came.

I was greatly amused by the part of your letter[131] which deals with the 'work of art' TO BE.[d] But you misunderstood me. The only

[a] German Workers' Educational Society in London - [b] Bernhard Becker (see this volume, p. 152) - [c] Edgar von Westphalen - [d] *Capital*

POINT IN QUESTION is whether to do a fair copy of part of the manuscript and send it to the publisher,[a] or finish writing the whole thing first? I have decided in favour of the latter for many reasons. No time is lost by it, AS FAR as the *work itself* is concerned, although some time is lost in printing; however, on the other hand, once begun, that cannot then be interrupted in any way either. Furthermore, in view of the level of the thermometer, progress with it has been as fast as anyone could have managed, even having no artistic considerations at all. BESIDES, as I have a MAXIMUM LIMIT of 60 printed sheets, it is absolutely essential for me to have the whole thing in front of me, to know how much has to be condensed and crossed out, so that the individual sections shall be evenly balanced and in proportion within the prescribed limits.[233] In any case, you can be sure that I shall spare no effort to *complete as soon as possible*, as the thing is a nightmarish burden to me. Not only does it prevent me from doing anything else, but it is also DAMNEDLY irksome to have the public kept entertained with the expectation of laurels to come (not by me, to be sure, but by Liebknecht and others). And furthermore, I know that time will not stand still for ever just as it is now.

Eichhoff has written a few lines to me, but couldn't call on me owing to pressure of business. In his letter he said Dronke would visit (he was here yesterday) but in such a confused way there was no making sense of the *scriptum*.[b] That 'treatise' is sticking to POOR Eichhoff like his own skin, and no operation will detach it from him.

What do you make of Siebel's productions as a patriotic-liberal poet? The thing appears to have been written during extremely depressing hangover. It is utter nonsense and surpasses EVERYTHING our friend has previously produced.

The *Social-Demokrat*'s attempt to commit itself in support of the bourgeoisie is a sign of complete and utter fiasco, although I share your view that the first calls in Berlin did not occur without some ministerial prompting.[c] However, the other Lassallean faction, which executed a *volte face*[d] against the *Social-Demokrat* as a result of our statement,[e] are also quite a pitiful rabble. These fellows are not merely at loggerheads with B. Becker and Co. as to whose faith in Lassalle is the true one, but several of their branches have published that phrase inspired by OLD Hatzfeldt and coined specifically with us in mind, that anyone who tried to overturn or

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[a] Otto Meissner - [b] what he had written - [c] See this volume, pp. 169-70. - [d] about-turn - [e] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'.

change even one syllable of the truths as revealed by Lassalle, was declared a *traitor* to the 'people'.[216]

It is ages since I last answered Liebknecht, despite various notes he sent me; however I am going to do so now. He is in Hanover for the time being now, but his wife[a] is still in Berlin. The reason why I did not write was partly that I was very busy, and also I had enough on my hands with my own TROUBLES. On the other hand, I was furious with him for the nonsense which he had been retailing about me at the Berlin Lassalle-Association and which is there for all to read in the scrap of a pamphlet about B. Becker's expulsion from that association which the old sow got someone called Schilling to publish (Farthing would have been a more appropriate name).[234] With his usual talent for being too lazy to acquaint himself with the facts, he drivels the greatest nonsense about the Bangya-manuscript[169] and my intercession for Becker *quoad*[b] Vienna *Botschafter*,[c] etc. And, moreover, the whole way in which he plays the part of my 'PATRON' and 'apologises' for me to the louts of Berlin for *them* not knowing my works; and generally behaves as though so far I had done nothing in affairs of action. So, I allowed some time to elapse, so as not to say anything rude to him and to pacify myself with the thought that Liebknecht will be Liebknecht and that his intentions are 'good'. The 30,000 members of the old Berlin Journeymen's Association, and ditto the Association of Printers there organised a kind of ovation for him when he was expelled. With his usual optimism, Wilhelmchen sees 'the proletariat of Berlin at my (that is, his) and our (yours and mine) feet'.[235] At the same time, he has not managed even to form a single BRANCH of 6 members for the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION in Germany, although the sanguine fellow must surely realise that I cannot serve up his DELUSIONS to the English as true coin. He also kept on writing to me about my 'book'.[d] But however often I sent him 'books' (first the whole remainder of '*Vogt*,'[e] then the whole remainder of the '*Communist Trials*'[f]) at his most sanguine request, from the moment he received them, I never heard a dying word more about them.

Mr *Groote*, Party of Progress[99] deputy for Düsseldorf, has written to him saying that what he did in Berlin has had more effect than the actions of 100 Party of Progress deputies.

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[a] Ernestine Liebknecht - [b] with regard to - [c] The original has: *Beobachter*. - [d] *Capital* - [e] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*. - [f] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*.

Edgar[a] has just recently caught a cold which has gone to his nose, which, as a result of this ACCIDENT, looks positively Bardolphian.[b]

During the warm weather I have been regularly working day and night by the open window. Outcome: an attack of rheumatism in my right arm, particularly the shoulder blade, which is very painful and makes writing, especially any *lifting-movement*, difficult. I instinctively cry out if I unintentionally raise my arm in bed at night, which tells you how nasty the thing is. Does Gumpert know of any kind of NOSTRUM for it?

You probably know that at the Gymnastic Festival in Paris, the worthy Gottfried Kinkel refused the laurel crown he was offered by a Jew who was presiding, with the words: 'I want no crown, not even a crown of laurel', but at once added in fairly unvarnished words that he had by no means yet given up his claims to the Presidency of the German Republic, the 'office' that was his due. The *Nordstern* ridiculed him rather effectively as much for this bit of melodrama, and for his whole SPEECH, which was *disgusting*.[c] The Festival opened with a toast to Badinguet.[d]

Where is Strohn?

As soon as you have time and inclination, do not forget to send me something 'continental' for the *Miner*.[e]

Kindest regards to you from the whole family, and from me to MRS Lizzy.[f]

Your
K. Marx

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[a] Edgar von Westphalen - [b] Bardolph—a character from Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *King Henry IV*. - [c] *Nordstern*, Nos. 315 and 316, 8 and 15 July 1865. - [d] nickname of Napoleon III (the name of a bricklayer in whose clothes Napoleon fled from prison in 1846) - [e] *The Miner and Workman's Advocate* - [f] Lizzy Burns

## 93

## ENGELS TO MARX[26]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 August 1865

Dear Moor,

I have got a remedy for your rheumatism that Gumpert once used to cure me with within 24 hours, and from a much more severe attack, too. Get yourself 2 big bags of flannel made, big enough to cover the affected part completely and a bit over; have these bags filled with BRAN and heated each in turn in the oven, just as hot as you can bear it; you put each in turn on the place, changing them as often as ever you can. All the while keep yourself warm and quiet in bed, and you will soon feel very considerable relief, but you mustn't discontinue the treatment on that account until all the pain has gone (say 24-36 hours).

Eichhoff has just called; he has got himself made DIRECTOR of a LIMITED COMPANY in London; it is crystal clear to me from the whole affair that the idea is for him to be duped of a substantial sum again, but there's absolutely no helping the fellow, with his mania for seeing everything *couleur de rose.*[a] He has now gone so far as believing that the silk-trade here in England absolutely could not go on without him.

I'm so pleased the book[b] is making rapid progress, for I had really begun to suspect from one or two phrases in your last letter that you had again reached an unexpected turning-point which might prolong everything indefinitely. The day that manuscript is sent off, I shall drink myself to kingdom come, that is, unless you come up here the next day so that we can seal it together.

Many thanks for the *Free Presses.*

Our worthy Liebknecht simply cannot help putting his foot in it, or writing off to people just whenever the mood takes him. We shall always be annoyed with him for 10 months out of 12, as soon as he is by himself and has to act on his own initiative. In the meantime *que veux-tu?*[c] Liebknecht does as Liebknecht is, and all the exasperation and all the grumbling will not help matters. And after all, when all's said and done, at the moment he is the only reliable link we have in Germany.

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[a] through rose-coloured spectacles - [b] *Capital* - [c] what would you have?

A WORKINGMEN'S CONGRESS in Brussels would certainly be the greatest stupidity in present circumstances.[217] Just remember our own experiences in that little country.[236] That sort of thing can only be done in England, the FRENCHMEN ought to know that. It would just be throwing away money and time and trouble to attempt anything of that kind in Belgium.

Have you got Schilling's pamphlet on B. Becker?[a] You might let me have it for a couple of days.

I don't know whether Strohn is in Hamburg or Bradford, I haven't heard anything from him for quite a long time now.

The Rhineland philistines are supposed to be frightfully angry with Bismarck; it is splendid that those jackasses are having their 'historical development on a legal basis' so nicely demonstrated. Have you seen Bismarck's latest dodge to raise money? The Cologne-Minden Railway had granted the state the right to *buy up its shares at par* in return for an interest-guarantee from the state (100-taler shares are now standing at over 200 talers); he has bartered away this right to the Railway for 13 million talers, and the *Kölner Zeitung* calculates that in this way he *got hold of 30 million talers,* including sale of the shares already owned by the state, etc. The question is, will the Cologne-Minden Railway pay up without the Chamber's approval for the deal. If it does so, Bismarck will again have a clear road for years ahead, and the philistines will have been atrociously shitted upon. We shall soon see.[237]

Lizzy[b] says Edgar[c] can't have been wearing his Texan hat, or he couldn't possibly have caught a cold in the nose.

Your
F. E.

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[a] C. Schilling, *Die Ausstossung des Präsidenten Bernhard Becker aus dem Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeiter-Verein und der 'Social-Demokrat'*. - [b] Lizzy Burns - [c] Edgar von Westphalen

## 94

## MARX TO ENGELS[238]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 August 1865

DEAR FRED,

Letter from Mr Siebold enclosed.[239] You need not send it back. Secondly, I am sending you the Hatzfeldt rubbish.[a] Do *not* send it back, but store it. Don't show it to *anyone* either. Fortunately, this rubbish has left no trace in the German press. The only thing relating to it which appeared publicly in the press was a statement by *Metzner* (ex-authorised representative of the Berlin branch[b]) and *Vogt*[c] (STILL its treasurer), countersigned *W. Liebknecht*, in which they stated:

1. that Schilling had falsified the report, suppressed some resolutions and made others their direct opposite;

2. that that old girl Hatzfeldt could have spared her comments SINCE the Association had forbidden her to interfere in any way.

That appeared in *Reform*[d] and *Volks-Zeitung*.[234]

I have been medicating myself for a couple of days now and am feeling utterly rotten, quite incapable of working. But Allen tells me that I shall be up and about again in a few days. It's the bilious trouble and a consequence of the 'bitter' labour of thinking in the HOT WEATHER. *Officially* I'm now *away from home* on account of the '*INTERNATIONAL*'.

Edgar[e] is vegetating. In his hermit-like existence he has become accustomed to the narrowest kind of egotism, pondering the needs of his stomach from morn till night. But as he is a good-natured sort, his egotism is that of a KIND-NATURED CAT or a friendly dog. To the devil with hermit-life. He has even lost all interest in women, and his sex-urge has gone to his belly, too. At the same time, he is constantly anxious about his precious health, that same lad who was, on the other hand, used to feeling 'safe' amongst snakes, tigers, wolves, and leopards.

He now wishes he was back in Texas again. But there is no escape from the confrontation with his *cher frère*.[f]

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[a] C. Schilling, *Die Ausstossung des Präsidenten Bernhard Becker aus dem Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeiter-Verein und der 'Social-Demokrat'*. - [b] of the General Association of German Workers - [c] August Vogt - [d] *Berliner Reform* - [e] Edgar von Westphalen - [f] dear brother (Ferdinand von Westphalen)

You can tell what his back-to-nature thinking is like from the fact that his present ideal is to set up a STORE—a cigar or wine STORE—obviously secretly hoping that this will be the surest way to apply oneself to the cigars and wine.

He likes to pretend to be an OLD GENTLEMAN who has settled his accounts with life, has nothing more to do and is only living 'for his health's sake'.

Besides, he is preoccupied with his *attire* as well, and the 'OLD GENTLEMEN' in Rotten Row[240] make him very sad because he cannot keep up with them. Queer cove! Laura, who HAS a small CARBUNCLE on her left cheek JUST NOW, SAYS THAT 'HER MOTHER'S BROTHER IS AN *EXCEEDINGLY BRIGHT* FELLAH!' Tussy[a] 'THAT SHE LIKES HIM, BECAUSE HE IS *SO FUNNY*' and little Jenny that Lina Schöler and he can congratulate each other 'TO HAVE SAFELY GOT RID OF EACH OTHER'. WELL, THEY ARE A BAD LOT. The girls have also SEVERELY CROSS-EXAMINED me AS TO THE 'MRS Burns'.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 16 August 1865

Dear Moor,

That unctuous trash from the Hatzfeldt woman[b] really is unctuous trash with all that is in it about Lassalle the only saviour, Liebknecht, etc. Dear old LIBRARY[c] has really surpassed himself this time in his customary spinelessness, lack of imagination and

[a] Eleanor Marx - [b] C. Schilling, *Die Ausstossung des Präsidenten Bernhard Becker aus dem Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeiter-Verein und der 'Social-Demokrat'*. - [c] Wilhelm Liebknecht

forgetfulness, that is, unless the whole report is a fabrication. The devil take such an advocatus.

Ditto our sparkling-wine enthusiast Siebold. With what self-assured naivety the fellow tried to 'reconcile' you to Blind![239] And then those interesting 'old Swedes' whom nobody has ever heard of and whom we're supposed to write to, to make 'contact'. Quite *à la* Harro Harring. I'm increasingly coming round to think that from the most southerly latitude of North Friesland onwards everything beyond urban bourgeois and peasant politics is pure Harro Harring.[a] But no doubt you will be having that dolt on your back every year.

Next week (about Friday 25th inst.) Moore and I are going to Germany and Switzerland for a fortnight, and maybe we shall also 'cast a casual glance' over Italy.[241] If I can so arrange it, I shall call in briefly at Modena Villas[b] on my way back.

The 28th of this month, i.e. Monday week, is the date of the General Meeting of the Cologne-Minden shareholders, which will decide Prussia's politics for the next few years. I can't imagine that those fellows will be such jackasses as to pay out 13 mill. talers in cash to Bismarck without having the approval of the Chambers.[237] But your liberal Rhineland burgher is capable of a good many tricks the moment he has a chance of swindling the state, and thinks that in his capacity as Deputy he can obtain indemnity for himself afterwards. But if the deal were to fall through, or if it were made conditional on authorisation by the Chambers, that would be more or less the end for Monsieur Bismarck; even that adventurer would not survive such a defeat *in financialibus*[c] and after such a desperate attempt. But the fact that he is momentarily coming to terms with Austria again, shows that intellectually and morally he is *au bout de son latin*.[d] He knows only too well that he can't start a war without being brought down immediately, so he goes on lashing out with big talk, chalking up little gains and turning Germany into the laughing stock of the world. But the philistine is almost as much impressed by him as by Boustrapa.[76] The philistine now no longer requires even ephemeral victories from his idols, but only that they can brag. This is how Classen-Kappelmann became the idol of Cologne as well, because he took to his heels at the crucial moment.[224]

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[a] See K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile* (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 284-90). - [b] the street in London, where Marx lived - [c] in financial transactions - [d] at the end of his strength

It was also a nice thought of Siebold's to put in a good word for C. V. Rimestad in Copenhagen, who is one of the *Dagbladet* people! The so-called Workers' Association is a propaganda organisation of the Scandinavian Eider-Danes and the Hall ministry.[242]

What will Father Urquhart be saying next month about the legal advisers to the Prussian throne? What splendid lads they are!

Kindest regards to the LADIES and Edgar.[a]

Your
F. E.

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## 96

## MARX TO ENGELS[243]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 August 1865

DEAR FRED,

Since you are setting off on your travels,[241] I *must* tell you that I have to pay a BILL for £10 to BUTCHER on 28 August, and the LANDLORD is also becoming very TROUBLESOME. BY THE BY, the English state appears HARDPRESSED FOR MONEY. At all events, the TAXGATHERERS were more pressing this MONTH than ever before and have unexpectedly 'relieved' me.

I am still SICK, although Allen is getting rid of the LIVER troubles. But now I have caught a kind of INFLUENZA, which, he says, will last 5-6 days and which really is the biggest nuisance of all, AS FAR AS MENTAL ACTIVITY IS CONCERNED. I hope that with that I shall have settled MY DEBT TO NATURE.

Löhrchen[b] is not really very well either. For the past year she has been getting much thinner than she ought to be. But she is a strange child and only today agreed to go to the Dr with my wife.

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[a] Edgar von Westphalen - [b] Laura Marx

I HOPE IT IS NOTHING SERIOUS. Little Jenny and Tussy[a] are very well. (Ditto Edgar's[b] STATE OF HEALTH much improved.) My wife had bitten out the 2 front teeth in the middle of her lower jaw, and yesterday had 4 teeth fitted by way of replacement. These are more or less the only 'events' that have occurred here.

Being unwell, I am unable to write much, and then only BY FITS AND STARTS. In between, I am just dabbling in irrelevancies, although with the INFLUENZA I cannot even read properly. I 'took the opportunity' to 'take up' a little astronomy again, amongst other things. And one thing I would like to mention that was new to me at least, but perhaps you have known about it for some time. You know Laplace's theory of the formation of the CELESTIAL SYSTEMS and how he explains the rotation of the various BODIES about their own axis, etc. Proceeding from there, a YANKEE, Kirkwood, has discovered a kind of law concerning the *differences* in the rotation of the planets, which had previously appeared quite abnormal. The law is as follows:

* 'The *square of the number of times* that each planet rotates during one revolution in its orbit, is proportioned to the *cube of the breadth of a diameter of its sphere of attraction*.' *

This means that between two planets there must be a point at which their power of attraction is equally strong; so that a body at this point would remain stationary between them. On the other hand, the body would fall towards one planet or another on either side of that point. This point thus forms the LIMIT of the *SPHERE OF ATTRACTION* of the planet. This SPHERE OF ATTRACTION is, in turn, the measure of the breadth of the GAZEOUS RING from which, according to Laplace, the planet was formed when it first became separated from the GENERAL GAZEOUS MASS. Kirkwood concluded from this that, if Laplace's hypothesis is correct, a specific relationship must exist between the VELOCITY OF THE PLANET'S ROTATION and the BREADTH OF THE RING from which it was formed or its SPHERE OF ATTRACTION. And he has expressed this in the above law, and proved it by analytical calculations.

Old Hegel made some very good jokes about the 'sudden reversal' of centripetal to centrifugal force, right at the moment when one has attained 'preponderance' over the other; e.g., centripetal force is greatest near the sun; *therefore*, says Hegel, centrifugal force is greatest, since it overcomes this *maximum of centripetal* force and vice versa. Moreover, the forces are in

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[a] Eleanor Marx - [b] Edgar von Westphalen

*equilibrium* when half way between the apsides.[244] *Therefore* they can *never* depart from this equilibrium, etc. Incidentally, taken as a whole, Hegel's polemic amounts to saying that Newton's 'proofs' added nothing to Kepler, who already possessed the 'concept' of movement, which I think is fairly generally accepted now.[a]

You know that the *President* of the BANK OF SWITZERLAND is now Mr *Karl Vogt*, who betrayed his friend Fazy as soon as the latter left Geneva,[212] and cheated together with Reinach (the real ACTING DIRECTOR). I asked Freiligrath how Mr Vogt, who is otherwise of ill repute as a FINANCIER in Switzerland, had come by this honourable post. *Answer*: the Swiss have hardly a share left in the 'BANK OF SWITZERLAND'. The Jews in Berlin and Frankfurt a. M. take the decisions. And they support Vogt. Meanwhile, Reinach has been teasing our POOR Freiligrath so much that the latter wrote him the right-thinking rejoinder that even the Prussian police never persecuted him quite so much. They say Fazy swindled the bank out of $1^1/_2$ mill. frs.

A few weeks ago, Professor Beesly had an article about Catiline in *The Fortnightly Review*, vindicating the latter as a man of revolution.[b] Much of it is uncritical (as one would expect from an Englishman, e.g. wrong information on Caesar's position at that time), but his intense rage at the oligarchy and 'respectable people' is very nice. Likewise his sallies against the professional English 'DULL *littérateur*'. Mr *Harrison* had an article in the same *Review* expounding why 'political economy' can adduce '*nothing*' in refutation of communism.[c] It seems to me that *now* there is more MOVEMENT amongst English thinkers than amongst the Germans. The latter are sufficiently preoccupied with celebrating Classen-Kappelmann.[224]

Regards to MRS Lizzy.[d] The children are depending on you not to pass through London without stopping on your way home.

Your
K. M.

You cannot have the remotest conception of the utter nonsense contained in the PARLIAMENTARY REPORTS of 1857 and 1858 on banking, etc., which I recently had to refer back to.[e] As in the monetary

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[a] See G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Naturphilosophie als der Encyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*, Zweiter Theil, § 270. - [b] E. S. Beesly, 'Catiline as a Party Leader', *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. I, 15 May to 1 August 1865. - [c] F. Harrison, 'The Limits of Political Economy'. - [d] Lizzy Burns - [e] *Report from the Select Committee on Bank Acts*

system, capital=gold. In the midst, shame-faced recollections of A. Smith and excruciating attempts to reconcile the chaos of the MONEY MARKET with his 'enlightened' ideas. MacCulloch, who has at last now gone the way of all flesh, distinguishes himself most of all. The fellow was obviously in receipt of a substantial *douceur*[a] from Lord Overstone, who is consequently '*facile maximus argentariorum*'[b] and has to be cleared, come what may. I shall have to reserve my critique of this whole unsavoury stew for a later paper.[245]

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## 97

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 21 August 1865

Dear Moor,

Encl. £20, first half, B/G 56794, Manchester, 9 January 1864, second to follow as soon as you acknowledge receipt. I cannot send more until I know how the final accounts work out, and I shall not know that until my return or even later.

That business of Kirkwood's law was new to me, as it was to Moore. But is it really proven, or is it not perhaps just a hypothesis?[c] Surely it ought to be possible to verify a thing like that.

I hope you are all restored to health now. That trouble with Laura is probably of no more consequence than with little Jenny that time, but it really is absurd of you to allow yourself to continue in such a way. In such circumstances, you should put your foot down as master of the house. I expect you have shaken off your INFLUENZA now, with the warm weather, that kind of thing really takes it out of you, but at least it is easily cured now.

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[a] sweetener - [b] without doubt the greatest banker - [c] See this volume, p. 184.

The old women are just coming to sweep out the office and drive me from my post; so I must quickly finish.

Kindest regards.

Your
F. E.

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## 98

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 August 1865

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR THE £20, FIRST HALF of which received. I most certainly would not BOTHER you, but the end of the quarter, whose bills have been put off, is a very difficult time.

Regarding Kirkwood's law, there is no doubt that it explains the difference in the ROTATORY MOVEMENTS, e.g., between those of Jupiter and those of Venus, which hitherto appeared entirely fortuitous.[a] But *how* he finds out and proves the law itself, I do not know, but on my next visit to the British Museum I will try to get to the bottom of the original work and will tell you more about it then. The only 'problem' attached to the matter, as far as I can see, consists in mathematically determining the SPHERE OF ATTRACTION of each planet. The only *hypothetical* thing about it is probably the assumption of Laplace's theory as a premise.

My INFLUENZA has invaded my nose to such an extent that the TEXAN BOYS[b] 'nozzle' has reproduced itself in me, accompanied by a frightful cold and a muzziness in the head such as must have filled the whole of Laplace's universe of incandescent gas.

The fellows and friends of the 'INTERNATIONAL' have now discovered after all that I am *not* away, and I have therefore

[a] See this volume, pp. 184, 186. - [b] Edgar von Westphalen's

received a SUMMONS TO ATTEND a meeting of the SUBCOMMITTEE today. The 4 weeks of my disappearance have been totally SPOILT for me by the DOCTOR'S prescriptions.

Amongst the books from Lupus' legacy I have in my possession there is a copy of Egli's *Neue Handelsgeographie.* This Swiss says in the preface that into the 'biographies of commercial geography' he has now and again

'woven a view from life, a view in contemplation of which the soul may lose itself for a moment, in comfortable repose ... genre miniatures woven in ... a piece of life shall here unfold before our eyes. Life evolves from life alone'.

The following shows you what this naive Swiss means by 'views from life':

'Markgräfler wine grows on the sunny hills of Mühlheim and Badenweiler. It was not for nothing that our dearly beloved Hebel sang:

"At t'Mill by t'Post
Tallyho, mine host!
Drink up lads: a grand wine flows,
Smooth as olive oil it goes!
At t'Mill by t'Post."'[a]

To prove 'that I have not taken the easy path', this same naive Swiss refers to the list of works he has used. This list numbers precisely 20 items, where along with naive 'children's literature' as the *Buch der Erfindungen*, etc., there are two works by the self-same Mr Egli.[b]

Kindest regards from the WHOLE FAMILY.

Your
K. M.

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[a] J. P. Hebel's poem 'Der Schwarzwälder im Breisgau'. - [b] J. J. Egli, *Praktische Erdkunde mit Illustrationen* and *Praktische Schweizerkunde für Schule und Haus*

## 99

## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 11 September 1865

Dear Liebknecht,

*As soon as I know* whether you are still in Hanover, I shall report to you the reasons for the interruption in correspondence, and indeed write at greater length.

On 25 September, a (PRIVATE) *conference* between the COUNCIL of the International here and the DELEGATES of the ADMINISTRATIONS in Switzerland, France, and Belgium will take place here. Can you not send yourself over here as DELEGATE from Germany?[246]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 100

## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 20 September 1865

Dear Miller,[a]

I received yours yesterday afternoon, too late to post a letter here. *Illness* had much to do with my protracted silence. There were other reasons which I think useless now to dwell upon. Much business pressing upon my time just now, I can only return these few lines.

---

[a] Liebknecht's conspiratorial pseudonym

A *Report*[247] (English, of course) on your part is very important. It must be here on Monday next (25 September). It cannot arrive timely unless you send me the letter *directly* by the Leipzig post.

The Swiss have chosen two delegates, Mons Dupleix, a Frenchman, and Mr *Philipp Becker,* a German.

Old Hatzfeldt dwells at Paris, where the old hag is intriguing with the 'horn-bearing' father of 'Socialism', *Moses,*[a] her most cringing slave. It was at her instigation, that he inserted his 'warning' in the *Nordstern* and his slander into the *Social-Demokrat.*[248] She is now concocting with him the 'Apotheosis' of her own belated 'Oedipus'.[b] The London correspondent of the *Social-Demokrat* seems to be cracked Weber.[c] All these things have been reported to me from Paris. As to myself, I carefully abstain from taking any notice whatever of what is going on in the Berlin and Hamburg 'organs' of the movement.[d] This so-called movement is so disgusting a thing that the less you hear of it the better.

We have founded here a *weekly* paper of our own *The Workman's Advocate.* You will oblige by sending correspondence (English) for it to my address.

Yours truly
A. Williams[e]

First published in the language of the original, English, in *Wilhelm Liebknecht. Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels,* The Hague, 1963

Reproduced from the book

## 101

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

Manchester, 21 September 1865

Dear Liebknecht,

It was bad luck that you chose to write to me just as I was leaving for 3 weeks on the Continent,[241] so that I only found your

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[a] Moses Hess - [b] Ferdinand Lassalle - [c] Louis Weber - [d] *Der Social-Demokrat* and *Nordstern* - [e] Marx's conspiratorial pseudonym

letter[a] waiting for me on my return. The £5 banknote B/V 68754, Manchester, 16 January 1865, encl. as requested.

I cannot write much today, as I want to get the banknote sent off as well; but I will just say that Marx has, of course, every reason to be angry with you. The manner in which you rebutted Becker's[b] absurd allegations against Marx in your Berlin defence-speech was exceedingly weak and incompetent, and in respect of both the Bangya-affair[169] and several others you twisted the facts as much as did Mr Becker, although you could easily have gained better knowledge by referring to *Herr Vogt*.[234] These are extremely disagreeable matters, which Madame Hatzfeldt will now purvey to the world in this distorted form, and with your seal of approval,[c] and you demand that Moor should take all that so calmly?

Your
F. E.

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## 102

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG[1]

IN LONDON

[London,] 30 September [1865]

Dear Jung,

I am expecting you tomorrow (Sunday) for DINNER (A VERY FRUGAL ONE); I have also asked De Paepe and Becker.[d] Please be so kind and invite *Kaub in my name*. This morning I am SO PRESSED BY BUSINESS OF ALL KIND THAT I CANNOT AFFORD TO WRITE TWO LETTERS.

YOURS FRATERNALLY
K. Marx

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[a] of 30 August 1865 - [b] Bernhard Becker - [c] See this volume, p. 176. - [d] Johann Philipp Becker

## 103

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Dear Moor, [Manchester,] 4 October 1865

I always strike unlucky with my plans for coming to London. I met my mother[a] just 3 days before my return here, in Ostende, to be exact, and I couldn't make it an hour shorter, of course. Nor could I have met her any earlier, as neither of us knew where she would be 2-3 days before. But I was DUE here on 15 September,[241] as Charles[b] had to leave on that day, as he in fact did. Since then, as always when I come back from a journey, the very devil has got into the cotton market, I have had to look after Charles' work as well as my own, and that is no trifle when cotton goes up in a fortnight from 18 to 24 $^1/_2$d. per pound, yarns on the other hand by 8-9d. per pound, and telegrams of every description pour in. I hope that is all over now, and besides Charles will come back at the beginning of next week, so that I can gather my wits again at last. This horrible rush has made it positively impossible for me to write even 2 lines to you, in fact, since I've been back, I've not been able to write a line of private correspondence at all. As soon as ever I can, I will write at greater length; meanwhile do let me know how you all are and how the 'book'[c] is getting on. I think I should manage to come over some time for 3×24 hours, as soon as we have got things in order here. But our office is looking like a pigsty, Gottfried[d] has taken on 3 fellows for me who are absolutely hopeless, and is holding me to the contract which says I am to make something of them. So, you can see the way things are here. I shall have to sack one or two of them.

Your

F. E.

Kindest regards to all.

I was also 'all ready' among the Swabians; however, they are not creating any School of Poetry but are cotton-spinning, or emigrating.

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[a] Elisabeth Engels - [b] Charles Roesgen - [c] *Capital* - [d] Gottfried Ermen

## 104

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 October 1865

DEAR FRED,

I shall arrive in Manchester ABOUT 4.40 tomorrow afternoon and will make my way to your official dwelling.[249]

Your
K. M.

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## 105

## MARX TO ENGELS[6]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 November 1865
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear FREDERICK,

I arrived here on Friday[a] evening. Strohn had pressed me very strongly to spend some days with him, but I had too much on my mind. I knew things were awry in London and thus wanted to be on the spot.

The DISAPPOINTMENTS MRS Lizzy[b] prophesied for me came true with a vengeance. *D'abord*,[c] on arrival at King's Cross,[d] my case had gone, and I still have not got it back even now, which is particularly annoying because of the 'papers' it contained, for which I am responsible. Then I found my child[e] was still very unwell. Finally, the LANDLORD had been round, had made threats, and my wife had only calmed him down with *promises of my return*. The man talked of putting the '*BROKER*' into the house and also of

[a] 3 November - [b] Lizzy Burns - [c] Firstly - [d] railway station in London - [e] Laura Marx

terminating the LEASE, which the contract admittedly entitles him to do. All the other riff-raff appeared in the LANDLORD'S wake, some of them in person, and some in the form of threatening letters. I found my wife SO DESOLATE that I *had not the* COURAGE to explain the TRUE STATE OF THINGS to her. And I *really do not know what to do*! And we also have to get coals in, etc.

As well as these DISAPPOINTMENTS ONE GOOD NEWS. One of the two aunts in Frankfurt (the one who is 73,[a] the other[b] is two years younger) has passed on, but *ab intestato*[c] (being afraid of dying if she should make a will). I shall therefore have to share with the other heirs, which would not have been so if there had been a will, as she cared nothing for the others. And then another pleasant circumstance—we have to wait for the power of attorney from Mr Juta from the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

All these pleasant circumstances have rather gone to my stomach, so that I at once had myself made up some more of Gumpert's medicine.

*Salut* (to MRS Lizzy, too).

Your
K. M.

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## 106

## MARX TO SALOMON FULD[250]

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 9 November 1865

Dear Dr Fuld,

As I have lost my aunt's private address, I am taking the liberty of sending you the enclosed letter[111] for forwarding to Madame Babette Blum.

Yours respectfully
Dr K. Marx

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[a] Esther Kosel - [b] Babette Blum - [c] intestate

## 107

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 13 November 1865

Dear Moor,

You should receive herewith at the same time a registered letter with £15, which I made out on Friday and gave to our errand-boy to attend to. I received no answer from you on Sunday, which I found somewhat surprising, and it occurred to me that the boy did not give me the ticket for the letter on Saturday morning. When I looked into it today, it turned out that the wretch had messed up the whole business with his procrastinating and still had the letter in his pocket. That was the last straw as far as his slovenliness was concerned, and he was sacked. I am extremely annoyed about this, as you must meanwhile have been thinking I had quietly put your last letter in my pocket and left things to take their course, without writing a single word to you.

Your
F. E.

*Has Edgar*[a] *gone?*

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## 108

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 November 1865

Dear Fred,

You must excuse me for not most gratefully acknowledging receipt of the £15 until today and for not writing to you until *tomorrow*. I am so pressed that I cannot manage it today.

[a] Edgar von Westphalen

Little Jenny has diphtheria, but I hope it will soon be over.

As soon as you have read the enclosed letter—whose manner and style do, incidentally, stand out most favourably from those of the Rhineland workers—please be so good as to send it back. Courtesy requires that it should be answered.[251]

*Salut.*

Your
K. Marx

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## 109

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

### IN LONDON

[London,] 15 November 1865

My dear Jung,

On my return from Manchester,[249] I find your letter from which I am deeply concerned to see that you are still suffering. I fear very much that you have been always interrupting your cure by a premature application to work.

I shall call upon at your house on *Sunday afternoon.* I should like to find Dupont there since I must communicate to him different things.

My whole family takes the most earnest interest in everything concerning you and sends you the best wishes for your reconvalescence.

My compliments to Mrs Jung.

Yours fraternally
K. Marx

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# 110

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 17 November 1865

Dear Moor,

Your letter was only passed on to me yesterday evening, and I shall be making enquiries as to how it was left lying around for so long.

I hope little Jenny is ALL RIGHT again and at least has got over the acute stage of the illness and the danger therewith. I'm sending her a case of port, sherry and claret this evening, to restore her strength. It gave me a real fright when I read the word diphtheria; it is not something to be made light of.

The letter from the Berliners really took me aback.[251] It has obviously been written by someone with a lot more to him than Wilhelmchen[a] and his references to the latter do not appear to be without a certain irony. Now the letter has certainly not been written by a worker, the mere fact that Grimm's rules of orthography are impeccably observed shows that, and I am just a mite suspicious as to how genuine the thing is. At any rate, we ought to obtain more information about the 3 signatories, Wilhelmchen should know them at least, if the business is *bona fide*. It is rather the form of the document that makes me suspicious, the content most definitely implies the contrary. But as you won't in any case be going to Berlin to found a new organisation there, it will not signify if you write to these people. Letter returned encl.

What do you say to the NIGGER-rebellion in Jamaica and the atrocities perpetrated by the English?[252] *The Telegraph* says today:

* 'We should be very sorry if the right was taken away *from any British officer to shoot or hang all and every British subject found in arms against the British Crown!*' *[b]

Your

F. E.

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[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [b] *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 3249, 17 November 1865.

# 111

## MARX TO ENGELS[253]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 November[a] 1865

Dear Engels,

Little Jenny is on the mend again now and thanks you very much for the wine.

Regarding the financial questions, it would be futile to approach Dronke about it. To have some peace with the LANDLORD, and that is at the root of it all, I have persuaded him to take a bill of exchange up till the middle of February for the current quarter, for which I owe him $\frac{2}{3}$. As for the other creditors, I have satisfied the most pressing with the £15 and am considering ways and means of putting together at least an instalment for the others. Your offer is very generous, and as soon as my work[b] is finished and out, the remainder will have to be made up through other commitments, or if that should not succeed, *although I fully expect it will*, we shall have to move somewhere cheaper, perhaps to Switzerland.

The Berlin letter is genuine.[251] Some days after it arrived, I received a letter about it from Liebknecht, who is in continuous contact with the Berliners. It also emerges from Liebknecht's letter that those curs from the *Social-Demokrat* would oh so dearly love to resume their ties with us. The kind of illusions Liebknecht is for ever indulging in can be seen from the following passage:

*'The people that have applied to you from Berlin, are *our* friends. If you could come, show yourself but once—the gain would be immense. Come if it is possible.'*

Surely Liebknecht ought to know that even if I could go to Berlin AT PRESENT, just as a VISITOR, I would have to be completely quiet and keep myself to myself and not address workers' clubs![254]

Liebknecht also writes:

*'Professor *Eckardt*'* (now the 'principal' radical in the south, as a letter from Stumpf in Mainz makes clear) *'of Mannheim places the *Wochenblatt*[c] at our disposal. He would be delighted if you and Engels were to write for it a few articles, but not too strong.'*

*The Workman's Advocate* is as weak as ever. However, it must have some appeal as it appeared in a larger format last week. I know no more details, as I shall be present at the Association

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[a] In the original: October. - [b] *Capital* - [c] *Deutsches Wochenblatt*

again for the first time tomorrow. The Parisians have published a report on the *conference* together with the *programme* we drew up for the next congress. It appeared in *all* the liberal, quasi-liberal and republican papers in Paris.[255] You will see what a friendly reception it had from the following report by Fox on the last meeting of our COUNCIL which I am cutting out of *The Workman's Advocate* for you. Our Parisians are somewhat taken aback that the para. on Russia and Poland which they did *not* wish to have, is the very one to create the biggest stir.[256] I hope that you will now use some of your leisure time to write the occasional article on one subject or another for the *Advocate*.

The Paris publication absolves me from the trouble of writing a report on France.

The Jamaican business is typical of the utter turpitude of the 'TRUE ENGLISHMAN'.[252] These fellows are as bad as the Russians in every respect. But, says the good old *Times*, these DAMNED ROGUES ENJOYED 'ALL THE LIBERTIES OF AN ANGLO-SAXON CONSTITUTION'.[a] I.e. they ENJOYED THE LIBERTY, amongst others, of having their hides taxed to raise money for the PLANTERS to import COOLIES and thus depress their own labour market below the minimum. And these English curs with their sensibilities sent up an outcry about 'BEAST Butler' for hanging *one* man! and refusing to allow the former planters' diamond-spangled yellow womenfolk to spit in the faces of the FEDERAL SOLDIERS! The Irish affair[257] and the Jamaica BUTCHERIES were all that was needed after the American war[11] to complete the unmasking of English hypocrisy!

Please do not forget to obtain the necessary data from Knowles for me (and *as soon as possible*). *AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGES*, either for a MULE SPINNER, or for a female THROSTLE spinner; *how much* yarn (or *cotton*, that is, *including* the *déchet*[b] that is lost in spinning) is spun *per week* ON AVERAGE by an AVERAGE NUMBER (or, for that matter, any number) by each individual; and then, of course, an arbitrary (corresponding to the labour-wage) *price* for the cotton and the *price of yarn*. I cannot write out the second chapter[c 258] until I have these details.

Ernest Jones' address is now 47 Princess Street.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] *The Times*, No. 25347, 20 November 1865. - [b] waste - [c] of *Capital*

## 112

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG[259]

IN LONDON

[London,] 20 November 1865

*My dear Jung,

**The following are the questions**:

I. *Questions relating to the Association*

1) Questions relating to its organisation.*

2) The establishment of friendly societies for the members of the Association.—Moral and material support to be given to the Association's orphans.

II. * *Social Questions**

1) Co-operative labour.

2) Reduction of the hours of labour.

3) Female and children's labour.

4) * *Trades Unions.** Their past, their present, and their future.

5) Combination of efforts, by means of the International Association, in the struggle between capital and labour.

6) *International Credit*: foundation of international credit institutions, their form and their mode of operation.

7) *Direct and Indirect Taxation.*

8) Standing armies and their effects upon production.

III. **International Politics**

The need to eliminate Muscovite influence in Europe by applying the right of self-determination of nations, and the re-establishment of Poland upon a democratic and social basis.

IV. *A Question of Philosophy*

The religious idea and its relation to social, political, and intellectual development.

*The other *resolutions* as to the Congress etc. you find in the number of *The Workman's Advocate* which contains the report on the three days' sittings of the Conference.[260]

Don't forget to ask for an *official* report on Vésinier.

Send me the *address* of *Kaub* which I have mislaid.

Yours fraternally*

K. Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

Printed according to the original
Passages enclosed between asterisks are reproduced from the English original, the remaining text is translated from French

# 113

# MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

## IN LEIPZIG[a]

[London,] 21 November 1865

My dear Miller,[b]

Since the conference[246] held at this place I fell again very sick. Afterwards I had to leave London for family affairs.[249] Hence my protracted silence. As to your report, I could *not* lay it before the conference, because I was too personally introduced in it.[261] As to your Berlin speech, there were some very disagreeable blunders in it which could only emanate from yourself, because they alluded to facts only known to you, but half forgotten and wrongly reproduced by you.[c] But this is a thing of the past.

I have received the Berlin letter, and I shall answer to it.[251] I have at present neither the *time* nor the means to go to Berlin. Even if I could, you know very well that all and every sort of agitation would be out of the question. The Prussian government has not in vain declared that the amnesty, as far as I was concerned, still excluded me from Prussia, and only gave me leave to travel as a Foreigner through the Bismarckian world.[154]

*The Workman's Advocate* I shall send you one of these days some numbers of. You can write to it on *every* subject you please, social or political. Till now it is a paper of good will, but very mediocre still. Of course, myself had and have not yet the time to contribute to it, although I am one of its Directors.[230] (By my continual relapse into damned ill health I was forced to interrupt the finishing of my book[d] and must now apply to it all my time, part of which is, with all that, absorbed by the International Association.) Engels has promised to contribute[e] but not yet done so. And the same is the case with other people.

The Conference has resolved that a *Public Congress* is to take place at the end of May, at Geneva. A programme of questions to be there debated, has been resolved upon.[f] But nobody can assist who does not belong to a society connected with us, and being sent as a delegate of such society. I now call upon you *very seriously* (I

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[a] The letter bears the stamp: International Working Men's Association / Central Council / London - [b] Liebknecht's conspiratorial pseudonym - [c] See this volume, p. 176. - [d] *Capital* - [e] See this volume, pp. 198-99, 205. - [f] See previous letter.

shall do the same at Mayence through Stumpf, and shall write to the Berliners[a] on it) to enter the Association with some men, few or many, we do not care. I shall send you *cards* which I have prepaid, so that you can *give them away*. But now work! Every *society* (whatever its number) can enbody itself by paying 5 shilling in the block. The *cards*, on the contrary, which cost each 1 shilling, give the right of *individual* membership, which is important for all workingmen going to Foreign countries. But treat this money matter as quite secondary. The principal thing is to get up members, individual or societies, in Germany. On the congress, *Solingen* was the only place represented (they had given power of delegation to our old friend Becker,[b] whom you are very mistaken in if you consider him as a tool of Megära Hatzfeldt).

The programme (of questions to be lead before Congress) I shall send you in my next letter. All the Paris liberal and republican papers have made great fuss about our Association. *Henri Martin*, the well known historian, had a most enthusiastic leader about it in the *Siècle*![256] I have heard nothing of *Quenstedt*.[262]

A thing which will rather surprise you, is this: Shortly before the arrival of workingmen's letter from Berlin, I received from that very same place—'*centre et foyer des lumières*',[c] of course—a letter on the part of—*Lothar Bucher*, inviting me to become the London money article writer of the *Preussische Staatsanzeiger*, and giving me to understand that everybody, der noch bei Lebzeiten im Staat wirken will, 'sich an die Regierung ralliiren' muss.[d] I have answered him by a few lines which he is not likely to exhibit.[263] Of course, you must not *publish* in the papers this affair, but you can communicate it, under the seal of discretion, to your friends.

Freiligrath's London shop—viz. the London branch of the Bank of Switzerland—will be shut up, never to be opened again, before 1866.[e]

Give my best compliments to Madame and Alice.[f]

Yours truly
A. Williams[g]

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[a] August Vogt, Sigfrid Meyer, Theodor Metzner - [b] Johann Philipp Becker - [c] centre and hearth of enlightenment - [d] who wishes to be active in the state during his lifetime must 'rally to the government' - [e] See this volume, p. 208. - [f] Ernestine and Alice Liebknecht -[g] Marx's conspiratorial pseudonym

Some curious letters, written long time since, during his stay at London, by Bernhard Becker to Dr Rode have fallen into my hands.

I have opened this letter again, and by that operation somewhat torn it, in order to add that, during the past spring I had sent a letter to Dr Kugelmann, together with cards of membership for our Association.[a] I have received *no answer* on his part.[264] The letter of which you speak has never arrived at my hands. Please, write him on this affair. If he writes to me, let him do so under the address of '*A. Williams, Esq.*', and not the other one.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946 and in the language of the original, English, in: *Wilhelm Liebknecht. Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels*, The Hague, 1963

Reproduced from the original

## 114

## MARX TO CÉSAR DE PAEPE[265]

### IN BRUSSELS

[London, about 25 November 1865]

### I. Questions relating to the Association

1) Question of organisation.

2) System of friendly societies for the members of the Association. Moral and material support for the Association's orphans.

### II. Social questions

1) Co-operative labour.

2) Reduction of the hours of labour.

3) Children's labour.

4) [Trades' Unions,] their past, their present, and their future.

5) [Combination] of efforts, by means of the International Association, in the struggle between capital and labour.

6) International credit, banking institution, mode of operation.

7) Direct and indirect taxation.

8) Standing armies and their effects upon production.[b]

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[a] Marx is referring to his letter to Kugelmann of 23 February 1865 (see this volume, pp. 101-06). - [b] The French text mistakenly has here: 'Association'.

### III. Questions of International Politics

The need to reduce Muscovite influence in Europe by applying the rights of self-determination of nations, and the re-establishment of Poland upon a democratic and social basis.

### IV. Question of Philosophy

The religious idea and its relation to social, political and intellectual development.

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## 115

## ENGELS TO MARX[253]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 December 1865

Dear Moor,

Enclosed on the new month's account a further two five-pound notes, please to confirm receipt to me at 86 Mornington Street or if possible telegraph tomorrow early in the morning to 7 Southgate, as I'm not registering the letter this time because of the fuss.

As far as I can tell from the German newspapers, Prof. *Eckardt*[a] is a South German democrat, one of the Swabians and Bavarians who seceded from the National Association.[152] It is not clear to me how we are supposed to collaborate with him, it's something like Kolatschek.

That the gentlemen from the *Social-Demokrat* would like to resume their ties with us is typical of that riff-raff. They think everyone is as much of a swine as they are. Bismarck seems to have realised how powerless they are and therefore to have thrown them out, so at last there's a trial and Schweitzer has been

[a] See this volume, p. 198.

sentenced to 1 year of imprisonment.[266] B. Becker has now also detached himself from Schweitzer and given up his post as President of Mankind, so that everything is now falling apart just splendidly. So that it was not our intervention, but our non-intervention that put paid to the whole caboodle. This no doubt means that 'Lassalleanism' in its official form will soon come to the end of the line.

Every post brings news of worse atrocities in Jamaica.[252] The letters from the English officers about their heroic deeds against unarmed NIGGERS are beyond words. Here the spirit of the English army is at last expressing itself quite uninhibitedly. 'THE SOLDIERS ENJOY IT.' Even *The Manchester Guardian* has had to come out against the authorities in Jamaica this time.

Regarding *The Workman's Advocate*, I will see what can be done, meanwhile perhaps you could send the paper to me. You have no notion at all of the TROUBLE and chasing around involved here in obtaining these PENNY WEEKLY PAPERS which are not worth the bother to the NEWSAGENTS. You still do not get them even if you order and pay for them in advance. Or put MRS Burns down for a subscription with an order for the PAPER to be sent here by post.

Every good wish to MRS and MISSES.

Your
F. E.

G/P 62563. London, 4 August 1865—£5
E/M 35757. Liverpool, 15 May "—" 5

How much is the bill for that you accepted, and when is it due?

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## 116

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, 2 December 1865]

Dear FRED,

I found your letter just as I arrived home (I was at the Museum[a] where I had some things to look up). I've just TIME to

[a] the British Museum Library

acknowledge the £10 with best thanks. I shall write more tomorrow.

*Salut* and COMPLIMENTS to MRS Lizzy.[a]

Your
K. M.

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## 117

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 December 1865

DEAR FRED,

Please forgive me for not thanking you on behalf of the FAMILY for the CHRISTMAS present until today, and indeed for not writing at all for so long. I have been so very BOTHERED ALL THAT TIME OVER and have wasted so much time dashing this way and that, transactions right and left to satisfy A, and thereby falling into the clutches of B, etc., that my work has been chiefly confined to the night, and the good intention to deal with correspondence the next day comes to grief every day.

With regard to the *INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION* and all that that entails, it has consequently been weighing down on me like an INCUBUS, and I would be glad to be able to get rid of it. But that is impossible, least of all at the present time. On the one hand, sundry bourgeois—Mr. Hughes, M.P., at their head—have conceived the idea of turning *The Workman's Advocate* into a proper *funded* paper, and as one of the DIRECTORS I MUST WATCH THE TRANSACTIONS, to prevent FOUL PLAY.[230] On the other hand, the Reform League, one of the organisations we founded, has had a triumphant success at the St Martin's Hall MEETING, the largest and most purely working-class MEETING that has taken place since I have been living in London. The people from *our* COMMITTEE were at the head

[a] Lizzy Burns

of it and put forward our ideas.[267] If I resigned tomorrow, the bourgeois element, which looks at us with displeasure in the wings (FOREIGN INFIDELS), would have the upper hand. With the complete failure of the workers' movement in Germany, the workers' elements in Switzerland have grouped themselves all the more around the sections of the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION there. In the middle of this month first number of the *Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Section de la Suisse Romande* appeared in Geneva, and a German organ[268] will shortly appear under the editorship of Becker,[a] which has a chance on account of the *Nordstern*'s demise and the discrediting of the *Social-Demokrat*. (Old Becker is desperate for articles and has asked me to write *urgently to you* about it, as *pro nunc*[b] he has *no* contributors.) Finally, in France the Association is making great progress, in the absence of any other centres of movement. So, if I were to resign in these circumstances, I should be doing very serious damage to the cause; but, on the other hand, since I have so little time just now, it is no trifle for me: ABOUT 3 MEETINGS in the West End or the City, EVERY WEEK first a session of the INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL, then of the STANDING COMMITTEE,[21] then of the DIRECTORS OR SHAREHOLDERS of *The Workman's Advocate*! And in addition all manner of writing to do.

I have had a few lines from Liebknecht. He is living at 2 Gerichtsweg, Leipzig, to be addressed as J. Miller,[c] Esq. Things seem to be going badly with him as usual, but he seems to have some prospect of getting a position as a lexicographer, as well as of being granted civic rights in Leipzig, and becoming one of Beust's subjects.

Dr Kugelmann has also written to me.[264] Justus Möser's successor, the present mayor of Osnabrück, Mr Miquel, has now openly turned renegade; for the moment with bourgeois leanings, but 'already' veering in the aristocratic direction. A certain Wedekind, formerly consul SOMEWHERE, rolling in money and an enthusiastic National-Association member,[152] has rewarded him for his merits by making him his son-in-law. Kugelmann has seen 'gentle Heinrich'[d] in Cologne. He is now cosily installed as editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. He complained that I had not visited him in Cologne and was treating him as a 'turncoat', etc. He claimed always to have 'kept faith with the "cause"' and only to be working with the bourgeoisie against the aristocracy now 'to promote the evolution and clarification of the *class contradictions*'

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[a] Johann Philipp Becker - [b] at present - [c] Liebknecht's conspiratorial pseudonym - [d] Heinrich Bürgers

(which in a speech in Cologne scarcely a year ago he declared NON-EXISTENT), etc.

Bonaparte appears to me shakier than ever. The business with the students[269] is symptomatic of ominous signs of conflict in the army itself, but above all the Mexico affair[270] and that original sin of the LOWER EMPIRE,[a] *debts*! Nor has the fellow managed to pull off a single coup in the past year. Indeed things have reached such a pass with him that Bismarck figures as a rival to him!

Palmerston's death has obviously been a blow here. If he were still alive, Governor Eyre would have been awarded the *ordre pour le mérite*!

Freiligrath is also ending the year with tremendous bad luck. Jew Reinach has closed down the business here, with a great brouhaha, coming to London expressly for the purpose.[b] Freiligrath, who owed the bank money anyway, suffered the further misfortune that 3 days before the ARRIVAL of the mighty Reinach one of his clerks absconded with £150. But still the old boy has got powerful protection TO FALL BACK UPON. His Plonplonist[93] friends in Paris (e.g. EX-COLONEL Kiss, who married the daughter of the former French minister Thouvenel, a millionaire, and is now at the head of an enormous company) will find a new position for him soon enough.

Happy New Year! To MRS Lizzy,[c] too.

Your
K. M.

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## 118

## MARX TO ENGELS[271]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, end of 1865-beginning of 1866]

*Appendix*

While I was last staying in Manchester[249] you once asked me to explain differential calculus. The thing will be quite clear to you

[a] the designation of the Byzantine Empire; used figuratively it means any state experiencing decline - [b] See this volume, pp. 158, 164. - [c] Lizzy Burns

from the following example. The whole of differential calculus arose originally from the task of drawing *tangents* through any point on any curve. So, that is the example I am going to use for you.

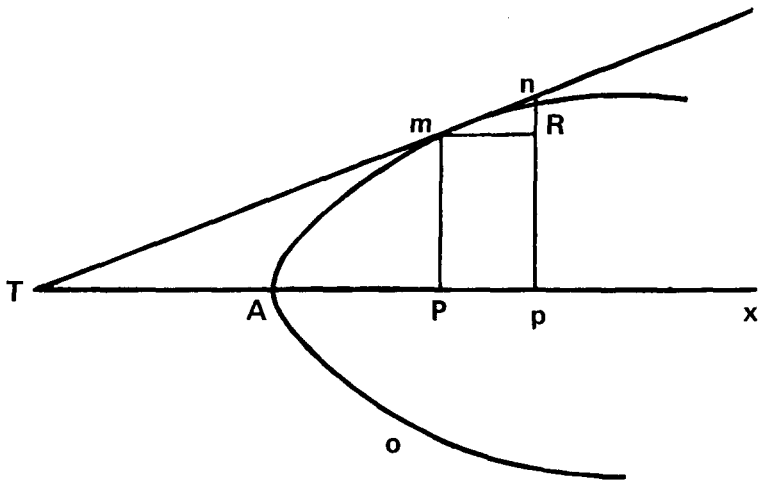


Assume that the line *nAo* is any curve whose nature (whether it's a parabola, ellipse, etc.) is *unknown* to us and on which a tangent is to be drawn at point *m*.

*Ax* is the axis. We drop the perpendicular *mP* (the ordinate) onto the abscissa *Ax*. Now assume that point *n* is the infinitely *closest* point on the curve beside *m*. If I drop a perpendicular *np* onto the axis, *p* must be the infinitely closest point to *P* and *np* the infinitely closest parallel line to *mP*. Now drop an infinitely small perpendicular *mR* onto *np*. If you now take the abscissa *AP...x* and the ordinate *mP...y*, then $np = mP$ (or *Rp*), increased by an infinitely small increment [*nR*], or $[nR] = dy$ (differential of *y*) and $mR\ (= Pp) = dx$. Since the part of the tangent *mn* is infinitely small, it coincides with the corresponding part of the curve itself. I can therefore regard *mnR* as a △(triangle), and the △*mnR* and *mTP* are similar triangles. Therefore: $dy\ (= nR) : dx (= mR) = y(mP) : PT$ (which is the subtangent of the tangent *Tn*). Thus, the subtangent $PT = y\,\frac{dx}{dy}$. We now have a *general differential equation* for drawing the tangent at any points on *any* curves. If I am now

to operate with this equation and to determine through it the length of the subtangent $PT$ (once I have found this, I merely need to connect the points $T$ and $m$ by a straight line in order to have the tangent), so I need to know the *specific character* of the curve. According to its character (parabola, ellipse, cissoid, etc.), it will have a *distinct form of general equation* for its ordinate and abscissa at any point, which one can find in algebraic geometry. Thus, if the curve $mAo$, e.g., is a parabola, I know that $y^2$ ($y$=the ordinate at any given point)$=ax$, where $a$ is the parameter of the parabola and $x$ is the abscissa corresponding to the ordinate $y$.

If I put this value for $y$ into the equation $PT=\frac{ydx}{dy}$, I must then work out $dy$, i.e. to find the differential of $y$ (which represents an infinitely small increment of $y$). If $y^2=ax$, I know from the differential calculus that from $d(y^2)=d(ax)$ (I have to differentiate both sides of the equation, of course), it follows that $2y\,dy=a\,dx$ ($d$ always means differential). Thus $dx=\frac{2y\,dy}{a}$. If I put this value of $dx$ into the formula $PT=\frac{ydx}{dy}$, I get $PT=\frac{2y^2\,dy}{a\,dy}=\frac{2y^2}{a}=$ (since $y^2=ax$) $=\frac{2ax}{a}=2x$. Or the subtangent of any point $m$ on the parabola=twice the abscissa of the same point. The differential values are cancelled in the operation.

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# 1866

## 119

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 January 1866[a]

Dear Moor,

£10 encl. in 2 Bank-of-England notes. How stands it with bill of exchange for LANDLORD? Tell me how much and date when due, so that I may make my dispositions.

That malicious compilation of *Social-Demokrat* garbage in the Schulze-Delitzschite pamphlet[b] had already been sent me anonymously from Berlin; it is always a good thing to have such a résumé with extracts. Schulze-Delitzsch has also announced that in the next few days he is to publish a reply to Lassalle, in which he is going to demolish him.[272]

You will already know as well that Racowiţa died of consumption, so presumably Mamsell Dönniges is once more IN THE MARKET, IF EVER SHE WAS FAIRLY OUT OF IT.

Mr Held's speech has also been sent me from Berlin. He's a real Berlin scoundrel.

Monsieur Bonaparte's progress is most decidedly that of the crab. The trouble in the army over Mexico[270] is very serious, and so is the student trouble in Paris.[269] It is very important that the Paris students should take the side of the proletariat, confused though their ideas on the subject may be. The École polytechnique will follow soon enough. It would be so splendid if the rascal lived to see his own DOWNFALL, and it now almost appears that he might. It is getting more and more rotten for Bismarck every day, too, and, if those scoundrels in Cologne had not got him out of the soup, it would probably already have been all up with him now.[237]

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[a] The original has: 1865. - [b] [E. Richter,] *Die Geschichte der social-demokratischen Partei in Deutschland seit dem Tode Ferdinand Lassalle's.*

I am agog for the next parliament, the disintegration of the old parties must surely proceed apace now. JOHN BRIGHT IS EVIDENTLY BIDDING FOR OFFICE—it is true, I have not yet read the speech he gave yesterday.[a]

Have you read Tyndall's 'HEAT CONSIDERED AS A MODE OF MOTION'? If not, you should do so. A great deal of work has been done in this field, and the matter appears to be assuming a rational shape; the atom theory is being taken to such extremes that it must soon fall apart.

Please don't forget to send me *The Workman's Advocate* and *The Free Press.*

Regards and best wishes to your family for the New Year.

Your
F. E.

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## 120

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 JANUARY 1866

DEAR FRED,

*In the greatest of haste.*

Best thanks for the £10.

The bill of exchange falls due on 18 February and is for £48. I wanted the LANDLORD to draw it only for the 2 terms that were due and not for the third one as well, which is not due until the end of January. But he insisted.

A plot has been hatched against the *INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION*, in which connection I need your co-operation. Further details later. For the moment, suffice to say: Mr Le Lubez and Vésinier (the

[a] Engels is referring to J. Bright's speech on the Parliamentary Reform delivered at the meeting in Rochdale on 3 January 1866, *The Times*, No. 25386, 4 January 1866.

latter well aware that an INQUIRY into his past is in progress; he is in Brussels again) have a French branch here[273] (IN FACT an opposition branch); Longuet, the editor of *Rive gauche*, also belongs to it, and it is tied up with all that pack of Proudhonists in Brussels. Vésinier began by publishing a long screed against us in the *Echo de Verviers*, OF COURSE ANONYMOUSLY.[274] Then, in the *same* paper which is putting out the SLANDERS against our Association (among other things, falsely calls Tolain and Fribourg Bonapartists, too), the London BRANCH published a programme, a draft of future statutes, which *they*, the Faithful, are going to put to the Congress.[275]

The real crux of the controversy is the *Polish question*. The fellows have all attached themselves to the Muscovitist line pursued by Proudhon and Herzen. I shall therefore send you the earlier articles by the oracles in the *Tribune du Peuple* against Poland and you must do a refutation, either for our papers in Geneva (the 'German' one[a]) or for *The Workman's Advocate*.[276] The Russian gentlemen have acquired some bran-new allies in the Proudhonised section of 'Jeune France'.[b]

Your
K. M.

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## 121

## MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER[33]

IN GENEVA[c]

London, [about 13 January 1866]
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, N. W.

My dear friend Becker,

If you are vexed with me, you have 'every right' and at the same time 'no right' to be so. (You know from Heinzen that I am a 'sophist'.) Apart from having some 1,200 pages of manuscript[d]

[a] *Der Vorbote* - [b] 'Young France' - [c] The letter bears the stamp: International Working Men's Association / Central Council / London. - [d] of *Capital*

to copy and my publisher[a] grumbling at me for a long time now, and apart from the fearful waste of time which the Central Committee, the STANDING COMMITTEE[21] and the Committee of Directors of *The Workman's Advocate* commit me to in this Babylon, I have had the most exceptional aggravations and difficulties in my '*private circumstances*' which obliged me to leave London for a while[249] and are still unresolved, etc., etc.

You will see from the enclosed note, which I received *today* (or rather my wife did), that a parcel, which I sent to you *ABOUT 14 days ago*, has been most commendably confiscated by the French police. It contained chiefly '*Manifestoes of the Communist Party*'.[b] Also a note from me briefly answering your questions and telling you that *Bender* agreed that I should publish your appeal in *English* in *The Workman's Advocate*, ditto a report on activity in Switzerland, etc.[277]

The reason why we decided not to publish any official report on the conference[246]—apart from lack of money and the fact that the *Rules* oblige us to present a general report to the Congress, such *double emploi*[c] thus to be avoided—was basically that to initiate the public in the situation, especially the very 'fragmentary' nature of the conference, would do us more harm than good and provide our opponents with a useful weapon. We knew that two members of the Central Committee, Le Lubez and Vésinier, were just waiting to seize this opportunity. Events have confirmed this. Firstly, Vésinier's denunciation of the Central Committee and the conference in *L'Écho de Verviers*.[274] Directly following that, in the same paper, came Le Lubez' declaration of principles and draft of statutes[275] that he hoped to impose on the Association in the name of the French branch he had founded in London as a counterweight to ourselves.[273] This plot has meanwhile been frustrated. The branch has deserted its founder. Its two best men, Longuet (editor of the *Rive gauche*) and Crespelle, have joined the Central Committee. The latter has resolved that Vésinier must either substantiate his slanders or be expelled.

I cannot send you any articles *pro nunc*.[d] I have *not an hour to spare*. *Engels*, however, will do so, as soon as he has seen the first number[e] and knows where and how. *Liebknecht* will as well, from Leipzig. I will ditto write to Dr Kugelmann in Hanover about it. Ditto to *Stumpf* in Mainz.

No. 1 of *Dupleix*'s paper[f] is weak. Jung has written to him about it.

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[a] Otto Meissner - [b] by K. Marx and F. Engels - [c] double work - [d] for now - [e] of *Der Vorbote* - [f] *Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*

Liebknecht is living at 2 Gerichtsweg, Leipzig (*address J. Miller*[a]).

In one way the movement here has progressed well, but badly in another respect. The Reform League we founded has held a mass MEETING for universal suffrage, bigger than I ever saw here in London.[267] All the speakers were working men. *The Times* itself was shocked and published 2 leading articles about the 'ugly' incident.[b] The obverse side is that this movement is demanding far too much of our best working-class forces.

*The Workman's Advocate* is weak. It will improve now that *Eccarius* is editor. But there are enormous difficulties in raising the money for it.

I have received a letter from Berlin, signed by Vogt,[c] Metzner and other workers, in which they give a perceptive and critical assessment of the present state of the workers' movement in Germany. The only uncritical thing about it is their demand that I should come to Berlin and take the matter in hand. Surely they must know that the Prussian government has 'forbidden' me to settle in Prussia.[d]

Before I hear from you *by what way* I can let you have the 'Manifestoes', I am going to send one experimentally *via Mainz.* You may be able to make use of some things in it for your paper.

The best thing the German sections can do is for the time being to register in Geneva and keep in continuous contact with you. As soon as some such arrangement is made, let me know, so that at last I can announce at least some progress in Germany *here.*[278]

I am sending this letter under cover to Dupleix, on account of the 'French confiscation'. The Empire seems to me to be tottering. *D'abord,*[e] the business with Mexico and the UNITED STATES.[270] Then the mutiny of 3 French regiments.[279] Then the student unrest.[269] Bonaparte's losing his head, as manifested in his row with England about the renewal of the 'extradition treaty'[280] and his banning of the lickspittling '*Indépendance belge*'. Finally, the *trade crisis,* which will be greatly hastened by the present English, resp. European, overimporting to the UNITED STATES.

Best greetings from wife and children.

Your

K. Marx

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[a] conspiratorial pseudonym of Wilhelm Liebknecht - [b] *The Times,* Nos. 25367 and 25368, 13 and 14 December 1865. - [c] August Vogt - [d] See this volume, p. 201. - [e] Firstly

# 122

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 January 1866[a]

DEAR FRED,

Laura quite forgot to send you the *Tribunes*[b] which I had put out ready a week ago. She is today making amends for her negligence. Ditto a *Workman's Advocate.*

I am enclosing with this letter:

1. Communication from the publisher in Vienna.[c] (You must send this back.)[281]
2. Dr Kugelmann.
3. Meyer[d] from Berlin. (I have only written back to these people today. Time is so very short.)[282]

In the meantime, we have crushed the wretched plot hatched by Vésinier in Belgium[274] and by Le Lubez in London. The editor of the *Rive gauche* and friend of Rogeard, Longuet, also Mr Crespelle—the two most intelligent members of the branch founded by Le Lubez[273]—have joined our Central Committee. His branch has declared itself against him, for us. The CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS SUMMONED VÉSINIER 'TO SUBSTANTIATE HIS ACCUSATIONS OR TO BE EXPELLED'. The fellow reproaches us in the *Echo de Verviers* among other things for:

> 'Il' (le comité) 'a été chargé d'un des plus grands intérêts de l'humanité et il abandonne de gaieté de coeur le but sublime pour dégénérer *en comité des nationalités à la remorque du bonapartisme.*'[e]

And this degeneration was in fact made manifest in us by our statement in favour of Poland, against Russia.[283]

> 'Cédant à des influences fâcheuses'[f] (the idiot imagines the Polish § of the programme originated from the PARIS DELEGATES, whereas the latter sought in every possible way to get rid of it as 'inopportune'), 'il a inscrit dans le programme du Congrès de Genève des questions en dehors du but de l'association et contraires au droit, à la justice, à la liberté, à la fraternité, à la solidarité des peuples et des

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[a] The original has: 1865. - [b] *La Tribune du Peuple* containing a series of articles by H. Denis, entitled 'La question polonaise et la démocratie'. - [c] Arnold Hilberg - [d] Sigfrid Meyer - [e] 'They' (the Committee) 'were charged with one of mankind's greatest concerns but are frivolously abandoning their lofty goal in order to degenerate *into a committee of nationalities in tow to Bonapartism.*' - [f] 'Succumbing to pernicious influences'

races, telles que celles: "D'anéantir l'influence russe en Europe etc.", et cela juste au moment où les serfs russes et polonais viennent d'être émancipés par la Russie, tandis que les nobles et les prêtres polonais ont toujours refusé d'accorder la liberté aux leurs. On conviendra au moins que le moment est mal choisi. Avant d'approuver *ces articles*, les membres anglais du comité auraient bien dû se demander s'il ne serait pas aussi urgent de mettre un terme aux progrès effrayants du paupérisme anglais, de la prostitution des ouvrières, et de la misère des ouvriers de la Grande Bretagne, de la famine et du dépeuplement de l'Irlande etc.! Quant au membre allemand du comité, qu'il nous dise aussi si l'influence de la politique de M. de Bismarck n'aurait pas aussi besoin d'être anéantie en Europe; la Prusse et l'Autriche ne sont-elles pas copartageantes de la Pologne et solidaires du crime de la Russie contre cette nation malheureuse? Et quant aux prétendus délégués de Paris, sont-ils bien venus de flétrir l'influence russe, alors que les soldats de Bonaparte occupent Rome qu'ils ont bombardée, massacrant les défenseurs de la république mexicaine après avoir détruit la république française? Que l'on compare les fautes et les crimes commis par les gouvernements, et l'on sera convaincu qu'il ne faut mettre aucun peuple au ban de l'humanité pour les forfaits de ses oppresseurs, que le devoir du comité central était de proclamer la solidarité, la fraternité entre tous les peuples, *et non d'en mettre un seul d'entre eux au ban de l'Europe*.'[a]

He then appended this lie:

'Cette faute énorme a déjà eu de fatales conséquences: les Polonais ont demandé en masse à faire partie du Comité, et sous peu ils seront en immense majorité.'[b] (CAPTAIN Bobczyński is the *only one* who is on it—Holtorp doesn't count

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[a] 'they included in the programme for the Geneva Congress questions not concerning the goal of the Association and contrary to law, justice, liberty, fraternity and the solidarity of peoples and races, such as: "the elimination of Russian influence in Europe etc."; and this they did at the very moment when the Russian and Polish serfs had just been emancipated by Russia, whereas the Polish nobility and priests have always refused to grant freedom to their own. It will at least be agreed that the moment was ill-chosen. Before approving *these articles*, the English members of the committee should have really asked themselves if it was not a matter of equal urgency to put an end to the frightening increase in English pauperism, in the prostitution of working women and the misery of working men in Great Britain, in famine and depopulation in Ireland, etc.! As for the German members of the committee, let them also tell us whether the influence of Mr Bismarck's policy in Europe does not equally merit elimination; do not Prussia and Austria have an equal share in the partitioning of Poland, are they not equally responsible for Russia's crime against that unfortunate nation? As for the self-styled delegates from Paris, does it come well from them to condemn the influence of Russia, when Bonaparte's soldiers are occupying Rome, which they have bombarded, are massacring the defenders of the Mexican republic, having already destroyed the French republic? If one compares the misdeeds and crimes committed by governments, one is persuaded that no people should be put beyond the pale of humanity for the infamies of its oppressors, and that it was the duty of the Central Committee to proclaim solidarity and fraternity among all peoples, *and not to put one of them alone beyond the pale of Europe*.' - [b] 'This enormous error has already had dire consequences: the Poles have asked to join the Committee *en masse* and before long they will represent the overwhelming majority.'

and is himself conspiring with Le Lubez.) 'Déjà ils ne se font pas faute de dire qu'ils se serviront de *l'Association* pour aider au rétablissement de leur nationalité, sans s'occuper de la question de l'émancipation des travailleurs.'[a]

The Poles—they had just sent a deputation to see us—burst out laughing when these PASSAGES were read out. We are commemorating their revolution on 23 January.[284]

You will be amused by WISEACRE Denis' *concluding prayer to Proudhon*.[285] This SENSATIONAL WRITER has done great harm with his little bit of learning and with his Lassalle-like trumpeting of scholarship, of which he had no conception, with his spurious critical superiority over the SOCIALIST SECTARIANS.

Le Lubez is of no account. Fox rightly calls him 'Le père enfantin',[b] but Vésinier is just the fellow for the Russians. Of little merit as a writer, as his *Vie du Nouveau César* and his other pamphlets attacking Bonaparte show. But with talent, great RHETORICAL POWER, much energy and above all unscrupulous through and through.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 123

## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT[1]

### IN LEIPZIG[c]

[London,] 15 January 1866

Dear LIBRARY,[d]

Happy New Year!

You must excuse my silence, ditto the brevity of these lines of mine. You will not believe how BOTHERED I am for time.

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[a] Already they do not shrink from saying that they will make use of *the Association* to help to restore their nationhood, without concerning themselves with the question of the emancipation of the workers.' - [b] 'Le père enfantin' ('The childish father')—a pun on 'Père Enfantin' ('Father Enfantin'). An allusion to Le Lubez' efforts to imitate the chief representative of the Saint-Simonian school, Barthélemy Prosper Enfantin. - [c] The letter bears the stamp: International Working Men's Association / Central Council / London - [d] nickname for Wilhelm Liebknecht

*Indisposition*, for ever recurring periodically, all manner of unfortunate *mischances*, *demands made on me* by the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION, etc., have confiscated every free moment I have for writing out the fair copy of my manuscript.[a] I hope to be able to take Volume I of it to the publisher[b] for printing myself in March. (The whole thing, the two volumes, will, however, appear *simultaneously*.[233] This *is good*.)

So, this very much by way of summary.

Today I am sending you by post the 2 latest issues of *The Workman's Advocate*, of which Eccarius is now editor.[c] If, as I hope, you send any *articles* for it, please do so to me (political, social, as you will).

I also enclose CARDS OF MEMBERSHIP for you. I have paid for them. You can therefore give them to whomever you like, and have only to inscribe the name and after the £, put 0, but after the 0s., 1d.

The conditions, GENERALLY, are these: *a society as such* that wishes to join has an *Association collective membership Card*, for which 5s. per year is to be paid. But, if all the members join *individually*, they have to take out cards of the kind I am sending you. This is advantageous for workers. The cards serve as a passport abroad, and their *confrères*[d] in London, Paris, Brussels, Lyons, Geneva, etc., will get jobs for them.

The Association has made great progress. It already has 1 official English paper, *The Workman's Advocate*, a Brussels one, *La Tribune du Peuple*, a French one in Geneva, *Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, Section de la Suisse Romande*, and a German one in Geneva, *Der Vorbote*, which will be appearing in a few days. *Address: 6 rue du Môle, Genf, J. P. Becker*, in case you want to write to the old man occasionally (as I hope you will).

I am now hoping you will soon make it possible for me to announce the foundation of a Leipzig section and enable me to present correspondence. (*In English*. It can then be used in *The Workman's Advocate* as well.) The number is not important, although THE MORE, THE BETTER.

If people want to join *en masse*, as a society, you will see that the *total price* of 5s., which they have to pay annually, is *nothing*.

J. P. Becker writes to me[e]:

'Sections are going to be formed in Leipzig, Gotha, Stuttgart and Nuremberg; shall we register them here for the time being, until there is a large number and a Central Committee has been formed in Germany?'[278]

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[a] *Capital* - [b] Otto Meissner - [c] See this volume, p. 224. - [d] colleagues - [e] J. Ph. Becker to Karl Marx, 18 December 1865

I have replied *in the affirmative.*[a] However, since there can be several branches in one town, you and your people can establish links direct with us.

I have had a second letter from the Berliners.[b] I am at last writing to them today.[282] Ditto to Dr Kugelmann.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

I will let you know next time what questions are to be dealt with at the Geneva Congress at the end of May.[286]

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## 124

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[65]

### IN HANOVER

London, 15 January 1866
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Friend,

A happy New Year and best thanks for your kind letter.

You must excuse the brevity of these lines on account of my being excessively busy at present. I'll write more fully next time.

I am enclosing two cards[287] and will let you know in my next letter which questions are to be dealt with at the public congress in Geneva at the end of May.[286]

Our Association has made great progress. It already has 3 official organs, one in London, *The Workman's Advocate*, one in Brussels, *La Tribune du Peuple*, one put out by the French section in Switzerland, *Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, Section de la Suisse Romande* (Geneva), and in a few days time a journal is to be put out by the German-Swiss section, *Der Vorbote*,

[a] See this volume, p. 215. - [b] August Vogt, Sigfrid Meyer and Theodor Metzner

under the editorship of *J. P. Becker.* (Address: 6 rue du Môle, Genf, J. P. Becker, in case you wanted to send him an occasional article, political or social).

We have succeeded in attracting into the movement the only really big workers' organisation, the English '*TRADE UNIONS*', which previously concerned themselves *exclusively* with the wage question. With their help, the English society we founded to achieve UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE[a] (half of its Central Committee consists of members—working men—of our Central Committee) held a giant MEETING a few weeks ago, at which only working men spoke.[267] You can tell what effect it had from the fact that the LEADERS of two successive issues of *The Times* were concerned with this MEETING.[b]

As regards my work,[c] I am now busy 12 hours a day writing out the fair copy. I am thinking of taking the manuscript of the first volume to Hamburg myself in March and using the opportunity to see you.

I was much amused by the antics of Justus von Möser's successor.[d] How wretched a man of talent must be who seeks and finds satisfaction in trivialities of that kind![e]

As regards Bürgers, he is doubtless well-meaning, but weak. It is not much over a year ago that he declared at a public MEETING in Cologne (it appeared in print in the Cologne papers) that Schulze-Delitzsch had 'solved' the social question once and for all and that only *personal friendship for me* had induced him (Bürgers) to stray onto the tangled paths of communism! After such *public statements*, could I regard him as other than a 'renegade'?

Your most sincere friend

K. Marx

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[a] the Reform League - [b] *The Times*, Nos. 25367 and 25368, 13 and 14 December 1865. - [c] *Capital* - [d] Johannes von Miquel - [e] See this volume, pp. 207-08.

## 125

## MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER

IN BERLIN

[London,] 24 January 1866

Dear Friend,

At the same time as I sent the cards to you, I wrote a detailed letter to Mr Vogt.[a] I thought I was being very clever in using two different addresses. The only error I may possibly have committed is to have put No. 6 instead of 16 in Vogt's address.[288]

I should therefore be grateful if you would enquire at the Post Office and inform me of the results. Since I wrote to you,[282] a fresh carbuncle has developed in a spot that is very painful when I sit, so that after my daily labour of fair-copying my manuscript[b] for the publisher,[c] I am extraordinarily exhausted.

Your
K. M.

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## 126

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 26 January 1866

Dear Moor,

What is holding me up is that I have no material and hardly any recollection either about the way in which the emancipation of the serfs was finally carried out in Russia, what land the peasant received, who paid for it, what his present *de facto* relation is to

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[a] August Vogt - [b] *Capital* - [c] Otto Meissner

the landowner, etc., etc. I have undoubtedly seen the earlier *plans* of the nobility and the emperor,[a] but not the definitive implementation. Have you any material on it[b]?

Your
F. E.

N.B. I shall not refer *directly* to the article in the 1864 *Tribune*,[c] *cela serait lui faire trop d'honneur*.[d]

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## 127

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 February 1866

Dear Fritz,

It was a close shave this time. My family did not know how *sérieux* the *cas*[e] was. If the matter recurs in that form three or four times more, I shall be a dead man. I am marvellously wasted away and still damned weak, not in the mind but about my loins and in my legs. The doctors are quite right to think that *excessive work at night* has been the chief cause of this relapse. But I cannot tell these gentlemen the reasons that *force* this extravagance on me—nor would it serve any purpose to do so. At this moment, I have all kinds of little progeny about my person, which is painful but no longer in the least dangerous.

What was most loathsome to me was the interruption in my work,[f] which had been going splendidly since January 1st, when I got over my liver complaint. There was no question of '*sitting*', of

[a] Alexander II - [b] See this volume, pp. 212-13. - [c] H. Denis, 'La question polonaise et la démocratie', *La Tribune du Peuple*, Nos. 41-43, 45, 46; 5, 26 March, 17 April, 29 May, 30 June 1864. - [d] that would be doing it too great an honour - [e] serious the case - [f] on *Capital*

lying down, I was able to forge ahead, even if only for short periods of the day. I could make no progress with the really theoretical part. My brain was not up to that. I therefore elaborated the section on the '*Working-Day*' from the historical point of view, which was not part of my original plan. What I have now 'inserted' supplements your book[a] (*sketchily*) up to 1865 (and I say so in a note[289]) and fully justifies the discrepancy between your estimation of the future and what will actually happen. Therefore, as soon as my book appears, it is necessary to have the second edition of your book, which will be easy in the circumstances. I shall provide the necessary theory. Regarding the additional historical supplement, which you should give as an appendix to your book, *all the material*, excepting the '*Factory Reports*',[b] the '*Children's Employment Commission Reports*' and the '*Board of Health Reports*',[c] is utter trash and scientifically unusable. Your energy being undiminished by carbuncles, you will easily cope with this material within 3 months.

As far as the *Russians* are concerned, I have *no* material. As soon as my condition permits, I shall go to the Museum[d] about it and look around for it among the Poles. There's been a great crisis with *The Workman's Advocate*, which will appear tomorrow as *The Commonwealth*, a transformation pushed through by the bourgeois element, for which *my* absence from the Council was to blame. From my sickbed I have, nevertheless, managed to baulk the plot by means of written threats, with the effect that *Eccarius* has been made editor instead of a gentleman from *The Nonconformist*, and an *editorial supervision committee* has been appointed which will meet weekly. It consists of myself, Fox, Howell, Weston and Miall (the publisher-editor of *The Nonconformist* and our publisher now), 4 atheists against one 'Protestant'.[290] Poor Eccarius now needs *your* article[e] *urgently* (there being a whole mass of intrigues and I unable to help; my book requires all my writing time).

Your wine is having a miraculous effect on me. While my illness was in full bloom I had to buy bad portwine—it being the only wine suitable for an acute carbuncle condition.

Apropos. As I see from one of the latest 'Factory Reports', John Watts has published a pamphlet '*On Machinery*.'[f] Ask him, on my behalf, to send me a copy.

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[a] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. - [b] *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department*. - [c] *Public Health. Reports of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council*. - [d] the British Museum Library - [e] F. Engels, 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?' - [f] J. Watts, *Trade Societies and Strikes.... Machinery....*

I am going to write a few lines to Wilhelm[a] cursing him for his spinelessness. The collapse of the *Social-Demokrat* and of all the Lassallean trash is, of course, the very thing we want.[291]

*Lyons* (the workers there) have sent £8 to the INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL.

*Salut.*

Your

Moor

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## 128

## ENGELS TO MARX[26]

### IN LONDON[b]

Manchester, 10 February 1866

Dear Moor,

I have just spoken to Gumpert here and discussed your condition with him. He is firmly of the opinion you should try arsenic. He has used it in one case of carbuncles and one of very virulent furunculosis, and achieved a complete cure in approx. 3 months. He is now giving it to three ladies, so far with the greatest of success; they are positively thriving on it. FOWLER'S SOLUTION is what he is giving, I believe it is 3 drops 3 times a day (I am not quite so sure about that any more), but altogether the patient takes *about 1 grain of arsenic a day.* In view of the specific effect that arsenic has with all skin diseases, there is every prospect of it being effective with you, too. He thinks iron would only have a symptomatic and hence strengthening effect. And with arsenic there is no special diet to be observed at all, *just living well.*

You really must at last do something sensible now to shake off this carbuncle nonsense, even if the book[c] is delayed by another 3

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[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [b] The letter bears the stamp: Albert Club / Manchester. - [c] *Capital*

months. The thing is really becoming far too serious, and if, as you say yourself, your brain is not UP TO THE MARK for the theoretical part, then do give it a bit of a rest from the more elevated theory. Give over working at night for a while and lead a rather more regular life. When you are yourself again, come up here for a fortnight or so, so that you have a bit of a change, and bring enough papers along with you for you to be able to do a spot of work here—if you like. Incidentally, the 60 sheets will make 2 thick volumes.[233] Can you not so arrange things that the first volume at least is sent for printing first and the second one a few months later? This would keep both publisher[a] and public happy and yet no time will have been lost *realiter*.[b]

You must also bear in mind that as things stand now, the situation on the Continent may change rapidly. In Prussia things are moving with marvellous rapidity. Bismarck is pressing hard for a crisis. First the decision by the Supreme Tribunal,[292] and then now the threat of an authentic interpretation of the constitution by the King.[c] The philistines' last illusion about peaceful historical development has gone to the devil. The first plausible pretext, perhaps no more than a serious complication over Schleswig-Holstein even, may be the spark that sets it off, once the troops are concentrated on the frontier; although I myself hardly believe that anything will happen without a more general cause, but the possibility is there. What would be gained in these circumstances by having perhaps a few chapters at the end of your book completed, and not even the first volume can be printed, if events take us by surprise? Something may happen any day in France, too, in Austria the attempted reconciliation with Hungary can only lead to sharper division.[293]

Q.E.D.: get yourself back on your feet and *ad hoc*[d] give the arsenic a try.

Your
F. E.

Kind regards to Madame[e] and the YOUNG LADIES.

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[a] Otto Meissner - [b] in actual fact - [c] William I - [d] to that end - [e] Jenny Marx

# 129

## MARX TO ENGELS[101]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 February 1866

DEAR FRED,

Tell or write to Gumpert to send me the prescription with instructions for use. As I have confidence in him, he owes it to the best of 'Political Economy'[a] if nothing else to ignore professional etiquette and treat me from Manchester.

I was laid up again yesterday with a vicious cur of a carbuncle erupting on left loin. If I had enough money, that is, more>−0, for my family, and if my book were ready, I would care not a fig whether I was thrown on the charnel heap today or tomorrow, alias perished. But things being as they are, that cannot be contemplated just yet.

As far as this 'damned' book is concerned, the position now is: it was *ready* at the end of December.[227] The treatise on ground rent alone, the penultimate chapter, is in its present form almost long enough to be a book in itself.[294] I have been going to the Museum[b] in the day-time and writing at night. I had to plough through the new agricultural chemistry in Germany, in particular Liebig and Schönbein, which is more important for this matter than all the economists put together, as well as the enormous amount of material that the French have produced since I last dealt with this point. I concluded my theoretical investigation of ground rent 2 years ago. And a great deal had been achieved, especially in the period since then, fully confirming my theory incidentally. And the opening up of Japan[295] (by and large I normally never read travel-books if I am not professionally obliged to) was also important here. So here was the 'SHIFTING SYSTEM', as it was applied by those curs of English manufacturers to *one and the same* persons in 1848-50, being applied by me to myself.[296]

Although ready, the manuscript, which in its present form is gigantic, is not fit for publishing for anyone but myself, not even for you.

I began the business of copying out and *polishing the style* on the dot of January first, and it all went ahead swimmingly, as I

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[a] *Capital* - [b] the British Museum Library

naturally enjoy licking the infant clean after long birth-pangs. But then the carbuncle intervened again, so that I have since been unable to make any more progress but only to fill out with more facts those sections which were, according to the plan, already finished.

Otherwise, I agree with you and shall get the first volume to Meissner as soon as it is ready.[a] But in order to complete it, I must at least be able to *sit*.

Please do not forget to write to Watts,[b] as I have now reached my chapter on machinery.[297]

Could you not dash off an article on Prussia for *The Commonwealth*, under the rubric *Berlin?* Bear in mind how important it is for us to have a firm footing in London. The articles on Poland[c] can take their time. But with the German papers, which are at your disposal, it would be fun for you to write about Prussia. My influence here depends partly on people seeing at last that I do not stand entirely alone.

I am less bothered by political affairs (not *qua*[d] individual but on account of the book) than by the *economic* situation, which is pointing more and more ominously to a crisis.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

Greetings to your 'Irish' lady-friend.[e] The Irish ladies, notabene Roses O'Donovan, etc., have thanked us for the appeal in our paper and for Fox's articles.[298]

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[a] See this volume, p. 226. - [b] ibid., p. 224. - [c] F. Engels, 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?' - [d] as - [e] Lizzy Burns

## 130

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 February 1866

Dear FRED,

Most sincere thanks for the first half of the £50 note.

In respect of the 'Viennese',[a] I wrote him LONG SINCE that he should write to you. I told him I was agreeable to anything, except that I did not know UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES if I would be capable of supplying a contribution for the first issue.[281]

That cur of a carbuncle is working away, but I hope to be rid of it in a few days.

Things are really aboil in Prussia. Yet the patience of our friends is great. If Bismarck sends them home, everything will now result in banqueting and Kappel-Klassenmann.[224] On the other hand, if the Chamber sits for long, the outcome may be nasty.[299]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 131

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH LESSNER[300]

IN LONDON

[London,] 14 February 1866

Dear Lessner,

You will see what the matter is from the enclosed letter from Freiligrath. Please do what you can.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] Arnold Hilberg

I cannot find Freiligrath's letter. His wife will give you the details about Ulmer's situation. His wife has died, and he has no money to bury her. Our Society[a] must therefore do something at once. You must send the money to Freiligrath.

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## 132

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 19 February 1866

Dear Moor,

Had encl. £10 note for you in my pocket, but could not get to speak to you on your own yesterday.[301] I hope that today's expiry date for the bill of exchange passed uneventfully and that the trifling deficit from the full amount occasioned no unpleasantness.

I have forgotten everything—'Klein Zaches'[b] that I put on top of a row of upright books in the book-case at the foot of the sofa in your room, the 'FACTORY REPORT'[c] and *The Commonwealth.* Please send me a copy of the latter for me to read Fox's article.[d]

How is the upper carbuncle, and the one down on your thigh? I have not yet been able to see Gumpert.

Your
F. E.

Sincere regards to the LADIES and especially little Tussy[e] from her chimpanzee.

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[a] The German Workers' Educational Society in London - [b] E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Klein-Zaches, genannt Zinnober.* - [c] *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.* - [d] P. Fox, 'The Irish Question', *The Commonwealth,* Nos. 153 and 154, 10 and 17 February 1866. - [e] Eleanor Marx

## 133

## MARX TO ENGELS[6]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 February 1866

Dear FRED,

You can imagine how opportunely the £10 came. I had been served with two threats of distraint, for £6 "0" 9d. for the bloody municipal TAXES, and for 1sh. 16d. for the QUEEN'S TAXES. And I had until Friday to pay.

As regards the carbuncles, the position is:

Concerning the *upper one*, from my long practical experience I was able to tell you that it really needed *lancing*. Today (Tuesday), after receiving your letter, I took a sharp razor, a RELICT OF DEAR LUPUS, and *lanced the cur myself*. (I cannot abide doctors meddling with my private parts or in their vicinity. Furthermore, I have Allen's testimony THAT I AM ONE OF THE BEST SUBJECTS TO BE OPERATED UPON. I always recognise *what has to be done*.) The *sang brûlé*,[a] AS MRS LORMIER SAYS, spurted, or rather leapt, right up into the air, and I now consider this carbuncle buried, although IT STILL WANTS SOME NURSING.

As far as the *lower* cur is concerned, it is becoming malignant and is *beyond* my control and kept me from sleeping the whole night through. If this diabolical business advances, I shall have to send for Allen, of course, as, owing to the *locus* of the cur, I am unable TO WATCH AND CURE it myself. And in general it is clear that ON THE WHOLE I know more about carbuncular complaints than most doctors.

And by the by, I still hold to the view that I *suggested* to Gumpert during my last STAY in Manchester: that is, that the itching and scratching between my testis and posterior over the past 2 1/2 years and the consequent *peeling of the skin* have been more aggravating to my constitution than anything else. The business started 6 months before the first monster carbuncle which I had on my back, and it has persisted *ever since*.

My dear BOY, in all these circumstances one appreciates MORE THAN EVER the good fortune of a friendship such as exists between

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[a] bad blood

ourselves. You should know for your part that there is *no* relationship I value so highly.

I will send you 'Zaches' and 'FACTORY REPORTS'[a] tomorrow. You will understand, MY DEAR FELLOW, that in a work such as mine,[b] there are bound to be many SHORTCOMINGS in the detail. But the *composition*, the structure, is a triumph of German scholarship, which an individual German may confess to, since it is IN NO WAY **his** merit but rather belongs to the *nation*. Which is all the more gratifying, as it is otherwise the SILLIEST NATION under the sun!

The fact, which Liebig had 'denounced' and which prompted Schönbein's investigations, was this:

The *upper* layers of the soil always contain more ammonia than the *deeper* ones, instead of containing less of it as they would have to do if they had lost it through cultivation. The *fact* was recognised by every chemist. Only the cause was *unknown*.

Hitherto, decay was considered to be the sole source of ammonia. All chemists (including Liebig) denied that the nitrogen in the air could serve as a nutrient for plants.

Schönbein proved (by experiment) that any flame burning in the air converts a certain quantity of the nitrogen in the air into ammonium nitrate, that every process of decomposition gives rise to both nitric acid and ammonia, that the mere evaporation of water is the means causing the formation of both plant nutrients.

Finally, Liebig's 'jubilation' at this discovery:

> 'The combustion of a pound of coal or wood restores to the air not merely the elements needed to reproduce this pound of wood or, under certain conditions, coal, but the process of combustion *in itself* (note the Hegelian category) 'transforms a certain quantity of nitrogen in the air into a nutrient indispensable for the production of bread and meat.'[c]

I FEEL PROUD OF THE GERMANS. IT IS OUR DUTY TO EMANCIPATE THIS 'DEEP' PEOPLE.

Your
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 31, Moscow, 1963

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[a] E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Klein-Zaches, gennant Zinnober*; *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories...* - [b] *Capital* - [c] J. Liebig, *Die Chemie in ihrer Anwendung auf Agricultur und Physiologie*, pp. 77-78.

# 134

## ENGELS TO MARX[302]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 February 1866

Dear Moor,

Thanks for 'Klein Zaches',[a] etc., which I take as evidence that you have received the £10.

I have just come from Gumpert, whom I did not see until this evening on account of my influenza and having missed him several times. He considers that you *should start the arsenic at once.* Whatever happens it can do you no harm, but only good. He dismisses Allen's comment that it does not agree with you as rubbish. He also considers treatment with poultices to be nonsense; it only encourages *inflammation of the skin*, which is precisely what needs to be suppressed, while it does not encourage suppuration. Ice-packs would be much better, but as long as you are in Allen's hands, these could only be applied if he prescribed them, of course. But above all, sea air, to restore your strength. A spot on the south coast would be preferable, it is true, as in this season the weather there is better than up here, but if you would rather be near Gumpert, there are places enough on the coast here WITHIN AN HOUR'S RIDE FROM MANCHESTER.

You can see I have got Gumpert to change his attitude, so that he is now pressing you to take arsenic at once, even though Allen is still treating you externally, whereas before, for reasons of etiquette, he would not hear of it. But do me a favour now and take the arsenic, and come up here just as soon as your condition permits, so that you do at last get better. With this constant procrastination you are just ruining yourself; no one can withstand such a chronic succession of carbuncles for long, apart from the fact that eventually you may get one that becomes so acute as to be the end of you. And where will your book[b] and your family be then?

You know that I am prepared to do what is in my power, and, in this extreme case, more even than I ought to risk in other circumstances. But you must be sensible, too, and do me and your family the one favour of *getting yourself cured.* What would become

[a] E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Klein-Zaches, genannt Zinnober.* - [b] *Capital*

of the whole movement if anything were to happen to you, and the way you are proceeding, that will be the *inevitable* outcome. I really shall not have any peace day or night until I have got you over this business, and every day that passes without my hearing anything from you, I worry and imagine you are worse again.

*Nota bene.* You should never again let things come to such a pass that a carbuncle which actually ought to be lanced, is not lanced. That is extremely dangerous.

Kindest regards to the LADIES.

Your
F. E.

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## 135

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 March 1866

DEAR FRED,

The thing will soon be all over now. I think that by tomorrow or the day after at the latest I shall not merely be able to rise from my bed, but to go out, and that with this last malignant cur the series of carbuncles is finished, FOR THIS SEASON. I also feel much better again GENERALLY. This last attack was atrocious. It did not merely put paid to any work, but to any reading, too, EXCEPT Walter Scott.

I found the arsenic not at all unpleasant to begin with (when the taste of the CINNAMON predominated). Now I am beginning to find its specific flavour most repugnant. Otherwise, I believe it was helpful. I took it 3 TIMES A DAY from the outset.

How are things with your contributions for *The Commonwealth*?[a]

And with John Watts 'ON MACHINERY'?[b]

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[a] F. Engels, 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?' - [b] See this volume, pp. 224, 228.

The sofa to which I have been confined for 9 days now is in my study, but right by the window, so that at certain times of day, e. g. as at this moment, I can enjoy a most refreshing breeze.

You have no further cause for anxiety now, but AS FAR AS ACTUAL OUTBREAKS ARE CONCERNED you can regard the business as terminated.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

Little Tussy[a] 'SENDS HER BEST COMPLIMENTS TO HER CHIMP'.

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## 136

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 5 March 1866

Dear Moor,

Gumpert is *décidément*[b] of the opinion that, just as soon as your condition allows, you should go to the seaside for at least 4 weeks and in any case have a change of air. Now what do you think of that? Would you prefer to go to a seaside resort near here (Lytham, or Blackpool or New Brighton perhaps) or on the south coast? Make your MIND up about it, and if the former, then come up here. I shall raise the money for the purpose and, as I promised you, a bit more as well. These constantly recurring carbuncles have really just got to stop, or you will be unable either to work or to do anything else. So, you must reach a decision.

You yourself disrupted my contributions for *The Commonwealth*[c] by asking for something on Prussia as well as on the Polish business.[d] As a result, the one was interrupted and the other not completed in time either. I was suddenly collared to CANVASS for the money for the Schiller Institute[28] which I told you about, and that kept me off it every evening last week, and I have to go out again now.[e] I expect to have got that behind me in a fortnight but, at all events, to dispatch an article on Poland this week.

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[a] Eleanor Marx - [b] decidedly - [c] F. Engels, 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?' - [d] See this volume, p. 228. - [e] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 402-04.

Fine revelations from Jamaica. And what an embarrassment they are to *The Times*, as well as Russell's resignation. The paper is going DOWN very rapidly.[303]

If possible, you must read the statement by the Cologne-Minden directors about their shady deal. They say that insofar as they are party to it, it is *in law* just a *private arrangement*; as soon as the King[a] ratifies it, *he* will have to sort out the constitutional side. In other words, the bourgeoisie in Cologne themselves do not want to have a constitution.[304]

Kind regards to the LADIES.

Your
F. E.

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## 137

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 March 1866

Dear FRED,

As it seems decided I am to go away, I think it is best to go to Margate. The air is particularly good there. Besides, not far from London in case anything were to happen. And although the last carbuncle has also disappeared, the wound has not healed up yet, so lengthy train journey would be awkward for me.

Now what ought I to do 'AT LARGE'?—according to Gumpert's prescriptions?

I am going out into the open air again for the first time today.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] William I

## 138

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 10 March 1866]

*CONFIDENTIAL!*

Excerpt from a letter to Freiligrath,[305] who asked me for information on some commercial philistine and, at the same time, expressed his regret at your illness and wished you well:

'Marx needs to rest from working at night and from worry, as well as sea-air and good living. That will put him back on his feet all right. Such troubles are spared to plump bourgeois like Blind. Instead, the poor man has the misfortune that for all the levers and thumbscrews he applies, nobody speaks of him other than Blind himself. Such fellows have their carbuncles on the insides of their skulls. But enough of the "DELIBERATE LIAR".

'How are you actually doing now? I hear the bank in London[a] has closed down. A good thing too, for you, in the long run, the liaison with Fazy and Co. could have compromised you later in some unforeseen way.[212] I am sure you will soon pick up a decent position again.'

In haste.

Your

F. E.

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## 139

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 MARCH 1866

DEAR FRED,

Did you receive the lines I wrote last Tuesday?[b] I need to know in order to ascertain whether my letters are being tampered with. It was addressed to MRS Burns.

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[a] a branch of the Bank of Switzerland - [b] See this volume, p. 236.

If I am to go to the seaside at all, it will have to be now, as I do not wish to waste any time. I told you in my last letter that in that case I wanted to go to *Margate*, and the requisite steps must be attended to now. I also asked you in my little letter what Gumpert has in mind by the 'cure'? Continuing with the arsenic, etc., or what?

Everything is at sixes and sevens on the 'INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL' and the 'newspaper board',[a] and a great desire is being manifested to rebel against the absent 'tyrant',[b] but at the same time to wreck the whole shop as well.[c] My wound (from the last carbuncle) has healed up sufficiently (and so far no new one has appeared) for me to go out into company next Monday and Tuesday; but, at the same time, I can still scarcely endure those late meetings in some corner of Fleet Street,[306] and what is even worse, I am still in a state of such nervous irritation that I could hardly contain the storms within 'the bounds of pure reason',[d] but would more probably explode with excessive violence, which would be pointless.

When shall we finally see Polish article I?[e]

Your
K. M.

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## 140

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER[f]

[London,] 15 March 1866

My dear Frederic,

The bearer of these lines is citizen Orsini, the brother of the immortal martyr,[g] and a member of our association. He leaves

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[a] *The Commonwealth* - [b] i.e. Marx - [c] See this volume, pp. 249-51. - [d] Presumably an ironical allusion to Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*. - [e] in the series of articles 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?' - [f] The letter bears the stamp: International Working Men's Association / Central Council / London. - [g] Felice Orsini

England for the United States, whence he will return in some months. Your advice on commercial matters may, perhaps, prove useful to him. At all events, you will be delighted to make his personal acquaintance.

Yours truly
K. Marx

Mr *Frederic Engels*, 7 Southgate, St Mary's, Manchester.

PS. I know that Bradlaugh is an honest man and occupies a respectable position in the city as solicitor.

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## 141

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

Margate [16 March 1866]
5 Lansell's Place

Dear Fred,

I arrived here yesterday evening.[307] I have been dashing about all day today (after taking a warm sea-bathe) and have only just returned to my lodgings (right by the sea) in order to send you my address before the post-office closes. You will get more detailed news tomorrow. Your first Polish article[a] will appear not this week, but next. The air here is wonderful.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] F. Engels, 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?'

# 142

## MARX TO HIS DAUGHTER JENNY

IN LONDON

Margate, 16th March, 1866
5 Lansell's Place

My dear Child,

I arrived here yesterday evening, $^3/_4$ past seven. According to your instructions I left my luggage behind me in the cloakroom and was then landed by the omnibus at a small inn called the 'King's Arms'. Having ordered a rump steak, and being shown to the coffee room, which was rather dimly illuminated, I took rather fright (you know my anxious temper) at a lean, long, stiff sort of man, midway between parson and commis-voyageur, solitarily and motionlessly seated before the chimney. From the vagueness of his glanceless eye, I thought him a blind man. I was confirmed in that notion by some long, scarf-like, narrow white thing spread over his legs, with regular holes in it. I fancied it to be paper outcut by the blind man to serve as a catchpenny from the frequenters of the inn. When my supper arrived the man began somewhat to wave, quietly took off his boots and warmed his elephantine feet at the fire. What with this agreeable spectacle, and his supposed blindness, and what with a rump steak, which seemed, in its natural state, to have belonged to a deceased cow, I passed the first Margate evening anything but comfortably. But, in compensation, the bedroom was snug, the bed clean and elastic and the sleep sound. When at the breakfast table, who should step in but the man of the evening. He turned out to be deaf and not blind. What had so much vexed me—I mean the thing on his knees—was a pocket handkerchief of singular fashion, with a greyish ground interspersed by black eyes which I had mistaken for holes. Feeling shy of the man, I settled my bill as soon as possible and, after some erratic course, hit upon my present lodging, in front of the sea, a large sitting room and a bedroom, 10/- per week. When striking my bargain the additional clause was agreed upon that, on your arrival, you will get your bedroom *for nothing*.

The first thing I did was to take a warm sea-bathe. It was delicious, so is the air here. It is a wonderful air.

As to boarding houses, they are about empty now, and, as I understood the librarian, hardly yet prepared for the reception of guests. As to dining-rooms, there was some difficulty to get at a proper one, but by the by this obstacle will be overcome.

And now, with my best compliments to all, by-bye.

Yours
Mohr

I have already walked five hours to-day.

First published, in Russian, in *Voinstvuyushchy materialist*, Book 4, 1925 and in the language of the original, English, in *The Socialist Review* (London), No. 44, September 1929

Reproduced from the original

## 143

## MARX TO ANTOINETTE PHILIPS

### IN SALT-BOMMEL

Margate, 18 March 1866
5 Lansell's Place

My dear Child,

From the address you will see that I have been banished, by my medical adviser, to this seaside place, which, at this time of the year, is quite solitary. Margate lives only upon the Londoners, who regularly inundate it at the bathing season. During the other months it vegetates only. For my own part right glad I am to have got rid of all company, even that of my books. I have taken a private lodging which fronts the sea. In an inn or Hotel one might have been exposed to the danger of falling in with a stray traveller, or being pestered by local politics, vestry interests, and neighbourly gossip. As it is, 'I care for nobody, and nobody cares for me'.[a] But the air is wonderfully pure and reinvigorating, and you have here at the same time sea air and mountain air. I have become myself a sort of walking stick, running up and down the

[a] from the English folk-song 'The Miller of the Dee'

whole day, and keeping my mind in that state of nothingness which Buddhaism considers the climax of human bliss. Of course, you have not forgotten the pretty little diction: 'When the devil was sick, the devil a monk would be; when the devil was well, the devil a monk was he.'

Withdrawing a little from the seaside, and roaming over the adjacent agricultural districts, you are painfully reminded of 'civilisation', because from all sides you are startled by large boards, with governmental proclamations on them, headed: *Cattle Disease.* The ruling English oligarchs were never suspected to care one farthing for 'der Menschheit ganzes Weh',[a] but as to cows and oxen, they feel deeply. At the opening of Parliament, the horned cattle gentlemen of both houses, commoners and lords, made a wild rush at government. All their talk sounded like a herd of cows' lowing, translated into English. And they were not like honest king Wiswamitra, 'der kämpfte und büsste für die Kuh Sabalah'.[b] On the contrary. They seized the opportunity to '*battre monnaie*'[c] out of the cows' ailings at the expense of the people.[308] By the by, the East sends us always nice things—Religion, Etiquette, and the Plague in all forms.

I am very glad to hear of Waaràtje's[d] winding up adventure. Verily, verily, I tell thee, my sweet little cousin, I always felt deep sympathy for the man, and always hoped that one day or other he should fix his melting heart in the right direction, and not persevere performing the nasty part in the children's tale: 'The Beast and the Beauty'.[e] I'm sure he will make a good husband. Is his inamorata a 'Bommelerin' or an importation?

A few days before leaving London, I made the acquaintance of Mr Orsini, a very fine fellow, the brother of the Orsini who was sent to the grave for sending Bonaparte to Italy.[309] He has now left England for the U. States, in commercial matters, but during the few days of our acquaintance, he did me good service. Although an intimate friend of Mazzini's, he is far from sharing

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[a] 'all misery of mankind'. Paraphrase of a passage from Schiller's poem 'Das Eleusische Fest': 'doch der Menschheit Angst und Wehen / Fühlet mein gequältes Herz' (yet the pains and woes of humans / ever fill my tortured heart) - [b] 'who wrangled and suffered for the cow Sabalah'—an episode from the epic poem *Ramayana*; used by Heine in *Buch der Lieder*, 'Die Heimkehr' (Marx gives a free rendering of the words from Heine's poem; see this volume, p. 245). - [c] 'coin money' - [d] *Waaràtje* ('really', 'indeed')—the word always used by student Petrus from Hildebrand's novel *Camera obscura*. Marx presumably refers in this letter to pastor Roodhuizen who later became Antoinette's husband. - [e] 'La Belle et la Bête', a tale by Jeanne Marie Le Prince de Beaumont.

the antiquated antisocialist and theocratical views of Mazzini. Now, during my forced and prolonged absence from the Council of the International Association, Mazzini had been busy in stirring a sort of revolt against my leadership. 'Leadership' is never a pleasant thing, nor a thing I ambition. I have always before my mind your father's[a] saying in regard to Thorbecke that 'der Eselstreiber den Eseln immer verhasst ist'.[b] But having once fairly embarked in an enterprise which I consider of import, I certainly, 'anxious' man as I am, do not like to give way. Mazzini, a most decided hater of freethinking and socialism, watched the progress of our society with great jealousy. His first attempt of making a tool of it and fastening upon it a programme and declaration of principles of his hatching, I had baffled.[c] His influence, before that time very great with the London working class, had sunk to zero. He waxed wroth, when he saw that we had founded the English *Reform League*[155] and a weekly paper, *The Commonwealth*, to which the most advanced men of London contribute, and of which I shall send you a copy after my return to London. His anger increased, when the editors of the *Rive gauche* (the journal of *la jeune France*,[d] directed by Rogeard, author of the *Propos de Labienus*,[310] Longuet, etc.) joined us, and when he became aware of the spread of our society on the Continent. He improved my absence, to intrigue with some English workingmen, raise their jealousies against 'German' influence, and even sent his bully, a certain Major Wolff (a German by birth) to the Council there to lodge his complaints and more or less directly to denounce me. He wanted to be acknowledged as 'the leader (I suppose *par la grace de dieu*[e]) of the continental democratical movement'. In so doing, he acted so far quite sincerely, as he utterly abhors my principles which, in his eyes, embody the most damnable 'materialism'. This whole scene was enacted behind my back, and after they had made sure that my malady would not allow me to be present. The English wavered, but, although still very weak, I rushed to the following *séance*, Mr Orsini accompanying me. On my interpellation, he declared them that Mazzini had lost his influence even in Italy and was, from his antecedents and prejudices, quite disabled from understanding the new movement.[311] All the Foreign secretaries declared for me, and, if you, our Dutch secretary,[312] had been present, I hope you would have also cast your vote for your humble servant and admirer. As it was, I carried a complete

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[a] Lion Philips - [b] 'the ass-driver is always hateful to the ass' - [c] See this volume, pp. 16-18. - [d] young France - [e] by the grace of God

victory over this redoubtable adversary.[313] I think that Mazzini has now had enough of me and will make *bonne mine à mauvais jeu*.[a]

I hope to receive a few lines from you. Don't forget that I am quite an insulated hermit.

Your most sincere friend
Bloch[b]

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Reproduced from the text of the journal

## 144

## MARX TO LAURA MARX

IN LONDON

Margate, 20 March 1866
5 Lansell's Place

My dear Cacadou,[c]

Very good news indeed! I prefer Mrs Grach to the mother of all the Gracchi.[314] I am right glad that I have taken my lodgings in a private House, and not in an Inn or Hotel where one could hardly escape being pestered with local politics, vestry scandals, and neighbourly gossip. But still I cannot sing with the miller of the Dee, that I care for nobody and nobody cares for me.[d] For there is my landlady, who is deaf like a post, and her daughter, who is afflicted with chronic hoarseness, but they are very nice people, attentive, and not intruding. As to myself, I have turned into a perambulating stick, running about the greatest part of the day, airing myself, going to bed at 10 o'clock, reading nothing, writing less, and altogether working up my mind to that state of nothingness which Buddhaism considers the element of human bliss. However, with all that, I shall not turn out, on Thursday,[e] that paragon of beauty which worthy By Bye,[f] in his phantastic

[a] a good face on a bad business - [b] Presumably this is Marx's nickname, or may be the signature he chose to be incognito in Margate. - [c] Laura's jocular nickname - [d] from the English folk-song 'The Miller of the Dee' - [e] 22 March, when Marx intended to go to London to attend a soirée arranged by his daughters (see this volume, pp. 249-50). - [f] Marx's daughter Jenny

mood, seems to expect. The toothache on the right side of the face has not yet altogether disappeared, and the same side is afflicted with an inflammation of the eye. Not that there is much to be seen of it, but that eye has taken to the vicious habit of shedding tears on its own account, without the least regard to the feelings of his master. But for this state of things, I should have my photogramme already taken, since you get here 12 *cartes de visite* for 3 s. 6 d. and 48 *cartes* for 10 sh. Mummelchen[a] will oblige me by pacing her steps to Mr Hall and ordering him to prepare a solution of zink (he will know the composition of the drug) for my eye the which I expect to find ready on my arrival at London. This bad eye interferes with my nightrest. Otherwise, I am turning [over] a new leaf.

Withdrawing somewhat from the seaside, and roaming over the adjacent rustic district, you are painfully reminded of '*civilisation*' by large boards, staring at you everywhere, headed 'Cattle Disease', and placarded over with a government proclamation, the result of the wild rush which the horned cattle gentry, lords and commoners, made at the government, on the opening of Parliament.[308]

> Oh, oh King Wiswamitra
> What fool of an oxen art thou,
> That thou so much wrangle'st and suffer'st
> And all that for a cow.[b]

But if honest Wiswamitra, like a true Indian, tormented himself for the salvation of the cow Sabala, those English gentry, in the true style of modern martyrs, bleed the people to compensate themselves for their cows' ailings. The horn plague upon them! The horn, the horn, as discreet By Bye rings it lustily.

On Sunday, I made up my mind to walk *per pedes*[c] to Canterbury. Unhappily, I only formed this grand resolution, after having already measured for two hours the length and breadth of the piers and so forth. So I had already expended too much physical power, when I set out for the archbishop's seat or see, as you like. And from here to Canterbury are fully 16 miles. From

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[a] Marx's wife Jenny - [b] Heinrich Heine, 'Den König Wiswamitra' (from *Buch der Lieder*, 'Die Heimkehr'). Marx quotes an English translation of the second stanza of the poem, which in the German original reads as follows:

> O, König Wiswamitra
> O, welch ein Ochs bist du,
> Dass du so viel kämpfest und büssest
> Und alles für eine Kuh!

[c] on foot

Canterbury I returned to Margate by rail, but I had overworked myself, and could not sleep during the whole night. Limbs and loins were not tired, but the plants of my feet turned out tender hearted rogues. As to Canterbury, you know, of course, all about it, and more than I can boast, from your Eves, the trusted source of knowledge for all English Eves. (One cannot help, in your company, bad punning. But mark, Thackeray did worse, by playing upon Eves and Ewes.) Happily, I was too tired, and it was too late, to look out for the celebrated cathedral. Canterbury is an old, ugly, medieval sort of town, not mended by large modern English barracks at the one, and a dismal dry Railway Station at the other end of the oldish thing. There is no trace of that poetry about it, which you find in continental towns of the same age. The swaggering of the private soldiers and the officers in the streets, reminded me somewhat of Vaterland.[a] In the inn, where I was scantily purveyed with some slices of cold beef, I caught the newest scandal. Captain Le Merchant, it seems, had been taken up by the police on Saturday night, for systematically knocking at the doors of all the most respectable citizens. And a summons will be taken out against the Captain because of this innocent pastime. And the redoubtable Captain will have to bend down his diminished head before aldermanic majesty. This is my whole packet of 'Canterbury Tales'.[b]

And now, Cacadou, pay my compliments to Elly[c] to whom I shall write one of those days, and whose little letter was very welcome. As to Möhmchen,[d] she will hear of me by the by.

That damned boy Lafargue pesters me with his Proudhonism, and will not rest, it seems, until I have administered to him a sound cudgelling of his Creole pate.

My good wishes to all.

Your master

Has Orsini still received the letter I sent him?[111]

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Reproduced from the original

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[a] Fatherland - [b] An allusion to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. - [c] Eleanor Marx - [d] Marx's wife Jenny

## 145

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN BARMEN

Manchester, 22 March 1866

Dear Hermann,

Your document is with the LAWYER. Unfortunately, he was out today when I called, so I can't tell you whether he has already sent it to Liverpool, nor what progress has been made with the relevant fair copies. But I shall call again one day soon to prod him.

I am writing to you today about the statement of my account which you sent to me and which had to wait until I had a quiet day to look through, as your entries for the last half year of 1864 have been done quite differently from ours. I therefore had to go through all the stuff again from the beginning and have at last sorted it out. The items coincide with the exception of the remittances which, according to your letter of 20 July 1864, were credited direct to my account with F. Engels & Co., so I shall presumably find these items in my statement of account with F. Engels & Co. These items are:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Remittance via Apolda | £ | 2. | 2. | 2 |
| 1864, 30 June | » Munich | » | 1. | 2. | — |
| | » Rieslingen | » | 8. | 19. | 6 |
| » 3 July | » London tot. | » | 287. | 3. | 3 |

I find that, according to your statements of account I am actually losing money in respect of the transferred balances debited to me here. The exact calculation of the difference for the 18 months amounts to *£ 1. 14. 9*, and in future I shall therefore take the liberty of sending you a statement every 6 months for I naturally have no alternative but to accept the statements of the firm here. For my convenience, I am still keeping your account here separate as well.

Please be so good as to send me a summary statement of my account with F. Engels & Co. *as soon as possible*, so that I can make up my private account-book. And from *mid-year* 1864, of course, as I have had no statement for this account from you since then at all—as far as I am aware. (If you didn't make up the account in mid-year 1864, then from the *beginning of 1864*.)

Business has got better again since last September; we have been fully occupied since then, at present even excessively so, and are setting up new DT-machines. Prices have improved too, and in the last half-year of 1865 we have even made enough to cover my costs from June 1864 onwards, with a little left over for myself as well; in the first year of my PARTNERSHIP we didn't make a brass farthing, you know, even without writing anything off for machinery. We must be doing splendid business now, but if cotton should drop below 18d. for MIDDLING ORLEANS owing to the greater supply, we shall lose everything again. However, I'm not expecting that to happen; I think good American cotton will, by and large, hold at approx. 19d., while Surat may admittedly fall a lot. Moreover, I think we are not getting more cotton than we need and will, by and large, stay at approx. 19d. for MIDDLING ORLEANS until about the autumn, when there may perhaps be some more speculating, which will force prices up.

I shall be writing to Mother[a] in a day or two, as soon as I can manage it; I received her letter last Monday and was glad to learn she is well again now. My kindest regards to her and all our brothers and sisters from

Your
Friedrich

Apropos. As you know, the capital credited to me here amounted to a little over £13,000 as far back as 30 June 1864, and since I am under no obligation to have more than £ 12,000 in the business, there is no need for you to provide cover for purchases through us; or I could send you some remittances, especially as approx. another £ 300 is due in interest at the end of June. I can also make payments to Funke on your account if you so wish; in this way, you can draw approx. £ 1,500 up to 30 June, or at once. Only please do not draw bills on us, since Gottfried[b] objects, he thinks people might regard it as improper practice, the name of the firms being one and the same.

Anton[c] already has 4-5 patents now. There is no stopping him, every other day a new patent of his is announced in the press.

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[a] Elisabeth Engels - [b] Gottfried Ermen - [c] Anton Ermen

# 146

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

Margate, 24 March 1866
5 Lansell's Place

Dear FRED,

The belated arrival of this letter will tell you how 'professionally' I am applying my time here. I am reading nothing, am writing nothing. The mere fact of having to take the arsenic three times a day obliges one to arrange one's time for meals and for strolling by the sea and over the adjacent HILLS in such a way that one finds 'no time' for anything else. And in the evening one is too tired to do anything other than sleep. The weather is, by and large, rather raw, and in particular there is often an east wind blowing here, which is SOMEWHAT CHILLING, but one soon becomes accustomed to that, too. You can tell how much I am restored from the fact that last Sunday I marched *per pedes*[a] to Canterbury (17 miles from here) in less than 4 hours. As regards company here, it does not exist, of course. I can sing with the MILLER OF THE DEE: 'I CARE FOR NOBODY AND NOBODY CARES FOR ME.'[b]

The day before yesterday[c] I had to go to London in the evening to attend a 'soirée' of my daughters. My uncle[d] had sent them £ 5 at Christmas, which was, however, 'borrowed' from them for *GENERAL PURPOSES* and which they only got back when your money arrived. They arranged their annual 'PARTY' with it and so bombarded me with letters that I 'made' for London, as Mr Nothjung used to say. But I returned to my hermitage here the very next morning (i. e., yesterday).

Before setting off for Margate (which I did on Wednesday, 14 March[e]), I had to attend the consecutive evening meetings, on 12 and 13 March, firstly of the SHAREHOLDERS of *The Commonwealth*[290] and secondly, on the 13th, of the CENTRAL COUNCIL, although still in a thoroughly wretched condition at the time.

On the former occasion Mr Cremer had set everything up for Eccarius to be given his marching orders, which would probably

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[a] on foot - [b] from the English folk-song 'The Miller of the Dee' - [c] 22 March - [d] Lion Philips - [e] Presumably this is not correct, for Marx arrived at Margate on Thursday, 15 March (see this volume, p. 239).

have happened if I had not appeared. So, the meeting only achieved the 'voluntary' resignation of Mr Cremer from the editorial board. How the matter turned out later, I do not know, since the whole thing was only SETTLED 'provisionally' for one week, and the general SHAREHOLDERS-MEETING was deferred to 19 March. But it will probably mean *beati possidentes*[a] here too, and as a result of that meeting Eccarius was, to begin with, the *possidens*.[b]

The intrigue on the CENTRAL COUNCIL was closely bound up with the RIVALRIES and JEALOUSIES concerning the journal (Mr Howell wished to be EDITOR-IN-CHIEF and Mr Cremer ditto). Mr Le Lubez had used this to agitate against GERMAN INFLUENCE, and at the meeting of 6 March a beautifully and quietly prepared scene took place. To wit, Major Wolff suddenly appeared and made a solemn speech in his own name and in Mazzini's and in that of the ITALIAN SOCIETY[20] against the reply to Vésinier's attacks, which Jung had sent to the *Echo de Verviers* in the name of the CENTRAL COUNCIL.[274] He made a very violent attack on Jung and (*impliciter*[c]) myself. Odger, Howell, Cremer, and others gave vent to their longstanding Mazzinism. Le Lubez fed the flames and, AT ALL EVENTS, a resolution was passed which included what amounted to an *amende honorable*[d] for Mazzini, Wolff, etc. It was a serious matter, as you can see. (Of the FOREIGNERS, there were only A FEW PRESENT, and none of them voted.) It would really be a neat trick of Mazzini's to let me bring the Association so far and then to appropriate it for himself. He demanded that the English should recognise him as leader of the continental democrats, as though it was for the English gentlemen to appoint leaders for *us*!

On Saturday (10 March) the FOREIGN SECRETARIES of the Association gathered at my house to hold a council of war (Dupont, Jung, Longuet, Lafargue, Bobczyński). It was resolved that, whatever happened, I was to attend the COUNCIL on Tuesday (13th) and *protest* against the PROCEEDINGS in the name of *all* the FOREIGN SECRETARIES. The PROCEEDINGS were irregular, you see, as Wolff is no longer a MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL, therefore no resolution on a matter in which he was personally implicated ought to be passed in his presence. Furthermore, I was to explain Mazzini's position vis-à-vis both our Association and the CONTINENTAL WORKINGMEN'S PARTIES, etc. Finally, the French were to bring Cesare Orsini (who is BY THE BY a personal friend of Mazzini) along to give EVIDENCE on Mazzini, Wolff and the STATE OF 'SOCIALISM' in Italy.

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[a] blessed are they who have possession (Horace, *Odes*, IV, IX, 45) - [b] the man in possession - [c] by implication - [d] apology

The affair went off better than I had ever expected[313]; though the English element was unfortunately not well represented (on account of the bloody Reform League[155]). I gave that Lubez a thorough dressing down. In any case, it has been made clear to the English (in fact only a minority is meant here, too) that the whole CONTINENTAL ELEMENT stands behind me as one man and that here it is by no means, as Mr Lubez had insinuated, a case of *GERMAN* INFLUENCE. Lubez had sought to put it to them that as LEADER of the *ENGLISH* ELEMENT on the COUNCIL, I was holding DOWN the other *CONTINENTAL* ELEMENTS; the English gentlemen are, on the contrary, now persuaded that by means of the CONTINENTAL ELEMENT I have got *them* entirely under my thumb, should they kick over the traces. More about that next time.

Before coming here, I did, of course, pay off the most pressing DEBTS at home, as otherwise I should not have had a moment's peace of mind. If you can send me a little bit more at the end of this month, I would appreciate it. Meanwhile, the power of attorney from the Cape[a] will be here at last, and thus something will at least be flowing into the coffers, even if it is not very much.

MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS LIZZY.[b]

Your
K. M.

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## 147

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN MARGATE

Manchester, 27 March 1866

Dear Moor,

I had just made up my mind to write you a letter of congratulations on what I inferred from your silence to be your

[a] from Johann Carl Juta (Marx presumably refers to the power of attorney for receiving his share of legacy at the death of his aunt, Esther Kosel; see this volume, p. 194) - [b] Lizzy Burns

conscientious abstinence from work, when your letter arrived. It reassured me not a little, as I was beginning to suspect that another carbuncle might be the reason for your obstinate silence. You must keep taking plenty of exercise and continue visiting the archbishop in Canterbury *per pedes*,[a] that is the sure way to eradicate it once and for all. In this case, and in others, too, the most important thing is to endure the boredom of the seaside for long enough; if you can, you should stay there for the whole of April, so that the trouble can be completely cured.

Old Hill has just come and interrupted me. So I must break off for today. The £10 encl.

E/T 96963, Manchester, 20 January 1865.

Your
F. Engels

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## 148

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

IN MANCHESTER

Margate, 2 April 1866
5 Lansell's Place

Dear Fred,

*D'abord*,[b] the £10 received with kindest thanks.

In my absence there has been a *changement de décoration*,[c] or rather, *de direction* on *The Commonwealth* which will be realised next week.[290] *Odger*, editor; *Fox*, subeditor; the '*son of toil*'[d] contracted to supply an article a week for 10s.; *Cremer* out of place; has also tendered his resignation as General Secretary of the '*International Association*'. Taken as a whole, I have no objection to the change. Eccarius could hardly have (or at least ought not to have) imagined that he would be allowed to retain nominal control

[a] on foot - [b] Firstly - [c] change of decor - [d] pen-name for Johann Georg Eccarius

from the moment the paper established itself. I warned him to no avail. It was a 'political' error on my part to have given way to his entreaties and proposed him by letter for his now defunct job. If I had not been ill, he would have knocked on the door in vain. I knew in advance that I would find the affair coming home to roost. Avoidance of any appearance of pursuing personal interests or abusing personal influence for clandestine purposes, and good understanding with the English must, of course, be more important to us than satisfying Eccarius' more or less justified ambition.

People of a dry disposition like Eccarius also have a certain dry egoism, which easily leads them astray. When the REFORM LEAGUE decided on the big MEETING in St Martin's Hall,[267] the League's COUNCIL nominated him as one of the PUBLIC SPEAKERS. The fellows in Potter's clique objected to him as a FOREIGNER. I warned him expressly not to accept his 'BRIEF'. However, he thought he had got over all his troubles and flattered himself with the important part in the METROPOLITAN MOVEMENT. And he was A DEAD FAILURE. The poor fellow has, of course, lived a life of DISAPPOINTMENTS, and the honorary positions the English SPONTANEOUSLY allowed him, as Vice-President of the 'INTERNATIONAL', etc., deceived him to the point where he now believed he could suddenly make up for the whole of his past life. If he had followed me, operated slowly, maintained a modest posture, everything would be in the best of order. If I even went so far as to muddy myself for his sake, despite his lack of discipline and his wilful behaviour, I was moved to do so particularly by the consideration that he has always worked with us and never reaped the fruits of it. But one always makes BLUNDERS if one allows oneself to be influenced by suchlike considerations.

As regards the newspaper itself,[a] the danger—arising from lack of funds—lies in the growing encroachments and dominance of the *Nonconformist* clique.[b]

The accursed traditional nature of all English movements is manifesting itself again in the REFORM-MOVEMENT. The same 'INSTALMENTS' which but a few weeks ago were rejected with the utmost indignation by the people's party—they had even refused Bright's ultimatum of HOUSEHOLD SUFFRAGE—are now treated as a prize worthy to be fought for. And why? Because the Tories are screaming blue murder.[315] These fellows lack the METTLE of the old Chartists.

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[a] *The Commonwealth* - [b] See this volume, p. 224.

What do you think of the Austro-Prussian troubles[316]? I see no continental papers at all. However, it is at least clear to me that Russia is behind the Prussians and that the Austrians, who know this, are *nolens volens*[a] consoling themselves with French support. A pretty game these heads of state are playing! It is the eternal dilemma the German philistine confronts us with at every turn. For Bonaparte, real CIVIL WAR IN GERMANY would be a true GODSEND.

Admittedly, there is still always the possibility that one fine day the affair will simply end with the worthy Bismarck's dismissal. But since Düppel,[27] 'William the Conqueror'[b] believes his 'glorious armies' are invincible, and a second Olmütz[c] must appear to be a risk even to him, in view of the INTERNAL CONFLICT.[317]

The weather has been very bad here for several days, as if it had been made especially to order for the COCKNEYS who have invaded this place for the Easter holiday.

*For how long* must I take the arsenic?

MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS BURNS.

Your
K. M.

My friend Kaub has written to me from Paris that a certain M. Rebour has found a means to separate water into hydrogen and oxygen, using a method which would entail the expenditure of 2 sous per day FOR A FIRE TO MELT IRON WITH. He is, however, keeping the matter secret for the time being still, as on a previous occasion a discovery had been stolen from him and patented in London. *Qui vivra verra.*[d] You know how often we have both dreamed of a cheap way of making fire from water.

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[a] willy-nilly - [b] William I (an ironical comparison with the Norman William who conquered England in 1066) - [c] Czech name: Olomouc - [d] Time will tell.

## 149

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN MARGATE

Manchester, 2 April 1866

Dear Moor,

I hope you have received the *£10* which I sent to you in Margate. I was in Wales over the holiday and have at last got round to writing to you today.

Orsini called on me, but unfortunately I could do nothing for him; I have no connections of any kind in New York any more, and it is OUT OF THE QUESTION to find anyone here to run the guano DODGE with him and advance the funds for it. He is a very nice fellow.

Polish article No. 3[a] will be done tomorrow evening, if nothing interferes. I shall send it direct to Eccarius, CARE OF EDITOR OF *The Commonwealth*. Unfortunately, the proof-reading is so abysmal, and it's about time that they stopped reprinting the LEADERS from *The Nonconformist* every week. It really is sheer impudence on Miall's part to pass the newspaper off so openly as a mere appendix of *The Nonconformist*.

What do you say to Bismarck? It almost looks now as if he is pushing for war and is thereby offering Louis Bonaparte a splendid opportunity to acquire a piece of the left bank of the Rhine without any effort and thus set himself up *à vie*.[b] Even though all those who bear any responsibility for this war—if it comes to that—deserve hanging, and I would with equal impartiality gladly extend that to the Austrians as well, yet I would most of all like to see the Prussians soundly thrashed. Then there are 2 possibilities: 1. the Austrians will dictate the peace in Berlin within a fortnight, and direct intervention from abroad will thereby be avoided, but at the same time the present regime in Berlin will be made impossible, and there will be another movement which will disavow the specific nature of the Prussian regime right from the outset; or 2. there will be a sudden change in Berlin before the Austrians arrive, in which case the new movement will also get under way.

My opinion of the military situation is that the two armies are more or less evenly matched, and that the battles will prove very

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[a] F. Engels, 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?' - [b] for life

bloody. In any case, however, Benedek is a better general than Prince Frederick Charles, and unless Francis Joseph assists Benedek or Frederick Charles has some very good and influential staff officers, I believe the Prussians are in for a drubbing. Alone the braggery after Düppel[27] indicates that another Jena is possible.[203]

If the first battle ends in a decisive defeat for the Prussians, there will be nothing to stop the Austrians advancing on Berlin. If Prussia wins, she has not the power to launch and sustain an offensive to Vienna across the Danube, let alone to Pest and beyond. Austria is quite capable of imposing a peace on Prussia SINGLE-HANDED, although Prussia cannot do so on Austria. Every Prussian success would thus be an encouragement to Bonaparte to intervene. Furthermore, both the German swine will now already be seeking to outbid each other with offers of German territory to the third, French, swine.

Your
F. E.

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## 150

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN MARGATE

Manchester, 6 April 1866

Dear Moor,

That the Russians are behind the Prussians at once struck me as very probable, too. The mere fact that the Austrian paper guilder is almost at par again and will thus have to be disturbed again, aroused suspicion, but the simultaneous Cuza affair[318] even more so, and *ce cher* [a] Bismarck would not have put out all his efforts if he did not have the Russians behind him. It is possible that things are so far committed already that neither Bismarck nor that old

[a] that dear

jackass William have a say in the matter any more and that it depends entirely on the whim of the St Petersburgers whether there shall be war or peace. How clumsily this Bismarck is acting, incidentally. It is too absurd how he tries to represent the poor Austrians as the attacking party. Even more splendid, however, is the fact that the fellow is seriously thinking of convening a German parliament *on 1 June* to reform the federal constitution. This is to be a remedy against the smaller states: he—*lui* Bismarck[a]—is appealing to the people instead of to the governments. That even called forth universal derisive laughter from the German philistines.[316]

After the upheaval that has occurred on *The Commonwealth*,[b] by the way, I was no longer able to get the said articles[c] to the editors on time, as they would have had to take the roundabout route via Margate, so I am sending them to you for the next number. I found the relevant data on the emancipation of the Russian serfs in an article by Mazade, *Revue des II Mondes*.[d]

And how is your health now? You haven't had any further carbuncles or small furuncles? And how are you otherwise, are you building yourself up? Are you still visiting old '*Cantuar*'[e] *per pedes*[f]? The arsenic must be taken for at least 3 months, and will not do you the slightest harm anyway.

Otherwise, there is nothing new here except for a foul east wind and clouds of dust.

How much longer are you thinking of staying in Margate? At least until the end of this month, I hope?

Reform movement—general admission of general indolence. What a tiny INSTALMENT![315]

Your
F. E.

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[a] Bismarck of all people - [b] See this volume, pp. 252-54. - [c] F. Engels, 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?' - [d] 'La Russie sous l'empereur Alexandre II.—La société et le gouvernement russes depuis l'insurrection polonaise', *Revue des deux Mondes*, Vol. 62, 15 March 1866. - [e] the Archbishop of Canterbury - [f] on foot (see this volume, p. 249).

## 151

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

IN MANCHESTER

Margate, 6 April 1866
5 Lansell's Place

DEAR FRED,

I have been greatly restored here, and not the smallest sign of a return of the atrocious carbuncles. The spot where the last and most malignant one was still feels a little tender. Perhaps it healed too quickly and an atom of pus is still lurking beneath the healed skin. However, if that were so, the warm sea bathes and the rough towel that I dry myself with would no doubt have dissipated the foul matter; and indeed in the last two days this vestige of the wound seems to be disappearing altogether. The only drawback is a recurrence here of rheumatic pains in my right shoulder, which is seriously disturbing my sleep. I have now been here for nearly 4 weeks and have lived for my health's sake alone. It is time to put a stop to that soon.

Our letters crossed, so that you have answered mine. You do not mention the possibility of Italy creating a diversion for Prussia's benefit.

There can be no shadow of doubt that Russia is behind the Prussians, although she is allowing Mr Bonaparte to act as arbiter on the stage. One must not lose sight of the fact (to use a Hegelian turn of phrase) that the DANUBIAN MINE[318] WAS SPRUNG at the very moment that Bismarck made his démarche.[316]

Even granted, which is probable, that the Prussian curs withdraw with their tails between their legs, it remains clear, and must become clear even to the German philistines, that *unless there is a revolution* in Germany, the Hohenzollern and Habsburg curs will throw our country back for another 50-100 years by civil (dynastic) war.

I must tell you frankly that the 'INTERNATIONAL' is in a sorry state, particularly since the impatience of the French has led to the congress being fixed for the *end of May*.[286]

THE FACT IS THIS, that the English LEADERS in London, now that we have given them a platform (to which must be added the inability of any Englishman to do two things at once), are very *cool* within our MOVEMENT proper. My absence for almost 3 months has done

*untold harm.* **What is to be done?** In France, Belgium, Switzerland (and here and there in Germany, and even sporadically in America) the Association has made great and sustained progress. In England, the reform movement, which we brought into being, has almost KILLED us. That would be of no consequence, if the Geneva Congress had not been announced for the end of May, and if the Parisians, for whom this movement is *the sole possibility*, had not, through their own paper *Le Congrès*, made it almost impossible to prorogue the congress.[319] The English would soon see the rottenness of the REFORM MOVEMENT, as it now is. After my return the threat of flirtation with the Potter-clique, etc., would soon put everything back on the right lines. But THERE IS NO TIME. For the English even the FAILURE of the congress is a trifle. But for us? *A fiasco of European dimensions!!* I really do see scarcely a way out. The English have neglected to do anything which might give the congress any kind of respectable form. *Que faire!*[a] Do you think I *should go to Paris* to put to the people there how *impossible* the congress now is? Answer soon. The only possible way out I can see is by agreement with the Parisians. On the other hand, I know that their position itself is at stake if the congress does not take place. *Que faire!* Mr *Vésinier* has *challenged* our Parisians. They are to go to Belgium to shoot it out with him. *L'imbécile.* AS TO Orsini, I knew that there was nothing you could do. But I could not refuse him the introduction to you.[b]

Your
K. M.

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## 152

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

### IN BARMEN

Manchester, 6 April 1866

Dear Hermann,

Best thanks for your statement of account for 27 March, which appears to be in order by and large. The only thing is, it is hard to

[a] What is to be done? - [b] See this volume, p. 255.

check the interest if it is not given in detail as in other statements, and one just has to take the 'interest-account' at its word. But then, on 31 December 1865, you credit me with the transfer of 2,112,21.8 talers from Ermen & Engels, Barmen, whilst according to E. & E., Barmen's statement, the same transfer amounts to *£316.18.2* and *à* $^{6}/_{20}$ makes *2,169.1.8* talers. I can make no sense of that.

It is rather awkward that you make up your accounts on 31 December, whereas we do so on 30 June. I shall therefore only send you a statement once, on 31 December, which will thus never coincide with yours, but in the end it will make no odds.

To keep our entries clear, I would be glad if you would enter all *business items* from E. & E. under E. & E., Barmen, and all *private items* under F. Engels & Co.

I passed the information on the agent Brown straight on to Fr. Boelling; Karth wrote to us about a different matter.

I do *not* advise you to obtain your SEWINGS through us as a rule, G. Ermen will always try to palm off his yarn from Pendlebury on you, and that would surely not always be in your interest. Besides, he would at once claim payment of 2% commission from you as the business expands. But if you can make use of his yarn (and why not, since we can use it?), you had best apply to us. I am today posting you a sample of No. 16, of which he has 120 BALES [at] 10 pounds, 7 LEAS in stock, and would take 2[s.] $^{1}/_{2}$ d. per No. 16, perhaps even less. You can also obtain the same yarn from the broker F. A. Schmits. Fine Nos. and COPS, on the other hand, in which G. Ermen has no interest we can always supply you with.

How much does the hock cost? That is what really matters. And how much of it is there? You should have sent 3 dozen bottles straightaway, instead of 3.

I shall ask around about the PONIES. Good, strong COBS, however, are at the moment much sought after here, and expensive, and bargains—a good pair in one lot—not easily come by.

You don't think there'll be war either? It would be a terrible business if it came to that, and there is no telling where it would end. Recently, when the affair first started, I dreamed that I had got mixed up with an enormously large army somewhere on the Mosel. They were volunteers of some description, all manner of fellows dashing about full of self-importance, and now and again someone would shout, 'We're surrounded!'—at which they all took to their heels. At length, I found my way into the headquarters and encountered Peter and Gottfried Ermen there as GENERALS *en*

*chef*, and Anton[a] as chief-of-staff. Now I asked him a few questions, but received such bizarre replies that I finally asked him whether he did actually have maps of the area where he was? At which he looked down at me from a great height and said, 'Maps? We do everything here much better without maps.' When I tried to explain to him that he really could not manage without maps, nor even find quarters for his men, etc., he answered, 'If absolutely necessary, we do have some maps', and, with a look of triumph, he pulled a map of a quite different area, the other side of Aachen and Maastricht, out of his pocket. Don't imagine I have just made this up as a bad joke, that is literally how it happened.

Kindest regards to Mother[b]—I'll write to her one of these days—and to all our brothers and sisters.

Your
Friedrich

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## 153

## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

Margate, 6 April 1866
5 Lansell's Place

My dear Miller,[c]

You see from the address that I have been banished to the seaside by my medical adviser.[307]

After having received your last letter, and some letters on the part of our Berlin friends,[d] my sickness assumed a really dangerous character. For some time it was very doubtful whether or not that decomposition of the blood, under which I labour, should get the better of me. It was only towards the middle of March that I was bodily enabled to remove myself to this place. I

[a] Anton Ermen - [b] Elisabeth Engels - [c] Liebknecht's conspiratorial pseudonym - [d] August Vogt, Sigfrid Meyer and Theodor Metzner

am now restored, and shall very soon return to London. But again a quarter of a year has been lost!

Write me immediately under my London address.

After my return, I shall regularly send you *The Commonwealth* (under which altered title *The Workman's Advocate* is now published).[290] It is only since a few weeks that it has been registered for Transmission for abroad. Eccarius is no longer the editor, but only a contributor. It was to be foreseen, that so soon as the paper should get some sort of standing, a Foreigner would not be allowed to retain the nominal leadership.[a]

Write me

1) about the state of 'our' movement in Germany,
2) about the state of German politics.

Yours truly
K. M.

My best compliments to Madame.[b]

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## 154

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[65]

### IN HANOVER

Margate, 6 April 1866
5 Lansell's Place

Dear Friend,

I shall return to London from here the day after tomorrow. My doctor banished me to this seaside place, where I am indeed *much recovered*. But another two months and more—February, March and half of April have thus been entirely lost to me again, and the completion of my book[c] put back once more! It is enough to drive one out of one's mind.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 252-53. - [b] Ernestine Liebknecht - [c] *Capital*

I was suffering from CARBUNCLES, not furuncles. It was a dangerous business this time. You are, of course, right that 'dietetic' sins lay behind it. I am too accustomed to working at night, studying by day and writing by night. That, together with all manner of worries, private and public, and—whenever I am immersed in work—neglect of regular diet, exercise, etc., is quite enough to upset the blood.

I received Mr Menke's contribution of 10 talers for the 'International' with your letter.[a] I have not got the addresses of my French friends in Paris here. However, if Mr Menke approaches my friend *K. Kaub* (33, Rue des trois Couronnes du Temple), the latter can introduce him to V. Schily (German) and Tolain, Fribourg, etc., the people on the Paris Committee.

The news from Germany is rather depressing.[316] Prussia is being egged on by Russia (and Bonaparte), Austria by the latter (following on rather reluctantly, in self-defence). Will our philistines at last realise that, unless there is a revolution to remove the Habsburgs and Hohenzollerns (it being superfluous to mention the lesser dung-beetles), another Thirty Years' War[320] and another partition of Germany are ultimately inevitable!

A movement on the part of the Italians might help Prussia. But just considering Austria and Prussia on their own, the latter would almost certainly be at a disadvantage, for all their bragging about Düppel.[27] At all events, Benedek is a better General than Prince Frederick Charles. Austria might well impose a peace on Prussia SINGLE-HANDED, but Prussia cannot do so on Austria. Any Prussian success would be an encouragement to Bonaparte to interfere.

Bismarck may perhaps have already drawn in his horns again as I write these lines to you. But that, too, would only delay the conflict. Such a delay is probable in my opinion.

This turmoil in Germany is an extraordinary piece of luck for Bonaparte. His position is completely undermined. But war would give him a new lease of life.

Write to me soon, and in particular about the situation in Germany.

Yours

K. M.

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[a] of 30 March 1866

## 155

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN MARGATE

Manchester, 10 April 1866

Dear Moor,

To all appearances, the Russians *want* war, their purpose seeming to be restoration of Poland under Russian rule and possibly annexation of Moldavia. The *Kölnische Zeitung*, which is, of course, in mortal fear of war, has sent J. von Wickede, its military man, to Bohemia, to inspect what is claimed to be Austria's state of armament. The fellow arrives—on 3 April, that is 14 days after Bismarck's note[316]—and everywhere finds things on a profoundly pacific footing, except that some *Bohemian* regiments have been transferred to their western districts, so that they can put themselves on a war footing more quickly. No soldiers recalled from leave, no fortress armed. Nothing.[a] The whole disgraceful affair thus *deliberately provoked by Bismarck.*

Furthermore: the Russians are concentrating troops on the Austrian and on the *Prussian* frontier with Poland, and the soldiers are saying quite openly that those who are positioned on the Prussian frontier will shortly occupy *Posen* as soon as the Prussian troops take the field against the Austrians. Apart from the fact that the Russians would thereby secure the rest of Prussian Poland for themselves immediately, their mission will also be to suppress any revolutionary movements in Berlin. However, that would in all probability be a miscalculation and, at any rate, disqualify the Hohenzollerns for the future.

Finally, today's LEADER in *The Times* which comes down stupidly, mendaciously, woodenly but decisively on Prussia's side and represents Austria as the attacking party. That was written to order.[b]

In view of all this, war seems to me certain; the situation within Germany also makes it inevitable, following the new Austrian note appealing to the Confederation, as well as Monsieur Bismarck's proposal regarding a German parliament[321]—what a dunderhead the fellow must be to believe that that would assist him even in the

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[a] Engels refers to the report 'Die Lage, Köln, 7. April', *Kölnische Zeitung*, 8 April 1866. - [b] *The Times*, No. 25468, 10 April 1866, leader.

very slightest! The Austrian note seems to be based on the assumption that the storm will break after all. Otherwise they would at least have left the back-door open to facilitate the Prussians' retreat through Bismarck's resignation. But the moment that they appeal to the Confederation, that's an end to it; another ministry in Prussia would not submit to a Confederation majority either.

Bonaparte will probably keep quiet, at least for the time being; Bismarck has already offered him Saarbrücken, etc., and, if need be, he would also make him a present of the Bavarian Palatinate. If he sees the Russians committed on the Prussian side, he won't risk anything rash.

If the storm really does break, for the first time in history the course of events will depend on the attitude taken by Berlin. If the Berliners hit out at the right time, things may turn out well—but who can rely on *them*?

As regards the congress of the International, I don't properly see how you can hope to avoid it.[a] Nor do I see how a further postponement would improve things much. *Après tout*,[b] any demonstration of that kind would in a certain sense—at least as far as we ourselves are concerned—always be a fiasco. But in full view of Europe? I believe that could still be avoided even now. After all, the Germans with their polyglot capacities would have the whole thing under their control, and it is precisely the Germans who are on our side. Whether the congress *decides* anything useful is a secondary matter, as long as all scandal can be avoided; and that surely will now be the case. General resolutions of a theoretical kind or referring to international support for strikes, etc., can surely be passed without any danger. Nevertheless, you must know that better than I, I cannot really judge of it from here. Meanwhile, I would definitely not go to Paris about it. You have no one to protect you, and the police will have no qualms about striking—emissary from a public workers' association with distinctly revolutionary tendencies, which can easily be used to conceal other clandestine matters—*cela suffit*.[c] The whole business is just not worth the risk.

You would do much better to stay in Margate until the last scar is no longer in the slightest degree susceptible, and do plenty of walking in the fresh air. Who knows how soon you will once more have need of a stout constitution. The atmosphere is highly electric, and we shall perhaps soon be in the midst of the storm

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[a] See this volume, pp. 258-59. - [b] After all - [c] that will suffice

again; that will no doubt also help resolve the difficulty with the congress.

I shall be letting you have a bit of money as soon as I can. I shall also try and see Gumpert and ask him about terminating the sea-cure and what you should do afterwards about the arsenic.

Your
F. E.

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## 156

## ENGELS TO MARX[101]

IN MARGATE

[Manchester,] 13 April 1866

Dear Moor,

As I do not exactly know whether you are in Margate at the moment, I am today sending your wife

E/R 13430, Manchester, 21 January 1865 £10

E/P 43331, Manchester, 20 January 1865 £10-£20

and am telling her that I have informed you of it.

So, Bismarck has executed his *suffrage universel coup*,[321] even though without his Lassalle. It would appear that, after some show of reluctance, the German bourgeois will go along with it, for Bonapartism really is the true religion of the modern bourgeoisie. It is becoming increasingly clear to me that the bourgeoisie does not possess the qualities required to rule directly itself, and that therefore, unless there is an oligarchy as here in England capable of taking over, for good pay, the management of state and society in the interest of the bourgeoisie, a Bonapartist semi-dictatorship is the normal form; it promotes the great material interests of the bourgeoisie even against the bourgeoisie, but allows it no share in the government itself. Conversely, this dictatorship itself is in turn compelled unwillingly to adopt these material interests of the bourgeoisie. So, now we have Monsieur Bismarck adopting the programme of the National Association.[152] Its execution is admittedly quite another matter, but Bismarck will scarcely be

baulked by the German bourgeois. A German, who has just returned from there, reports that he has already encountered many who have nibbled at this bait; according to Reuter (*vide*[a] below), the people in Karlsruhe have approved of the matter, and the *Kölnische Zeitung*'s unbounded embarrassment over the affair is a clear indication of a forthcoming change of course.

That Bismarck has direct agreements with the Russians, however, is once more proved firstly by the fact that not only *The Times* but *Reuter*, too, is beginning to lie on Prussia's behalf, in complete contrast to their usual custom. There is a method in the mistranslations with which the telegrams are now infested more than ever. Until a short while ago, *against* Prussia. Now against Austria. Reuter telegraphs: Austria would only go along with the plan if *all* the Austrian provinces (that is, including the *non-German* ones) were represented.[b] In the German original it merely says: conditional upon the regions of Austria being represented, too.—Further: according to the *Bromberger Zeitung* and the *Ostsee-Zeitung* (the latter is a Russian organ), the Russians are continuing to gather more troops in the south-western provinces, from the Kingdom of Poland[322] to the Prut, doing so very slowly and unobtrusively; the soldiers are *all* expecting to move with Prussia against Austria, and those on the Warta repeat that their role is to occupy Posen so that the Prussians there can march away.

The Russians can, incidentally, leave Schleswig-Holstein to the Prussians for the time being, as the Peace of Vienna and the annexation have, after all, saved the main issue for them: the Treaty of London and thereby the succession in *Denmark*.[323] If they have the Sound,[c] what does Kiel signify to them?

At all events, your best course is to stay in Margate until you no longer feel *anything at all* in the affected part, and you are in general convinced of a marked turn for the better.

Write soon.

Your

F. E.

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[a] see - [b] 'Austria and Prussia. Berlin, April 10', *The Times*, No. 25469, 11 April 1866 (Reuter's telegram reporting on Austria's reaction to Bismarck's proposition for the assembly of a German parliament for the reorganisation of the German Confederation). - [c] Danish name: Øresund

# 157

## MARX TO ENGELS[324]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 April 1866

Dear FRED,

You will have had little difficulty in explaining my long silence as arising from the mental condition that is generated by more than 2 weeks of incessant toothache and rheumatism. However, a turning-point appears to have been reached today.

As the pain of the rheumatism, which was particularly acute at night, greatly interfered with my sleep and my whole domestic routine—as a consequence of which I was several times attacked by vomiting—I thought it wise to stop, or suspend, the arsenic. But I shall continue with it again now (if a turning-point has really been reached). Nor is there the slightest sign of any furuncular or carbuncular bother, and I have not the slightest doubt that once I am over these INCIDENTS, which are connected more with the weather, I shall be fully restored. But indeed it is high time as I have already lost so much time.

With the '*INTERNATIONAL*' the situation is as follows: since my return[307] discipline has by and large been re-established. The successful intervention of the 'INTERNATIONAL' in the tailors' strike (by means of letters from the secretaries for France, Belgium, etc.) has also created a sensation among the TRADES UNIONS here.[325] With respect to the Geneva Congress, I have resolved to do all that I can here to promote its success, but not to attend it in person. I thereby evade all personal responsibility for its conduct.[a]

As far as *The Commonwealth* is concerned, the ENCROACHMENTS of Miall *et* Co. would be more tolerable if they were at least founded on the pretext of financial assistance really worthy of mention. But the fellows are exceedingly liberal with good advice and petty criticisms, and exceedingly parsimonious with CASH, so that the existence of the paper is assured only from one week to the next. Its readership is spreading week by week, but a PENNY PAPER, be it ever so successful, needs to be funded for at least a year ahead. To make it SELF-SUPPORTING in a shorter space of time is QUITE OUT OF THE QUESTION. If the paper is for the moment no worse than it is,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 325-27.

then that is thanks to Fox alone, who has to fight a continuing battle.

For the present, they do not seem to be coming to blows in the Fatherland after all. Prussian braggadocio is slow indeed to draw the sword! Whatever the outcome, we shall have the pleasure of a Prussian disgrace before both a domestic and foreign audience. For all that, it still seems uncertain whether war might not break out one fine morning. The Russians want war (although they have indeed already gained and are continuing to gain much merely from the bickering and bellicose threats in Germany), and for Bonaparte it would be a GODSEND. At all events, Mr Bismarck has set 'the movement' going again in Germany.

The phase of the Civil War[11] over, only now have the UNITED STATES really entered the revolutionary phase, and the European WISEACRES who believe in the omnipotence of Mr Johnson will soon be disappointed.

In England, the Tories and Palmerstonian Whigs really deserve thanks for frustrating Russell's quiet SETTLEMENT.[326] At one of the latest sittings, Mr Gladstone himself, expressed his 'melancholy' conviction that now, quite contrary to his benevolent expectations, a 'long series of struggles' was imminent.

What do you say to the '8th' sage of the world—*Mill*?[a]

Best regards to MRS Lizzy.[b]

*Tout à vous*[c]

K. M.

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## 158

## ENGELS TO MARX[26]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 May 1866

Dear Moor,

I hope you are happily over your rheumatism and faceache and are once more sitting diligently over the *book*.[d] How is it coming

[a] Marx presumably refers to J. S. Mill's speech in Parliament of 17 April 1866 in which he urged the duty of paying off the national debt before Britain's coal supplies exhausted. See *The Times*, No. 25475, 18 April 1866. - [b] Lizzy Burns - [c] Entirely yours - [d] *Capital*

on, and when will the first volume be ready? By the by, you must go on with the arsenic, it should be taken for at least 3 months and is quite unconnected with the rheumatism, etc. The liver troubles may have been a factor contributing to the carbuncles, by disturbing the digestion or blood-formation, and, for that very reason, you will also have to go on taking several hours continuous exercise regularly each day and keep off working at night, so that everything can return to normal. Where the tendency to hyperaemia of the liver has established itself in such a classic and systematic form as in your case, it does not, of course, just vanish again all at once.

It's good that you have no more worries about the congress and the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION. Apropos, a shipload of *57 German tailors* has been imported to Edinburgh TO PUT DOWN A STRIKE and 2 more loads are expected. Probably from Hamburg. Can you not discover the details in Edinburgh and put a stop to this, too?[327]

Bismarck *wants* war *à tout prix*,[a] and after he failed in Bohemia, he seems likely to succeed in Italy.[328] I hope that, if he pulls it off, the Berliners will hit out. If they proclaim a republic there, the whole of Europe can be overturned in 14 days. But, but, will they? How do our connections there stand?

Have you seen how little Louis Blanc, as a good *démocrate impérial*, is now declaring in the *Temps* that, if Prussia absorbs the smaller German states, France must have *at least* the left bank of the Rhine.[b] There's a real revolutionary for you.

In order to incite my ancient rage somewhat, in the last few days I have been reading the book by Röckel, the 49er imprisoned in Dresden, about his treatment in gaol.[c] These infamies perpetrated by the Saxons exceed everything that I have ever come across. There will be a harsh reckoning to be had with a large number of villains. Such brutality was quite unknown in the old days *before* '48, and the Prussian fortresses of that time seem like paradise in comparison.

These Adullamites really are tremendous jackasses to put up such resistance to this *pauvre*[d] REFORM BILL, the most conservative thing that has ever been done here.[326] However, *quem deus vult perdere*,[e] etc.

I already sent my third article on Poland[f] to *The Commonwealth* 3 weeks ago and asked for it to be returned if it should be too late

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[a] at any price - [b] L. Blanc, 'Lettres de Londres', *Le Temps*, No. 1815, 23 April 1866. - [c] A. Röckel, *Sachsens Erhebung und das Zuchthaus zu Waldheim*. - [d] poor - [e] *quem deus vult perdere, prius dementat*: whom God wishes to destroy, he first makes mad - [f] F. Engels, 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?'

for *that* week. I then received a reply from Fox a week later that it could not appear until the *forthcoming* issue, returning the article at the same time. Sent it off again on Wednesday, but too late. You were still in Margate at that time. I will send the following Nos. to you again if time does not make immediate, direct submission necessary.

Kind regards to your wife and the girls.

Your
F. E.

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## 159

## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN LEIPZIG[a]

[London,] 4 May 1866

My dear Friend,

As I am at this moment, after so long an interruption of work,[b] very busily engaged in making up for lost time, you will excuse me for writing this time only a few lines.

I shall send you to-day the last number of *The Commonwealth*. The financial position of the paper is such that it struggles from week to week and is altogether disabled from paying one farthing for Foreign Correspondence. Its circulation is increasing, but you know that a penny paper wants at least 20,000 subscribers, and cannot even then make the two ends meet without a goodly number of advertisements. *The Commonwealth* is of too recent an origin to come up to those requisites.

The Congress at Geneva has been postponed for the 3d of September next.[286] The society is rapidly spreading, particularly in France. Italian societies have also recently joined.[c] The propagan-

[a] The letter bears the stamp: International Working Men's Association / Central Council / London. - [b] on *Capital* - [c] See this volume, p. 47.

da in London has taken a new start, principally due to the circumstance that the successful strikes of the London tailors and wireworkers were due to our intervention which prevented the import of workingmen from France, Switzerland, Belgium, which had been contemplated by the masters. This proof of its immediate practical importance has struck the practical English mind.[329]

For the same purpose you find, on the last page of this letter, an 'avis'[a] to the German tailors which I call upon you to have inserted in such German papers as you have access to.[327] At the same time you will oblige me by sending me a copy or two of some papers in which the 'avis' will have been inserted, telling me at the same time the names of all other papers that should have reprinted it. Kugelmann might also be useful for this purpose.

My best compliments to Mrs. Liebknecht.[b] I feel exceedingly thankful for her friendly interest in my welfare.

Yours fraternally

A. Williams[c]

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## 160

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 9 May 1866

Dear Moor,

I am becoming concerned at your silence, I almost fear your health is not what it should be. You have not got carbuncles again?

What is this strange business of Cohen the blind,[d] who cannot hit the tall Bismarck with five shots and gets himself arrested by

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[a] 'warning'. Marx means his article 'A Warning'. - [b] Ernestine Liebknecht - [c] Marx's conspiratorial pseudonym - [d] Engels makes a pun here: the German word *blind* means without sight, blind; *Blind*—the name of Cohen's stepfather.

him into the bargain. He could have done Bismarck no greater favour.[330]

It strikes me that the Prussians are 14 days behind the Austrians with their mobilisation and cannot attack before the end of this inst. If the Austrians take advantage of this, they may win a big battle and be in Berlin before the Prussians have concentrated.

Your
F. E.

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## 161

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 May 1866

Dear Fred,

No carbuncles whatever! But the accursed rheumatism and toothache have tormented me cruelly, until the former at last seems to be yielding to embrocation with pure alcohol. I must tell you candidly as well that my mind still feels somewhat *weak* and my capacity for work is only returning *very gradually*. Perhaps that can be attributed to the interruption in the arsenic treatment, which I started again after your last letter.

Cohen[330] was a very good lad (although not particularly gifted) for whom I have a special regard as he was an old friend of my Musch.[a] Freiligrath naturally dashed straight to Blind yesterday and came to us from him. I was not at home. Freiligrath's chief lament was the bad name Blind was giving him and others (nominal contributors to the *Eidgenosse*,[b] whose symbol is a hand holding a dagger with the motto *'haec manus tyrannis'*,[c] etc.). He

[a] Marx's deceased son Edgar - [b] *Der deutsche Eidgenosse* - [c] *'manus haec inimica tyrannis'*—'this hand is hostile to tyrants' (an expression from *The Life and Memoirs of Algernon Sidney*)

said he had not visited him for 9 months and that the affair was not even 'excusable'. In short, he was in fact only upset about the possible impression the affair might make on the London philistines. By the by, our trickster from Baden duped him nicely again. He played the broken man and gave his friend Freiligrath no inkling that in the first throes of grief he had the presence of mind to exploit the tragic incident for some good advertising for himself and family in the various London papers. ALWAYS AN EYE TO BUSINESS. His wife[a] is naturally inconsolable, and the funny thing about the affair is that Blind has by his idiotic regicidal blether sacrificed not his own son, but old Cohen's Isaac,[b] on the altar of freedom.

In consequence of their sad experiences in 1859[331] the Austrians are in the accursed situation of being scarcely capable of grasping the favourable moment, and although they have been forcibly presented with the *initiative*, they cannot seize it, or at least they will hesitate greatly before doing so. OF COURSE, European 'PUBLIC OPINION' benefits them not a tittle and requires something silly of them. These same liberal jackasses, who are now generally admitting that Austria is the challenged party and that there is a systematic CONSPIRACY against her, would tomorrow (the ENGLISH LORDS included) scream with one voice if Austria were to strike the first blow and did not wait quietly for her enemies to give the signal.

Repugnant though Bonaparte is to me, his coup in Auxerre did uncommonly amuse me.[332] That old jackass Thiers and the *chiens savants*[c] of the Corps législatif,[4] who applauded him, fancied they would be allowed to play with Louis-Philippism unpunished! *Les imbéciles!*

The Russians as always are playing their part to a T. Having encouraged their worthy Prussians, they enter on the scene as men of peace and arbiters of Europe, but were, at the same time, canny enough to inform Mr Bonaparte that Poland could not, of course, be on the agenda at any congress, in short, that Russia was entitled to meddle in European, but not Europe in Russian affairs.

Following upon the importation of German and Danish tailors to Edinburgh, we have 1. sent a German and a Dane[d] (both tailors themselves) to Edinburgh, and they have already put an end to the understanding between IMPORTERS and IMPORTED; 2. I have put out a warning in the name of the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION to the

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[a] Friederike Blind - [b] An allusion to the Biblical legend about Abraham who sacrificed his son Isaac (Genesis 22:9). - [c] scholarly dogs - [d] Albert F. Haufe and N. P. Hansen

German tailors in Germany.[a] The affair has been extraordinarily useful to us in London.[327]

A very disagreeable matter for me was the necessity of paying a lump sum of £25 for school fees. This money, for 3 quarters, could no longer be put off as Jenny and Laura are leaving the school, the latter taking no lessons at all, and the former only one music lesson a week now *outside* school. (Baumer has resigned from the school, you know.)

*The Commonwealth* is rapidly going from strength to strength and would certainly be PAYING within the space of a year. But it is probable that we shall soon have to suspend it for lack of money.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 162

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 16 May 1866

Dear Moor,

The Freiligrath affair is very amusing and very gratifying. That's what comes of him attaching himself to the respectable people among the émigrés and renouncing the 'party'. As regards Blind, the fitting cry in respect of his: *manus haec inimica tyrranis*[b] should be that children ought not to play with guns. It is incidentally quite clear from the affair that Bismarck wears an armoured shirt.[330] The shots must all have hit him, the last 3 are admitted to have been direct hits, and as the revolver was so designed that it could not be fired in contact with the target, there is just no other possibility. They make these things very fine and

[a] K. Marx, 'A Warning' - [b] this hand is hostile to tyrants (see this volume, p. 273)

yet strong nowadays. His friend Bonaparte will no doubt have supplied him with one and recommended it to him.

Monsieur Bismarck has obviously been gravely disappointed in the smaller states, *hinc*[a] the threat of an imperial constitution and Bennigsen. There must also have been some financial mishaps. But can one conceive of anything more comical than that the same William, who as top general in the year 1849 bore the imperial constitution to its grave, now wants to resuscitate it, or rather has to. Bismarck as restorer of the 'German fundamental rights',[333] it's too funny. Things are not looking quite as they should in the militia and in the reserves, who have been recalled, either; in Görlitz there was a serious fracas amongst them, soldiers of the line had to be called out and then withdraw because the fellows were not willing to tolerate intervention of that kind. If these people are kept hanging around under arms for another 3-4 weeks, there is no knowing what they might do. And since neither Prussia nor Italy is ready to attack, they will presumably have to stick there until the end of May at least.

This much is certain: Monsieur Bismarck has ridden into a morass with which neither he nor any of the present regime can cope. If things are settled peaceably, he will have burnt up the available funds and therefore he will no longer be able to help himself, and if there is war, he will have to *Acheronta movere*,[b] who will certainly consume him. In these circumstances, even a direct victory of the Chamber-burghers will be revolutionary in character and is bound to lead to other things.

For all that, I still cannot think that in the middle of the 19th century North and South Germany will come to blows with each other, just because Bismarck would have it so in the interests of the Russians and Bonaparte. However, if the storm does break, it may go ill with the Prussians. This time, the Austrians seem to be intent on going to the limit of their strength, and, even if their big talk of 900,000 men is nonsense, it is still possible that they may take the field in Saxony with substantial numerical superiority. Against Austria, Prussia cannot draw on the Rhenish and Westphalian corps at all, and only on part of the Saxon. There remain the other six army corps, which will scarcely be able to muster 240,000 men to face the enemy. If, as is suggested, the Austrians initially remain on the defensive in Italy, they will only need 150,000 men there, and can perfectly well send 300-350,000 men against Prussia—unless the Russians compel them to keep a

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[a] hence - [b] call the powers of the underworld to his aid (Virgil, *Aeneid*, VII, 312).

strong force in Galicia. The deciding battle could then be fought by 180,000 Prussians against 240-280,000 Austrians and would almost infallibly be another Jena[203] and lead directly to Berlin. But it is difficult to speculate about this, as the Austrians' troops are always much stronger on paper, and they tell a lot of lies, at present in particular.

Unfortunately, Monsieur Charles[a] is behind with the ledger, which has my account in it, so that at the moment I cannot even properly ascertain how I stand, and as the financial year ends in 6 weeks and I then must have a certain amount of capital in the business, I shall have to make my dispositions accordingly. As soon as I can, I shall add up my worldly assets and send you some money, if it is at all possible. But, at all events, you can count on my letting you have a £50 early in July immediately after the accounts for the financial year have been made up.

The *Kreuz-Zeitung*[b] makes delightful reading, advocating as it does universal suffrage, Bonapartism, Victor Emmanuel, etc. The dirt *those* fellows are now being obliged to eat is abundant.

Kindest regards to your wife and the girls.

Your
F. E.

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## 163

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 17 May 1866

DEAR FRED,

How are the *articles on Poland*[c] progressing? The paper[d] may or may not hold out, you must give as much as you can. The Poles

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[a] Charles Roesgen - [b] *Neue Preussische Zeitung* - [c] F. Engels, 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?' - [d] *The Commonwealth*

here are waiting for the next article and BOTHER ME with enquiries.[334] The articles have created a stir in other respects, too. Having earlier praised them, *Foxikins* launched a DIATRIBE the day before yesterday in the Central Council against the passage in which you ascribe the partitioning to the corruption of the Polish aristocracy. Amongst other things, he singled out the Germans for attack, for having ruined the Poles in particular through the Saxon dynasty, etc. I replied to him in brief.[335]

It is true that for all their big talk the Prussians are inclined to draw in their horns, and Bismarck is meeting strong opposition from Burp,[a] too. But a retreat is scarcely possible in Italy, and that may have repercussions on Prussia again. What Izzy[b] is missing by being so dead! Bismarck would have had him playing a part now. Bismarck is surely cursing us (and thinking us Austrian agents) for spoiling his easy game with the workers.

From the beginning of this week my work[c] has at last been advancing again. If you can send me some *vino*, please do so, as the sudden abstinence may do harm.

Mr Mazzini gave himself no rest until he had founded an 'INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE' in opposition to us. On it are jackass Holtorp, Langiewicz, Ledru, Kinkel, Blind, I believe also—Bolleter! Our Association is gaining ground daily. Only in Germany nothing can be done, on account of jackass Liebknecht (GOOD FELLOW AS HE IS!).

The present crisis appears to me to be merely a premature, specifically financial crisis. It could only become important if the business in the UNITED STATES goes rotten, and there would scarcely be time for that now. What effect is it having on you COTTONLORDS? And what effect has the fall in cotton prices had?

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] William I - [b] Ferdinand Lassalle - [c] on *Capital*

164

# ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 25 May 1866
Mornington Street

Dear Moor,

The PANIC has, at all events, come much too soon and may possibly spoil a good solid crisis for us which would otherwise have occurred in 1867 or 1868. If we had not simultaneously chanced to have the big fall in cotton, we would barely have been affected by it here. The collapse of the LIMITED LIABILITY and FINANCING swindles had after all been long foreseen and hardly affected our TRADE at all. But the colossal losses on cotton which occurred simultaneously threaten to make it a grave matter here, so many houses here and in Liverpool are entangled in it through their branches in Bombay, etc., and as it occurred at the same time as the MONEY PANIC and the 10% bank-rate, it may be very grave for those who are holding much cotton. Here at least the business is far from over yet.

If the Austrians are canny enough not to attack, that will surely put the cat among the pigeons in the Prussian army. The fellows have never been as rebellious as they are in the present mobilisation. Unfortunately, one only learns the tiniest part of what is happening, but even that is enough to prove that a war of attack is impossible with this army. Once these lads are concentrated in large numbers, and begin to count themselves and discover that $^3/_4$ of the army is of one mind, and if they then have to hang around under arms for 3-4 weeks during the congress, things will inevitably lead to a crisis, and one fine morning obedience will be refused. Something is bound to spark it off; and with an army like that, once *one* battalion starts, it will spread like wildfire. But even if an open outbreak were to be avoided, it is certain that *this* army, with its MORALE as it is, and commanded by the old William, with Frederick Charles and the Crown Prince[a] under him commanding the wings, would at once be beaten beyond salvation by the furious Austrians under Benedek, who will have none of the Archdukes, nor any interference in the

[a] Frederick William

appointment of his staff, and has 300-360,000 men under him. The old jackass[a] knows that, too, and I am convinced that he will withdraw as soon as ever he can, precisely because of the mood in his armies. What I said in my pamphlet[b] last year about the character of the *mobilised* Prussian army, has been fully confirmed.

Delightful is the embarrassment of the National Associationites[152] since Bismarck has plagiarised their programme; those fellows will now have to oppose their own Great-Prussia phrases, exactly as the *Kreuz-Zeitung*[c] did with its own feudal phrases.

The London correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian* reports that in this solemn performance of state[336] Louis Bonaparte has made the following conditions the price for his approval: Sardinia from Italy, Luxemburg, Saarlouis and Saarbrücken from Prussia (Landau is the only thing he has forgotten)—and that is the minimum.[d]

I shall see if I can complete my article on Poland[334] tomorrow. To be quite frank, it is a sacrifice for me to provide that jackass Miall with contributions when one is for ever being explicitly reminded that the editors do not accept responsibility for the section from contributors, whilst they obviously do so for the asininities printed elsewhere in the paper.[337] If I had known beforehand how our pieces were going to be treated in a paper[e] which is after all supposed to be our own—or at least to belong to the workers' party, and that we were merely going to be thus tolerated in it, and we are supposed to be grateful, as it were, into the bargain,—I would not have written a single line. But you were sick at the time, and I didn't want to do anything that might disturb your convalescence. But I was vexed by it nonetheless. All the same, one has said 'A' and must see that one also says 'B'.

Kindest regards.

Your

F. E.

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[a] William I - [b] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - [c] *Neue Preussische Zeitung* - [d] 'From our London correspondent', *The Manchester Guardian*, No. 6165, 22 May 1866. - [e] *The Commonwealth*

# 165

## MARX TO ENGELS[103]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 JUNE 1866

DEAR FRED,

I am in a most awkward situation: pawning has now reached its Thule[a] and I am being most furiously dunned as well. Regarding my physical condition, there has fortunately been no recurrence of anything carbuncular. However, I was obliged to go to Allen about my liver throuble, since Gumpert is not here and this thing cannot be treated from a distance. I have still nearly a whole BOTTLE of arsenic left, but have not taken it for several weeks now, as it is incompatible with my present style of life.

Were you among the victims of the CONSOLIDATED BANK? Dr Rode was here the day before yesterday and maliciously reported that Dronke has suffered serious losses owing to the Barnett CRASH.[338]

So, there will be war after all, unless a miracle occurs. The Prussians will pay dearly for their bragging, and, whatever happens, the idyll in Germany is over. The Proudhonist clique among the students in Paris (*Courrier français*) is preaching peace, declaring war out of date and nationalities nonsense, and attacking Bismarck and Garibaldi, etc.[339] As polemic against chauvinism, their activities are useful and understandable. But as faithful followers of Proudhon (my very good friends here, Lafargue and Longuet, are also among that number) who believe that the whole of Europe must and will sit quietly on its arse until the French monsieurs have abolished '*la misère et l'ignorance*',[b] under which latter they themselves are labouring in inverse proportion to their squawking about '*science sociale*', they are grotesque. In their articles about the PRESENT AGRICULTURAL CRISIS in France, their 'knowledge' quite takes one's breath away.[c]

The Russians, who are for ever playing at the old game of playing off the jackasses of Europe against each other, and being PARTNER at one moment of A, and at the next of B, have of late indisputably PUSHED ON the Austrians, 1. because Prussia has not yet

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[a] limit; usually *ultima Thule*—extreme limit (Virgil, *Georgics*, I, 30) - [b] poverty and ignorance - [c] Ch. Longuet, 'La question agricole, et le libre échange', *La Rive gauche*, No. 15, 15 April 1866.

made the appropriate concession over Oldenburg, 2. in order to tie the Austrians' hands in Galicia, and 3. no doubt also because Mr Alexander II, like Alexander I (in his last years), is in such a conservatively morose mood on account of the attempt on his life[340] that his diplomatic gentlemen at least require some 'conservative' excuses, and an alliance with Austria is conservative. Come the OPPORTUNE MOMENT, and they will show the BACKSIDE of the coin.

The official tone adopted by the 'BLOOD AND IRON'-Prussians[341] shows how very anxious they are. They are now even doing obeisance to the French Revolution of 1789! They are complaining about Austrian tetchiness!

The best thing in the lousy debate here in Parliament was the register of sins that Disraeli laid at the unfortunate Clarendon's door.[342]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Italian enthusiasm will no doubt get its bucket of cold water. Even its melodrama, in keeping with the national character, by the way, would be tolerable, if right underneath it all[328] they were not setting their hopes on Badinguet.[a] I cannot forget my Izzy.[b] If he were still alive now, what a scandal he would create!

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## 166

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 June 1866

DEAR FRED,

Many thanks for the £10.

Whatever the pressure from events, my work[c] has been progressing poorly owing to purely physical factors ever since my

[a] nickname of Napoleon III (the name of a bricklayer in whose clothes Napoleon fled from prison in 1846) - [b] Ferdinand Lassalle - [c] on *Capital*

return from Margate.[307] I have been so low over the last few weeks that I have not been able even to attend the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION any more. I had Gumpert's prescription (for my liver) made up for me yesterday, as Allen's stuff was of no use at all to me. Furthermore, I have had a tooth pulled, to put an end to the toothache, and probably a second one will have to go, too.

If your wine-cellar permits (that is, if you are not thereby obliged to buy in more), I should appreciate it if you would send me some, as I am now forbidden beer altogether.

The verses await your 'commentary'. They are nothing in my hands.

This evening I am compelled to go to the meeting of the 'DIRECTORS AND FRIENDS' of *The Commonwealth*.[290] The thing is on its last legs. Apart from the acute financial difficulties, there are internal political ones as well. Since that jackass of a Bradford MANUFACTURER, Mr Kell (who has given £50, his brother ditto, and hints of more to come), has Miall entirely under his thumb, Dr Bridges, Professor Beesly, Harrison (the COMTEISTS) have threatened not merely to resign but also to make a public statement about their resignation.

I am tired of the business and shall propose to the people this evening that they should *sell* their bankrupt institution to Kell *et* Co. and put an end to the farce of A BRADFORD MANUFACTURER directing a London 'workers' organ'. If they do not agree, I shall, at all events, announce my withdrawal. The paper cannot survive for much longer on its own resources, is therefore dependent on advances of bourgeois money, and thereby loses its own character. I have shown great patience in this matter, because I always hoped that the workers themselves would make sufficient efforts to continue the undertaking on their own; and, for another thing, I did not want to be a wet blanket.

Mr Gottfried Kinkel has been appointed to a chair in Zurich.

Since the sounds of war started up, the 'Saxon' workers have been flocking to join the 'INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION'.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

COMPLIMENTS TO MRS LIZZY.[a]

Apropos. Lafargue tells me that the whole new French school of microscopical physiologists, with Robin at their head, is pronounc-

[a] Lizzy Burns

ing against Pasteur, Huxley, etc., and in favour of *generatio aequivoca*.[a] He is going to inform me of some new writings on the subject.

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## 167

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 June 1866

Dear Moor,

The crate of Bordeaux will be sent off to you this evening. It is very good wine from Borkheim. I should have sent it to you before, but the lads here have dilly-dallied over it, partly from overwork. I had written out the address for them long since. I hope that it and regular exercise will do you good. What do you say to coming up here for a week, say, end of this inst. would suit me, and then you could take the money straight back with you early in July? At the same time, you could for once have a thorough consultation with Gumpert.

We have so far just escaped the spate of bank-failures unscathed. Dronke told me himself that he was in for a bit with Barnett, but more because he had had to change his banker; he had £3,000 credit there—however, he was also a shareholder, and that's where he will lose. Eichhoff also has had the honour of seeing his banker fail, and has come a cropper to the tune of £16. He is not losing any sleep over it; if he cannot pay a bill that's due, he just lets it be.

Mr G. Kinkel has been putting it around every year that he has been offered the chair in Zurich—so, does that mean the people of Zurich are in fact really going to have to believe it at last?

In Germany it looks more like revolution every day. In Berlin and Barmen menacing crowds of laid-off workers are roaming the

[a] spontaneous generation

streets. G. Ermen, who came back on Friday, told me that he happened to engage in discussion about the war with some Prussian lieutenant on the Rhine Bridge at Coblenz, and the man had been very doubtful about the issue of the affair, admitted that both the men and the leadership of the Austrians were better than the Prussians', and when G. Ermen asked, 'What would happen if the Prussians were whacked?' he answered, 'Then we'll have a revolution.' Another philistine told me that he had heard from a reliable source in Cologne that the militia companies are being dispersed among the line, and that the militia regiments are being topped up with line; the order has apparently been given out. In any case, the army must be in such a state that a victory can only be expected if the Austrians move across the frontier *first*, and this time they seem to be flatly refusing to do so. But, for that same reason, the Prussians don't want to move either. This state of affairs may drag on for another week, until the situation is so tense that it breaks.

There is a delightful historical irony being enacted through Bismarck's person. At the same moment that he utters liberal phrases he is forced to perform absolutist actions. In one and the same breath he will proclaim the German imperial constitution and suspend the Prussian constitution (the ordinances are already prepared).[321] Good idea to try and play the Bonaparte against the bourgeoisie with the Junkers behind one instead of the peasants!

The militia will be just as much of a danger to the Prussians in this war as the Poles were in 1806,[343] who also comprised over $^1/_3$ of the army and threw the whole show into disorder before the battle. Only instead of disbanding, the militia will rebel after the defeat.

The whole left bank of the Rhine has been denuded of troops, there are only 2 militia regiments stationed in Luxemburg, and they say the fortress is already being secretly evacuated; in Saarlouis there is merely a militia battalion that is not yet up to strength. Von der Heydt is to arrange the Saarbrücken coal-mine and State Railway deal via Oppenheim to raise money, and the Westphalian State Railway is to be sold to the Bergisch-Märkische Railway. The bonds for its *Cologne-Minden shares*[237] have been advanced to the state by the Bank of Prussia, which was the sole purpose of the affair. In all this the Berlin bankers are all working hand in glove with the government.

I think that in a fortnight the storm will break in Prussia. If this opportunity passes without being used, and if the people allow

that to happen, we can then calmly pack up our revolutionary paraphernalia and devote ourselves to pure theory.

Stieber is chief of police in the field, is organising the 'Blind conspiracy' and has, to this end, sent our friend Greif to London again. Can we not arrange for him to be given a good hiding?

Kindest regards.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[344]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 June 1866

Dear Fred,

This damned weather is having a particularly evil effect *sur mon physique*[a]; and this is the reason why I did not acknowledge the 'wine' earlier, nor write to you otherwise. There is no chance of coming to Manchester, as I cannot leave the house in my present state; besides, I have to be here for the 'International', where my French friends have already used my absence once in these trying circumstances to execute some tomfoolery in the name of the Association.[313]

As regards newspapers here, in my view the best thing to do, if nothing comes of the Manchester business, is to send a proper military article to *The Times*, to which you can present yourself as the English correspondent of the Darmstadt *Militär-Zeitung*.[b] No need for any political considerations, as one London paper is just as bad as any other, and what matters is to obtain the widest publicity.[345]

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[a] on my constitution - [b] *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*

You must now keep me 'critically' *au courant des affaires* in ITALY and GERMANY.

There was a debate at yesterday's meeting of the INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL about the present war. It was announced beforehand and our ROOM was very full. Even the Italian gentlemen had honoured us with their presence again. The discussion WAS WOUND UP, as could have been foreseen, with the 'QUESTION OF NATIONALITY' in general and the attitude we should adopt to it. This *sujet* adjourned until next Tuesday.[346]

The French, very strongly represented, GAVE VENT to their cordial dislike for the Italians.

The representatives of '*jeune France*'[a] (*non-workers*), by the way, trotted out their view that any nationality and even nations are '*des préjugés surannés*'.[b] Proudhonised Stirnerianism. Everything to be broken down into small '*groupes*' or '*communes*', which in turn form an 'association', but not a state. Furthermore, this 'individualisation' of mankind and the '*mutualisme*'[347] it entails are to proceed by bringing history to a halt in every other country and the whole world waits until the French are ready to carry out a social revolution. Then they will demonstrate the experiment to us, and the rest of the world, being bowled over by the force of their example, will do the same. Just what Fourier expected from his *phalanstère modèle. D'ailleurs*,[c] everyone who clutters up the 'social' question with the 'superstitions' of the Old World is a 'reactionary'.

The English laughed heartily when I began my SPEECH with the observation that our friend Lafargue, and others, who had abolished nationalities, had addressed us in '*French*', i.e., in a language which $^{9}/_{10}$ of the audience did not understand. I went on to suggest that by his denial of nationalities he seemed quite unconsciously to imply their absorption by the model French nation.

For the rest, the position is difficult now because one must equally oppose the silly Italianism of the English, on the one hand, and the mistaken polemic against it of the French, on the other, and above all prevent any demonstration which would involve our Association in a one-sided course.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] young France - [b] outdated prejudices - [c] Besides

# 169

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 4 July 1866

Dear Moor,

The other half of the note enclosed. Unfortunately, your telegram reached me *after 12 o'clock*,[46] so that I could not make use of the first post.

What do you say to the Prussians? Their initial successes were exploited with enormous vigour, and, if it had not been for this intensity, Benedek would probably have quietly withdrawn to Olmütz,[a] but he was obviously forced to come to battle yesterday, and there could be no doubt about the issue after what had befallen. To determine the outcome of such a decisive battle in 8 hours is quite unprecedented; in other circumstances, it would have lasted 2 days.[348] But the needle-gun is a merciless weapon, and then these fellows really do fight with a verve that I have never before observed in such peace-time troops. For the defender, the attacker's need to take positions by storm compensates for his superiority in weapons, and here too the Prussians appear to have accomplished a great deal. Benedek, with his deep 'plan', turns out to have been not merely a jackass but a dullard as well. How splendidly he could, with sufficient men, have caught those fellows in the mountains!

At all events, Bismarck will now try to set up his Imperial Germany, and that should include Bohemia, which he hopes to take from the Austrians and thereby establish a link between Silesia and Bavaria. In the treaty with Italy, he did after all stipulate '*un territoire autrichien équivalent à la Vénéti*'.[b] [328]

Berlin is again acting with the vileness for which it is famed and yesterday even went so far as to elect a whole load of ministers. What will those camels of men of Progress[99] say now?

The farce up in the North-West is delightful and will probably soon be no less so in the South, too.

The only safeguard against the betrayal that Bismarck has plotted with Bonaparte is the quite unexpected magnitude of the

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[a] Czech name: Olomouc - [b] 'Austrian territory equivalent to Venetia'

victories. He will now find it difficult to cede much, and the Belgians will probably have to pay part of the price.[349]

Kindest regards to the LADIES.

Your
F. E.

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## 170

## MARX TO ENGELS[101]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 July 1866

DEAR FRED,

*D'abord*[a] my heartfelt thanks for the Californian consignment. Yet, I was unable to pay the LANDLORD, who is again owed for two quarters. I had to allow priority to part-payments to the fellows who are dunning me every hour of the day.

As regards my state of health, first of all, I have *had my nose properly to the grindstone* again over the past two weeks, and hope that by the end of August, if I preserve this degree of health, I shall have finished the first volume,[b] which I am having published by itself. It is true that I am obliged to continue with Gumpert's liver-medicine every day, as I would otherwise be laid low at once. Question: is the *arsenic* (*put aside* for many weeks now) compatible with it? I am asking because for 4 days now another carbuncle has been appearing above my right collar-bone. I owe more to the Bordeaux than to any medicine. I am incidentally only working in the day-time, as a sporadic attempt to work at night (once or twice) immediately had very unfortunate consequences.

Before passing to general matters, can you translate '*PUT STRETCHES* UPON THE MULE' into German for me, and tell me what 'PICKS' in weaving are called in German? What is a '*FLYER*' on the mule?

The workers' demonstrations in London are fabulous compared with anything seen in England since 1849, and they are solely the

[a] First of all - [b] of *Capital*

work of the '*INTERNATIONAL*'. MR Lucraft, F.I., the captain in Trafalgar Square, is ONE OF OUR COUNCIL.[350] This shows the difference between *acting* behind the scenes whilst retiring in public, and the democrats' habit of puffing themselves up in public and *doing nothing*.

*The Commonwealth* is about to expire.[290] Fox is leaving it next week. Apropos. Stumpf has written to me from Mainz that among the workers the demand for your book '*The Condition*, etc.'[a] is growing daily and that you must certainly bring out the second edition, if only for party reasons. At the same time, his personal experiences lead him to believe that immediately after the war[345] 'the labour question' in Germany will come noticeably to the fore.

Freiligrath has put out a melancholy-lyrical little turd on the fratricidal war, which his daughter Kate has englished in today's *Athenaeum*.[b]

Beside a great Prussian defeat, which perhaps (oh but those Berliners!) might have led to a revolution, there could have been no better outcome than their stupendous victory. Thiers had been so successful in denouncing Bonaparte's policy of helping to 'make' Prussia (for beside the English, your Frenchman in fact really *hates* only the Prussians), that Boustrapa[76] had to amend the constitution he had imposed on the French and '*abolish*' discussion of the address *par ordre du*[c] *Moniteur*. (I am enclosing J. Favre's speech on Mexico and Glais-Bizoin's bad witticisms for you, so that you can see what Boustrapa's position was before the outbreak of war.)[351] Mr Bonaparte was counting on victory and defeat swinging back and forth between Prussians and Austrians, so that eventually he would be able to step in between the exhausted combatants like Jupiter Scapin.[d] The Prussians' success really puts his regime in France in dire peril (it is his second great miscalculation since the American Civil War) if he does not manage to dictate the terms of peace. On the other hand, the same success (we are not back in 1815 now) makes it impossible, almost impossible, for the Prussian dynasty to accept terms other than those which Austria *must* reject, not to mention the fact that handsome William,[e] alias Alexander the Great, cannot possibly cede German territory to France. The Prussians' decision will depend on the 'nephew' in St Petersburg.[f] It is impossible to say

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[a] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. - [b] F. Freiligrath, 'Westphalian Summer Song', *The Athenaeum*, No. 2019, 7 July 1866. - [c] by order of the - [d] Scapin—a character from Molière's *Les fourberies de Scapin*. - [e] William I - [f] Alexander II

what he will do, as that would require one to be in possession of the material in the Russian State Chancellory. But I, for my part, cannot understand how the Russians, who are furthermore offended that the Austrians refused their help, can permit Austria to get her breath back and miss this favourable moment for their Turco-Danubian manoeuvres. Mr Victor Emmanuel is also in a pretty pickle. Venice now belongs to Bonaparte. If he accepts it from him as a present, that will be the end for his dynasty. On the other hand, *what* can he do against France, and *where* can *he* now attack Austria?[352]

But what do you say to our *Foxikins*, who dashed breathlessly into our house the day before yesterday, exclaiming: 'Bonaparte has *saved* Germany!' This view is shared by Beesly, Harrison, etc., and the whole COMTEIST clique. Write to me soon, as pen and ink have to serve in place of oral communication in this EVENTFUL PERIOD.

My best compliments to MRS Lizzy.[a]

Little Jenny would like to know how your 'Africans' are doing?[353]

*Salut.*

Your
K.M.

Naturally, Bonaparte does not want war now, until he has introduced the NEEDLE-GUN or an equivalent. A *YANKEE*[b] has offered the war ministry here a rifle which, so I am assured by a REFUGEE Prussian officer (Wilke), is as superior to the needle-gun as the latter is to 'OLD BESS',[354] by virtue of its extreme simplicity of design, non-susceptibility to heating, reduced need for cleaning, and cheapness. Is there any sphere in which our theory that the *organisation* of labour is determined *by the means of production* is more dazzlingly vindicated than in the industry for human slaughter? It really would be worth your while to write something on the subject (I have not the necessary knowledge for it) which I would include as an appendix to my book[c] under your name. Give the matter some thought. If you do it, however, it must be done *pour le premier volume*,[d] in which I am dealing *ex professo*[e] with this topic. You will appreciate what great pleasure it would give me if you were also to appear in my principal work (previously I have only produced trifles) as a direct collaborator, and not just in quotation!

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[a] Lizzy Burns - [b] Jacob Snider - [c] *Capital* - [d] for the first volume - [e] in particular

I am studying Comte on the side just now, as the English and French are making such a fuss of the fellow. What seduces them about him is his encyclopaedic quality, *la synthèse*. But that is pitiful when compared with Hegel (although Comte is superior to him as a mathematician and physicist by profession, i.e., superior in the detail, though even here Hegel is infinitely greater as a whole). And this shitty positivism came out in 1832!

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## 171

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 9 July[a] 1866

Dear Moor,

History, i.e., world history, is becoming ever more ironical. What could be more splendid than that Bonaparte should be thus mocked in practice by his pupil Bismarck, who, backwoods junker as he is, has suddenly outgrown his master and all at once gives the whole world a tangible demonstration of how very much this *arbitre de l'Europe* exists ON SUFFERANCE. And then this Bismarck himself, who, in order to be able to govern to all appearances feudally and absolutely for a few months at home, is pursuing the policy of the bourgeoisie WITH A VENGEANCE abroad, preparing the ground for the bourgeoisie to rule and striking along paths where progress is only possible by liberal, even revolutionary means, and, in so doing, making his own backwoods junkers be daily at variance with their own principles. The presenters of the ceremonial shield to Francis Bomba[b] are in alliance with Garibaldi, and the advocates of Thrones by the grace of God go swallowing up whole countries in spite of Victor Emmanuel![355] Never has there been anything quite so splendid as the *Kreuz-Zeitung*[c] in

[a] The original has: June. - [b] Francis II of Naples and Sicily, son of Ferdinand II nicknamed King Bomba for the bombardment of Messina in September 1848. - [c] *Neue Preussische Zeitung*

these last 4 weeks, and the historico-feudal party, which cost the genius of Frederick William IV of blessed memory so much toil and trouble to found, is now choking on the filth which it is being forced to gobble up at its own leader's command.

The simple fact is: Prussia has 500,000 needle-guns and the rest of the world not even 500. It is not possible to equip an army with breech-loaders in under 2, 3 or perhaps 5 years. Until then Prussia will be dux. Do you think Bismarck will not make use of such a moment? Certainly he will. Bonaparte will take very good care not to pick a quarrel, and as for the Russians, it is true they are setting up a most furious howl in the *Journal de St.-Pétersbourg*,[a] but militarily they are now less to be feared than ever. I have no doubt at all that this sudden enormous growth of Prussia's might will drive Bonaparte and the Russians together, and that their first endeavour will be to prevent each and every increase in Prussia's might. But they will take care to hold back from war; as for France, if she were to intervene actively, that would assuredly be the best way to drive the South Germans properly into the arms of the Prussians and consign the civil war to oblivion.[356] And as for the Russians, Monsieur Bismarck is the man to threaten them with a new Polish insurrection, and they know that the fellow is unscrupulous enough for that. In general, Bismarck is only too well aware of his power and also knows that it can only maintain its present magnitude for a few years, and I believe he will exploit it to the very last drop. Moreover, Bonaparte can always be bought off with Belgium in the end, and only just before the war Goltz, Bonaparte and the Crown Prince of Holland[b] 'considered the possibility' of dividing Belgium between France and Holland, which would then cede Luxemburg to France.[349] I believe the war is not over yet by a long chalk, and there is much that can still happen.

The Russians really do seem to have realigned themselves towards Austria some time ago now, and this tremendous success of the Prussians will make it impossible for them to go back on it in any way. The more so since Austria will now be ready to receive Bosnia or Walachia in exchange for Venice, with Russia then taking Moldavia.

You see, by the by, how right I was in my appraisal of the Prussian army when I repeatedly said there was far more to it than people were wont to admit. After these successes and after

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[a] 'Nouvelles de L'Extérieur', *Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg*, No. 140, 23 June (5 July) 1866. - [b] William, Prince of Orange

the absolutely brilliant performance of the troops, they will be so much more self-confident and, at the same time, more experienced at war that they could take the field against the French tomorrow, even if the latter had breech-loaders, and the French bayonet, at all events, has had its day, like the Spanish pike in its time. When breech-loading becomes general, the cavalry will come into its own again.

I must make a proper report to Jenny about the Africans,[353] as I have been meaning to for a long time now.

Many regards.

Your
F. E.

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## 172

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 12 July 1866

Dear Moor,

I have written about your history to Gumpert, who is in Wales; as I do not know his address, the letter will first have to go to his home here, hence certainly some delay. As soon as I have a reply, I'll write to you, but meanwhile I should advise you to take arsenic *at once* and put off everything else, so as to stop the damned carbuncle. Put an end to *this* abomination at any cost.

Bonaparte's little plan and his intervention are in part probably a consequence of an earlier agreement with Bismarck, but certainly also—the new Confederation of the Rhine, etc.—are threats in his direction. But how the fellow can be so stupid as to make *this* plan public is beyond my comprehension[357]: as with Schapper—that he could be *so* stupid, etc.—It will assuredly drive the whole of South Germany into the arms of the Prussians and even the old philistines at the Exchange here are quite beside

themselves about it. One old man from Frankfurt told me: it's worth more to the Prussians than a reinforcement of 100,000 men.

You see how the stupid South Germans are letting themselves be picked off one by one without even taking the trouble to close ranks.[356] *It'll soon be the old, old story, we've been betrayed, we'll be led like lambs to the slaughter!* [a] 1849 all over again. I feel sorry for the fellows, they're good soldiers. Only now does one understand how the French were able to score such successes against the 'Empire', but *not* how the Empire was able to hold out for so long against a concentrated monarchy like France.[358]

I will try and produce the stuff about the mass-murder-industry for you.[b]

Many regards.

Your
F. E.

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## 173

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 July[c] 1866

DEAR FRED,

The carbuncle has fortunately departed again of its own accord. But in the present heat my LIVER has been and still is scourging me sorely. For all that, my work[d] is progressing well and will continue to do so if my present condition lasts. It is, of course, embarrassing for me to have to pester you again already, but as you will gather from the enclosed note (which you must return to me) there is *periculum in mora*.[e] I have with difficulty obtained an

[a] Engels uses the South-German dialect here: 'Man will uns uf die Schlachtbank fihre!' - [b] See this volume, p. 291. - [c] The original has: January. - [d] on the first volume of *Capital* - [e] danger in delay (Livy, *The History of Rome*, Vol. XXXVIII, Chap. 25)

extension until next Tuesday. From your last communication I am in doubt as to whether you are in Manchester. Nor have I received any more copies of *The Manchester Guardian.* Or has nothing else of yours appeared in it?[345]

One must refrain from passing any judgment on the present circumstances, pending news either of a ceasefire or of a decisive battle at Vienna. At any rate, the course of events has demonstrated the extraordinary decay of the Austrian system.

For the moment, these English of ours are, as always, paying homage to success. The great Arnold Ruge, too, has made his *pronunciamento* for Prussia 14 days ago, as the great Kinkel did earlier still. If the Prussians continue victorious to the end, what a throng of place-seekers and fatherland-rescuers will surge towards Frankfurt!

At all events, the '*homme prestige*',[a] 'Jupiter Scapin',[b] GROTESQUE PROVIDENCE OF EUROPE is shaken and even overshadowed by Bismarck. That is some consolation.

The VTH REPORT of the CHILDREN'S EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION appeared here a few days ago. It concludes the *enquête*[c] into the manufactories, and only a supplement has yet to appear concerning the 'ORGANISED GANGS' of women and children, who are sporadically used in agriculture. There could have been no more dreadful blow to the optimism of the bourgeoisie since 1850 than from these 5 BLUE BOOKS. Furthermore, the VIIIth REPORT of the BOARD OF HEALTH[d] was brought out a few days ago, which contains in particular a very detailed *enquête* of the living conditions of the proletariat.[359]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] 'man of prestige' - [b] Scapin—a character from Molière's *Les fourberies de Scapin* (here Napoleon III is meant) - [c] enquiry - [d] *Eighth Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council.*

# 174

## ENGELS TO MARX[101]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 July 1866

Dear Moor,

I think you will now have received the notes all right; in a moment of distraction I must have put in, in their stead, the piece of paper on which I had noted the Nos. The notes themselves I had slipped inside the cover of my writing-case, which is where I found them when I had recovered from the initial shock of your telegram.[46] I hope they still arrived in time.

The business in Germany now seems fairly straightforward to me. From the moment of Bismarck's so colossal success in using the Prussian army to put the bourgeois plan for Little Germany into effect,[360] developments in Germany have moved so decisively in that direction that we shall have to accept the *fait accompli* just like everybody else, WE MAY LIKE IT OR NOT. As regards the *national* aspect of the question, at all events, Bismarck will set up a Little German Empire of the dimensions envisaged by the bourgeoisie, i. e., including South-West Germany, the phrases about the Main boundary and the OPTIONAL SOUTH GERMAN SEPARATE CONFEDERACY, at any rate, only being intended for the French[357]; meanwhile the Prussians are marching on Stuttgart. Incidentally, before very long, the German provinces of Austria will join this Empire too, since Austria is certain to go Hungarian now,[293] and the Germans will become the 3rd nation in the Empire—lower even than the Slavs.

*Politice*[a] Bismarck will be forced to rely on the bourgeoisie, whom he needs against the Imperial Princes. Perhaps not at this moment, as his prestige and the army are still sufficient. But simply to ensure that parliament will grant the necessary conditions for central power, he will have to give something to the bourgeoisie, and the natural course of events will constantly compel him or his successors to appeal to the bourgeoisie again; so that, even if Bismarck perhaps gives the bourgeoisie no more than he absolutely *has to* now, he will, nevertheless, be driven increasingly in a bourgeois direction.

[a] Politically

The good aspect to the affair is that it simplifies the situation and makes revolution easier by putting an end to the brawling among the smaller capitals and, at all events, hastens developments. A German parliament is after all quite a different thing from a Prussian Chamber. All the little states will be drawn into the movement, there will be an end to the worst localised tendencies, and the parties will at last become truly national instead of merely local.

The chief disadvantage—and it is a very substantial one—is the inevitable swamping of Germany by Prussianism. Also the temporary exclusion of German Austria, a consequence of which will be an immediate advance of the Slav cause in Bohemia, Moravia and Carinthia. Unfortunately, *nothing* can be done to prevent *either*.

In my view, therefore, we can do nothing whatsoever but simply accept the fact, without approving of it, and use, as far as we can, the increased opportunities which are, at all events, bound to arise now, to organise and unite the German proletariat *nationally*.

I did not need Stumpf's letter to tell me that BROTHER Liebknecht would launch himself into fanatical support of the Austrian cause, it was absolutely inevitable.[361] Incidentally, there was no mistaking his furious despatches from Leipzig in the *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung*. This *N. F. Zeitung*, with its Blind-ish regicidal tendencies, went so far as to reproach the Prussians for their disgraceful treatment of '*His Highness the Elector of Hesse*'[a] and was beside itself with enthusiasm for the poor blind Guelph.[b]

Nothing more of mine in the *Guardian*.[345]

Your
F. E.

Best wishes to the LADIES.

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[a] Ludwig III - [b] George V of Hanover

# 175

## MARX TO ENGELS[101]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 July[a] 1866

Dear Fred,

Best thanks for the £10. They came in the nick of time.

I have not written to Stumpf, precisely because he asked for a line of 'conduct', and my view was that he would do best not to 'conduct' himself at all until events took a decisive turn.[361] That was a view which I rather thought advisable not to put to him in writing. Mainz is at present still encircled, so far as I know, so postal communication is also presumably interrupted. Did you write to Stumpf?

The comedy in Frankfurt makes up somewhat for the exhalation of the victors. Lord, lord, they howled, 25 million! And his worship the mayor[b] goes and hangs himself![362] And the Prussians, for their part, officially declare that Frankfurt will have to fork out because its papers have 'insulted' His Majesty William the Conqueror.[c] Since his government post in Brünn is only temporary, Stieber will eventually become mayor of the Frankfurter-on-Mainers, whom by the way I have always thought the most insufferable scoundrels. And Edgar Bauer will be imposed on them as Censor-in-Chief. But as regards the Eschenheimer Gasse,[363] Privy Counsellor Duncker would—except that he is, of course, ruling in Kassel.

I am entirely at one with you that we must take the mess as it is. It is, nevertheless, pleasant to be far off at this youthful time of love's first dawning.[d] The arrogance of the Prussians and the foolishness of handsome William,[e] who believes that nothing has changed since his dream of victory, except that he is now a great potentate, etc., will have their effect soon enough. The Austrians now find themselves where the Slav fanatics from Prague wanted them in 1848.[364] However, for the moment their loss of Venice, their enforced concentration of strength is in no way to the Russians' advantage. Being a Pan-Slavic empire themselves, they

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[a] The original has: August.- [b] Karl Fellner - [c] William I of Prussia (an ironical comparison with the Norman William who conquered England in 1066) - [d] F. Schiller, *Das Lied von der Glocke.* - [e] William I

will be all the more antagonistic to the Muscovites. In view of the extraordinary decline of the Habsburgs, it is certainly to be feared that BY and BY they will allow the Russians to tempt them into a combined attack on Turkey.

For the workers, of course, everything that centralises the bourgeoisie is to their advantage. At all events, even if peace is concluded tomorrow, it will be even more provisional than that of Villafranca and Zurich was.[365] As soon as the 'arms reform' has been completed by the various parties, it will be back to 'bashing', as Schapper calls it. At all events, Bonaparte has suffered a setback, too, although the setting up of military kingdoms on all sides right and left fits the Plon-Plonist[93] scheme '*de la démocratie générale*'.[a]

The government has almost caused a mutiny here. Your Englishman first needs a revolutionary education, of course, for which two weeks would suffice if Sir Richard Mayne had absolute powers of command. In actual fact, it all hung on one point. If the RAILINGS had been used—and it almost came to that—for offence and defence against the police, and some score of the latter killed, the military would have had to 'step in', instead of merely parading. And then things would have got quite jolly. This much is certain: that these stiff-necked John Bulls, whose sconces appear made to measure for the constables' BLUDGEONS, will accomplish nothing without a really bloody clash with those in power.

A touching scene, that, between that old jackass Beales and the equally asinine old Walpole, and then the intervention of the thin-voiced, INTRUSIVE, self-important Holyoake, who through 'love of the truth' is constantly finding his way into *The Times*—nothing but peace and dissoluteness.[366] Meanwhile, whilst these riff-raff are patting each other on the back and belick-spittling each other, that cur Knox, the police magistrate of Marylebone, is sending people down in a summary fashion, which shows what would happen if London were Jamaica.[252]

Disraeli has made a fine fool of himself, firstly by his pathetic remark in the Lower House,[b] 'he did not know whether he still had a house', and then by the strong military occupation of that same house, although, thirdly, the MOB (instructed beforehand by the REFORM LEAGUE people) deliberately left the house of Mr 'Vivian Grey'[c] UNTOUCHED. The house lost not a hair from its head. For which Elcho's window-panes had to suffer the more. I had

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[a] 'of universal democracy' - [b] on 24 July 1866 - [c] an ironic reference to Disraeli, the author of a novel under the same title

dropped the HINT to Gremer and other MANAGERS that it might be appropriate to pay a visit to the *'Times' NEWSPAPER*. As they did not immediately 'take' the HINT, or did not want to, I did not press it.

The cholera is paying us (I mean the Londoners) its respects with the utmost gravity, and Dr Hunter's report, in the VIIIth REPORT of the HEALTH BOARD[a] on the 'HOUSING of the POOR', which appeared last week,[359] is presumably intended to serve Madam Cholera as a DIRECTORY of addresses calling for preferential visitation.

MY BEST COMPLIMENTS TO MRS Lizzy.[b]

Your
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 August 1866

Dear Moor,

The humour in your last letter leads me to conclude that your liver must be much better, although you do not say anything about it yourself. As regards the Frankfurters,[362] you should have just heard the wailing and gnashing of teeth by the ones here, of whom we have a whole legion here and who got the most frightful letters from their brothers, etc. On this occasion the Prussian lieutenant did, of course, conduct himself with all the charm for which he is renowned, but it was to be expected from the beginning that these gentlemen would be MORE FRIGHTENED THAN HURT. In the rest of South Germany, where the Frankfurters are not especially popular either and where they are reproached for running with the hare and hunting with the hounds, there was

[a] *Eighth Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council.* - [b] Lizzy Burns

positive pleasure that it was they who were treated so roughly. I have seen such letters myself.

So, Bismarck won in the end, and Wilhelmchen[a] has issued a form of words to conciliate his Highnesses, Noble Lords and Faithful Followers, simultaneously affirming, however, that if they refuse him money again, the spending of money without approval will unfortunately be 'unavoidable' again. I still do not see how the conflict can thereby be resolved, even with this Chamber. Then there is a German, or RATHER North German parliament as well, about whose possible position or at least powers Mr Eulenburg has resolutely refused to give any information whatsoever—there are splendid prospects for a dust-up before long. Bismarck himself will surely seek to avoid a dispute, he is not that stupid, but that old brute of a Hohenzollern is bound to embroil himself, and then he will be amazed at the intelligence of his bayonets.[367]

That we shall soon be back to bashing is clear enough. I believe things will come to a head with the French. Bonaparte is shrewd enough to want to avoid this as long as at all possible, but the mass of Frenchmen, in particular the bourgeoisie, with their distaste for any strengthening of Germany, really is too short-sighted and fanatical to be denied the *expansion de la France qui ne peut avoir lieu que du côté de l'Allemagne*,[b] and war against Prussia is also popular with the peasants and more stupid workers; therefore there is no telling how soon the storm will break.

Wehner, who has just returned from Hanover, tells me that the Prussian officers have already made themselves thoroughly hated there, too, likewise the bureaucrats and police.

I shall probably not spend long in Germany this year either. What with the exhalation of the victors in the North and the Republicans bawling out their enthusiasm for the Elector of Hesse[c] in the South, where ought one to go? I shall attempt to go into the Harz by a roundabout route, there are fortunately no garrisons there.

The *Kölnische Zeitung* is now screaming with much frothing at the mouth for the exclusion of South Germany. This is the catchword put out by Bismarck to facilitate Bonaparte's retreat, and the *Kölnische* is storming in this direction with such insane fervour that one sees through the whole nonsense immediately. No paper has yet behaved quite so vilely as this one. Having been most vociferously shouting for peace, it leapt into the contrary

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[a] William I - [b] Expansion of France which can only occur in the direction of Germany - [c] Ludwig III

stance as soon as it saw that Bismarck with his cry of 'Austria wants war! Up and at 'em!' was not to be put off the scent, and ever since it has been Bismarck's best friend, at least in good will if not in finesse. It is his lap-dog in the press.

If the new breech-loading gun the American showed to the government here is the Snider-Enfield, it is not up to much. It was most probably another one you were referring to.[a] Incidentally, a more rapid rate of fire than that already achieved by the needle-gun is of little consequence, as in practice the difference is virtually reduced to zero; on the other hand, greater precision and accuracy of aim are now becoming increasingly important. I am just re-reading Griesheim's tactics[b]—how outdated almost all of it already is now!

Kindest regards to the LADIES.

Your
F. E.

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## 177

## MARX TO ENGELS[368]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 August 1866

Dear FRED,

You inferred correctly from my last letter that my state of health has improved, although it fluctuates from one day to the next. Meanwhile, the feeling of being fit to work again DOES MUCH FOR A MAN. Unfortunately, I am constantly interrupted by SOCIAL TROUBLES and lose a lot of time. Thus, for example, the butcher has suspended meat supplies today, and by Saturday even my stock of paper will be used up.

Since yesterday Laura is half promised to Monsieur Lafargue, my medical Creole. She treats him like the others, but the

[a] See this volume, p. 291. - [b] G. von Griesheim, *Vorlesungen über die Taktik.*

outbursts of feeling these Creoles are subject to, a slight fear that the *jeune homme*[a] (he is 25) might do away with himself, etc., some fondness for him, undemonstrative as always with Laura (he is a good-looking, intelligent, energetic lad of athletic build), have more or less led to a semi-compromise. The boy attached himself to me first of all, but soon transferred the ATTRACTION from the old man to his daughter. His economic circumstances are middling, as he is the only child of a former planter-family.[b] He is *rayé de l'université de Paris pour deux ans*,[c] on account of the *congrès à* Liège,[269] but intends to sit his examination at Strasbourg. In my judgment, he has an outstanding gift for medicine, in which he is, however, infinitely more sceptical than our friend Gumpert. Scepticism in medical matters appears to be the order of the day with both professors and students in Paris. E. g., Magendie, who declares all therapeutics, in their present STATE, to be fraudulent. As always, this scepticism not only does not exclude CROTCHETS, but embraces them. E. g., Lafargue believes in alcohol and electricity as the chief cures. Fortunately, he is having a good adviser in Professor Carrère, a refugee (*hautes mathématiques*,[d] physics and chemistry), and will be able to acquire much practical experience in the London hospitals. I have managed to get him admitted there through the good offices of a third party.

A very important work which I shall send on to you (but on condition that you send it back, as it is not my property) as soon as I have made the necessary notes, is: '*P. Trémaux, Origine et Transformations de l'Homme et des autres Êtres, Paris 1865.*' In spite of all the shortcomings that I have noted, it represents a *very significant* advance over Darwin. The two chief theses are: *croisements*[e] do not produce, as is commonly thought, variety, but, on the contrary, a unity typical of the *espèces*.[f] The physical features of the earth, on the other hand, *differentiate* (they are the chief, though not the only basis). Progress, which Darwin regards as purely accidental, is essential here on the basis of the stages of the earth's development, *dégénérescence*,[g] which Darwin cannot explain, is straightforward here; ditto the rapid extinction of merely transitional forms, compared with the slow development of the type of the *espèce*, so that the gaps in palaeontology, which Darwin finds disturbing, are necessary here. Ditto the fixity of the *espèce*, once established, which is explained as a necessary law

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[a] young man - [b] the family of François Lafargue - [c] sent down from the University of Paris for two years - [d] higher mathematics - [e] crossings - [f] species - [g] degeneration

(apart from individual, etc., variations). Here hybridisation, which raises problems for Darwin, on the contrary supports the system, as it is shown that an *espèce* is in fact first established as soon as *croisement* with others ceases to produce offspring or to be possible, etc.

In its historical and political applications far more significant and pregnant than Darwin. For certain questions, such as nationality, etc., only here has a basis in nature been found. E.g., he corrects the Pole Duchiński, whose version of the geological differences between Russia and the Western Slav lands he does incidentally confirm, by saying not that the Russians are Tartars rather than Slavs, etc.,[a] as the latter believes, but that on the surface-formation predominant in Russia the Slav has been tartarised and mongolised; likewise (he spent a long time in Africa) he shows that the common negro type is only a degeneration of a far higher one.

'Hors des grandes lois de la nature, les projets des hommes ne sont que calamités, témoins les efforts des czars pour faire du peuple polonais des Moscovites. [...] Même nature, mêmes facultés, renaîtront sur un même sol. L'œuvre de destruction ne saurait toujours durer, l'œuvre de reconstitution est éternelle... Les races slaves et lithuaniennes ont avec les Moscovites, leur véritable limite dans la grande ligne géologique qui existe au nord des bassins du Niémen et du Dnièper... Au sud de cette grande ligne: les aptitudes et les types propres à cette région sont et demeureront toujours différents de ceux de la Russie.'[b] [P. Trémaux, *Origine et transformations de l'homme...*, pp. 402, 420, 421.]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 163-64. - [b] 'If not comprehended by the great laws of nature, man's undertakings are but calamities, witness the efforts of the Czars to make Muscovites of the Polish people. [...] The same soil will give rise to the same character and the same qualities. A work of destruction cannot last forever, but a work of reconstitution is everlasting... The true frontier of the Slav and Lithuanian races with the Muscovites is represented by the great geological line which lies to the north of the basins of the Niemen and the Dnieper... To the south of that great line, the talents and the types fitted to that region are and will always remain different from those of Russia.'

# 178

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 August 1866

Dear Moor,

I don't know whether I should offer full, semi- or no congratulations at all on Laura's semi-engagement. But whatever quantity of congratulations may be admissible, it affects their quality not a wit, and I therefore congratulate with all my heart.

About how much does the Trémaux book[a] cost? If it is not excessively dear on account of illustrations or anything, I'll get it myself, and then you won't need to send it to me.

To allay your butcher's wrath and replenish your stock of paper, I am enclosing J/F 65865 and 66, 2 £5 notes totalling *£10,* dated Manchester, 30 January 1865. I wish that I could set aside more than £200 a year for you, but unfortunately I cannot. If all goes well, it is true that I shall probably be able to provide another £50, but cotton is falling again now, and Bonaparte's note concerning the 1814 frontiers[369] is alarming the philistine, and that affects the accounts.

That note of Bonaparte's seems to indicate that a HITCH has cropped up between him and Bismarck. Otherwise, his demand would surely not have been so discourteous and unexpected, nor would it have been made at such a very inopportune moment for Bismarck. Bismarck undoubtedly stands to lose nothing by complying with it, but how can he do so now? What will his victorious army say to it? And the German parliament, and the Chambers, and the South Germans? And the old jackass,[b] who will now look as idiotically beatific as my black and white dog Dido when he's eaten his belly full, and who has said, not an inch of German soil, etc.?

The note was a great folly on Bonaparte's part, but the howling of the opposition and probably of the army, too, will presumably have forced him to precipitate the matter. It may turn out to be exceedingly dangerous for him. Either Bismarck enables a concession to be made, and then he will be forced to start a war with Bonaparte at the earliest opportunity in order to take his

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[a] P. Trémaux, *Origine et transformations de l'homme et des autres êtres.* - [b] William I

revenge; or else he may not give way, and then there will be war even sooner. In either case, Bonaparte runs the risk of fighting a war he does not want and without the appropriate diplomatic preparation, without any sure allies, for the publicly avowed purpose of conquest. Incidentally, Bismarck told the Hanoverian minister Platen several years ago that he would put Germany under the Prussian helmet and then lead it against the French in order to 'forge it into one'.[370]

Circulars are circulating here for a 'Kinkel-fête', put round by Leppoc, 'a great poet and a great man', on the occasion of Gottfried-the-Pious' departure for Zurich. I have said I am willing to take part in it for the sum of one farthing.

With kindest regards to your wife and the girls.

Your
F. E.

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## 179

## MARX TO PAUL LAFARGUE[371]

IN LONDON

London, 13 August 1866

My dear Lafargue,

Allow me to make the following observations:

1. If you wish to continue your relations with my daughter,[a] you will have to give up your present manner of 'courting'. You know full well that no engagement has been entered into, that as yet everything is undecided. And even if she were formally betrothed to you, you should not forget that this is a matter of long duration. The practice of excessive intimacy is especially inappropriate since the two lovers will be living at the same place for a necessarily prolonged period of severe testing and purgatory. I

[a] Laura Marx

have observed with alarm how your conduct has altered from one day to the next within the geological period of one single week. To my mind, true love expresses itself in reticence, modesty and even the shyness of the lover towards the object of his veneration, and certainly not in giving free rein to one's passion and in premature demonstrations of familiarity. If you should urge your Creole temperament in your defence, it is my duty to interpose my sound reason between your temperament and my daughter. If in her presence you are incapable of loving in a manner in keeping with the London latitude, you will have to resign yourself to loving her from a distance. I am sure you will take the hint.

2. Before your relationship with Laura is finally settled, I must have proper clarification of your financial position. My daughter believes that I am conversant with your affairs. She is mistaken. I did not raise this question because I believed it was incumbent upon you to take the initiative. You know that I have sacrificed my whole fortune to the revolutionary struggle. I do not regret it. Quite the contrary. If I had to begin my life over again, I would do the same. I would not marry, however. As far as it lies within my power, I wish to save my daughter from the reefs on which her mother's life was wrecked. Had it not been for my direct intervention (a weakness on my part) and the influence that my friendship for you exerted on my daughter's conduct, this affair would never have progressed to its present point; for this reason I bear a heavy personal responsibility. As far as your immediate situation is concerned, the information which has come my way, although I did not seek it, is by no means reassuring. But let's not deal with that now. Regarding your position in general, I know that you are still a student, that your career in France has been half ruined by the events at Liège,[269] that you still lack an indispensable tool for your acclimatisation in England, the language, and that your prospects are at best entirely problematic. Observation has persuaded me that you are not very industrious by nature, despite spasmodic feverish activity and good intentions. In these circumstances, you will need external support if you are to set out in life with my daughter. I know nothing of your family. Although they may enjoy a comfortable living, that does not in itself mean that they would be disposed to make sacrifices for you. I do not even know with what favour they regard your proposed alliance. I repeat that I must have positive clarification on all these matters. Moreover, as an avowed realist, you cannot, of course, expect that I should behave as an idealist in respect of my daughter's future. Such a positive person as yourself, who would

abolish poetry, will not wish to make poetry to the detriment of my child.

3. To preclude any misinterpretation of this letter, I would like to state that—were you in a position to enter into matrimony today—it would not come about. My daughter would refuse. I myself should object. You must have achieved something in life before thinking of marriage, and a long period of testing is required of you and of Laura.

4. I would like this letter to remain confidential between ourselves. I await your reply.

Yours very truly
Karl Marx

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## 180

## MARX TO ENGELS[26]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 *août*[a] 1866

DEAR FRED,

Lenchen[b] reached the post-office too late on Saturday to send off my note gratefully acknowledging receipt of the £10.

You must forgive me if I do *not* write a letter today. I have the most pressing business on my back. I wrote a long letter in French to Lafargue today, telling him that I must have *des renseignements positifs*[c] from his family concerning his economic circumstances before the affair can proceed or an ARRANGEMENT can be arrived at.[d] A letter that he passed to me yesterday from a famous French doctor[e] in Paris speaks well of him.

The title of the book: '*P. Trémaux: Origine et Transformations de l'Homme et des autres Êtres.* Première Partie. *Paris* (Librairie de

[a] August - [b] Helene Demuth - [c] positive information - [d] See this volume, pp. 307-09. - [e] Jules Antoine Moilin

L. Hachette) *1865.*' Part Two has not yet appeared. No *planches.*[a] The man's geological MAPS are in his other works.

Snippet from Liebknecht enclosed. I shall be sending you his newspapers,[b] too, but they are not worth a pinch of snuff.[372]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

I shall also be getting the chief work by the above-mentioned Parisian *médecin*[c] and will let you have it as soon as I have read it myself.

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## 181

## MARX TO ENGELS[373]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 23 August 1866

DEAR FRED,

Just a few lines today. The Lafargue affair has been arranged inasmuch as his old man[d] has written to me from Bordeaux, requesting the title of *promesso sposo*[e] for his son and offering a very favourable economic settlement. Furthermore, it is accepted that Lafargue *jeune*[f] first has to qualify as a doctor in London and then in Paris before thinking of marriage. SO FAR THE THING IS SETTLED. But I also informed our Creole yesterday that if he cannot calm himself DOWN to English manners, Laura will show him the door without more ado. He must be absolutely clear about this or nothing will come of the affair. He has a heart of gold but is an *enfant gâté*[g] and too much a child of nature.

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[a] plates - [b] *Mitteldeutsche Volkszeitung* - [c] doctor. J. A. Moilin (le docteur Tony), *Leçons de médecine physiologique.* - [d] François Lafargue - [e] fiancé - [f] junior - [g] spoilt child

Laura declares that before she will formally let herself become betrothed, she must have your CONSENT.

I am threatened with new carbuncles here and there, but they keep disappearing again; they do, however, oblige me to keep my hours of work very much WITHIN LIMITS.

Kindest regards to Lizzy.[a]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

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## 182

## MARX TO LUDWIG KIGELMANN[65]

IN HANOVER

London, 23 August 1866

My dear Friend,

You must justifiably be angered by my prolonged silence, despite your sundry friendly communications.

However, you will have to excuse me, on account of the extraordinary circumstances in which I find myself.

In consequence of my long illness, my economic situation has reached a point of crisis. I have accumulated debts, which are a crushing mental burden and make me incapable of any activity other than the work in which I am immersed. If I do not succeed in taking out a loan of at least 1,000 talers at an interest of say 5%, I can really see no way out. And despite the numerous letters of acknowledgement I receive from Germany, I do not know where to turn. I can only accept aid from personal friends, nothing public. You will understand that in such conditions letter-writing becomes difficult.

I have not yet succeeded in re-establishing my former lucrative links with America.[374] They are so taken up with their own

[a] Lizzy Burns

movement there that they regard any expenditure on European reports as *faux frais de production*.[a] I could help them by emigrating myself. But I consider it my duty to remain in Europe and complete the work on which I have been engaged for so many years.[b]

As regards that work itself, I do not think I shall be able to deliver the manuscript of the first volume (it has now grown to 3 volumes[227]) to Hamburg before October. I can only work productively for a very few hours per day without immediately feeling the effects physically, and for my family's sake I suppose I must, however unwillingly, resolve to observe the hygienic limits until I am fully recovered. My work is furthermore often interrupted by the impingement of adverse external circumstances.

Although I am devoting much time to the preparations for the congress in Geneva,[375] I cannot go myself, nor do I wish to, because my work cannot be subjected to prolonged interruption. I consider that what I am doing through this work is far more important for the working class than anything I might be able to do personally at any *congrès quelconque*.[c]

I regard the international situation in Europe as only temporary. As regards Germany in particular, we must take things as we find them,[376] i.e., promote the interests of revolution in a manner appropriate to the changed conditions. As to Prussia, it is now more important than ever to watch and to denounce her relations to Russia.

Your very sincere friend

K. Marx

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## 183

## ENGELS TO EMIL ENGELS

### IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

Manchester, 23 August 1866

Dear Emil,

In great haste, just to ask you to send the Funke document not to me but to

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[a] unnecessary costs - [b] *Capital* - [c] congress whatsoever

Hall & Janison, Solicitors,
Manchester,

as soon as it is signed.

I am leaving for Germany tomorrow,[377] you see.

Kind regards to everyone. I am thinking of coming to Engelskirchen after Marie Blank's wedding.

Your
Friedrich

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## 184

## MARX TO LAURA MARX

### IN HASTINGS

[London,] 28 August 1866

My dear Cacadou,[a]

I have received your letter, but not unopened, since it had to pass through the fingered hands of the Emperor.[b]

It was always my opinion that to give the last finishing stroke to your 'heducation' some sort of boarding school training was still wanted. It will do you a great deal of good.

*Il hidalgo della figura trista*[c] left me at the corner of his house. His heart having been considerably shaken before, he seemed to bear his separation *from me* with a rather heroic indifference.

My best wishes to $\pm\infty\mp$.[d]

I enclose 5 l., the remainder to be sent in the second week.

Yours humbly
Old One

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[a] Laura's jocular nickname - [b] Marx's daughter, Jenny, who acted as his secretary - [c] the knight of the woeful character (Don Quixote); here Marx means Paul Lafargue - [d] Eleanor Marx

Mama will start upon her own expedition to-morrow or after-to-morrow.[378] A great push was wanted to set her amoving.

First published in the language of the original, English, in *Annali*, an. 1, Milano, 1958

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## 185

## MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER[1]

### IN GENEVA[a]

[London,] 31 August 1866

Dear Becker,

It is absolutely imperative that *Jung* be made President of the congress,[375]

1. because he speaks the 3 languages, English, French, and German.

2. Jung *truly represents* the CENTRAL COUNCIL, Odger (who furthermore only knows his mother-tongue) was *not* elected by the CENTRAL COUNCIL; we elected 4 delegates, with Jung at the head; Odger was only to go if he could raise the money himself (guaranteed by us, of course). He has done *nothing* for the Association.

3. Cremer and Odger have hatched a very mean plot to prevent Jung and Eccarius leaving on the very last day.

4. *Odger* wishes to be elected *President of the congress* as a means of impressing the English and imposing himself as President of the CENTRAL COUNCIL for next year, against the *wish of the great majority of the* COUNCIL.

5. Cremer and Odger have both *betrayed* us in the Reform League, where they came to a *compromise with the bourgeoisie* against our wishes.[315]

6. Mr Cremer has *morally debased* himself completely. All his efforts are now aimed at securing a '*paid*' post for himself, so that he need not work. *In no circumstances must* he therefore be elected *as General Secretary* by the congress. (The only paid post.) They

[a] The letter bears the stamp: International Working Men's Association / Central Council / London.

must elect *Fox*, on the pretext, which is incidentally true, that the General Secretary must know *more than one language.*

9.[a] The *President of the* CENTRAL COUNCIL must **not** be elected *by the* congress but here *in London,* as a figure of *merely local importance.*

10. At the election of the *President for the congress,* you must say at the outset that an *international congress* can only be presided over by a man who can speak the various languages, simply to save time, etc.

11. Convey this to Dupleix.

12. I should be glad if you would get Eccarius to translate the instructions[b] which I wrote in the name of the CENTRAL COMMITTEE for the London delegates into German beforehand.

Regards and handshake.

Your
Karl Marx

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## 186

## MARX TO ELEANOR MARX

IN HASTINGS

[London,] 5 September 1866

My beloved master $\pm\infty\mp$.

I bow to the earth before your immensity, whatever part you may condescend to act, that of the infinitely small or the infinitely grand.

Your letters have enchanted us, and we were really bursting out with laughter on reading that fine passage in which you describe the spontaneous explosion produced by the exhibition spinster.

I am belaboured by a gorilla offspring[c] who can hardly spend the separation from a velvet mouse he has put his mind upon.[d] If he knew her, as well as I do, he would, of course, be still more

[a] Marx omitted points 7 and 8 here. - [b] K. Marx, 'Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions'. - [c] Paul Lafargue - [d] Laura Marx

Calypso, *qui ne pouvait se consoler du départ d'Ulysse.*[a] She may be a Calypso, but he is not an Ulysses, with all that. A spoonzy fellow rather. However, he deserves some praise at my hands. He has worked hard (from 1 o'clock p.m. to 9) in translating the instructions[b] I had to draw up for the Geneva Congress delegates.[375] He has worked not less hard as a tailor at certain gymnastic apparatus you are to use. Last, not least, he affects great attention to the scientific gabble I affect to treat him with, although he and myself are far away from the scene of the mental entertainment.

The day before yesterday the Lormiers were here and the Negrillo,[c] too. Old Lormier, on the pretext of having to communicate him some gymnastic trick, told him '*secretly*' and discreetly, of course, he must stop that fountain of saliva which, while smoking, he is in the habit of inundating the chimney with. When both returned from the kitchen, where the secret communication was taking place, our poor Negrillo looked rather downcast, and behaved like a 'good boy'.

In fact, I liked the boy, at the same time, I think, rather jealous of his encroachments upon my old 'geheimsecretar'.[d]

Don't forget to write me *immediately* what you have to pay *per week.*

The damned weather! I hope it will still mend.

Address of Memeliten[e]: 'Mrs Goodbun, Rose and Crown, Dover.'

Adio, my dear child. Many kisses to you and to the immortal Cacadou,

Yours $\frac{0}{\infty}$

You don't want to write to Mama, as she probably leaves Dover on Friday for another watering-place.

First published, in Russian, in *Voinstvuyushchy materialist*, Book 4, 1925 and in the language of the original, English, in *The Socialist Review* (London), No. 44, September 1929

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[a] who could not be consoled after Ulysses' departure - [b] K. Marx, 'Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions'. - [c] Paul Lafargue - [d] 'secret secretary', i.e., Laura Marx - [e] Marx's wife

## 187

## MARX TO LAURA MARX

IN HASTINGS

[London, about 8 September 1866]

My dearest Cacadou,[a]

You must excuse if I write those few lines only. We want the inclosed Post Office Order for £3 to leave with the first Post, that is before 11 o'clock a.m. You will oblige me by writing us with what train you will leave Hastings next week, and *when* you will arrive here?

Poor child, your toothache would have been spared to you, if my advice had been followed and my own 'dentist' resorted to.

Your last letter has given much pleasure (the toothache news excepted) because we saw from it with what calm energy our Cacadou knows how to act.

Tell Quoquo[b] that mischief is brewing. The Emperor[c] fancies to be neglected by *his* subjects and feels rather sore.

Yours truly
Old One

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## 188

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 September 1866

DEAR FRED,

Receipt enclosed for Moore (I only got the receipt from Dell yesterday).[379]

Mr *Sawyer*, the LANDLORD, has also written me letter that the 3 quarters (£46) are due on 2 October. I have not received a FARTHING from Holland yet and so cannot count on that.

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[a] Laura's jocular nickname - [b] Eleanor Marx - [c] Jenny, Marx's daughter

By way of demonstration against the French monsieurs—who wanted to exclude everyone except '*travailleurs manuels*',[a] in the first instance from membership of the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION, or at least from eligibility for election as delegate to the congress—the English yesterday proposed *me* as *President of the* CENTRAL COUNCIL. I declared that under *no* circumstances could I accept such a thing, and proposed *Odger* in my turn, who was then in fact re-elected, although some people voted for me despite my declaration. Dupont, incidentally, has given me the key to the Tolain and Fribourg operation. They want to stand as *workers'* candidates for the Corps législatif[4] in 1869, on the 'principle' that *only workers* can represent the workers. That is why it was exceedingly important for these gentlemen to get this principle proclaimed through the Congress.[380]

At yesterday's meeting of the CENTRAL COUNCIL there were all manner of dramatic scenes. E.g., Mr Cremer fell to earth with a bump when Fox was appointed General Secretary in his stead. He controlled his fury only with great difficulty. Another scene when Mr Le Lubez had to be officially informed of his expulsion from the CENTRAL COUNCIL *par décret*[b] of the congress. He gave vent to the turmoil in his breast in an hour-long speech, in which he spat fire and brimstone at the Parisians, represented himself in terms of astonishing self-esteem and mumbled all manner of dubious things about intrigues whereby the nationalities who were well-disposed towards him (Belgium and Italy) were prevented from attending the congress. Finally, he demanded a vote of confidence from the Central Council[381]—and this will be discussed next Tuesday.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] manual workers - [b] by decree

# 189

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 October 1866

Dear Engels,

I do not know whether I told you last time I wrote that there is a *bill of exchange* (no longer in the LANDLORD's hands) outstanding against me for the rent. Sawyer had written that the bill was due on the 2nd inst., i.e., tomorrow. I called on him yesterday, as by my reckoning the thing could not be due until 3 October, as I had drawn the bill on 1 July for 3 MONTHS, so that 3 days sight must be added. And it turned out I was right. The amount is £46 (3 QUARTERS), and I have been *sans sou*[a] for many weeks, since the SMALL SUMS, which were still obtainable via pawnbrokers, dried up.

As I am furthermore now HARD PRESSED from the daily 'supplies' which have once more accumulated in recent months and in present circumstances (Lafargue) must avoid any *éclat*[b] more than ever, I would leave for the Continent at once to see what I can arrange there 'personally'. However, I must defer that until my manuscript[c] is completed, so that I can take it with me and am not subjected to fresh interruption.

You must forgive me for constantly BOTHERing and plaguing you with my private morass. I had put too much reliance on having the money from Holland.

Your
K. Marx

What do you think of Moilin?[d]

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[a] penniless - [b] scandal - [c] of the first volume of *Capital* - [d] See this volume, p. 310.

# 190

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 2 October 1866

Dear Moor,

You did not tell me that you had signed a bill for £46, which was why I sent you half notes for only £40 yesterday; the missing halves follow today, as well as a further five-pound-note I/F 98815, Manchester, 30 January 1865.

Our cashier has not got a second five-pound-note, and it's too late for a POST OFFICE order, so I cannot include the remaining SOVEREIGN; but you will no doubt surmount *that* difficulty.

Regarding Moilin[a] and Trémaux,[b] I will write at greater length in the next few days; I have not quite finished reading the latter yet, but I have come to the conclusion that there is nothing to his whole theory because he knows nothing of geology, and is incapable of even the most common-or-garden literary-historical critique. That stuff about the NIGGER Santa Maria and the whites turning into Negroes is enough to make one die of laughing.[382] Especially the idea that the traditions of the Senegal NIGGERS necessarily deserve credence, *just because these fellows cannot write*! In addition, it is another pretty notion of his to ascribe the differences between a Basque, a Frenchman, a Breton, and an Alsatian to the surface-structure, which is, of course, also to blame for the people speaking four different languages.

Perhaps the man will demonstrate in the 2nd volume how he explains that we Rhinelanders on our Devonian transitional massif (which has not been covered again by the sea since long before the coal was formed) did not become idiots and NIGGERS ages ago, or else he will assert that we are really NIGGERS.

The book is utterly worthless, pure theorising in defiance of all the facts, and for each piece of evidence it cites it should itself first provide evidence in turn.

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[a] J. A. Moilin (le docteur Tony), *Leçons de médecine physiologique* (see this volume, pp. 309-10, 319). - [b] P. Trémaux, *Origine et transformations de l'homme...* (ibid., pp. 304-05, 309-10).

Kindest regards to the LADIES.

Your
F. E.

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## 191

## MARX TO ENGELS[243]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 October 1866

Dear Engels,

The enclosed bill will give you some idea of what adventures I have had today and yesterday. It was not yesterday that it became due, as Sawyer had said. This delay of one day would have been welcome in other circumstances, but in present circumstances it was exceedingly unfortunate. When your letter arrived yesterday, I went straight to our baker, Whithers, as there was nothing left to pawn, and borrowed £1 from him. But when the bill arrived this morning, it was for £48-1-5d. and not, as I had thought, £46. It was my own fault, of course, for not noting the amount. I had thought Sawyer would have deducted the PROPRIETOR TAX which I had paid and which was not deducted from the previous bill (by law it falls on him). That was not the case. (He will therefore have to deduct the whole lot for next quarter.) Hence my mistake over the £46. The bill was presented this morning at 9 o'clock sharp, and I discovered to my horror that I was £2-1-5d. short. *Que faire?*[a] I asked the presenter of the bill to wait (at our house), as I had to go and change some money. I had no alternative but to return to the good baker, who pulled a very long face, as I am deep in the red on account of his supplying of provisions. However, he performed.

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[a] What was to be done?

*Ad vocem*[a] *Trémaux*[b]: your verdict 'that there is nothing to his whole *theory* because *he* knows nothing of geology, and is incapable of even the most common-or-garden literary-historical critique'[c] recurs *almost word for word* in Cuvier's 'Discours sur les Révolutions du Globe' in his attack on the doctrine of the *variabilité des espèces*,[d] in which he makes fun of German nature-worshippers, among others, who *formulated* Darwin's basic idea in its entirety, however far they were from being able to *prove* it. However, that did not prevent Cuvier, who was a great geologist and for a naturalist also an exceptional literary-historical critic, from being wrong, and the people who formulated the new idea, from being right. Trémaux's basic idea about the *influence of the soil* (although he does not, of course, attach any value to historical modifications of this influence, and I myself would include amongst these historical modifications the chemical alteration in the surface soil brought about by agriculture, etc., as well as the varying influence which, with varying modes of production, such things as coalfields, etc., have) is, in my opinion, an idea which needs only to be *formulated* to acquire permanent scientific status, and that quite independently of the way Trémaux presents it.

*Salut.*

Your
K. Marx

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## 192

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 5 October 1866

Dear Moor,

I am tickled by your naivety in having bills outstanding against you without knowing the amount; however, it's lucky the

[a] As regards - [b] P. Trémaux, *Origine et transformations de l'homme...* - [c] See this volume, pp. 320-21. - [d] mutability of species

difference was no bigger and the good baker was at hand. So that you can repay the sum in question to that excellent man at once and thus preserve your credit, I am enclosing £5 I/F 59667, Manchester, 30 January 1865, for you, and am also returning the bill now settled.

*Ad vocem*[a] Trémaux. When I wrote to you, I had admittedly only read a third of the book, and that was certainly the worst part (at the beginning). The second third, the critique of the schools, is far better; the third, the conclusions, very bad again. The man deserves credit for having emphasised the effect of the 'soil' on the evolution of races and logically of species as well more than had previously been done, and secondly for having worked out more accurate (though, in my view, still very one-sided) views on the effects of crossing than his predecessors. In *one* respect, Darwin is also right in his views on the effect crossing has *in producing change*, as Trémaux incidentally tacitly acknowledges, in that, when it suits him to do so, he also treats crossing as a means of change, even if ultimately as one that cancels itself out. Similarly, Darwin and others have never failed to appreciate the effect of the soil, and if they did not especially emphasise it, this was because they had no notion of *how* the soil exerts an influence—other than that fertility has a favourable and infertility an unfavourable effect. And Trémaux is little the wiser about that either. The hypothesis that, as a general rule, the soil favours the development of higher species to the extent that it belongs to more recent formations, sounds exceedingly plausible and may or may not be correct; however, when I see the ridiculous evidence with which Trémaux seeks to substantiate it, of which $^{9}/_{10}$ is based on erroneous or distorted facts and the remaining $^{1}/_{10}$ proves nothing, I cannot but extend the profound suspicions I have of the author of the hypothesis to the hypothesis itself. But when he then goes on to declare that the effect of the soil's greater or lesser age, modified by crossing, is the *sole* cause of change in organic species or races, I see absolutely no reason to go along with the man thus far, on the contrary, I see numerous objections to so doing.

You say that Cuvier also criticised the German natural philosophers for their ignorance of geology when they proclaimed the mutability of species, and yet they were proved right.[b] At that time, however, the question had nothing to do with geology; but if someone puts forward a theory of the mutability of species based on *geology alone* and makes such geological howlers in it,

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[a] As regards - [b] See previous letter (p. 322).

*falsifies* the geology of whole countries (e.g., Italy and even France) and takes the rest of his examples from countries of whose geology we are as good as totally ignorant (Africa, Central Asia, etc.), then that is altogether a different matter. With regard to the ethnological examples in particular, the ones that concern countries and peoples which are generally known are almost without exception erroneous, either in their geological premisses or in the conclusions drawn from them—and he completely ignores the many contrary examples, e.g., the alluvial plains in Central Siberia, the enormous alluvial basin of the River Amazon, all the alluvial land southward from La Plata almost to the southern tip of America (east of the Cordilleras).

That the geological structure of the soil is closely related to the 'soil' in which everything grows is an old idea, likewise that this soil which is able to support vegetation influences the flora and fauna that subsist on it. It is also true that this influence has as yet been scarcely examined at all. But it is a colossal leap from there to Trémaux's theory. At all events, he deserves credit for having emphasised this previously neglected aspect, and, as I said, the hypothesis that the soil *encourages* evolution in proportion to its greater or lesser geological age, may be correct *within certain limits* (or again it may not), but all the further conclusions he draws I consider to be either totally mistaken or incredibly one-sided and exaggerated.

I was very interested by Moilin's book,[a] particularly for the results the French have obtained by vivisection; it is the only way to ascertain the functions of certain nerves and the effects of interfering with them; these fellows appear to have taken the art of animal-torture to a very high level of perfection; and I can very well understand the hypocritical fury of the English against vivisection; these experiments no doubt came as a most unpleasant surprise to many of the comatose gentlemen here and overturned many of their speculations. Whether there is anything new in the theory of inflammations, I am in no position to judge (I intend giving the book to Gumpert); this whole new French school does, however, appear to have a certain free-and-easy character, making big claims and being rather less scrupulous with evidence. As regards medicines, it contains nothing that any competent German doctor does not also know and accept; Moilin just forgets that 1. one is often obliged to choose the lesser evil, medicine, in order to get rid of the greater, namely, a symptom which in itself

[a] J. A. Moilin (le docteur Tony), *Leçons de médecine physiologique.*

represents a direct danger, in exactly the same way that by surgery one destroys tissues where there is no alternative, and 2. that one does have to stick to the medicines for as long as one has nothing better. As soon as Moilin can cure syphilis with his electricity, mercury will soon vanish, but scarcely until then. Incidentally, no one can go on telling me that only the Germans can 'construct' systems, THE FRENCH BEAT THEM HOLLOW AT THAT.

Kindest regards.

Your
F. E.

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## 193

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[65]

### IN HANOVER

London, 9 October[a] 1866
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Friend,

I hope I must not conclude from your lengthy silence that my last letter[b] has in any way offended you. The case should be quite the reverse. Any person, who is in desperate straits, sometimes feels the need to ventilate his feelings. But he only does so to people in whom he has a special and exceptional confidence. I do assure you that my domestic troubles disquiet me far more for being an obstacle to the completion of my work[c] than for any personal or family reasons. I could dispose of the whole problem tomorrow if I were prepared to take up a practical trade tomorrow, instead of working for the cause. And I equally hope that you are not embarrassed by the fact that *you* can do nothing to alleviate my plight. That would indeed be the most unreasonable of reasons.

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[a] The original has: November. - [b] See this volume, pp. 311-12. - [c] *Capital*

And now to some more general matters.

I was profoundly apprehensive about the first congress in Geneva.[375] By and large, however, it went off better than I expected. We had not in the least anticipated the effect it would have in France, England and America. I was unable to attend, nor did I wish to, but I did write the programme for the London delegates.[a] I deliberately confined it to points which allow direct agreement and combination of efforts by the workers and give direct sustenance and impetus to the requirements of the class struggle and the organisation of the workers into a class. The Parisian gentlemen had their heads stuffed full of the most vacuous Proudhonist clichés. They prattle incessantly about science and know nothing. They spurn all *revolutionary* action, i.e. arising from the class struggle itself, every concentrated social movement, and therefore also that which can be achieved by *political means* (e.g., such as limitation of the working day *by law*). Beneath the *cloak of freedom* and anti-governmentalism or anti-authoritarian individualism these gentlemen, who for 16 years now have so quietly endured the most wretched despotism, and are still enduring it, are in actuality preaching vulgar bourgeois economics, only in the guise of Proudhonist idealism! Proudhon has done enormous harm. His pseudo-critique and his pseudo-confrontation with the Utopians (he himself is no more than a philistine Utopian, whereas the Utopias of such as Fourier, Owen, etc., contain the presentiment and visionary expression of a new world) seized hold of and corrupted first the '*jeunesse brillante*',[b] the students, then the workers, especially those in Paris, who as workers in luxury trades are, without realising it, themselves deeply implicated in the garbage of the past. Ignorantly vain, arrogant, compulsively talkative, rhetorically inflated, they were on the verge of spoiling everything, as they flocked to the congress in numbers quite out of proportion to the number of their members. In my REPORT I shall give them a discreet rap over the knuckles.

I was exceedingly pleased at the American workers' congress, which took place at the same time in Baltimore. The watchword there was organisation for the struggle against capital, and, remarkably enough, most of the demands I had put up for Geneva were put up there, too, by the correct instinct of the workers.[383]

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[a] K. Marx, 'Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions'. - [b] brilliant youth

The reform movement here, which was called into being by our Central Council (*quorum magna pars fui*[a]), has now assumed enormous and irresistible dimensions.[155] I have always kept behind the scenes and have not further concerned myself with the matter since it has been under way.

Your
K. Marx

*Apropos.* The *Workman*[b] is a philistine paper, and has nothing to do with us. *The Commonwealth* belongs to our people, but has for the moment transformed itself purely into a mouthpiece for Reform (partly for economic and partly for political reasons).

I have recently read Dr *T. Moilin: 'Leçons de Médecine Physiologique'*, which came out in Paris in 1865. A lot of fanciful ideas in it and too much 'construing'. But a lot of criticism of traditional therapeutics, too. I would be glad if you would read the book and let me have your opinion in detail. I would also recommend to you *Trémaux: 'De l'origine de tous les êtres*, etc.' Although written in a slovenly way, full of geological howlers and seriously deficient in literary-historical criticism, it represents—WITH ALL THAT AND ALL THAT—an advance over Darwin.[c]

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## 194

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[65]

IN HANOVER

London, Saturday, 13 October 1866

Dear Friend,

Since I wish to reply to you at once and your letter has arrived just before the Post closes (and no post goes from here tomorrow, Sunday), I shall summarise the quintessence of my INTERCEPTED LETTER[384] in a few words. (This confiscation of letters is certainly

[a] in which I played an important part (Virgil, *Aeneid*, II, 6) - [b] *The Working Man* - [c] See this volume, pp. 304-05.

not at all pleasant, as I have not the slightest desire to make Mr Bismarck a confidant to my *private affairs*. If, on the other hand, he wishes to know my views on *his* policies, he can approach me direct, and I am sure I shall not mince my words.)

My economic situation has deteriorated so much following my prolonged illness and the many expenses it entailed that I am faced with a financial crisis in the *immediate* future, something which, quite apart from its direct effects on myself and family, would also be ruinous for me politically, especially here in London, where one must keep up *appearances*. What I wanted to find out from you was this: do you know anyone, or a few people (under *no circumstances* must the affair become *public*), who could advance me about 1,000 talers at an interest rate of 5 or 6% for at least 2 years? I am now paying 20-50% interest for the small sums I am borrowing, but for all that I can no longer keep the creditors at bay, with the result that the old firm is about to come crashing down about my ears.

Since my penultimate letter to you[a] I have suffered another series of relapses and have consequently only been able to pursue my theoretical work very intermittently. (The practical work for the International Association goes on as ever, and there is a lot of it, as I am in fact having to run the whole Association myself.) I shall be sending the first sheets[b] to Meissner next month, and will continue to do so until I go to Hamburg with the remainder myself. At all events, I shall take that opportunity to call on you.

My circumstances (endless interruptions, both physical and social) oblige me to publish *Volume One* first, not both volumes together, as I had originally intended. And there will now probably be 3 volumes.

The whole work is thus divided into the following parts:

*Book I. The Process of Production of Capital.*

*Book II. The Process of Circulation of Capital.*

*Book III. Structure of the Process as a Whole.*

*Book IV. On the History of the Theory.*

The first volume will include the first 2 books.

The 3rd book will, I believe, fill the second volume, the 4th the 3rd.[227]

It was, in my opinion, necessary to begin again *ab ovo*[c] in the first book, i. e., to summarise the book of mine published by Duncker[d] in *one* chapter on commodities and money.[385] I judged

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[a] See this volume, pp. 311-12. - [b] of the first volume of *Capital* - [c] from the beginning - [d] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

this to be necessary, not merely for the sake of completeness, but because even intelligent people did not properly understand the question, in other words, there must have been defects in the first presentation, especially in the *analysis of commodities*. Lassalle, e. g., in his *Kapital und Arbeit*,[a] in which he claims to give the 'Intellectual quintessence' of my argument, makes serious blunders, which is incidentally something to which he is always prone with his very carefree manner of appropriating my works. It is comical how he even copies my literary-historical 'errors', because, you see, I sometimes quote from memory, without checking things. I have not yet finally made up my mind whether to pass a few remarks in the foreword about Lassalle's plagiarising. The impudence of his disciples towards me would at all events justify it.[105]

The London Council of the English Trade-Unions (its secretary is our President, Odger) is deliberating at the present moment as to whether it should declare itself to be the British Section of the International Association. If it does so, the control of the working class here will in a certain sense pass into our hands, and we shall be able to give the movement a good 'push on'.[18]

*Salut.*

Your
K. Marx

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## 195

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[65]

### IN HANOVER

[London,] 25 October 1866

Dear Friend,

These few lines *immediately*,

1. to *thank* you for your efforts;

2. to acknowledge receipt of your last letter and of the preceding ones;

[a] F. Lassalle, *Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch der ökonomische Julian, oder: Capital und Arbeit*, Ch. 3.

3. you misunderstand how things stand between myself and *Engels*. He is my closest friend. I keep no *secrets* from him. If it had not been for him, I would long ago have been obliged to start a 'trade'. In *no* circumstances, therefore, would I wish any third person to intercede with him on my account. There are also, of course, certain limits to what he *can* do.[386]

4. Dr Jacobi,[a] so I am informed by workers, has become quite a good citizen and should not therefore be importuned in any way with my private affairs.

I shall have to see what I can do, but I do see that you have tried everything that was within your power, and therefore entreat you to consider *this* matter as settled.

I am *not* writing for *The Commonwealth*.

Your
K. M.

Miquel *et* Co. will have a long time to wait before they become Prussian ministers.[b]

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## 196

## MARX TO ENGELS[6]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 November 1866

Dear Engels,

It will not have escaped you that I have not written. I thought you had been informed of the receipt of the £5, as Laura had taken charge of the matter, but, as emerged later, she forgot to do so. I have, furthermore, been in such desperate straits that I was prevented from writing. You know that the £10 which you sent me before your departure[377] were only for payment of taxes and the subsequent £50 for rent. I have thus been completely broke for months. The so-called legacy[c] proved to be divided between at

[a] Abraham Jacobi - [b] See also Marx's letter to Engels of 7 May 1867 (this volume, p. 373). - [c] See this volume, p. 194.

least 20 people, so that the share that fell to me at the beginning of the summer was—80 talers! My attempts to drum up money in Germany or Holland have all come to nothing. The only thing that still makes us think of the pawnshop (and my wife has pawned so many possessions that she herself can scarcely go out) is the interest it asks for. I thus had to go round London begging small loans left and right, as in our worst refugee days—and that from a limited number of people who are themselves impecunious—to make even the most essential cash purchases. On the other hand, I am being threatened by tradesmen, some of whom have withdrawn their credit and threatened to take me to court. This state of affairs was all the more critical in that Lafargue (until his departure for Bordeaux a few days ago) was constantly in the house and the REAL STATE OF THINGS had to be anxiously concealed from him. Not merely has my work[a] been frequently interrupted by all this, but by trying to make up at night for the time lost during the day, I have acquired a fine carbuncle near my PENIS. I know you have done everything in your power, and more. But recourse of some kind must be found. Would it not be possible to take up a LOAN or some such transaction?

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 197

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 November 1866

Dear Engels,

My best thanks for coming to my aid so quickly and ditto for the port wine. I know your own circumstances exactly, and that makes it doubly painful for me thus to put PRESSURE on you. You know, we

[a] on *Capital*

really must put an end to this business once and for all, but that will not be possible until I can go to the Continent and act there in person.

*Next week the first* BATCH *of the manuscript*[a] *will go off to Meissner at last.* This summer and autumn it was really not the theory which caused the delay, but my physical and civil condition. It is just 3 years ago now that the first carbuncle was lanced. Since then I have had only short periods of respite from it, and as Gumpert will confirm, of *all* types of work, theory is the most unsuitable if one has this devil's brew in one's blood.

As regards the present fellow, it will be cured in the space of ABOUT 14 days. I now know exactly how it has to be treated and I have therefore started taking the arsenic again.

In great haste.

Your
K. Marx

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## 198

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 11 November 1866
86 Mornington St.

Dear Moor,

Many thanks for *The Free Press.* Can you send me the *August* and *September* issues? I have not received them.

Encl. the 2nd halves of the £30. I would have liked to send you more, but I really cannot. I'll see what I can do next month, and on 31 December we shall be doing our accounts again; if they turn out well, no doubt we shall be able to manage a bit more.

The news that the manuscript[a] has gone off is a load off my mind. So, a *commencement d'exécution*[b] at last, as the *Code pénal* has

[a] of the first volume of *Capital* - [b] commencement of proceedings

it.[387] To that end I shall drink a special glass to your particular health. The book has greatly contributed to wrecking your health; once you have got it off your back, you'll be quite a different fellow again.

I hope that Birch despatched the port yesterday, but I am none too sure of it; at all events, however, it is sure to arrive by Monday evening or Tuesday morning.

Prussians will be Prussians. As a reward for voting for the indemnity, Twesten and Frenzel are arraigned for speeches made in the Chamber.[388] Such stupidity is quite incomprehensible, but it is a point of principle.The burghers[a] of Frankfurt are still furious, they are now playing the part of Poles, going about in mourning and wearing cravats with the city colours of Frankfurt.[362] A Prussian lieutenant entered a Sachsenhausen tavern and found all the seats taken. Someone got up in one corner and left, at which his neighbour drew the lieutenant's attention to the empty chair, but he said thank you very much, he did not like to sit on a warm chair. Oh, said the other, you have no need to worry about that, our bums are all freezing since the Prussians have been here.

I have heard the most marvellous stories here from eyewitnesses about the Imperial warfare.[b] Such things are unprecedented. E.g., the Nassauers were ordered to bridge the Main at Höchst. Having failed once on account of a *storm* (a storm on the Main!), they found upon their 2nd attempt that they had *too few pontoons* and could only bridge the Main *half-way*. They therefore wrote to Darmstadt, asking for the loan of a few pontoons, which did eventually arrive then, and thus the bridge over the horrendous stream was completed. Then the Nassauers immediately received orders to march south. They left the bridge standing, without a guard, merely leaving it to the care of an old boatman to see that it did not drift away down the Main. A few days later, the Prussians arrived, took possession of the completed bridge, fortified it and marched across!

Your
F. E.

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[a] Engels uses the South-German dialect here: 'Borjer'. - [b] Engels refers to the Austrian Empire and its allies in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.

## 199

## MARX TO FRANÇOIS LAFARGUE[389]

IN BORDEAUX

London, 12 November 1866

My dear Mr Lafargue,

I hope our friend *il amoroso*[a] has apologised to you on my behalf for my inexcusable silence. On the one hand, I have been plagued by constantly recurring illness, on the other, I have been so taken up by a very lengthy work[b] that I have neglected my correspondence with my closest friends. If I did not count you among that category, I should never have dared so to offend against propriety.

My sincere thanks for the wine. Being myself from a wine-growing region, and former owner of a vineyard,[390] I know a good wine when I come across one. I even incline somewhat to old Luther's view that a man who does not love wine will never be good for anything. (There are exceptions to every rule.) But one cannot, for example, deny that the political movement in England has been spurred on by the commercial treaty with France and the import of French wines.[391] That is one of the good things that Louis Bonaparte was capable of doing, whereas poor Louis Philippe was so intimidated by the manufacturers in the North that he did not dare enter into commercial treaties with England. It is only to be regretted that regimes such as the Napoleonic one, which are founded on the weariness and impotence of the two antagonistic classes of society, buy some material progress at the expense of general demoralisation. Fortunately, the mass of working men cannot be demoralised. Manual labour is the great antidote for all the ills of society.

You will have been just as delighted by the defeat of President Johnson in the latest elections as I was.[392] The workers in the North have at last fully understood that white labour will never be emancipated so long as black labour is still stigmatised.

On Saturday evening Citizen Dupont brought me a letter addressed to Paul[c] by the secretary of the College of Surgeons. He required some papers which were neither in the possession of my daughter[d] (except for his *baccalauréat* diploma) nor of the person

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[a] the lovelorn gentleman (Paul Lafargue) - [b] *Capital* - [c] Paul Lafargue - [d] Laura Marx

who has charge of your son's effects. You will therefore have to send us these documents *at once.*

Please be so good as to tell your son that he will greatly oblige me by desisting from propaganda in Paris. This is a *dangerous* time. The best thing he can do in Paris is to use his time to profit by his association with Dr Moilin. It will do him no harm to spare his polemical strength. The more he holds himself in check, the better he will be as a fighter when the right moment comes.

My daughter asks me to request you to be so kind as to send with Paul some photograms of Madame Lafargue and of yourself.

All my family joins me in greetings to the Lafargue family.

Yours ever

Karl Marx

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Translated from the French

## 200

## MARX TO PAUL LAFARGUE

### IN LONDON

[London,] 7 December 1866

My dear Lafargue,

I am so taken up by a piece of work[a] which must be completed by Monday that I am unable to reply to you at once. Meanwhile, if I have offended you by my brusque monologue, I beg your pardon. One should not lose one's temper even when one is in the right.

Greetings.

Karl Marx

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[a] on the first volume of *Capital*

## 201

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 December 1866

Dear Fred,

Meissner has not begun printing yet,[a] as he wanted to finish off some other things first. I am expecting a letter from him next Monday. All in all, I found the delay by no means disagreeable, as I have only been rid of that vile carbuncle for a few days, and, moreover, my creditors are badgering me in a truly edifying manner. I only regret that private persons can not file their bills for the Bankruptcy Court with the same propriety as men of business.

A while ago, *Kladderadatsch* printed a swipe at the *Brimstone Gang* in large type, in a bad lampoon on Collins' *The Woman in White*. The author of this garbage is that miserable Bettziech, and I should not be surprised if the order had emanated from Kinkel or Hatzfeldt. Nor have I any doubt that the old bag was the cause of Liebknecht's arrest.[393]

The Prussian swine are acting precisely as we should wish them to. There will be no progress until heads roll.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 202

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 14 December 1866

Dear Moor,

You just would not believe how overrun I am at present by all manner of folk. Young men recommended by customers, seeking

[a] the first volume of *Capital*

positions here; agents, or such as would like to be so; then this week my most likeable nephew Blank[a] as well, who has established himself in London—and so it goes on continuously, and you will realise how difficult it is thereby to find the time to write. Then, from time to time, I also get someone arriving on the doorstep like the writer of the enclosed letter[394] and putting a pistol to my breast. When I read the letter, I knew at once who had sent this sterling fellow to plague me—it was good old Dr Rode, as the said sterling fellow indeed confirmed when he came up to my office. This shameless Rode is taking some weird liberties in my regard. First, he makes the silliest kind of trouble between myself and Klings after the latter called here,[b] and then he even goes so far as to send people like that to plague me, referring them to me as cashier for the whole émigré community. If the fellow attempts anything else of that kind with me, he may be sure of a warm response. Why cannot he leave me be, I do not know him at all?

The Prussian swine are certainly behaving quite splendidly. I would indeed not have imagined them to be quite so stupid, but it is really impossible to imagine them stupid enough. That is all to the good. Things are on the move again now, and the revolution will come all the sooner for it, and this time heads are bound to roll, as you yourself say.

They are locking up the office, and I must close, too. Enclosed two five-pound-notes:

I/S 38969 and I/S 62239, Manchester, 26 January 1866.

That is as much as I can risk sending until I know how I stand, and I cannot check on it until the books are made up.

Kindest regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Emil Blank - [b] See this volume, p. 152.

## 203

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 17 December 1866

DEAR FRED,

THANKS FOR THE £10.

As far as Rode is concerned, he is obsessed with political connections and his own self-importance. As you are finding this obsession a nuisance—and JUSTLY SO—you should write to him at the first opportunity saying that you have not the honour of his acquaintance and requesting him to desist from such LIBERTIES.

The *Revue des deux Mondes* and the *Revue Contemporaine* had two detailed articles on the 'INTERNATIONAL', which treat it and its congress as one of the most significant events of the century.[a] The like also in *The Fortnightly Review*, in consequence.[b] Meanwhile, we are in practice paralysed BY WANT OF FUNDS and even OF MEN, with all the English being totally absorbed by the REFORM MOVEMENT. The French government is (*heureusement*[c]) beginning to treat us as enemies.[395] One of our more dubious ACQUISITIONS was the joining (AT New York) of HEAD CENTRE[396] Stephens.

Was not the Pope's[d] address to the French OFFICERS capital? Only an Italian priest could thus, before the whole of Europe, deliver Bonaparte a kick in the form of a BLESSING.[397]

It is highly characteristic of the *status rerum*[e] that neither Bonaparte nor William the Conqueror[f] are quite right in the top DEPARTMENT. The latter believes that God Almighty has entrusted him with a special mission, and the former has been TURNED SO TOPSY-TURVY by Mexico[270] and Bismarck that he sometimes appears positively demented.

And do you not think that there will be peace for another year yet at least (apart from ACCIDENTS, of course, such as the death of Bonaparte, etc.)? The fellows all need time for the CONVERSION and PRODUCTION OF ARMS, do they not?

Not a word from Mr *Meissner* yet. I presume that now, at the

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[a] L. Reybaud, 'L'économie politique des ouvriers', *Revue des deux Mondes*, Vol. 66, 1 November 1866; J. E. Alaux, 'Une forme nouvelle du socialisme. Le Congrès ouvrier de Genève', *Revue contemporaine*, Vol. 53, 15 October 1866. - [b] Marx refers to an editorial published in *The Fortnightly Review*, No. 37, December 1866. - [c] fortunately - [d] Pius IX - [e] state of affairs - [f] An ironic reference to William I of Prussia

year's end, he finds the pressure of business very great. The contract does give me surety in the event of any evasive manoeuvres. In the second, emended and *definitive* version, the contract contains NO STIPULATION WHATEVER AS TO THE TERM FOR WHICH THE MANUSCRIPT[a] IS TO BE READY. But if there is no answer by tomorrow, I shall write again.

As you enjoy credit with *quelconque*[b] bookseller and I CAN not SPEND a FARTHING on books at the moment, you would be doing me a great favour if you could *get as quickly as possible* for me: '*J. E. Th. Rogers: A History of Agriculture*'. I must have a look at the book and have left a gap in one chapter for the purpose.[398] Although it has already been out for a long time, it is not yet in the library. Nor at Mudie's, so I am assured by Eccarius, for whom *The Commonwealth* took out a subscription there.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 204

## ENGELS TO MARX[399]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 21 December 1866

Dear Moor,

I also think that the leaders in Western Europe will do their utmost to preserve the peace next year and until everyone is equipped with breech-loaders. However, whether the Russians will not consider this very time opportune for cutting Austria down to size with Bismarck's help, for annexing Galicia and dividing Turkey up into a multitude of small Slav states, is another question. Moreover, it could happen that in France, too, war will become a necessity—for the sake of this military reorganisation, because without a war good old Boustrapa[76] will

[a] of the first volume of *Capital* (see this volume, pp. 174-75) - [b] some

not be able to get it accepted. The last war[a] has placed the fellow in a curious dilemma: either he lets everything stand as it is, in which case he will no longer be a MATCH for Prussia, or else he carries the matter out, which will be disastrous for him, first because of his tremendous unpopularity, and second because he is completely *debonapartising* the army. From the moment that some kind of military service for all is introduced in France, the praetorian system[400] will cease of its own accord and the 25-30% of RE-ENLISTED FELLOWS, who now serve in the French army, will disappear for the most part. However, as there will still be substitution,[401] this time Mr Bonaparte will find himself in the comical predicament of needing the support of the *bourgeoisie* to oppose the *peasantry*. But the course of history really is quite impudently ruthless in dealing with this noble fellow, and he must be forgiven if he loses faith in the ways of God and the World. I hope he, like me, reads his Horace for recreation: *justum ac tenacem propositi virum*,[b] etc. Old Horace reminds me in places of Heine, who learnt a great deal from him and was *au fond*[c] *politice*[d] no less common a cur. Remember how the sterling fellow challenged the *vultus instantis tyranni*[e] and licked Augustus' boots. And the old goat is quite charming in other respects, too.

I will get the book[f] for you next week if I can.

It is very pleasing about the articles in the *Revue des deux Mondes* and *Fortnightly*, although I have not yet been able to read them.[g] *Revue contemporaine*[h] does not exist here.

Wehner, who was recently in Germany, tells the following anecdote, which was told by Bennigsen (of the National Association[152]) himself: when Bennigsen had his meeting with Bismarck before the war, the latter expounded his whole National-Associationist German policy to him, whereupon Bennigsen enquired how it was that Bismarck was choosing the difficult path of war in order to carry it out, instead of simply 'relying on the support of the people', as the liberal cry has it. Bismarck stared at him for a few moments and then said: Could *you* jump a ditch with a rheumatic nag? He also brought back the news that the unhappy Crown Prince,[i] who used to put on such liberal airs, has

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[a] the Austro-Prussian war - [b] a just man, firm of purpose (Horace, *Odes*, III, iii, 1) - [c] basically - [d] in respect of politics - [e] the tyrant's threatening countenance (Horace, *Odes*, III, iii, 3) - [f] J. E. Th. Rogers, *A History of Agriculture* (see previous letter) - [g] L. Reybaud, 'L'économie politique des ouvriers', *Revue des deux Mondes*, Vol. 66, 1 November 1866; the leading article in *The Fortnightly Review*, No. 37, December 1866. - [h] See this volume, p. 338. - [i] Frederick William

become even more crazed than the old man[a] since the war, which is one good thing at least.

I enclose another two five-pound-notes, so that you shall not be quite without money over the holidays:

M/W 34768, London, 12 October 1866,

I/S 49080, Manchester, 26 January 1866, in the not entirely unfounded expectation that the accounts will indemnify me for it at the end of the year.

Many regards to the LADIES.

Your
F. E.

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## 205

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 31 December 1866

DEAR FRED,

Happy New Year! Ditto for Madame Lizzy[b]! May the devil take Russians, Prussians, Bonaparte and the BRITISH JURYMAN in the coming year!

Apropos. The French government had confiscated papers and documents intended for us which were being brought across the frontier by French MEMBERS after the Geneva Congress, and attached them for the police archives. We claimed the things back through Lord Stanley, FOREIGN MINISTER, as 'BRITISH PROPERTY'. And in fact POOR Bonaparte had to surrender everything to us via the FOREIGN OFFICE.[402] Is that not priceless! He has been outwitted but himself does not know how.

I received some very sad news today—my uncle[c] has died, he was an excellent man. However, he made a good death, quick,

[a] William I - [b] Lizzy Burns - [c] Lion Philips

surrounded by all his children, fully conscious and dispensing subtle Voltairean irony over the priest.

The whole family sends you New Year greetings.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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# 1867

## 206

## MARX TO ENGELS[26]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 January 1867

Dear Engels,

After a long silence, for which he pleaded overwork, Meissner has written that my plan 'is unacceptable to him'.

1. He wants to have the 2 volumes[a] ready at the same time[233];

2. not to print piecemeal, as he wants to have one proof-sheet done per day and only to leave the final correction (revision) to me.

I replied *ad* 2 that it is a matter of indifference to me, as he can shortly have the whole manuscript of Volume I. If he commences printing later but prints by so much faster, it will be all the same in the end. However, in the case of a book with so much annotation in various languages, he should reflect whether the manner of correcting he is wanting is feasible without the text being gravely marred by printing errors. *Ad* 1, it is an impossibility without the whole job being greatly delayed, nor is anything of the kind agreed in our contract. I explicated the various reasons to him, but have as yet had no reply.[111]

Aside from the delay, a yet greater obstacle to my committing myself to the 2nd volume is the fact that, when the first one has appeared, I shall have to make a pause for my health's sake; and I shall in any case have to travel to the Continent to ascertain whether I can in any way sort out my financial circumstances. These are becoming worse day by day, and there is a danger of everything coming crashing about our heads. The baker alone is owed £20, and there is the very devil with butcher, GROCER, TAXES, etc. To crown it all, I recently received a letter from a Mr Burton in Torquay, informing me he has bought the house from Sawyer, and he is dunning me 1. for the outstanding rent for the last

[a] of *Capital*

QUARTER, 2. as my lease expires in March, requesting me to state if I wish to take the house subsequently, either for a longer LEASE or annually. I did not reply immediately. Whereupon I received a second letter yesterday, saying I must explain myself, as otherwise his 'AGENT' would have to take steps to find another tenant. So IN A FIX.

As for my physical condition, it has been better for some weeks, a few small carbuncles on my left loin, but not significant. Only dreadful insomnia, which makes me very RESTLESS, although the chief cause is probably mental.

THANKS for the Rogers.[a] A lot of material in it. Regarding the STRIKE question, or at least the Manchester WEAVERS' DISPUTE, I should be obliged to you if you would write me an exact account of the STATE OF AFFAIRS, as I can still include it.[b]

Politics frozen up, too cold even for the Russian bear. I am tickled by the Prussians' black, white and red flag![403]

Best wishes to MRS Lizzy.[c]

What does Gumpert have to say about Moilin[d]?

Your
K. M.

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## 207

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 29 January 1867

Dear Moor,

I have been so overrun by philistines this morning that I did not manage to despatch the second half of the note by first post, but am doing so herewith.

I expect Meissner will accept your opinion. At all events it is obvious that after the first volume[e] you must have a 6 week rest,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 339 and 340. - [b] in the first volume of *Capital* - [c] Lizzy Burns - [d] J. A. Moilin (le docteur Tony), *Leçons de médecine physiologique* (see this volume, pp. 324-25). - [e] of *Capital* (see this volume, p. 343).

and also see how you can put money in your purse on the Continent. I think it will be all right if you take him the rest of the manuscript yourself.

The position regarding WORKINGMEN AND MANUFACTURERS is as follows: India, China, Levant, etc., grossly oversupplied, in consequence of which CALICOS have been almost unsaleable for the last 6 months. In some districts feeble attempts by the MANUFACTURERS to organise SHORT TIME ensued. Being only sporadic, all of these collapsed. Meanwhile, the manufacturers go and send *consignments* of their goods, unsaleable here, to India and China, etc., thereby aggravating the GLUT. They then discover that this does not agree with them either, and they finally propose the HANDS should take a 5% REDUCTION OF WAGES. Whereupon counterproposal from the HANDS to work just 4 days a week. *Refus*[a] of the MASTERS—AGITATION. In the last fortnight, finally, a situation has gradually been reached, and most recently become general, where SHORT TIME at 4 days a week has been introduced everywhere in the weaving mills and in the spinning mills that spin for them, in some cases *with* and in some cases *without* the 5% reduction in wages. The workers therefore were right in theory and were proved right in practice, too.[404]

The scoundrel Bismarck has splendidly gulled the scoundrel Bonaparte over the Peace of Prague, exactly as Bonaparte gulled the Austrians at Villafranca about the expelled Italian princes *qui rentreront dans leurs états*[b]—but without recourse to foreign troops.[365] Bismarck is thus saying: the South German states *auront une existence internationale indépendante,*[c] but only for so long as they *themselves wish*; from the moment that they *wish* to join with us, they shall be entirely free to do so, otherwise after all they *would be not indépendants*![405] POOR Bonaparte has never been a member of a student fraternity at a German university, nor has he ever practised the art of interpretation at one of their beer-conventions, and is consequently no match for the Hon. Bismarck. In Hanover they are most frightfully vexed at the Prussians,[355] and not just the city itself but even more so amongst the peasantry—they are flocking to the queen[d] and putting all their assets at her disposal.

There is much ludicrous sentimentality therein, mixed with hatred for the military and the police; the very same people, e. g., are themselves saying that the administration is much improved, etc., but the Prussians' talent for inspiring hatred for themselves

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[a] Rejection - [b] who *will return* to their states - [c] will have an *independent* international existence - [d] Marie of Hanover

has once again proved itself here, too. I have this from 2 people who were there a short while ago and are themselves annexationists and Hanoverians.

If I can manage it, I'll come down and see you for a few days at the end of this week or next, i. e., from Friday to Sunday evening. Providing it does not freeze again.

Kindest regards to the LADIES.

Your
F. E.

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## 208

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[65]

### IN HANOVER

[London,] 18 February 1867

Dear Kugelmann,

Will you see to it that the following reply[a] is placed in the *Zeitung für Norddeutschland*, and, if they refuse it, in another Hanoverian paper? It is a matter of some importance to me as I really am intending to travel to Germany in a few weeks' time. The whole notice reeks of Stieber.[406]

In the next few days I shall send you the official report of the congress in Geneva, which is now appearing *in instalments* in English and French in a paper here.[407] *The Commonwealth* is entirely given over to the REFORM MOVEMENT. Its editorship is in very bad hands. For the present we have reasons for letting it go as it is, although as shareholders we are entitled to intervene.

Our Association has recently had all manner of bother with Mr Bonaparte.[402] More next time. Kindly inform me what Liebknecht is doing and where he is hiding.

Yours
K. M.

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[a] K. Marx, 'A Correction'.

## 209

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 February 1867

Dear Engels,

I have been putting off writing from one day to the next, but I am hard pressed now. A GROCER is sending the bailiffs in on Saturday (the day after tomorrow) if I do not pay him at least £5.

I have had some additional expenses, firstly £2 for champagne (a small bottle), it having been prescribed for Laura's health, and secondly ditto for gymnastics lessons I had to send her to again on doctor's advice, with payment in advance.

The work[a] will soon be complete, and would have been so today if I had been subject to less harassment of late.

You will detect Stieber's hand in the enclosed cutting sent me by Dr Kugelmann (and which comes most amiss in view of my intended journey).[406]

Your
K. M.

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## 210

## MARX TO ENGELS[399]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 February 1867

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR £20.

Letter from Dr Kugelmann enclosed.[406]

At this moment, I can only write you these few lines as the LANDLORD'S AGENT is here and I have to act the part of Mercadet in

[a] the first volume of *Capital*

Balzac's comedy[a] for his benefit. Apropos Balzac, I advise you to read *Le Chef-d'Œuvre Inconnu* and *Melmoth réconcilié*. They are two little *chefs d'œuvres*, full of the most delightful irony.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 211

## ENGELS TO MARX[26]

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 13 March 1867

Dear Moor,

The reason I have not written to you is in part that all manner of things have prevented me, but in part also it was deliberate, as I wanted to let the date pass when 'the book'[b] was due to be completed, and now I hope that it is ready. So, when will you be going to see Mr Meissner? When you do, I will give you an authorisation to collect the fee for my last pamphlet.[c]

Apropos the latter, by now the Lassallean gentlemen will have had time enough to convince themselves how right I was about the effect of universal suffrage and the power it would give the aristocracy in the countryside.[d] The Lassallean gentlemen *failed* to get *2 men* through; the two Saxon workers' candidates[e] who did get through are very dubious and appear to be rather of Wuttke's ilk. As a whole, incidentally, the elections did show that in Germany they are not remotely susceptible to the kinds of pressure that can be applied to them in France, and that is already to the good.[408] I am also convinced that the more bureaucratic meddling there is, the worse each fresh election in Germany will

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[a] *Le faiseur* - [b] the first volume of *Capital* - [c] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* - [d] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 74-75. - [e] A. Bebel and R. Schraps

turn out for the government, and that 15 years of government-controlled elections such as we have had in France are impossible in our country.

But what a fine lot we have in the noble House,[409] to be sure! They may pull a wry face but they won't offer much protest as they are bartering away the few lousy safeguards still contained in the Prussian constitution for the indirect annexation of the 6 million people in the little states, who have *de facto* already been annexed and mediatised without any constitution at all.[376] *Au fond*,[a] it is quite immaterial what nonsense the fellows contrive; with the philistines in their present mood of Bismarckolatry, they represent bourgeois public opinion and will only do what the latter wants. The worthy burgher seems determined to avoid any further 'conflict'. The movement—both at home, where it is now bestirring itself once more, and in Europe—will soon enough leave all this ordure behind and turn to the real issues of the day.

Scoundrel Schweitzer offered himself for election here, there and everywhere, but got nowhere. I have been sent 2 pamphlets about him from Barmen, of which one enclosed and the other, shorter one, to follow; I do not have it with me. The enclosed obviously bears the mark of the Hatzfeldt lot.

Stieber is again creating in the *Volks-Zeitung* over Eichhoff's pieces in the *Hermann*, Koller is also mentioned. See *Hermann*.[410]

The moderate result of universal suffrage in Germany has, in any case, contributed to the sudden popularity of HOUSEHOLD SUFFRAGE in official circles here. It would be splendid if HOUSEHOLD SUFFRAGE got through as a result, there would soon be a good many changes here and the movement would get going.

TRADE HERE is still stagnant to an exceeding degree. India and China have been swamped by the consignments from the manufacturers, 20,000 people are on STRIKE in Stockport, SHORT TIME is spreading and, if this does not change soon, in May we shall have a superb crisis of overproduction. That can only benefit the *radical* reform movement.

*The Diplomatic Review* is excellent this time.[b] Provided old D. Urquhart gets hold of FACTS, he is ALL RIGHT; but Beust's curious manoeuvres had already aroused my suspicions. Notwithstanding the fact that the Saxons (*vide*[c] Mr von Seebach in the Crimean War[411]) have always been in cahoots with the Russians, notwithstanding the fact that Beust sent that ostentatiously rude despatch

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[a] At bottom - [b] D. Urquhart, 'Fall of Austria, and Its Consequences to the World', *The Diplomatic Review*, Vol. XV, No. 3, 6 March 1867. - [c] see

to the Russians during the Danish war,[9] I do, nevertheless, find it difficult to decide whether the Russians have *actually bought* the fellow or whether they have got him gratis and without being aware of it. It almost seems to me that the boundless vanity of that little Saxon shit suffices to explain the whole affair—the Russians naturally KNOW HOW TO IMPROVE THE OCCASION.

As an exercise in vulgar democracy, I have recently...[a]

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## 212

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 April[b] 1867

Dear Engels,

I had resolved not to write to you until I could announce completion of the book,[c] which is now the case. Nor did I wish to bore you by explaining the further delay, viz., carbuncles on my posterior and near the PENIS, the final traces of which are now fading but which made it extremely painful for me to adopt a sitting (hence writing) posture. I am *not* taking *arsenic* because it dulls my mind too much and I needed to keep my wits about me at least at those times when writing was possible.

Next week I shall have to take the manuscript to Hamburg myself.[412] I did not like the tone of Mr Meissner's last letter. Added to which, I received the enclosed scrawl from Borkheim yesterday. I have every reason to believe that the 'continental friend' is Mr Privy Councillor Bucher.[413] Borkheim had written him a letter, you know, which he read out to me, about his arrangements for travelling to Silesia, which he wishes to visit on family business. Bucher replied directly. I therefore scent a plot behind these *canards* and will have to put the knife to Meissner's

[a] The end of this letter is missing. - [b] The original has: 27 March. - [c] the first volume of *Capital*

breast myself. Otherwise, the fellow would be in a position to hold back my manuscript (some 25 closely printed proof-sheets by my reckoning) and, at the same time, *not* have it *printed* on the pretext that he was 'awaiting' the second volume.[233]

I must now *d'abord*[a] reclaim my clothes and timepiece from their abode at the pawnbroker's. I can also hardly leave my family in their present situation, they being *sans sou*[b] and the creditors becoming more brazen each day. Finally, before I forget, all the money that I could afford to spend on Laura's champagne-treatment has gone the way of all flesh. She now needs red wine, of better quality than I can command. *Voilà la situation.*[c]

Our 'INTERNATIONAL' has just celebrated a great victory. We were providing financial support from the LONDON TRADE-UNIONS for the Paris bronze WORKERS, who were out on STRIKE. As soon as the masters learnt of that, they gave in.[414] The affair has created a deal of commotion in the French papers, and we are now an established force in France.

It appears to me there must have been collusion between Bismarck and Bonaparte over the Luxemburg affair. It is possible, though improbable, that the former either cannot or will not keep his word.[415] That the *Russians* have been meddling in German affairs is crystal clear from:

1. the treaty between *Württemberg* and Prussia, which was already concluded on 13 August before all the others;

2. Bismarck's demeanour in respect of the Poles.[416]

The Russians are more active than ever. They are setting the stage for trouble between France and Germany. Austria is pretty well paralysed in herself. Our English gentlemen are about to be led a fine song and dance in the UNITED STATES.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] first of all - [b] penniless - [c] That is the situation.

# 213

## ENGELS TO MARX[26]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 April 1867

Dear Moor,

Hurrah! There was no holding back that exclamation when at last I read in black and white that the 1st volume[a] *is* complete and that you intend taking it to Hamburg at once. So that you shall not be short of the *nervus rerum*,[b] I am sending you enclosed the halves of seven five-pound-notes, *£35* in toto, and will despatch the other halves immediately I receive the usual telegram. Do not let the scrawl from Bucher[413]—it is *undoubtedly* from him—worry you, it is just Prussian police gossip and the scandal-mongering of men of letters, of the same ilk as that recent stuff about the Polish trip.[406] I enclose a note for you to give to Meissner, so that you can also collect my fee.[c]

There is no longer even a shadow of doubt about the alliance between Bismarck and the Russians. However, the Russians have never yet had to pay so high a price for their Prussian alliance, they have had to sacrifice their whole traditional policy in Germany and, if this time they were to imagine, as is their wont, that it is only 'for the moment', they may well be making the very deuce of a blunder. For all the shouting about the Empire, etc., German unity already seems on the point of outgrowing Bismarck and all those Prussians. They will have to press on all the harder in the Orient—the Russians, that is—, the present favourable conjuncture will surely not endure long. But how great does the financial need have to be and how sluggish must the industrial progress be, *s'il y'en a*,[d] in Russia, if those fellows are still without a railway to Odessa and Bessarabia, 11 years after the Crimean War, when it would now be worth two armies to them! And so I also believe that the storm will break this year, if everything goes well for the Russians.

The Luxemburg affair[415] appears to be taking the same course as with Saarlouis and Landau.[369] Bismarck undoubtedly offered to sell it in 1866, but Louis[e] really does seem to have held back at

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[a] of *Capital* - [b] sinew of things - [c] for *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* (see this volume, p. 348) - [d] if there is any - [e] Napoleon III

First page of Engels' letter to Marx of 4 April 1867

that time in the hope that he would later get far more *as a present.* I have *positive knowledge* that the Prussian Ambassador Bernstorff told the Hanseatic ditto (Geffcken) in London a few days ago that he had received a despatch to the effect that Prussia was not going to give way over the Luxemburg question under any circumstances. This is the same despatch that *The Owl* refers to as requesting Britain to make representations at The Hague, which are then said to have succeeded in making Holland withdraw from the deal. The point is that in the present situation Bismarck cannot remotely allow the French to annex German territory without making all his achievements appear ridiculous. What is more, that old jackass William[a] has gone and pronounced the words 'not a *single* German village' and is personally committed. It is, however, as yet by no means certain that the deal may not still come to fruition after all; the *Kölnische Zeitung* is screaming quite hysterically that we really cannot start a war over Luxemburg and that we *have* no right to it at all; Luxemburg, they say, should no longer be counted part of Germany, etc., so they have never behaved quite so despicably.

Bismarck may not be Faust, but he does have his *Wagener.*[b] The way in which the poor devil translates his Lord and Master into Wagnerese makes you die of laughing. Bismarck recently employed another of his horse-metaphors, and not wanting to be outdone in this either, Wagener ended a speech by trumpeting: Gentlemen, it is time for us to stop riding our hobby-horses and *to mount that noble thoroughbred mare Germania!*[c] *Montez Mademoiselle,*[d] the Parisians used to say during the Terror.[417]

I hope that your carbuncles are more or less mended now and that the journey will help get rid of them entirely. You *must* put an end to this nonsense this summer.

Many regards to the LADIES and Lafargue.

Your
F. E.

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[a] William I - [b] Hermann Wagener. Here and below Engels makes a pun on Wagner, a character from Goethe's *Faust* (a young scholar imitating Faust in every respect). - [c] *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 38, 27 March 1867. - [d] Mount the guillotine (during the French Revolution the people nicknamed the guillotine 'Mademoiselle').

## 214

## MARX TO ENGELS[6]

### IN MANCHESTER

Hamburg, 13 April 1867

Dear FRED,

I arrived here at 12 o'clock noon yesterday. The boat left London on Wednesday[a] at 8 o'clock in the morning.[412] In which fact you see the whole history of the voyage. The most fearful weather and gales. Having been confined for so long, I felt as voraciously fit as 500 hogs.[b] However, with ALL that riff-raff being sea-sick and falling about to left and right of us, it would all have become *ennuyant*[c] in time, if a certain NUCLEUS had not held firm. It was a very 'mixed' nucleus, VIZ., a German ship's captain, who bore a marked resemblance to yourself in his face, but a small fellow, he also had a good deal of your humour and the same good-natured frivolous twinkling of the eyes; a London cattle-dealer, a true John Bull, BOVINE IN EVERY RESPECT; a German clockmaker from London, a nice fellow; a German from Texas; and, the real protagonist, a German who had been roaming around Eastern Peru for 15 years, an area that has only recently been geographically charted, where, amongst other things, human flesh is still consumed in no mean quantity. An eccentric, energetic and high-spirited fellow. He had a most valuable collection of stone axes with him, etc., which merited being discovered in the 'caves'. One female personage as hanger-on (the other ladies were all SEASICK and vomiting in the ladies CABIN), a toothless old hag with a refined Hanoverian accent, daughter of some primeval Hanoverian minister, von Baer or suchlike, she has now long been an improver of men, pietistic, concerned to raise the condition of the working class, acquainted with Jules Simon, full of spiritual radiance, with which she bored our BOVINE FRIEND to death. WELL! On Thursday evening, when the storm was at its worst, with all the tables and chairs adance, we were boozing *en petit comité*,[d] with that old hag of a woman lying on a couch, from which the movement of the ship—to divert her a trifle—occasionally tipped her onto the floor in the middle of the cabin. What was keeping this beautiful creature so spellbound in these inimical circumstances?

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[a] 10 April - [b] Cf. J. W. Goethe, *Faust*, Part I, Scene 5. - [c] boring - [d] in a small group

Why did she not withdraw to the ladies' chamber? Our savage German was regaling us with an enthusiastic account of the sexual depravities of savages. *Voilà le charme*[a] for this delicate, pure, refined lady. One example: he was received in an Indian hut where the woman was giving birth that very day. The afterbirth is roasted and—supreme expression of hospitality—he is obliged to partake of the SWEETBREAD!

I called on Meissner immediately upon our arrival. Clerk tells me he won't be back before 3 o'clock (afternoon). I left my card and invited Mr Meissner to dine with me. He came but he had someone with him and wanted me to accompany him as his wife was expecting him. I declined but agreed that he should call on me at 7 o'clock in the evening. He mentioned *en passant* that Strohn was probably still in Hamburg. I therefore called on Strohn's brother.[b] Our man had left for Paris THE VERY SAME MORNING. So, Meissner came round in the evening. A pleasant fellow, despite something Saxon about him, as his name suggests. After a brief parley, everything ALL RIGHT. Manuscript taken straight to his publishing house, where it was put in a SAFE. Printing will start IN A FEW DAYS and proceed apace. We then drank together, and he expressed his great 'delight' at making my esteemed acquaintance. He now wants that the book should appear *in 3 volumes*. In particular he is opposed to my compressing the final book (*the historico-literary part*) as I had intended. He said that from the publishing point of view and with the 'dull' mass of readers in mind, this was the part by which he was setting most store. I told him that, as far as that was concerned, I was his to command.[418]

AT ALL EVENTS, in Meissner *we* have someone entirely at our disposal; he has great contempt for the whole pack of vulgar scribblers. I thought it prudent to delay presenting your LITTLE BILL.[c] Always keep the pleasantest surprises till last.

And now *adio*, OLD BOY.

Your

K. Marx

BEST COMPLIMENTS TO MRS BURNS!

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[a] That was the attraction - [b] Eugen Strohn - [c] Marx refers to the fee for Engels' pamphlet *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* (see this volume, p. 352).

## 215

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

[Telegram]

[Hamburg, 16 April 1867]

Dr L. Kugelmann
Hanover

I arrive this evening about nine.

Marx

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## 216

## MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER[419]

IN GENEVA

*Hanover, 17 April 1867*

Dear Friend,

I left London by STEAMER last Wednesday[a] and after a tempestuous crossing reached Hamburg on Friday afternoon to deliver the manuscript of the first volume to Mr Meissner there. Printing has already started at the beginning of this week, so that the first volume will appear at the end of May. The whole work will appear in 3 volumes.[418] The title is *Capital. A Critique of Political Economy.* The first volume comprises the *First Book*: 'The *Process of Production of Capital*'. It is without question the most terrible MISSILE that has yet been hurled at the heads of the bourgeoisie (landowners included). It is important now that you draw attention to the forthcoming publication in the press, i.e., in the papers to which you have access.

[a] 10 April

If you send the next issue of the *Vorbote* as a sample to *Otto Meissner, Hamburg,* he may be of assistance in the distribution of your paper, too.

I must finish now (*more later*) as Dr Kugelmann, who sends his best compliments, intends to acquaint me with the splendours of Hanover.

*Tout à toi*[a]
K. Marx

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## 217

## MARX TO ENGELS[101]

IN MANCHESTER

Hanover, 24 April 1867

Dear Fred,

I have been here as Dr Kugelmann's guest for a week now. I was obliged to stay in Hamburg or right near Hamburg on account of the printing.[b] Things stand as follows. Meissner wants to have the whole undertaking complete in 4-5 weeks, but cannot get the printing done in Hamburg, both because there are not enough printers, and because the proof-readers are insufficiently learned. He is therefore having the printing done at Otto Wigand's (or rather his son's,[c] as that puffed-up old cur only has a nominal share in the business now). He sent the manuscript to Leipzig a week ago. He now wants to *have me to hand* to check the first 2 proof-sheets and *at the same time to decide* whether it is **'possible'** to print quickly *with a single proof-reading on my part.* In this case, the whole undertaking would be complete in 4-5 weeks. However, Easter week is now holding it up. Wigand Jr wrote to Meissner that he cannot start until the end of *this* week. At Kugelmann's pressing invitation, I therefore came here (which also

[a] Entirely yours - [b] of the first volume of *Capital* - [c] Hugo Wigand

has economic advantages) for the interim. Before I say anything about 'local' affairs, I must not forget to tell you: Meissner would appreciate it, and asks me to pass on the request to you, if you would write a *warning concerning Russia*, for the benefit of the Germans and the French simultaneously. If you do undertake it, he wishes it done quickly. He would, however, prefer you to write *at some length* rather than more briefly, as small pamphlets do not sell well. You could discuss conditions when you send him the manuscript, as he says the two of you would not fall out over the matter. You could write with 'no holds barred', as Meissner considers that there is no need whatever to be concerned about considerations.

Regarding Hanover, then.

Kugelmann is a doctor of great eminence in his special field, which is gynaecology. He is in correspondence with Virchow and the other authorities (including one Meyer in Berlin) and formerly with von Siebold in Göttingen and with Semmelweis in Vienna, before he went mad. Whenever there is a difficult case in this field over here, he is always brought in as consultant. As an instance of the professional jealousy and stupidity of the locals, he told me he had initially been blackballed, i.e., not admitted to the doctors' association here, because 'gynaecology' is a 'cesspit of immorality'. Kugelmann is very talented technically, too. He has invented a mass of new instruments in this field.

Kugelmann is secondly a fanatical supporter (and for my taste excessively Westphalian in his admiration) of our ideas and the two of us personally. He sometimes bores me with his enthusiasm, which is at odds with the detachment he displays as a doctor. But he *understands*, and he is a really *excellent man*, unaffected by qualms, capable of making sacrifices, and, most important of all, *convinced*. He has a charming little wife and an 8-year old daughter who is positively sweet.[a] He has in his possession a far better collection of our works than the two of us together. I even came across *The Holy Family* again here, which he presented to me and of which he will be sending you a copy. I was pleasantly surprised to find that we have no need to feel ashamed of the piece, although the Feuerbach cult now makes a most comical impression upon one. The ordinary people, and in the capital, Hanover, even the bourgeoisie, are extremely *hostile to the Prussians* (ditto in *Electoral Hesse*) and miss no opportunity of expressing their sentiments. They openly proclaim their longing—

[a] Gertruda and Franziska Kugelmann

*for the French.* If one remarks to them that this is unpatriotic, they say, 'The Prussians did just the same thing. When they marched through here, they were boasting, the officers first and foremost among them, that the French would come to their aid—if need be.' Wehner's father is much respected here and is considered a Guelph.[420] Bismarck sent one of his satraps, the advocate Warnebold, to see me yesterday (keep this *under your hat*). He wishes to 'make use of me and my great talents in the interests of the German people'. Von Benningsen will be paying 'meah'[a] his respects tomorrow.

The standing the two of us enjoy in Germany, particularly among the 'educated' officials, is of an altogether different order from what we imagined. Thus, e.g., the director of the statistical bureau here, Merkel, visited me and told me, he had been studying questions of money for years to no avail, and I had immediately clarified the matter once and for all. 'Your Dioscurus Engels,' he told me, 'was recently acknowledged by my colleague Engel before the royal family in Berlin.' These are trifling things, but they are important for us. We have more influence on these officials than on the louts.

I was also invited to attend the society of 'Europeans', as they call the anti-Prussian, North-Germanic members of the National Association[152] here. What jackasses!

I also received an invitation from the head (head-in-chief, as Stieber calls it[421]) of the railway here. I went along, he provided some good herb wine, his wife was 'delaighted', and as I was leaving, he thanked me 'for doing him such an honour'.

I have a debt of honour—*£10*—to settle with Mr Wheeler, a member of our COUNCIL[b] and MANAGER of the EMPIRE INSURANCE CORPORATION. You would oblige me greatly if you would send him the money on my behalf: '*G. Wheeler*, Esq., 27 Gresham Street, *E.C. PRIVATE*' (London). I am also very much afraid that my family in London may be 'in profundis'.[c] This grieves me the more particularly because poor good little Jenny's birthday is May 1st. I have cast out nets with a view to making a monetary haul. With what success remains to be seen.

My health is extraordinarily improved. No trace of the old complaint. What is more, in good spirits, despite all adversity, and no liver trouble.

---

[a] In the original the South-German dialect here: 'mür'. - [b] General Council of the International Working Men's Association - [c] in dire straits

Do please write me a few lines *by return* (address: Dr Kugelmann, Hanover). *Salut* to Mrs Burns.

Your
Moor

Freiligrath is making a fool of himself by his public beggary in Germany.[422] Meissner tells me he has disappeared without trace in North Germany.

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## 218

## ENGELS TO MARX[101]

### IN HANOVER

Manchester, 27 April 1867

Dear Moor,

I have received both your letters, the second yesterday afternoon, and would have replied to your first long before, if I had known where to. Firstly, BUSINESS. I am sending £10 to your wife, who wrote to me this morning, and likewise the other £10 to Wheeler at the beginning of next month. This will give you some peace of mind in that regard, and, from what you write, the future also looks rosier at last. I always had the feeling that that damn book,[a] which you have been carrying for so long, was at the bottom of all your misfortune, and you would and could never extricate yourself until you had got it off your back. Forever resisting completion, it was driving you physically, mentally and financially into the ground, and I can very well understand that, having shaken off that nightmare, you now feel quite a new man, especially as, once you have got back into it again, the world doesn't seem so gloomy a place as it did before. Especially when you have such a capital publisher as Meissner appears to be. Incidentally, a quick printing will only be possible, I fear, if you can remain in the vicinity throughout, i.e., on the continent;

[a] *Capital*

Holland would also be near enough for the purpose. I do not believe the Leipzig proof-readers will have enough learning for your approach. Meissner also got Wigand to print my pamphlet,[a] and the things those wretches corrected into it! I am convinced that the book will create a real stir from the moment it appears, but it will be very necessary to help the enthusiasm of the scientifically-inclined burghers and officials on to its feet and not to despise petty stratagems. There is much that can be done to that end from Hanover *after publication*, and you could also enlist to advantage the support of *amicus*[b] Siebel, who is at the moment *en route* back from Madeira via England, in the best of spirits, as he says. This will be necessary vis-à-vis the vulgar scribbling fraternity, of whose deep-seated hatred for us we have proof enough. Furthermore, thick, scholarly works are always slow to make their mark without such assistance, but with it they act like 'wildfire'—*confer*[c] Heraclitus the Dark,[d] etc.[423] On this occasion, however, we must be all the more assiduous in ensuring this is done, as *money* is also at stake. Meissner will then be happy to take the collected essays, which would mean more money and further literary success. The pieces from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the '18th Brumaire',[e] etc., will make an enormous impression on the philistines just now, and once we have gained a little more ground on that basis, all manner of other lucrative possibilities will soon present themselves, too. I am exceedingly gratified by this whole turn of events, firstly, for its own sake, secondly, for your sake in particular and your wife's, and, thirdly, because it really is time things looked up. In 2 years my CONTRACT with that swine Gottfried[f] expires, and the way things are going here, neither of us will really be wishing to extend it; it is even not impossible that our ways may part even earlier. If that should be so, I shall have to *leave* COMMERCE *entirely*, for to start up a business of my own at this late stage would mean 5-6 years of the most fearful drudgery with nothing worth speaking of to show for it, and then another 5-6 years of drudgery to reap the benefits of the first 5 years. But that would be the end of me. There is nothing I long for so much as for release from this vile COMMERCE, which is completely demoralising me with all the time it is wasting. For as long as I am in it, I am good for nothing else, especially since I have become principal it has been much aggravated on account of the greater

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[a] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - [b] friend - [c] compare - [d] F. Lassalle, *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos*. - [e] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - [f] Gottfried Ermen

responsibility. If it were not for the increased remuneration, I really would rather be a clerk again. At all events, in a few years my life as a businessman will come to an end, and then my income will be very, very much reduced, and the question of what we can do then has always been in my mind. However, if things go as they are now beginning to, we shall be able to make provision for that all right, too, even if no revolution intervenes and puts an end to all financial schemes. If that does not happen, I have a plan up my sleeve to have a fling for my deliverance and write a light-hearted book entitled: *Woes and Joys of the English Bourgeoisie.*

I cannot go along with Meissner's suggestion.[a] *A few sheets* could be quickly knocked together, but something longer, 6 *à* 10 sheets, would require more work and be *too late* for the war now brewing.[415] One really cannot just knock together rubbish in the manner of Vogt's *Studien.*[b] Furthermore, the stuff would be looked upon more or less as a party manifesto, and for that we would have to discuss the matter first. However, I have had an anti-Russian piece in mind for some time, and, if events provide me with an excuse, I shall start on it without more ado and write to Meissner. The only thing I am still in two minds about is whether I should make the 'nationality principle'[424] or the 'Eastern Question' the chief theme.

I had expected that Bismarck would come knocking at your door, although not his haste.[c] It is characteristic of the fellow's mentality and outlook that he judges everybody by his own standards. The bourgeoisie may well admire the great men of today, it sees itself reflected in them. All the qualities to which Bonaparte and Bismarck owe their successes are the qualities of businessman: the pursuit of a specific purpose by a policy of wait-and-see and experimentation, until they hit the right moment, the diplomacy of always leaving the back door open, negotiating and haggling, swallowing insults if it is in one's interest, the attitude of *'ne soyons pas larrons',*[d] in short, the businessman in all things. In his own way, Gottfried Ermen is as great a statesman as Bismarck, and, if one follows the tricks of these great men, one is constantly reminded of the Manchester Exchange. Bismarck thinks, if I only continue knocking at Marx's door, I am bound to hit upon the right moment eventually, and then we shall do a deal together after all. Gottfried Ermen to a tee.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 359-60. - [b] C. Vogt, *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas* (for Marx's criticism of this work see present edition, Vol. 17). - [c] See this volume, p. 361. - [d] let us not be robbers

I would not have expected the Prussians to be *so* hated there. But how do you reconcile that with the election results? Those jackasses from the National Association[152] did get half their men through, and in Electoral Hesse all but one.

Vogt has got a life-size portrait of himself in the *Gartenlaube*.[a] He has become a proper porker in the last few years, and looks fine.

In the *Demokratische Studien*, which recently came my way, Simon of Trier has quite naively copied out whole pages from *Po and Rhine*,[b] without suspecting from what poisoned source he was drawing![c] Similarly, in 'Preussen in Waffen', the lieutenant who writes the military articles in *Unsere Zeit* has borrowed at length from my pamphlet,[d] likewise without giving his sources, of course.

Rüstow will stop at nothing to become a Prussian general, as though that could be as easily done as with Garibaldi. In his abysmal and slipshod book on the war,[e] he *grovels in optima forma*[f] before William the Conqueror and the Prince.[g] *That's why* he is moving to Berlin.

I saw Ernest Jones the other day, he has had enquiries from 4 places about standing for election under the new BILL[425]—from Manchester as well. Has not a good word to say for the workers here AND BACKS THE PRUSSIANS AT ANY ODDS AGAINST THE FRENCH. I hope this wretched war passes over, I cannot see that any good can come of it. A French revolution saddled in advance with the obligation to go a-conquering would be very nasty; it almost seems as though Bonaparte would be satisfied with the tiniest tit-bit, but whether the Lord of Hosts will permit handsome William to grant him even that tit-bit, time alone will show.

My kindest regards to Dr Kugelmann, although we are not acquainted, and my thanks to him for *The Holy Family*.[h]

Your

F. E.

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[a] *Die Gartenlaube*, No. 10, 1867. - [b] F. Engels, *Po and Rhine*. - [c] L. Simon, 'Deutschland und seine beiden Grossmächte', *Demokratische Studien*, 1860. - [d] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - [e] W. Rüstow, *Der Krieg von 1866 in Deutschland und Italien*. - [f] in top form - [g] William I of Prussia (an ironical comparison with the Norman William, who conquered England in 1066) and Frederick Charles - [h] by K. Marx and F. Engels; see this volume, p. 360.

## 219

## MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER[426]

IN NEW YORK

Hanover, 30 April 1867

Dear Friend,

You must think very badly of me, and all the more so when I tell you that your letters did not merely give me *great pleasure* but were a **real comfort** to me since they reached me at a time of great affliction. The knowledge that a capable man, *à la hauteur des principes*,[a] has been won for our party, is some compensation to me for the worst. Your letters were furthermore full of such warm friendship for me personally, and you will appreciate that I who am engaged in a most bitter struggle with the (official) world can least afford to underestimate such things.

Why then did I not answer you? Because I was the whole time at death's door. I thus had to make use of **every** moment when I was capable of work to complete my book,[b] to which I have sacrificed my health, happiness, and family. I hope this explanation suffices. I laugh at the so-called 'practical' men and their wisdom. If one wanted to be an ox, one could, of course, turn one's back on the sufferings of humanity and look after one's own hide. But I should really have thought myself *unpractical* if I had pegged out without finally completing my book, at least in manuscript.

*The first volume* of the book will be published by *Otto Meissner* in Hamburg in a few weeks. The title of the work is: '*Capital. A Critique of Political Economy*'. I travelled to Germany to bring over the manuscript, and I am spending a few days with a friend in Hanover[c] on my way back to London.[412]

*Volume I* comprises the '*Process of Production of Capital*'. As well as setting out the general theory, I examine in great detail the conditions of the English—agricultural and industrial—proletariat *over the last 20 years*, ditto the condition of *Ireland*, basing myself on *official* sources that have never previously been used. You will immediately realise that all this serves me solely as an *argumentum ad hominem*.[d]

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[a] of high principles - [b] the first volume of *Capital* - [c] Ludwig Kugelmann - [d] evidence against the adversary

I hope that a year from now the whole work will have appeared. *Volume II* contains the continuation and conclusion of the theory, *Volume III the history of political economy from the middle of the 17th century.*[418]

As to the 'International Working Men's Association', it has become a power to be reckoned with in England, France, Switzerland, and Belgium. You should form as many branches as possible in America. CONTRIBUTION PER MEMBER 1 PENNY (ABOUT 1 silver groschen) per year. However, every branch gives what it can. Congress in Lausanne this year, 3 September. Every branch can send one representative. Do write to me about this matter, about how you are faring in America and about conditions in general. If you do not write, I shall take it as showing that you have not yet absolved me.

With warmest greetings

Your
Karl Marx

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 33, 1906-1907 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

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## 220

## MARX TO LUDWIG BÜCHNER[427]

IN DARMSTADT

*Hanover*, 1 May 1867
(*c/o Dr Kugelmann*)

Dear Sir,

Although we are entirely unacquainted, I am taking the liberty of addressing a personal letter to you, on a personal, although at the same time scientific, matter; and I hope you will excuse my so doing on account of the confidence you inspire in me as a man of science and of the party.

I have come to Germany to deliver the first volume of my work '*Capital. A Critique of Political Economy*' to my publisher, Mr Otto Meissner in Hamburg. I have to stay here a few days longer to see

if it will be possible for the printing to be done as quickly as Mr Meissner intends, viz., whether the proof-readers are sufficiently learned for such a mode of operation.

The reason I am writing to you personally is this: I should like to have the thing published in French as well, in Paris, after its publication in Germany. I cannot go there myself, at least not without risk, as I have been expelled from France, first under Louis Philippe and a second time under Louis Bonaparte (*Président*),[428] and finally I have been ceaselessly attacking Mr Louis during my exile in London. I cannot therefore go personally to seek out a translator. I know that your work on 'Stoff und Kraft'[a] has appeared in French, and therefore suppose that you can put me in touch, directly or indirectly, with a suitable person. As I have to prepare the second volume for printing this summer and the concluding third volume[418] next winter, I do not have the time to attend to the French version of the book[429] myself.

I consider it to be of the greatest importance to emancipate the French from the erroneous views under which Proudhon with his idealised petty bourgeoisie has buried them. At the recent congress in Geneva,[375] ditto in the links that I have with the Paris branch as a member of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, I am constantly confronted with Proudhonism's most repugnant consequences.

As I do not know for how long I shall be staying here, I should be obliged to you for an early answer. If I, for my part, can be of any service to you in London, I shall do so with the greatest pleasure.

Yours most respectfully

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

Printed according to the original

[a] L. Büchner, *Kraft und Stoff. Empirisch-naturphilosophische Studien* (the French edition, *Force et matière*, appeared in 1863).

## 221

## MARX TO HIS DAUGHTER JENNY

### IN LONDON

Hanover, 5 May 1867

My dear Child,

Your letter gave me the greatest pleasure. It is written in the true Imperial style.[a] I hope to find you plump and fresh like a May rose.

The enclosed photograph was to be sent to you for your birthday, but was not ready. It is backed by the photograph of Mme Tenge (by-the-by, the aunt of the Baer's girl, of whom Edgar[b] told us so much), who, however, is not so beautiful in reality as her shadow indicates. But she is a really noble nature, of a peculiar suavity, frankness and simplicity of character. Nothing of 'falsche Bildung'.[c] She speaks English, French and Italian (she is of Italian descent) perfectly. Although a great musician, she does not kill one with *Kunstgeschwäts*,[d] which, on the contrary, she abhors. She is an atheist and inclines to Socialism, although rather little informed on that point. What distinguishes her above all is a spontaneous kindness and the absence of all pretensions. I feel sure you would in no time become very intimate friends. Mrs Kugelmann is also a nice little woman.

To-day, on my birthday, I receive the first 'Bogen'[e] for revision. I fear the book will become rather a little too big. In consequence of the Easter week business, the printing did not commence before 29th April, Meissner growing very wild at this suspense. Meanwhile, time has not been lost. Preliminary notices have been published almost in all German papers. Kugelmann has very many connections, which were all put into motion.

Your birthday[f] was solemnly celebrated here.

Except part of the bourgeoisie, lawyers and such ones, there reigns here at Hanover a fanatical hatred of the Prussians, which much amuses me.

I was very glad to hear of your Polish surprise. If the things have no mercantile value, they have a historical one.[430]

The delay of war is exclusively due to the Derby Cabinet. As

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[a] *An allusion to Jenny's jocular nickname: 'the Emperor'.* - [b] Edgar von Westphalen - [c] sham education - [d] chatter about art - [e] sheet (of the first volume of *Capital*) - [f] 1 May

long as it remains at the head of England, Russia will not sound the war signal—a phrase, by-the-by, which is conceived in the true colletian style.

I cannot exactly state the day of my return. I have still to receive letters from different sides. I shall return directly from here via Hamburg (there to have another interview with my publisher[a]) to London.

I had, very soon after my arrival here, written to Liebknecht.[111] He has answered. His wife[b] cannot be saved. She is approaching the catastrophe. She sends her compliments to you all and was cheered up by your letters.

Hegel's photograph will be looked after. It is not to be had at Hanover. As to his 'Philos. of Hist.', I shall try to find it at London.

I consider that Cacadou[c] might have written some lines long since, but excuse her with her equestrian studies.

And now, with my best wishes to all, *adio*, my dear 'Joe'.[d]

Your
Old One

I add a few lines for Tussy.[e]

First published, in Russian, in *Voinstvuyushchy materialist*, Book 4, 1925 and in the language of the original, English, in *The Socialist Review* (London), No. 44, September 1929

Reproduced from the original

## 222

## MARX TO ENGELS[26]

IN MANCHESTER

Hanover, 7 May 1867

Dear Fred,

*D'abord*,[f] best thanks for your intervention in the most pressing *casus delicti*,[g] as well as for your very detailed letter.

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[a] Otto Meissner - [b] Ernestine Liebknecht - [c] Laura's jocular nickname - [d] a character from Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* - [e] Eleanor Marx (these lines have not been found) - [f] First of all - [g] difficult case

First, BUSINESS. That damned Wigand did not start printing[a] until 29 April, so that I received the first sheet for correction the day before yesterday, on my birthday. *Post tot pericula!*[b] The misprints were relatively insignificant. It's impossible to wait here until the printing is completed. In the first instance, I fear that the book will prove much fatter than I had originally calculated. Second, I am not getting the manuscript back, so that for many quotations, especially those involving figures or Greek, I need to have my home manuscript to hand, nor can I impose on Dr Kugelmann's hospitality for too long. Finally, Meissner is demanding the 2nd volume by the end of the autumn at the latest. I shall therefore have to get my nose to the grindstone as soon as possible, as a lot of new material relating especially to the chapters on credit and landed property has become available since the manuscript was composed. The third volume must be completed during the winter, so that I shall have shaken off the whole *opus* by next spring.[418] The business of writing, of course, is quite different once the proofs for what has already been done start coming in *à fur et mesure*,[c] and under PRESSURE from the publisher.

Meanwhile, my time here has not been wasted. Letters have been written to all and sundry, and preliminary notices have appeared in most German papers.

I hope and confidently believe that in the space of a year I shall be made, in the sense that I shall be able to fundamentally rectify my financial affairs and at last stand on my own feet again. Without you, I would never have been able to bring the work to a conclusion, and I can assure you it always weighed like a nightmare on my conscience that you were allowing your fine energies to be squandered and to rust in commerce, chiefly for my sake, and, INTO THE BARGAIN, that you had to share all my *petites misères*[d] as well. On the other hand, I cannot conceal from myself that I still have a year OF TRIAL ahead of me. I have taken a step on which a great deal depends, viz., on which it depends whether several £100 will be made available to me from the only quarter where that is possible. There is a tolerable prospect of a positive outcome, but I shall remain uncertain for ABOUT 6 weeks. I shall not have definite confirmation until then. What I am most afraid of—apart from the uncertainty—is my return to London, which will be necessary in 6-8 days. My debts there are considerable, and

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[a] the first volume of *Capital* - [b] After so many perils! (Paraphrase of an expression from Virgil's *Aeneid*, I, 204: *post tot discrimina rerum*—after so many setbacks.) - [c] gradually - [d] little miseries

the Manichaeans[431] are 'urgently' awaiting my return. And then the torments of family life, the domestic conflicts, the constant harassment, instead of settling down to work refreshed and free of care.

Dr Kugelmann and his wife[a] are being exceptionally kind to me and anticipate my every need. They are splendid people. They really leave me no time to explore 'the gloomy paths of my inner self'. Apropos, the Bismarck affair must be kept absolutely secret.[b] I promised to tell no one, not even Kugelmann, about it. Nor have I done so. I did, however, of course make the *reservatio mentalis* to except yourself.

You express surprise that the National-Liberals[432] (or, as Kugelmann calls them, *the Europeans*) did so well in the elections,[c] when the Prussians are so hated here. The matter is very simple. They did badly in all the larger towns, in smaller places they owed their victories to their organisation, which has existed ever since Gotha.[433] These fellows do, on the whole, show how important party organisation is. That is the position in Hanover. In Electoral Hesse, there is no limit to the influence of Prussian intimidation, backed up by the shouting of the members of the National Association.[152] The Prussians meanwhile are operating quite in the Persian manner here. It is true that they cannot transplant the population to their Eastern provinces, but they are doing so with their officials, right down to the RAILWAY conductors, and for the officers. Even those poor devils of postmen are having to move to Pomerania. In the meantime, trains full of Hessians, Hanoverians, etc., are to be seen on the railway every day *en route* to Bremen, emigrating to the United States. Not since dear old Germany came into existence has it sent such a motley crowd of people from all parts across the Atlantic. One is trying to avoid his taxes, another, his military service, a third the political situation, and all of them the hegemony of the sword and the gathering storm of war.

I am greatly diverted by the (pro-Prussian) bourgeoisie here. They want war, but *immédiatement.*[d] Business, they say, can stand the uncertainty no longer, and where the devil are the taxes to come from if business stagnates for much longer? Incidentally, you would scarcely conceive the burden that the last war and taxation have imposed upon the rural populace in Prussia. Here in the vicinity of Prussian Westphalia, e.g., truly Irish conditions prevail.

BY THE BY a few days ago the director of the joint-stock foundry

[a] Gertruda Kugelmann - [b] See this volume, p. 361. - [c] to the North German Parliament (see this volume, p. 365) - [d] immediately

here (manufacturing chiefly water and gas pipes) conducted me round the works. On the whole, it is very well organised and utilises much quite modern equipment. But, on the other hand, there is still a good deal of turning by hand (detail work), where the English and Scots are using automatic machinery. The same director took me into the Hermann's-column workshop. The thing is as long in the making as Germany itself. Hermann's head is so colossal that you'd seem like a child beside it, and it has a fine look of honest stupidity, and Mr Arminius was above all a diplomat. His air of worthy Westphalian simplicity served but as a mask for a most subtle mind. As chance would have it, I had renewed my acquaintance with Mr Arminius, shortly before my departure from London, in the Grimm edition of historical sources[a] with which you are familiar.

I am sure you will recall J. Meyer (at Bielefeld), who refused to print our manuscript on Stirner, etc.,[b] and sent the youth Kriege to annoy us?[434] A few months ago he threw himself out of the window in Warsaw, whither his business affairs had taken him, and broke his neck, if you please.

Our friend Miquel, who declared himself prepared to sacrifice freedom so readily for the sake of unity, is believed to be job-hunting. In my view, *le brave homme*[c] has miscalculated. Had he not hurled himself so fanatically and unconditionally at Bismarck's feet, he would have been able to pick up a generous gratuity. But now! What need is there for that? He has made himself so hated by his performance in the North German Parliament[435] that he is chained to the Prussians like one convict to the next. And the Prussians, as you know, do not like to make 'useless' and superfluous *dépenses*.[d] Recently, the Bismarckite newspaper, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine*, produced by that scoundrel Brass published a very witty article[e] about the National-Associationites, pleading inability to emulate even the *de mortuis nil nisi bene*.[f] It sent Bismarck's North-German-Confederationite, National-Associationite minions packing with some artistic kicks delivered *con amore*.[g]

As far as the war is concerned, I am entirely of your opinion. *At the present moment*, it can only do harm. If it could be delayed, even

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[a] *Die geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*, Vol. 1, *Die Urzeit* (Jacob Grimm took part in publishing this series of historical documents). - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*. - [c] the good man - [d] expenditure - [e] 'Politischer Tagesbericht. 25. April 1867', *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 97, 26 April 1867. - [f] motto, [speak] only good of the dead (Diogenes Laertius, *De vitis philosophorum*, 1, 3, 70) - [g] with love

just for a year, that would be worth its weight in gold to us. In the first place, Bonaparte and William the Conqueror[a] would necessarily be made to look foolish. The opposition is reviving in Prussia (its only press organ just now is *Die Zukunft* in Berlin, founded by Jacobi[b]), and events may occur in France. Business is becoming more and more stagnant, and it will then be impossible to cover up the suffering there on the Continent with empty phrases, whether they be of teutonic or gallic provenance.

In my view, we owe the postponement of war *exclusively* to the Derby ministry. It is anti-Russian, and Russia dares not give the signal until she is sure of Britain. Gladstone, THE PHRASEMONGER (entirely under the influence of LADY Palmerston, Shaftesbury, and LORD Cowper), and Bright, not forgetting Russell, would gladly provide her with the guarantees that Britain was disposed as required. Derby had to be removed in 1859, too, in order to stage the Great Drama in Italy.[c] In the North German Parliament Bismarck was obliged to throw down the gauntlet to the Poles in the most brutal manner[416] and thus declare his total subservience to the Tsar[d].

In the Prussian army there prevails deep distrust of the Russians amongst the better officers, as I learnt personally from Captain von Bölzig here (Guards Regiment, raised in the Cadet Corps, loyal to the Prussian monarchy, but a nice fellow). 'Bismarck's conduct in North Schleswig is incomprehensible to me. Only the Russians,' this he said quite unprompted, 'have any interest in maintaining tension between ourselves and Denmark.' He went on to call Frederick William IV a 'shady cavalier', who had turned Germany into Russia's lackey for $^1/_2$ century. The Russian officers were 'shitty fellows', the army good for nothing, except for the Guards Regiments, Austria alone was capable of matching the Russian army, etc. I also put a good many more ideas into his head about the Muscovites.

And now *adio.* Kindest regards to MRS Lizzy.[e]

*Tout à vous.*[f]

Your

Moor

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[a] An ironic reference to William I of Prussia. - [b] Johann Jacobi - [c] the war of France and Piedmont against Austria - [d] Alexander II [e] Lizzy Burns - [f] Entirely yours.

## 223

## MARX TO LAURA MARX

IN LONDON

Hanover, 13 May 1867

My pretty little Cacadou,[a]

My best thanks for your letter, and that of the worthy Quoquo.[b]

You complain that I had given no signs of life, but on reviewing the question you will find that, on the whole, I have given weekly signals. Moreover, you know that I am not of a very 'demonstrative' character, of rather retiring habitudes, a slow writer, a clumsy sort of man or, as Quoquo has it, an anxious man.

I shall leave Hanover the day after to-morrow, and probably leave Hamburg by first steamer for London. Yet, you must not expect me to settle the day and the hour. I have still some business to transact with my publisher.[c] At all events, this is the last week of my continental stay.[412]

I am very glad that my photogramm has met with such good reception. The shadow is at all events less troublesome than the original.

As to Mrs Tenge, I wonder that you ask me how she looks, whether she is pretty? I have sent Jenny her photogramm, hidden behind my own. How could it have been lost? Now, to answer your questions, she is 33 years of age, mother of 5 children, rather interesting than pretty, and certainly no professional wit. But she is a superior woman. As to 'flirting', he would be rather a bold man who were to try it. As to 'admiration', I owe it, and there may, perhaps, have been on her side, some overestimation of your most humble and 'modest' master. You know, if no one is a prophet on his own dunghill (speaking symbolically), people are easily overvalued by strangers who, *legen sie nicht aus, so legen sie doch unter*,[d] and find what they were resolved upon to find in a fellah. She has left Hanover Thursday last.

Eight days since, the weather was still frosty and rainy. Now summer has at once burst into full bloom. On the whole, the weather, since my departure, was here as bad and changeable as it used to be in London. Only, and this is a great thing, the air is thinner.

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[a] Laura's jocular nickname - [b] Eleanor Marx - [c] Otto Meissner - [d] if they do not interpret something in their own way, so they attribute it (a play on the German verbs *auslegen* and *unterlegen*).

These continentals have an easier life of it than we on the other side of the Northern sea. With 2,000 Thalers (300£) you can live here most comfortably. For inst., there exist here different gardens (*à la* Cremourn,[436] but 'respectable', and where all sort of people meet), much more artistically arranged than any in London, good music being played every evening, etc., where you can subscribe for self and family—for the whole year—at the price of 2 Thalers, 6 sh.! This is only a specimen of the cheap life the Philister indulge in at this place. Young people amuse themselves more freely and at almost no expense, comparatively speaking. There is of course one great drawback—the atmosphere is pregnant with dullness. The standard of existence is too small. It is a lot of *pygmées* amongst whom you want no very high frame to feel like Gulliver amidst the Lilliputians.

There arrive this morning rather 'excited' letters from Berlin. It seems that a collision between the workmen and the *Pickelhauben*[a] is apprehended. I do not expect much for the present, but there is something brewing. The working class, in the greater centres of Germany, are commencing to assume a more decided and threatening attitude. One fine morning there will be a nice dance!

And now my dear little birdseye, Cacadou, secretary, cook, equestrian, poet, *auf Wiedersehn.*[b] *Viele Grüsse, an*[c] Möhmchen, Quoquo and Queque, Helen,[d] and, last not least, our 'mutual friend'.[e]

*Adio.*

Your master
Old Nick[f]

Enclosed Hegel,[g] presented by Kugelmann to Mons. Lafargue.

First published, in German, in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 1, Nr. 2, 1907-1908 and in the language of the original, English, in *Annali*, an. 1, Milano, 1958

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[a] policemen - [b] good-bye - [c] Many greetings to - [d] Marx's wife—Jenny, his daughters Eleanor and Jenny, and Helene Demuth - [e] Paul Lafargue - [f] Marx's family nickname - [g] See this volume, p. 370.

## 224

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

Manchester [about 22 May 1867]
86 Mornington St.

Dear FRED,

Arrived in London Sunday.[a] Got here today.[437] But:

*Notice: with me* one H. Meyer from St Louis, whom I am about to collect from the railway REFRESHMENT ROOM, where I deposited him, and I am going to deposit him here in the NEIGHBOURHOOD, *Star.*

He was Weydemeyer's last *compagnon* at his death and took his wife (Weydemeyer's wife), who was also *mourante,*[b] away from St Louis to friends and gave her support. Came to me with a recommendation from Jacobi[c] (New York).

This Meyer, who is travelling to Germany, *came to England solely to visit us both.* He arrived yesterday. I was not at home. My wife told him that I would be travelling to Manchester today to visit you.

These HINTS will be sufficient to explain to you how it comes about that he accompanied me on the journey here. He will only be staying here 2 days. AT FIRST I was vexed. But for Weydemeyer's sake! This Meyer is a fine, active fellow. However, COOKS slowly and somewhat boring.

*Salut.*

Your
Moor

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[a] 19 May - [b] dying (Louise Weydemeyer) - [c] Abraham Jacobi

## 225

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 June 1867

Dear Fred,

The reason why sheets 10 and 11 are not being sent to you, indeed why no more proofs[a] at all, you will discover from the enclosed note from Wigand. On the other hand, you will receive the first 5 pulls that have been sent to me. You can keep them about 8-10 days, but then you must let me know exactly *which points* in the exposition of the *form of value* you think should be specially popularised for the philistines in the supplement.[438]

Fenians ordered.[439] Other commissions will be executed by and by.

See the *Hermann* of last week. It is now the private herald of Mr Freiligrath, who is reporting on the progress of the subscription here each week via Juch.[422] Little Jenny says that if her father ever did such a thing, she would publicly proclaim him her non-father. Whereupon Lafargue asked her: *Mais qu'est-ce que votre mère dirait là-dessus?*[b] The noble poet[c] is incidentally sly enough to declare already that he will *have* to remain in London on account of his resp. part in the Shakespeare translation. Ferdinand and Ida,[d] Ida and Ferdinand, a well-assorted couple, those two!

Apropos. When Gumpert asked me which hospital Lafargue was at, I said St Thomas's. I was, however, mistaken. He is at *Bartholomew's* Hospital and asks for the error to be corrected.

Please do not forget to supply a photogramm of yourself and Lupus.

My best compliments to Mrs Lizzy,[e] Moore and Chlormayer.[f]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

I was exceedingly pleased to read in the Paris correspondence of *The Times* that the Parisians chanted their support for the Poles to

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[a] of the first volume of *Capital* - [b] But what would your mother say to that? - [c] Ferdinand Freiligrath - [d] Ferdinand Freiligrath's wife - [e] Lizzy Burns - [f] The name given by Marx in joke to Carl Schorlemmer, a chemist by profession.

Alexander's *face*, etc.[440] Mr Proudhon and his little doctrinaire clique are not the FRENCH PEOPLE.

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## 226

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[65]

### IN HANOVER

London, 10 June 1867

Dear Friend,

The delay attending this letter will expose me to the more or less 'well-founded suspicion' of being a 'bad fellow'. The sole extenuating circumstance I can plead is that I have only been 'resident' in London for the last few days. In the interval I was visiting Engels in Manchester.[437] But I am sure you and your dear wife[a] now know me sufficiently to realise that epistolary negligence is the rule with me. Nevertheless, my thoughts were with you every day. I count my stay in Hanover among the most splendid and refreshing oases in life's desert.[412]

My stay in Hamburg was uneventful, except that, despite all precautions, I made the acquaintance of Mr Wilhelm Marr. In respect of his personal manner, he is Lassalle translated to Christianity, but there is naturally far less to him. Mr Niemann was also performing in the few days I spent there. However, I had been too spoiled by the society in Hanover to wish to attend a theatrical performance in less good company. Mr Niemann thus escaped me.

Apropos. Meissner is willing to print the medical pamphlet you are planning. You need only send him the manuscript and mention my name. Regarding the precise conditions, you will have to negotiate the rest with him yourself.

The crossing from Hamburg to London was by and large fair, if one discounts somewhat raw weather on the first day. A few hours

[a] Gertruda Kugelmann

before we reached London, a young German lady, who had already caught my attention by her military bearing, announced that she intended travelling from London to Weston supra Mare the same evening[a] and did not know how she should set about it with all her considerable luggage. The casus was all the more problematical as helping hands are hard to come by in England on the Sabbath. I got her to show me the name of the railway station to which she was to proceed in London. Friends had written it down on a card. It was the NORTH WESTERN STATION, which was on my way as well. I therefore chivalrously offered to set the young lady down there. Agreed. On further reflection, however, it occurred to me that Weston supra Mare lay to the south-west, whereas the STATION which I was to pass and which had been written down for the young lady was north-west. I consulted the SEA-CAPTAIN. Correct: it appeared she should be deposited in a quite different part of London from my own. However, I was now committed and had to assume *bonne mine à mauvais jeu.*[b] We arrived at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. I took *la donna errante*[c] to her STATION, where I learned that her train did not leave until 8 o'clock in the evening. So, I WAS IN FOR IT, and had 6 hours to kill with Mademoiselle, walking in Hyde Park, sitting in ICE-SHOPS, etc. It emerged that her name was Elisabeth von Puttkamer, *a niece of Bismarck's*, as whose guest she had just spent several weeks in Berlin. She had the whole army list by heart, this family providing our 'gallant regiments' with stout hearts and true in super-abundance. She was a cheerful, educated girl, but aristocratic and black and white[d] to her finger-tips. She was not a little astonished when she learned that she had fallen into '*red*' hands. I reassured her, however, that our encounter would pass 'without bloodshed' and saw her depart *saine et sauve*[e] for her destination. Just think what fodder that would provide for Blind or other vulgar democrats—my CONSPIRACY WITH Bismarck!

Today I despatched the 14th corrected proof-sheet.[f] I received the majority of them while staying with Engels, who is exceedingly pleased with them and, except for sheets 2 and 3, finds them written in a manner *very* easy to understand. I was reassured by his verdict, as I am always very dissatisfied with my things when I see them printed, especially at first sight.

Please convey my special thanks to your dear wife once more for her warm and friendly welcome to me; I am sending her the photogramm of my 2nd daughter Laura, as the other photo-

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[a] 19 May - [b] put a brave face on it - [c] the wandering lady - [d] the Prussian colours - [e] safe and sound - [f] of the first volume of *Capital*

grammes have all gone and new ones will have to be made. Engels is ditto having fresh copies made of his own and Wolff's[a] photogramms. He was greatly amused by your missives.

My best compliments to 'little madam'[b] Eleanor is at school, otherwise she would write to her.

AND NOW, *Adio*!

Your
Karl Marx

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## 227

## ENGELS TO MARX[101]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 16 June 1867

Dear Moor,

I have been so distracted by all manner of bother with Monsieur Gottfried[c] and other suchlike affairs and disturbances for the past week that I seldom had the leisure to study the form of value. Otherwise, I would have sent the sheets[d] back to you long ago. Sheet 2 in particular has the marks of your carbuncles rather firmly stamped upon it, but there is not much that can be done about it now and I think you should not deal with it any further in the supplement, as your philistine really is not accustomed to this kind of abstract thinking and will certainly not torment himself for the sake of the form of value. At most, you could provide rather more extensive historical evidence for the conclusions you have here reached dialectically, you could, so to speak, apply the test of history, although you have already made the most essential points in that respect; but you have so much material that you can surely still write quite a good excursus on it, which will by historical

[a] Wilhelm Wolff - [b] Franziska Kugelmann - [c] Gottfried Ermen - [d] of the first volume of *Capital*

means demonstrate to the philistine the need for the development of money and the process by which this takes place.

It was a serious mistake not to have made the development of these rather abstract arguments clearer by means of a larger number of short sections with their own headings. You ought to have treated this part in the manner of Hegel's Encyclopaedia,[a] with short paragraphs, each dialectical transition emphasised by means of a special heading and, as far as possible, all the excurses or merely illustrative material printed in special type. The thing would have looked somewhat like a school text-book, but a very large class of readers would have found it considerably easier to understand. The *populus*, even the scholars, just are no longer at all accustomed to this way of thinking, and one has to make it as easy for them as one possibly can.

Compared with your earlier presentation (Duncker),[b] the dialectic of the argument has been greatly sharpened, but with regard to the actual exposition there are a number of things I like better in the first version. It is a great pity that the carbuncles have left their mark on the important second sheet in particular. However, there is nothing to be done about it now, and those who are capable of thinking dialectically will understand it, nevertheless. The other sheets are very good, and I was delighted by them. I hope you will soon be able to send me another five or six sheets (and could you please enclose sheet 5 again so that I can pick up the thread properly); the sheets I have been reading one by one here will make a much better impression when read together.

I've discovered a few more misprints. I would only list as errata those which really distort the sense.

I called on Gumpert yesterday. *Pauvre garçon!*[c] He is deteriorating with each day that passes. It was impossible to arouse his interest in anything scientific or even political. Town gossip and nothing more than town gossip. And yet he cannot understand why people don't call on him more often.

Have read Hofmann.[d] For all its faults, the latest chemical theory does represent a great advance on the old atomistic theory. The molecule as the smallest part of matter *capable of independent existence* is a perfectly rational category, a 'nodal point',[441] as Hegel calls it, in the infinite progression of subdivisions, which does not terminate it, but marks a qualitative change. The atom—formerly

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse.* - [b] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* - [c] Poor fellow! - [d] A. W. Hofmann, *Einleitung in die moderne Chemie.*

represented as the limit of divisibility—is now but a *state*, although Monsieur Hofmann himself is forever relapsing into the old idea that indivisible atoms really exist. For the rest, the advances in chemistry that this book records are truly enormous, and Schorlemmer says that this revolution is still going on day by day, so that new upheavals can be expected daily.

Best regards to your wife, the girls and the electrician.[a]

Your

F. E.

Am sending back 5 sheets today.

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## 228

## MARX TO ENGELS[101]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 June 1867

Dear Fred,

Herewith 4 more sheets[b] enclosed for you which reached me yesterday. The fellows have left a number of misprints that I corrected perfectly legibly. One error we corrected in ourselves was 'Childrens' Employment Commission', Childrens'. For *Children* is nominative *pluralis*, genitive mark is '. I saw it at once when I had another look at the Blue Books[359] myself.

King has written to say that the *Fenians*[439] are *not yet out*. They are postponing it for as long as possible and as near to the close of the session as possible.

I hope you are satisfied with the 4 sheets. That you have been satisfied with it so far is more important to me than anything the rest of the world may say of it. At all events, I hope the bourgeoisie will remember my carbuncles until their dying day. Here is a fresh

[a] Paul Lafargue (an allusion to his inclination to use electricity in medicine) - [b] of the first volume of *Capital*

sample of what swine they are! You know that the CHILDREN'S EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION has been at work for 5 years now. When its first report appeared in 1863, the industries it exposed were at once 'called to order'. At the beginning of this session the Tory ministry introduced a BILL *per* Walpole, THE WEEPING WILLOW, accepting all the Commission's proposals, though on a very reduced scale. The fellows who were to be called to order, among them the big metal manufacturers, and especially the vampires of 'domestic industry', maintained a cowardly silence. Now they are presenting a petition to Parliament and demanding—a *New Enquiry*! The old one, they say, was biassed! They are counting on the Reform Bill[425] taking up the public's entire attention, so that the thing would be cosily and PRIVATELY smuggled through, at the very time that the TRADE UNIONS are having a rough passage.[442] The worst things about the *REPORTS* are *the fellows' own statements.* They are well aware that a new enquiry means *one thing* only, and that is precisely 'what we bourgeois want'—a new 5-year lease for exploitation. Fortunately, my position in the 'INTERNATIONAL' enables me to frustrate those curs' little game. It is a matter of the utmost importance. What is at stake is the *abolition of torture* for $1^1/_2$ million people, not including the ADULT MALE WORKINGMEN![443]

With regard to the development of the *form of value*, I have both followed and *not* followed your advice, thus striking a dialectical attitude in this matter, too. That is to say, 1. I have written an *appendix* in which I set out *the same subject* again as simply and as much in the manner of a school text-book as possible, and 2. I have divided each successive proposition into paras. etc., *each with its own heading*, as you advised. In the *Preface* I then tell the '*non-dialectical*' reader to skip page x-y and instead read the appendix.[438] It is not only the philistines that I have in mind here, but young people, etc., who are thirsting for knowledge. Anyway, the issue is crucial for the whole book. The economists have hitherto overlooked the very simple fact that the equation *20 yards of linen = 1 coat* is but the primitive form of *20 yards of linen = £2*, and thus that the *simplest form of a commodity*, in which its value is not yet expressed in its relation to all other commodities but only as something *differentiated* from its own natural form, embodies the *whole secret of the money form* and thereby, *in nuce*,[a] *of all bourgeois forms of the product of labour.* In my first presentation (Duncker),[b] I avoided the difficulty of the development by not actually analysing

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[a] in embryo - [b] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.*

the *way value is expressed* until it appears as its developed form, as expressed in money.

You are quite right about Hofmann.[a] Incidentally, you will see from the conclusion to my Chapter III, where I outline the transformation of the master of a trade into a capitalist—as a result of purely *quantitative* changes—that *in the text* there I quote Hegel's discovery of the *law of the transformation of a merely quantitative change into a qualitative one* as being attested by history and natural science alike. In the *note* to the text (I was as it happened attending Hofmann's lectures at that time) I mention the *molecular theory*, but not Hofmann, who has discovered *nothing* in the matter except contributing general *direction*; instead I do mention Laurent, Gerhardt and *Wurtz*, the latter being *the real man*.[444] Your letter struck a faint chord in my memory, and I therefore looked up my manuscript.

Printing has proceeded slowly in the last two weeks (only 4 sheets), probably on account of Whitsun. But Mr O. Wigand will have to make up for this lost time. Apropos. *Your* book[b] is still available. The Workers' Association[c] has ordered and been sent 2 NEW COPIES from O. Wigand. (2nd impression 1848.[445])

Now for private matters.

My children are obliged to invite some other girls for dancing on 2 July, as they have been unable to invite anyone for the whole of this year, to respond to invitations, and are therefore about TO LOSE CASTE. So, hard-pressed though I am at the moment, I had to agree to it and am counting on you for the wine (claret and Rhenish), i.e. on your supplying me with it in the course of next week.

*Secondly*, as 'misfortunes' never come singly, Lina[d] has announced her arrival for next week. My wife will then have to return to her the £5 which she owes her, and you will understand that after fending off the first wave of creditors, I cannot AFFORD that.

I am in fact exceedingly vexed with the people who have promised me money but have not sent word (so far, at least). They have a personal interest in me. That I do know. They also know that I cannot continue my work unless I have a modicum of peace and quiet. And yet they have sent no word!

Our 'noble' poet Freiligrath really is going to collect a tidy sum.[422] For they say that going begging to the rich Germans in

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[a] A. W. Hofmann, *Einleitung in die moderne Chemie* (see this volume, pp. 382-83). - [b] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. - [c] the German Workers' Educational Society in London - [d] Caroline Schöler

South America and—China! and the West Indies! is most lucrative, as these fellows regard it as *national duty*! Meanwhile, the Freiligraths are continuing to live in *relatively* grand style, constantly entertaining and constantly visiting. That is one reason why the German merchants in London are so unforthcoming. Fat as he is, he is said (so I am told by my wife, who called on them) to look very nerve-wracked and unwell and depressed. But Ida[a] is positively blooming and has never been in better spirits in her life.

Kindest regards to Mrs Lizzy.[b]

Your
K. M.

*Honoris causa*[c] you must procure *Madame Gumpert's* photogramm for me.

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## 229

## ENGELS TO MARX[419]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 24 June 1867

Dear Moor,

Sheets[d] up to and incl. 12 received with thanks, though have not yet read beyond No. 8. Thus far, the chapters on the transformation of money into capital and the production of surplus-value[446] are the best, as far as presentation and content are concerned. Yesterday I did a rough translation of them for Moore, who understood them correctly and was most astonished that conclusions could be arrived at so simply. At the same time, I have solved the question of *who* should translate your book into English: Moore himself. He has enough German now to read Heine fairly fluently and will soon work his way into your style (except for the form of value

[a] Ida Freiligrath - [b] Lizzy Burns - [c] Honour requires that - [d] of the first volume of *Capital*

and the terminology, where I shall have to give him considerable assistance). It is, of course, understood that the whole task will be performed under my immediate supervision. As soon as you have a publisher, who *nota bene* will *pay* him something for his work, he is quite ready to do it. The fellow is diligent and reliable, and, at the same time, has as much prior understanding of the theory as one can expect of an Englishman. I have told him that you would rewrite the analysis of commodities and the section on money in English yourself. For the rest, however, we also need a *terminology* (English) now to translate the Hegelian expressions, and you might be giving some thought to the matter in the meantime, as it is not easy, but there is no way round it.

I have quite lost track of how many sheets have now in fact been type-set—it must surely be half the book by now, mustn't it? I am looking forward to the embarrassment of the economists when they reach the two above-mentioned passages. The development of the form of value is, of course, the quintessence of all the bourgeois trash, but the revolutionary consequences are not yet fully evident, and people can more easily get round these abstractions and confine themselves to clichés. But an end is put to that here, the issue is so crystal clear that I do not see what they can say to it.

I hope you will succeed in tripping up our bourgeois gentlemen with their new Enquiry.[442] Just a few days ago, I heard one of the iron-founders and engineering manufacturers bemoaning the impending danger. Meanwhile, it is very good that the Commission has permanently frustrated the Sheffield star-chamber organisation.[447] It was precisely this local terrorism and its great success that deterred the fellows from joining the great national movement, and confirmed them in their parochialism. The cries of horror emanating from the bourgeoisie are comical. As though our bourgeois gentlemen had not had their own star-chambers, their VIGILANCE COMMITTEES in Australia and California, etc., which acted in exactly the same fashion, but claimed far more victims.

I shall be sending you the wine, and another £10 before the end of this month. I would have preferred it if you had set a later date than 2 July for your PARTY. You will understand that I cannot draw £100 on the very *first* day of the financial year without exciting considerable comment, and I shall have to prevent the people in the office wondering too much about what I may be up to with such a sum all at once.

Regarding the molecular theory, Schorlemmer tells me that Gerhardt and Kekulé are the chief figures involved, and that

Wurtz has only popularised and elaborated it.[a] He is going to send you a book setting out the historical development of the subject.

Are there not old pre-Baconian, pre-Lockeian philosophical writings in English, in which we might be able to find material for the terminology? I have a feeling that something of that kind exists. And how about English attempts at reproducing Hegel?

Kindest regards to your wife and the girls.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO MARX[448]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 26 June 1867

Dear Moor,

'Pursuant to mine faithfully of yesterday', two half five-pound-notes enclosed, whose 2nd halves will follow by lst post early tomorrow morning and thus be in your possession tomorrow evening.

With regard to the production of surplus-value, another point: the manufacturer, and with him the vulgar economist, will immediately interject: if the capitalist only pays the worker the price of 6 hours for his 12 hours' labour, no surplus-value can be produced, since in that case each hour of the factory worker's labour counts only=$^1/_2$ an hour's labour,=the amount which has been paid for, and only that value can be embodied in the value of the labour product. Whereupon there will follow the usual formula by way of example: so much for raw materials, so much for wear and tear, so much for wages (wages *actually paid* per hour's actual product), etc. Atrociously superficial though this argument may be, however much it may equate exchange-value

[a] See this volume, pp. 382-83 and 385.

with price, and value of labour with labour-wage, and absurd though its premiss may be that if for one hour's labour only half an hour is paid, then only $^1/_2$ hour's worth goes into the value, I do, nevertheless, find it surprising that you have not already taken it into account, for you will **most certainly** be immediately confronted with this objection, and it is better to anticipate it. Perhaps you return to it in the following sheets.

You must supply me with an address in London to which I can have the £100 sent next week. I am thinking of taking Lizzie[a] via Grimsby to Hamburg, Schleswig, Copenhagen, etc., one week from now, and will probably be away for 4 weeks.[449] I shall therefore have to get our cashier to send the money there on Thursday or Friday, for which purpose I need a *neutral* address, if possible *commercial*. You must therefore consider whom you would prefer for this purpose, and let me know at once.

When I have sent Lizzie back to Grimsby from Hamburg, I shall also go on to visit Meissner and Kugelmann, and then travel to the Rhine.

Kindest regards.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[448]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 June[b] 1867

Dear Fred,

The 2 half £5-notes received with kindest thanks. With respect to the address, use *Borkheim*. He knows my situation, though with as much concealment as I consider necessary in his regard. I would even like him to know that you are lending me money. But

[a] Lizzie Burns - [b] The original has: July.

you must write and tell me *when* the money is to be sent to him. I do not see why I should involve yet a 3rd philistine.

The *Fenians* should be delivered to you today.[439]

I was so very pleased by your lines of yesterday, and that requires no further elaboration from me.

Sheet 20[a] was the latest to reach me. It will probably run to 40 or 42 sheets in all. I've *not* as yet received *any corrected proofs* after the ones already sent you. On your departure send me back those which are in your possession.

Regarding the objection that you mentioned the philistines and vulgar economists will infallibly raise (they forget, of course, that, if they reckon *paid labour* as *wages*, they are reckoning *unpaid* labour as *profit*, etc.), it amounts, in scientific terms, to the following question:

*How* is the *value* of the commodity *transformed* into its *price of production*, in which

1. the *whole of the labour appears paid for* in the form of *wages*;
2. the surplus-labour, however, or the surplus-value, assumes the form of an *addition to the price*, and goes by the name of interest, profit, etc., *over and above* the *cost-price* (=price of the constant part of capital+wages).

Answering this question presupposes:

I. That the *transformation* of, for example, the *value of a day's labour-power* into *wages or the price of a day's labour* has been explained. This is done in *Chapter V* of this volume.[450]

II. That the *transformation of surplus-value* into *profit*, and of *profit into average profit*, etc., has been explained. This presupposes that the *process of the circulation of capital* has been previously explained, since the turnover of capital, etc., plays a part here. This matter cannot therefore be treated prior to the 3rd book (*Volume II* is to contain books 2 and 3).[418] Here it will be shown how the philistines' and vulgar economists' *manner of conceiving things* arises, namely, because the only thing that is ever reflected in their minds is the immediate *form of appearance* of relations, and not their *inner connection*. Incidentally, if the latter were the case, we would surely have no need of *science* at all.

Now if I wished to *refute* all such objections *in advance*, I should spoil the whole dialectical method of exposition. On the contrary, the good thing about this method is that it is constantly *setting traps* for those fellows which will provoke them into an untimely display of their idiocy.

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[a] of the first volume of *Capital*

By the by, Para. 3: '*The Rate of Surplus Value*', which was the last one you had in your possession, is immediately followed by the Para.: '*The Working Day*' (struggle for the reduction of working time), whose argument demonstrates *ad oculos*[a] to what extent those bourgeois gentlemen comprehend the source and nature of their profit *in practice*. This is also shown in the *Senior* CASE, where your bourgeois assures us that his whole profit and interest derive from the *last unpaid hour of labour*.[451]

Kindest regards to MRS Lizzy.[b]

Your
K. M.

You must stop over for a few days here on your journey home.[449]

Apropos. I judged it in every way imprudent to take Mr *Meissner* into my confidence regarding my private circumstances.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[419]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 June 1867

DEAR FRED,

The children send you their best thanks.

I have written to Meissner today that the 'Leipzig' method cannot continue in this fashion.[111] I've had *nothing* since Monday. The proofs[c] have been reaching me most irregularly throughout, so that I am for ever being interrupted in other work and am for ever kept quite pointlessly on tenterhooks. Having perhaps received 1 sheet in a whole week, *on Saturday evening* I at last get a successor which is too late for me to send off. I have written to

[a] vividly - [b] Lizzy Burns - [c] of the first volume of *Capital*

Meissner that Wigand must send a *minimum* of 3 sheets *on certain agreed days*, but that he is always welcome to send *more* at ANY TIME.

If I get 13th and 14th sheets of the corrected copy in time, you shall have them on Sunday. I would have liked you to see my dressing-down of Senior and my introduction to the analysis of the *working day*[451] before your departure.[449] Incidentally, the section on the 'Working Day' occupies 5 printed sheets, which do, of course, contain predominantly factual material. To show you how closely I have followed your advice in my treatment of the appendix,[a] I'll now copy out for you the divisions, sections, headings, etc., of same appendix.[438]

*Appendix to Chapter I, 1*

*The Form of Value*

*I. Simple Form of Value*

*§ 1. The two poles of the expression of value: relative form and equivalent form of value.*

*a. Inseparability of the two forms.*

*b. Polarity of the two forms.*

*c. Relative value and equivalent, both being but forms of value.*

*§ 2. The relative form of value.*

*a. The relation of equality.*

*b. Value-relations.*

*c. Qualitative content of the relative form of value implied in value-relations.*

*d. Quantitative determination of the relative form of value implied in value-relations.*

*e. The relative form of value considered as a whole.*

*§ 3. The equivalent form.*

*a. The form of direct exchangeability.*

*b. Quantitative determination not contained in the equivalent form.*

*c. The peculiarities of the equivalent form.*

*α. First peculiarity: use-value becomes the form of appearance of its opposite, value.*

*β. Second peculiarity: concrete labour becomes the form of appearance of its opposite, abstract human labour.*

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[a] See this volume, p. 381.

γ. *Third peculiarity: private labour takes the form of its opposite, namely, labour in its directly social form.*

δ. *Fourth peculiarity: the fetishism of the commodity-form more striking in the equivalent form than in the relative value-form.*

*§ 4. The form of value or independent manifestation of value = exchange value.*

*§ 5. Simple form of value of the commodity = simple manifestation of the contradictions it contains within itself between use-value and value.*

*§ 6. Simple form of value of the commodity = simple form of an object as commodity.*

*§ 7. Relationship between commodity-form and money-form.*

*§ 8. Simple relative form of value and individual equivalent form.*

*§ 9. Transition of the simple into the expanded form of value.*

*II. Total or Expanded Form of Value*

*§ 1. The endless series of relative expressions of value.*

*§ 2. Sequential determination implied in the expanded relative form of value.*

*§ 3. Defects of the expanded relative form of value.*

*§ 4. Expanded relative form of value and specific equivalent form.*

*§ 5. Transition to the general form of value.*

*III. The General Form of Value*

*§ 1. Altered character of the relative form of value.*

*§ 2. Altered character of the equivalent form.*

*§ 3. Concurrent development of relative form of value and equivalent form.*

*§ 4. Development of the polarity between relative form of value and equivalent form.*

*§ 5. Transition from the general form of value to the money-form.*

*IV. The Money-Form*

(The following on the money-form is simply for the sake of continuity—perhaps barely half a page.)

*§ 1. How the transition from the general form of value to the money-form differs from the previous transitions in the development.*

*§ 2. Transformation of the relative form of value into the price form.*

*§ 3. The simple form of commodity is the secret of the money-form.*

You may sprinkle sand on this!

Your

K. Moro

Don't forget to drop a line to Borkheim before you depart, so that no 'misunderstanding' is possible.[a]

Regarding the *English translation*,[b] I am trying to track down a fellow in London who will *pay decently*, so that both Moro[c] as translator and I as author get our due. If I am successful, Mrs Lizzy[d] shall also receive *her* share (you must IN THAT CASE allow me that pleasure—but the bird is not yet in the hand) in the form of a London DRESS. I have some expectations, as Mssrs Harrison *et* Co. are most desirous to study the book *in English*.[229] Eccarius has, of course, told them that he is A HUMBLE pupil OF MINE—(*his* critique of Mill has impressed them hugely, they having previously been believers in Mill[e])—and that the Prophet Himself is JUST NOW having the quintessence of all wisdom published, that is printed, in Germany.

I am quite sickened by the REPORT on the FENIANS.[439] These swine boast of their *English* humanity in *not* treating political prisoners *worse* than murderers, street-thieves, forgers and pederasts! And this O'Donovan Rossa, what 'A QUEER FELLOW', because as a FELONY-CONVICT he refused to grovel before his worst enemies! A QUEER FELLOW INDEED! Incidentally, would even the Prussians have been capable of acting in a more bureaucratic fashion than these emissaries of the WEEPING WILLOW,[f] that Knox (read OX) and Pollock (BULL-DOG), who naturally accept the evidence given by the SUBORDINATE 'WARDER' as unimpeachable. But if you don't believe the WARDERS, you have the word of—Wermuth, the chief of police!

Mrs O'Donovan Rossa has written the 'INTERNATIONAL' A VERY FLATTERING AND VERY GRACEFUL LETTER[g] on her departure for America.

The fury of that Bismarck-oracle, the *Norddeutsche*,[h] at Stanley's and Derby's statements about the Luxemburg TREATY has quite cured my nausea.[452] That jackass Brass calls it an innovation! Palmerston has LAID DOWN once and for all the principle that COMMON TREATIES impose only the *right* and not by any means *the duty* of intervention FOR ANY STATE. And if that were not so, whatever BECAME of the OBLIGATIONS which *England* assumed at the Congress of

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[a] See this volume, pp. 386-87 and 389-90. - [b] of the first volume of *Capital* (see this volume, pp. 386-87) - [c] Samuel Moore - [d] Lizzy Burns - [e] J. G. Eccarius, 'A Working Man's Refutation of some Points of Political Economy endorsed and advocated by John Stuart Mill', *The Commonwealth*, Nos. 192-195, 198, 200, 203, 204, 206-211, November 1866-March 1867. - [f] Walpole - [g] See this volume, p. 228. - [h] *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nos. 139 and 146, 18 and 26 June 1867: 'Politischer Tagesbericht'.

Vienna with regard to *Poland*, in respect of both Prussia and Russia, and France ditto?

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## 233

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[65]

### IN HANOVER

London, 13 July 1867

Dear Friend,

THANKS FOR HEGEL AND the young madam![a]

I shall now briefly answer all the points you raised.

*Engels* is in Denmark at present and will be paying you a visit one day in the course of this month.[449] *Ad vocem*[b] *the same*: you recall you told me that Menke (or whatever the man in your *statistical* office in Hanover is called) made some very appreciative remarks about the work of mine[c] that was published by Duncker. For Engels' ears I have *twisted* this, to the effect that Menke expressed his great appreciation *to me* of Engels' 'Condition of the Working Class'.[d] *The reason for this pia fraus*[e] (and I have perpetrated various *fraudes*[f] with the same object in view): to *spur* Engels *on* to write and publish the second volume, concerning the period from 1845 to the present. I have at last *succeeded* in this to the extent that he has promised to get down to it. So, if *by chance* conversation should turn to the statistician, *do not let the cat out of the bag*.

Nothing is fixed for *my wife's journey*, nor can it be, it having been overtaken by another event, the proposed departure of my 3 daughters for Bordeaux, to visit Lafargue senior.[g]

I do *not* advise you to go to *Paris*. It is impossible to study anything in the midst of that Babylon of things and among that

[a] for the portrait of Hegel and the photograph of Kugelmann's daughter, Franziska - [b] Concerning - [c] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [d] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. - [e] white lie - [f] deceits - [g] François Lafargue

throng of people, unless one stays there for at least 6 weeks, which is *very expensive.*

My book[a] comprises ABOUT 50 sheets. You see how I had miscalculated AS TO ITS EXTENT. A few days ago I sent the *Appendix*, entitled *The Form of Value, Appendix to Chapter I, 1,* to Leipzig. You know who was the *author of this plan,* and I herewith offer him my thanks for his SUGGESTION.[438]

You will excuse me if I terminate these lines here. Another proof-sheet has just come.

With my best compliments to your wife and the young madam.[b]

Yours
K. Marx

With my next letter I shall send *membership cards*[c] for MRS Kugelmann and MRS Tenge. One lady, MRS Law, has been promoted to membership of our Central Council.

Best thanks from Eleanor for the STAMPS. The photograms will follow.

First published slightly abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, Nr. 3, 1901-1902 and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

## 234

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN HANOVER[449]

[London,] 20 July 1867

Dear Engels,

I am writing these lines in haste, in the hope that they may still find you in Hanover. *C'est une chose brûlante.*[d] Old Lafargue[e] has invited my 3 daughters to Bordeaux (they depart tomorrow with the *secrétaire*[f]), whence they will go with him and his wife to a

[a] the first volume of *Capital* - [b] Gertruda and Franziska Kugelmann - [c] of the International Working Men's Association - [d] It is a matter of urgency. - [e] François Lafargue - [f] Paul Lafargue (he was Corresponding Secretary for Spain on the General Council)

seaside resort. It was all the harder for me to refuse as the state of health of all 3 girls made this invitation a real blessing. But propriety required that the *secrétaire de l'Espagne* should not be allowed to pay the expenses of the journey. The latter (return) approximately £30, which I thus had to disburse to him. Furthermore, their watches, dresses, etc., had to be reclaimed from the pawnshop. In this way, the £45 which I had in reserve for the rent on 3 August (*bill drawn on myself*) melted into thin air.

I can now think of no other recourse than writing to you. If the letter catches you, please write to me at once *with enclosure to Borkheim* asking him to advance me the money.

While you are in Germany you must read: 'Zwölf Streiter der Revolution von Gustav Struve und Gustav Rasch'. Under the heading of the 'fighting revolutionary' Freiligrath, you will find a fresh instance of this fine fellow's treachery towards us.[a]

Your
K. M.

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## 235

## MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH[6]

### IN LONDON

[Copy]

[London,] 20 July 1867

Dear Freiligrath,

I am not a regular reader of German literary trash, but I cannot prevent friends in Germany from occasionally sending me excerpts containing personal references to me. Thus, yesterday I received all the passages referring to myself in a publication by a certain Rasch entitled 'Zwölf Streiter der Revolution'. I should be obliged to you for an explanation of the following[b]:

[a] See next letter. - [b] G. Struve and G. Rasch, *Zwölf Streiter der Revolution*, p. 61.

'Freiligrath had, etc., broken off relations with Marx entirely; *a quite unpardonable action on Marx's part*, about which I wish to say no more here, had been the last straw. It can only be explained as due to the obnoxious character of a man like Marx. I was so indignant about it that one day I asked Freiligrath for *details*, but he tactfully passed over it.'[453]

Your
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

Printed according to Marx's notebook

## 236

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 August 1867

Dear Fred,

Enclosed charming letter from Dronke in Manchester, received today. He has taken about a fortnight to give me the good advice to 'sell' wine and coffee to cover the cost of transport!

By the by, the little Frenchman was here again today and threatened to write to Old Lafargue.[a] All I could do was to appease him with the promise that he would have his money on Tuesday morning.

Parcel of *Courrier français* along with 2 *Diplomatic Reviews* now due will be despatched on Monday.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] François Lafargue

# 237

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 August 1867

Dear Moor,

Enclosed a five-pound-note which I fortunately obtained yesterday and which will now satisfy your FRENCHMAN. Also Dronke's letter. So, the little man has got himself properly into the mire with his petty speculations. I fear that, if he is to shake off his obligations in respect of the Barnedi shares, he will have to go through the BANKRUPTCY COURT. It is very hard for the little fellow, firstly the court-case over the insurance business, and now these blows. However, I assume he will still have his agency, and with its help and with speculation a little less heated, he may soon restore his fortunes.

I have cursorily read through as far as sheet 32[a] and will give you my comments on it in due course; the numerous examples in this section, on cursory first reading, somewhat obscure its coherence. But there are some very fine things in it, and both capital and its sycophants will be eternally grateful to you.

On my journey back here[449] I had the added pleasure of a rifle-bullet shattering the window and flying through the carriage not 12 inches from my chest: some VOLUNTEER probably wished to demonstrate yet again that he ought not to be entrusted with a firearm. It is the strangest RAILWAY ACCIDENT I have ever encountered.

Lizzie[b] also had a rather bad return journey, she says she will never go by sea again.

Kindest regards to your wife.

Your
F. E.

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[a] of the first volume of *Capital* - [b] Lizzie Burns

## 238

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 August 1867

Dear FREDERICK,

As you will see from the enclosed, I am threatened with distraint if I do not pay the taxes (amounting to £11-9s.) next Friday. I have an additional £1-15s. interest to pay to the pawnshop at the end of this week, or the things will lapse. I did not tell you of all these abominations before, as I had previously been attempting—vainly, I'm afraid—to rustle up the money in London.

With the huge sums that you have sent me this year, there would be no such PRESSURE, if it had not been for over £200 in previous debts. If I am to straighten out my affairs and not to PRESSURE you so dreadfully, it is imperative that I raise a loan somewhere else, even if another journey to the Continent is required for the purpose. But I cannot lift a finger until the printing is complete.[a] I received the 48th sheet today. So this week the whole vile business will be over.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] of the first volume of *Capital*

## 239

## MARX TO LONDON BOOKSELLER[a]

[London,] 14 August 1867
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Sir,

Will you send me,
The 2 reports on the *Orissa famine*[b];
'*The Hours of Labour Regulation Act*',[c] as soon as it is printed, and ditto:
'*The Artisans' and Labourers' Dwelling Bill*'.

Yours truly
Karl Marx

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## 240

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 15 August 1867

Dear Moor,

Encl. 3 £5-notes I/V 65551
" " " 65113
" " " 44954
Manchester
29 January 1866

and the tax-slip returned. In *these* circumstances, it is *essential* that my return be kept a secret from Borkheim,[449] so that I do not

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[a] This presumably refers to P. St. King. - [b] Marx refers to *East India (Bengal and Orissa Famine). Papers and Correspondence relative to the Famine in Bengal and Orissa, including the Report of the Famine Commission and the Minutes of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and the Governor General of India... Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 31 May 1867; East India (Madras and Orissa Famine). Return to an Address of the Honourable House of Commons, dated 4 July 1867. Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 30 July 1867.* - [c] *An Act for Regulating the Hours of Labour for Children, Young Persons, and Women employed in Workshops..., 21 August 1867.*

need to pay him until as late as possible in *September*, otherwise I shall be completely stuck, since you will understand that I too have a mass of payments to make here, especially in the new half-year. Furthermore, consequent upon the fall in the price of yarns, we are having to enter the stock in the accounts at approx. £2,500 less than by the prices which applied at the time of my departure. Which is not very pleasant either!

When do you wish to have some of the sheets[a] returned? Schorlemmer asked me to pass them on to him a few at a time, as I finished with them, but that naturally depends on you. I have now read the thing through to the end (cursorily) and definitely think that the second volume is also *indispensable*, and the sooner you finish it, the better.[418] I am now looking through the whole thing again, i.e., the more theoretical aspects. The fellows will be astonished to see with what consummate ease the most difficult points, such as Ricardo's theory of profit, are dealt the *coup de grâce* here 'in this way'.

Kindest regards to your wife.

Your
F. E.

Lupus was born in Tarnau[b] on 21 June 1809, died 9 May 1864.[c]

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## 241

## MARX TO ENGELS[118]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] *16 August 1867, 2.0.a.m.*

DEAR FRED,

Have just finished correcting the *last sheet* (49th) of the book.[a] The appendix—*Form of Value—in small print*, takes up 1 1/4 sheets.[438]

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[a] of the first volume of *Capital* - [b] Polish name: Tarnów - [c] Marx wanted to know this because he meant to dedicate the first volume of his *Capital* to Wilhelm Wolff (Lupus).

Manchester, 16 August 1867

Dear Fred,

Hier das letzte Bogen (49.) des Buchs. Bezüglich Correktur der Anfang — Methode — Wichtigkeit, verlangt 1½ Bogen Raum. Alles andre correkt. Was Dich betrifft, so freut es mich, daß Dich wirklich quälen. Deine Aufforderung hierauf konnte ich einfach durch einfachen Verbleib zu Dir beantworten. Jedenfalls, you, full of thanks!

Leipzig 2 Bogen monatlich.

Das 15t mit beiden Daten erhalten.

Adieu, mein lieber, theurer Freund!

Dein K. Marx

Marx's letter to Engels of 16 August 1867

*Preface* ditto returned corrected yesterday. So, *this volume is finished.* I owe it to **you** alone that it was possible! Without your self-sacrifice for me I could not possibly have managed the immense labour demanded by the 3 volumes.[418] I EMBRACE YOU, FULL OF THANKS!

Enclosed 2 sheets of corrected proofs.

The £15 received with best thanks.

*Salut,* my dear, valued friend.

Your
K. Marx

I do not need to have the corrected proofs back *until the book is completely out.*

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## 242

## ENGELS TO MARX[419]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 23 August 1867

Dear Moor,

I have now worked through as far as sheet 36[a] approx., and I congratulate you on the comprehensive way in which the most complex economic problems are elucidated simply and almost sensuously merely by arranging them suitably and by placing them in the right context. Likewise, in respect of subject-matter, on the quite splendid exposition of the relationship between labour and capital—for the first time here in its full context and complete. I was also greatly diverted to see how you have worked your way into the language of technology, which must surely have given you much trouble and on which account I had various MISGIVINGS. I have corrected several SLIPS OF THE PEN in pencil in the margin, and also ventured to make a few conjectures. But how could you leave the

[a] of the first volume of *Capital*

*outward* structure of the book in its present form! The 4th chapter is almost 200 pages long and only has 4 sub-sections, indicated by four headings in ordinary print, which it is hardly possible to refer back to. Furthermore, the train of thought is constantly interrupted by illustrations, and the point to be illustrated is *never* summarised after the illustration, so that one is for ever plunging straight from the illustration of *one* point into the exposition of another point. It is dreadfully tiring, and confusing, too, if one is not all attention. It would have been highly desirable here to have subdivided the text more frequently and to have made the most important sections stand out more,[454] and this must emphatically be done for the English version. In this exposition (especially of cooperation and manufacture) there are indeed several points that are not yet quite clear to me, where I cannot work out which facts lie behind the argument that is expressed solely in general terms. To judge by the *outward* form of the exposition, this 4th chapter also appears to be the most hurriedly written and the least carefully revised. However, all that is of no import, the main thing is that our economists are not given a weak point anywhere through which they can shoot holes; I am indeed curious to hear what these gentlemen will say, they have not been left even the smallest opening. Roscher and his ilk will not be unduly perturbed, but for the people here in England who do not write for 3-year-olds, it is a different matter altogether.

I very much look forward to your sending me some more sheets as soon as you can, I particularly want to read the section on accumulation in its context.[455]

Give your wife my best wishes. When are the girls coming back?[a]

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 396-97.

## 243

## MARX TO ENGELS[101]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 August 1867

DEAR FRED,

I have received no further corrected proofs[a] since the 2 last that I sent you. I am exceedingly vexed with Meissner. He has obviously *held back* what Wigand has sent him in order to send *everything at once*—and save 4d. postage!

The same Meissner wrote me last week that he is printing a certain part of my preface specially (and he has indeed made the *right choice*) to send to the German newspapers. I wrote asking him to send me COPIES of it at once. I reckoned that *you* would translate the thing into *English* (I shall then give it to *The Bee-Hive*, which is taken by Mill, Beesly, Harrison, etc.), and Lafargue with Laura's help into French for the *Courrier français*, finally I wanted to send ONE COPY to my correspondent in America.[456] To save the 4d., Meissner has sent *nothing*. He will be sending it all together. But *a great deal of time* is lost in the process!

The best points in my book are: 1. (this is fundamental to *all* understanding of the FACTS) the *two-fold character of labour* according to whether it is expressed in use-value or exchange-value, which is brought out in the very *First* Chapter; 2. the treatment of *surplus-value regardless of its particular* forms as profit, interest, ground rent, etc. This will be made clear in the second volume especially.[418] The treatment of the particular forms in classical political economy, where they are for ever being jumbled up together with the general form, is an *olla potrida*.[b]

Please *enter* your *desiderata*,[c] critical remarks, QUERIES, etc., on the corrected proofs. This is very important for me, as I am reckoning on a 2nd edition sooner or later.[454] As regards CHAPTER IV, it was a hard job finding *things themselves*, i.e., their *interconnection*.[d] But with that once behind me, along came one BLUE BOOK[359] after another just as I was composing the final *version*, and I was delighted to find my theoretical conclusions fully confirmed by the

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[a] of the first volume of *Capital* - [b] hotchpotch - [c] recommendations - [d] See previous letter.

FACTS. Finally, it was written to the accompaniment of CARBUNCLES and daily dunning by creditors!

For the conclusion to the 2nd book (*Process of Circulation*), which I am writing *now*,[457] I am again obliged to seek your advice on one point, as I did many years ago.

Fixed capital only has to be replaced *in natura*[a] after, say, 10 years. In the meantime, its value returns partially and *gradatim*,[b] as the goods that it has produced are sold. This PROGRESSIVE RETURN of the fixed capital is only required for its replacement (aside from REPAIRS and the like) when it becomes defunct in its material form, e.g., as a machine. *Prior to that*, however, these SUCCESSIVE RETURNS are in the capitalist's possession.

Many years ago I wrote to you that it seemed to me that in this manner an *accumulation fund* was being built up, since *in the intervening period* the capitalist was of course *using* the returned money, before *replacing* the *capital fixe* with it. You disagreed with this SOMEWHAT SUPERFICIALLY in a letter.[458] I *later* found that MacCulloch describes this *SINKING FUND* as an *accumulation fund*.[c] Being convinced that no idea of MacCulloch's could ever be right, I let the matter drop. His *apologetic* purpose here has already been refuted by the Malthusians, but *they, too, admit the* FACT.

Now, as a manufacturer, you must know what you do with the RETURNS on *capital fixe before* the time it has to be replaced *in natura*. And you must answer this point for me (without theorising, *in purely practical terms*).

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

(*Salut* TO MRS Lizzy[d]!)

The children are still at Royan, near Bordeaux.

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[a] in kind - [b] piecemeal - [c] J. R. McCulloch, *The Principles of Political Economy*, Edinburgh, 1825, pp. 181-82. - [d] Lizzy Burns

## 244

## ENGELS TO MARX[419]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 26 August 1867

Dear Moor,

On the question of the replacement-fund, full details with accompanying calculations tomorrow. You see, I must ask some other manufacturers whether our practice is the customary one or an exception. The question is whether, with an original outlay of £1,000 on machinery, where £100 is written off in the 1st year, the rule is to write off 10% of the *£1,000* in the 2nd year, or of *£900*, etc. We do the latter, and understandably the matter goes on thereby *in infinitum*,[a] at least in theory. This complicates the arithmetic considerably. But, otherwise, there is no doubt that the manufacturer is *using* the replacement-fund *on average* for 4 1/2 years before the machinery is worn out, or at least has it at his disposal. However, this is included in the calculations, by way of what one might call a certain guarantee against moral wear and tear, or alternatively the manufacturer says: the assumption that in 10 years the machinery will be completely worn out is only approximately correct, i.e., it presupposes that I receive the money for the replacement-fund in 10 annual instalments from the outset. At all events, you shall have the calculations; regarding the economic *significance* of the matter, I am none too clear about it, I do not see how the manufacturer is supposed to be able to cheat the other partners in the surplus-value, that is, the ultimate consumers, by thus falsely representing the position—in the long run. *Nota bene*, as a rule, machinery is depreciated at 7 1/2%, which assumes a useful life of approximately 13 years.

Moore sends you his photograph, enclosed, and reminds you that you promised him yours, which he is very eager to have.

The chapter on accumulation is quite splendid.[455]

Your

F. E.

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[a] indefinitely

## 245

## ENGELS TO MARX[459]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 27 August 1867

Dear Moor,

Enclosed two schedules for machinery, which will make the matter fully clear to you. The rule is that part of the original sum is written off each year, usually $7\frac{1}{2}$%, but to simplify the calculation I have kept to 10%, which is not excessive for many machines either. Thus, e.g.,

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1860 1 Jan. | Purchases | £ | 1,000 |
| 1861 1 Jan. | Written off 10% | " | 100 |
| | | £ | 900 |
| | New purchase | " | 200 |
| | | £ | 1,100 |
| 1862 1 Jan. | Written off 10% £1,200 (£1,000+£200) | " | 120 |
| | | £ | 980 |
| | New purchase | " | 200 |
| | | £ | 1,180 |
| 1863 1 Jan. | Written off 10% £1,000+£200+£200 | " | 140 |
| | etc. | £ | 1,040[a] |

In schedule No. 1 I am now assuming that the manufacturer puts his [money] out *at interest* for writing-off purposes; on the day when he has to replace the old machinery with new, he has not £1,000 but £1,252-11s. Schedule No. 2 assumes that he puts the money straight into new machinery, each year. As is shown in the last column giving the value of the total purchases as it stands on the last day of the 10 years, it is true that the *value* of his machinery then does not exceed £1,000 (and he cannot have more, as he has, after all, only invested the *value* of what has been worn out, and the *total* ***value*** of the machinery cannot thus grow by the process), but he has extended his factory from year to year, and as an average over the 11 years he has employed machinery which cost £1,449 in investment, in other words, he has produced and earned substantially more than with the original £1,000. Let us assume he is a spinner and every £ represents one spindle together with the roving-frame; in that case, he has on average

[a] The original has: £1,020.

spun with 1,449 spindles instead of 1,000, and, after the original spindles have ended their useful lives, he begins the new period on 1 January 1866 with 1,357 spindles that he has purchased in the meantime, to which is added a further 236 from the writing off as per 1865, which makes 1,593 spindles. The money advanced for writing off has thus enabled him to *increase* his machinery by 60% and without putting a FARTHING of his *actual profit* into the new investment.

Repairs have been disregarded in both schedules. At 10% write-off, the machine should cover its own repair costs, i.e., the latter should be included. Nor do they affect the issue, as they are either included in the 10%, or else they prolong the useful life of the machine in proportion, which amounts to the same thing.

I hope schedule No. 2 will be sufficiently clear to you; if not, just write, I have a copy of it here.

In haste.

Your

F. E.

*I. The manufacturer invests the renewal-fund at 5% interest*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1856 on Jan. | 1 | machinery purchased for | £ 1,000 | |
| 1857 Jan. | 1 | 10% written off for wear and tear ..... | | £ 100 |
| 1858 " | 1 | 10% " " " " ..... | £ 100 | |
| | | Interest on £100 ..... | " 5 | " 105 |
| | | | | £ 205 |
| 1859 " | 1 | Interest on £205 ..... | £ 10-5s. | |
| | | 10% written off ..... | " 100 | " 110-5s. |
| | | | | £ 315-5s. |
| 1860 " | 1 | Interest on £315-5s. ..... | £ 15-15s. | |
| | | 10% written off ..... | " 100 | " 115-15s. |
| | | | | £ 431 |
| 1861 " | 1 | Interest on £431 ..... | £ 21-11s. | |
| | | 10% written off ..... | " 100 | " 121-11s. |
| | | | | £ 552-11s. |
| 1862 " | 1 | Interest on £552-11s. ..... | £ 27-13s. | |
| | | 10% written off ..... | " 100 | £ 127-13s. |
| | | | | £ 680-4s. |
| 1863 " | 1 | Interest on £680-4s. ..... | £ 34 | |
| | | 10% written off ..... | " 100 | " 134 |
| | | | | £ 814-4s. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1864 | " 1 | Interest on £814-4s. | £ 40-14s. | |
| | | 10% written off | " 100 | " 140-14s. |
| | | | | £ 954-18s. |
| 1865 | " 1 | Interest on £954-18s. | £ 42-15s. | |
| | | 10% written off | " 100 | £ 142-15s. |
| | | | | £ 1,097-13s. |
| 1866 | " 1 | Interest on £1,097-13s. | £ 54-18s. | |
| | | 10% written off | " 100 | " 154-18s. |

Total after 10 years ..... £1,252-11s.
or on January 1, 1866: instead of the *£1,000* in worn-out machinery, *£1,252-11s.* in ready cash.

*II. The renewal-fund is reinvested in machinery each year*

| | | | reinvestment | wear and tear % | value on Jan. 1, 1866 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1856 | on Jan. 1 machinery purchased | | £ 1,000 | 100% | £ - |
| 1857 | Jan. 1 10% written off and reinvested | | £ 100 | 90% | £ 10 |
| 1858 | Jan. 1 10% write-off | £ 1,000 £ 100<br>" 100 " 10 | " 110 | 80% | " 22 |
| | | | £ 210 | | |
| 1859 | Jan. 1 10% write-off | £ 1,000 £ 100<br>" 210 " 21 | " 121 | 70% | " 36 |
| | | | £ 331 | | |
| 1860 | Jan. 1 10% write-off | £ 1,000 £ 100<br>" 331 " 33 | " 133 | 60% | " 53 |
| | | | £ 464 | | |
| 1861 | Jan. 1 10% write-off | £ 1,000 £ 100<br>" 464 " 46 | £ 146 | 50% | " 73 |
| | | | £ 610 | | |
| 1862 | Jan. 1 10% write-off | £ 1,000 £ 100<br>" 610 " 61 | " 161 | 40% | " 97 |
| | | | £ 771 | | |
| 1863 | Jan. 1 10% write-off | £ 1,000 £ 100<br>" 771 " 77 | " 177 | 30% | " 124 |
| | | | £ 948 | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1864 | Jan. 1 | 10% write-off | £ 1,000 | £ 100 | | | |
| | | | " 948 | " 95 | " 195 | 20% | £ 156 |
| | | | | | £ 1,143 | | |
| 1865 | Jan. 1 | 10% write-off | £ 1,000 | £ 100 | | | |
| | | | " 1,143 | " 114 | " 214 | 10% | " 193 |
| | | | | | £ 1,357 | | |
| 1866 | Jan. 1 | 10% write-off | £ 1,000 | £ 100 | | | |
| | | | " 1,357 | " 136 | " 236 | 0% | " 236 |

Nominal value of the new machinery £ 1,593

Real value of the new machinery ..... £ 1,000

@ £1 per spindle he has employed:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1856 | 1,000 | spindles | Brought forward | 9,486 | spindles |
| 1857 | 1,100 | " | 1863 | 1,948 | " |
| 1858 | 1,210 | " | 1864 | 2,143 | " |
| 1859 | 1,331 | " | 1865 | 2,357 | " |
| 1860 | 1,464 | " | | | |
| 1861 | 1,610 | " | In 11 years | 15,934 | spindles |
| 1862 | 1,771 | " | On average | 1,449 | spindles |
| Brings forward | 9,486 | spindles and begins | 1866 with 1,357 236 | | |
| | | | 1,593 spindles. | | |

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## 246

## MARX TO AUGUSTE VERMOREL[67]

IN PARIS

*London*, 27 August 1867
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Citizen,

Two things astonish me in your newspaper,[a] for whose character, courage, good will and talent I have respect.

[a] *Le Courrier français*

1. You are turning your paper into an echo for *Russian lies* (and Greek, the Greeks having been taken in by the Russians) about the so-called revolution in Crete.[460] May I be permitted to send you an *English extract* on the true state of affairs in Candia.[a]

2. You reproduced the *canards* (of *Russian* origin) concerning the initiative North America is to take against the Turks. You ought to know that the President of the United States does not have the power to declare war. The Senate alone can decide. If President Johnson, *who is a dirty tool of the* SLAVEHOLDERS, although you are so naive as to make him out to be a second Washington,[b] seeks to win a little popularity by entangling foreign-policy affairs and BY SWAGGERING ABROAD, the YANKEES are neither children nor French. The mere fact that he has taken the *initiative* amid all this tentative exploration suffices to nullify any serious effect it may have.

You must excuse my taking the liberty of writing to you thus. We are both pursuing the same aim, the emancipation of the proletariat. This entitles us to be frank with one another.

I would ask you *not to publish* these lines. I am addressing them to you privately and as a friend.

Greetings and fraternity,

Karl Marx
Member of the General Council
of the International Working
Men's Association

I am most astonished at your plaudits for the Peace League.[461] It is no less (I refer to the Peace Congress) than cowardice in action. One must either protest in Berlin and Paris, or else—if one is too cowardly to do that—at least not deceive the public with ambiguous, ineffectual and declamatory pronouncements.[c]

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

Printed according to the original checked with the rough copy of the letter

Translated from the French

Published in English in full for the first time

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[a] Grete - [b] The rough copy has: If President Johnson, who is a mere *tool in the hands of the former* SLAVEHOLDERS (although you make him out a hero *à la* Washington)... - [c] See this volume, p. 420.

## 247

## MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER

IN NEW YORK

*London*, 27 August 1867
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Meyer,

Excerpt enclosed from the preface to the first volume of my book,[a] which is being published next week. Try to place it as far as you can in German-American papers and, where feasible, in English-American papers as well. Be so kind as to send me *a copy*, where it appears, since this is important for my publisher.[b]

*Ad vocem Weber.*[c] His father[d] is a fool, *exilé* from Baden, clockmaker. The boy with whose presence you are blessed there is a scoundrel. The Hatzfeldt woman picked him for the assassination of Lassalle's KILLER.[e] He took the money and followed his intended victim as far as Augsburg or thereabouts. Then he funked it. He then absconded with the Hatzfeldt money from Germany to America (trying to squeeze yet more from the old woman by threats).

His worthy father and his brother,[f] living here, said in the (German) Communist Society[g] here that I *denounced* the good lad *to the German police.* That was how they explained his exit and cheating of Countess Hatzfeldt. I went along to the Society, denounced the scoundrels, and Weber jun. was chucked out in disgrace.

Now you know the facts of the matter.

*Salut.*

Your
K. Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

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[a] *Capital* - [b] Otto Meissner - [c] Regarding (Wilhelm) Weber - [d] Joseph Valentin Weber - [e] Janko von Racowiţa - [f] Louis Weber - [g] the German Workers' Educational Society in London

## 248

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 31 August 1867

Dear Fred,

Received both your letters with the calculations. Thanks.

I have got to pay £4 between 2 shitty *épiciers*[a] by *next Tuesday* (3 September), and that's only a part of what I owe them both. I have the feeling these fellows are pressing harder this year than ever.

The children are returning a week on Sunday (morning).[b] I wish they had stayed away longer. They were enjoying themselves over there. But Lafargue has to get back to his school. (It always vexes him if I ask: *N'allez-vous pas à votre école?*[c])

For the congress at Lausanne (International)[462] from here: Eccarius, Lessner, Dupont. Also, the president of the Coventry ribbon weavers[d] and A. Walton, Esq. (from Wales). Eccarius has safely received the contribution about the congress for *The Times*—having previously made enquiry of the latter.

Judging from all the news from Paris, Bonaparte's position there is looking very shaky.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] shop-keepers - [b] See this volume, pp. 396-97. - [c] Are you not going to your school? - [d] Daniel Swan

## 249

## ENGELS TO MARX[419]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 September 1867

Dear Moor,

I have just received payment for a very long-standing bad debt of £5 which will put me in a position to send you that sum tomorrow as soon as I have cashed the CHEQUE. Otherwise, I should have been in something of a fix, what with the repayment of the £45 to Borkheim now due. What about Borkheim, is he back? I am now able and therefore wish to settle up.

The 8 sheets[a] received with thanks. The theoretical side is quite splendid, as is the exposition of the history of expropriation. But the piece you have inserted on Ireland was done in the most fearful haste, and the material is not properly knocked into shape at all. On first reading often positively incomprehensible. Further comments as soon as I have considered the stuff more closely. The *résumé* on the expropriation of the expropriators is most brilliant and will create quite an effect.[463]

It is fortunate that almost all of the book is 'enacted' in England, so to speak; otherwise para. 100 of the Prussian Penal Code would be operable: 'Whosoever ... shall incite the subjects of the State to hatred or contempt of each other',[b] etc.—and confiscation would ensue. Bismarck seems to be needing to stage a little demonstration against the workers anyway. In Erfurt or thereabouts a Lassallean poet, printer and publisher[464] have been arraigned for high treason, and in Elberfeld they have even confiscated a scrawl by the noble Schweitzer.[c] So, it is possible that the book would be prohibited in Prussia, but, anyway, that would not have any effect in present conditions.

Your
F. E.

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[a] of the first volume of *Capital* - [b] *Strafgesetzbuch für die Preussischen Staaten.* Vom 14. April 1851. - [c] J. B. Schweitzer, *Der Kapitalgewinn und der Arbeitslohn.*

## 250

## ENGELS TO MARX[10]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 2 September 1867

Dear Moor,

The £5 banknote enclosed. You will have received the booklet 'TRANSACTIONS' [OF THE] R[OYAL] SOCIETY.[465] Can you send me the July and August *Free Presses*, as promised?

Things appear to have taken a very sharp turn in Paris; every day all the papers are following Girardin's example in recalling 1829 and 1847,[466] and the Lille speech, full of resignation, appears to prove that there is nothing to be done in South Germany and Austria *precisely now* when he[a] needs it, obviously solely in consequence of the sorry state of the latter. 'And hence' it is only 'weak governments' which incline to use foreign conflicts as a means of avoiding internal difficulties.[467] Then, the constantly reiterated allusions to '*mon fils*'[b] do not appear to imply any very significant confidence in the longevity of the '*père*' *quem nuptiae demonstrant*[c] either. You must press ahead with the second volume,[418] things may soon start to happen.

On Saturday I saw a Californian newspaper, which suggested the 8 HOURS-MOVEMENT must have had an enormous impact amongst the BUILDING TRADES there. The MASTERS are forming a 10-HOURS-ASSOCIATION to oppose it and are setting up a considerable wailing. Contracts for $1^1/_2$ million dollars are said to have been withdrawn as a result of the 8 HOURS business.[468]

Gumpert is back and says that in Electoral Hesse the rage at the Prussians is as furious as in Hanover, though less demonstrative. The moment the military were to leave, every 'Prussian' would be slaughtered. Amongst other things the Prussians have confiscated the officers' widows and pension fund in Kassel which derived from *compulsory contributions from the officers*. He found things even hotter in Hanover than I did.

Kugelmann also wanted to attend the Lausanne Congress,[462] i.e., as a SPECTATOR, perhaps it would be a good thing to inform Eccarius of this. He will probably encounter Schorlemmer, who left yesterday (via Grimsby), at the Naturalists' Congress in Frankfurt.

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[a] Napoleon III - [b] 'my son' (Eugène Bonaparte) - [c] father, who became so by marriage

Moore is travelling to Thuringia in approx. 3 weeks, to learn German for 6 weeks; I have sent him off there so that he may get off the TRACK of the BRITISH TOURISTS.

Kindest regards.

Your
F. E.

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## 251

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 September 1867

DEAR FRED,

The £5 received with thanks.

Borkheim wrote to me a few days ago from Berne and sent me 'for comment if you would be so kind' the *brouillon*[a] for the speech, which he is intending to give at the PEACE CONGRESS in Geneva.[469] He also wanted your assistance. I wrote to him, as we had agreed, that you had not yet returned. You can, however, send the money to his associate *Schyler*, 65 Fenchurch Street. But it is £50, not 45. When I looked, I found that the bill was on £48, and Borkheim then told me that he could probably give me the full sum of £50. I did not tell you of this before, as I was expecting the money I had been promised any day, and then wanted to pay the £50 myself.

Enclosed:

1. the last sheets of the proofs.[b]
2. 2 *Diplomatic Reviews* and 1 number of *Courrier français*.

Regarding the final sheets, they have put the *Addendum to the Notes* in *large* print, and the *Appendix on the Form of Value* in *small* print, *despite my instructions*.[470] They probably did this so that the book should be neither over nor under 50 sheets in length. In my

[a] draft - [b] of the first volume of *Capital*

opinion, Meissner has made a serious blunder in increasing the purchase-price from 3 talers to 3 talers 10 silver groschen. It is, however, possible as well that he has subsequently received so many more firm orders that this was commercially the correct thing to do.

A word of explanation concerning the article in the *Courrier français* (which you must *send back* to me after you have read it through): *'Les Conditions de la Paix'*[a]:

You know that on the GENERAL COUNCIL I expressed my opposition to our joining the peace-at-any-price party.[b] My speech lasted ABOUT 1/2 HOUR. As minute-secretary, Eccarius reported on it in *The Bee-Hive*, giving only a few sentences of what I said. The reprint in the *Courrier* even omits the sentences about the necessity for armies vis-à-vis Russia and about the *cowardice* of these fellows.[471] The affair has, nevertheless, created quite a stir. The jackasses from the PEACE CONGRESS, whose agent in London is M. de Colleville, completely *changed* their original programme and even smuggled into the new one, which is much more democratic, the words 'THE HARMONIZING OF ECONOMIC INTERESTS WITH LIBERTY', which could mean almost anything, including just FREETRADE. They have been bombarding me with letters and even had the impertinence to send me the enclosed scrap of paper with the new programme. Their impertinence consists in nominating me as a 'MEMBER OF THE GENEVA, ETC., CONGRESS' in the address. The *Courrier*, which was their most vociferous advocate in Paris, is deserting them, as you will see. The same *Courrier* has changed its policy in respect of Russia, following a private letter that I wrote to Vermorel ABOUT a fortnight ago[c] (we are not acquainted).

The main point was that these fine gentlemen from the peace congress, Victor Hugo, Garibaldi, L. Blanc, etc., had kept themselves supremely aloof from our INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION. I have now obliged them to acknowledge us as a real force.

From *Naples* I have received the first 2 numbers of a paper *Libertà e Giustizia*. In No. I they declare themselves to be *our organ*. I have passed it to Eccarius to place before the congress.[462] No. II, which I shall send you, contains a very good attack on *Mazzini*.[d] I suspect that Bakunin has a hand in it.

With regard to the confiscation and prohibition of my book,[e] there is a world of difference between prohibiting electoral

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[a] by L. Dubois. See *Le Courrier français*, No. 77, 2 September 1867. - [b] i.e., the League of Peace and Freedom - [c] See this volume, pp. 413-14. - [d] 'La questione romana', *Libertà e Giustizia*, No. 2, 24 August 1867. - [e] See this volume, p. 417.

pamphlets and a book of 50 sheets which has such an air of erudition and even contains notes in Greek. Admittedly, that might be of little avail if I had chosen 12 administrative districts in Prussia instead of 12 COUNTIES in England to describe the conditions of the agricultural workers. I also feel that Mr Bismarck will think twice about the matter before provoking me into attacking his regime in London and Paris.

What conditions are like in Prussia, incidentally, is shown by the following statement by *O. Hübner*, Director of the *Central Statistical Archive*, in a message to his electors:

'The people are already overburdened. Apart from the armament factories, almost every trade is depressed, hundreds of hungry men are applying for the humblest positions, in the cities the number of empty dwellings and of citizens, who cannot afford to pay rent, is growing, a whole host of estates and houses are being subjected to compulsory auction, the poor-houses are being besieged *by our maimed victors* and by the unemployed, everywhere there is a lack of confidence in the present and the future, and the budgets of the poorest are beset by the realisation *that they are already paying more for the services of the state than they are worth*.'

In Berlin, neither the government nor the National-Liberal Party[432] has got a single candidate through.[a] But just what utter blockheads those men of Progress[99] are who now form the extreme left, is shown amongst other things by the following extract from their 'most radical' organ, the *Zukunft*:

'The whole English nation is permeated by a *snobbery which treats all alike* and to which all personal industry is anathema. [...] It is *this same snobbery* which is for ever urging *reduction of working hours* and prohibits *overtime* on account of the UNIONS!'[b]

Would you credit it! Even now the Parisian press is truly a giant compared with the German press!

Your
K. Marx

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[a] at the elections to the North German Reichstag (end of August-beginning of September 1867) - [b] 'Englische Briefe', *Die Zukunft*, No. 199 (supplement), 27 August 1867.

## 252

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

*In haste*

[London,] 7 September 1867

DEAR FRED,

1 letter from Lessner enclosed. I already had the *Gazettes de Lausanne.*[472] *The Times* has cut Eccarius quite disgracefully.[473] I am, at the same time, sending you NEWEST *Diplomatic Review* and copies of the *Courrier français*, which I must always have *back.* The *Courrier français* has made nonsense of the short notice I sent it about Hübner[a] by putting '*tomber sous le marteau des démolisseurs*'[b] instead of *tomber sous la subhastation*[c] (which is an expression from the *Code Napoléon*).

*Adio.*

Your
K. Marx

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## 253

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 9 September 1867]

Dear Moor,

I intended writing yesterday and today but COMMERCE prevented me from doing so. The *Courriers* returned enclosed. Vermorel is a fine one with his talk of the influence of the French at the congress and their *caractère sérieux* and them *not making any speeches.*[474] POOR Eccarius!

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[a] *Le Courrier français*, No. 81, 6 September 1867. - [b] fall beneath the hammer of the demolishers - [c] be subjected to compulsory auction (see this volume, p. 421)

I must congratulate you on your appendix on the form of value.[438] In this form, it is BROUGHT HOME TO THE MOST REBELLIOUS UNDERSTANDING. Likewise with regard to the preface. But who did the appalling, ungrammatical translation in *The Bee-Hive*?[456] Why was it not sent to me, saying what you wanted? I am afraid it will harm your reputation with Beesly, etc., who will think you did it yourself.

Apropos, what shores does the '*trans*atlantic Ocean' wash, exactly?

More tomorrow.

Your
F. E.

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## 254

## MARX TO ENGELS[101]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 11 September 1867

DEAR FRED,

Regarding the '*trans*atlantic Ocean', it is a matter for the final corrector to put right such *lapsus pennae*.[a] I see that the *Zukunft* has reprinted this splendid 'flow' along with the greater part of the preface.[b]

The translation in *The Bee-Hive*[c] is by Eccarius. I believe that most of the errors stem not from him, but, because of his bad hand-writing, from *The Bee-Hive*'s CORRECTORS. I would naturally have preferred you to do the translation. However, as Eccarius offered his services *de prime abord*,[d] and is now on the staff of *The Bee-Hive*, that was not feasible.

I shall personally deliver the coup de grâce to those Proudhonist jackasses at the next congress in Brussels. I have DIPLOMATICALLY

[a] slips of the pen - [b] to the first volume of *Capital* (*Die Zukunft*, No. 206, 4 September 1867) - [c] of a part of the preface to the first volume of *Capital* (*The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 308, 7 September 1867) - [d] initially

MANAGED the whole affair and did not want to COME OUT *personally* before my book appears and our Association is firmly rooted. By the by, I shall give them a caning in the OFFICIAL REPORT of the GENERAL COUNCIL (despite all their efforts, the Parisian wind-bags were unable to prevent our re-election[475]).

MEANWHILE our Association has made great progress. The wretched *Star*, which wanted to ignore us entirely, announced in its leading article yesterday that we are more important than the PEACE CONGRESS.[461] Schulze-Delitzsch could not prevent his '*Workers' Association*' in Berlin from joining us.[476] Those wretches from among the English TRADE UNIONISTS, who think we are too 'extreme', are coming flocking. Besides the *Courrier français*, there have been reports on our congress in Girardin's *Liberté*, *Siècle*, *Mode*, *Gazette de France*, etc. *Les choses marchent.*[a] And when the next revolution comes, and that will perhaps be sooner than might appear, *we* (i.e., you and I) will have this mighty ENGINE *at our disposal.* COMPARE WITH THIS THE RESULTS OF MAZZINI'S, ETC., OPERATIONS SINCE 30 YEARS! And with no money to boot! And with the intrigues of the Proudhonists in Paris, Mazzini in Italy and the jealous Odger, Cremer, Potter in London, with the Schulze-Delitzsch and the Lassalleans in Germany! We can be well satisfied!

My children arrived back safe and in good spirits with Lafargue yesterday.[b] He has brought an enormous crystal goblet (holds $1^1/_2$ POTS) back with him for you. He appears to be impressed with your 'transatlantic Ocean'.

In these days, Lafargue would like to visit you for 3 days at this time before his lectures begin again. The most awkward thing about it is that he is demanding (of course, not being IN THE SECRET OF MY MONEY-AFFAIRS) that I should accompany him, and I have not yet found a satisfactory excuse for turning down this tour, which I just cannot manage.

I am exceedingly vexed with Meissner. He has wasted weeks in bringing out the book. Why?

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

2nd letter from Lessner enclosed.[477]

Apropos. Our plump poet's[c] begging-campaign, which, *vide*[d] the latest *Hermann*,[e] is not proceeding quite as desired, has had one

---

[a] Things are going ahead. - [b] See this volume, pp. 396-97. - [c] Ferdinand Freiligrath - [d] see - [e] *Hermann*, 7 September 1867.

good result.[422] Kätchen of the sturdy calves[a] is to get married. Notice of betrothal to A CERTAIN Kröker (a most poetic name) in the *Zukunft*![b]

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## ENGELS TO MARX[419]

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 September 1867

Dear Moor,

The congress really does appear to have been swept away in the French tide this time, the number of Proudhonist resolutions is really far too large.[462] It is good that it will be coming to Belgium next time, by then it will perhaps be possible to do something in North Germany as well, and then, with the help of the English, to dam up the flood. Meanwhile, whatever they resolve there is more or less just wasted breath as long as the CENTRAL COUNCIL remains in London. Once again *notre cher*[c] Philipp Becker appears to have committed some of his unpremeditated blunders, for which one must forgive the old agitator when he has no one to guide him.[478]

That Eccarius wrote the reports in *The Times* must be kept secret.[473] In view of the manner in which the editors have trimmed his story, it could do him enormous harm. The next time that he reports to the paper, he will have to consider more carefully to what extent his humour can be exploited by the bourgeois editors to cast RIDICULE on the whole business and not just on the few *crapauds*.[d]

Since you are in contact with Vermorel, can you not moderate the fellow's asininities with regard to Germany? It is really too much if the jackass is demanding that *Bonaparte* should become

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[a] Käthe Freiligrath - [b] *Die Zukunft*, No. 208 (supplement), 6 September 1867. - [c] our dear - [d] toads; philistines (here Engels refers to the French Proudhonists, delegates to the Lausanne Congress)

*liberal*, bourgeois liberal, and then start a war to liberate Germany from the tyranny of Bismarck![a] These *crapauds*, who will have to handle Germany with great delicacy even *if* they do make a revolution, believe that but a slight turn toward liberalism would enable them to revert to their old roles. I regard it as most important, particularly in the event of a revolution, that these gentlemen should become accustomed to treating us *d'égal à égal*.[b] According to them, Bismarckism in Germany is an inherent characteristic of Germany, which they must destroy by intervening, but their own Bonapartism is a mere accident and could be terminated just by a change of ministers and transformed into its opposite.

The great Schweitzer has been happily elected with the assistance of the pietists[55] of Elberfeld and Barmen, and will now have the opportunity to bowdlerise various points from your book[c] in the 'Reichstag'. You may wager your life that he will do so. However, it can only do good and will afford us much entertainment; once the book is out, only good can come of such things.

Apropos of Barmen, I am reminded of Siebel. The poor devil is dreadfully sick again and is once more having to leave Barmen, though I do not know whereto; it is possible he will not live out the winter. He must be very bad, so I cannot count on him raising any cry for your book in the newspapers. He has written me a very DESPONDING letter.

The TRADES OUTRAGE COMMISSION'S[442] conclusions here are entirely farcical and are no different from those reached 7 years ago. If they do not produce anything better, they might as well pack their bags. Just imagine seeing BRICKMAKING AND BRICKLAYING treated as the chief industries of Manchester!

The defects which have become apparent in the tests carried out on the Chassepot rifle here are the very ones which had already been discovered in Berlin and which Bölzig told me of in Hanover. At that time, I thought that they had *deliberately* allowed faulty specimens to fall into the hands of the Prussians, but now it rather looks as though there is something in it, in which case the rifle is not half as good as the Prussians' needle-gun.

Meissner's people in Leipzig appear to be taking an inordinately long time to send the book out. Still no notices anywhere. Do you think I should attack the thing from the bourgeois point of view,

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[a] A. Vermorel, 'La prochaine campagne de la Prusse', *Le Courrier français*, No. 84, 9 September 1867. - [b] as equals - [c] the first volume of *Capital*

to get things under way? Meissner or Siebel would surely get that accepted by a paper.[479] As for it being prohibited,[a] I don't believe it myself, but one can never swear that the zeal of some government official will not get the better of him, and once a case has been brought, you could rely on your friend Lippe.

Kindest regards to your wife and the girls, who I presume are back now.[b]

The *Diplomatic Reviews* received with thanks.

Your
F. E.

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## 256

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 September 1867

Dear Fred,

Meissner's procrastination bodes most ill. He could have disposed of many copies[c] at the congress in Lausanne.[462] And the book would have been discussed there as a real event. Such stupidity is beyond my comprehension. Next Saturday it will be *4 weeks* since I sent the last corrections to Leipzig.[d]

Your plan to attack the book *from the bourgeois point of view* is *the best tactic*. However—once the thing is out—I consider it better to have this done through Siebel or Rittershaus, rather than Meissner. There is no need to let even the best publishers see through one's game. On the other hand, you must write a few instructions to *Kugelmann*, who is back, concerning the positive aspects he should emphasise. Otherwise, he will do something *foolish*, enthusiasm alone being insufficient in this case. Naturally, you will feel less inhibited about doing this than I.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 417 and 420-21. - [b] Ibid, pp. 396-97 and 424. - [c] of the first volume of *Capital* - [d] See this volume, pp. 402, 405.

I am entirely of your mind *quoad*[a] Eccarius.[b] A worker is lacking in diplomatic finesse, especially one with the critical bluntness of Eccarius. He writes to *The Times* as though he were writing for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitungs-Revue*.[c] However, no harm has been done. Here in London they are saying that the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION, etc., must be strong indeed for *The Times* to report so expressly on it. Eccarius' SNEERS are taken to be *Times* SNEERS.[473]

It was the wretched *French Swiss*, who, being very strongly represented, gave the French wind-bags from Paris so much scope. Old Becker was responsible for the most serious BLUNDER.[478] He first disrupted the agenda we had planned, so as to spring *his freedom resolution*. This then provided the Parisians with the opportunity to let themselves go.

But none of that signifies. The main thing is that the congress was held, not what happened there. *On se moquera bien*[d] of the Paris WISEACRES in our GENERAL REPORT. To the latter's great dismay, a resolution was adopted that *those who do not pay* (and the Parisians have not paid a farthing) cannot send delegates in future. The aim must be to send 20 English and 30 Germans to Brussels next time.[475] AS TO THE BELGIANS THEMSELVES, they can only send 1 MAN per 500, so there will not be very many of them. They are furthermore RATHER REBELLIOUS towards the Parisians.

Nota bene: the worst thing is, we have not a single man in Paris who could make contact with the workers' sections which are *hostile* to the Proudhonists (and they form the majority!). If Dupont were to spend a few weeks in Paris, everything would be in order, but the police have him under close surveyance.

In due course I shall write privately to Vermorel and knock those absurd notions about German politics out of him.[e] I shall have to proceed *gradatim*[f] and therefore deliberately began with the UNITED STATES, RUSSIA and TURKEY, because this is 'neutral' ground between Germans and French.[g]

Laura and Lafargue are just now translating part of the preface for the *Courrier français*.[456]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] concerning - [b] See this volume, p. 425. - [c] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* - [d] We shall make fun - [e] See this volume, pp. 425-26. - [f] gradually - [g] See this volume, pp. 413-14.

## 257

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 September 1867

DEAR FRED,

I am sending this 2nd letter, because Eccarius' LETTER has just arrived.[480]

Apropos. What Eccarius could not have known: L. Blanc has absented himself from the Geneva Congress,[a] because '*my*' people would be playing tricks there; Jules Favre, because the 'class question'[b] (as a SUPPORTER of Cavaignac in the June days,[481] his CONSCIENCE is, of course, not CLEAN) has been adopted by the *Courrier français*, along London lines.

Your
K. M.

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## 258

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 12 September 1867

Dear Moor,

You have *not* enclosed letter No. 2 from Lessner.[477] If Lafargue does come, I would much appreciate it if you came too,[c] as I do not rightly know how to entertain our comrade during my business hours. If possible, you should come straight away tomorrow, or at least on the morning of the day after, so that we can be together on Saturday and Sunday, and I can also more

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[a] of the League of Peace and Freedom - [b] See this volume, p. 420. - [c] ibid., p. 424.

easily take some French leave on Monday. But write or telegraph beforehand, so that I can arrange lodging (telegraph the office, except Saturday after 11.0.a.m. and Sunday).

£5 enclosed to help with money-matters; apart from the cost of travelling here, you can leave it at home for your wife.

Here, too, the press is treating the International much more decently than before. *All* the newspapers here have carried some part of the proceedings,[a] the *Examiner & Times*[b] had a philistinishly benevolent LEADER.

Would it not be appropriate also to report on the meetings of the CENTRAL COUNCIL in the German newspapers? e.g., the *Zukunft*; Wilhelmchen[c] might perhaps find somewhere else, too. Where actually is the noble fellow now?

The Lassalleans are beset by a fresh shindig again. Dr Reincke in Hagen and Schweitzer are AT DAGGERS DRAWN. Reincke went along with the party-of-Progress clique[99]—Bürgers and E. Richter—to ensure his election in Hagen, Düsseldorf and Solingen, but failed in the two latter.

We really must try to establish a direct link with the workers in Germany again, that is what we most lack, otherwise everything is buoyant enough.

I read of the betrothal of *Käthe*,[d] as she calls herself, in the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

You will have to give me a verbal account of the congress telegrams from Germany.

The *Courriers*[e] returned herewith. Apropos of the vote in Schleswig, it is splendid how those jackasses declared: *avons une carte devant nous*,[f] which shows Holstein within Schleswig (or vice versa)! Likewise, they first have the *Federal troops* and then the *Dutch* (instead of the Luxemburgers themselves) marching into Luxemburg. And it is they who want to abolish IGNORANCE!

Your
F. E.

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[a] of the Lausanne Congress - [b] *The Manchester Daily Examiner & Times* - [c] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [d] Freiligrath's daughter (see this volume, p. 425) - [e] *Le Courrier français*, Nos. 85 and 86, 10 and 11 September 1867. - [f] we have *a map before us*

## 259

## MARX TO ENGELS[482]

### IN MANCHESTER

[Telegram]

London, 13 September 1867

*From* Karl Marx, 1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park. *To* Fred Engels, Southgate, St. Mary's.

Will start from Euston station 4.15 p.m.

First published in the language of the original, English, in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

Reproduced from the photocopy of the telegram

## 260

## ENGELS TO LAURA MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 23 September 1867

Dear Löhrchen,

I have received your delightful letter, and as soon as the books arrived I despatched the various copies[a] to their resp. recipients—those to Imandt and Strohn sent securely packed by BOOK POST, but the one intended for me, for which my best thanks to Moor, straight to the binders.

You will be interested to learn that a week ago last Saturday I already showed Lafargue[482] the battlefield where the great Fenian liberation battle was enacted the previous Wednesday.[483] We were actually within ten paces of the railway arch; however, he will scarcely recollect it.

So that you may see what man, and cotton-man in particular, is capable of, I am sending you enclosed the latest abomination of this kind in the form of a cotton sheen-wig. These GUYS are now being made and sold in colossal quantities.

Your friend Library[b] has been successfully elected at Schneeberg in Saxony to the great North German Reichstag

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[a] of the first volume of *Capital* - [b] Wilhelm Liebknecht

against Count zur Lippe, and will no doubt soon be making a great maiden speech.[484] THE RIGHT MAN IN THE RIGHT PLACE.

With hearty greetings to the whole family, most sincerely

Your
F. Engels

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## 261

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 October 1867[a]

DEAR FRED,

Since my return from Manchester[482] almost until now, I have had a feverish cold. I caught the COLD in the course of the railway *malheur*.[b]

As there are many things about which I wish to write to you, ON PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AFFAIRS, in this letter, I shall start with the *book*,[c] so that I do not forget it. You would have spent long indeed searching in Table C for the decrease in the cultivation of green crops (p. 695). Mr Wigand has printed *C* instead of *B* (p. 690), which tells us, under the heading '*Green Crops*', that from 1861-65 107,984 acres were put out of cultivation.[485] Indeed you will observe from the schedule of misprints on p. 784 that Mr Wigand has wilfully *abbreviated* it from p. 292 onwards in order to accommodate it on the last page. The section concerning Ireland was certainly written very hastily, but for a second edition it could be put in order with but a few formal alterations. The most important thing is the FACTS, which are not known even in England.[463]

I have heard nothing from Meissner. Schabelitz (Basle) told Borkheim he has requested 5 *copies for sale or return* on the

[a] The original has '1859' corrected by Engels: '!! 1867', with the note *Voilá bien, le père Marx!* (There you are, Father Marx!). - [b] misfortunes - [c] the first volume of *Capital*

strength of 5 copies which he ordered for cash payment, but Meissner replied he did not have enough to send him so many for sale or return. However, this may merely be a diplomatic manoeuvre on Meissner's part. I see from the enclosed note from Liebknecht (who BY THE BY has done us proud with his first intervention in the Reichstag, *vide*[a] the *Zukunft* No. 229 of 1 October[486]) that Meissner is not *always* so punctilious. It was agreed that he should send 1 copy to Liebknecht and 1 copy to Dr Weiss for the editors (*Zukunft*).

Professor Beesly has now returned home, and I shall be hearing from him before very long. *Quant à*[b] Siebel, I should also like to know whether he has received the copies, 1 for himself and 1 for Rittershaus? and how the latter has requited it?

*Ad vocem*[c] *Vogt*: you will find some news about Vogt in the enclosed letter from Kugelmann.[487] After Kugelmann had departed[d] and the gang thought Borkheim had likewise gone, a final meeting of the Germans took place, at which Borkheim suddenly appeared and witnessed the following occurrence. Mr Goegg handed a slip of paper to the Vice-President, Büchner, in which he declared that the Bonapartist rumours, etc., regarding Vogt were false, and offered a *testimonium virtutis*[e] for the man, whom he claimed to have known for 20 years. He demanded that Büchner *sign* this note, i.e., *certify* that it had been communicated to him. Büchner naturally did so. Whereupon LITTLE Beust jumps up, states in writing that Goegg is only expressing a private opinion which is by no means shared in Switzerland, etc., etc. Ditto demands certification of his *protest* by Büchner, which the latter supplies. Vogt's manoeuvre was thus frustrated. To what depths that fellow has descended!

Another INCIDENT at the Peace Congress! Ludwig Simon approaches Goegg: 'Why have you not moved my name nearer to the top of the list of speakers! Why is Borkheim given the floor before me?' *Goegg*: 'Those fellows—*the proletarians*—had 4 of the German vice-presidents. To bring in *our man Grün* and get Borkheim to give up his place, we had to make this concession to him, etc.!' Hardly were the words out of that beau's[f] mouth than he looks round and to his horror sees Eccarius grinning behind his back.

*Ad vocem Stumpf*: Maybe Stumpf understands me, but I do not understand Stumpf. Perhaps you will be more fortunate and be

[a] see - [b] As regards - [c] Regarding - [d] from the inaugural congress of the League of Peace and Freedom - [e] certificate of virtue - [f] The German word used by Marx here is *Geck*, a pun on *Goegg*.

able to 'delineate the scientific process of pauperisation' and ditto 'the correct conclusion' from the 'evidence' which he keeps in his pocket and does not divulge. His letter enclosed.[488]

*Ad vocem Dronke*: Borkheim spoke to a man in Paris who has a precise acquaintance with all Dronke's affairs and described him as a '*voleur*'[a] The copper company had served notice on Dronke a year ago. It now has a firm in Glasgow as its associate and therefore has no more need of an English agency. Dronke, *dicitur*,[b] has been guilty of much 'embezzlement' in the past year and has made himself the object of an 'embarrassing' investigation. I hope the affair will be hushed up.

*Ad vocem Collet*: what follows is by way of explanation for the enclosed *curiosa*: Collet's little girl (whom you have met) and her even younger brother were visiting us a few days ago. The boy had a boxing match with Lafargue, who eventually pinned him to the floor in a humiliating position. Then says the boy, 'REMEMBER HOW YOU GOT ON AT WATERLOO!' Hence this comical correspondence, with the girl denouncing the lad to the old man.

Collet has withdrawn from *The Diplomatic Review*, although his name still figures on the paper this time. I immediately noticed the change of editor, as I was only sent 1 COPY. You shall have it as soon as I am finished with it. It is a thoroughly foolish number. Garibaldi is described as 'a common bandit, atheist, FOOL, etc.', M. Dupanloup, the *évêque*[c] of Orleans, by contrast, as the great man of the age.[d] Will David[e] yet become a Catholic one day perhaps? The Peace Congress in Geneva was, of course, a fabrication of the Russians, which is why they sent along their 'WELL WORN OUT AGENT Bakounine'. I have the impression that *The Diplomatic Review* is on its last legs.

*Ad vocem* INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION. At my suggestion, the office of president has been abolished, after Odger had already been proposed for re-election.[489]—Fox, who has missed no opportunity to exhibit his profound hatred for Eccarius since the latter's return,[f] gave notice for the next meeting (Tuesday) that he would ask the COUNCIL to consider *censuring Eccarius* for his *'Times' articles*.[473] To Fox's great surprise I thereupon gave ditto notice that I would interpellate Fox next Tuesday about a '*SECRET LETTER*' that he had written to Becker[g] requesting him 'TO DO ALL IN HIS POWER TO REMOVE THE SEAT OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL FROM LONDON'.[490] Fox, who is

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[a] thief - [b] it is said - [c] bishop - [d] 'Events of the Month', *The Diplomatic Review*, 2 October 1867. - [e] David Urquhart - [f] from the Lausanne Congress of the International - [g] Johann Philipp Becker

altogether composed of CAPRICES and CROTCHETS, imagines that he must found an '*opposition party*' on the COUNCIL against the '*German dictatorship*', as he calls it. He will be astonished at his success in this LINE!

*Ad vocem Borkheim*: *d'abord*,[a] the following FACTS. Borkheim spoke (or rather read from his manuscript) for over 20 minutes, whereas only 10 were permitted by the rules.[469] Naturally, like Garibaldi and Edgar Quinet, he too felt he could afford to take liberties. Secondly, he mounted the rostrum in a state of extreme excitement, and, as Eccarius says, 'did not let himself get a word in edgeways'. Nobody understood him. All that people heard were the few catchwords about Schulze-Delitzsch, at which Vogt jumped up and clenched both his fists, and about the Cossacks.[b] That was fortunate indeed. His speech was thought to be significant because it was *not* understood. He therefore plays some part, both in *The Times*[491] and in the *French press*. But now comes the DRAWBACK. The fool wishes to have his speech printed in German, English, Russian and in the *French original*. I now have the latter in front of me.[c] He sent it to me so that Lafargue could look through it. With the exception of the few catchwords, which I whispered into his ear, it is not merely a *tasteless* hotchpotch, but often pure balderdash. And his French! E.g.,

'Sans stultification il serait impossible de discuter, s'il faudrait d'abord faire enlever la femelle Isabelle, faire sauter le mâle Bismarck ou faire s'évanouir l'agile hermaphrodite Beust. Il y a de grands orateurs, de profonds penseurs français, membres de cette union, mais fûssent-ils tous des Mirabeaux achevés et des Descartes consommés, les têtes allemandes seraient trop carrées pour le trouver rond, qu'il fût d'abord et avant tout le gouvernement français, l'abolition duquel introniserait l'ère de la paix internationale.'[d]

*Assez!*[e]

How little he suspected the quality of 'his French' is clear from the note he jotted in the margin of the manuscript he sent me:

'Please ask Mr Lafargue to look quickly through it and correct *any* (!) bad French in the margin!'

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[a] firstly - [b] *Le Courrier français*, No. 88, 13 September 1867. - [c] S. Borkheim, *Ma perle devant le congrès de Genève*. - [d] 'It would be impossible, without descending to the level of idiocy, to discuss whether the first task should be to arrange for the female Isabella to be abducted, for the male Bismarck to be overthrown, or for the nimble hermaphrodite Beust to evaporate. Among the French members of this Association there are some great orators and some profound thinkers, but were they all accomplished Mirabeaux and consummate Descartes, the Germans would be too squareheaded to accept roundly that it would be first and foremost the French government whose destruction would inaugurate the era of international peace.' - [e] Enough!

I was, OF COURSE, OBLIGED to tell him that Lafargue would have to see him, as he could not proceed to make the 'deletions' (to begin with, Lafargue wants to delete the whole of THE FIRST HALF) and 'amendments' in his absence. He is therefore coming to see me *this evening*. Lafargue additionally showed me *French commis voyageur*[a] SLANG in almost every sentence. E.g., '*parlons rondement!*'[b]

*PRIVATE AFFAIRS*: I have talked to Borkheim about the possibility of finding me a LOAN of at least £100 in London. He says yes, he is willing to be 1 guarantor if you will be the other. But he would, after all, need to hear from yourself about the matter first. The situation is simply that I can neither complete Volume II,[418] nor find the time for the intrigues required for the English edition,[229] nor even remain in England, if I do not manage to pacify the Manichaeans[431] for SOME WEEKS AT LEAST. If the English transaction succeeds, and if they proceed in such a manner in Germany—which does not seem difficult to me—that a 2nd impression[454] soon becomes necessary, the crisis will have been overcome.

This damned year has been made even worse by Lafargue staying with me until now, Laura is to marry in the spring, etc.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 262

## ENGELS TO MARX[c]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 8 October 1867
7 Southgate

Dear Moor,

Detailed letter tomorrow. Just the letters returned enclosed and the *one* question: will Borkheim be writing to me about the LOAN or

[a] commercial traveller - [b] let us not beat about the bush - [c] The letter is written on the blank of the Ermen & Engels firm in Manchester.

is he expecting *me* to write to him?[a] I shall send the newspapers back to you tomorrow.

Meissner will no doubt have sent the copies[b] to Weiss and Liebknecht through a bookshop, where they would not arrive until *about 1 October* in Berlin, about the time when the other copies arrived there and came into the shops. The *Kölnische* and *Augsburger Zeitung* only carried the notice a few days ago.[c]

Your
F. E.

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## 263

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 October 1867

DEAR FRED,

Borkheim is expecting a letter from you first that you are willing to be co-guarantor.[d]

*Poor* Lafargue is in the final throes today, putting Borkheim's *preface* into decent French (insofar as that is possible!). The latter has baptised his opus: '*Ma perle* devant le Congrès de Genève'.[469] Curious how the itch for literary fame can make a FOOL of an otherwise quite intelligent *garçon*[e]*!*

So, yesterday, Fox was to decapitate Eccarius.[f] The former took more than 1 hour to speak his indictment. He had most maliciously assembled the worst passages and displayed all the arts of an Old Bailey[g] barrister, also continually attacking me. In my riposte I dealt him such telling blows that in his final REPLY he quite lost his composure and self-control. Everyone joined in the

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[a] See previous letter. - [b] of the first volume of *Capital* - [c] *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 273, 30 September 1867. - [d] See previous letter. - [e] fellow - [f] A reference to the meeting of the General Council of the International on 8 October 1867 (see this volume, pp. 434-35). - [g] Old Bailey—Central Criminal Court in London

discussion. The outcome: my MOTION (or amendment RATHER) 'to proceed to the order of the day' was accepted by an enormous majority. Nevertheless, Eccarius got a regular dressing down in the course of the debate.

You must read the piece 'Le troisième larron' I have marked in the *Courrier*[a] that you will get at the same time (splendid that the French are already *sans gêne*[b] calling *their* Bonaparte one of the *larrons*[c]).[492] As soon as I have the numbers back from Lormier, I shall send the interesting COMMUNICATIONS about the MEXICAN affair.[270]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Apropos. Strohn spent the day here yesterday. He fancies you meant to slight him on his last visit to Manchester, with your remark, 'Yes, in Bradford the *commis voyageur*[d] still counts for something.' I tried to drive this nonsense out of his mind.—He says Dronke had procured the British *associé* for the copper company himself. He had probably demanded to be indemnified for it, and no doubt he had based himself on spurious but legally defensible claims when appropriating or laying his hands on a portion of the copper passing through his hands. He did not believe that Dronke had unwarrantedly *frisé*[e] the *code pénal* directly. *Tant mieux*[f]

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## 264

## MARX TO ENGELS[302]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 October 1867

DEAR FRED,

You will see from the enclosed letter from Kugelmann that the time for ACTION has now come.[493] You are better placed to write to

[a] *Le Courrier français* - [b] without inhibition - [c] thiefs - [d] commercial traveller - [e] infringed - [f] So much the better.

him about my book[a] than I am. He must, at the same time, avoid divagations and not send us the things for correction, but *after* they have appeared. You must impress on him that 'making a commotion' is what matters most, far more than how it is done or being thorough.

Nothing in the enclosed note from Meissner. How can he expect reviews before his own publisher's notices have appeared?

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 265

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 October 1867

Dear Moor,

Kindest thanks for the letters and newspapers, which I shall send back in a few days.

I am writing to Borkheim that I will gladly take on the guarantee with him, provided he can so arrange the matter that everything proceeds secretly and that, e.g., no references are required of me—as I am contractually forbidden to become SURETY, and my relations with Monsieur Gottfried[b] are such that he would seize upon *any* occasion TO PUT ME IN THE WRONG BEFORE A COURT OF ARBITRATION. So long as he cannot do that, I am prepared to give him my solemn assurance that I will be co-liable for the £100, and await further proposals. Or would Freiligrath, e.g., be sufficient reference for me? The point is that the business would have to be concluded entirely behind the backs of all my commercial connections. *Enfin nous verrons.*[c]

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[a] the first volume of *Capital* - [b] Gottfried Ermen - [c] Well, we shall see.

Tomorrow afternoon I shall put something together for Kugelmann; if we are to wait until *he* has read the book[a] through, we shall not get far. I shall write to Siebel, too. I do not know what you have in mind with the Freiligrath-bard Rittershaus, *I* do not know the fellow at all, and as far as I know, he is definitely not one of our people.

There was much else about which I wished to write to you, but then along comes that damned old Jew Leibel Choras, whom you know, and detains me for over an hour. Then another fellow immediately following. For a week now I have been overrun with clients, 2 more this morning. Yet another expected tomorrow morning. On top of that, endless bother with Gottfried, it is enough to drive one mad.

So till tomorrow.

Your
F. E.

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## 266

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[65]

### IN HANOVER

[London,] 11 October 1867

Dear Kugelmann,

*D'abord*,[b] best thanks for your two letters.[c] You would give me great pleasure if *you were to write as often as your time allows*. But you must not expect an *exactly equal response*, as my time is in any case scarcely sufficient now for the multifarious correspondence which I am obliged to conduct with a variety of parties.

First, before turning to the subject of my book,[d] a preliminary word or a wordy preliminary. I fear that *Borkheim* is, *malgré lui*,[e] on the point of doing me a very bad turn. He is publishing his

[a] the first volume of *Capital* - [b] Firstly - [c] of 29 September and 8 October 1867 (see this volume, pp. 433 and 438) - [d] the first volume of *Capital* - [e] despite himself

'Geneva speech'[a] in 4 languages, French, German, English, and Russian.[469] He has, furthermore, provided it with a baroque and tasteless preface, overladen with quotations. Between ourselves—and in the interests of the party—I must tell you the plain truth. Borkheim is a capable man and even an *homme d'esprit*.[b] But when he takes up the pen, beware! All tact and taste leave him. Nor has he the necessary education. He is like those savages who imagine that they are enhancing their appearance by tattooing their faces with all possible gaudy colours. Banality and sensationalism always get the better of him. Almost his every phrase instinctively dons cap and bells. If he were not so vain through and through, I could have prevented the publication and made it clear to him that it was his good fortune that people *had not understood* him in Geneva except for a few good POINTS from his SPEECH. On the other hand, I owe him a debt of gratitude for the part he played in the Vogt affair,[494] and he is a personal friend of mine. There are in his speech, etc., a number of phrases in which he *has fatuously garbled*[c] certain views of mine. My enemies (Vogt has already hinted in the *Neue Zürcher-Zeitung* that *I* am the secret author of the speech[d]) will now have the greatest fun in making me responsible for Mr *Borkheim*, his follies and eccentricities, instead of attacking my *book*. If anything of that kind should occur, you will have to use Warnebold, etc., to place some short articles in the newspapers to which you have access, to expose these tactics and, without insulting Borkheim in any way, nevertheless to state quite plainly that only ill intention or an exceedingly uncritical mind could identify things that are so disparate. The baroque and confused manner in which our views are reflected in Borkheim's mind (from the moment he ceases to speak and starts to write), will naturally offer the vile PRESS-GANG the most welcome excuse for an offensive and might even indirectly serve to harm my book.

However, if, as I scarcely dare to hope, since Borkheim is meticulously despatching his progeny to all the newspapers, the press says nothing about it, you must do *absolutely nothing* to break this *solemn silence*.

If Borkheim were not a personal friend, I should publicly disown him. You will understand my *fausse position*[e] and at the

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[a] S. Borkheim, *Ma perle devant le congrès de Genève*. - [b] a man of some wit - [c] The original has: *verkladderadatscht*—from *Kladderadatsch*, a German satirical weekly. - [d] in his note on the congress of the League of Peace and Freedom in Geneva, see *Neue Zürcher-Zeitung*, No. 254, 13 September 1867. - [e] false position

same time my vexation. Here one is presenting to the public a work that has cost much trouble to write (and perhaps no work of this kind has ever been written in more difficult circumstances), with the purpose of giving the greatest possible lift to the party and of disarming even ill-disposed critics by the very method of its exposition, and at that same moment a member of the party clad in cap, bells and motley insists on standing next to one in the market-place and provokes a barrage of rotten apples and eggs, which may hit one in the head even as a party member!

Your manoeuvres against Vogt in Geneva have greatly *satisfait*[a] me.[487] I am glad you like my book.

Concerning your questions:

Ernest Jones had to speak as a party man to *Irish men* in Ireland, in other words, since the big landownership there is identical with *English proprietorship of Ireland*, he had to speak *against* the big landownership. You must never look for any matters of principle in HUSTINGS SPEECHES by English politicians, but only for what is *immediately* expedient.

*Peonage* is the advancing of money against future labour. The consequences of these advances are the same as with ordinary usury. The worker does not merely remain in debt throughout his life, thus performing forced labour for his creditor, but the relationship is inherited by the family and the next generation, who thus actually *belong* to the creditor.[495]

The completion of my second volume[418] depends chiefly on the success of the first. This I require in order to find a publisher in England, and, *without the latter*, my material circumstances will remain so difficult and disruptive that I shall be able to find neither time nor peace for speedy completion. Naturally, these are things which I do *not* wish Mr Meissner to know. It thus now depends on how skilful and active my party friends in Germany are, whether the second volume takes a long or a short time to appear. Considered criticism—whether from friend or foe—can only be expected to appear gradually, as one needs time to read and digest such a compendious and, in parts, difficult work. But its immediate success will not be decided by considered criticism, but, to put it bluntly, by making a noise and beating the drum, which compels even the adversaries to speak. To begin with, it is less important *what* is said than that *something* should be said. *Above all, no time must be lost!*

I have sent your last letter to Engels for him to send you the

---

[a] gratified

necessary suggestions. He can write about my book better than I can myself.

My kindest compliments to your dear wife.[a] One of these days I shall send her a recipe for reading the book.[b]

Yours
K. M.

Please keep me *au fait*[c] with all developments in Germany respecting Volume I.

Paul *Stumpf* (*Mainz*) has written me a letter[d] in which he calls Borkheim's speech '*my*' speech, and as at present I have *no time* to write to Stumpf, you would oblige me by writing to him yourself to tell him the true situation and to advise *silence* when Borkheim's pamphlet appears. *Entre nous*[e] Stumpf tends to put his foot in it himself whenever he takes up the pen.

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## 267

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

### IN HANOVER

Manchester, 12 October 1867

Dear Kugelmann,

Marx sent me your letter of the 8th,[493] believing I would be better able to give you the right ideas for a review of his book[f] than he could himself. To save trouble, I have just set out what are, in my opinion, the most suitable ideas for the *populus*[g] in two complete articles which will probably be appropriate for almost any bourgeois paper[496]; they may, however, be of use to you until you have worked your way through the 50 sheets' yourself, for writing both long and short articles for other publications. The

[a] Gertruda Kugelmann - [b] See this volume, p. 490. - [c] informed - [d] of 29 September 1867 (see this volume, p. 434) - [e] Between ourselves - [f] the first volume of *Capital* - [g] public

main thing is not *what* and *how* but *that* the book be discussed, and that the Fauchers, Michaelis, Roschers and Raus *forced* to express an opinion on it. In as many papers as possible, political and other, wherever it can be done. Long and short notices, provided they come thick and fast. We must make it impossible for these gentlemen to pursue their policy of total silence, which they would dearly love to try, and indeed *as quickly as possible.* Make sure you always send a copy of what is printed to Marx, so that we, and Meissner, too, are informed of events.

Liebknecht is giving a pretty good account of himself in the Berlin cattle-shed.[a] He is consistently voting *against everything* and also made a good maiden speech—immediately interrupted by Zeus Cronion Simson. And what's more, his motion[486] was the only sensible one.

I hope all has been well with you since my departure.[449] I have been back here for 2 months now, sitting at my office desk and frittering good time away with this lousy COMMERCE. You will have heard about our little Fenian *coup de main*[b] here. The affair was splendidly organised and executed; but the ringleaders were caught unfortunately.[497]

With best greetings.

Yours
F. Engels

Marx expressly asks that all the articles should be placed there immediately and that you should only send them to him *after* publication.[c]

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[a] A reference to the North German Reichstag. - [b] surprise attack - [c] This sentence was written by Engels in the margin.

# 268

## ENGELS TO MARX[26]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 13 October 1867

Dear Moor,

I have written Kugelmann two articles about the book from different points of view and sent them to him[496]; I think they are such as almost any newspaper can take, and he can do others from them. That should help him a bit.

I shall be writing to Siebel tomorrow. I must first know where the fellow is and how his health is.[498]

Borkheim written to.[131]

Liebknecht is doing very well; he has retained sufficient from us to realise that the only correct policy consists in *voting against everything without exception.* This he has faithfully done so far. If you should be writing to him again these days, you can draw his attention to the following: the final article of the law on freedom of movement reads: this law shall not apply to the Aliens' Police.[499] With the consequence that what one gains as a North German citizen, one loses again as an 'alien'. It would have a great effect here if Liebknecht were to propose: the Aliens' Police be *abolished.* Only on the Continent does such an absurdity exist; the proposition would have a great effect. In fact, it would in general strengthen his position to suggest he chaff the bourgeois members with the fact that *he,* the communist, is obliged to champion their own interests despite *their opposition.* Liebknecht's speech was much better in the *Kölnische Zeitung,* by the way, than in the *Zukunft.*[486]

I was very pleased to read the things about Vogt.[a] For all his manoeuvres, your attack[b] has put paid to him entirely, and only the liberal bourgeoisie still considers him the German Véron.

All that *Stumpf*[c] is asking for is that you supply him with theoretical and factual material to explain how it comes about that the petty bourgeois gradually yields to the proletarian. And you know that as well as I do, but you just want to get out of the work. Of course, good old Stumpf thinks that one page of a letter would suffice—for *him* to learn how to handle the question. That, however, I would doubt.

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[a] See this volume, p. 433. - [b] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt.* - [c] See this volume, pp. 433-34.

*Dronke.*[a] Borkheim is just as much of a scandalmonger as the little fellow himself,[b] and if the 2 of them say anything about each other, it will be SIX OF ONE AND HALF A DOZEN OF THE OTHER. Dronke still has enough *jus*[c] in his little head to take care to avoid direct CRIMINAL PROSECUTION, within the periods prescribed by present extradition treaties.[500] You know, by the way, how in COMMERCE even the most blatantly criminal affairs can be taken care of simply as civil law cases. But the little fellow has certainly been too clever by half and much too greedy.

*Strohn* is the same curious old fellow as ever. Fancy him applying a remark to himself the moment that *I* make it, when he has made it countless times himself![d]

I cannot wait to see Borkheim's '*Pearl*'.[e] In the matter of literary vanity, the fellow is pure 'Yid'.

Gumpert has a cousin staying here, ex-Electoral-Hessian, now Prussian lieutenant. The fellow enlisted with the Prussians, full of high expectations, but found the old pack-drill in full flower once again. Gymnastics, etc., performed by *commands*, parading, ramrod marching order, etc. Some of it may be exaggerated, but there is no doubt that the latest successes[f] have also lent a certain sanction to military display. The exaggeration derives from the disagreeable impression, which the newly recruited officers have already received, that 9 out of every 10 of them will never reach the rank of staff-officer. And the fellow is just looking for an opportunity to extricate himself.

Kindest regards to your wife, the girls and Lafargue.

Your

F. E.

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[a] See this volume p. 434. - [b] Ernst Dronke - [c] juridical knowledge - [d] See this volume, p. 438. - [e] S. Borkheim, *Ma perle devant le congrès de Genève*. - [f] i.e., Prussian victories in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866

# 269

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 October 1867

Dear Fred,

You will see from the enclosed letter No. II from Juch that, although Achilles[a] is dead, Beta is still alive. Juch's letter was probably provoked by the fact that Beta speaks well of Kinkel but not Freiligrath, and that Beta's article also contains some malicious remarks directed at Juch. When Freiligrath and Juch form an alliance, they are incapable of producing even a bad joke. For which reason I am to be incited to action, being 'thoroughly venomous', as Beta calls me in that vile scrawl of an article he wrote: 'Die Deutschen in London', which begins with the Norman Conquest and ends with that oily Jew Bender as the sole epitome of mankind in England.

This is about the 6th time now that Mr Juch has offered me his stale columns[b] for the purpose of 'self-glorification', for him a well proven tactic which he has used, successfully of course, with Blind, Kinkel, Freiligrath, and Heintzmann. I wrote him a few lines only.[111] And *not* to Mr. Freiligrath's *liking* either. I told him *privatim* of what happened at Beta's *How do you do?* editorial office when I went there in the company of Ziegenhainer, Freiligrath, and our W. Wolff.[501] So as to give him one bad joke for his trouble, I told him that I would not allow Kinkel the credit for being more than the α and ω to this Beta.

Typical of Juch: he sends me Payne's people's calendar[502] which contains the *corpus delicti* (like all such abominations in Germany, *Gartenlaube*, etc., this calendar has 250,000 subscribers), along with the inevitable invoice for 11d., which I immediately enclosed with my reply. Though admittedly he was once more on the threshold of the Bankruptcy Court and has with great difficulty settled with his creditors for monthly payments of 2s. 6d. in the £.

How shall I answer the enclosed from Nahmer?[503]

Has Borkheim sent you the *Courrier français* with the translation of my preface[c]? I am asking because poor Lafargue is on tenterhooks for 'your verdict'—every day. The Belgian *Liberté*

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[a] Ferdinand Lassalle - [b] in the *Hermann* - [c] to the first volume of *Capital*

arrived today, having ditto printed the *préface*, with very 'fulsome' PREAMBLE,[456] in which it reminds the Belgian government of my EXPULSION.[236]

I had already replied to Liebknecht,[111] but had to write to him again today because I only today received the 2 ACTS relating to the TRADE UNIONS COMMISSION.[504] Your tips[a] attached to my letter.

*Salut.* COMPLIMENTS TO MRS BURNS.

Your
Moro

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## 270

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 15 October 1867

Dear Moor,

In the greatest of haste, just this:

Borkheim wants me to allow a bill to be drawn on myself, which more than anything else I am not permitted to do. I have written to him[131] that I will give him a guarantee for the £150 (having at the same time increased the amount) and am prepared to give *him privatim* any SECURITY that it will be paid ANY TIME after 1 August 1868, and asked him whether in these circumstances he can raise the money.[b] He has said nothing further about the LOAN. Perhaps it would be best if you saw him, as he is going away at the end of the week and will not be back for a fortnight.

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p. 445. - [b] Ibid., pp. 436, 437 and 439.

# 271

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[65]

### IN HANOVER

[London,] 15 October 1867

Dear Kugelmann,

You must *not* write to Borkheim. It would be pointless in any case as the work[a] has already been announced in the *Buchhändlerbörsenblatt*[b] and is being already published by Schabelitz. Moreover, Borkheim himself is now in Bordeaux: such a letter from you could have no effect whatsoever except to make an *enemy* of Borkheim for me.[505]

*Ce qui est fait, est fait.*[c] NEVER MIND! It was just that, my mind being in a turmoil from working all night, I AT FIRST exaggerated the gravity of the *événement.*[d] And indeed, *je suis puni par où j'ai péché!*[e] You see I was amused *au premier abord*[f] by the thought of the scandal that our friend would create amongst the respectable philistines of Geneva. Of course, I did not foresee the *fruits it would bear in the book trade.* I should, moreover, have reflected that, in working out his plan, Borkheim would *naturally* overstep the bounds of prudence which I suggested to him in my letter.[469] The only policy we can pursue now is *silence,* for as long as our opponents do not speak; as soon as they speak and attempt to hold me responsible, we must make *bad jokes* about their being obliged to burden me with Borkheim's pranks in order *not* to have to reply to my book.[g] Borkheim ought furthermore to be treated *indulgently* in that event, for AFTER ALL, except for his literary vanity, he is a capable and well-meaning man, and good as an *homme d'action,*[h] as long as his sense of devilry does not get the better of him.

You will probably already have received Engels' recipes.[496] I am in correspondence with Liebknecht and Becker.[i]

By the 'success of the book', I only meant that *it should sell quickly,* on account of the effect this will have back in England.

The *Courrier français* (at present the Paris daily which creates the biggest stir) and the *Liberté* in Brussels have published a

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[a] S. Borkheim, *Ma perle devant le congrès de Genève.* - [b] *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel,* No. 230, 3 October 1867. - [c] What is done, is done. - [d] event - [e] I am punished for my sins! - [f] initially - [g] the first volume of *Capital* - [h] man of action - [i] Johann Philipp Becker

French translation of my preface along with COMPLIMENTARY PREAMBLES.[456]

One Nahmer in New York has offered his services as English translator over there.[503] *Quod non.*[a]

I am very pleased with Liebknecht's performance in Berlin.[486] I sent him over some instructions from here.

Poor Becker has reached such a pass that he is on the verge of abandoning politics and writing altogether.[506] How one regrets not being able to help in such circumstances!

My compliments to your dear wife and my little friend,[b] for whose portrait I have not yet thanked you.

Yours
K. M.

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## 272

## ENGELS TO MARX[26]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 18 October 1867

Dear Moor,

I have written to Borkheim that I cannot accept in any circumstances and that now that I have guaranteed him the amount, it all depends on *his* sources of credit, as mine are tied up.[c]

The letters returned enclosed. Liebknecht appears to have been SICK, or else he could surely have said something about the combination law. PERHAPS IT IS BETTER SO. Schweitzer has shown himself to be a vain jackass and phrasemonger. He's finished now.[507]

I was much amused by the Beta correspondence.[d]

The *Courrier français*[e] has arrived, but I have no time whatsoever to form an opinion of it today.

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[a] Impossible. - [b] Gertruda and Franziska Kugelmann - [c] See this volume, p. 448. - [d] Ibid., p. 447. - [e] No. 308 of 6 October 1867 containing a French translation of part of Marx's preface to the first volume of *Capital*.

I could write another 4-5 articles about your book[a] from various points of view, but don't know where to place them. Goodness knows where Siebel is! Maybe in Algiers or in Palermo! But I hope to have an answer from him soon. If I could have them copied in London, so that my handwriting would not be recognised, it might after all be wisest to send them to Meissner.

Kindest regards to all.

Your
F. E.

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## 273

## ENGELS TO HERMANN MEYER[10]

### IN LIVERPOOL

Manchester, 18 October 1867

Dear Meyer,

I received your telegram this morning and can't say how sorry I am that I am unable to go to Liverpool this evening. My *associé*[b] and our chief clerk[c] are both away tomorrow, and so I have to be here to sign cheques and keep an eye on everything myself. Moreover, we close at 1 o'clock here on Saturdays, and as you yourself are not arriving in Liverpool until about 11 o'clock this evening and the *Russia* sails at 12 o'clock, you will see for yourself that there is nothing to be done.

Please write your address and Mrs Weydemeyer's on the enclosed piece of paper and then hand in the envelope at the hotel for posting. Please convey my hearty greetings to Mrs Weydemeyer and tell her I would have written her a few lines long ago if I had known her address.

I hope you will be able to bring Marx's book[a] to the attention of the German-American press and of the workers. With the

---

[a] the first volume of *Capital* - [b] Gottfried Ermen - [c] Charles Roesgen

8-hour-agitation that is in progress in America now,[468] this book with its chapter on the *working day* will come at just the right time for you over there, and, in other respects too, it is likely to clarify people's minds on a variety of issues. The future of the party in America will be greatly beholden to you for any step you can take in that direction.

Please pass on my best greetings to Jacobi[a] in New York as well.

Have a safe journey!

Yours most sincerely

Friedrich Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

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## 274

## MARX TO ENGELS[243]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 19 October 1867

DEAR FRED,

As regards *Borkheim*, I told him: what Engels wrote is final and is not subject to '*negotiation*'. He (today he left for Bordeaux) let himself be ruled by me to the extent of paying out £40 to me and promising TO FIND THE REST by 10 November without further prevarication if you were *unable*, etc. But as a businessman and a Jew he had to make just one more attempt!

Incidentally, Borkheim has just had a hugely gratifying experience. Schabelitz put an exceedingly bombastic notice of Borkheim's '*Perle*'[b] in the *Buchhändlerbörsenblatt*,[c] in which Borkheim is featured as Peter the Hermit *vis-à-vis Russia*. WELL! The *Moscow Newspaper*[d] has *printed* this (in translation) as a curiosity, and he thus had the pleasure of seeing himself and his name in print *in Russian*! He showed me a copy and interpreted it for me.

---

[a] Abraham Jacobi - [b] S. Borkheim, *Ma perle devant le congrès de Genève*. - [c] *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel*, No. 230, 3 October 1867. - [d] *Московскія вѣдомости*, No. 210, 28 September 1867.

Lafargue was put to a deal of trouble translating Borkheim's French at least passably into French.[a] I had to give him some assistance, of course, especially for the quotations from Kant, Fichte and Hegel, which Borkheim probably did not quite understand even in German. But he has these gentlemen in his library.

I am glad the matter is thus SETTLED. In recent weeks I have found it perfectly impossible to write for more than maybe 2 hours. Apart from the incursions FROM WITHOUT, there are all the aggravations of home life, which I always find especially nerve-racking. I have been suffering from insomnia again and had the pleasure of seeing 2 small carbuncles blossom near the *membrum*. Fortunately, they have faded away. My sickness always originates in the mind. While on the subject of the *membrum*, may I commend the following lines to you *for Moore* from the French satirist of the 16th century, *Mathurin Régnier*. Well-read though I am in this field, I do not think that *chaude pisse* has ever been more poetically described:

Mon cas, qui se lève et se hausse,
Bave d'une estrange façon;
Belle, vous fournites la sausse,
Lors que je fournis le poisson.

Las! si ce membre eut l'arrogance
De fouiller trop les lieux sacrés,
Qu'on lui pardonne son offence,
Car il pleure assez ses péchés.[b]

And this by the same poet is not bad either:

*Fluxion D'Amour*

L'amour est une affection
Qui, par les yeux, dans le cœur entre,

---

[a] See this volume, pp. 435-36.

[b] My will, which riseth up in pride,
Doth spout most curiously;
The sauce, my love, thou didst provide,
The fish it was from me.

Ah, did that member overween
To delve the sacred place?
Pray pardon him his grievous sin,
He weepeth his disgrace.

M. Régnier, *Stances*.

Et, par la forme de fluxion,
S'écoule par le bas du ventre.[a]

Finally:

*Lizette tuée par Régnier*

Lizette, à qui l'on faisait tort,
Vint à Régnier tout éplorée,
Je te pry: Donne-moi la mort,
Que j'ai tant de fois désirée!
Lui, ne la refusant en rien,
Tire son... vous m'entendez bien;
Et dedans le ventre la frappe.
Elle, voulant finir ses jours,
Lui dit: Mon cœur, pousse toujours,
De crainte que je n'en réchappe.
Régnier, las de la servir,
Craignant une seconde plainte,
Lui dit: Hastez-vous de mourir,
Car mon poignard n'a plus de pointe.[b]

2 Freiligrath snippets enclosed.[508]

Enclosed *2 Courrier français* and *1 Liberté*. There is no need for you to send back these journals. But do keep them! I have not

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[a] *Love's Fluxion*

Our love is an affection
That by our eyes attains the heart,
Then takes the form of fluxion
And issues through the nether part.

M. Régnier, *Épigrammes*, X.

[b] *Lizette slain by Régnier*

Lizette, beset by slander's breath,
To Régnier came with tearful eyes:
My friend, I pray thee, give me death,
Therein my only yearning lies.
He, ever eager to obey,
Unsheaths his ... what more need I say?
And at her belly lunges low.
She, hoping that he her would kill,
Tells him, my heart it yearneth still,
I fear I shall my fate forego,
But Régnier, weary of his pledge,
Fearing a second suppliant cry,
Tells her, oh haste thee now and die,
For this my sword has lost his edge.

M. Régnier, *Épigrammes*, XV.

read the nonsense in the *Courrier* on the *Art Militaire*, but I did read Proudhon on the *generatio aequivoca*[a]! I suspect that *l'un vaut l'autre.*[b]

H. Meyer was here the day before yesterday *en route* for America. Perhaps he called on you, too.

Let me have your recipes[c] for the German newspapers. I will have them copied out and find the most suitable PLACEMENTS. They will even find *double emploi*,[d] at least in part, as Meyer was also asking for something of the kind for over there and will put them to good use. As soon as this has been done in Germany—*and that is the most important thing*, for success *here* depends largely on what happens there—you must write a critique for *The Fortnightly Review*.[509] Beesly will get it in. This is a necessary prerequisite TO CATCH A PUBLISHER IN LONDON. The paper is secretly (so secretly that not a soul notices it) of Comteist persuasion, but wishes to provide an outlet for *every* point of view. If your critique arouses Mr Lewes' (the Goethe man, and unfortunately semi-Comteist, too) interest in the book (Lewes is secretly also CO-PROPRIETOR of the *Review*), it will be easy to find a publisher. And even without that, a publisher will in any case be easier to find then. The latest number contains a truly pitiful article by Thornton, in which he reproduces MALTHUSIANISM (in which the real MONGERS do *not* believe) in the most commonplace and trivial form.[e]

What our party lacks is money, as the enclosed letters from Eccarius and Becker once more painfully demonstrate.[510] But for this deficiency, we should always be, despite great and irreplaceable losses, today as in 1848, *les plus forts.*[f]

Regards to MRS Lizzy.[g]

Your
K. M.

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[a] spontaneous generation - [b] the one is as bad as the other. A reference to L. Nouguès, 'L'Art militaire et le progrès' (*Le Courrier français*, Nos. 123 and 125, 18 and 20 October 1867) and to P. J. Proudhon, 'Lettres inédites de P.-J. Proudhon sur les générations spontanées' (ibid., Nos. 121, 123 and 124, 16, 18 and 19 October 1867). - [c] reviews of the first volume of *Capital* (see this volume, p. 451) - [d] double utilisation - [e] W. T. Thornton, 'Stray Chapters from a Forthcoming Work on Labour', *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. II, No. 10, 1 October 1867. - [f] the greatest force - [g] Lizzy Burns

## 275

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 October 1867

Dear Moor,

The letters from Becker and Eccarius returned enclosed.[a] The lack of money is, of course, a great misfortune for the party, and a yet greater one for those poor devils.

Siebel has written to me from Honnef on the Rhine that he is coming here at the beginning of November to embark at Liverpool again for Madeira. He says I should send him the articles[b] *by return*; this evening I shall set to work to knock a few into shape for him. What I am writing for the *German* press is, of course, all *dressed up in disguise*; I shall have to write differently for America, since one can take greater liberties there.

Sam Moore has written from Eisenach; he seems to be making considerable progress with his German.

I am greatly amused by Liebknecht. It is truly fortunate that he is still thoroughly infected with the South-German-Federalist nonsense and can consequently attack Bismarckism with great SINGLENESS OF PURPOSE and with undaunted moral indignation. A somewhat more critical and more dialectical outlook would only sow confusion in his mind and lead him astray. He has obviously taken Lupus in the Frankfurt Parliament[511] as his model and has properly earned his call to order by describing the Reichstag as the fig-leaf of naked absolutism. You will have seen that he has inserted a paragraph for the protection of factory children in the combination law.[512]

The Party of Progress[99] has rejected the Commission of Inquiry as not being within the competence of the Reichstag.[504] The *Confederation is*, however, competent to deal with all matters of trade and industry, only the *Reichstag* cannot appoint a commission, although it can indeed request the Federal authority to do so.

In the interest debate Bismarck has rejected the idea of granting the mortgage banks state assistance, saying that if it is a question of state support, this could only be approved for the *workers'*

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[a] See this volume, p. 455. - [b] on the first volume of *Capital*

*associations at most.* So, the scoundrel still thinks he can dupe the workers.

Victor Emmanuel appears to be playing a most risky game. For all that, the Roman fracas is not yet over.[513] The air is becoming more electric every day, and I should not be at all surprised if the storm were to break right next spring.

Best regards to your wife, the girls and Doctor Eisenbart.[a]

Your
F. E.

I'm glad the Borkheim business is straight now. Under no circumstances can I give Gottfried Ermen a pretext *just now* to terminate his contract with me on the grounds of direct breach of contract. I hope the money drives away your carbuncles; don't forget to take plenty of exercise in the open air.

I shall be glad to do the thing for *The Fortnightly Review.*[509] But you must let me know about how much space I am allowed for it. I presume you will prefer me to summarise, so as briefly to give the main points of the book[b]—origin of capital—surplus-value—working day—revision of Ricardo's laws, etc., etc., after all I really cannot criticise the thing. I should also like to know approximately when the thing must be complete. It is too late for the 1 November number, so for the 1 December number it will have to be.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 November 1867

Dear Moor,

What is the matter? Why have I not heard from you at all? Ever since your last letter I have been in constant fear that you have the

[a] Paul Lafargue (Engels jocularly calls Lafargue by the name of a wandering German physician, which became synonymous with a quack) - [b] the first volume of *Capital*

carbuncles again. Have you heard any more from across the water? From Kugelmann or Meissner concerning articles on your book[a]? I am getting no news of any kind and, in the circumstances, there is damn little I can do.

Just how far Dizzy[b] has contrived not merely to DISH the Whigs but to disorganise the Tories, too, was demonstrated to me the day before yesterday in a conversation with two of that ilk. They were agreed:

1. that the Irish Church and thus the Established Church in England, too, should fall forthwith,
2. that the LAWS OF PRIMOGENITURE AND ENTAIL[514] are no longer tenable,
3. that when the Queen[c] dies, a revolution will probably soon follow here.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[101]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 November 1867

DEAR FRED,

Although none of my recent CARBUNCLES has fully developed, fresh ones are forever appearing; they always disappear again, BUT FRET ME. And then my old insomnia. But it has been better for ABOUT the last 3 DAYS. The silence about my book[a] makes me FIDGETY. I have had no news of any kind. What good fellows the Germans are! *Their* achievements in the service of the English, French and even the Italians in this field would indeed entitle them to ignore me and my affairs. Our people over there do not have the knack

[a] the first volume of *Capital* - [b] Benjamin Disraeli - [c] Victoria

of agitation. Meanwhile, we must do as the Russians do—wait. Patience is the core of Russian diplomacy and of their successes. But the likes of us, who only live once, may well never live to see the day.

Letter enclosed from the German communist association.[515] Well meant. But strangely loutish in style.

Enclosed letter from Maughan, man of private means, old Owenite, very decent fellow. These people are obviously intending to emancipate the FREETHINK movement from the PROFESSIONAL AGITATORS Bradlaugh, etc. I very politely declined.[516] On the one hand, it is true that I would thereby have had the chance, which I am wanting so much, of becoming acquainted with all manner of people who are to a greater or lesser extent, directly or indirectly, connected with the English press. On the other hand, I have not the time, nor do I think it right that I should figure on the LEADING COMMITTEE of any English sect.

A certain Auberon Herbert,[a] brother of the EARL OF CARNARVON and COUSIN to Stepney (who is member of our CENTRAL COUNCIL) and much dabbling in socialism (I.E., CO-OPERATIVE DODGES, etc.), has asked Stepney to arrange a rendezvous with me. As I first want to have sight of the man and smell him over, I have made an appointment to see him next Tuesday at the Cleveland Hall, where we hold our meetings. This 'channel' (Vogt)[517] may perhaps prove useful for reaching publishers.

Apropos. SUBSCRIPTIONS for the INTERNATIONAL: now have to be renewed. As soon as Moore is back send your SUBSCRIPTIONS to me per POST OFFICE ORDER (Charing Cross), but drawn on our TREASURER: *Robert Shaw*, 62 Hall Place, Hall Park, London W. It would be desirable for Schorlemmer to send his at the same time as you, even if only A FEW SHILLINGS. Is he back yet? When shall I be getting his Chemistry[b]?

I don't know whether you are familiar with the course of the Italian affair,[513] fragments of which have *accidentellement*[c] found their way into the English and German press in the form of extracts from Russian and other papers. It is easy to lose track of such threads.

At the time of the Luxemburg affair[415] Mr Bonaparte came to an agreement (informal) with Victor Emmanuel, by which the latter was given the right to annex the remaining Papal States

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[a] The original has: Egerton Herbert. - [b] H. E. Roscoe, *Kurzes Lehrbuch der Chemie nach den neuesten Ansichten der Wissenschaft. Deutsche Ausgabe, unter Mitwirkung des Verfassers bearbeitet von Carl Schorlemmer.* - [c] by chance

except Rome, in exchange for offensive alliance against Prussia in the event of war.[518] But when the Prussian hornets' nest[376] turned into good will to all men, Mr Bonaparte began to regret the thing and with his usual cunning attempted to betray Emmanuel and make advances to Austria. As we all know, nothing came of it in Salzburg either,[519] and so for a while the witches' cauldron that is Europe appeared not to seethe. Meanwhile the Russian gentlemen, who had as usual procured a copy of the agreement, thought the moment had come to inform Mr Bismarck of it, who, in his turn, had the Prussian envoy[a] lay it before the Pope.[b] Whereupon, at the Pope's instigation, the pamphlet written by Bishop Dupanloup of Orleans.[520] On the other side, Garibaldi set on by Emmanuel. Subsequently: Rattazzi dismissed as an enemy of Prussia and Bonapartist. Hence the present *imbroglio.*[c] That scoundrel Bonaparte is now up to his eyes in the mire. War, not just with Italy, but Prussia and Russia, and in a cause which in France enjoys the most fanatical hatred of Paris, etc., hated in England, etc.—or yet another retreat! The fellow attempted to save himself by appealing to Europe, a *European Congress.* But Prussia and England have already sent him their reply, that, having made his bed, he must now lie on it. The fellow does not know what year it is. He is no longer secret general to Russia and Europe.

If retreat, then with present corn-prices, business in crisis and disaffection in France revolution is possible ONE FINE MORNING.

One good thing about our Bismarck—although he is the chief instrument of Russian intrigues—is that he is pushing things towards crisis in France. However, in respect of our German philistines, their entire past has shown that unity can only be imposed on them by the grace of God and the sabre.

The Fenian trial in Manchester exactly as was to be expected.[497] You will have seen what a scandal 'our people' have caused in the REFORM LEAGUE. I sought by every means at my disposal to incite the English workers to demonstrate in favour of FENIANISM.[521]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

I once believed the separation of Ireland from England to be impossible. I now regard it as inevitable, although *FEDERATION* may follow upon separation. The way the English are proceeding is

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[a] Karl Georg von Usedom - [b] Pius IX - [c] confusion

shown by the AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS for this year, which appeared a few days ago. Over and above that the manner of the EVICTION. The Irish VICEROY, Lord Abicorn[a] (the name is *something like* that), has 'CLEARED' his ESTATE in the last few weeks by forcibly driving thousands from their homes. Among them, well-to-do tenant-farmers, their IMPROVEMENTS and capital investments being thus confiscated! In no other European country has foreign rule assumed this form of direct expropriation of the natives. The Russians confiscate only for political reasons; the Prussians in West Prussia buy out.

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## ENGELS TO MARX[522]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 5 November 1867

Dear Moor,

Enclosed placed in the *Elberfelder Zeitung* by Siebel.[b] It is such a pity that the poor devil, who will probably be arriving here tomorrow, will have to leave straight away, he would probably have arranged a few more things. However, I will see what else he can do, perhaps something will be possible nonetheless.

*Notre ami*[c] Kugelmann appears to have miscalculated in respect of the Hanoverian newspapers, too—at least, to my utter astonishment I discovered one of the articles[d] sent him, and the *tamest* of them at that, shortened and mutilated to boot, in the *Zukunft*![e] We hardly needed *amicum*[f] for that, and at all events I would have written differently for *that* paper. But I was writing for the national-liberal papers he had boasted about.

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[a] James Hamilton Abercorn - [b] F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Elberfelder Zeitung*'. - [c] Our friend - [d] on the first volume of *Capital* - [e] F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Zukunft*'. - [f] this friend

We must adopt a different approach. Have you Liebknecht's present address, or alternatively his old one in Leipzig? If you let me have it, I will spur him on a bit. I now realise that I shall have to write all the articles myself (Eccarius could probably also do one); the people on the Continent are finding the book is still lying too heavily on the stomach, and, if we are to wait until they have digested it, the opportunity will have been missed. I shall write to Kugelmann again, too,[a] asking him at least what he has done with the other article and whether he can place any more.[523] You must write to Meissner and ask whether *he* can place any if they are sent to him, and where. In addition, I shall write to Klein in Cologne about the *Rheinische Zeitung*, and offer an article if need be. It is a dreadful handicap not being on the spot oneself. If we were in Germany, we should already have created a stir in all the papers, and have managed to get the book *denounced*, which is always the best thing.

Louis[b] in Paris does not know which way to turn. What a mess he has got himself into! Either another retreat or war on behalf of the Pope.[c] I can hardly believe that he has really served the Italians an ultimatum to evacuate Roman territory, no more than I can believe that he can let things rest with Moustier's churlish note.[524] In either case, he is *foutu*.[d] The present mood in Paris was shown at the *cimetière* Montmartre.[525] Things may begin to happen any day now, and I hardly believe that the great man will celebrate another 2 December,[e] or at least it will probably be for the last time. He is in such a bad way that even the philistines here only treat him as a common adventurer now.

If the storm does break, however, the revolution will everywhere be faced with a quite different situation from 1848. After last year, the disorganisation of that time will be out of the question in Germany, and even if an immediate violent uprising in Berlin has little chance, the impact of events would provoke clashes there, too, which would inevitably end in the downfall of the present regime. Monsieur Bismarck would very soon lose command of the situation. And then this time England would be dragged in straightaway and ABOVE ALL the social question would at once become the burning issue throughout Europe.

Yesterday Blackburn showed the depths to which the English judges have sunk when he asked the witness Beck (who had first sworn to *William* Martin, but said afterwards that it was *John* M.):

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[a] See this volume, pp. 467-69. - [b] Napoleon III - [c] Pius IX - [d] done for - [e] the anniversary of the Bonapartist coup d'état of 2 December 1851

THEN YOU SWORE TO WILLIAM, AND YOU *MEANT* TO SWEAR TO JOHN? The whole prosecution will, I believe, crumble increasingly with each new BATCH of accused, the amount of perjury to get the £200 reward is quite incredible.[497]

Can you tell me where I can find more details about Lord Abercorn's EVICTIONS?[a]

Louis in Paris would once more have to mind bombs and bullets. The Italians are not to be trifled with.

I shall return the *Courriers*[b] to you tomorrow if I can.

Kindest regards to your wife, the girls and the lovelorn cobbler.[c]

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[522]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 November 1867

DEAR FRED,

My *remerciments*[d] for the *Elberfelder*.[e]

*Liebknecht's old* address: '11, Braustrasse, Leipzig.' By the way, perhaps *safer* to forward it through Kugelmann, who is in contact with a friend of Liebknecht's in Leipzig.

I forgot to tell you in my letter of Saturday[f] 1 sheet maximum for the *Fortnightly*.[g][509] If longer than half a sheet, it should be set out as FIRST NOTICE, SECOND NOTICE.

As regards Meissner, it appears to me to be undiplomatic to let him see into our cards too much. What he can do from his own resources, he does anyway. It would be important—and for the present more important than the English article—to send a more

[a] See this volume, pp. 461. - [b] *Le Courrier français* - [c] Paul Lafargue - [d] thanks - [e] F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Elberfelder Zeitung*'. - [f] 2 November (see this volume, pp. 458-61) - [g] *The Fortnightly Review*

detailed report (perhaps broken down into several articles) to the Austrian *Internationale Revue* (*Arnold Hilberg's* publishing house, 4, Kolowrat-Ring, Vienna). As Arnold Hilberg lists you and me as his contributors (and through me has asked us both for contributions), there are no obstacles here. It is in fact the sole German 'Review' which is open to us.

The only weekly paper here in London which has a certain impartiality and is much concerned with things German, such as German philology, natural science, Hegel, etc., is a—*Catholic paper, The Chronicle.* It is obviously their tendency to show that they are more learned than their Protestant rivals. I sent them ONE COPY[a] at the end of last week with A SHORT LETTER TO THE PURPOSE, saying that my book does not share their opinions, but that the 'scholarly' nature of their paper suggests THAT 'SOME NOTICE WILL BE TAKEN OF THIS FIRST ATTEMPT AT APPLYING THE *DIALECTIC METHOD* TO POLITICAL ECONOMY'.[111] *Nous verrons!*[b] There is a great desire prevailing at present in the more refined circles (I am referring, of course, to the INTELLECTUAL portion of the latter) to become acquainted with the dialectical method. And perhaps that is after all the easiest way to get at the English.

The most interesting thing in the enclosed *Diplomatic Review* is the excerpts from the new book by Prokesch.[c]

Detailed description of Abercorn's EVICTIONS appeared ABOUT a fortnight ago in the (Dublin) *Irishman.*[d] I may manage to get again the copy which was only lent me for 24 hours.

At the MEETING[e] presided over by Colonel Dickson and at which Bradlaugh delivered a lecture on Ireland, our OLD Weston, SECONDED BY Fox and Cremer, put forward a RESOLUTION in support of the FENIANS, which was passed unanimously. Last Tuesday ditto, during Acland's lecture on the REFORM BILL, Cleveland Hall (right above us, we were meeting downstairs in the COFFEE ROOM, which is in the basement), tempestuous demonstration in favour of the FENIANS. The business is boiling up in the intelligent section of the WORKING CLASS here.

How very characteristic of the diplomatic farce being enacted in Europe at present, that at the same time as Bonaparte is intervening in Italy, France, Italy and Prussia are jointly, and most

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[a] of the first volume of *Capital* - [b] We shall see! - [c] 'Conference held on August the 27th, 1822, at Constantinople. From the Work of Baron Prokesch', *The Diplomatic Review,* 2 October 1867 (excerpts from the book by A. Prokesch-Osten, *Geschichte des Abfalls der Griechen vom Türkischen Reiche im Jahre 1821*). - [d] See this volume, pp. 461 and 463. - [e] In this paragraph Marx refers to the meetings of the Reform League branches.

obediently at Russia's behest, delivering a threatening note to the Porte.[526]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Old Urquhart with his Catholicism, etc., GROWS MORE AND MORE DISGUSTING.

*On lit dans un registre d'une inquisition d'Italie cet aveu d'une religieuse; elle disait innocement à la Madonne: 'Degrâce, sainte Vierge, donne moi quelqu'un avec qui je puisse pécher.'*[a] However, the Russians are *plus forts*[b] in this, too. A case is reported of a fellow in the best of health who emerged dead after only 24 hours in a Russian nunnery. The nuns had ridden him to death. Of course, in their case *le directeur des consciences n'entre pas tous les jours*[c]!

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 8 November 1867

Dear Moor,

In great haste:

Siebel will be here tomorrow or in Liverpool, where I shall see him. He can place another 3 articles,[d] which I have prepared at once and which we shall then despatch with all speed. If I had known that it would be so long before he came, he should have received them in Barmen long ago.

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[a] The following confession from a nun is to be found in an inquisition record in Italy, who innocently prayed to the madonna: 'I beg of you, Holy Virgin, send me someone with whom I may sin.' - [b] stronger - [c] the Father Confessor *does not come* in *every day* - [d] on the first volume of *Capital*

The idea about the *Internationale Revue* had already occurred to me, too, and shall be attended to. Likewise with *The Fortnightly Review*, as soon as acceptance is assured.[509] For the moment, however, I believe it is most important to create a rumpus in the German daily press, *pour forcer la main à ces gueux d'économistes*.[a]

The DOWNBREAK of the police in the trial here has been more rapid and more complete than I had expected. But there is probably even better to come. OLD Blackburn also appears to be changing his tune, today he complimented Ernest Jones most fulsomely on his speech.[497]

Have you read Bismarck's instructions to Usedom (in the *Augsburger Abendzeitung*,[b] denied, of course[518])? The fellow is making no bones about exposing the Italians' intrigues with Bonaparte; one has to grant him that he is capable of the most undiplomatic manners if it suits him. (*Kölnische Zeitung* of Wednesday has reprinted it.) This stance of Bismarck's also explains the Italians' retreat and their present grovelling.

Concerning the true nature of the inspections, checks and interferences of the Prussian bureaucracy: my brother writes that the manufacturers want to set up an association on the Rhine and in the Ruhr, like the ones here, to have their boilers periodically examined by competent engineers, and he goes on to say of the government control:

'Here at our place, a District Architect inspects 7 boilers in half an hour (!!) and goes home quite satisfied, in another factory a similar official *took 2 hours for 35 boilers*!! If anyone is so foolish as to imagine he can sleep soundly after such an inspection, he is, of course, deceived. It would be a real blessing if this nonsense were done away with and replaced by some sensible practical arrangement. At one inspection, *I first* explained the boiler with all its fittings to the District Architect, *then* I carried out *his* instructions as well and *finally wrote the report for the government* for him.'

There are the Prussians for you! Portrayed by themselves.

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[a] to force the hand of these miserable economists - [b] *Augsburger Abendzeitung*, No. 303, 4 November 1867.

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## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[522]

### IN HANOVER

Manchester, 8 and 20 November 1867

Dear Kugelmann,

Since my last letter[a] neither Marx nor I have heard anything from you, and I can scarce believe that you are so deeply ensconced in some *anteflexio uteri* as to be entirely incommunicado. I have, moreover, a letter to send to Liebknecht, and Marx advises me to forward it to you, as we do not have the exact address and do not know whether he is in Berlin or Leipzig; I am therefore enclosing it.[131]

The German press is still observing complete silence in respect of *Capital*, and it really is of the greatest importance that something should be said. I have discovered that one of the articles[b] I sent you is in the *Zukunft*; I am sorry I did not know that it might eventually be destined for that paper; one could probably have taken greater liberties there. However, it does not matter. The main thing is that the book should be discussed over and over again, in any way whatsoever. And as Marx is not a free agent in the matter, and is furthermore as bashful as a young girl, it is up to the rest of us to see to it. Please be so kind therefore and let me know what success you have so far had in the matter, and which papers you think you may still be able to use. In the words of our old friend Jesus Christ, we must be innocent as doves and wise as serpents.[c] The good old vulgar economists at least have enough intelligence to treat the book with respect and to take good care not to talk of it if they are not obliged to. And that is what we must *compel* them to do. If the book is being discussed in 15-20 newspapers at once—never mind whether favourably or not, whether in articles, regular features or unsolicited pieces in the correspondence section—even if merely as a phenomenon of some significance that merits attention, then the whole crowd of them will start yapping away, too, of their own accord, and the Fauchers, Michaelis, Roschers, and Max Wirths will then *have to* do the same. We have a moral obligation to

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[a] See this volume, pp. 443-44. - [b] F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Zukunft*. - [c] Matthew 10:16

damned well get these articles into the papers, and *as near simultaneously as possible*, especially the European ones, and that includes the reactionary ones. In the latter, we might point out that the vulgarian gentlemen make a deal of noise in parliaments and economic gatherings, but now, when they are confronted with *the consequences* of their own science, they prefer to keep their mouths shut. And so forth. If you think my assistance would be desirable, let me know which paper you wish to have something for—in the service of the party I am always on call. The letter to Liebknecht concerns the same business, and you will therefore oblige me exceedingly by *ensuring* it reaches its destination.

The Roman affair[513] has again been an absolute boon to us. The noble Bonaparte appears to me to be gargling his last gasp, and when this episode comes to an end in France, with the position in England becoming more revolutionary every day, and with revolution in Italy inescapable—, then this must surely also spell the end of the reign of the 'Europeans'[a] in Germany. Rapid progress is being made here in England with the formation of a really revolutionary party, and revolutionary conditions are developing hand in hand with it. With his REFORMBILL,[425] Disraeli has thrown the Tories into confusion and routed the Whigs, although all he has done is to render it impossible to continue dilly-dallying as before. This REFORMBILL will either prove to be nothing at all (and this is now impossible, there is too much momentum behind it), or it will infallibly and immediately bring in its train BILLS of an altogether different character, which will go much farther. The next steps, which will have to be taken forthwith, are the allotting of representatives in proportion to population and the secret ballot, and that will be the end of the old scheme of things here. The capital thing about Disraeli is that his hatred for the COUNTRY GENTLEMEN in his own party and his hatred of the Whigs have set things going on a course which can no longer be halted. You will be astonished, and the German philistines who think England is finished will be even more astonished, at what will happen here once the REFORMBILL is in force. The Irish are also doing their bit to keep things properly on the boil, and every day the London proletarians are more openly declaring their support for the Fenians,[257] in other words, and this is without precedent here and really splendid, for a movement that firstly advocates the use of force and secondly is anti-English.

Have you heeded my medical advice and taken to horseback?

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[a] See this volume, pp. 361 and 372.

Since my return[449] I have again found the beneficial effects of riding amply demonstrated, and you will see how quickly all your complaints and reservations about drink disappear thanks to an hour's riding daily. As a gynaecologist, you owe it to science, for after all gynaecology is intimately connected with riding or being ridden, and a gynaecologist must therefore be in every sense the master of his mount.

Schorlemmer kept an eye open for you at the congress of naturalists in Frankfurt but maintains you were not there.

So, dear friend, let us hear from you soon. The photograph of Lupus has been ordered and will be ready as soon as the fine weather comes, unfortunately we do not have much daylight here in winter. Please convey my best compliments to your wife,[a] despite our being unacquainted, and best regards from

Yours
F. E.

Address: Ermen & Engels, Manchester FOR F. E.

20 November. Since I wrote the above, Marx has communicated to me your letter to him,[b] and I am sorry to see from it that we can hardly count on further press-notices in your locality. Might it not be possible, perhaps through third persons, to get *attacks* on the book, either from a bourgeois or a reactionary point of view, into some of the papers? This seems to me to be one means of publicity, and there would be no difficulty in producing the articles. And then: what about scientific journals, or purely literary or semi-literary ones?

Respecting the *Rheinische Zeitung*, I am writing to Cologne in case there has still been no progress.[523]

Büchner ought to be able to get things into the papers as well; you can refer him to me for the articles if necessary. Give him no peace.

I have still not received the photographs, but they are sure to come one of these days.

Once more, in all friendship

Yours
F. E.

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[a] Gertruda Kugelmann - [b] of 6 November 1867

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## MARX TO ENGELS[527]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 November 1867

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed from Kugelmann.
*Salut.*

Your
Moor

[Postscript from Laura Marx in English]

Dear Engels,

As Mohr's Secretary I am really rather ashamed to send off a letter of this kind.

Yours sincerely
Kakadou[a]

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 November 1867

Dear Moor,

What touching gaucheness in dear old Kugelmann's letter! And what discernment of character in respect of that Warnebold! The fellow extracts all his secrets from him, and all the while he is a Prussian spy! You *must* tell Kugelmann the truth about that cur—at least sufficiently to stop the Prussians learning every detail

[a] Laura's jocular nickname

of our activities.[528] The cur is abusing your confidences, which absolves you from any obligation toward him.

I saw Siebel yesterday in Liverpool. I fear the poor devil's days are numbered. Since I last saw him, his desease has advanced considerably, his health broke down in Barmen, he has had 3 successive attacks of pleurisy and is coughing very violently (he calls them coughing-spasms, and they recur periodically), however he has lately regained some of his health and strength at Honnef on the Rhine. Unfortunately, I could only speak to him alone for a short while, there were always several relatives there apart from his wife. Despite that, we settled the most important things.

*D'abord*[a]: Siebel has up to the present moment *neither received a copy*[b] *nor even seen one, although he wrote to Meissner* asking to be sent one by post immediately on publication. Mr Rittershaus, however, who has not lifted a finger, has received one, and Siebel thought you had not sent him one at all, but had done so to Rittershaus, which may have piqued him. I naturally explained the true position to him, but a few lines from you to him, which you can enclose in a letter to me, really are called for. But you must now take Meissner to task forthwith for this negligence. This affair has cost us 20 short notices which Siebel would immediately have had in all the papers, but could not because he did not have the book. Furthermore, I must have a copy here *by 22 November at the latest* to send to Siebel in Madeira, where he will make up for lost time as far as he can. But really what can one say to such a slapdash approach? And these are the Germans who are demanding self-government and CANNOT LOOK AFTER THEIR OWN BUSINESS!

Of the 3 articles I took with me, we sent off 2 to the *Frankfurter Börsenzeitung*[c] and to the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*[529] forthwith—the latter will do Mr Heinrich Bürgers good, with his circumspect scruples: my article[d]—a very simple report, which makes no judgments and was composed for a *national-liberal* newspaper—is too dubious for that brute![523] Siebel took the 3rd with him, it will probably go to the *Barmer Zeitung*.[530] Notices will also appear in all kinds of illustrated and other papers, as soon as Siebel himself has the book. Furthermore, the *Weser-Zeitung* will receive an article *a tempo*[e] from him for its literary section, and one on the book, and will be faced only with the choice of taking both or neither. (Siebel is using the literary section articles as a bait for editors, they are desperate for them, and he often lets them pocket the fee

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[a] Firstly - [b] of the first volume of *Capital* - [c] *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt* - [d] F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Rheinische Zeitung*'. - [e] in time

themselves.) Other ideas will occur to him as soon as he has the book.

*Ad vocem*[a] Freiligrath: that worthy's debts amounted to approx. £6,000, £4,000 with the Swiss Bank advanced for shares in the Mansfield Co. which are now worthless, and the rest debts of honour. The *Comité*[422] has settled these debts at 5% dividend, a few of them at 10%. Freiligrath has thus gone bankrupt *in optima forma.*[b] The collection will amount to approx. 30,000 talers. Freiligrath is said to have lied to the *Comité* through and through, concealed his debts and pretended his wife knew nothing of it and must not be allowed to know anything of it either, so that eventually they were very rude to him; even on the day when he knew that a letter was to arrive from London to say that the debts of honour totalled £2,000, he was still saying they were only £1,500, etc. In short, his conduct has been disgraceful and cowardly. I said I was quite convinced that dear old Ida[c] knew all about it, to which he replied: how was it then possible for her to give *fêtes*[d] last summer in Barmen? Just imagine, Ida goes a-begging and at the same time holds *fêtes* for the people she is begging from with the money that has not yet been given!

I am surprised Tussy[e] has not yet sent me a receipt for my contribution to the Freiligrath funeral-fund. THAT IS NOT BUSINESSLIKE.

Your
F. E.

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## 284

## MARX TO CARL SIEBEL[531]

### IN MADEIRA

London, 10 November 1867

Dear Siebel,

For the time being I am sending you this personal copy of mine.[f] At the same time I wrote to Meissner, the deuce take him! I

[a] Regarding - [b] in the best of form - [c] Ida Freiligrath - [d] parties - [e] Eleanor Marx - [f] the first volume of *Capital*

had actually instructed him to send you the *first* copy to appear in Germany. I hope that Madeira will do you good.

Karl Marx

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## 285

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 November 1867

DEAR FRED,

A letter from Russia enclosed and one from Solingen.[532] I believe the Russo-German[a] must be the same man that Meyer[b] told us about.

Kugelmann has sent me a copy of the *Deutsche Volkszeitung* (Hanover) containing a short notice of my book[c] written by himself. In it, Kugelmann has imitated one of your articles,[d] and by no means happily. As this paper is democratic, he could have gone into the content more. Among other things, he has me arrive 'at the' admittedly 'astonishing conclusion that all capital is derived *from unpaid labour power*'. Among the 'German authorities on political economy' whose 'verdict' he seeks, Mr 'Faucher' (fortunately printed as 'Taucher') appears at the *head* of the list and Roscher at the end.

Your 'revelations' in respect of Freiligrath have created a great sensation here at home.

At this moment, Bonaparte has need of a riot or a secret society in Paris if he is to extricate himself from his predicament. For the time being, he is treating the *Ligue de la Paix*[e] [461] as such. However,

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[a] Joseph Dietzgen - [b] Sigfrid Meyer - [c] the first volume of *Capital* (*Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 10 November 1867) - [d] F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Zukunft*'. - [e] League of Peace

that jackass Pyat is JUST NOW preparing the necessary *corpus delicti* for him from here.

I am being plagued by a carbunculum on the right side of my back.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 286

## ENGELS TO MARX[522]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 24 November 1867

Dear Moor,

The letters returned enclosed.

So, yesterday morning, and by Mr Colcraft's hand, the Tories have really performed the ultimate act of separation between England and Ireland. The *only thing* the Fenians still lacked were martyrs. Derby and G. Hardy have now provided them with these. It was the execution of those 3[a] which will transform the liberation of Kelly and Deasy into an act of heroism, such as will now be sung at the cradle of every Irish child in Ireland, England and America. The Irish women will see to that as surely as did the Polish womenfolk.

The only time that anyone has, to my knowledge, been executed for anything similar in a civilised state was the case of John Brown at Harpers ferry.[533] The Fenians could not wish for a better precedent. And yet even the SOUTHERNERS had the decency to treat J. Brown as a *rebel*, whereas here no effort is spared to convert an act of political violence into a common crime.

Everybody knows that while he was leading his band of ruffians at Boulogne, Louis Napoleon shot the duty-officer dead.[534] He

[a] the Fenians Michael Larkin, William Allen and Michael O'Brien

thus *did* what Allen is supposed to have done but did *not do.* For which the English government hangs Allen, while the English queen[a] kisses Louis Napoleon's cheek and the English aristocracy and bourgeoisie his backside.

The latter point should be made in the press.

Your
F. E.

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## 287

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 26 November 1867

Dear Moor,

I have not received the promised letter *in quo tua res agebatur.*[b]

Meissner's proposal to send out new notices with excerpts from the reviews was what I had in mind to suggest to you as soon as Siebel's articles (i.e. the ones I gave him[c]) appear. The excerpt from the *Zukunft* is quite good,[535] but a few more would be even better; he should send you the whole caboodle, and you can then prepare a notice from it. Or if you do not wish to, then he can send it to *me* and I will do it. I was most struck by the fact that the first notice *took up precisely the same space* as the one for my little pamphlet,[d] and it had not a word of commentary with it.[536]

If the matter does not turn out differently soon, then *I* shall have to write—with your consent OF COURSE—to Meissner and offer him articles written by *myself* for newspapers to be specified by him. I am sure that could not compromise you.

I have just managed to convey Meissner's excuses to Siebel[131] before the post office closed. They are admittedly persuasive,

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[a] Victoria - [b] in which your business was dealt with (see next letter) - [c] F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Elberfelder Zeitung*' and 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*'. - [d] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party.*

Siebel was at the time AT A VERY LOW EBB and only recovered in Honnef.

You will have received my letter of Sunday with the returned letters.[a] The tanner[b] returned enclosed, *autodidactum integrum*,[c] which does not, however, mean that other nations are incapable of bringing forth such a tanner. Philosophy, which in Jakob Böhme's day was just a shoemaker, is making progress when it assumes the shape of a tanner.

How is the carbuncle? I do not like its location, I hope Lafargue has lanced it for you. A stop really must be put to this business.

Has Borkheim paid you the money? He has not written a word to me, although I am guarantor.[d]

Your
F. E.

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## 288

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 November 1867

Dear Engels,

With regard to my private business (I intended writing to you on Saturday[e] but was prevented on that and on the following days by people consulting me from every side about the FENIAN AFFAIRS,[497] etc., in short, they were confiscating my time), Mr Borkheim—despite the best of intentions, I am sure—has throughout this month kept me suspended between frying pan and fire. You will see from his latest letter, of yesterday, that we are again faced with a new, indefinite delay. The worst part of it all is that he had *positively* promised me he would pay out the whole sum on the

[a] See this volume, p. 474. - [b] Joseph Dietzgen - [c] entirely self-educated - [d] See this volume, pp. 436, 437, etc. - [e] 23 November

*10th* of this month (at the latest), and I had made my dispositions with the creditors accordingly. The amount he has actually paid since he returned is £5. So, you will realise what TROUBLE I find myself in. The state of my health has greatly worsened, and there has been virtually no question of working. I am furthermore expecting summonses any day, and we no longer know which way to turn from one day to the next.

With regard to *Meissner*, my view is that we should let him have a free hand with his notice, as everything else would mean further delay. Thimm told Borkheim that Meissner had requested all the booksellers to send any still unsold copies[a] back to him (or to his agent in Leipzig). I have also heard from York, the Workers' Society[b] bookseller, that it is at the moment *very difficult* to obtain copies from Meissner. To me this indicates no more than 1. that the STOCK in Meissner's hands is very small, 2. that he wants to know how much of the STOCK *not in his hands* is really sold, 3. he wants to force his business 'friends' to hold as much as possible at their own expense. I shall write to Meissner that should he need notices or reviews for certain newspapers or journals (and he must tell me *which*), he can obtain them from friends such as yourself, etc. Must keep me informed.

Dr Contzen, private lecturer in political economy at Leipzig, PARTISAN and pupil of Roscher and friend of Liebknecht, has asked me through the latter for a copy with the promise of a detailed review. You will see that this has already been attended to through Meissner. Contzen is a good opening.

Liebknecht has sent me 50 of his PAMPHLETS[c] (of which I am sending you one today) for sale here, 3d. each. Lessner is seeing what can be done in the Workers' Society.

The extract from Liebknecht's SPEECH at the Berlin Workers' Society[476] on the deferment of the 'social question' which he has published as an appendix admittedly gives some grounds for Kugelmann's censure.[537] As Liebknecht is asking you, among other things, to contribute to the little paper he is planning,[538] you can give him a few hints *privatim* about how to combine political opposition with social agitation.

Letters from Liebknecht and Kugelmann enclosed.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] of the first volume of *Capital* - [b] German Workers' Educational Society in London - [c] W. Liebknecht, *Was ich im Berliner 'Reichstag' sagte.*

What is the position regarding Mr Schorlemmer's Chemistry[a] which I was to receive?

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## 289

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

*London*, 28 November 1867

DEAR FRED,

I see that I did not enclose the 2 letters from Borkheim for you. But it is not really necessary. Yesterday we had the 'discussion' he desired. He has reverted to the idea (which I suggested to him 2 months ago) of a loan from the 'Atlas' Life Assurance Company, whose secretary is a friend of his. I completed the papers yesterday at his house. You only figure as a REFERENCE on them. £150 (of which Borkheim would receive £45), repayable on 1 September.

I no longer have any faith in the success of Borkheim's operations. *I have no doubt about his good will.*

Have you received his '*Pearl*? (French and German so far[b]).

Important letter from Schily enclosed. Please send it back *by return*; give your opinion at the same time. Whatever happens I shall not permit Moses[c] to derive 'profit' from my work[d] without profiting to some extent from it myself.[539]

I am having to be diplomatic about Fenianism. I cannot keep entirely silent, but under no circumstances do I want the fellows, when criticising my book, to confine themselves to the statement that I am a demagogue.

I am *sending* you Borkheim's *Gentz* (important for the article on

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[a] H. E. Roscoe, *Kurzes Lehrbuch der Chemie... Deutsche Ausgabe, unter Mitwirkung des Verfassers bearbeitet von Carl Schorlemmer.* - [b] S. Borkheim, *Ma perle devant le congrès de Genève* (German edition: *Meine Perle vor dem Genfer Congress*). - [c] Moses Hess - [d] the first volume of *Capital*

Russia)[a] without his knowledge. Please return it to me as soon as you have finished.

I now have a rash of furuncles more or less all over, and am glad of it. It puts paid to the carbuncle malady.

*Salut.*

Your
Moro

*My compliments to Mrs Burns. Jenny goes in black since the Manchester execution,[497] and wears her Polish cross on a *green* ribbon.*[430]

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## 290

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 November 1867

Dear Moor,

Enclosed for your immediate relief £30 in 3 notes *à* 10, O/U 56068 to 70, Manchester, 9 January 1867. The letter from Borkheim was not enclosed. I have also received a letter from Kugelmann[b] which I enclose and wish to have returned, I have to answer him.

Liebknecht would have done better to leave his pamphlet unprinted.[c] His speeches appear better in the *Kölnische Zeitung* than in this form, and the stuff at the end indeed shows just how pig-headedly he is stuck in his errors.[537] It is true I have already told him a thing or two by letter, but now that he is starting up another little paper, he must be told some more home truths[538];

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[a] F. von Gentz, *Vertrauliche Bemerkungen über den Stand und die nächste Zukunft der russisch-türkischen Angelegenheiten.* - [b] of 25 November 1867 - [c] W. Liebknecht, *Was ich im Berliner 'Reichstag' sagte.'*

we could do Bismarck no greater favour than to let ourselves be lumped together with the Austrians and South German Federalists, Ultramontanes and dispossessed princes. I am awaiting a letter from him daily and will then write to him about that, too.

How goes it with your health?

Your
F. E.

More tomorrow.

The Englishman in Kugelmann's letter is Moore, who has greatly improved his German and is now sweating away assiduously at *Capital.* Schorlemmer's book[a] is still not out yet!!

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## 291

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN BARMEN

Manchester, 28 November 1867

Dear Hermann,

Forgive me for leaving your two letters unanswered for so long. Many things were to blame for this, but above all the fact that yarns were certain not to go up for the time being and—with no demand from you at the moment—there was thus no danger in delay.

The SEWINGS we normally send out bleached and dyed in the finer nos., are doubled by us from the same COPS which we also send to you. (36/45 Taylor, finer No. Knowles.) But we can have these COPS doubled by a DOUBLER for you here, and the SEWINGS would at today's prices then cost

[a] H. E. Roscoe, *Kurzes Lehrbuch der Chemie... Deutsche Ausgabe, unter Mitwirkung des Verfassers bearbeitet von Carl Schorlemmer.*

| No.: | 36 | 40 | 50 | 60 | 70 | 80 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 19d. | 19 1/2 d. | 2/1 | 2/7 | 2/11 | 3/3 |

For DIAMOND 2d., however, we use a yarn that has been doubled on the DOUBLING FRAME but is more loosely spun; at today's prices that costs us

| No.: | 36 | 40 | 50 | 60 | 70 | 80 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 18d. | 18 1/2 d. | 20d. | 2/1 | 2/3 | 2/5 |

I am enclosing a sample of the latter in No. 60, but you also had some of this last spring, bale No. 319, delivery note 9 April, so you can compare whether you need this cheaper product or whether you must have the more expensive yarns with real SEWING TWIST.

We are all expecting a drop in prices here in view of the exceptionally good American harvest. MIDDLING was selling at 6 1/2 FREE ON BOARD in New Orleans. However, the spinning business is very much in the doldrums just now, and so when things first pick up again yarn might well remain stable, even if there is a fall in cotton. The fine nos. will hold their own best, the ORDINARY fine DOUBLES being already cheaper than in 1860 (16d. as against 18d. for 60/RFOLD). The prices I gave you overleaf are approximately the same as those at the end of 1859 and the beginning of 1860, the *more expensive* 60s being then at 2s. 5d., the 40s at 19d., and the cheaper 60s was anything a little more expensive then. I cannot make an exact comparison as we were not using the same threads in those days.

Otherwise everything is pretty much as usual here. From time to time, a bit of a tussle, now with Anton, now with Gottfried,[a] ensures that our old love never fades.

I am wishing myself many happy returns of my birthday today from all of you, and send you all my very best wishes. I shall be answering mother's[b] letter one day soon.[131]

Your
Friedrich

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[a] Anton and Gottfried Ermen - [b] Elisabeth Engels'

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 November 1867

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR THE £30.

Letter from Kugelmann returned enclosed. We must watch out that he doesn't commit any stupidities in his enthusiasm. Such as with Miquel, for example.[528]

As regards the paper of the *United States of Europe*[a]—and the contributions I have been asked for from Geneva—it is the purest nonsense. Mr K. Grün probably the editor. And the thing is in itself a FAILURE.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Cold and disagreeable though it is, I am supposed to circumambulate the Heath,[b] etc., for a few days.

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## 293

## MARX TO ENGELS[540]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 November 1867

You can see how deucedly forgetful I am. I have just sent the letter off without enclosing Kugelmann.

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[a] *Les États-Unis d'Europe* - [b] Hampstead Heath

## 294

## ENGELS TO MARX[522]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 29 November 1867
7 Southgate

Dear Moor,

Schily returned enclosed.[539] Oh, Lord, have mercy upon us, here comes olle Moses[a] pissing up to us again! And he is congratulating himself that you certified he was right when he asserted that capital is accumulated labour!

I would be just the tiniest bit reticent in respect of that worthy. He will then take the bait all the more surely, and you know how little we can trust him if we have not made *quite* sure of him. In my view, for the present you could *permit him* to publish a few extracts from it[b] in the *Courrier français*, so that we may see how he proposes to handle the thing. He will naturally put his signature to these, and we shall thereby again have him to some degree qualified as a repentant sinner. *Then* you could talk about the translation of the whole book which he is envisaging; *your* right of revision always reserved; and discuss conditions as soon as a publisher has been found. What Schily says of Reclus seems important to me, as the man knows German.

You are perfectly right about the Fenians.[c] The vile deeds of the English must not allow us to forget that most of the leaders of this sect are jackasses and some of them exploiters, and that we can, under no circumstances, make ourselves responsible for the idiocies that are perpetrated in any conspiracy. That there will be some, is certain.

I need hardly tell you that black and green[d] are the prevailing colours in my house, too. The English press has again conducted itself abominably.[497] Larkin is said to have fainted, and the others[e] to have looked pale and confused. The Catholic priests who were there declare that is a lie. Larkin, they say, *stumbled* over an irregularity in the ground and all three showed great courage.

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[a] Moses Hess (*olle*—Low German for 'old') - [b] the first volume of *Capital* - [c] See this volume, pp. 478-79. - [d] i.e., colours symbolising mourning and the struggle for the emancipation of Ireland - [e] William Allen and Michael O'Brien

The Catholic Bishop of Salford complained bitterly that Allen refused to repent of his deed, saying he had nothing to repent, and if he were free, he would do the same thing again. The Catholic priests, incidentally, were very impudent, it was stated from the pulpit in every church on Sunday that THESE THREE MEN WERE *MURDERED*.

You will have received my letter of yesterday with the £30.[a] As regards the life assurance,[b] I am willing to *guarantee* the sum concerned, provided that Borkheim retains the *original* in his own keeping and merely gives the secretary a *copy*, in the hope that this will facilitate matters.

I agree that the furuncles appear to mark the crisis of the previous illness.

Best regards to your wife, the girls and Lafargue.

Now that Liebknecht has got a little paper,[538] for which *we* shall be held responsible, it is very important that he does nothing stupid in respect of his German policy. I am most impatient for a letter from him.

Apropos. From 1 January the *Internationale Revue* will appear as joint successor to a journal produced by *Prutz*[c] which is to merge with it. Could put paid to our plans.[d] How do you think we should broach the matter with Hilberg? We shall have to be cunning about it.

Your

F. E.

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## 295

## MARX TO ENGELS[541]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 30 November 1867

DEAR FRED,

Regarding Moses,[e] I shall follow your prescription exactly. At all events, we must make use of the man and, at the same time,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 479, 481-82. - [b] Ibid., p. 478. - [c] *Deutsches Museum* - [d] See this volume, pp. 463-64. - [e] Moses Hess (see this volume, p. 484).

prevent him from misusing us. Regarding Hilberg, it would indeed be a good thing if we could keep a hold on this *Revue*,[a] being the only one still open to us, but how? is not yet clear to me. This morning I received a COPY of Schorlemmer[b] AND SEND HIM MY THANKS FOR IT.

If you have read the papers, you will have seen that 1. the INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL sent MEMORIAL for the FENIANS[542] to Hardy, 2. the debate on FENIANISM (a week ago last Tuesday[c]) was public and *The Times* carried a REPORT on it.[d] There were also REPORTERS there from the Dublin *Irishman* and *Nation*. I did not arrive until very late (I have been suffering from a fever for about 2 weeks, and have only got over it in the last 2 days) and had not in fact intended to speak, first on account of my uncomfortable physical condition, and second because of the delicacy of the situation. However, the CHAIRMAN Weston wanted to force me to, so I moved ADJOURNMENT, which obliged me to speak last Tuesday.[e] What I had in fact prepared for TUESDAY LAST was not a SPEECH but rather the POINTS for A SPEECH.[f] However, the IRISH REPORTERS did not come, and by the time we had finished waiting for them it was 9 o'clock, whereas the premises were only available to us until $10^1/_2$. At my suggestion, Fox had prepared a long SPEECH (because of a QUARREL on the COUNCIL he had made no appearance for 2 weeks, and furthermore sent in his RESIGNATION as MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL containing furious outbursts against Jung[543]). When the *séance*[g] opened I therefore declared that, on account of the BELATED HOUR, I would yield the floor to Fox. In fact—because the executions in Manchester had intervened—our subject 'FENIANISM' was bound up with the passions and heated emotions of the moment, which would have compelled *me* (though not the abstract *Fox*) to unleash a revolutionary thunderbolt, instead of the intended objective analysis of the situation and the movement. The Irish REPORTERS thus did me a great service by staying away and so delaying the opening of the meeting. I do not enjoy getting embroiled with people like Roberts, Stephens, and the like.

Fox's SPEECH was good, first because it was delivered by *an Englishman*, and second insofar as it dealt only with political and international ASPECTS. However, for that very reason he only skated over the surface of things. The resolution he brought forward was

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[a] *Internationale Revue* - [b] H. E. Roscoe, *Kurzes Lehrbuch der Chemie... Deutsche Ausgabe, unter Mitwirkung des Verfassers bearbeitet von Carl Schorlemmer.* - [c] 19 November - [d] 'London Meetings', *The Times*, No. 25974, 21 November 1867. - [e] 26 November - [f] K. Marx, 'Notes for an Undelivered Speech on Ireland'. - [g] meeting

silly and pointless.[544] I opposed it and had it referred back to the STANDING COMMITEE.[21]

What the English do not yet realise, is that since 1846 the economic content and hence the political purpose of English rule in Ireland as well has entered an entirely new phase, and that for that very reason FENIANISM is characterised by socialist (in the negative sense, as directed against the APPROPRIATION of the SOIL) leanings and as a LOWER ORDERS MOVEMENT. What could be more absurd than to lump together the barbarities of Elizabeth or Cromwell, who wanted to drive out the Irish by means of English colonists (in the Roman sense), and the present system, which wants to drive out the Irish by means of sheep, pigs and oxen! The system of 1801-1846 (EVICTIONS in that period were exceptional, particularly in Leinster, where the soil is especially suited to cattle-raising) with its RACKRENTS and MIDDLEMEN, collapsed in 1846. The ANTI-CORN-LAW-REPEAL, in part a consequence of or, at all events, hastened by the IRISH FAMINE,[545] took from Ireland its *monopoly* of supplying England with corn in normal times. Wool and meat became the watchword, hence CONVERSION OF TILLAGE INTO PASTURE. So from then on, SYSTEMATIC CONSOLIDATION OF FARMS. The ENCUMBERED ESTATES ACT which made LANDLORDS of a mass of former MIDDLEMEN who had grown rich, hastened the process.[546] *CLEARING OF THE ESTATES OF IRELAND!* is now the sole meaning of English rule in Ireland. The *stupid* English government in London naturally knows even nothing of this IMMENSE CHANGE since 1846. But the Irish do. From *Meagher's Proclamation* (1848)[547] down to *Hennessy's election address* (Tory and Urquhartite) (1866) the Irish have been expressing their awareness of it in the clearest and MOST FORCIBLE MANNER.

The question now is, what advice should *we* give the *English* workers? In my view, they must make *REPEAL of the UNION* (in short, the *farce of* 1783, only democratised and adapted to meet present circumstances) an article of their *pronunziamento.*[a548] This is the only *legal* and hence the only possible form of Irish emancipation which can be adopted by an *English* party in its programme. Experience must later show, whether mere personal union between the 2 countries can continue to exist. I half believe it could if it comes about in due time.

What the Irish need is:

1. Self-government and independence from England.
2. Agrarian revolution. With the best will in the world the

[a] manifesto

English cannot do this for them, but they can give them the legal means to do it for themselves.

3. *Protective tariffs against England.* From 1783-1801 every branch of industry in Ireland flourished. By suppressing the protective tariffs which the Irish parliament had established, the Union destroyed all industrial life in Ireland. The little bit of linen industry is in no way a substitute. The Union of 1801 affected Irish industry exactly as did the measures for the suppression of the Irish wool industry, etc., on the part of the English parliament under Anne, George II, and others. As soon as the Irish became independent, necessity would turn them, like Canada, Australia, etc., into protectionists. Before I put forward my views at the CENTRAL COUNCIL (next Tuesday, this time fortunately *without* REPORTERS being present),[549] I would appreciate it if you would let me know your opinion in a few lines.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Since Moses[a] is a cousin of *Hirsch*,[b] I am not surprised that he himself has a set of antlers. HE BEARS IT PROUDLY.[c]

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## 296

## MARX TO VICTOR SCHILY[419]

IN PARIS

London, 30 November 1867

Dear Schily,

I wrote to Meissner as soon as I received your letter and asked him to send you a COPY of the book[d] for Reclus.[111] I believe Reclus

[a] Moses Hess - [b] A pun on the name *Hirsch* which also means *stag*.- [c] Marx wrote this postscript at the top of the first page. - [d] the first volume of *Capital*

to be just the man to undertake the French translation, with German co-operation. In a translation, I would indicate certain changes to be made in several parts and, at the same time, reserve the right to carry out the final revision myself.[539]

What should be done, in the first instance, and as quickly as possible, is to bring out passages from the book in the *Courrier français.* I do not see why Hess should need to involve any third person for this. He would best do it by himself. I also think that the topic he had in mind on English factory legislation is the most suitable as an introduction. However, even that cannot be treated without a few introductory words about the *theory of value,* as Proudhon has sown total confusion in people's minds on that subject. They believe that a commodity is sold for its value if it is sold for its *prix de revient*[a] = price of the means of production which have been consumed in it, + wages (or *price* of the labour added to the means of production). They do not see that the *unpaid labour* which is contained in the commodity constitutes just as fundamental an element of value as the labour which has been paid for, and that this element of value now takes the *form of profit,* etc. They have no idea *what* wages are. Without an understanding of the nature of value, arguments about the working day, etc., in short, the factory laws, have no basis. *A few* words of introduction on this subject are thus called for.

My publisher[b] is satisfied with sales in Germany. The liberal and vulgar-economist gang is, of course, seeking to harm it as much as they can by their tried and tested method of *conspiration de silence.* But this time they will not succeed.

I am here enclosing 1 COPY of Liebknecht[c] for you. You will see from the back page that he is bringing out a little weekly paper of his own[d] in the coming weeks. I am to request contributions from you from Paris. (His address: 11 Braustrasse, *Mr Miller.*[e]) I have given him a dressing-down for the phrase about the 'social question' (in the supplement)[537] and ditto drew his attention to the fact that he should avoid uncritical stand of the South Germans in his polemic against Bismarck. What should already have perplexed him is the fact that Jakobus Venedey has become his admirer.

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[a] prime cost - [b] Otto Meissner - [c] W. Liebknecht, *Was ich im Berliner 'Reichstag' sagte.* - [d] *Democratisches Wochenblatt* - [e] Liebknecht's conspiratorial pseudonym

For all that Liebknecht's bold stand in the Reichstag has done good.

The whole family send you their warmest greetings.

Your
A. Williams[a]

The movement is on the march here!

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## 297

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[65]

### IN HANOVER

London, 30 November 1867

Dear Kugelmann,

Ill-health alone is to blame for my not replying sooner. I have been laid low again for weeks now.

Firstly, my best thanks for your efforts. Engels has written to Liebknecht (or will be doing so). Liebknecht, incidentally, was intending (in conjunction with Götz, and others) to make a demand in the Reichstag for an *Enquiry into the conditions of the workers.* He wrote to me about his intention, and at his request I sent him a few relevant English Acts of Parliament.[504] The plan came to nothing because owing to the procedure there was no time left for it. On one point you are better placed to write to Liebknecht than either Engels or myself. And that is that it really is his duty to draw attention to my book[b] at *workers' meetings.* If he fails to do so, the Lassalleans will seize upon the thing and misconstrue it.

*Contzen* (lecturer at Leipzig, a pupil and follower of Roscher) has requested a copy of the book from me via Liebknecht and promised a detailed review of it, from his point of view, in return. Meissner thereupon sent him the book. This could be a good

[a] Marx's conspiratorial pseudonym - [b] the first volume of *Capital.*

start.—I was pleased about the misprint 'Taucher' in place of 'Faucher'[a] in your notice.[b] Faucher is one of those 'travelling preachers' of political economy. The fellow has no place among the 'scholarly' German economists such as Roscher, Rau, Mohl, and others. It is doing him too great an honour even to mention him. And I have consequently never allowed him a role as a noun but only as a verb.[c]

Please be so kind as to tell your good wife[d] that the chapters on the 'Working Day', 'Co-operation, Division of Labour and Machinery' and finally on 'Primitive Accumulation'[550] are the most immediately readable. You will have to explain any incomprehensible terminology to her. If there are any other doubtful points, I shall be glad to help.

In France (Paris) there are the best prospects that the book will be discussed in detail (in the *Courrier français*, a Proudhonist paper unfortunately!) and even translated.[539]

As soon as I am better, I will write more. Meanwhile I hope you will write frequently. I always find it has a spurring effect on me.

Your
K. M.

[From Eleanor Marx, in English]

My dear Fränzchen,[e]

As Papa is in a hurry to send off his letter I have only time to send you my best love.

Your affectionate
Eleanor Marx

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 4, Stuttgart, 1901-1902

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[a] *Taucher*—literally: diver; *Faucher*—name of an economist. - [b] *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 10 November 1867 (see this volume, p. 473). - [c] The name *Faucher* originates from the verb *fauchen* meaning 'to spit, snarl, hiss, puff, explode with anger or passion'. In Vol. I of *Capital* Marx makes a pun on the name and derives the words *vorfauchen* and *lügenfauchendsten* from it. - [d] Gertruda Kugelmann - [e] Franziska Kugelmann

## 298

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 December 1867

Dear Moor,

I have given the LOAN COMPANY the REFERENCE, I said, FROM CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION I AM CONVINCED THAT MR MARX WILL BE IN A POSITION TO REPAY THE LOAN WHEN DUE.

The letters from Borkheim returned enclosed. I hope the business goes well.

I shall be sending you letters from Kugelmann and Liebknecht tomorrow or the day after. Both have some prospect of getting various things[a] placed in newspapers, though admittedly small ones, I shall be attending to it this and tomorrow evening.

As to Meissner's notice,[b] haste is not very advisable. The stuff must not appear in the papers until *after New Year*, otherwise it will get lost in the flood of notices for Christmas books.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 December 1867

Dear Moor,

Enclosed letters from Kugelmann (with enclosure), Liebknecht and Siebel, as well as three acknowledgments from Rau, Hilde-

[a] concerning the first volume of *Capital* - [b] See this volume, pp. 475 and 476.

brand and Schulze-Delitzsch.[551] Please send back by return the ones from Kugelmann, with the enclosure, and Siebel, the post for Siebel is going off on *Monday evening*, and I also have to write to Kugelmann. What do you think of the little Swabian paper[a]? Kugelmann certainly does seem to be resorting to desperate means though.

I have written at length to Liebknecht and demanded that he should attack not only the Prussians but their opponents, too, the Austrians, Federalists, Guelphs[420] and other advocates of the smaller states. As I suspected, the fellow has become narrow-minded in exclusively South German fashion. He and Bebel have signed an address to the Viennese City Council,[b] in which Austria is hailed as the newly-arising state of freedom in the South, in contrast to the North's condition of servitude! IT'S ALL VERY WELL for him to make a few vague speeches in the Reichstag, but a little newspaper[c] is a different matter altogether, we shall be held responsible for it, and we really cannot allow ourselves to be confused with Austrians, Federalists and Guelphs.[552] I have also written to him about his stupidity in suspending social agitation.[537]

This evening I shall be sending Jenny the trial of Adelaide Macdonald, who fired a pistol at the policeman.[553] Her relationship with Allen is not clear. Allen was betrothed to another girl and was to marry on the Monday after the 'OUTRAGE'.

In haste.

Your

F. E.

LOAN ALL RIGHT, I presume?

Enquiries today about life assurance.

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[a] *Der Beobachter* - [b] 'Adresse an den Wiener Gemeinderat', *Neue Preußische Zeitung*, 1 December 1867. - [c] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*

# 300

## MARX TO ENGELS[6]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 December 1867

DEAR FRED,

Yesterday I presented myself at the LOAN SOCIETY for BODILY examination. This is more than just a formality, for if I were to die *before* September, the society would *not* get a FARTHING back. I was afraid I would have to undress (the fate of an Englishman who was there with me). In the first place, I do not like such inocular speculation, and second precisely at this moment I still have a carbuncle on the left loin not far from the centre of propagation, as well as numerous furuncles. Fortunately, the fellow was so impressed with my chest that he didn't want to know about anything else. I shall get the money on Monday at 12 o'clock.

You *forgot* to put in the letter from *Siebel.* I am sending you back *Kugelmann,* along with enclosure. Also, a letter he has written to me, together with enclosures. The screed from Bürgers[554] to be put with the *documents.* That jackass was rightly reminded by the workers in Düsseldorf[a] that 1. in Lassalle's time he stated he 'wished to take due account of conditions', 2. he had 'lost his *illusions about the class struggle*', and 3. he had found in Schulze-Delitzsch the solution to all past and future social mysteries.[b]

As regards the little Swabian paper,[c] it would be an amusing coup if we could hoodwink Vogt's friend, the Swabian Mayer. It would be easy to contrive the thing as follows. *D'abord*[d] to begin by saying that whatever one may think of the drift of the book,[e] it is a credit to the '*German* spirit', for which reason, too, it was written by a Prussian in exile and not in Prussia; Prussia having long ceased to be a country where any scholarly initiative, especially in the political or historical or social field, is possible or is actually to be found, it now being the representative of the Russian and not of the German spirit. In respect of the book itself, a distinction has to be drawn between two things, between positive developments

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[a] who voted against Bürgers at the elections to the North German Reichstag - [b] See this volume, pp. 220-21. - [c] *Der Beobachter* - [d] First - [e] the first volume of *Capital*

('solid' would be the second epithet) given by the author, and the tendentious conclusions he arrives at. The former are a direct addition to the sum of human knowledge, since actual economic relations are treated in an entirely new way by a materialistic ('Mayer' has a liking for this catchword, on account of Vogt) method. *Example*: 1. the development of money, 2. the way in which co-operation, division of labour, the machine system and the corresponding social combinations and relations develop 'spontaneously'.

Now as regards the *tendency* of the author, another distinction has to be drawn. When he demonstrates that present society, economically considered, is pregnant with a new, higher form, he is only showing in the social context the same gradual process of evolution that Darwin has demonstrated in natural history. The liberal doctrine of 'progress' (*c'est Mayer tout pur*[a]) embraces this idea, and it is to his credit that he himself shows there is hidden progress even where modern economic relations are accompanied by frightening direct consequences. At the same time, owing to this critical approach of his, the author has, perhaps *malgré lui*,[b] sounded the death-knell to all socialism by the book, i. e. to utopianism, for evermore.

The author's tendency to be *subjective*, on the other hand—which he was perhaps bound and obligated to assume in view of his party position and his past—i.e. the manner in which he represents to himself or to others the ultimate outcome of the present movement, of the present social process, bears absolutely no relation to its real development. If space permitted this to be more closely examined, it could perhaps be shown that its 'objective' development refutes his own 'subjective' fancies.

Whereas Mr Lassalle hurled abuse at the capitalists and flattered the backwoods Prussian squirearchy, Mr Marx, on the contrary, shows the *historical 'necessity'* of capitalist production and severely criticises the landed aristocrat who does nought but consume. Just how little he shares the ideas of his renegade disciple Lassalle on Bismarck's vocation for ushering in an economic MILLENNIUM he has not merely shown in his previous protests against '*royal Prussian Socialism*'[c] but he openly repeats it on pp. 762, 763, where he says that the system prevailing in France and Prussia at present will subject the continent of Europe to the regime of the Russian knout, if it is not checked in good time.[555]

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[a] that's Mayer to a tee - [b] despite himself - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, "To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*.

That is my view on how to hoodwink the Swabian Mayer (who did after all print my preface[456]), and small though his beastly rag is, it is, nevertheless, the popular oracle of all the Federalists in Germany and is also read abroad.

With regard to Liebknecht, it is indeed a disgrace that with the numerous petty provincial papers he has at his command,[556] he did not *spontanément*[a] send in short notices to them—it would not have required of him any of the study which is so contrary to his nature. Mr Schweitzer et Co. understand this better, as you can see from the enclosed *Social-Demokrat*.[557] (Kugelmann sent it me.) Yesterday I sent Guido Weiss of the *Zukunft* (this just *between ourselves*) some juxtaposed texts,[b] on one side von Hofstetten's bowdlerised plagiarisms, on the other the original passages from my book. I wrote to him at the same time that this must be printed *not in my name* but as though emanating from the *Zukunft* (or, if that is not feasible, then as though from a *Zukunft*-reader in Berlin). If Weiss takes this (*and I think he will*), then not merely will the attention of the Berlin workers have been drawn to the book through the quotation of passages which are of direct interest to them, but an extremely useful polemic will have been initiated, and *Schweitzer's* plan to ignore the book and exploit its contents will have been dished. Marvellous how these fellows think they can go on with *Lassalle's* plan.[c] What could be more naive than the manner in which von Hofstetten and Citizen Geib have joined together at the general meeting of the General Association of German Workers in savaging the section I wrote on the 'working day'[558]?

*Salut.*

Your
K. Marx

My compliments to Mrs Burns. I have taken an extraordinary liking to Schorlemmer's compendium.[d]

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[a] spontaneously - [b] K. Marx, 'Plagiarism'. - [c] See this volume, pp. 328-29. - [d] H. E. Roscoe, *Kurzes Lehrbuch der Chemie... Deutsche Ausgabe, unter Mitwirkung des Verfassers bearbeitet von Carl Schorlemmer.*

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 December 1867

DEAR FRED,

I see too late that I have forgotten to send you the *Social-Demokrat*.[557] I am now making amends and enclose a copy of *Courrier* which will interest you on account of the article by the American General Cluseret on Mentana and Garibaldi.[a 513] You must send the batch of *Courriers* back to me. I need the set because it is the only one which gives me a *continuous report on stocks and shares.*

*Salut.*

Your
Moor

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## 302

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[65]

IN HANOVER

[London,] 7 December 1867

Dear Kugelmann,

If there were 6 people of your calibre in Germany, we should already have overcome the resistance of the mass of philistines and the *conspiration de silence* of the experts and the riff-raff of the press, at least to the extent that serious discussion would have begun. *Mais il faut attendre!*[b] That phrase contains the entire secret of *Russian policy.*

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[a] [G. P.] Cluseret, 'Mentana', *Le Courrier français*, No. 173, 7 December 1867. - [b] But we shall have to wait and see!

I enclose a letter (which you will be so kind as to return to me) from a German-Russian worker[a] (tanner).[532] Engels rightly observes that the autodidactic philosophy—pursued by workers themselves—has made great progress in this tanner, when compared with the cobbler Jakob Böhme, ditto that none but the '*German*' worker is capable of such cerebral production.[b]

Borkheim asked me yesterday who wrote the article in the *Zukunft*[c] (he subscribes to the paper). He said it must originate from our side as you had sent him a copy. I said *I did not know.* N.B.! One must not let others see through one's game!

Heartiest thanks to your good wife[d] for the trouble she has taken in copying the letters. You should not exploit her so for 'surplus labour'.

As I told you, if I am not mistaken, Bucher has actually asked me himself to become *economic correspondent for the 'Königlich Preußische Staats-Zeitung.'*[e] So you see, if I *wished* to avail myself of such sources, I *could* do so without the mediation of any third party.[559]

I am suffering from the same illness as before. Nothing dangerous to it, but a nuisance.

With best compliments to your good wife and Fränzchen.[f]

Yours
K. Marx

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 4, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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## 303

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 12 December 1867

Dear Moor,

Since Sunday I've been having a grand gala performance, with toothache, influenza, SORE THROAT, fever, and all manner of

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[a] Joseph Dietzgen - [b] See this volume, p. 476. - [c] F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Zukunft*'. - [d] Gertruda Kugelmann - [e] *Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger* (see this volume, p. 202) - [f] Franziska Kugelmann

unpleasantnesses, only this morning am I fit to work again, and I will get down to the Swabian Mayer this evening, following your recipe,[a] which—with some excessively rigorous detail discounted which would make the thing 3 times as long—is very nice.

Bürgers has been put *ad acta*.[554] By one of the ironies of fate, the introduction to the article[b] sent him by Kugelmann necessarily cut him to the quick as the unsuccessful Reichstag candidate for Düsseldorf. I quite innocently mentioned in it the fact that the social-democratic party could no longer simply be ignored now that it is represented in the Reichstag, and that these gentlemen would make this book their Bible. With his customary tact, Kugelmann sends this to Heinrich. *Hinc illae lacrimae!*[c] I had quite forgotten the matter, and I was only reminded of it by Heinrich's anxious letter, which takes all this most seriously.

The *Zukunft* affair is very good.[d] Write and tell me when it appears,[e] as I cannot spare the time to consult *Zukunft* every day at the Schiller Institute.[28]

Kugelmann becomes more simple-minded every day. If Bucher—why not go straight to Bismarck?[559] I do not understand, or else I've forgotten, what he says in the letter of 3 December to you about a letter from Meissner enclosed for me.

Enclosed 1. 2 letters from Kugelmann to you, returned,
2. 1 ditto " " " me and 1 from Stumpf to Kugelmann.
3. The letter from Siebel.

Last post now. Kindest regards to the ladies and Lafargue.

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 493-95. - [b] F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Rheinische Zeitung*'. - [c] Hence these tears! (Terence, *Andria*, Act I, Scene 1, 99). [d] See this volume, p. 495. - [e] K. Marx, 'Plagiarism'.

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## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

### IN HANOVER

Manchester, 12 December 1867

Dear Kugelmann,

Your zeal truly deserves my gratitude, but it appears greatly to overestimate my free time. I received your letter of 30 November on 2 December, held counsel with Marx, as there were several things in it to be considered, and would already have sent you various articles, if on Sunday I had not been visited by a toothache-influenza-sore throat with inevitable fever, which prostrated me on the sofa. Fortunately, that kind of thing takes an acute course with me, and so I am fit for work again today and will be setting my nose to the grindstone at once. But you must not imagine that one can just toss off a dozen reviews of one and the same book[a] and not merely say something different in each one but also so compose them that one cannot tell they are all by one author. One often has to pause for thought.[560]

I would advise against writing directly to Miquel. There are some things which can be achieved *verbally* with such people and which are scarcely to be risked in writing. He will surely be coming over to Hanover sometime.

The *United States of Europe*[b] was stillborn. And with Vogt's brother[c] and minion as editor—pshaw!

The Englishman who called on Brandes was our friend Moore from here, who spent 7 weeks in Eisenach for German-learning purposes; I had no idea he would be passing by, or I should have written him a few lines to give to you. He might perhaps have called on you anyway, except that he had curiously got it fixed in his head that you lived in Hamburg. He will probably undertake the English translation of Marx' book.[229]

Concerning Liebknecht's South German outburst, I have written to him that nothing is achieved by it.[552] He would have done better not to publish his speeches,[d] *in extenso*[e] their effect is lost, the *nonsense* in them obtrudes too much. I also wrote to him about his curious theory on the postponement of the social question.[537] You

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[a] the first volume of *Capital* - [b] *Les États-Unis d'Europe* - [c] Gustav Vogt - [d] W. Liebknecht, *Was ich im Berliner 'Reichstag' sagte.* - [e] literally: at full length; figuratively: in print.

will recall, incidentally, that I was already telling you last autumn that he had become too much of an *Austrian* owing to his hatred of the Prussians.

This brief epistle just to keep you informed. The articles will follow in a few days time, and you can then at all events tell the Lieutenant-Colonel[a] that there will be a few more, and there will then be something for him to do.

In friendship

Yours
F. E.

I have just been ejected from the office, as it was closing time.

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## 305

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

### IN HANOVER

Manchester, 13 December 1867

Dear Kugelmann,

'Pursuant to mine humbly of yesterday'—so that you do not forget all the elements of commercial style—you will find enclosed 2 articles, one examining the *content* of the book, for the *Beobachter*,[b] and the other merely discussing points of fact, for the *Gewerbeblatt* or the *Staats-Anzeiger*.[c]

You will appreciate the difficulties which had to be overcome with the first of these when you consider that the editor of the *Beobachter* is the tedious talker from Swabia, *Karl Mayer*, from *Herr Vogt*, who will certainly never knowingly do us any favours. You realise that these articles must only be submitted in copy, but I

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[a] Adolf Friedrich Seubert - [b] F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Beobachter*'. - [c] F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Staats-Anzeiger fur Württemberg*'.

would ask you to keep all the originals, as one never knows what they may be needed for.

I shall also be sending something for the *Merkur*,[a] but I cannot yet do so much work in the evening now as I get too excited by it and last night again e.g. I could scarce sleep for thinking of the articles. The weather, business and the vestiges of the *tic douloureux*[b] from last Sunday are keeping me from riding, and so I cannot get back to normal.

I have not read about the Siebenmark affair[561] in the *Zukunft*, I but rarely set eyes on the paper.

Farewell for today. It is 6 o'clock in the evening, closing time, and I am tired and hungry.

Yours
F. E.

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## 306

## MARX TO ENGELS[562]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 December 1867

DEAR FRED,

This latest FENIAN EXPLOIT in Clerkenwell[563] is a great folly. The London masses, who have shown much sympathy for Ireland, will be enraged by it and driven into the arms of the government party. One cannot expect the London proletarians to let themselves be blown up for the benefit of FENIAN EMISSARIES. Secret, melodramatic conspiracies of this kind are, in general, more or less doomed to failure.

I received the money on Monday and paid Borkheim his £45 back together with £1 1s for INQUIRY FEES.

Would you do me a favour and inquire of Ernest Jones the most appropriate way of marrying *civiliter*[c] in London, in DOCTORS'

[a] *Schwäbischer Merkur* - [b] pain in the nerve - [c] by civil ceremony

COMMONS or where, as Laura is to marry at the beginning of April. As it is not to be a church wedding, it was originally intended that the marriage should take place in Paris. That is, however, complicated. I should have to prove my identity there and, in so doing, might strike the police as being a little too familiar. On the other hand, my wife would like the civil marriage to take place, if in London, as far as possible in secret, as she wants no gossip among her English acquaintances. Please also ask Jones what the position is regarding the consent of Lafargue's parents? Whether it must previously be countersigned by the envoy (would that be the English one?) in Paris? I know that the formality is not necessary in England. It is, however, indispensable for the marriage to be valid according to *French* law as well. So, none of the formalities must be neglected in this respect.

What is the position regarding *witnesses* in England?

Nothing from the *Zukunft* yet.[a] It is a pity these papers are so small in format, especially at a time when their columns are so full of parliamentary filibustering.

Our friend Stumpf is obviously a great muddle-head.

Siebel returned enclosed. He is mistaken about Lange. The latter must 'buy' the book[b] and will surely already have bought it long ago.[564]

The *quid pro quo*[c] with Heinrich[d] is indeed most amusing.[e]

*Salut.*

Your
K. Moor

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[a] See this volume, pp. 495 and 498. - [b] the first volume of *Capital* - [c] misunderstanding - [d] Bürgers - [e] See this volume, p. 498.

## 307

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 16 December 1867

Dear Moor,

Enclosed a letter from Liebknecht, who is another great muddle-head. Especially over the Austrian business. Because Austria stands on the *eve* of its 1789, Liebknecht *therefore* praises it as the state of freedom! [552] I have not answered him yet, but will do so as soon as you send the letter back.

Have sent articles to Kugelmann 1. for the Swabian Mayer,[a] 2. for the *Gewerbeblatt.*[b] Ditto to Siebel for Mannheim.[c] Further Swabian articles to follow.

The piece[d] has appeared in the *Zukunft.* I now buy the paper SECOND HAND from the Schiller Institute [28] so that I can see it regularly.

In haste.

Your
F. E.

The marriage business is perfectly straightforward. THE MARRIAGE IS PERFORMED BEFORE THE REGISTRAR FOR THE DISTRICT, who also puts up the BANNS at his OFFICE 14 days previously. Two or more witnesses are necessary. You can find out all the details at that office. *For England* nothing else is required, but as regards validity in France, Jones cannot tell you either, so Lafargue senior will have to ask *his lawyer in Bordeaux.* I shall, incidentally, check the *code civil.*

Gumpert was married in this way. Your wife can tell her philistine neighbours that this way was chosen because Laura is protestant and Paul catholic.

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[a] F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Beobachter*'. - [b] F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg*'. - [c] F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Neue Badische Landeszeitung*'. - [d] K. Marx, 'Plagiarism'.

## 308

## MARX TO ENGELS[562]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 17 December 1867

Dear FRED,

Wilhelm[a] returned enclosed. You must be careful in your reply. The position is difficult. To pursue an entirely correct course would require a much more critical spirit and dialectical skill than our Wilhelm possesses.[552] We can only restrain him from committing really grave blunders. In general, hostility to Prussia is the pathos to which alone he owes his VERVE AND SINGLENESS OF PURPOSE. He has rightly sensed that the true bourgeoisie forms the core of the 'National Liberals',[432] which gives him the opportunity to bestow on his political antipathy the more elevated sanction of economics. *Ira facit poetam*[b] and also gives our Wilhelmchen cunning up TO A CERTAIN POINT.

The correspondent of *The Irishman* here is willing to print, if you write it in English, a critique of the book[c] about one column in length (Ireland must take the proper role in it, however) in that Dublin paper as a contribution under his own name. I shall send you a few copies of the paper and you will see what needs to be done.

The *Zukunft* has a talent for misprints[d] which is all the odder as Dr Guido Weiss does after all have the original.

I have a small but infinitely irritating carbuncle on my left buttock.

And if the noble fellow has no bum,
On what does he propose to sit?[e]

Yesterday I gave a 1 1/2 hour lecture on Ireland[565] at our German Workers' Society (though a further 3 German workers' societies were represented, ABOUT 100 people in all), as 'standing' is the easiest posture for me just now.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] Liebknecht - [b] Anger makes the poet (Juvenal, *Satires*, I, 79). - [c] the first volume of *Capital* - [d] when it published Marx's article 'Plagiarism' - [e] J. W. Goethe, 'Totalität'.

## 309

## ENGELS TO MARX[522]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 19 December 1867

Dear Moor,

Of course our correspondence with Wilhelmchen[a] requires caution. As I have already told you,[b] his narrow-minded one-sided singleness of purpose was his good fortune and the secret of his effectiveness in the Reichstag. Unfortunately however that will only work once, and the publication of his speeches[c]—to say nothing of Kugelmann's letters—shows that it had gone *too far*. Now we have the little paper[d] to boot, in which his household words are recorded in black and white and are then laid at our door—then the Customs Union parliament,[566] and therewith *certainly* a disgrace for us unless Wilhelmchen is given some instruction. With his egregious talent for making blunders, much was to be expected there, and may be still. No doubt we can only protect him from the most serious blunders, but his Viennese address and his friendship with the Federalists,[e] i.e. Grün!! is already dreadful enough. I can therefore only put 2 chief considerations to him: 1. to regard the events and outcome of 1866 not *simplement* negatively, i.e. not as a reactionary, but critically (which he will admittedly find difficult), and 2. to attack Bismarck's enemies just as much as the man himself, as they are equally worthless. You observe how beautifully he has already compromised himself with Grün et Co.; what a fine triumph that would be for Bismarck if we or our people concluded an alliance with that rabble! Well, we shall just have to wait and see what transpires.

The Clerkenwell folly[563] was obviously the work of a few special fanatics; it is the misfortune of all conspiracies that they lead to such acts of folly because 'we really must do something, we really must get up to something'. Especially in America there has been a lot of bluster amongst this explosive and incendiary fraternity, and then along come some individual jackasses and instigate this kind of nonsense. At the same time, these man-eaters are for the most

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[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [b] See this volume, p. 456. - [c] W. Liebknecht, *Was ich im Berliner 'Reichstag' sagte*. - [d] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - [e] See this volume, pp. 492, 503.

part the greatest of cowards, including that man Allen who already appears to have turned QUEEN'S EVIDENCE. And then the notion that you can free Ireland by setting fire to some London tailor's shop!

Have you read the Russians' warning (*Russian Invalid*) that the alliance between France and Austria makes peace in Europe impossible because it prevents a solution to the German, Italian and Eastern questions?[a] Very nice. Bismarck and Gorchakov now appear to be about to take the offensive.

Your friend Lippe has been sacrificed to the shades of the dispossessed[b] [567]—his dismissal was the price for which the National Liberals are dropping their opposition to the 25 million for the Guelphs and the house of Nassau.[c]

Best regards to the LADIES.

Your
F. E.

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[a] *Русскій инвалидъ*, No. 336, 5 December 1867, an anonymous item in the 'Unofficial Section' datelined 'St. Petersburg, 4 December'. - [b] deposed rulers - [c] George V, King of Hanover, and Adolf, Duke of Nassau

# 1868

## 310

## MARX TO ENGELS[419]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 January 1868

DEAR FRED,

Happy New Year!

I have only been 'sitting up' again for 3 days after lying all bent for so long. It was a nasty attack. You can judge this by the fact that for 3 weeks—no smoking! My head is still shaky. In a few days I hope to be back in action.

I am absolutely opposed to arsenic.

Enclosed the *Beobachter*[a] (Lessner filched it for me from the *Workers' Society*[150]).

I have had no more letters from Siebel except the enclosed one to me.

Meissner can always have a try with the *Barmer*.[b] It can do no harm. When you send the cuttings to Meissner, you must refer to them only as something which has come to hand, without explaining to him 'our' activity.[568] Also draw his attention to the latest things in the *Zukunft*.[c]

I would like to know from Schorlemmer what is the latest and best book (German) on agricultural chemistry. Furthermore, what is the present state of the argument between the mineral-fertiliser people and the nitrogen-fertiliser people? (Since I last looked into the subject, all sorts of new things have appeared in Germany.) Does he know anything about the most recent Germans who have written *against* Liebig's soil-exhaustion theory? Does he know about the alluvion theory of the Munich agronomist Fraas (Professor at Munich University)?[d] For the chapter on ground

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[a] F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Beobachter*'. - [b] *Barmer Zeitung* - [c] K. Marx, 'Plagiarism'. - [d] K. Fraas, *Die Natur der Landwirthschaft*.

rent[569] I shall have to be aware of the latest state of the question, at least TO SOME EXTENT. Since Schorlemmer is an expert on this subject he must be able to give information. Enclosed 2 Urquharts[a] and 1 *Courrier* (because of Cluseret's article).

THE COMPLIMENTS OF THE SEASON TO MRS Burns, Moore, AND Schorlemmer.

Your
Moor

[From Eleanor Marx, in English]

You bad boy, why haven't you answered my letters?—I suppose you and the hedgehog have been on the spree again.

*Alberich*,[b]
the grim dwarf

Happy New Year.

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## 311

## ENGELS TO JENNY MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 3 January 1868

Dear Mrs Marx,

I must apologise for leaving your letter[570] unanswered for so long. But the Christmas period is the only time in the whole year when, apart from business, I am made to feel that I stand with one foot in the bourgeoisie, and here in Manchester this entails a lot of eating and drinking and upset stomach, and the obligatory ill humour and waste of time. This is now fairly well over, and I am beginning to breathe freely again.

I am really sorry that I was unable to lay my hands on a larger crate for the moment, but I had to take just what was available in the WAREHOUSE—I shall make up for this soon.

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[a] probably two numbers of *The Diplomatic Review* - [b] Eleanor's jocular nickname. The words "the grim dwarf" are in German.

Enclosed the latest from Siebel. Do please return the *letter*, together with an earlier one sent to Moor, as soon as possible, I have to write to him on the 8th, the post goes only twice a month, and it is a great pleasure for the poor devil when he sees that people think of him. He does what he can honestly, despite his illness. The thing from the *Barmer Zeitung* is by him.[571] Moor might let me know what he thinks about the business with the *Kölnische Zeitung*; if he thinks it better that *I* should write about this to Meissner, I can do so, and, at the same time, send him the cutting from *Barmer*.

The *pater peccavi*[a] from Hoffstetten is very amusing.[572] He naturally suspects Liebknecht everywhere and nobody else.[b] In any case, we have now put paid to the attempt of these gentry to stifle, and at the same time to exploit, the book.[c]

I shall be writing to Wilhelmchen in the next few days. I have heard nothing more from Kugelmann as to how things have gone with the Swabian articles.[d]

Meissner could already put together quite a nice advertisement from the articles that have appeared up to now,[568] which would be quite in place now that the Christmas season is over. In particular, he might include those passages in which the economists are challenged to present their defence.

I hope that Moor has been freed from his carbuncle. But this is all no good, he must do something to get rid of the business once and for all. The 2nd volume[418] can only gain, also with regard to the time needed for completion, if the fight against the carbuncles is waged with full force for a period. How would it be if he were to take arsenic again?

Best greetings to Moor and the whole family, and a hearty Happy New Year from

Yours
F. E.

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[a] 'Father, I have sinned' (Luke 15:21) - [b] See this volume, p. 529. - [c] the first volume of *Capital* - [d] See this volume, p. 499.

# 312

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 January 1868

Dear Moor,

If you do not want to take arsenic, then for goodness sake do something else, for things cannot go on *like this*. Have you consulted Allen or another doctor recently? Gumpert was not at home when I called the other day, but I shall take the first opportunity to speak to him.

You did not send the *Beobachter* or the 2 Urquharts either.[a] However, today Kugelmann sent me the *Beobachter* and the Württemberg *Staats-Anzeiger*[b] (I am sending you the latter and when I get it back will send it to Meissner, if you do not send it to him direct). It's fine that these two PAPERS have risen to the bait. I shall now also prepare Kugelmann something for the *Schwäbischer Merkur*.[560]

Schorlemmer will put together the information for you from the latest annual reports. He was not acquainted with the book by Fraas.[c]

A natural scientist has appeared in Paris who calls himself *Chmoulevitch* (Schmulsohn!). This even beats Ephraim Artful.[d]

The first instalment of the Austrian official general staff report on the war of 66 first proves that Austria's military organisation was not fit for a simultaneous war with Prussia and Italy, this is followed by the naive passage: Under these circumstances it should really have been the task of state foreign policy to safeguard the state against such a war.[e]

The *Prussian* 2nd instalment[f] shows quite clearly that on the 28th, and even more on the evening of the 29th,[g] Benedek was in a position to attack the scattered columns of the Crown Prince[h] with superior force and *with almost absolute certainty* to throw *him*

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[a] See this volume, p. 508. - [b] F. Engels' reviews of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Beobachter* and for the *Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg*. - [c] K. Fraas, *Die Natur der Landwirthschaft*. - [d] Ferdinand Lassalle - [e] *Österreichs Kämpfe im Jahre 1866...*, Bd. I, S. 60-61. - [f] *Der Feldzug von 1866 in Deutschland...* (appeared in instalments) - [g] of June - [h] Frederick William

back into the mountains and take his guns. The jackass did not do it, and lost the campaign.

*Salut.*

Your
F. E.

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## 313

## ENGELS TO MARX[419]

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 January 1868

Dear Moor,

Herewith returned the *Dühring*[a] and the *Beobachter*.[b] The former is highly amusing. The whole article is embarrassment and FUNK. You can see that the worthy vulgar economist is *frappé au vif*[c] and can find nothing to say except that it will only be possible to judge the first volume when the 3rd has come out,[418] that determination of value by labour time is not undisputed, and that there are people who have some modest doubts about the determination of the value of labour on the basis of its costs of production. You see that for this genus[d] you are by no means learned enough, for you have not confuted the great Macleod[e] on the decisive point. At the same time, there is the fear in every line that he may be exposed to a treatment *à la* Roscher.[f] The fellow was happy when he had finished the thing, but I am sure he carried it to the post with a heavy heart.

Kugelmann and Wilhelmchen[g] I shall return tomorrow. If there is anything in the copied letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Seubert

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[a] E. Dühring, '*Marx, Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, 1. Band, Hamburg 1867', *Ergänzungsblätter zur Kenntniß der Gegenwart*, Bd. 3, Hildburghausen, 1867, S. 182-86. - [b] F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Beobachter*'. - [c] cut to the quick - [d] sort - [e] H. D. Macleod, *The Theory and Practice of Banking*.... - [f] Engels has in mind the critique of Roscher's views in Vol. One of *Capital*. - [g] Wilhelm Liebknecht

which could be useful to me for a further Swabian article,[560] please enclose it.

I could do something for Vienna too. Richter could perhaps be asked about the *Internationale Revue*, he is supposed to know the situation there.

Wilhelmchen's PAPER[a] is just too lovely—everything ready except the security bond, and so it cannot be published. Incidentally, if Wilhelm should go to Vienna then the fuss about the Austrian agent would really get going.[573]

How are things with Beesly, Lewes & Co. and the *Fortnightly Review*?[509]

Best greetings to the LADIES and the Doctor *amorosus*.[b]

Your
F. E.

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## 314

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 January 1868

DEAR FRED,

I have ditto received the *Staats-Anzeiger* and the *Beobachter*[c] from Kugelmann. I am returning you your *Staats-Anzeiger* today. Also the COPY Kugelmann sent me of the letter from the colonel[d] who arranged the whole thing.[560] Württemberg is now sufficiently provided. In my opinion,—with special regard to sales—*Austria* is now the most important. Notabene, if you have the patience to write more prescriptions.[e] Little Jenny, an expert in this respect, claims that you are developing great dramatic talent, or comic talent, in pursuing this action from 'different' viewpoints and in different disguises.

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[a] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - [b] Paul Lafargue - [c] F. Engels' reviews of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg* and for the *Beobachter*. - [d] Adolf Friedrich Seubert - [e] reviews of the first volume of *Capital*

In the next few days—I am still a trifle limp, and do not feel much like writing—but as soon as I am quite on my feet I shall give Wilhelmchen[a] a good hiding. This is because of his identification of my views with the specific views of Wilhelm.

Dühring's article[b] (he is lecturer at Berlin University) is very decent, particularly since I handled his master 'Carey' so roughly. Dühring obviously misunderstood various things. But the oddest thing is that he ranks me with Stein, because I pursue the dialectic, and Stein assembles thoughtlessly the greatest trivialities in clumsy hair-splitting, with a few Hegelian category conversions.[c]

Have you already received Borkheim's *Perle*[d]?

It appears that professional poesy is simply a mask for the driest sort of prosiness. Take, for example, the Freiligrath family. Kate travels (on her honeymoon) to Paris with Kröker, the young corn usurer. However, since this noble man has 'business' to do at the same time, he leaves her *alone* in one of the big Paris hotels for 2-3 days. Kate and the whole FAMILY find this quite in order. Kate even writes delightedly that in the hotel they call her 'mademoiselle' (after she had spent the night together with Kröker there), and that all the waiters and even the porter give her friendly 'nods'. But even more: Kröker (after this business trip to the provinces) returns from Paris immediately to London with Kate, and the whole family is delighted that the 'HONEYMOON' is to be postponed for 6 months, since business 'comes first'. After all, for a poet the HONEYMOON is only a flower of speech, and can be 'celebrated' before or after the accouchement, early or late (the facts were related by the Freiligrath boys[e] in my house). Kate even seems to have read Clauren, for she described herself—from Paris—as a 'grass widow'.

The Yankees will show John Bull what's what. What do you think of the latest rodomontades of the Russians?

Dwarf Alberich[f] was very delighted by your letter.[131] He is just off to the gymnastics school, where he is doing great things.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] Liebknecht - [b] E. Dühring, '*Marx, Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, 1. Band, Hamburg 1867'. - [c] A reference to L. Stein's *System der Staatswissenschaft* and *Die Verwaltungslehre*. - [d] S. Borkheim, *Ma perle devant le congrès de Genève*. - [e] Wolfgang and Otto - [f] Eleanor Marx

## 315

## MARX TO ENGELS[574]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 January 1868

DEAR FRED,

*Ad vocem*[a] *Dühring*.[b] It is a great deal from this man that he gives almost positive acceptance to the section on '*primitive accumulation*'.[575] He is still young. As a follower of Carey he is in direct opposition to the FREETRADERS. Furthermore, he is a *university lecturer*, and therefore not displeased that *Professor* Roscher, who blocks the way for them all, is receiving some kicks.[c] One thing in his description struck me very strongly. That is, as long as the determination of value by labour time is itself left 'undetermined', as it is with Ricardo, it does not make people SHAKY. But as soon as it is brought exactly into connection with the working day and its variations, a very unpleasant new light dawns upon them. I believe one reason that Dühring reviewed the book at all is malice against Roscher. Indeed it is easy to scent his anxiety that he might also be 'Roscher'ed. Curiously, the fellow has not detected the three fundamentally new elements of the book:

1. that in contrast to *all* previous political economy, which *from the outset* treated the particular fragments of surplus value with their fixed forms of rent, profit and interest as already given, I begin by dealing with the general form of surplus value, in which all these elements are still undifferentiated, in solution as it were;

2. that the economists, without exception, have missed the simple fact that, if the commodity has the double character of use value and exchange value, then the labour represented in the commodity must also have a double character; thus the bare analysis of labour *sans phrase*,[d] as in Smith, Ricardo, etc., is bound to come up against the inexplicable everywhere. This is, in fact, the whole secret of the critical conception;

3. that for the first time wages are shown as the irrational outward form of a hidden relationship, and this is demonstrated exactly in both forms of wages: time wages and piece wages. (It was a help to me that similar formulae are often found in higher mathematics.)

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[a] With regard to - [b] E. Dühring, '*Marx, Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, 1. Band, Hamburg 1867'. - [c] See this volume, p. 511. - [d] without more ado

As for Mr Dühring's modest objection to the determination of value, he will be astonished when he sees in Volume II[418] how little the determination of value counts for 'directly' in bourgeois society. Actually, *no form* of society can prevent the labour time at the disposal of society from regulating production in ONE WAY OR ANOTHER. But so long as this regulation is not effected through the direct and conscious control of society over its labour time—which is only possible under common ownership—but through the movement of commodity prices, then things will remain as you so aptly described them already in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*.[a]

*Ad vocem Vienna.* I am sending you various Vienna papers (of which you must return to me the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* which belongs to Borkheim, and keep the rest), from which you will see two things: firstly how important Vienna is at this moment as a market place, since there is new life there[576]; and secondly the way the matter should be handled there. I cannot find the address of Prof. Richter. Perhaps you have Liebknecht's letter which gives it. If not, ask him to send it to you, and then dispatch the article *direct to Richter*, but not via Liebknecht.

It seems to me that Wilhelmchen is by no means ALTOGETHER *bona fide*. He (for whom I have had to find so much time to make good his asininity in the *Allgemeine Augsburger*, etc.,[577]) has so far found *no time* even to *mention* publicly the title of my book[b] or my name. He overlooks the affair in the *Zukunft*[c] so as not to be put in the embarrassing position of sacrificing his own independent greatness. And there was also no time available to say a solitary word in the workers' paper (*Deutsche Arbeiterhalle*, Mannheim), which appears under the direct control of his friend Bebel. In short, it is certainly no fault of Wilhelmchen that my book has not been totally ignored. First, he has not read it (although to little Jenny he made fun of Richter, who thinks that he needs to understand a book before he can publicise it), and secondly, after he had read it or claimed to have read it, he has had no time, although he has time, since I got him Borkheim's SUBVENTION, to write letters twice weekly to Borkheim; although, instead of sending the shares[d] to Strohn for the money, which was transmitted to him through me and obtained by my good offices, he asks for Strohn's address, in order to play his tricks with him directly, behind my back,

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[a] F. Engels, 'Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy'. - [b] the first volume of *Capital* in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* - [c] K. Marx, 'Plagiarism' (see this volume, p. 495). - [d] of the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*

and swamp him with epistles as he does Borkheim. In short, Wilhelmchen wants to make himself important, and in particular the public should not be distracted from its interest in Wilhelmchen. We must now act half as if we did not notice this, but still treat him with caution. As for his call to Austria, you cannot believe him until it has happened.[a] And secondly if it should come to this, we shall not dissuade him, but *IF NECESSARY*, simply explain to him what I explained to him when he joined Brass's *Norddeutsche*,[b] [578] that, if he should compromise himself again, he will be, if necessary, *publicly disavowed*. I told him this, in the presence of witnesses, when he moved off to Berlin at that time.

I think you can send articles direct to the enclosed *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna). The present joint owner, Dr *Max Friedländer* (Lassalle's cousin and deadly enemy), was the person for whom I acted as a correspondent for a longish period for the old Vienna *Presse* and for the *Oder-Zeitung*.[c]

Finally, with regard to the *Internationale Revue*, Fox (who was sent to Vienna by an English paper to pay a visit and establish connections) asked me, from Vienna a few days ago, for a letter of introduction to Arnold Hilberg. I sent it to him, and at the same time told the said Hilberg in this letter that circumstances had prevented us writing, that we would do something this year, etc.[111]

*Fortnightly Review*. Professor *Beesly*, one of the triumviri who secretly direct this paper, has told his special friend Lafargue (whom he constantly invites to dine at his house) that he is morally certain (it completely depends upon him!) that a review[509] would be accepted. Lafargue would hand it in to him himself.

*Ad vocem Pyat*. In today's *Times* you will see the ADDRESS of the FRENCH DEMOCRATS about FENIANISM[257] (which appeared 4 weeks ago) and was sent in by Pyat.[d] What has happened is this. The French government has launched an investigation (particularly *visites domiciliaires*[e] at the homes of our correspondents in Paris) against the International Association as a *société illicite*.[f] Ditto probably sent to the British government letters about FENIANISM written by our Dupont.[579] Mr Pyat, who always ran down our 'Association' as non-revolutionary, Bonapartist, etc., is afraid of this TURN of things, and is swiftly seeking to give the appearance that *he* has something to do with the matter and is 'MOVING'.

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[a] See this volume, p. 512. - [b] *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* - [c] *Neue Oder-Zeitung* - [d] F. Pyat, 'Adresse des Démocrates Français à leur Frères d'Irlande et d'Angleterre. Paris, 2 décembre 1867', *The Times*, No. 26015, 8 January 1868 (*The French Democrats and the Fenians*). - [e] searches - [f] illegal society

*Ad vocem Benedek*[a]: can I have the journal for A FEW DAYS? You have now proven yourself twice a prophet, firstly a tactical prophet (in the Sevastopol affair), and secondly a strategic prophet (in the Prussian-Austrian affair).[580] But the sense of sensible men cannot predict the stupidities of which man is capable.

*Ad vocem carbuncles.* Consulted doctors. Nothing new. Everything which the gentlemen have to say indicates that one has to have *private means* to live in accordance with their prescriptions, instead of being a poor devil like me, poverty-stricken as a church-mouse. When you see Gumpert, you can tell him that I feel (up to THIS MOMENT that I write) a stinging prickle in my body, that is my blood. It seems to me that for this year I shall not be quite over the affair.

MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS Burns.

*Salut.*

Your
Moor

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## 316

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 10 January 1868

Dear Moor,

I wanted to write to you at length today, but the intervention of a Serb and a Wallachian, who held me up for hours, has frustrated my plans. Moreover, yesterday I had a visit from the ex-dictator Amand Goegg, who is travelling for the ridiculous Peace League[461] and who ruined my evening. Luckily, Schorlemmer also happened by, and got the surprise of his life with this fossil of Federal Republic; he had not believed such a thing possible. The stupid oaf has become ten times more stupid through the unthinking repetition of the same phrases, and has lost all points of contact with the world of common sense (not to

[a] *Österreichs Kämpfe im Jahre 1866...*, Bd. 1 (see this volume, pp. 510-11).

mention actual thinking). Apart from Switzerland and the Canton of Baden, there is still nothing else in the world for people of this sort. For all that, he soon convinced himself of the truth of your first reply to his application for support: that the further apart we lived and the less we had to do with one another, the better we would get on. He admitted that in the Vogt affair[63] Blind had behaved like a *coward*, but said he was after all a worthy fellow, and even threatened to reconcile you and Blind! Vogt—no politician, but a worthy fellow, honest to the backbone, who simply scribbled away in the daytime without considering the content—if we 2 spent an hour together then we would be like brothers; he admitted him to be a Bonapartist, but not a paid one. To which I replied that *all* Bonapartists were paid, there were no unpaid ones, and if he could show me an unpaid *one*, then I would accept the *possibility* that Vogt was not paid; otherwise I would not. This astonished him, but finally he discovered one—*Ludwig Bamberger*! Incidentally, he said that Vogt had continually had a very hard time, his wife was a peasant girl from the Bernese Oberland, whom he had married *out of virtue* after he had made her a baby. Vogt, the artful dodger, appears to have pulled the wool well over this jackass's eyes. But when Schorlemmer and I explained to him that Vogt had not produced anything as a natural scientist either, you should have seen his rage: Had he not *popularised*? Was not that worth while?

I shall write something for *Vienna* as soon as it is in any way possible. Additionally for the *Fortnightly*,[509] but I would need to know first whether it could be made into a longer article, or should only be a short notice like those at the back of the *Fortnightly*. Beesly should be sounded out about this[a]; a short notice would be *almost useless* and Beesly himself would learn nothing about the book[b] from it.

I shall call Wilhelmchen[c] to account in a few days time about fulfilling the promises he made me: we shall make this little fellow get a move on. I have Richter's address.

Herewith returned Liebknecht, Kugelmann and Siebel.

Best greetings.

Your

F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p. 516. - [b] the first volume of *Capital* - [c] Wilhelm Liebknecht

## 317

## MARX TO ENGELS[101]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 11 January 1868

DEAR FRED,

The 'Fop'[a] was bustling around for a long time in London. He also visited Borkheim, where he produced just the same phrases as he did to you, only with better success, for he knew how to tickle the vanity of our Borkheim. But after he had squeezed out of the latter money for 10 shares, ditto assimilated various of his wines, he was not seen there again. For the understanding of his further activity in London, the following preliminary report. *Cremer*, as you know, was removed a long time since from his post as SECRETARY of the INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL, and in his anger at this he long ago resigned as MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL, and was not re-elected as such by the last congress either.[b] Mr *Odger* was re-elected. On my proposal, however, the post of president (the annual one) was abolished, and replaced by a CHAIRMAN, to be elected at each sitting.[489] Odger, annoyed by this, stays away from us on principle. WELL! Mr 'Fop' insinuates himself via Le Lubez to Odger (who introduced him to the LONDON TRADES COUNCIL[18]) and to Cremer. They appointed a London committee,[c] Beales as PRESIDENT, etc. In short, an affair *against* the INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION. (At the founding MEETING Fop also introduced the noble Blind.) The fellows had the impudence to invite me to their 2nd MEETING LAST WEEK. Eccarius (in a very badly written article in the *Bee-Hive last* Saturday) denounced Fop and his consorts.[d]

I am writing to you naked and with alcohol compresses. I went out again for the first time the *day before yesterday*, to the British Museum, of course, because I cannot write yet. Then yesterday there was a new outbreak under my left breast. The alcohol treatment, which Nélaton used in Paris for even the largest carbuncles, is, *from my personal experience*, by far the speediest and pleasantest for the patient (apart from cutting or lancing, depending on the case). The misfortune is only the constant

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[a] Amand Goegg. In German 'Geck' means a 'dandy' or 'fop'. - [b] Lausanne Congress of the International - [c] presumably the committee of the London branch of the League of Peace and Freedom - [d] J. G. Eccarius, 'The Geneva Peace Congress', *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 325, 4 January 1868.

activity, necessitated by the rapid evaporation of the alcohol.

At the museum, where I did nothing but leaf through catalogues, I also noted that *Dühring* is a great philosopher. For he has written a *Natürliche Dialektik* against Hegel's 'un-natural' one. *Hinc illae lacrimae.*[a] The gentlemen in Germany (with the exception of theological reactionaries) believe Hegel's dialectic to be a 'dead dog'.[581] Feuerbach has much on his conscience in this respect.

The French government has started a prosecution against the Paris Committee of the International Workingmen's Association (as *société illicite*[b]). This is very agreeable for me, since it means that the jackasses have been hindered and interrupted in their discussion of the programme they had already drawn up for the *congress of 1868.*[582] Dupont has apparently written something incautious about the Fenians[579] to his Paris correspondents that Bonaparte, who is now creeping dolefully up the arse of the British government, forwarded to Downing Street.[c]

It is characteristic that the disclosures of Prokesch-Osten, Gentz and Count Münster[d] are being printed one after the other—with the direct or indirect collaboration of the Austrian government. Urquhart, with his ignorance now becoming permanent, knows only the first one. It is also very indicative of his 'totality', that he does not know Moltke's Turkish War of 1828, etc.,[e] which would have provided him with excellent material. Incidentally, at the time when I was in Berlin (at Lassalle's)[583] Moltke was regarded as a declared Russophobe, inside the Royal Prussian frontiers, naturally.

If you should be writing to Borkheim some time, request him to let you have a look at the *two small Russian pamphlets* about which I *had told you.* I would particularly like you to look at the one about the emancipation of the serfs, so that you can let me know the quintessence.

From the enclosed *Courrier français* you will see that the French government is entering into a direct polemic with General Cluseret.

If you could send little Tussy cotton-yarn ball on the 16th of

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[a] Hence these tears! (Terence, *Andria,* Act I, Scene 1). - [b] illegal society (see this volume, p. 517) - [c] seat of the British Cabinet - [d] A. Prokesch-Osten, *Geschichte des Abfalls der Griechen vom Türkischen Reiche im Jahre 1821 und der Gründung des Hellenischen Königreiches*; Fr. von Gentz, *Aus dem Nachlasse Friedrichs von Gentz*; G. H. Münster, *Politische Skizzen über die Lage Europas vom Wiener Congress bis zur Gegenwart (1815-1867).* - [e] H. K. B. Moltke, *Der russisch-türkische Feldzug in der europäischen Türkei 1828 und 1829.*

this month I should be very pleased. It is her birthday and THAT LITTLE HUMBUG loves all Chinese formalities.

It gives me much pleasure that the English government is persecuting *The Irishman*. This paper is IN REALITY not Fenian, but simply wants REPEAL.[584] What blockheads these John Bulls are!

MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS Lizzy.

*Salut.* Your

Moor

Enclosed a portion of 'new philology' from the *Hermann*.

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## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[65]

### IN HANOVER

London, 11 January 1868

Dear Kugelmann,

*D'abord*[a] my best HAPPY NEW YEARS to your good wife, Fränzchen,[b] and you yourself. And then MY BEST THANKS for the Jupiter,[585] and for the activity and interest you display in making propaganda and leading the German press by the nose.[c] As our friend Weerth, who unfortunately died too early, used to sing:

> The finest thing in all the world
> Is making your enemies bellow,
> And cracking really awful jokes
> About each pompous fellow.[d]

With all respect for your medical authority, you have too low an opinion of the *English, German* and *French* doctors whom I have in turn consulted and continue to consult here, if you think they cannot distinguish anthrax (carbuncles) from FURUNCLES, particularly here in England, the land of carbuncles, which is essentially a

[a] First of all - [b] Gertruda and Franziska Kugelmann - [c] A reference to Kugelmann's assistance in having Engels' reviews of Volume One of *Capital* published in the bourgeois press. - [d] G. Weerth, 'Es gibt nichts Schönres auf der Welt'.

proletarian illness! And if the doctors made no distinctions, the patient like myself who knows both forms of monster could do so, for the subjective impression they make is very different, though as far as I know no doctor has yet managed to distinguish exactly between the two things *theoretically*. I have only been persecuted by this business for a few years. Earlier quite unknown to me. At the moment of writing to you, I am not yet quite restored, and not yet fit for work again. Once again many weeks lost, and not even *pour le roi de Prusse*.[a]

The criticism of Mr Dühring[b] shows mainly—fear! I would be grateful if you could get *Dühring's* book *Gegen die Verkleinerer Carey's* for me, ditto *von Thünen's Der isolirte Staat mit Bezug auf die Landwirtschaft* (or something like that) (*together with a note of the prices*). Orders like this take too long from here.

Finally, I must ask you to send me ABOUT 12 COPIES of my photogram (only that FULLFACED). ABOUT one dozen friends are pestering me for them.

Enclosed for Mrs Kugelmann the photograms of my eldest daughter Jenny and of Eleanor, who sends her best greetings to Fränzchen.

*Ad vocem*[c] *Liebknecht*: let him play *le petit grand homme*[d] just A LITTLE WHILE. *Tout s'arrangera pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes possibles*.[e]

I still have all sorts of personal *anecdota* to relate. But I shall save them for next time when the writing position no longer bothers me.

*Salut.*

Yours

K. Marx

One of my friends here,[f] who busies himself a lot with phrenology, stated yesterday about the photogram of your wife: very witty! So you see that phrenology is not the baseless art that Hegel thought it.[g]

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, No. 4, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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[a] literally: for the King of Prussia; figuratively: all for nothing. - [b] E. Dühring, '*Marx, Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, 1. Band, Hamburg 1867'. - [c] With regard to - [d] would-be great man - [e] Everything will be for the best in the best of all possible worlds (F. M. A. Voltaire, *Candide*). - [f] presumably Karl Schapper - [g] G. W. F. Hegel, *Werke*, Bd. II, *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, 2. Aufl., Bd. 2, Berlin, 1841, S. 251-71.

## 319

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 16 January 1868

Dear Moor,

I have just discovered that I have left all your letters at home in another coat-pocket (including the last letter from your chief HONOURABLE SECRETARY[a] for which I express special thanks) and so I shall have to reply from memory.

You received the *Courriers français* and also the *Wiener Tagblatt* yesterday.

I am sending you the Prussian report,[b] with special explanations. Or rather it is only necessary to look at the sketch contained therein on the positions on the evening of June 28th in order to see that Benedek had brought together 6 corps (not counting cavalry) in an area of 2 square miles, faced by the Crown Prince[c] with only the 5th Corps and 1 brigade of the 6th Corps. If, on the 29th, Benedek had attacked Steinmetz (5th Corps), the latter would have been thrown back across the mountains on to the 6th Corps, and on the 30th Benedek would have been able to attack the Guards and the 1st Corps at his leisure with at least 4 corps and throw them back, *après quoi*[d] the cautious Frederick Charles would have taken great care not to act unrestrainedly. Frederick Charles had 5 corps and would have been faced by at least 6; the order for them to retreat was, however, certain as soon as the 3 individual columns of the Crown Prince had been beaten, and thereby the campaign would have acquired a completely different character. That the Austrians would finally have been beaten, if the Prussians had shown some care, is clear from a comparison of the figures. But the Prussian rabble would have been forced to cast aside their lousy system, and it would not have been the reorganisation and Bismarck who triumphed, but the people.

Cluseret (who, of course, played the Fenian[257] in London as well) is even wilder than the Germans with his militia plan. The American war[11]—with militia on both sides—proves nothing except that the militia system demands enormous sacrifices of

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[a] Laura Marx (see this volume, p. 583) - [b] *Der Feldzug von 1866 in Deutschland...* - [c] Frederick William - [d] after which

money and men, since the organisation only exists on paper. What would have happened to the Yankees if they had been faced, not by the Southern militia, but by a standing army of a few 100,000 men? Before the North could have organised itself this army would have been in New York and Boston and would have dictated peace with the help of the Democrats, whereupon the West could have played at secession. The fellow makes a good joke when he suggests that what really counts are good officers and the confidence of the men in the officers—two things that simply cannot be achieved with the militia system. What impresses people everywhere about the militia system is the great mass of men obtained at once, and the relative ease of training them, particularly in the face of the enemy. This last point is nothing new, old Napoleon was able to lead recruits of three months in formation to face the enemy; but this demands good cadres, and for this purpose something different from the Swiss-American militia system. When the war ended, the Yankees still had very imperfect cadres. Following the introduction of the breech-loader, the time of the pure militia is really at an end. This does not mean that [not] every rational military organisation lies somewhere in the middle between the Prussian and the Swiss—but where? This depends on the circumstances in each case. Only a society set up and *educated* communistically can come very close to the militia system, and even then asymptotically.

With regard to the Viennese papers, I am in some embarrassment[a]; I do, of course, see the *Neue Freie Presse* from time to time, but the whole area is rather too alien for me. What are your ideas on the subject, also with regard to the *Fortnightly*[509]? The business is worth the trouble of thorough consideration.

I hope you are *sitting* again, and have had no further volcanic outbreaks. Gumpert laughs at your antipathy to arsenic, says that it is just the thing to make you *sprightly* and is convinced there is no better remedy for you. But if you are flatly opposed to it, then you should take acids, and that constantly, so once again he encloses a prescription for the aqua regia prescribed before, and this you really will take.

Best wishes to your wife and the girls, ditto Lafargue.

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 512, 515.

Alberich, the strong dwarf,[a] I hereby greet most humbly on his birthday and empty a glass of beer to his health at this instant. They forgot about the COTTON at the factory so I shall only be able to send it tomorrow.

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## 320

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 23 January 1868

Dear Moor,

From the enclosed scrawl you can see what Wilhelmchen has *not* done.[586] I shall give him a fitting wigging in the next few days. A JOLLY IDEA, we should 'utilise' the position he has created for himself locally in Saxony, in fact stand up for him BODILY. His rag[b] arrived for me today, I have not yet been able to look at it.

I hope you are finally finished with that obstinate carbuncle. But you will at last realise, won't you, that simply letting this matter slide can no longer be tolerated, and that at the very least you must have daily vigorous exercise in the fresh air, and regular 'renunciation' of night work (as soon as the first is possible), in order that you should become at all capable of work again. *Like this*, the second volume will never eventuate.[418]

Enclosed are the shares for Strohn.[c]

I really don't know what to do about the Vienna articles. Apart from the *Neue Freie Presse* and *Wiener Tagblatt*, I do not know *by name* any paper in which Richter has a hand; owing to almost complete ignorance of the audience I have no idea *where* to begin, and this is the most important point. Laura writes that to *instruct* people is ALL VERY WELL, but to pick out the right point is the real

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[a] Eleanor Marx (see this volume, pp. 520-21) - [b] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - [c] See this volume, pp. 515-16.

difficulty. I am just going through the whole book[a] once again to make this clear to myself, and your opinion would be welcome.

It is also a good presumption on the part of Wilhelmchen to suggest that I should explain to him and his readers once and for all, on one page of his rag, and from this book, what the difference really is between Marx and Lassalle. This presumption has suggested to me that it might be a good idea to write a popular little pamphlet *Marx and Lassalle* of about 6 sheets for the workers; in *this* space it could be managed and the positive things required for the workers could be developed. It would have to be sold dirt cheap, and the Lassalleans would immediately be forced to take up a position. But for this, time is needed.[587]

You really cannot ask me to drudge my way through Borkheim's Russian pamphlets[b]—at least not at the moment. I have a lot to do in the office and come home late, so that I cannot get down to anything before 8 o'clock and, moreover, I have to live a life of great regularity, since for some time now I have been sleeping badly and as a result am often a wreck in the morning, something which has never happened in my life before. Besides, there are sometimes unavoidable hindrances, and the *absolute* necessity of having physical exercise so as to get my sleep back to normal. Each Russian pamphlet would consume 8-14 days in view of my necessity of working myself in again, and the poor quality of the dictionaries. *Ne vaut pas la paine.*[c]

About the *Fortnightly*[509] next time. I am still ruminating about this point. Monetary matters—important as they may be for England—I shall probably only be able to touch upon fleetingly in the first article; otherwise this subject would take up the whole article. If a second could be placed, then it would still be suitable. What do you think?

Best wishes to your wife and the girls as well as Lafargue.

Your
F. E.

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[a] the first volume of *Capital* - [b] See this volume, p. 520. - [c] It is not worth the trouble.

# 321

## MARX TO ENGELS[26]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 January 1868

DEAR FRED,

I went out again yesterday for the first time, and the scar will be healed in 1-2 days. Naturally I am still weak after this bad attack.

I hope that your indisposition is only the momentary outcome of the week on the spree. In any case, you must not neglect your health for my sake or for ANY BODY OR THING ELSE.

In last week's *Saturday Review* there is a note about my book.[a] I have not seen it yet, and also do not know who wrote it. Borkheim has communicated the FACT to me.

As regards *Liebknecht*, one *should no longer butter him up*. This young man very much likes to play the 'protector', as he already showed once earlier when he was in London. This is also shown by his latest letter to you.[586] He feels very important, and *au cas de besoin nous ferons notre petit bonhomme de chemin sans lui et malgré lui*.[b] What magnanimity that he has reprinted the preface, which nearly all the papers printed months ago![456] And in addition he has actually had 2 COPIES of my book sent to Contzen and the editor of the *Volks-Zeitung*! To SHOW HIM THE COLD SHOULDER is best. Apart from this, I do not believe that he has yet read 15 pages of the book. He had not read *Herr Vogt* a whole year after it had appeared, and that was not very heavy reading. His motto is: teach but not learn.

As far as the 'Lassalleans' are concerned, I only deal with the TRADE UNIONS, COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES, etc. in Volume II.[c] I think therefore that I shall *at present* only take the initiative with regard to 'Lassalle' if a direct occasion should offer itself.

Regarding the way to deal with the Viennese, I shall write to you shortly, when my head is ALL RIGHT again.

Please return the enclosed letters from Kugelmann and Kertbény. I have not yet replied. Coppel the Great hasn't turned up yet.[588]

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[a] A review of Volume One of *Capital* in *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 18 January 1868. - [b] if needs be we shall do our business without him and despite him - [c] of *Capital*

It would be beneficial in my present state if you could let me have a shipment of your more FULLFLAVOURED claret (also SOME HOCK or Moselle).

Card, the Pole, has written from Geneva and offered himself as French translator, he seems to have a book-seller in Geneva. Through my wife I have had this letter sent to Schily, so that he can use it in Paris to further the affair.[539] Card is absolutely unsuitable, except to give Moses[a] a fright.

For 2-3 weeks I shall do absolutely no work (i.e. *writing*), at the most read; and as soon as the wound is completely healed (in the meantime, I THINK ONLY FOR ONE OR TWO DAYS, the bad part rubs and itches when I walk) then I shall do a lot of walking. It would be dreadful if a 3rd monster were to erupt.

And now, *salut*, MY DEAR BOY.

Your
K. Marx

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## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[65]

### IN HANOVER

London, 30 January 1868

Dear Kugelmann,

Cut, lanced, etc., in short treated in every respect *secundum legem artis*.[b] Despite this, the business continues to break out again, so that I have been lying quite fallow for 8 weeks, with the exception of two or three days. Last Saturday I went out again for the first time; Monday a relapse. I hope that it will come to an end this week, but who can give me a guarantee against new eruptions? It is extremely vexatious. In addition, my head is very affected by the business. My friend Dr Gumpert in Manchester is urging the use of arsenic. What do you think about this?

---

[a] Moses Hess - [b] according to all the rules of the art

Your Coppel hasn't turned up yet.[588]

Kertbény is a German-Hungarian, whose real name, *entre nous*,[a] is Benkert. The German-Hungarians love to Magyarise their names. I don't know him personally. As he had a row with Vogt ABOUT 1860, I approached him for some information but received nothing of any use. (My Hungarian material comes partly from Szemere, partly from my personal experiences in London.) Later he turned to me in connection with a row he was having with Kossuth. Much as I have enquired around, I have learned nothing politically suspicious about him. He appears to be a scribbling BUSYBODY. His heresies *quant à*[b] Bonaparte may be found amongst many otherwise honest eastern barbarians. In any case, WATCH HIM. And I would consider it more diplomatic not to display any mistrust of him (for which reason I am enclosing, through you, the biographical note which he requested). 'Meanwhile,' as soon as the writing position no longer troubles me, I shall 'order' information about him elsewhere.

You guessed rightly about 'Plagiarism'. I intentionally wrote rudely and clumsily in order to make Hofstetten suspect Liebknecht, and to conceal the source.[572] This *entre nous*.

You probably know that Engels and Siebel have also had newspaper articles published about my book in the *Barmer Zeitung*,[c] *Elberfelder Zeitung*,[d] *Frankfurter Börsenzeitung*[529] and—to the distress of Heinrich Bürgers—in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*.[e] Siebel was the man in Barmen to whom I wished to introduce you. He is, however, now in Madeira for his health.

A week ago on Saturday *The Saturday Review*[f]—the 'BLOOD AND CULTURE' PAPER—included a note about my book in a review of recent German books. I came out of it relatively well, as you will see from the following passage:

* 'The author's views may be as pernicious as we conceive them to be, but there can be no question as to the plausibility of his logic, the vigour of his rhetoric, and the charm with which he invests the driest problems of political economy.' *[589]

Ouff!

My best greetings to your dear wife and Fränzchen.[g] You will be receiving other photograms from here, for we have now discov-

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[a] between ourselves - [b] regarding - [c] [C. Siebel,] '*Carl Marx: Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*', *Barmer Zeitung*, No. 291, 6 December 1867. - [d] F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Elberfelder Zeitung*'. - [e] F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*'. - [f] *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 18 January 1868. - [g] Gertruda and Franziska Kugelmann

ered that the WATERCOLOURS applied which look good on the first day, run into PATCHES immediately afterwards.

Write to me as often as time permits. During my indisposition, and many occasions for vexation, letters from friends are welcome.

*Salut.*

Yours
K. M.

[Autobiographical Notes][590]

Karl Marx, Ph. D., born Trier, 5 May 1818.

*1842-43*, first contributor, then *redacteur en chef*[a] of the *Rheinische Zeitung* (Cologne). During his editorship the government subjected the paper to double censorship; after censorship by the proper censor, the superior censor of the *Regierungspräsident.*[b] Finally suppressed on cabinet orders. Marx leaves Germany, moves to Paris.

*1844* publishes in Paris, with A. Ruge, the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, banned in Germany.

Further *Die heilige Familie, Kritik der kritischen Kritik, gegen Bruno Bauer und Konsorten.* (Frankfurt a/M. Literarische Anstalt.)

January 1845,[c] expelled from France by Guizot at the instigation of the Prussian Government, Marx proceeds to Brussels, forms the German Workers' Society in Brussels in 1847,[d] gives lectures on political economy there,[591] contributor to the French *Réforme* (Paris), etc.

*1847: Misère de la Philosophie. Réponse à la Philosophie de la Misère de M. Proudhon.*

Ditto: *Discours sur le libre échange* and other pamphlets.

*1848*, with F. Engels: *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei.* Arrested and expelled from Belgium, invited back to France on the written invitation of the provisional government. Leaves France April 1848, founds in Cologne:

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (June 1848-May 1849). Marx expelled from Prussia, after the government had vainly prosecuted him through legal channels. Twice acquitted at assizes (once press trial, the other time for incitement to rebellion). Marx's defence speeches published in *Zwei politische Prozesse*, Cologne.

*1849.* Final, red issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.*

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[a] editor-in-chief - [b] District President - [c] Inaccuracy in the original: December 1844. - [d] Ditto: 1846

Marx moves to Paris. Expelled from there *August*[a] *1849*, was to be interned in Brittany (Morbihan), refuses this, expelled from France, moves to London, where he has resided until the present.

*1850* published: *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (Hamburg).

*1851-52*: contributor to the London Chartist paper: *The People's Paper*, Ernest Jones': *Notes to the People*, etc.

*1852: Der 18. Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte, New York.*

*Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln, Basel.* Since this edition was confiscated on the German frontier, new edition in Boston, 1853.

*1853-54*: *Flysheets against Lord Palmerston.*[592]

*1859*: *Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie*, Berlin.

*1860*: *Herr Vogt.*

*1851-1862*[b]: regular contributor to the English-language *Tribune* (*New York*).[c] Contributions to *Putnam's Review* (New York)[593] and the new *Cyclopaedia Americana* (*New York*).

*1861*: after the amnesty visited Berlin; Prussian Government refused his renaturalisation.[583]

*1864*[d]: published by order of the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association *Address to the Working Class of Europe.*[e]

*1867*: *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Ökonomie.* Vol. I, Hamburg.

First published in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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## 323

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 February 1868

Dear Fred,

I hope that you are not also indisposed, since you have not written to me this week, and not returned the letters of Kugelmann and Kertbény (I need them to reply).[588] Last Tuesday I went out to the Museum[f] and for a stroll. On Wednesday a new

[a] Ditto: September - [b] Ditto: 1851-1860. - [c] *New-York Daily Tribune* - [d] Inaccuracy in the original: 1865. - [e] K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - [f] the British Museum Library

eruption broke out. It is smaller, and does not prevent me sitting, since it is on the upper side of my left thigh. Walking is harmful, however, because of the friction and the spreading of the inflammation. I believe this monster will die out during this week. After the numerous disappointments, I scarcely dare to hope that no more follow. The devil take this mucky business.

Enclosed a letter from Schily. According to him, things look rotten in Paris, as does everything connected with Moses.[a] Reclus does not seem to me to be the right man either.[539] There can naturally be no question of the Pole[b] in Geneva. As soon as your article for the *Fortnightly*[509] is AT HAND, Lafargue will do it into French for the *Courrier français*.

From the enclosed Viennese cuttings, which Fox sent me from Vienna, you can see how Lassalle and Delitzsch[c] are rampant there. At the same time as the rascal Bernhard Becker turned up there as a great man. He is now a 'Great-German'[d] in the Bismarck style.

If you still have a copy of your article in the *Frankfurter Börsenzeitung*,[e] send it to me.[529]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

The Freiligrath begging campaign[422] is going ahead; it has already raised over 32,000 talers.

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## 324

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 2 February 1868

Dear Moor,

The reason for my silence was that I wanted to inform you, together with the letter, of the dispatch of the wine. However, the

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[a] Moses Hess - [b] Joseph Card - [c] Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch - [d] i. e., champion of Austria's annexation to united Germany - [e] *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*

fellow who packs wine for me had an accident, and will be lying sick for at least 14 days, and so I have not been able to manage it yet; possibly I shall pack it myself tomorrow. You will receive very good 1863 claret and 1857 Rhine wine; I only have a few bottles of Moselle left, and they are in Mornington Street, where I cannot have them packed.

Then I was also chasing after *The Saturday Review* and have with great trouble got hold of the notice. If you have not seen it, I can send you a copy—not much in it, but nevertheless a good sign.[a]

At the moment, in addition to the tremendous amount of work connected with the annual accounts and that resulting from the revival in business, I must also rush around like mad as chairman of the Schiller Institute,[28] since the affair of the building fund must be decided within 14 days, and until then all the work falls on me myself. However, I shall start with the piece for the *Fortnightly*.[509] Important and interesting as the question of money is for England as well, I still think it appropriate to allow it to retreat into the background this time; it would distract attention from the main theme and demand a long explanation so that the English might understand that the subject is *simply money as such*, which he is accustomed to think of only in its entanglement with credit money, etc. What do you think?

Kertbény's idea of having your portrait in the Leipzig *Illustrirte* is *quite splendid*.[588] This sort of advertisement penetrates right into the depths of the philistine's heart. Give him everything he needs for this. The fellow can be used for other things too, is very willing, and has the need to intervene busily everywhere and in everything. Vain, but not stupid for a Hungarian. His assessment of the German-Austrians at that time was very correct.

Card, the Pole, has sent me an insoluble puzzle with his signature. Cwi...chiewicz, neither my knowledge of handwriting nor my philology suffices for the solution of it. OF COURSE, HE WOULD NEVER DO AS A TRANSLATOR, and what Schily writes[b] is *very* fishy. If Reclus alone wants 3,000-4,000 francs, and Moses[c] who wants to do the main work, also his share, and you should be paid the *droits d'auteur*,[d] where should the publisher come from?[539] And these people should be left to do the job of 'condensing' and 'Frenching' it? Moses, who would rather be capable of watering down into 20 volumes the chapter about absolute surplus value[594] than condens-

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[a] A reference to the notice on the first volume of *Capital* published in *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 18 January 1868.- [b] See this volume, p. 52. - [c] Moses Hess - [d] author's rights

ing a page of it by one line? It is really your fault; if you write strictly dialectically for German science, then afterwards, when it comes to the translations, particularly the French, you fall into evil hands.

The *Frankfurter Börsenzeitung*[a] like all the rest I have sent to Meissner, from whom I have heard nothing since.[529] I wrote to him that he should make up an advertisement from the various articles.[131]

Liebknecht's rag[b] displeases me to the highest degree. Nothing but concealed South German federalism. The article on Swiss and Prussian military history has been worked up on the basis of *Grün* (K.) in *Les États-Unis d'Europe*,[595] almost every word is wrong. Furthermore there is nothing in the rag, and though he is as thick as thieves with Hanoverian particularists and South German louts, he attacks the Berlin *Zukunft* people who, the devil take it, are at least as good as that rabble. Incidentally I have only received 3 numbers.

What little trust the Prussians have in the internal peace in the new provinces[596] is shown by the new stationing and organisation of the army. For instance, 3 Hanoverian infantry and 2 cavalry regiments are stationed in Westphalia or rather Wesel, while in Hanover there are only 2 Hanoverian infantry and 3 cavalry regiments but, besides, in Westphalia 4 infantry and 2 cavalry regiments. It is true that in Schleswig-Holstein home regiments are stationed with one exception, but 2 infantry and 2 cavalry regiments from the old provinces as well. In Hesse there are indeed nominally 3 Hessian regiments of infantry, but of these the 82nd (2nd Hessian) consists of Westphalians! And the Nassauers have been sent to Hesse, the Hessians to Nassau, and parts of both with old Prussian regiments sent to Mainz. Finally Frankfurt is kept in order by Pomeranian infantry and Rhineland cavalry.

The great Borchardt seems to be approaching the target of his career. You know that for years he has transferred his priestly leanings from the beautiful Mrs Steinthal to the even more beautiful Mrs Schwabe, and that every year he has taken her to Germany to a spa because of her weakened health, and brought her back again, while her husband has to stay at home out of respect for his wife's health. So, Borchardt even took her, as Schwabe told Knowles and me one day, 'to Königsberg for the coronation'—whereupon I naturally asked: '*Whose* coronation?'

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[a] *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt* - [b] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*

Although I made fun of the cuckolded jackass for a whole half hour over the coronation, and fat Knowles was laughing aloud, the oaf noticed nothing. But now, after the priestly doctor had kept the husband apart from his sick wife for years, it suddenly emerges that the sick wife is pregnant and expects her accouchement about April. Remarkably, the high priest must have been guilty of some carelessness or foolishness sufficiently for the cuckolded jackass to suddenly see the light; he leaves his house here and moves to Berlin, sells his HUNTERS although he will still be here for the whole hunting season, resigns his club membership, and is so hostile to the high priest that when the latter manages to launch a collection for the East Prussians here and sends £700 to the *Zukunft*, the cuckolded jackass throws himself into the arms of the Prussian consul and together with him collects abour £350 for the official committee. Now there is a lot of talk about this amongst the philistines, and although the story above is only whispered about in the dark, the position of the high priest has been badly shattered, and many people dare to speak of him with disrespect. He no longer looks so jovial and elegant. I wonder how things will proceed. (Nota bene. The *names* in this story are *between you and me*.)

Best greetings to the ladies and Lafargue.

Your
F. E.

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## 325

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 February 1868

DEAR FRED,

Many thanks for the 'medicine BOTTLES'.

I still have two not quite withered buds under my left arm and on my left thigh. However, they do not bother me when walking. I feel GENERALLY better as well.

I quite agree with you that you should not go into the money theory for the time being, but only indicate that the matter has been treated in a new way.[a]

Enclosures from Vienna from Fox (please send them back to me). You see what effect your essay in the *Börsenzeitung*[b] is having.[529] It is perhaps best to leave Vienna to its own devices. It is enough that attention has been drawn there to my book.[c] The whole business is very immature. When you consider how agriculture still predominates in the Empire *en gros*, then it is comical to watch these somersaults. What prevails in Vienna is finance, and not large industry. However, as a ferment the hubbub cannot hurt.

Kugelmann has sent me *Dühring's Verkleinerer Carey's*. I was right that he only noticed me in order to annoy the others.[d] What is very conspicuous is the very coarse way in which this affected Berliner handles Mill, Roscher, etc., while he treats me with timid care. According to him, apart from Carey, List is the greatest genius of the 19th century. In another pamphlet *Kapital und Arbeit* which I saw today at the Museum,[e] he '*abuses*' Lassalle. I shall send you his book to look at one of these days.

Perhaps there will be no war this year. The fellows are all anxious about domestic conditions. However, the Russians will not neglect to provide causes of friction. They will lie fallow if they do not manage to bring Germany and France to blows.

Coppel was here on Sunday and will come again on Wednesday.[588] He is here to put the financial affairs of the King of Hanover[f] in order. He is a merry fellow. Kugelmann has forced this cousin of the Rothschilds to study my book.

There is little new for me in Schorlemmer's letter[g]. But still MY THANKS.

*Salut.*

Your

Moro

I can only send the newspaper cuttings tomorrow because the BOXES for BOOK-POST were closed.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 526 and 533. - [b] *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt* - [c] the first volume of *Capital* - [d] E. Dühring, '*Marx, Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, 1. Band, Hamburg 1867' (see this volume, p. 514). - [e] the British Museum Library - [f] George V - [g] See this volume, pp. 507-08 and 510.

## 326

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 February 1868
7 Southgate

Memorandum from Engels to Mr Moor[597]

I have received your letter and that from your HONOURABLE SECRETARY[a] and return enclosed the Viennese cuttings and Meyer's letter. What a frightful tragedy at the Weydemeyers.[598] I am of the opinion that an article should be contributed to the *Debatte* (via Richter), and that one should strike while the iron is hot.[599] It will be sent this week. The '*specialist criticism*' in the *Frankfurter Börsenzeitung*[b] is extremely amusing.[529] It is significant that these Viennese literary gents, all Jews as cunning as foxes, who well know all the tricks, should regard the German press outside Austria as *bona fide*.

Dühring amuses me very much. The thrusts at Roscher, Mill, etc., were a godsend for him—but what a difference there is between the embarrassed tone of the criticism[c] and the saucy nature of the pamphlet.[d]

I do not believe either there will be war, if only because the Peace League[461] describes it as unavoidable; in any case, Sadowa[348] has made it impossible for Bonaparte to start a war against Germany without great alliances. And since *at the best* he could only get Austria (England, as always, or more than ever, would not count militarily), and would have Prussia and Russia against him, the whole business is fishy. Italy is no good either, and furthermore he mucked things up for himself there. HE IS FLOORED. Even the great Karl Schurz, ex-student General Fart,[e] has confided this to Bismarck secretly.[600]

It is nearly 7 o'clock, and I have not had dinner yet. I must go home first, so enough for today.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Laura Marx - [b] *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt* - [c] E. Dühring, '*Marx, Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, 1. Band, Hamburg 1867'. - [d] E. Dühring, *Die Verkleinerer Carey's und die Krisis der Nationalökonomie*. - [e] *Furz* in German, rhyming with Schurz.

## 327

## MARX TO ENGELS[26]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 February 1868

DEAR FRED,

Forced since yesterday to stay at home again, since the monster under my left shoulder-blade is developing viciously. It appears that this shit will never end.

From Bordeaux I have received all the papers for the marriage.[601] I am very worried about this. It should take place on 1 April, and nothing has been prepared for Laura. She cannot be sent out into the world like a beggar. I have written to Holland,[a 111] but NO ANSWER.

I am writing only these few lines since the writing position is uncomfortable for me today.

Have you received further PAPERS from the important Wilhelmchen[b]? I have heard and seen nothing of it since THE 2 FIRST NUMBERS.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 328

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 February 1868

DEAR FRED,

At the same time as this I am sending you an interesting cutting from a Viennese paper,[c] received via Fox.

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[a] to the Philipses - [b] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* edited by Liebknecht - [c] *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*

Borkheim gave me a letter to him from Liebknecht, which I had to send back to him by return. From this the following excerpt:

'Tell Marx that Dr Contzen is working on a long review, and in a lecture has already mentioned the work[a] in the most laudatory terms from the *purely scientific* standpoint. And tell Marx, too, that he should get Engels to supply an article about *Capital* for our paper[b] which now circulates 1,300 copies equally-spread throughout Germany. I myself have *no time at present* for such a job.'

If you think it worth the trouble to supply something for the paper, it would be good to make the article longer this time (with extracts), even if it had to run through several numbers.[602] Borkheim will probably be sending you a reprint—if you do not have the paper—of the 'Russian refugees' which he wrote for it.[c]

Dr Contzen, BY THE BY, himself publishes (or published) an economic periodical *patrone*[d] Roscher.

Regarding health, CHANGE from day to day.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 329

## ENGELS TO MARX[302]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 20 February 1868
7 Southgate

Dear Moor,

This week you will have to regard me as completely out of action. I have such a frightful lot of work at the firm as a result of the sudden rise in cotton that I do not get out of the office from

[a] the first volume of *Capital* - [b] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - [c] S. B[orkheim], 'Russische politische Flüchtlinge in West-Europa', *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, Nos. 5 and 6, 1 and 8 February 1868 (the end of the article was published in Nos. 17 and 20, 25 April and 16 May 1868). - [d] under the patronage of

the morning on until 7 o'clock in the evening, and do not get my dinner until 8 o'clock in the evening. You will understand what one is capable of after that. I hope that the damned carbuncle has got settled. Hearty greetings to your wife, the girls and Lafargue.

Your
F. E.

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## 330

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 1 March 1868

Dear Moor,

The whole of last week I worked like a slave from morning till night in commerce so that I was good for nothing at all. This has now passed, I think, and this week I should get back on to the rails.

Enclosure from Meissner. His draft is naturally absolutely unusable: I shall see whether I cannot knock together something better for him. Now I am sorry that I sent him the articles, I should already have prepared something for him from them.[a]

I shall write something for Wilhelmchen[b]; verbatim extracts would be difficult, but I can spin out some main points to some extent for his public.[602] I, too, have seen only 3 numbers of the rag,[c] and these could have been edited by Gustav Struve. Since Wilhelmchen was left to his own devices his South German basic federative republicanism (how earnest[d] the man is) has broken out again in full glory. The fellow even re-prints Karl Grün.[595]

How is your carbuncle faring? Let us hope that this is finally the last.

---

[a] See this volume, p. 534. - [b] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [c] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - [d] *Ernscht* in the original; Engels is punning on the Saxon pronunciation of *ernst*.

Mr Goegg obstinately sends me the *Les États-Unis d'Europe* (the fellow wants me to get an agency for him, thus the devotion). Since the paper appears simultaneously and with the same contents in German and French, it would not be bad at all to announce your book[a] there and Goegg has promised to insert articles by you or me. What do you think of that?

Best greetings to your wife, the girls and Lafargue.

Your
F. E.

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## 331

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 March 1868

Dear Fred,

From the enclosed scrawl you will see that, if I do not pay £7.5.0 by the day after tomorrow, MY 'CHATTELS' SHALL BE DISTRAINED.

The carbuncle business is now reduced to a residuum under my left arm, which should soon fade.

That I write you only these few lines today is due to a HORRIBLE headache.

Make sure that Meissner does not write any nonsense on his own. If the jackass had only sent back the newspaper cuttings.[b]

Enclosed scrawl from S. Meyer, which you should please return.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] the first volume of *Capital* - [b] See this volume, pp. 534, 540.

# 332

## MARX TO ENGELS[238]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 March 1868

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR THE £10.

The copies of *Social-Demokrat* promised by Meissner have not arrived. This shows that he is not at all precise. Thus for instance the copies for Paris have not been dispatched either. There the worthy Moses[a] has prevaricated for so long[603] that the *Courrier français* has now finally announced that as the result of the many *amendes*,[b] etc., it will soon completely quit the stage.

I have not seen Eichhoff's lucubrations and anyway not the *Zukunft* for a very long time.[604] Since Eichhoff's brother[c] is a bookseller and specialises in political economy (he is the publisher of several opera of Dr Dühring), this is reason enough for Eichhoff to deliver lectures on the same subject.

My head is in a sorry state. But that should 'disappear' BY AND BY, as soon as the last traces of carbuncledom have gone.

I wrote to Holland[111] again yesterday since the matter is becoming *brûlante*.[d] Old Lafargue[e] has dealt with the necessary marriage BANNS, etc., in Bordeaux, and has sent all the papers here. He now expects that the wedding will take place here at the beginning of next month, and that the pair will go to Paris, to which he will later move. We, however, have not yet risked taking the necessary steps here for the BANNS, since my wife has not yet been able to acquire even the most essential things for Laura. For worthy Freiligrath all this went very smoothly, but then he is 'noble'.

As soon as this affair is SETTLED, it will be a great relief for the entire household, since Lafargue is as good as living with us, which perceptibly increases EXPENSES.

As far as the 'reviews' are concerned, I think that after you have supplied Liebknecht[602] you should abandon the German ones and only pursue the English. First, the echo of an English review in Germany is more powerful than vice versa, and secondly this is, after all, the only country where finally money can be made from the business.

---

[a] Moses Hess - [b] fines - [c] Albert Eichhoff - [d] urgent - [e] François Lafargue

Mr Macleod has nevertheless achieved a 2nd edition of his lousy and pedantic-scholastic book on BANKS.[a] He is a very stilted jackass who expresses every banal tautology 1. in algebraic form, and 2. constructs it geometrically. I have already given him a passing kick in the pamphlet published by Duncker.[b] His 'great' discovery is: credit *is* capital.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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## 333

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[65]

### IN HANOVER

London, 6 March 1868

Dear Friend,

As soon as Coppel vanished, my condition got worse again. Scarcely, I think, because of his departure. *Post* not *propter*.[c] (After all he is, in his way, quite a nice man. But that particular way is, in my present state, too healthy for me to harmonise with it very well.) This is therefore the reason for my silence, so that I did not even inform you of the receipt of Thünen.[d] There is something touching about the latter. A Mecklenburg squire (moreover, one with *German* distinction of thought), who treats his estate of Tellow as *the land* and Mecklenburg-*Schwerin* as *the town*, and who, proceeding from these premises, constructs for himself the Ricardian theory of ground rent, with the help of observation, differential calculus, practical accountancy, etc. This is estimable and at the same time ridiculous.

The curiously embarrassed tone used by Mr Dühring in his review[e] is now clear to me. Usually, you see, he is a very

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[a] H. D. Macleod, *The Theory and Practice of Banking*. - [b] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [c] After, not because. - [d] J. H. Thünen, *Der isolirte Staat in Beziehung auf Landwirtschaft und Nationalökonomie*. - [e] E. Dühring, '*Marx, Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, 1. Band, Hamburg 1867'.

bumptious, insolent lad, who sets himself up as a revolutionary in political economy. He has done two things. Firstly (basing himself upon Carey) he published a *Kritische Grundlegung der Nationalökonomie* (ABOUT 500 PAGES), and a new *Natürliche Dialektik* (against Hegelian dialectic). My book has buried him in both respects. He reviewed it out of hatred for Roscher, etc. Incidentally he practises deception, half intentionally and half from lack of insight. He knows full well that my method of exposition is *not* Hegelian, since I am a materialist, and Hegel an idealist. Hegel's dialectic is the basic form of all dialectic, but only *after* being stripped of its mystical form, and it is precisely this which distinguishes *my* method. *Quant à*[a] Ricardo, Mr Dühring has been vexed precisely because in my treatment the weak points do *not* exist which Carey, and 100 others before him, held up as proof against Ricardo. Consequently, he attempts, with *mauvaise foi*,[b] to burden me with Ricardo's narrow-mindedness. BUT NEVER MIND. I must be grateful to the man, since he is the first expert who has said anything at all.

In volume II[418] (which will probably never appear if my condition does not change) property in land will be one of the subjects analysed, competition only in so far as called for in the treatment of other themes.

During my indisposition (which I hope will soon cease altogether) I have not been able to write, but have gobbled up enormous masses of 'material', statistical and otherwise; this alone would have made SICK those whose stomachs are not accustomed to this type of fodder and the rapid digestion of the same.

My circumstances are very harassing, since I was unable to do any additional work which would bring in money, but must always maintain a certain appearance for the children's sake. If I didn't have to produce these 2 damned volumes (and look for an *English* publisher besides), which can be done only in London, I would move to Geneva where I could live very well with the means at my disposal. My daughter No. II[c] is getting married at the end of this month.[601]

Greetings to Fränzchen.

Yours
K. M.

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[a] As for - [b] bad faith - [c] Laura Marx

# 334

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 March 1868

Dear Moor,

Do not forget to return to me the things from Meissner,[a] otherwise I cannot reply to him.

If the Dutch[b] do not write to you soon, I shall see what I can do. I suppose something can still be managed.

The storm in commerce is beginning to die down, so I can work again in the evening. What you say about the *Fortnightly* is quite right; what is published there can be used again afterwards in Germany. The matter should be undertaken as quickly as possible.[509] But you will understand it is not possible to do much in the evening when you only get your midday meal at 7.30 or 8 in the evening.

Eichhöffchen enclosed.—You will see that besides his brother[c] he also has other 'grounds' to lecture on political economy.[604]

So, the Russians have again postponed the business in Turkey.[605] As long as they have no railways, I really cannot believe that they seriously intend any serious action. Moreover, they have an awful famine in the interior.

The costs of the Bismarckian *gloire*, etc., are beginning to tell. 1864—population of Prussia 19,250,000. 1867—19,668,000 for the old Provinces. According to the rate hitherto—250,000 per year, it should have been 20 million. The rate has thus been reduced to *one half*. In the administrative districts of Münster, Minden, and Koblenz (inter alia) the population has actually declined. Biggest increase in Berlin and Düsseldorf administrative district.

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 534, 540. - [b] the Philipses - [c] Albert Eichhoff

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 13 March 1868

Dear Moor,

For Meissner I still lack the letter from von Eynern. I wanted to prepare an advertisement[a] today but was disturbed.

Enclosed from Vienna.[606] Have written to Wilhelmchen[b] for information. I think I shall accept in general, but say that the matter must remain secret 'in order not to disturb my other connections in the Viennese press'.

I also sent Wilhelm two articles about your book, completely popular for workers (so that even Wilhelm will understand them).[c]

At the same time, I have coached him in his role in order to work over in the Reichstag the new code for crafts and manufactures (which also includes factory legislation).[607] This opportunity is very good in order to ADVERTISE the book, and I am convinced that this will also have a considerable effect, since even the official economists have to draw on it.

Since yesterday I have been fit for work again—on the one hand, I get back earlier in the evening, and, on the other, I have discovered that for 14 days I had been drinking beer poisoned probably with *cocculus indicus*,[d] which totally narcotised me in the evening. I CHANGED THE TAP YESTERDAY—by chance—noted the difference, and discovered the cause, which I had ascribed to digestive troubles.

HOW ABOUT CARBUNCLES?

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 534, 540. - [b] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [c] F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*'. - [d] Indian berries

## 336

## MARX TO ENGELS[608]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 March[a] 1868

DEAR FRED,

Since the beginning of the week I have had carbuncles on my right thigh (not yet QUITE EXTINCT). Despite this—and the consequent difficult gait—I went to the Museum,[b] since this continuous being cooped up and *lying down* at home (the business has now lasted, with some intervals OF COURSE, over 4 months) would drive me mad. For all that, I am convinced that the present blossoms are only the last aftereffects. At the Museum—BY THE BY—I studied, amongst other things, the latest writings about the *Constitution of the German Mark, Villages, etc.*, by OLD Maurer[c] (the old Bavarian Privy Councillor, who already played a role as one of the regents of Greece, and was among the first to denounce the Russians, long before Urquhart). He demonstrates at length that private property in land only arose later, etc. The idiotic Westphalian squirearchical opinion (Möser,[d] etc.) that the Germans settled each by himself, and only afterwards established villages, districts, etc., is completely refuted. It is interesting just now that the *Russian* manner of re-distributing land at certain intervals (in Germany originally annually) should have persisted in some parts of Germany up to the 18th century and even the 19th. The view I put forward that the Asiatic or Indian property forms everywhere mark the beginning in Europe receives new proof here[609] (although Maurer knows nothing of it). But for the Russians there disappears the last trace OF ORIGINALITY, even in THIS LINE. What remains to them is that they still maintain forms long abandoned by their neighbours. OLD Maurer's books (from 1854 and 1856, etc.) are written with real German erudition, but, at the same time, in the more homely and readable manner which sets the southern Germans apart from the northern Germans (Maurer is from Heidelberg, but this applies even more to the Bavarians and

[a] 14 November in the original - [b] the British Museum Library - [c] Presumably a reference to G. L. Maurer's *Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark-, Hof-, Dorf- und Stadt-Verfassung und der öffentlichen Gewalt; Geschichte der Markenverfassung in Deutschland; Geschichte der Fronhöfe, der Bauernhöfe und der Hofverfassung in Deutschland; Geschichte der Dorfverfassung in Deutschland.* - [d] J. Möser, *Osnabrückische Geschichte.*

Tyroleans, such as Fallmerayer, Fraas, etc.). Here and there a hat is doffed deeply—*re, non verbis*[a]—to OLD Grimm (*Rechtsalterthümer*,[b] etc.). Besides, I looked at the things by Fraas, etc., on agriculture.[c]

BY THE BY, you must send me back the Dühring,[d] and, at the same time, the page proofs of my book.[e] You will have seen from Dühring what Carey's great discovery is, namely, that in agriculture humanity proceeds from poorer to increasingly better soil. Partly because cultivation descends from the dry hills, etc., to the damp lowlands. But in particular because Mr Carey considers the most fertile soil *marshes* and so on, which first have to be *converted* into soil. And finally because the English colonisation in America began with that lousy New England which is Carey's model country: Massachusetts in particular.

THANKS for your efforts with the damned book. I cannot find Eynern's letter but *suffit*[f] to write to Meissner that you sent it to me.[g] I have received the same letter from Vienna, with a few modifications.[606] I enclose the cuttings about Lassalle sent me by Fox. Apart from the arch-blackguard B. Becker, Reusche is in Vienna; this vagabond is there for Hatzfeldt money (as our J. Ph. Becker writes to Borkheim)—the enclosed Viennese Lassalle-creature article is by him—in order to glorify Izzy as the Son of God, and the beastly old girl as the Mother of God.

From Holland[h] I have still not heard anything, and the wedding should be on April 8th (with difficulty despite Lafargue I have postponed the business that far).[601] In addition, I have on the 17th (next Tuesday) to pay ABOUT £5 for water and gas (also last SUMMONS). As for the DUTCH, it appears to me that I shall not squeeze anything out of them until I once again pounce upon them personally, without previous notice. But JUST NOW there can be no question of this.

Have you read about the scandal (Borkheim informed me of it) between Dühring and 'Privy Councillor' Wagener, with the former accusing the latter of pinching his manuscript[610] or something or other about workers' cooperation.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] in fact, not words - [b] J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*. - [c] Presumably a reference to K. Fraas' *Klima und Pflanzenwelt in der Zeit; Historisch-encyklopädischer Grundriß der Landwirthschaftslehre*; *Geschichte der Landwirthschaft*; *Die Natur der Landwirthschaft*; *Die Ackerbaukrisen und ihre Heilmittel*. - [d] E. Dühring, *Die Verkleinerer Carey's und die Krisis der Nationalökonomie*. - [e] the first volume of *Capital* - [f] it suffices - [g] See previous letter. - [h] i.e. the Philipses

From Maurer I have noted that the change in opinions about the history and development of 'Germanic' property, etc., proceeds from the *Danes* who are apparently tremendously active in all kinds of archaeology in every corner. But, although they thus give the impulse, something is always missing with them SOMEWHERE OR ELSE. They lack the proper critical instinct, and in particular the sense of proportion. I was extremely struck by the fact that Maurer, though often referring, for instance, to Africa, Mexico, etc., knows absolutely nothing about the Celts, and therefore ascribes the development of common ownership in France solely to the Germanic conquerors. 'As though,' Mr Bruno[a] would say, 'as though' we did not possess a Celtic (Welsh) book of laws from the 11th century[b] which is entirely communist, and 'as though' the French in recent years had not just excavated original settlements in Celtic form here and there. As though! But the matter is quite simple. Besides German and ancient Roman relations, OLD Maurer has only studied oriental (Greek-Turkish!) ones.

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## 337

## MARX TO ENGELS[522]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 March 1868

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed a letter to Kugelmann from a young Bielefeld manufacturer.[c] I am particularly amused by his idea that I myself must have formerly been a sewing-machine EMPLOYING MANUFACTURER. If people only knew how little I know of all that stuff.

The question is also unavoidable: what now? The fellows all want recipes for miracle cures, and do not see the fairly graspable cure by fire and iron already plainly indicated.

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[a] Bruno Bauer - [b] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales.* - [c] Gustav Meyer (see this volume, p. 552)

It is strange how Dollfus (Alsace) has won such false *renommé*. This HUMBUG, who ranks far beneath such Englishmen as Briggs, etc., has drafted his contracts with his workers, contracts that could only be entered into by a degenerate rabble, in such a way that they do in fact become his colony of serfs, and in fact he treats them well '*as serfs*', and exploits them as neatly as anybody else. And on this account the brute recently introduced in the Corps législatif the nasty paragraph of the Press Law about the '*vie privée qui doit être murée*'.[a611] For here and there light had been thrown on his philanthropic juggling.

The way in which the English in Ireland are now treating political prisoners, or just suspects, or those only sentenced to ordinary prison terms (like Pigott of *The Irishman* and Sullivan of the *News*[b]) in fact exceeds anything seen on the Continent[612]—except Russia. They are curs!

*Salut*

Your
K. M.

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## 338

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 17 March 1868

Dear Moor,

Yesterday evening the cashier rushed off before I had asked him for the £5 for your gas, etc., and I could not even borrow a note anywhere; it is now enclosed, and I hope this delay has not caused you any serious unpleasantness. Further money will follow in the next few days, as soon as I can view my own affairs more clearly. Has Lafargue furnished a house, etc., for he cannot take his wife into his LODGINGS?

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[a] private life which should be surrounded by walls - [b] *Weekly News*

The proofs[a] and the Dühring[b] I shall send to you; I forgot to take the stuff with me this morning. In haste.

Your
F. E.

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## 339

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[65]

### IN HANOVER

London, 17 March 1868

Dear Friend,

Your letter[c] affected me both unpleasantly and pleasantly (you see I always move in a dialectical contradiction).

*Unpleasantly*, since I know your circumstances, and it would be wretched of me to accept such presents *at your family's expense*. I therefore regard these £15 as an *advance*, which I shall repay when I am able.

*Pleasantly*, not simply as a mark of your great friendship (and in the bustle of the world, friendship is the only personal thing that matters), but also because you have helped me over a great embarrassment in regard to the coming wedding.[601] In the past 4 months—quite apart from medicine and doctors—I have spent so much money on Blue Books,[359] Enquêtes and Yankee Reports, etc., on Banks that I really had nothing left for my daughter.[d]

You can imagine that I have often discussed moving from London to Geneva, not only with myself and my family, but also with Engels. Here I have to spend £400-500 annually. In Geneva I could live on £200. But considered all in all this is *impossible* for the time being. I can only complete my work[e] in London. And *only here* can I hope finally to derive a decent or at least adequate

[a] of the first volume of *Capital* - [b] E. Dühring, *Die Verkleinerer Carey's und die Krisis der Nationalökonomie*. - [c] of 13 March 1868 - [d] Laura Marx - [e] *Capital*

monetary profit from this work. This is why it is necessary *that I stay here* for the time being. Apart from the fact that, were I to move away from here at this critical period, the whole working-class movement, which I influence behind the scenes, would fall into very bad hands and leave the right track.

For the time being, therefore, *fate* binds me to London ALL DRAWBACKS NOTWITHSTANDING. *Quant à*[a] Coppel, you do him an injustice. Had I not been indisposed he would have amused me and such a diversion never hurts the family.

Engels and I have hitherto written nothing for Liebknecht's paper.[b] (Engels has now sent him 2 articles about my book.[c]) Eccarius is the regular London correspondent. Borkheim has written an article against Herzen et Co.[d]

Meyer's[e] letter gave me great pleasure. However, he has partly misunderstood my exposition. Otherwise he would have seen that I depict *large-scale industry* not only as the mother of the antagonism, but also as the producer of material and intellectual conditions for resolving these antagonisms, though this cannot proceed *along pleasant lines.*

With regard to the factory act—as a first condition, whereby the working class obtains ELBOW-ROOM for development and movement—I demand it *from the state,* as a *forcible law,* directed not only against the manufacturers, but also against the workers themselves. (Page 542, note 52, I indicate the resistance of women workers to a limitation of hours.) By the way, should Mr Meyer develop the same energy as Owen, he can break this resistance. That *the individual manufacturer* (apart from the extent to which he endeavours to influence legislation) can do little in the matter, I state ditto p. 243: 'But looking at things as a whole, all this does not, indeed, depend on the good or ill will of the *individual capitalist,* etc.' and ib. note 114.[613] Despite all this, the individual working person can do something, and this has been abundantly shown by such manufacturers as Fielden, Owen, etc. Their main effectiveness must naturally be of a public nature. As for the Dollfuses in Alsace, they are HUMBUGS who have managed, through their conditions of contract, to establish a comfortable and at the same time for them very profitable *serfdom-relationship* with their workers. They have been duly exposed in the Paris press, and for

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[a] As for - [b] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - [c] F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*'. - [d] S. B[orkheim], 'Russische politische Flüchtlinge in West-Europa', *Demokratisches Wochenblatt,* Nos. 5 and 6, 1 and 8 February 1868 (the end of the article was published in Nos. 17 and 20, 25 April and 16 May 1868). - [e] Gustav Meyer (see this volume, p. 549)

this very reason one of these Dollfuses, in the Corps législatif, recently introduced and CARRIED one of the most infamous paragraphs of the Press Law, namely that '*vie privée doit être murée*'.[a611]

With heartiest greetings to your dear wife[b]

Yours
K. M.

Apropos: Did you see that my personal enemy Schweitzer has heaped *eulogies* on my head in 6 numbers of the *Social-Demokrat* on account of my book?[c] Very harrowing for that old harlot Hatzfeldt.

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## 340

## MARX TO ENGELS[6]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 MARCH 1868

DEAR FRED,

The £5 received with many thanks.

Laura and Lafargue will first go to Paris (after the marriage), then rent an APARTMENT here (somewhere on the Heath,[d] if findable) and after Lafargue's final exam (he took the others at Bartholomew's Hospital[614]) will go back to France for a time, and then move off to America, where OLD Lafargue[e] has house and home.

Whence comes the word[615] higid, hid, hiwisc (*hida autem Anglice vocatur terra unius aratri culturae sufficiens*[f])? And also the German

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[a] private life should be surrounded by walls - [b] Gertruda Kugelmann - [c] [J. B. Schweitzer,] 'Das Werk von Carl Marx', *Der Social-Demokrat*, Nos. 10-12, 14, 15 and 24; 22, 24, 26 and 31 January, 2 and 23 February 1868. - [d] Hampstead Heath - [e] François Lafargue - [f] hida is also the name in English for the land that can be cultivated sufficiently with one plough (see also this volume, pp. 560-61).

word: *wiffa* (*Qui signum, quod propter defensionem terrae*[a] that is to say, to declare the land INCLOSED, a sign instead of a real fence *ponitur, quod signum wiffam vocamus*[b]).

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 341

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 19 March 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed £40 in two twenties, which, it is to be hoped, will suffice at least for the most urgent purposes. I had not expected that Löhrchen[c] would be making a honeymoon trip to America. So the wedding is on 8 April, a Wednesday; had it been Friday, Saturday or Monday I could have got away easily.

The things from OLD Maurer are very nice[d]; it is really remarkable how much material already exists on these subjects, and how little the professors have been able to make of it.

I shall try to discover the Anglo-Saxon word,[e] but, since no Anglo-Saxon dictionary is available to me here, I shall have to make do with other sources, which are very dubious, in view of the large and peculiar stock of words in Anglo-Saxon. First of all, the correct spelling must be determined. With regard to *Wiffa*, a question: where is it found, so we might know whether it has Low German or High German sound shifts. If it is High German you should compare Graff's *Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz*, the *Bayerisches Wörterbuch* by Schmeller or the Swiss dictionary by Stalder. Does it not occur in Grimm's *Rechtsalterthümer*[f]?

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[a] Here a sign to declare the land defended - [b] is erected, this sign we call *Wiffa* - [c] Laura Marx - [d] See this volume, pp. 547-49. - [e] Ibid., pp. 553-54. - [f] J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*.

The accursed business with the ill-fated Schiller Institute here,[28] which Gumpert once pushed me into and then did nothing further, is finally reaching a crisis, and the matter will be decided by Wednesday. During these days I must—*étant engagé*[a]—make a great EFFORT; I shall therefore scarcely be left with time in this period to write the English article.[509] From the middle of next week onwards I shall have peace, and will press ahead without pause. Regarding this business here, there is every prospect that I—and everything depends upon me—shall bring everything to a happy conclusion despite Borchardt and various other German cliques. Since I have been involved in the business for 4 years, and victory or defeat fall on my head, I simply *must.*

Since you say nothing about carbuncles, I assume that everything is fading without further issue.

The most conscientious reader of your book[b] here is Sam Moore; he has really worked his way thoroughly through over 600 pages and is grinding indefatigably on.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

So, Plon-Plon, according to *The Times*,[c] should inaugurate the Russian-Prussian-French alliance. This Bonaparte seems to get into a worse position every day. The stupid Prussians are continually making arrests and searching houses in the annexed lands.[596] The proofs[d] and the Dühring[e] will be dispatched today or tomorrow.

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[a] since I have promised - [b] the first volume of *Capital* - [c] *The Times*, No. 26074, 17 March 1868, 'Prussia (From our own Correspondent). Berlin, March 14'. - [d] of the first volume of *Capital* - [e] E. Dühring, *Die Verkleinerer Carey's und die Krisis der Nationalökonomie.*

# 342

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] Museum,[a] 23 March 1868

*In haste*

Dear Fred,

I thought Laura would notify you about the £40. She claims, however, that I did not ask her to. Thus *malentendu*.[b]

During the whole of last week I had many bleeding shingles; particularly obstinate and hard to obliterate the mess under my left armpit. But generally I feel much better, in fact like a reconvalescent and I am sure that the business is coming to an end.

At the same time, I am sending you the Schweitzer, which please return to me after use. A few lines from Meissner, in which he notifies me of his stupidity in informing Schweitzer that he should not continue with his extracts[c] until *I* have stated my views. *Quelle bêtise!*[d] I immediately attempted to redress things. Whatever secondary motives Schweitzer may have (e.g. to annoy old Hatzfeldt, etc.), one thing must be admitted. Although he makes a mistake here and there, he has studied the stuff really hard, and knows where the centres of gravity lie. Such a 'base consciousness' is still preferable to the 'honest consciousness' of a Heinzen or the 'noble consciousness' of a Wilhelmchen.[e] Hegel forgot to list *idleness* as an essential element of 'noble-minded consciousness'.[f]

More *de diversis*[g] in the next letter.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] the British Museum Library - [b] a misunderstanding - [c] [J. B. Schweitzer,] 'Das Werk von Carl Marx', *Der Social-Demokrat*, Nos. 10-12, 14, 15 and 24; 22, 24, 26 and 31 January, 2 and 23 February 1868. - [d] What stupidity! - [e] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [f] See G. W. F. Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, Abt. 'Die Bildung und ihr Reich der Wirklichkeit'. - [g] on various topics

# 343

## MARX TO ENGELS[101]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 March 1868

DEAR FRED,

I wanted to write to you yesterday from the Museum,[a] but I suddenly became so very unwell that I had to close the very interesting book I was reading. There was something like a black veil before my eyes. In addition, a frightful headache and chest constriction. So I crept home. The air and the light did me good, and at home I slept FOR SOME TIME. My state is such that I really should give up working and thinking entirely for SOME TIME; but that *would be hard for me, even if I had the means to loaf.*

*Ad vocem*[b] *Maurer*: his books are extremely significant.[c] Not only the primitive age but also the entire later development of the free imperial cities, of the estate owners possessing immunity, of public authority, and of the struggle between the free peasantry and serfdom, get an entirely new character.

The history of mankind is like palaeontology. Owing to A CERTAIN JUDICIAL BLINDNESS, even the best minds fail to see, on principle, what lies in front of their noses. Later, when the time has come, we are surprised that there are traces everywhere of what we failed to see. The first reaction to the French Revolution and the Enlightenment bound up with it was naturally to regard everything as mediaeval, romantic, and even people like Grimm are not free from this. The second reaction to it is to look beyond the Middle Ages into the primitive age of every people—and this corresponds to the socialist tendency, though these learned men have no idea that they are connected with it. And they are then surprised to find what is newest in what is oldest, and even EGALITARIANS TO A DEGREE which would have made Proudhon shudder.

And we are all very much in the clutches of this JUDICIAL BLINDNESS: right in *my own* neighbourhood, on the *Hunsrück*,[d] the old Germanic system survived until the *last few* years. I now remember my father[e] talking about it to me from *a lawyer's point of view.* Another proof: just as the geologists, even the best like

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[a] the British Museum Library - [b] Regarding - [c] See this volume, pp. 547-49, and 554-55. - [d] mountains in the Rhine Province, Prussia - [e] Heinrich Marx

Cuvier, have expounded certain *faits*[a] in a completely distorted way, so philologists of the *force*[b] of a Grimm, *mistranslated* the simplest Latin sentences because they were under the influence of Möser, etc. (who, I remember, was enchanted that 'freedom' never existed among the Germans, but that '*Luft macht eigen*'[c]). E.g. the famous passage in Tacitus: '*arva per annos mutant, et superest ager*',[d] which means: they exchange the fields (*arva*) (by lot, hence also *sortes*[e] in all later *Leges Barbarorum*[616]), and there remains over communal land (*ager* in distinction to *arva* as *ager publicus*[f]), Grimm and others translate: they till every year new fields, and there is still (untilled) land left over![g]

In the same way the passage: '*colunt discreti ac diversi*'[h] is taken to prove that the Germans from the earliest times cultivated on individual farms like Westphalian squires. But *the very same* passage continues: '*Vicos locant non in nostrum morem, connexis et cohaerentibus aedificiis; suum quisque locum spatio circumdat*',[i] and such Germanic primitive villages, in the form described, still exist here and there in Denmark. Obviously Scandinavia must become as important for German jurisprudence and economics as for German mythology. Only by starting from there will we be able once again to decipher our past. Incidentally, even Grimm, etc., found in Caesar's writings that the Germans always settled as kinship groups, and not as individuals: '*gentibus cognationibusque, qui uno coierunt*.'[j]

But what would OLD Hegel say, were he to learn in the hereafter that the *general* [*das Allgemeine*] in German and Nordic means only the communal land, and that the *particular*, the *special* [*das Sundre, Besondere*] means only private property divided off from the communal land? Here are the logical categories coming damn well out of 'our intercourse' after all.

Very interesting is the book by Fraas (1847): *Klima und Pflanzenwelt in der Zeit, eine Geschichte beider*, namely as proving that climate and flora change in *historical* times. He is a Darwinist before Darwin, and admits even the *species* developing in historical

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[a] facts - [b] importance - [c] J. Möser, *Patriotische Phantasien*, Th. 3, S. 329. 'Luft macht eigen'—part of a medieval German saying, 'Stadtluft macht frei, Landluft macht eigen', literally: 'town air brings freedom, country air brings serfdom'. In medieval times a serf who moved to a town became free. - [d] Tacitus, *Germania*, 26. - [e] lot - [f] communal land - [g] *Die Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*, Bd. 1. S. 661. - [h] they till separately and scattered - [i] '*They do not lay out villages* in our fashion, with *adjacent buildings one next to the other*; each *surrounds his dwelling with a* free space'. - [j] 'according to gentes and kinships, which settled together' (Gaius Julius Caesar, *Commentarii de bello Gallico*, Lib. VI, 22).

times. But he is at the same time agronomist. He claims that with cultivation—depending on its degree—the 'moisture' so beloved by the peasants gets lost (hence also the plants migrate from south to north), and finally steppe formation occurs. The first effect of cultivation is useful, but finally devastating through deforestation, etc. This man is both a thoroughly learned philologist (he has written books in *Greek*) and a chemist, agronomist, etc. The conclusion is that cultivation—when it proceeds in natural growth and is not *consciously controlled* (as a bourgeois he naturally does not reach this point)—leaves deserts behind it, Persia, Mesopotamia, etc., Greece. So once again an unconscious socialist tendency!

This Fraas is also interesting as a German case-study. First Dr. med., then inspector and teacher of chemistry and technology. At present head of Bavarian veterinary services, university professor, head of state agricultural experiments, etc. In his latest writings you see his advanced age, but he is still a dashing fellow. He has been around a lot in Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt! His history of agriculture is also important. He calls Fourier this 'pious and humanist socialist'.[a] On the Albanians, etc. 'every sort of shameless lechery and rape'.[b]

We must keep a close watch on the recent and very latest in agriculture. The *physical* school is pitted against the *chemical.*

Do not forget to send me back the letter of Kugelmann's manufacturer.[c]

Nothing pleases me better than to see you here.

Your
K. M.

Apropos. Edgar's[d] planter's hat has been found again, and this time you can take it to Mrs Lizzy.[e]

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[a] C. Fraas, *Geschichte der Landwirthschaft*, S. 12. - [b] K. Fraas, *Klima und Pflanzenwelt in der Zeit*, S. XVI. - [c] Gustav Meyer (see this volume, p. 549) - [d] Edgar von Westphalen - [e] Lizzy Burns

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 29 March 1868

Dear Moor,

I am afraid I shall not finish the article for the *Fortnightly*[509] by Tuesday. The damned Schiller Institute business[28] kept me breathless all the week, until I finally got things cleared up yesterday. If I had failed—and several stupidities on the part of my main adjutant put everything doubtful again—I would have been terribly discredited, made ludicrous for the whole of Manchester; TO BE 'DONE' IN BUSINESS, TO GET YOURSELF 'SOLD' is naturally here the worst thing that can happen to you. Now it is a great triumph and gives me the opportunity I wanted to withdraw with honour from official participation in the affair; anyway now enough people will be pushing themselves forward for it. I am doubly annoyed because this business has made it impossible for me to complete the article; but for this I would have had to rush it, and in this case the quality is very important.

Schorlemmer has made a very fine discovery: *the law of the boiling points* of the hydrocarbons of the series $C_nH_{2n+2}$, i.e. for three of the four isomeric series; of the 4th, too few have yet been described.[a]

I shall be arriving at your place on Wednesday evening at 9, possibly earlier.[617]

Where on earth can the enclosed article come from? And a letter of Bismarck's to cheer you up.

Best greetings.

Your

F. E.

I can find nothing about *Wiffa*. But in *higid*, *hiwisc*, *hida* you are confusing 2 if not 3 different words.[b]

Anglo-Saxon *hiwisce*, Old Saxon and Old High German *hiwiski*, Old Frisian *hiskthe*, Old Nordic *hyski*, New North Frisian *hiske* = *familia*.

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[a] C. Schorlemmer, 'Researches on the Hydrocarbons of the Series $C_nH_{2n+2}$', *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, No. 94, 1867 and No. 102, 1868. - [b] See this volume, pp. 553-54.

*Higid* can be the participle of the Anglo-Saxon *hegjan*, this verb means TO FENCE IN.

Whether *hide*, which is still encountered locally today as a measure of land, is drawn from this, or is connected with *hide cutis*, Anglo-Saxon *hyde*, I cannot determine without an Anglo-Saxon dictionary.

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# APPENDICES

1

## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, not before 29 November 1864]

My dear Mr Engels,

Poor Moor once again has a large and very painful carbuncle. So, he has to lie down, and he finds writing very difficult. I hope that in a few days we shall be over the first eruption. It is dreadful to have that again. You would not credit how splendidly he had the bit between his teeth with the actual copying up of the book.[a] There is already a sizeable stack ready for printing. The long hours of sitting and writing until far, far into the night, and the excitement this entails, are undoubtedly responsible for the renewed outbreak of the disease. Karl hopes that the interruption will not be long. He even wants to try and write something today. Enclosed is a letter from Wilhelmchen[b] which he is sending you, likewise one to Weydemeyer which I would be glad if you would see to, since we do not have his address.[c] The price of the cards for the 'INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY' is 1s.1d. However, Moor thinks no one would try to stop GENTLEMEN giving 5-10s.

A thousand greetings to you, dear Mr Engels, from us all.

Yours
Jenny Marx

Apropos. We have at last had a few lines from our old Uncle Edgar.[d] The Berliners appear to be treating him decently. The BABY says in his letter that they gave him a 'Christmas present' of coats, trousers, waistcoats, gloves, cigars and a 'hymnbook'. The

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[a] the first volume of *Capital* - [b] presumably Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to Marx of 24 November 1864 - [c] See this volume, pp. 43-45. - [d] Edgar von Westphalen

doctor they consulted declared his illness to be heart-disease. Whenever the doctors do not know what to say, they make do with 'general' heart-disease. I believe his complaint has its seat rather in his lungs and mind.

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## 2

## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, 30 March 1865]

Dear Mr Engels,

Thank you so much for your letter[131] and the newspaper cutting, which I now return. The worst thing about this dreadful business in which 'Wilhelmchen'[a] has once more involved yourself and Moor is that I have no idea where Moor is at present.[177] I have heard nothing from him and don't know whether he is in Germany or Holland. I have taken pot luck in sending all the filth from the newspapers after him. It is almost impossible to take up the cudgels in the newspapers with a creature like Becker,[b] [192] but FACTS must be corrected, on account of the credulous Straubingers.[618] The most ridiculous and most vexing part of the affair is to have people like Mr Reusche testifying that 'Lassalle also spoke of Marx with respect'. Lassalle, who copied everything from my husband, even his MISTAKES, who had been his friend and disciple for 15 years—he is cited as also having spoken of him with respect. And this gracious testimonial is being purveyed by people who only became friends of Lassalle in the last 2 years, at a time when he was already fully committed to that wrong path, which was taking him into Bismarck's camp,[98] into the ministry, like friend Bucher, or to the ultimate *retraite*, to Italy. And, of course, Lassalle should be rescued for these 'freedom-fighters' who have received their reward in his will! Yet these social riff-raff are after

[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [b] Bernhard Becker

all only following their great agitator. Like his lord and master, incidentally, Mr Reusche is constantly misappropriating things of my husband's, forever reproducing every witticism from *Herr Vogt*, just as in that last opus he himself borrowed from Karl the 'grotesque CLOWN, who has nothing behind him but his own shadow' (a phrase aimed at Karl Blind).[a] The condescending manner in which this triumvirate deigns to allow Moor its protection, is the most vexing thing of all. Incidentally, Lassalle's respect for the aging Ph. Becker was also of recent date. As far back as August 1862 he believed him to be a paid agent, though in whose hire I do not know, and refused to have anything to do with him.[619] He likewise declared to me in one of his outbursts of shouting, when his voice always went OUT OF TUNE, that Moses[b] in Paris was a completely useless muddlehead with whom he desired no truck. I defended that Plonplonist[93] as an *honest* Confusionarius. I live from day to day in the hope that I shall have news of Carel; this uncertainty causes me more bother than all the other troubles.

We are all well here and send you our cordial greetings.

Yours
Jenny Marx

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## KARL MARX

### CONFESSION[620]

Zalt-Bommel, 1 April 1865

| | |
|---|---|
| The Quality you like best | Simplicity |
| In man | Strength |
| In woman | Weakness |
| Your chief characteristic | Singleness of purpose |
| Your favourite occupation | Glancing at Netchen[c] |

[a] See present edition, Vol. 20, p. 25. - [b] Moses Hess - [c] Nannette Philips. In Jenny Marx's album: 'Bookworming'.

| | |
|---|---|
| The vice you hate most | Servility |
| The vice you excuse most | Gullibility |
| Your idea of happiness | To fight |
| Your idea of misery | To submit[a] |
| Your aversion | Martin Tupper[b] |
| Your hero | Spartacus, Keppler |
| Your heroine | Gretchen |
| The poet you like best | Aeschylus, Shakespeare, Goethe[c] |
| The prose writer you like best | Diderot[d] |
| Your favourite flower | Daphne[e] |
| Your favourite dish | Fish[f] |
| Your maxim: | *Nihil humani a me alienum puto*[g] |
| Your motto: | *De omnibus dubitandum*[h] |

Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original, English, in *International Review of Social History*, Vol. I, Part I, Assen, 1956

Reproduced from the original verified with the handwritten text in Jenny Marx's album

## 4

## JENNY MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER[621]

IN GENEVA[i]

[London, 29 January 1866]

My dear Mr Becker,

For the past week my husband has again been laid low with his former dangerous and exceedingly painful complaint. The affliction is all the more distressing for him this time since it further interrupts him in the copying out of his book[j] that he has just

[a] In the album this query and the one above remained unanswered. - [b] In the album: 'Martin Tupper, Violet powder'. - [c] In the album: 'Dante, Aeschylus, Shakespeare, Goethe'. - [d] In the album: 'Diderot, Lessing, Hegel, Balsac'. - [e] In the album there are three more queries and replies here; 'Favourite colour ... Red; Colour of eyes & heir ... Black; Names ... Jenny, Laura.' - [f] In the album the query 'The character in history you most dislike' is left unanswered. - [g] Nothing human is alien to me (Terence, *Heautontimorumenos*, I, 1, 25) - [h] Doubt everything - [i] written on a sheet of paper bearing the stamp: 'International Working Men's Association / Central Council / London' - [j] the first volume of *Capital*

Your favourite virtue — simplicity
..... in man — strength
..... woman — weakness
chief characteristic — singleness of purpose
Idea of happiness
..... misery
The vice you excuse — gullibility
..... detest — servility
Aversion — Martin Tupper, Poet-poetaster
Favourite occupation — book-worming
..... Poet — Fontenelle, Jean, Shakespeare
..... Prose writer — Diderot, Lessing, Hegel, Marx
..... Hero — Spartacus, Kepler
..... Heroine — Gretchen.
..... Flower — Daphne.
..... Colour — Red.
colour of eyes & hair — black.
Names — Jenny, Laura
Dish — fish
The characters in history you most dislike
— Mr Aicim — nihil humani a me alienum puto
— Motto — Semper Fidelis

Karl Marx

A page from the album of Jenny, Marx's daughter, containing Marx's 'Confession'

begun. I think that this new eruption is simply and solely due to overwork and long hours without sleep at night. He is very sorry not to be able to attend the meetings of the 'International', since the very existence of *The Workman's Advocate* is at stake right now; until now it has had the greatest difficulties to contend with and *fonds* are now being offered by philistines and parsons.[230] The attempt must now be made to get a hold on the money without making any concessions in point of principle to the 'MONEY-LENDERS'.[a] The Reform question, which is of such immediate practical concern to the English, is also making great demands on the resources, the time and the interest of the workers and is greatly distracting them from other matters.[b] Karl and I were most taken by your *Vorbote*. Both its language and its serious approach are manly indeed! I am enclosing Lessner's letter about it. The agent to whom I entrusted the *Manifestos*[c] has written to say that he has managed to prevent them from falling into the hands of the French police and that he can now send them off to Geneva.[622] However, they cannot be stamped, so I must ask you to write and say what outlay they committed you to. The money can then be sent you together with that for the subscriptions for the *Vorbote*.

With respect to religion, a great movement is currently developing in stuffy old England. The top men in science, Huxley (Darwin's disciple) at the head, with Tyndall, Sir Charles Lyell, Bowring, Carpenter, etc., give very enlightened, truly free-thinking and bold lectures for the people in St. Martin's Hall (of glorious waltzing memory[623]), and, what is more, on Sunday evenings, exactly at the time when the lambs are usually grazing on the Lord's pastures; the hall has been full to bursting and the people's enthusiasm so great that, on the first evening, when I went there with the girls, 2,000 could not get into the room, which was crammed full. The clerics let this dreadful thing happen three times.—Yesterday evening the assembly was informed that no more lectures could be held until the court case brought by the clerics against the 'SUNDAY EVENINGS FOR THE PEOPLE' had been decided. The gathering emphatically expressed its indignation and more than £100 were immediately collected for fighting the case. How stupid of the clerics to interfere in such a matter. To the annoyance of this band, the evenings even closed with music. Choruses from Händel, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelsohn and Gounod were sung and received enthusiastically by the English,

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[a] See this volume, p. 224. - [b] ibid., p. 150. - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

who had, until now, only been allowed to bawl out the hymn JESUS, JESUS, MEEK AND MILD or take themselves off to the GIN palace.

Karl, who is in great pain today, and my girls send you their warmest greetings, the little one[a] in particular, asking me to convey very best wishes to 'dear Becker'. And I extend my hand to you from afar.

Yours
Jenny Marx

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5

## JENNY MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER

IN BERLIN

[London, beginning of February 1866]
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park

Dear Sir,

For the past week my husband has again been laid low with his former dangerous and painful complaint; this fresh affliction is all the more distressing for him since it further interrupts him in the copying out of his book[b] that he has just begun. He is very sorry that you did not receive his lengthy letter,[c] as he is at the present moment incapable of writing. He also fears that the letter has been seized, as it should have been returned long ago otherwise. The address was, by the way, perfectly correct, and I took the letter to the post myself along with many others and the newspapers, all of which arrived. With regard to the *Manifesto*,[d] being a historical document, he wishes it to be printed exactly as it originally appeared; the misprints are so obvious that anyone can correct them. He will be sending the 'International Address'[e] to you as soon as he can.

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[a] Eleanor Marx - [b] the first volume of *Capital* - [c] See this volume, p. 216. - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - [e] K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'.

At the same time, he asks you to let him know your new address for further correspondence, when you have left Berlin. And could not Mr Vogt,[a] in turn, give us another address, as we do not think his present one is quite safe. When you write back, kindly address to A. Williams,[b] Esq., etc.

My husband sends you his warmest greetings.

Yours
Jenny Marx

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## JENNY MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

### IN HANOVER

[London,] 26 February 1866[c]
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park

Dear Sir,

For 4 weeks now my poor husband has been laid low again with his old, very painful and dangerous complaint, and no doubt I need scarcely tell you under what great and fearful anxieties we have all been suffering during that time. Right at the beginning of January he had begun to prepare his whole book[d] for printing, and he was making wonderfully rapid progress with copying, so that the manuscript piled up most impressively. Karl felt in the best of 'SPIRITS' and was happy to be so far on at last, when a carbuncle suddenly erupted, soon to be followed by 2 others. The last one was especially bad and obstinate and furthermore was so awkwardly placed that it prevented him from walking or moving at all. This morning it has been bleeding more strongly, which has brought him some relief. Two days ago we began the arsenic cure, of which Karl expects a good effect. It is really dreadful for him

[a] August Vogt - [b] Marx's conspiratorial pseudonym - [c] The date is written in by Kugelmann. - [d] the first volume of *Capital*

to be interrupted again in the completion of his book, and in his delirium at night he is forever talking of the various chapters which are going round and round in his mind. This morning I brought him your letter[a] in bed. He was very pleased that you had been kind enough to write, and he asked me to thank you at once for it on his behalf. A further concern is that his presence is sorely needed at this moment, both in the debates about the forthcoming congress of the International Association[286] and in the discussions about the policy and editing of the new workers' paper which is appearing weekly here now under the title of *Commonwealth* and represents both the newly formed workers' party,[b] with all the Co-operative Societies, and the International Association.[290] His anxiety about all this has naturally done much to worsen the general state of his health. I hope that by the spring he will be sufficiently restored to be able to visit his friends in Germany. He had been very much looking forward to doing so.

Karl sends you his warmest greetings, to which, despite our not being acquainted, I add my respects.

Yours truly
Jenny Marx

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## JENNY MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

### IN HANOVER

[London,] 1 April 1866
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park

Dear Sir,

I presume that the registered letter that I received from Hanover late yesterday evening is from you.[c] I cannot send it on to my husband in Margate until tomorrow,[307] unfortunately, as in

[a] of 23 February 1866 - [b] the Reform League (see Note 155) - [c] Probably Kugelmann's letter to Marx of 30 March 1866.

pious England all communications halt on Sundays. Since the reply may be held up by this delay, I hasten to let you know immediately today that the letter has arrived safely; but, at the same time, I would like to take this opportunity to apologise to you for my total silence. Just how indebted I am to you for the great sympathy and touching friendship you have shown my husband was really brought home to me when the young man from the CITY called to enquire on your behalf as to my husband's condition. Immediately after my last letter to you, Karl really became gravely ill; a fresh CARBUNCLE (not a furuncle) erupted, and was indeed so obstinate and so inflammatory that for almost 3 weeks my poor husband could scarcely move and was entirely confined to the sofa. Since we are all only too well aware how dangerous this complaint is, if it keeps recurring over a period of years, you can well imagine how melancholy the days and nights have been for us.

On the advice of Doctor Gumpert in Manchester, he decided to begin the arsenic cure, as well as to spend a few weeks at the seaside after the abscess had healed. He has now been in Margate, a coastal resort quite near here, for nearly 2 weeks, and it seems to us that his health has been greatly restored there. He will return next week to pick up with renewed energy the completion of that work of his[a] which has so often been interrupted.

Yesterday he sent me his photogram, and since you would perhaps appreciate a sunny picture of the man to whom you have shown so much friendship, although you do not know him personally, I am enclosing 1 COPY with this note.

With all my respects, despite our not being acquainted

Yours truly
Jenny Marx

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[a] the first volume of *Capital*

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## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] Monday 1 o'clock
[24 December 1866]

My dear Mr Engels,

The HAMPER has just arrived, and the bottles have been put on parade, with the Rhenish to the fore! How can we thank you for all your friendship! The £10 which arrived on Saturday will avert the harshest storms of Christmastide and enable us to celebrate a MERRY CHRISTMAS. The wine was particularly welcome this year, as with the young FRENCHMAN[a] in the house we like to keep up APPEARANCES.

If the publisher in Hamburg[b] really can print the book[c] as fast as he says, it is certain to come out by Easter in any case. It is a pleasure to see the manuscript lying there copied out and stacked up so high. It is an enormous weight off my mind; we have enough troubles and worries left without that, especially when the girls fall in love and become engaged, and to Frenchmen and MEDICAL STUDENTS to boot! I wish I could see everything *couleur de rose*[d] as much as the others do, but the long years with their many anxieties have made me nervous, and the future often looks black to me when it all looks rosy to a more cheerful spirit. *Cela entre nous.*[e]

Once more, a thousand thanks for the hock and all its train!

Yours
Jenny Marx

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[a] Paul Lafargue - [b] Otto Meissner - [c] the first volume of *Capital* - [d] in rosy colours - [e] This between ourselves.

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## JENNY MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, [5 October 1867]
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park

My dear Mr Becker,

I hope you have received my letter. You will doubtless be surprised at seeing a second one following so close behind the first. My husband would like Bakunin's address, and I am quite sure that you will be able to get hold of it easily in Geneva, perhaps via Herzen. He would very much like to send him his book[a] and write on other matters. Warmest greetings from us all and especially from

Yours
Jenny Marx

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## JENNY MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

[London, 24 December 1867]
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park

My dear Mr Kugelmann,

You can have no idea of the delight and surprise you occasioned us yesterday, and I really do not know how I should thank you for all your friendship and sympathy, and especially now for the latest visible sign of your regard, old Father Zeus, who now occupies the

[a] the first volume of *Capital*

place of the 'baby Jesus' in our household.[585] Our Christmas festivities this year are again very much overshadowed by the fact that my poor husband is once more laid low with his old complaint. There have been 2 further eruptions, one of which is of some size and in a most painful spot, obliging Karl to lie on one side. I hope we shall soon get the better of this illness, and that in the next letter you will no longer be confronted with the temporary private secretary.

Yesterday evening we were all at home together sitting downstairs, which in English houses is the kitchen area from which all 'CREATURE COMFORTS' make their way up to the higher regions, and were busy preparing the CHRISTMAS PUDDING with all due thoroughness. We were seeding raisins (a most disagreeable and sticky task), chopping up almonds and orange and lemon peel, minutely shredding suet, and with eggs and flour kneading together the oddest potpourri from the whole mishmash; when all at once there was a ring at the door, a carriage was stopped outside, mysterious footsteps were going up and down, whispering and rustling filled the house; at length a voice sounded from above: 'A great statue has arrived.' If it had been 'Fire, fire, the house is on fire', the 'FENIANS' have come, we could not have dashed upstairs in greater astonishment or confusion, and there it stood in all its colossal splendour, in its ideal purity, old *Jupiter tonans*[a] himself, unscathed, undamaged (one small edge of the *piédestal* is slightly chipped) before our staring, delighted eyes!! Meanwhile, the confusion having somewhat abated, we then read the accompanying kind words you sent via Borkheim, and after pausing in deepest gratitude to you, we at once began debating which would be the worthiest niche for the new 'dear god who is there in heaven and on Earth'.[b] We have not yet resolved this great question, and we shall make many trials before that proud head finds its place of honour.

My warmest thanks to you also for your great interest and indefatigable efforts on behalf of Karl's book.[c] It would seem that the Germans' preferred form of applause is utter and complete silence. You have given fresh heart to all the moaners.

Dear Mr Kugelmann, you can believe me when I tell you there can be few books that have been written in more difficult circumstances, and I am sure I could write a secret history of it which would tell of many, extremely many unspoken troubles and anxieties and torments. If the workers had an inkling of the

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[a] Jupiter the Thunderer - [b] Matthew 6:9, 10 - [c] the first volume of *Capital*

sacrifices that were necessary for this work, which was written only for them and for their sakes to be completed they would perhaps show a little more interest. The Lassalleans appear to be the quickest to seize the book, so that they may fittingly bowdlerise it. However, that will do no harm.

But to conclude, I have a bone to pick with you. Why do you address me so formally, even using the title 'gracious', for me, who am such an old campaigner, such a hoary head in the movement, such an honest fellow-traveller and fellow-tramp? I would so much have liked to visit you and your dear wife and Fränzchen[a] this summer, of whom my husband cannot stop saying so many nice and good things, I would so much have liked to see Germany again after 11 years.[624] I have often been unwell in the past year, and I am sorry to say that of late I have lost much of my 'faith', my courage in facing up to life. I often found it hard to keep my spirits up. However, since my girls were embarking on a long journey—they had been invited to stay with Lafargue's parents[b] in Bordeaux—it was impossible for me to undertake my own excursion at the same time, and it is therefore now my fondest hope for next year.

Karl sends his warmest greetings to your wife and to yourself, to which the girls sincerely add their own, and I extend my hand to you and your dear wife from afar.

Yours
Jenny Marx
not gracious and not by the grace of God.

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Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

[a] Franziska Kugelmann - [b] François and Virginie Lafargue

## 11

## JENNY MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

[London, after 10 January 1868]
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park

My dear Mr Becker,

Don't be cross with me for not replying sooner to your kind last letter. Unfortunately, the reason for my silence was not a happy one. For my poor husband has once again been laid up and fettered hand and foot by his old, serious and painful complaint, which is becoming dangerous through its constant recurrence. Nothing depresses him more than to be constantly condemned to idleness once again, particularly now when there is so much to be done, the 2nd part[a] is demanded and, to put it shortly, when the world begins once again to burn and blaze, though for the time being with 'Greek fire', and not with the 'Red Cock'.[b] The idlers and loafers have cash in their pockets and health in their blood, and the people who belong to the new world, who have devoted their bodies and souls to it, are sick—poor and thus well and trully locked in HANDCUFFS. 'SHAME, SHAME' as the English shout at their meetings. You will not believe how often my husband thinks of you, with sincere honour and admiration. He regards your little paper[c] as quite definitely the best and most effective, and every time we receive news of our native kindergarten, or rather *Gartenlaube*,[d] he exclaims: 'If only the Germans had more men like old Becker!!' As temporary secretary, I have just written to Schily and sent him the letter of the man who has offered to make the translation.[625] You see, Moses Hess has also offered himself as translator through Schily and wanted to launch some preliminary *ballons d'essais*[e] in the *Courrier français*.[539] But we have long heard and seen nothing of the two gentlemen, but, to judge by the letter I just mentioned, the matter will be a success. Because of his education in philosophy, and his orientation in the arts of dialectical leaps and balances, Hess would be preferable to many other translators who would be simply literal, but, on the other hand, our mystical Rabbi Rabbuni is often not quite reliable (not

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[a] of *Capital* - [b] symbol of revolutionary action in the Peasant War in Germany - [c] *Der Vorbote* - [d] The title of a German magazine - [e] sounding balloons

quite kosher), and often careless, so it would be wrong to reject other offers because of him. Schily will now act as *chargé d'affaires*, and see which is the right man.

Your last article on the Peace dawdlers[461] was excellent,[a] and, by God (the Good Lord always springs *nolens volens*[b] to the lips and the pen, although he has long left the place of honour in our hearts), was the best that we have seen hitherto.

'Goegg' is still roaming around here on his propaganda merry-go-round. And Borkheim could have been smarter than to give him 100 fr. travelling expenses. If the coins are itching and burning a hole in his pocket like that, he should let them fall and burn elsewhere. I think there are better things to do than supporting these apostles. Amand[c] was dealt with quite differently by Engels in Manchester. For your amusement, here is a passage about it from Engels' letter.[d]

'Moreover, yesterday I had a visit from the ex-dictator Goegg, who is travelling for the ridiculous Peace League and who ruined my evening. Luckily, Schorlemmer' (a very important chemist, one of 'our people') 'also happened by, and got the surprise of his life with this fossil of Federal Republic; he had not believed such a thing possible. The stupid oaf has become ten times more stupid through the unthinking repetition of the same phrases, and has lost all points of contact with the world of common sense (not to mention actual thinking). Apart from Switzerland and the Canton of Baden, there is still nothing else in the world for people of this sort. For all that, he soon convinced himself of the truth of my first reply to his application for support: that the further apart we lived and the less we had to do with one another, the better we would get on.—He admitted that in the Vogt affair Blind has behaved like a *coward*, but said he was after all a worthy fellow, and even threatened to reconcile you and Blind! Vogt—no politician, but a decent fellow, honest to the backbone, who simply scribbled away in the daytime without considering the content—if we 2 spent an hour together then we would be like brothers. He admitted him to be a Bonapartist, but not a paid one. To which I replied that *all* Bonapartists were paid, there were no unpaid ones, and if he could show me an unpaid *one*, then I would accept the *possibility* that Vogt was not paid; otherwise I would not. This astonished him, but finally he discovered one—*Ludwig Bamberger*! Incidentally, he said that Vogt had continually had a very hard

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[a] [J. Ph. Becker,] 'Zur Friedens- und Freiheitsliga', *Der Vorbote*, No. 12, December 1867. - [b] willy nilly - [c] Amand Goegg - [d] See this volume, pp. 517-18.

time, his wife was a peasant girl from the Bernese Oberland, whom he had married *out of virtue.* Vogt, the artful dodger, appears to have pulled the wool well over this jackass's eyes. But when Schorlemmer and I explained to him that Vogt had not produced anything as a natural scientist either, you should have seen his rage: Had he not popularised? Was not that worth while?'

Thus Engels. So Goegg left empty-handed. Now he is trying his luck in other towns. Have you seen or heard anything of Bakunin? My husband sent his book[a] to him as an old Hegelian,—not a sign near or far. Has he received it? You can't really trust all those Russians. If they don't adhere to the 'Väterchen' in Russia, then they adhere to, or are kept by, '*Herzens* Väterchen',[b] which in the end comes to the same thing. Six of one and half a dozen of the other.

Things look good here, the English are running away from themselves in panic, and, if somebody hears a cork pop, he imagines it is Greek fire, and if John Bull sees an innocent phosphorus match he believes it is impregnated with glycerine, paraffin, nicotine and God knows what, and starts to run, and soon everybody is running, and finally the genuine CONSTABLES are running ahead of the false BOBBIES, the so-called SPECIALS, who are now keeping order in the streets with their lead batons. Ireland has taken the lead in the entire political programme, the *English* are already shouting in favour of Ireland at their MEETINGS, and it has almost become respectable to lament the 7-hundred-year *suffering* of sweet Erin[c]—to weep over it; and all this has been accomplished by a phosphorus match and a rope.[626] How easy is it to frighten the gentlemen out of their wits!? The short fear of physical means has accomplished more than centuries of moral threats.[d]

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 32, Moscow, 1964

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Published in English for the first time

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[a] the first volume of *Capital* - [b] A play on words: *Väterchen*, father, little father, meaning here 'the Tsar', and *Herzens Väterchen*, meaning 'dear father', a reference to the name Herzen (Jenny Marx alludes to Bakunin's connections with Alexander Herzen). - [c] old name of Ireland - [d] The manuscript breaks off here.

## 12

## LAURA MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 January 1868

Dear Engels,

As Mohr is once more being victimised by his old enemies, the carbuncles, and is, by the arrival of the latest, made to feel very ill at ease in a sitting posture, he has asked me to write you these lines in his stead.

As regards the article for *The Fortnightly Review*,[509] I am to tell you that there is no question of a mere brief notice like the reviews of books generally found at the back of that periodical, but of an article of the length of those usually inserted.

Also I am to beg you to send back, as soon as possible, the earlier numbers of the *Courrier français*.[a]

With best regards from all of us and in the hope that the late frequent Christmas entertainments you have been 'undergoing' may not have interfered with your health, I remain, dear Engels,

Affectionately yours,
Laura Marx

First published in the language of the original, English, in: Friedrich Engels, Paul et Laura Lafargue, *Correspondance*, Tome I, Paris, 1956

Reproduced from the original

[a] See this volume, pp. 508, 520 and 523.

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] This letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx, *On the First International.* Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1973.—3, 64, 92, 148, 191, 218, 314

[2] In his letter to Marx of 28 September 1864, Carl Klings, a former member of the Communist League (see Note 17), wrote about the situation in the General Association of German Workers after the death of its President, Ferdinand Lassalle, and about the forthcoming election of a new president. Bernhard Becker and Moses Hess were nominated candidates, and Klings asked Marx for advice.

The *General Association of German Workers*, which was founded at the congress of workers' associations in Leipzig on 23 May 1863 and included a number of former members of the Communist League, promoted the development of the German working-class movement and helped its members to overcome the ideological influence of the liberal bourgeoisie. However, Lassalle and his followers channelled the Association's activity along reformist lines limiting it to the campaign for universal suffrage; their programme contained a utopian demand for the establishment of state-subsidised producers' co-operatives, which they regarded as the basic means for solving social contradictions. The leaders of the Association supported the Prussian government in its drive for the unification of Germany 'from above', through dynastic wars.

The sectarian, nationalistic policy of the Lassallean leaders of the General Association made it difficult to draw the German proletariat into the International Working Men's Association (the First International) (see Note 5). By the beginning of the 1870s, however, the progressive-minded German workers had split away from Lassalleanism thanks to the consistent efforts of Marx, Engels and their associates. At a congress in Gotha in May 1875, the General Association of German Workers merged with the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers) founded in 1869 and headed by August Bebel and Karl Liebknecht. The united party assumed the name of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany.—3, 15, 58, 65, 75, 78, 103, 125, 135, 141, 150

[3] The proposal to accept the presidency of the General Association of German Workers was made to Marx by Wilhelm Liebknecht in his letters, written at the

beginning of September and early October 1864. Liebknecht also wrote that Bernhard Becker and Johann Baptist Schweitzer, its leaders, backed him in this request.—3

4 At the additional elections to the Corps législatif in March 1864 the Parisian workers put up their own candidate, the engraver Henri Tolain, whereas previously they voted for moderate bourgeois republicans. In the 'Manifesto of the Sixty' printed in February 1864 they explained this move by the need of the working class to have its own representatives in legislative bodies.

The *Corps législatif* was established, alongside the State Council and the Senate, under the Constitution of 4 February 1852, following the Bonaparte coup d'état of 1851. The members of the State Council and the Senate were appointed by the head of state, while the Corps législatif was an elected body, the elections being supervised by state officials and the police, so that a docile majority was always ensured. As its powers were confined to endorsing bills drawn up by the State Council, the Corps législatif was, in effect, a screen for Napoleon III's unlimited rule.—4, 15, 47, 274, 318

5 The inaugural meeting of the International Working Men's Association held in London on 28 September 1864 planned to call an international workers' congress in Belgium in a year's time to solve questions relating to the Rules and leadership of the entire organisation. At its meeting on 1 November 1864, the Central Council of the Association, elected on 28 September (known as the General Council from 1866), approved the Provisional Rules which made it incumbent upon the Council to convene the congress in Belgium. However, taking into account the ideological and organisational weakness of the national sections of the International, Marx proposed to convene a preliminary conference in London in September 1865 to discuss the programme of the future congress. The conference took place in London between 25 and 29 September 1865 (see Note 246).—4

6 This letter was published in English for the first time in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—5, 193, 231, 330, 356, 397, 493, 553

7 On 2 September 1864 Engels wrote to Marx about his intention to travel to Schleswig and Holstein annexed to Prussia (Schleswig) and Austria (Holstein) after the defeat of Denmark in the war of 1864. Engels left Manchester on 8 September and after a short stay with Marx in London (presumably on 9 September) travelled to the Continent. He returned to England in mid-October.—6, 11

8 Wilhelm Wolff (nicknamed Lupus), a friend and associate of Marx and Engels, died on 9 May 1864. In his will he named Marx and his family as principal beneficiaries of his small legacy. The legal procedure for receiving this legacy cost much trouble and energy, and Engels offered Marx his help.—6, 20, 21, 23, 29, 115, 116, 126

9 Engels is referring to the fact that the Bismarck government used the national contradictions between the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein and Denmark to promote Germany's unification under the aegis of Prussia. On 13 November 1863 the Danish Parliament adopted a new constitution which proclaimed the annexation of Schleswig to Denmark in violation of the London Protocol of 1852 (the latter stipulated that Denmark and the duchies could be linked only by personal union). This served as a pretext for Bismarck to declare war on

Denmark. Austria joined Prussia for she did not want Prussia, her main rival in Germany, to enjoy the fruits of victory alone. As a result of the Danish war (1 February-16 July 1864), a treaty was concluded in Vienna on 30 October 1864 which declared Schleswig and Holstein to be co-possessions of Austria and Prussia. After the 1866 Austro-Prussian war the two duchies were annexed to Prussia.—7, 34, 121, 350

10 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in Marx and Engels, *On the United States*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979.—9, 61, 418, 451

11 The *Civil War in America* broke out in April 1861. The Southern slaveholders rose against the Union and formed the Confederacy of the Southern States. The war was caused mainly by the conflict between the two social systems: the capitalist system of wage labour established in the North and the slave system dominant in the South. The Civil War, which had the nature of a bourgeois-democratic revolution, underwent two stages in its development: the period of a constitutional war for maintaining the Union and the period of a revolutionary war for the abolition of slavery. The decisive role in the defeat of the Southern slaveholders and the victory of the North in April 1865 was played by the workers, farmers and the Negroes. The causes and the nature of war in America were analysed by Marx in the articles published in the Vienna newspaper *Die Presse* (see present edition, Vol. 19).

The discontinuance of cotton imports from America as a result of the blockade of the Southern States by the Northern fleet caused a crisis in the cotton industry of several European countries. In England, for two or three years beginning in 1862, over 75 per cent of the spinners and weavers in Lancashire, Cheshire and other counties were fully or partly unemployed. Despite privation and distress, the European proletariat gave all possible support to the American fighters against slavery.—10, 38, 61, 199, 269, 523

12 Engels has in mind the war against the Kingdom of Italy (formed in March 1861) waged by the counter-revolutionary forces under the former King of Naples, Francis II (he was dethroned in 1860 as a result of the liberation of Sicily and Southern Italy by Garibaldi). The actions of the Naples reactionaries assumed the form of brigandage.—10, 39

13 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in the *Labour Monthly*, No. 4, London, 1923.—11

14 Marx means the death of Ferdinand Lassalle on 31 August 1864 after being fatally wounded in a duel with the Romanian nobleman Janko von Racowiţa.—12

15 Lassalle spoke before the Düsseldorf assizes on 27 June 1864. His speech was first published in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*, Nos. 176-78 for 1864, and appeared separately under the title *Prozeß gegen den Schriftsteller Herrn Ferdinand Lassalle, verhandelt zu Düsseldorf vor der korrektionellen Appelkammer am 27. Juni 1864*, Düsseldorf, 1864.—12, 38

16 The congress (general assembly) of the General Association of German Workers met in Düsseldorf on 27 December 1864. It elected Bernhard Becker President of the Association.—15

17 A reference to the *Communist League*, the first German and international communist organisation of the proletariat formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847, as a result of the

reorganisation of the League of the Just (a secret association of workers and artisans that appeared in the 1830s and had communities in Germany, France, Switzerland and England). The programme and organisational principles of the Communist League were drawn up with the direct participation of Marx and Engels. The League's members took an active part in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany in 1848-49. Though the defeat of the revolution dealt a blow to the League, in 1849-50 it was reorganised and continued its activities. In the summer of 1850, disagreements arose in the League between the supporters of Marx and Engels and the sectarian Willich-Schapper group which tried to impose on the League its adventurist tactics of immediately unleashing a revolution without taking into account the actual situation and the practical possibilities. The discord resulted in a split within the League. Owing to police persecutions and arrests of League members in May 1851, the activities of the Communist League as an organisation practically ceased in Germany. On 17 November 1852, on a motion by Marx, the London District announced the dissolution of the League.

The Communist League played an important historical role as the first proletarian party based on the principles of scientific communism, as a school of proletarian revolutionaries, and as the historical forerunner of the International Working Men's Association.—15

18 Marx is referring to the *London Trades Council*, first elected at a conference of trade union delegates held in London in May 1860. It headed the London trade unions numbering many thousands of members and was influential amongst the British workers. In the first half of the 1860s the Council directed the British workers' campaign against intervention in the USA, in defence of Poland and Italy, and later for the legal status of the trade unions. The leaders of the following large trade unions played a big role in the Council: the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (Robert Applegarth), the Shoemakers' Society (George Odger), the Operative Bricklayers' Society (Edwin Coulson and George Howell) and the Amalgamated Engineers (William Allan).

The London Trades Council's representatives took part in establishing the International Working Men's Association (the First International) and were members of its Central (General) Council. But, while maintaining contacts with the International Association and collaborating with it, the London Council, influenced by some reformist trade unionists, refused (finally in January 1867) to officially affiliate to it as an English section.

The *Trades' Unionists Manhood Suffrage and Vote by Ballot Association* was founded in September 1864. Odger was its President, Hartwell its Secretary, and Trimlett its Treasurer. Subsequently all of them became members of the Central (General) Council of the International Working Men's Association.—15, 154, 329, 519

19 On 26 March 1863 the London Trades Council held a meeting at St James's Hall to express the British workers' solidarity with the struggle of the North American States to abolish slavery. The participants also protested against Britain's plans for armed intervention in the US Civil War (see Note 11) on the side of the Southern States. The meeting was chaired by the bourgeois radical John Bright.

In early April 1864, Garibaldi visited England with a view to raising funds for an expedition to end Austrian domination in Venetia. The English public at large gave an enthusiastic welcome to Italy's national hero and official honours were therefore heaped on him at the beginning of his visit. However, Garibaldi's meeting with Mazzini, who lived in England as a political emigrant,

and his speeches in support of the Polish insurgents angered the British ruling circles.

Garibaldi left England at the end of April.—15, 33, 44, 45, 47

[20] Marx is referring to the *Associazione di Mutuo Progresso* founded at the end of June 1864 by the Italian workers resident in London. Initially the Society numbered about 300 members and was influenced by Mazzini. Garibaldi was elected its Honorary President. In January 1865 the Society became affiliated to the International Association.—16, 110, 140, 150, 170, 250

[21] The *Sub-Committee* or *Standing Committee* was the executive body of the Central (General) Council of the International. It usually assembled once a week and drafted many of the decisions which were later adopted by the Council. The Sub-Committee evolved from a commission, elected when the International Working Men's Association was set up, to draft its programme documents. The Sub-Committee included the President of the General Council (until this office was abolished in September 1867), its General Secretary and the corresponding secretaries for the different countries. Marx took an active part in the work of the Standing Committee as Corresponding Secretary for Germany.—16, 54, 130, 131, 172, 207, 214, 486

[22] The Statutes submitted by Luigi Wolff at a meeting of the Sub-Committee on 8 October 1864 were an English translation of 'l'Atto di fratellanza delle Società operaie italiane' (Fraternal Bond Between the Italian Workmen's Associations) published in *Il Giornale delle Associazioni Operaie* on 31 July 1864 and adopted at the eleventh congress of Italian pro-Mazzini working men's associations in Naples on 27 October 1864. Attended by delegates from 57 organisations, the congress set up an association of Italian workers' societies which joined the International Working Men's Association. By submitting to the International these Statutes, written from bourgeois-democratic positions, Mazzini and his followers sought to take over the leadership of the international working-class movement.—16, 44, 47

[23] A reference to the following passage in the Provisional Rules of the Association: '...This International Association and all societies and individuals adhering to it, will acknowledge truth, justice, and morality, as the basis of their conduct towards each other, and towards all men, without regard to colour, creed, or nationality;

'They hold it the duty of a man to claim the rights of a man and a citizen, not only for himself, but for every man who does his duty. No rights without duties, no duties without rights' (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 15).—18, 47

[24] In January 1863 an uprising against Tsarist oppression flared up in the Kingdom of Poland, the territory annexed to Russia by decision of the Vienna Congress of 1815. The uprising of 1863-64 was caused by the Poles' striving for national independence and the crisis of feudal relations within the Kingdom. The National Central Committee, which headed the uprising, put forward a programme of struggle for Poland's independence and a number of democratic agrarian demands. However, the inconsistency and indecision of the insurgent government, in particular its failure to abolish the privileges of the big landowners, drove the majority of the peasants away from the uprising. This was one of the main causes of its defeat.

In addition, serious damage to the uprising was done by the policy of its Right-wing leaders. They pinned great hopes on help from the ruling circles of

Bonapartist France and bourgeois-aristocratic England who were pursuing their own selfish interests in the Polish question.

The national liberation uprising was, by and large, crushed by the Tsarist government in the autumn of 1863, though some units of the insurgents continued the struggle until the end of 1864.—19, 38, 73, 164

25 In his articles denouncing the diplomacy of the ruling classes Marx made use of the documents which the conservative writer David Urquhart, who was in opposition to the British government, published in his periodicals *The Portfolio* and *The Free Press*. While printing his separate articles in *The Free Press*, Marx criticised Urquhart and his followers for their anti-democratic views and always emphasised the fundamental difference between his position as a proletarian revolutionary and that of the Urquhartists.—19

26 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Selected Letters. The Personal Correspondence, 1844-1877*, Boston, Toronto, 1981.—19, 178, 225, 269, 309, 343, 348, 352, 370, 445, 450, 527, 538

27 The original has 'inneren Düppel', an expression first used in the meaning of 'enemy within' in a political survey published in the Bismarckian *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* on 30 September 1864. It became widely current later.

*Düppel* (Dybböl)—Danish fortification in Schleswig which the Prussians captured by storm on 18 April 1864, during the war of Prussia and Austria against Denmark (see Note 9).—19, 121, 254, 256, 263

28 The *Schiller Institute*, founded in Manchester in November 1859 in connection with the centenary of Friedrich Schiller's birth, strove to be a German émigré cultural and social centre. Engels was critical of the Institute, noted for its tendency to formalism and pedantry, and he initially kept aloof from it. But when certain changes were introduced into its Rules, he became a member of its Directorate in 1864. Later, as the President of the Institute, Engels devoted much time to it and exercised a considerable influence on its activities.

In September 1868, while Engels was away from Manchester, the Institute invited Karl Vogt, who was connected with the Bonapartists and was slandering the proletarian revolutionaries, to deliver a lecture. Engels felt that his political reputation would be compromised if he remained President and so he left the Directorate. In April 1870 he was again elected a member of the Directorate of the Schiller Institute, but did not take an active part in it.—20, 49, 81, 98, 116, 127, 235, 498, 503, 533, 555, 560

29 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Civil War in the United States*, International Publishers, New York, [1937].—21, 49, 81, 84, 147, 149, 151, 154, 161, 167

30 Engels is referring to the operations of the Northerners at the final stage of the Civil War in America (see Note 11) when, during the general offensive started in May 1864, they besieged Richmond (Virginia), the capital of the Southern Confederacy and its main stronghold. The Southerners entrenched in Richmond resisted until April 1865, when the city was seized by the army of General Grant.—21, 39, 61, 82, 113, 121, 147, 153

31 Engels is referring to the nearly nine-month-long siege of Sevastopol during the Crimean war of 1853-56.—21

32 In April 1863 the British Parliament passed the *Public Works Act* in view of the reduced production and mass unemployment in the cotton districts of England. This Act provided the municipal authorities of these districts with funds to pay the

unemployed temporarily used for public works, mainly on laying the sewerage system, building roads, etc. The Relief Committees, which guarded the interests of the capitalists, were in charge of organising these works and paying the workers. The unemployed were forced to agree to hard labour for miserable pay.

The *ateliers nationaux* (national workshops) were instituted by the French Provisional Government immediately after the February revolution of 1848. By this means the government sought to discredit Louis Blanc's ideas on 'the organisation of labour' in the eyes of the workers and, at the same time, to utilise those employed in the national workshops, organised on military lines, against the revolutionary proletariat. Revolutionary ideas, however, continued to gain ground in the national workshops. The government took steps to reduce the number of workers employed in them, to send a large number off to public works in the provinces and finally to liquidate the workshops. This precipitated a proletarian uprising in Paris in June 1848. After its suppression, the Cavaignac government issued a decree on 3 July, disbanding the national workshops.—21, 117

33 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx, *On the First International.* Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1973.—22, 53, 107, 128, 139, 157, 206, 212, 213, 216, 223, 237, 249, 252, 258, 277, 282, 317, 341, 350, 416, 419, 427, 432, 437

34 In their letters of 11 November 1864, Schweitzer and Liebknecht invited Marx to contribute to *Der Social-Demokrat*, the prospective newspaper of the General Association of German Workers (see Note 2). In the same month, Schweitzer sent Marx and Engels the prospectus, which did not contain Lassalle's slogans. Since they had no other press organ to influence the workers' movement in Germany, they agreed to collaborate with *Der Social-Demokrat.* They also took into account the fact that Wilhelm Liebknecht was an unofficial member of its editorial board. Marx's 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association' and 'On Proudhon', and Engels' translation of the old Danish folk song 'Herr Tidmann' were printed in the newspaper. However, fully convinced that Schweitzer, the editor of the newspaper, was continuing the Lassallean policy of flirting with the government and the Junkers and trying to spread the cult of Lassalle, Marx and Engels on 23 February 1865 announced their break with the newspaper (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 80). Wilhelm Liebknecht followed suit and refused to collaborate with the paper.—22, 102, 136

35 Engels' letter to Schweitzer has not been found.

This letter of Engels to Marx and Marx's reply of 18 November 1864 show that Engels wrote to Schweitzer expressing his agreement to contribute to *Der Social-Demokrat* but asked Schweitzer first to let him know who the proposed contributors were.—24

36 Engels is referring to the Kinkel-inspired campaign in the English press in defence of MacDonald, a British captain arrested in Bonn in September 1860 and brought to trial for disobeying the local authorities; and to the campaign by Kinkel, Hermann Juch and others in defence of a German tailor, Franz Müller, living in London, who was sentenced to death in the autumn of 1864 for assassinating an Englishman. Müller confessed his guilt to the priest Cappell on the gallows.

In mid-November 1864 the newspapers reported that the body of a man, presumably a German, had been found in the Thames, near London. The Dutchman Koehl was suspected.—25, 48

37 Marx's letter, like one from Engels, to Schweitzer has not been found. Marx also wrote about collaboration with *Der Social-Demokrat* (see Note 34).—26

38 Marx presumably means the leading article, 'Bescheidenheit—ein Ehrenkleid' (Modesty—a Festive Garment), published in the Stuttgart *Beobachter* (No. 245) on 21 October 1864. It ridiculed Karl Blind's address to the American people (on the occasion of presidential elections), which was distinguished for his excessive claims to political importance and boasting. The article was probably written by the paper's editor, Karl Mayer.—27

39 This refers to the second congress of the *Union of German Workers' Associations* (set up in June 1863) which met in Leipzig on 23-24 October 1864. The Union at this stage was still under the influence of the liberal bourgeoisie (Schulze-Delitzsch and other members of the Party of Progress—see Note 99). The congress developed into a fierce battle between the followers of Schulze-Delitzsch and members of the General Association of German Workers (see Note 2), the latter striving to persuade the workers' educational societies into adopting the Lassallean political programme (the demand for universal suffrage). The young August Bebel was elected, among others, into the Union's leading body. Under his influence the organisation began to shake off the liberals' tutelage and acquire a proletarian class character.

Professor Huber, mentioned by Marx, was a conservative champion of co-operativism and attended the congress as a guest.—27

40 The cotton crisis was caused by the stoppage of cotton deliveries from America because of the blockade of the slave-holding Southern States by the Northern fleet during the US Civil War of 1861-65 (see Note 11). The cotton famine in England occurred shortly before the crisis of overproduction.—27, 53, 116

41 In a letter to Engels of 19 November 1864, Schweitzer, in reply to Engels' enquiry, named the proposed contributors to *Der Social-Demokrat.* They were: Moses Hess, Georg Herwegh, Bernhard Becker, Johann Philipp Becker, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Friedrich Wilhelm Rüstow and Johann Karl Heinrich Wuttke.—29

42 In her letter to Marx of 21 November 1864, Countess von Hatzfeldt wrote that a pamphlet in commemoration of Lassalle was being prepared and asked Marx's advice about illustrations. The pamphlet *Ferdinand Lassalle. Dokumentarische Darstellung seine letzten Lebenstage. Von Augenzeugen und Freunden* appeared in Berlin in 1865. At first Wilhelm Liebknecht agreed to edit it, but when he learned, at the end of 1864, about Lassalle's direct association with Bismarck, he refused to take part in the work.

The Countess also asked Marx to come out in defence of Lassalle against the attacks on him by the petty-bourgeois democrat Karl Blind.—29, 44

43 Marx's letter to Liebknecht in which Marx enquired about the contributors to *Der Social-Demokrat* has not been found. In his reply of 2 December 1864, Liebknecht wrote that Lothar Bucher and Johann Rodbertus had gone over to the side of the Prussian government.—30

44 In this article Karl Blind, polemising with the Lassalleans, quoted Lassalle's defence speech at the Berlin assizes in March 1864.—30, 57

[45] In the pamphlet in honour of Lassalle's memory (see Note 42) Countess von Hatzfeldt intended to place, next to a photograph of Lassalle on his death bed, portraits of Janko von Racowiţa and Helene von Dönniges, who were guilty of his death, regarding this as a form of revenge on the 'assassins'. In a letter to Marx on 21 November 1864 she asked Marx for his opinion of her intention.—30, 31

[46] Marx's telegram has not been found.—31, 288, 297

[47] Wilhelm Wolff, to whom Marx dedicated the first volume of *Capital*, died in Manchester on 9 May 1864. Marx delivered a short oration at his funeral (see Marx's letter to Jenny Marx of 13 May 1864, present edition, Vol. 41).—31

[48] In his pamphlet *Herr Vogt* (a copy of which Marx sent to Lassalle and Sophie von Hatzfeldt after its publication), Marx exposed Blind's cowardly attempts to deny his authorship of the flysheet *Zur Warnung* (A Warning) (it was published in London in 1859 and reprinted in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*), which revealed Vogt's connections with the Bonapartists. Blind's statements in the press citing false evidence of Fidelio Hollinger, the owner of a printshop where the flysheet had been printed, and of a compositor, Johann Wiehe, gave Vogt a pretext to attribute the authorship of the flysheet to Marx and his friends.—31

[49] On 15 November 1859 Marx sent Lassalle his reply to Blind's declaration regarding Karl Vogt (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 526), asking him to have it published in the Berlin *Volks-Zeitung*. In his reply of 20 November 1859 Lassalle recommended Marx to avoid any controversy with Blind in the press. Marx's declaration was published in the supplement to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 325, 21 November 1859 (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 8-9).—32

[50] Lassalle was in London in July 1862.—32, 101

[51] Marx presumably means the members of the *Deutsche Freiheit und Einheit*, an association which was founded in London about 1860 and included, besides Blind, Eduard Bronner, Karl Heinrich Schaible, Ravenstein (secretary) and Wolffsohn (cashier).—32

[52] In view of Garibaldi's forthcoming visit to England, the German refugees in London set up a Garibaldi Committee on 6 April 1864. It included Blind, Juch (publisher of the *Hermann*), Trübner, Freiligrath, Kinkel and others.

Blind met Garibaldi on the Isle of Wight on 9 April. Blind and his associates took advantage of the meeting with Italy's national hero to advertise themselves in the English press.—33

[53] The *Shakespeare Committee* was set up to mark the tercentenary of Shakespeare's birthday which was celebrated from 23 April to 3 May 1864. German men of letters were represented by Freiligrath, who recommended that Karl Blind should also be a member of the committee.—35

[54] In the spring of 1849, during an uprising in defence of the Imperial Constitution in Southern and Western Germany, a Provisional Government was formed in Baden headed by the petty-bourgeois democrat Lorenz Peter Brentano. In face of the impending intervention of Prussian troops in Baden and the Palatinate, this government, having in fact sabotaged the actions of the revolutionary masses, applied for help to France. Karl Blind was sent to Paris with this purpose. The Baden government counted on the support of the party of petty-bourgeois democrats headed by Ledru-Rollin, but by that time it had

been pushed into the background by the bourgeois 'party of Order' and the Bonapartists. This predetermined the failure of Blind's mission.—35

55 The *Low Church*—a trend in the Anglican Church which laid special emphasis on Christian morality; its following originally consisted predominantly of the bourgeoisie and the lower clergy.

*Pietism*—a trend in the Lutheran Church that emerged in Germany in the seventeenth century. Distinguished by extreme mysticism, it rejected rites and attached special importance to personal religious experience.—36, 426

56 Blind's address 'Ein Freundeswort an Deutschlands Arbeiter, Bürger und Bauer' was published in a number of German newspapers and as a leaflet in June 1863. In it, Blind opposed Lassalle's agitation among the workers saying that the campaign for universal suffrage did not accord with the 'main principles of German democracy'.—36

57 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—37, 43, 121

58 Engels' correspondence with Joseph Weydemeyer was interrupted by the Civil War in America, in which Weydemeyer fought on the side of the North. In a letter written at the end of October 1864, Weydemeyer told Engels about Karl Blind's attacks on Lassalle in the American press and sent him a cutting from *Die Westliche Post* with Blind's article 'Ein Republikanischer Protest'. Engels forwarded Weydemeyer's letter to Marx who quoted it in his statement 'To the Editor of the Stuttgart *Beobachter*' (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 23).—37, 40

59 The *Carlists*—a reactionary clerico-absolutist group in Spain consisting of adherents of the pretender to the Spanish throne Don Carlos, the brother of Ferdinand VII. Relying on the military and the Catholic clergy, and also making use of the support of the backward peasants in some regions of Spain, the Carlists launched in 1833 a civil war which in fact turned into a struggle between the feudal-Catholic and liberal-bourgeois elements and led to the third bourgeois revolution (1834-43).—39

60 The *battle at Pittsburgh-Landing*, also known as the *battle of Shiloh*, took place on 6-7 April 1862 on the Tennessee River, twenty miles north of Corinth. The Northern army under General Grant inflicted a heavy blow to the Confederate troops commanded by generals Johnston and Beauregard.—40

61 *Sonderburg* (now *Sønderborg*)—the town and fortress on the Alsen Island, one of the strongpoints on the Düppel fortification line captured by Prussian troops on 18 April 1864, during the war of Prussia and Austria against Denmark (see notes 9 and 27).—40

62 *Der Beobachter*, No. 268, 17 November 1864 carried an anonymous report from Bradford, which was a reply to the criticism of Blind in the newspaper's leading article 'Bescheidenheit—ein Ehrenkleid' published on 21 October 1864 (see Note 38). The anonymous writer exaggerated Blind's role in the political life of the USA. He also attempted to dispute the reference of the leader's author to the description of Blind by Marx in his *Herr Vogt*, and to refute the pamphlet's revelations concerning Blind's cowardly attitude towards Vogt's slanderous campaign against proletarian revolutionaries (see Note 48). All this prompted Marx to write a letter to the editor of *Der Beobachter* on 28 November 1864 (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 23-25). At the request of Sophie von Hatzfeldt, a

friend of Ferdinand Lassalle, Marx also came out in this letter against Blind's attacks on Lassalle.—41, 42, 44, 51, 107

63 Marx is referring to the *affidavits* made by two London compositors, Wiehe and Vögele, on Blind's authorship of the flysheet *Zur Warnung* (see Note 48), which exposed Karl Vogt as a Bonapartist agent. Blind cravenly denied his participation in composing the flysheet, thus making Marx's campaign against Vogt's lies more difficult. Marx described Blind's cowardly behaviour both in *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 128-31 and 318-20) and the statement 'To the Editor of the Stuttgart *Beobachter*' (Vol. 20).—41, 518

64 The *Beobachter* editor confined himself to publishing only the covering letter to Marx's statement (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 22) and his own 'comments' on this statement.

Marx foresaw that the *Beobachter* editor might not publish his statement and sent a copy of it to Sophie von Hatzfeldt for publication in other German papers. Without notifying Marx, the Countess sent the statement to Karl Bruhn, the editor of the Lassallean *Nordstern*. He published it on 10 December 1864, with the following editorial note: 'We have got the article through second hand, and only because of this particular circumstance is it accepted for publication in the *Nordstern*.' Marx expressed his indignation at this in a letter to Sophie von Hatzfeldt on 22 December (see this volume, pp. 56-57).—43, 53, 57

65 This letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann*, Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1934.—45, 101, 220, 262, 311, 325, 327, 329, 346, 379, 395, 440, 449, 489, 496, 521, 528, 543, 551

66 This refers to Marx's plans for the publication of his main work, *Capital*. At that time, Wilhelm Strohn, at Marx's request, conducted talks with the Hamburg publishing house of Meissner and Behre. At the end of January 1865, a preliminary agreement was reached on publishing the book in two volumes. The text of the agreement (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 361) was sent to Marx by Meissner in his letter of 21 March 1865.—46, 78

67 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx, *On America and the Civil War*. Edited and translated by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1972.—46, 413

68 From 1799 to 1805 and 1814 to 1866 the Venetian Region was part of the Austrian Empire and a centre of the Italian national liberation movement against Austrian rule, of which the Bismarck government made use when preparing for a war with Austria for supremacy in Germany.—47, 54

69 The *High Church*—a trend in the Anglican Church which stressed the latter's derivation from Catholicism, maintained the traditional rituals and originally drew its following mainly from the aristocracy.—48

70 The address 'To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America' (see present edition, Vol. 20) was written by Marx on the occasion of Lincoln's re-election to the presidency. The text was approved by the Sub-Committee, unanimously confirmed by the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association on 29 November 1864 and sent to President Lincoln through Adams, the American envoy to London.—49

71 In view of the anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, the Central Council of the International resolved, on Peter Fox's proposal, at its meeting of 29 November 1864 to issue an address to the Polish people on behalf of the British members of the Council. The latter delegated the drafting of the address to the Sub-Committee, which in its turn instructed Fox accordingly. Fox's address, however, reflected the view current among the Right-wing Polish émigrés and certain West European bourgeois democrats. It alleged that the foreign policy of the French ruling circles favoured the restoration of Poland's independence. That was why Marx and other members of the Sub-Committee and the Central Council opposed it (see Marx's letter to Engels of 10 December 1864, and Note 77).—49, 54

72 The London Amalgamated Union of Building Workers (George Potter, a reformist, was one of its leaders) started a campaign for a nine-hour working day in 1859. At the end of July 1859 they called a strike in response to the employers' refusal to reduce working hours. At a joint meeting on 27 July the employers declared open war on the trade unions. They refused to employ their members and on 6 August locked out over 20,000 workers. The strike ended in February 1860 with a compromise: the employers agreed to take on trade union members, while the workers were compelled to withdraw their demand for a nine-hour working day.—50

73 Heinrich Heine caustically derided Karl Mayer, a poet of the reactionary-Romantic Swabian school, in his *Atta Troll* (Chap. 22) and in *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* (Chap. 3).—52

74 Hermann Becker (nicknamed Red Becker), a former Communist League member (in the 1860s he went over to the liberals), wrote to Marx on 7 December 1864 that the *Rheinische Zeitung* editors refused to print his statement against Karl Blind (see notes 62 and 64) justifying this on the grounds of their 'unwillingness' to advertise such an 'insignificant' figure as Blind.—52, 53

75 Marx means the famous 'march to the sea' undertaken by General Sherman's troops on 7 May 1864 through Georgia as part of the Union's new strategic plan for crushing the Confederacy. Despite heavy losses, the offensive was a success: on 2 December Sherman seized Atlanta and on 10 December he reached the sea. By cutting the Confederate territory in two, Sherman's march ensured the rout of the main Confederate forces in Virginia in the spring of 1865 and the final victory of the North in the US Civil War.—53, 61, 113, 121

76 *Boustrapa*—nickname for Louis Bonaparte, composed of the first syllables of the names of the places where he and his supporters staged Bonapartist *putches*: Boulogne (August 1840), Strasbourg (October 1846) and Paris (coup d'état of 2 December 1851).—55, 182, 290, 339

77 After a preliminary discussion in the Sub-Committee, on 6 December 1864, of the address to the Polish people drawn up by Peter Fox (see Note 71), the debate continued at the Central Council meetings on 13 and 20 December 1864 and 3 January 1865. Marx spoke twice on the subject, on 13 December and 3 January (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 354 and 356). Drawing on the wealth of factual material on Polish-French relations he showed, particularly in his speech on 3 January 1865, that the French ruling circles, both under absolutism and under bourgeois regimes right up to the time of Napoleon III, had always sought to exploit the Polish question in the selfish interests of the ruling classes and that their policy was not favourable to the cause of Poland's

independence, of which the sole defenders were the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat. Marx's arguments made the Central Council adopt a decision to introduce the appropriate amendments in Fox's address.—55

78 At its meeting on 8 November 1864 the Central Council decided on Marx's proposal, seconded by Hermann Jung, that any person not being able to attend the meetings cannot be a member of this Council (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 353). The decision to abolish honorary membership in the International was adopted presumably at that time too.—55

79 This refers to Sophie von Hatzfeldt's intention to republish Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.* It was to be printed in Switzerland. Liebknecht informed Marx of this on 2 December 1864 and asked him to send two copies of the book for the purpose. Marx objected because he was obviously afraid that the Lassalleans might use his works to propagate Lassalle's cult.

Subsequently, Liebknecht, independently of Hatzfeldt, attempted to come to terms with the Swiss publisher, but in vain. The second edition of *The Eighteenth Brumaire* appeared only in 1869, in Germany.—57, 139, 165

80 Marx seems to be referring to the advertisement about his and Engels' contribution to *Der Social-Demokrat,* published in the specimen issue of the newspaper (No. 1) on 15 December 1864 (see also notes 34 and 35).—58

81 The reference is presumably to Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to Marx of 20 December 1864. It clearly shows that Marx asked Liebknecht to do his utmost to get the General Association of German Workers to join the International Working Men's Association. In this way Marx hoped to encourage this workers' organisation to abandon its Lassallean reformist programme and tactics and take the path of genuinely proletarian, revolutionary struggle.—58

82 The congress (general assembly) of the General Association of German Workers which opened in Düsseldorf on 27 December 1864 did not discuss the affiliation of this organisation to the International Working Men's Association.—58

83 The English original of this letter is published here for the first time. The letter was first published in a German translation in Marx/Engels, *Werke,* Bd. 31, Berlin, 1965, and in an English retranslation in Karl Marx, *On the First International.* Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1973.—60

84 Marx stayed with Engels in Manchester approximately from 7 to 14 January 1865.—60, 62, 66

85 At its meeting of 29 December 1864, the Central Council decided to invite the bourgeois radicals Beesly, Beales and Harrison to a soirée to be held on 16 January 1865 to celebrate the founding of the International Working Men's Association. This decision was recorded in the Minutes of that meeting. The report of the meeting was not published, and Cremer, when sending the report of the next meeting, of 3 January 1865, to the newspapers, included the above-mentioned decision in it and recorded it for a second time in the Minute Book. Moreover, on his own initiative, Cremer inserted in the decision Grossmith's name who, as a Central Council member, did not have to be specially invited. As is evident from Jung's reply letter to Marx of 11 January, Marx's protest against the inclusion of Grossmith's name was read out at the Central Council meeting of 10 January; Cremer admitted his mistake, and

Grossmith's name was deleted from the Minutes of the meeting of 3 January.—61

86 Engels is probably referring to the operations by the Confederate army under General Lee in northern Virginia in the spring and summer of 1863. One of its corps was commanded by Longstreet. Successful counter-attacks on the part of the Confederates led to their victory at Chancellorsville on 2-4 May 1863. Lee's troops began to invade the territory beyond the Potomac and marched to Washington. But in the Battle of Gettysburg on 1-3 July, Lee's army sustained heavy losses and was compelled to retreat beyond the Potomac.

General Hood, who succeeded Johnston as commander of the Confederate troops, undertook two major counter-attacks on 20 and 22 July 1864 against General Sherman's army, concentrated at the time to the north and east of Atlanta (see Note 75). The attempt to throw back Sherman's troops failed and Hood's army retreated, taking cover in Atlanta.—61

87 Military operations confirmed Engels' prognosis. The city of Charleston (South Carolina) on the Atlantic coast of the USA was captured by the Northerners on 17 February 1865.—61

88 The first three issues of *Der Social-Demokrat* were specimens. On 4 January 1865, No. 4 appeared, the first regular issue for the subscribers. When it was confiscated by the police, Marx congratulated Schweitzer, the editor, on the occasion and emphasised that an open break with Bismarck's ministry was necessary (see K. Marx, 'Statement Regarding the Causes of the Breach with the *Social-Demokrat*', present edition, Vol. 20).—63

89 *Bloomer costume* or *Bloomer*—female costume of short skirt and trousers introduced in the 1850s by the American dress reformer, Amelia Jenks Bloomer (1818-1894).

*Davenport tricks* were practised by the Davenport brothers, two American circus artists, in the 1860s.—64

90 Marx is referring to 'Botschaft des Präsidenten', a message by Bernhard Becker, President of the General Association of German Workers, to the delegates of the general assembly of the Association that opened on 27 December 1864 in Düsseldorf (see notes 16 and 82). It was published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 3, 30 December 1864 and contained a hint that the Association could not establish close ties with the International because that would allegedly damage its organisation and did not promise to be of any practical value.—65

91 In his report from Paris, dated 10 January 1865 and published in *Der Social-Demokrat* on 13 January, Moses Hess misrepresented the efforts of the Central Council of the International Association to draw French workers into its ranks. He alleged that the Council was essentially unscrupulous in selecting its representatives in Paris and accused Tolain and certain other French members of the International of having ties with the Bonapartists (see Marx's letter to Engels of 25 January 1865). Hess repeated this accusation in his report from Paris printed in the newspaper on 1 February, following which Marx and Engels wrote a statement to *Der Social-Demokrat* refuting this false accusation (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 36).—65

92 The letter was published in English for the first time (without the postscripts) in Karl Marx, *On the First International*. Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1973.—65

93 The name *Plon-Plonists* is derived from Plon-Plon, the nickname of Prince Napoleon Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon III's cousin, whose residence was the Palais Royal while Napoleon III resided in the Tuiliers.

Joseph Bonaparte headed a group of Bonapartists who sought to divert the people's attention from the struggle against the regime of the Second Empire by means of social demagogy and sham opposition to the government's policy.—66, 76, 208, 300, 567

94 Marx's letter to Paris, presumably addressed to Victor Schily, has not been found.—66

95 Marx is referring to the discussion of the conflict in the Paris Section by the Central Council on 24 January 1865.

The Paris Section of the International Association was founded at the end of 1864 by the Proudhonistically-minded workers, Henri Tolain and Charles Limousin who took part in the inaugural meeting of 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall. Besides Tolain's group, a French lawyer and bourgeois republican, Henri Lefort, who also participated in organising the 28 September meeting, likewise claimed to be representative of French workers. Soon it became evident that Lefort was in touch with the Council's Corresponding Secretary for France, Le Lubez, and with the French petty-bourgeois refugees in England who strove to bring their influence on the International Working Men's Association. The bourgeois republicans accused Tolain of being in contact with the Bonapartists (in particular with Prince Joseph Bonaparte). The accusation was published by Moses Hess in *Der Social-Demokrat*. In reply to Marx's enquiry sent to Schily and Schweitzer, the former answered on 19 January 1865 that Tolain's libellous accusation had originated with the people close to *L'Association*, the journal of co-operative societies, of which Lefort was an editor. Schily also promised to send additional information.

The conflict in the Paris Section was repeatedly discussed in the Sub-Committee and the Central Council in February and March 1865. Marx sought to protect the section from attacks by bourgeois republicans and, at the same time, to find ways of overcoming the influence of Proudhonist utopian ideas on the French workers.—66, 80, 108, 115, 118, 130

96 Sections of the International Associations began to be set up in Switzerland immediately after the press reports about the inaugural meeting at St Martin's Hall. On 11 October 1864, a group of Geneva workers headed by François Dupleix, a bookbinder, formed a provisional committee to establish contacts with the workers of other countries. At the Central Council meeting on 24 January 1865 the news about the Geneva workers' intention to affiliate to the International was met with approval. Hermann Jung, the Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland, sent Dupleix the Rules of the International Working Men's Association; he also advised the Swiss workers, in the name of the Central Council, to set up a Central Committee for the whole of Switzerland.

The above-mentioned soirée to celebrate the founding of the International Working Men's Association was arranged on 16 January 1865 at Cambridge Hall, London.—66

97 This reference is to the *British National League for the Independence of Poland* founded in London on 28 July 1863. Its establishment was preceded by a meeting at St James's Hall on 22 July arranged to express solidarity with the participants in the Polish insurrection (see Note 24). The meeting, which was one of the harbingers in the founding of the International, was attended by British trade unionists and representatives of the international democratic

movement, as well as by a French workers' delegation from Paris. The meeting resolved to send a delegation to the Foreign Secretary, John Russell, to hand in a protest against the British government's double-faced policy towards the Polish insurgents. Russell refused to receive the delegation, and a second meeting was called on 28 July 1863, this time at the premises of *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, at which the League was founded. Radical Edmond Beales was elected president and John R. Taylor—honorary secretary.

By the *Polish society here* Marx means the revolutionary democrats from among the Polish émigrés in London grouped round the representative of the National Central Committee of Poland that stood at the head of the 1863-64 uprising. At the Central Council's meeting on 10 January 1865, also attended by representatives of the National League and the National Central Committee of Poland, a resolution was passed which emphasised that 'this Association pledges itself to assist by all means in its power the commemoration of the glorious, though unsuccessful, Revolution of 1863'.

The 'meeting for the Poles' mentioned by Marx took place on 1 March 1865 (see Note 168).—66, 86, 109

98 Wilhelm Liebknecht wrote to Marx before 20 January 1865 that he had learned of Ferdinand Lassalle's agreement with Bismarck's government: he promised support from the General Association of German Workers over the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein by Prussia if it introduced universal suffrage. Marx and Engels regarded this political 'bequest' by Lassalle as betrayal of the proletariat's interests. The Lassalle-Bismarck correspondence published in 1928 fully confirmed Liebknecht's information.—66, 69, 71, 75, 102, 124, 566

99 A reference to the members of the *Party of Progress* formed in June 1861 (the most eminent figures were Waldeck, Virchow, Schulze-Delitzsch, Forchenbeck and Hoverbeck). The party's slogans were the unification of Germany under the aegis of Prussia, the convocation of an all-German Parliament, and the formation of a strong liberal Ministry responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. Fearing a popular revolution, the Party of Progress gave no support to the basic democratic demands—universal suffrage and freedoms of the press, association and assembly. In 1866 the party split, and its Right wing founded the National Liberal Party, which capitulated to the Bismarck government.—67, 69, 71, 75, 84, 90, 96, 97, 104, 111, 150, 176, 288, 421, 430, 456

100 The *constitutional conflict* in Prussia arose in February 1860 over the refusal of the bourgeois majority of the Lower Chamber of the Prussian Provincial Diet to confirm the army reorganisation project proposed by War Minister von Roon. However, the government soon managed to secure allocations from the Provincial Diet to 'maintain the army ready for action', which in fact meant the beginning of the planned reorganisation. When, in March 1862, the liberal majority of the Chamber refused to endorse military expenses and demanded a Ministry responsible to the Provincial Diet, the government dissolved the Diet and announced new elections. The Bismarck Ministry was formed at the end of September 1862. In October it again dissolved the Provincial Diet and began to carry out the military reform without the sanction of the Diet. The conflict was settled only in 1866 when, after Prussia's victory over Austria, the Prussian bourgeoisie capitulated to Bismarck.—68, 82, 84

101 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934].—68, 72, 77, 79, 94, 135, 159, 172, 227, 266, 289, 297, 299, 359, 362, 381, 383, 407, 423, 458, 519, 557

102 Engels' letter to the editors of *Der Social-Demokrat* in which he asked them to send him projects for the reorganisation of the Prussian army has not been found.—69

103 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—70, 281

104 By Hess' 'expulsion from Brussels' Marx means his departure from Belgium's capital in March 1846 due to the aggravated ideological struggle between the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee, headed by Marx and Engels, and the representatives of petty-bourgeois 'true socialism' of which Hess was one of the spokesmen.

By the 'ejection from Cologne' Marx means Hess' forced departure from Rhenish Prussia in the spring of 1848, when Marx and Engels thwarted the attempt of Hess and his followers to take over from the proletarian revolutionaries the initiative in starting a revolutionary democratic newspaper in Cologne.—70

105 Marx realised this intention in a footnote to the Preface to the first German edition (1867) of Volume One of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 35).—71, 329

106 Neither letters nor written statements by Marx to the editor of *Der Social-Demokrat* have been found.—71

107 A reference to the workers' right to organise trade unions and to go on strike. In January 1865 the Prussian Provincial Diet debated the right of association in connection with the workers' opposition to the trade regulations then in force. Two members of the Party of Progress, Schulze-Delitzsch and Faucher, used the occasion to have the articles restraining capitalism repealed. They proposed to revoke Article 181, which forbade employers to resort to lockouts, and also demagogically demanded the cancellation of Article 182 concerning the punishment of workers for incitement to strike. The workers in turn wanted the repeal of Article 183 which made them obtain police permission to form associations, and of Article 184 banning strikes.

On 14 February 1865 the Prussian Provincial Diet annulled Articles 181 and 182 and left the workers' demand for freedom of association unsatisfied.—71

108 The decree of the Constituent Assembly of 14 June 1791 declared strikes to be a 'crime against freedom and the declaration of the rights of man' and the formation of workers' associations was liable to a fine of 500 livres and deprivation of political rights for a year. Le Chapellier made a report on this subject. The Chapellier Law was in force in France (as regards prohibition of strikes) till 1864, while the freedom of activity for the trade unions was not legalised until 1884.—71

109 The *Ten Hours' Bill*, the struggle for which had been waged for many years, was passed by Parliament in 1847, against a background of sharply intensified contradictions between the landed aristocracy and the industrial bourgeoisie, generated by the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. In revenge on the industrial bourgeoisie, some Tory MPs supported the Bill. Its provisions applied only to women and children. Nevertheless, many manufacturers evaded it in practice.—71

110 In his letter to Marx of 30 January 1865, Wilhelm Strohn wrote that he had seen the Hamburg publisher Otto Meissner who agreed to publish Marx's

*Capital* on share principles. Meissner wanted to have the manuscript for study (see also Note 66). Strohn also wrote that Meissner had received, through a certain Siebold, offers from Arnold Ruge and Karl Blind concerning the publication of periodicals, and that Ferdinand Freiligrath had promised to contribute to Blind's republican newspaper.—72

111 This letter by Marx has not been found.—73, 75, 101, 107, 108, 118, 149, 194, 246, 343, 370, 391, 447, 448, 464, 487, 516, 538, 542

112 On 28 January 1865, on Lincoln's instructions the American Envoy Adams handed over the President's reply to the address of the Central Council of the International (see Note 70). This reply, in the form of Adams' letter, was published in *The Times*, No. 25101, on 6 February 1865, under the title 'Mr. Lincoln and the International Working Men's Association'.—73, 80, 86, 161

113 The *Emancipation Society* was founded in London in November 1862 by English bourgeois radicals. It supported the London Trades Council (see Note 18) in its campaign against Britain's interference in the US Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the South (see Note 11). Among its leading figures were Edmond Beales, Edward Beesly and John Stuart Mill.—73, 74, 86

114 The *Literary Society of the Friends of Poland* was founded in Paris in April 1832 by the aristocratic-monarchist Polish émigrés under Adam Czartoryski. Its London branch was set up in the same year with the help of English aristocrats from among the Whig Party.—73

115 At the Central Council meeting of 31 January 1865 a letter was read from Léon Fontaine, a member of the Belgian democratic Universal Federation. In his letter dated 29 January, Fontaine wrote that the Federation had decided to join the International Association and intended to translate the Association's documents into French. As it turned out later, Fontaine had no connections with the workers and did not take any further steps to establish a section of the International. The first section in Belgium was set up on 17 July 1865 with the direct participation of the Belgian socialist César de Paepe.—73

116 This refers to the participation of Central Council members in a preliminary conference of electoral reform supporters scheduled for 6 February 1865. At this conference, a group of bourgeois radicals set up a provisional committee to convoke a meeting in support of manhood suffrage in London on 23 February. Marx attached great importance to the campaign for the democratisation of Britain's political system. He therefore thought it possible to co-operate with the bourgeois radicals but on conditions that would ensure a genuinely democratic reform as well as an independent and leading role for the International Working Men's Association in the reform campaign.

At its meeting on 31 January 1865, the Central Council elected a deputation to the reform conference. Besides Eccarius and Le Lubez, it included Carter, Odger, Whitlock, Cremer, Wheeler and Dell.—74

117 Marx's letter to Jones has not been found. As can be seen from Jones' reply of 10 February 1865, Marx outlined a plan for drawing the masses of English workers into a reform campaign under the leadership of the Central Council of the International, and substantiated its platform (the demand for manhood suffrage, etc.). In his letter Jones expressed his agreement with the platform, emphasising, in particular, the need to oppose the moderate position of the Manchester liberal bourgeoisie on this question.—74, 91

118 This letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes. Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934].—75, 86, 88, 402

119 On 1 February 1865 Carl Siebel wrote to Marx that he had met Carl Klings after the general assembly of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers in Düsseldorf at the end of December 1864. Therefore Marx's recommendation to Klings, sent through Siebel, that the general assembly should propose the Association's affiliation to the International, reached him too late (see Note 82).—75, 78

120 The cutting from the *Rheinische Zeitung* enclosed in Siebel's letter to Marx of 1 February 1865 has not been found. Siebel assumed that the leading article was written by Hermann Becker (Red Becker). Judging by Liebknecht's letter to Marx of 16 February, the author contrasted the revolutionary position of Marx and Engels who supported the democrats against the government with that of the Lassalleans who supported the government against the democrats.—75, 80

121 Marx's letter to Schweitzer with a proposal that the latter should stand up to Bismarck in *Der Social-Demokrat* has not been found. It is quite possible that Marx wrote about this in the final version of his letter to Schweitzer of 16 January 1865. The draft of this undiscovered letter is published on pp. 64-65 of this volume.—75, 95

122 *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 16 for 1 February 1865, published an item 'Paris, 28. Januar. Internationale Arbeiter-Association.—Geldkrisis' (signed *H*). It repeated the libel that the French members of the International (Henri Tolain and Charles Limousin) were in contact with the Bonapartists (see Note 91).—75

123 The coup d'état in Prussia in November-December 1848 resulted in the dissolution of the National Assembly (convened in Berlin in May 1848 to draw up a constitution). The constitution imposed ('granted') by the King introduced a two-chamber system; the First Chamber was transformed by age and property qualifications into a privileged 'chamber of the nobility'. According to the electoral law of 6 December 1848, the right to vote in the two-stage elections to the Second Chamber was granted only to the so-called independent Prussians. In April 1849 Frederick William IV dissolved this Chamber and promulgated a new electoral law on 30 May which established a three-class election system based on high property qualifications and unequal representation of the various strata of the population.—76

124 *Road books* (Wanderbücher) were issued in Prussia to journeymen artisans under the law introduced in 1831. They recorded their places of residence and contained an assessment of their trustworthiness.—77

125 Marx attached to this letter his rough copy of a statement to the editor of *Der Social-Demokrat* (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 36) with a protest against the publication of the report by Hess, who libellously accused the French members of the International (see Note 91). The criticism by Marx and Engels compelled the editors to change the newspaper's tone to some extent. Issue No. 21 of 12 February 1865 carried an item by Hess in which he withdrew his accusations. For that reason Marx and Engels did not insist on the publication of their statement. However, they decided to stop contributing to the

newspaper for the time being. Marx and Engels announced their final break with *Der Social-Demokrat* on 23 February 1865 (see this volume, p. 97).—79, 95

126 Marx forwarded to Engels Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter of 4 February 1865 in which Liebknecht treated collaboration on *Der Social-Demokrat* as a compromise with the Lassalleans. He also described his material hardships and asked Marx to find a place for him as a schoolmaster in northern England or Scotland. Marx's postscript to this letter to Engels (originally written at the end of Liebknecht's letter) was published in previous editions as a separate letter.—80, 81

127 On 8 February 1865, War Minister Roon spoke in the Chamber of Deputies about his Bill on changes in and addenda to the Prussian law on military service. These changes signified minor concessions to the opposition bourgeois majority in the Chamber and did not resolve the constitutional conflict (see Note 100).—83

128 Marx supported Lefort's appointment as the International's literary defender in Paris because he had gathered from Schily's letter of 5 February 1865 that the conflict in the Paris Section (see Note 95) had been resolved. He hoped this would help to draw French workers active in the co-operative movement into the International and also to utilise the journal *L'Association* for propagating the International's ideas.

When translating the Provisional Rules of the Association into French, at the end of 1864, the Proudhonist leaders of the Paris Section distorted the text in some places. In particular, in the third paragraph of the Preamble to the Rules ('That the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means'), the words 'as a means' were omitted.—85

129 On Marx's advice Engels formulated this passage in his pamphlet in such a way that it could not have been interpreted as the author's agreement with Lassalle's slogans. He also incorporated the suggestion Marx made below on changing the description of the position of the German bourgeoisie during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 69 and 57).—87

130 On 27 March 1849 the Frankfurt National Assembly, elected in April-May 1848 to draw up an all-German Constitution, adopted a law introducing direct universal suffrage. The law was published by the Imperial Regent, Archduke John, in an official government edition on 12 April 1849. Since, however, the King of Prussia and other German princes had rejected the Imperial Constitution drawn by the National Assembly, the law was not put into effect.—87

131 This letter by Engels has not been found.—88, 99, 174, 445, 448, 467, 475, 481, 513, 534, 566

132 The *Tory Chartists* or *Tory philanthropists*—representatives of a trend among England's conservative politicians and writers in the 1830s-50s, including the Young England group, whose members (Disraeli and Ferrand among them) founded a separate group in the House of Commons in 1841. Voicing the discontent of the landed aristocracy at the growing economic and political power of the bourgeoisie, the Tory philanthropists criticised the capitalist system and supported the half-hearted measures for improving the condition of the workers. However, they adopted a hostile attitude to the independent revolutionary working-class movement.—88

133 Marx forwarded Engels a letter from Johann Baptist Schweitzer of 11 February 1865. It was written in reply to the statement by Marx and Engels concerning Hess' insinuations against the French members of the International. In his letter Schweitzer promised to publish immediately an item by Hess admitting his assertions to be erroneous (see Note 125). Below Marx drew Engels' attention to this item.—89

134 Neither the original of Marx's letter to Johann Baptist Schweitzer of 13 February 1865 nor the copy of it which Marx retained has survived. However, a large fragment from it is quoted in Marx's letter to Engels of 18 February (see this volume, pp. 95-96). In this volume, this fragment is not published separately but within the above-mentioned letter to Engels.—89, 95, 108

135 On 11 February 1865 the Minister of Commerce, Count Itzenplitz, read out a government statement in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies during the debate on the right of combination (see Note 107). In an attempt to maintain the ban on the formation of workers' associations, the government demagogically alleged that freedom of association could not improve the workers' condition and proposed instead to help in setting up workers' co-operatives.—90

136 The *Rules Governing Servants* (Gesindeordnung)—the feudal rules and regulations that existed in Prussian provinces in the 18th and early 19th centuries and sanctioned the big landowners' arbitrary treatment of servants and agricultural labourers, including corporal punishment.—90, 96, 104

137 The *Order of the Swan*, a German mediaeval religious order of knights, was founded in Brandenburg in 1443 and disintegrated during the Reformation. In 1843 Frederick William IV of Prussia made an abortive attempt to restore this Order, hoping that its philanthropic activity would enhance the prestige of the Prussian monarchy which, he claimed, had a social mission.—90

138 The campaign for the right of combination was launched by the Berlin printers in early 1865 under the influence of Wilhelm Liebknecht's propaganda. When the leaders of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers realised that the campaign was widely supported by the workers, they decided to join it too, despite Lassalle, who held that associations were of no use for the workers. On 1 February 1865, *Der Social-Demokrat* published Bernhard Becker's instructions for the General Association's representatives with a proposal that, at their meetings, the workers should adopt resolution demanding the abolition of articles 183 and 184 of trade regulations (see Note 107) that prohibited associations and strikes.—90

139 Marx is referring to Eccarius' articles in *Der Social-Demokrat*. Eccarius continued to contribute to the paper for some time after Marx had actually ceased co-operating with it (see Note 125). His last article was printed in *Der Social-Demokrat* on 31 March 1865.—91

140 At a meeting of the Central Council of the International held on 14 February 1865, Marx read out Ernest Jones' letter to him of 10 February, which was a reply to Marx's letter of 1 February (Marx's letter is not extant) and written with a view to being read at the Council. Jones agreed with Marx's plan for drawing the broad mass of British workers into the electoral reform movement.—91

141 Marx forwarded to Engels a letter from a Cologne worker, G. Matzeratt, to Friedrich Lessner dated 8 January 1865. Matzeratt wrote about the disagree-

ments between Bernhard Becker and Carl Klings in the General Association of German Workers. On behalf of a group of the Association's members, he asked Lessner to inquire about Marx's opinion and help them to clarify the matter. As can be seen from Engels' letter to Marx of 7 February 1865, Becker gained the upper hand over Klings (see this volume, p. 82).—94

142 During the debate on the right of combination in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (see Note 107), Hermann Heinrich Becker, a deputy from Dortmund, moved a proposal, on 11 February 1865, that the right of combination be extended to the agricultural labourers as well. He also proposed to abolish the law of 24 April 1854 on the punishment of servants and day labourers for the violation of their duties.—94

143 This refers to Liebknecht's withdrawal from the editorial board of *Der Social-Demokrat*, of which Liebknecht informed Marx in a letter dated 16-17 February 1865.—94, 108

144 The passage in Schweitzer's letter of 15 February 1865 to Marx, written in reply to Marx's letter of 13 February, reads as follows: 'If you wish to enlighten me, as in your last letter, on theoretical questions, I would gratefully accept such instruction on your part. But as regards the practical questions of immediate tactics I beg you to consider that in order to assess these things one must be in the centre of the movement. You are therefore doing us an injustice if you express your dissatisfaction with our tactics anywhere and anyhow. You should only do this if you were absolutely familiar with conditions.'—95

145 Marx is referring to the third article in Schweitzer's series *Das Ministerium Bismarck*. It was published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 23, 17 February 1865, i.e. after Marx's demand for a stop to the flirtation with Bismarck. In these articles Schweitzer supported Bismarck's policy of unifying Germany under the supremacy of Prussia and approved of the Prussian government's demagogical attempts to show that it favoured a solution to the labour question.—95, 104

146 A reference to the 'liberal' course announced by Prince William of Prussia (King of Prussia from 1861) when he became Regent in October 1858. He made the Manteuffel Ministry resign and called the moderate liberals to power. The bourgeois press dubbed this the policy of the 'New Era'. It was, in fact, solely intended to strengthen the position of the Prussian monarchy and the Junkers. This soon became clear to the representatives of the liberal opposition whose hopes had been deceived and who refused to approve the government project of a military reform. The constitutional conflict (see Note 100) that ensued and Bismarck's advance to power in September 1862 put an end to the 'New Era'.—96, 103

147 Marx refers to the journal of German petty-bourgeois democrats, *Der deutsche Eidgenosse*, published in London and Hamburg from 1865 to 1867. Among its editors were Karl Blind, Ludwig Büchner, Ferdinand Freiligrath, Ludwig Feuerbach and Ernst Haug.—97

148 Marx enclosed in this letter to Engels some scraps of paper, in an unknown hand, about the unseemly behaviour of people from the élite of the Second Empire.—99

149 The full text of the letter has not been found. This excerpt has been preserved in Marx's Notebook for 1865; it is also quoted by Marx in a letter to Engels of 25 February 1865 (see this volume, pp. 107-08).—101

150 At the beginning of February 1865 Marx made a speech at the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 360). He criticised the views of the Lassalleans, in particular their dogma about the assistance by the existing state to workers' co-operative societies. The report on the celebration meeting was drawn up by Eccarius and published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 24, 19 February 1865. The content of Marx's speech was presented by Eccarius inaccurately. He ascribed to Marx the idea that joint action by the proletariat and the bourgeoisie against the feudal monarchy was impossible.

The *German Workers' Educational Society in London* was founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other members of the League of the Just. After the foundation of the Communist League (see Note 17), the latter's local communities played the leading role in the Society. In 1847 and 1849-50, Marx and Engels took an active part in its work, but on 17 September 1850 Marx, Engels and a number of their followers withdrew because the Willich-Schapper sectarian-adventurist group had increased their influence in the Society. In the late 1850s, Marx and Engels resumed their work in the Educational Society. During the activity of the International Working Men's Association the Society (Lessner was one of its leaders) was its German Section in London. The Educational Society in London existed until 1918, when it was closed down by the British government.—101, 106, 107, 507

151 In his letter to Marx of 19 February 1865, Ludwig Kugelmann enclosed a letter from Miquel, a former member of the Communist League, dated 22 December 1864. Miquel alleged in it that Marx's work *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* 'contains little of what is actually new' and that its conclusions were not applicable to Germany's social and political conditions. At the same time, Miquel tried to justify his desertion to the liberal camp.—102, 107, 112

152 The *National Association* (Deutscher National-Verein) was a party of the German liberal bourgeoisie which advocated the unification of Germany (without Austria) in a centralised state under the supremacy of the Prussian monarchy. Its inaugural meeting was held in Frankfurt am Main in September 1859. The National Association was dissolved in November 1867, after the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and the establishment of the North German Confederation.—102, 163, 204, 207, 266, 280, 340, 361, 365, 372

153 On 20 March 1848, King Frederick William IV of Prussia declared that he was ready, for the salvation of Germany's unity and freedom, to 'assume the leadership of the whole nation'. Hence the phrase 'Prussian leadership' ('preussische Spitze'), which won currency as a euphemism for Prussia's efforts to unite the country under its supremacy.—103

154 In connection with the enthronement of King William I of Prussia an amnesty was granted in Prussia on 12 January 1861 guaranteeing, in words, all political refugees unimpeded return to the country. In the spring of 1861, during his stay in Berlin, Marx submitted an application to the Prussian government requesting the restoration of his Prussian citizenship. His request was rejected by the Prussian authorities on the grounds that in 1845 Marx had surrendered his status as a Prussian of his 'own free will' and 'therefore' could be regarded 'as a foreigner' (see present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 339-58).—105, 201

155 On 23 February 1865 a public meeting was held in St Martin's Hall, London. On the initiative and with the direct participation of the Central Council of the International Association, the meeting passed a decision to found a *Reform*

*League* as a centre of the mass electoral reform movement. The League's leading bodies—the Council and the Executive Committee—included the Central Council members of the International, mainly British trade union leaders. The programme of the movement was drafted under the influence of Marx who was advocating the independent position of the British working class in the reform campaign. Unlike the bourgeois parties, which confined their demand to household suffrage, the Reform League, on Marx's insistence, advanced the demand for manhood suffrage. The League had branches in all big industrial cities and in provinces. However, the vacillations of the bourgeois radical leaders, who became afraid of the movement's mass character, and the conciliation of the trade union leaders prevented the League from following the line charted by the Central Council of the International. The British bourgeoisie succeeded in splitting the movement, and a moderate reform was carried out in 1867 which granted franchise only to the petty bourgeoisie and the upper layers of the working class.—105, 108, 130, 150, 243, 251, 327, 574

156 The *Combination Law of 11 March 1850* in force in Prussia banned all societies that established contacts with other organisations abroad. Hence, this law prevented the setting up of societies in Germany connected with the International Association and the affiliation to it of those already existing. Therefore, as far back as February 1865 Marx proposed to accept the form of individual membership in Germany that would allow to evade the existing laws, and that proved to be a rather flexible means of drawing the advanced German workers into the ranks of the International.—105

157 This refers to the leading article in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 25, 22 February 1865, which was reprinted from the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of 19 February 1865.—106

158 Thanks to Liebknecht and Siebel, Marx and Engels' statement about their break with *Der Social-Demokrat* (see this volume, p. 97) was published in many German newspapers, among them *Barmer Zeitung* and *Elberfelder Zeitung* (No. 60) on 26 February 1865; *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* (No. 59) on 28 February; *Rheinische Zeitung* (No. 60), *Berliner Reform* (No. 51), *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung* (No. 60), *Breslauer Zeitung* (No. 102), *Staatsbürger-Zeitung* (No. 60) on 1 March, and later in several other papers.

The above-mentioned letters of Marx to Schweitzer and Liebknecht about the said statement have not been found.—108

159 It is clear from Schily's letter to Marx of 25 February 1865, and the 'Private Instruction to Schily' extant in Marx's notebook (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 83), that Marx's instructions were aimed at finding such a way of settling the conflict in the Paris organisation of the International Association that would strengthen the position of the Paris Section's Administration and help draw into the International those workers who were still under the influence of bourgeois republicans (participants in the co-operative movement, and so on).—108, 127

160 The 'Resolutions of the Central Council on the Conflict in the Paris Section', adopted on 7 March 1865 (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 82-83), acknowledged as erroneous the view typical of the Proudhonists, in particular the Administration of the Paris Section of the International, that only a worker can be an official in a workers' organisation. This Proudhonist view was ultimately rejected by the Geneva Congress of the International held in September 1866 (see Note 380).—109

161 Participation in the solidarity meeting with the Polish national liberation movement, called to mark the first anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1863-64, was discussed by the Central Council on 21 February 1865. The following resolution was adopted unanimously: 'That the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association lend their unreserved support to the commemorative meeting for Poland on March 1st at St Martin's Hall, and they invite the attendance thereat of their friends.'—109

162 On 24 February 1865, *The Morning Star* printed a notice, 'German Democracy', obviously written by Karl Blind, about the forthcoming publication of the journal *Der deutsche Eidgenosse* (see Note 147).—110

163 Engels' notice announcing the publication of his pamphlet *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 81) was printed anonymously in a number of German papers with the help of Carl Siebel, Johann Klein and Wilhelm Liebknecht (Engels' letters to Klein and Liebknecht requesting to publish the notice have not been found). The notice was published anonymously in *Berliner Reform* (No. 53), *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* (No. 62), *Elberfelder Zeitung* (No. 62) and *Rheinische Zeitung* (No. 62) on 3 March 1865; *Oberrheinische Courier* (No. 56) on 7 March, and others. Moreover, on 9 March the *Rheinische Zeitung* carried a special article 'Für die Arbeiterpartei' about Engels' pamphlet containing long passages from it.—111, 112

164 Engels is referring to the silence of the German press over his anonymously published pamphlets *Po and Rhine* (1859) and *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* (1860) (see present edition, Vol. 16).—111

165 Since Marx and Engels' statement was published in many German newspapers (see Note 158), Schweitzer was compelled to print it in *Der Social-Demokrat* too (it appeared there only on 3 March 1865 in issue No. 29).—113

166 This refers to Schweitzer's article published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 29, 3 March 1865, in the section 'Politische Theil'. It said that the German Social-Democrats who were not members of the General Association of German Workers did not belong to the Social-Democratic Party. By this attack on Marx, Engels and their close associates in Germany, the editors of *Der Social-Demokrat* sought to weaken the impression of Marx and Engels' statement on their breach with the newspaper. See also Engels' letter to Joseph Weydemeyer of 10 March 1865 (this volume, pp. 124-25).—114, 116, 125

167 Marx succeeded in having items about Engels' *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* published in the German-language newspapers in London. On 17 March 1865 such an item appeared in the *Londoner Anzeiger*, and on 18 March the *Hermann* published, also anonymously, Marx's review of the pamphlet (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 85-86).

Marx's letter to Ludwig Kugelmann, mentioned above, concerning the popularisation of Engels' pamphlet has not been found.—114

168 The meeting to mark the anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1863-64 was held in St Martin's Hall, London, on 1 March 1865. It was initiated by the British National League for the Independence of Poland (see Note 97), and the Central Council of the International contributed much to preparing and conducting it (see Note 161). The British bourgeois press, the London liberal *Daily News* included, covered the speeches Beales, Leverson and other bourgeois radicals made at the meeting, but passed over in silence a resolution

submitted on behalf of the International and the speeches of Peter Fox and Georg Eccarius, the Central Council members. A full report of the meeting appeared in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* (No. 177) on 4 March 1865, and Marx used it when writing his notice entitled 'A Correction' and intended for the Zurich *Der weiße Adler*, which reproduced a garbled report from the British newspapers (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 97-98).—114, 130, 143

169 The reference is to the manuscript of *The Great Men of the Exile* written by Marx and Engels (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 227-326). At the end of June 1852, Marx passed on the manuscript to the Hungarian émigré Bangya who offered to have it published in Germany. Later, it turned out that Bangya was a police spy and had handed over the manuscript to the Prussian police. The actions of Bangya, who managed to win Marx's confidence for a time, were unmasked by Marx in his article 'Hirsch's Confessions', written in April 1853 and published in American newspapers (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 40-43).

Marx also exposed Bangya as a spy and an *agent provocateur* in *Herr Vogt*, published in 1860 (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 219—20).—118, 176, 191

170 The Prussian authorities managed to suppress the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, published by Marx and Engels during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, by means of repressive measures against its editors. On 16 May 1849, its editor-in-chief Marx, who had just returned from his trip to Northern Germany, was ordered to leave Prussia within 24 hours on the pretext that he was a foreigner who had no Prussian citizenship and had violated the rights of hospitality. Ernst Dronke and Georg Weerth, members of the editorial board, were deported for the same reasons, while Engels was prosecuted for participating in an uprising in Elberfeld, Rhine Province. The last issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, printed in red ink, appeared on 19 May 1849.—118

171 The *People's Bank* (Crédit au travail) was founded in Paris in 1863 by the petty-bourgeois socialist Jean Pierre Béluze to grant credits to producer and consumer co-operative societies and draw workers' savings to promote the co-operative movement. It existed until 1868.—119

172 The first issue of *Der deutsche Eidgenosse*, of 15 March 1865, published Karl Blind's address to all friends inviting them to contribute to the journal, as well as Gustav Struve's article, 'Die "Teig-Gesichter" in Deutschland', and Gustav Rasch's 'Ein Immortellenkranz auf das Grab eines Märtyrers (Max Dortu)'.

On the title page of the journal an emblem consisting of a hand with dagger was printed with the inscription in Latin: 'Manus haec inimica tyrannies' ('This hand is the Enemy of Tyrants').—119

173 In its issue No. 31 of 8 March 1865, *Der Social-Demokrat* published the statement by Georg Herwegh and Friedrich Wilhelm Rüstow of their refusal, following Marx and Engels, to contribute to this newspaper. Commenting on the statement, Schweitzer distorted Marx's and Engels' attitude to Lassalle and falsified the reasons for their withdrawal from the editorial board of *Der Social-Demokrat*. To prove that Marx and Engels were allegedly inconsistent and their actions unjustified, Schweitzer quoted Karl Blind's article published in the *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung*, No. 64, 5 March 1865.—120, 126, 129

174 In a letter to Engels, dated 20 January 1865, Joseph Weydemeyer gave a short description of the preceding events in the Civil War in America (see Note 11),

in particular the Red River expedition by Northern troops in 1864, undertaken with a view to entrenching themselves in Texas. General Banks, who headed the expedition, marched from New Orleans and intended to join forces at Shreveport with General Steel who set out from Arkansas. However, Banks' troops were suddenly attacked by the Southerners in the Texas woods and were forced to retreat.—121

175 *Missunde*—a Danish stronghold captured by Prussian troops on 2 February 1864, during the Danish war (see Note 9).—121

176 This refers to the military operations between the allied Anglo-Spanish-Portuguese troops under Wellington and those of Napoleonic France on the Peninsula in 1808-14, and to the Crimean war, 1853-56, between Britain, France, Turkey and later Piedmont, on the one hand, and Tsarist Russia, on the other.

The *battle of Alma* took place during the Crimean war, on 20 September 1854. It was the first battle after the Allies' landing at Eupatoria in the Crimea on 14 September. The defeat and withdrawal of the Russian troops opened up the way to Sevastopol for the Allies.—122

177 Marx stayed with his relatives, the Philipses, at Zalt-Bommel (Holland) from 19 March to 8 April 1865.—128, 133, 139, 566

178 In his comments on the statement of Herwegh and Rüstow, Schweitzer quoted Blind's article (see Note 173) mentioning the following passage from Marx's private letter of condolence to Sophie von Hatzfeldt, written on 12 September 1864 on the occasion of Lassalle's death: 'He died young, at a time of triumph, as an Achilles' (see present edition, Vol. 41, p. 563). These words taken from the letter, without Marx's knowledge and consent, were published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 1, 15 December 1864, over his signature and were used to extol Lassalle. In due time Marx lodged a protest against this breach of ethics on Schweitzer's part.—129

179 Marx realised his intention by writing, on 15 March 1865, the 'Statement Regarding the Causes of the Breach with the *Social-Demokrat*'. It was published in the *Berliner Reform* (No. 67) on 19 March 1865 (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 87-90).—129

180 Marx enclosed in his letter the text of the Central Council's resolutions on the conflict in the Paris Section (see Note 95) written by him and approved by the Council on 7 March 1865, and the text of the private instruction to Schily who was appointed a special representative of the Central Council in the Paris Administration (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 82-83).—130

181 On 11 March 1865, in Radleys Hotel, London, there was a conference of the workers' delegation elected at the meeting in St. Martin's Hall (see Note 155) and representatives of the radical and liberal bourgeoisie. This conference, sponsored by participants in the electoral reform movement, was a step in founding the Reform League. About 20 trade union delegates, among them members of the Central Council of the International, and as many bourgeois representatives, including four MPs, attended the conference. John Bright, leader of the Free Traders, advocated household suffrage. The demand for manhood suffrage was rejected by the bourgeois delegates, and no agreement on joint action was reached.

Marx's letter to Jones mentioned above has not been found.—130

182 In its issue No. 299 of 4 March 1865, the *Nordstern*, published by Karl Bruhn, carried two leading articles in which the editors came out against any compromise with the government and described people of Schweitzer's type as intriguers.—130

183 This refers to the resolutions on the conflict in the Paris Section (see Note 95) adopted by the Central Council of the International on 7 March 1865.

No letter from Marx to Cremer has been found, nor has the letter to Schily of 13 March 1865, which he wanted to send.—131

184 On 12 March 1865 Jung wrote to tell Marx that the Central Council had instructed him to draw up a summary of the conflict in the Paris Section for the information of the International's members in France, and asked Marx to help him in the matter. On 18 March Marx met Jung and handed him his written remarks on the latter's document. (For Marx's comments, entitled 'Memorandum to Hermann Jung about the Conflict in the Paris Section', see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 331-36.)—132

185 The *Berliner Reform* of 3 March, the *Rheinische Zeitung* of 4 March 1865 and other German papers published a report on Marx's and Engels' break with *Der Social-Demokrat* which Wilhelm Liebknecht made on 28 February in the Berlin Printers' Association that declared its adhesion to the International. The printers approved of Marx and Engels' statement of 23 February and Liebknecht's refusal to contribute to *Der Social-Demokrat*.—134

186 On 11 March 1865, the *Nordstern* (No. 300) published a protest by Georg Herwegh, Friedrich Wilhelm Rüstow and Friedrich Reusche. It was against a report in *Der Social-Demokrat*, of 26 February 1865, which said that Lassalle was flirting with the Prussian monarchy. The authors of the protest asserted that Lassalle did not show any special respect for the King of Prussia and that the report's allegations were unfounded.—134

187 In early March 1865 Carl Siebel forwarded to Engels a letter he received from the then editor of the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*, Dresemann. The latter invited Marx and Engels to contribute to the *Sphinx*, a newspaper which Friedrich Albert Lange intended to found in Duisburg.—136

188 Marx criticised the Ricardian 'law of population' in the first volume of *Capital* (see the English edition published in 1887 under Engels' editorship: Part VII, Chapter XXV, Section 3, and the present edition, Vol. 35).—137

189 Malthus' plagiarisms in his *An Essay on the Principle of Population, as It Affects the Future Improvement of Society, with Remarks on the Speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and other Writers* are mentioned by Marx in the first volume of *Capital* (see the English edition published in 1887 under Engels' editorship: Part VII, Chapter XXV, Section 1, and the present edition, Vol. 35).—137

190 The words '*Caveant consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat*' ('Let the consuls beware lest the Republic suffer harm') used to be addressed by the Roman Senate to the consuls in time of danger for the state; the meaning was that they were empowered to appoint a dictator.—137

191 Schulze-Delitzsch, a German bourgeois economist and a leader of the Party of Progress, supported small savings banks and loan offices, and consumer and producer co-operatives based on the workers' own means, with the aim of diverting workers from the revolutionary struggle against capital. Schulze-Delitzsch advocated harmony of capitalists' and workers' interests, asserting that

co-operatives could help improve workers' conditions under capitalism and save small producers and artisans from ruin.—138

192 Bernhard Becker, President of the General Association of German Workers, made a speech at a meeting of the Association's Hamburg Section on 22 March 1865 in which he slandered the International Working Men's Association and also Marx, Engels and Liebknecht. Marx rebuffed Becker in an article 'The "President of Mankind"', published in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 102 (second supplement), 12 April and the *Berliner Reform*, No. 88 (supplement), 13 April 1865 (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 92-96). On 27 March, Becker was denounced by Liebknecht at a meeting of the Association's Berlin Section when it discussed the question of the presidency. On 1 April 1865 the *Nordstern* (No. 303) printed statements by Rüstow and Herwegh against the attacks made by Becker on Countess Hatzfeldt.

In view of the growing discontent among the rank-and-file members of the General Association with Becker as President, the Berlin Section resolved to expel him. Many other sections followed suit. In June 1865 Becker was compelled provisionally to delegate his presidential powers to his deputy Fritzsche and completely renounced them in November.—139, 140, 566

193 Lefort's statement about his withdrawal from the International was published in *L'Association*, No. 6, April 1865.—140

194 At the Central Council meeting of 28 March 1865 the General Secretary, William Cremer, spoke on behalf of the Council's deputation (Eccarius, Weston, Jung, Fox, and others). He reported on the results of their meeting with the delegates of the National Shoemakers' Union and its adoption of the following resolution: 'That we cordially agree with the principles of the International Association as represented so eloquently by the deputation from that body and pledge ourselves to join them for the furtherance of those principles and endeavour to spread their liberal and glorious ideas among our constituents.'—140

195 In his letters to Engels, dated 10 January and 1 April 1865, Sigismund Borkheim wrote that Adolph Kolatschek, an Austrian journalist, intended to resume publication of the *Stimmen der Zeit* and invited Marx and Engels to contribute to it. Kolatschek's intention did not materialise.—141

196 The notice entitled 'A Correction' was published with slight changes in *Der weiße Adler*, No. 48, 22 April 1865 over Jung's signature (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 97-98).—143

197 This letter has reached us as a draft in Marx's notebook for 1865. The notebook also reproduced the text attached to the letter of the Central Council official resolution of 11 April 1865, signed by Odger, the President, and Cremer, the General Secretary of the Council, appointing Marx Corresponding Secretary for Belgium *pro tem* instead of Le Lubez who abandoned this post. The following postscript was entered in the notebook: 'Letter sent on Monday, 17 April 1865.'—144

198 In his article 'Falsche Freunde und offene Feinde', published in the *Nordstern*, No. 304, on 8 April 1865, Friedrich Reusche defended Georg Herwegh, Friedrich Rüstow and Johann Philipp Becker whom Bernhard Becker called 'false friends' for their refusal to co-operate on *Der Social-Demokrat* (see Note 173). Written in a melodramatic tone, the article refers to the oath given by the above-mentioned men to the dying Lassalle to bring his cause to a finish,

and calls Bernhard Becker, Schweitzer and their followers 'venal mercenaries and tools of reaction'.

By mentioning Willich's apple-tree Engels means the oath which Willich and his volunteer corps gave under an apple-tree during the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849; better die on German soil than go back into exile. However, as a result of the insurgents' defeat, Willich's corps was compelled to cross the Swiss frontier. Engels described this episode in his letter to Marx of 23 November 1853 which Marx included in his pamphlet *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness* (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 489-93).—147

199 The coopting of Pierre Vinçard, a working-class journalist and veteran of the 1848 revolution, for the Paris Administration (which already included Fribourg, Limousin and Tolain) was meant to make the French members of the International familiar with the revolutionary and socialist traditions of the French working-class movement of the 1840s. However, Vinçard did not accept the appointment for personal reasons, about which he informed Dupont, the Corresponding Secretary of the Central Council for France, in a letter of 30 April 1865.—149

200 On Friedrich Lessner's proposition, the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 150) at its meeting on 22 March 1865 broke with the Lassalleans.

At the general meeting of the Society and its branches, Teutonia and Eintracht, called on 5 April 1865 to discuss the behaviour of Bernhard Becker, President of the General Association of German Workers, and the editorial board of *Der Social-Demokrat*, Louis Weber tried to defend the Lassallean leaders. He wanted to pass a resolution declaring the political position of some Party officials to be their personal affair that should not be discussed by members of the Society. Weber's proposition was turned down by the meeting. The report of this meeting was given in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 50, 21 April 1865, in a distorted way.

*Teutonia*—an educational society of German workers who lived in the southern districts of London, a branch of the German Workers' Educational Society. Together with the latter, it joined the International Working Men's Association in January 1865. The leaders of the Teutonia were A. Klinker and Klinke.—150, 174

201 This refers to the 'Address of Germans to the American Nation' written on the occasion of the assassination of US President, Abraham Lincoln, on 14 April 1865 and published in *The Times*, No. 25171, 28 April 1865.—151

202 Engels is referring to the report from Solingen, published in the *Nordstern*, No. 307, 29 April 1865, on the meeting of the Solingen section of the General Association of German Workers. The section was in opposition to Bernhard Becker, President of the Association. Its members formed a community of their own and dissociated themselves from those sections which continued to recognise Becker's leadership. In opposition to *Der Social-Demokrat* edited by Schweitzer, they declared the *Nordstern* the official organ of the Association. In September 1865 the Solingen community constituted itself as a section of the International in Germany.—152

203 At the *battle of Jena* (14 October 1806) the French army, commanded by Napoleon, routed the Prussian army, thus forcing Prussia to surrender.—153, 256, 277

204 According to a report from Cologne published in the *Nordstern*, No. 308, 6 May 1865, the growing opposition to Bernhard Becker, President of the General Association of German Workers, compelled him to raise the question of confidence at the meeting of the Association's local branches in Cologne. The majority of the meeting walked out, and of the remaining 24 members only 15 voted for Becker.—154

205 The Central Council of the International failed to acquire most of *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* shares through lack of funds and because at the decisive moment, in May 1865, its members were distracted by the campaign for electoral reform in England. On the eve of the shareholders' general meeting, Council members Odger, Cremer, and Howell left for Manchester to attend a conference of reformers, which allowed Potter to retain the majority of votes in his favour.—155, 169, 173

206 US President Abraham Lincoln was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth, an agent of Southern planters and New York bankers. Andrew Johnson became President. On 2 May 1865 the Central Council of the International took a decision to draw up an address to the American people. At the Council meeting of 9 May Marx read out the 'Address from the Working Men's International Association to President Johnson' which he had written. The Address was passed to President Johnson through Adams, the American envoy to England (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 99-100).—155

207 After Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Herwegh, Rüstow and Johann Philipp Becker refused to collaborate with *Der Social-Demokrat*, Moses Hess continued to work on it, and when the *Rheinische Zeitung* printed a notice about Hess' refusal to contribute to the newspaper, he denied it.—156, 158

208 In its issue No. 58 (the literary section) of 10 May 1865, *Der Social-Demokrat* reprinted from the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (of 29 April 1865, supplement) a commentary on Wuttke's *Städtebuch des Landes Posen*. In this book Wuttke tried to prove that the Germans had an inherent right to the Polish lands.—156

209 In his report from Paris published in the supplement to issue No. 57 of *Der Social-Demokrat* of 7 May 1865, Moses Hess again slandered the French members of the International (see notes 95 and 122).—157

210 The national Reform Conference, sponsored by the liberal National Reform Union, was held in Manchester on 15 and 16 May 1865. Most of its delegates were representatives of the bourgeoisie. They refused to include the demand for universal manhood suffrage in the conference's resolutions as proposed by the International's Central Council member Cremer, who was supported by Ernest Jones and some delegates of the Reform League (see Note 155). Edmond Beales, President of the Reform League, and other radicals adopted an indecisive attitude to the nature of the reform. As a result, the conference carried a moderate resolution to extend the franchise to householders and house tenants who paid poor-rates. The report of the Manchester Conference was published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 188, 20 May 1865.—158

211 Early in May 1865 the House of Commons turned down Baines' moderately liberal Bill which envisaged the reduction of the electoral qualification in the cities from £10 to £6. This reflected the sentiments of the British bourgeoisie which was scared by the scope of the reform movement among the workers. On 2 May 1865 the Executive Committee of the Reform League addressed a

manifesto to the British workers, calling on them to take part in the campaign for manhood suffrage.—158

212 At the elections to the Geneva Cantonal Council in August 1864 the radical James Fazy, who headed the canton's government in 1846-53 and 1855-61, suffered a crushing defeat because of the exposure of his financial machinations as President of the Banque Générale Suisse. After the elections Fazy's followers made an armed attack on some of those who voted against him. When Swiss government troops arrived in Geneva, Fazy had to flee to France.—158, 185, 237

213 A reference to the correspondence between Le Lubez, the Corresponding Secretary of the Central Council of the International for France, and Henri Lefort, the International's correspondent in Neufchâteau, during the conflict in the Paris Section of the International (see Note 95). Le Lubez tried to set Lefort against the Central Council and the Paris Administration.—158

214 From May to August 1865 the Central Council of the International discussed economic questions raised by John Weston. Apart from the speech made at the special Council meeting of 20 May 1865 whose minutes have not survived, Marx delivered a report on the subject at the Council meetings on 20 and 27 June, known as 'Wages, Price and Profit'. This report was not printed in the lifetimes of Marx and Engels. It was first prepared for the press by Marx's daughter, Eleanor, and published with Edward Aveling's preface, as a pamphlet in London in 1898 under the title *Value, Price and Profit.* In the present edition of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels it is printed under this title (see Vol. 20, pp. 101-49).—160, 162

215 A German translation of Marx's 'Address from the Working Men's International Association to President Johnson' (see Note 206) was published in *Chicago, Sonntags-Zeitung*, 4 June 1865.—161

216 A reference to the statements made by a number of branches of the General Association of German Workers against Bernhard Becker and published in the *Nordstern*, No. 313, 24 June 1865 (see Note 192).—161, 176

217 The first Congress of the International Working Men's Association scheduled for 1865 in Brussels was held between 3 and 8 September 1866 in Geneva. The decision to postpone the Congress was taken by the Central Council on 25 July 1865 on Marx's insistence. He considered that the local organisations of the International were not yet strong enough in ideological and organisational terms and suggested that a preliminary conference be held in London in September 1865.

Official reasons for postponing the congress were set out in the 'Report of the Sub-Committee on the Questions of a Congress and Conference' drawn up by the Central Council's decision of 13 June 1865 and approved by the Council on 25 July (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 375-77).—163, 171, 174, 179

218 In a letter written at the end of May-early June 1865, Liebknecht asked Marx whether he knew Dr Kugelmann from Hanover and supposed that Kugelmann was a friend of Pieper's and adhered to 'communism'.

In the 1850s, while in exile in London, Pieper was a friend of Marx and Engels. From 1859 he lived in Bremen and late in February 1864 he visited Marx in London.—165

219 Liebknecht's letter to Marx of 13 May 1865 contained a postscript from Paul Stumpf from Mainz who visited Berlin at the time. Stumpf wrote to Marx that

he had sent him a letter ten days ago through Bruhn from Hamburg, in which he asked Marx for his opinion on the disagreements between the *Nordstern* and *Der Social-Demokrat*, on the situation in the General Association of German Workers and the position of its President, Bernhard Becker. Stumpf also asked Marx about his latest works and those of Engels and whether he had received the letter.—165

220 Marx here speaks ironically about the assertions in Liebknecht's letters that the International was widely supported in Germany.—165

221 This refers to Countess Sophie von Hatzfeldt's lawsuit and to Ferdinand Lassalle's mother who challenged Lassalle's will.—165

222 The *Permissive Bill* empowered parishes to grant licences for the sale of alcoholic beverages. From 1864 to 1877 it was repeatedly introduced in the British Parliament.—168

223 In the 1850s Windmill Street, Soho, was the seat of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 150).—168

224 A banquet of the opposition liberal majority of the Chamber of Deputies, organised by the Rhineland men of Progress (see Note 99) headed by the Town Councillor Classen-Kappelmann, was scheduled for 22-23 July 1865, in Cologne. On 17 July the Bismarck government forbade the banquet. Despite numerous protests on the part of the workers in the various towns of Germany against this arbitrary measure, most opposition members did not dare to show open resistance. Only some 80 delegates out of the 250 invited arrived in Cologne. The banquet's organiser, Classen-Kappelmann, fearing arrest, left for Belgium. Since the hall where the banquet was to take place had been closed by the police, the deputies tried to hold the banquet in the Zoological Gardens, but were driven out of it by soldiers and policemen.—169, 182, 185, 229

225 The reference is to a series of banquets in favour of electoral reform that took place in France from July 1847 to January 1848 and became a prelude to the February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848.—169

226 Marx wrote this letter to Léon Fontaine after he had become acquainted with the state of affairs in Belgium from the letter of Charles Limousin, a French member of the International who visited Belgium, to Eugène Dupont, the Central Council's Corresponding Secretary for France, the letter being dated 6 July 1865. In the summer of 1865, a group of Brussels workers discontent with Fontaine's inertness decided to set up a section of the International in Belgium. However, they met with Fontaine's resistance: he demanded that he should be acknowledged as the only representative of the Central Council of the International. On 17 July a Belgian Section was organised with the active participation of César De Paepe. It elected a provisional committee which established direct contacts with Marx and the Central Council.

Marx's letter to Léon Fontaine has been preserved as a draft in Marx's notebook for 1865.

The letter was first published in English in Karl Marx, *On the First International*. Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1973.—170

227 After the publication of Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* in 1859, Marx wrote a voluminous economic manuscript in 1861-63 which is a second, after the manuscript of 1857-58, detailed rough version of his future *Capital*. By 1863, Marx had finally decided to publish his work in

four books: the first three books—theoretical, and the fourth—historical-literary. Having completed the 1861-63 manuscript, in August 1863 Marx began preparing his *Capital* for the press.

In the course of this work he wrote a third preparatory version of *Capital*—the Economic Manuscript of 1863-65 consisting of three theoretical books (the outline of the fourth book, *Theories of Surplus Value*, was in the 1861-63 manuscript). Subsequently, having finished them, Marx again returned to the first book. On Engels' advice he decided to publish it before the others were ready. Marx gave the finishing touches to it in 1866 and most of 1867. The first German edition of the first book—Volume One of *Capital*—appeared in September 1867. As agreed with Otto Meissner, a Hamburg publisher, the second and third books, devoted to the analysis of the process of circulation of capital and the forms of capitalist production as a whole, were to be published as Volume Two of *Capital*, and the fourth book, on the 'history of economic theories', as the concluding volume, Volume Three, of *Capital*.

However, during his lifetime Marx did not manage to prepare the last books of *Capital* for the press. It was Engels who after Marx's death did this and published his manuscripts of the second and third books, as Volume Two (1885) and Volume Three (1894) of *Capital*. Engels also intended to publish the above-mentioned manuscript of the fourth book, as Volume Four of *Capital*, but did not materialise this intention during his lifetime. In the present edition of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels, this book is included in the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (vols 30-34), while the first three volumes of *Capital* published in vols 35-37.—173, 227, 312

228 By Jacob Grimm's method Marx means the method Jacob and his brother Wilhelm used in compiling their German Dictionary. It was published in instalments, beginning in 1832; each was prepared independently from one another.—173

229 The English translation of Volume One of *Capital* by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, edited by Engels, was published after Marx's death, in 1887. Eleanor Marx-Aveling took an active part in preparing this edition.—173, 394, 436, 499

230 At the end of July 1865 John Bredford Leno, the proprietor of *The Miner and Workman's Advocate* published in London from 1863, proposed placing this weekly at the service of the Central Council of the International. The proposal met with approval by the Council members. They discussed the matter at the meetings of 8 and 15 August 1865, in the absence of Marx who was busy with his *Capital*. However, Eccarius informed him in detail about this in a letter dated 16 August 1865.

On 22 August an inaugural meeting was held of shareholders of the joint-stock company for financing the workers' paper, which was called the Industrial Newspaper Company. The meeting, which Marx attended, approved the address to the working men of Great Britain and Ireland and the Company's Prospectus (both published in the present edition, Vol. 20). On 25 September 1865 the London Conference of the International declared the newspaper, which in September assumed the name of *The Workman's Advocate*, an official organ of the International. At the beginning of November 1865 the paper became the full property of the Industrial Newspaper Company. Marx was a member of the Company's Board and remained on it until June 1866. However, the growing influence of reformist elements in the paper's Editorial Board and the vacillation and conciliatory policy of the trade union leaders on

the Company's Board did not allow Marx and his followers to prevent the transformation of this working-class paper into an organ supporting the bourgeoisie.—173, 201, 206, 571

231 Marx is referring to a campaign of preparations for the Anglo-French industrial exhibition timed for the fiftieth anniversary of the peace treaty between Britain and France (1815) which was to open on 8 August 1865. At its meeting on 30 May 1865 the Central Council of the International censured this attempt to divert the workers from the political struggle and diminish the influence of the International.—174

232 An aliens act was passed in Belgium as early as 1835 and was renewed every three years. Despite widespread protests by the Belgian press and the public, this law was renewed for the tenth time at the end of June 1865.—174

233 The reference is to the terms of the 1865 agreement between Marx and the Hamburg publisher Otto Meissner on which Marx's *Capital* was to be printed. The text of the agreement was sent to Marx by Meissner in his letter of 21 March 1865 (see Note 66). The date of the agreement was not indicated. As preliminarily agreed, the whole of *Capital* was to be printed simultaneously in two volumes, each not exceeding the agreed number of printed sheets (about 50). In 1867 Meissner agreed to change the terms: to print the entire work in three volumes, publishing them at different time and enlarging the size of each volume (see Marx's letter to Engels of 13 April 1865, this volume, p. 357). Meissner left it to Marx's discretion to decide how the manuscript was to be delivered to him: by instalments or as a whole. Marx could avail himself of the agreement only in two years, when he finished his work on Volume One of *Capital*.—175, 219, 226, 343, 351

234 Influenced by Sophie von Hatzfeldt, Carl Schilling published the pamphlet *Die Ausstossung des Präsidenten Bernhard Becker aus dem Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeiter-Verein und der 'Social-Demokrat'* (Berlin, 1865). It was a report of the meeting of the Berlin branch of the General Association of German Workers held on 27 and 30 March 1865. Liebknecht spoke at the meeting in defence of Marx against Becker's slanders. The report contained distortions which Wilhelm Liebknecht and other followers of Marx, Theodor Metzner and August Vogt, refuted in a statement of 22 June 1865 published in the *Volks-Zeitung*, No. 145, 24 June 1865 and in other newspapers.—176, 180, 191

235 In a letter to Marx, dated 15 July 1865, Liebknecht wrote that the local Printers' Association and the Berlin Journeymen's Association had organised a demonstration in his honour. The latter had invited him as an honorary guest to its annual celebration in the countryside. In connection with this, Liebknecht wrote to Marx that he thought all local worthwhile elements from among the working class were ready to follow him, as well as Marx himself and Engels.—176

236 During their stay in Brussels Marx, Engels and other members of the Communist League were persecuted by the Belgian government. Early in March 1848 Marx received a royal order deporting him from Belgium; he and his wife were immediately arrested by the Brussels police. Engels, too, was detained and evicted across the French frontier in early October 1848 (he had come to Belgium in order to hide from the Prussian authorities).—179, 448

237 On 18 July 1865 an agreement was concluded between the Bismarck government and the Board of the Cologne-Minden Railway Joint-Stock Company. It granted the Company's Board the right to buy up its shares which until then belonged to the government alone. This deal placed a considerable sum of money at the disposal of the Bismarck government. The agreement was to be ratified by the Prussian Provincial Diet, but on 28 August the shareholders' general meeting unanimously approved it without the Diet's ratification.—179, 182, 211, 285

238 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx, *On History and People*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1977.—180, 542

239 On 4 August 1865 Siebold wrote to tell Marx that there was a Workers' Association in Copenhagen led by an MP, C. V. Rimestad. He advised him to establish ties with the association but warned that Rimestad was a Bonapartist. At the same time Siebold made it clear that he regretted Marx's quarrel with Karl Blind.—180, 182

240 *Rotten Row*—a broad pathway in Hyde Park, London, fashionable for riding.—181

241 Engels made a trip to Germany, Switzerland and Italy at the end of August and mid-September 1865.—182, 183, 190, 192

242 Returning to Siebold's letter to Marx, Engels criticises his proposal to establish contacts with the Copenhagen Workers' Association (see Note 239). This Association was under the influence of the Danish liberal party (Eider-Danes) which advanced the slogan 'Denmark up to the Eider'. The Eider-Danes demanded that the Duchy of Schleswig, populated mainly by Germans and separated from other German regions by the Eider river, should be united with Denmark. Schleswig and Holstein were at the time when the letter was written under the joint rule of Prussia and Austria (see Note 9).—183

243 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—183, 321, 452

244 *Apsides*—the points in the orbit of a planet or comet at which it is nearest to (perihelion) or farthest from (aphelion) the sun.—185

245 In the third book of *Capital* Marx analysed the parliamentary reports on banking for 1857-58 and criticised the theories of money and capital contained in them.—186

246 The *London Conference of the International Working Men's Association* was held from 25 to 29 September 1865. It was convened on Marx's insistence, for he considered that the Association's sections were not yet strong enough to succeed in holding a general congress in 1865 as stipulated by the Provisional Rules. The conference was attended by Central Council members and by delegates from the principal branches in France, Switzerland and Belgium. Wilhelm Liebknecht could not come to the conference, and Germany was represented by Karl Marx as the Corresponding Secretary of the Central Council for the country and Johann Philipp Becker who had credentials from the Solingen branch of the General Association of German Workers which was in opposition to the latter's Lassallean leadership.

The conference heard the Central Council's report, its financial statement, and also delegates' reports on the situation in individual sections. The main point discussed was the agenda and the procedure for convening the forthcoming congress. It was decided to hold it in Geneva in May 1866 (later the Central Council postponed it until early September 1866). Though the Proudhonists demanded that the Polish question should be struck off the agenda of the Congress and that the right of any member of the Association to participate in it be recognised, the conference retained in the agenda the point of the restoration of Poland's independence and recognised only elected delegates as competent members of the Congress. Other proposals of the Council concerning the programme of the Congress were also approved.

The London Conference of 1865 which was prepared and conducted under Marx's guidance played an important part in the formation and organisational shaping of the International.—189, 201, 214

247 On 15 September 1865 Liebknecht wrote to Marx that he could not go to the London Conference of the International because of urgent matters and the removal of his family to Leipzig, but promised him to send a report on the working-class movement in Germany. This report was sent to Marx on 23 September but Marx did not read it out at the conference because, he believed, it said too much about his personal services (see Marx's letter to Liebknecht of 21 November 1865, this volume, pp. 201-03).—190

248 The *Nordstern* of 19 August 1865 published Moses Hess' article 'Eine Warnung' ('A Warning') in which he opposed the idea of reorganising the General Association of German Workers under the leadership of Johann Philipp Becker. In his Paris correspondence 'Der Kongress der "Internationalen Arbeiter-Association" vertagt' published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 130, of 30 August, Hess described the leaders of the International Association as 'some demagogues sitting at a safe distance from the firing line'.—190

249 Marx stayed with Engels in Manchester from 20 October to early November 1865.—193, 196, 201, 208, 214

250 On 16 July 1865 Marx's aunt Esther Kosel, who lived in Frankfurt am Main, died intestate. Along with other close relatives Marx was entitled to receive part of her legacy. Dr Salomon Fuld, a Frankfurt lawyer, was in charge of this matter.—194

251 The enclosed letter, dated 13 November 1865, was from Theodor Metzner, Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt, members of the Berlin branch of the General Association of German Workers. During Wilhelm Liebknecht's stay in Berlin all three came into close contact with him which they continued to maintain after his expulsion from Berlin. In their letter the Berlin workers who gravitated towards the International informed Marx about the working-class movement in Germany and the split in the General Association and asked Marx to come to Berlin to lead it.—196, 197, 198, 201

252 The mass Negro uprising in Jamaica, the British colony in the West Indies, took place in October 1865. It was caused by the severe exploitation of the Negroes by the colonists, though slavery had been abolished on the island in 1833. The uprising was brutally suppressed by the Governor of Jamaica, General Eyre. The atrocities perpetrated by Eyre caused public outrage in Britain, and the British government was compelled to dismiss him from his post.—197, 199, 205, 300

253 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Colonialism*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—198, 204

254 Marx alludes to the Prussian authorities' refusal to have his Prussian citizenship restored despite the amnesty granted to political refugees on 12 January 1861 (see Note 154).—198

255 The French delegates' report on the London Conference of the International Working Men's Association held in 1865 (see Note 246) was published in *L'Opinion national*, 8 October, *L'Avenir national*, 12 October, *Le Siècle*, 14 October 1865 and in other French newspapers.—199

256 *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 141, of 18 November 1865 printed Peter Fox's report of the Central Council meeting of 14 November 1865 (see *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866. The London Conference 1865. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1961, pp. 138-41). At this meeting the Corresponding Secretary for France, Eugène Dupont, read out the preface to the French delegates' report of the London Conference published in *Le Siècle* on 14 October 1865. The author of the preface was Henri Martin, a French historian and member of the International. He highly appreciated the activities of the International, its first conference and the programme of the future congress, in particular its Point 9 demanding the 'reconstruction of Poland upon a democratic and socialist basis'. The French Proudhonists Henri Tolain and Ernest Fribourg opposed this point at the conference and after it, for they advocated the proletariat's abstention from political activity.—199, 202

257 The mass eviction of the Irish from land and their emigration, caused by the transfer from small peasant renting to large-scale pasturing, led to the growing national liberation struggle in Ireland. As a result, the Fenian movement developed there in the 1850s and 1860s.

The *Fenians* were Irish revolutionaries who named themselves after the 'Féne'—a name of the ancient population of Ireland. Their first organisations appeared in the 1850s in the USA among the Irish immigrants and later in Ireland itself. The secret Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, as the organisation was known in the early 1860s, aimed at establishing an independent Irish republic by means of an armed uprising. The Fenians, who expressed the interests of the Irish peasantry (see Marx's letter to Engels of 30 November 1867), came chiefly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia and believed in conspiracy tactics. The British government attempted to suppress the Fenian movement by severe police reprisals. In September 1865 it arrested a number of Fenian leaders, among them Thomas Clarke Luby, John O'Leary, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa and other editors of the banned newspaper *The Irish People*. They were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment (O'Donovan Rossa for life). The Central Council of the International organised a campaign in defence of the condemned prisoners.—199, 468, 516, 523

258 The data mentioned in the letter were given by Marx in Chapter III of the first edition of Volume One of *Capital*, He specified these data in the second German edition of the volume.—199

259 Included in this letter, the text of the programme of the Geneva Congress was drawn up by Marx and approved by the London Conference of the International (see Note 246). It was first published in G. Jaeck, *Die Internationale*, Leipzig, 1904.

This letter was first published in English in full in Karl Marx, *On the First International* Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1973.—200

260 A detailed report on the London Conference of the International Working Men's Association, entitled 'Great International Conference of Working Men', was published in *The Workman's Advocate,* No. 134, 30 September 1865.—200

261 Marx is referring to Liebknecht's 'Report on the Working-Class Movement in Germany' drawn up for the London Conference of the International (see Note 247). The manuscript of the report preserved among Marx's papers was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866. The London Conference 1865. Minutes,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1961, pp. 251-60.—201

262 In a letter to Marx written in mid-November 1865 Liebknecht told him that a certain Quenstedt from Berlin intended to write to Marx and help him publish reviews of *Capital* in scientific journals.—202

263 In a letter to Marx of 8 October 1865 Lothar Bucher invited him to contribute to the official organ of the Prussian government. Marx's reply letter to Bucher has not been discovered. Later, in 1878, Marx wrote a special item, 'Herr Bucher', concerning this offer, and gave a rebuff to this agent of Bismarck's in another article, 'Reply to Bucher's "Declaration"' (see present edition, Vol. 24).—202

264 Kugelmann could not answer Marx's letter of 23 February 1865 (see this volume, pp. 101-05) until 20 December (see Marx's reply of 15 January 1866 in this volume, pp. 220-21).—203, 207

265 On 25 November 1865 César De Paepe read a letter from Marx at a meeting of the Brussels Section of the International Association. (The Institute of Marxism-Leninism does not have the original of this letter at its disposal.) The Minutes of this meeting recorded only that part of the letter which enumerated the points of the programme of the Geneva Congress drawn up by Marx and approved by the London Conference of the International (see Note 246). The differences from the similar text cited by Marx in his letter to Jung of 20 November (see this volume, p. 200) are possibly due to the inaccuracies in the record of the above-mentioned Minutes.—203

266 On 24 November 1865 Schweitzer was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for the political articles in *Der Social-Demokrat* However, in May 1866 he was temporarily released for health reasons and amnestied after the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—205

267 The mass meeting was held by the Reform League (see Note 155) in London, in St Martin's Hall, on 12 December 1865.

The committee for preparing the meeting consisted of the following members of the Central Council of the International: George Odger, John B. Leno, John Longmaid, William Dell, William Stainsby, George Howell and Robert Hartwell. The majority of those present at the meeting were workers and trade union members. The meeting adopted a resolution demanding manhood suffrage.—207, 215, 221, 253

268 *Der Vorbote*—an official monthly of the German sections of the International Working Men's Association—began to appear in Geneva from January 1866 under the editorship of Johann Philipp Becker. On the whole, this monthly pursued the policy of the Central (General) Council of the International. It published documents of the International, reports on its congresses and information about the activities of its sections in different countries. *Der Vorbote* was widely circulated in Switzerland and Germany, while in Austria and Hungary it was distributed illegally. Also among its readers were German workers living in London, Paris, New York, Chicago and other cities. The journal ceased publication in December 1871.—207

269 In December 1865 and January 1866 France was the scene of student disorders. They were caused by the decision of the Paris Academy Council to expel students who took part in the International Students' Congress held in Liège (Belgium) at the end of October 1865. The congress was attended by students from many European countries, the most numerous delegation being from France (Paul Lafargue, Charles Longuet, Charles Victor Jaclard, and others). Most speakers at the congress expressed the revolutionary students' protest against the regime of the Second Empire.—208, 211, 215, 304, 308

270 In December 1861 France started an armed intervention in Mexico, jointly with Britain and Spain, to overthrow the progressive government of Benito Juárez and turn the Mexican republic into a colony of European powers. The invaders also intended to use Mexican territory as a spring-board for intervening in the US Civil War on the side of the slaveholding Southern States. In the summer of 1863 the French occupied the city of Mexico (Britain and Spain recalled their troops in April 1862 because of contradictions with France) and declared Mexico an empire with Napoleon III's henchman, the Archduke of Austria Maximilian, at its head. However, the Mexican people put up a stubborn resistance to the French colonialists and inflicted a heavy defeat on them. In March 1867 they were compelled to withdraw.—208, 211, 215, 338, 438

271 This is presumably an extract appended to one of Marx's letters to Engels written at the end of 1865 or beginning of 1866.—208

272 The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 1, of 1 January 1866 printed Schulze-Delitzsch's announcement about the publication of his new work, *Die Abschaffung des geschäftlichen Risico durch Herrn Lassalle. Ein neues Capitel zum Deutschen Arbeiterkatechismus.* Written in reply to Lassalle's *Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch, der ökonomische Julian, oder: Capital und Arbeit*, it soon after appeared in Berlin.—211

273 The *French Section (branch) in London* was founded in the autumn of 1865. Besides proletarian members like Eugène Dupont, Hermann Jung, Paul Lafargue and others, it included petty-bourgeois refugees like Victor Le Lubez and, later, Félix Pyat. On 7 July 1868 the General Council of the International adopted a resolution, on Marx's proposal, condemning the provocative behaviour of Félix Pyat (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 7). After this a split occurred in the section: the proletarian elements left it and it actually lost ties with the International.—213, 214, 216

274 On 16 and 18 December 1865 the Belgian democratic newspaper *L'Echo de Verviers*, Nos. 293 and 294, published an anonymous article which slandered the Central Council's activities and the work of the London Conference of the International held in 1865 (see Note 246). Its author was the French petty-bourgeois republican Pierre Vésinier, a refugee in Belgium and the

spokesman for petty-bourgeois elements in the French Section in London who opposed Marx and the Central Council.

Vésinier's article was discussed in the Central Council on 26 December 1865 and on 2 and 9 January 1866. On the instructions of the Council, Vésinier's slanderous attacks were refuted by Hermann Jung, who with Marx's help wrote a letter to *L'Echo de Verviers*. By the Council's decision of 6 February 1866 the letter was sent to the editor (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 392-400).—213, 214, 216, 250

275 The draft of the new statutes drawn up by Le Lubez was published in *L'Echo de Verviers*, No. 301, on 27 December 1865. This draft expressed the federalist views of some petty-bourgeois democrats, members of the French Section in London, and nullified the leading role of the Central Council by turning it into a mere representative body with purely technical informative and statistical functions.—213, 214

276 Marx is referring to a series of articles against Poland by Proudhonist Hector Denis published in the Belgian newspaper *La Tribune du Peuple* in March-June 1864 under the heading *La question polonaise et la démocratie*.

At Marx's request, between the end of January and early April 1866 Engels wrote a series of articles, entitled *What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?*, in which he substantiated the International's stand on the nationalities question and criticised the Proudhonists' national nihilism and the Bonapartists' profiteering by the so-called principle of nationalities (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 152-61).—213

277 Marx refers to Johann Philipp Becker's address, 'Rundschreiben der deutschen Abtheilung des Zentral Komites der Internationalen Arbeiterassociation für die Schweiz an die Arbeiter', issued in Geneva in November 1865. In it Becker urged the workers to join the International and wrote about the forthcoming publication of its German (*Der Vorbote*) and French (*Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*) press organs.

An English translation of some passages from this address was published in *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 145, 16 December 1865.

A report of the International's activities in Switzerland was printed in issue No. 1 of *Der Vorbote* in January 1866 under the heading 'Entwicklungsgang unserer Association'.

The note to Becker mentioned by Marx has not been found.—214

278 From November 1865 the Central Committee of the German sections in Switzerland, headed by Johann Philipp Becker, served as the organising centre for sections uniting the German workers not only in Switzerland but also in Germany, Austria and in other countries where German refugee workers lived.—215, 219

279 On 27 October 1865 in Port-au-Prince in Martinique (the French colony in the West Indies) three Zouave regiments refused to obey the French command to join the intervention in Mexico.—215

280 In 1865 the French government attempted to make the British government extend the Franco-British extradition treaty of 1843 (see Note 500) to persons guilty of political crimes.—215

281 On 2 January 1866, Austrian journalist Arnold Hilberg from Vienna wrote to Marx inviting him to contribute to the planned journal *Internationale Revue*. Marx's reply to him has not been found, but from Hilberg's next letter to

Marx, of 18 January, it is clear that Marx agreed (see also Marx's letter to Engels of 14 February in this volume, p. 229). However, his work in the International and on *Capital* presumably prevented Marx from materialising his intention.—216, 229

282 Marx's letter to Sigfrid Meyer of 15 January 1866 has not been found. It was written in reply to one from Theodor Metzner, Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt (see Note 251).—216, 220, 222

283 This refers to Point 9 on the agenda of the London Conference of the International in 1865 which reads as follows: 'The Muscovite invasion of Europe, and the re-establishment of an integral and independent Poland' (see *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866. The London Conference 1865. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1961, p. 305).—216

284 The meeting to commemorate the third anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1863-64 (see Note 24) was held in St. Martin's Hall, London, on 22 January 1866 and was presided over by a Polish democrat, Ludwik Oborski. As reported by *Głos Wolny*, the organ of the democratic wing of Polish emigrants, the meeting was sponsored by the International Working Men's Association and the Polish emigrants. It unanimously adopted Fox's resolution, which was supported by Marx, expressing solidarity of the workers and democrats of Britain and other European countries with the Polish national liberation struggle.

The report of the meeting was published in *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 151, 27 January, *Głos Wolny*, No. 93, 31 January, and *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 225, 3 February 1866.—218

285 Marx presumably refers to *L'Anti-Proudhon*, a book by Denis (de Chateaugiron), that appeared in Rennes in 1860. From the Catholic standpoint Denis polemises over Proudhon's views set forth in his three-volume work *De la Justice dans le Révolution et dans l'Église*, Paris, 1858.—218

286 The London Conference of the International Association (see Note 246) decided to hold the first congress of the International in Geneva in May 1866. Later, however, the Central Council found it necessary to postpone the congress. All sections of the International agreed with this decision, except for the Paris Section whose Proudhonist leaders wanted to hold the congress as soon as possible because they calculated to impose their programme and principles on it. The congress met on 3-8 September 1866.—220, 258, 271, 574

287 In his letter to Marx of 20 December 1865 Ludwig Kugelmann asked him to send two membership cards of the International Association for himself and Theodor Heinrich Menke, and enclosed two talers for the purpose.—220

288 Marx's letter addressed to August Vogt, and presumably also meant for Sigfrid Meyer and Theodor Metzner, has not been found.—222

289 See this note by Marx in the English edition of Volume One of *Capital* published in London, under Engels' editorship, in 1887 (Part III, Chapter X, Section 2, p. 223).

In the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital* (1867), the section 'The Working Day' was part of Chapter III while in the second and subsequent German editions it made up Chapter VIII of Part III. In the English edition of 1887 it is Chapter X in Part III (see present edition, Vol. 35).—224

290 *The Workman's Advocate* (see Note 230) was renamed *The Commonwealth* on 10 February 1866. Despite the reorganisation the newspaper remained the official organ of the International Working Men's Association. It continued to publish reports of the Central Council meetings and other documents of the International. Marx remained on the Board of the Industrial Newspaper Company which owned the paper until 9 June 1866. Thanks to his efforts Eccarius, who became the editor of *The Workman's Advocate* not long before, retained his post. However, the reformist leaders of trade unions managed to paralyse the influence of Marx's supporters. In April 1866 George Odger was appointed its editor-in-chief. In issue No. 183, 8 September 1866, the newspaper declared itself to be the organ of the Reform League (see Note 155) and in fact fell under the influence of the radical bourgeoisie. It ceased publication on 20 July 1867.—224, 249, 252, 262, 283, 290, 574

291 In his letter of 18 January 1866 to Marx Wilhelm Liebknecht wrote that J. B. von Hofstetten, an editor of *Der Social-Demokrat,* had made one more attempt to persuade Marx, Engels and himself to contribute to the newspaper and use it for propagating the ideas of the International.—225

292 On 29 January 1866 the Prussian Supreme Tribunal adopted a decision to instituie court proceedings against Karl Twesten and Frenzel, members of the Chamber of Deputies, for their Chamber speeches delivered in 1865 in which they criticised the government press.

This decision was adopted despite the fact that the courts of first and second instance rejected the prosecutor's demand to apply this measure to the said deputies. The Chamber of Deputies of the Prussian Provincial Diet found the Supreme Tribunal's decision contradictory to the Prussian Constitution and to the principle of the inviolability of deputies, and turned it down. Nevertheless, Twesten's case was referred to the Berlin City Court, but in May 1866 Twesten was acquitted.—226

293 Engels refers to the negotiations between the Austrian ruling circles and the Hungarian moderate bourgeois-landlord opposition headed by Ferencz Deák on the reorganisation of the Habsburg Empire's state structure. In the spring of 1867 an Austro-Hungarian agreement was concluded under which the Austrian Empire turned into the dual state of Austria-Hungary.

This compromise between the ruling classes of the two countries aimed at suppressing the national liberation movement of the other peoples in the Empire, above all the Slavs. The concessions made to the Hungarians were also due to Austria's defeat in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—226, 297

294 Marx set forth the theory of ground rent in Chapter VI of the manuscript of Book III of *Capital.* In the third volume of *Capital* published by Engels it is given as Part VI: 'Transformation of Surplus-Profit into Ground Rent' (see present edition, Vol. 37).—227

295 Marx presumably meant H. Mahon's *Aus dem Bericht an den Minister für die landwirtschaftlichen Angelegenheiten in Berlin über die japanische Landwirtschaft.* This work was published as a supplement to J. Liebig's *Die Chemie in ihrer Anwendung auf Agricultur und Physiologie,* Braunschweig, 1862. Marx's notebook of excerpts for 1865, which he probably filled in while working on his Economic Manuscript of 1863-65, contains synopses of these two works.

When developing the theory of ground rent Marx used, besides the above-mentioned work by Liebig, the following books: L. de Lavergne, *The Rural Economy of England, Scotland and Ireland.* Translated from the French,

Edinburgh and London, 1855; and L'Mounier, *De l'agriculture en France, d'apres les documents officiels, avec des remarques par Rubichon*, Tomes 1-2, Paris, 1846.—227

296 The *shifting system* or *Relay system* was used by the British manufacturers to circumvent the laws limiting the working hours of children and juveniles. Under this system the children and juveniles, after several hours' work, were moved the same day to another workshop or factory in order to deceive the factory inspectors. As a result, their entire working day was often even longer than before the adoption of the ten hours act (see present edition, Vol. 35).—227

297 The reference is to Section IV of Chapter IV of the first edition of Volume One of Marx's *Capital*. In the second and subsequent editions it is given as Chapter XIII: 'Machinery and Industry'. In the English edition of 1887 edited by Engels it is Chapter XV in Part IV (see present edition, Vol. 35).—228

298 By decision of the Central Council of the International, *The Workman's Advocate* (No. 148) of 6 January 1866 reprinted from *The Cork Daily Herald* an appeal by the wives of the Irish revolutionaries O'Donovan Rossa and Luby to collect funds for the imprisoned Fenians (see Note 257). It was entitled 'The State Prisoners. An Appeal to the Women of Ireland'.

At the Central Council meeting of 16 January 1866 Marx announced that Fox had received a letter from Mrs O'Donovan Rossa thanking him for the reprint of the appeal and for his articles published in *The Workman's Advocate* on 14, 21 and 28 October 1865: 'The British Coup d'État in Ireland' (No. 136), 'The Influence of Irish National Feeling upon the Relations between Great Britain and the United States' (No. 137), and 'The Irish Difficulty. Continued' (No. 138).—228

299 During the Prussian Provincial Diet's session in January and February 1866, the Party-of-Progress majority in the Chamber of Deputies opposed the Bismarck government on many issues. For instance, the Chamber voted down the decision of the Supreme Tribunal on the prosecution of the deputies Karl Twesten and Frenzel (see Note 292), opposed the annexation of the duchy of Lauenburg by Prussia without the approval of both Chambers and denounced the prohibition of the banquet in Cologne (see Note 224). The Chamber's commissions opposed the increase of the military budget for 1866 and the agreement between the government and the Cologne-Minden Railway Joint-Stock Company (see Note 237).

Following these actions, the Prussian government ordered that the session be closed down ahead of time on 23 February 1866 and on 9 May 1866 it disbanded the Provisional Diet.—229

300 Marx's letter bears a mark in Lessner's hand: 'von Karl Marx F. Lessner London January 1901'.—229

301 Engels stayed at Marx's house in London from 14 to 18 February 1866.—230

302 This letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Selected Letters. The Personal Correspondence, 1844-1877*, Boston, Toronto, 1981.—233, 438, 539

303 A reference to the publication of the findings of the Parliamentary commission investigating the atrocities committed by the British army in suppressing the Negro rebellion in Jamaica (see Note 252). The commission condemned these actions. Initially supporting the colonialists, *The Times* later on had to heed

public opinion: on 3 and 5 March 1866 (Nos. 25436 and 25437) it published editorials and reports in which the brutalities committed 'by persons wearing the English uniform' were denounced.

The news of Russell's resignation turned to be premature. The Russell government resigned in June 1866, following the failure of Gladstone's Reform Bill (see Note 315).—236

304 The agreement between the Bismarck government and the Board of the Cologne-Minden Railway Joint-Stock Company (see Note 237) was discussed by a Commission of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies on 21 February 1866 and declared to be 'unconstitutional and invalid'. Due to its dissolution ahead of time (see Note 299), the Chamber was unable to consider the issue. Soon after that a statement appeared allegedly issued by the Board, which cancelled the agreement. On 28 February 1866, however, the Board officially denounced this as a rumour.—236

305 The full text of Engels' letter to Freiligrath cited below has not been found. Like the letter to Marx, it may have been written on about 10 March 1866 as a reply to Freiligrath's letter to Engels of 8 March 1866. In his letter Freiligrath expressed his anxiety about Marx's health, undermined by systematic night work, and wrote that a long rest in the countryside would restore his strength.—237

306 The Central (General) Council's meetings took place in the premises at 18 Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, from January 1866 to 25 June 1867.—238

307 From 15 March to approximately 10 April 1866 Marx stayed in Margate where he took treatment and had a rest.—239, 261, 268, 283, 574

308 The reference is to the heated debates, which started on 6 February 1866 at the British Parliament session over the bill on compensation to the cattle-owners in the event of epizootic disease. The debates ended on 20 February with the adoption of the corresponding Act.—242, 245

309 The Italian patriot Felice Orsini was executed in March 1858 for organising an attempt on Napoleon III's life. After Orsini's arrest, the leadership of the *Carbonari*, a secret revolutionary society, which Louis Bonaparte joined in 1831 when in Italy, sent him letters reminding him of his oath, which he had broken, to struggle for Italy's liberation. After Orsini's execution, it passed an official death sentence on Napoleon III.—242

310 A. Rogeard, *Les propos de Labienus*—a pamphlet published in 1865; it criticised Napoleon III's empire under the guise of Julius Caesar's dictatorship in Rome.—243

311 At the Central Council meeting of 13 March 1866, Cesare Orsini refuted Luigi Wolff's statement made at the Council meeting of 6 March that there were no Socialists in Italy in the French sense of the word; he also noted Mazzini's reactionary attitude towards science.—243

312 A member of the Dutch Section of the International, Antoinette Philips in her letters gave an extensive account of the events in Holland, which is why Marx jokingly calls her his Dutch secretary.—243

313 Marx and many of his supporters were unable to attend the Central Council meeting of 6 March 1866. Taking advantage of this, Le Lubez and L. Wolff, supported by the English trade unionists Odger, Howell, Cremer and others, had a resolution passed on the response by the Central Council to a slanderous

article by Vésinier published in *L'Echo de Verviers* (see Note 274). The resolution stated that the Central Council withdrew on everything that had been said with regard to 'an eminent writer of the Latin race', i.e. Mazzini, and his followers. By this the refutation of Vésinier's statement that Mazzini was the author of the International's programme documents, specifically the Rules, was disavowed. As a result of the stand taken by Marx and his supporters, the resolution was withdrawn at the meeting of 13 March. Thus the claims of the petty-bourgeois elements to the leadership in the International were rebuffed. (For details of this episode see Marx's letter to Engels of 24 March 1866, this volume, pp. 249-50).—244, 251, 286

314 A pun on the similarity of the names Grach and Gracchi—the name of the ancient Roman reformers. Marx's wife Jenny deposited 1,300 talers with Grach, a banker in Trier, who went bankrupt and concealed the fact from the depositors. At the request of Grach's wife, who promised to return the money after she had received an inheritance, Jenny Marx refrained from pursuing the matter in the courts (see Marx's letter to Engels of 8 March 1855, present edition, Vol. 39, p. 526). In Marx's subsequent letters, however, there is no indication whether the banker's wife paid the debt or not. Marx may be referring here to reassuring news about this matter.—244

315 From the beginning of 1866, the Electoral Reform Movement in Britain came under the influence of moderate bourgeois elements; the reformist trade union leaders (Odger, Cremer and others) showed themselves increasingly willing to make concessions to them. Thus, at the National Conference held by the Reform League on 28 February-1 March 1866 in St Martin's Hall, London, they opposed the Central Council delegation (Fox, Carter, Jung, Lessner and others), which supported manhood suffrage, and announced that they would be quite satisfied with household suffrage as an immediate aim.

On 12 March 1866 the Russell-Gladstone liberal government submitted to the House of Commons a Reform Bill providing for lower property qualifications for the electors (£10 in the counties and £7 in the towns). This would have meant a certain numerical increase of electors and included the wealthier strata of the working class as well. Under the influence of the bourgeois radicals and conciliatory-minded trade union leaders, the Reform League's Council supported, at its meetings of 16 and 20 March 1866, this extremely moderate bill of Gladstone which, however, was strongly opposed by the Tories and some Liberals and rejected by the Commons.—253, 257, 314

316 In the spring of 1866 the conflict between Prussia and Austria sharpened over their joint possession of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The Bismarck government regarded Austria as its main rival in the struggle for hegemony in Germany and sought for a *casus belli*. With this aim in view it accused Austria, which ruled Holstein, of encouraging the anti-Prussian movement there. Austria rejected Prussia's accusations and on 16 March 1866 sent a circular dispatch to several member states of the German Confederation (a union of German states founded by the Vienna Congress in 1815) asking for their mediation in the conflict or military assistance against Prussia. Prussia in its turn also sought the support of the German Confederation. In its circular dispatch of 24 March 1866 to the German states, the Prussian government proposed a reform of the political and military institutions of the German Confederation. Bismarck demagogically proposed that this reform be carried out through a German parliament elected on the basis of universal suffrage.—254, 257, 258, 263, 264

317 A meeting between the Prime Minister of Prussia, Manteuffel, and the Austrian Prime Minister, Schwarzenberg, took place in *Olmütz* (Olomouc) on 29 November 1850. Under the pressure of the Russian Emperor Nicholas I, Prussia had to give up her claims to take part in suppressing the uprising in the Electorate of Hesse in favour of Austria and in general, to abstain from attempts to establish her hegemony in Germany.—254

318 A reference to Alexander Cuza's abdication in February 1866. Cuza was Hospodar of Moldavia and Wallachia, which united in 1862 into the single Romanian state. The coup d'état was approved of by Russia and France, and was supported by Prussia. The boyar-bourgeois coalition, which was dissatisfied with the progressive reforms introduced by Cuza, invited Prince Charles Hohenzollern-Sigmarinen, a relative of the Prussian King, to the throne in March 1866. The new hospodar soon began to pursue a policy of subjecting Romania to the economic and political interests of Germany.—256, 258

319 A reference to the pamphlet *Congrès ouvrier. Association Internationale des Travailleurs* published by the Paris Section of the International early in 1866. It contained a French translation of the International's Provisional Rules, with some passages distorted by the Proudhonists; an appeal of the Paris Section to the members of the International Association which had first been published in the summer of 1865 and which included the Section's programme for the congress initially intended to be held in Brussels; the French delegation's report about the London Conference of 1865; the programme for the Geneva Congress of 1866, which had been approved by the London Conference, and other material.—259

320 The *Thirty Years' War, 1618-48*—a European war, in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the German Catholic princes rallied under the banner of Catholicism and fought against Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands, and a number of German states. The rulers of Catholic France, rivals of the Habsburgs, supported the Protestant camp.—263

321 A reference to the circular dispatch of 16 March 1866 sent by the Austrian government (see Note 316).

On 9 April 1866, the Prussian government submitted to the Federal Diet a proposal that an all-German parliament be convened through universal suffrage in order to decide the question of reforming the German Confederation.—264, 266, 285

322 The *Kingdom of Poland*—the Polish territory annexed to the Russian Empire in accordance with the decision of the Vienna Congress of 1815.—267

323 The *Vienna Treaty*, which concluded the war of 1864 waged by Prussia and Austria against Denmark (see Note 9), confirmed a number of previous treaties and conventions on Denmark, Schleswig and Holstein, in particular the clauses of the London Protocol of May 1852 on the Danish succession. In the Protocol, the Emperor of Russia was named as one of the lawful claimants to the Danish throne (being a descendant of Charles Peter Ulrich, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, who reigned in Russia as Peter III). The claimants waived their rights in favour of Duke Christian of Glücksburg, who was named heir to King Frederick VII. This created a precedent for the claims of the Russian Emperor to the Danish throne in the event of the extinction of the Glücksburg dynasty.—267

324 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Civil War in France*, London, 1937.—268

325 In March 1866, London tailors demanded a wage increase. A number of owners of large tailors' shops responded with a lock-out. On 27 March, all London tailors went on strike. The Executive Committee of the Journeymen Tailors' Protective Association, which had been formed at the national conference of British tailors held in Manchester on 12-17 March 1866, appealed to all tailors in Britain to support the strike. At its meeting of 27 March 1866, the Central Council of the International decided to instruct the Continental corresponding secretaries to call upon the tailors on the Continent not to go to Britain, where the employers were going to use them as strike-breakers. The Central Council's support of the strike played an important part in the victory of the London tailors in April 1866 and added to the popularity and prestige of the International Working Men's Association among the British working class. On 17 April, the Tailors' Protective Association joined the International.—268

326 This is a reference to the resistance with which Russell-Gladstone Reform Bill (see Note 315) was met by the Conservatives and some Liberals. Marx calls the Right-wing Liberals, who were once headed by Lord Palmerston, Palmerstonian Whigs. In 1866, they were nicknamed the Adullamites by John Bright as an allusion to the biblical legend about David's persecution by King Saul and his refuge in the cave of Adullam. The nickname became a synonym for dissatisfaction with everything and was used to condemn the Right-wing Liberals for their opposition to the Reform Bill.—269, 270

327 On 26 March 1866, Edinburgh tailors went on strike. With a view to preventing the importation into Scotland of German and Danish tailors to be used as strike-breakers, German tailors living in London formed a committee headed by Lessner and Haufe, and decided to act jointly with the Central Council of the International. At Marx's request, Lessner and Haufe sent him on 3 May details about the events in Edinburgh for use in a report for the German press. On 4 May, Marx wrote and sent Liebknecht, on behalf of the Central Council, a short article, entitled 'A Warning', which was published in several German papers (see present edition, Vol. 20). At the same time a leaflet written by Lessner and Haufe was issued in London. They appealed to the German workers in London to raise funds and support the strikers. Moreover, the Central Council sent Haufe and Hansen to Edinburgh to wreck the employers' plans. The Central Council's efforts contributed to the success of the strike, and promoted the International's influence in Britain.—270, 272, 275

328 A reference to the steps taken by Bismarck to find allies in the war with Austria that he was preparing. On 8 April 1866, Prussia and Italy signed a secret treaty under which they were to join in a war against Austria until Italy received Venetia and Prussia equivalent territories in Germany.—270, 282, 288

329 On the *London tailors' strike* see Note 325.

On 23 April 1866, the London wire-workers went on strike, demanding a 10 per cent wage increase. The same day, the strike committee sent out letters to all towns in England, Scotland and Ireland requesting the wire-workers there not to take jobs in London during the strike. With the help of the Central Council of the International, similar letters were sent to France and Germany. At the Central Council meeting of 24 April 1866, B. Patis, a member of the

London Association of Wire-Workers, thanked the Council for its help to the strikers and promised that the wire-workers would join the International.—272

330 On 7 May 1866, Ferdinand Cohen, a student and Karl Blind's stepson, made an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Bismarck. He was arrested and committed suicide in prison.—273, 275

331 A reference to Austria's defeat by France and Piedmont in the Austro-Franco-Italian war of 1859.—274

332 In preparing a war against Austria, Bismarck's government sought for France's benevolent neutrality. On 6 May 1866, the Emperor Napoleon III made a speech at an agricultural festival in Auxerre, in which he said that, like the majority of the French nation, he felt an aversion for the treaties of 1815, which certain parties would like to make the only foundation of France's foreign policy (see *The Times*, No. 25492, 8 May 1866). This statement, which was a response to a critical speech made by Louis Adolphe Thiers in the Corps législatif, implied the demand that the clauses of the Vienna treaties concerning France's eastern borders be revised. In Prussia, it was regarded as an encouragement for Bismarck's intention to reorganise the German Confederation which had been formed on the basis of the decisions of the Vienna Congress of 1815.—274

333 On Bismarck's intended reform of the German Confederation, see Note 316.

The *Fundamental Rights of the German People* (Die Grundrechte des deutschen Volkes), approved by the Frankfurt National Assembly late in 1848, formulated, like the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*, the basic bourgeois freedoms; they were incorporated into the Imperial Constitution of 1849, which was worked out by the National Assembly, but rejected by the King of Prussia and other German sovereigns (see Note 130). The main points of the Fundamental Rights were included in the constitutions of some German states, but were later on either deleted from them, or revised and curtailed on the basis of the decision of the Federal Diet of 23 August 1851.—276

334 Engels' series of articles, 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?', was never finished. This may have been because of the increasing influence of the radical bourgeois on the editorial board of *The Commonwealth*, where it was being published.—278, 280

335 At the Central Council meeting of 8 May 1866, Peter Fox announced that, at the next meeting, he would speak against a passage in Engels' third article ('The Doctrine of Nationality Applied to Poland') from the series 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?' (present edition, Vol. 20). Judging by this letter of Marx's, Fox made a speech at the Central Council meeting of 15 May 1866; however, there are no records, in the minutes of this meeting, either of Fox's speech or of Marx's reply.—278

336 Marx uses the term *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* ('principal and spectacular actions'), which has several meanings. In the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, it denoted plays performed by German touring companies. The plays, which were rather formless, presented tragic historical events in a bombastic and at the same time coarse and farcial way.

Secondly, this term can denote major political events. It was used in this sense by a trend in German historical science known as 'objective historiography'. Leopold Ranke was one of its chief representatives. He regarded *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* as the main subject-matter of history.—280

337 *The Commonwealth*, No. 165 of 5 May 1866, carried an editorial statement to the effect that the editors bore no responsibility for the contributions printed below a certain line. The responsibility was to be borne by the authors themselves. The statement was directed primarily against Engels' series of articles 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?', which were printed below the line marked by the editors.—280

338 The crash of Barnett's bank in Liverpool was one of the first signs of the crisis of 1866 which led to the collapse of the leading houses of Overend, Gurney, and following this of other banks, including the Consolidated Bank.—281

339 No. 15 of *Le Courrier français* for 20 May 1866 carried an appeal of the Paris students to the students of Germany and Italy (*Aux étudiants des universités d'Allemagne et d'Italie, les étudiants de Paris)* in connection with the threat of war between Prussia and Austria. This appeal was strongly influenced by Proudhonists who ignored the historic tasks of the national unification of Germany and Italy. The meeting of the Central Council, which was held on 5 June 1866 in Marx's absence, discussed the appeal of the French Section in London in response to the appeal of the Paris students: 'To the Paris Students, to the Students and Young People of All Countries from the Workers of All Countries' (*The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866. The London Conference 1865. Minutes*, Moscow, 1961, pp. 337-39). Marx was dissatisfied with the content of the latter appeal. At the Central Council meeting of 19 June 1866, Marx gave an extensive criticism of the Proudhonist position on the nationalities question (see this volume, pp. 286-87).—281

340 A reference to the unsuccessful attempt on Alexander II's life made by the Russian revolutionary Dmitri Karakosoff on 4 April 1866.—282

341 An allusion to Bismarck's well-known expression about the unification of Germany by 'blood and iron'. He said at a sitting of the budget commission of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies in September 1862: 'The great questions of time are decided not by speeches and majority decisions—this was the mistake of 1848 and 1849—but by iron and blood'.—282

342 At a session of the Commons on 4 June 1866, Disraeli criticised Clarendon's activity as Foreign Secretary, in particular, his alleged lack of firmness during the Crimean war and at the Paris peace congress of 1856.—282

343 Engels is referring to Prussia's defeat in the war with Napoleonic France in 1806.—285

344 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934]. The complete English translation was published in Karl Marx, *On the First International.* Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1973.—286

345 This is a reference to Engels' intention to write articles for *The Manchester Guardian* on the Austro-Prussian war, which broke out in June 1866. He wrote a series of five articles, and they were published in the newspaper under the heading 'Notes on the War in Germany' (see present edition, Vol. 20).

The *Austro-Prussian war of 1866* put an end to the rivalry between Austria and Prussia, which had lasted for many years, and predetermined the unification of Germany under the supremacy of Prussia. Several German states (such as Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, and Württemberg) fought on Austria's side.

Prussia formed an alliance with Italy. In June and July, hostilities were conducted on two fronts: in Bohemia and in Italy. After the grave defeat of her army at Sadowa, Austria began peace negotiations and signed a peace treaty in Prague on 23 August.—286, 290, 296, 298

346 A discussion on the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 took place at the Central Council meetings of 19 and 26 June, and 17 July 1866.

It was Marx's aim in the discussion to explain the necessity for the International to take an independent stand as a working-class organisation. This stand should have nothing to do either with the Proudhonists' nihilistic attitude towards the struggle for the national unification of Germany and Italy or with the British trade unionist tendency to embellish the unification policy of the ruling classes in Prussia and Italy, to neglect their expansionist and dynastic motives which played an important part in initiating the war conflict. Marx's critical speech persuaded the Central Council to refuse, on 17 July, to vote for the resolutions submitted earlier by Cremer and Dutton, as well as for Fox's resolution, because they failed to give precise formulations of the tasks of the proletariat. The Council unanimously adopted, with certain amendments, the following resolution which had been proposed by Bobczynski and Carter:

'That the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association consider the present conflict on the Continent to be one between Governments and advise working men to be neutral, and to associate themselves with a view to acquire strength by unity and to use the strength so acquired in working out their social and political emancipation' (*The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866. The London Conference 1865. Minutes*, Moscow, 1964, p. 213).—287

347 *Mutualists*, or supporters of mutual assistance, was the name adopted in the 1860s by the French Proudhonists, adherents of Proudhon's reformist ideas on the emancipation of labour by organising mutual assistance, equitable exchange of services and cheap credit.—287

348 A reference to the decisive battle in the Austro-Prussian war (see Note 345), which was fought at Königgrätz (Hradec-Králové) not far from the village of Sadowa (Bohemia) on 3 July 1866. The battle of Sadowa resulted in grave defeat for the Austrian forces. It is also known as the battle of Königgrätz.—288, 537

349 At the end of 1865 and the beginning of 1866, Bismarck conducted negotiations with Napoleon III through the Prussian ambassador to Paris, von der Holtz. In the course of the negotiations, wishing to secure France's neutrality in the war against Austria which was being prepared by him, Bismarck sought to make Napoleon believe that the war would be extremely exhaustive for Prussia and hinted vaguely at the possibility of territorial expansion for France at the expense of Belgium and Luxemburg, as well as certain German territories on the Rhine.—289, 293

350 As a result of the resignation of the Russell Liberal government and in protest against the impending coming to power of the Conservatives headed by Derby and Disraeli, mass meetings took place in London's Trafalgar Square, on 27 June and 2 July 1866, which again demanded manhood suffrage. In March 1866 the Reform League abandoned this demand under the influence of bourgeois radicals (see Note 315), but in the situation its leadership had to return for some time to its former platform. These meetings, which began a new stage in the struggle for a second electoral reform in Britain, had virtually been organised by members of the Central Council of the International.—290

351 In referring to Thiers' criticism of the foreign policy of the Second Empire, Marx, apparently, had in mind his speech of 3 May 1866 in the Corps législatif to which Napoleon III responded with a speech in Auxerre on 6 May 1866 (see Note 332). On 6 July 1866 the government of Napoleon III submitted a project of a *senatus-consulte* to the French Senate in accordance with which it was the Senate's exclusive right to discuss any alterations in the Constitution; discussion of any such matters in the press was to be prohibited under the threat of heavy fines; and the clause in the Constitution of 1852 establishing a three-month term for the forthcoming session of the Corps législatif was to be abolished. The *senatus-consulte* was adopted by the Senate on 14 July 1866.

During the debates on the budget for 1867 in the Corps législatif on 14 June 1866, one of the leaders of the bourgeois-republican opposition, Jules Favre, criticised the Mexican expedition (see Note 270) which involved tremendous expenses. At the same session another member of the republican opposition, Deputy Glais-Bizoin, expressed support for the parliamentary system referring to the French as a nation living under a regime of despotism. For this he was called to order by Walewski, Chairman of the Corps législatif.—290

352 On 4 July 1866, after the defeat of the Austrian army at Sadowa (see Note 348), the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph sent a telegram to Napoleon III in which he informed Napoleon that he was ready to secede to him Venetia provided that Napoleon would then secede this region to Italy, and he asked Napoleon III to act as intermediary between the belligerent states. Italy and Prussia agreed to Napoleon's mediation. In accordance with the peace treaty with Austria signed in Vienna on 3 October 1866 the region was returned to Italy.—291

353 Marx is referring to the bulbs that his daughter Jenny received from Johann Carl Juta, husband of her aunt Louise, in Cape Town and sent to Engels with detailed instructions on how to grow them.—291, 294

354 '*Old Bess*' or '*Brown Bess*' were the names given to the flint-lock smooth-barrelled muzzle-loading gun used in the British army in the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century.—291

355 A reference to Prussia's annexation of the Kingdom of Hanover, the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel, the Grand Duchy of Nassau and other territories as a result of its victory over Austria in the war of 1866.

According to a report published in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* on 7 June 1866, the King of Naples Francis II Bourbon, who had been overthrown by the Garibaldist movement, was presented with an honorary shield at an election meeting of the Prussian conservatives in Berlin which was chaired by Count Stolberg; however, at the same meeting there were calls for Prussia's union with the Italian 'revolution'.—292, 345

356 Certain South German states (such as Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden) took part in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 on the Austrian side.—293, 295

357 A reference to the projected settlement of the Austro-Prussian conflict that was proposed by the government of Napoleon III on 11 July 1866 in response to Prussia's peace terms. According to the project, an independent South German Confederation was to be formed, consisting of states lying south of the Main, similar to the former Confederation of the Rhine. In this way Napoleon III hoped to prevent the unification of Germany and to subordinate South German states to his protectorate.

The *Confederation of the Rhine* (Rheinbund)—a confederation of states in

Southern and Western Germany that was formed in July 1806 under the protectorate of Napoleon I. Napoleon's creation of this military and political stronghold in Germany was made possible by his defeat of Austria in 1805. Initially the Confederation incorporated sixteenth states (Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden and others), and later on another five states (Saxony, Westphalia, and others), which virtually became vassals of France. The Confederation fell apart in 1813, after the defeat of Napoleon's army.—294, 297

358 A reference to the war that France fought against the Holy Roman Empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.—295

359 *Blue Books*—periodically published collections of documents of the British Parliament and Foreign Office. They have been appearing since the seventeenth century.

Marx is referring to five reports of the Children's Employment Commission (1863-66) and the Eighth Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council (1866) which was supplemented by Dr Hunter's report about the housing conditions of the workers; Dr Hunter's report was extensively used by Marx in Volume One of *Capital* (see the English edition of 1887, Part III, Chapter XXV and also Vol. 35 of the present edition).—296, 301, 383, 407, 551

360 The plan for *Little Germany* was a scheme to unite Germany without Austria under Prussia's supremacy.—297

361 In his letters of 30 June to Marx and of 16 July 1866 to Engels Paul Stumpf from Mainz said that Wilhelm Liebknecht held a pro-Austrian stance in the Austro-Prussian war. In these letters, as well as in his letter to Marx of 10 July, Stumpf asked for instructions on the stand to be taken by the International's members in Mainz with regard to the military events.—298, 299

362 On 16 July 1866, during the Austro-Prussian war, the free city of Frankfurt am Main, which sided with Austria, was captured by the Prussian army. An indemnity of six million guldens was imposed on it, the city senate was disbanded and the garrison and military organisations disarmed. On 19 July the Prussians raised the indemnity to twenty-five million guldens and demanded from the burgomaster Karl Fellner a list of the wealthiest and most influential citizens, whose property was to be a pledge for the payment of the indemnity. He hanged himself in protest on the night of 23 July.—299, 301, 333

363 *Eschenheimer Gasse*—the street in Frankfurt am Main where the Federal Diet was in 1816-66.—299

364 A reference to the *Slav Congress* which met in Prague on 2 June 1848. It was attended by representatives of the Slav regions of the Austrian Empire. The Right, moderately liberal wing, to which Palacký and Šafařík, the leaders of the Congress, belonged, sought to solve the nationalities question by achieving autonomy for the Slav regions within the framework of the Habsburg monarchy (Austro-Slavism doctrine). The Left, radical wing (including Sabina, Frič and Libelt) wanted joint action with the democratic movement in Germany and Hungary. The radical delegates took an active part in the people's uprising in Prague (12-17 June 1848) and were subjected to severe reprisals. On 16 June the moderately liberal delegates declared the Congress adjourned indefinitely.—299

365 On 11 July 1859 Austria and France signed a separate preliminary peace treaty in Villafranca which put an end to the war of France and Piedmont against

Austria. In accordance with the treaty, Lombardy fell to France, but later on Napoleon III ceded it to Piedmont in exchange for Savoy and Nice; Venice was to remain under the Austrian domination and the dukes of Tuscany and Modena were to be reinstalled to their thrones. Although some clauses of the preliminary treaty were never implemented (e. g. the clause on the restoration of the dukes of Tuscany and Modena) or were altered, on the whole it formed the basis of the final peace treaty signed in Zurich on 10 November 1859.

The peace treaty between Austria and Prussia was signed in Prague on 23 August 1866. Under its terms Austria ceded its rights on Schleswig and Holstein and recognised Prussia's annexation of Hanover, Electorate of Hesse (Hesse-Cassel), Nassau and Frankfurt am Main; the German Confederation ceased to exist and instead of it the North German Confederation was formed under the hegemony of Prussia which did not incorporate Austria. The peace treaty between Austria and Italy was signed in Vienna on 3 October 1866. In accordance with it the region of Venice was returned to Italy, but its claims to Southern Tyrol and Trieste were rejected because of Prussia's opposition.—300, 345

366 On 23 July 1866 the Reform League (see Note 155) called a meeting in Hyde Park in support of manhood suffrage. Although banned by the government, the meeting took place; there was a clash between its participants and the police and several dozen workers were arrested. On 24 and 25 July tens of thousands workers, many of them armed, gathered round Hyde Park. The police and army units were sent against the demonstrators and a state of siege was virtually introduced in the capital; a threat arose of a clash of the people with the police and army. In this situation on 25 July a delegation of the League headed by its President Edmond Beales met the Home Secretary Spencer Walpole and promised to persuade the demonstrators to disperse if the army and police were ordered out of the park. Walpole agreed to this and did not object to another meeting in Hyde Park due on 30 July. However, during its preparation, Walpole denied his permission. His words were confirmed by Austin Holyoake, a member of the League Council, in his report about this talks with Walpole published in *The Times*. Fearing the mounting revolutionary activity of the masses the Council decided not to call any open-air meetings.—300

367 In May 1849, the republican Armand Marrast, President of the French Constituent Assembly, requested General Changarnier, a monarchist and commander of the Paris garrison, to bring in troops to defend the Assembly against the Bonapartists. Changarnier refused, declaring that he disapproved of '*baionnettes intelligentes*', i. e. soldiers meddling in politics.—302

368 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx, *On History and People*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1977. The full version of the letter was published in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, New Jersey, 1979.—303

369 A reference to a note handed to Bismarck in early August 1866 by the French Ambassador to Berlin Vincent Benedetti; it demanded the restoration of the 1814 frontiers as a compensation for France's neutrality during the Austro-Prussian war. This meant that the Saar Basin, the Palatinate, and the Rhenish part of Hesse-Darmstadt with the fortresses of Landau and Mainz were to be given over to France. The note also suggested that the Prussian garrison should be withdrawn from Luxemburg. The claims of Napoleon III were based on the secret promises made by Bismarck before the Austro-Prussian war not to

impede the annexation of the German territories between the Rhine and Mosel by France in case the latter did not prevent the formation of the Prusso-Italian coalition and defeat of Austria. However, following the victory over Austria, Bismarck, who planned a war with France, changed his stand and rejected the French government's demands on 7 August.—306, 352

370 This fact was later on cited by Engels in his unfinished work *The Role of Violence in History* which he wrote in 1887 and 1888 (see present edition, Vol. 26).—307

371 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx, *On Education, Women and Children*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1975.—307

372 Marx was sending Engels a letter to him from Liebknecht of 10 August 1866 along with a few issues of the Leipzig *Mitteldeutsche Volkszeitung*. The newspaper was founded in 1862 by liberals but in August 1866, after it had lost most of its subscribers it was sold to Liebknecht. He tried to turn it into a democratic paper and use it, as he wrote to Marx, to publicise the ideas and documents of the IWMA in Germany. However, on 29 August the publication was stopped by the Prussian military authorities of the city and was never renewed again.—310

373 This letter was first published in English in K. Marx, *On Education, Women and Children*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1975.—310

374 Marx is referring to his regular contributions to the *New-York Daily Tribune* which he made for over ten years, from August 1851 to March 1862.—311

375 The *Geneva Congress*—the first congress of the International Working Men's Association—took place between 3 and 8 September 1866. It was attended by 60 delegates from the Central (General) Council, various sections of the International and workers' societies in Britain, France, Germany and Switzerland. Hermann Jung was elected chairman. In preparing for the Congress Marx wrote 'Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions' (see present edition, Vol. 20). This document was read as the official report of the Council.

The Proudhonists who enjoyed one-third of the votes at the Congress countered Marx's 'Instructions' with their own programme on all items of the agenda setting it out in a memorandum. Nevertheless, the Congress adopted a resolution based on six of the nine points formulated by Marx in the 'Instructions': on the international combination of efforts in the struggle between labour and capital, on limitation of the working day, on juvenile and children's labour, on co-operative labour, on trade unions, and on standing armies. A compromise resolution on Poland was moved by Johann Philipp Becker and was adopted.

The Geneva Congress approved the Rules and the Regulations of the International Association and elected its General Council (officially called Central Council before the Congress) mostly in its former composition. The Congress completed the formation of the International as a mass international proletarian organisation.—312, 314, 316, 326, 368

376 As a result of its victory over Austria in 1866, Prussia was able to embark on the unification of Germany under its aegis. Besides its direct annexation of certain territories (see Note 355), it compelled Austria to agree to the disbandment of the German Confederation, and also succeeded in signing alliance treaties with 17 North German states (north of the Main) which had

fought in the war on its side; later on Saxony and other German states joined alliance treaties. This form of union prepared the ground for the formation of the North German Confederation.—312, 349, 460

377 Judging by this letter, Engels left for Germany on 24 August 1866. Presumably he visited his home town and other places in the Rhine Province of Prussia, and stayed with his relatives. Engels returned to Manchester probably in the latter half of September.—313, 330

378 From the end of August till mid-September 1866, Jenny Marx was on holiday at the seaside.—314

379 At the meeting of the General Council (as the Central Council began to be called after the Geneva Congress) on 25 September 1866 Marx informed it that he had received £5, the annual contribution, from Samuel Moore in Manchester. The receipt issued to Moore by the Treasurer of the Council, William Dell, Marx sent to Engels enclosed with this letter.—317

380 As far back as in March 1865, the Central Council of the International adopted a resolution on the conflict in the Paris Section in which it opposed the Proudhonist thesis that only a worker was admissible as an official in the working men's organisation. During the discussion of the General Rules and the Regulations at the Geneva Congress (see Note 375), the French delegate Tolain declared that only a person directly engaged in manual labour could be a delegate to the congress. Tolain's statement met with stiff opposition. Cremer and Carter emphasised in their speeches the fact that many of the people to whom the International owed its very existence were not manual workers. They particularly noted the services of Marx who, as Cremer said, had made fight for the triumph of the working class the cause of his entire life. Tolain's amendment was rejected.—318

381 At the proposal of the French delegates Tolain and Fribourg, the Geneva Congress expelled Le Lubez from the General Council for his slander and intrigues. At the General Council meeting of 16 October 1866 the matter, at Le Lubez's demand, was referred to the Standing Committee, which at the Council meeting of 23 October confirmed the correctness of the report on Le Lubez's unanimous expulsion with the minutes of the Congress (see *The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868. Minutes*, Moscow, 1964, p. 51).—318

382 To confirm his theory, Pierre Trémaux referred to the assertion of the Senegal missionary Santamaria that the black people descended from white people.—320

383 The workers' congress in Baltimore was held from 20 to 25 August 1866. It was attended by 60 delegates representing 60,000 American workers organised in trade unions. The Congress discussed such matters as the legal introduction of an eight-hour working day, political activities, co-operative societies, the unification of all workers in trade unions, strikes, and housing conditions. It was decided at the Congress to form the National Labour Union.—326

384 In his letter to Marx of 11 October 1866 Kugelmann said that he had not received any letters from him since April of that year and that he believed that the subsequent letters might have been either lost or intercepted. Later on it turned out that Marx's letter to Kugelmann of 23 August 1866 (see this volume, pp. 311-12) was only received on 27 November 1866.—327

385 In the first chapter of the first edition of Volume One of *Capital* Marx

summarised his *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* which had been published in 1859 (see present edition, Vol. 29). In the second and subsequent German editions of Volume One of *Capital* and in the English edition of 1887, this chapter ('Commodity and Money') comprises Part I (see present edition, Vol. 35).—328

386 This letter is a reply to Kugelmann's letter of 23 October 1866. Kugelmann advised Marx to ask Engels for his help in arranging the loan; he also suggested that Marx should make the same request to a well-known doctor, A. Jacobi, a former activist in the Communist League, who lived in New York.—330

387 The *Code pénal* was introduced in 1811 in Napoleon's France and in the regions of Western and South-Western Germany conquered by the French. Article 2 of the *Code* says: 'Any attempt to commit an offence that manifested itself in practical acts and was accompanied by the *commencement of the commitment of the offence* and that was interrupted or was not carried out owing solely to circumstances that were beyond the control of the person in question shall be equivalent to an offence proper.'—333

388 Early in September 1866 the Prussian Chamber of Deputies passed an Indemnity Bill submitted by Bismarck. The Bill relieved the government of any responsibility for expenditures which had not been legally approved during the constitutional conflict (see Note 100). Thus the conflict ended with the complete capitulation of the bourgeois opposition to the Bismarck government. Deputies Karl Twesten and Frenzel, who belonged to the opposition and had more than once criticised the government, now voted for the Bill. Nevertheless, early in November 1866 they were once again put on trial on the basis of the Supreme Tribunal's decision of 29 January 1866 (see Note 292) for their former speeches in the Prussian Provincial Diet but were again acquitted.—333

389 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx, *On America and the Civil War*, New York, 1972, and in full in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, New Jersey, 1979.—334

390 Karl Marx's father, Heinrich Marx, owned a small vineyard in the Mosel region.—334

391 A reference to the commercial treaty between Britain and France of 23 January 1860. In accordance with the treaty the duties on British goods exported to France were not to exceed 30 per cent of their price; France had the right to duty-free import of most of her goods to Britain.—334

392 A reference to the defeat of the Democratic Party to which President Johnson belonged in the elections to Congress in November and December 1866. Johnson pursued a policy of compromise with the plantation-owners of the Southern states and opposed the granting of electoral rights to the Negroes. The elections were won by the Republicans who had received two-thirds of the votes in Congress.—334

393 Nos. 52 and 53 of the Berlin satirical weekly *Kladderadatsch* of 18 November 1866 carried a lampoon, *Die Frau in Weiß. Drama in 5 Acten mit freier Benutzung von Wilkie Collins*, which was directed against Marx and his comrades. Its author was Heinrich Bettziech, a German petty-bourgeois democrat, who wrote under the pen-name of Beta.

The *Brimstone Gang* was the name of a students' association at Jena University in the 1770s which was notorious for its members' brawls; subsequently, the expression 'Brimstone Gang' became widespread.

In his pamphlet *Mein Prozeß gegen die 'Allgemeine Zeitung'* which was published in 1859 the petty-bourgeois democrat Karl Vogt called Marx and his party comrades 'the Brimstone Gang'. However, this was a jocular name for a group of German émigrés that existed in Geneva in 1849 and 1850 with which Marx and his supporters were not connected. Marx exposed Vogt's slander in his pamphlet *Herr Vogt* which was published in 1860 (see present edition, Vol. 17).

Wilhelm Liebknecht was arrested in Berlin on 2 October 1866 after he had made an anti-government speech in the Berlin Printers' Union. He was sentenced to three months imprisonment.—336

394 A reference to the letter to Engels of 6 December 1866 from the refugee Hossfeld who lived in Liverpool. He asked Engels to lend him some money.—337

395 A reference to the seizure by the French authorities of letters written by members of the International, their confiscation of documents of the Geneva Congress and the pressure that the Bonapartist circles brought to bear on the British government in order to prevent the publication of Congress documents in *Le Courrier international*. Early in January 1867 the General Council published a statement entitled 'The French Government and the International Association of Working Men' in which it exposed the actions of the ruling circles of the Second Empire towards the International (see *The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868. Minutes,* Moscow, 1974, pp. 271-76).—338

396 *Head Centre* was the code name of the leader of the Fenian secret organisation (see Note 257). At the General Council meeting of 4 December 1866 it was reported that James Stephens, the leader of the Irish Fenians who had been arrested late in 1865 but escaped from prison and emigrated to the United States, had joined the International.—338

397 On 6 December 1866 Pius IX addressed the officers of the French regular forces before their evacuation from the Papal States on Napoleon III's order. In his speech the Pope virtually expressed his disapproval of this act by the French Emperor and asked for him to be informed that he should act 'as the head of a Christian state and a good Christian', in other words, he should take effective measures to prevent the incorporation of the Papal States into the Italian Kingdom.—338

398 Marx used *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England* by James Thorold Rogers in Chapter VI of Volume One of *Capital* which later became a section (chapters XXIII and XXIV in the second and subsequent German editions respectively, chapters XXV and XXVII in the English edition of 1887; see present edition, Vol. 35).—339

399 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Literature and Art.* Selection from Their Writings, New York, 1947.—339, 347

400 *Praetorians*—the privileged section of the army in ancient Rome, originally the generals' guards; in a figurative sense, mercenary troops propping up a system of government based on brute force.—340

401 The *substitution system* was for a long time practised in the French army whereby members of the wealthier classes had the privilege of being able to free themselves from military service by hiring substitutes. During the French Revolution this was prohibited; however, Napoleon I introduced it again. Under the law of 1855, substitutes were to be selected by government bodies

and the payment for them was to be made to a special 'army donation' fund. The substitution system was abolished in France in 1872.—340

402 Jules Gottraux, a Swiss-born subject of Great Britain and a member of the International, was detained by the French police on the Franco-Swiss border on 30 September 1866 when he was returning to London from Geneva. The police confiscated letters and printed matter which were to be handed to the General Council. The General Council made a public protest against this arbitrary act and other acts hostile to the International committed by the Bonapartist authorities and demanded the return of the seized documents (see Note 395). Receiving no reply from the French Minister of the Interior to its petition that the documents be returned, the General Council appealed to Lord Edward Stanley, the British Foreign Secretary, who through Henry Cowley, the British Ambassador to Paris, succeeded in returning the papers. At its meeting of 1 January 1867 the General Council passed a resolution in which it thanked Lord Stanley for his help.—341, 346

403 A reference to the black-white-red flag of the North German Confederation which was founded in 1867 under the supremacy of Prussia (at the time the letter was written preparations were being carried on for forming it), and later of the German Empire.—344

404 Marx used this information given by Engels in Volume One of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 35; English edition of 1887, Part IV, Chapter XV, Section 5, pp. 434-35).—345

405 Article 4 of the *Peace Treaty of Prague* between Prussia and Austria recognised the independence of the German states lying south of the Main and their right to form a separate South German Confederation (Napoleon III's aim). At the same time it mentioned the national ties between the North and South German states and envisaged the possibility of their joining the planned North German Confederation under Prussia's supremacy. In August 1866 Bismarck made a secret defence alliance with the South German states which provided that in the event of war their armies would be placed under the Prussian high command.—345

406 In his letter to Marx of 15 February 1867 Ludwig Kugelmann enclosed a notice from the Hanover liberal newspaper *Zeitung für Norddeutschland*, No. 5522, of the same day which reported Marx's intention to go to the Continent with the alleged aim of preparing a Polish insurrection. Sending the text of his refutation ('A Correction', see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 202) Marx considered its publication all the more necessary since he did plan to visit Germany to take the manuscript of Volume One of *Capital* to the publisher Otto Meissner in Hamburg and to agree about the terms of its publication.

On 21 February 1867 the *Zeitung für Norddeutschland* was forced to print a refutation of its fabrication about Marx's intention to take an active part in the preparations for a future insurrection in Poland. On 22 February Kugelmann sent the published refutation to Marx. This was probably what Marx told Engels in his letter of 25 February.—346, 347, 352

407 The report on the Geneva Congress of the International (see Note 375) was published in English in *The International Courier*, Nos. 7-15 of 20 February, 13, 20 and 27 March, and 3, 10 and 17 April 1867 and in French in *Le Courrier international*, Nos. 8-16 of 9, 16, 23 and 30 March and 6, 13, 20 and 27 April 1867.—346

408 This is a comment on the elections to the constituent North German Reichstag

which took place in Germany in February 1867. Two Saxon constituencies elected August Bebel who became the first ever working-class representative in the German parliament and the lawyer Reinhold Schraps, the candidate of the Saxon People's Party. Wilhelm Liebknecht had been in prison for three months until the middle of January and was therefore unable to organise an election campaign and to win the elections.—348

409 A reference to the constituent North German Reichstag convoked on the basis of universal suffrage that had been proclaimed by Bismarck. The Reichstag held its sessions from 24 February to 17 April 1867; it approved the creation of the North German Confederation and its constitution, which became valid on 1 July 1867.—349

410 The weekly *Hermann,* No. 426, 2 March 1867, reprinted from the *Volks-Zeitung* Stieber's statement which refuted the report published in the *Hermann,* No. 424, to the effect that in January 1860 he had attempted to bribe its editorial board in order to prevent the further publication of an article by Wilhelm Eichhoff exposing Stieber's activities as an *agent provocateur* during the Cologne Communist trial. Under this statement of Stieber's the editors placed a statement by R. Hirschfeld, the owner of the print-shop where at that time the weekly had been printed. Hirschfeld's statement cited facts showing Stieber's attempt to bribe the editorial board in January 1860. On 8 March 1867 the *Volks-Zeitung* carried a new statement by Stieber, in which he again denied his attempt.—349

411 A reference to the secret peace negotiations between France and Russia in 1855 during the Crimean war (1853-56) waged by the Anglo-Franco-Turkish coalition and Tsarist Russia. They were conducted through Baron Seebach, Saxony's envoy to Paris, who had important connections at the Russian court.—349

412 On 10 April 1867 Marx went to Germany to deliver the manuscript of Volume One of *Capital* to the publisher Otto Meissner. He arrived in Hamburg by boat on 12 April. Having made all the arrangements with Meissner, he came to Hanover on 16 April and stayed with Ludwig Kugelmann till the middle of May. On his way back to Britain Marx once again saw Meissner in Hamburg on 16 and 17 May and returned to London on 19 May 1867.—350, 356, 366, 375, 379

413 In his note to Marx of 1 April 1867 Sigismund Borkheim told him that 'a continental friend' ('ein Freund vom Kontinent') had written to him about Marx's strained circumstances and his need of the Party's material support.—350, 352

414 On 25 January 1867, the Paris Bronze-Workers' Credit and Solidarity Society (Société de crédit et de solidarité des ouvriers du bronze) sent a circular to its members calling upon them to prepare for a general strike of solidarity with Barbedienne's bronze-workers who demanded fixed rates. They went on strike in February. In response to this, the owners of 120 enterprises adopted, at their meeting on 14 February, a resolution threatening to impose a lock-out if the society were not dissolved. A general meeting of bronze-workers that was held on 24 February and was attended by nearly 3,000 people resolved to fight the employers. The General Council of the International was immediately informed of this by a delegation of the bronze-workers' society specially sent to London, consisting of Camelinat, Kin, and Valdun who were joined by Tolain and Fribourg. On the initiative of Jung, Dupont and other members of the General Council funds began to be raised to aid the Paris workers. The broad movement of solidarity, which had been organised by the General Council,

served to keep up the strikers' militant spirit and undermined the employers' position. Negotiations between employers and workers began at individual factories, and on 24 March representatives of the employers' association agreed to introduce fixed rates for separate jobs.—351

415 Early in 1867 a conflict broke out between the ruling circles of Prussia and France, since both sides had claims to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, which was connected by a personal union with the Netherlands (the King of the Netherlands was also the Grand Duke of Luxemburg) and was also a member of the German Confederation. However, after the latter was disbanded in 1866, Luxemburg refused to enter the North German Confederation which had been formed under Prussia's aegis. The government of Napoleon III and the King of the Netherlands agreed on the sale of Luxemburg to France, but Bismarck prevented it by making use of the Prussian garrison that was stationed in the duchy when the German Confederation still existed.

In May 1867 the Luxemburg question was discussed at an international conference in London which made it a duty of the European powers to guarantee the preservation of Luxemburg's former status and neutrality. Prussia was to withdraw its troops from the duchy. In both states the Luxemburg conflict entailed preparations for war and extensive militaristic propaganda and became a stage in the preparation for the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71.—351, 352, 364, 459

416 In response to the protest of the Polish deputies to the North German Reichstag against the forcible incorporation of the Principality of Posen and other Polish territories in the North German Confederation, Bismarck made a demagogical speech on 18 March 1867 in the Reichstag in which he said in particular that the Polish peasantry trusted the Prussian and Russian authorities more than their own nobility.—351, 374

417 In his speech of 11 March 1867 in the North German Reichstag Bismarck said: 'Gentlemen! Let us quickly get down to work! Let us put Germany in the saddle, as it were! She will be able to ride.' On 23 March of the same year a conservative deputy to the Reichstag, Hermann Wagener ended his speech with the words Engels cites in his letter.—355

418 According to the arrangement with the publisher that Marx mentions in his letter, he planned after the publication of Volume One of *Capital* (appeared in September 1867) to publish Book Two and Book Three as Volume Two, and Book Four, which contained a critical history of economic theories, as a concluding Volume Three.

After Marx's death, Engels prepared for the press and published manuscripts belonging to Book Two and Book Three as Volumes Two and Three of *Capital*; he died before he could prepare for the press Book Four, *Theories of Surplus Value* (Volume Four of *Capital*) and have it published (see also Note 227).—357, 358, 367, 368, 371, 390, 402, 405, 407, 418, 436, 442, 509, 511, 515, 525, 544

419 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, *Letters on 'Capital'*, New Park Publications, London, 1983.—358, 386, 391, 402, 405, 409, 417, 425, 442, 487, 507, 511

420 *Guelphs* (Welfs)—members of a separatist party formed in Hanover following its annexation by Prussia in 1866. It consisted of supporters of the restoration of the independent Hanover monarchy headed by the house of Welfs which was once on the throne there.—361, 492

421 *Head-in-chief* (Haupt-Chef)—the name given by Wilhelm Stieber, one of the organisers of the Cologne Communist trial in 1852, to a police spy, Julian Cherval (real name Joseph Crämer). Stieber sought to represent Cherval as a dangerous conspirator and leader of the Communist League and make it appear that he was connected with Marx and the defendants (see K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 407-19).—361

422 A reference to the subscription for Ferdinand Freiligrath that was started in the spring of 1867. The poet's admirers wanted to present him with a 'people's donation' since he had lost his post of manager in the English branch of the Bank of Switzerland after the latter's bankruptcy. With this aim in view, committees were organised in Britain, Germany and the United States through which funds were gathered. Reports about the subscription were regularly published in the London newspaper *Hermann*.—362, 378, 385, 425, 472, 532

423 A reference to the publicity Lassalle managed to achieve for his book about Heraclitus' philosophy, published in 1858. For this purpose he made use of his friends and officially joined the society of German Old Hegelian philosophers.—363

424 The 'nationalities principle' was put forward by the ruling circles of the Second Empire and was extensively used by them as an ideological smoke-screen for their plans of conquest and adventurous foreign policy. Seeking to pass himself off as a 'defender of nationalities', Napoleon III took advantage of the national interests of the oppressed nations with the aim of strengthening the hegemony of France and extending her frontiers. This principle was also used in the diplomacy of Tsarist Russia to spread Russian influence to the Balkans and Central Europe. The demagogical nature of the 'nationalities principle' used by the ruling circles of counter-revolutionary European states was exposed by Marx in his pamphlet *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17) and by Engels in the article 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?' (present edition, Vol. 20).—364

425 A reference to the second Reform Bill which was finally approved by Parliament on 15 August 1867. In accordance with the new law, the property qualifications for electors was lowered for lease-holders in the counties to 12-pound rent a year, and in the towns franchise was granted to all householders, and house tenants, and those tenants who had held their place of residence for not less than a year and paid not less than £10. Although as a result of the 1867 reform the number of electors in Britain doubled, and suffrage was also extended to a section of skilled industrial workers, the bulk of the country's population remained disfranchised as before.—365, 384, 468

426 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895*, London, 1934. In full the letter was published in English in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975.—366

427 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx, *On the First International*, New York, 1973. In full the letter was published in English in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, New Jersey, 1979.—367

428 Marx was first expelled from France in January 1845 by the Guizot ministry at the demand of the Prussian government. The pretext for this was Marx's part

in editing the newspaper *Vorwärts!* which violently criticised Prussian reactionary order. Early in February Marx had to emigrate to Belgium.

On 19 July 1849, Marx who was again in Paris—this time after the defeat of the German revolution—received a notice from the French authorities ordering him to leave Paris and move to the Department of Morbihan, a swampy and unhealthy part of Brittany. This prompted his departure to London in the second half of August 1849.—368

429 Marx's attempts to find somebody to translate *Capital* into French were unsuccessful at the time. On the French translation of Volume One of *Capital* see Note 539.—368

430 A reference to a cross given to Jenny on her birthday. Such crosses were worn by participants in the Polish national liberation struggle. Since the end of 1867 Jenny wore it on a green ribbon as a symbol of her mourning over the Irish Fenians executed in November 1867 (green colour was a symbol of struggle for the national liberation of Ireland).—369, 479

431 The *Manichaeans* were the followers of a religious trend current in the Middle East in the third century of the Christian era, its characteristics being asceticism and celibacy. In German students' slang the word Manichaean stood for a merciless creditor (in consonance with the German 'mahnender Gläubiger', i. e. a creditor demanding the payment of debt).—372, 436

432 The *National-Liberals*—a party of the German, above all Prussian, bourgeoisie which was formed in the autumn of 1866 after a split in the Party of Progress (see Note 99). Their policy showed that a considerable section of the liberal bourgeoisie had abandoned its claims to extend its political prerogatives and capitulated to the Bismarck Junker government after Prussia's victory in the Austro-Prussian war and the establishment of her supremacy in Germany.—372, 421, 504

433 In June 1849 the right-wing liberal deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly, who walked out after the Prussian King Frederick William IV had refused to accept the Imperial Crown, met in Gotha for a conference which resulted in the formation of the so-called *Gotha party*. The objective of this party, which reflected the sentiments of the big bourgeoisie and feared the victorious outcome of the revolution, was to achieve the unification of the Germany (with the exception of Austria) under the hegemony of Prussia. There was a certain continuity between the Gotha party and the National-Liberals.—372

434 In 1846 Marx and Engels negotiated through Joseph Weydemeyer the financing of the publication of their two-volume work criticising the German ideology (see present edition, Vol. 5) with the Westphalian publishers Julius Meyer and Rudolph Rempel. In July 1846, after a series of subterfuges and delays, Meyer and Rempel refused their promised assistance on the pretext of financial difficulties, the actual reason being the differences of principle between Marx and Engels, on the one hand, and the champions of 'true socialism', on the other, whose views both publishers shared.

In the spring of 1845 Hermann Kriege, one of the future exponents of 'true socialism', was recommended by Meyer to Engels and Marx and met the former in Barmen and the latter in Brussels.—373

435 In his speech in the North German Reichstag on 9 March 1867 Johannes Miquel demanded that a North German Confederation should be formed as a

single centralised state under the hegemony of Prussia and urged the other German states to sacrifice their freedom for Germany's unification.—373

436 *Cremorne gardens* existed in the 1850s-1870s in London; they were closed in 1877.—376

437 Marx stayed with Engels in Manchester from approximately 22 May to 2 June 1867.—377, 379

438 During his stay in Hanover in April and May 1867, Marx decided to write an appendix on forms of value for Volume One of *Capital*—an idea that was supported by Ludwig Kugelmann. Marx wanted to supplement and specify Chapter I of the main text on commodities and money. He implemented this idea in the first edition of Volume One (1867). In the second German edition of 1872 Marx revised this appendix and incorporated it in the relevant passages of the text. In the subsequent editions of *Capital*, including the English one of 1887 edited by Engels, the text was given in this form.—378, 384, 392, 396, 402, 423

439 A reference to the 'Report of the Commissioners on the Treatment of the Treason-Felony Convicts in the English Convict Prisons' by the police magistrate Alexander Knox and the medical officer George Pollock published in London in 1867 on Parliament's decision. The report dealt with the treatment of political prisoners, especially Irish Fenians (see Note 257) in the English prisons.—378, 383, 390, 394

440 *The Times* of 3 June 1867 carried a report by its Paris correspondent which stated that during the ceremony of welcome for the Russian Emperor Alexander II in Paris, there had been shouts of 'Long Live Poland' in the crowd. At the meeting of 18 June 1867 the General Council of the First International passed a resolution approving the mass demonstration of solidarity in Paris with the Poles suppressed by Tsarism. The text of the Council's resolution was published in *The Commonwealth*, No. 224 of 22 June 1867 (see *The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868. Minutes*, Moscow, 1974, pp. 129-30).—379

441 In Hegel's terminology, '*Knoten*' ('nodal points') are certain moments in movement when a sudden qualitative leap takes place as a result of gradual quantitative change (see G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, Erstes Buch, Dritter Abschnitt, Zweites Kapitel).—382

442 The Royal Commission to Make Inquiry Respecting the English Trade Unions was set up in February 1867 because the ruling classes were anxious about the mounting trade unions' activity and hoped that such inquiry would help to outlaw the trade unions or at least restrict the scope of their activity. At the same time an anti-trade union campaign was launched in bourgeois newspapers. The trade unions, supported by the General Council of the International, responded with meetings all over the country and a national conference in London on 5-8 March 1867. After the inquiry the Royal Commission failed to make any serious charges against the trade unions, but it hindered their complete legalisation (the legal protection of their funds, and the recognition of their right to fight strike-breakers and to support strikes organised by other trade unions).—384, 387, 426

443 The new inquiry into working conditions resulted in the law of 15 August 1867 which extended the validity of the factory acts to new industries. Now the

maximum working-day for women and children below eighteen years of age was restricted to $10^1/_2$ hours, not only at the factories but also at smaller enterprises and in the domestic industry.—384

444 Marx is referring to Chapter III of the first edition of Volume One of *Capital*; in the second and subsequent editions it corresponds to five chapters (V-IX) of Part III and in the English edition of 1887 to chapters VII-XI (see present edition, Vol. 35).

The note to the text of the first edition that is mentioned here stated that the molecular theory was advanced by Auguste Laurent and Charles Frédéric Gerhardt, and Charles Adolphe Wurtz was the first who scientifically elaborated it. Later on Marx made an additional study of the history of this problem and omitted his reference to Wurtz in the second German edition of Volume One of *Capital* (1872); in the third edition of the volume (1883) Engels also made a more precise assessment of the role that had been played by Laurent and Gerhardt (see the English edition of 1887, Part III, Chapter XI, and the present edition, Vol. 35).—385

445 Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* appeared in the spring of 1845. The part of the edition that had not been sold out was put on sale later on with a new title page dated 1848.—385

446 A reference to Chapter II ('The Transformation of Money into Capital') and Chapter III ('Production of Absolute Surplus-Value') of the first edition of Volume One of *Capital*. They correspond to Parts II and III in the second and subsequent German editions, and to Parts II and III (chapters IV-XI) of the English edition of 1887 (see present edition, Vol. 35).—386

447 One of the reasons for appointing the Royal Commission to Make Inquiry Respecting the English Trade Unions (see Note 442) was the excesses committed in 1865-66 in Sheffield, the centre of metal-working industry, by some trade-unionists against strike-breakers. The Commission, however, failed to make any serious charges against the trade unions, since these instances were few and far between.—387

448 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975.—388, 389

449 Between 5 July and early August 1867 Engels travelled in Sweden, Denmark and Germany and visited Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover. His wife Lizzie Burns accompanied him during some part of the trip.—389, 391, 392, 395, 396, 399, 401, 444, 469

450 Marx is referring to the last section of Chapter V in the first edition of Volume One of *Capital*. It corresponds to Chapter XVII of Part VI in the second and subsequent German editions of this volume and to Chapter XIX of Part VI in the English edition of 1887 (see present edition, Vol. 35).—390

451 The paras mentioned in the letter, including the criticism of the theory of Nassau William Senior, were in Chapter III of the first edition of Volume One of *Capital*, and correspond to chapters VII and VIII of Part III in the second and subsequent German editions of this volume, and to chapters IX and X of Part III in the English edition of 1887 (see present edition, Vol. 35).—391, 392

452 A reference to the extremely negative reaction of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (in the articles published on 18 and 26 June 1867) to the statements by the British Foreign Secretary Stanley in the House of Commons on 14 June

and the Prime Minister Derby in the House of Lords on 20 June 1867. Stanley and Derby expressed their approval of the treaty on Luxemburg signed at the international conference in London on 11 May 1867. This treaty which guaranteed the former status and neutrality of Luxemburg put an end to the so-called Luxemburg crisis (see Note 415).—394

453 In his reply to Marx of 20 July 1867 Freiligrath evaded a direct answer to Marx's question (see M. Häckel, *Freiligraths Briefwechsel mit Marx und Engels*, Th. 1, Berlin, 1968, S. 181).—398

454 For the second German edition of Volume One of *Capital* (published by Meissner in Hamburg in 1872) Marx revised and enlarged the text and improved the structure of the book. In doing this he also took into account the suggestions Engels made in this letter. Instead of the original six chapters the second and subsequent German editions of Volume One contained seven parts comprising 25 chapters. Chapter IV, which is being discussed in this letter, became Part IV consisting of four chapters; Chapter XII was divided into five and Chapter XIII into ten sections. The text of this volume in the English edition of 1887, edited by Engels, was divided into even more chapters. Chapter IV of the first edition corresponds to Part IV, chapters XII, XIII, XIV (sections 1-5) and Chapter XV (sections 1-10) (present edition, Vol. 35).—406, 407, 436

455 The reference is to Chapter VI ('The Process of the Accumulation of Capital') of the first edition of Volume One of *Capital* which corresponds to Part VII of the second and subsequent German editions, and to chapters XXIII-XXV of Part VII of the English edition of 1887 (see present edition, Vol. 35).—406, 409

456 Part of the Preface to Volume One of *Capital* was soon published in a number of German periodicals such as *Die Zukunft*, No. 206 of 4 September 1867; *Der Beobachter*, No. 210 of 7 September 1867; *Der Vorbote*, Nos. 9-11 of September-November 1867; and *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* of 4 and 11 January 1868. The English translation of part of the Preface done by Georg Eccarius was published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 308 of 7 September 1867; the French translation done by Paul Lafargue and Marx's daughter Laura appeared in *Le Courrier français*, No. 106 of 1 October 1867 and in the Belgian newspaper *La Liberté*, No. 15 of 13 October 1867.—407, 423, 428, 448, 450, 495, 527

457 A reference to Marx's work on Book Two of *Capital* in which he analysed 'The Process of Circulation of Capital'. By that time Marx had already finished the first rough version of the book, it being written presumably in the first half of 1865. From the latter half of 1865 to August 1867 he wrote another two manuscripts dealing with the subject. Between the end of 1868 and 1870 Marx wrote a second, complete version of this book, which, along with his later manuscripts, was subsequently used by Engels in preparing Volume Two of *Capital* for publication in 1885.—408

458 A reference to Marx's letter to Engels of 20 August 1862 and Engels' reply of 9 September 1862 (see present edition, Vol. 41).—408

459 This letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, *Letters on 'Capital'*, New Park Publications, London, 1983.—410

460 In the summer of 1866 the Greek population of Crete (Candia) rose against Turkish domination demanding union with Greece. Despite the cruel punitive

measures taken by the Turkish troops against the insurgents and civilians, the struggle continued, supported by volunteers from many other countries.

The events on Crete brought about a new aggravation of the international contradictions in the Middle East. In November 1866 the Russian government proposed that the European powers should demand from the Turkish Empire the transfer of Crete to Greece. However, the western powers preferred Crete to remain under the Turkish rule since they were afraid that the position of Russia in the region might be strengthened and the national liberation movement of the nations ruled by the Sultan be further stepped up. The support of the Crete insurgents went no further than a joint statement made by Russia, France, Italy and Prussia of 29 October 1867 which recommended that the Turkish government should restrain from bloody excesses on Crete. In 1869 the insurrection was completely suppressed.—414

461 The *League of Peace and Freedom*—a pacifist organisation that was set up in 1867 with the active participation of Victor Hugo, Giuseppe Garibaldi and other democrats. The League owed its origin to the anti-war sentiments of the masses. However, its leaders held pacifist positions; they failed to see the social causes of war and often confined its anti-war activity to mere declarations.

The League's constituent congress was originally scheduled for 5 September 1867 in Geneva. Its organising committee, which enjoyed the support of a number of radical and democratic public figures like John Stuart Mill and the Reclus brothers, also counted on the participation of the leaders of the European proletariat. Therefore the committee sent invitations to the sections of the International and its leaders, Marx included, to attend the congress. It was also decided to postpone the opening of the congress until 9 September, so that the delegates of the Lausanne Congress of the International (due on 2-8 September) could take part in it too.

The International's attitude towards the League of Peace and Freedom was discussed both in the General Council and in local sections. Marx's speech at the Council meeting of 13 August 1867 and the resolution adopted at his proposal (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 204) formulated the principles of the International's tactics in such a bourgeois-democratic movement. In contrast to the unconditional support of the League, which is what the leaders of the British trade unions inclined towards, the International's tactics envisaged both the joint participation with the democrats in the struggle against the threat of war, provided the class independence of the proletarian organisation was retained, and a revolutionary proletarian approach towards the questions of war and peace in opposition to bourgeois pacifist illusions. Marx believed that the International should not take part in the League's congress on an official basis because that would mean the International's solidarity with its bourgeois programme. However, it was recommended that the International's members should attend the congress privately in order to influence its decisions in a revolutionary-democratic way.—414, 424, 473, 517, 537, 581

462 The *Lausanne Congress* of the International was held from 2 to 8 September 1867. Marx took part in the preparations but he was unable to attend the congress, since he was busy reading the proofs of Volume One of *Capital*.

The Congress was attended by 64 delegates from six countries (Britain, France, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium and Italy). Apart from the report of the General Council (see present edition, Vol. 20), the Congress heard reports from the local sections which showed the increased influence of the

International on the proletariat and the growing strength of its organisations in different countries. The delegates holding Proudhonist views, especially those from France, sought to change the orientation of the International's activity and its programme principles. Having managed, despite the efforts of the General Council's delegates, to impose their agenda on the Congress, they sought to get the Congress to revise the Geneva Congress resolutions in a Proudhonist spirit. They did succeed in carrying through a number of their own resolutions, in particular the one on co-operation and credit, which they regarded as the principal instruments of changing society by means of reform.

However, the Proudhonists failed to achieve their principal aim. The Congress retained as valid the Geneva Congress resolutions on the economic struggle and strikes. The Proudhonist dogma on abstaining from political struggle was countered by the resolution on political freedom passed by the Lausanne Congress which emphasised that the social emancipation of the working class was inseparable from its political liberation. The Proudhonists likewise failed to seize the leadership of the International. The Congress re-elected the General Council in its former composition and retained London as its seat.—416, 418, 420, 425, 427

463 A reference to the printed sheets of Chapter VI, the last one, of Volume One of *Capital*.

In the second German edition of Volume One (1872) Marx, on Engels' advice, substantially enlarged the section on Ireland and wrote some additional notes (see the English edition of 1887, Part VII, Chapter XXV, Section 5).

The '*resumé* on the expropriation of the expropriators' mentioned by Engels is placed at the end of Chapter XXIV in the second and subsequent German editions and at the end of Chapter XXXII (Part VIII) of the English edition of 1887 (see present edition, Vol. 35).—417, 432

464 *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 102 of 30 August 1867 carried a report that J. M. Hirsch, publisher of a collection of songs, and two owners of the printing-house where it was printed had been arrested in Erfurt. Hirsch was charged with high treason.—417

465 The *Royal Society of Arts*—an educational and philanthropic organisation founded in Britain in 1754. It consisted mainly of businessmen and bourgeois intellectuals and enjoyed the patronage of aristocracy. Marx violently criticised the Society's attempts to act as a mediator in the conflicts between workers and employers with the aim of undermining the class struggle. At the same time he thought highly of its extensive library and its research publications of which he made use in his studies, especially in *Capital*. The Society's scientific material became available to him after he joined it in 1869.—418

466 This is apparently a reference to Emile de Girardin's articles in *La Liberté* of which he became the owner in June 1866. Girardin treated the situation in France at that time as similar to that during the pre-revolutionary years 1829 and 1847.—418

467 On 27 August 1867 during his visit to the French part of Flanders on the occasion of the anniversary of its annexation to France, Napoleon III made a speech in Lille in which he was rather pessimistic about France's situation at home and abroad.—418

468 When the Civil War ended, the movement for the legislative introduction of an eight-hour working day intensified in the USA. Leagues of struggle for the

eight-hour day were set up throughout the country; in California alone there were over 50. The National Labour Union, founded at a congress in Baltimore (see Note 383) in August 1866, joined the movement. Attaching great importance to the demand for the eight-hour working day Marx included it in the agenda of the Geneva Congress. In his 'Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council' he emphasised the need to raise it 'to the common platform of the working classes all over the world' (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 187). This point as formulated by Marx was adopted as a congress resolution.

On 25 June 1868, the US Congress which was forced to reckon with the mass movement, adopted a law on an eight-hour working day for the employees of all governmental and federal bodies.—418, 452

469 Marx made a number of critical comments on the text of the speech prepared by Borkheim for the constituent congress of the League of Peace and Freedom in Geneva (see Note 461). Having delivered the speech at the congress, Borkheim then published it in French under the title of 'Ma perle devant le congrès de Genève' and also in German.—419, 435, 437, 441, 449

470 In addition to the ordinary footnotes for the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital*, Marx wrote nine notes in which he cited the latest facts from different sources. In preparing the second German edition (1872) he made some alterations in these additional notes and inserted them in the corresponding places of the main text.

On the appendix to Chapter I see Note 438.—419

471 A reference to Marx's speech on the International's attitude towards the congress of the League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 461) and the resolution on the issue proposed by him at the General Council meeting of 13 August 1867 (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 204). Eccarius' brief report of the Council meeting was published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 305 of 17 August 1867; it was also cited in Lucien Dubois' article 'Les Conditions de la paix', published in *Le Courrier français* on 2 September 1867.—420

472 In his letter to Marx of 5 September 1867 Friedrich Lessner gave him extensive information about the beginning of the International's Lausanne Congress (see Note 462) and referred to the report published in the *Gazette de Lausanne*.—422

473 A reference to the first of Eccarius' series of articles about the Lausanne Congress of the International published in *The Times*, No. 25909 of 6 September 1867. The other articles of the series were published in *The Times*, Nos. 25911-25913 of 9-11 September 1867. In his articles Eccarius made ironical comments on the muddled views of the French Proudhonist delegates and their verbosity.—422, 425, 428, 434

474 Beginning from 5 September 1867 Vermorel's newspaper *Le Courrier français* published Henri Tolain's articles about the International's Lausanne Congress (see Note 462) in which he praised the French delegates' position at the Congress.—422

475 The activity of the Proudhonists at the International's Lausanne Congress (see Note 462) and the fact that they had some of their resolutions adopted, gave particular urgency to the struggle for the assertion of the main programme principles of scientific communism. In Marx's opinion, this task was to be carried out by the next Congress of the International which was to be held in

Brussels in September 1868. Thanks to the energetic preparatory work that was done by Marx and his followers, the decisions of the Brussels Congress, especially the one on the collective ownership of land, paralysed to a considerable extent the influence of the Proudhonists in the International Association.—424, 428

476 The *Berlin Workers' Association* was founded in January 1863 and was under the influence of the men of Progress (see Note 99), especially of Schulze-Delitzsch, and propagandised bourgeois co-operative societies. When the International Working Men's Association was set up, the advanced members of the Berlin Workers' Association were attracted towards it and sought to get rid of the liberals' protection. In October 1868 there was a split in the Berlin Workers' Association. Its radical members formed the Democratic Workers' Association which recognised the programme approved by the Nuremberg Congress of the Union of German Workers' Associations (headed by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht) based on the International's principles. The Democratic Workers' Association waged a vigorous struggle against the Lassalleans. In 1869 it joined the Social-Democratic Workers' Party which came into being at the Eisenach Congress.—424, 477

477 A reference to Lessner's letter of 7 September 1867 in which he informed Marx about the proceedings of the Lausanne Congress of the International (for Lessner's previous letter about the Congress see Note 472).—424, 429

478 Contrary to the position held by Marx and the General Council of the International towards the bourgeois-pacifist League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 461), the Lausanne Congress, largely owing to the efforts of Johann Philipp Becker and other members of the Geneva Section of the International as well as the French Proudhonists, decided by majority vote to send an official delegation from the IWMA to the constituent congress of the League. On 9 July 1867, before the Lausanne Congress, the general meeting of the Geneva Section of the International decided to join the League's programme and expressed their full confidence to its organisers; several members of the Section, including Becker and Dupleix, joined the League's Organising Committee.—425, 428

479 To break the conspiracy of silence with which official bourgeois academics met the publication of Volume One of Marx's *Capital*, Engels resorted to a kind of stratagem by writing a number of reviews for some bourgeois newspapers which looked as if penned by an unbiased bourgeois scholar. The reviews were published in *Die Zukunft, Elberfelder Zeitung, Düsseldorfer Zeitung, Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg* and others (see present edition, Vol. 20).—427

480 In his letter to Marx of 9 September 1867 Johann Georg Eccarius informed him that he as well as Johann Philipp Becker, Ludwig Kugelmann, Sigismund Borkheim and others had been invited on 8 September to a preliminary conference of the German participants in the Geneva Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 461). This conference made obvious the disagreements between participants in the workers' movement and the bourgeois democrats. Thus, in the discussion of the candidates to the presiding body of the Congress, the democrats Ludwig Simon and Jakob Venedey opposed the very principle of class representation and objected to Kugelmann, who had suggested that representatives of the proletariat be included in it. Nevertheless, as a result of the debates, Marx's followers Eccarius, Becker and

Borkheim and also Ludwig Büchner and Armand Goegg were elected German vice-presidents of the Congress.—429

481 The *June days*—the proletarian uprising in Paris on 23-26 June 1848.—429

482 From 13 September 1867, Marx and Paul Lafargue stayed for a few days with Engels in Manchester.—431, 432

483 The reference is to the spot under the railway bridge in Manchester where on 18 September 1867 Fenians made an armed assault on a police van in order to free two arrested Fenian leaders (see Note 497).—431

484 Wilhelm Liebknecht was elected deputy to the North German Reichstag by one of the Saxon constituencies on 31 August 1867; he delivered his first speech in the Reichstag on 30 September 1867.—432

485 This misprint ('C' instead of 'B') also appeared in the second and all the subsequent editions of Volume One of *Capital* that were published during the lifetime of Marx and Engels.—432

486 In his first speech in the North German Reichstag on 30 September 1867 that he made in the discussion on the passports bill, Liebknecht violently criticised the police and bureaucratic order. He proposed a number of amendments to the bill that would restrict the authorities' arbitrary rule. Liebknecht's bold statements about the political system and the government's policy were repeatedly interrupted by Simson, president of the Reichstag, and his proposals were rejected.

Apart from the reports in the newspapers, Liebknecht's speech was also published as a pamphlet, *Was ich in Berliner Reichstag sagte*, Leipzig, 1867.—433, 444, 445, 450

487 A reference to Kugelmann's letter to Marx of 29 September 1867 which was written on his return to Hanover from the Geneva Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom. In this letter Kugelmann informed Marx that during the election of five German vice-presidents of the Congress (see Note 480) Karl Vogt was also nominated and that he (Kugelmann) objected giving as a reason the exposure of Vogt as a Bonapartist agent by Marx in his pamphlet *Herr Vogt*. In spite of the efforts of several democrats, in particular, Ludwig Simon, Vogt was not elected vice-president of the Congress.—433, 442

488 Marx quotes from Paul Stumpf's letter to him from Mainz of 29 September 1867. In very vague terms Stumpf asked Marx to explain to him certain factors of the process of pauperisation and proletarisation of the petty bourgeoisie, artisans, etc.—434

489 The decision to abolish the office of the General Council's President was moved on Marx's initiative by John Hales and adopted at the General Council meeting of 24 September 1867. The abolition of this post, which had been permanently held since 1864 by one of the British trade union leaders, George Odger, considerably weakened the positions of the reformist wing of the International. Odger did not get any post when the appointment of officers in the Council took place. Before this William Cremer had been dismissed from the post of General Secretary. The International's Basle Congress (September 1869) approved the General Council's decision.—434, 519

490 The letter to which Marx refers was sent by Peter Fox to Johann Philipp Becker in Geneva on 29 August 1867, on the eve of the Lausanne Congress, and was marked as 'personal and confidential'. Fox's reason for suggesting that

the seat of the General Council should be transferred to Geneva was that, in his opinion, guidance of the international labour movement kept the British members of the General Council away from more effective participation in the activities of the International's organisations in Britain.—434

491 The editorial in *The Times*, No. 25917 of 16 September 1867, dealt with the Geneva Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 461). It gave an account of the speeches by Garibaldi, Quinet, Dupont, Bakunin and others, and also mentioned speech by Borkheim who, according to the newspaper, suggested 'the abolition of classes'.—435

492 The title of this article which was published in *Le Courrier français*, No. 113 of 8 October 1867, contains an allusion to La Fontaine's fable *Les voleurs et l'âne*.—438

493 In his letter to Marx of 8 October 1867 Ludwig Kugelmann offered to publish short notes about Volume One of *Capital* and asked for the corresponding instructions.

For Engels' efforts to popularise Volume One of *Capital* see Note 479.—438, 443

494 In February 1860 Marx who had started work on his pamphlet *Herr Vogt* wrote to Sigismund Borkheim, with whom he was not yet acquainted, asking him for any information that he could give about the so-called Brimstone Gang which existed in Geneva in 1849 and 1850 (see Note 393). Borkheim replied on 12 February and Marx used his letter in his pamphlet to expose Vogt's slanderous fabrications about proletarian revolutionaries. Ever since Marx and Borkheim had been friends.—441

495 The definition of *peonage* as a concealed form of slavery is given by Marx in Volume One of *Capital* (see the English edition of 1887, pp. 146-47 and present edition, Vol. 35).—442

496 A reference to Engels' reviews of Volume One of Marx's *Capital*, of which one was published with Kugelmann's help in *Die Zukunft*, No. 254 of 20 October 1867, Supplement (unsigned), while the other, meant for the *Rheinische Zeitung*, remained unpublished (see Note 523).—443, 445, 449

497 On 18 September 1867 in Manchester there was an armed assault on a police van in order to free Thomas Kelly and Michael Deasy, two Fenian leaders (see Note 257) who had been arrested after the suppression of the armed uprising of February and March 1867 organised by Fenians. Kelly and Deasy managed to escape but during a clash a police officer was killed and mass arrests followed. From 1 to 23 November a trial of the arrested Fenians was held in Manchester in the course of which false evidence and other disgraceful methods were used by the prosecution. In spite of all the efforts by the counsels for the defence, primarily by Ernest Jones, five Fenians were sentenced to death. One of them (Thomas Maguire) was subsequently pardoned; the death sentence of another (Condon), an American citizen, was commuted to life imprisonment; the other three (Michael Larkin, William Allen and Michael O'Brien) were hanged on 23 November.

During the investigation of the case and the trial, the General Council of the International organised, on Marx's initiative, a broad campaign of the English workers in support of the Irish national liberation movement (see this volume, pp. 460, 464).—444, 460, 463, 466, 476, 479, 483

498 There is no further evidence about the letter which Engels intended to write to Carl Siebel.—445

499 The *Bill on Freedom of Movement and Settlement* was submitted on 3 October 1867 and passed by the North German Reichstag on 22 October. This was one in the series of legislative acts that were passed by the Reichstag from 1867 to 1870 with the aim of eliminating the obstacles to capitalist development in Germany that had been inherited from the period of feudal dismemberment. On 21 October 1867 in the debates on the bill Wilhelm Liebknecht proposed to abolish certain police obstacles to freedom of movement that remained in force.—445

500 A reference to *extradition treaties* which were concluded between various states and became especially widespread in the latter half of the 19th century.—446

501 The German-language weekly in London *How Do You Do?* published abusive allusions to Marx's family connection with the Prussian Minister of the Interior, Ferdinand von Westphalen (Jenny Marx's stepbrother). On 19 August 1851 Marx went with Ferdinand Freiligrath and Wilhelm Wolff to the editorial office of the paper and demanded satisfaction of the publisher Louis Drucker and the editor Heinrich Bettziech (Beta) (see present edition, Vol. 38, p. 432).—447

502 A reference to the *Illustrierte Familien-Kalender* which had been published by A. H. Payne in Leipzig annually, since 1857. The article by Heinrich Bettziech (Beta) 'Die Deutschen in London' was published there.—447

503 In his letter to Marx of 20 September 1867 a German émigré in New York, A. Nahmer, offered to translate into English Volume One of *Capital*. Marx asked some of his friends if they knew anything about Nahmer but none of them did, so he did not reply.—447, 450

504 In his letter of 8 October 1867 Wilhelm Liebknecht informed Marx that he and another Reichstag deputy, Reincke, intended to table the proposal that a commission should be appointed for inquiry into the workers' condition in Prussia. To substantiate this proposal Liebknecht wanted to acquaint himself with the powers of similar commissions in England and asked Marx to send him the relevant legislative acts.

Marx sent him the following acts: An Act for Facilitating in Certain Cases the Proceedings of the Commissioners appointed to make Inquiry respecting Trades Unions and other Associations of Employers or Workmen which had been passed by the British Parliament on 5 April 1867, and An Act to Extend the 'Trades Union Commission Act, 1867' which had been passed on 12 August 1867.—448, 456, 489

505 A reference to the letter that Ludwig Kugelmann wanted to send to Sigismund Borkheim. Kugelmann wrote about this to Marx on 13 October 1867 asking for Marx's opinion of his intention to persuade Borkheim to refrain from extensively advertising his published speech at the Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom since Marx's opponents claimed that Marx was the virtual author of this speech, which could damage his prestige as a serious researcher and the author of Volume One of *Capital*.—449

506 In his letter of 7 October 1867 addressed to Jenny Marx, Johann Philipp Becker told Marx about his strained circumstances, which was why he contemplated giving up his post as Chairman of the Central Committee of the German-language sections in Geneva and leaving the *Vorbote* editorial board.

With the help of his friends Becker managed to cope with the difficulties and continue his public activity.—450

507 On 14 October 1867, in the discussion in the North German Reichstag of the bill on the abrogation of the anti-coalition legislation which had been submitted by Schulze-Delitzsch, Schweitzer made a long demagogical speech. Although he did support the bill, he held a Lassallean stance denying the importance of strikes and coalitions in the workers' struggle against capitalist exploitation. He also made an attempt to expound some tenets of Marx's political economy but he did so in a primitive and distorted way. A report on Schweitzer's speech was published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, Nos. 122 and 123 of 16 and 18 October 1867.—450

508 The reference is probably to clippings from the *Hermann* which carried reports of the London committee for raising money for Freiligrath (see Note 422), in particular from the final address of the committee published in No. 459 of 19 October 1867. On this clipping which has been preserved among his papers Marx wrote a saying widespread in the Rhineland: 'If that's not champion drivel, I don't know what is.'—454

509 Engels wrote the review of Volume One of Marx's *Capital* for *The Fortnightly Review* much later, in May and June 1868. As can be seen from their subsequent correspondence, Marx and Engels exchanged opinions several times on the content and form of the article.

In spite of Professor Beesly's request, the review was rejected by the editorial board and has only been preserved in manuscript form (see present edition, Vol. 20).—455, 457, 463, 466, 512, 516, 518, 524, 526, 532, 533, 545, 555, 560, 583

510 In his letter to Marx of 14 October 1867 Eccarius told him that he and his family were hard-up. For his active work for the International he had been black-listed by his employers and was out of work.

For Becker's difficult financial circumstances see Note 506.—455

511 On 26 May 1849, in the discussion of the drafts for an Appeal to the German people in the Frankfurt National Assembly, W. Wolff made a vivid speech exposing the enemies of the revolution and the indefinite conciliatory stand of the liberals and moderate democrats. He described the Imperial Regent, Archduke John, as the betrayer of the people. The chairman hurriedly called him to order.—456

512 On 17 October 1867, during a discussion of the conscription bill in the North German Reichstag, Liebknecht, Bebel and others proposed that the standing armies should be abolished and the arming of the people substituted for them. In his speech Liebknecht described the North German Reichstag as 'the fig-leaf of absolutism'.

In the course of a discussion of the coalition bill in the North German Reichstag on 19 October 1867 (see Note 507), Liebknecht, Bebel and others submitted an amendment to Section 2 of the bill which would entitle the employer to hire workers of any trade and in any numbers; the amendment also proposed that Section 2 should not abrogate the laws on the limitation and protection of child labour at factories. The amendment was adopted by the Reichstag.—456

513 After Venetia was annexed to the Kingdom of Italy in 1866, the unification of the country would be completed if the Papal States were to be incorporated.

Garibaldi was the initiator of the struggle for their annexation. At first Victor Emmanuel's government turned a blind eye to his preparations for a march on Rome, but it suddenly arrested Garibaldi on the eve of the march. However, his volunteers did invade the Papal States and the patriots in Rome began to prepare an uprising against the Pope. On 18 October 1867, the government of Napoleon III promised its assistance to Pius IX and with this aim in view began to prepare an expeditionary corps to be sent to Italy. When Garibaldi (he escaped from under arrest on 14 October) and his men were on the approaches to Rome, the French corps sailed off for Italy and on 30 October marched into Rome. It was only with the help of the French interventionist forces that the Papal army was able to defeat Garibaldi's volunteers at Mentana on 3 November 1867. The Roman question remained unsettled till 1870.—457, 459, 468, 496

514 The *laws of primogeniture and entail*—feudal inheritance laws that were still in force in Britain in the 19th century. In accordance with them, the title and land were to be inherited by the elder son without the right of alienation.—458

515 A reference to the letter to Marx from the secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 150) Carl Speyer of 6 October 1867. Speyer thanked Marx, on behalf of the society, for sending Volume One of *Capital*.—459

516 Atheistic societies of freethinkers became very active in Britain in the 1860s. Considerable influence on this movement was exercised by Charles Bradlaugh and other bourgeois radicals who grouped round *The National Reformer* and disseminated reformist ideas among the workers. In October 1867 a group of freethinkers, who thought the influence of Bradlaugh and those who were close to him burdensome, decided to convoke a conference in order to create a Central Association of Freethinkers for purely atheistic propaganda. Marx was also invited to join the preparatory committee for the conference but he declined the proposal.—459

517 Marx ironically uses here Karl Vogt's expression from his book *Mein Prozeß gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859 (see K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, p. 72).—459

518 The Franco-Italian agreement of 15 September 1864 guaranteed the inviolability of the Papal States and envisaged the withdrawal of the French forces brought there during the revolution of 1848-49 in Italy. In the autumn of 1867, when Garibaldi's detachments invaded the Papal States (see Note 513), secret negotiations for a revision of the September 1864 agreement began between the Kingdom of Italy and France, which, however, came to nothing. In connection with these negotiations Bismarck gave instructions in October 1867 to the Prussian ambassador to Florence, Count of Usedom, ordering him to maintain an observer's attitude in the Franco-Italian conflict and mark time.—460, 466

519 Marx is referring to the meeting between Napoleon III and Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria in Salzburg on 18 August 1867. Napoleon III tried to negotiate an agreement with Austria directed against Prussia and Russia. However, due to the mutual distrust of the parties and Austria's unwillingness to get into a new conflict with Prussia, the agreement was not concluded.—460

520 A reference to the letter which was written by Dupanloup on 15 September 1867, on the anniversary of the Franco-Italian agreement of 15 September

1864, guaranteeing the inviolability of the Papal States to the Italian Prime Minister Rattazzi calling upon him to fight Garibaldi's movement for their annexation to Italy. In a few days the letter was published in *La Gazette de France* and soon afterwards as a separate booklet entitled *Lettre à M. Rattazzi, président du conseil des ministres du roi d'Italie, sur les enterprises de Garibaldi*, Paris, 1867.—460

521 The meeting of the Reform League's Council (see Note 155) on 23 October 1867 discussed a letter of the Chairman of the League, Edmond Beales in which he vigorously condemned the Fenian movement. George Odger and Benjamin Lucraft, trade union leaders and members of the League's Council, objected to its publication and sympathised with the Irish liberation movement. This was the effect of the internationalist influence exercised by Marx and his close followers in the General Council of the International on trade union leaders. However, at subsequent meetings of the League's Council, those on 30 October and 1 November, Odger and Lucraft, under pressure from bourgeois radicals, renounced their former stance announcing that they had been misunderstood.—460

522 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx, F. Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.—461, 463, 467, 474, 483, 505, 549

523 It is obvious from Kugelmann's correspondence as well as from Engels' letters to Marx of 10 November and 12 December (see this volume, pp. 470, 498) that Kugelmann sent this second review of Volume One of *Capital* to Heinrich Bürgers, a former member of the Communist League and an editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. Bürgers refused to publish it saying in his reply to Kugelmann of 4 November 1867 that, in his opinion, this work was purely academic and unfit for practical purposes of agitation. Bürgers believed that the level of the workers' consciousness was quite low and that therefore they were unable to understand *Capital*; he also disputed the idea expressed in the review by Engels that *Capital* would become the 'theoretical Bible' of the Social-Democratic Party.—462, 469, 471

524 On 1 November 1867, Moustier, the Foreign Minister of France, sent the Italian government a Note to the effect that the French government could by no means agree to the Italian intervention in the Papal States. On 4 November the French newspaper *La Presse* carried a report claiming that Napoleon III had given an ultimatum to the Italian government demanding the withdrawal of its troops from the Papal States. However, next day the report was refuted.—462

525 On All Saints' Day, 1 November 1867, a demonstration of supporters of Italy's independence and French republicans took place at Montmartre Cemetery in Paris. Wreaths were laid on the graves of the Italian patriot Daniele Manin and the French republican Godefroy Cavaignac. The police arrested some of the demonstrators.—462

526 A reference to the joint statement which was made by Russia, France, Prussia and Italy and sent to the Turkish government on 29 October 1867. The statement called upon Turkey to put an end to the violence against the population of Crete perpetrated by the Turkish troops who were suppressing the national liberation uprising (see also Note 460).—465

527 This note by Marx and the postscript from his daughter Laura were written on Kugelmann's letter to Marx of 6 November 1867.—470

528 In looking for ways to publish reviews of Volume One of Marx's *Capital*, Ludwig Kugelmann applied for help to the lawyer Ernst Warnebold who, as it turned out later, was one of Bismarck's informers, and the National-Liberal Johannes Miquel; both of them were prejudiced against proletarian revolutionaries.—471, 482

529 Engels' review of Volume One of *Capital* which was written for the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt* has not been found.

The review for the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*, was published unsigned, with Carl Siebel's assistance, in No. 316 of 16 November 1867 (see present edition, Vol. 20).—471, 529, 532, 534, 536, 537

530 The *Barmer Zeitung* of 6 December 1867 carried a short review by Carl Siebel of Volume One of *Capital*, signed 'S'. Engels' review, which he had given to Siebel, was sent by Siebel, judging by his letter to Engels of 13 November 1867, not to the *Barmer Zeitung* but to the *Rhein- und Ruhrzeitung* in Duisburg. Its text has not been found.—471

531 The original of this letter, which was written by Marx on the copy of Volume One of *Capital* that he presented to Carl Siebel, is now not in the possession of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.—472

532 A reference to the letter to Marx, dated 24 October 1867, from Joseph Dietzgen, a German self-taught philosopher then living in St. Petersburg and working at a tannery. He spoke highly of Marx's merits both before science and the working class and wrote about the deep impression Volume One of *Capital* had made on him and about his acquaintance with some of the earlier works by Marx, particularly *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. In his letter Dietzgen also outlined the basis of his own materialist world outlook. The letter was the beginning of a friendship between its author and Marx and Engels.

From Solingen Marx received a letter from Karl Klein dated 8 November 1867; he informed Marx about the activities of the local section of the International.—473, 497

533 On 16 October 1859 John Brown, a fighter for the emancipation of the Negroes in the United States, made an attempt to start a slave uprising. With a small detachment of his supporters he captured the state armoury in Harpers Ferry, Virginia. Brown's attempt to engage more people in the uprising failed. Almost all the participants in the uprising (22 people, five of whom were Negroes) who put up a stiff resistance to the government forces were killed. Brown and five of his comrades were executed.—474

534 In 1840, during an abortive attempt to carry out a coup d'état in Boulogne, Louis Bonaparte shot and wounded a government army officer.—474

535 Enclosed with his letter of 19 November 1867, Otto Meissner sent Marx two clippings (from unidentified newspapers) with new notices on the publication of Volume One of *Capital*. One of the notices enumerated the main points of the volume, the other gave an excerpt from Engels' review of Volume One that had been published in *Die Zukunft*, No. 254 (Supplement) of 30 October 1867 (see present edition, Vol. 20).—475

536 The first notice by Otto Meissner on the publication of Volume One of Marx's *Capital* was published in the *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel und die mit ihm verwandten Geschäftszweige*, No. 214 of 14 September 1867. Meissner's notice about Engels' pamphlet *The Prussian Military Question and the German*

*Workers' Party* was also published in this newspaper, No. 27 of 3 March 1865.—475

537 Appended to the pamphlet containing Wilhelm Liebknecht's speech in the North German Reichstag on 30 September 1867 (see Note 486) was a report of his speeches before workers in Berlin on 14 and 15 October which had been published in *Die Zukunft*, No. 242 (Supplement) of 16 October 1867. In these speeches Liebknecht said that to put forward the social question in the given situation was inexpedient because premature attempts to solve it could, in his opinion, only serve to strengthen the absolute monarchy and delay the victory of socialist principles.

In his letter to Marx of 23 November 1867, Ludwig Kugelmann criticised Liebknecht's point of view, emphasising that in practice this would give such people as the Lassallean Schweitzer and the conservative Wagener complete control over the social issue and the possibility of using it for demagogical aims.—477, 479, 488, 492, 499

538 A reference to the German workers' newspaper *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* which appeared in Leipzig from January 1868 and was edited by Liebknecht. Initially the newspaper was to some extent influenced by the petty-bourgeois People's Party; however, thanks to the assistance given it by Marx and Engels it soon came to play an active part in the development of the proletarian movement in Germany, spreading the ideas of the International and promoting the preparations for forming the Social-Democratic Workers' Party.—477, 479, 484

539 In his letter to Marx of 27 November 1867, Victor Schily informed him about Moses Hess' favourable opinion of *Capital* and the latter's intention to write an article about it for *Le Courrier français*. Schily also wrote about Hess' offer to translate, together with Elysée Reclus, Volume One of *Capital* into French and to publish it. Marx who attached great importance to the publication of *Capital* in French and saw this in particular as an important weapon against the influence of Proudhon's delusions (see this volume, p. 368) did not object to Reclus' participation in the French edition. However, the discussion which lasted for almost three years came to nothing. Later on, when it became clear that Reclus was one of the leaders of Bakunin's Alliance of Socialist Democracy, he could no longer be considered as a suitable translator of *Capital*. The translation of *Capital* into French which had been done by Joseph Roy and edited by Marx himself was published in Paris in 1872-75 by instalments.—478, 483, 488, 490, 528, 532, 533, 580

540 This was written by Marx on Kugelmann's letter to Engels of 25 November 1867.—482

541 The letter was published in English for the first time in the *Labour Monthly*, No. 11, London, 1932.—484

542 A reference to the address entitled 'The Fenian Prisoners at Manchester and the International Working Men's Association' which was written by Marx and approved by the special meeting of the General Council on 20 November 1867 (see present edition, Vol. 21). The document which was sent to the Home Secretary Gathorne-Hardy became an important part of the campaign organised by Marx in the autumn of 1867, for solidarity of the English workers with the Irish national liberation movement. The immediate aim of the address was to prevent the execution of the Fenians on whom the Manchester court had passed the death penalty (see Note 497).—485

543 At the meeting of the International's General Council of 5 November 1867 Peter Fox announced his intention of leaving his post as corresponding secretary for America and take a paid job at *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*. Hermann Jung, chairman of the meeting, condemned Fox's intention. Fox sent a letter to the next meeting which was held on 12 November reaffirming his resignation and accusing Jung of his alleged wish to remove Englishmen from the Council. All those present at the meeting supported Jung.—485

544 The draft resolution that had been proposed by Peter Fox read: 'That this meeting desires that a settled peace and amity between the British and the Irish nations should be substituted for the war of seven hundred years between Englishry and Irishry; and with a view to that end this meeting exhorts the friends of Irish nationality to bring their cause before the British people and advises the latter to accord an unprejudiced hearing to the arguments advanced on behalf of Ireland's right to autonomy' (*The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, p. 181). The draft was referred to the Standing Committee for consideration and for that reason it had not been adopted by the General Council.—486

545 The *Corn Laws*, which imposed high import duties for corn in Great Britain and which had been introduced in order to meet the interests of large landowners, were repealed in 1846.

From 1845 to 1847 a grievous famine blighted Ireland due to the ruin of farms and the pauperisation of the peasants, who were cruelly exploited by the English landlords. This had been caused by the almost total failure of the potato crop (potatoes were the principal diet of the Irish peasants). About a million people starved to death and the new wave of emigration caused by the famine carried away another million. As a result, large districts of Ireland were depopulated and the abandoned land was turned into pastures by the Irish and English landlords.—486

546 In 1849 Parliament passed the *Encumbered Estates Act* for Ireland, which was supplemented with a series of other acts in 1852 and 1853. The Act of 1849 provided for the sale of mortgaged estates by auction if their owners were proved to be insolvent. As a result, the estates of many ruined landlords passed into the hands of usurers, middlemen and rich tenants.—486

547 The reference is probably to the speech by Thomas Francis Meagher at a meeting in Dublin convoked on 15 March 1848 by the Irish Confederation. He said: 'If you do not give us a parliament in which to state our wrongs and grievances, we shall state them by arms and force.'—486

548 The upsurge of the Irish national movement caused by Britain's defeat in the War of Independence of the American colonies, forced the British Parliament in 1782 to pass an act which abolished the right of the British Parliament to pass laws for Ireland and granted this right to the Irish Parliament. The act was once more confirmed in 1783 in the form of a new 'Renunciation Act', which meant Irish autonomy in legislation. However, after the Irish national liberation rising of 1798 had been suppressed, the British government virtually nullified these concessions to Ireland by imposing on it a union with England. The Act of Union which came into force on 1 January 1801 put an end to the remnants of Irish autonomy and abolished the Irish Parliament. One of its consequences was the abolition of the protective tariffs for the emerging Irish industry which had been introduced by the Irish Parliament in the late 18th century; this led to a total decline of the national industry.—486

549 Marx apparently did not make a speech on the Irish question in the General Council as planned. In December 1867, the Council met twice, on the 17th and 31st, and from January 1868, illness prevented Marx from attending the Council meetings for several months. His view of the Irish question, which reflected the position of the revolutionary proletarian wing of the General Council, was set forth in the detailed report he made on 16 December in the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see present edition, Vol. 21).—487

550 A reference to the sections of the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital*. They are given as chapters VIII, XI, XII, XIII and XXIV in the second and subsequent German editions of this volume, and as chapters X, XIII, XIV, XV and XXVI in the English edition of 1887 (see present edition, Vol. 35).—490

551 A reference to Ludwig Kugelmann's letters to Marx of 23 November and to Engels of 25 November (with enclosed reprints of Kugelmann's note on Volume One of *Capital* in the *Deutsche Volkszeitung*) and of 30 November 1867, and to Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to Engels of 26 November 1867. In seeking to persuade German economists and philosophers to respond to Marx's book, Kugelmann sent reprints of his own and Engels' (from *Die Zukunft*) reviews of it to Faucher, Schulze-Delitzsch, Dühring, Roscher, Hildebrand and Rau, about which he told Marx in his letter of 23 November 1867.—492

552 Engels' letter to Liebknecht mentioned here has not been found. In his reply to this letter of 11 December 1867, Liebknecht said that he agreed with Engels' remarks on the policy pursued by the working-class representatives in Germany but that he had a different opinion on individual practical questions of agitation. In particular, he explained the reason for the address that he and Bebel had sent to the Vienna City Council by their confidence that Austria was on the eve of a revolution ('She has to experience her own 1789'), which was to have an impact on the whole of Germany.—492, 499, 503, 504

553 On 4 November 1867 Adelaide Macdonald who supported the Fenians made an attempt on the life of a policeman guarding the house of a witness at the Fenian trial in Manchester (see Note 497) who had given evidence against William Allen. She was arrested, put on trial and sentenced to five years' penal servitude.—492

554 With his letter to Marx of 3 December 1867 Ludwig Kugelmann enclosed his correspondence with Heinrich Bürgers (see Note 523).—493, 498

555 Engels fully accepted the draft of a review of Volume One of *Capital* for *Der Beobachter* that is being set out here by Marx and also used this letter in writing the review. The review was then published, with Kugelmann's assistance, in *Der Beobachter*, No. 303 of 27 December 1867, unsigned (see present edition, Vol. 20).

The passage Marx mentions here is in a special additional note to Section 1 of Chapter VI in the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital*, at the end of the book. Marx deleted this note when preparing the second German edition (1872).—494

556 In his letter to Marx of 26 November 1867, Wilhelm Liebknecht told him that he had the opportunity to make use of several German newspapers such as *Die Zukunft*, *Volkszeitung* (Hanover), *Oberrheinischer Courier* (Freiburg im Breisgau), *Neue Baseler Zeitung*, *Correspondent* (Leipzig), *Süddeutsche Presse* and *Deutsche Arbeiterhalle* (Mannheim).—495

557 A reference to No. 139 of *Der Social-Demokrat* of 29 November 1867 with its two supplements which carried a detailed report about the general meeting of the General Association of German Workers on 24 November 1867. Among the speakers was one of the publishers of *Der Social-Demokrat*, the Lassallean J. B. von Hofstetten, who included in his speech passages from *Capital* distorting their meaning and naming neither the work nor its author. Marx responded to this with an article, 'Plagiarism', which was published unsigned in *Die Zukunft*, No. 291 (Supplement) of 12 December 1867 (see present edition, Vol. 20).

The mentioned letter of Marx to Guido Weiß, the editor of *Die Zukunft*, has not been found.—495, 496

558 A reference to Section 4 of Chapter III of the first edition of Volume One of *Capital*. It is given as Chapter VIII of Part III in the second and subsequent German editions and Chapter X of the English edition of 1887 (see present edition, Vol. 35).—495

559 In his letter to Marx of 1 December 1867, Kugelmann asked whether Borkheim could make arrangements through his friend Lothar Bucher for the publication of Engels' review of Volume One of *Capital* in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. Since the newspaper was a semi-official mouthpiece of the Bismarck government, Kugelmann's offer was unacceptable to Marx and Engels.—497, 498

560 In his letter to Engels of 30 November 1867, Kugelmann asked him to write several reviews of Volume One of *Capital* by Marx. Kugelmann was going to arrange for their publication with the help of Lieutenant-Colonel Seubert, a writer and an official of the Württemberg War Ministry, to whose daughter he was giving treatment. Seubert promised his assistance in getting the reviews published in such newspapers as *Der Beobachter, Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg* and *Schwäbischer Merkur*. For the first two Engels wrote reviews.—499, 510, 512

561 A reference to a legal action of the Schulze & Siebenmark firm against a woman home-worker accused of concealing wool. During the trial which took place in Berlin late in 1867, the employers' shady practices were brought to light: they provided their home-workers with dampened wool that lost weight while being processed, for which the workers were heavily fined by the firm. The case was given great publicity.—501

562 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in the *Labour Monthly*, No. 11, London, 1932.—501, 504

563 On 13 December 1867 a group of Fenians caused an explosion in Clerkenwell Prison in London, their aim being to free the imprisoned Fenian leaders. The attempt failed, but the blast destroyed several neighbouring houses, a few people were killed and over a hundred wounded. The British bourgeois press took advantage of this to spread slanderous fabrications about the Irish national liberation movement and whip up chauvinistic anti-Irish sentiments among the English population.—501, 505

564 In his letter to Engels of 10 December 1867, Carl Siebel suggested that Otto Meissner should present Friedrich Albert Lange, a well-known philosopher, sociologist and democrat, with a copy of Volume One of *Capital* by Marx.—502

565 A reference to Marx's report on the Irish question which he made on 16 December 1867 at a meeting of the German Workers' Educational Society in

London (see Note 150); the meeting was also attended by members of other workers' societies of London as well as some members of the General Council. A detailed outline of the report which was written by Marx and a brief handwritten record of it by Eccarius (see present edition, Vol. 21) have come down to us.—504

566 The *Customs Union Parliament* was the guiding body of the Customs Union which was reorganised after the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and the signing of a treaty between Prussia and South German states on 8 July 1867. The parliament consisted of members of the North German Confederation's Reichstag and specially elected deputies from the South German states—Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg and Hesse. It was to deal exclusively with problems of trade and customs policy; Bismarck's attempts to widen its jurisdiction met with the stubborn resistance of South German representatives.—505

567 On 6 December 1867 the Bismarck government submitted to the Prussian Chamber of Deputies draft treaties of compensation to be made to the King of Hanover and the Duke of Nassau whose possessions were annexed by Prussia after the 1866 Austro-Prussian war. In order to gain support from the Chamber, the government dismissed the unpopular Minister of Justice Lippe who had given Bismarck active help in carrying out his anti-constitutional measures, and appointed in his place Gerhardt Leonhardt, the former Minister of Justice for Hanover. Bismarck's calculations proved correct: the Prussian Chamber of Deputies approved the compensation treaties, thus sanctioning annexation of Hanover and Nassau.—506

568 A reference to Engels' reviews of Volume One of *Capital*. Engels intended to send them to Meissner so that he could compose and publish an advertisement of Marx's work.—507, 509

569 Ground rent is dealt with in Volume Three of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 37).—508

570 A reference to Jenny Marx's letter to Engels of 23 December 1867 in which she thanked him for the wine he had sent them for Christmas and informed him about the state of Marx's health. She also told Engels about the popularisation of Volume One of *Capital* in Germany and about his reviews which played an important role in this campaign.—508

571 On 13 November 1867 Carl Siebel wrote to Engels that he had sent Engels' review, which had formerly been intended for publication in the *Barmer Zeitung*, to another newspaper, whereas he had sent to the *Barmer Zeitung* a short item on the subject that he had written himself (see Note 530). In another letter to Engels on 20 December 1867 Siebel enclosed a clipping from the *Barmer Zeitung* with his item, published on 6 December 1867.

In both letters Siebel suggested that the publication of a review of Volume One of *Capital* should be arranged in the *Kölnische Zeitung* with Meissner's assistance; he also named one of the contributors to the paper as a possible author of the review.—509

572 As Jenny Marx told Engels in her letter of 23 December 1867, the Lassallean J. B. von Hofstetten's answer to the article 'Plagiarism' (see Note 557) appeared in *Die Zukunft* on 18 December. Since 'Plagiarism' had been published anonymously, Hofstetten did not suspect that it had been written by Marx himself and ascribed the authorship to Liebknecht.—509, 529

573 In a letter addressed to Marx's daughter Jenny of 3 January 1868, Liebknecht said that he would like to ask Marx what he thought of his possible removal from Leipzig to Vienna.—512

574 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in the *Labour Monthly*, Vol. 5, No. 3, London, 1923.—514

575 A reference to the section 'The So-Called Primitive Accumulation' of Chapter VI of the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital*. This section is given as Chapter XXIV, Part VII of the second and subsequent German editions and Chapter XXVI, Part VIII of the English edition of 1887 (present edition, Vol. 35).—514

576 A reference to the prospects for the distribution of Volume One of *Capital* in Austria, where an upsurge of the labour and national movement made itself clear in those years. This had been caused by the crisis of the Austrian absolute monarchy aggravated by the defeat of the Habsburgs in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866. This situation compelled Austria's ruling circles to reorganise in 1867 the empire into the dual state of Austria-Hungary and introduce a constitution which guaranteed certain bourgeois freedoms and provided for bourgeois reforms.—515

577 A reference to the help Marx gave Liebknecht when he was the London correspondent of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, i.e. from 1855 until 1862, when he moved to Berlin.—515

578 After his return from London to Germany in 1862, Wilhelm Liebknecht was at one time a member of the editorial board of the Berlin *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. Initially this was an opposition newspaper but after the formation of Bismarck's government it began to turn into its mouthpiece. When Liebknecht realised this, he left the newspaper.—516

579 Among the papers seized by the French police during the searches in the homes of members of the Paris Administration of the sections of the International late in 1867 was a letter to Murat, a member of the Paris Administration, from Eugène Dupont, the Corresponding Secretary of the General Council for France, of 23 November 1867. The letter informed the French members of the International about the campaign in support of the Fenian prisoners (see Note 542). The French authorities tried to use this letter to accuse the International of complicity in a Fenian plot. At a trial of the Paris Administration members which took place in March 1868, they were accused of forming an association without the sanction of the authorities. The court declared the Paris Section of the International disbanded and fined the Paris Administration members.—516, 520

580 A reference to the numerous articles by Engels in which he analysed the military operations during the siege and defence of Sevastopol and which were amongst his reports on the Crimean war of 1853-56 (present edition, vols 12-14), and to the series of articles he wrote about the progress of the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, 'Notes on the War in Germany' (see present edition, Vol. 20).—517

581 The expression 'treat like a dead dog' was first used by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing to describe the attitude of some of his contemporaries to Spinoza's philosophy. Hegel mentioned it in the Foreword to the second edition of his *Encyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*.—520

582 Forestalling the General Council one of whose duties was to prepare the annual congresses of the International, the Paris Administration published in *Le Courrier français* on 11 December 1867 the programme for the next congress to be held in Brussels. This programme which was markedly Proudhonist in character would take away the congress' attention from urgent issues of the working-class organisation.

At the General Council meeting of 21 January 1868 the agenda of the Brussels Congress was approved. In spite of the efforts of the Proudhonists, this programme outlined the ways of further consolidating the international workers' organisation on the platform of proletarian socialism.—520

583 Marx was in Berlin from 17 March to 12 April 1861; he discussed starting a joint newspaper in Germany with Lassalle; he also made unsuccessful efforts to restore his Prussian citizenship (see Note 154).—520, 531

584 A reference to the moderate liberal interpretation of the popular demand for the repeal of the Anglo-Irish Union of 1801 which deprived Ireland of the right to have an autonomous parliament (see Note 548). Some of the leaders of the Association of Repealers (i.e. supporters of the abolition of the Union), which had been founded in 1840, such as D. O'Connell regarded agitation for this demand merely as a means to obtain individual privileges for the Irish propertied classes from the British government; they wanted Ireland to be a country with limited self-government within the United Kingdom. A similar stand was taken by their successors, the liberal wing of the Irish national movement in the 1850s and 1860s, in contrast to the Irish radicals—the Fenians—who sought to establish true independence for their country.—521

585 A reference to a copy of a bust of Zeus from Ogricoli which was presented to Marx by Kugelmann.—521, 578

586 A reference to the letter to Engels from Liebknecht of 20 January 1868, in which Liebknecht told Engels that, while sharing his critical attitude towards the petty-bourgeois South-German People's Party and the League of Peace and Freedom, he nevertheless did not believe it possible to break with them for tactical reasons. Liebknecht also informed Engels about the steps he had taken for the popularisation of Volume One of *Capital*.—525, 527

587 Engels' project was not fulfilled.—526

588 A reference to the letter from Kugelmann to Marx of 17-18 January 1868 with which a letter was enclosed to Marx from a Hungarian writer, Károly Márie Kertbény. In his letter Kugelmann said that Kertbény had seen him in Hanover and showed an interest in the members of the revolutionary movement. Kugelmann asked Marx to tell him what he thought of Kertbény and also to receive a young banker from Hanover, Karl Coppel, who was going to London. Judging by the letter from Kertbény to Marx of 17 January 1868, he wanted to publish in the Leipzig *Illustrierte Zeitung* a short biographical note about Marx and a portrait of him on the occasion of the release of Volume One of *Capital*. Kertbény discovered this portrait by chance in the studio of a photographer in Hanover and asked Marx to send biographical details. Kertbény's project was not fulfilled.—527, 529, 531, 533, 536

589 This quotation from *The Saturday Review* given in English was partly used by Marx in the afterword to the second German edition of Volume One of *Capital* which appeared in 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 35).—529

590 The details from Marx's biography enclosed with this letter are being given according to the copy in Kugelmann's hand.—530

591 A reference to the lectures Marx delivered in the latter half of December 1847 at meetings of the German Workers' Society in Brussels. Early in 1848 he made an attempt to publish in Brussels a work that he had written on the basis of these lectures but was unable to do this because of his expulsion from the country. This work was first published in part as editorials in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on 5-8 and 11 April 1849 under the general heading of *Wage Labour and Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 9). The publication of the editorials was first interrupted by Marx's temporary departure from Cologne and later because the newspaper ceased to exist.

The *German Workers' Society* was founded by Marx and Engels at the end of August 1847 in Brussels, its aim being the political education of the German workers who lived in Belgium and the spread of the ideas of scientific communism among them. With Marx, Engels and their followers at its head, the Society became the legally sanctioned centre rallying the revolutionary proletarian forces in Belgium. Its best activists were members of the Communist League. It ceased to exist soon after the February revolution of 1848 in France when the Belgian police arrested and banished many of its members.—530

592 Marx's pamphlet *Lord Palmerston* (see present edition, Vol. 12) was first published as a series of articles in *The People's Paper*, Nos. 77-81, 84-86 of 22 and 29 October, 5, 12 and 19 November and 10, 17 and 24 December 1853, signed by Dr Marx; in part it was published as editorials in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, Nos. 3902, 3916, 3930 and 3973 of 19 October, 4 and 21 November 1853 and 11 January 1854.

Some articles of this series were published in London in 1853 and 1854 in pamphlet form under the headings: *Palmerston and Russia* and *Palmerston and the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessy*.—531

593 A reference to Marx's help in publishing the series of articles by Engels *The Armies of Europe* (see present edition, Vol. 14) in *Putnam's Monthly. A Magazine of American Literature, Science and Art* in August, September and December 1855; Marx also helped Engels in collecting information on various European armies, in particular the Spanish and the Neapolitan, at the British Museum Library.

For the articles by Marx and Engels that were published in the *New American Cyclopaedia* in 1857-60 see present edition, Vol. 18.—531

594 A reference to Chapter III ('The Production of Absolute Surplus-Value') of the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital*. It is given as Part III in the second and subsequent German editions of Volume One and in the English edition of 1887 (see present edition, Vol. 35).—533

595 A reference to the article 'Das Preußische und das Schweizer Heersystem' published in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 2 of 11 January 1868. It was based on a series of articles by Karl Grün, 'Armées permanentes ou milices', that had been printed in *Les États-Unis d'Europe* at the beginning of 1868; the fourth article of the series (published in No. 7 of 16 February) dealt with the South German military system.—534, 540

596 A reference to the territories annexed by Prussia as a result of its victory in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 (see Note 365).—534, 555

597 This letter is written on a form with the letterhead: 'Memorandum from *Ermen & Engels* to M'. Engels crossed out the words 'Ermen &' and filled in 'Mr Mohr' as the addressee.—537

598 In his letter to Marx on 26 January 1868 from Saint Louis Hermann Meyer told him about the death of Louise Weydemeyer, Joseph Weydemeyer's widow.—537

599 It is not known what happened to this article by Engels (the reference is probably to a review of Volume One of *Capital*).—537

600 A reference to the conversation between Bismarck and Karl Schurz, a German émigré in the United States who had taken part in the Civil War of 1861-65 and the editor of the newspaper *Die Westliche Post*, in January 1868 in Berlin. Schurz assured Bismarck that Napoleon III did not enjoy any popularity in America, and should Germany be drawn into a war with France, the United States would not support him. Marx and Engels satirised the earlier period of Schurz' activity in their pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11).—537

601 A reference to the forthcoming marriage between Marx's daughter Laura and Paul Lafargue, whose parents lived in Bordeaux; the wedding was in the early April 1868.—538, 544, 548, 551

602 At Marx's request, Engels wrote a detailed review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* in the first half of March; it was published in it unsigned, as two articles, in Nos. 12 and 13 of 21 and 28 March 1868 (see present edition, Vol. 20).—539, 540, 542

603 A reference to an article by Moses Hess about Volume One of *Capital* which he had started as early as November 1867 and intended to publish in the French press (see Note 539). In 1868 for several months, he made attempts to publish it in various papers, including *Le Courrier français* and *Morale indépendante*. Its further fate is unknown.—542

604 A reference to newspaper reports of lectures 'The Causes of Modern Trade Crises' read by Wilhelm Eichhoff from February to May 1868 in Berlin. These reports were published in *Die Zukunft* and the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. In his lectures Eichhoff quoted from Marx's *Capital* and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Marx and Engels.—542, 545

605 A reference to a report in *The Times* of 3 March 1868 that the Russian government had instructed its representatives in Turkey and in the Balkans to make every effort to refrain from conflicts with Turkey.—545

606 Engels sent Marx a letter from an Austrian journalist, W. Angerstein, dated 9 March 1868, in which he invited Engels to become a correspondent of a new workers' newspaper. On 11 March 1868, Angerstein sent a similar letter to Marx whom he invited to contribute to the Viennese newspapers *Telegraph* and *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.—546, 548

607 Engels' letter to Liebknecht has not been found. From Liebknecht's reply of 29 March 1868 it follows that his friends and he readily took Engels' advice to use *Capital* as a basis for the proletarian stance vis-à-vis a new crafts and manufactures code that was being prepared (the same was recommended in his review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*). When, in the spring of 1869, the North German Reichstag began to discuss the code bill, August Bebel and other working-class deputies, following Engels' advice,

resolutely criticised the bill and demanded that several amendments should be introduced into it that would meet the interests of the working class such as a ten-hour working day, the abolition of work on Sundays, the introduction of a factory inspectorate and the workers' right to coalitions. Although all these amendments were rejected by the bourgeois and Junker majority of the Reichstag, the speeches of the working-class deputies on this issue played an important part to unite the revolutionary efforts of the German proletariat.—546

608 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx, *Pre-capitalist Economic Formations*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1964.—547

609 This standpoint was expressed by Marx in 1859 in his *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (see present edition, Vol. 29) and also in Volume One of *Capital* (Vol. 35).—547

610 On 13 March 1868 Sigismund Borkheim informed Marx about Dühring's new book, *Die Schicksale meiner socialen Denkschrift für das preussische Staatsministerium*, in which he accused Hermann Wagener of plagiarism.—548

611 A reference to Article 11 of the French law on the press a draft of which was submitted to the Corps législatif by a group of deputies, Jean Dollfus included, on 11 February 1868. It was passed on 6 March 1868 and read as follows: 'Any publication in a periodical that may concern a fact of private life shall be an offence which shall be punished with a fine of 500 francs.'—550, 553

612 The publisher of *The Irishman*, Richard Pigott, and the owner of *The Weekly News*, Alexander Sullivan, were sentenced in 1867 and 1868 to various terms of imprisonment for the publication of articles in defence of the Fenians.—550

613 This is a quotation from the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital* (pp. 255 and 565 in the English edition of 1887).—552

614 A reference to the medical school at St Bartholomew's Hospital in London.—553

615 Marx gives below an excerpt from *Lex Baiuvariorum*, X, 18—the code of common law of the Germanic tribe of Bavars, dating back to the 8th century.—553

616 *Leges barbarorum* (laws of the barbarians)—written records of the customary law of various Germanic tribes compiled between the 5th and 9th centuries.—558

617 Engels came to see Marx in London on 1 April 1868 in order to be present at the wedding of Paul Lafargue and Laura Marx; he stayed there till 5 April.—560

618 *Straubingers*—German travelling journeymen. Marx and Engels applied the name ironically to some participants in the German working-class movement of the time who were connected with guild-based production and displayed petty-bourgeois sectarian tendencies.

The reference here is to the members of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers.—566

619 In his letter to Ferdinand Lassalle of 28 April 1862 Marx entirely denied the slanderous rumours which had been repeated by Lassalle besmirching the reputation of Johann Philipp Becker, and described him as 'one of the noblest German revolutionaries' (see present edition, Vol. 41, p. 356).—567

620 *Confessions*—semi-jocular questionnaires that were very popular in England in the 1860s. Filling such questionnaires became a favourite pastime in many families, including Marx's, in which relatives and friends participated. A number of versions of *Confessions* belonging to Marx came down to us. In this volume an early version is published which dates back to the spring of 1865 when Marx stayed with his uncle Lion Philips in Zalt Bommel (Holland). It is somewhat different from the other two versions: the handwritten one included in the album of his daughter Jenny (a facsimile of it is published in this volume) and the one written in Laura Marx's hand. The latter version partly coincides with the one that is being published here and partly with the one in Jenny's album, except for the answer to the question: 'Your favourite flower—Laurel' (instead of 'Daphne').

Major divergencies between the version published here and the one in Jenny's album are given in the footnotes.—567

621 A substantial extract from this letter was published by Johann Philipp Becker in *Der Vorbote*, Jg. 1, No. 2 of February 1866 (present edition, Vol. 20).—568

622 A reference to a reprint of the first 1848 German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* made in London probably in 1865: *'Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei.* Veröffentlicht im Februar 1848. London, Druck von R. Hirschfeld, English and foreign Printer, 1848, 24 S'.—571

623 Jenny Marx is recalling the meeting to celebrate an anniversary of the International that was held on 28 September 1865. Marx was present at it with his daughters. Speeches alternated with musical performances, singing and dancing.—571

624 A reference to Jenny Marx's last trip to Trier in 1856 when she went to see her dying mother. Then she stayed in Germany from 22 May to approximately 10 September 1856.—579

625 A reference to the letter to Marx from Card (Jósef Cwierczakiewicz) of 10 January 1868 in which he offered to translate *Capital* into French (see this volume, p. 528).—580

626 This is an allusion to the explosion in Clerkenwell Prison in London which was caused by a group of supporters of the Fenian prisoners in order to free them on 13 December 1867 and also to the hanging of three Fenians in Manchester on 23 November 1867 who had been captured in an armed assault on a police van in order to release the arrested Fenian leaders (see Notes 563 and 497).—582

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*Bacon, Francis, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans* (1561-1626)—English philosopher, naturalist and historian.—388

*Baer, Wilhelm* (d. 1872)—German chemist and physicist.—27

*Baines, Sir Edward* (1800-1890)—English economist, Liberal M.P. (1859-74).—158

*Bakunin, Mikhail* (1814-1876)—Russian revolutionary and writer; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; one of the ideologists of Narodism and anarchism in later years; opposed Marxism in the First International.—18, 19, 140, 150, 420, 434, 577, 582

*Balzac, Honoré de* (1799-1850)—French novelist.—348, 568

*Bamberger, Ludwig* (1823-1899)—German democratic journalist; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; émigré in France in the 1850s, in 1866 returned to Germany; later National-Liberal.—518, 581

*Bangya, János (Johann)* (1817-1868)—Hungarian journalist and army officer; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, after its defeat Kossuth's emissary abroad, and at the same time secret police agent; later served in the Turkish army under the name of Mehemed Bey.—118, 176, 191

*Barnett*—banker in Liverpool; went bankrupt in 1866.—281, 284

*Bauer, Bruno* (1809-1882)—German idealist philosopher, Young Hegelian; author of works on the history of Christianity; radical; National-Liberal after 1866.—549

*Bauer, Edgar* (1820-1886)—German journalist; Young Hegelian; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; Prussian official after the 1861 amnesty.—53, 166, 299

*Beales, Edmond* (1803-1881)—English lawyer, radical; President of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; supported the Northerners during the US Civil War; President of the Reform League (1865-69).—60, 92, 93, 109-10, 158, 300, 519

*Beauregard, Pierre Gustave Toutant* (1818-1893)—American general, took part in the war against Mexico (1846-48); commanded Southern troops during the US Civil War.—21, 123

*Bebel, August* (1840-1913)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; turner; President of the Union of German Workers' Associations from 1867; member of the First International, deputy to the Reichstag (from 1867); a founder and leader of German Social-Democracy; fought Lassalleanism; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—348, 492, 515

*Beck, John*—English railway worker; witness for the prosecution at the Fenian trial in Manchester in November 1867.—462

*Becker, Bernhard* (1826-1891)—German journalist and historian; fol-

lower of Lassalle; President of the General Association of German Workers (1864-65), subsequently sided with the Eisenachers; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—3, 15, 30, 33, 36, 51, 57, 58, 65, 68, 75, 82, 90, 104, 114, 135, 139, 140, 152, 154, 158, 161, 165, 170, 174, 175-76, 179, 191, 203, 205, 532, 548, 566

*Becker, Hermann Heinrich ('Red Becker')* (1820-1885)—German lawyer and journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; from 1850 member of the Communist League; one of the accused at the Cologne Communist trial (1852), sentenced to five years' imprisonment; member of the Party of Progress in the 1860s; later National-Liberal; member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (1862-66), then of the Reichstag (1867-74).—52, 53, 56, 75, 80, 94

*Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886)—German revolutionary, participant in the democratic movement in Germany and Switzerland (1830s-40s) and in the 1848-49 revolution; organiser of the International's sections in Switzerland and Germany, delegate to the London Conference (1865) and all congresses of the International; editor of *Der Vorbote* (1866-71); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—30, 163, 190, 191, 202, 207, 213-15, 219, 221, 314-15, 358, 425, 428, 434, 450, 456, 548, 567, 568, 571-72, 577, 580-82

*Beesly, Edward Spencer* (1831-1915)—British historian and politician; radical, Positivist; professor at London University; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International at St Martin's Hall on 28 September 1864; took an active part in the movement for the electoral reform (1867); in 1870-71 supported the International and the Paris Commune; was on friendly terms with Marx.—55, 60, 162, 185, 283, 291, 407, 423, 433, 455, 512, 516, 518

*Beethoven, Ludwig van* (1770-1827)—German composer.—571

*Béluze, Jean Pierre* (1821-1908)—French petty-bourgeois socialist; cabinet-maker; follower of Cabet; director of the Crédit du Travail bank (1862-68); one of the founders of *L'Association*, organ of the co-operative movement; member of the International; subsequently left the working-class movement.—118

*Bender, H.*—bookseller in London, publisher of the *Londoner Anzeiger* (1864-67), organ of the German refugees.—50, 63, 66, 81, 114, 130, 133-34, 214, 447

*Benedek, Ludwig von* (1804-1881)—Austrian general, Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian army during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—256, 263, 279, 288, 510, 517, 523

*Bennigsen, Rudolf von* (1824-1902)—German politician, advocate of Germany's unification under Prussia's supremacy; President of the National Association (1859-67); from 1867 leader of the National-Liberal Party (Right wing).—276, 340, 361

*Berghaus, Heinrich* (1797-1884)—German geographer and cartographer.—28

*Berndes*—German democrat, in the 1860s refugee in London.—151

*Bernstorff, Albrecht, Count von* (1809-1873)—Prussian diplomat, envoy to London (1854-61), Foreign Minister (1861-62), ambassador to London (1862-73).—355

*Beta*—see *Bettziech, Heinrich*

*Bettziech, Heinrich* (pen-name *Beta*) (1813-1876)—German democratic journalist; a refugee in London; follower of Gottfried Kinkel.—336, 447, 450

*Beust, Friedrich Ferdinand, Count von* (1809-1886)—Saxon and Austrian statesman, adherent of independence of small German states; held several

ministerial posts in the Saxonian Government (1849-66); Foreign Minister (1866-71) and Chancellor (1867-71) of Austria-Hungary.—207, 349, 435

*Beust, Friedrich von* (1817-1899)—former Prussian army officer; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849), emigrated to Switzerland; member of a section of the International in Zurich; professor of pedagogics; participant in the Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom in Geneva (1867).—433

*Bille, Carl Steen Andersen* (1828-1898)—Danish journalist and politician; liberal; editor and owner of the *Dagbladet* (1851-72); member of the lower chamber of the Rigsdag.—6

*Biscamp (Biskamp), Elard*—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated after the defeat of the revolution; member of the editorial board of *Das Volk*, organ of the German refugees in London published with Marx's collaboration.—135

*Bismarck-Schönhausen, Otto, Prince von* (1815-1898)—statesman of Prussia and Germany, diplomat; representative of Prussia in the Federal Diet in Frankfurt am Main (1851-59); ambassador to St Petersburg (1859-62) and Paris (1862); Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-71 and 1873-90); Chancellor of the North German Confederation (1867-71) and of the German Empire (1871-90).—7, 38, 53, 69, 71, 75-76, 77, 82, 83, 89, 95, 96, 102-05, 111, 113, 124, 126, 161, 169, 179, 182, 201, 204, 208, 211, 217, 226, 229, 254, 255-57, 258, 263-67, 270, 272, 275, 278, 280, 281, 285, 288, 292-94, 296, 297, 302, 303, 306-07, 328, 338, 339, 340, 345, 349, 351, 352-55, 361, 364, 372, 373, 374, 380, 417, 421, 426, 435, 456, 460, 461, 462, 466, 480, 494, 498, 505, 506, 523, 537, 545, 560, 566

*Blackburn, Colin, Baron* (1813-1896)—English judge.—462, 466

*Blanc, Jean Joseph Louis* (1811-1882)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, historian; in 1848 member of the Provisional Government and President of the Luxembourg Commission; pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie; emigrated to England in August 1848; a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees in London.—32, 33, 55, 270, 420, 429

*Blank, Emil*—Frederick Engels' nephew, son of Karl Emil Blank.—11, 337

*Blank, Karl Emil* (1817-1893)—German merchant; closely connected with socialist circles in the 1840s-50s; married Frederick Engels' sister Marie.—11, 77, 79

*Blank, Marie*—Frederick Engels' niece, daughter of Karl Emil Blank.—11, 313

*Blind, Friederike* (née *Ettlinger*)—Karl Blind's wife.—31, 34, 35, 274

*Blind, Johann Adam*—Karl Blind's father, owner of a tavern in Mannheim.—33, 41

*Blind, Karl* (1826-1907)—German democratic journalist; took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden (1848-49); in the 1850s-early 1860s, a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in London; later National-Liberal.—27, 30, 31-38, 41-43, 44-46, 50-52, 56-57, 72, 78, 91, 97, 102, 107, 110, 115, 119, 120, 126, 129, 131, 134, 151, 182, 237, 273-74, 275, 278, 286, 380, 447, 518-19, 567, 581

*Blind, Mathilde* (née *Cohen*) (1841-1896)—English translator, author and poet; Karl Blind's adopted daughter.—35

*Blum, Babette* (c. 1791-1865)—Karl Marx's paternal aunt.—194

*Bobczyński, Konstanty* (b. 1817)—participant in the Polish uprising of

1863; then emigrated to London; member of the General Council of the International (1865-68), Corresponding Secretary for Poland (May-September 1866); took part in the London Conference (1865); left for Birmingham in 1866.—217, 250

*Boelling, Friedrich* (1816-1884)—German merchant; husband of Frederick Engels' sister Hedwig.—11, 260

*Böhme, Jacob* (1575-1624)—German handicraftsman; pantheist philosopher.—476, 497

*Bolleter, Heinrich*—German refugee in London; owner of a restaurant where workers' meetings took place; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the Central Council of the International (November 1864 to 1865), took part in the London Conference (1865).—130, 278

*Bölzig, von*—captain of the Prussian Guards regiment.—374, 426

*Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Bonaparte, Eugène Louis Jean Joseph* (1856-1879)—Napoleon III's son, got the title of Imperial Prince at his birth.—418

*Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul* (1822-1891)—son of Jérôme Bonaparte, cousin of Napoleon III; assumed the name of Jérôme after his elder brother's death (1847); known under the nicknames of Plon-Plon and the Red Prince.—76, 108, 208, 555

*Borchardt, Louis*—German physician, Engels' acquaintance in Manchester.—6, 20, 38, 63, 115, 116, 127, 534, 555

*Borkheim, Sigismund Ludwig* (1826-1885)—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, emigrated after its defeat; London merchant from 1851; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels.—113, 140, 284, 350, 389, 394, 397, 401, 417, 419, 432-33, 435-36, 437, 439-43, 445-46, 447, 448-49, 450, 452-53, 457, 476-77, 478, 484, 491, 497, 501, 513, 515-16, 519, 520, 526, 527, 539, 548, 552, 578, 581

*Boustrapa*—see *Napoleon III*

*Bowring, Sir John* (1792-1872)—British politician, linguist and man of letters; follower of Bentham; Free Trader, big colonial official in the 1850s.—571

*Bradlaugh, Charles* (1833-1891)—English journalist and radical politician; editor of *The National Reformer*.—239, 459, 464

*Brass, August* (1818-1876)—German journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to Switzerland; from the 1860s supported Bismarck; publisher of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*; National-Liberal.—373, 394, 516

*Breitschwert, Otto Ludwig* (pseudonym *L. Otto*) (1836-1890)—German journalist; member of the Central Council of the International (1864), Corresponding Secretary for Spain (1866).—50

*Brentano, Lorenz Peter* (1813-1891)—Baden lawyer, democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; head of the Baden Provisional Government (1849); after defeat of the Baden-Palatinate uprising emigrated to Switzerland, then to the USA.—35

*Bridges, John Henry* (1832-1906)—English positivist philosopher; physician; contributed to *The Commonwealth*.—283

*Briggs, John* (1785-1875)—British general; was in the service of the East India Company (1801-35); Free Trader; author and translator of works on India and Persia.—550

*Bright, John* (1811-1889)—English

manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and co-founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; leader of the Left wing of the Liberal Party from the early 1860s, held several ministerial posts.—15, 18, 44, 47, 71, 74, 130, 212, 253, 374

*Bronner, Eduard*—German physician; democrat; deputy to the Baden Constituent Assembly (1849); emigrated to England; supporter of Karl Blind.—32, 33, 41, 44, 51

*Brown, John* (1800-1859)—American farmer; took part in the Abolitionist movement, organised armed struggle against slave-owners in Kansas; tried to raise an uprising of Black slaves in Virginia in 1859; was put on trial and executed.—474

*Bruhn, Karl von* (b. 1803)—German journalist; member of the Communist League, expelled from it in 1850; supported the Willich-Schapper group; editor of the *Nordstern*, a Lassallean paper in Hamburg (1861-66).—26, 57, 116, 117-18, 130, 135, 165

*Bucher, Lothar* (1817-1892)—Prussian official and journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; refugee in London, subsequently National-Liberal and supporter of Bismarck.—30, 53, 166, 202, 350, 352, 497, 498, 566

*Büchner, Ludwig* (1824-1899)—German philosopher and naturalist, vulgar materialist; liberal; member of the International, delegate to the Lausanne Congress (1867); participant in the Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom in Geneva (1867).—367-68, 433, 469

*Buol-Schauenstein, Karl Ferdinand, Count von* (1797-1865)—Austrian statesman and diplomat; envoy to St Petersburg (1848-50) and to London (1851-52), Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1852-59).—54

*Bürgers, Heinrich* (1820-1878)—German journalist; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; member of the Communist League, from 1850 member of its Central Authority; one of the accused at the Cologne Communist trial; later supported the Party of Progress; National-Liberal; editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in Düsseldorf.—112, 207, 221, 430, 471, 493, 498, 502, 529

*Burns, Lizzie* (*Lizzy, Lydia*) (1827-1878)—Irish working woman, took part in the Irish national liberation movement; Frederick Engels' second wife.—27, 53, 67, 91, 99, 148, 158, 160, 177, 179, 181, 185, 193, 194, 205, 206, 208, 228, 237, 251, 254, 269, 283, 291, 301, 311, 341, 344, 357, 362, 374, 386, 389, 391, 394, 399, 408, 448, 455, 479, 495, 508, 517, 521, 559

*Burns, Robert* (1759-1796)—Scottish poet, democrat.—91

*Burton*—English house owner.—343

*Butler, Benjamin Franklin* (1818-1893)—American politician and general; a leader of the Left wing of the Republican Party; during the Civil War commanded the expeditionary Northern Army at the capture of New Orleans, military governor of New Orleans (1862).—199

C

*Caesar* (*Gaius Julius Caesar*) (c. 100-44 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman.—185, 558

*Card, Ioseph* (*Cwierczakiewicz, Jósef*) (1822-1869)—participant in the 1863 Polish uprising; journalist; émigré in Geneva; member of the International; co-editor of the *Journal d'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*; delegate to the Geneva Congress (1866).—528, 532, 533, 580

*Carey, Henry Charles* (1793-1879)—

American economist; advocated harmony of class interests in capitalist society.—513, 514, 536, 544, 548

*Carnarvon, Henry Howard Molyneux Herbert, Earl of* (1831-1890)—British statesman; Conservative; Minister for Colonies (1866-67 and 1874-78).—459

*Carnot, Lazare Hippolyte* (1801-1888)—French journalist and politician; member of the Provisional Government (1848); after 1851 a leader of the republican opposition to the Bonapartist regime.—47

*Carpenter, William Benjamin* (1813-1885)—English naturalist and physiologist.—571

*Carrère*—French émigré in London; professor of mathematics, physics and chemistry.—304

*Catiline* (*Lucius Sergius Catilina*) (c. 108-62 B.C.)—Roman patrician, formed a conspiracy against aristocratic republic.—185

*Cavaignac, Louis Eugène* (1802-1857)—French general and politician, moderate republican; took part in the conquest of Algeria; War Minister of France from May 1848; directed the suppression of the June 1848 uprising; head of the executive (from June to December 1848).—429

*Chassepot, Antoine Alphonse* (1833-1905)—French military inventor.—426

*Chaucer, Geoffrey* (1340-1400)—English poet.—246

*Cicero* (*Marcus Tullius Cicero*) (106-43 B.C.)—Roman orator and statesman; philosopher.—136

*Clarendon, George William Frederick Villiers, Earl of, Baron Hyde* (1800-1870)—British statesman, Whig, later Liberal; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1847-52), Foreign Secretary (1853-58, 1865-66 and 1868-70).—282

*Classen-Kappelmann, Johann* (c. 1817-1879)—Cologne manufacturer, town councillor in Cologne; member of the Party of Progress in the 1860s.—182, 185, 229

*Clauren, Heinrich* (literary pseudonym *Carl Heun*) (1771-1854)—German writer, author of sentimental novels.—513

*Clément, Knut Jungbohn* (1809-1873)—German historian and linguist, professor at Kiel University.—8

*Cluseret, Gustave Paul* (1823-1900)—French politician and military figure, took part in the Crimean war (1853-56), Garibaldi's campaigns in Italy (1860) and in the US Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Northerners, became general; member of the International, sided with Bakuninists; military delegate of the Paris Commune (April 1871), after its suppression emigrated to Belgium.—496, 508, 520, 523

*Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865)—English manufacturer and politician; a leader of the Free Traders and co-founder of the Anti-Corn Law League, M.P.—18, 74

*Cohen*—banker, first husband of Friederike Ettlinger (Blind by second marriage).—31, 35

*Cohen, Ferdinand* (c. 1842-1866)—German student, Karl Blind's stepson; in 1866 made an unsuccessful attempt on Bismarck's life, committed suicide in prison.—35, 272, 273-74

*Colcraft*—a man who executed Irish Fenians Allen, Larkin and O'Brien in Manchester in 1867.—474

*Collet, Collet Dobson*—English radical journalist, editor and publisher of *The Free Press* (1856-65) and from 1866 of *The Diplomatic Review*.—54, 370, 434

*Colleville de*—representative of the League of Peace and Freedom in London.—420

*Collins, William Wilky* (1824-1889)—English writer.—336

*Comte, Isidore Auguste François Marie* (1798-1857)—French philosopher and sociologist, founder of positivism.—292

*Connolly, Thomas*—member of the Bricklayers' Society in the 1860s, reformist, member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—154

*Contzen, Karl Wilhelm*—German economist, follower of Roscher; lecturer at Leipzig University in the 1860s.—477, 489, 527, 539

*Cotta, Bernhard von* (1808-1879)—German geologist.—28

*Cowper, William Francis, Baron Mount-Temple* (1811-1888)—British statesman, M.P., held several posts in Liberal ministries.—374

*Cremer, William Randall* (1838-1908)—active participant in the British trade-union and pacifist movement, reformist; a founder of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (1860); member of the London Trades Council, the British National League for the Independence of Poland, the Land and Labour League; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International at St Martin's Hall on 28 September 1864, member of the General Council of the International and its General Secretary (1864-66), took part in the London Conference (1865), Geneva Congress (1866) of the International; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; later Liberal M.P.—15, 16, 17, 55, 73, 130, 131, 148, 149, 158, 173, 249, 250, 252, 301, 314, 318, 424, 464, 519

*Crespelle* (or *Crespel*)—member of the French branch of the International in London where he upheld the Central Council's policy; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67).—214, 216

*Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—leader of the English Revolution, Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653.—486

*Cuvier, Georges Léopold Chrétien Frédéric Dagobert, baron de* (1769-1832)—French naturalist, author of works on comparative anatomy, paleontology and the classification of animals.—322, 323, 558

*Cuza* (*Cusa*), *Alexander* (1820-1873)—Romanian politician; as Alexander Johann I, Hospodar (1859-66) of the Danubian principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, which formed a united Romanian state in 1862; was removed from power as a result of a reactionary plot (1866) and emigrated.—256

D

*Dante, Alighieri* (1265-1321)—Italian poet.—568

*Darwin, Charles Robert* (1809-1882)—English naturalist, founded the theory of natural selection.—127, 136, 304, 322, 323, 327, 494, 558, 571

*Davis, Jefferson* (1808-1889)—American politician, Democrat, big planter; took part in the US war against Mexico (1846-48); Secretary of War (1853-57); an organiser of the Southern slave-holders' revolt; President of the Confederate States of America (1861-65).—123

*Deasy, Michael*—a Fenian leader, in 1867 was arrested in Manchester and released by his supporters.—474

*Dell, William*—participant in the British workers' and democratic movement; interior decorator; member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; took part in the inaugural meeting of the International at St Martin's Hall on 28 September 1864; member of the General Council of the International

(1864-69) and its Treasurer (1865, 1866-67); took part in the London Conference (1865); a leader of the Reform League.—93, 110, 317

*Demuth, Helene (Lenchen)* (1820-1890)—housemaid and devoted friend of the Marx family.—63, 309, 376

*Denis, Chateaugiron de*—French journalist.—218, 223

*Denis, Hector* (1842-1913)—Belgian politician.—213, 223

*Denoual, Jules*—French democrat; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International at St. Martin's Hall on 28 September 1864; member of the Central Council of the International (1864-65).—140

*De Paepe, César* (1841-1890)—Belgian socialist; compositor, subsequently physician; a founder of the Belgian section of the International (1865), member of the Belgian Federal Council, delegate to the London (1865) Conference, Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) congresses, and to the London (1871) Conference of the International; following the Hague Congress (1872) supported the Bakuninists for some time; a founder of the Belgian Workers' Party (1885).—191, 203-04

*Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Earl of* (1799-1869)—British statesman, Tory leader, subsequently a leader of the Conservative Party; Prime Minister (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68).—369, 374, 394, 474

*Descartes* (Latin: *Cartesius*), *René* (1596-1650)—French philosopher, mathematician and naturalist.—435

*Dickson*—English army officer; a leader of the Reform League in the 1860s.—464

*Diderot, Denis* (1713-1784)—French philosopher of the Enlightenment, atheist, leader of the Encyclopaedists.—34, 568

*Dietzgen, Joseph* (1828-1888)—active participant in the German and international working-class movement; philosopher who independently arrived at dialectical materialism; member of the International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), leather-maker.—473, 476, 497

*Diogenes, Laertius* (3rd cent.)—Greek historian of philosophy, compiled a large work on the ancient philosophers.—373

*Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and writer, Tory leader, later leader of the Conservative Party, Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68), Prime Minister (1868 and 1874-80).—48, 282, 300, 458, 468

*Dollfus*—family of Alsace big cotton manufacturers.—552-53

*Dollfus, Jean* (1800-1887)—Alsace manufacturer; philanthropist; Mayor of Mulhouse.—550, 552

*Dönniges, Franz Alexander Friedrich Wilhelm von* (1814-1872)—German historian and diplomat; Bavarian envoy to Switzerland (1862-64).—12

*Dönniges, Helene von* (1845-1911)—daughter of Friedrich Wilhelm Dönniges; wife of the Romanian nobleman Racowiţa.—12, 19, 31, 162, 211

*Dresemann*—editor of the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* in the 1860s.—133

*Dronke, Ernst* (1822-1891)—German journalist; 'true socialist'; later member of the Communist League and an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; supporter of Marx and Engels, subsequently withdrew from politics and took up commerce.—140, 148, 158, 175, 198, 281, 284, 398, 399, 434, 438, 446

*Dubois, L.*—French journalist, socialist.—420

*Duchinski, Franciszek* (1817-1893)—Polish historian and ethnographer;

refugee in Paris after the 1830-31 uprising; author of several works on the history and ethnography of Poland and Eastern Slavs.—163, 164, 305

*Duller, Eduard* (1809-1853)—German poet and historian, author of historical novels.—27

*Duncker, Franz Gustav* (1822-1888)—Berlin publisher and politician, member of the Party of Progress; founder and editor of the *Volks-Zeitung*.—328, 382, 384, 395, 543

*Duncker, Friedrich Wilhelm August* (b. 1797)—Prussian official, Police Superintendent in Berlin in the 1840s.—299

*Duncker, Max* (1811-1886)—German historian, professor in Halle and then in Tübingen; from 1859 Prussian government official; director of the Prussian state archives (1867-74).—27

*Dunning, Thomas J.* (1799-1873)—British trade unionist and journalist, reformist; leader of the bookbinders' union; member of the London Trades Council.—159

*Dupanloup, Félix Antoine Philibert* (1802-1878)—French politician; a leader of the Catholic party; Bishop of Orleans (from 1849).—434, 460

*Dupleix, François*—French refugee in Switzerland; bookbinder; a founder and president of the French section of the International in Geneva; delegate to the London Conference (1865), Geneva (1866) and Lausanne (1867) congresses.—190, 214, 215, 315

*Dupont, Eugène* (c. 1831-1881)—active participant in the French and international working-class movement; musical instrument maker; took part in the June (1848) uprising in Paris; from 1862 on lived in London; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872), Corresponding Secretary for France (1865-71), took part in the London Conference (1865), Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867) (its Chairman), Brussels (1868), and the Hague (1872) congresses, London Conference (1871); associate of Marx and Engels; joined the British Federal Council of the International (1872); moved to the USA in 1874.—140, 144, 149, 196, 250, 318, 334, 416, 428, 516, 520

E

*Eccarius, Johann Georg* (*John George*) (1818-1889)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; tailor; member of the League of the Just and later of the Communist League; a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, member of the General Council of the International (1864-72) and its General Secretary (1867-71), Corresponding Secretary for America (1870-72), delegate of all congresses and conferences of the International; follower of Marx; in the spring of 1872 joined reformist leaders of the British trade unions.—4, 15-17, 50, 74, 84, 90, 91, 101, 106, 107, 108, 114, 134, 150, 152, 163, 215, 219, 224, 249, 252-53, 255, 262, 314, 315, 339, 394, 416, 418, 420, 422, 423, 425, 428, 429, 433, 434, 438, 455, 456, 462, 519, 552

*Eckardt, Ludwig* (1827-1871)—Austrian democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Austria and Germany, emigrated to Switzerland; in 1865, a leader of the German People's Party and editor of the *Deutsches Wochenblatt*; opposed Germany's unification under Prussia's supremacy; returned to Austria in 1867.—198, 204

*Egli, Johann Jakob* (1825-1896)—Swiss geographer and teacher.—28, 188

*Eichhoff, Albert*—German publisher, brother of Karl Wilhelm Eichhoff—542, 545

*Eichhoff, Karl Wilhelm* (1833-1895)—German socialist, journalist; in 1859 exposed Stieber as a police spy in the press and was brought to trial for this; refugee in London (1861-66); member of the First International from 1868, and one of its first historians; member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party from 1869.—152, 175, 178, 284, 349, 542, 545

*Einhorn*—see *Horn, Eduard* (*Ignácz*)

*Eisenbart, Johann Andreas* (1661-1727)—German physician; prototype of the quack 'Doctor Eisenbart' in German folklore.—457

*Elcho, Francis Wemyss Charteris Douglas, Lord* (1818-1914)—British politician, Conservative M.P., opposed electoral reform in the 1860s.—300

*Elizabeth I* (1533-1603)—Queen of England (1558-1603).—486

*Enfantin, Barthélemy Prosper* (1796-1864)—French utopian socialist, a disciple of Saint-Simon.—218

*Engel, Ernst* (1821-1896)—German statistician, director of the Royal Prussian Statistical Bureau in Berlin (1860-82).—157, 361

*Engels, Elisabeth Francisca Mauritzia* (née *van Haar*) (1797-1873)—Frederick Engels' mother.—11, 192, 248, 261, 481

*Engels, Emil* (1828-1884)—Frederick Engels' brother.—312-13

*Engels, Emma* (née *Croon*) (b. 1834)—wife of Hermann Engels, Frederick Engels' brother.—11

*Engels, Hermann* (1822-1905)—Frederick Engels' brother.—9-11, 247-48, 480-81

*Engels, Rudolf* (1831-1903)—Frederick Engels' brother.—11, 61-62

*Ermen, Anton Gottfried* (1807-1886)—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—248, 261, 481

*Ermen, Franz Julius* (b. 1840)—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—168

*Ermen, Gottfried, Peter Jakob* (1811-1899)—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—129, 192, 248, 260, 285, 363, 364, 381, 439, 451, 457, 481

*Ermen, Peter (Pitt) Albertus Ermen* (1800-1889)—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—260

*Eulenburg, Friedrich Albrecht, Count von* (1815-1881)—Prussian statesman and diplomat, Minister of the Interior (1862-78).—302

*Eves, Charles*—author of popular school textbooks (mid-19th cent.).—246

*Eynern, Ernst von* (1838-1906)—German businessman and politician.—546, 548

*Eyre, Edward John* (1815-1901)—British official, Governor of Jamaica (1864-66), suppressed Negros' uprising in 1865.—208

F

*Fallmerayer, Jakob Philipp* (1790-1861)—German historian and traveller.—548

*Faucher, Julius* (*Jules*) (1820-1878)—German economist and writer, Young Hegelian; advocate of free trade; refugee in England from 1850 till 1861 when he returned to Germany; member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies; member of the Party of Progress; National-Liberal from 1866.—104, 444, 467, 473, 490

*Favre, Jules Gabriel Claude* (1809-1880)—French lawyer and politician; a leader of the bourgeois republican opposition from the late 1850s; deputy to the Corps législatif (1860s); Foreign Minister (1870-71); together with Thiers headed the struggle against the Paris Commune; among

others, inspired the struggle against the First International.—290, 429

*Fazy, Jean Jacob (James)* (1794-1878)—Swiss statesman and journalist; radical; head of government of the Geneva Canton (1846-53 and 1855-61); founder of the Swiss State Bank; pursued a pro-Bonapartist policy.—63, 158, 185, 237

*Fellner, Karl Konstanz Viktor* (1807-1866)—German merchant and politician, last burgomaster of the free city of Frankfurt am Main (1866).—299

*Ferdinand II* (1810-1859)—King of the Two Sicilies (1830-59), nicknamed King Bomba for his bombardment of Messina in 1848.—292

*Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas* (1804-1872)—German philosopher.—360, 520

*Fichte, Johann Gottlieb* (1762-1814)—German philosopher.—453

*Fielden, John* (1784-1849)—English manufacturer, philanthropist, proponent of factory legislation.—552

*Figuier, Guillaume Louis* (1819-1894)—French naturalist.—27

*Fontaine, Léon*—Belgian journalist; participant in the democratic movement; Central Council's Corresponding Secretary *pro tem* for Belgium (1865), delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) of the International.—144-45, 170-71

*Fontana, Giuseppe P.* (1840-1876)—took part in the 1848 revolution in Italy, then refugee; a leader of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); member of the Central Council of the International (October 1864 to 1865); Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1864-65).—16-18, 110, 115, 140

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—287, 326, 559

*Fowler, Thomas* (1736-1801)—English pharmacist and physician.—225

*Fox, Peter (André Peter Fox)* (d. 1869)—journalist; active member of the British democratic and working-class movement; Positivist; a leader of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, member of the General Council of the International (1864-69), General Secretary of the Council (September-November 1866), Corresponding Secretary for America (1866-67); an editor of *The Commonwealth* (1866), member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—22, 23, 49, 54, 55, 131, 148, 149, 173, 199, 218, 224, 228, 230, 252, 269, 271, 278, 290, 291, 318, 434, 437, 464, 485, 516, 532, 536, 538, 548

*Fraas, Karl Nikolaus* (1810-1875)—German botanist and agronomist, professor in Munich.—507, 510, 548, 559

*Francis II* (1836-1894)—King of Naples and Sicily (1859-60).—292

*Francis Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-66), Emperor of Austria-Hungary (1867-1916).—54, 256

*Frankenheim, Moritz Ludwig* (1801-1869)—German physicist and philosopher.—28

*Frederick Charles, Prince of Prussia* (1828-1885)—Prussian general, later field marshal-general; during the Danish war (1864) Commander-in-Chief of the Prussian and then Allied armies, commanded First Prussian Army in the Austro-Prussian war (1866).—8, 39, 121, 256, 263, 279, 365, 523

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—293, 374

*Freiligrath, Ferdinand* (1810-1876)—German revolutionary poet; an

editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); member of the Communist League (1848-52); during emigration in London (1851-68) withdrew from revolutionary activity.—32, 33, 63, 72, 97, 151, 164, 185, 202, 208, 229-30, 237, 274, 275, 290, 362, 378, 385, 397, 398, 424, 430, 440, 447, 454, 472, 473, 513, 532, 542

*Freiligrath, Ida* (1817-1899)—Ferdinand Freiligrath's wife.—164, 378, 386, 472

*Freiligrath, Käthe (Kätchen)* (1845-1904)—Ferdinand Freiligrath's daughter.—164, 290, 425, 430

*Frémont, John Charles* (1813-1890)—American explorer and politician, belonged to the Left wing of the Republican Party, was nominated for the presidency in 1856; during the Civil War commanded Northern troops in Missouri (till November 1861) and West Virginia (1862).—51

*Frenzel*—a representative of opposition in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies in the 1860s, member of the Party of Progress.—333

*Freytag, Gustav* (1816-1895)—German dramatist and writer.—28

*Fribourg, Ernest Edouard*—active member in the French working-class movement; engraver, subsequently businessman; Right-wing Proudhonist; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall; a leader of the International's Paris section, delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866); in 1871 published the book *L'Association internationale des travailleurs* which was hostile to the International and the Paris Commune.—85, 109, 130, 149, 213, 263, 318

*Friedländer, Max* (1829-1872)—German democrat, member of the editorial boards of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* and *Die Presse*, to which Marx contributed in the 1850s-60s; founder and editor of the *Neue Freie Presse* (1864-72); Ferdinand Lassalle's cousin.—516

*Friedrich Wilhelm Nikolaus Karl* (1831-1888)—Prussian Crown Prince, King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany under the name of Frederick III (1888); commanded Second Prussian Army in the Austro-Prussian war (1866).—279, 340, 510, 523

*Fritzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1825-1905)—cigar-maker; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; a founder and leader of the General Association of German Workers; Lassallean; deputy to the North German Reichstag (1868-71); joined the Eisenachers in 1869.—161

*Fuld, Salomon*—lawyer in Frankfurt am Main.—194

*Funke, Robert*—businessman in Liverpool.—248, 312

G

*Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat, chief organiser of the defence of the Roman Republic (April-July 1849), headed the Italian people's struggle for national independence and unification of the country (1850s-60s).—15, 16, 33-36, 44, 45, 47, 159, 281, 292, 365, 420, 435, 460, 496

*Garnier-Pagès, Louis Antoine* (1803-1878)—French politician, moderate republican; in 1848 member of the Provisional Government and Mayor of Paris; during the Second Empire deputy to the Corps législatif (1864-71).—47

*Garrido y Tortosa, Fernando* (1821-1883)—Spanish republican; utopian socialist; author of works on the history of Spain.—28

*Gathorne-Hardy, Gathorne* (1814-1906)—British statesman, Conservative, Home Secretary (1867-68).—474, 485

*Geffcken, Friedrich Heinrich* (1830-1896)—German diplomat and lawyer; Hanseatic envoy to London (1866-69).—355

*Geib, August* (1842-1879)—German bookseller in Hamburg, Social-Democrat; member of the General Association of German Workers; participant in the Eisenach Congress (1869) and a founder of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party.—495

*Gentz, Friedrich von* (1764-1832)—Austrian statesman and writer; adviser and confidant of Metternich; Secretary at the Vienna Congress (1814-15) and congresses of the Holy Alliance.—478, 520

*George II* (1683-1760)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1727-60).—487

*George V* (1819-1878)—King of Hanover (1851-66).—298, 506, 536

*Gerhardt, Charles Frédéric* (1816-1856)—French chemist.—385, 387

*Giebel, Christoph Gottfried Andreas* (1820-1881)—German zoologist and paleontologist.—28

*Girardin, Émile de* (1802-1881)—French journalist and politician; editor of *La Presse* (1836-66 with intervals) and *La Liberté* (1866-70); moderate republican during the 1848-49 revolution; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1850-51); later Bonapartist, notorious for lack of principles in politics.—418, 424

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory and later Peelite; leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the 19th century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55 and 1859-66), Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—269, 374

*Glais-Bizoin, Alexandre Olivier* (1800-1877)—French lawyer and politician, moderate republican, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49); member of the Corps législatif in the 1860s.—290

*Gneist, Heinrich Rudolf Hermann Friedrich von* (1816-1895)—German lawyer and politician; professor at Berlin University; member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (from 1858); representative of the liberal opposition in the early 1860s; National-Liberal from 1866.—154

*Goegg, Amand* (1820-1897)—German democratic journalist, member of the Baden Provisional Government (1849); after the revolution emigrated; took part in pacifist activities of the League of Peace and Freedom; joined German Social-Democracy in the 1870s.—433, 517, 519, 541, 581, 582

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—25, 355, 356, 455, 504, 568

*Goltz, Robert Heinrich Ludwig, Count von* (1817-1869)—Prussian diplomat, ambassador to Paris (December 1862 to 1869).—293

*Gorchakov, Alexander Mikhailovich, Prince* (1798-1883)—Russian statesman and diplomat; ambassador to Vienna (1854-56), Minister for Foreign Affairs (1856-82).—506

*Götz (Goetz), Ferdinand* (1826-1915)—German physician and politician; in the 1860s member of the Party of Progress and later National-Liberal; deputy to the North German and German Reichstags.—489

*Gounod, Charles François* (1818-1893)—French composer.—571

*Gracchus, Cornelia*—mother of Gaius and Tiberius Gracchus.—244

*Gracchus, Gaius Sempronius* (153-121 B.C.)—tribune (123-122 B.C.) in ancient Rome; stood out for agrarian laws in the interests of the peasants; brother of Tiberius Gracchus.—244

*Gracchus, Tiberius Sempronius* (163-133 B.C.)—tribune (133 B.C.) in ancient Rome; stood out for agrarian laws in the interests of the peasants.—244

*Grach*—wife of Grach, banker in Trier.—244

*Graff, Eberhard Gottlieb* (1780-1841)—German philologist.—554

*Grant, Ulysses Simpson* (1822-1885)—American general and statesman; Republican, took part in the US Civil War (1861-65); from March 1864 Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Army, War Minister (1867-68), President of the USA (1869-77).—21, 39, 82, 121-123, 153

*Greif*—Prussian police officer, a chief of the Prussian secret service in London.—286

*Grey, Sir George* (1799-1882)—British statesman, Whig, Home Secretary (1846-52, 1855-58 and 1861-66) and Secretary for Colonial Affairs (1854-55).—155

*Griesheim, Karl Gustav Julius von* (1798-1854)—Prussian general and military writer.—303

*Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl* (1785-1863)—German philologist, author of a historical grammar of the German language and of folklore adaptations; professor in Göttingen and then in Berlin; liberal.—69, 168, 173, 197, 373, 548, 558

*Groote, Alfred* (c. 1815-1878)—German politician and lawyer; member of the Party of Progress; member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (1862-66).—176

*Grossmith, John*—took part in the British democratic and working-class movement, member of the Central Council of the International (November 1864 to 1865).—60

*Grove, Sir William Robert* (1811-1896)—English physicist and lawyer.—138

*Grube, August Wilhelm* (1816-1884)—German teacher.—28

*Grübel*—took part in the German working-class movement, member of the Communist League in Hamburg.—118

*Grün, Karl Theodor Ferdinand* (1817-1887)—German journalist; 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s; during the 1848-49 revolution participant in the democratic movement; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly; in 1850-61 émigré in Brussels; professor in Frankfurt am Main (1862-65), took part in the Geneva congress of the League of Peace and Freedom (1867); left for Vienna (1870).—24, 30, 433, 482, 505, 534, 540

*Guhl, Ernst Karl* (1819-1862)—German art critic, professor in Berlin.—28

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman; virtually directed the home and foreign policy of France from 1840 to the February 1848 revolution; expressed the interests of the financial bourgeoisie.—530

*Gumpert, Eduard* (d. 1893)—German physician in Manchester, friend of Marx and Engels.—12, 27, 30, 56, 63, 72, 78, 107, 117, 157, 177, 178, 194, 225, 227, 230, 231, 233, 235, 236, 238, 266, 281, 283, 284, 289, 294, 304, 324, 332, 344, 378, 382, 418, 446, 503, 510, 517, 524, 528, 555

H

*Habsburgs* (or *Hapsburgs*)—dynasty of emperors of the Holy Roman Empire from 1273 to 1806 (with intervals), of Austria (1804-67) and of Austria-Hungary (1867-1918).—258, 263, 300

*Hall*—notary in Manchester.—313

*Hall, Carl Christian* (1812-1888)—Danish statesman and politician, lawyer, deputy to the Rigstag, Prime Minister (1857-63).—183

*Hancock, Ottilie*—Karl Blind's daughter by second marriage.—35

*Handel, George Frederick* (1685-1759)—German composer.—571

*Hansen, N.P.*—Danish tailor; member of the General Council of the International (December 1864 to 1867), participant in the London Conference (1865), Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1866) and for Denmark and Holland (1867).—274

*Hardee, William Joseph* (1815-1873)—American general, took part in the Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Southerners.—123

*Hardy*—see *Gathorne-Hardy, Gathorne*

*Harkort, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1793-1880)—German industrialist and liberal politician; member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (till 1867); member of the Party of Progress.—169

*Harring, Harro Paul* (1798-1870)—German radical writer; emigrated in 1828, lived in various countries of Europe and America, including the USA.—182

*Harrison, Frederic* (1831-1923)—British lawyer and historian; radical; Positivist; took part in the democratic movement in the 1860s.—60, 162, 185, 283, 291, 394, 407

*Harting, Pieter* (1812-1885)—Dutch naturalist.—28

*Hatzfeldt (Hatzfeld), Sophie, Countess von* (1805-1881)—friend and supporter of Lassalle.—5, 12, 19, 20, 24, 26, 30, 31-37, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 53, 56-57, 58, 71, 75, 78, 80, 82, 102, 103, 124, 126, 139, 140, 165, 175, 180, 181, 190, 191, 202, 336, 349, 415, 548, 553, 556

*Haufe, Albert F.*—German tailor; lived in London; member of the Central Council of the International (1866).—274

*Hebel, Johann Peter* (1760-1826)—German writer and poet.—188

*Hecker, Friedrich Karl Franz* (1811-1881)—German democrat; a leader of the Baden republican uprising in April 1848, after its defeat emigrated to Switzerland and later to the USA.—32

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—138, 184, 185, 232, 258, 292, 370, 376, 382, 385, 387, 388, 395, 453, 464, 513, 520, 522, 544, 556, 558, 568

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—32, 52, 242, 245, 340, 386

*Heintzmann, Alexis* (born c. 1812)—Prussian lawyer; liberal; member of the Committee of Public Safety during the Elberfeld uprising (May 1849), later émigré in London; President of the London group of the National Association (1861).—151, 447

*Heinzen, Karl Peter* (1809-1880)—German radical journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, emigrated to Switzerland, later to England and, in the autumn of 1850, to the USA.—26, 31, 34, 213, 556

*Held, Friedrich Wilhelm Alexander* (1813-1872)—German radical journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; editor of the Berlin radical *Staatsbürger-Zeitung*.—211

*Hennessy, John Pope* (1834-1891)—Irish politician, M.P., Conservative; in the early 1860s submitted to Parliament several moderate reforms for Ireland.—486

*Heraclitus* (c. 540-c. 480 B.C.)—Greek philosopher, a founder of dialectics.—129

*Herbert, Auberon Edward William Molyneux* (1838-1906) — British philosopher and politician, Liberal M.P. (1870-74); follower of Herbert Spencer.—459

*Herwegh, Emma* (née *Siegmund*) (1817-

1904)—Georg Herwegh's wife.—12, 19, 24

*Herwegh, Georg Friedrich* (1817-1875)—German democratic poet, in the 1860s supported Lassalle.—12, 19, 29, 30, 120, 126, 140, 147

*Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich* (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat; materialist philosopher, journalist and writer; left Russia in 1847; from 1852 lived in England where he established Free Russian Press and published the periodical *Polyarnaya Zvezda* (Polar Star) and the newspaper *Kolokol* (The Bell).—213, 552, 577, 582

*Hess, Moses* (1812-1875)—German radical writer; one of the chief representatives of 'true socialism' in the mid-1840s; member of the Communist League, after its split belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group; Lassallean in the 1860s; took part in the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International.—3, 29, 30, 51, 65, 66, 68, 70, 75, 78, 80, 81, 83, 85, 89, 90, 95, 96, 115, 156, 157, 158, 190, 478, 483, 484, 487, 488, 528, 532, 533, 542, 567, 580

*Hess, Sibylle* (née *Pesch*) (1820-1903)—Moses Hess' wife.—150, 156

*Heydt, August, Baron von der* (1801-1874)—Prussian conservative statesman; Elberfeld banker; Minister of Trade, Industry and Public Works (December 1848 to 1862); Finance Minister (1862, June 1866-October 1869).—285

*Heywood, Abel* (1810-1893)—newspaper- and bookseller, active in the affairs of his native Manchester (Mayor in 1862-63); twice unsuccessful Liberal parliamentary candidate (1859, 1865).—168

*Hilberg, Arnold*—Austrian journalist, publisher and editor of the *Internationale Revue*.—216, 229, 464, 484, 516

*Hildebrand* (real name *Beets, Nicolaas*) (1814-1903)—Dutch poet and writer.—242

*Hildebrand, Bruno* (1812-1878)—German economist and statistician; representative of historical school in political economy.—491-92

*Hill*—employee at the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels in the 1850s-60s.—252

*Hirsch*—Moses Hess' relative; contributed to *Le Courrier français*.—487

*Hirsch, J. M.*—treasurer in Erfurt; publisher of song-books.—417

*Hoffmann, Ernst Theodor Amadeus* (1776-1822)—German writer.—230, 232, 233

*Höfling, Eugen*—German poet.—113

*Hofmann, August Wilhelm von* (1818-1892)—German chemist.—382, 385

*Hofstetten, Johann Baptist von* (d. 1887)—Bavarian army officer; Lassallean; member of the General Association of German Workers (1864-68); publisher and an editor of *Der Social-Demokrat* (1864-67).—495, 509, 529

*Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—105, 258, 263, 264, 302

*Holloway, Thomas* (1800-1883)—English patent-medicine vendor.—120

*Holtorp, Emile*—Polish refugee in London; member of the Central Council of the International (October 1864 to 1866), Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1864-65), delegate to the London Conference of the International (1865), in 1866 joined the International Republican Committee set up by Mazzini.—217, 278

*Holyoake, George Jacob* (1817-1906)—English journalist; prominent figure in the co-operative movement; reformist.—22, 300

*Hood, John Bell* (1831-1879)—American general, took part in the US Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Southerners.—21, 39, 61

*Horace* (*Quintus Horatius Flaccus*) (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—73, 250, 340

*Horn, Eduard* (*Ignácz*) (real name *Einhorn*) (1825-1875)—Hungarian economist and journalist, democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; from 1855 refugee in Paris; in the 1860s worked in *L'Association* and other French journals; returned to Hungary in 1869.—66, 76, 80, 85

*Howell, George* (1833-1910)—a reformist leader of the British trade unions; bricklayer; former Chartist; Secretary of the London Trades Council (1861-62), participant in the inaugural meeting of the International on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, member of the General Council of the International (October 1864 to 1869), delegate to the London Conference of the International (1865); Secretary of the Reform League.—158, 224, 250

*Huber, Victor Aimé* (1800-1869)—German journalist and historian of literature; Conservative.—27

*Hübner, Otto* (1818-1877)—German economist and statistician; in 1849 founded the Central Statistical Archives in Berlin and became its director.—421, 422

*Hughes, Thomas* (1822-1896)—British politician and writer; Liberal M. P. (1865-74); took part in publishing *The Workman's Advocate* in the 1860s; author of *Tom Brown's School-days* (1856).—206

*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885)—French writer.—420

*Hunter, Henry Julian*—English physician, author of reports on the workers' dire living conditions.—301

*Huxley, Thomas Henry* (1825-1895)—English naturalist, close associate of Charles Darwin and populariser of his teaching.—284, 571

I

*Imandt, Peter Joseph* (1823-1897)—German teacher; took part in the 1848-49 revolution, member of the Communist League, emigrated to London in 1852, supporter of Marx and Engels.—431

*Isabella II* (1830-1904)—Queen of Spain (1833-68).—435

*Izzy*—see *Lassalle, Ferdinand*

J

*Jacobi, Abraham* (1830-1919)—German physician; member of the Communist League, one of the accused at the Cologne Communist trial (1852), acquitted; emigrated to the USA, took part in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners; professor and president of several medical establishments.—330, 377, 452

*Jacobi, Johann* (1805-1877)—German radical journalist and politician; a Left-wing leader in the Prussian National Assembly (1848), in 1862 member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, founder of *Die Zukunft*; sided with Social-Democrats in the 1870s.—374

*Jacobs, Friedrich Christian Wilhelm* (1764-1847)—German philologist and historian of ancient literature.—28

*James, Edward* (1807-1867)—British lawyer; Liberal M. P. (1865-67).—168

*Janison*—notary in Manchester.—313

*John* (*Johann*) (1782-1859)—Archduke of Austria, Imperial Regent of Germany (June 1848-December 1849).—87

*Johnson, Andrew* (1808-1875)—American statesman, Democrat, Senator (1858-62); supporter of the

North in the Civil War; Vice-President (1864-April 1865) and President of the USA (1865-69), pursued a policy of compromise with the Southern planters.—150, 153, 159, 163, 167, 269, 334, 414

*Johnston, Joseph Eggleston* (1807-1891)—American general, during the Civil War commanded Southern troops in Virginia (1861-62), then in Tennessee and Mississippi.—153

*Jones, Ernest Charles* (1819-1869)—prominent figure in the English working-class movement; proletarian poet and journalist; leader of the Left-wing Chartists, took part in the work of the International in the 1860s; an organiser of the Reform movement; friend of Marx and Engels.—15, 30, 49, 62, 69, 74, 91, 93, 108, 112, 127, 130, 148, 149, 150, 155, 157, 168, 199, 365, 442, 466, 502, 503, 531

*Jones, Mason*—British radical, member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League in the 1860s.—158

*Juch, Hermann*—German democratic journalist, refugee in London, editor of the *Hermann* (from July 1859).—15, 24, 33, 63, 130, 134, 378, 447

*Jung, Georg Gottlob* (1814-1886)—German democratic journalist, Young Hegelian, a publisher of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—8

*Jung, Hermann* (1830-1901)—prominent figure in the international and Swiss working-class movement; watchmaker; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland (November 1864 to 1872), Treasurer of the General Council (1871-72), participant in the London Conference (1865), Chairman of the Geneva (1866), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and of the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council; supported Marx before the Hague Congress of 1872, later joined the reformists of the British trade unions.—55, 60-61, 131-32, 143, 148-49, 150, 191, 196, 200, 214, 250, 314, 485

*Juta, Johann Carl* (1824-1886)—Dutch bookseller in Cape Town, husband of Karl Marx's sister Luise.—115, 117, 194

*Juvenal* (*Decimus Junius Juvenalis*) (born c. A. D. 60-died after 127)—Roman satirical poet.—504

K

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—453

*Kappell*—priest in the German Lutheran Church in London.—24

*Kaub* (*Kolb*), *Karl*—German worker; a refugee in London and after 1865 in Paris; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the Central (General) Council of the International (November 1864 to 1865 and 1870-71), participated in the London Conference (1865).—191, 200, 254, 263

*Kekulé von Stradonitz, Friedrich August* (1829-1896)—German chemist.—387

*Kell*—Bradford manufacturer, radical.—283

*Kelly, Thomas* (born c. 1831)—a Fenian leader, in 1867 was arrested in Manchester and released by his supporters.—474

*Kepler, Johannes* (1571-1630)—German astronomer.—185, 568

*Kertbény, Károly Márie* (real name *Benkert*) (1824-1882)—Hungarian writer, liberal, was in contact with the participants in the 1848-49 revolution.—527, 529, 531, 533

*Kiesselbach, Wilhelm*—German historian and sociologist.—28

*King, P. St.*—bookseller in London.—401

*Kinkel, Johann Gottfried* (1815-1882)—German poet and democratic journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, sentenced to life imprisonment by the Prussian court, in 1850 escaped and emigrated to London; leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees; opposed Marx and Engels.—24, 33, 48, 151, 177, 278, 283, 284, 296, 307, 336, 447

*Kirkwood, Daniel* (1814-1895)—American astronomer and mathematician.—184, 186, 187

*Kiss, Miklós* (1820-1902)—Hungarian army officer, democrat, refugee, Kossuth's agent in France and Italy.—208

*Klapka, György (Georg)* (1820-1892)—general in the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49), emigrated in 1849; maintained contact with Bonapartist circles in the 1850s.—158

*Klein, Johann Jacob* (c. 1818-c. 1896)—Cologne physician; member of the Communist League, one of the accused at the Cologne Communist trial (1852), acquitted; in the early 1860s took part in the German working-class movement.—112, 462

*Klings, Karl* (c. 1825-after 1874)—German metal-worker; member of the Communist League and then of the General Association of German Workers; emigrated to the United States (1865), took an active part in the Chicago section of the International.—3-4, 15, 20, 30, 51, 58, 75, 80, 82, 135, 152, 337

*Klinke*—German worker, refugee in London; member of the International, a leader of the 'Teutonia', a branch of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.—150

*Klinker, A.*—member of the International, a leader of the 'Teutonia', a branch of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.—150

*Knowles, Alfred*—cotton-manufacturer in Manchester; went bankrupt in 1868.—168, 199

*Knox, Alexander Andrew* (1818-1891)—English journalist and police magistrate; member of a commission which reported to Parliament in 1867 on the treatment of political prisoners in British prisons.—300, 394

*Kolatschek, Adolph* (1821-1889)—Austrian journalist and politician, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49), democrat; publisher of the *Stimmen der Zeit* (1858-62) and founder of the newspaper *Der Botschafter* (1862).—141, 204

*König*—owner of a printing shop in Erfurt.—417

*Kosel, Esther* (c. 1786 - 1865) — Karl Marx's paternal aunt.—194, 251

*Kossuth, Lajos* (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement; head of the revolutionary government (1848-49); after the defeat of the revolution emigrated first to Turkey and then to England and the USA.—123, 529

*Kriege, Hermann* (1820-1850)—German journalist, 'true socialist', founder and editor of the New York newspaper *Der Volks-Tribun*.—373

*Kröker, Eduard*—German merchant in London, Käthe Freiligrath's husband.—425

*Kugelmann, Franziska* (1858-c. 1930)—Ludwig Kugelmann's daughter.—360, 381, 395, 396, 450, 490, 497, 521, 522, 529, 544, 579

*Kugelmann, Gertruda* (b. 1839)—Ludwig Kugelmann's wife.—360, 369, 372, 380, 396, 443, 450, 469, 490, 497, 521-22, 529, 579

*Kugelmann, Ludwig* (1828-1902)—German physician; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; member of the First International, delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; member of the Social-

Democratic Workers' Party from 1869; friend and regular correspondent of Marx and Engels.—45, 101, 105, 107, 112, 114, 117, 165, 203, 207, 214, 216, 220-21, 262, 272, 311-12, 325-30, 346-47, 358-62, 365, 366, 369, 371, 372, 376, 379-81, 389, 395, 396, 418, 427, 433, 438, 440-45, 449-50, 458, 461-62, 463, 467-70, 473, 477, 479, 480, 482, 489-93, 495, 496-501, 503, 505, 510, 511, 512, 518, 521-22, 527-29, 531, 536, 543, 551-53, 573-75, 577-79

L

*Lafargue, François* (1806-1870)—Paul Lafargue's father.—304, 310, 334-35, 395, 396, 502, 503, 542, 553, 579

*Lafargue, Paul* (1842-1911)—prominent figure in the international and French working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International, Corresponding Secretary for Spain (1866-69), helped to organise the International's sections in France (1869-70), Spain and Portugal (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), a founder of the Workers' Party in France (1879); disciple and associate of Marx and Engels; husband of Marx's daughter Laura.—246, 250, 281, 283, 287, 303, 304, 307-09, 310, 313, 315, 316, 319, 331, 334, 335, 355, 376, 378, 383, 396, 407, 416, 424, 428, 429, 431, 434, 435, 436, 437, 446, 447, 453, 457, 463, 476, 484, 498, 502, 503, 512, 516, 524, 526, 532, 535, 540, 541, 542, 548, 550, 553, 576, 579

*Lafargue, Virginie* (b. 1803)—Paul Lafargue's mother.—335, 396, 579

*Lama, Domenico*—President of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London), participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, member of the Central Council of the International (1864-65).—140

*Lange, Friedrich Albert* (1828-1875)—German philosopher, economist, neo-Kantian; member of the Standing Committee of the General Association of German Workers (1864-66), member of the International, delegate to the Lausanne Congress (1867).—116, 119, 127, 135, 138, 502

*Lange, Ludwig* (1825-1885)—German philologist and historian of ancient Rome.—27

*Langiewicz, Maryan Melchior* (1827-1887)—a Right-wing leader during the 1863 uprising in Poland; fled to Austria where he was arrested; in 1865 emigrated to England; was in contact with Mazzini's circles in London; later refugee in France and Turkey.—278

*Lapinski, Theophil* (*Łapiński, Teofil*) (1827-1886)—Polish colonel, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; served in the Turkish army under the name of Tewfik Bey; headed a military expedition to help the Polish insurgents in 1863.—163

*Laplace, Pierre Simon* (1749-1827)—French astronomer, mathematician and physicist.—184, 187

*Larkin, Michael* (d. 1867)—an Irish Fenian, executed in Manchester for taking part in freeing Fenian leaders Kelly and Deasy in the autumn of 1867.—474, 483

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German journalist and lawyer, petty-bourgeois socialist; took part in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder of the General Association of German Workers and its first President (1863-64); an initiator of the opportunist trend in the German Social-Democratic movement.—5, 12, 15, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 30-33, 34, 36-38, 41-42, 44, 46, 53, 57-58, 66, 69, 70-71, 75, 77, 78, 80, 81, 87, 88-90, 96, 101-05, 107, 111, 114, 120, 124-27, 129, 134, 147, 158, 161, 165, 175, 176, 181, 190,

211, 266, 278, 282, 329, 379, 415, 417, 447, 493, 494, 516, 520, 526, 527, 532, 536, 548, 566, 567

*Lau, Thaddäus* (d. 1871)—German historian and teacher.—28

*Laurent, Auguste* (1807-1853)—French chemist.—385

*Law, Harriet* (1832-1897)—a leading figure in the atheist movement in England, member of the General Council (1867-72) and of the Manchester section of the International (1872).—396

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician, a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats, editor of *La Réforme*; Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848), where he headed the Montagne Party; emigrated to England after the demonstration of 13 June 1849.—32, 33-34, 278

*Lee, Robert Edward* (1807-1870)—American general, took part in the war against Mexico (1846-48), during the US Civil War commanded Southern troops in Virginia (1862-65), Commander-in-Chief of the Confederate Army (February-April 1865).—21, 39, 82, 113, 122, 123, 147

*Lefort, Henry* (1835-1917)—French lawyer, journalist, republican; member of *L'Association*'s editorial board; took part in the preparations for the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall; dissociated himself from the International in March 1865.—85, 109, 118-19, 131, 140

*Le Lubez, Victor* (b. 1834)—French refugee in London, was connected with republican and radical elements in France and Britain; took part in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, member of the Central Council of the International (1864-66), Corresponding Secretary for France (1864-65), participant in the London Conference of the International (1865); expelled from the Council by the Geneva Congress (1866) for intrigue and slander.—15-18, 49, 66, 74, 92, 108, 118, 130, 131, 132, 140, 149, 155, 158, 170, 212, 214, 216-18, 250, 318, 519

*Le Prince de Beaumont, Jeanne Marie* (1711-1780)—French authoress.—242

*Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim* (1729-1781)—German writer.—568

*Lessner, Friedrich* (1825-1910)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, tailor; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; prosecuted at the Cologne Communist trial in 1852; emigrated to London in 1856; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London and of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872), participant in the London Conference (1865), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; member of the British Federal Council; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—94, 118, 229-30, 416, 424, 429, 477, 507, 571

*Levy, Joseph Moses* (1812-1888)—English journalist, a founder and publisher of *The Daily Telegraph*.—86

*Lewes, George Henry* (1817-1878)—English positivist philosopher, journalist, literary critic; editor of *The Fortnightly Review* (1865-66).—455, 512

*Lewis, Leon*—American journalist; in 1865, in London, was elected member of the Central Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for America, did not take part in the work of the Council.—162

*Liebieg, Johann, Baron von* (1802-1870)—Austrian manufacturer.—142

*Liebig, Justus, Baron von* (1803-1873)—German chemist.—227, 232, 507

*Liebknecht, Alice* (b. 1857)—Wilhelm Liebknecht's eldest daughter.—202

*Liebknecht, Ernestine* (d. 1867)—Wilhelm Liebknecht's first wife.—52, 80, 134, 176, 202, 262, 272, 370

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; participant in the 1848-49 revolution, member of the Communist League and of the International, delegate to the Basle Congress of the International (1869); deputy to the Reichstag from 1867; a founder and leader of the German Social-Democratic Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—12, 22, 24, 25, 26, 30, 52, 53, 58, 65-68, 75, 76, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 88-90, 94, 95, 99, 101, 102, 104, 106, 107-08, 112, 119, 124-26, 129, 134, 139, 140, 141, 152, 160-61, 165, 166, 167, 175-76, 178, 180, 181-82, 189, 191, 198, 201-02, 214, 215, 218-19, 225, 261-62, 271-72, 278, 298, 310, 336, 346, 370, 430, 431, 433, 437, 444, 445, 448, 450, 456, 462, 463, 467, 468, 477, 479, 484, 488-89, 491, 492, 495, 499, 509, 511, 513, 515-16, 518, 522, 526, 527, 529, 534, 538, 539, 540, 542, 546, 552, 556, 565, 566

*Limousin, Charles Mathieu* (1840-1909)—French working-class leader; printer, later journalist; follower of Proudhon; Secretary of the Board of *L'Association*; a leader of the Paris section of the International; delegate to the London Conference (1865), took part in the co-operative movement; published several journals.—109, 170

*Lincoln, Abraham* (1809-1865)—American statesman, a leader of the Republican Party; President of the United States (1861-65); under pressure from the masses carried out a number of bourgeois-democratic reforms during the Civil War, thus making possible the adoption of revolutionary methods of warfare; assassinated by a slave-owners' agent in April 1865.—10, 44, 48, 49, 51, 70, 73, 80, 86, 122, 150, 153, 161

*Lippe, Leopold, Count zur* (1815-1889)—Prussian statesman and lawyer, Public Prosecutor in Berlin (1860); Minister of Justice (1862-67).—427, 432, 506

*List, Friedrich* (1789-1846)—German economist, supporter of Protectionism.—536

*Livy* (*Titus Livius*) (59 B.C.-A.D. 17)—Roman historian.—17, 52, 295

*Lizzie*—see *Burns, Lizzie* (*Lizzy, Lydia*)

*Locke, John* (1632-1704)—English philosopher and economist.—388

*Longstreet, James* (1821-1904)—American general, took part in the Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Southerners.—61

*Longuet, Charles Félix César* (1839-1903)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; journalist; Proudhonist; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67 and 1871-72); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1866), delegate to the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and the Hague (1872) congresses and to the London Conference (1871); member of the Paris Commune; emigrated to England; subsequently joined the opportunist group of Possibilists; married Marx's daughter Jenny.—213, 214, 216, 243, 250, 281

*Lormier*—acquaintance of Marx's family.—316, 438

*Lormier, Marie*—acquaintance of Marx's family.—231, 316

*Louis Napoleon*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—274, 334, 368

*Louis XV* (1710-1774)—King of France (1715-74).—55

*Lucraft, Benjamin* (1809-1897)—a reformist leader of the British trade unions; furniture-maker; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address *The Civil War in France* and left the International.—290

*Ludwig III* (1806-1877)—Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt (1848-77).—298, 302

*Lupus*—see *Wolff, Wilhelm*

*Luther, Martin* (1483-1546)—German theologian and writer, prominent figure of the Reformation, founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany.—334

*Lyell, Charles* (1797-1875)—English chemist and geologist.—73, 571

M

*Macaulay, Thomas Babington, Baron* (1800-1859)—British historian and politician, Whig M.P.—28

*McClellan, George Brinton* (1826-1885)—American general, championed a compromise with the Confederacy; Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Army (November 1861-March 1862) and commander of the army on the Potomac (March-November 1862) during the US Civil War; candidate for the presidency (1864).—10

*McCulloch, John Ramsay* (1789-1864)—British economist, vulgarised David Ricardo's theory.—23, 186, 408

*MacDonald*—British army officer; in September 1860 arrested in Bonn and put on trial on the charge of insubordination to the local authorities.—24

*Macdonald, Adelaide* (born c. 1848)—took part in the Fenian movement, sentenced to five years of penal servitude in 1867.—492

*Macleod, Henry Dunning* (1821-1902)—Scottish economist, engaged mainly in elucidating the nature of credit.—511, 543

*Magendie, François* (1783-1855)—French physician, professor of physiology and general therapy in Paris.—304

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist; author of a theory of population.—127, 136, 455

*Marie* (b. 1818)—Queen of Hanover (1851-66).—345

*Marie de Saint-Georges, Alexandre Pierre Thomas Amable* (1795-1870)—French lawyer and politician, moderate republican; in 1848 Minister of Public Works in the Provisional Government, then Minister of Justice in Cavaignac's government.—21

*Markheim, Bertha* (née *Levy*)—close acquaintance of Marx's family in 1854-65.—45

*Marr, Wilhelm* (1819-1904)—German journalist; a leader of the Young Germany, German refugees' secret society in Switzerland (1840s); publisher of the newspaper *Beobachter an der Elbe* in Hamburg (1865-66); Prussian police agent.—102, 379

*Martin, Bon Louis Henri* (1810-1883)—French historian and politician, republican; joined the International in 1865.—202

*Martin, John* (1812-1875)—Irish politician, participant in the national liberation movement, British M.P. (1871-75).—462

*Martin, William* (born c. 1832)—an Irish Fenian; official in Manchester; in the autumn of 1867 was convicted for taking part in freeing the Fenian leaders Kelly and Deasy.—462

*Marx, Edgar (Musch)* (1847-1855)—Karl Marx's son.—273

*Marx, Eleanor (Tussy)* (1855-1898)—Karl Marx's youngest daughter, took part in the British and international working-class movement.—63, 166-67, 181, 184, 230, 235, 246, 249, 313, 316-17, 318, 370, 375, 376, 381, 395-96, 406, 408, 416, 424, 427, 472, 490, 508, 513, 520, 522, 524, 526, 540, 541, 571, 572

*Marx, Heinrich* (1777-1838)—Karl Marx's father, lawyer and later Counsellor of Justice in Trier.—557

*Marx, Henriette* (née *Pressburg*) (1787-1863)—Karl Marx's mother.—46

*Marx, Jenny* (née *von Westphalen*) (1814-1881)—Karl Marx's wife.—9, 20, 43, 50, 63, 64, 133, 134, 142, 153, 173, 184, 193, 205, 215, 226, 245, 246, 266, 271, 277, 307, 308, 314, 316, 331, 337, 362, 363, 376, 377, 378, 383, 385, 388, 395, 399, 402, 406, 427, 446, 457, 463, 484, 502, 503, 508, 521, 524, 526, 528, 540, 541, 542, 565, 567, 568-79, 580-82

*Marx, Jenny* (1844-1883)—Karl Marx's eldest daughter, took part in the international working-class movement.—62, 64, 149, 151, 181, 184, 186, 196, 197, 198, 240-41, 244, 249, 271, 291, 294, 313, 317, 361, 369-70, 376, 378, 395, 396, 406, 408, 416, 424, 427, 479, 492, 512, 515, 522, 524, 526, 540, 541, 567, 568

*Marx, Laura* (1845-1911)—Karl Marx's second daughter, married Paul Lafargue in 1868; active in the French working-class movement.—23, 63, 150, 151, 181, 183, 184, 186, 193, 216, 244-46, 249, 271, 303, 306, 307, 309, 311, 313, 315, 316, 317, 330, 334, 335, 347, 351, 370, 375-76, 380, 395, 396, 406, 408, 416, 424, 427, 428, 432, 436, 470, 502, 503, 523, 525, 537, 538, 540, 542, 544, 551, 553, 554, 556, 568, 583

*Massol, Marie Alexandre* (1805-1875)—French journalist; utopian socialist; friend of Proudhon; editor-in-chief of *La Morale indépendante* (1865-70).—66

*Matzeratt, G.*—German worker; participant in the 1848-49 revolution; in the 1850s-early 1860s a refugee in London, member of the German Workers' Educational Society there; later returned to Germany, member of the General Association of German Workers.—98

*Maughan*—British politician, Owenite, participant in the free-thinkers' movement.—459

*Maurer, Georg Ludwig von* (1790-1872)—German historian, studied the social system of ancient and medieval Germany.—547-49, 554, 557

*Mayer, Karl* (1819-1889)—German petty-bourgeois democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49), editor of the Stuttgart newspaper *Der Beobachter* in the 1860s.—43, 44, 51, 52, 493-95, 498, 500, 503

*Mayer, Karl Friedrich Hartmann* (1786-1870)—German lawyer and poet, representative of the Swabian school; father of the above.—52

*Mayne, Sir Richard* (1796-1868)—London Chief of Police from 1850.—300

*Mazade, Louis Charles Jean Robert de* (1821-1893)—French journalist, worked in *Revue des deux Mondes*.—257

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, democrat, a leader of the Italian national liberation movement; headed the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850); when the Interna-

tional was founded in 1864, tried to bring it under his influence.—16, 17, 20, 23, 32, 33, 110, 115, 140, 144, 162, 242, 243, 250, 278, 420, 424

*Meagher, Thomas Francis* (1823-1867)—leader of the Irish national liberation movement in the 1840s, a founder of the Irish Confederation (1847); in 1848 was arrested and sentenced to penal servitude for life for taking part in the preparation of an uprising; escaped in 1852, fled to the USA; during the US Civil War (1861-65) commanded the brigade of Irish volunteers that fought on the side of the Northerners.—486

*Meissner, Otto Karl* (1819-1902)—publisher in Hamburg, printed Marx's *Capital* and other works by Marx and Engels.—73, 78, 84, 99, 100, 107, 111, 112, 113, 116, 119, 133, 173, 174, 214, 219, 222, 226, 228, 328, 332, 336, 338, 343, 344, 348, 350, 352, 357, 358, 359, 362, 363, 364, 366, 367, 370, 371, 375, 379, 389, 391, 392, 407, 415, 420, 424, 426, 427, 432, 437, 439, 442, 444, 451, 458, 462, 463, 471, 472, 475, 477, 487, 489, 491, 498, 507, 509-10, 534, 540, 541, 542, 545, 546, 548, 556, 576

*Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Jakob Ludwig Felix* (1809-1847)—German composer.—571

*Menke, Theodor Heinrich*—German statistician; member of the International; Ludwig Kugelmann's friend.—263, 395

*Mensdorff-Pouilly, Alexander, Count* (1813-1871)—Austrian general and statesman, Minister of the Imperial Court and Foreign Minister (1864-66).—54

*Merkel*—official in a statistical bureau in Hanover.—361

*Metzner, Theodor* (1830-1902)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement; shoemaker; a leader of the General Association of German Workers; follower of Wilhelm Liebknecht (from the mid-1860s), opposed Lassalleans; member of the International; from 1869 member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party.—180, 202, 215, 220, 261

*Meyer, Gustav*—a manufacturer in Bielefeld; acquaintance of Ludwig Kugelmann.—549, 552, 559

*Meyer, Hermann* (1821-1875)—leading figure in the German and American working-class movement; merchant, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA in 1852; an organiser of the International's sections in St Louis; friend of Joseph Weydemeyer.—377, 451, 455, 537

*Meyer, Julius* (1817-1863)—Westphalian businessman and writer; 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s.—373

*Meyer, Ludwig* (1827-1900)—German psychiatrist.—360

*Meyer, Sigfrid* (c. 1840-1872)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement; engineer; member of the General Association of German Workers; opposed Lassalleanism; member of the International; in 1866 emigrated to the USA, member of the New York Communist Club and an organiser of the International's sections in the USA; follower of Marx and Engels.—202, 216, 220, 222, 261, 366-67, 415, 473, 541, 572-73

*Miall, Edward* (1809-1881)—English writer and radical politician, preacher of non-conformism, flirted with the Chartists in the 1840s; M.P. (1852-57, 1869-74); editor of *The Nonconformist* (1841-79), a publisher of *The Commonwealth*.—224, 255, 268, 280, 283

*Michaelis, Otto* (1826-1890)—German economist and journalist; from 1861 member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies; National-Liberal (from 1867); deputy to the North German Reichstag.—444, 467

*Mignet, François Auguste Marie* (1796-1884)—French historian.—28

*Mill, John Stuart* (1806-1873)—English economist and positivist philosopher.—162, 269, 394, 407, 536, 537

*Miquel, Johannes von* (1828-1901)—German lawyer, politician and financier; member of the Communist League up to 1852; a founder of the National Association (1859), chief burgomaster of Osnabrück (1865-70, 1876-80), from 1867 a leader of the National-Liberals (Right wing), member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, deputy to the North German Reichstag and later to the German Reichstag.—45, 102, 104, 112, 207, 221, 330, 373, 482, 499

*Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel Victor Riqueti, comte de* (1749-1791)—leading figure in the French Revolution; constitutional monarchist.—103, 169, 435

*Mohl, Moritz* (1802-1888)—German economist; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (moderate Left wing).—490

*Moilin, Jules Antoine (Tony)* (1832-1871)—French physician and journalist, petty-bourgeois socialist; took part in the Paris Commune, shot by Versaillists.—310, 319, 320, 324, 325, 327, 335, 344

*Moleschott, Jakob* (1822-1893)—Dutch physiologist and philosopher, vulgar materialist; taught in Germany, Switzerland and Italy.—28

*Molière* (real name *Jean Baptiste Poquelin*) (1622-1673)—French dramatist.—290, 296

*Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhardt, Count von* (1800-1891)—Prussian military leader and writer; general, from 1871 field marshal-general; Chief of the Prussian (1857-71) and the Imperial (1871-88) General Staff.—520

*Mommsen, Theodor* (1817-1903)—German historian, author of works on the history of ancient Rome.—27

*Moore, Samuel* (1838-1911)—English lawyer; member of the International; translated into English Volume One of Marx's *Capital* (in collaboration with Edward Aveling) and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party;* friend of Marx and Engels.—157, 168, 169, 182, 186, 317, 378, 386, 394, 409, 419, 453, 456, 459, 480, 499, 508, 555

*Morley, Samuel* (1809-1886)—English manufacturer and politician, Liberal M.P. (1865, 1868-85); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League in the 1860s.—74

*Möser, Justus* (1720-1794)—German historian and politician, a founder of the conservative romantic trend in historiography.—207, 221, 547, 558

*Moustier, Léonel Desle Marie François René, marquis de* (1817-1869)—French diplomat, Minister for Foreign Affairs (1866-68).—462

*Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus* (1756-1791)—Austrian composer.—571

*Mozin* (c. 1771-1840)—French clergyman, philologist.—28

*Müller, Johann Heinrich Jacob* (1809-1875)—German physicist.—27

*Münster, Georg Herbert (von Dorneburg), Prince* (1820-1902)—German diplomat, Hanover envoy to St Petersburg (1856-64); went over to Prussia's side in 1866.—520

*Muraviov, Mikhail Nikolayevich, Count* (1796-1866)—Russian statesman; appointed plenipotentiary Governor-General of Poland during the 1863 Polish uprising; nicknamed 'hangman' for the cruel suppression of the uprising.—85

*Murchison, Sir Roderick Impey* (1792-1871)—English geologist, took part in the geological survey of European part of Russia and the Urals in the 1840s.—164

N

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—47, 55, 77, 124, 422, 524

*Napoleon III* (*Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte*) (1808-1873)—Napoleon I's nephew; President of the Second Republic (December 1848 to 1851), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—18, 38, 47, 55, 124, 130, 177, 182, 208, 211, 215, 216, 218, 242, 254, 256, 258, 263, 265, 269, 274, 276, 280, 282, 285, 288, 290-94, 296, 300, 302, 306, 307, 334, 338, 340, 341, 345, 346, 351, 352, 364, 365, 368, 374, 416, 418, 425, 438, 459, 462, 464, 466, 468, 473, 474, 520, 529, 537

*Nebuchadrezzar* (or *Nebuchadnezzar*) *II* (625-562 B.C.)—King of Babylon (604-562 B.C.).—54

*Nélaton, Auguste* (1807-1873)—French surgeon.—519

*Newton, Sir Isaac* (1642-1727)—English physicist, astronomer and mathematician, founder of classical mechanics.—185

*Niemann, Albert* (1831-1917)—German opera singer.—379

*Nösselt, Friedrich August* (1781-1850)—German teacher, author of textbooks on history, geography and German literature.—27

*Nothjung, Peter* (1821-1866)—German tailor; member of the Cologne Workers' Association and of the Communist League, one of the accused at the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—249

O

*Oborski, Ludwik* (1787-1873)—Polish colonel; took part in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31; later emigrated to London, member of the Fraternal Democrats society; commanded a division in the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army (1849); member of the General Council of the International (1865-67); President of the Central London Section of the United Polish Exiles.—86

*O'Brien, Michael* (d. 1867)—Irish Fenian, executed in Manchester for taking part in freeing the Fenian leaders Kelly and Deasy in the autumn of 1867.—474, 483

*Odger, George* (1820-1877)—a reformist leader of the British trade unions, shoemaker; Secretary of the London Trades Council (1862-72), member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland, the Land and Labour League; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71) and its President (1864-67); took part in the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address *The Civil War in France*, and left the Council.—15, 16, 148, 149, 155, 158, 173, 250, 252, 314, 315, 318, 329, 424, 434, 519

*O'Donovan Rossa, Jeremiah* (1831-1915)—a leader of the Irish Fenians, publisher of *The Irish People* (1863-65), in 1865 sentenced to life imprisonment, amnestied in 1870 and emigrated to the USA; retired from political life in the 1880s.—394

*O'Donovan Rossa, Mary J.*—wife of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, organised the collection of funds for the families of the Fenian prisoners in 1865-66.—228, 394

*Oppenheim*—influential banking house established in Cologne since 1798.—285

*Orsini, Cesare*—Italian refugee; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67), spread the International's ideas in the USA;

Felice Orsini's brother.—238, 242-43, 246, 250, 255, 259

*Orsini, Felice* (1819-1858)—Italian democrat, republican, a prominent figure in the struggle for Italy's national liberation and unification; executed for his attempt on the life of Napoleon III.—238, 242

*Otto, L.*—see *Breitschwert, Otto Ludwig*

*Overbeck, Johannes Adolf* (1826-1895)—German archaeologist.—28

*Overstone, Samuel Jones Loyd, Baron* (from 1860) (1796-1883)—English banker, economist, follower of the 'principle of money circulation' school.—186

*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—British utopian socialist.—326, 552

P

*Palmerston, Emily Mary* (c. 1787-1869) (previously *Countess Cowper*)—wife of Henry John Temple Palmerston.—374

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman, Tory, from 1830 Whig, Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-65).—36, 44, 45, 208, 269, 394

*Pasteur, Louis* (1822-1895)—French microbiologist and chemist, founder of microbiology.—284

*Pauli, Reinhold* (1823-1882)—German historian, author of works on the history of Britain.—28

*Payne, A. H.*—German publisher in Leipzig.—447

*Petzler*—German photographer, refugee in Manchester in the 1860s.—98

*Petzler, Johann* (d. 1898)—German democrat, refugee in England in the 1850s-60s.—49, 94, 98

*Philips*—Dutch maternal relatives of Karl Marx.—538, 542, 545, 548

*Philips, Antoinette* (*Nannette*) (c. 1837-1885)—Karl Marx's cousin, Lion Philips' daughter; member of the Dutch section of the International.—241-44, 567

*Philips, Friedrich* (*Fritz*)—Karl Marx's cousin; banker in Zalt-Bommel.—48

*Philips, Lion Benjamin* (1794-1866)—Dutch merchant, maternal uncle of Karl Marx.—46-48, 243, 249, 341

*Pieper, Friedrich Ludwig Wilhelm* (1826-1899)—German philologist and journalist, member of the Communist League, refugee in London; was close to Marx and Engels in the 1850s.—165

*Pierre l'Ermite* (c. 1050-1115)—French monk and preacher, headed peasants' volunteer corps during the First Crusade (1096-99).—452

*Pigott, Richard* (1828-1889)—Irish journalist, publisher of *The Irishman* (1865-79); sided with the British government in the 1880s.—550

*Pius IX* (*Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti*) (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—338, 460, 462

*Platen-Hallermund, Adolf Ludwig Karl, Count von* (1814-1889)—Hanover Minister for Foreign Affairs (1855-66); opposed unification of Germany under Prussia's hegemony.—307

*Plon-Plon*—see *Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul*

*Pollock, George D.*—British army doctor; member of the commission which in 1867 submitted to Parliament a report on the treatment of the political prisoners in the English convict prisons.—394

*Polo, Marco* (1254-1324)—Italian traveller and writer, made expedition to China (1271-95).—28

*Potter, George* (1832-1893)—a reformist

leader of the British trade unions, carpenter; member of the London Trades Council and a leader of the Amalgamated Union of Building Workers; founder and publisher of *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*.—18, 50, 154, 155, 156, 169, 173, 253, 259, 424

*Preller, Ludwig* (1809-1861)—German philologist, studied ancient mythology.—27

*Prokesch-Osten, Anton, Count von* (1795-1876)—Austrian diplomat, general and writer, envoy to Athens (1834-49), envoy (1855-67), then ambassador (1867-71) to Constantinople.—464, 520

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist; a founder of anarchism.—67, 75, 102, 213, 218, 281, 287, 326, 368, 379, 455, 488, 557

*Prutz, Robert Eduard* (1816-1872)—German poet and historian of literature, liberal; publisher of the journal *Deutsches Museum* in Leipzig (1851-67).—484

*Purdy, Frederick*—English official.—53

*Puttkamer, Elisabeth von*—daughter of Prussian statesman Robert von Puttkamer, Otto Bismarck's niece.—390

*Pyat, Félix* (1810-1889)—French journalist, playwright and politician, democrat; took part in the 1848 revolution; from 1849 refugee in Switzerland, Belgium and England; opposed Marx and the International's leadership making use of the French section in London; member of the Paris Commune (1871).—474, 516

Q

*Quenstedt*—Wilhelm Liebknecht's acquaintance.—202

*Quinet, Edgar* (1803-1875)—French politician and historian; took part in the 1848 revolution, refugee in 1852-70; anti-Bonapartist; participant in the League of Peace and Freedom Congress in Geneva (1867).—435

R

*Racowiţa, Janko von* (d. 1865)—Romanian nobleman; mortally wounded Lassalle in duel (1864).—19, 20, 31, 69, 162, 211, 415

*Rasch, Gustav* (1825-1878)—German lawyer and journalist, democrat; took part in the 1848 revolution in Berlin, later refugee in Switzerland and France.—33, 34, 119, 397

*Rattazzi, Urbano* (1808-1873)—Italian statesman of liberal-monarchist trend; Minister of the Interior in the Kingdom of Sardinia (1855-58 and 1859-60), headed Italian government (1862 and 1867).—460

*Rau, Karl Heinrich* (1792-1870)—German economist.—444, 490, 491

*Ravenstein*—refugee in England; secretary of the *Deutsche Freiheit und Einheit* society.—32

*Réaumur, René Antoine Ferchault de* (1683-1757)—French naturalist.—170

*Rebour*—French inventor.—254

*Reclus, Jean Jacques Élisée* (1830-1905)—French geographer, sociologist and politician, theorist of anarchism; member of the International, editor of *La Cooperation* (1866-68), participant in the Paris Commune (1871).—483, 487, 532, 533

*Regnault, Élias Georges Soulange Oliva* (1801-1868)—French historian and journalist, state official, Bonapartist.—163

*Régnier, Mathurin* (1573-1613)—French satirical poet.—453, 454

*Reinach, Arnold* (c. 1820-1870)—German democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution, emigrated to Switzerland.—63, 158, 164, 185, 208

*Reincke, Peter Adolf* (1818-1887)—German physician; member of the

General Association of German Workers who was elected deputy to the North German Reichstag in 1867; expelled from the Association; in June 1868 relinquished his deputy powers.—430

*Reusche, Friedrich*—German journalist; member of the General Association of German Workers, Lassallean, contributed to the *Nordstern* and *Der Social-Demokrat* (1864-65).—147, 548, 566-67

*Reuter, Paul Julius, Baron* (1816-1899)—founder of the Reuter telegraph agency in London (1851); German by birth.—267

*Reybaud, Marie Roch Louis* (1799-1879)—French writer and economist, liberal.—338, 340

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—English economist.—137, 402, 457, 514, 543

*Richelieu, Armand Jean du Plessis, duc de* (1585-1642)—French statesman during the period of absolutism, Cardinal.—71

*Richter, Eugen* (1838-1906)—German politician, leader of the liberals (Left wing); a founder and leader of the party of free-thinkers.—211, 430

*Richter, Heinrich Moriz Karl* (b. 1841)—Austrian historian and journalist, liberal; professor at Vienna trade academy; worked in several Austrian newspapers.—512, 515, 518, 525, 537

*Rimestad, Christian Vilhelm* (1816-1879)—Danish teacher, politician and journalist, liberal; founder and leader of the Workers' Union (1860-79); editor of the *Dags-Telegraphen* (1864-75).—183

*Ritter, Karl* (1779-1859)—German geographer, professor at Berlin University.—28

*Rittershaus, Emil* (1834-1897)—German poet, democrat, belonged to the Party of Progress (Left wing) in the 1860s.—427, 433, 440, 471

*Roberts, William R.*—a leader of the Fenian movement in the USA, inspired an adventurist attempt of Fenians' invasion into Canada (May 1866) to arouse conflict between Britain and the USA.—485

*Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de* (1758-1794)—Jacobin leader in the French Revolution, head of the revolutionary government (1793-94).—71

*Robin, Charles Philippe* (1821-1885)—French anatomist.—283

*Röckel, August* (d. 1876)—German musician, democratic journalist; took part in the 1849 Dresden uprising, sentenced to penal servitude for life, amnested in 1862; from mid-1866 was in the service of the Austrian government.—270

*Rodbertus-Jagetzow, Johann Karl* (1805-1875)—German economist and politician; leader of the Left Centre in the Prussian National Assembly during the 1848-49 revolution; later advocated 'state socialism'.—30, 54

*Rode (Rohde)*—German refugee in Liverpool.—152, 203, 281, 337, 338

*Roesgen, Charles*—employee in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—168, 192, 277, 451

*Rogeard, Auguste Louis* (1820-1896)—French democratic journalist, a founder and editor of *La Rive gauche* (1864); in 1865 was persecuted for his anti-Bonapartist pamphlet and emigrated to Belgium and then to Germany; a leader of the Paris Commune (1871).—216, 243

*Rogers, James Edwin Thorold* (1823-1890)—British historian and economist.—339, 340, 344

*Roodhuizen, A.*—pastor in Zalt-Bommel, subsequently husband of Karl Marx's cousin Antoinette Philips.—242

*Roon, Albrecht Theodor Emil, Count von* (1803-1879)—Prussian statesman and military leader, War Minister (1859-

73) and Naval Minister (1861-71), field marshal-general from 1873, reorganised the Prussian army.—83, 154, 157

*Roscher, Wilhelm Georg Friedrich* (1817-1894)—German economist, founder of the historical trend in political economy.—406, 444, 467, 473, 477, 489, 490, 511, 514, 536, 537, 539, 544

*Rost, Valentin Christian Friedrich* (1790-1862)—German philologist.—28

*Rothschilds*—dynasty of bankers with branches in many European countries.—536

*Rotteck, Karl Wenzeslaus Rodecker von* (1775-1840)—German historian and politician, liberal.—33

*Rückert, Friedrich* (1788-1866)—German romantic poet and translator of Oriental poetry.—149

*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in England in the 1850s; became a National-Liberal after 1866.—72, 151, 296, 530

*Russell, John Russell, Earl* (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader; Prime Minister (1846-52, 1865-66); Foreign Secretary (1852-53, 1859-65).—236, 269, 374

*Rüstow, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1821-1878)—German officer and military writer, democrat; refugee in Switzerland; Chief of Garibaldi's staff in 1860; Lassalle's friend.—12, 107, 120, 126, 129, 139, 140, 147, 365

S

*Sawyer*—house-owner in London.—317, 319, 321, 343

*Schaaffhausen, Hermann* (1816-1893)—German anthropologist and physiologist.—24

*Schabelitz, Jacob Lukas* (1827-1899)—Swiss publisher and bookseller, member of the Communist League, was connected with Marx and Engels in the late 1840s-early 1850s.—432, 449, 452

*Schaible, Karl Heinrich* (1824-1899)—German physician and democratic writer; participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, later emigrated to England.—32, 33

*Schapper, Karl* (1812-1870)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; a leader of the separatist group during the split in the Communist League (1850); again drew close to Marx in 1856, member of the Central Council of the International (1865), participant in the London Conference of 1865.—294, 300, 522

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—12, 27, 53, 103, 242, 299

*Schilling, Carl*—German compositor; member of the General Association of German Workers, opposed its leaders; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from 1869).—176, 179, 180, 181

*Schily, Victor* (1810-1875)—German lawyer, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, emigrated to France; member of the First International, delegate to the London Conference of 1865; Marx's friend.—66, 70, 80, 85, 108, 115, 118, 127, 130, 131, 150, 154, 155, 156, 163, 478, 483, 487, 488, 528, 532, 533, 580, 581

*Schimmelpfennig, Alexander* (1824-1865)—Prussian army officer, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper

group; later emigrated to the USA, fought in the US Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—125

*Schleiden, Matthias Jakob* (1804-1881)—German botanist.—27

*Schlosser, Friedrich Christoph* (1776-1861)—German historian.—27

*Schmalhausen, Caroline*—daughter of Marx's sister Sophie.—115, 128

*Schmalhausen, Sophie* (1816-1883)—Karl Marx's sister.—115

*Schmeller, Johann Andreas* (1785-1852)—German philologist, professor at Munich University.—554

*Schmulewitsch (Chmoulevitch), Jakob S.* (b. 1841)—Russian physiologist, student in several German and French universities.—510

*Schöler, Caroline* (1819-1891)—teacher in Cologne, friend of the Marx family.—181, 385

*Schömann, Georg Friedrich* (1793-1879)—German philologist and historian of ancient Greece.—27

*Schönbein, Christian Friedrich* (1799-1868)—German chemist, professor at Basle University.—227, 232

*Schorlemmer, Carl* (1834-1892)—German organic chemist, professor in Manchester; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—117, 378, 383, 387, 402, 418, 459, 469, 478, 480, 485, 495, 507, 508, 510, 517, 518, 536, 560, 581, 582

*Schramm, Rudolf* (1813-1882)—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848, after the revolution emigrated to England; supported Bismarck in the 1860s.—53, 102

*Schraps, R.*—German lawyer, democrat, deputy to the North German Reichstag from Saxony.—348

*Schulze-Delitzsch, Franz Hermann* (1808-1883)—German economist, liberal politician, advocated unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy, a founder of the National Association (1859) and leader of the Party of Progress, sought to divert workers from revolutionary struggle by organising co-operative societies.—15, 104, 211, 221, 424, 435, 492, 493, 532

*Schurz, Karl* (1829-1906)—German petty-bourgeois democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland and in 1852 to the USA, fought in the US Civil War on the side of the Northerners, later US statesman.—40, 537

*Schütz, Jacob Friedrich* (1813-1877)—German democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, representative of the Baden Provisional Government in Paris; later a refugee in England, Switzerland and America.—35

*Schwabe*—merchant in Manchester.—534

*Schwabe*—wife of the above.—534

*Schweitzer, Johann Baptist von* (1833-1875)—German lawyer, a Lassallean leader; editor of *Der Social-Demokrat* (1864-67); President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71); supported unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy; opposed the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; expelled from the General Association for his contacts with the Prussian authorities (1872).—22, 24, 25, 29, 30, 40, 64-65, 66, 75, 78, 80, 82, 83, 89, 94-95, 99, 102, 104, 106, 107-08, 114, 120, 124, 126, 128-30, 133, 134, 152, 156, 169-70, 205, 349, 417, 426, 430, 450, 495, 553, 556

*Scott, Sir Walter* (1771-1832)—Scottish poet and novelist.—234

*Seebach, Albin Leo, Baron von* (1811-1884)—Saxon diplomat, envoy to Paris (1852-70).—349

*Semmelweis, Ignaz Philipp* (1818-1865)—Hungarian gynaecologist, professor in Vienna and Budapest.—360

*Senior, Nassau William* (1790-1864)—English economist, vulgarised Ricardo's theory, opposed the shortening of the working day.—391, 392

*Seubert, Adolf Friedrich* (1819-1890)—official in the War Ministry in Württemberg and writer, acquaintance of Ludwig Kugelmann, helped him in publishing Engels' reviews of Volume One of Marx's *Capital*.—500, 511, 512

*Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of* (1801-1885)—British politician, head of parliamentary group of the Tory philanthropists in the 1840s, from 1847 a Whig.—374

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English dramatist and poet.—35, 177, 378, 568

*Shaw, Robert* (d. 1869)—a leader of the British working-class movement, house-painter, participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, member of the General Council of the International (1864-69), Treasurer of the Council (1867-68), Corresponding Secretary for America (1867-69), delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Brussels Congress (1868) of the International.—459

*Sherman, William Tecumseh* (1820-1891)—American general and politician, took part in the Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Northerners; Commander-in-Chief of the US army (1869-84).—39, 53, 61, 113, 121-23

*Sidney* (or *Sydney*), *Algernon* (1622-1683)—British politician, took part in the Civil War (1642-48) on the side of the Parliament, member of the revolutionary tribunal.—273

*Siebel, Carl* (1836-1868)—German poet; helped to propagate works by Marx and Engels, Volume One of Marx's *Capital* in particular; Engels' distant relative.—4, 58, 75, 78, 79, 83, 84, 108, 111-12, 113-14, 116, 119, 120, 126, 127, 175, 363, 426, 427, 433, 440, 445, 451, 456, 461, 465, 471, 472, 475, 476, 492, 493, 498, 502, 503, 507, 509, 518, 529

*Siebold, Eduard Kaspar Jakob von* (1801-1861)—German gynaecologist, professor in Göttingen.—360

*Siebold, P. F.*—German democrat; acquaintance of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.—78

*Sigel, Franz* (1824-1902)—Baden army officer; petty-bourgeois democrat; Commander-in-Chief (1849), then deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army; refugee in Switzerland, England and (from 1852) in the USA; fought in the US Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—40

*Simon, Jules François Simon Suisse* (1814-1896)—French statesman and idealist philosopher; moderate republican; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49); member of the Corps législatif, Minister of Public Education in the government of National Defence and in Thiers' Government (1870-73); an instigator of struggle against the Paris Commune; Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1876-77).—66, 356

*Simon, Ludwig* (1810-1872)—German lawyer; democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; emigrated to Switzerland; participant in the Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom in Geneva in 1867.—365, 433

*Simson, Martin Eduard Sigismund von* (1810-1899)—Prussian politician and lawyer; in 1848-49 deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre); President of the North German and German Reichstags (1867-74), National-Liberal.—444

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—186, 514

*Smith, Sir William* (1813-1893)—English philologist.—28

*Snider, Jacob* (d. 1866)—American inventor of a breech-loading rifle.—291, 303

*Sonnemann, Leopold* (1831-1909)—German politician and journalist, a founder of the National Association (1859); in the 1860s took the stand of South German Federalists; supported the working-class movement.—80

*Spartacus* (d. 71 B.C.)—Roman gladiator, leader of the slave revolt in Rome (73-71 B.C.).—568

*Spruner von Merz, Karl* (1803-1892)—German historian and cartographer.—28

*Stalder, Franz Josef* (1757-1833)—Swiss philologist.—554

*Stanley, Edward Henry, 15th Earl of Derby* (1826-1893)—British statesman, Tory; Conservative in the 1860s-70s, then Liberal; Colonial Secretary (1858, 1882-85) and Secretary of State for India (1858-59), Foreign Secretary (1866-68, 1874-78); son of the Tory leader Edward Derby.—341, 394

*Stein, Lorenz von* (1815-1890)—German lawyer, historian and economist, author of works on the socialist movement, advocate of 'social monarchy'.—513

*Steinmetz, Karl Friedrich von* (1796-1877)—Prussian general, field marshal-general from 1871, took part in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—523

*Steinthal*—owner of a trading firm in Manchester.—127, 128

*Steinthal*—wife of the above.—534

*Stephens, James* (1825-1901)—Irish revolutionary, a founder and leader of the Fenian organisation; in 1866 emigrated to the USA.—338, 485

*Stepney, Cowell William Frederick* (1820-1872)—active participant in the British working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its Treasurer (1868-70), delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and the London Conference (1871), member of the British Federal Council (1872).—459

*Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882)—Prussian police officer, chief of the Prussian political police (1850-60), an organiser of and chief witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852), chief of military police during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—118, 286, 299, 346, 347, 349, 361

*Stieler, Adolf* (1775-1836)—German cartographer.—28

*Stirner, Max* (real name *Schmidt, Johann Caspar*) (1806-1856)—German Young Hegelian philosopher, an ideologist of individualism and anarchism.—287, 373

*Strohn, Eugen* (d. 1868)—Wilhelm Strohn's brother.—357

*Strohn, Wilhelm*—member of the Communist League, a friend of Marx and Engels, refugee in Bradford.—72, 78, 85, 107, 177, 179, 193, 357, 431, 438, 446, 515, 525

*Struve, Gustav von* (1805-1870)—German democratic journalist, a leader of the Baden uprisings in 1848 and of the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in England; fought in the US Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Northerners.—33, 35, 119, 397, 540

*Stumpf, Paul* (1826-1912)—German mechanic; member of the German Workers' Society in Brussels (1847), member of the Communist League, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; member of the First International, delegate to the Lausanne Congress (1867), member of the

Social-Democratic Workers' Party.—165, 198, 202, 214, 290, 298, 299, 433, 443, 445, 498, 502

*Sullivan, Alexander Martin* (1830-1884)—Irish politician, owner of the Irish newspaper *The Weekly News*, came out in defence of the Fenians.—550

*Sutherland, George Granville William Leveson-Gower, Duke of* (1828-1892)—British aristocrat, M.P. (1852-61).—33

*Swan, Daniel*—English ribbon-weaver; member of the International, delegate from Coventry to the Lausanne Congress (1867).—416

*Swift, Jonathan* (1667-1745)—Irish satirist, wrote in English.—376

*Szemere, Bertalan* (1812-1869)—Hungarian politician and journalist; Minister of the Interior (1848) and head of the revolutionary government (1849); emigrated after the defeat of the revolution.—529

*Sznayde, Franz* (1790-1850)—participant in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31; general of the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army in 1849.—123

T

*Tacitus, Publius Cornelius* (c. 55-c. 120)—Roman historian and orator.—558

*Taylor, Peter Alfred* (1819-1891)—British politician, radical, M.P.—92, 110

*Tenge, Therese* (née *Bolongaro-Crevenna*) (born c. 1833)—wife of Westphalian landowner Tenge-Ritberg, Hanover acquaintance of Kugelmann's family.—369, 375, 396

*Terence* (*Publius Terentius Afer*) (c. 190-159 B.C.)—Roman writer of comedies.—52, 498, 520, 568

*Ternaux, Louis Mortimer* (1808-1871)—French politician and historian.—27

*Thackeray, William Makepeace* (1811-1863)—English writer.—246

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836, 1840), deputy to the Constituent (1848) and Legislative (1849-51) Assemblies; head of the Orleanists after 1848; organised the suppression of the Paris Commune (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73).—274, 290

*Thimm, Franz*—bookseller in Manchester.—136, 477

*Thorbecke, Johann Rudolph* (1798-1872)—Netherlandish statesman, leader of the Liberal Party, head of the government (1849-53, 1862-66 and 1871-72).—243

*Thornton, William Thomas* (1813-1880)—British economist, follower of John Stuart Mill.—455

*Thouvenel, Édouard Antoine* (1818-1866)—French statesman and diplomat, Bonapartist; Foreign Minister (1852, 1860-62).—208

*Thünen, Johann Heinrich von* (1783-1850)—German economist, engaged in agricultural economies.—522, 543

*Tolain, Henri Louis* (1828-1897)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, engraver; Right-wing Proudhonist; participant in the inaugural meeting held in St Martin's Hall on 28 September 1864; a leader of the Paris section of the International, delegate to the London Conference (1865), Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; deputy to the National Assembly, after 4 September 1870; went over to the side of the Versaillists during the Paris Commune, was expelled from the International in April 1871; subsequently a senator.—3, 15, 47, 66, 85, 109, 130, 213, 263, 318

*Townshend, Marquis*—British politician, Tory, an organiser and treasurer of

the British National League for the Independence of Poland.—66, 93, 109

*Trémaux, Pierre* (b. 1818)—French naturalist.—304, 306, 309, 320, 322-24

*Trübner, Nikolaus* (1817-1884)—German bookseller and publisher in London.—151

*Tschudi, Friedrich von* (1820-1886)—Swiss zoologist, agronomist and politician.—28

*Tupper, Martin Farquhar* (1810-1889)—English poet, author of trivial moralistic poems.—568

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*Twesten, Karl* (1820-1870)—German politician, lawyer, represented liberal opposition in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (from 1861); a leader of the Party of Progress; a founder of the National-Liberal Party (1866).—333

*Tyndall, John* (1820-1893)—English physicist.—67, 91, 117, 212, 571

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*Ulmer, Johann*—German tailor; member of the Communist League, refugee in London from the early 1850s; supporter of Marx and Engels.—230

*Urquhart, David* (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician; Turcophile; Tory M. P. (1847-52), opposed Palmerston's policy; founder and editor of *The Free Press* (1855-77) renamed *The Diplomatic Review* in 1866.—19, 54, 154, 183, 349, 434, 465, 508, 510, 520, 547

*Usedom, Karl Georg Ludwig Guido, Count von* (1805-1884)—Prussian diplomat, ambassador to Italy (1863-69).—460, 466

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*Venedey, Jakob* (1805-1871)—German radical journalist and politician; liberal after the 1848-49 revolution, opposed unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy.—488

*Vermorel, Auguste Jean Marie* (1841-1871)—French journalist, Proudhonist, editor of *Le Courrier français* (1866-67), member of the Paris Commune (1871).—413-14, 420, 422, 425, 428

*Véron, Louis Désiré* (1798-1867)—French journalist and politician, Orleanist until 1848, then Bonapartist; owner of *Le Constitutionnel* (1844-52).—445

*Vésinier, Pierre* (1824-1902)—French journalist, anti-Bonapartist, an organiser of the French section of the International in London, delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Brussels Congress (1868); was expelled from the Central Council of the International for conducting a slanderous campaign against it (1866) and in 1868 expelled from the International; member of the Paris Commune (1871).—200, 213, 214, 216, 218, 250, 259

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*Vinçard, Pierre Denis* (1820-1882)—French engraver, journalist, participant in the 1848 revolution; active in the co-operative movement, wrote several works on the condition of the working class; member of the International.—149

*Virchow, Rudolf* (1821-1902)—German naturalist and politician; a founder and leader of the Party of Progress.—34, 360

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*Vogt*—Karl Vogt's wife.—518, 582

*Vogt, August* (c. 1830-c. 1883)—prominent in the German and American working-class movement; shoemaker; member of the Communist League, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; in the General Association of German Workers opposed its Lassallean leaders; member of the International; in 1867 emigrated to the USA, member of the New York Communist Club and an organiser of the International's sections in the United States; supporter of Marx and Engels.—180, 202, 215, 220, 222, 261, 573

*Vogt, Gustav* (1829-1901)—Swiss economist; pacifist, an organiser of the League of Peace and Freedom, editor of *Les États-Unis d'Europe* (1867-70); Karl Vogt's brother.—499

*Vogt, Karl* (*Carl*) (1817-1895)—German naturalist, vulgar materialist, petty-bourgeois democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; left Germany in 1849, received subsidies from Napoleon III; slandered Marx and Engels.—25, 41, 42, 44, 51, 63, 65, 185, 364, 365, 433, 435, 441, 445, 459, 493, 499, 518, 529, 581

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*Völter, Daniel*—German geographer.—27

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*Wagener, Hermann* (1815-1889)—German conservative journalist and politician; editor of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* (1848-54); Privy Counsellor of Bismarck's Government (1866-73), a precursor of Prussian 'state socialism'.—19, 103, 124, 355, 548

*Walpole, Spencer Horatio* (*Horace*) (1806-1898)—British statesman, Tory, Home Secretary (1852, 1858-59, 1866-67).—300, 384, 394

*Walton, Alfred Armstrong* (b. 1816)—a leader in the British democratic movement; architect; took part in the electoral reform movement, member of the General Council of the International (1867-70), delegate to the Lausanne Congress (1867).—416

*Warnebold, Ernst*—lawyer in Hanover, member of the Party of Progress, then a National-Liberal, supporter of Bismarck.—361, 441, 470

*Washington, George* (1732-1799)—American statesman, Commander-in-Chief during the war of the North American colonies for independence (1775-83); first President of the United States (1789-97).—414

*Watts, John* (1818-1887)—English journalist, utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen; later a liberal.—224, 228, 234

*Weber, Josef Valentin* (1814-1895)—German watchmaker; participant in the revolutionary movement in Baden in 1848; in 1849 emigrated to Switzerland and then to London; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.—415

*Weber, Louis*—German watchmaker; after the 1848-49 revolution émigré in Germany, Lassallean, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; in April 1865 was expelled from the Society for the intrigues against Marx and his supporters; Josef Valentin Weber's son.—150, 190, 415

*Weber, Wilhelm*—German watchmaker; Lassallean; refugee in New York after 1864; President of the General Association of German Workers in New York (1866); Josef Valentin Weber's son.—415

*Weerth, Georg* (1822-1856)—German

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*Wehner, J. G.*—German refugee in Manchester; Treasurer of the Schiller Institute in the 1860s; Engels' acquaintance.—302, 340, 361

*Weiß, Guido* (1822-1899)—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; belonged to the Party of Progress (Left wing) in the 1860s; editor of the *Berliner Reform* (1863-66) and *Die Zukunft* (1867-71).—433, 437, 495, 504

*Welker, Karl Theodor* (1790-1869)—German lawyer and journalist, liberal; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848-49.—33

*Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of* (1769-1852)—British general and statesman, Tory; in 1808-14 and 1815 commanded troops in the wars against Napoleonic France; Prime Minister (1828-30), Foreign Secretary (1834-35).—122

*Wermuth*—police director in Hanover, an organiser of and witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—394

*Weston, John*—prominent figure in the British working-class movement; carpenter, subsequently manufacturer; Owenite; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, member of the General Council of the International (1864-72); delegate to the London Conference (1865), member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League, a leader of the Land and Labour League.—16, 17, 159, 162, 168, 224, 464, 485

*Westphalen, Edgar von* (1819-1890)—brother of Jenny Marx, Karl Marx's wife; member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee (1846); in the 1850s-60s lived in emigration in America.—159, 163, 166, 174, 177, 179, 180, 181, 183, 184, 187, 195, 369, 559, 565

*Westphalen, Ferdinand Otto Wilhelm Henning von* (1799-1876)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1850-58); step-brother of Jenny Marx, Karl Marx's wife.—50, 180

*Weydemeyer, Joseph* (1818-1866)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA; colonel in the army of the North during the US Civil War; helped to propagate ideas and documents of the International in the USA; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—37, 38, 41, 43-45, 47, 52, 65, 73, 97, 106, 107, 121-25, 152, 377, 565

*Weydemeyer, Louise* (née *Lüning*) (1822-1868)—wife of Joseph Weydemeyer.—40, 43, 125, 377, 451

*Wheeler, George William*—active in the British working-class movement, participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, member of the General Council of the International (1864-67), Treasurer of the Council (1864-65, 1865-67), delegate to the London Conference (1865), member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—361, 362

*Wickede, Julius von* (1819-1896)—German army officer and military writer, war correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* during the Austro-Prussian war (1866) and Franco-Prussian war (1870-71).—264

*Wigand, Hugo* (1822-1873)—German publisher and bookseller; Otto Wigand's son; from 1864 actually headed the firm.—359, 371, 378, 392, 407, 432

*Wigand, Otto* (1795-1870)—German

publisher and bookseller, owner of a firm in Leipzig which published works of radical authors.—359, 363, 385

*Wilke*—Prussian army officer, refugee in London.—291

*William I* (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, Prince Regent (1858-61), King of Prussia (1861-88) and Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—12, 53, 67, 96, 103, 226, 236, 254, 257, 276, 278, 279, 290, 299, 302, 306, 338, 340, 355, 365, 374

*William I (The Conqueror)* (1027-1087)—King of England (1066-87).—299, 338, 365, 374

*William, Prince of Orange* (1840-1879)—Dutch Crown Prince.—293

*Willich, August* (1810-1878)—retired Prussian officer; member of the Communist League, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; a leader of the sectarian group that split away from the Communist League in 1850; in 1853 emigrated to the USA, took part in the US Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—40, 147

*Wirth, Max* (1822-1900)—German economist and journalist, liberal.—467

*Wolff, Luigi*—Italian major; follower of Mazzini, member of the Association of Mutual Progress (organisation of Italian workers in London); participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, member of the Central Council of the International (1864-65), participant in the London Conference (1865); exposed as an agent of the Bonapartist police in 1871.—16, 17, 55, 115, 131, 140, 162, 170, 243, 250

*Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus)* (1809-1864)—German teacher; proletarian revolutionary, leading figure in the Communist League; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1849); emigrated to Switzerland in the summer of 1849 and later to England; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—6, 19, 20, 31, 38, 44, 81, 115, 116, 125, 127, 188, 231, 378, 381, 402, 447, 456, 469

*Wolffsohn*—refugee in England, treasurer of the *Deutsche Freiheit und Einheit* society.—32

*Wood*—lawyer in Manchester.—127, 128

*Worsaae, Jens Jacob Asmussen* (1821-1885)—Danish archaeologist, moderate liberal.—8

*Wrangel, Friedrich Heinrich Ernst, Count von* (1784-1877)—Prussian general; one of the chief participants in the counterrevolutionary coup d'état in Prussia (November 1848); Commander-in-Chief of the allied Prussian and Austrian forces during the Danish war (1864).—121

*Wurtz, Charles Adolphe* (1817-1884)—French organic chemist, adherent of atomic-molecular theory.—385, 388

*Wuttke, Johann Karl Heinrich* (1818-1876)—German historian and politician, professor at Leipzig University; close to the Lassalleans in the 1860s.—348

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*York*—bookseller of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.—477

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*Zamoyski, Ladislas (Władysław), Count* (1803-1868)—Polish magnate, took part in the insurrection of 1830-31; after its defeat a leader of the Polish conservative monarchist refugees in Paris.—110

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*Adam* (Bib.).—167

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*Bardolph*—character in Shakespeare's comedy *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and his historical drama *King Henry IV*.—177

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*Petrus*—character in Hildebrand's novel *Camera obscura*, a student, shy and unsuccessful suitor.—242

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*Posa, Marquis*—character in Schiller's tragedy *Don Carlos*, a noble-minded and freethinking courtier who tried to influence the despotic king.—12, 53, 103

*Rameau*—character in Diderot's *Le neveu de Rameau*.—34

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*Scapin*—main character in Molière's comedy *Les fourberies de Scapin*, smart servant, mystifier and jester.—290, 296

*Sickingen, Franz von*—title character in Lassalle's play, leader of the knights' uprising in Germany (1522-23), champion for freedom and unification of the country.—66

*Ulysses* (or *Odysseus*) (Gr. Myth.)—character in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; king of Ithaca; a leader of the Greek troops during the Trojan War, noted for his eloquence, sagacity and prudence.—316

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*Wiswamitra* (*Viçvāmitra*)—mythical king in the ancient Indian epic poem *Ramayana* who tried to get hold of the miraculous cow Sabala, which would fulfil all his wishes; character in Heine's poem from the cycle '*Die Heimkehr*' (*Buch der Lieder*).—242, 245

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*Allgemeine Zeitung*—a conservative daily founded in 1798, published in Augsburg from 1810 to 1882.—51, 156, 437, 515

*L'Association*—a French journal of the co-operative workers' associations which were under the influence of the bourgeois republicans; published from 1864 to 1866 in Paris and Brussels.—66, 79, 85, 115, 119, 140

*The Athenaeum, Journal of English and Foreign Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts*—a literary and critical weekly published in London in 1828-1921.—35, 290

*Augsburger Abendzeitung*—a liberal daily published under this title in Augsburg in 1826-1912.—466

*L'Avenir national*—a French democratic daily published in Paris in 1865-73; printed information on the activity of the Paris Administration of the International.—85

*Barmer Zeitung*—a liberal daily published in Barmen from 1834 to 1931.—114, 471, 507, 509, 529

*The Bee-Hive Newspaper*—a weekly trade unionist newspaper published under various titles in London from 1861 to 1876; from November 1864 it printed documents of the First International; in view of the growing influence of the bourgeois radicals on the newspaper's editorial board, the General Council of the International broke off relations with it in April 1870.—18, 50, 60, 109, 143, 154, 159, 169, 173, 407, 420, 423, 519

*Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*—a weekly founded by German petty-bourgeois refugees in New York in 1852 and published under this title from 18 March 1853 to 10 March 1854.—118

*Der Beobachter. Ein Volksblatt aus Schwaben*—a daily published in Stuttgart from 1833; in the 1860s, organ of the petty-bourgeois democracy.—27, 41-43, 44, 45, 52, 492, 493, 495, 500, 503, 507, 510, 511, 512

*Berliner Reform*—a daily of the German petty-bourgeois democrats published in Berlin from 1861 to 1868.—63, 108, 134, 154, 160, 180

*Bonner Zeitung*—a daily of the National-Liberals; published under this title from 1850.—126

*Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel und die mit ihm verwandten Geschäftszweige*—a daily organ of the League of German booksellers published in Leipzig from 1834 to 1926.—449, 452-53

*Der Botschafter*—an Austrian daily, an official government newspaper published in Vienna in 1862-65.—176

*Bromberger Zeitung*—a German liberal daily founded in Bromberg (Polish name Bydgoszcz) in 1843.—267

*The Chronicle*—a Catholic weekly published in London in 1867-68.—464

*The Commonwealth*—a weekly of the General Council of the International published in London from February 1866 to July 1867 as the successor of *The Workman's Advocate*; Marx was on the Board of Directors till June 1866; because of the growing influence of the trade unionists on the board, the newspaper virtually became an organ of bourgeois radicals.—224, 228, 230, 234, 235, 238, 243, 249, 252, 253, 255, 257, 262, 268, 270, 271, 275, 277, 280, 283, 290, 327, 330, 339, 346, 574

*Le Courrier français*—a weekly (from June 1867, a daily) of the Left republicans published in Paris from 1861 to 1868; virtually an organ of the International in France from May 1866.—281, 398, 407, 413, 419, 420, 422, 424, 428, 429, 430, 438, 447, 449, 450, 454, 463, 483, 488, 490, 496, 508, 520, 523, 532, 542, 580, 583

*Dagbladet*—a Danish newspaper published in Copenhagen from 1851.—6, 21, 183

*The Daily News*—a liberal newspaper of the English industrial bourgeoisie; appeared under this name in London from 1846 to 1930.—73, 86, 143

*The Daily Telegraph*—a liberal and, from the 1880s, conservative daily; published under this title in London from 1855 to 1937.—197

*Debatte*—a Viennese daily published from November 1864 to October 1869.—537

*Demokratische Studien*—a journal published in Hamburg from 1860 by Ludwig Walesrode.—364

*Demokratisches Wochenblatt*—a German workers' newspaper published in Leipzig from January 1868 to September 1869 under the editorship of Wilhelm Liebknecht; at the Eisenach Congress in 1869 it was declared a central organ of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party and renamed *Der Volksstaat*.—477, 479, 484, 488, 492, 505, 512, 525, 534, 538, 539, 540, 552

*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*—a German-language yearly published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge; only the first and second issue, a double one, appeared in February 1844; it carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—515, 530

*Deutsche Arbeiterhalle*—a monthly of the Union of German Workers' Associations, which was headed by August Bebel; published in Mannheim in 1867-68.—515

*Deutsche-Brüsseller-Zeitung*—a newspaper founded by the German political refugees in Brussels and published from January 1847 to February 1848; from September 1847 Marx and Engels regularly contributed to it and under their influence it became an organ of revolutionary communist propaganda.—97

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*Deutsche Volkszeitung*—a daily of the Party of the Guelphs published in Hanover from 1867.—473

*Deutsches Museum. Zeitschrift für Literatur, Kunst und öffentliches Leben*—a democratic weekly that appeared in Leipzig from 1851 to 1867; in 1852-65 Robert Prutz was its publisher.—484

*Deutsches Wochenblatt*—a weekly, organ of the German People's Party from the end of 1865, published in Mannheim in 1864-67.—198

*The Diplomatic Review*—a foreign policy journal published under this title, as the continuation of *The Free Press*, from June 1866 to 1877 (up to July 1870 as a monthly, then as a quarterly); its publisher was David Urquhart.—349, 398, 419, 422, 427, 434, 464

*Düsseldorfer Zeitung*—a German daily founded in 1745; published under this title from 1826 to 1926; voiced liberal views in the 1840s-60s.—84, 108, 111, 114, 119, 129, 133, 134, 140, 471, 529

*L'Echo de Verviers*—a Belgian democratic daily founded in 1864; mouthpiece of petty-bourgeois elements in the French Section in London, who were hostile to Marx and the Central Council of the International.—213, 214, 216, 250

*Elberfelder Zeitung*—a daily published under this title from 1834 to 1904; in the 1860s voiced liberal views.—114, 461, 463, 529

*Les États-Unis d'Europe*—an organ of the pacifist international League of Peace and Freedom; founded in Berne in 1867; from 1870, it appeared in Geneva, then again in Berne until 1919; the paper was published in different languages and at different intervals.—482, 499, 534, 541

*The Evening Star*—see *The Morning Star*

*The Express*—an evening liberal paper that appeared in London in 1846-69.—86

*The Fortnightly Review*—a historical, philosophical and literary magazine founded in 1865 by a group of radicals; subsequently became liberal in character; under this title published in London till 1934.—185, 338, 340, 455, 457, 463, 466, 512, 516, 518, 524, 526, 532, 533, 545, 560, 583

*Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*—a daily democratic paper published in Frankfurt am Main from 1856 (under this title from 1866) to 1943.—471, 529, 532, 534, 536, 537

*The Free Press. Journal of the Foreign Affairs Committees*—a journal on questions of foreign policy, opposed to the Palmerston government; it was published by David Urquhart and his supporters in London from 1855 to 1865 (weekly until April 1858 and then monthly); in 1866 it was renamed *The Diplomatic Review*; it printed several works by Marx.—52, 154, 178, 212, 332, 418

*Die Gartenlaube. Illustriertes Familienblatt*—a literary weekly published in Leipzig from 1853 to 1903 and in Berlin from 1903 to 1943.—365, 447, 580

*La Gazette de France*—a royalist paper published in Paris from 1631 to 1914 (first once and then twice a week, and from 1792 daily).—424

*Gazette de Lausanne et Journal Suisse*—a liberal-democratic daily founded in Lausanne in 1798.—422

*Gewerbeblatt aus Württemberg*—a weekly of the commercial and industrial circles, published in Stuttgart from 1849 as a supplement to the *Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg*.—500, 503

*The Glasgow Sentinel*—a Scottish weekly, organ of the Tories, published in Glasgow from 1850 to 1877.—34

*Guardian*—see *The Manchester Guardian*

*Hermann. Deutsches Wochenblatt aus London*—a weekly of the German petty-bourgeois democrats published in London from 1859.—15, 33, 41, 50, 63, 70, 91, 114, 130, 134, 349, 378, 424, 447, 521

*How Do You Do?*—a humorous German-language weekly, published in London from 1796; in the 1850s it was edited by Beta (Bettziech).—447

*Illustrierter Familien-Kalender*—an annual magazine published in Leipzig by A. H. Payne from 1857 to 1874.—447

*Illustrierte Zeitung*—a German weekly published in Leipzig from 1843 to 1944; in the middle of the nineteenth century it was of a moderate liberal orientation.—533

*L'Independance belge. Journal mondial d'informations politiques et littéraires*—a liberal daily founded in Brussels in 1831.—215

*The International Courier*—a weekly published in London from November 1864 to July 1867 in English and French, its French name being *Le Courrier international*. In 1867, the paper was the organ of the International.—346

*Internationale Revue*—an Austrian bourgeois-democratic monthly published in Vienna in 1866-68.—464, 466, 484, 512, 516

*The Irishman*—a weekly published from 1858 to 1885, first in Belfast and then in Dublin; reflected the views of the moderate elements of the national movement; came out in defence of Fenians.—464, 485, 504, 521

*Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*—a monthly of the International's sections in Romance Switzerland, published in Geneva from December 1865 to September 1866 with the participation of Johann Philipp Becker.—207, 214, 219, 220

*Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg*—a newspaper of the Russian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, published under this title in French from 1825 to 1914.—293

*Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*—a daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1944; during the July monarchy, organ of the government; during the 1848 revolution, it voiced monarchist views; after the 1851 coup d'état, an organ of the moderate Orleanist opposition.—109

*Kladderadatsch*—an illustrated satirical weekly of liberal trend, published in Berlin from 1848.—336

*Kölnische Zeitung*—a daily published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; during the 1848-49 revolution and in subsequent years it expressed the interests of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie.—116, 179, 264, 267, 302, 355, 430, 437, 445, 466, 479, 509

*Königlich Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*—a daily newspaper, official organ of the Prussian government, published in Berlin from 1851 to 1871.—202, 497

*Libertà e Giustizia*—an Italian democratic weekly published in Naples in 1867; organ of the 'Libertà e Giustizia', a society close to the International.—420

*La Liberté*—a Belgian democratic paper published in Brussels from 1865 to 1873; an organ of the International in Belgium from 1867.—447, 449, 454

*La Liberté*—a conservative evening daily published in Paris from 1865 to 1944; in 1866-72 it belonged to Émile Girardin, supported the policy of the Second Empire.—424

*La Liberté de penser*—a French philosophical and literary magazine published in Paris in 1848-51.—66

*Londoner Anzeiger*—a weekly of the German democratic refugees in London, published from 1864 to 1867.—50, 70, 114, 130, 133

*Mainzer Journal*—a Catholic daily published in Mainz from 1848.—63

*The Manchester Daily Examiner and Times*—a liberal newspaper, founded in 1848 by the merger of the *Manchester Times* and *Manchester Examiner*; supported the Free Traders in the 1840s and 1860s; published till 1894 under different titles.—430

*The Manchester Guardian*—a daily founded in 1821; organ of the Free Traders and, from the mid-nineteenth century, of the Liberal Party.—21, 23, 49, 205, 280, 296, 298

*The Miner and Workman's Advocate*—a weekly workers' newspaper, organ of the miners' trade union of Great Britain, published in London from 1863 to 1865.—54, 60, 173, 177

*Missouri Democrat*—a radical daily, organ of the Republican Party of the Missouri State; appeared under this title in 1852-75 in St. Louis.—51

*Mitteldeutsche Volkszeitung*—a liberal paper published in Leipzig in 1862-66.—310

*Le Moniteur universel*—a daily published in Paris from 1789 (under this title from 1811) to 1901, official government organ from 1799 to 1869.—290

*The Morning Advertiser*—a daily published in London from 1794 to 1934; in the 1850s it was a mouthpiece of the radical bourgeoisie.—36

*The Morning Star*—a daily published in London by the Free Traders from 1856 to 1869; had a regular evening edition *The Evening Star*.—26, 73, 110, 151, 424

*Московскія Вѣдомости.* (*Moskovskiye Vedomosti*—Moscow Recorder)—a paper published from 1756 to 1917; in the 1850s, it became reactionary in character.—452

*The Nation*—an Irish weekly, originally radical and, from the 1850s, liberal; published in Dublin from 1842 to the end of the 1880s; came out in defence of the Fenians.—485

*The National Reformer*—a weekly organ of the radicals published in London from 1860 to 1893.—22

*Neue Frankfurter Zeitung*—a democratic paper published under this title from 1859 to 1866 in Frankfurt am Main.—41, 114, 120, 126, 129, 298

*Neue Freie Presse*—an Austrian liberal newspaper published in Vienna in 1864-1939.—516, 524, 525

*Neue Oder-Zeitung*—a German democratic daily published in Breslau (Wrocław) from 1849 to 1855; in the 1850s it was the most radical newspaper in Germany; in 1855 Marx was its London correspondent.—516

*Neue Preussische Zeitung*—a conservative daily published in Berlin from June 1848 to 1939; mouthpiece of the Prussian junkers and Court circles; it was also called *Kreuz-Zeitung* because the heading contained a cross and the slogan 'Forward with God for King and Fatherland'.—103, 124, 277, 280, 292

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a daily published in Cologne under the editorship of Marx from 1 June 1848 to 19 May 1849 (with an interval between 27 September and 12 October 1848); organ of the revolutionary-proletarian wing among the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany. Engels was among its editors.—111, 115, 118, 363, 530

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*—a theoretical journal of the Communist League; it was founded by Marx and Engels in December 1849 and published till November 1850.—428, 530

*Neue Zürcher-Zeitung*—a Swiss liberal newspaper published in German under this title from 1 July 1821; in the 1850s-60s, it expressed Bonapartist views.—441

*Neues Wiener Tagblatt*—an Austrian liberal newspaper published in Vienna from 1867 to 1945.—515, 523, 525, 538

*New-York Daily Tribune*—a newspaper founded by Horace Greeley in 1841 and published until 1924; organ of the Left-wing American Whigs until the mid-1850s, and later of the Republican Party; in the 1840s and 1850s it voiced progressive views and opposed slavery. Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862.—531

*The Nonconformist*—a weekly of the English radical bourgeoisie, published under this title in London from 1841 to 1879.—224, 253, 255

*Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*—a conservative daily; in the 1860s-80s, semi-official newspaper of the Bismarck government; published in Berlin from 1861 to 1918.—106, 373, 394, 516

*Nordstern*—a weekly published in Hamburg from 1860 to 1866; from 1863, a Lassallean mouthpiece.—14, 34, 56, 102, 108, 130, 134, 140, 147, 150, 152, 154, 156, 161, 165, 174, 177, 190, 207

*North British Daily Mail*—a newspaper founded in Glasgow in 1847, organ of the liberal bourgeoisie.—34, 35

*Notes to the People*—a Chartist weekly edited by Ernst Jones and published in

London in 1851 and 1852. Marx and Engels supported it and contributed a number of articles.—15, 531

*The Observer*—an English conservative weekly published in London since 1791.—35

*Ostsee-Zeitung*—a German daily published in Stettin (Polish name Szczecin) from 1835.—267

*The Owl*—a weekly published in London in 1864-69.—355

*The People's Paper*—a Chartist weekly published by Ernst Jones in London from 1852 to 1858. Marx and Engels contributed to it from October 1852 to December 1856 and helped with its editing.—531

*Die Presse*—a liberal daily published in Vienna from 1848 to 1896; in 1861-62, when the newspaper held anti-Bonapartist views, Marx was its London correspondent.—516

*Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*—see *Königlich Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*

*Putnam's Monthly. A Magazine of American Literature, Science and Art*—a Republican monthly published in New York from 1853 to 1857.—531

*La Réforme*—a daily published in Paris from 1843 to 1850, organ of the republican democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists; from October 1847 to March 1848 the newspaper published reports and statements by Marx and Engels.—530

*Republikanisches Regierungs-Blatt*—a newspaper of the petty-bourgeois democrats, founded by Gustav Struve and Karl Blind in Lörrach during the second Baden uprising in September 1848; only one issue appeared.—33

*Revue contemporaine*—a fortnightly published in Paris from 1851 to 1870; during the Second Republic represented the Party of Order; after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851 took a Bonapartist stand.—338, 340

*Revue des deux Mondes*—a literary and political fortnightly published in Paris since 1829.—257, 338, 340

*Rheinischer Beobachter*—a conservative daily published in Cologne from 1844 to the beginning of 1848.—97

*Rheinische Zeitung*—a liberal daily published under this title in Düsseldorf from 1863 to 1866, and in Cologne from 1867 to 1874.—52, 75, 84, 108, 111, 112, 114, 126, 134, 140, 148, 160, 207, 462, 469

*Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*—a daily founded by the Rhenish bourgeois opposition and published in Cologne from 1 January 1842 to 31 March 1843. In April 1842 Marx became one of its contributors. In October of the same year, he became one of its editors, which gave the newspaper a revolutionary-democratic character.—530

*La Rive gauche*—a democratic weekly published from October 1864 to August 1866, first in Paris, and then in Brussels by a group of French Left republicans; it printed documents of the International. Its editor was Charles Longuet.—213, 219, 243

*Русскій инвалидъ* (*Russky Invalid*—Russian Invalid)—a daily of the War Ministry of Tsarist Russia published in St. Petersburg from 1813 to 1917.—506

*St. Louis Daily Press*—an American workers' paper published from 1864.—73

*St.-Petersburger Zeitung*—a Russian daily published in German from 1727 to 1914.—85

*The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*—a conservative weekly published in London from 1855 to 1938.—527, 529, 533

*Schwäbischer Merkur*—a liberal daily published in Stuttgart from 1785 to 1885.—501, 510

*Le Siècle*—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939; in the 1860s a moderate republican newspaper.—202, 424

*Der Social-Demokrat*—an organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; published in Berlin from 15 December 1864 to 1871, in 1864 weekly and from 1865 three times a week; in 1864-67 it was edited by J. B. Schweitzer. Marx and Engels contributed to the paper for a short time, ceased to do so in February 1865, since they disagreed with the political line of the editors.—22, 24, 26, 58, 63, 64-69, 70, 71, 75, 76, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 88, 89, 90, 95, 96, 97, 102, 103, 104, 106, 111, 113, 114, 116, 120, 124, 125, 134, 135, 136, 141, 147, 150, 152, 154, 156, 157, 158, 165, 170, 174, 175, 190, 198, 204, 207, 211, 225, 494, 496, 542, 553

*Staats Anzeiger für Württemberg*—a government daily newspaper published in Stuttgart from 1849 with a weekly supplement, *Gewerbeblatt aus Württemberg*.—500, 510, 512

*Stimmen der Zeit, Wochenschrift für Politik und Literatur*—a German petty-bourgeois monthly and later weekly published in 1858-62 by Adolph Kolatschek. It appeared first in Gotha and then in Weimar, Leipzig, Heidelberg and Vienna simultaneously.—141

*Le Temps*—a daily organ of the big bourgeoisie published in Paris from 1861 to 1943.—270

*The Times*—a conservative daily founded in London in 1785.—34, 47, 50, 73, 80, 86, 90, 94, 95, 151, 199, 215, 221, 236, 264, 267, 286, 300, 378, 416, 422, 425, 428, 434, 435, 485, 516, 555

*La Tribune du Peuple*—a Belgian newspaper of the socialist and atheist society 'Peuple', published in Brussels from May 1861 to April 1869; from August 1865 de facto and from January 1866 official newspaper of the Belgian sections of the International.—213, 216, 219, 220, 223

*La Tribune ouvrière*—a workers' weekly published in June-July 1865 by members of the Paris section of the International; the first four issues appeared in Paris. When the newspaper was banned in France its publication was transferred to Brussels where one more issue appeared, after which its publication was stopped.—170

*Unsere Zeit*—a liberal literary and political monthly, appeared in Leipzig from 1857 to 1891.—365

*Das Volk*—a German-language communist weekly published in London from 7 May to 20 August 1859; it was founded as the official organ of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; Marx took part in its publication beginning with issue No. 2 and in early July he became its de facto editor and manager.—50

*Volks-Zeitung*—a liberal daily published in Berlin from 1853.—180

*Der Vorbote*—a monthly of the German sections of the International in Switzerland, published in Geneva from 1866 to 1871 under the editorship of Johann Philipp Becker; on the whole, it upheld the line pursued by Marx and the General Council by regularly publishing documents of the International and information about its activity in various countries.—207, 214, 219, 220, 359, 571, 580

*The Weekly News*—an Irish radical newspaper published in Dublin from 1858.—550

*Der weiße Adler*—a German-language liberal paper published in Zurich from 1864 three times a week.—143

*Weser-Zeitung*—a German liberal daily published in Bremen from 1844 to 1930.—471

*Die Westliche Post*—a German newspaper published in St. Louis (USA) from 1858; in the 1860s, organ of the émigré petty-bourgeois democrats.—41, 57

*The Working Man*—a weekly published in London from 1861 to 1867 with an interval; the paper was notable for its reformist tendencies.—327

*The Workman's Advocate*—a weekly workers' paper published in London after the reorganisation of *The Miner and Workman's Advocate* in September 1865; official organ of the Central Council of the International; Marx was a member of its board. In February 1866, because of the growing influence of the reformist elements on the editorial board, it was reorganised once again and renamed *The Commonwealth*.—190, 198, 200, 201, 205, 206, 207, 212-14, 215, 216, 219-20, 224, 228, 243, 262, 571

*Zeitung für Norddeutschland*—a liberal newspaper published in Hanover from 1848 to 1872.—346

*Die Zukunft*—a democratic paper of the People's Party, published in Königsberg (now Kaliningrad), from 1867 and in Berlin from 1868 to 1871.—374, 421, 423, 425, 430, 433, 445, 461, 467, 475, 495, 497, 498, 501, 502, 503, 504, 507, 515, 534, 535, 542

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# COLLECTED WORKS

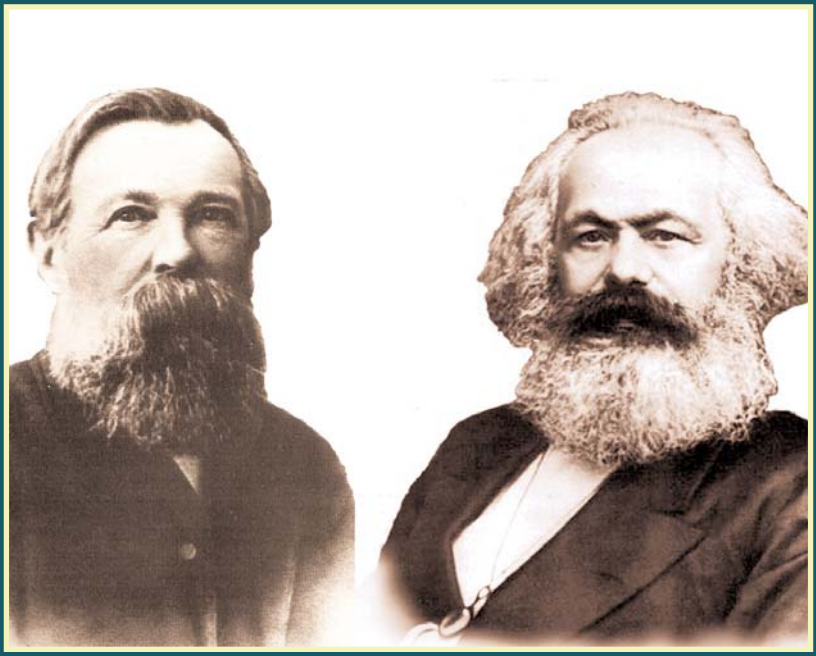

## VOLUME 43

Letters 1868-70

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 43

## Letters 1868-70

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# Preface

Volume 43 of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels contains their correspondence from April 1868 to July 1870. Chronologically it completes the period from 1864 to 1870, an important one in the history of Marxism and the international working-class movement, which laid the basis for Marxism's great influence on the mass working-class movement. The years 1868-1870 witnessed the formation of the first workers' parties in a number of countries and the establishment of socialist principles in the programme documents of the International Working Men's Association (the First International). The Association's activity during these years took place against the background of the growing class struggle, the aggravation of economic and social contradictions in Europe, the upsurge in the national liberation struggle of the Irish people, the crisis of the Second Empire and the imminent military conflict between Bonapartist France and Bismarck's Prussia. The international situation was also made more tense as a result of the bourgeois revolution which began in Spain in 1868.

The material in this volume, like that of the preceding one, reflects the remarkably varied activity of Marx and the General Council of the International led by him, activity aimed at strengthening the unity of the working class and educating it in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. The letters illustrate Marx's active participation in all the theoretical discussions which took place in the Council, in drafting the resolutions of the General Council and in preparing the congresses of the International Working Men's Association. They also throw light on Marx's

and Engels's work on the drafting and writing of documents for the International in 1868-1870 (published in vols 20 and 21 of the present edition). The correspondence makes clear the great extent to which Engels assisted Marx in leading the International. Marx systematically discussed all important questions with him, kept him informed of the course of discussions in the Council, and of its draft resolutions, and made use of his recommendations. Engels took an active part in working out the International's tactics, explaining it in letters to eminent members of the working-class movement, in particular the Germans (Wilhelm Liebknecht and Wilhelm Bracke) and frequently defended the position of the International Working Men's Association on various questions in the press.

In the history of the International, the 1868-1870 period was a time of ideological and organisational strengthening. The Association's federations and sections were active in many European countries and the USA. In Britain it was the trade unions which provided its mass base. Trade unions as class organisations of the workers also began to take shape in other countries. 'The International Association..., as a result of conditions on the continent, ... is beginning to become a serious power,' Marx wrote in a letter to Engels of 7 July 1868 (see this volume, p. 63). After the adoption, in November 1864, of the 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association' and the 'Provisional Rules of the Association', Marx was faced with the task of drawing up a united theoretical programme for the international working-class movement and substantiating and openly proclaiming the principles of scientific socialism in the International's programme. At the same time he saw clearly that before these principles could be assimilated by the various working-class national organisations a great deal of preparatory work in the press, at congresses and in the local sections would have to be done. 'As the stage of development reached by different sections of the workers in the same country and by the working class in different countries necessarily varies considerably, the actual movement also necessarily expresses itself in very diverse theoretical forms,' Marx wrote to Engels on 5 March 1869. 'The community of action the International Working Men's Association is calling into being, the exchange of ideas by means of the different organs of the sections in all countries and, finally, the direct discussions at the general congresses would also gradually create a common theoretical programme for the general workers' movement' (pp. 235-36). Marx was guided by the fact that the ideological and organisational unity of action of the working class should be formed on the basis of the real class struggle. He saw this as the way to

overcome reformism and sectarianism in the working-class movement.

The correspondence shows that the Association's success in this direction was due largely to Marx's organisational talent, his ability in the course of everyday struggle to stimulate the class consciousness of the workers and lead them to an understanding of common theoretical and practical tasks. These tactics of Marx's were a sure pledge of the victory of scientific communism over the sectarian trends in the working-class movement.

As the correspondence in this volume shows, in 1868-1870 the General Council of the Association continued as before to give material assistance and moral support to those taking part in the strike movement, which embraced broad sections of the working class in Britain, France, Germany, Belgium and Switzerland (pp. 82, 203-04, and 209-10). During these years international solidarity became a most important factor in the economic struggle of the working class. The organisation of help to strikers promoted the growth of the authority and popularity of the International Working Men's Association among the masses (pp. 8, 350).

As before, Marx participated directly in the preparation of the congresses of the International and had a decisive influence on their work. He wrote the reports of the General Council to the Brussels (September 1868) and Basle (September 1869) congresses. Particularly noteworthy is Marx's letter of 10 September 1868 to Johann Georg Eccarius and Friedrich Lessner, in which he outlined the tactics to be adopted by the General Council's delegates to the Brussels Congress. Here Marx also explains the position of the working class on the question of war in the concrete historical situation at the end of the 1860s in connection with the imminent war between France and Prussia. Noting the insufficient organisation of the workers, Marx nevertheless considered it necessary to state clearly in the resolution to be adopted that 'the congress protests in the name of the working class, and denounces those who instigate war' (p. 94). The campaign for peace was becoming one of the programme aims of the international working-class movement, and its success depended largely on the international unity of the workers.

As the letters show, Marx and Engels expressed their complete satisfaction with the success of the struggle against Proudhonism at the Brussels Congress (p. 102). The adoption by the Congress of resolutions on the need to turn the land, mines, etc., into common property was a convincing victory for socialist principles over the

petty-bourgeois views of the Proudhonists. Thus, the inclusion of the demand for the socialist reorganisation of society in the programme of the International became possible only as a result of progressive workers overcoming the petty-bourgeois world outlook. It is no accident that the bourgeois press began panic-stricken talk about the communist nature of the Congress's decisions on property (pp. 101, 107).

As can be seen from the correspondence, Marx and Engels linked the demand to abolish private ownership of land very closely with the question of the workers' ally in the countryside, the question of the attitude to small peasant property. It was precisely from this angle that the question was considered at the Basle Congress. On 30 October 1869 Marx wrote to Engels about the need for a differentiated approach by the working class to big and small land ownership (p. 364). In his reply to Marx of 1 November 1869 Engels agreed with his point of view and paid special attention to the heterogeneity of the peasantry, the existence, alongside the big peasant proprietors who exploit day labourers and peasant tenants, of middle and small peasant proprietors. Engels pointed out that the working class should adopt a flexible policy in relation to the poor sections of the peasantry, taking their interests into account (p. 365). These ideas of Engels' were elaborated by him in greater detail in his preface to the second edition of *The Peasant War in Germany* at the beginning of February 1870 (see present edition, Vol. 21).

A number of letters published in this volume reflect the struggle waged by Marx, Engels and the General Council of the International against the disorganising activity of Bakunin and his supporters in the International, against Bakunin's anarchist views on major questions of the theory and tactics of the workers' movement. Bakuninism, a form of anarchism, expressed the protest of the petty bourgeoisie against capitalist exploitation and ruin. It reflected the mood of petty proprietors unable to find a real way of freeing themselves from capitalist oppression. In their works and letters Marx and Engels roundly criticised the theory and practice of Bakuninism, pointing out the harm which sectarianism caused to the working-class movement.

The International Alliance of Socialist Democracy set up in the autumn of 1868 in Geneva by Bakunin claimed ideological leadership of the International and at the same time an autonomous existence within it. The leaders of the Alliance hoped to use the International to propagate anarchist ideas and establish their influence throughout the working-class movement.

Bakunin's plans encountered strong opposition from the General Council. After receiving the documents of the Alliance and its request for membership of the International Working Men's Association, Marx deemed it necessary to refuse this request. In a letter to Marx of 18 December 1868 Engels also expressed his strong opposition to allowing the Alliance to join the Association. 'This would be a state within the state,' he wrote to Marx (p. 192). Engels' proposals contained in this letter were included by Marx in the reply compiled by him on behalf of the General Council and entitled *The International Working Men's Association and the Alliance of Socialist Democracy* in which he defended the principles of setting up workers' organisations which ensured their unity and solidarity. In this 'elaborate document the General Council declared the 'Alliance' to be an instrument of disorganisation, and rejected every connexion with it' (p. 491).

In reply to the Alliance's repeated request, Marx drew up a circular letter, *The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the Central Bureau of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy.* This document was actually based on Marx's letter to Engels of 5 March 1869. It contains criticism of the basic precept of the Bakuninist programme—the demand for 'the political, economic and social equalisation of *the classes*'. Marx showed convincingly that the demand for the 'equalisation of the classes' was equivalent to the bourgeois socialists' slogan about 'harmony of capital and labour' and fundamentally opposed to 'the general tendency of the International Working Men's Association—the complete emancipation of the working classes' (p. 236).

The history of the General Council's struggle against subsequent attempts by Bakunin and his supporters to disorganise the International Working Men's Association and also lengthy criticism of the main points of Bakunin's programme are to be found in Marx's letter to Lafargue of 19 April 1870. Describing Bakuninism as a sectarian tendency alien to the working-class movement, Marx focuses his criticism mainly on two of Bakunin's demands: the demand to abolish the right of inheritance, which was declared to be the point of departure of social revolution and the only way to abolish private property, and the renunciation of the political activity of the working class.

The theoretical weakness of Bakunin's recipe, Marx pointed out, lay in the fact that he did not understand the objective link between the basis and the superstructure of capitalist society. 'The whole thing rests on a superannuated idealism, which considers

the actual jurisprudence as the basis of our economical state, instead of seeing that our economical state is the basis and source of our jurisprudence!' (p. 490). Marx also stressed the political and tactical harm of Bakunin's thesis. Proclaiming the abolition of the right of inheritance, Marx believed, would inevitably alienate the working class from its ally, the peasantry. This demand would be 'not a serious act, but a foolish menace, rallying the whole peasantry and the whole small middle-class round the reaction' (ibid.).

Marx also showed how mistaken was Bakunin's demand that the working class should be restrained from taking any part in the political struggle. It misled the workers and prevented the adoption of an independent working-class policy, the growth of class consciousness and the formation of political parties of the working class (pp. 490-91).

As their correspondence shows, Marx and Engels focused their attention on the destiny of the international working-class movement.

With the creation of the North German Confederation in 1867 the German working class was faced with the task of closing its ranks and setting up an independent proletarian party. Its ties with the International were of great importance for the ideological and organisational development of the German working-class movement in the latter half of the 1860s. Marx, who performed the duties of the Corresponding Secretary for Germany from the moment of the founding of the International Working Men's Association, was very closely linked with the German workers. Certain aspects of the activity of one of the German sections, that of Solingen, are revealed by Engels' letter of 8 February 1870 to Karl Klein and Friedrich Moll.

A serious obstacle to educating the German workers in the spirit of scientific communism and proletarian internationalism was Lassalleanism. The correspondence published in this volume enables us to trace the way in which Marx, Engels and their supporters Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, who led the revolutionary wing of the German working-class movement, opposed the Lassallean programme and tactics. In his letter of 13 October 1868 to the President of the General Association of German Workers, J. B. Schweitzer, Marx gave an objective appraisal of Lassalle's role in the German working-class movement. It was to Lassalle's credit, Marx wrote, that he had revived 'after fifteen years of slumber' an independent working-class movement in Germany free from the influence of the liberal bourgeoisie

(p. 132). But Lassalle's essentially reformist programme was an eclectic one. His overestimation of setting up workers' co-operatives with state assistance as a means to the social transformation of society (he viewed universal suffrage as the chief way of attaining this aim), his political orientation towards an alliance with Bismarck's government in the matter of German unification, and the sectarian nature of the organisation created by him, were at variance with the aims of the German working-class movement and laid the foundations for the opportunist trend within it (pp. 132-34).

Marx noted that the leaders of the General Association of German Workers, afraid of losing their influence with the masses, had been forced to make important additions to Lassalle's agitational demands. In particular, the programme adopted at the Hamburg Congress (August 1868) included the following points: 'agitation for complete political freedom, regulation of the working day and international co-operation of the working class', i.e. 'the starting points of any "serious" workers' movement' (see Marx's letter to Engels of 26 August 1868). The questions concerning the economic struggle, which Lassalle ignored (the staging of strikes, organisation of trade unions), were considered at the general German workers' congress in Berlin, called by the leaders of the General Association of German Workers in September 1868. However, only representatives of the Lassallean trade unions were admitted to the Berlin Congress, which testified to a continuation of the former sectarian course. In the above-mentioned letter to Schweitzer of 13 October 1868, and many other letters, Marx criticised him strongly for these tactics which led to a split in the trade-union movement and for anti-democratic methods of leadership, as well as criticising the anti-democratic way he set up trade associations. Marx told Schweitzer that the organisation created by him,'suitable as it is for secret societies and sect movements, contradicts the nature of the trade unions' (p. 134).

From the letters it is clear how carefully Marx and Engels followed the activity of Bebel and Liebknecht at this time, giving them constant advice and supporting their struggle against the Lassalleans to unite the proletarian masses. While he fully understood the need for co-operation with the petty-bourgeois German People's Party against Prussian reaction, Liebknecht on a number of occasions conceded too much to this party; it was precisely this that provoked the strong criticism of Liebknecht's actions by Marx and Engels (pp. 15-16, 38, 141).

Thanks to tireless agitation by Liebknecht and Bebel there was a shift to the left in the Union of German Workers' Associations, which

gradually freed itself from bourgeois influence and drew increasingly close to the International. In a letter to Engels of 29 July 1868 Marx noted with satisfaction that at the forthcoming Congress of the Union of German Workers' Associations in Nuremberg in September 1868 it was certain to join the International Working Men's Association and adopt its programme (p. 75). Marx and Engels believed that this success should be consolidated and the prerequisites created for the formation of a proletarian party in Germany by a further break with Lassalleanism and the complete overcoming by the German workers of their ideological dependence on non-proletarian elements alien to them. 'The dissolution of the Lassallean sect and, on the other hand, the severence of the Saxon and South German workers from the leading-strings of the 'People's Party' are the two fundamental conditions for the new formation of a genuine German workers' party,' Marx wrote to Ludwig Kugelmann on 10 July 1869 (p. 313).

In their correspondence Marx and Engels recorded the rapid 'process of the disintegration of specific Lassalleanism', which speeded up the withdrawal of progressive workers from the General Association of German Workers (pp. 255, 304). A number of former Lassalle's supporters (Wilhelm Bracke, Theodor York and others) agreed to the proposal made by Bebel and Liebknecht to call a general congress of German Social-Democrats. At this Congress, which took place in Eisenach from 7 to 9 August 1869, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party was founded. The creation of an independent workers' party in Germany was a great victory for Marxism and for the ideas of the International in the German working-class movement (see Engels' letter to Wilhelm Bracke of 28 April 1870, pp. 498-99). As Lenin pointed out later, in Eisenach a firm foundation was laid for 'a genuinely Social-Democratic workers' party. And in those days the essential thing was the *basis* of the party'. (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 298.)

A number of letters published in this volume reflect the desire of Marx and Engels to raise the level of the theoretical awareness of members of the German working-class movement by means of propagating in the press the ideas of scientific communism and their criticism of Lassalleanism.

This volume also contains material concerning the preparation for publication of a short biography of Marx written by Engels (p. 76) and a new edition of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and *The Peasant War in Germany*, which Marx and Engels supplied with new prefaces. Marx had a very high opinion of Engels' Preface to *The Peasant War in Germany*, which was published in *Der Volksstaat*:

'Your introduction is very good. I know of nothing that should be altered or added...' (p. 428).

The letters in this volume show how closely Marx and Engels followed the development of the working-class movement in France on the eve of the Franco-Prussian war and the Paris Commune. The deepening crisis of the Second Empire and the growth of revolutionary activity among the masses helped to extend the influence of the International in France. Within the French working class the characteristic Proudhonist renunciation of active forms of organising workers (economic and political) was gradually being overcome. There was a growing trend towards the emergence of a workers' party. Alarmed by the growing influence of the International in the country, the French government tried to check the revolutionary movement with mass reprisals, and also to provoke premature action by the masses in order to strike a blow at the working class. Marx wrote to Engels on 18 November 1868: 'In France things look very serious... The government wants to force the lads on to the streets so that *chassepot* and rifled cannon may then *laisser "faire merveille"*' (p. 162).

In March and May of 1868 and June-July of 1870 the Bonapartist government organised three trials against the French sections of the International Working Men's Association. Leaders of sections of the Association were arrested and accused of plotting against the Emperor. Noting the provocative character of the victimisation of French members of the International, Marx wrote to his daughter Jenny on 31 May 1870 in connection with the third trial, that the Bonapartist officials were busying themselves in Paris 'to hatch a new complot, in which the "Intern. W. Ass." is to play the principal part and where I, as ... "*wirklicher geheimer Oberhauptchef*" must of course put in my appearance' (p. 525). He stressed that all the repressive acts of the Bonapartist government were merely leading to a growth in the International's influence in France. 'Our French members are demonstrating *ad oculos* the French Government the difference between a political secret society and a genuine workers' association. No sooner had the government jailed all the members of the Paris, Lyons, Rouen, Marseilles etc., committees ... than committees *twice as numerous* announced themselves in the newspapers as their successors with the most daring and defiant declarations (and, as an added touch, with their *private addresses* as well). The French Government has finally done what we so long wanted it to do: transform the political question—Empire or Republic—into a question *de vie ou de mort* for the working class!' (pp. 522-23).

As leader of the International Marx attached great importance to the consolidation of the truly proletarian elements in France, to their ideological and organisational strengthening. With his direct help and support the official founding of the Paris Federation of the International took place in Paris on 18 April 1870. In his letters to Paul Lafargue of 18 and 19 April 1870 Marx advised the leaders of the Federation to adopt firm class positions, not to allow sectarian tendencies and not to give way to the influence of the various petty-bourgeois Proudhonist and Bakuninist doctrines. '*Il faut éviter les "étiquettes" sectaires dans l'Association Internationale*, he wrote. 'Those who interpret best the hidden sense of the class struggle going on before our eyes—the Communists are the last to commit the blunder of affecting or fostering sectarianism' (p. 485).

Marx's and Engels' letters about France included in this volume are full of hopes for a new outburst of the emancipation struggle of the working class, full of revolutionary optimism based on their belief in the inevitability of a crisis of the Bonapartist regime and major social changes, and full of the awareness that 'the whole historic witches' brew is simmering' (p. 233).

The correspondence shows the deep and constant interest which Marx and Engels took in the problems of the British working-class movement. In this period, as before, Marx made use of the experience of the mass organisations of the British working class—the trade unions. Under his leadership the General Council of the International maintained constant connections with a number of the largest trade unions in Manchester, Birmingham and Salford, particularly during their struggle for the full legalisation of trade unions and their national unification. Marx linked the successful solution of these questions first and foremost with active struggle by rank-and-file trade-union members. 'The squabble among the authorities of the trades unions, which in fact paralysed them for years, has at last been settled...,' Marx wrote to Engels on 26 September 1868 in connection with the formation of the British Trades Union Congress, when the trade unions 'have finally agreed on *joint action*' (p. 114).

Some of the letters also contain criticism of the reformist leaders of the British trade unions who sought to solve social problems by means of reforms and compromises with the ruling classes (pp. 3-4, 253 and 394-95). However, the very course of the class struggle (strikes and the mass movement for electoral reform, etc.), and also the influence of the International, sometimes encouraged British trade unionists in practice to go beyond their socially pacifist and reformist ideas. This gave Marx a basis for collaborating with the

trade-union leaders in the International Working Men's Association up to the time of the Paris Commune. Simultaneously Marx fought uncompromisingly against their reformist views, urging them to rely on the masses.

However, the revolutionary tendencies which continued to exist in the British mass working-class movement were challenged as before by the strong reformist influence of the trade-union leaders. Explaining the failure of the first working-class candidates at the parliamentary elections in 1868, Marx and Engels pointed above all to the ideological and political dependence of the working class on liberal bourgeois leaders, to the fact that the working class did not have its own political party and its own programme. 'Everywhere the proletariat are the rag, tag and bobtail of the official parties...,' Engels wrote on 18 November 1868 (p. 163). Marx's letters clearly show that the electoral defeat forced some of the London trade-union leaders who were members of the General Council to admit the soundness of his criticism and, to a certain extent, to agree with his view of the need for workers to act independently, to fight against them being turned into an appendage of the liberal bourgeoisie. '...the English too late but unanimously acknowledged that I had forecast *literally* for them, the ... highly amusing upshot of the elections,' he wrote to Engels on 18 November 1868 (p. 161).

The letters tell the story of the International Working Men's Association's break with the trade-unionist newspaper *The Bee-Hive,* which had been the official organ of the General Council since 22 November 1864. Under the leadership of bourgeois liberals the newspaper adopted a conciliatory position, ignoring and distorting the documents of the International. On Marx's initiative the General Council discussed the situation with *The Bee-Hive* in April 1870 and the newspaper ceased to be the International's organ. 'I denounced the paper as being sold to the bourgeois (S. Morley, etc.), mentioned particularly its treatment of our Irish resolutions and debates, etc.,' Marx wrote to Engels on 28 April 1870 (pp. 497-98).

After the Basle Congress of the International the question of the abolition of large-scale land-ownership as an effective means of fighting poverty, a very topical question for Britain, was actively discussed in democratic circles and among the workers. Marx saw this as an opportunity to create in Britain an independent political workers' organisation of a non-trade-union nature, an organisation whose programme would be originally based on the resolutions of the International's congresses. Thus, the *Land and Labour*

*League* was founded on 27 October 1869. Marx became an active member. Concerning the actual fact of the founding of the League Marx wrote to Engels on 30 October 1869: 'The creation of the *Land and Labour League* (incidentally, directly inspired by the General Council) should be regarded as an outcome of the Basle Congress; here, the workers' party makes a clean break with the bourgeoisie, nationalisation of land [being] the starting point' (p. 364).

In the second half of the 1860s the growing national liberation movement in Ireland began to have a great influence on British social and political life.

Some of the letters in this volume give a detailed account of the course of the discussion on the Irish question which took place in autumn 1869 in the General Council on Marx's initiative (pp. 371-72, 375-76, 386-87, 392-93) and was connected with the widespread campaign launched at that time in Britain for an amnesty for imprisoned Fenians. Marx was hoping in the course of this discussion to state in a resolution of the General Council the British working class's internationalist attitude to its ally, the fighters for the national liberation of Ireland. Illness prevented him from realising this intention, however. Nevertheless, his point of view was reflected in other General Council documents, in particular, the 'Confidential Communication' (see present edition, Vol. 21) and in letters to active members of the working-class movement in Germany, France and the USA (see this volume, pp. 390-91, 449, 472-76). In these letters Marx elaborated the thesis that the abolition of the Irish people's colonial enslavement and the granting to the Irish themselves of the right to decide their own fate was the most important condition for the emancipation of the working class in Britain. Thus he used the example of Anglo-Irish relations to illustrate a most important thesis in the national colonial question, namely, the community of interests between the participants in the national liberation struggle in the colonies and the workers' movement in the metropolis, and their interaction as a major prerequisite for the emancipation of the working people both in the metropolis and in the colonies.

Ireland, a British colony, Marx explained in his correspondence, was the citadel of British landlordism. The landed aristocracy mercilessly exploited the Irish peasants. The colonial enslavement of Ireland was also an important source of the strength of the British bourgeoisie. Irish workers in Britain were forced to agree to any wage, thereby lowering the standard of living of British workers. This brought about a split in the working class of Great

Britain and strengthened the position of the capitalists (pp. 473-75). To destroy the foundations of the rule of the British landed magnates and the financial and industrial bourgeoisie in Ireland would be to weaken the power of these classes in England itself. Consequently the liberation of Ireland would help the English working class considerably to attain its class aims (pp. 473-75). In this connection Marx wrote: 'For a long time I believed it would be possible to overthrow the Irish regime by English working class ascendancy... Deeper study has now convinced me of the opposite. The English working class will *never accomplish anything* before it has got rid of Ireland. The lever must be applied in Ireland. This is why the Irish question is so important for the social movement in general' (p. 398).

Marx emphasised that the English working class 'will never be able to do anything decisive here in England before they separate their attitude towards Ireland quite definitely from that of the ruling classes, and not only make common cause with the Irish, but even take the initiative in dissolving the Union established in 1801, and substituting a free federal relationship for it' (p. 390). 'Only by putting forward this demand was Marx really educating the English workers in the spirit of internationalism,' stressed Lenin (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, pp. 149-50).

The internationalist ideas of Marx and Engels on the Irish question were the result of their deep study of the historical past and present condition of this country and the long history of Anglo-Irish relations. Engels wrote: 'Irish history shows what a misfortune it is for one nation to subjugate another' (p. 363).

The correspondence throws light on Engels' work on his book on Irish history. The Franco-Prussian war which began in the summer of 1870 and the revolution which followed in Paris did not, however, allow him to complete this work.

A number of letters in this volume show Marx's constant and profound interest in the development of the American working-class movement. As the General Council's Corresponding Secretary for the German language sections in the USA, Marx corresponded with representatives of the German workers in America. He urged them to struggle to overcome sectarianism and strive for the international unity of the American working-class movement and to draw it into the sphere of activity of the International. '*A coalition of the German workers with the Irish workers* (naturally, also, with the English and American workers who wish to join in) is the greatest thing you could undertake now. This must be done in the name of the "International"', he wrote to Sigfrid

Meyer and August Vogt on 9 April 1870 (p. 476). Marx wrote with profound regret of the sudden death of William Sylvis, the President of the National Labor Union of the USA, of whose achievements he thought highly, particularly of his struggle to overcome national and local separatism in the American working-class movement (p. 351).

Some of the letters in this volume also indicate the constant interest with which Marx and Engels followed the growth of the revolutionary movement in Russia. Marx's letter to N. F. Danielson of 7 October, 1868 marked the beginning of regular correspondence between the founders of Marxism and the leaders of the Russian revolutionary democratic movement. During this period Marx was strongly aware of the need for more detailed knowledge of life inside Russia after the abolition of serfdom in 1861. A study of the socio-economic relations of this huge peasant country which had embarked on the path of capitalist development led Marx to feel 'deeply convinced that a ... social revolution ... is irrepressible in Russia and near at hand' (see Marx's letter to Laura and Paul Lafargue of 5 March 1870). Marx was convinced that the victory of a popular revolution and the overthrow of tsarism in Russia would provide a powerful impetus for the development of the revolutionary movement throughout the world. In the concrete historical conditions of the late 1860s Marx regarded the victory of the revolutionary forces in Britain and Russia as one of the main and decisive conditions for the overthrow of capitalist society and the social reorganisation of Europe.

During this period Marx and Engels also established contact with the Russian revolutionary youth educated on the ideals of the great Russian revolutionary democrats N. G. Chernyshevsky and N. A. Dobrolyubov. Early in 1870 a Russian section of the International was set up in Geneva. Concerning this Marx informed Engels on 12 February 1870: 'In Geneva, by the by, a new colony of exiled Russian students has grown up with a programme proclaiming opposition to pan-Slavism, which should be replaced by the "International"' (p. 430). On 12 March 1870 the members of the Russian section, one of the organisers of which was N. Utin, sent a letter to London announcing its constitution. Inviting Marx to represent their section on the General Council, they declared themselves to be in full agreement with the principles of the International (pp. 480, 493). He readily agreed to their request. 'Enclosed, a letter from the *Russian colony* in Geneva,' he wrote to Engels on 24 March 1870. 'We have admitted

them; I have *accepted* their commission to be their representative on the General Council, and have also sent them a short reply...' (p. 462).

The propagation and dissemination of Marxism and the overcoming of petty-bourgeois utopias in the working class were greatly assisted by the publication in September 1867 of Volume I of Marx's *Capital*. After it came out Marx continued to work on its second and third books, which he intended should form Volume II. In spite of his bad health and constant financial difficulties, Marx nevertheless believed that for him 'there could never, from the outset, have been any question of ... taking over a business before ...' the 'book was finished' (p. 185).

In the summer of 1868 Marx embarked upon further intensive study in the British Museum library. Resuming his work on Volume II of *Capital*, he decided first and foremost to rewrite and expand the preliminary draft of the second book (Manuscript I). From the end of 1868 to the middle of 1870 he wrote a new version of the whole of second book of *Capital*, which he later called Manuscript II. In the Preface to Volume II Engels subsequently evaluated it as 'the only somewhat complete elaboration of Book II...' (see present edition, Vol. 36). It was at this time that Marx made use of *The Position of the Working Class in Russia* by V. V. Bervi (Flerovsky), published in 1869, for his work on Volume II of *Capital*. Marx considered Flerovsky's work to be the most important socio-economic study of the condition of the workers after Engels' book *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (pp. 423-24). In this connection Marx began 'to study Russian hammer and tongs' (p. 551) and by the beginning of February 1870 had made considerable progress in the language.

Alongside his work on Book II of *Capital*, Marx paid considerable attention during this period to the study of problems relating to Book III. In his letter to Engels of 30 April 1868 Marx outlined his plan for the structure and main contents of the whole of Book III (pp. 21-25).

To be well-equipped with facts Marx continued to study world economic literature. Thus, in his letter of 7 October 1868 to N. F. Danielson he wrote that he could not prepare Volume II of *Capital* for the press 'until certain official *enquêtes*, instituted during last year (and 1866) in France, the United States and England, have been completed or published' (p. 123).

Marx made an intensive study of new material on agricultural development and agrarian relations in a number of countries. He sent various requests for the necessary literature to his comrades

and his daughter Laura, who had moved to Paris after her marriage (pp. 9 and 97). Thus, Marx requested De Paepe to let him have the titles of the main works on the structure of land holding in Belgium and Belgian agriculture (p. 412). He wrote to Sigfrid Meyer, one of the leaders of the German and American working-class movement, on 4 July 1868 asking him to send him American newspapers from time to time. 'In particular, it would be of great value to me,' Marx wrote, 'if you could dig up some anti-bourgeois material about land-ownership and agrarian relations in the United States.' Marx needed this material, inter alia, for his polemic with the American economist H. Ch. Carey on the question of land rent. Engels' letters of 9 and 19 November to Marx and Marx's letter to Engels of 26 November 1869 contain a critical examination of Carey's mistaken ideas, and also point out errors in Ricardo's theory of land rent. Marx and Engels substantiate their views on the emergence of land rent, quoting convincing examples and facts in support of their theory.

As can be seen from Marx's letters, the agrarian system in Russia was of considerable interest to him in his treatment of the genesis of capitalist land rent in Book III of *Capital*. In the middle of 1868 Marx embarked upon a careful study of Russian sources, in the belief that in 'dealing with the land question, it has become essential to study Russian land-owning relationships from primary sources' (Marx to Kugelmann, 27 June 1870).

Describing Marx's studies of a large number of Russian sources in the 1870s, Engels noted later in the Preface to Volume III of *Capital* that according to Marx's plan Russia 'was to play the same role in the part dealing with rent in land that England played in Book I in connection with industrial wage-labour' (see present edition, Vol. 37).

As well as continuing to elaborate economic theory Marx and Engels devoted considerable attention in this period to circulating Volume I of *Capital* and propagating its ideas. Some of the letters in this volume refer to the steps taken by Marx and Engels to popularise the work. Engels rendered great service in this respect. Thus, besides some reviews of the volume for German newspapers, in 1868 Engels also wrote a review for the English bourgeois journal *The Fortnightly Review* (see present edition, Vol. 20).

In a number of letters Marx and Engels touch upon reviews and comments by bourgeois economists on Volume I of *Capital*. Here, alongside a critical appraisal of the views expressed by the authors of these reviews ('specialist mandarins', as Marx so aptly puts it) (p. 213), they set out in clear and concise form the most important

theses of Marx's economic theory (see, for example, Marx's letter to Ludwig Kugelmann of 11 July 1868).

The main aim behind the efforts by Marx and Engels to disseminate the ideas of *Capital* was to equip the working class with a scientific revolutionary economic theory in its struggle to free itself from capitalist exploitation. Linking the elaboration of an economic theory very closely with practical aims, Marx attached great importance to the propagation of his views to a working-class audience. He delivered a lecture on wages for German workers in London, about which he wrote to Engels on 23 May 1868 (see p. 40). Engels constantly showed genuine concern for the fate of the working-class movement and the practical application of the conclusions of Marx's political economy. He intended to write a popular brochure on the contents of Volume I of *Capital* for the workers (see Engels' letter to Marx of 16 September 1868, this volume, p. 100).

The correspondence of Marx and Engels in this period also illustrates the great importance they attached to the publication of *Capital* in different languages (French, Russian and English). In October 1869 Charles Keller, a member of the Paris section of the First International, began work on a translation of *Capital* (pp. 399, 546), greatly assisted by Marx (p. 359). The work was not completed, however. One of the leaders of revolutionary Chartism, George Harney, a companion-in-arms and friend of Marx and Engels, offered his services for the publication of Volume I of *Capital* in English in New York (p. 276).

Marx was delighted to hear that his book was being translated into Russian (p. 130), and wrote on 7 October 1868 to one of the translators, N. F. Danielson. It was the first translation of *Capital*, and appeared in 1872.

The letters indicate the truly encyclopaedic knowledge possessed by Marx and Engels, the breadth and variety of their scholarly interests. During this period they devoted considerable attention to philosophical problems. In a number of letters Marx criticises Eugen Dühring and F. A. Lange for their deprecatory attitude to Hegelian dialectics.

In October-November 1868 Marx and Engels read and discussed in detail the manuscript of the book entitled *Das Wesen der menschlichen Kopfarbeit* by the German leather-worker Joseph Dietzgen. They stressed Dietzgen's considerable learning and his independent discovery of the laws of the materialist theory of knowledge. On 28 October 1868, in direct response to the impression which the manuscript had made upon him, Marx wrote:

'He is one of the most gifted workers I know' (p. 149).

The correspondence also bears witness to the constant interest which Marx and Engels took in the development of the natural sciences, physics, chemistry and biology, and their study of the most important discoveries in these areas (pp. 33 and 246). As can be seen from Marx's letter to Engels of 18 November 1868, Marx was interested in the problem of the origin of life on earth in connection with research by the Viennese Professor Gustav Jäger and the German scientist Ernst Haeckel, followers of Darwin's theory of evolution (p. 162).

In his letter to Kugelmann of 27 June 1870, Marx sharply criticised the book *On the Workers' Question* by one of the so-called social Darwinists, F. A. Lange, who automatically transferred the law of the struggle for existence discovered by Darwin in the animal and plant world to the history of mankind. There is also sharp criticism of 'social Darwinism' in Marx's letter to Paul and Laura Lafargue of 15 February 1869.

As before, linguistics remained the special sphere of Engels' scientific interests. In spring 1869 he resumed his studies of the Friesian and Old Irish languages (pp. 247, 257, 410, 501, 514, 517-18).

The correspondence published in this volume contains extensive biographical material on Marx and Engels and gives a clear picture of their everyday life and struggle, their process of creation and their practical activity during this period, when they were in effect leading the mass international working-class movement. The letters fully reflect the growing friendship between the two men over the years, their constant collaboration both in the elaboration of theory and in leading the workers' revolutionary struggle, and their touching affection for each other. For Marx Engels was the person with whom he shared his most intimate thoughts and new scientific ideas. Engels' attachment to Marx extended to the members of his family, especially his daughters for whom he showed a truly paternal concern.

As the correspondence shows, Marx and Engels devoted considerable attention to the training and ideological education of progressive fighters from the working class. In the General Council and the administrative bodies of the International in the various countries Marx sought to create a firm backbone of proletarian revolutionaries. Under the direct influence of Marx, with the assistance of veterans of the working-class movement who had been members of the Communist League and taken part in the Revolution of 1848-49, such as Johann Becker, Johann Georg

Eccarius, Friedrich Lessner, Karl Pfänder, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Victor Schily, young members of the working-class movement, such as César de Paepe, Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt, were introduced to scientific socialism. The letters published show how patiently and determinedly Marx and Engels sought to educate their comrades-in-arms, helping them with advice, responding to their requests and criticising their errors and shortcomings.

An example of the considerate and comradely attitude of Marx and Engels to their friends and comrades-in-arms is the help which they gave to Eugene Dupont, a General Council member, when he was in great need after his wife died and he lost his job (p. 481). Marx also gave financial assistance to the German worker Eccarius (pp. 284-85).

The correspondence presents us with vivid portraits of Marx's and Engels' comrades-in-arms and friends, active members of the working-class movement, such as Friedrich Lessner, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Ernest Jones.

It also shows us the new generation of revolutionaries—Paul Lafargue; the French ethnographer Gustave Flourens, a man of unusual bravery and courage; the Russian naturalist and revolutionary Hermann Lopatin, whom Marx considered as 'a very wide-awake *critical* brain' (p. 530), and the young August Bebel. Marx and Engels spoke with affection and respect of the German chemist and Social-Democrat Carl Schorlemmer; of the English lawyer, member of the International and future translator of Volume I of *Capital*, Samuel Moore; the English geologist Dakyns, who joined the socialist movement under the influence of Marx and Engels; the German doctor Ludwig Kugelmann and others.

In addition to the correspondence there is Engels' 'Confession' (answers to questions on a semi-humorous questionnaire) which reveals his personal merits, his warm sense of humour and his well-balanced personality.

* * *

Volume 43 contains 347 letters by Marx and Engels. The majority were written in German, 21 in English, 6 in French and several in a combination of two or three languages. Most of the letters are published in English for the first time; 125 letters have been published in English before, 87 of these in part only. All previous publications are indicated in the notes. Engels' letter of 26 November 1868 to W. Holzenhauer is published here for the

first time. The Appendices contain 11 letters and documents, which are published in English for the first time.

During work on the text and other sections of this volume the dating of certain letters was established more accurately as a result of additional research.

The text of earlier English publications has been checked and verified against the originals. Obvious errors have been silently corrected. Abbreviated proper names, geographical names and individual words are given in full, except when these abbreviations were made for conspiratorial reasons or cannot be deciphered. Defects in the manuscript are indicated in the footnotes, and passages where the text is lost or illegible are indicated by dots. If the context makes it possible to provide a hypothetical reconstruction of the lost or illegible passages, this is given in square brackets. Passages deleted by the authors are reproduced at the bottom of the page in cases where there is a significant discrepancy. The special nature of certain letters which were drafts or fragments reproduced in other documents is indicated either in the text itself or in the notes.

Foreign words and expressions in the text of the letters are retained in the form in which they were used by the authors, with a translation where necessary in the footnotes and italicised (if they were underlined by the authors they are italicised and spaced out).

English words and expressions used by Marx and Engels in texts originally written in German, French or other languages are printed in small caps. Whole passages originally written in English are marked by asterisks. Some of the words are now somewhat archaic or have undergone changes in usage. For example, the term 'nigger', which has acquired generally—but especially in the USA—a more profane and unacceptable status than it had in Europe during the 19th century.

The numbering of the notes relating to one and the same fact or event in the texts of different letters is duplicated.

The volume was compiled, the texts of the letters and notes prepared by Irina Shikanyan (letters from April 1868 to April 1869 inclusive) and Alexander Vatutin (letters from May 1869 to July 1870). The Preface was written by Irina Shikanyan and Alexander Vatutin. The volume was edited by Velta Pospelova. The name index and the index of periodicals were prepared by Alexander Vatutin, the index of quoted and mentioned literature jointly by Irina Shikanyan and Alexander Vatutin (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The translations were done by John Peet (Lawrence & Wishart),

Michael Slattery and Sergei Syrovatkin (Progress Publishers) and edited by Eric Hobsbawm, Nicholas Jacobs (Lawrence & Wishart) and Glenys Ann Kozlov, Jane Sayer, Svetlana Gerasimenko, Yelena Kalinina, Natalia Karmanova, Mzia Pitskhelauri, Viktor Schnittke (Progress Publishers), and Norire Ter-Akopyan, scientific editor (USSR Academy of Sciences).

The volume was prepared for the press by Yelena Vorotnikova and Nadezhda Rudenko (Progress Publishers).

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## LETTERS

April 1868-July 1870

# 1868

## 1

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[1]

### IN HANOVER

London, 6 April 1868

Dear Kugelmann,

The young pair[a] were registered at a civil ceremony last Thursday[b] (since a *church* wedding is not legally necessary here), and have left for France to celebrate their HONEYMOON. They send their best greetings to you and Mrs Gertrud.

Coppel paid a call on me here. Unfortunately, I could not receive him, since I was wrapped in cataplasms. Engels was here during the wedding, and left again yesterday.[2] In response to his urgings, I have decided to take the arsenic cure, since an end must at last be put to this state of affairs. One of his friends in Manchester[c] was completely cured by this method in a relatively short time. I had certain prejudices against arsenic after reading in the *Gazette médicale* about a discussion among French doctors.[d]

The Irish question predominates here just now. It has naturally only been exploited by Gladstone and consorts to take over the helm again, and particularly to have an *ELECTORAL CRY*[e] at the next elections, which will be based on HOUSEHOLD SUFFRAGE.[3] *At the moment*, this turn of affairs is detrimental to the workers' party, because the intriguers among the workers, such as Odger, Potter, etc., who want to get into the next Parliament, have now found a new *excuse* for attaching themselves to the bourgeois liberals.[4]

This is, however, only a *penalty* that England—and thus, also, the English working class—is paying for the great centuries-old

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[a] Paul and Laura Lafargue - [b] 2 April - [c] Presumably Schorlemmer (see this volume, p. 12). - [d] 'Traitement arsénial de la phthisie pulmonaire', *Gazette médicale de Paris*, 11 January 1868. - [e] This English phrase is given in brackets after its German equivalent.

crime against Ireland. IN THE LONG RUN it will benefit the English working class itself. You see, the *ENGLISH* ESTABLISHED *CHURCH IN IRELAND*—OR WHAT THEY USE TO CALL HERE THE *IRISH CHURCH*—is the religious bulwark of *English* LANDLORDISM IN IRELAND and, at the same time, the outpost of the Established Church in England itself (I am speaking here of the Established Church as a *landowner*). The overthrow of the Established Church in Ireland would mean its fall in England, and the two will be followed (in their downfall) by LANDLORDISM, first in Ireland and then in England. And I have always been convinced that the social revolution must begin *seriously* from the ground, i.e. from landed property.

In addition, the whole thing will have the very useful result that, once the IRISH CHURCH is dead, the *PROTESTANT* IRISH TENANTS in the province of Ulster will make common cause with the Catholic TENANTS and their movement in the 3 other provinces of Ireland, whereas so far LANDLORDISM has been able to exploit this *religious* antagonism.

The day before yesterday I received a letter from Freiligrath (wedding cards were, of course, sent to him), containing the following curious sentence.[5]—It will perhaps amuse you more, however, if *I enclose the letter itself,* which I now do. But you must *return* it to me. So that you understand the letter properly, the following: In Berlin, shortly before my book[a] came out, there appeared *Zwölf Streiter der Revolution von G. Struve und Gustav Rasch.* In this publication, Freiligrath is acclaimed as 'one' of the 12 apostles and, at the same time, it is proved in great detail that he *never* was a communist, in fact that it was only through TOO GREAT A CONDESCENSION that he became associated with such monsters as Marx, Engels, Wolff, etc.[b] Since Wolff was slandered here too, I wrote to Freiligrath for an explanation, particularly since I knew that G. Rasch (a scoundrel) headed his begging committee in Berlin.[6] He replied very dryly, and with evasive philistine cunning. Later I sent him my book without, however, as was formerly our mutual custom, signing it. He appears to have taken the HINT.

My best regards to your dear wife and Fränzchen. If at all feasible, I shall come UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES and pay you a visit.

Yours
K. Marx

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[a] the first volume of *Capital* - [b] G. Struve and G. Rasch, *Zwölf Streiter der Revolution,* Berlin, 1867, pp. 59-61.

*Apropos.* Borkheim will visit you IN A FEW DAYS. Don't forget that, despite all comradeship with him, I always *observe reserve*!

Liebknecht's paper[a] is much too narrow-mindedly 'southern'.[b] (He has not enough dialectic to strike out on two sides at once.)

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## 2

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 April 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed letters from Wilhelmchen[7] and Siebel, please return the former to me. Poor Siebel seems to be having a bad time indeed. I shall see him in about 10 days.

Further, the draft of an advertisement for Meissner[8]; what do you think of it? So far it has not been pressing, since he could not advertise because of the Easter Fair anyway.

Yesterday I sent you Nos. 4 to 14 of Wilhelmchen's rag.[c] It is dreadfully stupid. One who was in England for such a long time and who has your book and mine[d] should really know how to put the material supplied to him by the workers to other use than simply reproducing it at full length. Some anti-federalist passages with us in mind are rather comical in connection with the whole federalist-Struveist nature of the sheet.[e 9]

When I got back here[2] I found such a pile of work waiting that I could only see Gumpert yesterday. Enclosed the prescription: on the

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[a] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - [b] See next letter and Engels' letter to Marx of 2 February 1868 (present edition, Vol. 42). - [c] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - [d] Presumably the first volume of *Capital* and *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. - [e] See previous letter.

first 4-5 days you should take it only twice daily, then 3 times, always 1 $^1/_2$-2 hours after a meal. And also live well and get plenty of exercise. Gumpert laughs at your assertion that arsenic makes you stupid.

The vote on parliamentary freedom of speech is explained by the fact that Bismarck had stated previously that for Prussia, for the sake of peace, he would concede this point. So it was not even, as we thought, proof of the courage of the philistines.

What Wilhelm says about the American treaty is of course nonsense from beginning to end.[10]

Unfortunately, I have a death to announce to Tussy. The poor hedgehog ate a round hole in his blanket, put his head through it, and got so stuck in it that he was found strangled yesterday morning. Peace to his ashes, and BETTER LUCK TO THE NEXT ONE.

During the 3 days of my absence, the fellows in Liverpool swindled cotton up by no less than 3d., from 10d. to 13d. Hence so much work. Luckily the holidays intervene, which I am using to complete the extracts for the Beesly article.[11] I am starting right away, and thus close for today. Best greetings to your wife and the girls.

Your
F. E.

The wedding was celebrated here with great festivity: the dogs had green collars, a TEA PARTY for 6 children, Lafargue's glass basin served as a punch-bowl, and the poor hedgehog was made drunk for the last time.

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# 3

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

London, 11 April 1868

DEAR FRED,

*D'abord*[a] the GENERAL CONDOLATIONS, and especially from Tussychen, about the departed RIGHT HONOURABLE HEDGEHOG.

It is a good thing that the opium prescription arrived today.[b] The affairs under my arm have become very vexatious since your departure.[2]

From the young couple,[c] who are now in Paris, the most satisfying news.[12] They are obviously very happy. Lafargue has sent me Horn's pamphlet[d] and another one on French finance. The second is twaddle, the first I shall send you soon. I wrote to Lafargue[e] that the fact that he finds time 'AT SUCH A CRITICAL JUNCTURE' to think of me and send me printed matter goes a long way to prove 'THAT HE MUST BELONG TO A BETTER THAN THE EUROPEAN RACE'.[f] WE ARE ALWAYS 'CHAFFING' AT EACH OTHER.

I have read the *Histoire du Crédit mobilier.*[g] As far as the real essence of the matter is concerned, I really wrote better stuff on it years ago in the *Tribune.*[13] The author knows the business. He is himself a Paris banker. But he has in fact nothing to draw on except the *official* material, provided by the Crédit itself in its reports, and the facts noted in the stock market quotations. The secret material could only be obtained *by legal steps.* What astonishes me particularly is this: the actual TRICKS all reduce themselves to stock-jobbing on the exchange,[h] and in this department *au fond*[i] there has been *nothing new since Law,*[14] whatever the disguise. Neither on this side of the Channel, nor on the other. The interesting aspect of these things is the practice, not the theory.

I enclose a letter from Kugelmann (*à renvoyer*[j]). After you had left, I wrote to him.[k] But since writing is a nuisance for me at the moment because of my left arm, I enclosed Freiligrath's letter to

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[a] First of all - [b] See previous letter. - [c] Paul and Laura Lafargue - [d] I. E. Horn, *Frankreichs Finanzlage.* - [e] See this volume, p. 9. - [f] An allusion to J. G. Seume's poem 'Der Wilde'. - [g] M. Aycard, *Histoire du Crédit Mobilier. 1852-1867.* - [h] See this volume, p. 11. - [i] basically - [j] to be returned - [k] See this volume, pp. 3-5.

me,[5] so that Kugelmann should receive the SUFFICIENT quantum of written matter. I told him also, in reply to a previous enquiry, that I would visit him in any case for A FEW DAYS. However, he 'erred' about the date. It is not so close.

*Do not forget* to send me the *Schweitzer*[15] *BY NEXT POST.*

From *The Times* of today (telegraphic dispatch)[a] you will see that we have won a complete victory in Geneva, working day reduced from 12 to 11 hours, wages increased by 10%.[16] The matter went like this. Scarcely had you left when a deputy arrived from Geneva.[17] This FACT, that the workers sent an *envoy* to London, to the fearsome secret tribunal, *was decisive*, as earlier in the STRIKE of the bronze workers of Paris.[18] The MASTERS believe in the power and the fighting fund in London. This should show the workers in England and on the continent the power they would possess in us if they really put at our disposal the appropriate means, etc.

Enclosed returned Wilhelm,[7] Siebel. Your draft[b] is not written in your EASYGOING style. Today I have particular pain in my left arm. As soon as this has passed, I shall return your draft with my probable emendations.

The children send their best greetings. In fact, if only for their sake, I wish you lived in London instead of Manchester.

MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS BURNS.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

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Published in English for the first time

[a] 'Switzerland, Geneva, April 10', *The Times*, No. 26096, 11 April 1868. - [b] See this volume, p. 5, and Note 8.

# 4

## MARX TO LAURA AND PAUL LAFARGUE[19]

IN PARIS

London, 11 April 1868

My dear Cacadou,

You know I am a slow hand at writing, but this time the shortcomings of my left arm are responsible for the sins of my right hand. Under those circumstances I missed the more my secretary who might have addressed to himself, on my behalf, the most charming letters.[20]

I am happy to see from your scribblings (you excuse the 'term', Borkheim with his 'scribaille' is still dinning my ears[21]) and those of your helpmate[12] that you are thoroughly enjoying your *Brautfahrt*,[a] and that all the outer circumstances, spring and sun and air and Paris jollities, conjure in your favour. As to that said helpmate, his sending books to me, at such a critical juncture, speaks volumes for the innate kindness of the 'young man'. This simple fact would go far to prove that he must belong to a better than the European race.[b] By the by, as we have just touched the chapter of books, you might pay a visit to Guillaumin (14, rue Richelieu)[22] and get his (economical) *bulletins de librairie* for 1866-1868. You might also wend your steps to the *Librairie Internationale* (15, Boulevard Montmartre) and ask for their catalogues (1865-68). Of course, if you get these *desiderata*, you will not *send* them, but bring them on your return to this dreary place.

I am expecting, from Meissner, 3 copies of my book.[c] On their arrival, I shall send two to Caesar de Paepe, one for himself, the other for Altmayer.[d] Meanwhile, if you should find the time to see Schily (that is to say if you write to him 4, rue St. Quentin to come and see you) be so kind to ask him what has become of the 3 copies, 1 I sent for Jacquelard,[e] 1 for Taine, 1 for Réclus. If Jacquelard was not to be found, you might give his copy to Altmayer, since Meissner *is very slow* in forwarding the copies. In that case, however, I ought to be informed. You'll certainly fancy, my dear child, that I am very fond of books, because I trouble you with them at so unseasonable a time. But you would

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[a] honeymoon trip - [b] An allusion to J. G. Seume's poem 'Der Wilde'. - [c] the first volume of *Capital* - [d] Altmeyer - [e] Jaclard

be quite mistaken. I am a machine, condemned to devour them and, then, throw them, in a changed form, on the dunghill of history. A rather dreary task, too, but still better than that of Gladstone's, who is obliged, at a day's notice, to work himself into 'states of mind', yclept 'earnestness'.

We feel here rather somewhat lonely. First you disappeared together with the meridional 'silent man', and then Engels left us.[2] In lieu of an 'excitement' we had the Lormiers yesterday evening. I played with Louis two parties of chess and allowed him to win one. What do you think the strange Caliban boy told me, in the most solemn manner of the world, on taking leave? '*Sans rancune, j'espère!*'[a]

And now, my dear Cacadou, *Adio.*

Old Nick

Dear Lafargue,[23]

Do you not find that staying in Paris WITH A YOUNG LOVABLE WIFE is much pleasanter than with politics? When your father[b] arrives in Paris, give him my best regards, and, in particular, you and Laura should not forget to make his stay SO PLEASANT as possible. Given the state of his eyes, he needs diversion, and nothing will divert him more than that the young pair should devote to him completely the short time they have with the old gentleman. I am writing to you in German so that you may, or may not, as you wish, inform the private secretary[c] of the contents of these lines. And now, with heartiest greetings.

Yours faithfully,
K. M.

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[a] '*No offence taken,* I hope!' - [b] François Lafargue - [c] Laura

# 5

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 17 April 1868

Dear Moor,

Horn[a] 'awaits receipt', as commercial style puts it.

It is certain that there is theoretically nothing of interest and nothing new to be said about agiotage. It all comes down to fraud under false pretences and nothing can change here except the manner. The secret material about the history of the Crédit mobilier[13] can, by the way, and probably will, reach the light of day by itself on the fall of the Empire, even if there is no intervention by the courts.

I had already seen about the glorious victory in Geneva[16] in the newspapers on Saturday[b] morning. The business is all the better since the stupid philistines had made out the International Association to be the real motive force of the affair, and it now receives all the glory. You will have seen that the intermediaries in the business were Police Prefect Camperio and the noble and serrrious *Amand Goegg*. This will have instilled new respect for our power in Mr Amand. Incidentally, I should like to know how long—following this business—they will leave the International Association unmolested in *Germany*.

By the by, the workers' affairs are proceeding famously. First Belgium, then Geneva, now Bologna[24]—I am only surprised that the International has not yet been blamed for this—it keeps going everywhere.

You will have received the Schweitzer.[15]

Tomorrow I shall send you—I have forgotten it at the office—1. a new copy of Wilhelmchen's rag,[c] 2. Eichhoff's further jeremiad,[25] 3. a section of an editorial declaration from the *Zukunft* about the curious article *ad vocem*[d] Vogt, from which you will see what shits they are.

Making extracts from your book is, with my limited time, giving me more work than I expected, *car enfin*[e] if this job is to be done, it must be done properly and not just for this special purpose.[26]

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[a] I. E. Horn, *Frankreichs Finanzlage*. See this volume, p. 7. - [b] 11 April - [c] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - [d] concerning - [e] because after all

Next week I expect to have more time, there is a pause in business, and if I can get away between 4 and 5 in the evening, this gives the whole evening a different character for working.

Kugelmann returned enclosed.[27] I was very interested in his uterine polyp removed by splitting and compressed sponge; he will have to tell me about it personally in more detail in good time. But the attempt to turn Virchow into a communist with the aid of this polyp looks very much like an extra-uterine pregnancy. Even if Virchow had knowledge and theoretical interest in politics or political economy, this upright citizen is after all much too deeply engaged.[28]

Incidentally, you will come here before you leave for the continent, *cela est entendu*,[a] and bring Tussy with you as promised.

Your arm must surely have settled down by now? The fact that Kugelmann recommends arsenic will certainly have allayed some of your anxieties. Schorlemmer took a lot of it in his time, and never noted the slightest ill effects.

Heartiest greetings to the ladies.

Your
F. E.

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## 6

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[29]

### IN HANOVER

London, 17 April 1868

Dear Kugelmann,

You must regard me as a great criminal for taking so long to reply to the friendly letter from your dear wife[b] and yourself.[27] The situation is simply this. The old sanguinary herpes (to express myself poetically) attacked me with such tactical dexterity that I

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[a] that is understood - [b] Gertrud Kugelmann

could not adopt the posture necessary for writing. I could, of course, have dictated, but you know that in such cases one always hopes to be ALL RIGHT next morning. Thus the delay, and thus, also, the brevity of these lines.

It is still *quite uncertain* when I shall be travelling to Germany for a few days; in any case, it won't be soon. At all events, I shall come at a time when I know that you will not be away.

You have done me a great service with your lines to Virchow, though I doubt whether he will have the patience and the time to immerse himself in a subject out of his line.[a] I know it cost me a great effort to read his *Cellularpathologie* in Manchester, particularly because of the way it was written.

The issues of *Social-Demokrat* hitherto concerned with my book are: No. 10 (22 Jan. 1868), No. 11 (24 Jan.), No. 12 (26 Jan.), No. 14 (31 Jan.), No. 15 (2 Feb.), No. 24 (23 Feb.), No. 25 (26 Feb.), No. 30 (8 March),[15] and another number, which I don't have at the moment, but which contains only extracts.[b]

With heartiest greetings to your dear wife and Fränzchen

Yours
K. Marx

Meyer[c] paid me a visit here.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 7, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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## 7

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 April 1868

DEAR FRED,

I have been lying fallow until today and could not leave the house. My arm was so inflamed, and there was so much suppuration, that I could wear nothing on that arm and

[a] See this volume, p. 12. - [b] *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 39, 29 March 1868. - [c] Gustav Meyer

movement was upsetting, too. The suppuration has stopped completely this morning. The wounds themselves heal rapidly. I shall go out again today. With the help of arsenic I now hope that this disgusting muck is finished.

The Viennese affairs enclosed were sent by Fox, who is also responsible for the pencil marks.

On *Tuesday*[a] I have to pay £5 for school and £1 5s. for gymnastic classes for Tussy. If it is possible for you to send this *by return*, I would appreciate it very much, for the sake of the child.

The departure is still a good way off. Kugelmann jumps to conclusions too rapidly. I only wrote to him that I would be coming SOME TIME OR OTHER.[b]

Becker's appeal,[30] which is enclosed, demonstrates again the great lack of discipline. We stopped the collections in the London UNIONS, and the Parisians did the same, because it is *only now* that we are informed that further money is needed. If they had telegraphed from Geneva on the same day, it would have been ALL RIGHT.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 8

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 20 April 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed two fivers to satisfy the schoolmasters.

Just like the Geneva people to dawdle. It is a naïve presumption too that, now that the STRIKE[16] is over, the world should help the Genevans to pay the debts contracted during the STRIKE. I have never seen anything like that in this country. Here they only ask

[a] 21 April - [b] See this volume, p. 13.

for support as long as the STRIKE lasts.

The Vienna paper[a] appears to contribute to a deliberate confusion created by the industrial interests, which is obviously grafted on to the spontaneous naive-helpless confusion. In the end, you always encounter a distinctly bourgeois tendency—accordingly, the paper no longer *reports* the workers' meetings, but *instructs* them.

With best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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## 9

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 April 1868

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR THE £10.

Yesterday I went out for a walk again, and now here comes Jennychen to drive me out again on the pretext that you entrusted her with supervision over me.

My arm is in order again, there is just the healing itch. For some years now I have made the curious observation that my urine, which in my normal state deposits chalk or whatever it is, becomes quite clear when I have carbuncles. And in fact the mineral deposit is now appearing again. Perhaps Gumpert knows something about it.

Apropos. Wilhelm is now sending me his rag, too.[b] How loyal it is of the man to call my *Herr Vogt* a '*deserving* book' instead of saying that there are many bad jokes in it.[31] And then: the Prussians persecute Hanoverians who were 'loyal to their king'! Then: regarding Edgar Bauer on the paying of the South German

[a] Presumably *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* - [b] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*

press, that, if things go on like that, '*all*' men of honour (country squires, priests, democrats, the Elector of Hesse,[a] etc.) will combine against Prussia.[32] Poor Wilhelm!

Blind has again made one of his great coups. With the aid of a servile message he has squeezed a reply from Juárez, which is in the *Courrier français* today.[b] It is time this clown got a bang on the head for his buffoonery.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 10

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 22 April 1868

Dear Fred,

I have resumed work, and it's going well. Only I have to limit the working *time*, for after about 3 hours my head starts to buzz and prickle. I shall now tell you briefly a 'morsel' which *occurred* to me when I was just glancing at the part of my manuscript about the rate of profit.[c] It provides a simple solution to one of the most difficult questions. The question is how it can happen that as the value of money, or gold, falls, *the rate of profit* rises; and that it falls with the rise in the value of money.

Let us assume the value of money falls by $^1/_{10}$. Then, other things remaining equal, the price of commodities rises by $^1/_{10}$.

If, on the other hand, the value of money rises by $^1/_{10}$, then the price of commodities falls by $^1/_{10}$, other things remaining equal.

Given a fall in the value of money, the price of labour, unless it rises in the same proportion, *falls*, the rate of surplus value rises,

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[a] Ludwig III - [b] B. P. Juárez, 'Mexico, 9 mars 1868", *Le Courrier français*, 21 April 1868. - [c] Marx has in mind the beginning of the manuscript of Book III of *Capital*, written in 1864-65 (for a discussion of this see Engels' Preface to Volume III of *Capital*, present edition, Vol. 37).

and therefore, ALL OTHER THINGS REMAINING THE SAME, the rate of profit rises too. This rise of the latter—as long as the DESCENDANT OSCILLATION in the value of money continues—is due solely to the fall in wages, and this fall is due to the fact that the change in wages is slow to match the change in the value of money. (As was the case at the end of the 16th and in the 17th century.) Conversely, if, with the value of money rising, wages do not fall in the same proportion, the rate of surplus value falls, and therefore, *caeteris paribus*,[a] the rate of profit.

These two movements, the rise in the rate of profit when money falls in value, and its fall when the value of money rises, are, *under these circumstances*, both due solely to the FACT that the price of labour has not yet been adjusted to the new value of money. These phenomena (and how they are explained has long been known) cease after the adjustment of the price of labour to the value of money.

This is where the difficulty begins. The so-called theorists say: As soon as the price of labour corresponds to the new value of money, e.g. has risen with the falling value of money, both profit and wages are expressed in so much more money. Their *relation thus remains the same.* Therefore there can be no change in the rate of profit. The specialists who concern themselves with the history of prices reply to this with FACTS. Their explanations are mere phrases.

The whole difficulty arises from confusing the *rate of surplus value* with the *rate of profit.* Let us assume that the rate of surplus value remains *the same*, e.g. 100%. Then, if the value of money falls by $^1/_{10}$, wages of £100 (say for 100 men) rise to 110 and surplus value likewise to 110. The same total quantity of labour, formerly expressed in 200, is now expressed in £220. If the price of labour is adjusted to the value of money, the *rate of surplus value* can neither rise nor fall as the result of any change in the value of money. Assume, however, that the elements, or some elements, of the *constant* part of capital were to fall in value owing to the growing productivity of labour, whose products they are. If the fall in their value is greater than the fall in the value of money, their price will fall, despite the drop in the value of money. If the fall in their value only corresponded to the fall in the value of money, then their price would remain unchanged. Let us assume the latter case.

For instance, in a certain branch of industry the capital of 500 is composed of $400c+100v$, so *with a rate of surplus value of 100%* we

[a] other things remaining equal

have: $400c+100v \mid +100m = \frac{100}{500} = 20\%$ *rate of profit*[a] (in Volume II I intend to use $400c$, etc., instead of $\frac{c}{400}$, etc., as it is less complicated. *Qu'en penses tu?*[b]). If the value of money falls by $^1/_{10}$, then wages rise to 110 and ditto surplus value. If the money price of the *constant* capital remains the same because the value of its component parts has fallen by $^1/_{10}$ as a result of the increased productivity of labour, then now: $400c+100v \mid +110m$ or $\frac{110}{510} = 21\,^{29}/_{50}\%$ rate of profit, which would therefore have risen by ABOUT $1\,^1/_2\%$, while the rate of surplus value, $\frac{110m}{110v}$, remains as before 100%.

The *rise in the rate of profit* would be greater if the value of the constant capital sank faster than the value of money, and less if it sank more slowly. It will continue as long as any fall in the value of the constant capital is taking place, i.e. as long as the same quantity of means of production does not cost £440 where it formerly cost £400.

And it is an historical fact, and can be specially demonstrated from the years 1850-1860, that the productivity of labour, especially in industry proper, receives an impetus from the falling value of money, the mere inflation of money prices, and the general international rush for the increased quantity of money.

The opposite case can be developed in an analogous manner.

The extent to which, in one case, the rise of the rate of profit with the sinking value of money, and, in the other, the sinking of the rate of profit with the rising value of money, affect the *general rate of profit* will depend partly upon the *relative size* of the particular branch of production in which the change takes place, and partly upon the *length* of the change, for the rise and fall of the rate of profit in particular branches of industry takes time to infect the other branches. If the oscillation lasts a relatively short time, it remains local.

I am sending you the *Courrier*[c] and *Nain jaune* which Lafargue sent me.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] $c$ stands for constant capital, $v$ for variable capital, $m$ for surplus value. - [b] What do you think about this? - [c] Probably *Le Courrier français* of 21 April 1868 (see this volume, p. 16).

# 11

## ENGELS TO MARX[34]

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 26 April 1868

Dear Moor,

The business with the rate of profit and the value of money is very neat and very clear. The only thing that is unclear to me is how you can assume $\frac{m}{c+v}$ as *rate of profit*, for $m$ does not flow solely into the pockets of the industrialist who produces it, but has to be shared with the merchant, etc.; unless you are taking the whole branch of business together here, therefore disregarding how $m$ is divided up between manufacturer, wholesaler, retailer, etc. In general, I am very keen to see your exposition of this point.

Wilhelmchen, as you will have seen, is now also singing the praises of the *honourable Jakobus Venedey*! And they resemble one another just like one jackass resembles another. I have had enough of it now, I shall not write to him any more. Let him make a fool of himself on his own account.

To write $400c+100v+100m$ is quite acceptable, just as is £400 3s. 4d.

You have seen that the comfortable relationship between the honest Bismarck and his Reichstagers is beginning to come to an end; the latter want to make the officials of the debt administration legally answerable, and Otto the Great[a] cannot stand that, naturally. He'll not build them no fleet for that.[35]

To give full expression to the hangover affecting handsome William[b] because he confiscated the lands and property of his cousin Georg,[c][36] the Prussian commission to administer King Georg's property is composed of General von *Kotze* and Regierungsrat *Sauerhering* (literally).[d]

It is very nice of Jenny that she dutifully drags you out to go for walks. I hope that she does not allow herself to be scared off by your physical indolence disguised as your need to work; in the present fine weather it would be shameful if you stayed at home. I hope that no traces of new carbuncles have shown themselves.

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[a] Otto von Bismarck - [b] William I - [c] Georg V - [d] *Kotze* means 'vomit', *Sauerhering* means 'pickled herring'.

In the Customs Parliament[37] old Rothschild sits right near to Wilhelmchen, and behind them the bunch of jackasses called the 'People's Party'.[38]

Could you not collect some of the mineral stuff and send it here for analysis?[a] I have not yet seen Gumpert.

The recent WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MEETING here[39] was of course attended by the whole Borchardt family, male and female (only Mama Borchardt absent). Gumpert has a nice row with Borchardt. Borchardt had accused him of an infringement NOT ONLY OF MEDICAL PROFESSIONAL ETIQUETTE, BUT OF *ALL ETHICS* (because in the house of friends, where Borchardt is the doctor and a child had died of scarlet fever, Gumpert had expressed his surprise and astonishment that Borchardt should have allowed the other children and their friends to view the body—Borchardt has 'grounds' for declaring scarlet fever non-contagious)—and Gumpert has brought the case before the medical society here, whereby he has little to gain, however, since the committee consists of nothing but jackasses, a fact which he should, of course, have considered earlier.

When will the young married couple[b] return, and have you found an apartment?[40]

Best greetings to all.

Your

F. E.

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## 12

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 30 April 1868

DEAR FRED,

For the CASE under discussion it is immaterial whether *m* (the surplus value) is *quantitatively* > or < than the surplus value created in the given branch of production itself. E.g., if

[a] See this volume, p. 15. - [b] Paul and Laura Lafargue

$\frac{100m}{400c+100v}$ =20%, and this becomes, owing to a fall in the value of money by $^1/_{10}$, = $\frac{110m}{400c+110v}$ (assuming that the value of the constant capital sinks), it is immaterial if the capitalist producer pockets only half of the surplus value which he himself produces. For the rate of profit for him then = $\frac{55m}{400c+110v}$ > than the former $\frac{50m}{400c+100v}$. I retain $m$ here in order to show *qualitatively* in the expression itself where the profit comes from.

But it is proper that you should know the method by which the rate of profit is developed. I shall therefore give you the process in the *most general* outline. In *Book II*,[41] as you know, the *process of circulation* of capital is presented on the basis of the premisses developed in Book I. I.e. the new determinations of form which arise from the process of circulation, such as fixed and circulating capital, turnover of capital, etc. Finally, in Book I we content ourselves with the assumption that when, in the valorisation process,[a] £100 becomes £110, it *finds* the elements into which it is converted anew *already in existence* in the market. But now we investigate the conditions under which these elements are to be found in existence, that is to say, the social intertwining of the different capitals, of parts of capital and of REVENUE (=$m$).

In Book III[41] we then come to the conversion of surplus value into its different forms and separate component parts.

I. *Profit* is for us, for the time being, only *another name* for or another category of *surplus value*. As, owing to the form of wages, the whole of labour appears to be paid for, the unpaid part of it seems necessarily to come not from labour but from capital, and not from the variable part of capital but from the total capital. As a result, *surplus value* assumes the form of *profit*, without there being any *quantitative* difference between the one and the other. It is only an illusory manifestation of surplus value.

Further, the part of capital consumed in the production of a commodity (the capital, constant and variable, advanced for its production, *minus* the utilised but not consumed part of *fixed* capital) now appears as the *cost price* of the commodity, since for the capitalist that part of the value of the commodity that it costs *him* is *its* cost price, while the unpaid labour contained in the commodity does not enter into *its* cost price, from his point of view. The surplus value=profit now appears as the *excess of the*

[a] In the original: Verwertungsprozeß. See also this volume, p. 360.

*selling price of the commodity over its cost price.* Let us call the value of the commodity $W$ and its cost price $K$; then $W=K+m$, therefore $W-m=K$, therefore $W>K$. This new category, cost price, is very necessary for the details of the later analysis. It is evident from the outset that the capitalist can sell a commodity at a profit *below its value* (as long as he sells it *above* its cost price), and this is the *fundamental law* for comprehending the equalisations effected by competition.

Therefore, while profit is at first *only formally* different from surplus value, the *rate of profit* is, by contrast, at once really different from the *rate of surplus value*, for in one case we have $\frac{m}{v}$ and in the other $\frac{m}{c+v}$, from which it follows from the outset, since $\frac{m}{v}>\frac{m}{c+v}$, that the rate of profit $<$ than the rate of surplus value, unless $c=0$.

In view of what has been developed in Book II, it follows, however, that we cannot compute the rate of profit on the commodity product of any period we select, e.g. that of a week, but that $\frac{m}{c+v}$ denotes here the surplus value produced *during the year* in relation to the capital *advanced* during the year (as distinct from the capital *turned over*). Therefore, $\frac{m}{c+v}$ stands here for the *annual rate of profit.*

Then we shall first examine how variations in the *turnover* of capital (partly depending on the relation of the circulating to the fixed portions of capital, partly on the number of times the circulating capital turns over in a year, etc., etc.) modify the *rate of profit* while the *rate of surplus value remains the same.*

Now, taking the turnover as given, and $\frac{m}{c+v}$ as the annual rate of profit, we examine how the latter can change, independently of changes in the rate of surplus value, and even of its total amount.

Since $m$, the total amount of surplus value, = *the rate of surplus value multiplied by the variable capital,* then, if we call the rate of surplus value $r$[a] and the rate of profit $p'$, $p'=\frac{r\cdot v}{c+v}$. Here we have the 4 quantities $p'$, $r$, $v$, $c$, with any 3 of which we can work, always seeking the 4th as unknown. This covers all possible cases of movements in the rate of profit, in so far as they are distinct from

[a] Otherwise Marx designates the rate of surplus value as $r$ only in his economic manuscript of 1861-63. In Volume I of *Capital* he designates it as the ratio $\frac{m}{v}$, and in Volumes II and III as $m'$.

the movements in the rate of surplus value and, TO A CERTAIN EXTENT, even in its total amount. This has, of course, hitherto been *inexplicable* to everybody.

The laws thus found—very important, e.g., for understanding how the price of the raw material influences the rate of profit—hold good *no matter how* the surplus value is later divided among the producer, etc. This can only change the *form of appearance.* Moreover, they remain *directly* applicable if $\frac{m}{c+v}$ is treated as the relation of the socially produced surplus value to the social capital.

II. What were treated in I as *movements,* whether of capital in a particular branch of production or of social capital—movements changing its composition, etc.—are now conceived as *differences* of the *various masses of capital invested in the different branches of production.*

Then it turns out that, assuming *the rate of surplus value,* i.e. the exploitation of labour, as *equal,* the production of value and therefore the production of surplus value and therefore the *rate of profit* are *different* in different branches of production. But from these varying rates of profit a mean or general rate of profit is formed by competition. This rate of profit, expressed absolutely, can be nothing but the *surplus value* produced (annually) by the *capitalist class* in relation to the total of *social* capital advanced. E.g., if the social capital$=400c+100v$, and the surplus value annually produced by it$=100m$, the composition of the social capital$=80c+20v$, and that of the product (in percentages)$=80c+20v \mid +20m=20\%$ rate of profit. This is the *general rate of profit.*

What the competition among the various masses of capital—invested in different spheres of production and differently composed—is striving for is *capitalist communism,* namely that the *mass of capital employed in each sphere of production* should get a fractional part of the total surplus value proportionate to the part of the total social capital that it forms.

This can only be achieved if in each sphere of production (assuming as above that the total capital$=80c+20v$ and the social rate of profit$=\frac{20m}{80c+20v}$) the annual commodity product is sold at *cost price + 20% profit on the value of the capital advanced* (it is immaterial how much of the advanced fixed capital enters into the annual cost price or not). But this means that the *price determination* of the commodities must *deviate* from their *values.*

Only in those branches of production where the percentual composition of capital is $80c+20v$ will the price $K$ (*cost price*) + *20% on the capital advanced* coincide with the *value* of the commodities. Where the composition is higher (e.g. $90c+10v$), the price is *above* their value; where the composition is lower (e.g. $70c+30v$), the price is *below* their value.

The price thus equalised, which divides up the social surplus value equally among the various masses of capital in proportion to their sizes, is the *price of production* of commodities, the centre around which the oscillation of the market prices moves.

Those branches of production which constitute a natural *monopoly* are exempted from this *equalisation process*, even if their rate of profit is higher than the social rate. This is important later for the development of *rent*.[a]

In this chapter,[42] there must be further developed the various *causes of equalisation* of the various capital investments, which appear to the vulgar conception as so many *sources* of profit.

Also to be developed: the *changed form of manifestation* that the previously developed and still valid laws of value and surplus value assume now, *after the transformation of values into prices of production.*

III. *The tendency of the rate of profit to fall as society progresses.* This already follows from what was developed in Book I on the *change in the composition of capital with the development of the social productive power.*[43] This is one of the greatest triumphs over the *pons asini*[b] of all previous political economy.

IV. Until now we have only dealt with *productive capital.*[44] Now there enters modification through *merchant capital.*

According to our previous assumption the *productive capital* of society = 500 (millions or billions, *n'importe*[c]). And the formula was $400c+100v \mid +100m$. The general rate of profit, $p'$, = 20%. Now let the merchant capital = 100.

So, the $100m$ has now to be calculated on 600 instead of 500. The general rate of profit is thus reduced from 20% to $16\,^2/_3$%. The *price of production* (for the sake of simplicity we will assume here that all of the $400c$, i.e. the whole fixed capital, enters into the *cost price* of the annual output of commodities) now = $583\,^1/_3$. The merchant sells at 600 and therefore realises, if we ignore the fixed portion of his capital, $16\,^2/_3$% on his 100, as much as the productive capitalists; or, in other words, he appropriates $^1/_6$ of the social surplus value. The commodities—*en masse* and on a social

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[a] Marx means the theory of absolute rent (see present edition, Vol. 37). - [b] asses' bridge - [c] it doesn't matter

scale—are sold at *their value.* His £100 (apart from the fixed portion) only serve him as circulating money capital. Whatever the merchant swallows over and above that, he gets either simply by trickery, or by speculation on the oscillation of commodity prices, or, in the case of the actual retailer, as wages for labour—wretched unproductive labour that it is—in the form of profit.

V. We have now reduced profit to the form in which it appears in practice, according to our assumptions $16^2/_3$%. *Next comes the division of this profit into entrepreneur's gain and interest. Interest-bearing capital. The credit system.*

VI. *Transformation of surplus profit into rent.*

VII. At last we have arrived at the *forms of manifestation* which serve as the *starting point* in the vulgar conception: rent, coming from the land; profit (interest), from capital; wages, from labour. But from our standpoint things now look different. The apparent movement is explained. Furthermore, A. Smith's nonsense, which has become the *main pillar* of all political economy hitherto, the contention that the price of the commodity consists of those three revenues, i.e. only of variable capital (wages) and surplus value (rent, profit (interest)), is overthrown.[45] The entire movement in this apparent form. Finally, since those 3 items (wages, rent, profit (interest)) constitute the sources of income of the 3 classes of landowners, capitalists and wage labourers, we have the *class struggle,* as the conclusion in which the movement and disintegration of the whole shit resolves itself.

---

Our young couple[a] back again since last week, very love-SICK. Apartment for them near Primrose Hill, where they moved in this evening.

Enclosed letters from Kugelmann, etc. I have sent Schily what he wanted,[46] but not in the childish way he requested. In a few days I shall be 50. As that Prussian lieutenant said to you: '20 years of service and still lieutenant', I can say: half a century on my shoulders, and still a pauper. How right my mother was: 'If only Karell had made capital instead of etc.'

*Salut.*

Your

K. Marx

Of carbuncles only a very small trace on the right thigh, but will probably vanish without trace.

---

[a] Paul and Laura Lafargue

Ernest Jones has made a fool of himself by his lukewarm and *nisi prius*[a] way of defending Burke.[47] Burke has at least won a victory in forcing the old jackass Bramwell to abandon the hypocrisy of TEMPER, and allowing his mean dog's soul to rampage free of *carrière*.[b]

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## 13

## MARX TO ENGELS[48]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 4 May 1868

DEAR FRED,

This morning I received enclosed letter and cutting from Schweitzer. Since he addresses himself to me as workers' representative of one of the most industrial districts, I must naturally reply.[49]

My view is that the Germans can stand a reduction of the protective tariff on pig iron and that the manufacturers of other articles are also exaggerating their howls. This view is based upon a comparison of the English and German exports to neutral markets. Enclosed, by way of example, a note on exports to Belgium.[c]

At the same time, in my opinion, the point is to exploit this question in the interests of the party, without, however, procuring any new reliefs to the English.

My proposal would therefore be:

1. *No reduction of tariffs* before a parliamentary *enquête*[d] into the state of the German iron-mining production and iron manufacture. This *enquête* should not, however, be confined, as the bourgeois gentlemen desire, simply to chambers of commerce and 'experts' but should, at the same time, include the *workers'*

---

[a] half-hearted - [b] reins - [c] See the table on p. 27. - [d] enquiry

Imports into Belgium for the years 1865, 1866, 1867 (year ended 31 December)[a]

| Kilogs | Kilogs | 1865 | 1866 | 1867 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Iron, ore and filings | From Customs Union | 161,496,808 | 155,584,195 | 213,049,319 | |
| | France | 138,370,214 | 130,382,679 | 96,761,074 | |
| Pig and old iron | Total | 24,864,110 | 32,508,242 | 56,233,219 | |
| | From United Kingdom | 23,421,806 | 28,450,976 | 50,722,330 | |
| Iron rails, sheet, etc. | Total | 1,555,576 | 1,579,999 | 2,136,652 | |
| | United Kingdom | 668,140 | 698,984 | 1,008,674 | |
| | Holland | 312,984 | 237,241 | 403,468 | |
| Iron wire | Total | 501,380 | 710,335 | 1,108,038 | |
| | From Customs Union | 32,631 | 226,993 | 1,472,714 | + |
| | United Kingdom | 442,107 | 445,265 | 350,064 | – |
| | France | 26,979 | 36,075 | 284,348 | |
| Steel, Bars, Sheets, Wire | Total | | 4,320,429 | 2,484,240 | |
| | From United Kingdom | | 3,468,280 | 1,453,007 | – |
| | Customs Union | | 697,295 | 905,108 | + |
| Steel wrought | Total | | 1,257,973 | 914,633 | |
| | From United Kingdom | | 761,234 | 548,396 | |
| Metal wares of wrought iron | Total | 940,763 | 993,581 | 1,307,407 | |
| | Customs Union | 256,138 | 305,909 | 385,148 | + |
| | United Kingdom | 283,164 | 285,001 | 331,732 | – |
| Metal wares of cast iron | Total | 290,715 | 274,784 | 385,325 | |
| | Customs Union | 18,931 | 13,901 | 26,145 | |
| | * United Kingdom | 37,853 | 45,239 | 59,946 | |
| Machines and machinery | Total | 4,908,078 | 5,437,599 | 5,114,905 | |
| | United Kingdom | 3,081,942 | 3,888,891 | 2,859,729 | – |
| | France | 1,322,155 | 1,052,857 | 1,699,102 | + |

* To the heading *Metal wares of cast iron* should be added *France*: 1865—238,905; 1866—205,264; 1867—247,527.

[a] Marx gives the table in English.

*conditions* in these branches; all the more so since Messrs manufacturers are 'demanding' the protective tariffs solely 'for the protection' of the workers, and have in addition discovered that '*the value of iron*' consists only 'of *wages* and freight'.

2. *No reduction of tariffs* before an *enquête* into how the *railways* misuse their monopoly, and before their freight (and passenger) tariffs are controlled by legal regulations.

I would like your view *immediately*, and also immediate return of the enclosures.

Very nice that your home-town chamber of commerce should bemoan the growing power and menace of the International Working Men's Association.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 14

## ENGELS TO MARX[48]

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 May 1868

Dear Moor,

I congratulate ANYHOW on the half *saeculum*,[a] from which, incidentally, I am also only a short span away. Indeed, what juvenile enthusiasts we were 25 years ago when we boasted that by this time we would long have been beheaded.

Enclosed returning Kugelmann, Büchner, Schily, Reclus,[46] Schweitzer[49] and the *Elberfelder Zeitung*, and additionally something on your book which Siebel's wife sent me[50]; he appears to be

[a] century

no longer capable of writing, is in Barmen and going to Godesberg.

The profit story is very nice,[a] but I shall have to think it over further in order to grasp the *portée*[b] in all its aspects.

*Ad vocem*[c] Schweitzer. The rascal is utilising this business simply as an inducement to make us take the bait again. Of course, it does not matter that you give him information this time, but *principiis obsta*[d]! Don't let the fellow catch your little finger lest he make an attempt on your whole hand. On the subject itself, I have no doubt at all that the German iron industry could dispense with the protective tariff, *a majore*,[e] therefore, could also stand the reduction of the tariff on pig iron from 7 1/2 groschen to 5 groschen per hundredweight (from 15s. to 10s. per ton), and the other reductions likewise. The export of iron is increasing every year, and not only to Belgium. This would bring ruin to a few ironworks established during the wave of speculation in the 50s, situated a long way from the coal and otherwise based on insufficient, poor pits. But these are for the most part already *kaputt*, and the vicinity of a railway would be more use to them than any protective tariff if they should ever become viable again. (There is one like this in Engelskirchen, 500 paces from my brothers' factory—the coal has to be brought from Siegburg, 2 1/2 German miles,[f] by wagon—no wonder it lies idle. *This* sort of works cries out for protective tariff, and is cited as proof that it is necessary.)

The Elberfeld-Barmen Chamber of Commerce is the nastiest protective tariff institution there is, and *notorious* for it. Even though the main industry of the district is aimed at *export*. However, there are always a lot of trades in decline there, hence the lamentations.

For the rest, your plan about the *enquête*[g] is rather good, and I like it very much. As far as railways go, the freight charges in Germany are *lower* than elsewhere, and, since goods traffic is the *main thing* in Germany, this could not be otherwise. They could be pushed still lower, and the governments have the power to do it, but what is most necessary is greater centralisation and equalisation in administration and freight charges, and constitutionally this is a matter for the Reichstag. By and large, the iron-chaps have no cause to yell about high freights.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 21-25. - [b] meaning - [c] As regards - [d] guard against the first step (Ovid, *Remedia amoris*) - [e] even more - [f] The German mile (*Meile*) was a linear measure of different length in different German states, but it can be regarded as roughly 4 1/2 miles. - [g] enquiry

Liebknecht has sent me the trades regulations, on which I have promised him some critical comments.[51] Progress compared to the regression under Frederick William IV, but what bureaucratic confusion. I am sending you the stuff for the fun of it.

Yesterday the inevitable Leibel Choras arrived and prevented me writing. I asked him about the persecution of Jews in Moldavia; he wailed a bit, but it does not appear to be all that bad: we have to bear it, we Jews do not have the power; he would like to be Russian or Austrian, but it does not occur to him to leave. The Hohenzollern is a stupid boy, and the government in the hands of the 'clerks' (boyars in reduced circumstances playing at bureaucracy) and they squeeze the Jews so.

Many greetings to your wife, the girls and Monsieur and Madame Lafargue.

Your
F. E.

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## 15

## MARX TO ENGELS[48]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 May 1868

Dear Fred,

Best thanks for your marginal notes. I have included them in the letter to Schweitzer as far as necessary. My letter is so coolly phrased that it will not be 'shown around'.[49]

Now I would like to ask you for information on another subject. However, you can postpone this if it should interrupt the work for the *Fortnightly*, which is urgent.[11]

The point is that I would like to link up with Volume I in the examples given in Volume II.[41]

In order to use the data on your factory given on p. 186[52]—completely sufficient to illustrate the rate of surplus value—for the *rate of profit*, the following would be necessary:

1. The missing data on the capital advanced for the *factory building* and the percentage of the SINKING FUND for this. Ditto WAREHOUSE. In both cases, the RENT should be given, if paid. Also the office costs and costs of staff for the WAREHOUSE.

With regard to the *steam engine*, no data is given on the *percentage* at which the weekly wear and tear is calculated, and therefore the capital advanced for the steam engine is not visible either.

2. *Now the real question.* How do you calculate the *turnover* of the *circulating part of capital* (i.e. raw material, auxiliary materials, wages)? How great then is the *circulating* capital *advanced*? I would like to receive this answered *in detail*, even illustrated, particularly the turnover calculation of the circulating capital advanced.

Tomorrow I shall send you the crazy Urquhart for your amusement.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 16

## MARX TO JOSEPH DIETZGEN[53]

IN PETERSBURG

[London, 9 May 1868]

...When I have cast off the burden of political economy, I shall write a 'Dialectic'. The true laws of dialectics are already contained in Hegel, though in a mystical form. What is needed is to strip away this form...

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# 17

# ENGELS TO MARX[48]

## IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 May 1868

Dear Moor,

You received the information about the factory at that time direct from Henry Ermen—it is G. Ermen's spinning mill, with which I have nothing to do, and about which the young Ermens have been specifically forbidden to tell me anything. If you write to Henry Ermen, Bridgewater Mill, Pendlebury (*private*), he will probably tell you what you want to know. But you will have to tell him that he should give you the data as they were in *1860*, since much has been built since then. I would say, approximately, that a factory building for 10,000 spindles, including cost of land, will come to £4,000 *à* £5,000 (in the given case a bit less is probably to be assumed, since it was only a one-storey SHED, and land up there, unless containing coal, costs almost nothing). Rate of wear and tear on the building (£500-600 to be subtracted as ground price) $7\,^1/_2$% *including interest.* At £3,600 therefore £18 ground rent (*à* 3%) + ($7\,^1/_2$% on 3,000=) 225=£243 rent for the building.

*WAREHOUSE* does not exist for this factory, since G. Ermen only sells through or to us or through an agent to other people, and pays 2% commission on the turnover for this. Assuming the turnover *à* £13,000, we get £260 as substitute for WAREHOUSE costs.

As far as calculating the turnover of the circulating capital is concerned, I do not really know what you mean by this. We calculate only the *total turnover,* that is the total of annual sales. If I understand rightly, you want to know how many times a year the circulating part of capital is turned over, or, in other words, how much circulating capital is *in business.* This, however, differs in almost all cases. A prosperous owner of a spinning mill has almost always (that is except when he is expanding, or immediately afterwards) some spare capital that he invests in some other way, but uses, when the chance offers itself, to buy cotton cheaply, etc. Or he uses credit, if he can and it is worthwhile. It may be assumed that a mill-owner who invests £10,000 in machines (apart from the *building,* which he can and mostly will rent) can get along with $^1/_5$ *à* $^1/_4$ of the fixed capital in circulating capital; that is for

£10,000 fixed capital put into machines, £2,000 *à* £2,500 circulating capital will do. This is the *average* assumption here.

Here I leave out of account the steam engines. On this score H. Ermen has obviously provided you, from memory, a completely absurd story. Weekly wear and tear of the steam engine £20, that is £1,040 a year! At a 12 1/2% rate the steam engine will cost £8,320, *ce qui est absurde.*[a] The entire machine cannot have cost more than £1,500 *à* £2,000, and that G. Ermen wanted to write off his whole machine in 2 years is just like him, but not businesslike. You can ask him about this, too. But I fear that Monsieur Gottfried[b] has long taken these old account books into his own custody, and then Henry Ermen will not be able to help you either.

Schorlemmer will probably visit you on Wednesday or Thursday.[c] The Royal Society[54] has invited him to read his PAPER on the boiling points of $C_nH_{2n+2}$ on Thursday and to take part in the debate.[d] Since the main chemist there is Frankland, whom Schorlemmer has attacked in all his works, this is a great triumph, and a few more invitations like this WILL BE THE MAKING OF HIM. I am very happy for the fellow, who has only stayed at his rather pitiful position here because it places at his disposal the laboratory and thus the means of doing theoretical work. He is really one of the best fellows I have got to know for a long time; he is so totally free of prejudices this freedom appears to be almost spontaneous, but must in fact be based upon much thought. At the same time, the notable modesty. Incidentally, he has again made a handsome discovery. On pages 264 and 297 of his book you will find that propyl alcohol and *iso*propyl alcohol are two isomeric combinations.[e] It had hitherto been impossible to obtain pure propyl alcohol, so the Russians had already claimed that it did not exist, there was only *iso*propyl alcohol. Last autumn at the meeting of natural scientists Schorlemmer replied to them: by next autumn he would have obtained it, and he has really done it.

This week I do at last have no more meetings and similar calls upon my time, and will be able to get down to the *Fortnightly.*[11] But I still do not know *how* to start. It is clear to me that I will

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[a] which is absurd - [b] Ermen - [c] 13 or 14 May - [d] C. Schorlemmer, 'Researches on the Hydrocarbons of the Series $C_n H_{2n+2}$', *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, No. 94, 1867 and No. 102, 1868. - [e] This refers to H. E. Roscoe's chemistry textbook, the German edition of which, *Kurzes Lehrbuch der Chemie nach den neuesten Ansichten der Wissenschaft* (Brunswick, 1867), was prepared by Carl Schorlemmer in conjunction with the author. The isomerism of the alcohols named is stated on pp. 296-98.

begin with the conversion of money into capital, but *how* is still quite unclear. What do you think about this?

With best greetings,

Your
F. E.

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## 18

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 15 May 1868

Dear Moor,

You will probably have heard that Siebel died on the 9th inst. My mother wrote me that shortly before he had told his wife she should go to bed, which she did; suddenly she could no longer hear his breath, jumped up and found him dead. I am sending you 2 notices from his wife, one of which I ask you to send to Freiligrath.

Enclosed 6 prints of Lupus'[a] photograph.

Further something about Kobes'[b] present activities.

Have you read about the Ebergenyi trial?[55] Chorinsky's letters are in fact unparalleled. One can see that the Austrians are still awaiting their 1789. I shall send you the relevant *Zukunft* this evening. The Ebergenyi woman is said to receive masses of visitors in her 'convict prison' with a cigarette in her mouth and as merry as a cricket.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

Apropos. The articles in the *Fortnightly* are *all signed*. If this is the *rule*, it would be most unfortunate, since then it would be easy to see through the business. In any case, I would have to know if

[a] Wilhelm Wolff's - [b] Jakob Venedey's

the article *must* be signed, for this would change the formulation a lot, and know right away for I have reached the stage where I can start.[a] What is your answer to these questions?

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## 19

## MARX TO ENGELS[56]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 May 1868

DEAR FRED,

My silence for a week has perhaps already been explained to you by Schorlemmer.[b] Two carbuncles on the scrotum would perhaps have made even Sulla peevish. How greatly that man, despite his more-than-Palmerstonian TEMPER, was affected by his mythical but anyway lousy sickness, is shown by the fact that just 10 days before his death he had the decurion seized in a neighbouring city, and 1 day before he himself croaked had him strangled in his own house.[57]

In addition, I have all sorts of trouble. For example, on the 28th of this month a bill for £15 due at the butcher's, etc. To my urgent petitions to Holland no answer.[58]

Finally I had cajoled myself with the illusion that by this time I would have a 2nd edition,[c] and thus see money for the first. But I had added up the bill without the host—I do not mean the Volkswirt,[d] but the Germans in general.

POOR Siebel! In a way he had himself prepared his premature death. But WITH ALL THAT he was a good fellow. We are unlucky—Daniels, Wolff, Schramm, Weydemeyer, Siebel, Weerth! Not to speak of the living dead.

As regards *The Fortnightly Review*,[11] I had long considered this point, and had long arranged with Lafargue (the actual negotiator with Beesly) that you should appear under any old *nom de guerre*,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 35-36 and 37, and Note 11. - [b] See this volume, p. 33. - [c] of the first volume of *Capital* - [d] Marx plays on the words *Wirt* (host) and *Volkswirt* (political economist).

which you must let us know. Beesly himself will not be informed who the man is. And it is all the same to him. Apart from other considerations, the impact in Germany would be greatly lessened if the stuff appeared under your name.

In your last letter[a] you made a mistake on one point. The notes used on p. 186[52] you yourself wrote late one evening in my notebook, which still exists.[59] The notes of the Russian Ermen,[b] on the other hand, referred mainly to technical things.

Incidentally, the main thing for me was to ascertain the magnitude of the *advanced* circulating capital, i.e. advanced in raw material, etc., and wages, as against the circulating capital *turned over.* I have enough STATEMENTS, part of them from manufacturers, handed in either to the COMMISSIONERS[c] or to private economists. But everywhere only the annual accounts. The devil of the thing is that there is a wide divergence in political economy between what is of practical interest and what is theoretically necessary, so that one cannot even find the necessary material, as in other sciences.

I have received cuttings from Berlin newspapers from Eichhoff and sent him cuttings from here in RETURN. We have also exchanged two letters.[60] But now the enclosed shows, what Borkheim half guessed on his last visit to Berlin, that Eichhoff has let himself into concessions *quoad*[d] Stieber. Probably from sheer stupidity. For this reason he has taken up political economy as a neutral field.[61] For the rest, it appears that he feels uneasy, and he told Borkheim that, after swotting up properly on economy, he will exchange Berlin for Vienna, IN ABOUT 6 MONTHS.

In the *Essener Zeitung* a pompous denunciation of the International Working Men's Association.

Did you read the warlike SPEECH by Failly when taking over the command of Châlons? I have once again worked through the finances of the Empire. And only one thing appears clear to me, that Badinguet[e] *must* make war.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 32-34. - [b] Anton Ermen - [c] members of Parliamentary investigating commissions - [d] with regard to - [e] nickname of Napoleon III (after the name of a mason in whose clothes he escaped from prison in 1846)

## 20

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 May 1868

Dear Moor,

Schorlemmer had told me about *one* carbuncle, but two *a tempo*,[a] and in addition in that place where, it is true, everything exists in pairs, *c'est vraiment trop*.[b] I hope they have gone, and that the arsenic will hold back further ones.

I shall send you the money for the bill.

Have you heard anything from Meissner? If not, the time would have come to ask how sales have been going; on this point he owes you an accounting after the Easter Fair as *associé* in the business. Then you could also refer to the *advertisement* asked for by Meissner,[8] the man is still waiting for a reply from me.

The *Fortnightly* article[11] will thus be written as though by an *Englishman*—that is how I understand you. Incidentally, I still cannot get past the beginning. It is damned difficult to make clear the dialectical method to the English who read the reviews, and I surely cannot approach the crowd with the equations *C—M—C*, etc.

Did my last letter give you the data you need?[c] If not, formulate your questions and I shall see what can be done.

Schorlemmer says that you spoke of coming here soon, which would be very desirable. The change of air will do you more good than anything else. This week and the beginning of next our house is in a revolution because of CLEANING AND WHITEWASHING, but if you can come at the end of next week, that would be very nice; you know that in the Whit week I always have plenty of time to spare. Don't forget that you promised to bring Tussy with you.

Eichhoff has finally terminated his lectures on crises.[25] As was to be expected, the mortgage crisis in Berlin was the core and finale of the whole thing. But the poor devil appears finally to have bored even the reporter of the *Zukunft* so much that he only reported on it quite briefly and incomprehensibly.[d]

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[a] at a time - [b] that is really too much - [c] See this volume, pp. 32-34. - [d] *Die Zukunft*, No. 174, 15 May 1868 (morning edition). Engels refers to the report on the last of Eichhoff's series of lectures, 'Die Ursachen der Handelsstockungen der Gegenwart', delivered in Alt-Kölln, Berlin.

Liebknecht has this time committed great folly. First he has completely identified himself with the South German federalists, ultramontanes, etc., by signing their protest,[62] and always votes with them, and in addition has so lost all fruitfulness in his speechifying that the impertinent Lasker could tell him—and rightly so—that he was making the same speech once again which he had delivered for weeks past in all popular meetings.[63] The cunning Schweitzer, who confines himself simply to workers' representation, has quite overshadowed him.

The rag,[a] too, as you will have seen, is achieving the impossible: it is getting even more stupid.

Enclosed Borkheim returned.

Your
F. E.

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## 21

## MARX TO ENGELS[48]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 23 May 1868

DEAR FRED,

It appears to me that you are on the wrong track with your fear of presenting such simple formulas as *M—C—M*, etc.[11] to the English review philistines. On the contrary. If you were forced, as I am, to read the economic articles of Messrs Lalor, Herbert Spencer, Macleod, etc., in *The Westminster Review*, etc., you would see that all of them are fed up with the economic trivialities—and know their readers are fed up, too—so they try to give their scribblings some flavour through PSEUDOPHILOSOPHICAL or PSEUDOSCIENTIFIC SLANG. The pseudocharacter in no way makes the writing (content=0) easy to understand. On the contrary. The trick lies in so mystifying the reader and causing him to rack his brain, that he may finally be relieved to discover that these HARD WORDS are only

[a] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*

fancy dress for *loci communes*.[a] Add to this that the readers of the *Fortnightly* and *The Westminster Review* flatter themselves that they are the LONGEST HEADS OF ENGLAND (let alone the rest of the world, naturally). Even apart from that, if you had seen what MR *James Hutchinson Stirling* dares to present to the public as *The Secret of Hegel*,[b] not only in books but also in REVIEWS,—Hegel himself would not understand it—you would realise—Mr J. H. Stirling is regarded as a great thinker—that you are really being too timid. People demand something *new*, new in form and content.

Since you want to start with Chapter II[64] (you must not, however, forget to draw the reader's attention somewhere to the fact that in Chapter I he will find a *new* treatment of that value and money stuff[65]) the following should, in my opinion, be used for the beginning, naturally in the form agreeable to you.

In his investigations into CURRENCY *Th. Tooke*[c] underlines that money in its function as capital flows back to its starting point (REFLUX OF MONEY TO ITS POINT OF ISSUE), but in its function simply as CURRENCY does not flow back. This distinction, noted by Sir James Steuart,[d] among others, long before Tooke, serves the latter simply for a polemic against what the preachers of the CURRENCY PRINCIPLE[66] claim to be the influence the issue of credit money (BANKNOTES, etc.) exercises upon commodity prices. Our author, however, makes this peculiar form of circulation of money which functions as capital ('SERVE IN THE *FUNCTION OF CAPITAL*', *A. Smith*[e]) the starting point for his investigation into the nature of capital itself, and in the first place for an answer to the question: How is money, this independent form of value, converted into capital? ('CONVERSION INTO CAPITAL' the official expression.)

All sorts of businessmen, says Turgot, '*ont cela de commun qu'ils achètent pour vendre... leurs achats sont une avance qui leur rentre*'.[f] *Buying to sell*, this is in fact the transaction in which money functions as capital, and which conditions its reflux to ITS POINT OF ISSUE, in distinction to *selling to buy*, where it *need* only function as CURRENCY. The differing sequence of the acts of SELLING and BUYING imposes upon money two different circulation movements. What is hidden behind this is the different behaviour of

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[a] platitudes - [b] An allusion to J. H. Stirling's work *The Secret of Hegel: Being the Hegelian System in Origin, Principle, Form, and Matter*. - [c] Th. Tooke, *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle*... - [d] J. Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy*. - [e] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. 1, Edinburgh, 1814, p. 441. - [f] 'have in common that they *buy to sell*... their *purchases* are an *advance* which *returns* to them' (Turgot, *Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses*. In: *Oeuvres de Turgot*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1844, p. 43).

the *value* itself expressed in money form. To illustrate this, the author gives the following formulas, etc., etc., for the two different circulation movements.

I believe that you will make the matter easier for yourself and the reader by quoting the formulas.

I shall reply later to the other points of your letter. Of the carbuncles there remains only one, also soon finished. Last Wednesday I gave a lecture (ABOUT $^5/_4$ of an hour) on wages (especially the *form* of the same) to about 100 German PICKED workers.[67] I was very unwell that day, and I was advised to telegraph that I could not come. However, this was impossible, since some of the people had come from very distant parts of London. So I went there. The business went off very well, and after the lecture I felt better than before.

I have made concessions to my family doctor Lafargue in that I have *not yet* visited the Museum[a] again. But I have perhaps, during the past weeks, meditated too much AT HOME.

I shall, IF POSSIBLE, come to Manchester with Tussychen at the end of *next* week (SAY SATURDAY[b]). But you will have to send me the money for the fares and SOME SHILLINGS which I shall leave for my wife.

Tussychen, OF COURSE, has reminded me of the trip ABOUT every day.

Enclosed new Liebknecht stuff.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] Marx means the British Museum Library. - [b] 30 May

## 22

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 May 1868

Dear Moor,

You must come on *Friday*,[a] because I have the afternoon free on Saturday and by then we shall be finished with everything in the house.

Enclosed 1/2 £20 and 1/2 £5 notes, the two other halves follow in another envelope. Till Friday then, let me know which train you are taking. You can travel from King's Cross by the new (Midland) line, which passes through the most beautiful part of Derbyshire.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9.10 | from | London | 2.15 | in | Manchester |
| 11.30 | " | " | 5.45 | " | " |
| 3. | " | " | 8.5 | " | " |

Your
F. E.

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[a] 29 May

## 23

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 27 May 1868

DEAR FRED,

THANKS FOR £25.
Departure: Friday[a] from King's Cross 11.30.
*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 24

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 JUNE 1868

DEAR FRED,

Immediately after my return to London[68]—our trip was marvelous—I found whole bundles of dunning and threatening letters. The people had been turned away with the excuse that I was 'travelling'. But one might think the electric telegraph had announced my return to these fellows. *Si licet parva componere magnis*,[b] OLD Niebuhr (the father of the HISTORIAN) relates with what speed the FACTS of the SILESIAN WAR[69] travelled from Europe to Asia IN NO TIME simply through the telegraphy of people's tongues. And among creditors this form of natural telegraphy appears to work even more efficiently. Among the bills there are various ones that can *scarcely* be delayed for one week; the worst, however, is the

[a] 29 May - [b] If one may compare the small with the great

enclosed scrawl payable *on Tuesday*,[a] for, if the GAS SUPPLY is publicly cut off, things will get quite out of control.

Last Tuesday[b] there was a meeting of the International. In the meantime, papers have come into my hands which have made unavoidable a RESCINDING of the RESOLUTIONS AS TO THE CONGRESS.[70] *D'abord*,[c] the declaration by Minister of Justice Bara that the Congress *is not permitted* to take place *in Brussels*.[d] Secondly, a printed manifesto of the COMMITTEES of Brussels and Verviers in which they throw down the gauntlet to the Minister.[e] *Thirdly*, letters from De Paepe and Vandenhouten that we would ruin the Association in Belgium by transferring the Congress. This would be interpreted as a concession to the government, etc.

I do not even mention the lousy intrigues of Vésinier, who is now here, and also Pyat, etc. Naturally they have been spreading the rumour that we are working at the dictation of Bonaparte.

They believed that a big scandal was to be expected at this last meeting and therefore sent guests to us. They were very *désappointés* when I withdrew my RESOLUTIONS after reading and referring to the documents, etc. I put the matter thus: The law against the FOREIGNERS was in no way a special threat against the International. It was *general*. The International would, however, have made a *concession* to the Belgian government if, under such legislation, it had selected Brussels as its MEETING PLACE. Now the matter was the other way round. Now that the Belgian government had directly threatened and provoked us we would be making a concession to it if we moved the Congress away from Brussels, etc. At the same time, I made a few very contemptuous jokes about the heroic tone adopted by those who attacked my RESOLUTIONS (Odger, etc.) before they knew the CHANGED STATE OF CIRCUMSTANCES. THE ONLY DANGER THAT COULD HAVE BEEN INCURRED, WAS THAT OF CHEAP MARTYRDOM AND RIDICULE. MRS Law shouted 'HEAR, HEAR' for me several times, and showed her support by drumming on the table. Anyhow I managed things so that the laughter turned against Odger, etc., and that the RESCINDING of the RESOLUTIONS did not appear as a victory on their part.

The heat is very nasty for me. I shall have Gumpert's medicine made up for me, since I have 'puked' (as Mrs Blind would say) for

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[a] 23 June - [b] 9 June - [c] First of all - [d] J. Bara's speech in the Chamber of Deputies of 16 May 1868, reported in *La Voix de l'avenir*, No. 23, 7 June 1868 and *La Liberté*, No. 47, 17 May 1868. - [e] 'À Monsieur Bara, ministre de la justice', *La Tribune du peuple*, No. 5, 24 May 1868.

several consecutive days, despite exemplary abstention from food and drink.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Apropos. Tussychen generated something approaching bad blood here in the house with her dithyrambic praise of the Manchester HOME and her openly declared wish to return there as soon as possible.

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## 25

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 June 1868

Dear Moor,

In great haste enclosed £10 in one note. Tomorrow I shall send you a further £10, which should help to meet the most urgent and most pressing needs.

The article[11] is coming along well and will certainly be finished this week; I am, however, much more satisfied with the quantitative aspect than the qualitative.[a] A 2nd article[71] will then, I think, complete the whole thing. What do you think of the idea that Lafargue should put his name to it?

More tomorrow.

Your
F. E.

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[a] In the original: quantitative.

# 26

## MARX TO ENGELS[48]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 23 June 1868

Dear Fred,

Best thanks for the £10.

Tussychen and Jennychen are both unfortunately very unwell—sore throats and vomiting. If things do not get better today, I shall have to call a doctor. Our Allen suddenly became paralysed a week ago, so he cannot leave his house.

Vésinier is wrangling here in the French branch[72] against Dupont and Jung, both of whom he brands 'as Bonapartists'. During my absence[68] he attended a meeting of the Central Council[73] (which he has no right to do) and has written a fantastic report in the *Cigale* (Brussels paper).[74] The venue of the Congress was just being discussed.[70]

Lafargue cannot possibly sign,[a] since he is a Frenchman, and in addition, my son-in-law. Sign it A. Williams or something of the sort. It would be best if Sam Moore signed.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Yesterday by accident I came across a fine passage in A. Smith. After he had explained that labour the prime cost, etc., and *nearly* said the right things though with constant contradictions; after he had ditto declared:

'The profits of stock, it may perhaps be thought, are only a different name for the wages of a particular sort of labour, the labour of inspection and direction. They are, however, altogether different, are regulated by quite different principles, and bear no proportion to the quantity, the hardship, or the ingenuity of this supposed labour of inspection and direction',[b]

after that he suddenly does an about turn and wants to develop wages, profit, rent, as the 'component parts of natural price' (with him = value). Among other things, there is the following fine passage:

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[a] See this volume, p. 44. - [b] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. 1, Edinburgh, 1814, p. 78.

'WHEN THE PRICE OF ANY COMMODITY IS NEITHER MORE NOR LESS THAN WHAT IS SUFFICIENT TO PAY THE RENT OF THE LAND, THE WAGES OF THE LABOUR, AND THE PROFITS OF THE STOCK EMPLOYED IN RAISING, PREPARING AND BRINGING IT TO MARKET, ACCORDING TO THEIR NATURAL RATES, THE COMMODITY IS THEN SOLD FOR WHAT MAY BE CALLED ITS NATURAL PRICE. THE COMMODITY IS THEN SOLD *PRECISELY FOR WHAT IT IS WORTH*, OR *FOR WHAT IT REALLY COSTS THE PERSON* WHO BRINGS IT TO MARKET; *FOR* THOUGH IN COMMON LANGUAGE *THE PRIME COST* OF *ANY COMMODITY* DOES *NOT COMPREHEND THE PROFIT* OF THE PERSON WHO IS TO SELL IT AGAIN, YET, IF HE SELLS IT AT A PRICE WHICH DOES NOT ALLOW HIM THE *ORDINARY RATE OF PROFIT IN HIS NEIGHBOURHOOD*, HE IS EVIDENTLY A *LOSER* BY THE TRADE; SINCE, BY EMPLOYING HIS STOCK IN SOME OTHER WAY, HE MIGHT HAVE MADE THAT PROFIT.' (The existence of profit in the 'neighbourhood' as an explanation for the same!) 'HIS PROFIT, *BESIDES, IS HIS REVENUE*, THE PROPER FUND OF HIS SUBSISTENCE. AS, WHILE HE IS PREPARING AND BRINGING THE GOODS TO MARKET, HE ADVANCES TO HIS WORKMEN THEIR WAGES, OR THEIR SUBSISTENCE; SO *HE ADVANCES TO HIMSELF*, IN THE SAME MANNER, HIS OWN SUBSISTENCE; WHICH IS GENERALLY SUITABLE TO THE *PROFIT* WHICH HE MAY REASONABLY EXPECT FROM THE SALE OF HIS GOODS. UNLESS THEY YIELD HIM THIS PROFIT, THEREFORE, *THEY DO NOT REPAY HIM WHAT THEY MAY VERY PROPERLY BE SAID TO HAVE COST HIM*.'[a]

This second manner of pressing the profit into the PRIME COST—because already consumed—is really fine.

The same man, in whom the organs of pissing and generation also coincide mentally,[75] stated previously:

'AS SOON AS STOCK HAS ACCUMULATED IN THE HANDS OF PARTICULAR PERSONS ... *THE VALUE* WHICH THE *WORKMEN ADD* TO THE MATERIALS ... *RESOLVES ITSELF INTO TWO PARTS*, OF WHICH THE ONE PAYS THEIR WAGES, THE OTHER THE *PROFITS OF THEIR EMPLOYER* UPON THE WHOLE STOCK OF MATERIALS AND WAGES WHICH HE ADVANCED.'[b]

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## 27

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 24 June 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed S/K 60 115 and 60 116—two fivers. Yesterday I had such a fuss because of the building work in the Schiller Institute[76]

[a] Ibid., pp. 88-89. - [b] Ibid., pp. 77-78.

that I left the WAREHOUSE without sending them to you and had not a moment until it was too late. Today again all sorts of things are preventing me from writing to you more fully, if I am not to sacrifice the time which should be devoted to the article[11] this evening; in any case yesterday nothing was done on it.

Regarding the sore throats, be careful.[a] Of course, they are now epidemic and mostly innocent, but since the time when diphtheria became epidemic here it has always been better to consult a doctor quickly so that you know where you are.

Your
F. E.

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## 28

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 24 JUNE 1868

Dear FRED,

Unfortunately, the sickness of both girls turns out to be SCARLATINA and Tussychen has it in a very malignant form.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, p. 45.

## 29

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[29]

IN HANOVER

London, 24 June 1868

Dear Friend,

All sorts of incidents have prevented me from writing to you. Now, too, only a few lines.

My eldest and youngest daughters[a] both have SCARLATINA. I now recall that you spoke to me in Hanover[77] about a method of treatment as soon as the crisis has passed and the scaling process commences. Please be so kind as to explain this to me by return.

With best greetings to your dear wife and Fränzchen,

Yours
K. Marx

Liebknecht is growing increasingly dull under the impact of the South German stupidity. He is not enough of a dialectician to criticise both sides at once.[b]

First published in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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## 30

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 June 1868

Dear Moor,

We were never so shocked here as this morning when your news arrived that your girls have scarlet fever. The thing has been on my mind all day; I hope everything goes well, and *here*, as I see from a medical report, all cases of that sort this year have passed

[a] Jenny and Eleanor Marx - [b] See this volume, p. 5.

off remarkably benignly. What sort of a doctor have you got, for you cannot take risks in such cases; *my means are at your disposal*, write or telegraph if you need anything, and you will have it immediately if it is at all possible.

Yesterday I sent you two five-pound notes S/K 60 115 and 60 116 *unregistered*.

Let me know very frequently how things are going. Lizzie was terribly upset when I read this out to her; she has a tremendous affection for Tussy and talks about her all day long.[68] And now good little Jenny has to get the sickness, too. You have really been terribly unlucky.

Under these circumstances, I do not wish to write about other things, and they would not interest you as long as the present state of affairs continues. I enclose a few lines to Tussy to entertain her, and on the orders of Lizzie.[78] On no account leave us without news.

Your
F. E.

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## 31

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 26 June 1868[a]

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR £10.

The business with the children is going relatively *well*. (Tussychen was very pleased with your letter.[78]) Our doctor is our neighbour, the Irishman Dr Korklow, who is known in the neighbourhood particularly as a scarlet-fever doctor (also in the school which my children attended). In case of need, i.e. as soon as there is the slightest disquieting change, Lafargue will bring a doctor from his hospital. So far this has not been necessary.

[a] 1868 is not in Marx's handwriting.

I would appreciate it if you could send me a bit more money, since the major part of the £20 had to be spent to partly pay off the most urgent small debts.

Lafargue has told Beesly that 1 article is pending.[11] Beesly says it must come in good time to find a place in the *August* number.[a]

My head is naturally IN TURMOIL. Since I can do nothing serious, I am writing up the stuff for Eichhoff.[79] It will go off tomorrow.

*Salut.*

Your

Moor (*verte*[b])

Jennychen told Tussy that she had turned from her former higher Chinese character into a LOCALISED (IRISH) BEING and was therefore no longer showing due respect to the EMPEROR.[c] Tussy replied: FORMERLY I CLUNG TO A MAN, NOW I CLING TO A NATION.

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## 32

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 26 June 1868

Dear Moor,

Yesterday evening, after I had written to you, I went to Gumpert to ask him about SCARLATINA, but found his house so full of patients and Solomonic persons that I couldn't really approach him. I therefore saw him again today and asked him whether he could recommend a doctor, since Allen was sick. He said the main thing was to have a man who, even if not excessively CLEVER, should really live nearby, should come 3-4 times a day at critical times, and always be on call. In his opinion, Lafargue is quite capable of handling this case properly, and if you want further assistance,

---

[a] of *The Fortnightly Review* - [b] turn (the postscript is on the back of the sheet) - [c] pet name for Marx's daughter Jenny

Allen would be the best man to recommend one of the doctors in the vicinity. Apart from this, *fresh air* and PLENTY OF IT is the main thing; he himself usually prescribes washing with vinegar and water and disinfection of the house with chloride of lime; all this cannot, however, be decreed from a distance. In such acute sicknesses medicines are not really much use.

You will have received the second ten pounds in 2 fivers which I sent you the day before yesterday. Enclosed a further five pounds S/K 46 795, and next week I shall send you some more.

Incidentally, Gumpert did comfort me greatly and he confirmed that this year this sickness occurs in an exceptionally mild form.

Lizzie is afraid that you might think that Tussy could have caught the germ of the sickness here and she has urged me to write that everybody here is healthy.

Sincere greetings to your wife, the two patients,[a] Laura and Lafargue.

Your
F. E.

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## 33

## MARX TO ENGELS[80]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 27 June 1868

DEAR FRED,

£5 received with THANKS.

The children are getting along *very well*. The suppuration and swelling of the throat has improved so much that today the doctor prescribed a hearty DINNER for them (hitherto they had only port and Liebig[b]). They consumed the DINNER with ZEST. From the beginning Korklow prescribed *air*. Instead of the CHLORIDE OF LIME

[a] Jenny and Eleanor Marx - [b] beef tea

another (newer) disinfectant, since he regards the former as injurious to the lungs. Luckily our house is built in such a way, and in particular the children's rooms are so situated, that they are plentifully provided with ventilation coming from every side.

Tell MRS LIZZY (TO WHOM TUSSY SENDS HER LOVE) that Manchester was not for a moment held responsible here. SCARLATINA and MEASLES are now epidemic in London. Tussy probably CAUGHT THE INFECTION FROM THE DAUGHTER OF PROFESSOR FRANKLAND.

Best greetings to Lizzy from me.

Your
Moor

Today I received a curious document. I have been summoned to appear next Wednesday[a] before the VESTRY of St. Pancras TO SHOW CAUSE WHY MY GOODS AND CHATTELS SHOULD NOT BE DISTRAINED. For the accursed VESTRY elected me *bon gré mal gré*[b] as 'CONSTABLE OF THE VESTRY OF ST. PANCRAS', and I went to Manchester[68] instead of taking over the office and swearing the appropriate oath of office. Dr Korklow, to whom I showed the SUMMONS today, said that it WAS AN HONOUR MUCH VALUED BY THE PHILISTINES OF ST. PANCRAS. I SHOULD TELL THEM THAT I WAS A FOREIGNER AND THAT THEY SHOULD KISS ME ON THE ARSE.

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## 34

## ENGELS TO MARX[56]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 June 1868

Dear Moor,

You lifted a heavy stone from all our hearts with your letter of yesterday. The day before yesterday and even yesterday everybody here in the house was very depressed, but today everybody is merry as a cricket again, and I myself feel quite different.

The article is finished.[11] You are quite right, Sam[c] is the man to

[a] 1 July - [b] whether I would or not - [c] Samuel Moore

sign it. I shall tell him today and at the same time give him the article to look through and to note possible Germanisms. But let me know by return whether I can keep it for a few days more, say, till Wednesday[a] evening; if not, I can send it off on Monday. The second and final article[71] (the first goes up to the conclusion of *absolute* surplus value) can then be finished by the end of this inst., since I am unlikely to leave here before then, so the two articles can directly follow one another. First I shall send the *Zukunft* the article about Prussian military nomenclature.[81]

*Salut, ô connétable de Saint Pancrace!*[b] Now you should get yourself a worthy outfit: a red nightshirt, white nightcap, down-at-the-heel slippers, white pants, a long clay pipe and a POT OF PORTER. Lafargue, as your squire, can invent his uniform himself. As you see, the Pancratian philistines insist that you should sacrifice yourself for the common good. And this year-long, touching attachment which nothing could shake—this you intend to reciprocate with the cold negation of KISS MY—? But 'that's just like the communists'.

Give Jennychen my heartiest greetings and tell her that since she has now finally had a fever, I would like to have heard her speaking in delirium; there would have been more sense and poetry in it than fat Freiligrath will ever develop. Ditto best greetings to your wife and the two Lafargues.

Your
F. E.

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## 35

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 29 JUNE 1868

DEAR FRED,

BEST COMPLIMENTS FROM Tussy and Jennychen. The doctor[c] is very satisfied although POOR Jenny is suffering from SLEEPLESSNESS and also

[a] 1 July - [b] Greetings, constable of St. Pancras! (See previous letter.) - [c] Korklow

from coughing. He said today: as soon as the children are over their illness, they should leave London immediately and be sent to the seaside. (Perhaps they could go together with Lizzie?)

Enclosed copies of *Elberfelder Zeitung* which reached me today from Germany. *Dr. Fr. Schnacke* is named on the ENVELOPE as the author[a] and sender; I remember his name from 1848, but do not know him personally. THERE IS MUCH MUDDLING IN HIS ARTICLES.

There is time enough if you send me the ARTICLE by the end of this week.[11]

I am very TIRED as the anxiety of the recent period completely prevented me from sleeping.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Today a letter from Kugelmann. 4 pages about the treatment of SCARLATINA.[b] Dietzgen from Petersburg visited him at Whitsun on his way to the Rhine.

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## 36

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 2 July 1868

DEAR FRED,

*D'abord*[c] best thanks for the article.[11]

And secondly for the 2 5-pound halves. At the same time, I received a dunning letter from the LANDLORD, whom tomorrow (on arrival of the second halves) I shall first pay the remainder for the quarter which ended on March 25th.

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[a] This refers to Schnacke's review, signed E. F. S., of Volume I of *Capital* by Karl Marx in *Elberfelder Zeitung* of 17, 20, 23, 25 and 27 June 1868. The concluding part of the review appeared on 2 and 3 July. - [b] See this volume, p. 48. - [c] First of all

Enclosed a letter from Eichhoff.[82] Meissner should have sent me the scrawl from Faucher.[83] It is a good thing that the fellows are beginning to give vent to their annoyance.

The children are progressing well. Naturally very weak. Tussychen also still has a little suppuration in the throat. The doctor is on the whole very satisfied. He will only know in a few days when they will be well enough to go out.

Yesterday, when buying a pencil, I found upon it Russian letters in golden script. Русскій Графитъ.[a] But behind the Russian there appears to be a German named Theodor Stal (Schtal), namely Теодоръ Шталъ. This is the first time that I found something like that in a small local shop here. Borkheim would smell treason behind this.

Best greetings to Lizzy and the little one.[b]

Your
K.M.

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## 37

## ENGELS TO MARX[48]

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 2 July 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed the two second halves of the two fivers, S/K 11 185 Manchester, 14 January 1867, S/K 79 542 Manchester, 12 January 1867.

I have written to Borkheim[84] to get himself a new Russian book: *Zemlya i volya*, Land and Freedom, in which a German Russian, a landowner,[c] shows that since the emancipation of the peasants[85]

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[a] Russian graphite. Marx gives these words and, further on, the name Theodor Schtal in Russian letters. - [b] Mary Ellen Burns - [c] [Lilienfeld, Pawel] Л. П., *Земля и воля*, St. Petersburg, 1868.

the Russian peasant is being *ruined through communal property*, and ditto Russian agriculture—small and large. The book is said to contain much statistical proof. Exchange value has already penetrated too deeply into these primitive communities, so that after the abolition of serfdom the situation no longer appears to be viable.

Tomorrow I hope to receive good news from you again. In the meantime, best greetings for the patients,[a] your wife and the Lafargues.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

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## 38

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[29]

### IN HANOVER

London, 2 July 1868

Dear Kugelmann,

Many thanks for your letter.[b] The children are getting along well, though (today is the 9th day) they are not yet fit to go out.

With regard to my book,[c] the day before yesterday I received 5 issues of the *Elberfelder Zeitung* containing a very well-disposed review by Dr Schnacke.[d] (I recall the name from 1848, but do not know him personally.) There is a lot of confusion in his presentation of the matter. On the other hand, I have received information from Berlin that that clown Faucher made fun of my book in the June issue of his magazine.[83] It's a good thing these gentry are at last blurting out their annoyance.

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[a] Jenny and Eleanor Marx - [b] See this volume, p. 54. - [c] the first volume of *Capital* - [d] *Elberfelder Zeitung* of 17, 20, 23, 25 and 27 June 1868. The review was signed E. F. S. The concluding part appeared on 2 and 3 July.

When and if I shall come to Germany, I do not yet know. I am finally rid of my carbuncles.

Engels will certainly come here in August or September.

*Salut*! and MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS KUGELMANN AND THE LITTLE ONE.[a]

Yours
K. M.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 7, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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## 39

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 July 1868

DEAR FRED,

I am acknowledging the receipt (yesterday) of both second halves.

THANKS, ditto, FOR THE TWO little books of Schorlemmer.[b]

The children are getting along well. Yesterday they were up for part of the day, and Jennychen was even downstairs in the PARLOUR. The doctor[c] is now coming only every second day. Therefore he was not here yesterday, and I still await him today.

In today's *Hermann* the reception for Freiligrath in Cologne. Cups, etc. Nothing better than the *quid pro quo* to the effect that Freiligrath changed his seat 9 times, with the hint that this change was politically motivated!

Orsini's brother[d] is here again. He is accused of having betrayed the Fenians,[86] whose agent he was. His accuser is COLONEL Nagle and the French landlady in whose house he lived here at that time (at the time of the Fenian unrest and before he left for the UNITED

[a] Franziska Kugelmann - [b] C. Schorlemmer, 'Researches on the Hydrocarbons of the Series $C_nH_{2n+2}$', *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, No. 94, 1867 and No. 102, 1868. - [c] Korklow - [d] Cesare Orsini

STATES). His methods of exonerating himself are reminiscent of Bangya and he will clear out of London as soon as possible.

Beust's action with the Czechs does not appear clear.[a]

*Salut.*

Your
Moor

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## 40

## MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER[87]

### IN NEW YORK

London, 4 July 1868
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Friend,

Your letter of 20 May arrived while I was away from London, a fairly long absence.[68] Hence the delay in replying.

Concerning Liebknecht's connections with New York, I know nothing, but will write to him on the subject.

For Sorge I enclose the following credentials.[b] Our direct connection is with Whaley, Sylvis AND Jessup.

*The Commonwealth* has long ceased to exist. The weekly reports on the proceedings of the CENTRAL COUNCIL appear in *The Bee-Hive.* This far from means, however, that this paper, a narrow-minded TRADES-UNION-ORGAN, represents our views.

In the German press, my book[c] has hitherto been reviewed—and mostly very favourably—in the *Zukunft*, the Stuttgart *Beobachter*,[d] the Württemberg *Staatszeitung*,[e] the Frankfurt *Börsenzeitung*,[f] ditto the *Hamburger Börsenzeitung*,[g] the Hamburg *Anzeiger*, etc., in various papers in Hanover and Rhine Province-Westphalia, particularly extensively in a series of articles in Schweitzer's

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[a] See this volume, p. 64. - [b] See this volume, p. 59. - [c] the first volume of *Capital* - [d] The reviews for the *Zukunft* and the *Beobachter* were written by Engels. - [e] Marx means Engels' review for the *Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg*. - [f] Marx evidently means the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*. The review has not been found. - [g] *Die Börsen-Halle. Hamburgische Abendzeitung*, 14 February 1868.

London, 4th July 1868.

We recommend Mr. Sorge to all the friends of the International Workingmen's Association, and, at the same time, empower him to act in the name, and on behalf, of that Association.

By order of the General Council of the Intern. W. Assoc.

Karl Marx,
Secretary for Germany.

Credentials of the General Council of the International written in Friedrich Sorge's name (in Marx' hand)

*Social-Demokrat* (Berlin)[15] and the *Elberfelder Zeitung*.[a] The last two papers, although the latter is liberal bourgeois, are openly partisan.

The big bourgeois and reactionary papers like the *Kölnische*, the *Augsburger*, the *Neue Preussische*, the *Vossische*, etc., are carefully keeping their mouths shut.

From the ranks of the official economists, to date only in the Hildburghausen *Ergänzungsblätter* at the beginning of this year the review by *Dr Dühring*[b] (privatdozent at the University of Berlin, *supporter of Carey*) (this review was timid but, on the whole, appreciative)—and in the June issue of the economic magazine published by Faucher and Michaelis.[c] Mr Faucher naturally provides nothing except such remarks as one might expect from the comedian and hired jester of the German Bastiatites.

I would be grateful if you would send me a few newspapers from time to time. In particular, it would be of great value to me if you could dig up some anti-bourgeois material about land-ownership and agrarian relations in the United States. Since I shall be dealing with *rent* in my 2nd volume,[41] material against *H. Carey's* 'harmonies'[d] would be especially welcome.

*Salut.*

Yours

K. Marx

[Appendix]

London, 4 July 1868

We recommend Mr Sorge to all the friends of the International Workingmen's Association, and, at the same time, empower him to act in the name, and on behalf, of that Association.

By order of the General Council of the Intern. W. Assoc.

Karl Marx,

Secretary for Germany

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

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[a] The review by F. Schnacke (signed: E. F. S.) in the issues of 17, 20, 23, 25 and 27 June and 2 and 3 July 1868. - [b] E. Dühring, 'Marx. *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, I. Band, Hamburg, 1867', *Ergänzungsblätter zur Kenntniss der Gegenwart*, Bd. 3, Heft 3, Hildburghausen, 1867, pp. 182-86. - [c] '*Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie* von Karl Marx. Erster Band. Buch I. Der Produktionsprozess des Kapitals. Hamburg. Otto Meissner, 1867', *Vierteljahrschrift für Volkswirthschaft und Kulturgeschichte*, Bd. XX, 5. Jg., Berlin, 1868, pp. 206-19. - [d] H. Ch. Carey, *The Harmony of Interests, Agricultural, Manufacturing, and Commercial.*

# 41

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 7 July 1868

DEAR FRED,

The children are progressing well. Yesterday for the first time they were outside for half an hour. The peeling is still very pronounced. Only when this is finished will they be MOVABLE.

During the past few days I have been pressed very hard by the baker, CHEESEMONGER, ASSESSED TAXES, God and the Devil.

You will recall that the German Workers' Educational Society here has celebrated the June Insurrection[88] for ABOUT 18 years now. Only in the last few years have the French (their society here now exists as the FRENCH BRANCH of the International[72]) taken part. And the old *meneurs*[a] always stayed away. I mean the *petits grands hommes.*[b]

But this year, IN PUBLIC MEETING, along came Mr Pyat and read out an alleged address of the Paris Commune (this is a *euphemism* for the IDENTICAL Pyat, who is in no way inferior to Blind in this LINE) in which the *assassinat* of Bonaparte was preached, as it was years ago in his *Lettre aux étudians.*[c] The FRENCH BRANCH, reinforced by other bawlers, acclaimed this. Vésinier had it printed in *Cigale*[d] and *Espiègle,*[e] Belgian PAPERS, and presents Pyat as giving his direction to the 'International'.[89]

As a result, we get a letter from the Brussels committee,[90] which just at the moment is making great propaganda, under difficult circumstances (Charleroi affair[24]). Contents: This demonstration threatens to wreck the entire Association on the continent. Will the FRENCH BRANCH never move forward from the old demagogic phrases, etc.? etc., etc. It should be remembered that, at this very time, our people are behind bars in Paris.[91] *We* yesterday issued a declaration (to be printed in Brussels), disavowing any connection between the above-mentioned Pyat and the International.[f]

Indeed I regard the whole affair (naturally based upon the

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[a] leaders - [b] little great men - [c] F. Pyat, *Lettre aux étudians,* London, 1866. - [d] F. Pyat's speech at a meeting in Cleveland Hall on 29 June 1868. In: *La Cigale,* No. 29, 19 July 1868. - [e] Address to the Parisians by the Paris Central Committee of Action, 24 June 1868. In: *L'Espiègle,* No. 27, 5 July 1868. - [f] K. Marx, 'Resolution of the General Council on Félix Pyat's Provocative Behaviour'.

background of the enormous stupidity of the FRENCH BRANCH) as an intrigue of the old parties, the republican jackasses of 1848, especially the *petits grands hommes* who represent them in London. Our Association is a thorn in their flesh. After trying in vain to work against the Association, THE NEXT BEST THING, of course, is to compromise it. Pyat is just the man to do this *de bonne foi.*[a] The cleverer ones therefore push him forward.

What could be funnier than this squint-eyed melodrama-writer and *Charivari* man before 1848, this TOASTMASTER of 1848 who now plays Brutus, but from a safe distance!

The FRENCH BRANCH here will have to be thrown out of the International if it does not put a stop to its asininity. One cannot allow 50 unprincipled louts, round whom loudmouths of all nationalities gather at such public opportunities, to endanger the International Association at a moment when, as a result of conditions on the continent, it is beginning to become a serious power.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 42

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 July 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed 2 fivers, S/K 93 518 and 19, Manchester, 14 January 1867, to pacify the CHEESEMONGER and other Manicheans.

Everybody here was overjoyed by your good news about the patients.[b]

Hopefully you will really be able to calm down the FRENCH BRANCH.[72] Once again there appears to be sufficient confusion in that nation to guarantee the mess-up of any revolution that may break out. Wherever you look among these fellows, nothing but stupidity.

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[a] in good faith - [b] Marx's daughters Eleanor and Jenny

*Ad vocem*[a] Pyat, Blind must not be forgotten. I believe I told you that the Bradford Schiller Society (*id est* Dr Bronner) approached the Schiller Institute[76] here, in order to organise there, here, and in Liverpool 'Readings by famous Germans living in England'. I told the people right away that the whole thing revolved round Karl Blind; all the same they should, as far as I was concerned, agree to the plan *sous réserve*[b] in order to see for themselves. So, last week a letter arrived from Bradford with further information. It said approaches had been made to Prof. Goldstücker, Max Müller, *K. Blind* and *A. Ruge*! The *first* two had accepted, yet only *sous réserve* with regard to their time and health, but the latter two had accepted immediately and unconditionally, and Ruge had immediately asked whether an historical or philosophical theme would be preferred. In short, the bomb had burst, and the gentlemen received the reply that Goldstücker and Max Müller would be quite acceptable here, but there could be no question of Blind and Ruge. And this puts paid to the attempt.

Beust[c] has once again made himself suspicious in my eyes. The serious attempt of the Russians to have the Eastern business explode this spring, in spite of the fact that their railway was not yet finished, only appears explicable in that they wished to exploit the presence of a Palmerston as Austrian Prime Minister as long as it lasted. According to one version, he told the Czechs, incidentally, that he was in possession of plans which had been agreed between Prussia and Russia for the eventuality of the dissolution of Austria, and that under these plans Bohemia would not become Russian, but would be sacrificed by the Russians.

I have read the conclusion of the Prussian war of 1866 (Main campaign).[d] According to it, the South Germans were even more stupid than one had thought and known; the blame is, incidentally, distributed more evenly, so that Charlemagne of Bavaria[e] appears as at least as great an ass as Alexander the Great of Hesse.[f]

Best greetings to your wife, the girls and the Lafargues.

Your

F. E.

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[a] Regarding - [b] with reservations - [c] Friedrich Ferdinand Count von Beust, then Chancellor of Austria - [d] *Der Feldzug der preussischen Main-Armee im Sommer 1866.* - [e] Karl Theodor Maximilian August - [f] Alexander Ludwig Georg, Prince of Hesse

# 43

## MARX TO ENGELS[92]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 11 July 1868

DEAR FRED,

The £10 received with BEST THANKS. I immediately paid £3 5s. for taxes, £3 to the CHEESEMONGER (whom, by the way, I have been paying cash for weeks, since he, just like the TEA-GROCER, no longer puts it on the slate), £1 10s. to the chemist. I owe the baker about £17 and the man, who was always very friendly with us, is in great difficulties. It is awful for me that I have to press you like this. If I only knew how to find any *direct* way out!

The children[a] are doing fairly well, though Jennychen is still very weak. The ruling TEMPER here in the house is not exactly made for convalescents. My wife is not in the best of shape either, and therefore unnecessarily IRRITABLE.

Enclosed:

1. *Kugelmann*: I answered him right away[b] saying he should *be sure not* to loose the intended letter upon Faucher, the Mannequin Pisse.[93]

2. The review by the worthy Faucher[83]; another in the *Literarisches Zentralblatt*.[c] Both to be returned to me.

3. Letter from Dietzgen, who has also written an article on my book for me.[94]

You cannot fully appreciate the farce Mannequin Pisse Faucher is putting on in making me a pupil of Bastiat. Bastiat states in his *Harmonies*[d]:

> 'If anybody were to explain to him, on the basis of the determination of value by labour time, why air has *no* value and a *diamond* a *high* value, he would throw his book into the fire.'

Since I have now accomplished this terrible trick, Faucher must prove that I, in fact, accept Bastiat, who declares that there exists 'no measure' of value.

The manner in which Mr Bastiat derives the value of the

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[a] Jenny and Eleanor Marx - [b] See this volume, pp. 67-70. - [c] *Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland*, No. 28, 4 July 1868, pp. 754-56: 'Marx, Karl. *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie* (in 3 Bdn.). Erster Bd. Buch I. Der Produktionsprozess des Kapitals. Hamburg, 1867. O. Meissner' (signed 'h'). - [d] Marx quotes from F. Bastiat's *Harmonies économiques*, Paris, 1850, pp. 181-82.

diamond is given in the following truly commercial-traveller-type conversation:

'Monsieur, cédez-moi votre diamant.—Monsieur, je veux bien; cédez-moi en échange votre travail de toute une année.'[a]

Instead of the business friend answering: *'Mon cher, si j'étais condamné à travailler, vous comprenez bien que j'aurai autre chose à acheter que des diamants'*,[b] he says:

'Mais, monsieur, vous n'avez pas sacrifié à votre acquisition une minute.—Eh bien, monsieur, tâchez de rencontrer une minute semblable.—Mais, en bonne justice, nous devrions échanger à *travail égal*.—Non, en bonne justice, vous appréciez vos services et moi les miens. Je ne vous force pas; pourquoi me forceriez-vous? Donnez-moi un an tout entier, ou cherchez vous même un diamant.—Mais cela m'en entraînerait à dix ans de pénibles recherches, sans compter une déception probable au bout. Je trouve plus sage, plus profitable d'employer ces dix ans d'une autre manière.—C'est justement pour cela que je crois vous rendre encore *service* en ne vous demandant qu'un an. Je vous en épargne neuf, et voilà pourquoi j'attache beaucoup de *valeur* à ce *service*.'[c]

Is it not a wine salesman to the very life?

Incidentally—and the German Bastiatites do not know this—that unhappy assertion that the value of commodities is determined, not by the labour they cost, but by the labour which they *spare* the buyer (the babbling about the connection between exchange and the division of labour is childish talk) is just as little Bastiat's discovery as any of the other of his wine-salesman categories.

The old jackass Schmalz, the Prussian demagogue-catcher,[95] says (German edition 1818, *French* 1826):

'Le travail d'autrui en général ne produit jamais pour nous qu'une *économie de temps*, et cette économie de temps est tout ce qui constitue sa *valeur* et son *prix*. Le menuisier, par exemple, qui me fait une table, et le domestique qui porte mes lettres à la poste, qui bat mes habits, ou qui cherche pour moi les choses qui me sont nécessaires, me rendent l'un et l'autre *un service* absolument de même nature: l'un et l'autre *m'épargne* et le temps que je serais obligé d'employer moi-même à mes [ces] occupations, et celui qu'il m'aurait fallu consacrer à m'acquérir l'aptitude et les talents qu'elles exigent.'[d]

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[a] 'Monsieur, give me your diamond.—Gladly, monsieur; give me in exchange your work for a whole year.' - [b] 'My dear Sir, if I were condemned to work, you will understand that I would have something other to buy than diamonds.' - [c] 'But monsieur, you did not sacrifice a minute for your acquisition.—All right, monsieur, try to find a similar minute.—But, in fairness, we should exchange *equal labour*.—No, in fairness, you should put a value on your services, and I on mine. I am not forcing you; why would you force me? Give me a whole year or look for a diamond yourself.—But that would involve me in ten years exhausting search, quite apart from the probable disappointment at the end. I find it wiser and more profitable to employ these ten years in a different manner.—That is exactly why I believe I am indeed doing you a *service* when I only demand one year from you. I save you nine, and that is why I attach a high *value* to this *service*.' - [d] 'In general, the work of others only

Old Schmalz was an epigone of the physiocrats.[96] He says this in a polemic directed against A. Smith's *travail productif* and *improductif*,[a] and proceeds from their thesis that only agriculture produces real value. He found that in *Garnier*.[b] Similar stuff, on the other hand, in *Ganilh*,[c] epigone of the mercantilists. Ditto in polemics against the same differentiation made by A. Smith. Thus, polemics by epigones representing two standpoints, with neither having the slightest conception of value,—and Bastiat copies them! And this is the latest discovery in Germany! A pity that no paper exists in which one can expose this plagiarism by Bastiat.[97]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 44

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[29]

### IN HANOVER

London, 11 July 1868

Dear Friend,

The children are getting on well, though still weak.

Thank you very much for the things you sent. *Definitely do not* write to Faucher,[98] otherwise this *mannequin pisse* will feel too

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produces a *saving of time* for us, and this saving of time is the only thing which constitutes its *value* and its *price*. For example, the carpenter who makes me a table, and the servant who takes my letters to the post, cleans my clothes, and procures for me the things I need—the one and the other render me *services* of absolutely the same nature. The one and the other *save* me both the time that I myself would be obliged to use for my [these] occupations, and the time that I would have had to devote to acquiring the skills they require' ([Th.] Schmalz, *Économie politique, ouvrage traduit de l'allemand...*, Vol. I, Paris, 1826, p. 304). - [a] productive and unproductive labour - [b] [G. Garnier,] *Abrégé élémentaire des principes de l'économie politique*. - [c] Ch. Ganilh, *Des systèmes d'économie politique, de la valeur comparative de leurs doctrines, et de celle qui parait la plus favorable aux progrès de la richesse.*

important.[93] All he has achieved is that, if a second edition appears, I shall aim a few necessary blows at Bastiat where I speak about the *magnitude of value.*[99] This wasn't done before, since the 3rd volume[41] will contain a separate and extensive chapter about the 'vulgar economy' gentry.[100] Incidentally, you will find it quite natural that Faucher and consorts derive the 'exchange value' of their own scribblings not from the *amount of labour power expended,* but from the *absence of such expenditure,* that is from *'saved labour'.* Moreover, the worthy Bastiat did not even himself make this 'discovery', so welcome to these gentry, but just 'cribbed' it, in his usual manner, from much earlier authors. His sources are of course unknown to Faucher and consorts.

As for the *Centralblatt,* the man is making the greatest concession possible by admitting that, if value means anything at all, then my conclusions must be conceded.[a] The unfortunate fellow does not see that, even if there were no chapter on 'value' at all in my book,[65] the analysis I give of the real relations would contain the proof and demonstration of the real value relation. The chatter about the need to prove the concept of value arises only from complete ignorance both of the subject under discussion and of the method of science. Every child knows that any nation that stopped working, not for a year, but let us say, just for a few weeks, would perish. And every child knows, too, that the amounts of products corresponding to the differing amounts of needs demand differing and quantitatively determined amounts of society's aggregate labour. It is SELF-EVIDENT that this *necessity* of the *distribution* of social labour in specific proportions is certainly not abolished by the *specific form* of social production; it can only change *its form of manifestation.* Natural laws cannot be abolished at all. The only thing that can change, under historically differing conditions, is the *form* in which those laws assert themselves. And the form in which this proportional distribution of labour asserts itself in a state of society in which the interconnection of social labour expresses itself as the *private exchange* of the individual products of labour, is precisely the *exchange value* of these products.

Where science comes in is to show *how* the law of value asserts itself. So, if one wanted to 'explain' from the outset all phenomena

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[a] This refers to the review, in *Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland,* No. 28, 4 July 1868, 'Marx, Karl. *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie* (in 3 Bdn.). Erster Bd. Buch I. Der Produktionsprozess des Kapitals. Hamburg, 1867. O. Meissner' (signed 'h').

that apparently contradict the law, one would have to provide the science *before* the science. It is precisely Ricardo's mistake that in his first chapter, on value,[a] all sorts of categories that still have to be arrived at are assumed *as given*, in order to prove their harmony with the law of value.

On the other hand, as you correctly believe, *the history of the theory* of course demonstrates that the understanding of the value relation has *always been the same*, clearer or less clear, hedged with illusions or scientifically more precise. Since the reasoning process itself arises from the existing conditions and is itself a *natural process*, really comprehending thinking can always only be the same, and can vary only gradually, in accordance with the maturity of development, hence also the maturity of the organ that does the thinking. Anything else is drivel.

The vulgar economist has not the slightest idea that the actual, everyday exchange relations and the value magnitudes *cannot be directly identical*. The point of bourgeois society is precisely that, *a priori*, no conscious social regulation of production takes place. What is reasonable and necessary by nature asserts itself only as a blindly operating average. The vulgar economist thinks he has made a great discovery when, faced with the disclosure of the intrinsic interconnection, he insists that things look different in appearance. In fact, he prides himself in his clinging to appearances and believing them to be the ultimate. Why then have science at all?

But there is also something else behind it. Once interconnection has been revealed, all theoretical belief in the perpetual necessity of the existing conditions collapses, even before the collapse takes place in practice. Here, therefore, it is completely in the interests of the ruling classes to perpetuate the unthinking confusion. And for what other reason are the sycophantic babblers paid who have no other scientific trump to play except that, in political economy, one may not think at all!

But *satis superque*.[b] In any case, it shows the depth of degradation reached by these priests of the bourgeoisie: while workers and even manufacturers and merchants have understood my book and made sense of it, these '*learned* scribes' (!) complain that I make excessive demands on their comprehension.

I would *not* advise reprinting Schweitzer's articles, though Schweitzer has made a good job of them for his paper.[101]

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[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, Ch. I: On Value. - [b] enough and more than enough

You would oblige me if you sent me a few issues of the *Staats-Anzeiger*.

You should be able to get Schnacke's address by enquiring at the *Elberfelder*.

Best greetings to your wife and Fränzchen.

Yours
K. M.

Apropos. I have received an article by Dietzgen about my book[94]; I am sending it to Liebknecht.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 7, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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## 45

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 14 July[a] 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed another two fivers, S/K 92 566 and 93 517. Manchester, 14 January [18]67.

I do not know whether I shall manage to finish the article. On Sunday during a meal a small blood-vessel burst in the conjunctiva of my left eye and since then this eye has been very sensitive, so that it is at present quite impossible for me to write with a light; I think, however, it will soon pass.

Do not forget to order 40-50 *separate reprints* of the article in the *Fortnightly*[11] so that we can distribute them.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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[a] In the original: 14 January.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 21 July 1868

Dear Moor,

I concluded from Tussy's letter the receipt of the £10, and also that both patients[a] must have reached the point at which they should be sent to the SEASIDE, the sooner the better. So that there shall be no delay I enclose £25 (1 of 20 and 1 of 5). It is still uncertain when I shall get away from here, and it will therefore be better for the time being to drop the attempt at a combined SEASIDE operation, so that the girls' health may not suffer.

I believe you said recently that Borkheim himself would be inclined to advance the £150 if he was not at the moment short of money. Is he now perhaps in a position to provide the sum, or at least £100? It would be absolute folly to toss into the maw of this miserable society 20% interest per annum against the finest security. Even if Borkheim can get us only £100, of which £50 might be repaid in case of need in January or February and the rest on 10/20 July 1869 (though it would be best if *the whole sum* need not be repaid until next July), everything could be fixed up easily. He really only needs to commit himself to pay £100 on the loan in September, so that I would then only need to send him the *remainder*. This would free £100 for me, which I could send you right now. If nothing of this sort happens, you will understand that I am very tied, as long as the heavy load of £175 is hanging over my head, and especially as long as I do not know how the balance has come out, and I probably won't know for another 3-4 weeks.

Think over the business with Borkheim. Maybe something can be done; if so we would be, at least for the time being, out of all our troubles, and would once again have gained time.

The pamphlets and journals I sent back to you yesterday. Who is this sultry Dr Boruttau, who displays such a sensitive organ for sexual love?[b]

Jones is hard put to it whether to stand for Manchester or for Dewsbury.[102] The Dewsburyans have sent him a requisition signed

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[a] Marx's daughters Eleanor and Jenny - [b] This refers to C. Boruttau's book *Gedanken über Gewissens-Freiheit*. See also this volume, p. 72.

by 2,000 voters; he wants 1,000 more since there will be 6,000 voters. Now they are pressing *here* in Manchester whether he will accept or not.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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## 47

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 23 July 1868

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS for the £25. The children will probably go to the sea next week together with MR and MRS Lafargue. Since yesterday Lafargue has been 'MEMBER OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS' and has received his patent for the KILLING OF MEN AND BEASTS. Then, in 4-5 weeks, he will go to Paris. As a result, we are in a very embarrassing position, since my wife still has to buy linen for Laura for at least £20.

I do not think we can do any business with Borkheim. Yesterday he told me that 'money was very tight' in his case, etc. The Dutchmen, of whom I can, in fact, only use August Philips, are travelling. But I shall use my head to see how and where to get a loan, since it is *absolutely necessary*. The practice of borrowing at 20% can in fact only happen with institutions like those utilised by Borkheim, where people lose the capital advanced if one kicks the bucket before the date of maturity.

About Dr Boruttau, the man with the sultry prick, I know nothing except that he also 'runs with' the Lassalleans (Schweitzer FRACTION). The funniest thing is the 'French' of his dedication to a sympathetic soul in Moscow.[103]

You will have seen that my book[a] forms a point of discussion in

[a] the first volume of *Capital*

the programme of the General Association of German Workers.[a] [104]

I have sent you a scrawl by Dühring which despite the heat you might read. You could also tell me your impressions of it, since it is certainly not overtaxing. But all the more boring, to be sure.

I saw Prof. Beesly last week at Lafargue's. Beesly was absent when your article[11] arrived. Immediately after his return he received it and sent it to Henry Morley[b] (CHIEF EDITOR of *The Fortnightly Review*) in Scotland, from whence we have received no further NEWS as yet.

How do you live in this heat? I lose all capacity for thought, and without Gumpert's medicine I COULD NOT STAND IT AT ALL.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 48

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 29 July 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed Liebknecht returned.[105] What a feeble business with Schweitzer. He should *recognise* 1. you and 2. the International Working Men's Association! Wilhelmchen appears to me to have once again failed to control his tendency to stupidities. Incidentally, you see that Schweitzer did, after all, show off with your letters.[c]

As regards Liebknecht's promises about Nuremberg and the Swiss workers, I SHALL WAIT FOR PERFORMANCE BEFORE GIVING AN OPINION.

Now enclosed a letter from Kugelmann.[106] The business with Keil is splendid—if Kertbény is not in fact inventing a bit. Just in

[a] This refers to the programme of the Hamburg Congress of the General Association of German Workers then forthcoming. See J. B. Schweitzer, 'An die Mitglieder des Allgemeinen deutsch. Arbeiter-Vereins', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 80, 10 July 1868. - [b] John Morley is meant. - [c] See this volume, pp. 26 and 28-30.

case, I sat down and scribbled in great haste the enclosed scrawl, trying to make it as Beta-like as possible[107]—as is suitable for that miserable rag[a]; kindly let me have your comments on it by return so that we may send the stuff off without delay and strike while the iron is hot. We may not despise this bit of humbug, any more than we despise the stratagems through Siebel's mediation.[50] And the Kinkels, Freiligraths and Blinds, etc., will be badly annoyed; the philistine, however, as you know, trusts his *Gartenlaube*, and it will greatly impress Meissner. Your wife will also enjoy it very much—I think it would be best if you keep it secret for the time being, because of possible disappointment, and then you will surprise her when the paper comes out.

It is a good thing that owing to the delay of the article[11] caused by Beesly's absence I get some time for the second one.[71] Working at night still affects my eye slightly, and it then hurts all the next day.

Best greetings to your wife, the girls and Lafargue and his spouse. In haste.

Your
F. E.

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## 49

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 July 1868

DEAR FRED,

I hope that the business with your eye is nothing serious. Small blood vessels will burst now and then, without any particular consequence. Have you consulted Gumpert about it?

Unfortunately, the household will only go to the sea next week. And that is because of the *Lafargue family*, who wanted to join in and rent a LODGING, etc., together. Because of Lafargue's ties with

[a] *Die Gartenlaube. Illustrirtes Familienblatt*

his hospital (where he has been operating for weeks as house SURGEON) the departure has been delayed from day to day, despite my curses, threats and shouts, so that now it is to take place at the beginning of next week, when my wife will go OFF with the rest, and Laura of course arguing that she will soon part completely from the FAMILY, etc. Tussy (highly delighted by your letter, I believe, she knows *par coeur*[a] your 6 letters to her[78]) is hale and hearty again. Not so Jennychen, who is also worrying about all sorts of things, etc. If I HAD MADE UP MY MIND where on the continent I could just now depend with certainty upon a LOAN (especially since I would, if necessary, have your guarantee), I would cross over and take Jennychen with me. But this is perhaps the best time of the year to find nobody at home.

There have been all sorts of scandals here RELATING TO Pyat, FRENCH BRANCH[72] and GENERAL COUNCIL. On this tomorrow.[b] Today only this. Schweitzer in his 2nd programme for the congress of the *General Association of German Workers* in Hamburg has an item about the *International Working Men's Association* and another about *my book*.[c] The programme was printed in the *Zukunft*[d] [104] and elsewhere. On the other hand, *A. Bebel*, as president of the Workers' Union meeting in Nuremberg, has sent an invitation to the General Council.[108] We should send a delegate (Eccarius will go). That they will join the International Working Men's Association and adopt our programme is already *certain*, he says. Finally, we have received an invitation from Vienna where the Austrian workers' fraternal festival will be held, also at the beginning of September.[109] We have sent to Fox, who is in Vienna, the authorisation to represent us there.

About the private negotiations between Wilhelmchen and Schweitzer[e] I know no more than the former writes. Yet I know from another source that the influence of that cunning fox Schweitzer has grown to the same extent as Wilhelmchen has discredited himself among the workers by his over-close alliance with the South German provincial pettifoggers. It was evidently *for this reason* that Wilhelm found it necessary to set up a sort of cartel with Schweitzer, who is at present inside and who, moreover, was clever enough to have his title of nobility revoked by the Prussian court 'for *lèse-majesté*'.[110] As far as I am concerned—I mean as MEMBER of the GENERAL COUNCIL—I must

[a] by heart - [b] See this volume, pp. 78-79. - [c] the first volume of *Capital* - [d] 'Programm der Generalversammlung des Allgemeinen deutschen Arbeiter-Vereins, stattfindend in Hamburg, vom 22. bis 25. August 1868', *Die Zukunft*, No. 266, 10 July 1868. - [e] See this volume, p. 73.

conduct myself impartially between the various *organised* groups of workers. It is their business and not mine whom they have as leader. As SECRETARY FOR GERMANY I must answer all those who apply to me in their official capacity as presidents, etc., of workers' groups. In this sense, I have also written to Schweitzer (always WITH AN EYE to the possible publication of the entire correspondence).[111] Faced with the intrigues of the old '48 democrats here, it was, however, high time to be able to display influence among the German workers in Germany.

That you, poor devil, with your sore eye, should also have to water the *Gartenlaube*—and in this weather, too—really cries to the heavens.[a]

My comments are confined to:

Page 2 where I have put 1 x).[112] The FACT was actually this! For us the government sent, instead of the city censor, a special fellow from Berlin (Mr von St. Paul, etc.). When even this did not help, yet another tier of censorship, that of the *Regierungspräsident* of Cologne,[b] was added. Finally, the Berlin cabinet, driven wild, issued a sort of manifesto against us, apprising the world of all our offences, and concluding with the announcement that at the end of the quarter they would shut up our shop. I resigned because the shareholders—even if in vain, as it later turned out—tried to negotiate with the Prussian government.

Page 3 (2x). It would perhaps be good to add here for the benefit of the philistines that the provisional government had invited me in writing to return to France.[c]

*Ditto page 3* (x3). You might add for the benefit of the democratic philistines that the Prussians expelled me *par ordre du Muphti*,[d] after they had failed in the law courts.[113]

Finally, would it not be better, instead of the title: 'A German Political Economist', to have: 'A German Socialist'? Both are 'hideous', but the former probably more so.

More tomorrow about affairs here.

*Salut.*

Your
Moor

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[a] Marx plays on the name of the magazine: 'Gartenlaube' means 'arbour'. See also this volume, p. 74. - [b] Karl Heinrich von Gerlach - [c] See 'Ferdinand Flocon to Marx in Brussels. March 1, 1848' (present edition, Vol. 6, p. 649). - [d] on orders from the mufti (i.e. by Royal order)

## 50

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

### IN HANOVER

York, 31 July 1868

Dear Kugelmann,

This scrawl must be excused by the fact that I am on my way for a few days to bring my dear spouse[a] to the seaside resort at Bridlington (I bet you couldn't guess how this name is pronounced), and by the haste in which I send you the enclosed composition.[106] The business is splendid, that is, if it can be done and Kertbény is not bragging.[b] The enclosed scribble has been composed, as far as possible, in the spirit of the rag,[c] but it should possibly be made milder here and there. Marx thinks the title 'A German *Socialist*'[d] would be better, which would be very nice, if Monsieur Kertbény did not object; but this must be prevented *above all*, so I find your suggestion, being the 'milder' one, is better.[114]

Marx has, for the time being, kept your letter with him, and since it is already late today anyway, and everybody in the hotel is hurrying to bed, I shall have to answer it next week. I put Lupus' photogram aside for you some time ago; luckily it is still one of the old good prints; recently I had another 24 prints made, but in the meantime the negative had faded so much that they turned out very badly. As for me, a blood vessel burst in the conjunctiva of my left eye a fortnight ago, and left behind a red patch on the apple (south-west side) which has not yet vanished, and with which I would not like to be eternised. So you will just have to wait for a while.

N.B. There are two corrections, marked A and B, written here later; please insert them in the right place.[e] It would be desirable for Kertbény neither to know the author of the article, nor see the original handwriting.

So until next week.

Yours
F. E.

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[a] Lydia Burns - [b] See this volume, p. 73. - [c] *Die Gartenlaube. Illustrirtes Familienblatt* - [d] See this volume, p. 76. - [e] Ibid.

## 51

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 August 1868

DEAR FRED,

How is your eye?

You will probably have received the Eichhoff stuff.[a] In the *Zukunft* there are 'Economic Letters'[b] singing the praises of my book.[c] In fact these letters are largely cribbed from the book. In the *Social-Demokrat* the Executive of the General Association of German Workers is urged by the presidium to invite me as a guest of honour to the congress at Hamburg at the end of August.[d]

A few days ago I wrote to Meissner[84] to find out at last where and how.

Kugelmann has written me a few lines saying that the chamber of commerce and the polytechnical school in Hanover have ordered a number of copies of my book.

In the meantime, I am really more BOTHERED by PRIVATE ECONOMY or, as the English say, DOMESTIC ECONOMY, than by political economy. My LANDLORD has dunned me and, unfortunately for me, is staying FOR SOME TIME AT London. I have also been forced to sign diverse smaller bills of exchange, etc.

The filthy French branch[72] has created a fine scandal for us. The Pyatists have published a *blâme*[e] of the *conseil général* in the *Cigale*. Their channel was the infamous Vésinier. We ignored this VOTE OF CENSURE and simply passed *à l'ordre du jour*.[f] There followed a MEETING of the FRENCH BRANCH where there were fisticuffs. Dupont, Jung, Lafargue, Johannard, Lassassie and various others have quit this gang of scoundrels. This rabble now amounts to a total of perhaps 15 persons, although they confront us as the '*souveraineté du peuple*'.[g] We are '*des endormeurs*', '*des ambitieux*',[h] etc. Apart from

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[a] W. Eichhoff, *Die Internationale Arbeiterassociation. Ihre Gründung, Organisation, politisch-sociale Thätigkeit und Ausbreitung*. See also Note 79. - [b] 'Oekonomische Briefe', *Die Zukunft*, Nos 292 and 298, 25 and 29 July 1868. - [c] the first volume of *Capital* - [d] 'An die Vorstands-Mitglieder des Allgemeinen deutschen Arbeiter-Vereins' (signed: W. Real), *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 90, 2 August 1868. See also Note 130. - [e] censure - [f] to next business - [g] 'sovereignty of the people' - [h] 'humbugs', 'the ambitious'

the little bit of scandal which these Spiegelbergs are making in that obscure Belgian paper, they are naturally NOWHERE. Nothing is more grotesque than the way in which this mob play Jacobin Club.[115]

Apropos. Moses' article[116] has, after all, turned up. It is in the hands of Massol, who will print it shortly in his *Morale indépendante*, now that this has changed its skin to become a political journal. Reclus will ditto wade in with his *Coopération*, now that this ditto has be-butterflied itself into a political paper.

My wife went to Ramsgate in advance on Monday[a] to prepare the quarters. The gang will follow tomorrow.

Lafargue is only free from tomorrow. In the meantime, he has been operating like mad as assistant to the HOME SURGEON of St. Bartholomew's. Yesterday, e.g., from 9 in the morning until 11 in the evening. Woe to the *corpus vile*[b] of male or female kind on which he gets his practice.

Best greetings from Tussy to you and Lizzy. The child declares to all and sundry that she is READY to emigrate to Manchester. MEANWHILE she is teased here with the NICKNAME 'THE POOR NEGLECTED NATION'.[c]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

How do you translate GRAVEL as distinct from SAND and FLINT? And how PEAT as distinct from BOG? Incidentally, there are perhaps 6 further different names for what are, more or less, nuances of peat-ground in the 'POOR NEGLECTED COUNTRY'.

Finally, how do you manage to live in this heat? I would like best to hang on a tree in the air.

P. S. Now, when the Germans will join the 'INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION' *en masse*, with the Association, for the time being, filling out at least the boundaries of its main territory—though it is still thin on the ground—my plan is that the *GENERAL COUNCIL* should move to Geneva for the next year[117] and that we should function here only as the BRITANNIC COUNCIL. It appears a shrewd move to me if the proposal comes from us. At the same

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[a] 3 August - [b] living body - [c] An allusion to Tussy's Irish sympathies.

time, it will show the jackasses in Paris, etc., that we are in no way anxious for this pleasant dictatorship. *Qu'en penses tu?*[a]

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## 52

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 6 August 1868

Dear Moor,

What do I do in this heat? Languish and drink. Today it is raining, the air is muggy and saturated with humidity, it is therefore doubly horrible, the sweat does not evaporate and you are damp all over.

Last Friday[b] I took Lizzie and M. Ellen[c] to Bridlington Quay and returned on Monday; tomorrow I shall return there with Moore, and I would take my HOLIDAY and stay the week, but Charles[d] has gout and is all in, so I must do his work as well as my own, and there can be no question of going away.

Eichhoff's pamphlet[e] proves something which I had scarcely credited him with—that he is capable of reporting facts objectively. Of course, you had also made it easy for him.[79] The thing will have a very good effect. Now as regards the transfer to Geneva, it reminds me of the Central Authority's move to Cologne.[118] I would think this coup over *very thoroughly*. First, are the few jackasses worth it that you should take this step for their sake and hand over responsibility for the whole thing to people who, for all their good will, and also probably instinct, just do not have the stuff to lead a movement like this? Second, once we start moving house, and the holy respect for London, which is still the Medina of the emigration, has been replaced by a very doubtful respect for Geneva—what is the guarantee that the Proudhonists will not succeed in one fine day having the Council transferred, if only as

[a] What do you think about this? - [b] 31 July - [c] Lydia (Lizzie) and Mary Ellen Burns - [d] Charles Roesgen - [e] W. Eichhoff, *Die Internationale Arbeiterassociation...*

a matter of international *courtoisie*,[a] to Brussels or Paris? Finally: such centres should never be put in places where *deportation* is possible, as long as we have a spot free from this risk.

The more splendidly things go, the more important it is that you should keep them in *your* hands, and now that the business is also beginning to get under way in Germany, I do not believe that Becker[b] has the stuff to manage it.

I sent Kugelmann the biographical stuff on Friday from York.[106] It is a very good thing that something about your book[c] should now simultaneously appear in French papers, too. Nota bene, have at least 20-30 reprints made of my article in the *Fortnightly*[11] (for which we will naturally pay, *s'il le faut*[d]), they can be used very well. ANYHOW, the conspiracy of silence is now over, and if the thing is only blazing a path slowly, it is now doing it surely.

GRAVEL is *Kies*. For the various stages of the Irish peat-ground I have no expressions, you will have to ask an East Frisian.

Borkheim has already reminded me of the 'date of maturity'.

Best greetings to the entire sea-bathing company.

Your
F. E.

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## 53

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 10 August 1868

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed letter from J. Morley, the CHIEF EDITOR of the *Fortnightly*. Beesly did everything he could, but Mr Morley found the matter not to his taste.[119] NEVER MIND!

The family is fortunately at the SEASIDE, which they all needed very much.

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[a] politeness - [b] Johann Philipp Becker - [c] the first volume of *Capital*; see also Note 116 - [d] if necessary

What you say about the transfer of the CENTRAL COUNCIL[73] to Geneva is very correct. It remains possible that in Brussels, *malgré nous et contre nous*,[a] they will propose a CHANGE in order to document their heroic resistance to the *principe autoritaire*.[b] At least in this case our delegates will have to vote for Geneva as *pis aller*.[c]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 54

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[29]

### IN HANOVER

London, 10 August 1868

Dear Kugelmann,

On receipt of your letter, I asked around, but in vain. At the moment it is impossible to get money from the UNIONS here for foreign STRIKES.[120] The various data about the Linden factory contained in the latest Hanoverian papers sent me are of great interest to me.

My family is, at present, at the seaside, which was all the more necessary since both GIRLS[d] seemed very delicate after their illness. Lafargue, after passing his SURGEON examinations here in London, will operate as assistant at his hospital for a few weeks, and then move to Paris where, however, he will still have to pass the French medical examinations.[121]

At the moment I am more occupied with PRIVATE than with PUBLIC ECONOMY. Engels has offered to be my guarantor for a loan of £100-150 at 5% interest, the first half payable in January, the second in July. So far, however, I have not been able to find a creditor.

I hope 'verry' much that the *state of my work* will allow me to abandon London for good and all and move to the continent next year, at the end of September. I shall strike my tents as soon as I

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[a] despite us and against us - [b] authoritarian principle - [c] the lesser evil - [d] Jenny and Eleanor Marx

can dispense with the Museum[a] here. The high cost of living here is becoming increasingly burdensome as time goes on. It is true that the pettiness of conditions over there is not much to my taste, but 'tranquillity is the first duty of citizens',[122] and this is the only way to achieve tranquillity. There have been all sorts of rows here, in and with the so-called FRENCH BRANCH[72] of the INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION, about which I shall report in my next letter.[b]

I am at present *solus*,[c] and I feel strange, missing all the children's noise.

*Salut.*

Yours
K. Marx

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## 55

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH LESSNER[123]

IN LONDON

London, 11 August 1868

Dear Lessner,

Because of the orthographic mistakes, I have re-written the whole appeal, enclosed herewith. Now you should copy it in *your own handwriting*.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] the British Museum Library - [b] See this volume, pp. 173-75. - [c] alone

## 56

## ENGELS TO MARX[48]

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 12 August 1868

Dear Moor,

It would be worth the trouble to find out more about Mr Morley's motives,[a] even if this only leads to the conclusion that the petty, lousy cliquishness, which we used to assume only existed in Germany, also flourishes here. If Morley refuses the piece[119] despite Beesly's influence, then he has his *reasons*. These men are, *au fond*,[b] bourgeois, and Mr Morley has all the reasons in the world to prevent giving publicity to things like those you have presented in your analysis. These are no *isms*; THAT KNOCKS HIM ON THE HEAD, and hence the lack of space. Still, I have no fear that we shall therefore be unable to present the book[c] to the English public, but the easiest and simplest way is cut off, and we shall have to search until we find a new one. In the meantime, the French articles will produce their effect,[116] and it would be a good thing if they could be shown to the gentlemen of the *Fortnightly*; it would be very nice if Mr Morley could still be forced to accept the piece.

The day after tomorrow I shall probably go for 10 days to Bridlington Quay (address: Mr *Burns*, 3 Burlington Place, Bridlington Quay, Yorkshire), since Charles[d] is recovering; but, of course, something may still crop up, in which case I shall write to you. I was there with Moore from Friday till Monday[e]; we made quite interesting geological studies.

Best greetings from Lizzie.

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p. 81. - [b] basically - [c] the first volume of *Capital* - [d] Charles Roesgen; see this volume, p. 80. - [e] from 7 to 10 August

## 57

## MARX TO ENGELS[124]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 August 1868

DEAR FRED,

I hope that these lines will reach you before your departure, for there is *periculum in mora*.[a]

*Firstly*, I must send money to Ramsgate, so they can stay there another week. As their departure was delayed for weeks after your last remittance, smaller domestic debts were paid; on the other hand, my wife had to retrieve watches and other things from the pawnshop so that they could appear RESPECTABLE at the watering place.

*Secondly*, one of the *épiciers*,[b] who is owed £6 and a few shillings, must be paid this week, since the man is shutting up shop.

*Thirdly*, I have already received 2 SUMMONS for QUEEN'S TAXES (about £8). The LOCAL TAXES are paid, as you know. I absolutely cannot put off these sums.

For two further pressing items—the LANDLORD, who is unfortunately in London now, and a bill of exchange for £12 payable on the 25th of this month—I shall still perhaps receive money in time from Germany.

I have written to my cousins August and Karl Philips in Amsterdam and Aachen in order to find out whether they are back.[125] It would be a sheer waste of money to go to the continent in order to borrow, before one is sure that the people are there.

For the past week I have not had a wink of sleep and *l'illustre* Gaudissart[c] Borkheim, who visited me the day before yesterday to take leave, said I really should get rid of my jaundice. He entertained me with the story of the £1,000 he is trying to blackmail out of Oppenheim.

In great haste.

Your

K. M.

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[a] danger in delay (Titus Livius, *Rerum Romanorum ab Urbe condita libri*, Book XXXVIII, Ch. 25) - [b] grocers - [c] *L'illustre Gaudissart* was Borkheim's nickname (after the title character of a novel by Balzac).

## 58

## ENGELS TO MARX[124]

IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 14 August 1868]

Dear Moor,

I shall send you money tomorrow, our cashier had no more notes this afternoon. Do not feel awkward about 'pressing', I only wish there were more there to be pressed out; but bear in mind as well that in 6 weeks we shall have to pay the £150 with interest, and Borkheim says that the interest will bring the total up to 165! I think you will have to make up your mind to go to Holland; we cannot 'afford' to borrow at *such* interest.

Faucher made me laugh very much.[83] Absolutely the noble arrogance of this fellow. The patronising introduction and then criticism (and what criticism!) of a very elementary thing in which you present the views of the *economists*, thus only make a resumé; he wisely keeps his fingers off your own things. Also very good is his admission that the present generation, including Faucher, knows nothing of either Jacob or Joseph, thus confirming your opinion that they 'really have learned nothing'. Incidentally, the impudence of the fellow is comic. He really assumes that his public knows nothing, will learn nothing, and even wishes to read nothing except such Faucherist piss. And the man is right about it.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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## 59

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN BRIDLINGTON QUAY

London, 21 August 1868

DEAR FRED,

My wife returned from Ramsgate yesterday, but the children are still there. Since I have been puking gall for about 1 week, and, in addition, cholera is developing here, my wife insists that I should also go to the sea at Ramsgate for at least 2-3 days. So I shall be leaving today.[126]

The £25 received with many thanks: the bill of exchange for £12, as I assured myself today, falls due on 28 August. So far I have not yet received anything from the continental side.

It would be best if you send the money for the LIFE INSURANCE to me myself, on the date due, when I can pay the people. For they must, after all, hand over to me the promissory note that I signed. Dealing with this via Schyler would in fact compromise me.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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## 60

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Bridlington Quay, 22 August 1868

Dear Moor,

Best thanks for the *Lanterne* and the B. Becker.[a] The closer one comes to see the details of the Lassalle tragicomedy, the more the

[a] B. Becker, *Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's.*

comical side emerges. This man was ruined by his IRREPRESSIBLE reflection upon himself, his permanent self-contemplation. 'How do I appear to myself?' was the eternal refrain. Poor Baron Izzy! Comic at that exalted moment when he commissioned his *alter ego*, Rüstow, to bed the beautiful Helen[a] *per procura*[b] if necessary—he well knew how little danger this involved—as at that other moment when the Wallachian[c] shot away his genitals. Poor Izzy! To be gelded by a shot from a Wallachian.[d] You always found it so comical that his *gob* had been stopped, but now *this* as well.

Seiler! That is the impression of the whole story. Sebastian Seiler, the only worthy historiographer of this tragicomedy—he will hang himself that he missed this putrid scene. *En attendant*[e] it is quite amusing that the 'testamentary successor of Lassalle'[127] declares him an aristocrat, traitor and cad, and is forced to appropriate all those things that we formerly had published *against him himself* and against Schweitzer.[128] Bastards!

On Wednesday or Thursday[f] I shall go back to Manchester from here and shall then visit my mother for a week—probably in Ostend. I am still waiting for a letter from her, and have no idea where I stand in the meantime.[129]

Naturally I would have sent the money for the loan from the insurance company *only to you*, if you had not from the start shoved the whole affair away from you and onto Borkheim, so that I had to turn to him simply to find out how much had to be paid. *That* I could, of course, only do with the simultaneous remark that I would send the sum to him, since he was indeed standing surety for the money. As I already wrote to you, it would never have occurred to me to send the money to that jackass Schyler.[g] But I expect to see you before then, in London at the end of next week.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Helene von Dönniges - [b] by proxy - [c] Janko von Racowiţa - [d] In the original, a play on the word *Wallach* (Wallachian), also German for a gelding. - [e] Meanwhile - [f] 26 or 27 August - [g] See this volume, p. 87.

# 61

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 26 August 1868

DEAR FRED,

Still no 'SUPPLIES' from Germany. It is, of course, idiotic to depend completely upon half-promises. But if you are drowning you clutch at every straw. On Friday[a] the bill of exchange for £12, about which I wrote to you,[b] is due. Since nothing had arrived by today, and to have no protest in the house, I just visited my baker, who told me he could '*perhaps*' get the money by tomorrow evening, but only for a few days. At the same time, I have received the enclosed scrawl from my LANDLORD. That everything should happen to one just at this time. It is enough to drive one mad.

Bring me back or send me the screed by Becker.[c] His theoretical-political-economic criticisms of Lassalle have been copied from your pamphlet on the military question.[d]

This Becker has done us a great service with his Seileriana. He deserves to be Lassalle's 'testamentary successor'.[127]

The invitation which I received to the congress of the General Association of German Workers (Hamburg, 22-25 August)[130] is signed by Schweitzer as President and by more than 20 workers from different districts of Germany (members of the *Executive Committee*). I had to take the latter into consideration in my reply.[e] I explained that I could not come because of the work of the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association, and said I was glad to see that the starting points of any 'serious' workers' movement—agitation for complete political freedom, regulation of the working day and international co-operation of the working class—were emphasised in their *programme* for the congress.[f] That is to say, in other words, I congratulated them on

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[a] 28 August - [b] See this volume, p. 87. - [c] B. Becker, *Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's*. - [d] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - [e] 'To the President and Executive Committee of the General Association of German Workers'. - [f] 'Programm der Generalversammlung des Allgemeinen deutschen Arbeiter-Vereins, stattfindend in Hamburg, vom 22. bis 25. August 1868', *Die Zukunft*, No. 266, 10 July 1868, and *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 98, 21 August 1868.

having abandoned *Lassalle's programme*.[a] Whether they will notice the point remains to be seen. Schweitzer, the only man with brains in the whole Lassalle gang, will certainly detect it. But whether he will think it advisable to show this or to pretend to be dense, *nous verrons*.[b]

Your
K. M.

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## 62

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 August 1868

Dear Moor,

I found your letter of the 25th[c] waiting for me here, and as promised yesterday,[131] I enclose 2 fivers and 1 tenner, with which his lordship the LANDLORD will have to content himself for the time being.

I expect a letter from my mother any day that she has arrived in Ostend, and I will immediately dash there[129]; I shall see you in London in any case, but it is doubtful whether I shall be able to stay there for a day on my outward journey.

In haste.

Your
F. E.

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[a] F. Lassalle, 'Offenes Antwortschreiben an das Central-Comité zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitercongresses zu Leipzig vom 1. März'. - [b] we shall see - [c] Engels apparently means Marx's letter of 26 August 1868.

63

# MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 29 August 1868

DEAR FRED,

The £20 received with BEST THANKS.

Tussy had a great shock today. She found Dicky dead in his cage although he was still singing merrily yesterday. He has been buried with full honours.

Dupont has received the mandate from Naples to represent the Neapolitan branch.[132] Since the Mentana business, as we see from Italian reports, there has been a general reactionary trend in domestic affairs, and in particular the workers' right to meet and form societies has almost been done away with.[133]

In Paris, happily, we still have our old people, *behind bars*. The committee there will send a *délégué* to Brussels, but against that the various *corps de métier*[a] will send 8-9.[134] Our people have written to us from prison suggesting that these *corps de métier* MEN should be 'compromised politically' so that there should be no way back for them. Just to show the sort of methods to which the Paris police have recourse: A gentleman calling himself 'Eugène Dupont' from London visited the wives of several of the prisoners to pump them. He was a police agent, but his play-acting did not work anywhere.

Eccarius left for Nuremberg as our *délégué* today.[135] From there he will go to Brussels. He is correspondent of *The Times* in both cases.[136]

The so-called *branche française*,[72] under the leadership of Messrs Pyat and Vésinier, is sending a delegate to Brussels in order—*horribile dictu*[b]—to put us in the dock!

Apropos. If Moore is still there, tell him it would be good if he could pay to me his USUAL CONTRIBUTION to the INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION *by Tuesday*.[c] We are weakly represented in Brussels, and every shilling that we can raise now will be used to

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[a] trade societies - [b] horrible to say - [c] 1 September

send one MEMBER MORE there. TUESDAY NEXT IS OUR LAST SITTING this year before the congress.[137]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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## 64

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 September 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed the £5 for Moore's SUBSCRIPTION to the INTERNATIONAL. So get me the receipt for him.

I am waiting on tenterhooks for a letter from my mother informing me of her arrival in Ostend and of her address. I am to go there for a few days,[129] and hear and see nothing. If there is no news by the day after tomorrow, hardly anything will come of it, since good old Gottfried[a] wishes to go away next week. As soon as I have news, I shall notify you by telegraph of my forthcoming arrival[b] in London.

I shall bring the Lassalle swindle[c] with me, or Schorlemmer, who has it, will send it to you as soon as he's read it.

Jones is holding OPEN AIR MEETINGS here for the workers,[102] but acts so tamely that he is already being attacked for it by his rival Henry. On Saturday[d] evening he called Gladstone 'THAT GREAT LEADER OF THE *WORKING CLASSES*!' I heard this myself. He is being *too* clever once again.

Your

F. E.

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[a] Gottfried Ermen - [b] In the original: reply. - [c] B. Becker, *Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's*. - [d] 29 August

## 65

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 9 September 1868

DEAR FRED,

The £167 paid on 8 September, RECEIPT received and BOND received back.

I am sending you enclosed *The Times* and 2 issues of *The Daily News* about the *INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S CONGRESS*.[a] [138] You must send back the *2 'Daily News' by return.*

You see from the FIRST LEADER of *The Times*[b] what a good policy it was to send our report[c] to it alone, with a few words TO THAT EFFECT.

In great haste.

*Salut.*

Your

K. Marx

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

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## 66

## MARX TO GEORG ECCARIUS AND FRIEDRICH LESSNER [139]

IN BRUSSELS

London, 10 September 1868

Dear Eccarius and Lessner,

FIRST MY THANKS TO LESSNER FOR HIS LONG AND INTERESTING LETTER.[140]

You must not allow the congress[138] to last beyond this week.

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[a] 'The Congress of the International Association of Workmen. From Our Special Correspondent. Brussels, Sept. 6, 7', *The Daily News*, 8 and 9 September 1868. - [b] *The Times*, No. 26225, 9 September 1868. - [c] K. Marx, 'The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association', contained in Eccarius' first dispatch on the congress (see Note 136). 'International Working Men's Congress (From a Correspondent)', *The Times*, No. 26225, 9 September 1868.

Until now—AS FAR AS ENGLAND IS CONCERNED—there has been nothing to discredit it.

If the Belgians and French should once again place masses of new stuff on the agenda, let them know it will not do,[141] since

1. the Germans are very poorly represented, as their congresses are being held almost simultaneously in Germany[142];

2. England is almost not represented because of the suffrage movement;

3. the German Swiss are not yet represented at all, since they have only just affiliated, and those branches long in existence have exhausted their funds in the Geneva strike[16];

4. the discussions are being conducted one-sidedly, in French;

5. therefore, *decisions on general theoretical questions* must be avoided, since this can only lead to protests later from the non-Belgians and non-French.

The public is naturally interested mainly in the question of war. Pompous declamations and high-faluting phrases do no HARM here. The decision to be taken in this connection would seem to be simply that the working class is not yet sufficiently organised to throw any decisive weight onto the scales; that, however, the congress protests in the name of the working class, and denounces those who instigate war; that a war between France and Germany is a civil war, ruinous for both countries and for Europe as a whole. A statement that war could only benefit the Russian government can hardly be made acceptable to the French and Belgian gentlemen.[a]

Greetings to friend Becker.[b]

K. Marx

If the question of *crédit mutuel* is raised, Eccarius should simply declare that the workers in England, Germany and the United States have nothing to do with Proudhonist dogmas and consider the credit question to be of secondary importance.

The resolutions of the congress should be telegraphed to the London newspapers. So don't do anything discreditable.

K. M.

First published in *Deutsche Worte*, Nr. 5, Jg. XVIII, 1898

Printed according to the journal

[a] See this volume, p. 101. - [b] Johann Philipp Becker

67

# MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

London, 12 September 1868

DEAR FRED,

Luckily the congress[138] ends today and up to Thursday[a]—that is as far as the news goes—it had only compromised itself tolerably. But one must always fear some public disgrace, since the Belgians form the enormous majority. Mr Tolain and other Parisians want to have the GENERAL COUNCIL moved to Brussels. They are very JEALOUS OF London. It is a great step forward that the Proudhonist '*braves Belges*'[b] and French, who dogmatically declaimed against TRADES UNIONS, etc., in Geneva (1866) and Lausanne (1867),[143] are now most fanatically in favour. In spite of all their boasting, the '*braves Belges*' had made no preparations. For example, the correspondent of *The Daily News* hunted in vain for 3 days for the possible meeting place until he accidentally ran into Jung and Stepney. In fact, the premises had not been booked in advance, and the '*braves Belges*' wanted to charge the expenses (among others, those for their 250 participants) to the London GENERAL COUNCIL, to which they and the French owe about 3,000 frs. The sum is now being raised by private collections among the delegates.

I am in a bad scrape. Laura has fallen sick since you were here,[129] and my wife was forced to borrow £10 from her simply to meet the extra expenses, as we are absolutely broke.

I have heard nothing at all from Holland[c] and must therefore regard the silence as intentional. I really do not know what to do.

Apropos. It was a good thing that we changed the word CONVICTS into VICTIMS.[d]

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[a] 10 September - [b] plucky Belgians - [c] from the Philips family - [d] This evidently refers to changes in 'The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association' written by Marx (present edition, Vol. 21, p. 13).

On the return of Shaw—who was sent at Moore's expense[a]—the latter will receive his RECEIPT.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 68

## MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER

### IN NEW YORK

London, 14 September 1868
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Meyer,

Enclosed the issue of *The Times* containing the 4th ANNUAL REPORT of the GENERAL COUNCIL (written by *me*), and the very interesting *Times FIRST LEADER* on this document.[b] This is the first time that it has abandoned its tone of *moquerie* about the working class, and taken it 'verry' *au sérieux*. Spread this around. Inform Jessup of this.

I must reply to both your letters, the first to me and the 2nd to Eccarius, which was handed me in his absence (he has not yet returned from Brussels).

As far as the first letter is concerned, it is your fault if *Sorge* (who is *completely unknown* to me) has received credentials.[144] If you wanted simply to give him a recommendation for a particular purpose, you should have written so clearly. The way you put it in your letter, I believed that Sorge was *your and A. Vogt's man*. So be more careful in future. Then you made the second mistake of *giving* the credentials to Sorge, instead of writing to me first about the misunderstanding!

The mistake has been made, but it is not irreparable.

The Brussels Congress[138] has once again allotted the General

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[a] See this volume, pp. 91 and 92. - [b] *The Times*, No. 26225, 9 September 1868.

Council to London. But it is now to be regarded as a *new* COUNCIL, which *revises* all *old* credentials. So write to me whether you and A. Vogt want credentials. Write, too, *in which manner* we should withdraw Sorge's credentials or, alternatively, inform him that the new General Council has changed the credentials.[145]

Drury was here for a while. Recently, shortly before the Brussels Congress, he was *proposed* as authorised agent of the *INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION* to the AMERICAN LABOR UNION[146] and its congress. We *did not agree to this at the time*, since the source of the suggestion[a] appeared *suspicious* to us. Please observe the man more closely first, either yourself or through friends.

No COPIES remain of the *Commonwealth* PAPER. For the past few years there have *not* been any *agitational* writings in our sense in England. *My book*[b] *has not yet been translated into English.*[147] Eccarius, otherwise very capable, but at the same time very AMBITIOUS, has *intentionally not mentioned it* in *The Commonwealth* or at other opportunities. He likes to appropriate my propositions *for himself*. At the congress in Brussels, Lessner mentioned *my book* in his speech about machinery. The correspondent of *The Daily News* reported this.[c] Eccarius, who reported the congress sessions for *The Times*, *suppressed* it.[136] His conduct is all the more absurd since he owes me not only his knowledge, but also his post as general secretary on the GENERAL COUNCIL. I alone supported him (at *The Commonwealth* too) against attacks by the English and French.[148] He relies upon the experience he already has with me, that I am only concerned with the cause, and ignore personal stupidities!

I shall *not* give him your letter.

The more English excerpts from my book you can get into the American press the better.[149]

Send them to me!

I attach the enclosed card. It was sent to us, with a letter, to establish contact with us. Address: G. W. Randall, SECRETARY, WORKINGMEN'S INSTITUTE, 3 Tremont Row, ROOM 52, *Boston* N. E.

I lost contact years ago with all my acquaintances in America. I am still in touch only with Meyer[d] in St. Louis, the friend of our J. Weydemeyer (deceased last year).

Write me all you can find out about the relationship between the railways and real estate.

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[a] W. R. Cremer and Huleck (see this volume, pp. 177-78). - [b] the first volume of *Capital* - [c] 'The International Working Men's Congress. From Our Special Correspondent. Brussels, Sept. 9', *The Daily News*, 11 September 1868. - [d] Hermann Meyer

You may have seen that, at its congress in Hamburg, the General Association of German Workers passed a special resolution giving recognition to my book.[104]

Write to Randall on my behalf as GERMAN SECRETARY of the GENERAL COUNCIL.

Best greetings to A. Vogt and yourself.

Yours
K. Marx

I am sending 2 copies of *The Times*, one for you, the other for Jessup.[a]

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

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## 69

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

### IN LONDON

London, 14 September 1868

Dear Jung,

*The Times* today carries Eccarius' reports of the 9th and 10th.[b]

In the debate on machinery, he makes Lessner's SPEECH *worse*; it was much better in *The Daily News*. Lessner quoted my book,[c] as you have seen in *The Daily News*.[d] Eccarius *suppresses* the quotation.

Yet even better. In *The Daily News* the resolution about machines, etc., was noted as a *proposal from the* GENERAL COUNCIL.[e] In *The Times*, Mr Eccarius converts this into his *personal proposal*.[f]

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[a] This sentence was inserted by Marx immediately under the address.- [b] [J. G. Eccarius,] 'The International Working Men's Congress. (From a Correspondent)', *The Times*, No. 26229, 14 September 1868 (see also Note 136). - [c] the first volume of *Capital*- [d] 'The International Working Men's Congress. From Our Special Correspondent. Brussels, Sept. 9', *The Daily News*, 11 September 1868. - [e] K. Marx, 'Draft Resolution on the Consequences of Using Machinery under Capitalism Proposed by the General Council to the Brussels Congress'. - [f] See this volume, p. 101.

This is a point on which you must collar him. His egotism needs a cuff TO SET HIM RIGHT AGAIN.

Yours
K. M.

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## 70

## ENGELS TO MARX[34]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 16 September 1868

Dear Moor,

I can only write briefly and badly, I have rheumatism in my right hand and have been writing all the afternoon.

Enclosed a ten-pound note. When Borkheim returns, you absolutely must force him to undertake some sort of coup, if nothing else can be done. You will understand that I myself find things rather tight at the moment. Did you ever write to *Meissner* asking for a settling of accounts? With the workers bombarding from all sides now, the burking will soon come to an end, and the second edition[a] will not have to be awaited for long. *Now is the time* to insert a new advertisement for the book. Think one out, I shall send it to Meissner, whom I owe an answer anyway. But don't put it off. Furthermore, Meissner should be sent *The Times* with the resolution of the Germans in Brussels, the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* of yesterday,[150] etc., the man must be kept happy. If you have not done it, do it (I can no longer get that No. of *The Times* here). And then the exchange value, too, will gradually come into effect for you.

The things in *The Times* in Eccarius' report[b] will be a big help to you here, and Mr Morley will be amazed.[c] The papers here also carry fairly full extracts from the report (but most in *The Daily News*).

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[a] the second German edition of Volume I of *Capital*.-[b] [J. G. Eccarius,] 'The International Working Men's Congress. (From a Correspondent)', *The Times*, No. 26230, 15 September 1868.-[c] See this volume, p. 81.

The congress went well after all. The method of conducting the babble in public and the BUSINESS on the quiet has worked splendidly. So, the COUNCIL will remain in London, and once again the Proudhonists have only the satisfaction of having resolved that *they* are Proudhonists, and nobody else is.

One might also send Meissner the No. of the *Zukunft* about Lloyd, etc., in which you are mentioned twice. I can do all this, if you want.

Moses Hess amused me greatly.[151]

But the question now arises: Has not a popular short presentation of the content of your book *for workers* become an urgent necessity? If it is not written, some Moses or other will come along and do it and botch it up. What do you think of it?

Enclosed also Eichhoff back.[a]

It is impossible to leave without stupidities being committed. While I was away,[129] the fellows on the *comité* of the Schiller Institute,[76] acting on the suggestion of the Bradfordians, invited that swine Vogt to give a lecture here. I naturally announced my resignation at once, 'in order not to give an indirect vote of confidence to a man who, I considered it proved, was a paid Bonapartist agent in 1859'.[b] The swine is coming tomorrow.

Your
F. E.

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## 71

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 16 September 1868

Dear Engels,

THANKS FOR THE £10. At the end of the letter I shall say more about money matters. First about 'general items'.

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[a] W. Eichhoff, *Die Internationale Arbeiterassociation. Ihre Gründung, Organisation, politisch-sociale Thätigkeit und Ausbreitung.* - [b] F. Engels, 'To the Directorate of the Schiller Institute'.

The policy of sending the report solely to *The Times* has proved itself.[136] It has forced all London newspapers to speak, with the exception of the deeply-indignant Levy.[a] *The Times* did not accept Eccarius' reports from Nuremberg. It only took the bait after it had received the report from me.[b] *The Morning Advertiser* of yesterday carried (upsetting Blind) A FIRST LEADER in favour of the *International* against *The Times*.[c] The *Star* declares the congress to have been a *'SUCCESS'*.[d] *The Standard*, which first attacked us, SNEAKS before the WORKING CLASS in a leading article yesterday.[e] It knocks the capitalists and will now even pull grimaces about the LAND QUESTION. The *Journal des Débats* regrets that the English and the Germans and the Belgians, as shown by the resolution on the land,[152] belong to the *'secte communiste'* and that the French, on the other hand, keep on reproducing *'les déclamations ridicules de Proudhon'*.[f]

People are very dissatisfied with Eccarius and next Tuesday[g] a storm will break that will do him good.[153] The points of the indictment are as follows:

He took almost *no part at all* in the congress and afterwards posed in *The Times* as the LEADING MIND. Also in *The Times*, he took over the *proposals of the* GENERAL COUNCIL as his private property, and ditto the applause for them as due to him. He suppressed as far as possible the speeches *of the others* and, to flatter *The Times*, *falsified* Dupont's concluding speech. Apart from this, Lessner has the GRIEVANCE that when he (Lessner) read from my book, Eccarius suppressed this in *The Times*,[154] ditto that he only included the resolution on the book[150] in his correspondence under HIGH PRESSURE, and finally that he falsified the German resolution on war.[155] He said that a European war would be a civil war, instead of saying, as the German resolution stated, THAT 'A WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND GERMANY WAS A CIVIL WAR *FOR THE PROFIT OF RUSSIA*'. He completely omits the latter point. On the other hand, he attributes to the Germans and the English the Belgian nonsense that it was necessary TO *STRIKE* AGAINST WAR.

On the other hand, as a reporter he has done us some service. The long and the short of it is that he will be told that he should figure only as *reporter* in future, with the COUNCIL paying his

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[a] of *The Daily Telegraph* - [b] K. Marx, 'The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association'. See also this volume, p. 93. - [c] 'London, Wednesday, September 16', *The Morning Advertiser*, 16 September 1868. - [d] 'The International Congress of Workmen', *The Evening Star*, 15 September 1868. - [e] *The Standard*, 16 September 1868. - [f] 'Proudhon's ridiculous declamations' - [g] 22 September

travelling expenses and *The Times* paying for the articles. But he will *never again* be named as DELEGATE. Thus preserved from the CONFLICT OF FRACTIONS.

Lessner says that we accomplished so much despite being so little represented at the congress, which was almost entirely Belgian (with the addition of FRENCHMEN), because on all decisive points the Belgian workers, notwithstanding their Brussels LEADERS, voted with London. Moses is said to have made the best SPEECH against the Proudhonists.[151] Tolain was so furious that he did not appear at the banquet. Not only has the Central Council[73] here been appointed once again, but the list of members, *purified* by us, was accepted. Within four weeks Vésinier is to submit to a commission in Brussels proof of his suspicions regarding Tolain.[156] In case these are *baseless* (and they are), the congress has already conditionally *expelled* him from the Association as a slanderer. The delegate of the FRENCH BRANCH tabled a bill of indictment against the GENERAL COUNCIL which, among other things, contained the *modeste* demand that the French member of the GENERAL COUNCIL should be named by the FRENCH BRANCH. In response, the congress simply proceeded with the agenda (exactly as we have treated the GRIEVANCES of these fellows in the GENERAL COUNCIL).

At Nuremberg,[135] *Liebknecht* committed a completely useless stupidity (even one *contrary to the Rules*) by forcing upon the people Becker's confused wishy-washy stuff as the *Programme of the International Working Men's Association.*[157] Sonnemann remarked correctly that this was a *quid pro quo.*[a] But Mr Wilhelm wanted to have *democratic babble* for the *'People's Party'*![38]

Meissner wrote a few lines some weeks ago. He would only be able to render an account in some weeks. It appeared to him that up to the present *no profit* had been made. I am sending him *The Times* and Liebknecht[b] and the *Zukunft*[c] today. The *advertisement* will have to be done by you. I cannot advertise my own book.[d] And it would be a very good thing if you yourself wrote a small popular explanatory pamphlet. Let us hope that things will now get going.

As regards money matters, I simply cannot go on in this way. It makes all work impossible. I believe it would be best if you would write to Borkheim and ask him whether it was not possible to raise money for me somehow since, *after paying off the* LOAN SOCIETY and other accumulated debts, I was now in great difficulties because of

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[a] confusion - [b] Liebknecht's paper, the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - [c] See this volume, p. 100. - [d] the first volume of *Capital*

extra expenses, including trousseau for Laura, who was soon going to Paris. (And this is in fact an *aggravating* circumstance!) I have studied Borkheim enough to know that he must believe that I have, WITHIN CERTAIN LIMITS, A SETTLED INCOME, but that I am in particular difficulties because there is as yet no income from the book, etc. He should think that you are writing to him behind my back. Of course, you must give him your guarantee, or rather promise it.

It is a very good thing that *Vogt* is in England[a] just when the INTERNATIONAL is arousing such interest. *He* can put two and two together.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 72

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 18 September 1868

Dear Moor,

I think you will not be able to enforce the intended exclusion of Eccarius from the congress; he will be indispensable, as a delegate too. Apart from this, it is very good, however, that he does not get away with this, and that there are various people WHO WILL WASH HIS HEAD, as Lafargue says.

As regards the advertisement (*annonce*) about your book,[b] it is absurd to claim that you could not write it yourself. You even wanted to write it yourself when I sent you one that you did not like.[c] Be so kind as to return to this matter, and send me the advertisement you promised me then. I shall then pass it on to

[a] See this volume, p. 100. - [b] the first volume of *Capital* - [c] See this volume, p. 8.

Meissner. But we shall have to support him somewhat so that his good will does not weaken.

*In puncto*[a] money I shall write to Borkheim willingly as soon as you inform me that he is back. Apropos this matter, you must, however, let me know what happened when you drew the loan. For how much did you insure your life, at what premium, and is the policy still valid? Because it might still be possible to get a new loan or an advance on the policy itself from the same society. But how am I to raise money for you if you leave me quite in the dark about all these matters? If I can reach agreement with Gottfried Ermen, who will scarcely return before the end of October, I shall immediately be able to raise some funds once again, but everything depends on this. If I can *not* reach agreement with him, my own position will become very uncertain. It can, however, take until the end of this year before the matter is settled, and this means another 3 1/2 months.[158]

William the Handsome[b] is getting exuberant now that his Bismarck has left him.[159] The drive towards war is becoming ever clearer. For all that, I believe it is now too late for this year. Purchasing horses and the actual mobilisation still require more time in France than in Prussia, and despite all the preparations and bragging I do not believe that the French need less than 6 weeks for this. As the domestic supply of horses is insufficient, the beginning of the actual mobilisation, that is to say, now, the firm decision to strike, will inevitably be marked by large purchases of horses abroad, which immediately becomes public knowledge. Even now it will be a long time before they can have the *entire* number of horses necessary for war. Little Louis[c] will have to give 5-6 weeks NOTICE, and this brings us to the end of October; and especially with the enormous masses now involved, a winter campaign would certainly only be waged in an extreme emergency. If there are not quite special reasons, we are pretty safe until March-April, and all sorts of things can happen before then.

In addition, Louis still does not *have* anything like the number of men he needs. He will hardly be able to raise more than 650,000 troops of the line (*gendarmerie, garde municipale* and all sorts of other police troops figure in the army budget), and much of the *garde mobile* does not even exist on paper. It takes at least 6/7 years to fully implement a changed military system, and his is only one year old. I do not believe that Louis wants a war precisely at this moment, if he can avoid it, since every month of delay

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[a] As regards - [b] William I - [c] Napoleon III

brings stronger reinforcement to *his* forces than to those of Prussia.

I hope Laura is well again? Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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## 73

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 19 September 1868

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed a letter from Schweitzer,[160] ditto one from Essen and also 6 numbers of the *Social-Demokrat*. I must have all this stuff back by *Tuesday*.[a] What answer should I give the cunning Schweitzer? You will see from the debates of the *General Association of German Workers congress*[104] (in the *Social-Demokrat*) that the 'true-blue' Lassalleans smelt that their president was leaving Lassalle's course in proposing a congress for the establishment of TRADES UNIONS and settlement of STRIKES.[161] He only received permission to launch this agitation independently of the Association of German Workers by threatening to resign. His purpose, of course, is to get in ahead of Liebknecht, etc. He was also aware that, with the development of a *real* workers' organisation in Germany based on TRADES UNIONS, his artificial sectarian Association WOULD SOON BE NOWHERE. What he now describes in a LEADER (No. 104)[b] as the summa of Lassalle's discoveries: 'state credit for the foundation of productive associations', is literally copied from the programme of French *Catholic* socialism, *duce*[c] Buchez, in the *Atelier* at the time of Louis Philippe.[162] I must answer diplomatically and would like to know your view.

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[a] 22 September - [b] 'Der allgemeine deutsche Arbeiter-Congress. II', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 104, 6 September 1868. - [c] led by

*Vogt* is no longer available here.[a] But yesterday I wrote to Liebknecht and categorically requested information about the copies (perhaps 150) sent to him.[163]

Next Tuesday[b] at the first session of the GENERAL COUNCIL there will be stormy weather. Dupont is also furious about Eccarius because he took as good as no part in the congress.[153] I shall try to protect Eccarius against 'positive' measures,[c] but this time I shall not be able to take sides for him so strongly as I did last year against Fox, Carter, etc.[148]

A *Bordelais,*[d] merchant, friend of Lafargue, English-speaking, passed through here after a journey through Sweden and Denmark. He told Lafargue that in higher circles there they speak much about my book,[e] which does not sound very likely to me.

Laurachen is somewhat better. Her SUFFERINGS are connected with certain natural processes of development. They want to leave at the beginning of October, and this is awkward because the linen part of the trousseau is still incomplete.

*L'illustre* Gaudissart[f] returned today.

The loan was like this: You borrow money FOR A CERTAIN TERM. If you die before maturity, the sum need *not* be paid back. On the other hand, in the contrary case repayment must be made on the date of maturity with the STIPULATED interest. The transaction is then *at an end.* It is thus no life insurance. You do not receive a policy, but the money, for which you make out a BOND. This was naturally returned to me. It is the peculiar form that makes the whole business so expensive—certainly the worst and the dearest way to borrow money.

The sole circumstance which would, in my opinion, favour Bonaparte in a belated campaign is that Russia would then be more paralysed, at least for military action. One thing is certain. The whole of France believes that war is IMMINENT.

As for the advertisement, I shall *d'abord*[g] see what Meissner answers. I have asked him about it.[h]

How did things go with fat Vogt?[i]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

The report on the Brussels Congress in the *Opinion nationale* states, inter alia:

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[a] Marx means his book *Herr Vogt.* - [b] 22 September - [c] See this volume, pp. 101-02. - [d] man from Bordeaux - [e] the first volume of *Capital* - [f] Sigismund Borkheim - [g] first - [h] See this volume, p. 102. - [i] Ibid., p. 100.

'Je dois mentionner ici le rapport général de l'Association, rédigé par le conseil de Londres. *Mentionner*, c'est bien le seul mot que je puisse employer, car, je ne suis point assez fort légiste pour trier et élaguer les phrases incriminables par les lois de France, et il s'en pourrait trouver quelques-unes de ce genre.'[a]

Speaks then of the PASSAGES dealing with *'le gouvernement français'*.

'La critique y est verte parfois, et souvent ironique. Je le répète, je ne puis m'en faire juge; mais je dois avouer que le public a été moins timide que votre correspondant; il a couvert d'applaudissements frénétiques tous les passages que je m'abstiens de citer.'[b]

There were 12 REPORTERS from France there.

The *Émancipation*[c] and the *Journal de Bruxelles*[d] attacked the congress in exactly the same way as they attacked us 20 years ago.

One Russian was there as a journalist. He said he would send the General Council the Russian papers that wrote about the congress.

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## 74

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 21 September 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed returned the Schweitzer stuff.[160] The man is an idiot to believe that he can bribe you with such a letter. In making you chief of 'Europe' in general, he hints delicately that your kingdom

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[a] 'I must mention here the general report of the Association, drafted by the Council in London. *Mention* is in fact the only word which I can use since I am not sufficiently qualified in law to identify and weed out the phrases punishable under French law, and there could well be some of this sort in it' (from J. I. Blanc's report on the Brussels Congress of the International Working Men's Association in *L'Opinion nationale*, 10 September 1868). - [b] 'The criticism here is sometimes sharp and often ironical. I repeat I cannot make a judgment; but I must admit that the audience was less timid than your correspondent; it received with frantic applause all those passages which I refrain from quoting' (ibid). - [c] *L'Émancipation belge*, No. 254, 10 September 1868, leading article. - [d] *Journal de Bruxelles*, Nos 252, 254-260; 8, 10-16 September 1868.

is, for this very reason, not in any country in particular, i.e., strictly speaking, not of this world. He appoints you Pope so that you may anoint him Kaiser of Germany, and thus give a kick to Wilhelm.[a] In any case, it is worth much that you have *this* letter in your hands.

I think you should, above all, point out to the philistine that his workers' congress[164] only makes sense if it is a *genuine* workers' congress, not merely a feeble imitation of his Hamburg congress; i.e. if Schweitzer sees to it that non-Lassallean elements are also represented. So far, there is no sign of this, and Schweitzer does not appear to have taken any steps in this direction. Whether he 'can make friends' with Wilhelm and others or not, is completely immaterial; in a matter like this he must go along with them. Then, regarding the statutes, you could write to him that what counts is less what is in them than how they are handled.

The fellow obviously wishes to push out Wilhelmchen, Bebel and consorts, and be able to appeal to something in writing from you for this purpose. That must be very important to him, otherwise he would never have written you this letter, which delivers him absolutely into your hands for ever. You are quite right that he sees that a few Lassallean phrases will no longer do and that he must expand.

If I am not mistaken you also gave Wilhelmchen copies of the *18th Brumaire.*[b] Some of them should be brought here, I no longer have a copy.

I shall write to Gaudissart.[c]

The Spanish business[165] could end all the war clamour. *La innocente Isabel*[d] was the only reliable ally that Louis[e] had, and if a revolution should be victorious in Spain, the whole constellation will assume a different character. The affair will probably be decided very quickly; I believe the Innocent Lady is *foutue.*[f]

Your
F. E.

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[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [b] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.* - [c] Sigismund Borkheim - [d] Isabella II - [e] Napoleon III - [f] finished

## 75

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 23 September 1868

DEAR FRED,

From the enclosed you will see that Liebknecht wants to get rid of Schweitzer through me, just as Schweitzer wants to get rid of Liebknecht.[166] I have replied to Wilhelm[84]: No overhastiness! If he acts with tact, Schweitzer will himself SETTLE DOWN TO MORE MODERATE 'PROPORTIONS' or ruin himself. The dissolution of the General Association of German Workers[167] brings Lassalleanism *qua*[a] such to a forcible end, although it still may carry on for SOME TIME A LINGERING SECT LIFE.

I enclose Schweitzer's report in the *Social-Demokrat* on the catastrophe.[b]

I completely share your view that the Spanish revolution (it has the same significance as the Neapolitan revolution of 1848[168]) gives a new turn to European history and, in particular, like a *deus ex machina*, cuts the Gordian knot of the repulsive German-French war.

Strohn has just arrived from the continent. So, more next time.

Your
Moor

*The Times* paid Eccarius 2 1/2 GUINEAS per column, sang hymns of praise to him, and made him advantageous proposals. Send Wilhelm[c] back to me.

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[a] as - [b] [J. B.] Schweitzer, 'An die Mitglieder des Allg. deutsch. Arb.-Vereins', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 110, 20 September 1868.- [c] Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to Marx of 16 September 1868.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 24 September 1868

Dear Moor,

So *that* is the reason for the sycophantic letter from Schweitzer![a] The fellow obviously knew what was in store for him when he wrote to you. On the one hand, it may not be altogether unwelcome to him that he can drop the strict Lassallean religion, but fundamentally the loss of the 'tight' organisation and of the possibility to play at dictator is certainly fatal to him. Of course, this is the end of the Lassallean sect's self-important pretence that *it* is 'the party' in Germany, and the sect will gradually expire; it will continue to twitch the longest in the Bergisches Land, the real home of sects.

Incidentally, as Wilhelm[b] rightly guesses, his associations will also come under attack.[169] So much the better. The petty-bourgeois-people's-party-federalist fad of these fellows is not worth a penny. And it is a good thing that the government really stirs up the workers, once it sees that the workers won't let themselves be used by it against the bourgeoisie. Some form or another will surely be found.

But what a comrade Wilhelm is! Less than 4 months since he entered into a 'sort of alliance' with Schweitzer,[105] and today they are again at loggerheads, and he is too SLIPPERY for him. He knew that before, didn't he—but what about the fine lads he had 'assigned to watch him'!

What is this proclamation that you are supposed to issue by all means?[166] And these fine phrases in it about 'persons' which Wilhelm might construe against Baptist[c] and Baptist against Wilhelm! The South German democrat is impossible to get rid of, once you have him in your system. One might think Wilhelm was writing to Struve.

Schlöffel (the elder) has turned up again *in Silesia*. I am folding into the returned *Social-Demokrat* some curiosa from the *Zukunft*.

If you had only gone to Nuremberg! You would have been

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[a] See this volume, pp. 105 and 107-08. - [b] Wilhelm Liebknecht; see this volume, p. 109. - [c] Baptist Schweitzer

compensated and afterwards been able to start again from the beginning with the SUFFERINGS. I tell you the fellow still can't distinguish you from Struve.

Apropos the dissolution of the General Association of German Workers[167] Wilhelm could now reprint the pertinent passages from my pamphlet,[a] in which all this was predicted for the Lassallean gentlemen. What do you think about it? I could prepare the muck for him, as I still have a few copies here.[170]

Your
F. E.

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## 77

## MARX TO ENGELS[80]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 25 September 1868

Dear FRED,

Can you send me £5 by Saturday[b] morning? One of the TRADESMEN just called and told me he was on the verge of bankruptcy and would have great expenses if he had not raised A CERTAIN SUM from HIS CREDITORS by Saturday.

Your
K. M.

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[a] *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party.* - [b] 26 September

## 78

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 25 September 1868

DEAR FRED,

BY ALL MEANS do the stuff for Liebknecht[170] as quickly as feasible. Otherwise, the fellow will do it himself and, you may depend upon it, do it *badly*. It appears to me it would be a good thing if you were also to draw attention to what Bernhard Becker stole from your pamphlet[a] and endorsed, after bitter experience, in his shitty pamphlet.[b] (He cursed us so horribly when he was still 'President of Humanity'.[171]) You can have the pamphlet right away if you write immediately to Strohn, who took it with him to Bradford.

The time has now come to KICK this 'Lassalleanism' 'just for a start'. And there is no need at all to allow B. Becker's shitty pamphlet to be buried in silence.[172]

The 'appeal' the fiery Wilhelmchen speaks of[166] is this: I (i. e. in the name of the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION, as its SECRETARY FOR GERMANY) must naturally address SOME GENERAL LINES to the German workers, now that their relationship to us has changed as a result of their various congress decisions. But no undue haste is necessary in so doing. In all these things 'more haste, less speed', and, as we know, our Wilhelmchen has shown no 'haste' with the matter for 6-7 years.

*Quant à*[c] Schweitzer, I had a sort of presentiment that some turning point WAS LOOMING SOMEWHERE. Although my reply to him had therefore been ready for some days[d]—(in which I with schoolmasterly reserve point out to him, in particular, the difference in conditions between a sectarian movement and a real class movement)—I have, nevertheless, held the stuff back. And I will now only answer him after the results are available of his fresh attempt to call a congress in Berlin for forming TRADES UNIONS.[164] In any case, Schweitzer has learned one thing about me, that the promptness with which I answer his letters is always in inverse proportion to their 'warmth of feeling'.

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[a] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - [b] B. Becker, *Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's*. - [c] As for - [d] See this volume, pp. 132-35.

Wilhelm has only ONE COPY left of *The 18th Brumaire.*
How did things go with *Vogt's* LECTURES in the Schiller Institute[76]?

Your
K. M.

Blanqui was in constant attendance during the Brussels Congress.

In a BLUE BOOK[173] about the crisis of 1857,[a] *Cardwell,* CHAIRMAN of the COMMITTEE of Inquiry and the most disgusting washerwoman in the Peelite clique of old women, asks *Dixon* (MANAGING DIRECTOR of a bank which had failed in Liverpool) whether the SHAREHOLDERS of the bank had consisted largely of women, parsons and other persons with no knowledge of banking. BY NO MEANS, Dixon replied, they were mainly 'MERCANTILE MEN' but, he added very KNOWINGLY:

'THE MAJORITY OF THEM ARE PEOPLE IN BUSINESS, MERCANTILE MEN; BUT HOW FAR *MERCANTILE MEN CAN BE CONSIDERED COMPETENT TO FORM AN OPINION ON ANY OTHER BUSINESS THAN THEIR OWN,* IS *RATHER* A QUESTION.' Is that not nice?

Apropos!

Moore should send me Foster's *On Exchange* from his lending library, since it is not in the library here. I shall send it back immediately.

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## 79

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 September 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed the desired five pounds in one bank note.

The business in Spain[165] must be going well, since the government has so little good news to announce. Still, it is surprising that the telegraphs to the frontiers have not yet been

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[a] *Report from the Select Committee on the Bank Acts; together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index. Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be Printed, 1 July 1858.*

cut. This proves that the Innocent Lady[a] *could* very well go to Madrid if she really wanted to.

Your
F. E.

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## 80

## MARX TO ENGELS[174]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 26 September 1868

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR £5. These lousy little SHOPKEEPERS are a wretched class. My wife immediately took the money to the house of the dun. The man himself had 'made himself scarce' for the time being (and he is in his way quite a decent fellow); his wife, dripping with tears, accepted the money for him. Many, in fact most, of these SHOPKEEPERS experience all the misery of the proletariat, plus the 'fear' and 'serfdom of respectability', and without the COMPENSATING self-esteem of the better workers.

Apropos. The squabble among the authorities of the TRADES UNIONS, which in fact paralysed them for years, has at last been settled. THE LONDON TRADES' COUNCIL (Odger et Co.), London WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION (Potter et Co.) and the AMALGAMATED TRADES UNIONS (I believe the main office is at present Sheffield, it changes annually) have finally agreed on *joint action*.[175] This is the outcome of the bourgeois CAMPAIGN aganist the TRADES UNIONS.

I return the last numbers of Schweitzer,[b] since you may need them in the article for Wilhelm.[170] Keep them in Manchester, but in such a way that they can be found again if needed. I do not believe that Schweitzer had an idea of the impending blow. Had this been the case he would scarcely have clucked so triumphantly about the 'tight organisation'.[c] I believe it was the 'INTERNATIONAL

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[a] Isabella II - [b] *Der Social-Demokrat* - [c] [J. B.] Schweitzer, 'An die Mitglieder des Allg. deutsch. Arb.-Vereins', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 110, 20 September 1868.

WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION' that moved the Prussian government to this decisive blow. As for the 'warm fraternal' letter from Schweitzer to me,[160] this is explained simply by his fear that following the Nuremberg decision[135] I might now publicly speak up for Wilhelm[a] and against him. Such a polemic would certainly be awkward after the Hamburg affair[104] (*le bonhomme*[b] had written to me requesting me kindly to come to Hamburg in person, 'to have the well-earned laurels placed upon my brow'!).

The most essential thing for the German working class is that it should cease to agitate by permission of the high government authorities. Such a bureaucratically schooled RACE must undergo a complete course of 'self help'. On the other hand, they undoubtedly have the advantage that they are starting the movement at a period when conditions are much further developed than they were for the English and that, as Germans, they have heads on their shoulders capable of generalising. Eccarius is full of praise for the parliamentary propriety and tact that reigned at the Nuremberg congress, particularly compared with the French at Brussels.[138]

In Spain things still look doubtful; but it appears to me that the movement can be suppressed only for a short time at the most.[165] One thing I do not understand is that the LEADERS did not wait until the 'Innocent Lady'[c] had left Spain and was visiting Bonaparte. Could it be that the latter himself had a hand in the game?

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

One of Schweitzer's most ridiculous operations—to which, however, he is absolutely forced by the prejudices of his army and as the president of the General Association of German Workers—is that he regularly pledges himself *in verba magistri,*[d] and each time he makes a new concession to the needs of the real workers' movement he argues timidly that this does *not* contradict the dogmas of the Lassallean faith, the only guarantee of eternal salvation. The Hamburg Congress instinctively and quite correctly recognised that the General Association of German Workers, as the specific organisation of the Lassallean sect, was endangered by the real workers' movement operating through TRADES UNIONS, etc.,

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[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [b] the good man - [c] Isabella II - [d] on the words of the master (Horace, *Epistles,* Book I, Epistle I)

and that by participating in these officially it would forfeit the distinctiveness that constitutes its *point d'honneur* and *raison d'être.*

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## 81

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 29 September 1868

Dear Fred,

Enclosed and attached letter from Eichhoff[176] together with 2 issues of the *Social-Demokrat*[a] and the *Staatsbürger-Zeitung.*

You will see from them that 'boozy' Schulze-Delitzsch has succeeded in giving momentary importance to Schweitzer's stage-trick; that Schweitzer's whole congress consists *only* (minus 12 men) of Lassalleans[177]; and that Schweitzer believes that he can in a very simple way replace his dictatorship over the General Association of German Workers by the dictatorship over the German working class. That is very naive.

The sole practical question for us is: Should I or should I not issue an appeal *at this moment?* In view of its position, the General Council must maintain an impartial stand. Would it not therefore be better to wait until 1. the nullity of the results of Schweitzer's game has become more apparent and, 2. Liebknecht and Co. have really organised something?

It appears to me that the power of the General Council greatly depends upon its not tying itself down prematurely and never doing so without certainty of success; it should, rather, practise Russian diplomacy in its operations.

If you share this view (and you must declare yourself in 2-3 days), I can simply write to Wilhelm and Eichhoff that the majority of the General Council has declared itself against any public proclamation until the elements that have joined the

[a] *Der Social-Demokrat,* Nos 112 and 113, 25 and 27 September 1868.

International Working Men's Association are sufficiently organised to provide the necessary backing.

Your
K. M.

In the meantime Lassalleanism, which is already crumbling, can be further subverted UNDERHAND as, e.g., by your article.[a]

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 30 September 1868

Dear Moor,

Once you have entered into contact with Schweitzer in your capacity as Secretary FOR GERMANY,[b] I do not see how you could do anything except observe complete neutrality between him and Wilhelmchen—at least in official conduct. As far as I know, the Lassalleans accepted your programme in Hamburg,[104] so more cannot be expected. One must simply leave it to Schweitzer to destroy himself; if we ourselves were in Germany, things would be different.

Even from the previous *Social-Demokrat* I saw that he wanted to transfer his 'tight organisation' to the TRADES UNIONS[c]; now we have to wait and see whether he succeeds, which I do not believe. TRADES BUSINESS is money business, and there dictatorship ends of itself. And the substitution won't work as easily as the *bonhomme*[d] believes.

The COUNCIL can and may only take sides when it is itself attacked directly or indirectly, or when the principles of the

[a] F. Engels, 'On the Dissolution of the Lassallean Workers' Association'. - [b] See this volume, p. 76. - [c] Engels presumably means the article 'Zum Allgemeinen deutschen Arbeiter-Congress. Berlin, 24. September' in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 112, 25 September 1868. - [d] good man

Association are infringed. This is precisely how it acted at the time with regard to the Parisians.[178]

Moreover, what is Wilhelmchen's organisation[169] so far, what has been the effect of the Nuremberg decision?[135] Have societies really affiliated, paid subscriptions, etc.? I know nothing about it. And what does Wilhelm want to do in relation to Schweitzer's STRIKE organisation?[164] What else does he want to organise? All this is still very unclear to me.

Furthermore: What practical effect would it have if you and the General Council issued a declaration against the Lassalleans? I believe very little, at most the sect as such would stick together the more firmly. And what can they be reproached with? That they do not follow W. Liebknecht? As long as the fellows have trust in Schweitzer, and as long as Liebknecht and Schweitzer squabble, all sermonising about unity is sheer folly.

To attack the Lassalle stuff in *literary* form is quite another matter. But to proscribe him, so to speak, would only consolidate a sect which is otherwise in disintegration.

I suggest you also find occasion to give Schweitzer a piece of your mind concerning his dictatorial ambitions, if you write to him at all. After all, he wanted to send you the drafts first.[160]

Apropos. The letter from *Eichhoff*[176] *was not enclosed.*

*Vogt.*[179] I could not write to you about this since Schorlemmer was in the LAKES, and I myself naturally asked no questions. So far, I only heard yesterday that the lecture did not cover the expenses, that Vogt, though he has always given the same lecture for the past year, nevertheless spoke very stumblingly and sloppily, often repeated himself, etc. After the lecture some people sat with him in the dining room, where the good Vogt was, however, so pressed with questions about the monkey trial by the Unitarian preacher Steinthal (brother of Weerth's[a]), by Kalisch, an old boring language teacher, and by yet another fellow, that he was absolutely overwhelmed and sneaked off at the first opportunity. He is said to have felt altogether very uneasy and uncomfortable here, while in Bradford he was very fêted and buoyant. He made a few remarks to Davisson which caused the latter to note afterwards that he must be quite a nasty fellow, capable of anything. I shall be hearing more. In any case, *he* will not come here again.

Your
F. E.

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[a] The brother of Weerth's principal is meant.

You will probably be hearing from Borkheim shortly, otherwise from me *in re nervi rerum.*[a]

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## ENGELS TO MARX [180]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 2 October 1868

Dear Moor,

Borkheim has done his business excellently. At the end of last month the sum of £72 was due for wine which Charles,[b] Gumpert and I had received from him. It was only at the beginning of this month, however, that I could lay my hands on the cash. So I sent it to him yesterday and asked whether he knew how to raise £100 for you or whether he could leave the wine unpaid until February. He agreed to the latter and advanced the other £28 himself. So we have, I think, peace and quiet at least for the immediate future.

But now you must get on with the 2nd volume,[41] and give your liver some exercise.

The Spanish business [165] has gone brilliantly so far. The 'dynasty' had already been wrecked in the vagina of the Innocent Lady.[c] So the minimum consequence: a change in dynasty and an elected king, plus a constituent assembly. All very nice things, even in themselves, on Mr Bonaparte's frontier. It may get better yet.

Schweitzeriana[d] back this evening, forgotten yesterday by mistake. His manner of establishing a few nice little posts for life for himself and Fritzsche is priceless. But the whole story is impracticable. In the 'Union' 3 independent powers of different origin! 1. The committee, elected by the *trades*. 2. The presidium, elected by a general vote. 3. The congress, elected by the *local organisations*. This means collisions everywhere, and that is

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[a] with regard to vital (here: money) matters - [b] Charles Roesgen - [c] Isabella II - [d] See this volume, p. 116.

supposed to make for 'rapid action'. To be sure, the *elú du suffrage universel,*[a] as everybody's trusted agent, is in the best position. Childish of Lassalle to have taken over these idiocies from the French Constitution,[181] and of Schweitzer to treat them as eternal models to be used everywhere.[b] However it may be, the whole business will get nowhere so long as only the Lassalleans are in it, and as soon as others participate, too, the stuff will come to an end.

Have to catch the last post.

Your
F. E.

Enclosed the ceremonial RECEIPT which the illustrious Gaudissart[c] has accepted from you to prove that he is a serious businessman.

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## 84

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 4 October 1868

DEAR FRED,

In the package which you will receive simultaneously there are:

1. Two letters from *Eichhoff,* the *forgotten one* and one which *arrived today*[182];
2. Letter from Liebknecht[183];
3. Letter from Borkheim[184];
4. Manuscript and letter from J. Dietzgen[185];
5. Letter from the Russian Danielson in Petersburg[186];
6. Letter from Lessner.

Since most of these letters (which you must return with the exception of the manuscript) have only just arrived, in all haste the following:

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[a] man elected by universal suffrage - [b] See also this volume, p. 135. - [c] Sigismund Borkheim

*Ad No. 5.* I am naturally extraordinarily pleased to hear that my book will appear in Petersburg in *Russian* translation. I shall immediately send the people what they requested[a] (as far as I can) as soon as you have returned the letter.

*Ad 4.* Read through the manuscript. My view is that J. Dietzgen would do best if he condensed all his ideas into *2 printed sheets* and had them printed in his name as a tanner. If he publishes them at the intended length, he will make a fool of himself because of the lack of dialectical development and the running in circles. Read it through and write your opinion.

*Ad 3.* To understand Gaudissart's[b] letter, briefly the following: He wanted to write about the Pan-Slav democratic movement; for this I gave him your articles about Bakunin in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.*[c] His plan to appear with *you* before the public is excellent, but there is no hurry because he has not turned out his 25 printed sheets by a long way yet.

Secondly, he maintained a certain correspondence, despite my warning, with Dr Crapper, alias Elard Biscamp. Now that the latter has directly attacked me and the International in the *Weser-Zeitung* and the *Augsburgerin,*[d] he proposes, as you see, to publish in Liebknecht's paper his latest exchange of letters with Biscamp. *Ce brave*[e] Gaudissart! In these letters he presents himself as *my* patron, and lets Biscamp flatter *him.* I wrote to him by return that I would have to protest tooth and nail against this sort of thing.[84] For greater security I immediately wrote to *Liebknecht* that he *must not print* the Borkheim-Biscamp correspondence *under any circumstances.*[84]

*Ad 1 and 2.* I have sent to Liebknecht for his political review an *entrefilet*[f] about *M. Hirsch* (because of the 'International'), and, at the same time, a few blows at Biscamp as correspondent of the *Weser-Zeitung* and the *Augsburger.*[g]

*Ad 6.* The £100 (of which ABOUT £35 for Laura) I have used to pay off the most urgent things and only kept as much on hand as is necessary in order not to be absolutely penniless. I still have about £100 of debts and will soon send you a list of the ITEMS so that you can see that there are no useless expenditures on my part. Now I received the enclosed note from Lessner today. His

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[a] See this volume, pp. 123-25. - [b] Sigismund Borkheim's - [c] F. Engels, *Democratic Pan-Slavism.* - [d] [E. Biscamp,] 'London, 25. Sept.', *Allgemeine Zeitung,* No. 273, 29 September 1868 (published in the column *Grossbritannien,* signed Δ). - [e] Good old - [f] a short article - [g] K. Marx, 'Connections Between the International Working Men's Association and English Working Men's Organisations'.

wife is mortally ill, and it would be very kind of you to enable me to pay him off something.

IN ALL HASTE.

Your
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 October 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed Lessner's letter and bill and five pounds. I shall see to it that at least *this* bill will be paid off bit by bit.

I have scarcely been able to have a look at the other things, for I was so horribly busy today. Tomorrow I shall send you back the letters.

Best greetings to your wife and the girls, including Lafargue.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[34]

IN PETERSBURG

London, 7 October 1868
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park, N. W.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your esteemed letter,[186] the following:

1. You must not wait for the second volume, the publication of which will be delayed by perhaps another 6 months.[187] I cannot finish it, until certain official *enquêtes*,[a] instituted during last year (and 1866) in France, the United States and England, have been completed or published. In any case, Volume I constitutes a whole, complete in itself.

2. Enclosed is my photogram.

3. Socialist literature does not exist in the United States. There are only workers' papers.

4. I myself possess no collection of my works, which were written in various languages and published in various places. Most of them are out of print.

Since I am unable to meet your request in this respect—*la plus belle fille de France ne peut donner que ce qu'elle a*[b]—I shall have to confine myself to giving you some brief notes on my literary-political activity, which you might be able to use in the preface to your translation.[188]

*Dr K. Marx*, born 1818 in Trier (Rhenish Prussia).

*1842-43: Redacteur en chef*[c] of the *Rheinische Zeitung* (*Cologne*). This newspaper is forcibly suppressed by the Prussian government. Marx goes to Paris; publishes there, together with Arnold Ruge, the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* (*Paris, 1844*). At the end of 1844, Marx is expelled from France by Guizot; proceeds to *Brussels*. Together with *Friedrich Engels* publishes *Die heilige Familie, oder Kritik der kritischen Kritik. Gegen Bruno Bauer und Consorten* (*Frankfort on the Main, 1845*). (This work, like the essays by Marx in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*,[d] are directed against the ideological mysticism of Hegelian and, in general, speculative philosophy.) Also published during the stay in Brussels: *Misère de*

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[a] enquiries - [b] the most beautiful girl in France can only give what she has - [c] Editor-in-Chief - [d] *On the Jewish Question* and *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction.*

*la philosophie. Réponse à la Philosophie de la misère de M. Proudhon (Brussels and Paris, 1847).*

*Discours sur le libre Échange (Brussels,* 1848[189]). Finally, at the beginning of 1848, together with *Friedrich Engels: Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei* (London).

Shortly after the outbreak of the February revolution, Marx is expelled from Belgium; receives at the same time from the French provisional government an invitation to return to France[a]; proceeds to Paris and, in April 1848, to *Cologne* (Germany), publishing there:

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (from June 1848 to May 1849). Also there:

*Zwei Politische Prozesse* (Cologne, 1849). (Containing the trial proceedings and Marx's defence speeches at the Assizes.[b] Marx charged on one occasion with insulting the *procureur du roi,*[c] and on the other, after the Prussian coup d'état (Manteuffel), with inciting rebellion. In both cases Marx acquitted by the jury.)

In the course of *May 1849,* the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is suppressed by the Prussian government and Marx expelled from Prussia.[d] Proceeds once more to Paris. Again expelled from France[e]; proceeds at the end of October *1849* to *London,* where he still resides. During his stay there, publishes:

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue (1850, Hamburg and New York).*

*Der 18te Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte (New York,* 1852).

*Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln (1853,* two editions, one in Basle, one in Boston, United States).

Fly-sheets against Lord Palmerston[f] (*London, Birmingham, Glasgow,* 1853-1854).

*Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie (Berlin,* 1859).

*Herr Vogt (London,* 1860).

*1851-1861,* continuous contributions in *English* to the *New-York Tribune, Putnam's Revue*[190] and *The New American Cyclopedia.*[g]

*1864:* The foundation programme of the 'International Workingmen's Association', that is: *Address to the Working People of Europe*[h] and

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[a] See 'Ferdinand Flocon to Marx in Brussels. Paris, March 1, 1848' (present edition, Vol. 6, p. 649). - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'The First Trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*' and 'The Trial of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats'. - [c] Royal Prosecutor (Zweiffel) - [d] See present edition, Vol. 9, p. 496. - [e] Ibid., pp. 526-27. - [f] K. Marx, *Lord Palmerston.* - [g] See present edition, Vols. 11-18. - [h] K. Marx, *Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association.* In: *Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association...*

the *Rules* of the Association,[a] later (1866) definitively sanctioned at the congress of the International Working Men's Association at Geneva. Marx continuously, up to the present, MEMBER OF THE *GENERAL COUNCIL* OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION, AND ITS SECRETARY FOR GERMANY.

*1867: Das Kapital etc.*

Yours faithfully,

Karl Marx

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 8 October 1868

Dear Moor,

I have been terribly plagued with COMMERCE these days, so I can only return the letters today.[b]

Schweitzer is a special case. The fellow is more cunning and more active than all his opponents together, although this time he has certainly been *too* cunning—according to the *Kölnische Zeitung* the real workers' assemblies which are now appearing are everywhere repudiating the presidents imposed upon them by the 'Congress',[164] and these SELF-ELECTED fellows, up to and including Schweitzer, will realise that, as soon as there is real BUSINESS, these tricks and attempts to impose their sect upon the real movement as a leadership are no longer effective.

As Secretary for Germany you will of course have to correspond with the UNIONS that might be formed, as long as counter-UNIONS are not formed within the individual trades, when a choice would have to be made between the two—or could they both affiliate? In this respect, you will have English PRECEDENTS.[191] Of importance is only

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[a] *Rules.* In: *Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association* - [b] See this volume, p. 120.

the point that Schweitzer and his people should always be reminded that they are corresponding with the *Secretary for Germany,* not with *Karl Marx,* and you will see to this.

The Russian translation[a] is very gratifying; as soon as the matter has gone a little further, this should be got into the press.

I have not yet been able to look at the manuscript by Dietzgen.[185]

Gaudissart[b] becomes increasingly amusing. The 30 printed sheets are not dangerous for the time being; since they are supposed to appear simultaneously in 4 languages it will probably still take an eternity. As a Jew he simply cannot stop cheating, and it serves him right that he has burnt his fingers on Biscamp.

Wilhelmchen[c] is not bad either. Regarding the Swabians, it thus appears to be *money* matters that bind him and his people to the federalists. This should be investigated more closely, afterwards all this will fall on our shoulders. I had drawn his attention to the fact that at a moment when revolutionary action came nearer, it was absolutely *against* the interests of our Party that our people should be too closely committed to one party in the basically rotten antagonism between Greater Prussia and Austrian-Federalist Greater Germany. The unfortunate fool still cannot see that the entire antithesis with its two sides is a case of narrow-mindedness pure and simple. I thought the Spanish revolution[165] would have made him see some light, but NO GO.

I have seen no details yet about the course of the Schweitzer congress and its effects, since I only receive the *Zukunft* late.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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[a] of the first volume of *Capital;* see this volume, p. 123. - [b] Sigismund Borkheim; see this volume, p. 121. - [c] Wilhelm Liebknecht

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## MARX TO ENGELS[174]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 10 October 1868

DEAR FRED,

THANKS FOR THE £5. I have given Lessner £8.[a] There is, incidentally, a fairly important mistake in his bill which he had, however, corrected before the intervention of my wife.

Enclosed letter from Schweitzer[192] together with a number of the *Social-Demokrat* which he sent me in the letter. You must return the letter to me by Tuesday,[b] together with your ADVICE. We cannot TEMPORISE any longer. So that you knew exactly how matters stand, the following:

For the time being, I have written to Liebknecht[84] that I COULD TAKE NO ACTION, that Schweitzer had hitherto given no official occasion, that an intervention on my part could only consolidate Lassalleanism, etc.

AS TO Schweitzer, I have not yet answered his previous letter,[160] the dispatch of which he is probably now cursing. Since his TRADES UNIONS CONGRESS[164] was so near, I thought it better to await 'the course of events', and TO WATCH HIS OPERATIONS. Now I must, of course, break my silence.

As regards the letter from Schweitzer, it is clear that he does not feel quite happy in his boots. His threat of 'open war' is silly, though the phrase is 'OSTENSIBLY' only aimed against Liebknecht et Co. His claim that Mr Nobody started it, is in no way correct. His alleged identification with the International Working Men's Association stands in a certain contradiction to his HINTS in the *Social-Demokrat* after the Nuremberg affair that his association had 'not' joined the IWA. Above all it emerges from the whole letter that Schweitzer still cannot drop his fixed idea that he has 'his own workers' movement'. On the other hand, he is unquestionably the most intelligent and most energetic of all the present workers' leaders in Germany, while Liebknecht IN POINT OF FACT was only forced by Schweitzer to recall that there existed a workers' movement independent of the petty-bourgeois democratic movement.

My plan is not to use diplomacy but to tell Schweitzer the unvarnished truth about my view of his dealings, and make it clear

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[a] See this volume, p. 122. - [b] 13 October

to him that he must choose between the 'sect' and the 'class'. If he wishes to come to a *rational* understanding with the 'Nuremberg majority',[135] I am ready as 'Secretary for Germany' to be of aid on TERMS which appear reasonable to me. If he does not desire this, I can only promise to maintain the necessary objective impartiality vis-à-vis his agitation. What I cannot promise, however, is that I will not, in my private capacity, publicly attack the Lassallean superstition as soon as I regard this as useful.[a]

Pretty and truly Lassallean is Schweitzer's notion that 'two organisations can only be harmful' and hence, since he preceded the others, they are, if not legally, then in a way morally, obliged to 'dissolve' themselves in him.

As you know, Mr Odger is standing for Chelsea, but I believe he has no chance of success. Odger has shown us the COLD SHOULDER for the whole of last year since, on my proposal, 'the *president* of the IWA' and thus also 'President' Odger were abolished once and for all.[193] Now he gives thanks for his re-election by the Brussels Congress and wishes us to support his election with a letter to his ELECTIONEERING COMMITTEE. We are only meeting his request because it is a step that is useful to the International and that recommends it in the eyes of the London WORKMEN.[194]

When you were here last,[129] you saw the Blue Book[173] on the Irish land question 1844-1845. BY ACCIDENT I found the REPORT and EVIDENCE on IRISH TENANT RIGHT 1867 (HOUSE OF LORDS) in a small second-hand bookshop. This was a real find. The economist gentlemen regard it purely as a question of conflicting dogmas whether rent is payment for natural differences in land, or on the other hand merely interest on the capital invested in the land; but here we have a real life and death struggle between FARMER and LANDLORD *as to how far* rent *should* include, *apart from* the payment for land differences, *also* the interest on the capital invested in the land not by the LANDLORD but by the tenant. Political economy can only be turned into a positive science by replacing the CONFLICTING DOGMAS by the CONFLICTING FACTS, and by the real antagonisms which form their concealed background.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, p. 135.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 12 October 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed the Schweitzeriana returned with thanks.[a] I completely share your view on the therapy in this case. But he will scarcely be ready to part with 'his own workers' movement'. His ambitions exceed his strength, or, as the Italians put it, *vuol petare più alto del culo*,[b] and on this inner contradiction he will work himself to death.

In my view, the statutes[c] are *absurd* for this purpose, but it is immaterial in the end.

And please do not omit the final sentence about the attack on the Lassallean superstition; this will be effective with the fellow, who is well aware that the whole stuff is HUMBUG.

I was unable to write to you while I was in town, and now it is nearly 8 o'clock, when the post closes out here, so I cannot add anything.

The picture of Lizzie is horrible, but still the least bad after five sittings.

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p. 127. - [b] he wants to fart higher up than his backside - [c] 'Mustersatzung für die einzelnen Arbeiterschaften' and 'Satzung für den Arbeiterschaftsverband', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 118, 9 October 1868 (supplement).

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## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[29]

### IN HANOVER

London, 12 October 1868
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park

My dear Friend,

Your obstinate silence is quite incomprehensible to me. Did I perhaps give cause for it in my last letter?[a] I hope not. In any case—unintentional. I need not explain to you explicitly, you *know* that you are my most intimate friend in Germany, and I really cannot understand how, *inter amicos*,[b] people can keep such a sharp lookout, all because of some trifle. Least of all have you *such a right* with regard to me, for you know how much I owe you. Apart from everything personal, you have done more for my book[c] than all Germany put together.[195]

Yet perhaps you are so energetically silent in order to prove to me that you are not like that set of so-called friends, who are silent when things go badly, and speak when they go well. But there is no need for such a demonstration on your part.

By speaking about the 'good state of affairs' I mean, first, the propaganda made by my book and the recognition it has received from the German workers SINCE YOU WROTE ME LAST. Second, however, the wonderful progress made by the International Working Men's Association, particularly in England, too.

A few days ago a Petersburg publisher[d] surprised me with the news that a Russian translation of *Capital* is now at the printers.[196] He asked for my photogram as a vignette for the title page, and I could not deny this trifle to 'my good friends' the Russians. It is an irony of fate that the Russians, against whom I have been fighting incessantly for 25 years, not only in German, but also in French and English, have always been my 'patrons'. In 1843-1844 in Paris, the Russian aristocrats there waited on me hand and foot.[197] My book against Proudhon (1847), ditto that published by Duncker (1859),[e] have nowhere had such good sales as in Russia. And the first foreign nation to translate *Capital* is Russia. Yet not too much should be made of all this. The Russian aristocracy are educated, in their youth, at German universities and in Paris.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 82-83. - [b] among friends - [c] the first volume of *Capital* - [d] N. P. Polyakov - [e] Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*... and *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

They always yearn for the most extreme the West has to offer. It is pure *gourmandise*, like that practised by part of the French aristocracy during the 18th century. *Ce n'est pas pour les tailleurs et les bottiers,*[a] as Voltaire said at the time about his own Enlightenment. It does not hinder the very same Russians from becoming scoundrels as soon as they enter government service.

I am having plenty of 'BOTHER' JUST NOW in Germany with the leaders' squabbles, as you will see from the enclosed letters, which you will please return. On one side Schweitzer, who is appointing me Pope *in partibus infidelium,*[b] so that I can proclaim him the workers' emperor in Germany. On the other side Liebknecht, who forgets that it was, IN POINT OF FACT, Schweitzer who forced him to recall that there is a movement of the proletariat that is different from the petty-bourgeois democratic movement.

I hope you and your family are well. I hope I have not fallen into disfavour with your dear *wife.*[c] Apropos. The International Ladies' Association, *duce*[d] Mrs Goegg (READ Geck[e]), has sent an epistle to the Brussels Congress,[138] asking whether the ladies might join us.[198] The answer, of course, was a courteous affirmative. Should you, therefore, continue in your silence, I shall send your wife credentials as correspondent of the General Council.

I have been suffering rather a lot from the heat, on account of my liver, but am, at the moment, well.

*Salut.*

Yours

Karl Marx

*P.S. I.* The Spanish revolution[165] came like a *deus ex machina* to prevent the otherwise unavoidable and DISASTROUS Prussian-French war.

*P.S. II.* You once wrote to me that I would be receiving a book by Büchner.[f] When and how?

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 7, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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[a] It is not for tailors or cobblers - [b] in parts inhabited by unbelievers—formula added to the title of Roman Catholic bishops holding purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries. - [c] Gertrud Kugelmann - [d] leader - [e] 'Geck' (German) means 'fop' - [f] L. Büchner, *Sechs Vorlesungen über die Darwin'sche Theorie von der Verwandlung der Arten...*

# 91

## MARX TO JOHANN BAPTIST VON SCHWEITZER[199]

IN BERLIN

[*Draft*]

*To von Schweitzer*

London, 13 October 1868

Dear Sir,

A misunderstanding on my part accounts for your having received no reply to your letter of 15 September. I interpreted the letter as meaning that you would submit your 'proposals' to me for examination.[160] So I waited for them. Then came your congress,[164] and (BEING MUCH OVERWORKED) I regarded a reply as no longer urgent. Before the arrival of your letter dated 8 October, I had already *repeatedly* appealed for *peace*, in my capacity as secretary of the International for Germany. I received the answer (and with it relevant quotations from the *Social-Demokrat*) that you yourself were provoking *war*. I declared that my role must necessarily be confined to that of 'impartial referee' at a duel.[a]

In your letters you express great trust in me, and I believe I cannot respond better than to give you my opinion of the present state of affairs quite openly, without any diplomatic circumlocution. In doing so, I assume that, for you, as for myself, the cause is all that matters.

I recognise, without reserve, the intelligence and energy with which you are active in the workers' movement. I have concealed this view from none of my friends. Wherever I have to express my views in public—in the General Council of the International Working Men's Association and in the German Communist Association here[b]—I have always treated you as a man of our party, and *never* let drop *a word about points of difference*.

However, such points of difference do exist.

*D'abord*,[c] as regards the Lassallean Association,[104] it was formed in a period of reaction. After fifteen years of slumber, Lassalle—and this remains his immortal service—re-awakened the workers' movement in Germany. But he made great mistakes. He allowed himself to be influenced too much by the immediate circumstances

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[a] See this volume, p. 127. - [b] the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 67) - [c] First

of the time. He made the minor starting point, his opposition to the dwarf-like Schulze-Delitzsch, the central point of his agitation—state aid versus self-help.[200] In this, he merely re-adopted the slogan circulated in 1843 sqq. by *Buchez*, the leader of *Catholic* socialism, against the genuine workers' movement in France.[162] Being far too intelligent to regard this slogan as anything but a transitory *pis-aller,*[a] Lassalle was only able to justify its use on the grounds of its immediate (alleged!) PRACTICABILITY. To this end, he had to claim that it was feasible in the *immediate* future. *The* 'state' was, therefore, transformed into the Prussian state. He was thus forced to make concessions to the Prussian monarchy, to Prussian reaction (the feudal party) and even to the clericals. He linked Buchez's state aid for associations with the Chartist call for universal suffrage.[201] He overlooked the difference between conditions in Germany and England. He overlooked the lessons of the *bas-empire,*[b] with regard to universal suffrage in France. In addition, like everyone who claims to have in his pocket a panacea for the sufferings of the masses, he gave his agitation, from the very start, a religious, sectarian character. In fact, every sect is religious. And just because he was the founder of a sect, he denied all natural connection with the earlier movement, both in Germany and abroad. He fell into Proudhon's mistake of not seeking the real basis of his agitation in the actual elements of the class movement, but of wishing, instead, to prescribe for that movement a course determined by a certain doctrinaire recipe.

Most of what I am stating here *post factum* I predicted to Lassalle when he came to London in 1862 and called upon me to place myself, with him, at the head of the new movement.

You yourself know the difference between a sect movement and a class movement from personal experience. The sect seeks its *raison d'être* and its *point d'honneur* not in what it has *in common* with the class movement, but in the *particular shibboleth distinguishing* it from that movement. Thus when, in Hamburg, you proposed convening a congress to found TRADES UNIONS,[164] you could only suppress the opposition of the sectarians by threatening to resign as president. You were also forced to assume a dual personality, to state that, in one case, you were acting as the leader of the sect and, in the other, as the representative of the class movement.

The dissolution of the General Association of German Work-

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[a] expedient - [b] Lower Empire (designation of the late Roman, or Byzantine Empire, and also of any empire on the decline); here, the Second Empire in France.

ers[167] provided you with an opportunity to take a big step forward and to declare, to prove *s'il le fallait*,[a] that a new stage of development had been reached and the sect movement was now ripe to merge into the class movement and end all 'eanisms'. With regard to the true content of the sect, it would, like all former workers' sects, carry this as an enriching element into the general movement. Yet instead you, in fact, demanded that the class movement subordinate itself to a particular sect movement. Your non-friends concluded from this that you wished to conserve your 'own workers' movement' under all circumstances.

Regarding the Berlin Congress,[164] the time was *d'abord* not pressing, since the Combination Law has not yet been voted.[202] You ought, therefore, to have reached an agreement with the leaders *outside* the Lassallean circle, worked out the plan together with them, and convoked the congress. Instead of this, you left them only the alternative of either publicly joining *you*, or lining up *against you*. The congress itself appeared to be only an extended edition of the Hamburg Congress.[104]

As for the draft statutes,[b] I regard them as unsuitable in principle, and I believe I have as much experience as any of my contemporaries in the field of TRADES UNIONS. Without going further into detail here, I shall merely remark that a *centralist* organisation, suitable as it is for secret societies and sect movements, contradicts the nature of the TRADE UNIONS. Were it possible—I declare it *tout bonnement*[c] to be impossible—it would not be desirable, least of all in Germany. Here, where the worker is regulated bureaucratically from childhood onwards, where he believes in authority, in those set over him, the main thing is *to teach him to walk by himself*.

Your plan is also impracticable in other ways. In the 'Union' there are to be three independent authorities of differing origin: 1. The *Committee*, elected by the *trades*; 2. the *President* (here a completely superfluous personage) {In the Rules of the International Working Men's Association there also figures a President of the Association.[d] In reality his only function was to preside at the sessions of the General Council. On my proposal, this office—which I had refused in 1866—was completely abolished in 1867, and was replaced by that of a CHAIRMAN, who is elected at each

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[a] if necessary - [b] 'Satzung für den Arbeiterschaftsverband', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 118, 9 October 1868 (supplement). - [c] in all good faith - [d] Article III of the Rules. See *Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*, London, 1866.

weekly session of the General Council.[193] The *London Trades' Council*[175] also has simply a Chairman. Its sole permanent official is the *Secretary*, as he has a continuous business function to exercise.} {*NB*. This passage follows in the copy of the letter to Schweitzer after the end of this sentence}, elected by a *general vote*; 3. the Congress, elected by the *local branches*. Thus—collisions everywhere, and this is supposed to promote 'rapid action'! (At this point the inserted sentence.) Lassalle committed a bad mistake in borrowing the *'président élu du suffrage universel'*[a] from the French Constitution of 1852. And now this in a trades unions movement! The latter is mostly concerned with financial issues, and you will soon discover that all dictatorialism finds its end here.

Yet whatever the shortcomings of the organisation, they can perhaps be cancelled out, to a greater or lesser degree, by rational application. As secretary of the International I am ready to act—naturally on a rational basis—as mediator between you and the Nuremberg majority,[b] which has adhered to the International directly.[135] I have written in the same vein to Leipzig.[c] I understand the difficulties of your position, and never forget that each of us depends more upon circumstances than upon his own will.

I promise you, under all circumstances, the impartiality that is my duty. On the other hand, I cannot promise that I shall not, some day, acting as a *private author*,—as soon as I feel it to be absolutely dictated by the interests of the labour movement—publicly criticise the Lassallean superstition, in the same way as I dealt, in its time, with the Proudhonist superstition.[d]

With the assurance of my best wishes to you personally,

I remain
K. M.

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[a] 'president elected by universal suffrage' - [b] See this volume, p. 128. - [c] to Wilhelm Liebknecht (see Note 84) - [d] See Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy*... and *On Proudhon*.

## 92

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 14 October 1868

Dear Moor,

Today the *Kölnische Zeitung* states that the workers (COLLIERS) in Essen, who have just ended the STRIKE successfully,[203] have revolted against Schweitzerism and its supporters, the local bigwigs, and are demanding *strict accounting of the* STRIKE *funds*.[a] The source is suspect, but the symptom is significant. This whole agitation breaks down on money matters; the Lassallean leaders are too scoundrelly in this respect.

Further, it reports that in Gladbach the cotton *manufacturers* have recognised that the working day is too long, and are forming an association among themselves to reduce the day from 13 hours to 12 for the time being (issue of 12 October). You see that your book[b] is also having a practical effect on the bourgeoisie.

Yet another stupid issue of Wilhelm's sheet[c] this week! He interrupts your stuff about Hirsch[d] in order to publish a rubbishy article which amounts to saying that bourgeois society, or '*the* social', as he puts it, is determined by '*the* political' and not vice versa.[e] *Naturam si furca expellas,*[f] etc. Nearly every article is crawling with nonsense.

Ernest the Fox now seems to be a certainty here if you can trust the cheers with which he, in particular, is honoured everywhere among the 3 liberal candidates.[102] If things go well, this will be due neither to his cunning, nor to his STRAIGHTFORWARDNESS, but only to the instinct of the masses. The Tories can find no candidate, it is said they wish to put up here one of the Hoares (London bankers); but the man will have to have a lot of money to throw away for nothing if he lets himself in for it.

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[a] The reports, datelined 'Essen, 8. Okt.' and 'Gladbach, 10. Okt.', appeared in the column *Vermischte Nachrichten* (Miscellaneous Reports), *Kölnische Zeitung,* No. 284, 12 October 1868. - [b] the first volume of *Capital* - [c] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - [d] K. Marx, 'Connections Between the International Working Men's Association and English Working Men's Organisations'. - [e] 'Der Staat und die soziale Frage', *Demokratisches Wochenblatt,* No. 41, 10 October 1868. - [f] *naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret*—You may drive nature out with a pitchfork, still it will return (Horace, *Epistles,* I, 10, 24).

In Berlin, as a result of the great heat last summer, afternoon lessons were completely abandoned in a number of high schools and morning lessons extended by one period. The results were quite unexpected, the boys made enormously rapid progress, and the business is now going to be tried out on a larger scale.

In Spain the rule of the generals appears to be wearing out rapidly.[165] The abolition of the Jesuits and the partial abolition of the monasteries had been long in coming and only seem to have been forced, at least in part, by financial difficulties; on the other hand, the reward for the officers and NCOs for joining the insurrectionary side came quickly enough. The disarmament of the people also appears to be only a question of time. All the same, in a movement like this the little tricks are not enough with which, after a coup, a general could edge his way through as Isabella's minister.

With best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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## 93

## MARX TO ENGELS[34]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 15 October 1868

Tomorrow or the day after tomorrow the Lafargue FAMILY is leaving for Paris. This will greatly reduce our HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES.

I have written to A. Frank et Co. in Paris. Since I know that he has sold COPIES OF MY *Anti-Proudhon*[204] as recently as *in the past few weeks*, I asked in my letter for accounts of the whole affair, REMINDING MR Frank that he and Vogler were only my *agents de vente*[a] and that I had paid all the printing costs. Thereupon I received, a few days ago, the following reply:

[a] selling agents

'J'ai l'honneur, Monsieur, de vous informer que j'ai racheté la Maison A. Frank le 21 Oct. 1865, *sans* actifs et passifs.—Il y avait à cette époque 92 exemplaires de votre brochure *Misère de la philosophie* en magasin que je tiens à votre disposition.—Quant à ce qui pourrait vous revenir de solde, il faudra vous adresser soit à.M^r Vogler soit au curateur de la succession de mon prédécesseur, M^r Bassot, 58 rue de Bondy, Paris, etc. per *F. Vieweg*, propriétaire actuel de la maison A. Frank.'[a]

I shall now grant Lafargue power of attorney to collect the 92 *exemplaires*, which he will sell amongst his friends. For the remainder (there were 1,500 *exemplaires*), I am granting Schily power of attorney to start legal proceedings. I do not know Vogler's whereabouts, but his former *associé* Shee still has a *librairie*[b] in Brussels, where I can mobilise a handful of young lawyers belonging to our Association. It would be nice if I could still squeeze out some cash.

Attached packet of the *Social-Demokrat*, upon which you should please write me a few marginal notes (regarding the TRADES UNIONS stories) since I did not have the time to read the stuff. The letter to Schweitzer has gone off.[c] Enclosed also the latest number of *Lanterne* and a pamphlet about Plon-Plon, said to be written by Charras.[d]

Apropos. I had a meeting with Beesly. The SUB-EDITOR of Morley (the EDITOR for the SCIENTIFIC DEPARTMENT) declared that the argument was irrefutable. However, the article[11] was too 'DRY' for A MAGAZINE. Beesly asked me to put it in a more popular form, without sacrificing the SCIENTIFIC POINTS. This is RATHER DIFFICULT. However, I'll try. In particular, he wants a longer introduction, including personalia about MY PAST and the book's impact in Germany. This, OF COURSE, you must write. But there is time for this until I send you the BULK of the article. The whole shit is then to go into *The Westminster Review*.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] 'I have the honour to inform you, Sir, that I repurchased the Maison A. Frank on 21 Oct. 1865, *without* assets and liabilities.—At that time, 92 copies of your pamphlet *The Poverty of Philosophy* were in stock, and I hold them at your disposal.—With regard to any possible balance due to you, you should address yourself to Mr Vogler or to my predecessor's executor, Mr Bassot, 58 rue de Bondy, Paris, etc. *F. Vieweg*, current owner of the Maison A. Frank.' Marx quotes Vieweg's letter of 12 October 1868. - [b] bookshop - [c] See this volume, pp. 132-35. - [d] [J. B. A. Charras,] *Monsieur Napoléon Bonaparte (Jérôme)*.

Have you read *A. Slade: 'Turkey and the Crimean War'*? It appears that 'Bosh' is a Turkish word, since Slade says: 'bosh lakerdeh' (empty words).[a]

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## 94

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

### IN LONDON

[London,] 19 October 1868

Dear Jung,

As long as there is no scandal that could implicate the International. You can be insulting if your heart demands so. But no fisticuffs.

The best thing would be to give the appearance of bringing a suit against the fellows (Besson and Le Lubez) for LIBEL because of the letter.[205] This joke could be fixed up with Merriman. You would see how the COWARDS would grovel, besides they would face the danger of being examined publicly in court about their fine gang.

Yours
K. M.

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[a] A. Slade, *Turkey and the Crimean War: A Narrative of Historical Events*, London, 1867, Glossary, p. 449.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 October 1868

Dear Moor,

The little Russian Ermen,[a] whose fate you can see from the enclosed paper, has, on the pretext that he must now settle down, been living in our office for a week now, and has only emerged rather drunk to visit his betrothed. Since the whole office was turned into a pub, no sort of work could be done, and that is why I have only now got around to writing to you.

I have not yet been able to read the Congress[164] reports in the *Social-Demokrat*, which are also very boring.[b] Apart from this, Schweitzer shows that he is very serious about his sect. Not only has the General Association of German Workers been reformed, with its headquarters in Berlin[167] and with new statutes,[c] the only alterations having been made, compared to the old statutes, with an eye to the Law on Association,[206] but every detail shows that in the new TRADES UNIONS GAGW aims to play (but openly) the same role as our old secret league[118] did in the legal associations. The TRADES UNIONS are only to form an exoteric party of the Lassallean church of sole salvation, but only the latter remains the one of sole salvation. If Eichhoff forms a separate association in Berlin,[207] he is promised gracious toleration on the condition that his association takes a 'friendly' attitude towards GAGW. But Schweitzer and his Association remain "*the* party", and the others may come and join it; or else remain heretics and DISSENTERS.

Apart from this, the fellow has a much clearer grasp than all the others of the general political situation and a much clearer attitude to the other parties; and he is cleverer in his presentation than all the others. He calls 'all old parties facing us, one single reactionary mass, and their differences are scarcely of any significance for us'. He recognises that 1866 and its results are ruining the system of petty principalities, undermining the principle of legitimacy, shaking reaction, and have set the people in motion, but he has—now—also come out against the other results, the burden of

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[a] Anton Ermen - [b] *Der Social-Demokrat*, Nos. 114, 115, 116 and 117 (with supplements); 30 September, 2, 4, 7 October 1868, *Allgemeiner deutscher Arbeiter-Congress*. - [c] '*Statut. Geschäfts-Reglement*', *Social-Demokrat*, No. 119, 11 October 1868.

taxes, etc., and his attitude to Bismarck is more 'correct', as the Berliners say, than e.g. Liebknecht's is, with regard to the ex-princes. You will have seen that he cites the Elector of Hesse[a] as a historical authority—on the all-too-familiar subjects—and in his last number he allows a true Hanoverian to strike up a Guelphic whimpering.[b] On this last point, couldn't you for once tell Wilhelm what is what? It is really asking a lot to expect us to support a paper in which he allows such dirty tricks.

Have at least a part of the anti-Proudhons[c] sent to London; these few remaining copies *cannot be replaced.* I myself have none. Vieweg should be asked to account for the copies sold since 1865. It is, in addition, certainly a good thing that you are following the matter up, even though only now. There is always the possibility that something may still come out of it.

The business with the *Westminster*[d] is very good. Do not allow time to slip by; the article should appear in the January issue; so send me the stuff as soon as possible, so I may do my part. It is very good that these fellows would not use a simple presentation of a new scientific development without the phraseology of their 'ESSAYS', which make the matter not only less clear, but also *drier.* I would, however, also ask Mr Beesly how many printed sheets would be available. The stuff I sent you would have made 1 sheet in the *Fortnightly,* but about 1 $^1/_2$ in the *Westminster.* According to space—and since only one article is possible here—we should consider whether and which parts of the book should be left out completely—for instance I do not believe it will be possible to include the chapter on accumulation[208] without cutting down the space for the main subject too much.

I've read Darwin's first volume on DOMESTICATION.[e] Only details are new, and then not much of importance.

With best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Ludwig III. See *Demokratisches Wochenblatt,* No. 40, 3 October 1868, *Politische Uebersicht.* - [b] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt,* No. 42, 17 October 1868 (supplement), 'Ein Hannoveraner...' - [c] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy...* See this volume, p. 138. - [d] *The Westminster Review;* see this volume, p. 138. - [e] Ch. Darwin, *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication.* In 2 vols. London, 1868.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 October 1868

Dear Fred,

Enclosed:

1. *Letter from Kugelmann.* Some interesting things in it.[209] In any case, I shall write to tell him that I *forbid pour l'avenir*[a] all his eccentric respectful outbreaks OF ESTEEM.

2. *Letter from Liebknecht.* The brute seems quite mad. Weeks ago he wrote to me saying he would let me have COPIES OF *Vogt.* And, as always with Liebknecht, there the matter rests. Not another word about it. A mass of stupid suggestions instead. I,he says, should reply to Faucher,[b] since Liebknecht *cannot* answer him, and Faucher has ADMIRERS in several Leipzig tap-rooms. He will refrain 'for the present', and against his will, from attacks on Schweitzer. As if he had not, on the other hand, asked me, in his honour, kindly to attack Schweitzer 'for the present'. I am to place at his disposal a 'selection of choice passages' from Miquel's *private correspondence* with me, since he fancies that Miquel is 'dangerous'. I am to send him Freiligrath's poem against Kinkel,[c] so he can rehabilitate Freiligrath at Kinkel's expense. Finally, I am to make a certain Stromeyer—(he means Strohn)—in Bradford the agent for Ernst Stehfest et Co., Crimmitschau (spinning and weaving partnership). WHAT ELSE? Luckily this time he has not done me the honour of asking me to *purchase* here, in the City, ENGLISH MUSTARD SPECIMENS for an alleged consumer society in Leipzig, and to *establish a 'connection' with the firm.* The UPSHOT of the whole business was—IN RETURN for the MUSTARD and the business information—the sentence: *The MUSTARD is excellent!* This is in fact what the English economists call *'CONSUMPTIVE DEMAND' par excellence.*

Borkheim's Russophobia (with which I inoculated him as the mildest sickness for the diversion of his superfluous vital spirits) is assuming dangerous dimensions; he now has a row with OLD Philipp Becker, since the latter is on good terms with Bakunin and has written to Borkheim that he should not attack Bakunin in his letters. Borkheim regards this as a dangerous Muscovite conspiracy. He believes that his 'masterly invectives' in Wilhelm's *Wochenblatt*[d] are causing Byzantium—and therefore also Bakunin—to

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[a] for the future - [b] See this volume, pp. 65, 86. - [c] F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer, I-II', *Die Revolution,* No. 2, 1852. - [d] [S. Borkheim,] 'Russische politische Flüchtlinge in West-Europa', *Demokratisches Wochenblatt,* Nos. 5, 6, 17, 20;

shake. In a stern letter to Becker, he has declared with his usual delicacy that he will maintain his friendship for him and his (BY THE BY negligible) pecuniary support, but—politics should now be excluded from their correspondence!

The 12 RAGAMUFFINS of the so-called FRENCH BRANCH held a PUBLIC MEETING in London last Tuesday, again under Pyat's chairmanship[210] and with the reading of one of his melodramatic PUFFS for the revolution. There were big placards on the walls AS FOLLOWS:

*République Française*

*La Branche française de l'Association Internationale*, etc., etc. Then *Félix Pyat* in huge letters. The points for discussion, listed *in French*, included: 3. Vote d'adhésion au manifeste[a] (the manifesto of the Commune de Paris, which exists only on the moon, which was to be read by Pyat and had been fabricated by him) et protestation, contre l'indifférence en matière politique professée à Bruxelles au *dernier Congrès de l'Association Internationale.*[b] [138]

Under this, however, was the English notice (also distributed as a HANDBILL): DEMOCRATS OF ALL NATIONS ARE INVITED, etc. 'FOR THE PURPOSE OF DECIDING WHETHER THE WORKINGMEN'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION IS TO BE A POLITICAL ASSOCIATION.'

Last Tuesday[c] I was empowered to disavow the fellows immediately and publicly if the London daily newspapers should treat or mention this as a demonstration of ours. Luckily, NO NOTICE WAS TAKEN OF THEM.

This evening there is, however, to be a SUBCOMMITTEE at which witnesses are to be heard that one of this dozen was formerly a *marchand d'hommes*[d] and a brothel keeper,[e] another a gambler, a third a SPY for the MASTERS in the TAILORS' STRIKE here,[211] etc., etc. On the basis of the 'morals paragraph' of the Rules, these gentlemen will probably be kicked out. They are naturally doubly annoyed that all politics are left out in dealing with fellows like them.

*Salut* to MRS Burns, Jollymayer[f] and King Cole.[g]

Your

K. M.

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1, 8 February, 25 April and 16 May 1868 (the first two articles are signed with the initials S. B.).

[a] Vote of adhesion to the manifesto - [b] and protest against the indifference in political matters displayed in Brussels during the *latest congress of the International Association.* - [c] 20 October - [d] white slave-trader - [e] Eugène Thiou - [f] Carl Schorlemmer - [g] Samuel Moore

## 97

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[29]

IN HANOVER

London, 26 October 1868

My dear Friend,

Only these few lines in reply to your letter,[212] which arrived at a moment when I am burdened with a visitor.

Kertbény's address: No. 11/III (what the III means I don't know, perhaps the floor) Behrenstrasse.

Now, permit me a word. Since you and Engels were of the opinion that it would be useful, I gave in on the question of the advertisement in the *Gartenlaube*.[a] My conviction was *decisively against* it. And now I request you *urgently finally to abandon* this joke. The only result is that fellows like Keil and the *Daheim* sort believe one to belong to the tribe of great men, literary or other, and to need or seek their protection.

I believe this sort of thing is harmful rather than helpful and *beneath* the dignity of a man of science. For instance, *Meyer's Konversationslexikon* wrote a long time ago asking me for a biography. Not only did I not send one; I did not even reply to the letter. Everybody must work out his own salvation.

As for Kertbény, he is a pompous, confused, importunate literary idler, and the less one has to do with him the better.

*Salut.*

Yours
K. M.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 7, Stuttgart, 1901-1902, and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 October 1868

Dear Moor,

In all haste, I return the enclosures from Kugelmann[209] and Wilhelm.[b] Congratulations on the professorship. The letter from

[a] See this volume, p. 74. - [b] Ibid., p. 142.

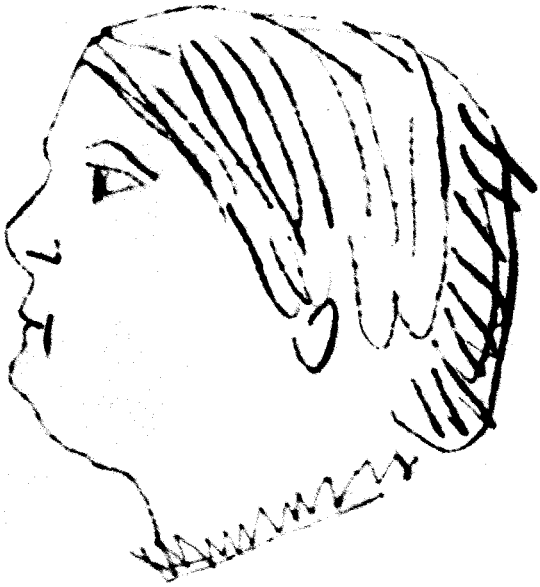

A sketch of Lizzie Burns by Frederick Engels (after 4 May 1869)

Wilhelm is indeed amusing. This omnium-gatherum of instructions to you, so that you might do something too. I also congratulate Strohn on the agency for the Stehfest firm of whose commercial stability I am far from convinced.[a]

Lizzy has rushed off with her friend Mrs Chorlton (the fatty) to her relations in Lincolnshire and will return only on Friday or Saturday.[b] Naturally the maid had to pick this precise moment to fall ill, but Ellen[c] is helping us out.

Best greetings to all.

Your
F. E.

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## 99

## MARX TO WILLIAM JESSUP[213]

IN NEW YORK

London, 28 October 1868
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Sir,

Your letter to Mr Eccarius, d.d. 3 curt. has been duly communicated by him to the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. He has been reappointed as our corresponding Secretary for America, but is at present too ill to fulfil his functions.

The General Council has appointed Mr S. Meyer and Mr August Vogt as its German-American correspondents and Mr Pelletier as its French-American correspondent. I beg to recommend you these citizens.

The General Council being itself yearly elected by the General Congress, it is self-understood that all its nominations can only be valid for the current year, if they be not renewed.

Yours fraternally
Karl Marx

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[a] Engels puns on the name *Stehfest* and the word *Stehfestigkeit* (stability). - [b] 30 or 31 October - [c] Mary Ellen Burns

Wm. J. Jessup, Corresponding Representative for State of New York, National Labour Union,
11 Norfolk Street, New York City

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

Printed according to S. Meyer's copy of the original

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## 100

## MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER AND AUGUST VOGT

IN NEW YORK

London, 28 October 1868

Dear Meyer and Vogt,

The enclosed credentials for Meyer (I have added the same for you[214]) will show you that your wish had already been met by 13 October. Meyer's appointment was printed in *The Bee-Hive*[a] on 3 October.[b] The GENERAL COUNCIL has resolved that the German correspondents shall correspond with me, Pelletier (for the French) with Dupont, and Eccarius with Jessup. I myself suggested the latter, as I have no time for more correspondence. You can hand the enclosed lines to Jessup[c] and, at the same time, show him your credentials.

With regard to Eccarius there is some misunderstanding. *I* have *never* quarrelled with him; on the contrary I have supported him *to this day* against the ATTACKS by the English, etc.[148] But *he*—his preponderant and often narrow-minded egoism perhaps developed as a result of his circumstances—commits unpleasant tomfooleries from time to time. I generally take no notice of this. Now and then my patience is exhausted. I give him a brain washing, and ALL IS RIGHT AGAIN for the time being. The poor devil is, at present, very ill, and he always utilises such moments to say his *pater peccavi.*[d] To what Liebknecht is referring, according to Vogt's letter, I have absolutely no idea. *I, at least,* have never written a word to anybody *against* Eccarius EXCEPT in my letter to Meyer, at a moment

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[a] *The Bee-Hive*, No. 364, 3 October 1868, 'The International Working Men's Association'. - [b] in the original erroneously 10 October - [c] See this volume, p. 147. - [d] Father, I have sinned (Luke 15 : 21).

when I was upset by letters from our other delegates to the Brussels Congress in which they denounced Eccarius.[a] But it is quite possible that Eccarius wrote to Liebknecht without my knowledge in such a way that moved the latter to make his remarks to Vogt. This would be peculiar, since just at that time I had a big dispute with the English about and *for* Eccarius.

As far as *Sorge*[b] is concerned, no further action. My lines to Jessup explain the TEMPORARY character of the credentials.

*Cards for members* are no longer available, must be reprinted. Liebknecht is dabbling too much in south German patriotism, and he should not print such nonsense about 'state and society'[c] containing the exact opposite of our opinions. *Salut.* In all haste.

Yours
K. Marx

Apropos. Do you know Dietzgen? He has now returned from Petersburg to the Rhine to establish himself as a small tanner. He is one of the most gifted workers I know, I mean by correspondence. I don't know him personally.

A translation of my book is now appearing in Russian in St. Petersburg.[186] Or did I already inform you of this?

[Enclosure]

[London,] 256 High Holborn, W. C.

Citizen A. Vogt is appointed on 13 October 1868 by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association as corresponding Secretary for the year 1868-69 for the International Working Men's Association (German section in America).

13 October 1868

On behalf of the General Council

*Karl Marx*
SECRETARY FOR GERMANY

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[a] See this volume, p. 97. - [b] Ibid., pp. 61, 96. - [c] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 41, 10 October 1868, 'Der Staat und die soziale Frage'.

## 101

## MARX TO BASSOT

IN PARIS

London, 30 October 1868
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park
Haverstock Hill

Monsieur,

I have written to the Maison A. Frank for my royalties. The new proprietor, M. Vieweg, directed me to you as the successor of M. Frank.[a] Will you please hand over to M. *Paul Lafargue*, bearer of this letter, my share of the proceeds from the sale of my brochure *Philosophie de la misère etc. contre M. Proudhon* due to me at the moment when M. Frank or the House of M. Frank were disposed of.

I have the honour to salute you,
Karl Marx

M. Bassot
58, rue de Bondy, Paris

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 32, Moscow, 1964

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Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

## 102

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 November 1868

Dear Fred,

On Friday[b] I have to pay the water rates and, further, Tussy's re-subscriptions with Winterbottom (gymnastics), etc. I would be

[a] See this volume, p. 137. - [b] 6 November.

grateful if you could send me SOME £ by the day after tomorrow.

How are things with the Russian's manuscript?[185] Have a look at it and then let me have your opinion. The poor fellow is certainly waiting anxiously for my reply.

Pyat has had a stroke of good luck. He has now got hold of *his own* German—Herr Weber[a] from the Palatinate.

In all haste.

Your
K. M.

Enclosed letters from Eichhoff.[215] He believes Schweitzer has denounced him here. NOTHING OF THE SORT. His denouncer (which he should not know) is *Borkheim.* In order to get rid of him ON THIS POINT and, at the same time, to elucidate the suspicion that could, in fact, be aroused by Eichhoff's reference to Bismarck (in his speech reported in Wilhelm's *Wochenblatt*), I have written to Eichhoff[84] that he has been denounced to the General Council here and should send me his DEFENCE.

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## 103

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 November 1868

Dear Moor,

You must excuse me if I do not write much now. For some time I have had nasty rheumatism not only in my right arm, but also in the 3 first fingers of my right hand; as a result, after a certain time writing becomes very burdensome for me, and in the evening almost impossible. I hope the trouble disappears; I use alcohol against it—externally that is.

If the Spaniards even now do not know where they stand, following Wilhelmchen's address, they are beyond hope.[216] Unity

[a] J. V. Weber

between bourgeois and worker—the bourgeois *must*, however, realise that he has to concede this and that to the worker—anything to avoid a June battle, for this is followed by 2 December.[217] It is really the crowning point of all confusion. If now the bourgeois will not 'understand', the worker will have to realise that *he* will have to make concessions to the bourgeois. This is the sole possible sense which the thing can have. Hence, the ridiculousness of measuring Spanish conditions, with the enormous beggar-proletariat, both clerical and lay, against the yardstick of conditions in *Saxony*. There is naturally not a single mention of the peasants.

Many greetings.

Your
F. E.

Moore tells me that nearly all factory workers in Vienna are Moravians and Bohemians, mainly *Czechs*. This explains much about the movement there. The real Viennese do not go into factories, they become coachmen, domestics or something like that.

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## 104

## ENGELS TO MARX[33]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 November 1868

Dear Moor,

Herewith return back Eichhoff's letters[215] and Dietzgen's manuscript.[185] The latter I had placed in a *safe* place, away from the tidying females, and there it was completely forgotten.

It is difficult to pass absolutely definite judgement on the thing; the man is not a born philosopher and, in addition, half self-taught. Some of his sources (e. g., Feuerbach, your book[a] and various trashy publications on the natural sciences) can be

[a] the first volume of *Capital*

immediately traced partly from his terminology, but one cannot tell what else he has read. The terminology is, of course, still very confused, hence the lack of precision and frequent reiterations in new TERMS. There is also dialectics in it, but appearing more in the form of flashes than in any connected way. The presentation of the thing-in-itself as a conceivable thing [Gedankending] would be very nice and even brilliant if one could be *certain* that *he himself* had discovered *it*. There is plenty of wit in it and, despite the poor grammar, a marked talent for style. All in all, however, a remarkable instinct to think out so much that is correct on the basis of such inadequate studies.

The repetitions are, as I said, partly a result of the shortcomings in terminology, partly due to his lack of logical schooling. It will be a hard job to get rid of them all. If the man definitely wants to print his stuff, I do not know if the reduction to 2 printed sheets would be the best for him; in any case, it would be a frightful job for him, since he is not aware of his repetitions. In addition, I do not know whether 2 sheets would get any attention at all. 6-8 sheets would be more likely to do this. But he will never get it into a magazine.

Borkheim has written to ask whether I would agree that *he* should reprint my Bakunin article from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*[a] in Liebknecht's paper[b] and says, in this connection, that this article 'fits, for *him*, most excellently in *his* framework'. I replied[84] that we planned to publish our earlier articles, etc., jointly, that we were already negotiating with a book-dealer, but that I did not know how things stood at the moment and had therefore written to you. I don't know though which article he means; there are several and he speaks of one. Besides, he repeats his nonsense about Bakunin, Eichhoff, etc.

Eichhoff's thorough defence[c] made me laugh.

Best greetings.

Your

F. E.

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[a] F. Engels, 'Democratic Pan-Slavism', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Nos. 222 and 223, 15 and 16 February 1849. - [b] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - [c] See this volume, p. 151.

## 105

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 7 November 1868[a]

DEAR FRED,

THANKS FOR THE £5.

I (and the whole household here) are very worried because of the typhus raging in your parts. It is so contagious. Please report again soon on the *status rerum*.[b]

It will be impossible to stop that damned Borkheim, whom I shall be seeing today, printing your 2 articles[c] (those about Bakunin's manifesto to the Slavs[d]). However, I shall only tell him that you are an old personal friend of Bakunin, so that the business may under no circumstances appear in a context insulting to the latter. Borkheim takes himself completely *au sérieux*[e] and really believes he has a political mission to fulfil. He is translating for me the main passages from a Russian book about agrarian disintegration,[f] and has also given me a French book on the subject by the Russian Schédo-Ferroti.[g] The latter is very much mistaken—he is altogether a very superficial fellow—in saying that the Russian communal system came into existence only as a result of the ban on peasants leaving the land. The whole business, *down to the smallest detail*, is absolutely identical with the *primaeval Germanic* communal system. Add to this, in the Russian case (and this may be found also *amongst a part of the Indian communal systems*, not in the Punjab, but in the South), (1) the *non-democratic*, but *patriarchal* character of the commune leadership and (2) the *collective responsibility* for taxes to the state, etc. It follows from the second point that the more industrious a Russian peasant is, the more he is exploited by the state, not only in terms of taxes, but also for supplying provisions and horses, etc. for the constant passage of troops, for government couriers, etc. The whole shit is breaking down.

I regard Dietzgen's exposition,[185] in so far as Feuerbach, etc., in

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[a] in the original erroneously 1867 - [b] state of things - [c] F. Engels, 'Democratic Pan-Slavism', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Nos. 222 and 223, 15 and 16 February 1849. - [d] M. Bakunin, *Aufruf an die Slaven...*, Koethen, 1848. - [e] seriously - [f] П. Л[илиенфельд], *Земля и воля*. Спб., 1868. - [g] D. K. Schédo-Ferroti, *Études sur l'avenir de la Russie. Dixième étude: Le patrimoine du peuple*. Berlin, 1868.

short his sources, do not peep through, as entirely his own independent achievement. For the rest, I agree with everything you say. I shall have something to say to him about the repetitions; it is his bad luck that it was precisely Hegel that he did *not* study.

The great Weber[a] on behalf of 'German Association for Revolutionary Agitation, etc.' has held a meeting together with the French Mayers under Pyat's chairmanship and with other vagabonds, at which they instructed the Yankees in an address[218] to intervene *in favour of* the Spanish Republic.

Our Negro, Paul Lafargue, had the misfortune that the French would not recognise his English diploma; they want to make him run the gauntlet of five new examinations, instead of the maximum 1 or 2 as he expected.[121] MRS LAURA SENDS YOU HER COMPLIMENTS.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 106

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 November 1868

SECOND LETTER.

*Postscriptum.*

I have just come from Borkheim's. To my surprise I have managed to get him *not* to print your 2 articles[b] under his patronage.

Your
K. M.

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[a] J. V. Weber - [b] F. Engels, 'Democratic Pan-Slavism', see also this volume, pp. 153, 154.

## 107

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 November 1868

Dear Moor,

Many thanks for settling things with Borkheim. From the enclosed letter, which he wrote me, you can see what a 'nincompoop' the man is.[219]

Sarah's[a] sickness is taking a very favourable course; it is a simple typhoid fever, *vulgo* gastric fever; Gumpert expects no more relapses and, by the end of this week, she should be cured. Against the contagion, which Gumpert also does not regard as dangerous, disinfection is a help.

Lizzie was in Lincolnshire, visiting a patriarchal variety of AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS who do well—they have gardens and potato land, the right of gleaning, which brings in a lot and, in addition, PASSABLE WAGES. Parallel to this, however, the GANG SYSTEM is on the increase; she described it *literally* as you depicted it in your book.[220] These patriarchal FARM LABOURERS with land are naturally a declining remnant, and are already sending their children into the GANG, while they, for their part, provide the nurseries for the babies of the women working on neighbouring GANGS.

In Jacob Grimm's Spanish romances there is one in which Conde Claros de Montalban, son of Reinolt (Rinaldo) of the Haimon family, has a love affair with the Infanta, Charlemagne's daughter; the count takes her into a thicket in the garden, where they lie down[b]:

> *de la cintura en arriba* (upwards) *muchos abrazos se dan,*
> *de la cintura en abajo como hombre y mujer se han.*[c]

Old Jacob selected a lot of naïve passages like that.

With many greetings.

Your

F. E.

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[a] Sarah Parker - [b] 'Romance del conde Claros, hijo de Reynaldos de Montalvan', *Silva de romances viejos*. Publicada por Jacobo Grimm, Vienna, 1831. - [c] from the girdle upwards they gave many kisses, from the girdle downwards they behave themselves as husband and wife.

## 108

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 13 November 1868

Dear Moor,

I was really ashamed recently to send you a mere trifle of £5, but at that time I was really unable to squeeze out more; today a further five pounds follow enclosed; it was clear to me that just £5 would not help you out.

*Amicus*[a] Ernest Jones is now really catching it for becoming the obedient servant of Bright and Gladstone and identifying himself completely here with Bazley and Jacob Bright. This afternoon, two large posters blazed on all the walls, one black and one red, presenting a passage from *The People's Paper*, recently reprinted in the *Democrat* (WHAT IS THAT?), in which he rejects the cursing and baiting of aristocrats as a bourgeois dodge, proclaims LABOUR AGAINST CAPITAL, and slates the Manchester Liberals as the workers' worst enemies, but all in his *old* style, you know. This affair, so shortly before the election, can overthrow him.[b]

Have you got the book: Ténot, *Paris en Décembre 1851*, and can you send me it? If not, I shall order it. Everything is well at home.

Many greetings.

Your
F. E.

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[a] friend - [b] See this volume, p. 166.

## 109

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 14 November 1868

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR £5.

For the past few days I have had once again the beginning of *carbunculosem.* Since this muck always starts at this time, I immediately began again with the *arsenic.* This should cut off further EVOLUTION.

I am sending you subsequently (RATHER *simultaneously*) amusing cuttings from the Paris press, supplied by Lafargue. You must send them back, since Jennychen collects the stuff.

Enclosed also a jolly cutting from *Figaro* on the people's economic conferences[221] under the LEADERSHIP of Rabbi A. Einhorn, GENERALLY KNOWN BY THE NAME OF *I. E. Horn.* This idiot (who is, incidentally, skilled in the practice of *agiotage*) published SOME TIME SINCE a book on the *banks*,[a] of which even the *Economist* said it was obviously written only for children (although the *Times* reviewed it ceremoniously).

Apropos the *Economist,* you would be surprised to hear that, following the example of *Thornton* in the *Fortnightly Review*,[b] the *Economist* declared[c] verbatim: '*No* "LAW" *OF DEMAND AND SUPPLY,* IN *ANY SENSE* WHICH HAS YET BEEN ASSIGNED TO THESE WORDS, *EXISTS*; NEITHER IN FACT, NOR IN TENDENCY, DO MARKET PRICES CONFORM TO THE RULE COMMONLY SUPPOSED TO GOVERN THEM.'

The great *Büchner* has sent me his '*Sechs Vorlesungen etc. über die Darwin'sche Theorie,* etc.' The book was not yet out when I was visiting Kugelmann.[77] And he (Büchner) has now already sent me the *second edition*! The way such books are made is NICE. Büchner, for instance (as everybody who has read Lange's balderdash[d] knows anyway), states that his *CHAPTER on materialist philosophy* has been copied mainly from this very Lange. And this same Büchner looks down pityingly on *Aristotle,* whom he obviously only knows by

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[a] I. E. Horn, *La Liberté des banques,* Paris, [1866]. A German edition was published in 1867 in Stuttgart and Leipzig. - [b] W. Th. Thornton, 'A New Theory of Supply and Demand', *The Fortnightly Review,* No. XXXIV, 1 October 1866. - [c] J. E. C., 'The "Law" of Demand and Supply', *The Economist,* No. 1210, 3 November 1866, p. 1280. - [d] F. A. Lange, *Geschichte des Materialismus und Kritik seiner Bedeutung in der Gegenwart,* Bde. I-II, Iserlohn, 1866.

hearsay! What really amused me, however, was the following passage with regard to the works of *Cabanis*[a] (1798):

'*You might almost be listening to Karl Vogt* when you read (in Cabanis) expressions like these: "The brain is intended for thinking, as the stomach is meant for digestion or the liver for secreting the bile from the blood", etc.'[b]

Büchner obviously believes that Cabanis has copied from K. Vogt. Even to imagine the opposite exceeds the critical faculties of the worthy Büchner. He appears to have first learned of Cabanis from Lange! *Ce sont des savants sérieux!*[c]

Paris is haunted. The Baudin affair is really reminiscent of the banquet movement under Louis Philippe.[222] Only today there is no National Guard, and Bugeaud (as far as brutality comes into play) is READY from the first day, while in February he was the last to be called upon and at a moment when there existed *no* ministry, that is to say, under the conditions at that time, *no government.* Moreover, barricade-building is useless. Leaving aside the Weber[d]-Pyat bulls of excommunication, I cannot see how a revolution in Paris could be SUCCESSFUL, apart from treason and defection or division in the army.

I have put a new bee into the bonnets of the Urquhartites (since *Collet* invited me and my family to visit him last Sunday week[e]: I had not seen him personally for years), a bee that is now being very *seriously* debated between Collet and Urquhart, namely that *Peel's Bank Act of 1844*[223] makes it possible for the Russian Government, under CERTAIN CONJUNCTURES OF THE MONEY-MARKET, to force the Bank of England into bankruptcy.[f] Despite my diplomacy with Collet, I could not keep silent as he driveled on about *Ireland,* and told him MOST DECIDEDLY, to his face, my VIEWS ON THIS QUESTION.

Tussy is attending private gymnastic classes. HER COMPLIMENTS TO MRS BURNS.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] P.-J.[-G.] Cabanis, *Considérations générales sur l'étude de l'homme...* - [b] L. Büchner, *Sechs Vorlesungen über die Darwin'sche Theorie...,* 2. Aufl., Leipzig, 1868, S. 374-75. - [c] Such are profound scholars! (an allusion to a personage in Paul de Kock's novel *L'amant de la lune.* - [d] J. V. Weber - [e] 8 November - [f] See this volume, p. 166.

## 110

## MARX TO ENGELS[48]

IN MANCHESTER

London, 14 November 1868

*SECOND LETTER. P. S.*

DEAR FRED,

Since practice is better than all theory, I would ask you to describe to me *very precisely* (with examples) how you run your BUSINESS *quant à banquier, etc.*[a]

So. 1. The *method in purchasing* (*cotton*, etc.). With regard *ONLY* TO THE *MONETARY WAY OF DOING THE THINGS*; THE *BILLS*; TIME FOR DRAWING THEM ETC.

2. In *sales*. Bill settlement with your customers and your London CORRESPONDENT.

3. *Settlements* and OPERATIONS (CURRENT ACCOUNT etc.) with regard to your BANKER in Manchester.

Your
K. M.

Since the 2ND VOLUME[187] is largely too theoretical, I shall use the CHAPTER on credit[224] for an ACTUAL DENUNCIATION of this swindle and of COMMERCIAL morals.

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## 111

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

London, 14 November 1868

Dear Jung,

Before you went to Brussels I gave you the *secret circular* (that of Stepney) of the '*États-Unis de l'Europe*', which speaks of the

[a] with regard to the banker, etc.

need to make common cause with the *International Workingmen's Association*.[225] Since Gustav Vogt—i.e., that sheet—is now taking great liberties with respect to us, please send me *the thing back. I shall use it in Liebknecht's paper*[a] *against G. Vogt.*

How did it happen that, in the 2 last issues of *The Bee-Hive*, there is no word of the resolutions of the Geneva and Brussels Congress?[226]

*Salut* to you and family.

Yours
K. Marx

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## 112

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 November[b] 1868

Dear Fred,

The landlord (unfortunately he is living *pro tempore*[c] in London), wrote me the enclosed letter some time ago. Yesterday he called, but was not, of course, admitted, since I was allegedly absent. The devil of it is that, because of the Overend Affair,[227] this fellow lives on his house rents; in addition, he will not accept bills of exchange. At other times the pressure for the house has never been so immediate, since I only owe him for 1 quarter. Lessner, too, is kicking me for the remainder of my debt, his wife is desperately sick. Generally the situation is bad.

Yesterday evening, on the Central Council[73] the English too late but unanimously acknowledged that I had forecast *literally* for them, the, for me, highly amusing upshot of the elections, with a criticism of the incorrect policy of the Reform-League.[228] The present House is the worst since the election under Pam's[d] command. The long purses have never had such an exclusive preponderance. E. Jones

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[a] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - [b] In the original erroneously 18 October. - [c] for the time being - [d] Palmerston's

deserved his tumble OVER AND OVER.[102] With regard to Bradlaugh, he had boasted in too Lassallean a manner. At the last Sunday meeting of his congregation in CLEVELAND HALL, there was displayed a placard TO THIS EFFECT: FAREWELL TO THE GREAT *ICONOCLAST*, THE PEOPLE'S REDEEMER. LONG LIVE TO MR *BRADLAUGH*, THE DREAD NAUGHT OF ST STEPHEN'S![229]

In France things look very serious, according to Lafargue's last letters too. The government wants to force the lads on to the streets so that *chassepot*[230] and RIFLED CANNON may then *laisser 'faire merveille'*[a]! Can you see any CHANCE of successful street conflicts? Defection of the army without a previous thrashing appears to me scarcely credible.

Büchner's clumsy work[b] is of interest to me in as much as it quotes most of the German research in the field of Darwinism—Prof. Jäger (Vienna) and Prof. Haeckel. According to them, the cell has been abandoned as the primaeval form; instead a formless but contractile particle of albumen is taken as STARTING POINT. This hypothesis was later confirmed by the discoveries in Canada (later also in Bavaria and SOME OTHER PLACES). The primaeval form must naturally be traced down to the point at which it may be produced chemically. And it appears that the way to this point has been found.

The conscientiousness with which Büchner has acquainted himself with the English stuff is also shown by the fact that he classifies Owen as one of Darwin's supporters.

Borkheim's letter to you,[c] which you sent me, I had the pleasure to have read to me for A SECOND TIME by him in person. This nincompoop now accuses Eichhoff of being a 'BUSYBODY'(!) and of 'writing long letters'. What self-knowledge!

Apropos the Irish elections, the only interesting POINT is *Dungarvan*, where *Burry* is presenting himself under the protection of the defector O'Donovan. (Ditto under the protection of the priest.) There is a GENERAL CRY against him amongst the Irish Nationalists since this blackguard, as government prosecutor during the first trial of the Fenians in Dublin, hurled such slanders (à la *Constitutionnel* against the June insurgents)[231] that even the London papers gave him a wigging.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] work miracles - [b] L. Büchner, *Sechs Vorlesungen über die Darwin'sche Theorie von der Verwandlung der Arten* ... - [c] See this volume, p. 156.

I believe Nincompoop[a] has gone to Bordeaux! Such a business trip is certainly necessary to cool his brain fever.

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## 113

## ENGELS TO MARX[33]

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 18 November 1868

Dear Moor,

What do you say about the elections in the factory districts? The proletariat has once again made an awful fool of itself. Manchester and Salford return 3 Tories[b] against 2 Liberals,[c] including the MILK-AND-WATER Bazley, Bolton, Preston, Blackburn, etc., almost all Tories. In Ashton it looks as if Milner Gibson has gone TO THE WALL. Ernest Jones NOWHERE, despite the CHEERING. Everywhere the proletariat are the RAG, TAG AND BOBTAIL of the official parties, and if any party has gained strength from the new VOTERS, it is the Tories. The small towns, the HALF ROTTEN BOROUGHS[232] are the salvation of bourgeois Liberalism, and roles will be reversed: the Tories will favour more members for the big towns and the Liberals will favour unequal representation.

Here the electors have increased from 24,000 to not quite 48,000, and the Tories have increased their VOTERS from 6,000 to 14-15,000. The Liberals have let slip a lot, and M. Henry did a lot of harm, but it cannot be denied that the increase in working-class VOTES has brought the Tories more than their simple percentage, and has improved their relative position. On the whole this is a good thing. As things look now, Gladstone should have a *narrow* majority and will be compelled to change the Reform Bill to stop the rolling stone; with a large majority, he would have let things take their course, as usual.

But it remains an appalling display of weakness by the English proletariat. *The parson* has shown unexpected power, and also the

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[a] Borkheim - [b] Birley, Cawley, Chorley - [c] Bazley, J. Bright

cringing before RESPECTABILITY. Not a single working-class candidate had A GHOST OF A CHANCE, but MYLORD TOM NODDY or any parvenu snob could have the workers' votes with pleasure.

The howls of the Liberal bourgeois would amuse me very much were it not for this accompanying experience. To cheer myself up properly, yesterday I made Borchardt's son-in-law, who had dutifully drudged for the Liberals, as drunk as a lord.

Your
F. E.

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## 114

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 20 November 1868

Dear Moor,

I shall send you some money on Sunday so that you will receive it Monday morning. The stupidity of our cashier is responsible for the fact that it did not already come today. I am sending you £20.

*Militairement parlant*,[a] the fellows in Paris have NOT THE GHOST OF A CHANCE, if they launch their attack at present. It is not so easy to get out of this Bonapartism. Without a military revolt, nothing can be done. In my opinion, a coup can only be attempted when at least the *garde mobile*[233] once again stands between the people and the army. It is certain and obvious that Bonaparte *wants* an attempt, and the revolutionaries would be jackasses if they gave him the satisfaction. In addition, the new rifles (1) can very easily be rendered useless (by extracting the pin) and (2) even if they fall into the hands of the insurgents in a usable state, they are valueless if you do not have the specific ammunition, which you cannot *make* like the old cartridges. And why, in fact, should they launch their attack just at this moment? The continuation of *this*

[a] militarily speaking

state of affairs injures Bonaparte more every day; in addition, there is no special reason for attacking. Bonaparte will also take care not to give *the sort* of reason that only the revolutionaries need.

The secret of the elections in Lancashire is the English workers' hatred of the *Irish.* The damned Murphy cleared the way for the Tories. In the meantime, the Irish state church is finished no matter what. Otherwise things have happened as I said.[a] *The Morning Herald* has already explained that, though the Tories *seemed* to be in the minority, they were really in the majority, since they represent the majority of the people.[b]

If you have not received the £20 by Monday morning, telegraph me immediately. On Sunday I cannot register and would not consider even a registered letter safe in the hands of the post from Saturday evening to Monday morning.

Many greetings.

Your
F. E.

Send me back the letter from Nincompoop.[c] As you know I have to show him what grammatical blunders he makes.

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## 115

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 23 November 1868

DEAR FRED,

The FIRST HALF arrived this morning.

Enclosed 2 letters, ONE from Collet and the other from Jones.

As regards *Collet*, I have burnt my fingers with these blasted *Urquhartites*[d]. You know—at least I think I wrote to you about

[a] See this volume, p. 163. - [b] Engels refers to the leading article 'London, Wednesday, November 18' in *The Morning Herald* of 18 November 1868. - [c] Borkheim; see also this volume pp. 156, 162. - [d] Ibid., p. 159.

it—that, purely for the joy of MISCHIEF-MONGERING, I set new bees in their bonnets about the Peel Act of 1844[223] and its useful effect for Russia. (Incidentally the matter is correct WITHIN CERTAIN LIMITS.) Now Urquhart wants to print one of these letters *over my name* in his NEXT *Diplomatic Review*.[234] If I refused 'my name', I would make them mistrustful. So I am IN FOR IT. It is a consolation that not a soul reads the *Diplomatic Review* (EXCEPT A SMALL CLIQUE). The Urquhartites, however, are burning their fingers too. In order to give the affair more weight, they obviously intend to cite me as the author of *Capital*, which would be AN ABOMINATION in their eyes if they knew it.

As regards Ernest Jones, I find him EXCEEDINGLY COOL. *I* should act for him as ELECTIONEERING AGENT (for Greenwich)! I have replied[84] that I see not a GHOST OF A CHANCE for him:

1. Baxter Langley is the local candidate, and neither Mill nor Beales COULD STAND *without* his PERMISSION.

2. The GENERAL COUNCIL of the 'International' does not get mixed up in ELECTIONEERING. In no case could we act *against* B. Langley because—and this is a fact—since the Brussels Congress[138] B. Langley and his SUNDAY LEAGUE[235] have concluded an amicable agreement with us. (In fact, our sessions take place in *their* hall.)

3. He (Jones) is at present *unpopular* in London (and this is true). *Reynolds*'s ARTICLES: 'TRAITORS IN THE CAMP', etc., had damaged him.[236]

I have just received the enclosed letter from the secretary[a] of the Workers' Educational Society here.[67] This shows that the Lassalleans imported from Paris and Germany, who maintain secret contacts with Schweitzer, have made use of Lessner's absence due to his wife's sickness in order fraudulently to obtain from here a vote of confidence for *Schweitzer* against the Nurembergers.[135] As a well-known member of the Society, I would be made responsible for this—and this appears to me to be the aim of the whole operation. Thus I am writing to Speyer without delay explaining the reasons that, under these circumstances, I must announce my *resignation* from the Society.[b]

Your
K. M.

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[a] Carl Speyer - [b] See present edition, Vol. 21, 'Statement to the German Workers' Educational Society in London'.

That damned Schweitzer is still too young to pull the wool over my eyes.

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## 116

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

V/J 71 968—Manchester, 7 January 1868 £10.
T/N 14 065—London, 26 February 1868 *£10.*
Second halves.
First sent with preceding post.

[Manchester,] 23 November 1868

Dear Moor,

I can send you the above only today, but give you the good news that, after a conversation today with Calico Gottfried,[a] it will *probably* be possible to prolong the contract with him for a few years.[158] I intend, if all goes well, to take 3 years, the last of which would be without any obligation on my part to work. If all this is successful, which must be more or less decided by the end of February at the latest, we are over the hill, and I shall be able without difficulty to pay off the £100 debt you still have, and in general to establish the affair properly and on a solid basis, so that this load of debts will not return, at least for the period of the contract.

Lizzie suddenly became very unwell yesterday; I thought at first it was serious, but she has slept a lot, so is now much better. She had congestions to the head. Tussy's letter gave her much pleasure, and as soon as she is better again she will answer it.

The wonderful primeval mass of the respected Büchner is still a great mystery to me. Couldn't you send us the book[b] here some time?

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[a] Ermen. See this volume, p. 170. - [b] L. Büchner, *Sechs Vorlesungen über die Darwin'sche Theorie von der Verwandlung der Arten* ...

How ABOUT Ténot, *Paris, le 2 décembre?*
Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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## 117

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 November 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed returned the letters.[a] Jones is COOL INDEED, and in every sense he has counted his chickens before they are hatched. He will scarcely find another place to elect him. LIBERALS OF HIS CALIBRE there are enough, and more than enough, ever since he identified himself with this variety. Even the great Dr Borchardt asked him (if one can believe Dr Borchardt) how he could identify himself in such a way with Bright and Gladstone, since he would certainly have to attack them in 5 years time.

Nothing else new here. I have finally prevailed on Lizzie to let Gumpert treat her; so far she resisted, and said there was nothing wrong with her. He will probably have been there today. Incidentally, she was better today.

Your
F. E.

Büchner[b] received with thanks.

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[a] By C. D. Collet and E. Jones (see this volume, pp. 165-66). - [b] L. Büchner, *Sechs Vorlesungen über die Darwin'sche Theorie von der Verwandlung der Arten...*

## 118

## ENGELS TO W. HOLZENHAUER[237]

IN COLOGNE

[*Draft*]

[Manchester,] 26 November 1868

Following receipt of your letter dated 18 August I inquired at home[84] about the circumstances in which you had left my brothers'[238] business and also sought to find out whether there was any prospect of your obtaining employment there again.

Now I have received the relevant information, and unfortunately it is such that I can offer you no hope whatsoever of obtaining employment there again. I am therefore returning to you enclosed the *false*, as you say, testimony of my brother-in-law.[a] In view of the information received, I must, it is true, assume this testimony does not wholly correspond to reality, a fact on which you may congratulate yourself, to be sure.

Respectfully yours,
F. E.

*Published for the first time* *Printed according to the original*

## 119

## ENGELS TO MARX[239]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 29 November 1868

Dear Moor,

Consider *very precisely* the answers to the enclosed questions, and answer them for me by return, so that I may have your reply on Tuesday morning.

1. How much money do you need to pay *all* your debts, SO AS TO HAVE A CLEAR START?

2. Can you manage with £350 for your *usual* regular needs for a year (from this I exclude extra expenses caused by sickness and unforeseen events), i.e., so that you do not need to get into debt. If not, tell me the sum required for it. All on the assumption that

[a] Adolf von Griesheim

all the old debts have previously been paid off. This question is naturally the main one.

My negotiations with Gottfried Ermen[a] are taking the turn that, on the termination of my contract,—June 30—he wishes to *buy me out*, i.e., he offers me a sum of money if I undertake not to enter into any competing business for 5 years, and allow him to continue to manage the firm. This is exactly where I wanted to get the man. However, since in the past few years the balances have been poor, it is questionable whether this offer will place us in a position to live for a number of years without money troubles, even if we assume the probable case that all sorts of events will cause us to move again to the continent, and hence get us involved in extra expenses. The sum offered me by Gottfried Ermen (which, long before he offered it to me, I was determined to devote, if need be exclusively, to covering the necessary support for you) would put me in a position to provide you *certainly* with £350 annually for 5-6 years, and in special cases even with some more. You will, however, understand that all my arrangements would be upset if, from time to time, a sum of debts accumulated that would have to be covered out of further capital. My calculations have to be based upon the fact that our living expenses must be met not solely from *revenue*, but also—from the beginning—partly from *capital*, and for this very reason they are rather complicated and must be adhered to strictly, or we shall come to grief.

I would ask you to tell me quite frankly how these matters *really stand*, and your reply will determine how I conduct myself in the future vis-à-vis Gottfried Ermen. So, name yourself the sum you need regularly per annum, and we shall see what can be done.

What will happen after the 5-6 years mentioned above is not clear to me either. If everything remains as at present, I would no longer be in a position to send you £350 a year or even more, but still at least £150. Yet much may change by then, and your literary work will be capable of bringing something in for you.

Best greetings to your wife and the girls. Send one of the enclosed photograms to Laura.

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p. 167.

## 120

## MARX TO ENGELS[80]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 30 November 1868

DEAR FRED,

I am quite KNOCKED DOWN by your too great kindness.

I had my wife show me all the BILLS, and the amount of the debts is much greater than I thought, £210 (of which ABOUT £75 for the pawnshop and interest). This does not include the doctor's BILL for attendance during the SCARLATINA, which he has not yet submitted.

During the past few years we have used more than £350, but the sum is absolutely sufficient, since 1. during the past few years Lafargue was living with us, and expenses were much increased by his presence in the house; and 2., owing to the debt system, everything cost much too much. With a complete CLEARANCE of the debts, I would be able for the first time to enforce a STRICT ADMINISTRATION.

You can imagine how unpleasant conditions have been here at home over the past few months from the fact that Jennychen—behind my back—got an engagement for herself as *private governess* with an English family. The business is not due to begin until January 1869. I gave permission, after the event, on the proviso (the lady of the house, her husband is Dr Monroe, visited my wife in this connection) that the engagement should *only be binding for 1 month*, and both sides, after the month had passed, would have the *right to cancel*. Though the matter was extremely embarrassing to me (the child would have to teach small children almost all day long)—I do not need to emphasise this—I consented on this condition, since I found it favourable that Jennychen would be diverted by some sort of occupation and, in particular, get outside these 4 walls. For years now my wife has quite lost her TEMPER—understandable under the circumstances, but not thereby made pleasanter—and tortures the children mortally with her complaints and irritability and BAD HUMOUR, though no children could bear it all IN A MORE JOLLY WAY. But *sunt certi denique fines*.[a] It is naturally UNPLEASANT to write to you about this. It

[a] there are, after all, certain limits (Horace, *Satires*, I, 1, 106).

is easier to speak of such things. But it is necessary in order to explain to you why I did not absolutely reverse Jennychen's step.

Your
K. M.

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## 121

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 5 December 1868

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed:

1. Letter from Schweitzer,
2. Mineworkers of Lugau,
3. *Russe* Serno-Solovyevich (author of the pamphlet against Goegg[a]).

So Schweitzer is determined to become king of the tailors in Germany! Good luck to him. On *one* point he is right—Wilhelm's[b] incapability! His claim that the Nurembergers[135]—on pain of high treason—should enroll under his leadership IS VERY COOL INDEED.[240]

Wilhelm becomes stupider every day. What a lousy paper![c] From the letter from Lugau[241] it emerges that he has so far done *nothing* with reference to the International. At the same time, he plays fine tricks on us. In his 'cosy' way, he announces that the '*International Working Men's Association*' costs *nothing*, so that all and sundry may join *without paying*. From Switzerland Becker complains about this absurdity.[242]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] [A. Serno-Solovyevich] *À propos de la grève. Réponse à M. Goegg* (signed by the pen-name A. Ébéniste). See also this volume, p. 186. - [b] Wilhelm Liebknecht's - [c] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*

## 122

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[29]

### IN HANOVER

London, 5 December 1868

Dear Kugelmann,

Have you got Dietzgen's address? Quite a while ago he sent me a fragment of a manuscript on 'intellectual capacity',[185] which, despite a certain confusion and too frequent repetitions, contained much that was excellent, and—as the independent product of a worker—even admirable. I did not reply immediately after reading it through, since I wanted to hear Engels' opinion.[a] So I sent him the manuscript. A long time passed before I got it back. And now I *cannot find* Dietzgen's *letter* with his new address. He wrote me, to wit, in his last letter from Petersburg, that he would return to the Rhine and settle there. Have you perhaps received his address from him? If so, be so kind as to send it to me by return. My conscience—one never becomes completely free of this sort of thing—is pricking me for leaving Dietzgen so long without a reply. You also promised to tell me something about his personality.

I have received *Büchner's* lectures on Darwinism. He is obviously a 'book-maker' and probably for this reason is called 'Büchner'.[b] His superficial babble about the history of materialism is obviously copied from Lange.[c] The way such a whipper-snapper disposes of, e.g., *Aristotle*—quite a different sort of natural philosopher from Büchner—is really astonishing. It is also very naïve of him to say, referring to Cabanis, 'you might almost be listening to Karl Vogt'.[d] As if Cabanis copied Vogt!

Some time ago I promised to write you a few words about the FRENCH BRANCH.[72] These RAGAMUFFINS are, a half or 2/3 of them, *maquereaux*[e] and such-like rabble, and all of them—after our people had withdrawn—heroes of the revolutionary phrase, who, FROM A SAFE DISTANCE, OF COURSE, kill kings and emperors, in particular Louis Napoleon. In their eyes we are, naturally, reactionaries, and

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[a] See this volume, pp. 119-21 and 152-55. - [b] A play on the German word *Buchmacher* (book-maker) and the name *Büchner*, derived from the word *Buch* (book). - [c] F. A. Lange, *Geschichte des Materialismus und Kritik seiner Bedeutung in der Gegenwart*, Vols. 1-2. - [d] L. Büchner, *Sechs Vorlesungen über die Darwin'sche Theorie von der Verwandlung der Arten* ... - [e] pimps

they drew up, in all due form, an indictment against us, which was, in fact, submitted to the Brussels Congress—in the closed sessions. The fury of these BLACKLEGS was heightened by the fact that they had been taken over by Felix Pyat, a failed French fourth-class author of melodramas, who, in the revolution of '48, was only used as a *TOASTMASTER*—(the name given by the English to the men *paid* to announce the TOASTS at public banquets, or to supervise the order of the TOASTS)—a man who has a perfect monomania 'TO SHOUT IN A WHISPER' and to play the dangerous conspirator. Pyat wanted to use this gang to convert the '*International Working Men's Association*' into his following. In particular, the aim was to compromise us. Thus, at a public MEETING which the *FRENCH BRANCH* announced and trumpeted by poster as a meeting of the *INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION*, Louis Napoleon, alias Badinguet,[a] was *in all due form sentenced to death*, the execution naturally being left to the nameless Brutuses of Paris.[b] Since the English press paid no attention to this farce, we also would have passed it over in silence. But one of the gang—a certain Vésinier, a circulator of *chantage*[c] literature—spread the whole muck in the Belgian paper *La Cigale*, which claims to be an organ of the 'International', a sort of 'comic' paper, the like of which certainly cannot be found anywhere else in Europe. There is, you see, nothing comic about it except its seriousness. From the *Cigale* the stuff found its way into the *Pays, Journal de l'Empire*. It was naturally grist to the mill of Paul de Cassagnac. Thereupon we—i.e. THE GENERAL COUNCIL—officially announced, in 6 lines in the *Cigale*, that *F. Pyat* had absolutely *no* connection with the '*International*', of which he was not even a member.[d] *Hinc illae irae!*[e] This frog-and-mouse war[f] ended when the FRENCH BRANCH rancorously withdrew from us, and it now goes about its business on its own, under Pyat's auspices. They have established here, in London, as a *succursale*,[g] a so-called *German Agitational Association*, consisting of a dozen and a half, headed by an old refugee from the Palatinate, the half-crazy watchmaker *Weber*.[h] Now you know all there is to know about this solemn, highfalutin and important event. Just one thing more. We had the satisfaction that Blanqui,

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[a] The name of a stone-mason in whose clothes Napoleon III escaped from prison in 1846. - [b] See this volume, p. 62. - [c] blackmail - [d] K. Marx, 'Resolution of the General Council on Félix Pyat's Provocative Behaviour' - [e] Hence this rage! (paraphrase of the expression *Hinc illae lacrimae*—Hence these tears—from Terence's *Andria*, I, 1, 99). - [f] An allusion to the *Batrachomyomachia* (The Battle of the Frogs and Mice), an ancient Greek mock-heroic poem (attributed to Pigret) which parodies Homer's *Iliad*. - [g] annex - [h] See this volume, pp. 151, 155.

through one of his friends, writing ditto in the *Cigale*, made Pyat absolutely ridiculous, leaving him only the alternative of being either a MONOMANIAC or a police agent.[a]

Yesterday evening I received a letter from Schweitzer[240] announcing that he was off to the *cachot*[b] again, and that the outbreak of civil war—that is war between him and W. Liebknecht—is unavoidable. I must say that Schweitzer is right on one point, that is, Liebknecht's incompetence. His sheet[c] is really wretched. How can a man whom I crammed orally for 15 years (he was always too lazy to read) have such things published as, for instance, *Society and State*, in which '*the social*' (and that's a fine category too!) is treated as the secondary, and '*the political*' as the essential?[d] This would be incomprehensible were it not that Liebknecht is a South German, and seems always to have confused me with his old superior, the 'noble' *Gustav Struve*.

Lafargue and wife have been in Paris for 2 months. There, however, they don't want to recognise the medical qualifications he achieved in London, and demand that he take 5 new 'Paris' exams!

As the result of a SETTLEMENT, my 'economic' (not politico-economic) circumstances will take a *satisfactory* form from next year.[e]

With best greetings to your dear wife and Fränzchen.

Yours
Karl Marx

Is your wife also active in the German ladies' great emancipation campaign? I think that German women should begin by driving their husbands to self-emancipation.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 12, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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[a] G. Tridon, 'La Commune révolutionnaire de Paris, *La Cigale*, No. 29, 19 July 1868. - [b] gaol - [c] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - [d] 'Der Staat und die soziale Frage', *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 41, 10 October 1868 (see this volume, pp. 136 and 149). - [e] Ibid., pp. 169-70.

## 123

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 December 1868

DEAR FRED,

Please send me £3 by this Wednesday[a] (the day after tomorrow), since the gas bill, etc., are due, and I have promised to pay by then.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

So it is Lowe and Bright Co.![243]

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## 124

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 8 December 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed five pounds and the letters from Lugau[241] and Schweitzer[240] returned. That things would come to this pass with Schweitzer was fairly clear to me from previous practical experience. This honourable gentleman was not inclined to hand over his 'strict' organisation, headed by the nominal king of the tailors; for him the only question was whether good old Wilhelm[b] would subordinate himself to him or not. I don't exactly mind his assessing Wilhelm correctly, but he forgets that he himself, with much more brain, is, in his LINE, just such a twopenny-halfpenny

[a] 9 December - [b] Wilhelm Liebknecht

character as Wilhelm. His confidence that he can regularly be given ticket of leave from the *cachot*[a] also has an unpleasant ring; he should not have written this to *you* after using this method so often, and precisely during his Bismarck era, with such success.

The Lugau lads' letter does them great honour. That jackass Liebknecht has described the conditions of these workers in his sheet[b] in more than 20 articles, *yet only here* does one see clearly where the infamy lies. Incidentally, Moore says that similar conditions—though not so bureaucratically intricate ones—obtain in English coalmines.

The letter from Serno-Solovyevich[c] was *not* enclosed.

In haste.

Your
F. E.

Today in the office I was overrun, without a break, from twelve-thirty until five.

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## 125

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER[244]

London, 9 December 1868

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR £5.

I forgot to enclose the Russian.[d] Follows herewith. In addition *Sigfrid Meyer*.[245] (The *Drury* of whom he speaks is a fishy customer who was formerly in London and who wished to push himself onto the CENTRAL COUNCIL. He impressed S. Meyer by his public appearances in New York. Meyer wrote to us that we should really appoint Drury as our agent. I replied to him[e] that Mr Drury had

[a] gaol - [b] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - [c] See this volume, p. 172. - [d] Marx means the letter of A. A. Serno-Solovyevich. - [e] See this volume, p. 97.

already had himself 'recommended' to us in this capacity by Cremer, Huleck, etc. We did *not* want him.)

Finally a reappearance CARD from Nincompoop.[a] This letter is very characteristic of him. Schily took him to Lafargue et Co. You know that in Paris you can only move in on the *terme*.[b] Lafargue and Laura thus lived in a *chambre garnie*,[c] high up, until about a fortnight ago (when they found lodgings, and we sent them their chests and boxes). The first thing Borkheim said when he came to visit them with Schily: 'This has put me quite out of breath. I would not like often to climb so high!' And now his marginal notes, which he sends to *me*! Incidentally, he has kept his promise about 'not-climbing'. Lafargue had bought the Ténot,[d] but since the postage to London is dear, Borkheim was supposed to bring the book here on his return journey to Bordeaux. But he was not seen again.

And this reminds me of another anecdote concerning Borkheim. Shortly before Lafargue left, Borkheim invited him and my family to dinner (Laura did not go). After the 'gentlemen' had retired to Borkheim's STUDY—the gentlemen were *Lafargue, Borkheim and myself*—Borkheim related all sorts of gossip told or published by one person or another about me. I let him have his head for a time, while Lafargue rocked crossly backwards and forwards in his chair. Finally I interrupted him and said: It was altogether extraordinary what gossip went round in the world. Engels and I could tell the best stories about this, because we possessed proper archives about the refugees. For instance, when he—Borkheim—came from Switzerland to England, we received a report that he was an agent of the Prussian Count X[e] (I cannot JUST NOW recall the name), who was himself a Prussian spy, and that it had been this count that had sent him to Switzerland, etc. Borkheim exploded like a bomb. 'He had never thought that anybody at all in London knew anything about this story, etc.' He then started to tell the story at great length and in great detail and, in his excitement, pumped too much HOT WATER and even more BRANDY into himself. In this OVERWORKED condition we then returned to the ladies for tea, and Borkheim at once burst out with the announcement that I had given him THE MOST STRANGE SURPRISE of his life. He then told the same story three times in succession, to the great annoyance of his wife, since all sorts of females play a role in

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[a] S. Borkheim - [b] beginning of the quarter - [c] furnished room - [d] E. Ténot, *Paris en décembre 1851*..., Paris, 1868. E. Ténot, *La Province en décembre 1851* ... Paris, 1868, See also this volume, p. 188. - [e] Heinemann

it. Later he wrote to me twice: I had obviously been joking, he had probably himself told me the gossip about him, etc. I, however, remained serious. (We had learned about the business from Schily, in one of his letters from Paris, at the time of the Vogt affair.) There must be punishment!

Apropos. Something that remained a mystery to me for a long time was this: during the 3 years of the cotton FAMINE, where did the English get all that cotton, even for the DIMINISHED SCALE OF PRODUCTION?[246] It was impossible to explain this from the official statistics. Despite all the imports from India, etc., there was seen to be quite an enormous deficit if you calculated the exports to the Continent (and even the occasional ones to New England). Nothing, or almost nothing, remained for HOME CONSUMPTION. The business was easily solved. It has now been proved (a fact perhaps known to you, but new to me) that, at the outbreak of the Civil War, the English had *verbotenus*[a] approximately *3 years' stock* (naturally for a DIMINISHED SCALE OF PRODUCTION). What a fine crash that would have produced if the Civil War had *not* broken out!

The *EXPORTS* OF YARN and MANUFACTURED GOODS in *1862, 1863* and *1864* were=1,208,920,000 lbs (REDUCED TO YARN) and the SUPPLIES (*IMPORTS*) (REDUCED TO EQUIVALENT WEIGHT IN YARN)=1,187,369,000 lbs.[b] In the first figure, the surplus of baryta hidden in the MANUFACTURED GOODS has probably been overlooked. Even so, the result roughly emerges that the entire HOME SUPPLY was met from existing stocks.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] literally - [b] Marx quotes the figures from the article 'A Phase of the Cotton Trade during the Civil War', published in *The Economist*, No. 1181, 14 April 1866, p. 447 (signed J. E.).

# 126

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 December 1868

DEAR FRED,

You must return the enclosed letter to me immediately after reading it, since I must send it back to Kugelmann.[247]

Kugelmann (there is nothing else worthy of notice in his letter, which I am not sending, as I wish to reply to him) has this to say about Dr Freund, the 'author' of the letter:

'Recently, in Dresden, I recruited a promising pupil for you in the shape of a very intelligent colleague, a university teacher in Breslau. He told me he had written a small study on the worker question. I recommended him to read your book[a] before publishing his study. His own reflections had led him to Malthusian ideas.—I would like to have the enclosed letter returned *quite soon*, since I still have to reply to it.—Freund is now engaged in an *epoch-making work* dealing with the development of the normal and pathological pelvis, in particular, and of the skeleton, in general. In Dresden he gave a lecture on this that created a sensation. The professors and privy councillors received his brilliant discoveries with a dignified air of superiority, which vexed me. At the close of our section meeting I said a few words in order to emphasise Freund's achievements in a complimentary manner and I asked those who agreed with me to rise. The entire section rose, but—they were perfidious enough to omit this ovation from the minutes of the meeting. When I wanted to insist on its inclusion, Freund intervened himself and said he did not wish it. I believe he now regrets this. This is to make his letter understandable. When his work appears, Engels will, in any case, have to plough through it'.

(It appears you have to plough through everything.)

Your
K. M.

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[a] the first volume of *Capital*

# 127

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 11 December 1868

Dear Moor,

I return you 2 letters, the most the ENVELOPE can hold, in all haste; I wanted to write to you from the office, but was held up, and the last post will be leaving soon out here.

Nincompoop[a] is extremely charming and tactful. This honourable gentleman appears to need to apply the SNOB-standard everywhere. When you see him, just ask him sometime if he is related to Mr *Hersch Kriminand*, and where the man lives. (This gentleman *exists* and signs himself exactly thus; he lives in Lemberg.) Then you can ask him what Lemberg *is called*. Polish Lwow, Little Russian and Great Russian Львовъ, that is to say Lvov or Löwenstadt from lev[b]=lion. The Jews translate that as Löwenberg, abbreviated *Lem*berg.

Here we have the finest crisis, and this time *pure* (though only relative) overproduction. The spinners and manufacturers have, for nearly 2 years now, on their own account, been consigning goods unsaleable here to India and China, thus doubly overloading the overloaded markets. This is no longer possible, and they are failing right and left. One of the first victims was *Knowles*, our fatty, who failed not so much because of consignments, but through general corporeal weakness—the 4 brothers had simply *gobbled up* the money.

I call this overproduction *relative* because it only becomes overproduction as a result of the cotton prices, which are still high. Two pence difference would and will suffice to absorb the whole lot lying around. Cotton Middling Orleans today 11d., before the war 6 1/2 d., 7d., 8d., according to season. Thus still 60 to 80% above the old price.

What you say about cotton 1860-61 is not quite so bad.[c] The harvest of 1860 was the largest ever, and the STOCK at the outbreak

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[a] Sigismund Borkheim - [b] Engels gives the Russian word *лев* in Latin letters. - [c] See this volume, p. 179.

of the war greater than ever before. We lived on this in 1861 and even 1862, and the highest prices came only in 1863. But this also depended on other things—the effective blockade of the Southern harbours, etc., etc. But there was never any question of 3 years' reserve, that is enormously exaggerated. If you like, I can compile the things for you from the official report (i. e., the LIVERPOOL BROKER ASSOCIATION'S report), and I shall do it in any case before I abandon COMMERCE. Incidentally, you will find a lot in *Watts*.[a]

I expect any day to receive the draft contract with Gottfried Ermen.[b]

Your
F. E.

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## 128

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 12 December 1868[c]

DEAR FRED,

You will have seen that the ESTIMATE about COTTON relies on a comparison between exports and imports for 1862, 1863, and 1864. The *conclusion* regarding the *stocks of RAW COTTON + COTTON MANUFACTURES* (I believe I forgot the latter addition in the letter to you[d]) available in the *UNITED KINGDOM ON 1 JANUARY 1862* thus depends entirely on the correctness of the premisses. The data are based on the report by Messrs *ELLISON AND HAYWOOD*. The bare figures are as follows:

[a] J. Watts, *The Facts of the Cotton Famine*. - [b] See this volume, pp. 167 and 170. - [c] In the original mistakenly: 1866. - [d] See this volume, p. 179.

*Statistics of Cotton in the United Kingdom 1862, 1863, 1864*[a]

| | 1862 | 1863 | 1864 | For 3 years |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Import* | | | |
| | thousand of lbs | | | |
| Cotton Imported | 533,176 | 691,847 | 896,770 | |
| Ditto Exported | 216,963 | 260,934 | 247,194 | |
| Available to Consumption | 316,213 | 430,913 | 649,576 | |
| Waste in Spinning | 53,756 | 64,637 | 90,940 | |
| Equal to Production in Yarn | 262,457 | 366,276 | 558,636 | |
| Total | | | | 1,187,369 |
| | *Export* | | | |
| | [thousand of lbs] | | | |
| Yarn | 88,554 | 70,678 | 71,951[b] | |
| Piece goods etc. | 324,128 | 321,561 | 332,048 | |
| Total | 412,682 | 392,239 | 403,999[c] | 1,208,320[d] |

The arsenic works excellently. You know that, ABOUT 6 weeks ago, I felt something carbuncular and then re-started imbibing arsenic, and I am still at it. In fact, nothing has appeared except constant small preliminaries, which just as constantly disappear again. For years the business always began in October, and by January was in full bloom. Now it looks as though I shall escape it this year, and that only enough *traces* of the sickness reappeared and are reappearing as were necessary to induce me to take arsenic.

In his latest speech in Edinburgh, in which Huxley again took a more materialist stand than in recent years, he opened up another loophole for himself.[248] As long as we really observe and think, we can never escape materialism. But all this is reduced to the relationship between cause and effect, and 'your great compatriot Hume' has already proved that these categories have nothing in

[a] The table, which Marx gives in English, is from the article 'A Phase of the Cotton Trade during the Civil War', published in *The Economist*, No. 1181, 14 April 1866, p. 447 (signed: J. E.). - [b] Marx mistakenly wrote: 171,951. - [c] Marx mistakenly wrote: 403,399. - [d] In Marx's letter and in *The Economist* mistakenly: 1,208,920.

common with the things in themselves. *Ergo*, it is up to you to believe what you will. *Q.E.D.*

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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## 129

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[29]

### IN HANOVER

London, 12 December 1868

Dear Friend,

I wanted to write to you at greater length, but am prevented from doing so by unforeseen external 'business'. But do not let this keep you from taking up your pen again soon.

The letter from Freund (returned enclosed, with thanks) interested me greatly.[a] It is high time for other people to come forward in Germany than the present 'pillars' of science.

I also return the portrait of Dietzgen.[249] His biography is not quite what I had thought. But I always had a feeling he was 'not a worker like Eccarius'. In fact, the sort of philosophical outlook he has worked out for himself demands a certain calmness and disposable time that the EVERYDAY WORKMAN does not enjoy. I have two very good workers living in New York, A. Vogt, a shoemaker, and Sigfrid Meyer, a mining engineer, both formerly from Berlin. A third worker who could give lectures on my book[b] is *Lochner*, a joiner (COMMON WORKING MAN), who has been here in London ABOUT 15 years.

Tell your dear wife that I never 'suspected' her of serving under Madame General Geck.[c] I queried only in jest.[d] Incidentally, the ladies cannot complain about the *'International'*, since it has appointed a lady, Madame Law, as a member of the *General Council*. Joking aside, very great progress was demonstrated at the last congress of the American '*LABOR UNION*',[146] inter alia, by the fact that it treated the women workers with full parity; by contrast, the English, and to an even greater extent the gallant French, are

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[a] See this volume, p. 180. - [b] the first volume of *Capital* - [c] Marx refers to Marie Goegg. *Geck* means *dandy*. - [d] See this volume, p. 175.

displaying a marked narrowness of spirit in this respect. Everyone who knows anything of history also knows that great social revolutions are impossible without the feminine ferment. Social progress may be measured precisely by the social position of the fair sex (plain ones included).

As far as the 'SETTLEMENT' is concerned, there could never, from the outset, have been any question of my taking over a business before my book was finished. Otherwise I could long have extricated myself from any embarrassing situation. The fact is simply this—but strictly ***between us***—that, on the one hand, I made an arrangement with my family; on the other, Engels, without my knowledge, through agreement with his PARTNER about his own income (he is leaving the business in June), has made a SETTLEMENT for me, as a result of which, from next year, I shall be able to work in peace.[a]

With best greetings.

Yours
K. M.

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 11, Stuttgart, 1901-1902

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## 130

## MARX TO ASHER & CO.[250]

IN LONDON

[*Draft*]

[London, not before 12 December 1868]

The only place where a few copies of *Herr Vogt* are still obtainable, is Berlin. At least, there were some to be had a few weeks ago. I shall write there and if a copy can be got, it will be forwarded to 11, Unter den Linden.

Yours truly
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 32, Moscow, 1964

Reproduced from the original

[a] See this volume, pp. 169-71.

## 131

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 13 December 1868

Dear Moor,

If the envelope holds them, I shall send back Meyer and Serno,[251] otherwise tomorrow from the office, where I have larger envelopes.

In Meyer's letter, the juxtaposition of Bohemians and Chinese amused me. Otherwise, his false Jacob-Grimm style is a bit much for me, the art of saying as little as possible with secretive circumlocutions, and putting that little unclearly.

For a Russian, Serno writes remarkably poor French; for his pamphlet[a] he must have had a lot of help. If Nincompoop[b] knew you were corresponding with a Russian! You can then tell him 1. that the name Serno, as a masculine, is impossible in Great Russian since o is a neuter ending, whereas in Little Russian male names ending in o are very frequent, thus the man is no Muscovite but a Ruthenian, a *Maloross*[c]; 2. that he is a born member of the *Brimstone Gang*[252]; *serny*—сѣрный—means sulphurous, from *sera*, sulphur; Solovyevich means son of the nightingale. I am eager to see the sheet published by these people,[d] particularly what sort of a science *he*, Serno, will propound, since he so curses the ignorance of the French. However, such a French journal is always very good, much better than the Belgian Proudhonist sheets.

The story about Nincompoop is very neat.[e]

Only now do I understand what you meant with the cotton business[f], however, you had omitted that this also included the stocks of yarn and fabrics. But then it must be noted that, to explain things rationally, you must include *1861*, when the collosal 4 million crop of 1860 gradually arrived here. How Ellison & Haywood could omit this[g] is incomprehensible to me, unless the people had a particular business purpose in their statistics. The big

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[a] [A. Serno-Solovyevich,] *À propos de la grève. Réponse à M. Goegg* (signed with the pen-name A. Ébéniste). - [b] Sigismund Borkheim - [c] *Maloross* is the Latin translirera-tion of the Russian *малороссъ* which means Little Russian (i.e. Ukrainian). - [d] *L'Égalité* - [e] See this volume, p. 178. - [f] Ibid., pp. 179 and 182. - [g] This refers to the item 'A Phase of the Cotton Trade during the Civil War' in *The Economist*, No. 1181, 14 April 1866 (signed: J. E.).

American crop of 1860, which came to England in [18]61, at the time of the PAPER BLOCKADE[253] is the basis of all the later production. I shall see to it that I send you the necessary data on the subject, at least regarding raw cotton. Of course, this in no way changes the fact that, without the American War, there would certainly have been, in 1861-62, an absolutely colossal collapse, this time as the result of pure, unalloyed and unconcealed overproduction.

Weighting with CHINA CLAY (this CHINA lies in Derbyshire and Staffordshire; it is fine potter's earth, and CHINA here means porcelain) has only gained ground *since* 1863-64. For some years it was the secret of a comparative few. Recently, somebody was sentenced to £1,060 DAMAGES because of this, and I hope that, as soon as I am out of the firm, they will also tackle Gottfried on account of the talc-stone he sells as cotton yarn. Tussy may well curse about the yarn when 25 to 30% of it consists of sour meal sweetened with talc-stone.

I am very glad the arsenic was and continues to be so effective.

I wish I were through with the murky business with Gottfried Ermen.[a] I cannot trust the rogue further than I can see him, and have to take all possible precautions. I still haven't even received the draft agreement; he puts the blame on the lawyer, but I blame it on the fact that he himself is still mulling over what additional chicanery for me he can get included in it. Luckily, I possess an epistle from him in which *he himself* makes the relevant proposal to me, and I myself drafted the memorandum given to the lawyer as a basis. But I already note that he is keen for me to take money out of the firm *before* I am quite in the clear with him—then he would have me in his hand and could squeeze me. But as soon as I have the draft, and find it to be FAIRLY DRAWN UP, I shall send you enough for you to pay off your debts and have some CASH IN HAND, and from the New Year the new arrangement will begin. I may come to visit you for a few days myself, but Nincompoop and his consorts must not know of this.

Best greetings to your wife and the girls.

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p. 170.

# 132

## MARX TO ENGELS[174]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 December 1868

DEAR FRED,

On Saturday evening[a] Ténot (*Paris* and *Provinces*)[b] and the proceedings of the Baudin trial[222] arrived. I am sending you Ténot (*Paris*) and Baudin today. The Ténot (*Provinces*) you will receive in a few days. You can bring the whole lot back yourself, for nobody in the house except me has yet read the things.

In the Ténot (*Paris*) I find little new, except a few details—I have not yet read the *Provinces*. The enormous sensation created by the book in Paris, and in France as a whole, proves a very interesting FACT, namely that the generation that has grown up under Badinguet[c] knew nothing at all about the history of the regime under which it is living. Now the fellows are rubbing their eyes and are quite thunderstruck. If one may *parva componere magnis*,[d] have we not had precisely the same experience in our own way? In Germany the story is spreading, as a remarkable novelty, that Lassalle was only one of our satellites, and that he *did not discover* the 'class struggle'.

I can discover nothing special in the speech by *Gambetta*,[e] who is now being lionised in France. His manner reminds me strikingly of Michel de Bourges. This Michel also made his name through a political trial. A few months before the February revolution he declared that he had abandoned his belief in 'democracy', since it always turned into 'demagogy'. Of course, this did not prevent him from shining as a *républicain de la veille*[f] *after* February, and rendering excellent service to Bonaparte, *nolens* or *volens*,[g] particularly in the question of quaestors.[254] He was also MORE OR LESS in contact with the republican 'Plon-Plon'.

I was really delighted to read again IN FULL the deliberations of the '*républicains modérés*', i. e., those seated in the *législative*, in the 10th Arrondissement-Mairie.[255] I believe no similar tragicomedy

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[a] 12 December - [b] See this volume, p. 178. - [c] Napoleon III (Badinguet is the name of the stone-mason in whose clothes he escaped from prison in 1846). - [d] compare small and great - [e] L. Gambetta, 'Plaidorie de M. Gambetta, avocat de M. Delescluze. Audience du 14 novembre 1868'. In: *Affaire de la souscription Baudin*, 3 ed., Paris, 1868. - [f] time-honoured republican - [g] willy-nilly

can be found anywhere in world history, at least not carried out in this pure form. The Frankfurt-Stuttgart Parliament[256] is nothing in comparison. The French alone understand how to put on a show, whether it be a convention or a rump parliament of thorough scoundrels.

As for the cotton, I have the import and export lists for 1861, etc., in the RETURNS of the BOARD OF TRADE.[a] The only FACT of importance to me was—and this is certainly unprecedented—that for 3 years nothing was manufactured for the home market (I mean from the *freshly-imported* raw materials during those 3 years, or those only intended *to make up stock*).

Asher, the booksellers here (a BRANCH of the Berlin one, Unter den Linden) have written to me that they need a few COPIES of *Herr Vogt* in Berlin.[b] That infernal Wilhelm,[c] as you know, never answered a very pressing letter I sent him months ago,[84] except to say that he had frittered away the 300 copies turned over to him, but that a few still existed in Berlin. I shall give him another kick today.[84]

Tussychen is enraptured at the prospect of having you here with us, and so is the WHOLE FAMILY. TUSSY IS A FANATICAL PARTISAN OF YOURS, MRS LIZZIE, AND THE 'CONVICTED' NATION.[d] But you must write when.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

In *Balzac*'s *Le Curé de Village* there is this passage:

'Si le produit industriel n'était pas *le double en valeur* de son *prix de revient en argent*, le commerce n'existerait pas.'

Qu'en dis-tu?[e]

Since Nincompoop[f] discovered Serno, he does not treat him so severely. He is only astonished that Serno turned to me instead of to him.

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[a] 'Accounts Relating to Trade and Navigation for the Year Ended December 31, 1861'. In: *The Economist*, No. 966, 1 March 1862 (supplement). As a separate edition the accounts appeared under the title *Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of the United Kingdom with Foreign Countries and British Possessions in the Year 1861*, London, 1862. - [b] See this volume, p. 185 - [c] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [d] See this volume, p. 79. - [e] 'If the industrial product did not have *twice the value* of its *production cost in money*, commerce would not exist.' What do you say to that? - [f] Sigismund Borkheim

## 133

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 15 December 1868
Evening, after midnight

DEAR FRED,

Would you please study the enclosed document[257] *seriously*, despite its *fadaise*.[a] *Your marginal notes* should be written for me in *French*, and the stuff itself ***returned to me at the latest by SATURDAY NEXT***[b]!

*Mr Bakunin*—in the background of this business—is condescending enough to wish to take the workers' movement under *Russian* leadership.

This shit has been in existence for 2 months. Only this evening did OLD Becker inform the General Council about it in writing. This time Nincompoop[c] is right. As OLD Becker writes, this association should make up for the deficient '*idealism*' of our Association. *L'idéalisme Russe!*

There was great anger about the document this evening at the meeting of our *Conseil Général*, particularly among the French. I had known about the shit for a long time. I regarded it as stillborn, and out of consideration for OLD Becker, wanted to let it die a quiet death.

But the business has become more serious than I expected. And consideration for OLD Becker is no longer admissible. This evening the COUNCIL decided to repudiate this INTERLOPING SOCIETY *publicly*—in Paris, New York, Germany and Switzerland. I have been commissioned with drafting the decree of repudiation[d] (for next Tuesday[e]). I regret the whole thing, because of OLD Becker. *Mais*[f] our Association cannot commit SUICIDE because of OLD Becker.

Your
K. M.

Strohn writes to me from Düsseldorf that his brother Eugen has died suddenly in Hamburg.

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[a] absurdity - [b] 19 December - [c] Sigismund Borkheim - [d] See this volume, p. 202. - [e] 22 December - [f] But

About the COTTON BANKRUPTCIES in Manchester, etc., can you send me *The Guardian*?

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## 134

## ENGELS TO MARX[174]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 18 December 1868

Dear Moor,

Best thanks for the Ténot[a] and the Baudin trial.[222] As soon as I have read the latter I shall send them both back. You can keep *Province* there; I have ordered them both at the bookshop; one really must have things of this sort. The complete oblivion of revolutionary-counterrevolutionary causality is a necessary result of every victorious reaction; in Germany the younger generation knows absolutely nothing about '48, except the wretched howls of the *Kreuzzeitung*, which echoed in '49-52 in all the papers; history comes to an abrupt stop there at the end of '47.—The deliberations of the 10th *Mairie* are really exquisite; I had never read such a complete version.[255]

By chance I read E. Strohn's obituary in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. He died of articular rheumatism.

The Geneva document[257] is very naïve. Old man Becker has never been able to refrain from cliquish agitation; wherever 2 or 3 get together, he must be amongst them; yet if you had warned him in good time, he would probably have steered clear of it. Now he will be astonished by the bad effects of his well-meant efforts. It is as clear as daylight that the International cannot get involved in this fraud. Il y aurait deux conseils généraux et même deux congrès; c'est l'Etat dans l'Etat, et dès le premier moment le conflit éclaterait entre le conseil pratique à Londres et le conseil théorique, 'idéaliste', à Genève. Il ne peut y avoir deux corps internationaux (par profession) dans l'Internationale, pas plus que

[a] E. Ténot, *Paris en décembre 1851...* (see this volume, p. 188).

deux conseils généraux. Du reste, qui vous donne le droit de reconnaître un soi-disant bureau central sans mandataires dont les membres appartenants à la même nationalité se constituent (§ 3 du règlement on omet le '*se*' et pour cause!) en bureau national de leur pays! Ces messieurs, n'ayant pas de constituants, eux-mêmes exceptés, veulent que l'Internationale se constituât en mandataire pour eux. Si l'Internationale refuse de le faire, qui reconnaîtrait 'le groupe initiateur' autrement dit le 'bureau central' pour ses représentants? Le conseil central de l'Internationale au moins a passé par trois élections successives et tout le monde sait qu'il représente des myriades d'ouvriers; mais ces 'initiateurs'?

Et puis si nous voulons bien faire abstraction de la formalité d'élection, que représentent les noms qui forment ce groupe initiateur? ce groupe qui prétend de se donner 'pour mission spéciale d'étudier les questions politiques et philosophiques etc.'? Ce sera sans doute la science qu'ils représenteront. Nous trouverons parmi eux des hommes dont il est notoire qu'ils ont passé leur vie entière à l'étude de ces questions? Au contraire. Pas un nom dont le porteur ait, jusqu'ici, même osé prétendre à passer pour un homme de science. S'ils sont sans mandats comme représentants de la démocratie sociale, ils le sont encore mille fois plus comme représentants de la science.[a]

The rest you remarked upon in your notes. Like you, I regard

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[a] There would be two General Councils and even two Congresses: this would be a state within the state and, right from the start, conflict would break out between the practical Council in London, and the theoretical, 'idealist', Council in Geneva. In the International there cannot be two (professional) international bodies, any more than two General Councils. Incidentally, who gives you the right to recognise a so-called Central Bureau without mandators, whose members will be of the same nationality and who constitute themselves (in paragraph 3 of the Rules this '*themselves*' is omitted, and with good reason!) the national bureau of their country! Since these gentlemen have no mandators except themselves, they wish the International to constitute itself their mandator. If the International refuses to do so, who would recognise the 'initiating group' or, in other words, the 'Central Bureau' as its representatives? The Central Council of the International has passed through at least three successive elections, and the whole world knows that it represents countless workers; but these 'initiators'?

And even if we wished to ignore the formalities of an election, what is represented by the names that make up this initiating group, this group that pretends to have been given 'the special mission to study political and philosophical questions, etc.'? No doubt it is science they will represent. Will we find among them men known to have devoted their whole lives to the study of these questions? On the contrary. There is not a name whose bearer has so far dared as much as to claim to be a man of science. If they are without mandate as representatives of social democracy, they are a thousand times more without mandate as representatives of science.

the business as a stillborn, purely Genevan local growth. It would only be viable if you were to oppose it too violently, and thus gave it importance. I think it would be best calmly but firmly to rebuff these people with their pretensions to sneaking into the International. Apart from this, we should say that they had selected a special field and one would have to wait to see what they make of it and, we should also say that, for the present, there was nothing to stop members of one association from being members of the other. Since the fellows, to put it bluntly, have no other field of activity than *chatter*, they will soon enough bore one another to death, and since it may be expected that they will have no new adherents from outside (given *such* conditions), the whole concern will certainly soon collapse. But if you violently oppose this Russian intrigue, you will unnecessarily arouse the very numerous—particularly in Switzerland—political philistines among the journeymen, and harm the International. With a Russian (and in this case there are 4,[a] not counting the females), with a Russian one must never lose one's TEMPER.

I have never read anything more wretched than the theoretical programme. Siberia, his stomach, and the young Polish woman[b] have made Bakunin a perfect blockhead.

My trip will probably not come to anything before the New Year, the damned draft contract[c] is still not ready.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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[a] M. A. Bakunin, N. I. Zhukovsky, M. K. Elpidin and V. I. Bartenev - [b] A. K. Bakunina - [c] See this volume, pp. 167 and 170.

## 135

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

### IN BARMEN

Manchester, 18 December 1868[a]

Dear Hermann,

F. Ris in Mittlöden set himself up as N. Dürst Söhne (sons of the Cologner), and moved from there to Zurich. I believe he was formerly with Dürst, and young Dürst, who was here at the time, spoke quite well of him. According to bank information from Glarus, Ris is good for credit of 10,000 frs.

E. Burghardt is the nephew and son-in-law of the Burghardt of Burghardt, Krenels & Co. (former *associé* of Burghardt, Aders & Co.), whom you will know. He set himself up here and went bankrupt certainly once, if not twice, and virtually nothing came of it. Many years ago I sometimes met him at an inn in the evening; since he married I have scarcely seen him at all, and I know absolutely nothing of what he has been doing since then. But what do you want an agent in Munich for?

Tell Mother I still haven't received the draft contract from G. Ermen; he blames the lawyers.[b] The point is that he would like to have me withdraw large sums of money from the business at this moment; then he would have me at his mercy, but we are not as green in the eye as that.

Be so kind as to send me my current account in the course of January, since I would like to pay off the sum owed as soon as I am clear with G. Ermen. You could also say whether I should remit to Funke or there.

If I had wished to drive things with G. Ermen to extremes, that is, risk a breach, and had then had to start something else, I think I *could* have squeezed out about £750 more. But I had absolutely no interest in being tied to jolly old commerce for about another 10 years—and it wouldn't have been worth starting a new business again for a shorter period.

Enclosed—a pile of photographs, of which you could send 2 to Engelskirchen and distribute the remainder there. One of each sort is intended for Mother.

---

[a] In the original: '1866', a slip of the pen. - [b] See this volume, pp. 187 and 193.

Heartiest greetings to Mother, your wife and all my brothers and sisters, and have a good time over the holidays.

With best greetings

Your
Friedrich

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## 136

## MARX TO ENGELS [174]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 19 December 1868 [244]

DEAR FRED,

THANKS for your marginal notes! [a] When I wrote to you that evening I was excited. But the next morning there was already a reaction and the decision to treat the matter diplomatically, quite as you advise.

*Ténot's Province* is much better. It contains many new details for us. Had the Parisians held out a couple of days longer, the *Empire* would have been *foutu*.[b] The movement (republican) among the rural population was much bigger than we knew.

Enclosed *Réveil*, the organ of Ledru-Rollin. Delescluze his *âme damnée, républicain de vieille roche, asinus*.[c] He is the provisional government's commissioner who led the Belgians into the *guet-àpens*[d] of Risquons Tout.[258] Thus traitor or arch-ASS. Probably the latter.

The stupid idea of the workers who wanted to give a banquet for R. Johnson has been blocked *by us*.[259] Coningsby, whose initiative it was, is a blackguard. This character was on a PLEASURE TRIP TO THE UNITED STATES and was paid by Seward for this London reception for R. Johnson. He is the same WORKMAN who wrote to *The Times* years ago, stating that the workers were politically satisfied and DID NOT WANT THE SUFFRAGE.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 190 and 191-92. - [b] finished - [c] evil spirit, republican of the old guard, jackass - [d] ambush

If you could send me a few £ for the Christmas week now beginning, it would be very welcome.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 137

## MARX TO LAURA LAFARGUE[260]

### IN PARIS

London, 22 December 1868

My dear child,

I wanted to send you together with Rückert[261] a truly delicious book—*Blüthen Morgenländischer Mystik by Tholuck.*[a] *Mais la plus belle fille de France ne peut donner que ce qu'elle a.*[b] The book was not to be had in all London. I have ordered it from Germany. You will get it in about 3 weeks.

Tell Lafargue that he must excuse my silence. I was really overworked during the last months, as I wanted to have done with certain studies before the beginning of the New Year. However, *aufgeschoben ist nicht aufgehoben.*[c] Meanwhile tell him that Dr Hunter, excellent as his report[d] is, knows as little as most Englishmen do of the past (social) history of his own country. The degradation of the rural labourers has nothing whatever to do with the Corn Laws of 1815.[262] If he wants to know the real causes which have brought them down to the zero of their present

---

[a] F. A. Tholuck, *Blüthensammlung aus der morgenländischen Mystik* - [b] But the most beautiful girl of France can only give what she has. - [c] postponed does not mean abandoned - [d] *Public Health, Seventh Report. With Appendix. 1864.* London, 1865. *Public Health. Eighth Report. With Appendix. 1865.* London, 1866. Marx repeatedly quotes these reports in Volume I of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 35).

position, you must translate him Ch. VI, Section II (Ursprüngliche Accumulation[a]) of my book.[263]

Happy New Year.

Your most devoted 'Old One'

K. Marx

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## 138

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 December 1868

DEAR FRED,

I simply acknowledge—since I must go to the City right away—the receipt of your brilliant CHRISTMAS present. You can imagine what jubilation there was in the house.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] Primitive Accumulation

## 139

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 28 December 1868

Dear Jung,

Scarcely had you gone when I received a letter from Bakunin[264] assuring me of his special friendship.

From his letter I see that he has once again written at length to De Paepe, in order to lure him into the *Alliance Internationale*.[265] To prevent later MISCHIEF or later complaints about the lack of timely information, you must *dispatch* to De Paepe as soon as possible a COPY of our resolution on the Alliance.[a] Of course, you must tell him, at the same time, that, because of the present state of affairs in Switzerland[266] and in order to avoid any appearance of SCISSION, we do *not* wish to have the resolution *published*, but are confining ourselves to communicating it confidentially to the respective central councils in the various countries.

Do not forget to invite *Applegarth* to the Saturday session in good time.[267] It would probably be good to do the same with *Odger*.

Yours
K. M.

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[a] Karl Marx, *The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*. See also this volume, pp. 190 and 191-92.

# 1869

## 140

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 January 1869

DEAR FRED,

HAPPY NEW YEAR!

From the enclosed letter from Lafargue you will see that I have received a special NEW YEAR'S GIFT—THE DIGNITY OF GRANDFATHER.[a]

From the attached 2 numbers printed *in Paris—Cloche* and *Diable à quatre*—you can see what an arrogant tone prevails there. It should be compared to the language used by the opposition in Prussia! This *petite presse*[b]—and its men included even Rochefort—was the Bonaparte regime's very own product. Now it is the most dangerous weapon against it.

From the enclosed issues of the *Vorbote*[c] you can learn about the scandal in Basle.[266] These bloody fellows—I mean our spokesmen over there—have a talent all their own for making the *International Working Men's Association* responsible for every local QUARREL between MASTER and MEN. At the same time, they neglect to take *any measures* for the event of war, i.e., establishing TRADES UNIONS. Instead they shout the more loudly. The petty cantonal government intervenes. The smallest incident thus becomes important. Then comes an appeal to the International Working Men's Association in general and the London General Council in particular to pay, ON THE SHORTEST NOTICE, the Swiss war costs. And then 'old man' Becker writes[d] that we should not 'compromise' ourselves again, as in the Geneva affair,[16] etc. Soon more about this and the Russian-International intermezzo.[e]

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[a] Marx refers to the birth of Charles Étienne Lafargue - [b] little press - [c] *Der Vorbote*, No. 11, November 1868 'Zur Geschichte der Internationalen Arbeiterassociation', and No. 12, December 1868, 'Bericht über die Arbeiterbewegung in Basel'. - [d] See this volume, p. 203. - [e] Ibid., pp. 201-02.

The whole FAMILY sends the COMPLIMENTS OF THE SEASON. Tussy says POOR FRED, HE MUST FEEL RATHER SEEDY BY THIS TIME OF THE YEAR.

*Addio.*

Your
K. M.

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## 141

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 3 January 1869

Caro Moro,[a]

Happy New Year! and my best wishes on the occasion of the Paris New Year gift. I expect you and your wife cannot look at each other without laughing about the new dignity.

The Basle business is not quite clear to me from the *Vorbote*,[b] so I am waiting anxiously for the promised additions, and also the further course of the Bakuniad. Bakunin's speeches in the *Kolokol* are very stupid.[c] The fellow does not appear to have learned anything for donkey's years. I was interested to learn from the above that he and Herzen are still in collusion with each other. Hence Herzen must be completely done for, otherwise he would not give up Колоколъ.[d] [268] Incidentally, the fellow now writes *un français à lui*,[e] which is quite appalling—and this although the chap lives in a French-speaking country! Bakunin's French is much better.

Thanks for *Cloche* and *Diable à 4*; the arrogance is indeed very

---

[a] Dear Moor - [b] See the previous letter. - [c] [M.] Bakounine, 'Discours de Bakounine au deuxième congrès de la paix, à Berne', *Kolokol*, No. 14-15, 1 December 1868. - [d] Engels gives the name in Cyrillic letters. - [e] a French of his own

great. A few Orleanist millions scattered among the generals would now be very desirable.

Best greetings and congratulations to the whole FAMILY.

Your
F. E.

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## 142

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 13 January 1869

DEAR FRED,

THANKS for the numbers of *Zukunft*. (Thesmar and Georgios Jung!)

I put off writing to you from day to day because of a frightful cold which, for ABOUT 2 WEEKS, has been absolutely besieging my eyes, ears, nose and entire head. Since, however, this damned foggy weather still gives no hope of an early delivery from the evil, I shall wait no longer. Is it so pleasant at your place in Manchester too? Little wonder that SUICIDES are in full blossom here now. Only an Irishman, even in Seven Dials,[269] says THAT 'HE WOULD RATHER COMMIT SUICIDE ON ANY ONE THAN HIMSELF'.

Did the young Th. von Gimborn from Emmerich, manufacturer *in nuce*,[a] present himself to you? It is not quite clear to me what he wants. First, he told me he wanted to go into a factory as a technician for a certain period, SAY half a year, or as a simple worker, in order to study the organisation, etc., of English factory work. Now it is only a question of a 14-day stay in a factory supplying agricultural machinery. Does Gimborn, AFTER ALL, simply wish to discover English factory secrets? He won't find it easy.

Now a short report about the 'international incidents'.

a) '*Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste*'[257]: On

[a] budding manufacturer

22 December 1868, a unanimous decision of the General Council which stated: 1. Tous les articles du Règlement de l'Alliance, etc. statuant sur les relations avec l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, sont déclarés nuls et de nul effet; 2. l'Alliance etc. n'est pas admise comme branche de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs.[a] The reasoning behind this decision (which I edited), is stated completely in legal form, and shows the conflict between the statutes of the planned Alliance and our Rules,[270] etc. A final *considérant*,[b] which must show old Becker,[c] in particular, his asininity, is that the Brussels Congress[138] already set a precedent with respect to the *Ligue de la Paix et de la Liberté*.[271] With regard to this organisation, which wanted to be recognised by the International Association, the Congress declared: Since the League claims to follow the same principles and to pursue the same aims as the International Association, it has no '*raison d'être*' and, *considérant* this, stated finally, '*plusieurs membres du groupe initiateur de Genève*'[d] also voted in this sense in Brussels.

In the meantime, we have received letters from Brussels, Rouen, Lyon, etc., declaring unconditional support for the General Council decision. Not one voice has been raised in support of *le groupe initiateur de Genève*. That this group did not act quite honestly is clear from the fact they only informed us of their establishment and their activities *after* they had already tried to win over the Brussels people, etc. I regard the matter as closed, though we have not yet received an answer to our 'judgement' from Geneva. The attempt has, in any case, failed.

b) *Ad vocem*[e] *Bakunin*:

To understand his enclosed letter,[264] you must know the following: *D'abord*,[f] this letter crossed our 'MESSAGE' regarding the 'Alliance'. Bakunin is thus still under the pleasant misapprehension that he will be allowed to go his own way. Further: The Russian Serno was, in his earlier correspondence with Borkheim, decidedly *against* Bakunin. In *my* reply to Serno[84] I wished to use this young man as an informant about Bakunin. Since I trust no Russian, I did it in this form: 'What is my old friend (*I don't know if he still is*) Bakunin doing, etc., etc.' The Russian Serno

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[a] 1. All the articles of the Rules of the Alliance, etc., laying down its relations with the International Working Men's Association, are declared null and void. 2. The Alliance, etc., is not admitted as a branch of the International Working Men's Association. (Cf. K. Marx, *The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*; see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 36.) - [b] consideration - [c] Johann Philipp Becker - [d] 'a number of members of the Geneva initiating group' - [e] regarding - [f] first of all

immediately informed Bakunin of this letter, and Bakunin used it for a sentimental *entrée*!

c) *Ad vocem* OLD *Becker*:

He has got himself badly stuck. *D'abord* he sends us, dated Geneva, *21 December*, a 4-page letter about the Basle business,[a] but *without a single fait précis*.[b] We should, however, act *immediately*. At the same time, he writes to Lessner that we (the General Council) had already 'compromised' ourselves in the Geneva affair, and this should not happen again. Or, he says in these precise words (in his letter to Lessner),

'does the General Council, like God, exist only in the faith of fools?' In Geneva, people only speak of us with a shrug of the shoulders, etc.

Thereupon Becker received the reply from Jung that his 4-page epistle contained *nothing*. How can he expect to receive money in London on the basis of such a vacuum?

In his letter of 21 December, Becker announced a further ELABORATE REPORT. Instead of this we receive the *Vorbote*. You saw for yourself that the *Vorbote* in fact only reported[c] on the 'concluded' LOCKOUT of the RIBBON WEAVERS,[266] and certainly did not make clear how the conflict has developed since. In short, TO THIS VERY MOMENT we know no more than is reported in *Vorbote*. Not only can no step be taken with the *TRADES UNIONS* on this basis, but it is impossible to publish anything about the affair on behalf of the General Council. We cannot expose ourselves to a reply from the usurers of Basle that we are shouting to the world without knowing the facts.

*Summa summarum*, a week ago the General Council decided to reprimand both Becker and Perret (the *French* correspondent for Geneva) for not providing us to date with the necessary information on the Basle affair. The matter will rest there for the time being. I'm sorry for OLD Becker. But he must realise that we hold the reins, although we refrain from direct intervention as long as possible.

d) *STRIKES IN ROUEN, VIENNE, ETC.* (*COTTONSPINNING*[272]):

Are ABOUT 6-7 WEEKS OLD. The interesting thing about the case is that, some time ago, the MASTER-MANUFACTURERS (and SPINNERS) in Amiens held a GENERAL CONGRESS under the chairmanship of the *maire*[d] of Amiens. Here it was decided—on the suggestion of a certain *faiseur*[e] named Vidal, who had hung out in England for a considerable time—that competition should be offered to the English in England, etc. Namely, by establishing *dépôts* for French

[a] See this volume, pp. 199-200. - [b] precise fact - [c] 'Bericht über die Arbeiterbewegung in Basel', *Der Vorbote*, No. 12, December 1868 - [d] mayor - [e] intriguer

yarn, etc., in England, both for sale there and to overseas merchants who trade directly with England. And this should be brought about by a *further reduction of* WAGES, after it had already been admitted that, in France itself, assuming the present tariffs, English competition was only being withstood through the low WAGES (relative to the English ones). In fact, *after* this Amiens congress, they began with wage reductions in Rouen, Vienne, etc. HENCE the STRIKES. We have let the people know, through Dupont, about the bad state of business here (especially also the COTTON TRADE), and thus the difficulty of raising money at *this time*. MEANWHILE, as you will see from the enclosed letter (Vienne), the STRIKE in Vienne has come to an end. For the present we have sent to those in Rouen, where the conflict is still going on, a draft for £20 on the Paris bronze-workers, who still owe us this money from their LOCKOUT.[18] Incidentally, these French workers act much more rationally than the Swiss and are, at the same time, much more modest in their demands.

Hoping that your head is not so sneezily and villainously idiotised as mine,

Your
K. Moro[a]

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## 143

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 19 January 1869

Dear Moor,

You must excuse me for replying so late and so briefly, but recently we have had nothing but misfortune at home. Scarcely is Sarah[b] better, than Lizzie gets violent gastric catarrh, which I treated for a long while, and scarcely is this over, and she gets, as

[a] Moor - [b] Sarah Parker

the result of an injury to her toe, an inflammation of the lymph ducts in her foot and leg, which could have become very unpleasant, but is now nearly over—and before she could get up, Mary Ellen[a] returns sick from her parents, where she had spent a few days. What it is I shall only find out tomorrow, since Gumpert will be coming only then: he fears scarlet fever; but, up till now, there has been no sign of a rash. In addition, there have been all sorts of stupid invitations that could not be refused—a lot of work at the office, and you will grasp that I have enough going on.

With best greetings to the ladies.

Your
F. E.

Did you get the wine that time, and also the *Social-Demokrat* and Ténot,[b] etc.?

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## 144

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 23 January 1869

DEAR FRED,

We all hope that things are better at 86 Mornington STREET. Scarlet fever is apparently raging throughout England. But perhaps Gumpert has made a mistake with Mary Ellen.[a] TUSSY SENDS HER BEST COMPLIMENTS TO HER AND MRS BURNS.

Here there is a preponderance of coughs and colds. In my case, things were so bad that, for nearly 2 weeks, I was 'puking' regularly, to use the elegant language of Frau Blind. I went out again yesterday for the first time, and today I am smoking A CIGAR *as a test.*

---

[a] Mary Ellen Burns - [b] E. Ténot, *Paris en décembre 1851*... (see this volume, pp. 188 and 191).

The enclosed photogram is sent to you by Jennychen, who is also coughing nastily. She asks for the return of Büchner,[a] since she has studied Darwin[b] and now wishes to get acquainted with the great Büchner. The cross (on the photogram of Jenny) is the Polish 1864 Insurrection Cross.[273]

Tussy has taken over sending receipts for the wine, and believes that to date she has done so.

Enclosed are 2 Borkheimiana. So that he can deposit his 'super intellect' somewhere, and not buzz my ears full, I have recommended that he write 'Russian Letters' for *Zukunft*.[274] *Nous verrons*.[c]

I have seen from *The Money Market Review* that Knowles is paying 7s.6d. in the £.[d] How is the old boy doing?

With best greetings to the whole household.

Your
Moor

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## 145

## ENGELS TO MARX[275]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 January 1869
7 Southgate

Dear Moor,

In all haste, just an announcement that we are all on our feet again, and that, luckily, Gumpert raised a false alarm about scarlet fever. Today I must look carefully through the draft contract with G. Ermen, which I am now getting, so that things may be settled as soon as possible[e]; for this reason, only these few lines today. As soon as I see the way clear and everything has gone so far that no miscarriage may be feared, I shall come to London for a few days.

Best greetings to you all.

Your
F. E.

---

[a] L. Büchner, *Sechs Vorlesungen...* - [b] Ch. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* - [c] we shall see - [d] See this volume, p. 181. - [e] Ibid., pp. 167, 170.

Since Jenny has been coughing, you must have cancelled immediately the arrangement about giving lessons?[a]

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## 146

## ENGELS TO MARX[275]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 26 January 1869
7 Southgate

Dear Moor,

Today, at 2 o'clock midday, Ernest Jones died of pneumonia. He had been sick since Thursday[b] and given up by the doctors since Friday.

Another of the old gang!

Your
F. E.

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## 147

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 January 1869

Dear Fred,

The news about E. Jones naturally caused deep dismay in our household, since he was one of our few old friends.

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[a] See this volume, p. 171. - [b] 21 January

I am sending you 1 *Vorbote* and a small pamphlet I received today from Berlin. The author, who sent it, describes himself on the envelope as a university lecturer in agricultural management.

Jennychen's cough has nearly disappeared. In the past few days I have had another bad attack, but today the business appears to me to have changed into a running cold, and thus be coming to an end.

Liebknecht writes to me that, in Switzerland and Germany, revolts are pending against Becker (OUR OLD ONE[a]) and that a public scandal can *only* be avoided if Becker breaks with Bakunin and abandons his dictatorial behaviour. People are very dissatisfied with his financial management, and his reports on it. Liebknecht wishes me to write *privatim* to Becker, since he is very STUBBORN. But the business is tricky. Wilhelm will go to Vienna in May. The last fifty copies of *Herr Vogt* have been deposited with Kugelmann, on my instructions.

The Gurney affair[227] AMUSES me immensely. I have studied this damned CASE in all the DETAILS, so I found nothing new in the PROCEEDINGS in Mansion House,[b] EXCEPT GREAT Edwards.[c]

You must notify me several days in advance when you are coming here, so I can invite Prof. Beesly for *one* evening.

*Salut.*

Your
Karlo Moro[d]

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[a] Johann Philipp Becker - [b] the official residence of the Lord Mayor of London - [c] E. W. Edwards [Speech on 23 January 1869 as a witness at the Overend, Gurney and Co. trial], *The Times*, No. 26343, 25 January 1869 - [d] Moor

## 148

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 29 January 1869

Dear Moor,

I at last have a chance to write to you at greater length.

Herr, etc. Gimborn[a] has not presented himself. According to your description, the fellow obviously wants nothing but to indulge in spying industrially.

The Bakunin group of both male and female sex (which difference Bakunin also wants to abolish, i.e., that of the sexes) has probably quietly passed away. The business was of Russian cunning, but still started stupidly; the fox tail showed too clearly and workers, in particular, cannot be caught in this way. Old Becker[b] simply cannot keep his fingers off 'organising', and was just the man to walk into the trap. I am quite ready to believe that he commits other idiocies, but I wish we had a better source than Wilhelm,[c] who simply cannot see FACTS as they really are. Apropos, Wilhelm has not sent me his sheet[d] any more since New Year; if he thinks I'm going to pay for it, he is making a big mistake. I am really glad not to be instructed every week that we may not make a revolution until the Federal Diet, the blind Guelph[e] and the honorable Elector of Hesse[f] are restored, and terrible and legitimate revenge wreaked upon Bismarck the godless.

The Basle story is very nice.[266] Altogether things are marching ahead well in Switzerland. Of course, the affair is significant only because everything which is more or less suppressed on the rest of the Continent appears there in the light of day. But that is in itself very good. And direct legislation by the people makes sense there, because the direct or indirect domination of the bourgeoisie should be countered on the legislative councils.[276] Since the Swiss workers virtually did not exist as a political party of their own until the Geneva STRIKE,[16] but were simply the tail of the radical bourgeoisie, they elected only radical bourgeois to the councils. On the other hand, the elected peasants could also be managed easily

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[a] See this volume, p. 201. - [b] Johann Philipp Becker - [c] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [d] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - [e] George V - [f] Ludwig III

by the educated bourgeois. For small cantons, this may be quite satisfactory, but it naturally immediately becomes superfluous and a hindrance as soon as the proletariat enters the movement en masse and begins to dominate it.

A nice feature of the Basle strike is the contributions from Austria as far as Temesvár. It is inexcusable how old Becker has squandered this business with his wild declarations.[a]

Have only glanced at the Vogt pamphlet,[b] seen that he has the horse descended from the flea. If this is so, from whom is the jackass who wrote this pamphlet descended?

Today I am sending you back the copies of *Social-Demokrat*, etc., together with some copies of *Zukunft*.

It is very good that there are still 50 copies of *Herr Vogt* with Kugelmann. When Vogt lectures again in Berlin, Kugelmann must send some there, and *advertise it in the newspapers*. I bet that will drive him away.

Sam Moore is now busily studying the first part of your Duncker,[c] and he understands it quite well. He has completely grasped the dialectical stuff on money theory, etc., and declares it the best thing in the whole book, THEORETICALLY SPEAKING.

The business with good old Gottfried[d] is dragging on and on.[e] If I can manage it somehow, I shall come to London next Thursday[f] evening and stay until Sunday evening.

The photograph gave great pleasure.[g]

Gumpert has the Büchner[h]; I shall pick it up in the next few days; I fight shy of his wife, who is becoming increasingly philistine.

You must give it to the Lassalleans that they understand agitation in quite a different way from our good old Wilhelm and his boors of the People's Party.[277] This is very disagreeable, since they appear to outflank Wilhelm and Bebel completely, and the masses are so enormously stupid, and the leaders a bunch of blackguards.

Tomorrow Jones will be buried with an enormous procession in the same churchyard where Lupus lies. It is a real pity about the man. After all, his bourgeois phrases were simply hypocrisy, and here in Manchester there is nobody who can replace him with the workers. The people here will break up completely and trail more

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[a] Engels is referring to the information on contributions for Basle workers, published in *Der Vorbote*, No. 1, January 1869, pp. 12-13. - [b] Ch. Vogt, *Mémoire sur les microcéphales ou hommes-singes...* - [c] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* - [d] Gottfried Ermen - [e] See this volume, pp. 167, 170, 206. - [f] 4 February - [g] See this volume, p. 206. - [h] L. Büchner, *Sechs Vorlesungen...*

than ever behind the bourgeoisie. Furthermore, amongst the politicians, he was the only *educated* Englishman who was, *au fond*,[a] completely on our side.

Apropos Beesly: How are things regarding the article for the *Westminster*?[b] Strike while the iron is hot.

I still have something of a cold. With weather like this, there is no end to it. I hope you are better now, too.

Best greetings to your wife and the girls. How is Mrs Lafargue and baby?[c]

Your

F. E.

That the Russian[d] from the start announces 'Marx, K., *Works*, Volume I',[e] is also good.

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## 149

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 January 1869

Dear Fred,

Eichhoff's brother[f] wanted to reprint *my '18th Brumaire'* (and pay for it).

Accordingly, I thought it necessary to write to Meissner,[84] to ask, as it were, for his authorisation for this (he does not like pamphlets). He writes that nobody but he may print the pamphlet, since he is my publisher *ex officio*,[g] and wishes to remain such. The stuff should be sent to him direct, after minor alterations.[278]

*Question*: can you get me a copy of *Louis Bonaparte*? Wasn't there a copy amongst Lupus' estate?[279]

Your

K. M.

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[a] basically - [b] See this volume, pp. 138, 141. - [c] Charles Étienne - [d] N. F. Danielson - [e] See this volume, pp. 121, 123-25. - [f] Albert Eichhoff - [g] by virtue of office

## 150

## ENGELS TO EMIL BLANK

### IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

Manchester, 4 February 1869

Dear Emil,

I have just received from Mother the sad news that our dear Marie Bartels died of scarlet fever on Monday[a] evening. The news moved and shocked me deeply. I had watched her, and all your children, growing up from the start more than the children of my other brothers and sisters, accordingly my attachment to her was livelier and warmer; I saw her last at her wedding, when she was so extremely happy and could look forward to a long succession of happy years; and now all this has come to an end. What must be the feelings of you and Marien,[b] of poor Robert[c] with his two small children! For twenty years you and Marie have been so blessed by happiness, have had so little opportunity to taste the tragic face of life, that such a stroke out of a clear sky must hit you doubly hard. In such cases words of consolation are no help; one must weep oneself dry like a child, till time heals the wounds. I am not writing to console you, but only because I know that it is a comfort to receive expressions of sympathy from those from whom one may expect them. And this sympathy and this compassion I send you, please believe me, with all my heart.

Greet Marie, poor Robert, and all your children most heartily from me.

From my heart

Your
Friedrich

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[a] 1 February - [b] Marie Blank - [c] Robert Bartels

## 151

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[29]

### IN HANOVER

London, 11 February 1869

Dear Friend,

The delay in this letter may be ascribed to two circumstances. First, the damned foggy weather here—NOTHING BUT MIST—has loaded me with a nearly four-week quite extraordinarily vicious influenza. Second, I had the enclosed photograms[a] taken at least 7 weeks ago but, as a result of this very weather and atmospheric darkness, the things could only be printed from the plate very recently.

The enclosed letter from A. Ruge[b] has been received by my friend Strohn in Bradford, from one of his business friends. Ruge obviously could not resist the 'negation of the negation'. You must return the letter to me immediately, since Strohn must return it to the addressee.

The TREASURER of our GENERAL COUNCIL here—Cowell Stepney, a very rich and distinguished man, but completely devoted to the workers' cause, though in a somewhat eccentric way—enquired of a friend in Bonn about literature (German) on the labour question and socialism. He sent him, *en réponse*,[c] a summary (written) made by Dr Held, Professor of Political Economy at Bonn. His comments show the tremendous narrow-mindedness of these learned mandarins. Writing about me and Engels, he (Held) states:

'*Engels. "The Condition of the Working Class"* etc., the best product of German socialist-communist literature.' 'Closely connected with Engels is Karl Marx. He is the author of the most scientific and learned work which socialism as a whole has to show, *Capital* etc. Although only recently published, this book is still an echo (!) of the movement before 1848. That is why I mention it here in connection with Engels. The work is, at the same time, (!) of great interest for the present since (!!) one may study here the source from which Lassalle drew his basic ideas.'

A nice place to find oneself!

A lecturer of political economy at a German university writes to me that I have thoroughly convinced him, but—but his position enjoins him, 'like other colleagues', *not to express* his conviction.

This cowardice on the part of the specialist mandarins, on the

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[a] The reference is to the photograph of Marx and his eldest daughter Jenny (1869). See also this volume, p. 206. - [b] Ibid., p. 542. - [c] in reply

one hand, and the conspiracy of silence of the bourgeois and reactionary press, on the other, is doing me great damage. Meissner writes that the accounts at the autumn fair are unfavourable. He is still 200 thalers *below* his costs. He adds: If only half that which Kugelmann has done for Hanover had been done in a few larger places like Berlin, we should already have a second edition.

I became a grandfather on 1 January; A LITTLE BOY[a] was the New Year gift. Lafargue has finally managed it to have himself excused 3 examinations and only has to take another two in France.

With best greetings to your dear wife and Fränzchen,

Yours
K. M.

The cross my eldest daughter Jenny is wearing in the photogram is a Polish Insurrection Cross of 1864.[273]

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 12, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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## 152

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 February 1869

DEAR FRED,

THANKS for the copies of *Zukunft*.

Enclosed is a letter from Lugau,[280] together with the fellows' statutes, etc.[b] Since I am, at the moment, very occupied with my book,[c] and have actually started work again after a feverish-cold interruption of several weeks, it would be very good—supposing your time is not completely taken up either—if you could make me a short report on the enclosed documents[281] (if possible in English, for communication to the GENERAL COUNCIL). These good

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[a] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [b] See this volume, p. 172. - [c] *Capital*

mineworkers in Lugau are the first in Germany to communicate with us directly, and we must take a public stand on their behalf.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Send me the stuff back as soon you no longer need it.

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## 153

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 February 1869

DEAR FRED,

Herewith the story about the LOANS under Westbury, etc. You can keep the booklet, but you must send me back the enclosed English letter. I told Borkheim I needed the information for an *acquaintance in Holland.*

Don't forget to let me have Foster's *FOREIGN EXCHANGES*[a] AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. I shall return it immediately after reading it. The book cannot be obtained here.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] J. L. Foster, *An Essay on the Principle of Commercial Exchanges...*

## 154

## MARX TO PAUL AND LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 15 February 1869

Dear Paul and beloved Cacadou,

You know Falstaff's opinion of old men. They are all of them cynics.[a] So you will not be astonished at my passing over that stubborn fact—my prolonged silence. I jump at once into *medias res*,[b] turning the back to the sins of the past.

In the first instance, I must frankly tell you that I feel much anxiety as to Laura's health. Her prolonged sequestration I know not how to account for.[c] Her invisibility to my friends, such as Dupont, stimulates my misgivings. So soon as certain arrangements permit, I shall come over for the single purpose of having a look at my child. After the publication of *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*,[d] I might not be quite safe at Paris. Do not, in your letters, drop any hint as to my secret plan.

I feel much obliged to little Fouchtra[e] who tries his best at keeping his Grandfather up in the literature of the day. Vermorel's book[f] has much amused me. I generally concur in his appreciation of the persons that played in 1848 a part natural selection had not meant them for. Some men he treats too seriously, f.i. Odilon Barrot, *la nullité grave*.[g] What he lacks, is the knowledge of the finer *nuances de classe* represented, more or less unconsciously, as in the case of Ledru-Rollin, by those provisional,[h] but not providential men. *Il y a quelque chose qui cloche*[i]—his continuous attempt at revindicating, and in a very clever way too, that strange mixture of the *chevalier d'industrie*,[j] the utopian, and the critic. I have named *E. Girardin*. As to his criticism, not of men, but of measures, *l'ignorance et l'arrogance Proudhoniennes* peep out at every instant.

As to the *ouvrier artiste*, he is not my man. The only thing I like,

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[a] Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, Part II, Act III, Scene 2 - [b] the crux of the matter (Horace, *De Arte Poetica*) - [c] See this volume, p. 243. - [d] The reference is to the second edition of Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - [e] Marx is referring to Charles Étienne Lafargue - [f] A. Vermorel, *Les Hommes de 1848* - [g] absolute nonenty - [h] The reference is to Ledru-Rollin and other members of the Provisional Government of the French Republic of 1848. - [i] There are some things that don't go well. - [j] adventurer

is the portrait of Blanqui which I have sent to Beesly, to cure him of the strange prejudices he has imbibed in the book of that *vieille cocotte*, Daniel Stern.[a] When we had him at dinner, he naively asked me whether Blanqui was not one of those *irrespectable* men, like Bradlaugh. I could not but chuckle in my sleeves at this truly John Bullian appreciation of revolutionary characters. I asked him, whether his hero, Catiline,[b] had been a 'respectable' man?

The thing that amuses me most in *Le Peuple* is the circumstance—a good sample of historical irony—that these learned Proudhonians are forced to come out as *gens de lettre*,[c] a part which they despise so much, and which, nevertheless, is their only true *rôle*, the only thing they are fit for.

As to Paul's lively narration of his adventure with Mlle Royer,[282] it has tickled Engels and my humble self. I was not at all astonished at his failure. He will remember that, having read her preface to Darwin,[d] I told him at once she was a bourgeois. Darwin was led by the struggle for life in English society—the competition of all with all, *bellum omnium contra omnes*[e]—to discover competition to [...] as the ruling law of 'bestial' and vegetative life. The Darwinism,[f] conversely, considers this a conclusive reason for human society never to emancipate itself from its bestiality.

As to *La Misère de la Philosophie*, I do really not see what I can further do in this affair. The mass has been spoilt from the beginning. The books ought to have been thankfully received at once, but it is now too late to mend. I have written to Meissner[84] to look after Vogler, but we will hardly gain anything by finding out that vagabond. The worst is that Vieweg not only keeps, but sequestrates the book. If he advertises it anew, at 2 fcs per piece, he might sell it—perhaps. Lafargue ought to speak with him in that sense.[204]

I fear I cannot do much for the new paper contemplated.[283] At all events, I shall try my best. Cowell Stepney will never advance £12,000. He is a well-meaning fool who fritters away his means in a most grotesque way. The *Social Economist*, a most stupid publication by old Holyoake, who is his own Cromwell—lives upon Stepney's pocket. There is no sham philanthropical pie he has not his hand, or rather his pocket, in. So, if you want him to

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[a] D. Stern, *Histoire de la révolution de 1848* - [b] Marx is referring to Beesly's article 'Catiline as a Party Leader', *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. I, 15 May-1 August 1865. - [c] men of letters - [d] Ch. Darwin, *De l'origine des espèces ou des lois du progrès chez les êtres organisés...* - [e] the war of all against all (Th. Hobbes, *Leviathan...*, Ch. 13) - [f] Marx is referring to social Darwinism.

come out on a larger scale, he has neither the will nor the power to do so.

Our International makes great strides in Germany. Our new plan, proposed by myself, to allow only individual membership, and sell at 1d the cards, on whose back our principles are printed in German, French and English—works well. Jung becomes every day more and more a little master. The unction, affectation, and self-importance with which he drops his golden words and spins his long narrative yarn, grow really insupportable. So Dupont told him, adding that he (Jung) was even given, while speaking, to the habitude of putting his hands in his pockets and making jingle his purse. But he is really not so bad as that.

The old acquaintance of mine—the Russian Bakunin—had started a little nice conspiracy against the International. Having fallen out with and seceded from, the *Ligue de la Paix et de la Liberté*, on their last Berne Congress,[284] he entered the *Romande* Section of our Association at Geneva. He very soon inveigled brave old Becker,[a] always anxious for action, for something stirring, but of no very critical cast of mind, an enthusiast like Garibaldi, easily led away. Well, Bakunin hatched the plan of *L'Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste*, which was to form at the same time a branch of our International, and a new independent International Association 'with the special mission to elaborate the higher philosophical etc. principles'[b] of the proletarian movement, and, in point of fact, would, by a clever trick, have placed our society under the guidance and supreme initiative of the Russian Bakunin. The way in which they set to business, was quite characteristic. They sent their new programme,[257] with old Becker's name at the head of the signatures—and they sent emissaries too—behind our back, to Paris, Brussels, etc. Only in the last moment, they communicated the documents to the London General Council. By a formal judgment[c] we annulled and stifled the Muscovite nursling. All our branches approved the decision. Of course, old Becker bears me now a grudge (and so does Schily on his account), but with all my personal friendship for Becker I could not allow this first attempt at disorganising our society to succeed.

Has Dupont told you that gallant Vésinier has been expulsed from the illustrious French Branch as a calumniator vile and

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[a] Johann Philipp Becker - [b] Marx is quoting *Programme et Règlement de l'Alliance internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste* (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 207). - [c] K. Marx, *The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy* (see also this volume, pp. 190-93, 202).

base?[a] *En revanche*,[b] he has become the acknowledged hero of *La Cigale*, which has openly turned against '*l'équivoque Conseil Général à Londres et ses acolytes à Bruxelles*'.[c]

And now, my dear children, farewell, kiss little Fouchtra[d] in my name, and remember

Old Nick

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## 155

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 17 February 1869

Dear Moor,

I shall have the report[281] READY for you by next Tuesday,[e] though I don't know what interests you mainly. Enclosed is a letter from Lugau.[280]

Best thanks for the Westbury story.[f] I return, enclosed, the letter to Borkheim. I shall ask my SHAREBROKER about it.

Enclosed is the extract made by the illustrious Gaudissart[g] about Bakunin,[285] together with annotations. You see that the main strong passages, which he quoted to us in Russian, only exist in his imagination. Still, the Pan-Slavism is really spread rather too thickly, in particular the threats against the Poles are significant. And the dissolution of the Russian Empire is qualified by the fact that Great Russia should still become the centre of the Slav confederation.

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p. 102. - [b] in return - [c] 'the ambiguity of the London General Council and its accomplices in Brussels' - [d] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [e] 23 February - [f] See this volume, p. 215. - [g] Sigismund Borkheim

## 156

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 17 February 1869

Dear Jung,

Enclosed—the German.[a]

The letter from Lafargue to you, and letter to Stepney. I think it would be better not to deliver the latter, but do send Stepney enclosed Programme.[b] He will probably contribute something.[283]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 157

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 21 February 1869

Dear Moor,

Thanks very much for the pipe, which will be tried out right away this evening.

Here is the report.[281] The things themselves I shall return to you tomorrow. Such miners' guilds, taken over from mediaeval times—the humbug of the Middle Ages still clings to them in their 'accoutrements and parade rules, mining festivals and church parades'—still operate in all German mines.

Since Liebknecht's sheet[c] is, after all, the gazette for these Lugauans, you might send the report on to Wilhelm for

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[a] See this volume, pp. 214-15. - [b] *Pour paraître le 24 février [18]69. La Renaissance. Journal politique hebdomadaire* - [c] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*

translation, once you have read it, but on the explicit condition that it is *not* spread *over more than 2 nos.* Otherwise it is no use. He can send the original back to you if you need it again.

I hear from Wehner that the bad behaviour of the Prussian police in Hanover is becoming steadily worse; letters opened every day, particularly those of Hanoverian officers who have entered the service of Saxony. But, of course, what does one expect Stieber to do with the 400,000 thalers of secret funds that the Prussian Chamber voted him from the ex-princes' income![36]

Your
F. E.

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## 158

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 February 1869

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS for the REPORT.[281] It is transparently clear. I have changed nothing, except to strike out the final sentence (or rather some words of it). Yesterday read out in the Central Council.[73] Adopted. Will be sent first to *The Times* (or rather taken there by Eccarius). If they don't take it, then to *The Daily News.* Then the English press cutting will be sent to *Zukunft*, *Social-Demokrat* and *Wilhelm.*[a] The POOR DEVILS of Lugau will have the great satisfaction of being mentioned in the English press.

Enclosed *RESOLUTIONS*,[b] etc., 6 in all. The circumstances are as follows. The resolution of the Congress (Brussels)[138] obliged us to have the Brussels resolutions printed.[226] Using the excuse that the *Geneva* resolutions form part of the PLATFORM, we have printed, at the same time, *part* of what was tabled at the Geneva congress[143] by the London Central Council and adopted by the Geneva

[a] i.e., to *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - [b] *The International Working Men's Association. Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868*

congress, omitting the amendments, etc., proposed by the French in Geneva and *also* adopted—rubbishy stuff. Thus, this portion is written by me. On the other hand, I had no part in drafting the 1868 RESOLUTIONS. The only phrase from me verbatim is the FIRST *CONSIDERING* 'ON THE EFFECTS OF MACHINERY'.[a]

That Bakunin should lay claim to the 'Slav' brothers in Courland and Livonia is great. Neither are his CLAIMS ON Silesia bad.[b]

What about Foster, *EXCHANGES*?[c]

Meissner is a fine fellow; I sent him, a few days *before* your visit to London,[286] a copy of *Louis Bonaparte*.[d] Asked for *immediate* notification.[84] No word yet.

Wilhelm remains unchangeably the same. He wrote to me that he had sent 50 or 60 copies[e] to Kugelmann, but Kugelmann in fact has received only 6 copies!

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 159

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 February 1869

Dear Moor,

I have just sent Borkheim a CHEQUE for £162.10, of which £100 is to pay off his advance and £62.10 is for you, which makes, together with the £25 brought to you, the sum of £87.10=1/4 of £350. At the beginning of March, or as soon as I possibly can in

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[a] K. Marx, *Draft Resolution on the Consequences of Using Machinery under Capitalism Proposed by the General Council to the Brussels Congress* (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 9). - [b] See this volume, p. 219. - [c] J. L. Foster, *An Essay on the Principle of Commercial Exchanges...* (see also this volume, p. 215). - [d] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* - [e] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*

March, you will get a further £87.10, then again at the beginning of July, etc.

I *hope* the English press will take the report,[281] but I am firmly convinced that it will not, and that, in the last resort, only *The Bee-Hive* will remain. At best the fellows will make huge cuts.

I have not yet read the resolutions.[226] But at first glance one is surprised that the 1867 Lausanne resolutions are not reprinted also.

NB. about the money: I only had the choice of sending it *through Borkheim* or else in some other way, which would cause gossip here in the office; I preferred the lesser evil. In future this will naturally not happen again.

The final sentence in the report[a] was, of course, aimed only at Liebknecht's sheet[b] and the public.

Foster ON *EXCHANGES* is being sent to you today by GLOBE PARCEL EXPRESS, since the BOOKPOST is not certain enough for an irreplaceable book. If you have *not* received it by Saturday[c] morning, you must immediately complain to GLOBE PARCEL EXPRESS, 150 Cheapside or 150 Leadenhall STREET. Best you should return it the same way. Even by MAIL TRAIN, the GLOBE is much the cheapest way to send *larger* consignments of books.

Regarding the copies, I would immediately haul Wilhelm over the coals, and categorically demand information. The same with Meissner. The fellow has obviously had second thoughts, but since Eichhoff is ready to print, he must decide *oui ou non.*[d]

Nothing but rain here.

Apropos, I have written to Borkheim about Bakunin[84] that *he* should raise the question as to whether it is in any way possible for us Westerners to cooperate with this Pan-Slav pack while the fellows preach their Slav supremacy; he will probably read this to you tomorrow[285] when you collect the money—but, in addition, I told him he should discuss the matter with you.

Best greetings to the household.

Your

F. E.

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[a] F. Engels, *Report on the Miners' Guilds in the Coalfields of Saxony* (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 39; see also this volume, Note 281). - [b] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - [c] 27 February - [d] See this volume, pp. 211 and 222.

# 160

## MARX TO ENGELS[34]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 1 March 1869
Enclosed 2 *Lanternes* and 1 *Réveil*

DEAR FRED,

THANKS for the MONEY. Paid out by Borkheim on Saturday.[a] He read me your letter[84] and then his answer. He is very proud supposedly to have been able to prove that you muddle up genders (which apparently often happens with you).

Ditto received Foster on Saturday evening. The book is indeed important for its time. First, because Ricardo's theory is fully developed in it, and better than in Ricardo—on money, rate of exchange, etc.[b] Second, because you can see here how those jackasses, BANK OF ENGLAND, COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY,[287] the theoreticians racked their brains over the problem: ENGLAND DEBTOR TO IRELAND. Despite the fact that the rate of exchange is always against Ireland, and money is exported from Ireland to England. Foster solves the puzzle for them: it is the depreciation of Irish paper money. In fact, two years earlier than him (1802), Blake had fully explained this difference between the *nominal* and the *real* rate of exchange, about which, incidentally, Petty[288] had said everything necessary—but after him this business was forgotten once again.

The Irish amnesty[289] is the paltriest of its kind ever seen. *D'abord*,[c] most of those amnestied had almost served the term after which all PENAL SERVITUDE MEN are released on TICKETS OF LEAVE. And second, the chief ringleaders have been kept inside 'because' Fenianism[86] is of 'American' origin, and thus all the more criminal. It is precisely for this reason that YANKEE-IRISHMEN like Costello are released and the ANGLO-IRISH are kept under lock and key.

If ever a mountain gave birth to a mouse, it was this ministry OF ALL TALENTS,[290] indeed in every respect.

I sent you earlier the report of Pollock and Knox[d] (the same lousy London police magistrate, a former *Times* man, who so

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[a] 27 February - [b] Marx is referring to Ricardo's book *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation...* - [c] firstly - [d] [A. Knox, G. D. Pollock] *Report of the Commissioners on the Treatment of the Treason-Felony Convicts in the English Convict Prisons*

distinguished himself in the Hyde Park affair) on the treatment of Irish 'CONVICTS' in England. One of the 'CONVICTS' has exposed, in *The Irishman*, John Bull's unprecedented infamies and the lies of that blockhead Knox.

Since Laura's health is not quite as good as we thought, I had intended to go to Paris for a few days next week. I had written to Lafargue about it.[a] As a result, an unknown man, i.e., a police agent, asked him whether Monsieur Marx had arrived yet. He had for him '*une communication à faire*'.[b] How well the inviolability of the post is preserved in Paris—still! Now I am not going.

Lafargue has been excused 3 of the 5 examinations (French), and received permission, or rather instructions, to take the 2 remaining ones in Strasbourg. Meanwhile, he appears to me to be too absorbed in POLITICS, which can become nasty, since his friends are a lot of Blanquists. I shall warn him. He should pass his examinations first.

The *coterie*[c] he keeps you can see from the enclosed prospectus.[283] What they lack is £250 security. This has a good side to it. It has emancipated Lafargue from Moilin, AS FOLLOWS:

'J'avais parlé à Moilin pour le cautionnement; il avait promis de le donner, mais au dernier moment il a refusé, si on ne voulait le nommer rédacteur en chef. Il n'a pas dit la chose, mais il l'a laissé entrevoir. Tridon m'a dit: Moilin est un diplomate, il a d'ailleurs la tête de Fouché; ainsi il [ne] faut jamais se fâcher avec lui: il faut le sonder, savoir ce qu'il veut, pour se tenir toujours en garde envers lui.'[d]

With regard to my book against Proudhon,[e] Lafargue writes:

'Blanqui en a un exemplaire et le prête à tous ses amis. Ainsi Tridon, l'a lu et a été heureux de voir de quelle façon il Moro a roulé Proudhon. Blanqui a la plus grande estime pour vous... Il a trouvé pour Proudhon le mot le plus joli que je connaisse, il l'appelle un hygromètre.'[f]

After John Bull had compromised himself so nicely with the concessions he made in the Alabama Treaty,[291] Uncle Sam has now kicked him in the behind. This is entirely the *work of the Irish* in America, as I have convinced myself from the Yankee papers.

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[a] See this volume, p. 216. - [b] 'a communication to make' - [c] company - [d] 'I spoke to Moilin about the security; he promised to give it but, at the last moment, refused unless he were named editor. He did not say this, but allowed it to be understood. Tridon told me: Moilin is a diplomat and, incidentally, has the head of Fouché; so one should never quarrel with him: one has to sound him out, know what he wants, in order always to be on guard against him.' - [e] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy* - [f] 'Blanqui has a copy of it and lends it to all his friends. So Tridon read it, and was happy to see how il Moro had disposed of Proudhon. Blanqui has the greatest respect for you... He has found the best name I know for Proudhon; he calls him a hygrometer.'

Perhaps Prof. Beesly will realise that the Irish in the United States are not=0.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

As a comparative philologist, you may find forms of interest to you in the following extract from an early 16th[a]-century Scottish chronicle[292] about the death of the DUKE OF Rothesay (son OF KING Robert III):

'Be quhais deith, succedit gret displeseir to hir son, David Duk of Rothesay: for, during hir life, he wes haldin in virtews and honest occupatioun: eftir hir deith' (namely Queen Annabella) 'he began to rage in all maner of insolence: and fulyeit virginis, matronis, and nunnis, be his unbridillit lust. At last, King Robert, informit of his young and insolent maneris, send letteris to his brothir, the Duk of Albany, to intertene his said son, the Duk of Rothesay, and to leir him honest and civill maneris. The Duk of Albany, glaid of thir writtingis, tuk the Duk of Rothesay betwix Dunde and Sanct Androis, and brocht him to Falkland, and inclusit him in the tour theirof, but ony meit or drink. It is said, ane woman, havand commiseratioun on this Duk, leit meill fall daun throw the loftis of the toure: be quhilkis, his life wes certane dayis savit. This woman, fra it wes knawin, wes put to deith. On the same maner, ane othir woman gaif him milk of hir paup, throw ane lang reid; and wes slane with gret cruelte, fra it wes knawin. Than wes the Duk destitute of all mortall supplie; and brocht, finalie, to sa miserable and hungry appetite, that he eit, nocht allanerlie the filth of the toure quhare he wes, bot his awin fingaris: to his gret marterdome. His body wes beryit in Lundonis, and kithit miraklis mony yeris eftir; quhil, at last, King James the First began to punis his slayaris: and fra that time furth, the miraklis ceissit.'

*The Times* does not seem to be publishing the REPORT.[281] But as *dernière instance*[b] there is *The Morning Advertiser*, which publishes everything out of stupidity.

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[a] The original mistakenly has '15th'. - [b] last resort

# 161

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 March 1869

DEAR FRED,

You must either send me the booklet from Lugau—or, better still, send me *in German* the paragraphs of the rules that you quote.[281]

I shall translate the stuff myself, since I do not regard Wilhelm[a] as competent and also because I do not wish to hand over the affair to him alone.[b]

Your
K. M.

Apropos. A PAMPHLET, WRITTEN BY A PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT, ADDRESSED TO MR Gladstone[c] states that at least 1/10 of the LIFE ASSURANCE Co's (the whole BUSINESS IN LIFE ASSURANCE has a nominal capital of £100 million) is *bankrupt* and IS NOT WORTH THE PAPER UPON WHICH THEY PRINT THEIR ADVERTISEMENTS.

What will the bourgeois gentlemen say to this, those gentlemen who were so very very delighted about the *PROSPECTIVE* BANKRUPTCY (in 20 years or so) of the TRADES UNIONS?

They will keep their mouths shut.

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[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [b] See this volume, pp. 220-21. - [c] *An Actuary. Life Assurance Companies: their Financial Condition. Discussed, with Reference to Impending Legislation, in a Letter Addressed to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M. P., First Lord of the Treasury*, p. 6.

# 162

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 3 March 1869

DEAR FRED,

*Iterum Crispinus!*[a]

Our valued Wilhelm[b] has his own PROCEEDINGS.

First, he reprints from the *Revue der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung* Eccarius' article about 'Tailoring in London',[c] without asking Eccarius and without quoting the *Revue* as his source. Then he writes to Eccarius that he would like to print the article as a pamphlet. Therewith Eccarius replies that, in this case, a 2nd CHAPTER is necessary, since the conditions have changed completely over the last 19 years, something that Wilhelm had absolutely overlooked in his copying craze.

Then a second move by Wilhelm:

He writes to Eccarius: he should send him the issue of the *Revue* containing your article on the 'German Peasant War'.

So Wilhelm wanted to reprint your article *without your prior knowledge* and once again *without citing the Revue.*

Luckily, Eccarius informed me yesterday evening at the Central Council.[73] I told him I would write to you about the case and, in the meantime, Eccarius should send him nothing.

With regards to the stuff itself, I have a SPARE COPY I could send to Wilhelm. And I believe—even supposing we should later publish our assorted articles together—that publication in Wilhelm's sheet would do us no harm and the immediate effect of the publication would be very good.

But, UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES, Wilhelm should not be allowed to publish the article as an original contribution for him, instead of as a reprint from the *Revue.*

Write me without delay your *arbitrium.*[d]

Another curiosity. You may have seen in the Augsburg

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[a] *Ecce iterum Crispinus*—again Crispinus (Juvenal, *Satires*, IV, 1); fig. 'again the same'. - [b] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [c] J. G. Eccarius, 'Die Schneiderei in London oder der Kampf des großen und des kleinen Capitals', *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, Nos. 2-5, 7; 9, 16, 23, 30 January and 13 February 1869 (reprinted from *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, No. 5/6, May-October 1850). - [d] decision

*Allgemeine Zeitung* that both of us figure as contributors to a workers' paper to be published by Oberwinder in Vienna.[a]

The facts are as follows:

About 4 weeks before New Year's Day, Oberwinder had Wilhelm write to me that he wanted to publish an almanac and needed my biography for it. I should send what was necessary to Oberwinder. I sent *simplement*[b] the FACTS and a few DOCUMENTS (Cologne Trial,[c] etc.).[84] Heard nothing further of the matter.

Now, SOME WEEKS SINCE, Oberwinder writes to me that nothing has come of the almanac, but he will place the stuff in a paper he is going to publish. About 6-7,000 subscribers are already assured. Requested me as contributor. *I forgot to answer him*; shall do it today.[d]

Incidentally I would regard it as a good thing if we had a footing in Vienna.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Apropos. What do the German commercial oxen understand by:

1. PRIMAGE?
2. *Courtage* for the *rembours*?[e]

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## 163

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 3 March 1869

Dear Moor,

You see how right I was to dissuade you from taking a trip to Paris under any circumstances. It would be madness to put oneself in the hands of those scoundrels, particularly since nobody

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[a] *Die Volksstimme* - [b] simply - [c] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* - [d] See this volume, pp. 233-34. - [e] Ibid., p. 238.

enquires about you and the *lois de sûreté*[293] are still in force. Let Lafargue go to Strasbourg as soon as possible and take his examinations; once that is over, he will be able to take some liberties. The fact that he has emancipated himself from Moilin is of enormous value; this Jesuit would certainly have got him into trouble. What Lafargue writes about Blanqui is very nice.[a]

Moore tells me that Beesly has written an article on the social question in the new *Fortnightly* which reaches the maximum confusion.[b]

The only thing linguistically new for me in the old Scottish passage[292] was the *participium praesentis* havand, having,—showing that this form still existed in Scotland at the beginning of the 16th[c] century, when it had long disappeared in England.

I really did make the blunder in Russian. I have pretty well forgotten the Russian declensions.[d]

The Lugau material[281] will be returned today by BOOK POST. Since I no longer know which passages I quoted, I cannot indicate them for you; however, I made a sort of index to the pamphlets, which is attached, and you may be able to see from this where the passages might be.

What is the pamphlet against the LIFE ASSURANCE Co., called?[e] We really must get hold of it.

So Wilhelmchen appealed to you against Schweitzer.[294] This will make a fine story, since Schweitzer cannot be caught so easily. The row is going to be fun; don't you get the *Social-Demokrat* any more? Just now, Eichhoff should keep us properly *au courant*.[f] In the next few days I shall send you some articles that he (certainly nobody else) wrote in the *Zukunft*.[g]

In the meantime, in Essen the Social-Democrat Hasenclever, also supported by Liebknecht, has been elected with a majority of 960 votes over what the *Landrat*[h] and the National-Liberal candidate[i] *received together*, and in Hanover (I believe Celle) there are also prospects for getting someone in.[295]

Incidentally, Wilhelm appears to be bestirring himself more and to be having some success in Saxony. If the jackass would only abandon his stupid South-German-federalist and his Guelphic concerns,[j] he could accomplish something despite his thick-

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[a] See this volume, p. 225. - [b] E. S. Beesly, 'The Social Future of the Working Class', *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. V, No. XXVII, 1 March 1869 - [c] The original mistakenly has '15th'. - [d] See this volume, p. 224. - [e] Ibid., p. 227. - [f] informed - [g] 'Die Gewerksgenossenschaften', *Die Zukunft*, Nos. 32, 35, 37, 40 and 47; 7, 11, 13, 17 and 25 February 1869 (see also this volume, p. 239). - [h] Keßler - [i] Dr Hammacker - [j] See this volume, p. 141.

headedness, in view of the mistrust of Schweitzer that rules amongst the leaders of the Lassalleans; for Schweitzer's bad conscience disarms him too, when things come to a climax. But with his People's Party[38] and his mania for restoring thrones, he'll have no success in dangling carrots before north German workers.

The odd thing is that he suddenly wants to go to Berlin, that is to say, admits that he *can*, without danger.

Incidentally, I cannot see how you, as the GENERAL COUNCIL, could declare yourselves competent on this question—even if both parties agreed—unless they both also declared themselves willing to subject themselves to the arbitration verdict against the organisation and management of the TRADES UNIONS, etc.

Your
F. E.

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## 164

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[29]

### IN HANOVER

London, 3 March 1869

Dear Kugelmann,

The damned photographer[a] has once again been leading me by the nose for weeks, and has still not supplied additional COPIES. But I shall not delay this reply longer because of this.

With regard to *Herr Vogt*, I wished to make sure of those copies which could still be saved from Liebknecht's hands (I had sent him 300 from London to Berlin, i.e., all those still left) in case they were needed. I therefore took the liberty of ordering them to be stored at your place. But Örindur, solve for me this mystery of nature![b]

Liebknecht sent you just 6 COPIES, but announced to me that he had sent 50 COPIES. Will you please ask him for the answer to this riddle![c]

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[a] Fehrenbach - [b] paraphrase of the well-known words from Müllner's drama *Die Schuld*, Act II, Scene V - [c] See this volume, pp. 106, 142, 189, 208.

Quételet is now *too old* for one still to make any sort of experiment with him.[296] He rendered great services in the past by demonstrating that even the apparently casual incidents of social life possess an inner necessity through their periodic recurrence and their periodic average incidence. But he was *never* successful in interpreting this necessity.[297] And he made no progress, but simply extended the material for his observations and calculations. He is today no further on than he was *before* 1830.

It will probably take until the summer before I am finished with Vol. II.[41] Then—with the manuscript—I shall come to Germany with my daughter[a] and see you then. Or, to be more precise, shall descend on you.

In France—a very interesting movement in progress.

The Parisians are once again really studying their recent revolutionary past, to prepare themselves for the pending new revolutionary business. First, the *origin of the Empire*—then the *coup d'état of December.* This had been entirely forgotten, just as the reaction in Germany has been able to wipe out memories of 1848/49 completely.

That is why *Ténot*'s books about the coup d'état in Paris and the provinces[b] aroused such enormous interest that they rapidly went through 10 editions. They were followed by dozens of other books on the same period. *C'était la rage,*[c] and this soon became a speculative business for the publishers.

These writings came from the *opposition*—Ténot is an *homme du Siècle* (I mean the liberal bourgeois paper, not our century). All the liberal and illiberal rogues belonging to the official opposition promoted this *mouvement.* Also the republican democrats, people like *Delescluze,* for example, who was formerly Ledru-Rollin's adjutant and now, as republican patriarch, edits *Réveil* in Paris.

Until now everybody has been indulging in these posthumous revelations, or rather reminiscences—everybody who was not Bonapartist.

But then came *le revers de la medaille.*[d]

First, the French Government itself got the renegade Hippolyte Castille to publish *Les Massacres de Juin 1848.* This was a blow in the face for Thiers, Falloux, Marie, Jules Favre, Jules Simon, Pelletan, etc., in short, the chiefs of what is called in France '*l'Union Libérale*',[298] who wish to perform a sleight of hand with the next elections, the infamous old rogues.

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[a] Jenny Marx - [b] E. Ténot, *Paris en décembre 1851...* and *La province en décembre 1859...* - [c] This was all the rage - [d] the other side of the medal

Then came the Socialist Party, which 'unmasked' the opposition and the old-style republican democrats.

Including *Vermorel: Les Hommes de 1848* and *L'Opposition.*

Vermorel is a Proudhonist.

Last came the Blanquists, for example, *G. Tridon: Gironde et Girondins.*

So the whole historic witches' brew is simmering.

When shall *we* have got this far?

To show you how well the French police are served:

I intended to go to Paris next week to see my daughter.

Last Saturday[a] a police agent enquired of Lafargue whether Mons. Marx had arrived yet. He had a commission for him.[b] FOREWARNED!

My heartiest greetings to your dear wife and Fränzchen.

How is Madame Tenge?

Yours
K. M.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 13, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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## 165

## MARX TO HEINRICH OBERWINDER

### IN VIENNA

[*Draft*]

London, 3 MARCH 1869
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, N.W.[c]

Dear Sir,

You must forgive my delayed reply to your letter of 14 February, resulting from my indisposition.[d]

I do not need to assure you that I am greatly interested in the workers' movement in Vienna.[e] If I could dispose freely of my

[a] 27 February - [b] See this volume, pp. 216 and 225. - [c] in the original: W.C. - [d] See this volume, p. 229. - [e] deleted in the original: 'and thus in your paper', i.e. *Volksstimme*

time and my strength, I would immediately stand at your disposal as a contributor to your paper. My ability to work is, however, continually interrupted by illness. The little leisure left me after completing the second volume of my work *Capital*[41] is absorbed by the business of the International Working Men's Association.

Thus, I cannot offer the prospect of contributions from me in the *near future*.

I remain, with best respects[a]

Karl Marx

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## 166

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 March 1869

Dear Moor,

I must leave it quite up to you to do what you think best about the article.[b] For my part, I do *not* think that the article would have any sort of effect in Liebknecht's paper[c] in instalments of 1 or 2 columns, since it would thus be spread over *two years*. On the other hand, if he wanted to print it *cheaply for* the workers, this would be different and could have an impact. Since he is now involved in a row with Schweitzer,[294] I would suggest to him that he publish the last section of my pamphlet on military questions[d] in his sheet, or ask Meissner the price at which he would allow him to sell the remainder (he once asked me about this through Moore, but as I have had no occasion to write to him since, this too has remained unanswered). If, however, he should reprint the article, he must

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[a] deleted in the original: 'You cannot, therefore, expect contributions from me in the near future, but I can assure you of such in the long view.—Yours faithfully' - [b] See this volume, p. 228. - [c] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - [d] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*

indicate the source. I myself have *not got* a copy and you cannot part with yours either; we must keep one, after all!

Your
F. E.

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## 167

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 March 1869

DEAR FRED,

The enclosed little document arrived *yesterday* (though dated 27 February).[299] You must send it back as soon as you have read it, since I have to lay it before the COUNCIL on TUESDAY NEXT.[a] The gentlemen of the 'Alliance' have taken a long time to produce this opus.

In fact, we would rather they had kept their 'unnumbered legions' in France, Spain and Italy to themselves.

Bakunin thinks: if we approve his '*programme radical*' he can trumpet it forth and compromise us *tant soit peu*.[b] If we declare ourselves against it, we shall be denounced as counter-revolutionaries. Moreover: If we admit it, he will see to it that, at the Congress in Basle, he is seconded by some RIFF-RAFF. I think the answer should be along the following LINES:[300]

According to para. 1 of the Rules, every workers' society that is 'AIMING AT THE SAME END; VIZ., THE PROTECTION, ADVANCEMENT AND *COMPLETE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASSES*', is to be admitted.[c]

As the stage of development reached by different sections of the workers in the same country and by the working class in different countries necessarily varies considerably, the actual movement also necessarily expresses itself in very diverse theoretical forms.

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[a] 9 March - [b] however little - [c] *Rules of the International Working Men's Association. Founded September 28th, 1864*, p. 4 (see also present edition, Vol. 20, p. 442).

The community of action the International Working Men's Association is calling into being, the exchange of ideas by means of the different organs of the sections in all countries and, finally, the direct discussions at the general congresses would also gradually create a common theoretical programme for the general workers' movement.

With regard to the programme of the 'Alliance', therefore, it is not necessary for the General Council to submit it to an *examen critique*.[a] The Council does not need to examine whether it is an adequate scientific expression of the workers' movement. It has only to ask whether the *general tendency* of the programme is in opposition to the general tendency of the International Working Men's Association—the COMPLETE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASSES!

This reproach might apply to only one phrase in the programme, para. 2: 'elle veut avant tout l'égalisation politique, économique et sociale *des classes*.[b] '*L'égalisation des classes*', interpreted literally, is simply another way of saying the '*Harmonie du capital et du travail*'[c] preached by bourgeois socialists. The final aim of the International Working Men's Association is not the logically impossible '*égalisation des classes*', but the historically necessary '*abolition des classes*'. From the context in which this phrase appears in the programme, however, it seems to be merely A SLIP OF THE PEN. The General Council has little doubt, therefore, that this phrase, which might lead to serious misunderstanding, will be deleted from the programme.[301]

On this assumption, it is the principle of the International Working Men's Association to leave each section the responsibility for its own programme. There is, therefore, no obstacle to the transformation of the sections of the Alliance into sections of the International Working Men's Association.

As soon as this has taken place, the General Council must, in accordance with the Rules, be supplied with a *dénombrement*[d] of the newly adhering sections, according to country, residence and numbers.

This last point—the census of their legions—will, of course, upset the gentlemen. When you return the letter, tell me what you want changed in this draft reply.

*Quoad*[e] *Liebknecht*, I have given further thought to the matter[f]. Publication in the lousy little sheet must not be allowed.

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[a] critical examination - [b] 'above all, it desires the political, economic and social equalisation of *the classes*' - [c] harmony of capital and labour - [d] listing - [e] with regard to - [f] See this volume, p. 234.

Publication as a pamphlet by Wilhelm is a DELUSION. Should I write to Eichhoff asking whether his brother[a] would publish it at a reasonable price? Could you, in this case, bestow your fee upon the GENERAL COUNCIL, which is greatly in need of money? I still have a copy of the 6th issue containing the *Peasant War* (*apart* from my bound *Revue*,[b] which is complete). I could send this to Berlin.[302] Please reply by return.

Moreover, Wilhelm should reprint the last section of the pamphlet on military questions.[c] The transaction with Meissner (in which Wilhelm would have to show his cash!—anyway Meissner is very TICKLISH UPON SUCH POINTS) is impossible.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 March 1869

Dear Moor,

The answer[300] for the Russian[d] and his retinue is exactly as it should be. Even in their own *sommation*,[e] the fellows do not dare to call upon you to make the programme your own; they simply wish indirectly to induce you to make a theoretical criticism. A stupid Russian trap into which people in this country will surely not fall. Apart from this, the people's retreat is complete, and nothing more could be desired. The about-face by which the fellows are being compelled to allow you to review their forces is very amusing, and will act like a bucket of cold water over their phrase-mongering heads.

As for the *Peasant War* it must, I believe, be offered first to Meissner[f] for decency's sake; and if he is not interested in

[a] Albert Eichhoff - [b] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (see also this volume, p. 234). - [c] F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* (see also this volume, pp. 234-35) - [d] Mikhail Bakunin - [e] challenge - [f] See the previous letter.

printing it as a popular, cheap pamphlet, there will still be time with Eichhoff. You will have to write to him about *The 18th Brumaire*, which you could do at the same time. If Meissner does not get on with *The 18th Brumaire*, or is scared, then steps must be taken and the thing given to Eichhoff.[a] Otherwise time will be wasted and the opportunity lost.

I discovered a copy of *The 18th Brumaire* at Charles',[b] and immediately confiscated it. I read it through again and immediately saw that the book must appear *in French without delay*.[303] That will have quite a different effect from just German, and will immediately make you a name amongst the French, which will at once ensure the translation of your book.[c] See who you might get to do this and, in any case, take steps along these LINES. Printed in Brussels, it would get to France en masse.

Before the *Peasant War* is sent off, send me the copy so that I can correct the misprints, see whether a preface, etc., is necessary, or some notes for the philistines. I am not quite sure whether the Spanish Bergenroth is Frau Jung's Bergenroth. I think I heard the latter had gone to America.

*Ad vocem*[d] Oberwinder[e]: did you ever write to the Angerstein who approached us previously?[304] The fellow still has some sort of paper[f] in Vienna. It would be good to avoid an unnecessary squabble with Oberwinder; Wilhelm will have to inform us of the relations between these two and what Angerstein, who was also recommended by him, is now doing.

PRIMAGE is unknown to me in exchange rates and exchange practice. In freightage, it is a supplement to the usual freight, i.e., you pay 36s.—per ton freight and 10% PRIMAGE, that means 39s.6d. If you quote me the context, I can probably explain.

*Courtage* for the *rembours* is also a very sloppily-worded phrase, so the whole passage would be useful here, too. It probably means *courtage*, i.e., BROKERAGE for calling in from the drawer the sum of a bill that has gone to protest.[g]

The Augsburg [*Allgemeine Zeitung*] is again full of the information on the International in Geneva. Clossmann appears to have approached Becker.[h] Quite useful.

How are things in Basle? Becker has written 3-4 pamphlets about all these things, but apparently never sends any here.[305]

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[a] See this volume, p. 211. - [b] Charles Roesgen - [c] the first volume of *Capital* - [d] regarding - [e] See this volume, pp. 229, 233-34. - [f] *Allgemeine Volkszeitung* - [g] See this volume, p. 229. - [h] See 'Genf, 21 Febr.' (in the section *Neueste Posten*), *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 55, 24 February 1869 (supplement); 'Genf, 28 Febr.' (in the section *Schweiz*), *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 63, 4 March 1869.

For a change, Schorlemmer has once again burned his face; a bottle of bromic-phosphorus he was preparing exploded in front of his nose. He looks good, but has otherwise suffered no damage.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[180]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 14 March 1869

Dear Fred,

From the enclosed letter from Meissner you can see how things look with the Louis Bonaparte.[306] Since Meissner told me directly (personally) that he only publishes pamphlets occasionally, now and then, *in order to oblige*, something of which *you need not be aware*, I would prefer you to write to him direct about the *Peasant War*. If nothing emerges, I shall write to Eichhoff[a], with whom I maintain 'international' relations.

Liebknecht has the gift of gathering the *stupidest people* in Germany around him. *Exempli causa*[b] the author of 'Die demokratischen Ziele und die deutschen Arbeiter'[c]. This stuff can only be read, even to oneself, in south German patois. This dunderhead requests the workers to rid him of Bismarck and then promises to provide them with '*full freedom of movement*' and *other* socialist achievements! *Horreur*![d]

The man from *Zukunft*[e] is infinitely more cunning and sharp in the north German way. But with him, too, the upshot is that the workers should pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the

[a] Wilhelm Eichhoff - [b] for example - [c] 'Die demokratischen Ziele und die deutschen Arbeiter', *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, Nos. 34, 36, 47 and 48; 22 August, 5 September, 21 and 28 November 1868, No. 10, 6 March 1869. - [d] ghastly - [e] 'Die Gewerksgenossenschaften', *Die Zukunft*, Nos. 32, 35, 37, 40 and 47; 7, 11, 13, 17 and 25 February 1869 (see also this volume, p. 230).

democratic gentlemen and should not, for the time being, indulge in such pursuits as TRADES UNIONS. If these gentlemen are such hot-headed friends of direct *revolutionary* action, why don't *they* set the example, instead of writing careful and reserved articles for *Zukunft*! Do they expect such stuff to awaken revolutionary passion? That won't catch anybody!

The reply to the Genevans[a] has been sent off. In the French text I kept the tone still icier and *passablement ironique*.[b] Luckily, this was not noticed by the English, who naturally only know my English translation.

Apart from the official communication[299] about which I told you, the gentlemen also sent a 4-page *private letter* to Eccarius, according to which a *direct breach* had only been avoided thanks to the EFFORTS of Becker, Bakunin, and Perret, author of the document. Their 'revolutionary' programme had had more effect in some weeks in Italy, Spain, etc., than that of the International Working Men's Association had in years. If we should reject their 'revolutionary programme', we would [produce] a *separation* between the countries with a '*revolutionary*' *workers*' *movement* (these are listed as *France*, where they have all of 2 correspondents, *Switzerland*(!), *Italy*—where the workers, apart from those who belong to us, are simply a tail to Mazzini—and *Spain*, where there are more clerics than workers) and those with a *more gradual development* of the working class (viz., England, Germany, the United States and Belgium). Thus, a separation between the volcanic and plutonic workers' movement on the one hand, and the AQUEOUS movement on the other.

That the Swiss should represent the revolutionary type is really amusing.

Old Becker must have become very stupid if he really believes that Bakunin has invented a 'programme'.

Your
K. M.

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[a] K. Marx, *The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the Central Bureau of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy* (see also this volume, pp. 235-36). - [b] passably ironic

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 15 March 1869

Dear Moor,

Enclosed, Meissner returned.[306] Today only the following:

Even in the past I considered that *Bonaparte*[a] really ought to be printed together with your 3 articles in the *Revue* about the period from February 1848 to 1850[307]; but I thought that it would cause too much loss of time. Since, however, Meissner *himself* is delaying, I would *still do* this *now*. This will make the whole thing more voluminous—ca. 10-12 printed sheets—and more complete.

If you write to Meissner right away, I am sure there will be enough time.

More tomorrow.

Your
F. E.

Lizzie is in bed with bronchitis and a bad cold; somewhat better today.

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## 171

## ENGELS TO MARX[180]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 18 March 1869

Dear Moor,

I am writing to Meissner about the *Peasant War*.[b]

Even according to *Social-Demokrat* (which I'll send you back in a

[a] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - [b] F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany* (see also this volume, p. 238).

couple of days), Wilhelm[a] appears to have kept ahead in Saxony.[b] On the other hand, you have to grant the Lassalleans that they are developing quite a different sort of activity and know how to make ten times more out of the limited means than the People's Party does.[38] Even when Schweitzer was imprisoned, the *Social-Demokrat* did not publish such idiocies as Wilhelm does.

I wonder what Wilhelm will say about the fact that, in Celle the *Hanoverian particularists*, defeated in the first round of polling, voted in the second round for Planck, the *National-Liberal* Bismarckian, and thus got him into the Reichstag *instead* OF Yorck, the worker. But that does not matter to Wilhelm.

Huxley's famous article in the *Fortnightly*[248] in fact contains almost nothing except the joke about Comtism. The Comtists are said to be very furious about this, and intend to publish a thunderous reply, as a geological friend[c] in London writes to Moore.

What do you think of my suggestion about printing the articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*[307] before *Bonaparte*? And about the French version?[d]

Many thanks for the Castille.[e] Only yesterday was I able to start reading it. Clearly a crypto-Bonapartist factional publication. However, it is enormous progress that the June insurrection is now generally seen for what it was.[217]

Tony Moilin[f] is really charming. This *homme de*[g] 1869, who cheerfully declares that nobody should earn less than 2,400 fr.! I laughed myself half sick over this naïve doctor with extraordinary pretensions. If Lafargue were still to think anything of him, his wife would laugh at him.

I wanted to write to you about quite a long story, but can't recollect it at the moment. I have to go home now to hear what Gumpert has said about Lizzie, who has been in bed since Sunday.[h]

Your

F. E.

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[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [b] 'Zur Agitation in Sachsen', *Social-Demokrat*, Nos. 21, 22, 24, 25 and 30-32; 17, 19, 24 and 26 February, 10, 12 and 14 March 1869. - [c] apparently Dakyns - [d] See the previous letter. - [e] H. Castille, *Les massacres de juin 1848* - [f] T. Moilin, *La liquidation sociale*. - [g] man of - [h] 14 March

# 172

## MARX TO ENGELS[56]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 March 1869

DEAR FRED,

We all hope that, in your next letter, you will be sending us better news about MRS Lizzie's state of health. Tussy especially asks you to extend our deepest sympathy to her. It's damned awful weather. Jennychen can't get rid of her cold, and for the past few days I have been cold-wild and cough-confused.

Next week (Friday or Saturday[a]) the children are going to Paris to the Lafargues. The business with Laura was this: she *had a fall* 2 or 3 weeks *before* her accouchement. As a result of this fall, she had to keep to her bed until 1-2 weeks ago and only with difficulty avoided danger.

I intend to have myself *naturalised* as an Englishman,[308] so I can travel to Paris safely. Without such a journey the French edition of my book[309] will never materialise. My presence there is absolutely necessary. Under Palmerston's law you can, if you wish, slough off the Englishman again after 6 months. The law provides no protection for the naturalised person with regard to illegalities committed in his country of birth *before* naturalisation, if he should return to that country. With this exception, a naturalised person is on the same footing as any Englishman vis-à-vis foreign GOVERNMENTS. I really cannot see why I should not visit Paris *without the permission* of M. Bonaparte, if I have the means to do so.

My best thanks to Schorlemmer for the 2ND EDITION of *Chemie*.[b] Tomorrow, as a Sunday recreation, I shall start re-reading the 2nd part, the organic chemistry (and assume that this is where the changes are to be sought).

As regards *Louis Bonaparte*, I am not in favour of printing the series from the *Revue* up to 1850 as an introduction[c]. On the one hand, I don't wish to give Meissner new excuses for delay. On the other, it would be very easy, by patching in FACTS that emerged later, to revise this section, but there is no hurry. In Brussels, De

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[a] 26 or 27 March - [b] H. E. Roscoe, *Kurzes Lehrbuch der Chemie nach den neuesten Ansichten der Wissenschaft*. Deutsche Ausgabe, unter Mitwirkung des Verfassers bearbeitet von Carl Schorlemmer. - [c] See this volume, p. 241.

Paepe has sought in vain for a French publisher for *Louis Bonaparte.* For such operations, these gentlemen demand *money* from the author.

Blanqui, *who is now in Paris,* made very good jokes at Lafargue's about Moilin's[a] real QUACK NOSTRUM. France, he said, is always ungrateful to its great men. Moilin, for instance, has solved the problem of the century in an unprecedentedly simple manner—and Paris goes about its business as though nothing had happened.

*Castille* was a June insurgent, was transported as such to Cayenne, and returned after the general amnesty. He wrote the first edition of his book[b] *de bonne foi.*[c] In the meantime, the government bought him, and staged this second edition as the antithesis to Ténot's writings. The changes made are: 1. the tone has become more bourgeois, sometimes smart-alecky. 2. Passages against the men of December[d] have been removed. 3. A few quietly apologetic phrases for Bonaparte have been patched in. Despite all this, the *fonds*[e] unchanged, and it remains as you say, a very satisfactory work. It is a very good thing when M. Bonaparte pushes back the writing of history to the period before 2 December. The struggle of the various parties, their mutual: *Et tu Brute!*[f] will help put a stop to the 'revolutionism' of the old scoundrels of 1848 and earlier.

I sent to Beesly, by city post, WITH A FEW RANDOM NOTES for him to read, Vermorel's pamphlet[g] that I also sent you (with the Castille). He sent it back to me with the *enclosed* note, which is as stupid as it is MAGISTERIAL and arrogant. It appears to me that positive philosophy may be equated with ignorance about everything positive. The other sheet enclosed was sent me by Borkheim for my 'DUTCH RELATIONS'.[h]

Yesterday I found the report on the 'miners' guilds',[i] printed in full in the *Social-Demokrat* of last Wednesday. Whether the *Zukunft* has taken it I do not know.[281] Possibly the report does not stand at that lofty stage of wisdom that alone can satisfy social policy. I have not yet received Wilhelm for this week.[j]

Apropos. In the very near future there will be a demonstration here for E. Jones. The business is sponsored by the Clerkenwell

[a] See this volume, p. 242. - [b] H. Castille, *Le massacres de juin 1848...* - [c] in good faith - [d] This refers to the coup d'état of 2 December 1851 - [e] basis - [f] Cf. Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, III, 1, 77. - [g] A. Vermorel, *Les hommes de 1848*. - [h] See this volume, p. 215. - [i] F. Engels, 'Bericht über die Knappschaftsvereine der Bergarbeiter in den Kohlenwerken Sachsens', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 33, 17 March 1869. - [j] The reference is to *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*.

branch of the *quondam* REFORM LEAGUE.[228] Their leaders, Weston, Lucraft, etc. are MEMBERS of our GENERAL COUNCIL. The festival committee offered me one of the 5 presidential chairs in Trafalgar Square, from which the masses are to be harangued. I refused the courtesy very politely. What I could not refuse, however, was to promise a small contribution to the demonstration COSTS ON BEHALF OF MYSELF AND FRIENDS. It must be paid Tuesday NEXT[a] If you and Moore want to take a share, it must be done by then.

*Addio.*

Your
Moor

who every day resembles more a 'white' washed Moor.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 21 March 1869

Dear Moor,

Lizzie's case was pleurisy, which, however, took a remarkably quick course—not till last Tuesday[b] was the exudation on the right lung evident, and by this morning it had already vanished completely. She is getting up again today for the first time. Through a remarkable piece of DIVINATION, I diagnosed pleurisy for Gumpert on Sunday,[c] he examined her, found nothing, declared it was bronchitis (which was also present), in addition to catarrh in the lungs, and it was naturally rather annoying for him when the pleurisy declared itself after all. I naturally do not claim that it was present when he could not find it.

POOR Löhrchen[d] MUST HAVE HAD A HARD TIME OF IT. Ten weeks in

[a] 23 March - [b] 16 March - [c] 14 March - [d] Laura Lafargue

childbed is no joke, and it is good that it is over. When they get there, Tussy and Jenny must give her and Lafargue too my hearty greetings.

The explanation about Castille was very useful to me. The wisdom of Solomon Beesly returned herewith.[a] It is the greatest nonsense. In time, this Comtism will confirm an even stronger version of that remark made by that man from Bonn about the Hegelians: they do not need to know about anything in order to write about everything.

In Germany the conversion of the natural forces, for instance, heat into mechanical energy, etc., has given rise to a very absurd theory, which incidentally follows with a certain inevitability from Laplace's old hypothesis, but is now displayed, as it were, with mathematical proofs: that the world is becoming steadily colder, that the temperature in the universe is levelling down and that, in the end, a moment will come when all life will be impossible and the entire world will consist of frozen spheres rotating round one another. I am simply waiting for the moment when the clerics seize upon this theory as the last word in materialism. It is impossible to imagine anything more stupid. Since, according to this theory, in the existing world, more heat must always be converted into other energy than can be obtained by converting other energy into heat, so the original *hot state*, out of which things have cooled, is obviously inexplicable, even contradictory, and thus presumes a god. Newton's first impulse is thus converted into a first heating. Nevertheless, the theory is regarded as the finest and highest perfection of materialism; these gentlemen prefer to construct a world that begins in nonsense and ends in nonsense, instead of regarding these nonsensical consequences as proof that what they call natural law is, to date, only half-known to them. But this theory is all the dreadful rage in Germany.

I've not yet seen the *Zukunft*.

Tomorrow I shall send you STAMPS for one pound for the E. Jones demonstration.

Best greetings.

Your

F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p. 244.

# 174

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 March 1869

Dear Moor,

You must really have a foul cold, since even the usual Sunday letter did not arrive today. Enclosed a cheque on the UNION BANK OF LONDON for £87.10 for March-June and a pound in STAMPS for the cost of the meeting, which I forgot to send you on Monday.[a]

This week I read myself fairly well into Dutch-Frisian, and have discovered some quite nice philological things there. Can you discover what *snieuntojowns* means? It is odd, that, today, the West Frisians in many cases *speak* as the English *write*, e.g. GREAT, *hearre* (hear), etc. However, in most cases this is accidental and of more recent date, and Old Frisian from the same area generally differs from this.

Lizzie is on her feet again.

Best greetings—have the girls gone to Paris, and what do they write about Löhrchen[b]? And are you already a BRITON NEVER SHALL BE SLAVES[c]?

Your
F. E.

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[a] 22 March - [b] Laura Lafargue - [c] Words from the British song *Rule, Britannia...* An allusion to Marx's attempts to acquire British citizenship (see also this volume, p. 243).

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 March 1869

DEAR FRED,

Best thanks for the CHEQUE and the STAMPS. I paid Lucraft last Tuesday.[a] Have you seen the short report about the demonstration in *The Times* OF SATURDAY LAST[b]? It states that a German group ('of our people!') carried a red flag inscribed *Proletarier aller Länder, verunreiniget Euch!*, which they said in English, means 'RAGAMUFFINS OF ALL REGIONS, BEFOUL YOURSELVES!'

As you correctly assume, I am cold-maddened and cold-stupefied.

The children left on Friday[c] evening (to the horror of the English, on GOOD FRIDAY). We received a letter from them this morning. They arrived safely in Paris, but had a stormy crossing.

I am not yet a FREEBORN BRITON. One resists such a step as long as one can.[308]

Nothing could be more gallant than the way Wilhelm the Honourable is extracting himself from the affair of the *Vogt* copies.[d] At my INSTIGATION, Kugelmann wrote to him about it. No reply to the first letter, and to another letter he received the enclosed screed, which may be summed up as follows: If *I* (Liebknecht) announced [the despatch of] 60 copies, but only 6 arrived, you should be aware that *I always lie*, so there the matter must rest. If, however, C. Hirsch of Berlin advised you of the number (he naturally does not know that *I* advised Kugelmann), it is a different matter and must be investigated.

The sort of artful dodges the fellow gets up to is displayed in a letter from Hirsch to Kugelmann. Hirsch writes to Kugelmann[310]:

> 'Liebknecht probably hopes for nothing more than that you should circulate the books IN QUESTION in Hanover, in order to enlighten the Democratic Party there about the doings of Herr Vogt, etc.'

Thus Wilhelm kept it secret from Hirsch that *I* had demanded information about the state of affairs, and an assured place for storing those copies still available.

Kugelmann writes:

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[a] 23 March - [b] 'The Demonstration in Trafalgar Square', *The Times*, No. 26396, 27 March 1869. - [c] 19 March - [d] The reference is to K. Marx, *Herr Vogt* (sée this volume, pp. 208 and 231).

'The coming clash of words between Liebknecht and Schweitzer reminds me less of Luther and Eck than of Pater José and Rabbi Juda....' 'But it seems to me, as well, that the rabbi and the monk, both of them to heaven smell'[a]

With regard to this clash of words, I received (today) the enclosed letter from *Bebel*.[311] Since the 60-copy letter,[84] Wilhelm himself does not dare write to me—until more water has flowed under the bridge.

They are amazing fellows! First they wilfully get themselves into a situation where they are bound to get a drubbing. Then I am supposed to intervene as *deus ex machina* and elegantly reject Schweitzer's resolution on the acceptance of the programme of the International, should Schweitzer's general meeting pass it![312] And all this after Wilhelm and Co. have not taken *one single step* about the International *since the Nuremberg Congress*,[135] have done absolutely *nothing* so that those poor devils in Lugau found it necessary to turn directly to London.[b] I believe Bebel to be useful and able. He only had the particular misfortune to find his 'theoretician' in Mr Wilhelm.

Something else demonstrates the fellows' carelessness and sloppiness: to date they have not informed me of a single FACT to prove the charges of high treason, etc., levelled against Schweitzer. Fine businessmen.

*Lloyd's Paper*, in the Sunday number a week ago,[c] carried long hymns of praise about our RESOLUTIONS and the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION in general.

I have received a letter from Dietzgen, who is a prosperous tanner in Siegburg.[313] I shall send it to you as soon as it is answered. Dietzgen's ideas will be published by Meissner, for whom he has guaranteed the printing costs, under the title: *Die Kopfarbeit, dargestellt von einem Handarbeiter usw.*

*Salut*. Greetings to MRS Lizzie and the two accomplices[d].

Your
K. M.

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[a] Personages from Heinrich Heine's 'Disputation', (Romanzero, III). - [b] See this volume, p. 172. - [c] 'International Labour Laws', *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, 21 March 1869. - [d] Samuel Moore and Carl Schorlemmer

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 2 April 1869

Dear Moor,

I cannot write much to you today, since for some time I have had a chronically inflamed eye (mild), and can only do the most essential work.

*L'homme propose et la femme dispose.*[a] Yesterday evening I laid out for you a pile of copies of *Zukunft*, and also B. Becker on Lassalle,[b] but this morning the room was being swept out, so I forgot them. *Die Zukunft*, incidentally, has carried the Lugau story as a feature article.[314]

Wilhelm's stupidities exceed everything. Bebel's cry of alarm was really touching.[311] As you will see from *Zukunft*,[c] his friends in Hanover, the particularists, voted in the Lüneburg election *against* Yorck (Lassallean) and *for* the National-Liberal.[d] The rabble are all united against the workers but this does not disturb Liebknecht. I look forward to the dread debate with great eagerness.

About *Vogt*[e]: if I were you I would write directly to the Berlin Hirsch. Then you will finally reach the proper quarter.

Lizzie is better, but does not go out yet and is on a strengthening diet. How is Mrs Lafargue?

Best wishes.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Man proposes and woman disposes. - [b] B. Becker, *Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's.* - [c] 'Bei der in engerer Wahl vollzogenen Ersatzwahl ...', *Die Zukunft*, No. 60, 12 March 1869, in the column 'Berlin, 11. März'. - [d] Gottlieb Planck - [e] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt.*

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 April 1869

Dear Moor,

What are Applegarth and Odger thinking of, lending themselves to Lloyd Jones as partners and directors of the planned *Citizen Newspaper*?[315] And how has Lloyd Jones suddenly managed to establish his position as a LEADER? For he is supposed to become the editor of this 'oh-so educated'[a] worker-petty-bourgeois paper. The sooner I get information about this, the better, as that jackass Kyllmann is hawking the prospectus around here.

Yesterday we finally achieved the long-planned transfer of my official headquarters from Dover STREET to 86 Mornington STREET,[316] to the great pleasure of Lizzie, who also went out again for the first time yesterday.

You have not told me what news you have about Löhrchen's[b] health.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

Since you obviously have not discovered what *snieuntojown* means, I shall tell you: Saturday evening.[c] But how? That is now the question.

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[a] 'jebildeten' in the original (Berlin dialect) - [b] Laura Lafargue - [c] See this volume, p. 247.

## 178

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH LESSNER

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 April 1869
86 Mornington Street

Dear Lessner,

I was very pleased to have word from you, and enclose the photograph requested. The Becker story[a] together with other material I expressly placed ready a week ago, in order to send it to Marx, but the womenfolk put the stuff somewhere else each morning, so I forgot it day after day. Tomorrow I shall take the package into town, and send Becker directly to you.

The compliments you have so undeservedly paid me shame me all the more since, unfortunately, in the last 18 years, I have been able to do as good as nothing *directly* for our cause, and have had to devote all my time to bourgeois activities. I hope this will soon change, I expect in a few months once again to be master of my time, and I shall then surely do my part to earn your compliments; it will always be a pleasure for me to bash the same enemy on the same battlefield together with an old comrade like you. You are right; the cause goes better than ever before; years ago, at a time when the stupid democratic mob complained about reaction and the people's indifference to them, we, Moor and I, were right in foreseeing in the period of this reaction the enormous industrial development of the last 18 years and declared this would result in a sharpening of the contradictions between labour and capital, and more acute class struggle. It would make a donkey laugh to see how these stupid democrats have now really been duped, so that there is not even a decent little place for them in any other corner of the world. The Party of Progress in Germany,[317] republicans in France, radicals in England, all of them equally rotten. There is nothing funnier than the sweet-sour compliments they have to make to the social movement, though they know full well that, one fine day, this social movement will have its foot on their necks.

In old friendship

Your
F. Engels

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[a] B. Becker, *Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's.*

# 179

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 5 April 1869

DEAR FRED,

I can't make anything of your *snieunt* (I can't read the following letters) *jown*.[a] According to the etymology, I can only explain *lucus a non lucendo*[b] that in Danish *snoe* means turn, and *jeon* means EVEN.

I congratulate you on the energy with which you have cut the umbilical cord with Dover Street.[c]

Laura is quite well again. Jenny will be coming home tomorrow or the day after 'for business reasons'. Tussy will stay in Paris for at least 2 months. As you will note from the enclosed letter, she is absolutely delighted with Fouschtra,[d] the YOUNGSTER of the Lafargue FAMILY.

The Wilhelm-Bebel-Schweitzer clash of words has not really been so bad; after all, when of 11,000 voters, 4,500 abstained from voting *for* Schweitzer, this was not exactly a triumph for this gentleman.[318]

With regard to the *Citizen*,[315] the contributors to which include Dr Engel of Berlin and Dr Brentano of the same, this appears to be stillborn or, as OLD Werner says, 'laid out'. Lloyd Jones is an old tailor by trade, who figured in a STRIKE back in 1824. For a long time now he has been an apostle of cooperation, and a lazy-bones. Odger and Applegarth are both possessed by a mania for mediation and a longing for respectability. On the CENTRAL COUNCIL, we ticked off Mr Applegarth properly.[319] With regard to Odger's *collaboration* in particular, it never went further than the prospectus, and here people simply laugh at such PROMISSORY BILLS on his part.

In 2 issues the Bonapartist *Peuple* (directly edited *with* Boustrapa[320]) denounces our International because of the recent

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[a] See this volume, pp. 247, and 251. - [b] Literally: 'a grove from not being light'. The expression, first used by Quintilian in *De institutione oratoria* (I, 6, 34), illustrates the practice ascribed to ancient Roman etymologists of deriving words from their semantic opposites, as *lucus* ('grove') from *lucere* ('to shine, be light') because a grove is not light. - [c] See this volume, p. 251. - [d] Charles-Étienne Lafargue

exercises of terrorism in Geneva[a] (on the occasion of the typographers' STRIKE[321]), and, at the same time, makes mocking remarks about our impotence. It would naturally be very good to keep the volcanic explosion on such a small but conspicuous stage, *if the means were available.* But to drag in the International so directly, as Becker[b] and Co. are doing, without preparation, without thinking about a war-chest, without taking into consideration the good or bad state of business in Europe—this is simply compromising. I shall send you the relevant numbers of *Peuple* after I have presented them to the COUNCIL tomorrow.

Oberwinder has sent me the prospectus of his paper[c] for subscription. It appears twice a month, and costs 45 kreuzer per quarter. If I send the list back with subscriptions, 1 copy for you, 1 copy for Moore, 1 for Borkheim and 1 for me, we shall have to send the total sum of 3 gulden. You can't send the money individually, I mean for one COPY.

Enclosed *Lanterne* and *Cloche* and *Werker.*

Do send me copies of *Zukunft*, so that I can see something about the Reichstag.

And also, if possible, Manchester papers containing arguments about the price of cotton. The Liberal M.P. from Manchester[d] is supposed to be agitating or spreading agitation amongst the workers in Stockport so that they should demand, directly from the GOVERNMENT, *cotton production* in India, that is, PROTECTION IN ANOTHER FORM.

COMPLIMENTS to MRS Lizzie ON RESTORATION OF HEALTH.

*Salut.*

Your
Moor

I hope your eye inflammation has passed.

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[a] Ch. Gaumont, 'La grève à Genève', *Le Peuple*, 29 and 30 March 1869. - [b] Johann Philipp Becker - [c] *Die Volksstimme* - [d] Thomas Bazley

# 180

## ENGELS TO MARX[124]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 April 1869

Dear Moor,

Liebknecht has again had the good luck of fools. The vote of 6,500 against 4,500 was a tremendous defeat for Schweitzer,[318] even if it was not a direct victory for Wilhelm. The *Kölner Zeitung* says that Schweitzer was frightfully dismayed, and though he had declared earlier that he would resign if any sort of considerable minority were to vote against him, he has taken a lot of care not to do so.[322]

In any case, Schweitzer's campaign for the kingdom of the tailors has failed, and his position in his own association has been shaken severely. *N'est pas dictateur qui veut.*[a] The process of the disintegration of specific Lassalleanism has thus begun, and is bound to continue rapidly. The figures 6,500:4,500 mean either a split or abandonment of the 'strict' organisation and Schweitzer's personal leadership. So far Liebknecht's foolhardiness has had a good effect. And under *these* circumstances I shall not take it amiss that he has let himself in for a new armistice,[323] although this is the third case between the two of them of 'cad's fighting, when ended, is very soon mended'.

The copies of *Zukunft* follow enclosed. Unfortunately, the Reichstag debate on industrial legislation is very poorly reported in them. There is nothing more comical than Schweitzer's lecture on the socialist demands, culminating in the declaration that he favours trades freedom[b] up to Wagener, Miquel et Co.[c] Simply childish babble. Best by far was *Bebel.*[324]

I am sending the B. Becker[d] to *Lessner* today. I hear that the latest *Fortnightly* has an article on it.[e]

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[a] Not everyone who wishes is a dictator. A paraphrase from Victor Hugo's *Napoleon le petit.* - [b] J. B. Schweitzer, [Speech in the North German Diet, 17 March, 1869], *Die Zukunft*, No. 66, 19 March, 1869. - [c] H. Wagener, [Speech in the North German Diet, 17 March, 1869], *Die Zukunft*, No. 66, 19 March, 1869; J. Miquel, [Speech in the North German Diet, 18 March 1869], *Die Zukunft*, No. 67, 20 March, 1869. - [d] B. Becker, *Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's...* - [e] J. M. Ludlow, 'Ferdinand Lassalle, the German Social-Democrat', *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. V, No. XXVIII, 1 April 1869.

I shall send you the *Zukunft* on Schweitzer and Liebknecht, and immediately if there is anything more in it; I assume that Liebknecht sent them a report straight away.

Your
F. E.

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## 181

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 April 1869

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed letter from Wilhelmchen.[325] Return after reading. What shall I write him about the *Peasant War*[a]?

Strohn is at the door, so *addio*.

Your
K. M.

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## 182

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 April 1869

Dear Moor,

The letters from Tussy and Wilhelmchen[325] returned enclosed. The latter remains true to his principle of greatly scorning all

[a] F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*.

facts. Anybody who regards facts as important, who 'takes them into consideration', is someone who idolises success, a Bismarckian. So even if Schweitzer's 'dirty deeds' were as cheap as blackberries, he would not give us any facts about them, since, according to the principles of the People's Party,[38] the only important thing about all these facts is that Wilhelm declares them to be 'dirty deeds'. It follows that, as Schweitzer's dirty deeds become enormous, the friction with him disappears. The fellow's logic is as amusing as the anticipation with which he still hopes for a proclamation from you, declaring him to be the angel of light, and naming Schweitzer as Satan.

It is also amusing that he wants to sell an essay[a] of *at least 4 or 5 printer's sheets* for *1 1/2 groschen*, and emphasises: not at a profit. *'Le représentant a dit: avec du fer et du pain on va jusqu'en Chine. Il n'a pas parlé de chaussures.'*[b] And Wilhelm has not mentioned who will meet the loss when you sell things at 1/3 to 1/4 of cost price.

I have not yet written to Meissner, and I really cannot expect him to do the wondrous things that Liebknecht boldly ventures. Once Wilhelm has spoken with an *expert* about the printing costs, determined a rational price and made sure that he can raise the printing costs, I am not disinclined to let him print the stuff; tell him to write to me as soon as he can fulfil these conditions, then we shall arrange further steps.

*Snieuntojown* is sun-jovn-to-jovn—sun-eve-to-eve.[c]

The word has caused me to rack my brains; there really are some very difficult things in West Frisian.

The Bazleyite agitation in favour of state aid for cotton cultivation has not yet become so public here that there has been anything substantial in the newspapers. However, I shall soon send you some cuttings about the STRIKE in Preston,[326] which the MASTERS directly provoked in order to bring about a general shut-down of the factories there. Since they cannot agree amongst themselves on SHORT TIME or complete closure, as some would then go on working and the others would be vexed at this, the sole form to bring about joint action amongst them is a *STRIKE*, since *no manufacturer opposes* the proposal to reduce wages. The cream of the thing is that these fellows, who admit that, for 2 years, they have been losing 1 to 2d. per lb of yarn or cloth, and still did not want to close down or work SHORT TIME, now declare that a 10% wage

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[a] F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*. - [b] 'The commercial traveller said: with iron and bread you can get as far as China. He did not mention boots.' - [c] See this volume, pp. 247, 251, 253.

reduction, i.e., a saving of $\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{1}{6}$ *penny* per £, is a matter of life or death!

Best greetings

Your

F. E.

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## 183

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 April 1869

DEAR FRED,

I wrote to Wilhelmchen immediately today, as you suggested.[84] I added that it would be good if the price could be fixed, even at a minimum, *above* the cost, so that this surplus could be used to pay for INDIVIDUAL CARDS OF MEMBERSHIP (ld. each). According to the Lausanne[143] and Brussels[138] decisions, representatives cannot be admitted to congress if their *commettants*[a] have not contributed to the national levy.[b]

The thing I liked best in *Zukunft* was the decision of the *High Court of Justice* on the freedom of assembly of the Prussian subjects.[c] This beats the French courts *holo*.[d] And this scurvy Kirchmann with his scurvy critics,[e] is fine and successful. This is the same Kirchmann who, a few years ago, proved the immortality of the soul.[f] His works, in any case, are not immortal.

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[a] mandataries - [b] 'Procès-verbaux du congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs réuni à Lausanne du 2 au 8 septembre 1867', p. 37. 'Troisième Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs...' Supplément au journal *Le Peuple belge*, 24 septembre 1868. - [c] 'In Bezug auf das Vereins und Versammlungs-Gesetz ist vom Obertribunal folgender Rechtsgrundsatz angenommen worden...', *Die Zukunft*, No. 61, 13 March 1869. - [d] completely - [e] 'V. Kirchmann's Aesthetik', *Die Zukunft*, Nos. 71 and 72; 25 and 26 March 1869. (Anonymous review of J. H. v. Kirchmann's *Aesthetik auf realistischer Grundlage*, in two vols.) - [f] J. H. Kirchmann, *Ueber die Unsterblichkeit. Ein philosophischer Versuch.*

The enclosed letter[327] shows the frame of mind of the workers in the Rhine province about the Barmen-Elberfeld Congress. Schweitzer had forgotten that Robespierre did not answer accusations only when he was sure of his cause, or when he could answer with the guillotine. But the CORRUPTIBLE should not take the INCORRUPTIBLE as their model.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 184

## MARX TO JOHN MALCOLM LUDLOW[328]

IN LONDON

[London,] 10 April 1869
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, N. W.

Dear Sir,

Being aware of your services to the working class, I should before this have given myself the pleasure of sending you my last work: *Das Kapital* (2nd and 3d volumes not yet published[41]), if I had known you to be a German reader.

In your article on Lassalle in the *Fortnightly*[a] you say first that Lassalle propagated my principles in Germany and say then that I am propagating 'Lassallean principles' in England. This would indeed be what the French call '*un échange de bons procédés*'.[b]

In the volume I send you, you will find (Preface, p. VIII, note *1*) the plain facts stated viz. that 'Lassalle has taken from my writings almost literally *all his general theoretical developments*', but that I 'have nothing whatever to do with *his practical applications*'.[c]

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[a] J. M. Ludlow, 'Ferdinand Lassalle, the German Social-Democrat', *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. V. No. XXVIII, 1 April 1869. - [b] exchange of good manner - [c] See present edition, Vol. 35.

His practical nostrum, government aid to co-operative societies, I call by courtesy *his*. It belongs in fact to, and was zealously preached, at the time of Louis Philippe, by *Monsieur Buchez*, Ex-St. Simonian, author of the *Histoire Parlementaire de la Révolution Française*, glorifying Robespierre *and* the Holy Inquisition.[162] M. Buchez put forward his views, f.i. in the journal *L'Atelier*, in *opposition* to the radical views of the French communism of that time.

Since you quote my reply to Proudhon: *Misère de la Philosophie*, you cannot but be aware from its last chapter that in 1847, when all the political economists and all the socialists concurred on one single point—the condemnation of *trades' unions*, I demonstrated their historical necessity.

Yours truly
Karl Marx

J. M. Ludlow, Esq.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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## 185

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 14 April 1869

Dear Moor,

Enclosed the Solingen letter[329] returned, which is also significant because it clarifies Liebknecht's boasts about the 'establishment of associations in Solingen and Bourscheid'. The one in Solingen was already there,[330] and the Solingen people established the one in Bourscheid.

The article on the Cretan insurrection[331] in *The Diplomatic Review*[a] is the best thing they have published for a long time; ditto Urquhart's letter to Fuad Pasha.[b] But, as always, the source is not given for Brunnow's statement in the Greek dispatch,[c] i.e.,

[a] 'The "Eastern Question" Closed. Summary from the Blue-Books', *The Diplomatic Review*, 7 April 1869. - [b] D. Urquhart, 'Au grand Vizir, 16 août, 1867', *The Diplomatic Review*, 7 April 1869, in the column 'Insurrection en Candie. M. Urquhart à Fuad Pasha'. - [c] 'Le Ministre Grec à Londres à son Gouvernement', 29 December 1868, [extract] *The Diplomatic Review*, 7 April 1869.

whether this dispatch is published in one of the official publications, which is not easy to believe (unless a Greek book), or whether it found its way into Urquhart's hands along private channels. It would be interesting to know this, in case it is quoted later. The statement coincides completely with my constant claim that Russia will not unleash a war before 2 railways are completed to the Black Sea and the Pruth. They are now building like mad, and borrowing money like crazy—in the past 3 years—about £47,000,000! A major part of this represents the future costs of war.

However, in the light of these negotiations, Beust appears to be the Austrian Palmerston, and here too there could be a motive that would favour a speed-up of the action.

Doesn't Eichhoff still send you the *Social-Demokrat*? It would be very important to see how Schweitzer is conducting himself at the moment in his own paper.

You will have read the article about Lassalle in the *Fortnightly*,[a] and will have seen that you are regarded therein as the real papa of Lassallean and other socialism. Who is this Ludlow? If he could be prevailed upon to write an article in the *Fortnightly* about your book,[b] this would be better than nothing after all.—Congreve's reply to Huxley is the DULLEST, most stupid and most confused thing I have ever seen[c]; if this is the supreme wisdom of the Comtists, they can let themselves to be buried without further ado.

I still must not strain my eye too much, and I feel it a little again today, since I read too much by lamplight yesterday evening; so I am closing. On Saturday[d] we received a very jolly letter from Tussy.

Best greetings to your wife and Jenny.

Your
F. E.

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[a] J. M. Ludlow, 'Ferdinand Lassalle, the German Social-Democrat', *The Fortnightly Revue*, 1 April 1869. (See this volume, p. 259.) - [b] the first volume of *Capital* - [c] R. Congreve, 'Mr. Huxley on M. Comte', *The Fortnightly Revue*, Vol. V, No. XXVIII, 1 April 1869. - [d] 10 April

# 186

## MARX TO ENGELS[174]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 15 April 1869

DEAR FRED,

Jennychen arrived safely on Wednesday.[332] During the return journey they had such fog at sea that the ship had a hair's-breadth escape from running aground.

From Wilhelm[333] the enclosed note. You will see, *d'abord*[a] his first answer to my query[84] about the 'knavish tricks' of which he accuses Schweitzer. 'Political' amongst this—only two enclosed ELECTIONEERING things. You must send them back to me, for Wilhelm asks for them back, and they appear to constitute his entire political 'evidence for the prosecution'.

Lafargue has sent me his French translation of the *Communist Manifesto* for us to revise. I am sending you the manuscript by post today. For the moment, the business is not urgent. I certainly do not want Lafargue to burn his fingers prematurely. However, if the stuff is eventually to be published in France, certain parts, such as those on German or 'True' Socialism, should be reduced to a few lines, since they are of no interest there.

To get back to the negotiations with Wilhelm. *I* write to him[84] about the conditions on which you are ready to give him the *Peasant War*.[b] *He* writes to you that *Eccarius* (who knew nothing about the matter) had informed him you would send him the stuff, and that he would *not* fulfil the conditions you laid down. He further writes to me that he has owed Eccarius 30 thaler for 2 quarters, and that *I* should advance it, since he would, 'on his word of honour', repay it at an—unspecified—date. I certainly feel no inclination towards this transaction, since I have already loaned somewhat more than this sum to my friend Dupont.

Ludlow is BARRISTER AT LAW, a leading contributor to the *Spectator*, a co-operator, devout, a determined enemy of the Comtists. He resigned publicly from our *Commonwealth* because Beesly, Harrison, etc., were contributors. He had sent me a few of his little pamphlets at an earlier date, and is a friend of Jones Lloyd or Lloyd Jones, or whatever the tailor's name is. A few days ago,

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[a] first - [b] See this volume, p. 256.

after I had seen the relevant issue of the *Fortnightly*, I sent him MY LAST AVAILABLE COPY OF *Capital*. (Note of receipt enclosure No. I.) I naturally knew he read German. At the same time, I sent him a letter in which I made a few JOKES about his article, in which he first stated that Lassalle disseminated *my principles in Germany* and then that I disseminated *Lassalle's principles in England*.[a] (Reply in No. 2.) I hope by this means still to achieve a review of my book in an English paper.[334] Ludlow is, ditto, a great admirer of Ricardo, something exceptional today, after Mill mucked everything up.

I discovered BY ACCIDENT today that we had two *Neveu de Rameau*[b] in our house, and so am sending you one. This unsurpassed masterpiece will once again give you a treat.

Referring to it, OLD Hegel said: 'The mocking laughter at existence, at the confusion of the whole and at itself, is the disintegrated consciousness, aware of itself and expressing itself, and is, at the same time, the last audible echo of all this confusion.... It is the self-disintegrating nature of all relations and their conscious disintegration... In this aspect of the return to self, the *vanity* of all *things* is the self's *own vanity*, or the self is itself vanity ... but as the indignant consciousness it is aware of its own disintegration and, by that knowledge, has immediately transcended it... Every part of this world either gets its mind [sein Geist] expressed here or is spoken of intellectually [mit Geist] and declared for what it is.—The *honest consciousness*' (the role Diderot allots himself in the dialogue) 'takes each element as a permanent entity and does not realise, in its uneducated thoughtlessness, that it is doing just the opposite. But the disintegrated consciousness is the consciousness of reversal and indeed of absolute reversal; its dominating elements is the concept, which draws together thoughts that, to the honest consciousness, lie so wide apart; hence the brilliance [geistreich] of its language. Thus, the content of the mind's speech of and about itself consists in the reversal of all conceptions and realities; the universal deception of oneself and others and the shamelessness of declaring this deception is, therefore, precisely the greatest truth... To the quiet consciousness, which in its honest way goes on singing the melody of the True and the Good in even tones, i.e., on a monotone, this speech appears as "a farrago of wisdom and madness", etc.'[c] (a passage from Diderot follows).

More amusing than Hegel's commentary is that by Mr Jules Janin, which you will find in the form of an excerpt in the postscript to the little volume. This '*cardinal de la mer*'[d] deplores the absence in Diderot's *Rameau* of the moral point, and consequently sets things in order by discovering that Rameau's entire absurdity arises from his resentment at not being a 'born *gentilhomme*'.[e] The Kotzebue-like muck he has heaped upon this cornerstone is being melodramatically presented in London.[335]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 259-60. - [b] D. Diderot, *Le neveu de Rameau*... - [c] G. W. F. Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, *Werke*, Bd. II, S. 393-97 - [d] 'cardinal of the sea' - [e] gentleman

From Diderot to Jules Janin must be what the physiologists call a regressive metamorphosis. French intellect *before* the French Revolution and *under* Louis Philippe!

I shall ask Collet about the source of Brunnow's maxim.[a] I would not be at all surprised if it were to be found in the English BLUE BOOK,[173] in an English legation letter from Athens. I found similar things from Brunnow in a 1839 BLUE BOOK about the SYRIAN-EGYPTIAN AFFAIRS.[b]

Eichhoff always sends me the Schweitzer[c] in great masses. So he must be coming soon.

Mr Thornton has written a thick book about CAPITAL AND LABOUR. I haven't seen it yet, only extracts in *The Daily News*, to the effect that capital, as a force separate from labour, will fade away in the distant future.

Take care with your eye.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 187

## ENGELS TO MARX[180]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 16 April 1869

Dear Moor,

Enclosed returned the 2 Ludlows[336] and the 2 'knavish tricks'.[d] From Wilhelm you sent only the few lines for me, not those to you to which you refer.[333] If Wilhelm can't do more than this, then it is a miracle he did not do even worse in Barmen.[318] In a few days I shall send you reports in *Zukunft* about the general assembly,[e] which

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[a] See this volume, p. 260. - [b] *Correspondence, 1839-1841, relative to the affairs of the East, and the conflict between Egypt and Turkey*, in 4 parts. - [c] *Der Social-Demokrat* - [d] See this volume, p. 263. - [e] *Die Zukunft*, Nos. 76, 79, 80 and 86; 2, 6, 7 and 14 April 1869.

appeared very late and show that the ground had already been well prepared in Schweitzer's association, and that the rebellion would have broken out even without Wilhelm.

The Ludlow correspondence very useful.

Many thanks for the *Rameau*,[a] which will give me much pleasure. At the moment I am reading almost nothing, in order finally to get my eye back on the right track; I have also cut down on my work at the office.

Wilhelm is badly mistaken if he thinks I would send him the *Peasant War*[b] on the basis of such vague promises, so he could subsequently pop up and yell that, if I did not send the sum of umpteen pounds, it would be impossible to print the final sheets. His letter is real twaddle, and his calm assumption that you should pay his fees is impudent.

Fowler, the STIPENDIARY MAGISTRATE here, who had the Fenians brought into court shackled to one another, has relinquished his post. Leaving behind his wife and 2 children, he has eloped with the wife of Milne, the CHAIRMAN OF QUARTER SESSIONS (daughter of the late Brooks, the rich BANKER, and WORTH £80,000 IN HER OWN RIGHT), who, for her part, left 5 children with her beloved husband. Great consternation amongst the philistines.

*Salut.*

Your
F. E.

This final story can only be explained etymologically; FOWLER from FOWL=Vogel.[c]

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[a] D. Diderot, *Le neveu de Rameau*... - [b] F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*. - [c] This may be an allusion to the German word 'vögeln' ('have it off with').

## 188

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, 16 April 1869]

E.=Eichhoff—B.=Borkheim.[337] I had written to Wilhelm[84] saying he should cease his malicious chatter and scribbling directed against Eichhoff, since Borkheim himself has now recognised his error. Wilhelm, of course, does not know that I know *his own* insinuations against Eichhoff from Kugelmann and OLD Becker.[a 61]

Did you receive the Lafargue manuscript?[b] It is not noted in today's letter from you.

Apropos: *Hermann* is now Stieber's official organ. Juch was forced to sell it, because of his 'diverse' creditors. In today's issue, Stieber starts right away by printing, on the first page, warrant notices, e.g., against the so-and-so Jaeger for illicit abortion of the foetus. Stieber is naturally represented here by a National-Liberal 'sub-Stieber'. I shall hunt out the carefully 'hushed-up' name.[c]

With regard to the eye: try washing it with alcohol. This helped me. To begin with it hurts a bit. For the FIRST attempt, dilute the alcohol a bit with water. That will show you how much you can stand it. Anyway, trying can't hurt.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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[a] Johann Philipp Becker - [b] See this volume, p. 262. - [c] Heinemann

## 189

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 19 April 1869

Dear Moor,

Enclosed Liebknecht returned. I wrote to him in a strictly BUSINESSLIKE[84] way about the *Peasant War*,[a] and I shall hear how he reconciles the gushing of funds for printing pamphlets with the newspapers'[b] deficit.

Lafargue's manuscript[c] is here; I have not yet been able to take a look at it, and I think he should take his exams *avant tout*.[d]

The great Thesmar from Cologne is now here, has introduced himself to Gumpert and also Borchardt under the name Themar, but has already accepted Thesmar. If you can send me the number of *Zukunft* that mentioned the warrant out against him for embezzlement, then do so; otherwise I shall have to write to Schneider.

Your
F. E.

Another curious subject[e] greeted Borchardt as 'editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*'; Borchardt himself will write to you about him.

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[a] F. Engels. *The Peasant War in Germany* (see this volume, pp. 262, 265). - [b] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - [c] See this volume, p. 262. - [d] first of all - [e] Gromier (see this volume, p. 275).

## 190

## MARX TO ENGELS[180]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 24 April 1869

DEAR FRED,

For ABOUT 12 days I have been suffering dreadfully with my old liver complaints. I am swigging the old medicine from Gumpert, but so far without success. As a result, I am completely paralysed mentally. This condition appears every spring. If I do not pass through it SAFELY, the CARBUNCLES come next. So please ask Gumpert if he knows of anything new for me. I have not smoked for a week. *Ça suffit*[a] to make clear to you my state.

It will take me a few days to get the information for Borchardt from Dupont. I cannot find the copies of *Zukunft*.

Apropos. The new 'sub-Stieber' who now edits *Hermann* is named, or calls himself, 'Dr' Heinemann, and claims to come from Manchester. Do you know anything about him?

The worthy 'Hillmann' from Elberfeld has written to me. I'll send you his letter on Monday.[b] He attacks Liebknecht on account of his renewed armistice with Schweitzer, as a result of which the fruits of victory have been lost. Hillmann the Honorable was, in 1867, the rival worker candidate to Schweitzer.[338] *Hinc illae lacrimae.*[c]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] that suffices - [b] 26 April - [c] Hence these tears (Terence, *Andria*, Act 1, Scene 1).

## 191

## ENGELS TO MARX[239]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 April 1869

Dear Moor,

Most useful for your liver would be a change of air and a change of your set habits. So do the right thing straight away: take a train immediately, and come here for a week or two. I have made myself quite a lot of spare time, and we shall be able to take vigorous walks together. Then you will be able to have Gumpert examine and treat you and, out of deference for your 'condition', you will be able to turn down invitations to 'tea'. You will then be fresh and ready for work in a short time again, to do more work in a few weeks than you can in months in your present condition. So telegraph me tomorrow to the WAREHOUSE which train you are coming on, and be here by the evening. That is the simplest and will *certainly* cure you.

Your
F. E.

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## 192

## MARX TO ENGELS[239]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 April 1869

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR THE INVITATION. But it is quite impossible for me TO LEAVE AT THIS MOMENT. My wife is coughing badly, and I am waiting that out; as soon as she can travel, she will go to Paris TO FETCH TUSSY.[332] I shall perhaps come up with the latter.

In addition there are some things to put in order in the International this week, which won't get going without me.[339]

And finally, however bad I might feel, I have to complete CERTAIN SLIPS OF PAPER, since it is always difficult to continue, not with A NEW SUBJECT, but in the middle of a certain topic.

WITH ALL THAT, if I don't get better, I shall naturally have to go away.

More tomorrow.

Your
K. M.

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## 193

## MARX TO ELEANOR MARX

### IN PARIS

[London,] 26 April 1869

My dear little Quoquo,[a]

You must really excuse my long silence. I am just head over heels immersed in work.

Now first as to your animals. Sambo has become almost inseparable from me, to make some way or other up for the absence of his supreme master. Blacky behaves always like a gentleman, but a very dull one, too. Tommy has again done everything in her power to prove the truth of the Malthus theory. Helen[b] will to-day, I suppose, murder the new offspring of that old hag. Whiskey, that great and good personage, was at first like Calipso not to be consoled, desperate at your departure. He declined the finest bones, never left your bedroom, and altogether exhibited all symptoms of the deep sufferings of a '*schöne Seele*'.[c] Still, when your name is uttered, he gets into a fit.—Dicky has turned out a very fine singer, and we both encourage our respective musical talents by mutual 'exercises'. Sometimes, how-

[a] Eleanor Marx was called in the family by a humorous nickname of Chinese Prince Quo-Quo. - [b] Demuth - [c] 'beautiful soul'

ever, when I commence whistling, Dicky treats me as Luther treated the devil—he turns his ... upon me. Jocko has come out again, but its temper is as bad as possible. Having ascertained that you are absent, it gave vent to every sort of spleen and baffled all Helen's attempts at coaxing. Another source of annoyance for Jocko, was the arrangement of the little garden—a world Jocko considered justly as its own station and domain—by the gardener. Jocko misses its little hills, caves, rents, and all that lively disorder it delighted in.

As to the other 'animals'—as they belong not to the dumb sort, but are rather of a most talkative kind, and perfectly able to account for their own doings—I shall just now not lose one syllable upon them.

On Friday evening,[a] I was at dinner at Beesley's. Besides myself, there was Crompton, a barrister, and Jung and Dupont. Jung related his own doings. He told them what '*happy* (literal!) *speeches*' he made here, and what 'cutting hits' he made there. In this world of '*Weltschmerz*',[b] discontent, and restlessness, it gladdens your heart to be acquainted with an individual that is 'happy' and, moreover, possesses not only one shirt, but Sarah and other good things into the bargain.

*The Irishman* I send you tomorrow.

Many thanks to Cacadou[c] for her letter.

Many kisses to Fouschtra.[d]

And compliments to the African.[340] It will give him great pleasure to hear—if he has not already seen from the French papers, that the first 'black' ambassador of the United States has been appointed by Grant.[341] *Adio* my little Quoquo.

Your
Old Nick

First published in Russian in *Voinstvuyuzhchy materialist*, Book 4, Moscow, 1925

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[a] 23 April - [b] weariness of life - [c] Laura Lafargue - [d] Charles Étienne Lafargue

## 194

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 May 1869

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed letter to our Belgian secretary[a] [342] will become comprehensible to you from the attached *Cigale*, the organ of the FRENCH BRANCH,[72] one analogue of which has formed itself in Brussels[b] and one (*Comité de l'avenir*[c]) in Geneva; ALL TOGETHER a few dozen men under Pyat's leadership.

My wife is still not well at all, but thinks she will be able to leave for Paris on Tuesday.

Once again it is just before Thomas, i.e., close of post. I think that tomorrow I shall at last be able to write more fully to you.

*Salut!*

Your
K. M.

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## 195

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 2 May 1869

Dear Moor,

I would have written long since if you had not left me waiting for the 'more tomorrow'.

I hope your wife is improving with the fine weather; the

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[a] Marie Bernard - [b] 'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Formation d'une nouvelle section à Bruxelles', *La Cigale*, No. 16, 18 April 1869. - [c] Committee of the Future

journey will scarcely do her any harm; a change of air generally has a very favourable effect upon such coughs resulting from irritation of the larynx.

You can imagine the jubilation awakened here by the news that you would bring Tussy with you, YOU ARE NOW IN FOR IT and must bring her with you whatever happens. And if she can only come a few days *after* you, that doesn't matter, we could meet her at the station. You might come rather earlier for health reasons. You do not write how you are doing; if I were in your shoes, I would put everything aside and come here, the sooner the better; why let the business become chronic and torment you for so long when the cure is at hand any day.

Your
F. E.

Best greetings to your wife and Jenny.
The *Cigale* did not arrive.

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## 196

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 May 1869

Dear Moor,

Your liver must be raging, since we neither see nor hear anything of you. How are things, and when are you coming? And is your wife well again?

No answer from Wilhelm.[a] I wrote to him in a BUSINESSLIKE manner to stop him indulging in any more dodges. If he does not reply soon, we shall have to see to it that Eichhoff prints the stuff.[b] He, i.e., W.,[c] apparently doesn't give any sign of life either.

A few numbers of *Zukunft* by post today, and enclosed the Belgian

[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [b] F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*; see also this volume, p. 262. - [c] Wilhelm Eichhoff

letter,[a] returned with thanks. It is curious how, everywhere on the Continent, the people, relying on the International, simply launch strikes, and apparently have not the faintest intention of filling the general war-chest.

Tomorrow will, I hope, finally be that more lively 'tomorrow' when you will 'at last' get down to letting us have more news of you.[b]

In the debate on the trade regulations[324] Wilhelm played a quite deplorable role. All the motions came either from Schweitzer or from Bebel, and Wilhelm wisely kept his mouth shut, since positive knowledge was called for in this case. Schweitzer was also a treat when he tried to prove that the ban on Sunday work=increased consumption by the worker=wage rise.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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## 197

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 May 1869

Dear Fred,

In the main you had the right explanation for my obstinate silence: it came *from the liver*. However, there were several other additional INCIDENTS. *D'abord*,[c] my wife was very unwell. As soon as the business had got a bit better, last Tuesday,[d] she went to Paris, but arrived there quite benumbed. Paris has adopted the unmannerly custom of conforming to the London weather. When it rains here, it does there too, etc. Second, Eichhoff[e] arrived here, and is still here. And he arrived with a trio, a Berlin engineer, ditto

[a] See this volume, p. 272. - [b] Ibid., pp. 272-73. - [c] Above all - [d] 4 May - [e] Wilhelm Eichhoff

merchant, and ditto banker. Their task here, and it seems to be succeeding, is to find names for the prospectus of a bank in East Prussia, which has already received a concession. Finally, there were the *massacres belges*.[343] After addresses had streamed in from all quarters, as you will see from the enclosed papers, it finally became necessary for the *CENTRAL COUNCIL*[73] to speak on this really important issue. I was appointed to edit the ADDRESS.[a] If I had refused, the business would have fallen into the hands of Eccarius, who would be a square peg in a round hole for a vital document like this. So I accepted. In view of the present state of my liver, it was very awkward to do it in English—since such things call for a certain rhetorical style—but then, in addition, the agony afterwards TO DO THIS IN FRENCH! But necessity knows no law, and I DID IT IN FRENCH. To start with, I wanted to send the thing to the Belgians in the original English, but our Belgian secretary Bernard (French by birth) declared to the assembled *patres conscripti*[b] (last Tuesday[c]) that it would be better to abandon the project altogether if the translation was going to be left to the Belgians, who only half knew English and absolutely no French. So I HAD TO GIVE WAY. You will be able to enjoy the thing in both languages. However, I left the German translation, which does not interest me, to Mr Eccarius, who also has a monetary interest.[344]

But writing French, with or without liver, is dead easy if you give the public the sort of French used by Mr Urquhart in the *Diplomatic Review* which is travelling to you today. Astonishing double Dutch—even the original sample given by the *grand* and *illustre* Gaudissart[d] was nothing compared to this!

After my wife left I would have been able to come to your place right away; and I would certainly have gained time by restoring the proper operation of this damnable sack of flesh earlier. But Jennychen was looking forward to my wife's short absence in Paris, to have me entirely at her disposition and be able to let herself go. So I stay here! Apropos Jennychen, she claims that you know everything, and therefore wants to know from you: WHY DID MR 'EXCELSIOR',[e] OF THE ALPINE CLUB, NOT MARRY 'LADY CLARA VERE DE VERE'[f]?

About the FRENCHY[g]—Borchardt had his daughter II ask me

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[a] K. Marx, 'The Belgian Massacres'. - [b] members of the General Council (originally collective title of Roman senators) - [c] 4 May - [d] Sigismund Borkheim - [e] the main character of Henry Longfellow's poem 'Excelsior' - [f] the main character of Alfred Tennyson's poem by the same name - [g] M. Gromier. See also this volume, p. 267.

about him[345]—I have only learned after a considerable waste of time that he is a *lumpacius vagabundus*,[a] who, however, held a SUBORDINATE post on the *Glowworm*, a very SUBORDINATE lousy sheet. Communicate this to the doctorly priest or the priestly doctor.

Don't forget to report to me on that Dr Heinemann OF Manchester, the sub-Stieber on *Hermann*.

AS TO Wilhelm[b]: Eichhoff brought Eccarius a gratification of £10 (I believe Eichhoff paid it out of *his own* private pocket) for 'my Mill', but told me, in confidence, that 'my Mill'[346] had been printed but now lay firmly aground with the Leipzig printer,[c] who demanded exactly *double* the printing costs stated by Mr Wilhelm. Your steps were, therefore, prophetically correct. Meissner wrote to me more than a fortnight ago that he would start,[347] but NOTHING OF THE SORT! This is really too much.

According to Eichhoff's report, credit swindling and the FINANCING game are at present so dominant in Germany that everything else is absorbed by them, as far as the upper classes are concerned. As for the workers in Berlin, he declares they are the most contemptible specimens in the whole of Germany. Even the imported ones are soon totally corrupted by the city's atmosphere, and the 'low-priced' minor amusements. Bismarck, Duncker, Schulze-Delitzsch and Dr Max Hirsch compete for ascendancy in this sphere.

The old Hatzfeldt's Scurvy-Mende used to be an itinerant improviser and declaimer, a brute who belongs through and through to the lumpenproletariat.

Hasenclever has allowed himself to be captured by Schweitzer. Eichhoff praises Bebel greatly.

Harney—today under-secretary or SOMETHING OF THE SORT in the HOME DEPARTMENT of the COMMONWEALTH OF Massachusetts (they still say officially 'COMMONWEALTH' and not 'REPUBLIC')—in Boston, has sent £1 membership fee to the INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL,[d] ditto a letter in which he asks after you very affectionately. Ditto, he says I should send him A COPY OF *Capital*. He hopes to find a translator and publisher in New York.

A Frenchman who has translated various volumes of Hegel and Kant has written to Lafargue stating that he wants to Frenchify the book,[e] but—and what a visionary idea—for an honorarium of £60, for which sum he will also provide the bookseller.

The *International*, the Bonapartist organ here, had the impu-

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[a] a vagabond rascal - [b] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [c] Otto Wigand - [d] the General Council - [e] the first volume of *Capital*

dence to state that the GENERAL COUNCIL of the '*Internationale*' no longer presides in London; that the leadership has now passed into the hands '*d'un personage très haut placé*'[a] in Paris.[b]

For the subscription list for the Belgians it would be very good if you could also send us *SOMETHING* from Manchester, and quickly.

Apropos. In the report on the EMPLOYMENT of AGRICULTURAL CHILDREN (only 2 volumes out yet, Report I and EVIDENCE), the COMMISSIONERS, in their preliminary resumé, present a variety of facts about the expropriation of the workers from common land, quite in my sense.

My best greetings to MRS LIZZY, KING COLE or COAL,[c] and JOLLYMAYER.[d]

Your
Moor

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## 198

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

[Manchester, 10 May 1869]

Dear Moor,

Letter and 2 consignments received. Best thanks. Enclosed with speed for tomorrow's meeting £1 in STAMPS from us here for your Belgian subscription. The Irish pamphlet caused a great sensation here. Ask Eichhoff if he can get the *Peasant War*[e] printed by his brother.[f] Meissner is obviously frightened.

Here we are in a lovely industrial crisis, and despite the SHORT TIME, too much is still being produced. The only means the manufacturers have of agreeing among themselves on SHORT TIME and a shutdown is—a STRIKE by the workers. They have been working towards this in a planned way for 2 months now. The one

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[a] of a very high-ranking person - [b] 'Berlin', *L'International*, 22 April 1869 (in the column *Dernières nouvelles*). - [c] Samuel Moore - [d] Carl Schorlemmer - [e] F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*. - [f] Albert Eichhoff

in Preston[a] was the first attempt, now followed by the 5% wage reduction in East Lancashire.[326] If the workers accept this, it will be followed by a new one, and so on, *until they strike*, for this is the sole aim. The honest Watts did not even mention this type of strike in his pamphlet,[b] *et pour cause*.[c]

When will you be coming?

Your
F. E.

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## 199

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[29]

### IN HANOVER

London, 11 May 1869

Dear Kugelmann,

You must excuse my PROTRACTED SILENCE. First, I suffered for many weeks from the *liver complaint* that always afflicts me in the months of spring, which is all the more vexatious since it lays me almost completely fallow for intellectual work. Second, I was waiting impatiently from day to day for the photogram you want, which Mr Fehrenbach, a German clot, has still not delivered.[d]

My wife and my youngest daughter[e] are, at the moment, on a visit to the Lafargues in Paris, so we are very lonely here.

The Palmerston PAMPHLETS (mine)[f] I could not find for you with the best will in the world. Urquhart's PUBLICATIONS against Russia and Palmerston,[348] though they contain a good deal that is correct, spoil everything again because of the CROTCHETS of the great 'David'.[g]

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[a] See this volume, p. 257. - [b] J. Watts, *Trade Societies and Strikes*. - [c] and for good reasons - [d] See this volume, pp. 213 and 231. - [e] Eleanor Marx - [f] K. Marx, *Lord Palmerston*. - [g] an ironic allusion to David Urquhart

Your article sent to Engels.[a] As we are completely isolated from the RESPECTABLE PRESS, it will be difficult for us to act for you in this field, BUT WE SHALL TRY.

I intend to descend on you ABOUT the end of August with my daughter,[b] and to lodge with you until the end of September wherever you want in Germany[349]; even at the risk of suspending the completion of my manuscript.[c] No longer period is, of course, at my disposal.

I have read your letter to Borkheim. You note quite rightly that the St Bartholomew chatter about the BELGIAN MASSACRES WILL NOT DO. Yet you, for your part, overlook the importance and particular meaning of these events. Belgium, you should know, is the sole country where sabres and muskets *regularly*, year in, year out, have the last word in every STRIKE.[350] The matter is made clear in an address of the GENERAL COUNCIL here, which I have written in French and English.[d] It should be printed (in English) by tomorrow. I shall send it to you immediately.

In addition, I have just written an English address for the GENERAL COUNCIL of the International Association here to the NATIONAL LABOR UNION in the UNITED STATES[e] regarding the war with England,[351] which the bourgeois Republicans over there want to stage JUST now.

Mr Meissner has had the (printed and corrected) manuscript of the *18th Brumaire* since the end of January, but to date he has repeatedly delayed publication. This is pleasant too! He is waiting until the time for a possible effect has passed, for stupid bookselling reasons.

With best wishes to your dear wife and Fränzchen.

Yours
K. Marx

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[a] See this volume, p. 314. - [b] Jenny Marx - [c] the second volume of *Capital* - [d] K. Marx, 'The Belgian Massacres'. - [e] K. Marx, 'Address to the National Labour Union of the United States'.

## 200

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

### IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

Manchester, 13 May 1869

Dear Hermann,

My best congratulations on the increase in the family, which pleases me all the more since this finally breaks the spell that caused you so much concern. YOU WILL NOW HAVE TO MAKE UP FOR LOST TIME.

The current account is so far correct, but I cannot calculate how interest at 5% on 27,924.29.4 thalers should come to 1,396.25.5 instead of 1,396.7.6 thalers. But since this does not amount to more than a bottle of moselle wine it is not worth altering much.

Not a step further contractually with Gottfried.[a] The lawyers are protracting the matter excessively; my lawyer advises me not to hurry, since Gottfried has more interest in coming to a conclusion than I have, which I believe too, because as soon as I have my money I can, if the worst came to the worst, always start up a business again and compete with him; to do this I don't need to start by collecting lots of samples and notes; I've got all that in my head. In the meantime, I have already taken the greater part of my money out of the business and invested in shares, and this in such a way that he himself is now short of money, and I have purchased shares from him for about £2,400; at first he encouraged me to draw funds liberally, but he got out of his depth when I drew about £7,500, and so he had to sell me these shares himself, as he held just the sort I needed.

I am very sorry that I was so deceived by the business with the reform of weights[352] at your end. I thought that such a measure would not be introduced if it were not to be carried out *absolutely* and be made valid for *all*. This, however, would have meant completely excluding yourselves from the market outside Germany, and I concluded that you were not very interested in business outside Germany. Had this not been the case, I would, as I mentioned to Adolf[b] 2 years ago, and to mother last year, have

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[a] Gottfried Ermen - [b] Adolf von Griesheim

first asked you whether you would like to go into business outside Germany, and if so, to what extent we could come to an arrangement. But I had to assume the contrary, and therefore arranged my business with G. Ermen, and now, after this was arranged, mother writes to me that you have made this weight reform for Germany *only*. In this case I, in your place, would not have done it at all, since in Holland, Switzerland, Austria, Italy, etc., they want anything except dutiable weight, and when you expand your business outside Germany you will have just as much trouble and entanglement as before.

Mother writes to me that 4,000 thalers were credited to me there on 1 April. This will have reduced my account to about 17,000 thalers, which will be further reduced by the COPS, which have been bought cheap and will soon be ready. This I shall remit to you *in thalers* at the beginning of July, since it is high time that I also finally profited from the rate of exchange. If you would prefer STERLING, that's all right too, providing we share equally, you half and I half, the whole rate-of-exchange profit you have made since 1860 on my remittances, and also the 35-38% discount you stuck on me then.

Regarding the COPS, there can be no question of obtaining them directly from the spinners, since these people don't know anything, and don't *want* to know anything, about forwarding and advices. You will have to pay the $1\frac{1}{2}$% brokerage of some commission house, which will be well worth while, as differences of quality arise at the spinners, of which you know nothing, etc. For instance, for years I purchased the 45 from Samuel Taylor & Son in Oldham, but now suddenly the same yarn from John Wagstaffe & Co. in Stalybridge, which you and we used to utilise, has suddenly become much cheaper, so I am buying it again. The 55s and finer yarns are all from John Knowles in Bolton (formerly J. & G. Knowles), and you will have to stick to this yarn, or to that of his brother G. Knowles & Son, Bolton. Will you select a commission agent or shall I suggest one? As soon as you have chosen one, I can explain everything to the man, face to face. Incidentally, I always had the name of the spinners placed on the invoices.

Among my papers I found the original contract with Peter Ermen of 1862, and wanted to send it to you; but I discover that it is the one dealing only with the business *here*, so it would be of no use to you. So I shall keep it here, but if you should ever need it, you now know where it is. The arrangement about *there* you have there.

G. Ermen said recently to his nephew Heinrich[a]: 'There is really nothing to be done with Anton,[b] his head is completely worn out.' I calculate that the fellow has damaged us here, directly and indirectly, to the tune of between £1,000 and £2,000 per year.

Heartiest greetings to Emma and the little ones; the same to mother.

Your
Friedrich

The COPS cost $\frac{45}{16\,^3/_4}$, $\frac{55}{21\,^3/_4\text{d.}}$

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## 201

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 MAY 1869

DEAR FRED,

My wife will come back only sometime next week, so I cannot be in Manchester AT THE OPPORTUNE TIME.

Eichhoff left yesterday. His proposal—*quant à*[c] the *Peasant War*—is that his brother[d] should publish the stuff and that he pay out the balance ON BEHALF of the 'International' at the next Book Fair, after subtracting his commission and costs.[e] He says: as far as his brother is concerned, you may regard the proposal as *definitive.*

With regard to *Herr Vogt*: When Liebknecht was arrested in Berlin, he left everything in confusion and, ditto, he did not clear up at the time of his EXPULSION. So 'he cannot remember' what happened to *Vogt.*[f] Eichhoff finally discovered that a second-hand bookseller had been advertising the book for 2 years in his sales catalogue. He visited the fellow, named Kampfmeyer. He had sold them all, and 'ditto cannot remember' *how* the books came into his hands. So everything Liebknecht told *us* was—fiction, to put it mildly.

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[a] Henry Ermen - [b] Anton Ermen - [c] regarding - [d] Albert Eichhoff - [e] See this volume, pp. 211 and 237. - [f] Ibid., pp. 106, 142, 189.

The press here is lousy. First, they have suppressed like *one* man every word of our *Belgian* MISSIVE[a] (after deliberately publishing last week some stupid lines in the sense of Cherval, probably written by the '*police member*' of the Brussels special committee); and not only that, they have ditto like *one* man suppressed our Address to the AMERICAN LABOR UNION[b] (written by me, approved last Tuesday[c]), although this is *against* war between the UNITED STATES and England.[351] But there are things in it that these blackguards do not like.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 202

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 19 May 1869

Dear Moor,

I must congratulate you on not having come here last week in this lousy weather. But this time you should really come.

About the *Peasant War* when we meet.

The address about Belgium is very good, and that for the Americans even better.[d] I saw them in the *Bee-Hive.*

Please bring with you the two numbers of the Prussian General Staff Report of 1866;[e] I must compare them with the Austrian ones,[f] which show up some pretty Prussian exaggerations.

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[a] K. Marx, 'The Belgian Massacres'. - [b] K. Marx, 'Address to the National Labour Union of the United States'. - [c] 11 May - [d] K. Marx. 'The Belgian Massacres' and 'Address to the National Labour Union of the United States'. - [e] *Der Feldzug von 1866 in Deutschland.* Redigirt von der kriegsgeschichtlichen Abtheilung des Großen Generalstabes; *Der Feldzug der preußischen Main-Armee im Sommer 1866.* - [f] *Österreichs Kämpfe im Jahre 1866.* Nach Feldacten bearbeitet durch das k. k. Generalstabs-Bureau für Kriegsgeschichte, Bd. I-V.

Let me know as soon as possible when you will be coming. Your liver must have got somewhat better in the meantime.

Close of post.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

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## 203

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 May 1869

Dear Fred,

Tussy and my wife returned from Paris on Wednesday,[a] and I intended to come to Manchester with Tussy tomorrow. In the meantime, this has been made impossible by an economic obstacle.

The various Paris journeys by Jenny, Tussy and Madame, and the purchases connected therewith, have naturally entailed extra expenditure for me. Second, there were borrowings to a sum of £14, which I absolutely could not avoid, by an unhappy coincidence of circumstances. Dupont, the soundest of the people here, has not only *chômage*,[b] but his wife is hopelessly ill. He is such a discreet man that he borrows from nobody, except in extreme need, and he is so conscientious that he always pays back. So I loaned him £6. Then along came Lessner, put into difficult circumstances by his wife's long and finally fatal illness. I could deny him all the less since I was myself his debtor for a long time. Thus £5. Finally the worthy Liebknecht (after writing to me *in vain* on the subject) writes to Eccarius himself, asking him to approach me for an advance. I told Eccarius that I had already turned Wilhelm down. But Eccarius wailed—and this is a fact—that he would be turned out of the house if I did not advance him at least £2 for rent owing. I thus did this, but at the same time wrote to Wilhelm that he should return it to me. So £14

[a] 19 May - [b] unemployment

OUT OF POCKET. All this left me with £15 lying *in petto.* But then, yesterday, A CERTAIN Drengler (*nomen omen*[a]) arrived from the City with a letter from Mr Zitschke in New York, who *13 years ago* loaned me £15, and then suddenly disappeared from London because of embezzlement (he dispatched emigrants to New York). TURNS NOW UP AGAIN with the old loan, which I had thought settled by his defection with the cash. I had to deal with the matter all the more because, in the meantime, he has become friendly with Mr Heinzen; in the event of a refusal to pay, he would have been able to 'Pioneer me out'.[b] Thus cleaned out.

Fox has died in Vienna after a 5-day pulmonary disease. His family left in poverty. Letters on this have reached me from Vienna. Fox's mother (Peter Fox *nom de plume*,[c] real name Peter Fox André) is a rich woman, who, however, left him completely in the lurch, partly because he married her abigail (now old), and partly because of his atheism. I have now approached her, *threatening* that if she does not give something, public collections will be held for her son in London.

Meissner sent me, 1 week ago, the 1st sheet of the *18th Brumaire*, and wrote that things should now go 'quickly'. But sheet 2 is not here yet. He appears to be dragging the matter out as long as possible.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] The name says it (the name *Drengler* derives from the German verb *drängen*—to press). - [b] Marx refers to the possibility of this material being published in Heinzen's newspaper *Pioneer*. - [c] literary pseudonym

## 204

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 23 May 1869

Dear Moor,

Enclosed the promised first halves of 3 fivers, the other halves follow in a letter I shall put in the letter-box after close of post, which will thus arrive by the next post. Be so good as to let me know which train you will be coming on on Tuesday,[353] so I can pick you up.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| From | Euston Square | leaves | 9 | arrives | 2 | o'clock |
| | | " | 10 | " | 3 | " |
| | | " | 12 | " | 5.35 | " |
| " | King's Cross Great Northern | | | | | |
| | | " | 10 | " | 3.10 | " |
| | | " | 12 | " | 6 | " |
| " | St. Pancras, Midland | " | 9 | " | 2.40 | " |
| | | " | 10 | " | 3 | " |

I hope you arrive at the latest by 3 pm, so we can still dine together. The weather has already changed and is nice and warm, and instead of sitting by the fire I am sitting with the window open for the first time today.

Best greetings to your wife and the girls.

Your
F. E.

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## 205

## MARX TO P. LE NEVE FOSTER, ESQ.[354]

Manchester,[355] 28 May 1869

I have to thank You for your letter offering me to be proposed as a member of the Society of Art[356] and beg to say in reply that I shall feel obliged if You will be kind enough to do so at an early opportunity.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant

Karl Marx[357]

First published in *The Royal Society of Arts Journal*, Vol. CXXIX, No. 5296-5297, London, March 1981

Reproduced from a photocopy of the original

## 206

## MARX TO PAUL LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

Manchester, 2 June 1869

My dear Paul,

You can, of course, *dispose of my name as you like.* Still, there are some objections. In the first instance, what you want, is work which, for the present, I am unable to perform, while Engels still suffers from an inflammation of the eyes which for some time is sure to debar him from writing. Of course, if a very urgent question arose, we should address ourselves to the *Renaissance,*[283] but this could be done without my name figuring amongst the *rédacteurs.* A merely nominal co-editorship would prove of no possible avail. However, my most serious objection is of an exclusively private nature, and I leave it to your discretion to decide the case. The intended paper will probably involve you and your friends in judicial conflicts with the government, and your father,[a] becoming sooner or later aware of my name figuring among

[a] François Lafargue

the *rédacteurs* of that paper, would be likely to draw the conclusion that I had pushed you to premature political action, and prevented you from taking the steps necessary (and which I am continuously urging you to take[a]) to pass your medical examinations and establish you professionally. He would justly consider such presumed influence on my part as running counter to our express mutual engagement.

As to the misgivings of Le Petit,[b] they are altogether unfounded. To make ready for an invasion of France, Prussia would, *under the most favourable circumstances*, want instead of 8 days at least one month. But the circumstances are now anything but favourable to her. There exists, in point of fact, *no German unity*. It could only be founded by a German Revolution, sweeping away the Prussian dynasty, which was, is, and must always be, the man-servant of the Muscovite. It is only by the overthrow of 'Prussia' that Germany can become really centralised.

Prussia has not merged into Germany. It has, on the contrary, conquered a part of Germany, and treats it—the directly annexed provinces as well as those pressed into the Northern German Confederation—as a conquered land. Hence the greatest disaffection prevails in her new acquisitions. In case of an *offensive* (*not defensive*) war against France, Prussia would be forced to employ a large part of its army for the purpose of keeping down these provinces, the more dangerous since her means of communication with France, such as railways, telegraphs etc. run through them, and the Prussian lines of retreat from the Rhine pass through them. As to the military contingents raised from Hanover, Schleswig-Holstein, Saxony, Kurhessen, Nassau etc., they could not be relied upon, and would prove a source of weakness instead of strength.

Apart from these provinces, either directly annexed or pressed into the Northern German Confederation, there is *Southern Germany* (Baden, Württemberg, Bavaria, Hessen-Darmstadt) numbering 9 millions. Here the popular masses are Anti-Prussian to the core. In case of a war against France, Prussia would, therefore, have to detach another part of her army in order to make sure of that part of Southern Germany which, on a long-stretched line, borders upon France.

And last, not least, Prussia would be bound to concentrate a strong army of observation against Austria. Do not forget that the Hapsburg Dynasty is sorely smarting under the recent humilia-

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[a] See this volume, pp. 224-25.- [b] Louis Auguste Blanqui

tions and losses[358] inflicted upon it by the Prussian upstart.[a] Admit even *the quite absurd hypothesis*, that the Hapsburg Dynasty was ready to condone for the past, it would still be unable to support Prussia. The Austrian Emperor[b] has no longer any control over international affairs. The Hungarian diet has now to decide, and it would decide for France against Prussia. So would the Vienna diet. Thus, however friendly the apparent attitude of the Vienna Cabinet might be, Prussia could and would not rely upon it, but find herself always obliged to detach a strong army of observation against the army which Austria would be sure to concentrate in Bohemia.

Hence you see *de prime abord*,[c] that of the seemingly formidable military power of Prussia a very large part would not be available against France, but, on the contrary, would have to be frittered away in different directions.

Prussia would have no ally except Russia who is not able to dispose of her army on a *sudden emergency*. Before her contingents had been mobilised and had entered Prussia the whole campaign would have been decided.

The very idea that Prussia, under such circumstances, would venture *single-handed*, as she must do, upon an invasion of France, and revolutionary France too, is incorrect.

I have till now considered only the strictly military and diplomatic aspect of the question but there is not the least doubt that in case of a Revolution in France, Prussia would have to act now as in 1848. Instead of throwing her forces abroad, she would be forced to absorb them in *expeditions à l'intérieur*.

If, in 1848, the movement in Germany paralysed the Prussian Government, what would the case be now, when the popular masses in Prussia and the other parts of Germany, are much more developed, and, simultaneously, the Prussian government as well as the other German governments have ceased to be absolute and been weakened by the trammels of a mock constitutionalism?

As to the German working classes, they are, in my opinion, better organised than the French ones. Their ideas are more *international* than in any other country. Their *atheism* is more pronounced than in any other country. Their predilection for France, is general.

Prussia can *do nothing* in case of a French Revolution. (One working men's representative *in the North German Diet*[d] recently *threatened them* with the approach of a French Revolution.[359]) Only

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[a] Bismarck - [b] Francis Joseph I - [c] at first sight - [d] Johann Baptist von Schweitzer

in the case of an *Imperial Invasion of 'Fatherland'*, Prussia could become a dangerous antagonist of France.

*Addio.*

Old Nick

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## 207

## MARX TO HIS DAUGHTER JENNY[360]

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 2 June 1869

My dear Emperor,

The thing under the arm was no carbuncle, but another sort of abscess, which bothered me much but, since yesterday, is quickly healing. It was a fortune I was at Manchester. Otherwise, it might have turned out a troublesome affair. I am now quite in good health.

I hope to be with you in the course of next week. Tussy will probably somewhat prolong her stay at Manchester.[353] After the restraint at Paris,[361] she feels here quite at her ease like a new-fledged bird.

I hope Lessner's departure to Brazil is not yet definitively decided upon. I regret very much being not able to do something for him. With your usual kindness you seem to have sacrificed yourself in the interminable tête-à-tête of Sunday last. As to Lafargue's paper,[283] I feel rather uneasy. On the one hand, I should like to oblige Blanqui. On the other hand, my other occupations will not allow me to do much for them, but, above all things, I fear lest *old* Lafargue[a] should suspect me to push his son to premature political action and make him neglect his professional duties.[b] As it is, he has not much reason to delight in his connexion with the Marx family.

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[a] François Lafargue - [b] See this volume, pp. 287-88.

And now, dear By-Bye, good-by and my compliments to all.
Your retainer
Old Nick

First published, in English, in *Annali dell'Istituto G. G. Feltrinelli*, an. 1, Milano, 1958

Reproduced from the *Annali*

## 208

## MARX TO HIS DAUGHTER JENNY

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 June 1869

My dear child,

I was firmly resolved to leave Manchester yesterday. But on the pretext, that, during the first week of my stay, I had been an invalid, Engels insisted so much upon my remaining here till Monday next, that I had to give way.[353] He is really too kind towards me to seriously oppose such a whim on his part.

On our three days' trip to the Devonshire Arms, near the Bolton Abbey, I made the acquaintance of a most strange fellow, Mr Dakyns, a geologist, who lives transitorily in that part of Yorkshire in order to make a geological survey. *En passant*, you ought to know that a geological map is taken up of all England, under the orders of government, and under the leadership of Professor Ramsay, of Jermyn street. Moore is himself a geologist. By him Engels and Schorlemmer became acquainted with Dakyns who lives in a farmer house, in midst of a Yorkshire wilderness. That farmer's house was also an old abbey, and the lower part of it still serves as a chapel. It was to see Dakyns that we set out for that part of the world. Dakyns looks much like a German peasant of stunted side, with a face always grinning a broad smile, something monkeyish in the formation of his head, nothing British about him save the protruding upper set of teeth which reminded me of the late Mrs Seiler. His dress is about that of a slovenly and '*under*dressed' farm servant, of utmost negligence. Cravat and such paraphernalia of civilisation he is a stranger to. The first impression he makes upon you is that of a

boorish clown whose good heart leaps through his eyes and grins on his lips, but you would give him no credit for intellect. Still, this is a highly scientific man, even an enthusiast for his science and whose name begins already to pierce through a big valley of rivals. He is naive like a child; without the least pretention always ready to communicate his scientific discoveries to the first comer wanting to pump him out. There is in fact always a couple of other geological surveyors swarming to and from him for the express purpose to beat money out of him, or fame, by appropriating his researches. In fact, we found him in the company of two such fellows, one of whom, named Ward, was a timid youth and the other, named Green, a bold, pushing man. We had a dinner on his farm—on Sunday last—in the room directly lying over the chapel. The room had evidently formerly served as an assembly room of the monks, big walled (*ich meine, mit dicken Mauern umgeben*[a]), with a look out to magnificent trees, and to an amphitheatrical group of mountains, the one overtopping the other, and wrapt in that blue veil Currer Bell[b] is so delighted with. During the very merry, and in spite of its rusticity comfortable dinner, the singsong of the youth in the chapel, coming from the depth, intercepted by the big walls, and sounding as from a far-away place, reminded me somewhat of the Christian Song in *Faust.*[c]

Well, our friend Dakyns is a sort of Felix Holt,[d] less the affectation of that man, and plus the knowledge (by the by, the Tories here say 'Felix Holt, the rascal', instead of the 'radical'). He invites once a week the factory lads, treats them to beer and tobacco, and chats with them on social questions. He is a '*naturwüchsiger*'[e] communist. I could of course not forbear making a little fun of him and warning him to fight shy of any meeting with Mrs Eliot who would at once lay hold of him and make literary property out of him. He had already written to Moore that he wanted to enter the International. So I brought him a card and he made a donation, as his entrance fee, of 10 sh., which is a sum for him. These men get only 150 £ a year, and have very hard work, mentally and bodily. The Government could not afford to get these men at such a price, if it was a mere matter of competition, but most of them are full of 'geological'

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[a] I mean, surrounded by thick walls - [b] pseudonym of Charlotte Brontë - [c] Apparently the reference is to the angels' chorus in Gounod's opera *Faust.* - [d] the main character of George Eliot's novel *Felix Holt, the Radical* - [e] natural

zeal and improve this opportunity afforded them of making researches. They are provided with cards which bind every landowner, farmer and so forth, to allow them to walk over their estates, and farms and look into the formation of the soil. Dakyns, who has a good deal of farcical humour about himself, often enters into a farm, takes out his instruments, and sets at working, when the farmer comes up, growls at the impudent intruder, and bids him to pack himself off, lest he want to become acquainted with the teeth of his dog or the momentum of his flail. Dakyns affects not to mind him, proceeds in his business, and provokes the boor by some bad jokes. When the comedy has been approaching to a certain climax, he pulls out his card, and the cerberus is softened. During our stay he gave me to read in the nick of time the last number of *The Fortnightly Review*—an article of Huxley[a] where he merrily thrashes old Congreve. Dakyns is also a declared enemy of the Comtists or Positivists. He is of my opinion that there is nothing positive about them except their arrogance. As to my friend Beesly, he mentioned him amongst the 'doctrinaires' who mistake their fanciful crotchets for science.—In the same number of the *Fortnightly* is the second article of Mill[b] on Thornton's Capital and Labour. I saw from the criticism that both are equally small fry.—Dakyns is a neighbour of ours. That is to say, he lives at Kilburn (when in London) with his father, a lawyer.

Yesterday evening I had the unavoidable tea at the Gumperts. Mrs Gumpert has been much affected by the teeth of time. I have never before witnessed a more rapid change. The hypocrisy of a Greek nose has given way to the true Jewish type, everything about her looks rather shrivelled and dried up, and the voice has that guttural sound which the selected people is to some degree cursed with. Speaking of the disagreeableness to be in an omnibus, or at public firework, or in the theatre even near to the pit—all this because of the bad smells of the vile multitude, she said: 'I like the clean million, but not the dirty million'. I affected to have understood, clear million, and said that it was a very common predilection with mankind to prefer a clear million of pounds sterling to any million of men, whether washed or unwashed.

And now my dear child *addio*. Give my best wishes to all. On

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[a] T. H. Huxley, 'The Scientific Aspects of Positivism', *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. V, No. XXX, 1 June 1869. - [b] J. S. Mill, 'Thornton on Labour and its Claims', Part II, *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. V, No. XXX, 1 June 1869.

Monday[a] I shall positively leave. As to Tussy, she looks quite blooming, and a little longer stay at Manchester will do her good.

Yours
Old Nick

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## 209

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 June 1869

DEAR FRED,

Arrived safely the day before yesterday[a] after 5 hours rail travel. From Manchester (by the railway line on which I travelled) you have to take a ticket to *KENTISH TOWN STATION*. Then you are near my house. St. Pancras is one station further, more in the town.

Was in the International yesterday evening. Letter from Paris. 3-4 of our people (Murat, Varlin, etc.) arrested. They write that the GAMINERIES, DEVASTATION of the *kiosques*, etc., were carried out *by police agents*, who were allowed to do what they liked; then bystanders were attacked. The aim was to produce something 'bloody'.

Your trunk will be sent back today. You will find in it a wallet of yours that travelled with me, while a notebook of mine remained in Manchester.

Best greetings to all.

Your
Moor

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[a] 14 June

# 210

## ENGELS TO MARX[180]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 June 1869

Dear Moor,

I don't know whether you have such fine weather there as we have here, but daylight has been so exhausted that, on the longest day, we had to turn the gas on at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. And it is devilish to read or write when you don't know whether it is day or night.

Tussy is very jolly. This morning the whole family went SHOPPING; tomorrow evening they want to go to the theatre. She has read right through *Hermann und Dorothea*,[a] not without difficulty because of the idyllic philistines' twaddle. Now I have given her the younger *Edda*, which contains several nice stories; then she can read from the elder one[362] the songs of Sigurd and Gudrun. She also plays the piano sedulously. I have also read Danish *Kjämpeviser*[b] with her.

So that is Wilhelm's entire success: that the male-female line and the all-female line of the Lassalleans have united![363] He really has achieved something there. Schweitzer will naturally be re-elected—in view of the precipitacy with which the business has been conducted—and then he will, once again, be the chosen one of general suffrage. Wilhelm is also preserving an obstinate silence about this event.

The *Urning*[c] you sent me is a very curious thing. These are extremely unnatural revelations. The paederasts are beginning to count themselves, and discover that they are a power in the state. Only organisation was lacking, but according to this source it apparently already exists in secret. And since they have such important men in all the old parties and even in the new ones, from Rösing to Schweitzer, they cannot fail to triumph. *Guerre aux cons, paix aus trous-de cul*[d] will now be the slogan. It is a bit of luck that we, personally, are too old to have to fear that, when this party wins, we shall have to pay physical tribute to the victors. But

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[a] by Goethe - [b] epics - [c] K. H. Ulrichs, '*Argonauticus*'. *Zastrow und die Urninge des pietistischen, ultramontanen und freidenkenden Lagers.* - [d] War on the cunts, peace to the arse-holes

the younger generation! Incidentally it is only in Germany that a fellow like this can possibly come forward, convert this smut into a theory, and offer the invitation: *introite*,[a] etc. Unfortunately, he has not yet got up the courage to acknowledge publicly that he is 'that way', and must still operate *coram publico* 'from the front', if not 'going in from the front' as he once said by mistake. But just wait until the new North German Penal Code recognises the *droits du cul*[b]; then he will operate quite differently. Then things will go badly enough for poor frontside people like us, with our childish penchant for females. If Schweitzer could be made useful for anything, it would be to wheedle out of this peculiar honourable gentleman the particulars of the paederasts in high and top places, which would certainly not be difficult for him as a brother in spirit.

At the end of the week, Schorlemmer will be going to Germany for 4 weeks via Grimsby and Rotterdam.

The STRIKES here in the cotton factories[326] have been over since this morning, when the Oldhamites went back. So overproduction has no restraints any more.

Close of post. Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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## 211

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 June 1869

DEAR FRED,

With THANKS I notify the £90, first half-notes.

Enclosed for Tussy 2 LETTERS. She must reply to tight-fisted Collet.

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[a] enter - [b] rights of the arse-hole

The enclosed letter from Eichhoff shows, unfortunately, that his brother has become skittish.[364] Write me what should happen now.

The last proof-sheets finally arrived and have been returned, ditto preface sent.[a] It now turns out that the procrastination was for two reasons: 1. Mr Wigand in Leipzig is the printer, and 2. Mr Meissner, for his part, does not keep a watch on the Leipziger. He really believed that I had received the last sheets direct from Leipzig several weeks ago. German sloppiness!

The honourable Wilhelm[b] is maintaining a deep silence.

Today the weather finally TURNS to the better.

I have received an invitation from the SOCIETY OF ARTS[356] for a *conversazione* in Kensington Museum on 1 July. This takes place only once a year, and is attended by the entire London aristocracy, from the court down to, etc. So Jennychen will have a chance to see this rabble.[365]

*Addio.*

Your
K. M.

While re-arranging my bookshelves a small old edition of Rochefoucauld's *Réflexions etc.* fell into my hands again. Leafing through it, I found:

'La gravité est un mystère du corps, inventé pour cacher les défauts de l'esprit'[c] [56].

Thus, pinched *by Sterne* from Rochefoucauld[366]!

And these are nice too:

'Nous avons tous assez de force pour supporter les maux d'autrui' [5].

'Les vieillards aiment à donner de bons préceptes, pour se consoler de n'être plus en état de donner de mauvais exemples' [20].

'Les rois font des hommes comme des pièces de monnaye; ils les font valoir ce qu'ils veulent; et l'on est forcé de les recevoir selon leur cours, et non pas selon leur véritable prix' [126].

'Quand les vices nous quittent, nous nous flattons de la créance que c'est nous qui les quittons' [39].

'La modération est la langueur et la paresse de l'âme, comme l'ambition en est l'activité et l'ardeur' [63].

'Nous pardonnons souvent à ceux qui nous ennuyent, mais nous ne pouvons pardonner à ceux que nous ennuyons' [65].

'Ce qui fait que les amants et les maîtresses ne s'ennuyent point d'êtres ensemble, c'est qu'ils parlent toujours d'eux-mêmes'[d] [67].

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[a] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.* - [b] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [c] 'Gravity is a secret of the body, invented to hide the defects of the mind.' - [d] 'We are all strong enough to bear the sufferings of others.'—'The elderly like to give good precepts, to console themselves for no longer being able to set bad

I attended the TRADES UNIONS MEETING LAST WEDNESDAY,[a] in Exeter Hall.[367] Beesly delivered a really fine, very impudent SPEECH, recalling the June days (it was 24 JUNE).[368] The newspapers naturally KILLED, i.e., SUPPRESSED, him. In addition, he committed the crime of speaking very contemptuously of English journalists.

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## 212

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 27 June 1869

Dear Moor,

Enclosed the other halves of the notes in all haste. Thank Jenny in my name and Tussy's for her two letters. I shall write you more tomorrow or Tuesday, and also return Eichhoff.[b] But it is a crying shame that when the German workers have found a publisher, he cannot even hold on.

Best greetings from all of us to all of you. Sam Moore has been sentenced to be fed by Tussy at tea this evening, and she plans to

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examples.'—'Kings stamp men like money; they determine their worth as they will; and one is forced to accept them at their exchange-rate and not at their real price.'—'When vices abandon us, we flatter ourselves with the belief that we have abandoned them.'—'Moderation is the indifference and indolence of the soul, as ambition is its activity and ardour.'—'We often pardon those who bore us, but we cannot pardon those whom we bore.'—'Lovers and mistresses never bore one another when together, because they always speak of themselves.' - [a] 23 June - [b] See the previous letter.

give him bread and butter and TREACLE, and to smear the syrup in his beard. This is the latest.

Your
F. E.

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## 213

## ENGELS TO MARX [180]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 July 1869

Dear Moor,

Hurrah! Today *doux commerce*[a] is at an end, and I am a free man.[369] All the main points I settled with dear Gottfried[b] yesterday; he gave way on everything. Tussy and I celebrated my first free day this morning with a long walk in the fields. In addition, my eye is considerably better, and with a bit of gentle treatment should soon be completely back to normal.

The accounts and the lawyers will keep me on the run for another few weeks, but this will not be anything like the time lost so far.

Beesly really seems to be improving.[c] Just think what respect he still had for the English press that evening when he visited you.

Eichhoff returned enclosed.[364] Wilhelm[d] now appears to be pushing him forward in order to beg forgiveness. In the meantime, war has been declared again between Schweitzer and Wilhelm, and there is rebellion in the General Association of German Workers. But always the bold expectation that *we* should take the side of Wilhelm and the People's Party.[38] Wilhelm would do well to read the *Manifesto*[e] on the attitude of the workers' party, if reading or anything else would do any good! I am very anxious to see how this brawl develops; in any case, it will produce

[a] sweet business - [b] Gottfried Ermen - [c] See this volume, p. 298. - [d] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [e] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

some amusing scandal. Schweitzer really showed colossal presumption towards his gang in expecting them to allow themselves to be bartered off like a herd of sheep.[363]

I assume you received the 2nd halves of the notes on Monday.

The Irish MEMBERS behaved wretchedly again in connection with Moore's motion, and Mr Bruce made a happy laughing-stock of himself once again.[370]

From Eichhoff's information, it appears very questionable to me whether one should write to Meissner at all about popularising your book.[a] What do you think? In any case, if books for 5 silver groschen don't sell, then one for 8 to 10 silver groschen will circulate even less. The only thing that would help here would be a small pamphlet of 1-2 sheets at 2 1/2 silver groschen, but this needs work and is nothing for Meissner. What do you think of this? Or will you reserve it for personal discussion, since you will certainly visit Meissner in Germany?

I suppose Jenny has gone to the seaside with her honourable Monroes.[371]

Best greetings from all to all.

Your
F. E.

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## 214

## ENGELS TO ELISABETH ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

Manchester, 1 July 1869
86 Mornington Street, Stockport Road

Dear Mother,

Today is the first day of my freedom, and I cannot use it better than by immediately writing to you. Yesterday I finally reached a

[a] the first volume of *Capital*

settlement with Gottfried Ermen on all the main questions. The draft contract, drawn up by his lawyer, was such that I would never have signed it *in that form.* I obliged myself not to compete with him in the next five years, i.e., neither to make nor sell bleached, coloured or dressed cotton cloth. That was all right. But his lawyer had set this out in such a way that, if I breached any stipulation, I was obliged, in advance, to pay a penalty rising from £100 to £1,000 for each single instance, so that, in these monetary penalties, I would have had to pay back to G. Ermen *more* than the £1,750 paid to me, not counting the legal costs. My lawyer advised me strongly not to agree, so we struck out the whole business, nearly half the whole draft. Then there was another point, about the continuation of the firm Ermen & Engels by Gottfried. My lawyer told me that if I *explicitly* allowed him to do this, then, in the case of insolvency, I could still be regarded as *associé*[a] and be held liable. I therefore demanded that my *explicit* agreement to this should also be limited to 5 years, and this only so long as he himself was an active *associé* in the firm.

My Gottfried, who was originally very pressing with the negotiations, soon started dragging things out, and once even left the draft at home for 3 weeks without saying anything about it, so only about 3 weeks ago did I receive the 2nd draft contract (which is between G. Ermen, Anton Ermen and me, and governs the arrangement when I leave), and because of the usual lawyers' formalities could only begin to negotiate 8 days ago. In the past few days G. Ermen appeared frequently to avoid me, as though he wished to delay the matter until I was out of the business, when he might hope to deal with me more easily. Only yesterday morning did we get down to negotiations, and then Gottfried gave way *on all points,* while, for my part, I conceded him that, for 5 years, I would not spin and twine any cotton yarn *under No. 40*; I would remain free to trade in such yarn as long as it was in the *raw* condition. This concession has no sort of practical importance for me, and I thus obliged him.

Thus the matter has now been concluded, with the exception of a few legal matters of form, and I think everything *could* be finished in three weeks; but I am resigned that it might last in to August, since the accounts must be completed, and the lawyers always drag things out so.

Yesterday afternoon I went to the mill with Gottfried and inspected the stores and the reception; afterwards we went to his

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[a] partner

house, where he served me a bottle of very good Scharzhofberger. He is as glad as I am that the matter is finished, that he is now the sole master of the firm, and that he is not going to have a row with me, since 1. as my lawyer tells me, if I had gone into partnership with my brothers, we would have been able to conduct the firm of Ermen & Engels *here too*, and we could prohibit him from doing so; 2. he is anyway very much afraid of competition; and 3. it now emerges that he still needs me very much for a time if bad blunders are to be avoided in the business; for this reason, he has invited me to come to the office as often as I like, and has requested me to give the people information from time to time, to which I naturally agreed. He has engaged a young Stuttgarter as correspondent, but he has only been there for 3 weeks and is naturally still very green. He'll have a heavy enough load.

Gottfried is not finished with Charles[a] either; his notice runs out in 8 days. I am curious whether they will reach an agreement. Five years ago Charles obtained from him a promise to make him managing clerk, but has never received the post; now he is demanding £1,000 compensation for this, but Gottfried will never give it to him.

Neither does he seem to want to keep on Anton as an *associé*. At least the 2nd draft contract dissolves the partnership with him in just the same manner as with me, and Gottfried would not go to this trouble if he did not intend it that way. On the one hand, Gottfried has realised that Anton is worth absolutely nothing in practical business, i.e., in earning money and, on the other, Anton continually draws so much money behind Gottfried's back, and sends it to his Julie[b] that Gottfried is apprehensive that he might some day start drawing money directly from the bank as long as he—Anton—has the right to sign. When Anton joined, Gottfried advanced him £500, which represented Anton's capital, but Monsieur Anton, who should leave £250 yearly standing from his emoluments, has not only not done this, but has also squandered the £500 long ago.

My new freedom is just the thing for me. Since yesterday I have been quite a new man, and ten years younger. This morning, instead of going into the gloomy city, I walked in this wonderful weather for a few hours in the fields; and at my desk, in a comfortably furnished room in which you can open the windows without the smoke making black stains everywhere, with flowers on the windowsills and trees in front of the house, one can work

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[a] Charles Roesgen - [b] later Anton Ermen's wife

quite differently than in my gloomy room in the WAREHOUSE, looking out on to the courtyard of an ale-house. I live ten minutes walk from my club, just far enough away from the German and lodging-house quarters to be sure that I am not overrun. At 5 or 6 in the evening I dine at home, the cooking is really quite good, and then generally go for a few hours to the club to read newspapers, etc. But I shall only be able to organise this properly when I no longer have to go to the city because of the accounts, etc.

But now *adieu*, dear Mother; give my heartiest greetings to all, and if you have plans to travel let me know, so that I can, if possible, adjust to them; as I am situated at the moment, you should not take me into consideration.

From my heart, your son

Friedrich

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## 215

## MARX TO ENGELS[124]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 July 1869

DEAR FRED,

Best congratulations upon your escape from Egyptian bondage[a]!

In honour of this event, I drank 'one glass too many', but late in the evening, not before sunrise like the Prussian gendarmes.

Enclosed a momentous letter from Wilhelm,[372] from which you will see that he has suddenly appointed himself my *curator*, and lays down this and that which I **'must'** do.

I *must* come to their August congress,[373] *must* show myself to the German workers; *must* send the International cards *immediately* (after *they* had *not* replied to two queries on the subject in 3 months), *must* muck the *Communist Manifesto* about; *must* come to Leipzig!

[a] Exodus 13:14; see also this volume, p. 299.

It is really very naive that, in the same letter in which he complains that he *cannot* pay back the £2 (which I gave to Eccarius for him), he offers *me my fare* to Germany. *Toujours le même!*[a]

He appears to be morally indignant about you. I have already replied to him that he has misinterpreted your letter. The fellow simply cannot grasp that convictions and business management are not poles apart, as he assumes in his newspaper administration, and as others have to assume if they do not wish to become SUSPECTS.

Our Wilhelm has a sanguine nature and is a liar. So there are probably, once again, exaggerations in his description of the victory over Schweitzer. Still, there must be something in it. Schweitzer would not have returned to the Church of Hatzfeldt had he not been shaky in his own association. On the other hand, he speeded up the general dissolution by the doltish management of his latest *coup d'état.*[363] I hope that, as a result of this business, the German workers' movement will finally leave the stage of Lassallean infantile disorders behind, and that the Lassallean residue will decay in sectarian isolation.

As for Wilhelm's various 'absolute commandments', I have answered him TO THIS EFFECT:

I feel absolutely no need to show myself to the German workers, and will *not* go to their congress. Once they have really joined the International and given themselves a proper party organisation—and the Nuremberg Congress[135] showed how little trust can be put in just promises, tendencies, etc.—then there will be an opportunity BY AND BY. In addition, it must be CLEARLY understood that the new organisation must be, for us, neither People's Party[38] nor Lassallean church—as little the one as the other. If we went now we would have to speak *against the People's Party*, and that would not please Wilhelm and Bebel! And if they—*mirabile dictu*[b]—would themselves admit this, we would have to throw *our weight* directly onto the scales against Schweitzer and Co., instead of having the change-over appear as a free action by the workers.

As far as polishing up the *Manifesto*[c] is concerned, we would consider this as soon as we have seen the decisions of their congress, etc.

He should hang on to his £2 and not worry about my fare. I praise their action against Becker.[d]

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[a] Always the same! - [b] strange to say - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party.* - [d] Johann Philipp Becker

That's all on that.

About Meissner it is probably best if I speak to him. Incidentally, if you have time (that is, if it doesn't bother your eye) to finish something, it is easier to negotiate *with* a manuscript rather than *without* one. I know enough to know that Meissner prefers 5 sheets to 2. The shorter the pamphlet, the harder to sell, as he told me himself.

What do you say about the way that the virtuous Gladstone and puritanical Bright acted with regard to Overend, Gurney, *et* Co.?[227]

Remarkable, also, was Bruce's declaration on the Mold shooting,[374] which was not so INNOCENT as the Manchester papers reported. So the RIOT ACT[375] need *not be read.* It is enough for some fox-hunting UNPAID MAGISTRATE to whisper in the ear of an officer, and the peppering starts. Yet even this is not necessary. The soldiers may use their RIFLES IN SELF-DEFENCE (and they themselves judge whether this is necessary). But then, shouldn't the ARMS ACTS[376] be repealed, so everybody would be able to use his own RIFLE in SELF-DEFENCE against the soldiers?

The Gurney business, or rather the attitude of the Ministry towards it, ditto the Mold affair, finally the ministerial trickery with Lamuda and other scoundrels against the TRADES-UNIONS-BILL[377]—have made a mighty big dent in the fascination held by the names Gladstone and Bright amongst the workers here in London.

Laura was ill and bed-ridden for 14 days, but is said to be better now. They have given notice on their rooms, and in October will move to a more airy locality (Montmartre or some such).

BEST COMPLIMENTS TO ALL.

El
Moro

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## 216

## MARX TO P. ST. KING

IN LONDON

3 July 1869
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park

Dear Sir,

Will you send me

1) *Report of Commission on Bombay Bank*, issued this session;
2) *Agricultural Statistics. Ireland* f. 1867, issued this session (not the *General Abstract* for 1867 which I have already);
3) *Statistical Abstract for the U. Kingdom, f. 1868.* <******> Sixteenth Number.
4) *Report of Committee of H. o. Commons of July, 1843, on results of the allotment system etc.*[378]

Yours truly
K. Marx

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Reproduced from the original

## 217

## ENGELS TO MARX[33]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 July 1869

Dear Moor,

Enclosed returned Wilhelm.[372] In fact, it is amazing, what he says you *must*, ***must, must*** do. But always the same old story. When he gets involved in a squabble with Schweitzer, you **must** always be called in to help. This will happen again, too.

With regard to the Basle congress,[379] I hope you have not minced words with him over the fact that only representatives *of those who have really joined* can be accepted. It would be vexing if he and Bebel had to be excluded on a technicality.

As far as my letter is concerned, his moans about 'reproaches instead of money' are the exact counterpart of Bismarck's complaint: 'Gentlemen, we ask for bread, and you give us stones',[a] when his taxes were rejected. The point that so 'upset' Mr Wilhelm was the question as to how he could tell me, *in one and the same letter*, that he did have the money to print the *Peasant War*, but at the same time had none for the sheet.[b] Further, how is it that the sheet was already 'guaranteed' 1 1/2 years ago, yet today it still doesn't pay? On this point, Monsieur Wilhelm is completely silent and is morally indignant that I should remind him of the shares he promised at that time *to send voluntarily and by return*; naturally I shall not get them now either, since Wilhelm says I shall 'naturally receive' them. The shares were only mentioned in order to prompt Wilhelm to remark upon the status of the sheet; it is fairly clear to me that Wilhelm and his consorts have managed things so sloppily that the printer or some other creditor can take over the sheet, and turn them out *as soon as it does pay*. In this case, it might be very agreeable for Mr Wilhelm if he had a few shareholders sitting here, who could exercise their legal claims in his favour. If the idiot had given me a satisfactory answer (which, however, would scarcely have been possible), he would have got the money; but simply to send a demand, and this self-contradictory, and without excuse either for his earlier dawdling or a word on the condition of the sheet—I wouldn't think of it. We don't want Wilhelm to get into the habit of things *like that*.

The extent to which his shouts of victory are premature is shown by the 4 numbers of *Social-Demokrat* that you sent me today. Certainly Schweitzer is also a big liar, but, *for the moment*, he appears to have saved the mass of the RANK AND FILE. However, things with him are going quickly downhill and, if he had any other opponent than Wilhelm, the process would be speeded up greatly. But, of course, the sultry waffle Wilhelm is now having printed as his 'speech'[c] will not help much. But Bebel is pressing Schweitzer hard, and cites some points that are very vexing to him, which would suggest the possibility that Schweitzer received his share of the Guelph funds surrendered to Stieber.[380]

In any case, nothing can be done with Wilhelm until he has

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[a] Matthew 7:9 - [b] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* (see also Note 372). - [c] W. Liebknecht, 'Ueber die politische Stellung der Sozial-Demokratie...', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 27 and supplement to No. 32, 3 July, and 7 August 1869.

quite definitely separated his organisation from the People's Party[38] and placed himself, at most, in a loose cartel relationship with it. Charming, too, is his intention of putting the International on the title of his sheet, which would then, *at one and the same time*, be the organ of the People's Party *and* of the International Working Men's Association! The organ both of the German petty bourgeoisie *and* of the European Workers!

Another fine idea of Wilhelm's is that concessions to the workers should neither be accepted nor *extorted* from the 'present state'. He'll get a long way with the workers like this.

I can't possibly prepare anything for you for Meissner in time. Until the accounts have been balanced, I have to go into town at least 2-3 times weekly, and probably even more often over the next few weeks, since I have to check the stuff carefully. My eye is much better, but still needs to be spared, since I don't want to make it worse again. In addition, I must put a mass of other money matters, my private accounts, etc., once and for all in order, and this is occupying me a lot too. Also, and particularly in this special case, I would like to hear Meissner's views first, since you say he is rather sensitive on such matters.

Tell Jenny I shall reply to her as soon as the beer in question puts in an appearance here, which so far is not the case.

Tussy says she will write tomorrow. She is now reading the Serbian folk songs in the German translation, and she appears to like them a lot; she has replaced me in giving piano lessons to Mary Ellen,[a] to the latter's great advantage. When the weather is good and I don't have to go to town, we go for a walk for a few hours every morning, otherwise in the evening, WEATHER PERMITTING.

The pamphlet by Tridon[b] was mainly of interest to me because of the second part, since I am not familiar with the newer material about the first revolution. The first part is, however, very confused, particularly about centralisation and decentralisation; it's a good thing that the *Renaissance* has been adjourned for the time being[283]; the people would have soon fallen foul of one another. It's a comic idea that the dictatorship of Paris over France, which led to the downfall of the first revolution, could be accomplished without more ado today once again, and with a quite different result.

Bruce's statement about Mold[374] has indeed proved that previous ideas about the English laws in this connection were quite

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[a] Mary Ellen Burns - [b] G. Tridon, *Gironde et Girondins. La Gironde en 1869 et en 1793.*

wrong, and that people take an entirely Prussian point of view. Useful, too, for the workers to know this.

I hope you will soon be able to give me better news about Laura's health. In any case, to move lodgings is sensible.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO FRANÇOIS LAFARGUE

### IN BORDEAUX

London, 7 July 1869

My dear friend,

Your letter decided me to leave immediately for Paris.[381] There I shall be able to judge the state of affairs and to act in the sense indicated by you. I quite share your views. I shall write to you from Paris, where I shall stay for two or three days.[a] The news of the state of your health has deeply pained me and all my family, who love you sincerely.

Please, pass my compliments to your wife.

Yours
Karl Marx

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[a] See this volume, pp. 314-15.

## 219

## ENGELS TO JENNY MARX (DAUGHTER)[382]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 9 July 1869

*Dear Jenny,

*My best thanks for your two kind letters[383] and for the beer which arrived safely on Wednesday and was tried on Thursday after a day's settling. I have just been into the cellar to fetch another bottle up, it is very nice, and Lizzie[a] especially likes it because it reminds her more of her beloved 'Bavarian' than the regular Vienna beer. There is no doubt, it will soon be emptied, and the more so as I am afraid it will not keep very long in hot weather, being lighter than the common Vienna beer, so that there will be plenty of pretexts for taking frequent 'headers' into the cellar and fetching up a bottle or two of 'that same'.

*I, and indeed all of us, were very much amused with your description of that highly aristocratic *soirée*. That little bit of a printed caution about mobbing, and the fact of its being sent round with the invitations,[384] is more than characteristic of 'that lot', as we say here in Lancashire. Very good, too, on the part of these Britishers, to describe this, their own darling 'vulgar habit' as one 'common throughout Europe'—common, indeed, wherever the British snob—and the snob and the flunkey is at the bottom of all of them—puts his foot!* I'd like to see any place on the Continent where such a circular would be issued on such an occasion. To be sure, it clearly follows from the entire story that the admixture of rich UPSTARTS has also begun winning the upper hand in aristocratic areas, AND IN FACT, IS NOW SWAMPING 'SOCIETY'. So much the better. Your description, like the circular, fits our Manchester MOCK-'SOCIETY' completely, and the more the smart mob in London Manchesterises, the more gratifying for us.

*I am just now in the honey-moon of my newly-recovered liberty, and you will not require to be told that I enjoy it amazingly.[369] As my eye, although very much better, still requires a little* careful treatment, *I have not yet settled down to regular work and indeed shall not be able to do so until all my business

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[a] Lizzy Burns.

affairs are regularly settled, which will take about a month. In the meantime I walk about a good deal with Tussy and as many of the family, humane and canine, as I can induce to go with us. We have just come back from a long walk through the fields to Heaton Chapel, about 5 or 6 miles the way we went, Tussy, Lizzie, Mary Ellen,[a] myself and two dogs, and I am specially instructed to inform you that these two amiable ladies had two glasses of beer *a-piece* (this is the vernacular Lancashire in which I got my orders). No wonder I had to bring them home by the train (we have a station about seven minutes' walk from our house), but no sooner arrived, than they walked, in common with me, into your Lager-Beer. Now they are getting their tea ready, or getting themselves ready for it, I don't know which, and after that there will be a reading of Irish novels which is likely to last till bedtime or nearly so, unless relieved by a bit of talk about the 'convicted nation'.[b] Anyhow, they seem to like it, and so it's all right to me.*

Meanwhile they all send you the heartiest greetings, and I'll do the same.

Your with all my heart

F. Engels

If you and Moor don't go to Germany before the end of this month or if you don't return before the end of September, *I* may possibly meet you there somewhere.[c]

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[a] Mary Ellen Burns - [b] Irish - [c] See this volume, pp. 341-42.

## 220

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[385]

### IN HANOVER

Manchester, 10 July 1869
86[a] Mornington Street, Stockport Road

Dear Kugelmann,

As the enclosures show, I do keep my word, and I would have done so a long time ago, had it not been for the following: 1. I still had the enclosed photograph of Lupus,[b] but none of me, and only after frequent sittings last winter did I get a bearable one; 2. then I found that the Lupus photo had been mislaid and, despite all the searching, could not be found. So, 3. I got the photographer who had the negative to make 24 more copies of Lupus, but they turned out miserably, since it was very faded, and I wouldn't like to send any of them. Finally, 4. I found the original one and *les voici*[c] both.

I regretted to hear through Marx that you had to undergo an operation and that, now, for the summer, you want to live healthily, which is certainly very useful, and here and there also probably pleasant. I hope this will put you properly on your feet again, but will probably have the result that our friend Schorlemmer, who has been in Germany for 14 days, and who wanted to go via Hanover and visit you in about 10-12 days, will not find you there. Marx will probably be coming to Germany with his daughter Jenny at the end of this month or the beginning of next,[349] how things will be with me I don't know yet, for the following reasons:

On 30 June this year my agreement with my present *associé*[d] expired.[369] According to my original calculations, at the beginning of the agreement I had expected that, on its expiry, I would have made enough money out of noble COMMERCE to live on, though very modestly by standards here, and be able to bid *adieu* to trade. This did not ensue completely, but after various negotiations with my *associé* we finally agreed that I would allow him to use my name in the firm for 5 years, and I would promise during these 5 years not to go into competition with him, for which he paid me quite a nice round sum, so that I have, in fact, reached the point

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[a] In the manuscript: 89 - [b] Wilhelm Wolff - [c] here are - [d] partner

at which I aimed. Since the 1st inst. I have been out of the business, and my time is finally my own again—that is, for the time being, purely theoretically since I cannot leave here until the balance has been drawn and the necessary documents have been arranged by the lawyers; and I shall still have to waste a lot of time to put these matters in order. I expect, however, to be finished during next month, and if you would let me know where you will be about that time, it might be possible for all of us to meet somewhere in Germany. I don't need to tell you how happy I am to be rid of that damned commerce, and to be able to work for myself again. Particularly, too, since this was possible just now, when events in Europe are taking an increasingly critical turn and when, one fine day, the thunder may clap quite unexpectedly.

The Lassallean sect appears, not without dialectical irony, to seek its effective dissolution precisely in its nominal reunification.[386] Schweitzer may, for the moment, still hold the majority of the people together, but no party or sect can endure the repeated expulsion of its leaders. And this time the dirty washing of this extremely unclean clique will produce all sorts of *curiosa*, which can only harm Schweitzer. The dissolution of the Lassallean sect and, on the other hand, the severence of the Saxon and South German workers from the leading-strings of the 'People's Party'[38] are the two fundamental conditions for the new formation of a genuine German workers' party. The Lassalleans will now play their part themselves and devour one another, but it will be far more difficult to get rid of the South-German-republican philistine narrow-mindedness systematically drummed into the workers by Liebknecht. Just take the stupidity of inscribing on his sheet[a] 'Organ of the People's Party', i.e., of the South German philistines! If Bebel only had some theoretical knowledge, something like this could not happen; he seems to me to be quite a capable fellow, who simply has this one shortcoming. Then along comes Liebknecht and demands that we should come out on his side and that of his People's Party against Schweitzer! Whereby it is obvious that 1. we have far less in common with the People's Party, as a bourgeois party, than we have with Schweitzer's Lassalleans, who are after all a workers' sect; and 2. that Marx, in his capacity as Secretary of the International Working Men's Association for Germany, is *obliged* to treat decorously *every* leader whom a sufficient number of workers place at their head and elect to parliament.

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[a] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*

I would ask you from now on always to send your letters to my home address, given above.

Recently Marx sent me your study on the treatment of exanthematous disorders by means of ventilation. In my opinion you still apply the ventilation much too moderately. Here the window of the bedroom is kept open between 3 and 12 inches without further ado, without a screen, etc., and care is only taken that the patient is not lying in a *direct draught*—and this summer or winter. In addition *extractum carnis*[a] and port in big doses, otherwise practically no medicine. My servant-girl was treated thus last November for typhoid fever, and Marx's two unmarried daughters last summer for scarlet fever. I thought that this method of treatment had long been generally adopted in Germany too but, according to your account, the old keeping-warm and stink-hole method still seems to predominate.

Hoping to hear from you soon. With best wishes

Yours
F. Engels

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## 221

## MARX TO FRANÇOIS LAFARGUE[80]

### IN BORDEAUX

Paris, 10 July 1869

My dear friend,

I arrived here on Thursday[b] evening and I shall return to London on Monday.[381]

In your letter, which I have reread, you seem to believe that Madame Marx is also here. That is a mistake.[c]

The first thing that struck me is that Laura is still suffering greatly, and her health is very delicate.

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[a] meat extract - [b] Marx wrote *Thursday* instead of *Tuesday*. See this volume, p. 315. - [c] See this volume, p. 284.

I begin with this remark because it explains the apparent apathy of our Paul. He has not interrupted his studies, but he has neglected to take the necessary measures to pass his examinations.

To my reproaches on this subject he replied—and I must say had every right to reply—the following: 'Before I think of the future, I must occupy myself with the present. The state of Laura's health demanded a great deal of care on my part. It did not even permit me to be absent for any length of time. In order not to cause anxiety to you or to my family, I wanted to conceal all this. Laura and myself, we even did our best not to rouse the suspicions of Madame Marx.'

I have talked to a very good doctor whom Paul invited to the house. He told me that it was absolutely necessary for Laura to go to the seaside, and he suggested Dieppe because a prolonged voyage would do her harm.

Besides, Paul has promised me that on his return from Dieppe he will do his best to cut short the time necessary to pass his doctorate.

I must tell you frankly that the state of my daughter's health is a matter of serious concern to me.

Our grandson[a] is a charming boy. I have never seen a better shaped child's head.

My compliments to Madame Lafargue.

Accept, my dear friend, the most sincere compliments of your

Karl Marx

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Translated from the French

## 222

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 July 1869

Dear Fred,

Arrived in Paris last Tuesday evening, left again Monday (12 July).[381] I managed to remain completely *incognito*; on landing

[a] Charles Étienne Lafargue

at Dieppe I passed first the *douaniers*[a] and police without them intervening, though, curiously enough, several innocent people (including a YANKEE with very black hair, who was taken for an Italian) were asked for their passports and, in accordance with the latest regulations, the Frenchmen had to give their names. I lodged as A. Williams in Paris, Rue St Placide, *maison meublée*[b] (next street to Lafargue).

Laurachen has been suffering from a really serious illness. She is now convalescing, and is going tomorrow with Paul, etc., to Dieppe, where they will spend a month at the seaside, and will perhaps come over to England later. My BUSINESS in Paris was to have a look at the *status rerum*,[c] following a letter from Lafargue senior, and then write to the senior (from Paris), after consultations with the junior.[d] Because of Laura's state of health, Lafargue has naturally been completely absorbed by domestic worries, but has promised most solemnly to take the necessary steps as soon as Laura is completely restored. The senior also put his foot in it in his letters to Paris. I shall see what he writes to me in his reply.

*Le petit*[e] has left Paris (where he was present *incognito* at all the crowd-gatherings, etc.) for Brussels and, under the circumstances, his absence was by no means unpleasant for me. Because of this, the paper has been 'postponed'.[283]

I saw neither Schily nor ANYBODY ELSE, but confined myself entirely to the FAMILY, with whom I sauntered through more or less the whole of Paris. The bank where they live (Faubourg St Germain, etc.), has not changed much and is not Haussmannised.[387] Then, as now, narrow stinking streets. However, things look much changed on the other bank of the Seine, where the CHANGE already starts with the front of the Louvre.

The females appear to have become much uglier.

The heat was unbearable, particularly in the train.

The biggest sensation, to the great annoyance of the democratic opposition (including the *irréconciliables*), was caused by *Raspail*'s *short* SPEECH,[388] in which he demanded the release of his election committee. He spoke of the *injustice de la justice.* Thereupon INTERRUPTIONS. He continued: *Niez-vous les injustices commises contre moi par la Restauration? Par ce ridicule Louis-Philippe?*[f] etc. He wanted no *peines*,[g] was ready *à brûler le code civil* and *le code*

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[a] customs officials - [b] furnished house - [c] state of affairs - [d] See this volume, p. 309. - [e] Louis Auguste Blanqui - [f] Do you deny the injustices committed against me by the Restoration? By *this ridiculous Louis Philippe?* - [g] punishments

*pénal*[a]; in the meantime, the punishments of officials should be converted into *fines* (i.e., *deductions from salary*) and should begin with *M. le préfet de la police*, namely because of the '*orgies infernales de casse-tête*'.[b] The language of the old man was in violent contrast to the ROUNDABOUT prattle of the *faux jeunes hommes*.[c] And the next day, the government released his *Comité*.

The sessions of the *Corps législatif* were relatively very stormy. For this reason, Bonaparte has adjourned.

Tussychen must also write to me about her plans for staying in Manchester. Schnaps,[d] a charming little lad, sends heartiest greetings.

*Addio*, OLD BOY.

Il
Moro

MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS[e] BURNS.

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## 223

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[29]

### IN HANOVER

London, 15 July 1869

Dear Kugelmann,

Your letter of 2 June arrived here while I was in Manchester.[353] They forgot to send it on to me, and later completely forgot about its existence. I have *only just* put my hands on it, after my attention was drawn to it by your letter of 6 July. The latter letter I also received yesterday since, owing to the indisposition of my Laura, I had been for a week *incognito* in Paris[f] where, BY THE BY, a growing movement is manifest. Otherwise, I should have hastened to write to you in your time of suffering.

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[a] to burn the civil code and the penal code - [b] 'hellish orgies of bludgeoning' - [c] hypocritical young men - [d] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [e] Here the MS is damaged. - [f] See the previous letter.

As for the *18th Brumaire*, Meissner's assurances are sheer prevarications.[389] He has had the stuff since the end of January. Naturally, he did not get the preface because he didn't send the last 2 proof sheets. I finally received the latter on 23 June, and sent them back, corrected, the same day, together with the preface. Thus, once again, more than three weeks lost, so we shall be launched right into the off season in the book trade!

I shan't be coming to Germany before September.[349] I am making the journey mainly because of my daughter.[a] But, in any case, I would come to see you in Helgoland (I am travelling via Hanover).

Regarding Engels' biography,[b] be so kind as to return it to me.[390] He must revise it, since it is now intended for a different audience.

With hearty greetings to your dear wife and Fränzchen,[c]

Yours
K. M.

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## 224

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

### IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

Manchester, 15 July 1869

Dear Hermann,

You really are a fine chum. It stands to reason that I wrote about the exchange-rate matter to you simply as *our mother's business manager*.[d] But just *because* you are her business manager, you can't get out of it like that and tell me that I should approach mother directly about the matter. It would be a fine state of affairs if you always resigned as business manager as soon as the other party's opinion differed from yours, or when your arguments were exhausted. No, my lad, you've got to stick to it now.

To get to the point: what do you mean, we agreed to calculate

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[a] Jenny Marx - [b] F. Engels, *Karl Marx*. - [c] Kugelmann's daughter Franziska - [d] See this volume, pp. 280-82.

everything at 6 thalers 20 silbergroschen? Nothing more nor less than that both parties, our mother and I, should waive making an exchange profit on these £10,000. Since, however, a considerable exchange profit *has* been made by mother on the £7,000 paid back by me, I felt it to be absolutely in order that I should also make my profit on the small remainder. You solve the pattern much more simply, by claiming offhandedly that mother alone has a right to the exchange profit.

In addition, you have not considered that, in presenting mother quite correctly as the only interested party, you are sawing off the bough on which you sit with regard to the discount business. I repay mother £1,000 and, on enquiry, receive the reply that this should be sent to R. Funke & Co. in bills *at any sight.* I did this, and was thus entitled to have these bills credited to me at full value per date of maturity. What Funke later did with the bills as a result of some agreement—of which I know nothing, and which is no business of mine—between R. Funke & Co. and Ermen & Engels, Barmen (2 firms which, as you say, do not concern me in the slightest), is no longer my concern, any more than what the bank did at which Funke discounted them. This should now at last be clear to you.

There can be absolutely no question of 'trickery'. But those who are merchants by profession, just like lawyers by profession, easily accustom themselves to regard the matter in hand solely from the most advantageous angle from their own point of view; when one is dealing with scientific questions this habit is the one which must be broken first. The discount business gave me the impression that your viewpoint on this matter was not entirely unprejudiced, so I have felt since then that I should myself pay rather more attention to my own interests.

I have no recollection at all that *I expressed the desire* to keep the accounts in thalers for *your* convenience. But you overlook the fact that your entire chain of evidence, which is based simply upon the fact the £10,000 stayed here in Manchester to *my* advantage, also demonstrates that, if the exchange rate had remained at 6 thalers 12 silbergroschen, I would have been obliged to remit in *thalers,* since nobody would wish mother to lose money on it. And you must admit yourself what sort of value an argument has that demands that, when the rate is high, I must cover in sterling, and when low, in thalers.

I should also like to ask you, with regard to the COPS AND SEWINGS I purchased for you, whether you have charged them to mother at the current exchange or at 6 thalers 20 silbergroschen, although I

do not doubt at the former, in view of your zeal for mother's profit on the exchange rate.

But that's enough. As your patience appears to be coming to an end, and the matter is not worth the trouble, I'll oblige you and cover in sterling. Under my agreement with Gottfried,[a] the sum of £1,000 is payable on 1 August, and then every 2 months, and I shall devote the first instalments, as far as possible, to cover mother. It is, however, probable that Gottfried will hold back the first instalment until the accounts are completed and the contracts signed, which could take 14 days longer, so I would ask you not to depend on it as a certainty and to the day. Be so good, therefore, as to send me my current account, made up as of 30 June; my account here is so lengthy, as a result of many money withdrawals, that I would prefer not to depend upon it, since I have not yet received my statement, and can only check it superficially in the office. The whole approximate balance you will receive: 1. in August circa £800-900, 2. in October £1,000, and in December—the remainder; I would request you to let me know in good time where and how you would like the remittances.

Your letter of the 13th just arrived; I shall sign the thing as soon as I go to town and meet the vice-consul, probably tomorrow. But be so kind as to enquire what I should do in order to be spared any further communications from the Royal District Court in Bochum with regard to the Vereinigte[b] Engelsburg. From time to time a fat epistle arrives here, written on heavy, poor-quality scribbling paper, with a seal as big as a two-thaler piece, addressed to me as 'Official Business, Post Free'; whereupon the English Post Office, which doesn't give a damn for the District Court of Bochum, charges me between 3 and 5s. postage. A week ago I received a packet like this, with the names of all the shareholders in the Vereinigte Engelsburg and the draft of the amalgamation, and the request that I should make my declaration on it. I learned from this that I may some day have the pleasure of possessing $3\frac{601}{672}$ mining shares divided by 8, but feel that it is a little too dear to pay 4s. 8d. postage for this information. If I could only read the name of the worthy district judge appended to this, I would write him a very polite epistle, praying him to leave me in peace with the Vereinigte Engelsburg; but the Prussian officials purposely write their signatures so illegibly, in order to avoid the danger of receiving replies. Be so good as to inform this illegible

[a] Gottfried Ermen - [b] United

gentleman that the unstamped post of the Dortmund and Bochum District Court is not recognised here and that I'll be grateful to him, if he, in accordance with the power of attorney, sends all communications to mother.

The situation with the firm is this: Gottfried attaches importance to keeping it as long as *you* keep it, since otherwise you would have been able to take over part of the legacy of Ermen & Engels, Manchester. I regarded it as not only superfluous, but also harmful, for me to interfere on your behalf, since you had 1. P.[a] Ermen's promise, which covers you *here*, and 2. the expert opinion of the lawyers, which I took for gospel truth. For as long as P. Ermen *lives* you are safe from G. Ermen; had I known that your rights were not quite bomb-proof, I would certainly have avoided drawing Gottfried's attention to this by making proposals; and G. Ermen would not have entered into an engagement not to challenge your rights *after* P. Ermen's death. Meanwhile we have him in our hands, because I have given him the rights of the firm for only 5 years, and although I promised him that after that period I would make no difficulties for him, this depends, together for instance with my discretion about business secrets, completely upon his conduct, particularly vis-à-vis yourselves, and I have made this plain to him.

On the £10,000 that I have already invested in shares, I had earned at least £170 net in market appreciation by 30 June. They bring me in an average of $5^7/_8$% of my investment capital. They are mostly gas, WATERWORKS and railway shares, all English companies.

My freedom pleases me more and more from day to day. Unfortunately, I have still too much running about to do to be able to start any particularly thorough studies, but this will soon be settled.

I have spoken about the COPS with Schuncks' buyer, and have sent him a memorandum, a copy of which I enclose for your use. With regard to the SEWINGS, the qualities have changed so much since my last purchases that it would be best for you to order them from samples if you still need some. Likewise with the COPS, it would be best for you to *bind* Schuncks to the yarns named in the memorandum; they are those we have been using here for 20 years, and they are *indispensable for you* as long as they don't change the quality.

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[a] Peter

Best regards to Emma, the little ones, and all brothers and sisters. Enclosed 2 lines for E. Blank.

Your
Friedrich

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## 225

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 17 July 1869

Dear Fred,

The heat here is killing. With you too?

Enclosed a mass of stuff from Eichhoff, Wilhelm,[a] Fritzsche.[391]

Dear old Wilhelm—as always happily disposing of what is not his—naturally refers Fritzsche to me, in order to touch the trades unions here for £300, and *he* guarantees repayment! And quite pointlessly puts me in the embarrassing position of having to turn down Fritzsche!

In addition, he doesn't even seem to read properly the letters sent him. I sent him 900 cards and told him the annual subscription was ld. per card. Of these 900, I placed 500 gratis at his disposition, so the fellows would at least be eligible for representation at the congress.[379] And now he asks me whether fixed annual dues must be paid.

The tough conditions under which Schweitzer returned to the bosom of Hatzfeldt are shown very vividly by the fact that he has been forced to allow Mende to start a row with the International[392] in the *Social-Demokrat*. He himself knows best how dangerous this operation is for him!

---

[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht

Incidentally, that old jackass Becker[a] had no need to involve the International officially in this dissolution process of the Lassallean church, instead of maintaining objective reserve. The old brute does a lot of damage with his longing for action.

Freiligrath, the family poet, gave me much amusement with his 'robber' and 'corsair'[b]—Viennese mannikin.

Best greetings to all.

Your
Moor

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## 226

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 18 July 1869

Dear Moor,

Glad the journey went off so well.

Many thanks for what you sent. The letters will be returned tomorrow.[c]

If Schweitzer attacks the International, we should consider whether to oblige him.

Frightful muck is developing as the Lassallean swindle putrefies. Fritzsche wanted 1,800 thalers from Schweitzer and, when he turned him down, then you should get him 3,000 thalers. The fellow is obviously just as big a blackguard as Schweitzer. From the beginning, Lassalle introduced venality, and this has grown. But where did Schweitzer get the money from, if not the Prussians?

The calm assumption that the English workers should provide £450 for Fritzsche, even before he and his consorts have joined the IWA, is really good. I truly believe that Wilhelm *absolutely* incited Fritzsche to saddle you with himself.

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[a] Johann Philipp Becker - [b] Apparently the reference is to Freiligrath's poems *Banditenbegräbnis* and *Piratenromanze*. - [c] See the previous letter.

You long ago read the renowned letter sent me 2 years ago.[393] Naked assertion was the only argument to the effect that he could not and should not have acted otherwise. He also said he and his consorts had nothing in common with the People's Party[38] except the name! That's a good one! He is past all remedy.

Heat? Terrible. Yesterday I lay on the floor half the night because it was simply too hot to go to bed. It is so hot that even these few lines have bathed me in sweat.

Enclosed Kugelmann.[394] What do you think of his plans? Karlsbad[a] would be *quite excellent* for you, but Jenny meanwhile in Hanover? What do you say?

Your
F. E.

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## 227

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 21 July 1869

Dear Moor,

The whole family including Tussy, has gone to see the PRINCE OF WALES[b] drive past. Congratulations to them in such heat.

How dare Wilhelm assure Schweitzer publicly that 'the General Council of the IWA' takes exactly the same attitude to the said Schweitzer as he, Wilhelm does?[395] This is rather much, particularly if, as I assume, he did so without your permission.

That Schweitzer has lost a lot of support among the masses is shown by the fact that he has not dared to proclaim the voting figures.[c 396] Incidentally, he remains—as a DEBATER—superior to all his opponents. The joke about the 'red' republic was very good, and his exploitation of Wilhelm's 'People's Party', ditto that

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[a] Karlovy Vary - [b] Albert Edward - [c] F. Mende, 'An die Mitglieder des Allgem. deutschen Arbeiter-Vereins', 5 July 1869, *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 79, 9 July 1869.

Wilhelm is betraying the workers to the bourgeois democrats; Wilhelm is taking care not to answer both points, and altogether he appears even more incapable than usual in this polemic. How absurd, for instance, *just at the moment*, to reprint from Schwabenmayer's[a] *Demokratische Correspondenz* the glorification of the *bourgeois* American Republic because of the Pacific Railway.[b]

And how can Wilhelm announce to Schweitzer that he will be shown the door at the Basle Congress[379]?

Monsieur Bonaparte appears to have gone right out of his mind. One cropper after another. First his message with its apparent concessions, then the sudden adjournment, now this droll ministry.[388] If he had set out to show even the stupidest Frenchman that he wants to expose France to worldwide derision, he couldn't have done it better. This is just the way to shake the confidence his majority, his ministers and prefects, his judges and officers have in him. And since all the loyalty has been purchased and was conditional on his future success, they will desert him much earlier than the Senate and *Corps législatif* deserted the old Napoleon in 1814 and 1815.[397] Really not much is needed to lose respect for Mr Louis.

What has happened to the *18th Brumaire*? I see and hear nothing of it.[c] Apropos! You must send me a copy for Charles,[d] whom I relieved of his copy (old edition) on this pledge.

What state are your travel plans in? Jenny writes that she will be returning on Saturday, and then a decision will, I suppose, soon be taken as to when you will go. Here the balancing of accounts is dragging on. Yesterday they said at least 14 days, which I translate as: at least 3 weeks. I'm afraid I'll be stuck here until about 20 August.

I shall cut to length and send to Kugelmann for the *Zukunft*, for its feuilleton, the biography[e] he returned to me. If you want to see it first, let me know.

I close because of the heat; with best greetings.

Your

F. E.

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[a] Karl Mayer - [b] 'Was Bürger drüben können und hüben könnten', *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 29, 17 July 1869, supplement. - [c] The reference is to the second edition of Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. See this volume, p. 297. - [d] Charles Roesgen - [e] F. Engels, *Karl Marx*. See also this volume, p. 318.

## 228

## MARX TO ENGELS[398]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 July 1869

DEAR FRED,

Wilhelm really has colossal impudence, issuing bulls of excommunication on behalf of the General Council of the International.[a] I had written to him that I, personally, was keeping myself out of this scandal[399] (Hatzfeldt, the old trollop, would like nothing better than to drag me in), particularly since I am just as decidedly against the Lassalle clique as against the People's Party. I added that Wilhelm could give notice (to Schweitzer) that (in accordance with the resolutions of the Brussels Congress) only *real* members will be admitted at Basle. And this he did in a paragraph in the issue *before last.*[400]

After soliciting me in vain to take official steps against Schweitzer, he has had the impudence to involve me in this scandal! I wrote him an extremely rude letter immediately upon receipt of the last *Wochenblatt*,[b] in which I reminded him how often he had already compromised me, and declared frankly that I would *publicly disavow* him as soon as he showed such impudence again.[401] (Impudence which, in addition, is a *lie*, since the General Council has never discussed the Schweitzer affair, etc., let alone passed a resolution.)

It depends on how Schweitzer, *who has been badly provoked*, now acts. I shall 'cast off' Mr Wilhelm if he should get me caught up in dirty work for the third time. The fellow does not even have the excuse that he marches with us through thick and thin. He commits his stupidities on his own behalf, betrays us when he sees fit, and identifies us with him as soon as he sees no other way out.

For about 6 days now I have had a large carbuncle on my left arm which, in 'this heat', is not pleasant.

I have another 'family' unpleasantness. I have noticed for some time that my wife was not able to manage on the money I give her every week, although there has been no increase in expenditure. Since I am anxious not to run into debt again, and since the

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[a] See the previous letter. - [b] 'Man schreibt uns...', *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 29, 17 July 1869.

money I gave her last Monday had already 'run out', I asked for an explanation. And the daftness of females then emerged. In the list of debts she had made me for you[a] she had suppressed ABOUT £75, which she was now trying to pay back BY AND BY out of the housekeeping money. Why, I asked? Reply: she would have been afraid to admit to the full sum! Females obviously need to be under constant tutelage!

Jennychen returned yesterday. Although half a year has passed now, Mrs Monroe has not yet paid her. The Scots hold tight to their CASH![371]

I don't know what to do about the journey. You know that my only aim in this business is to provide Jennychen with the recreation that is practically indispensable for her. But Kugelmann's illness has changed everything. I would not go to Karlsbad[b] to be his comrade-in-sickness, even if I had needed the trip for myself. And now to leave the child as companion with Frau Kugelmann.[394] Nothing at all can come of this. I expect you will write to tell me your opinion.

Mr Schweitzer's discovery that the Geneva committee consists mainly of workers is good![392] Bakunin and Schweitzer state councillors!

Bonaparte's rickety ways will soon lead to defections amongst his generals.

Between Prussia and Russia there is a row that does not seem completely 'play-acting'.

On Monday I wrote to Meissner, tersely and rudely.[402]

Laura and Lafargue and son are now in lodgings in Dieppe. My letter from Paris[c] to Lafargue senior had the desired effect.

*Salut.*

Your
Moor

Both Liebknecht's and Fritzsche's[391] letters indicate clearly that the delightful Wilhelm had directed the latter to me on the money issue.

The ideas the Germans in general hold about our financial means you will see from the enclosed letter from Kugelmann, *voce*[d] Bracke.[403] The fellows never sent a pfennig here. The General Council owes 5 weeks rent, and is in debt to its secretary. Peculiar conceptions!

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[a] See this volume, pp. 169-70. - [b] Karlovy Vary - [c] See this volume, pp. 314-15. - [d] regarding

I do not need to see the biography business.[a 390] This appears to be a sort of mania with Kugelmann.

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## 229

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 July 1869

Dear Fred,

I can only write you a few lines today. The thing is in full suppuration, so very painful, but will also soon be over. The swilling of arsenic will have to begin again.

This morning I received the enclosed screed from Liebknecht.[404] Which is the more extraordinary, the stupid impudence or the impudent stupidity? This honest fellow regards *official lies*, such as that about non-existent resolutions of the General Council, as permissible in his own mouth, but as highly reprehensible in Schweitzer's. And why did *he* achieve a *reconciliation* with Schweitzer the Monster in Lausanne? And his theory of action! This consists of giving Mr Wilhelm the right to make 'arbitrary' use of my name and that of the General Council wherever he considers appropriate. And the courage of this honest fellow! He claims to be against Lassalle, and so takes the part of the 'true' Lassalleans against the 'false' Lassalleans! Bracke, his man, after all accuses Schweitzer of declaring Lassalle's theory of state credit to be simply an agitational tool, and of not believing in panacea. He had involved me in 'battles'! In 'scandals', I wrote to him.[405]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

I regret that I did not know the book *Die Werkzeuge und Waffen, ihre Entstehung und Ausbildung, von Dr Gustav Klemm*, 1858, before

[a] F. Engels, *Karl Marx*. See this volume, p. 325.

the publication of my first volume.[a] What I indicated in the section 'Labour Process' and later 'Division of Labour'[406] is here proved with abundant material.

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## 230

## ENGELS TO MARX[398]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 July 1869

Dear Moor,

Don't go grey-haired over the £75[b]; as soon as Gottfried[c] pays me my next INSTALMENT, i.e., as soon as the accounts are balanced and the contracts signed, I shall send you the sum. Just make sure that nothing like this happens again; you know our calculations are very tight, and allow absolutely no MARGIN for extravagances. Thus, since 1 July, I have been noting all expenditures in order to see what all the stuff costs, and in order to find out where something can be cut if necessary.

The new carbuncle proves you must immediately swill arsenic again. Do not delay for a day longer. You should have taken the case under your arm here as warning, and started. Drinking arsenic doesn't hinder you in your ordinary way of life in any manner, so just go on taking it for 3-4 months in order to get rid of the business finally.

As regards your journey, if I were you I would pack my things as soon as Jenny is ready and your carbuncle has healed. You can then adjust your plans for the journey as you like, and also visit worthy Kugelmann. If this way—by ensuring that the period of your journey and his cure do not coincide, or only partly—you will best avoid the Karlsbad[d] business. *Amicus*[e] Kugelmann is, with regard to his health, certainly a considerable hypochondriac, and

[a] of *Capital* - [b] See this volume, p. 327. - [c] Gottfried Ermen - [d] Karlovy Vary - [e] Friend

would certainly be a rather doleful cure-companion in Karlsbad. Since I shall not be free before 15-20 August in any case, it would be madness for us to consider anything combined. If I should be free earlier, we can still see what can be done.

I should certainly come to serious grips with Mrs Monroe. Jenny should go to her and tell her frankly that she needs the CASH. Perhaps Mrs Monroe is waiting to receive a formal bill: MRS MONROE TO MISS MARX. TO ONE HALFYEAR'S TUITION, etc. And if Jenny's visit does not help, I would, in your place, write a polite but firm letter. You have to show these Scots that you know what BUSINESS is, and they then respect you all the more.

The impudence of old Wilhelm exceeds the possible.[a] Trying to convince you that, with his lying, he had remained 'within the bounds of your letter'! Just how lazy his conscience is in this connection is shown by the fact that he uses the phrase 'take into consideration' which he otherwise abhors, and by his closing, touching appeal to your good heart. The simpleton demands that we and the whole International should undergo all his metamorphoses *in re* Schweitzer, concluding peace when he concludes peace, thrashing Schweitzer when he thrashes him, and allowing him to lie to his heart's content in the name of the International whenever he thinks it 'necessary'. And *he* wants to prescribe to the Congress[b] who should be admitted and who not.

Also rather strong that, in the Vogt business[407] *he* has left the defence 'up to you!' and this 'for the sake of the Party'. He really takes himself what might be called seriously.

And how lame is the business with the factory inspectors! The government has flatly decided to introduce them, but Liebknecht has *prevented* this, naturally in the interests of the workers, so that they shall not be bribed by them. Bismarck prevented by Liebknecht! Quite something! Not to mention the craftiness of such a policy.

The *18th Brumaire* received yesterday with thanks. The book reads much better in a decent binding and without the misprints. The introduction is very good. This, and the book itself, will bring Wilhelm no pleasure. The manner in which democracy, and even more Social-Democracy, is treated is by no means grist to his mill, but rather on his head. Incidentally, he can no longer say he has no agitational material: we shall see what he does with it.

I am now on the *Journals, Conversations and Essays on Ireland* by

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[a] See the previous letter. - [b] The reference is to the Basle Congress of the International Working Men's Association.

Mr Senior (1843-58). Some FACTS and a few nice admissions, but generally only of special interest because they are stated by such a 'respectable' man. Therefore valuable for me, 2 volumes, 1868. I don't think there will be anything new in it for you.[408]

If Schweitzer had not got such a bad conscience, and if he had not committed the stupidity recently of *threatening* the International, then he would certainly have responded to Liebknecht's bull of excommunication[395]; he would have challenged the General Council on the question and then you would *have had* to disavow Monsieur Wilhelm. Instead of excommunicating Schweitzer in the name of the IWA, why does Wilhelm not grab Schweitzer because of this threat, and with this help put the General Council in a position in which it must say something in response to Schweitzer's threat? The fellow really is too clumsy.

The business with Bracke is also good.[403] These Lassallean menials are always shouting for money, just money. In my opinion, it would be very ill-advised of the IWA to send the Germans *even one pfennig* before they have paid regular dues for a period. The demoralisation that has prevailed since Lassalle and through him must be firmly removed.

Enclosed Kugelmann and Wilhelm returned. You will certainly be writing to Kugelmann yourself about your journey. Send me back Kugelmann's letter so that I can reply to him; without a bit of medical chat he won't release me.

Tussy is reading *Götz von Berlichingen*, and afterwards I'll give her *Egmont*.[a] Walks have almost ceased in this heat; today it will be somewhat cooler.

Best greetings from all to all.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Goethe's works

## 231

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 July 1869

DEAR FRED,

Amongst the enclosed PAPERS, look at the *Vorbote* and especially what I marked on pp. 105, 106.

You will see that OLD Becker[a] cannot give up making himself important.[409] With his *language group system* he casts aside our whole Rules and the spirit of the statute, and alters our organic system into an artificial construction of *arbitrary language relations* instead of *real state and national relations.* Extremely reactionary business, fitting for the pan-Slavists! And all this because we allowed *him provisionally* to remain the centre for his former correspondents, until the '*International*' in Germany *gets stronger.*

I immediately put a spoke in his wheel when he attempted at the Eisenach Congress[373] to promote himself as centre for Germany.

Bebel has sent me 25 thalers for the Belgians from his Workers' Educational Association.[410] Today I ACKNOWLEDGED this gift, and took the opportunity to write to him about Becker's fantasy plans.

I drew his attention to *Article 6 of the Rules*,[b] which only recognises *national central committees in direct contact* with the General Council and, where this is impossible because of the police, obliges the *local groups in each country* to correspond directly with the General Council. I explained to him the absurdity of Becker's pretensions and finally stated that if the Eisenach Congress—*quoad*[c] THE *INTERNATIONAL*—accepted Becker's suggestion, *we* would immediately and publicly *quash* it as *contrary to the Rules.*

Incidentally Bebel and Liebknecht had written to me *earlier*, SPONTANEOUSLY, that *they* had written to Becker telling him they did *not* recognise him but corresponded directly with London.

Becker himself is not dangerous. But, as we have been informed from Switzerland, his secretary Remy was pressed upon him by Mr Bakunin and is Bakunin's TOOL. This Russian obviously wishes

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[a] Johann Philipp Becker - [b] *Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association* (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 441-46). - [c] regarding

to become the dictator of the European workers' movement. He should be careful. Otherwise he will be officially excommunicated.

Your
Moor

As soon as I receive copies[a] from Meissner I shall send them to my friends in Manchester and Charles Roesgen.

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## 232

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

### IN HANOVER

Manchester, 28 July 1869

Dear Kugelmann,

Enclosed the biography suitably adapted for *Zukunft*,[390] and drawing attention to the *18th Brumaire.* I would be grateful if you had it copied there, since it would be better for Weiss *not* to know it is by me.

Marx will be writing to you, or will have already written, about the journey. You certainly will not get him to go to Karlsbad,[b] and as far as I am concerned, the business with the final accounts, etc. is dragging on so much that I have no idea *when* I shall be able to get away; it's as good as certain that this will *not* be before 15-20 August. It's very unpleasant, but since this is the last time that COMMERCE will burden me so, I should not grumble too much. This means that I shall scarcely get to see you this year, as I shall hardly get as far afield as Karlsbad.

In order to get the biography off today I must close now—so until next time, and let Karlsbad do some good to your gall-stones.

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[a] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, 2nd edition. - [b] Karlovy Vary

One of my sisters-in-law in Barmen also had some once, but she is happily rid of them, and once again round, fat and jolly.

Yours
F. E.

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## 233

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 July 1869

Dear Fred,

Enclosed the letter from Kugelmann.[394]

Things are better with the arm. Started with the arsenic.

The *Bee-Hive* is now under the control of Samuel Morley, since when everything too anti-bourgeois in the reports on our sessions is crossed out. For instance my entire exposition about Roman and German testate and intestate inheritance law at the last session of the General Council.[411]

During my stay in Paris[a] the fellows committed some stupidities, i.e. admitting 5 members of the Bronterre O'Brien Society,[412] fellows who are just as dumb and ignorant as they are quarrelsome and conceited about their sectarian secret wisdom.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Jennychen has received her 'little fortune'.[b] The dear child feels very happy about her 'own income'.

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[a] in the original: London - [b] See this volume, pp. 327 and 330.

# 234

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 30 July 1869

Dear Moor,

Old Becker must have gone completely off his head. How can he decree that the TRADES UNION *must* be the real workers' association and the basis of all organisation, that the other associations *must* only exist provisionally alongside, etc.[409] And all in a country where real TRADES UNIONS still do not yet even exist. And what a complicated 'organisation'. On the one hand each TRADE centralises itself in a national leadership, on the other hand the various TRADES in each locality centralise themselves again in a local leadership. If one wanted to make the eternal squabbling permanent, this would be the arrangement to adopt. But it is *au fond*[a] nothing but the old German journeyman's desire to preserve his 'inn' in every town, and takes this to be the unity of the workers' organisation. If many more such proposals come to light, the time at the Eisenach Congress[373] will be nicely debated away.

The international plans have naturally no other purpose than to ensure the leadership for Becker as far as the German tongue is heard (he has already annexed Mulhause in Alsace, see *Vorbote*, p. 109 under 'Basle'). In practice this fine organisation, with its leadership in Geneva, must come to grief on the German laws, since Becker has, as usual, made out the bill without the waiter. Generalising the idea of central committees based upon language, in other words putting the Genevan workers under Paris and the Antwerpers under Amsterdam (if Geneva is not intended to rule the whole of France and Walloon-Belgium, which those in free Geneva have very probably assumed), is presumably only designed to strengthen his claim to regency over the German language.[b] But it is very good that the *Eisenach* Congress and *not* the international *Basle* Congress[379] should settle these matters.

Incidentally, I would never claim to have understood Becker's plan properly; given the German and the logic which rule there, sense and understanding come to a complete stop.

It's quite clear that fat Bakunin is behind it. If this damned

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[a] basically - [b] See this volume, p. 332.

Russian really thinks of intriguing his way to the top of the workers' movement, then the time has come to give him once and for all what he deserves and ask the question whether a pan-Slavist can be a member of an international workers' association. The fellow can very easily be tackled. He should not imagine that he can play a cosmopolitan communist for the workers, and a burning national pan-Slavist for the Russians. A few hints to Borkheim, who is just dealing with him now, would be quite in order; Borkheim will undoubtedly understand a broad hint.

You will have seen that the worthy Swiss want to have 'direct legislation by the people'[413] discussed at the congress. That will be nice.

It really is a disgrace that after nearly 40 years of political workers' movement in England, the only workers' paper[a] in existence can be bought up by a bourgeois like S. Morley.[b] But unfortunately it appears to be a law of the proletarian movement that everywhere a part of the workers' leaders necessarily become corrupted, though it has happened nowhere else in the general fashion to which Lassalle developed it in Germany.

Tussy is now reading Firdusi[c] in the very good version by Schack; so far she likes it very much, but whether she will work right through the enormous volume is something different.

At the end of next week I think I shall finally be through with honest Gottfried,[d] and then I shall have about 14 days of freedom ahead of me. So if you want to make a plan for a journey, then make it and let me know; we could meet somewhere in Germany or in Holland too if you like, or we could leave London together. At the end of August I must meet my mother in Ostend, about the 20th or 25th. Can Tussy stay here in the meantime and keep Lizzie company? What do you think?

Your
F. E.

You will get money as soon as I am in order with Gottfried Ermen, possibly earlier, *id est* IF HE FORKS OUT BEFORE. Send the

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[a] *The Bee-Hive* - [b] See this volume, p. 334. - [c] Firdusi, *Heldensagen*. In deutscher Nachbildung nebst einer Einleitung über das Iranische Epos von Adolf Friedrich von Schack. - [d] Gottfried Ermen

enclosed to Tussy in a disguised hand; she will wonder where-from.

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## 235

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[29]

### IN HANOVER

[London,] 30 July 1869

Dear Friend,

I had (not yet quite healed) for ABOUT 12 days an abscess (carbuncular) on my left arm, which I had DITTO during my stay with Engels in Manchester,[353] under the armpit of my left arm. This is not, however, the reason that so far I have delayed my reply to your letter of 17 inst.

Since I would certainly not like to clash with your plans, and since I am personally interested in enjoying your company, I have taken various steps in order to arrange things in your sense. But this is *positively impossible.* I *must* be in *Holland* at the end of August with my relatives,[a] where all sorts of matters of interest and importance to me have to be settled. My proposal to transfer this *rendezvous* to another date has been turned down flatly, as the people whom I am meeting are all tied up by their business, and only have a certain time free for the meeting in Bommel.[b]

I shall, therefore, be leaving London at the end of August.[349] You should write and tell me when you will be back in Hanover. I shall then see to what extent I can adjust my further PROGRESS accordingly.

With best greetings to your dear wife and Fränzchen,[c]

Yours
K. M.

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[a] the Philips family - [b] Zalt-Bommel - [c] Kugelmann's daughter Franziska

P.S. In addition, during August Lafargue, wife and little son are coming to London.

First published in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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## 236

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 August 1869

DEAR FRED,

Because of Kugelmann my whole travel plan has been thrown to the winds.

If I visited him *before* he went to Karlsbad,[a] he would move heaven and earth to take me with him to this boring and expensive place—*or* I would hinder him in carrying out his own plan, which he must carry out for the sake of his health.

I have therefore written to him[b] that I *must* go to Holland on family business *at the end of August*, and from there I would perhaps have the opportunity to see him in Hanover *after* his return. I really knew no other way of arranging things. Other reasons for delaying the journey:

*Firstly*: the Lafargue FAMILY may be coming to London soon.

*Secondly*: If I left here now, the General Council would be completely at a loss with the necessary work with regard to the Basle Congress.[379]

Tussy appears to want to stay on in Manchester. During the 14 days of your absence the excuse for this is plausible. Your drawing will be sent to her from a local (English) seaside resort.[c]

Enclosed letters from Bebel and Wilhelm.[414]

You will I hope also be coming to London on your journey.

Your
Moor

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[a] Karlovy Vary - [b] See the previous letter. - [c] See this volume, p. 336.

So far I have not seen that Meissner has announced the *18th Brumaire*. His motto: *Chi va piano va sano.*[a]

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## 237

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 3 August 1869

Dear Moor,

Enclosed, returned, Wilhelm and Bebel[414] and, in addition, a draft on the UNION BANK OF London for £100, with which I hope the debts are done with for ever.

Since, as Tussy tells me, Jenny has September free too, you can of course postpone your journey until that month. I always thought that, because of Jenny, you were limited to only four weeks during which you *had to* travel.

The row between Schweitzer and the Leipzig people is getting jolly. The accusations that Bebel has been bribed by the Guelphs, and the threat of the Schweitzerians that they will impose their victory upon the congress by muscle power, point to a fine show.

How stupid it was of Wilhelm to allow Goegg to be co-signatory of his congress manifesto, and thus expose himself to the attacks of the *Social-Demokrat*.[415] But Wilhelm simply can't get along without his philistine republicans.

My documents should now be signed today week, if the lawyers are ready. I shall certainly not get away before Wednesday, 11th inst. In any case I shall see you in London on the way there or back.

Best greetings to all.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Who goes slowly goes surely.

So far I have watched in vain for the announcement of the *18th Brumaire.*

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## 238

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 August[a] 1869

DEAR FRED,

£100 received with BEST THANKS. I SHALL NOW WATCH THE PROCEEDINGS SO CLOSELY THAT SIMILAR MISTAKES, etc.

I am by no means in top form. The arm business is in the last stage of healing. I attribute my further indisposition to the weather, and I gulp Gumpert's liver medicine against it.

Yesterday there was a tragicomical meeting of the General Council. Dunning letters for cards, rent, arrears of secretary's salary, etc. In short, INTERNATIONAL BANKRUPTCY, so we can't yet see how we can send a delegate.[b] *On the other hand*, a letter from Geneva, FRENCH SIDE, in which the General Council was politely requested to issue a circular in the 3 languages advising all the members to collect money (and this immediately) for the purchase of a building in Geneva (for MEETINGS), which would cost only £5,000 and should become the property of the 'International'. Is this not a modest presumption on the part of these fellows, who have not yet paid their 1d. per man!

Becker, the chief of the German tongue,[c] sends 280d for his 'myriads'.

The gist of the story is this: the local committees (including central committees) spend too much money and tax their people too highly for their national or local needs, and leave nothing over for the General Council. Money is always there to print idiotic addresses to the Spaniards[416] etc., and for other FOLLIES. We shall be forced to declare to the next congress, either in written or

[a] 3 August in the original - [b] to the Basle Congress - [c] See this volume, p. 335.

spoken form, that we cannot continue to run the General Council in this way; but that they should be so kind, before they give us successors, to pay *our debts*, which would reach a much higher figure if most of our secretaries did not personally cover *correspondence costs.*

If only I could somewhere see people who would not involve us in stupidities, I would greet with the greatest pleasure the exit of the Central Council[73] from here. The business is becoming *ennuyant.*[a]

*Salut.*

El
Moro

Beesly married on 24 July.

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## 239

## ENGELS TO JENNY MARX (DAUGHTER)[417]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 8 August 1869

Dear Jenny,

I have received Lizzie's orders to thank you, in her name, for the very handsome and very considerate present you made her in the volume of Moore's *Irish Melodies.*[b] You could not have made her a greater pleasure. She knows, from her childhood, most of the tunes, but scarcely one of them completely, and so now she can refresh her rather broken-down memory from the book.

Next Sunday[c] there is to be a grand Irish concert in which the whole Fenian and non-Fenian company, convicted and unconvicted, will have to join. I only regret that the whole musical talent of our house will be unable to take full advantage of the book when Tussy will have left us; but then, Mary Ellen *will* have to learn as much as is required for that.

When are you and Moor going to Holland and Germany[d]? I

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[a] boring - [b] Thomas Moore, *Irish Melodies.* - [c] 15 August - [d] See this volume, p. 354.

have now, at last, made my arrangements. I shall have to be in Ostend on the evening of the 17th or morning of the 18th August and intend to stay there for about a week.[418] Probably I shall come over to London on Monday the 16th and spend a day with you, and to see whether I cannot make arrangements to meet you and Moor somewhere in Germany. If not, I shall very likely come straight home again from Ostend. I hope, however, that you will, in the meantime, bring your plans to some state of maturity so as to enable us to have a bottle of hock together in its native country.

With kind regards to Moor and your Mama, I remain

Yours faithfully
F. Engels

First published in *Friedrich Engels. 1820-1970. Referate, Diskussionen, Dokumente,* Hanover, 1971

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## 240

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 August 1869

DEAR FREDDY,

I am in a great dilemma with Tussy. The Lafargues have written that they will be arriving here next Tuesday or Wednesday.[a] If I do *not* inform Tussy that Fouchtra,[b] whom she loves fanatically, is coming, she will reproach me later. If I do inform her, there will be a tragic collision between her wish to stay with MRS Lizzie as promised, and the wish to see Fouchtra. I shall leave it to you to deal with the matter as you judge best.

In *L'International,* the French police sheet, an article 'La Dictature Universelle' against the INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION, evoked by the STRIKES in France, which follow blow upon blow. This article by Jerusalem[c] concludes as follows:

'Quoi qu'il en soit, on sait maintenant qu'il dépend de la Ligue de faire cesser la vie sociale là où il entrera dans ses vues de tout arrêter d'un seul mot. S'il se trouvait un ministre ambitieux qui sût gagner ses bonnes grâces, on comprend ce qu'il pourrait

[a] 17 or 18 August - [b] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [c] [Jerusalem,] 'La Dictature universelle', *L'International,* 3 August 1869.

contre des rivaux qui le gêneraient. Nous sommes parfaitement convaincu que ce même ministre, une fois arrivé à son but, n'aurait rien de plus pressé que de détruire la Ligue par des procédés radicaux; nous ne savons pas s'il y réussirait; mais, pour l'instant, nous déclarons que la Ligue internationale est véritablement la Dictature universelle. Attendons le moment où ses [caisses[a]] seront pl[eines].[a] [b]

If the fellow wants to wait until then he will have a long wait. The part of Wilhelm's speech (delivered in *Berlin*[c]) printed in the supplement demonstrates, beneath the stupidity, an undeniable cunning in arranging the affair suitably. By the way, this is very nice. *Since* the Reichstag may *only* be utilised as a *means of agitation*, one may *never agitate* there for something sensible and directly affecting the workers' interests! The worthy Wilhelm's illusion that, since Bismarck 'is fond of' turns of speech friendly to the workers, he would not oppose *real workers' measures* is REALLY CHARMING! 'As though'—as Bruno Bauer would say—Mr Wagener would not declare himself theoretically in the Reichstag *in favour* of the Factory Acts, but *in practice* against them 'since they would be useless under Prussian conditions'! 'As though' Mr Bismarck, if he really would and *could* do something for the workers, would not force the *implementation* of the existing legislation *in Prussia itself*! Merely because this occurred in Prussia, liberal 'Saxony' etc. *would have* to follow. What Wilhelm does not grasp is that the present governments flirt with the workers, but know full well that their only support lies with the bourgeoisie, and that they therefore scare the latter with phrases friendly to the workers, but are never *really able* to take steps against the bourgeoisie.

The brute believes in the future '*state* **of democracy**'! Secretly that means sometimes constitutional England, sometimes the bourgeois United States, sometimes wretched Switzerland. '*It*' has no conception of revolutionary politics. Copying Schwabenmayer,[d] he quotes as proof of democratic activity: the railway to California was built by the bourgeoisie *awarding* itself through Congress an

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[a] paper damaged - [b] 'Be this as it may, today one is aware that it depends upon the League to bring the life of society to a halt at that moment when it intends stopping everything with one word. If an ambitious minister were to be found who knew how to win their good graces, it may be understood what he would be able to undertake against rivals uncomfortable to him. We are perfectly convinced that this same minister, his goal once achieved, would find nothing more urgent to do than to take radical measures to destroy the League; we do not know whether he would be successful; but at present we declare that the International League is, in truth, the universal dictatorship. Wait until their cash-boxes are filled.' - [c] W. Liebknecht, 'Ueber die politische Stellung der Sozial-Demokratie...', *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 27 and supplement to No. 32, 3 July and 7 August 1869. - [d] Karl Mayer

enormous mass of 'public land', that is to say, *expropriating* it from the workers; by importing Chinese rabble to depress wages; and finally by instituting a new off-shoot, the 'financial aristocracy'.

Incidentally, I find it a cheek on Wilhelm's part to introduce our names *ad vocem*[a] Brass.[419] I declared myself *outspokenly* against his tippling with Brass and, at the same time,— *viva voce*[b]—declared: if this led to a scandal *we would publicly disavow him.*

The following passages from *Daniel Defoe's 'Memoirs of a Cavalier'*[c] may interest you.

1. Speaking of Cardinal Richelieu's army parade in Lyons, he states:

* 'The *French foot*, compared to the infantry I have since seen in the German and Swedish armies, were not fit to be called soldiers. On the other hand, considering the Savoyards and Italian troops, they were good troops.'*

2. Speaking of the beginning of Gustav Adolf's intervention in the German muck:

* 'First, they' (the German Protestant princes) 'were willing to join him, at least they could not find in their hearts to join with the emperor, of whose powers they had such just apprehensions; they wished the Swedes success and would *have been very glad to have had the work done at another man's charge*; *but like true Germans they were more willing to be saved, than to save themselves*, and therefore hung back and stood on terms.'*

I hope to see you next Monday.[d]

*Salut.*

Il Moro

Do not forget the small note-book I left with you. There are a few notes in it. Ditto regarding the worthy Dühring.

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[a] regarding - [b] orally - [c] [D. Defoe], *Memoirs of a Cavalier or a Military Journal of the Wars in Germany and the Wars in England from the Year 1632, to the Year 1648*, London [1720], pp. 19, 36. - [d] 16 August

# 241

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 12 August 1869

Dear Moor,

I have cut the Gordian knot regarding Schnaps[a] by simply informing Tussy of the FACT; whether this has plunged her into a natural conflict I do not know. Unfortunately, however, she now has something else to do, for, since last Friday, she has continuously had horrible toothache in the same tooth that gave her a lot of trouble earlier. So far she has borne the thing with astonishing heroism, but shortened sleep and the long nervous tension have had an effect, and today she looks somewhat exhausted. She said you didn't want the tooth to be pulled out; but I sent her today, since things could not continue thus, together with Lizzie to one of the leading dentists here, and told her she should submit to his judgement. After a long examination he said he hoped to save the tooth, but if the pain did not cease by Saturday morning, the tooth would have to come out. At all events, the child cannot stand this constant and nerve-racking pain every 6 months; her general health suffers far more from this than the whole tooth is worth. But I think I shall soon be able to give better news.

I must just call in at the Schiller Society,[76] and see what has happened in Eisenach.[373] On Saturday the two parties seem to have parted in peace, so they have at least avoided *general* fisticuffs.

The stupidity and meanness of the Urquhartites is demonstrated by the fact that they never mention:

*A RESIDENCE IN BULGARIA* BY St. Clair, LATE CAPTN. 28. REGT, AND Ch, Brophy, 1869.

The book is written by two fellows, of whom St. Clair, a former Crimean officer who knows Turkish, Polish, Russian and Bulgarian, lived 3 years in the country, and the other $1^1/_2$ years, and they are still there. The thing is written in a very lively and graphic style, and is worth more than any other book I know on the subject. For Englishmen the fellows are remarkably free of prejudices, though they have their blind-spots IN ECONOMICS and also

[a] Charles Étienne Lafargue; see this volume, p. 342.

IN POLITICS. But they can *see*. They arrived—at least Brophy did—as friends of the Christians, and changed their views completely in favour of the Turks. But since they *also find their blind-spots* in the Turkish governmental system (though here, too, they have something in common with Urquhart), the Urquhartites *are* not *allowed* to mention a book that is worth more than their entire *Free Press*, even from their own point of view. The FACTS in it are worth more to me than all the chatter by the Urquhartites, and SHORT-ARMED Collet can envy the two their description of Russian and French policy in Constantinople. The business is so described that you can read it, moreover with interest, and will be more useful here than 10 years of the *Free Press* with its oracular announcements.

Finished with Gottfried Ermen the day before yesterday.[a] Everything signed.[b] Finally *completely* free from the honorable gentleman.

Best greetings to all.

Your
F. E.

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## 242

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 13 August [1869]

Dear Jung,

Your letter just received (2 o'clock).

Go at all events.[420] The sending of Applegarth by his own Union will show to the continentals that the English workmen are not so indifferent in regard to the International as their ill-wishers say. It is only a pity that Applegarth does not even take part at our present discussions, so as to be able to represent our views.

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[a] 10 August - [b] See this volume, p. 320.

If care be not taken, the asses of Denmark street may work mischief. A letter ought also to be written to our Pole[a]—I have not his address.

Yours truly
K. M.

First published in Russian in *Bazelsky kongress I Internatsionala 6-11 sentyabrya 1869*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1934

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## 243

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 16 August 1869

Dear Moor,

Yesterday I received a telegram informing me that my mother will not be getting to Ostend until Wednesday evening. Since I must now wait for a letter from home providing me with more detailed information and since yet another reason requires that I still be here tomorrow, I telegraphed you today that I will not be coming until Wednesday.[b] Also, I am worried that if in the meantime the Lafargues should come I may not find night quarters in your doubtless full house and, this being the case, would like to know whether I might find lodging somewhere near you.

Tussy's tooth is out; the dentist found that since one of the three roots was inflamed the only solution was to extract. The pain is now gone.

I am planning to take the 3:30 Midlands train that arrives in London at 8:50.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Anton Zabicki - [b] 18 August

## 244

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 16 August 1869

Dear Moor,

CONFUSION WORSE CONFOUNDED[a]! A fresh telegram from home that my mother, because of a slight indisposition, will not be in Ostend tomorrow either, and that I shall only get more information on Thursday.[b] Since this means that the Ostend business has become uncertain, I have decided to go to Ireland with Tussy and Lizzie on Thursday evening, if nothing intervenes, and spend 10-14 days there.[421] The business could only be altered by a letter arriving from my mother on Thursday at the latest, but I cannot see, as things now stand, that this is in any way probable.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

More on Thursday.

Nearly forgot the main thing. Enclosed—£10 BANKNOTE, of which 5 from Moore and 5 from me as a contribution to the International. Send Moore his RECEIPT direct, S. MOORE, 25 DOVER STREET, OXFORD ROAD, MANCHESTER.

Y/D 69 237, Manchester, 30 January 1868.

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[a] J. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book II, 996. - [b] 19 August

## 245

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 17 August 1869

DEAR FRED,

Everything is READY here for your arrival.

Don't forget, either, to take a TICKET only to *KENTISH TOWN STATION* (just near us), or, if you take it to ST. PANCRAS STATION, at least to get out at KENTISH TOWN STATION.

Mr Lafargue, in principle, never announces the day of his arrival, on the basis that anxiety will thus be avoided should chance delays occur. That's a PRINCIPLE too!

I hope POOR Tussychen is ALL RIGHT again now.

I send, enclosed, Schweitzeriana,[a] for you to enjoy on the journey.

Your
K. M.

Enclosed—COPIES (Bonaparte)[b] for 1. Charles,[c] 2. Schorlemmer, 3. Moore, 4. Gumpert.

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## 246

## MARX TO ENGELS[174]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 August 1869

DEAR FRED,

Rather disappointed by YOUR LETTER, since all had hoped to see you here this evening. The plan about Ireland is very good (Lizzie

[a] This apparently refers to a series of articles: 'Der Congress zu Eisenach', *Der Social-Demokrat*, Nos. 93, 94 and 95, 10, 13 and 15 August 1869. - [b] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, 2nd edition. - [c] Charles Roesgen

and Tussy will be able to admire the 'CONVICTED' *in natura*) if nothing new intervenes. This evening the Lafargue FAMILY arrives, leaving Dieppe today at 10 o'clock.

The £10 received, but can't send RECEIPT *before Saturday*,[a] on which day there is a meeting of the sub-committee. The money is very welcome just before closing time.[b]

Yesterday Dupont announced that the French (or Paris) TRADES UNIONISTS (BRONZE WORKERS) had paid back £45, i.e., sent it to him to pay back.[422] This money was partly loaned and partly given to them years ago by the UNIONS here through our mediation. (Even earlier, £20 was sent on our instructions from Paris to Rouen.) I have arranged that *députés* shall wait upon the UNIONS here to appeal to their consciences when they pay in the money.—Incidentally, the Paris UNIONISTS have behaved very decently. Ditto, a letter arrived yesterday from Ludwig Neumayr, *de dato* Eisenach, with the following purport[423]:

'At the congress in Eisenach, it was resolved that the workers of Germany should be called upon to join the International Working Men's Association by taking out cards as central members. Since I have now been appointed by Joh. Ph. Becker in Geneva as the agent of the German-language sectional groups of the International Working Men's Association for *Wiener-Neustadt* and surroundings, I would request exact instructions as to how I should now act. With social-republican fraternal greetings, etc. Address: Ludwig Neumayr, editor of the *Wiener-Neustädter Wochenblatt* in *Wiener-Neustadt*, Austria.'

This is a blow to OLD Becker and also, in particular, to the 'language-group *cash-box*'. But the matter itself may not be mucked about because of private friendship.

You will recall *Werner* (bookbinder) of Leipzig, to whom I wrote from Manchester. Since then he has worked for us diligently.

Yesterday the adherence of an (Italian) group from Trieste arrived. Ditto from *Barcelona*; I enclose a COPY of the *organ*[c] of this new group.

In Posen—as Zabicki reported—the *Polish* workers (joiners, etc.) have victoriously ended a STRIKE with the assistance of their colleagues in Berlin.[424] This struggle against *Monsieur le Capital*—even in the minor form of a STRIKE—will deal with national prejudice differently from the peace declamations made by bourgeois gentlemen.

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[a] 21 August 1869 - [b] See this volume, p. 348. - [c] *Federacion*

I HOPE TO RECEIVE SOME LINES FROM TUSSY AS TO HER STATE OF HEALTH. MY BEST COMPLIMENTS TO MRS LIZZIE.

El
Moro

Much to be regretted is the sudden death of Sylvis (aged 41), President of the American Labor Union,[146] just *before* the meeting of the LABOR UNION CONGRESS, for which purpose he travelled across the United States agitating for nearly a whole year. Part of his work will thus be lost.

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## 247

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 5 September 1869

Dear Moor,

Got back here again midday yesterday[a] from Ostend. I arrived in London at 6.15 in the morning, found a train going here at 7.30, and journeyed on through, since I had scarcely slept all night, and was good for nothing else. I also thought you were away with Jenny,[b] and only here heard the contrary. This delay in your departure looks a little queer to me; I can't think that the Basle Congress[379] is alone to blame, and I am forced to ask myself whether it is not a money matter. When you asked for the £75 I sent you 100, imagining you could use the rest for the journey; since, however, I did not state this in so many words, you perhaps found another use for it; if this is so, *telegraph* me *tomorrow morning* (before 10 o'clock if possible), saying *how much you need*. We shall, you see, be leaving for Dublin tomorrow evening,[421] and I shall be going into town around 11-12 to look after money matters, so I could deal with this at the same time.

---

[a] 4 September - [b] See this volume, pp. 353-54.

I was in Engelskirchen[418] for a few days. People in Germany are becoming increasingly stupid. It is true that the workers' movement is closing in upon them threateningly, and they all flirt with it and have NOSTRUMS of all sorts, but their intelligence has not become any sharper; the opposite is true. My brother,[a] for instance, wanted to solve the social problem by 'redeeming labour', just as he redeems factory installations, buildings, machinery etc., by, for instance, putting a groschen *on the price* of each pound of yarn, and thus paying off the workers who have become old, sick and disabled! The *bonhomme*[b] was very surprised when I explained to him how hopelessly naive and absurd this idea was, and he finally promised to read your book.[c] Concerning the Prussian journeymen's provident funds, he gave me an article in Engel's statistical journal; the most blatant infamies of the statutes of Saxony are *not* present there, but otherwise everything similar.[425]

The greatest man in Germany is undoubtedly Strousberg. The fellow will soon become German Kaiser. Everywhere you go people talk of nothing but Strousberg. Incidentally, the fellow is not as bad as all that. My brother, who had negotiations with him, has described him very vividly to me. He has a lot of humour and some brilliant qualities, and, in any case, is immeasurably superior to Hudson the RAILWAY KING. He is now buying up all sorts of industrial establishments, and immediately cuts the working time to 10 hours everywhere, without reducing wages. He also has the clear knowledge that he will end up a really poor wretch. His main principle is: only swindle share-holders, but deal fairly with contractors and other industrialists. In Cologne I saw his portrait on exhibition; not bad at all, jovial. His background is completely dark: some say he is a qualified lawyer; according to others he kept a brothel in London.

Wilhelmchen[d] has now fallen so low that he may no longer say that Lassalle cribbed from you, and wrongly at that. This has emasculated the whole biography, and only he can know why he continues to print it.[426]

And he has declared the miserable *Felleisen*, not even the *Vorbote*, the journal of the bumpkins in Switzerland.[427] They are a fine bunch. Cf. the debate about social-democratic, democratic-social, or social-democratic + democratic-social workers' party at the Eisenach Congress. And Rittinghausen their prophet![428]

Wilhelm still makes no mention of the *18th Brumaire*. Here, too,

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[a] probably Rudolf Engels - [b] honest fellow - [c] the first volume of *Capital* - [d] Wilhelm Liebknecht

he would have to 'omit' various things that 'might upset' him and others!

With best wishes from all of us to all of you.

Your
F. E.

Enclosed—a picture for transmission to the zoologist Vogt. Liebknecht can arrange this through his friend Goegg. It is democratic in front and socialist behind, thus completely orthodox and democratic-socialist.

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## 248

## MARX TO ENGELS[33]

### IN MANCHESTER

Hanover, 25 September 1869

Dear Fred,

I had two unpleasant pieces of news from home today. Little Schnappy[a] is in a very bad way, and during our short absence has lost 1 1/2 pounds. Kugelmann insists—and is writing in this sense to London today—that Dr West in London, a famous children's doctor and, he believes, professor at Lafargue's hospital (St Bartholomew's) should be consulted. Second, Laura is again IN INTERESTING CIRCUMSTANCES, which is equally bad luck for herself and for Lafargue.

We have been here for 8 days. We stayed for several days in Belgium (Bruges and Liège), then on to Cologne. From there a visit to Dietzgen the thinker in Siegburg. From there to Bonn, and from there by steamer to Mainz. This journey delighted Jennychen. Unfortunately, afflicted by an importunate guest. In Bonn I had paid a call on Hagen in the evening. Not at home. Appeared next morning at the moment of our departure. Announcing that he

[a] Charles Étienne Lafargue

would accompany us to Rolandseck, we were saddled with him until Mainz. In Mainz we spent one day with Stumpf, who has a most delightful family (daughter and sister). Used the opportunity for a side trip to Wiesbaden. Omitted Ems. One day in Aachen with Karl Philips.

During this tour through Belgium, stay in Aachen, and journey up the Rhine, I convinced myself that energetic action must be taken against the clerics, particularly in the Catholic areas. I shall work in this vein in the International. Where it appears suitable, the rogues are flirting with workers' problems (e.g., Bishop Ketteler in Mainz, the clerics at the Düsseldorf Congress, etc.).[429] In fact we worked for them in 1848, but they enjoyed the fruits of the revolution during the period of reaction.

Everywhere I went people knew nothing about my *Louis Bonaparte*. On this point I sent Meissner a note that was by no means courteous. He has not so far replied.[430]

Liebknecht has written to me again about your *Peasant War*,[a] which is to be printed as a propaganda piece. As, this time, the thing is appearing under the auspices of the Eisenach Central Authority, I would advise you to make the necessary corrections, and to *send the thing in without delay*.[431] Since I shall probably have a rendezvous with Wilhelm in a few days,[b] write to me *by return* about your INTENTIONS.

Feuerbach has written to Kapp in New York in a sense similar— *mutatis mutandis*—to that in which Ruge[c] wrote about my book,[d] and Kapp for his part has informed our Meyer[e] in St Louis about the matter.

Jennychen has still not received an *ordre de retour*[f] from her EMPLOYERS.[g] The business is unpleasant. On the one hand, it is difficult to get away from here quickly. On the other, the CHANGE does the child a lot of good. She is looking really splendid.

Heartiest greetings to MRS Burns and Tussychen.

*Salut*

Your

K. M.

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[a] F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*. - [b] See this volume, p. 358. - [c] Ibid., pp. 542-43. - [d] K. Marx, *Capital*, Volume I. - [e] Sigfrid Meyer - [f] summons to return - [g] the Monroe family

## 249

## MARX TO LAURA LAFARGUE[80]

IN LONDON

Hanover, 25 September 1869

My dear Cacadou,[a]

I regret that I cannot celebrate at home the birthday of my dear clear bird's eye, but Old Nick's[b] thoughts are with you.[432]

Du bist beslôzen
In mînem Herzen.[c][433]

I was happy to see from Möhmchen's[d] letter (written in her usual amusing way, she is a real virtuoso in letter-writing) that your health is improving. Our dear little Schnappy,[e] I hope, will soon get better. At the same time, I fully share Kugelmann's opinion that Dr West ought to be consulted *at once* (or another medical man if he be absent). I trust you and Lafargue will in this case yield to my paternal authority, a thing, you know full well, I am not in the habit of appealing to. Nobody is more difficult to treat than a baby. In no case more immediate action is wanted, and any delay more hurtful. You must under no circumstances accelerate your departure from London. It would be really dangerous to the child and do no good to yourself. On this point, every medical man will give you the same advice.

I am glad the Basle Congress[379] is over, and has, comparatively speaking, passed off so well. I am always fretting on such occasions of public exhibition of the party '*mit allen ihren Geschwüren*'.[f] None of the actors was *à la hauteur des principes*,[g] but the higher class idiocy effaces the working class blunders. We have passed through no little German town the *Winkelblatt*[h] of which was not full of the doings of 'that formidable Congress'.

We are here in a sort of fix. The Kugelmanns will not hear of an early leave-taking. At the same time, Jenny is much improving in health consequent upon the change of air and circumstances.

With Liebknecht I am likely to meet, within a few days, at Brunswick. I decline going to Leipzig, and he cannot come to

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[a] Laura's nickname used by her family - [b] Marx's nickname used by his family - [c] Thou art enclosed in mine heart (Middle-High German). - [d] Marx's wife Jenny - [e] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [f] with all its ulcers - [g] highly principled - [h] local rag

Hanover, since the Prussians would probably give him the advantages of free lodging during the present prorogation of the Reichstag.[434]

My best thanks to Paul for his elaborate letter.[435] Meine herzlichsten Grüsse an das ganze Haus und[a] hundred kisses to yourself and my dear little Schnappy.

*Adio*, my dear child!

Ever yours

Old Nick.[b]

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## 250

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN HANOVER

Manchester, 27 September 1869

Dear Moor,

Since there is nothing doing with Eichhoff[c] it would be better if Wilhelm were to print the *Peasant War* than for it not to be printed at all. So I shall go through the piece right away. Incidentally, Wilhelm can write to me himself about it; he still has not replied to my last letter, and I don't see why I should make advances to him.[431]

Lafargue is madder with his doctoring than I expected. You must really take energetic steps, otherwise there might really be a misfortune.[d]

We returned safely from Ireland[e] last Thursday[f]; were in Dublin, the Wicklow mountains, Killarney and Cork. Greatly enjoyed ourselves, but both females returned even *hiberniores*[g] than when they departed.[421] Weather fine on the whole. According to the papers the weather with you is now even worse than here.

Learned from Trench's *Realities of Irish Life* the whole secret of why Ireland is so 'overpopulated'. The worthy gentleman proves with examples that, on average, the land is worked by the Irish peasants to such degree that an outlay of £10-15 per ACRE, which is

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[a] My heartfelt greetings to the whole family and - [b] On the inside of the letter: 'To Laura'. - [c] See this volume, pp. 282 and 297. - [d] Ibid., p. 353. - [e] Ibid., pp. 348 and 351. - [f] 16 September - [g] more Irish

*completely paid off* in 1-4 years, *raises* the rental value from 1s. to 20s., and from 4s. to 25-30s. per ACRE. *This* profit has to be brought into the pockets of the LANDLORDS.

Mr Trench, in return, is nicely checked by his own statements to Senior, which the latter has had published.[a] Trench tells the liberal Senior that, were he an Irish peasant, he too would be a RIBBONMAN[436]!

I would have visited Dietzgen from Engelskirchen,[418] but the highway to Siegburg had just been washed away and communications almost broken off.

Can't Jenny write to the Monroes, I should have thought the matter could be arranged.[b]

Ireland's trade has grown enormously over the last 14 years. Dublin port was unrecognisable. On Queenstown Quay I heard a great deal of Italian, then Serbian, French and Danish or Norwegian. THERE ARE INDEED A GOOD MANY 'ITALIANS' IN CORK, as the comedy has it. The country itself really looks depopulated, however, and you immediately get the idea that there are far too few people. Everywhere you are faced by the state of war. The ROYAL IRISH rush about everywhere in squads, with sheath-knives and sometimes revolvers at their belts, and unsheathed police batons in their hands; in Dublin a horse-drawn battery drove right through the centre of town, something I have never seen in England, and there are soldiers literally everywhere.

The worst thing about the Irish is that they become CORRUPTIBLE as soon as they cease to be peasants and fall into bourgeois ways. Of course this is true of most peasant nations. But in Ireland it's particularly bad, so the press is also particularly scurvy.

Moore is in the Tyrol; will probably return next week.

I expect you'll be going to Hamburg and seeing Meissner.[437] IF so, you may mention to him that I am working on something about Ireland, and will offer it to him in due time.[438]

Hearty greetings to Jenny and Kugelmann.

Tussy and Lizzie also send greetings.

Your

F. E.[c]

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[a] N. W. Senior, *Journals, Conversations and Essays Relating to Ireland*, Vol. 2, London, 1868, p. 208. - [b] See this volume, p. 354. - [c] On the inside of the letter: 'To Dr Marx'.

## 251

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

Hanover, 30 September 1869

DEAR FRED,

Your letter arrived yesterday evening.

Better news today from London on Schnappy's health.[a] Laura and Lafargue intend to leave London as soon as the little one's condition makes it possible. Under these circumstances, Tussy's *IMMEDIATE RETURN* to London appears necessary. Laura will hold it against her very much if she should leave for Paris without Tussy attempting to see the Lafargue family first.

I have *just* gossiped away an hour with a deputation of 4 Lassalleans sent to me by the local branch of the German General Workers' Association.[104] I naturally conducted myself with great reserve and diplomacy, but *sub rosa*[b] I informed the people of the necessary.[439] We parted good friends. I naturally rejected their invitation—extended in the name of the Association—to lecture to them.

On Sunday another delegation arrives from Brunswick: Bracke, Bonhorst, Spier.[440] This is less agreeable to me.

Liebknecht writes that he can't come because of the Prussians.[434]

But: 1. In this way, to Hamburg 2 days instead of 4 hours. 2. Simply for travelling expenses—extra expenditure of ABOUT 40 thaler. I NEITHER LIKE NOR AM ABLE TO AFFORD.[c]

I must close, since the mail is only open until 1.15 (the first) and now it is 10 MINUTES PAST ONE.

Shall speak to Meissner about your book.[438]

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 353 and 356. - [b] confidentially - [c] See this volume, pp. 355-56.

## 252

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[29]

IN HANOVER

London, 12 October 1869

Dear Kugelmann,

In all haste, as Tussychen and Engels have just arrived. You will see from these lines that we arrived safely in England during yesterday.[349] We had several marine and other adventures, about which Jennychen will write you more.

In the meantime, our heartiest greetings to the whole family.

Your
K. M.

Special greetings to *Madame la comtesse*[a] and Käuzchen[b]! Ditto greetings from Engels, Lafargue, Mrs Marx, etc. The little one[c] is well again.

First published in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

## 253

## MARX TO PAUL AND LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 18 October 1869

My dear Paul and Laura,

I send you to-day the manuscript of Mr Keller.[441] I cannot find his address. So you must through the aid of Schily get it out from M. Hess.

Tell Mr Keller that he shall go on. On the whole, I am satisfied with his translation, although it lacks elegance and is done in too negligent a way.

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[a] Gertrud Kugelmann - [b] Franziska Kugelmann - [c] Charles Étienne Lafargue

He will do best to send me every chapter *through you.* As to chapter IV I shall subdivide it.[442]

The changes I have made in this chapter II need not be maintained, but they show the direction in which I want the corrections to be made.

As to the word '*Verwertung*'[a] see my note p. 12 of his manuscript. He must make a note on it for the French reader.

I doubt whether the frequent *large printing of words* will do for French printers.

In German we use the word 'Process' (procès) for economical movements, as you say chemical procès, *si je ne me trompe pas.*[b] He translates by 'phenomena' which is nonsense. If he can find no other word, he must always translate by 'mouvement' or something analogous.

Kiss dear Schnappy on my behalf.

Yours
Old Nick

I have received a letter from St Petersbourg. A Russian sends me his work (in German[c]) on the situation of the peasantry and the working class generally in that benighted country.[443]

[In Lafargue's handwriting]

Faire remarquer à Keller que les mots pointillés sont maintenus dans le texte.[d]

First published in *Annali dell'Istituto G. G. Feltrinelli*, an. 1, Milano, 1958

Reproduced from the original

[a] increase of value - [b] if I am not mistaken - [c] should be 'in Russian' - [d] Let Keller retain the words underlined by dots.

## 254

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, Friday, 22 October 1869

Dear Moor,

In all haste have enclosed the photographs, of which Jenny should select one. I have a bad grippe because of the great change in temperature, but it is starting to get better.

The book by Wakefield[a] is cited by Butt[b] as *A View of Ireland* and also *An Account of Ireland*, 2 volumes, 1812 or 1813.

Young's book is called: *A Tour in Ireland*, 2 volumes, date not given.

Ranc's novel[c] is very nice.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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## 255

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 October 1869

Dear Fred,

Best thanks for the photograms.

I am also suffering from a bad grippe.

I have already ordered the A. Young, and will write to the same man (Adams) about the Wakefield.[d]

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[a] E. Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political*. - [b] I. Butt, *The Irish People and the Irish Land: a Letter to Lord Lifford*. - [c] A. Ranc, *Le Roman d'une conspiration*. - [d] See the previous letter.

According to Lafargue's letter, great excitement rules in Paris.

I have been sent from St Petersburg a thick 500-page Flerovsky volume on the condition of the Russian peasants and workers.[443] Unfortunately in *Russian.* The fellow worked on the book for 15 years.

The great Bakunin is now off to Naples, as DELEGATE to an atheists' congress being held there in opposition to the oecumenical consilium.[444]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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## 256

## ENGELS TO MARX[33]

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 24 October 1869

Dear Moor,

My grippe has happily—in the main—been conquered by limiting beer consumption, staying at home in the evening and consuming linseed tea with lemon and honey.

I was happy to discover the Wakefield[a] here in my SUBSCRIPTION LIBRARY—that is to say, in the catalogue, for in reality it was not to be found. They are trying to track it down; I shall write to you about it again. It consists of *2 fat quarto volumes.* In fact, I find that quite a number of the things I have here are very useful, particularly for the 1500-1800 period, and some very important, so if Wakefield comes to light and Young[b] can be flushed out, I would need virtually only quite modern things. Sadler[c] is here too.

About the Flerovsky[d]—the name is non-Slav and, in particular,

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[a] E. Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political.*- [b] A. Young, *A Tour in Ireland...*, Vols. I-II.- [c] M. Th.Sadler, *Ireland; Its Evils and Their Remedies.*- [d] The reference is to Н. Флеровскій, *Положеніе рабочаго класса въ Россіи.*-

un-Russian, not a single Russian word starts with *fl*, apart from flangovy, flot, flankirovat,[a] etc.—you will probably need Gaudissart[b]; for although one can learn enough Russian in 3 months to read such a book, you have no time for this at the moment. Let Gaudissart look at it, and if it is worth something, I may be able to read myself to some extent into Russian again with it, as soon as I am finished with Ireland. From Ireland to Russia *il n'y a qu'un pas*.[c]

Enclosed envelope of your 2nd letter from Hanover,[d] which shows signs of Prussian attention, though I fail to grasp how the people found the time, since you only posted the letter 10 minutes before the close of post. Between then and the time when the train left, however, they may have found the time for a *tête-à-tête*.

Irish history shows what a misfortune it is for one nation to subjugate another. All English abominations have their origin in the Irish PALE.[445] I still have to bone up on the Cromwellian period, but it appears clear to me that things in England would have taken another turn but for the necessity of military rule in Ireland and creating a new aristocracy.

Your
F. E.

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## 257

## MARX TO ENGELS[446]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 30 October 1869

DEAR FRED,

Please return to me after reading the enclosed letters from Bonhorst and the Goeggiana.[447]

That Serno should have expedited himself from life into death is only natural, but that Bakunin, with whom he stood on bad

[a] flank man, fleet, flanking - [b] Sigismund Borkheim - [c] it is only one step - [d] See this volume, p. 358.

terms right to the end, should immediately have seized his papers, is an unnatural discovery.[448]

Apropos. The secretary[a] of our French Genevan committee[b] is utterly fed up with being saddled with Bakunin, and complains that he disorganises everything with his 'tyranny'. In the *Égalité*, Monsieur Bakunin indicates that the German and English workers have no desire for individuality, so accept our *communisme autoritaire*. In opposition to this, Bakunin represents *le collectivisme anarchique*.[c] The anarchism is, however, in his head, which contains only one clear idea—that Bakunin should play first fiddle.

For a complete understanding of Goegg's and Bonhorst's letters, you should know that the bumpkins' (or rather their representatives') party in Switzerland, Austria and Germany, are screaming blue murder about the resolution of the Basle Congress on *propriété foncière*.[d]

The foolishness and weakness (exploited by the cleverer Schweitzer) with which Wilhelm and his consorts reply to the howls by Schwabenmayer[e] and the rest of their anti-People's Party supporters,[449] make one's hair stand on end. It has not even occurred to one of these jackasses to ask the liberal howlers if there does not, perhaps, exist in Germany, side by side with small peasant property, also large landed property, which forms the basis of the surviving feudal economy; whether it will not be necessary to put an end to this in the course of a revolution, if only to put an end to the present economy of the state; and whether this can be done in the antiquated manner of 1789[450]? *Quod non*.[f] The jackasses believe Schwabenmayer's statement that the land question is only of direct practical interest for England!

The creation of the *Land and Labour League*[451] (incidentally, directly inspired by the General Council) should be regarded as an outcome of the Basle Congress[379]; here, the workers' party makes a clean break with the bourgeoisie, NATIONALISATION OF LAND [being] the STARTING POINT.[g] Eccarius has been appointed active secretary (in addition to Boon as HONORARY ONE), and is being paid for it.

I have been instructed by the GENERAL COUNCIL to write a few words to the ENGLISH WORKING CLASS about the IRISH PRISONERS' DEMONSTRATION LAST SUNDAY. Being so busy, I have no inclination to do it, BUT

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[a] Henri Perret - [b] The Federal Council of Romance Switzerland - [c] See 'Nouvelles de l'étranger. France, Lyon, le 1er octobre 1869; Paris, le 21 vendémiaire, an 78 (12 octobre 1869)', *L'Égalité*, No. 39, 16 October 1869. - [d] landed property - [e] Karl Mayer - [f] But no. - [g] See [Resolution of the Basle Congress on landed property], *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress...*, p. 26.

MUST BE DONE. The demonstration was quite incorrectly reported in the London papers. It was capital.[452]

Best greetings to MRS Lizzie and the Sunday guests.

Your
K. M.

The Prussians closed my letter to you from Hanover[a] so badly partly out of shortage of time, and partly out of anger at finding nothing in it.

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## 258

## ENGELS TO MARX[446]

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 November 1869

Dear Moor,

The resolution on landed property[b] has worked real wonders. It forces the fellows in Germany to think, for the first time since Lassalle started his agitation, something hitherto regarded as completely superfluous. This can be seen plainly in the letter from Bonhorst.[453] In other respects, too, I find the letter not bad; despite the affectation and semi-education, it contains a certain healthy popular humour and, with the mortgage, he has hit the nail on the head. Incidentally, the people forget that, apart from the main business with big landed property, there are also various sorts of peasant: (1) the tenant farmer to whom it is immaterial whether the land belongs to the state or to the big landowner; (2) the owner, first the big peasant, against whose reactionary existence the day-labourers and farm-hands should be incited; second the middle peasant, also reactionary and not very numerous; and third, the debt-laden small peasant, who can be got at through his mortgage. In addition it may be said that, for

[a] See this volume, p. 358. - [b] Ibid., p. 364.

the time being, the proletariat has no interest in raising the question of *small* land-holding.

It is delightful that that simple soul Goegg has now been sacked by his own people for being too communist! The worthy Ladendorff is behind this. Beust[a] may be a communist on paper, but can easily be caught if he is told that the money was not given for that reason, but only to revolutionise Germany in general. Now *we* are supposed even to keep alive the unhappy *Felleisen*, though all that can be said is that, the sooner it goes to the devil, the better.

You could send me some characteristic specimens of the German stuff so that I might remain a little *au courant*.[b]

The Prussians have once again produced a wonderful Prussian trick by destroying the Langensalza memorial in Celle. Never has anything been more grovelling than Mr Miquel's interpellation on this point. Roon took the opportunity to conclude that, in Prussia, an official order from above is sufficient for the military to trample on any court decision.[454]

I am sorry about Serno[c]; he seems, for a change, to have been a decent Russian.[448] But I am still sorrier for Goegg with his opinion about Serno's classical French,[d] of which we have also seen samples.

It is a real stroke of luck that the *Bee-Hive* is now flaunting the bourgeois colours both insolently and stupidly. I have never seen such a filthy issue as that of yesterday.[455] This cringing to Gladstone and the whole bourgeois-patronising-philanthropic tone must break the back of the sheet, and make the need felt for a real workers' paper. It is a very good thing that, just at the moment when the workers sober up from their liberal intoxication, their only paper should become more and more bourgeois. But Sam Morley should not be so stupid as to put such stupid chaps there, and to allow them to spread the bourgeois varnish so thickly and so obviously.

The Fenian demonstration in London[e] simply proves once again the value the press attaches to public opinion. About 100,000 assembled in the most imposing demonstration seen in London for years and, since it is in the interests of RESPECTABILITY, the entire London press, with no exception, manages to depict this as a shabby FAILURE.

In connection with the present STRIKE by the spinners in

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[a] Friedrich von Beust - [b] in the know - [c] Serno-Solovyevich - [d] See this volume p. 186. - [e] Ibid., pp. 364-65.

Bolton,[456] a MASTER SPINNER told Sam Moore quite frankly: WE DON'T CARE AT ALL ABOUT THE 5% REDUCTION OF WAGES, WHAT WE WANT AND INTEND TO HAVE IS A REDUCED PRODUCTION (that is to say a *STRIKE*).

The Wakefield[a] has still not been found here. But before I need it, I must check the basis more thoroughly, that's to say, the history of 1600-1700.

So that my Irish sources should not lack a comic side, I have found here in the FOREIGN LIBRARY *Irland* by Jacobus Venedey!

Best greetings. Lousy weather here.

Your
F. E.

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## 259

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 6 November 1869

DEAR FRED,

I send you 1 *Pionier*, 1 *Volksstaat*, and various copies of *Social-Demokrat*.

You will see from the *Pionier* that Heinzen believes I only wrote *Capital* so that *he* should not understand it.[457]

Schweitzer—utilising Liebknecht's anxiety with regard to his democratic friends[b]—is behaving as though polemics against landed property were the first word in the Lassallean creed! *Quelle impudence!* Incidentally, Bonhorst did him good service in an issue of the *Volksstaat* that I cannot find.[458] I don't know whether you receive the *Volksstaat*.

Bonhorst's arrest is good.[459]

There could be nothing more ridiculous than the respectable people's fear concerning the Queen's procession today.[460] Every-

[a] E. Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political*. - [b] See this volume, p. 364.

where overrun by police as in France. The whole alarm was produced by a HOAX. A few agitators have had their fun in the past few weeks, circulating HANDBILLS calling on the starving workers of the East End to present themselves *en masse* to the Queen, and *de ne pas laisser passer la reine*.[a]

My family has just returned from the spectacle. Icy coldness amongst the public. Madame is said to have stared fuming-mad and ultra-crabby.

I shall send you, in the next few days, a volume I happened to pick up, which contains all sorts of pamphlets on Ireland. Those by Ensor (whom I also quoted in *Capital*) contain many piquant points.[b] Ensor was a political economist of English origin (his father still lived in England when Ensor was born), Protestant and, despite all this, one of the most resolute REPEALERS[461] before 1830. Being himself indifferent to religious things, he can defend Catholicism with wit against the Protestants. The first pamphlet in the book is by Arthur O'Connor. I had expected rather more of it, since this O'Connor played an important role in 1798,[462] and I have found good articles by him about Castlereagh's administration in Cobbett's *Political Register*. Tussy should sometime look through Cobbett, for something there about Ireland.

This week Tussy and I lost 3 days putting my workroom in order. It had become jumbled to the frontiers of possibility.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

TUSSY SENDS HER BEST COMPLIMENTS TO THE FAMILY.

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[a] not let the Queen pass - [b] G. Ensor, *An Inquiry Concerning the Population of Nations: Containing a Refutation of Mr. Malthus's Essay on Population* and *Anti-Union. Ireland as She Ought to Be*.

## 260

## ENGELS TO MARX[33]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 9 November 1869

Dear Moor,

That is quite a bit of impudence with the vaudeville about the *Régence*.[a] I would scarcely have expected the EMPIRE to put up with something like this. But we see what can be done with pluck, though of course, our Guidos and Wilhelms[b] will not take this as their example.

The *Réforme*, just like *Réveil* and *Rappel*, is rather weak, though a certain amount of declamation can be excused at the moment. The fellows are confused, however. Among them, particularly Raspail. The idea of selecting a provisional government at this very date is as good as a joke against Bonaparte, but otherwise, naturally, nonsense. Bonaparte is supposed to be ill again; things appear to be drawing to an end for him physically, too.

Schweitzer's turnabout immediately to adopt the Basle decision on landed property and to behave as though he and Lassalle had always preached this, is extraordinarily bare-faced,[458] but very ingenious vis-à-vis the simple souls *à la* Wilhelm. But what should they do when confronted by this blackguard, who has enough brains always to behave correctly as far as theory is concerned, and who knows that they are completely at a loss as soon as a theoretical point comes up. Incidentally, I did *not* see the *Volksstaat* here.

I did not expect Monsieur Carey[c] to be such an amusing bit of reading. I find his cock-and-bull stories of natural sciences read very well and provide plenty of occasions for laughter. I would not have dared consider the man so stupid and uninformed. For instance, he has disintegrated carbon, and it consists of carbonic acid and CINDERS! Ditto, water disintegrates into vapour. Geology proves that plants and even ferns were in existence long before any animal! The disintegration of metals is a mere trifle for him—in voltaic batteries the tin and copper of which they consist are disintegrated! And a hundred other things. Ditto, his historical

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[a] Apparently, *La Régence de Decembrostein*, Paris, 1869. - [b] reference to Guido Weiss and Wilhelm Liebknecht - [c] H. Ch. Carey, *Principles of Social Science*. First edition was published in 1858-59. Engels used the 1868-69 edition.

fables. The fellow imagines that, in South Lancashire, among other places the Forest of Rossendale (a dense industrial district), the rental is so high only because the ground here is extremely productive of corn! I am making you a whole pile of marginal notes, etc., and as soon as I have read the rent theory I shall write my opinion of it and return the book to you. He naturally explains the origin of rent with just such a nonsensical cut-throat theory as Ricardo, and also his idea *of how it took place* is as absurd as the way all economists imagine such things. Yet this does not affect the theory of rent itself. What Carey means by the 'best land' can be seen from the fact that, according to him, even today in the Northern States it is *only profitable in exceptional cases* to cultivate the so-called best land!

Post closing. Best greetings to all.

Your
F. E.

Vaudeville to be returned tomorrow.

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## 261

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 November 1869

Dear Fred,

This week something suspicious has displayed itself in my left arm-pit (as in Manchester[353]), and on my leg. Arsenic again immediately. Additionally, Tussy forces me to take long walks with her after 1 or 2 o'clock every day. Finally, today introduced surreptitiously *for the first time* a flannel vest, since a cold in this state is not pleasant.

You are surprised by the pluck of the French,[a] and speak SOMEWHAT SNEERINGLY of us upright Germans. What risks we take you will see from the enclosed extravaganza.

In Stuttgart, in accordance with his habit, Freiligrath once again had himself photographed in several dozen poses, decked out as a statue, etc. The most successful holy picture of this Classen-Kappelmann-hero[463] is—*verbotenus*[b]—a scene in which he *as a lion* rides on a *camel*. This is probably a back-hander for Heine's camel who defeats the lion.[c]

Liebknecht will be taking off next week for 3 months in prison, and has sent Borkheim a desperate plea for money.

What scares me about the French is the terrible confusion in their heads. Ledru-Rollin's circular letter is quite that of a pretender.[464] He really appears to take *au sérieux*[d] the dictatorship over France offered him by Heinzen. On the other hand, *Zukunft* has been good enough to offer Mr Acollas, whom nobody in Paris knows, a post in the provisional government, because he had called the French to accept Dr J. Jacoby's programme instead of the antiquated human and *citoyen*[e] rights of 1793. One good turn deserves another. I find that OLD Jacoby himself is not playing properly the role he dictated for himself. Grasping the opportunity of the Hanoverian event,[454] should he not call on the Prussian sergeant-major-government—since Prussia is, after all, a 'military state'—also to lay aside those useless and, at the same time, expensive decorations, such as chambers, civil courts and the like? Wrapping oneself up silently in the depths of one's own moral indignation does not lure a soul from his hearth.

A while ago, the Russian gentlemen bombarded an island near Korea just for amusement, as Borkheim discovered in a Moscow newspaper.[f] Not a word about it in the English papers. If things go on like this, these fine fellows will soon be in possession of Japan.

The latest MEETINGS in Ireland were very nice; the clerics were seized by their collars and removed from the speaker's stand. Instead of the programme on Ireland,[g] for which there is no proper motive, I have had (in order to adopt resolutions) the following placed on the agenda for next Tuesday.[h]

1. Proceedings of the English ministry on the Irish amnesty question!

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[a] See this volume, p. 369. - [b] literally - [c] See H. Heine, *Atta Troll*. - [d] seriously - [e] citizen - [f] «Бомбардированіе корейской крепости винтовой лодкой *Соболь*», *Московскія вѣдомости*, No. 207, 23 September 1869. - [g] See this volume, p. 364. - [h] 16 November

2. The attitude of the English working class to the Irish question.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 262

## MARX TO SAMUEL DAVENPORT[465]

London, 12 November 1869
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, N. W.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose a post office order for 2 guineas as my yearly subscription for the Society of Arts.[356]

Yours obediently
Karl Marx

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## 263

## ENGELS TO MARX[180]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 17 November 1869

Dear Moor,

I hope the arsenic and the exercise will have thundered a rapid retreat to that certain 'suspicious' matter. But I also hope that

these constant relapses will finally lead you to the conclusion that you must commence a more rational way of life. You poison your blood yourself by making regular digestion impossible. And you certainly don't then produce the same quantum (and *quale*[a]) of work as you would under normal circumstances.

The idyllic drama *Familienglück coram Philistaco* is really enchanting.[b] One does not know what to admire more, the *fadaise*[c] of the speeches and the poets (only interrupted by the nasty-sounding nonsense of boozy Karl Beck), or the importunity of the family, which has something like this printed as 'manuscript for friends' (that is PUBLIC *for non-friends*). But it is not quite clear to me how the noble Freiligrath can have printed the intrepid words of the tender-hearted Walesrode: that the poet Freiligrath has also achieved something in the way of worldly possessions (by begging[6]). I would like to have seen the faces in his family when these words were uttered.

Monsieur Ledru-Rollin is certainly reckoning on nothing other than a dictatorship. The little fellow Louis Blanc also re-emerged as though nothing had happened—why not the others? At a moment like this, the bourgeois press does not tell us anything about what is really happening, and even the revolutionary press does not suffice to enlighten one. The confusion is certainly great, but it is equally certain that the crisis is not yet really close. But a general in Paris has said: *Nous avons encore un Empereur, mais l'empire n'existe plus*.[d]

The Russians are having a rare old time of it in Asia. They are now happily waging war with the Khan of Kashgar,[e] formerly subject to the Chinese, but who has now made himself independent. If they subdue *him*, they will run directly up against countries already under English dominion (Ladekh, Kashmir), about 200 miles from the English frontier. You will have seen Vámbéry's news (taken over by English papers from the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*[f]) about the trickery in Bukhara (where, under treaty, Russian goods pay 3% customs, English 40%!), Afghanistan, etc. John Bull's stupidity is becoming ever greater, as a result of his bumptiousness.

Isn't it the best joke of the Irish to propose O'Donovan Rossa as candidate for Tipperary? If this succeeds, Gladstone will find himself in a fine fix. And now, again, an amnesty in Italy.[466]

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[a] quality - [b] See this volume, p. 371. - [c] rubbish - [d] We still have an Emperor, but the Empire no longer exists. - [e] Mohammed Jakub Beg - [f] H. Vámbéry, 'Eine neue Wendung in der central-asiatischen Frage', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 308, 4 November 1869. See also *The Times*, 8 November 1869.

I hope to read at length about the debates, etc., in the International[a] next Sunday in the *Bee-Hive*. Be sure to send me any documents there may be. Last Sunday the *Bee-Hive* had nothing about the International but, instead, something about the wedding of the Duke of Abercorn's daughters.

Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement* is OUT OF PRINT. You would, therefore, oblige me greatly if you *order it second-hand* immediately. Butt's *Irish People*: NONE in London. Other Irish pamphlets, e.g., those of Lords Rosse and Lifford: CANNOT FIND. These are the answers my bookseller received from his London agent, and he told me the English book trade could not, in any case, occupy itself with obtaining publications appearing in Ireland, since it is not usual to have a correspondent in Dublin, but only in London. Now I shall write direct to Duffy in Dublin.

I have found here a number of very useful things about Ireland. Wolfe Tone's *Memoirs* etc., that is, in the *catalogue*. As soon as I ask for these things in the library, they cannot be found, like, for instance, Wakefield.[b] Some old fellow must have had all the stuff out together and returned it *en masse*, so the whole pile is lying hidden somewhere. In any case, these things must be found.

Goldwin Smith in *Irish History and Irish Character* is quite the wise bourgeois thinker. Ireland was intended by providence to be GRAZING LAND, the prophet Léonce de Lavergne[c] foretold it, *ergo pereat*[d] the Irish people!

I wanted to write about Carey[e] today, but was interrupted. Soonest.

Best greetings to all the LADIES.

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 371-72, 375-76, 386-87, 392-93. - [b] E. Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political*. - [c] L. de Lavergne, *The Rural Economy of England, Scotland and Ireland*. - [d] so perish - [e] H. Ch. Carey, *Principles of Social Science*.

## 264

## MARX TO ENGELS[467]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 November 1869

DEAR FRED,

I am sending you today a parcel by BOOKPOST, containing 1. the volume of Irish pamphlets[a] (especially *Ensor* OF SOME VALUE,[b]) 2. *Social-Demokrat* and *Volksstaat*, 3. 3 COPIES for you, Moore and Schorlemmer of the *Report on the Basle Congress.* I don't know if I have already sent it. In this case, the COPIES can be given to other people.

I'll look after your commissions.[c]

The *Bee-Hive completely suppressed* the report (by Eccarius) on the latest session,[d] on the *pretext* that it had received it too late. The real reason was that:

1. it did *not* wish to *announce* that the GENERAL COUNCIL would open a discussion on the Irish question at its next meeting;

2. in the report, unfavourable references were made to it (i.e., to Mr Potter), about the LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.[451] The fact is that Mr Potter *failed* glaringly as a candidate for the COMMITTEE of the LEAGUE.

Last Tuesday[e] I opened the discussion on point 1: *the attitude of the British Ministry to the IRISH AMNESTY QUESTION*. I spoke for ABOUT an hour and a quarter, MUCH CHEERED,[468] and then proposed the following resolutions ON point No. 1:

* Resolved,

that in his reply to the Irish demands for the release of the imprisoned Irish patriots—a reply contained in his letter to Mr O'Shea etc. etc.—Mr Gladstone deliberately insults the Irish Nation;

that he clogs political amnesty with conditions alike degrading to the victims of misgovernment and the people they belong to;

that having, in the teeth of his responsible position, publicly and enthusiastically cheered on the American slaveholders' Rebellion,[469] he now steps in to preach to the Irish people the doctrine of passive obedience;

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[a] See this volume, p. 368. - [b] G. Ensor, *An Inquiry Concerning the Population of Nations...* and *Anti-Union. Ireland as She Ought to Be.* - [c] See the previous letter. - [d] of the General Council on 9 November 1869 - [e] 16 November

that his whole proceedings with reference to the Irish Amnesty question are the true and genuine offspring of that '*policy of conquest*', by the fiery denunciation of which Mr Gladstone ousted his Tory rivals from office;

that the *General Council* of the '*International Working Men's Association*' express their admiration of the spirited, firm and highsouled manner in which the Irish people carry on their Amnesty movement;

that these resolutions be communicated to all branches of, and working men's bodies connected with, the '*International Working Men's Association*' in Europe and America.*[a]

Harris (an O'Brien-MAN) declared TO SECOND. But the President (Lucraft) pointed to the clock (we may only stay until 11); HENCE, adjourned until next Tuesday. However, Lucraft, Weston, Hales etc., IN FACT the whole COUNCIL, tentatively declared their agreement IN INFORMAL WAY.

Milner, another O'Brienite, declared that the language of the RESOLUTIONS was too weak (i.e., not declamatory enough); furthermore he demands that everything I said in support of the case should be included in the RESOLUTIONS. (A fine kettle of fish!)

Since the debate will continue on Tuesday, NOW THE TIME FOR YOU to tell, rather to write, me anything you might wish to *amend* or **add** to the RESOLUTIONS. In the latter case, if you, for example, wish to add a paragraph about the amnesties all over Europe, ITALY for example, write it at once in resolution form.

INCIDENT OF LAST COUNCIL'S SITTING. Mr Holyoake—BE EVERY MAN HIS OWN CROMWELL—appears and, after leaving, has himself proposed by Weston. Tentatively declared that he should first take out a card as a member of the INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION, otherwise he cannot even be *proposed*. His aim is SIMPLY to make himself important—and to figure as a DELEGATE at the next GENERAL CONGRESS. The debate on his ADMISSION will be stormy, since he has many friends among us and, as an offended intriguant, could play some nasty tricks on us. What are your ideas about the tactics to be followed?

Enclosed—screed from Liebknecht,[470] who has also complained bitterly in his letter to Borkheim that we do not support him, either morally or materially. RETURN the 2nd enclosed letter from Wilhelm, which is addressed to Borkheim.

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[a] K. Marx, *Draft Resolution of the General Council on the Policy of the British Government Towards the Irish Prisoners*

A BRANCH ESTABLISHMENT of the International founded in Dundee, ditto—new branch in Boston. (New England.)

Carbunculosa not yet quite vanquished.

*Salut*.

Your
K. M.

Apropos L. Blanc: When Reclus[471] was here he also visited L. Blanc and told me after the visit: the little fellow is filling his trousers at the mere thought of having to return to France. He feels devilish well here as the '*petit grand homme*'[a] removed from danger, and he has—as he frankly told Reclus, lost absolutely all confidence in the French.

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## 265

## ENGELS TO MARX[472]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 19 November 1869

Dear Moor,

I hope Eccarius will force Potter to publish the report belatedly,[b] particularly because of the LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.[451]

I think an addition on the amnesties in the rest of Europe would only weaken the resolution[c] since, apart from Russia (which would be very good *on its own*[473]), Russia would have to be excluded because of those sentenced in the Guelphic conspiracy.[474] I would, however, polish up the language somewhat in: *Alinéa*[d] 2 I would insert IMPRISONED or something of the sort before VICTIMS, to make it EVIDENT at first sight who is meant.

*Alinéa* 3, it is questionable whether one can speak of THE TEETH OF A POSITION, and instead of STEPS IN I would say TURNS ROUND.

*Alinéa* 4. WITH *REGARD* TO appears to me *more direct* than WITH *REFERENCE TO*.

[a] little grand man - [b] See this volume, p. 375. - [c] Ibid., pp. 375-76. - [d] paragraph

Lizzie immediately passed a VOTE OF THANKS to you for the resolution, and is vexed that she will not be able to be there on Tuesday.

The business with Holyoake is vexatious.[a] The fellow is simply a GO-BETWEEN for the radical bourgeoisie with the workers. The question is this: is the composition of the GENERAL COUNCIL such that a SWAMPING by such rabble is to be feared or not? If you accept Holyoake, then others might follow, and they will do so as soon as the affair becomes more important. Moreover, if the times become more tempestuous, these gentlemen will certainly also visit the sessions, and try to grasp the leadership. And as far as I know, Mr Holyoake has never done the slightest thing for the working class *as such. A priori*, everything against his acceptance, but if his rejection would lead to splits in the COUNCIL, while his acceptance would, in practice, make little difference to the constitution of the GENERAL COUNCIL, *eh bien*[b]! Despite this I cannot well envisage a workers' COUNCIL with this fellow on it.

Before the receipt of yours of yesterday, I had sent Wilhelm[c] £5 with a few frosty lines. The fellow really is too brazen-faced. First he insults me in every way, then I should give moral and material support, and send him articles for his sheet,[d] which he has ceased sending me without saying a word. If you should write to him, you would be doing me a favour if you let him understand that, if he wants articles from me, he should pray write directly to me. To act as bootblack to Mr Wilhelm—that crowns it all! Enclosed, the letter returned.

Best thanks for the Irish PAMPHLETS and REPORTS,[e] I shall deliver the two for Moore and Schorlemmer.

When was Reclus in London[471]? And how is the French translation of your book going[441]? Since I have been back here I haven't heard a word about it.

And now for *Carey*.[f]

The entire point at issue does not seem to me to be directly connected with political economy as such. Ricardo says that rent is the surplus yield of the more productive plots of land over that of the least productive. Carey says exactly the same.

Continuation by 2nd post.

Your

F. E.

They are agreed upon what RENT is. But, how and by what agency

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[a] See this volume, p. 376. - [b] very well - [c] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [d] *Der Volksstaat* - [e] See this volume, p. 375. - [f] H. Ch. Carey, *Principles of Social Science*.

rent materialises, is a matter of dispute. Now, Ricardo's description of the process by which RENT originates (Carey, p. 104), is just as unhistorical as all such historical travesties by the economists, and Carey's own great Robinson-Crusoe-story about Adam and Eve (p. 96 et seq.). With regard to the older economists, including Ricardo, this is still excusable to some extent; they do not wish for historical knowledge; they are just as unhistorical in their whole conception as the other apostles of the 18th-century Enlightenment, for whom such alleged historical digressions are always only a *façon de parler*[a], enabling them to represent the origin of this or that in a rational manner, and in which primitive men always think and behave as if they were 18th-century French philosophers. But when Carey, who wants to propound an historical theory of his own, proceeds to present Adam and Eve to us as Yankee backwoodsmen, then he cannot demand that we believe him, for he lacks the same excuse.

The entire point at issue would be nil, had not Ricardo, in his naïvety, simply called the more productive land 'FERTILE'. According to Ricardo, THE MOST *FERTILE* AND *MOST FAVOURABLY SITUATED* LAND is cultivated first. Just the way a thoughtful bourgeois, on land cultivated for centuries, must picture things. Now Carey clings to the 'FERTILE' and foists upon Ricardo the assertion that the lands that are *in themselves* the most productive are those first cultivated, and states: No, on the contrary, the lands *in themselves* the most capable of production (the Amazon valley, the Ganges delta, tropical Africa, Borneo and New Guinea, etc.) are not cultivated even today; the first settlers, because they cannot do otherwise, always commence cultivation on *self-draining land*, that is to say, strips situated on hills and slopes, and these are by nature *poorer*. And when Ricardo says: FERTILE *AND THE MOST FAVOURABLY SITUATED*, he is saying the same thing, without noticing that he is expressing himself *LOOSELY* and that a contradiction can be seen between these two qualifications connected by *AND*. But when Carey gives a sketch on p. 138 and claims that Ricardo places his first settlers in the valley, while Carey puts them on the heights (in the sketch on bare crags and impracticable slopes of 45 degrees) he is simply falsely imputing this to Ricardo.[b]

Carey's historical examples, as far as they apply *to America*, are the only useful things in the book. As a Yankee, he himself lived through the process of SETTLEMENTS, could follow it from the

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[a] manner of speech - [b] The reference is to D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*. See also present edition, Vol. 31.

beginning, and is well posted about it. Nevertheless, there is undoubtedly a lot of uncritical stuff mixed up in it, which would have to be sifted. When he speaks of Europe, however, the structures and the untenableness get under way. And that Carey is not unprejudiced with regard to America is shown by the eagerness with which he attempts to prove the worthlessness, indeed the NEGATIVE value-quality of the uncultivated land (that the land is, so to speak, worth minus 10 dollars an ACRE) and praises the self-sacrifice of societies that, to their own certain ruin, make waste land serviceable for mankind. Related in the country of colossal land jobbery, this becomes ludicrous. Incidentally, he never mentions *prairie land* here, and elsewhere it is touched upon very lightly. The whole story of the negative value-quality of the waste land, and all his calculated proofs are best contradicted by America itself. If the story were true, America would not only be the poorest of countries, but would become *relatively* poorer every year, because more and more labour would be thrown away on this worthless land.

Now, as for his definition of RENT: THE AMOUNT RECEIVED AS RENT IS INTEREST UPON THE VALUE OF LABOUR EXPENDED, *MINUS* THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE PRODUCTIVE POWER (THE RENT-PAYING LAND) AND THAT OF THE NEWER SOILS WHICH CAN BE BROUGHT INTO ACTIVITY BY THE APPLICATION OF THE SAME LABOUR THAT HAS BEEN THERE GIVEN TO THE WORK (pp. 165, 166), this may have a certain amount of validity here and there, within certain limits, especially in America. But RENT is, in any case, such a complicated thing, to which so many other circumstances contribute, that even in these cases it can apply only *ceteris paribus*,[a] only when 2 pieces of land lie *side by side*. Ricardo knew as well as he that INTEREST FOR THE VALUE OF LABOUR EXPENDED is also included in RENT. If Carey declares land as such worse than worthless, then RENT *must* naturally be INTEREST UPON THE VALUE OF LABOUR EXPENDED or theft, as it is called on p. 139. Carey still owes us an explanation of the transition from theft to interest.

It seems to me that the *origin* of rent in different countries, and even in one and the same country, is by no means such a simple process as both Ricardo and Carey imagine. In Ricardo, as I said, this is excusable; it is the history of the fishers and hunters in the sphere of agriculture. It is not, in fact, an economic *dogma*, but Carey wants, furthermore, to make a dogma out of his theory and prove it to the world as such, for which, indeed, historical studies of a very different sort from Mr Carey's are necessary.

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[a] other things being equal

There may even have been localities where RENT originated as Ricardo suggests, and others where it originated in Carey's way, and yet others where it had quite different origins. To Carey one may also remark that, where fever has to be reckoned with, in particular tropical fever, economics more or less come to an end. Unless his theory of population can be thus interpreted: with the increase in population, the surplus people are forced to cultivate the most fertile, i.e., the most unhealthy stretches of land, in which they either succeed or perish; in this way he would successfully establish harmony between himself and Malthus.

In northern Europe, RENT originated neither in Ricardo's nor in Carey's way, but simply from the feudal burdens, later brought by free competition to their correct economic level. In Italy it was different again, *vide*[a] Rome. To calculate what part of the RENT in the long civilised countries is really original RENT and what part is interest on labour invested is impossible, since it differs in each case. Moreover, it is of no importance, once it has been shown that RENT can also increase without labour being put into land. The grandfather of Sir Humphrey de Trafford at Old Trafford near Manchester had such a load of debts on his back that he had no idea what to do. His grandson, after paying off all the debts, has an income of £40,000 a year. If we subtract about £10,000, which comes from building sites, £30,000 remains as the yearly value of the agricultural ESTATE, which 80 years ago brought in perhaps £2,000. Further, if £3,000 be taken as the interest on invested labour and capital, and that's a lot, there remains an increase of £25,000, which is five times the former value, including IMPROVEMENTS. And all this, not because labour is contained in it, but because labour was put into something else nearby, since the ESTATE lies close to a city like Manchester, where good prices are paid for milk, butter and garden produce. The same happens on a big scale. From the moment when England became a corn- and cattle-importing country, and even before then, population density became a factor determining or increasing RENT, quite independently of the labour invested generally in the land of England. Ricardo, with his MOST FAVOURABLY SITUATED LANDS, also considers the relation *to the market*, but Carey ignores this. And if he were then to say: the land itself has only a negative value, but the *location* has a positive value, he would thereby admit what he denies—that land, just because it can be monopolised, has, or *can* have, a value independent of the labour invested. But on this point Carey is as quiet as a mouse.

[a] see

It is equally a matter of indifference whether the labour invested in land in civilised countries pays regularly or not. I asserted more than 20 years ago that in today's society no instrument of production exists that could last 60-100 years—no factory, no building, etc.—that, by the end of its existence, has covered the cost of its production.[475] All in all, I still believe this is perfectly true. And if Carey and I are both right, this proves nothing either about the rate of profit or the origin of rent, but simply that bourgeois production, even measured by its own standards, is rotten.

These random comments on Carey will no doubt be enough for you. They are very mixed, because I made no excerpts. As for the historic-materialist-scientific trimmings, their entire value=those two trees, the tree of life and the tree of knowledge, which he has planted in his paradisiacal work, not indeed for his Adam and Eve who have to drudge in the backwoods, but for their descendants. His ignorance and slovenliness are only equalled by the impudence that allows him to present such nonsense publicly.

You will not expect me to read the other chapters. It is pure blather, and the grammatical errors are no longer strewn so closely. I'll send you the book as soon as I go up to town; out here no pillar-box is large enough to take it. Monday or Tuesday.

Wilhelm's sheet is really disgraceful. I am not referring to the free-church-clerical babble,[476] but all the news from their associations, etc., is always 8-14 days old before it is printed. Schweitzer holds a meeting on the *9th* in *Leipzig*, and dispatches triumphal telegrams, which are printed on the *10th* in *Social-Demokrat*.[a] On the *12th* the *Social-Demokrat* states that Liebknecht receives 1,000 thaler from Fränkel the banker.[b] Up to the *17th no reply*!! And we are supposed to take the responsibility for such stupidity and sloppiness.

Tussy will be getting a letter soon.

With best greetings.

Your

F. E.

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[a] 'Aus Leipzig geht uns folgendes Telegramm zu...', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 132, 10 November 1869 (signed: Petzoldt). - [b] 'Wir constatieren...' (in the column 'Vermischtes'), *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 133, 12 November 1869.

# 266

## MARX TO ENGELS[477]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 November 1869

DEAR FRED,

This week I have not been really on my feet, and the business under my arm is still a bother. That's why I didn't thank you earlier for the notes on Carey, whose VOLUME I also received yesterday.[a]

In my book against Proudhon, in which I still fully accepted *Ricardo's* theory of RENT, I already explained the fallacies, even from his (Ricardo's) own point of view.[b]

'Ricardo, after postulating bourgeois production as necessary for determining rent, applies the conception of rent, nevertheless, to the landed property of all ages and all countries. This is an error common to all the economists, who represent the bourgeois relations of production as eternal categories.'

Mr Proudhon naturally converts Ricardo's theory into an expression of egalitarian morals at once, and thus discovers in the rent determined by Ricardo:

'an immense *land valuation* which is carried out contradictorily by the proprietors and the farmers ... in a higher interest, and whose ultimate result must be to equalise the possession of the land, etc.'

To this I remarked, *inter alia*:

'For any land valuation based upon rent to be of practical value, the conditions of present society must not be departed from. Now we have shown that the *rent*[c] paid by the farmer to the landowner expresses the *rent*[d] with any exactitude only in the countries most advanced in industry and commerce. Moreover, this rent often includes *interest* paid to the landowner on capital incorporated in land. The location of the land, the nearness of towns, and many other circumstances influence the farm rent and modify the land rent... On the other hand, rent could not be the *invariable* index *of the degree of fertility of the land*, since every moment the modern application of chemistry is changing the nature of the soil, and geological knowledge is just now, in

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[a] See this volume, pp. 378-82. - [b] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the 'Philosophy of Poverty' by M. Proudhon* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 202-04). Marx quotes in French. - [c] in the original: le fermage (lease money) - [d] in the original: la rente

our days, beginning *to revolutionise all the old estimates of relative fertility* ... fertility is not so natural a quality as might be thought; it is closely bound up with the *social relations* of the time.'

As far as the development of cultivation in the UNITED STATES is concerned, Mr Carey ignores even the most familiar facts. For instance, Johnston, the English agricultural chemist, shows in his *Notes* on the UNITED STATES[a]: the agricultural migrants from New England to New York State left worse for better land (better not in Carey's sense of land, which still had to be made first, but in the chemical and also economic sense); the agricultural migrants from New York State who first settled beyond the Great Lakes, SAY IN MICHIGAN FOR INSTANCE, left better for worse land, etc. The settlers in Virginia exploited so abominably the land so suitable both in *location* and *fertility* for tobacco, their main product, that they had to move on to Ohio, where the land was worse for this product (if not also for wheat, etc.). The nationality of the immigrants also made itself felt in their settlements. The people from Norway and from our timber forests selected the rugged northern forest land of Wisconsin; the Yankees in the same territory kept to the prairies, etc.

Prairies, both in the UNITED STATES and Australia, are, IN FACT, a thorn in Carey's flesh. According to him, land not absolutely overgrown with forest is infertile by nature, that is all natural grasslands.

The joke of it is that Carey's two great final conclusions (with regard to the UNITED STATES) directly contradict to his dogma. *First*, as a result of England's diabolical influence, the inhabitants, instead of socially cultivating the good model lands of New England DISSEMINATED to the poorer (!) lands of the West. Thus, a move from better land to worse. (Besides, BY THE BY, Carey's DISSEMINATION, in opposition to association, is all copied from Wakefield.[b]) *Second*, in the south of the UNITED STATES we have the misfortune that the slave-owners (whom Mr Carey, as a harmoniser, defended in all his previous works) take the better land under cultivation too soon and skip the worse. Thus, just what should not happen: starting with the better land! If, with this example, Carey convinces himself that the real cultivators—in this case the slaves—are induced neither by economic reasons, or other reasons OF THEIR OWN, but by *external constraint*, he should have been able to

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[a] J. F. W. Johnston, *Notes on North America, Agricultural, Economical and Social.* - [b] [E. Wakefield,] *England and America. A Comparison of the Social and Political State of Both Nations.*

count on his own 5 fingers that this occurs in other countries too.

According to his theory, cultivation in Europe should have originated in the mountains of Norway and proceeded from there to the Mediterranean countries, instead of marching in the other direction.

Carey tries, by means of an extremely absurd and fantastic theory of money, to conjure up anyway the very disgusting economic fact that, in contrast to all other improved machinery, the *always better* earth-machine, *increases* the cost of its product—at least for a period—instead of *cheapening* it. (This was one of the circumstances that struck Ricardo; but he poked his nose no further than the history of corn prices in England from ABOUT 1780 to 1815.)

As a harmoniser, Carey first proved there was no ANTAGONISM between capitalist and wage labourer. The second step was to show the harmony between landowner and capitalist, and this is done by showing land-ownership *as* being *normal* where it has *not yet* developed. The fact that may, under no circumstances, be mentioned is the great and decisive difference between a colony and an old civilised country: that, in the latter, the mass of the population is excluded by *landed property* from the soil, whether it be fertile or infertile, cultivated or uncultivated; while in the colonies, the land can, RELATIVELY SPEAKING, still be appropriated by the cultivator himself. This may play absolutely no part in the rapid development of the colonies. The disgusting '*property question*', and that in its most disgusting form, would of course put a spoke in the wheel of harmony.

As regards the deliberate distortion that, because in a country with developed production the natural fertility of the soil is an important factor in the production of surplus value (or, as Ricardo says, affects the rate of profit), it follows conversely that the richest and most developed production will be found in those areas most fertile by nature, so it should be higher in Mexico, for example, than New England; I have already answered this in *Capital*, p. 502 et seq.[a]

Carey's only merit is that he asserts, just as one-sidedly, the movement from worse to better land as Ricardo asserts the opposite. In fact, however, soil-types of differing grades of fertility are always cultivated simultaneously, and for this reason the Germans, the Slavs and the Celts very carefully distributed scraps

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[a] Marx refers to the first German edition of *Capital*, Vol. I (see present edition, Vol. 35).

of land of different types amongst the members of the community; it was this that later made division of the community lands so difficult. As for the development of cultivation in the course of history, this—depending on the circumstances—takes place in both directions simultaneously, and one direction or the other dominates according to the epoch.

The factor that makes the *interest* on the capital invested in the land a component part of *differential rent* is precisely the fact that the landowner receives this interest from capital which not *he*, but the *tenant-farmer* has invested in the land. This FACT, known throughout Europe, is claimed to have no economic existence, because the tenant-farmer system has *not yet* developed in the *UNITED STATES*. But this fact presents itself in another form there. The LAND JOBBER and not the tenant-farmer is ultimately paid in the *price* he gets for the land, for the capital expended by the tenant-farmer. Indeed, the history of the PIONEERS and the LAND JOBBERS in the UNITED STATES is reminiscent of the worst horrors taking place, for instance, in Ireland.

BUT NOW DAMN CAREY! *VIVAT* FOR O'DONOVAN ROSSA!

Last Tuesday's meeting was very fiery, lively, vehement.[478] Mr MUDDLEHEAD,[a] or the devil knows what he's called—a Chartist, an old friend of Harney's—had foresightedly brought Odger and Applegarth along. On the other hand, Weston and Lucraft were absent, attending an Irish ball. *Reynolds's* had published my RESOLUTIONS[b] in its Saturday issue, together with an ABSTRACT of my SPEECH[c] (as well as Eccarius could do it; he's no stenographer) and *Reynolds's* printed it right on the front page of the paper following opening editorial. This seems to have scared those who are flirting with Gladstone. HENCE the appearance of Odger and A LONG RAMBLING SPEECH OF Mottershead, who got it in the neck badly from Milner (himself an Irishman). Applegarth sat next to me, so did not dare to speak *against*; on the contrary he spoke *for*, obviously with an uneasy conscience. *Odger* said that, if the VOTE were forced, he would have to vote for the RESOLUTIONS. But unanimity was surely better and could be obtained by a few minor MODIFICATIONS etc. Then I declared—since it is precisely *him* I wish to push into a corner—that *he* should present his modifications at the next session! At the last session, although many of our most reliable

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[a] Thomas Mottershead - [b] See this volume, pp. 375-76. - [c] [Record of Marx's Speech on the Policy of the British Government with Respect to the Irish Prisoners. From the Minutes of the General Council Meeting of 16 November 1869]

mentors were absent, we would thus have declared the resolution against *one single* vote. On Tuesday we shall be IN FULL FORCE.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 267

## ENGELS TO MARX[33]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 29 November 1869

Dear Moor,

It is very amusing that Carey is also worthless in the only field in which one might expect that he *must* have a certain knowledge, in the history of the colonisation of the UNITED STATES.[a] After this, *au fond*,[b] the fellow is left with nothing.

The election in Tipperary is an event.[466] It launches the Fenians from empty conspiracies and the fabrication of coups on a path of action that, even if legal in appearance, is still far more revolutionary than what they have done since their abortive INSURRECTION.[479] IN FACT, they are adopting the methods of the French workers, and this is an enormous advance. If only this business is carried on as intended. The fear this new turn has produced amongst philistines, which is now screeching through the whole liberal press, is the best proof that, this time, the nail has been hit on the head. The *Solicitors' Journal* is typical noting with horror that the election of a political prisoner is *unprecedented* in the British realm! *Tant pis*,[c] show me the country *except* England where this doesn't happen every day! The worthy Gladstone must be terribly annoyed.

But you really should look at *The Times* these days. *Three* LEADERS in 8 days either urging the Government to end the excesses

[a] See the previous letter. - [b] basically - [c] So much the worse.

of the Irish national press, or in which the Government itself urges this.[a]

I long to hear about your debate tomorrow evening, and about the result, of which there can be no doubt.[b] It would be fine to get Odger into a pickle. I hope that, apart from him, Bradlaugh will stand for Southwark, and it would be much better if he were elected. Incidentally, if the English workers can't take an example from the peasants of Tipperary, then they are in a bad way.

Here, in the FREE LIBRARY, and the CHETHAM LIBRARY (which you know)[480] I have discovered a mass of very valuable sources (besides the books with SECOND-HAND-INFORMATION), but unfortunately neither Young nor Prendergast,[c] nor the English edition of the Brehon LAW[481] commissioned by the English Government. Wakefield,[d] on the other hand, has put in an appearance again. Also, various things by old Petty. Last week I ploughed through the TRACTS of old Sir John Davies (ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND under James)[482]; I don't know whether you've read them, they are the main source, but you've certainly found them quoted 100 times. It's downright shame that the original sources are not everywhere available; one gets infinitely more out of them than from the compilers, who make everything that is clear and simple confused and intricate. The tracts show clearly that, in *Anno 1600*, common ownership of land still *existed* IN FULL FORCE and was cited by Mr Davies in his pleas on the forfeited land in Ulster as evidence that the land did not belong to the individual owners (peasants), and thus [belonged] either to the LORD, who had forfeited it or, from the outset, to the Crown. I've never read anything finer than this plea. Re-allotments were made every two or three years. In another PAMPHLET he describes the income of the chief of the clan in exact detail. I've *never* seen these things quoted, and if you can use them, I'll send you them in detail. At the same time, I've caught out Monsieur Goldwin Smith beautifully.[e] The fellow never read Davies, so makes the most ridiculous assertions to exonerate the English. But I shall catch the fellow.

Today I have not yet been able to set my eyes on the oration of the noble Louis-Napoleon, but only the sweet hopes of the worthy Prévost-Paradol,[483] who imagines he is living once again under

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[a] Apparently the reference is to the leading articles in *The Times* of 23, 25 and 29 November 1869: 'From Our Own Correspondent', Dublin, Nov. 24; Dublin, Nov. 25; Dublin, Nov. 26. - [b] See this volume, pp. 392-93. - [c] A. Young, *A Tour in Ireland*; J. P. Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement in Ireland*. - [d] E. Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political*. - [e] See this volume, p. 374.

Louis-Philippe and that the constitutional millennium will dawn today. INCORRIGIBLE!

I wanted to get good old Dido[a] to reply to Tussy's letter this evening, which only arrived today; but the cur has run out into the rain and snow to avoid this duty, and now it is close of post, so Tussy will have to be patient until tomorrow. But she is certainly thinking more about O'Donovan Rossa in Chatham PRISON than about HER OWN OLD CHAP, who has just come in cold and filthy and is also locked up like a CONVICT in the BACK CELLAR.

Best greetings to all.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[484]

### IN HANOVER

London, 29 November 1869

Dear Kugelmann,

ABOUT 5 weeks ago Jennychen sent you a letter[b]—in fact two letters, one to you and one to Madame the Countess.[c] With it she enclosed a portrait of *G. Weerth*—and as this is difficult to replace, and no second one can be sent, Jennychen would like to know as soon as possible whether you received the letter or not.

Some doubts about the inviolability and safety of the postal services have certainly been awakened here because a letter I wrote to Engels from Hanover[d] was undoubtedly opened and then reclosed very CLUMSILY. Engels retained the envelope, so that I could convince myself by ocular inspection.

My long and, to some extent, criminal silence may be explained by the fact that I had to catch up with a mass of work, not simply for my scientific studies, but also *quoad*[e] *International*; in addition to have to grind at *Russian*, as the result of a book sent me from

[a] Engels' dog - [b] See this volume, pp. 545-47. - [c] Kugelmann's wife Gertrud - [d] See this volume, pp. 358 and 363. - [e] regarding

St Petersburg on the situation of the working classes (OF COURSE, PEASANTS INCLUDED) in Russia,[a] and, finally, my state of health is by no means satisfactory.

You will probably have seen in the *Volksstaat* the resolutions I proposed regarding Gladstone on the Irish amnesty question.[b] I have now attacked Gladstone—and this has attracted attention here—just as I attacked Palmerston[c] earlier. The demagogic REFUGEES here love to attack the continental despots from a safe distance. I find this only attractive if it is done *vultu instantis tyranni*.[d]

Yet both my appearance on this Irish amnesty issue and, further, my proposal to the GENERAL COUNCIL that it should discuss the attitude of the English working class to Ireland and adopt a resolution on the subject,[e] naturally had other grounds than simply to speak out loudly and decidedly for the OPPRESSED IRISH against their OPPRESSORS.

I have become more and more convinced—and the thing now is to drum this conviction into the English working class—that they will never be able to do anything decisive here in England before they separate their attitude towards Ireland quite definitely from that of the ruling classes, and not only make common cause with the Irish, but even take the initiative in dissolving the UNION[461] established in 1801, and substituting a free federal relationship for it. And this must be done not out of sympathy for Ireland, but as a demand based on the interests of the English proletariat. If not, the English people will remain bound to the leading-strings of the ruling classes, because *they* will be forced to make a common front with them against Ireland. Every movement of the working class in England itself is crippled by the dissension with the Irish, who form a very important section of the working class in England itself. The *primary condition* for emancipation here—the overthrow of the English landed oligarchy—remains unattainable, since its positions cannot be stormed here as long as it holds its strongly-entrenched outposts in Ireland. But over there, once affairs have been laid in the hands of the Irish people themselves, as soon as they have made themselves their own legislators and rulers, as soon as they have become autonomous, it will be infinitely easier there than here to abolish the landed aristocracy (to a large extent *the same persons* as the English LANDLORDS) since in

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[a] Н. Флеровскій, *Положеніе рабочаго класса въ Россіи*. - [b] K. Marx, *Draft Resolution of the General Council on the Policy of the British Government Towards the Irish Prisoners*; see also this volume, pp. 375-76. - [c] K. Marx, *Lord Palmerston* (see present edition, Vol. 12). - [d] in the face of the tyrant - [e] See this volume, pp. 371-72.

Ireland it is not just merely an economic question, but also a *national* one, as the LANDLORDS there are not, as they are in England, traditional dignitaries and representatives, but the mortally-hated oppressors of the nationality. And not only does England's internal social development remain crippled by the present relationship to Ireland, but also her foreign policy, in particular her policy with regard to Russia and the United States of America.

Since, however, the English working class undoubtedly throws the greatest weight on the scales of social emancipation generally, this is the point where the lever must be applied. It is a fact that the English Republic under Cromwell met shipwreck in—Ireland.[485] *Non bis in idem*[a]*!* The Irish have played a capital joke on the English government by electing the CONVICT FELON O'Donovan Rossa as member of Parliament.[b] Government newspapers are already threatening a renewed suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act,[486] a renewed system of terror! In fact, England never has and never *can* rule Ireland any other way, as long as the present relationship continues—only with the most abominable reign of terror and the most reprehensible corruption.

In France things are going well so far. On the one hand, the outmoded demagogic and democratic bawlers of all shades are compromising themselves. On the other, Bonaparte has been driven along a path of concession on which he is bound to break his neck.

Yesterday's *Observer* (this weekly belongs to the *Ministry*), referring to the Eulenburg scandal[487] in the Prussian Chamber, remarks: 'Napoleon said: "*Grattez le Russe, et vous trouverez le Tartare*"'.[c] With regard to a Prussian it isn't even necessary to scratch—to find a *Russian*.

Apropos. Reich, Dr Med., has the Christian name of Eduard, and appears, from the preface to his book, to live in Gotha.[488]

My best wishes to Madame the Countess and Fränzchen.[d]

Your
K. Marx

Couldn't we have the Bielefeld *Freiligrath-Fest-Broschüre*?

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 13, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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[a] This shall not happen twice! - [b] See this volume, pp. 373, 387-88. - [c] 'Scratch a Russian and you find a Tartar.' - [d] Kugelmann's daughter Franziska

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## MARX TO ENGELS[489]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 December 1869

DEAR FRED,

The RESOLUTIONS UNANIMOUSLY CARRIED[a] despite Odger's incessant *VERBAL* AMENDMENTS. I gave in to him on only one point, to omit the word 'DELIBERATE' before 'INSULTS' in para. 1.[b] I did this ON PRETENCE, THAT EVERYTHING A PRIME MINISTER PUBLICLY DID, MUST BE PRESUMED *eo ipso* TO BE *DELIBERATE*. The real reason was that I knew, as soon as the first para. was accepted in substance, all further opposition would be in vain. I'm sending you 2 *National Reformers* containing reports on the 2 first sessions, not yet on the latest. This report, too, is poor, and much is quite wrong (due to misunderstanding), but better than Eccarius' reports in *Reynolds's*. They are by Harris, whose *currence panacea* you will also find in the latest number of the *National Reformer*.[490]

With the exception of Mottershead, who appeared as John Bull, and Odger, who as always acted the diplomat, the English delegates have behaved excellently. The general debate on the attitude of the ENGLISH WORKING CLASS to the IRISH QUESTION begins on Tuesday.[491]

One has to struggle here not only against prejudices, but also against the stupidity and wretchedness of the *Irish* spokesmen in Dublin. *The Irishman* (Pigott) cannot know of the proceedings and RESOLUTIONS solely from *Reynolds's*, to which he subscribes and from which he often quotes. They (the RESOLUTIONS) had already been sent him directly by an Irishman on 17 November.[c] Till today, *deliberately not a word*. The jackass behaved in a similar way during our debate and petition for 3 MANCHESTER MEN.[492] The 'IRISH' QUESTION must be treated as something quite distinct, excluding the outside world, and it must be *concealed* that *English* workers sympathise *with* the Irish! What a dumb ox! And this with regard to the *International*, which has press organs all over Europe and the UNITED STATES! This week he has received the RESOLUTIONS officially, signed by the FOREIGN SECRETARIES. The material has also been sent to the '*People*'.[d] *Nous verrons*.[e] Mottershead subscribes to *The*

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[a] See this volume, pp. 371-72. - [b] Ibid., p. 375. - [c] In the original: 'December'. - [d] probably *The New-York Irish People* - [e] We shall see.

*Irishman* and will not fail to use this opportunity to POKE FUN AT THE '*HIGHSOULED*' IRISHMEN.

But I'll play a trick on Pigott. I'm writing to Eccarius today, asking him to send the RESOLUTIONS with the signatures, etc., to Isaac Butt, the President of the IRISH WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION. Butt is not Pigott.

The following explains to you the enclosed letter from Applegarth:

After the end of the last session, in which he behaved very well, he took me aside and told me the following: AN EMINENT MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS[a] had written to him that he had been commissioned BY AN EMINENT MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS (LORD Leachfield!) to ask him whether he had voted for the abolition OF ALL PRIVATE PROPERTY at Basle.[379] His answer was decisive for the attitude towards him of Applegarth's parliamentary patrons. He (Applegarth) wanted to give the fellows a decisive answer, I should write down briefly the '*reasons*', and this the following day. I was very busy, as well as still SUFFERING under the arm; cold made worse by the frightful FOG after the session on Tuesday evening. Thus, wrote to Applegarth on Wednesday[b] that I had been prevented, but READY TO SUPPORT HIM when he received a reply.[493] With English obstinacy he did not accept; wrote enclosed letter.[494] So I was WILLY-NILLY forced to write him 8 closely-written pages, which will give him a lot to pore over about LANDED PROPERTY and the NECESSITY OF ITS ABOLITION.[495] The fellow is very important since, ON THE PART OF BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT he is the officially recognised representative of the English TRADES UNIONS.

Enclosed, also, a letter from Bracke.[496] I have nothing against Bonhorst; I had only told Kugelmann that I regarded him as a rather revolutionary character. Kugelmann, with his usual tact, informed Bracke of this in amplified form.

Tussy thanks Dido[c] very much for his letter, and sends greetings to all.

*Salut.*

Your
Moor

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[a] apparently A. J. Mundella - [b] 1 December - [c] See this volume, p. 389.

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## ENGELS TO MARX[489]

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 9 December 1869

Dear Moor,

In the reports in the *National Reformer*[490] a certain amount of nonsense is, however, attributed to you. They can't get along without something like that. I see, the *Bee-Hive* is ignoring the whole debate. This is called publicity, just like the dear old *Didaskalia für Geist, Gemüt und Publizität*.

I half expected what happened with *The Irishman*. Ireland still remains the *sacra insula*,[a] whose aspirations may not be lumped together with the profane class struggle of the rest of the sinful world. Partly, this is certainly an honest madness of these people, but equally certainly it is partly a calculated policy on the part of the spokesmen in order to maintain their domination over the peasants. In addition, a nation of peasants is always forced to take its literary representatives from among the bourgeoisie of the towns and its ideologists, and here Dublin (I mean *Catholic* Dublin) is approximately to Ireland what Copenhagen is to Denmark. For these gentry, however, the whole labour movement is pure heresy, and the Irish peasant must not be allowed to find out that the socialist workers are his sole allies in Europe.

In other respects, too, the *Irishman* is very scurvy this week. If it was ready to retreat *in this way* at the first threat of SUSPENSION of the Habeas Corpus Act,[486] then the sabre-rattling was absolutely misplaced from the start. And now even the fear that still more political prisoners might be elected! On the one hand, the Irish are warned, quite rightly, not to let themselves be inveigled into any illegalities; on the other, they should be held back from doing the only lawful thing that is opportune and revolutionary in character, the only thing that might successfully break with the established practice of electing place-hunting lawyers and might impress the English liberals. Pigott is obviously afraid that others could outstrip him here.

Of course you will remember how O'Connell, also, always incited the Irish against the Chartists, although—or just because—they had inscribed REPEAL[497] on their banner.

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[a] sacred isle

The question put to Applegarth is delicious. One sees how these trumpery lords and M.P.s imagine that the whole labour movement is already in their pockets because Odger and Potter flirt with them and the *Bee-Hive* has been sold. The gentlemen are in for a surprise. In the meantime, it's a good thing that a new election is not, apparently, in the immediate offing; the gentlemen have to make fools of themselves first. Applegarth[494] and Bracke[496] returned enclosed.

From the enclosed query from Solingen you will see all the things I'm supposed to afford.[498] What should be done in this case? If I send the people 50-100 thaler it will not help them, and I can't risk more for them since, in the long run, it will certainly be throwing money away. What is your opinion?

The worthy gentlemen from *tiers parti*[a] believe they already occupy the ministerial chairs, and have already made wonderful fools of themselves. They vote gaily for the vindication of the prefects of Monsieur de Forcade Laroquette.[499] In this way I cannot see why any sort of ministerial change is necessary, if everything the present ministers have done is ALL RIGHT. On the other hand, Louis[b] certainly believes that he has now once again so frightened the bourgeois with the red spectre that he can get away with phrases. The business is entangling itself quite nicely.

What scurvy knaves the Prussians are. Scarcely has an apparently constitutional wind begun to blow from Paris, when they immediately start making small concessions. Eulenberg takes over, in the state budget, the proxy costs of the deputies who are state officials, etc. And for this Camphausen diddles the Chamber out of $8\,^2/_3$ million annually, which previously, by law, *had to be* devoted to eliminating debts, and on the other hand he now abolishes the *amortissement*, except where the *Government* and the Chamber decree that there should be redemption. The stupid Liberals *themselves demanded* this earlier and must now vote for it.

China, with the steady expansion of her market, appears to wish to save the COTTON TRADE once again, at least for a while. The reports from there are considerably better, though much has been consigned there, and since then there has again been a veering-round here, and once again work is going swingingly. This will naturally drive up the cotton price again, and the whole profit will go into the pockets of the importer. But at least they are working here without losses.

With Gottfried[c] I am now completely in the clear. Yesterday he

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[a] the third party - [b] Napoleon III - [c] Gottfried Ermen

paid me the last remainder of my money,[a] and we shall now probably more or less show each other our backsides.

Best greetings.

Your

**F. E.**

How anxious Bracke is not to give an opinion about people whom he should know very well. Also appears to have more good nature than resolution.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[489]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 10 December 1869

DEAR FRED,

*D'abord*,[b] about the Solingen business.[498] (Are £2 necessary here? I think only one.)

These people have BOTHERED *me*, the *CENTRAL COUNCIL*,[73] the *Basle Congress* etc., with their APPEALS. They themselves admit that their productive cooperative is only of *local* interest. How can they expect foreign countries to contribute a *SINGLE FARTHING* to them, in view of the *international* sacrifices that the STRIKES, etc., cost, and of the tribulations of hundreds of French and English production cooperatives? They have seen what benefit they have gained from *Becker's enthusiastic appeals*.[c]

On the other hand: these Solingen people are supporters for *you and me* in the Rhine Province. They belonged (THE LEADERS) to the

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[a] See this volume, p. 299. - [b] First of all - [c] Marx has in mind the appeals for aid to the Solingen cooperative issued by the Central Committee of the German language sections: 'Rundschreiben des Zentralkomite's der Sektionsgruppe deutscher Sprache an die Sektionen und mitgenössischen Gesellschaften', *Der Vorbote*, No. 11, November 1868; 'Mahnruf. An unsere Bundesgenossen und die Arbeiter und Arbeitervereine aller Länder', *Der Vorbote*, No. 10, October 1869.

League.[118] Under Lassalle's lordly sway, when Marquis Izzy[a] was in Cologne, the same Karl Klein announced a TOAST for us,[500] the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, and Izzy was forced *de faire bonne mine à mauvais jeu*.[b] Further, their cooperative was solid and maintained itself for years. The stupidity of the Prussian legislation forced them to *fix* their capital and thus reduce their *working capital*. Then the Rhenish bourgeois became irritable and decided to break them up, partly *by selling their* OBLIGATIONS, and partly by *withdrawing all* COMMERCIAL ADVANCES (not based on OBLIGATIONS).

Thus, the business is of general importance and, for us, personal importance.

What I suggest is this:

You send the fellows 50 *thaler for* OBLIGATIONS, and tell them, at the same time, that they must themselves see you can do *nothing* for them among the English bourgeois in Manchester. Tell them as well—and this is a FACT—that *I* in London have made *all possible efforts on their behalf, but in vain*. Finally, tell them—and I shall try this *immediately*—that I shall try to raise money for them among the *German bourgeois*. I shall—naturally you will *not* tell them this—write immediately to Menke in Hamburg to this end. It is possible that Menke (who is a millionaire, and has read *Capital*[c] from beginning to end, and furnished it with 'correcting notes', which he himself showed me) will do something. 2,000 thaler are nothing to such people. They would naturally, *d'abord*, SEND SOMEBODY TO Solingen to look at how the thing works. If the business is *not capable of surviving*, it *should not and may not* receive support. If the contrary, then *I am certain* that these people (Menke *et* Co.) will provide the money.

*Ad vocem*[d]: *IRISH QUESTION*. I did not attend the CENTRAL COUNCIL last Tuesday.[e] My 'FAMILY' did not allow me to go in this FOG and in my PRESENT STATE OF HEALTH, although I had undertaken TO OPEN THE DEBATES.

With regard to the report in the *National Reformer*,[f] not only has nonsense been attributed to me, but even what is *rightly* reported is *incorrectly* reported. But I didn't want to complain. *D'abord*, I would, thereby, offend the REPORTER (Harris). Second, as long as I don't interfere, all these reports are in no way official. If I correct something, I admit the rest is right—yet everything is wrong the

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[a] Ferdinand Lassalle - [b] to grin and bear it - [c] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I (see present edition, Vol. 35). - [d] As to - [e] 7 December - [f] See this volume, pp. 392 and 394.

way it is reproduced. BESIDES, *I have reasons* not to convert these reports into *legal* EVIDENCE *against me*, which happens the moment I *correct details*.

The way I shall express the matter next Tuesday is: that, quite apart from all 'international' and 'humane' phrases about *JUSTICE FOR IRELAND*—which are taken for granted on the *INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL*—it is in *the direct and absolute interests of the ENGLISH WORKING CLASS TO GET RID OF THEIR PRESENT CONNEXION WITH IRELAND*. I am fully convinced of this, for reasons that, in part, I can*not* tell the English workers themselves. For a long time I believed it would be possible to overthrow the Irish regime by ENGLISH WORKING CLASS ASCENDANCY. I always took this viewpoint in the *New-York Tribune*.[501] Deeper study has now convinced me of the opposite. The English WORKING CLASS will *never accomplish anything* BEFORE IT HAS GOT RID OF IRELAND. The lever must be applied in Ireland. This is why the Irish QUESTION is so important for the social movement in general.

I have read a lot of *Davies*[a] in extracts. The book itself I have only glanced through superficially in the Museum,[b] so you would oblige me if you would copy out for me the passages relating to *COMMON PROPERTY*. You *must* get hold of *Curran's 'Speeches' edited by Davies (London: James Duffy, 22 Paternoster Row)*. I meant to give it to you when you were in London. It is now circulating among the English MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL, and God knows when I shall see it again. For the period 1779-1800 (Union[461]) it is of decisive importance, not only because of *Curran's 'Speeches'* (namely *in court*; I regard *Curran* as the *sole great lawyer* (people's advocate) of the 18th century, and the *noblest personality*, while *Grattan* was a parliamentary rogue), but because you find *all the sources* about the *UNITED IRISHMEN*.[462] This period is of the greatest interest, SCIENTIFICALLY AND DRAMATICALLY. First, the dirty infamies of the English in 1588-89 repeated (perhaps even intensified) in 1788-89. Second, class movement is easily shown in the Irish movement itself. *Third*, the infamous policy of Pitt. *Fourth*, which very much irks Messrs the English, the proof that Ireland came to grief because IN FACT, FROM A REVOLUTIONARY STANDPOINT, *the Irish were too far advanced for the ENGLISH KING AND CHURCH MOB*, while, on the other hand, English reaction in England (as in Cromwell's time) had its roots in the subjugation of Ireland. *This period* must be described in at least one chapter[502]: a pillory for John Bull!

Enclosed something French—and, as a contrast, Freiligrath-ish!

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[a] J. Davies, *Historical Tracts*. - [b] the British Museum Library

I would be glad if you would send the money for the next quarter as *soon as possible.*

*Apropos.* Tussy has undertaken A FOOLISH WORK, embroidering a sofa cushion for you for Christmas. I don't believe she will be finished before the New Year. She allows neither Mama, nor Jennychen, nor Lenchen to sew a single stitch, so she has done *nothing* else for weeks. This is, however, *a great secret,* and you must naturally *not give the slightest* hint that you know about it. Tussy would eat me alive.

COMPLIMENTS TO MRS LIZZY.

Your
K. Moor

Of the French stuff I am sending you, *Gaulois*—half Bonapartist, half opposition—is STUPID. *Père Duchèsne* will astonish you by its impudence. And in such a STATE OF THINGS the bitch Eugénie dares to push herself forward[503]? She really wants to get hanged.

Apropos. The translation of *Capital* GOES ON.[441] Keller has now interrupted it, however. He wants to publish *18th Brumaire*[a] first, believing this possible under the present circumstances and important for France.

As for the current *Irish movement*, 3 important factors: 1. opposition to lawyers and TRADING POLITICIANS and BLARNEY; 2. opposition to the dictates of the priests who (*the higher ones*) are TRAITORS, as in O'Connell's time, just as in 1798-1800; 3. the emergence of the AGRICULTURAL LABOURING CLASS against the FARMING CLASS ON THE LAST MEETINGS.[b] (Similar phenomenon from 1795 to 1800.)

The *Irishman* only made its way owing to the suppression of the *FENIAN* PRESS. For a long time it stood IN OPPOSITION TO Fenianism. Luby, etc., OF THE *Irish People* were educated people who treated religion as a bagatelle. The government cast them into prison, and then came the Pigotts *et* Co. The *Irishman* will only continue to amount to anything until those people come out of prison. He knows this, though he is now squeezing *POLITICAL CAPITAL* out of declarations on behalf of the 'FELON CONVICTS'.

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[a] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* - [b] 'From Our Correspondent. Dublin, November 30' (in the 'Ireland' column), *The Times*, 1 December 1869; 'Great Excitement' (from the Belfast papers), *The Irishman*, 4 December.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 December 1869

DEAR FRED,

Just before the close of post I saw the letter from the Solingen people lying next to me; so I had forgotten to enclose it for you yesterday, which I do herewith.[a]

Also a proof, sent me by Beesly, but the continuation of it is missing. The page with the portraits—*Paris*—belongs to Jennychen, so you must return it after PERUSAL.

*Salut.*

Your
Moor

Various resolutions will be taken about the *Bee-Hive, d'abord*[b] in order to register them in our Minutes Book, and then to publish them *when there is an opportunity.*[c]

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 13 December 1869

Dear Moor,

Enclosed—what I have discovered from Davies[d] and otherwise about Irish land ownership ABOUT 1600. The post will be closing immediately, so I must keep things short today.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 395, 396-97. - [b] first - [c] See this volume, pp. 497-98. - [d] J. Davies, *Historical Tracts.*

About the Solingen people—ALL RIGHT. From the start it was my opinion that *both of us* had a special interest in the people.[a] I shall probably go to Barmen next week, as my mother simply insists I spend a Christmas at home again, and this time it is very possible that I shall travel to Solingen and see the people myself.

Correction of incorrect reports would naturally be of no help.[b] It would have to be done every week.

I have the Curran[c] here, in an edition that is probably much more complete, but I suppose I shall be glad also to acquire the new edition. For the time being I have enough to do with the early history up to 1660, and as soon as I'm finished with that, the period 1782-1800 will naturally be my main interest. First of all, however, I want to finish off the old stuff, particularly since I have found that the original positions between 1172-1600 are everywhere represented completely falsely, and I am only slowly discovering the original sources.

Not heard anything about Prendergast yet[d]? This book will soon be indispensable to me, or its lack will become very *gênant*.[e]

More tomorrow.

Your
F. E.

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## 274

## ENGELS TO MARX[504]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 16 December 1869

Dear Moor,

Enclosed—the desired remittance. This time I have been able to make it one hundred pounds, since a minor error to my

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[a] See this volume, pp. 395, 396-97. - [b] Ibid., pp. 397-98. - [c] J. Ph. Curran, *The Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran*, 2nd edition, Dublin, 1855. - [d] J. P. Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*. - [e] painful

disadvantage was found in the last accounts, and Sir Godfrey[a] had to make it good to me subsequently—IT WILL COME IN FOR CHRISTMAS.

That damned Giraldus Cambrensis dances before me like a will-o'-the-wisp. I must get the fellow, since he is the first foreign, that is to say first authentic, source on the state of Ireland on the arrival of the English, and the quotations I have seen lead me to believe that I shall find something more. The book, called *Hibernia expugnata*,[b] is nowhere to be found, but the first part, which interests me, is in the *Frankfurt* (!) edition of Camden's *Britannia*,[c] I don't know whether in another edition. This edition is naturally *not* here; an English edition in the FREE LIBRARY does not contain Giraldus[505]; the third volume of another edition in the lending library which *might* contain it is lost, and thus my only hope is the Chetham LIBRARY,[480] to which I shall go tomorrow. Incidentally, this hunt for sources is quite a different sort of pleasure than it was to hunt for customers on the blasted stock exchange.

Are Petty's *Political Anatomy of Ireland* and *Political Survey of Ireland* two different works, or only different editions? For the latter is here.

I have here a later edition of Kane's book; the one from you is unfortunately of little use because of its age (1846).[506]

I am making a written record of each period as soon as I have fairly finished my studies. Then you have the interrelations more clearly in your head and, altogether, a more vivid idea of the business, and can still make corrections. That is why, on the whole, I am keeping so strictly to the historic periods in arranging the order in which I plough through sources. I am nearly finished up to 1600.

On the side, I am reading *Grant's CAMPAIGN AGAINST Richmond* by Cannon.[d] Grant is a self-willed jackass who had so little confidence in himself and his army that he never dared undertake the simplest flanking manoeuvre against Lee, who was weaker by half, before he had weakened him by several days of frontal attack and had nailed him down in his original position. He relied upon the simple calculation that if he lost three men for every one of Lee's, then Lee would run out of people before he did. Nowhere else have there been such brutal butcheries as on that occasion. It was

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[a] Gottfried Ermen - [b] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia hibernica et expugnatio hibernica*. In: *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, Vol. V. - [c] G. Camdenus, *Britannia, sive florentissimorum regnorum Anglioe, Scotœ, Hiberniœ, et insularum adiacentium ex intima antiquitate*. - [d] J. Cannon, *History of Grant's Campaign for the Capture of Richmond (1864-1865)*.

the day-long skirmishes in the forests that cost so many lives; the wooded terrain made detours very difficult, and this is Grant's only excuse.

Best greetings to the LADIES.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 17 December 1869

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS for £100.[a] Yesterday I couldn't acknowledge because of the sudden appearance of Strohn. The poor fellow had his blood relapse again in May. Because of his health, he has had to hang around since then in Switzerland, etc.; looks very poorly and is very peevish. The doctors recommend him to marry. Strohn will be returning from here to Bradford, and desires you to return him the *Urnings* or whatever the paederast's book is called.[b]

As soon as he goes (on Monday) I shall myself buzz around town to raise the *Prendergast*.[c] I couldn't do it last week because of the filthy weather, which I couldn't risk TO UNDERGO in my not-yet-restored state of health. I remember vaguely that, in his introduction, *Prendergast* depicts the Anglo-Norman period, it seems to me, in fantastic-uncritical-optimistic radiant colours. The book must be obtained for you also to consult for the first period. Our Irish resolutions[d] have been sent to all TRADES UNIONS that maintain ties with us. Only one has protested, A SMALL BRANCH OF THE CURRIERS, saying they are political and not WITHIN the sphere of action of the COUNCIL. We are sending a deputation to enlighten

[a] See the previous letter. - [b] K. H. Ulrichs, *'Argonauticus'. Zastrow und die Urninge des pietistischen, ultramontanen und freidenkenden Lagers.* - [c] J. P. Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland.* - [d] See this volume, pp. 375-76.

them. Mr Odger has now noticed how useful it was for him to vote *for* the RESOLUTIONS despite all sorts of diplomatic objections. As a result, the 3-4,000 Irish electors in Southwark have promised him their votes.

From the enclosed *Égalité*, which I must have back, you'll see how impudent *il Signor* Bakunin is becoming.[507] This fellow now has control over 4 organs of the *International* (*Égalité, Progrès* in Locle, *Federacion*, Barcelona, and *Eguaglianza*, NAPLES). He is trying to gain a foothold in Germany through alliance with *Schweitzer*, and in Paris through flattery for the newspaper *Le Travail*. He believes the moment has come to start an open squabble with us. He is playing himself up as the guardian of real proletarianism. But he's in for a surprise. Next week (luckily the Central Council[a] has adjourned until the Tuesday[b] after New Year's Day, so we on the SUBCOMMITTEE are free to work without the *cosy* intervention of the English) we shall be sending a threatening MISSIVE to the Romance Federal Committee[c] in Geneva, and since the gentlemen know (incidentally a major part, perhaps the greater part are *against* Bakunin) that, according to the resolutions of the last Congress, we can *suspend* them if necessary,[508] they will consider the matter twice.

The main point on which our MISSIVE turns is this: the only representation with regard to us of the *branches romandes en Suisse*[d] is the *Federal Committee* there. They have to dispatch their *demandes* and *reprimandes* to us *PRIVATELY*, through their secretary, *Perret*. They have absolutely no right TO ABDICATE THEIR FUNCTIONS INTO THE HANDS OF THE *Égalité* (a NON-EXISTENCE *for us*), and to expect the Central Council to get involved in public explanations and polemics with this *remplaçant*. Whether or not the *rejoinders* of the General Council are published in the organs of the international branches, the whole thing depends on the decision of the General Council, which alone is *directly* responsible to the Congress. At this opportunity, blows will fall upon certain intrigants who are usurping undue authority, and who wish to subject the *International* to their private control.

Regarding the tumult of the Cossacks[e] about the *Bulletin*, the matter is as follows:

It was decided at the Brussels Congress[138] that we should publish 'IN THE SEVERAL LANGUAGES' bulletins on STRIKES etc., '*AS OFTEN AS ITS*

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[a] General Council - [b] 4 January 1870 - [c] K. Marx, *The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland*. - [d] Romance branches in Switzerland - [e] An allusion to Mikhail Bakunin and his supporters.

(*THE GENERAL COUNCIL*) *MEANS PERMIT*'.[509] But on the condition that we, for our part, received reports, documents, etc., from the FEDERAL *comités* at least every 3 months. Since we have received neither these reports nor the *MEANS* to print reports, this resolution naturally remained a dead letter. In fact, it became superfluous as a result of the founding of numerous international newspapers, which exchange with one another (*Bee-Hive* as register of English STRIKES, etc.).

At the Congress in Basle,[379] the question was raked up again. The Congress treated the Brussels resolutions on the *Bulletin* as *NON-EXISTENT*. Otherwise, it would simply have charged the Central Council with carrying them out (which would, once again, without the provision of MEANS, have remained a *lettre morte*[a]). At issue was a bulletin in a different sense (not, as before, a *resumé* of STRIKES, etc., but RATHER GENERAL REFLEXIONS ON THE MOVEMENT). The Congress *did not*, however, *come to a vote* on this point. There is, therefore, at present *no* resolution IN THIS QUESTION. But what a marvellous policy it would be to inform the public, through an open reply to *Égalité* that, at an earlier date, the Brussels resolutions remained *unfeasible*, 1. because the MEMBERS did not pay their PENCE, and 2. because the FEDERAL *comités* did not perform their functions!

With regard to Schweitzer, Mr Bakunin, who understands German, knows that Schweitzer and his gang *do not* belong to the International. He knows that Schweitzer *publicly rejected* Liebknecht's offer to appoint the General Council as arbiter.[294] His interrogation is all the more villainous since his friend Ph. Becker, the president of the German language groups,[510] sits on the Geneva *FEDERAL COUNCIL*, in order to give them the necessary information there. His aim is simply to gain a grip on Schweitzer. *Mais il verra!*[b]

I have written fully to De Paepe[c] about the affair (to lay before the Brussels Central Committee).

As soon as a Russian gets a foothold, there is the devil to pay.

Borkheim has now plunged into Turkish.

Will you be going to Germany?

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] dead letter - [b] But he will see! - [c] See this volume, pp. 406 and 413-14.

# 1870

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## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 8 January 1870

My dear Jung,

First Shaw's[511] *funérailles*, afterwards other incidents have prevented me from sending you earlier the 'missive' to Geneva.[a]

There are *des changements*[b] in the text—I have struck away, I have added some sentences, and very often corrected the phraseology.

Hence you must copy the thing anew (as quickly as possible) so that the text I send to day to Bruxelles be conform with that sent to Geneva. As soon as you have done, put the thing into the hands of Dupont.

With compliments to your family

Yours truly
Karl Marx

I have, besides the copy of the Geneva 'missive', made a full report to the Bruxelles Comité[512] '*pour les encourager*' *et aussi un peu*[c] to show them the theoretical nonsense preached at Geneva.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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[a] K. Marx, *The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland.* - [b] changes - [c] 'to encourage them' and also partly

# 277

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 9 January 1870

Dear Moor,

A Happy New Year!

I arrived back here at midday on Thursday, after thoroughly wrecking my stomach in Barmen with innumerable guzzlings.[513] The people there are overjoyed, that is, the philistines are. The danger of war has now been finally overcome; Louis-Napoleon has once again finely maintained his superior wisdom through prudent compliance.[514] Bismarck is once again able to work, confidence is returning, COMMERCE *must* improve, and so 1870 must be an extremely blessed year for the honest German duffers. I cannot grasp how these people manage to take leave of more of their senses every year.

Hühnerbein, the old tailor and general of the revolution, was very pleased to see me. He still has a complete set of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* bound in red, which is good to know. He sends greetings; he has two very pretty daughters.

I did not go to Solingen[a] for the following reasons:

1. It would have been very difficult for me to get away for a day at HOLIDAY time;

2. I could not very well have asked for a closer look at the business without contributing a larger sum myself, which was not possible and

3. as a Party friend, I would have been forced to take the people's word for some things, and not to have insisted so strictly, like a *complete stranger*, on the presentation of all documents and SECURITIES; and Menke, as a result of *my* report, would perhaps refrain from sending anyone, and thus load me with a responsibility I would prefer to decline.

Now I shall wait for your reply and then write to the people.[b]

If I hadn't been so wrecked and, in addition, worried about Lizzie, whom I left unwell, and from whom I heard nothing all the time, I would have dropped in on you on the return journey.

Read practically no newspapers the whole time, but I see that

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[a] See this volume, p. 401. - [b] Ibid., pp. 420-21.

the Hatzfeldt, through Mende, has laid an interdict on Schweitzer[515]; things must be all over for Schweitzer soon. I shall presumably get details through you from the papers.

In Cologne I visited Klein[a] for a few moments. Was very cool; these people become so philistinised that we appear to really bother them. They now have an anti-ultramontane association, naturally including Cherethites and Pelethites[b] (which means Cretans and Philistines according to Ewald's translation).

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO MARX[180]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 19 January 1870

Dear Moor,

I hope you are having a better time with the infamous carbuncle following the lancing.[c] It's a ghastly business. Keep on with the arsenic till all the symptoms have disappeared, and *then for at least another 3 months.* I shall go to Gumpert in the next few days and ask him for his opinion,[d] but be so good as to let me know first for how long you stopped taking the arsenic, and when you began again, so I can answer his very first question.

I would have thought you really must realise that in the interests of your 2nd volume,[41] too, you need a change of life-style. If there is a constant repetition of such suspensions, you will never get finished; with an increase in movement in fresh air, which will keep off the carbuncles, then sooner or later.

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[a] Johann Jacob Klein - [b] 2 Samuel 8:18; 15:8 - [c] See this volume, pp. 551, 552. - [d] Ibid., p. 551.

Unfortunately, now that I can no longer call upon the packers in the WAREHOUSE I haven't such opportunities for sending wine as formerly. I must wait, as with Brauneberger, until I find a ready-packed crate, or depend somehow or other on chance. That is why the small crate of port I am sending you today, has proved so slim. It is an old butter crate from Renshaws; I could not get more than 5 bottles in the narrow space, and the thin boards would not have stood more weight. It should keep you going for a while, however.

The Peter Bonaparte business is a bang-up inauguration for the new era in Paris.[516] Louis[a] is *décidément*[b] unlucky. For the bourgeois a very rude awakening from the illusion that the whole foundation of corruption and dirty work, carefully and slowly constructed over eighteen years, would disappear immediately noble Ollivier took over the helm. Constitutional Government with such a Bonaparte, such generals, prefects, police and Decembrists! The anxiety of the fellows, I mean the bourgeois, is nowhere more clearly expressed than in Prévost-Paradol's letter in Monday's *Times*.[517]

The worst part of this business is that Rochefort thereby acquires a quite exaggerated nimbus. To be sure, though, the official Republicans are also a miserable lot.

John Bright deserves congratulations. The poor fellow is so helpless in his new and elevated situation that, despite all discretion, he promises the Irish FREE LAND and OPENING OF THE PRISON DOORS.[518] The latter naturally only to revoke it the following day, as soon as the slightest attempt is made to take him at his word. As far as FREE LAND is concerned, this was already—in Bright's sense, *à la* FREE TRADE—introduced by the ENCUMBERED ESTATES COURT.

I have at last discovered a copy of Prendergast[c] in a local library, and hope to be able to obtain it. To my good or bad fortune, the ancient Irish laws[481] are now also appearing, and I shall have to wade through these as well. The more I study the subject, the clearer it becomes to me that, as a result of the English invasion, Ireland was cheated of its whole development, and thrown back centuries. And this ever since the 12th century; neither should it be forgotten, of course, that 300 years of invasion and plunder by the Danes had already dragged the country considerably backwards; but this had ceased more than 100 years earlier.

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[a] Napoleon III - [b] decidedly - [c] J. P. Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland.*

In recent years there has been rather more criticism in Irish research, particularly in Petrie's antiquarian studies[a]; he also forced me to read some Celtic-Irish (naturally with a parallel translation). It doesn't seem all that difficult, but I shan't delve deeper into the stuff; I'm already hobbled with enough philological nonsense. In the next few days, when I get the book, I'll see how the ancient laws have been dealt with.

I congratulate you on your progress in Russian. You will charm Borkheim, and it is also a good thing because mine has nearly all become very rusty again, and if you let yours become rusty again, then I shall have to start once more.

Best greetings to your wife and the girls. Lafargue is in a really frightful hurry.[b]

Your
F. E.

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## 279

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 January 1870

DEAR FRED,

I am only writing you THESE FEW LINES today, since my left arm is under bandages and POULTICES, that is to say, not under my command.

The business was an ABSCESS connected with the GLANDS. In addition, a few other little things, which were put in order yesterday by being lanced. Today, everything in best progress; the doctor was fully satisfied.

The port, which arrived yesterday, is doing me a great service.

You should not imagine that I have learned so much Russian IN A

[a] G. Petrie, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, Anterior to the Anglo-Norman Invasion*. In: *The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. XX. - [b] See this volume, p. 551.

FEW WEEKS; I won't say as much as you have forgotten, but as much as would remain to you had you forgotten three times as much. I am still a beginner.

So Herzen is dead. Just about time I finished *Тюрьма* etc.[519] Plenty of things have happened in the 'International', especially with regard to Bakunin's intrigues.[507] But too long to write about now.

The Paris MOVEMENTS are amusing.[a] Since Ollivier is also a FREE TRADER, he is naturally a man after the heart of the English philistine, who always forgets that what suits him must be, *prima facie*,[b] DISGUSTING to French Frenchmen.

MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS Lizzie AND ALL OF THEM.

Your
Moor

What do you say to the clever-clever stuff in *Zukunft*, by means of which they attempt to push themselves out of the purely political camp!

Apropos. I still have a little note from Liebknecht[520] which arrived for you during your absence from England. But I can't look it out now amongst the mess of papers. Next time.

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## MARX TO CÉSAR DE PAEPE[48]

### IN BRUSSELS

London, 24 January 1870

Dear citizen De Paepe,

I am writing to you WITH SOME DIFFICULTY, as my left arm is bandaged. At the end of last month, an abscess of the gland began to form near the armpit. I neglected the thing, and I am punished for my sin. Several days after I sent the letter to Brussels,[512] the

[a] See this volume, p. 409. - [b] immediately

pain became intolerable and I fell into the hands of doctors. I underwent two operations, and I feel better, but I am still being treated and must stay at home.

In the first place, I am writing this letter to ask you a personal favour. You probably know that a part of the English bourgeoisie has formed a sort of *LAND League*[521] against the workers' *LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE*.[451] Their ostensible purpose is to transform English landed property into small-lot property, and to create a peasantry for the greater benefit of the people. Their real purpose is an attack against landed aristocracy. They want to throw land in free circulation in order to transfer it in this way from the hands of LANDLORDS into those of capitalists. To this effect, they published a series of popular tracts under the title of *Cobden Treaties*, in which small-scale property is painted in rosy colours. Their great battle-horse is *Belgium* (principally the *Flemings*). It would appear that in that country the peasants live under paradisiacal conditions. They established contact with Mr Laveleye who provides them with facts for their rhetoric. In the meantime, as I treat of landed property in Volume Two of *Capital*,[187] I believe it useful to go into some detail there on the structure of landed property in Belgium and of Belgian agriculture.[522] Will you have the goodness to send me the *titles of the principal books* which I must consult[523]?

My illness has naturally prevented me from attending the General Council[a] in the last weeks. Yesterday evening, the subcommittee (the executive committee) of which I am a member visited me. Among other things, they communicated to me the content of a letter sent by Mr Hins to Stepney. As Stepney believed that I would be able to attend the session of the General Council (on 25 January), he did not communicate to me any extracts from that letter. I do not know any of it except from hearsay.[524]

In the first place, it is probably believed in Brussels that the catastrophe of Geneva, the change in the staff of *L'Égalité*,[525] was produced by resolutions of the General Council.[b] That is an error. Jung was so busy with his work as watchmaker that he did not find the time to copy the resolutions and dispatch them to Geneva *before 16 January*. In *the interval*, he received two letters from H. Perret, secretary of the Romance Committee. The first letter, dated *4 January*, is official. It is a communication of the Romance Committee to the General Council stating that some editors of

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[a] See this volume, p. 471. - [b] K. Marx, *The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland*.

*L'Égalité* convened to wage a public campaign against the General Council *and* the Swiss Committees with which they were not in accord, but that they acted *against* the will of the Romance Committee.

The second letter, of a later date but arriving also *before* the resolutions of the General Council were dispatched by Jung, is a confidential letter sent by Perret to Jung. I am giving you literal extracts from it to put you in the picture. As the letter is private, I need not tell you that these extracts must not be communicated to the Belgian Committee or that the name of the writer must remain a secret.[526]

'...Bakunin has left Geneva. So much the better. Those kind of people bring discord among us. He was the head of the *Alliance*.[257] These democrats are authoritarians, they do not want any opposition; such are Bakunin, Perron and Robin; these three were at the head of *L'Égalité*. Bakunin, with his personal attacks, cost us 200 or 300 subscribers in Geneva. Robin is even more authoritarian, his ambition was to change everything here; he has not succeeded, we do not wish to allow ourselves to be dominated by these gentlemen who believe themselves to be indispensable. They attempted to bring pressure to bear on the Federal Committee, and that did not succeed; we do not want to engage in adventures with them or to bring discord in our sections. Please believe me that *l'Alliance* is dangerous for us, especially now. As for their plan in Geneva, I guessed it a long time ago: to let the men of *l'Alliance* move to the top of all the societies in order to dominate the Federation. If you knew their mode of action—*denigrating* at the sections the people who do not let themselves be dominated by them; they did everything to push my candidature out of the way in Basle, the same thing in Grosselin... You see the manoeuvre—sending to Basle no one but members of the *l'Alliance*, Heng, Brosset, Bakunin. That did not succeed at all. Besides, he[a] worked on the delegations at Lyons, at Naples; these methods are not ethical. They left for Basle before us to prepare their intrigues... Here is something that happened at the Congress,[379] something I guessed about but had no certain proof of. Martinaud, delegate of the Neuchâtel section, had a mandate signed by the brother of Guillaume,[527] a forged, false mandate—*we have proof of that in our hands.* The Neuchâtel section was not yet definitively constituted, and the provisional committee wrote to us not to recognise either Guillaume or Martinaud. These are the morals of the apostles of *l'Alliance*, for Guillaume and some others from Locle are their friends. Besides, the creation of *Progrès* has lured away subscribers to *L'Égalité*, although our journal was founded by all and we must support it.

'The last bit of news: the cut-throats of *l'Alliance* have just handed in their resignation from *L'Égalité*—Perron, Robin and some others, more or less capable ones. A little coup d'état *à la* Bakunin and *à la* Robin. *They wanted to force the hand of the Federal Committee, that it might dismiss* from the staff a member[b] who offered opposition and who condemned attacks made against various committees and the General Council. We do not wish to increase the authority of these gentlemen, we are going to have a quiet fight with them yet, but it seems that *l'Alliance* loses many of its members; it is diminishing—so much the better.'

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[a] Mikhail Bakunin - [b] Pierre Waehry

So much for the extracts from Perret's letter.

If Mr Hins has not yet communicated my letter (and the resolutions of the General Council) to the Belgian Council,[512] *it would be better to suppress entirely the paragraph about Bakunin.* I have no copy of it, but I know that I wrote it in irritation brought on by physical suffering. Thus I do not doubt that Mr Hins justly blames me for the form of that paragraph. As to the substance and the facts, they are independent both from my bad manner of expression and the good opinion of Mr Hins about Bakunin. The fact is that *l'Alliance*, of which Bakunin is the creator and which has not been dissolved except *nominally*, is a danger to the *International Association* and an element of disorganisation.

In the paragraph concerning Bakunin, I am told that Mr Hins again picks up the phrase '*le bonhomme Richard*'.[a] That is a SLIP OF THE PEN, which I regret all the more as Richard is one of the most active members of the Association. I used the phrase only to say that, in the correspondence cited here, he accepts with a great deal of simple-mindedness opinions which he never fathomed. Besides, when I wrote those words, Richard had just given a fresh proof of his thoughtlessness. He had sent to the Council a letter in which a judgement was expressed declaring certain persons belonging to a would-be schismatic Lyons branch to be *infamous traitors expelled* from the Association. We are asked to copy this judgement, to stamp and sign it, and to return it by post. And that without proof, without documents, without giving those condemned the right to defend themselves.

I am also told that Mr Hins reproaches the English Report on the Basle Congress[b] for having suppressed everything related to the question of heritage. That is obviously a misunderstanding. On pages 26-29 we find the report of the General Council,[c] the report of the committee appointed at Basle, and a summary of the discussion on this question. Moreover, the English Report on the transactions of the Congress was written by Eccarius. The Council appointed a commission to examine that report. Although I was appointed a member of this commission, I refused to take part in its work as I had not been present at the Congress and was thus not competent to judge the exactness of the report. My entire collaboration was restricted to purely stylistic improvements.

Finally, if the resolutions passed by the General Council were

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[a] that simpleton Richard - [b] *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association held at Basle, in Switzerland* - [c] K. Marx, 'Report of the General Council on the Right of Inheritance'.

not good enough to satisfy Mr. Hins, they obviously satisfied the Romance Committee, for two weeks after their adoption it passed the resolution to free itself from the dictatorship of *l'Alliance.*

Yours very truly,

K. M.

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## 281

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 January 1870

Dear Moor,

It was a great RELIEF to learn that, this time, it was only a glandular abscess, not a carbuncle. In view of your decisively anti-lymphatic temperament, the involvement of the gland (*axillaris*) can only be secondary and not mean anything. This state of affairs is fully explained by the prolonged neglect that arose from you treating the thing as a carbuncle.

Prendergast[a]—finally received, and, as always happens, two copies at once; W. H. Smith & Sons have also got hold of one. I shall be finished with it tonight. The book is important because of the many excerpts from unpublished documents. No wonder it is OUT OF PRINT. Longman & Co. must have been furious at having been induced to put their name on *such* a book, and since there was certainly little demand for it in England (Mudies have *not a single copy*), they will have sold the edition for pulping as soon as possible, or, also possible, have sold the edition to a syndicate of Irish LANDLORDS (for the same purpose), and will certainly not print a 2nd. What the author says about the Anglo-Norman period is correct in so far as those Irish and Anglo-Irish who lived at some distance from the Pale,[445] continued during that period to live

[a] J. P. Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland.*

roughly the same old casual life which preceded the settlement; and that the wars, too, in this period were more easy-going in character (with a few exceptions), and had not the distinctly devastating character they assumed in the 16th century, and which became the rule thereafter. But his theory that the enormous amiability of the Irishmen, and particularly Irishwomen, *immediately* disarms every immigrant, however hostile, is just THOROUGHLY IRISH, since the Irish way of thinking lacks all distinction of degree.

A new edition of Giraldus Cambrensis has been published: *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, edidit J. S. Brewer*, London, Longman & Co. 1863, *at least* 3 volumes; could you find out the price for me, and whether it would be possible to get cheaply, SECOND HAND, the whole work, or at least the volume containing 'Topographie Hiberniae', and possibly also 'Hibernia expugnata'.[528]

In order not to make a fool of myself over Cromwell, I shall have to mug up considerably more on the English history of the period. This will do no harm, but will steal a lot of time.

I am reading the French papers with thanks and interest, and will return them tomorrow with several numbers of *Zukunft*. This paper is becoming more and more depressing and difficult for both readers and writers.

It is close of post, so *adieu*. Best greetings to all.

Your
F. E.

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## 282

## MARX TO ENGELS[180]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 January 1870

DEAR FRED,

I am still UNDER TREATMENT and confined to my room. The business was complicated to some degree by small carbuncles near the

abscess, nearly the size of an egg. But IN A FEW DAYS ALL WILL BE QUITE RIGHT.

It is curious how doctors have differing opinions. Dr Maddison, who was employed in Edinburgh in a hospital for skin diseases, and still works in this branch, in addition to his practice in a London hospital, states that in both hospitals they are completely *against arsenic* for carbuncles, though use arsenic for rashes. As long as I am in his care, which comes to an end this week, I naturally take *his* medicine. As soon as this finishes, I shall take arsenic regularly for 3 months for *il faut en finir.*[a]

Enclosed—the announced note from Wilhelm.[520] If you write to him, do inform him, in passing (referring to the screed he sent you for me) that 1. if all newspapers write as much about the *18th Brumaire* as his,[b] that is to say, not at all, it is not surprising that nobody hears of it; and 2. that if this material cannot be obtained in Leipzig (which I regard as humbug), he should not write to me, but to *Meissner direct.*

Enclosed—letter from Dr J. Jacoby to Kugelmann, and note from Kugelmann. The matter is as follows: Kugelmann saw in supplement No. 18 of *Zukunft* (22 January) a SPEECH by Jacoby, in which the latter avows socialism and, in the main part of the same issue, the story of the meeting at which this happened, when Schweitzer seized the presidency with the help of his bullyboys and, after the end of Jacoby's speech, accused him, *inter alia*, of borrowing arguments from me. Kugelmann wrote with his usual fervour to Jacoby on this, congratulating him and, at the same time, dressing him down for quoting all sorts of people, but precisely not me, who had supplied him with his real matter. HENCE JACOBY'S REPLY.[529]

The odd thing is only that Jacoby—during the meeting, in answer to Schweitzer—said that I myself 'utilise in my works the labours of my predecessors on countless occasions'. Since I conscientiously cite everybody who contributed as much as a comma to the exposition, this means that Jacoby can take the substance of his new beliefs from me, without citing me. In addition, I am not a '*predecessor*' of 70-year-old Jacoby. A mere populariser and superficialiser has no 'predecessors'. Yet despite all this, it is very fine that Jacoby, like Arnold Ruge, has been converted to *communism.*[c] 'Liberty' no longer suffices!

I am sending you the latest issue of the *Democratic News*. The sheet is no good, but it is in the hands of our own chaps, and

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[a] it must be ended - [b] *Der Volksstaat* - [c] See this volume, pp. 542-43.

could be made into a *counterbalance* to the *Bee-Hive*, particularly since it only costs 1 HALFPENNY. You and Moore should both subscribe to 12 COPIES, since a similar subscription has also been imposed upon members of the General Council. In addition, one or the other of you could send me quite short reports about Lancashire etc., weekly or bi-weekly, for the sheet.

*Salut*

Your
K. M.

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## 283

## ENGELS TO MARX[33]

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 1 February 1870

Dear Moor,

I only received the relevant *Zukunft* yesterday evening, so I can only return the Jacobyana[a] today. It is very clear why the old Yid did not name you; he was sheepishly ashamed of himself, but he should at least have known that, once Schweitzer had been elected president, or was simply present, the plagiarism would certainly be rammed down his throat; but an old wiseacre like he always thinks, in his stupidity, that things might go well. If conversions continue like this, we shall soon dislodge old almighty God from the Rhenish proverb which states that he 'keeps curious company'.

I shall try to raise subsidies for the *Democratic News*. 12-fold subscriptions can lead to nothing, as we have simply no use here for the piles of waste paper. And I don't know, either, what could be reported from here.

I shall inform Wilhelm suitably; I presume he has *never* spoken in his sheet[b] about the *18th Brumaire*. That not a single copy can be obtained in Leipzig is certainly a lie, unless the whole edition has

[a] See the previous letter. - [b] *Der Volksstaat*

been sold out. Apropos, *how do things stand with the French translation* of it, and of your book[530]?

I shall send Wilhelm the *Peasant War*, but shall only write the introduction for the *complete* publication. There is no sense in writing an introduction for a serial publication that might drag on for 6 months or more.[486]

It is a real stroke of luck that, despite G. Flourens, *no* blow was struck at Noir's funeral. The fury of *Pays* shows the Bonapartists'[a] great disappointment. They could not wish for anything better than to catch all the revolutionary masses of Paris *en flagrant délit*[b] on the open field *outside* Paris, even *outside the fortifications*, which only have a few passages. Half a dozen cannon at the posterns, an infantry regiment in skirmishing order, and a brigade of cavalry to lay about and pursue—and, in the space of half-an-hour, the entire unarmed crowd—the few revolvers some might carry in their pockets would not count—would be routed, cut down or captured. Since they have 60,000 soldiers, they could even let them enter the fortifications, occupy these, shoot down with grapeshot and ride down the crowd in the open terrain of the Champs Elysées and on the Avenue de Neuilly. Delightful! 200,000 unarmed workers should, from the open field, conquer Paris occupied by 60,000 soldiers!

The French newspapers arrived this morning. Best thanks.

Have you read a full translation of *Land and Freedom* (the Russian thing)[531]? I now have one; you can have it.

Best greetings to your wife, Jenny and Tussy.

Your

F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p. 553. - [b] red-handed

## 284

## ENGELS TO KARL KLEIN AND FRIEDRICH MOLL

IN SOLINGEN

Manchester, 8 February 1870
86 Mornington Street, Stockport Road

Dear Friends,

I must apologise very much for having left your letter of 3 December unanswered until today.[498] My only excuse is that I wanted to write something really nice, so I had to look around first, also in the interests of the cooperative. If I now have no very good news, this is, as you will see, not my fault.

I remember Solingen well from anno 48 and 49. Not only were the workers of Solingen at that time the most developed and most determined in the Rhine Province, as was also shown by the Elberfeld affair; I have a reason to be personally grateful to them, since the Solingen column, with which I marched to Elberfeld, supported me and guarded me there against the cowardly and treacherous Committee of Public Safety of the bourgeois 'radicals'. Had it not been for the Solingers, these bourgeois would have bunged me into jail, where I would probably have been left as an expiatory sacrifice for the Prussian gentlemen.[532] And I know full well that, during the whole period of the Lassallean triumphal processions, the Solingers did not behave as disciples of the new teaching, but as people who had belonged to the socialist movement for many years, who could, of course, join the new Association,[104] but did not need to learn anything from it. And I know very well, how, when Lassalle was being idolised as a new messiah, Friend Klein had the courage to remind him and the workers that the people round the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had already contributed something towards the independence of the workers.[466]

Thus, it is doubly painful to me that my own means do not permit me to give the cooperative a helping hand in a way that would be of special use to it. The little money I have is so tied up that, with the best will in the world—and certainly for the next few years at least—I cannot get at it, not even for my personal ends. I can thus only dispose of my income, which is not brilliant in the circumstances here. But to show my good will, at least, I enclose *50 thaler* in one Prussian banknote I. Lit. C. N. 108,126; I would ask you to send me the relevant bond title; the interest,

however, should be credited not to me, but to the reserve fund of the cooperative.

Together with Marx, with whom I have discussed the matter,[a] I have looked around to see whether we might drum up money for the cooperative in some other way. Marx knows some people who have means, and who can be assumed to have good will. But the man[b] through whom we would have to manoeuvre this is away for a number of months, and *until then* nothing can be done. We intend to do the following: if we succeed in interesting these people in the matter, we shall ask them to send somebody to Solingen to inspect the state of the cooperative himself. It would then be necessary for this person to be shown all the books and records and be provided with all the necessary explanations with the greatest frankness. Otherwise, you cannot ask people to put money into a business and, if I were myself in a position to advance a larger sum, then I would come to Solingen and ask for the same. In business matters everybody has the duty to look out for himself, since anybody can make a mistake, particularly somebody who is interested in a certain thing. In addition, such a person—who naturally would be a complete stranger to Solingen—would have to give his word of honour that he would make no use of the information thus obtained. And when this person has convinced himself of the reliability of the business and the trustworthiness of the management, we hope a decent sum will be taken up in bonds.

I naturally give you this simply as our plan of operations, and would not like you to set great hopes in it already, as it is clear that we cannot just dispose of other people's money. I would not for the world wish the cooperative, basing itself upon such prospects, which might come to fruition at the earliest in months, or perhaps not at all, let itself in for transactions that would tie up its means, and get it into difficulties. I can only promise that we shall do our best in this matter, and remain, with best wishes for the success of the cooperative and the prosperity of all members, with greetings and a handshake

Frederick Engels

My address is now as above.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 395, 396-97. - [b] presumably Menke

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 9 February 1870

Dear Moor,

Either you are sick, or you once again cramming yourself into sickness; otherwise one would hear from you.

The blasted:

*Ancient Laws of Ireland.—Senchus Mor.*—PART I AND II, DUBLIN, PRINTED FOR HER MAJESTY, STATIONERY OFFICE,[a] the 2nd part of which appeared 3-4 weeks ago, are said to be '*REPRINTING*', and lay me completely by the heels. QUERY, can one get something of this sort SECOND HAND in London?

So Rochefort has quietly been put in quod. Ollivier obviously wants a collision; the barricade attempts will presumably turn out to be 'white smock'[533] pranks. And if Ollivier doesn't want a collision, then Bonaparte, behind his back, does.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[534]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 February 1870

DEAR FRED,

I first went out again last Saturday, but as a result of this damned foggy weather immediately contracted a sort of inflamma-

[a] See this volume, pp. 409-10.

tion of the tonsils. The body is naturally sensitive after some weeks of SEQUESTRATION. A north-east wind is howling here and, under the circumstances, prolongs imprisonment. But I hope to have my throat ALL RIGHT again in the course of this week.

On Sunday, LITTLE Dakyns (the geologist) visited me. I invited him for next Sunday. His Scottish cap was the sole MEMENTO of his costume as Felix Holt, THE RASCAL.[a] He was as sprightly as ever, and Tussy was DELIGHTED to see him.

As far as new things are concerned—such as the Irish Laws, etc.[b]—it is very difficult to get them here SECOND HAND.

Laura writes to us today, inter alia, that since last June the excitement in Paris has been steadily rising. Since the Victor-Noir[c] tragic balladry,[516] the females in the working strata have gone daft, and you know what that means in Paris.

Flourens, the CRACK-BRAINED youngster, is the son OF LATE Flourens, *sécrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie*, who always adhered to the existing government throughout his nearly 100 years of life, and who was, in turn, Bonapartist, legitimist, Orleanist and again Bonapartist. During the last years of his life he still made himself noticeable with his fanaticism against Darwin.

Apropos, about Napoleon I. In one of the copies of *Cloche* that you have, there is, in one of the memoirs—I no longer remember which—a passage about the wretched behaviour of the hero.[535] Jennychen wants to have the quotation. She has had a squabble at the Monroes' about it, where they wished to deny the FACTS.

I have read the first 150 pages of *Flerovsky*'s book[d] (taken up with Siberia, North Russia and Astrakhan). This is the first work to tell the truth about Russian economic conditions. The man is a determined enemy of what he calls 'Russian optimism'. I never held very rosy views about this communist El Dorado, but Flerovsky surpasses all expectations. It is, in fact, rum, and at any event sign of a change, that something like this can be published in Petersburg.

'У насъ пролетаріевъ мало, но зато масса нашего рабочаго класса состоитъ изъ работниковъ, которыхъ участь хуже чѣмъ участь всякаго пролетарія.'[e]

The method of presentation is quite original; sometimes it reminds you most of Monteil.[f] You can see that the man has

[a] A personage from George Eliot's *Felix Holt, the Radical*. - [b] See this volume, pp. 409-10 and 422. - [c] in the original: Louis Noir - [d] Н. Флеровскій, *Положеніе рабочаго класса въ Россіи*. - [e] 'We have few proletarians, but the mass of our working class consists of working people whose lot is worse than that of any proletarian.' - [f] A. A. Monteil, *Histoire des français des divers états aux cinq derniers siècles*. Volumes I-X.

travelled about everywhere and observed things for himself. Blazing hatred of LANDLORD, capitalist and official. No socialist doctrine, no mysticism about the land (although he favours the form of communal property), no nihilistic extravagance. Here and there a certain amount of well-meaning twaddle, which is, however, suited to the stage of development of the people for whom the book is intended. At all events, it is the most important book published since your work on the *Condition of the Working-Class.* And the family life of the Russian peasants is also well depicted—with the awful beating-to-death of their wives, the drinking, and the concubines. It would, therefore, be very opportune if you would send me the fantasy-lies of Citizen Herzen.[a]

You will recall that *Égalité*, inspired by Bakunin, attacked the GENERAL COUNCIL, made all sorts of interpellations publicly, and threatened more.[b] A communication[c]—which I composed—was, thereupon, sent to the *Comité Romand* in Geneva, and ditto to all the other *Comités* of French tongue corresponding with us. Result: The entire Bakunin gang has quit *Égalité.* Bakunin himself has taken up residence in Tessin, and will continue intriguing in Switzerland, Spain, Italy and France. Now the armistice is at an end between us, since he knows that I attacked him heatedly and inveighed against him on the occasion of the latest Geneva *événements.*[d] The brute really imagines that we are '*too bourgeois*' and, therefore, incapable of grasping and esteeming his lofty concepts about 'inheritance right', 'equality', and the replacement of the present state systems by '*l'Internationale*'. Nominally, his '*Alliance* de la Démocratie Socialiste'[257] has been dissolved, but, in fact, continues. From the enclosed copy of a letter (which you must return to me) from H. Perret, *sécrétaire du Conseil Romand,* to Jung,[536] you will see that, in fact, the catastrophe in Geneva took place before they received our communication there. This, however, strengthened the new *status rerum.*[e] The *Belgian* '*Conseil*' (Brussels) has officially declared itself completely in favour of our stand against *Égalité,* but the *sécrétaire* of the Belgian COUNCIL, Hins (brother-in-law of De Paepe, but fallen out with him), has sent a letter to Stepney[524] in which he takes Bakunin's side, accuses me of supporting the reactionary party amongst the Geneva workers, etc., etc.

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[a] See this volume, p. 426. - [b] Ibid., pp. 404-05. - [c] K. Marx, *The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland.* - [d] events - [e] state of affairs

Did you notice, in one of the copies of *Marseillaise* sent to you, that Mr K. Blind had inserted an advertisement for K. Blind in the aforesaid sheet, according to which the aforesaid Blind was sent to Paris as 'ambassador' with General Schurz (*Schütz* does not sound good enough), was exiled from Paris by Bonaparte, and still is! and also was previously *member of the German National Assembly*[537]!

MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS LIZZIE AND FRIENDS.

K. M.

[Postscript from Eleanor Marx]

MY DEAR Engels,

I AM *VERY* MUCH OBLIGED TO YOU FOR SENDING ME THAT ADVERTISEMENT. THE SITUATION IS ONE THAT WILL SUIT ME VERY WELL, SO I SHALL LOSE NO TIME IN APPLYING FOR IT. YOU WILL I AM SURE GIVE ME A REFERENCE.

WITH THANKS AND BEST LOVE TO ALL.

GOOD BYE.

TUSSY.

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## 287

## ENGELS TO MARX[180]

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 February 1870

Dear Moor,

Your tonsil business, following the abscess in your auxillary gland, doesn't make me very happy. In any case, it shows that something is not quite kosher about your lymphatic system. If the business does not clear up soon, I would ask Allen, who made such a correct prognosis about my glandular business. Yours, however, is obviously chronic, whilst mine was extremely acute; but better is better.

I am sending you, enclosed, what I've written for Liebknecht[520] as an introduction to the *Peasant War*.[a] Since, in this connection, it

[a] F. Engels, *Preface to the Second Edition of 'The Peasant War in Germany'*

is not possible to steer clear of the year 1866, which has hitherto been avoided, we shall have to reach an agreement on what to say about it. Other remarks would also be welcome.

Further, Wilhelmchen's reply.[538] Totally Wilhelm. He didn't *know* at all that the *18th Brumaire* had been published. On the other hand, *I* should *immediately* send him my address. Since *he* had no longer sent me his sheet, his excuse is that *I* must have left my address. And now this penance—belatedly throwing the whole *Volksstaat* from 1 October onwards at my head!

I would ask for the earliest return of these two documents, so I might send Wilhelmchen what he wants and have him leave me in peace.

Today I returned to you, per Globe Parcel Co., all copies of *Cloche, Lanterne, Marseillaise, Figaro,* etc. that I had here. The relevant number of *Cloche* is among them.[535] Since Jennychen collects these things, it is best if she has them all together. I have only kept one *Marseillaise* here, containing the business about the guncotton[539]; I wish to examine Chlormeier[a] further about it.

Dakyns wanted to visit you before Christmas, and wrote to Moore for your address. He, whose insight into character and sense of judgement is not, however, always unexceptionable, gave him such a picture of your inaccessibility at home that I said immediately that poor Dakyns would be quite unnecessarily intimidated. So I wanted to give you Dakyns' address last time, but forgot; but I told Moore immediately that he should not put such nonsense into Dakyns' head.

The sentence quoted from Flerovsky[b] is the first Russian sentence I have understood *completely* without a dictionary. What is the Russian title of the book? I shall acquire it for myself. What I wanted to send you was not *Herzen,* but the German translation of *Земля и воля, Land and Freedom,* by the aristocrat *Lilienfeld,*[c] which also describes the bad results of freedom for the peasants, and the resulting decay of agriculture.[531] I wrote to you about this more than a year ago,[d] and since then Borkheim has also acquired it and, I believe, translated passages from it for you. As soon as I have read it through, I'll send you it.

Perret's letter[536] also returned, enclosed. It's a good thing Bakunin has gone to Tessin. He won't create much trouble there, and it proves the business in Geneva is over. Since there are simply such ambitious vain incompetents in every movement, it is *au*

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[a] Carl Schorlemmer - [b] See this volume, p. 423. - [c] In the original: Lilienthal. - [d] See this volume, pp. 55-56.

*fond*[a] good that they join together in their own way, and after that move into the public eye with their cosmic whimsies. Then it soon becomes possible to demonstrate to the world that it is all gas. And this is better than if the struggle stays in the field of private gossip, in which people who have something to do are never a match for those who have the whole day for forming cliques. But an eye must be kept on the fellows, so they do not manage to occupy the field somewhere or another without resistance. Spain and Italy will have to be left to them, of course, at least for the time being.

It would be a very good thing if Mr Rochefort, or as Lizzie says RUSHFORTH, were to go missing in prison for a while.[533] The *petite presse* is quite a good thing, but when it supplants everything else I lose my taste for it. It still has in its bones the whole quality of its origins in the *bas-empire*.[b] And when Rochefort preaches unity of the bourgeois and the worker, it is even funny. On the other hand, the 'serious' leaders of the movement are, for their part, really comically serious. It is truly marvellous. The SUPPLY of *heads*, which, until '48 the proletariat obtained from other classes, appears to have dried up completely, and in all countries. The workers seem to be increasingly constrained to do it *themselves*.

What is *l'illustre* Gaudissart[c] up to? I hear and see nothing of him. Hasn't he got any business again yet?

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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[a] basically - [b] Lower Empire (designation of the late Roman, or Byzantine Empire, and also of any empire on the decline); here, the Second Empire in France. - [c] Sigismund Borkheim

## 288

## MARX TO ENGELS[174]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 February 1870

DEAR FRED,

Allen visited me yesterday. Nothing but a simple chill. He advised me, however, to continue my house arrest until the Russian wind 'WHICH BLOWS NO GOOD TO ANYBODY' ceases.

Your introduction[a] is very good. I know of nothing that should be altered or added. I agree *verbotenus*[b] with your treatment of 1866. The double thrust at Wilhelm[c] of the People's Party[38] and Schweitzer, with his bodyguard of ruffians, is very pretty.

Regarding the EXCUSES made by Wilhelm,[538] one never knows whether he is lying intentionally, or whether everything is revolving in confusion like a mill-wheel in his head. The FACT is that I wrote to Meissner from Hanover that he should send COPIES[d] to Wilhelm, *Zukunft* and Schweitzer, and the latter *immediately* published a detailed announcement.[e] Additionally: Wilhelm's friends—Bonhorst and Bracke—*saw* the new edition when they visited Hanover,[f] *and* told me that they had reached agreement with Meissner on the publication of a cheaper, popular edition. Meissner wrote to me about it. I agreed this edition should consist of 2,000 copies, of which 1,000 should be supplied to Bonhorst, etc., at cost price. They pledged themselves to see to the placing of this 1,000. I've heard nothing about the matter since. We should now put Wilhelm to the test. Write to him that he should write to Meissner, asking how it is that he has not advertised the *18th Brumaire* either in *Volksstaat* or in *Zukunft*, and ditto, despite my instructions from Hanover, why he has sent neither him nor Weiss of *Zukunft* COPIES? The reply from Meissner would, at the same time, give me an opportunity to have a serious word with the latter about his sloppiness.

I agree entirely with your marginal notes on the FRENCH RADICAL

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[a] F. Engels, *Preface to the Second Edition of 'The Peasant War in Germany'*. - [b] word for word - [c] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [d] of the second edition of K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* - [e] [The announcement of the publication of the second edition of K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*,] *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 117, 6 October 1869 (the 'Literarisches' column). - [f] See this volume, p. 358.

PRESS.[a] Not for nothing was Proudhon the socialist of the Imperial period. I am firmly convinced that, although the first blow will come from France, Germany is far riper for a social movement, and will grow far over the heads of the French. It is a great error and self-deception on their part that they still regard themselves as the 'chosen people'.

Apropos. Jennychen heard whispers yesterday at Monroe's that Mr John Bull Bright is *not in the country* as the papers report, but in town in the care of a *mad-doctor.* Softening of the brain HAS AGAIN SET IN. On the occasion of Castlereagh's suicide, Cobbett noted, that England DURING ONE OF ITS MOST CRITICAL EPOCHS, WAS GOVERNED BY A MADMAN.[b] And the same again today, during the Irish crisis.

It's extremely amusing that Bouverie, THIS INCARNATION OF PURE WHIGGISM, should find the proceedings *quoad*[c] O'Donovan to be illegal.[540] Bouverie is furious that he was given the COLD SHOULDER in the distribution of offices.

The title of the book by *Н. Флеровскій*:

'*Положеніе рабочаго класса въ Россіи*', *С.-Петербургъ. Изданіе Н. П. Полякова. 1869.*[443]

One of the things that amuses me very much in Flerovsky is his polemic against the peasants' *direct dues.* It is a complete reproduction of Marshal Vauban and Boisguillebert.[d] He also feels that the situation of the country people has its analogy in the period of the old French monarchy (since Louis XIV). Like Monteil,[e] he has a great feeling for national characteristics—'the straightforward Kalmyck', 'the Mordvinian, poetic despite his dirt' (whom he compares to the Irishman), the 'agile, epicurean, lively Tartar', the 'talented Little Russian', etc. Like a good Russian, he tells his fellow-countrymen what they should do to turn the *hatred* all these races feel for them into the opposite. As an example of the hatred, he cites, for instance, a genuinely *Russian* colony from Poland which moved to Siberia. These people know only Russian, not a word of Polish, but they regard themselves as Poles, and foster a Polish hatred of the Russians, etc.

His book shows incontestably that the present conditions in Russia are no longer tenable, that the emancipation of the serfs OF

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[a] See this volume, p. 427. - [b] W. Cobbett, 'To the Boroughmongers', *Cobbett's Weekly Register,* Vol. 43, No. 8, 24 August 1822. - [c] concerning - [d] An allusion to S. Vauban, *Projet d'une dime royale* and [P.] Boisguillebert, *Dissertation sur la nature des richesses, de l'argent et des tributs....* In: *Economistes financiers du XVIII-e siècle.* - [e] See A. A. Monteil, *Histoire des français des divers états aux cinq derniers siècles.*

COURSE only hastened the process of disintegration, and that fearful social revolution is at the door. Here, too, you see the real roots of the schoolboy nihilism that is now the fashion among Russian students, etc. In Geneva, BY THE BY, a new colony of exiled Russian students has grown up with a programme proclaiming opposition to pan-Slavism, which should be replaced by the 'International'.[541]

In a special section, Flerovsky demonstrates that the 'Russification' of alien races is a sheer optimistic delusion, *even in the East.*

You don't need to send me Lilienfeld.[a] Gaudissart[b] has it in Russian and German. He announced his return to me the day before yesterday. According to an earlier communication from his wife to mine, he had found a new post. But it surprises me that he doesn't mention this in his latest epistle.

Enclosed, it must be returned, *a copy of the letter from Hins to Stepney.*[c] In my reply[d] I gave the fellow a thorough dressing down. The exact manner in which he informs himself is shown by the following points, amongst others. He says that, in our *Report on the Basle Congress,*[e] we *suppressed* the discussion on the *right of inheritance.* Bakunin probably palmed this off on him, and he believes it, although he has our Report in his hands and knows enough English to read it! He speaks of '*my*' letter to Geneva, though I have not addressed a line there! My expostulation about Bakunin's goings-on is in my letter to Brussels, in which—apart from communicating the missive of the GENERAL COUNCIL to Geneva[f]—I had to give a general report and communicate the appointment of a new secretary for Belgium (Serraillier, *ouvrier bottier*[g] from Marseilles). He accuses us of having provoked the crisis in Geneva which —as *Égalité* shows—*ended* more than a week before our MISSIVE arrived there, etc. The Belgian *Conseil Général*[h] has, despite Hins, declared its full agreement with us.

Curious that OLD Becker[i] announced his withdrawal from the editorial committee of *Égalité*[525] together with the other Bakunin-

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[a] In the original: Lilienthal (see also this volume, p. 426). - [b] Sigismund Borkheim - [c] See this volume, pp. 411-15. - [d] The reference is to Marx's letter to De Paepe of 24 January 1870 (see this volume, pp. 411-15). - [e] *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association, held at Basle, in Switzerland.* - [f] K. Marx, *The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland.* - [g] shoemaker - [h] The Belgian Federal Council - [i] Johann Philipp Becker

ists. At the same time, he publishes in his *Vorbote* the exact opposite of what Bakunin did in *Égalité*.[542] The old confusionist!

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 17 February 1870

Dear Moor,

I have written the necessary to Wilhelm.[a] I'm now eager to hear how he will extricate himself.

For a long time I have seen nothing more ridiculous than Flourens' letter about his heroic deeds in Belleville, where he 'had possession of a whole *faubourg*[b] for 3 hours'. The start is wonderful, where he calls on the people to follow him, but only 100 go along, and these soon melt away to 60, and then these evaporate, until he, finally alone 'with one lad',[543] is beaten in the theatre.

The story about Bright is very odd.[c] He has had one such attack already, and had to go to the country for 2 years fishing.

The story about the Russians changed into Poles is absolutely Irish. I must have Flerovsky[d]; unfortunately, I won't, for the time being, have any time to plough through it.

Hins returned—enclosed. The letter is obviously only written for you.[524]

Yesterday I was at a fine blow-out, twelve of us, *nothing but Tories*, merchants, manufacturers, calico-printers, etc. The fellows all agreed that:

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[a] See this volume, p. 428. - [b] suburb - [c] See this volume, p. 429. - [d] Ibid., p. 429.

1. for the past 3 years here in Lancashire THE HANDS HAD BEEN ALWAYS IN THE RIGHT AND THE MASTERS ALWAYS IN THE WRONG (SHORT TIME VERSUS REDUCTION OF WAGES);

2. the BALLOT WAS NOW NECESSARY TO PROTECT THE CONSERVATIVE VOTERS, and

3. England would be a republic in 25 years, and even earlier unless the Prince of Wales,[a] makes himself *very* popular.

It's amusing how people gain insight as soon as their party is *OUT* OF OFFICE, and how quickly they lose it as soon as they are *IN*.

Apropos. You probably know that, in LADY Mordaunt's DIVORCE TRIAL, the '*SOME OTHER PERSON*' with whom she had a CRIMINAL CONNECTION is the Prince of Wales.

So Gladstone the mountain has successfully been delivered of his Irish mouse.[544] I really don't know what the Tories could have against this BILL, which is so indulgent with the Irish LANDLORDS, and finally places their interests in the tried and trusty hands of the Irish lawyers. Nevertheless, even this slight restriction of the eviction right will result in an end to the excessive emigration, and will put a stop to the conversion of arable land into pasture. But it is very jolly if the worthy Gladstone should think that he has abolished the Irish question by means of this new prospect of endless procedure.

Is it possible to get a copy of the BILL? It would be very important for me to be able to follow the debates on the individual clauses.

You in London can have no idea of the way the telegraph has broken down since it was taken over by the Government. Only the first third of Gladstone's speech was published in yesterday's papers here, and even this was *pure nonsense*.[b] The LATEST TELEGRAMS are all 24 hours later than before, so that, if you want to know something, you have to wait for the London newspapers to arrive. A telegram from here to Nottingham, handed in on Thursday, arrived Monday.

You know that, for the past 3-4 years, there has been a big squabble between Prussian and Austrian historians about the Peace of Basle,[545] because Sybel claimed that Prussia was forced to conclude it because it had been betrayed by Austria in Poland.[c] Now Sybel once again has a long story about it, from the Austrian

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[a] Albert Edward - [b] Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on 15 February 1870 was published in *The Times*, 16 February and in *Manchester Daily Examiner and Times*, 17 February 1870. - [c] H. Sybel, *Oestreich und Deutschland im Revolutionskrieg. Ergänzungsheft zur Geschichte der Revolutionszeit 1789 bis 1795.*

archives, in his *Historische Zeitschrift*.[a] Every line proves how Russia set Prussia and Austria at each other's throats and, at the same time, drew them into the 1792 war against France, exploited, cheated and dominated both; but stupid Sybel notices nothing of this; instead searches in this whole filthy murk of cheating, treaty-breaking and infamy, in which they were all equally involved, for only one thing: proof that Austria was even more rascally than Prussia. Never have there been such blockheads. His wrath is not directed against Russia, no, solely against Austria, and he explains Russian policy, which is displayed here quite openly and clear as day, with childish motives, such as annoyance at Austrian double-dealing.

From Flerovsky's account[b] it apparently emerges that Russian power is bound to collapse very shortly. Urquhart will, of course, say that the Russians had the book written in order to throw dust in the eyes of the world.

To Tussy my best thanks for the Prussian Minister of Public Worship, sent me as a VALENTINE.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[29]

### IN HANOVER

London, 17 February 1870

Dear Kugelmann,

Yesterday I was out in the fresh air again for the first time in a long period.

First to business: be so good as to send *immediately* a copy of

[a] H. Sybel, 'Polens Untergang und der Revolutionskrieg', *Historische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 23, Munich, 1870, pp. 66-154. - [b] Н. Флеровскій, *Положеніе рабочаго класса въ Россіи*.

*Vogt*[a] to Asher & Co., Unter den Linden 11, Berlin. I would prefer it if you were to obtain a confirmation of posting certificate when you send the book off, and *send* me same. You would also oblige me if you would let me know roughly *when* C. Hirsch wrote to you about *Vogt*.

The pamphlet you sent me is one of the appeals currently being made by the privileged estates of the German-Russian-Baltic provinces to German sympathies. These *canaille*, who have always distinguished themselves with their zeal in the service of Russian diplomacy, army and police, and who, since the transfer of the provinces from Poland to Russia, have happily bartered their nationality for the legal right to exploit their peasantry, are now clamouring because they see their privileged position endangered. The old system of rank and estate, orthodox Lutheranism and bleeding the peasants—that is what they call *German culture*, to defend which Europe should now mobilise. Hence, too, the last words of this pamphlet—*landed property as the basis of civilisation*, and landed property, moreover, as the wretched pamphleteer himself admits, consisting mainly of directly manorial estates or *tributary* peasant estates.

In his quotations—in as far as they refer to Russian communal property—the fellow displays both his ignorance and CLOVEN FOOT. Schédo-Ferroti[b] is one of the fellows who (naturally IN THE INTERESTS OF LANDLORDISM) attribute the miserable situation of the Russian peasantry to the existence of communal property, just as, formerly, the *abolition of serfdom* in Western Europe, instead of the serfs' loss of their land, was decried as the cause of pauperism. The Russian book *Land and Freedom* is of the same calibre. The author is a Baltic country squire *von Lilienfeld*.[c] The Russian peasantry is thrown into misery by the same thing that made the French peasantry miserable under Louis XIV, etc.—*state taxation and the obrok*[d] *to the big landowners*. Instead of producing the misery, communal property alone diminished it.

It is, further, a historical lie that this *communal property* was *Mongolian*. As I have indicated at various points in my writings,[546] it is of *Indian* origin, and may, therefore, be found among all European peoples at the beginning of their development. The specific *Slav* (not Mongolian) form of the same in Russia (which is also repeated amongst the *non-Russian South Slavs*) even re-

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[a] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*. - [b] D. K. Schédo-Ferroti, *Études sur l'avenir de la Russie*; see also this volume, p. 154. - [c] in the original: Lilienthal - [d] quit rent

sembles most, *mutatis mutandis*,[a] the *Old German* modification of Indian communal property.

The Pole *Duchiński* in Paris declared the Great Russian race to be *Mongolian* and *not Slav*, and attempted to prove this with a great expenditure of scholarship; and from the standpoint of a Pole, this is in order. Even so, it is wrong. Not the Russian peasantry, but only the Russian aristocracy, is strongly mixed with Mongol-Tartar elements. The Frenchman *Henri Martin* has taken over the theory from Duchiński, and the 'enthusiastic Gottfried Kinkel' translated Martin[547] and set himself up as a Polish enthusiast, in order to make the Democratic Party forget his servile homage to Bismarck.

On the other hand, the fact that the Russian state represents *Mongolianism* in its *policy* towards Europe and America is naturally a truth that has today become a platitude, and thus accessible even to people like Gottfried and Baltic country squires, philistines, clerics and professors. Despite everything, therefore, the Baltic-German cries of dismay must be exploited, since they place *Prussia*, the German great power, in a 'ticklish' position. Everything that arouses antipathy on our side towards these 'representatives of German culture' in Prussia's eyes is bound to make it appear worth protecting!

Another example of the crass ignorance of the pamphleteer: he sees the cession of Russian North America as no more than a diplomatic ruse by the Russian Government, which incidentally WAS VERY HARD PRESSED FOR COSTS.[548] But the main point is this: the American Congress recently published the documents about this transaction. They include, among other things, a report by the American envoy, in which he writes explicitly to Washington: the acquisition is at the moment not worth a cent *economically*,—but England is, thereby, cut off from the sea on one side by the Yankees, and the reversion of the whole of British North America to the UNITED STATES thus accelerated. There's the rub!

I approved of the substance of your correspondence with Jacoby,[b] but I was *absolument* shocked by the exaggerated praise of my activities. *Est modus in rebus!*[c] If you must praise, Old Jacoby himself is worth praising. Which other OLD RADICAL in Europe has had the sincerity and courage to align himself so directly with the proletarian movement? It is quite unimportant that his transitional measures and detailed proposals are not worth much. Between

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[a] with alterations of details - [b] See this volume, p. 417. - [c] All has its measure! (Horace, *Satires*, I, 1.)

ourselves—TAKE ALL IN ALL—I expect more for the social movement from Germany than from France.

I had a big row with Bakunin, that intriguer. But more about that in my next letter.

My best compliments à Madame la Comtesse[a] and Fränzchen.[b]

Your
K. M.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[180]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 February 1870

DEAR FRED,

Although it is still very inopportune to go out in the evenings in such weather, nevertheless I visited Gaudissart[c] yesterday evening. He had, you see, written to me that he had something very important to tell me, and could not really drag the files to me. And what was it? A giant letter about *Russica*, an impossible omnium-gatherum rambling on from one thing to another, with which he had honoured *Zukunft*,[274] and which this had not printed; neither had he received an answer to his furious letter requesting 'an explanation' of such methods. Further: a letter from the publisher[d] of *Hermann* here, requesting him to write against Russia for his paper. It would thus appear that Bismarck is very cross about Katkov's attacks.

Finally, an article in Katkov's paper[e] in which he 1. makes insinuations against Bakunin concerning various money matters; 2. describes him as his Siberian correspondent; 3. charges Bakunin with having written an *extremely humble letter to Emperor Nicholas*, from Siberia or shortly before being sent there—I don't re-

[a] Gertrud Kugelmann - [b] Kugelmann's daughter Franziska - [c] Sigismund Borkheim - [d] Heinemann - [e] *Московскія вѣдомости*

member exactly.[549] Gaudissart will send me a COPY of this, which I shall then communicate to you.

Gaudissart has business again, but not yet a new OFFICE in the CITY. He also has to get the BUSINESS going again.

This evening—although yesterday evening did me no good—I must go into town again. I have been SUMMONED to the SUBCOMMITTEE. It is, in fact, an important matter, since the people in Lyons have thrown Richard out of their society, though the GENERAL COUNCIL must make the decision. Richard, hitherto LEADER in Lyons, a very young man, is very active. Apart from his INFEODATION to Bakunin and a super-wisdom linked with this, I don't know what reproaches can be made against him. It appears that our last circular letter[a] caused quite a sensation and that a hunt for Bakuninists has started in both Switzerland and France. But *est modus in rebus*,[b] and I shall see to it that there is no injustice.[550]

The best bit of Gladstone's speech[c] is the long introduction, where he states that even the 'BENEFICENT' laws of the English always have the opposite effect in practice. What better proof does the fellow want that England is not fit to be lawgiver and administrator of Ireland!

His measures are a pretty piece of patchwork. The main thing in them is to lure the LAWYERS with the prospect of lawsuits, and the LANDLORDS with that of 'state aid'.

Odger's election scandal was doubly useful: the lousy Whigs have seen, for the first time, that they must let workers into Parliament, or Tories will get in. Second, the lesson for Mr Odger and consorts. Despite Waterlow,[551] he would have got in *if part of the Irish workers had not abstained*, because he had behaved so TRIMMING during the debate in the GENERAL COUNCIL, which they found out from *Reynolds's*.[d]

You'll receive the Irish Bill[544] next week.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Apropos. Mr Siebel or Sybel,[e] or whatever the fellow is called, appears to forget that the Prussians had already left the Austrians

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[a] K. Marx, *The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland.* - [b] all has its measure (Horace, *Satires*, I, 1). - [c] Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on 15 February 1870 was published in *The Times*, 16 February and in *Manchester Daily Examiner and Times*, 17 February 1870. See also this volume, p. 432. - [d] See this volume, pp. 386-87, 392. - [e] Ibid., pp. 432-33.

in the lurch, in order to participate *in the second partitioning* of Poland excluding them. The filthy behaviour of the Prussians on that occasion was already disclosed in a Polish publication of 1794, which I have read in German translation, and the very clumsy way in which Russia made the two great German powers into its TOOLS and FOOLS in the anti-Jacobin war is very well set out in a Polish pamphlet, written in French in 1848.[a] The *names* of the two authors quoted escape my memory, but they are in my notebooks.

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## MARX TO CHARLES DOBSON COLLET[552]

IN LONDON

London, 19 February 1870

My dear Sir,

When I received your last letter, I was dangerously ill and, therefore, unable to answer.

The very *minimum* of the Russian Railway Loans amounts to 100 mill. £St. This sum has been mainly raised in Holland, Frankfort on the Main, London, Berlin, and Paris.

As appears from the Moscovite public journals, the Russian government intends raising, if possible, *in the course of the next two years, no less than 50 mill. £St.*

In regard to the *last* Railway Loan of 12 mill. £St., its history comes to this:

As you will be aware, the Russian government had successively, but vainly tried to raise money, first by Thompson and Bonar, then by Baring. Being hardly pressed for money, it succeeded at last to get from *Rothschild*, acting through his agent *Bleichröder* at Berlin, a loan of something like two millions £St.

With a view to get further securities for the repayment of this loan, Rothschild undertook to bring out the last Railway Loan.[553]

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[a] L. L. Sawaszkiewicz, *Tableau de l'influence de la Pologne sur les destinées de la Révolution française et de l'Empire.*

He stipulated

1) 4 per cent commission for himself—which, on 12 mill. £St., amounts to the nice round sum of 480,000 £St.;

2) another 5,000£ to be annually paid to him for 80 years for his trouble of paying out the coupons.

Rothschild proceeded very cautiously. He limited the *English* share of the loan to but 4 mill. £St., part of which he took up on his own account, while the rest was placed exclusively with confederate stockjobbers and City friends. Thus, when the loan was thrown on the open market, it was mere child's play to push it quickly to 4 per cent premium.

Still Rothschild's anticipations were quite surpassed. So floated was he with applications that he expressed his regret of not having at once issued a loan of 20 mill. £St.

The present financial distress of the Russian government may be inferred from the following facts:

About a year ago the Russian government issued a 'series' of paper money to *be refunded* after a certain term of years, and amounting to 15 mill. roubles. The official pretext of this new issue was that by this operation 15 mill. roubles of the *old paper assignats* should be withdrawn from the market and replaced by a more solid sort of currency. But hardly had the 'series' been issued in the way of state payments, when the *Petersburgh Official Gazette*[a] declared in a short, dry note that, for the present, *no* paper assignats would be withdrawn.

During *the few last months*, the Russian government has again issued no less than 12 new 'series' of that new sort of paper money, amounting together to 36 mill. roubles.

The Russian Exchange on London is now 28-29d. per rouble, while the *par of exchange* would be 40d. per rouble.

One reason of this state of things is *avowed by the Russian press itself*, viz. that, consequent on several bad harvests in the North-Eastern provinces, and still more on *revival of American competition*, the Russian corn exports have fallen by $^1/_3$.

Yours truly
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1948

Reproduced from the original

[a] *С.-Петербургскія вѣдомости*

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## MARX TO ENGELS[554]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 February 1870

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed—Borkheim's extract from Katkov's article.[a] At the same time, you will see from Gaudissart's letter, *on the reverse side*, the shameless claims he makes on me as a result of a passing remark I made to him—on the evening I visited him[b]—about Flerovsky. How should I respond to this thirst for action?

Also enclosed—a letter from Imandt.[555] To me, the Prussian claim appears superannuated. What do you think? Doesn't it depend on the form of the counter-bill he drew up for the university professors[c]?

I wrote to De Paepe today about the foul deeds of the English Government against the Fenian PRISONERS. This business absolutely must get into the Continental press.[556]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 February 1870

Dear Moor,

If Imandt had gone immediately to a SOLICITOR, just like the

[a] «Москва, 5 января», *Московскія вѣдомости*, No. 4, 6 January 1870 (see also this volume, p. 436). - [b] See this volume, pp. 436-37. - [c] Ibid., pp. 443-44.

North German consul, he would most probably have learned that a debt contracted abroad is not recoverable by legal action in Scotland—or should Scotland be an exception to all other countries? On superannuation, the *Code Civil* states, Article 2262, that *all plaints* are superannuated after 30 years; Article 2265: who acquires something in *good faith*—superannuation in 10, respectively 20 years[557]; Article 2271: the plaint of masters and teachers of sciences and arts regarding instruction given *monthly*, superannuates in *6 months*. Since this last article does not correspond to the case, the plaint has obviously been filed simply in order to *interrupt* the superannuation in Rhenish Prussia, or also to see if Imandt can be browbeaten by fear of showing himself up, and will thus pay. His counter-bills are possibly made out on word of honour, in which case he could be shown up badly, in his position. Under Article 2244 a *court summons* interrupts the superannuation.

Katkov's elucidations about Bakunin are not worth much.[a] He does not say to *whom* the repentant letters were supposedly sent. Borrowing money is such a normal Russian means of sustenance that no Russian should reproach another on the subject. And that Bakunin should have used the 6,000 roubles lent him in order to flee, instead of paying the *otkupschtschik*,[b] is really ludicrous. And that somebody banished to Siberia should once turn to Katkov, although otherwise he has no time for him—one can't make much of that either. It will annoy Bakunin, but I can't see that Gaudissart[c] will dig much capital out of it.

You can tell Gaudissart concerning his plan regarding Flerovsky that, if an English publisher is interested, he will find himself a translator who will translate *AT THE MARKET RATE*, which differs considerably from what Gaudissart calls 'paying well', and who will finish it in 2-3 months, and not take a whole year. Gaudissart should not think that he is the only person who knows Russian. There will still be time to return to the other points when he has really found a publisher. Incidentally, it won't hurt at all if Gaudissart makes enquiries amongst the London PUBLISHERS. If he should find somebody, which I hardly believe, this contact could be utilised at a later date. You can easily refuse the preface, saying it would be arrogant of you to wish to introduce a foreign book to English literature, before you yourself

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[a] See this volume, p. 436. - [b] tax agent (the Russian word is written by Engels in Latin letters in the original) - [c] Sigismund Borkheim

had been *introduced* to it by an English edition of your own book.[147]

Apropos, why don't you put Eccarius on to tackling the foul prison deeds in *Volksstaat*?

Sybel, of course, does mention the second partitioning of Poland behind Austria's back,[a] but, at the same time, he tries to prove once again that Prussia was entitled to do this, on account of some sort of previous Austrian treachery. His entire reasoning is this: when Prussia allies itself with Russia *against* Austria, this is in order, but if Austria attempts to ally itself with Russia against Prussia, this is treachery. The Pan-Germans and Austrians—Arneth, Vivenot and consorts—claim the opposite; so the two schools of history-mutilators today behave just as stupidly with regard to Russia as the two German powers did then.

I still haven't got hold of the damned Irish laws.[481] I have discovered Giraldus Cambrensis[b]; it can be had from Bohn, translated, for 5s. At the moment I'm going through Wakefield,[c] who has a lot of good things on climate, soil, etc., with all sorts of omnium-gatherum in between. The fellow considers himself very learned, and is partial to quoting German, Dutch, Danish, etc., trash.

Yesterday I laughed more than I have for ages when I read Moses' Paris letter in *Volksstaat* about Flourens[d] and the other new 'forces' that are replacing and supplanting old Blanqui, etc. The old blockhead never changes. Wilhelm[e] ditto: his latest reports on *19 February* are: Hanover, *13 January*, Lörrach, 23 January, Munich, 25 January, Ernstthal, 17 January!

Incidentally, things are moving quickly in France. Jules Favre could do nothing better than to declare himself so vehemently against all violence, and in favour of peaceful progress, though limited.[558]

My move to London late in summer has now been decided. Lizzie has told me that she would like to leave Manchester, the sooner the better; she has had some rows with relations, and she is fed up with the whole business here. We shall get rid of our house

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[a] See this volume, pp. 432-33, 437-38. - [b] *Ancient Laws of Ireland. Senchus Mor.* Vols I-II; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia hibernica et expugnatio hibernica.* In: *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, Vol. V. - [c] E. Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political.* - [d] [M. Hess,] 'Die Woche, welche...', *Der Volksstaat*, No. 15, 19 February 1870 (the 'Aus Frankreich' column). - [e] Wilhelm Liebknecht

in September, so everything must be arranged between July and September.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO PETER IMANDT

### IN DUNDEE

[London,] 23 February 1870

Dear Imandt,

As far as I am aware, debts contracted abroad are not recoverable by legal action in Scotland. I expect any old SOLICITOR there would confirm this for you.

On superannuation the *Code Civil* states,[a] Article 2262, that *all plaints* are superannuated after 30 years; Article 2265: who acquires something in *good faith*—superannuation in 10, respectively 20 years; *Article 2271*: the plaint of masters and teachers of sciences and arts regarding instruction given *monthly*, superannuates in *6 months*.

The whole officiousness of the Prussians is obviously *simply an attempt to browbeat you*, and you can just laugh in the fellows' faces. It would only be inconvenient if the counter-bills are made out *on word of honour*. This would not alter things legally, but would be compromising. But this is surely not the case?

As you perhaps know, Dronke went bankrupt in a big way, then disappeared. According to some he is again haunting Liverpool; according to others, however, he is knocking about in Paris or Spain. In any case, you can get the most certain and reliable news about him *from Schily*.

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[a] See this volume, p. 441.

That scamp Biscamp continues to send his inspirations to the *Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung* and the *Weser-Zeitung*, ditto, also, the *Post*,[a] published here by Juch since the New Year (*Hermann* has passed into Bismarckian hands[b]). I read nothing of all this, and still less do any personal relations exist. As far as I know, the Hesse Cassel man[c] is hanging out SOMEWHERE in the London area, and is once again 'husband'. Since you...[d]

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## 296

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 March 1870

DEAR FRED,

Last week we received the news that the youngest Lafargue child has died.[559] The extraordinary coldness in Paris contributed to this. The child was STINTED FROM THE BEGINNING.

In the meantime, all sorts of things have happened in FENIAN AFFAIRS. A letter I wrote to the *'Internationale'* in Brussels, censuring the FRENCH REPUBLICANS for their narrow-minded nationalist tendency, has been printed, and the editors have announced that they will publish their remarks *this* week.[560] You should know that, in the letter of the Central Council to the *Genevans*[e]—which was communicated to the Brussels people[f] and the main International centres in France—I propounded, in detail, the importance of the Irish question for the working-class movement in general (owing to its repercussions in England).

A short while later, Jennychen flew into a rage at that disgusting article in *The Daily News*, the private organ of Gladstone's ministry,

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[a] *Londoner Deutsche Post* - [b] See this volume, p. 266. - [c] Elard Biscamp - [d] The end of the letter is missing. - [e] K. Marx, *The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland*. - [f] See this volume, pp. 406, 411-15, 430.

in which this wretched rag addresses itself to its 'liberal' brothers in France, and warns them not to lump the CASES OF Rochefort and O'Donovan Rossa together. The *Marseillaise* really fell into the trap, saying *The Daily News* was right, and in addition published a wretched article by that prattler Talandier, *exprocureur de la République*, now a teacher of French at the military school in Woolwich (and also ex-private tutor at Herzen's, about whom he wrote a glowing obituary); in this article he attacks the Irish because of their Catholicism, and accuses them of causing Odger's defeat—because of his participation on the Garibaldi committee.[561] Besides, he adds, they still support Mitchel although he has sided with the SLAVEHOLDERS, as though Odger did not continue to side with Gladstone, despite his much more important support for the SLAVEHOLDERS[435]!

Jennychen—*ira facit poetam*[a]—therefore wrote, in addition to a private letter, an article for *Marseillaise*, which was *printed*.[562] And she received, from the *rédacteur de la rédaction*, a letter, a copy of which I enclose. Today she'll be sending another letter to the *Marseillaise* which, referring to Gladstone's reply (this week) to questions about the treatment of the PRISONERS, contains extracts from O'Donovan Rossa's letter (see *The Irishman, Feb. 5, 70*). According to Rossa's letter Gladstone is here presented to the French as a monster (insofar as Gladstone is, IN FACT, responsible for the entire treatment of the PRISONERS, under the Tories, too) and also as a ridiculous hypocrite, as author of the *Prayers*, *The Propagation of the Gospel*, *The Functions of Laymen in the Church*, and *Ecce Homo*.

With these two papers—the *Internationale* and *Marseillaise*—on the Continent we shall now unmask the English. If you should happen, ONE DAY OR THE OTHER, to find something suitable for one of these papers, you, too, should take part in our good work.

The state of my health has not permitted me to take part in the meetings of the CENTRAL COUNCIL[73] so far. But I shall, next Tuesday,[b] if it doesn't rain. The discussions in the American HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES about the FENIAN PRISONERS[563] have, as far as I could see, been most carefully suppressed by the English press.

Mr W. Liebknecht displays himself this time in his full glory. First, he is in a great hurry to have your *Peasant War*. Now procrastination and, instead, he prints, in No. 17 of the *Volksstaat*, *de dato*[c] *Hamburg*, an article against the idea of 'class' differences, which comes from *Heinzen*'s propaganda clique.

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[a] ire makes a poet (Juvenal, *Satirae*, I) - [b] 8 March - [c] dated from

*Quant à* Meissner and the *18th Brumaire, il observe un silence significatif.*[a]
*Salut*

Your
K. M.

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## 297

## MARX TO LAURA AND PAUL LAFARGUE[56]

IN PARIS

London, 5 March 1870

Dear Laura and Paul,

You feel certainly great and just indignation at my prolonged silence, but you ought to excuse it as the natural consequence, first, of illness, then of extra work to make up for the time lost.

The sad news Paul communicated to us, did not take me by surprise.[b] The evening before the arrival of his letter I had stated to the family my serious misgivings as to the little child. I have suffered myself too much from such losses to not profoundly sympathise with you. Still, from the same personal experience I know that all wise commonplaces and consolatory thrash uttered on such occasion irritate real grief instead of soothing it.

I hope you will send us good news of little Schnappy,[c] my greatest favourite. The poor dear little fellow must have suffered severely from the cold so adverse to '*la nature mélanienne*'.[d] [340] Apropos. *Un certain M. de Gobineau,* has published, *il y a à peu près dix ans,*[e] a work in 4 volumes *Sur l'Inégalité des races humaines,* written for the purpose to prove in the first instance that '*la race blanche*'[f] is a sort of God amongst the other human races and, of course, the noble families within the '*race blanche*' are again *la*

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[a] As for Meissner and the *18th Brumaire,* he observes a significant silence. - [b] See this volume, p. 444. - [c] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [d] dark-skinned creature - [e] some ten years ago - [f] white race

London. 5 March, 1870.

Dear Laura and Paul,

You had certainly great and good reasons for my prolonged silence, but you ought to excuse it as the natural consequence of illness, then of extrawork to make up for the time lost.

The sadness Paul communicated to me did not take me by surprise. The evening before the arrival of his letter I had stated to the family my uneasiness misgivings as to the little child. I have suffered myself too much from such losses to not [illegible] sympathise with you. Still, from the same personal experience I know that all mere commonplaces and consolatory words uttered on such occasion increase real grief instead of soothing it.

I hope you will send us good news of little Schappi, my greatest favourite. The poor dear little fellow must have suffered severely from the cold so adverse to la nature méridionale à l'époque. Uncertain M. de Gobineau has published for a few pence Darwin, a work in 4 volumes, Inégalité des races humaines, written for the purpose to prove in the first instance that la race blanche is a sort of god among the other human races and of course, the noble families within the race blanche are nearer la crème de la crème. I rather suspect that M. de Gobineau, Duc et peut-être, premier écuyer de la légitimité de France en Lorraine, to have himself sprung not from an ancient French warrior but from a modern French huissier. However that may be, and despite his spite against the race noire – I to such people it is always a source of satisfaction to have somebody they think themselves entitled to despise – he declares "les Grecs

First page of Marx's letter to Laura and Paul Lafargue of 5 March 1870

*crème de la crème.*[a] I rather suspect that M. de Gobineau, *dans ce temps là 'premier secrétaire de la légation de France en Suisse',*[b] to have sprung himself not from an ancient Frank warrior but from a modern French *huissier.*[c] However that may be, and despite his spite against the '*race noire*'[d]—(to such people it is always a source of satisfaction to have somebody they think themselves entitled to *mépriser*[e])—he declares '*le négre*' *ou* '*le sang noir*'[f] to be *la source matérielle de l'art,*[g] and all artistic production of the white nations to depend on their mixture *avec* '*le sang noir*'.

I have been much delighted by the last letter I received from my sweet ex-secretary,[h] and much amused by Paul's description of Moilin's soirée.[564]

*Ce* '*grand inconnu*'[i] seems at last to have found the secret of catching that '*gloire*'[j] which till now always slipped so treacherously out of his fingers when he had just laid hold of its tail. He has found out that to be successful with the world everything depends upon the circumstance of circumscribing the world within one's own four walls, where one may nominate himself president and have such an audience as will swear in *verba magistri.*[k]

Here, at home, as you are fully aware, the Fenians' sway is paramount. Tussy is one of their head centres.[565] Jenny writes on their behalf in the *Marseillaise* under the pseudonym of J. Williams.[562] I have not only treated the same theme in the Brussels *Internationale,*[l] and caused resolutions of the Central Council[73] to be passed against their gaolers.[452] In a circular, addressed by the Council to our corresponding committees, I have explained the merits of the Irish Question.[m]

You understand at once that I am not only acted upon by feelings of humanity. There is something besides. To accelerate the social development in Europe, you must push on the catastrophe of official England. To do so, you must attack her in Ireland. That's her weakest point. Ireland lost, the British 'Empire' is gone, and the class war in England, till now somnolent and chronic, will assume acute forms. But England is the metropolis of landlordism and capitalism all over the world.

What is Blanqui about? Is he at Paris?

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[a] the upper crust - [b] at that time 'the first secretary of the French legation in Switzerland' - [c] usher - [d] black race - [e] to despise - [f] 'the Negro' or 'black blood' - [g] the material source of art - [h] Laura Lafargue - [i] This 'great stranger' - [j] glory - [k] by his tutor's words (Horace, *Epistles,* I. 1) - [l] K. Marx, *The English Government and the Fenian Prisoners.* - [m] K. Marx, *The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland,* Point 5 (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 87-90).

You have of course heard nothing of my translator, M. K.[a] I am in the same predicament.[441]

The book of Flerovski on 'the situation of the labouring classes in Russia',[b] is an extraordinary book. I am really glad to be now able to read it somewhat fluently with the aid of a dictionary. This is the first time that the whole economical state of Russia has been revealed. It is conscientious work. During 15 years, the author travelled from the West to the confines of Siberia, from the White Sea to the Caspian, with the only purpose of studying facts and exposing conventional lies. He harbours of course some delusions about *la perfectibilité perfectible de la Nation Russe, et le principe providentiel de la propriété communale dans sa forme Russe.*[c] But let that pass. After the study of his work, one feels deeply convinced that a most terrible social revolution—in such inferior forms of course as suit the present Muscovite state of development—is irrepressible in Russia and near at hand. This is good news. Russia and England are the two great pillars of the present European system. All the rest is of secondary importance, even *la belle France et la savante Allemagne.*[d]

Engels will leave Manchester and, at the beginning of August next, settle definitely down in London.[e] It will be a great boon to me.

And now farewell my dear children. Don't forget to kiss brave little Schnappy on behalf of his

Old Nick

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[a] Keller (see this volume, p. 359). - [b] Н. Флеровскій, *Положеніе рабочаго класса въ Россіи.* - [c] the perfectible perfectibility of the Russian Nation and providential principle of *communal property* in its Russian form - [d] Splendid France and learned Germany - [e] See this volume, pp. 442-43.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 March 1870

Dear Moor,

Your letter arrived here yesterday[a] in a very suspicious state and, what is even more suspicious, *a full hour* after time. Since, on Sunday, there is only *one* POST DELIVERY here, this looks very odd. Is the very honourable Mr Bruce taking an interest in our correspondence?

When I read on Saturday afternoon in the 'Irishman in Paris' the story about the *Marseillaise*, I knew immediately in which part of the world Mr Williams was to be found, but stupidly enough could not explain the Christian name.[566] The business is very fine, and the naïve letter, with Rochefort's naïve suggestion that O'Donovan Rossa should be asked to contribute to the *Marseillaise*, gives Jenny an excellent opportunity to establish a link with the treatment of the prisoners, and to open the eyes of the *bons hommes*[b] over there.

Why don't you publish the General Council's letter to the Genevans[c]? The central sections in Geneva, Brussels, etc., read these things, but they do not penetrate to the masses unless they are published. And they should also be published in German in the papers in question. *You don't publish anything like enough.*

Please send me the relevant copies of *Marseillaise* and *Internationale* for a few days.[d] Jennychen's success has been greeted with a general hurrah here, and Mr J. Williams' health has been drunk with ALL DUE HONOURS. I am very eager to hear how the matter develops. The stupid correspondent of the 'Irishman in Paris'[e] should try some time to get such things into his friend Ollivier's papers.

A couple of days ago my bookseller suddenly sent me the *Senchus Mor*, the ancient Irish laws,[481] and what's more, not the new edition but the *first*. So, with a lot of pushing, I have

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[a] 6 March. A reference to Marx's letter of 5 March 1870. - [b] simple souls - [c] K. Marx, *The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland*. - [d] See this volume, pp. 445, 453. - [e] An allusion to the anonymous article printed in the 'Irishman in Paris' column of *The Irishman*, No. 36, 5 March 1870.

succeeded in *that*. And such difficulties with a book carrying *Longmans* as the London firm on its title page, and published by the government! I haven't been able to look at the stuff yet, since, in the meantime, I have started on various modern things (about the 19th century) and must finish them first.

I have concluded with Meissner on the basis of sharing the profits.[567]

I have just received a semi-incomprehensible telegram from Barmen, undated, from which it can only be seen that my mother is seriously ill. I don't know whether a letter is on its way, or whether an earlier telegram got lost.[568] I didn't get Liebknecht's sheet[a] today, either. It is very possible that I shall have to go to Germany in a few days, IF SO I shall see you on my way there. But I hope everything will still go well.

Your
F. E.

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## 299

## ENGELS TO RUDOLF ENGELS

### IN BARMEN

Manchester, 8 March 1870

Dear Rudolf,

I received your telegram today a few minutes before 5, which means it took scarcely 3 hours, since it was dated 1.52 p.m. So far your news is good, and I hope it remains so.

Hermann's letter from Saturday[b] I received only this morning; the storms must have delayed the Sunday boat from Ostend. In the regular run of things I should have received it yesterday afternoon, some hours *before* Hermann's telegram,[c] and then your information would have accorded properly. The matter seems to

[a] *Der Volksstaat* - [b] 5 March - [c] See the previous letter.

me extremely serious, and the worst is that it can drag on for a very long time and cause mother, at her age, a great deal of suffering, even if everything goes well this time. That the doctor is quite satisfied I understand to mean under the prevailing circumstances; a haemorrhage lasting from Wednesday until the following Tuesday appears to me to be certainly something serious. But we should hope for the best, namely that, when this is past, this does not re-occur.

I am ready to leave at any moment and, if my presence is desirable, I can, depending on the time at which I receive your telegram, either leave here at midday and arrive there the following evening, or leave late in the evening, per day-boat to Ostend, and get to Cologne the same day, where I would surely have to lie up for the night.

Try to keep mother as cheerful and in as good heart as possible.

Best greetings.

Your
Frederick

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## 300

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 March 1870

Dear Fred,

Enclosed—2 copies of the *Internationale*. You don't need to return them, since they have sent me 5 copies of each number.

In No. II there is nothing by me, except for translation of the facts from *The Irishman*.[569]

As to No. I, I had written it quickly to De Paepe as a private letter for him to work up into an article. Instead, he published it verbatim,[a] adding nonsensical clauses, e.g., that the bodily punish-

[a] K. Marx, *The English Government and the Fenian Prisoners*.

ment of O'Donovan should be understood as—lashes with a whip!

Have you read the stuff by Huxley about the lack of difference between ANGLO-SAXON (*vulgo* ENGLISHMEN) and CELT?[570] He is giving his 2nd lecture on the subject next Sunday. LITTLE Dakyns has sent us TICKETS for this.

We are much DISTURBED here about the silence of the Parisians[a] since the notice of death.[b] Let's hope there has been no new misfortune.

Strohn was here the day before yesterday, and left for the Continent the same day.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 301

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 March[c] 1870

DEAR FRED,

Since I know this stuff amuses you, the following with all haste (post just closing): in addition to a few introductory marginal notes on Gladstone's latest declaration in the House of Commons about the PRISONERS, Jennychen sent the *Marseillaise* an extract from an older letter by O'Donovan Rossa, published in *The Irishman* on 5 February (I believe that was the date). The *Marseillaise* (in a truly French way it gives this letter as from 'Newgate') proceeds to publish this in a special issue on Tuesday evening, containing only articles by '*prisonniers politiques*' and costing 50 centimes.[571] This has now been reprinted (re-translation into English) this evening in *The Echo*, etc. Levy's *Telegraph* also refers to it in its Paris correspon-

[a] Paul and Laura Lafargue - [b] See this volume, p. 444. - [c] In the original 9 February is corrected to 10 March by Engels.

dence. *The Irishman* may well complain that it is not quoted as the source. But Jennychen will use this to demonstrate *how* the English press suppresses the FACTS published in the Irish press, and only publishes them as such when they come from Paris in some extraordinary manner. The English press will soon note that the idyllic days of systematic lying and hushing up the FACTS are over.

*Pays* remarks that the increase in the price of the *Marseillaise* to 50 c. is against all the rules, since 'prison goods are always sold cheaper than others'.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 302

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 13 March 1870

Dear Moor,

MR J. Williams[a] has certainly had a bang-up and well-earned success. The dodge by the *Marseillaise* in printing the letter as an original[b] has got the whole English press into a fine pickle, and has finally forced *The Irishman* to admit its debt to the *Marseillaise* and the *Internationale*. The hushing-up is at an end, and MR Bruce—although in the lousy *Daily News* he again has O'Donovan Rossa described as 'ORDINARY CONVICT AND NOTHING ELSE'—will probably sing quite a different tune in answering the interpellations that are to come. Bravo Jenny! Lizzie is particularly grateful to you for the articles in the *Internationale*,[c] which pleased her enormously.

The two letters enclosed came to me from Solingen. I had

[a] Marx's daughter Jenny - [b] See the previous letter. - [c] K. Marx, *The English Government and the Fenian Prisoners*.

addressed this Moll[a] as 'thou', assuming him to be the brother of Jupp,[b] and an old member of the League[c]; thus the intimate tone. You will also note that we have also fallen prey to myth-formation. I know nothing about either the Schapper business, which looks very fuddled, or the business with my old man.[d] My old man would have taken care not to let me pay out wages or anything like that; for this, I could not count well enough for his taste.[572] Since I have to answer the fellows soon, you might let me know whether you have heard anything concerning Menke in the meantime.

The whole week I have been standing ready to have to go away because of my mother, but luckily things are getting better.[e]

The following passage suffices to characterise gentle old Gladstone's whole long LAND BILL[544] as pure muck:

'THE LEASES IN QUESTION' (namely, as they are given today, now and then, in Ireland by the LANDLORDS to the TENANTS) '*ARE QUITE AS PRECARIOUS AS TENANCIES AT WILL. THEY HAVE NO EFFICACY WHATEVER IN REMOVING THE SENSE OF INSECURITY.* A LEASE TO BE OF ANY AVAIL FOR THAT PURPOSE, SHOULD, SAVE IN THE PARTICULARS OF SUBDIVIDING AND SUBLETTING, BE FREE AND UNFETTERED—ABOVE ALL, IT SHOULD PUT *NO OBSTACLE TO THE SALE OF THE TENANT'S INTEREST.* BUT MODERN LEASES ARE THE REVERSE OF THIS—THEY ARE ENCUMBERED WITH CLAUSES AND COVENANTS PRESCRIBING THE MODE OF CULTIVATION AND THE DISPOSAL OF THE PRODUCE, NEGATIVELY AND AFFIRMATIVELY REGULATING THE ACTION OF THE TENANT AND ENTIRELY FORBIDDING THE ESSENTIAL POWER OF FREE ALIENATION. EVERY LINE IN THESE DOCUMENTS MAY WITHOUT MUCH EXAGGERATION BE SAID TO CONTAIN A LEGAL PITFALL FOR THE UNWARY AND THERE ARE FEW, INDEED, IF ANY, WHO CAN ESCAPE THE EFFECT OF THE LAST CLAUSE WITH WHICH THEY WIND UP, *MAKING VOID THE LEASE IN CASE OF THE BREACH OF ANY OF THE FOREGOING COVENANTS. SUCH LEASES AFFORD NO SECURITY. THEY ARE QUITE AS PRECARIOUS AND MORE DANGEROUS THAN TENANCIES AT WILL.*'

And who says this? MR GALLWEY, *AGENT (!!)* OF THE Kenmare ESTATE, AT THE Killarney BOARD OF GUARDIANS, 4 November, 1869. And the Kenmare ESTATE belongs to MARQUIS OF Landsdowne, whose general agent for all his Irish ESTATES is the honourable 'REALITY' *Trench*![f] One could not hope for a better authority. And these LEASES are the contracts BY WHICH, AFTER THE PASSING OF THIS BILL, EVERY IRISH TENANT IS TO BE HELD BOUND according to the noble Gladstone.

Have you had news from the Lafargues?

Best greetings to all of you.

Your

F. E.

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[a] Friedrich Moll - [b] Joseph Moll - [c] the Communist League - [d] Frederick Engels' father—Friedrich Engels, Senior - [e] See this volume, pp. 452-53. - [f] an allusion to Trench's *Realities of Irish Life*; see this volume, p. 356.

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## ENGELS TO JENNY MARX (DAUGHTER)

IN LONDON

Manchester, 17 March 1870

Dear Jenny,

I congratulate you on your well-earned success.[573] That Mr Bruce had to stammer his apologies in yesterday's *Daily News* is priceless.[574] It will now be necessary to show up the hollowness of these apologies, and that is not difficult. Here is some material, as I do not know whether you still have a copy of the *Pollock and Knox Report*[a] about THINGS NOT GENERALLY KNOWN.

Bruce says:

'WITH REFERENCE TO THE COMPLAINT THAT HE WAS COMPELLED TO BATHE IN UNCLEAR BATHS, THE COMMISSIONERS, AFTER FULL INQUIRY INTO THE PRACTICE OF THE PRISON, SAY "IT WOULD BE IDLE TO DWELL UPON SUCH ABSURDITIES."'

What do the Commissioners say? PAGE 23:

'AT BATHING HOURS, HE STOOD NO. 1 OF A PARTY OF 30, *HE WAS NOT CALLED FIRST TO THE BATH*. IT TURNED OUT THAT THE WARDER IN CHARGE ON ONE OCCASION BEGAN WITH NO. 1, NEXT WEEK WITH NO. 30; THE 3RD WEEK HE TOOK NO. 16 AND 17 FIRST AND WORKED ROUND TO THE FLANKS *SO AS TO GIVE EACH HIS PRIORITY*, WITHOUT WHICH THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN UNIVERSAL DISCONTENT. *IT WOULD BE IDLE TO DWELL ON SUCH ABSURDITIES*'[b]

THUS, THE ABSURDITY does not consist in fact that it is stated that Rossa[c] had to bathe in the dirty water of criminals. No, but *in the fact that he complains about it*. Bruce changes the fact (admitted by the COMMISSIONERS) in such a way as if they had treated it 'as an absurdity'. That's the way Bruce treats the truth.

On the fact itself, the CONVICT of Clonmel explains (THINGS NOT GENERALLY KNOWN, p. 9)[575]:

'IT IS NOT GENERALLY KNOWN THAT WE HAD TO BATHE IN THE SAME WATER IN WHICH SEVERAL OF THESE CRIMINALS BATHED OR WERE BATHING AT THE TIME.'

I might further remark that PENAL SERVITUDE is similar to the French *travaux forcés* or the so-called *galères*, and a CONVICT PRISON of this sort = the French *bagne*, and CONVICT = *galérien*.

The enclosed clipping is a LEADER from the local John Bright's paper.[d] The *Manchester Guardian* also has a leader on the subject,

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[a] This refers to [A. A. Knox and G. D. Pollock,] *Report of the Commissioners on the Treatment of the Treason-Felony Convicts in the English Convict Prisons*. - [b] italics by Engels - [c] O'Donovan Rossa - [d] *Manchester Daily Examiner and Times*, leader, 17 March 1870

aping that of yesterday's *Times*,[a] but also with the comment that political prisoners have a claim to some CONSIDERATION.

Nota Bene: if you do not have the above report or the THINGS etc., I can send them to you immediately.

You should see the pleasure which this whole thing gave my wife. She is infinitely grateful to you for bringing all these infamies to light, and sends you the enclosed twig of SHAMROCK, for today is St Patrick's day and we don't know if you have any there.[576] There is also a SHAMROCK for Tussy.

Give my affectionate greetings to Moor, your Mama, Tussy and Ellen.

Your

F. Engels

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## 304

## MARX TO ENGELS[577]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 19 MARCH 1870

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed, the *Marseillaise*, which should, however, be returned with the previous ones. I haven't read it myself yet. The article was written jointly by Jennychen and myself,[562] as she hadn't got SUFFICIENT TIME available. This is also why she hasn't answered your letter, and why she is sending MRS Lizzie her thanks for the SHAMROCK[576] PROVISIONALLY through me.

From the enclosed letter from Pigott to Jenny you will see that MRS O'Donovan, to whom Jenny sent a private letter, together with 1 *Marseillaise*,[b] took her for a GENTLEMAN, although she signed it Jenny Marx. I answered Pigott today on Jennychen's behalf, and took the opportunity to explain to him briefly MY VIEWS OF THE IRISH QUESTION.[578]

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[a] 'The Fenian Convict O'Donovan Rossa', *The Times*, 16 March 1870. - [b] Apparently carrying the second article by Jenny Marx from the Irish question series.

Your HINT about Bruce's falsification[a] has already been used in the letter Jenny sent yesterday to the *Marseillaise*.[b] We have Knox' *et* Pollock's Report[c] (but did not consult it) and ditto 'THINGS NOT GENERALLY KNOWN'. On the other hand, you would oblige me if you would send *by return*: 1. *Lassalle*'s publication against Schulze-Delitzsch, and 2. the book by 'Clement', the crazy Frisian.[d]

The sensation caused in Paris and London by Jennychen's second letter (containing the CONDENSED TRANSLATION of O'Donovan's LETTER) has robbed Talandier of his sleep; he is loathsome and importunate (but very FLUENT with gob and pen). In the *Marseillaise* he had denounced the Irish as CATHOLIC IDIOTS. Now, equally FULLMOUTHED, he is taking their side in a review of what *The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Daily News* have said about O'Donovan's letter.[579] Since Jennychen's second letter was left unsigned (BY ACCIDENT), he obviously flattered himself with the idea that he would be taken for the secret sender. This was frustrated by Jennychen's third letter. The fellow is, *du reste*, TEACHER OF FRENCH AT THE MILITARY SCHOOL OF Sandhurst.

Last Tuesday[e] I was back again, for the first time, at a meeting of the GENERAL COUNCIL.[580] With me—Felix Holt, THE RASCAL.[f] He had a very good time since, for a change, there was really something interesting going on. As you know, the *prolétaires 'positivistes'* in Paris had sent a deputy[g] to the Basle Congress. There was a discussion as to whether he should be admitted, since he represented a philosophical society and not a workers' society (although he and his consorts all belong 'personally' to the WORKING CLASS). Finally, he was admitted as a delegate of personal MEMBERS of the '*Internationale*'. These fellows have now constituted themselves in Paris as a *branche* of the *Internationale*—an event about which the London and Paris Comtists have made a great FUSS. They thought that they had driven in THE THIN WEDGE. The GENERAL COUNCIL, being informed by the '*prolétaires positivistes*' of their affiliation, reminded them politely that the COUNCIL could only permit their admission after examining their programme. So they sent a programme—real Comtist-orthodox—which was discussed last Tuesday. In the chair was Mottershead,[h] a very intelligent (though anti-Irish) old Chartist,

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[a] See this volume, p. 455 - [b] The fourth article by Jenny Marx from the Irish question series. - [c] [A. A. Knox and G. D. Pollock,] *Report of the Commissioners on the Treatment of the Treason-Felony Convicts in the English Convict Prisons*. - [d] F. Lassalle, *Herr Bastiat-Schultze von Delitzsch, der ökonomische Julian, oder: Capital und Arbeit*; K. J. Clement, *Schleswig, das urheimische Land des nicht dänischen Volks der Angeln und Frisen und Englands Mutterland, wie es war und ward*. - [e] 15 March - [f] Dakyns (see this volume, p. 423.). - [g] Gabriel Mollin - [h] See this volume, p. 386.

and a personal enemy of, and expert on, Comtism.[581] After a longish debate: Since they are workers they may be admitted as a simple branch. Not, however, as '*branche positiviste*', since the principles of Comtism directly contradict our Rules. And anyway, it was their own affair how they reconciled their philosophical private views with those of our Rules.

About the screeds from Solingen soon.

*Salut.*

Your

Moro

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 21 March 1870

Dear Moor,

Your letter of the day before yesterday[a] was *only* delivered to me *today*, and the state of the envelope (enclosed) leaves no further doubt that the scoundrel Bruce is keeping an eye on our correspondence. I am, therefore, *not* sending these lines by post and, at the same time, a few lines, in which Pigott's letter[b] is returned, are going off to you by post.[582]

Close your envelopes carefully, and seal them with sealing-wax *over* the glue so that the signet-print touches *all four flaps* of the envelope. Your present envelopes are not suitable; the 4 flaps have to come quite close together so that this can be done. This makes things more difficult, so that, in the short time the fellows have they are forced to leave visible evidence, and then one can denounce them publicly. In the meantime, write *important things* to

[a] 19 March - [b] See this volume, p. 458.

me under the address: Schorlemmer, Owens College, Manchester, or 172 Brunswick Street, Manchester, or S. Moore, 25 Dover Street, Oxford Street, Manchester, and don't write the address yourself. For *very secret* things, the best way is some sort of packet per Globe Parcel Co. like this one. In this way you could also let me have another address; it must *not* be that of your house. It's a good thing that I am soon moving to London, then this will come to an end. I have just given notice on my house. In fact, the beastly government could wish for no better medium than our correspondence in order to keep informed of the activities of the entire proletarian party; the government will also find things in our correspondence that they can utilise with their continental colleagues. At least because of this we must take all precautions. We must not correspond for Stieber's sake.

Jenny can shout: *victoire sur toute la ligne!*[a] If it were not for her, the honourable Gladstone would *never* have granted the new *enquête*.[b] How Moore[c] allowed himself to be diddled again by Gladstone concerning this enquiry can be shown by comparing the hopeful NOTE on P. 608 of *The Irishman*, which obviously proceeds from Moore, with Gladstone's Thursday speech, in which he reserved for himself the composition, procedures, etc.[583]

An attempt was also made, probably in Cologne, to open the letter from Solingen[d] to me, but it was unsuccessful, owing to proper use of sealing-wax.

Hearty greetings.

Your

F. E.

In their haste, the fellows laid together the four flaps of the envelope *incorrectly*, the proof is therefore absolute.

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[a] victory along the whole line! - [b] enquiry - [c] George Henry Moore - [d] See this volume, p. 455.

## 306

## MARX TO ENGELS[174]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 March 1870

Dear Fred,

Enclosed, 2 copies of *Marseillaise* (1 J. Williams[a] in it), and *Het Volk*, more about which in the course of this letter.

The fellows here should look out with their letter-opening. The times of the worthy Graham are past.[584] As soon as I have any completely striking, certain proof, I shall write directly to the Postmaster General. *Il ne faut pas se gêner.*[b]

I thought I was properly back on my feet, was working away gaily again for the past 2 weeks, but then there appeared, *d'abord*,[c] a lousy cough from the March east wind—I'm still suffering from it—and then, since the day before yesterday, once again unpleasant manifestations on my right thigh, which for two days now have made walking and the seated position difficult. *À tous les diables!*[d]

Enclosed, a letter from the *Russian colony* in Geneva. We have admitted them; I have *accepted* their commission to be their representative on the General Council, and have also sent them a short reply (official, apart from *lettre privée*) with permission to publish it in their paper.[e 541] *Drôle de position*[f] for me to be functioning as the representative of *jeune Russie*[g]! A man never knows what he may achieve, or what strange fellowship he may have to suffer. In the official reply I praise Flerovsky[h] and emphasise that the chief job of the Russian *branche* is to work for Poland (i.e., to free Europe from Russia as a neighbour). I thought it safer to say no word about Bakunin, either in the public or the confidential letter. But what I shall never forgive these fellows is that they turn me into a *vénérable*. They obviously believe I am between 80 and 100 years old.

The letter from the publisher of *Volk*[i] enclosed herewith—was addressed to me without a particular address on the envelope, but instead: 'Her Karl Marx, *Algemeen Correspondent voor Nederland der*

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[a] Jenny Marx's fourth article on the Irish question - [b] One should not constrain oneself. - [c] first - [d] The devil take it! - [e] *Народное дѣло* - [f] Odd position - [g] young Russia - [h] The reference is to Н. Флеровскій, *Положеніе рабочаго класса въ Россіи*. - [i] *Het Volk*.

*Internationale Arbeiders Vereeniging, London.*'[a] This post of an '*Algemeen Correspondent voor Nederland*' was completely unknown to me hitherto. But before I get mixed up in any way with 'Herr Philipp von Roesgen von Floss', I thought it safer to write *d'abord* to our Flemish *branche* in Antwerp to request information about this long name.[b]

Best greetings to MRS LIZZY.

Your
Moor

Apropos. OLD Becker[c] has finally written to Jung (also a few lines to me,[585] which I shall answer tomorrow). He presents all the stupidities he committed as deep and intentional machiavellianism. *Le bon homme!*[d] Thereby, the interesting datum that Bakunin, who hitherto, as Becker states, shouted blue murder about Herzen, began to sing hymns of praise as soon as he was dead.[586] *Thereby he achieved his aim*, that the propaganda money, ABOUT 25,000 frs annually, which the *rich* Herzen had paid to himself from Russia (his party there), is now transferred to Bakunin. Bakunin appears to love this type of '*inheritance*',[587] despite his antipathy *contre l'héritage*.[e] [379]

The *Napoleon* RACE has fallen pretty low when they, *à tort et à travers*,[f] attempt to *prove* that they are being treated to *boxed ears*.[588]

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[a] Mr Karl Marx, general correspondent of the International Working Men's Association for the Netherlands, London. - [b] See this volume, pp. 464-65. - [c] Johann Philipp Becker - [d] The good fellow! - [e] against inheritance - [f] so imprudently

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## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE[589]

### IN BRUNSWICK

[London, 24 March 1870]

Dear Friend,

Yesterday[a] I send you 3,000 CARDS OF MEMBERSHIP addressed to *von Bonhorst*.[590]

I have information for you, which is not uninteresting, about the internal affairs of the Internationals. This will reach you by an indirect route.[b] In accordance with the Rules, all national committees in contact with the General Council must send it three-monthly reports on the situation of the movement. When I remind you of this, I would ask you to consider that this report is *not* written for the public, and should, therefore, present the facts completely factually, without make-up.

From Borkheim and from the latest letter from Bonhorst I know that the finances of the Eisenachers are in a bad state.[591] As a consolation, the information that the finances of the General Council are below zero, steadily growing *negative* dimensions.

First published in: W. Bracke, *Der Braunschweiger Ausschuss der socialdemokratischen Arbeiter-Partei in Lötzen und vor dem Gericht*, Brunswick, 1872

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## 308

## MARX TO PHILIPPE COENEN[592]

### IN ANTWERP

London, 24 March 1870
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, London

Citizen,

Yesterday I received the *proefblad*[c] of *Het Volk* published at Rotterdam and a *letter* from its editor, Philipp von Roesgen von Floss,[d] in which he asks, among other things, for a card as a

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[a] 23 March - [b] See this volume, p. 470. - [c] specimen number - [d] See this volume, pp. 462-63.

member of the *International*. I know neither Mr Philipp von Roesgen von Floss nor the state of our affairs at Rotterdam. I suppose that you are better informed, and I am asking you to please write to me on these two points: (1) What is the state of affairs of the *International* at Rotterdam? (2) Can the General Council establish relations with Mr Philipp von Roesgen von Floss?

Greetings and fraternity.

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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Translated from the French

## 309

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 March 1870

Dear Fred,

Returned, enclosed, the letter from the 'wrong' Moll.[a] I have heard nothing from Menke yet. When you write to the lads, please tell them, also, 1. that Lessner has written repeatedly to them that the *Central Council*[b] can do nothing on this matter; 2. that they can work it out on their own 5 fingers that their cooperative society is of absolutely no interest to the English; and 3. that the Central Council is bombarded from all parts of Europe with demands for money, without receiving financial contributions from anybody on the continent.

I don't understand your lines of this morning. This is probably due to the fact that my head, as a result of physical infirmity, is not at its most lucid.

I would appreciate it if you could send me, tomorrow evening (if there is a post on Sunday, which is not the case here), £5 as an advance on the coming quarter. My wife informed me too late, i.e. at a moment of EXHAUSTED EXCHEQUER, that the gas bill has to be paid at 2 o'clock on Monday.

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[a] Friedrich Moll (see this volume, pp. 455-56). - [b] General Council

I think I left behind in Manchester[353] the number of the *Queen's Messenger* containing the biography of Clanricarde. Since this brute is putting on great airs in connection with the Irish COERCION BILL,[593] it is high time for J. Williams[a] to introduce to the French a counterpart for Pierre Bonaparte.[562]

Have you ever seen such filthy weather as this winter and autumn? No wonder that one can't get back on one's feet.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 310

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[29]

IN HANOVER

[London,] 26 March 1870

Dear Kugelmann,

I am only writing you a few lines today, since a Frenchman has arrived, just at the moment when I was getting ready to correspond again with you after such a long period. I shall not get rid of the fellow this afternoon, and the post goes at 5.30.

Tomorrow, however, is Sunday, when a good Christian like myself is allowed to interrupt his work and write to you at greater length, particularly about the Russian *casus*, which has taken a pretty turn.

Jennychen, OUR ILLUSTRIOUS J. Williams,[562] has quite a good edition of Father Goethe.[594] BY THE BYE, she was recently invited to Madame Vivanti's, the wife of a rich Italian merchant. There was a great *assemblée*, including a number of English people. Jennychen had a *furibundus*[b] success with a Shakespeare declamation.

*Je te prie de saluer Madame la comtesse*[c] *de ma part et de la remercier*

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[a] Marx's daughter Jenny - [b] furious - [c] Kugelmann's wife Gertrud

*des lignes aimables qu'elle a bien voulues m'adresser. Elle n'a pas la moindre raison de regretter d'avoir préféré le latin au français.*[595] *Cela ne révèle pas seulement un goût classique et hautement développé, mais explique encore pourquoi Madame ne se trouve jamais au bout de son latin.*[a]

And best greetings to Fränzchen.

The
Moor

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## 311

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 27 March[b] 1870

Dear Moor,

If you did not understand my few lines of the day before yesterday, then the enclosure must have been missing. You wrote on the 24th that you would take steps as soon as you had in your hands completely striking certain proof that our letters had been opened. The envelope of this letter was the most striking proof: the sealing-wax had been loosened with a hot iron and afterwards spread just as sloppily back on the envelope, so that every trace of the imprint was blotted out, and the unfastened flaps were not even properly covered again. So I immediately sent you *this* envelope, wishing thus to put you in a position to take immediate steps. If it was not enclosed, it had been taken out. But if it was in the same state in which you dispatched it, then you obviously need not put any sealing-wax on the letters, and might just as well send them completely open. Since this case interests me, please tell me how things stand.

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[a] I would ask you to greet Madame la comtesse from me, and thank her for the friendly lines she wrote me. She has not the slightest reason to regret preferring Latin to French. This not only displays a classical and highly-developed taste, but also explains why Madame is never non-plussed. - [b] In the original: 29 March.

Luckily, I have money at home, and I send you enclosed £5, S/7, 29,808, Manchester, 16 January 1869, BANK OF ENGLAND NOTE. Unfortunately, because of Sunday I cannot register the letter; the rogues who open our letters are equally capable of stealing the money. I wanted to get the rest yesterday, but the bank closes so early on Saturday that I wouldn't have got into town in time. I'll get it tomorrow.

I don't remember seeing the *Queen's Messenger* with Clanricarde's biography.[a] As far as I know, I sent back to you all the *Queen's Messengers*, etc., which you did not take with you personally, in the parcel with the *Cloches* and *Lanternes*; but I'll take another look.

Mr Philipp von Roesgen von Floss has also spread himself in the *Werker* several times; the really Dutch, precise handwriting suggests a come-down notary's clerk. Caution is suggested before he be granted the *personeel diploma as lid*[b] of the International.[c]

If your friend Collet only knew that you also have now become a *bona fide* and frank RUSSIAN AGENT.[d] But it's really quite nice of the fellows, who certainly seem to be a different sort of Russians from those we have previously encountered. They can be left with their project of playing patron to the other Slavs until a firm footing has been gained in Austria and Hungary, and then this will cease of itself. They also have a good picture of the Servian Omladina; it is a sort of student society with tendencies about as clear as those of the old *Burschenschaft*.[596]

The explanation about Bakunin very good. Thus he is also rendered harmless, since the Russian paymasters will not permit him to go further than Herzen.

You must be having worse weather than us; here it's fairly cold, and the wind veers between northwest and east, but otherwise it's mostly fine, and I can take a decent walk every day. But 8 days ago, when it was once warm, I got a frightful grippe, which I drove out with 3 days of linseed tea.

I shall send you back the Dutch and Russian letters with the second post, so you'll get them tomorrow afternoon.

I have been looking through our correspondence of last year, and have discovered that roughly from July-August onwards your letters first individually, and later all without exception, show

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[a] See this volume, p. 466. - [b] member - [c] See this volume, pp. 462-63, 464-65. - [d] Ibid., pp. 462-63.

more or less clear signs of MANIPULATION. The one I received this morning was, if it had been opened, at least decently closed.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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## 312

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 March 1870

Dear Moor,

Yesterday I sent you, in a letter that was not registerable because it was Sunday, a £5 NOTE, S/7, 29,808, Manchester, 16 January 1869, which I hope you received together with the letter. Enclosed now follow £82.10—DRAFT ON DEMAND ON UNION BANK OF LONDON, DRAWN BY MANCHESTER AND COUNTY BANK TO ORDER OF F. ENGELS AND ENDORSED TO YOU, and, further, the various Dutch and Russian letters. The Roesgen here[a] claims that he is certainly not a relative of the Rotterdam one.[b] The latter is quite something in his confusion—the divine right of the *king* and the people—the protest against *hedendaagsche*[c] Communism, the defence of constitutional monarchy against the republic (though in this there is *in Holland* an atom of historical idea) and, finally, protective tariffs. In such a case one may well be called Philipp von Roesgen von Floss. And it is also rather cool that he accuses the bourgeoisie that they first want *hunne eigene beurs vullen*[d] and then *het door her uitgezogen land*

[a] Charles Roesgen - [b] Philipp von Roesgen von Floss - [c] contemporary - [d] to fill their own purses

*aan den daarop vlammenden Pruis verkoopen*.[a] This should be sent to Bismarck.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[597]

### IN HANOVER

London, 28 March 1870

Dear Kugelmann,

Since an abscess on my right thigh makes sitting for any time impossible, I send you, enclosed, a *letter for the Brunswick Comité, Bracke and Co.*, instead of writing twice. It would be best if you delivered it personally, after reading it through, and reminded them again that this information is confidential, not intended for the public.[b]

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[a] sell the land they have sucked dry to *Prussia*, which ardently desires it. - [b] Marx enclosed *Confidential Communication* written by him.

## 314

## MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER AND AUGUST VOGT[174]

### IN NEW YORK

London, 9 April 1870

Dear Meyer and dear Vogt,

So here you have me in all postures, one time together with my eldest daughter Jenny. Kugelmann had all these things printed from earlier photograms.[a] *Je ne suis pas l'auteur responsable de ces folies.*[b]

First of all, with regard to my long letter-debt to you, you will see from the enclosed note from Eccarius that the General Council has *passiert*[c] a *votum* OF CONDOLENCE[598] because of the state of my health. (You see, I am practising Pennsylvanian German.) In fact, because of repeated relapses, I have only been able to attend the meetings of the General Council twice since the beginning of December, so, for all important discussions, the SUBCOMMITTEE came *to my place.* Under these circumstances (and I am still not completely restored), my free moments have literally been so absorbed by work that my correspondence has been limited to the completely unavoidable.

*First, ad vocem*[d] *Sorge*: he has written two letters to Eccarius as General Secretary. Eccarius informed the General Council of this. The latter instructed Eccarius to deliver the letters to me for answering, as I was Secretary for the German branches in the UNITED STATES. I tarried intentionally, as I knew that Meyer was on a trip to the West Indies, and could not find Vogt's private address.

I do not know Sorge's private letters to Eccarius. They probably deal simply with the money question, payment to Eccarius for his contributions to the *Arbeiter-Union*. Eccarius regards his position as General Secretary too much as a means of *making money*, and in a way that compromises *us Germans* in the eyes of the French and English. See, for instance, the enclosed note to me from Lessner.[599] This is also the reason that I shall not communicate Meyer's letter to Eccarius,[600] since it conveys the information, irresistible to Eccarius, that Sorge has '*pecuniary resources*'.

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[a] See this volume, p. 213 - [b] I am not the author responsible for these follies. - [c] An unidiomatic use of the German verb *passieren* (to happen, take place, pass by), on which Marx comments in the parenthesis. - [d] regarding

With regard to Sorge's two official letters, they are written in the name of the General German Workers' Association 'LABOR UNION' No. 5, and *signed* Corresponding Secretary.

One letter contains orders for the reports of the General Council, and various other commonplace stuff.

The other letter contains nothing essential except for the notification that the association has joined the 'International'.

I shall write a few lines to Mr Sorge today, sending him the 15 COPIES of the latest report he requests.[a]

A certain *Robert William Hume* (*Astoria, Long Island, New York*) sent us a detailed letter some time ago, on the occasion of the decisions of the General Council concerning the Irish amnesty[b]—a letter better than anything we had so far received from English-American circles. On my recommendation, he was named American-English correspondent, and has accepted this. I would, therefore, request you to get into contact with this man, and for this purpose I enclose a few lines addressed to him.

From the enclosed cutting from the *Marseillaise* of 2 April, you will see that F. Carl and F. Jubitz—persons unknown to us here—have sent an address to Paris in the name of the German workers.[601] I would like to know whether these people belong to you. What was regarded as dubious here—on the General Council—was the fact that the *International* was not mentioned at all, but rather treated as non-existent.

General *Cluseret* has offered himself from New York to the General Council as French correspondent. Whether he was accepted I cannot say, believe I have heard so, however. He is a flighty, superficial, officious, boastful fellow. For instance, in one of his latest letters to the *Marseillaise*[c] he presents himself as a recognised representative of the workers of New York. But the man is of a certain importance for us just because of his links with the *Marseillaise*. In case you should wish to get to know this 'hero', even if only to sound him out, I enclose for you *a CREDENTIAL*, which might also be OF USE elsewhere.

The money Meyer sent to Stepney has been delivered to the General Council. Stepney is a very pedantic, but honest Englishman. He sent me the letter from Meyer with enclosures, so I had to send the stuff back to the General Council.

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[a] *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association, held at Basle, in Switzerland.* - [b] K. Marx, *Draft Resolution of the General Council on the Policy of the British Government Towards the Irish Prisoners* (see also this volume, pp. 375-76). - [c] G. P. Cluseret, 'Aux travailleurs américains', *La Marseillaise*, No. 103, 2 April 1870.

The day after tomorrow (11 April) I shall send you what International things I have at hand. (It is too late for the mail today.) I shall, ditto, send more of the 'Basle'.[a]

Amongst the stuff sent, you will also find a few copies of the RESOLUTIONS of the General Council of *30 November* on the *Irish amnesty*, which you already know, and which I initiated[b]; ditto an Irish pamphlet on the treatment of FENIAN CONVICTS.[c]

I had intended to submit further RESOLUTIONS on the necessary transformation of the present Union[461] (i.e., enslavement of Ireland) IN A FREE AND EQUAL FEDERATION WITH GREAT BRITAIN. Further progress on this matter has been temporarily suspended AS FAR AS PUBLIC RESOLUTIONS GO because of my enforced absence from the General Council. No other member of it has enough knowledge of Irish affairs or sufficient prestige with the *English* members of the General Council to be able to replace me on this matter.

Time has not passed uselessly, however, and I would ask you to pay particular attention to the following:

After studying the Irish question for years I have come to the conclusion that the decisive blow against the ruling classes in England (and this is decisive for the workers' movement ALL OVER THE WORLD) can*not* be struck *in England*, but *only in Ireland*.

On 1 January 1870[d] the General Council issued a secret circular, written by me in French[e]—{for repercussions in England, only the French papers are important, not the German}—on the relationship of the Irish national struggle to the emancipation of the working class, and thus on the attitude the International Association must take towards the Irish question.

Here I give you, quite shortly, the salient points. Ireland is the BULWARK of the *English landed aristocracy*. The exploitation of this country is not simply one of the main sources of their material wealth; it is their greatest *moral* power. They represent, IN FACT, the *domination of England over Ireland*. Ireland is, thus, the *grand moyen*[f] by which the English aristocracy maintains *its domination in England* itself.

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[a] *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association, held at Basle, in Switzerland.* - [b] K. Marx, *Draft Resolution of the General Council on the Policy of the British Government Towards the Irish Prisoners.* - [c] Apparently Marx refers to the first five articles on the Irish question written by Jenny Marx and published by that time in the *Marseillaise*. - [d] the original has: 1 December 1869 - [e] *The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland.* - [f] cardinal means

On the other hand: if the English army and police were withdrawn from Ireland tomorrow, you would immediately have AN AGRARIAN REVOLUTION IN IRELAND. But the overthrow of the English aristocracy in Ireland would entail, and would lead immediately to, its overthrow in England. This would bring about the prerequisites for the proletarian revolution in England. In Ireland, the *land question* has, so far, been the *exclusive form* of the social question; it is a question of existence, a *question of life or death* for the immense majority of the Irish people; at the same time, it is inseparable from the *national* question: because of this, destruction of the English landed aristocracy is an infinitely easier operation in Ireland than in England itself—quite apart from the more passionate and more revolutionary character of the Irish than the English.

As for the English *bourgeoisie*, it has, *d'abord*,[a] a common interest with the English aristocracy in turning Ireland into simple pastureland to provide meat and wool at the cheapest possible price FOR THE ENGLISH MARKET. It has the same interest in reducing the Irish population to such a low level, through EVICTION and forced emigration, that *English capital* (leasehold capital) can function with 'SECURITY' in that country. It has the same interest IN CLEARING THE ESTATE OF IRELAND as it had IN THE CLEARING OF THE AGRICULTURAL DISTRICTS OF ENGLAND and SCOTLAND. The £6,000-10,000 ABSENTEE and other Irish revenues that at present flow annually to London must also be taken into account.

But the English bourgeoisie also has much more important interests in the present Irish economy. As a result of the steadily-increasing concentration of leaseholding, Ireland is steadily supplying its SURPLUS for the English LABOUR MARKET, and thus forcing down the WAGES and material and moral position of the ENGLISH WORKING CLASS.

And most important of all! All industrial and commercial centres in England now have a working class *divided* into two *hostile* camps, English PROLETARIANS and Irish PROLETARIANS. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who forces down the STANDARD OF LIFE. In relation to the Irish worker, he feels himself to be a member of the *ruling nation* and, therefore, makes himself a tool of his aristocrats and capitalists *against Ireland*, thus strengthening their domination *over himself*. He harbours religious, social and national prejudices against him. His attitude towards him is roughly that of the POOR WHITES to the

[a] in the first place

NIGGERS[a] in the former slave states of the American Union. The Irishman PAYS HIM BACK WITH INTEREST IN HIS OWN MONEY. He sees in the English worker both the accomplice and the stupid tool of *English rule in Ireland*.

This antagonism is kept artificially alive and intensified by the press, the pulpit, the comic papers, in short by all the means at the disposal of the ruling class. *This antagonism* is the *secret of the English working class's impotence*, despite its organisation. It is the secret of the maintenance of power by the capitalist class. And the latter is fully aware of this.

But the evil does not end here. It rolls across the ocean. The antagonism between English and Irish is the secret basis of the conflict between the UNITED STATES and England. It renders any serious and honest cooperation impossible between the working classes of the two countries. It enables the governments of the two countries, whenever they think fit, to blunt the edge of social conflict by MUTUAL BULLYING and, IN CASE OF NEED, by war between the two countries.

England, as the metropolis of capital, as the power that has hitherto ruled the world market, is for the present the most important country for the workers' revolution and, in addition, the *only* country where the material conditions for this revolution have developed to a certain state of maturity. Thus, to hasten the social revolution in England is the most important object of the International Working Men's Association. The sole means of doing so is to make Ireland independent. It is, therefore, the task of the 'INTERNATIONAL' to bring the conflict between England and Ireland to the forefront everywhere, and to side with Ireland publicly everywhere. The special task of the Central Council[73] in London is to awaken the consciousness of the English working class that, *for them, the national emancipation of Ireland* is not a QUESTION OF ABSTRACT JUSTICE OR HUMANITARIAN SENTIMENT, but *THE FIRST CONDITION OF THEIR OWN SOCIAL EMANCIPATION.*

These are roughly the main points of the circular letter, which, at the same time, gave the *raisons d'être* for the resolutions of the Central Council on the Irish amnesty. Shortly afterwards I sent a strongly-worded anonymous article on the English treatment of the FENIANS etc., and against Gladstone etc., to the *Internationale*[b] (organ of our Belgian Central Committee[c] in Brussels). In this article I also pilloried the FRENCH REPUBLICANS—(the *Marseillaise* had

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[a] See p. XXXVIII of the Preface.—*Ed.* - [b] K. Marx. *The English Government and the Fenian Prisoners*. - [c] Belgian Federal Committee

published some stupid nonsense about Ireland, written here by the wretched Tallandier[a])—for saving, in their national egoism, all their *colères*[b] for the Empire.

This worked. My daughter Jenny wrote a series of articles for the *Marseillaise* under the name J. Williams (she signed herself Jenny Williams in her private letter to the editors), and published, among other things, O'Donovan Rossa's letter. HENCE IMMENSE NOISE. After many years of cynical refusal, *Gladstone* was *thereby* finally compelled to authorise a *parliamentary enquête*[c] into the treatment of the FENIAN PRISONERS. She is NOW REGULAR CORRESPONDENT ON IRISH AFFAIRS for the *Marseillaise*. (*This is naturally a secret between us.*) The British Government and press are furious that the Irish question has thus been placed on the *ordre du jour*[d] in France, and that these blackguards will now be watched and exposed all over continent, via Paris.

A second bird was hit by the same stone. We have, thereby, forced the Irish leaders, journalists, etc. in Dublin to establish contact with us, something the *General Council* had hitherto failed to achieve!

You have a wide field in America for work along the same lines. *A coalition of the German workers with the Irish workers* (naturally, also, with the English and American workers who wish to join in) is the greatest thing you could undertake now. This must be done in the name of the 'International'. The social significance of the Irish question must be made clear.

Next time, several special things about the position of the English workers.

*Salut et fraternité!*

Karl Marx

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[a] See this volume, p. 445. - [b] wrath - [c] investigation - [d] agenda

# 315

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 13 April 1870

Dear Moor,

Best thanks for the *parlamentaires.*[a] Some of them anticipated my wishes; others were new to me and very handy. I am sending you several numbers of *Zukunft* to give you an opportunity to admire the infinitely foul methods used by the National Liberals in the debate on political crimes (Criminal Code). This excels everything. The cowardly rogues believe they have performed such a deed of heroism with the abolition of the death sentence for *common* crimes—and that, too, only on paper—that political offenders may now be calmly imprisoned in convict jails and treated as COMMON CONVICTS.[602] For *political* crimes, powder and lead will continue to exist, through the agency of martial law.

Enclosed—a jolly letter from Wilhelm, which I request returned for the sake of answering. You will see that the fellow acts as though *I* were copying from *him.* He has not yet firmly established his Leipzig sheet,[b] and already wants to start a *daily* in Berlin.[603] The fellow always sees the heavens filled with melodious violins,[c] but the strings are missing and the sounding-board is smashed.

After various interruptions I am finally finished with Wakefield[d]—16-1700 pages quarto.

The book is gruesomely written and still more gruesomely printed—nearly all figures and dates are wrong—but, as far as the material is concerned, unequalled in my practice. I have never before seen something so complete about a country. And the fellow has eyes and is fairly honest. The anxiety of the English concerning Ireland from 1808 to 1812 is priceless. Dispatches sent to India in which Lord W. Bentinck declared that Ireland was *lost* for England, were intercepted by the French and published.

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[a] parliamentary materials - [b] *Der Volksstaat* - [c] The German 'ihm hängt der Himmel voller Geigen' corresponds to the English 'he sees everything in rosy colours'. - [d] E. Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political.*

It is striking 8 o'clock; I must run to catch the post.
Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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## 316

## MARX TO ENGELS[34]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 April 1870

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed, Wilhelm returned.[a] From the attached letter from Borkheim,[604] you will see what ill-mannered things Wilhelm says about me. I don't like such churlish sentimentality, and since Wilhelm is a born Darmstadt man and so has not, at least, the excuse that he is a born Westphalian, I have sent him a rather blunt reply.

In your article[b] he has intentionally overlooked the fact that the People's Party[38] and the 'National Liberals' are treated as the two poles of *the same* narrow-mindedness.

On Tuesday[c] I was at the Central Council[d] for the first time once again, and took the opportunity to muster Pfänder, who had entered as a member once more (re-elected), but had not yet presented himself.[605] He informed me that he had been called a week before to *Schapper*, who is very dangerously ill. Schapper wanted to see me; Pfänder did *not* inform me of this, *because* I could not walk well as a result of the business on my thigh. But I would have driven there if he had notified me. On the same evening (Tuesday), Lessner reported that Schapper was *in articulo mortis*.[e] I hope it is not as bad as that.

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[a] See the previous letter. - [b] F. Engels, *Preface to the Second Edition of 'The Peasant War in Germany'*. - [c] 12 April - [d] General Council - [e] dying

While I am on medical matters, just this: I regard the latest outbreak simply as after-effects, which arrive with some regularity, and then disappear as the warm weather proceeds. I believe, therefore, that I am finished with it for this year. As always, however, the arrival of warmer weather has produced the liver complaint (or whatever it is), and for this I am gulping Gumpert's medicine. Kugelmann claims that the only way to put me properly on my feet is to take the cure at Karlsbad[a] at the end of the summer. The whole thing derives from poor nourishment, this from poor digestion, and this is connected with the fact that my liver doesn't function properly. I would, therefore, ask you to question Gumpert about this. But it would be better if you said that the Karlsbad proposal came from my English doctor, for the very name Kugelmann might induce him not to judge the case objectively, contrary to his inclination and conscience. I feel that, in fact, some sort of decisive preventive measures must be taken, since one gets a year older every year, and this sort of infirmity is not helpful, either for ONE SELF or for ones outside effectiveness.

Did you know that Meyen had died?

The copies of *Zukunft*[b] give, I must say, a fine picture of the Prussian-Liberal present. But the *Future*[b] will convert itself into the *Present*. As *Future* the paper is really bankrupt. In its new form, it comes under the sway of Sonnemann in Frankfort (with Weiss, as previously, as editor *en chef*). It should represent, purely politically, the *People's Party* in Berlin. *Quelle imbécilité!*[c] By abandoning its flirtation with the 'social question', it will completely lose its little bit of influence and circulation among the workers, and it will certainly not win over the Prussian, and especially Berlin bourgeois by a stronger South German coloration.

I enclose for you 2 Vienna workers' papers[d] and 1 *Égalité*, and request the return of all three after reading.

In the *Volkswille* the 'structure' is 'fine' which the little Jew Leo Frankel (Schweitzer's Paris correspondent, I don't know whether still?) constructs from my explanation of the components of value. *Par exemple*: (labour power+wage labour−wage=independent worker).[e]

From the *Égalité* you will gather that, at the Congress of the *Suisse Romande*[f] in La Chaux-de-Fonds, it came to open warfare between the Bakuninists led by Guillaume (the brute calls himself

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[a] Karlovy Vary - [b] A pun: *Zukunft*—the title of the newspaper—means 'future'. - [c] What stupidity! - [d] *Volkswille* - [e] L. Frankel, 'Ein belauschtes Zwiegespräch. VIII', *Volkswille*, No. 10, 2 April 1870. - [f] Romance Switzerland

professór, is editor of *Progrès* in Locle, Bakunin's personal paper), and the *Conseil Romand*[a] (Geneva).[606] The presentation is very confused. On Tuesday evening Jung informed us of the official report of the Geneva COUNCIL,[b] written by the Russian Utine, who holds the function of secretary of the Romance Congress. The anti-Bakuninists, 2,000 persons, were outflanked and thereby forced to *secessio*,[c] by the Bakuninists, consisting of 600 persons, who, however, *per fas et nefas*,[d] including forged mandates, made sure of a larger number of delegates. There were stormy declarations about Bakunin's activities, which were exposed by Utine, among others. The COUNCIL *Romand* now demands, on the basis of the resolution of the last (Basle) Congress,[508] that the Central Council decide. We have *replied*: all FACTS, with the *minutes of the meetings*, must be sent here. Ditto, we have commissioned Jung to write to Guillaume, so that he may, ditto, submit his vouchers.

Recently also we had to rule on a dispute in Lyons.[550] And finally, in Basle, one clique (under State Attorney Bruhin) has laid charges with us against the other (more proletarian one). We have, however, referred the latter case, as *completely local*, to J. Ph. Becker as arbitrator.

In Paris Lafargue got to know a very learned Russian lady[e] (a friend of his friend Jaclard, an excellent young man). She told him: *Flerovsky*—although his book[f] passed censorship at the time of the LIBERAL FIT—has been, if you please, banished to Siberia for the same. The translation of my book has been confiscated and prohibited before being published.[196]

You will receive, this week or at the beginning of next: *Landlord and Tenant Right in Ireland. Reports by Poor Law Inspectors. 1870*, ditto *Agricultural Holdings in Ireland. Returns. 1870.*

The REPORTS of the POOR LAW INSPECTORS are interesting. Like their *Reports on Agricultural Wages*, which are already in your hands, they show that the conflict between *LABOURERS* ON THE ONE HAND, *FARMERS* and *TENANTS* on the other, began after the FAMINE.[607] As regards the *Reports on Wages*—assuming the present figures on wages are correct, and that is probable, considering other sources—the *former wage rates* are either quoted *too low*, or those in the earlier PARLIAMENTARY RETURNS, which I'll look out for you in my PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, were *too high*. On the whole, however,

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[a] Romance Council - [b] Federal Council of Romance Switzerland - [c] to split - [d] by fair means and foul - [e] A. V. Korvin-Krukovskaya - [f] *Положеніе рабочаго класса въ Россіи*

what I stated in the section on Ireland[608] is confirmed: that the rise in wages has been more than outweighed by that in food prices, and that, with the exception of the autumn period, etc., the RELATIVE SURPLUS of LABOURERS is properly established despite emigration. Also important in the *Landlord and Tenant Right Reports* is the FACT that the development of MACHINERY has turned a mass of HANDLOOM WEAVERS into PAUPERS.

You would oblige me if you would tell me, quite shortly, about the BOGS, PEATS etc., of Ireland. In all the BLUE BOOKS I have read, the BOG is sometimes situated on the mountain, that is on the mountain slope, but also sometimes on the plain. What is the situation? What do the IRISH understand by TOWNLANDS[a]?

It is clear from the two REPORTS of the POOR LAW COMMISSIONERS that 1. since the FAMINE the CLEARING of the ESTATES of LABOURERS has begun *as in England* (not to be confused with the SUPPRESSION of the 40s. FREEHOLDERS after 1829[609]).

2. that the ENCUMBERED ESTATES PROCEEDINGS have put a mass *of small usurers* in the place of the TURNED OUT prodigal LANDLORDS (the CHARGE OF LANDLORDS $^1/_6$ according to the same REPORTS).

I would appreciate it if you and Moore could send me a few £s *for Dupont.* His wife is in hospital with consumption. He himself has been TURNED OUT of his old trade. The *excuse*: his political opinions; the *real cause*: he made *all the inventions*, which his manufacturer appropriated. For this reason, he has been *persona ingrata*[b] for a long time for him (he thinks he has sucked him completely dry). But the Manufacturer has cut his own throat, so FAR as Dupont has made a quite new invention, which solves a problem that has existed for a long time in piano manufacture. I have already given Dupont a few £s; since, together with his 3 small girls, he had been condemned to just dry bread. It's only a matter of helping for a few weeks until he finds a new position. Who can write the story of WORKINGMEN EVICTED because of *inventions*!

And, in addition, the poor devil is also being HARASSED by the jealousy of the Paris people, and the slanders of the FRENCH BRANCH,[72] who naturally immediately cornered Flourens.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

Apropos. Stirling (Edinburgh), the translator of Hegel's *Logic*,[c] and heading the British SUBSCRIPTION for the Hegel monument—has

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[a] See this volume, p. 483. - [b] an uncomfortable person - [c] An allusion to J. H. Stirling, *The Secret of Hegel: Being the Hegelian System in Origin, Principle, Form, and Matter.*

written a small pamphlet against *Huxley* and his *protoplasm*.[a] As a Scotsman, the fellow has naturally adopted Hegel's false religion and Idea-istic mysticism (so induced Carlyle to declare publicly his conversion to Hegelianism). But his knowledge of Hegel's dialectic allows him to demonstrate Huxley's weaknesses—where he indulges in philosophising. His business in the same pamphlet against Darwin comes to the same as what the Berliner Blutschulze[b] (Hegelian OF THE OLD SCHOOL) said some years ago at the natural scientists' meeting in Hanover.[610]

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## 317

## ENGELS TO MARX[34]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 15 April 1870

Dear Moor,

Enclosed, returned, Borkheim.[604] Good old Wilhelm[c] did not expect his bragging about you would be communicated to you *ipsissimis verbis*.[d] Remains a blockhead all his life.

The papers will be returned to you on Sunday evening. I shall try to see Gumpert tomorrow, but since he has himself been suffering with his nerves for some time because of 'over-work' (of what sort?), it's possible he'll be away during the holidays. In the meantime, I suggest you try taking strenuous walks—3-4 hours together—for several consecutive days and, WEATHER PERMITTING, walk at least 1-2 hours daily, and then every week such a long walk at least 1-2 times. Now I can no longer work properly until I have walked for an hour or more; it has a wonderful effect and will certainly also get your liver more or less going again. In addition, I quite agree with Kugelmann's view.[e]

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[a] J. H. Stirling, *As Regards Protoplasm in Relation to Prof. Huxley's Essay on the Physical Basis of Life*; T. H. Huxley, 'On the Physical Basis of Life', *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. V, No. XXVI, 1 February 1869. - [b] Franz Eilhard Schulze - [c] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [d] verbatim - [e] See this volume, p. 479.

Fränkelche[a] is a real yiddisher lad. He learned '*la formule*' in Paris, and delivers good wares.[b] It's delicious that he understands the *frais généraux*[c] as part of surplus value, including wear and tear of machinery, lubrication, coal (if this is not raw material), ground rent, etc.

BOGS are simply peat bogs or marshes, which occur in 2 main sorts of locality: 1. on the plains, in valleys (old lake beds) or depressions, the exit from which has become blocked; 2. on heights with a flat or mildly-rolling summit, as a result of deforestation, where the moss, grass, heather, etc., become matted, and the water flows off, on average, more slowly than it rains in. A marsh in the plains sometimes even has a big river flowing through it, which, however, does not dry it out (various places on the Shannon, Donaumoss in Bavaria, etc.). Very usually such bogs are also the source reservoirs of rivers (the Bog of Allen, from which there flowed, in its original but now very reduced size, the Boyne, the Barrow, various tributaries of these two, and the Shannon). Chat Moss, between Liverpool and Manchester, which you know, is a real, typical Irish BOG, as Wakefield[d] confirms. It lies at least 30-40 feet above the Mersey and Irwell, which flow around it in a semicircle, so drainage very easy, yet this is only about $^1/_3$ done, and they've been at it since 1800. This is because of the landlords; such an object can naturally only be drained systematically and compulsorily. They have them in Holland too—peat bogs are the same all over Europe. The Irish name those on the *plain* RED BOG and the mountain [bog] BLACK BOG. Water trickling down can produce on the slopes—even very steep, 30-40 degrees—similar marshy places which, in time, produce peat. On steep slopes it's naturally only thin; on flatter ones it can get thicker and thicker. The thickest, naturally, is on the flat summits.

TOWNLANDS are the lowest administrative divisions in Ireland, which are everywhere based on the old Irish CLAN divisions, and in the north and the west these have mostly been retained unchanged. The counties represent the local dukedoms (Donegal, the realm of THE O'Donnell, who then had others under him, e.g., THE Mac Swine and his people. Tyrone is that of THE O'Neill, Fermanagh that of THE Maguire, etc.). The baronies represent the individual CLANS, and in these the *ballybetaghs* (as Davies writes it[e]) or, translated into English, TOWNLANDS, the individual village bounds,

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[a] Leo Frankel - [b] See this volume, p. 479. - [c] general costs - [d] E. Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political*. - [e] J. Davies, *Historical Tracts*.

held jointly by the inhabitants. In Ulster, for example, these have been completely retained in their old boundaries; in other parts more or less. The PARISH, the POOR LAW UNION and other special English divisions, were later inserted between BARONY and TOWNLAND.

Your conclusions from the PARLIAMENTARY REPORTS[a] agree with my results. It should not, however, be forgotten that, in the first period after 1846, the process of CLEARING the 40SH. FREEHOLDERS[609] was mixed up with the CLEARING OF LABOURERS, the reason being that, up to 1829, in order to produce FREEHOLDERS, LEASES FOR 21 or 31 YEARS *AND A LIFE* (if not longer) had to be made, since a man could only become a FREEHOLDER if he *could not be turned out* during his lifetime. These LEASES almost never excluded SUBDIVIDING. These LEASES were partly still valid in 1846, respectively the consequences, i.e., the peasants were still on the ESTATE. Ditto, on the estates then in the hands of MIDDLEMEN (who mostly held LEASES for 64 years AND THREE LIVES, or even for 99 years); these estates often only reverted between 1846 and 1860. Thus, these processes ±[b] ran mixed up, respectively the Irish LANDLORD was never, or seldom, in a situation of having to decide whether particularly LABOURERS, rather than other traditional small TENANTS should be cleared. Essentially it comes to the same thing in England as in Ireland: the land must be tilled by labourers who live in *other POOR LAW UNIONS*, so that the landlord and his tenant might be spared the pauper-rate.[611] This is stated by Senior, or rather by his brother Edward, POOR LAW COMMISSIONER in Ireland: THE GREAT INSTRUMENT WHICH IS CLEARING IRELAND IS THE *POOR LAW*.

Land sold since the ENCUMBERED ESTATE COURT amounts, according to my notes, to as much as $^1/_5$ of the total; the purchasers were indeed largely usurers, speculators, etc., *mainly Irish Catholics*. Partly, also, GRAZIERS who had become rich. Yet even now there are *only about 8-9,000 landowners* in Ireland.

What do you say to the way the whole European bourgeoisie has made itself a laughing-stock, by pledging itself to the *empire libéral*, and lately awarding laurels to Louis Bonaparte for his sincere transition to constitutionalism? And now it comes to light that he means this so sincerely that he *explicitly reserves* for himself, for the suitable moment, the right to a coup d'état, *vulgo* a plebiscite.[612] Nobody should be able to say that he had overthrown the constitution for a 2nd time. This is also a commentary on '*gouvernement direct par le peuple*',[c] which the Swiss are now

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[a] See this volume. pp. 480-81. - [b] more or less - [c] direct government by the people

introducing[613] and the French frankly don't want. What is a plebiscite called in Swiss—veto or referendum? This question should be put to Wilhelm. *Ad vocem* Wilhelm—have you seen the marvellous advertisement in No. 27 of *Volksstaat*: *Who borrowed from me 'Kolb's Statistik'*[a]*? W. Liebknecht*. Not enough that he is sloppy; he has to advertise the fact too.

*Zukunft*—very amusing.[b] The jackasses!

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO PAUL LAFARGUE[614]

IN PARIS

[London,] 18 April 1870

Dear Paul-Laurent,[615]

I send enclosed credentials for Mr H. Verlet.[616] Let him give to the new section he is about to establish no *sectarian 'name'*, either Communistic or other. *Il faut éviter les 'étiquettes' sectaires dans l'Association Internationale*.[c] The general aspirations and tendencies of the working class emanate from the real conditions in which it finds itself placed. They are therefore common to the whole class although the movement reflects itself in their heads in the most diversified forms, more or less phantastical, more or less adequate. Those who interpret best the hidden sense of the class struggle going on before our eyes—the Communists are the last to commit the blunder of affecting or fostering sectarianism.

Mr Verlet would do well to put himself in communication with our friend Jules Johannard, 126 rue d'Aboukir.

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[a] G. F. Kolb, *Handbuch der vergleichenden Statistik der Völkerzustands- und Staatenkunde*. - [b] See this volume, p. 479. - [c] Sectarian 'labels' must be avoided in the International Association.

One thing which ought to be done as quickly as possible, and which might be done by Paul-Laurent, is to publish in the *Libre pensée* a true and literal translation of the *International Rules*.[a] The French current translation, emanating from our first Paris Committee, Tolain *et* Co., is full of *intentional* mistakes. They suppressed everything which they did not like. If a true translation was made, it would be well to send it me *before* its publication.[617]

In Germany people would much wonder at Verlet's appreciation of Büchner.[b 618] In our country he is only considered, and justly so, as a *vulgarisateur*.

You know how much I admire le 'Roman de Conspiration'.[c] I was, therefore, truly delighted to see it so well appreciated by Paul-Laurent.

I am now forced to say a few words which Paul-Laurent will a little fret at, but I cannot help doing so.

Your father wrote me a letter to Hanover which I have not yet answered, because I did not know what to say.

I feel quite sure that Paul has discarded all notion of finishing, or occupying himself with, his medical studies. When at Paris I wrote to his father in a different sense, and I was warranted in doing so by Paul's own promises.[d] Thus I am placed in quite a false position towards M. Lafargue *ainé*.[e] I cannot remain in that fix. I see no other prospect of getting out of it but by writing to him that I have as little influence with his beloved son as himself. If you see any other way of escape for me, any other means of clearing my position, please communicate it to me.

In my opinion, which however I neither pretend nor hope to see accepted and acted upon, Paul-Laurent *cum figlio*[f] ought to pay a visit to their parents at Bordeaux and try to coax them by the many means personal intercourse permits of.

Yours truly...[g]

First published in *Annali dell'Istituto G. G. Feltrinelli*, an. 1, Milano, 1958

Reproduced from the original

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[a] See this volume, p. 557. - [b] L. Büchner, *Kraft und Stoff*. - [c] This refers to Paul Lafargue's article 'Le Roman d'une conspiration par A. Ranc', *La Libre pensée*, No. 13, 16 April 1870, signed Paul-Laurent Lafargue. - [d] See this volume, p. 315. - [e] senior - [f] and son - [g] The signature is torn off.

## 319

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 19 April 1870

Dear Moor,

I forgot to write to you on Friday[a] that I had no money in the house and could, therefore, enclose nothing for that poor devil Dupont.[b] Enclosed S/6 11,916, Leeds, 15 July 1869—£5 for him. I hope it will suffice him until he has found a place again.

About Schapper, write to me, too, how things are going.

I have not yet seen Gumpert. I am, however, firmly convinced that plenty of exercise during the present marvellous weather will do you a lot of good, and will constitute an excellent pre-cure to Karlsbad.[c] Yesterday, with Schorlemmer, I walked some 17-18 miles; you do the same, and you will soon forget you have a liver.

Today I am returning you 2 issues of *Marseillaise* and *Égalité* and the Vienna newspaper,[d] and enclose a few cuttings from the *Examiner and Times* on Ireland, which are particularly remarkable since they come from a Methodist who, as a result of his isms (TEETOTALISM), etc., hangs out with the *Ism*ists here; otherwise, the *Examiner* would certainly not have accepted them. I shall need them later, so send them back sometime.[e]

Apropos, what is Mr Williams[f] doing? Tussy writes that he is still working, but I see no results.

I ordered Flerovsky[g] some time ago, but have heard nothing further, so I assume it has been confiscated and is no longer available.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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[a] 15 April - [b] See this volume, p. 481. - [c] Karlovy Vary - [d] *Volkswille* - [e] J. Fourlong, 'The Irish Roman Catholic Bishops on the Land Question', *Manchester Daily Examiner and Times*, 30 March 1870. - [f] Marx's daughter Jenny - [g] Н. Флеровскій, *Положеніе рабочаго класса въ Россіи*.

# 320

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 April 1870

*IN ALL HASTE*

DEAR FRED,

I am sending you 2 PARLIAMENTARIES ON IRELAND, and the latest *Égalité, ditto La Solidarité*. From the enclosed letter from Perret,[619] ex-secretary of the *Fédéral Comité* in Geneva—which I must have back *by Friday*—you will see how the Muscovite beast[a] is acting. He was naturally forced to appeal also—which he did—to the CENTRAL COUNCIL[73] through his *sécrétaire général* Robert. I also enclose this letter.[620] What do you think we should do about these fellows?

MR WILLIAMS SENDS YOU HIS COMPLIMENTS. ONE OF HIS ARTICLES HE HAD SENT TO *Reynolds's*. HE WENT TO TOWN TO FIND ANOTHER COPY FOR YOU, BUT IT WAS NOT TO BE GOT. Two further ARTICLES[b] together with OTHER *Marseillaises* HE SHALL FORWARD YOU THIS WEEK.[562]

My wife took the £5 to Dupont this morning. BEST THANKS FOR IT. HIS WIFE IS DYING IN THE HOSPITAL.

I have visited Schapper. Bad inflammation of the lungs, very emaciated, but perhaps he can still be saved.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

We shall put a spoke in Bakunin's wheel in the *Marseillaise* through *Flourens*, who has seen through the 'FRENCH BRANCH'[72] and annexed himself to us. HE IS A MAN OF VERY GREAT RESOLUTION. LEARNED. TOO SANGUINE.

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[a] Mikhail Bakunin - [b] the sixth and seventh articles by Jenny Marx from the Irish question series

# 321

## MARX TO PAUL LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 19 April 1870

Dear Paul-Laurent,[615]

I shall have you proposed by Dupont on Tuesday next.[621]

Meanwhile I call your attention to the presence in your committee[a] of *Robin, Bakunine's agent* who, at Geneva, did all in his power to *discredit the General Council* (he attacked it publicly in the *Égalité*)[507] and to prepare *la dictature de Bakounine sur l'Association Internationale.*[b] He has been expressly sent to Paris there to act in the same sense. Hence this fellow must be closely watched without becoming aware of having a surveillant at his side.[622]

In order *de vous mettre au courant*[c] I must give you a succinct review of Bakunine's intrigue.

Bakunine does not belong to the *International* but for about $1^1/_2$ years. *C'est un nouveau venu.*[d] At the Berne[e] Congress (*September 1868*) of the *Ligue de la Paix et de la Liberté*[f][271] (he was *one of the executive committee* of this International middle-class Association founded in opposition to the proletarian International) he played one of the mountebank parts he delights in. He proposed a series of propositions, stupid in themselves, but affecting an aim of swaggering radicalism calculated to frighten *les crétins bourgeois.*[623] In that way, being outvoted by the majority, he made his noisy exit from the League and had this great event triumphantly announced in the European press. He understands *la réclame*[g] almost as well as Victor Hugo *qui, comme Heine dit, n'est pas simplement égoïste, mais Hugoïste.*[h]

Then he entered our Association—its Geneva *branche Romande.*[i] His first step was a conspiracy. He founded *l'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste.* The Programme of that society[257] was nothing else but the series of resolutions proposed by Bakunine on the Berne Peace League Congress.[j] The organisation was that of a sect with its head-center at Geneva, constituting itself as an

[a] the Paris Federal Council - [b] Bakunin's dictatorship in the International Association - [c] to acquaint you with the matter - [d] a novice - [e] Here and below Marx erroneously wrote 'Lausanne'. - [f] League of Peace and Freedom - [g] publicity - [h] who, as Heine put it, is not merely an egoist but Hugoist. - [i] Romance branch - [j] [M.] Bakounine, 'Discours de Bakounine au deuxième congrès de la paix, à Berne', *Kolokol*, No. 14-15, 1 December 1868 (see also this volume, p. 200).

*International* Association which was to have General Congresses of its own, which was to form an independent international body, and, *at the same time*, to be an integral member of our *Internationale*. In one word, our Association was by this interloping secret society by and by to be converted into an instrument *du Russe*[a] Bakounine. The pretext was, that this new society was founded for the special purpose '*à faire la propagande théoretique*'.[b] Very funny indeed, considering that Bakunine and his acolytes know nothing of theory. But Bakunine's programme was '*the theory*'. It consisted, in fact, of 3 points.

1) That the first requirement of the social Revolution was—*the abolition of inheritance, vieillerie St Simoniste,*[624] *dont le charlatan et l'ignoramus Bakunine se faisait l'éditeur responsable.*[c] It is evident: If you have had the power to make the social Revolution in one day, *par décret plébiscitaire,*[d] you would abolish at once landed property and capital, and would therefore have no occasion at all to occupy yourselves with *le droit d'héritage.*[e] On the other hand, if you have not that power (and it is of course foolish to suppose such a power), the proclamation of the *abolition of inheritance* would be not a serious act, but a foolish menace, rallying the whole peasantry and the whole small middle-class round the reaction. Suppose f.i. that the Yankees had not had the power to abolish slavery by the sword. What an imbecility it would have been to proclaim the *abolition of inheritance in slaves*! The whole thing rests on a superannuated idealism, which considers the actual jurisprudence as the basis of our economical state, instead of seeing that our economical state is the basis and source of our jurisprudence! As to Bakounine, all he wanted was to improvise a programme of his own making. *Voilà tout. C'était un programme d'occasion.*[f]

2) *L'égalité des différentes classes.*[g] To suppose on the one hand the continued existence of *classes*, and on the other hand the *égalité* of the members belonging to them, this blunder shows you at once the shameless ignorance and superficiality of that fellow who made it his 'special mission' to enlighten us on 'theory'.

3) The working class must not occupy itself with *politics*. They must only organise themselves by trades-unions. One fine day, by means of the *Internationale* they will supplant the place of all existing states. You see what a caricature he has made of my doctrines! As the transformation of the existing States into

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[a] of the Russian - [b] to carry on theoretical propaganda - [c] old St Simonist rubbish, of which Bakunin, a charlatan and *ignoramus*, was the responsible publisher - [d] by plebiscite - [e] right of inheritance - [f] That's all. This was a makeshift programme. - [g] *Equality* of different *classes*.

Associations is our last end, we must allow the governments, these great trade-unions of the ruling classes, to do as they like, because to occupy ourselves with them is to acknowledge them. Why! In the same way the old socialists said: You must not occupy yourselves with the wages question, because you want to abolish wages labour, and to struggle with the capitalist about the rate of wages is to acknowledge the wages system! The ass has not even seen that every class movement *as* a class movement, is necessarily and was always a *political* movement.

This then is the whole theoretical baggage of Mahomet-Bakunine, a Mahomet without a Koran.

His conspiracy he went secretly on with. He had some affiliates in Spain and Italy, a few dupes at Paris and Geneva. Good old Becker was foolish enough to allow himself to be put forward somewhat in a leading character by Bakunine. He regrets his blunder at present.

The General Council was only informed and called upon to sanction the statutes of the '*Alliance*' after Bakounine considered that concern as *fait accompli*. However he was mistaken. In an elaborate document the General Council declared the 'Alliance' to be an instrument of disorganisation, and rejected every connexion with it. (I shall send you the document.)[a]

A few months later, the *Comité Directeur* of the 'Alliance' addressed a letter to the General Council to the effect: The great men were willing to dissolve their organisation and merge it into the *Internationale*, but on the other hand, we were to declare categorically, *Oui ou Non!*,[b] whether we sanctioned their principles? If not, there would be a public secession on their part, and we would be responsible for such a misfortune[c]!

We answered that the General Council was not the Pope, that we allowed every section to have its own theoretical views of the real movement, always supposed that nothing directly opposite to our Rules was put forward. We hinted in a delicate way that we considered their 'theory' to be a sham. We insisted that '*l'égalité des classes*'[d] be changed for '*l'abolition des classes*',[e] what they did.[301] We requested them to give us the *dénombrement*[f] of their members, what they have never complied with. (You will also get this second document.[g])

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[a] K. Marx, *The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*. - [b] yes or no - [c] See this volume, p. 235. - [d] equality of classes - [e] abolition of classes - [f] the number - [g] K. Marx, *The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the Central Bureau of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*

Thus the Alliance was *nominally* dissolved. In fact, it continued to form an *imperium in imperio*. Its branches had no connexion at all with the General Council, but that of conspiring against it. It acted under Bakunine's dictatorship. He prepared everything to *frapper son grand coup au Congrès de Bâle*.[a] On the one side, he made the Geneva Committee[b] propose *la question d'héritage*. We accepted the challenge.[625] On the other side, he conspired everywhere to discredit us and to have the seat of the General Council transferred from London to Geneva. At that congress, *ce saltimbanque figurait comme 'délégué de Naples et de Lyon'*[c] (at that latter place, *Albert Richard*, otherwise a very active and well-meaning youngster, is his acolyte). Where the fellow got the money for all his secret machinations, travels, missions of agents etc. remains to this moment a secret. Poor like a church mouse, he has never in his life earned a farthing by his own work.

At the Congress he was baffled. After the Congress he commenced to attack us publicly by his private *moniteur*, *Le Progrès* (de Locle), edited by his valet James Guillaume, a Swiss schoolmaster, and by the *Égalité* (de Genève).[507] We allowed this to go on for some time, and then sent a missive to the Federal Council of Geneva. (This document—copy of it—is in the hands of *Varlin*.) But before our circular arrived, the Federal Council of Geneva, never friendly to Bakunine and the *Alliance*, had broken loose from him. Robin *et* Co. were expulsed from the Editorship of the *Égalité*. The Federal Council of the Swiss *Romand* Section made his *pronunciamento* against the intrigues of the Alliance and its Muscovite dictator.

Meanwhile Bakounine had left Geneva to reside at Tessin. His circumstances were changed. Herzen died suddenly. Bakounine, who had attacked him fiercely during the latter times (probably because he found Herzen's purse shut against him), all at once became the fiery apologist of Herzen in the French etc. press.[586] Why? Because Herzen (although a millionaire) received annually for his *Cloche* and '*propagande Russe*' a rather large sum from the *Panslavistes démocrates* in Russia.[587] Although a fierce enemy *de l'héritage* Bakounine wanted to inherit Herzen's position and salary. He succeeded by his panegyrics of the dead man. He had the *Cloche*, the subvention etc. transferred to himself.[626]

On the other hand there had grown up at Geneva a colony of Russian émigrés,[541] enemies of Bakunine, because they knew the

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[a] to deal a decisive blow at the Basle Congress - [b] the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland - [c] this charlatan acted as the 'delegate of Naples and Lyons'

mere personal ambition of this very mediocre man (although an accomplished intriguer) and because they knew that in his '*Russian*' writings he propagates doctrines quite contrary to the principles of the *Internationale*.

The late *Swiss Romand Congress* at La Chaux de Fonds (5 April this year) was seized upon by Bakunine and his *moutons*[a] to bring about an open split.[606] The Congress was split into two Congresses, on the one hand a Congress of Bakunites, proclaiming abstention from all politics, representing about 600 men; on the other hand the Congress of the *Federal Comité* of Geneva, representing 2,000 men. Outine (*c'est un des jeunes Russes*) *dénonça publiquement les intrigues de Bakounine*.[b] His men have constituted themselves as a 'Federal Central Council' *pour la Suisse Romande*,[c] and have founded their own organ *La Solidarité*, edited by Bakounine's *valet de chambre*, James Guillaume. The '*principle*' of that paper is 'Bakounine'. Both parties have appealed to the General Council.

Thus this damned Muscovite has succeeded to call forth a great public scandal within our ranks, to make his personality a watchword, to infect our Working Men's Association with the poison of sectarianism, and to paralyse our action by secret intrigue.

He hopes to be strongly represented at our next Congress. To direct to himself the attention of Paris, he has opened a correspondence with the *Marseillaise*. But we have spoken with Flourens, who will put a stop to this.

You are now sufficiently informed to counteract Bakounine's movements within our Paris branches.

My thanks to Laurent[d] for her letter.[627] Another time try to find an envelope for your missives which is not so easily opened.

Apropos. Look whether you possess still the article of the *Queen's Messenger* on Lord Clanricarde.[e] We want it here and can get it from nowhere else.

Yours
Old Nick

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[a] sheep - [b] (a young Russian) publicly denounced Bakunin's intrigues - [c] of Romance Switzerland - [d] Laura Lafargue - [e] See this volume, pp. 466, 468.

## 322

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 21 April 1870

Dear Moor,

Enclosed, returned, the Swiss letters. The Genevans are, at all events, rather sluggish, otherwise they would not have got into this unfortunate position with the Bakuninists formally having the rules on their side with regard to them. This does not, of course, alter the fact that the Genevans must remain in the right; but, for the time being, the General Council has no reason to intervene, since the Genevans have appealed for a ballot in the *sections*, and you will have to wait for the result of this, one way or the other, before making a decision. The Bakuninists will probably not let themselves in for this referendum, since their *règlement fédéral*[a] probably makes no mention of it, and they will, thereby, expose their weak point in wishing to sacrifice the unity of the International, and the International itself into the bargain, to their empty formalism. Then there would be reason enough to intervene. On the other hand, the Genevans themselves must see to it this time that they gain the majority in their plebiscite. Till then, the General Council could, at the most, suspend *both* central committees, and replace them by a neutral provisional one (Becker,[b] etc.).

In the matter itself it is clear that the Alliance, even if tolerated by the General Council, has no place in a local organisation like the *Suisse Romande*,[c] since it wishes to correspond with all countries and maintain sub-sections there. Thus it should either stay out of it, or abandon its international character. Whereas, if the business in Switzerland continues to develop, the result will be either that it leaves the International completely, or can be thrown out. But it must be impressed on the Messrs Genevans that they cannot be helped unless they help themselves. If Bakunin were to get a majority of the workers of the *Suisse Romande* on his side, what could the General Council do? The only conceivable point is that of the total abstinence from all politics, but even this action would not be so certain.

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[a] *Statuts pour la Fédération des Sections Romandes adoptés par le Congrès Romand...* - [b] Johann Philipp Becker - [c] Romance Switzerland

The Messrs Genevans might have kept their *God* in the bag too![628]

Your
F. E.

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## 323

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 April 1870

DEAR FRED,

I visited Schapper again yesterday. I FEAR HE IS FAST SINKING. He himself spoke of his death as settled, even told me he had instructed his wife to have him buried next Sunday. It is consumption of the lungs. Schapper spoke and acted really *d'une manière distinguée*.[a] As long as his wife and eldest son were in the room he conducted the conversation (he can only speak with difficulty) in French. *Je ferai bientôt la dernière grimace*.[b] He poked fun at old Oborski, who in the past few months has become a Catholic and says his prayers; ditto at Ruge, who once again believes in the immortality of the soul. In this case, he said, Schapper's soul would play rough with Ruge's soul in the hereafter. It gives him pleasure to make jokes about the old stories, meetings with Louis Bonaparte, Dr Conneau, Persigny, General Cavaignac etc., later Willich, etc. It comforts him that his daughter is married, his eldest son Karl is independent (a bookbinder), and each of the two younger ones already earning £1 PER WEEK (as goldsmiths). He hopes his brother (Nassau) will take in his youngest. He has left all his scant possessions to his wife, and she will live with the two younger boys. 'Tell all our people that I have remained true to our principles. I am no theoretician. During the period of reaction I had my hands full bringing up my

[a] in a very composed manner - [b] I shall soon pull my last face.

family. I have lived as a HARD WORKING worker, and die a proletarian.' I gave him your greetings, and said that, had you believed the business was dangerous, you would have come up to see him. This obviously pleased him. Schapper is 57 years old. The true manliness of his character emerged once again clearly and strikingly.

Leaving Schapper, I had to make a second sick-bed visit. Borkheim wrote me a few lines the day before yesterday, that he had been at home sick the whole week, would probably have to stay in bed another week, then to the country, etc. From the way his wife received me, I saw immediately that the matter was *sérieux*. He had had typhoid fever; seems now on the road to improvement. His lungs have certainly been affected. The English doctor—one of the hospital doctors here—predicted all this, and repeats now that he hopes, and is virtually sure, that he will get away with it this time, but that if Borkheim does not abandon his mad life, he has not as much as a year before him.

The fact is that Borkheim studies Russian etc., with frenzy from 4.30 or 5 in the morning until 9, then again from 7 in the evening until 11. You know he writes polemical letters to everybody under the sun and, since he came into possession of a considerable library, has wished to make himself a scholar by brute force.

The doctor demands that he should chuck up everything *except business* for at least two years, and devote his leisure to light reading and *other relaxations*. Otherwise he is lost, and *this inevitably*. He has not the physical strength to do the work of two people.

I saw him for ABOUT 10 MINUTES. He looked damnably *fatigué* and thin. I told him that, as long as you were tied to business, you had engaged yourself only VERY MODERATELY in other things. I did this on purpose, since I know he respects you very much. When I came downstairs to his wife in the PARLOUR I recounted the conversation to her. She said—and I promised to do what I could to this end—that *you* would do her the greatest favour by writing to her husband. First of all, it would cheer him up greatly—such a sign of attention on your part—and second, he would take it to heart if you advised him not to ruin himself by EXTRA WORK.

It is my FEELING that Borkheim is, at the moment, *hors de danger*,[a] but he must watch out like the devil. Apropos. He is very annoyed with Liebknecht, for first printing the Bakunin letter[629] and then writing to him (Borkheim) that he (Borkheim) *must* now answer.

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[a] out of danger

Good old Wilhelm, always READY to make BLUNDERS so that others *must* work! *C'est un imbécile.*[a]

Flourens has already visited me at home several times. He is a very nice fellow. His predominant characteristic is AUDACITY. But he is very well educated in the natural sciences. For a year he gave lectures on ethnology[630] at Paris University, and was all over the place in Southern Europe, Turkey, ASIA MINOR, etc. Full of illusions and revolutionary impatience, BUT A VERY JOLLY FELLOW WITH ALL THAT, not one of the 'damned serious' school of men. His name has been proposed for our COUNCIL, where he has twice assisted as a guest. It would be a very good thing if he were to stay here longer. It is WORTH WHILE working on him. If, however, Bonaparte grants an amnesty after the plebiscite, he will return to Paris. Yesterday evening, he and Tibaldi were given a banquet by the FRENCH Freemasons' lodge, the FRENCH BRANCH,[72] etc. L. Blanc, Talandier, etc., also wanted to[b] take part. All the French revolutionary riff-raff here are courting him, but he is already PRETTY WELL informed about these gentry.

My best thanks for your explanation about the IRISH BOG.[c] For fun I got hold of the RETURN on *GAME LAWS CONVICTIONS (ENGLAND AND WALES)* for 1869. Total number of CONVICTIONS: 10,345. These are thus the specific *AGRARIAN CRIMES* of the English and Welsh. Why does not Mr Gladstone also suspend the constitution in England?

You were right to smell a rat in Pigott's letter. From the enclosed *Flag of Ireland* (LETTER of the Paris correspondent of *The Irishman* in it) one can see the fellow Pigott's *mauvaise foi*[d]—since he knows *we* take *The Irishman* here—has the muck printed in the *Flag*.

I am sending you, with the *Flag*, 5 numbers of Spanish organs of the International, viz. 2 *Federacion*, 1 *Obrero* and 1 *Solidaridad*.

I shall only send off the copies of *Marseillaise* on Saturday. First, I must make some notes from them about the Creuzot case, etc. for the CENTRAL COUNCIL.[631]

Last Tuesday[e] the Central Council[73] unanimously adopted my proposal (SUPPORTED BY Mottershead[f]): TO SEVER OUR CONNEXION WITH THE *Bee-Hive* AND TO *PUBLISH* THAT RESOLUTION. Mr Applegarth sat opposite me while I was giving the reasons for my proposal, with A DIMINISHED HEAD. He and Odger on editorial committee of *Bee-Hive*. I denounced the paper as being sold to the bourgeois (S. Morley, etc.), mentioned particularly its treatment of our Irish resolutions

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[a] He is an idiot. - [b] in the original: will - [c] See this volume, p. 488. - [d] bad faith - [e] 26 April - [f] See this volume, p. 386.

and debates, etc.[a] I should introduce the *formal* motion[b] on the decision of the COUNCIL next Tuesday.[c]

*Salut.*

Your
Moor

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## 324

## ENGELS TO WILHELM BRACKE[632]

### IN BRUNSWICK

[Manchester, 28 April 1870]

I was very pleased by the detailed and precise financial statement.[633] Here, in England, in front of my very eyes, so many attempts to found workers' movements and organisations have failed because of bad treasurer's work and book-keeping, and the resultant recurrent justified and unjustified charges of embezzlement and so on, that in this case I can consider myself competent to deliver judgement on the importance of this point. The workers have to deprive themselves for every farthing, so have the fullest right to know where every farthing goes, as long as they do not need and are not putting aside *secret* funds. And I believe that this is of special importance, particularly in Germany, since there, too, exploitation of the workers by knavish agitators has become the fashion. It is a hollow pretext to say that, by publishing such financial statements, you betray the weakness of your own party to the enemy. If the enemy wishes to judge the strength of a workers' party according to its specifically weak side — the state of its funds — it will, in any case, be out in its reckoning. And the damage done in *one's own* ranks by keeping such things secret is far greater than that which can arise from publication.

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[a] *Record of Marx's Speech on 'The Bee-Hive'. From the Minutes of the General Council Meeting of April 26, 1870.* - [b] K. Marx, *Resolution of the General Council on 'The Bee-Hive'.* - [c] 3 May

Bonhorst bewails the apathy of the workers[634]—but I find that things are going unexpectedly swimmingly in Germany. The individual successes naturally entail a hard struggle, and those involved naturally think things are going too slowly. But compare 1860 and 1870, and compare the present state of affairs in Germany with that in France and England—and recall the head start that these two countries had over us! The German workers have got half a dozen of their people into parliament; the French and the English *not a single one*. Allow me to remark, in this connection, *that all of us here* regard it as of the greatest importance that as many worker candidates stand as possible in the coming elections, and that as many are elected as possible.[a]

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## 325

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 29 April 1870

Dear Moor,

I wrote immediately to Borkheim,[635] addressed to 10 Brunswick Gardens, Kensington W.[b] If that is not correct, be so good as to notify him.

I would, in fact, have been glad to come over to see Schapper, and would still do so, had not your letter led me to assume he was already dead. There was always something so elementally revolutionary about him, and even if the poor fellow has to go sometime, I am pleased at least that he is behaving so finely to the end. If, as the result of the pleurisy, he has contracted consumption, then there is nothing to be done, and it will happen very quickly.

Bakunin's letter is really very naïve.[629] What hard luck for the world, were it not a ghastly lie, if there were 40,000 revolutionary students in Russia, without a proletariat or even a revolutionary

[a] See this volume, p. 500. - [b] Ibid., p. 496.

peasantry behind them, and with any career ahead of them except the dilemma: Siberia, or emigration to Western Europe. If there were anything that could ruin the West European movement, it would be the importation of these 40,000±[a] educated, ambitious, hungry Russian nihilists; all of them officer cadets without an army, which we should provide them; a marvellous piece of impertinence that, in order to bring unity to the European proletariat, it must be commanded in Russian! Yet however greatly Bakunin exaggerates, it is as clear as day that the danger exists. Святая Русь[b] will spit out a certain number of these 'careerless' Russians every year, and, with the excuse of the *principe international*, they will creep in everywhere amongst the workers, swindle their way into leading roles, carry their private intrigues and brawls—unavoidable amongst the Russians—into the sections, and then the General Council will have its work cut out. It has already struck me that Utine has already found a way to obtain a position with the Genevans. And these Russians moan that, back at home, all positions are occupied by Germans!

I have had it out in all friendship with Wilhelm on various points, both about his previous attitude and also about his present attitude in the Reichstag. Bonhorst was arrested in Eschweiler because he lacked legitimation papers, after *the Reichstag* had passed the Passport Abolition Law, yet Monsieur Liebknecht misses the chance to interpellate the government about flagrant illegality and to force it to confess that such laws are in no way intended to apply to workers. And the jackasses expect the workers to re-elect them. Incidentally, I have also written to Bracke, who approached me for money for the 'Party', saying how necessary it is that they should nominate worker candidates and force them through everywhere.[c] Wilhelm is capable of saying that this is not necessary at all.

The Spanish papers and the *Flag*[d]—received with thanks. When I travelled past Majorca in 1849 I would not have dreamed that, in 20 years, we would have a paper[e] there. At the time that hole was regarded as a Corsican wilderness.

Pigott remains the same ambiguous figure. In Ireland they must have a 'Republic', but the French should remain under Bonaparte. They will pass over my book[f] in silence when it appears, just as they do now with the Irish articles in the *Marseillaise*.[g]

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[a] more or less - [b] Holy Russia - [c] See this volume, p. 499. - [d] *The Flag of Ireland* (see this volume, p. 497) - [e] *El Obrero* - [f] F. Engels, *The History of Ireland* - [g] Jenny Marx's articles on the Irish question.

The ancient laws of Ireland,[a] through which I am at present rummaging, are a bitter mouthful. First, the text itself is not very clear, since it assumes a knowledge of *all* ancient Irish law, which no longer exists. 2. It is very garbled. 3. The translation is bad, and in places definitely wrong, but it is clear that the agrarian conditions were not quite as simple as good old *Davies*[b]—with interest—described them. The laws insofar as published, give only the complicated side, not the simple one. Incidentally, I am not yet through with the stuff; from time to time I am forced to refer to the Celtic text, too, and since I don't even have a grammar, I don't get along very fast. But so much is clear: the editors, for all their knowledge of Celtic, don't understand the contents any more than I do.

These things have been published at state cost by the COMMISSIONERS FOR THE PUBLICATION OF THE ANCIENT LAWS AND INSTITUTES OF IRELAND.[636] It is obviously a gruelling job. *In which PARLIAMENTARY PAPER can one find out how much these fellows cost annually?* They have been in session since 1852, do nothing except engage WORKING UNDERSTRAPPERS, and these two volumes are all that has appeared so far.

Best greetings to you all.

Your
F. E.

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## 326

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 April 1870

Dear FRED,

POOR Schapper died yesterday morning at 9 o'clock.

Enclosed, 3 issues of *Marseillaise* containing J. Williams.[c] [562] I

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[a] *Ancient Laws of Ireland. Senchus Mor.* Volumes I-II. - [b] J. Davies, *Historical Tracts.* - [c] Jenny Marx, see this volume, p. 503.

must *have them back* (with the Swiss *Égalité* and *Solidarité*) because of notes for the GENERAL COUNCIL,[a] for which I have not yet found time. (*Don't* send back the *Spanish papers.*) Ditto, latest *Vorbote.* You will see from this that Becker[b] has broken openly with Bakunin.[c] (*Don't* send back.)

Finally, ONE COPY of the *Russian translation* of our *Communist Manifesto* for you. I saw in the *Werker*, etc., that the *Kolokol* publishing house, which was willed to Bakunin, also includes 'this stuff', so ordered 6 copies from Geneva.[637] It's very interesting for us.

*Addio* OLD BOY. COMPLIMENTS TO MRS Lizzy, Jollymeyer[d] AND Moore.

Old
Nick

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## 327

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 1 May 1870

Dear Moor,

POOR Schapper! The toll amongst our old comrades is getting very high.[e] Weerth, Weydemeyer, Lupus, Schapper—but, all the same, *à la guerre comme à la guerre.*[f] Couldn't you get me a photograph of him? Or, if possible, two, you know the Solingen people also want one.

Thanks for the papers. Everything requested goes back tomorrow. I would have sent *Égalité* and *Solidarité* long ago, but I thought the GENERAL COUNCIL would have received *several* copies. In the Spanish things, which certainly still betray a rather Spanish standpoint, you can see how Bakunin's phraseology shines through.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 497-98. - [b] Johann Philipp Becker - [c] 'Zur Geschichte der Internationalen Arbeiterassociation', *Der Vorbote*, No. 4, April 1870. - [d] Carl Schorlemmer - [e] See the previous letter. - [f] war is war

I saw Gumpert yesterday. When he asked after you, and I told him your liver complaints were flaring up again, he blew up without waiting for anything further: *Why doesn't he go to Karlsbad*? There you have the answer.[a] He thinks it would be best early in the summer, or only towards autumn, since it is very full there in July-August, and horribly hot. The Crown Prince of Prussia[b] is there at the moment, wouldn't you like to keep him company? He is an 'edicated'[c] man.

The resolution on *Bee-Hive*[d] will please Sam Moore greatly; he has taken *Bee-Hive* up to now, and been very annoyed at the lousy sheet. I shall tell him he should take *Reynolds's*, or do you know something better? Does the *Democratic News* still exist?

Enclosed, the latest from Wilhelm.[e] He very much favours Prussia being the *only serious* opponent of the revolution in Germany, but is very much against it being a *serious* opponent.[638] *Pauvre hère!*[f]

Lizzie, for whom I immediately made a quick translation of the 3 Williams,[g] is absolutely enthusiastic about them, and thanks Mr Williams warmly.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

For some time now your letters have been arriving in an unobjectionable condition. At least they have become more careful.

Steps have presumably been taken for a decent obituary on Schapper in the press? I don't know whether Eccarius is the man to do justice to this best type of old conspirator.

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[a] See this volume, p. 479. - [b] Frederick William - [c] In the original 'jebildeter' (Berlin dialect). - [d] K. Marx, *Resolution of the General Council on 'The Bee-Hive'*. - [e] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [f] Poor devil - [g] the sixth, seventh and eighth articles by Jenny Marx from the Irish question series

# 328

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER[577]

[London,] 7 May 1870

DEAR FRED,

All sorts of interesting things have happened here this week. But the English post is too INQUISITIVE at the moment, and I don't feel the call to SUPPLY it indirectly with news. So, about this, later by word of mouth.[639]

The *Marseillaise* did not arrive today. Possibly it has been confiscated. Last Wednesday[a] we informed them by telegraph that they would receive the General Council resolution[b] on Thursday in the original French; they should not translate it from English. This telegram naturally came immediately to the attention of the Paris police, and Pietri does not, perhaps, want our proclamation one day before the plebiscite.

The absurd Reuter-Havas telegrams have finally given us the long-awaited opportunity to declare publicly in the Paris press that the SO-CALLED LONDON FRENCH BRANCH does *not* belong to the *International*.[640]

Yesterday and the day before *The Standard* published two lousy articles against the *International*, dictated directly from the French Legation, as, ditto, the article in the London French paper *L'International*.

All London papers have received instructions from *Bruce*—and naturally obey them like the born dogs they are—not to mention a word in their columns about the steps the *English police* have taken very quietly in past weeks with regard to *Flourens* and the *International* GENERAL COUNCIL (they make a HODGE PODGE out of the two).

*Ten thousand* COPIES of *The Standard* mentioned have been sent to France. Is this, also, a method of payment, or has the *Société du 10 Décembre*[641] suddenly learned English?

Last Tuesday the rumour was spread in London that we were going to be arrested in our meeting room. As a result PRESS REPORTERS, for once hungry for news, were in attendance.

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[a] 4 May - [b] K. Marx, *Concerning the Persecution of the Members of the French Sections. Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association* (present edition, Vol. 21).

In England, at a moment of panic the fellows immediately forget their own laws, and allow themselves to be carried away by the press, which is partly ignorant, and partly lies with intent.

To be nice to the police, let us assume that everything reported by Grandperret, Reuter and the *Journal officiel* is gospel truth. Even so, the English Government could do *nothing*, apart, at the most, from making fools of themselves.

There can, *d'abord*,[a] be no question of the *extradition* of Flourens—*Gaulois* says it has been demanded.[642] There is only *one* Extradition Treaty between France and the UNITED KINGDOM, that of 1843. In 1865 the French Government declared it would denounce it after 6 months, since it was practically unworkable because of the ENGLISH LAWS OF EVIDENCE. As a result, in 1866 some of the formalities regarding EVIDENCE were changed, without any change in the content of the treaty. This specifies very precisely the crimes that lead to extradition, including murder (PARRICIDE, INFANTICIDE, and murder by poison) and attempted murder, notabene, attempts in the sense *qu'il y avait un commencement d'exécution*,[b] 'THE DIRECT CONSEQUENCE OF WHICH WOULD PROBABLY BE THE DEATH OF THE INDIVIDUAL WHOSE LIFE WAS ATTACKED'.

Under *this* treaty Beaury, for instance, could *not* be extradited had he fled to England, let alone Flourens.

The only question is whether a FOREIGNER *here* could be sentenced by an English court for *COMPLICITY IN A CONSPIRACY TO COMMIT THE CRIME OF MURDER ABROAD*.

Before 1828 nobody—Englishman or FOREIGNER—could be prosecuted here for MURDER COMMITTED OUT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. English duellists made use of this. SECT. 7 OF 9, GEO. IV stipulated,

> 'THAT IF *ANY OF H. M.'S "SUBJECTS"* SHOULD BE CHARGED WITH MURDER OR WITH ANY ACCESSORY TO MURDER COMMITTED ON LAND OUT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM HE SHOULD BE *TRIABLE* FOR SUCH OFFENCES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM'.

The law was, in fact, made to fit English duellists, and therefore applies only to 'HER MAJESTY'S *SUBJECTS*'.

At Dr Bernard's TRIAL in 1858 he therefore pleaded 'THAT THE *COURT HAD NO JURISDICTION*'. The SERVILE COURT reserved this point, without taking a decision, and ruled that, for a start, A PLEA OF NOT GUILTY SHOULD BE RECORDED. His ACQUITTAL prevented any further decision on this LEGAL POINT.

Immediately after the Orsini PLOT of 1858, Palmerston introduced the *CONSPIRACY* BILL into the HOUSE OF COMMONS,[643]

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[a] for the time - [b] in which a *deed was commenced*

'WITH THE OBJECT OF MAKING *CONSPIRACY* TO COMMIT MURDER EITHER WITHIN THE UNITED KINGDOM OR WITHIN THE TERRITORY OF ANY FOREIGN STATE A *FELONY*'.

This BILL was justified by the following in

1. 'CONSPIRACY WAS ONLY A *MISDEMEANOUR*' and that, under English LAW, a CONSPIRACY TO MURDER is nothing more nor less than A CONSPIRACY TO BLACKEN A MAN'S CHARACTER.

2. And this was shown very emphatically by the ATTORNEY GENERAL Sir R. Bethell—

'THAT THE 9 GEO. IV SECT. 7 ONLY APPLIED TO *NATIONAL BORN BRITISH SUBJECTS*, AND THAT *FOREIGNERS RESIDENT IN THIS UNITED KINGDOM COULD CONSPIRE TO COMMIT MURDER ABROAD WITH IMPUNITY*'.

The CONSPIRACY BILL, as everyone knows, was rejected, and Lord Palmerston fell FOR THE TIME BEING, together with the bill.

The whole commotion in the English and French press is, therefore, complete nonsense. If the worst comes to the worst, Flourens could be prosecuted for a MISDEMEANOUR in order, finally, to obtain a DEFINITIVE JUDICIAL DECISION on 9 GEO. IV SECT. 7 and certainly to fail thereby, and be forced to table the CONSPIRACY BILL. Gladstone will tempt the devil where Palmerston failed.

If this PLOT—for the ASSASSINATION of Badinguet[a]—is not simply a police invention, then it is the biggest possible bit of tomfoolery open to man. Luckily, the EMPIRE can no longer be saved even by the stupidity of its enemies.

Bakunin's agent *Robin*, now in Paris and a member of the Paris *Fédération* (*Internationale*),[644] immediately proposed a resolution there recognising the new *Conseil Romand* as the genuine one, and making a public announcement in the *Marseillaise* that only its supporters are really MEMBERS of the *Internationale*. But we had advised our people in Paris.[b] Robin thus failed gloriously with his resolution. It was decided that the *Fédération Parisienne* had absolutely no *autorité* to intervene; the matter was something for the *Conseil Général* in London. This business is, however, characteristic of the *modus operandi* of Gospodin[c] Bakunin.

The Paris PLOT brings to a sorry end the well-advanced plan to hold the *Congress in Paris*, and to take this opportunity also to transfer the General Council there.

I have received from Bakunin the 5 first Nos. of *Kolokol* and its French *supplément*. Even the Russian programme is very characteristic.[645] The paper should be in no way the expression of an

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[a] a nickname of Napoleon III (the name of a stonemason in whose clothes he fled from the prison in 1846) - [b] See this volume, p. 489. - [c] Mr

*exclusive party* (выраженіе какой-либо исключительной партіи) but of all decent people (честныхъ людей)[a] who desire the 'liberation of Russia' and who are 'dissatisfied with the present conditions'. No pedantry, above all *practical*! For our part, we, Western Europe and the UNITED STATES, should confine ourselves *exclusively* to propaganda of the *theory* of Mr Bakunin (i.e., the absence of all theory), and this in such a manner as though all nations had already been abolished. He thus bans us from any intervention, in either domestic or foreign policy. What an artful dodger!

Things are going slowly with Borkheim, but he is improving. I visited him again last Thursday[b] (on this trip I caught a frightful cold, which is almost driving me mad). He was delighted with your letter.[635] From his 'enclosure' you will see his need to make a fool of himself.[646] The gentility with which he—a born figure of fun[c]—delivers his estimate of Lever, was so patronising—he laughs now and then, and excuses this with his sickness—and the naïvety with which he believes one can supply him with *Harry Lorrequer par douzaines*[d] like blackberries[e]! After this I sent him *Peter Simple*[f] and, in fact, he finds this 'much better'.

Schapper was buried last Wednesday.[g] Write down for me any biographical notes about him you have in your head. We shall have to compose a short obituary.

COMPLIMENTS TO MRS LIZZY, Moore, Jollymeyer.[h]

El Moro
(My beard becomes whiter daily.)

You will receive with this: two numbers of *Égalité*, and of the *pamphlets plébiscitaires*:

*Aux Electeurs, Par Alceste* (finely written),

*Le Plébiscite Impérial* par *Rogeard* (very bad),

*Le Plébiscite de Boquillon* par *A. Humbert* (one of the **Marseillaise** editors, fine burlesque) (in the style of Offenbach's music).

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[a] The words in brackets are given in Russian by Marx. - [b] 5 May - [c] In the original: *Kladderadatsch*—the title of the Berlin satirical journal - [d] by the dozen - [e] Paraphrased Falstaff's words (see Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, Part I, Act II, Scene 4). - [f] F. Marryat, *Peter Simple*. - [g] 4 May - [h] Carl Schorlemmer

## 329

## ENGELS TO MARX[180]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 8 May 1870

Dear Moor,

With his plot-comedy, Mr Pietri appears to me to have far overshot the mark. In the end the policemen don't even believe one another's buffoonery. It's really too fine. This scurvy Bonaparte has a fixed remedy for every sickness; in case of a plebiscite, the *populus* must be given a dose of assassination, just as every quack begins every bigger treatment with a strong laxative. I am longing to hear the result of the treatment; so far I know only about the Paris vote, which was so good that all forgeries by officials could not falsify it completely.[612]

The *Daily News* and *Observer* virtually announced that the English police had obtained the necessary and telegraphed it to the French police. With the FENIAN SCARE the English police have completely dropped their disguise and are baser than any other. NB. Do use thinner paper for your envelopes; I could open these thick envelopes without leaving a trace.

You really should publish in France and Germany the heroic deeds of the English police regarding the International and Flourens.[a]

10,000 COPIES=£40 is damned cheap; I would have expected *The Standard* to sell itself dearer. This manner of bribery has, however, long been common here.

Flerovsky[b] does not appear to have been confiscated; there are copies at least in Leipzig. My bookseller, the jackass, did not order the Russian text but a non-existent English translation. Hence the non-arrival.

So *Колоколъ* [Kolokol] will be even finer under Bakunin than it was under Herzen.[626]

Monsieur Wilhelm[c] is no longer to be borne. You will have seen that 'owing to the absence of the printer' (who is, thus, the real editor), the *Peasant War*[d] was printed in a mix-up that Grandperret could not have managed better and, at the same time, the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 504-06. - [b] Н. Флеровскій, *Положеніе рабочаго класса въ Россіи.* - [c] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [d] F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany.*

dunderhead has the impudence to affix marginal notes that are complete nonsense, without any note as to authorship, and *everyone will ascribe them to me*. I have already forbidden him to do this once before, and he was piqued; but the nonsense is laid on so thick that it is no longer bearable. *Ad vocem*[a] Hegel, the fellow glosses: known to the general public as the discoverer (!) and glorifier (!!) of the royal Prussian *state concept* (!!!). I have retorted to him suitably, and have sent him, for publication, a declaration as mild as was possible under the cricumstances. This dunderhead, who has been jogging around helplessly for years on the ridiculous contradiction between right and might, like an infantry man placed upon a horse with the staggers and locked in the riding-school—this ignoramus has the insolence to wish to dispatch a man like Hegel with the word 'Preuss'[b] and, at the same time, suggests to the public that *I* had said it. I have now had enough of the whole thing. If Wilhelm doesn't publish my declaration, I shall turn to his superiors, the 'Committee',[c] and if they also get up to tricks, I shall prohibit any further publication. I would rather not be published than let Wilhelm proclaim me a jackass thereby.[647]

Borkheim, returned enclosed. The fellow is gracious enough to wish to find Lever[d] jocose. 'Boquillon'[e] is very nice; I haven't yet read the other things.[f]

I can tell you nothing about Schapper[g] that you do not know yourself or you could not get much better from *Pfänder*.

The *Kölnische Zeitung* has been gammoned into writing that the floor of the Atlantic Ocean is covered with protoplasm—'a moving slime that nourishes itself'.[h]

In LONDON CLAY, Owen has found the skull of a giant bird, similar to the great wingless birds of New Zealand.

The jolliest point about old Irish law[481] is the family law. Those must have been free-and-easy times. Polygamy existed, was at least *tolerated*, and the concubines here were divided into 6-7 classes, including one, the *imris*, 'WHOM HE (THE MAN) HAS WITH THE CONSENT OF HER HUSBAND'. Very naïve, too, is the regulation about the disposition of property. If they both have the same amount, the husband and (the first or main) wife dispose of it jointly. If the husband has everything and the wife nothing, the husband disposes. Has the

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[a] Regarding - [b] disparaging form of 'Prussian' - [c] to the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party - [d] Ch. Lever, *Harry Lorrequer*. See this volume, p. 507. - [e] A. Humbert, *Le Plébiscite de boquillon*. - [f] See this volume, p. 507. - [g] Ibid. - [h] 'Die Tiefsee-Untersuchungen', *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 122, 3 May 1870.

wife all and the husband nothing, then 'the wife takes the position of the husband, and the husband that of the wife'. Yet still more civilised than the modern English laws.

The legal position of *hommes entretenus*[a] is also defined.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

Don't talk about grey hairs. They are growing thickly enough in my beard, but the corresponding *dignitas* simply won't appear.

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## 330

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

### IN HANOVER

[London, about 8 May 1870]

Dear Kugelmann,

As a filthy cough has made me incapable of writing for the moment, herewith only MY BEST THANKS FOR THE FINE BIRTHDAY PRESENTS.[b]

YOURS TRULY
Karl Marx

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[a] kept men - [b] See this volume, pp. 512 and 558.

# 331

## MARX TO ENGELS[56]

### IN MANCHESTER[577]

[London,] 10 May 1870

DEAR FRED,

Yesterday I received the enclosed screed from Wilhelm.[a] An incorrigible South German bumpkin.

You will see from it, *d'abord*, that the blockhead *never* wrote to Meissner[b] and attended to *all my commissions* in the same way. And, for precisely this reason, I should now write to him 'regularly', and you should go to 'Stuttgart', in the same way as he wished to propose *you* as a MEMBER of the North German Reichstag[648]!

I had written to him[649] that if, when he wrote about Hegel, he knew nothing better than to repeat the old Rotteck-Welcker muck, then he would do better to keep his mouth shut.[c] He says that this would be 'making rather informally short work, etc.' of Hegel, and when he writes stupidities beneath Engels' articles, then 'Engels can of course (!) say something *at greater length* (!!)'. The fellow really is too stupid.

The circular,[d] which reached him in such a '*romantic*' manner, states that the General Council reserves the right to speak about Schweitzer, etc., '*publicly*' *as soon as* it considers suitable. This Wilhelm converts into us wanting to make a 'public declaration'—for Wilhelm!

With regard to the next congress, what do you think of Bebel's suggestion about Mainz or Mannheim[650]? Better Mainz. The business would be a good thing, insofar as Mr Bakunin *et Co.* would be totally powerless in Germany.

Shameless Wilhelm, who thought my *Bonaparte*[e] scarcely worth a note in his sheet,[f] demands my permission to publish my articles on the French Revolution[g]!

From the *Marseillaise* of last *Sunday*[h] you will see that *Opinion nationale*, the Plon-Plon[i] sheet, has discovered that the *French*

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[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [b] See this volume, p. 428. - [c] Ibid., p. 509. - [d] K. Marx, *Confidential Communication*. - [e] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - [f] *Der Volkstaat* - [g] K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*. - [h] Marx refers to *Une Dénonciation*, written by A. de Fonvielle and published in *La Marseillaise*, No. 139, 8 May 1870. - [i] Jérôme Charles Paul Bonaparte

*original* of our declaration,[a] written by me, was certainly written *in Paris*! Incidentally, I am pleased that this sheet is finally abandoning the patronage it has hitherto granted us, which we found very distasteful.

The ancient Irish business with women quite pales compared to what the Celts in *WALES* allowed themselves in that field. This was (up until the 11th-12th century) quite Fourier's fantasy *mise en pratique*.[b]

For my birthday, Kugelmann sent me two pieces of wallpaper from Leibniz's study, which amused me very much. It appears Leibniz's home was pulled down last winter, and the stupid Hanoverians—who could have made good business in London with the relics—threw everything away. Each of these two pieces depicts something mythological, one Neptune in his waves, etc., the other Venus, Amor, etc., all in poor Louis XIV style. On the other hand the quality (solidity) of the hand manufactory of those days compares well with today's. I have hung the two pieces up in my study. YOU KNOW MY ADMIRATION FOR Leibniz.

I am still suffering so much from the nose stoppage resulting from my last visit to Borkheim that my daughters have *forbidden* me to go to the GENERAL COUNCIL this evening, and threaten, if I disobey, to send to FRED Engels A SAVAGE DENUNCIATION OF MY CONDUCT. My presence there is really very necessary just now. *Enfin, nous verrons!*[c]

Apropos. I recently purchased a 14-volume edition of *Swift* (of 1760) for all of $4^1/_2$ shillings. So, as soon as you need to look at Swift's things about *Irish subjects*, the necessary will be sent to you.

Has not the time nearly come for us to look around for a house for you here, and for you to give instructions IN THAT LINE?

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

The elections in France—so far as they make sense—have produced a grand result. A great and ever repeated tomfoolery of the Republicans to persuade the poor devils of soldiers to vote 'no'. *A quoi bon?*[d] That the government should repeat the old trick, get to know and to root out the unreliable elements. Very

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[a] K. Marx, *Concerning the Persecution of the Members of the French Sections. Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association.* - [b] put into practice - [c] Well, we shall see! - [d] Who profits?

soon, the 4,000 military NO VOTERS of Paris will have vanished, partly to Algeria, partly to distant provincial punitive garrisons.[612]

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## 332

## ENGELS TO MARX[56]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 May 1870

Dear Moor,

The relevant Liebknecht stuff was missing; I suppose it will turn up tomorrow.[648]

Holding the congress in Germany would present some difficulties, since one simply does not know what laws rule there, though one does know which police practices prevail. But it is fairly certain that a *dissolution* of the congress by the police would be the worst to be expected; the people would be safe, with the exception of a possible 24-hour detention; but it would have to be determined *now* where the congress should reassemble if dissolved—in Belgium or Switzerland. Otherwise, Mainz would be quite a good place, and Mannheim, too; the Baden Government is so harassed by the People's Party[38] and the ultramontanists that it would scarcely take any action.

Since Wilhelm mucked about my *Peasant War* in such a manner,[647] think what he will do with your articles[a]!

Could you get together for me that material for a note, with citation of the sources, on the Welsh phanerogamic being[b]? I could use it just now, in a few days I shall be writing about this.

The bourgeois vandalism with regard to Leibniz's house is very common. In any case, I congratulate you on the relics.

I shall hardly likely be needing Swift before I move to London.

The decision in the large towns in France is very fine. The remainder is faked and doesn't count. Regarding the way the

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[a] K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*. - [b] See this volume, pp. 512, 515-16.

Republicans urged the army about *non*, this would only have been useful if immediate action had been intended, but it is agreed that this was *not* the case. As things have now turned out, the soldiers will have to suffer, and 'more reliable' regiments will be sent to Paris.[612]

If you and your family wish to reconnoitre the surrounding district for a house for me, this would be very agreeable for us here. I have my house here until the end of September, so if I move at the end of August there is time enough. In addition, I have enough material to made through here, and it's easier here than in London. You know the sort of house I need: at least 4, if possible 5 bedrooms (since Pumps[a] is growing up), and apart from a study for me, two living rooms and kitchen, etc. If possible without a close dominant *vis-à-vis*. It would be desirable that it should not be much higher up than you live, since Lizzie has an asthmatic reluctance about hill climbing. If you find something, then I can come over. It doesn't need to be as big as your house, and smaller rooms would suffice for me.

Best greetings to all.

Your
F. E.

Your letter appeared to have been opened again, and badly stuck down with too much gum, so that the excess of gum made it adhere to another letter, and traces remained.

Do you know of an Irish grammar, or is one to be had second-hand? I would very much dislike to quote a Celtic word incorrectly, perhaps in the genitive or nominative plural—instead of nominative singular.

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[a] Mary Ellen Burns

# 333

## MARX TO ENGELS[56]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, ] 11 May 1870

Dear Fred,

I only noted from your letter today that I had forgotten to enclose the Wilhelm.[a] It follows herewith, ditto, letter from Bracke, etc., which I must have back before Tuesday, when I intend to be on my feet again. Mainz, Darmstadt, Mannheim[650]? Wouldn't Mannheim be best? Mainz is a Prussian fortress city.

With regard to the Welsh, I *don't* find the main thing in my notebooks. But this much:

The community of goods was accompanied by Celtic looseness of the marriage tie, already known in antiquity, at the same time, however, *voting rights for women* in the tribal assembly.' (*W. Wachsmuth, 'Europäische Sittengeschichte', Zweiter Teil, Leipzig, 1833.*)

Wachsmuth bases his description specifically on the laws of King Dyonwall Moelmud and Howel Ddas.[b] '*Leges Molmutinae*. Translated by *William Probert*: '*The ancient laws of Cambria*, containing the institutional triads of D. Moelmud, the laws of Howel the Good, triadical commentaries, code of education, and the hunting laws of Wales", London, 1823', and: '*Edward Davies*, "Celtic Researches", London 1804'.

I find noted in my notebooks, as curiosities:

'Precepts on ascertaining virginity. The testimony of one person suffices, e.g., that of a girl on her virginity.' 'A man who has got rid of one bed-companion because of another atones with as many *denarii* as are necessary to cover the bottom of the complainant. A woman who lays a plaint against a man for rape clasps his member with her left hand, lays her right upon reliquaries, and thus swears her testimony.'

'*Fornication with the queen* costs the double mult to the king.'

The first chapter of the book on common law deals with the women.

'If his wife lay with another man and *he beats her*, he sacrifices his claim to indemnification... What a wife might *dispose of*—differing according to station—is exactly specified. The wife of a peasant (*taeawgh*) might only dispose of her neck-band, and might *lend* only her sieve, and this not further than her voice could be heard when demanding its return. The wife of a nobleman (*uchelwr*) could dispose of cloak, shirt, shoes, etc., but *lend* all her household utensils. *Sufficient grounds for divorce for a wife were* the man's impotence, scabies and *bad breath*.'

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[a] Liebknecht's letter (see this volume, p. 513) - [b] the Good

Quite some lads, these Celts. But born dialecticians, everything being composed in *triads*. When I leave the house again I shall look up Wachsmuth on phanerogamy in the Museum.[a]

At this opportunity I have also found in my notebooks quotations from various writings on Ireland, but which you have certainly seen, or are superfluous because of better sources. One book, the title of which I cannot read properly, *Cgygia* or *Ogygia* by *R. O'Flaherty*, London, 1685.

*Dr Charles O'Conor: Scriptores Rerum Hibernicarum. Buckingham* (1814-1826, 4 volumes).

*The antiquities and history of Ireland, by Jam. Ware, London, 1705; Ware, Two books of the writers of Ireland. Dublin, 1709.*[651]

In the case of Bakunin, either the transaction *has broken down*, or it has been arranged thus *pour sauver les apparences.*[b] Looking at things more closely, I discover, that Ogarev is the editor.[626] In the first numbers Bakunin has only *one* letter,[c] in which he acts like a stranger, attacks the editors for lack of principles, etc., puts on airs as a socialist and internationalist, etc. Yet, WITH ALL THAT, what his letter amounts to is that, in theory, all coalitions are to be condemned, but in practice, to be sure, Ogarev is right. The main thing now is to overthrow Tsarism, and for this the unification of all parties hostile to it is necessary, etc., etc. Later they will be able to scuffle with one another, etc. Thus, 'politics' are permissible for socialists in Russia, but not for the world in Western Europe!

The Russian things I am sending you today you may keep, since I have duplicate copies.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

I shall look around for the Irish grammar as soon as I can go out again.

The state of my last letter was *not* the fault of the post.

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[a] the British Museum Library - [b] to save appearances - [c] М. Бакунинъ, 'Редакторамъ *Колокола*', *Kolokol*, No. 2, 9 April 1870.

## 334

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 15 May 1870

Dear Moor,

Mainz is not so bad, the Hessian Government is always at loggerheads with the Prussian Governor, and the Prussians have to declare a state of siege in the city before they can do anything. Darmstadt has too small a proletariat and, in addition, a *small court*, so one cannot count on anything. Mannheim, also, has a smaller proletariat than Mainz, and altogether I think it would be good to hold the congress under the noses of the Prussian soldiers. If it is broken up, then the whole show can move to Brussels; even those compromised in Prussia can get there via Strasbourg, Metz and Luxembourg in 24 hours; the others via Cologne or Saarbrücken-Luxembourg. Apropos, the International should try to obtain a footing in Luxembourg; there are many miners, tanners, etc., there. This must be done from Saarbrücken or Aachen; the committee[a] should be charged with this.

Best thanks for the Celtica.[b] I shall take a few hours to look up further details in the Chetham LIBRARY, where I shall probably find something.

*Ogygia*[651] is a horribly uncritical thing; here and there there are notes of some value, since the fellow had at his disposal old writings now lost, but in order to discover this you would have to plough through Irish *Codices* for at least 3 years. Dr Ch. O'Conor's *Scriptores* are ±[c] good sources, but mainly later ones; but he also published the *Annals of Ulster* with a Latin translation and, ditto, the first volume of the *Annals of the 4 Masters*, and I don't know whether this is included there. But the *Annals of the 4 Masters*, the main work, was edited and translated by Dr O'Donovan in 1856, and I have it here; I went through the first volume yesterday.[652]

Ware (Sir Jam. Ware, I think judge or something of the sort under Charles I) is by far the best of the older ones; he also had available to him, in translation, old writings now lost; he wrote in Latin (Waraeus), I have him in English and Latin.

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[a] the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party - [b] See this volume, pp. 515-16 - [c] more or less

The continuous reading of Irish books, i.e., the parallel English translation, could not be stood without at least a superficial knowledge of the phonetic and inflexional laws of the language. I have discovered here a frightful Irish grammar from Anno 1773,[a] and ploughed through it the day before yesterday, thereby learning *something*, but the man himself had no idea of the real laws of Irish. The only *good* grammar is that by Dr John O'Donovan, mentioned above, the best Irologist of this century. When you go to the Museum[b] you should take it out in order to see what it would cost approximately (O'Donovan has the habit of publishing nothing except fat expensive quarto volumes): O'Donovan's *Irish Grammar*. In addition you might also look at:

*Genealogies, Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrak*, PRINTED FOR THE IRISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY 1844 (presumably by O'Donovan), and

*Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many* (ditto), to find out whether there is anything in them about *social* conditions, and whether these are fat expensive books: if not, and there is something in them, I shall acquire them.

There exists, further, an edition (by O'Donovan) of *Leabhar nag-Ceart* (BOOK OF RIGHTS), and if you could find an opportunity to take a look at it and tell me whether there is any prospect of results in it—NB. *only* for *social* conditions, everything else is of no interest to me—and whether it is an expensive de luxe edition, I would be very much obliged. On the basis of the quotations I have, there is not much in it for my purpose.

But this, I think, fairly well exhausts the relevant *old* literature, insofar as it has been published.

Ogarev was already an editor of *Kolokol* with Herzen, and is quite an ordinary bourgeois and poet. If Bakunin should really receive the money, and not Ogarev, then Ogarev will certainly be fettered to him as a controller.

In the last few days I have often been sitting at the quadrilateral desk in the small bow-window where we sat 24 years ago; I like this place very much; because of its coloured window the weather is always fine there.[480] Old Jones the librarian is still around, but he is very old and does nothing more; I haven't yet seen him there again.

Best greetings.

Your

F. E.

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[a] Ch. Vallancey, *A Grammar of the Iberno-Celtic, or Irish Language*. - [b] the British Museum Library

The letter from Wilhelm[648] (which is returned, enclosed, together with the Brunswick one) is really the silliest thing I have ever read. What a dumb ox! Now I am wondering what reply he will give me. At the end I advised him[653] to consider whether it were not fitting to first study something if you want to teach it.

In which PARLIAMENTARY PAPER can one see how much money is thrown away annually on the COMMISSIONERS FOR THE PUBLICATION OF THE ANCIENT LAWS AND INSTITUTES OF IRELAND[636]? This is a simply colossal job (in miniature). It would also be important to know how much of this money is allocated 1. as remuneration for the inactive commissioners, 2. as salaries for the actually-working UNDERSTRAPPERS, printing costs, etc. This must be given in some PARLIAMENTARY PAPER. The fellows have been drawing emoluments *since 1852*, and until now *2 volumes* have been published! 3 LORDS, 3 judges, 3 priests, 1 general, and *1* professional Irologist, now long dead.[481]

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## 335

## MARX TO ENGELS[180]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 MAY 1870[654]

Dear FRED,

Enclosed—a very well-behaved screed from Wilhelm[655]!

The old fool is beginning to take fright. In my last letter,[649] I told him that Borkheim was very sick; the Dr had forbidden him to do literary work for a long time even *after* his recovery; the continuation of Bakunin's twaddle,[629] which should never have been started, must now be stopped, etc.!

And what does the brute do? In the issue of *Volksstaat* that arrived today he published a personally defamatory article against Borkheim, written by the vagabond Nechayev.[656] I am really afraid this will excite Borkheim in a dangerous manner. Borkheim wrote to me the day before yesterday; he wanted to see me. I could not go because of my very foul cold and cough. But my wife was there yesterday. He is still very weak, and all

excitement has specifically been prohibited by the Dr! The arrival of *Volksstaat* today will have caused an awful scene!

I wrote immediately to Wilhelm, the silly blockhead, and fittingly hauled him over the coals. At the same time, I mentioned that his effusions about you were 'too childish' to be answered, but he could rely upon it that his (Wilhelm's) 'private views about Hegel or ANYTHING ELSE' were a matter of indifference to you,[a] ditto the circumstance 'which' and 'what assortment of studies' he (Wilhelm) 'rather despises'. The fellow's claim that he has led 'for 22 years a restless life, with no time for any leisure' is delicious. We know he spent ABOUT 15 years of the 22 in idleness.

I am sending you the *Echo*, which you must preserve, because of the disavowal of the *FRENCH BRANCH*,[b] also published in the *Marseillaise*, *Internationale* (Brussels), and our other organs. Circumstances were finally so favourable that we had an opportunity to give an official kick to the rabble.

*Mayence! soit!*[c]

It is *un peu indiscret*[d] for Bracke to have had extracts from your private letter to him[e] published in *Volksstaat*. But the intention is good, and I even believe this operation was politically correct. They obviously wished thereby to take a kick at Schweitzer.

There has already been a lot in *The Irishman* about the scurvy IRISH LAWS COMMISSION.[636] I shall try to find out the necessary about it.

If my condition *doesn't quickly* change so that it no longer disturbs my work, I might come for 8-14 days to Manchester.[639] If nothing else helps, perhaps a change of air will.

Your
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 509-10. - [b] K. Marx, *Draft Resolution of the General Council on the 'French Federal Section in London'*. - [c] Mainz! for all I care! - [d] a little indiscreet - [e] See this volume, pp. 498-99.

## 336

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 17 May 1870

Dear Moor,

Liebknecht will hardly send you my letter, since it is just the opposite of what Wilhelm says it is. I took special care not to use any insulting expression, but the whole letter naturally centres on the bitter FACT that Wilhelm writes under *my* signature on subjects about which he knows nothing (as now admitted). And this must of course 'insult him'.

Even now it is incomprehensible how he could publish Nechayev's filthy letter,[656] which consists of a series of curses, and nothing else but the very stupidest Russian Herzenite platitudes. Something like this can only be explained by his enormous indolence, which makes him struggle as hard as he can to fill up his paper[a] without working himself.

To bring your 'condition' to an end, the best thing for you would be to come in the course of this week, and with Tussy. A change of air has always been good for you, and we shall see to it that you get better exercise here than there. Then, if things are bad, you can also consult Gumpert. But bring Tussy with you. Lizzie has already baked CURRANT BREAD against her arrival, and the whole house has been *in jubilo* since I announced I would ask you to bring her with you. If you can come tomorrow, *tant mieux*[b]; just telegraph, no more notice is needed to have you rooms ready. Otherwise on Thursday.[c] It will do both of us good to march through the fields, and to laugh about the assorted humbuggery that has been abroad since I was last in London.[657] Lizzie has promised to go to bed unhesitatingly with Tussy at 11 o'clock every night—SUNDAYS ALWAYS EXCEPTED—so that this point will make no trouble either. And, finally, I feel that my 1857 Rüdesheimer is now just at the stage when it should be drunk, and for this I need your help.

Thus, either a telegram tomorrow and '*han selv*'[d]—not with

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[a] *Der Volksstaat* - [b] all the better - [c] 19 May - [d] himself

22,000 men as '*han selv*' said, but still with Tussy—or then the day after tomorrow.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

Bracke queried me about publication of the letter,[a] and set a term for my prohibition, which I allowed to pass, since I attached no importance to it.

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## 337

## MARX TO ENGELS[446]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 May 1870

DEAR FRED,

On Monday[b] we shall be travelling to join you for 14 days, not longer, since Tussy is interrupting all her lessons. It's no go this week, since SWEET Jennychen has holidays until Monday, and we should not leave her alone for this period.

The enclosed muck from Heinzen discloses at the tail-end—the false story about my relationship with Lassalle—who is prompting Heineke, the doughty bondsman.[658] It is OLD Hatzfeldt, probably operating through Weber junior, who deliberates in New York. Incidentally, Heineke is making a grievous mistake if he expects me to honour him with a word of rebuttal. He has been working to this end for years—to no avail!

Our French MEMBERS are demonstrating *ad oculos*[c] the French Government the difference between a political secret society and a genuine workers' association. No sooner had the government jailed all the members of the Paris, Lyons, Rouen, Marseilles etc., COMMITTEES[642] (some of them fled to Switzerland and Belgium) than committees *twice as numerous* announced themselves in the newspapers as their successors with the most daring and defiant

[a] See this volume, pp. 498-99, 520. - [b] 23 May - [c] to the eyes of

declarations (and, as an added touch, with their *private addresses* as well). The French Government has finally done what we so long wanted it to do: transform the political question—EMPIRE or Republic—into a question *de vie ou de mort*[a] for the working class!

Altogether, the plebiscite is dealing the final blow to the EMPIRE! Because so many voted 'yes' for the *empire avec la phrase constitutionelle*,[b] Boustrapa[320] believes he can now unceremoniously restore the *empire sans phrase, c'est à dire le régime du Décembre*.[c] In Paris—according to all private information—*la société du 10 Décembre*[641] has been fully restored and is fully active.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

The transfer of the congress to Mainz—UNANIMOUSLY VOTED yesterday—will give Bakunin a fit.

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## 338

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 19 May 1870

Dear Moor,

So Monday.[d] Had you come yesterday you could just as well have brought Jennychen with you; she could have slept with Tussy for the few days until Sunday, and she ought to see Manchester once before we leave here.

Bonaparte really is an incorrigible jackass. The blockhead has no conception of any sort of historic movement; all history is a JUMBLE of unconnected chance events, in which the little dodges of the old trickster play the decisive role—and what dodges! Always the same old recipe for every EMERGENCY. That he is once again organising his December 10 gang is [...][e]

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[a] of life or death - [b] Empire with the constitutional phrase - [c] Empire without phrase, that's to say the December regime - [d] 23 May - [e] The manuscript is damaged here.

Old Heinzen is really entertaining. For twenty years and even longer the same old tune, but literally, it's really moving. You only need to say: Communist, and up jumps Heinzen, like a frog in strychnine-tetanus leaps when you touch the table on which it is lying. Old Hatzfeldt's hand is unmistakable here, and the thing was certainly made in America,[658] since nobody in Germany knows Heinzen's tune, the one you must whistle to make OLD Heinzen dance. The myths about Lassalle's attempted revolution, which we caused to fail in Cologne, are just too stupid.

The behaviour of the French workers is grand. The people are now active again and are in their element; there they are masters.

Best greetings.[a]

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## 339

## MARX TO HIS DAUGHTER JENNY

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 31 May 1870

My dear child,

We were beginning to fret somewhat at the obstinate London taciturnity, but your letter[659] has again cleared up the horizon. I think not that we shall stay longer than to the beginning of next week.

My cold is not yet quite gone, but the general state of health has [been] wonderfully improved consequent upon the change of air. I see Gumpert almost daily and his advice is the more valuable the less he gets paid for it.

Here things are going on pretty much in the old track. Fred is quite jolly since he has got rid of '*den verfluchten*[b] Commerce'. His book on Ireland[c]—which by the by costs him a little more time than he had at first supposed—will be highly interesting. The

[a] The signature is missing, the manuscript is damaged. - [b] damned - [c] F. Engels, *The History of Ireland*

illustrious Doppelju[a] who is so much up in the most recent Irish history and plays so prominent a part in it, will there find his archeological material ready cut.

Lange's book[b] differs from an 'Irish stew' in that particular point that it is all sauce and no substance. This muddled meddler evidently intends to fish out some compliments from me in return for *his* 'sweets', but he is woefully mistaken. How much he has understood of the *Capital* is clearly shown by his discovery that my theory of 'value' has nothing whatever to do with the developments on the *Arbeitstag*[c] etc.

Our friend Gumpert settles more and more down into a liberal, town-talk speaking, commonplace sort of fellow. What with his self-produced and with his 'inherited' family, this is hardly to be wondered at. It is too much of a good thing.

Tussy looks very blooming and is quite merry. She has happily found the live stock at Mornington Palace[660] increased by a new supply of kittens and so forth. She crossexamined Fred of course as to the 'threatening letters'; he considered it dangerous to allude to such a thing in letters conveyed by post and possibly falling under the eye of some Stieber. The true Stieber, who, I see, is eagerly busying himself at Paris to hatch a new complot, in which the 'Intern. W. Ass.' is to play the principal part and where I, as his old protégé, and '*wirklicher geheimer Oberhauptchef*'[d] must of course put[e] in my appearance.

While I write these lines, damned Fred is bothering me by continual 'fragmentary' communications from the old Norse Sagas. Apropos of Norse Sagas, has Möhmchen[f] not assisted at K. Blind's poetical lecture Sunday last?

Little Dakyns came over Saturday evening and stayed here on Sunday. This his visit was paid to Tussy and myself. This brave gnome was horselaughing all the time over. His costume was faster than ever before—*papierne Vatermörder ohne Kravatte*,[g] a dirty white hat instead of the Scotch cap, and *eine Sorte weisser Schuhe wie man sie* at the seaside *trägt*.[h] At our Sunday walk—Schorlemmer and Moore belonging of course to the party—his success with the general public was more than a *succès d'estime*. He created quite a sensation.

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[a] The reference is to Jenny Marx's pseudonym: J. Williams. - [b] F. A. Lange, *Die Arbeiterfrage. Ihre Bedeutung für Gegenwart und Zukunft* (see also this volume, pp. 527-28). - [c] working day - [d] 'real secret leader' - [e] In the original: set - [f] Marx' wife, Jenny - [g] a paper stand-up collar without a tie - [h] a kind of white shoes such as one wears at the seaside

And now, illustrious Doppelju, give my best compliments to Möhmchen and Lehnchen.[a] I miss here very much the *Marseillaise* and all news from Paris. At the Schiller Club[76] they keep *Le Temps*, about the dullest of all the French papers. Also its editor-in-chief is one Nefftzer, an Alsacian.

*Addio*, illustrious one.

Old Nick

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## 340

## MARX TO VICTOR LE LUBEZ[661]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 14 June 1870
86 Mornington Street, Stockport Road

[*Draft*]

Sir,

Yours dd. 11 June has been sent me from London. I want now to be informed by you who is the informer that gave you the *absurd* information that I am the London Correspondent of the *Volksstaat* and the author of an Article on your person. Allow me to observe that my time is spent on subjects of a more general interest.

I am
Sir

Yours etc.
K. M.

Mr Le Lubez.

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[a] Helene Demuth

## 341

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[29]

### IN HANOVER

London, 27 June 1870

Dear King Wenceslaus,[a]

I returned here this week after a stay of one month in Manchester, and found your letter waiting.[662]

In fact I can give you no reply as to the date of my departure, and not even to the question—which you have not asked—namely, *whether I shall travel at all.*

Last year I anticipated that, after the Easter Fair, I would have a second edition of my book,[b] and CONSEQUENTLY the *takings* from the first edition. You will see, however, from the enclosed letter from Meissner,[c] which arrived today, that all this is still a long way off.[663] (Be so kind as to send me the letter back.)

Messieurs the German professors have recently found themselves obliged to take note of me now and then, even if in a very silly way; for example, A. Wagner in a pamphlet on landed property, and Held (Bonn) in a pamphlet about the rural loan banks in the Rhine Province.[d]

Mr Lange (On *the workers' question*, etc., 2nd edition)[e] pays me great compliments, but with the object of increasing his own importance. Mr Lange, you see, has made a great discovery. All history may be subsumed in one single great natural law. This natural law is the *phrase* (—the Darwinian expression becomes, in this application, just a phrase—) 'STRUGGLE FOR LIFE', and the content of this phrase is the Malthusian law of population, or RATHER over-population. Thus, instead of analysing this 'STRUGGLE FOR LIFE' as it manifests itself historically in various specific forms of society, all that need be done is to transpose every given struggle into the phrase 'STRUGGLE FOR LIFE', and then this phrase into the Malthusian 'population fantasy'. It must be admitted that this is a very rewarding method—for stilted, mock-scientific, highfaluting ignorance and intellectual laziness.

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[a] Kugelmann's nickname - [b] the first volume of *Capital* - [c] See this volume, pp. 529-30. - [d] A. Wagner, *Die Abschaffung des privaten Grundeigenthums*; A. Held, *Die ländlichen Darlehenskassenvereine in der Rheinprovinz und ihre Beziehungen zur Arbeiterfrage.* - [e] F. A. Lange, *Die Arbeiterfrage. Ihre Bedeutung für Gegenwart und Zukunft.*

And what this Lange has to say about the Hegelian method and my application of the same is simply childish. First, he understands *rien*[a] about Hegel's method and, therefore, second, still less about my critical manner of applying it. In one respect he reminds me of Moses Mendelssohn. That prototype of a windbag once wrote to Lessing asking how he could possibly take 'that dead dog Spinoza'[664] *au sérieux*[b]! In the same way, Mr Lange expresses surprise that Engels, I, etc., take *au sérieux* the dead dog Hegel, after Büchner, Lange, Dr Dühring, Fechner, etc., had long agreed that they—POOR DEAR—had long since buried him. Lange is naïve enough to say that I 'move with rare freedom' in empirical matter. He has not the slightest idea that this 'free movement in matter' is nothing but a paraphrase for the *method* of dealing with matter—that is, the *dialectical method.*

My best thanks to Madame la comtesse[c] for her kind lines. This really does one good at a time 'when more and more of the better ones are disappearing'. But, *sérieusement parlant,*[d] I am always pleased when a few lines from your dear wife remind me of the happy times I spent in your circle.

Regarding Meissner's pressure for the second volume,[41] I was not only held up by illness throughout the winter. I found it necessary to mug up on my Russian, because, in dealing with the land question, it has become essential to study Russian landowning relationships from primary sources. In addition, in connection with the Irish land question, the English Government has published a series of BLUE BOOKS (soon concluding) about the land relations IN ALL COUNTRIES. Finally—*entre nous*—I would like the second edition of Vol. I first. It would simply be disturbing if this came in the middle of the ULTIMATE finalisation of Vol. II.

BEST COMPLIMENTS ON JENNY'S PART AND MY OWN TO ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE Kugelmann FAMILY.

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 17, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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[a] nothing - [b] seriously - [c] Gertrud Kugelmann - [d] speaking seriously

# 342

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 July 1870

DEAR FRED,

You must excuse the interruption in our correspondence since my return to London.[639] THERE WAS SO MUCH INTERNATIONAL AND OTHER BUSINESS PRESSING UPON ME.

Dupont, whose one child (BABY) is, for the time being, staying with his brother-in-law, the second with Serraillier, the third with him[a]—all small girls—has in the meantime received two OFFERS as sort of MANAGER or chief OVERLOOKER (in wind-music-instrument factories), one in Paris, the other in Manchester. I advised against No. I, since there he would not only soon be arrested, but also become completely absorbed IN QUARRELS with the various cliques. I strongly advised, on the other hand, No. II, despite his aversion to it. He has, therefore, accepted the offer of J. Higham, 131 Strangeways, Manchester (BRASS MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS).

The difficulty is that he will have to take one child, No. II, with him immediately, and will have the two others follow him in a few weeks, so he needs a little house in Manchester, and some sort of reliable female person to look after the children and for DOMESTIC MANAGEMENT. His income for a start will be £3 WEEKLY. Could LIZZY do something directly or indirectly on this matter?

Dupont is politically a character, but *privatim* enormously weak. *D'abord*[b] he can stand very little liquor without getting very EXCITED. SECONDLY he is easily dominated and exploited by his company.

He will perhaps go to Manchester in the course of this week. In any case, I shall write in advance about his day of arrival.

From the enclosed letter from Meissner[663] you will see how things are there. I had a pressing letter from Kugelmann, who will be leaving for Karlsbad[c] on 12 August, and is waiting for my declaration before renting accommodation, to which I replied with Meissner's letter. I reminded him that Meissner had spoken in his presence of certain prospects for a second edition,[d] and payment for the Easter Fair; and I added that, UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, I

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[a] See this volume, p. 487. - [b] Firstly - [c] Karlovy Vary - [d] of the first volume of *Capital*; see also the previous letter.

could not say either when I would go to Karlsbad, or whether I would go at all. HENCE his enclosed letter. I have not yet replied, since we are still awaiting an answer from Dublin concerning O'Donovan Rossa's photograph.

Lafargue had notified me that a young Russian, Lopatin, would bring a letter of introduction from him. Lopatin called on Saturday[a]; I invited him for Sunday (he was with us from 10 O'CLOCK until 12 at night),[665] and he returned on Monday to Brighton, where he is living.

He is still very young, was two years in the lock-up, after this 8 months fortress confinement in the Caucasus, from which he escaped. He is the son of an impoverished nobleman, and had to earn his living at the University of St Petersburg by private tutoring. Today is living very meagrely from translations for Russia. Lives in Brighton, since there he can bathe in the sea 2-3 times a day, gratis, at a certain distance from the official bathing beach.

A very wide-awake *critical* brain, cheerful character, stoical, like a Russian peasant who simply accepts what he gets. Weak point: *Poland.* Here he talks just like an Englishman—SAY AN ENGLISH CHARTIST OF THE OLD SCHOOL—does about Ireland.

He told me the whole story about Нечаевъ[b] (23 years) is an abominable lie. Нечаевъ has *never* been in a Russian prison; the Russian Government never undertook an *assassinat* against him, etc.

The story is this. Нечаевъ (one of Bakunin's few agents in Russia) belonged to a secret society. Another young man, X,[c] rich and enthusiastic, supported this society with money via Нечаевъ. ONE FINE MORNING X tells Нечаевъ that he will not give another kopeck, since he does not know what is being done with the money. Whereupon, Mr Нечаевъ suggested to his secret society (perhaps because he could not account for the money) that X be murdered, since he might change his views *at a future date*, and could become a traitor. *He really did murder him.* He is thus sought by the government simply *as a murderer vulgaris.*

In Geneva, Lopatin *d'abord* took Нечаевъ personally to task (about his lies), and he excused himself with the sensational political usefulness for the so-called cause. Lopatin then told the story to Bakunin, who told him that as a '*bon vieillard*'[d] he had believed it all. Bakunin then challenged Lopatin to repeat the story in the presence of Нечаевъ. Lopatin immediately went with Bakunin to Нечаевъ where the scene was repeated. Нечаевъ

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[a] 2 July - [b] S. G. Nechayev - [c] Ivan Ivanov - [d] 'good old man'

remained silent. All the time Lopatin was in Geneva, Нечаевъ remained very unobtrusive, no longer saying a word. Scarcely had Lopatin left for Paris, and the whole buffoonery started again. Shortly after this, Lopatin received an insulting letter from Bakunin about the affair. He replied in even more insulting terms. Result: Bakunin wrote a *Pater-peccavi*[a] letter (in Lopatin's possession *here*), but—*il est un bon vieillard crédule*[b]! (*En passant*:[c] Lopatin says that whole sentences written by Borkheim are completely unintelligible and make complete nonsense in Russian, not only grammatically wrong but 'nothing at all'! And that fool Borkheim has, in the meantime, as he told me before my meeting with Lopatin, sent his bungling work through our friend Eichhoff in Berlin to a German there—who is used by the Berlin police as a Russian interpreter—in order to obtain from him a certificate that *he* can write Russian. The talent of our Gaudissart for unconscious comedy is really UNRIVALLED!)

Чернышевскій,[d] I learned from Lopatin, was sentenced in 1864 to 8 years *travaux forcés*[e] in the Siberian mines; so he still has two years to slave. The first court was decent enough to declare that there was absolutely *nothing* against him, and that the alleged intriguing, plotting secret letters were obvious FORGERIES (which they were). But the *Senate*, on the Tsar's orders, most graciously reversed this verdict, and sent off to Siberia this cunning man who, as the judgement said 'was so clever that he cast his writing in a legally unexceptionable form, but nevertheless publicly dispensed poison therein'. *Voilà la justice russe.*[f]

Flerovsky is in a better situation. He is only in administrative exile in a miserable little hole between Moscow and Petersburg!

You suspected rightly that *Flerovsky* is a *pseudonym*. But Lopatin says that the name, although not originally Russian, occurs quite frequently amongst Russian clerics (namely MONKS, who think it is the Russian translation of Fleury, and who are just as keen on sweet-scented names as are the German Jews). Lopatin was originally a naturalist by professional training. He has also been concerned in commercial business, and it would be a good thing if one could find something for him in this line.[g] I shall speak about it with Borkheim and Pohl. About Paris, etc., very soon.

Your
Moor

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[a] Father, I have sinned - [b] he is a credulous good old man - [c] by the way - [d] N. G. Chernyshevsky - [e] forced labour - [f] Such is Russian justice. - [g] See this volume, p. 535.

Apropos. Jennychen would like to know whether she should not rather name you as the author of the NOTE.[a]

And—she is very obstinate—she will not allow me to change a few words in the manuscript without your special permission!

MY BEST COMPLIMENTS TO MRS LIZZY.

[Postscript by Marx's daughter Jenny]

5 July 1870

DEAR Engels,

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR LETTER AND THE MOST INTERESTING NOTES. I ONLY HOPE MR Rissé WOULD INTERLARD THEM WITH THE Judenkirschen[b] OF WHICH HE SEEMS TO HAVE A PLENTIFUL STOCK ON HAND. FOR O'Donovan Rossa'S PORTRAIT I HAVE WRITTEN TO Pigott. IN CASE A GOOD PHOTOGRAPH IS NOT TO BE HAD, OF COURSE, I CAN AS YOU SAY, SEND Kugelmann THE PRINT WHICH APPEARED IN *THE IRISHMAN*.

WITH MANY THANKS, I REMAIN

AFFECTIONATELY YOURS
Jenny

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## 343

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 July 1870

Dear Moor,

Your instructions regarding Dupont[c] are so uncertain that I can do absolutely nothing. I should rent him a COTTAGE—but furnished or unfurnished? You say nothing on this point, but this is the main thing. In addition, a reliable housemaid is damned difficult to drum up in a hurry and, third, Lizzie cannot leave the house because of her knee which, as a result of her unrest and impatience, is not getting better as quickly as it should.

Under the circumstances, Dupont's plan to come here with one child right away appears to me completely impracticable. I should

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[a] F. Engels, *Notes for the Preface to a Collection of Irish Songs*. - [b] Jewish wit - [c] See this volume, p. 529.

think that his brother-in-law or Serraillier would be able to accommodate the 3rd child, too, for 8-14 days; in this case it would be better for him to come here *alone* right away, then I could immediately go round *with him* and get a house and, in the meantime, we could make enquiries about a woman. Since he will have to bring the children here, or have them brought by somebody, it makes no difference if there are 2 or 3 of them.

If this is agreed, write to me immediately, so that I can get him quarters near his workshop, LODGINGS for a week with board if he wants it—I assume he will only want a BEDROOM without the expense of a SITTING ROOM?—and when he will be coming. On this I expect an immediate reply, so I know what I have to do. But, as I said, to bring the child with him right away would be absolute nonsense; it *would cost him much more money*, and would be in his way everywhere during the first few days. Where should a woman spring from all of a sudden, if he doesn't simply take the first one to offer?

*Quoad*[a] Karlsbad,[b] I am, as I said, in favour of you going there this summer. I can make £40 available to you for the journey. The cure is absolutely essential for you, even if you cannot completely avoid Kugelmann and his fervent fire thereby. C. Roesgen was also there, I saw him yesterday; he said it is not expensive there, particularly since 'there is no opportunity to spend money' during the cure; the cure did a lot of good to his liver (which is in a fine state compared to yours), and he looks rather thinner but much healthier. So make up your MIND; apart from Kugelmann you will certainly find other interesting liver patients there, and on your way back you will travel via Hamburg and put pressure on Meissner. So take a quick decision and leap with eyes closed into the hot springs of Karlsbad, and the equally warm admiration of Kugelmann. NB. Because of possible passport difficulties on the Austrian frontier, it might be a good thing if you were to travel in the company of your personal physician.

Lopatin's stories about the other русскія дѣла[c] are very interesting and it is very useful to know them. That Нечаевъ[d] should turn out to be just a common blackguard is quite desirable.

Jennychen does not need to name me as the author of the note[e] since Kugelmann knows my handwriting quite well; but she can deal with it as she will, and as far as alterations are concerned, do

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[a] Regarding - [b] Karlovy Vary - [c] Russian affairs - [d] S. G. Nechayev - [e] F. Engels, *Notes for the Preface to a Collection of Irish Songs*.

what you like with it. There will probably be no refuge from the Jewish wit to which she refers.

Apropos Dupont. Lizzie has her eyes on somebody quite suitable for him if only we can get hold of her, but I fear we shall have no information on this before Sunday or Monday. It is her cousin Anna Kane, a person who is not young, not pretty, but honest to the backbone. Tussy knows her; but we shall scarcely discover before Friday where she is at the moment, and will probably not be able to see her before the end of this week or the beginning of next.

I found and looked through the old Welsh laws[a] in the official RECORD COMMISSION edition. There are quite jolly things in it. If a man discovers, on his nuptial night, that his wife is not a virgin, but lies with her until the morning, then nothing of hers falls to him, sed si, postquam illam vitiatam deprehenderit, surrexerit ad pronubos, pene erecto, et testaretur eis se illam vitiatam invenisse, et non concubuerit cum illa ad crastinum usque; illa nihil ab eo in crastinum habebit. Si mammae et crines et menses apparuerint, tunc lex pronuntiat neminem posse certe scire num virgo sit necne[b] and thus she must produce 7 compurgators, including her parents and brothers and sisters. If she will not or cannot do this LET HER SHIFT BE CUT OFF AS HIGH AS HER HIP, AND LET A YEARLING STEER BE PUT IN HER HAND, HAVING HIS TAIL GREASED WITH TALLOW, AND IF SHE CAN HOLD HIM BY HIS TAIL, LET HER TAKE HIM IN LIEU OF HER SHARE OF THE *argyvreu* (PARAPHERNALIA), AND IF SHE CANNOT HOLD HIM, LET HER BE WITHOUT ANYTHING.—

Now we have 'TO BE LET' in the window. Haven't you found anything yet?

What is the catalogue of the London LIBRARY like? This is very important for me, so that I know what I can leave unread here.

Best greetings to you all.

Your
F. E.

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[a] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, volumes I-II. - [b] but if, as soon as he discovers she is damaged, he goes to the marriage arrangers with erect penis, and it is testified by them that he found her damaged and did not lie with her until the morning, she will on the next day receive nothing from him. If breasts, hair and menstruation are present, the law proclaims that nobody can know with certainty whether she is a virgin.

## 344

## MARX TO HERMANN LOPATIN[666]

IN BRIGHTON

[London, 6 July 1870]

The occupation of a translator is abominable; commerce will give you a great deal. A greater chance to use your free time for the study and propaganda...

First published in *Istoriya SSSR*, No. 6, Moscow, 1959

Printed according to the letter of Hermann Lopatin to Pyotr Lavrov of 6 July 1870

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## 345

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 July 1870

Dear Moor,

I had to write to you yesterday about Dupont[a] in all haste, and without being able to consider the case properly with Lizzie; I had been busy in town the whole day, and in the evening there was a BALLOT at the club, so I could only discuss the business properly with Lizzie later; and it thus turned out that there is no reason to burden either Serraillier or Dupont's brother-in-law with the girl, for it will be hard enough for them to look after the other children; the child can sleep perfectly well with Mary Ellen[b] and will not inconvenience us in any way. Dupont can also stay with me for the first few days, until we have got him fixed up to some extent, and it will be much better if I do this together with him, rather than alone, without having him along. Lizzie says she has bedding enough, without that used by Mary Ellen during her scarlet fever, which I naturally would not like to have used yet.

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[a] See this volume, p. 532. - [b] Mary Ellen Burns

When I wrote to you yesterday morning I had no way of knowing this yet, but so that you might receive today other news in addition to yesterday's letter, I telegraphed you this morning:

Dupont's LITTLE GIRL WELCOME TO STAY WITH US, DIRECT THEM BOTH TO MY HOME, ADVISE TIME OF ARRIVAL.

I hope you received this telegram *before* further consultations with Dupont. You must persuade him that he should not hesitate to accept my offer (if it is necessary, i.e., the persuasion), he is making things easier not only for himself but for *me* too, by coming to me right away with the little one. So request him in my name to do as I suggest, and just let me know when he will be arriving so I can meet him at the station.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

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## 346

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 July 1870
Damn heat!

DEAR FRED,

After receipt of your telegram I informed Dupont of the necessary. He is leaving on Monday,[a] 11 o'clock, from Euston STATION.

I would recommend you to let the child sleep with him for the short time he'll be there. Since the sickness and death of the mother there has been a certain neglect and, owing to school attendance, the possibility of creepy-crawlies on her head. At least it appears so to the female section here.

Tomorrow I'll send you the FRENCH PAPERS with the trial proceed-

[a] 11 July

ings.[667] I must have them *back as soon as possible.* Little Jew Frankel[a] has won laurels. Both with the *accusés*[b] and in the newspapers etc., you will note the tendency to claim for themselves (Paris) the invention of the *Internationale.*

I'll go and see Beesly about the London catalogue tomorrow.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

(*Verte*)[c]

Jenny has still had no reply from Ireland, apart from the enclosed letter from Pigott.[d] The fellow writes as if he were replying to an ADVERTISEMENT. Jennychen is TOO *gentille* for him. *Il lui faut*[e] THE FEROCIOUS IRISH GIRL. If FOREIGNERS here are, in general, prejudiced against the Irish, aren't narrow-minded nationalists like Pigott responsible?

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## 347

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG[668]

IN LONDON

[London,] 14 July 1870

* Dear Jung,

Enclosed the Programme. The questions are *arranged* in such an order as will *facilitate the business* of next Congress. You'll understand my meaning.

Yours truly*

K. M.

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[a] Leo Frankel - [b] accused - [c] Turn over - [d] See this volume, p. 562. - [e] He needs

(1) On the necessity of abolishing the public debt. Discussion on the right of indemnity to be accorded.

(2) The relations between political action and the social movement of the working class.

(3) Practical measures for converting landed property into public property (*see the note*).

(4) On the conversion of currency banks into national banks.

(5) Conditions of cooperative production on a national scale.

(6) On the necessity for the working class to keep *general statistics of labour* in accordance with the resolutions of the Geneva Congress of 1866.

(7) Reconsideration by the congress of the question of measures to abolish war.

*Note to point (3):* The *General Council of Belgium* has proposed this question:

'Practical measures to set up *agricultural sections* within the *International* and to achieve solidarity between the proletarians in agriculture and the proletarians in other industries.'

The *General Council of the International Association* believes that this question is inherent in point (3).

* The following must *not be published* but only communicated by letter to the different sections.*

*Confidential notice to the different sections.*

(1) The General Council requests that the different sections give their delegates formal instructions on the opportunity of changing the seat of the General Council for the year 1870-71.

(2) In the event that the change were to be decided upon, the General Council would propose Brussels as the seat of the General Council for the same year.

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# APPENDICES

1

## FREDERICK ENGELS[669]

### CONFESSION

[London, early April 1868]

| | |
|---|---|
| Your favourite virtue | |
| in man quality | jollity |
| in man | to mind his own business |
| in woman | not to mislay things |
| Chief characteristic | knowing everything by halves |
| Idea of happiness | Château Margaux 1848 |
| " misery | to go to a dentist |
| The vice you excuse | excess of any sort |
| " detest | Cant |
| Your aversion | affected stuck up woman |
| The characters you most dislike | Spurgeon |
| Favourite occupation | chaffing and being chaffed |
| — Hero | none |
| — Heroine | too many to name one |
| — Poet | Reineke de Vos,[670] Shakespeare, Ariosto, etc. |
| — Prose writer | Goethe, Lessing, Dr Samelson |
| — Flower | Blue Bell |
| — Colour | any one not Aniline |
| — Dish | Cold: Salad, hot: Irish Stew |
| — Maxim | not to have any |
| — Motto | take it aisy |

F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 32, Moscow, 1964

Reproduced from the original

## 2

## ARNOLD RUGE TO STEINTHAL[671]

### IN MANCHESTER

Brighton, 25 January 1869
7 Park Crescent

Dear Mr Steinthal,

At the same time as this letter, I am sending you Marx on capital by book-post.

Many thanks! This book has given me constant food for thought, though I had to work on all sorts of other things at the same time.

It is an *epoch-making work* and throws a shining and often scorching light on the development of the social periods, with the declines, the birth-pains, and the frightful days of agony.

The proofs of *surplus value* through unpaid labour, of the expropriation of the workers *who* had worked *for themselves*, and of the coming *expropriation of the expropriators*, are classical.

On the latter, p. 745[a]: 'The capitalist mode of production and appropriation, hence *capitalist* property, is the first negation of *individual private property, as founded on the labour of the proprietor.* The *negation of this negation* therefore again gives the producer individual property, but based on the acquisitions of the capitalist era: i.e., *on the co-operation of free labourers and their possession in common of the land and of the means of production produced by labour itself.*'

Marx is a man of broad erudition and with a brilliant dialectical talent. His book is above the level of many people and newspaper writers; but it will quite certainly make its way, and exercise a powerful influence, despite its broad scope; yes, precisely because of this.

With regard to religion, the author states very accurately: 608: 'As, in religion, man is governed by the products of his own brain, so in capitalistic production, he is governed by the products of his own hand.'

And to liberate him, it by no means suffices to shine a light in the owl's eye; in fact, whenever he loses his master, like the Frenchman or the Spaniard, then he himself installs one over himself again.

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[a] The following quotation, slightly modified by Marx, is from *Capital*, Vol. I (1867), pp. 744-45.

But still all the best for 1869! May it stand the test like its predecessor! My best greetings to Mrs Steinthal and Mr Heydemann.

Yours sincerely

Dr A. Ruge

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3

## JENNY MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

London, 15 September 1869[a]

Dear Mr Kugelmann,

I would have replied long since to your friendly lines from Karlsbad,[b] had I not been hoping day by day for more definite news from our dear travellers. Since their first and last letter from Liège, we have completely lost track of them. But I expect they will move in on you this week, probably after a bit of tacking hither and thither,[672] so I am sending for your joint reading today's *Times* and an older number of *The Pall Mall Gazette*. There is a deathly silence in the press here about the Congress,[c] apart from the quite confused twaddly article in *Pall Mall*, which I enclose. Today *The Times* has broken the ice for the first time with a very favourable factual and concise article,[d] which will arouse great interest here, and particularly in France, because of the speech by the American delegate.[e] I believe I can smell out our 'George',[f] in various turns of phrase, expressions and 'Eccariads', if it is possible to ascribe so much tact to him.[673]

A real arsenal of newspapers and letters has accumulated here in the meantime; and I really don't know whether they are worth the trouble and cost of sending overseas; their contents are mostly

[a] The year is in Kugelmann's hand. - [b] Karlovy Vary - [c] The 1869 Basle Congress of the International Working Men's Association. See Note 379. - [d] [J. G. Eccarius,] 'The International Working Men's Congress', *The Times*, No. 26543, 15 September 1869. - [e] Andrew Cameron - [f] Georg Eccarius

now so antiquated. Lessner wrote 3 very pleasant detailed letters about the Congress and Liebknecht 2 wishy-washy ones that would be better left unread.[674] Eccarius conveys the curious fact that an American told him that he had heard from Mr Slack, the correspondent of the *New-York Tribune* in London, that 'Bright had written to all London newspaper offices and requested them to publish *no* reports on our deliberations'. This would provide some explanation for the silence of the press.

But if *The Times* publishes a few more reports, the other bell-wethers will follow, and then the success of the Congress will be assured. In any case, it will have more success than that of the Eisenachers,[373] the only effect of which seems to be to have helped 'our great master Ferdinand'[a] to obtain, in addition to his official '*moniteur*',[b] the *Social-Demokrat*, a semi-official one in the form of Liebknecht's sheet.[c] Even in Basle they tried to push the wretched Schweitzer scandal into the foreground, so that one might have thought that the 'Internationals' had no other mission but to *internationalise* the principles of the 'Man of Iron'[d] without the *strict organisation*.[675]

I shall send some private letters of interest to Hanover immediately, as soon as I hear that our dear 'wanderers' have reached you. Laura, with her husband and their delightful little chap,[e] have been with us here just 4 weeks to the day; now they are beginning to prepare for their return to Paris. Unfortunately, mother and son are not as well as I might wish. The sweet little lad is suffering from the break-through of his first teeth, with all the usual symptoms. His friendly face has grown so narrow and small, and his shining little eyes stare out of his pale face twice as large and rich as usual. He is a cheerful, gentle lad, and we shall sorely miss the little monkey.

Please give my heartiest respects to your dear wife,[f] give Fränzchen[g] a kiss, and accept friendliest greetings from

Yours
Jenny Marx

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[a] Ferdinand Lassalle - [b] organ - [c] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - [d] Ferdinand Lassalle (the reference is to his 'iron' law of wages). - [e] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [f] Gertrud Kugelmann - [g] Franziska Kugelmann

# 4

# JENNY MARX (DAUGHTER) TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

## IN HANOVER

[London,] 30 October 1869

My dear Doctor!!!

Thank you very much for your letter and the copy of the portrait of your dear mother. It is a wonderfully good one—better than the original painting. I was very glad to have it.—It gave me much pleasure to hear that you feel better—may time gradually reconcile you to the great loss you have sustained. Think—

'after life's fitful fever, she sleeps well—nothing can hurt her further'.[a]

Is there no consolation in that thought?

I have written a note to Mrs Menke. I am much obliged to you for the timely remembrancer, though to my credit be it said, that previous to the arrival of your note, I had thought of writing to 'Mariechen'—... but somehow or other—well—the way to hell, they say, is paved with good intentions. Moor also has written her a few lines. He is much better and has almost managed to get rid of the troublesome cough which so much tormented him at Hanover. He sends you his kind regards, and hopes you will excuse his [not] writing to you, as at the present moment he is very busy reading a book (which has just appeared in the Russian language, and the reading of which gives him no small amount of trouble) on the condition of the Russian peasantry,[b] which it appears is exactly the reverse of what the imaginative Carey[c] represents it to be—anything but enviable. 'Happiness doesn't grow in Russia.' This book has just appeared in the nick of time, it is very important. Moor should in his second volume[41] make known the facts contained in it. Meanwhile the French translation of the first volume is steadily progressing.[441] In a month the third chapter[676] will be ready for correction, at least so writes Paul (Lafargue) who visited the translator a few days ago.

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[a] Shakespeare, *Macbeth*,* Act III, Scene 2 (paraphrased). - [b] Н. Флеровскій, *Положеніе рабочаго класса въ Россіи*. - [c] H. Ch. Carey, *Principles of Social Science*.

'Dans une pauvre maison, dans une chambre plus pauvre encore, où ne se trouvent que deux chaises, une table, un lit et quelques planches pour des livres,'[a]

Paul writes us, he found Mr Keller (the translator) busy at his work. He is young, intelligent, enthusiastic. Paul is delighted with him, and particularly admires his '*grand pouvoir travailleur et énergie*'[b]—and indeed who could help doing so? For the sake of pursuing his studies (he occupies himself with several sciences, but principally with the social science), this young man lives in a state of comparative misery. His father is a wealthy manufacturer, whose factory he superintended during seven years, but feeling disgusted with his '*métier de gardechiourme*'[c] Mr Keller gave up his position. Paul met two more socialists at Mr Keller's house.

'Le parti socialiste,' il nous écrit, 'se constitue à Paris et commence à tenir le haut du pavé, quoiqu'il n'ait pas de journal, il a les réunions publiques et l'agitation personnelle.'[d]

No doubt the socialist party has risen on the ruins of the Simons, Pelletans, Bancels, Gambettas. The French people have discovered that the emptiest vessels make the greatest noise—have watched those big-mouthed ranters turning tail and won't give them credit for their good intentions, their hopes, 'that they who run away, may live to fight another day'.

In London the event of the week has been a Fenian demonstration, got up for the purpose of praying the government for the release of the Irish prisoners.[452] As Tussy has returned from Ireland[677] a stauncher Irishman than ever, she did not rest until she had persuaded Moor, Mama and me to go with her to Hyde Park, the place appointed for the meeting. This Park, the largest one in London, was one mass of men, women and children, even the trees up to their highest branches had their inhabitants. The number of persons present were by the papers estimated at somewhere about 70 thousand, but as these papers are English, this figure is no doubt too low. There were processionists carrying red, green and white banners, with all sorts of devices, such as 'Keep your powder dry!', 'Disobedience to tyrants is a duty to God'. And hoisted higher than the flags were a profusion of red Jacobin caps, the bearers of which sang the *Marseillaise*—sights and sounds that must have greatly interfered

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[a] In a poor house, in a room still poorer, where there are only two chairs, a table, a bed and a few bookshelves - [b] great working capacity and energy - [c] profession as a warder - [d] The socialist party, he writes, is constituting itself in Paris and beginning to come to the fore; although it has no press organ it holds public meetings and carries on agitation among individuals.

with the enjoyment of the portwine at the clubs.—On the following day, Monday, all the papers made a furious onslaught on those confounded 'foreigners', and cursed the day they had landed in England to demoralize sober John Bull by means of their bloodred flags, noisy choruses and other enormities....

It is tea-time—and I have promised to roast some chestnuts for Tussy, so thank your good stars or rather the chestnuts that this scrawl doesn't run on for ever.—(I am sure you have been thinking I was never going to stop.) With kindest remembrances from all at home.

Believe me dear 'Doctor'

Very faithfully yours
Jenny Marx

You seem surprised at my bestowing upon you your sonorous title. Believe me I do not grudge it to you. In 'our new society' there will be little need for priests of the body; they will go to the wall along with their brethren physicians of the soul—meanwhile I wish you joy—make the most of your dignities—while they last! I enclose Weerth's *photographie.*[a]

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## JENNY MARX (DAUGHTER) TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

London, 27 December 1869

My dear Doctor,

I hope you do not fancy that true to the code of certain forefathers of mine, I am indulging in a spirit of revenge. The only reason why I have so long left unanswered your very kind letter is, that I haven't been able to call one hour my own. Until two o'clock you know I am every day engaged[371]—then, as our poor Helen[b] has been very unwell, my afternoons were often

[a] See this volume, p. 389. - [b] Helene Demuth

spent in housework, besides which I have looked through several hundred newspapers, in order to make extracts from them to Moor of the financial swindling concerns etc.—(By the bye Overend and Gurney have just been acquitted.[227] The bourgeoisie throughout the length and breadth of the land rejoice at the liberation of these 'martyrs', whom they declare to have been more sinned against than sinning. I shouldn't be at all surprised if these thieves in broadcloth were one of these days returned to Parliament to legislate for their countrymen. The partiality of the Judge for the defendants was so glaring, that it struck even the obtuse jury, and on one occasion elicited a protest from them.)—You see I have excuses to offer for my silence. But nevertheless, I will admit, that though you were right in supposing that I do not bow down before a God of vengeance, I am just as little inclined to worship *ein sanftes Lämmerschwänzchen*.[a] To prove to you that I am not in the habit of returning 'good for evil', I have condemned you as a punishment to eat a most indigestible compound—a truly English plum-pudding, for the performance of which feat, remission for all your sins shall be granted you.

All at home send you their best wishes for the New Year, in which I most heartily join. We were *so* sorry to hear of your illness, and trust that by this time you have quite recovered from the effects of it. Moor is in pretty good health at this moment, that is to say, comparatively speaking.—A few days ago Engels paid us a visit of a few hours. He was on his way to Barmen where he intends spending the Christmas days with his mother.[513] He looked particularly well, and very happy at having effected his escape from the counting-house, in which he felt like a fish out of water. He works hard at his book on Ireland.[b] Your questions concerning that book, I am unable to answer, being altogether ignorant as to its contents. I suppose it will be something of a pendant to *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*.[c] It gave us much pleasure to see that you sympathize with us as regards the Irish question. We are all of us downright Fenians. On the day we received the news of Donovan's[d] election we all danced with joy—Tussy was quite wild.[466]

You can imagine what consternation the intelligence of the election of a Fenian produced in England. At first the Press, with the exception of *Reynolds's* and *The National Reformer*, could only

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[a] a sweet little lamb's tail - [b] F. Engels, *The History of Ireland*. - [c] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England. From Personal Observation and Authentic Sources*. - [d] O'Donovan Rossa

shriek in chorus 'A felon convicted has been elected—horror of horrors!' Then having in concert rung the changes on those to them magical words, the hireling crew fell foul of each other—the Tory papers abused Gladstone, declaring this election to be the fruit of his policy—the Whig organs ranted on the subject of ingratitude and lamented the fate of a country in which messages of peace and good will were thus answered, in which treason flaunts itself in the daylight and the praises of murder are sung. The British government at once despatched thousands of soldiers to the Sister Isle. It must be admitted that as the Tories say, Gladstone's measure of Church disestablishment[678] has already borne fruit. Religious fanaticism is dying a natural death, the hostility of Catholics and Protestants is at an end, there is a split in the Orange camp[679] and Orangemen, Ribbonmen[436] and Fenians are uniting against their common enemy the British Government. Consequently the influence of the priests is vanishing, the Irish movement is no longer in their hands, in fact the election of Donovan Rossa was in direct *opposition* to the clerical party. For instance, these gentlemen being opposed to the release of the political prisoners, convoked meetings for the tinkering of some sort of land bill, which meetings were forcibly broken up by the people, who declared that they would come to no terms with the British Government, until the prisoners had been released. As the Government turned a deaf ear to amnesty meetings etc. the people elected Donovan Rossa, the Fenian, in defiance of the British Government and of the Irish professional agitators, lay and clerical, whose insincerity they had at last discovered.

Meanwhile the noblest Irish are pining in British dungeons. It is impossible to describe the sufferings of these men. Donovan Rossa had been at one time for 35 days kept in a dark cell with his hands manacled behind his back, night and day, and was not loosed even to take food—thin porridge—which was left for him on the floor of the cell. Altogether, my dear Doctor, England is at this moment a country of horrors. In the East End of London famine fever has broken out—in the workhouses the paupers are murdered wholesale. The doctors no longer satisfied with the *corpses* of the paupers are making their experiments on the *living*, and yet the time is still fresh in my memory when the English Press expressed the greatest indignation at the Practice of the vivisection of animals in France.

Last week a case happened in Wales, which makes one's hair stand on end. A Welsh farmer had spread the report that his daughter, a girl of 12 years, had lived without food for two years.

Now though this poor Welshman received money for exhibiting his child, it is possible (in Wales the belief in witches etc. still exists) that he is half a lunatic and believed his tale. But that doctors of the first London hospitals should have done so, seems incredible. Be that as it may, they formed a commission and appointed nurses from Guy's Hospital to go to Wales in order to watch this so-called fasting girl during a fortnight. Daily these same physicians issued bulletins to the public as to the girl's state. For *six* days they kept her without food, and on the seventh the miserable child died. On the night before the child's death, Doctor Davies told the father of the girl that there was no danger, and on being examined that gentleman declares, that he did not suggest food because he did not like to '*offend*' the father. How very polite and considerate to be sure!

I will try to procure the whole case for you. It certainly does not give one a high opinion of the medical profession in England. I do believe that if a person were to declare that he can walk over red-hot iron-bars *unhurt* or jump out of a window, doctors would be found to investigate the matter. We shall return to the trials by ordeal one of these days! [680]

With best wishes for the new year

Believe me, very sincerely yours

Jenny Marx

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## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, about 17 January 1870]

Dear Mr Engels,

Seldom can a HAMPER have arrived so *à propos* as that of yesterday. The crate had just been unpacked, and the 50 slim fellows were standing in rank and file in the kitchen when Dr Allen and his PARTNER, a young Scots doctor, arrived to operate on

poor Moor, so that, immediately after the operation, Moor, and his two Aesculapii could refresh themselves with the delicious Braunenberger. The business was very bad this time. For 8 days we had applied all the remedies, compresses, *basilicum* etc., etc., that have so often been of help: but all in vain. The abscess steadily grew, the pain became unbearable, and no opening or discharge could be induced. It had to be lanced, so Moor finally decided to take the unavoidable step of calling in a doctor. Immediately after the very deep incision he felt great relief, and although he was not yet free of pain this morning, he is on the whole much much better, and will, we hope, have recovered in a few days. But now I must go into action against him with a whole register of sins. Since returning from Germany, and particularly since the Hanoverian campaign,[349] he has been unwell, coughed continually, and instead of looking after himself, began to study Russian hammer and tongs, went out seldom, ate infrequently, and only showed the CARBUNCLE under his arm when it was already very swollen and had hardened. Dear Mr Engels, how often in the past years have I wished that you had been here!! Some things would have been different. Now I hope that he will take this latest experience as a warning. Please, dear Mr Engels, don't make *any remarks* to him in your letters about this. He is very irritable at the moment, and would be very cross with me. But it has been a great relief to pour out my heart to you, since I am quite incapable of changing his lifestyle in any way. Perhaps it would be possible to speak to him seriously through Gumpert, when he comes to Manchester once again. He is the only doctor in whom he still has confidence. Dominant in our house at present is a general disdain for all medicine and all doctors; but they are still a necessary evil; you can't get along without them.

What do you say to the second New Year present with which Laura has presented us[a]? I hope that the rapid pace will soon come to an end; otherwise we could sing

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6...
10 LITTLE NIGGER[b] BOYS!

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[a] The reference is to the birth of the Lafargues' daughter (see this volume, p. 552). - [b] See p. XXXVIII of the Preface.— *Ed.*

# 7

# JENNY MARX (DAUGHTER) TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

[London,] 30 January 1870

My dear Doctor,

I write these lines to tell you why Moor has not answered your letters. Since about three weeks he has had carbuncles under his arm, which were so painful that poor Moor was unable to move his arm. Twice the doctor cut them.[a] This operation brought with it almost instantaneous relief. At the present moment I am happy to say, our dear patient is almost well again, though of course he still feels very weak, the necessary effect of the great strains he has suffered. Now that it is over I think it is a good thing the illness came to a crisis as Moor had been tormented by it for months past—you will remember he was anything but well at Hanover and in that state he continued up to the present time—sometimes a little better, sometimes worse.

Your correspondence with Jacoby amused him much.[b] To judge from that venerable gentleman's rambling answer, your letter to him must have hit pretty hard.

I have also to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to myself—the contents of which surprised me not a little and have made me very anxious to hear the final decision of the Philistines of the *Künstler-Verein*.[c] Considering that this *Verein* is composed of the cream of Hanoverian society, the 'cultivation' of the Upper Classes, on the strength of which they consider themselves so much superior to the Working Classes, certainly is something to be mightily proud of! The only pity is that these blockheads have succeeded in annoying you and in robbing you of so much time.

I must ask you and dear Trautchen[d] to forgive me for not having before this informed you of the advent of a little stranger in Lafargue's family. On the second of January Paul announced to us the arrival of a girl in the rue du Cherche-Midi. She is exactly a year older than her brother,[e] the birthdays of the children being on the same day.[f] A few days ago Laura wrote us that she is much stronger.

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[a] See the previous letter. - [b] See this volume, p. 417. - [c] Union of Artists - [d] Gertrud Kugelmann - [e] Charles Étienne Lafargue. There is a mistake in the original: 'older' instead of 'younger'. - [f] 1 January

Her letter was accompanied by a most interesting lot of French journals—the *Marseillaise, Cloche, Réforme, Rappel* and *Pays.* These journals give one a capital idea of the present state of France. The hubbub and excitement prevailing in the capital are incredible. All parties, nay all individuals are at loggerheads. Rochefort is at daggers drawn with his quondam friends and supporters Vermorel, Villemessant etc. etc. whom he openly denounces as *mouchards,*[a] and they again in their organ, the *Figaro,* return tit for tat. As for the Bancels, Gambettas, Pelletans, Favres etc., that tribe of big-mouthed spouters of sonorous phrases have altogether vanished—they are no-where. Experience has taught the people what they have to expect from the bragging '*gauche*'.[b] Not one of them dared to show his face at Victor Noir's[516] funeral or to raise his voice in the Chambers. Rochefort, supported by brave old Raspail, has annihilated them—doomed them to a living death. Whatever Liebknecht may say to the contrary,[681] Rochefort reigns supreme at Paris, and the wisdom of his conduct in preventing a collision with the military on the day of the interment is now apparent to all. Were Liebknecht to read the *Pays,* he would see that *Cassagnac* and consequently the Government do not disguise their rage at the fact—'*que le peuple ne savait pas mourir pour ses convictions,*' '*qu'ils n'ont pas élevé dans l'air le drapeau rouge*'.[c] Formerly, shrieks the ferocious clown Cassagnac:

'les révolutionnaires étaient des hommes de coeur, des hommes de principes qui se *battaient* pour des idées, et qui savaient bien que ni canons, ni fusils, ni bayonettes ne tiendraient devant la *poitrine nue* du peuple qui réclame son droit'.[d682]

These 'naked breasts' would indeed have been a feast for the cannons and *chassepots*[230] of the Man of December,[e] the more so, stationed as they were on the outskirts of Paris, where barricades could not be erected and where consequently the 100,000 soldiers would not, as in the narrow streets of Paris, have been exposed to a hand to hand scuffle with the people.—Then the *Volksstaat* also gives an incorrect account of the strike at Creuzot.[683] It is not true that the workmen demand higher wages and a diminution of the hours of labour. They simply requested to have the management of their sick fund in their own hands and not in those of

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[a] police agents - [b] left - [c] that the people *did not manage to die* for their convictions, that they did not raise the red banner - [d] 'the revolutionaries were brave people, people with principles, the people who *fought* for ideas and knew well that neither cannons nor rifles nor bayonets can resist the *naked breasts* of the people demanding their rights.' - [e] Napoleon III

M. Schneider, further that their fellow-workman *Assy* should not be sent away and that an under-master who had oppressed them, should be dismissed. These are the true causes of the strike. The French Government and the official press declare them to be due *à l'excitation artificielle.*[a] M. Géroult, of the *Opinion Nationale, montre les sociétés secrètes dominant, donnant des mots d'ordre et des consignes.*[b] [684] These societies are of course, the International, from which Assy, the leader of the strike, is said to have received 55,000 frs. *The Times* reprints these statements and endorses them.[c] Would they were true! It is a thousand pities the International cannot keep pace in its doings with the brilliant imaginings of these worthies.

It is a significant fact that some of the soldiers sent to Creuzot at once fraternized with the miners. Four of these soldiers are to be tried for having attempted to enlist their comrades in the people's cause.

In Yorkshire a strike has also taken place, the workmen claiming the management of their own sick fund and protesting against the refusal of the Employers to allow the men to combine. As ever since the year 1824 the right of combination has been legalised in England, the masters are in fact acting in direct opposition to the laws of the country, notwithstanding which the Government supplies them with soldiers to do their bidding.

The particulars of the strike are exactly like those of Creuzot—free constitutional England and despot-ridden France—do not differ—both countries have soldiers ready at hand to shoot down the men who have the courage to assert that they think they have intelligence enough to manage their own funds—their hard earned savings.

According to an estimate made by a correspondent to one of the English papers, staying at *Creuzot*,—the workmen lose by the strike *8,000£* a day (wages) whilst the loss to the masters is about *40,000£*!!! a day.

Will you please give my best love to Trautchen and thank her for her letter. I will write to her very soon. Please also tell her that I must call upon her to hand over a certain little bracelet to 'Käuzchen',[d] for whom it was destined. As she is a sworn foe of the Communists, she will know to appreciate my respect for private

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[a] artificial excitement - [b] shows the omnipotence of secret societies providing slogans and instructions - [c] The reference is to the statement 'The Great Strike in France', *The Times*, 24 January 1870. - [d] Franziska Kugelmann

property. But joking apart I really should not like to see the bracelet on Trautchen's arm—it is rather too 'primitive'.

With Moor's kindest regards to the *Frau Gräfin*,[a] Käuzchen *und an den Mann von der plastischen Bewegung*.[b]

I remain very sincerely yours

Jenny Marx

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## PAUL LAFARGUE TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Paris, [18 April 1870]

My dear Mr Marx,[c]

I have just returned from the labour federation conference about which Laura wrote you in her letter.[627] All the sections of the International, all the labour groups and all the corporations were convoked[644]; each group sent one or two delegates. There were at least 1,200 or 1,300 members of the International or delegates from different labour groups. The Rules which had been drawn up by a commission were adopted unanimously; except for paragraph 2 to which was added a new amendment, the gist of which is that all the sections would appoint substitute delegates who would be prepared to assume their functions should the government ever arrest the members of the Federal Council. This proves to you how far the working class has come along; your advice given in the Basle manifesto 'if you want freedom you must take it' was heeded and understood.[685] Thanks to the International, which, owing to the federal bureau of labour societies, has made enormous strides since the last elections, the working class has a sense of its power and wants to take action whatever the cost. The mutualist group[686] is shattered; it was not

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[a] Gertrud Kugelmann - [b] and master of plastic movement (Ludwig Kugelmann). The reference is to the course of treatment advised by Kugelmann to Marx. - [c] Marx's answer see on pp. 489-93 of this volume.

represented at the conference; it vigorously opposed all calls for federation. What was most encouraging about the assembly was the need for centralisation felt by all members as well as the acute and precise awareness the working class had of its individuality as a class and of its antagonism towards the bourgeoisie. As champion of class struggle, you would have enjoyed attending this rally. Following the Rules vote delegates spoke about the plebiscite and of the manner in which the working class ought to conduct itself; all the speakers were in favour of abstention but considered it an opportune time to draw up a manifesto. A commission was appointed of which I am a member. It met that same evening to discuss the manifesto's groundwork, etc.[687] The document should contain the following three main points:

1) The empire is not recognised as having the right to ask questions;

2) insofar as the empire represents the bourgeoisie, the people have nothing to do with the improvements of the imperial constitution;

3) the necessity of abstaining or casting a blank ballot must be impressed upon peasants. Appointed as literary editors were Tolain, Avrial, Paul-Laurent, etc... That's what happened yesterday.

You must have seen in the *Marseillaise* the big notice of the French section[688]; fortunately, however, it has as much influence here as a spit in the sea. When the Federal Council is constituted an order will be given to the *Marseillaise* not to print anything on the International without the authorisation of the Federal Council; you must know that the *Marseillaise* is at the mercy of the International and that if the latter ever placed its notices in the *Réveil*, the *Marseillaise* would die.

I could get myself appointed by any section as a member of the Federal Council but I believe it would be better if I were the representative of the London Council; would you like to appoint me next Tuesday representative of the Council to the Paris federation? The International has some invaluable members here; Varlin in particular has a talent for organisation and an influence which cannot be overestimated. Combault, delegate of the Vaugirard section is also an invaluable member; he is a most eloquent speaker, is adept at handling matters in a lively and amusing fashion and is liked even by those he lampoons. He has the wit of a Gaudissart. Thank you for your letter. I shall heed your advice but I do not believe that it will sway Verlet, who is more of an enthusiast than a tactician.[689] As for my father, I

believe you will do well to speak to him in such a manner; it will be better for you, for him and for me.

You think that the pseudonym Paul-Laurent is altogether sentimental in origin; 'sentiment' does in fact play into it to a small degree, but there is more to it than that, as the following item published in the *Libre pensée* will prove to you.

'In our last issue we said that our collaborator Paul Lafargue, not wishing to be confused with the Lafargues of the *Figaro* and *Paris-faillite* stores, felt compelled [*s'était senti forcé*] to add the name Laurent. The inveterate wit of *Figaro*, a purist of broken French, informs us that the rules of syntax do not allow the figurative use of the verb 'to feel' [*sentir*]. Do not the words '*vil me sens*' bring to mind in the Lafargue in question (Gustave) the name of a certain person (Villemessant)? At any rate the scholar Guguste, whose every lucubration is felt to reveal his character [*sentent la terroir*] should try hard to avoid appearing pedantic [*sentent le pédant*] if he does not want people to see just how ignorant he really is [*qu'on ne sente trop son ignorance*].'[690]

Since the *Libre pensée* is a purely literary newspaper it will not be possible to publish the Rules in it, but once the Federal Council reprints the Rules I shall, if I am a member of it, oversee the operation most carefully[617]; that will be more important.

Greetings to Williams (Jenny). I let Prudhomme in on the literary secret.[562] I saw Franckel who is taking great pleasure in spreading it everywhere.

Greetings to all.

Heartily,
P. Lafargue

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## JENNY MARX (DAUGHTER) TO LUDWIG AND GERTRUD KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

[London,] 8 May 1870

Many many thanks my dear Mr and Mrs Kugelmann for the beautiful presents you have sent me. I don't know which delight me more—the engravings or the songs—my eyes and ears are equally busy. The studs have given Moor great pleasure, and indeed the flowers are most artistically worked. He is also delighted with the tapestry of Leibniz and has already given it a place in his study, where we have stuck it on the wall over the mantel-piece.[a] Unfortunately the blue paper of the tapestry has injured the beautiful engraving representing the death of Caesar, having covered it with blue colour. Altogether the engravings have been damaged by the way in which they were packed,—Kaulbach's history is partly torn. However we hope, the picture-framer will be able to patch it up again. The box only reached its destination yesterday afternoon (Saturday)[b]—so it must have been a very long time travelling.

I also have to thank you—last though not least—for your kind letters and good wishes for my birthday.[c] I was sorry to hear that you, dear 'doctor', are again unwell, and trust soon to have a better account. Moor also is far from well, having caught a very severe cold. All the other inmates of Modena Villa, four cats and dog included, are well, but in a great hubbub, in which they have been ever since last Sunday, when the news came from Paris that a plot against Bonaparte's life had been discovered. Of course you have seen from the German papers that the imbecile French government attempted at first to implicate the International in this affair, and that a great number of its members, forming the Paris and Lyons branches of the International, have been arrested.[642] The flunkeys of the English and French press of course availed themselves of this opportunity to make furious onslaughts on the International and to call upon their respective governments to suppress that odious Association as the root of all evils. For all

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[a] See this volume, p. 512. - [b] 7 May - [c] 1 May

that, the French government has however been obliged to declare that the International has nothing to do with the plot, and that its members are solely being prosecuted for the crime of belonging to an 'illicit society'. Moor has written a declaration, unanimously adopted by the General Council, in which he repudiates any complicity of the International in the affair.[a]

According to the French government, M. Gustave Flourens is deeply implicated in the plot, and as that gentleman is in England, the French government has been secretly asking the English government to deliver him up; but Mr Gladstone, who is well aware that the doing so would cost him his premiership, (as it did Palmerston in the case of Simon Bernard[b]), declares that the ministry can do nothing in the matter without further proofs of M. Flourens' culpability. But in reality there are no proofs against M. Flourens in the hands of the French government, for granted it be proved that he sent money to Paris for the purpose of arming the people with bombs in case an insurrection should break out, that does not imply that he had anything to do with the intended assassination of the Emperor. Last Sunday (my birthday) when the news of the discovered *complot* reached us M. Flourens was at our home—so you can imagine that my birthday was anything but a tranquil or a gay one. We did not know at the time but what M. Flourens might not be at once arrested. He is the son of the celebrated naturalist of that name and has himself written a book on Ethnography[c] and delivered lectures at the Collège de France. He is a most extraordinary mixture of a *savant* and an *homme d'action*.[d]

The good result of the plot is that it has forced the man of December[e] to throw off his liberal mask and to show himself in his true colours. A system of *blanche terreur*[f] prevails at Paris. Yesterday all the opposition papers were confiscated, the people are being goaded to a state of desperation. There is no knowing what will happen to-day.

I continue to write to the *Marseillaise*, several of my letters have been quoted in *The Irishman*, the national paper of Ireland.[691] At present I am waiting for news from Ireland concerning the treatment of the political prisoners. If I do not soon receive an

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[a] K. Marx, *Concerning the Persecution of the Members of the French Sections. Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association.* - [b] See this volume, p. 505. - [c] G. Flourens, *Histoire de l'homme. Cours d'histoire naturelle des corps organisés au Collège de France.* - [d] a scholar and a man of action - [e] Napoleon III - [f] white terror

answer I shall begin to think that the letter I have written to the wives of the prisoners has been intercepted by the British Government. Unluckily I signed my real name!

Post-time.

Kiss dear Fränzchen[a] for me, my good Trautchen,[b] and with ever so many thanks for your kindness

Believe me

Affectionately yours
Jenny

Mama and Tussy send their kindest regards—I forgot to tell you that Dr Gunz called upon us three times. He sent us tickets for several operas.

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## 10

## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, 12 July 1870]
Tuesday evening

My dear Mr Engels,

I have just returned from a new journey of exploration, and hasten to report to you. I have now found a house, which charms all of us because of its wonderful open situation. Jenny and Tussy were with me, and both find it particularly nice. Because of its position and interior fittings it is naturally rather more expensive than Shrewsbury Villa, for which the man insists on £55. Our present house costs £60. *It is next to Primrose Hill*, so all the FRONT rooms have the finest and openest view and air. And round about, in the side streets, there are SHOPS of all sorts, so your wife will be able to buy everything herself. Now for the interior fittings. Basement, big attractive kitchen with large range. Next to this, a very spacious bathroom with large bathtub and *cheminée*,[c] BACK

[a] Franziska Kugelmann - [b] Gertrud Kugelmann - [c] fireplace

KITCHEN, cupboards of all kinds, COAL CELLAR, and a *dungeon lying deeper,* which although it has no flooring at present, could be a very good cool wine-cellar; a small, very small, garden, not bigger than for hanging out the washing, etc. Then *rez-de-chaussée*[a] 2 very nice rooms divided by folding doors; the back one has, instead of a window, a particularly charming GREENHOUSE or, if you like, double window, which makes the room very light and friendly. *Bel étage,*[b] in front—a very fine large room, next to it a smaller one, no folding doors. 2nd floor—3 BEDROOMS: 2 very roomy, the third rather smaller, all in full REPAIR. The two bottom rooms are just being papered. I think you could scarcely find a better house, and I am convinced your wife will like it very much. Its situation is just too cheerful and amusing. You scarcely need to leave the house to be in the open and see thousands of people.

It is naturally of the utmost importance that you and your wife see it for yourselves, and as quickly as possible, since a house situated as well as this one will certainly go quickly. But if it is not to your taste I have found another 2 nearby; but they are not situated in such a pleasant way. It would be best if your wife came with you right away and saw for herself. You know we shall be very happy to have her with us. Write straight away about it, so we know whether we should go on looking or whether you will be coming.

I would like to get these lines into the post this evening so that you might consider the matter in the course of the day.

Therefore, a hasty adieu from

Your
Jenny Marx

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[a] ground floor - [b] first floor

## 11

## JENNY MARX (DAUGHTER) TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

[London,] 17 July 1870

My dear Doctor,

I hope you do not think that laziness or negligence has had anything to do with my silence. The fact is, that I no sooner received your letter than I wrote to Mr Pigott, the editor of *The Irishman* to enquire of him where I could obtain a photograph of O'Donovan Rossa. Mr Pigott wrote to say that he was unable to give me any information on the subject (the British Government does not allow the portraits of the Fenians to be sold) but that he had sent my letter to Mrs Rossa, as that lady could perhaps procure for me a photograph of her husband. Now I have waited from day to day for a letter from Mrs Rossa—but in vain—and as I think it will be of no use to wait any longer, I write these lines to ask you whether the enclosed print,[a] which appeared some time ago in *The Irishman* will be of any use to Mr Rissé? It certainly is a very bad likeness—but it is better than nothing.

It would be a thousand pities to give up the excellent plan of publishing Rossa's portrait. Its publication would greatly annoy John Bull—for the British Government dreads nothing so much as that its infamous treatment of the Fenian prisoners should become known on the Continent. Indeed, the Prison Enquiry is solely got up for the purpose of hushing up the unpleasant truths that were oozing out. On the eve of the Enquiry, the pretended object of which is to elucidate things, the prisoners are more *closely guarded than ever*, lest they might inform their friends of the treatment they are undergoing. A few days ago Mrs Luby, wife of one of the prisoners, visited her husband to bear to him the tidings of his mother's death, (grief for her son's sufferings hastened Mrs Luby's death) and though the unfortunate woman had not seen her husband since *three* years, she was not allowed to see him face to face without the intrusion of a jailor. Mrs Luby was led into one huge iron cage grated with heavy iron bars, Luby

[a] At the beginning of the letter there is a note by Kugelmann: 'Rossa's portrait is missing'.

was brought from his cell to another cage grated also with heavy iron bars, apart from that in which the wife was detained. A jailor stood close beside the prisoner watchful, ready to interfere should he utter a word relative to the Prison treatment.

But poor Luby had no need to complain—his pallid, shrunk and shrivelled form spoke but too eloquently of a tale of horrors. The fact is that Mrs Luby did not even recognize her husband—so altered, and aged does he look. The friends of the prisoners being thus carefully excluded, the evidence of the prisoners suppressed, it is not difficult to guess that the whole commission will turn out to be a regular sham from beginning to end. As the governors, jailors, warders are to have it all their own way in the coming inquiry, the end of it all will be that the venal scribes of the press will be enabled to paint in glowing colours the amenities of English prison life and to brand the statements of O'Donovan Rossa as so many lies!

For the notes required for the preface of Mr Rissé's book[692] I addressed myself to Engels who with his usual amiability and promptitude at once sent me the enclosed remarks[a] which will I think prove of interest to the German public.

As regards Carlsbad[b] I am sorry to say that thanks to that desperate gambler at Paris[c] our long projected voyage has come to nothing. To travel without a passport is of course an impossibility in the present state of affairs and to obtain one equally out of the question. Even to naturalised Englishmen the British Government refuses passports.[308] But Moor will himself write to you on the subject. Tell Trautchen[d] I will also write to her in a few days to give vent to my disappointment—and please will you also tell that lady that I think she has grown unconscionably lazy. I have not heard from her for months.

What do you think of the war? We have not yet recovered from our surprise and indignation at the turn affairs have taken. It is not easy to reconcile oneself to the thought that instead of fighting for the destruction of the Empire, the French people are sacrificing themselves for its aggrandizement, that instead of hanging Bonaparte they are prepared to enroll themselves under his banner. Who could have dreamt of such things a few months ago when the Revolution in Paris seemed a fact. This revival of chauvinism in the 19th Century is indeed a hideous farce[693]!

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[a] F. Engels, *Notes for the Preface to a Collection of Irish Songs*. - [b] Karlovy Vary - [c] Napoleon III - [d] Gertrud Kugelmann

It is time to post this long letter—so with best love to dear Trautchen and Fränzchen.[a]

Believe me dear 'Doctor', very faithfully yours

Jenny Marx

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Published in English for the first time

[a] Franziska Kugelmann

# NOTES

1 This letter was first published in English, in a slightly abridged form, in: *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann by Karl Marx*, Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R., Moscow-Leningrad, 1934.—3

2 Engels visited Marx in London between 1 and 5 April 1868 to attend the wedding of Laura Marx and Paul Lafargue.—3, 5, 7, 10

3 Marx is referring to the Parliamentary elections to be held in November 1868 on the basis of the second Reform Bill of 1867. The law extended suffrage to people resident in town for a period of not less than 12 months and renting houses or flats for no less than £10. In the counties, the right to vote was granted to tenants with an annual income of above £12. Suffrage was granted to a section of skilled workers. However, it was not extended to Scotland and Ireland.—3, 375

4 Marx is referring to the stand of the British trade union leaders in the 1867-68 election campaign, when George Odger, William Cremer, George Potter et al. urged the workers to come to an understanding with the Liberals and in fact refused to draw up an independent and class-conditioned election programme. In the course of the elections, trade union leaders frequently withdrew their candidatures in favour of one election coalition or another with which they were affiliated. A case in point is George Odger, who was nominated in Chelsea (London).

During the 1868 election campaign, Liberal leader Gladstone publicly promised to settle the Irish question, which since the autumn of 1867 acquired a sharper edge due to a new upsurge of the national liberation movement in Ireland against British colonial oppression. He came out with the slogans 'to pacify Ireland' and 'to reconcile England and Ireland' and he also promised a church reform. In his speech in the House of Commons on 3 April 1868, Gladstone likened the Tory policies in Ireland to the conquest of England by the Normans (see *The Times*, No. 26090, 4 April 1868). Marx warned the leaders of the British labour movement against the dangerous influence of social demagogy inherent in the Liberals' election platform on the Irish question. Trade union leaders, Lucraft in particular, actually supported bourgeois Radicals in their assessment of the Irish Fenians (see Note 86).—3

[5] The reference is to Freiligrath's letter written on 3 April 1868, in which he thanks Marx for a copy of Volume One of *Capital* sent to him in September 1867 and congratulates him on his daughter Laura's marriage. The letter contained the following opinion of *Capital*: 'This is precisely the book one would wish to study, and its success has not been quick and loud in coming, but its hidden impact will be all the more profound and durable. I know that on the Rhine, many young merchants and factory-owners are delighted by your book. In that environment, it will attain its real purpose; for the scholars, it will be, apart from this, an indispensable source.'—4, 8

[6] Marx has in mind his letter to Freiligrath of 20 July 1867 (see present edition, Vol. 42, p. 397). In his reply, dispatched the same day, Freiligrath avoided giving a direct answer to Marx's question.

Late in April 1867, a committee was set up in London to collect donations for Ferdinand Freiligrath, who had found himself without means of subsistence owing to the closing down of the London branch of the Banque Générale Suisse of which he was manager. On 25 and 26 April, the committee, which was made up of German petty-bourgeois émigrés, appealed 'to all friends of German poetry' in England and other countries for a subscription. Similar committees were set up in many German towns and in New York. Accounts of the progress on the subscription were published by the *Hermann. Deutsches Wochenblatt aus London*.—4, 373

[7] Engels is probably referring to the letter Wilhelm Liebknecht wrote to him on 29 March 1868.—5, 8

[8] In his letter to Engels of 25 February 1868 Otto Meissner requested assistance in drawing up a publisher's advertisement announcing the publication of Volume One of *Capital* so as 'to break silence through powerful advertisement'. Simultaneously, Otto Meissner sent notices containing the table of contents to about thirty newspapers.—5, 37

[9] The reason for these opinions of the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* published by Wilhelm Liebknecht was probably the anonymous article 'Märzgedanken', printed in No. 13 on 28 March 1868. Reviewing the revolution of 1848-49 in Germany, its author (in all probability, Liebknecht himself) exaggerated the contribution of petty-bourgeois democrats to the campaign for the Imperial Constitution, specifically, of Gustav Struve, a leader of the Baden uprisings and Liebknecht's friend. For Engels' opinion of these events, see his works 'The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution' and 'Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany' (see present edition, Vols. 10 and 11).—5

[10] Engels is referring to the article 'Auswanderung und Bürgerrecht', in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 14 of 4 April 1868, on the treaty between the North German Confederation and the USA on the citizenship of German émigrés. The draft agreement was discussed in April 1868 in the North German Reichstag.

The *North German Confederation* (Norddeutscher Bund) existed from 1867 to 1870 as a federative state under the aegis of Prussia. It was set up on the initiative of the Prussian Prime Minister Otto von Bismarck after Prussia's victory over Austria in 1866 and the disintegration of the German Confederation.—6

[11] A reference to Engels' intention to write a review of Volume One of Marx's *Capital* for *The Fortnightly Review* to which Professor Beesly was a contributor. (see Marx's letter to Engels of 8 January 1868, present edition, Vol. 42). While

working on the review, Engels wrote out excerpts from *Capital*, which later made up a synopsis (see Note 26). The review was written around 20 May-1 June 1868, but rejected by the editorial board (see present edition, Vol. 20).—6, 30, 33, 35, 37, 38, 44, 47, 50, 52, 54, 70, 73, 74, 81, 138

12 Paul and Laura Lafargue wrote to the Marx family about their life in France. (Letters of Laura and Paul Lafargue to Karl Marx and his daughter Jenny, of 3 April 1868; to Jenny of 6 April 1868; of Laura Lafargue to her sister Jenny of 9 April 1868; and to her sister Eleanor of the same date).—7, 9

13 Marx is referring to his articles of 1856-57 for the *New York Daily Tribune* on the French joint-stock bank Crédit Mobilier—'The French Crédit Mobilier' (a series of articles) and 'Crédit Mobilier' (see present edition, Vol. 15).—7

14 A reference to the speculative machinations of the Scottish economist and financier John Law in France between 1716 and 1720; he dealt with the issue of securities and the foundation of joint-stock trading companies. The bank which he founded in 1716, and later transferred to the French Government, as well as a number of companies for trade with foreign countries, went bankrupt in 1720.—7

15 The reference is to Johann Baptist Schweitzer's review of Volume One of *Capital* anonymously printed in twelve issues of *Der Social-Demokrat* between 22 January and 6 May 1868, under the heading 'Das Werk von Carl Marx'. For Marx's opinion of this review, see his letter to Engels of 23 March 1868 (present edition, Vol. 42).—8, 11, 13, 61

16 In March and April 1868, 3,000 building workers were on strike in Geneva. They demanded that the working day be reduced to ten hours, wages be raised, and payment by the day be substituted by payment by the hour. On the initiative of the Central Committee of the International's Geneva sections, the workers in other industries rendered assistance to the strikers.

In 'The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association' to the Brussels Congress of 1868 written by Marx it is stated: 'In the struggle maintained by the building trades of Geneva the very existence of the International in Switzerland was put on its trial. The employers made it a preliminary condition of coming to any terms with their workmen that the latter should forsake the International. The working men indignantly refused to comply with this dictate' (present edition, Vol. 21, p. 16).

The victory of Geneva workers was made possible by the solidarity action organised by the General Council in England, France and Germany.—8, 11, 14, 94, 199, 209

17 François Graglia, member of the Committee of the Geneva Section of the International, was sent to Paris and London to arrange financial aid for the Geneva building workers who had gone on strike. He stayed in London from 6 to 9 April, attended meetings of the French Section and the General Council, and, accompanied by Hermann Jung, visited a number of workers' societies.—8

18 The bronze workers of Paris went on strike in February 1867 when, in response to their demand for fixed tariffs, their employers insisted that they dissolve their credit society, Société de crédit et de solidarité des ouvriers du bronze. Thanks to the General Council, which discussed the matter at its meetings of 5, 12, 19 and 26 March and 2 and 9 April 1867 (see *The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868. Minutes*, Moscow, 1964, pp. 101-03, 105-06, 107, 108), Paris workers received financial aid from the British trade

unions. The strike ended in a victory for the bronze workers, who managed to preserve their organisation. The employers agreed to introduce fixed rates for individual types of work.—8

19 The part of the letter intended for Laura was written by Marx in English. It was published for the first time in English, in an abridged form, in *Annali dell' Istituto Giangiacomo Feltrinelli*, Milano, 1958.—9

20 An allusion to Laura's work as Marx's secretary before her marriage.—9

21 Marx jokingly refers to Borkheim's letters written on 2 and 7 April 1868 as 'scribaille', a word that Borkheim had borrowed from Herzen's unsigned article in the French edition of the *Kolokol* (La Cloche), No. 6, 1 April 1868, prompted by an anonymous publication in St. Petersburg's *Birzheviye Vedomosty* (Stock-Exchange News), Nos. 307 and 310, 15 and 18 November 1867. Borkheim quoted Herzen in his letter of 2 April. He decided to use Liebknecht's *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* to attack Herzen and applied to Marx for certain linguistic information. Borkheim carried out his intention in the article 'Russische politische Flüchtlinge in West-Europa. III' (see *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, Nos. 17, 20, and 25 April and 16 May 1868).—9

22 *Guillaumin & Co.*—a book-publisher in Paris dealing in literature on economics.—9

23 The part of Marx's letter of 11 April 1868 addressed to Paul Lafargue was written in German.—10

24 The events in the Charleroi coalfields occurred in the spring of 1868. In response to the mine-owners' decision to reduce production to four days a week and lower the wages by ten per cent, the workers declared a strike. On 26 March, violent clashes took place between the workers and the police. Twenty-two people were arrested and put on trial. The Belgian Section of the International launched a wide campaign to support the strikers both in Belgium and abroad. It organised protest meetings and gave wide coverage of the events in *La Tribune du Peuple, La Liberté* and other papers. On 12 April it issued a manifesto to the workers of Belgium and other countries (see *La Tribune du Peuple*, No. 4, 19 April 1868). The Section maintained regular contacts with the General Council. The Charleroi events were discussed at the Council meetings of 21 April, 12 May and 2 June 1868 (see *The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868. Minutes*). The Brussels Section set up a special committee to brief lawyers for the defence of the detainees. The lawyers managed to swing public opinion in favour of the defendants and on 15 August all of them were acquitted by the jury. This led to a rise in the membership of the International in Belgium.

For the *Geneva strike* of building workers see Note 16.

From 14 to 17 April 1868 a general strike took place in Bologna. The workers demanded that the income tax be cut down and distributed more fairly. A number of meetings and a demonstration were held. Troops were summoned to disperse the demonstration and numerous arrests were made.—11, 62

25 A reference to the newspaper reports on Eichhoff's lectures on the causes of modern trade crises ('Die Ursachen der Handelsstockungen der Gegenwart'), which he delivered in Berlin in February-May 1868. In them, he quoted *Capital* and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, and used material that Marx had sent him. Eichhoff's lectures did a great deal to advertise Volume One of *Capital* in

Germany. The reports were printed in *Die Zukunft* and the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.—11, 37

26 The 'Synopsis of Volume One of *Capital* by Karl Marx' made by Engels in the spring and summer of 1868 is extant as a manuscript covering about two thirds of the book, including the chapter 'Machinery and Large-Scale Industry' (present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 263-308, and this volume, Note 11).—11

27 A reference to Ludwig and Gertrud Kugelmann's letter to Marx of 8 April 1868, in which they expressed their joy at the prospect of Marx's visit to Germany.—12

28 Kugelmann, who corresponded with the noted German natural scientist Rudolf Virchow on certain questions of medicine, tried to get him interested in Marx's *Capital*.—12

29 The full English translation of this letter was first published in: *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann by Karl Marx*, Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R., Moscow-Leningrad, 1934.—12, 48, 56, 67, 82, 130, 144, 173, 184, 213, 231, 278, 317, 337, 359, 433, 466, 475, 527

30 This refers to the appeal 'Internationale Arbeiterassociation. Zuruf an alle Arbeiter deutscher Sprache' for rendering material aid to the building workers of Geneva who had gone on strike, drawn up by Johann Philipp Becker on the instructions of the Central Authority of the German-language sections' group. It was published in Geneva on 11 April 1868.

On the strike of Geneva building workers, see Note 16.—14

31 Marx refers to the editorial 'Politische Uebersicht' featured in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 15, 11 April 1868, edited by Wilhelm Liebknecht, in which Marx's book *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17) was described as 'containing much that is edifying' and 'systematically silenced by the German press'.—15

32 The subjects listed by Marx were dealt with in the editorial 'Politische Uebersicht' in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 16, 18 April 1868.—16

33 This letter was published in English for the first time in an abridged form in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Correspondence, 1846-1895*, London, Lawrence LTD, [1934].—16, 20, 89, 152, 154, 163, 235, 306, 342, 353, 362, 369, 387, 418

34 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters on 'Capital'*, London, New Park Publications, 1983.—19, 99, 123, 137, 224, 478, 482

35 Engels is probably referring to the editorial 'Politische Uebersicht' in Liebknecht's *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 15, 11 April 1868, which quoted Bismarck's speech in the Reichstag commission on debts: 'Since you refuse to pass a state law on debts, not recognising the Reichstag's right independently to lodge complaints against officials at the debt collection department,—well, then there will be no law on debts, and we shall be unable to raise a loan for the Navy.'—19

36 As a result of the victory in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, in which the Kingdom of Hanover fought on the side of Austria, Prussia annexed Hanover in September of that year and turned it into a province, to which the operation of the Prussian constitution was extended in 1867. George V, King of Hanover, fled to Austria, where he attempted to head a movement against affiliation

with Prussia. He failed and, on 1 February 1868, had to sign a treaty with Prussia under which he agreed to abdicate for a certain compensation. However, as early as 2 March 1868, the Prussian government passed a resolution on the confiscation of the ex-King of Hanover's property and lands.—19, 221

37 A reference to the first session of the Customs Parliament held between 27 April and 23 May 1868.

The *Customs Union Parliament*—the guiding body of the Customs Union reorganised after the war of 1866 and the signing, on 8 July 1867, of a peace treaty between Prussia and the South German states, which provided for the establishment of this body. The Parliament comprised members of the North German Confederation's Reichstag and deputies from the South German states: Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg and Hesse. Bebel and Liebknecht were the two workers' deputies in it. It was to deal exclusively with issues of trade and customs policies; Bismarck's intention gradually to widen its jurisdiction by encompassing political questions was met with stubborn opposition from the South German representatives (see Note 62).—20

38 The *German People's Party* (Deutsche Volkspartei) was set up in 1865 and encompassed the democratic elements of the petty bourgeoisie and part of the bigger bourgeoisie, chiefly from South and Central German states. As distinct from the National-Liberals, it opposed Prussia's supremacy and advocated the plan for the establishment of the so-called Great Germany incorporating both Prussia and Austria. While pursuing an anti-Prussian policy, the People's Party voiced the particularist aspirations of some German states. It was against Germany's unification as a single centralised democratic republic, advocating the idea of a federative German state.

In 1866, the German People's Party was joined by the Saxon People's Party, whose nucleus consisted of workers. This left wing of the German People's Party had, in effect, nothing in common with it except anti-Prussian sentiments and the wish jointly to solve the problems of national unification in a democratic way. Subsequently, it developed along socialist lines. The main section of the Party broke away from the petty-bourgeois democrats and took part in founding the Social-Democratic Workers' Party in August 1869.—20, 102, 231, 242, 257, 299, 304, 308, 313, 324, 428, 478, 513

39 A reference to the female suffrage meeting held in Manchester on 14 April 1868. It was reported by *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* (No. 340, 18 April 1868).—20

40 Paul and Laura Lafargue returned to London from Paris about 25 April 1868, and on 30 April moved into a flat rented for them on Primrose Hill (see Marx's letter to Engels of 30 April 1868, this volume, p. 25).—20

41 After the first publication of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* appeared in 1859, Marx produced a lengthy economic manuscript throughout 1861-63, which was a second rough draft of *Capital* (the first was the manuscripts of 1857-58). In 1863, he evolved the final plan for a four-book work, the first three books theoretical and the fourth, a historical and critical one. Having finished work on the manuscripts of 1861-63, Marx began preparing them for the press in August 1863.

This work from 1863-65 resulted in the third rough draft of *Capital*, three books of a theoretical character. The notes for the fourth book, the *Theories of Surplus-Value*, were incorporated in the manuscripts of 1861-63. Later, having

completed work on them, Marx went back to the first book. On Engels' advice, he decided it should appear first. Preparation for the press continued throughout 1866 and most of 1867. The first German edition of the first book appeared in September 1867 as Volume One of *Capital*. Under the plan agreed upon with Meissner, the publisher, the second and third books (devoted to the circulation of capital and the process of capitalist production as a whole) were to appear as Volume Two, while the fourth book on the history of economic theories was to be Volume Three of *Capital*.

Marx, however, had not completed the preparation of the last books of *Capital* for the press. After his death, this was done by Engels, who published Marx's manuscripts relating to the second and third books as volumes Two and Three of *Capital* (1885 and 1894). Engels also intended to prepare for the press and publish as Volume Four of *Capital* the above-mentioned manuscript of the fourth book, but did not have time to do this in his lifetime. This edition presents this book of *Capital* as part of the *Economic Manuscripts of 1861-63*, (volumes 30-34) while Volumes One, Two and Three of *Capital* are to be found in volumes 35, 36 and 37 of the present edition respectively.—21, 30, 61, 68, 119, 232, 234, 259, 408, 528, 545

42 In the first manuscript of the third book of *Capital* written by Marx in 1864-65, the entire text is divided into seven long chapters. After Marx's death, while preparing the manuscript for the press, Engels substituted this division by division into parts. In Volume Three of *Capital*, published by Engels in 1894, the chapter mentioned in the letter corresponds to Part II 'Conversion of Profit into Average Profit' (see present edition, Vol. 37).—24

43 The first German edition of Volume One of *Capital* (1867) considers the changes in the structure of capital mentioned here in the c) section of Chapter VI, 'Das allgemeine Gesetz der Kapitalistischen Accumulation'. Corresponding to this section in the second (1872) and subsequent German editions of Volume One, is Chapter XXIII of Part VII. Corresponding to this material in the English edition of 1887 edited by Engels is Chapter XXV, Part VII, 'The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation' (see present edition, Vol. 35).—24

44 Here productive capital means industrial capital, as distinct from merchant capital. Later, Marx evolved a special definition of productive capital in Part I of Volume Two of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 36).—24

45 Marx's reference is to the erroneous tenet of Adam Smith's theory (see A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Ld., 1776, Book I, Ch. 6) generally shared by bourgeois political economists according to which the value, and consequently the price of the commodity is reducible to neat revenue and does not include fixed capital. Marx criticised 'A. Smith's dogma' in Part III of *Capital*'s Volume Two (present edition, Vol. 36).—25

46 On 26 April 1868, Victor Schily asked Marx for his biographical data which J. J. E. Reclus needed for his review of Volume One of *Capital* for *La Cooperation* newspaper. Marx's reply to Schily has not been found.—25, 28

47 The reference is to the trial by the Central Criminal Court from 28 to 30 April 1868 of three Fenians (see Note 86), including Richard Burke, an organiser of the abortive Fenian uprising of 1867. Ernest Jones and Macdonald were the defence counsels for Burke. For a detailed report on the trial, see *The Times*, nos. 26111-26113, 29 and 30 April, and 1 May 1868.—26

[48] This letter was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters on 'Capital'*, London, New Park Publications, 1983.—26, 28, 30, 32, 38, 45, 55, 84, 160, 411

[49] In his letter of 29 April 1868, Johann Baptist Schweitzer requested Marx to define the position of the workers' party on the bill on reducing taxes for pig iron to be discussed in the Reichstag. Enclosed with the letter were the clippings 'Jahresbericht der Handelskammer von Elberfeld und Barmen' and 'Ein Circular der Herren Fabrikanten Funcke und Hück' (Annual Reports of the Elberfeld and Barmen Chambers of Commerce and the Circular of Messrs Factory Owners Funcke and Hück) (Hagen, 23 April). Marx quoted them when drafting a reply to Schweitzer. Having received Engels' notes on this question (see p. 29 of this volume) Marx replied to Schweitzer probably on 7 May (the letter has not been found). In his article 'An die Mitglieder des Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitervereins (die Herabsetzung der Eisenzölle betreffend)' published by *Der Social-Demokrat* on 13 May 1868, Schweitzer referred to Marx as 'the outstanding scientific authority of our trend'. The article also reprinted the above-mentioned documents in full. In his letter to Marx of 13 May 1868, in which this article was enclosed, Schweitzer thanked Marx for 'precious judgement'.—26, 28, 30

[50] A reference to the article featured by the *Mannheimer Zeitung* reviewing Volume One of *Capital*. It was not signed and was probably promoted by Siebel.—28, 74

[51] In his letter to Liebknecht, which has not come down to us (see Engels' letter to Marx of 13 March 1868, present edition, Vol. 42), as well as in his review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* published on 21 and 28 March 1868, Engels advised the worker deputies to make 'themselves thoroughly conversant with' *Capital*, which would supply them with the necessary material for the debate on new handicraft trades Regulations in the Reichstag (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 336).

The draft regulations were discussed in the Reichstag in the spring of 1869 and were approved on 29 May (see Note 324).—30

[52] A reference to the spinning mill industry statistics for 1860 cited on page 186 of the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital*. Preparing the second German edition which appeared in 1872, Marx used additional information supplied by Engels (see Note 59), cited exact data and corrected a number of factual mistakes which the first edition contained (see present edition, Vol. 35).—30, 36

[53] Marx's letter to Joseph Dietzgen dated 9 May 1868, is not extant in full. The date has been established on the basis of Dietzgen's reply written on 20 May. Eight years later, Dietzgen had his article 'Sozialdemokratische Philosophie' printed by *Der Volksstaat* newspaper (No. 3, 9 January 1876), in which he quoted the excerpt given here.—31

[54] *The Royal Society* (The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge), the oldest British learned society founded in 1660 and endorsed by the Royal Charter in 1662. Publishes the journals *Philosophical Transactions* (since 1665) and *Proceedings of the Royal Society* (since 1800).—33

[55] A reference to the scandalous court trial in Austria in May 1868. Baroness Julia Ebergenyi, mistress of Count Chorinsky, was charged with the murder of Chorinsky's wife. The letters from Chorinsky to Ebergenyi, which featured as evidence at the trial, gave reason to suspect Chorinsky of complicity.—34

56 A short excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: *The Letters of Karl Marx*. Selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—35, 52, 243, 446, 511, 513, 515

57 Marx is probably referring to the incident described by Plutarch in his *Vitae parallelae*.

*Decurions*—members of city councils originally existing in the urban communities of Italy dependent on Rome, and later, under the empire, in all towns in the provinces; were in charge of distribution and collection of taxes, renting town lands, expenditure of public money, etc.—35

58 Marx's letters to the Philips family, his mother's relatives, written around 15 February and 5 March 1868 (see Marx's letters to Engels of 15 February and 6 March 1868, present edition, Vol. 42), have not been found.—35

59 The extant notebook II of Marx's economic manuscripts of 1861-1863 (see MEGA$^2$, II/3.1, S. 143) suggests that the information mentioned in this letter was received by Marx from Engels in August-September 1861 during his stay in Manchester. Page 87 of this notebook contains a phrase, 'Suggested by Engels...' The figures cited further completely tally with the examples on page 186 of Volume One of the first edition of *Capital* which appeared in 1867. However, this phrase is absent in the notebook Marx kept since April 1860 and until February-May 1863.—36

60 These letters from Marx to Wilhelm Eichhoff have not been found.—36

61 An allusion to the rumour that, having returned to Germany in 1867 after a long period of emigration, Wilhelm Eichhoff had abandoned politics and refused on these grounds to join the political campaign against Stieber waged by Liebknecht in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* between April and June 1868. However, as early as May, Liebknecht informed Borkheim that Eichhoff had promised to let him have the necessary anti-Stieber materials. The content of Liebknecht's letters was known to Marx. His associates began to distrust Eichhoff even more after he had been seen in the company of Berlin police officers, and especially after his speech at the inaugural meeting of the Democratic Workers' Society, which appeared in *Die Zukunft* newspaper in distorted form and was later reprinted by the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 43, 24 October 1868 (see this volume, pp. 151, 153). Marx had done a great deal to clear Eichhoff's name. On Marx's request, Eichhoff wrote to him on 31 October-1 November giving full explanations which convinced Marx of his dedication to the cause of revolution (see also Marx's letter to Engels of 16 April 1869).—36, 266

62 Marx is referring to a Protest signed by representatives of South German states and four members of the Reichstag of the North German Confederation (see Note 10) on 7 May 1868. The authors opposed Bismarck's intention to expand the competence of the Customs Union Parliament (see Note 37) by stretching it to cover political issues. The text was printed by the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 20, 16 May 1868.—38

63 Engels refers to Lasker's speech at the first session of the Customs Union Parliament held on 18 May 1868 (on the Customs Union Parliament, see Note 37).—38

64 Marx is referring to Chapter II 'Die Verwandlung von Geld in Kapital' of the first German edition of *Capital*, Volume One. In the second and subsequent

German editions, it corresponds to Part II, and in the English edition of 1887, to Part II, Chapters IV-VI (see present edition, Vol. 35).—39

65 A reference to Chapter I 'Waare und Geld' of the first German edition of *Capital*, Volume One. Corresponding to it in the second and subsequent German editions, as well as in the English edition of 1887 edited by Engels, is Part I (see present edition, Vol. 35).—39, 68

66 A reference to the champions of the so-called 'currency principle', a trend in bourgeois political economy advocating the quantitative theory of money. Jones Lloyd (Lord Overstone), Robert Torrens, George Arbuthnot and other representatives of this school maintained that the value and price of commodities are determined by the quantity of money in circulation, that the guarantee of stable currency is the obligatory backing of banknotes by gold and that their issue is regulated according to the import and export of precious metals, regarding violation of these 'laws' as the decisive cause of economic crises. The attempt of the British Government to rely on the 'currency principle' theory (Bank Act of 1844, etc.) failed, thus proving its scientific groundlessness and its impracticability (see critique of this theory in Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, present edition, Vol. 29).—39

67 Marx lectured on wages in the London German Workers' Educational Society on 20 May 1868.

The *German Workers' Educational Society* in London was founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other members of the League of the Just. After the Communist League had been founded, the leading role in the Society belonged to the League's local communities. In 1847 and 1849-50 Marx and Engels took an active part in the Society's work. But on 17 September 1850, Marx, Engels and a number of their followers withdrew because the Willich-Schapper sectarian and adventurist faction had increased its influence in the Society. In the late 1850s Marx and Engels resumed work in the Educational Society. At the time of the First International, the Society functioned as its German Section in London. It existed up to 1918 when it was closed down by the British government.—40, 166

68 Marx and his daughter Eleanor stayed with Engels in Manchester from 29 May to about 15 June 1868.—42, 45, 49, 52, 58

69 *Silesian wars*—in historical writings, the wars waged by Prussia against Austria for Silesia (which belonged to Austria). As a result of the First (1740-42) and Second (1744-45) Silesian wars, which formed part of the European war for Austrian succession, the most of Silesia was captured by Prussia. Austria's attempts to recover the territory in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), sometimes referred to as the Third Silesian War, were futile.—42

70 The Lausanne Congress of the International in 1867 designated Brussels as the venue of the next general congress (1868). However, since the Belgian Chamber of Deputies had renewed the Aliens Law of 1835, under which any foreigner could be expelled from the country as politically unreliable, Marx raised the issue of not meeting in Brussels at the General Council sitting of 26 May 1868 (see *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 346, 30 May 1868). The resolution on the transfer of the site of the Congress to London drawn up by Marx was read at the Council sitting of 2 June (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 6).

The speech made in the Chamber of Deputies by the Belgian Minister of Justice Jules Bara on 16 May 1868, in which he urged the deputies to abolish the convocation of the congress in Brussels, the protest of the Brussels Section of the International evoked by this speech and printed in the *Tribune du Peuple* No. 5, 24 May 1868, and the letters of De Paepe and Vandenhouten, the leaders of the Brussels Section, prompted Marx to propose a new resolution at the General Council's sitting of 16 June, under which Brussels remained the venue for the next annual congress. The text of the resolution was included in the Minutes of the General Council meeting of 2 June 1868, and was also printed by *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 347, 6 June 1868.—43, 45

71 Engels did not carry out his intention to write a second review of *Capital* for *The Fortnightly Review*.—44, 53, 74

72 A reference to the French Section of the International in London, founded in the autumn of 1865. Besides proletarian elements (Eugène Dupont, Hermann Jung, Paul Lafargue), the branch included representatives of the petty-bourgeois émigrés (Le Lubez, Pierre Vésinier and later Félix Pyat). See also this volume, p. 62 and Note 89.—45, 62, 63, 75, 78, 83, 91, 173, 272, 481, 488, 497

73 Marx is referring to the General Council of the First International which, up to the end of 1866, was usually referred to as the Central Council.—45, 82, 102, 161, 228, 275, 341, 396, 445, 449, 475, 488, 497

74 The Brussels newspaper *La Cigale*, No. 25, 21 June 1868, carried a piece by Pierre Vésinier from London, 'Bulletin du travailleur', which featured in a distorted way the debate on changing the place of the International's congress at the 9 June General Council meeting and contained slanderous attacks on Hermann Jung and Eugène Dupont, the Council members. In this connection on 22 June the central section in Brussels unanimously decided not to accept responsibility for Pierre Vésinier's article, and to voice the protest against making public the internal affairs of the International. The protest of the Belgian Section was printed in *La Cigale*, No. 26, 28 June 1868.—45

75 Marx paraphrases a passage from Hegel's *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (see G. W. F. Hegel, *Sämtliche Werke*, in 20 Bde., Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1927, S. 270-71).—46

76 The *Schiller Institute*, founded in Manchester in November 1859 in connection with the centenary of Friedrich Schiller's birth, was conceived as a cultural and social centre of the city's German colony. At first Engels was critical of a society notorious for its tendency towards formalism and pedantry, and he kept aloof from it. But after certain amendments had been made to its Rules, he became a member of its Directorate in 1864, and later its President, devoting much time to it and exercising a considerable influence on its activities. In 1867-68, Engels was particularly occupied with its affairs since a new building was under construction. While Engels was away from Manchester in 1868, the Directorate invited Karl Vogt, who was connected with Bonapartist circles and had been casting aspersions on the proletarian revolutionaries, to give a lecture at the society. In view of this Engels decided that his political reputation would be compromised if he remained President (see this volume, p. 100 and present edition, Vol. 21, p. 18). On 2 October the secretary Davisson approached Engels on behalf of the Directorate asking him to reconsider his decision, but Engels refused. In April 1870 he was again elected member of the Directorate, but did not take an active part in its work.—46, 64, 100, 113, 345, 526

[77] Marx is referring to his stay with the Kugelmanns in Hanover from around 17 April to 15 May 1867. He visited them after his talks with Otto Meissner in Hamburg about the publication of Volume One of *Capital*.—48, 158

[78] Engels' letters to Eleanor Marx have not been found.—49, 75

[79] A reference to the collection of material for Wilhelm Eichhoff's work on the history of the International Working Men's Association, its foundation, organisation, political and social activity and growth: *Die Internationale Arbeiterassociation. Ihre Gründung, Organisation, politisch-sociale Thätigkeit und Ausbreitung*. Wilhelm Eichhoff conceived it in the summer of 1868 when his brother Albert, a publisher, planned to put out a Workers' Calendar for 1869. Wilhelm Eichhoff proposed to write a leading item on the establishment, development and activity of the International Working Men's Association. On 6 June 1868, he informed Marx of his intention and asked him to send the necessary material and help him with the article. As early as 27 June Marx sent to Berlin a great number of documents of the Association, newspaper clippings and his own notes. In his reply of 29 June Eichhoff thanked Marx for the material and informed him that he was going to use his notes word for word and supplement and expand them as advised by Marx. Eichhoff's work grew into a pamphlet because of the abundance of material. It was written with Marx's direct assistance. Eichhoff's letters show that as his work progressed, Marx answered his numerous questions, gave advice, made suggestions, and wrote certain parts of the pamphlet. From 12 to 22 July 1868, Marx edited the pamphlet and read the proofs. On 29 July the work was completed and the edition came out in August (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 322).—50, 80

[80] This letter was first published in English in full in: *The Letters of Karl Marx*. Selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—51, 111, 171, 314, 355

[81] The article has not been found.—53

[82] In his letter of 29 June 1868 Eichhoff thanked Marx for the material for his pamphlet *Die Internationale Arbeiterassociation. Ihre Gründung, Organisation, politisch-sociale Thätigkeit und Ausbreitung* (see Note 79), and told him about an unsigned review of Volume One of *Capital* published by the *Vierteljahrschrift für Volkswirthschaft und Kulturgeschichte* (see Note 83).—55

[83] A reference to the review of Volume One of *Capital* in the magazine *Vierteljahrschrift für Volkswirthschaft und Kulturgeschichte*, of which Faucher was an editor (Bd. XX, Berlin, 1868, S. 206-19). It appeared under the heading 'Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie von Karl Marx. Erster Band. Buch I. Der Produktionsprozess des Kapitals. Hamburg, Otto Meissner, 1867'.—55, 56, 65, 86

[84] The letter in question has not been found.—55, 78, 109, 121, 127, 151, 153, 166, 169, 189, 202, 211, 217, 222, 223, 224, 229, 249, 256, 258, 262, 266, 267

[85] A reference to the bourgeois peasant reform of 1861 in Russia which abolished serfdom and launched the development of capitalism. Under the Manifesto and the Statute on the Peasants Leaving the State of Serfdom signed by Alexander II on 19 February 1861, the peasants were granted personal freedom and the right to dispose of their property; the system of land ownership was preserved, and the peasants had to pay for the land allotments they received. Until the payment had been made, they remained 'under

temporary duty' and had to make payments in kind or do corvée for the landowner. (See Marx's opinion of the Reform, then in the state of preparation, in 'The Emancipation Question', present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 139-47).—55

86 *Fenians*—Irish revolutionaries who took their name from the warriors of Ancient Erin. The first Fenian organisations were founded in the 1850s in the USA and later in Ireland itself. The secret Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, as the organisation was known in the early 1860s, aimed at establishing an independent Irish republic by means of an armed uprising.

The Fenians, who represented the interests of the Irish peasantry (see Marx's letter to Engels, 30 November 1867, present edition, Vol. 42), came chiefly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia and adhered to conspiratorial tactics. The British Government attempted to suppress the Fenian movement by severe police reprisals (see Note 452).—57, 224

87 This letter was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—58

88 The London German Workers' Educational Society (see Note 67) jointly with certain other organisations in London held annual gala evenings to mark the anniversary of the June 1848 uprising of the Paris proletariat; members of the General Council also took part in these gatherings.—62

89 At a public meeting in Cleveland Hall, London, held on 29 June 1868, Félix Pyat read out an address, allegedly received by him from the secret society *La commune révolutionnaire de Paris* and moved a provocative resolution declaring the assassination of Napoleon III as the sacred duty of every Frenchman. The resolution was published by *The Bee-Hive*, No. 351, 4 July 1868. In response, at its meeting of 7 July, the General Council, on Marx's proposal, resolved to disavow Pyat's behaviour in a resolution to this effect (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 7). When the General Council Resolution appeared in the press, a split took place in the French Section in London (see Note 72). Eugène Dupont, Hermann Jung, Paul Lafargue expressed their disapproval of Pyat's adventurist and provocative tactics and withdrew from it (see this volume, p. 78). Pyat's group lost contact with the International but continued to act on its behalf and repeatedly supported anti-proletarian elements opposing Marx's line in the General Council. On 10 May 1870 the General Council officially dissociated itself from this group (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 131).—62

90 The letter of the Brussels committee of 23 June 1868 reported on the decision of the central section in Brussels concerning Vésinier's piece in *La Cigale*, No. 25, 21 June 1868. It was read out at the General Council meeting on 7 July 1868 (see Note 74).—62

91 A reference to the members of the second bureau of the Paris sections of the International (Combault, Varlin, Landrin, Malon, Molin, Granjon and others) who were sentenced to imprisonment. In March 1868, they had been elected to replace the 15 previously arrested members of the first bureau (on the court trial over the members of the first bureau, see Marx's letters to Engels, 8 and 11 January 1868, present edition, Vol. 42). The members of the second bureau were kept at the Paris Saint-Pelagie prison after they were brought to trial for the second time on 22 May 1868 on the pretext that no official permission had

been granted for membership of the new Paris bureau. The defendants were sentenced to three months' imprisonment and a fine.—62

92 This letter was first published in English in an abridged form in: *The Letters of Karl Marx*. Selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—65

93 A reference to Kugelmann's intention to write to Faucher about the review of *Capital* (see Note 83). Marx ironically likens Faucher to Mannequin Piss (manneken-Pis), the well-known statue of a boy on the 17th-century fountain in Brussels executed by the Flemmish sculptor F. Duquesnoy.—65, 68

94 Joseph Dietzgen's article '"Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie" von Karl Marx. Hamburg, 1867' was sent by Marx to Liebknecht and published in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* in No. 31 (supplement) and nos. 34, 35 and 36 of 1, 22 and 29 August and 5 September 1868.—65, 70

95 *Demagogues* in Germany were participants in the opposition movement of intellectuals. The name became current after the Karlsbad Conference of Ministers of the German States in August 1819, which adopted a special decision against the intrigues of the 'demagogues'.—66

96 Marx gave a more detailed analysis of Schmalz's views in his economic manuscripts of 1861-63 'A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy' (see present edition, Vol. 31).—67

97 See the article by Karl Marx, 'My Plagiarism of F. Bastiat' (present edition, Vol. 20, p. 260).

The article, probably written that very day, was not published in Marx's lifetime.—67

98 Together with a letter of 9 July 1868, Kugelmann sent Marx a copy of the newspaper *Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland* of 4 July 1868, which contained an unsigned review of Volume One of *Capital*, analysed by Marx in the present letter. Kugelmann also sent Marx his letter to Faucher written in connection with the review in the *Vierteljahrschrift...* (see Note 83).—67

99 Marx gave a critique of the views of the French vulgar economist Bastiat and his German followers in the afterword to the second German edition (1872) of Volume One of *Capital* and elsewhere in that volume (see present edition, Vol. 35).—68

100 Marx's idea was that the chapter on vulgar political economy should conclude the fourth, historical-critical part of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 32). The material containing a critique of vulgar bourgeois political economy was first used by Marx in his manuscript of 1861-63 (see Note 41).—68

101 In his letter of 9 July 1868, Kugelmann asked for Marx's opinion of his intention to publish Schweitzer's review of Volume One of *Capital* as a pamphlet. The review appeared in *Der Social-Demokrat* between January and May 1868 (see Note 15).—69

102 Ernest Jones was nominated for the Parliamentary elections of 1868 by Manchester's workers, but lost.—71, 92, 136, 162

103 K. Boruttau dedicated his book *Gedanken über Gewissens-Freiheit* (Königsberg, 1867) to 'Fräulein Ottilie Schurzel in Moskau'.—72

104 The *General Association of German Workers*—a political organisation of German workers founded in Leipzig on 23 May 1863, at a meeting of workers' societies.

Its foundation was an important step in the advancement of an independent nation-wide working-class movement in Germany and promoted the workers' emancipation from the ideological domination of the liberal bourgeoisie. However, Lassalle, who had been elected chairman, and his followers chose to direct the Association's activities along reformist lines, restricting it to a public campaign for universal suffrage. One of the items on the programme was the establishment of production cooperatives financed by the state, which were expected to resolve social contradictions. The Lassallean leadership of the Association supported the Prussian government's policy of the unification of Germany from above, through dynastic wars.

Thanks to the experience of the working-class movement, and especially the International, and supported by Marx and Engels, the more advanced section of the Association began to drift away from the Lassallean dogmas. The Lassallean leaders, who were afraid to lose their influence among the workers, were forced to manoeuvre. The programme of the Hamburg Congress of the Association (which in its final version appeared in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 98, 21 August 1868) contained points that went against Lassalle's doctrine, i.e., advocated complete political freedom, positively assessed Marx's *Capital*, and urged the international cooperation of the working class. In the letter 'To the President and Executive Committee of the General Association of German Workers" (see present edition, Vol. 21), a reply to the invitation which had been extended to him, Marx gave his opinion of the programme and, as he remarked in a letter to Engels of 26 August, congratulated the members of the Association on 'having abandoned *Lassalle's programme*' (see this volume, p. 90).

The Hamburg Congress (22-26 August 1868) adopted important decisions: it approved the strike movement in principle, unanimously acknowledged that 'Marx had rendered outstanding services to the working class with his work *Capital*', and pointed to the necessity for joint action by the workers of different countries. In fact, however, the Lassallean leaders continued to oppose its affiliation with the International and adhered to their former standpoint.

At the Gotha Congress (May 1875), the General Association of German Workers merged with the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (the Eisenachers) founded in 1869 and headed by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht. The united party assumed the name of the Socialist Workers' Party.—73, 75, 98, 105, 115, 117, 132, 134, 358, 420

105 Engels is referring to Liebknecht's letter to Marx of 17 July 1868 about the arrangement made by Liebknecht and Schweitzer in Berlin in July 1868. During the meeting, Liebknecht told Schweitzer about his and Bebel's intention to recommend the forthcoming congress of the Union of German Workers' Associations in Nuremberg (see Note 135) to adopt the programme of the International, and insisted that the Lassallean Association be affiliated with it, believing that this would remove the cause for dissent between the Lassalleans and the followers of Bebel and Liebknecht, and make unification possible.—73, 110

106 A reference to Kugelmann's letter to Engels of 26 July 1868, which stated that, according to Kertbény, Keil of Leipzig agreed to feature Marx's biography in *Die Gartenlaube* magazine. However, the biography written by Engels was not printed. In July 1869, Engels revised it for *Die Zukunft* newspaper, and it appeared in No. 185 under the heading 'Karl Marx' on 11 August 1869 (see present edition, Vol. 21).—73, 77, 81

107 In the late 1850s-early 1860s, Beta, who was contributing to the newspaper *Hermann. Deutsches Wochenblatt aus London* and was also a correspondent of *Die Gartenlaube*, which was published in Leipzig, repeatedly calumniated Marx in his articles. For Marx's opinion of Beta's activities as a newspaperman, see his letters to Engels, 19 and 26 November and 11 (or 12) December 1859, and 10 January 1861, and his letters to Ferdinand Freiligrath, 23 November 1859 and 23 February 1860 (present edition, Vols. 40 and 41).—74

108 On 23 July 1868, on behalf of the Union of German Workers' Associations (see Note 169) Bebel sent the General Council of the International an invitation to the Nuremberg Congress (see Note 135) in which he wrote: 'Among the more important items on the agenda the principal place belongs to the *question of the programme*... We ... intend to recommend the Congress to adopt the programme of the International Working Men's Association and ... also suggest that the organisation be affiliated to the International Working Men's Association.' The invitation was enclosed into Liebknecht's letter to Marx of the same date. Liebknecht insisted that Marx go to Nuremberg as the General Council delegate, but Marx declined this offer. The General Council meeting of 25 August 1868 decided that its representative at the Nuremberg Congress would be Georg Eccarius.—75

109 The solidarity congress of workers of all nationalities inhabiting Austro-Hungary, which was to be held in Vienna in September 1868, was banned by the government of Austria-Hungary.—75

110 Marx probably means two legal actions brought against Schweitzer in 1868. On 14 February, speaking at a meeting in Berlin, Schweitzer said that the Royal police headquarters, by the repeated banning of meeting, had violated human rights. Schweitzer's speech was interpreted as undermining the King's state power and he was sentenced to two weeks' imprisonment which he served in September 1868.

The Elberfeld court sentenced Schweitzer to three weeks' imprisonment for the distribution of leaflets, and he served his term in Berlin prison from 8 to 29 July 1868.—75

111 Marx's reply to Schweitzer's letter of 28 June 1868 has not been found. In his letter Schweitzer asked if Marx would be able to attend the Hamburg Congress of the General Association of German Workers (see Note 104). If Marx agreed, Schweitzer intended, before going to prison (see Note 110) to send him an invitation signed by 24 members of the Association's committee (see also this volume, pp. 89-90).—76

112 Marx's notes refer to his biography written by Engels (see Note 106). The first one refers to the *Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*. The newspaper was founded by members of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie which was opposed to Prussian absolutism. In May 1842, Marx began to contribute to it, and in October became one of the editors. It published a number of Engels' articles (see present edition, Vol. 2). Under Marx's editorship, the newspaper began to follow an increasingly coherent democratic trend. Its character, which was to a large extent determined by Marx's articles containing criticism of Germany's social, economic and political development (see present edition, Vol. 1) attracted the attention of the Prussian authorities. On 12 November 1842, the government imposed a rigorous censorship of it, and on 19 January passed a decision banning the newspaper as of April 1843, and introducing even stricter censorship for the remaining period. The decree was promulgated

on 21 January (see 'Erlass der drei Zensurminister betr. Unterdrückung der *Rheinischen Zeitung* zum. 1. April 1843,' Berlin, 1843, 21 January). At the end of January 1843 Marx was already thinking of resigning the editorship (see Marx's letter to Ruge, 25 January 1843, present edition, Vol. 1, p. 397), but he did not consider it possible to carry out his intention at the height of the campaign for the repeal of the ban. In March, however, he became convinced that changes in the editorial board could provide a chance of saving the newspaper, and he decided to resign officially from his post (the announcement of his resignation was published on 17 March 1843. See present edition, Vol. 1, p. 376).

But the royal rescript was not repealed. The last issue of the newspaper appeared on 31 March 1843.—76

113 Marx is referring to the reprisals against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* published in Cologne in 1848-49. In April-early May 1849, Minister of the Interior Manteuffel repeatedly urged the Cologne authorities to take legal action against the newspaper's editorial board (see present edition, Vol. 9, pp. 492-93, 496-97). By the spring of 1849, 23 lawsuits had been brought against it. However, the procurator's office, which had already failed twice to get a conviction from the jury (7 and 8 February 1849. See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 304-39) did not dare to challenge the newspaper on legal grounds. On 16 May Marx was ordered to leave Prussia within 24 hours.—76

114 In a letter to Engels of 26 July 1868 (see Note 106) Kugelmann suggested that Marx's biography be printed under the heading 'Ein deutscher National-Ökonom'.—77

115 The *Jacobin Club* ('Société des amis de la constitution')—a political club founded at the time of the French Revolution, in October 1789; initially represented different political trends in the anti-absolutist camp.—79

116 A reference to Moses Hess' review of Volume One of *Capital*, which he had already begun writing in November 1867 for the French press. Marx suggested that it should contain a synopsis of the theory of value as expounded in *Capital*. In 1868, Hess tried for several months to get the review published in a number of newspapers, including *Courrier français* and *Morale indépendante*. It is not known what has happened to the review.—79, 84

117 Marx considered the expediency of transferring the General Council to Geneva for the year 1869 in connection with the forthcoming Congress of the International in Brussels.—79

118 Engels refers to the resolution of the Communist League's Central Authority in London of 15 September 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 625-29) passed as a result of the adventurist activities of the Willich-Schapper faction which transferred the powers of the Central Authority to the Cologne district authority.

The *Communist League*—the first German and international communist proletarian organisation set up under the leadership of Marx and Engels in early June 1847 in London and operating until 1852. Its programme and organisational structure were evolved with the direct participation of Marx and Engels. On the instruction of the League's Second Congress held on 29 November-8 December 1847, which unanimously approved the principles of scientific communism elaborated by Marx and Engels, the two men wrote the League's programme, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, published in February 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 477-519).

During the 1848-49 revolution, the Communist League was the organisational centre and vanguard of the revolutionary movement in Germany.

After the defeat of the revolution, the Communist League was restructured in 1849-50 and continued working. The 'Address of the Central Authority to the League' written by Marx and Engels in March 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 277-87) summed up the results of the 1848-49 revolution and emphasised the need to set up an independent proletarian party; it also developed the idea of permanent revolution.

The decision mentioned above was adopted as a result of the dissent, which became more acute in the summer of 1850, over the tactics to be adopted in order to protect the workers from the influence of the Willich-Schapper faction, which tried to make the League adopt an adventurist policy of starting revolution in total disregard of the objective laws and the situation prevailing in Germany and other European countries. The faction's activities gave the police an excuse to stage provocative acts against the Communist League. However, the transfer of the Central Authority to Cologne had certain undesirable consequences: the Cologne district authority proved incapable of exercising leadership over the entire League; moreover, the transfer had put the Central Authority in danger of police reprisals. In fact, the police persecution and the arrests of May 1851 put an end to the work of the League in Germany. On 17 November 1852, soon after the Communist Trial in Cologne, the League dissolved itself on Marx's suggestion, but its members continued their propaganda and revolutionary work.

The Communist League had played a major historical role as a school for proletarian revolutionaries and the embryo of a proletarian party, the forerunner of the International Working Men's Association.—80, 140, 397

119 In his letter to Marx of 7 August 1868, John Morley, editor of *The Fortnightly Review*, explained that he had rejected Engels' review of Volume One of *Capital* (see Note 11) because he had 'no room for it'.—81, 84

120 As is apparent from Kugelmann's letter to Marx of 2 August 1868, the matter under discussion is the financial assistance to the weavers in Linden (Hanover) who were on strike. Kugelmann wrote to Marx: 'A few days ago, the workers of the local mill, about 1,000 of them, launched an entirely justified strike. They are working for about 14 hours a day and earn 3 shillings a week. This is the first strike of such scope here, and its successful conclusion is of major importance... It would be of *particular significance* for Germany if England could render support to the striking weavers. The *moral* impact of this factor would be tremendous for both sides.' This message was discussed at a meeting of the General Council held on 4 August 1868 (see *The Bee-Hive*, No. 355, 8 August 1868).—82

121 In 1866-67 in London, Lafargue resumed and completed his medical studies interrupted by his expulsion from Paris University in 1865. He returned to Paris in the autumn of 1868 and tried to get a doctor's certificate allowing him to set up a practice in France, without taking his exams for a second time, but failed. After becoming involved in political activities and journalism, Lafargue abandoned the idea of a medical career.—82, 155

122 *Tranquillity is the first duty of citizens*, a phrase from the address by F. W. von Schulenburg-Kehnert, acting Governor of Berlin, to the city's population on 17 October 1806, after the defeat at Jena.—83

123 Enclosed in this letter was the text of an 'Appeal to the German Workers in London' written by Lessner on behalf of the London German Workers' Educational Society (see Note 67) in connection with the Congress of the International to be held in Brussels in September 1868, and sent to Marx for review (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 385-86).—83

124 This letter was first published in English in an abridged form in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Selected Letters. The Personal Correspondence, 1844-1877*, Ed. by F. J. Raddatz, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, Toronto, 1981.—85, 86, 255, 303

125 These letters from Karl Marx to his relatives have not been found.—85

126 Marx was on holiday at Ramsgate approximately from 21 to 24 August 1868.—87

127 Engels refers to Bernhard Becker, whom Lassalle nominated in his will as his successor to the post of President of the General Association of German Workers. Becker called himself 'heir by Lassalle's will' on the title page of his *Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's*.—88, 89

128 A reference is to a number of works by Marx and Engels, including statements in *Der Social-Demokrat* and *Berliner Reform*, the pamphlets 'The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party' and 'The "President of Mankind"', which expose Schweitzer's political stand and Bernhard Becker's slanderous attacks (see present edition, Vol. 20).—88

129 Engels' mother wrote on 2 September 1868 to tell him that she had arrived in Ostend the day before. Engels joined her for about 10 days there. *En route* he met Marx in London.—88,90, 92, 95, 100, 128

130 The official invitation to Marx to be guest of honour at the Hamburg Congress of the General Association of German Workers (see Note 104) was sent on behalf of the President and the Committee of the Association on 13 August 1868 and published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 95, 14 August 1868. It was read out at the General Council meeting of 18 August 1868 and included in a brief report of the meeting in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 358, 22 August 1868.—89

131 Engels' letter to Marx of 27 August 1868 has not been found.—90

132 In 1868, the members of the International in Naples maintained contacts with the International Working Men's Association through Eugène Dupont, member of the General Council, who was their delegate at the Brussels Congress.

The Neapolitan branch of the International became finally established in 1869. It was the first section of the International Working Men's Association in Italy, and quite a large one at that; it had many workers among its members. It was under the strong influence of the Bakuninists. Early in 1871, however, it disintegrated; with the help of Cafiero, who received instructions from Engels, it was reorganised and maintained regular contacts with the General Council. Cafiero kept its members informed about Engels' letters and the Association's documents. Soon, it became the International's principal centre in Italy, but was routed by the police in August 1871.—91

133 Marx is referring to the reports of the International's Italian sections on the situation in the country. Specifically, on 18 August 1868, a letter read out at the General Council meeting stated that 'at Bologna and vicinity the right of

meeting is suppressed; the officers of the working men's societies are in prison' (see *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 358, 22 August 1868).

On 3 November 1867 at Mentana, the French army, jointly with the Pope's mercenary guards, defeated Garibaldi's army which had undertaken a new campaign against Rome to liberate it from the French and annex it to the Italian state.—91

134 Since the members of the second bureau of the International's Paris sections (see Note 91) had been arrested, more than ten representatives to the Brussels Congress (see Note 138) were sent mostly by the French professional unions affiliated with the International. Among them were mechanics, tin-smiths, cotton printers, bookbinders, house painters, marble and bronze workers.—91

135 The *Nuremberg Congress* of the Union of German Workers' Associations led by Bebel was held on 5-7 September 1868. In all, 115 delegates from 93 sections in Germany, Austria and Switzerland were present. Apart from Georg Eccarius, the official representative of the General Council, several other members of the International attended. By 69 votes against 46, the Congress resolved to join the International Working Men's Association and adopted a programme recognising its basic principles. It also elected a committee of 16 to carry out this resolution. On 22 September 1868, the General Council approved the committee membership giving it the status of the Executive Committee of the International Working Men's Association in Germany. On 7 September liberal bourgeois members, who found themselves in the minority and were opposed to the Congress resolutions, announced their withdrawal from the Union. The Nuremberg Congress also resolved to organise trade unions and heard Liebknecht's report on armaments, in which he demanded that standing armies be disbanded. The Congress was an important step towards the foundation of a proletarian party in Germany.—91, 102, 115, 118, 128, 135, 166, 172, 249, 304

136 *The Times* published five reports by Eccarius on the work of the Brussels Congress of the International. They appeared on 9, 11, 14, 15 and 17 September 1868 under the heading 'International Working Men's Congress (From a Correspondent)'.

Eccarius' reports on the Nuremberg Congress of the Union of German Workers' Associations (see Note 135) were not printed by *The Times*.—91, 97, 101

137 The last meeting of the General Council before the Brussels Congress was held on Tuesday, 1 September 1868. It heard, and unanimously approved the report of the General Council to the Brussels Congress drawn up by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 12).—92

138 A reference to the Third Congress of the International held in Brussels on 6-13 September 1868. It was attended by nearly 100 delegates representing workers of Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and Spain. Marx, who took part in the preparations for the Congress, was not present. The annual report of the General Council written by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 12) was read out at the Congress on 7 September 1868. The Congress adopted an important resolution on the necessity for introducing public ownership of railways, mineral resources, collieries and mines, forests and arable land. This resolution showed that most of the French and Belgian Proudhonists had become supporters of collectivism and it marked the victory of proletarian socialism over petty-bourgeois reformism in the International. The Congress also adopted the resolutions (drawn up by Marx) on the

eight-hour working day, on the use of machinery and on the attitude towards the congress of the bourgeois-pacifist League of Peace and Freedom (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 204), and a resolution, moved by a group of German delegates, recommending the workers of all countries to study Marx's *Capital* and promote its translation from German into other languages (see Note 150).—93, 95, 96, 115, 131, 143, 166, 202, 221, 258, 404

139 The original letter has not been found. Friedrich Lessner first quoted it in his reminiscences *Vor 1848 und nachher* published in the *Deutsche Worte*, Wien [1898]. There, the letter was erroneously dated 10 August.

This letter appeared in English for the first time in: Lessner F., *Sixty Years in the Social Democratic Movement*, London, 1907.—93

140 A reference to Friedrich Lessner's letter to Marx posted in Brussels on 8 September 1868, in which Lessner gave a detailed account of the work of the International Working Men's Association's Congress in Brussels.—93

141 Marx is probably referring to the question of the strike movement entered onto the agenda of the Brussels Congress on the suggestion of the French delegate Tartaret in addition to the points proposed by the General Council earlier. The reports of the French Section in Geneva and the Belgian Section in Liége contained Proudhonist ideas on the issue; strikes were denounced as a matter of principle and only recognized as the inevitable evil. The Congress resolution, passed despite the opposition of the Proudhonists, defined strikes as a necessary and legitimate means of struggle between labour and capital.—94

142 A reference to the Nuremberg Congress of the Union of German Workers' Associations (see Note 135) and the general congress of the Lassallean Association in Berlin (see Note 164).—94

143 Marx means the opposition to the trade unions put up by the Belgian unions and French Proudhonists at the Geneva and Lausanne congresses of the International.

The *Geneva Congress*, the first congress of the International Working Men's Association, was held on 3-8 September 1866. It was attended by 60 delegates from the Central Council (see Note 73), various sections of the International and workers' associations in Britain, France, Germany and Switzerland. Hermann Jung was elected its chairman. The Congress approved the Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 441). Marx's 'Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions' were read as the official report of the Central Council (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 185). The Congress became a scene of struggle between Marx's followers and the Proudhonists, who had a third of the votes and countered the 'Instructions' with their own programme on all items on the agenda. They were particularly opposed to trade unions and preached political indifferentism. In heated debates with the Proudhonists, Jung, Eccarius, Dupont, Carter and other supporters of the Central Council succeeded in having 6 items out of 9 of the 'Instructions' adopted in the form of Congress resolutions, including the one on trade unions.

The *Lausanne Congress* of the International was held on 2-8 September 1867. Marx took part in the preparations, but, as he was busy reading the proofs of Volume One of *Capital*, he was unable to attend. He withdrew his candidature at the General Council meeting of 13 August 1867. The Congress was attended by 64 delegates from six countries (Britain, France, Germany,

Switzerland, Belgium and Italy). Apart from the annual report of the General Council, the Congress heard reports from the local sections, which indicated the increased influence of the International on the proletarian masses and the growing strength of its organisations in different countries. Despite the efforts of the General Council's delegates, the Proudhonist-minded delegates imposed their agenda on the Congress. They sought to revise the decisions of the Geneva Congress in a Proudhonist spirit. They managed to pass a number of their resolutions, including the ones on cooperation and credit, which they regarded as the chief factors of changing a society through reform. However, they failed to achieve their main objective. The Congress confirmed the Geneva resolutions on the economic struggle and strikes. The Proudhonists likewise failed to seize the leadership of the International. The Congress re-elected the General Council in its former composition and retained London as its seat.—95, 221, 258

144 Marx sent Sorge's credentials to Meyer (see this volume, p. 59) in response to Meyer's letter of 20 May 1868, which contained the following request: 'In the middle of next month, Sorge is planning to go to Chicago and will be able to establish all sorts of contacts. Would you be so kind as to supply us with some useful addresses?'—96

145 As President of the Central Committee of the Social Party of New York and its environs, (between November 1867 and September 1868),the first workers' party in the USA, Friedrich Sorge was a vigorous promoter of the ideas of the International in the USA. Early in 1868, disagreements of principle began to arise, which later turned into a personal hostility between Sorge on the one hand, and Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt on the other. Meyer and Vogt insisted on more vigorous action to draw the unions of American workers into the International, even though they were not yet ready to take that step. Sorge strove to organise a more active popularisation campaign that would gradually make them realise the need for joining the International. In the end he failed to achieve the official affiliation of the Social Party to the International, but in his activity he adhered to the International's principles and the decisions of its congresses.

Having been stripped, on Meyer's and Vogt's insistence, of the General Council's Corresponding Secretary's powers, Sorge did not belong to any organisation for over a year. Only in December 1869, he resumed his work of popularising the International's ideas among the German workers within the reorganised General Association of German Workers.—97

146 The *National Labor Union* was founded in the USA at a congress in Baltimore in 1866, with the active participation of William Sylvis, a prominent member of the American labour movement. It made a major contribution to the growing struggle for an independent policy of workers' associations, for solidarity of white and coloured workers, for an 8-hour working day and for the rights of working women. Soon after its foundation, it established contacts with the International Working Men's Association. The Union's congress in Chicago held in August 1867 elected Richard Trevellick delegate to the Lausanne Congress of the International, but he was unable to attend. At the last sessions of the Basle Congress of the International (1869) Andrew Cameron was the National Labor Union delegate. The Union's congress in Cincinnati in August 1870 adopted a resolution on its adherence to the principles of the International and its intention to join it. The resolution was not implemented, however. In 1870 and 1871, many trade unions withdrew, and in 1872 the Union virtually ceased to exist.—97, 184, 351

147 Marx planned to have *Capital* translated into English back in 1865, when working on the manuscript (see Marx's letter to Engels, 31 July 1865; present edition, Vol. 42). Reporter Peter Fox, a member of the British labour movement, was to help him find a publisher. However, due to the latter's death in 1869 nothing was settled. The English translation of Volume One of *Capital* edited by Engels appeared after Marx's death, in January 1887. The translation was done by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling between mid-1883 and March 1886; Eleanor Marx-Aveling assisted in preparing the translation for the press.—97, 442.

148 At the General Council meeting of 8 October 1867 Peter Fox, James Carter and Robert Shaw accused Eccarius of misrepresenting the reports on the Lausanne Congress published in *The Times* on 6, 9, 10 and 11 September 1867. See also Marx's letters to Engels of 4 and 9 October 1867, present edition, Vol. 42.—97, 106, 148

149 Excerpts from Volume One of *Capital* were published in the USA, in *The Sun* on 26 January 1868.—97

150 At the Brussels Congress of the International (see Note 138), on 11 September 1868, a group of German delegates moved the following resolution on Marx's *Capital*: 'We, the German delegates at the International Working Men's Congress at Brussels, recommend to the working men of all countries the work of Carl Marx, *Das Kapital*, published last year, and urge upon them the desirability of endeavouring to cause that important work to be translated into those languages into which it has not yet been translated, and declare that Carl Marx has the inestimable merit of being the first political economist who has scientifically analysed capital and dissolved it into its component parts.' The resolution was unanimously approved by the Congress and published in *The Times* on 15 September 1868 as part of Eccarius's report. See also Note 136.

The article 'Der fünfte Vereinstag deutscher Arbeitervereine zu Nürnberg (5-7. September)', which appeared in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 37, 12 September 1868, quoted Liebknecht's speech at the Nuremberg Congress of the Union of German Workers' Associations (see Note 135), in which he lashed out against bourgeois science and the press which kept deliberately silent about Volume One of *Capital*.—99, 101

151 Marx is referring to a speech made by Moses Hess at the meeting of the Brussels Congress of the International Working Men's Association on 11 September 1868. Hess spoke out against the Proudhonist theory of 'gratuitous credit' (crédit gratuit), which was criticised by Marx in his work *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the 'Philosophy of Poverty' by M. Proudhon* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 105-212).—100, 102

152 The Brussels Congress resolution (adopted on 13 September 1868) on the ownership of land, mines and collieries and railways was the first concrete statement of the socialist principle underlying the International's approach to the issue of property. In connection with land ownership, the Congress emphasised that the contemporary economic development of the capitalist system determines the need for introducing public ownership of land and the mineral resources, including arable land (for the text of the resolution, see: 'Troisième congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Compte rendu officiel. Bruxelles, septembre 1868. Supplément au journal *Le Peuple belge*, 24 septembre 1868').—101

153 The question of Eccarius' reports published in *The Times* (see also notes 136, 155) was not discussed at the General Council meetings because of his long illness.—101, 106

154 Lessner, who informed Marx almost daily about the course of the Brussels Congress, wrote in a letter of 11 September 1868: 'On Wednesday, the question of machinery was discussed. I took the floor, mentioned your book and quoted from it... *Daily News* had something about this. Its reporter approached me and inquired about the name of the book and the part from which I quoted. My reading out of the excerpts was welcomed by applause. Friend Eccarius, however, did not deem it worthwhile, or not to his advantage, to mention this in his report for *The Times*.'—101

155 The text of the resolution on war proposed by a group of German delegates at the Brussels Congress was printed in full in the supplement to *Le Peuple belge*, 22 September 1868, and the *Vorbote* magazine, No. 10, October 1868. Eccarius' report in *The Times*, 17 September 1868, contained an incomplete and inaccurate exposition of the resolution.—101

156 The Brussels Congress of the International Working Men's Association elected a special commission to investigate the accusations brought by Vésinier against certain members of the International (see notes 74 and 90). On 3 November 1868, at the sitting of the General Council, a letter from the Brussels commission was read out which said that Vésinier had failed to adduce any proof and that the commission had not been able to find the slightest grounds for these accusations. The commission members proposed expelling Vésinier from the International as a slanderer.—102

157 A reference to an article by Johann Philipp Becker 'Was wir wollen und sollen' printed in 1866 in the first issue of the *Vorbote*. Before the Nuremberg Congress of the Union of German Workers' Associations, this article appeared, mistakenly, in the Union organ, *Deutsche Arbeiterhalle* on 27 July and 12 August 1868, as the International's programme, and was reprinted by the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* (nos. 31-32, supplements, and 33, 1, 8 and 15 August 1868). It gave an incoherent and vague account of the aims and tasks of the International working-class movement, especially in Germany and Switzerland. However, it was not mentioned at the Nuremberg Congress, as the error had been rectified earlier. The *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 35, 29 August, published the chief points of the International's programme which the Congress adopted without any changes. Delegates Stuttman, Eichelsdörfer and Sonnemann stated that the reference to Becker's article as the International's programme was an error. In a letter to Marx of 20 September 1868, Liebknecht wrote: 'The quiproquo happened while I was *absent* on my wedding trip. I had given orders to print *your* "Address"; and Bebel, who could not find it, wrote to Becker for the "Programme" and received the unfortunate document that brought us to despair in Nuremberg. When I discovered the mistake, it was too late to mend it, especially as we could not well *disavow* old Becker. Luckily, Pfeiffer and Co. were so confused by our vigorous onslaught that they quite forgot to prove the stupidities of the pseudo-programme. Now the thing is explained, and our people know, that under the circumstances the error was excusable.'—102

158 In the summer of 1869, the Ermen-Engels partnership agreement signed on 30 June 1864 for the term of 5 years, which had made Engels a co-owner of the firm of Ermen and Engels in Manchester, was to expire. As Engels had

expected, his talks with G. Ermen about his withdrawal from the firm became protracted. A draft agreement is extant, drawn up by Engels on 2 December 1868, which specified the terms of the withdrawal: '1) Mr. Engels retires from business on the 30th June 1869 and engages not to be interested, either directly or indirectly, as principal or assistant, in any similar or competing business either in England or on the Continent for the term of five years after that date. 2) Mr. Engels consents that Mr. G. Ermen, if he should think proper to do so, continues the firm of Ermen and Engels as long as he is a partner in the concern. 3) Mr. G. Ermen pays Mr. Engels on 30th June 1869 the sum of £1750, Seventeen Hundred and fifty Pounds St. 4) Mr. Engels to have the right of keeping £5000—in the concern at 5% Interest between 30th June 69 to 30th June 1870. Manchester December 2d 1868' (see also Note 369).—104, 167

159 On 22 August 1868 Bismarck, Prime Minister of Prussia, had a fall while riding and withdrew temporarily from his duties because of his injury, while King William I, as the press reported, incessantly toured the country, taking part in military reviews, festivals and receptions.—104

160 In a letter of 15 September 1868, Schweitzer wrote to Marx: 'I consider you to be the head of the European working-class movement—not only through democratic election but by the will of God. You can also be assured that I will promote your intentions as best I can. Of course no prestige is great enough to prevent one, under certain circumstances, from adhering to one's own opinion. I believe, however, that conflict does not arise easily. When it appeared to me that you were not right, subsequent consideration showed me, at least until now, that I was mistaken myself. Yet I cannot find much in common with your followers—at least with some of them.

'...I intend to get you the Statutes which we want to propose to the organisation at the congress after they have been discussed by a limited number of persons, so that before the congress, has started you will have a chance to note the points which may not tally with the spirit of the [congress's] organisation, although this shouldn't occur.

'It may happen that it will be too late to send the Statutes to you; however, I shall try to make the dispatch possible.'—105, 107, 115, 118, 127, 132,

161 Marx is referring to the six editorials printed under the common heading 'Der allgemeine deutsche Arbeiter-Congress' in *Der Social-Demokrat* in September 1868, which mirrored the ideological conflict between dedicated Lassalleans and the followers of Schweitzer. Fearing that their influence among the workers might dwindle under the impact of the mounting strike movement and the International's ideas, Schweitzer's followers were forced to abandon some of the Lassallean concepts and change their attitude towards the economic struggle of the working class. Specifically, a general German workers' congress in Berlin that Schweitzer and Fritzsche had been planning (see Note 164) was to consider the issues of the strike movement and the trade unions of German workers. The address drawn up by Schweitzer and Fritzsche for the congress and published by *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 101, 30 August 1868, read: 'It is urgently necessary to establish a mass and stable organisation of all workers throughout Germany for the purpose of jointly moving forward by means of strikes... We are convening a general German workers' congress to set up, and also strengthen and evolve the uniform organisational principles of general trade unions in all industries throughout Germany, as well as to discuss the general lines along which strikes can be organised.'—105

162 The principle of setting up production associations on the basis of state credit as a means of emancipating the workers from exploitation was first proclaimed by Philippe Buchez in 1831 in the philosophical journal *L'Européen*, which he published. His plan was popularised in the 1840s by *L'Atelier* magazine, which represented the interests and ideas of French handicraftsmen and workers influenced by the doctrine of Christian socialism (see also this volume, p. 260).—105, 133, 260

163 Marx's letter to Liebknecht has not been found. In his reply of 20 September 1868, Liebknecht wrote that '...there are a few dozen of "Vogts" in Berlin. I had to leave them there when I was expelled; and *most* copies were distributed by me to political persons,—sold *very* few. In 5 or 6 days I hope to have news'.—106

164 A reference to the general congress of the General Association of German Workers convened by Schweitzer and Fritzsche on 26-29 September 1868 in Berlin with the permission of the Hamburg Congress of the Lassallean Association to discuss the establishment of trade unions (see Note 104). Represented at the congress were mostly workers from North German towns. The workers' societies comprising the Nuremberg organisation headed by Bebel and Liebknecht were refused permission to send their members to the congress. As a result the Berlin congress promoted the foundation of a number of unions built after the pattern of the sectarian Lassallean Association and brought them together in a single general union. Schweitzer became president, while the most prominent members of the General Association of German Workers headed the individual, and for the most part newly-established, unions. Marx sharply criticised Schweitzer for such an organisation of the congress, which brought about a split in the German trade unions (see this volume, pp. 134, 135), and for the adoption of the Statutes, which went completely against the goals and nature of the trade-union movement.—108, 112, 118, 125, 127, 132, 133, 134, 140

165 A reference to the bourgeois revolution in Spain (1868-74) which began on 18 September 1868 with a naval mutiny in Cádiz against the reactionary monarchy of Isabella II. The masses, supported by almost all the royal troops, were actively involved in the revolution. As a result, state authority passed to the bourgeoisie and bourgeois landowners, who on 18 October formed a provisional government headed by General Francisco Serrano. The Constituent Cortes, convened in February 1869, passed a bourgeois-monarchist constitution which proclaimed Spain a hereditary monarchy and introduced a number of bourgeois freedoms (universal suffrage for men, freedom of press, assembly, associations, etc.). Against the background of fierce class clashes, a bourgeois-democratic federative republic was proclaimed in Spain in 1873. However, in 1874, big bourgeoisie and landowners engineered a restoration of the Bourbons.—108, 113, 115, 119, 126, 131, 137

166 In a letter to Marx of 16 September 1868, Liebknecht proposed that an address to the German workers be drawn up urging unification and criticising Schweitzer and his followers as opponents of unity in the ranks of Social-Democrats.—109, 110, 112

167 A reference to the ban imposed on 16 September 1868 by the Leipzig police on the General Association of German Workers (see Note 104) centred in Leipzig, and on its local branch in Berlin (see Engels' article 'On the Dissolution of the Lassallean Workers' Association', present edition, Vol. 21). On 10 October,

however, a group of Lassalleans headed by Schweitzer restored the association under the same name, transferring its seat to Berlin. The new Statutes of the Association published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 119, 11 October 1868, stated that the Association would abide by Prussian laws and act only in a peaceful, legal way. Adapting itself to Prussian law, the Association dissolved its local branches. (For Marx's and Engels' opinion of these manoeuvres, see letters of Marx to Engels of 25, 26 and 29 September and of Engels to Marx of 21, 24 and 30 September and 2 October, as well as Marx's letter to Schweitzer of 13 October 1868.)—109, 111, 134, 140

168 The bourgeois revolution of 1848 in the Kingdom of Naples began on 12 January 1848 with a popular uprising in Sicily against the feudal absolutist monarchy of Ferdinand II of the Bourbon dynasty. It triggered off revolutionary events in other Italian states. However, as a result of the conciliatory stand of the liberal bourgeoisie, the revolution was suppressed in May 1849.—109

169 Engels is referring to the Union of German Workers' Associations, which was set up at the workers' educational societies' congress in Frankfurt am Main on 7 June 1863, in opposition to the Lassallean General Association of German Workers (see Note 104). Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel were actively involved in its activities, heading the workers' movement for a revolutionary and democratic way of Germany's unification and against the influence of the liberal bourgeoisie, which was quite strong in the first years of the Union's existence. At the Nuremberg Congress (see Note 135), it in fact affiliated itself with the International. Later, the Union was instrumental in the formation, at the Eisenach Congress of 1869, of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (see Note 373).—110, 118

170 In late September 1868, Engels wrote an article 'On the Dissolution of the Lassallean Workers' Association' for the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* published by Liebknecht (present edition, Vol. 21). In it he quoted excerpts from his pamphlet 'The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party' (present edition, Vol. 20).—111, 112, 114

171 A reference to a speech made by Bernhard Becker, President of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers, at the meeting of its Hamburg branch on 22 March 1865, in which he slandered the International Working Men's Association and Marx, Engels and Liebknecht personally. Becker's speech appeared in the supplement of *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 39, 26 March 1865. Marx exposed Becker's lies in his essay 'The "President of Mankind"' (present edition, Vol. 20).—112

172 Following Marx's advice, in early October 1868 Engels wrote a postscript to his article 'On the Dissolution of the Lassallean Workers' Association' (see present edition, Vol. 21), in which he exposes Becker's plagiarism in his pamphlet, mentioned in this letter.—112

173 *Blue Books*—collected documents of the British Parliament and Foreign Office published since the seventeenth century.—113, 128, 264, 481

174 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence, 1846-1895*, London, Lawrence LTD, [1934].—114, 127, 188, 191, 195, 262, 349, 428, 462, 471

175 A reference to the agreement reached by British trade unions at the first national congress in 1868, which was convened in connection with the campaign for completely legalising them. Ever since, congresses have been held

on a regular basis, and an executive body of the congress, the Parliamentary committee heading the campaign, was formed.

The *London Trades Council* was first elected at a conference of trade union delegates held in London in May 1860. It headed the London trade unions numbering thousands of members and was fairly influential among the British workers. The leaders of the following trade unions played a major role in the Council: the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (Robert Applegarth), the Shoemakers' Society (George Odger), the Operative Bricklayers' Society (Edwin Coulson and George Howell) and the Amalgamated Engineers (William Allan). All of them, except Allan, were members of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. The General Council did its best to draw the broad mass of British workers into the International and endeavoured, on the one hand, to get the local trade union organisations affiliated to it and, on the other, to induce the London Trades Council to join the International as a British Section. After the repeated deferment of the question, which was due to the struggle between the reformer leaders of the London Council who opposed affiliation and local trade union representatives, it was finally decided at the London Trades Council meetings of 9 and 14 January 1867, to co-operate with the International Association 'for the furtherance of all questions affecting the interests of labour; at the same time continuing the London Trades Council as a distinct and independent body as before' (*The Times*, No. 25708, 15 January 1867). This decision was discussed at the General Council sitting of 15 January 1867. Afterwards, the contacts between the London Trades Council and the International were maintained through the General Council members who also sat on the Trades Council.

The *London Workingmen's Association* was founded in 1866 on the initiative of George Potter and his followers for the purpose of launching a movement for trade union representation in Parliament. From the start, Potter's platform was of a conciliatory character; he and his followers made advances to the workers and professed themselves champions of universal suffrage, but in fact were ready to compromise and accept the election reform on any terms. The work of Potter's association was in fact hampering the movement for universal suffrage, headed by the Reform League (see Note 228), whose programme and tactics had been evolved under Marx's influence. The association functioned up to the 1870s.

By the *Amalgamated Trades Unions* here is meant the United Kingdom Alliance of Organised Trades set up in June 1866 at the conference of trade union delegates in Sheffield. The Alliance, which embraced 53 trade unions with the membership of nearly 60,000, existed up to late 1870.—114, 135

176 A reference to Eichhoff's letter to Marx of 27 September 1868.—116, 118

177 Marx is referring to the speech made by the leader of the Party of Progress Schulze-Delitzsch at the meeting of members of the machine-builders' union in Berlin on 24 September 1868. The meeting elected twelve delegates to the general congress of the General Association of German Workers (see Note 164). A detailed report of the meeting and Schulze-Delitzsch's speech were published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 113, 27 September 1868.—116

178 A reference to the conflict in the Paris Section of the International which was discussed at the General Council sittings on 24 January, 7, 21 and 28 February, and 7 and 14 March 1865. This was the first occasion when the General Council acted as arbiter in a section's internal affairs.

The Paris Section, which was founded at a meeting held on 28 September 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, where the International had been inaugurated, began its work in late December 1864. It was headed by an Administration comprising three correspondents approved in London, Proudhonist workers Henri Tolain, Fribourg and Charles Limousin. Alongside with Tolain's group, a lawyer and bourgeois republican Henri Lefort also claimed to be a founder and leader of the International Working Men's Association in France. Lefort's followers accused Tolain and other members of the Paris Administration of being in contact with the Bonapartists (Marx and Engels exposed this insinuation in the statement to *Der Social-Demokrat*, see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 36). Nevertheless, wishing to draw into the International the workers grouped around Lefort and trying to reduce his influence on them, Marx supported the Central Council resolution of 7 February 1865 on Lefort's appointment as 'Counsel for the literary defence' of the International in France. Those present at the meeting of the Paris Section, however, lodged a protest against this decision, and sent Tolain and Fribourg to London on 28 February to speak on this point at the Central Council meeting. The Council referred the problem to the Standing Committee, which discussed it on 4 and 6 March. Marx proposed a draft resolution which actually annulled the previously adopted decision on Lefort's appointment. This resolution has survived in his notebook (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 330). When Marx drew it up, he tried to protect the French organisation of the International from attacks by bourgeois elements and to strengthen the leadership of the Paris Section by bringing in revolutionary proletarians. The draft formed the basis for the Central Council resolution on this issue which was passed on 7 March 1865 (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 82).—118

179 A reference to a lecture delivered by Karl Vogt in September 1868 at the Schiller Institute in Manchester. See Engels' letter 'To the Directorate of the Schiller Institute' (present edition, Vol. 21).—118

180 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Selected Letters. The Personal Correspondence, 1844-1877*, Ed. by F. J. Raddatz, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, Toronto, 1981.—119, 239, 241, 264, 268, 295, 299, 372, 408, 416, 425, 436, 508, 519

181 A reference to the French constitution of 14 January 1852 issued after the Bonapartist coup d'état, under which state authority was concentrated in the hands of the president elected for a term of 10 years at a general election (see also Marx's letter to J. B. Schweitzer of 13 October 1868, this volume, p. 135).—120

182 A reference to Wilhelm Eichhoff's letters to Marx of 27 September and 2 October 1868.—120

183 A reference to Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to Marx of 2 October 1868.—120

184 A reference to a letter from Sigismund Borkheim to Marx of 3 October 1868.—120

185 A reference to Joseph Dietzgen's manuscript 'Das Wesen der menschlichen Kopfarbeit' (The Essence of Human Brainwork) sent to Marx for review from St. Petersburg, where Dietzgen lived from 1864 to 1869. The work was published for the first time in Hamburg in 1869.—120, 126, 151, 152, 154, 173

186 Marx is referring to a letter written to him by Nikolai Danielson on 30 (18) September 1868, with a postscript by Nikolai Lyubavin dated 14 (2) October. Danielson wrote: 'The significance of your latest work—*Capital. Critique of Political Economy*—has prompted one of local publishers (N. Polyakov) to undertake its translation into Russian. The various attendant circumstances make it desirable to publish the second volume simultaneously with the first. Therefore, as the publisher's representative, I request you, should you consider it possible, to send me sheets of the second volume as soon as they have been published.'

In his reply, Marx enclosed a note on his own literary and political activities, which was used in the preface to *Capital*'s Russian edition (see this volume, pp. 123-25 and Note 196).—120, 123, 149

187 At the time, Marx planned to publish the second and third books of *Capital* ('The Process of Circulation of Capital' and 'The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole') as Volume Two of *Capital* (see also Note 41).—123, 160, 412

188 The notes about Marx's literary and political work were used in the Preface to the Russian edition of Volume One of *Capital* which appeared in St. Petersburg in the spring of 1872. (On the history of its translation into Russian, see Note 196.)—123

189 In the original Marx wrote '1847' instead of '1848'. The matter is that the basis of this 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade' was the material prepared by Marx for a speech he was to have delivered at the International Congress of Economists in Brussels in September 1847 (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 279-81 and 287-90 and also notes 116 and 246).

The speech was published as a pamphlet in French at the end of January 1848.—124

190 Marx is referring to a series of articles by Engels 'The Armies of Europe' (present edition, Vol. 14) published in *Putnam's Monthly. A Magazine of Literature, Science, and Art* in August, September and December 1855 through Marx's mediation (see Marx's letter to Engels of 15 June 1855, present edition, Vol. 39). Marx helped Engels by collecting data on various European armies, the Spanish and the Neapolitan in particular, at the British Museum Library.—124

191 In Britain, the different workers' societies functioning within the same industry were admitted to the International on equal terms.—125

192 In his letter of 8 October 1868 Johann Baptist Schweitzer complained to Marx as the 'secretary of the International' about the policies pursued by Bebel, Liebknecht and their followers towards the General Association of German Workers which he headed. He mentioned the decision of the Hamburg Congress (see Note 104) to become affiliated, 'with the consent of the authorities', with the International Working Men's Association. Schweitzer demanded that Marx support him and help him check Bebel's and Liebknecht's attacks against him. Otherwise, Schweitzer threatened, he would begin 'open hostilities'.

Enclosed with his letter were the Statutes of the general Trade Union Association founded at the general congress of the General Association of German Workers in Berlin (see Note 164).—127

193 The decision to abolish the office of the General Council's President was moved on Marx's initiative by John Hales and adopted at the General Council meeting

of 24 September 1867. (See Marx's letter to Engels, 4 October 1867: present edition, Vol. 42.) The abolition of this post, which had been permanently held since 1864 by one of the British trade union leaders, George Odger, considerably weakened the position of the reformist wing of the International. Odger did not get any post when the appointment of officers in the Council took place. The International's Basle Congress (September 1869) approved the General Council's decision.—128, 135

194 The address written by Marx on instructions from the General Council and approved by the Council on 13 October 1868, is not extant.—128

195 After Volume One of *Capital* had been published, Kugelmann and Engels took considerable trouble to blow up the conspiracy of silence of bourgeois science and the bourgeois press against this work. Kugelmann's connections made it possible to distribute the book and popularise it in the democratic and bourgeois press. He managed to get published anonymously a number of reviews by Engels in the *Beobachter, Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg* and other newspapers.—130

196 A reference to the publication of the Russian translation of Volume One of *Capital*, which was undertaken by the St. Petersburg publisher N. Polyakov; on 30 (18) September 1868, Danielson wrote to Marx on his behalf (see this volume, pp. 123-25). At the end of 1869 it was decided that the translation would be made by Bakunin. However, the specimens he submitted were not accepted as satisfactory. Starting with the summer of 1870, the translation was being done by Lopatin, who used his stay in London to consult Marx. He translated chapters II, III and IV (in part) of the first German edition of Volume One. Late in 1870, with the translation still unfinished, Lopatin returned to Russia to help organise Chernyshevsky's escape from Siberia. By October 1871, the translation was finished by Danielson (he completed Chapter IV, and did chapters V and VI) and Lyubavin, a former fellow-student of Danielson, professor of chemistry at Moscow University (he translated Chapter I and the supplement). The first Russian edition of Volume One of *Capital*, which was also the first foreign edition, appeared in St. Petersburg on 8 April (27 March) 1872.—130, 480

197 Marx is apparently referring to his Paris acquaintance with N. Sazonov, M. Bakunin and G. Tolstoy, a Russian landowner.—130

198 A reference to the Adresse de l'Association internationale des femmes, à l'Association internationale des travailleurs. Bienne, le 1er Sept. 1868, signed on behalf of the Association by Marie Goegg, President of the Central Committee. The Address made it clear that the Association, which had by that time existed for about three months, was a feminist organisation which showed no interest in the issue of class struggle. It demanded that suffrage be extended to women, and advocated their equal rights to work and education. Its further history is unknown.—131

199 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence, 1846-1895*, London, Lawrence LTD [1934]; a more complete version was published in: Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1975.—132

200 Schulze-Delitzsch, a German bourgeois economist and a leader of the Party of Progress (see Note 317), advocated small savings banks and loan offices, and consumer and producer cooperatives based on the workers' own means with the aim of diverting the workers from the revolutionary struggle against

capital. Schulze-Delitzsch advocated harmony of capitalists' and workers' interests, asserting that cooperatives could help improve workers' conditions under capitalism and save small producers and artisans from ruin. Lassalle criticised Schulze-Delitzsch's cooperative plans and advanced his own idea of production associations set up by workers and sponsored by the Junker-bourgeois Prussian state.—133

201 A reference to a demand advanced by the Chartist movement in Britain which was entered into the People's Charter published on 8 May 1838 in the form of a Bill to be submitted to Parliament. It consists of six clauses: universal suffrage (for men over 21 years of age), annual elections to Parliament, secret ballot, equal constituencies, abolition of property qualifications for candidates to Parliament, and salaries for M.P.s. In 1839, 1842 and 1848 petitions for the Charter were rejected by Parliament.—133

202 Marx is referring to the new Regulations for handicraft trades, which extended the workers' right to form coalitions and stage strikes. On 29 May 1869 the Regulations were approved by the North German Reichstag (see also Note 324).—134

203 Between 14 and 22 September 1868, 13,000 miners were on strike in Essen. They demanded that deductions from wages be stopped and an eight-hour working day introduced. The strike ended in victory for the workers.—136

204 A reference to the distribution of Marx's book *The Poverty of Philosophy*... (see present edition, Vol. 6), which was written in 1847 in Brussels and published (1,500 copies) that same year by two publishers simultaneously, Vogler's in Brussels and Frank's in Paris, who in 1865 sold his business to publisher F. Vieweg. The publication was undertaken on a commission basis: Marx paid part of the expenses as the author and was to receive a certain sum from the sale of each copy. By 1868, the demand for the book grew steeply owing to the mounting campaign against the Proudhonist elements in the International, while the book became a bibliographical rarity. In view of this, Marx applied, in October 1868, to the Paris publisher, who, as is clear from the letter, had stopped the sales altogether. Nothing is known about the results of Lafargue's negotiations on this issue.—137, 217

205 Alexandre Besson and Victor Le Lubez (see Note 72) had sent a letter to Hermann Jung in October 1868 in which they protested against the decision of the Brussels Congress to expel Pierre Vésinier from the International (see Note 156). In their letter they also attacked Hermann Jung and Eugène Dupont, members of the General Council. On 19 October 1868, Jung informed Marx about the French Section's meeting at which he was going to defend the International.—139

206 A reference to the reactionary Prussian Law on Associations passed on 11 March 1850.—140

207 Engels is referring to the Democratic Labour Union (Der Demokratische Arbeiterverein) that was formed in October 1868 following a split in the Berlin Workers' Union, which rejected, by 32 votes against 28, the resolutions of the Nuremberg Congress (see Note 135). A leading role in the founding of the new Union belonged to Eichhoff, who kept in constant touch with Marx and was the Berlin correspondent of the General Council of the First International. On 3 November 1868, at a General Council meeting, Marx reported on the formation of the Democratic Labour Union. On Eichhoff's suggestion, the Union joined the Union of German Workers' Associations headed by Bebel and

Liebknecht, and adopted its programme based on the International's principles. The Democratic Labour Union also maintained close contacts with the Berlin Section of the International. Almost all of its members were also members of the International. To emphasise its proletarian character, two workers, Wilcke and Kämmerer, were elected its Presidents. The Democratic Labour Union actively opposed the Lassalleans. Wilhelm Liebknecht used to speak at its meetings. In 1869 it joined the Social-Democratic Workers' Party set up at the Eisenach Congress.—140

208 A reference to Chapter VI, 'Der Accumulationsprozess des Kapitals' of the first German edition of *Capital*'s Volume One (1867). Corresponding to it in the second and subsequent German editions is Part VII. In the English edition of 1887 which was prepared by Engels this is Part VII ('The Accumulation of Capital') and Part VIII ('The So-Called Primitive Accumulation') (see present edition, Vol. 35).—141

209 In his letter to Marx of 15 October 1868 Kugelmann wrote about a review of *Capital* by Hansen, a Berlin professor of political economy, who said, among other things, that it was 'the most significant phenomenon of this century'. Hansen also offered Marx a professorship in political economy.—142, 144

210 A reference to a meeting held on 20 October 1868. It was organised by the French Section in London (see Note 72). It was held mainly by petty-bourgeois refugees headed by Pyat, who had lost contact with the International. They came out against the resolution on the bourgeois pacifist League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 271) passed by the Brussels Congress on 12 September 1868. It stated that the existence of a pacifist league claiming to be the leader of the international workers' movement is superfluous given the existence of the International Working Men's Association. It was suggested that the League should join the International and its members should become members of International's sections. On 20 October Marx wrote to the General Council about the forthcoming meeting. The Council referred the issue for consideration to its executive body, the Sub-Committee, granting it special powers for exposing the intentions of the meeting's organisers should this prove necessary.—143

211 Probably a reference to the strike of British tailors which began in March 1866. It was headed by the Executive Committee of the Journeymen Tailors' Protective Association formed at the national conference of British tailors held in Manchester on 12-17 March 1866. London entrepreneurs tried to recruit apprentices in Belgium, France and Switzerland through their agents. In this connection, the General Council published an appeal in these countries' newspapers urging the tailors to refuse to go to England on account of the strike under way there. The entrepreneurs' plans were foiled, and they were obliged to make concessions and raise the wages.—143

212 A reference to Kugelmann's letter to Marx of 24 October 1868.—144

213 This letter has come down to us as a copy written in English in Sigfrid Meyer's hand.—147

214 The General Council's credentials for August Vogt, which Marx enclosed with his letter to Meyer and Vogt of 28 October 1868, are published according to the copy made by Sigfrid Meyer on the copy of Marx's letter to Jessup of 28 October 1868.—148

215 In his letters to Marx of 31 October and 31 October-1 November 1868, Eichhoff cleared himself of the charge of being connected with the Prussian

police (see Note 61). Among the reasons that had led to this suspicion was an inaccurate report of Eichhoff's speech at the first meeting of the Berlin Democratic Labour Union (see Note 207) on 15 October 1868 published by *Die Zukunft* and later by the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 43, 24 October 1868.—151, 152

216 A reference to the 'Adresse an die Demokraten Spaniens' (Address to the Democrats of Spain) issued in October 1868 on behalf of the Social-Democrats of Saxony in connection with the revolution in Spain (see Note 165). The Address was published in the supplement to the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, edited by Liebknecht, No. 44, 31 October 1868.—151

217 An allusion to the June 1848 uprising of Paris workers which ended in the defeat of the insurgents, and at the coup d'état accomplished in France on 2 December 1851, which established the military bourgeois dictatorship of Louis Napoleon. On 2 December 1852, the Empire was proclaimed, and Louis Bonaparte became Emperor Napoleon III.—152, 242

218 A reference to the 'Adresse au peuple et au Congrès des États-Unis d'Amérique' (Address to the People and Congress of the United States of America) which was read on 2 November 1868 at a meeting convened in London by petty-bourgeois democrats Felix Pyat, Victor Le Lubez, J. V. Weber, etc. The Address was printed by *La Cigale*, No. 45, 8 November 1868, and *L'Espiègle*, No. 45, 8 November 1868.—155

219 A reference to Borkheim's letter to Engels of 9 November 1868.—156

220 The 'gang system' mentioned here has been described by Marx on pages 684-87 of the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital* (1867). In the second (1872) and subsequent German editions, this information was to be found in Part VII, Chapter XXIII, 'The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation'. Corresponding to it in the English edition of 1887 prepared by Engels was Ch. XXV Section 5e ('The British Agricultural Proletariat') of Part VII ('The Accumulation of Capital').—156

221 The meeting convened in Paris on 10 October 1868 by French economists and journalists, including Horn, was devoted to the problem 'capital and interest from the point of view of labour'. A report of the meeting was published by *Le Figaro*, No. 285, 11 October 1868, under the heading 'Chronique de Paris'.—158

222 A reference to the subscription launched by the democratic and republican Paris press to raise money for a monument to Victor Baudin, deputy of the Legislative Assembly, who died on the barricades during the Bonapartist coup of 2 December 1851. Against the background of mounting anti-Bonapartist sentiments, the subscription assumed the nature of a mass political campaign. Its organisers had legal proceedings instituted against them on the charge of inciting hatred against the government. The trial took place on 13-14 November 1868. The accounts were published in pamphlet form under the heading 'Affaire de la souscription Baudin (The affair of Baudin's subscription) in Paris, in 1868. The monument was unveiled only in 1872.

The *banquet movement*—a campaign for an electoral reform in France in 1847, on the eve of the revolution. Bourgeois-democratic elements took an active part in it alongside the bourgeois liberals. Engels gave his opinion of this movement in a number of articles (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 364-66, 375-82, 385-87, 393-401, 409-11, 438-44).—159, 188, 191

223 The *Bank Charter Act* (An Act to Regulate the Issue of Bank-Notes, and for Giving to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England Certain Privileges for a Limited Period) was introduced by Robert Peel on 19 July 1844. It provided for the division of the Bank of England into two separate departments, each with its own cash account—the Banking Department, dealing exclusively with credit operations, and the Issue Department issuing bank-notes. The Act limited the quantity of bank-notes in circulation and guaranteed them with definite gold and silver reserves, which could not be used for the credit operations of the Banking Department. Further issues of bank-notes were allowed only in the event of a corresponding increase in the precious metal reserves. The issue of bank-notes by provincial banks was stopped. The Act was suspended several times by the government itself, in particular, during the economic crises of 1847, 1857 and 1866. Marx gave an analysis of the meaning and significance of the 1844 Act in a series of articles written in 1857-58 for the *New-York Daily Tribune*: 'The Vienna Note.—The United States and Europe.—Letters from Shumla.—Peel's Bank Act' (see present edition, Vol. 12), 'The Bank Act of 1844 and the Monetary Crises in England', 'The British Revulsion' (Vol. 15), 'The English Bank Act of 1844' (Vol. 16), etc. A detailed description of the Act was given by Marx in *Capital*, Vol. III (Chapter XXXIV) (Vol. 37).—159, 166

224 Marx is referring to the Chapter 'Spaltung von Profit in Zins und industriellen Profit. Das zinstragende Kapital' of his manuscript of Book Three of *Capital* written in 1864-65. In Volume Three of *Capital* published by Engels in 1894 it corresponds to the entire Part V 'Division of Profit into Interest and Profit of Enterprise. Interest-Bearing Capital' (see present edition, Vol. 37).—160

225 A reference to the confidential address of the Permanent Central Committee Bureau of the League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 271) of 22 September 1868. It was published as a leaflet signed by Gustav Vogt, the President of the Bureau and Editor-in-Chief of the League's press organ, *Les États-Unis d'Europe*. The address called on the League 'to become a *pure political expression* of great economic and social interests and principles which are now developed and spread so triumphantly by the great International Working Men's Association of Europe and America' (see also K. Marx, F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*, present edition, Vol. 23.).—161

226 The decision to publish the resolutions of the Geneva and Brussels congresses was adopted by the General Council on 6 October 1868 on a suggestion by Lafargue and Dupont. The preparatory work was done by Eccarius, while Marx put the finishing touches and checked the translation into English. The first part of the pamphlet was published in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 371, 21 November and the second, in No. 374 on 12 December 1868. In February 1869 the resolutions were published in London in pamphlet form, under the heading: 'The International Working Men's Association. Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and Congress of Brussels, 1868'.—161, 221, 223

227 A reference to the bankruptcy of Overend, Gurney and Company, a major British bank. It financially ruined a large number of depositors. The matter was brought to court; the trial ended in December 1869 with the acquittal of the company directors.—161, 208, 305, 548

228 The *Reform League* was founded in London in the spring of 1865 on the initiative and with the direct participation of the International's General

Council as a political centre of the mass movement for the second election reform. The League's leading bodies—the Council and Executive Committee—included the General Council members, mainly trade-union leaders. The League's programme was drafted under the influence of Marx, who called upon the working-classes to pursue their policy independently of bourgeois parties. Unlike these parties, which confined their demands to household suffrage, the League advanced the demand for manhood suffrage. This revived Chartist slogan (see Note 201) evoked a sympathetic response among the working class and won the League the support of the trade unions, hitherto indifferent to politics. The League had branches in all major industrial towns and counties. However, the vacillations of the bourgeois radicals in its leadership, and the conciliation of the trade union leaders prevented the League from following the line chartered by the General Council. The British bourgeoisie succeeded in splitting the movement, and a moderate reform was carried out in 1867 which granted franchise only to the petty bourgeoisie and the upper layer of the working class (see Note 3).—161, 245

229 In St. Stephen's Chapel, where the House of Commons sat between 1547 and 1834. Later, came to designate the House of Commons of the British Parliament.—162

230 *Chassepot*—a needle-gun invented in 1866 by a French worker and named after him; the French army was supplied with this type of weapon in 1866-74.—162, 553

231 Marx exposed the slanderous attacks of the French bourgeois newspaper *Le Constitutionnel* against the Paris workers, participants in the June 1848 uprising, in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 154, 156, 479).—162

232 *Rotten boroughs*—sparsely populated or depopulated small towns and villages in England which enjoyed the right to send representatives to Parliament since the Middle Ages. These representatives were in fact appointed by the landed aristocracy, who controlled the handful of 'free voters' who nominally elected them. The 'rotten boroughs' were disfranchised by the electoral reforms of 1832, 1867 and 1884.—163

233 The *Mobile Guard* was set up by a decree of the Provisional Government on 25 February 1848 with the secret aim of fighting the insurgent people. Its armed units consisted mainly of lumpen-proletarians and were used to crush the June uprising of the Paris workers. Subsequently, it was disbanded on the insistence of the Bonapartists, who feared that in the event of a conflict between President Bonaparte and the republicans the Mobile Guard would side with the latter.

For Marx's description of the Mobile Guard, see his work *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 62-63).—164

234 Marx's article for *The Diplomatic Review* was written on request of Collet Dobson Collet, the publisher, on 9 November 1868 (see this volume, p. 159), and published under the heading 'How Mr. Gladstone's Bank Letter of 1866 Procured a Loan of Six Millions for Russia' (see present edition, Vol. 21). The editors of *The Diplomatic Review* prefaced it with a note which introduced Marx as the author of *Capital* and the *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* (see present edition, vols. 35 and 15).—166

235 The *National Sunday League*—a philanthropic educational organisation which campaigned to get the cultural establishments—museums, concert halls,

etc.—to stay open on Sundays, since the working population was unable to visit them on weekdays. Its honorary secretary was R. M. Morell, and a member of the council—the bourgeois radical Baxter Langley. The League's activities met with a strong opposition from the Anglican Church and the religious organisations which demanded a strict observance of Sundays.

The League's premises at 256, High Holborn, London, W.C. were the venue of the General Council meetings held between June 1868 and February 1872.—166

236 A reference to the anonymous article 'Look before You Leap, and Beware of Traitors' (*Reynolds's Newspaper*, No. 949, 18 October 1868), which sharply criticised Jones' attitude to the Whigs and accused him of being a renegade. During the Parliamentary election campaign, Jones openly supported the Whig candidates from Carlisle saying that 'the Whigs had now come round to the Democrats, and joined hands with them'. The article in the *Reynolds's Newspaper* quoted Jones' remarks of more than ten years before (published by the *Democrat* newspaper of Carlisle) which did not tally with his later actions: 'The Whigs are the political adventurers; ... they are the men who keep their hands in the pockets of the people; they are tricky politicians. On each side of them stand two classes—one on each side of them, and the thief is in the middle. The one is the Tory; the other is the Radical; and the Whig—the thief—is in the middle.'—166

237 This letter is the rough draft of Engels' reply to W. Holzenhauer's letter of 18 August 1868. Holzenhauer wrote that he had been employed by the firm of Ermen and Engels in Engelskirchen for 18 years, from the time of its foundation (see Note 238), and had been dismissed after a quarrel with Adolf von Griesheim.—169

238 A reference to the German branch of the firm Ermen & Engels—at Engelskirchen (near Cologne) founded c. 1840 by Friedrich Engels Sr., which ran the German side of the enterprise with the assistance of Anthony Ermen. The firm had its offices in Barmen.

After their father's death in March 1860, Engels' brothers Hermann, Rudolf and Emil suggested that Frederick should give his share in the business over to them. One of the reasons they named was that he had been living abroad since 1849. Engels was to receive £10,000 in compensation to consolidate his legal and financial position in the firm of Ermen & Engels in Manchester. He became its co-owner in 1864 (see also Note 158).—169

239 This letter was published in English in full for the first time in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Selected Letters. The Personal Correspondence, 1844-1877*, Ed. by F. J. Raddatz, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, Toronto, 1981.—169, 269

240 A reference to Schweitzer's reply of 2 December 1868 to Marx's letter of 13 October 1868 (see this volume, pp. 132-35). Schweitzer defended the draft Statutes of the Lassallean trade unions (which Marx had criticised) and the political course of the General Association of German Workers which he headed (see notes 104 and 164). Schweitzer declared that he had more reason for leadership of the German workers' movement than Liebknecht, and claimed that control should be concentrated in his hands. As he put it, a reconciliation between Liebknecht and him was possible only if Marx, whom both sides recognised as the 'spiritual Eminence' should personally intervene to support Schweitzer against Liebknecht.—172, 175, 176

241 A reference to the letter from the Saxon miners of Lugau, Nieder-Würschnitz and Oelsnitz, dated 15 November 1868, which expressed their wish to join the International, was sent to Marx and read at the General Council meeting of 24 November 1868 (see Note 281).—172, 176

242 In his letter to the General Council of 29 November 1868, written on behalf of the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections in Geneva, Johann Philipp Becker wrote that Bebel, President of the Union of the German Workers' Associations (see Note 169), had stated in his circular letter that societies could join the International Working Men's Association without paying membership dues. Bebel's purpose in doing so was to popularise the resolution on joining the International passed by the Nuremberg Congress (see Note 135). This question was discussed at the General Council meeting on 15 December 1868, at which Marx stated that he had requested Liebknecht to remove that point from the circular letter.—172

243 A reference to the formation of a new Cabinet under Gladstone. On that occasion, *The Times* featured an editorial which contained, among other things, predictions about the appointments likely to be taken up by Lowe and Bright (see *The Times*, No. 26300, 5 December 1868).—176

244 Above the address in the original is the oval seal of the General (Central) Council with the inscription: 'International Working Men's Association, Central Council, London'.—177, 195

245 A reference to Sigfrid Meyer's letter of 24 November 1868, which was a reply to Marx's letter of 28 October 1868 (see this volume, pp. 148-49). Meyer wrote about the progress of the labour movement in the USA and the work he was doing with August Vogt to set up a German Section of the International in New York.—177

246 A reference to the cotton crisis produced by the cessation of cotton deliveries from the USA due to the blockade of the slave-owning Southern states by the Northern states' navy during the Civil War of 1861-65. The cotton famine in Britain began just before the overproduction crisis and merged with it. Since 1862, and for two or three years, three-quarters of the cotton mills in Lancashire, Cheshire, and some other counties stood totally or partially idle.—179

247 Marx quotes Kugelmann's letter of 7 December 1868 that contained Joseph Dietzgen's address for which Marx had asked (see this volume, p. 173) and some information about him. Enclosed with the letter was Dietzgen's photograph and W. A. Freund's letter.—180

248 A reference to the lecture 'On the Physical Basis of Life' delivered by Th. H. Huxley in Edinburgh on 8 November 1868. Later, on 1 February 1869, it was published in *The Fortnightly Review*, No. XXVI.—183, 242

249 See Note 247.—184

250 This letter is a rough draft of Marx's reply to the letter from the firm of Asher & Co., Foreign Booksellers & Publishers, 12 December 1868. It contained a request for a copy of Marx's pamphlet *Herr Vogt*, which was not available in London.

The fair copy of the letter has not been found.—185

251 A reference to the letter from A. A. Serno-Solovyevich to Marx of 20 November 1868, in which he requested Marx, on behalf of the commission

preparing the workers' newspaper *L'Égalité*, to be a permanent correspondent of this printed organ of the French Section of the International Working Men's Association.—186

252 The *Brimstone Gang* —a students' association at the University of Jena in the 1770s which was notorious for its brawls; subsequently the expression became widespread. In 1849-50, it was the jocular nickname of the group of German petty-bourgeois émigrés in Geneva. In 1859, petty-bourgeois democrat Karl Vogt made a number of slanderous statements in which he associated the activities of the Brimstone Gang with Marx and his followers. Marx refuted his allegations in his pamphlet *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 28-37).—186

253 A reference to the blockade of the Southern ports, from which cotton was shipped to England, declared by Lincoln on 19 April 1861. The blockade, which lasted till August 1865, was not very effective, however, since contraband trade developed between the Southern states and England and also between the South and the North. Liverpool played a special role in the smuggling of commodities between England and the Confederation: for the first two years of the war 31 thousand bales of pressed cotton were delivered there. (See K. Marx, 'The British Cotton Trade' and 'The Crisis in England', present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 17-20 and 53-56.)—186

254 Marx refers to the speech made by Louis Michel on 13 November 1851 in the Legislative Assembly (see *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 318, 14 November 1851, supplement 1) concerning the Bill introduced on 6 November 1851 by the royalists Le Flô, Baze and Panat, questors of the Legislative Assembly (deputies of the Assembly in charge of economic and financial matters and security). The Bill, which gave the Chairman of the Legislative Assembly the right to summon troops, was rejected on 17 November. When the vote was taken, the Montagne supported the Bonapartists, seeing the royalists as the principal danger.—188

255 A reference to the meeting of the deputies of the Party of Order at the French Legislative Assembly held in the Mayor's office of Paris' 10th district on 2 December 1851. It adopted a resolution on Louis Napoleon's resignation from the post of President and the transition of power to the Legislative Assembly. The deputies refused to apply to workers for support. This attempt at legalised opposition to the coup d'état was immediately suppressed by the police and the troops. Participants in the meeting were arrested.

A detailed report of the meeting was published in: E. Ténot, *Paris en décembre 1851. Étude historique sur le coup d'état*, Paris, 1868, pp. 142-64.—188, 191

256 A reference to the Frankfurt Parliament or the German National Assembly, which was convened after the March revolution in Germany and first met on 18 May 1848 in Frankfurt am Main. Its principal goal was to overcome the political fragmentation of the country and work out a German constitution. The liberal deputies, who were in the majority, turned the Assembly into a mere debating club. It did not dare call upon the people to rebuff the onslaught of counter-revolution and defend the constitution. When the major German states recalled their deputies, and the authorities of Frankfurt am Main banned meetings within the city limits, the left-wing elements moved to Stuttgart and tried to launch a legal campaign in defence of the imperial constitution, but were dispersed by the troops on 18 June 1849. Marx and Engels severely criticised the activities of the Frankfurt National Assembly in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see present edition, vols. 7, 8 and 9).—189

257 This refers to the Programme and Rules of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy (Programme et Règlement de l'Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste), founded by Mikhail Bakunin, in Geneva in October 1868. Besides Bakunin, members of its Provisional Committee were Brosset, Duval, Guétat, Perron, Zagorsky and Johann Philipp Becker. In 1868 leaflets in French and German containing these documents were published in Geneva. On 29 November, Becker, who shortly afterwards broke with Bakunin, sent the Alliance's Programme and Rules to the General Council for approval. On 15 December, the General Council spoke against the admission of the Alliance to the International Working Men's Association, and on 22 December unanimously approved, with insignificant amendments, a circular letter 'The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy' (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 34-36) written by Marx and approved by Engels, which exposed the Alliance's wish to split the workers' movement (see this volume, p. 192). The circular letter was sent out to all the sections of the International as a confidential communication.

For the text of the Programme and Rules of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy with Marx's remarks, see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 207-11.—190, 191, 201, 211, 218, 413, 424, 489

258 After the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in France in February 1848, foreigners residing in Paris conceived the idea of setting up armed legions for the purpose of establishing republics in their home countries. Marx and Engels were resolutely opposed to the export of revolution as an adventurist and unsound venture which doomed the revolutionary forces to destruction. A case in point was the fate of the Belgian republican legion which was making its way home from Paris and was ambushed by Belgian government troops on 29 March 1849 immediately after crossing the French border near the village of Risquons-Tout (see also Engels' article 'The Antwerp Death Sentences', present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 404-06).—195

259 In November 1868, the reformist trade union leaders in Britain (Applegarth, etc.) took part in the setting up of a committee for the organisation on behalf of the workers of a banquet in honour of the American Ambassador in London Reverdy Johnson. On 1 December 1868, the General Council made public the committee's letter which suggested that the Council should send its representative to the banquet. Marx, who was opposed to the workers' participation in the organisation of such a function, said that Johnson 'did not represent the working classes of America [and that] the working classes ought not to go in the wake of the upper and middle classes'. The General Council resolved to send Robert Shaw and Hermann Jung to the committee's organisational meeting to campaign against this sort of undertaking. Thanks to the steps taken by the General Council representatives, the attempt to give a reception in honour of Johnson on behalf of the workers failed.—195

260 An excerpt from this letter was published in the Sotheby Parke Bernet and C° catalogue on 19 April 1977.—196

261 Marx apparently sent his daughter Laura a volume of poetry by Rückert, a German Romantic poet, whose work was influenced by Goethe's Oriental poetry.—196

262 The *Corn Laws* (first introduced in the fifteenth century) imposed high import duties on agricultural produce in the interests of landowners in order to maintain high prices for these products on the home market. In 1838 the

Manchester factory owners Cobden and Bright founded the Anti-Corn Law League, which demanded the lifting of the corn tariffs and urged unlimited freedom of trade with the aim of weakening the economic and political power of the landed aristocracy and reducing workers' wages. The struggle between industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the Corn Laws ended in 1846 with their repeal.—196

263 Marx refers to the second section of Chapter VI in the first German edition (1867) of Volume One of *Capital* entitled 'Die s.g. ursprüngliche Accumulation'. In the second (1872) and subsequent German editions the structure of the volume underwent changes. The above-mentioned Chapter VI came to form Part VII, while the second section of it became Chapter XXIV. Corresponding to this section in the English edition of 1887 prepared by Engels are chapters XXVI-XXXII, Part VIII ('The So-Called Primitive Accumulation', see present edition, Vol. 35).—197

264 A reference to Bakunin's letter to Marx of 22 December 1868 (see *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. I, No. 1, Stuttgart, 1900-1901, S. 6-8).—198, 202

265 De Paepe took a firm stand on the policy of Bakunin and his followers who intended to split and disorganise the International. In a letter of 16 January 1869, addressed to the initiating committee of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Note 257), De Paepe criticised the activities of the Bakuninists and their programme and supported the decision of the General Council on the Alliance passed on 22 December 1868 (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 34-36).—198

266 Marx is referring to the economic struggle of the Swiss weavers and building workers, which began on 9 November 1868 with the strike of the ribbon-weavers and dyers in Basle and lasted until the spring of 1869. Marx described it in detail in the 'Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association' (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 68-82).—198, 199, 203, 209

267 A reference to the meeting of the General Council Sub-Committee held on Saturday, 2 January 1869, which discussed the question of the lockouts declared by the textile manufacturers in Rouen and Basle (see notes 266, 272).—198

268 Herzen announced his decision not to take any further part in the publication of the *Kolokol* (The Bell) in 'Lettre à N. Ogareff' in No. 14-15, 1 December 1868.—200

269 *Seven Dials* was a poor district in London between Charing Cross and Oxford Street. The place got its name because on this crossing of seven streets once stood a pillar surmounted by seven dials, one for each street. The pillar was removed in 1773.—201

270 The 'Provisional Rules of the Association' written by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 20), which the General Council unanimously approved on 1 November 1864, was published in English, together with the 'Inaugural Address', as a pamphlet entitled *Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association...* in London in November 1864, and in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 161, 12 November 1864. The translation of the 'Provisional Rules' into French made in late 1864-early 1865 contained a number of inaccuracies through the fault of the Proudhonist leaders of the Paris Section. The new and corrected French translation was made by Charles

Longuet under Marx's supervision and was included in the pamphlet *Manifeste de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs suivi du Règlement provisoire*, which appeared in Brussels in 1866. The Geneva Congress of 1866 approved the Rules (General Rules) and amplified them with Regulations (later Administrative Regulations). These documents were published in late November 1866 in the pamphlet *Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Statuts et réglement*, Londres, 1866 (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 441). However, the publication remained little known, as out of the 1,000 copies issued, 800 were held up at a frontier post on their way to France. A separate edition of the Rules and Regulations in English appeared in London in 1867 under the heading 'Rules of the International Working Men's Association', London, 1867.—202

271 The *League of Peace and Freedom* was a pacifist organisation set up in 1867 in Switzerland with the active participation of Victor Hugo and Giuseppe Garibaldi. In 1867-68, Bakunin took part in its work. At the outset the League, influenced by Bakunin, tried to use the workers' movement and the International Working Men's Association for its own ends. Voicing the anti-militarist sentiments of the people, the League's leaders, however, approached peace action from a pacifist stand, refused to reveal the social causes of wars and not infrequently reduced anti-militarist actions to mere declarations. The League's Inaugural Congress was scheduled for 9 September 1867 (originally 5 September) in Geneva to coincide with the conclusion of the Lausanne Congress of the International (2-8 September 1867). At the General Council meeting of 13 August (see *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, 17 August 1867), Marx spoke against the International's official participation in the League's Inaugural Congress, since this would have signified approval of its bourgeois programme, but suggested that some members of the International should attend the Congress on their own to try and make it adopt revolutionary and democratic decisions. The Lausanne Congress ignored the decision of the General Council and, influenced by petty-bourgeois elements, resolved to be officially represented at the League's congress. Marx's tactics against the League of Peace and Freedom were fully approved by the Brussels Congress of the International (see Note 138).—202, 489

272 In December 1868, following the wage cuts in the cotton yarns and goods industry, a wave of strikes began in various regions of France, the most important being the one in Sotteville-lès-Rouen. The Rouen Section of the International arranged for the strikers to receive support from workers in other industries in Paris and Rouen. The Rouen Section applied for aid to the General Council. The question of the strikes in Rouen and Vienne was discussed on 5 January 1869 at the Council meeting. On Marx's proposal, it was unanimously decided to voice a protest against the arbitrary rule of the French manufacturers (the resolution was published in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 379, 16 January 1869). The Council requested the British workers to render aid to the locked-out workers of Rouen and took other steps to give material aid to the strikers.

A detailed account of the strike in Rouen was presented in the 'Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association' written by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 73-74).—203

273 A reference to the Polish Insurrection Cross, the symbol of the Polish people's national liberation struggle, given to Jenny Marx on her birthday. Since late

1867 Jenny wore this cross on a green ribbon, the national colour of Ireland, as a sign of mourning for the Fenians executed on 23 November 1867.—206, 214

274 On Marx's advice, Borkheim wrote eleven articles brought together in the series *Russische Briefe* (Russian letters): on the Russian railways (I-VII), on Mikhail Bakunin (VIII-X), and on the Russian press (XI). They appeared in *Die Zukunft* in January-August and November of 1869 and in February and March of 1870. In a letter to Engels of 19 January 1869, Borkheim asked him to recommend books for use in his work on the articles.—206, 436

275 This letter is written on a form with the letterhead: 'Memorandum from *Ermen & Engels* to M'.—206, 207

276 A reference to the Constitution of the Swiss Confederation adopted on 12 September 1848. It granted the population the right to take part in exercising legislative power in the forms of Volksanregung and Initiativbegehren. In place of a former Diet, the central legislative body, the Federal Assembly, consisting of a National Council and Council of States, was set up.—209

277 A reference to the fact that up to August 1869, the *Demokratisches Worchenblatt* edited by Liebknecht remained a joint press organ of the German People's Party (see Note 38) and the Union of German Workers' Associations (see Note 169).—210

278 Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11), in which, following the events, Marx revealed the essence of Bonapartism, drew attention of the leaders of the working-class movement in the 1860s. In 1864 Wilhelm Liebknecht tried to arrange a new publication of the work in Switzerland. Sophie von Hatzfeldt, Lassalle's friend and associate, offered assistance. Marx, however, turned it down (see Marx to Sophie von Hatzfeldt, 22 December 1864, present edition, Vol. 42).

In 1865, Marx apparently had the idea of publishing a collection of his and Engels' works in Germany. The edition was to include also *The Eighteenth Brumaire...* (see Marx to Wilhelm Liebknecht, 24 June 1865, present edition, Vol. 42). Marx and Engels planned to enlist the services of Otto Meissner, the publisher of Volume One of *Capital* (see Engels to Marx, 27 April 1867, present edition, Vol. 42). The negotiations were, however, protracted. Against the background of the exacerbating crisis of the Second Empire in France, Marx stepped up his efforts to get a second edition of the work printed. Already in late January 1869, Marx, who on 27 January had received Meissner's agreement to undertake a second edition of *The Eighteenth Brumaire...*, sent him a corrected version (see this volume, Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann, 11 May 1869, and p. 222). The second authorised German edition of this work appeared in Hamburg in late July 1869.—211

279 Marx addressed the same request concerning his work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* to a number of his friends, including Borkheim. It was F. Wohlauer who sent Marx a copy of the book probably together with the letter of 1 February 1869.—211

280 Marx refers to Gustav Adolf Bachmann's letter of 31 January 1869 with the request of the Lugau workers to be affiliated with the International Working Men's Association. See *Die I. Internationale in Deutschland*, Berlin, 1964, S. 295.—214, 219

281 Engels wrote the 'Report on the Miners' Guilds in the Coalfields of Saxony' (see present edition, Vol. 21) at Marx's request on the basis of material sent in by

the Saxon miners from Lugau, Nieder-Würschnitz and Oelsnitz, who informed the General Council and Marx personally of their wish to join the International (see Note 241). The report, which Engels had written in English, was read at the General Council meeting of 23 February 1869. An abridged version appeared in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 385, 27 February 1869. Other English newspapers, including *The Times*, *The Daily News* and *The Morning Advertiser*, refused to carry the report. In early March 1869 Marx himself translated it into German, and it was published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 33, 17 March, *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 12 (supplement), 20 March, and *Die Zukunft*, nos. 67 and 68, 20 and 21 March 1869.—214, 219, 220, 221, 223, 226, 227, 230, 244

282 As is clear from Lafargue's letter to Marx's wife Jenny, written before 12 February 1869, the matter under discussion was Lafargue's negotiations with the French authoress Clémence Royer about the translation of Volume One of *Capital* into French. The negotiations proved unproductive. On the translation of *Capital* into French, see also notes 309 and 441.—217

283 A reference to the plan for the publication of a French daily political newspaper *La Renaissance*, to be started in 1869. Among the proposed staff members were Blanquists (Jaclard, Tridon etc.) and republicans (Ranc). A major contribution to the work was made by Lafargue, who wrote two articles, one a critique of Proudhonism, and the other a concise exposition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (the manuscripts are not extant). Lafargue tried to persuade Marx to contribute to the newspaper. Due to a shortage of funds the project fell through, but the preparations had gone so far that in early 1869, a prospectus 'Pour paraître le 24 février [18]69. *La Renaissance*, Journal politique hebdomadaire' was brought out.—217, 220, 225, 287, 290, 308, 316

284 The Berne Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 271) took place on 21-25 September 1868.—218

285 A reference to the preparatory materials for Borkheim's articles 'Michael Bakunin' (VIII-X) in the *Russische Briefe* series (see Note 274), brought out by *Die Zukunft* on 21 July, 13 and 15 August and 2 November 1869. Among the materials used by Borkheim was Bakunin's 'Address to the Russian, Polish and All Slavic Friends' (printed in the *Kolokol*, No. 123-124, supplement, 15 February 1862).—219, 223

286 Engels visited Marx in London from around 4 to 7 February 1869.—222

287 Marx is referring to the book: J. L. Foster, *An Essay on the Principles of Commercial Exchanges between England and Ireland*, London, 1804. The source of this research was the material collected by two Parliamentary commissions, the Secret Committee of the House of Lords and the Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1797 to investigate the affairs of the Bank of England in connection with the operation of the so-called Bank Restriction Act, promulgated on 3 May 1797. It introduced a compulsory exchange-rate of the Bank of England bank-notes and cancelled the exchange of bank-notes into gold. In 1819, the British Parliament adopted a new law which re-established the exchange of bank-notes into gold. The exchange was completely restored by 1821.

A synopsis of Foster's book made by Marx is extant. Marx made it in his notebook of excerpts entitled 'Heft II. 1869' probably right after he had received the book.—224

288 This is probably an error. W. Blake's work *Observations on the Principles Which Regulate the Course of Exchange; and on the Present Depreciated State of the Currency,* which deals with the difference between the nominal and the real rate of exchange, appeared in London in 1810. In 1802, a book by W. T. Thornton *An Inquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Paper Credit of Great Britain* was published in London. W. Blake repeatedly refers to Thornton's work in the sections on the real and nominal rate of exchange. Marx's synopses of the works by Blake and Thornton have come down to us. They are to be found in Marx's II and VI London notebooks of excerpts of 1850-53 (see MEGA$^2$, IV/7, S. 115-27 and 506-27).

Marx mentions William Petty's works dealing with the difference between the nominal and the real rate of exchange in the *Theories of Surplus-Value* (see present edition, Vol. 34).—224

289 Marx is referring to the decision of the British Government to pardon some of the Fenians who took part in the 1867 uprising. A statement to this effect was made by C. Fortescue-Parkinson, Chief Secretary for Ireland, at the House of Commons on 22 February 1869 (see *The Times*, No. 26368, 23 February 1869). Under the new decision, 49 out of 81 convicts, at that time undergoing penal servitude in Australia and Great Britain, were liable to unconditional pardon. 'The class to which he referred might be described as partly young men, hot-headed and easily led, literally the dupes and tools of others and incapable, as far as can be ascertained, of doing mischief to the public hereafter, if undirected,' wrote *The Times*.—224

290 Marx likens Gladstone's cabinet (1868-74) to the 'Cabinet of All the Talents'; this ironic name had been given to the notorious Coalition Ministry of Lord Aberdeen (1852-55). A characteristic of the 'Cabinet of All the Talents' is contained in the article by Marx and Engels, 'The Late British Government' (see present edition, Vol. 13, p. 620).—224

291 A reference to the negotiations on the payment of damages inflicted on the United States by Britain, which during the American Civil War of 1861-65 rendered assistance to the insurgent slave-owning Southern states, specifically, by equipping warships for them. Among these, the principal one was the *Alabama*, which operated against the Northerners from August 1862 to July 1864. On 23 November 1868, representatives of the USA and Great Britain signed a convention to cover all Anglo-American claims since 1853 but ignoring those of the *Alabama*. The dispute was finally settled on 14 September 1872, when the Geneva tribunal ruled that Britain should pay $15.5 mln to the United States.—225

292 Marx quotes a translation into Scots made by John Bellenden of a Scottish 16th century chronicle originally written by Hector Boece, a poet and chronicler. The translation was published in Edinburgh in 1536 under the title *The History and Chronicles of Scotland* and reprinted in 1821. The original, written in Latin, first appeared in Paris in 1527 under the title *Scotorum Historiae a prima gentis origine cum aliarum et rerum et gentium illustratione non vulgari* and reprinted, with supplements, in 1574.—226, 230

293 A reference to *La loi relatif à des mesures de sûreté générale* (Law on Public Security Measures) known as *La loi des suspects* (Suspects Law) adopted by the Corps législatif on 19 February and promulgated on 28 February 1858. It gave the Emperor and his government unlimited power to exile to different parts of France or Algeria or to banish altogether from French territory any person suspected of hostility to the Second Empire.—230

294 A reference to Liebknecht's statement of 18 February published by the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 8, 20 February 1869. In that statement, Liebknecht proposed to appoint the General Council the arbiter in the conflict between Schweitzer and his General Association of German Workers on the one hand, and Bebel, Liebknecht and the workers' unions they headed, on the other. The note that Schweitzer had refused to recognise the General Council as arbiter appeared in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 24, 24 February 1869.—230, 234, 405

295 Wilhelm Hasenclever was elected to the North German Reichstag at the by-elections of 25 January 1869 not in Essen but in the Duisburg constituency. He received 6,792 votes while Dr. Hammacher, a National-Liberal, and Landrat Keßler polled 2,665 and 2,142 votes respectively (4,807 in all). As the source of the information about the outcome of the elections Engels used *Der Social-Demokrat*, 28 February 1869, which mistakenly stated that Hasenclever's superiority amounted to 992 votes.—230

296 In a letter of 14 February 1869, Kugelmann advised Marx to send an autographed copy of Volume One of *Capital* to A. Quételet, probably hoping to prompt the latter to contribute a review to the press. Kugelmann was impressed by Quételet's book *Zur Naturgeschichte der Gesellschaft...*, Hamburg, 1856, which he quoted in his letter to Marx.—232

297 A reference to A. Quételet's books *Sur l'homme et le développement de ses facultés, ou Essai de physique sociale*, Tomes I-II, Paris, 1835 (Marx used the English translation published in Edinburgh in 1842) and *Du système social et de lois, qui le régissent*, Paris, 1848. Extracts are extant which Marx copied out of these books in 1851 and probably in 1865-66.—232

298 The *Liberal Union* (l'Union Libérale), a coalition of bourgeois republicans, Orleanists and a part of the Legitimists formed as a result of their joint opposition to the Empire during the 1863-64 election campaign to the Corps législatif. Another attempt to form a liberal union at the time of the 1869 election campaign failed owing to dissent between the parties which had comprised the coalition in 1863. Moderate bourgeois republicans (Jules Favre, Jules Simon and others) advocated a union with the monarchists and supported the Orleanist Dufaure who, however, lost the elections.—232

299 A reference to the second letter of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy Central Bureau (see Note 257) of 27 February 1869, a reply to the General Council's circular letter which contained a refusal to admit the Alliance to the International Working Men's Association as an independent international organisation. The Alliance voiced its readiness to disband if the General Council approved its Programme and agreed to admit individual sections of the Alliance to the International.

Marx received the Alliance's address from Eccarius, who enclosed it with his letter of 4 March 1869.—235, 240

300 Marx discussed the draft of the reply 'The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the Central Bureau of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy' with Engels; it was unanimously approved by the Council at the meeting of 9 March 1869. The document was written by Marx in English and French (see present edition, Vol. 21), and confidentially communicated to the corresponding secretaries of the International's sections. The document was published for the first time in 1872, in the private circular of the General Council *Fictitious Splits in the International* (see present edition, Vol. 23).—235, 237

301 On the insistence of the General Council, Article 2 of the Alliance's Programme was changed in April 1869 to read as follows: 'It is above all working for the complete and final abolition of classes and for the political, economic and social equalisation of persons of both sexes.'—236, 491

302 The second edition of Engels' *The Peasant War in Germany* (see present edition, Vol. 10) was published in Leipzig in October 1870 as a separate pamphlet with the author's preface, which highlighted the role of the peasantry as an ally of the proletariat (see present edition, Vol. 21).—237

303 Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* was translated into French after Marx's death by the French socialist Edouard Fortin. The translation was published in the central organ of the Workers' Party of France *Le Socialiste* (Paris) in January-November 1891. It appeared as a separate edition that same year in Lille: *Le Dixhuit Brumaire de Louis Bonaparte* par Karl Marx.—238

304 Engels refers to Wilhelm Angerstein's letter of 9 March 1868, in which the latter requested him to contribute to a new Austrian workers' newspaper. On 11 March 1868 Marx received an offer from Angerstein to contribute to the Viennese newspapers *Der Telegraph* and *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. See Engels to Marx, 13 March, and Marx to Engels, 14 March 1868 (present edition, Vol. 42).—238

305 Following in the steps of the ribbon-weavers, the Basle dyers also went on strike on 9 November 1868 (see Note 266). The strike lasted until spring of 1869 and developed into a campaign for the existence of the International in Basle, where its next congress was to be held by decision of the Brussels Congress. In many countries, members of the International launched a mass campaign of solidarity with the striking Basle workers.

Apart from the 'Bericht über die Arbeiterbewegung in Basel' published in *Der Vorbote* for December 1868, the events were described by Johann Philipp Becker in his pamphlet *Die Internationale Arbeiter-Association und die Arbeiterbewegung in Basel im Winter 1868 auf 1869*, Genf, 1869.—238

306 In a letter to Marx of 8 March 1869, Otto Meissner wrote that the printing of the second German edition of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* had been postponed for commercial reasons (the time between the New Year and Easter being unfavourable for book-publishing, while later, Marx could have counted on proofs).—239, 241

307 A reference to three articles by Marx, 'The Defeat of June 1848', 'June 13, 1849' and 'Consequences of June 13, 1849' published in 1850 in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, nos 1, 2 and 3, which later formed the principal part of the book *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 45-131).

In 1895, Engels reprinted the articles from the *Revue* in German with his introduction (see present edition, Vol. 27).—241, 242

308 When he was about to travel to Karlsbad for a cure, Marx made an attempt to become a British subject in August 1874, as a precaution against possible reprisals by Austrian authorities. In Austria, as in a number of other European countries, members of the workers' and democratic movement could be taken to court for merely corresponding with Marx. A Special Report of the Metropolitan Police Office, Scotland Yard, is extant which was drawn up in connection with Marx's application for citizenship and in which Marx is characterised as follows: '... he is the notorious German agitator, the head of

the International Society, and an advocate of Communistic principles. This man has not been loyal to his own King and Country.'

Marx's request was not granted for reasons which had probably not been explained to him.—243, 248, 563

309 Marx attached considerable importance to the publishing of the French translation of *Capital*. Ever since 1867, negotiations with Élisée Reclus through Victor Schily had been under way in Paris. Reclus undertook to do the translation in collaboration with Moses Hess. Judging from Schily's letter to Marx of 24 January 1868, Élisée Reclus and Moses Hess intended not so much to translate *Capital* as to abridge it in order to adapt it to the needs and tastes of the French public. The negotiations, which lasted for almost three years, were unproductive. In early 1868, an offer to translate *Capital* came from Jósef Cwierczakiewicz (alias Card), a Polish émigré in Geneva. Marx turned the offer down (see present edition, Vol. 42, p. 528, 532-33). In December 1868 Lafargue entered into negotiations with the French authoress Clémence Royer over a translation of *Capital* (see Note 282).

For subsequent attempts to get *Capital* translated into French, see Note 441.—243

310 See below for a letter from Hirsch to Kugelmann of 8 February and Kugelmann's letter to Marx of 22 March 1869.—249

311 A reference to August Bebel's letter to Marx of 27 March 1869 written in connection with the dispute between Bebel and Liebknecht, on the one hand, and Schweitzer, on the other, at the congress of the General Association of German Workers held in Barmen-Elberfeld on 28-31 March 1869. Pressured by the workers, Schweitzer was obliged to meet half-way the demand of the Association's Leipzig members for an open discussion with Liebknecht, and for his and Bebel's presence at the Barmen-Elberfeld congress (see Note 318). Afraid of losing his prestige in the Association, Schweitzer intended to submit for discussion a proposal on establishing closer contacts with the International. Bebel, who had with Liebknecht arrived at Barmen-Elberfeld on the eve of the congress, warned Marx about Schweitzer's demagogic manoeuvres in the above-mentioned letter of 27 March 1869: 'We have heard so much about Schweitzer's mean tricks here that our hair is standing on end. It is now abundantly clear that Schweitzer has proposed the International's programme solely for the purpose of dealing us a strong blow and splitting up or winning over to his side the majority of the opposition. I request you therefore on my behalf, and also on that of Liebknecht and our other friends, to ignore for the time being the request to approve the corresponding decision of the congress or at least to give Schweitzer a very cautious reply.'—249, 250

312 Seeking to stem the growth of the opposition in the General Association of German Workers Schweitzer proposed to join the International Working Men's Association at the general congress in Barmen-Elberfeld (see notes 311 and 318). His proposal, which was published on 3 February by *Der Social-Demokrat*, may be summed up as follows: 'a) the Association shares the Programme and goals of the International Working Men's Association;

'b) if the Association does not join the International, this will be solely due to the Law on Associations operating in Germany;

'c) the Association considers itself under obligation to work for a repeal of this law and the realisation of a full and unlimited right to form unions and hold assemblies; and especially to popularise the principle according

to which the state has no right to use its laws to prevent a free development of a peaceful workers' movement;

'd) until it becomes possible to join the International, the Association will try, as far as it can, to remain in real accord and maintain real cooperation with the International.'

Schweitzer's proposal was approved by the general congress with an amendment introduced by Bremer, the head of the International's Magdeburg Section:

'e) each member of the General Association of German Workers has a right to be a member of the International Working Men's Association.'

In actual fact, Schweitzer refused to cooperate with Liebknecht and Bebel in uniting the German working-class movement under the International. The General Association of German Workers did not join the International.—249

313 Marx is referring to Joseph Dietzgen's letter of 20 March 1869, in which he wrote about the success of his work in setting up a section of the International Working Men's Association in Siegburg and its environs.—249

314 Engels is referring to his 'Report on the Miners' Guilds in the Coalfields of Saxony' (see present edition, Vol. 21, and this volume, Note 281). *Die Zukunft* published it on 20 and 21 March 1869, ascribing it to Marx and providing it with an editorial comment: 'The General Council of the International Working Men's Association has resolved to publish the *following report by Karl Marx*, Secretary of the General Council for Germany, both in the English original and the German translation.'—250

315 *The Bee-Hive*, No. 390, 3 April 1869, carried a report on the conference of cooperative societies held in Leeds at which Lloyd Jones, a figure in the British cooperative movement, made a speech on the need to set up a joint press organ of cooperatives and trade-unions, and proposed to call it the *Citizen Newspaper*. The project had not been carried out.—251, 253

316 Between 1867 and 3 April 1869, Engels' domicile was at 25 Dover Street; he referred to 86 Mornington Street, the house he rented for Lizzy Burns and where he himself lived most of the time since August 1864, as his 'unofficial address'. From 3 April and until September 1870 when he moved to London, Engels' domicile was at 86 Mornington Street.—251

317 A reference to the members of the German Party of Progress founded in 1861. Among its most prominent members were Waldeck, Virchow, Schulze-Delitzsch, Forckenbeck and Hoverbeck. The Party advocated German unification under Prussia, the convocation of an all-German parliament, and the establishment of a liberal ministry accountable to the Chamber of Deputies. Frightened by the possibility of a popular revolution, it did not support the basic democratic rights, i.e., universal suffrage and freedom of the press, association and assembly. In 1866, its Right wing broke away to form a National-Liberal Party which capitulated before the Bismarck Government.—252

318 A reference to the dispute between Liebknecht, Bebel and Schweitzer at the congress of the General Association of German Workers held in Barmen-Elberfeld on 28-31 March 1869 (see Note 311). Bebel and Liebknecht accused Schweitzer of having contacts with the Bismarck Government and of attempts to prevent the formation of a united workers' party in Germany. The congress showed that Schweitzer's authority had been undermined: 14 delegates representing 4,635 of the Association's members refused to give him a vote of

confidence, while 42 delegates with 7,400 votes gave such a vote. The congress adopted a number of resolutions aimed at restricting Schweitzer's dictatorial powers and making the internal life of the Association more democratic: in addition to the President, it was to be headed by a board of twelve members and its seat was to be in Hamburg. A proposal was moved to convene a Social-Democratic congress in Germany with a view to 'founding a united organisation'. On Schweitzer's suggestion, it was resolved to establish closer contacts with the International to the extent permitted by the German law. In fact, however, the Association's leadership continued to pursue a sectarian policy and obstruct the affiliation of the Association with the International.—253, 255, 264

319 Marx is probably referring to a General Council meeting of 1 December 1868, which discussed the question of workers' participation in the campaign to organise the reception for the American Ambassador in London, Reverdy Johnson (see Note 259).—253

320 *Boustrapa*—nickname of Louis Bonaparte, composed of the first syllables of the names of the cities where he staged putsches: Boulogne (6 August 1840), Strasbourg (30 October 1836), and Paris (coup d'état of 2 December 1851, which culminated in the establishment of a Bonapartist dictatorship).—253, 523

321 A printers' strike in Geneva began in March 1869 when the owners of printing presses refused to raise the workers' wages, for which the latter had been campaigning for ten years. The strike was headed by the Romance Federal Committee and the International's sections in Geneva which secured financial support for the strikers from workers in Switzerland, France, Germany and Italy.

For a detailed account of the strike, see Marx's 'Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association' (present edition, Vol. 21, p. 71).—254

322 *Die Zukunft* wrote about this statement by Schweitzer on 2 April 1869: 'It should be noted that Herr von Schweitzer had earlier stated unambiguously that if even the most insignificant minority should refuse to grant him confidence, he would immediately resign. It seems, however, that he changed his mind again after the voting.'—255

323 On 3 April 1869, the political affairs section of *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 14, reported: 'Since now there is every reason to hope for, if not the influence, then at least the unification of the various factions of Social-Democracy, we shall henceforth refrain from attacking Herr von Schweitzer in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* so as not to obstruct the unification. We assume, naturally, that the other side will terminate its attacks against us.'—255

324 When under discussion during the spring of 1869, the Bill on regulations for handicraft trades in the North German Reichstag was severely criticised by the working-class deputies. Following Engels' directions (see Note 51), on 18 March Bebel demanded that factory work be subjected to some sort of reglamentation, i.e., that a ten-hour working day be introduced, work on Sundays prohibited, factory inspection organised and freedom of association granted to trade unions (see *Die Zukunft*, No. 67, 20 March 1869). Of the numerous proposed amendments, only Bebel's suggestion that 'workers' books' be abolished was adopted. On 29 May the Bill was passed (see 'Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstages der Norddeutschen Bundes. I. Legislatur-Periode-Session 1869', I. Bd. Berlin, 1869, S. 114-19, 124 and

146-48). Reporting to the General Council on 13 April 1869 about the speeches of the worker deputies at the North German Reichstag, Marx mentioned Bebel's speech in particular (see *The General Council of the First International, 1868-1870. Minutes*, Moscow, 1974, pp. 81-82).—255, 274

325 In a letter to Marx of 3 April 1869, Liebknecht gave an optimistic account of the outcome of the struggle against Schweitzer at the congress of the General Association of German Workers in Barmen-Elberfeld (see Note 318). According to him, Schweitzer had sustained a crushing defeat, the leadership had passed into the hands of the Hamburg board and strife was extinguished. Summing up his information, Liebknecht wrote: 'The General Association of German Workers numbers only 11,000 men who have *extremely* vague political notions and mostly support Bismarck. *Our* Union is more numerous and enlightened.'

Liebknecht also wrote about his intention to bring out Engels' work *The Peasant War in Germany* as a separate pamphlet (2,000 copies) (see present edition, Vol. 10).—256

326 The strike of workers in the cotton yarns and goods industry in Preston (Lancashire) began in March 1869 as a response to the provocative decision of the manufacturers to cut wages by ten per cent. The General Council and the trade unions organised financial support by workers in other towns, as a result of which the strike lasted until August 1869, and ended in a compromise (wages were reduced by 5 per cent). Reports on the progress of the strike appeared regularly in *The Bee-Hive*.—257, 278, 296

327 A reference to Moll's letter to Marx of 6 April 1869, written on the instructions of the Solingen Section of the International. Moll wrote: 'The congress of the General Association of German Workers in Barmen-Elberfeld (see notes 311 and 318) has, as you know, largely destroyed Dr. Schweitzer's personality cult by blowing away the smoke-screen surrounding that power-hungry dictator; the congress advocated joining the International Association, as far as this is permitted by the existing laws.

'Bebel and Liebknecht vigorously championed the International's principles, made accusations against Schweitzer and other delegates and took them by the throat. Schweitzer did not try to defend himself, although he had intended to do so before the congress. The *assured* speeches of many, if not all delegates have made it clear that this Association has many *viable* elements; our section, like the International Association in general, will grow stronger, since the disunited workers' organisations will join the International.'—259

328 This letter was published in English for the first time in: *The Times. Literary Supplement*, 1.VI.1967.—259

329 On the instructions of the Solingen Section of the International (see Note 330), Friedrich Wilhelm Moll wrote to Marx about the disagreements with Schweitzer in his letter of 6 April 1869 (see Note 327).—260

330 The Solingen Section of the International was set up in February-March 1866. Its members were in touch with the Central Committee of the German-language sections in Geneva and applied for assistance to the General Council and to Marx and Engels personally. The most active members of the Section, including Klein and Moll, took part in the International's congresses. In the autumn of 1867, this Section initiated the establishment of a cooperative of workers engaged in the production of steel and iron goods; it played a major

part in the work of the Section (the Rules of the cooperative were drawn up by J. Ph. Becker).—260

331 In the summer of 1866, the Greek population of Crete rebelled against Turkish rule demanding that the island be incorporated into Greece. Turkish troops undertook harsh punitive measures against the rebels and the island's civilian population. However, supported by volunteers from many countries, the insurgents carried on their struggle.

The events in Crete provoked a fresh exacerbation of international contradictions in the Balkans. In November 1866 the Russian tsarist authorities suggested that the European powers should urge the Turkish Empire to hand Crete over to Greece. However, fearing that Russia would further consolidate its position in the region and that the national liberation movements of the peoples under the Sultan would mount, the Western states preferred Crete to remain under Turkish rule. Support for the Cretan insurgents was confined to a joint statement by Russia, France, Italy and Prussia on 29 October 1867. It advised the Turkish Government to refrain from bloodshed on the island. The conference convened by the European states in Paris in January 1869 to settle the Turkish-Greek conflict forced Greece to discontinue support for the uprising, thereby hastening its defeat. In 1869, the uprising was suppressed.—260

332 Marx's daughters Jenny and Eleanor visited the Lafargues in Paris on 26 March 1869. Jenny returned to London on 14 April, and Eleanor's visit lasted till 19 May 1869.—262, 269

333 A reference to Liebknecht's letter to Marx of 12 April 1869.—262, 264

334 Ludlow's review of *Capital* was not published. The only item about the work in the British bourgeois press appeared in January 1868 in the conservative weekly *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art.* Despite open hostility to the author of *Capital*, the item noted 'the plausibility of his logic, the vigour of his rhetoric, and the charm with which he invests the driest problems of political economy' (see present edition, Vol. 42, p. 529).—263

335 Marx is referring to a work by J. Janin *La fin d'un monde et du neveu de Rameau*, written in 1861; it was a sequel to Diderot's novel *Le neveu de Rameau*, as re-interpreted by Janin.—263

336 Engels is probably referring to an article by J. M. Ludlow 'Ferdinand Lassalle, the German Social-Democrat' published in *The Fortnightly Review* on 1 April, and Ludlow's letter to Marx of 12 April 1869, a reply to Marx's letter of 10 April (see this volume, pp. 259-60).—264

337 This letter was written by Marx over Liebknecht's letter to him of 12 April 1869. Marx deciphered the names explaining to Engels the following passage from Liebknecht's letter: 'E. I had always defended against B.'—266

338 On 12 February 1867, at the elections to the North German Reichstag in Barmen-Elberfeld, Sophie von Hatzfeldt, who headed a small group of Lassalleans that had split away from the General Association of German Workers in 1867 (see Note 104), launched a campaign against Schweitzer. His candidature was opposed by that of Hillmann which the workers did not support: Hillmann received only 52 votes. However, Schweitzer, who received 4,668 votes, was not elected either.—268

339 At the meeting of the General Council held on 20 April 1869 Marx was instructed to draw up a protest on behalf of the General Council against the

massacre of the strikers in Seraing and Frameries (Belgium) in April 1869 (see Note 343).—270

340 An allusion to the origin of Paul Lafargue, who was born in Santiago de Cuba. His mother's father was a mulatto, and her mother was an American Indian.—271, 446

341 Marx's source of information was probably *The Times* of 24 April 1869, which featured a report 'New York, April 13' in the *Telegraphic Despatches* column stating that 'Mr. Clay (to Liberia) and Mr. Bassett (to Hayti) are the first two coloured diplomatists appointed'.—271

342 Marx forwarded to Engels Alphonse Vandenhouten's letter to Marie Bernar, Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, which dealt with the so-called *Brussels Liberation Section* (or the *Revolutionary Committee of the International Association*) founded by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois republicans in Brussels in April 1869. One of the section's leaders was a former police chief. Its provocative activities and calls for plunder and violence provided the Belgian police with an excuse for persecuting members of the International Association. The manifesto of this organisation, connected as it was with the French branch in London (see Note 72), was published in *La Cigale*, No. 16, 18 April 1869. It was discussed at the General Council meeting of 20 April 1869, which stated that 'there was a party at Brussels who would not conform to the policy of the Central Committee but desired to be affiliated as an independent branch. In case an application should be made to this effect the Council was asked not to comply till after the Congress.'—272

343 A reference to the bloody reprisals of the Belgian authorities against the strikers at the Cockerill Ironworks in Seraing and miners in Frameries in April 1869. These events were discussed at the General Council meetings of 20 and 27 April and 4 May. Marx was instructed (see Note 339) to draw up an address in English and French on behalf of the Council, and read it out on 4 May 1869, at a General Council meeting. It was decided to publish and distribute it (see K. Marx, 'The Belgian Massacres', present edition, Vol. 21). On his suggestion, it was also decided to launch a mass protest campaign and secure material relief for the victims.—275

344 The report of the General Council meeting of 4 May 1869 published in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 395, 8 May 1869, stated that the General Council had decided to translate the address 'The Belgian Massacres' into four languages to make it known throughout the world.—275

345 A reference to the letter of Louis Borhardt's daughter Malvine to Marx written on 19 April 1869. Her father had instructed her to apply to Marx for information on one M. Gromier, who had brought Borhardt letters of recommendation from Felix Pyat and Louis Blanc.—276

346 Marx quotes Eccarius' letter of 29 April 1869, informing Marx about the publication of his pamphlet *Eines Arbeiters Widerlegung der national-ökonomischen Lehren John Stuart Mill's*, Berlin, 1869. The work was written by Eccarius with Marx's substantial assistance and published for the first time in *The Commonwealth* newspaper in late 1866-early 1867.—276

347 A reference to the second edition (1869) of Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see Note 278).—276

348 A reference to a number of diplomatic documents published since the 1830s by David Urquhart, a British political figure and writer, and his works on foreign

policy. They appeared in a variety of publications edited by Urquhart, including *The Portfolio* magazine and the newspapers *The Morning Advertiser* and *The Free Press*, which in 1866 was renamed *The Diplomatic Review*, and also as separate books and pamphlets.—278

349 Marx and his daughter Jenny left for a visit to Ludwig Kugelmann in Germany around 10 September 1869 (see this volume, p. 353), and stayed in Hanover until 7 October. On the way back, they stopped over in Hamburg (8 and 9 October), where Marx had an appointment with Otto Meissner. On 11 October, Marx returned to London.— 279, 312, 318, 337, 359, 551

350 A reference to the reprisals of the Belgian authorities against workers in Charleroi in the spring of 1868 and in Seraing and Frameries in April 1869 (see notes 24 and 343).—279

351 Marx wrote the 'Address to the National Labour Union of the United States' (see Note 146) in connection with the threat of war between Britain and the USA which arose in the spring of 1869, and read it on 11 May at the General Council meeting. The English text was published as a separate leaflet and also in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 396, 15 May 1869; the German version appeared in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 21, 22 May, and *Der Vorbote*, No. 8, August 1869 (see present edition, Vol. 21).—279, 283

352 A reference to a single system of weights and measures introduced in Germany in 1868.—280

353 Marx and his youngest daughter Eleanor stayed with Engels in Manchester from 25 May to 14 June 1869. Eleanor's visit probably lasted until early October.—286, 290, 291, 317, 337, 370, 466

354 This letter was published for the first time in the article of D.G.C. Allan, 'The Red Doctor amongst the Virtuosi: Karl Marx and the Society', brought out by *The Royal Society of Arts Journal*, London, 1981, Vol. CXXIX, Nos. 5296-5297, pp. 259-61, 309-10. The original is kept in the Archive of the Greater London Library (Greater London Council).—287

355 Marx's letter was addressed to London from Manchester, where he and his daughter Eleanor were staying with Engels between 25 May and 14 June 1869.—287

356 In May 1869, Peter Le Néve Foster, Secretary of the Society of Arts and Trades Board of Directors, sent out letters to a number of persons, including Marx, requesting their consent to be elected to the Society. Marx's letter of 28 May 1869 was a reply to this proposal. On 30 June 1869, the Society's general meeting considered 132 candidatures and took a vote, as a result of which Marx was elected a member. To be admitted, a person had to have three members, at least one being his personal acquaintance, to back his candidature. For Marx, this was Peter Lund Simmonds, a Dane residing in England, a well-known political writer and author of numerous works on botany and agriculture.

Marx's admittance to the Society of Arts and Trades signified recognition by British scientific quarters of his merits as a scholar and political writer.

The *Society of Arts and Trades*, which was founded in 1754, set itself the philanthropic and educational goal of 'promoting the arts, trades and commerce'. Its social composition was varied: its managing bodies included both members of the aristocracy, patrons of the Society, and representatives of

a broad cross-section of bourgeoisie and bourgeois intellectuals; among the members were also representatives of trade unions. In the 1860s, the Society's membership was in excess of 4,000.

In 1853-54, as the mass strike movement began to grow, the Society tried to act as an intermediary between the workers and the manufacturers seeking to take the edge off the class struggle. Marx sharply criticised this position and even called the organisation the '"Society of Arts" and tricks' (see present edition, Vol. 12, p. 612).

Marx's admission to the Society gave him greater access to scientific literature to be found in the Society's library, including its extremely large collection of works by the 17th-19th century economists. Many of them he used when working on *Capital*. He was particularly interested in recent research in the field of economics and natural sciences, specifically, chemistry and agriculture, whose results were published in the Society's journal. Marx used the materials of the journal for 1859, 1860, 1866 and 1872 in Volume One of *Capital* (the first and second editions) (see present edition, Vol. 35).—287, 297, 372

357 Written across Marx's letter were the words which meant that Marx had signed a written commitment to observe the Rules and Regulations of the Society. In the bottom right corner, by Marx's signature, his name and academic degree (Ph. D.) are written again in a more legible hand.—287

358 A reference to Austria's defeat in the war with Prussia in 1866, which resolved the long-standing rivalry between the two states. Its outcome was the unification of Germany under Prussia.—289

359 J. B. Schweitzer stated at the sitting of the North German Reichstag on 17 May 1869: 'When a red banner is hoisted in Paris over the Tuileries, Europe will go up in flames as it did at the time of the French bourgeoisie's revolution, which opened up the way for European revolutions.'—289

360 Marx's letter was written on the fourth page of Eleanor Marx's letter to her sister Jenny. The letter was published in English for the first time in: *Annali dell' Istituto Giangiacomo Feltrinelli*, an I, Milano, 1958.—290

361 Between 27 March and 19 May 1869, Eleanor Marx was staying with the Lafargues in Paris, from where she went to Manchester with her father to visit Engels (see Note 355).—290

362 *Edda*—a collection of epic poems and songs about the lives of the Scandinavian gods and heroes. It has come down to us in a manuscript dating from the 13th century, discovered in 1643 by the Icelandic Bishop Sveinsson—the so-called *Elder Edda*, and in a treatise on the poetry of the scalds compiled in the early 13th century by Snorry Sturluson (*Younger Edda*). The Eddas mirrored the state of Scandinavian society at the time of the disintegration of the tribal system and the migration of the peoples. They include plots and characters from Nordic folklore.—295

363 J. B. Schweitzer, President of the General Association of German Workers, and Fritz Mende, President of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers which was under the influence of Sophie von Hatzfeldt (see Note 338), published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 70, 18 June 1869 an address 'Wiederherstellung der Einheit der Lassalle'schen Partei', urging the two rival organisations to unite on the basis of Lassalle's Rules drawn up in 1863. The address enjoined them, in categorical form, to hold a vote on this issue within three days and to elect a president of the united Association. Playing on the

desire for unity voiced by the workers belonging to the two organisations Schweitzer succeeded in getting the more democratic forms of leadership evolved by the general congress in Barmen-Elberfeld in the spring of 1869 (see Note 311) abolished, in reorganising the Association along the principles proclaimed by Lassalle's Rules, in accordance with which the President was invested with dictatorial powers, and in getting himself re-elected as President of the united Association. Schweitzer's activities provoked indignation among the members of the Association and hastened the withdrawal from it of its more advanced elements.

Leaders of the opposition in the General Association of German Workers, Wilhelm Bracke, Julius Bremer, Samuel Spier and Theodor Yorck, who consulted Liebknecht and Bebel on 22 June 1869, addressed the Association's members in Magdeburg, urging them to convene a congress for the unification of all Social-Democratic workers in Germany. The address was published in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 26, 26 June 1869, and as a separate leaflet. On 27 June 1869, the Union of German Workers' Associations officially supported the address, which was the first step in the practical preparations for the congress in Eisenach (see Note 373).—295, 300, 304

364 In a letter to Marx of 24 June 1869, Wilhelm Eichhoff wrote about the difficulty of selling his pamphlet *Die Internationale Arbeiterassociation...* (see Note 79), and his brother's inability, for financial reasons, to undertake the reprinting of Engels' work *The Peasant War in Germany* (see present edition, Vol. 10). The second edition of *The Peasant War* appeared in 1870 (see Note 302).—297, 299

365 In a letter to Engels of 2 July 1869, Marx's daughter Jenny gave an ironical account of a soirée at the Kensington Museum: 'What genius the English have for the inventing of melancholy pleasures! Fancy crowd of some 7,000 mutes in full evening dress, wedged in so closely as to be unable either to move about or to sit down, for the chairs, and they were few and far between, a few imperturbable dowagers had taken by storm and stuck to throughout the evening. Of the works of art (the Queen has sacked all the museums of the people, in order to carry off their treasures to this aristocratic and favourite resorts of the "belated lamented"), it was next to impossible to get a glimpse.'—297

366 Marx is referring to a passage from Laurence Sterne's novel *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (Paris, 1832, p. 20) saying that gravity 'was no better, but often worse, than what a French wit had long ago defined it,—viz. *A mysterious carriage of the body, to cover the defects of the mind.*'—297

367 On 23 June 1869 Marx took part in a mass trade union meeting in Exeter Hall in London held in support of the Bill for expanding the rights of trade unions.—298

368 A reference to the June 1848 uprising of the French proletariat. See Marx's and Engels' articles 'The 23rd of June', 'The 24th of June', 'The 25th of June', and 'The June Revolution' (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 130-49, and 157-64).—298

369 On 30 June 1869, the contract signed by Engels with his partner Gottfried Ermen (see Note 158) expired. Since that time, Engels terminated his participation in the Manchester firm Ermen & Engels and devoted himself exclusively to writing, scientific research and party work.—299, 310, 312

370 On 29 June 1869, George Henry Moore, an Irish M. P., spoke in the House of Commons disclosing the atrocities perpetrated by the British authorities against the Fenian prisoners and demanded that conditions be improved for those Fenians who had been arrested at the time of the 1867 uprising and had no charge preferred against them. Replying to Moore's speech, Henry Austin Bruce, the Home Secretary, hypocritically tried to refute the facts cited by Moore and vindicate the actions of the British Government. The other Irish M.P.s, who voiced the wish that the prisoners be treated in a more humane way, by and large justified the repressions against the Fenians. Moore's proposal was voted down. Marx defined his attitude to this issue in his articles 'The English Government and the Fenian Prisoners' and 'Record of a Speech on the Irish Question'. See also 'Articles by Jenny Marx on the Irish Question' (present edition, Vol. 21).—300

371 Starting from January 1869, Marx's daughter Jenny gave lessons to the Monroe children. She stayed in Eastbourne with the Monroe family from 4 to 21 July 1869.—300, 327, 547

372 In a letter to Marx of 29 June Liebknecht explained his long silence by family matters and party work. He wrote: 'The conflict with Schweitzer is very much there, and *victory will soon* be attained; 3/4 of the General Association of German Workers already support us, we are having a conference in Brunswick this coming Sunday, and a congress in August, to which you, Engels and Eccarius will be invited. You *must attend.* In case of extreme need, we'll get hold of some money. You must show yourself to the German workers. Write to me straight away so that I can show your letter in Brunswick...

'You *must immediately send us* the International's membership cards. I've been waiting for them for several months. *All German Social-Democrats are now becoming "international"*, and we shall discuss the best forms of joining at our, probably *Basle* congress, to which Bebel and I are going.

'You must *adapt the 'Communist Manifesto' for the requirements of agitation.* I never pay heed to *enemies*, but enemies and those who will become such are worthy of some attention.

'*Becker* insists that we obey *him*, but I've told him quite definitely that we are maintaining *direct* contacts with the General Council.'

In another part of the letter Liebknecht explained in detail the considerable financial difficulties involved in the publication of the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* and asked Marx to appeal to Engels for financial assistance.—303, 306.

373 A reference to the all-German congress of the Social-Democrats of Germany, Austria and Switzerland held in *Eisenach* on 7-9 August 1869. Taking part in it were 263 delegates representing over 150,000 workers; the congress founded an independent revolutionary party of the German proletariat which was called the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. The congress adopted a programme which incorporated, word for word, the basic provisions of the International's Rules. The draft Programme was published in the supplement to the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 31, 31 July 1869. It showed some influence of Lassalleanism but was mostly based on Marxist principles. The congress defined the status of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party as a section of the International. Since the Prussian Law on Associations banned all societies which had contacts with other organisations, especially those abroad, the congress decided that the party members should join the International as private persons. It also discussed the organisational principles of the party. The plan proposed by J. Ph. Becker (see Note 409) did not meet with support. August

Bebel, who made a report on the Programme and the organisational issue, emphasised the need to adopt Rules which would preclude a personal dictatorship. The Rules that were approved were drawn up along democratic lines.—303, 332, 335, 345, 544

374 A reference to the clash of miners with the police and troops near Mold, Denbighshire. The workers protested against the lowering of the wages and the atrocities of the mine manager. On 28 May 1869 a crowd of unarmed miners made an attempt to set free their arrested fellow-workers but they were fired on. Five people were killed and many wounded. The court acquitted the authorities and sentenced the 'rebels' to ten years' hard labour. Home Secretary Bruce declared in the House of Commons that the troops had a right to shoot at the crowd in self-defence without obtaining permission from the authorities.

On this issue, see also: K. Marx, 'Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association' (present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 80-81).—305, 308

375 The *Riot Act*, which was promulgated in 1715, banned all 'riotous assemblies' of more than 12 persons; in case of its violation, the authorities were obliged to read out a special warning and use force if the assembly did not disperse within an hour.—305

376 The *Arms Act* regarded everyone carrying arms without a permit as a violator of public law and order, liable to a court trial. Under George III, in the late 18th century, an act was promulgated which also banned learning the use of arms without prior official permission.—305

377 As a result of a vigorous campaign by the British trade unions for their legalisation, in the spring of 1869 the Royal Commission submitted to Parliament a Bill on the recognition of the unions' legal rights. The Trade Union's Act was passed in 1871.—305

378 The collection *Agricultural Statistics, Ireland. Tables showing the estimated average produce of the crops for the year 1866*, Dublin, 1867, was used by Marx when preparing the second edition of *Capital*'s Volume One to supplement Part VII, 'The Accumulation of Capital', Chapter XXV, 'The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation', Section 5, 'Illustration of the General Law of Capitalist Accumulation, f. Ireland'.—306

379 A reference to the Congress of the First International held in Basle on 6-11 September 1869. It was attended by 78 delegates from England, France, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Austria, Italy, Spain and North America. Marx was not present at the Congress but took an active part in preparing it. The General Council Minutes include his speeches dealing with individual items on the Congress's agenda: the agrarian question (6 July), the right of inheritance (20 July) and public education (10 and 17 August) (see present edition, Vol. 21).

The question of the right of inheritance was entered on the agenda, which was approved on 22 June 1869, at the suggestion of the Geneva Section headed by the Bakuninists. They proposed to annihilate the right of inheritance, believing this to be the only means of eliminating private property and social injustice.

At the General Council meeting of 3 August, Marx read out a *Report of the General Council on the Right of Inheritance*, prepared by him, which was approved and submitted to the Congress on behalf of the Council. However, at the Congress itself the question of the right of inheritance provoked a heated

debate. Despite the opposition of Liebknecht and De Paepe, Bakunin managed to win some of the delegates over to his side. No resolution concerning this matter was passed.

After discussing the land question for a second time (the first discussion of land ownership took place at the Brussels Congress [see Note 138]) the majority of the Basle Congress delegates voted for abolishing private property in land and converting it over into common property; the Congress also passed resolutions on the unification of trade unions at the national and international levels.

The Basle Congress was the scene of the first clash between supporters of Marx and Engels, and the followers of Bakunin's anarchist doctrine. The latter failed to assume leadership in the International Working Men's Association. The Basle Congress confirmed that the General Council was to remain in London.

In order to consolidate the unity and organisation of the International, the General Council was granted a right to expel from the International any section that did not comply with its Rules, on condition that the Federal Council and the Congress approved.—306, 322, 325, 335, 338, 351, 355, 364, 393, 405, 413, 463

380 A reference to Liebknecht's speech at the meeting of the Berlin Democratic Labour Union of 31 May 1869, 'Ueber die politische Stellung der Sozial-Demokratie' and Bebel's article 'An Herrn Dr. Schweitzer in Berlin' published in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 27, 3 July 1869. The end of Liebknecht's speech was published in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 32, 7 August 1869 (supplement).—307

381 Marx used the alias A. Williams when staying in Paris between 6 and 12 July 1869.—309, 314, 315

382 This letter was first published in the original (English with German words and phrases) in the book: *Friedrich Engels. 1820-1970. Referate, Diskussionen, Dokumente*, Hanover, 1971.—310

383 Replies by Engels to letters from Marx's daughter Jenny of 24 June and 2 July 1869. In the letter of 2 July, Jenny gave an ironic description of an aristocratic soirée at the Kensington Museum on 1 July, to which she and Marx were invited by the educational Society of Arts (see this volume, pp. 297-98 and Note 365).—310.

384 Enclosed with the invitation to the Kensington Museum was a printed warning that said: 'The Council of the Society of Arts appeal with confidence to the members to assist in preventing the mobbing and following any Royal and distinguished persons who may attend the Conversazione of the Society on the 1st of July, and request them to assist in enabling such visitors to enjoy the privilege of walking about unmolested, and seeing the objects of art, like any private person.'—310

385 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx K., Engels F., *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1975.—312

386 Engels refers to the unification of the General Association of German Workers headed by Schweitzer and the Lassallean General Association of German Workers headed by Mende and acting under the influence of Sophie von Hatzfeldt (see Note 363).—313

387 A reference to the reconstruction of Paris undertaken by G. E. Haussmann,

Prefect of the Seine Department, for the purpose of building new suburbs with broad streets and avenues. The reconstruction also aimed at preventing barricade fighting during uprisings.—316

388 The elections to the Corps législatif in May-June 1869 spelled considerable success to the anti-Bonapartist opposition despite the repressions of Napoleon III's government. At an extraordinary session in July 1869, 116 deputies belonging to the liberal opposition and Left Centre signed a statement on the need to form a responsible ministry and expand the rights of the Corps législatif. At the sittings of 5 and 8 July, deputy François Vincent Raspail exposed the blatant violations of the freedom of vote by Bonapartist authorities and accused the church of conducting election propaganda during services, and the police, of overstepping their powers at the time of preparations for the election campaign, when a massacre took place in Paris (see *Annales du Sénat et du Corps législatif. Session extraordinaire du 28 juin au 6 septembre 1869*, Paris, 1869, pp. 204-05). In his message of 12 July Napoleon III promised to expand the Corps' rights and appoint ministers from among deputies, but shirked the issue of the ministry's responsibility, stressing the inviolability of the emperor's power. On 13 July he postponed the session of the Corps législatif for an indefinite period, and on 17 July introduced into the government a number of persons who suited the big bourgeoisie and the clericals but who did not belong to the opposition.—316, 325

389 In a letter of 2 June 1869 Ludwig Kugelmann wrote to Marx that Meissner had assured him that the first signatures of the proofs of Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (second edition) had already been sent to Marx and that the work would appear in two weeks' time.—318

390 In a letter of 6 July 1869, Ludwig Kugelmann suggested to Marx that after the negotiations with Guido Weiß, the editor of *Die Zukunft*, a short biography of Marx written by Engels for another publication should appear in that newspaper (see also Note 106).—318, 328, 333

391 On 11 July 1869, Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche addressed Marx, on Liebknecht's recommendation, as a member of the General Council, to render financial support to the Leipzig cigar-makers' strike.

Wilhelm Liebknecht also approached Marx with a similar request on 7 and 12 July.

In his letter of 14 July Wilhelm Eichhoff enclosed a variety of material about the working-class movement in Germany and informed Marx that he would probably be elected delegate to the Eisenach Congress (see Note 373).—322, 327

392 On 1 July 1869, the Geneva Central Committee of the German-language sections of the International Working Men's Association passed a resolution published in *Der Vorbote* in July 1869, which censured Schweitzer's dictatorial behaviour and welcomed the proposal to convene an all-German Social-Democratic Workers' Congress (see Note 373). In this connection, on 14 July, a piece entitled 'Schwindel' appeared in *Der Social-Demokrat*, whose author was most probably Fritz Mende. He accused Johann Philipp Becker as Chairman of the Geneva Central Committee, and the International, of meddling in the affairs of the General Association of German Workers.—322, 327

393 A reference to Liebknecht's letter to Engels of 11 December 1867, in which he explained the reasons for his cooperation with the German People's Party (see Note 38).—324

394 On 13 July 1869 Ludwig Kugelmann wrote to Engels about his intention to ask Marx to prolong his stay in Hanover so that they could go to Karlsbad (now Karlovy Vary) for a cure together. While they were absent, Marx's daughter Jenny was to stay with Gertrud Kugelmann in Hanover.

On 17 July 1869, Kugelmann replied to Marx's letter of 15 July, in which he again asked Marx to go with him to Karlsbad in August.—324, 327, 334

395 The reference is to an item published in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 29, 17 July 1869, which stated: 'We can assure you further that the *General Council* of the International Working Men's Association shares our opinion of Herr von Schweitzer but at present considers it inexpedient to interfere, so as to fully preserve the independence of the German workers' movement. But if Herr von Schweitzer proves stupid enough to turn up at the forthcoming congress of the International, as he has stated he will do, he will simply be ordered to leave.'—324, 331

396 Engels is referring to the elections of the President of the united General Association of German Workers in late June 1869 (see Note 363). The official communication on the results of the elections signed by Mende and published in *Der Social-Demokrat* on 9 July stated that Schweitzer had been elected by an 'absolute majority' and 'stronger minority' vote. The latter meant that Mende voted for Schweitzer.—324

397 In early April 1814, after the troops of the anti-French coalition invaded Paris, Talleyrand prepared a convocation of the Senate which declared Napoleon I deposed. In June 1815, after Napoleon I's armies were defeated at Waterloo, the majority of the Chamber of Representatives demanded that he abdicate.—325

398 Excerpts from this letter were first published in English in: *The Letters of Karl Marx*, Selected and translated ... by Saul K. Padover, New Jersey, USA, 1979; *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Selected Letters. The Personal Correspondence. 1844-1877.* Edited by Fritz J. Raddatz. Boston, Toronto, 1981.—326, 329

399 Marx's letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht written around the beginning of July (earlier than 10 July), 1869, has not been found.—326

400 A reference to an item carried by the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 28, 10 July 1869, which stated that only '*full members* of the International Working Men's Association would be admitted to the Basle Congress'.—326

401 Marx's letter to Liebknecht written around 17 July 1869, has not been found.—326

402 Marx's letter to Otto Meissner, probably written on 19 July 1869, has not been found.—327

403 As Kugelmann's letter to Marx of 17 July 1869 makes clear, the reference is to Bracke's intention to appeal to the General Council of the International for financing the propaganda campaign against Schweitzer in Germany.—327, 331

404 A reference to Liebknecht's letter to Marx of 22 July 1869.—328

405 Marx's reply to Liebknecht's letter of 22 July 1869 has not been found.—328

406 Marx is referring to the sections 'Arbeitsprozess und Verwerthungsprozess' and the 'Theilung der Arbeit und Manufaktur' of the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital*. Corresponding to them in the second and subsequent German editions of this volume are Chapters V and XII (see present edition,

Vol. 35). In the English edition of 1887 prepared by Engels, this material is to be found in Part III, Chapter VII, 'The Labour-Process and the Process of Producing Surplus-Value', and Part IV, Chapter XIV, 'Division of Labour and Manufacture'.—329

407 In connection with the intention of Karl Vogt, the German natural scientist, to go on a lecture tour of Germany in 1869, Engels suggested that, with help from Kugelmann, Marx's book *Herr Vogt* should be circulated in Berlin (see present edition, Vol. 17). Wilhelm Liebknecht possessed a number of copies. (See also this volume, Engels' letter to Marx of 29 January 1869 and Marx's letter to Engels of 29 March 1869.)—330

408 Marx used the book by Nassau William Senior mentioned here while preparing the second German edition of Volume One of *Capital,* which appeared in 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 35).—331

409 Johann Philipp Becker published, on behalf of the Central Committee of the German-language sections, an address to the Eisenach Congress, which was published by *Der Vorbote,* No. 7, July 1869 (see Note 373). It contained a plan of a working-class organisation. Becker, who was under Bakunin's influence, refused to recognise the need for a proletarian political party. He regarded the trade unions as the only acceptable organisational form of workers' movement and sought to put the German Social-Democracy under the control of the Central Committee of the German-language sections. Marx, Engels and Bebel were sharply critical of this plan.—332, 335

410 A receipt written by Bernard, Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, has come down to us: 'Received from Mr. Marx the sum of 25 thaler for the victims of Seraing and Borinage (Belgium). London, 22 July 1869. Bernard, Secretary for Belgium, twenty-five thaler.' Marx wrote on the receipt: '(This money was sent to me by Bebel in the name of the Leipzig workers. K.M.)' (See: *The General Council of the First International 1868-1870. Minutes,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, pp. 443-44).—332

411 A reference to the General Council meeting of 20 July 1869, at which Marx made a speech on the right of inheritance as part of the preparations for the Basle Congress. A report of the meeting was printed by *The Bee-Hive,* No. 406, 24 July 1869, but was not accurate. Marx's speech, which has been preserved in its original form in the minutes taken by Eccarius, is reproduced in the present edition (see Vol. 21, p. 394).—334

412 A reference to the *National Reform League* set up in 1849 in London by Chartist leaders James (Bronterre) O'Brien, Reynolds, etc. The League's goal was to attain universal suffrage and introduce social reforms. In 1866, it joined the International and worked under the guidance of the General Council, having turned into a branch of the Reform League. The latter's leaders, Alfred Walton and George Milner, were members of the General Council and participants in a number of the International's congresses.

On Marx's stay in Paris, see Note 381.—334

413 *Der Vorbote,* No. 7, July 1869, carried a report of the meeting of the Nuremberg Section of the International. At the meeting, which was convened to establish closer contacts among the Bavarian workers' organisations, representatives of 13 such organisations were present. Amongst others, the meeting passed a resolution on the campaign for 'direct popular legislation'. In a commentary to the resolution, Johann Philipp Becker proposed to submit it for discussion to the Eisenach Congress (see Note 373).—336

414 A reference to the letters of August Bebel of 30 July 1869, and Wilhelm Liebknecht, late July 1869. Bebel's letter was a reply to Marx's letter (not extant) of 27 July 1869 (see this volume, p. 332). Bebel and Liebknecht supported Marx's critical attitude to Becker's plan for a workers' organisation in Germany (see Note 409) and advocated its formation on the basis of the International's principles.—338, 339

415 A reference to the address to the German Social-Democrats 'An die deutschen Sozial-Demokraten' on the convocation of an all-German workers' congress in Eisenach with a view to founding an independent workers' party in Germany. The address appeared in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 29, 17 July 1869. It was signed by representatives of workers' societies of Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Among the signatures of the members of the Central Committee of the German Workers' societies in Switzerland was that of petty-bourgeois democrat Amandus Goegg. This fact gave ground for an article featured by *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 84, 21 July 1869, which identified the views of Liebknecht and his followers with those of Goegg.—339

416 A reference to the address of the Geneva Central Committee to the Spanish revolutionaries, 'Der Internationale Arbeiterbund von Genf an die Arbeiter Spaniens' issued on 21 October 1868. It was published as a separate leaflet in German and in French and in *Der Vorbote*, No. 12, December 1868.—340

417 This letter was published in English for the first time in: *Friedrich Engels. 1820-1970. Referate, Diskussionen, Dokumente*, Hanover, 1971.—341

418 Engels stayed in Ostend and Engelskirchen with relatives from around 19 August to early September 1869.—342, 352, 357

419 Marx refers to Liebknecht's speech 'Ueber die politische Stellung der Sozial-Demokratie' made at the meeting of the Berlin Democratic Labour Union of 31 May 1869 (see Note 380). Liebknecht said that August Brass, editor of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* was willing to give Marx, Engels and himself space in his newspaper to popularise the ideas of socialism and communism, but that he had turned down this proposal.—344

420 On Marx's recommendation, Hermann Jung, member of the General Council, evidently attended the meeting of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners which discussed a nominee to the Basle Congress. On 17 August, Jung informed the General Council that the Society would probably send a representative to the Congress. This was the Society's General Secretary Robert Applegarth, who, however, carried only a General Council member's mandate.—346

421 Engels, Lizzy Burns and Eleanor Marx toured Ireland from 6 to 16 September 1869.—348, 351, 356

422 A reference to Dupont's statement at the General Council meeting of 17 August 1869, that the Paris bronze-workers had paid off their debt to the London trade unions (see Note 18).—350

423 Marx quotes Neumayer's letter to the General Council of 14 August 1869.—350

424 Zabicki made a report on the 1869 strike at woodworking factories and brickworks in Posen at the General Council meeting of 17 August 1869, at which Marx was present. Zabicki said that 'the building operatives of Posen

(Polish) had won their first strike; they had been assisted by the men of Berlin'.—350

425 Hiltrop's essay mentioned by Engels, 'Ueber die Reorganisation der Knappschaftsvereine', appeared in the *Zeitschrift des königlich preussischen statistischen Bureaus*, nos. 4, 5 and 6, April, May and June, 1869. The magazine was edited by Ernst Engel. Engels examined the rules of the miners' guilds (guild funds) in the coalfields of Saxony on Marx's instruction, and in February 1869 prepared a report on this question for the General Council (see Note 281).—352

426 On 21 August 1869, Liebknecht reprinted Marx's biography in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 34. It was written by Engels and first appeared in *Die Zukunft*, No. 185, 11 August (see present edition, Vol. 21). When reprinting the material, Liebknecht omitted the following phrases (printed in italics): '*Everything he* [Lassalle—*Ed.*] *wrote was derived from elsewhere, not without some misunderstandings either*; he had a forerunner *and an intellectual superior, whose existence he kept a secret, of course, whilst he vulgarised his writings*, and the name *of that intellectual superior* is Karl Marx.' By way of explanation, Liebknecht wrote to Marx on 17 August 1869, that he had abridged the text since it could 'offend' the Lassalleans if printed in full.—352

427 The item published by Liebknecht in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 35, 28 August 1869, read: 'It has been decided in Eisenach that alongside with the general party organ (*Der Volkstaat*, for the present, the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*), there should be a press organ for Austria—*Die Volkstimme*, and for Switzerland, *Felleisen*.'—352

428 Engels refers to the lengthy discussion at the Eisenach Congress (see Note 373) around a name for the party, which involved, among others, the German petty-bourgeois democrat Rittinghausen. The name agreed upon was the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Sozial-demokratische Arbeiterpartei). A report of the Eisenach Congress was published in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 33, and supplements to nos. 33 and 34, 14 and 21 August 1869.—352

429 In the 1860s, in Prussia's Rhine Province, Baden and some other German lands, Catholic priests, including Ketteler, the Bishop of Mainz, launched a campaign for universal suffrage, laws protecting workers' rights, etc. In this way the Catholic clergy sought to prevent socialist ideas from taking hold of the German workers. On 6 September 1869, a congress of Catholic communities opened in Düsseldorf, which adopted a resolution 'To demand from all Christians of all estates that they take care of the working class and promote its economic and moral flourishing'.—354

430 A reference to the second edition of Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, which appeared in late July 1869. In reply to Marx's note, which is not available, Meissner wrote on 28 September 1869 that all copies of Marx's book have been sent off with the exception of the 25 he had.—354

431 Liebknecht's letter to Marx in which he asked for Engels' work *The Peasant War in Germany* for reprinting has not come down to us. There is Liebknecht's letter to Kugelmann of 20 September 1869, in which Liebknecht writes that he intends to reprint this work. On 20 December, Liebknecht wrote to Engels for permission to reprint the work and to ask for a short introduction to it. The second edition of *The Peasant War in Germany* appeared in Leipzig in October 1870.—354, 356

432 On 26 September 1869, Marx's second daughter Laura Lafargue turned twenty-four.—355

433 Marx quotes an old German song (c. 1200).—355

434 In July 1865, Liebknecht was expelled from the Prussian state by the Berlin police 'for political reasons'. In 1867, he was elected deputy to the North German Reichstag from Saxony and enjoyed a deputy's immunity. However, in September 1869, he was unable to visit Marx in Hanover, as the Prussian police had a right to arrest him during a break in the Reichstag work between 22 June 1869 and 14 February 1870. Marx originally planned a meeting with Liebknecht in Brunswick, and later in Hamburg. However, the meeting never took place.—356, 358

435 Marx is referring to Paul Lafargue's letter of 14 September 1869, in which the latter gives an account of the General Council meeting of 14 September, the first after the Basle Congress of the International Working Men's Association.—356, 445

436 *Ribbonmen*—participants in an Irish peasant movement whose members were united in secret societies and wore a green ribbon as an emblem. The Ribbonmen movement, which emerged in late 18th century in Northern Ireland, was a form of popular resistance to the arbitrary rule of the English landlords and the forcible eviction of tenants from the land. The Ribbonmen attacked estates, organised attempts on the lives of hated landlords and managers. The activities of the Ribbonmen had a purely local, decentralised character; they had no common programme of action.—357, 549

437 Marx was conducting negotiations with Meissner in Hamburg on 8 and 9 October 1869.—357

438 Engels first conceived the idea of a book on the history of Ireland in the summer of 1869. He studied a vast selection of literary and historical sources: works of classical and medieval authors, annals, collections of ancient law codes, legislative acts and legal treatises, folklore, travellers' notes, numerous works on archaeology, history, economics, geography, geology, etc. Engels' bibliography, embracing over 150 titles, is selective and includes but a fraction of the sources he studied. Preparatory materials take up the bulk of 15 paginated notebooks of excerpts, as well as notes, fragments on separate sheets and newspaper clippings. Marx attached great importance to Engels' book and helped him all he could. The views of Marx and Engels on major problems of Irish history took shape in the course of joint discussions.

In May 1870, Engels began working on it.

Engels actually succeeded in finishing only the first chapter, 'Natural Conditions'. The second chapter, 'Old Ireland', is unfinished (see present edition, Vol. 21), while the two last chapters were not even begun. The Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune, which were soon to follow, made Engels concentrate on his work in the International and left him no time for the book.—357, 358

439 A report of this talk, which touched on the vital issues of the working-class movement, was published by J. H. W. Hamann, member of the delegation, cashier of the metalworkers' union, in *Der Volksstaat* on 27 November 1869. Marx spoke about the significance of trade unions as a school of socialism. He said that in trade unions, workers were getting ready to become socialists, since there they had an opportunity to watch the daily struggle between labour and capital.

He emphasised the importance of an independent printed organ for the working-class movement. 'It is a printed organ of trade unions,' said Marx, 'that can serve as a means of the workers' mutual communication; it is there that the "pros" and "contras" must be discussed. It is necessary to discuss the issue of wages in the different regions, and to collect, as far as this is possible, the opinions of workers in different trades. However, this printed organ must never become the property of a private individual. If we want it to fulfil its purpose, it must belong to a collective. It is probably unnecessary to dwell on the reasons for this attitude, they are so obvious that everyone can be expected to understand: if you wish to see your union flourish, this tenet must be accepted as one of the basic conditions.' 'The talk ended', wrote Hamann, 'with Marx stressing once more the need never to try to cling to individuals but bear in mind the cause, and draw conclusions only to promote it. "Be it Liebknecht, be it Dr. Schweitzer, or be it myself, always think about the cause, for the truth is not to be found outside it."' Unfortunately, while recording the conversation, Hamann seriously distorted some of Marx's remarks in the Lassallean spirit, specifically, on the issue of the relationship between the political party of the working class and the trade unions. (See *Internationale wissenschaftliche Korrespondenz zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Berlin (W), 1986, Heft 1, S. 63-71).—358

440 On Marx's meeting with the delegation of the Brunswick Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, see Note 447.—358

441 A reference to the French translation of Volume One of *Capital* made by Charles Keller, member of the Paris Section of the First International. Keller began the work in October 1869, and on 16 October sent Marx the translation of Chapter II of the first volume for corrections. Keller took part in the Paris Commune and emigrated to Switzerland after its defeat. The work remained unfinished. The translation of Volume One of *Capital* into French was made by Joseph Roy and published in Paris in 1872-75 in instalments, which were later brought together in a book (on the French translation of *Capital*, see also Note 309).—359, 378, 399, 450, 545

442 Chapter IV of Volume One of *Capital* (first German edition) corresponds to chapters IV, V and VI of the French edition. Marx feared that the chapter in its original form would not suit the French readers.—360

443 N. Flerovsky's book *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia* (Н. Флеровскій, *Положение рабочаго класса въ Россіи*) was sent to Marx by Danielson on 30 September (12 October), 1869. Danielson expressed the hope that it would supply Marx with the necessary material for the subsequent parts of his classical work *Capital*. This work prompted Marx to take up Russian seriously. (For Marx's opinion of Flerovsky's book see this volume, pp. 390, 423, 424).—360, 362, 429

444 A reference to the atheistic congress (Anticoncilio) convened in Naples on 8 December 1869 by petty-bourgeois democrats who stood close to the League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 271) as a gesture of opposition to the Catholic oecumenical council which was held in Vatican from 8 December 1869 to 20 October 1870, and adopted the dogma of the Pope's infallibility in the matters of faith. The atheistic congress was broken up by the Neapolitan authorities.—362

445 *Pale*—the name of an English medieval colony in Ireland established as a result of the seizure by the Anglo-Norman feudal lords of the island's south-eastern part in the 12th century. The colony, whose boundaries were fortified (hence

the name), served as the base for incessant wars against the population of the free part of Ireland which ended in the 16th-17th centuries with the conquest of the entire country.—363, 415

446 This letter was first published in English in an abridged form in: Marx K., Engels F., *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1979.—363, 365, 522

447 After the Basle Congress (see Note 379), members of the People's Party in Germany (see Note 38) and the *Felleisen* newspaper, organ of the German workers' unions in Switzerland, launched a campaign against the Congress decisions to abolish private property in land as essentially communist ones. Seeking to reconcile the People's Party and the petty-bourgeois supporters of *Felleisen* with the decisions of the Basle Congress, Goegg, its editor-in-chief, made a long statement in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 3, 9 October 1869, in which he attempted to belittle the revolutionary importance of Congress decisions. He declared that there was nothing communist about them. Marx is apparently referring to this statement as 'Goeggiana'.

At that time, Liebknecht and *Der Volksstaat*, fearing that a break with the petty-bourgeois democratic elements in the South-German states might occur, refrained from a large-scale popularisation campaign of the Basle decisions to convert the land into public property; *Der Volksstaat* repeatedly stated that these decisions were applicable only in Britain, where large landed property existed, and were unsuitable either for Germany or France, where small peasant holdings predominated. Liebknecht believed that the party approval of the Basle decisions would be premature and could have prompted the proletarian supporters of the South-German People's Party to depart from the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. This tactic met with disapproval on the part of his associates and soon Liebknecht himself became convinced that it was erroneous, and began actively to popularise Basle Congress decisions.

On 3 October 1869, at a meeting with Marx in Hanover (see Marx's letter to Engels of 30 September 1869), members of the Central Committee Bonhorst, Bracke and Spier discussed the possibility of implementing the Basle Congress decisions and the tactics of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party in Germany with respect to the peasantry. On 25 October Bonhorst wrote a letter to Marx requesting him to give as clear an account of the matter as possible in order to use it to organise a popularisation campaign among German peasants (see Note 453). This letter from Bonhorst was forwarded by Marx to Engels.—363

448 Marx learned that Bakunin had the writings of A. A. Serno-Solovyevich, who committed suicide on 16 August 1869, from *L'Égalité*, No. 37, 1 October 1869, which carried an announcement requesting all persons in possession of manuscripts, letters and other documents of the deceased to submit them for the use of the newspaper, which was intending to publish his works and compile a bibliography.—364, 366

449 Marx refers, specifically, to the article by Hermann Greulich 'Die Heulmaierei gegen den Basler Kongress' published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 5, 16 October 1869.—364

450 By 'the antiquated manner of 1789' Marx means the transfer to the peasants of the land confiscated from the feudal lords (parcelling) at the time of the French Revolution. Marx and Engels believed that this way of dealing with the agrarian problem was unsuitable for the proletarian party, leading as it did to the establishment of a petty-bourgeois peasant class and dooming the peasantry to gradual impoverishment and ruin (see K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Address of

the Central Authority to the League, March 1850', present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 284-85).—364

451 The *Land and Labour League* was founded in London in October 1869 with the participation of the General Council. Its Executive Committee included more than ten General Council members. The League's programme was drawn up by Eccarius on Marx's instruction and edited by Marx (see Vol. 21, pp. 401-06). Along with general democratic demands, like the reform of the finance and tax system and of public education, it contained demands for the nationalisation of the land and the reduction of working hours, as well as the Chartist demands for universal suffrage and home colonisation.

Marx held that the League could play a role in revolutionising the English working class and could promote the establishment of an independent proletarian party in England. However, by the autumn of 1870, the influence of bourgeois elements had grown in the League and it gradually began to lose contact with the International.—364, 375, 377, 412

452 In the summer and autumn of 1869, a mass movement developed in Ireland for an amnesty of the Fenian prisoners (see Note 86).

In 1867, the Fenians were preparing an armed uprising; in September of that year, the British authorities managed to arrest the leaders of the Fenian movement and put them on trial. The Fenians were persecuted, their newspapers were closed down, and the operation of the Habeas Corpus Act suspended (see Note 486). The campaign for the defence of the convicted Fenians launched in England was supported by the General Council of the First International.

Numerous meetings presented petitions to the British Government demanding that the Irish revolutionaries be released, but Prime Minister Gladstone refused to meet these demands. On 24 October 1869, a mass demonstration in defence of the Fenians took place in London (for an account of the event, see this volume, pp. 546-47), after which the General Council resolved to address the English people in defence of the Fenians, and set up a special commission consisting of Marx, Lucraft, Jung and Eccarius. On Marx's suggestion, the issue was expanded, and in November 1869 the General Council held a broad discussion on the attitude of the British Government to the Irish prisoners. Marx spoke twice (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 407-12), and wrote a 'Draft Resolution of the General Council on the Policy of the British Government Towards the Irish Prisoners' (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 83, and this volume, p. 375), which was approved by the General Council on 30 November 1869.—365, 449, 546

453 In a letter to Marx of 25 October 1869 (see Note 447), Bonhorst wrote: 'You should know better than anyone what the sore spot of the *German* peasant is. If we promise him to operate on that spot, he will be all for us. Thus, I believe, ... the mortgages may provide a wonderful opportunity. Just as raising the fertility of the soil. Insurance based on reciprocity. The ability to compete with the large estates. Schools. Everything must rest on the state principle.'—365

454 A reference to the destruction on 16 October 1869, by order of the Prussian military authorities and against court ruling, of the monument to the citizens of Celle (Hanover) who took part in the Langesalza (Thuringia) battle against the Prussians on 27 June 1866, at the time of the Austro-Prussian war, in which Hanover fought on the side of Austria. The Prussians had been defeated. War Minister Roon stated during the discussion of this issue in the Prussian Landtag: '*Prussia is a military state*, and the military authorities in Celle only

executed their inalienable supreme right' (see *Der Volksstaat*, No. 11, 6 November 1869).—366, 371

455 A reference to the issue of *The Bee-Hive* of 30 October 1869 (No. 420), which featured the editorial 'Ministers and the Fenian Prisoners'. It vindicated the policies pursued by Gladstone with regard to the Irish national liberation movement.—366

456 A strike of spinners in Bolton caused by reduction of wages by 5 per cent and the overall deterioration of the workers' conditions due to an industrial slump lasted from 29 October to 4 November 1869 and ended in defeat for the workers.—367

457 The reference is apparently to the article 'Unser Redakteur' published in *Der Pionier*, No. 42, 13 October 1869, which attacked Marx's *Capital*.—367

458 Liebknecht's inconsistent behaviour when popularising the decisions of the Basle Congress (see Note 447) was used by Schweitzer, who in a series of provocative articles in *Der Social-Demokrat* accused the Eisenachers of deceiving the workers, denouncing a socialist programme, and toeing the line of the People's Party (see Note 38). Bonhorst responded with an article 'Der famose Diktator und eine der Braunschweiger "Strohpuppen" im Lichte der Baseler Beschlüsse', in which he made it clear that the Lassallean General Association of German Workers only paid lip service to socialist principles while in fact doing nothing to implement them. Schweitzer, Bonhorst wrote, will never manage to pass himself off as a champion of the rural proletariat's interests, for he enjoys the support of the Prussian junkers. The attacks of the democratic press on the resolutions of the Basle Congress, he stated by way of conclusion, only serve to show where the dividing line lies between the Social-Democratic Party and its fellow-travellers in the People's Party. The article appeared in *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 8 and 9, 27 and 30 October 1869.—367, 369.

459 Bonhorst was arrested in Magdeburg on 27 October 1869, on the charge of agitating against the Prussian Government, and was sentenced to four weeks' imprisonment.—367

460 On 6 November 1869, a ceremony of the opening of Blackfriars Bridge and Holborn Viaduct was held in London. Queen Victoria was present.—367

461 *Repealers*—people campaigning for a repeal of the Anglo-Irish Union of 1801 imposed upon Ireland by the British Government after the suppression of the Irish uprising of 1798. The Union, which came into force on 1 January 1801, put an end to the autonomy of Ireland and abolished the Irish Parliament. One of the consequences of its introduction was the abolition of tariffs established by the Irish Parliament at the end of the 18th century to protect the rising Irish industry, and this led to its total decline. Since the 1820s, the movement for the repeal of the Union began to gain momentum in Ireland. However, its bourgeois liberal leadership (O'Connell and others) regarded the campaign only as a means to wrest insignificant concessions for the Irish bourgeoisie from the British Government. Under the impact of the mass movement, the liberals were forced to found the Repealer Association (1840), and they attempted to make it agree to a compromise with the British ruling classes.—368, 390, 398, 473

462 Arthur O'Connor, a prominent member of the Irish national liberation movement, was a leader of the secret revolutionary organisation, the United

Irishmen, whose goal was to establish an independent Irish republic. In May and June 1798, the members of the United Irishmen staged an uprising against the British rule. O'Connor and other leaders were arrested on the eve of the uprising. The uprising was brutally suppressed (see Note 461).—368, 398

463 Marx ironically likens Freiligrath to the manufacturer Classen-Kappelmann, member of the Cologne city council, who became a notorious figure in 1865. In July 1865 he took part in the preparation of a banquet for the Party of Progress members who were deputies of the Chamber of Representatives of the Prussian Landtag in opposition to the Prussian Government. The banquet was banned and Classen-Kappelmann, who feared arrest, left for Belgium. The guests arrived to find the premises closed and assembled at the Zoo. The assembly was dispersed by the police.—371

464 Marx refers to the circular letter to the French electors drawn up by Ledru-Rollin, participant in the 1848-49 revolution, who lived in London as an émigré up to 1870. Describing it as that of a pretender, Marx alludes to the fact that in the Presidential elections in France on 10 December 1848, Ledru-Rollin nominated himself as a representative of petty-bourgeois democrats. His letter, dated 7 November 1869, was published in *Le Réveil* on 10 November under the heading 'Aux électeurs'.—371

465 The original of this letter is kept in the archives of the Greater London Library (Greater London Council).—372

466 Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, a leader of the Irish national liberation movement, who was under arrest at the time, was elected to the House of Commons as member for Tipperary on 25 November 1869.

*An amnesty in Italy*—Engels means a partial amnesty announced in Italy in November 1869 covering individual categories of political offences, specifically, service misdemeanors in the National Guard.—373, 387, 420, 548

467 This letter was first published in English in an abridged form in: *The Labour Monthly*, Vol. 14, No. 12, London, 1932; fragments of this letter were published in: Marx K., Engels F., *Correspondence. 1846-1895*, London [1934], and Marx K., Engels F., *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1975.—375

468 The reference is to Marx's speeches on the policy of the British Government towards the Irish prisoners, which he made at the General Council meetings of 16 and 23 November 1869, and which were recorded by the Council's Secretary Eccarius in the Minute Book (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 407-12).—375

469 In a speech made on 7 October 1862 in Newcastle, Gladstone (then Finance Minister) greeted the Confederation of the Southern States in the person of its President Jefferson Davis, justifying the rebellion of the southern slaveowners against Lincoln's lawful government. The speech was published in *The Times*, No. 24372 on 9 October 1862. It was referred to at the General Council discussion mentioned above.—375

470 In a letter of 13 November 1869, Wilhelm Liebknecht requested Marx and Engels to write several scientific articles for *Der Volksstaat*. He also voiced his regret that they had failed to meet during Marx's stay in Germany (see Note 349).—376

471 Élisée Reclus, a French geographer and sociologist, member of the International Working Men's Association, was staying in London in July and August of 1869 and attended two meetings of the General Council.—377, 378

472 A fragment of this letter was first published in English in: *The Labour Monthly*, Vol. 14, No. 12, London, 1932.—377

473 The amnesty in Russia issued on 25 May (6 June) 1868 extended to political prisoners sentenced before 1 January 1866, and a section of prisoners of foreign extraction who, according to Imperial Edict, were expelled from the country for good. Under the amnesty, a number of Poles sentenced to less than twenty years' imprisonment were able to return home.—377

474 The *Guelphic conspiracy*—a reference to the events that developed after the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 in Hanover, which lost its independence and was annexed by Prussia. The former King of Hanover, George V, who strove for the restoration of the Guelph dynasty, set up the so-called Guelph Legion in France in the spring of 1867. It comprised mostly émigrés from Hanover. On 8 April 1868, the Prussian legal bodies sentenced a number of officers who had taken part in its foundation to ten years' imprisonment. However, seeking to consolidate its position in Hanover, the Prussian Government announced an amnesty of the rank-and-file members early in May that year.—377

475 See present edition, Vol. 38, pp. 423-24.—382

476 Engels is referring to the report 'Vom Rechte das mit uns geboren' read at the Berlin General Union for the Defence of Rights by Scheffer, champion of the idea of free religious communities. The purpose of such communities was to 'foster a higher degree of awareness in the people'. The report was published in *Der Volksstaat*, nos. 12 (supplement), 13 14 and 15; 10, 13, 17 and 20 November 1869.—382

477 An excerpt from this letter was published in English in: *The Labour Monthly*, Vol. 14, No. 12, London, 1932; in an abridged form, it was published in: Marx K., Engels F., *Correspondence. 1846-1895*, London [1934]. It was published in English in full for the first time in: Marx K., Engels F., *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1975.—383

478 Marx is referring to the General Council meeting of 23 November 1869, which continued the discussion of the policies of the British Government with respect to the Irish political prisoners (see notes 452 and 468).—386

479 Engels is referring to an armed uprising staged in the spring of 1867 by the Irish revolutionaries, the Fenians (see notes 86 and 452). The British authorities, who had been informed that preparations for an uprising were under way, easily suppressed the isolated outbursts. Many Fenian leaders were arrested and tried.—387

480 *Chetham Library*—the oldest library in Manchester, founded in 1653. Marx worked there together with Engels in 1845 during his first stay in England.—388, 402, 518

481 *Brehon Law*, the general name of the Celtic common law code, took its name from the Brehons, judges in Celtic Ireland. The laws operated in Ireland until 1605, when they were repealed by the British Government. Their publication was started by the Brehon Law Commission set up by the British Government in 1852. The first three volumes of the *Ancient Laws of Ireland* appeared in 1865, 1869 and 1873 and made up the collection *The Senchus Mor*, or *Great Old Law Book*. The publication continued up to 1901.—388, 409, 442, 451, 509, 519

482 J. Davies, *Historical Tracts*, London, 1787. Engels sets forth the contents of two of Davies' tracts, 'A letter from Sir John Davies to Robert Earl of Salisbury,

1607', and 'A letter from Sir John Davies to Robert Earl of Salisbury concerning the State of Ireland, 1610'.—388

483 Engels is referring to the speech made by Napoleon III on 29 November 1869, at the opening of an extraordinary session of the French National Assembly (published on 30 November in the *Journal des Débats* and other French newspapers), and the speeches of Prévost-Paradol in Edinburgh during his tour of Britain in November 1869 (published in the British press and in a number of French papers, including the *Journal des Débats* on 16 and 18 November 1869).—388

484 This letter was published in English for the first time in: *Irish Opinion. The Voice of Labour,* No. 26, 25 May 1918, Dublin.—389

485 At the time of the English Revolution an uprising broke out in Ireland which resulted in the Catholic part of the island splitting with England. The uprising was suppressed in 1649-52. The 'pacification' of Ireland was executed with the utmost brutality and ended in the mass transfer of land to the new English landlords; this strengthened the landowner and bourgeois strata and paved the way for the restoration of the monarchy in 1660.—391

486 A writ of *Habeas Corpus*—the name given in English judicial procedure to a document enjoining the appropriate authorities to present an arrested person before court on the demand of the persons interested to check the legitimacy of the arrest. Having considered the reasons for the arrest, the court either frees the arrested person, sends him back to prison or releases him on bail or guarantee. The procedure, laid down by an Act of Parliament of 1679, does not apply to persons accused of high treason and can be suspended by decision of Parliament. The British authorities frequently made use of this exception in Ireland.—391, 394, 419

487 At one of the sittings of the Prussian Landtag, Minister for the Interior Count von Eulenburg made a statement justifying the violations of the law by the Prussian military authorities in Celle (see Note 454).—391

488 This is Marx's reply to Kugelmann's request to give him the address of E. Reich, to whom Kugelmann was going to send Volume One of *Capital.* Reich's book *Ueber die Entartung des Menschen, ihre Ursachen und Verhütung* (Erlangen, 1868) was given by Kugelmann to Marx during the latter's stay in Germany in September and October 1869. The Introduction to the book is marked 'Gotha, 5. Mai 1868'. —391

489 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: *The Labour Monthly,* Vol. 15, No. 1, London, 1933.—392, 394, 396

490 Marx refers to the reports of the General Council meetings of 16 and 23 November 1869, at which he made a speech on the policies of the British Government with regard to the Irish prisoners (see present edition, Vol. 21). The reports were written for the press by two General Council members, Eccarius ('The British Government and the Irish Political Prisoners', in: *The Reynolds's Newspaper,* nos. 1006 and 1008, 21 November and 5 December 1869) and Harris ('International Working Men's Association', in: *The National Reformer,* 28 November and 5 December 1869).

By Harris' 'currency panacea', Marx means his article 'Yours or Mine; or Short Chapters, Showing the True Basis of Property and the Causes of its Unequal Distribution' in: *The National Reformer,* 5 December 1869. *The Reynolds's*

*Newspaper* and *The National Reformer* were published on Saturday but were dated Sunday; that is why the Sunday 5 December issue of *The National Reformer* was sent by Marx to Engels on Saturday, 4 December.—392, 394

491 A reference to the second issue ('the attitude of the British working class to the Irish question') in the discussion on Ireland in the General Council (see this volume, pp. 371-72). Marx had proposed to open it on 7 December 1869, but was unable to attend on account of an illness. The General Council never took up the issue again. Marx expounded his views on the position of the British working class with regard to Ireland in his letter to Engels of 10 December 1869 (see this volume, p. 398) and in the circular letter 'The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland' (present edition, Vol. 21).—392

492 After the defeat of the 1867 armed uprising in Ireland (see Note 479), many Fenians were arrested and tried. On 18 September 1867 in Manchester, the Fenians made an armed attack on a prison van in an attempt to liberate Kelly and Deasy, two of their leaders. Five Irishmen captured on the spot were sentenced to death, which triggered off a wave of protests in Ireland and England. Members of the General Council also voiced their protest. Seeking to work out a coordinated tactic of the proletariat in the national question and to popularise the ideas of proletarian internationalism among English workers, Marx persuaded the General Council to hold a public discussion of the Irish question to which representatives of the Irish and English press were to be invited. The discussion began on 19 November, and on 20 November, at an extraordinary meeting, the General Council adopted the petition 'The Fenian Prisoners at Manchester and the International Working Men's Association' (see present edition, Vol. 21). This is the document that Marx mentions in a letter to Engels.—392.

493 Marx's letter to Robert Applegarth of 1 December 1869 has not been found.—393

494 Marx is referring to Robert Applegarth's letter to him of 2 December 1869:

'Amalgamated Society
of Carpenters and Joiners, General Office.
113 Stamford Street,
Waterloo Road, S.E.
London, Dec 2d 1869

'My dear Marx,

'Your note is just to hand.

'I have not replied to the enquiries—made as to whether I voted for Common property in Land and I don't intend doing so till I hear from you.

'I send you a copy of the question put to me.

'"Was any resolution passed to which you were, or were not a party, against all private property in land?"

'The above is the question and the first words of my reply will be.

'"A resolution *was passed* declaring 'That society has a right to abolish private property in land and to convert it into common property and that there was a necessity for doing so'. And for this resolution I gave my vote most cordially."

'I then want to say in a few words why Land ought to be made common property.

'I would not have troubled you had I been asked the question only as reference to some opinion I had expressed apart from the International but as

my reply will be placed in the hands of those who would *by one means or another* have to disgorge their ill gotten acres, if land was made common property and as my vote was given at one of our Congresses I feel I ought to ask the advice of those who understood the question thoroughly before I was born.

'I shall therefore wait till I hear from you.

'I am yours truly

'R. Applegarth'.—393, 395

495 Marx's letter to R. Applegarth of 3 December 1869, has not been found.—393

496 In a letter to Marx of 11 November 1869, Wilhelm Bracke noted that the arrest of Leonard von Bonhorst had created additional difficulties for the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (see Note 459).

Bonhorst was Secretary of the Brunswick Party Committee.—393, 395

497 The demand for the repeal of the Union (see Note 461) had been the most popular slogan in Ireland since the 1820s.—394

498 A reference to the letter from Klein and Moll to Engels of 3 December 1869. They wrote about the financial difficulties encountered by the Solingen cooperative for the production of steel and iron goods (see Note 330) and requested Engels for assistance. Inscribed on the letter in Engels' hand is: 'Answered on 8 February 1870. Fifty thaler sent by registered mail, with the interest to be added to the cooperative's reserve fund'.—395, 396, 420

499 On 30 November 1869, at a sitting of the Corps législatif, bourgeois republican Jules Favre made an inquiry into illegal actions by the government, including postponement of the Corps' assemblies and interference of the authorities in the elections to the Corps in May and June 1869. Particularly scandalous facts were revealed at the sitting of 7 December at which deputy Durand's mandate was being confirmed. Minister for the Interior Forcade-Laroquette spoke in defence of Durand. The proposal to hold an investigation into the results of the vote on Durand's candidature was advanced by Jules Favre. Liberal deputies who belonged to the oppositional parliamentary group of French bourgeoisie, the so-called third party, did not support Jules Favre and abstained from voting. Jules Favre's proposal was rejected by 135 votes to 86.—395

500 The toast to Marx and Engels as editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was proposed by Karl Klein in May 1864 in Cologne on the occasion of the anniversary celebration of the General Association of German Workers in the presence of Ferdinand Lassalle.—397

501 Marx is referring to his contributions to the *New-York Daily Tribune* (in 1851-62). See, for instance, Marx's essays 'Forced Emigration.—Kossuth and Mazzini.—The Refugee Question.—Election Bribery in England.—Mr. Cobden' published in the spring of 1853 in that newspaper (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 528-34).—398

502 Engels proposed to include the section 'Rebellion and Union. 1780-1801' into the chapter 'English Rule' (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 307). Marx's recommendation to Engels that he should write a separate chapter on the period from 1779 to 1800 for his book on Irish history (see Note 438) was based on his own research. Marx prepared excerpts on Irish history from 1776 to 1801.—398

503 Marx is probably alluding to the presence of Empress Eugénie Montijo at a session of the French Cabinet of Ministers of 9 December 1869, which pro-

voked deep indignation among the liberal and democratic opposition in Paris.—399

504 A fragment of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *On the United States*, Moscow, 1979.—401

505 Engels probably means the English edition of the book by W. Camden *Britannia or Chorographical Description of the most flourishing Kingdoms England, Scotland and Ireland and the Islands adjoining*, London, 1637. The book, originally written in Latin, was published in 1590 as one volume with another work by Camden, *Hiberniae et insularum Britanniae adiacentium descriptio*, which Engels ascribed, apparently erroneously, to Giraldus Cambrensis. In his further work on the history of Ireland (see Note 438), Engels used the publication (in Latin) *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, London, Longmans, 1863. *Expugnatio* was included in Vol. V of this edition, which was published in 1867 (see Note 528), and also appeared in the English translation published by Bohn in London in 1863, *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis*.—402

506 Probably an error in the text; the first edition of Robert Kane's *The Industrial Resources of Ireland* appeared in 1844, and the second—in 1845 in Dublin. Engels probably refers to the latter.—402

507 Having failed to move to the forefront in the International's leadership at the Basle Congress (see Note 379), Bakunin altered his tactics and launched an open campaign against the General Council. His followers came to form the majority in *L'Égalité* weekly published in Switzerland, and as early as 6 November 1869, No. 42 carried an editorial 'Le Bulletin du Conseil Général', accusing the General Council of violating articles 2 and 3 of the Regulations on the publication of an information bulletin dealing with the conditions of workers in various countries. On 13 November, No. 43 published another article, 'L'Organisation de l'Internationale', which proposed the establishment of a federal council for England, allegedly to make it easier for the General Council to manage the more general affairs of the International. On 27 November, No. 45 featured an article 'Les Parties Politiques à Genève et l'Internationale', which suggested abstention from politics, and on 11 December, *L'Égalité* No. 47 lashed out against the Council's position on the Irish question in the editorial entitled 'Réflexions'. *Le Progrès* newspaper, which was published in Switzerland, assumed a similarly critical stand.

The question of *L'Égalité* and *Le Progrès* was discussed at the General Council for the first time at a meeting of 14 December 1869. On 1 January 1870, an extraordinary Council meeting approved a circular letter, drawn up by Marx, 'The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland', which was sent out to the International's sections (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 84).—404, 411, 489, 492

508 A reference to a resolution of the Basle Congress adopted on 9 September 1869, on the procedure of settling conflicts between the International's sections. (See 'Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association', London [1869], p. 21.) It is included in the work of Marx and Engels *Fictitious Splits in the International. Private Circular from the General Council of the International Working Men's Association* (present edition, Vol. 23).—404, 480

509 Marx is referring to the Resolution of the Geneva Congress of the International on publishing a bulletin (in: *Rules and Administrative Regulations of*

*the International Working Men's Association*, London [1867], Articles 2, 3, present edition, Vol. 20, p. 442. See also: K. Marx, 'The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland', present edition, Vol. 21, p. 84).—405

510 Marx is referring to the Central Committee of the German-language sections in Switzerland headed by J. Ph. Becker. Since November 1865, it was the organisational centre for the sections of German-language workers not only in Switzerland but in Germany, Austria and the countries where German workers were living in emigration.—405

511 On 5 January 1870, Marx was a member of the General Council delegation to the funeral of Robert Shaw, a house-painter and member of the General Council. The obituary Marx had written on the instruction of the Council was published in the Belgian newspaper *L'Internationale*, No. 53, 16 January 1870 (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 92).—406

512 The report to the Belgian Federal Council written by Marx as a temporary Corresponding Secretary for Belgium is not extant. It had been forwarded to De Paepe through Hins alongside a copy of the circular letter 'The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland' (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 84) and Robert Shaw's obituary (see Note 511).—406, 411, 414

513 Engels left for Barmen to visit his mother in late December 1869, and returned to Manchester on 6 January, 1870.—407, 548

514 Apparently a reference to Ollivier's liberal ministry's assuming office in France on 2 January 1870. In Germany, this event was regarded as a step towards normalising relations between France and the North German Confederation.—407

515 Engels refers to Fritz Mende's book *Herr J. B. von Schweitzer und die Organisation des Lassalle'schen All[gemeinen] deutschen Arbeitervereins*, Leipzig, 1869. Mende headed a small group of Lassalleans who had split off from the General Association of German Workers (see Note 104) under the influence of Sophie von Hatzfeldt and formed the Lassallean General Association of German Workers in 1867. In 1872, it virtually ceased to exist.—408

516 On 10 January 1870, Prince Pierre Napoléon Bonaparte murdered Victor Noir, a reporter on the republican newspaper *La Marseillaise*, in his house. Noir visited Pierre Napoléon as a second of the Blanquist Pascal Grousset, also a *La Marseillaise* reporter, who had challenged the prince to a duel. The murder was committed a few days after the coming into office of Ollivier's liberal ministry, which the liberal bourgeoisie expected to introduce a number of reforms. The murder of Noir provoked an outburst of indignation in democratic quarters and bolstered the republican movement in France.—409, 423, 553

517 Prévost-Paradol's article was published on Monday, 17 January 1870, in the *Journal des Débats*.—409

518 A reference to the speech by John Bright, Minister of Trade in Gladstone's liberal government, made at Birmingham on 11 January. It was published by *The Times* on 12 January 1870.—409

519 Marx read in Russian Herzen's book *Prison and Exile* (London, 1854; published under the pen-name of Iskander) which belonged to Engels and contained his

marginal notes. On page 196 Marx wrote: 'Finished 9 January 1870'. The copy is kept at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam.—411

520 In a letter of 20 December 1869, Liebknecht asked Engels for permission to reprint his work *The Peasant War in Germany* (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 397-482) in *Der Volksstaat*, and subsequently as a separate pamphlet. He also asked for a short preface to the work.

Liebknecht's letter of 8 February 1870 shows that Engels had given his consent. The preface (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 93) and five chapters appeared in *Der Volksstaat* between 2 April and 25 June 1870; in October 1870 the work was published as a pamphlet.—411, 417, 425

521 *Land League*—a reference to the Land Tenure Reform Association founded in July 1869 on the initiative of John Stuart Mill. Its stated purpose was to restore the small peasantry by renting plots of land to the unemployed.—412

522 Marx intended to expound the issues of landed property and rent in the third book of Volume Two of *Capital*, but altered the original plan in the course of his work. The manuscript of the third book of *Capital* was written in 1864-65. After Volume One of *Capital* appeared in 1867, Marx did a great deal of work collecting new material about landed property in Belgium and a number of other European and American countries. However, it did not allow him to re-write the section on land rent. Later, Engels included the part on landed property into Volume Three of *Capital*. For details, see Engels' preface to Volume Three of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 37).—412

523 De Paepe listed the works on landed property in Belgium in a letter to Marx of 1 February 1870.—412

524 A reference to Hins' letter to Stepney of 21 January 1870, which was forwarded to Marx by Eccarius on 27 January 1870.—412, 424, 431

525 Even before the Romance Federal Council had received the circular letter 'The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland' (see Note 507), it managed to change the composition of the editorial board of *L'Égalité*. After the Bakuninists had withdrawn, the newspaper began to support the policy of the General Council. The report on the withdrawal of seven members from *L'Égalité* editorial board ('Aux sections romands') appeared in the newspaper on 8 January 1870, No. 2 and on 15 January the next issue (No. 3) carried a statement by the editors themselves. It was signed, among others, by J. Ph. Becker, who prior to April 1870 vacillated in his attitude to the Bakuninists. Soon, however, he went back on his decision to withdraw.—412, 430

526 The private letter from Perret to Jung mentioned here was dated 4 January 1870, like the official letter. The excerpt that follows has also been preserved as a copy made by Marx's daughter Jenny. The last passage of the excerpt was copied by Marx.—413

527 Later, in his letter to Hermann Jung of 15 April 1870 Henri Perret gave a detailed account of the incident. James Guillaume's father was secretary of the State Council in Neuchâtel, and it was he who signed Martinaud's mandate.—413

528 In 1863, Volume III of Giraldus Cambrensis' complete works was published (*Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, voluminis I-VII, Londini, 1861-1877). Volumes I-IV were brought out by J. S. Brewer, and volumes V-VII—by James F. Dimock.

His works *Expugnatio Hibernica* and *Topographia Hibernica* were included in Volume V, which appeared in 1867. (See also this volume, p. 402).—416

529 On 20 January 1870, at an electors' meeting in Berlin, bourgeois democrat Johann Jacoby, deputy of the Prussian Landtag, made a speech on the goals of the labour movement, in which he said, among other things: 'From the viewpoint of a future historian of culture, the emergence of the tinies workers' association will be of more value than the Battle of Sadowa'. On 23 January, having received a report of the meeting, Kugelmann wrote to Jacoby: 'Why, making references to Aristotle, de Maistre, Owen, von Gentz and John Stuart Mill do you ignore the name of *Karl Marx*, a researcher compared to whom all the above-mentioned, with the exception of Aristotle, are mere pygmies, a thinker who can by right be called *the brain of the 19th century*; whose teaching you have not only failed "to develop further" but the other way round, ... his epoch-making works, specifically, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and *Capital*, have provided you with *the most significant* material.' On 24 January, Jacoby wrote to Kugelmann acknowledging Marx's indisputable merits; still he tried to justify himself, saying that his popular exposition required no specific references. These letters of Kugelmann's and Jacobi's were forwarded by Marx to Engels.—417

530 The first attempt to translate Marx's book *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* into French was made by Keller in December 1869, who interrupted his work on the French translation of *Capital* (see Note 441). Keller's work remained unfinished. On the first publication of the book in French see Note 303.—419

531 Engels is referring to the German translation of the work by P. Lilienfeld *Land and Freedom* (Лилиенфельд, *Земля и воля*), which appeared in St. Petersburg in 1868. The translation, 'Land und Freiheit', was published in: J. Eckardt, *Russlands ländische Zustände seit Aufhebung der Leibeigenschaft*, Leipzig, 1870.—419, 426

532 A reference to the revolutionary events that took place in Elberfeld in May 1849. The city Committee of Public Safety appointed Engels supervisor of all works to build defensive works and barricades, and commander of the artillery. Local bourgeoisie, who feared that Engels' authority might become too great, demanded that the Committee issued an order for his arrest. The Solingen workers, with whom Engels had arrived in Elberfeld, and also the workers of Elberfeld were outraged by the bourgeoisie's behaviour and resolutely rose to his defence. Unwilling to be the cause of a split in the insurgents' camp, Engels left Elberfeld for Cologne on 15 May. He gave a detailed account of these events in his report 'Elberfeld' to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 300, 17 May 1849 (see present edition, Vol. 9, pp. 447-49), and in his work 'The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution' (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 159-71).—420

533 A reference to the arrest of Rochefort on 7 February 1870, in La Villette, a workers' suburb of Paris, for his article about Victor Noir's murder (see Note 516) published by *La Marseillaise*, 12 January 1870.

*White smocks* was a name for French police agents. In June 1869, the Police Prefecture of Paris made an attempt to provoke a spontaneous outburst among the workers using the 'white smocks' who staged manifestations, built barricades, sang the *Marseillaise*, etc. Engels expressed his apprehensions that similar provocations would be staged after Rochefort's arrest.—422, 427

534 Excerpts from this letter were first published in English in: Marx K., Engels F., *Correspondence. 1846-1895*, London [1934]; and in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Selected Letters. The Personal Correspondence. 1844-1877* edited by Fritz J. Raddatz, translated from the German by Ewald Osers, Boston, Toronto, 1981.—422

535 Probably a reference to the book by P. Lanfrey, *Histoire de Napoléon I*, Tomes I-IV, Paris, 1867-1870. Excerpts from Chapter VII, Volume IV, 'Le Guet-apens de Bayonne', were printed in *La Cloche*, Nos. 44-46, 1-3 February 1870.—423, 426

536 A reference to Perret's letter to Jung of 4 January 1870. It was quoted by Marx in his letter to De Paepe, 24 January 1870 (see this volume, p. 413).—424, 426

537 Marx is referring to an item that appeared in *La Marseillaise* on 2 February 1870, and was inspired by Blind. It dealt with the fact that in 1849, Blind was unlawfully arrested in France and put into prison, although as an official representative of the revolutionary Baden government he enjoyed diplomatic immunity. The item contained a demand for an amnesty for Blind as an alleged former member of the German National Assembly and a diplomatic representative of the Frankfurt Parliament. In actual fact, Karl Blind and Jacob Friedrich Schütz (Blind wrote Schurz, since that name was better known belonging as it did to a Brigadier General of the Northern States of America, subsequently the American Secretary for Home Affairs) had never been members of the National Assembly. Schütz had been sent to Paris as a chargé d'affaires of the Palatinate to establish diplomatic relations with France, buy munitions, and recruit commanding officers.

On the *German National Assembly*, see Note 256.—425

538 Engels is referring to Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter of 8 February 1870. To explain why he did not know about the publication of the second edition of Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 99-197), Liebknecht wrote that Otto Meissner had not informed either *Der Volksstaat* or *Die Zukunft* about this, and as he put it, 'a week ago, I did not know for sure if the book had appeared'.—426, 428

539 A reference to the article by Alfred Naquet featured by *La Marseillaise*, No. 43, on 30 January 1870: 'La Révolution et la science. De la fabrication du coton-poudre et de son application, soit comme poudre de guerre, soit comme poudre de mine'.—426

540 A reference to Bouverie's speech in the House of Commons on 10 February 1870, in connection with the proposal of the government to deprive O'Donovan Rossa of the right to attend its sessions (see Note 466). His speech was published by *The Times* on 11 February 1870, in a report on the session.—429

541 Marx is referring to a group of Russian political refugees from among the young intellectuals, followers of the noted Russian revolutionary democrats Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov. In the spring of 1870, they founded the Russian Section of the First International in Geneva. A substantial contribution to its organisation had been made by A. A. Serno-Solovyevich, a member of the International, who died in 1869. On 12 March 1870, the Committee of the Section sent the General Council its Programme, Rules, and a letter to Marx requesting him to be their representative at the General Council. The programme of the Russian Section defined its objectives as follows: '1. To popularise the ideas and principles of the International Association in Russia by

every possible rational means, whose special character and mode of influence stem from the very position of the country. 2. To promote the establishment of international sections among Russian workers. 3. To help establish stable, mutual contacts between the working classes of Russia and Western Europe, including assistance to each other in order to more successfully attain their common goal, emancipation.' This document, and the official reply of the General Council written by Marx, 'The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to Committee Members of the Russian Section in Geneva' (see present edition, Vol. 21) were published by the press organ of the Russian Section, *Narodnoye Dyelo* (People's Cause), No. 1, 15 April 1870.

At its meeting of 22 March 1870, the General Council admitted the Russian Section to the International, and Marx agreed to represent it at the General Council. The Section rendered Marx and Engels substantial assistance in counteracting the Bakuninists' attempts to split the International. Members of the Russian Section, including Nikolai Utin, Anton Trusov, Yekaterina Barteneva, Victor Bartenev, Yelena Dmitriyeva, and Anna Korvin-Krukovskaya, took an active part in the Swiss and international working class movement. The Section made an attempt to establish contacts with the revolutionarv movement in Russia. Its work was terminated in 1872.—430, 462, 492

542 Marx apparently means the January 1870 issue of *Der Vorbote*, edited by J. Ph. Becker, which featured materials describing the activities of the International, specifically, the fourth article in the series *Der vierte Kongress der internationalen Arbeiterassoziationen in Basel*, written in the spirit of the policies pursued by the General Council.

On Bakunin's statements in *L'Égalité*, see Note 507.—431

543 A reference to the events connected with the decision of the French National Assembly to withdraw Rochefort's deputy's mandate for his appeal to rise against the Empire after the murder of Victor Noir, reporter from *La Marseillaise*, by Prince Pierre Napoléon Bonaparte (see notes 516 and 553). Flourens was an organiser of meetings and assemblies for the defence of Rochefort. One of such meetings was to be held on 7 February 1870, on the premises of *La Marseillaise* editorial offices, but Rochefort was arrested when entering the room. The initiative passed to Flourens, who immediately announced that the government had been overthrown, and declared uninterrupted revolution. Assisted by those present, he arrested the police commissary present at the meeting, led the people out into the street, and they made for Belleville. Sixty people actually got there. Flourens hoped to use the assistance of a number of junior officers to seize arms at the Prince Eugene's barracks and the Belleville Theatre, where rifles were kept. However, Flourens' plan fell through. The liaison men failed in their task and workers did not come to the assistance, and in the end only Flourens and one young man remained at the barricade, leaving it late at night. By morning, it was taken by soldiers.—431

544 Engels is referring to the *Irish Land Bill*, which was discussed in the British Parliament in the first half of 1870. Submitted by Gladstone on 15 February 1870 for the British Government on the pretext of assisting Irish tenants, it contained so many provisos and restrictions that it actually left the basis of big landownership by the English landlords in Ireland intact. It also preserved their right to raise rents and to drive tenants off the land, stipulating only that the landlords pay compensation to the tenants for land improvement, and instituting a definite judicial procedure for this. The Land Act was passed in

August 1870. The landlords sabotaged the implementation of the Act in every way and found loopholes in it. The Act greatly promoted the concentration of farms in Ireland into big estates and the ruination of small Irish tenants.—432, 437, 456

545 A reference to the separate *Peaces of Basle* of 1795 signed by the French Republic on the one hand, and Prussia and Spain on the other. The signing of these treaties isolated Britain and Austria and led to the disintegration of the first anti-French coalition which had included Britain, Austria, Spain and Prussia.—432

546 Marx touched on these issues in a number of his works. See, for instance, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Chapter 1 (present edition, Vol. 29); *The Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58*, § 1 'Production' (present edition, Vol. 28); also in Volume One of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 35, Part I, Chapter One).—434

547 The theory that the Russians are descendants of the Mongols was advanced by Franciszek Duchinski in his works published in 1854-61, specifically *Les origines slaves. Pologne et Ruthénie*, Paris, 1861. H. Martin expounded this theory in his work *La Russie et l'Europe*, Paris, 1866, which was translated into German by Kinkel in 1869.—435

548 Under the treaty of 30 March 1867, Russia's territories in North America (Alaska) passed over to the USA on payment of $7,200,000 (11 million roubles by contemporary exchange rate).—435

549 A reference to Bakunin's *Confession* to Tsar Nicholas I written in 1851 during his imprisonment at the Peter and Paul Fortress. Bakunin acknowledged his errors and characterised his revolutionary activities as 'political madness'. Marx communicated to Engels some data from the article published by *Moskovskiye Vedomosty*, No. 4, 6 January 1870.—437

550 On 8 March 1870, using its right of an arbiter in conflicts between the International's sections (see Note 508), the General Council examined the Sub-Committee's report and ruled on the conflict that had emerged in Lyons between the old Lyons Section represented by Schettel and other persons who stood close to Left-wing republicans, and the group headed by the Bakuninist Albert Richard. The General Council found the accusations groundless, and approved Richard's appointment as Corresponding Secretary of the International Working Men's Association. The statement made by the General Council stressed the need to be careful and avoid personal animosities fraught with conflict, and to concentrate all the strength and all the energy for the speedy triumph of the principles of the International Working Men's Association.—437, 480

551 In February 1870, three candidates stood for Parliament in Southwark: Beresford (Conservative Party), Odger (a workers' candidate), and Waterlow (Liberal Party). They received 4,686, 4,382 and 2,966 votes respectively.—437

552 This is a reply to Collet's letter of 26 January 1870. C. D. Collet had asked for details of the Russian railway loan. Collet sent this letter by Marx on to Urquhart with his own postscript. At its first publication in the first Russian edition of Marx's and Engels' *Works*, Urquhart was mistakenly named as the addressee. The letter first appeared in English in: *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History*, Leeds, 1967, No. 14, pp. 16-17.—438

553 The Russian Railway Loan bonds worth £12 mln were released for sale by Lionel Nathan Rothschild in Paris on 27 January 1870. This was reported, specifically, by *Moskovskiye Vedomosty*, No. 11, 27(15) January 1870.—438

554 This letter was written by Marx on the back of Borkheim's letter to him of 19 February 1870. Borkheim informed Marx about his intention to translate Flerovsky's book (Н. Флеровскій, *Положение рабочаго класса въ Россіи*) into English and requested Marx to write a preface to it.—440

555 A reference to Peter Imandt's letter to Marx of 18 February 1870, in which he asked for Marx's advice concerning the Prussian Government's demand, lodged through the Consul of the North German Confederation, that he pay the fees for the course of lectures on theology he attended at Bonn University in 1844-45. Before replying to Imandt, Marx consulted Engels. (For Marx's reply to Peter Imandt, see this volume, pp. 443-44.)—440, 443

556 On 21 February, Marx forwarded to *L'Internationale* certain material disclosing the cruel treatment of the members of the Irish national liberation movement by the British authorities. Marx expected that De Paepe would use this material for an article. However, the editorial board decided to print Marx's sketch verbatim dividing it into two instalments, which appeared on 27 February and 6 March, nos. 59 and 60 (see K. Marx, 'The English Government and the Fenian Prisoners', present edition, Vol. 21). On the publication of this material see also this volume, p. 453.—440

557 Engels quotes articles from Napoleon I's *Code civil* passed in 1804 and introduced also in the West and South-West German territories conquered by France. The Code continued to operate in the Rhine Province after its annexation by Prussia. Article 2265 quoted by Engels reads in full: 'Those who acquire real estate in good faith (bona fides) through honest work and on legal grounds, are acquiring property by virtue of the expiry of the ten years' statute of limitations if the owner is residing on the territory under the jurisdiction of the court of appeal in which the property is located, and twenty years limitations, if he is residing outside this territory.'—441

558 Engels refers to Favre's speech made on 21 February 1870 at a session of the Corps législatif and featured by the *Journal des Débats* on 22 February 1870.—442

559 The reference is to the death of the Lafargues' daughter born on 1 January 1870. She died at the end of February.—444

560 See Note 556.—444

561 A. Talandier's article 'L'Irlande et le catholicisme', spearheaded against the Irish national liberation movement appeared in *La Marseillaise*, No. 58, 16 February 1870; a synopsis of the article featured by *The Daily News* appeared in *La Marseillaise*, No. 60, 18 February 1870. A. Talandier's obituary *Nécrologie. Alexandre Hertzen*, originally carried by the Paris newspaper *Democratie*, was reprinted by the Brussels' *L'Internationale*, No. 56, 6 February 1870.—445

562 A reference to the series of eight articles on the Irish question written by Marx's daughter Jenny and published in *La Marseillaise* between 1 March and 24 April 1870, under the pen-name of J. Williams (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 414-41). The third article was written by Jenny in collaboration with her father. In subject-matter they have a connection with Marx's essay 'The English

Government and the Fenian Prisoners' (see Note 556)—445, 449, 458, 466, 488, 501, 557

563 On 15 February 1870, the House of Representatives of US Congress passed a resolution obliging the President to submit to it the information on the cases of American citizens kept in British prisons on the charge of involvement with the Fenians.—445

564 The soirée at the place of the French petty-bourgeois socialist Moilin at which the plans for social reform were discussed, was described by Lafargue in his letter to Marx of January 1870.—449

565 *Fenians*—see Note 86.
*Head Centre*, head of the secret Fenian organisation within the structure of the Fenian brotherhood.—449

566 The column 'Irishman in Paris' (*The Irishman*, No. 36, 5 March 1870) featured a report from Paris, which praised highly Jenny Marx's first article on the Irish question published by *La Marseillaise*. Jenny's article was published under the pen-name J. Williams; Marx also used this alias in some of his letters for considerations of secrecy, but his initial was A. That is why Engels writes that he 'could not explain the Christian name'.—451

567 A reference to the second edition of Engels' work *The Peasant War in Germany* (see Note 520).—452

568 A letter about his mother's sickness, who was taken ill on Wednesday, 2 March, was posted by Hermann Engels on 5 March, and received by Frederick Engels on 8 March 1870 (see this volume, pp. 452-53). Hermann asked Frederick to come over and wrote that he had sent a telegram. Enclosed with the letter was a copy of Hermann's letter to Emil Blank which contained the details.—452

569 In his article, Marx made use of the material on the death of Michael Terbert provided by *The Irishman*, No. 34, 19 February 1870 (see Note 556).—453

570 Huxley's first public lecture 'The Forefathers and Forerunners of the English People' was delivered in Manchester on 9 January 1870. A detailed account of the lecture, headed 'Professor Huxley on Political Ethnology', was published in the *Manchester Examiner & Times* on 12 January 1870.—454

571 An express issue of *La Marseillaise* (No. 79, 9 March 1870) carried letters of prominent members in the republican and the national liberation movements in France, Spain and other countries who in their time had been kept or were still in prison. Among others, the newspaper featured letters from Rochefort, Raul Rigo, O'Donovan Rossa, and a posthumous letter from Victor Noir. The headline opening O'Donovan Rossa's letter read: 'Letter of the Citizen O'Donovan Rossa, Fenian deputy to the British Parliament, condemned to the galleys and held at the Newgate Prison'.—454

572 Engels informs Marx about Friedrich Moll's letter of 28 February 1870 and of Klein's letter of the same date. Their authors thanked Engels for the 50 thaler he had sent to the Solingen production cooperative (see this volume, pp. 415-17). This is what Klein told Engels about the incident with Schapper: during Schapper's and Engels' stay in Sollingen in 1849, Schapper said to Engels once: 'Brother Engels, why do you argue with these dogs wearing kid gloves, take out your sword and cut off their heads'. Further on, Klein told the story of how Engels, as a young man, once paid his workers' wages 'on the basis of the communist principle'.—456

573 A reference to the series of articles on the Irish question written by Jenny Marx (see Note 562). In this letter, Engels refers to the publication of the second article in *La Marseillaise* on 9 March 1870, which reproduced O'Donovan Rossa's letter about the harsh treatment of political prisoners in English prisons (O'Donovan Rossa was arrested in 1865). On 10 March, this letter was reprinted by *The Times* (on the publication of O'Donovan Rossa's letter, see also this volume, pp. 454-55).—457

574 *The Daily News* of 16 March 1870 carried an anonymous article officially initiated by the Home Office headed by Bruce. It made an attempt to deny the facts cited in O'Donovan Rossa's letter, but recognised that Rossa 'has been put in irons'.—457

575 Engels quotes the evidence given by a prisoner published in: *Things not Generally Known, Concerning England's Treatment of Political Prisoners*, Dublin, 1869.—457

576 *Shamrock*—the national emblem of Ireland, usually represented as a clover leaf, which symbolises the Holy Trinity in the Christian Church. The Irish pin the emblem on their hats on 17 March, the birthday of St. Patrick, who is traditionally considered Ireland's patron saint.—458

577 This letter was written on a form stamped: 'General Council of the International Working Men's Association, 256, High Holborn, London, W.C.'; the letter carries an oval stamp 'International Working Men's Central Council London'.—458, 504, 511

578 Marx's letter to R. Pigott of 19 March 1870 has not been found.—458

579 A. Talandier's article '*La Marseillaise* et la presse anglaise' appeared in *La Marseillaise*, No. 85, 15 March, and dated 14 March 1870; it contained a review of the articles carried by *The Times* on 10 March and *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Daily News* on 11 March 1870.—459

580 Marx refers to the General Council meeting of 15 March 1870. He had not attended the Council meetings since 11 January because of illness.—459

581 A programme of the Paris society of proletarians-positivists was read at the General Council meeting of 15 March 1870. It stressed that the society members 'aim at social regeneration without God or King and hope to bring it about by the propagation of the positivist doctrine'. When discussing their admittance to the International, Marx stated that 'their rules were too exclusive and contrary to the General Rules of the Association'. Marx and Mottershead spoke out 'against admitting them as positivists'. On Milner's suggestion, a decision was reached to instruct Dupont as Corresponding Secretary for France to try and make the proletarians-positivists aware of the discrepancies in their programme.

*Comtism* (positivism), a trend in bourgeois philosophy and sociology founded by Auguste Comte which opposes both speculative idealism and materialism; it recognises the practical results achieved by science but rejects its philosophical materialist conclusions from the position of agnosticism. Comtism reduces all scientific cognition, including that in history and sociology (the latter term has been coined by Comte) to empirical knowledge. Social development is considered from a biological angle. According to Comte, capitalism is the highest stage of social development, and attempts at its revolutionary change are supposed to be futile. Comte believed that the road

to social harmony lies through 'new religion', a cult of an abstract higher being.—460

582 Engels' letter to Marx posted on 21 March 1870 has not been found.—460

583 After three of Jenny Marx's articles on the treatment of the Irish political prisoners in English prisons were published in *La Marseillaise* (see present edition, Vol. 21), the Irish M. P. George Henry Moore demanded, on 17 March 1870, that the Government launch a 'full and free' public inquiry into the matter. Under pressure from public opinion, Gladstone was forced, when replying to Moore, to agree to such an inquiry, but made a significant stipulation as to the character of the commission, stating that he 'shall be responsible for the manner in which the inquiry is conducted'. Thus Gladstone secured the right to appoint not a Parliamentary but a Royal commission which would not be accountable to Parliament. Moore's inquiry and Gladstone's reply were published in *The Times* on 18 March; on 19 March, in the column 'Treatment of Political Prisoners' and under the heading 'Probable Inquiry', *The Irishman* featured the item (mentioned by Engels) which, contrary to what Gladstone had stated, said that a Parliamentary commission was to be appointed.—461

584 In 1844, to please the Austrian Government, J. R. G. Graham, the British Home Secretary (1841-1846), ordered the postal department to submit letters of the Italian revolutionary refugees to the police for inspection.—462

585 Marx is referring to two of Becker's letters: the one to Jung of 12 March, in which Becker explains his behaviour in the conflict between the General Council and *L'Égalité* (see notes 507 and 525), and to Marx of 13 March 1870.—463

586 *La Marseillaise*, Nos. 72 and 73, 2 and 3 March, carried the obituary of Herzen written by Bakunin in a letter form in which Bakunin called Herzen his friend and fellow-countryman and said that his death 'was a tremendous loss to his friends, to the cause of Russian emancipation and ... to that of all mankind'. He wrote that he had been closely connected with Herzen for 30 years and that Herzen, Ogarev and himself had always had a common goal. The obituary was reprinted in full in Nos. 10, 11 and 12 of *Le Progrès* on 5, 12 and 19 March 1870.—463, 492

587 A reference to the money sent to Herzen in 1858 by the Russian landowner P. A. Bakhmetev for propaganda purposes (the so-called Bakhmetev Fund). Marx learned about this from J. Ph. Becker's letter of 13 March 1870. In 1869, under pressure from Bakunin and Ogarev, Herzen agreed to divide the fund into two parts, one of which Ogarev sent to Nechayev. After Herzen's death in 1870, Nechayev received the other part from Ogarev.—463, 492

588 A reference to the evidence for the defence in the murder case of the journalist Victor Noir by Prince Pierre Napoléon Bonaparte (see Note 516). At the trial, which took place in March 1870, it was alleged that Noir slapped Pierre Bonaparte on the face.—463

589 When publishing this letter in the book *Der Braunschweiger Ausschuss der socialdemokratischen Arbeiter-Partei in Lötzen und vor dem Gericht*, Brunswick, 1872, Bracke pointed out that the letter was written on a form stamped: 'General Council of the International Working Men's Association, 256, High Holborn, London, W.C.'.—464

590 Acting on the decisions of the Eisenach Congress (see Note 373), the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany urged Party members to join the International Working Men's Association as private persons, since to establish the organisational links between the two bodies, it was necessary to circumvent the Law on Associations operating in Prussia. In a Committee letter of 17 March 1870, Wilhelm Bracke noted that Johann Georg Eccarius had long been commissioned with obtaining 3,000 International membership cards which could have been distributed in the Party. On receiving the letter, Marx immediately forwarded the requested membership cards to Leonhard von Bonhorst as the Committee Secretary.—464

591 A reference to Bonhorst's letter to Marx of 21 February 1870 and Bonhorst's letter to Borkheim of 17 March 1870, which Borkheim forwarded to Marx on 21 March. Bonhorst also wrote to Engels about the financial predicament of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (a letter of 17 March 1870).—464

592 This letter is reproduced from a copy made in an unidentified handwriting. It begins with the written stamp of the General Council: 'General Council of the International Working Men's Association, 256, High Holborn, London, W.C.'.—464

593 The *Coercion Bill* was introduced in the House of Commons by Gladstone on 17 March 1870, and passed by it. Aimed against the national liberation movement, the Bill provided for the suspension of constitutional guarantees in Ireland and the introduction of extraordinary powers for the English authorities in the struggle against the Irish revolutionaries.

Mentioning Clanricarde, Marx refers to his speech of 21 March 1870, during the discussion of the Bill in the House of Lords. Clanricarde accused Gladstone's government of leniency towards Ireland and demanded a harsher policy to restore 'social order' there.—466

594 This phrase is a reply to Kugelmann, who had requested Marx in a letter of 21 March 1870, to let him know whether Jenny Marx had Goethe's *Works*; Kugelmann wanted to give her a birthday present.—466

595 Marx is apparently referring to a story about a boy which he had told on a visit to the Kugelmanns. The boy used to complain: 'O that I should be learning French instead of Latin!' (see *Mohr und General. Erinnerungen an Marx und Engels*, Berlin, 1982, pp. 278-79). Gertrud Kugelmann used this phrase in a letter to the Marx family of 21 March 1870.—467

596 *Omladina* (i.e., the Association of Serb Youth), a political organisation of Serb liberal bourgeoisie which existed in 1866-72 in the town of Novi Sad which used to belong to Austria-Hungary. Its stated goal was promotion of culture and education, but it really campaigned for political unification of all Serb territories. The democratic wing headed by S. Markovič opposed the liberal trend prevailing in the Omladina, which tended to ignore the class aspect of this issue. The organisation was disbanded because of internal strife.

*Burschenschaften*—German student organisations which at the time of the liberation war against Napoleonic France championed Germany's unification. Alongside with progressive ideas, the Burschenschaften advocated nationalism.—468

597 This letter was first published in English in an abridged form in: *The Labour Monthly*, Vol. 15, No. 1, London, 1933.—470

598 Due to a serious illness, in the winter of 1869-70 Marx was able to attend only three General Council meetings (14 December, 4 January and 15 March). On 29 March, on Lucraft's suggestion, the General Council passed a resolution 'expressing the sympathy of the Council with Cit. Marx on account of his continued illness'. The resolution was communicated to Marx by Eccarius on 4 April 1870.—471

599 A reference to Friedrich Lessner's letter to Marx of 6 April 1870, which dealt with the motion, introduced by Hales at the General Council meeting, to appoint a finance commission.—471

600 Marx mentions the letter of 26 March 1870 addressed by Sigfrid Meyer to Eccarius as General Secretary of the International, but forwarded by the author to Marx with permission to dispose of it as he saw fit.—471

601 In the address 'L'Union des Travailleurs allemands de New-York aux ouvriers de Paris' published by *La Marseillaise*, No. 103, 2 April 1870, F. Carl and F. Jubitz welcomed the revolutionary actions of the Paris workers. They described them as front-rank fighters for freedom and equality on the road to social revolution.—472

602 Between 22 February and 28 May 1870, the North German Reichstag held a debate on the criminal code. On 1 March, the Reichstag voted for the abolition of capital punishment; on 15 March, the liberals suggested that for political prisoners, hard labour should be replaced by imprisonment, but whenever a political crime had been committed for dishonest reasons, penal servitude should be retained. This motion, which gave the government an opportunity to put political prisoners in convict prisons, was passed by the Reichstag. The debate on the criminal code ended on 25 May 1870, with capital punishment restored on the insistence of the government on 23 May.—477

603 In a letter to Engels of 5 April 1870, Liebknecht wrote about his plan to go to Berlin and try and found a cheap daily newspaper there. In the same letter, he spoke highly of Engels' preface to the second edition of *The Peasant War in Germany* (present edition, Vol. 21), and wrote that the views expounded by Engels coincided with his own. He also intended to publish his report on the land question in Germany in connection with the decisions of the Basle Congress to abolish private property on land (see notes 447 and 458).—477

604 A reference to Sigismund Borkheim's letter to Marx of 8 April 1870, in which he quoted Liebknecht who complained in a letter to Borkheim that Marx disliked him.—478, 482

605 Pfänder was elected member of the General Council on 1 November 1864, and remained one until 1867. On 18 January 1870, Pfänder was again elected to the General Council, but did not take an active part in its work until 12 April 1870.—478

606 After *L'Égalité* editorial board had been reorganised (see notes 507 and 525), the Bakuninists, attempting to retain their lost positions, secured a formal majority of votes at a regular congress of the Romance Federation held in La Chaux-de-Fonds on 4-6 April 1870. The congress discussed the attitude of the working class towards the political struggle. In contrast to the Geneva sections, the Bakuninists advocated abstention from political struggle referring to the French text of the Rules (see Marx's work 'The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland', present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 89-90). On Bakunin's insistence, the congress began its proceedings with the admission of

the newly-formed sections to the Federation. A sharp controversy arose over the admission of the section named 'Alliance of Socialist Democracy—Central Section' founded by Bakunin in Geneva in June 1869 which, in fact, exercised leadership in the secret International Alliance of Socialist Democracy, and the Chaux-de-Fonds pro-Bakunin section. Utin, one of the leaders of the Russian Section in Geneva, exposed Bakunin's schismatic activities. A split occurred; the Geneva delegates and other General Council supporters continued their work independently. An announcement about the Chaux-de-Fonds split mentioned by Marx was published in *L'Égalité*, No. 15, 9 April 1870.

The Bakuninists had assumed the name of the Romance Congress, elected a new Federal Committee and transferred its seat to La Chaux-de-Fonds. Thus two Federal Committees appeared in Romance Switzerland, in Geneva and in La Chaux-de-Fonds. The Bakuninists started publication of a newspaper *La Solidarité*, under the editorship of James Guillaume, first in Neuchâtel (11 April 1870-12 May 1871), and then in Geneva. In fact it was the continuation of *Le Progrès*. In early April 1870, representatives of the Romance Federal Committee and supporters of the Alliance sent the General Council detailed reports on the congress in La Chaux-de-Fonds and requested that it pass a decision concerning the split. On 12 April, the Council instructed Jung to collect additional material, and, having received exhaustive information in April and May, on 28 June 1870 it passed a resolution proposed by Marx which confirmed the powers of the old Federal Committee. The Bakuninist Federal Committee was instructed to assume another title (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 136).—480, 493

607 A reference to the famine that struck Ireland in 1845-47. It was caused by the potato crop failure and the large-scale exports of other foodstuffs from the country. According to the data of 1851, between 1841 and 1851, the famine and eviction of small tenants from land ('the clearing of estates') resulted in the death of over a million people and emigration of another million.—480

608 Marx is referring to the section on Ireland in Chapter VI of the first German edition of *Capital* in 1867 (pp. 688-99), which in the first English edition (1887) corresponded to Part VII, 'The Accumulation of Capital', Chapter XXV, 'The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation', Section 5. 'Illustrations of the General Law of Capitalist Accumulation. f. Ireland' (see present edition, Vol. 35).—481

609 *Freeholders*—a group of small landowners in England. They paid the landlord an insignificant fixed rent and had the right to dispose freely of their plots. They enjoyed low property qualifications of 40 shillings (£2) (annual income). In 1829, this figure was raised five times over, and 40-shilling freeholders lost the right to vote. In the 1830s-40s, more and more freeholders were rapidly ruined, their lands passing into the hands of landlords who leased them to big farmers, capitalist tenants.—481, 484

610 A reference to the congress of German natural scientists, researchers and medical men held in Hanover on 18-23 September 1865. At one of the sessions, Schulze made an attempt to disprove Darwin's theory.—482

611 Under the Poor Law that had existed in England since the 16th century, each parish levied a tax for the benefit of the poor; parishioners unable to provide for themselves and their families received aid through poor relief funds. In 1834, a new Poor Law was passed in England that recognised only one form of help, placing the poor into workhouses under a prison-like regime which the people nicknamed 'poor men's Bastilles'.—484

612 Engels is referring to preparations for the so-called plebiscite which Napoleon III hoped to use to consolidate his somewhat shaky position. On 20 April 1870, the government made public a new constitution which was a compromise between the authoritarian and the parliamentary systems. It was followed by a decree on 23 April, which proposed that the French people use the plebiscite to approve or reject the following: 'The People approves the liberal reforms effected in the Constitution since 1860 by the Emperor, with the cooperation of the great bodies of the State, and ratifies the *Senatus-Consultus* of the 20th April 1870.' The issue was worded in such a way that a positive answer to it would sound like an approval of the overall political structure of the Second Empire. As a result of a plebiscite held on 8 May 1870, about 3.5 million citizens in fact opposed the Empire (1,894,681 abstained, and 1,577,939 voted against). A large share of the votes against the Empire belonged to the French army; in Paris alone, 46,000 servicemen gave a negative answer.—484, 508, 513, 514

613 Engels uses the term *'gouvernement direct par le peuple'* meaning the so-called direct popular legislation, referendums on the various issues of the internal affairs and policies of the Swiss cantons (see Note 276). Thus, on 6 February 1870, the canton of Ticino held a referendum on the changes in the cantonal constitution (administrative division, representation in the cantonal council, etc). On 20 February, the canton of Zurich held referendums on the tax bill, etc.—485

614 The excerpt from this letter from the words 'I am now forced...' to the end was published in: *The Letters of Karl Marx. Selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover*, New Jersey, USA, 1979. According to the editors, Marx wrote it to Paul and Laura Lafargue.—485

615 *Paul-Laurent*—the pen-name of Paul Lafargue, made up of his own name and that of his wife Laura.—485, 489

616 On Marx's suggestion, on 12 April 1870, the General Council granted the credentials of the International's correspondent in France to Henri Verlet.—485

617 The first French edition of the International's Rules, 'Congrès ouvrier. Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Règlement Provisoire', was published by the French Section of the International set up in Paris in 1864 by the workers Tolain, Fribourg and others, who had Proudhonist sympathies. The translation, which appeared in early January 1865, contained a number of distortions and errors. (See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 89-90.)

In November 1866, after the Geneva Congress, which approved the Provisional Rules, Marx and Lafargue published a verified translation of the Rules of the International Working Men's Association and the Administrative Regulations, but that edition was not widely distributed in France, since it was almost entirely confiscated by the French police.

On 18 April, replying to a proposal by Marx, Lafargue wrote that it was impossible to publish the Rules in *La Libre pensée*, since the newspaper was registered as a purely literary publication (see this volume, p. 557). However, Lafargue managed to get the verified translation of the Rules published, and it appeared in Paris after 20 April 1870. The translation had been checked by Lafargue. Against a background of mounting police reprisals in France, it became necessary to expedite the publication of the Rules and Lafargue had no chance to send the manuscript to Marx for review. In June 1870, Lafargue's

translation was published for the second time in: *Procès de l'Association Internationale des travailleurs. Première et deuxième commission du Bureau de Paris*, Deuxième édition, Paris, juin 1870.—486, 557

618 Marx is referring to H. Verlet's article 'Force et matière' published in *La Libre pensée*, No. 13, 16 April 1870. The author spoke highly of Büchner's book *Kraft und Stoff*.—486

619 Marx sent Engels Perret's letter to Jung of 15 April 1870, in which Perret described in detail the split that occurred at the Chaux-de-Fonds Congress (see Note 606) and the Bakuninists' intrigues in the Swiss sections of the International.—488

620 On 7 April 1870, the Federal Committee newly established by the Bakuninists (at the Chaux-de-Fonds Congress; see Note 606), which had its headquarters at Chaux-de-Fonds, directed a letter to the General Council requesting it to settle the conflict between itself and the Romance Federal Council. The letter, which was signed by the Federal Committee Secretary F. Robert, also informed the General Council about the establishment of a new *La Solidarité* newspaper by the Bakuninists.—488

621 Laura and Paul Lafargue's letters of 18 April (see this volume, pp. 556-57) and after 20 April 1870, informed Marx about the foundation, in Paris, of the Federal Council of the International Working Men's Association (see Note 644). Lafargue believed that for expediency's sake, he should not become a member of the newly established Council but should be a representative of the London General Council at the Paris Federation. He asked Marx to discuss granting him these powers at the next meeting. This was done by the General Council on 17 May 1870.—489

622 Replying to Marx's letter before 4 May 1870, Laura Lafargue stated that Marx's warning about Paul Robin's splitting activities had been communicated to Leo Frankel.—489

623 A reference to the resolutions proposed by Bakunin at the congress of the League of Peace and Freedom held in Berne in 1868 in connection with the discussion of the League's draft programme. Bakunin spoke several times in defence of his proposals. His speeches, as well as his and his followers' announcement about their withdrawal from the League, were published in Herzen's *Kolokol*, No. 14-15, 1 December 1868.—489

624 The demand to abolish the right of inheritance was put forward by Saint-Simon's followers (Enfantin, Bazard, Rodrigues, Buchez, etc.) who, in the late 1820s, set out to popularise and develop Saint-Simon's doctrine. In 1830, a book was published in Paris which, based as it was on Bazard's lectures, expressed the views of Saint-Simon's followers on the right of inheritance: *Doctrine de Saint-Simon Exposition*. Première année. 1829, Paris, 1830, pp. 143-69.—490

625 A reference to the General Council entering the question of the right of inheritance on the Basle Congress agenda (see Note 379). A major preliminary discussion on the issue was held at the General Council in the summer of 1869. On 3 August the Council approved Marx's 'Report of the General Council on the Right of Inheritance' (see present edition, Vol. 21). Marx's report was read at the Congress by Eccarius on 11 September 1869.—492

626 A reference to *Kolokol*, the Russian revolutionary democratic newspaper edited by Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Ogarev. It was published in Russian in

1857-67, and in French with Russian supplements in 1868-70, in London up to 1865 and later in Geneva. After Herzen's death in 1870, an attempt to keep up the newspaper was made by Sergei Nechayev, who was in close contact with Bakunin. This is probably what Marx means. Six issues appeared in April-May 1870.—492, 508, 516

627 Marx refers to Laura Lafargue's letter of 18 April 1870. Calling her Laurent, Marx hints at Paul-Laurent, the pen-name of Paul Lafargue (see Note 615; see also this volume, p. 557).—493, 555

628 Engels is referring to a speech at the Chaux-de-Fonds Congress (see Note 606) by François Dupleix, who accused Bakunin's followers of atheism and alleged that the workers were unwilling to have the question of their faith discussed.—495

629 On 16 and 20 April 1870, Liebknecht published in *Der Volksstaat*, nos. 31 and 32, Bakunin's article 'Briefe über die revolutionäre Bewegung in Russland. I.'—496, 499, 519

630 Marx is referring to the lectures on ethnology read by Flourens at the Collège de France in the early 1860s and published in 1863 as a book: G. Flourens, *Histoire de l'homme. Cours d'histoire naturelle des corps organisés au Collège de France*, Paris, 1863.—497

631 On 12 April 1870, the General Council instructed Marx and Dupont to draw up a protest, on behalf of the International, concerning the harsh verdict brought in against the participants in the March strike at Eugène Schneider's metal works in Creuzot. However, the large-scale police reprisals against members of the International which began in France in late April forced the General Council to revise its plans and replace the protest with a leaflet, written by Marx, 'Concerning the Persecution of the Members of the French Sections. Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association' (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 127).—497

632 On 3 May 1870, Bracke and Bonhorst requested Engels' permission to publish his letter to Bracke of 28 April in *Der Volksstaat*, organ of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, saying that it was of general interest and importance to Party members. Engels was to write to them before 10 May if he did not agree. On 14 May, an excerpt from Engels' letter was published in *Der Volksstaat*. The editors of the present edition do not possess the original letter.—498

633 On 17 March 1870, Leonhard von Bonhorst, Secretary of the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany, sent Engels a cashier's report for 1869, in which he wrote about the poor state of the Party's finances.—498

634 On 17 March 1870, Bonhorst as Secretary of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party Committee wrote to Marx and Engels that the workers forming the basis of the party were too passive. He also stated, 'since our party is, amongst other things, the youngest of those that have entered the social and political arena, it is probably also lacking in strength.'—499

635 Engels' letter to Borkheim, written later than 28 April 1870, has not been found.—499, 507

636 The Commission for the Publication of the Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland was set up by the British Government in 1852 (see Note 481).—501, 519, 520

637 A reference to the first Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Marx and Engels, which appeared in Geneva in 1869 in Bakunin's

translation. The book was printed at the *Kolokol* printshop. The inadequacies of Bakunin's translation, which in places somewhat distorted the meaning of this major programme document of the proletarian party, were corrected in Plekhanov's translation, which was published in Geneva in 1882.—502

638 A reference to Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to Engels of 27 April 1870.—503

639 Marx and his daughter Eleanor went on a visit to Engels in Manchester on 23 May and stayed there until about 23 June 1870.—504, 520, 529

640 On 3 May 1870, the French Section in London (see Note 72) gave a banquet for Flourens, who had fled from France under threat of arrest. An account of the banquet was forwarded to France, Germany and some other countries by Reuter and Havas-Bullier agencies and published, specifically, in the *Journal des Débats* on 5 May. It stated that the banquet was chaired by 'M. Le Lubez, président de la Société Internationale', when Le Lubez had in fact been expelled from the International for slander back in 1866. On 10 May 1870, the General Council approved Marx's 'Draft Resolution of the General Council on the "French Federal Section in London"', in which it resolutely dissociated itself from the provocative activities of the French Section (see present edition, Vol. 21).—504

641 *Société du dix Décembre* (Society of December 10), a Bonapartist organisation established in 1849 and consisting, for the most part, of déclassé elements. A detailed account of the Society can be found in Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 149-51, 186, 193-96).—504, 523

642 In view of the preparations for the plebiscite to be held in France (see Note 612), commencing in late April 1870, arrests of socialists began throughout the country. They were charged with belonging to the International Working Men's Association, as well as with 'complicity' in the plot against Napoleon III (the so-called Blois trial), which was in fact staged by the Prefect of the Paris Police Pietri. On 5 May 1870, the *Journal officiel* made public the verdict of guilty passed by the Procurator General Grandperret, who charged a number of persons, including Flourens, with complicity in the fictitious plot. On the same day, *La Gaulois* alleged that Flourens, who was at that time in England, had been persecuted by the British police and thus forced to go into hiding.—505, 522, 558

643 After an attempt on the life of Napoleon III made by the Italian revolutionary Orsini, in February 1858, Palmerston introduced in the House of Commons the *Conspiracy to Murder Bill*, under which émigrés and natives were to be severely punished for participation in political plots. The Bill was introduced under the pretext of threats by the French Government, which accused England of granting asylum to political refugees. Under pressure from a mass protest movement, the Bill was voted down by the House of Commons and Palmerston was obliged to resign.—505

644 The *Paris Federation* of the International Working Men's Association was founded on 18 April 1870, at a general meeting of the International's sections in Paris under the chairmanship of Louis Eugène Varlin. The meeting, which attracted 1,200-1,300 participants, adopted the Rules of the Federation (see this volume, pp. 555-56). However, the police reprisals and arrests of the International's members which began in France late in April 1870 in connection with preparations for the plebiscite (see Note 612) disrupted the activities of the Federation.—506, 555

645 Marx refers to the programme article of *Kolokol*'s new editorial board 'To the Russian Public from the Editors' published in No. 1, 2 April 1870.—507

646 A reference to Sigismund Borkheim's letter to Marx of 3 May 1870, in which he thanked Marx for sending him Charles Lever's novel *Harry Lorrequer*.—506

647 On 2 April 1870, *Der Volksstaat*, edited by Liebknecht, began the publication of Engels' work *The Peasant War in Germany*. A serious blunder was made by the editorial board when printing Chapter II: on 4 May, the newspaper featured the end of this chapter, while the preceding page had been left out and appeared only on 7 May with the editorial board's note: 'The excerpt contained in today's issue was to have appeared *before* the part published in the last issue. This vexing error was caused by the absence of our type-setter who is responsible for imposing the issue (this type-setter is away on an agitation tour).'

Engels is referring to Liebknecht's footnote on Hegel that appeared in *Der Volksstaat* on 30 April 1870.—509, 513

648 Marx gives Engels an account of Liebknecht's letter of 7 May 1870, in which Liebknecht invited Engels, through Marx, to the Stuttgart Congress of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party scheduled for 4-7 June 1870.—511, 513, 519

649 This letter, written after 7 May 1870, has not been found.—511, 519

650 A reference to a suggestion by Bebel and Liebknecht that the annual congress of the International Working Men's Association should be held in 1870 in Germany, either in Mainz or Mannheim. Liebknecht wrote to Marx about this on 7 May 1870. On 9 May, the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party sent the General Council an official proposal to hold the congress in Germany.— 511, 515

651 A reference to the following books: R. O'Flaherty, *Ogygia: seu, Rerum Hibernicarum Chronologia*. In tres partes. Londini, 1685; *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*, Tomes I-IV, Buckingham, 1814-1826, ed. Ch. O'Conor; J. Ware, *Inquiries concerning Ireland and its Antiquities*, Dublin, 1705; J. Ware, *Two Books of the Writers of Ireland*, Dublin, 1704.—516, 517

652 The *Annales Ultoriences* were compiled by various chroniclers between the 15th and 17th centuries and described events beginning from the mid-fifth century; they were published by Ch. O'Conor in the fourth volume of his collection *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres* (Ancient Annalists of Ireland).

*Annales IV Magistrorum* were compiled in 1632-36 in the Donegal Monastery by four monks. The first part of the *Annales* was published in the third volume of Ch. O'Conor's collection; in full, they were put out by J. O'Donovan, together with an English translation, in 1856; *Annala Rioghachta Eireann. Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters, from the earliest Period to the Year 1616*.—517

653 Engels' letter to Liebknecht, written around 15 May 1870, is not extant.—519

654 In the first publication of this letter in: MEGA, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931, and in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIV, Moscow, 1931, this letter was erroneously dated 16 March 1870.—519

655 Marx forwards to Engels Liebknecht's letter of 11 May 1870, in which the latter explained the errors, including the footnote on Hegel, made when publishing Engels' work *The Peasant War in Germany* (see Note 647) in *Der Volksstaat*.

Liebknecht promised to put in a statement to the effect that the notes had been supplied by the editorial board and not Engels. He considered it unnecessary to publish Engels' official statement (see this volume, pp. 508-09).—519

656 On 16 March 1870, *Der Volksstaat*, No. 22, carried Borkheim's article 'Ein Brief Netschajeffs' (in German, with a Russian translation made by Borkheim himself). The article was signed 'Der Autor der *Russischen Briefe* in der Berliner *Zukunft*'. *Russischen Briefe* was the name of Borkheim's articles about Russia featured by *Die Zukunft* in 1869-70 (see Note 274). On 14 May the editorial board of *Der Volksstaat* published the opening passages of Nechayev's reply, which is what Marx is writing about to Engels.—519, 521

657 Engels visited Marx in London on his way to Germany late in December 1869.—521

658 Marx sent Engels an anonymous article 'Das Treiben der deutschen Kommunisten' from the American newspaper *Der Pionier* of 27 April 1870. The editor-in-chief of the newspaper, which was published in New York by German petty-bourgeois democratic émigrés, was Karl Heinzen. The author of the article, who was obviously concerned about the successes of the newly-founded Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany and its newspaper *Der Volksstaat*, made libellous statements about Marx, Engels, Liebknecht and Eccarius, contrasting communists and the 'German revolutionary democracy'. Specifically, with reference to Lassalle, the article stated that in 1849 he had made all the necessary preparations for an uprising in Cologne but that Marx, who had promised to do the same in Düsseldorf and certain other localities, had failed to do so thus letting Lassalle down.

In this letter, Marx refers to Heinzen as Heineke, a character in the German song of the same name, which is a folk parody of the so-called grobian literature of the 16th century. Marx thus nicknamed Heinzen for the first time in 1847 in his work *Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality*, in which he likened Heinzen's journalism to specimens of this brand of literature (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 312-40).—522, 524

659 A reference to Jenny Marx's letter to Manchester of 30 May 1870.—524

660 The address of Engels' house, in which he spent his last years in Manchester and where Marx and his daughter Eleanor stayed in May-June 1870, was 86 Mornington St.—525

661 This is Marx's reply to Le Lubez' letter of 11 June, in which he asked whether Marx was the author of the item 'Aus England' carried by *Der Volksstaat* on 11 May 1870. It exposed the provocative activities of the so-called French Section in London and especially its action on behalf of the International at the banquet for Flourens given in London on 3 May 1870 (see Note 640).—526

662 A reference to Kugelmann's letter to Marx of 13 June 1870, in which he inquired what sort of flat to rent for Marx in Karlsbad (now Karlovy Vary).—527

663 A reference to Otto Meissner's letter to Marx of 25 June 1870, in which he informed Marx that he was planning to make the final payment for the first edition of Volume One of *Capital* in August 1870.—527, 529

664 This phrase can be found in the preface to the second edition of *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse. Zum Gebrauch seiner Vorlesungen von Georg Wilhelm Hegel*, 2 Ausg. Heidelberg, Osswald, 1827, S. XVI: 'Lessing said in his time that Spinoza is treated as a dead dog.' Hegel referred to the talk between Lessing and Jacobi that took place on 7 June 1780, in the course

of which Lessing said: 'The people are still referring to Spinoza as a dead dog.' See: F. H. Jacobi, *Werke*, Bd. IV, Abt. I, Leipzig, 1819, S. 68.—528

665 In early July 1870, Lafargue wrote in a letter to Marx that he would be visited by a young Russian revolutionary, one Hermann Lopatin, to whom he had given Marx's address and a letter of introduction. Marx and Lopatin met on 2 July 1870. Describing his meeting with Marx, Lopatin wrote: '...I was afraid to run out of subjects for discussion with this luminary, and then I was secretly puzzled—what language except that of signs could I use to communicate with him? All my fears proved groundless on both of my visits (of which the last lasted for ten hours), the conversation did not stop for a minute.' Lopatin visited Marx for a second time on 3 July same year.—530

666 This excerpt from Marx's letter was quoted by Lopatin in a letter to Lavrov of 6 July 1870. First, Lopatin gave a short exposition of Marx's letter: 'Today, I received from him (Marx) a new issue of the *Narodnoye Dyelo* (People's Cause) and a very nice note with the latest news about the court trial of our Paris comrades (the reference is to the third trial of the International's members in France; see Note 667—*Ed.*). He concluded by asking if I should like him to find me a clerk's job at some London office.'—535

667 A reference is to the third trial of the members of the Paris Federation of the International arrested by the French police on the eve of the plebiscite (see notes 612 and 642). The trial was held between 22 June and 5 July 1870. The prosecution failed to bring in the charge of conspiracy; the defendants were charged not with complicity in the fictitious plot, but with being members of the International.—537

668 Marx enclosed with this letter the text of the 'Confidential Communication to All Sections' and the 'Programme for the Mainz Congress of the International', which was to open in Mainz on 5 September 1870. Both documents were written in French. They are to be found in Vol. 21 of the present edition.

On the top of the first page is the International's round seal with the inscription: 'International Working Men's Association. Central Council London'.—537

669 Engels' 'Confession' is a joking reply to the questionnaire compiled by Marx's eldest daughter Jenny. It is published in this volume from the handwritten text preserved in her album. This was a favourite parlour game in England and Germany at the time (see Marx's 'Confession', Vol. 42 of the present edition).—541

670 *Reineke de Vos* (Reynard the Fox)—a popular character of the medieval epic poems about animals, a satire of feudal society. The first literary version appeared in 1498 in Lübeck under the title of *Reynke de Vos*. Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs* is the most popular embodiment of the epic.—541

671 Ruge's letter to Steinthal of 25 January 1869 was forwarded to Marx on 4 February by W. Strohn with whom Steinthal was friendly. Marx let Engels, Borkheim and Kugelmann read it. He sent it to the latter on 11 February (see this volume, p. 213).—542

672 Around 10 September, 1869, Marx and his daughter Jenny left for Belgium and Germany. They visited Bruges, Liège, Aachen, Cologne, Siegburg (where they called on Dietzgen), Bonn, Mainz (where they spent a day with the German socialist Paul Stumpf) and Wiesbaden. Marx and Jenny arrived in Hanover around 18 September 1869 (see this volume, p. 353 and Note 349).—543

673 Eccarius' report on the first meetings of the Basle Congress (see Note 379) published in *The Times* of 15 September 1869, quoted in full the speech made by the American delegate Andrew Cameron.—543

674 A reference to Lessner's letters to Marx which gave a detailed account of the Basle Congress. Lessner sent five letters in all (6, 7, 8, 9 and 11 September 1869). Of Liebknecht's letters dealing with the Congress, the one of 7 September is extant.—544

675 In a report made at the Basle Congress meeting of 7 September 1869, Liebknecht touched on the question of his disagreement with Schweitzer and criticised Lassalle's views.—544

676 A reference to Chapter III 'Die Production des absoluten Mehrwerts' of the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital*. Corresponding to it in the second and subsequent German editions of this volume and in the first (1887) English edition is the entire Section Three (see present edition, Vol. 35).—545

677 Eleanor Marx toured Ireland with Engels and his wife Lizzy Burns from 6 to 23 September 1869.—546

678 A reference to the *Act of Disestablishment of the Church* passed by Gladstone in Ireland in 1869.—549

679 The *Orangemen*—members of the Orange Society (Order), a Protestant terrorist organisation founded in 1795 and employed by the authorities, Protestant landlords and the clergy against the Irish national liberation movement. The name was derived from William III, Prince of Orange, who suppressed the 1689-91 Irish uprising for the restoration of the Stuart monarchy. The Order had a particularly powerful influence in Ulster, Northern Ireland, with its predominantly Protestant population.—549

680 *Ordeal* or *Dei iudicum*, an ordeal by red-hot iron, boiling water, etc., used in the Middle Ages to ascertain the guilt or innocence of the accused.—550

681 Rochefort's position, who sought to avert unnecessary bloodshed on the day of Noir's funeral, was criticised in the 'Politische Uebersicht' column, *Der Volksstaat*, No. 7, 22 January 1870. Rochefort was described as 'a vacillating man, lacking principles', 'a frondeur', not a revolutionary.—553

682 Jenny Marx quotes the editorial written by P. Granier de Cassagnac for *Le Pays*, 15 January 1870.—553

683 A reference to the strike by over 10,000 workers at Schneider's engineering and metal works in Creuzot in the second half of January 1870. The strike began in protest against the dismissal of the members of the delegation which was to negotiate with the management about transferring the pensions fund to the workers. After government troops had been sent to Creuzot, the strike took on a political character. The Bonapartist government managed to suppress it by making mass arrests. One leader of the strike was Adolphe Alphonse Assi, a mechanic. The progress of the strike was described by *Der Volksstaat*, No. 8, 26 January 1870 in the 'Politische Uebersicht' column.—553

684 Jenny Marx quotes A. Guéroult's article 'Les Grèves' published in *L'Opinion Nationale* newspaper on 28 January 1870.—554

685 A reference to Marx's 'Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association' read at the Basle Congress meeting on 7 September 1869. Lafargue paraphrases the following

passage: 'But the workmen on the Continent ... begin ... to understand that the surest way to get one's natural rights is to exercise them at one's personal risk' (present edition, Vol. 21, p. 77).—555

686 *Mutuellistes*—in the 1860s, the name given to the right wing of the Proudhonists who were members of the French sections of the International.—555

687 A reference to the document in which the Paris Federation of the International's sections defined its tactics with respect to the plebiscite scheduled for 8 May 1870 (see Note 612). The leadership of the International's sections in France recommended that the voters should abstain or cast their ballots blank.

*Manifeste antiplébiscitaire des Sections parisiennes fédérées de l'Internationale et de la Chambre fédérale des Sociétés ouvrières à tous les travailleurs français* was published in *La Marseillaise*, No. 125, 24 April 1870 and issued in Paris as a leaflet at the same time.—556

688 A reference to the address of the so-called London French Section on the question of the plebiscite, 'Adresse aux citoyens français', which appeared in *La Marseillaise*, No. 116, 15 April 1870. In connection with this and other documents of this organisation, which illegally used the name of the International, on 10 May the General Council approved Marx's statement which stressed that the Section had 'ceased ... to have any connection whatever with the General Council in London or any Branch of that Association on the continent' (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 131).—556

689 Lafargue is replying to Marx's advice to avoid any distinctive names except territorial designations when setting up new sections of the International (see this volume, p. 485). Later, the London Conference of the International held on 17-23 September 1871, granted this recommendation, which was spearheaded against sectarianism, the status of a clause in the Rules (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 423-24).—556

690 The note quoted by Lafargue appeared in *La Libre pensée*, No. 13, 16 April 1870. It puns on the pen-name of Villemessant, well known reactionary journalist, and the French expression 'vil me sens' (I am feeling low). 'Paris-faillite' (Bankrupt Paris) is a dig at the gutter police sheet *Paris-Journal*.—557

691 *The Irishman*, No. 40, 2 April 1870 published excerpts from Jenny Marx's second article on the Irish question. The sixth article, 'Agrarian Outrages in Ireland', was published in full in *The Irishman*, No. 45, 7 May 1870.

On Jenny Marx's articles on the Irish question, see Note 562.—559

692 A reference to a collection of Irish songs *Erins-Harfe. Irländische Volksmelodien nach Thomas Moore*, with the lyrics, *Irish Melodies*, written by Thomas Moore. The collection was prepared and published in Hanover in 1870 by the singer Joseph Rissé, whom Marx and Jenny met in 1867 during a visit to the Kugelmanns. Engels' note mentioned in this letter probably was not used in the preface.—563

693 The letter was written two days before the Franco-Prussian war, which began on 19 July 1870. Jenny, who was misled by the Bonapartist press, was unable to give a sound assessment of the French public's mood on the eve of the war. The chauvinistic demonstrations were organised in Paris and the provinces by the government, which made use of police agents and déclassé elements. Paul Lafargue wrote to Marx in July 1870 that in Paris, 'the police were obliged to feign enthusiasm so as to make it credible'.—563

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*Avrial, Augustin Germain* (1840-1904)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, mechanic; Left Proudhonist; organ-

ised the trade union of mechanics; member of the Federal Council of the Paris sections of the First International.—556

*Aycard, M.*—Paris banker.—7

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*Bakunin (Bakounine, Bakunine), Mikhail Alexandrovich* (1814-1876)—Russian revolutionary, journalist; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; later an ideologist of Narodism and anarchism; opposed Marxism in the First International.—121, 142, 153, 154, 190, 193, 198, 200, 202, 208, 218, 222, 223, 235, 237, 240, 327, 332, 335, 362-63, 364, 404, 405, 411, 413, 414, 424, 428, 430, 431, 436, 441, 462, 468, 479, 480, 488, 489-94, 499, 502, 506, 508, 511, 516, 518, 523, 530, 531

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*Bancel, Jean Baptiste François Désiré* (1822-1871)—French lawyer and politician; bourgeois radical; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); exiled from France after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; member of the Corps législatif from 1869.—546, 553

*Bangya, János* (1817-1868)—Hungarian journalist and officer, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; after its defeat, Kossuth's emissary abroad and at the same time secret police agent; later served in the Turkish army under the name of Mehemed Bey, acting as a Turkish agent in the Caucasus (1855-58).—58

*Bara, Jules* (1835-1900)—Belgian statesman, Liberal, Minister of Justice (1865-70, 1878-84).—43

*Baring, Thomas* (1799-1873)—financier, head of a banking house in London, Conservative M.P.—438

*Barrot, Camille Hyacinthe Odilon* (1791-1873)—French lawyer and politician; leader of the liberal dynastic opposition until February 1848; headed the monarchist coalition ministry (December 1848-October 1849); withdrew from political activities after the dismissal of the ministry in November 1849.—216

*Barry, Charles Robert* (b. 1834)—Irish lawyer; Public Prosecutor in Dublin (1859-65); M.P.; Solicitor-General (1869-70) and Attorney-General (1870-71) for Ireland.—162

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*Bartels, Robert*—Marie Bartels' husband.—212

*Bartenev, Viktor Ivanovich* (pseudonyms *Alexeyev, Netov*) (1838-1918)—Russian army officer; emigrated to Switzerland in 1867; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; in 1869 broke with the Bakuninists; member of the Russian Section Committee of the International in Geneva; vigorously opposed the Bakuninist splitting activities.—193

*Bassot*—trustee of A. Frank's (Paris publisher) inheritance.—138, 150

*Bastiat, Frédéric* (1801-1850)—French economist and politician; preached harmony of class interests in bourgeois society.—65, 66, 68

*Baudin, Jean Baptiste Alphonse Victor* (1801-1851)—French politician, physician; Republican; deputy to the Legislative Assembly; was killed on the barricades in the faubourg of Saint-Antoine on 3 December 1851.—159, 188, 191

*Bauer, Bruno* (1809-1882)—German philosopher; Young Hegelian; author

of works on the history of Christianity; radical; National Liberal after 1866.—123, 343

*Bauer, Edgar* (1820-1886)—German philosopher and journalist; Young Hegelian; brother and associate of Bruno Bauer; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; editor of the London *Neue Zeit* in 1859; Prussian official after the amnesty of 1861.—15

*Bazley, Thomas* (1797-1885)—English manufacturer and politician, Free Trader, Liberal; a founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; Chairman of Manchester Chamber of Commerce (1845-59), M.P.—157, 163, 254, 257

*Beales, Edmond* (1803-1881)—British lawyer, radical; President of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; supported the Northerners during the Civil War in the USA; President of the Reform League (1865-69).—166

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*Beck, Karl Isidor* (1817-1879)—Austrian poet; representative of 'true socialism' in the mid-1840s.—373

*Becker, Bernhard* (1826-1891)—German journalist, follower of Lassalle; President of the General Association of German Workers (1864-65); subsequently supported Eisenachers; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); abandoned the working-class movement after 1884.—87, 89, 92, 112, 250, 252, 255

*Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886)—German revolutionary; participant in the democratic movement of the 1830s-40s in Germany and Switzerland; took an active part in the 1848-49 revolution; organised sections of the International in Switzerland and Germany; delegate to the London (1865) Conference and all the congresses of the International; editor of *Der Vorbote* (1866-71); member of the Provisional Committee of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (October 1868); under the influence of Marx and Engels, broke with the Bakuninists; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—14, 81, 94, 102, 142, 172, 190, 191, 199, 202, 203, 208-09, 218, 238, 240, 254, 266, 304, 323, 332, 336, 340, 350, 396, 405, 430, 463, 491, 494, 502

*Beesly, Edward Spencer* (1831-1915)—British historian and politician, radical, positivist philosopher; professor at London University; Chairman of the inaugural meeting of the International held at St. Martin's Hall (28 September 1864); defended the International and the Paris Commune in the English press in 1870-71; Marx's friend.—36, 50, 73, 74, 81, 84, 138, 141, 208, 211, 217, 226, 230, 244, 246, 262, 271, 293, 298, 299, 341, 400, 537

*Bentinck, William Cavendish, Lord* (1774-1839)—British general and statesman; took part in the wars against Napoleonic France; Governor of Madras (1803-07), Governor-General of India (1827-35).—477

*Bergenroth, Gustav Adolph* (1813-1869)—German historian and journalist, democrat; participant in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated in 1850.—238

*Bernard, Marie*—Belgian house-painter; member of the General Council of the International (September 1868-1869); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (September 1868-November 1869).—272, 275

*Bernard, Simon François (Bernard le Clubiste)* (1817-1862)—French politician, republican; refugee in England in the 1850s; in 1858 was accused by the French government of complicity in Orsini's attempt on Napoleon III's life, acquitted by the British court.—505, 559

*Bervi, Vasily Vasilyevich* (pseudonym *Flerovsky, N.*) (1829-1918)—Russian economist and sociologist, democrat; Narodnik utopian socialist; author of *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia*.—362, 390, 423, 426, 429-31, 433, 440, 441, 450, 462, 480, 487, 508, 531, 545

*Besson, Alexandre*—French worker, mechanic; refugee in London; member of the General Council of the International (1866-68); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium; a leader of the French Section in London; joined Félix Pyat's group.—139

*Beta* (pen name of *Bettziech*), *Johann Heinrich* (1813-1876)—German journalist, democrat; refugee in London, follower of Gottfried Kinkel.—74

*Bethell, Richard, 1st Lord Westbury* (1800-1873)—British lawyer and liberal statesman; Attorney-General (1856-59 and 1860-61) and Lord Chancellor (1861-65).—219, 506

*Beust, Friedrich von* (1817-1899)—Prussian army officer, took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to Switzerland; member of the Zurich local section of the International; professor of pedagogics.—366

*Beust, Friedrich Ferdinand, Count von* (1809-1886)—Saxon and Austrian statesman; opposed the unification of Germany under the supremacy of Prussia and supported the independence of small German states; held several ministerial posts in the Government of Saxony (1849-66); Foreign Minister (1866-71) and Chancellor of Austria-Hungary (1867-71).—58, 64, 261, 366

*Birley*—M.P. from Manchester, elected in the autumn of 1868; Conservative.—163

*Biscamp (Biskamp), Elard*—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated after the defeat of the revolution, member of the editorial board of *Das Volk*, organ of the German refugees in London published with Marx's collaboration.—121, 126, 444

*Bismarck* (or *Bismarck-Schönhausen), Otto, Prince von* (1815-1898)—Prussian and German statesman, diplomat; Ambassador to St. Petersburg (1859-62) and Paris (1862); Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-71 and 1873-90); Chancellor of the North German Confederation (1867-71) and of the German Empire (1871-90).—6, 19, 104, 141, 151, 209, 276, 289, 307, 330, 343, 407, 436, 470

*Blake, William*—English economist of the first half of the 19th century; author of works on money circulation.—224

*Blanc, Jean Joseph Louis* (1811-1882)—French socialist, historian; member of the Provisional Government and President of the Luxembourg Commission in 1848; pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie; a leader of petty-bourgeois emigrants in London from August 1848; deputy to the National Assembly of 1871; opposed the Paris Commune.—373, 377, 497

*Blank, Karl Emil* (1817-1893)—German merchant, closely connected with socialist circles in the 1840s-50s; married Frederick Engels' sister Marie.—212, 322

*Blank, Marie* (1824-1901)—Frederick Engels' sister; from 1845 Karl Emil Blank's wife.—212

*Blanqui, Louis Auguste* (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, utopian communist; organised several secret societies and plots; adhered to the extreme Left of the democratic and proletarian movement during the 1848 revolution; sentenced to imprisonment several times.—113, 174, 217, 230, 244, 288, 290, 316, 442, 449

*Bleichröder, Gerson von* (1822-1893)—head of a big bank in Berlin; Bismarck's private banker and unofficial adviser.—438

*Blind, Frederike* (née *Ettlinger*)—Karl Blind's wife.—43, 205

*Blind, Karl* (1826-1907)—German journalist, democrat; participated in the revolutionary movement in Baden in 1848-49; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in London in the 1850s; National Liberal in the 1860s.—16, 43, 62-64, 74, 101, 425, 525

*Bohn*—bookseller.—442

*Boisguillebert, Pierre Le Pesant, sieur de* (1646-1714)—French economist, precursor of the Physiocrats; father of French classical political economy.—429

*Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Bonaparte, Pierre Napoléon* (1815-1881)—cousin of Napoleon III; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic.—317, 409, 466

*Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul* (1822-1891)—son of Jérôme Bonaparte, cousin of Napoleon III; adopted the name of Jérôme after the death of his elder brother (1847); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; went by the name of Plon-Plon and the Red Prince.—138, 188, 512

*Bonar*—banker.—438

*Bonhorst, Leonhard von* (b. 1840)—German Social-Democrat, technician; Secretary of the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; subsequently abandoned politics.—358, 363, 364-65, 367, 394, 428, 464, 499, 500

*Boon, Martin James*—British mechanic; prominent figure in the British working-class movement; follower of O'Brien; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72); Secretary of the Land and Labour League; member of the British Federal Council (1872).—364

*Borchardt, Louis*—German physician, acquaintance of Engels in Manchester.—20, 164, 168, 267, 268, 275

*Borkheim*—Sigismund Ludwig Borkheim's wife.—430, 496

*Borkheim, Sigismund Ludwig* (1826-1885)—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, emigrated after its defeat; London merchant from 1851; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels.—5, 9, 36, 38, 55, 71-72, 81, 86, 88, 99, 103, 104, 106, 108, 119-21, 126, 142, 151, 153-55, 162, 178, 181, 186, 189, 190, 202, 206, 215, 219, 222, 223, 244, 254, 266, 275, 279, 336, 363, 371, 376, 405, 410, 427, 430, 436, 437, 440, 441, 464, 478, 482, 496, 499, 507, 509, 512, 519, 531, 556

*Boruttau, Karl* (d. 1873)—German physician and journalist, Lassallean; later member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, contributed to the newspaper *Volksstaat*.—71, 72

*Bouverie, Edward Pleydell* (1818-1889)—British statesman, Whig; member of the House of Commons; Vice-President of the Board of Trade (1855); President of the Poor-Law Board (1855-58); was in opposition to the Gladstone government (late 1860s-early 1870s).—429

*Bracke, Wilhelm* (1842-1880)—German Social-Democrat; a founder (1869) and leader of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers); opposed the Lassalleans; was close to Marx and Engels.—327, 328, 331, 358, 393, 395, 396, 428, 464, 498, 500, 515, 520, 522

*Bradlaugh, Charles* (1833-1891)—English journalist and politician, radical; editor of the weekly *The National Reformer*.—162, 217, 388

*Bramwell, George William Wilshere, Baron* (1808-1892)—English lawyer.—26

*Brass, August* (1818-1876)—German journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to Switzerland; follower of Bismarck from the 1860s; National Liberal; publisher of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.—344

*Brentano, Lujo (Ludwig Joseph)* (1844-1931)—German economist; one of the major representatives of armchair socialism.—253

*Brewer, John Sherren* (1810-1879)—English historian and philologist, professor at King's College, London.—416

*Bright, Jacob* (1821-1899)—English politician, Liberal M.P.—136, 157, 163

*Bright, John* (1811-1889)—English manufacturer and politician; one of the Free Trade leaders and founders of the Anti-Corn Law League; leader of the Left wing of the Liberal Party from the early 1860s; held several ministerial posts.—168, 176, 305, 409, 429, 431, 458, 544

*Bronner, Eduard*—German physician, democrat; deputy to the Baden Constituent Assembly (1849); emigrated to England; follower of Karl Blind.—64

*Brontë, Charlotte* (pseudonym *Currer Bell*)—English writer.—292

*Brooks*—banker.—265

*Brooks, Milna*—daughter of the above.—265

*Brophy, Charles*—an author of the book *A Residence in Bulgaria: or Notes on the Resources and Administration of Turkey*, published in London in 1869.—346

*Brosset, François*—Swiss fitter; member of the International; a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; delegate to the Basle Congress (1869).—413

*Bruce, Henry Austin, 1st Baron Aberdare* (1815-1895)—British statesman, Liberal, Home Secretary (1868-73).—300, 305, 308, 451, 455, 457, 459, 460, 504

*Bruhin, Caspar Aloys* (b. 1824)—Swiss journalist and politician; prosecutor of canton Baselland from 1864; member of the International; delegate to the Basle Congress (1869).—480.

*Brunnow, Filipp Ivanovich, Baron von,* from 1871 *Count* (1797-1875)—Russian diplomat; envoy (1840-54, 1858-60), then Ambassador (1860-74) to London.—260, 264

*Brutus, Lucius Junius* (6th cent. B.C.)—according to legend, founder of the Roman Republic, Roman Consul (509 B.C.); condemned his own sons to death for having conspired against the Republic.—63, 244

*Buchez, Philippe Joseph Benjamin* (1796-1865)—French politician, historian, Christian socialist.—105, 133, 260

*Büchner, Ludwig* (1824-1899)—German philosopher and naturalist; vulgar materialist, liberal; member of the International; delegate to the Lausanne Congress (1867) and participant in the congress of the League of Peace and Freedom in Geneva (1867).—28, 131, 158, 162, 167, 168, 173, 206, 210, 486, 528

*Bugeaud de la Piconnerie, Thomas Robert* (1784-1849)—Marshal of France, Orleanist; participated in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s, commander-in-chief of the army in the Alps (1848-49); deputy to the Legislative Assembly.—159

*Burke, Richard* (d. 1870)—Fenian; officer of the North American army; an organiser of the 1867 uprising in Ireland; arrested in 1867, died in prison.—26

*Burns, Lydia (Lizzy, Lizzie)* (1827-1878)—Irish working woman, Frederick Engels' second wife.—8, 49, 51, 52, 54, 55, 77, 79, 80, 84, 129, 143, 147, 156, 159, 167, 168, 189, 204, 205, 241, 242, 245, 247, 249, 250, 254, 277, 310, 311, 317, 336, 341, 342, 345, 348, 349, 351, 354, 357, 365, 378, 399, 407, 411, 425, 427, 442, 455, 458, 463, 502, 503, 507, 514, 521, 529, 532, 534, 535, 561

*Burns, Mary Ellen ('Pumps')* (born c. 1861)—niece of Engels' wife.—80, 147, 205, 207, 308, 311, 341, 514, 535

*Butt, Isaac* (1813-1879)—Irish lawyer and politician; Liberal M.P.; defended Fenian prisoners in state trials in the 1860s; an organiser of the Home Rule movement in the 1870s.—361, 393

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*Cabanis, Pierre Jean Georges* (1757-1808)—French physician and philosopher.—159, 173

*Caesar (Gajus Julius Caesar)* (c. 100-44 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman.—558

*Camden, William* (1551-1623)—English antiquary and historian.—402

*Cameron, Andrew*—prominent figure in the American working-class movement; editor of the newspaper *Workingman's Advocate* (Chicago); represented the US National Labour Union at the Basle Congress of the First International (1869).—543

*Camperio, Philipp* (1810-1882)—Swiss statesman, Italian by birth; lawyer; member of the Grand Council (1847-70); President of the State Council of Geneva and head of the Department of Justice and Police (1868).—11

*Camphausen, Ludolf* (1803-1890)—German banker, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prime Minister of Prussia (March-June 1848).—395

*Cannon, John*—American military writer.—402

*Cardwell, Edward Cardwell, Viscount* (1813-1886)—British statesman; Peelite, later Liberal; President of the Board of Trade (1852-55); Chief Secretary for Ireland (1859-61); Secretary for the Colonies (1864-66) and Secretary for War (1868-74).—113

*Carey, Henry Charles* (1793-1879)—American economist; advocated harmony of class interests in capitalist society.—59, 369, 374, 378-87, 545

*Carl, F.*—member of the German workers' association in New York.—472

*Carlyle, Thomas* (1795-1881)—British writer, historian, philosopher, Tory; preached views bordering on feudal socialism up to 1848; later a relentless opponent of the working-class movement.—482

*Carter, James*—prominent figure in the British working-class movement; hairdresser; member of the Reform League; member of the General Council of the International (October 1864-67) and Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1866-67), participant in the London Conference (1865), Geneva (1866) and Lausanne (1867) congresses of the International.—106

*Cassagnac*—see *Granier de Cassagnac, Paul Adolphe Marie Prosper*

*Castille, Charles Hippolyte* (1820-1886)—French writer, publicist; republican at the beginning of his career; Bonapartist during the Second Empire; author of several works on the history of France.—232, 242, 244, 246

*Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount* (1769-1822)—British Tory statesman; Chief Secretary for Ireland (1799-1801); Secretary for War and for the Colonies (1805-06 and 1807-22) and Foreign Secretary (1812-22).—368, 429

*Catiline, Lucius Sergius Catilina* (c. 108-62 B.C.)—Roman politician and conspirator against the aristocratic republic.—217

*Cavaignac, Louis Eugène* (1802-1857)—French general and politician, moderate republican; took part in the conquest of Algeria; after the February 1848 revolution War Minister of France (from May 1848); played a leading role in suppressing the June 1848 uprising; head of the executive power (from June to December 1848).—495

*Cawley*—M.P. from Salford, elected in the autumn of 1868; Conservative.—163

*Charles I* (1600-1649)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1625-49); executed during the English Revolution.—517

*Charles the Great (Charlemagne)* (742-814)—King of the Franks from 768 and Holy Roman Emperor (800-814).—156

*Charras, Jean Baptiste Adolphe* (1810-1865)—French military expert, politician, moderate republican; took part in suppressing the uprising of Paris workers in June 1848; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies under the Second Republic (1848-51), opposed Louis Bonaparte; banished from France after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851.—138

*Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich* (1828-1889)—Russian revolutionary democrat; socialist; materialist philosopher, writer and literary critic; one of the precursors of Russian Social-Democracy.—531

*Cherval, Julien* (real name *Joseph Crämer*)—Prussian policeman, spy for Prussia and France at the same time in Paris; gained entry into the Communist League and headed a Paris community of the separatist Willich-Schapper group; accused of complicity in the so-called Franco-German plot in Paris in February 1852; escaped from prison with the connivance of the French police; acted as a spy and agent-provocateur under the name of Nugent in Switzerland in 1853 and 1854.—283

*Choras Leibel*.—30

*Chorinsky, Gustav, Count von*—Austro-Hungarian army officer; was prosecuted in 1868 on a charge of poisoning his wife.—34

*Chorley*—M.P. from Salford, elected in the autumn of 1868, Conservative.—163

*Chorlton*—Lydia Burns' friend.—147

*Clanricarde, Ulick John, de Burgh, Marquis and Earl of* (1802-1874)—British politician and diplomat, Whig; Ambassador to St. Petersburg (1838-41).—466, 468, 493

*Classen-Kappelmann, Johann* (c. 1817-1879)—Cologne manufacturer; town councillor in Cologne; member of the Party of Progress in the 1860s.—371

*Clement, Knut Jungbohn* (1810-1873)—German historian and linguist, professor at Kiel University.—459

*Clossmann, A. von* (d. 1871)—German army officer; petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; later emigrated to Switzerland; Swiss correspondent

of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.—238

*Cluseret, Gustave Paul* (1823-1900)—French politician, general; joined Garibaldi's volunteers in Italy (1860); took part in the American Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Northerners; member of the International; was close to the Bakuninists; in the spring of 1870 acted as the General Council's correspondent in the USA; member of the Paris Commune; emigrated to Belgium after its suppression.—472

*Cobbett, William* (c. 1762-1835)—English politician and radical writer; from 1802 published *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*.—368, 429

*Coenen, Philippe*—prominent figure in the Belgian working-class movement, shoemaker; secretary of the Antwerp newspaper *Werker*; delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868), London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; subsequently a founder of the Belgian Workers' Party (1885).—464

*Collet, Collet Dobson*—English radical journalist and public figure; editor and publisher of the Urquhartist *Free Press* (1859-65) and *Diplomatic Review* (from 1866).—159, 165, 168, 264, 296, 346, 438, 468

*Combault, Amédée, Benjamin Alexandre* (c. 1837-d. after 1884)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, jeweller; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67), founder of a Paris section of the International in 1870; prosecuted during the third trial of the First International in France; member of the Paris Commune; subsequently emigrated to London.—556

*Comte, Isidore Auguste François Marie* (1798-1857)—French philosopher and sociologist, founder of positivism.—242

*Congreve, Richard* (1818-1899)—English positivist philosopher; journalist; follower of Comte.—261, 293

*Coningsby, Robert*—prominent figure in the British democratic movement, journalist.—195

*Conneau, Henri* (1803-1877)—French doctor, personal physician and favourite of Napoleon III.—495

*Coppel, Carl*—banker in Hanover.—3

*Costello, Augustin*—Fenian, American army officer; came to Ireland in 1867 to take part in the uprising; was arrested and sentenced to twelve years of penal servitude; released on 25 February 1869.—224

*Cremer, Sir William Randall* (1838-1908)—active participant in the British trade union and pacifist movement; member of the London Trades Council, carpenter; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held at St. Martin's Hall (28 September 1864); member of the General Council of the International and its General Secretary (1864-66); delegate to the London Conference (1865) and Geneva Congress (1866) of the International; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; opposed revolutionary tactics; subsequently Liberal M.P.; Nobel peace prize winner (1903); was knighted in 1907.—178

*Crompton, Henry* (1836-1904)—English lawyer and radical politician; positivist; took part in the trade union movement; E. S. Beesly's brother-in-law.—271

*Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—leader of the English Revolution; Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653.—217, 363, 376, 391, 398, 416

*Curran, John Philpot* (1750-1817)—Irish politician and judge, radical; member of the Irish Parliament; defended leaders of the United Irishmen rev-

olutionary society at state trials.—398, 401

*Currer Bell*—see *Brontë, Charlotte*

D

*Dakyns*—English geologist; member of the International from 1869; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels.—242, 291-93, 423, 426, 454, 459, 525

*Daniels, Roland* (1819-1855)—German physician; member of the Communist League and of its Cologne Central Authority from 1850; one of the accused in the Cologne communist trial (1852); friend of Marx and Engels.—35

*Danielson, Nikolai Frantsevich* (pseudonym *Nikolai—on*) (1844-1918)—Russian economist and writer; an ideologist of Narodism in the 1880s-90s; translated into Russian volumes I (together with Hermann Lopatin and N. N. Lubavin), II and III of Marx's *Capital*; corresponded with Marx and Engels for several years.—120, 123, 211

*Darwin, Charles Robert* (1809-1882)—English naturalist; founded the theory of natural selection.—141, 162, 206, 217, 423, 482, 527

*Davenport, Samuel Th.*—treasurer of the Society of Arts and Trades.—372

*Davies*—doctor at a London hospital.—550

*Davies, Edward* (1756-1831)—English clergyman, author of works on the ancient Celts.—515

*Davies, Sir John* (1569-1626)—English statesman, lawyer, Attorney-General for Ireland (1609-19), author of several works on the history of Ireland, supporter of the English colonisation of Ireland.—388, 398, 401, 483, 501

*Davis, Thomas Osborne* (1814-1845)—Irish democrat, historian and poet; a Young Ireland leader.—398

*Davisson, A. N.*—Secretary of the Schiller Institute in Manchester.—118

*Defoe, Daniel* (c. 1660-1731)—English journalist and novelist.—344

*Delescluze, Louis Charles* (1809-1871)—French revolutionary, journalist; participant in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, founder, editor and publisher of *Le Reveil* (1868-71), member of the Paris Commune of 1871.—195, 232

*Demuth, Helene* (*Lenchen*) (1820-1890)—housemaid and devoted friend of the Marx family.—270, 271, 399, 458, 526, 547

*De Paepe, César* (1841-1890)—Belgian socialist, compositor, subsequently physician; a founder of the Belgian Section of the International (1865); member of the Belgian Federal Council; delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and to the London Conference (1871) of the International; following the Hague Congress (1872) supported the Bakuninists for some time; a founder of the Belgian Workers' Party (1885).—9, 43, 198, 243-44, 405, 411-15, 424, 440, 453

*Diderot, Denis* (1713-1784)—French philosopher of the Enlightenment, atheist, leader of the Encyclopaedists.—263, 265

*Dietzgen, Joseph* (1828-1888)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, leather-worker; philosopher who independently arrived at dialectical materialism; champion of Marxism; member of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; emigrated to the USA in 1884.—31, 54, 65, 70, 120, 121, 126, 149, 152, 154, 173, 249, 353, 357

*Dixon*—managing director of a Liverpool bank.—113

*Dönniges, Helene von* (1845-1911)—daughter of Friedrich Wilhelm Dönniges; wife of Janko von Racowiţa.—88

*Drengler*.—285

*Dronke, Ernst* (1822-1891)—German journalist; first 'true socialist', then member of the Communist League and an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; follower of Marx and Engels; subsequently withdrew from politics and took up commerce.—443

*Drury*—member of the French Section of the International in London; emigrated to the USA in 1867.—97, 177

*Duchinski, Franciszek* (1817-1893)—Polish historian and ethnographer; emigrated to Paris after the 1830-31 uprising; author of several works on the history and ethnography of Poland and the Eastern Slavs.—435

*Duffy, James* (1809-1871)—Irish publisher.—374, 398

*Dühring, Eugen Karl* (1833-1921)—German eclectic philosopher; his philosophical views were a mixture of idealism, vulgar materialism, positivism and metaphysics; also concerned himself with the problems of political economy, law, and natural science; lecturer at Berlin University from 1863 to 1877.—59, 73, 344, 528

*Duncker, Franz* (1822-1888)—German publisher, prominent figure in the Party of Progress; in 1868, together with Max Hirsch, founded reformist trade unions, known as Hirsch-Duncker unions, which existed until 1933.—130, 210, 276

*Dupont*—Eugène Dupont's wife.—481

*Dupont, Eugène* (c. 1831-1881)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement, musical instrument maker; took part in the June 1848 uprising in Paris; from 1862, lived in London; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872); Corresponding Secretary for France (1865-71); participant in the London Conference (1865), Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867) (Chairman), Brussels (1868) and the Hague (1872) congresses, London Conference (1871) of the International; associate of Marx and Engels; became a member of the British Federal Council of the International in 1872; moved to the USA in 1874.—45, 78, 91, 101, 106, 148, 204, 216, 218, 262, 268, 271, 284, 350, 406, 481, 487, 489, 529, 532, 534, 535, 536

*Dürst*.—194

E

*Ebergenyi, Julie, Baroness von*—Hungarian aristocrat; was prosecuted in 1868 on a charge of poisoning Gustav Chorinsky's wife.—34

*Eccarius, Johann Georg* (1818-1889)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, tailor; member of the League of the Just, later of the Communist League; a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held at St. Martin's Hall (28 September 1864); member of the General Council of the International (1864-72), Council's General Secretary (1867-71); Corresponding Secretary for America (1870-72); delegate to all the International's congresses and conferences; supported Marx till 1872; in the spring of 1872 joined the reformist leaders of the British trade unions.—75, 91, 93, 94, 96-98, 99, 101, 103, 106, 109, 115, 147, 148, 184, 221, 228, 240, 262, 275, 276, 284, 304, 364, 377, 392, 414, 442, 471, 503, 543

*Eck, Johann (Maier)* (1486-1543)—German theologian; one of the main opponents of the Reformation in

Germany; opposed Luther many times.—249

*Edwards, Edward Watkin*—an official assignee in the Court of Bankruptcy.—208

*Eichhoff, Albert*—book-seller and publisher, Wilhelm Karl Eichhoff's brother.—211, 237, 238, 261, 264, 266, 277, 282, 322, 356

*Eichhoff, Wilhelm Karl* (1833-1895)—German socialist; in 1859 exposed Stieber as a police spy in the press and was brought to trial for this; refugee in London (1861-66); member of the International from 1868; one of its first historians; member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party from 1869.—11, 36, 37, 50, 55, 78, 80, 100, 116, 118, 120, 140, 151, 152, 153, 162, 223, 230, 239, 273-74, 277, 282, 297-99, 531

*Einhorn*—see *Horn, Eduard (Ignácz)*

*Eliot, George* (pen name of *Mary Ann Evans*) (1819-1880)—English woman novelist.—292, 423

*Elpidin, Mikhail Konstantinovich* (1835-1908)—took part in the Russian students' revolutionary movement in the early 1860s; emigrated to Geneva in 1865, founded a Russian printing plant where the newspaper *Narodnoye Dyelo (People's Cause)* was published; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—193

*Emma*—see *Engels, Emma*

*Engel, Ernst* (1821-1896)—German statistician; director of the Royal Prussian Statistical Bureau in Berlin (1860-82).—253, 352

*Engels, Elizabeth Franzisca Mauritia* (née *van Haar*) (1797-1873)—Frederick Engels' mother.—34, 88, 90, 93, 194, 195, 281, 300, 302, 317-20, 336, 348, 452, 453, 548

*Engels, Emma* (née *Croon*) (1834-1916)—wife of Frederick Engels' brother Hermann Engels.—195, 282, 322

*Engels, Friedrich* (1796-1860)—Frederick Engels' father.—456

*Engels, Hermann* (1822-1905)—Frederick Engels' brother.—194, 280, 318, 319, 320, 322

*Engels, Rudolf* (1831-1903)—Frederick Engels' brother.—195, 322, 352, 452-53

*Ensor, George* (1769-1843)—Irish journalist; opposed Anglo-Irish Union; in his works exposed the colonial policy of the British ruling classes; criticised Malthusianism.—368, 375

*Ermen, Anton Gottfried* (1807-1886)—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—36, 140, 280, 301, 302

*Ermen, Gottfried Peter Jakob* (1811-1899)—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—33, 92, 104, 167, 170, 182, 187, 194, 206, 210, 280-82, 299, 301-02, 320, 321, 329, 336, 346, 395, 402, 435

*Ermen, Heinrich (Henry) Eduard* (1833-1913)—a partner in the firm of Ermen Brothers; nephew of Gottfried Ermen; manager of Bridgewater Mill at Pendlebury.—32-33

*Ermen, Johanna Emilié Julie* (née *Sartorius*)—Anton Ermen's wife.—302

*Ermen, Peter (Pitt) Albertus Ermen* (1800-1889)—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—281, 321

*Eugénie Marie Ignace Augustine de Montijo de Guzmán, comtesse de Teba* (1826-1920)—Empress of France, Napoleon III's wife.—399

*Eulenburg, Friedrich Albrecht, Count von* (1815-1881)—Prussian statesman and diplomat; Minister of the Interior (1862-78).—391, 395

*Ewald, Georg Heinrich August* (1803-1875)—German orientalist; Bible scholar.—408

F

*Failly, Pierre Louis Charles Achille de* (1810-1892)—French general.—36

*Falloux, Frédéric Alfred Pierre, comte de* (1811-1886)—French politician and writer, Legitimist and clerical; in 1848 initiated the closure of the national workshops and organised the suppression of the June uprising of the Paris workers; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; Minister of Education (1849).—232

*Faucher, Julius (Jules)* (1820-1878)—German economist and journalist, Young Hegelian; advocate of Free Trade; refugee in England from 1850 till 1861; returned to Germany in 1861; member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies; member of the Party of Progress; National Liberal from 1866.—55, 56, 62, 65, 68, 86, 142

*Favre, Jules Gabriel Claude* (1809-1880)—French lawyer and politician; a leader of the bourgeois republican opposition from the late 1850s; deputy to the Corps législatif (1860s); Foreign Minister (1870-71); together with Thiers headed the struggle against the Paris Commune; inspired the struggle against the International.—232, 442, 553

*Fechner, Gustav Theodor* (1801-1887)—German physicist and philosopher.—528

*Fehrenbach*—photographer in London.—231, 278

*Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas* (1804-1872)—German philosopher.—152, 154, 354

*Firdousi* (*Firdausi* or *Firdusi*) (pen name of *Abul Kasim Mansur*) (c. 940-1020 or 1030)—Persian and Tadjik poet.—336

*Flavigny de, Marie, comtesse d'Agoult*—see *Stern, Daniel*

*Flerovsky, N.*—see *Bervi, Vasily Vasilyevich*

*Flocon, Ferdinand* (1800-1866)—French politician and journalist, democrat; an editor of the newspaper *La Reforme*; in 1848 member of the Provisional Government.—76

*Flourens, Gustave* (1838-1871)—French revolutionary and naturalist, follower of Blanqui; advocate of Marxism; member of the Paris Commune; was brutally killed by the Versaillese in April 1871.—419, 423, 431, 442, 481, 488, 493, 497, 504-06, 559

*Flourens, Pierre Jean Marie* (1794-1867)—French physiologist and physician; member of the Paris Academy of Sciences from 1828 and its secretary from 1833; Peer of France (1846-48); Gustave Flourens' father.—423, 559

*Forcade-Laroquette, Jean Louis Victor Adolphe de* (1820-1874)—French statesman, Bonapartist; Minister of Finance (1860-61), Minister of the Interior (1868-69).—395

*Foster, John Leslie* (c. 1780-1842)—Irish lawyer, Tory.—113, 215, 219-21

*Foster, Peter Le Neve* (1809-1879)—Secretary of the Board of the Society of Arts and Trades.—287

*Fouché, Joseph, duc d'Otrante* (1759-1820)—prominent figure in the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire; Minister of Police (1799-1810); notorious for his unscrupulousness.—225

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—512

*Fourlong, J.*—487

*Fowler*—judge in Manchester.—265

*Fox*—Peter Fox's mother.—285

*Fox, Peter* (*André, Peter Fox*) (d. 1869)—journalist; prominent figure in the British democratic and working-class movement; Positivist; a leader of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; participant in the inaugural meeting

of the International held at St. Martin's Hall (28 September 1864); member of the General Council of the International (1864-69); correspondent of the General Council for the press from 1865; General Secretary of the Council in September-November 1866; Corresponding Secretary for America (1866-67); an editor of *The Commonwealth* (1866); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—14, 75, 106, 285

*Francis Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-66); Emperor of Austria-Hungary (1867-1916).— 289

*Frank, A.*—Paris publisher.—138, 150

*Frankel, Leo* (1844-1896)—prominent figure in the Hungarian and international working-class movement, jeweller; member of the Paris Commune and the General Council of the International (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; a founder of the General Workers' Party of Hungary; associate of Marx and Engels.—479, 483, 537, 557

*Fränkel*—banker.—382

*Frankland, Sir Edward* (1825-1899)—English organic chemist; fellow of the Royal Society from 1853, professor.—33, 52

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—30

*Freiligrath, Ferdinand* (1810-1876)—German revolutionary poet; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49; member of the Communist League (1848-52); during his emigration in London (1851-68) abandoned revolutionary struggle.—4, 7, 34, 53, 57, 74, 142, 323, 371, 373, 391

*Freund, Wilhelm Alexander* (1833-1918)—German physician; lecturer.—180, 184

*Friedrich Wilhelm Nikolaus Karl* (1831-1888)—Prussian Crown Prince; King of Prussia and German Emperor under the name of Frederick III (1888).—503

*Fritzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1825-1905)—tobacco-maker; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; a founder and leader of the General Association of German Workers; Lassallean; joined Eisenachers in 1869; deputy to the North German Reichstag (1868-71); emigrated to the USA in 1881.—322, 323, 327

*Fuad Pasha, Méhémmed* (1815-1869)—Turkish statesman, repeatedly held the posts of Grand Vizier and Foreign Minister in the 1850s and 1860s.—260

*Funke.*—194

G

*Gallwey.*—456

*Gambetta, Léon* (1838-1882)—French statesman and lawyer, bourgeois republican; member of the Government of National Defence (1870-71).—188, 546, 553

*Ganilh, Charles* (1758-1836)—French economist and politician, epigone of mercantilism.—67

*Gans.*—560

*Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; took part in the revolutionary movement in South America in the 1830s and 1840s and in Italy in 1848-49; headed the struggle for Italy's national liberation and unification in the 1850s-60s.—218

*Garnier, Germain, marquis* (1754-1821)—French economist and politician, monarchist; epigone of Physiocrats; translator and critic of A. Smith.—67

*Gaudissart*—see *Borkheim, Sigismund Ludwig*

*George IV* (1762-1830)—Prince Regent (1811-20); King of Great Britain and Ireland (1820-30).—506

*George V*—(1819-1878)—King of Hanover (1851-66).—19, 209

*Gerlach, Karl Heinrich Eduard Friedrich von*—Prussian official, Regierungspräsident in Cologne (1839-44).—76

*Gibson, Thomas Milner* (1806-1884)—British politician and statesman, Free Trader, then Liberal; President of the Board of Trade (1859-65, 1865-66).—163

*Gimborn, T. von*—manufacturer from Emmerich.—201, 209

*Giraldus Cambrensis* (*Sylvester Gerald de Barry*) (c. 1146-c. 1220)—English medieval writer; took part in the military expedition to Ireland in 1185; author of several works on Ireland.—402, 416, 442

*Girardin, Émile de* (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician; editor of *La Presse* (1836-66, with intervals), *La Liberté* (1866-70), lacked principles in politics; moderate Republican during the 1848-49 revolution; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1850-51); subsequently Bonapartist.—216

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory, later Peelite; leader of the Liberal party in the latter half of the 19th century; Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—3, 10, 92, 157, 163, 168, 227, 305, 366, 373, 375, 386, 387, 390, 432, 437, 445, 454, 456, 461, 475

*Gobineau, Joseph Arthur, comte de* (1816-1882)—French reactionary sociologist, diplomat and writer; a founder of the racialist theory.—446

*Goegg, Amand* (1820-1897)—German journalist, democrat; member of the Baden Provisional Government in 1849; emigrated from Germany after the defeat of the revolution; took part in pacifist activities of the League of Peace and Freedom; joined the German Social-Democrats in the 1870s.—11, 172, 339, 353, 363, 364, 366

*Goegg, Marie* (b. 1826)—chairman of the International Women's Association.—131, 184

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—295, 331, 466, 541

*Goldstücker, Theodor* (1821-1872)—German Sanskrit scholar; professor at London University from 1852.—64

*Gounod, Charles François* (1818-1893)—French composer.—292

*Graglia, François*—member of the Committee of the Geneva Section of the First International; delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868).—8

*Graham, Sir James Robert George of Netherby* (1792-1861)—British statesman, a Whig at the beginning of his career and later a Peelite; Home Secretary in Peel's Cabinet (1841-46); First Lord of the Admiralty (1830-34 and 1852-55).—462

*Grandperret, Michel Étienne Anthelme Théodore* (1818-1890)—French politician, Bonapartist; Prosecutor-General in Paris from 1867.—505, 508

*Granier de Cassagnac, Paul Adolphe Marie Prosper* (1843-1904)—French journalist and politician, Bonapartist; editor-in-chief of *Le Pays*.—174, 553

*Grant, Ulysses Simpson* (1822-1885)—American general and statesman; member of the Republican Party; took part in the US Civil War (1861-65); Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Army from March 1864; War Secretary (1867-68), US President (1869-77).—271, 402

*Grattan, Henry* (1746-1820)—Irish politician, lawyer; leader of the moderate Liberal opposition to the British government in the Irish Parliament (1775-1800), M.P. from 1805.—398

*Green, Alexander Henry* (1832-1896)—English geologist; carried on geologi-

cal explorations in Devonshire and Yorkshire (1861-74).—292

*Griesheim, Adolf von* (1820-1894)—German manufacturer; partner in the firm of Ermen & Engels, husband of Elise, Frederick Engels' sister.—169, 280

*Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl* (1785-1863)—German philologist, author of a historical grammar of the German language and of folklore adaptations; professor in Göttingen and then in Berlin; liberal.—156, 186

*Gromier, M.*—French journalist, contributor to *The Glowworm* in the 1860s.—267, 275

*Grosselin, Jacques* (1835-1892)—Swiss watch-maker; member of the International; delegate to the Basle Congress (1869).—413

*Guéroult, Adolphe* (1810-1872)—French journalist and politician, Bonapartist; editor-in-chief of *L'Opinion Nationale* (1859-71).—554

*Guguste.*—558

*Guillaume, James* (1844-1916)—Swiss teacher, anarchist, follower of Bakunin; member of the International; participant in the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Basle (1869) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; an organiser of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; editor of the newspapers *Le Progrès, La Solidarité* and the *Bulletin de la Fédération Jurassienne*; was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress for his splitting activities.—413, 479, 480, 492, 493

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman; virtually directed French home and foreign policy from 1840 to the February 1848 revolution; expressed the views of the financial bourgeoisie.—123

*Gumpert*—Eduard Gumpert's wife.—210, 293

*Gumpert, Eduard* (d. 1893)—German physician in Manchester; friend of Marx and Engels.—6, 20, 43, 50, 51, 74, 119, 156, 168, 205, 206, 210, 242, 245, 267, 269, 293, 340, 349, 408, 479, 482, 487, 503, 521, 524, 525, 551

*Gurney*—a director of an English banking firm Overend, Gurney and Company.—208, 305, 548

*Gustavus II Adolphus* (1594-1632)—King of Sweden (1611-32) and general.—344

H

*Habsburgs* (or *Hapsburgs*)—a dynasty of emperors of the Holy Roman Empire from 1273 to 1806 (with intervals); Spanish kings (1516-1700), Austrian emperors (1804-67) and Austro-Hungarian emperors (1867-1918).—288

*Haeckel, Ernst* (1834-1919)—German biologist, Darwinist; adherent of materialism in natural science, atheist; one of the founders and ideologists of 'social Darwinism'.—162

*Hagen, Theodor* (1823-1871)—Communist League member in Hamburg; took part in publishing and distributing the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.*—353

*Hales, John* (b. 1839)—British trade unionist, weaver; member of the Reform League, the Land and Labour League; member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its Secretary (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; headed the reformist wing of the British Federal Council from the beginning of 1872; expelled from the International by General Council's decision of 30 May 1873.—376

*Hammacher, Dr.*—deputy to the North German Reichstag (1869), National Liberal.—230

*Harney, George Julian* (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the English labour movement; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels; a leader of the Left-wing Chartists (the 1840s); emigrated to the USA in 1863, where he served in the Secretary's Office in the Massachusetts State House; member of the International; returned to Great Britain in 1888.—276, 386

*Harris, George*—prominent figure in the English labour movement; follower of the Chartist O'Brien; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72), Financial Secretary of the Council (1870-71).—376, 392, 397

*Harrison, Frederic* (1831-1923)—English lawyer and historian; radical; positivist; took part in the democratic movement of the 1860s.—262

*Hasenclever, Wilhelm* (1837-1889)—German Social-Democrat, Lassallean; President of the General Association of German Workers (1871-75), a chairman of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (1875-76); deputy to the Reichstag (1874-78 and 1879-88).—230, 276

*Hatzfeld(t), Sophie, Countess von* (1805-1881)—friend and supporter of Lassalle.—276, 304, 322, 326, 408, 522, 524

*Haussmann, Georges Eugène, baron* (1809-1891)—French politician, Bonapartist; took part in the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; prefect of the department of the Seine (1853-70); directed work on the reconstruction of Paris.—316

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—31, 39, 123, 155, 263, 276, 482, 509, 511, 520, 528

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—249, 371, 489

*Heinemann*—Prussian police agent in England; from 1869, editor-in-chief of the German weekly *Hermann*.—178, 266, 268, 276, 436

*Heinzen, Karl Peter* (1809-1880)—German radical journalist; participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland, then to England and in the autumn of 1850 to the USA where he became editor-in-chief of *Der Pionier* (1854-79).—285, 367, 371, 445, 522, 524

*Held, Adolf* (1844-1880)—German economist; representative of the historical school in political economy; armchair socialist; lecturer (1867), then professor in Bonn.—213, 527

*Heng, Fritz*—Swiss engraver; follower of Bakunin; a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; member of the International; delegate to the Basle Congress (1869).—413

*Henry, Mitchel* (1826-1910)—Irish politician, Liberal; participated in the Home Rule movement till the 1880s.—92, 163

*Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich* (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary, democrat, materialist philosopher and writer; left Russia in 1847, from 1852 lived in England where he established the Free Russian Press and published the periodical *Polyarnaya Zvezda* (Polar Star) and the newspaper *Kolokol* (The Bell).—200, 411, 424, 426, 445, 463, 468, 492, 508, 518

*Hess, Moses* (1812-1875)—German radical journalist; a representative of 'true socialism' in the mid-1840s; member of the Communist League, after its split supported the sectarian group of Willich-Schapper; Lassallean in the 1860s; member of the International; delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International.—79, 100, 102, 359, 442

*Hewitt, James, 1st Viscount Lifford* (1709-1789)—Lord Chancellor of Ireland from 1768.—374

*Heydemann.*—543

*Higham.*—529

*Hillmann, Hugo*—German democrat; participant in the 1848-49 revolution; refugee in London after the defeat of the revolution; member of the General Association of German Workers; in 1869 joined the Social-Democratic Workers' Party.—268

*Hins, Eugène* (1839-1923)—Belgian teacher, Proudhonist, subsequently Bakuninist; a founder of the Belgian Section of the International, delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses.—412, 414, 415, 424, 430, 431

*Hirsch, Carl* (1841-1900)—German Social-Democrat, Lassallean, later member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; contributor to the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* from 1868; Paris correspondent of the German Social-Democratic newspapers after 1872.—248, 250, 434

*Hirsch, Max* (1832-1905)—German economist, prominent figure in the Party of Progress; in 1868, together with Franz Duncker, founded reformist trade unions, known as Hirsch-Duncker trade unions, that existed until 1933.—121, 136, 276

*Hoares*—family of bankers in London.—136

*Hobbes, Thomas* (1588-1679)—English philosopher.—217

*Hohenzollern*—see *Frederick William IV*

*Holyoake, George Jacob* (1817-1906)—English journalist; associated with the Owenites and the Chartists in the 1830s and 1840s; subsequently leader of the co-operative movement, reformist.—217, 376, 378

*Holzenhauer, W.*—employee in the firm of Ermen & Engels in Engelskirchen.—169

*Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus)* (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—115, 136, 171, 216, 435, 437, 447

*Horn, Eduard (Ignácz)* (real name *Einhorn*) (1825-1875)—Hungarian economist and journalist, democrat; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; refugee in Paris from 1855; contributor to *L'Association* and other French magazines in the 1860s; returned to Hungary in 1869.—7, 11, 158

*Howel Dda* ('the Good') (d. 950)—King and lawmaker of the ancient Wales.—515

*Hudson, George* (1800-1871)—English capitalist, big railway owner.—352

*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885)—French writer.—489

*Hühnerbein (Hünerbein), Friedrich Wilhelm* (born c. 1817)—German tailor; member of the Communist League; participant in the Elberfeld uprising in May 1849.—407

*Huleck*—member of the General Council of the International (1868); member of the French Section in London; after its split (1868) came out against the General Council.—178

*Humbert, Albert* (1835-1886)—French writer and caricaturist; member of *La Marseillaise* editorial board in 1870.—507, 509

*Hume, David* (1711-1776)—Scottish philosopher, historian and economist.—183

*Hume, Robert William*—American petty-bourgeois radical; leader of the National Labour Union; member of the International and correspondent of the General Council.—472

*Humphrey de Trafford*—English landlord.—381

*Hunter, Henry Julian*—English physician; author of reports on the workers' dire living conditions.—196

*Huxley, Thomas Henry* (1825-1895)—English naturalist; close associate of Charles Darwin and populariser of

his teaching.—183, 242, 261, 293, 454, 482

I

*Imandt, Peter* (b. 1824)—German teacher; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League; emigrated to London in 1852; supported Marx and Engels.—440, 443

*Isabella II* (1830-1904)—Queen of Spain (1833-68); overthrown by the 1868-74 revolution; fled to France on 30 September 1868.—108, 114, 115, 119, 137

*Ivanov, Ivan Ivanovich* (d. 1869)—student of the Agricultural Academy in Moscow; took part in the student movement of the 1860s and the Nechayev organisation; murdered by Nechayev.—530

J

*Jaclard, Charles Victor* (1843-1900)—French journalist, Blanquist; member of the International; active in the Paris Commune; following the suppression of the Paris Commune, emigrated to Switzerland and then to Russia; after the 1880 amnesty returned to France and continued to take part in the socialist movement.—9, 480

*Jacoby, Johann* (1805-1877)—German radical journalist and politician; a Left-wing leader in the Prussian National Assembly (1848); member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (1862); founder of *Die Zukunft* (1867); joined Social-Democrats in the 1870s.—371, 417, 418, 435, 552

*Jäger, Gustav* (1832-1916)—German zoologist; follower of Charles Darwin; author of several works on natural sciences.—162

*Jaeger*.—266

*Jakub Beg, Mohammed* (1820-1877)—ruler of Kashgar (1865-77).—373

*James I* (1394-1437)—King of Scotland from 1424.—226

*James I* (1566-1625)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1603-25).—388

*Janin, Jules Gabriel* (1804-1874)—French writer, critic and journalist.—263

*Jenny (Jennychen)*—see *Marx, Jenny*

*Jessup, William J.*—American worker, carpenter; active participant in the American labour movement; Vice-President (1866) and Corresponding Secretary (1867) of the National Labour Union of the United States for the State of New York, a leader of the Workers' Union of New York; General Council's correspondent in the USA.—58, 96, 147, 149

*Johannard, Jules* (1843-1888)—active in the French working-class movement, lithographer; member of the General Council of the International (1868-69 and 1871-72) and Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1868-69); in 1870 founded a section of the International in St. Denis; member of the Paris Commune; Blanquist; after the defeat of the Commune emigrated to London; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—78, 485

*Johnson, Reverdy* (1796-1876)—American lawyer and statesman; Attorney-General (1849-50); member of the Democratic Party (conservative wing); Minister to Great Britain (1868-69).—195

*Johnston, James Finlay Weir* (1796-1855)—English agricultural chemist.—384

*Jones*—librarian in the British Museum Library.—518

*Jones, Ernest Charles* (1819-1869)—prominent figure in the English labour movement; proletarian poet and journalist, leader of the Left-wing Chartists; friend of Marx and Engels; took part in the work of the International in the 1860s.—26, 71,

92, 136, 157, 161, 163, 165, 166, 168, 207, 210, 244, 246

*Jones, Lloyd* (1811-1886)—active in the British co-operative movement, Owenite, journalist; fustian-cutter by profession.—100, 251, 253, 262

*Juárez, Benito Pablo* (1806-1872)—Mexican statesman; fighter for national independence of the country; leader of the Liberal Party during the Civil War (1858-60) and intervention in Mexico (1861-67), President of Mexico (1858-72).—16

*Jubitz, F.*—member of the German workers' association in New York.—472

*Juch, Hermann*—German democratic journalist, refugee in London; editor of the *Hermann* (from July 1859) and publisher of the *Deutsche Post* (from December 1869).—266, 444

*Jung.*—238

*Jung, Georg Gottlob* (1814-1886)—German democratic journalist, Young Hegelian; a publisher of the *Rheinische Zeitung;* deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—201

*Jung, Hermann* (1830-1901)—prominent figure in the international and Swiss working-class movement, watch-maker; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland (November 1864 to 1872); Treasurer of the General Council (1871-72); participant in the London Conference (1865); Chairman of the Geneva (1866), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and of the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council; supported Marx before the Hague Congress (1872), later joined the reformists of the British trade unions.—45, 78, 95, 98, 139, 160-61, 198, 203, 218, 220, 271, 346, 406, 413, 424, 463, 480, 537

*Jung, Thesmar.*—201

*Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis)* (c. A.D. 60-died after 127)—Roman satirical poet.—228, 444

K

*Kalisch*—teacher of German in Manchester.—118

*Kampfmeyer*—secondhand bookseller in London.—282

*Kane, Anna*—cousin of Lizzy and Mary Burns.—534

*Kane, Sir Robert John* (1810-1890)—Irish scientist; professor of chemistry and physics; also studied the economy of Ireland.—402

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—276

*Kapp, Friedrich* (1824-1884)—German lawyer, historian and politician, democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA in 1850.—354

*Karl Theodor Maximilian August* (1795-1875)—Bavarian prince, Field Marshal; during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, Commander-in-Chief of the troops of the South German states that were Austria's allies.—64

*Katkov, Mikhail Nikiforovich* (1818-1887)—Russian reactionary journalist; editor of *Moskovskiye Vedomosti* (1850-55 and 1863-87).—436, 440, 441

*Kaulbach, Wilhelm von* (1805-1874)—German painter.—558

*Keil, Ernst* (1816-1878)—German journalist; publisher and bookseller, democrat; founder of the weekly *Die Gartenlaube.*—73, 77, 144

*Keller, Charles* (1843-1913)—French socialist; member of the International; translated into French part of Volume I of Marx's *Capital* in 1869-70; participant in the Paris Commune (1871); after the suppression of the Commune, emigrated to Switzerland.—359, 399, 450, 546

*Kertbény, Károly Marie* (real name *Benkert*) (1824-1882)—Hungarian writer, liberal; was in contact with the participants in the 1848-49 revolution.—73, 77, 144

*Keßler*—deputy to the North German Reichstag in 1869, district president.—230

*Ketteler, Wilhelm Emanuel, Baron von* (1811-1877)—German ecclesiastic, Roman Catholic, bishop of Mainz (from 1850).—354

*King, P. St.*—bookseller in London.—306

*Kinkel, Gottfried* (1815-1882)—German poet and democratic journalist; participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; sentenced to life imprisonment by the Prussian court; in 1850 escaped and emigrated to England; a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees; opposed Marx and Engels.—74, 142, 435

*Kirchmann, Julius Hermann von* (1802-1884)—German lawyer and philosopher, radical; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848, later member of the Party of Progress; author of several works on philosophy and law.—258

*Klein, Johann Jacob* (c. 1818-c. 1896)—Cologne physician; member of the Communist League; defendant in the Cologne Communist trial (1852); acquitted by the jury; in the early 1860s took part in the German working-class movement.—408

*Klein, Karl Wilhelm*—German worker, took part in the Elberfeld and Solingen uprisings of 1849; member of the Communist League; refugee in the USA from 1852; participant in the German working-class movement in the 1860s-70s; member of the General Association of German Workers; member of the International; delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and Brussels (1868) congresses.—397, 420-21

*Klemm, Friedrich Gustav* (1802-1867)—German historian, author of several works on the history of culture.—328

*Knowles.*—181, 206

*Knowles, George*—manufacturer in Bolton.—281

*Knowles, John*—manufacturer in Bolton.—281

*Knox, Alexander Andrew* (1818-1891)—English journalist, contributor to *The Times* (1846-60); police magistrate, member of a commission which reported to Parliament in 1867 on the treatment of political prisoners in British prisons.—224, 457, 459

*Kock, Charles Paul de* (1793-1871)—French novelist and dramatist.—159

*Kolb, Georg Friedrich* (1808-1884)—German politician, democratic journalist and statistician.—485

*Korklow*—doctor to Marx's children in London; Irish by birth.—49, 51-52, 57

*Korvin-Krukovskaya (Jaclard), Anna Vasilyevna* (1843-1887)—Russian revolutionary; member of the Russian Section of the International; took part in the Paris Commune (1871); Charles Victor Jaclard's wife.—480

*Kotzebue, August Friedrich Ferdinand von* (1761-1819)—German writer and journalist, extreme monarchist.—263

*Kugelmann, Franziska* (1858-c. 1930)—Ludwig Kugelmann's daughter.—4, 13, 48, 70, 175, 214, 233, 279, 318, 337, 359, 391, 436, 467, 544, 554, 560, 564

*Kugelmann, Gertrud* (b. 1839)—Ludwig Kugelmann's wife.—3, 12, 13, 57, 131, 175, 184, 214, 233, 279, 318, 327, 337, 359, 389, 391, 436, 466, 528, 544, 552, 554, 558, 563

*Kugelmann, Ludwig* (1828-1902)—German physician; participant in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the International; delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and the Hague

(1872) congresses of the International; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party from 1869; friend and regular correspondent of Marx and Engels.—3, 4, 8, 12-13, 25, 28, 48, 54, 56, 65, 67, 73, 77, 78, 81, 82, 130, 142, 144, 158, 173, 180, 184, 208, 210, 213, 214, 222, 231, 233, 248, 266, 278, 312, 317, 318, 324, 325, 327-29, 331, 333, 334, 337, 338, 353, 355, 357, 359, 389, 393, 417, 433, 466, 471, 478, 482, 512, 527, 529, 532-33, 543, 545, 547, 552, 555, 558, 562, 563

*Kyllmann.*—251

L

*Ladendorf, August*—German democrat, a leader of the German workers' educational societies in Switzerland in the 1860s, delegate to the Lausanne Congress of the International (1867) and the Inaugural Congress of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (1869).—366

*Lafargue, Charles Étienne* (31 December 1868-May 1872)—Paul and Laura Lafargue's son.—199, 211, 214, 216, 219, 253, 271, 315, 317, 327, 338, 342, 350, 353, 355, 358, 359, 446, 450, 544, 552

*Lafargue, François* (1806-1870)—Paul Lafargue's father.—10, 287, 290, 309, 314-15, 316, 327, 486

*Lafargue, Gustave*—French journalist, contributed to the reactionary gutter press.—557

*Lafargue, Laura* (1845-1911)—Karl Marx's second daughter, Paul Lafargue's wife from 1868, participant in the French working-class movement.—3, 7, 9-10, 20, 25, 30, 51, 53, 56, 64, 72-74, 95, 105, 106, 121, 122, 137, 155, 170, 175, 178, 196, 211, 216, 219, 225, 243, 246, 250, 251, 253, 271, 305, 309, 314, 315, 316, 327, 338, 342, 347, 350, 353, 355, 358, 359, 423, 447, 454, 493, 544, 551, 552, 555

*Lafargue, Paul* (1842-1911)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement, journalist, member of the General Council of the International, Corresponding Secretary for Spain (1866-69), helped to organise the International's sections in France (1869-70), Spain and Portugal (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), a founder of the Workers' Party in France (1879), disciple and associate of Marx and Engels, husband of Marx's daughter Laura.—3, 7, 9-10, 18, 20, 25, 30, 44, 47, 49-51, 53, 56, 64, 72-74, 78, 82, 103, 106, 122, 137, 150, 155, 158, 162, 171, 175, 178, 196, 199, 214, 216-19, 220, 225, 230, 233, 242, 243, 262, 266, 276, 287, 315, 316, 327, 338, 342, 347, 350, 353, 356, 358-62, 410, 446, 454, 480, 485, 486, 488, 530, 531, 546, 555-57

*Lafargue, Virginie* (b. 1803)—Paul Lafargue's mother.—309

*Lalor, John* (1814-1856)—British journalist and economist.—38

*Lange, Friedrich Albert* (1828-1875)—German philosopher, economist, neo-Kantian; member of the Standing Committee of the General Association of German Workers (1864-66), member of the International, delegate to the Lausanne Congress (1867).—158, 173, 525, 527-28

*Langley, J. Baxter*—English radical journalist.—166

*Lansdowne, Henry Charles Keith Petty Fitzmaurice, 5th Marquess of* (1845-1927)—British statesman, Liberal, held several ministerial posts from the 1870s.—456

*Laplace, Pierre Simon* (1749-1827)—French astronomer, mathematician and physicist.—246

*La Rochefoucauld, François, duc de* (1613-1680)—French moralist writer.—297-98

*Lasker, Eduard* (1829-1884)—German politician, deputy to the Reichstag, member of the Party of Progress till 1866, later a founder and leader of the National Liberal Party in Germany.—38

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German journalist and lawyer; took part in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49), founder and first President of the General Association of German Workers (1863-64), an initiator of the opportunist trend in the German working-class movement.—87-90, 92, 105, 120, 132-34, 162, 188, 213, 250, 259, 261, 263, 323, 326, 328, 331, 336, 352, 365, 367, 369, 397, 420, 459, 524, 544

*Lassassie, F. de*—French refugee in London, hairdresser, member of the General Council of the International (1865-68), member of the French Section in London, where he supported the General Council's policy; took part in the London Conference (1865).—78

*Laura*—see *Lafargue, Laura*

*Laveleye, Émile Louis Victor, baron de* (1822-1892)—Belgian economist and journalist.—412

*Lavergne, Louis Gabriel Léonce Guilhaud de* (1809-1880)—French economist, author of a number of works on agricultural economics.—374

*Law, Harriet* (1832-1897)—a leading figure in the atheist movement in England, member of the General Council (June 1867 to 1872) and of the Manchester Section of the International (1872).—43, 184

*Law, John* (1671-1729)—Scottish economist and financier, Director-General of Finance in France (1719-20).—7

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician, a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats, editor of *La Réforme;* Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848), where he headed the Montagne Party; emigrated to England after the demonstration of 13 June 1849; returned to France in 1870.—195, 216, 232, 371, 373

*Lee, Robert Edward* (1807-1870)—American general, took part in the war against Mexico (1846-48); during the Civil War commanded the Southern Army in Virginia (1862-65), Commander-in-Chief of the Southern Army (February-April 1865).—402

*Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, Baron von* (1646-1716)—German philosopher and mathematician.—512, 513, 558

*Le Lubez, Victor* (b. 1834)—French refugee in London, was connected with republican and radical elements in France and Britain; took part in the inaugural meeting of the International held at St. Martin's Hall (28 September 1864), member of the General Council of the International (1864-66), Corresponding Secretary for France (1864-65), participant in the London Conference (1865), expelled from the Council by the Geneva Congress (1866) for intrigue and slander.—139, 526

*Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim* (1729-1781)—German writer.—528, 541

*Lessner, Friedrich* (1825-1910)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, tailor, member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution, prosecuted at the Cologne Communist trial in 1852; emigrated to London in 1856, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London and of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872), participant in the London Conference (1865), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) and the

Hague (1872) congresses of the International; member of the British Federal Council; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—83, 93, 98, 101, 102, 120, 122, 127, 161, 166, 203, 252, 284, 290, 465, 471, 478, 544

*Lever, Charles James* (1806-1872)—Irish novelist.—507, 509

*Levy, Joseph Moses* (1812-1888)—English journalist, a founder and publisher of *The Daily Telegraph*.—101, 454

*Lichfield, Thomas George Anson, Earl of* (b. 1825)—British Liberal politician.—393

*Liebig, Justus, Baron von* (1803-1873)—German chemist.—51

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, participant in the 1848-49 revolution, member of the Communist League and of the International, delegate to the Basle Congress of the International (1869), deputy to the Reichstag from 1867, a founder and leader of the German Social-Democratic Party, friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—5-6, 8, 11, 15, 19, 20, 30, 38, 40, 48, 58, 73, 75, 102, 105, 106, 108-13, 114-18, 120, 121, 126-27, 131, 135, 136, 141-42, 147, 148, 151, 153, 161, 172, 175, 177, 189, 208, 209, 210, 220-23, 227-31, 234, 236, 239, 242, 248-50, 253, 255-57, 260, 262, 265-67, 274, 276, 282-84, 295-97, 299, 303, 304, 306, 307, 313, 322-28, 330-32, 338, 339, 343, 344, 353, 354, 355, 356, 364, 367, 369, 371, 376, 378, 382, 405, 411, 417-19, 426, 428, 431, 442, 445, 452, 477, 478, 482, 485, 496, 500, 503, 508-11, 513, 519-20, 544, 553

*Lifford*—see *Hewitt, James, 1st Viscount Lifford*

*Lilienfeld-Toal, Pavel Fedorovich* (1829-1903)—Russian sociologist, a Baltic country squire and high-ranking Tsarist official.—55, 154, 419, 426, 430, 434

*Livy (Titus Livius)* (59 B.C.-A.D. 17)—Roman historian.—85

*Lizzie*—see *Burns, Lydia (Lizzy)*

*Lloyd*—see *Jones, Lloyd*

*Lochner, Georg* (born c. 1824)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, carpenter, member of the Communist League, the German Workers' Educational Society in London and of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872), delegate to the London conferences of 1865 and 1871; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—184

*Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth* (1807-1882)—American poet, translator and literary critic.—275

*Lopatin, Hermann Alexandrovich* (1845-1918)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik, member of the General Council of the International (1870), translated into Russian Volume I of Marx's *Capital*, friend of Marx and Engels.—530-31, 533, 535

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—429, 434, 512

*Louis Napoleon*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—105, 159, 260, 264, 316, 389

*Lowe, Robert, 1st Viscount Sherbrooke* (1811-1892)—British statesman and journalist, contributor to *The Times*, Whig and later Liberal, M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer (1868-73), Home Secretary (1873-74).—176

*Luby*—Thomas Clarke Luby's wife.—562

*Luby, Thomas Clarke* (1821-1901)—Irish revolutionary, Fenian, journalist, contributor to *The Irish People*; sentenced to twenty years of penal

servitude in 1865, was released in 1871 and emigrated to the USA where he worked as a journalist.—399, 563

*Lucraft, Benjamin* (1809-1897)—a reformist leader of the British trade unions; furniture-maker, participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held at St. Martin's Hall (28 September 1864), member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses, member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League, opposed the Paris Commune, refused to sign the General Council's address *The Civil War in France* (1871) and left the International.—245, 248, 376, 386

*Ludlow, John Malcolm Forbes* (1821-1911)—participant in the British co-operative movement, lawyer and journalist, Christian socialist.—259, 260, 261, 262-64

*Ludwig III* (1806-1877)—Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt (1848-77).—16, 141, 209

*Lupus*—see *Wolff, Wilhelm*

*Luther, Martin* (1483-1546)—German theologian and writer, prominent figure of the Reformation; founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany.—249, 271, 434

M

*Macleod, Henry Dunning* (1821-1902)—Scottish economist, engaged mainly in credit problems.—38

*Maddison*—Marx's doctor.—417

*Maguires, the*—ancient Irish aristocratic family.—484

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, author of a theory of population.—270, 381

*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von* (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (November 1848 to November 1850), Prime Minister (1850-58).—124

*Marie, Alexandre Thomas* (1795-1870)—French lawyer and politician, moderate republican, Minister of Public Works in the Provisional Government (1848); later Minister of Justice in Cavaignac's government.—232

*Marryat, Frederick* (1792-1848)—British naval officer and writer.—507

*Martin, Bon Louis Henri* (1810-1883)—French historian and politician, republican, joined the International in 1865.—435

*Martinaud*—former French abbot, then compositor, anarchist, member of the Paris Section of the International, delegate to the Basle Congress (1869).—413

*Marx, Eleanor (Tussy)* (1855-1898)—Karl Marx's youngest daughter, took part in the British and international working-class movement.—6, 7, 12, 14, 37, 40, 44, 45, 47-54, 60, 63, 64, 67, 71, 74, 75, 79, 82, 87, 91, 122, 159, 167, 187, 189, 200, 205, 211, 243, 246-48, 253, 256, 261, 270, 273, 275, 278, 284, 286, 290, 294, 295, 298-99, 308, 311, 317, 324, 336, 338, 339, 341, 342, 345, 347-51, 354, 357, 359, 368, 370, 382, 389, 393, 399, 410, 419, 423, 425, 433, 447, 458, 521-22, 525, 534, 546, 548, 560

*Marx, Henriette* (née *Pressburg*) (1787-1863)—Karl Marx's mother.—25

*Marx, Jenny* (née *von Westphalen*) (1814-1881)—Karl Marx's wife.—30, 40, 53, 56, 64, 73-75, 79, 87, 95, 122, 171, 187, 200, 205, 211, 261, 269, 272-76, 278, 284, 286, 309, 315, 326, 327, 342, 355, 359, 399, 410, 419, 458, 465, 488, 519, 525, 528, 560

*Marx, Jenny* (1844-1883)—Karl Marx's eldest daughter, journalist, took part in the international working-class movement.—15, 19, 30, 45, 47-51,

53, 57, 60, 63-67, 74, 82, 87, 122, 171, 172, 187, 205, 207, 211, 213, 214, 232, 243, 246-48, 253, 261, 273, 275, 284, 286, 290, 291-94, 297, 300, 308, 310, 312, 318, 324, 325, 327, 329, 330, 334, 339, 341, 351, 354, 355, 357, 359, 361, 389, 399, 400, 410, 419, 423, 426, 429, 444, 447, 451, 455, 458-61, 466, 471, 473, 476, 487, 488, 500, 501, 503, 522, 523, 525, 532, 533, 537, 543, 545, 547, 552, 557, 558, 560, 561, 564

*Marx, Laura*—see *Lafargue, Laura*

*Massol, Marie Alexandre* (1805-1875)—French journalist, utopian socialist; Proudhon's friend; editor-in-chief of *La Morale indépendante* (1865-70).—79

*Mayer*.—155

*Mayer, Karl* (1819-1889)—German petty-bourgeois democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49), editor of the Stuttgart newspaper *Der Beobachter* in the 1860s.—325, 343, 364

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, democrat, a leader of the Italian national liberation movement; headed the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850); when the International was founded in 1864 tried to bring it under his influence.—240

*Meissner, Otto Karl* (1819-1902)—publisher in Hamburg, printed Marx's *Capital* and other works by Marx and Engels.—5, 9, 37, 55, 74, 78, 99, 100, 102, 104, 106, 211, 214, 217, 222, 223, 234, 237-39, 241, 243, 249, 257, 276, 277, 279, 285, 297, 300, 305, 308, 318, 327, 333, 339, 354, 357, 358, 417, 428, 446, 452, 511, 527, 528, 529, 533

*Mende, Fritz* (d. 1879)—member of the General Association of German Workers; President of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers founded by Hatzfeldt (1869-72), deputy to the North German Reichstag (1869).—276, 322, 408

*Mendelssohn, Moses* (1729-1786)—German deist philosopher.—528

*Menke*—Theodor Heinrich Menke's wife.—545

*Menke, Theodor Heinrich*—German statistician, Ludwig Kugelmann's friend, member of the International.—397, 407, 427, 456, 465

*Merriman, J. J.*—member of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1867).—139

*Meyen (Mayen), Eduard* (1812-1870)—German journalist, Young Hegelian, after the 1848-49 revolution emigrated to England, later National Liberal.—479

*Meyer, Carl Joseph* (1796-1856)—German industrialist, journalist and publisher, founded the Bibliographical Institute which put out several editions of the Encyclopaedic Dictionary named after him (1826).—144

*Meyer, Gustav*—manufacturer in Bielefeld, Ludwig Kugelmann's acquaintance.—13

*Meyer, Hermann* (1821-1875)—leading figure in the German and American working-class movement; merchant; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA in 1852; an organiser of the International's sections in St. Louis; Joseph Weydemeyer's friend.—97, 354

*Meyer, Sigfrid* (c. 1840-1872)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement; engineer, member of the General Association of German Workers; opposed Lassalleanism, member of the International; emigrated to the USA in 1866, member of the New York Communist Club and an organiser of the International's sections in the USA; follower of Marx and Engels.—58-59, 96-98, 148-49, 177, 184, 354, 471-76

*Michaelis, Otto* (1826-1890)—German economist and journalist; member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies from 1861; a publisher of the journal *Vierteljahrschrift für Volkswirthschaft und Kulturgeschichte*; National Liberal (from 1867); deputy to the North German Reichstag.—59

*Michel, Louis Chrysostome* (1798-1853)—French lawyer and politician, petty-bourgeois republican; counsel for the defence at several trials against republicans during the July monarchy, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51), belonged to the Montagne Party.—188

*Mill, John Stuart* (1806-1873)—English economist and positivist philosopher.—166, 263, 293

*Milner, George*—prominent figure in the British working-class movement, Irish by birth, follower of James O'Brien; member of the National Reform League, of the Land and Labour League, and of the General Council of the International (1868-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871), member of the British Federal Council (autumn of 1872 to 1873), fought the reformist wing in the Council.—376, 386

*Milton, John* (1608-1674)—English poet.—348

*Miquel, Johannes* (1828-1901)—German lawyer, politician and financier; member of the Communist League up to 1852; a leader of the National Liberals (Right wing) from 1867, member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies; deputy to the North German Reichstag and later German Reichstag.—142, 255, 376

*Mitchel, John* (1815-1875)—Irish revolutionary democrat, Left-wing leader of the Young Ireland group; deported to a penal colony for taking part in the preparation of an uprising in 1848; escaped in 1853 and emigrated to the USA; fought on the side of the Southerners during the US Civil War (1861-65), author of *The History of Ireland*.—445

*Moelmud, Dufnwal* (second half of the 5th cent.-first half of the 6th cent.)—semi-legendary legislator of ancient Britain.—515

*Moilin, Jules Antoine (Tony)* (1832-1871)—French physician and journalist, petty-bourgeois socialist; took part in the Paris Commune (1871), shot by the Versaillese.—225, 230, 242, 244, 449

*Moll, Friedrich Wilhelm* (c. 1835-1871)—Solingen worker, member of the General Association of German Workers, emigrated to the USA (1864), a founder of the General Association of German Workers in New York, member of the International after his return to Germany, delegate to the Geneva Congress (1866).—420-21, 456, 465

*Moll, Joseph* (1813-1849)—German watch-maker, a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, was killed in the battle of the Murg.—456, 465

*Mollin, Gabriel*—French gilder, member of the International, delegate to the Basle Congress (1869).—459

*Monroe*—physician, Scottish by birth; Marx's daughter Jenny gave lessons to his children.—171, 300, 357, 423, 429

*Monroe*—wife of Dr Monroe.—171, 300, 327, 330, 357

*Mont(h)eil, Amans Alexis* (1769-1850)—French historian.—423, 429

*Montijo*—see *Eugénie Marie Ignace Augustine de Montijo de Guzmán, comtesse de Teba*

*Moore, George Henry* (1811-1870)—Irish politician and leader of the tenant-right movement, M.P. (1847-

57, 1868-70), defended the imprisoned Irish Fenians.—461

*Moore, Samuel* (1838-1911)—English lawyer, member of the International, translated into English Volume I of Marx's *Capital* (in collaboration with Edward Aveling) and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, friend of Marx and Engels.—53, 80, 84, 91, 92, 96, 113, 143, 152, 177, 210, 230, 234, 242, 245, 249, 254, 277, 291, 292, 298, 300, 348, 357, 367, 375, 378, 418, 426, 461, 481, 502, 503, 507, 525

*Moore, Thomas* (1779-1852)—Irish poet, author of *Irish Melodies* glorifying the struggle of the Irish people for independence.—341

*Morley, John, Viscount* (1838-1923)—English journalist and statesman, Liberal; editor-in-chief of *The Fortnightly Review* (1867-82).—73, 81, 84, 99

*Morley, Samuel* (1809-1886)—English industrialist and politician, Liberal, M.P. (1865, 1868-85), owner of *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* (1869).—334, 336, 376, 497

*Moses*—see *Hess, Moses*

*Mottershead, Thomas* (c. 1825-1884)—English weaver, member of the General Council (1869-72), Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); opposed Marx's line in the General Council and the British Federal Council, expelled from the International by decision of the General Council on 30 May 1873.—386, 392, 459, 497

*Müller, Friedrich Max* (1823-1900)—British philologist specialising in Indian studies; German by birth.—64

*Müllner, Amadeus Gottfried Adolf* (1774-1829)—German writer and literary critic.—231

*Mundella, Anthony John* (1825-1897)—British statesman and manufacturer, M.P. (from 1868), held several ministerial posts.—393

*Murat, André Pierre* (1833-1893)—French mechanic, Proudhonist, member of the Paris Section of the International, delegate to several International's congresses, prosecuted at the first (1868) and third (1870) trials against the International in Paris.—294

*Murphy* (called *O'Leary*)—Irish Fenian, was arrested for agitation among the royal army soldiers in Ireland in 1864, sentenced to ten years' penal servitude.—165

N

*Nagle*.—57

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—325, 391, 423, 463

*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—Napoleon I's nephew, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—36, 60, 100, 104-05, 108, 115, 119, 164, 174, 188, 243, 253, 317, 325, 327, 369, 388, 391, 395, 407, 409, 422, 425, 484, 495-97, 500, 506, 508, 523, 553, 558, 559, 563

*Nechayev, Sergei Gennadievich* (1847-1882)—Russian revolutionary, conspirator, intriguer and troublemaker, took part in the student movement in St. Petersburg (1868-69), founded a secret society, Narodnaya Rasprava (People's Judgment) (1869); in 1872 was extradited by the Swiss authorities to the Russian government; died in Peter and Paul Fortress, St. Petersburg.—519, 521, 530, 533

*Nefftzer, Auguste* (1820-1876)—French journalist, contributor to *La Presse*, editor-in-chief of *Le Temps*.—526

*Neumayr, Ludwig*—Austrian Social-Democrat, journalist, member of the International, delegate to the Basle Congress (1869), editor of the *Wiener-Neustädter Wochenblatt*.—350

*Newton, Sir Isaac* (1642-1727)—English physicist, astronomer and mathematician, founder of classical mechanics.—246

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—436

*Niebuhr, Barthold Georg* (1776-1831)—German historian, author of a number of works on the history of antiquity.—42

*Niebuhr, Carsten* (1733-1815)—Danish traveller and orientalist; Barthold Georg Niebuhr's father.—42

*Noir, Victor* (1848-1870)—French journalist, republican, contributed to *La Marseillaise*; murdered by Prince Pierre Bonaparte on 10 January 1870.—419, 423, 553

O

*Oberwinder, Heinrich* (1846-1914)—prominent figure in the Austrian working-class movement, journalist, Lassallean in the early 1860s, later sided with Eisenachers, delegate to the Basle Congress of the International (1869), editor of the *Volksstimme* and *Volkswille*, withdrew from the working-class movement in the late 1870s.—229, 233, 234, 238, 254

*Oborski, Ludwik* (1787-1873)—Polish colonel; took part in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31; emigrated to London, member of the Fraternal Democrats Society; commanded a division in the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army (1849); member of the General Council of the International (1865-67), President of the Central London Section of the United Polish Exiles.—495

*O'Brien, James* (literary pseudonym *Bronterre*) (1802-1864)—British journalist, Chartist leader, editor of *The Poor Man's Guardian* (1830s); author of several social reform projects, founder of the National Reform League (1849).—334, 376

*O'Connell, Daniel* (1775-1847)—Irish lawyer and politician, leader of the liberal wing in the national liberation movement.—399

*O'Connell, Morgan* (1804-1885)—Irish politician, opposed abolition of the Anglo-Irish Union (1801), Daniel O'Connell's son.—394

*O'Connor, Arthur* (1763-1852)—a prominent figure in the Irish national liberation movement; a leader of the United Irishmen Society and editor-in-chief of its organ, *The Press* (1797-98); arrested on the eve of the 1798 uprising; emigrated to France in 1803.—368

*O'Conor, Charles* (1764-1828)—Irish priest and collector of antiquities, translator and editor of Irish chronicles.—516, 517

*Odger, George* (1820-1877)—a leader of the British trade unions, shoemaker, Secretary of the London Trades Council (1862-72), member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland, the Land and Labour League; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held at St. Martin's Hall (28 September 1864); member of the General Council of the International (1864-71) and its President (1864-67), took part in the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; opposed revolutionary tactics.—3, 43, 114, 128, 198, 251, 253, 386-88, 392, 395, 404, 437, 445, 497

*O'Donnells, the*—ancient Irish aristocratic family.—483

*O'Donovan, John* (1809-1861)—Irish philologist and historian, member of the government commission on the translation and publication of ancient Irish laws (from 1852).—517, 518

*O'Donovan Rossa, Jeremiah* (1831-1915)—a leader of the Fenian movement, publisher of *The Irish People*

(1863-65), was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1865, amnestied in 1870, emigrated to the USA where he headed the Fenian organisation; retired from political life in the 1880s.—162, 373, 386, 389, 391, 429, 445, 451, 454, 455, 457, 458, 476, 518, 530, 532, 548-49, 562, 563

*O'Donovan Rossa, Mary J.*—Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa's wife; organised collection of funds for the families of the Irish political prisoners in 1865-66; author of an appeal to Irish women published in the *Workman's Advocate* on 6 January 1866 by the General Council's decision.—458

*Offenbach, Jacques* (1819-1880) — French composer.—507

*O'Flaherty, Roderic* (1629-1718)—Irish historian.—516

*Ogarev, Nikolai Platonovich* (1813-1877)—Russian revolutionary, journalist, poet, friend and associate of Alexander Herzen.—516, 518

*Ollivier, Émile* (1825-1913)—French politician and statesman, bourgeois republican, deputy to the Corps législatif (from 1857); was close to the Bonapartists in the late 1860s; head of government (January-August 1870) and Minister of Justice and Cult.—409, 411, 422, 451

*O'Neills, the*—ancient Irish aristocratic family.—483

*Oppenheim, Heinrich Bernhard* (1819-1880)—German democratic politician, economist and journalist; an editor of the Berlin newspaper *Die Reform* (1848); refugee (1849-50), subsequently National Liberal.—85

*Orsini, Cesare*—Italian refugee; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67); spread the International's ideas in the USA; Felice Orsini's brother.—57

*Orsini, Felice* (1819-1858)—Italian democrat, republican, a prominent figure in the struggle for Italy's national liberation and unification, executed for his attempt on the life of Napoleon III.—57, 505

*O'Shea, William Henry* (1840-1905)—Irish public figure, defended the imprisoned Fenians in 1869.—375

*Overend*—a director of an English banking firm, Overend, Gurney and Company.—305, 548

*Owen, Sir Richard* (1804-1892)—English zoologist and paleontologist, was the first to describe archaeopteryx, a primitive reptile-like bird.—162, 509

P

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman, Tory, from 1830 Whig; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-65).—64, 161, 243, 261, 278, 390, 505, 506, 559

*Parker, Sarah*—Frederick Engels' housekeeper.—156, 204

*Parsons, William, 3rd Earl of Rosse* (1800-1867)—British astronomer, published a pamphlet on relationship between landowners and tenants in Ireland (1867).—374

*Peel, Sir Robert* (1788-1850)—British statesman; moderate Tory; Prime Minister (1834-35, 1841-46); repealed the Corn Laws in 1846.—113, 159, 166

*Pelletan, Pierre Clément Eugène* (1813-1884)—French journalist and politician, bourgeois republican, deputy to the Corps législatif; member of the Government of National Defence (1870-71).—232, 546, 553

*Pelletier, Claude* (1816-1881)—French democrat, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848-51); exiled from France after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; emigrated to the USA; the International's

correspondent for the French-language Section in America.—147, 148

*Perret, Henri*—prominent figure in the Swiss working-class movement; engraver, a leader of the International in Switzerland, General Secretary of the Romance Federal Committee (1868-73), member of the *Égalité* editorial board; delegate to the Geneva (1866) and Basle (1869) congresses and to the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; broke with the Bakuninists in 1869, but adopted a conciliatory stand after the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—203, 240, 364, 404, 413, 424, 426, 488

*Perron, Charles Eugène* (1837-1919)—a leader in the Swiss working-class movement; enamel painter, then cartographer; delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and Brussels (1868) congresses of the International; follower of Bakunin; member of the Central Bureau and of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; an editor of *L'Égalité* (1869) and *La Solidarité*; a leader of the Jura Federation; subsequently left the working-class movement.—413

*Persigny, Jean Gilbert Victor Fialin, comte* (1808-1872)—French statesman, Bonapartist, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); an organiser of the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; Minister of the Interior (1852-54, 1860-63), Ambassador to Britain (1855-58, 1859-60).—495

*Petrie, George* (1789-1866)—Irish scholar, archaeologist, member of the Irish Royal Academy; author of works on ancient Irish architecture; member of the government commission on the translation and publication of ancient Irish laws (from 1852).—410

*Petty, Sir William* (1623-1687)—English economist and statistician, founder of the classical school of bourgeois political economy in Britain.—224, 388, 402

*Pfänder, Karl* (1818-1876)—a leader in the German and international working-class movement; artist; refugee in London from 1845, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, of the Central Authority of the Communist League and of the General Council of the International (1864-67 and 1870-72), friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—478, 509

*Philips, August* (d. 1895)—Karl Marx's cousin, lawyer in Amsterdam.—72, 85

*Philips, Karl*—Karl Marx's cousin, merchant in Aachen.—85, 354

*Philipses, the*—Dutch maternal relatives of Karl Marx.—72, 85, 95, 244, 354

*Pietri, Joseph Marie* (1820-1902)—French politician, Bonapartist, Prefect of Police in Paris (1866-70).—504, 508

*Pigott, Richard* (1828-1889)—Irish journalist, publisher of *The Irishman* (1865-79), supported Fenians, sided with the British government in the 1880s.—392-93, 399, 458, 460, 497, 500, 532, 537, 562

*Pigres of Halicarnassus*—according to ancient legend author of *Batrachomyomachia* (*Battle of the Frogs and Mice*).—174

*Pitt, William* (1759-1806)—British statesman, a Tory leader, Prime Minister (1783-1801, 1804-06).—398

*Planck, Gottlieb* (1824-1910)—German lawyer and politician, National Liberal, member of the North German Reichstag and the Prussian Chamber of Deputies from 1867.—242, 250

*Plon-Plon*—see *Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul*

*Polyakov, Nikolai Petrovich* (c. 1843-1905)—Russian democratic publisher, printed books mainly on social

questions, was close to Narodniks, published the first Russian edition of Volume I of Marx's *Capital* (1872).—130, 429

*Pollock, George D.*—British army doctor; member of the commission, which in 1867 submitted to Parliament a report on treatment of political prisoners in English convict prisons.—224, 457, 459

*Potter, George* (1832-1893)—a reformist leader of the British trade unions, carpenter, member of the London Trades Council and a leader of the Amalgamated Union of Building Workers; founder, editor and publisher of *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*.—3, 114, 375, 377, 395

*Prendergast, John Patrick* (1808-1893)—Irish historian, Liberal, author of works on the history of Ireland.—374, 388, 401, 403, 409, 415

*Prévost-Paradol, Lucien Anatole* (1829-1870)—French journalist and liberal politician.—388, 409

*Probert, William* (1790-1870)—British clergyman, specialist on ancient Welsh laws and customs.—515

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist; a founder of anarchism.—101, 130, 225, 260, 383, 429

*Prudhomme* (b. 1843)—member of the International, its correspondent in Bordeaux (France).—557

*Pyat, Félix* (1810-1889)—French journalist, playwright and politician, democrat; took part in the 1848 revolution; emigrated to Switzerland in 1849 and later to Belgium and England; opposed independent working-class movement; conducted a slander campaign against Marx and the First International; member of the Paris Commune (1871).—43, 63, 64, 75, 78, 91, 143, 155, 159, 174, 272

Q

*Queen Annabella*—see *Annabella Drummond of Stobhall*

*Quételet, Lambert Adolphe Jacques* (1796-1874)—Belgian scientist, statistician, mathematician and astronomer.—232

*Quo-Quo*—see *Marx, Eleanor*

R

*Racowiţa, Janko von* (d. 1865)—Romanian nobleman; mortally wounded Lassalle in a duel (1864).—88

*Ramsay, Sir Andrew Crombie* (1814-1891)—British geologist, professor in London, conducted geological explorations in England and Wales (from 1862).—291

*Ranc, Arthur* (1831-1908)—French politician and journalist, moderate republican.—361, 486

*Randall, G. W.*—participant in the American working-class movement, secretary of the workers' society in Boston (USA), member of the International.—98

*Rasch, Gustav* (1825-1878)—German democrat, journalist and lawyer; took part in the 1848 revolution in Berlin, after the defeat of the revolution, refugee in Switzerland and France.—4

*Raspail, François Vincent* (1794-1878)—French naturalist and writer; socialist, sympathised with the revolutionary proletariat; took part in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; after the revolution of 1848 was imprisoned, then lived in exile in Belgium; returned to France in 1863; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1869).—316, 317, 369, 553

*Real, W.*—78

*Reclus, Jean Jacques Élisée* (1830-1905)—French geographer, sociologist and politician, theorist of anarchism; member of the International, editor of *La Cooperation* (1866-68),

participant in the Paris Commune (1871).—9, 28, 79, 377, 378

*Reich, Eduard* (1836-1919)—German physician, author of works on public hygiene and sanitation.—391

*Rémy, Theodor*—Swiss teacher, Secretary of the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections in Geneva; follower of Bakunin; member of the Geneva Section of the International named Alliance of Socialist Democracy and of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—332

*Reuter, Paul Julius, Baron von* (1816-1899)—German-born founder of the British news agency.—505

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—English economist.—69, 224, 263, 378-81, 383, 385

*Richard, Albert* (1846-1918)—French journalist, a founder of the Lyons Section of the International, follower of Bakunin, member of the secret Alliance of Socialist Democracy; took part in the Lyons uprising in September 1870.—414, 437, 492

*Richelieu, Armand Jean du Plessis, duc de* (1585-1642)—French statesman; Cardinal; Chief Minister to Louis XIII.—344

*Ris, F.*—194

*Rissé, Joseph* (b. 1843)—singer in Hanover, composed and published a collection of Irish folk songs (1870).—532, 562, 563

*Rittinghausen, Moritz* (1814-1890)—German democratic journalist, contributed to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); member of the Cologne Democratic Society, of the International, later (till 1884) of the German Social-Democratic Party.—352

*Robert III* (c. 1340-1406)—King of Scotland (1390-1406).—226

*Robert, Fritz* (1845-1899)—Swiss teacher, Bakuninist, delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International, editor of *La Solidarité*.—488

*Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de* (1758-1794)—Jacobin leader in the French Revolution, head of the revolutionary government (1793-94).—259, 260

*Robin, Paul* (1837-1912)—French teacher, Bakuninist, a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (from 1869), member of the General Council (1870-71), delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) and the London Conference (1871) of the International.—413, 489, 492, 506

*Rochefort, Henri, marquis de Rochefort-Luçay* (c. 1831-1913)—French journalist and politician, Left-wing republican; publisher of the journal *La Lanterne* (1868-69) and the newspaper *La Marseillaise* (1869-70); after the revolution of 4 September 1870, a member of the Government of National Defence; monarchist from the end of the 1880s.—199, 422, 427, 445, 451, 553

*Roesgen, Charles*—employee of the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—80, 84, 119, 238, 302, 325, 333, 349, 469, 533

*Roesgen von Floss, Philipp von*—Dutch journalist, member of the working-class movement, mechanical engineer.—463, 464, 468, 469

*Rogeard, Auguste Louis* (1820-1896)—French democratic journalist, a founder and editor of *La Rive gauche* (1864); in 1865, persecuted for an anti-Bonapartist pamphlet, emigrated to Belgium and then to Germany; a leader of the Paris Commune (1871).—507

*Roon, Albrecht Theodor Emil, Count von* (1803-1879)—Prussian statesman and military leader; field marshal-general from 1873, War Minister (1859-73) and Naval Minister (1861-71); carried out reorganisation of the Prussian army.—376

*Rösing, Johannes* (b. 1791)—Bremen merchant, leader of the Democratic Society in Bremen from 1848.—295

*Rosse, 3rd Earl of*—see *Parsons, William, 3rd Earl of Rosse*

*Rothesay, Duke of*—see *Stewart, David, Duke of Rothesay*

*Rothschild, Karl, Baron von* (1820-1886)—head of the Rothschild banking house in Frankfurt am Main, member of the Customs Parliament, deputy to the North German and later German Reichstags.—20

*Rothschild, Lionel Nathan, Baron* (1808-1879)—head of the Rothschild banking house in London; Whig, M.P. from 1858; finance agent of the Russian government for twenty years.—438

*Rotteck, Karl Wenzeslaus Rodecker von* (1775-1840)—German historian and liberal politician.—511

*Royer, Clémence Auguste* (1830-1902)—French writer, author of works on philosophy and political economy.—217

*Rückert, Friedrich* (1788-1866)—German romantic poet and translator of oriental poetry.—196

*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical journalist, Young Hegelian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in Britain (the 1850s); National Liberal after 1866.—64, 123, 213, 354, 417, 495, 542-43

*Rüstow, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1821-1878)—German officer and military writer, democrat; refugee in Switzerland; Chief of Garibaldi's staff in 1860; Lassalle's friend.—88

S

*Sadler, Michael Thomas* (1780-1835)—English economist and politician, philanthropist, sided with the Tory party.—362

*Saint-Clair, S. G. B.*—an author of the book *A Residence in Bulgaria: or Notes on the Resources and Administration of Turkey* published in London in 1869.—345

*Saint-Paul, Wilhelm* (c. 1815-1852)—Prussian army officer, then an official in the Ministry of the Interior; censor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in 1843.—76

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—490

*Samelson, Adolf* (1817-1888)—German oculist, liberal, refugee in Manchester from 1857, member of the Schiller Institute's board.—541

*Sawaszkiewicz, Leopold*—Polish refugee, member of the Permanent Committee of the London section of Polish democrats in the early 1850s.—438

*Schack, Adolf Friedrich, Count von* (1815-1894)—German writer, historian of literature and art, orientalist, translator of the Arab classics.—336

*Schapper*—Karl Schapper's wife.—496

*Schapper, Karl* (1812-1870)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; a leader of the separatist group during the split of the Communist League (1850); again drew close to Marx in 1856; member of the Central Council of the International (1865), participant in the London Conference of 1865.—456, 478, 487, 488, 496, 499, 501-03, 507, 509

*Schédo-Ferroti, D. K.* (real name *Firks, Fyodor Ivanovich*), *Baron* (1812-1872)—Russian liberal journalist, author of works on agrarian question in Russia.—154, 434

*Schily, Victor* (1810-1875)—German lawyer, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849);

then emigrated to France, member of the International.—9, 25, 28, 138, 178, 179, 218, 316, 359, 443

*Schlöffel, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1800-1870)—Silesian manufacturer, democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—110

*Schmalz, Theodor Anton Heinrich* (1760-1831)—German lawyer and economist.—66

*Schnake (Schnaake), Friedrich* (b. 1822)—German journalist, a 'true socialist' (the mid-1840s), took part in the 1848-49 revolution.—54, 56, 70

*Schneider, Eugène* (1805-1875)—French industrialist, owner of iron and steel plants in Creuzot.—554

*Schneider II, Karl*—German lawyer, democrat; participant in the 1848-49 revolution, counsel for the defence of Marx and Engels at the trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on 7 February 1849; counsel for the defence at Cologne Communist trial (1852).—267

*Schorlemmer, Carl* (1834-1892)—German organic chemist, professor in Manchester, member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party; friend of Marx and Engels.—3, 12, 33, 35-37, 57, 92, 118, 143, 239, 243, 249, 277, 291, 296, 312, 349, 375, 378, 426, 460, 487, 502, 507, 525

*Schramm, Conrad* (c. 1822-1858)—German revolutionary, member of the Communist League, emigrated to London in 1849; responsible editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*; sided with Marx's supporters during the split of the Communist League; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—35

*Schtal, Theodor.*—55

*Schulze, Franz Eilhard*—Hegelian.—482

*Schulze-Delitzsch, Franz Hermann* (1808-1883)—German economist; liberal politician, advocated unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy; a founder of the National Association and leader of the Party of Progress; sought to divert the workers from revolutionary struggle by organising co-operative societies.—116, 133, 276, 459

*Schunk*—co-owner of a trade firm in Manchester.—321

*Schütz, Jakob Friedrich* (1813-1877)—German democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, representative of the Baden Provisional Government in Paris; later a refugee in England, Switzerland and the USA.—425

*Schweitzer, Johann Baptist von* (1833-1875)—German lawyer, a Lassallean leader, editor of *Der Social-Demokrat* (1864-67); President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71); supported unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy; opposed the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; expelled from the General Association for his contacts with the Prussian authorities.—8, 11, 26, 28, 30, 38, 58, 69, 73-76, 88-90, 105, 107-12, 115-18, 120, 125-28, 131-36, 138, 140, 142, 166, 172, 175, 176, 230, 231, 234, 249, 253-57, 259, 262, 264, 268, 274, 276, 289, 296, 299, 304, 306, 307, 313, 326-28, 330, 331, 339, 364, 367, 369, 382, 404, 405, 408, 417, 418, 428, 479, 511, 520, 544

*Schyler.*—87, 88

*Seiler.*—291

*Seiler, Sebastian* (c. 1810-c. 1890)—German journalist, member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee (1846), member of the Communist League, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, later refugee in London and the USA.—88

*Senior, Edward*—Nassau William Senior's brother.—484

*Senior, Nassau William* (1790-1864)—English economist, vulgarised Ricardo's theory, opposed shortening the working day.—331, 357, 484

*Serno-Solovyevich, Alexander Alexandrovich* (1838-1869)—Russian revolutionary of the early 1860s, refugee from 1862, member of the Geneva Section of the International (from 1867).—172, 177, 186, 189, 202, 363, 376

*Serraillier, Auguste* (b. 1840)—a prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement, shoemaker, member of the General Council of the International (1869-72); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1870) and France (1871-72); member of the Paris Commune (1871), delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress of the International (1872); supporter of Marx.—430, 529, 533, 535

*Seume, Johann Gottfried* (1763-1810)—German writer and poet.—7, 9

*Seward, William Henry* (1801-1872)—American politician and statesman; a leader of the Right wing of the Republican Party, US State Secretary (1861-69).—195

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English playwright and poet.—216, 466, 507, 541, 545

*Shaw, Robert* (d. 1869)—a leader of the British working-class movement, house-painter, attended the inaugural meeting of the International held at St. Martin's Hall (28 September 1864), member of the General Council of the International (1864-69), Treasurer of the Council (1867-68), Corresponding Secretary for America (1867-69), delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Brussels Congress (1868) of the International.—96, 406

*Shee*—partner of a German publisher in Brussels, Carl Georg Vogler, and owner of a bookshop.—138

*Siebel, Carl* (1836-1868)—German poet, helped to propagate works by Marx and Engels, including Volume I of *Capital*; a distant relative of Engels.—5, 8, 28, 34, 35, 74

*Simon, Jules François Simon Suisse* (1814-1896)—French statesman and idealist philosopher, moderate republican, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49), member of the Corps législatif.—232, 546

*Slack*—London correspondent of *The New-York Daily Tribune*.—544

*Slade, Sir Adolphus* (1804-1877)—English naval officer, later admiral, served in Turkey (1849-66).—139

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—25, 39, 45, 46, 67

*Smith, Goldwin* (1823-1910)—British historian, economist and journalist, Liberal, supported England's colonial policy in Ireland, moved to the USA (1868) and then to Canada (1871).—374, 388

*Sonnemann, Leopold* (1831-1909)—German politician and journalist, a founder of the National Association (1859); in the 1860s took the stand of South German Federalists; supported working-class movement.—102, 479

*Sorge, Friedrich Adolf* (1828-1906)—prominent figure in the international and American working-class and socialist movement, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA (1852), organised the International's sections there, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), General Secretary of the General Council in New York (1872-74), active propagandist of Marxism, friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—58, 59, 97, 149, 471-72

*Spencer, Herbert* (1820-1903)—British positivist philosopher and sociologist.—38

*Speyer, Carl* (b. 1845)—carpenter, Secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society in London in the 1860s, member of the International and its General Council (from 1870)

in London and then in the USA.—166

*Spier, Samuel* (1838-1903)—German Social-Democrat, teacher; member of the General Association of German Workers (from 1867) and the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from 1869), member of the Brunswick Section of the International, delegate to the Basle Congress (1869).—358

*Spinoza (Baruch* or *Benedictus) de* (1632-1677)—Dutch philosopher.—528

*Spurgeon, Charles Haddon* (1834-1892)—well-known English Baptist preacher.—541

*Steinthal*—clergyman in Manchester, Unitarian, an acquaintance of Engels.—118

*Steinthal*—owner of the Manchester trading firm where Georg Weerth worked from 1852 to 1856.—118, 542-43

*Steinthal*—wife of the above.—543

*Stepney, Cowell William Frederick* (1820-1872)—active participant in the British working-class movement, member of the Reform League, member of the General Council of the International (1866-72), and its Treasurer (1868-70), delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and to the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council.—95, 160, 213, 217, 220, 412, 424, 430, 472-73

*Stern, Daniel* (real name *Flavigny de, Marie, comtesse d'Agoult*) (1805-1876)—French authoress and journalist.—217

*Sterne, Laurence* (1713-1768)—English writer.—297

*Steuart, Sir James*, afterwards *Denham* (1712-1780)—British economist, one of the last Mercantilists.—39

*Stewart, David, Duke of Rothesay* (c. 1378-1402)—son of King Robert III of Scotland, Lieutenant of Scotland (1399-1402).—226

*Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882)—Prussian police officer, chief of the Prussian political police (1850-60), organised the prosecution in the Cologne Communist trial (1852) and acted as main witness, chief of military police during the Austro-Prussian (1866) and Franco-Prussian (1870-71) wars.—36, 221, 266, 268, 276, 307, 461, 525

*Stirling, James Hutchinson* (1820-1909)—Scottish philosopher, propagated Hegel's philosophy in England.—39, 481

*Strohn, Eugen* (d. 1868)—Wilhelm Strohn's brother.—190, 191

*Strohn, Wilhelm*—member of the Communist League, a friend of Marx and Engels, refugee in Bradford.—109, 112, 142, 147, 213, 256, 403, 454

*Strousberg, Bethel Henry* (1823-1884)—big German railway contractor and industrialist.—352

*Struve, Gustav von* (1805-1870)—German democratic journalist, a key figure in the Baden uprisings in April and September 1848 and the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in England, took part in the US Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Northerners.—4, 110, 175

*Stumpf, Paul* (c. 1826-1913)—participant in the German working-class movement, mechanic; member of the German Workers' Society in Brussels (1847), of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, member of the International, delegate to the Lausanne Congress of the International (1867), member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party in Germany.—354

*Sulla (Lucius Cornelius Sulla)* (138-78 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman, Consul (88 B.C.), dictator (82-79 B.C.).—35

*Swift, Jonathan* (1667-1745)—Irish satirist.—512, 513

*Sybel, Heinrich von* (1817-1895)—German historian and politician, National Liberal from 1867.—432, 437, 442

*Sylvis, William* (1828-1869)—a member of the American working-class movement, a founder of the International Ironmoulders' Union (1859), its President (1863-69), took part in the US Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Northerners, a founder of the National Labour Union of the United States (1866) and its President (1868-69), favoured affiliation to the International.—58, 351

T

*Taine, Hippolite Adolphe* (1828-1893)—French philosopher, specialist in aesthetics, writer, historian; moderate liberal till the 1870s.—9

*Talandier, Pierre Théodore Alfred* (1822-1890)—French democratic journalist, took part in the 1848 revolution in France; emigrated to London after the coup d'état of 1851, member of the General Council of the International (1864).—445, 459, 476, 497

*Tenge, Therese* (née *Bolongaro-Crevenna*) (born c. 1833)—wife of Westphalian landowner in Tenge-Ritberg; Hanover acquaintance of Kugelmann's family.—233

*Tennyson, Alfred, 1st Baron* (1809-1892)—English poet.—275

*Ténot, Pierre Paul Eugène* (1839-1890)—French journalist, republican.—157, 168, 178, 188, 191, 195, 205, 232, 244

*Terence* (*Publius Terentius Afer*) (c. 190-159 B.C.)—Roman playwright.—174, 268

*Thesmar.*—267

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836, 1840); deputy to the Constituent (1848) and Legislative (1849-51) Assemblies, head of the Orleanists after 1848; suppressed the Paris Commune (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73).—232

*Thiou, Eugène*—Committee's member of the French Section in London, which was expelled from the International in 1868.—143

*Tholuck, Friedrich August Gottreu* (1799-1877)—German Protestant theologian, Pietist.—196

*Thompson, John* (1802-1891)—American publisher and banker.—438

*Thornton, William Thomas* (1813-1880)—British economist, follower of John Stuart Mill.—158, 264, 293

*Tibaldi, Paolo* (1825-1901)—Italian revolutionary, Garibaldian and Communard (1871).—497

*Tolain, Henri Louis* (1828-1897)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; engraver; Proudhonist; a leader of the Paris Section of the International; delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; went over to the side of the Versaillese during the Paris Commune, was expelled from the International in 1871; subsequently a senator.—95, 102, 556

*Tone, Theobald Wolfe* (1763-1798)—Irish revolutionary, democrat, leader of the United Irishmen society, an organiser of the 1798 uprising in Ireland.—374

*Tooke, Thomas* (1774-1858)—English economist, adherent of the classical school in political economy.—39

*Trautchen*—see *Kugelmann, Gertrud*

*Trench, William Steuart* (1808-1872)—Irish land agent, author of books on agriculture.—356, 357, 456

*Tridon, Edme Marie Gustave* (1841-1871)—French politician and journalist, Blanquist, member of the International, deputy to the National Assembly (1871), Communard (1871), emigrated to Belgium after the defeat of the Commune.—175, 225, 233, 308

*Turgot, Anne Robert Jacques, baron de l'Aulne* (1727-1781)—French economist and statesman, Physiocrat, Controller-General of Finance (1774-76).—39

*Tussy*—see *Marx, Eleanor*

U

*Ulricks, Karl Heinrich*—German lawyer.—295, 403

*Urquhart, David* (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician, Turkophile; went on diplomatic missions to Turkey in the 1830s; Tory M. P. (1847-52), founder and editor of *The Free Press* (1855-65) and *The Diplomatic Review* (1866-77).—31, 159, 165, 261, 275, 278, 345, 433

*Utin* (*Utine, Outine*), *Nikolai Isaakovich* (1841-1883)—Russian revolutionary, took part in the student movement; in 1863 emigrated to England and then to Switzerland, an organiser of the Russian Section of the International, member of the *Narodnoye Dyelo* editorial board (1868-70), an editor of *L'Égalité* (1870-71), opposed Bakunin and his supporters, delegate to the London Conference of the International (1871), withdrew from the revolutionary movement in the mid-1870s.—480, 493, 499

V

*Vallancey, Charles* (1721-1812)—Irish historian, published documents on the history of ancient Ireland.—518

*Vámbéry, Ármin* (1832-1913)—Hungarian orientalist and traveller; travelled in Central Asia in the early 1860s; author of works on the history and culture of the Middle East and Central Asia.—373

*Vandenhouten, Alphonse*—prominent in the Belgian working-class movement, house-painter, a founder of the Belgian Section of the International (1865), member of the Belgian Federal Council of the International, secretary for maintaining contacts with abroad and correspondent from several towns in Charleroi coal basin.—43, 272

*Varlin, Louis Eugène* (1839-1871)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, bookbinder, Left-wing Proudhonist; one of the International's leaders in France, delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Geneva (1866) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International, Communard; shot by the Versaillese at the end of May 1871.—294, 556

*Vauban, Sébastien le Prestre de* (1633-1707)—French marshal, military engineer, criticised French system of taxation.—429

*Venedey, Jakob* (1805-1871)—German radical journalist and politician; liberal after the 1848-49 revolution.—19, 34, 367

*Verlet, Henri* (real name *Place*)—French journalist, Blanquist, member of the International.—485, 556

*Vermorel, Auguste Jean Marie* (1841-1871)—French journalist, Proudhonist, editor of *Le Courrier français* (1866-67), Communard (1871).—216, 233, 244, 553

*Vésinier, Pierre* (1824-1902)—French journalist, anti-Bonapartist, an organiser of the French Section of the International in London, delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Brussels Congress (1868), was expelled from the Central Council of the International for conducting a slanderous campaign against it in

1866 and from the International in 1868; Communard (1871).—43, 45, 60, 78, 91, 102, 174, 218

*Victoria* (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901).—367, 368

*Vidal.*—203

*Vieweg, F.*—Paris publisher.—138, 141, 150, 217

*Villemessant, Jean Hippolyte Auguste Cartier de* (1812-1879)—French journalist, monarchist, publisher of *Le Figaro* (1854), flirted with Bonapartists during the Second Empire.—553, 557

*Virchow, Rudolf* (1821-1902)—German naturalist and politician, founder of cellular pathology, opponent of Darwinism; a founder and leader of the Party of Progress.—12, 13

*Vivanti, Anne*—London acquaintance of Marx's daughter Jenny.—466

*Vivenot, Alfred von* (1836-1874)—Austrian historian, author of works on the history and foreign policy of Austria.—442

*Vogler, Carl Georg* (born c. 1820)—German publisher and bookseller in Brussels.—137, 217

*Vogt, August* (c. 1830-c. 1883)—prominent in the German and American working-class movement; shoemaker; member of the Communist League, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; opposed Lassallean leaders of the General Association of German Workers, member of the International; emigrated to the USA in 1867, member of the New York Communist Club and an organiser of the International's sections in the USA; Corresponding Secretary of the General Council (1868-69); supporter of Marx and Engels.—97, 98, 147-49, 184, 471-76

*Vogt, Gustav* (1829-1901)—Swiss lawyer, German by birth, pacifist, an organiser of the League of Peace and Freedom; editor of *Les États-Unis d'Europe* (1867-70); Karl Vogt's brother.—161

*Vogt, Karl* (1817-1895)—German naturalist, vulgar materialist, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Wing) in 1848-49; one of the five imperial regents (June 1849); emigrated in 1849; later received subsidies from Napoleon III; slandered Marx and Engels.—11, 100, 103, 106, 113, 118, 119, 142, 159, 173, 179, 185, 189, 208, 210, 231, 248, 250, 353, 434

*Voltaire* (pen name of *François Marie Arouet*) (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—131

W

*Wachsmuth, Ernst Wilhelm Gottlieb* (1784-1866)—German historian, professor in Leipzig, author of works on antiquity and history of Europe.—515, 516

*Waehry, Pierre*—journeyman tailor, member of the *Égalité* editorial board, opposed Bakuninists.—413

*Wagener, Hermann* (1815-1889)—German conservative journalist and politician, editor of the *Neue Preußische Zeitung* (1848-54); Privy Counsellor of Bismarck's government (1866-73); champion of Prussian 'state socialism'.—255, 343

*Wagner, Adolph* (1835-1917)—German economist, armchair socialist.—527

*Wakefield, Edward* (1774-1854)—English statistician and agronomist.—361, 362, 367, 374, 387, 388, 442, 477, 483

*Walesrode, Ludwig Reinhold* (pseudonym *Emil Wagner*) (1810-1889)—German democratic journalist, published almanac *Demokratische Studien* (1860-61).—373

*Ward, James Clifton* (1843-1880)—English geologist, conducted geologi-

cal explorations in Yorkshire (1865-69).—292

*Ware, Sir James* (1594-1666)—Irish historian and statesman, Auditor-General of Ireland (1632-49, 1660-66); author of works on the history of Ireland.—516, 517

*Waterlow, Sydney Hudley* (1822-1906)—British Liberal politician.—437

*Watts, John* (1818-1887)—English journalist, utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen; later Liberal.—182, 275

*Weber, Josef Valentin* (1814-1895)—German watch-maker, took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden (1848); in 1849 emigrated to Switzerland and then to London; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.—151, 155, 159, 174

*Weber, Wilhelm*—German watch-maker; Lassallean; refugee in New York (after 1864); President of the General Association of German Workers in New York (1866); Josef Valentin Weber's son.—522

*Weerth, Georg* (1822-1856)—German proletarian poet and journalist, member of the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); friend of Marx and Engels.—35, 118, 389, 502, 547

*Wehner, J. G.*—German refugee in Manchester, Treasurer of the Schiller Institute in the 1860s; an acquaintance of Engels.—221

*Weiß, Guido* (1822-1899)—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; belonged to the Party of Progress (Left wing) in the 1860s; editor of the *Berliner Reform* (1863-66) and *Die Zukunft* (1867-71).—333, 369, 428, 479

*Welcker, Karl Theodor* (1790-1869)—German lawyer, liberal writer.—511

*Werner, Ernst*—bookbinder in Leipzig, participant in the German working-class movement.—350

*Werner, Johann Peter*—German lawyer, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848), belonged to the Left Centre.—253

*West, Charles* (1816-1898)—English physician, specialised in pediatrics.—353, 355

*Westbury*—see *Bethell, Richard, 1st Lord Westbury*

*Weston, John*—prominent figure in the British working-class movement; carpenter, subsequently manufacturer; Owenite; attended the inaugural meeting of the International held at St. Martin's Hall (28 September 1864), member of the General Council of the International (1864-72); delegate to the London Conference (1865); member of the British Federal Council and of the Executive Committee of the Reform League, a leader of the Land and Labour League.—245, 376, 386

*Weydemeyer, Joseph* (1818-1866)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; editor of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* (1849-50); emigrated to the USA after the defeat of the revolution, took part in the US Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Northerners; helped to propagate ideas and documents of the International in the USA; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—35, 97, 142, 502

*Whaley, J. C.*—prominent figure in the American working-class movement, President of the National Labour Union (1867).—58

*Wigand, Otto* (1795-1870)—German publisher and bookseller, owner of a firm in Leipzig which printed works by radical writers.—276, 297

*William I* (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, Prince Regent (1858-61), King of Prussia (1861-88) and Em-

peror of Germany (1871-88).—19, 104

*Williams, J.*—see *Marx Jenny*

*Willich, August* (1810-1878)—Prussian officer, resigned from the army on account of his political views; member of the Communist League, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; a leader of the separatist group that split away from the Communist League in 1850; emigrated to the USA in 1853, took part in the US Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Northerners.—495

*Wilhelm, Wilhelmchen*—see *Liebknecht Wilhelm*

*Winterbottom.*—150

*Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus)* (1809-1864)—German teacher, proletarian revolutionary; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; took an active part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to Switzerland in the summer of 1849 and later to England; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—34, 35, 77, 210, 211, 312, 502

Y

*Yor(c)k, Theodor* (1830-1875)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement, carpenter, Lassallean; in 1869 left the General Association of German Workers and helped to organise the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, its Secretary in 1871-74.—242, 250

*Young, Arthur* (1741-1820)—English economist and writer on agriculture, supporter of the quantity theory of money.—361, 362, 388

Z

*Zabicki, Antoni* (c. 1810-1871)—a leader of the Polish national liberation movement; compositor; left Poland after 1831; participant in the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49; from 1851 a refugee in England; from 1863 published *Głos Wolny*—newspaper of the Polish democratic refugees; Secretary of the Polish National Committee; member of the General Council of the International (1866-71); Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1866-71).—347, 350

*Zhukovski, Nikolai Ivanovich* (1833-1895)—Russian anarchist, a refugee in Switzerland from 1862; member of the committee of the League of Peace and Freedom; a leader of the secret Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—193

*Zitschke*—one of Marx's creditors in London.—285

*Zweiffel*—Prussian official, Chief Public Prosecutor at Cologne; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—124

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*Caliban*—character in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*; half-man, half-monster.—10

*Clare Vair de Vair*—title character in Alfred Tennyson's poem; a heartless and arrogant aristocrat.—275

*Crispinus*—character in Juvenal's Satire 4.—228

*Eve* (Bib.).—379, 382

*Excelsior*—title character in Longfellow's poem.—275

*Falstaff, Sir John*—character in Shakespeare's tragedy *King Henry IV* and his comedy *The Merry Wives of Windsor*; a fat, sly braggart and jester.—216, 507

*Holt, Felix*—character in George Eliot's novel *Felix Holt, the Radical.*—292, 423

*Gaudissart*—character of Balsac's *L'illustre Gaudissart*; successful travelling salesman.—85, 106, 108, 120, 121, 126, 219, 275, 363, 427, 430, 436, 441, 531

*Gudrun* (*Kudrun*)—heroine of German epic and German medieval poem *Gudrun* (13th cent.).—295

*Heineke*—title character in a German folk song, parody on the so-called grobian literature (16th cent.). Heinzen's nickname.—522

*Helen* (Gr. Myth.)—daughter of Zeus and Leda, famous for her beauty.—88

*Jacob* (Bib.)—traditional ancestor of the people of Israel.—86

*John Bull*—title character in John Arbuthnot's political satire *The History of John Bull* (1712); the name is used to personify England and Englishmen—217, 225, 373, 392, 398, 429, 547, 562

*Joseph* (Bib.)—son of Jacob, sold by his brothers as a slave in Egypt where he became the Pharaoh's favourite because of his wisdom and beauty; his whole family moved to Egypt.—86

*Kobes I*—title character of a satirical poem by Heine, a philistine; also nickname of Jakob Venedey (Kobes means Jakob in a dialect spoken in Cologne where Venedey was born).—34

*Mentor*—character in *Odyssey*, adviser of Telemachus, Odysseus' son; an experienced and prudent adviser.—112

*Neptune* (*Neptunus*) (Rom. Myth.)—god of the sea.—512

*Oerindur*—character in A.G.A. Müllner's drama *Die Schuld.*—231

*Pater José* (*Frater José*)—a character in Heine's satirical poem *Disputation*; a fanatical Christian monk.—249

*Rabbi Juda*—a character in Heine's satirical poem *Disputation*; a fanatical rabbi.—249

*Rameau*—character in Diderot's *Le Neveu de Rameau.*—263, 265

*Robinson Crusoe*—title character of Daniel Defoe's novel (1719). The name was later used to denote an individual isolated from society.—379

*Sigurd*—hero of the Scandinavian epic *Edda, Völsunga Saga;* brave, mighty and noble warrior.—295

*Venus* (Rom. Myth.)—goddess of love and beauty.—512

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—Les Massacres en Belgique. Manifeste du Conseil Général de Londres. A tous les membres de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. In: *L'Internationale,* No. 18, 15 mai 1869.—275, 279
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*Allgemeine Zeitung*—a German conservative daily founded in 1798; published in Augsburg from 1810 to 1882.—61, 121, 228-29, 238, 373, 444

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*Le Charivari*—a French republican satirical paper published in Paris from 1832 to 1934; ridiculed the régime of the July monarchy and in 1848 supported Cavaignac's dictatorship.—63

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*La Cloche*—an organ of the liberal-republican opposition; a weekly from August 1868 to December 1869, a daily from December 1869 to 1872; appeared in Paris, criticised the Second Empire, in 1871 supported the Versaillese.—199-201, 254, 426, 468, 492, 553

*Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*—a radical periodical published in London from 1802 to 1835 under different titles.—368, 429

*The Commonwealth*—a weekly of the Central, and from late 1866 General, Council of the International published in London from February 1866 to July 1867 as the successor of *The Workman's Advocate*; Marx was on the board of directors till June 1866; because of the growing influence of the trade-unionist leaders on the board, the paper virtually became an organ of bourgeois radicals.—58, 97, 262

*Le Constitutionnel*—a daily published in Paris from 1815 to 1870; from 1819 it appeared as *Le Constitutionnel, journal du commerce, politique et littéraire*; in the 1840s it voiced the views of the moderate Orleanists, during the 1848 revolution those of the monarchist bourgeoisie (Thiers' party) and, after the coup d'état of 1851, of the Bonapartists.—162

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*Democrat*—a newspaper published at Carlisle.—157

*Democratic News*—a weekly published in London in 1870.—417, 418, 503

*Demokratische Korrespondenz*—a weekly newspaper; appeared as a lithographic edition in Stuttgart in 1867-70, organ of the German People's Party.—325

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*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*—a German-language yearly published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge; only the first issue, a double one, appeared in February 1844. It carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—123

*Le Diable à quatre*—a bourgeois-republican weekly magazine published in Paris in 1868-70; opposed the Second Empire.—199-201

*Didaskalia. Blätter für Geist, Gemüt und Publizität*—a daily supplement to *Frankfurter Journal*, appeared from 1823 to 1903.—394

*The Diplomatic Review*—a foreign policy journal published under this title as a continuation of *The Free Press* from June 1866 to 1877 (till July 1870 a monthly, then a quarterly); its publisher was David Urquhart.—166, 260, 275

*The Echo*—a liberal daily published in London from 1868 to 1905.—454, 520

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*The Economist. Weekly Commercial Times, Bankers' Gazette, and Railway Monitor: a Political, Literary, and General Newspaper*—a weekly published in London since 1843, mouthpiece of the big industrial bourgeoisie.—158, 179, 186, 189

*L'Égalité*—a French-language Swiss daily published in Geneva from December 1868 to December 1872, organ of the Romance Federation of the International, from 1869 to January 1870 it was virtually controlled by the Bakuninists.—186, 364, 404, 405, 412-13, 424, 430-31, 479-80, 487, 488, 492, 500-01, 506

*L'Eguaglianza. Giornale degli operai*—an Italian weekly of the Naples Section of the International; published from November 1869 to January 1870; was under the influence of the Bakuninists.—404

*Elberfelder Zeitung*—a daily published under this title from 1834 to 1904; in the 1860s voiced liberal views.—28-29, 54, 56, 61, 70

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*Ergänzungsblätter zur Kenntniß der Gegenwart*—a monthly popular science journal published in Hildburghausen in 1865-71.—61

*L'Espiègle. Journal satirique, politique, artistique et littéraire*—a satirical weekly of the anti-Bonapartist and anti-clerical trend; it appeared in Brussels from 1864 to 1869. The newspaper published material on the activity of the International.—62

*Essener Zeitung*—a bourgeois daily published under this title in 1860-83.—36

*Les États-Unis d'Europe*—an organ of the pacifist international League of Peace and Freedom founded in Berne in 1867; from 1870 it appeared in Geneva, then again in Berne till 1919; the paper was published in different languages and at different intervals.—160-61

*The Evening Star*—an evening edition of *The Morning Star*, a daily published in London by the Free Traders from 1856 to 1869.—101

*Examiner and Times*—see *Manchester Daily Examiner and Times*

*La Federacion*—a Spanish-language newspaper which appeared in Barcelona from August 1869 to November 1873, weekly organ of the Barcelona Section and, later, of the Federal Council of the International in Barcelona.—350, 404, 497

*Felleisen*—a weekly magazine published in Zurich and Geneva from 1862 to 1874 by the German workers' educational societies in Switzerland; joined the International in August 1868.—352, 366

*Le Figaro*—a conservative daily published in Paris since 1854; was connected with the government of the Second Empire.—158, 426, 553, 557

*The Flag of Ireland*—a weekly organ of the Fenians published by Pigott in Dublin in 1866-79.—497, 500

*The Fortnightly Review*—a historical, philosophical and literary magazine founded in 1865 by a group of radicals; subsequently it became liberal in character; under this title it was published in London till 1934.—6, 30, 33-35, 37, 39, 50, 70, 73, 81, 84, 141, 158, 230, 242, 255, 259, 261-63, 293

*Frankfurter Börsenzeitung*—see *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*

*Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*—a daily democratic paper published in Frankfurt am Main from 1856 (under this title from 1866) to 1943.—58

*The Free Press. Journal of the Foreign Affairs Committees*—a journal on questions of foreign policy, opposed to the Palmerston government; it was published by David Urquhart and his supporters in London from 1855 to 1865 (weekly until April 1858 and then monthly); in 1866 it was renamed *The Diplomatic Review*; it printed several works by Marx.—346

*Die Gartenlaube. Illustriertes Familienblatt*—a literary weekly published in Leipzig from 1853 to 1903 and in Berlin from 1903 to 1943.—74, 76, 77, 144

*Le Gaulois*—a conservative monarchist daily, organ of the big bourgeoisie and aristocracy, published in Paris from 1867 to 1929.—399, 505

*Gazette médicale de Paris*—a French medical weekly, appeared in 1830-1916.—3

*The Glowworm*—an evening newspaper published in London in 1865-69, from 21 December 1868 appeared under the title *Glowworm and Evening News*.—275-76

*Guardian*—see *The Manchester Guardian*

*Hamburger Börsenzeitung*—see *Die Börsen-Halle. Hamburgische Abendzeitung für Handel, Schiffahrt und Politik*

*Hermann. Deutsches Wochenblatt aus London*—a weekly of the German petty-bourgeois democrats published in London from 1859.—57, 266, 268, 276, 436, 444

*Het Volk*—a Dutch newspaper, its trial issue was published in Rotterdam in March 1870; apparently the publication was not continued.—462, 464

*Hildburghauser Ergänzungsblätter*—see *Ergänzungsblätter zur Kenntniß der Gegenwart*

*Historische Zeitschrift*—a historical liberal magazine founded by the German historian Heinrich von Sybel in Munich in 1859, appeared until 1864.—433

*L'International*—a French-language daily published in London from 1863 to 1871; semi-official organ of the French government.—276-77, 342, 504

*L'Internationale*—a weekly newspaper published in Brussels from 1869 to 1873, organ of the Belgian sections of the First International.—445, 449, 451, 453, 455, 520

*The Irish People*—a weekly published in Dublin from 1863 to 1865, the main organ of the Fenians; was banned by the British government.—399

*The Irishman*—a weekly published from 1858 to 1885, first in Belfast and then in Dublin; came out in defence of the Fenians.—271, 392-94, 399, 445, 451, 453-55, 461, 497, 520, 559, 562

*Journal de Bruxelles*—a conservative newspaper, mouthpiece of Catholic circles, published from 1820.—107

*Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*—a daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1944; organ of the government during the July monarchy; took a monarchist stand during the 1848 revolution; after the 1851 coup d'état, organ of the moderate Orleanist opposition.—101

*Journal officiel*—see *Journal officiel de l'Empire français*

*Journal officiel de l'Empire français*—an official organ of the Bonapartist government instead of *Le Moniteur universel*; published in Paris from January 1, 1869.—505

*Kladderadatsch*—an illustrated satirical weekly of liberal trend published in Berlin from 1848.—507

*Колоколъ*—a Russian-language revolutionary-democratic newspaper published by A. I. Herzen and N. P. Ogarev in London (from 1 July 1857 to 1865) and then in Geneva (until 1867). In 1868-69 it appeared in Geneva in French under the title *Kolokol (La Cloche). Revue du développement social, politique et littéraire en Russie.*—200, 492, 518

*Колоколъ. Органъ русскаго освобожденія, основанный А. И. Герценомъ*—a magazine published by S. Nechayev and N. Ogarev in Geneva from 2 April to 9 May 1870.—506, 508, 516

*Kölner Zeitung*—see *Kölnische Zeitung*

*Kölnische Zeitung*—a daily published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945, during the 1848-49 revolution and in subsequent years it expressed the interests of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie.—61, 125, 136, 191, 255, 509

*Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*—a daily published in Berlin from 1785; also called *Vossische Zeitung* after its owner, Christian Friedrich Voss.—61

*Kreuz-Zeitung*—see *Neue Preußische Zeitung*

*La Lanterne*—a radical republican weekly published by Henri Rochefort from 1 June 1868 in Paris and, after it was banned by the Bonapartist authorities, in Brussels (from August 1868 to November 1869), opposed the Second Empire.—87, 138, 224, 254, 426, 468

*La Libre pensée*—a weekly founded by the Blanquists Tridon, Flourens, Rigault and Verlet; Paul Lafargue was one of its active contributors; it was published in Paris from January to July 1870; harshly criticised the Second Empire.—486, 557

*Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland*—a weekly containing scientific information, reviews, and critiques published in Leipzig in 1850-1944.—65, 68

*Lloyd's Paper*—see *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*

*Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*—a liberal weekly founded in 1842, it was published under this title from 1843 to 1918.—249

*Londoner Deutsche Post*—a weekly published by E. Juch from January to September 1870.—444

*Manchester Daily Examiner and Times*—a liberal newspaper founded in 1848 by the merger of the *Manchester Times* and *Manchester Examiner*; supported the Free Traders in the 1840s and 1860s, published till 1894 under different titles.—437, 487

*The Manchester Guardian*—a daily founded in Manchester in 1821; organ of the Free Traders, and, from the mid-nineteenth century, of the Liberal Party.—191, 457-58

*La Marseillaise*—a daily published in Paris from December 1869 to September 1870, organ of the Left-wing republicans; it printed materials on the activity of the International and on the working-class movement.—425, 426, 445, 449, 451, 454, 455, 458-59, 462, 472, 475-76, 487, 488, 493, 497, 500, 501, 504, 507, 511-12, 520, 526, 553, 559

*The Money Market Review*—a weekly on trade and finance published under this title in London in 1860-95.—206

*La Morale indépendante*—a philosophical weekly on questions of morality published by Marie Alexandre Massol in Paris from 1865 to 1870.—79

*The Morning Advertiser*—a daily published in London from 1794 to 1934, it was a mouthpiece of the radical bourgeoisie in the 1850s.—101, 226

*The Morning Herald*—a conservative daily published in London from 1780 to 1869.—165

*Московскія Вѣдомости (Moskovskiye Vedomosti—Moscow Recorder)*—a paper published from 1756 to 1917, in the 1850s it became reactionary in character.—371, 436, 440

*La Nain jaune*—a literary and art magazine published in Paris from 1814 to 1869 with considerable intervals; in 1867 a political organ of the liberal opposition, in 1868 took the Bonapartist stand.—18

*Народное Дѣло (La cause du peuple)*—a magazine (newspaper from April 1870) published in 1868-70 in Geneva by a group of Russian revolutionary refugees; the first issue was prepared by Bakunin, then in October 1868 the editors, Nikolai Utin among them, broke with Bakunin and openly criticised his views; from April 1870 it became an organ of the Russian section of the International Working Men's Association which pursued the policy of the General Council.—462

*The National Reformer*—a weekly organ of the radicals published in London from 1860 to 1893.—392, 394, 397, 548-49

*Neue Preußische Zeitung*—a conservative daily published in Berlin from June 1848 to 1939, mouthpiece of the Prussian Junkers and Court circles; it was also called *Kreuz-Zeitung* because the heading contained a cross and the slogan 'Forward with God for King and Fatherland'.—61, 191

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a daily published in Cologne under the editorship of Marx from 1 June 1848 to 19 May 1849 (with an interval between 27 September and 12 October 1848); organ of the revolutionary-proletarian wing among the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany. Engels was among its editors.—121, 124, 153, 154, 407, 420

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*—a theoretical journal of the Communist League; it was founded by Marx and Engels in December 1849 and published till November 1850.—228, 237, 241, 242, 267

*Neues Wiener Tagblatt*—an Austrian liberal paper published in Vienna from 1867 to 1945.—15

*New-York Daily Tribune*—a newspaper founded by Horace Greeley in 1841 and published until 1924; organ of the Left-wing American Whigs until the mid-1850s and later of the Republican Party; in the 1840s and 1850s it voiced progressive views and opposed slavery. Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862.—7, 124, 398, 544

*El Obrero*—a Spanish weekly newspaper published in Palma (Majorca) from 1870 to 1871. It was banned by the government in January 1871 but continued to appear under the name *La Revolucion social*.—497, 498

*The Observer*—an English conservative weekly published in London since 1791.—391, 508

*L'Opinion nationale*—a daily published in Paris from 1859 to 1874.—107, 511-12, 554

*The Pall Mall Gazette*—a conservative daily which appeared in London from 1865 to 1921.—543

*Paris-faillite*—see *Paris-Journal*

*Paris-Journal*—a reactionary daily published in Paris from 1868 to 1874; was connected with the police.—557

*Le Pays, Journal de l'Empire*—a daily founded in Paris in 1849; during the Second Empire (1852-70) was a semi-official newspaper of Napoleon III's government.—419, 455, 553

*The People's Paper*—a Chartist weekly published by Ernst Jones in London from 1852 to 1858. Marx and Engels contributed to it from October 1852 to December 1856 and helped with its editing.—157

*Père Duchèsne*—see *Le vrai Père Duchèsne*

*Le Peuple*—a Bonapartist daily published in Paris from October 1868 to September 1870; from February 1869 it appeared under the title *Le Peuple français*.—254

*Le Peuple. Journal de la République démocratique et sociale*—a socio-reformist newspaper published in Paris from 1848 to 1850; from April 1848 it appeared under the title *Le Représentant de Peuple*; from September 1848 to 13 June 1849, under the title *Le Peuple*; from 1 October 1849 to 14 May 1850 under the title *La Voix du peuple*, and from 15 June to 13 October 1850, under the title *Le Peuple de 1850*. Its editor was Proudhon.—217

*Der Pionier*—a weekly published in New York (1854-58), then in Boston (1859-79); organ of the German petty-bourgeois democratic refugees; its editor-in-chief was K. Heinzen.—285, 367

*Political Register*—see *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*

*Post*—see *Londoner Deutsche Post*

*Le Progrès*—a Bakuninist newspaper which opposed the General Council of the International; it was published in French in Le Locle under the editorship of James Guillaume from December 1868 to April 1870.—404, 413, 479-80, 492

*Putnam's Monthly. A Magazine of American Literature, Science and Art*—a Republican monthly published in New York from 1853 to 1857.—124

*Putnam's Revue*—see *Putnam's Monthly. A Magazine of American Literature, Science and Art*

*The Queen's Messenger*—a political and literary conservative weekly published in London from January to July 1869.—466, 468, 493

*Le Rappel*—a Left-republican daily founded by Victor Hugo and Henri Rochefort; it was published from 1869 to 1929, harshly criticised the Second Empire.—369, 553

*La Réforme*—a weekly organ of the bourgeois republicans published in Paris in 1869; it was a continuation of the magazine *L'Association* (Paris-Brussels, 1865-66) and the newspaper *La Coopération* (Paris, 1866-68).—369, 553

*La Renaissance*—a French political weekly newspaper, was planned to be published in 1869 by the Blanquists and the republicans with the active participation of Paul Lafargue. Because of the lack of money it never came out.—287

*Le Réveil*—a weekly and, from May 1869 onwards, a daily newspaper of the Left republicans published in Paris under the editorship of Charles Delescluse between July 1868 and January 1871.—195, 224, 232, 369, 556

*Die Revolution*—a communist German-language journal published in New York in 1852 by Joseph Weydemeyer. On January 6 and 13 two weekly issues appeared, in May and June two 'non-periodic' issues appeared.—142

*Revue, Revue der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung*—see *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*

*Reynolds's Newspaper. A Weekly Journal of Politics, History, Literature and General Intelligence*—a radical weekly published by George William Reynolds in London from 1850; was close to the working-class movement.—386, 392, 437, 503, 549-50

*Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*—a daily founded by the Rhenish bourgeois opposition and published in Cologne from 1 January 1842 to 31 March 1843. Marx contributed to it in April 1842. In October of the same year, he became one of its editors, which gave the newspaper a revolutionary-democratic character.—123

*Санктъ-Петербургскія Вѣдомости (St. Petersburg Gazette)*—a Russian daily, an official government organ, published under this title in 1728-1914.—439

*Le Siècle*—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939.—232

*Der Social-Demokrat*—an organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; published under this title in Berlin from 15 December 1864 to 1871, in 1864 weekly and from 1865 three times a week; in 1864-67 it was edited by J. B. Schweitzer. Marx and Engels contributed to the paper for a short time, ceased to do so in February 1865, since they disagreed with the political line of its editorial board.—13, 61, 69, 78, 105, 109, 110, 114, 116, 117, 127, 132, 138, 140, 210, 221, 230, 242, 244, 261, 264, 307, 322, 324, 339, 349, 375, 383, 544

*The Social Economist. Industrial Partnerships' Record and Co-operative Review*—a monthly magazine, organ of the co-operative societies. It was founded in Manchester in 1867, under this title appeared in London from March 1868 to September 1869.—217

*The Solicitor's Journal and Weekly Reporter*—a liberal juridical journal, under this title published in London from 1857 to 1927.—387

*La Solidaridad*—an organ of the Madrid sections of the International; appeared in Madrid from January 1870, was banned by the government in January 1871.—497

*La Solidarité*—a Bakuninist weekly newspaper published in French in Neuchâtel (from April to September 1870) and in Geneva (from March to May 1871).—488, 493, 501-02

*The Spectator*—a weekly published in London since 1828, originally liberal, later conservative.—262

*Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg*—a government daily published in Stuttgart from 1849 with a weekly supplement, *Gewerbeblatt aus Württemberg*.—58, 70

*Staatsbürger-Zeitung*—a daily published in Berlin from 1863; in 1865-71, during the editorship of F.W.A. Held, was the organ of the radical democrats, supported the workers and craftsmen.—116

*Staatszeitung*—see *Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg*

*The Standard*—a conservative daily founded in London in 1827.—101, 504, 508

*Star*—see *The Evening Star*

*Telegraph*—see *The Daily Telegraph*

*Le Temps*—a daily organ of the big bourgeoisie published in Paris from 1861 to 1943.—526

*The Times*—a daily published in London since 1785.—8, 91, 93, 96-102, 109, 158, 195, 208, 221, 226, 248, 373, 387-88, 409, 432, 437, 459, 487, 543-44, 554

*Le Travail*—a weekly newspaper of the Paris sections of the International published from 3 October to 12 December 1869.—404

*Tribune*—see *New-York Daily Tribune*

*Vierteljahrschrift für Volkswirthschaft und Kulturgeschichte*—a liberal economic journal published in Berlin from 1863 to 1893.—56, 61

*Der Volksstaat*—Central Organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party published in Leipzig from 2 October 1869 to 29 September 1876, first twice and, from July 1873, three times a week.—367, 369, 375, 378, 382, 390, 418, 426, 428, 442, 445, 452, 477, 485, 519-21, 526, 553

*Volksstimme*—a newspaper of the Austrian Social-Democrats published in Vienna from April to December 1869; supported the General Council of the International.—229, 233, 254

*Volkswille*—a workers' newspaper; appeared in Vienna from January 1870 to June 1874.—479, 487

*Der Vorbote*—a monthly of the German-language sections of the International in Switzerland, published in Geneva from 1866 to 1871 under the editorship of Johann Philipp Becker; on the whole, it upheld Marx and the General Council by regularly publishing documents of the International and information about its activity in various countries.—199, 200, 203, 208, 210, 332, 335, 352, 396, 430-31, 502

*Vossische Zeitung*—see *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*

*Le vrai Père Duchèsne*—a French workers' newspaper published under the editorship of Eugène Vermersch; after the defeat of the Paris Commune opposed the First International.—399

*De Werker*—a Flemish-language newspaper published in Antwerp from 1868; in 1868-71 a weekly of the Flemish section of the International, subsequently a daily of the Flemish and later of the Belgian socialist workers' parties (till 1914).—254, 468, 502

*Weser-Zeitung*—a liberal daily published in Bremen from 1844 to 1930.—121, 444

*The Westminster Review*—a radical quarterly published in London from 1824 to 1914.—38-39, 138, 141, 211

*Wiener Blatt*—see *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*

*Wiener-Neustädter Wochenblatt*—an Austrian liberal newspaper published from 1869.—350

*Wiener Tagblatt*—see *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*

*Wochenblatt*—see *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*

*Zeitschrift des königlich preussischen statistischen Bureaus*—a Prussian official statistical monthly published in Berlin from 1860 to 1905.—352

*Die Zukunft*—a democratic paper of the People's Party published in Königsberg (now Kaliningrad) from 1867, and in Berlin from 1868 to 1871.—11, 34, 37, 53, 58, 75, 78, 100, 102, 110, 126, 201, 206, 210, 214, 221, 230, 239, 244, 246, 250, 254, 255, 258, 264, 267, 268, 273-74, 325, 333, 371, 411, 416-18, 428, 436, 477, 479, 485

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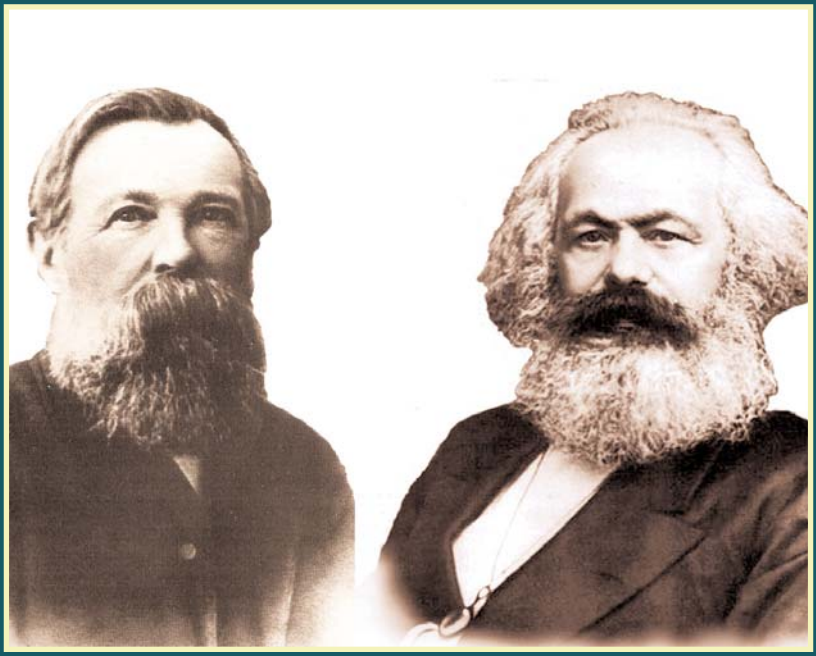

## VOLUME 44

Letters 1870-73

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 44

## Letters 1870-73

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Translated by

RODNEY LIVINGSTONE

# Preface

Volume 44 of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels contains their correspondence from July 1870 to December 1873. These years marked the beginning of a new stage in the development of the international working-class movement. The proletarian revolution in Paris of 18 March 1871 resulted in the Paris Commune, the first working-class government in the history of mankind. This daring action was a milestone, 'a new point of departure of world-historic importance' (this volume, p. 137), ushering in a new phase in the struggle against capitalism.

The Commune and the changes taking place in the working-class movement created a pressing need for setting up independent proletarian parties capable of leading the class struggle of the workers in the specific conditions of each country. The activity of Marx and Engels and the First International, which they led, was of major importance in preparing the ideological and organisational prerequisites for the formation of such parties.

The letters of Marx and Engels in this volume are indispensable for the study of the activity of the International Working Men's Association at the final stage of its development.

In September 1870 Engels moved from Manchester to London, enabling him to have continuous personal contact with Marx. Engels was immediately made a member of the General Council of the International. Here his extraordinary ability as an organiser and leader of the international working-class movement was given full scope. The circle of people with whom Marx and Engels corresponded became much wider, and included such prominent members of the International as W. Liebknecht, A. Bebel, J. P. Becker, L. Frankel, F. Bolte, P. Lafargue, F. A. Sorge,

T. Cuno, L. Kugelmann, N. Utin (Outine), L. Pio, J. Mesa, F. Mora and E. Bignami, and also the democratic allies of the working class, E. Beesly, E. Oswald and T. Allsop. Marx and Engels also extended their contact with Russian revolutionaries at this time.

A large number of letters in this volume concern the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 and its consequences. In the situation which had arisen, the General Council of the International had to provide the proletariat, the French and German workers in particular, with a clear understanding of its tasks as a class. This was the purpose of the General Council's Address on the Franco-Prussian War, written by Marx, which, as Engels put it, was intended to 'teach the *populus* of all classes that nowadays the workers are the only ones to have a *real* foreign policy' (p. 18). Marx and Engels were concerned above all to prevent the workers of the belligerent countries being deceived by chauvinist propaganda, to advance their solidarity and help progressive workers realise the need for international unity and action. In his letter to the German democrat Eugen Oswald of 26 July 1870 Marx expressed the belief that 'a genuine power of resistance to the return of national antagonisms and the entire system of present-day diplomacy can *only* be found in the *working class*' (p. 9).

During the first stage of the war, when it was of a defensive nature for Germany, Marx and Engels distinguished clearly between Germany's national interests and the dynastic, territorial aims of Prussian Junkerdom and the German bourgeoisie. They warned the German workers that under the leadership of the Prussian militarists the war might turn into one of territorial aggrandisement against the French people.

In a letter to Marx of 15 August 1870 Engels formulated the tasks of the German Social-Democrats at the initial stage of the war as follows: 'I think our people can: 1) join the national movement ... insofar and for so long as it is limited to the defence of Germany...; 2) at the same time emphasise the difference between German national and dynastic-Prussian interests; 3) oppose any annexation of Alsace and Lorraine...; 4) as soon as a non-chauvinistic republican government is at the helm in Paris, work for an honourable peace with it; 5) constantly stress the unity of interests between the German and French workers, who did not approve of the war and are also not making war on each other' (p. 47).

At the end of August in a letter to the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, Marx and Engels,

anticipating a change in the character of the war with the inevitable collapse of the Second Empire, foresaw the consequent necessity for the German workers to step up the struggle against the annexationist aims of the Prussian militarists and the German bourgeoisie (pp. 79, 82).

This prediction soon proved to be correct. On 4 September 1870 the Second Empire collapsed and a new stage began in the Franco-Prussian War. The General Council's Second Address on the Franco-Prussian War was designed to explain the changed situation and outline the new tasks of the international working class. Many letters by Marx and Engels also dealt with these matters. In defining the new tactical line of the International now that the war had lost its defensive character for Germany, Marx and Engels urged the proletariat of the European countries to resist resolutely the annexationist policy of the ruling classes (see, for example, Engels' letter to Marx of 12 September 1870 and Marx's letter to Engels of 14 September 1870).

Under Marx's guidance the International conducted a campaign for recognition of the French Republic. 'I have set everything in motion here for the workers to force their government to recognise the French Republic. (The series of *meetings* begins on Monday),' Marx wrote to Engels on 10 September 1870 (p. 70). In this connection 'detailed instructions' were sent to Belgium, Switzerland and the United States (p. 77).

A considerable number of letters analyse the strategic plans of the belligerents, the course of the military operations, and their possible outcome. As early as 22 July 1870 Engels, in a letter to Marx, predicted the likelihood of the military defeat of Bonapartist France. In Engels' letters one can trace how he wrote his series of articles *Notes on the War*, which made a new contribution to Marxism's theory of war (see present edition, Vol. 22).

The letters of Marx and Engels concerning the Paris Commune give this volume special importance.

The proletarian revolution in France was the result of the development of the whole workers' movement of the 1860s, which was profoundly influenced by the International Working Men's Association. The Commune, Engels wrote in a letter of 12-17 September 1874 to Friedrich Adolph Sorge, was undoubtedly a brain child of the International (present edition, Vol. 45).

From the very first days of the Paris Commune Marx set about studying its progress. Replying on 12 April 1871 to Ludwig Kugelmann, who had failed to understand the essence of the Paris uprising, comparing it with the action by the petty-bourgeois

Montagne on 13 June 1849 in France, Marx explained the great historic significance of the Commune as the first attempt in history to destroy the military-bureaucratic state machine of the bourgeoisie. The destruction of this machine, Marx stressed, was an essential condition for the victory of a truly popular revolution on the Continent (this volume, p. 131). Marx wrote admiringly of the heroism and self-sacrifice of the Communards: 'What resilience, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians! ... However that may be, the present rising in Paris—even if it be crushed by the wolves, swine and vile curs of the old society—is the most glorious deed of our Party since the June insurrection in Paris' (ibid., pp. 131-32).

In his letters to Kugelmann of 12 and 17 April 1871 Marx for the first time expounded his understanding of the Paris Commune as the first attempt at a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marx took advantage of every opportunity to contact the leaders of the Commune to help them in tactical and strategic matters. Thus, his letter of 13 May 1871 to Léo Frankel and Louis Eugène Varlin contained a plan for concrete revolutionary action and also a warning about the preparations for a counter-revolutionary attack within Paris, about the agreement against the Commune between Bismarck and the Versaillists (this volume, pp. 148-49). Already at the beginning of April, soberly assessing the alignment of forces, Marx realised that the chances of a victorious outcome for the revolution were rapidly diminishing. On 6 April in a letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht he elaborated on the mistakes made by the Communards: 'It seems the Parisians are succumbing. It is their own fault but a fault which really was due to their too great *honnêteté*. The Central Committee and later the Commune gave that *mischievous avorton*, Thiers, time to consolidate hostile forces, in the first place by their folly of not wanting to start a *civil war*—as if Thiers had not already started it by his attempt at forcibly disarming Paris, as if the National Assembly ... had not immediately declared war on *the Republic*! Secondly, in order that the appearance of having usurped power should not attach to them they lost precious moments (they should immediately have advanced on Versailles...) by the election of the Commune, the organisation of which, etc., cost yet more time' (p. 128).

At a time when Thiers' government and the ruling classes of other states sought to surround the Commune with a wall of lies and slander, Marx and Engels considered it their duty to explain to the workers of all countries the historic significance of the events taking place in Paris. 'The true character of this grand Paris

revolution has been explained to workers everywhere in letters from various secretaries to sections on the Continent and in the United States,' Marx wrote to Frankel (p. 142). 'I have written hundreds of letters on behalf of your cause to all the corners of the earth where we have branches' (p. 149).

After the defeat of the Commune Marx and Engels launched a vigorous campaign in the International to give assistance to the Communards. The letters show how much sympathy, attention and concern were shown by Engels, Marx and the members of his family to Commune refugees who fled to London or hid in France (Marx to Oswald, 21 July 1871; Marx to Friedrich Bolte, 25 August 1871; Jenny Marx (daughter) to Kugelmann, 21-22 December 1871, and others).

One of the main aims of the International after the fall of the Commune was to make its historic experience widely available. For Marx the main objective was to analyse theoretically the lessons of the Commune and so turn spontaneous sympathy into the conscious desire and ability of the proletarian masses to carry its cause forward to victory. The Address entitled *The Civil War in France*, written by Marx on behalf of the General Council, was an important milestone in the elaboration of the programme and principles of the proletarian movement. On 28 July 1871 Engels wrote to the Italian socialist Carlo Cafiero that in this document the General Council had openly declared itself 'in favour of communism' (p. 184). The history of the writing, publication and dissemination of this programmatic work of Marxism is reflected in several letters (Marx to Kugelmann, 18 June 1871; Engels to Liebknecht, 22 June 1871; Marx to Sorge, 23 May 1872, and others).

The Paris Commune marked the high-point in the activity of the International Working Men's Association and the beginning of a new stage in the history of the international workers' movement as a whole. 'The thunder of the cannon in Paris awakened the most backward sections of the proletariat from their deep slumber, and everywhere gave impetus to the growth of revolutionary socialist propaganda' (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, p. 143).

After the defeat of the Paris Commune the ruling classes instigated drastic reprisals against members of the International and its organisations. These were initiated by the French minister Jules Favre, who appealed to all European governments on 6 June 1871 to destroy the International. Marx and Engels fought resolutely against the persecution of the International, against attempts to distort its principles and aims and undermine its

prestige. Against this background their letters to leading members of the International took on a special significance. In many cases they were essentially official documents of the General Council. Passages were often read out at meetings of sections and Federal Councils and sometimes published in the form of articles and reports in the working-class press. Thus the correspondence of Marx and Engels took on an importance as a means of disseminating the ideas of scientific socialism in the organisations of the Association and of educating proletarian revolutionaries.

After the Paris Commune Marx and Engels regarded as one of the International's most important tasks the further elaboration of its political programme. The experience of the Commune made it possible to augment the socialist principles of the future social system proclaimed in the resolutions of the Brussels and Basle congresses, and specify the ways and means of carrying out the socialist transformation of society. The lessons of the Commune were generalised in the resolutions of the London Conference held in September 1871. Its convocation was necessary because, to quote Engels, there were 'several important questions to deal with before proceeding further' (p. 187). The Conference adopted an historic resolution on the creation in each country of an independent proletarian party, whose aim should be to prepare the working class for revolutionary battles for political power. Marx rated the importance of the Conference highly, noting that at this one 'more was done than at all the previous Congresses put together' (p. 220).

As the correspondence shows, Marx and Engels devoted much attention to explaining the importance of the London Conference resolutions. In a letter to Bolte of 23 November 1871, discussing the role of a proletarian party in the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat, Marx wrote: 'The political movement of the working class naturally has as its final object the conquest of political power for this class, and this requires, of course, a previous organisation of the working class developed up to a certain point, which arises from the economic struggles themselves' (p. 258).

The work of the London Conference took place amid an acute ideological struggle between the proletarian-revolutionary trend led by Marx and Engels, and Bakuninism. The Paris Commune had drawn a clear dividing line between the proletarian revolutionaries and the representatives of Bakuninist anarchism.

The Bakuninists furiously attacked the basic theses of the political programme set out in the resolutions of the London

Conference. In their circular issued in Sonvillier in November 1871 they denied the need for the proletariat to gain political power, for the creation of a proletarian party and for discipline and centralisation, and demanded the 'abolition of all authority', suggesting as a practical step in this direction that the governing body of the International, the General Council, should be turned into a bureau for statistics and correspondence. On 2 January 1872 Engels wrote to Liebknecht with reference to the circular: 'That is really the last straw and we shall now take action' (p. 289). The Bakuninists were answered in the joint works by Marx and Engels mentioned in the letters, *Fictitious Splits in the International* and *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (present edition, Vol. 23).

In their numerous letters to working-class activists in different countries Marx and Engels subjected the main theses of anarchism to criticism. They exposed the idealism of Bakunin, who regarded as the main source of all social evils not the exploiting nature of the social system, but the state, and who saw the abolition of the latter as the way to get rid of capitalism (Engels to Theodor Cuno, 24 January 1872, this volume, pp. 305-07); they emphasised that abstention from politics turned workers into the blind instrument of bourgeois politicians; and they demonstrated the untenability of the anarchist rejection of authority. Engels wrote: '...for the struggle we need to gather all our forces into a single band and concentrate them on the same point of attack. And when people speak to me about authority and centralisation as if they were two things to be condemned in all possible circumstances, it seems to me that those who talk like this, either do not know what a revolution is, or are revolutionaries in name only' (Engels to Carlo Terzaghi, 14[-15] January 1872, this volume, p. 295). Marx and Engels condemned the Bakuninists' denial of the need for a proletarian state. In a letter to Paul Lafargue of 30 December 1871 Engels showed for the first time, before writing his work *On Authority*, that the conditions of large-scale machine production insistently demanded state management and regulation. In the above-mentioned letter to Terzaghi he also drew attention to the experience of the Commune, which confirmed the need for the proletarian state to take measures in the struggle against counter-revolution. 'It was the lack of centralisation and authority that cost the life of the Paris Commune' (p. 295).

In their letters to members of the International Marx and Engels argued that the organisational doctrines of anarchism were

incompatible with the Rules and the very spirit of the International and were disorganising and splitting the movement at a time when solidarity and unity of action by the workers were vital in the face of the offensive mounted by the reactionary forces. Sending Lafargue in Madrid the section of the *Fictitious Splits* dealing with the functions of the General Council, Marx wrote in his covering letter: '...our Association is the *militant organisation* of the proletariat... To destroy our organisation just now would be to abdicate. Bourgeois and governments combined could ask for nothing more' (p. 346). In the struggle against Bakuninism Marx and Engels consistently upheld the principles of proletarian party commitment. As one of the conditions for ensuring the unity of the international proletarian organisation Marx and Engels advanced the principle of party discipline, the bowing of the minority to the will of the majority, or, as Engels wrote, 'the authority of the majority over the minority' (p. 307).

In the summer of 1872 Marx and Engels began to receive information to the effect that the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, which the Bakuninists had declared dissolved, was in fact being retained as a strictly conspiratorial society. The existence within the International of a secret international organisation of Bakuninists with its own Rules and programme meant that Bakunin and his supporters were in practice attempting to split the International Working Men's Association. 'Bakunin retained the *Alliance de la démocratie socialiste*, which you know of from the *Scissions*, as a *secret* society in order to obtain control of the International,' Engels wrote to Adolf Hepner on 4 August 1872 (p. 415).

Marx and Engels attached particular importance to exposing the Bakuninists to the workers of Spain and Italy, where their position was especially strong.

On Marx's proposal the General Council on 11 June 1871 passed a resolution to convene a Congress of the Association at The Hague on 2 September 1872. It was to take stock of the International's activity since the Basle Congress, incorporate the resolutions of the London Conference into the General Rules and Administrative Regulations, complete the drawing up of a political programme and put an end to the disorganising activity of the anarchists. In letters to Sorge and Kugelmann Marx stressed that the question of the life or death of the International would be decided at the Congress (pp. 398, 413).

The Congress was the scene of a fierce struggle between the supporters of the revolutionary proletarian line and the anarchist delegates, backed by the reformists. The latter joined with the

Bakuninists, who were against public recognition as essential to the programme of the International, of the idea of winning state power by the proletariat and of the need to form mass political parties of the working class independent of the bourgeoisie. The resolution adopted was based on proposals put forward by Marx and Engels and their comrades-in-arms.

With the exacerbation of ideological differences after the Congress, Marx and Engels attached special importance to the widespread propagation of the Congress decisions and the struggle for their acceptance.

In fighting for international unity of the working class Marx and Engels were at the same time concerned to promote the development of the proletarian movement in individual countries.

They gave special attention to the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party. In the period following the first proletarian revolution of 1871 Marx's prediction that the centre of gravity of the working-class movement would shift from France to Germany proved to be true. In the workers' press and in their letters Marx and Engels popularised the experience of this most advanced organised detachment of the proletariat. They applauded the brilliant defence of the principles of the Commune by their comrades-in-arms in Germany. 'The German workers,' Engels wrote to Liebknecht on 22 June 1871, 'have behaved themselves quite splendidly in this last great crisis, better than anyone else. And Bebel has been an outstanding spokesman on their behalf; his speech on the Commune went through the entire English press and made a great impression here' (p. 160). The movement in support of the Commune promoted the class solidarity of the German workers and their political education in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

Marx and Engels spoke proudly of the courageous behaviour of Liebknecht, Bebel and other representatives of German Social-Democracy who, during the trials, made use of the court as a tribune to agitate for the principles of the International. 'Dear Liebknecht,' Engels wrote on 23 April 1872, 'we all send you our congratulations on your performance in court. After the trial of the Brunswickers it was essential for someone to stand up to that gang and you have fairly done so' (p. 360).

In their letters to party leaders Marx and Engels persistently stressed the need for delegates from Germany to take part in the Hague Congress (pp. 376-77). They attached special importance to support at the Congress for the General Council's line by the most

powerful and best organised detachment of the International, the Eisenach Party.

Whilst they were aware of the need for the unity of the working-class movement in Germany, Marx and Engels feared that, if a united party were set up, leadership of it might be seized by the Lassalleans, because certain of the Eisenach leaders were prepared to sacrifice programme and principle for the sake of unity. On 20 June 1873 Engels wrote to Bebel giving his views on overcoming the split in the working-class movement in general, and in Germany in particular. The tactics of the struggle against the influence of the Lassalleans, he wrote, lay not in winning over individual members of their organisation. It presupposed, first and foremost, acting upon the broad mass of workers, propagating the ideas of scientific socialism among them. The unification of the Eisenach Party with the Lassallean General Association of German Workers should be brought about on the basis of a revolutionary programme, and in such a way as to prevent the subversion of the movement's socialist principles and aims by reformist and sectarian dogmas. 'There are circumstances in which one must have the courage to sacrifice *momentary* success for more important things' (p. 512).

In their letters to the leaders of the German working-class movement Marx and Engels stressed the need to fight for the ideological soundness of the party, to overcome ideological vacillations and accept responsibilities towards the international working-class movement (Engels to Liebknecht, 18-22 May 1872, and other letters).

The fate of the working-class movement in England, the opportunities and prospects for the creation of a proletarian party in the British Isles, was of constant concern to Marx and Engels. In the early 1870s a reformist outlook was dominant in the English working class. Its main vehicle was the labour aristocracy, an influential and considerable section of the working class in England. Marx and Engels were quick to understand the consequences of reformism's domination of the working-class movement (see Engels' letter to Hepner of 30 December 1872). The labour aristocracy's ideological dependence on the liberal bourgeoisie was shown clearly in its attitude to the Paris Commune: the English members of the General Council George Odger and Benjamin Lucraft refused to show solidarity with the Commune. Engels informed Cafiero of this on 28 July 1871: '... *two* English members of the Council, who had been getting on too close terms with the bourgeoisie, found our address on the civil

war too strong and they withdrew' (p. 186). A considerable number of trades-union leaders, including several English working-class members of the International, were becoming typical liberal politicians, many aspiring to parliamentary, state and administrative posts.

Marx and Engels were sharply perceptive of the processes taking place in the English working-class movement, and were the first to note the presence of the two tendencies, reformist and revolutionary, and the growing influence of the bourgeoisified upper layers of the proletariat. This added urgency to their persistent efforts for an independent proletarian party that would withstand the influence of reformism. The correspondence of these years shows how consistently they continued to work in England for the ideas and the influence of the International, 'to render it independent of the aristocracy of the working classes and its acknowledged leaders' (p. 147).

Marx and Engels had great hopes for the British Federal Council of the International, set up in the autumn of 1871, which they believed should become the nucleus of a future working-class party. They criticised strongly the reformist wing of the British Federation, which sought to limit the political struggle of the working class exclusively to the struggle for parliamentary representation, and denounced the so-called 'acknowledged leaders' of the working class, 'all of whom either have been bought by the middle class or are begging them to make them an offer' (p. 383). Engels' letters to Sorge of 21 September and 5 October 1872 give a vivid description of the bitter struggle which was taking place between the revolutionary and reformist wings in the English sections of the International.

A large group of letters by Marx and Engels forms an important source on the history of the International in the United States of America.

In this period the working class in the USA continued to be formed mostly by immigrants arriving from various European countries. Its multinational composition and the differences in language, traditions, customs, views and level of education made the political cohesion of the proletariat difficult. The existing organisation of the International was dominated by the German and French sections, in which Lassallean and Proudhonist influences were strong. In time the first sections of American-born workers and members of the petty bourgeoisie appeared, and also several Irish sections. Marx and Engels corresponded with Friedrich Adolph Sorge, Carl Speyer, Friedrich Bolte and other

members of the International in the USA. The prime task of the American socialists, in the opinion of Marx and Engels, consisted in overcoming national separateness and isolation from the broad mass of workers which inevitably led to sectarianism. In a letter to Bolte of 23 November 1871 Marx stressed: 'The development of socialist sectarianism and that of the real labour movement always stand in indirect proportion to each other' (p. 252). Marx believed that the way to get rid of sectarianism was, first and foremost, to work with the proletarian masses in the trades unions. 'You must strive to win the support of the Trades Unions at all costs,' he wrote in a letter to Speyer of 10 November 1871 (p. 244).

In his letter to Bolte Marx also touched on the problem of creating a mass political organisation of the working class in America: 'Where the working class is not yet far enough advanced in its organisation to undertake a decisive campaign against the collective power, i.e. the political power, of the ruling classes, it must at any rate be trained for this by continual agitation against, and a hostile attitude towards, the policies of the ruling classes' (p. 258). Marx and Engels supported Sorge and other proletarian revolutionaries in the USA in their struggle against bourgeois reformers' attempts to make use of the International's organisations in America for their own purposes.

The transfer of the General Council to New York in the autumn of 1872 greatly stimulated the working-class movement in the USA and contributed to the spread of Marxism on the American continent.

The defeat of the Paris Commune and the subsequent persecution of members of the International considerably reduced the number of Marx's and Engels' correspondents in France. Government reprisals dealt a severe blow to the working-class organisations and sections of the International Working Men's Association. Nevertheless, at the beginning of August 1871 the General Council began to receive information about the renewal of sections and the activity of syndicalist chambers. The ties of local sections with Commune refugees who were members of the General Council were being resumed.

The London Conference of 1871 gave new impetus to the revival of the French sections, providing a realistic programme of action to unite and reorganise the ranks of the working class. On 19 January 1872 Engels wrote to Lafargue: 'In France Serraillier is being amazingly active. Needless to say, the results he has obtained are not for publication, but they are very good.

Everywhere the sections are reforming under different names' (p. 302). In his letter to Lafargue of 21 March Marx also remarked upon the success of the International in France following the London Conference (p. 346).

The majority of the French members of the International, except Bakunin's supporters and the Blanquists, who had broken with the International Working Men's Association, approved the resolutions of the Hague Congress of 1872. 'Despite the intrigues of the Jurassians and the Blanquists things are going well in the South,' Engels wrote to Sorge on 7 December 1872 (p. 454). But in February 1873 the organisation of the International was again crushed, after which it did not manage to recover. Analysing the causes for the defeat of the French sections, Marx and Engels in their letters to Sorge, Auguste Serraillier and others criticised the voluntarist views of the Blanquists, discussed the prospects for the development of the working-class movement in France and expressed their conviction that it would be reborn in new forms.

The contents of this volume provide an insight into the work Marx and Engels were doing to assist the proletarian movement in Italy and Spain. The establishment of ties with the Italian and Spanish working-class organisations involved a sharp ideological struggle against the influence of anarchists and bourgeois republicans. The main burden was shouldered by Engels, who was the Corresponding Secretary of the General Council for Italy and Spain. Following the transfer of the Council to New York in the autumn of 1872, Engels continued as its representative to maintain contacts with progressive members of the socialist and working-class movement in these countries.

Engels' correspondence with Italian revolutionaries was important as a means of conveying the ideas of scientific socialism to Italy. His letters to the Italian socialist Carlo Cafiero were important. In them Engels explained the nature of the International as a broadly-based mass workers' organisation alien to all sectarianism, stressing that the task of the Association was to unite the workers and draw up, by means of theoretical discussions, a truly revolutionary programme.

In his letter to Cafiero of 28 July 1871 Engels defined the main issues over which there was a struggle in the International and contrasted the fundamental propositions of scientific socialism with Bakuninist dogma and Mazzinist petty-bourgeois views. In explaining the programmatic aims of the proletarian movement and arguing the need for the working class to win state power, Engels pointed out: 'We must free ourselves from

landowners and capitalists, and for this end promote the development of the associated classes of agricultural and industrial workers and all the means of production, land, tools, machines, raw materials and whatever means exist to support life during the time necessary for production. ...And to bring this about we need the political supremacy of the proletariat' (p. 184). A considerable part of this letter is devoted to a detailed criticism of Mazzinism as one of the trends of '*vulgar democracy*', which strove to give the workers some political rights 'in order to preserve intact the *social* privileges of the middle and upper classes' (p. 185).

In criticising Mazzini's views and condemning his attacks on the International and the Paris Commune, Engels contrasted him with another fighter for Italy's national liberation, Giuseppe Garibaldi, who openly sympathised with the International Working Men's Association and the Paris Communards (see Engels' letter to Cuno, 13 November 1871).

Of considerable interest is Engels' correspondence with the German Social-Democrat Theodor Cuno, the organiser of a section of the International in Milan. The comprehensive critique of Bakuninism contained in Engels' letter of 24 January 1872 was of great help to Cuno in fighting the anarchists.

At this time Engels conducted a regular correspondence with Enrico Bignami and Cesare Bert, helping them to activate the sections of the International in Lodi and Turin. In a letter to the Italian democrat and member of the workers' movement Gennaro Bovio of 16 April 1872, Engels expressed the profound idea that the proletariat's national and international tasks formed an organic unity. He argued that 'in the working-class movement *true* national ideas, i.e. ideas corresponding to the economic realities, both in industry and in agriculture, to the realities that are dominant in the country in question, are, at the same time, true *international* ideas' (p. 355).

Engels' ties with Spanish internationalists, first established even before the Paris Commune, grew much stronger during the period of the Commune and immediately after. Before the London Conference Engels considered it his responsibility to strengthen these contacts and keep his correspondents informed about the International and the activity of the General Council. He was greatly assisted in this by Lafargue, who moved to Madrid in December 1871. Lafargue played an invaluable part in criticising anarchist views, a struggle which became Engels' main preoccupation after the London Conference.

A result of the influence exerted on the leading representatives

of the Spanish working-class movement by Marx and Engels was the emergence of a group of proletarian revolutionaries (José Mesa, Francisco Mora and others), who spread the ideas of scientific socialism and resisted the influence of the anarchists. Its newspaper was *La Emancipación* and its organisational centre the New Madrid Federation, founded in the summer of 1872.

Marx and Engels attached great importance to the revolutionary movement in Russia, and made a deep study of the socio-economic and political situation there. The letters reveal their connections with progressive social and political figures and representatives of different circles of Russian revolutionaries.

As the General Council's Corresponding Secretary for Russia, Marx gave continuous assistance to the Russian section of the International in Switzerland. He informed the Russian revolutionaries of the situation in the Association and the decisions of its Council and sent them the necessary documents. Marx greatly valued the fact that during the bitter struggle against anarchism the Russian section came out strongly against Bakunin and supported the revolutionary-proletarian wing of the International. In his regular correspondence with Nikolai Utin (Outine), one of the leaders of the Russian section, Marx discussed the essence of the ideological differences with the anarchists and the splitting activities of Bakunin's Alliance.

The close attention Marx and Engels paid to Russia and their friendly contacts with progressive people there are exemplified by Marx's letters to Nikolai Danielson and Engels' to Pyotr Lavrov published in this volume. By this time Marx could read Russian scientific and socio-political literature in the original sufficiently to delve more deeply into the problems of Russia's social and political development. He wrote to Sigfrid Meyer on 21 January 1871: 'The result was worth the effort that a man of my age must make to master a language differing so greatly from the classical, Germanic and Romance languages. The intellectual movement now taking place in Russia testifies to the fact that things are seething deep below the surface. Minds are always connected by invisible threads with the body of the people' (p. 105). Through Danielson Marx sent General Council documents to Russia and received essential material, books and journals. From Marx's letters it is clear that he studied the works of N. Flerovsky (pseudonym of Vasily Bervi) and Nikolai Chernyshevsky, for whom he had the deepest respect. He referred to Chernyshevsky's economic works as excellent (p. 105). On receiving from Danielson the manuscript of Chernyshevsky's *Letters*

*Without an Address* Marx tried to get it printed, regarding it as an extremely important work (p. 457). It was at this time that Marx conceived the idea, as can be seen from his letters to Danielson of 12 December 1872 and 18 January 1873, of writing a biography of the great Russian revolutionary democrat and socialist. Marx also highly valued the work of Chernyshevsky's comrade-in-arms, Nikolai Dobrolyubov (see his letter to Danielson of 9 November 1871, p. 238).

Marx and Engels established particularly close relations with the Russian revolutionary Hermann Lopatin, a member of the General Council of the International, whom they also greatly respected. Very often in his letters to Danielson Marx enquired anxiously about Lopatin, who was arrested at the beginning of the 1870s in connection with the attempt to help Chernyshevsky escape from exile in Siberia. 'The fate of our dear "mutual friend" has been of the very greatest interest to my entire family,' Marx wrote on 12 December 1872 (p. 456). The news that Lopatin had succeeded in escaping from prison in Irkutsk in the summer of 1873 was received joyfully in Marx's home.

The revolutionary movement in Russia, which was steadily gaining strength, was regarded by Marx and Engels as an important indication of the maturing in that country of a popular revolution against tsarism. They saw the participants in this movement as the direct allies of the European proletariat. 'In Russia,' Marx wrote to Thomas Allsop on 23 December 1873, '...the elements of a general convulsion are accumulating' (p. 551). Convinced of the inevitability of a Russian revolution, Marx and Engels believed that it would lead to a radical change in the international situation and help the working class of the capitalist countries to achieve its aims.

The Hague Congress of 1872 was in fact the last congress of the International Working Men's Association. Later some of the federations temporarily followed the anarchists, who set up their own short-lived international association; the majority of the federations, however, now had to tackle the complex task of creating a proletarian party in their respective countries. In its former organisational forms the International had exhausted its role; it had created a firm ideological basis for the formation of proletarian parties bound together by a common ultimate aim and an understanding of the need for the international unity of the working class. 'As I view European conditions,' Marx wrote to Sorge on 27 September 1873, 'it is quite useful to let the formal organisation of the International recede into the background for

the time being... Events and the inevitable development and intertwining of things will of themselves see to it that the International rises again in an improved form' (p. 535).

By the end of 1873 the International had in effect retired from this historical arena. The activity of its organisations had ceased almost everywhere, although the final decision as to its dissolution was taken at the conference in Philadelphia on 15 July 1876. One of the finest phases of Marx's activity ended. Commenting on the historic role played by the International, Engels wrote to Sorge on 12-17 September 1874 that for ten years the International had dominated one side of European history, that which moulded the future, and it could look back to its work with pride (see present edition, Vol. 45).

Lenin also frequently stressed the tremendous significance of the International in the history of the struggle of the proletariat. The First International, he pointed out, 'laid the foundation of an international organisation of the workers for the preparation of their revolutionary attack on capital' (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 306).

In spite of the heavy burden of International business, Marx and Engels continued their intense theoretical activity. The correspondence in this volume enables one to trace the writing by Marx and Engels of several important works. Apart from those mentioned above, they include the preface by Marx and Engels to the 1872 German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and Engels' work *The Housing Question*. Engels' letter to Marx of 30 May 1873 contains the first outline of the philosophical work planned by him, *Dialectics of Nature* (see this volume, pp. 500-03).

As can be seen from the letters, Marx attached particular importance to the completion of his major work, *Capital*, and the perfecting of Volume I of it, which had been published in 1867.

In the 1870s the demand for *Capital* among the workers grew. The influence of the ideas of scientific socialism amongst the working class, particularly after the Paris Commune, as well as the need to counteract petty-bourgeois ideology, impelled Marx to prepare a second German edition of *Capital* (see Engels' letters to Liebknecht and Lafargue of 15 and 30 December 1871, this volume, pp. 282, 286).

From Marx's correspondence for this period it is clear that he invested a great deal of work making changes both in the structure and in the subject matter itself.

With respect to Marx's work on the second German edition of

Volume I of *Capital*, his daughter Jenny wrote on 22 January 1872 to Kugelmann: 'In the first chapter he has made great alterations, and what is more important, he himself is satisfied (which does not happen often) with these alterations. The work he has done these last few weeks is immense, and it is really a wonder that his health ... has not given way under it' (p. 574). The second German edition of Volume I of *Capital*, which came out in 1872-73, in a large edition for those days (three thousand copies), was a most important event.

The authorised edition of Volume I of *Capital* in French was intended to make Marx's economic theory accessible to the workers not only of France, but also of other Romance countries.

The French edition of *Capital* was published in instalments over the period 17 September 1872 to November 1875. The letters testify to Marx's intense, painstaking work to polish the translation made by Joseph Roy, and also to revise in part the original itself. 'He [Mr Roy] has often translated too literally,' Marx wrote to Danielson on 28 May 1872. 'I have therefore found myself compelled to re-write whole passages in French, to make them palatable to the French public. It will be all the easier later on to translate the book from French into English and the Romance languages' (p. 385).

Marx gave serious attention to the preparation of a Russian edition of Volume I of *Capital*. Its publication in March 1872 had great impact on the development of progressive social thought in Russia. The Russian edition was the first translation into a foreign language of this brilliant work, and Marx had a very high opinion of it. On 28 May 1872 he wrote to Danielson: 'First of all, my best thanks for the beautifully bound copy. The translation is *masterly*. I would be grateful if you could let me have a second, unbound copy—for the British Museum' (p. 385). Engels also praised the Russian translation. He considered this edition highly important for educating Russian revolutionaries. 'As far as talent and character are concerned some of these are absolutely among the very best in our party,' he stressed in a letter to Johann Philipp Becker of 14 June 1872 (p. 396).

The volume concludes the publication of that section of Marx's and Engels' correspondence (begun in Volume 42) which belongs to the period of their activity as leaders of the First International.

The letters bring out characteristic features of the creative collaboration of Marx and Engels, and also their relations with followers and associates. Engels' letter to his mother of 21 October 1871 testifies to his unshakable loyalty to his revolutionary

convictions and readiness to defend them come what may. The reader can learn much about the lives of Marx's daughters. Thus, a number of letters describe the dangers and deprivations endured by Marx's middle daughter, Laura, the wife of Paul Lafargue, who shared her husband's fate as a political exile; and the police harassment of his eldest and youngest daughters, Jenny and Eleanor, during their stay in the south of France. This biographical material is supplemented by letters from the members of Marx's family contained in the Appendices.

* * *

Volume 44 contains 326 letters of Marx and Engels, of which 197 are published in English for the first time and 131 were published in this language earlier, 52 of them in part only. Of the documents published in the Appendices, 10 appear in English for the first time. Previous English publications are mentioned in the Notes.

Obvious slips of the pen have been corrected without special mention. Proper names, geographical names and individual words contracted by the authors are given in full, except in cases when these contractions were made for the sake of conspiracy or cannot be deciphered. Defects in the manuscript are indicated in the footnotes, and passages with lost or illegible words are denoted by omission marks. If the text makes it possible to give a hypothetical reconstruction of the lost or illegible words, this reconstruction is given in square brackets. Passages crossed out by the authors are reproduced—in the footnotes—only when they represent important variant readings. If a letter is a draft or a fragment reproduced in another document, this is marked either in the text itself or in the Notes.

Foreign words and expressions in the text of the letters are retained in the form in which they were used by the authors, with a translation where necessary in the footnotes, and are italicised (if underlined by the authors, they are given in spaced italics). English words and expressions used by Marx and Engels in texts written in German, French and other languages are printed in small caps. Longer passages written in English in the original are placed in asterisks.

The numbers of notes relating to one and the same fact or event in the texts of different letters are duplicated.

In the course of work on the text and apparatus of this volume

the dating of certain letters has been clarified as a result of additional research.

The text and Notes were prepared by Galina Kostryukova (letters from 20 July 1870 to 4 May 1871), Galina Voitenkova (letters from 5 May 1871 to 30 December 1871) and Natalia Sayenko (letters from January 1872 to December 1873 and also the letters in the Appendices) (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). The Preface was written by Natalia Sayenko. The volume was edited by Lev Golman, Velta Pospelova, and Tatiana Yeremeyeva, the Name Index, the Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature and the Index of Periodicals were prepared by Andrei Pozdnyakov (Institute of Marxism-Leninism).

The translations were made by Rodney Livingstone and edited by Nicholas Jacobs (Lawrence & Wishart), K. M. Cook, Stephen Smith, Elena Chistyakova, Svetlana Gerasimenko and Victor Schnittke (Progress Publishers) and scientific editors Vladimir Mosolov (Institute of Marxism-Leninism) and Norire Ter-Akopyan (USSR Academy of Sciences).

The volume was prepared for the press by the editor Elena Krishtof (Progress Publishers).

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## LETTERS

July 1870-December 1873

# 1870

## 1

## MARX TO ENGELS[1]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 July 1870

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed a letter from Kugelmann[2] which significantly clarifies the political MYSTERIES of the present war.[3] He is in the right with his criticism of the proclamation of the Brunswick meeting[a] SOME COPIES of which I enclose. I am also sending you the *Réveil*.[4] You will find in it the first half of the *acte d'accusation*[b] presented before the Supreme Court at Blois[5]; what a poor figure the French CONSPIRATORS cut, compared to the FENIANS,[6] as they transform themselves into *mouchards*[c] without the least provocation. The paper is also interesting on account of the leading article by old Delescluze. Although he is opposed to the government, it's just unadulterated chauvinism, *car la France est le seul pays de l'idée*[d] (namely, the idea it has of itself). These republican chauvinists are only indignant because the actual incarnation of their idol—Louis Bonaparte with his long nose and his stock exchange rigging—does not correspond to their FANCY. The French deserve a good hiding. If the Prussians win, then centralisation of the STATE POWER will be beneficial for the centralisation of the German working class. German predominance would then shift the centre of gravity of the West European workers' movement from France to Germany, and you need only to compare developments in the two countries from 1866 to the present day to realise that the German working class is superior to the French both in theory and

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[a] 'Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt Euch!', *Der Volksstaat*, No. 58, 20 July 1870. - [b] bill of indictment - [c] spies - [d] for France is the only nation of the Idea

organisation. Its predominance over the French on the international stage would also mean the predominance of *our* theory over Proudhon's, etc.

Finally, I enclose a *review of my book* from *Hildebrand*'s journal for economics and statistics.[a] The state of my health does not really predispose me to merriment, but this essay brought the tears to my eyes, *bona fide* tears of laughter. With the reaction and the DOWNFALL of the heroic age of philosophy in Germany, the *'petty bourgeois'* latent in the German citizen has once again come to the fore—in *philosophy* nonsense worthy of Moses Mendelssohn; the smart-alecky, bad-tempered carping of wiseacres and know-alls. And they now want to dissolve *political economy* into a lot of rubbish about *legal concepts*! That goes one better than the 'logarithm of stimuli'.[7] As Schiller, a competent judge in this sphere, has already noted, the philistine resolves all questions by making them 'a matter of conscience'.

*Apropos!* A Yankee JOURNAL which I was reading yesterday in the Central Council is publishing a series of articles about capital, etc. It refers to my book[b] among others. According to them I believe that the worker *must* work for a certain portion of the day for his own needs, and that therefore the work over and above that time, which I call SURPLUS LABOUR, forms the surplus value and hence the source of profit, etc. There is something in this, no doubt, they continue, but it is not the whole truth. For instance, the goods produced by a manufacturer=0 for him until they have been sold. Let us assume then that the *REAL VALUE* (he means cost price) of clothes, etc.=$a$. By selling them to the merchant the manufacturer adds $b$, and this is then increased by $c$ by the different businessmen through whose hands the articles pass.

Therefore: *VALUE*=$a$. The increments=$b+c$. *VALUE IN USE*, THEREFORE,=$a+b+c$. Therefore, *surplus value=excess of use value (!) over value.* This really beats the 'FORMULE' which Frankel learnt in Paris![8]

Just interrupted while writing. Taran,[c] the French Italian, drove up in a CAB (he's the man from *The Pall Mall Gazette*). He brought back the things by Lassalle, etc., that I had lent him. He is going to Paris as war-correspondent. Inquired whether I would like to go to Prussia in that capacity, or if not, whether I could propose anyone else. Through him I am now SO FAR in contact with the *Pall*

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[a] [H. K. F. Rösler,] 'Karl Marx. Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie', *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, Vol. 12, Jena, 1869. - [b] Volume I of *Capital* - [c] Nicolas Léon Thieblin

*Mall* that if I want to write SOMETHING political or you SOMETHING military during the farce, it would be accepted and paid for INTO THE BARGAIN.

Yesterday I heard from Perret in Geneva that our resolution[a] granting recognition to the Genevan *Comité Fédéral Romand*, in preference to the counter-committee formed by Bakunin, came like a bombshell to the fellows.[9] They telegraphed Bakunin at once. At the next congress the GENERAL COUNCIL is to be put *in the dock* on account of this coup. It is now absolutely essential that *Dupont* should *at long last* send me the COPIES of our *resolutions*[b] *concerning the ALLIANCE*.[10] Do press him on this score *immédiatement* and *sérieusement* in my name.

The GENERAL COUNCIL yesterday commissioned me to draw up an address.[c] By no means welcome IN MY PRESENT STATE of liver troubles and DULLNESS. If it does not improve, Allen and Maddison, whom I saw yesterday, advise me to go to the seaside, the East coast of England, in fact, because it's fresher there.

BEST COMPLIMENTS TO MRS LIZZY AND FRIENDS.

Your
K. M.

*Apropos!* Hasn't Wilhelm's[d] stupidity excelled itself in his last *Volksstaat*?[e]

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[a] K. Marx, 'General Council Resolution on the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland'. - [b] K. Marx, 'The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy', 'The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the Central Bureau of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy'. - [c] K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - [d] Wilhelm Liebknecht's - [e] This presumably refers to the 'Politische Uebersicht' column in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 57, 17 July 1870.

## 2

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 July 1870

Dear Moor,

Three cheers for Kugelmann! It is obvious that he did not go to school for nothing. His hypothesis is very much in the spirit of the protagonists and explains everything.[a] If it is correct in actual fact, then Bismarck at least has bitten off more than he can chew. Those worthies have obviously managed to set off a full-scale national war in Germany. The numerous *tâtonnements*[b] with regard to the cession of German territory, Luxembourg, etc., by which means Louis Bonaparte tried, as usual, to accustom the public in advance to the approaching *fait accompli*, have had quite the opposite effect on ordinary Germans. They have obviously made up their minds this time to put a stop to all such tricks once and for all. This being so, and considering the attitude of the two armies and of stubborn old William,[c] a pretend-war is not possible. *On ira au fond.*[d]

The sudden vacillation and uncertainty evident in the French operations—obviously planned for the middle of this week—is proof that Louis Bonaparte realises how badly he has miscalculated. The swift intervention of the South Germans and then the certainty that he will have the whole German people on his hands has frustrated the attempt to launch a surprise attack on Mainz with his artillery and then to form a spearhead in the direction of Würzburg, *with no more than half his forces mobilised.* If he can now attack at all, he will have to deploy *all* his forces. But there's still time for that. The *order* to form the fourth regimental battalions did not go out before the 15th or 16th. Their units consist of four companies of the three field battalions of each *regiment*, so they must first be *increased* to 6-8 companies and *supplemented* by reserves. The *men on leave* were called up *in Paris* on the 19th and 20th, the *trained* reserves on 21 and 22 July, and the untrained reserves receive their papers tomorrow. The regiments will not be complete until the first two categories have joined them. And this

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[a] See previous letter. - [b] feelers - [c] William I - [d] It will be fought to the bitter end.

means that—skirmishes apart—the campaign will have to be delayed to the middle of next week at the earliest. By then, however, the Germans may be so strong that Bonaparte will find it necessary to await the fourth battalions, and that means a delay of another 8-14 days. *And by then he'll be foutu.*[a]

Yesterday I was told by a local German philistine that he had been travelling on a train in Westphalia last Saturday with a Prussian general who had taken him for an Englishman and had spoken to him in English. He said: *'It is true enough, we are about ten days behindhand, but if during ten days you do not hear that we have suffered a great defeat, we shall soon have your sympathies.'* On being asked what he meant, he said: *'The sympathies of the English, you know, are always on the side of success.'*

Mobilisation began on the 16th in Northern Germany and on the 17th in Bavaria. The reserves and Landwehr[11] infantry can be at the ready in about 8 days and the rest will be available about 13 days from the start of mobilisation. That means that the entire infantry will be ready on the 25th and everything else on the 30th. But since the reserves are joining up in great numbers without being ordered to, the field army will be ready even sooner. It is certain that the 7th, 8th, 11th and 12th army corps are standing on the Rhine. The Guard has also left Berlin, as I hear from Borchardt who arrived from there yesterday. I suppose it is on its way to Bavaria to serve under the handsome Crown Prince.[b] The transport of troops from the East through Berlin was due to begin yesterday. From Sunday or Monday on Bonaparte will be able to occupy the Palatinate at the most, but he will no longer be able to cross the Rhine unless the other side makes crass errors. From the end of next week the Germans can attack and start an army rolling towards France that will smash everything Bonaparte can put in its way, albeit after fierce battles. As things stand at present, I do not believe that the campaign can possibly end well for Bonaparte.

I suppose I would like to write 2 articles weekly on the war for *The Pall Mall Gazette* for *good* cash payment.[12] I shall do a trial piece on military organisation. 3-4 guineas per article ought to be right; the *Guardian*[c] used to pay me 2 guineas and would have paid even more.[13] If you can arrange that tomorrow, let me know right away. To go to the Prussian headquarters as a correspondent

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[a] finished - [b] Frederick William - [c] *The Manchester Guardian*

has all sorts of drawbacks, the chief one being called Stieber, and besides I would have a less criticial vantage-point there than here.

You can see from the enclosed cuttings what we have been engaged on here. The *Guardian* report is by us[14]; what a PENNY-A-LINER makes of it is shown by the accompanying report from the *Courier*[a]—enough to make you die laughing. It must be the first time that French workers have been fanatically applauded by German philistines and shop-assistants in Manchester.

I have written to Dupont and intend to see him this evening.

Where do you plan to go to the SEASIDE? South of the Humber there is nothing on the east coast. To the north there is Scarborough—dear and crowded, and Bridlington Quay. If you decide on the latter, we could meet there. I shall send you the £40 as soon as you wish.

I wish the damned panic would abate somewhat; I need to sell some SHARES.

I have saved Rösler up for later.[b]

The last issue of Wilhelm's *Volksstaat* has not reached me.[c] Particularly annoying at the present time.

Best greetings to you all from Lizzie and myself.

Your
F. E.

Kugelmann returned herewith.

Did you read how Bonaparte is now flirting with the *Marseillaise* and the noble Thérésa[d] gives a performance of it every evening with her *grosse voix de sapeur*[e]?

The *Marseillaise* sung by Thérésa—that is the spitting image of Bonapartism. Ugh!

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[a] 'Meeting of Germans in Manchester', *The Manchester Courier*, No. 4272, 22 July 1870. - [b] [H. K. F. Rösler,] 'Karl Marx. Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie'. See this volume, p. 4. - [c] See this volume, p. 5. - [d] Emma Valadon - [e] loud trooper's voice

## 3

## MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD

### IN LONDON

[London,] 26 July 1870
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Dear Sir,

I must first of all ask your forgiveness for my delay in replying to you. Your letter arrived on Thursday[a] at 6 p.m.; I had just left London for a trip in the country.

However, I would not have been able to join in a public Address[15] because the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, of which I am a member, had already charged me with the task of composing a similar Address.[b] The piece had been written already, submitted for discussion and was approved unanimously last Tuesday. It was to have appeared in *The Times* today, but was suppressed, probably because it contained a hit at *Russia*. However, there is some prospect of its appearing in the *Pall Mall*.[c] *Paris* is now in a state of siege. We have organs at our disposal in all other West European countries and in the United States.

Should the Address be published here you will discover that its *political* viewpoint (and it is this we are concerned with in the first instance) coincides with your own, however widely our social views may diverge. At all events, I am convinced that a genuine power of resistance to the return of national antagonisms and the entire system of present-day diplomacy can *only* be found in the *working class*.

However that may be, I am quite prepared to have further discussions on this important subject. Please let me know whether and when you might honour me with a visit, or when I can find you at home.

Yours sincerely,
Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original (German) and in Russian, in *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, No. 2, Moscow, 1958

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[a] 21 July - [b] K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - [c] 'Working Men and the War. London, July 23, 1870', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 1702, 28 July 1870.

# 4

## MARX TO ENGELS[16]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 July 1870

DEAR FRED,

I forwarded your article[a] at once to the *Pall Mall* EDITOR (F. Greenwood), with the request to *return* it immediately if he does not wish to print it. I have no doubt that, in that event, we could place it with *The Times* or *The Daily News*.

*The Times* had given us every reason, via Eccarius, to believe it would print our (i.e. the *International's*) ADDRESS.[b] It did not appear, probably because of a HIT AT RUSSIA. Whereupon (MONDAY LAST[c]) I sent the thing off without delay to the *Pall Mall* and also wrote to the EDITOR,[17] in accordance with the agreement with their WAR CORRESPONDENT (Thieblin, now in Luxembourg), about the MILITARY CORRESPONDENCE. Requested an ANSWER. NO REPLY. Nor was the Address printed. So today on sending your article to the EDITOR of the *Pall Mall*, I wrote a curt letter,[17] *SPEAKING ONLY OF THE MILITARY CORRESPONDENCE*, i.e. I simply asked whether yes or no.

Last Tuesday the General Council ordered a thousand COPIES of the Address to be run off. Today I expect the page proofs.

The singing of the *Marseillaise* in France is a parody just like the whole SECOND EMPIRE. But the dog[d] at least feels that '*Partant pour la Syrie*'[18] WOULD NOT DO. In Prussia, on the other hand, such buffoonery is not necessary. 'Lord, in Thee is all my trust',[19] sung by William I, with Bismarck on the right and Stieber on the left, is the German *Marseillaise*! As in 1812 sqq. The German philistine seems fairly enraptured, now that he can give free vent to his innate servility. Who would have thought it possible that 22 years after 1848 a national war in Germany would be given *such* theoretical expression!

Fortunately, this whole demonstration stems from the middle class. The working class, with the exception of the direct adherents of Schweitzer, takes no part in it. And fortunately, the WAR OF CLASSES

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[a] F. Engels, *Notes on the War.—I.* - [b] K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - [c] 25 July - [d] Napoleon III

in both countries, France and Germany, is so far advanced that no war ABROAD can seriously turn back the wheel of history.

By publishing the TREATY (on Belgium), Bismarck too has overstepped the mark.[20] Even London RESPECTABILITY no longer ventures to talk of the integrity of Prussia. Macaire et Co.! Incidentally, shortly before 1866, I recollect reading articles in the organ of the worthy Brass[a] and in the *Kreuz-Zeitung*, in which Belgium was denounced as a 'nest of Jacobins' (!) and its annexation by France was recommended. On the other hand, the moral indignation of John Bull is no less comic! RIGHT OF TREATIES! THE DEVIL! After all, it was Palmerston who made it a maxim of English policy that when you solemnly conclude a treaty, you do not necessarily swear to abide by it, and England has acted accordingly ever since 1830! ON ALL SIDES, nothing but war and immorality.

Charming of the *Kreuz-Zeitung* to demand that England should refuse to supply the French with coal, i.e. that she should violate the Anglo-French commercial treaty, i.e. declare war on France.[21] That coal can be a military commodity is a fact that was vividly brought home to Pam[b] by the opposition at the time. He fobbed them off with bad jokes. So the point is one that was by no means overlooked when the treaty was concluded. Urquhart wrote fierce denunciations about it during the negotiations. So if England does not declare war *de prime abord*[c] she must continue to supply the French with coal. As far as a declaration of war is concerned, that could produce some extremely serious ill-feeling between the POWERS THAT BE and the London proletariat. The mood of the workers here is DECIDEDLY against such ostentatious gestures.[22]

At last a letter from the Russians in Geneva.[23] I enclose it. Return it soon, SAY MONDAY NEXT,[d] since I have to reply.

From the enclosed letter by E. Oswald (an Urquhartite, but relatively rationalised in a continental spirit), you can see that even the democrats wish to do something.[15] I have written to him[e] that I have already signed an Address of the INTERNATIONAL which, *as far as* the purely political aspect is concerned, puts forward essentially similar views. In further letters, yesterday and today, he insists that I should attend their MEETING in his house this afternoon. (He lives very near here.) He also sends me an extract from a letter by Louis Blanc.

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[a] *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* - [b] Palmerston - [c] from the very outset - [d] 1 August - [e] See previous letter.

However, I cannot possibly go at the moment. Who can guarantee that where Louis Blanc is, Karl Blind won't turn up also?

I intend to go to Smith right away about the house.[24]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. IV, Stuttgart, 1913

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## 5

## MARX TO PAUL AND LAURA LAFARGUE[25]

### IN PARIS

[London,] 28 July 1870

My dear children,

You must excuse the long delay of my answer. You know I cannot stand heat. It weighs down my energies. On the other hand, I was overwhelmed with business, the German 'friends' firing at me a *mitrailleuse*[26] of letters which, under present circumstances, I could not decline answering at once.

You want of course to hear something of the war. So much is sure that L. Bonaparte has already missed his first opportunity. You understand that his first plan was to take the Prussians unawares and get the better of them by surprise. It is, in point of fact, much easier to get the French army—a mere soldiers' army till now—ready than the Prussian one which consists largely of the civilian element forming the Landwehr.[11] Hence, if Bonaparte, as he at first intended, had made a dash even with half-collected forces, he might have succeeded to surprise the fortress of Mayence, to push simultaneously forward in the direction of Würzburg, thus to separate Northern from Southern Germany, and so throw consternation amidst the camp of his adversaries. However, he has allowed this opportunity to slip. He saw unmistakable signs of the *national* character of the war in Germany and was stunned by the unanimous, quick, immediate adhesion of Southern Germany to Prussia. His habitude of hesitation, so much adapted to his old trade of conspirator

planning coup d'état and plebiscites, got the upper hand, but this method will not do for war, which demands quick and unwavering resolution. He let his first plan slip and resolved to collect his full forces. Thus he *lost his advantage of a first start*, of surprise, while the Prussians have *gained* all the time necessary for mobilising their forces. Hence you may say that Bonaparte has already lost his first campaign.[27]

Whatever may now be the first incidents of the war, it will become extremely serious. Even a first great French victory would decide nothing, because the French army will now find on its way three great fortresses, Mayence, Coblenz, and Cologne, ready for a protracted defence. In the long run, Prussia has greater military forces to her disposal than Bonaparte. It may even be that on one side or the other she will be able to cross the French frontier and make *'le sol sacré de la patrie'*[a]—according to the chauvinists of the Corps Législatif this *sol sacré* is situated only on the French side of the Rhine—the theatre of war!

Both nations remind me of the anecdote of the two Russian noblemen accompanied by two Jews, their serfs. Nobleman A strikes the Jew of Nobleman B, and B answers: 'Schlägst Du meinen Jud, schlag ich deinen Jud.'[b] So both nations seem reconciled to their despots by being allowed, each of them, to strike at the despot of the other nation.

In Germany the war is considered as a *national* war, because it is a war of defence. The middle class (not to speak of the *Krautjunkertum*[c]) overdoes itself in manifestations of loyalty. One believes himself taken back to the times of 1812 sqq *'für Gott, König und Vaterland'*[d] with the old donkey Arndt's: 'Was ist des Teutschen Vaterland'[e]!

The singing of the *Marseillaise* at the bidding of the man of December[f] is of course a parody, like the whole history of the Second Empire. Still it shows that he feels that *'Partant pour la Syrie'*[18] would not do for the occasion. On the other hand, that old damned ass, Wilhelm 'Annexander',[g] sings 'Jesus meine Zuversicht'[19]; flanked on the one side by *'larron'*[h] Bismarck and on the other, by the *'policier'* Stieber!

On both sides it is a disgusting exhibition.

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[a] the sacred soil of the mother country - [b] 'If you strike my Jew, I'll strike yours.' - [c] the rural squires - [d] 'for God, King and Fatherland' - [e] '*The German's Fatherland, What Is It?*', a line from E. M. Arndt's poem 'Des Teutschen Vaterland', published in *Lieder für Teutsche.* - [f] Napoleon III - [g] i.e. William I. A coinage of two words 'annexation' and 'Alexander' is an allusion to Alexander of Macedon. - [h] scoundrel

Still there is this consolation, that the workmen protest in Germany as in France. In point of fact the war of classes in both countries is too far developed to allow any political war whatever to roll back for long time the wheel of history. I believe, on the contrary, that the present war will produce results not at all expected by the 'officials' on both sides.

I enclose two cuts from Liebknecht's *Volksstaat*. You will see that he and Bebel behaved exceedingly well in the *Reichstag*.[28]

For my own part, I should like that both, Prussians and French, thrashed each other alternately, and that—as I believe will be the case—the Germans got *ultimately* the better of it. I wish this, because the definite defeat of Bonaparte is likely to provoke Revolution in France, while the definite defeat of the Germans would only protract the present state of things for 20 years.

The English upper classes are full of moral indignation against Bonaparte at whose feet they have fawned for 18 years. Then they wanted him as the saviour of their privileges, of rents and profits. At the same time, they know the man to be seated on a volcano the which unpleasant position forces him to trouble peace periodically, and makes him—beside his parvenuship—an unpleasant bedfellow. Now they hope that to solid Prussia, protestant Prussia, Prussia backed by Russia, will fall the part of keeping down revolution in Europe. It would for them be a safer and more respectable policeman.

As to the English workmen, they hate Bonaparte more than Bismarck, principally because he is the aggressor. At the same time they say: 'The plague on both your houses',[a] and if the English oligarchy, as it seems very inclined, should take part in the war against France, there will be a 'tuck' at London. For my own part, I do everything in my power, through the means of the *International*, to stimulate this 'neutrality' spirit and to baffle the *'paid'* (paid by the 'respectables') leaders of the English working class who strain every nerve to mislead them.

I hope the measures as to the houses within the fortification *rayon* will not hurt you.[29]

Thousand kisses to my sweet little Schnaps.[b]

Yours devotedly,

Old Nick[c]

First published, in Russian, in *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, No. 1, Moscow, 1957

Reproduced from the original

[a] Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, Act III, Scene 1. - [b] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [c] Marx's family nickname

## 6

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 July 1870

Dear FRED,

You will see from the enclosed that SO FAR the *Pall Mall* business is quite satisfactory and your first article[a] will appear this evening. The only reason for displeasure is that MR Greenwood (to whom I have *not* yet mentioned your name, BY THE BY) has made no reference to the *TERMS* even though IN MY FIRST LETTER TO HIM I made a specific inquiry about them.[17] On the other hand, Thieblin (i.e. Taran) said to me on his departure for the Continent and at his LEAVETAKING from me that payment was made as a matter of course at the end of each month.

At all events it seems to me wisest TO GO ON for a few more articles so that we have a firm case before issuing an OFFICIAL NOTE on this *punctum*.[b]

I went to see Smith[24] yesterday. I learned there that no one in London made inquiries about you in Manchester, because your LANDLORD also has a SEAT near Manchester and desired to make his own inquiry there. However, it would be better to write to him and speed the matter up. At all events I understand that no 'third party' has intervened.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] F. Engels, *Notes on the War.—I.* - [b] point

# 7

## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 29 July 1870

Dear LIBRARY,[a]

Enclosed an extract from the Manifesto of the GENERAL COUNCIL taken from *The Pall Mall Gazette* of 28 July.[b]

Be so good as to insert a note in your *translation* in the *Volksstaat* that you received the Manifesto in *English*.[30] This will indicate to our other correspondents that we had no time to send them translations.

Last Tuesday[c] I translated the Reichstag protest of Bebel and yourself into English for the GENERAL COUNCIL. It was received with great acclamation.[31]

One further matter. Mr Karl Blind made a patriotic speech to a German meeting in the Sports Hall; this comedian represented as a vital, world-shaking event the fact that he, the German Brutus, had suspended his republicanism, sacrificing it on the altar of the fatherland for the duration of the war. That was Act I.

*Act II*: Karl Blind gives an account in his own hand in the London *Deutsche Post* of that same meeting, whose size, importance, etc., he exaggerates in his usual manner.

*Act III*: Karl Blind writes an *anonymous* letter[d] to *The Daily News*, in which he movingly depicts the overwhelming impact on the whole of Germany of the great speech made by *Karl Blind* at the meeting in the Sports Hall. All the German papers, he claims, have reproduced it. One of them, the Berlin *Volks-Zeitung*, even *ventured* (!) to print it in its entirety. (The fellow is a correspondent of the *Volks-Zeitung*.) Neither did Viennese papers allow the great event to pass them by without trace. (The fellow sent in a report himself to the *Neue Freie Presse*.[e])

This is just one of a thousand instances in which this ant-lion

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[a] Nickname given to Wilhelm Liebknecht by Marx's daughters. - [b] K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - [c] 26 July - [d] 'Karl Blind's Speech on the War', *The Daily News*, No. 7561, 25 July 1870. - [e] *Neue Freie Presse*, No. 2121, 25 July 1870.

strives to gull the English into believing that he is a sort of German Mazzini.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 8

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 31 July 1870

Dear Moor,

Enclosed you will find the *plan of the Prussian campaign.*[a] Please *get a* CAB *immediately* and take it round to *The Pall Mall Gazette,* so that it can *come out on Monday evening.* It will make me and the *P.M.G.* tremendously famous. By Tuesday matters may have developed to the point where any ass can figure the business out. I do not know whether my No. II[b] appeared on Saturday as the *P.M.G.* has not reached the clubs here yet. I am building a fair amount on this business, as it really wasn't easy to guess the plan. The deciding factor was the news that a cousin of Gumpert's, a company commander in the 77th regiment, the vanguard of the 7th Army Corps, set off from Aachen for Trier on 27 July. When I heard that everything fell into place.

In addition, it is essential for you to arrange with Greenwood for me to send him the articles[12] direct, so that they can appear *the same day.* Delay is now fatal for articles of this sort. My idea is to send him an article twice a week on the average, more frequently if the matter is urgent, less often when there is a lull. In between I would send shorter notices when opportune, which he could make use of as he wished.

It is indeed becoming increasingly humiliating for us to be

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[a] F. Engels, *Notes on the War.—III.* - [b] F. Engels, *Notes on the War.—II.*

waging war under William.[a] But it is still a good thing that he should be making himself so monstrously ridiculous with his divine mission and his Stieber, without whom German unity could hardly be achieved. The Address of the International[b] was printed here on Saturday in the Tory *Courier*.[c] Had it been another day of the week, the other papers would have published it too, but the Saturday advertisements were against it. The Address will teach the *populus* of all classes that nowadays the workers are the only ones to have a *real* FOREIGN POLICY. It is very good and it was certainly *only* because of the Russians that *The Times* declined to accept it.[d] Both the governments and the bourgeoisie will be greatly astonished after the war when they see how the workers simply resume their activities as if nothing had interrupted them at all.

My confidence in the military achievements of the Germans grows daily. We really seem to have won the first serious encounter. The French do not yet appear to have properly grasped the potential of the breech-loader.

Moltke's game is very audacious. On my calculations he will not be ready with his troop concentrations before Tuesday or Wednesday.[e] From Aachen to the frontier is about 20 German miles, i.e. 4-5 *hard* marches, especially in this heat. That means that the whole 7th Corps can scarcely be on the Saar before tomorrow, and the main battle may already take place today. At all events it is SO FINELY CUT that 24 hours either way can make an enormous difference. The battle itself will probably be fought out on the Saar between Merzig and Saarbrücken.[32]

It is good that the French have attacked first on German territory. If the Germans follow on their heels after repelling an invasion, this will certainly not have the same effect in France as it would have done had they marched into the country without being invaded first. This means that on the French side the war will remain more Bonapartist in character.

The ultimate success—i.e. a German victory—is quite beyond doubt in my view. However, Moltke's plan betrays his *absolute assurance* that he will have overwhelming superiority in the very first battle. We shall probably know by Tuesday evening whether he has not miscalculated. Moltke often reckons without his William.

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[a] William I - [b] K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - [c] *Manchester Courier* - [d] See this volume, p. 10. - [e] 2 or 3 August

The more the German philistine cringes before his William who trusts in God and cringes before Him, the more insolent he becomes towards France. The old pack is once again in full cry on the subject of Alsace-Lorraine—the *Augsburger*[a] in the lead. The peasants of Lorraine, however, will soon show the Prussians that the matter is not so easy.

You are quite right about the treaty.[b] People are not quite as stupid as Bismarck imagines. The only good thing about it is that the whole mess will now come out into the open and then there will be an end to all the duplicity of Bismarck and Bonaparte.[20]

In the whole neutrality business, coal included,[21] the Germans are acting like children, quite in accord with history. These are questions that have never faced *the* people. Who indeed has ever inquired about them?

The Russians returned herewith.[23] Once a Russian, always a Russian. What an idiotic piece of gossip-mongering. Six Russians quarrelling among themselves as if the mastery of the globe depended on the outcome. And it does not even include the accusations against Bakunin, merely their whining about cliquishness in Switzerland. At all events our people seem to be honest in so far as this is possible for a Russian; but I would still proceed cautiously with them. In the meantime it is quite good to know all the gossip; it is after all a fact of life in the diplomacy of the proletariat.

Through the fault of the Post Office my copies of the *Volksstaat* arrive quite irregularly. The issue of the *23rd* had a band round it with a post mark from the *19th*; so that's the sort of trick they get up to. Many issues have not arrived at all. In the last two Wilhelm[c] was not very *actively* stupid; he was sheltering behind the FRATERNISATION of the French and German workers.

Schorlemmer has two brothers in the Hesse division, one-year NCOs.

Have heard nothing more from Smith.[24] Many thanks for your efforts. If I hear nothing this week, I shall write Smith a fairly blunt letter. What a crazy idea for an aristocrat like that to gather his own information on the spot here! If he had left it to his BANKER, he would have had all he needed in three days. But the man has to act the BUSINESSMAN. The ox!

Best regards to you all. Lizzie's knee is well on the way to recovery.

Dupont had let himself be landed with a house, probably

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[a] *Allgemeine Zeitung* - [b] See this volume, p. 11. - [c] Wilhelm Liebknecht

through Mothet, situated in the unhealthiest of neighbourhoods, close by the stinking river. However, I have seen to it that he has taken another. But do not say anything about it to him, it is all settled. He has not brought Mothet to me again, however. Serraillier will have written to him about it, and Dupont himself seems to feel relief now that he hasn't got the fellow round his neck day and night.

Your
F. E.

[*Notes attached to the letter*][33]

*Army of the North German Confederation*[a]

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Guards corps and 12 corps of the line: | |
| summa 114 infantry regiments *à*[b] 3 battalions | = 342 bat. |
| Chasseurs and rifle battalions | = 16 " |
| Hesse division: 4 reg. *à* 2 bat. & 2 bat. of Chasseurs | = 10 " |
| Battalions of the line | 368 |

*Landwehr*[11]

| | |
|---|---|
| 93 reg. *à* 2 bat. and 12 odd bat. | = 198 bat. |
| Hesse, estimate | 6 " |
| | 204 " |
| Total bat. already organised | 572 |

Reserves are to be set up as soon as the field army and the Landwehr have been mobilised, and without any further specific orders:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Troops of the line: | the 4th battalions of 114 regiments | 114 " |
| Landwehr: | the 3rd " "93 " | 93 " |
| | | 779 battalions |

The officers for these reserves are to be picked out at the start of mobilisation; they can be ready 4-6 weeks after the order to mobilise has been issued. They are *the best battalions in the whole army.* As soon as they have been set up a start will be made with the 5th battalions of the line and the 4th of the Landwehr, etc. Hence the organisation is as follows:

[a] The first page of the notes up to the words '*The French have:*' (on p. 21), is crossed out in the original. - [b] *à* here means 'each of'

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Troops of the line | 368 bat. *à* 1,000 men | 368,000 |
| Landwehr | 204 " *à* 800 " | 163,200 |
| | | 531,200 |

Envisaged for organisation:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Troops of the line | 114 bat. *à* 1,000 men | 114,000 |
| Landwehr | 93 " *à* 800 " | 74,400 |
| | | 188,400[a] |
| | Infantry total | 719,600 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2 Bavarian army corps, say | | |
| 50 bat.+30 bat. Landwehr | =80 " | |
| 1 Württemberg division, say | | |
| 16 bat.+10 bat. Landwehr | =36[b] " | |
| 1 Baden division, say | | |
| 9 bat.+5 bat. Landwehr | =14 " | |
| | 130 bat.=ca. | 110,000 |

I have kept the figures of the South Germans down to the minimum. I have left cavalry and artillery completely out of account just so as to compare the relative strength of the infantry, since this is what decides the issue.

The French have:

| | |
|---|---|
| Guards—33 bat.; line—100 reg. *à* 3 bat. | 333 bat. |
| Zouaves[34]—3 reg.=9 bat. | |
| Turcos[35]—3 reg.=9 bat. | |
| Foreign, etc., 5 bat. | 23 " |
| Chasseurs-à-pied[c] | 20 " |
| | 376 bat. |

There are 8 companies to the battalion; if, as in 1859, the 24 companies of the battalion are divided into 4 battalions *à* 6 companies, then the company can be raised to 150 men, forming the 4th reserve battalion, which makes in 115 regiments the total of

| | |
|---|---|
| | 115 bat. |
| | 491 bat. |
| If *much* of the *Garde mobile*[36] is organised, it comes to | 100 " |
| Infantry: 580,000 men=591 bat. | |

[a] In the original '188,600' - [b] This figure is given in the original. - [c] light infantry

Anything additional must be *newly formed* by officers withheld from the field army or recalled to active service. At the same time the *Garde mobile* cannot be deployed in the field on its own for the next 2-3 months at the least, since it has only exercised 2 weeks a year since 1868. The units of the French army (of the line), on the other hand, are too small to be able to contain large numbers of untrained or under-trained reserves. The entire new system has only existed since 1868. Incidentally, I must await further information about this new system, which leaves the *internal* organisation of the French army almost entirely unchanged. It may be that all sorts of things are being done on the quiet. At any rate, the units that have been *trained* only suffice to put the organised battalions of the line on a war-footing.

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## 9

## MARX TO ENGELS[37]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 August 1870

*In great haste*

DEAR FRED,

Your two last articles first-rate.[a] I galloped round to the *Pall Mall* at once. But since Greenwood was out, nothing could be decided. He will, however, be back before noon.

I shall write to him today that in future you will send articles direct to him[12] (I SHALL NOW NAME YOU).

As for the 'Russians',[23] they will learn that my attitude is one of *à corsaire corsaire et demi.*[b]

The OLIGARCHY here wants an English war on behalf of Prussia. Having curried favour with Bonaparte for 18 years and having quite used him up as the SAVIOUR OF RENTS AND PROFITS, they now hope to find A MORE RESPECTABLE AND SAFER POLICEMAN OF THE CONTINENT in reliable,

[a] F. Engels, *Notes on the War*, II and III. - [b] tit for tat

God-fearing monarchical Prussia. But the fellows should watch out. Ordinary people everywhere here are already saying: THAT DAMNED GERMAN DYNASTY OF OURS WANTS FOR ITS FAMILY PURPOSES TO INVOLVE US IN THE CONTINENTAL WAR!

The local *Figaro*, of which I have sent a typical issue to Dupont, is an *English* paper, founded by the French Embassy.

Bismarck for his part has also assiduously bought up support in the London press, *Lloyd's* and *Reynolds's*[a] among others! The latter in yesterday's issue calls for the DISMEMBERMENT OF FRANCE. That swine *ne ménage pas les transitions*.[b] The fellow has always hurled abuse at the GERMANS and fawned upon the French and now he has suddenly changed into a sort of Blind.

As to the latter chap, he hopes to achieve his election as deputy to the next Reichstag by means of a patriotic hubbub and by noisily 'suspending' his republicanism on the altar of the Fatherland.

Oswald kept on at me until I finally went to the third MEETING fixed for yesterday.[c] I took care to arrive a quarter of an hour *early* (the meeting was due to start at 11). I explained to him that I could *not* sign, 1. *d'abord*[d] because I had already signed the Address of the *INTERNATIONAL*,[e] 2. because I could not sign a private Address (i.e. *a non-International one*) *without you* and they would miss the OPPORTUNITY due to the time required just for consultation with you. In the future, if an occasion presented itself, we would invite him and his friends to the *International* to take joint action.

I then mentioned that there was a second, *personal* factor. If Louis Blanc was there, his FOOTMAN, Karl Blind, would surely be present too.

He interrupted me: 'At the last MEETING here Blind mounted a furious chauvinistic diatribe. We need you against him.'

'*I* cannot remain in the same room as that character, and I must tell you that if he comes I shall leave your house at once.'

I was downstairs in Oswald's study which looks out onto the street. Right enough! My EYEGLASS spied from afar the portentous ex-student, even though he had dyed his head black ALL OVER. He was accompanied by two fellow layabouts. Oswald said he would send them up to the DRAWING ROOM (the conference room) for the moment.

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[a] *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* and *Reynolds's Newspaper* - [b] shrinks from no change of allegiance - [c] See this volume, p. 11. - [d] first of all - [e] K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'.

He then proposed to me that he would go up and say I was there and that I could not meet Blind. IN OTHER WORDS, he was going to TURN HIM OUT.

I said that would not do. *He* had invited Blind, there would be pointless scandal and so on.

I took my hat and parted from Oswald on the most cordial terms. Even if he didn't invent gun-powder, he is still a perfectly decent lad.

At my prompting Serraillier wrote a blunt letter to Dupont about Mothet, so blunt that Dupont was insulted and stopped his correspondence with Serraillier for a fortnight.

I would be glad if you could send me the money for the SEASIDE.[a] I would like to go to Brighton before the week is out. In the circumstances I cannot go any further away from London.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

So you will now send your letters direct to: *Frederick Greenwood*, Esq., EDITOR OF *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 2 Northumberland Street, Strand, London.

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## 10

## MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER[16]

### IN GENEVA

[London,] 2 August 1870
1 Maitland Park Road

Dear Becker,

My long silence is to be explained exclusively by lack of time. I hope we know each other sufficiently well for us both to have the conviction that our friendship is steadfast.

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[a] See this volume, p. 8.

I sent the Manifesto of the General Council on the war[a] to the *Égalité* in the first instance, because I knew that it came too late for the *Vorbote*. I expect to receive copies today which I can send on to you.

In the translation of the programme for the congress (as it appears in the *Vorbote*), *Jung* made a number of mistakes:

1: this must read: '*On the need to abolish the public debt.* Discussion of the right to compensation.'

2: 'On the relationship between the political action and the social movement of the working class.'

4: 'Conversion of banks of issue into national banks.'

5: 'Conditions of cooperative production on a national scale.'

But all this you will find in the *Volksstaat*.[38]

Furthermore, as far as the congress is concerned, it is perfectly obvious that it cannot be held in *Mainz* under present circumstances. The Belgians have proposed *Amsterdam*. We are convinced that the congress must be *postponed* until conditions are more favourable.

In the first place, our support in Amsterdam rests on very feeble foundations and it is important to hold the congress in countries where the *International* has already sprung strong roots.

Secondly, the Germans cannot send anyone—or no more than *one* person at best—thanks to the present lack of money occasioned by the war. The French cannot leave their country without passports, that is to say, without permission from the authorities. Our French sections have been dispersed, the most tried and tested members have either fled or been captured. *In these circumstances* we might easily see a repeat of the farce enacted in Switzerland.[39] Certain intriguers might possibly stage-manage a *majorité factice*[b] in Amsterdam. *They* always manage to find the money necessary for such manoeuvres. Where from? *C'est leur secret.*[c]

On the other hand, the General Council is prevented by § 3 of the Rules from postponing the *date of the congress*. Nevertheless, in view of the present *extraordinary* circumstances, it would take the responsibility for such a step upon itself, if it could be sure of the necessary support from the sections.[40] It would be desirable, therefore, if a reasoned motion to this effect could be proposed

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[a] K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - [b] artificial majority - [c] That is their secret.

*officially* by the German-Swiss group and the French-Swiss in Geneva.

Bakunin, as you know, has in that blatherer *Hins* a fanatical instrument at his disposal in the Belgian General Council. As the Belgian secretariat was momentarily out of action, I added a denunciation and characterisation of Bakunin in my own name to the circular[a] which the General Council had issued on the *Égalité*, etc., at the beginning of January. Hins then wrote a highly impertinent letter to the General Council against me personally (he spoke of my '*manière indigne d'attaquer* Bakunin'[b]), so I replied to him in the manner he deserved.[17] It is doubtless thanks to his influence that, yesterday, we received an official communication full of accusations from the Belgian General Council, saying i.a.: 'The Belgian General Council has resolved to instruct its delegation to the next congress to call us to account for our resolution concerning the *Conseil Fédéral Romand*.'[c] They say we had absolutely no right to interfere in these local Swiss affairs! Curiously enough, the Brussels people themselves, like the Paris '*Fédération*', had *directly* requested us to interfere! Memories are short!

At all events, we shall now have to justify our decision in greater detail in our own circular. I would be greatly obliged to you, therefore, if you could give us a precise account of the intrigues of the ALLIANCE,[10] the congress at La Chaux-de-Fonds[9] and the Swiss squabble in general.

I have received the letter from our Russian friends in Geneva.[23] Please convey my thanks to them.

In actual fact, the best thing would be for them to write a pamphlet on Bakunin, but it must be done *soon*. In that case they need not send me any further documents on Bakunin's machinations.

They ask me what Bakunin did in 1848. During his stay in Paris in 1843-48 he acted the determined socialist. After the revolution he went to Breslau,[d] teamed up with the *bourgeois democrats* there and agitated among them for the election of *Arnold Ruge* (to the Frankfurt Parliament), at that time a decided enemy of socialists and communists. Later—in 1848—he organised the Pan-Slavic Congress in Prague.[41] He was charged by the Pan-Slavists

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[a] K. Marx, 'The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland'. - [b] *unworthy* manner of attacking Bakunin - [c] K. Marx, 'General Council Resolution on the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland'. - [d] Polish name: Wrocław.

themselves with having played a double game there. But I do not believe this. If he did make mistakes there (from the viewpoint of his Pan-Slavist friends), they were in my opinion 'involuntary ones'. In early 1849 Bakunin issued an Address (pamphlet)—sentimental Pan-Slavism![a] The only praiseworthy thing that can be reported about his activity during the revolution is his participation in the Dresden insurrection in May 1849.[42]

Very important in any analysis of him are his utterances immediately after his return from Siberia.[b] Ample material on this in the *Kolokol* and in Borkheim's 'Russian Letters' in the *Zukunft*,[43] which I suppose you have. Tell our Russian friends that the person exposed by them[c] has not made his appearance here, that I have passed on their message to Borkheim,[44] and that I shall be very pleased to have one of them come over here. Lastly, I should be greatly obliged to them if they would send me the *fourth volume of Chernyshevsky just published.* I shall send them the money for it through the post.

Your article on the war in the last *Vorbote*[d] was very good, applauded by my whole FAMILY, who send you their most cordial greetings.

*Adio.*

Your
Karl Marx

The enclosed copy has been *corrected in a number of places* where there were *printers' errors.* So it is better to translate from this than from the copy sent to the *Égalité.*

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[a] M. Bakunin, *Aufruf an die Slaven*, Koethen, 1848. Concerning this see F. Engels, 'Democratic Pan-Slavism', present edition, Vol. 8. - [b] M. A. Bakunin, 'Русскимъ, польскимъ и всѣмъ славянскимъ друзьямъ' (To Russian, Polish and All Slavic Friends), *Колоколъ* (The Bell), No. 122 & 123 (with Supplement No. 4), 15 February 1862. - [c] Vladimir Serebrennikov - [d] [J. Ph. Becker,] 'Der Völkerkrieg', *Der Vorbote*, No. 7, July 1870.

## 11

## MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD

### IN LONDON

[London,] 2 August 1870

Dear Sir,

I read in the *Rappel* of *1 August* in a correspondence from *Francfort-sur-Main* of 27 *juillet*, the following, inter alia:

'The town is full of people who have been paid to sustain warlike and anti-French feeling...' (sic!). 'A letter addressed to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* from London contains, among other things, a highly interesting confession. Frenchmen living in London decided to issue a proclamation against this *Napoleonic* war and *invited* the *principal German republicans* likewise resident in London, to join them. The Germans are reported to have *refused* to take part in the protest *on the grounds* that the war was defensive on the German side.'[a]

This misleading report which thoroughly distorts the facts concerning the '*convocation*'[b] issued by you, stems from *Blind*, the correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.[c]

I believe that a correction in the *Rappel* (*Bureau de Rédaction*, 18, Rue de Valois, Paris) will enable you best to achieve the effect you originally desired.

Yours,
K. Marx

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[a] In the original, Marx quotes from *Le Rappel* in French. - [b] 'invitation' - [c] See this volume, p. 32.

# 12

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 3 August 1870

Dear Moor,

Enclosed are W/2 86721, Manchester, 20 June 1869—£20; W/2 77454, Manchester, 23 January 1869—£20, for Brighton, and S/11 13062, Liverpool, 17 May 1869—£5 Moore's subscription to the International. You will receive mine early in September, I am RATHER SHORT OF CASH and must wait for dividends. Since I have to make some payments, I shall have to sell SHARES. What do you think: should I wait a while or do it right away? I can still sell without loss.

I am very pleased to see that the French have advanced and occupied Saarbrücken (garrisoned by 1 battalion, 4 squadrons and perhaps some artillery). Firstly, for moral reasons. Secondly, because it means that the Germans will take up a defensive position in the first battle and a defensive position is enormously strengthened by the breech-loader. Since, on my reckoning, the Germans must have moved up into strategic positions yesterday evening, I assume that the battle, for which the introductory skirmishes are doubtless taking place today, will be fought tomorrow along the line Ottweiler-Neunkirchen-Homburg. The army of Frederick Charles and the Crown Prince[a] will keep the front busy while Steinmetz will fall on the (left) French flank. Or vice versa.

That Greenwood did not publish the article[b] until yesterday evening, when a mass of confirmation was already available, was very stupid.[c] He also made a number of absurd lexical changes which reveal his ignorance of military terminology. However, it has already had an effect. Today, *The Times* published a LEADER which *was copied straight out of my Articles II & III.* So I am writing to Greenwood about it.[45]

You would have received the money yesterday but your letter only came with the second post and I did not receive it until around 4 o'clock.

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[a] Frederick William - [b] F. Engels, *Notes on the War.—III.* - [c] See this volume, p. 22.

The joke about Blind is very pretty. Is Oswald one of the Baden Oswalds of 1849? There were 3 of them.

There is still a certain risk that the French will attack before the Germans have fully drawn up their troops. If the noble Louis[a] had attacked on Friday,[b] he could have got as far as the Rhine without much trouble. But by Tuesday the Germans must be more or less ready. His best chance of taking the offensive was frustrated through his own fault—i.e. by the *bas empire*,[46] by the JOBBERY in the army administration which delayed him for 5 days and has probably forced him to march in before he was ready.

If the Germans lose this first battle, against all expectation, they could still be significantly stronger in 4 weeks than they are now. *They* are protected from *absolute* defeat by the Rhine; the French, however, have no natural obstacle to protect them.

Be so good as to let me know as soon as you receive the money; even registered letters sometimes go astray. Best greetings to you all.

Your
F. E.

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## 13

## MARX TO ENGELS[1]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 August 1870

DEAR FRED,

The unfortunate Oswald has just left a moment ago—7 p.m., and although it is too late to catch the post, I shall write it all down since I do not know whether I might not be prevented by some diversion tomorrow.

The fellow with Blind was Prof. Goldstücker, an old-time National Liberal. The scene became very stormy.[c] Student Blind even *lied*, asserting that Dr Jacoby was on *his* side (this was for the benefit of the Frenchmen present). On departing the fellows

[a] Napoleon III - [b] 5 August - [c] See this volume, pp. 23-24.

let it be understood, not LITERALLY but by insinuation, that Oswald had been '*bought*' by Bonaparte.

This threw POOR Oswald into convulsions. So he came to me. *I* should sign TO BACK HIM. OTHERWISE, HIS POSITION IN LONDON WOULD BE DANGEROUSLY DAMAGED. He brought a printed copy of the Address with him (just the page proofs).[15] I repeated to him *d'abord*[a] everything I had said previously. I then read the stuff through—feeble, verbose and—out of *courtoisie* to the Frenchmen negotiating with him—not a hint at the DEFENSIVE CHARACTER of the WAR on the part of the *GERMANS* (to say nothing of *PRUSSIA*).

I then proposed that he should drop the whole thing as its effect could not be 'great', since, as I had told him before, in my answer to his first letter,[b] the *working class* alone could offer active resistance to the national swindle.

He answered: *d'abord*, a certain number of Frenchmen had already *signed* and Louis Blanc had declared that he would *lend his name* (a formula to indicate that he had had no part in composing the Address).

Second, if he did *not* publish it now, Blind would write the next day in the German papers that *he* had *prevented* the publication of this treasonable Address. It would be better to print it.

The last point is right. I must say that I felt sorry for the lad. So I gave him the following *ultimatum*:

I too would *lend my name* (and, like Louis Blanc, not actually subscribe) on these two conditions:

1. that a note would be *printed* under my name saying

*'I agree with the above Address so far as its general sentiments coincide with the manifesto issued by the General Council of the "International Working Men's Association".'*[c]

2. that a sentence was added hinting at the DEFENSIVE CHARACTER of the WAR on the GERMAN side, if only in the most unobtrusive and tactful manner.

He accepted these conditions. The next day at 5 p.m. there would be another MEETING in his house, which I would attend.

He then said: Would Engels not sign too with *the same reservations* as myself?

I said it was a *London* Address. I was lending my name on certain conditions only out of courtesy to him and wholly against my critical judgment. I saw absolutely no reason why you too should compromise yourself because Oswald had made the mistake of

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[a] First of all. - [b] See this volume, p. 9. - [c] K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'.

involving ex-student Blind in the affair at all. And there the matter was left.

Incidentally, I had already written to Oswald since Sunday,[a] drawing his attention to another manoeuvre of Blind's.[b] I had read in the *Rappel* a correspondent's report from Frankfurt (quite rational for a change) in which the author was very anti-chauvinistic for a Frenchman. Nevertheless, he remarks *against* the Germans that

> the *Frankfurter Zeitung*[c] had printed a correspondent's report from London according to which the 'French republicans in London had invited *all* known German republicans to join in a common protest *contre cette guerre napoléonienne*[d]. The German republicans had refused to do so because on the Prussian side the war was a defensive one.'

This was the work of the ex-student who constantly writes of, to, for and about Karl Blind and his deeds of heroism.

The *Pall Mall administration* sent me a cheque for 2 1/2 guineas yesterday for the first ARTICLE ON WAR[e] (DURING JULY), with the comment that all correspondents are always paid at the end of the month. The younger *branche* of the Marx * family consisting of the ferocious girl[f] and the illustrious Williams[g] have declared 'they should seize upon these first spoils of war as due to them for brokerage'.* If you wish to protest, you should act quickly in view of the energetic nature of these 'neutrals'. I enclose a cutting from yesterday's *Pall Mall* in which they protest against *The Times'* plagiarism.[h] If the war lasts A CERTAIN TIME, you will soon be acknowledged as the *foremost military authority in London.*

Despite all the DRAWBACKS the *Pall Mall* has two advantages:

1. Of the respectable newspapers it is the only one which cultivates a certain *opposition to Russia.* This may become important as the war progresses.

2. As the GENTLEMEN'S PAPER *par excellence* it sets the fashion in all the *clubs,* and particularly the military ones.

3. It is the *only non-venal* paper in London.

*Apropos!* Buy a copy of the latest *London Illustrated News*[i] for the portrait of that scoundrel Brunnow. His face is the very incarnation of Russian diplomacy.

BY THE BY. Disraeli came out with that ridiculous guarantee of Prussian Saxony for Prussia in the Vienna Treaties, using it as the

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[a] 31 July - [b] See this volume, p. 28. - [c] *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt* - [d] against this Napoleonic war - [e] F. Engels, *Notes on the War.— I.* - [f] Eleanor Marx - [g] Marx's daughter Jenny, who signed her articles on the Irish question with the pseudonym Williams. - [h] 'Observations of the News', *The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1707, 3 August 1870. - [i] *The Illustrated London News,* Vol. LVII, Nos. 1604, 1605, 23 July 1870.

basis for an Anglo-Russian alliance. (He conveniently forgot that the independence of *Poland* was a condition for that guarantee on England's part.[47]) This was just a FEELER THROWN OUT. But the *Anglo-Russian alliance* is actually planned by Gladstone too. The ENGLISH MEMBERS of the *INTERNATIONAL* really must take energetic action on this. I shall send a letter to the COUNCIL about it FOR NEXT TUESDAY.[17]

The Belgians have proposed the congress be held in Amsterdam on 5 September. This is the plan of Mr Bakunin. The congress would consist *chiefly of his TOOLS.* I have proposed instead: *Appeal to all the sections whether they think not that, under present circumstances, where the French and German delegates would be excluded from the congress, power should be given to the General Council

1. to postpone the congress;
2. to enable the Council to convoke congress at the moment it shall consider opportune.* This was passed.[40]

The matter was all the more pressing as we see from the open attack on us in the LAST *Solidarité* (using our decision on the *Swiss* matter as a pretext)[48] that Bakunin had taken all his precautionary measures for the Amsterdam Congress. He would have defeated us at the last *congress in Basle,* had it not been for the German element in Switzerland.[49]

Lopatin has moved to London from Brighton, where he was almost dying of boredom. He is the only 'reliable' Russian I have got to know up to now, and I shall soon succeed in driving his national prejudices out of him. I also learned from him that Bakunin had been spreading the rumour that I was an *agent of Bismarck—mirabile dictu*[a]! And, *c'est vraiment drôle,*[b] the same evening (last Tuesday, yesterday), Serraillier told me that Châtelain, MEMBER OF THE FRENCH BRANCH,[50] and a particular friend of Pyat, had even informed the FRENCH BRANCH IN FULL SITTING *how much* Bismarck had paid me—namely 250,000 francs. If, on the one hand, one is in the French habit of thinking in *francs* and if, on the other hand, one bears Prussian niggardliness in mind, then this is at least a very decent *estimate*!

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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[a] wonderful to tell - [b] this is really funny

## 14

## MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD

### IN LONDON

[London,] 3 August 1870

Dear Mr Oswald,

I enclose herewith my *ultimatum* appropriately 'inscribed' and hope that it satisfies you.[a] I am unable to go any further.

Yours,
K. M.

*I agree with the above Address so far as its general sentiments coincide with the manifesto on the war[b] issued by the General Council of the '*International Working Men's Association*'.*[c]

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## 15

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 August [1870]

DEAR FRED,

THANKS FOR the £40. Ditto the £5 received from KING COAL[d] for the *INTERNATIONAL*.

As to the sale of SHARES, my view is as follows: They will go up again, but will then *fall* in the *very near future*, because the London STOCK EXCHANGE, inert for so long, is taking the opportunity for bankruptcies and this will have the same effect on the continental EXCHANGES so that a mass of papers will have to be thrown on to the market.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 31-32. - [b] K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - [c] In the original Marx adds the German translation of this phrase: 'Ich stimme obiger Adresse bei, soweit ihre Tendenz im allgemeinen dem Manifest des Generalrats der "*Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation*" entspricht.' - [d] Samuel Moore

As to Oswald's '*êtres*',[a] I shall examine him on the subject today. *Salut.*

Your
K. M.

P.S. Among the first victims of the war are the Lafargues and Schnappy.[b] Their cottage, in the [fortification] *rayon*,[29] will be torn down at the first unfavourable turn of events.

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## 16

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 5 August 1870

Dear Moor,

In great haste. The BROKERAGE was honestly earned.[c]

But what do you think of our soldiers? They have taken entrenched positions with bayonets against *mitrailleuses*[26] and breech-loaders! Молодецъ![d] I'll bet that tomorrow Bonaparte will invent a victory so as to blur over the thing.

If you think it important, and if there is still time, you can add my name to the Oswald Address with the same reservations.[15]

Greenwood wrote very politely today, saying I should send him articles as often as I like. He's asked for it![12]

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

Crucial battle tomorrow or Sunday,[e] this time probably right on the Lorraine frontier.[32]

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[a] identity (see this volume, p. 30). - [b] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [c] See this volume, p. 32. - [d] (Russ.) Well done! - [e] 7 August

## 17

## MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD[51]

### IN LONDON

London, 5 August 1870

Dear Oswald,

Would you kindly send your Address[15] to my friend L. S. Borkheim who would like to see it. His private address is: 10 Brunswick Gardens, Kensington, W.

My best regards to the ladies.

Yours,
Karl Marx

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## 18

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

### IN LONDON

[London,] 6 August 1870

Dear Jung!

Enclosed a 'very readable' *copy* of the two resolutions of the General Council relating to the '*Alliance internationale de la démocratie socialiste*'.[a]

You should write to Perret asking him to *print* these resolutions. That is the best way of replying to the *Solidarité*.[b][48]

They must *not* say that they publish it by order of the General Council, but they have the *right* to do so, because in the original

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[a] K. Marx, 'The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy'; 'The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the Central Bureau of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy'. - [b] This paragraph is in French in the original.

resolutions of the Council the publication was expressly decided upon.[52]

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

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## 19

## MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD

### IN LONDON

London, 7 August 1870

Dear Oswald,

*Iterum Crispinus.*[a]

Frederick Engels gives you permission to add his name to the Address,[15] but *notabene on the express condition* that *you print the same reservation word-for-word as under my name.*[b]

Yours,
K. M.

H. J. Rothschild, *commerçant*[c] (a German, i.e. a Prussian), gives the same permission *on the same condition.*

*Apropos.* I take it that you did allow the passage to stand which hints at the defensive character of the war on the German side, albeit in an extremely diplomatic way?

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[a] *Ecce iterum Crispinus*—Behold, this Crispinus again (Juvenal, *Satires*, IV, 1). In a figurative sense the words mean: 'the same man again' or 'the same (thing) again'. - [b] See this volume, p. 34. - [c] trader

## 20

## MARX TO ENGELS[1]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 August 1870

DEAR FRED,

I shall not get away until tomorrow (I've been held back by BUSINESS for the *INTERNATIONAL*). I shall not be going to Brighton after all, but to Ramsgate,[53] since the former place turned out on inquiry to be too hot, and besides it is made unsafe by the presence of Arnold Winkelried Ruge.[a]

*L'Empire est fait*,[b] i.e. the German Empire. BY HOOK AND by CROOK, neither in the way intended nor in the manner imagined, it appears that all the double-dealing since the SECOND EMPIRE began has finally combined to carry out the 'national' aims of 1848—Hungary, Italy and Germany! It seems to me that this sort of movement will only be complete when a brawl breaks out *between the Prussians and the Russians.* This is by no means improbable. The press of the Muscovite party (I have seen a good deal of it *chez* Borkheim) has attacked the Russian government just as savagely for its friendly attitude towards Prussia as the French papers sympathetic to Thiers attacked Boustrapa[54] in 1866 for his flirtation with Prussia. No one but the Emperor,[c] the German-Russian party and the official *St Petersburg Journal*[d] were sounding the bugle against France. But they did not at all expect Prussian-German successes on such a decisive scale. Like Bonaparte in 1866, they imagined that the BELLIGERENT POWERS would exhaust each other in protracted struggles, so that Holy Russia might then step in as supreme ARBITER.

But now! Unless Alexander wants to be poisoned, SOMETHING MUST BE DONE to appease the national party. The prestige of Russia will obviously be 'harmed' even more by a German-Prussian Empire than was the prestige of the 'SECOND EMPIRE' by the establishment of the North German Confederation.[55]

So Russia will do just what Bonaparte did between 1866 and 1870, namely, play tricks on Prussia in order to gain concessions

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[a] Arnold Winkelried was a legendary folk-hero of the Swiss struggle for freedom against the Habsburgs. Used by Marx to deride Ruge. - [b] The Empire is created. - [c] Alexander II - [d] *Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg politique, littéraire, commercial et industriel*

from Turkey, and despite the Russian religion of the Hohenzollerns, all this trickery will end in *war between the tricksters.* However gullible the German simpleton may be, his newly reinforced national sentiment (especially at the present time, when he is no longer to be persuaded that he must put up with all sorts of things in order to first establish German unity) will hardly allow him to be pressed *into the service of Russia,* for which there is no good reason, nor even a PRETEXT anymore. *Qui vivra, verra.*[a] If our handsome William[b] survives yet awhile, we may well live to see his proclamations to the Poles. As OLD Carlyle has said: when God wishes to accomplish something particularly great, his choice always falls on the most stupid people to carry it out.

What gives me cause for anxiety at the present moment is the state of affairs in France itself. The next great battle can hardly but go against the French. And what then? If the defeated army makes for Paris *under Boustrapa's* leadership it will produce the most humiliating peace possible for France, perhaps ending in the *restauration* of the Orléans. If a revolution breaks out in Paris, it is questionable whether they will have the means and the leaders capable of offering serious resistance to the Prussians. One cannot remain blind to the fact that the 20-year-long Bonapartist farce has brought tremendous demoralisation in its wake. One would hardly be justified to rely on revolutionary heroism. What is your opinion?

I understand nothing of military matters, but it is still my impression that rarely has a campaign been conducted in a more mindless, planless and mediocre manner than this campaign of Badinguet's.[c] And then, too, the beautiful opening scene with the whole Porte St Martin[d] melodrama of the LOWER EMPIRE[46]: the father and son at the flash-vent of the cannon, and the infamous deeds such as the bombarding of Saarbrücken with which this 'sublime' scene is amalgamated! It's the man to a T!

MacMahon pressed for swift action in the original war council in Metz, but Leboeuf was of the opposite point of view.

*Apropos!* We have heard from Vienna (in a letter from a cousin of Eccarius, a 72-year-old man) that *Bismarck* was there on a secret visit!

Quite in accordance with the spirit of the LOWER EMPIRE, we can see how in this war—in its commissariat and its diplomacy—

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[a] Time will tell. - [b] William I - [c] A derisive nickname of Louis Bonaparte (Napoleon III) who, in 1846, fled from prison in Ham in the clothes of a mason by the name of Badinguet. - [d] A theatre company in Paris that catered for low tastes during the Second Empire.

everyone acts in obedience to the maxim: steal from one another and lie to one another, so that everyone in France, from the minister to the CLERK, from the marshall to the common soldier, from the Emperor to the man who cleans his boots—everyone stands amazed as soon as THE TRUE STATE OF THINGS is revealed under cannon fire.

Mr John Stuart Mill was full of praise for our Address.[a] It has had a great EFFECT in London generally. Among others, the philistine Cobden PEACE SOCIETY has made a written offer to distribute it.[56]

*Ad vocem*[b] *Oswald's Address.* I have taken advantage of your permission since I was in fact reluctant to act without 'you'.[c] The delay has, of course, only made the Address even more absurd, but this is of no concern to us as we have only endorsed ITS GENERAL SENTIMENTS, etc., *so far as*, etc. It cannot be withdrawn now, despite its ridiculousness, since Louis Blanc, etc., would imagine we had done so because of the Prussian victories.

*Apropos!* Old Ruge had written to Oswald a week ago saying he could not sign. Why not? Because he was '*convinced that the Prussians would proclaim a French republic in Paris*'! Can't you just picture to yourself the old woolly muddlehead in all his glory?

Enclosed are a number of pieces by the Prophet Urquhart.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

P.S. In an article in *The Fortnightly Review* (August issue) on '*OUR UNCULTIVATED LANDS*',[d] I found the following on the soil in Ireland:

*'That her soil is fertile is proved upon the testimony etc. etc. and *M. de Laveleye*: the latter gentleman says etc. etc.' (p. 204).*

Since the English regard Laveleye as a great authority on agronomy because of his books on Belgian and Italian agriculture, the passage may be of use to you.[57]

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[a] K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - [b] And now to - [c] See previous letter, p. 37. - [d] F. A. Maxse, 'Our uncultivated Lands', *The Fortnightly Review*, No. XLIV, 1 August 1870.

# 21

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN RAMSGATE

Manchester, 10 August 1870

Dear Moor,

Today is 10 August. Can the Parisians have forgotten it completely? To judge from this evening's *Pall Mall Gazette*, it would seem not.[58] The *bas empire*[46] looks like dissolving in a fart. Badinguet[a] is abdicating from the army and has to hand it over to Bazaine (!!) who is now the best man among those left undefeated. This means in reality that he is abdicating altogether. It seems that people are to have the revolution made very easy for them; everything is falling to pieces entirely of its own accord, as was to be expected. The next few days will surely decide the matter.

I think that without the army the Orleanists are not strong enough to risk a restoration immediately. Since they are now the only possible dynasty left, it is conceivable that they might themselves prefer a republican interregnum again. In that event would the ex-*Marseillaise*[59] come to power?

I believe that faced with a republic the Prussians would agree to a peace on terms that would be honourable on the whole. It cannot be in their interest to stir up 1793 and 1794 all over again. The whole tenor of the King's[b] speech suggested that they were reckoning with a revolution and were unwilling to let things go to extremes. It is true that, against this, there has been since then the great national mania in Germany and the universal cry for Alsace-Lorraine. Nor can William be relied upon. But for the moment I still believe that they will settle for less. France will doubtless have to cede some territory. And for the élan of 1793 to be reborn, and *effectively* reborn—that calls for the *enemies* of 1793 and, as you rightly say, it also calls for somewhat different Frenchmen than those who have just come from the *bas empire*.

Incidentally, I would surmise that the Prussians have already held discussions with the Orléans.

That Bismarck was in Vienna sounds like a local stock-market rumour to me. There is a lot of that about in Vienna.

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[a] A derisive nickname of Louis Bonaparte (Napoleon III) who, in 1846, fled from prison in Ham in the clothes of a mason by the name of Badinguet. - [b] i.e. William I's

What you say about the Russians is my opinion exactly.[a] And it won't be long before matters come to a head. I am convinced that in that event Bismarck will arrange things with the French in advance.

On Badinguet's strategy there were articles yesterday (LEADER) and this evening in *The Pall Mall Gazette*.[b] Since then still more follies discovered. The 7th Corps of Félix Douay only left Belfort on 1 August and began a leisurely march towards Altkirch. But now that the line Strasbourg-Nancy is, or is about to be, taken by the Germans near Zabern,[c] the corps will have to be sent to Metz or Châlons via Vesoul and Chaumont. Such a mess is unheard of. It is excellent that it should be the Germans to expose the whole swindle at a stroke!

The letters published in the *Temps* since Sunday by Captain Jeannerod[d] give the best idea of the conception of the enemy prevailing in the French army. The good man was taken prisoner in Saarbrücken and saw the 8th Corps (our Rhinelanders). The fellow's amazement is enough to make you die laughing. The very first glimpse of the Prussian camp impressed him enormously. '*Une belle et bonne armée, une nation fortement organisée pour la guerre*'[e]—that is what he perceives in everything down to the *Prussian N.C.O.* whose '*valeur morale*' is '*malheureusement digne d'être enviée par nous*'.[f] And he is one of the most intelligent of them and can himself speak good German! He admits, moreover, that the Prussians shoot far better than the French.

The Germans now have $1^1/_4$ million men under arms, so that even 100,000-200,000 Italians (=half that number of Frenchmen) make little difference. Austria risks a revolution in Vienna if she makes a move. Russia will doubtless feel SAFE until peace is concluded, or a revolutionary government has been established in Paris which cannot be relied on to enter into any double-dealing. Everyone will take good care not to irritate the enraged German simpleton still further. However, you can see how right I was in my belief that the Prussian military organisation contained tremendous power, a power completely invincible in a national war like this.

Official accounts now refer to the 1st, 2nd, 3rd *German* army.

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[a] See previous letter, p. 38. - [b] F. Engels, *Notes on the War*, V and VI. - [c] French name: Saverne.- [d] G. Jeannerod, 'La guerre. Correspondances particulières du *Temps*', *Le Temps*, No. 3448, 7 August 1870. See also F. Engels, *Notes on the War.—VI.* - [e] 'An excellent army, a nation highly organised for war' - [f] 'moral value' is, 'regrettably, worthy of being envied by us'

I just want to go down to the Schiller Institute[60] to see the latest telegrams. Best greetings to you all.

Your
F. E.

Have still not heard anything about the house. In the circumstances it might perhaps be better not to commit myself for $3^1/_2$ years. I shall wait another few days before writing to the fellow.[a]

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## 22

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

Ramsgate, 12 August 1870
36 Hardres Street

Dear Fred,

Enclosed a mass of stuff. Please read it and send it back with *your* reasoned opinion.[61]

Before I arrived here I already had pains in my left buttock and continuing into the loin. I did not know what it was. However, it has now acquired a definite character. It is rheumatism but of a diabolic kind, so that I can hardly sleep at night. An Englishman here who suffers from the same thing takes *hot sea baths.* Do you think that is a good idea?

Compliments from the whole family to Mrs Lizzy and Fred. Likewise thanks from my wife for your lines.[45]

Your
Moor

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[a] Smith (see this volume, p. 19)

## 23

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG[62]

IN LONDON

*Ramsgate,* 12 August 1870
36 Hardres Street

Dear Jung,

Enclosed for submission to the General Council:

1. *Resolution of the German Central Committee in Geneva.* (The Romance Central Committee will be sending you a document with the same content.)

2. Also a copy of the resolution I have received from Brunswick. I am not sending the original, because all sorts of nonsense are attached to it that I have to answer.

I am very unwell, but perhaps the sea air will help.

*Salut.*

Yours,
K. Marx

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## 24

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[Ramsgate,] 15 August 1870
36 Hardres Street

DEAR FRED,

You will see from *The Daily News*—and it is reprinted in today's *Pall Mall*[a]—that an EMINENT WRITER IS ABOUT TO ISSUE AN ENGLISH PAMPHLET in favour of the ANNEXATION of Alsace by Germany.

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[a] *The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1717, 15 August 1870.

The EMINENT WRITER who has caused this notice about himself to appear in *The Daily News* is of course none other than ex-student Karl Blind. This miserable wretch could really stir up a lot of trouble in the English press at this moment with his intrigues.

Since you have some influence in the *Pall Mall* now, you must tear the rubbish to pieces as soon as it appears, and really flay the beast alive.

*Between ourselves*, the Prussians could bring off a great diplomatic coup if—without demanding an inch of French soil for themselves—they were to insist on the return of Savoy and Nice to Italy and of the territory neutralised by the 1815 treaties to Switzerland.[63] No one could raise any objections to that. However, it is none of *our* business to offer advice on these territorial exchanges.

The family is amusing itself here royally. Tussy and Jennychen never come out of the sea and are building up a good stock of health. For my part, I am lying more or less fallow thanks to the rheumatism and the sleepless nights.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 25

## ENGELS TO MARX[64]

### IN RAMSGATE

Manchester, 15 August 1870

Dear Moor,

When one has had severe stomach trouble for three days like me, with slight fever from time to time, it's no great pleasure at all, even when starting to feel better, to expatiate on Wilhelm's[a] *politique*. But since you must get this rubbish back, here goes.[61]

[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht's

How far Bracke, who is certainly a very weak fellow, has allowed his national enthusiasm to run away with him I cannot tell, and as I receive at most *one* issue of the *Volksstaat* every fortnight, I am also unable to judge the position of the Committee[a] in this regard except from Bonhorst's letter to Wilhelm, which on the whole is COOL, but betrays theoretical uncertainty. In contrast with this, Liebknecht's narrow-minded and self-confident dogmatism undoubtedly shows up, very favourably as usual.

The case seems to me to be as follows: Germany has been driven by Badinguet[b] into a war for her national existence. If Badinguet defeats her, Bonapartism will be strengthened for years and Germany broken for years, perhaps for generations. In that event there can be no question any more of an independent German working-class movement either; the struggle to restore Germany's national existence will absorb everything, and at best the German workers will be dragged in the wake of the French. If Germany wins, French Bonapartism will at any rate be smashed, the endless row about the establishment of German unity will at last be over, the German workers will be able to organise on a national scale quite different from that prevailing hitherto, and the French workers, whatever sort of government may succeed this one, are certain to have a freer field than under Bonapartism. The whole mass of the German people of every class have realised that this is first and foremost a question of national existence and have therefore at once flung themselves into the fray. That in these circumstances a German political party should preach total abstention *à la* Wilhelm and place all sorts of secondary considerations before the main one, seems to me impossible.

To this must be added that Badinguet would never have been able to wage this war without the chauvinism of the mass of the French population: the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants and the imperialistic, Haussmannist building-trade proletariat stemming from the peasants, which Bonaparte created in the big towns.[65] Until this chauvinism is knocked on the head, and knocked good and proper, peace between Germany and France is impossible. One might have expected a proletarian revolution to take this work over, but since the war is already on there is no choice for the Germans but to attend to the job themselves and quickly.

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[a] the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party in Brunswick - [b] A derisive nickname of Louis Bonaparte (Napoleon III) who, in 1846, fled from prison in Ham in the clothes of a mason by the name of Badinguet.

Now come the secondary considerations. For the fact that Lehmann,[a] Bismarck & Co, are in command in this war and that it must minister to their temporary *gloire* if they conduct it successfully, we have to thank the miserable state of the German bourgeoisie. It is certainly very unpleasant, but cannot be altered. But to magnify anti-Bismarckism into the sole guiding principle on that account would be absurd. In the first place, now, as in 1866,[66] Bismarck is doing a bit of our work, in *his own* way and without meaning to, but all the same he is doing it. He is clearing the deck for us better than before. Moreover it is no longer the year 1815. The South Germans are now bound to enter the Reichstag and this will develop a counterweight to Prussianism. Then there are the national duties which devolve on him and which, as you wrote, forbid the Russian alliance from the outset. In general it is senseless to try *à la* Liebknecht to set back the clock of history on all that has happened since 1866, just because it is not to his liking. But we know our model South Germans. There is nothing to be done with these fools.

I think our people can:

1) join the national movement—you can see from Kugelmann's letter how strong it is[67]—insofar and for so long as it is limited to the defence of Germany (which does not exclude an offensive, in certain circumstances, until peace is attained);

2) at the same time emphasise the difference between German national and dynastic-Prussian interests;

3) oppose any ANNEXATION of Alsace and Lorraine—Bismarck is now intimating an intention of annexing them to Bavaria and Baden;

4) as soon as a non-chauvinistic republican government is at the helm in Paris, work for an honourable peace with it;

5) constantly stress the unity of interests between the German and French workers, who did not approve of the war and are also not making war on each other;

6) *Russia,* as in the Address of the International.[b]

Amusing is Wilhelm's assertion that because Bismarck is a former accomplice of Badinguet's the correct position would be to remain neutral. If that were the general opinion in Germany, we should soon have the Confederation of the Rhine[68] again and the noble Wilhelm should see what sort of role he would play in that, and what would become of the workers' movement. A people that

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[a] nickname of William I - [b] K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'.

gets nothing but kicks and blows is indeed the right one to make a social revolution, above all in the innumerable small states so beloved of Wilhelm!

How nice of the poor little fellow to seek to call me to account for something that was 'supposed' to have been in the *Elberfelder Zeitung*![69] Poor animal!

The *débâcle* in France seems to be frightful. Everything squandered, sold, swindled away. The *chassepots*[70] are badly made and misfire in action; there are none left of them and the old flintlocks have got to be hunted out again. Nevertheless a revolutionary government, if it comes *soon*, need not despair. But it must abandon Paris to its fate and carry on the war from the South. There would then still be a possibility of its holding out until arms have been bought and new armies organised which would gradually force the enemy back to the frontier. This would really be the true end of the war, both countries reciprocally furnishing proof that they are unconquerable. But if this does not happen quickly the game is up. Moltke's operations are a model—old William seems to give him a perfectly free hand—and the fourth battalions are already joining the army, while the French ones are not yet in existence.

If Badinguet is not out of Metz yet it may go badly with him.

Sea-bathing is no good for rheumatism. But Gumpert, who is spending four weeks in Wales, maintains that *sea air* is particularly wholesome. I hope you will soon be relieved of your pain. It's something terrible. At any rate it's not dangerous and the restoration of your general health is much more important.

Best regards.

Your
F. E.

You can see, incidentally, how the wretched Wilhelm constantly flirts with the reactionary particularists[71]—Wulster, Obermüller, etc., and drags the Party in with him.

Wilhelm has obviously counted on Bonaparte's victory, simply in the hope that it would finish off his dear Bismarck. You recollect how he always threatened him with the French. And it goes without saying, of course, that *you* too are *on Wilhelm's side*![a]

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[a] The last two paragraphs are written in the margin.

## 26

## ENGELS TO JENNY MARX[72]

### IN RAMSGATE

Manchester, 15 August 1870

Dear Mrs Marx,

Today I was at the bank I had given to Smith as a reference and I heard there by chance that he had finally condescended to ask for information. What he found out (namely, that the bank would guarantee ten times the sum concerned, if it were required) will doubtless satisfy him.[24] I suppose I shall now hear from him soon. I am very glad that I do not have to write first to that stupid aristocrat of a LANDLORD whose SEAT near Bolton seems to be a diminutive affair in the middle of the factory smoke. The fellow is obviously off shooting GROUSE on the moors nearby and will certainly be in just the mood to enter into business correspondence with TENANTS. The ass obviously wanted to make himself feel important.

In view of the present situation in France, where everything may be overturned any day—and probably will be in a week or two—it is of course risky to take a house and furnish it for 3 1/2 years. However, it is a risk that must be taken. It seems to me that the Orleanists now *want* an interim republic like that of 1848 directed by themselves, in the hope that such a republic would suffer the obloquy of having to conclude a peace, thus ensuring that the Crown would go to their Orléans as the only possible dynasty left. However, this strategy can easily misfire.

The worst thing is: who could possibly take over leadership of a genuine revolutionary movement in Paris? Rochefort is the most popular and the only suitable man—Blanqui seems to be forgotten.

That Barbès is dead is a blessing. The 'Beard of the Party' would spoil everything again. *Enfin, nous verrons.*[a]

I have been very lucky with my articles.[b] Some few little prophecies which I made at a moment when they were *certain,* appeared in the press in time, so that they could be confirmed by the news the *next morning.* Such things are pure luck and impress the philistines enormously.

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[a] Well, we shall see. - [b] F. Engels, *Notes on the War,* I-VIII.

Who wrote the article that appeared recently under the name of 'von Thunder-ten-Tronckh' in which the English philistines were so bluntly told the truth?[73] In general, it is remarkable what tremendous qualities the English are suddenly able to discover in the Germans, and how they are all at Bonaparte's throat, having lain in the dust at his feet only four weeks ago. There is no greater rabble than the *honnêtes gens*.[a]

Unfortunately, I have no time to write to Tussy today; would you please tell her that I shall be writing to Kugelmann in the next few days and shall enclose the relevant material.[74]

My wife[b] and I send you all our warmest regards and hope that the stay at the seaside will do you a world of good.

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 27

## MARX TO ENGELS[64]

### IN MANCHESTER

[Ramsgate,] 17 August[c] 1870

DEAR FRED,

My best thanks (ditto from MRS Marx for the letter to her[d]) for the pains you took under such *circonstances aggravantes*.[e] Your letter[f] tallies completely with the plan of the answer I have already worked out in my head. Nevertheless, in such an important matter—it is not a question of Wilhelm[g] but of *instructions to the German workers as to their line of conduct*—I did not want to act without first consulting with you.[75]

Wilhelm infers his agreement with me:

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[a] respectable people - [b] Lydia Burns - [c] In the original '17 April', which is a slip of the pen. - [d] See previous letter. - [e] worsening circumstances - [f] See this volume, pp. 45-48. - [g] Wilhelm Liebknecht

1) from the Address of the *International*,[a] which he of course first translated into his own, Wilhelminian language;

2) from the fact that I approved his and Bebel's statement in the Reichstag.[31] That was a 'moment' when harping on principles was *un acte de courage*,[b] but it by no means follows that the moment still continues, much less that the attitude of the German proletariat toward a war which has become national is comprehended in Wilhelm's antipathy to the Prussians. It would be just as if we were to object to the relative independence which Italy received as a result of this war merely because at a suitable moment we had raised our voices against the 'Bonapartist' liberation of Italy.

The lust for Alsace and Lorraine seems to predominate in two circles: the Prussian camarilla and the South-German beer-patriots. It would be the greatest misfortune that could befall Europe and above all Germany. You will have seen that most of the Russian newspapers are already talking of the necessity of European diplomatic intervention in order to maintain the balance of power in Europe.

Kugelmann confuses a defensive war with defensive military operations.[c] So if a fellow falls upon me in the street I may only parry his blows but not KNOCK him DOWN, because then I should turn into an *aggressor*! The WANT of dialectics peeps out of every word these people utter.

I have not slept a wink the fourth night running because of the rheumatism, and all that time fantasies about Paris, etc., run through my mind. I shall have Gumpert's sleeping potion prepared for me this evening.

With the DEATH-KNELL of the SECOND EMPIRE THAT WILL END AS IT BEGAN, BY A PARODY,[d] I hit the neil on the head with my Bonaparte, after all! Can one imagine a finer parody of Napoleon's 1814 campaign? I believe we two are the only folks who grasped the *whole mediocrity* of Boustrapa[54] FROM THE BEGINNING, regarded him as a mere SHOWMAN, and never allowed ourselves to be misled by his momentary successes.

*Apropos!* The bourgeois PEACE SOCIETY[56] has sent the General

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[a] K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - [b] an act of courage - [c] A reference to Kugelmann's letter to Marx of 7 August 1870. - [d] See Marx's 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'.

Council of the International £20 for printing the Manifesto in the French and German languages.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

*The Times, Telegraph,*[a] *Daily News,* etc., all of which fawned so prettily on Bonaparte for 20 years!

The Brunswick suggestion that the General Council should request *Borkheim* to draw up a pamphlet against Russia is really hilarious!

How naive can people be!

The sea air is very good for me and at any rate this attack would have been far more unpleasant in London.

I don't agree with you about the house rent for $3^1/_2$ years.[b] Thanks to the French catastrophe, GENTLEMEN'S dwellings in London will now go up in price and you will be able to get rid of the house any day 'with ease'.

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## 28

## ENGELS TO MARX[76]

### IN RAMSGATE

Manchester, 20 August 1870

Dear Moor,

I hope that your rheumatism has become less acute. The chloral will have done you some good; if not, then see a doctor and ask him to prescribe a sedative. Gumpert is in Wales and hence unavailable for consultation.

I have written a vigorous letter to Smith today about the house.[24] I can't let myself be humbugged any longer by this

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[a] *The Daily Telegraph* - [b] See this volume, p. 43.

GROUSE-SHOOTING ARISTOCRAT. I was supposed to be there in 4 weeks, yet it was 5 weeks yesterday since I reached agreement with Smith and there is still no answer!

I think that the ANNEXATION of the French Germans is as good as settled. If a revolutionary government had been formed in Paris as late as last week something still might have been done about it. *Now,* however, it comes too late and can only make a fool of itself by parodying the Convention. I am convinced that Bismarck would have settled for a peace without cession of territory with a revolutionary government if it had come on the scene in time. But the way France is behaving now he has no reason to resist the pressures from without and his vanity from within. It is a great pity, but it seems to me inevitable. If Germany were a state like France, it would be easier to find excuses. But as things stand, with the need to divide the conquered territory between the three neighbouring countries, it is ridiculous. Even more ridiculous is the fact that the Germans should be willing to lumber themselves with a *German*-speaking Venetia in the West.[77] I shall try to obtain the ponderous Blind's weighty pamphlet, but it will likely as not come too late.[a]

What do you think of Mack-Bazaine? Mac-Mahon was bad enough, but now we shall have Mack (of Ulm)—*tout court.*[b] It will be an unheard-of thing if 120,000 Frenchmen have to lay down their arms, and that will doubtless be the result.[78] Just imagine that old mule William[c] deflowering *la pucelle*[d] of Metz in his old age! There has never been such a *dégringolade*[e] as the one now displayed by the 2nd Empire. I am only curious to see whether the Parisians will not finally muster the energy to do something when they learn the truth about the events of this last week.[79] Not that it would be of any use any more. The demolitions undertaken around Paris to facilitate its defence are on such a colossal scale that I cannot believe they have been carried out properly. The population of the city has almost trebled since 1840 and the difficulties of provisioning it likewise. And finally, all traffic relies so greatly on the railway now that if a few bridges are blown up on every line it will be almost impossible to bring any supplies worth mentioning into the city, even if the blockade is not complete.

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[a] See this volume, p. 45. - [b] just that; Engels is referring here to Bazaine who allowed himself to be shut up with his army and besieged in Metz, and suggesting a parallel firstly with MacMahon and then with the similar fate that befell the Austrian general Mack in Ulm in 1805. - [c] William I - [d] the maid - [e] collapse

The losses of the last few weeks must be enormous. Throughout the entire war the Germans have used bayonets with the greatest determination. And now they have been deploying cavalry against unflinching infantry so that men must have been falling like flies. The handsome William[a] has made no mention of all this. But this much is certain: man for man and battalion for battalion, the Germans have proved their most decisive superiority over the French. First at Spicheren[32] where they had 27 battalions against (at least) 42 French battalions which were occupying an almost impregnable position. After Thursday's battle[80] it will be almost impossible to restrain the demoralisation in the French camp.

Is Kugelmann in Carlsbad[b]? I do not know where to send the portrait.[74]

Best wishes from Lizzie and me to you all. I hope to hear good news from you soon about your rheumatism.

Your
F. E.

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## 29

## MARX TO ENGELS[81]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 22 August 1870

DEAR FRED,

The onslaughts of the rheumatism were so severe that the family council resolved to send me to London to consult Dr Maddison. Hence went to London on Saturday[c] afternoon from where I am returning to Ramsgate today.

Consulted Maddison yesterday. Says it is a severe form of SCIATICA. Prescribed medicine and also some stuff to rub in. Sojourn by the sea is beneficial to my GENERAL STATE OF HEALTH which

[a] William I - [b] Czech name: Karlovy Vary. - [c] 20 August

is somewhat impaired by my sleeplessness. He is in favour of taking a hot sea-water bath on very warm days.

In Paris they seem concerned only to keep the population at bay until the necessary measures have been taken to make the interim secure for the TRUSTEES of the Orléans.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Did you read the lousy letter from Louis Blanc?[a] The essence of patriotism is to remain passive so as to force the Bonapartists to shoulder the *entire responsibility.*

That Scottish jackass Elcho seems to imagine that he is the British Moltke.[82]

Freiligrath: 'Hurra! Germania!'[83] Nor does he fail to bring God into his laboriously farted song, and 'the Gaul' as well.

> I had rather be a kitten and cry mew,
> Than one of these same metre ballad-mongers![b]

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## 30

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

Ramsgate, 30 August 1870

DEAR FRED,

Tomorrow morning back to London by STEAMER. In the first place, it is very expensive to pay for 5 people to stay here since the English have thronged to all the seaside resorts on account of the war.

In the second place, RELATIVELY to the price the accommodation is damned 'draughty'. The worst pains have stopped, but I am

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[a] L. Blanc, 'Lettres de Londres. 14 août 1870', *Le Temps*, No. 3460, 19 August 1870. - [b] Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, Part I, Act III, Scene 1.

almost paralysed in a certain place, so that I must consult the doctor yet again.

More details from London.

Your
K. M.

*The Spectator*—8 DAYS SINCE—said that your articles[12] were the only significant ones in the English press, but regretted that the AUTHOR WAS SO CHARY OF HIS WORDS AND HIS FACTS.

*Apropos.* Borkheim was here yesterday on a visit from Margate. He seemed put out because *he* wanted to write *your* articles, and had approached the *Pall Mall* before us. He took his leave with a long face.

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## 31

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[84]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 1 September 1870
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Mr Sorge,[85]

My continued silence in the face of your several letters was due to two circumstances: at first 'OVERWORK', later very serious illness. At the beginning of August the doctors sent me to the seaside.[53] But there a severe attack of SCIATICA bent me double for weeks. I have been back in London only since yesterday, by no means fully recovered.

First of all, my best thanks for what you have sent me, especially the *LABOR STATISTICS*,[a] which are of great value to me.

---

[a] *Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor...*

Now I shall briefly answer the questions in your various letters.

Hume was empowered to carry on propaganda among the Yankees, but has exceeded his powers. I shall submit the matter to the General Council next Tuesday, with an EXHIBITION of his 'cards'.[86]

As for the 'secretaryship' for the UNITED STATES, the matter is as follows: I am secretary for the *German* BRANCHES over there, Dupont for the *French*, and lastly Eccarius for the *Yankees* and the English-speaking part of the branches. In our public DECLARATIONS, therefore, Eccarius figured as 'SECRETARY FOR THE UNITED STATES'. Otherwise we should have to employ useless circumlocutions. I, for instance, would also have to sign as 'Secretary for the *Russian branche*' in Geneva, and so on. Moreover, Eccarius himself plainly set forth the state of affairs in a New York PAPER—in connection with Cluseret.[87]

Next week I shall send you a new pack of CARDS OF MEMBERSHIP.

The lamentable behaviour of Paris during the war—still allowing itself to be ruled by the mamelukes of Louis Bonaparte and of the Spanish adventuress Eugénie[a] after appalling defeats—shows how much the French need a tragic lesson in order to regain their manhood.

What the Prussian jackasses do not see is that the present war is leading just as inevitably to a war between Germany and Russia as the war of 1866[66] led to the war between Prussia and France. This is the *best outcome* that I expect from it for Germany. 'Prussianism' as such never has existed, and never can exist, except in alliance with and in subjection to Russia. And such a war No. 2 will act as the midwife of the inevitable social revolution in Russia.

I regret that some misunderstanding on the part of my friend Vogt which is incomprehensible to me has led to a wrong opinion regarding Schily.[88] Schily is not only one of my oldest and most intimate personal friends; he is one of the ablest, most courageous, and most reliable members of the Party.

I am very glad that Meyer is going to Cincinnati as a delegate.[89]

Most faithfully yours,
Karl Marx

I should like to have a look at the Kellogg money nonsense (merely a variety of Bray, Gray, Bronterre O'Brien, etc., in

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[a] wife of Napoleon III

England and of Proudhon in France) in the original.[90] The stuff cannot be obtained here.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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## 32

## MARX TO ENGELS[81]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 2 September 1870

DEAR FRED,

Arrived here the evening before last. Today I shall go to see Dr Maddison.

Yesterday evening the enclosed note came from *The Pall Mall Gazette* together with a CHEQUE. Should I endorse the latter on your behalf and send it to Manchester, or cash it and send banknotes?

After the spectacular confirmation of your first article on MacMahon[91] it would be a good moment to begin your next article with *a summary* of your own *Notes on the War*.[12] As you know, the English need to have their noses rubbed in the 'POINTS', and too much reticence with regard to furnishing information WILL NOT DO with FULL-MOUTHED John Bull. The female members of the family are furious to find your articles plundered by all the London papers, but never quoted.

In my view the entire DEFENCE of Paris is nothing but a police farce, put on to keep the Parisians happy until the Prussians are standing at the gates, ready to restore *order*, viz., the dynasty and its mamelukes.

The wretched spectacle which Paris presents at this moment, and I mean by that throughout the entire war, shows that France had to be taught a tragic lesson if she was to be saved.

The declaration that no one can defend his 'fatherland' except in a uniform is an authentic piece of *Prussianism*!

The Prussians should surely have learned from their own history that it is not possible to achieve 'eternal' security from a defeated enemy through DISMEMBERMENT, etc. And even after the loss

of Alsace-Lorraine, France will not be battered as badly BY FAR as Prussia was by Napoleon's horse-cure at Tilsit.[92] And how much did Napoleon I benefit from that? It just helped Prussia onto her feet again.

I do not believe that Russia has *actively* intervened in this war up to now. I don't believe that she is prepared for such intervention, but it is a diplomatic master coup for her to have proclaimed herself France's SAVIOUR already at this stage.[93]

In my detailed reply to the Brunswick Committee[a] I have once and for all abolished the fulsome 'identity' of interests between him and myself which our Wilhelm[b] invents to others whenever it suits his purposes. It is a good thing that his initiative should have given me the opportunity to make an official statement for once about this *malentendu*[c] fostered by him so intentionally and with a bad conscience.

What do you think of Freiligrath as a family poet? Even historical catastrophes like the present one do no more than provide an opportunity for him to extol his own BRATS. In the process the VOLUNTEER 'medical orderly' is transformed into a 'SURGEON' for the benefit of the English.[94]

The correspondence between the former Swabian seminarist David Strauss and the former French pupil of the Jesuits, Renan, is an entertaining episode.[95] Once a priest, always a priest. The history course of Mr Strauss seems to have its roots in Kohlrausch[d] or a similar school textbook.

*Addio!*

Your

K. M.

The Prussians do seem to have told infamous lies after all about the bombardment of Saarbrücken.

In Paris farcical episodes follow thick and fast. But the nicest of all is that of the soldiers who march out of one gate and march in again by the next.

Enclosed a letter from Laura.[e] The fools' dawdling over their retreat to Bordeaux is unforgivable.[f]

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Letter to the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party'. - [b] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [c] misunderstanding - [d] F. Kohlrausch, *Kurze Darstellung der deutschen Geschichte für Volksschulen*. - [e] Lafargue - [f] See this volume, p. 556.

## 33

## MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 2 September 1870
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Meyer,

Just a few lines in great haste (if I am to catch the post). I shall write to you more fully next week. I came back yesterday from the seaside where the doctors had sent me for my health[53] but where a violent and painful attack of SCIATICA bent me double for weeks on end.

The first thing I did on my return was to reply to a pile of letters waiting for me; among my letter-creditors was Sorge, with half a dozen letters. *Your* letter had been mislaid and I only received it after sending off my reply to Sorge,[a] so I was unable to modify that in the light of the information contained in your letter.[96]

In any case I simply had to write to Sorge because he had sent me newspapers and *LABOR STATISTICS* (Massachusetts)[b], ditto information about Hume of use to the General Council, together with 2 SAMPLES of the International cards, etc., he had produced.[86] Lastly, I could not under any circumstances permit friend Vogt's erroneous view of *Schily*—one of my oldest and most intimate friends—to stand uncorrected.[88]

I was delighted to see from Sorge's last letter that you were being sent as a delegate to Cincinnati.[89]

If the German Workers' Union has nominated other correspondents this FACT should be reported to me *officially* for communication to the General Council.

*Salut et fraternité.*

Yours,
K. M.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 56-57. - [b] *Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor...*

Could you give me any further information, such as the relevant acts of Congress, etc., about the economics of the railroad in the West?

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## 34

## ENGELS TO MARX[1]

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 September 1870

What care I for wife, what care I for child—
I have higher yearnings;
If hungry they are, let them go and beg—
My Emperor, my Emperor a captive![a]

World history is surely the greatest of poets; it has even succeeded in parodying Heine! My Emperor,[b] my Emperor a captive![91] And what is more, a captive of the 'stinking Prussians', and poor William[c] stands by and assures everybody for the hundredth time that he is really quite innocent of the whole business and that it is purely the will of God! William really is just like the schoolboy: 'Who created the world?' 'Please, teacher, I did—but I won't ever do it again!'

And then that wretch Jules Favre comes along with the proposal that Palikao, Trochu and a few Arcadians[97] should form a government. There has never been such a band of riff-raff. But all the same, when this becomes known in Paris we must expect something or other to happen. I cannot believe that this flood of news, which is bound to become known today or tomorrow, will fail to produce its effect. Perhaps a government of the *gauche*[d] which, after a show of resistance, will conclude peace.

The war is at an end. There is no longer an army in France.

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[a] from Heinrich Heine's *Die Grenadiere* - [b] Napoleon III - [c] William I - [d] Left

As soon as Bazaine capitulates, which will likely as not happen this week,[98] half the German army will march on Paris and the other half across the Loire to sweep the country clean of all armed units.

On the subject of my articles,[12] you will have seen that I did what was necessary in the one that appeared the day before yesterday.[a] But my worst enemy in the English press is Mr Greenwood himself. The fool regularly cuts out all the taunts I make about his competitors' plagiarisms, and what is even better, in his Epitome he excerpts the articles copied from mine the previous night with the greatest good humour and without even allowing himself a jibe about their plagiarism. The trouble is that the fellow cannot refrain from indulging his private passion for his own military opinion, which is pure nonsense. Every philistine regards the ability to ride as a matter of honour, and understanding strategy comes into the same category. But even that is not enough to satisfy him. A few days ago he inserted a few utterly absurd lines about the siege of Strasbourg—simply in order to fill up the column. At the first opportunity I shall write an article on the same subject and say the exact opposite.[99] But what can one say? Journalism in peacetime is nothing but a continual process of reasoning about things which one has not learned about, and so I have no real right to complain.

Cash the cheque yourself and keep the money.[b] Half belongs to you by rights and the other half is an advance on the next payment when I shall send you a further £70.

The Alsace swindle—apart from its pristine Teutonic features—is mainly of a strategic nature and aims at getting the line of the Vosges and German Lorraine as border territory. (Language frontier: if you draw a straight line from Donon or Schirmeck in the Vosges to one hour's travelling east of Longwy where the Belgian-Luxembourg and French frontiers meet, that is almost the exact place: from Donon along the Vosges to the Swiss frontier.) Northwards from Donon the Vosges are actually not so high and steep as in the south. Only the jackasses of the *Staats-Anzeiger* and Brass & Co. could get the notion that France will be 'throttled' by the snipping off of this narrow strip with its $1^1/_4$ million or so inhabitants. The hysterical demands of the philistines for 'guarantees' are altogether absurd, but they tell because they suit the book of the people at Court.

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[a] F. Engels, *Notes on the War.—XV.* - [b] See this volume, p. 58.

I have not yet read the great medical-orderly poem.[a] It must be great. Moreover, these medical orderlies are the greatest loafers; when they are needed they are never on hand, but they stuff themselves, booze and bluster to such an extent that everyone in the army is fed up with them. Only a few exceptions.

In Saarbrücken the French did as much damage as they could. Of course the bombardment lasted only a few hours and not, as in Strasbourg, day and night for weeks.

Herewith returning Cacadou's[b] letter with thanks. Very interesting. The defence of Paris will be an entertaining episode, if nothing out of the way happens inside. These perpetual little PANICS on the part of the French—all of which arise from fear of the moment when they will at last have to learn the truth—give one a much better idea of the Reign of Terror. We take this to mean the rule of people who inspire terror. On the contrary, it is the rule of people who themselves are terror-stricken. *La terreur* implies mostly useless cruelties perpetuated by frightened people in order to reassure themselves. I am convinced that the blame for the Reign of Terror in 1793 lies almost exclusively with the bourgeois frightened out of their wits and setting out to comport themselves like patriots, with the small philistines crapping their trousers, and with the mob of the underworld who knew how to coin profit from the *terreur*. These are the very classes active in the present minor *terreur* too.

Best regards to all of you from all of us, including Jollymeyer[c] and Moore.

Your
F. E.

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[a] F. Freiligrath, *An Wolfgang im Felde*. - [b] Laura Lafargue's nickname - [c] Carl Schorlemmer's nickname

## 35

## MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD

IN LONDON

London, 4 September 1870

*In great haste*

Dear Oswald,

I only arrived back in London[53] on Saturday,[a] and had too much BUSINESS on hand to be able to accept your kind invitation.

If you are doing a 4th EDITION,[15] could you please put instead of '*Association Internationale Ouvrière*', the *official* title current in France: '*Association Internationale des Travailleurs*'.

I was right about the EMPIRE ending in 'PARODY'.[b]

Yours,
K. M.

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## 36

## MARX TO ENGELS[100]

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 September 1870

DEAR FRED,

I had just 'sat down' to write to you when Serraillier came to tell me that he is leaving London tomorrow for Paris, but only for a few days. His chief purpose is to arrange matters with the *International* there (*Conseil Fédéral de Paris*). This is all the more essential as the entire FRENCH BRANCH[50] is setting off for Paris today to commit all sorts of follies there in the name of the *International*.

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[a] 3 September - [b] See K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'.

'They' intend to bring down the Provisional Government, establish a *commune de Paris*, nominate Pyat as French ambassador in London, and so forth.

I received today a proclamation to the German people from the *Conseil Fédéral* in Paris[101] (I shall send it on to you tomorrow), together with an urgent appeal to the *Conseil Général* to issue a new manifesto specifically for the Germans. I had already planned to propose that this evening. Please could you send me as soon as possible the relevant military notes on Alsace-Lorraine in English for use in the manifesto.[a]

I have already sent a *detailed* answer today to the *Conseil Fédéral*, and have also subjected myself to the unpleasant task of opening their eyes to the true state of affairs.[17]

Received a reply from Brunswick to the effect that they will agitate precisely in accordance with my instructions.[102]

*Apropos!* Longuet telegraphed me the proclamation of the Republic on Sunday. I received the telegram at 4 a.m.

Jules Favre, although a notorious scoundrel and man of June[b] is good *pour le moment*[c] as Foreign Minister. He had always opposed the old Thiers policies and come out in favour of the unity of Italy and of Germany.

I am only sorry for Rochefort for being a member of this *gouvernement* which also includes the infamous Garnier-Pagès. But he could not well refuse to take part as a MEMBER of the *comité de défense*.[103]

Best thanks for the cash. Even the gods have no knowledge of any claim I might have to half your fee.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Paul, Laura and Schnappy[d] arrived safely in Bordeaux on 2 September. All the better as Lafargue would never have left [Paris] UNDER the PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES.[e]

Here there are veritable floods of *réfugiés qui ont sauvé la caisse*.[f] As I wrote to you before, GENTLEMEN'S residences are going up in price.[g]

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[a] K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - [b] See this volume, pp. 98-99. - [c] for the moment - [d] Paul and Laura Lafargue and their son Charles Étienne - [e] See this volume, pp. 59 and 556. - [f] refugees who have rescued the funds - [g] See this volume, p. 52.

Do you not think that if the weather, which is said to be abominable in France at the moment, continues like this, as is very probable after the unusually long drought that has preceded it, the Prussians will have good 'cause' to listen to reason, especially as the Anglo-Russo-Austrian alliance is threatening?

Dupont, who used to correspond with Pigott, ought to write the swine an abusive letter in the name of the French republicans. Urge him to do so.

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## 37

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 September 1870

Dear Moor,

(Continuation.)[a] Due to the unexpected victories chauvinism has gone horribly to the heads of the German philistines who have done nothing to bring them about, and it is high time to do something about this. If only the *Volksstaat* were not so contemptible! But nothing can be done about that. By the time my preface to *The Peasant War*[b] in pamphlet form appears in print, it will have been long since overtaken by events. All the more urgent, therefore, is the new proclamation of the International[c] (for which *you* must do the *German* as well this time).

If the telegraphed version of the Parisian International proclamation[101] is anything near accurate, it undoubtedly shows that these people are still entirely dominated by rhetoric. Having endured Badinguet[d] for 20 years, having been unable to prevent

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[a] See this volume, pp. 61-63. - [b] F. Engels, 'Preface to the Second Edition of *The Peasant War in Germany*'. - [c] K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - [d] A derisive nickname of Louis Bonaparte (Napoleon III) who, in 1846, fled from prison in Ham in the clothes of a mason by the name of Badinguet.

him from winning 6 million votes against $1^1/_2$ only six months ago[104] and from stirring them up against Germany without any rhyme or reason, now that the German victories have made them a *present* of a republic—*et laquelle!*[a]—these people demand that the Germans should leave the sacred soil of France without delay, for otherwise there will be *guerre à outrance*[b]! It is the same old idea of the superiority of France, of a land consecrated by 1793 which no subsequent French indecencies can profane, of the sanctity of the word: the Republic. Such behaviour really does put me in mind of the Danes in 1864[105] who allowed the Prussians to approach to within 30 paces, fired a salvo at them and then laid down their arms in the hope that they would not be repaid in kind for the formality.

I hope that they will all reflect on the matter once more when the first intoxication is past, for if not, it will be damned difficult to have any truck with them at an International level.

The entire republic, like its pacific origin, has been a complete farce up to now. As I have expected for the past two weeks and even longer,[c] the Orleanists want an interim republic to conclude the shameful peace, so that the ONUS will not fall on the Orléans who are to be restored subsequently. The Orleanists have the real power: Trochu the military command and Kératry the police; the gentlemen of the *gauche*[d] have the hot-air portfolios. Since the Orléans are now the only possible dynasty, they can wait calmly for the right moment for the real *avènement au pouvoir.*[e]

Dupont has just left. He spent the evening here and was furious about this beautiful Paris proclamation. He was reassured to hear that Serraillier will go there having had prior discussions with you. His views on the case are perfectly clear and accurate: make use of the freedoms inevitably granted by the republic to organise the party in France; act when occasion presents itself, once organisation has been completed; the International to be held on a leash in France until after peace has been concluded.

The gentlemen of the Provisional Government and the bourgeois in Paris appear to know full well (to judge by the reports in *The Daily News*) that any ideas of continuing the war are just idle talk. The rain will hardly hold up the Germans at all; the men in the field are used to it by now and healthier for it than they would be in the heat. Of course there could be epidemics,

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[a] and what a republic! - [b] war to the knife - [c] See this volume, p. 41. - [d] Left - [e] acquisition of power

especially with the capitulation of Metz, where they will probably have broken out already, though it is not certain. A guerrilla war which would force the Prussians to order mass shootings does not seem very likely either, but it could break out here and there under the initial impact of revolution. As soon as we know what effect the capitulation of Metz will have in Paris (and it must happen next week *at the latest*),[98] we shall be in a better position to predict the further development of the war. Up to now, the measures, i.e. phrases, of the new rulers seem to promise little but a forthcoming surrender.

Rochefort will probably not remain with that mob for long. When the *Marseillaise* reappears things will quickly come to a head between him and them.

Schorlemmer left today with Wehner to bring a mass of spirits, wine, woollen blankets, flannel shirts, etc. (for over £1,000 in all) from the local Aid-Committee[106] directly through Belgium to Sedan for the wounded. If he has time, he will call on you, but they still have a heap of things to attend to there; they did not start buying things and parcelling them up until yesterday morning. From there, they intend to go on to Metz, if possible, where each of them has a brother with the army.

It is typical of the lousy government in Paris that they do not venture to tell the public the true facts of the present situation. I fear that unless there is a miracle, there will have to be a phase of *direct* bourgeois rule under the Orléans to allow the struggle to proceed in its pure form. To sacrifice the workers now, would be strategy *à la* Bonaparte and MacMahon; before peace they cannot act under any circumstances, and after that they will first need time to organise.

The threat of the alliance[a] will doubtless bring pressure to bear on the Prussians. But they know that the Russian breech-loaders are good for nothing, that the English have no army and that the Austrians are very weak. In Italy Bismarck with the Pope[b] (since the Florentine government has officially announced it will go to Rome in September), and with the consent of Nice and Savoy, appears to have made any resistance by the ruling circles impossible; it was a brilliant coup. Incidentally, Bismarck seems only to be waiting for some pressure to declare himself satisfied with money and the town of Strasbourg and its environs. He can

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[a] An allusion to the rumours about the Anglo-Russo-Austrian alliance aimed against Prussia (see this volume, p. 66). - [b] Pius IX

still use the French and may well imagine that they might see this as magnanimous.

*Adjüs*, best greetings,

Your
F. E.

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## 38

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 September 1870

Dear FRED,

You and Dupont must forgive me for answering so late and then only in a few lines. I am OVERWHELMED with political BUSINESS.

You can see from the enclosed pieces of imbecility from opposite places—one from Paris, the other from Brunswick—just how pleasant our task is made for us.

You know that I sent instructions to Brunswick.[a] I assumed—mistakenly—that I was not dealing with uncouth BABIES, but with educated people who must be aware that the brutal language of a letter is not designed 'for printing', and furthermore that instructions have to contain *confidential hints* that are not intended to be *revealed* in the blare of publicity. WELL! These jackasses not only print 'word-for-word' extracts from my letter. They point their pitchforks *at me*, identifying me as the author. And they *print* sentences, such as the one about 'shifting the centre of gravity of the continental labour movement from France to Germany', etc., which were intended to spur them on, but which were not to be published *now* under any circumstances.[107] I suppose I must be grateful to them at least for *not* having published my criticism of the French workers. And to cap it all the fellows even sent their compromising mishmash IN HOT HASTE—*to Paris*! (To say nothing of Brussels and Geneva.)

[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Letter to the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party' (see also this volume, p. 65).

I shall really tell them a few home truths, but the damage is done! On the other hand, there are the fools in Paris! They have sent me piles of their absurd chauvinistic manifesto[101] which the English workers here greeted with derision and indignation that *I* had the greatest difficulty in preventing from being expressed publicly. I am supposed to send the thing to Germany *en masse*, probably to prove the Germans that they first have to '*withdraw across the Rhine*' before they arrive *home*! And furthermore, instead of writing a rational answer to my letter,[17] the fellows take the liberty of sending me instructions by telegraph (instructions from ex-student Longuet!) on *how* I must set about agitating *in Germany*! *Quel malheur!*[a]

I have set everything in motion here for the workers to force their government to recognise the French Republic.[108] (The series of MEETINGS begins on Monday.[b]) Gladstone WAS WILLING ENOUGH at first. But the *Queen*[c] was under Prussian instructions and there was also the oligarchic part of the CABINET!

I am sorry to see that that lousy, importunate, vain and over-ambitious babbler Cluseret has got his hooks into Grousset of the *Marseillaise*, a very able, staunch and courageous man.

The new *Address*[d] (THANKS for your contribution to it) will be printed by Tuesday. It is long, but that was unavoidable.

Your articles on the FORTIFICATIONS of Paris and the bombardment of Strasbourg are masterly.[e]

Tell Dupont that I am in complete agreement with his views, and that I *expressly* commissioned *Serraillier* to write to him saying that he should *not* leave Manchester *pro nunc.*[f]

Schorlemmer here the evening before last.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

*Apropos!* Prof. Schäffle of Tübingen has published a massive and idiotic book[g] against me (it costs 12/6d!).

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[a] Here: Brilliant! - [b] 12 September - [c] Queen Victoria - [d] K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - [e] F. Engels, *Notes on the War*, XVI and XVII. - [f] for the present - [g] A. E. F. Schäffle, *Kapitalismus und Socialismus mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Geschäfts- und Vermögensformen.*

## 39

## ENGELS TO MARX[109]

IN LONDON

Manchester, 12 September 1870

Dear Moor,

Our friends over there—both in France and Germany—do indeed surpass each other in political adroitness. Those jackasses in Brunswick! They were afraid you would resent it if they tampered with the guidelines you had given them, so they printed them as they stood.[107] The only awkward thing in reality is the passage about shifting the centre of gravity. To have printed that was an unprecedented piece of tactlessness. However, it is to be hoped that the Parisians have more urgent concerns now than to devote themselves to the study of this manifesto, particularly since they do not understand German. Their German in the proclamation is beautiful. And in his paper[a] Wilhelm[b] is full of praise for this chauvinistic mishmash.[110] Longuet is another fine one. Just because William I has presented *them* with a republic, a revolution should break out without delay in Germany. So why did they not make a revolution after the one in Spain?[111]

The passage on Alsace-Lorraine from the manifesto[c] is printed in today's *Zukunft*, but as something emanating from the Brunswickers. Send me 2 or more copies of the new Address as soon as it is ready.

If anything at all could be done in Paris, the workers ought to be prevented from letting fly before peace is concluded. Bismarck will soon be in a position to make peace, either by taking Paris or because the European situation will oblige him to put an end to the war. However the peace may turn out, it must be concluded before the workers can do anything at all. If they should be victorious now—in the service of national defence—they would have to enter upon the legacy left by Bonaparte and the present lousy republic. They would be needlessly crushed by the German armies and thrown back another twenty years. They themselves can lose nothing by waiting. The possible boundary changes are in

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[a] *Der Volksstaat* - [b] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [c] K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'.

any case only provisional and will be reversed again. To fight for the bourgeoisie against the Prussians would be madness. Whatever government concludes peace will on that account alone become impossible before long, and in internal conflicts there will not be much to fear from the army returning home from prisoner-of-war camps. The situation will present more favourable chances to the workers after the peace than it ever did before. But won't they let themselves be carried away under the pressure of the attack from without, and proclaim the Social Republic on the eve of the storming of Paris? It would be appalling if, as their last act of war, the German armies had to fight a battle with the Parisian workers at the barricades. It would set us back 50 years and would throw everything into such disarray that everybody and everything would get into a false position—to say nothing of the national hatred and the rule of rhetoric which would *then* take hold of the French workers!

It is a damned nuisance that there are so few people in Paris who have the courage to see things as they *really are* in the present situation. Is there anyone in Paris who dares to *admit to himself* that the active resistance of France has been broken as far as this war is concerned, and that consequently there is no prospect of successfully repulsing the invasion by means of revolution! Precisely because people do not *wish* to hear the actual truth, I am afraid that it may come to that. For the apathy of the workers *before* the fall of the Empire will no doubt have been changed now.

Could you let me know the title of the book by Schäffle[a]? He really is a worthy opponent for you! The fellow was in the Customs Parliament[112] and is a very undistinguished vulgar economist, rather along the lines of Faucher, but a Swabian. You will just love his book.

Since it looks as if *something* has to be annexed in any case, it is high time for us to think of a way for French and German workers to agree to regard it all as *nul et non avenu*[b] and to reverse it when occasion presents itself. It was my view that this would have been prudent at the outbreak of war; now, however, that the lot of ceding territory falls to the French, it is essential, otherwise they will all raise a terrible hullaballoo.

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[a] A. E. F. Schäffle, *Kapitalismus und Socialismus mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Geschäfts- und Vermögensformen.* - [b] null and void

Tell Tussy that my wife[a] is very grateful to her for her letter, and she will shortly receive an answer. With best regards to you all,

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. IV, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

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## 40

## MARX TO EDWARD SPENCER BEESLY

### IN LONDON

[London,] 12 September 1870

My dear Sir,

Last Wednesday[b] A. Serraillier, a member of the General Council of the International Workmen's Association, went to Paris as the plenipotentiary of the Council. He thought it his duty to remain there, not only for taking part in the defence, but to bring his influence to bear upon our Paris Federal Council, and he is, in point of fact, a man of superior intellectual quality. His wife was to-day informed of his resolution. Unfortunately, she is not only *sans sou*,[c] she and her child, but the creditors of Serraillier having claims to the amount of about £12, threaten to sell her furniture and throw her on the street. Under these circumstances I and my friends have resolved to come to the rescue, and it is for this that I take the liberty to call, by this letter, also on you and your friends.

You will find that the Address[d] I laid before the General Council, Friday last, and which is in course of printing, coincides on many points almost literally with your pamphlet.[e]

My opinion is, that Paris will be forced to capitulate, and from the private letters I receive from Paris it appears that some

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[a] Lydia Burns - [b] 7 September - [c] penniless - [d] K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - [e] E. S. Beesly, *A Word for France: Addressed to the Workmen of London.*

influential members of the Provisional Government are prepared for such a turn of events.

Serraillier writes me to-day that the haste with which the Prussians march upon Paris, is the only thing in the world able to prevent a new *Insurrection of June*[113]! Paris fallen, France will be far from lost if the provinces do their duty.

The Federal Council of Paris bombards me with telegrams, all to this effect: *Recognition of the French Republic by England.* In point of fact, it is *most important* for France. It is the only thing you can at present do for her. The King of Prussia[a] treats officially Bonaparte as the ruling Sovereign of France. He wants to restore him. The French Republic will not exist officially before its recognition by the British Government. But no time is to be lost. Will you allow your Queen[b] and your oligarchs, under the dictation of Bismarck, to abuse the immense influence of England?

Yours faithfully,
Karl Marx

*Apropos.* There is just now much useless talk in the English Press about 'our defences'. In case of a war with Prussia or the other military powers of the Continent, you have one, but this one an infallible, means of attack—to destroy their maritime commerce. You can do so only by re-vindicating your 'maritime rights', which by a Ministerial intrigue, not by any sanction of Parliament, were in the Paris Treaty of 1856 surrendered to Russia. Russia considers this point of such decisive importance, that she caused Prussia, at the very commencement of this war, to exaggerate those clauses of the Paris 'understanding'.[114] Prussia was, of course, but too willing. In the first instance she had *no* navy. In the second instance, it is, of course, the common interest of the continental military powers to make England, the only great maritime power of Europe, surrender the most telling means of maritime warfare on the plea of humanity! The privilege of inhumanity—and you can make no war in a 'humane' way—being reserved for the land forces! Besides, this diplomatic 'philanthropy' supposes that property—always on sea, not on land—is more sacred than human life. This is the reason why the stultified English manufacturers and merchants allowed themselves to be duped by the Paris clauses on maritime war—of no possible use to them, because not accepted by the United States. And only in a war with them such a proviso could be of any value to the

[a] William I - [b] Queen Victoria

moneymongers of England. The contempt with which England is at present treated by Prussia and Russia (the latter marching quietly to India) is only due to their knowledge that in an offensive land war she can do nothing, and that for a maritime war, where she could be everything, she has disarmed herself, or has been rather disarmed by the arbitrary act of Clarendon, acting under the secret instructions of Palmerston. Declare to-morrow that these clauses of the Paris treaty—not even drawn up in the form of treaty clauses—are waste paper, and I warrant you the tone of the continental bullies will change at once.

First published in *The Social-Democrat*, Vol. VII, No. 4, London, 1903 Reproduced from the magazine

## 41

## ENGELS TO MARX[81]

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 13 September 1870

Dear Moor,

The Prussians really are incorrigible jackasses! On the orders of Vogel von Falckenstein, they have arrested the whole unfortunate Social-Democratic Committee in Brunswick, including the *printer*[a] of the well-intentioned and undoubtedly tame proclamation, and have transported them *as a body* to Lötzen[b] in East Prussia.[115] You know that on the pretext of a French landing almost the whole of Northern Germany has been put under martial law, so that the military authorities can arrest people at will. Fortunately, the immediate deportation to East Prussia proves that they are just going to be held in custody until peace is concluded, and not brought before a court martial in which case the lieutenants who have received instructions to hand out punishments would have given them a good ten years hard labour or imprisonment in a fortress. It is clear, though, how panic-stricken the wretches are at the very mention of the word 'Republic', and how ill at ease the official world feels when it has no prisoners of state.

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[a] Sievers - [b] Polish name: Giżycko.

As time goes by, the war is altogether taking on an unpleasant face. The French have not yet been thrashed sufficiently and the German jackasses have already won far too many victories. Victor Hugo is writing absurdities in French,[a] and the handsome William is putting the German language to shame.[b]

'Now fare thee well with throbbing heart at the end of such a letter.'

What a king! And of the most educated[c] nation in the world! And his wife[d] has it printed! If this sort of thing goes on for another week, people will think that both sides can, etc., etc.

Now fare thee well with throbbing heart, or not, at the end of such a letter.

Your
F. E.

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## 42

## MARX TO ENGELS[76]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 September 1870

DEAR FRED,

Am sending 12 COPIES of the ADDRESS[e] at the same time as this letter. Various minor printing errors, small words omitted, etc., but nothing that distorts the meaning. This will be corrected in the second edition. You must bear in mind that the GENERAL COUNCIL HAS

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[a] V. Hugo, 'Aux allemands', *Le Rappel*, No. 455, 10 September 1870 and *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 253, 10 September 1870. - [b] Wilhelm [I], 'Der Königin Augusta in Berlin', *Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger*, No. 253, 7 September 1870. - [c] In the original the word 'educated' is written in Berlin dialect (*jebildetsten*). - [d] Augusta - [e] K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'.

TO DEAL WITH SUSCEPTIBILITIES in every direction, and so cannot write as we both could in our own names.

The news from Brunswick[115] arrived yesterday evening from Liebknecht, but with Wilhelm's usual vagueness and hence unusable. I have sent notices about it today to the *Pall Mall, Echo,* etc.[a]

The FACT itself is very good. This time the witch-hunt against the 'demagogues'[116] is beginning *before the end of the war,* and is aimed at workers rather than the student windbags of yore. It is very good that the Prussians are showing themselves in their true colours, and are destroying any possible illusions in the working class even before peace is concluded. Moreover, the working class can only be stirred to action by direct persecution on the part of the state.

The 'Republic'—even the mere word—has given the matter quite a new turn. E.g. Mr *George Potter*—that hero of the workers from the *Bee-Hive*—has PUBLICLY declared himself A REPUBLICAN. This shows you the mood in London. I hope that the Prussian policies of the Court will produce a lot of ill-feeling here. It is a splendid LEVER, the UNCONSTITUTIONAL INTERFERENCE OF THE GRANDDAUGHTER OF George III AND THE MOTHER-IN-LAW OF Fritz[b]!

For all that Bismarck is a jackass. Just because everything went right for him as long as he was the instrument of the aspirations to German unity, he has now lost his head to such an extent that he imagines himself able to throw all scruples to the winds and pursue specific Prussian policies, not merely externally, but internally too.

Yesterday there was a workers' meeting in a pub in Lincoln Inn Fields. We were sitting in our own meeting as usual on Tuesdays. A telegram arrived TO COME TO THE RESCUE. The PEACE SOCIETY[56] fellows, who have been actively 'buying up' workers (e.g. Cremer), had as good as managed to assure themselves of a majority, albeit a slight one. Our sudden appearance TURNED THE SCALE. At issue was a number of resolutions on behalf of the FRENCH REPUBLIC, which the PEACE SOCIETY claims could lead to war with Prussia. I have today sent detailed instructions to Belgium and Switzerland, ditto to the UNITED STATES.[117]

The enclosed letter from Serraillier[c] will interest Dupont and yourself. Only a part of it is enclosed, since the other part contains

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[a] K. Marx, 'Concerning the Arrest of the Members of the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party'. - [b] Queen Victoria, whose daughter, Victoria Adelaïde Marie Louise, was married to Frederick William, Crown Prince of Prussia. - [c] See this volume, p. 80.

FAMILY AFFAIRS and so has remained in the possession of Mme Serraillier.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.
SECRETARY FOR RUSSIA!

Schäffle's book is called *Kapitalismus und Socialismus etc.*

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. IV, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

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## 43

## MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER[118]

### IN GENEVA

[London,] 14 September 1870

Dear Becker,

Enclosed the Address of the GENERAL COUNCIL[a] for the *Égalité*. Tomorrow you will receive the *German translation* I have made (for I wrote it originally in English). The German translation contains a few sentences intended for Germany, notably the workers, but it was too late to insert them in the English version.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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[a] K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'.

## 44

## MARX TO CÉSAR DE PAEPE

### IN BRUSSELS

[London,] 14 September 1870

Dear Citizen,

Herewith two copies of our Address,[a] one for *L'Internationale*, one for *La Liberté*. I have no time to translate it, Dupont is in Manchester, and Serraillier in Paris as delegate of the General Council. My time is fully occupied with correspondence with Germany and with the agitation amongst the English working men.

On 5 September our Central Committee at Brunswick published an appeal 'To the German Workers' to oppose the ANNEXATION of French territory and to support peace with the Republic.[107] On the orders of General Vogel von Falckenstein, the infamous Prussian who (in 1866) distinguished himself by his vandalism in Frankfurt,[119] not only were the copies of the manifesto seized, but all the members of the Committee—as well as the unfortunate printer[b] of the manifesto—were arrested, clapped in irons like criminals and transported to Lötzen,[c] a town in East Prussia.[115] As you know, on the pretext of a French landing, the entire coast of Northern Germany has been placed under martial law, thus enabling those gentlemen, the military, to arrest, pass sentence and shoot whenever they think fit. But even in those parts of Germany where martial law has not been proclaimed, the Prussians, aided and abetted by the middle classes, have introduced a reign of terror directed against all independent opinion. Despite this terror and despite the hubbub raised by the bourgeois patriots, the German working man is conducting himself admirably.

Unfortunately I cannot say the same of our French comrades. Their manifesto was absurd.[101] 'Recross the Khine!' They forget that, in order to return home, the Germans have no need to *recross* the Rhine: rather they can simply withdraw to the Palatinate and the Khine (Prussian) Province. You can imagine

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[a] K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - [b] Sievers - [c] Polish name: Giżycko.

how this chauvinist catchphrase has been exploited by Bismarck's official journals! The whole tone of the manifesto is absurd and contrary to the spirit of the *International*.

I have not had the time to copy out for you the whole of the letter I received from Serraillier, but the following passage should suffice to enlighten you on the state of affairs in Paris. It is our duty not to deceive ourselves with illusions.

> 'It is unbelievable that for six years people can be Internationalists, abolish frontiers, no longer recognise anyone as a foreigner, and arrive at the stage they have now reached, simply in order to preserve a factitious popularity to which they will sooner or later fall victim. When I express indignation at their conduct, they tell me that, were they to speak otherwise, they would be *sent packing*! Accordingly it seems to them more appropriate to deceive these unfortunate fellows over the true situation in France than to seek, at the risk of losing their popularity, to bring them back to their senses, a course that would, I believe, be of much greater use to our France. Moreover, what a situation they are creating for the *International* by their ultra-chauvinist discourses! How many generations may it not take to erase the profound antagonism of nationality which they are seeking to revive by whatever means their feeble imagination can suggest! Not that they are stupid, far from it. But like me they know that when you flatter the people, you deceive them; they feel they are cutting the ground from under their own feet and, I might even say, they are afraid of openly saying they are Internationalists, a foolishness from which it follows that they can think of nothing better than to parody the revolution of '93.'

This state of affairs will, I trust, all be over come the early and *inevitable* capitulation of Paris. The misfortune of the French and even of the working men, is to *hark back to great things*! It is essential that events should once and for all destroy this reactionary worship of the past!

The manifesto printed in the supplement to *La Solidarité* did not surprise me.[120] I well knew that those who preach total abstention from politics—as though working men were monks who established a world of their own away from the world at large—would always revert to bourgeois politics at the first summons of the historic tocsin.

With the exception of a very few papers the English press has been bought, the majority by Bismarck, the minority by Louis Bonaparte, the latter having saved enough money to buy an entire army. Nevertheless I have found the means to wage a war to the death against those gentry, the Prussians.

Our friends in Paris have been bombarding me with telegrams telling me what I ought to do in Germany. I believe I am a little more familiar than the Parisians with the way in which one must deal with my compatriots.

You would oblige me by dropping me a few lines on the state of affairs in Belgium.

Fraternal greetings,

Karl Marx

First published in *L'Actualité de l'histoire*, No. 25, Paris, 1958

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Translated from the French

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## 45

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN [121]

### IN HANOVER

[London,] 14 September 1870

Dear Wenzel,

The Address [a] enclosed.

My time is so completely taken up with 'INTERNATIONAL WORKS' that I never get to bed before three in the morning. This is to excuse my obstinate silence.

Best greetings to *Madame la Comtesse* and Fränzchen.[b]

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 17, Stuttgart, 1901-02 and in full, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

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[a] K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - [b] Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann

## 46

## MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD

### IN LONDON

[London,] 14 September 1870

Dear Oswald,

Enclosed are 50 COPIES of our new Address.[a] There are a few printing errors in it, but they do not distort the meaning. We shall correct them in the SECOND EDITION.

Our Central Committee for Germany (residing in Brunswick) issued a manifesto to the German workers on 5 September, opposing the ANNEXATION of Alsace and Lorraine and advocating the recognition of the French Republic, etc.[107] On the orders of Vogel von Falckenstein not only were the copies of the manifesto confiscated, but also *all the members of the Committee*—and the unfortunate printer,[b] were arrested INTO THE BARGAIN and transported *as a body* to Lötzen[c] in East Prussia.[115] I have immediately sent reports of the affair[d] to various London papers and shall see if they print them.

The victory in yesterday's meeting over the people who were partly *in the pay* of the PEACE SOCIETY,[56] and partly unindoctrinated, was QUITE ACCIDENTAL. We were just holding the usual Tuesday meeting of the General Council of the International when our friends telegraphed from the Strand TO COME TO THE RESCUE since they would otherwise have been out-voted. And this is just what we did.[117]

You must forgive me for not answering sooner. I am so [overwhelmed] with INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS that, since my return,[53] I have been unable to get to bed before three in the morning.

Liebknecht has foolishly forgotten to give me a secret address. All letters sent direct to him are INTERCEPTED by the police.

I shall look out some copies of the *Volksstaat* for you, but I must

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[a] K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - [b] Sievers - [c] Polish name: Giżycko. - [d] K. Marx, 'Concerning the Arrest of the Members of the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party'.

have them back, together with those I have already given you, since I am collecting them.

Yours,
K. Marx

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## 47

## MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

### IN GENEVA

[London, 15 September 1870]

Dear Becker,

I sent a translation[a] to the *Volksstaat* a few days ago, because more urgent. However, *this version* is improved in a number of places.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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[a] A German translation of the second Address of the General Council on the Franco-Prussian War.

## 48

## MARX TO ENGELS[122]

IN MANCHESTER

London, 16 September 1870

*In great haste*

DEAR FRED,

Let Dupont reply to the Marseilles people (incl. their manifesto[123] and letter) and put them in their place—in the name of the GENERAL COUNCIL. At the same time he can send them *our* manifesto.[a] If he needs them I can send him new copies from here.

As to the manifesto itself, apart from *The Spectator* which has written it up in an article too clever by half, and the brief extract in the *Pall Mall*,[b] all the London PAPERS have tried to BURKE us.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. IV, Stuttgart, 1913

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## 49

## MARX TO EDWARD SPENCER BEESLY

IN LONDON

London, 16 September 1870

My dear Sir,

You must excuse my bothering you again with a letter, but *à la guerre comme à la guerre.*[c]

[a] K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - [b] *The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 1745, 16 September 1870. - [c] One must take the rough with the smooth (literally: that's how it is in wartime).

The worst anticipations of the two Addresses of the General Council of the International[a] have already been realised.

Having declared to make war against Louis Bonaparte and not against the French people, Prussia makes now war upon the French people and peace with Bonaparte. It has let out the murder. It has declared its intention of restoring him or his family to the Tuileries. The infamous *Times* affects to-day to treat this as mere gossip.[b] It knows, or ought to know that the thing has been printed in the Berlin *Staats-Anzeiger* (the Prussian *Moniteur*). From semi-official Prussian papers, such as the *Cologne Gazette*,[c] I see that that old ass, King William, true to his Hohenzollern family traditions, already prostrates himself at the feet of the Czar[d] and implores him to be so magnanimous as to employ him as his man-servant against the Turks! Lastly, the reaction has already set in in Germany. Our people at Brunswick, to begin with, have, as I wrote you, been marched off in chains like common felons to the Eastern frontier.[115] But this is only one fact amongst hundreds.

After the first war of German Independence against Napoleon I,[e] the wild and ferocious Government's chase upon the so-called demagogues (*die demagogischen Untersuchungen*[f]) lasted fully for 20 years![116] but they set in only after the end of the war. They now begin before the conclusion of peace.

Then their persecutions were directed against the windy idealists and frothy youths (the students at the Universities) of the middle class, bureaucracy and aristocracy. They are now directed against the working class.

For my part, *I am delighted* at all those misdeeds of the Prussian Government. They will stir Germany. Now what I think you ought to do is this: The first Address of the General Council on the war was only published in full by the *Pall Mall*,[g] but extracts and even leading articles on it appeared in many other papers. This time, although the Address has been forwarded to all London papers, not one has taken the least notice of it, except the *Pall Mall*, which gives a very short extract.[h]

(By-the-by, this paper, which handles you so nicely in its yesterday's number,[124] has certain private obligations towards me, I

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[a] The first and second Addresses of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War. - [b] 'The Emperor Napoleon', *The Times*, No. 26857, 16 September 1870 (leader). - [c] *Kölnische Zeitung* - [d] Alexander II - [e] the war of 1813-14 - [f] investigation of the demagogues - [g] *The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 1702, 28 July 1870. - [h] See this volume, p. 84.

having proposed there my friend Engels' *Notes on the War.* I did so at the request of A—B—[a] who, from time to time, had smuggled some paragraphs on the 'International' into the *Pall Mall.* Hence our second address is not altogether burked in that paper.)

From the Continent, where people were and are used, even at Moscow and St Petersburg, even in the French papers under the Bonapartist rule, even now at Berlin, to see the manifestoes of the International treated seriously and reproduced in full by some journal or other, we have been once and again taunted for our negligence in not using the 'free' London press. They have, of course, no idea whatsoever, and will not believe in the utter corruption, of that vile concern, long since branded by William Cobbett as 'mercenary, infamous, and illiterate'.

Now I believe you would do the greatest possible service to the *International,* and I should take good care to have your article reproduced in *our* journals in Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Hungary, Germany, France, and the United States—if you in the *Fortnightly Review* would publish something on the International,[b] the manifestoes of the General Council on the war and the treatment we have to undergo at the hands of that paragon press, that 'free' English press! Those fellows are in fact more enslaved to the Prussian police than the Berlin papers.

Lafargue, now editor of a paper at Bordeaux,[c] sends you and Mrs Beesly his best compliments.

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

First published in *The Social-Democrat,* Vol. VII, No. 4, London, 1903

Reproduced from the magazine

[a] Thieblin - [b] E. S. Beesly, 'The International Working Men's Association', *The Fortnightly Review,* No. XLVII, 1 November 1870. - [c] *La Défense nationale. Journal quotidien*

## 50

## MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD

### IN LONDON

[London,] 23 September 1870

Dear Oswald,

Herewith the *Volksstaat* (Nos. 72-76) and the *Volkswille* (No. 34), both of which I must have back by *Monday* NEXT.[a]

I only receive occasional copies of the *Zukunft*. The copies that Engels has have not yet been unpacked, any more than the rest of the furniture he has JUST brought down from Manchester.[125] This is also the reason why I *cannot yet* accept your kind invitation. I must first get Engels AND his FAMILY settled in.

I am *toto ovelo*[b] *opposed* to your neutralisation plan[126] and have already expressed my views to this effect in detail after hearing about the plan from another direction.

If people were SERIOUSLY concerned about the military security of Germany, it would meet the case exactly if the fortresses of Metz and Strasbourg were to be razed to the ground.

Bismarck *knows* this. He also knows that on this side neutralisation can achieve no more and that it would contribute *much less*, in fact *nothing*, towards the reconciliation with France that will again become necessary in the future. It is one of those measures that ruin everything and settle nothing.

Consider further that the entire opposition in Germany is only a real power, a power that grows as a result of persecution by the government, *because* and *insofar as* it makes a *strong stand on principle*.

This is appreciated not only by the workers but even by people like Jacoby, people like Ludwig Simon of Trier and even Jakob Venedey! Once such a motley opposition starts playing around with diplomacy, all is lost. It would gain nothing at all through such diplomacy but on the contrary, by involving itself with C....,[c] it would lose the right to declare: Annex, IF YOU PLEASE. We declare these annexations *non avenues*[d]!

*Du reste*,[e] Jules Favre, and not Thiers, is the man of the moment. Razing the fortresses was *first* proposed in the official *Journal de*

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[a] 26 September - [b] quite definitely - [c] Text illegible in source. - [d] invalid - [e] Moreover

*Pétersbourg*[127] and was taken up at once by the French Provisional Government. If anything is powerful enough to break the hold of the military canaille on the handsome William[a] it is such hints from Petersburg.

Yours,
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 33, Moscow, 1964

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## 51

## MARX TO EDWARD SPENCER BEESLY

### IN LONDON

[London,] 19 October 1870

My dear Sir,

Deak is against the workmen. He is, in fact, a Hungarian edition of an English Whig.

As to Lyons,[128] I have received letters not fit for publication. At first everything went well. Under the pressure of the 'International' section, the Republic was proclaimed before Paris had taken that step. A revolutionary Government was at once established—*La Commune*—composed partly of workmen belonging to the 'International', partly of Radical middle-class Republicans. The octrois were at once abolished, and rightly so. The Bonapartist and Clerical intriguers were intimidated. Energetic measures were taken to arm the whole people. The middle class began if not really to sympathise with, at least to quietly undergo, the new order of things. The action of Lyons was at once felt at Marseilles and Toulouse, where the 'International' sections are strong.

But the asses, Bakunine and Cluseret, arrived at Lyons and spoiled everything. Belonging both to the 'International', they had, unfortunately, influence enough to mislead our friends. The Hotel de Ville was seized—for a short time—and most foolish decrees

[a] William I

on the *abolition de l'état*[a] and similar nonsense were issued. You understand that the very fact of a Russian—represented by the middle class papers as an agent of Bismarck—pretending to impose himself as the leader of a *Comité du Salut de la France*[b] was quite sufficient to turn the balance of public opinion. As to *Cluseret*, he behaved both as a fool and a coward. These two men have left Lyons after their failure.

At Rouen, as in most other industrial towns of France, the sections of the International, following the example of Lyons, have enforced the official admission into the 'committees of defence'[103] of the working-class element.

Still, I must tell you that according to all information I receive from France, the middle class on the whole prefers Prussian conquest to the victory of a Republic with Socialist tendencies.

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

I send you a copy of the *New-York Tribune* which I received yesterday. You will oblige me by returning it after perusal. It contains an article on the International, penned I do not know by whom, but to guess from style and manner, Mr Dana might be the writer.

I forward also three copies of the *Défense nationale*, which Lafargue sends you with his compliments.

First published in *The Social-Democrat*, Vol. VII, No. 4, London, 1903

Reproduced from the magazine

## 52

## MARX TO PETER IMANDT

### IN DUNDEE

[London,] 11 November 1870

Dear Imandt,

Your nephew[c] arrived yesterday morning. Your letter came today. However, we have resolved in a full family council that

[a] abolition of the state - [b] Committee of Salvation of France - [c] Robert Imandt

Imandt junior should stay here until Wednesday[a] and then leave on the steamer.

Firstly, as far as his departure itself is concerned, we do not wish to lose the pleasure of his company so soon, and it will do him good to take a breather.

Secondly, *quoad*[b] the method of travel, he arrived here from Southampton quite frozen, and the train journey to Dundee would be far too exhausting for him (and it would be even worse in the 3rd class), whereas travelling FIRST CLASS by boat for 20sh., he would receive his due measure of warmth.

He is a very sound and well-educated young man who has given us all immense pleasure.

I hope that you are satisfied with this arrangement.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

*Apropos*, our Wilhelm, not *rex*, but Wilhelm Liebknecht is a real thorn in the side of the Prussians with his *Volksstaat* even though he imagines, in his narrow-minded way, that he always has to say black when the enemy says white and vice versa. In consequence he takes all the phrases of someone like Gambetta and his consorts at their face value and so constantly deceives his readers on matters of fact in just the same way as the French are entertained with FALSE NEWS by their GOVERNORS.

Mr Freiligrath, meanwhile, has become the producer of feelings for the NATIONAL LIBERAL PHILISTINE. And rightly so. He has to give something in return for the proceeds of the collections WHICH HE HAS POCKETED.[129]

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Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

[a] 16 November - [b] as to

## 53

## MARX TO THE DUTCH AND FLEMISH INTERNATIONALS

IN BRUSSELS

[London, between 3 and 9 December 1870]

We request our friends in the Netherlands to send their organs *De Werkman, Asmodée, De Toekomst, De Werker* of Antwerp, etc., regularly to the General Council of the International Association in London at the following address:

Karl Marx, Modena Villa, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, London, England.

First published in *L'Internationale*, No. 100, 11 December 1870

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

## 54

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[121]

IN HANOVER

London, 13 December [1870]

Dear Kugelmann,

You must explain my long silence by the fact that during the war, which has taken most of the FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS of the GENERAL COUNCIL to France, I have had to conduct *practically the entire international correspondence*, which is no trifle. Apart from that, with the '*postal freedom*' prevailing now in Germany and particularly in the North German Confederation,[55] and quite 'particularly' in Hanover, it is dangerous—not for me, it is true, but for my German correspondents—if I write them my opinion of the war, and what else can one write about at the present moment?

For example, you ask me for our first Address on the war. I

had sent it to you. It has obviously been intercepted. Today I am enclosing the two Addresses issued as a pamphlet,[a] as well as Professor Beesly's article in *The Fortnightly Review*[b] and today's *Daily News*. Since this paper has a Prussian tinge, the things will probably get through. Professor Beesly is a Comtist and is as such obliged to support all sorts of CROTCHETS, but for the rest a very capable and brave man. He is professor of history at London University.

It seems that Germany was not satisfied with capturing Bonaparte, his generals and his army; with him, imperialism too, with all its infirmities, has acclimatised itself in the land of the oak and the linden.

As to the German bourgeois, I am not at all surprised by his obsession with conquest. First of all, to seize things is the vital principle of every bourgeoisie and to take foreign provinces is after all 'taking'. And then the German citizen has dutifully accepted so many kicks from his sovereigns, and particularly from the Hohenzollerns, that it must be a real pleasure to him when, for a change, those kicks are administered to the foreigner.

In any case this war has freed us from the 'bourgeois republicans'. It has put a horrible end to that crew. And that is an important result. It has given our professors the best opportunity of damning themselves in the eyes of the whole world as servile pedants. The relations which will come in its wake are the best propaganda for our principles.

Here in England public opinion on the outbreak of war was ultra-Prussian; it has now turned into the opposite. In the *cafés chantants*, for example, the German singers with their *Watch on the Rhine*[c] are hissed off while French singers with the *Marseillaise* are accompanied *in choro*. Apart from the decided sympathies of the mass of the people with the Republic and the irritation of the RESPECTABILITY about the alliance between Prussia and Russia—now as clear as daylight—and the shameless tone of Prussian diplomacy since the military successes, the way in which the war has been conducted—the requisitioning system, the burning down of

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[a] A reference to the pamphlet *The General Council of the International Working-Men's Association on the War*, which contained the first and second Addresses of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War, written by Marx. - [b] E. S. Beesly, 'The International Working Men's Association', *The Fortnightly Review*, No. XLVII, 1 November 1870. - [c] In the original: 'Wi-Wa-Wacht am Rhein.'

villages, the shooting of *francs-tireurs*,[130] the taking of hostages and similar recapitulations of the Thirty Years' War[131]—all this has aroused universal indignation here. OF COURSE, the English have done the same in India, Jamaica, etc., but the French are neither Hindus, nor Chinese, nor Negroes, and the Prussians are no HEAVEN-BORN ENGLISHMEN. It is a truly Hohenzollern idea that a people commits a crime in continuing to defend itself once its regular army has disappeared. In fact, the war of the Prussian people against Napoleon I was a real thorn in the side of the gallant Frederick William III, as you can see from Professor Pertz's life of Gneisenau,[a] who made the war of *francs-tireurs* into a system through his Landsturm regulations.[132] The fact that the people fought on their own initiative and independent of the all-highest's order gave Frederick William III no peace.

However, the last word has not yet been spoken. The war in France can still take a very 'unpleasant' turn. The resistance put up by the Loire Army[133] was 'beyond' calculation, and the present scattering of the German forces right and left is merely to instil fear, but in fact only results in awakening the power of defence at every point and weakening the offensive force. The threatened bombardment of Paris is also a mere trick. On the town of Paris itself it can, by all the rules of probability, have no serious effect. If a few outworks are destroyed, a few breaches made, what help is that when the besieged outnumber the besiegers? And if the besieged made exceptionally good SORTIES, when the enemy defended himself behind ENTRENCHMENTS, how much better would they not fare when the roles are reversed?

To starve Paris out is the only real way. But if it is delayed long enough to allow armies to be formed and the people's war to develop in the provinces, even that will do nothing except transfer the centre of gravity. Moreover, even after the surrender of Paris, which cannot be held and kept quiet by a mere handful, a large part of the INVADERS would be maintained in idleness.

But however the war may end, it has given the French proletariat practice in arms, and that is the best guarantee of the future.

The shameless tone which Russia and Prussia adopt towards England may have wholly unexpected and unpleasant results for them. The matter simply stands like this: By the Paris Peace Treaty of 1856 England *disarmed herself*.[114] England is a sea power and can counterpose to the great continental military powers only

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[a] G. H. Pertz, *Das Leben des Feldmarschalls Grafen Neithardt von Gneisenau.*

the weapon of naval warfare. The certain method here is temporarily to destroy, or bring to a standstill, the overseas trade of the continental powers. This mainly depends on operating the principle of seizing enemy goods in neutral vessels. This MARITIME RIGHT (as well as other similar RIGHTS) was surrendered by the English in the so-called Declaration attached to the Paris Treaty. Clarendon did this on the secret order of the Russian Palmerston. The Declaration, however, is not an integral part of the treaty itself and has *never* been legally ratified in England. The Russian and Prussian gentlemen are reckoning without their host if they imagine that the influence of the Queen,[a] who is Prussianised from FAMILY INTEREST, and the bourgeois feeble-mindedness of a Gladstone, would at a decisive moment keep John Bull from throwing this self-created 'charming obstacle'[b] overboard. And he can then strangle Russian-German overseas trade in a few weeks. We shall then have an opportunity of studying the long faces of the Petersburg and Berlin diplomats, and the still longer faces of the 'power patriots'.—*Qui vivra, verra.*[c]

MY BEST COMPLIMENTS TO *Madame la Comtesse* AND Fränzchen.[d]

Your
K. M.

*Apropos.* Can you let me have Windthorst's various Reichstag speeches?

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 17, Stuttgart, 1901-02 and in full, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

[a] Queen Victoria - [b] from Heine's *Neuer Frühling* - [c] Time will tell. - [d] Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann

## 55

## ENGELS TO FREDERICK GREENWOOD

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 17 December [1870]
1 p.m.

A friend of mine Mr Oswald sends me the enclosed. He says that the usual tickets have been sent to *The Pall Mall Gazette* and wishes me to say a word in favour of Mrs Oswald's tonight's concert being noticed in that paper, or at least to induce your musical critic to go and hear her. I have told him that this is entirely out of my line and that I even do not know how to go about such a thing. However he insists, and as he is a very worthy fellow I can only say, that if you can consistently do something in that direction you will confer a personal favour upon me. I am too bad a musician to permit myself an opinion but I have heard people who ought to know, speak very highly of Mrs Oswald's play.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 39, Moscow, 1966

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## 56

## ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT

### IN LEIPZIG

London, 19 December 1870
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

We have just received the news that Liebknecht, Bebel and Hepner were arrested yesterday. It is the revenge of the Prussians for the moral defeats suffered by the Prussian Empire at the hands of Liebknecht and Bebel even before it was born.[134] We all rejoiced here at the courageous behaviour of both of them in the Reichstag under circumstances where it was really no small achievement to put forward our views freely and defiantly. We

suppose that their arrest was motivated above all by petty revenge and the wish to destroy the paper[a] as well as to make their re-election impossible. The indictment for high treason will turn out to be pure moonshine. But the Prussian gentlemen may well be greatly mistaken, for in view of the really admirable reaction of the German workers which has even compelled that swine Schweitzer to acknowledge the leadership of Liebknecht and Bebel, this *coup de force* may well completely miss the target, and rather provoke the opposite to what was intended. The German workers have displayed an understanding and energy during the war which puts them at the head of the European workers' movement at a stroke, and you will appreciate the sense of pride with which we witness it.

However, we also have the duty to make sure, as best we can, that our arrested friends and their families in Germany do not suffer need, especially at this time when the approaching Christmas season is in any case being so bitterly spoilt for them. We have therefore taken the liberty of enclosing a £5 note of the Bank of England 'B/10, 04841, London, 12 October 1870' and would ask you to share it with Mrs Bebel.

We also enclose 7 thalers collected by the local German Workers' Educational Society[135] and intended for the families of the Brunswickers who have been arrested.[115] Might I ask you to sign and return the enclosed receipt for the latter, so that it may be returned to the Society as proof that Marx has duly forwarded it.

My wife[b] is a revolutionary Irishwoman and so you can imagine the rejoicings at home here yesterday on hearing the news that the condemned Fenians had been amnestied—albeit in the shabbiest, most Prussian of ways.[136] And then to have to hear of the arrest of our friends in Germany immediately afterwards!

Farewell, dear Mrs Liebknecht, and do not lose heart. The Prussians, and the Russians, their masters, have started something that they will be unable to finish.

With my warmest sympathy,

Yours,

Frederick Engels

The Marx family sends its best regards to you and fond greetings to the children.

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 6, Stuttgart, 1915

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[a] *Der Volksstaat* - [b] Lydia Burns

# 1871

## 57

## MARX TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT[137]

IN LEIPZIG

London, 13 January 1871
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, N.W.

My dear Mrs Liebknecht,

The General Council of the 'International' has started a collection for the families of the German 'patriots' persecuted by the Prussian government—patriots in the true sense of the word. The first £5 I am sending you now are intended for Mrs Bebel and yourself.

The libellous London correspondent of that pedant Biedermann[a] undeniably belongs to the police personnel of the local Prussian Embassy, which was active in like fashion at the time of the Communist trial in Cologne in 1852.[138] We shall track the man down and publicise the activities of this clique in the local press and so shed light on the latest phase of Christian-Prussian-Germanic ethics.

In the issue of the *Volksstaat* that arrived today I see that there is a notice in which Mr Nechayev is yet again being treated with undue seriousness.[b] All the things that this Nechayev has had printed in the European press about his deeds and sufferings in Russia are *bare-faced fabrications*. I have the proofs of this to hand. His name, therefore, is one which should never be mentioned.

My wife and daughters[c] send their warmest regards to you, your children and to Liebknecht.

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[a] A pun: 'Biedermann' means an honest man, and Biedermann is the surname of the editor of the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. - [b] See 'Politische Uebersicht', *Der Volksstaat*, No. 4, 11 January 1871. - [c] Jenny and Eleanor Marx

With best wishes for the New Year.

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original

## 58

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

### IN LONDON

[London,] 18 January[a] 1871

Dear Jung,

I have in yesterday's sitting of the General Council fully exposed the past history of Jules Favre. I send you a few main points relating to his counterrevolutionary deeds.[139]

The Council has also yesterday passed a Resolution instructing you to write to the Editors of the *Felleisen*—as the Organ of the German *Arbeiterbildungsvereine*[b] in Switzerland—in the following sense:

1) What is the position of those *'Vereine'* and their organ, the *Felleisen*, to the *International Workingmen's Association*?

2) Till now they have never paid any contribution to the General Council.

3) In their organ—the *Felleisen*—the annexation to Germany of Alsace and Lorraine is defended in flagrant contradiction to the circulars of the General Council[c] of which not even an extract has ever been published by them.

4) If they persist in the non-fulfilment of their duties (point 2) and in their opposition to the policy of the General Council (point 3[d]), which is in consonance with the Statutes of the *International*, the General Council, using the right deferred to him by the Basel

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[a] In the original: '17 January'. - [b] workers' educational societies - [c] the first and second Addresses of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War - [d] In the original: point 1.

Congress, will provisionally—that is to say until the meeting of next General Congress—exclude them from the *International.*[140]

Yours fraternally,
Karl Marx

Ladendorf is no longer the Editor of the *Felleisen.* You must address your letter: 'Redaktion des *Felleisen.* Deutscher Arbeiterbildungsverein, in Gassen, Zürich'.

## *Jules Favre*

The infamous decree of 27th June 1848, by which many thousand Parisian workmen made prisoners during the June Insurrection,[113] were, without even the formality of any judicial inquiry, to be *transported* to Algeria, etc., was drawn up by Jules Favre. Afterwards, he constantly refused to join the motions of amnesty, brought forward from time to time by the Republican party of the Constituent Assembly.

Jules Favre was one of the most notorious tools of the *reign of terror* inflicted on the French working class by General Cavaignac after the Insurrection of June. He supported all the shameless laws then passed with a view to suppress the right of reunion, coalition, and the freedom of the press.[141]

On the 16th April 1849, Jules Favre, as the spokesman of the counterrevolutionary majority of a parliamentary committee, proposed to grant Louis Bonaparte the 1,200,000 francs he demanded for the *expedition against the Roman Republic.*[142]

First published abridged, in the language of the original (English), in: G. Jaeckh, *Die Internationale,* Leipzig, 1904 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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## 59

## MARX TO G. JULIAN HARNEY[118]

### IN BOSTON

London, 21 January 1871
1[a] Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Dear Harney,

I want for the second volume of my *Criticism of Political Economy* documents on the disposal of public lands in the United States since the beginning of the Civil War.[143] Mr S. Meyer, a friend of mine at New York, has advised me to address myself to Mr Wilson, Commissioner of the General Land Office, Washington. As I am not at all acquainted with the form in which this ought to be done, I address myself to you. Perhaps, you will act as my negotiator.[144]

In spring, there will be offered a second edition in Germany of the first volume of my work.[145] A Russian translation at St Petersburg has been stopped by the Moscovite police,[146] a French edition at Paris by the war.[147] An '*homme de lettres*'[b] at New York proposed me preparing an English translation for the United States[148] but I declined the offer since he seemed to me not a competent man for the task.

By our International Council[c] we have stirred the English working class and provoked numerous demonstrations in favour of the French Republic[149] and against the policy of unctuous Gladstone, who has become a servile tool in the hands of the granddaughter of George III and the mother-in-law of 'Fritz'.[d] Unfortunately, some of the leading workmen—like Mr Mottershead, an old Chartist and a member of our Council—have been bought up by the Peace Society.[56] They can do no harm at London but they *do* in the provinces.

The Trades' Councils at Manchester and Birmingham have lately become active agents of the General Council of the 'International'. At London I regret saying, most of the workmen's

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[a] In the source used, the number is given as '7', presumably a printing error. - [b] man of letters - [c] General Council of the International Working Men's Association - [d] Marx refers to Queen Victoria, whose daughter, Victoria Adelaïde Marie Louise, married Frederick William, Crown Prince of Prussia.

representatives use their position in our council only as a means of furthering their own petty personal aims. To get into the House of Commons by hook or by crook, is their *ultima Thule*,[a] and they like nothing better than rubbing elbows with the lords and M.P.'s by whom they are petted and demoralised.

The state of things in Germany you may judge from my letter to *The Daily News*[b] which I enclose.

Mrs Marx and F. Engels send you their best compliments.

*Salut et fraternité.*

Yours,
Karl Marx

First published in *The Harney Papers*, ed. by F. G. Black and R. M. Black, Assen, 1969

Reproduced from the book

## 60

## MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER[150]

### IN NEW YORK

[London,] 21 January 1871

Dear Meyer,

The formation of the so-called Central Committee in New York was absolutely not to my taste.[151] I deferred the approval of the General Council as long as possible but found the ground taken from under my feet as soon as it emerged from a letter from Mr Charnier that Dupont, our French secretary[c]—a thoroughly good man, but too forceful and so often led astray by his thirst for action—had been responsible for starting the whole thing. *Alors, il n'y avait plus rien à faire.*[d] He was officially rebuked by the General Council, *mais le jeu était fait*[e]! Engels (who now lives here) and I would just like to remind Vogt and yourself that according to our Rules the General Council can only intervene with a veto in the

[a] Here: most cherished goal. - [b] K. Marx, 'On the Freedom of the Press and Meetings in Germany'. - [c] Corresponding Secretary of the General Council for the French sections of the International in the United States - [d] So nothing further could be done. - [e] Here: but the damage was done!

event of open VIOLATIONS of the Rules and principles of the International. Apart from that, however, it is our invariable policy to let the sections have their head and conduct their own affairs. The only exception to this was France, because of her special situation under the Empire. It follows, therefore, that our friends will just have to cut their coat according to their cloth. Here in London, we work together with Englishmen, some of whom are not at all to our liking and who, as we know perfectly well, only want to exploit the International as a milch-cow for their own petty personal ambitions. Nevertheless, we have to put *bonne mine à mauvais jeu.*[a] If we were to withdraw in indignation on their account, we would only give them a power which is at present paralysed by our presence. And you must act in the same way.

*Quant à*[b] Vogt I was convinced from the outset that pompous Sorge was just blustering. However, I had to make a reply when he questioned me directly.[c] Otherwise he would have taken his gossip to my friend Schily in person, a piece of unpleasantness I wished the latter to be spared.[88]

We have given rise to a powerful movement among the working class over here against Gladstone (in support of the FRENCH REPUBLIC[149]), which will probably bring about his downfall. Prussia is wholly under the sway of the Russian Cabinet. If it gains a conclusive victory, the HEROIC GERMAN PHILISTINE will get what he deserves. Unfortunately, the present French government thinks it can wage a revolutionary war without a revolution.

Freiligrath, the noble poet, is on a visit to his daughters[d] here at the moment. He does not dare to show his face to me. The 60,000 thalers presented to him by the German philistines[129] have to be paid off in Tyrtaean hymns like 'Germania, thou woman proud',[e] etc.

My health has again been abominable for months on end, but who can give thought to such trivia at a time of such momentous historical events!

The semi-official *Archives of Forensic Medicine*[f] are published in St Petersburg (in Russian). One of the physicians writing for this journal published an article, 'On the Hygienic Conditions of the West European Proletariat', in the last quarto issue, chiefly quoting my book[g] and mentioning the source. This resulted in the

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[a] good face on it - [b] As for - [c] See this volume, p. 57. - [d] Käthe and Luise Freiligrath - [e] from Freiligrath's poem *Hurra, Germania!* - [f] *Архивъ Судебной Медицины и Общественной Гигіены* - [g] Volume I of *Capital*

A page from Marx's letter to Sigfrid Meyer of 21 January 1871

following calamity: the censor was severely rebuked by the MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR,[a] the EDITOR-IN-CHIEF was fired, and that issue of the journal—all the COPIES they could still get hold of—was consigned to the flames! [152]

I don't know whether I told you that since the beginning of 1870 I have been having to teach myself Russian, which I now read fairly fluently. This came about after I had been sent Flerovsky's very important work on *The Condition of the Working Class (Especially the Peasants) in Russia* from St Petersburg; I also wanted to familiarise myself with the (excellent) economic works of Chernyshevsky (who was rewarded by being sentenced to the Siberian mines for the past seven years [153]). The result was worth the effort that a man of my age must make to master a language differing so greatly from the classical, Germanic, and Romance languages. The intellectual movement now taking place in Russia testifies to the fact that things are seething deep below the surface. Minds are always connected by invisible threads with the BODY of the people.

You and Vogt still owe me your photograms. At least I think they were promised to me.

Regards to you and Vogt,

Yours,
Karl Marx

I wrote to my old friend G. J. Harney,[b] who is now Assistant Secretary of State of Massachusetts, concerning the PUBLIC LANDS.

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[a] A. Ye. Timashev - [b] See this volume, p. 100.

## 61

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[137]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 21 January 1871
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Dear Mr Sorge,

All reports from the German sections in America are to be sent to me. Eccarius is only the correspondent for the Yankees. *As* Secretary TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL he has nothing to do with FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

I had completely forgotten the business about the 'contribution' of the German section.[154] On receiving your letter, therefore, I wrote to Eccarius[17] whose reply, which I enclose, can also serve as a receipt.

I have already written about the FORMATION of the CENTRAL COUNCIL (we would have preferred the term Central Committee[151] to avoid confusion).[a]

I have not received Kellogg.[b] It was presumably sent in a yellow envelope that I received from the POST OFFICE here. It was torn open and had been stamped 'NO CONTENTS'. I expect that the envelope was not strong enough.

A few weeks ago I sent to your address a *large parcel* of publications of the GENERAL COUNCIL of different dates but up to now have had no notice of receipt. They belonged to me personally and I sent them because the supplies of the GENERAL COUNCIL are quite exhausted (for the majority of its publications).

Yours sincerely,
K. Marx

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

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[a] See this volume, p. 101. - [b] E. Kellogg, *A New Monetary System...*

## 62

## MARX TO JOHANN JACOBY

### IN KÖNIGSBERG[a]

London, 4 February 1871
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Dear Friend,

Professor John Morley, the editor of *The Fortnightly Review*, wrote to me yesterday requesting me to ask you if you would like to write a short essay on conditions in Germany for the *Review* (it would be translated into English here). At Mr Morley's request I shall also probably submit something for the April issue (contributions for that issue have to be ready by 10 March).[b] In the February number, the *Fortnightly* had essays in the Bismarckian spirit by the suspended republican Blind[c] and by Professor Kinkel, for the same purpose as the one for which the Spartans demonstrated off to their young men the slaves they had first made drunk.

Hoping for an early reply from you,

With sincere good wishes,
Karl Marx

First published in *Archiv fur die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, Achter Jahrgang, Leipzig, 1919

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[a] Modern name: Kaliningrad. - [b] See this volume, p. 116. - [c] K. Blind, 'The Result of French Designs upon Germany', *The Fortnightly Review*, No. XLIX, 1 January 1871.

## 63

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN [121]

### IN HANOVER

London, 4 February 1871

Dear Kugelmann,

I am sorry to learn from your last letter that your state of health has again got worse. In the autumn and winter months mine was tolerable, although the cough which I contracted during my last stay in Hanover [155] is still troubling me.

I sent you *The Daily News* containing my letter.[a] Obviously it has been intercepted like the other things I sent you. Today I am enclosing the cutting, as well as the first Address of the General Council.[b] The letter actually contains nothing but facts, but was effective for precisely that reason.

You know my opinion of MIDDLE-CLASS HEROES. Still, Mr Jules Favre (notorious from the days of the Provisional Government and Cavaignac[c]) et Co. have contrived to surpass my worst anticipations. First of all they allowed the '*sabre orthodoxe*', the '*crétin militaire*', as Blanqui rightly dubs Trochu, to carry out his 'plan'. This plan consisted simply in prolonging the *passive resistance* of Paris to the utmost limit, that is, to STARVATION POINT, and in confining the offensive to sham manoeuvres and '*des sorties platoniques*'. I am not 'guessing' all this. I know the contents of a letter which Jules Favre himself wrote to Gambetta, and in which he complains that he and other members of that part of the government cowering in Paris sought in vain to spur Trochu on to serious offensive measures. Trochu always answered that that would give the upper hand to *Parisian demagogy*. Gambetta replied: *Vous avez prononcé votre propre condamnation*[d]! Trochu considered it much more important to keep down the Reds in Paris with the help of his Breton bodyguard—which rendered him the same service that the Corsicans rendered Louis Bonaparte [156]—than to defeat the Prussians. This is the real secret of the defeats not only at Paris, but throughout France, where the

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[a] K. Marx, 'On the Freedom of the Press and Meetings in Germany'. - [b] K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - [c] See this volume, pp. 98-99. - [d] You have pronounced your own condemnation.

bourgeoisie, in agreement with the majority of the local authorities, have acted on the same principle.

After Trochu's plan had been carried through to its CLIMAX—to the point where Paris had to surrender or starve—Jules Favre et Co. were only to follow the example of the Governor of the fortress at Toul.[a] He did not surrender. He merely explained to the Prussians that he was compelled through lack of food to abandon the defence and open the gates of the fortress. They could now do as they chose.

But Jules Favre is not content with signing a formal surrender.[157] Having declared himself, his governmental colleagues and Paris to be *prisoners of war* of the *roi de Prusse*,[b] he has the impudence *to act on behalf of all France.* What did he know of the state of affairs in France outside Paris? Absolutely nothing, except what Bismarck was gracious enough to tell him.

More. These *Messieurs les prisonniers du roi de Prusse*[c] go further and declare that the part of the French government still free in Bordeaux[158] has lost its power and must only act *in unison* with them—the *prisoners of war of the Prussian King.* Since they, as *prisoners of war, can* themselves only act at the command of their war-lord, they have thereby proclaimed the King of Prussia *de facto* the *highest authority* in France.

Even Louis Bonaparte, after he surrendered and was taken prisoner at Sedan,[159] was less shameless. To Bismarck's proposals he replied that he could enter into no negotiations because, by the very fact of his being a Prussian prisoner, he had ceased to hold any authority in France.

At the most Favre could have accepted a *conditional* armistice for the whole of France, with the proviso, namely, that this agreement should be sanctioned by the Bordeaux government, which alone had the right and the capacity to agree upon the clauses of such an armistice with the Prussians. They, at any rate, would not have allowed the latter to exclude the *Eastern* theatre of war from the armistice. They would not have allowed the Prussians to round off the outlines of their occupation so profitably to themselves.

Rendered impudent by the pretensions of his prisoners of war, who in that capacity continue to play at being the French government, Bismarck is now interfering *sans gêne*[d] in internal

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[a] i.e. Hück, who gave up resistance on 23 September 1870 after the siege that had lasted from 19 August - [b] William I - [c] worthy prisoners of the King of Prussia - [d] brazenly

French affairs. He *protests*, the noble fellow, against Gambetta's decree concerning the general elections to the *Assemblée*, because the decree is prejudicial to the freedom of the elections! [160] INDEED! Gambetta should answer with a protest against the state of siege and other circumstances in Germany, which annul the freedom of the elections to the Reichstag.

I hope that Bismarck sticks to his conditions of peace! Four hundred million pounds sterling as war indemnity [161]—half the English national debt! Even the French bourgeois will understand that. They will perhaps at last realise that by continuing the war they *could*, at the worst, *only win*.

The MOB, high class and low, judges by appearances, by the façade, the immediate success. During the last twenty years it has, ALL OVER THE WORLD, apotheosised Louis Bonaparte. I have in actual fact always exposed him, even at his *apogée*, as a *mediocre canaille*. That is also my opinion of the Junker Bismarck. Nevertheless, I do not consider Bismarck as stupid as he would be if his diplomacy were *voluntary*. The man is caught by the Russian Chancellery in a net which only a lion could tear through, and he is no lion.

For example, Bismarck's demand that France should hand over her twenty best men-of-war and Pondicherry in the East Indies! Such an idea could not emanate from a genuine Prussian diplomat. He would know that a Prussian Pondicherry would be nothing but a Prussian hostage in English hands; that England, if she wanted to, could seize the twenty men-of-war before they enter the Baltic Sea, and that such demands could only have the object, absurd from the Prussian point of view, of making John Bull distrustful before the Prussians are OUT OF THE FRENCH WOOD. But Russia is interested precisely in such a result, in order to secure Prussia's vassalage still more firmly. In fact these demands have given rise to a complete change of feeling even in the peace-loving English middle class. Everybody is now calling for war. This provocative act and this threat to English interests are making even the bourgeois mad. It is more than probable that, thanks to this piece of *Prussian 'wisdom'*, Gladstone et Co. WILL BE KICKED OUT OF OFFICE AND SUPPLANTED BY A MINISTRY DECLARING WAR AGAINST PRUSSIA.

On the other hand things look pretty 'awful' in Russia. Since William became an Emperor,[162] the old Muscovite, anti-German party, with the heir to the throne[a] at its head, has again won the upper hand completely. And it is supported by the sentiments of

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[a] Alexander Alexandrovich (future Alexander III)

the people. Gorchakov's subtle policy is incomprehensible to them. It is therefore probable that the Tsar[a] will either have to reverse his foreign policy altogether, or THAT HE WILL BE OBLIGED TO KICK THE BUCKET, like his predecessors Alexander I, Paul and Peter III.

With a simultaneous convulsion in the politics of England and Russia, WHERE WOULD PRUSSIA BE at a moment when her frontiers to both the north-east and south-east are left defenceless against any invasion and Germany's military strength is exhausted? Not forgetting that since the outbreak of war Prussia-Germany has sent 1,500,000 men to France, of whom only about 700,000 are still on their feet!

So, despite all appearance to the contrary, Prussia's position is ANYTHING BUT PLEASANT. If France holds out, uses the armistice to reorganise her army and finally gives the war a really revolutionary character—and the artful Bismarck is doing his best TO THIS END—the new German, Borussian[b] Empire may still get a quite unexpected thrashing as its baptism.

MY BEST COMPLIMENTS TO THE *Comtesse* AND Fränzchen.[c]

Your
K. M.

*Apropos.* You wrote to me once about a book by Haxthausen on Westphalian (I think) land ownership relations.[d] I should be glad if you would send it to me.

Be so good as to forward the enclosure to Dr Jacoby (Königsberg[e]) but *stamp* it by way of precaution.

Get your wife to write on the enclosed letter the address of Dr Johann Jacoby, Königsberg.

Jennychen has just asked me to send her greetings to 'Trautchen, Fränzchen and Wenzelchen'[f], which I hereby do.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 19, Stuttgart, 1901-02 and in full, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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[a] Alexander II - [b] Borussia: old name for Prussia, frequently used in an ironical sense to indicate the feudal landlord nature of Prussia. - [c] Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann - [d] A. von Haxthausen, *Ueber den Ursprung und die Grundlagen der Verfassung in den ehemals slavischen Ländern Deutschlands, im allgemeinen und des Herzogthums Pommern im besondern.* - [e] Modern name: Kaliningrad. - [f] Gertrud, Franziska and Ludwig Kugelmann

## 64

## MARX TO PAUL LAFARGUE

### IN BORDEAUX

[London,] 4 February 1871

Dear Paul,

*Il faut créer des nouveaux défenseurs à la France.*[a] You and Laura seem seriously and successfully engaged in that patriotic business. The whole family was delighted to hear that our dear Laura has passed victoriously through the critical juncture and we hope the progress will prove no less favourable.

Embrace little Schnappy[b] on my part and tell him that Old Nick[c] feels highly elated at the two photograms of his successor. In the 'serious' copy the stern qualities of the little man protrude, while in his attitude as *franc-fileur*[d] there is a charming expression of humour and *espièglerie.*[e]

You know my low opinion of middle-class heroes. Still, Jules Favre et Co. have contrived to surpass my worst anticipations. When Trochu had carried out his mysterious 'plan', that is to say, when that '*sabre orthodoxe*', that '*crétin militaire*' had pushed the *passive* resistance of Paris to that point where there remained only the alternative of starvation or capitulation—Jules Favre and Co. might have followed the precedent of the Governor of Toul.[f] When his power of resistance had altogether broken down, he did not *capitulate.* He simply informed the Prussians of the real state of things, declared that he could not any longer go on with the defence, being deprived of provisions, and that they might now do as they liked. He made them no concession at all. He simply recognised a *fait accompli.* Favre et Co., on the contrary, not only sign a formal capitulation.[157] They have the impudence to act on behalf *of all France,* although in complete ignorance of the state of affairs *en dehors de Paris,*[g] in regard to which they were strictly confined to the dishinterested[h] information Bismarck condes-

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[a] One should create new defenders for France. - [b] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [c] Marx's family nickname - [d] Lit. 'free runaway' (comp. *franc-tireur* 'free shooter')—a nickname for Paris bourgeois who fled the city during the siege in 1870-71. Laura called her son *franc-fileur* because of his fear of unfamiliar objects. - [e] mischief - [f] i.e. Hück, who gave up resistance on 23 September 1870 after the siege which had lasted from 19 August - [g] outside Paris - [h] The insertion of 'h' in this word is ironic and derives from Cockney dialect.

cended to vouchsafe them. Moreover, having capitulated, having become *Messieurs les prisonniers du roi de Prusse,*[a] they go further and declare that the *bordelais* delegation[158] has lost its power and must only act in union with '*Messieurs les prisonniers du roi de Prusse*'. Why, even Louis Bonaparte, after his capitulation and surrender at Sedan,[159] declared to Bismarck he could enter into no *negotiations* with him, because he had ceased to be a free agent, and because, by the very fact of his being a *Prussian prisoner,* he had ceased to hold any authority over France!

Thus even L. Bonaparte was less shameless than Favre et Co.!

The only condition which Favre could have accepted *conditionally,* that is to say under the reserve of his act being assented to by the *bordelais* delegation, was the *armistice.* Yet to settle the *terms of that armistice* he must have left to the men who were not prisoners of *le roi de Prusse.* They would certainly not have allowed the Prussians to exclude from that armistice the *Eastern theatre of war,* and would not have allowed the Prussians to improve, on the plea of the armistice, the whole outlines of their military occupation, rounding it off in the way most profitable to themselves.

Embolded by the dastardly servilism of the Paris delegation who presume to participate in the government of France, after having become *Messieurs les capitulards*[b] *et les prisonniers du roi de Prusse,* Bismarck considers himself and acts already as the *de facto* supreme authority in France. He *protests* against Gambetta's decree relating to the general elections as interfering with their liberty.[160] He dictates the terms on which the General Assembly ought to be chosen. Why! Gambetta might reply by *protesting* against the conditions under which at this very moment the *general elections for the Reichstag* are carried on *in Germany.*[c] He might insist that to render these elections *free,* Bismarck ought above all things to abolish or at least to suspend *the state of siege* maintained through great part of Prussia. To give you one instance of the *liberty* of election in Germany. At *Frankfort* (on the Main) a workmen's candidate (not residing in Frankfort) is proposed and opens his electoral campaign in that town. What do the Prussian authorities resort to? To the expulsion of that candidate from Frankfort by the police force![163]

I hope that the Prussians will insist on their modest demand of 400 millions of £ sterling war contribution by France![161] This may

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[a] Worthy prisoners of the King of Prussia - [b] a contemptuous nickname for those who came out for the surrender of Paris during the 1870-71 siege; later on it came to denote the capitulants in general. - [c] The first elections to the Reichstag since the proclamation of the German Empire were fixed for 3 March 1871.

rouse even the French middle class whose manoeuvres together with the intrigues of the local administration (which Gambetta has allowed to a great part to rest in the hands of Bonapartists, Orleanists, etc.) are the true key to the till now reverses of the war. Even the middle class may at last become aware that they will lose more by giving than by fighting!

At the same time, if France holds out still for some time, the foreign relations will become much more favourable to her cause.

In England the Gladstone ministry is seriously endangered. It may soon be kicked out. The public opinion here is now again *warlike* to the highest degree. This change has been worked by Prussia's demands, mainly by her asking *Pon dicherry* and the 20 first-rate French men-of-war. John Bull sees in this a menace against England and a Russian intrigue (and these demands have indeed been suggested to Prussia by the St Petersburg cabinet).

In Russia itself a great change seems imminent. Since the assumption of the Imperial title by the King of Prussia,[162] the anti-German party, the so-called Moscovite party, led by the Prince successor,[a] has again got the upper hand. It is very probable that the present Emperor[b] will either have to accept its dictates and a consequent change of his foreign policy, or that he will share the fate of his predecessors and by some means or other [be] released of his 'mortal body'. If such a convulsion in Russia takes place, Prussia, whose frontiers on the Russian and Austrian sides are quite denuded of troops, quite exposed and defenceless, will prove unable to keep up her present forces in France. She will at once lower her tone and become quite *traitable.*[c]

Hence, if France holds out, if she improves the armistice to repair her forces, if she understands at last that in order to carry on a revolutionary war, revolutionary measures and revolutionary energy are wanted, she may still be saved. Bismarck knows perfectly that he is in a fix. He hopes to get out of it by 'bullying'. He confides in the cooperation of all reactionary elements of France.

Yours,
Old Nick

P.S. The master who now employs Dupont has received a letter from a house at Bordeaux which wants an agent at Manchester.

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[a] Alexander Alexandrovich (future Alexander III) - [b] Alexander II - [c] manageable

Behind the back of his master—a most infamous and brutal parvenu—Dupont would like to ascertain whether *he* would get that agency. He therefore requests you to obtain information about this point. The address of the house in question, is: Labadie et Co. (Vins et esprits) Rue des terres de Bordes. Bordeaux.

What is Prudhomme doing? Has his health improved?

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Reproduced from the original

## 65

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV[164]

IN PARIS

London, 27 February 1871

Dear Sir,

Lopatin has left for the United States and I have not yet heard from him.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,
Karl Marx

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## 66

## MARX TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT[165]

IN LEIPZIG

London, 2 March 1871

My dear Mrs Liebknecht,[166]

The unfortunately very meagre contributions that I sent you for the benefit of the families of the imprisoned men did not in any

sense stem from the General Council of the International which has absolutely no funds for such purposes. The General Council was merely chosen by the subscribers as 'trustee' to ensure that the money was duly sent. **Incidentally,** *no further evidence of receipt is necessary.*

On the subject of the articles on the German workers' movement which have appeared in English reviews, what Liebknecht probably had in mind was the enclosed article on the *International* by Professor Beesly[a] which appeared in the November NUMBER (1870) of *The Fortnightly Review.* It may well be the passages from p. 531 on (I have put a mark to show where they begin)[167] which Stieber wants to use to cook his proof. In the first place, Professor Beesly is *not* a member of the International and his statements are not authoritative for that reason. In the second place, *he himself refutes* Stieber's inferences.

The letter I sent to the Brunswick people[b] was *not* written *in the name of or on the instructions of the General Council.* That is why it was not written on paper with the letterhead of the General Council. My statements there are made entirely in my own name. It was in fact a reply—and a long-deferred reply at that—to a letter asking me *for my personal views.* They were perfectly within their rights to ask for this. At least, I know of no § in the Penal Code that would proscribe it. At any rate, it is not Mr Bismarck's fault if 'my views' cannot be found printed in the *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger.* The worthy *Lothar Bucher* did invite me after the heady days of Sadowa to write the financial column for that paper. More likely than not he took care not to publicise my reply.[168]

The German Empire is carrying on the campaign of the French Empire against the *International.* Nothing is so characteristic of the last days of the latter empire as the legal persecution of members of the International because they waged war on the intended war. The secret papers of Mr Ollivier published by the Republic are very revealing in this respect.[169]

I was very pleased to receive your letter today. An article by me was to have appeared in *The Fortnightly Review,* but I shall postpone it for the time being, since the inability of the Prussian government to intervene *here* might be more than made good at the expense of friends there [in Germany], who are of course in

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[a] E. S. Beesly, 'The International Working Men's Association', *The Fortnightly Review,* No. XLVII, 1 November 1870. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Letter to the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party'.

no way responsible for things that happen without their knowledge.

I would be greatly obliged to you if you could send me the *complete stenographic report* of the *last session of the Reichstag that ended on 10 December 1870.* I would of course reimburse you for the costs.

Jennychen has unfortunately come down with pleurisy.

With warmest regards to Liebknecht and yourself.

Yours very sincerely,
K. M.

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## 67

## ENGELS TO KARL KLEIN AND FRIEDRICH MOLL

### IN SOLINGEN

London, 10 March 1871
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Friends Klein and Moll,

You must have been very surprised not to have received any reply to your letters of February last year. There were, however, a number of reasons for it. In the first place, I had hoped from one day to the next to be in a position to have something positive to say about the Association. But this turned out to be impossible and after the outbreak of the war it could no longer be expected. In the second place, your letter arrived in such a sorry state that I could be in no doubt that the postal authorities had been at pains to read it. So I waited for an opportune moment, particularly since the war, the state of siege and the many arrests. And, finally, I could not know whether both of you had not been conscripted into the Landwehr[11] during the war.

An opportunity has now arisen to send a letter to Barmen, whence it could be passed on with little danger, and so I shall make use of it to give you a sign of life, and to enclose the promised portrait of

myself. I have not yet been able to obtain one of Schapper who, as you know, died last year; as soon as I can lay hands on one, you shall have it.

The German workers now have a hard time ahead of them; it seems to have been decided that they should be the victims whose sacrifice will provide the occasion for a reconciliation between Junker and bourgeoisie. But it doesn't matter. The workers' movement has become too powerful even in Germany to be snuffed out that easily by Prussian tricks. On the contrary, the persecutions we have to be prepared for will just give us greater strength, and when the bourgeois at present drunk with victory has overslept from intoxication and the hangover is beginning, a chance will arise for our party to raise its voice once more. At any rate, the exemplary behaviour of the German workers during the war has demonstrated that they know what is at stake and that they alone, of all the parties, have a correct insight into the history of our age, whereas the bourgeois have really let victory go to their heads.

I have been living here in London for the past five months. It seems doubtful whether you can continue for much longer to belong to the International Working Men's Association unless just in principle, since they seem to want to make it a criminal offence to be a member of that Association in Germany. At any rate, you may rest assured that having prepared the way for the association of the entire European and American proletariat over the past seven years, we shall take good care that it does not disintegrate whatever the circumstances. And that is the main thing.

With fraternal greetings,

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 68

## ENGELS TO RUDOLF ENGELS

### IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 10 March 1871

Dear Rudolf,

Since I am not yet acquainted with any lawyer here who is reliably informed or especially competent in commercial affairs, I have decided after some reflection that the best thing would be to write to the man in Manchester who made the contract with Funke on your behalf. I was quite clear in my mind about the issue at stake, but in matters of English law it is always better not to rely on common sense. However, on this occasion, the lawyer said: * law and common sense agree; the retirement of one of the partners in the German firm, *from* the German firm, in no way affects the firm in England, nor can the firm in England have any voice in the matter. On the other hand no member of the English firm can retire before the expiration of the term without the consent of the other members of the same concern.*

Therefore (1) Adolf's[a] position in the firm of R. Funke & Co. remains unaltered even though he has left the firm of Ermen & Engels in Barmen; and (2) his resignation from R. Funke & Co. requires not just his agreement, but also the agreement of *Funke*, a point that may not have occurred to you.

Since these affairs affect Adolf, too, and since I cannot take sides on this matter, I am writing to him in the same terms today.

I purchased this information at a cost of 10/6d., which equals 3.15 thalers, and would be glad if you could credit me with it.

I find it quite natural that Adolf should want to retire from the business as soon as he can. The winter in Engelskirchen is fearfully boring and *you* will not take it amiss that he should long for some other entertainment than endless family drinking-sessions. I am only astonished that he stood it there for so long; I would have kicked up a fuss much sooner and more often. It is all very well for you and Hermann[b] to talk, but you both jib at the idea of moving to Engelskirchen, and you cannot persuade me

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[a] Adolf Griesheim - [b] Hermann Engels

that it is just because you know nothing of the manufacturing process. You could learn it up after all, it would do you both good. Adolf can find many pleasant and congenial occupations for himself even without the business, and anyone who can do that is quite right to withdraw as quickly as possible. You must have been prepared for this eventuality long since, and if it now arises, it can only be in your interest for him to leave as soon as possible. I do not understand therefore how you should find such major grounds for complaint. Let Adolf go his own way, resolve the dispute as friends and make the necessary arrangements to meet the new situation, one which will give a higher percentage yield to each of you.

Gottfried[a] will not suffer any great inconvenience; the old MILL in West Lane was empty and available, machinery is also easily procured. In Manchester one can get quite a few things done, etc., by other people, so you should not entertain any exaggerated hopes. Moreover, it is self-evident that I am under a moral obligation not to do anything to harm a former *associé* who has given me a round sum in return for my own resignation. To what purpose then do you have agents and travellers? If they do their duty you do not need any further information.

I rather doubt that the present sympathy with France (both here and fairly generally all over the world) stems from the fact that the French were given the greater thrashing. However, this much is certain: if the Prussians should be given another thrashing at a later stage (which is not at all improbable) people will laugh at them, rather than sympathise with them. The fact is that you cannot see beyond the end of your noses; but the hangover will follow the victory celebrations soon enough, and then you will find it hard to take much pleasure in yourselves. For all your power and glory you are as firmly 'in the thrall of Olmütz' as ever. Olmütz was made in Warsaw,[170] where your sovereign lord, the Emperor of Russia,[b] commanded you to bow to Austria and the Federal Diet, and now that you have made sure that for many years to come France (which after all lies on your border) will remain your enemy, Russia will be your only protector and will soon make you pay for that protection. You are more firmly in the grip of Russian domination than ever before.

Would you kindly give my mother[c] my warmest wishes and say that I shall be writing to her shortly. Give my regards to your wife

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[a] Gottfried Ermen - [b] Nicholas I - [c] Elisabeth Engels

and children and all my brothers and sisters and all their encumbrances.

Your
Frederick

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## 69

## MARX TO PAUL LAFARGUE[137]

### IN BORDEAUX[118]

London, 23 March 1871

Dear Paul,

I enclose Serraillier's declaration in the *Courrier de l'Europe, 18 March, 1871*—(this French paper is published at London) in regard to the impudent mystification of the *Paris-Journal* of March 14, of which you are probably aware.[171]

The following is published in *The Times of 22nd March* 1871 under the title '*The International Association*':

'M. Karl Marx asks us to contradict the statement contained in a letter published by us on the 16th of March, from our Paris correspondent, that

"Karl Marx has written a letter to one of his principal *affiliés* in Paris, stating that he is not satisfied with the attitude which the members of that society have taken up in that city, that they violate the Statutes of the Association in dabbling in politics, that they disorganise labour instead of organising it, etc."

'M. Karl Marx says this statement has evidently been taken from the *Paris-Journal* of the 14th of March, where also the publication in full of the pretended letter is promised, and that the *Paris-Journal* of the 19th of March contains a letter dated London, February 28, 1871, purporting to be signed by him, *which letter M. Marx declares is from beginning to end an impudent forgery.*'[a]

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of *The Times*'.

I come now to the second trick of that dirty Parisian reactionary press. When we were informed of the pretended exclusion of the German '*Internationals*' by the *Paris 'Internationals'*, we wrote to the '*frères et amis*' at Paris, who replied that this story was nothing but an invention of the Paris press scum. Meanwhile, the false news spread like wildfire through the London press which indulged in long leaders upon that pleasant event proving at the same time the decomposition of the *International* and the incorrigible perversion of the Paris workmen.

In to-day's *Times* (23 March, 1871) the following declaration of the *General Council*[a] is published:

*'The Anti-German League*[172] *of Paris*
*To the Editor of "The Times"*

'Sir,

'A statement has gone the round of the English press that the Paris members of the International Working Men's Association had in so far joined the so-called Anti-German League as to declare all Germans to be henceforth excluded from our association.

'This statement is the very reverse of fact. Neither the Federal Council of our association in Paris, nor any of the Paris sections represented by that council, have ever passed any such resolution. The so-called Anti-German League, as far as it exists at all, is the exclusive work of the upper and middle classes; it was started by the Jockey Club,[173] and kept up by the adhesions of the Academy, of the Stock Exchange, of some bankers and manufacturers, etc. The working classes have nothing whatever to do with it.

'The object of these calumnies is evident. A short time before the outbreak of the late war the International was made the general scapegoat for all untoward events. This is now repeated over again. While the Swiss and Prussian press accuse it of having created the late outrage upon Germans in Zurich,[174] French papers, such as the *Courrier de Lyon, Le Courrier de la Gironde, La Liberté*, etc., tell of certain secret meetings of Internationals having been held at Geneva and Bern, the Prussian ambassador in the chair, in which meetings a plan was concocted to hand over Lyons to the united Prussians and Internationals for the sake of common plunder.

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[a] K. Marx, 'Statement by the General Council to the Editor of *The Times* and Other Papers'.

'*By order of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association*

'J. G. Eccarius,
General Secretary'

London, March 22

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I have to-day still so many letters to write that I must shut up. Tell Laura that I was greatly delighted with her letter.

Yours,
K. Marx[a]

Your letter to Jenny has just arrived. It is not my youthful ardour, as you believe, but *manifestoes* published by the Federal Council of Paris during the war and communicated to us *officially*, that made the GENERAL COUNCIL believe in the possibility of such a foolish thing as the exclusion of the German Internationals by the Parisian Internationals! I have today sent to the *Volksstaat* in Leipzig (Liebknecht's newspaper) and the *Zukunft* in Berlin (Dr Jacoby's organ) a statement on the fantasies of the *Paris-Journal* and the alleged exclusion of the German Internationals by the Parisians, which has caused a great commotion in the German '*bonne presse*'.[b] I concluded this statement with the words:

'It is quite natural that the important dignitaries and the ruling classes of the old society who can only maintain their own power and the exploitation of the productive masses by *national* conflicts and antagonisms, recognise their common adversary in the *International Working Men's Association*.'

First published, in the languages of the original (English and French), in *Annali*, an. 1, Milan, 1958

Printed according to the original

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[a] Thus far Marx wrote in English. The rest of the letter is in French. - [b] K. Marx, 'To the Editorial Boards of the *Volksstaat* and the *Zukunft*'.

## 70

## MARX TO PETER IMANDT

IN DUNDEE

[London,] 30 March 1871

Dear Imandt,

The 'letter' is a product of that trashy Paris paper, the *Paris-Journal*, in its issues of 14 and 19 March.[171] A statement from me in reply appeared in *The Times* on *22 March* (a notice in small print just after the leading articles).[a] That lousy paper has direct connections with the *Prussian* police. Its *redacteur en chef*,[b] the notorious Henri de Pène, received two bullets in his body as a reward for his participation in the 'peaceable' procession of the *parti de l'ordre*.[175]

Regards to Bourbaki junior.[c]

Curiously enough the entire reactionary press in France printed the pseudo-letter. To give it more spice, the *Paris-Journal* published it under the high-faluting title: '*Le Grand Chef*' (translation of the *Stieberian 'Hauptchef'*[176]) '*de L'Internationale*'.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 33, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of *The Times*'. - [b] editor-in-chief - [c] Robert Imandt

# 71

## ENGELS TO PHILIPPE COENEN

### IN ANTWERP[118]

[London,] 5 April 1871

*To Citizen Ph. Coenen, Antwerp*

Dear Citizen,

As I already told you in my last letter,[45] I felt it incumbent upon me to submit the contents of your letter concerning the strike of the cigar-workers to the Central[a] Council when it met yesterday evening.[177] At the same time I requested the Council to afford our Antwerp members all possible help and support.

In this I received vigorous support, more especially from Citizen Cohn, president of the London cigar-workers, who informed the Council that the cigar-workers of his Association had voted a loan of 150 pounds sterling, or about 3,750 francs, to their colleagues in Antwerp; that the Association of Belgian Cigar-workers employed over here had voted £20; that his Association proposed to urge another Association here, and that of the cigar-workers of Liverpool, to advance funds in support of the strike, etc.

The Council then unanimously resolved:

1. That an appeal to the English resistance societies in London and the provinces be immediately drafted, printed and despatched to all the associations, urging them to intervene on behalf of the Antwerp strikers.

2. That deputations from the Council be sent to the big centralised associations in London, with whom we are in touch, to approach them with the same end in view.

Having learned from Citizen Cohn that you had already taken the necessary steps to prevent the debouchment of Dutch cigar-workers by the Antwerp manufacturers and that similar attempts would not be successful here in England, all I could do on your behalf was to write a short note for our German journal, the *Volksstaat of Leipzig, in which I relate the origins of the strike and urge the German cigar-workers* to prevent any debouchment of workers for the [said] place, Antwerp, and, if possible, to advance you some funds to support the strike.[b] This note will be publish-

[a] General - [b] F. Engels, 'On the Cigar-Workers' Strike in Antwerp'.

ed next week; in addition I asked the editor[a] to take up your cause.

As to the success of these various moves, it is hard to judge in advance. Should the English associations consent to give us advances, several weeks will probably have to elapse before the necessary formalities can be completed. The German associations, having been ruined by the war, will hardly be in a position to advance any funds.

In the meantime, please keep me informed of what is happening as regards the cigar-workers' strike, so that I shall be able to act if needs be, and without loss of time. Is it true, as Citizen Cohn has said, that the 300 cigar-workers of Brussels are also on strike? The Council has been told nothing about it and the Brussels people would be greatly to blame were this really the case; for how are we to act if news is kept back from us?

For some time copies of the *Werker* intended for the Council have failed to reach us. The General Council must be sent *two copies* of each of our journals, one for the library where a complete collection of all such journals is being made to help with the future history of the proletarian movement in all countries, the other for the secretary of the country where the journal appears. It would be a pity if *De Werker* were no longer to reach us, since we have always read it with close attention.

The £150 should have been sent to you today. If it fails to arrive within 24 hours after receipt of this letter, kindly write without delay to Citizen Cohn, whose address you have got.

I shall make it my business to do everything in my power for the Antwerp workers whom I have the honour to represent on the Council here; only please keep me properly informed about all that goes on.

With fraternal salutations,

Yours,
Frederick Engels

First published, in Dutch, in *De socialistische Gids*, No. 8/9, Amsterdam, 1928

Printed according to a handwritten copy

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht

## 72

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 5 April 1871
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Liebknecht,

Could you have the enclosed[a] inserted in the next issue of the *Volksstaat*? Precisely this STRIKE is one of supreme importance for the International in Belgium.[177]

I congratulate you on your release.[178]

Best regards.

Your
F. E.

If the German cigar-workers can afford to advance funds to Antwerp, this should be set in train. The Elberfeld Address was received by the GENERAL COUNCIL *yesterday* to be sent on and has already gone off.[179] I have read it.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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## 73

## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT[1]

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 6 April 1871

Dear Liebknecht,

The news that you and Bebel as well as the Brunswick people were released[178] was received here in the Central[b] Council with great rejoicing.

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[a] F. Engels, 'On the Cigar-Workers' Strike in Antwerp'. - [b] General

It seems the Parisians are succumbing. It is their own fault but a fault which really was due to their too great *honnêteté*.[a] The Central Committee and later the Commune gave that MISCHIEVOUS *avorton*,[b] Thiers, time to consolidate hostile forces, in the first place by their folly of not wanting to start a *civil war*—as if Thiers had not already started it by his attempt at forcibly disarming Paris, as if the National Assembly, summoned merely to decide the question of war or peace with the Prussians, had not immediately declared war on *the Republic*! Secondly, in order that the appearance of having usurped power should not attach to them, they lost precious moments (they should immediately have advanced on Versailles after the defeat (Place Vendôme) of the *réactionnaires* in Paris[175]) by the election of the Commune, the organisation of which, etc., cost yet more time.

You must not believe a word of all the stuff you get to see in the papers about the internal events in Paris. It is all lies and deception. Never has the vileness of the reptile bourgeois newspaper hacks displayed itself more splendidly.

It is highly characteristic that the German Unity-Emperor,[c] Unity-Empire, and Unity-Parliament in Berlin appear *not to exist at all* for the outside world. Every breath of wind that stirs in Paris excites more interest.

You should follow developments in the *Danube Principalities* with some care. If the revolution in France is defeated for the time being—the movement there can only be suppressed for a short time—Europe will have to face a new threat of war from the East, and Romania will be the first to present the orthodox Tsar[d] with a pretext. So keep an eye on events there.

One of the most comical phenomena in London is undoubtedly that ex-student Karl Blind. The self-important fellow eagerly seized on the recent war to show off his pan-Germanic allegiance. He was the first to start screaming for Alsace-Lorraine. He even had the impudence to deny the great revolutionary activities of the French people in the past. The scoundrel even ventured to warn the local workers not to incur the hostility of *workers in Germany* by their sympathy for France against Prussia! Each week this gentleman composes a report describing the activities of Karl Blind and sends it to all the London papers, two or three of which are actually so foolish as to print these bulletins of, about and for Karl Blind. If this system is applied consistently, one cannot fail to force oneself on the public in the end. In this manner this weighty

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[a] decency - [b] degenerate - [c] William I - [d] Alexander II

personage has managed to delude a section of local public opinion into believing that he plays the same sort of role in Germany as Mazzini used to in Italy. In his bulletins he recounts what Karl Blind had announced in the Viennese *Freie Presse*, and how the whole of Germany looked forward to his oracular utterances with bated breath and anxiously awaited for Karl Blind to deliver himself of the watchword for the week. Now it would be extremely desirable—since this individual, this puffed-up frog, does make us Germans here ridiculous—if you people in the *Volksstaat* could publish a few home truths about the fellow and his 'complete unimportance'.[180] We would ensure that a translation appeared in *The Eastern Post* (a London workers' paper). It is quite simple. Karl Blind *does not exist* in the eyes of the German working class, and a *republican* German *middle class*, whose MOUTHPIECE he pretends to be, does not exist anywhere and hence *cannot* exist *for Karl Blind* either. HE IS NOWHERE. While such figures should not be taken seriously, it is no less true that they should not be allowed to delude the public ON FALSE PRETENCES.

Laura had already arrived in Bordeaux some days before the siege of Paris began.

Our children—Tussy and Jennychen (the latter suffering from pleurisy)—are also going to Bordeaux shortly.

Bebel would oblige me greatly if he could arrange for me to be sent regularly the stenographic reports of the Berlin Unity-Reichstag.

A visit from you here would be very welcome.

The *Volksstaat* must be preserved at all costs now. I have some prospects of being able to raise money for it.

My warmest greetings to your dear wife.[a]

Your
K. M.

Could you not let me have a reliable address in Leipzig?

*Apropos*. I enclose a charming notice about Stieber from the *Petit Journal* (which appears in Paris) in its issue of 5 April.[181]

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[a] Natalie Liebknecht

## 74

## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT[137]

IN LEIPZIG

London, [around 10 April][a] 1871

Dear Wilhelm,

Just two notices in great haste which you could surely arrange to put into the *Volksstaat*:

1. In the *Papiers et correspondance de la famille impériale*, now officially published, there is a reference under the letter V (the recipients of money are arranged alphabetically ) which states *verbo tenus*[b]:

'*Vogt—il lui est remis en août 1859 40,000 francs.*'[c] [182]

2. Whereas the Bismarck government in Germany has made correspondence with me into a more or less highly penal affair (*vide* the Brunswick trial,[183] just like the Cologne Communist trial of earlier years[138]), in France it attempts to discredit me (and with me the *International in Paris*—that is the *aim* of the whole manoeuvre) by branding me as one of *Mr Bismarck's agents*. This is done through the organs of the old-Bonapartist police which is still entwined by international bonds with Stieber's police—particularly under the Thiers regime.

In consequence I have been compelled to publish denials in *The Times* of various lies that have appeared in the *Paris-Journal*, the *Gaulois*, and so on, because the rubbish is reported to the English press *by telegraph*.[171] The latest example was provided by the *Soir* (the paper of About, the well-known Plonplonist[d]), which has only very recently been suppressed by the Commune, and from the *Soir* it circulated to all the French reactionary press throughout the provinces. E.g. today I received from Laura (BY THE BY, Lafargue is at this moment in Paris as a delegate from Bordeaux) the following extract from the paper *La Province* (and yesterday I received the same piece from a clerical newspaper in *Belgium*):

'*Paris, 2 April.* A piece of news just arrived from Germany is causing a great sensation here. Authentic proof is now to hand to show that Karl Marx, one of the

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[a] In the original '14 March', which is a slip of the pen. - [b] literally - [c] 'Vogt—40,000 francs were remitted to him in August 1859.' - [d] an adherent of Prince Joseph Napoleon known under the nickname of Plon-Plon

most influential leaders of the *International*, was *the private secretary of Count Bismarck* in 1857, and has never ceased to remain in contact with his former *patron*.'[a]

Stieber really is becoming a 'terror'!
*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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## 75

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[121]

### IN HANOVER

London, 12 April 1871

Dear Kugelmann,

Your 'doctor's orders' were effective insofar as I consulted my Dr Maddison and have for the present put myself under his treatment. He says, however, that my lungs are in excellent condition and the coughing is connected with bronchitis, etc. Ditto, it may affect the liver.

Yesterday we received the by no means reassuring news that Lafargue (not Laura) is in Paris at the moment.

If you look at the last chapter of my *Eighteenth Brumaire* you will find that I say that the next attempt of the French revolution will be no longer, as before, to transfer the bureaucratic military machine from one hand to another, but to *break* it, and that is essential for every real people's revolution on the Continent. And this is what our heroic Party comrades in Paris are attempting. What resilience, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians! After six months of hunger and ruin, caused rather by internal treachery than by the external enemy, they rise, beneath Prussian bayonets, as if there had never been a war between France and Germany and the enemy were not still at the gates of Paris! History has no like example of a like greatness.

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[a] 'Nouvelles d'hier', *La Province*, No. 428, 5 April 1871.

If they are defeated only their 'decency' will be to blame. They should have marched at once on Versailles, after first Vinoy and then the reactionary section of the Paris National Guard had themselves retired from the battlefield. The right moment was missed because of conscientious scruples. They did not want to *start the civil war*, as if that MISCHIEVOUS *avorton*[a] Thiers had not already started the civil war with his attempt to disarm Paris! Second mistake: The Central Committee surrendered its power too soon, to make way for the Commune.[184] Again from a too 'honourable' scrupulousness! However that may be, the present rising in Paris—even if it be crushed by the wolves, swine and vile curs of the old society—is the most glorious deed of our Party since the June Insurrection in Paris.[113] Compare these Parisians, storming the heavens, with the slaves to heaven of the German-Prussian Holy Roman Empire, with its posthumous masquerades reeking of the barracks, the Church, the cabbage Junkers and above all, of the philistines.

*Apropos.* In the *official publication*[b] of the list of those receiving direct subsidies from Louis Bonaparte's treasury there is a note that *Vogt* received 40,000 francs in August 1859! I have informed Liebknecht of the *fait*, for further use.[c]

You can send me the Haxthausen,[d] because *recently* I have received various pamphlets, etc., undamaged, not only from Germany, but even from Petersburg.

Thanks for the various newspapers you have been sending (I would ask you for more, as I want to write something about Germany, the Reichstag, etc.).

Best greetings to the Countess and Käuzchen.[e]

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 1, Nr. 23, Stuttgart, 1901-02 and in full, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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[a] degenerate - [b] *Papiers et correspondance de la famille impériale* - [c] See this volume, p. 130. - [d] A. von Haxthausen, *Ueber den Ursprung und die Grundlagen der Verfassung in den ehemals slavischen Ländern Deutschlands, im allgemeinen und des Herzogthums Pommern im besondern.* - [e] Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann

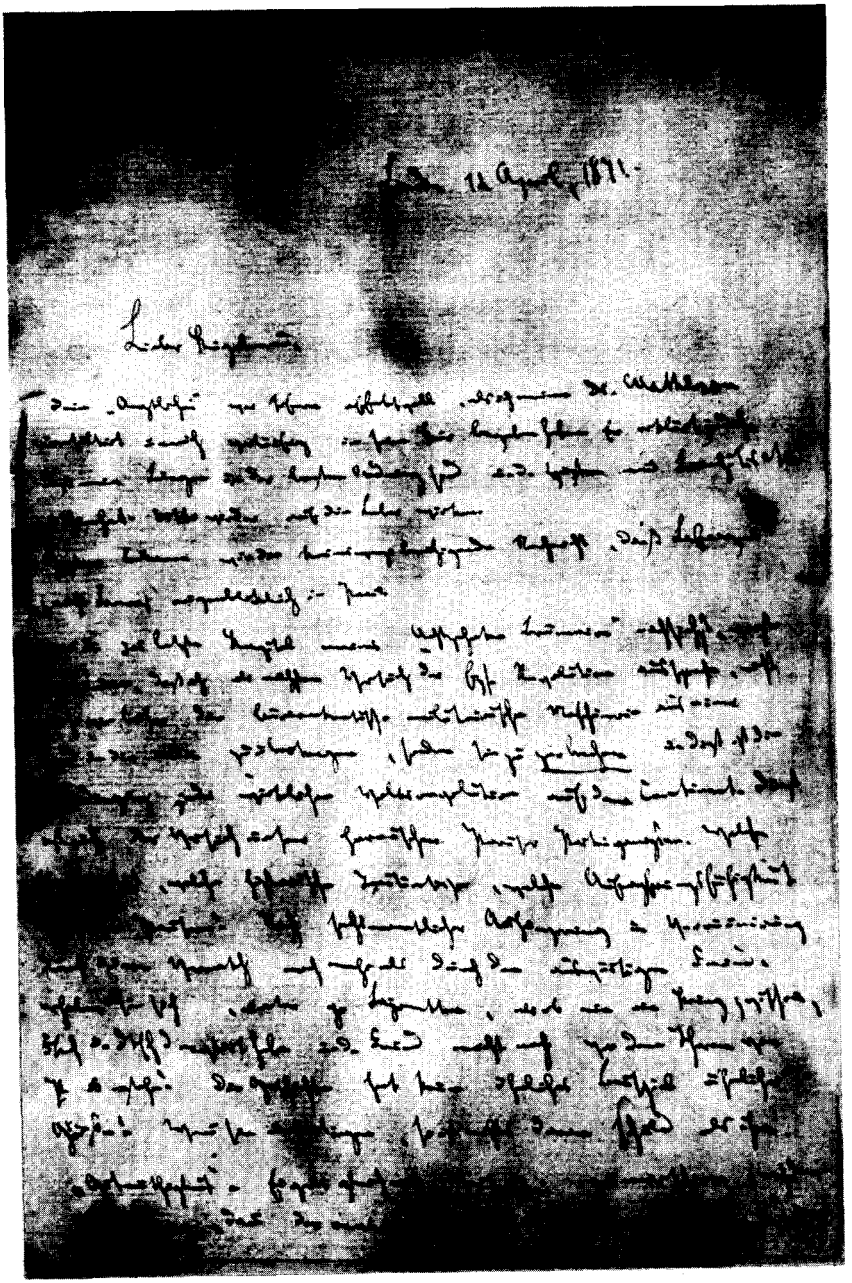

Marx's letter to Ludwig Kugelmann of 12 April 1871

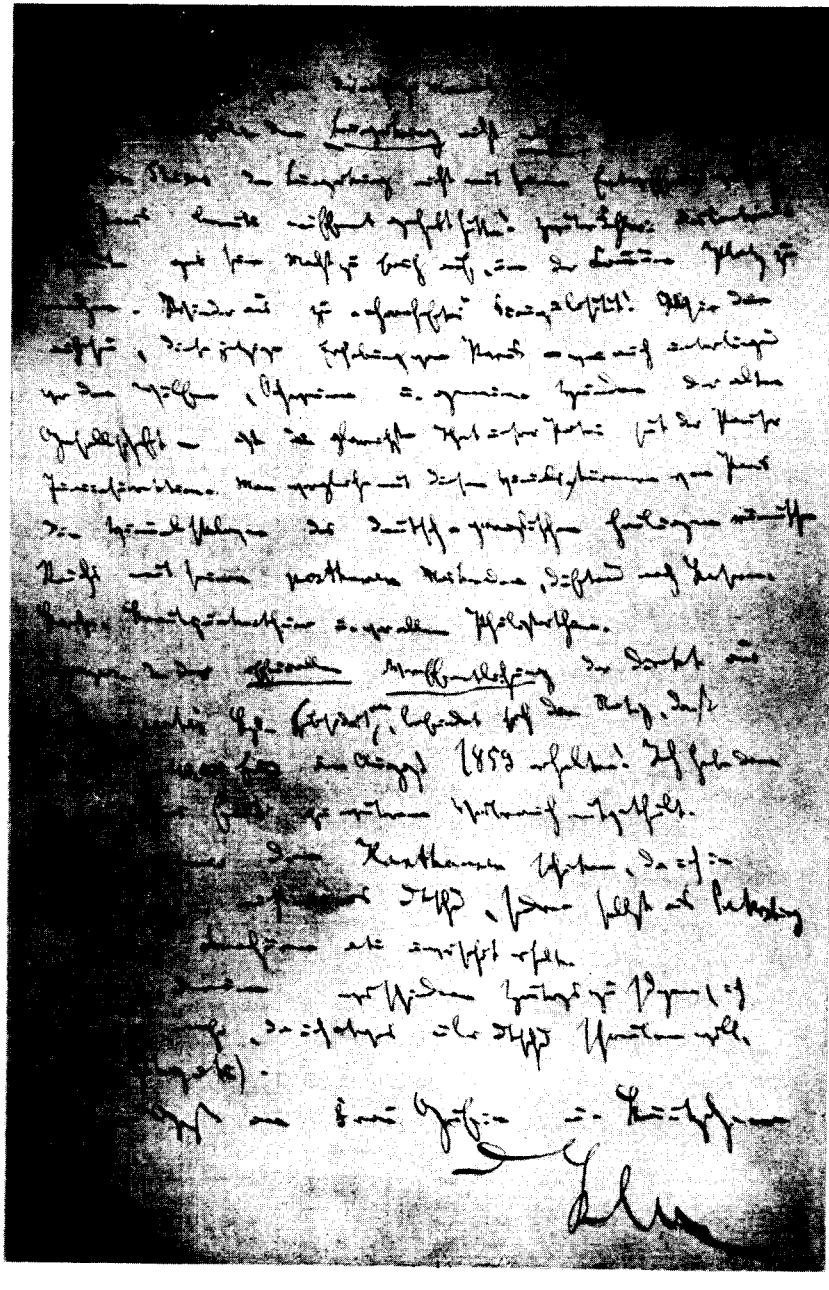

# 76

## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT[185]

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 13 April 1871

Dear Liebknecht,

You may make use of the 80 thalers either for your family, or for the *Volksstaat*.[a] Both are 'victims' of the recent war.

I do not have the Freiligrath poem; it came out in 1852 and appeared also in Cotta's *Morgenblatt* which you can perhaps unearth in Leipzig.[186]

I do not think it would be useful to reprint items from the *Revue der Rheinischen Zeitung* without introductions, additions, etc., and this is hardly the time for that.[187]

Engels asks me to tell you that his essay in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*[b] is now only of historical interest and so no longer has any value as practical propaganda. On the other hand, you could print more extensive excerpts from *Capital*, e.g. extracts from the chapter on 'Primitive Accumulation',[188] etc.

Miquel *was* in the League[c] and threw his weight about in the Kingdom of Hanover as the League's District Adviser Extraordinary. You can print that, but leave my name out of it, since I have to keep the 'secret' unless directly forced by Miquel [to reveal it].

'Bid me not speak, bid me be silent
To keep the secret I am bound.'[d]

The *Communist Manifesto* cannot of course appear without a new preface. Engels and I will see what can be done about it.[189]

My kind regards to your dear wife.[e]

Your
K. M.

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[a] In the original *Volksblatt*, which is a slip of the pen. - [b] F. Engels, *Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy*. - [c] the Communist League - [d] Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*. - [e] Natalie Liebknecht

## 77

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

[London, 13 April 1871]

Dear Liebknecht,

It is absolutely out of the question for you to reprint my old article from the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* in the *Volksstaat*.[a] It is by now *quite obsolete* and full of inaccuracies that could only confuse people. Moreover, it was still written in a Hegelian style which likewise just will not do nowadays. Its sole value is as an historical document.

With best regards,

Your
F. E.

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## 78

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[190]

IN HANOVER

[London,] 17 April 1871

Dear Kugelmann,

Your letter arrived all right. At the moment I have my hands full. So only a few words. How you can compare petty-bourgeois demonstrations *à la* 13 June 1849,[191] etc., with the present struggle in Paris is quite incomprehensible to me.

World history would indeed be very easy to make if the struggle were taken up only on condition of infallibly favourable chances.

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[a] See previous letter.

It would, on the other hand, be of a very mystical nature, if 'accidents' played no part. These accidents themselves fall naturally into the general course of development and are compensated again by other accidents. But acceleration and delay are very dependent upon such 'accidents', which include the 'accident' of the character of those who first stand at the head of the movement.

The decisively unfavourable 'accident' this time is by no means to be found in the general conditions of French society, but in the presence of the Prussians in France and their position right before Paris. Of this the Parisians were well aware. But of this, the bourgeois *canaille* of Versailles were also well aware. Precisely for that reason they presented the Parisians with the alternative of taking up the fight or succumbing without a struggle. In the latter case, the demoralisation of the working class would have been a far greater misfortune than the fall of any number of 'leaders'. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class and its state has entered upon a new phase with the struggle in Paris. Whatever the immediate results may be, a new point of departure of world-historic importance has been gained.

*Adio.*

K. M.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 23, Stuttgart, 1901-02 and in full, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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## 79

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 20 April 1871
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Liebknecht,

I must tell you today in all haste about the so-called INTERNATIONAL *DEMOCRATIC* ASSOCIATION,[192] which you may well never have heard of and which, therefore, might be confused with us.

The association is a caricature of the IWMA. It has vegetated in obscurity here for a number of years, but expresses its desire, from time to time, to present itself to a wider public, i.e. to make itself ridiculous, exhibiting at the same time a certain secondary tendency to let itself quietly be mistaken for the IWMA. Since these people again held a meeting on the Paris Commune in Hyde Park last Sunday[a]—a meeting which under *their* auspices was inevitably *doomed* to failure (they even let it be known that we had sent delegates, even though, when they sent a deputation to us, we roundly refused to do so)—and since they now also intend to establish branches on the Continent and will presumably send deputations to you as well, it has become necessary to make you acquainted with them. In the first place, there is *Weber*, that old trouble-maker from the Palatinate, whom you know; and secondly, Le Lubez, whom you have also come across. I enclose a cutting in which they present their muddled programme to the world in muddled language. Insofar as it is comprehensible, it is *purely bourgeois*; what they have to say on the subject of providing work and, alternatively, of making provision for those unable to work, is already fulfilled by the English Poor Law.[193] They take good care not to say a word about capital and labour. The NATIONALISATION OF LAND is so universally accepted here that they cannot evade it, and in itself is so little in conflict with bourgeois interests that only the day before yesterday a *Tory* who has his million thalers in safe keeping told me that he was in favour of it. Weber is also, as you know, a supporter of Heinzen and a pure 'democrat'.

As long as these fellows pursued their activities in obscurity here, we left them to themselves, but if they choose to expand, conflicts will be unavoidable and we shall then have to hit them where it hurts.

So the *Volksstaat* was confiscated again yesterday for *lèse majesté*, as we hear on the telegraph.[194] I am astonished that it did not happen earlier. You are extremely impudent. But 'after all, this is only right and proper', as Frederick II used to say.

The Vogt story[b] should be kept alive for a while. It is evident from the context that *Karl* Vogt is the only Vogt who can be meant. In the first place, no other Vogt is so well known as to be referred to as Vogt, *tout court*, without first name and address. In the second place, what other Vogt performed such valuable services at that time for the Bonaparte family that he should have been given 40,000 frs in August, i.e. immediately after the

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[a] 16 April - [b] See this volume, p. 130.

conclusion of the Italian campaign? Moreover, the formula, '*il lui a été remis en Août 1859*',[a] indicates that he had received other remittances. The more frequently you return to the point, the more the bourgeois press, which suppresses all this, will find itself forced to take note of it. You might also bring it to the attention of the *Proletarier* and the *Volkswille*.

Since experience has taught me that Stieber's agents are as clumsy at opening letters as they are at fabricating conspiracies, I hereby inform you once and for all that *all* my letters to you are securely sealed with my seal and the initials F. E. in Gothic script. The Prussians cannot yet in all decency break open sealing-wax on rubber, and certainly not so that it cannot be noticed. Mostly they just tear open the side of the envelope with their oafish fists. So if my seal is not clear and legible you will know what has happened. It will at any rate infuriate the fellows to have to let a letter addressed to you and with F. E. on the seal pass through their hands unbroken.

It is time for the post and I still have all sorts of things to tell you, but I must end now.

Your
F. E.

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## 80

## ENGELS TO FRANCISCO MORA[195]

### IN MADRID

[Résumé of a letter]

[London, around 20 April 1871]

On 19 April the relevant extracts from Nos. 80-92 of the *Federación* about the SPINNERS' STRIKE in Barcelona[b] sent to Eccarius who was to report on it to the Manchester TRADE COUNCIL.

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[a] 'it was remitted to him in August 1859' - [b] See F. Engels, 'Outline of an Appeal of the General Council to the Weavers' and Spinners' Trade Unions of Manchester for Assistance to the Spanish Textile Workers Strike'.

Wrote ditto to Mora, acknowledging receipt and reporting what had happened, pointing out that little help would be forthcoming because of the Belgian and Sunderland STRIKES and the general world situation.

The loan an essential instrument and the one we have mainly used up to now. Therefore the Barcelonese must write a letter binding themselves to repay all loan-monies received through the agency of the General Council. This only necessary to comply with the formalities of the English TRADE UNIONS.

Promise a copy of the Address on Paris.[196]

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Published in English for the first time

## 81

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[137]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London, around 20 April 1871]

Dear Mr Sorge,

My best thanks for the Kellogg,[a] which arrived safely this time; ditto for the other things you sent.

The Committee[b] will receive its replies sooner in future, but in recent weeks business on the European Continent, together with agitation here among the English,[197] has taken up all the more time as the majority of the non-English secretaries are in Paris.

Yours most sincerely,

K. M.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F.A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

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[a] E. Kellogg, *A New Monetary System...* See this volume, p. 57. - [b] the Central Committee of the International Working Men's Association for the United States

## 82

## MARX TO LÉO FRANKEL[198]

### IN PARIS

[Draft]

[London, around 26 April 1871]

Dear Citizen![199]

I have been authorised by the General Council to issue a most emphatic denial on its behalf of the foul slander being spread by Citizen F. Pyat against Serraillier.[a] Pyat's fury springs from one single source: *his hatred for the International.* Through the *so-called* French Section in London,[50] which has been expelled by the General Council, and which has been infiltrated by police spies, one-time imperial guardsmen and touts, Pyat has been trying to pose before the world as the secret leader of our Association, to which he does not belong, and to make us responsible for his absurd manifestations in London and his compromising indiscretions in Paris, which, by the way, Citizen Tridon has already flayed during his stay in Brussels.[200] That is why the General Council was forced to disown this dirty schemer publicly.[b] Hence his furies against Dupont and Serraillier. When Serraillier threatened to summon the vile toadies of Pyat in the so-called French Section before an English court to answer for the slander Pyat keeps spreading in Paris, *the French Section itself* disowned them and branded them as slanderers.

One of these days, the General Council is to issue an Address on the Commune.[196] It has put off this manifesto up to now, because it was expecting the Paris Section from day to day to supply it with precise information. In vain! Not a word! The Council could not afford to wait any longer because the English workers have been eagerly awaiting its explanation.

Meanwhile, time has not been wasted. The true character of this grand Paris revolution has been explained to workers everywhere in letters from various secretaries to sections on the Continent and in the United States.

Since Serraillier's political life has given no occasion for slander,[c] it was his private life that was attacked. Had Pyat's private life been as clean as Serraillier's, he would not have had to submit

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[a] Crossed out in the original: 'representative of the Council'. - [b] See K. Marx, 'Resolution of the General Council on Félix Pyat's Provocative Behaviour'. - [c] Crossed out in the original: 'even to Pyat, this "honest" fellow whose courage is proverbial'.

here, in London, to affronts which it takes blood to wash away...[a]

I have had a letter and a visit from a certain citizen over the despatch of you know what. The mistake they made in Paris was not to hand over the papers required[b] to facilitate the operations. You should now have some three per cent securities which circulate freely and which can be sold at the current rate. The citizen will give you any other necessary explanations.

He can be quite safely entrusted with the document.

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## 83

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

### IN HANOVER

London, 28 April 1871
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Kugelmann,

You can see from the above address that I have settled in London and have in fact been here since last autumn when I finally wound up my various business obligations in Manchester. I am happy with the move in every respect. My new house is not quite ten minutes away from Marx, which is very close indeed according to ideas here. Moreover, I have the park directly opposite the door and splendid fresh air.

As far as Marx' condition is concerned, you saw the situation in altogether too gloomy a light. *D'abord*[c] your bold diagnosis which blamed his cough on catarrh on the lungs. Marx and I have consulted a very able young doctor[d] (a Scot), who knows his auscultation and percussion as well as most in Germany, and who says the same as I have been saying all along: that the source of the cough is solely in the larynx and that the lungs are completely unaffected. He says that it is, however, not easy to get rid of a cough that has been so greatly neglected and which has therefore become so firmly entrenched, and he prophesies a recurrence in

[a] Crossed out in the original: 'public affronts to which he was submitted in London by several', 'by a French worker', 'Résumé: Serraillier's crime consists in his persistent efforts to baffle the'. This is followed by a gap in the original. - [b] Crossed out in the original: 'for negotiation'. - [c] First of all - [d] Maddison

the autumn, even if the summer drives it away. Given proper treatment, however, he says there is no cause for concern. The only trouble with the cough to begin with was that it prevented Marx from sleeping and so brought about a general deterioration in his health. That has now been attended to more or less. The doctor has mainly been treating his liver and there too he has had some success. You will understand, however, that there can be no speedy cure for a chronic illness that, to my knowledge, has been more or less permanent for the last 26 years. Incidentally, Marx's way of life is by no means as crazy as people imagine. While the excitement that started with the war still persists, he has given up work on heavy theoretical matters and is living fairly rationally; he even frequently takes his 1 1/2 hour to 2 hour walks *without* my forcing him to and he does not drink a drop of beer for weeks on end as soon as he notices that it doesn't agree with him. That he has a capricious appetite which alternates between lack of appetite and ravenous hunger is not surprising in his condition. You need have no fear that his skin is not in order—apart from the considerable areas where the CUTIS has been completely destroyed by the carbuncles. A walk via Highgate to Hampstead and back to Maitland Park is about 1 1/2 German miles and involves going up and down several steep hills. And up on top there is more ozone than in the whole of Hanover. He goes for this walk 3-4 times per week, at least in part. Naturally, I often have to make him do it, but he knows that it is good for him. And in general, like me, he lives circa 150 feet above the Thames in an open district, with hardly a hint of urban atmosphere, among large gardens and few houses, and if matters are not worse with him, it can be put down to this healthy environment.

I have just been called to the table and, since the crazy postal system closes down in half-an-hour, I shall have to break off. At any rate I have given you enough material to counteract your somewhat exaggerated fears. The fact is that I cannot bear to be without a lot of exercise out of doors and, whether he wants to or not, Marx mostly has to come along with me, and that is after all the best medicine for him.

With warm regards,

Yours,
F. E.

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## 84

## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 4 May 1871

Dear Library,[a]

Just this in great haste.

The *Papiers et correspondance de la famille impériale*, in which *Vogt* figures among others as someone who was subsidised from the official coffers,[b] were *not* published by the *Commune*, which has no time for such trivia, but by the *gouvernement de la défense*, i.e. by Jules Favre et Co., the honest republicans so greatly admired by Vogt in his letters to Kolb.[201]

Extracts from these official publications (and particularly the *names of those who received subsidies*) were printed in almost all the Paris papers. The cutting I enclose comes from the *Petit Journal* (issue of *3 May 1871*[c]), a paper which to this very day is conducting in Paris the same sort of campaign against the Commune as Signor Vogt in Vienna. From a sense of spiritual affinity with Vogt it even prints a (?) after his name.

Meanwhile, Vogt himself retracts all his talk when he says at the end of his gibberish:

> 'It is *even* possible that my name was misused as far back as 1859, albeit, so it seems, without my first name Karl.'[d]

So Louis Bonaparte misused 'Vogt' by inscribing his name in his expenses-book! '*Vogt*' as someone subsidised by Louis Bonaparte *in August 1859*—and moreover, just plain 'Vogt', Vogt without 'first name', Vogt *sans phrase*—naturally, that could only be the 'celebrated' Karl Vogt of Geneva! Mr Vogt is so well aware of that that he says '*my name* was *misused*'. The good man feels so stung that he forgets to have recourse to the simple evasion: Just as there are many 'Karls' in the world, so too are there many 'Vogts'. What does it matter to me if some 'Vogt' or other without a first name received 40,000 frs in August 1859 from the Emperor's central treasury? No, says Vogt, I am *the* Vogt, the Vogt to whom

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[a] This nickname was given to Liebknecht by Marx's daughters. - [b] See this volume, p. 130. - [c] In the original a slip of the pen. The correct date is 25 March 1871 (see this volume, p. 146). - [d] C. Vogt, 'An die Redaktion des *Schweizer Handels-Couriers*', *Der Volksstaat*, No. 36, 3 May 1871.

people refer even without 'first name', but '*my name*' has been '*misused*'!

You must use all this to make the necessary statement in your paper. It is quite absurd to mince words for the sake of Mr Weiß and similar 'People's Partyites'.[202]

Your
K. M.

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## 85

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 4 May 1871

Dear Liebknecht,

Enclosed an article for the *Volksstaat*.[a]

The Antwerp cigar-makers maintain that, at the time of the great German cigar-workers' STRIKE, they had sent a contribution of 3,000 frs in support. The STRIKE in Antwerp and Brussels is still in progress[177] and, if this story of the 3,000 frs is correct, it would damn-well be the responsibility of the Germans to pay it back. Please, try to find out about it and, depending on the result, write something on it briefly in the *Volksstaat*.

We have *greatly* enjoyed Bebel's speeches and articles here. His speech in the debate on Basic Rights was excellent,[203] and the elegant superiority with which he, a worker, poured ridicule on the assortment of priests, Junkers and bourgeois, was really by far the best thing that has yet happened in the entire Berlin spittoon.

We heard with pleasure that you were going to visit us soon. You can, of course, stay both with me and with Marx; we shall arrange all that.

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[a] F. Engels, 'Once Again "Herr Vogt"'.

Jenny and Tussy are in Bordeaux with Lafargue, arrived there last Monday.[a]

Best regards,

Your
F. E.

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## 86

## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 5 May 1871

Dear Liebknecht,

Yesterday evening when your letter arrived, I wrote at once and made A MISTAKE. The date of the *Petit Journal* with the reference to Vogt is *25 March 1871*.[b] This date is important. The *Journal*, like other Paris papers, had begun to publish the list of those subsidised long before the revolution of 18 March, and continued to do so after it. It finished doing so on 25 March with the list of people whose names began with 'V'.

Your
K. M.

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[a] 1 May - [b] See this volume, p. 144.

## 87

## ENGELS TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 10 May 1871

Dear Jung,

The subject in question has been talked over many times previously between Marx and myself and again to-night[204]—we cannot come to any other conclusion but that there are only two candidates likely to *take* the place that can be taken into consideration, viz. Hales and Mottershead. What you say about Hales is quite correct and if he was proposed, it might be made a condition that he should get himself cleared in a more satisfactory way than he has done hitherto—as to his being an overlooker, so is Dupont, and so long as he behaves straight otherwise, that, though a little unpleasant, should not be an absolute bar. We think him, on the whole, preferable to Mottershead whose temper does not perhaps fit him so well for successful agitation among the London masses and that ought to be the principal occupation of the Secretary.—As to the ignorance of the languages, that is a thing that cannot be helped so long as you yourself are not in a position to take the office which I am afraid you are not; so we shall have to take an Englishman. On the one hand I do not consider the absence of linguistic knowledge a serious impediment under our present organisation; on the other this very circumstance might be the means to define more clearly the position of the Secretary which hitherto appears to be rather uncertain. To draw up the minutes and to carry on the correspondence with the English branches; at the same time to spread the Association amongst the masses of London and to render it independent of the aristocracy of the working classes and its acknowledged leaders,—if we could find a man capable and willing of doing that, we should probably get more consideration for our 15/- than hitherto.[205] We must not forget that the office to be filled up is not that of 'General Secretary' to the Association, as Eccarius chose to call himself, but merely Secretary to the General Council, an office which confines his official duties to those performed in the Council meetings and to the correspondence with English branches (English-American only by special resolution as far as I know); that is to say he is at the same time Secretary for Great

Britain and as such has to keep up the agitation in this country which Eccarius never did and which yet is very important. This latter portion of his duties Marx and I consider the most important.

However, you will have to talk the matter over and see what can be done.

At all events here you have our opinion (confidentially of course) as you asked for it; there is no hurry, perhaps it might be as well merely to come to a provisional arrangement, but that will be for your committee to decide, as well as all the rest.

Very truly yours,
F. Engels

Those fellows that ran away from Fort Issy[206] without being attacked deserve to be shot. The military situation has become much worse through this piece of cowardice.

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## 88

## MARX TO LÉO FRANKEL AND LOUIS EUGÈNE VARLIN[207]

### IN PARIS

[Draft]

[London,] 13 May 1871

Dear Citizens Frankel and Varlin,

I have had a number of interviews with the bearer.[a]

Might it not be useful if all papers likely to compromise the riffraff of Versailles were kept in a safe place?[b] A precaution of this kind could never do any harm.

They have written to me from Bordeaux to say that four Internationalists have been elected at the last municipal elec-

[a] presumably N. Eilau - [b] See K. Marx, *The Civil War in France* (First Draft). 'The Government of Defence'.

tions.[208] The provinces are beginning to ferment. Unfortunately their action is localised and 'pacific'.

I have written hundreds of letters on behalf of your cause to all the corners of the earth where we have branches. The working class was, incidentally, pro-Commune since the latter's inception.

Even the bourgeois papers in this country have departed from their earlier ferocity. From time to time I contrive to slip a favourable paragraph into them.[a]

I believe that the Commune wastes too much time over trifles and personal squabbles. One can see that there are influences at work other than those of the working men. None of this would matter if you had time enough to make up for lost time.

It is very necessary to do quickly what you intend to do outside Paris, in England or elsewhere. The Prussians won't hand over the forts to the Versailles people, but after the definitive conclusion of peace (26 MAY[209])[b] they will allow the government to invest Paris with its gendarmes. Since Thiers & Co. had, as you know, stipulated a handsome bribe in their treaty concluded by Pouyer-Quertier,[210] they refused to accept Bismarck's offer of assistance by German bankers. Had they done so, they would have forfeited their bribe. Since the prior condition for the accomplishment of *their* treaty was the conquest of Paris, they asked Bismarck to delay payment of the first instalment until the occupation of Paris. Bismarck accepted this condition. Prussia, being herself in urgent need of that money, will therefore provide the Versailles people with every possible facility to hasten the occupation of Paris. So be on your guard!

First published, in the language of the original (French), in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 1, Nr. 23, Stuttgart, 1911

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[a] See, for instance, K. Marx, 'To the Editor of *The Times*', *The Times*, No. 27028, 4 April 1871. - [b] In the original there follows a phrase 'they will leave everything for Thiers to do', which is crossed out.

## 89

## MARX TO EDWARD SPENCER BEESLY[211]

IN LONDON

London, 12 June 1871
1 Maitland Park Road, N.W.

My dear Sir,

Lafargue, his family and my daughters are in the Pyrenees near the Spanish border but on the French side of it.[212] As Lafargue was born in Cuba he was able to obtain a Spanish passport. I wish however he would definitely settle on the Spanish side, as he played a leading role in Bordeaux.

Despite my admiration for your articles in the *Bee-Hive*,[213] I am almost sorry to see your name in that newspaper. Permit me to observe in passing that as a Party man I take up an entirely hostile attitude towards Comtism,[214] while as a scholar I have a very poor opinion of it; I regard you however as the only Comtist, both in England and in France, who deals with historical turning points (CRISES) not as a sectarian but as an historian in the best sense of the word. The *Bee-Hive* pretends to be a workers' paper but it is really the organ of renegades, sold to Sam. Morley & Co. During the recent Franco-Prussian war, the General Council of the International was obliged to sever all connection with this paper and publicly to declare that it was a workers' paper only in appearance.[215] The big London papers, however, with the exception of the local London *Eastern Post*, refused to print this declaration.[a] In such circumstances your cooperation with the *Bee-Hive* is a further sacrifice you are making to the good cause.

A woman friend of mine[b] will be going to Paris in three or four days. I am giving her regular passports for some members of the Commune who are still hiding in Paris.[c] If you or one of your friends have any commissions there please write to me.

What comforts me is the nonsense which the *petite presse*[d] publishes every day about my writings and my relations with the

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[a] K. Marx, 'Resolution of the General Council on *The Bee-Hive*'. - [b] presumably Anna Jaclard - [c] See this volume, p. 174. - [d] yellow press

Commune; this is sent to me each day from Paris. It shows that the Versailles police is very hard put to it to get hold of genuine documents. My relations with the Commune were maintained through a German merchant[a] who travels on business between Paris and London all the year round. Everything was settled verbally with the exception of two matters:

First, through the same intermediary I sent the members of the Commune a letter in answer to a question from them as to how they could sell certain securities on the London Exchange.[b]

Second, on 11 May, ten days before the catastrophe, I sent them via the same channel all the details of the secret agreement between Bismarck and Favre in Frankfurt.[216]

I had this information from Bismarck's right hand—a man[c] who had formerly (from 1848 to 1853) belonged to a secret society of which I was the leader.[217] This man knows that I still have all the reports which he sent me from and about Germany. He is dependent on my discretion. Hence his continual efforts to prove to me his good intentions. It is the same man who, as I told you, had warned me that Bismarck was determined to have me arrested if I again visited Dr Kugelmann in Hanover this year.

If only the Commune had listened to my warnings! I advised its members to fortify the northern side of the heights of Montmartre, the Prussian side, and they still had time to do this; I told them beforehand that they would otherwise be caught in a trap; I denounced Pyat, Grousset and Vésinier to them; I demanded that they should at once send to London all the documents compromising the members of the National Defence, so that by this means the savagery of the enemies of the Commune could to some extent be held in check—thus the plan of the Versailles people would at least partially have been frustrated.

If the Versailles people had discovered these documents, they would not have published forged ones.

The "Address" of the International[d] will not be published before Wednesday.[e] I shall then send you a copy at once. Material for four to five sheets has been compressed into two. Hence the

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[a] probably N. Eilau. - [b] See this volume, p. 142. — [c] Lothar Bucher - [d] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. - [e] 14 June

numerous corrections, revisions and misprints. Hence also the delay.

Faithfully yours,
Karl Marx

First published in *Vorwärts*, No. 76, 31 March 1909, Supplement 1

Printed according to the newspaper

## 90

## MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[185]

### IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 13 June 1871

Dear Sir,

I shall be happy to see to the 'first chapter', but I cannot start work on it *for another two weeks*.[218] A period of illness lasting eight weeks has piled up work which has to be dealt with first. I shall then also send you a list of minor corrections.[a]

As to the continuation of my work, the report OF OUR FRIEND[b] is based on a misunderstanding. I have decided that a complete revision of the manuscript is necessary.[219] Moreover, even now a number of essential DOCUMENTS are still outstanding, which will eventually arrive from the UNITED STATES.[c]

*Our friend *must return to London* from his commercial expedition. I have received news from the correspondents of the firm for which he travels, from Switzerland and elsewhere. The business will be *ruined* if he defers his return, and he himself will be disabled for all time to do any further service to the firm. The competitors of the firm are informed, are looking about for him and will ensnare him with their intrigues.*[220]

My best thanks for the various Russian books which you were so kind as to send me. All arrived safely. The other economic writings of the author would be very welcome to me (the one of John Stuart Mill I already have[d]).[221]

Despite my illness I have JUST PUBLISHED an ADDRESS[e] ABOUT 2 SHEETS long. HOW TO SEND IT TO YOU?

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[a] See this volume, pp. 239-40. - [b] Hermann Lopatin - [c] See this volume, p. 100. - [d] N. G. Chernyshevsky, 'Дополненія и примѣчанія на первую книгу политической экономіи Джона Стюарта Милля' (Addenda and Notes to Book One on Political Economy by J. St. Mill). - [e] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*.

Since I very often travel and hence am not AT HOME, please send all letters, etc., to my friend A. Williams,[a] Esq. (no second envelope necessary). He lives in my house, so use the same address: 1 Maitland Park Road, Chalk Farm, London, N. W.

Yours sincerely,
M.

A short extract from the letter was published, in Russian, in: K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. II, St Petersburg, 1885 (Preface); the full text of the letter was first published, in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 1, St Petersburg, 1908

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## 91

## MARX TO HIS DAUGHTERS JENNY, LAURA AND ELEANOR

### IN BAGNÈRES-DE-LUCHON[212]

[London,] 13 June 1871

My dear children,

After a 6 weeks' illness I am all right again, so far as this is possible under present circumstances. Besides, the devil is let loose in the house which is whitewashing, oiling, painting, papering, everything topsy-turvy. During the last days the noise and the continued expulsion from one corner to another got the better of my nervous system, and I have lived more at the general's[b] house than at ours.

I wish to have fuller notice about Jenny's health. I fear to have read between the lines that she is not quite as she ought to be. Now, generally speaking, after consultation with doctors of notorious sagacity, and in *possession of full information*, I think all of you ought to leave the French for the Spanish side of the Pyrenees.[222] The climate is much better, the change you all stand in need of much more marked. As to Toole,[c] in particular, his health will deteriorate and may even incur great danger, if he any longer hesitates to follow the advice of medical men who know everything about his constitution and have besides consulted his

[a] Marx's pseudonym - [b] Engels' nickname - [c] Paul Lafargue's nickname

former doctors at Bordeaux, etc. Hence, I expect that you will not care for a little trouble, resort to a more healthy place, and soon send me your new address whither I would send you my new 'address'.[a]

Here in London life is just now dull enough. The cousins from the country[b] are thronging its streets. You recognise them at once by their bewildered airs, their astonishment at everything they see and their feverish anxiety at the convolution of horses, cabs, omnibuses, people, babies, and dogs.

Mamma and Madame Lormier—as I hear—are fighting hard battles about politics. I do not know whether they have already come to blows, or whether they confine themselves to hard words, which will break no bones.

I have got from St Petersburg very valuable books and very friendly letters in which all sorts of advances are made to me.[c]

Lawroff (not Anoroff) is a good fellow enough, not at all without capacity, but he has spoiled his brain and lost his time, by reading throughout the last 20 years mainly the German literature (philosophical, etc.) of that period, the lousiest sort of literature in existence. Being German, he seems to have fancied, it must needs be 'scientific'.

Mrs Vivanti has come it out strongly, it seems. I have not seen her, but I remark, that now she is spoken of in terms of praise, perhaps a little exaggerated, but in the family Cutts there runs, as you know, a vein of extravagance.

Jung's sister-in-law has been buried the day before yesterday. Poor girl! She died in a hospital.

The little 'master'[d] is excellent in everything essential. So you may bear with his little weaknesses, his loquacity, his self-complacency, and the rehearsal of the 'happy speeches' he made here and there.

The German 'Knoten'-patriots,[e] of course, have celebrated in Bolleter's Gardens the 'glorious' upshot of the Borusso-French war[f] by a 'Friedensfest'[g] in which, *more teutonico*,[h] they have not failed 'sich blutig zu keilen'.[i]

Kern, having first found a schoolmaster's place, has now, by the general's mediation, got a good place as engineer in the North of England.

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[a] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. - [b] i.e. refugees of the Commune - [c] See this volume, p. 152. - [d] Hermann Jung - [e] boor-patriots - [f] i.e. the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. Borussia: old name for Prussia, frequently used in an ironical sense to indicate the feudal landlord nature of Prussia. - [g] 'peace festival' - [h] after Teutonic fashion - [i] 'to draw blood fighting'

Dr Maddison sends his best compliments to Jenny and Tussy. And now farewell, my dear children.

Old Nick[a]

First published, in Russian, in *Voinstvuyushchy materialist*, Book 4, Moscow, 1925

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## 92

## ENGELS TO ELISABETH ENGELS

### IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 16 June 1871

Dear Mother,

I was just sitting down to write to you when your letter from Leutesdorf arrived, which moved me to take out the map from which I was fortunate enough to discover the place. It must be very prettily situated, just there where the mountains come right up close to the Rhine again, with a view of the plain which stretches from Andernach to Koblenz. I am sure that the air there will have been very good for you.

You have done well to take a whole party of lively young girls home with you to Engelskirchen. Relations between the two adjoining houses[b] must be rather tense and embarrassing under the circumstances, and the presence of the girls will make sure that it is not talked about too much. Moreover, since the matter has now been settled it would be only right and proper for both sides to leave you in peace; it cannot do any good to keep raking over the ashes. As far as I am concerned, it was extremely unpleasant for me to find myself suddenly asked by Rudolf to do a favour for him, Hermann and Emil which I could not carry out without taking sides against Adolf. As you know, Rudolf is as honest as the day is long and is quite unable to dissemble, so that his letter did not leave me in the slightest doubt that the whole

[a] Marx's family nickname - [b] An allusion to the relations between Engels' brothers—Rudolf, Emil and Hermann—on the one hand, and Adolf von Griesheim, the husband of Engels' sister, on the other.

thing was to be arranged behind Adolf's back. However, Adolf had just as great a right to the information requested as the three others. I found the whole business so unpleasant that at first I just neglected it, but when they bombarded me with letters, I had to take a decision and in my view I could not do otherwise than to inform Adolf of the matter as well, since it was of great importance to him. To leave them time to make amends, I wrote to them[a] saying that I would write to Adolf and I did not in fact write to him until some days later.[45] I am at a loss to understand why they did not at once tell Adolf they had approached me and inform him of my reply. Had they done so all would have been well. But for them to obtain information behind Adolf's back which could be used *against* him, was something I could not be a party to. And that this was the intention is proved by Rudolf's subsequent letter to me. And in general Rudolf thought it a crime that Adolf should want to leave the firm at all, and since I had myself resigned only a short while earlier,[223] this seemed to me to go too far. Fortunately, the whole business is now settled and I hope they will soon make it up. I am writing to Adolf who has asked me for an account of the disagreements in Manchester and shall say to him that the most rational thing for them to do would be, either at the signing of the definitive contract, or even sooner, to give back to each other all the letters exchanged on the subject, throw them into the fire and drink a bottle of champagne.

As for my coming on a visit, that is a separate problem. As you know, ever since the business in Paris, there has been general hounding of us "Internationals"; we are supposed to have incited the whole revolution here from London, which is much the same as if someone were to accuse me of having stirred up the ill-feeling between Adolf and my brothers. But the hue and cry is on and we have definite information that Marx, who was expected in Hanover, would have been arrested there. True, they could not do me any serious harm if I did go over, but there could be minor conflicts, and I wouldn't have it for the world that they should take place in your house. Furthermore, the wretched Belgians still insist on passports. I think therefore that it would be best to wait a while until the police and the philistine heads have calmed down a little.

That is a strange business with Emma.[b] You seem to have curious *accoucheurs* in Barmen.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 119-20. - [b] Emma Engels

We have also had a lot of east wind here, but not until late May, so that the weather was often very fine and not excessively cold. Nevertheless, a fire had to be lit a few times early in June. It has been sultry since the day before yesterday, and there has been heavy rain which was very good for the plants, and it looks now as if we shall soon have fine weather. On the whole we had a very pleasant spring here, much better than in Manchester. I often have visitors from there. The day before yesterday, Dr Gumpert and his wife were here. She was puzzled about what I did with such a large house but was full of praise for the good order in which it was kept. Otherwise I have my usual good health and appetite, am now trying to accustom myself to an afternoon nap, am visibly greyer in the beard, and suffer, as always, almost only from thirst. I hope that you are also well and still able to take your walks in the linden avenue on the Agger, where I hope quite soon to be able to lie down again on a bench after a meal and fall asleep.

Affectionate greetings to all from your faithful son,

Frederick

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## 93

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN [121]

### IN HANOVER

[London,] 18 June 1871

Dear Kugelmann,

You must forgive my silence; even now I have only time to write a few lines.

You know that throughout the period of the last Paris revolution I was denounced continuously as the '*grand chef de l'Internationale*'[a] by the Versailles papers (Stieber collaborating) and *par répercussion*[b] by the press here.

[a] 'ringleader of the International'. See this volume, p. 124. - [b] following them

And now the *Address*,[a] which you will have received. It is making the devil of a noise and I have the honour to be AT THIS MOMENT THE BEST CALUMNIATED AND THE MOST MENACED MAN OF LONDON. That really does one good after a tedious twenty years' idyll in the backwoods. The government paper—*The Observer*—threatens me with legal prosecution. *Qu'ils osent! Je me moque bien de ces canailles-là!*[b] I am enclosing a cutting from *The Eastern Post*, because it has our answer to Jules Favre's circular.[224] Our answer appeared originally in *The Times* of 13 June. That honourable paper received a severe reprimand from Mr Bob Lowe (CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER and member of the Supervisory Committee of *The Times*) for this indiscretion.

My best thanks for the Reuters[c] and MY BEST COMPLIMENTS TO *Madame la Comtesse et ma chère* Fränzchen.[d]

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 25, Stuttgart, 1901-02 and in full, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa Kugelmanu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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## 94

## MARX TO AN UNKNOWN ADDRESSEE[194]

[London,] 19 June 1871
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, W.L.

Sir,

Please send me two copies of the *Pall Mall* of Saturday last (17 June).[e] I enclose 5 d. for the transmission.

Yours obediently,
Karl Marx

Published for the first time

Reproduced from the original

[a] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. - [b] Let them dare! I don't care a damn about these scoundrels! - [c] F. Reuter, *Ut mine Stromtid*. - [d] Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann - [e] The leader of this issue, 'The International Working Men's Association', dealt with Marx's Address *The Civil War in France*. See also this volume, p. 159.

## 95

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT[225]

IN LEIPZIG

London, 22 June 1871

Dear Liebknecht,

Herewith the translation of Section I of the Address.[a] The rest will follow so quickly that you can print Section I in *two* successive issues, i.e. you will have more copy in 8 days. On condition

1. that you print quickly and *a lot* in each issue;
2. that there are no marginal notes; I have translated so as to make them superfluous, apart from innuendos and details which could not in any case be explained in a few words;
3. that the type is left standing for separate publication as a pamphlet, which on this occasion is extremely necessary. If you do not have the money or credit for this, let us know.

Anything you *cannot* print you should replace with dots and send the relevant part of the manuscript to Becker in Geneva for him to publish it in the *Vorbote* (mark it clearly so that he can see where such passages fit in).[226]

You will have already received the copy of the original Address which I sent you *as a letter* with a few lines.[45] More of these are available.

The Address has caused a tremendous hullaballoo here in London. First they tried to ignore it, but it was not possible. On Wednesday the 14th, *The Evening Standard* published a denunciation, on the 15th *The Daily News* had an excerpt that then went through most other papers. Then *The Echo, Spectator* on Saturday, *Graphic, Pall Mall Gazette, Telegraph*—with leading articles, and that was it. On Monday *The Times* followed with a really lousy LEADER, then the *Standard* once more, yesterday *The Times* again, and the whole of London spoke only of us.[227] All wailing, of course. *Tant mieux.*[b]

I simply do not understand your scruples about deportation.[228] In your place I would not give up Hessian citizenship without having a substitute safely in my pocket. You are too timid on this issue. A single great public scandal, which would make it clear to the whole world what a humbug all these imperial laws really are, would put an end to all this nonsense. But if you avoid the scandal

[a] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France.* - [b] So much the better.

which can only redound to the detriment of servile nationalists,[229] instead of provoking it, then the police will obviously do what they like. N.B. all this refers only to the relevant passage in your letter, not the stance adopted by the paper[a] which is extremely courageous, and which we *wholeheartedly* salute. But do not imagine that the police scum would attempt to do to you what they venture to do to individual workers; they would only dare try it once they had created enough precedents by deporting workers over a period of time.

I did not at all realise that your deportation from Prussia was still in force. It may be that the police *maintain* this. But I was never able to comprehend why you did not settle the matter while you were still a deputy.

I am unable to correspond for the *Volksstaat*, but, as you see, I help wherever I can.

Nothing can be done about *The Pall Mall Gazette*. I have myself had all sorts of conflicts with the paper, even in the case of exclusively military articles, and neither you nor I can get political things accepted. I only keep the contact going TO KEEP A FOOTING THERE, so as to be able to print things there from time to time. If they did accept you as a correspondent, which they will not do, *none* of your reports would be printed. I even went so far in the New Year as to tell the editor[b] I knew full well that I could only produce military articles for him and not political ones, and said I only did this in the hope that he would publish our factual notices dealing with Party affairs when we thought it necessary. And this is what has happened.

You seem to have a very good idea of Reynolds. The greatest scoundrel in the press here, an arrant coward whenever he is uncertain of success, he has suppressed the entire Address right down to the extract from *The Daily News*.

The German workers have behaved themselves quite splendidly in this last great crisis, better than anyone else. And Bebel has been an outstanding spokesman on their behalf; his speech on the Commune went through the entire English press and made a great impression here.[230] You should send the *Volksstaat* to the *Pall Mall* from time to time; they publish items from it occasionally because the man is afraid of Marx and myself, and because there is another man[c] there who knows German and makes use of such things. Moreover, the paper readily publishes all sorts of curious information that others do not include.

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[a] *Der Volksstaat* - [b] Frederick Greenwood - [c] Nicolas Léon Thieblin

I would be grateful if you could send my copy of the *Volksstaat* to me *here*, and not to Manchester any more. Please send me 3-4 copies of the issues with the Address, one for proof-reading, the rest for distribution.

Best regards to you and yours.

Your
F. E.

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## 96

## ENGELS TO CARLO CAFIERO[231]

### IN BARLETTA

London, 1[-3] July 1871

My dear Friend,

I hope you received the copy of the Address of the General Council on the Civil War in France[a] which I sent to the address in Florence that you left me. I shall send you another copy at Barletta in a couple of days, again in the form of a letter for greater safety.[b]

I was very pleased to receive your letter from Barletta, which I would have answered sooner had the Address not made a great deal of work for us. It was violently attacked by the press and we had to reply to different newspapers.—I am also busy translating it into German for our Leipzig newspaper (*Der Volksstaat*).[226] A Dutch translation is being published in the *Toekomst* (*The Future*) of The Hague. If you can arrange for an Italian translation to be published this will be of great material help in your propaganda, giving the Italian workers a ready means of knowing the opinions of the General Council, and the principles and methods of action of our Association.

On further consideration I think it would be opportune to send *two* copies of our Address to Castellazzo in Florence, asking him to

[a] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. - [b] See this volume, pp. 170-71.

send one of them to you in a letter.—This will give me the opportunity of establishing a correspondence with him,[232] which will be regularly maintained. You must excuse me for not writing to him sooner, but I have to correspond with Spain and Belgium, as well as with Italy. Now, as regards Naples and Caporusso, the latter attended one of our Congresses[a] although he never kept a regular correspondence with the Council. To explain this I need to go into certain historical details.—Caporusso and his friends were followers of the Russian Bakunin. Bakunin has a theory peculiar to himself, which is really a mixture of communism and Proudhonism; the fact that he wants to unite these two theories in one shows that he understands absolutely nothing about political economy. Among other phrases he has borrowed from Proudhon is the one about anarchy being the final state of society; he is nevertheless opposed to all political action by the working classes, on the grounds that it would be a recognition of the political state of things; also all political acts are in his opinion 'authoritarian'. Just how he hopes that the present political oppression and the tyranny of capital will be broken, and how he intends to carry out his favourite idea on the abolition of inheritance without 'acts of authority', he does not explain.—But when in September 1870 the insurrection in Lyons was put down by force he decreed in the Hôtel de Ville[b] the abolition of the state, without taking any measures against all the bourgeois of the National Guard, who calmly walked into the Hôtel de Ville, kicked Bakunin out and put the state back on its feet, all in less than an hour.[128] However, Bakunin has founded a sect upon his theories, to which a small portion of French and Swiss workers belong, many of our members in Spain and some in Italy, among whom are Caporusso and his friends. Thus Caporusso is true to his name: he has a Russian for a boss.[c]

Now our Association has been founded to provide a central means of communication and joint activity for the working men's societies existing in different countries and aiming at the same end, viz., the protection, advancement and complete emancipation of the working classes (1st Rule of the Association).[d] Since the particular theories of Bakunin and his friends come under this rule, there can be no objection to accepting them as members and allowing them to do what they can to propagate their ideas by

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[a] the Basle Congress of 1869 - [b] town hall - [c] A pun: in Italian 'capo' means 'boss' and 'russo'—Russian. - [d] *Rules of the International Working Men's Association*, London, [1867].

every appropriate means. We have people of all sorts in our Association—communists, Proudhonists, unionists, commercial-unionists, cooperators, Bakuninists, etc.—and even in our General Council we have men of widely differing opinions.

The moment the Association were to become a sect it would be finished. Our power lies in the liberality with which the first rule is interpreted, namely that all men who are admitted aim for the complete emancipation of the working classes. Unfortunately the Bakuninists, with the narrowness of mentality common to all sects, were not satisfied with this. In their view the General Council consisted of reactionaries, the programme of the Association was too vague. Atheism and materialism (which Bakunin himself learnt from us Germans) had to become compulsory, the abolition of inheritance and the state, etc., had to be part of our programme.—Now Marx and I are almost as old and as good atheists and materialists as Bakunin, just like almost all our members. We know as well as he does that inheritance is nonsensical, although we differ from him over the importance and appropriateness of presenting its abolition as the deliverance from all evil; and the 'abolition of the state' is an old German philosophical phrase, of which we made much use when we were tender youths. But to put all these things into our programme would mean alienating an enormous number of our members, and dividing rather than uniting the European proletariat.—When the efforts to get the Bakuninist programme adopted as the programme of the Association failed, an attempt was made to make the Association take a roundabout route. Bakunin formed in Geneva an 'Alliance of Socialist Democracy', which was to be an international association separate from ours.[10]—The 'most radical minds in our sections', the Bakuninists, were to form sections of this *Alliance* everywhere, and these sections were to be subject to a separate General Council in Geneva (Bakunin) and to have national councils separate from ours; and at our General Congress this Alliance was to attend our congress in the morning and hold its own separate congress in the afternoon.—This delightful plan was put before the General Council in November 1868, but on 22 December 1868 the General Council annulled these rules as being contrary to the Rules of our Association and declared that the sections of the Alliance could only be admitted separately and that the Alliance must either be disbanded or cease to belong to the International.[a] On 9 March 1869, the General Council informed the Alliance that 'there exists,

[a] K. Marx, *The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy.*

therefore, no obstacle to the transformation of the sections of the Alliance into sections of the Int. W. Ass. The *dissolution* of the Alliance, and the entrance of its sections into the Int. W. Ass., once settled, it would, according to our Regulations, become necessary to inform the General Council of the residence and the numerical strength of each new section.'[a] These conditions were never fulfilled exactly, but the Alliance as such disapproved of them everywhere except in France and Switzerland where it ended up creating a split. About 1,000 Bakuninists—less than a tenth of our members—withdrew from the French and Swiss federations and have now appealed to the Council to be recognised as a separate federation, which very probably the Council will not oppose. From this you can see that the main result of the Bakuninists' action has been to create splits in our ranks.—Nobody opposed their particular dogma, but they were not satisfied with that and wanted to be in command and impose their doctrines on all our members.—We have resisted, as was our duty, and if they will agree to work peaceably alongside our other members we have neither the right nor the will to exclude them. But one ought to consider whether the presence of these elements should be made apparent, and if we can win the Italian sections that are not steeped in this particular fanaticism we shall certainly be able to work better together. You will be able to judge for yourself on the basis of the situation you will have found in Naples. The programme quoted in Jules Favre's circular against us as the programme of the International, is a genuinely Bakuninist programme mentioned above.[233] You will find our reply to Favre in the London *Times* of 13 June.[b]

Mazzini in 1864 tried to transform our Association to suit his own ends, but he failed. His chief instrument was a Garibaldian Major Wolff (his real name was Prince Thurn und Taxis) who has now been exposed by Tibaldi as a French police spy.[234] When Mazzini saw that the International could not serve him as a means, he attacked it with great violence and availed himself of every opportunity to slander it, but as you say time has passed quickly and '*God and the people*' is no longer the slogan of the Italian working class.

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[a] The quotation, which is in French in the copy, was distorted by the police translator. Here it is given according to the original source (see K. Marx, *The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the Central Bureau of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*). - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Statement by the General Council on Jules Favre's Circular'.

We are well aware that the system of tenant farmers or '*métayers*'[a] has been the basis of agricultural production in Italy since Roman times. There is no doubt that this system generally gives tenant farmers a greater degree of political independence in relation to the proletariat than is permitted to tenant farmers here.—But if we accept what Sismondi and recent writers on the subject say, the rate of exploitation of tenants by landowners is as great in Italy as everywhere else and the lowest stratum of peasants are extremely severely burdened. In Lombardy, where the plots are extensive, the tenant farmers when I was there[235] were moderately well-off, but there still existed a class of rural proletarians employed by the tenants, who practically did all the work and derived no benefit from this system. In the other parts of Italy where there are fewer tenants, the sharecropping system, so far as I can tell from a distance, does not protect them from the same poverty, ignorance and degradation which is the fate of small tenant farmers in France, Germany, Belgium and Ireland.—Our policy towards agricultural populations has been generally and naturally as follows: where there are extensive landholdings, the tenant farmer is a capitalist in relation to the worker, and there we must support the worker; where there are smallholdings, the tenant although nominally a small capitalist or landowner (as in France and part of Germany) is however in reality generally reduced to the same level of poverty as the proletarian, and we must therefore work for him.—Without doubt it must be the same in Italy. But the Council will be most obliged if you can give us information about these matters and also about the recent legislation in Italy concerning rural properties and other social questions.

After numerous interruptions I am finishing this letter on 3 July, and I ask you only to be so good as to reply promptly. I shall write today to Castelazzo.

Your devoted

F. Engels

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[a] 'sharecroppers'

## 97

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 10 July 1871

Dear Liebknecht,

Herewith the rest of Section III.[a] Section IV will follow in 2-3 days, and at all events by the end of the week.[226] The proofs today or tomorrow.

*Ad vocem*[b] deportation,[228] the examples you give of deportations from Prussia and Mainz will not hold water, because they took place in wartime and so were legal. You ought by some means or other to force a decision on the cases in Saxony: either by the refusal of those involved to leave, or by appeal and petition to the Reichstag. The Party of Progress cannot refuse you support on this matter without ruining itself totally.[236] As long as the Reichstag does not explicitly refuse to recognise the rights of citizenship and the freedom to live and move where one likes, the issue is not settled. As to your particular case, you could have brought it to the boil very quickly by going to Berlin 8 days before the opening of the Reichstag and waiting to see what happened. I am convinced that they would not have touched you, and that would have been the end of it. If they had made a move against you, there would have been a fearful outcry and they would have had to release you as soon as the Reichstag convened; you would then have been able to expose the Reichstag in the eyes of the entire world if they had not behaved properly. There are certain decencies that even the most wretched assembly cannot openly violate in untroubled times. However, now that you are no longer in the Reichstag, it is no longer so simple. But if you allow all these rights that you possess on paper to be taken from you in reality *without any sort of struggle,* and if you do not *force* the Reichstag to decide publicly for or against its own creation, then there is no helping you.

The imperious tone in which you demanded that we should found a paper here amused us hugely. You must have confused London with Crimmitschau to have imagined that one can just go

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[a] The reference is to the German translation of Marx's *The Civil War in France.* - [b] As to

ahead and establish a *Bürger- und Bauernfreund* here without more ado.[237] You surely ought still to be aware that just as London is larger than Crimmitschau so too the difficulties in setting up a paper and all the demands made of it are correspondingly greater. If you can put some £10,000 at our disposal, we shall be at your service.

*Ad vocem* Odger, you forget that the man was elected by the *Congress* and could not be expelled without a valid reason.[238] From what you say on this point it is quite clear that you have completely lost touch with the situation here, which is not surprising since the papers maintain a total silence about events within the workers' party.

We have now thoroughly and definitively broken off relations with *The Pall Mall Gazette*.[239]

Best regards to you and yours from my wife[a] and the Marx family.

Your
F. E.

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## 98

## MARX TO LÉON BIGOT[240]

### IN PARIS

London, 11 July 1871

Sir,

I declare that the letter attributed to me in which I allegedly speak of Mr Assi is a *forgery*, like all the other letters attributed to me by the French newspapers.

I have never dealt with Mr Assi either in private or in public with one exception. A few days after the revolution of 18 March the London newspapers published a telegram according to which that revolution was allegedly prepared by me in secret collabora-

[a] Lydia Burns

tion with Blanqui and Mr Assi who supposedly had come to London to reach an understanding with me. I then declared in *The Times* that this was all a fairy tale invented by the French police.[a]

I have the honour of remaining

Karl Marx

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## 99

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN LONDON

[London,] 12 July 1871

My dear Friend,

Would you be so kind as to dine with us next Sunday at five o'clock in the evening?

You will find some of our friends from Paris here.

Fraternal greetings,

K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book 5, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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Published in English for the first time

[a] K. Marx, 'To the Editor of *The Times*', *The Times*, No. 27028, 4 April 1871.

## 100

## MARX TO A. O. RUTSON[241]

IN LONDON

[London,] 12 July 1871
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Sir,

I send you together with these lines the following publications of the General Council of the 'International':

1) 'Inaugural Address and Provisional Rules'.

2) 'Rules of the International Workingmen's Association' as definitively accepted by the Geneva Congress of 1866.

3) 'Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868'.

4) 'Report of the General Council to the Brussels Congress'[a] (*Times*, 9 September 1868).

5) 'The Belgian massacres'.

6) 'Address to the National Labour Union of the United States'.

7) 'Report of the Fourth Annual Congress, held at Basle 1869'.[b]

8) 'Irish Amnesty'.[c]

9) 'Lockout of the Building Trades at Geneva'.

10) 'Programme of the Fifth Annual Congress'.[d]

N.B. The meeting of this Congress was prevented by the Franco-Prussian War.[242]

11) Two Addresses on the Franco-Prussian War.[e]

12) Address on the 'Civil War in France'.

13) I enclose a written copy of the 'Address to Abraham Lincoln' and his reply.[243]

This list, though not complete, contains the most important documents published by the General Council.

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[a] K. Marx, 'The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association'. - [b] K. Marx, 'Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association'. - [c] K. Marx, 'Draft Resolution of the General Council on the Policy of the British Government Towards the Irish Prisoners'. - [d] K. Marx, 'Programme for the Mainz Congress of the International'. - [e] K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'; K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'.

An Address to the American Committee of the 'International'[a]—which is just printing—I shall forward you tomorrow.

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

A. O. Rutson, Esq.

First publication of the fair copy. The rough copy was first published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Reproduced from the original

## 101

## ENGELS TO CARLO CAFIERO[231]

### IN NAPLES

London, 16 July 1871

My dear Friend,

I hope you have received my letter of 3 July[b] which I sent to Barletta. I got yours of 28 June the day after sending mine, and I was pleased to hear that you have received the Address,[c] which is currently being translated into Italian and will be published in that language. As for the Russian translation, urge the lady by every possible means to finish it, because the sooner it is done and published the better.[244] Besides, the German, Dutch and Spanish translations are being published in Madrid, the French translation will be published in Geneva and perhaps another in Brussels.[245] Thus despite all the persecutions of the continental Government it is satisfying to recognise that our Association has greater means of international publishing than the semi-official press of any European Government.

When your letter arrived mine to Florence had not yet been sent,[d] and considering the position I thought it better not to write directly there. A letter containing printed documents sent from London to a shoemaker in Florence, whose name had appeared in the Address to the Commune,[246] would naturally arouse suspicion,

[a] K. Marx, 'Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador, in Paris'. - [b] See this volume, pp. 161-65. - [c] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. - [d] See this volume, pp. 161-62.

whereas the same letter addressed to a doctor of law in Naples[a] would appear quite normal. I am therefore enclosing herewith:

1. Inaugural Address and Provisional Rules of 1864
2. Regulations established by the Congress[b]
3. Resolutions of the 1866 and 1868 Congresses
4. Two Addresses of the General Council on the War
5. Address on the Civil War in France. 2nd Edition
6. Idem on Mr Washburne.[c] 3 copies.

Perhaps you will be so good as to send certain of these documents as you can afford to Florence and keep the rest for your own use. I do not know exactly which documents our secretary[d] gave you before you left. If you require further copies of some or all of these kindly let me know and they will be sent to you as soon as we have them. In any case, you now have enough material to communicate whatever information about the present state of our Association may be requested by our friends in Florence. It will perhaps be a good idea if, for the moment, I do not correspond with them except through you, until the present persecutions are over, because it would not be advantageous to compromise anyone more than is necessary. Meanwhile, and until their society is reconstituted, they could form a section of our Association right away among their closest friends, from six to a dozen, and write us a letter stating that they are affiliating and nominating their secretary, with whom I shall then enter into correspondence. This section could at a later date be merged into the reconstituted society. As soon as the letter arrives the list of names will be transcribed and sent for publication.

We are pleased to hear that you and other friends do not fear the persecutions but welcome them as the best means of propaganda. This is my opinion and it seems we are destined to have an abundance of such persecutions. In Spain many people have been imprisoned and others are in hiding. In Belgium the government is trying with all its might to give free rein to the law and even more against us. In Germany the followers of Bismarck are starting to play this game too, except that there more than in Spain they are impeded by the forceful resistance of our men who have been much more fortunate. No doubt you will still have your share in Italy, but we are satisfied that these persecutions will be met in a different spirit from that of Caporusso and his friends.[247]

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[a] Carlo Cafiero - [b] 'Administrative Regulations' in *Rules of the International Working Men's Association*, London, [1867]. - [c] K. Marx, 'Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador, in Paris'. - [d] P. Giovacchini

It is truly remarkable that these partisans of Bakunin should display such cowardice as soon as there is the slightest sign of danger. The Spanish Bakuninists, who recently wrote to tell us that their practice of abstention from political affairs had been a huge success, so much so that the socialists were no longer feared, but considered completely innocent people (!!), have not behaved at all well in the face of the recent persecutions, and we are not able to find a single one of them from any nation who has at any time allowed himself of his own will to be exposed to danger either on a barricade or elsewhere.—It will be good for us to get rid of them altogether, and if you can find people in Naples or in some other town who are not connected to this current in Geneva it will be so much the better.—Whatever we manage to do or whatever congress we prescribe these men will always form, in reality if not in name, an internal sect in our society, and the men of Naples, Spain, etc., will give more weight to our communications received through their own headquarters than to anything else our Association can do. Thus if they come back into our Association we think it will be for a short time only and once again the disputes will arise that will lead to their exclusion. We have had proofs of the fact that they still intend to form their own International within the Great International and they can rest assured that neither the General Council nor the Congress will warrant any violation of our Rules.

What you say about the state of the population in the south of Italy does not surprise us. Even here in England, where the movement of the working classes is almost as old as this century, one meets with apathy and ignorance in abundance. The trade-union movement has become more an obstacle to the general movement than an instrument of its progress, and outside the trade unions there exists here a huge mass of workers in London who for several years have kept quite apart from the political movement and are consequently very ignorant. But on the other hand they are also exempt from many of the traditional prejudices of trade-unionists and other old sects and thus constitute excellent material upon which to work. They are about to be mobilised by our Association, and we have recognised that they are intelligent.

I can understand perfectly your position in Naples. It is the same position as some of us were in 25 years ago in Germany, when we first founded the social movement. At that time we had among the proletarians the only few men in Switzerland, France and England who had absorbed socialist and communist ideas; we

had very few means with which to work on the masses and, like you, we had to find supporters among the schoolmasters, journalists and students. Luckily in this period of the movement such men, not belonging exactly to the working class, were easy to find. Later, when the working people as a mass are in command of the movement, they certainly become rarer.

With the freedom granted by 1848, with the press and with the register of meetings and associations, this first phase of the movement was naturally much curtailed, and no doubt in a year or two you will be able to give us a different report of the state of affairs in Naples.

We thank you also for your resolution to tell us the facts as they really are. Our Association is strong enough to show itself willing to know the real truth, even when it seems unfavourable, and nothing can weaken it more than exaggerated reports without a real foundation. Act in this way and you will never receive from me any report which might in the slightest way make you see things differently from the way they are.

I enclose the report of the meeting of the Council on 4 July[a] with all the facts relating to Major Wolff.[234] Since the man is well known in Italy it will be a good thing to publish them there.

May I add that we have a rule for all periodical newspapers published by our organisation: two copies must be sent regularly to the Council here, one for the archive where they are all kept, one for the secretary of the country where they are published. Would you trouble yourself to see to this as soon as there is an Italian organ of the Association? In the case of Italian translations, too, a number of copies should be sent here.

We now have Italian refugees here who fought in Paris for the Commune and are being helped by our refugee fund.

Fraternal greetings.

F. Engels

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Translated from the Italian

Published in English for the first time

[a] In the original: '3 July'.

## 102

## MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD

### IN LONDON

[London,] 21 July [1871]

Dear Oswald,

I must once again pester you for a passport—one with a visa from the French Consulate. (The last one is already in Paris.)[248] Through your efforts, you have already *saved* 6 people, and such a noble achievement is the best reward for your labours.

Yours in sincere friendship,
Karl Marx

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## 103

## MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

### IN ST PETERSBURG

[London,] 22 July [1871]

Dear Friend,

Excuse me for answering with such a delay.[a] I have been so much *overworked* during this latter time that I got hardly to bed.

Hence I could not think of doing anything concerning *The Capital*. Next week, however, I shall commence and make the whole thing ready for you.[b]

I had a *packet ready for Berlin*, but, unfortunately, it has, by some mistake, not been sent off. It is still here. So please send me a new address for Berlin, and I shall dispatch the packet at once.[249]

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[a] Thus far Marx wrote in German. The rest of the letter is in English. - [b] See this volume, pp. 239-40.

As to our mutual friend[a] the most alarming news has arrived here, but, I hope, it is false, or at all events exaggerated.

If you were able to find me a *correspondent in Berlin* who might serve as an intermediary for *some* of the commercial business I have to transact with Petersburg, it would be a useful thing, and for *some articles* that circuitous way might prove shorter than the direct way. The straight line is not in all cases, as the mathematicians fancy, the shortest one.

Yours most faithfully,
A. Williams[b]

First published, in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 1, St Petersburg, 1908

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## 104

## MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD

### IN LONDON

[London,] 24 July 1871

Dear Oswald,

I would like warmly to recommend my friend Jósef Rozwadowski[c] to you. He was *Chef d'état major*[d] under General Wróblewski. He is an excellent young man, *mais sans le sou*.[e] What he would like, is, for a start, to give French lessons. As soon as he can speak English, it will be possible to look around for a post as engineer for him.

He is living at 9 Packington Street, Essex Road, Islington.

Yours sincerely,
K. Marx

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[a] Hermann Lopatin; see also this volume, p. 152 - [b] Marx's pseudonym - [c] Misspelled in the original as 'Rodwanowski'. - [d] Chief of Staff - [e] but without a penny

## 105

## MARX TO CHARLES CARON[250]

### IN NEW ORLEANS

[Résumé of a letter]

[London,] 26 July 1871

*Lettre sent to Chas. Caron, New Orleans (Président et Secrétaire par interim du Club International et Républicain,* etc.). Accepted as branch of the International. Written them to communicate with Central Committee at New York. Sent them 1 *Civil War*[a] (*2ème édit.*), 1 *Rules,* et 1 *Washburne.*[b]

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## 106

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[121]

### IN HANOVER

[London,] 27 July [1871]

Dear Kugelmann,

Be so good as to send the enclosed note to Liebknecht at once.[17]

I find your silence very strange. I cannot assume that the various packages of printed matter have failed to reach you.

On the other hand, it would be very foolish if you wanted to punish me in this way for not writing—on the old principle of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. Remember, *mon cher,* that if the day had 48 hours, I would still not have finished my day's work for months now.

The work for the International is immense, and in addition London is overrun with REFUGEES, whom we have to look after.[251] Moreover, I am overrun by other people—newspaper men and others of every description—who want to see the 'MONSTER' with their own eyes.

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[a] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France.* - [b] K. Marx, 'Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador, in Paris'.

Up till now it has been thought that the emergence of the Christian myths during the Roman Empire was possible only because printing had not yet been invented. Precisely the contrary. The daily press and the telegraph, which in a moment spreads its inventions over the whole earth, fabricate more myths in one day (and the bourgeois cattle believe and propagate them still further), than could have previously been produced in a century.

My daughters have been in the Pyrenees for some months.[212] Jennychen, who was still suffering from the after-effects of *pleurésie*, is, she writes me, mending visibly.

Best thanks for your Germanic despatches.

I hope that you, as well as your dear wife and Fränzchen[a]—whom I ask you to greet cordially—are well.

*Apropos.* You were probably astonished to see that I made references to a duel in my missive to the *Pall Mall.*[b] The matter was quite simple. Had I not given the EDITOR this excuse for making a few cheap jokes, he would simply have suppressed the whole thing. As it was he fell [into] the trap and did what was my real purpose—he published word for word the accusations against Jules Favre et Co. contained in the Address.[c]

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 25, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

## 107

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN LEIPZIG

[London, not later than 27 July 1871]

Dear Liebknecht,

Herewith the final portion.[d]

When I gave you the *Peasant War*, you did not even send me a

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[a] Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann - [b] K. Marx, 'Letter to Frederick Greenwood, the Editor of *The Pall Mall Gazette*'. - [c] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. - [d] of the German translation of Marx's *The Civil War in France*

single copy of it.[252] In order to procure some, I had to order them through the local Workers' Society.[135] This time I am counting on more decent treatment and would like to have *for myself* 25 copies of a separate offprint of the Address. I not only have private debts of politeness to repay, but I also have to present copies to the local and other German workers. Apart from myself, the *General Council* should also be sent 25 copies. You can add 50 copies of Borkheim's pamphlet, for which we shall *pay*, as well as around 6 copies each of your other publications (1 doz. each of Bebel's and of Dietzgen's things), for which we shall pay too.[253]

Your
F. E.

We shall also have the German translation printed in America as soon as the complete text becomes available.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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Published in English for the first time

## 108

## MARX TO NIKOLAI UTIN[137]

### IN GENEVA

[Draft]

[London,] 27 July 1871

Dear Citizen,

Last Tuesday[a] the General Council resolved that there would not be a *Congress* this year (in view of extraordinary circumstances) but that, as in 1865, there should be a *private Conference* in London[254] to which different sections would be invited to send their delegates. The convocation of this Conference *must not be published in the press.* Its meetings will not be public ones. The Conference will be required to concern itself, not with theoretical questions, but exclusively with questions of *organisation.* It will also deal with disputes between the different sections of a particular country. The Conference will *open in London on 17 September* (third Sunday in September). Jung will advise Becker and Perret of these resolutions.

[a] 25 July

At last Tuesday's meeting two questions were put to the General Council by Guillaume[255]: 1) He sent copies of two letters, one, dated 28 July 1869, from Eccarius, whereby the *Alliance* was recognised as a section of the International, the other, dated 25 August 1869, from Jung. This was a receipt for the Alliance's contribution (year 1868-69). Now Guillaume is asking if these letters were authentic.

We replied saying that *there could be no doubt on that score.*

*2nd question*: 'Has the General Council passed a resolution excluding the *Alliance* from the *International*?' We replied, saying, as was the case, *that there had been no resolution of this kind.*

Up till then, there had been nothing but facts to ascertain, but when Robin, on behalf of his mandatories, sought to interpret these facts in a light that would have prejudged the Swiss dispute,[9] the Council cut things short!

First it was pointed out that, in a letter preceding the one from Eccarius, *the conditions* of the Alliance's admission had been specified, that they had been accepted by the Alliance and that it was a question of knowing whether the Alliance had fulfilled those conditions—a question to be dealt with by the Conference.

As to the contribution for 1868-69, it was pointed out that this payment was made by the *Alliance* to buy its admission to the Basle Congress of 1869 and that thereafter the *Alliance* had paid nothing further.

As to the second question, it was pointed out that if the General Council had not passed a resolution excluding the Alliance, this certainly was no proof that the *Alliance* had not excluded itself by its own conduct and actions.

The Council then resolved that, while it might reply to the factual questions raised by Guillaume, it reserved for the Conference the right to pronounce on the essential aspects of the affair.

*L'Égalité* arrives here at very irregular intervals.

You would oblige me by acknowledging receipt of this letter.

Fraternal greetings,

K. M.

P. S. I do not sign myself Secretary for *Russia in* the Council's manifestoes for fear of compromising our friends in Russia.

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Translated from the French

# 109

## ENGELS TO CARLO CAFIERO[231]

IN NAPLES

London, 28 July 1871
122, R.P.R. N.W.

Dear Cafiero,

I have received your letter of the 12th, and I hope you have received the one I sent to Naples a few days before,[a] containing the Rules of the Association, the deliberations of the Geneva and Brussels congresses, the second[b] edition of the address on the civil war in France, the addresses on the Franco-Prussian war, the Association's Inaugural Address of 1864, etc., etc. These documents will certainly suffice to explain to you what the rules and principles of our society are and the means which the General Council has available to act in the name and on behalf of the society. I have once again received the *Plebe* of Lodi, the bulletin on Caporusso and the issue of *Roma del Popolo* containing Mazzini's attack on us.[c]

As for the facts relating to Caporusso which have been published and subsequently quoted in your letter, they would seem to be sufficient to make him incapable of harming us in the future. If he were to dare to present himself again to the public as a representative of the working class, the story of the 300 lire[256] would be made public and that would erase the last traces of his influence. We are pleased to hear that there is no sign of the *Bakuninist* sect over there. We had been led to believe the reverse because the Swiss *Bakuninists always asserted it to be the case.* They repeated it constantly and since we received no reply from Naples to our letters we believed it. We had no address in Naples other than that of Caporusso, to whom at least 3 letters were written by our French secretary E. Dupont in Marx's presence, but Caporusso must have suppressed them. If you think it is worth the trouble, ask Caporusso about those letters. Besides, no replies from Naples were ever received, and if those letters which were sent were addressed, as you say, directly to the Council, it is only too evident that, between them, the Italian, French and British police would have prevented them from arriving.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 170-73. - [b] In the original mistakenly: 'third'. - [c] G. Mazzini, 'Agli operai italiani', *La Roma del Popolo*, No. 20, 13 July 1871.

You are right to dwell on the *moment of reflexion* (in which I recognise with pleasure the very voice of old Hegel, to whom we are all so indebted)[a] and to say that the Association cannot be satisfied in its work with the mere assertion of Article 1 of the Rules, a principle which, unless developed, will remain a mere *negation*, the negation of the right of the aristocratic and bourgeois classes to 'exploit' the proletariat. In fact we must go much further, we must develop the positive side of the question, how the emancipation of the proletariat is to take effect, and thus the discussion of different opinions becomes not just inevitable but necessary. As I say, this discussion is going ahead constantly not only within the Association but also in the General Council, where there are *Communists, Proudhonists, Owenists, Chartists, Bakuninists*, etc., etc. The most difficult thing is to get them all together and ensure that the differences of opinion on these matters do not disturb the solidity and stability of the Association. In this we have always been fortunate, with the sole exception of the Swiss *Bakuninists*, who with true sectarian fury always dared to impose their programme on the Association, both by direct means and indirectly, by forming a special international society with its own General Council, its own congress, and all this within the great International itself. When this was attempted in the form of the *Alliance de la démocratie socialiste de Genève*[10] the Council replied as follows (22 December 1868)[b]:

'According to these documents (the Programme and Regulations of the Alliance[c]), the said Alliance is merged entirely in the International, at the same time as it is established entirely outside this Association. Besides the General Council of the International, elected at the Geneva, Lausanne and Brussels congresses, there is to be, in line with the initiatory rules (of the Alliance), another Central Council in Geneva, which is self-appointed. Besides the local groups of the *International*, there are to be the local groups of the *Alliance*, which through their national bureaus, operating outside the national bureaus of the International, *shall ask the Central Bureau of the Alliance to admit them into the International*. The Alliance Central Committee thereby takes upon itself the right of admittance to the International.

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[a] Hegel considered reflexion the motive force of the development of the World Spirit, the inner form of the historical self-consciousness and self-development of culture. - [b] K. Marx, 'The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy'. - [c] The words in parentheses were inserted into the resolution by Engels.

Lastly, the General Congress of the International Working Men's Association will have its parallel (*doublure*) in the General Congress of the Alliance, for, as the initiatory rules say,

'"At the Annual Working Men's Congress the delegation of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, as a branch of the International Working Men's Association, *shall hold public meetings in a separate building.*"

'Considering:

'That the presence of a second international body operating within and outside the International Working Men's Association would be the infallible means of its disorganisation;

'That every other group of individuals, residing anywhere at all, would have the right to imitate the Geneva initiatory group (of the Alliance) and, under more or less plausible excuses, to bring into the International Working Men's Association other international associations with special missions;

'That the International Working Men's Association would thereby soon become a plaything for intriguers of any nationality and any party;

'That, moreover, the Rules of the International Working Men's Association admit only *local* and national branches into its ranks (see Art. 1 and Art. 6 of the Rules);

'That sections of the International Working Men's Association are forbidden to adopt rules or administrative regulations contrary to the General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association (see Art. 12 of the Administrative Regulations);

'That the matter has been prejudged by the resolutions against the *Ligue de la Paix*, adopted unanimously at the Brussels Congress. (This league had invited the International to join it, and this was our answer to these bourgeois)[257];

'That in these resolutions, the Congress declares that the *Ligue de la Paix* had no *raison d'être*, because after its recent declarations its aim and its principles were identical with those of the International Working Men's Association; that numerous members of the initiatory group of the Alliance, in their capacity as delegates to the Brussels Congress, voted for these resolutions;

'the General Council of the International Working Men's Association unanimously agreed:

'1) All articles of the Rules of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy defining its relations with the International Working Men's Association are declared null and void;

'2) the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy may not

be admitted as a branch of the International Working Men's Association.'

I do not think there can be any disagreement on this point, namely that the International cannot permit another, sectarian International to exist within its own organisation. There is not the slightest doubt that all future Congresses and General Councils will energetically oppose the organisation of such intrigues within our own ranks and it would be good if our friends in Naples, at least those of them that have links with Geneva, understood this: The *Bakuninists* are a tiny minority within the Association and they are the *only* ones who have at all times brought about dissension. I am referring mainly to *the Swiss*, because we had little or nothing to do with the others. We have always allowed them to have their principles and to promote them as they thought best, so long as they renounced all attempts at undermining the Association or imposing their programme on us. In this way they will see that the workers of Europe will not be made the playthings of a little sect. As for their theoretical views, the General Council wrote to the *Alliance* on 9 March 1869[a] citing Article 1 of the Rules:

'Since the sections of the working class in different countries find themselves in different conditions of development, it necessarily follows that their theoretical notions, which reflect the real movement, should also diverge. The community of action, however, called into life by the International Working Men's Association, the exchange of ideas facilitated by the public organs of the different national sections, and the direct debates at the General Congresses, are sure by and by to engender a common theoretical programme. Consequently, it belongs not to the functions of the General Council to subject the programme of the Alliance to a critical examination. It is not our task to find out whether it is or is not an adequate expression of the proletarian movement. All we have to know is whether its general tendency does not run against the general tendency of our Association, viz., the complete emancipation of the working class.'

I have given you these extensive quotations in order to prove the unfoundedness of any accusation that the General Council would be overstepping the limits of Article 1 of the Rules. In its official powers regarding the admission or refusal of divisions, it certainly cannot act in this way. But as regards discussions of

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[a] K. Marx, 'The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the Central Bureau of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy'.

theoretical points, the Council desires nothing more ardently than this. From discussions of this sort the Council hopes to arrive at a general theoretical programme acceptable to the European proletariat. At all our theoretical congresses, the discussions have taken up by far the largest part of the time, but it should be noted that in these discussions Bakunin and his friends have played a very small role. In its official papers too the General Council has gone much further than Article 1. Read all the addresses that have been sent to you,[a] and in particular number 5, the one on the civil war in France, where we declare ourselves in favour of communism, a fact which will no doubt have displeased the many *Proudhonists* in the Assembly. We were able to do this because we were led to it by the capitalist slanderers of the Paris Commune.

No document has been issued by the General Council which does not go beyond Article 1. But the Council can go beyond the official programme of the Association only *insofar as circumstances* are able to justify it. It cannot give any section the right to say: you have broken our statutes; you are officially proclaiming things which are not in the Rules of the Association. You say that our friends in Naples are not content with mere abstraction, that they want something concrete, that they are not satisfied with anything except equality, social order instead of disorder. Good; we are willing to go further. There is not a single man in the General Council who does not support the total abolition of *social classes* and there is not a single document of the General Council which is not in accordance with this aim. We must free ourselves from landowners and capitalists, and for this end promote the development of the associated classes of agricultural and industrial workers and all the means of production, land, tools, machines, raw materials and whatever means exist to support life during the time necessary for production. In this way inequality must cease. And to bring this about we need the political supremacy of the proletariat. I think that is concrete enough for our friends in Naples. At the same time, since others are performing our role in working *the bad soil*, the General Council cannot be expected to send out incendiary statements at every other moment, statements which would please a good many of our members while certainly displeasing the rest. If however a real conjuncture arises, then we show our strength, as in the case of the address on the civil war in France. As for the religious question, we cannot speak about it officially, except when the priests provoke us, but you will detect

[a] See this volume, p. 170.

the spirit of atheism in all our publications. Moreover, we do not admit any society which has the slightest hint of religious allusion in its statutes. Many wanted to apply, but they were all invariably rejected. If our friends in Naples were to form a society of atheists and admitted only atheists, whatever would happen to their propaganda in a city where, as you yourself say, it is not only God that is omnipotent but also St Januarius, who needs to be handled with kid gloves.

I am enclosing a letter for C. Palladino[45] containing expressions of solidarity with the Naples Section, as you requested. Please pass it on to him.

Now for Mazzini. I communicated his article in *Roma del Popolo* to the Council last Tuesday.[a] I shall send you the report published on the discussion in a few days.[258] For Italy, however, it is desirable that the following be published[259]:

'Mazzini says:

"This Association, founded in London some years ago and with which I *refused to collaborate from the start* ... a nucleus of individuals which takes it upon itself directly to govern a broad multitude of men of different nations, tendencies, political conditions, economic interests and methods of action will always end up by not functioning, or it will have to function *tyrannically*. For this reason I withdrew and shortly afterwards the Italian workers' section withdrew."'

Now for the facts. After the foundation meeting of our association on 28 September 1864, as soon as the Provisional Council was elected in public assembly, Major L. Wolff presented a manifesto and a number of rules drawn up by Mazzini himself. Not only was there no objection in these drafts to governing a multitude directly, etc., not only did he not say that this effort 'if it is to work at all, will have to function tyrannically', but on the contrary, the rules were conceived in the spirit of a *centralised conspiracy*, giving tyrannical powers to the central body. The manifesto was in Mazzini's usual style: *la démocratie vulgaire*, offering the workers political rights in order to preserve intact the *social* privileges of the middle and upper classes. This manifesto and *draft statutes* were subsequently thrown out. But the Italians (their names are listed at the end of our Inaugural Address) remained members until the said question was reopened with respect to certain French *bourgeois* democrats who wanted to manipulate the International. When they were refused admission, first Wolff[b] and then the others withdrew and we finished once and for all with Mazzini.[260] Some time afterwards, the Central

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[a] 25 July 1871 - [b] See this volume, p. 173.

Council, replying to an article by Vésinier, stated in the Liège newspaper that Mazzini had never been a member of the Association and the drafts of his manifesto and statutes had been rejected.[261] You will have seen that Mazzini has made a frenzied attack on the Paris Commune in the British press too, which is just what he always does when the proletarians rise up; after their defeat he denounces them to the *bourgeoisie*. After the insurrection of June 1848 he did the same thing, denouncing the insurgent proletarians in such offensive terms that even Louis Blanc wrote a pamphlet against him. And Louis Blanc has since told us several times that the June insurrection was the work of Bonapartist agents.[262]

If Mazzini calls our friend Marx a '*man of corrosive ... intellect, of domineering temper*', etc., etc., I can only say that Marx's corrosive *domination* and his jealous nature have kept our Association together for seven years, and that he has done more than anyone else to bring it to its present proud position. As for the break up of the Association, which is said to have begun already here in England, the fact is that *two* English members of the Council,[a] who had been getting on too close terms with the bourgeoisie, found our address on the civil war too strong and they withdrew.[238] In their place we have four new English members[b] and one Irishman,[c] and we reckon ourselves to be much stronger here in England than we were before the two renegades left. Instead of being in a state of dissolution, we are now for the first time being publicly recognised by the entire English press as a *great European power*, and never has a greater sensation been caused by a little pamphlet than that produced here in London by the address on the civil war, the third edition of which is about to appear.

I repeat that it is highly desirable that this reply to Mazzini should be published in Italian and that the Italian workers are shown that the great agitator and conspirator *Mazzini* has no other advice for them than this: educate yourselves, teach yourselves as best you can (as if this were just up to them), strive to create more consumer cooperatives (not just producer ones) and trust in the future!!

At last Tuesday's[d] MEETING the Council resolved that a private conference of delegates from the various nations of workers of the International Association should be held on the third Sunday in September (17 September).

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[a] G. Odger and B. Lucraft - [b] A. Taylor, J. Roach, Ch. Mills, G. Lochner - [c] J. P. MacDonnell - [d] 25 July 1871

This resolution was passed because a public congress is now impossible, in view of the government persecutions now taking place in Spain, France, Germany and perhaps also in Italy. If we held a public congress, in the majority of these countries our delegates would not be publicly elected and they would probably be arrested on their return. Given this state of affairs we are compelled to resort to a private conference, of which neither the convocation, the meeting time nor the proceedings will be made public. A conference of this type took place in 1865 instead of a congress.[254] This conference can naturally meet only in London, since this is the only capital in Europe where foreigners are not condemned to expulsion by the police. The number of delegates and the norms for elections are left entirely to the various national *divisions*. The conference will only have a few days at its disposal and it will thus limit its discussions mainly to practical questions concerning the internal Administration of the general organisation of the society. Since its sessions will not be public, and the discussions will not subsequently be published, the discussion of theoretical points will be of little importance; nevertheless the delegates' meeting will be a propitious occasion for an exchange of ideas. The General Council will place before the conference a report on its work over the last two years and the conference will pronounce upon it. There will thus be several important questions to deal with before proceeding.

I beg you however to press for the reorganisation of our sections in Italy as far as possible so that they can be represented in this conference. Since Gambuzzi will be coming to London at about this time, he could perhaps rearrange his trip to suit and receive a mandate as one of your delegates. I must however draw your attention at the same time to paragraph 8 of the Administrative Regulations, which says:

'Only those delegates of divisions and sections that have paid their contributions to the General Council can take part in the work of the Congress.'[263]

The contribution is one soldo or 10 cents a year for each member; it would be a good idea to send it in advance of the conference, otherwise difficulties may arise regarding the powers of delegates.

I would be grateful if you could send me at least six copies of the Italian translation of *The Civil War in France* as soon as it is published, for the use of the Council.

It would be advisable if, in addressing your letter, instead of my name you used that of Miss Burns, as follows: Miss Burns, 122

Regent's Park, and *rien de plus*,[a] with no other envelope or address inside. She is my niece, a girl who does not speak Italian, so there are no mistakes to fear.

I also enclose our address to the American Council denouncing the conduct of their ambassador in Paris, Mr Washburne.[b]

2) and 3) Published reports of the 2 meetings of the Council (these reports contain nothing but what we want published, having taken out all the internal administrative matters).

F. Engels

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## 110

## MARX TO ADOLPHE HUBERT

### IN LONDON

[London,] 28 July 1871

Dear Citizen,

You would oblige me by coming to dine at my house next Sunday at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. You will find my friend from Brussels[c] here and will be able to talk to him about the *publication* of the proceedings at the court martial.[264]

Fraternal greetings,

Karl Marx

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[a] nothing more - [b] K. Marx, 'Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador, in Paris'. - [c] E. Glaser de Willebrord

# 111

## ENGELS TO THE MOTHER SUPERIOR OF THE CONVENT OF THE SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE IN HAMPSTEAD

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, early August 1871]

Madam,

I am taking the liberty of writing to you, following a conversation I had yesterday with one of the sisters from your establishment.

My concern is to find places as boarders for three little girls, Eugénie Dupont (aged 9), Marie D. (aged 7) and Clarisse D. (aged 3). Their father works as foreman in Mr Joseph Higham's musical instrument factory in Manchester; their mother died some eighteen months ago and Mr Dupont, feeling he cannot bring up his children at home in a satisfactory manner, has requested me to find suitable places for them.

The lady who received me yesterday informed me that you would have room for the little girls and that the fee for boarding them would be £13 a child for the first year and £12 for subsequent years; she then suggested I communicate to you in writing what I require.

I would therefore beg you, Madam, to be so kind as to tell me whether you would agree to take them, in which case I should instruct their father to come to London without delay in order to introduce them to you. If, by any chance, you should need further information I would beg you to let me know at what time I should call and provide you with it.

It was Mr Clarkson of Maitland Park who gave me the address of your establishment.

I am, Madam, your most obedient servant,

F. E.

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## 112

## ENGELS TO PHILIPPE COENEN[118]

### IN ANTWERP

[London,] 4 August 1871

Dear Citizen Coenen,

I duly received your two letters of 1 May and of the 1st inst., from which I learn that the cigar-workers of Antwerp have not been, and even now are still not, affiliated to the International. I cannot but be greatly surprised at your failure to tell us as much the moment the strike began,[177] since everything we have done for them here—no mere trifle, considering the assistance we procured for them amounted to 15,000 francs and more—was done in the belief that we were working for Internationals[a]; and now we hear that not only were they not of our ilk, but that, after all we have done for them, they are still not affiliated! It is really too much and, as for myself, I am determined to do nothing more whatsoever for such ingrates. Is that what these gentry call solidarity—taking the money of English working men and others, procured for them by the International, and, having pocketed it, failing to join our association, thus providing immediate proof that they are prepared to do as much for others? That is not how we understand the matter here, and it is not for such people that the International ought to work. Those who wish to draw on the assistance of our Association must also be prepared to carry their share of the burden, and the least proof they could give of their willingness to do so is to become affiliated. People who scream their heads off for the Internationals' money and yet refuse to belong to us deserve to be exploited good and proper by the bourgeoisie, for they reject the only possible way of escaping bourgeois exploitation: the association and organisation of all the workers of Europe. No such case has occurred since the International came into existence; it is to the Antwerp cigar-workers that the honour has been reserved of begging for assistance from the International and, having obtained that assistance, of telling us: Thank you, gentlemen, you may withdraw, we have no further use for you, there is the door!

I hope that I have judged them too harshly and that they have

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[a] See this volume, p. 125.

affiliated themselves by now, but if they do not do so at once, you must, I think, agree that their conduct is disgraceful beyond measure, and as long as I have heard no news of their affiliation I shall object to the despatch of so much as another centime to them. We can put our money to far better use by giving it to people who are on our side.

You ask me if the London cigar-workers are affiliated? But of course they are, and have been since the founding of the International. Their president, Citizen Cohn, represents them on the General Council. I spoke to him about the letter you wish him to write to the Antwerp people regarding affiliation, but what effect would a letter have where 15,000 francs has had none?

The *Werker* continues to arrive very irregularly, and only one copy at that. Since there are very few working men here who understand Flemish, it would be very difficult to find subscribers; however, I have asked the members of the Council to cry up the merits of your sheet.

It will not be possible to hold a Congress this year, it being wholly precluded by government persecution in France, Spain, Germany, Austria and Hungary. Instead, a private conference will be held to consolidate our organisation,[265] but this is a subject upon which the General Council can correspond only with the various *central* councils. Besides we doubt whether the Dutch government would be liberal enough to give full liberty to our Congress at which, after the events in Paris, some very delicate questions would certainly be raised.

At the last meeting of the General Council[a] the secretariats were reallocated; I was given Spain and Italy, and handed over Belgium to Citizen Alfred Herman of Liège, who had been recommended for the position by the last Belgian Congress. So it will be he who will henceforward correspond with you.

Fraternal greetings,

Frederick Engels

First published, in Dutch, in *De socialistische Gids*, No. 8/9, Amsterdam, 1928

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[a] held on 1 August 1871

## 113

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN PARIS

London, 9 August 1871

My dear Sidorov,[a]

Here are the prices of the English books:

| | |
|---|---|
| Lecky, *History of the Spirit of Rationalism*[b] | —£-. 16/- |
| Ditto, *Ditto of European Morals*[c] | —" 1.8/- |
| Tylor, *Primitive Culture* | —" 1.4/- |
| Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*[d] | —"-. 16/- |
| Maine, *Ancient Law* | —"-. 12/- |
| Ditto, *Rural Communities*[e] | —"-. 9/- |

These are bookseller's prices and there would be a discount of about 15 per cent on the above. However, if you authorise me to try and get them for you second-hand, I would probably have to pay no more than half the price and my little bookseller would gladly attend to the matter. I would have let you have this information sooner, but my bookseller has been away on his travels.

You will have received a letter from Williams[17] yesterday. We have not had more recent news from the indisposed traveller,[266] but we have found the means of conveying a letter by safe hand to Петербургъ[f] and hope soon to have the more detailed news for which we have insistently been asking.

As to the *Tauchnitz* edition of Buckle,[g] I know nothing about it but I should be very surprised if it does not exist—any German bookseller in Paris would, by the way, be able to tell you.

I am sending you the last two numbers of *The Eastern Post*.[267]

We have had various new arrivals here, amongst others

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[a] Lavrov's pseudonym used by Engels in their correspondence. - [b] W. E. H. Lecky, *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe*. - [c] Idem, *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*. - [d] J. Lubbock, *The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man*. - [e] H. S. Maine, *Village-communities in the East and West*. - (Russ.) St Petersburg. Engels is referring to Marx's letter, signed A. Williams, to Danielson of 22 July 1871 (see this volume, pp. 174-75). - [g] H. T. Buckle, *History of Civilization in England*.

Вальанъ, Тейсъ, Лонгé,[a] probably Williams has written to you about that.

Could you arrange a subscription for me to the *Gazette des Tribuneaux* beginning on 7 August or even 1 August? We need the most authentic text of the Versailles trials[268] for our historical studies and there is no other journal to my knowledge that would give as comprehensive a report. At the same time I don't know how to get hold of it over here, and there is no time to lose, for if we delay we might miss the most interesting numbers. You would greatly oblige us if you could see to this matter; we shall attend to your outlays afterwards.

Another thing. In order to make a study of military events during the two sieges of Paris,[269] I need a plan of Paris and its environs, the best that is to be had, giving if possible also the street names in Neuilly and the other minor localities where fighting took place. I have tried in vain to obtain one here. Perhaps you could give me the title of a detailed map and the publisher's name after which I should have no difficulty in procuring it.

So you see, my dear friend, that you cannot live in Paris with impunity and that I shall probably have more commissions for you than you will have for me. Meanwhile let me know what to do about the English books and rest assured of my cordial respects.

F. Engels

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[a] Vaillant, Theisz, Longuet (the names are written in Cyrillic in the original)

# 114

## MARX TO THEODOR KOLL[270]

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 10 August [1871]
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Citizen Koll,

After I had received £4.1/6 from Lessner for the Pest tailors, I read in the German papers that the tailors' strike in Pest was over.[271]

I therefore wrote *at once* to *Jakob Holländer*[17] (at the address of *Johann Travnick*, etc., which is the address Holländer himself had given to the Workers' Society[a]). In my letter [I] informed him that I had received £4.1/6 *to send to him* from the German Workers' Society, but that I had read in the German papers that the STRIKE was over, and therefore wanted to know—*if the news turned out to be true*—whether the Pest tailors would mind the money being put into the fund for the French refugees. I asked him for an *immediate* reply.

Since no answer came, on 27 June I paid the money into the refugee fund (as you can see from the enclosed receipt) in the name of the Workers' Society.

This was done *with the reservation* that *if the Pest workers, acting through their correspondent Holländer, should direct me to put the money to another use,* the £4.1/6 paid by me into the refugee fund in the name of the Workers' Educational Society should be regarded as a personal contribution from myself, and I would then send the money on to Pest on behalf of the Workers' Society.

However, no reply came from Pest and so I regarded the matter as settled.

In consequence of your letter I have now written to Bachruch[17] (a Hungarian worker in Paris) and asked him to find a safe way to write to Jakob Holländer in Pest and request him to reply to my letter at once.

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[a] the German Workers' Educational Society in London

I would ask you at the same time to announce *my resignation from the Society* to its members.

Yours faithfully,
Karl Marx

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## 115

## MARX TO ADOLPHE HUBERT[16]

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 10 August 1871

Dear Citizen,

I think there has been a misunderstanding.

In the first place it was not a bookseller, but my friend E. Glaser de Willebrord, who expressed his willingness to undertake, at his own expense, the publication of the reports in Brussels.[264]

The day before yesterday I received a letter from him in which he says:

'On Sunday I received the enclosed letter' (from Mr Bigot) 'to which I replied, pointing out that, owing to the already considerable costs of publication, I could not increase them by a daily sum of 100 francs, but that, since personal gain was not my object, I was prepared to pay the stenographer and the correspondent out of the profits expected to accrue. The absence of a reply indicated that my proposal had not been accepted. This caused me much delight, for the *Figaro* and the *Gazette des Tribuneaux* have arranged to publish full reports of the trial that began yesterday in Versailles. In any case my prolonged stay in London would have prevented me from making the necessary preparations.'

Mr Willebrord adds that in future all correspondence should be sent direct to him: E. Glaser de Willebrord, *24, Rue de la Pépinière, Brussels.*

The public prosecutor at Versailles has made a grotesque accusation against the *International.*[272] In the interests of the defence it might be useful to acquaint Mr Bigot with the following facts:

1. Enclosed (under No. I) the *General Council*'s two manifestoes on the Franco-Prussian War.[a] In its first manifesto, of 23 July 1870, the *General Council* declared that the war was being waged, not by the French people, but by the Empire and that at bottom Bismarck was as culpable as Bonaparte. At the same time the General Council appealed to German workers not to permit the Prussian government to change a defensive war into a war of conquest.

2. In the second manifesto, of 9 September 1870 (5 days after the proclamation of the Republic), there is a most emphatic denunciation of the Prussian government's plans for conquest. It is an appeal to German and English working men to throw in their lot *with the French Republic.*

In fact the working men in Germany belonging to the *International Association* opposed Bismarck's policies with such vigour that he illegally sequestered the principal German representatives of the *International* and cast them into Prussian fortresses on a false charge of 'conspiring' with the enemy.[115]

In London, following the appeal by the Council, English working men held mass meetings in order to compel their government to recognise the French Republic and do all in its power to oppose the dismemberment of France.[108]

3. Now, is the French government unaware of the support given to France by the *International* during the war? On the contrary. Mr Jules Favre's Consul in Vienna—Mr Lefaivre—has actually been so indiscreet as to publish—in the name of the French government—a letter of thanks to Messrs Liebknecht and Bebel, the two representatives of the *International* in the German Reichstag. In this letter he says, inter alia (I am retranslating this from a German translation of Lefaivre's letter):

> 'You, Sirs, and *your Party* (i.e. the *International*) 'are alone upholding the ancient German tradition, i.e. the humanitarian spirit, etc.'[273]

Well now. This letter figures in the action for alleged *high treason* which the Saxon government has been forced by Bismarck to bring against Liebknecht and Bebel and which is still being heard.[274] It gave Bismarck a pretext to order Bebel's arrest after the adjournment of the German Reichstag.

At the very moment when some scurrilous journals were denouncing me to Thiers as an agent of Bismarck, Bismarck was

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[a] K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'; K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'.

imprisoning my friends on a charge of high treason against Germany and ordering my arrest should I visit Germany.

4. Some time before the Armistice[157] the good *Jules Favre*—as the *General Council* pointed out in a letter to *The Times* of *12 June*,[a] of which I enclose a reprint (No. II)—requested us through his private secretary, Dr Reitlinger, to organise public demonstrations in London in support of the 'government of defence'. Reitlinger, as the General Council stated in its letter to *The Times*, went on to say that we must not speak of '*the Republic*' but simply 'of France'. The General Council refused to collaborate in demonstrations *of that kind*. But the whole thing proves that the French government itself regarded the *International* as an ally of the French Republic against the Prussian conqueror—and indeed it was France's sole ally during the war.

Fraternal greetings,

K. M.

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## 116

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

### IN LONDON

[London,] 14 August 1871

Dear Jung,

Would you tell Le Moussu (whose name must be *Constant*)[b] to go with the enclosed card to Mr Rosenthal, *N. 2, Red Lion Square*. He must say to be sent by Mr *Eugène Oswald*.

Rosenthal is a French Jew who perhaps will be able to employ Le Moussu as *dessinateur*.[c] He does of course best not to say at all that he is a refugee.

There are two Rosenthals, father and son. Le Moussu will do

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Statement by the General Council on Jules Favre's Circular'. - [b] Thus far Marx wrote in German. The rest of the letter is in English. - [c] designer

well to speak with both of them. He must *go at once*, because the places vacant must be filled *this week*.

Please send also to my house the *Italian artist*—I don't know his name, but remember to have seen him amongst our refugees. I can perhaps find him an occupation.

I enclose a few lines for Mdme Tomanowski.[275]

*Mes civilités à Madame Jung.*[a]

*Tout à vous,*[b]

K. Marx

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## 117

## MARX TO ADOLPHE HUBERT

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, not before 14 August 1871]

Dear Citizen,

First of all I haven't got Mr Bigot's address, so cannot write to him direct. Moreover, I believe it would be safer to send any mail through you.

I cannot immediately lay my hands on the German journals relating to the Lefaivre incident,[c] but in the issue of the *Volksstaat* (published in Leipzig and edited by Liebknecht), Mr Bigot will find the letter from Lefaivre as well as editorial comments on that letter. The trial of Liebknecht and Bebel has, by the bye, gained widespread notoriety.

In No. 63 of the *Volksstaat* (5 August 1871) (see marked passage) Mr Bigot will observe that the proceedings against Liebknecht, Bebel, etc., for *planning high treason* are going ahead and that Lefaivre's letter figures amongst the documents used in the indictment.

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[a] With my best compliments to Mrs Jung. - [b] Yours truly - [c] See this volume, p. 196.

For Jourde's defence I enclose a declaration by an Englishman, Mr Wm. Trate, in regard to the fire at the Ministry of Finance.[276]

I shall write to Willebrord[a] asking him to keep the things which he has received from Mr Bigot.

Fraternal greetings,

K. M.

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## 118

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT[b]

### IN LEIPZIG

[London, mid-August 1871]

Wróblewski, Longuet, Bastelica are here.

Why bother to rehabilitate that good-for-nothing B. Becker? And allow that jackass Goegg to parade his own idiocies before the public?[277]

Marx's daughters are in Bagnères-de-Luchon in the Pyrenees, where they were visited by the Prefect, the great Kératry, and Delpech, the Prosecutor-General, who made it clear that it was necessary for them to leave France. Lafargue was safely...[c] mountains to Spain. Two gendarmes were posted in their garden until their departure! But do not mention any of this in public (apart from what might be reported in the French papers), until we have them safely back here again.[212] Thiers is determined to make a complete fool of himself.

Your

F. E.

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[a] E. Glaser de Willebrord - [b] The beginning of the letter is missing because the top of the sheet is damaged. - [c] Paper damaged and partly illegible.

# 119

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN BRIGHTON[278]

[London,] 18 August 1871

Dear Moor,

Enclosed *The Public Opinion* with a fuller version of the article from the *National-Zeitung*.[279] You will see that immediately following the passage incriminated in 'The International', there is a further passage, prudently omitted by the latter, which must be answered. The paper has just lost a court case against Goldschmidt and Jenny Lind and is acquiring a reputation for premeditated libel. I would accordingly insist not only on their inserting a reply, but on *AN AMPLE AND COMPLETE APOLOGY*, IN THE SAME PLACE OF THE PAPER.

It would also serve the *National-Zeitung* damn well right if we were to turn the tables on them and publish the article simultaneously in the *Volksstaat*. That louse Zabel feels far too much at his cannibalistic ease again under Bismarck.

Rozwadowski had a post as a schoolmaster in Somerset without salary, but free board and lodging, until 15 December.[a] He leaves for there tomorrow. He *must* learn English there. I have procured his release—agent's commission £1.1/-, clothes £3.7/-, debts £1.13/-, travel and incidental expenses £1.10/-, total £7.11/-. In addition I laid out £12.12/- yesterday for Dupont's children,[b] which has cleaned me out. Just after we left this morning to settle the matter, your wife arrived with a letter for me from Tibaldi, holding out other prospects for Rozwadowski from Davydov. But it was now too late and Rozwadowski had to leave for Somerset, at least for the moment. If we find out later that the arrangements can be changed to suit all sides, a Frenchman like Beaufort could take over his post and he could return and obtain the Russian money.

I hope the sea air does you good.

Your
F. E.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

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[a] See this volume, p. 175. - [b] Ibid., p. 189.

## 120

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

Brighton, 19 August 1871
Globe Hotel, Manchester St.

Dear FRED,

Be so good as to write out the contents of the opposite page[a] and send it to *The Public Opinion*, 4 Southampton Street, Strand, with my signature. My own handwriting might give the fellows an excuse for MISPRINTS.[279] We shall deal with the German side of things[b] on my return.[278]

Today is the first fine day here. Yesterday and the day before it rained. Unfortunately, I have not brought my liver-medicine with me, but the air does me a world of good. If possible (and if the children do not arrive before[212]), I would gladly stay here until Thursday, but NO CASH IN HAND, and I see from your letter[c] that you too are broke.

Nechayev has a highly idiosyncratic manner of circulating false rumours about himself. When I return it will be necessary for the GENERAL COUNCIL to take action against him publicly.[280]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Add or change what you think necessary.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. IV, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

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[a] K. Marx, 'To the Editor of *The Public Opinion*'. - [b] A reference to the *National-Zeitung*. - [c] See previous letter.

## 121

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

[Brighton,] 21 August 1871

DEAR FRED,

Time until Wednesday.[a]

Jung here since Saturday, goes back today.

I shall get some money for the REFUGEES through a (French) priest called Pascal.[251]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

The pen too bad to write.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

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Published in English for the first time

## 122

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN BRIGHTON

London, 23 August 1871

Dear Moor,

In great haste. Enclosed B/57 68868, London, 27 July 1871, £5. Stay there as long as you can; it will do you more good than to come here. The girls won't be coming this week after all.[212] According to the *Pall Mall* Lafargue too is at liberty.[281]

Lessner says that the Lassalleans have resolved to sue you if they do not receive the money next week![270]

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[a] 23 August; see also previous letter.

Frankel is here and was elected a member of the GENERAL COUNCIL yesterday, along with Chalain and Bastelica. He was here today with Rochat; does not seem to be a high-flyer.

Allsop was in the COUNCIL yesterday and gave me the sum of 5 shillings for you for the refugees. He is leaving town once more and will be writing to you again. In the crush there was of course no chance to speak with the deaf man in more detail.

Jung's letter saying that I should launch an appeal to the Yankees came yesterday at 7 p.m., i.e. too late. It was resolved that you should be charged with formulating the appeal[282] and despatching it by STEAMER next Saturday.[a] If you can't, I could do something of the sort; the enclosed letter proves that it would be worth it. Yesterday between £2 and £3 came in altogether!

The whole meeting[b] was used once more for the following debate: Weston, Hales, Applegarth and another of our Englishmen had been invited by George Potter to a meeting at which Dr Engländer (!) was also present. Potter produced the information that Sir Edward Watkin had made an agreement with the Canadian government according to which the Versailles prisoners would be sent to Canada where they would each be given 1 ACRE of land—presumably Thiers is behind it in order to get rid of them. Weston was enthusiastically in favour, *il radote de plus en plus*.[c] In the end Longuet, Theisz and Vaillant moved the next item on the agenda—it was quite well done.

I am overrun from morning till night; can't even manage to read a newspaper, and at this very moment there is someone waiting for me downstairs again. To cap it all my brothers[d] are due to come too.

*Salut.*

Your
F. E.

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[a] 26 August - [b] the meeting of the General Council held on 22 August 1871 - [c] He is falling into his dotage. - [d] Hermann and Rudolf Engels

## 123

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN LONDON

[Brighton,] 24 August [1871]

Dear Fred,

Your letter with the £5—for which many thanks—arrived at midday, by which time I had already sent my telegram.[283]

I shall write a few lines to New York tomorrow.[a] The appeal can be made after my return to London (next Saturday[b]).

You can see the abject collapse of *The Public Opinion*[279] from the letter which I have just sent to my wife today.[17]

So Lafargue is at liberty![281]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

## 124

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH BOLTE[284]

### IN NEW YORK

Brighton, 25 August 1871

Dear Mr Bolte,

I have been here for about two weeks, sent by the doctor because my health was very much impaired as a result of overwork. I shall probably return to London next week, however.[278]

Next week you will receive an Appeal by the General Council for the refugee Communards.[282] Most of them are *in London* (over

[a] See next letter. - [b] 26 August

80 to 90 by now). The General Council has kept them above water up to now, but in the past two weeks our funds have been melting away just like that, while the number of arrivals increases daily, so that they are in a very deplorable condition. I hope that everything possible will be done from New York. In Germany all the resources of the party are still absorbed by the victims of the police persecution there, as is the case in Austria, ditto Spain and Italy. In Switzerland they not only have a part of the refugees themselves to support, albeit a small part, but they also have to aid the members of the International as a result of the St Gallen LOCKOUT.[285] Lastly, there are also some refugees in Belgium, though only a few and, what is more, the Belgians have to aid them, particularly in getting them through to London.

Owing to these circumstances, up to the present all the funds for the bulk of the refugees in London have been raised exclusively in England.

The *General Council* now includes the following members of the Commune: Serraillier, Vaillant, Theisz, Longuet and Frankel, and the *following agents of the Commune*: Delahaye, Rochat, Bastelica and Chalain.

I have sent *The New-York Herald* a statement in which I disclaim all responsibility for its correspondent's absurd and wholly distorted report of his conversation with me.[286] I do not know whether it has printed the statement.

Give Sorge my regards. I shall answer his letter next week.[a]

Faithfully yours,
Karl Marx

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the book

[a] See this volume, pp. 211 and 217.

# 125

## MARX TO JENNY MARX[287]

IN LONDON

[Brighton,] 25 August 1871

Dear Jenny,

I forgot to tell you yesterday[a] of a curious *événement*.[b] The second day after my arrival here,[278] I met a chap in a waiting posture at the corner of my street. He was the same man whom I had told you about before as having accompanied Engels and myself on our way HOME on a number of occasions. Engels had thought he was a spy and we once gave him a 'hint'. As you know, GENERALLY SPEAKING I am not good at detecting spies. But this fellow has obviously and undeniably dogged my every step down here. Yesterday, I became fed up with it, so I stopped, turned round and stared at him with my notorious EYEGLASS. WHAT DID HE DO? He doffed his hat very humbly and today he no longer honoured me with the pleasure of his company.

I wrote a detailed letter to Dana today giving him, among other things, an extensive account of the adventures in Luchon and Spain.[212] He will certainly be able to use it for his *Sun*. It is EXACTLY THAT SORT OF THING THE YANKEES ARE FOND OF. I have of course dealt with the matter in terms which can do the children no harm—should they stay longer over there.

No one is so deaf as those who will not hear! And SO OLD STEPNEY IN REGARD TO THE REFUGEES! Jung and I told him the whole story without mincing words. Hales sent him subscription lists.[c] I told him of the letter from Davydov,[288] and lastly I advised him of the steps taken here to obtain subsidies. But for all that the old jackass has TILL NOW NOT LOOSENED HIS PURSE-STRINGS NOR SEEMS HE AT ALL WILLING TO DO SO. Yesterday he told me with his eunuch's voice that he had sent subscription lists—to Boston, and he showed me a letter that he had written to a local lady, asking for contributions. But he himself! NOT HE!

The fellow is altogether 'off his head', as Jung says. Jung came here last Saturday[d] and left again on Monday. He brought his two boys with him and before his departure he told Stepney that he

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[a] See Note 17. - [b] incident - [c] This refers to the fund for refugee Communards. - [d] 19 August

was going to a family he knew of who would look after the boys. Stepney went with him and after Jung had SETTLED everything with the LANDLADY, Stepney said: 'BUT I WANT FOR *8* DAYS TO TAKE CARE OF THE BOYS MYSELF.' And so all was UNSETTLED again.

On the whole, the weather here has been stormy and rainy, so that I have not ceased to have colds with accompanying cough. But the wonderful air and the bath that I take daily have had a very good effect on my GENERAL STATE OF HEALTH. Throughout the whole period I have regretted nothing so much as the fact that you were not here. Anyhow, you must also—by hook or by crook—have, if not a summer trip, at least an autumn one this year.

As for those Swiss oafs, Schneider and Zichlinsky (the 'tailor'[a] was a highly suspect individual even in Germany), they will soon realise that they are *not* in Germany any more.[b]

I find that too many Proudhonists are being admitted to the General Council, and on my return I shall insist on the admission of Martin and Le Moussu as an antidote.

Brighton—where, incidentally, I am living the life of a hermit on the whole—is naturally ABSORBED IN THE GREAT POISONING CASE, obviously a pure outbreak of hysterical boredom on the part of a SILLY, love-sick, 35-year-old SPINSTER in comfortable circumstances.

The reports by *The Daily News*[c] and *The Daily Telegraph* PARIS CORRESPONDENTS on the Versailles trial[268] are truly loathsome, infamous products of PENNY-A-LINERS.

*Adio.*

Your
Karl

First published, in German, in *Annali*, an. 1, Milan, 1958

Printed according to the original

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[a] A pun in the original: 'Schneider' means 'tailor' in German. - [b] The reference is to the Lassallean members of the German Workers' Educational Society (see Letter 122). - [c] Presumably the item 'Trial of the Communist Prisoners' in *The Daily News*, Nos. 7899 and 7900, 23 and 24 August 1871.

## 126

## MARX TO HERMANN MEYER[289]

### IN WASHINGTON

[Brighton, around 25 August 1871]

We are greatly in want of money... The *affaire* of the Commune increased our duties and obligations, while the war preceding it cut off our Continental supplies. We are now almost overwhelmed with letters from different parts of this country (England), from people wanting information about the International, and sections are being established in the provinces. There are also Irish sections in the course of formation, and we now have an Irish secretary on the Council in the person of MacDonnel,[a] of Fenian notoriety.[6] Besides that, we have had applications from the East Indies and New Zealand.

The Paris Federal Council is to be reorganised. After all Thiers has caught but very few of our men. There is not a prominent member of our association amongst all his prisoners, and there are but two or three missing, who must have been killed in the last days of fighting, as we cannot get either tale or doings of them. Many who were reported over and over again as shot, even detailed accounts given, have turned up again, and are now safely here[b] or in Switzerland.

There is great distress among the refugees here, and between fifty and sixty are without the means of subsistence. Money comes in very slowly. There is to be an appeal issued to your working-men[282] which we trust will be liberally responded to.

First published in *The World*, No. 3687, 21 September 1871

Reproduced from the newspaper

[a] In the original: MacDonald. - [b] in England

## 127

## MARX TO MONCURE DANIEL CONWAY[290]

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, 29 August 1871]

Sir,

On my return from Brighton[278] I found your note d.d. August 24. The next meeting of the General Council takes place to-day, but consequent upon a resolution passed on Tuesday last,[a] there will during the continuance of the courts-martial in France[268] no visitors be any longer admissible. This strict measure had been rendered necessary by the intrusion of French police agents.

I have the honour to inclose a subscription list for the French refugees. Their numbers (they are now 80-90) [are] increasing daily (there are now about 80 [in] number)[b] while our funds are quite exhausted. Their case is truly deplorable. The best thing would be, if possible, to form a separate committee charged to find employment for those men whose great majority consists of skilled workmen and artists.

I have the honour, Sir, to be

Yours sincerely,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Reproduced from the original

[a] 22 August - [b] Thus in the original.

## 128

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN PARIS

London, 3 September 1871

Dear Mr Sidorov,[a]

Thank you for your good offices in the matter of the *Gazette des Tribuneaux*, which reaches me regularly, and also for the maps[b]; having consulted Rozwadowski, I think that I shall indeed have to write to a German bookseller. Rozwadowski, incidentally, has secured a post as schoolmaster in a boarding-school, unpaid, but with laundry, board and lodging up till December—he cannot fail to learn English there, after which it will be easy to find him something else.

As to the books, it now transpires that they have not yet reached the second-hand bookshops and must be paid for at publication prices with discounts ranging from 16 to 20 per cent. Let me know by return whether you authorise me to buy them on these terms, in which case you will receive them in a few days' time; they are as follows:

Lecky, *Rationalism*[c]
Tylor, *Primitive Culture*
Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*[d]
Maine, *Ancient Law*
Ditto, *Rural Communities*,[e]

and, if it is to be had for 10/- or less,

Buckle, *History of Civilization*.

Someone has just interrupted me, and so I am obliged to close this letter.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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[a] Lavrov's pseudonym used by Engels in their correspondence. - [b] See this volume, p. 193. - [c] W. E. H. Lecky, *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe*. - [d] J. Lubbock, *The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man*. - [e] H. S. Maine, *Village-communities in the East and West*.

Williams' two daughters[a] have arrived here, the third is in Spain with her husband.[b][212]

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## 129

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 5 September 1871

Dear Mr Sorge,

Enclosed the appeal for the REFUGEES.[282] Your mail from America, dated 23 August, arrived today.[291]

Yours sincerely,
Karl Marx

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Published in English for the first time

## 130

## MARX TO COLLET DOBSON COLLET

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 6 September 1871

Dear Sir,

From your letter I see that you are not only 'alarmed',[292] but have also grown suspicious, since you tuned down your usual 'My dear Sir' to 'Dear Sir'.

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[a] Jenny and Eleanor Marx; Williams was Marx's pseudonym. - [b] Laura and Paul Lafargue

For my own part I consider the feeling of 'alarm' not one peculiarly adapted to lend a scientific and objective *point de vue.*

I regret not being able to fulfil your wish. I have gone through the whole round of my Continental friends but found no one in possession of some of the numerous reviews and extracts of my book[a] that have appeared in Italian and French. The French edition *in extenso* has been cut short by the Prussian war.[147] Neither translation nor review has appeared in English. Two years since my friend F. Engels sent a very accurate analysis of *Das Kapital* to the *Fortnightly,* but it was returned with the remark that 'it was too scientific for the English *Review*-reader'.[293]

I do not know of what manifestoes you speak. Save the address on *The Civil War in France* and *Mr. Washburne,*[b] which I had the honour to send you, the General Council has, since September 1870, published no manifesto except those on the Franco-Prussian War[c] which I hereby forward you. Apart [from] the manifestoes published by the French and Prussian police in the name of the *International,* and which I have declared to be forgeries in *La Vérité* (Paris),[d] no manifesto has besides been published in the latter times. The so-called *Swiss* manifesto, printed in *The Times,*[e] is, as *The Examiner* of last Saturday justly remarked,

> 'a garbled translation of a French version, itself far from accurate... It issues, not from the International Workingmen's Association, but from some of its Swiss members'.[f]

Yours faithfully,
K. M.

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[a] Volume I of *Capital* - [b] K. Marx, 'Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador, in Paris'. - [c] Marx has in mind the pamphlet *The General Council of the International Workingmen's Association on the war* (London, 1870), containing the first and second Addresses of the General Council of the International on the Franco-Prussian War. - [d] K. Marx, 'To the Editor of *La Vérité*'. - [e] 'A New Socialist Programme', *The Times,* No. 27155, 30 August 1871 (reprint from the *Journal de Genève*). - [f] 'A New Socialist Programme', *The Examiner,* No. 3318, 2 September 1871.

## 131

## MARX TO ENGELS[294]

### IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 8 September 1871

Dear FRED,

Allsop's address is *Pegwell Bay*. No number has been given nor is it needed. EVERYBODY WILL TELL YOU THE WHEREABOUTS OF Pegwell Bay. It is a good thing that you can speak to him since he is coming to London on Tuesday[a] with the money and has invited me to come and see him there. I have written to him at length[17] and made it clear that I can only continue TO BE THE *aumonier*[b] OF HIMSELF AND his FRIENDS if I am allowed complete freedom of action AND am NOT BOTHERED WITH THE DEMAND TO PRODUCE LISTS OF 'THE DIFFERENT DEGREES OF DISTRESS' of the refugees.[295]

What do you think of our honourable Favre? The lousy London press now has to report its own disgrace by telegraph.[296]

Last Monday *L'Avenir libéral—journal bonapartiste, publié à Paris*—reported my death.[c]

In consequence we have received a number of letters; among others, Dronke wrote to my wife today, and Imandt too sent the *Dundee Advertiser* which contained the same nonsense.

*À demain.*[d] CALL UPON ME AFTER YOUR ARRIVAL AT LONDON.

Regards to the WHOLE FAMILY.

Your
K. M.

Rochat does a splendid imitation of Frankel's French.

*The Evening Standard* of 6 September *only published the letter to the* EDITOR,[e] adding the note: 'WE HAVE RECEIVED NO ENCLOSURE.'[297]

I did not see the stuff until yesterday. Since the letters to the fellows were in your handwriting[f] I got my wife to write to them at once in her own name, on the pretext that I was out of London for a few days. She has sent the *Public Opinion* (and REGISTERED the letter), and demanded that it be printed together with an *apologie*, under threat of legal proceedings. She put in an 'old' card with it,

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[a] 12 September - [b] almoner - [c] *L'Avenir libéral*, No. 376, 5 September 1871. - [d] Until tomorrow. - [e] K. Marx, 'To the Editor of *The Evening Standard*'. - [f] See this volume, p. 201.

which reads: 'Mme Jenny Marx, née Baronesse de Westphalen', which will be bound to put fear into those Tories.

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## 132

## ENGELS TO MILLER & RICHARD[298]

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, after 9 September 1871]

Gentlemen,

In reply to etc. I beg to say that I believe M. MD[a] to be well qualified as to character, talent, & political position, for the undertaking he has in view. As a representative Irishman, he will be able, as far as I can judge, to command considerable support in more than one way among his countrymen; he has very extensive connections among them; and personally, I believe him to be strictly honourable.

Requesting you to make use of the above in strict confidence and without my guarantee, I am etc.

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[a] Joseph Patrick MacDonnel

## 133

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 11 September 1871

Dear Liebknecht,

*I* do not require any credentials—as secretary for Italy and Spain, I shall probably have to represent 2 countries in any event.[299] If you send anyone you could nominate 2 others; the French here are also nominating 3. Alternatively, you could send credentials for 3, but they must be here by Saturday.[a]

Marx and I do not deal in secret first names; we each have only one.[300]

Why have you not sent any copies of the German edition of the Address[226]? We are daily being pestered for it here. I must say that to treat us in this manner is not the way to encourage us to do any further work. I shall not send another line of manuscript, nor Marx either, until you finally condescend to treat us with the barest minimum of common decency.

To compare Monsieur Goegg with Odger is a bit strong. In the first place, Odger has in his own way a thousand times as much political understanding as that stupid Badener, and in the second place, as secretary of the London Trades Council,[301] Odger was the spokesman for some 100,000 workers, and he still represents a whole sector of them, whereas I have never heard that Mr Goegg ever spoke for anyone other than a few reactionary Baden numbskulls in Switzerland, the only authentic 'numbskulls' still surviving in fossil form. But when you provide space in the *Volksstaat* for the lucubrations of such people,[277] while we throw the Odgers out,[238] it is evident that there the parallel ends. As for Bernhard Becker, whose shabby dealings began when he was still here, in London, and are known to you, you could have knocked us over with a feather when we read that you had forgiven him his rascality because of his—*abilities*! I had always believed hitherto that his shabby dealings, his total rascality, could only be overlooked, if at all, on the grounds of his stupidity! Well, you will see what joy your latest acquisition will bring you. The wretch will never forgive you for having had to come to you 'with a rope

[a] 16 September

round his neck'.[302] And as for the newspaper, better none at all than one of his sort! If Mr B. Becker has not betrayed the Party (which I do not know for certain), it can hardly be his fault. The man who could write that swinish book on Lassalle, his lord and master, is *capable de tout*.[a] The book was of interest to us, but it rendered its author worthy of undying contempt.[303]

Marx was very astonished to see the notice in the *Volksstaat* announcing that you intend to publish a history of the Commune, etc., etc. (No. 73, p. 4).[304] I was no less surprised than him. How you arrived at the idea was a complete mystery to us. *I* have not promised you anything of the sort, and we have no idea where you might have heard the news that someone would write an authentic history of the Commune for the *Volksstaat* by agreement with the General Council. At any rate, since the General Council has been mentioned, could we be informed, since there would be questions about it?

You will soon have some jolly persecution to look forward to. There can be no doubt that Bismarck has just agreed a general witch-hunt with the Austrians and the Italians.[305] Bismarck does not feel too strongly about it himself; he wants to work off a little personal rancour and would also like to force the workers' movement back into the Schweitzer-channel that is useful to him. For the rest he is, as a Junker, a speculative bourgeois and a superficial, successful statesman (which he is all in one person), quite without fear of the red spectre. Austria is now being put in fear of the International, just as it was fooled about the 'revolution' and the 'Carbonari' in 1823 at Verona and later in Carlsbad.[b] [306] But that you will come in for your share, is clear enough.

My wife[c] and Mrs Marx are in Ramsgate; I shall also spend a few days there this week, but shall be back here on Saturday.[307] If you do not come, I hope that Bebel will. We were very pleased to hear that the baby[d] is doing so well. With best regards from Marx and me to all your family.

Your

F. E.

Still no news from Lafargue.

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[a] capable of everything - [b] Czech name: Karlovy Vary. - [c] Lydia Burns - [d] Karl Liebknecht

## 134

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[308]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 12 September 1871

Dear Mr Sorge,

Kindly convey the enclosed letter from our Irish secretary, MacDonnell, to John Devoy.

I had no time to reply to you in greater detail. We are so extremely busy here at the present time that I have been compelled for the past 3 months (and still am) to interrupt some very urgent theoretical work.

I shall merely say in regard to the Rules that the *English* EDITION is the sole authentic one.[a] The conference[265] will issue authentic versions in English, French and German,[309] which is also necessary because various Congress resolutions relating to the Rules must be incorporated in them.

The CENTRAL COMMITTEE in New York[151] must not forget:

1. That the General Council had contacts in America long before the Committee was established;

2. That, as far as the Address[b] is concerned, it was on sale in London, and hence anybody had the right to send it to his friends in America at his own expense. The first shipment to New York was so small because the first edition was sold out in two days, which is why I did not get the number of copies allotted for my shipments.

3. In Par. 6 of the Rules it is expressly stated that 'NO INDEPENDENT LOCAL SOCIETY SHALL BE PRECLUDED FROM DIRECTLY CORRESPONDING WITH THE GENERAL COUNCIL', and in Washington, for example, the branch declared that it did not want to enter into contact with New York.[310].

*Salut fraternel,*

Karl Marx

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

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[a] *Rules of the International Working Men's Association*, London, [1867]. - [b] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France.*

# 135

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN PARIS

London, 12 September 1871

My dear Mr Sidorov,[a]

Herewith the receipted account for the English books that were sent off to you yesterday[b]—my little bookseller did not tell me through what channel, but I think it will have been by the CONTINENTAL PARCELS EXPRESS. If you have not received them in two days' time, please let me know.

Buckle,[c] 3 vols, the least expensive edition, costs 24/- and, since I am in no doubt that the book is to be had in Paris, I did not send it. However, should you require it, you need only tell me so.

Williams[d] has had your letter. As you will have seen, he was reported to be dead,[e] which made us laugh a great deal.

Пріѣхали здѣсь Вроблевскій и Курнетъ.[f] As you will know, Williams' daughters[g] are back again.

Excuse my not writing at greater length this evening. I must, you see, leave at about eight o'clock for a meeting[h] and it is nearly eight o'clock now.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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[a] Lavrov's pseudonym used by Engels in their correspondence - [b] See this volume, p. 210. - [c] H. T. Buckle, *History of Civilization in England*. - [d] Marx's pseudonym - [e] See this volume, p. 213. - [f] (Russ.) Wróblewski and Cournet had arrived here. - [g] Jenny and Eleanor Marx (see also Note 212) - [h] of the General Council of the International

## 136

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 13 September 1871
1 Maitland Park Road

Dear Jung,

Enclosed please find £3.10/-. Would you be so good as to give £2.15/- to Colonel Naze and 15/- to the fat Russian whom Lavrov sent us. Give it to them in my name and obtain a receipt.

Yours,
K. M.

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Published in English for the first time

## 137

## MARX TO ADOLPHE HUBERT

IN LONDON

[London,] 15 September 1871

My dear Citizen,

Go tomorrow (but you must be there *before ten o'clock in the morning*) to Mr Fuisse, 35 Richmond Terrace, Clapham Road.

Mr Fuisse is French, former refugee, *merchant*. Yesterday I spoke to him about your business; I told him I should be much obliged if he could help you. In reply, he said that he might be able to facilitate the sale of some of your pictures. To gain entry to Mr Fuisse's house, present the card enclosed herewith.

Fraternal greetings,

Karl Marx

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# 138

## MARX TO JENNY MARX[137]

IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 23 September 1871

Dear Jenny,

The conference is at last coming to an end today.[265] It was HARD WORK. Morning and evening sessions, commission sessions in between, HEARING OF WITNESSES, REPORTS TO BE DRAWN UP AND SO FORTH. But more was done than at all the previous Congresses put together, because there was no audience in front of which to stage rhetorical comedies. Germany was not represented and from Zwitzerland only Perret and Outine were there.

Last week the revolutionary party in Rome held a banquet for Ricciotti Garibaldi, and a report on it in the Rome paper *La Capitale* has been sent to me. One speaker (*il signore* Luciani) proposed an enthusiastically received toast to the working class and *'a Carlo Marx che (qui) sé ne (en) è fatto (a fait) l'instancabile instrumento (l'instrument infatigable)'*.[a] This is a bitter pill for Mazzini!

The news OF MY DEATH[b] led to a MEETING of the 'COSMOPOLITAN SOCIETY' in New York whose resolutions in the *World* I am sending to you.[311]

Tussy has also received an anxious letter from our friends in St Petersburg.[312]

We had a hard time here with Robin and Bastelica, Bakunin's friends and fellow-intriguers. The revelations about Robin's activities in Geneva and Paris were, INDEED, STRANGE.[313] Jennychen's article was sent off to America today.[314]

Your
Karl

First published, in Russian, in *Pravda*, No. 126, 6 May 1958

Printed according to the original

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[a] 'to Karl Marx, who has made himself its indefatigable instrument' - [b] See this volume, p. 213.

# 139

## MARX TO GUSTAV KWASNIEWSKI[315]

IN BERLIN

Ramsgate, 29 September 1871
As from: 1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, London

The Conference of the delegates of the International Working Men's Association, which met in London last week,[265] has resolved that in the future no membership cards will be distributed by the General Council. Instead the General Council will send out stamps (after the manner of postage stamps) which each member should stick either to his copy of the Rules, or to his membership card in cases where, as in Switzerland, for example, national membership cards are issued. I shall accordingly send you a certain number of these stamps as soon as they become available.

As to the Rules themselves, a new edition of them is being arranged for here (London) in English, French and German (the last is to be printed in Germany). In accordance with the resolutions of the Conference every member must be in possession of a copy of the Rules. For it is important to include in them additions and amendments necessitated by the various resolutions passed by Congress since 1866.[309]

At the Conference, Germany was not represented either by delegates or by reports, and no financial contributions have been received since September 1869. It is not possible for the purely platonic relationship of the German workers' party to the *International* to continue. The party cannot expect services to be performed by the one side without any services being performed by the other in return. This relationship compromises the German working class. Therefore, I would request the Berlin Section to enter into direct correspondence with me, and I shall put the same request to all other sections, as long as the leadership of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party continues to do nothing about the organisation of the International in Germany. The laws may prevent normal organisation, but they cannot prevent the existing organisation of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party from carrying out the same tasks in practice as are performed in every other country, tasks such as enrolling individual members, paying dues, sending in reports, etc.

As a member of the Control Commission of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, it will perhaps be possible for you personally to work in this direction.

Yours in sincere friendship,
Karl Marx

First published in *Die Gesellschaft*, No. 3, Berlin, 1933

Printed according to the handwritten copy

## 140

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN PARIS

London, 5 October 1871

My dear Friend,

I found your letter[316] on my return from Ramsgate, where Johnson[a] and I had just been spending a couple of days.[317]

As to the money that is still owing to me, might I request you, first, before the end of this month to take out another quarterly subscription for me to the *Gazette des Tribuneaux*. My subscription expires on 31 October. Later on I may, perhaps, wish you to make some other purchases in Paris, so do not hasten to remit any money to me. As for the Buckle,[b] etc., I am always at your command. I shall also send you *The Eastern Post* whenever there is anything of interest.

As for the firm of Триберъ,[c] it is perfectly sound and reliable, and you may therefore deliver *goods* to it without the slightest misgivings. The address was certainly written by Johnson and it was certainly Cep.[d] who delivered it to the person in question. Moreover, it was supplied over here with a goodly assortment of engravings. We are temporarily rather short of this article and shall not be able to make any deliveries just now.

I conveyed your letter to our friend in Lower Charles St.[e] He no longer deals with the matter in question, which has passed into other hands and has thus lost much of the interest it held for us.

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[a] Marx - [b] H. T. Buckle, *History of Civilization in England*. - [c] Triber (written in Cyrillic in the original) - [d] Serraillier (written in Cyrillic in the original) - [e] Hermann Jung

To give you more precise information would involve entering into endless detail; suffice it to say that a few of the people on whose behalf the business was to be undertaken have behaved in a shameful manner, and refuse, despite our admonitions, to break with individuals undeserving either of credit or of trust, and even go so far as to accept their guidance in their speculations.[318] As a result, their closest acquaintances have pulled out in the belief that it would be throwing money down the drain to encourage them in undertakings which would either end badly or merely serve to benefit out-and-out rogues. The individuals in question have, by the way, or so I believe, obtained what they needed elsewhere. But there are always a number of good honest lads whose business is gravely hampered by want of capital and if some way could be found of providing them with funds, we should be delighted. An approach might be made to Johnson who, as you know, is the general intermediary in such matters.

My salutations to all our friends.

Yours ever,

F. E.

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## 141

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

### IN LONDON

[London,] 11 October 1871

Dear Jung,

From the enclosed letter of Perret[319] you will see that he has not yet received the Resolutions on the 'Alliance', etc.[a] If you have not yet sent them, do not do so, because I shall send you a corrected copy.

[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'.

£1 I have sent to Rozwadowski.

Give from the refugees' money so much to Duru that he can leave the lodgings he now lives in which are too dear considering their miserable state. It would be well, if Duru received money enough to get his things out of the pawning shop. But my opinion is that he should take them not to his present lodgings but depose them in your house and leave his lodgings *without paying the rest of his house-rent*! He has already paid more than was really due for such a hole.

Give also say £1 to the *nouveau venu*[a] of whom you spoke yesterday.

These expenses—this employment of part of the money remitted to us from the United States—I shall defend so soon as the disposal of those moneys will come before the Council.[320]

Yours fraternally,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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## 142

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

### IN LONDON

[London,] 13 October 1871

Dear Jung,

Could I ask you to regard the £1 for Rozwadowski as privately donated to him *from me*.

As to *Duru*, he was already gone when your letter arrived. Therefore, if you have already advanced him further sums, I shall inform the *Conseil* that I shall reimburse you, if the expenditure is *not* approved.

---

[a] newcomer

*As to the man who committed the indiscretion in the *Scotsman*,[a] I had from the beginning my so to say foregone conclusions. However, I should like to be on the wrong scent.

As to Perret, the letter might with all that have been intercepted.[b] I prepare, therefore, a new corrected copy, which, after having been signed by you, must be sent in a *registered* letter.

Yours fraternally,*
Karl Marx

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## 143

## MARX TO JOHN HALES[321]

### IN LONDON

[London,] 14 October 1871

Dear Hales,

You must copy the following Resolution[c] and send it to the daily London papers (the *English* ones; Serraillier sends it to the French papers).

Yours fraternally,
Karl Marx

First published, in Russian and (in facsimile) in English, in *Londonskaya konferentsia Pervogo Internatsionala* (The London Conference of the First International), Moscow, 1936

Reproduced from the original

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[a] See this volume, p. 381. - [b] See previous letter. - [c] K. Marx, 'Declaration of the General Council on Nechayev's Misuse of the Name of the International Working Men's Association'.

## 144

## MARX TO EDWARD SPENCER BEESLY

IN LONDON

[London, 19 October 1871]

My dear Sir,

Enclosed the photograph for Mrs Beesly. The Christian name of the illustrious Greenwood is Frederick.[a] This is not Frederick the Great. You know that Voltaire, in his Swiss retreat, had a Jesuit companion by the name of Adam, whom he used to introduce to his visitors by saying: This is not the first among men! Jenny[b] will give herself the pleasure to call on Mrs Beesly on Wednesday next[c] about 1 o'clock.

Yours most sincerely,
Karl Marx

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## 145

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 19 October 1871

Dear Jung,

In my opinion Forestier ought to have £4 instead of £3. In case of a man who is compromised care must be taken that during his travel he gets not into trouble by an empty purse.

Please to write to Outine (to be handed over to him by Forestier) a few lines, requesting him

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[a] The next two sentences are written in French in the original. - [b] Marx's daughter - [c] 25 October

1) to send me (in a registered letter) *the passport* he has promised to me;

2) Request him to inform me immediately whether he knows anything about the new Slavonian branch at Zurich.[322] Under the names signed by them I find A. Dubov, Kasper Turski, Emanuel Ervaćanin.[a]

Yours fraternally,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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## 146

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

### IN LONDON

[London,] 20 October 1871

Dear Jung,

We could give them £2 and give them a first trial by making them print the circular containing the Conference Resolutions.[323] I shall be ready on Monday.[b] You know 500 copies are to be printed in English and 500 in French. As to the Statutes, etc., this requires consideration.

Yours fraternally,
K. Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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[a] Manojlo Hrvaćanin (Ervaćanin) - [b] 23 October

## 147

## ENGELS TO ELISABETH ENGELS[225]

### IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 21 October 1871

Dear Mother,

If I have not written to you for so very long, it was because I wanted to answer your latest comments on my political activity in a way that would not give you offence. And again and again, whenever I read the despicable lies in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, above all the monstrous fabrications of that swine Wachenhusen, when I saw how the very same people who, during the war, had seen nothing but lies in the whole of the French press, now trumpet forth in Germany as gospel every police invention and every piece of slander about the Commune by the most venal Paris gossipmonger, I kept falling into a mood that little inclined me to my task. In the case of the few hostages who were shot in the Prussian manner, the few palaces burned down on Prussian precedent, a great hue and cry is raised—for all the rest was nothing but lies—, but when it comes to the 40,000 men, women and children whom the Versailles troops massacred with machinery *after* people had been disarmed—no one murmurs a single word! However, you can know nothing of all that, because you have to depend on the *Kölner* and *Elberfelder Zeitung*, and the lies are really drummed into you. And yet you have in the course of your lifetime heard quite a few people denounced as veritable cannibals—the members of the *Tugendbund*[324] under the first Napoleon, the demagogues of 1817 and 1831,[116] the men of 1848—and subsequently it always turned out that they were not so bad after all, and that the horror-stories initially put into circulation about them by interested parties, subsequently dissolved into thin air. I hope, dear mother, that you will recall this and give the men of 1871 the benefit of the doubt when you read of these imaginary atrocities in the newspaper.

You knew that I had not modified my opinions, opinions which I shall soon have held for 30 years, and it could not come as a surprise to you that, as soon as events compelled me to do so, I should not only speak up for them but would do my duty in other respects too. You would have to be ashamed of me if I failed to do so. If Marx were not here, or did not even exist, it would make

absolutely no difference at all. It is therefore quite wrong to put the blame on him. Incidentally, I can also remember the time when Marx's relations maintained that *I* had been the ruin of him.

But enough of that. The situation cannot be changed now and it just has to be accepted. If things are quiet for a while, the fuss will die down anyway and you yourself will take a calmer view of the situation.

I spent some time in Ramsgate during September,[307] a small, or rather fairly large, seaside resort on the East coast, somewhat to the north of Dover. It is the most amusing resort I know, extremely informal, very pretty firm beach immediately beneath the steep chalk cliffs; the beach is full of fake Negro-minstrels, conjurers, fire-eaters, Punch-and-Judy shows and nonsense of that sort. The place is not very fashionable, but cheap and easy-going. The bathing is very good, and since it was cold it did me twice as much good, my appetite became truly insatiable and I slept fully 10 hours a day. Although I live in one of the most healthy districts of London, where the air is as good as in the country, or so a doctor assures me, I nevertheless perceived what a difference such a change of air makes. You really ought to think of enjoying the sea air for 3-4 weeks next summer which makes even the healthiest more healthy.

My interesting neighbour has for some time now left me in peace with her piano, she must be away. To make up for it, however, I have now acquired a musician on the other side, where some new houses have been built. There is a tailor's shop there and, above it, rooms are being let. Up to now, however, it is not too bad and I cannot complain.

It has been raining abysmally, which comes very unexpectedly after the splendid autumn days we have had, and I am having to make a fire, whereas even 3 days ago it was so sultry that I could not bear to be in a room without open windows. In general, however, the weather here is much better than in Manchester, it hardly ever rains all day long, whereas in Manchester at this season it often rains without a break for 2-3 days on end.

From what Hermann and Emil[a] are saying it appeared to me that it will probably take some time before their relations with Adolf[b] have got back on an even keel. If they do not see each other for a time, that will make it easier. At all events, it is good that the disagreement has been resolved, at least on the main

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[a] Engels' brothers. See this volume, pp. 155-56. - [b] Adolf von Griesheim

points. Once the financial side has been sorted out, at least there can be no further occasion for dispute. I hope that all will resolve itself with time.

For the rest, I am well and cheerful and have returned to my first love, namely my long pipe, having finally managed to discover a reasonable tobacco here. This evening I have put aside a special pleasure for myself: despite the rain I am going to the Viennese beerhall in the Strand, where for once I shall be able to drink my fill; Emil Blank junior called in for a moment a few days ago, otherwise I never get to see the young madcap, since I hardly ever go to the CITY.

Good-bye for now, give my cordial greetings to all my brothers and sisters, and do not be cross with me for my long silence.

With all my heart,

Your
Frederick

You can tell Emil Blank that Marx does not *need* any money from me. But I should like to see the expression on the face of that same Emil Blank if *I* were to advise him about how to spend *his* money.

First published, abridged, in *Deutsche Revue*, Bd. II, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1921 and in full, in Russian, in *Voinstvuyushchy materialist*, Book 3, Moscow, 1925

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## 148

## MARX TO EDOUARD VAILLANT

### IN LONDON

[London,] 22 October 1871

Dear Mr Vaillant,

As I am having my pamphlet[a] printed next Monday, please make your corrections as soon as possible.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'.

As to the resolution on political action,[325] the form initially produced by the Committee (Engels, [Martin],[a] Le Moussu) and the amendments subsequently adopted by vote of the General Council have created such an imbroglio that I have been compelled to alter the arrangement.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

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## 149

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

### IN LONDON

[London, around 25 October 1871]

Dear Jung,

Mr Chautard was here with the enclosed letter. That means that 4 days have been lost already. I told Chautard that I must have the resolutions back IMMEDIATELY, if they cannot finish them at once.[323] I do not see how the same people will be able to print the Rules, etc.

*Veuillez me retourner la lettre.*[b]

You will have to send those refugee riff-raff some money, let us say £10. The sooner we can finish with the fellows THE BETTER.

Yours,
K. Marx

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[a] An illegible word here; Constant Martin was the third member of the Committee.- [b] Kindly return the letter to me.

## 150

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London, end of October 1871]

Dear Jung,

As soon as those people have finished a portion they must send me the PROOFSHEETS.[a]

What are the names of the present Swiss MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL? AND WHO IS Sadler?

YOURS FRATERNALLY,

K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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## 151

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 4 November 1871

Dear Liebknecht,

I could not use your credentials at the Conference.[326] It had been resolved that countries without representatives be represented by their secretaries. So I sat as the member for Italy and had I used your credentials, I would have deprived Marx of his seat and his vote; so I simply left the papers in my pocket.

To come back to your unfortunate Goegg,[b] his case is to be distinguished from that of Odger in two crucial respects. First, Odger is and always has been a worker, whereas Goegg is by

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[a] of the resolutions of the 1871 London Conference; see this volume, pp. 227 and 231. - [b] See this volume, p. 215.

nature a petty bourgeois, and will always be so. If you count yourself as belonging to the same party as Goegg, we certainly do not. Second, we have thrown Odger out,[238] while you are hanging on to your Goegg and won't let him go. Or are you reproaching us with not having clung to Odger as you have to Goegg?

You explicitly excused your readmission of Bernhard Becker by saying that you badly lacked 'men of ability'.[302] You must therefore have considered him to be one.

I do not know to whom I should address my 'rude comments', if not to you. I am beginning, it is true, gradually to accustom myself to the fact that you make all sorts of demands on us without it ever occurring to you to perform even the most self-evident services in return. I shall soon find it quite natural to send you the manuscript of an entire pamphlet, and then have to order my own copies from the bookseller, while at the same time reading in your letters that sales are going fantastically. In other countries, when the General Council sends a pamphlet ready for the press, it is not only sent, as a matter of course, the copies due to it, but also a share of the profits. In Germany, it is even asked to *pay* for the copies. You can bet your last penny, however, that we shall *refuse* to do so. Since I have no desire to figure in your books as your debtor, I am sending the invoice back with the request for a new one. The other things that I ordered for myself or for Marx and the German Workers' Society[135] we shall, of course, pay for as soon as the invoice has been corrected.

I have been sending you *The Eastern Post regularly every week.* One went off as recently as yesterday, along with *The Times* of 27 October, which has a (well-informed) article on the International.[327] If you have not received these things, announce it at once in the *Volksstaat.* This Stieber must be made to see that we are keeping an eye on him.

In the accompanying report[a] you will find a reply to Schwitzguébel. The man is one of the leading intriguers in the Bakunin clique in the Neuchâtel Canton. They have been striving to break up the International in Switzerland for the past two years, ever since the spectacular failure of their attempt to take it over. It is the continuation of the *Alliance de la démocratie socialiste*[10] in the Jura.

They have usurped the title of *Comité Fédéral Romand* and retained it despite the General Council's having forbidden them to

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[a] F. Engels, 'On the Company Swindle in England'.

do so.[a] Now the Conference has settled the matter once and for all.[328] Should Elpidin send you anything for publication (which I scarcely think possible), the best thing would be for you to send it straight back to him, giving him my address and telling him that he should get in touch with me directly for further clarification. I shall then oblige him in such a manner that he will not bother you again. The story is too long for me to tell it here.

You will receive the Conference resolutions[b] *in German* and *ready for the press* in a day or two. The translation is in progress now.

Sorge is taken care of.[c]

For the rest, matters are proceeding excellently, in Italy we now have a whole mass of organs at our disposal (I enclose a list for publication),[329] and the correspondence is so lively that it involves a hell of a lot of work for me. You will have seen from the copy of *The Eastern Post*[d] we sent yesterday that we have established an English Federal Council here[330] and so have relieved the General Council of all the details of purely English importance—a matter that had become highly necessary. An Irish Council will follow shortly.

The English version of the revised Rules[e] is in the press, French, German and Italian translations are in progress. All these things have meant an enormous amount of work for us, since Marx and I had to do almost all the editing and attend to all the details ourselves. Moreover, Marx has been unwell again, with an abscess under his arm, and must still stay at home because of a cold.

Johannard has arrived here from the Commune and has taken up his old seat in the General Council again. Jules Vallès is also here, Ranvier arrived during the Conference, Sicard in the last few days. You will have heard that Jaclard—one of the best of men—escaped from prison with Okolowicz and has arrived safely in Berne. They really are splendid people for the most part; of course, among such a mass of refugees there are inevitably a few

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[a] See K. Marx, 'General Council Resolution on the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland'. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. - [c] In the original: 'Sorge ist besorgt'. Engels puns on Sorge's name, which means 'care'. - [d] This refers to a report on the General Council meeting of 21 October 1871 published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 161, 28 October 1871, under the title 'International Working-Men's Association'. - [e] K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association. Official edition, revised by the General Council*, London, 1871.

out-and-out riff-raff, as always, including Vermersch, the editor of *Père Duchêne*; an arch-scoundrel.

Best regards to you and yours,

Your
F. E.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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## 152

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 4 November 1871

Dear Jung,

Give Beaufort (who no longer has anywhere to live) 10 sh. for the coming week. If he is unable to find EMPLOYMENT in the course of the week, we shall have to send him off to Brussels, from where he will have to try to get back to France.

Yours,
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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## 153

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[284]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 6 November 1871

Dear Friend,

Today 100 copies (50 in French and 50 in English) of the Conference resolutions[a] are being sent off to New York. The decisions not intended for publication will be communicated to you later.

A new, *revised* edition of the Rules and Regulations[b] is due to appear in English tomorrow, and you will receive 1,000 copies for sale in America (1d. each). The text must not be translated into French and German in New York, as we are issuing *official* editions in both languages.[309] Write us how many copies in each language will be wanted.

I have turned over the correspondence with the German Section and the New York Committee[c] to *Eccarius* (he has been appointed to handle that at my suggestion),[331] since my time does not allow me to perform this function properly.

Section 12 (New York) has submitted proposals to the General Council that it be constituted the leader in America. Eccarius will have sent the decisions against these pretensions and for the present Committee[d] to Section 12.[332]

As for the Washington BRANCH (which has sent the General Council a list of its members), the New York Committee went too far.[310] It had no right to demand anything but the number of members and the name, etc., of the corresponding secretary.

More in the next letter (this week).[e]

Yours,

K. M.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. - [b] K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - [c] the Central Committee of the International Working Men's Association for North America - [d] See 'Résolution du Conseil général de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, au réponse à application de la section 12 de New-York'. - [e] See this volume, pp. 241-42.

## 154

## MARX TO FERDINAND JOZEWICZ[333]

### IN BERLIN

[London,] 6 November 1871

Dear Friend,

I enclose a copy of the French translation of the Conference resolutions.[a] They have also appeared in English, and the German translation will be sent off to the *Volksstaat* tomorrow.

The single English edition of the Rules and Regulations of the International[b] will come out tomorrow. We shall probably publish a German edition in Leipzig and a French one in Geneva. According to the latest Conference resolutions every member must possess a copy of the Rules. I shall send you the stamps as soon as they are available.

With regard to Berlin, my view is that public meetings 'in general' should not be held until more propaganda has been made on the spot. In the meantime, however, every situation with broader implications and of public interest should be exploited both for meetings and for printed manifestoes.[334]

The next opportune occasion will be the scandalous trial of the members of the ex-committee of the Social-Democratic Party in Brunswick, where the International figures as the central feature of the indictment.[335] However, it will be as well to bide one's time until the public sessions, which will focus the attention of Germany on Brunswick.

In the same way, the proposed laws concerning the International which the government intends to lay before the German Reichstag will provide a favourable opportunity. It is to be hoped that the German workers will come out as energetically as the Spanish workers did against similar government interventions.

I made *one* mistake in my last letter.[c] Bebel had sent me *one* detailed report in 1870, at the time when we had settled on Mainz as the venue for the Congress (shortly before the outbreak of the war).[242]

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. - [b] K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - [c] See this volume, p. 221.

It is not just my duty as corresponding secretary for Germany, it is also a great pleasure for me to be in constant communication with our other friends in Berlin through yourself and Kwasniewski.

*Salut et fraternité.*

Karl Marx

First published in *Die Gesellschaft*, No. 3, Berlin, 1933

Printed according to a handwritten copy

## 155

## MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[336]

### IN ST PETERSBURG

[London,] 9 November 1871

Dear Friend,

Enclosed are a few changes, some of them just printing errors. Of some importance, however, are the changes on p. 192 [p. 225], p. 201 [p. 234], p. 288, Note 205a [p. 309, Note 1], and p. 376 [p. 390], which affect the content.[337]

It would be pointless to *wait* for the revision of Chapter I,[218] since for months now my time has been so taken up that I have not been able to get to my theoretical work (and the foreseeable future holds out small prospect of an improvement in this respect).

*Certainly, I shall one fine morning put a stop to all this but there are circumstances where you are in duty bound to occupy yourselves with things much less attractive than theoretical study and research.

My warmest thanks for all the kindness I have met with on your part. The writings of Ehrlieb[a] I am partly acquainted with. I compare him as a writer to Lessing and Diderot.

I have received some curious numbers of the *Moscow Gazette*.[b]

Yours truly,*
A. W.[c]

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[a] Nikolai Dobrolyubov. The surname means 'lover of good'. Marx translates this into German. - [b] *Московскія вѣдомости* - [c] A. Williams—Marx's pseudonym

[Appendix]

*p. 68, Note 52, line −2* [p. 109, Note 1, line −4] read '*ne pouvant*' instead of '*ne pouvant pas*'.

*p. 83, Note 62, line −6* [p. 123, Note 1, line −23] read 'specie' instead of 'species'.

*p. 192, line 3* [p. 224, line −2] read 'The annual return' [Umsatz] instead of 'The annual income' [Einkommen].

*Ibid., line 7* [p. 225, lines 2-3] *read* 'Of the $^{23}/_{23}$rds' instead of 'Of these $^{23}/_{23}$ working hours', so that the sentence should now run, 'Of the $^{23}/_{23}$rds (constituting the whole £115,000)', etc.[a]

*Ibid.* Insert the following after *Note 32, p. 192* [p. 225, Note 1]:

*Author's addition to Note 32*: 'Apart from errors in principle, Senior's statement is confused. What he wants to say is this:

'The manufacturer employs the workman for 11 $^1/_2$ hours or for 23 half-hours daily. As the working day, so, too, the working year, may be conceived to consist of 11 $^1/_2$ hours or 23 half-hours, but each multiplied by the number of working days in the year. On this supposition,

the 23 half-hours yield a total product of £115,000;

1 half-hour yields $^1/_{23}\times$£115,000;

23 half-hours yield $^{23}/_{23}\times$£115,000=£115,000[b];

20 half-hours yield $^{20}/_{23}\times$£115,000=100,000, i.e. they replace no more than the capital of £100,000 advanced.

There remain 3 half-hours, which yield $^3/_{23}\times$£115,000=£15,000 or

the gross profit.

'Of these 3 half-hours, one yields $^1/_{23}\times$£115,000=£5,000; i.e. it makes up for the wear and tear of the factory and the machinery.

'The remaining 2 half-hours, i.e. the *last hour*, yield the last $^2/_{23}$ of the product, i.e. $^2/_{23}\times$£115,000=£10,000, i.e. they produce the net profit. Q.E.D.

'In the text, however, *Senior* says,

'"The remaining $^2/_{23}$rds, that is, the last two of the twenty-three half-hours of every day, produce the net profit of 10 per cent."

'That is to say, he suddenly confuses the 23rds into which he

[a] The English edition, which is quoting Senior, actually reads, 'Of *these* $^{23}/_{23}$rds...' - [b] This line is omitted from the English translation.

has divided the product with the half-hours into which he has divided the working day.'

*p. 201, line – 7* [p. 234, line 18] *seqq* read 'But if you consume it in 10 years, you pay me daily $^1/_{10950}$ instead of $^1/_{3650}$ of its total value, i.e. only $^1/_3$ of its daily value, and you *rob* me, therefore, every day of $^2/_3$ of the value of my commodity.'

*p. 288, Note 205a* [p. 309, Note 1] *read* 'The *molecular theory* of modern chemistry first scientifically worked out by *Laurent* and *Gerhardt* rests on no other law', i.e. *omitting the words* 'on the foundations laid by Professor Wurtz in Paris'.

*p. 307, line 8* [p. 326, line 14] read 'ANIMAL SPIRITS' instead of 'ANIMAL SPIRIT'.

*p. 309, Note 15, line 4* [p. 328, end of French Note 2, continued from p. 327] read '*le poisson*' instead of '*le poison*'.

*p. 319, Note 26, line –9* [p. 337, line –12] read '*dévider*' instead of '*divider*'.

*Line – 6* [lines –10 and –9] read '*dévidenses*' instead of '*dividenses*' and '*teinturiers*' instead of '*teinturieurs*'.

*p. 376, line 20* [p. 390, line 1] read 'The less value it gives up' instead of 'The less value it creates'.

*p. 593, Note 60, line –16* [p. 606, line –2] read '*ces services*' instead of '*ses services*'.

*p. 658, line –17* [p. 669, line 7] read '2 silver Groschen, 6 Pfennige' instead of '1 silver Groschen, 8 Pfennige'.[a]

First published, in Russian, without the appendix, in *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 1, 1908 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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[a] These figures, which translate the value of 3d. into German, are omitted from the English edition.

## 156

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[284]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 9 November 1871

Dear Friend,

I sent you 100 copies of the Conference resolutions[a] the day before yesterday, 50 in ENGLISH and 50 in FRENCH.

This week 1,000 copies of the ENGLISH REVISED AND OFFICIAL STATUTES AND REGULATIONS[b] will be sent to you. Try to sell them.

The GENERAL COUNCIL has large expenditures to make as a result of the various tasks it was set by the Conference.

We shall have an official French edition of the REVISED STATUTES, etc., printed in Geneva, and the official German edition printed in Leipzig. Write and tell us approximately how many COPIES of each will be required in the UNITED STATES.

A section of the International, *Section française de 1871* (about 24 strong), has been formed here among the FRENCH REFUGEES, which immediately clashed with the GENERAL COUNCIL because we demanded changes in its Rules.[338] It will probably result in a SPLIT. These people are working together with some of the French refugees in Switzerland, who in turn are intriguing with the men of the *Alliance de la démocratie socialiste* (Bakunin), which we dissolved.[339] The object of their attack is not the governments and ruling classes of Europe, allied against us, but the General Council of London, and particularly my humble self. This is their gratitude for my having spent nearly 5 months working for the refugees and having acted as their vindicator through the *Address on the Civil War.*[c]

I defended them even at the Conference, where the delegates from Spain, Belgium, Switzerland, and Holland expressed their misgivings lest the General Council endanger its international character through too large an admixture of French refugees.[340] But in the eyes of these 'Internationalists' it is in itself a sin for 'German' influence (because of German science) to predominate in the GENERAL COUNCIL.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. - [b] K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association.* - [c] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France.*

As for the New York CENTRAL COMMITTEE,[151] the following:

1. According to the Conference decisions, see II, 1, in the future, it must call itself *FEDERAL COUNCIL* OR *FEDERAL COMMITTEE* OF THE UNITED STATES.

2. As soon as a much *larger* number of BRANCHES has been established in the DIFFERENT STATES, the most practical thing to do will be to call a congress of the different SECTIONS—following the example of Belgium, Switzerland, and Spain[a]—to elect a FEDERAL COUNCIL OR COMMITTEE in New York.

3. FEDERAL COMMITTEES can in turn be established in the different States—as soon as they have a sufficient number of BRANCHES—for which the New York COMMITTEE will function as the central point.

4. The definitive special Rules, both of the New York FEDERAL COMMITTEE and of the COMMITTEES yet to be established, must be submitted to the GENERAL COUNCIL for sanction before their publication.[341]

We are making rapid progress in Italy. A great triumph over the Mazzini party. The progress in Spain is also considerable. A new section has been established in Copenhagen, which already has 1,500 MEMBERS and publishes its own paper, *Socialisten*.

The Brunswick court's indictment of the local EX-COMMITTEE, Bracke and comrades, has been transmitted to me—an infamous document.[335]

All of us regret that you intend to resign from the Committee. I trust, however, that your decision is not final. I myself often think of doing the same, as the affairs of the International take too much of my time and interrupt my theoretical work.

*Apropos*. I should like to have 12 copies of *Woodhull's etc. Weekly* of 21 October, containing my daughter's story.[b] Only by ACCIDENT did we see a COPY of this issue.

*Salut fraternel*,

Karl Marx

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

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[a] Crossed out in the original: 'and now also of England'. - [b] J. Marx, 'To the Editor of *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*'.

## 157

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN [121]

### IN HANOVER

[London,] 9 November 1871

Dear Kugelmann,

I still have my hands so overfull with work that I can only write you these few lines.

Document received. It is a worthy imitation of the Viennese model,[342] which was later quashed by the Vienna Court of Appeal.

Enclosed 1 FRENCH AND 1 ENGLISH COPY OF THE RESOLUTIONS.[a]

Best greetings to *Madame la Comtesse* and Fränzchen.[b]

Your
K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

## 158

## MARX TO CARL SPEYER [137]

### IN NEW YORK

London, 10 November 1871
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Dear Speyer,

Lessner acquainted me with your letter. Overwork and then illness have prevented me from replying to you sooner. There are a number of errors in your letter.

1. According to the Rules the General Council in YANKEELAND should concern itself primarily with the Yankees.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. - [b] Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann

2. But as far as the private correspondence with West, etc., is concerned, *the General Council has absolutely nothing to do with it.* A number of the English members of the General Council, in particular George Harris and other sectarians of the school of O'Brien, the *CURRENCY* QUACK DOCTOR,[343] are in contact with West et Co. Anything they may write to the UNITED STATES has no official status. If you can supply proof that Harris, etc., have taken it upon themselves to write to America in the **name** *of the GENERAL COUNCIL,* we shall soon put a stop to such mischief.

3. As far as any other correspondence from members of the General Council is concerned, we are not in a position to forbid it.

*Firstly,* I do not see what objection can be made to the correspondence between Eccarius and Jessup. It has not come to my notice that Jessup, one of our oldest correspondents in the UNITED STATES, has been acting against the New York COMMITTEE.[151]

*Secondly,* my correspondence with Sigfrid Meyer. Meyer and Vogt were mandataries of the GENERAL COUNCIL; I do *not* know either of them *personally,* but had regarded Meyer, and have always thought of Vogt, as having long been active members of the workers' party.[344] I have been advising them both for a long time now to join the organisation established by the Central Committee in New York.

I have not had a letter from Vogt for some years now, and if he *does intrigue,* he will certainly find no support from me. I am concerned only with the interests of your movement, and not with private individuals.

As for Sorge, I am no more acquainted with him personally than I am with Meyer and Vogt. It is my conviction, however, that the General Council owes him a profound debt of gratitude for his activities—a belief which I have repeatedly expressed in the GENERAL COUNCIL.

4. You must strive to win the support of the TRADES UNIONS AT ALL COSTS.

This letter is addressed only to you personally. You must not show it to anyone except Sorge.

Write to me soon.

*Salut fraternel.*

Yours sincerely,

Karl Marx

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere,* Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to a handwritten copy

## 159

## ENGELS TO THEODOR CUNO[345]

### IN MILAN

London, 13 November 1871
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Esteemed Friend,

In reply to your kind letter of the 1st inst., I regret to have to tell you that we have no contacts in Milan at the moment, apart from the *Gazzettino Rosa*, to which we send documents for publication,[346] but which has otherwise made no offers so far on the establishment of sections, etc. The movement in Italy in International terms broke out so suddenly and unexpectedly that everything is still very disorganised and, as you know, the Mordecaians[a] are doing their best to hamper the organisation. That there must be useful elements in Milan is obvious enough, if only from the fact that the *Gazzettino Rosa* has a reading public. In the meantime, the only thing you can do is to try and discover them. I promise to send you the address of the first one to get into contact with me from there. This will undoubtedly happen shortly, since my name will soon enough become known everywhere as secretary for Italy through the flood of forthcoming publications from the General Council. As the stronghold of Mazzini's followers hitherto, and as major industrial city, Milan is of great importance for us, particularly since, if it falls to us, the areas in Lombardy where the silk industry is concentrated will automatically be ours, too. So anything you and your friends can achieve in Milan for the common cause will have a *very special* value.

We have a strong section in Turin (address: *Proletario Italiano*); letters from Lodi (the *Plebe*), which presumably reported on the establishment of sections, have gone astray.

I met Ricciotti Garibaldi at Marx's house this morning. He is a highly intelligent young man with a very calm manner, but a soldier rather than a thinker. However, he may turn out to be very useful. It is just as with the old man[b]; his theoretical ideas give more proof of his good intentions than of his clarity of vision, but his last letter to Petroni is invaluable to us.[347] If the sons prove

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[a] police informers (an allusion to *The Book of Esther*, 4:1) - [b] Giuseppe Garibaldi

to have the same sure instincts in every great crisis as the old man, they will achieve much. Can you obtain a reliable address for us in Genoa? We want to be able to send our things safely to Caprera for the old man, and Ricciotti says that a lot gets intercepted.

Since the Mordecaians will now know my name as well, could I ask you to address letters for me to:

Miss Burns, 122 R.P.R., London, N.W. (as per letter-head), and not to High Holborn where I only go once a week and a lot of post just lies around waiting.

An inner envelope is *not* necessary.

I am sending you an English paper chosen at random through the post and enclosing:

1. *Résolutions de la Conférence de l'Internationale à Londres, Sept. 1871.*

2. *The Civil War in France.* Address of the General Council.

3. The new edition of the Rules,[a] available up to now only in English; French and German versions will appear shortly.

Write to me again soon.

*Salut et fraternité.*

F. Engels

First published in *Die Gesellschaft*, No. 11, Berlin, 1925

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## 160

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

### IN LONDON

[London,] 16 November 1871

Dear Jung,

From the enclosed letter[348] (for the return of which I would be grateful), you can see that this is a favourable moment for us to establish contact with the Paris workers without obtaining permission from Roullier.

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[a] K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association.*

Is there a JEWELLERS' UNION or SOCIETY of any kind? If so, it would be good if you could contact them directly. A reduction in the working hours of the Paris JEWELLERS would be of great importance for the Londoners, since Paris is their greatest competitor.

*Salut fraternel,*

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

## 161

## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT[137]

### IN LEIPZIG

London, 17 November 1871
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Liebknecht,

1. Letter to follow concerning the printing of the Rules,[a] etc.

2. Your comments on my proposals concerning Berlin rest on a complete misunderstanding. I declared my opposition to unprovoked demonstrations, but pointed to 'provocations', and imminent ones at that, which would provide demonstrations with a background and with prospects of success.[b]

3. First Bebel and yourself do not come to the Conference, and take no steps to ensure that other delegates turn up. Then you print a report from Boruttau in which, acting perhaps as an *unconscious* agent of the Geneva conspiracy against the General Council, he rebukes the latter for failing to invite delegates from Germany.[c] The construction already being put upon this in Geneva by the Bakuninists and the whole host of conspiratorial

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[a] K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - [b] See this volume, p. 237. - [c] [K.] Boruttau, 'Sozialismus und Kommunismus', *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 88 and 89, 1 and 4 November 1871.

hangers-on among the émigrés, is that Marx has lost his influence even in Germany!

4. You may rest assured that I am better informed than you about the intrigues within the International. So when I write to you that letters from Boruttau with *any bearing at all* on the International (including the *Manifesto* already announced, which the aforesaid Boruttau has sent you) should not be printed in the *Volksstaat*, you have simply to make up your mind whether you wish to act *against* us or *with* us. If the latter is the case, then my instructions, which are based on a thorough knowledge of the circumstances, should be followed to the letter.

5. Since we are most dissatisfied here with the way in which the affairs of the International have been conducted hitherto, it is my duty, in accordance with the instructions of the General Council, to make direct contact with the main centres in Germany. I have already made a start on this.[a]

6. We are so overwhelmed with International WORK here that Engels and myself have had no time up to now to write a Preface for the *Communist Manifesto*.[189] At all events we shall not write one simply in order to trigger off a polemic with Mr Boruttau in the *Volksstaat*.

Your
K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original

## 162

## MARX TO JULES JOHANNARD[118]

### IN LONDON

[London,] 18 November 1871

My dear Jules Johannard,

We expect you at my place tomorrow evening (Sunday) between

[a] See this volume, p. 221.

7 and 8 o'clock. We shall begin by discussing various International matters. Thereafter any subject under the sun!

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

First published, in German, in *Neues Deutschland*, No. 15, Berlin, 15 January 1963

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

## 163

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

### IN LONDON

[London,] 18 November 1871

Dear Jung,

On second thoughts it seems to me better after all,

1. that you should write to Dilke simply on your own account, without mentioning me.[349] *There are reasons why I should not like to see him on this occasion.*

2. *not* to put Cournet's name forward *as early as Tuesday.*[350] It is in his own interests not to be in too much haste.

Best regards to your dear wife.

YOURS FRATERNALLY,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

## 164

## MARX TO ADOLPHE HUBERT[137]

### IN LONDON

[London,] 22 November 1871

Dear Citizen,

My ailment continues to keep me indoors, thereby preventing me from doing all I should like to do to support the better elements on the *Qui Vive!*.[351] Nevertheless I have spoken to several of my French friends, though I don't know whether they have started things moving.

As to the terms of admission to the *International*, all that is needed is recognition of our principles. I am sending you 30 CARDS OF MEMBERSHIP which you may dispose of as and when you find new candidates. They only have to pay ONE PENNY for their annual contribution but may subscribe more if they so wish. All you have to do is enter the names of new members on the cards.

I am also sending you 30 copies of the Rules.[a] Every member must be supplied with a copy, which costs ONE PENNY.

In accordance with a resolution passed at the last Conference,[b] adhesive stamps are now being manufactured representing the value of one PENNY, and these must be affixed to the Rules in possession of members.

Those who have already paid for their cards will not have to make a further payment for the stamps.

THE PAMPHLET ON *The Civil War in France* IS SOLD AT Truelove's, 256 High Holborn.

Fraternal greetings,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

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[a] K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. IV: Contribution of 1d. per Member to the General Council.

# 165

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH BOLTE[352]

### IN NEW YORK

[London,] 23 November 1871

Friend Bolte,

I received your letter yesterday together with Sorge's report.[353]

1. First of all, as to the attitude of the General Council towards the New York Federal Council, I trust that my letters already sent to Sorge (and a letter to Speyer, which I authorised him to communicate to Sorge *confidentially*)[a] will have disposed of the highly erroneous viewpoint of the German Section which you represent.[354]

In the United States, as in every other country where the *International* first has to be established, the General Council originally had to authorise separate individuals and appoint them as its official correspondents. But from the moment the New York Committee had gained some stability, these correspondents were dropped one after the other, although they could not be removed all at once.

For some time past the *official* correspondence with formerly appointed authorised representatives has been confined to Eccarius' correspondence with Jessup, and I see from your own letter that you have no complaint at all to make regarding the latter.

Except for Eccarius, however, no one was to carry on official correspondence with the United States but myself and Dupont as correspondent (at the time) for the *French sections*, and whatever correspondence he conducted was confined *to the latter*.

With the exception of yourself and Sorge, I have not carried on any official correspondence at all. My correspondence with Sigfrid Meyer is private correspondence, of which *he has never published the slightest detail*, and which by its very nature could *in no way* be troublesome or harmful to the New York Committee.

There is no doubt, on the other hand, that George Harris and perhaps Boon—two English members of the General Council—are carrying on private correspondence with Internationals in New York, etc. Both of them belong to the sect of the late Bronterre

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[a] See this volume, pp. 236, 241-42 and 244.

O'Brien, and are full of follies and CROTCHETS, such as CURRENCY quackery, false emancipation of women, and the like.[343] They are thus BY NATURE allies of Section 12 in New York and its kindred souls.[332]

The General Council has no right to forbid its members to conduct private correspondence. But if it could be *proved* to us: either that this private correspondence pretends to be *official*, or that it counteracts the activity of the General Council—whether used for publication or to drag the New York Committee through the mire—the necessary measures would be taken to prevent such mischief.

These O'Brienites, in spite of their follies, constitute an often necessary counterweight to TRADES UNIONISTS in the COUNCIL. They are more revolutionary, firmer on the LAND QUESTION, less NATIONALISTIC, and not susceptible to bourgeois bribery in one form or another. Otherwise they would have been kicked out long ago.

2. I was greatly astonished to see that German Section No. 1 suspects the General Council of a preference for bourgeois philanthropists, sectarians, or amateur groups.

The position is quite the contrary.

The *International* was founded in order to replace the socialist or semi-socialist sects by a real organisation of the working class for struggle. The original Rules and the Inaugural Address[a] show this at a glance. On the other hand, the International could not have asserted itself if the course of history had not already smashed sectarianism. The development of socialist sectarianism and that of the real labour movement always stand in indirect proportion to each other. So long as the sects are justified (historically), the working class is not yet ripe for an independent historical movement. As soon as it has attained this maturity all sects are essentially reactionary. For all that, what history exhibits everywhere was repeated in the history of the International. What is antiquated tries to reconstitute and assert itself within the newly acquired form.

And the history of the International was a *continual struggle of the General Council* against the sects and attempts by amateurs to assert themselves within the International itself against the real movement of the working class. This struggle was conducted at the *Congresses*, but far more in the private dealings of the General Council with the individual sections.

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[a] K. Marx, 'Provisional Rules of the Association' and 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'.

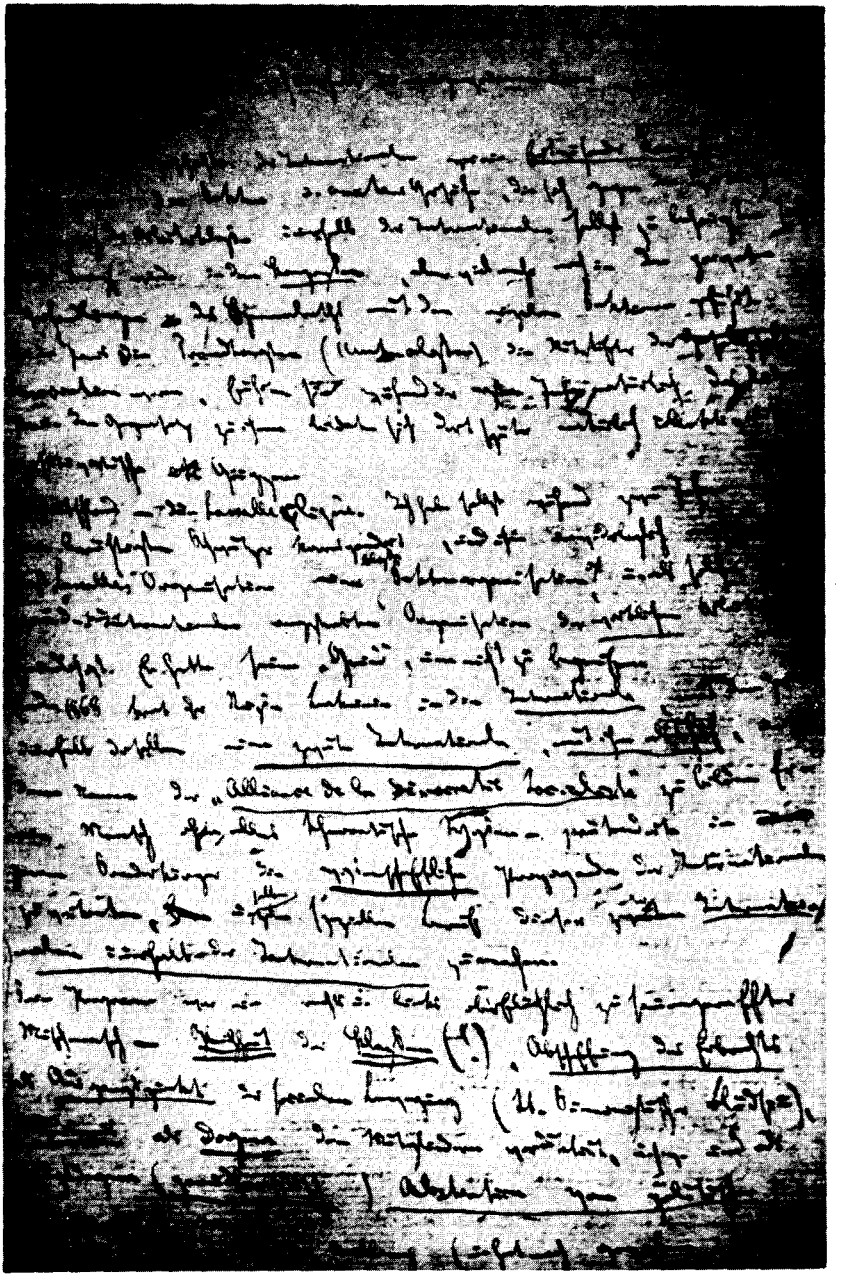

A page from Marx's letter to Friedrich Bolte of 23 November 1871

As the Proudhonists (Mutualists[355]) were co-founders of the Association in Paris, they naturally held the reins there for the first few years. Later, of course, collectivist, positivist, etc., groups were formed there in opposition to them.

In Germany—the Lassalle clique. I myself corresponded with the notorious Schweitzer for two years and irrefutably proved to him that Lassalle's organisation is purely a sectarian organisation and, as such, hostile to the organisation of the *real* workers' movement aimed at by the International. He had his 'reasons' for not understanding.

At the end of 1868 the Russian, Bakunin, joined the *International* with the aim of forming inside it *a second International* under the name of *Alliance de la démocratie socialiste,*[10] *with himself as leader.* He—a man devoid of all theoretical knowledge—claimed that this separate body was to represent the *scientific* propaganda of the International, and that this propaganda was to become the special function of this second *International within the International.*

His programme was a mishmash superficially scraped together from left and right—*equality of classes* (!), *abolition of the right of inheritance* as the *starting point* of the social movement (Saint-Simonist nonsense), *atheism* as a *dogma* dictated to the members, etc., and, as the main dogma, (*Proudhonist*) *abstention from the political movement.*

This children's primer found favour (and still has a certain hold) in Italy and Spain, where the real conditions for the workers' movement are as yet little developed, and among a few vain, ambitious, and empty doctrinaires in Romance Switzerland and Belgium.

For Mr Bakunin the doctrine (the rubbish he has scraped together from Proudhon, St. Simon, etc.) was and is a secondary matter—merely a means to his personal self-assertion. Though a nonentity theoretically, he is in his element as an intriguer.

For years the General Council had to fight against this conspiracy (which was supported up to a certain point by the French Proudhonists, especially in *Southern France*). At last, by means of Conference resolutions 1, 2 and 3, IX, XVI, and XVII, it delivered its long-prepared blow.[356]

Obviously the General Council does not support in America what it combats in Europe. Resolutions 1, 2 and 3 and IX now give the New York Committee the legal weapons with which to put an end to all sectarianism and amateurish groups, and, if necessary, to expel them.

3. The New York Committee would do well to express its full agreement with the Conference decisions in an *official letter to the General Council.*

Bakunin, personally threatened, moreover, by Resolution XIV (publication of the *Nechayev* trial in the *Égalité*),[a] which will bring to light his infamous doings in Russia, is making every possible effort to get protests started against the Conference among the remnants of his following.

For this purpose he has got into contact with the riff-raff among the French refugees in Geneva and London (a numerically weak component, anyway). The slogan issued is that the General Council is dominated by *Pan-Germanism* (or Bismarckism). This refers to the *unpardonable* fact that *I* am by birth a German and actually do exercise a decisive intellectual influence upon the General Council. (N. B. The *German* element in the COUNCIL is two-thirds weaker *numerically* than the *English,* and also weaker than the *French.* The crime therefore consists in the fact that the English and French elements are dominated by the German element *theoretically* (!) and find this domination, i. e. German science, very useful and even indispensable.)

In Geneva, under the patronage of the bourgeoise, Madame André Léo (who at the Lausanne Congress was so shameless as to denounce Ferré to his Versailles executioners[357]), they have published a paper, *La Révolution sociale,* which polemicises against us in almost literally the same words as the *Journal de Genève,* the most reactionary paper in Europe.

In London they tried to establish a French Section,[338] of whose activities you will find an example in No. 42 of *Qui Vive!,* which I enclose. (Ditto the issue containing the letter from our French secretary, Serraillier.)[358] This Section, consisting of 20 people (including many *mouchards*[b]), has not been recognised by the General Council, but another, a much larger section, has.[359]

In fact, despite the intrigues of this bunch of scoundrels, we are carrying on great propaganda in France—and in Russia, where they know what value to place on Bakunin, and where my book on capital is just being published in Russian.[360]

The secretary of the first-mentioned French Section (the one not recognised by us and now in the process of complete

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. XIV: Instruction to Citizen Outine. - [b] police spies

dissolution) was the same *Durand* whom we expelled from the Association as a *mouchard*.[361]

The Bakuninist abstentionists from politics, Blanc[a] and Albert Richard of Lyons, are now *paid Bonapartist agents*. The evidence is in our hands. Bousquet (of the same clique in Geneva), the correspondent in *Béziers* (Southern France), has been denounced to us by the section there as a police officer![362]

4. With regard to the *resolutions* of the Conference, let me say that the whole edition was in my hands, and that I sent them *first* to New York (Sorge) as the most distant point.[323]

If reports on the Conference—half true and half false—appeared in the press before that, the blame rests on a delegate to the Conference,[b] against whom the General Council has instituted an inquiry.[c]

5. As for the Washington Section, it applied first to the General Council in order to maintain contact with it as an independent section.[310] If the affair is now settled, it is useless to return to it.

With regard to sections the following general remarks apply:

(a) According to Art. 7 of the Rules,[d] sections that wish to be independent can apply directly to the General Council for admission (*'no independent local society shall be precluded from directly corresponding with the General Council'*). II: Arts 4 and 5 of the Regulations: *'Every new branch or society'* (this refers to *'independent local societies') 'intending to join the International is bound immediately to announce its adhesion to the General Council!'* (II: Art. 4) and *'The General Council has the right to admit or to refuse the affiliation of any new branch etc.'* (II: Art. 5).

(b) According to Art. 5 of the Regulations,[e] however, the GENERAL COUNCIL has to consult the FEDERAL COUNCILS or COMMITTEES beforehand regarding admission, etc., and

(c) according to the decision of the Conference (see V: Art. 3 of the Regulations), no section will be admitted any more from the outset that takes a sectarian name, etc., or (V: Art. 2) does not constitute itself simply as a Section of the International Working Men's Association.

Kindly communicate this letter to the German Section you

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[a] Gaspard Blanc - [b] J. G. Eccarius - [c] See this volume, p. 381. - [d] K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - [e] in Section II

represent, and make use of its contents for action but not for publication.

*Salut et fraternité,*

Karl Marx

*Capital* has not been published in English or French as yet. A French edition was being worked on but was discontinued as a result of the events.[147]

Eccarius has been appointed, at my request, secretary for *all* sections in the UNITED STATES (with the exception of the French, for which Le Moussu is secretary). Nevertheless I shall be glad to answer any private questions that you or Sorge may address to me. Engels has sent the *Irish Republic* article on the International to Italy for publication there.

In future, issues of *The Eastern Post* containing reports on the General Council's meetings will be sent to New York regularly, addressed to Sorge.

*N.B. ad*[a] *POLITICAL MOVEMENT*: The POLITICAL MOVEMENT of the working class naturally has as its final object the conquest of POLITICAL POWER for this class, and this requires, of course, a PREVIOUS ORGANISATION of the WORKING CLASS developed up to a certain point, which arises from the economic struggles themselves.

But on the other hand, every movement in which the working class comes out as a *class* against the ruling classes and tries to coerce them by PRESSURE FROM WITHOUT is a POLITICAL MOVEMENT. For instance, the attempt in a particular factory, or even in a particular trade, to force a shorter working day out of the individual capitalists by STRIKES, etc., is a purely economic movement. The movement to force through an eight-hour *law*, etc., however, is a *political* movement. And in this way, out of the separate economic movements of the workers there grows up everywhere a *political* movement, that is to say a movement of the *class*, with the object of achieving its interests in a general form, in a form possessing general, socially binding force. Though these movements presuppose a certain degree of PREVIOUS organisation, they are in turn equally a means of developing this organisation.

Where the working class is not yet far enough advanced in its organisation to undertake a decisive campaign against the collective power, i.e. the political power, of the ruling classes, it must at any rate be trained for this by continual agitation against, and a hostile attitude towards, the policies of the ruling classes. Otherwise

[a] as to

it remains a plaything in their hands, as the September revolution in France showed, and as is also proved to a certain degree by the game that Messrs Gladstone et Co. still succeed in playing in England up to the present time.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

## 166

## ENGELS TO CARMELO PALLADINO

### IN NAPLES

[Draft] London, 23 November 1871

Citizen Palladino,

I have just received your letter of the 13th and thank you for the Report on the History of the Naples Section,[363] which I shall submit to the General Council at its next meeting. Whatever decisions the Council may arrive at in regard to the publicity to be given to the contents of that memoir, the necessary discretion will always be observed.

I am sorry you think yourself duty-bound to tell me that you in no way accept the resolutions of the last Conference.[265] Since it is evident from your letter that an organised section of the International no longer exists in Naples, I can only assume that the above declaration expresses your individual opinion and not that of the Naples Section, now forcibly dissolved. Being anxious, however, to avoid misunderstandings, I am answering your objections in detail.

(1) You are not satisfied

'with the way in which the said Conference was convened, which certainly did not conform to the regulations laid down by our General Rules'.[a]

To that accusation there are two rejoinders:

[a] Here and below Engels quotes in Italian.

(a) It is indeed true that our General Rules make no provision for Conferences, but only for Congresses; they were drafted in the somewhat naïve belief that governments would leave us to our own devices.[a] Since the governments made it impossible for us to convene a Congress in 1870, the sections, having been directly consulted, confirmed and extended the powers of the General Council, and empowered it to decide upon the time and place at which the next Congress should meet.[242] In 1871 the governments made the meeting of a Congress even more impracticable.[b]

We have proof of this, should you doubt it. But you will not; 'the Naples Section of the International no longer being able to meet' after 20 August 1871,[364] it could not elect a delegate to the Congress. And the same goes for France, Germany and Austria; the Federal Council in Spain was forced to take refuge in Portugal! So what could we do? There remained the precedent of 1865 when, for various reasons, the semi-public Congress was replaced by a private Conference held in London, the convening and actions of which were ratified by the next Congress.[365] You might tell me that such precedents are authoritarian and bourgeois survivals unworthy of the true revolutionaries of the proletariat, to which I should reply that the General Rules, Administrative Regulations, resolutions passed by the Congresses, etc., etc., belong in the same category, but that unfortunately no association, however revolutionary, can do without such things. So, the General Council, on its own responsibility, suggested to the sections that the impracticable Congress be temporarily replaced by a practicable Conference, practicable because the delegates would not be known to governments. The sections gave their assent, none protested, and the Council is prepared to answer to the future Congress for its action.

(b) As for the actual convening of the Conference, it was completely in order. All the Federations, all the individual sections in regular communication with the General Council, were notified in good time.

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[a] The following passage is crossed out in the original here: 'But you are a lawyer, as far as I know, and so you should know that in every society written laws coexist with rules laid down by practice.' - [b] Crossed out in the original: 'In France, the Association was disbanded; in Spain, Italy, Germany, Austria and Hungary it was harassed by persecutions which totally disorganised it. The only countries where the Internationals could at least gather openly were America, England, Belgium and Switzerland. And even in Belgium a law against the International was promulgated. The election of delegates to a Congress which, in keeping with the Rules, would be expected to hold public sessions alongside administrative sittings became impossible.'

(c) Furthermore, if any observations on the legality or the method of convening the Conference were to be made, this should have been done before or during the Conference. *None* were made.

(2) You complain of the 'small number of delegates'. For that, the General Council is not to blame. Nonetheless, Belgium, Spain, Holland, England, Germany, Switzerland and Russia were directly represented. As to France, it was represented by practically all the members of the Paris Commune then in London, and I hardly suppose you would dispute the validity of their mandate. If Italy did not send delegates, you must look to your government.[a]

(3) You say that these delegates 'have arrogated to themselves the rights peculiar to a General Congress'. This runs completely counter to the facts. The resolutions of the Conference in no way affect the tenor of the Rules.[b] Some merely reaffirm the resolutions of previous Congresses, hardly if at all familiar to sections and members of recent date. Others are of a purely administrative nature. Far from lying outside the competence of a Conference, neither the former nor the latter go beyond even that of the General Council.

(4) You then go on to object to the

> 'very tenor of such resolutions which appear to you to be in direct opposition to the principles of our Association as laid down in our General Rules'.

With this I totally disagree and look to you to provide the proof. The founders of the International, those who drafted the Rules and the resolutions of our Association's Congresses, were very well represented at the Conference, and you will forgive me if, in the first instance, I lend credence to their interpretation of those Rules and to the interpretation given by successive Congresses ever since. Pray do not forget that the International has its own history and that history—of which it has every reason to be proud—is the best commentary on the Rules; that the International in no way intends to renege that glorious history and that, at this moment, the spontaneous movement of the proletarian masses in favour of our Association—a movement that is more marked and more enthusiastic in Italy than anywhere else—is the most striking ratification, not only of the letter of the Rules, but also of the whole of that history. Whatever your fears in regard to

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[a] Crossed out in the original: 'and it is high time you offered effective opposition to it.' - [b] Crossed out in the original: 'They are of a purely administrative nature; the General Council had the right to adopt them itself had it wished to do so.'

the great responsibility the General Council has taken upon itself, that Council will remain ever loyal to the flag entrusted to its care seven years ago by the faith of the working men of the civilised world. It will respect individual opinions, it is prepared to transfer its powers to the hands of its mandators, but as long as it is charged with the supreme direction of the Association, it will see to it that nothing is done to vitiate the character of the movement which has made the International what it now is, and will abide by the resolutions of the Conference until such time as a Congress has decided otherwise.

In accordance with Resolution X of the Conference[a] there can be no objection to the reconstitution of the disbanded Naples Section under the name of *Federazione Operaia Napolitana*, or under any other name whatsoever.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

## 167

## MARX TO CÉSAR DE PAEPE[137]

### IN BRUSSELS

London, 24 November 1871

My dear Friend,

I would have written to you long since had my time been my own. For the past four weeks I have been confined to the house, having had abscesses, operations, etc., *secundum legem artis*.[b] Nevertheless, what with the business of the *International* on the one hand and the refugees on the other, I have not even got round to rewriting the first chapter of *Capital* for the Russian

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. X: General Resolution as to the Countries where the Regular Organisation of the International is Interfered with by the Governments. - [b] in accordance with the rules of the art

translation.[218] Since our friends in St Petersburg were becoming ever more pressing, I was forced to leave the chapter as it stands and make no more than a few minor alterations.[a] As I told you in London, I have often asked myself if the time has not come to resign from the General Council. The more the society develops, the more my time is taken up and I must, after all, finally have done with *Das Kapital*. Moreover, my resignation would rid the International of the threat of *Pan-Germanism*, a threat, or so say Messrs Rouillier, Malon, Bakunin, Robin & Co., represented by myself.[b]

I have spoken to my doctor about your case. He tells me:

1. If you are to set up in London as an *English doctor*, it would not be sufficient to pass the examinations over here. You would be obliged to do at least two years of study in a London hospital (or at university). They would take into account Belgian courses in some branches of the science but not all.

2. On the other hand, you can set up here as a doctor with your Belgian qualifications without passing further examinations and without attending any English courses. There are French and German doctors here who practise in this way. True, there are certain fields, not many of them (forensic medicine, for example), in which you would be precluded from working, but that is a minor matter.

3. Lastly you could—as many foreigners have done before you—combine the two methods, namely start practising straight away and at the same time take the necessary steps to transform yourself later into an *English* doctor and ultimately become *the physician of Her Most Gracious Majesty.*

So you can see, my dear friend, that there are many roads that lead to Rome. *Drop me a few lines about this subject.*

The conduct of the Belgian Federal Council vis-à-vis the General Council strikes me as suspect. Mr Hins and his wife—I am speaking frankly—are Bakuninists and Mr Steens has doubtless discovered that his eloquence is insufficiently admired. In Geneva it is even being said, as Utin wrote and told me (he doesn't believe it, needless to say), that you have sided with the Alliancists who are in league with André Léo, Malon, Razoua, etc.

This essentially insignificant business could have unpleasant consequences. England, the United States, Germany, Denmark, Holland, Austria, most of the French groups, the northern

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[a] See this volume, pp. 239-40. - [b] Ibid., p. 256.

Italians, Sicily and Rome, the vast majority of the Romance Swiss, all the German Swiss and the Russians in Russia (as distinct from certain Russians abroad linked with Bakunin) are marching in step with the General Council.

On the other hand, there will be the Jura Federation in Switzerland (in other words the men of the Alliance who hide behind this name), Naples, possibly Spain, part of Belgium and certain groups of French refugees (who, by the by, to judge by the correspondence we have had from France, would not appear to exert any serious influence there), and these will form the opposing camp. Such a split, in itself no great danger, would be highly inopportune at a time when we must march shoulder to shoulder against the common foe. Our adversaries harbour no illusions whatever about their weakness, but they count on acquiring much moral support from the accession of the Belgian Federal Council.

Every day people keep asking me for the *Anti-Proudhon*.[a] I could carry out some degree of propaganda amongst the best minds in the French emigration were I to have the few copies of my piece against Proudhon you were kind enough to promise me.

Fraternal greetings,

Karl Marx

Your friend Léonard the painter is not having much luck over here, I am sorry to say. My family went to see his pictures yesterday. I have not seen any of them so far because *the fog is atrocious so that I have not yet been permitted to leave my room*.

First published in *L'Actualité de l'histoire*, No. 25, Paris, 1958

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Translated from the French

[a] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the 'Philosophy of Poverty' by M. Proudhon.*

# 168

## MARX TO LAURA AND PAUL LAFARGUE[366]

### IN SAN SEBASTIAN

London, 24[-25] November 1871

*My dear Laura and Toole,[a]

What with the International business, what with the* visits from members of the Commune, *I have not found the time to write. How my time is encroached upon, you may judge from one case. At Petersburg they have been translating *Das Kapital* into Russian, but they had reserved the first chapter because I had asked them to do so, since I intended to re-write it in a more popular manner. Since the events of Paris I was continually prevented from fulfilling my promise and was at last compelled to limit myself to a few alterations, in order not to stop the progress of the publication altogether.*[218]

As for the calumnies against Toole, *it is all moonshine*, a canard put about by the French branch No. 2. Serraillier, the secretary for France, *wrote immediately to Bordeaux. The six sections there existing have answered by a vote of absolute confidence in the illustrious Toole.

As to the scandals that have taken place at London and Geneva, I must begin from the beginning.

Amongst other French refugees we had admitted to the General Council Theisz, Chalain and Bastelica. The latter was hardly admitted when he proposed Avrial and Camélinat, but* *est modus in rebus*[b] *and we found that there were now enough* Proudhonists *in our ranks. On different pretexts the election of these two worthies was therefore delayed until the Conference, and dropped after the Conference, the latter having passed a Resolution inviting us not to admit too many refugees.[c] Hence* the great rage of citizens Avrial and Camélinat.

*On the Congress itself the Resolution on the political action of the working class was violently opposed by the Bakuninists—Robin, the Spaniard Lorenzo and the* Corsican Bastelica. *The

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[a] Paul Lafargue's jocular nickname - [b] there's measure in everything (Horace, *Satirae*, Book 1, Satire 1) - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. I: Composition of General Council.

latter, an empty-headed and very pretentious fellow, got the worse of it and was rather roughly handled. His main quality*—i.e. his *amour-propre*—*got him into steam*.

There was a further incident.

*On the affair of the* 'Alliance of Socialist Democracy'[10] *and the* dispute in Romance Switzerland, *the Conference appointed a* committee *(of which I was a member) and which met in my house.[367] Outine on the one side, Bastelica and Robin on the other, were summoned as witnesses. Robin behaved in the most shabby and cowardly manner.* After having had his say (at the beginning of the meeting) he declared that he must leave and rose, intending to go. Outine told him that he must stay, that the investigation was going to be a serious one and that he would not like to discuss him in his absence. Robin, in an admirable series of tactical moves, approached the door. Outine apostrophised him violently, saying that he would have to accuse him of being the mainspring of the Alliance's intrigues. *Meanwhile, to secure a safe retreat,* the great Robin had partly opened the door and, like a true Parthian,[368] delivered a parting shot at Outine with the words: 'Then I despise you.'

On 19 September, with Delahaye for intermediary, he communicated the following epistle to the Conference:

'Called upon as a witness in the matter of the Swiss dispute, before the committee nominated to examine it, I put in an appearance in the hope of contributing to an appeasement.

'Having been directly impugned, I state categorically that I do not accept the role of accused and will refrain from attending those meetings of the Conference at which the Swiss question is to be discussed.

*'19 September 1871.*

*'P. Robin.'*

Several members of the Conference, amongst whom De Paepe, demanded that the fellow be expelled forthwith from the General Council but on my advice it was resolved that he be asked to withdraw his letter and that, in case of refusal, the matter be left in the hands of the General Council. Since Robin obstinately persisted in standing by his letter, he was eventually expelled from the Council.

*Meanwhile, he had addressed to myself the following* *billet doux* of 28 September.

'Citizen Marx,

'I have been under great personal obligations to you, nor have these been a burden to me so long as I believed that nothing could change my respectful

feelings of friendship towards you. Today, being unable to subordinate my gratitude to my conscience, and sorry though I am to break with you, I believe I owe you the following statement.

'I am convinced that, yielding to personal animosity, you have uttered or supported unjust accusations against the objects of that animosity, members of the International, whose sole crime is not to share the same.

'*P. Robin*.'

*I did not think it worth my while to answer to* R. R. R.—Robin the sheep. (He was already known by that name to Rabelais, who specifically includes him in Panurge's flock.)[369] Let me now return to our other sheep.[370]

After the Conference, Avrial and Camélinat urged the formation of a French branch ('*London French Section of 1871*').[338] Collaborating therein were Theisz, Bastelica (who had already decided to go back to Switzerland and wished to create a prop for Bakunin in London before he left) and Chalain (a completely worthless wag). They published their own Rules in the paper *Qui Vive!*,[a] of which more anon. Those Rules were contrary to the General Rules. In particular, these gentry (there were 20 of them, amongst whom several informers; their secretary was the illustrious Durand, publicly branded an informer by the General Council and expelled from the International[361]) arrogated to themselves *the right* to nominate delegates to the General Council with imperative mandates, at the same time resolving that no one belonging to their section must accept nomination as a member of the General Council save when sent as delegate by the Section itself.

Even before their Rules had been confirmed by the General Council, they had the impudence to send as Council delegates Chautard (a cretin who, during the Commune, was the laughingstock of Paris) and Camélinat. They were politely invited to withdraw and await the confirmation of their Rules by the General Council. I was entrusted with a critique thereof. This first missive from the Council[b] to the new Section was still couched in conciliatory terms. All they were asked to do was to delete the articles contrary to the spirit and the letter of the General Rules and Regulations.

They were enraged. Avrial (in collaboration with Theisz and Camélinat) wrote a reply which cost him a fortnight's work *and

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[a] 'Association internationale des travailleurs. Section française à Londres de 1871. Statuts', *Qui Vive!*, No. 6, 8-9 October 1871. - [b] K. Marx, 'Resolution of the General Council on the Rules of the French Section of 1871'.

to which the last literary finish was given* by *Vermersch* (*Le Père Duchêne*).[a]

The said individual had wormed his way into their ranks because, with the aid of a few typographers (refugees), they had founded the paper *Qui Vive!*, under the provisional editorship of Le Verdet (a Schopenhauerian philosopher). Vermersch made much of them and stirred them up against the General Council in order to get hold of the paper—and *in this he succeeded.*

They sent Bastelica to Switzerland, whence they received *a proclamation of policy*: The General Council was under the yoke of *Pan-Germanism* (meaning me), authoritarian, etc. The prime duty of every citizen was to help bring about the fall of the said usurping Council, etc. All this emanated from Bakunin (acting through the Russian N. Zhukovsky, Secretary of the Alliance in Geneva,[b] Guillaume, etc.) whose clique (far from numerous in Switzerland by the by) had coalesced with Madame André Léo, Malon, Razoua and a small group of other French refugees[339] who were not satisfied with playing second fiddle or *no part whatever.*

Incidentally, all the idiots who had been members of the Federal Council in Paris, or who falsely made themselves out so to have been—such as, e.g., Rouillier, that brawler, braggart and drunken sot—had deluded themselves into thinking they would be admitted—as of right—as members of the General Council.

Theisz (who had been nominated *treasurer* of the General Council, and not secretary for France) and Bastelica handed in their resignations from the Council on the grounds of the article in their Rules prohibiting them from accepting nomination by the Council.

I eventually replied to the letter embellished by old man Vermersch, whose wit is far more Flemish than French. So crushing was this reply[c] and at the same time so ironic that they resolved not to continue their correspondence with the Council. Hence they were not recognised as a section of the International.

Old man Vermersch had become editor-in-chief of *Qui Vive!.* In No. 42 he printed a letter[371] signed by Chautard, *Chouteau* (already denounced as an informer by Rigault in *Patrie en danger*[372]), by *Landeck*—who had given his word to Mr Piétri (see

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[a] A. Avrial, 'Aux Citoyens membres du Conseil général de l'Internationale'. - [b] Secretary of the Geneva Section of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy - [c] K. Marx, 'Resolution of the General Council on the French Section of 1871'.

the last trial of the Internationalists in Paris) that he would withdraw from the *International* and from politics[a]—*and [by] similar riff-raff* in which they denounce the Resolution of the Conference which declares that the German working men (who demonstrated against the annexation of French provinces and, later, *for* the Commune, and many of whom are at this very moment suffering persecution at the hands of Bismarck) have done their duty,[b] and adduce this as flagrant proof of 'pan-Germanism'!

This was rather too much for those zanies Theisz, Camélinat and Avrial. They refused to put their signatures to it. As members of the administrative council of *Qui Vive!*, they also fell out with Vermersch over an immoral novel he had published in the feuilleton.[c] Vermersch, who had no further use for these gentry, proceeded, without naming names, to attack them in *Qui Vive!*. His nauseating articles have also led to quarrels with other refugees, and I believe that he yesterday had his face slapped by Sicard.[373] Now they are determined to relieve him of his editorship. We shall see! He is believed to be paid by Versailles to compromise the Communards. To cut the story short: in London the conspiracy has failed. The French branch No. 2 is in complete disarray (needless to say, it was pushed by Le Lubez, Bradlaugh, Besson, etc.). Another and far larger French section has been formed which is in agreement with the General Council.[359]

In place of those who have resigned, we have nominated as members of the Council Ant. Arnaud, F. Cournet and G. Ranvier.

In Geneva the 'Alliance', with André Léo, Malon, etc., is publishing a little journal *La Révolution sociale* (edited by one Claris) in which they openly attack the General Council and the Conference. Pan-Germanism (German and Bismarckian intellects), authoritarian, etc., etc. The 'Jura Federation' (still the same old bunch, but under another name) has held a tiny little Congress at Sonvilliers (Bernese Jura) at which it was resolved that all the sections of the *International* be invited to join the Jura Federation in order to bring about the meeting, at the earliest opportunity, of a special Congress at which the conduct of the Council should be reviewed and the resolutions of the Conference annulled as being

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[a] *Troisième procès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs à Paris*, Paris, 1870, p. 4. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. XIII: Special Votes of the Conference. - [c] This refers to *Alexis Berneville*, the first novel in the series *L'Infamie humaine*, which was printed anonymously in the *Qui Vive!* in November-December 1871.

contrary to the principle of autonomy which those resolutions 'openly infringe'.[374] In particular, they protest against Resolutions II, 2, 3, IX (*Political action by the working class*), XVI and XVII.[356] They have not ventured to mention Resolution XIV, which is especially distasteful to Bakunin because it would reveal to the whole of Europe the turpitudes for which he was responsible in Russia.[a]

The attitude of the Federal Council in Madrid (manipulated by Bakunin and Bastelica) is highly suspect. Since Lorenzo's departure Engels has received no reply whatever to his many letters. They are imbued with the doctrine of abstention in politics. Engels has written and told them today that, if they persist in their silence, steps will be taken.[b] In any case Toole MUST ACT. I shall send him English and French copies of the new edition, revised and enlarged, of the Rules and Regulations.[309]

Our adversaries are indeed unfortunate. As I have already said, the first secretary of the dissident Section in London was G. Durand whom we unmasked as an agent of Versailles. The Bakuninists Blanc and Albert Richard (of Lyons) sold themselves to Bonaparte. They were over here to enrol members under his banner since—Bonaparte is worth more than Thiers!

Finally, the Béziers correspondent[c] of the hostile refugees in Geneva—virtually their only French correspondent—has been denounced to us by the Béziers section as a police agent (he is secretary to the superintendent of police)![362]

I trust I shall soon have good news of the state of health of my beloved Schnaps[d] and of the whole family.

Old Nick[e]

As regards Theisz, he has lost all influence in Paris because of the praises meted out to him and to old man Beslay by the Versailles papers.

*Bastelica is the chief of Bakunin's lickspittles.*

I should also remark that the attacks upon us by the *Révolution sociale* of Geneva are couched in more or less the same terms as those in the *Journal de Genève* (the most reactionary newspaper in

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. XIV: Instructions to Citizen Outine. - [b] F. Engels, 'To the Federal Council of the Spanish Region in Madrid'. - [c] Abel Bousquet - [d] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [e] Marx's family nickname

Europe) and in *The Times*, which I am sending you. The newspaper mentioned in *The Times* is the *Journal de Genève*.

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Translated from the French. English passages reproduced from the original

## 169

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[375]

### IN SAN SEBASTIAN

[London, 25 November 1871]

My dear Toole,[a]

Thank you for your letter of which I made good use on the Council. My ultimatum to the Federal Council in Madrid[b] goes off today, *by registered mail*; I tell them that, if they persist in their silence, *debuemos proceder como nos la dictará el interés de la Internacional*.[c] If they fail to reply, or do so in an unsatisfactory manner, we shall at once appoint you plenipotentiary for the whole of Spain. In the meantime, our Rules confer on you, as on any other member, the right to form new sections. It is important that, in the event of a split, we should continue to have a *pied-à-terre* in Spain, even if the whole of the present organisation were to go over, lock, stock and barrel, to the Bakuninist camp; and you will be the only person we shall then be able to count upon. So do what you can to resume communications everywhere with the men who might be of use to us in such an event. These Bakuninists are absolutely determined to transform the International into an *abstentionist society*, but they are not going to succeed. *La Federación* of Barcelona and *La Emancipación* of Madrid arrive here only at very irregular intervals, so that I cannot know whether the intrigue has not already begun to betray its presence in these journals. But they have always preached abstention, which probably seems to them a question of far greater import than economic questions. So that's where they end up with their

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[a] Paul Lafargue's nickname - [b] F. Engels, 'To the Federal Council of the Spanish Region in Madrid'. - [c] We shall have to take such steps as the interests of the International dictate.

abstention from politics; *they themselves* turn politics into the most important factor!

Please convey my kind salutations to Laura, and give little Schnaps[a] a kiss from me.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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Translated from the French

## 170

## MARX TO JULIUSZ BAŁASZEWICZ-POTOCKI[376]

IN LONDON

London, 25 November 1871
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Dear Sir,

I send you together with these lines 4 copies of the *Statutes and Regulations*[b] and some copies of the *Resolutions of the London Conference*.[c]

As to the *Statutes etc.* the *French* edition will be published in a few days. Please write me how many copies of that edition you want?

For all other communications relative to the *International*, please address them to General W. Wróblewski (22 Vincent Terrace, Islington), who is the Secretary for Poland of the General Council.

Yours faithfully,
Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Krasny Arkhiv*, No. 6, Moscow, 1924

Reproduced from the original

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[a] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [b] K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'.

## 171

## MARX TO JULIUSZ BAŁASZEWICZ-POTOCKI[376]

IN LONDON

[London,] 29 November 1871
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Dear Sir,

The French edition of the *General Statutes and Rules* will only be ready in a few days when I shall send you some copies.

I shall be glad to see you at my house after 6 o'clock in the evening.

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Krasny Arkhiv*, No. 6, Moscow, 1924

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## 172

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[377]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 29 November 1871

My dear Sorge,

I hope you have at last received at New York the Resolutions of the Conference and the different letters I sent you.[a] I send together with this letter the 3 last *Eastern Post* reports on the sittings of the General Council. They contain, of course, only what is meant for public use.

In regard to financial matters I have only to remark:

1) the New York Committee[151] has nothing to pay but 2d per piece for the pamphlets on the *Civil War* it has received. It will

[a] See this volume, p. 241.

pay ld per piece for the *Statutes and Regulations à fur et mesure* that they are sold. But you ought to write us how many French and German editions of the Statutes etc. you are in want of. Besides what you want immediately, you will perhaps find useful to have a certain stock in reserve.

2) With regard to the money sent us for the refugees, the General Council wants an express written declaration that the General Council alone is responsible for its distribution amongst the French refugees, and that the so-called '*Society* of French refugees at London'[378] has no right of control over the Council.

This is necessary, because, although the mass of the above-named society are honest people, the committee at their head are *ruffians*, so that a great part—and the most meritorious part of the refugees—does not want to have anything to do with the 'Society' but to be relieved directly by the Council. We, therefore, give a weekly sum for distribution to the Society, and distribute another sum directly.

It is the above said ruffians who have spread the most atrocious calumnies against the General Council without whose aid (and many of its members have not only given their time, but paid out of their own purse) the French refugees would have '*crevé de faim*'[a].

I come now to the question of MacDonnell.[379]

Before admitting him, the Council instituted a most searching inquiry as to his integrity, he, like *all* other Irish politicians, being much calumniated by his own country-men.

The Council—after most incontrovertible evidence on his private character—chose him because the *mass of the Irish workmen in England* have more confidence in him than in *any other person.* He is a man quite superior to religious prejudices and as to his general views, it is absurd to say that he has any 'bourgeois' predilections. He is a proletarian, by his circumstances of life and by his ideas.

If any accusation is to be brought forward against him, let it be done in exact terms, and not by vague insinuation. My opinion is that the Irishmen, removed for long time by imprisonment, are not competent judges. The best proof is—their relations with *The Irishman* whose editor, Pigott, is a mere speculator, and whose manager, Murphy, is a ruffian. That paper—despite the exertions of the General Council for the Irish cause—has always intrigued against us. MacDonnel was constantly attacked in that paper by an

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[a] starved to death

Irishman (O'Donnell) connected with Campbell (an officer of the London *Police*) and an habitual drunkard who for a glass of gin will tell the first constable all the secrets he may have to dispose of.

After the nomination of MacDonnell, Murphy attacked and calumniated the *International* (not only MacDonnell) in *The Irishman*, and, *at the same time*, secretly, asked us to nominate him secretary for Ireland.

As to O'Donovan Rossa, I wonder that you quote him still as an authority after what you have written me about him. If any man was obliged, personally, to the *International* and the French Communards, it was he, and you have seen what thanks we have received at his hands.

Let the Irish members of the New York Committee not forget that to be useful to them, we want above all *influence on the Irish in England*, and that for that purpose there exists, as far as we have been able to ascertain, no better man than MacDonnell.

Yours fraternally,
Karl Marx

Train has never received credentials on the part of the General Council.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Reproduced from the original

## 173

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN PARIS

London, 29 November 1871

My dear Sidorov,[a]

I have had your last two letters[380] and if I have been unable to reply sooner, you must lay it at the door of that молодецъ of

[a] Lavrov's pseudonym used by Engels in their correspondence.

Бакунинъ's,[a] whose intrigues have been causing us no end of labour. Things are approaching a crisis and open warfare will shortly break out in the press. A clean split is in the offing. In short the matter will be decided before long. I shall not attempt to give you the details—it would take too long and they are too boring. What with all this tomfoolery to contend with, it need hardly be said that neither Johnson[b] nor I have had any time for work.

Thank you for your further disbursements on my behalf in the matter of the *Gazette des Tribuneaux*.

As to Вробл.[c] we have been informed by Розвадовский,[d] who left his first position, but found another one a few days later.[e] We have done all we could but, considering the man's obstinate character and ferocious pride, we have had to be very tactful. However we think we have succeeded to the point where at least he will not lack for necessities. You see, he refuses all medical help and it will be even more difficult to overcome this prejudice.

Johnson is suffering from a slight attack of bronchitis and from one or two *furunculi* that are more troublesome than serious. Yesterday he attended the Council for the first time in a month. Apart from that he is tolerably well. The abominable weather we have been having here has given everyone colds.

As to the intrigues over here, they dwindle in importance day by day. The few honest men, who allowed themselves to be carried away, have withdrawn and left the field open for the out and out riff-raff about whom there is no need to bother one's head.[f] It is worse in Switzerland, since Малонъ,[g] etc., have fallen into the trap over there, some through spinelessness, others through vanity. So much the worse for them—the world can't stop turning because of their blunders!

Yours ever,
F. E.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Herbert Spencer | *Psychology*[h] | 16/- |
| Do | *First Principles* | 16/- |
| Bain | *Mental and Moral Science* | 10/6 |
| Do | *Logic*, 2 parts | 10/6 |
| Do | *Senses and Intellect* | 15/- |

[a] Bakunin's fine fellow. Engels probably means Bastelica. - [b] Marx - [c] (Russ. abbr.) Wróblewski - [d] Rozwadowski (written in Cyrillic in the original) - [e] See this volume, pp. 175 and 200. - [f] Ibid., p. 223. - [g] Malon (written in Cyrillic in the original) - [h] H. Spencer, *The Principles of Psychology*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Do | *Emotions and the Will* | 15/- |
| Do | *Study of Character with an Estimate of Phrenology* | 9/- |

20% discount on the above prices.
All the titles under Bain indicate individual works.

First published, without the postscript, in the language of the original (French) in *Na boyevom postu* (On Guard), Moscow, 1930 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 33, Moscow, 1964

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Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

## 174

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[381]

### IN SAN SEBASTIAN

London, 9 December 1871
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith a line or two on matters in Spain. There must have been internal struggles within the Spanish International, struggles that were finally decided in our favour. That, in my view, explains their continued silence and the resolution finally taken to break it. I had written to Mora on the 25th,[45] on the 28th Mesa wrote to you[382] and on the 29th Mora wrote me a letter saying they knew nothing about the calumnies and intrigues against the General Council I had mentioned to him, etc. However, the first of the two issues of *La Federación* that subsequently reached us carried the resolutions passed at the Conference,[a] and the second an article on resolution No. IX reprinted from the *Emancipación*, and with this we have every reason to be satisfied.[383] Mesa's letter is even more explicit. In Spain, then, we have won our case. I replied to Mora immediately and trust that everything will go well from now on.

Come to that, the others had done their work well and, as usual,

[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'.

had had recourse to some pretty vile methods. *La Révolution sociale* of 23 November published an article which had appeared in the Barcelona *Federación* of 19 November to the effect that the emissary of the Swiss dissidents, etc., had arrived down there and that the Barcelona sections, having satisfied themselves of the revolutionary character of the dissidents' principles, etc., had accepted the offer of alliance made by these people. We have looked through the relevant issue of *La Federación* but cannot find the article. The issue of 3 December provides the explanation: it says that the article did not reflect the opinion of the sections or even of one section, but only that of *one solitary editor* of the paper, who had slipped it in behind the backs of the editorial committee!

The victory won in Spain has much reduced the field of conflict. There remain only the French branch, which is not recognised here (15 members),[338] the Geneva branch, the Jurassians, who are avowed adversaries, and the Italians, whose attitude is doubtful. But I have been working hard at Italy and we have now begun to shift the battleground; from private intrigue and correspondence we are moving into the public arena. Mazzini has given us an excellent opportunity, for in an article in his paper he has made the International responsible for Bakunin's words and deeds. So here was a chance to attack Mazzini and disavow Bakunin at one and the same time. I did so forthwith and sent the article to all our Italian journals.[384] Some at least will publish it, but others are, I fear, too much hand-in-glove with Bakunin to do so. But with this article I have advised all of them of the adherence of the Spaniards to the Conference and of the progress of the International in Spain reported by Mesa. That will have an effect; they will see that the others have been telling them nothing but lies about Spain. In fact their policy was to win Spain over by telling her that Italy was unanimously on their side and *vice versa*. We may still have a few unpleasantnesses in Italy, but the decision of the Spaniards to come over to our side will decide the matter—*UPON THE WHOLE*—all along the line. As to the *CANTANKEROUS* Jurassians, we shall go for them in the very near future.[385]

I shall be much relieved when all this business has been settled once and for all. You wouldn't believe how much work, correspondence, etc., all this has caused us. For weeks past Moor, Serraillier and I have been unable to turn to anything else. And I, poor devil, have had to write long letters, one after the other, in Italian and Spanish, two languages I scarcely know!

In France we are doing famously. Twenty-six journals have offered to publish our documents.

It is devilish cold here and you should be glad to be spending the winter in a warm climate. Otherwise we are keeping well, likewise the Marx family. Compared with their condition last winter, Moor's health, as also Jenny's,[a] has greatly improved. Moor is no longer coughing so much; he has had a small abscess below the shoulder but the carbunculosis has cleared up and not returned. His liver will never revert to a normal condition at his age, but is working a good deal better than before, and Moor, and this is the main thing, is leading a more sensible existence. Jenny, after the repeated attacks of pleurisy she has been through, will probably suffer permanently from mild emphysema, but she is beginning to understand that she must cosset herself a little and not try to harden herself, in good time, as she used to say, to the cold and the bad weather. She is singing again and her voice is stronger and clearer than ever before.

I learned with great pleasure of the recovery of little Schnaps.[b] Give him a kiss from me—likewise one for your wife.[c]

Yours ever,

F. E.

*General*[d]

First published in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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Translated from the French

## 175

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN LEIPZIG

London, 15 December 1871

Dear Liebknecht,

About Schneider, the necessary steps will be taken at the local German Workers' Society[135] next Monday.[e] Unfortunately too many of Schweitzer's followers have been allowed in, and if we did not have Frankel, the whole Society would have fallen into their hands of late. (The issues of the *Social-Demokrat* have *just this moment* arrived.[386]) How Frankel can *object*, as you demand, to his

[a] Marx's daughter - [b] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [c] Laura Lafargue - [d] Engels' nickname - [e] 18 December

old letter being reprinted, is not clear to me.[387] He certainly regrets the first half of the letter; but as for the second half, with its criticism of your erstwhile bourgeois-democratic inclinations, it says no more than what we too wrote to you at the time.—At all events, the other author in the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* must be Weber.

Against Schneider: 1. It goes without saying that the Conference[a] delegates *were* elected. To answer his other stupid questions would be absurd. 2. The 15-strong French contingent consists of 1 *Commune member, Chalain*; a number of drunkards; the same B. Landeck who declared in the course of the International trial in Paris that he had indeed belonged to the International, but would *never do so again*; 3 people who do not belong to the International at all (but only to this newly formed French Section in London, which has never been recognised[338])—and the whole fuss stems from the fact that since their rules contravene the Rules, no one has been willing to grant them recognition as the local French Section. Theisz and Avrial, the only decent people in the Section, have *not* signed this proclamation, and are now trying to make overtures to us once more! In contrast, in the General Council there are now 8 Commune members (Serraillier, Frankel, Vaillant, Cournet, Ranvier, Arnaud, Johannard, Longuet), and we have a French Section 50 men strong here, which includes the most decent of the refugees in its numbers.[359] Rouillier is not a Commune member but a loud-mouthed, drink-sodden cobbler. And these 15 men are described by the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* as 'the well-known French leaders'!

What the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* says about the English Federal Council and Dilke has been taken from an *intentionally distorted* report in the *bourgeois* press (*The Daily News*, etc.) and is false.[388]

The *Neuer Social-Demokrat*'s report from Denmark proves that they have *absolutely no* contact with *people there*.[389] However, it would be a good idea for you to write to H. Brix, the editor of the *Socialisten* in Copenhagen, or to his deputy, L. Pio, offering them correspondents' reports from Germany if they are willing in return to send you reports in German or English from Denmark. They do understand English. And anyway, you can learn enough Danish in a fortnight to understand the *Socialisten*; the Tauchnitz dictionary will suffice. The language has no grammar whatever. Address: *Editorial board of 'Socialisten', Copenhagen.*

Incidentally, the *Qui Vive! suffocated* in its own filth a week ago.

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[a] the London Conference of 1871

Even if Vermersch, its editor, was not a *mouchard*,[a] his way of writing at least suited the French police to a tee. The paper was finally offered to us,[351] but we wanted nothing to do with such an inheritance, and so it died.

*Boruttau.* The letter returned herewith[390] shows even more clearly than the previous one that the ass really is entangled *right up to his eyes* in Bakunin's web. When he objects to our disavowal of the Alliance, or calls for compulsory atheism for all members of the International, is that Bakuninism or not? And when he expresses his partial approval of people's complaints on matters of which he knows nothing—every word he writes about the Conference is false—is that Bakuninism or not? And you would like to play *him* off against them? He may be 'honest', but when it comes to those honest dolts with their vast, silent expectations, I would much rather have their enmity than their friendship. The muddled blockhead will not receive a single line *from us* here.[b] The events in Geneva[391] will either have opened his eyes, or else pushed him entirely into the ranks of the Bakuninists, where he belongs. Why don't you get him to send you the *Révolution sociale*, especially Nos. 5, 6 and 7? I presume that you read the *Égalité*; that is absolutely essential to keep yourself *au courant*.

You cannot understand why *all* the Geneva Communards should be against us. This problem, which has no interest at all for me, you can easily solve for yourself by thinking back to the behaviour of the various refugee associations of '49 and '50 where groupings were often determined by the sheer chance of being thrown together. *All* the Geneva Communards are confined to 3 men: Malon, Lefrançais and Ostyn; the rest are people without any name at all.

When you say that the non-representation of Germany at the Conference was the fault of Marx's mystery-mongering, we have to reply that this is not the case. Marx merely wrote to say that the *police* should learn nothing of it. Is it not possible for you to inform your own committee or *other local* groups about the Conference, without its coming to the ears of the police? That would be a fine piece of 'organisation'! We did indeed want to hold the Conference *privatim*, i.e. unbeknown to the continental police, but that does not mean that if you and Bebel could not attend, you should not have taken steps to ensure that others might come! Marx *emphatically rejects* this allegation.

In the context, *action souterranée*[c] means nothing more than

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[a] police informer - [b] See this volume, p. 248. - [c] underground activities

unobtrusive action and propaganda-making without forcing oneself on the general public,[392] in contrast to French loud-mouths *à la* Pyat who called for a daily dose of murder announcements and against whom measures have been taken.[393]

In *Spain* we are in the clear, we have gained a resounding victory. The relevant Conference resolution has been *recognised* (you can find the *Emancipación* article on it in the *Égalité*[385]) and even the business of abstaining from elections, on which they still insist for the moment, is about to crumble. Incidentally, this abstentionist ploy is just confined to the few Bakuninists and the remnants of the Proudhonists (we are rid of the majority) and has suffered a severe defeat this time. The matter is settled as far as Spain is concerned.

It was about the *English* company swindle that I wrote to you.[a] I know nothing of *German* ones. Have you any material on this? Without that nothing can be done.[394]

Your view that the German Internationalists do not need to pay dues, and that, in general, it is a matter of complete indifference whether the International has few members in Germany or many, is the exact opposite of ours. If you have not asked for the contributions of 1 silver groschen per person per annum, or if you have used them up yourselves, you will have to come up with your own justification. How you can imagine that the other nations would bear your share of the costs, so that you might come amongst them '*in the Spirit*', like Jesus Christ, while saving your flesh and your money,—is something I quite fail to comprehend. At all events, this Platonic relationship has got to stop and the German workers must either be *in* the International or *out* of it. The French find themselves subjected to pressures of a completely different order, and we are better organised there *than ever*. If you personally treat the matter as being of no importance, we shall have to turn to others, but we shall clear the business up one way or the other, on that you may rely.

The French and English versions of the Rules take up *less than* 1 sheet of print,[b] [309] so that special supplement will probably not be necessary—should this not be the case, let us know how much the costs of typesetting, on the one hand, and the cost of the special supplement, on the other, come to, and we shall see what we can do.

Marx is working on the 2nd edition of *Capital*; I have my hands full with the Italian and Spanish correspondence and other

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[a] F. Engels, 'On the Company Swindle in England'. - [b] i.e. 16 pages

business. We shall have to see what time we can find to do the preface for the Manifesto.[a]

With best wishes from us all to you and yours.

Your
F. E.

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## 176

## MARX TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN SAN SEBASTIAN

[London,] 18 December 1871

My dear Laura,

In the first instance my best thanks for the offer of Toole.[b] [395] I accept it under two express conditions,

1) that if the enterprise fails, I have to pay the sum advanced with the usual interest upon it,

2) that Toole does not advance more than the 2,000 frs. The expression of the Editor that this is only wanted for the beginning seems to me *ominous*. At all events Toole must *stipulate* that his obligations refer only to this 'beginning'.

I prefer in every respect a *cheap popular* edition.

It is a fortunate combination that a *second German edition* has become necessary just now. I am fully occupied (and can therefore write only a few lines) in arranging it, and the French *translator* will of course have to translate the amended German edition.[396] (I shall forward him the old one with the changes inserted.) Möhmchen is just trying to find out the whereabouts of Keller.[147] She has written for that purpose to his sister. If he is not to be found (and in due time), the translator of Feuerbach would be the man.[c]

The Russian edition (after the first German edition) will appear January next in St Petersburg.[360]

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[a] See this volume, p. 135. - [b] Paul Lafargue's nickname - [c] Joseph Roy

Many kisses to you and Schnappy,[a] Happy New Year to Toole and all.

Kakadou's[b] old master

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Annali*, an. 1, Milan, 1958

Reproduced from the original

## 177

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[381]

### IN MADRID

London, 30 December 1871

My dear Friend,

Yesterday evening, when I was on the point of writing a pretty tart letter to the Spanish Council regarding the translation and publication of the Bakuninists' manifesto,[397] a letter arrived from you which gave me a great deal of pleasure. Although I am sorry that circumstances should have necessitated your going to Madrid, it is most fortunate that you should be there at the moment, for the coyness and silence of the Spanish Council are really such as to invite a somewhat unpleasant interpretation. Though I wrote to Mora 24 days ago,[c] I have had no reply, or rather, for all reply, the publication of the hostile manifesto; if it were not for your letters, what could we make of this?

I am sending you herewith the resolutions of the 30 sections in Geneva in case they have not come your way. Likewise the Romance Committee's reply to the Bakuninists and *I can only hope that the 'Emancipación' will provide its readers also with a translation of that excellent piece.*[398] In the same issue of *L'Égalité* you will find several other articles relating to this debate and to the meeting of the 30 sections. For the time being the Genevans' reply will suffice; needless to say, the General Council must at once take the matter in hand and will reply in a circular embracing all phases of the dispute from its inception[385]; as you can imagine, it will be lengthy and will take us some time. Meanwhile, what the Spaniards must be made to realise is [the following]:

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[a] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [b] Laura Lafargue's nickname - [c] F. Engels, 'To the Federal Council of the Spanish Region in Madrid'.

1) It is plainly apparent from the Sonvilliers circular what these gentry are after. The attack on the Conference[a] was no more than a pretext. What is now being attacked are the *Basle resolutions*[399] which, for the Association, have the *force of law* and which *have to be obeyed* by the General Council. This is an act of open rebellion and it is fortunate that these people should have shown their hand. But

2) who were the authors of those Basle resolutions? The General Council in London? Certainly not. They were put forward by the *Belgian* delegates (amongst them *Robin*! the Bakuninist) and they were most warmly supported by whom?—Bakunin, Guillaume, Schwitzguébel, etc., the very men, that is, who are attacking them today as having, by their authoritarian character, demoralised the General Council. Not that this has prevented Guillaume and Schwitzguébel from signing the self-same circular. We have witnesses over here and, unless Sentiñon and Farga Pellicer have been blinded by the spirit of sectarianism, they must surely remember this (if they were at the meeting, which I do not know). But then things were different. The Bakuninists believed that they were certain of a majority and that the General Council would be transferred to Geneva. It turned out otherwise, and resolutions which, had they been passed by a General Council of their choosing, would have been as revolutionary as might be, became all at once authoritarian and bourgeois!

3) The convening of the Conference was absolutely in order. The Jurassians, represented on the Council by Robin, who himself requested that the dispute be brought *before that Conference*, must have been notified of it by him since he was their regular correspondent. Jung, the secretary for Switzerland, could not continue to correspond officially with a committee which, flying in the face of a resolution passed by the General Council, continued to flaunt the title of Committee of the Romance Federation.[9] The said resolution of the General Council[b] was taken by virtue of the power delegated to it by the Administrative Resolution of Basle No. VIII (new edition of the Rules, etc., Administrative Regulations[c] II, Art. 7). All the other sections were officially notified, and through the usual channels.

Our friends in Spain will now realise the way in which these gentry misuse the word '*authoritarian*'. Whenever the Bakuninists

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[a] the London Conference of 1871 - [b] K. Marx, 'General Council Resolution on the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland'. - [c] K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association.*

take a dislike to something, they say: 'It's *authoritarian*' and believe that by so doing they damn it for ever and aye. If, instead of being bourgeois, journalists and so forth, they were working men, or if they had only devoted some study to economic questions and modern industrial conditions, they would know that no communal action is possible without submission on the part of some to an external will, that is to say an authority. Whether it be the will of a majority of voters, of a managing committee or of one man alone, it is invariably a will imposed on dissidents; but without that single, controlling will, no co-operation is possible. Just try and get one of Barcelona's big factories to function without control, that is to say, without an authority! Or to run a railway without knowing for certain that every engineer, stoker, etc., is at his post exactly when he ought to be! I should very much like to know whether the good Bakunin would entrust his portly frame to a railway carriage if that railway were administered on the principle that no one need be at his post unless he chose to submit to the authority of the regulations, regulations far more authoritarian in any conceivable state of society than those of the Congress of Basle! All these grandiloquent ultra-radical and revolutionary catchphrases serve only to conceal an abysmal paucity of ideas and an abysmal ignorance of the conditions under which the daily life of society takes place. Just try abolishing 'all authority, even by consent', among sailors on board a ship!

You are right, we must find some way of achieving a wider continental circulation for the reports of the General Council's meetings. I am still searching for such a way. For some time I have been sending *The Eastern Post* to Lorenzo, he having assured me they had someone who spoke English. Now I am sending you the latest issue of that journal and enclosing cuttings from earlier issues (*care of Lorenzo*). You might be able to do something with them for the *Emancipación*. I really do not have the time to translate all these things myself, being obliged to conduct a vast correspondence with Italy. But I shall see what can be done—if there was someone in Barcelona who spoke English, might I not send the paper there?

I have not seen Moor today, he is hard at work on his second German edition,[a] but I will give him your letter this evening. We are very well. Jenny[b] is keeping well and Moor passably so. I make him go for walks as often as possible since what he needs is fresh

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[a] of Volume I of *Capital*; see this volume, p. 283. - [b] Marx's daughter

air. My wife[a] sends you her compliments and wishes you A HAPPY NEW YEAR. REMEMBER ME TO LAURA WHEN YOU WRITE. THE POST CLOSES.

Yours ever,
The General[b]

*Para Lafargue si está a Madrid y si no para Mora y Lorenzo.*[c]

First published in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

[a] Lydia Burns - [b] Engels' nickname - [c] For Lafargue if he is in Madrid and if not for Mora and Lorenzo (the postscript on the blank, fourth, page of the letter).

# 1872

## 178

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 2 January 1872[a]

Dear Liebknecht,

First of all, Happy New Year, and then the proofs[b] enclosed.

Marx or Tussy will have written to you about the Stieberian escapade in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.[c] It was so transparent that no correspondence was needed to convince you of the deception; the cost of a telegram would have been money thrown away. You did right to denounce the thing as a forgery at once. Compare the names, most of which are false, with the correct ones under the Conference resolutions and you will have direct proof of the forgery.[400]

Marx still has your letter,[401] so I cannot answer it point by point.

At all events, you have to find a form that will make it possible for you to be represented at the next congress, and if no one can come, you could have yourselves represented by the old guard here. Since in all probability the Bakuninists and Proudhonists will leave no stone unturned, the credentials will be closely scrutinised and being delegated, for instance, by Bebel and yourself *personally*, as was the case with the conference credentials sent to me,[299] would not make a good impression. The Spaniards are in as bad a position as you but have not let themselves be side-tracked. Incidentally, the decision of the court in Brunswick does not set a precedent.[183] A downright disgrace like that, where even the laws of the Federal Diet[402] can be dragged in, could only happen in a

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[a] The original mistakenly has '1871'. - [b] K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association* (German edition). - [c] See this volume, p. 571.

decadent small state. Bebel ought to protest against it in the Reichstag; the men of Progress[236] would either have to support him or stand compromised before the whole of Germany. If I can find the time I shall send a (legal) critique of this pettifogging judgment to the *Volksstaat*.[403]

In Spain, according to a report from Lafargue (who is or was in Madrid), things are going well—the Bakuninists have overshot the mark with the violence of their manner. The Spaniards are workers and want unity and organisation above all else. You will have received the last circular of the congress in Sonvillier,[374] in which they attack the Basle administrative resolutions as the source of all evil.[399] That is really the last straw and we shall now take action.

In the meantime, Hins, Steens and Co., in Belgium, have played us a fine trick (see the resolution of the Brussels Congress in *L'Internationale*[404]). De Paepe shamefully let them make a fool of him; he wrote that all was well. However, up to now this opposition has kept itself within the bounds of legality and will likewise be dealt with when the time is ripe. Apart from De Paepe, the Belgians were never anything much.

A society in Macerata, in the Romagna, has nominated as its 3 honorary presidents: Garibaldi, Marx and Mazzini. This confusion will show you very clearly the state of public opinion among the Italian workers. Only Bakunin's name is needed and the mess is complete.

Cuttings from *The Eastern Post* (2 meetings)[a] to follow tomorrow; I do not have the last issue anymore and shall only get a copy at today's meeting.

Best wishes to yours and to Bebel.

Your
F. E.

*Notabene.* Have you changed your address? Braustrasse 11?

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[a] reports on the General Council meetings of 12 and 19 December, published in *The Eastern Post*, Nos. 168 and 169, 16 and 23 December 1871

## 179

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 3 January 1872

Dear Liebknecht,

Enclosed are the *Eastern Post* cuttings.[a]

The *immediate* printing of the enclosed article[b] is *very necessary*. The Rules[c] can wait. I shall see to it that the *Égalité* translates it and that it reaches every corner of Belgium, Italy and Spain *in that form*.

Your
F. E.

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## 180

## MARX TO MALTMAN BARRY

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 7 January 1872

Dear Sir,

I regret that you found neither me nor Mr Engels at home. You seem to proceed in your letters from the idea that we form a distinct party in the Council. If we opposed Mr Hales in what we considered wrong, we did only our duty[d] and would, under the same circumstances, have followed the same line of conduct

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[a] *The Eastern Post*, Nos. 168 and 169, 16 and 23 December 1871 (see preceding letter) - [b] F. Engels, 'The Congress of Sonvillier and the International'. - [c] K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - [d] Crossed out in the original: 'as members of the Council'.

towards any other member of the Council.[405] This, however, has nothing to do with party. We know of no parties in the Council. There are among the friends of Mr Hales very worthy men who have worked for a long time in our cause.

If Mr Mottershead has 'consented to stand for the secretaryship', we at all events did not invite him to do so. His position as paid secretary of the 'Labour Representation League'[406] makes the thing almost impossible. Mr Engels told you expressly after last Tuesday's meeting[a] that his mind was not yet made up as [to] who was the proper person to vote for, and for the present we see difficulties on all sides. Hence we have resolved to leave our continental friends to their own discretion.

In our opinion the important thing is, to settle the position and composition of the Federal Council. As to the secretaryship, it is mainly a personal matter which need not and, perhaps, cannot be settled in a hurry. At all events this will depend upon circumstances.

Yours truly,
K. M.

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## 181

## ENGELS TO CARLO TERZAGHI[407]

### IN TURIN

[*First Version*]

[Draft]

London [after 6 January 1872]
122 Regent's Park Road

My dear Terzaghi,

I received your letter of 4 December last year, and if I have not replied sooner, it was because I wanted to give you a precise

[a] meeting of the General Council on 2 January

answer about the matter which interests you most of all, namely the fund for the *Proletario*. I am now in a position to provide it.

We have very little money, and the millions of the International exist solely in the terrified imagination of the bourgeoisie and of the police, who cannot understand how an association like ours has been able to achieve such an important position without having money amounting to millions at its disposal. If they had only seen the accounts submitted at the last Conference[a]! But never mind; let them go on believing it, it will do us no harm. It had already been decided, on receipt of your letter, to take out a number of shares in the *Proletario*, in the name of the General Council represented by me, but then the news reached us of the split which you had caused[408] and it was considered doubtful that the newspaper could go on being produced after it. Then there were the holidays, which meant that the meeting of the 26th did not take place, etc., etc. At last I can tell you that if you wish to continue the newspaper, and if there are solid grounds for hoping that this can be done, I am authorised to send you five pounds, i.e. roughly a hundred and sixty Italian lire, in return for which you can send me the corresponding amount of shares in my name. Write to me, then, by return of courier so that if, as I hope, the newspaper is to reappear, I can send you the money without delay.

Tell me at the same time whether the addresses given in your last letter (C. C[eretti] Mirandola, E. P[escatori] Bologna) will be enough to write to them, with no other indication of street or number, because I would not like my letters to be written for any Mordecaian[409] to read.

You will probably have been sent a circular by the congress of the Jura Federation in Switzerland attacking the General Council and demanding the immediate convocation of a Congress.[374] The General Council will reply to these attacks, but in the meantime a reply has appeared in the *Égalité* in Geneva,[410] which I sent you three days ago together with two English newspapers containing summaries of the meetings of the General Council.[b] These citizens, who first looked for an argument with us using the pretext of the Conference, now attack us because we are carrying out the resolutions of the Basle Congress, resolutions which have the force of law for us and which we are *obliged* to carry out.[399] They do not

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[a] the London Conference of 1871 - [b] *The Eastern Post*, Nos. 168 and 169, 16 and 23 December 1871, carried reports on the General Council meetings of 12 and 19 December.

want the authority of the General Council, *not even if it were to be voluntarily consented to by all.* I would really like to know how without this authority (as they call it) the Tolains, the Durands and the Nechayevs could have been dealt with according to their deserts and how, with that fine-sounding phrase about the autonomy of the sections, they expect to prevent the formation of sections of Mordecaians and traitors. Besides, what did these same men do at the Basle Congress? With Bakunin they were the *most ardent advocates* of these resolutions proposed not by the General Council, but by the delegates from Belgium!

If, however, you want to have an idea of what they have done and can do for the International, read the official report of the Federal Committee to the congress of the Jura Federation in the *Révolution sociale,* Geneva, No. 5, 23 November 1871, and you will see to what a state of dissolution and impotence they have reduced in one year a federation which was well established before.[411]

It seems to me that the term '*authority*' is much abused. I know of nothing more authoritarian than a revolution, and when one fights with bombs and rifle bullets against one's enemies, this is an authoritarian act. If there *had been* a little more authority and centralisation in the Paris Commune, it would have triumphed over the bourgeois. After the victory we can organise ourselves as we like, but for the struggle it seems to me necessary to collect all our forces into a single band and direct them on the same point of attack. And when people tell me that this cannot be done without authority and centralisation, and that these are two things to be condemned outright, it seems to me that those who talk like this either do not know what a revolution is, or are revolutionaries in name only.[a]

Write to me, therefore, about the matter without delay.

Greetings and fraternity.

Yours,

F. Engels

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[a] Marginal note by Engels (in German): 'This is not quite right.'

[*Second Version*]

[Draft]

London, 14[-15] January 1872
256 High Holborn

*14 January 1872, to Terzaghi, Turin*

My dear Terzaghi,

If I have not replied sooner to your letter of 4 December last year, it was because I wanted to give you a precise answer about the matter which interests you most of all, namely the money for the *Proletario*.

You know that the millions of the International do not exist except in the terrified imagination of the bourgeoisie and of the governments, which cannot understand how an association like ours has been able to win such a great position without having millions at its disposal. If they had only seen the accounts submitted at the last Conference!

We would have voted 150 frs for you in spite of our penury, but the *Gazzettino Rosa* arrived with the news, etc.[412] This changed everything. If you had simply decided to send people to the future Congress, fine. But[a] what you had in mind was a Congress called for in a circular full of lies and false accusations against the General Council! And if you had only waited for the General Council's reply to this circular![385] The Council could not but see in your resolution the proof that you had taken the side of the accusers, and without having waited for the Council's defence,— and the authorisation to send you the money in question was withdrawn from me. In the meantime you have received the *Égalité* with the answer of the Romance Committee, which represents ten times as many Swiss workers as the Jurassians. But the writers' malevolent intention is already apparent from the Jura circular.[b] First they look for an argument with us using the pretext of the Conference, and now they attack us because we are carrying out the resolutions of the Basle Congress, resolutions which we are *obliged* to carry out. They do not want the authority of the General Council, *not even if it were to be voluntarily consented to by all.* I would really like to know how without this authority (as they call it) the Tolains, the Durands and the Nechayevs could have been

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[a] Except for the words 'to the future Congress' the preceding part of this paragraph is in German in the original. - [b] The two preceding sentences are in German in the original.

dealt with according to their deserts and how, with that fine-sounding phrase about the autonomy of the sections, as it is explained in the circular, they expect to prevent the intrusion of Mordecaians and traitors. Certainly, no one disputes the autonomy of the sections, but one cannot have a federation unless some powers are ceded to the federal committees and, in the last instance, to the General Council.

But do you know who the authors and advocates of these *authoritarian* resolutions were? The delegates of the General Council? Not at all. These authoritarian measures were put forward by the Belgian delegates, and the Schwitzguébels, the Guillaumes, the Bakunins were *their most ardent advocates. That's the truth of the matter.*

It seems to me that the phrases '*authority*' and centralisation are much abused. I know of nothing more authoritarian than a revolution, and when one imposes one's will on others with bombs and rifle bullets, as in every revolution,[a] it seems to me one performs an authoritarian act. It was the lack of centralisation and authority that cost the life of the Paris Commune. After the victory make what you like of authority, etc., but for the struggle we need to gather all our forces into a single band and concentrate them on the same point of attack. And when people speak to me about authority and centralisation as if they were two things to be condemned in all possible circumstances, it seems to me that those who talk like this either do not know what a revolution is, or are revolutionaries in name only.

If you want to know what the authors of the circular have done in practice for the International, read their own official report on the state of the Jura Federation to the Congress (*Révolution sociale,* Geneva, 23 November 1871) and you will see to what a state of dissolution and impotence they have reduced a federation which was well established a year before. And these are people who want to reform the International![b]

Greetings and fraternity.

Yours,
F. Engels

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Translated from the Italian and German

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[a] 'as in every revolution' is in German in the original - [b] This sentence is in German in the original.

## 182

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 18 January 1872[a]

Dear Liebknecht,

The facts about the Belgians are these: De Paepe is the only one who is worth anything, but he is not very active. Steens is a jackass, a schemer and perhaps worse, and Hins is a Proudhonist who by that very fact, but even more because of his Russian wife, has leanings towards Bakunin. The others are puppets. On the other hand, the Belgian workers show no inclination to spark off a rebellion in the International. Hence the bad grace evident in the formulation of the resolution.[404] Fortunately, Mr Hins has been the victim of his own super-smartness, for the workers' papers, which have not been able to look behind the scenes, interpret the resolution *literally* and so read it as a declaration *in our favour*. E.g. the *Tagwacht* and the *Emancipación* in Madrid,[413] etc.

Conference resolutions[b] have no necessary binding force, since a conference is, in itself, an illegal mechanism, justified only by the gravity of the situation. Hence recognition is always desirable.

It would be good if you were to follow the lead of the *Tagwacht* and interpret the Belgian resolution as indicated above, adding that the resolution about revising the Rules amounts to a rejection of the Bakuninist call for an *immediate* congress. This is implicit because the revision would first have to be debated at *their* congress in June and only after that could it be brought before the regular congress of the International, which could not be held before the regular time scheduled in September. You could further remark that if the Belgians imagined that the General Council was nothing more than a correspondence bureau, they must have forgotten the Basle resolutions,[399] which are of an entirely different nature and which at all events remain in force until they are revoked by a regular International congress.

Up to now we intend to convene the congress at the regular

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[a] The original mistakenly has '1871'. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'.

time. It is still early to decide on the place, but it almost certainly will not be Switzerland, or Germany for that matter.[414]

I have received *one* copy of the issue of the *Volksstaat* with my article,[a] and of the next issue *nothing at all.* Marx received the next, but not the one with my article! No doubt a mix-up in despatching them. Send me *half a dozen copies* of No. 3 and one of No. 4 *by return.* I need several for correspondents in Italy who can read German, etc.

Warmest thanks from Marx for your discretion in sending the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* which, without preparation and before any counter-action had been initiated, would only have upset his wife unnecessarily. The Workers' Society[b] will reply and send its answer to the *Volksstaat*; there will be also a reply to Schneider's article.[415] In the meantime, I enclose an item which is unlikely to give the gentlemen any pleasure.[416] *Apropos* the Workers' Society, there have been some funny goings-on there, too.[386] Schneider and that asinine old scoundrel, Scherzer, thought they had got a majority, and together with Weber, who acted as intermediary, they made common cause with the dissident French and then proposed that the Society should *resign from the International.* Our people had become lax, had squandered their advantage and admitted far too much riff-raff. But this time things had gone too far. They were called out in force and the proposal was defeated by 27 votes to 20. A motion to expel the 20 was then tabled. The disorder made a vote impossible. Whereupon our people immediately salvaged all the Society's property, moved to another pub and expelled the 20. The rebels are now out in the cold and don't know what to do, but they had the impertinence to send Scherzer as *their delegate* to the General Council on Tuesday[c]! Naturally, he was not admitted.

The alliance of the ultra-federalist French with the ultra-centralist Germans is likewise no bad thing.[417] Moreover, these French are already completely divided. When Vésinier was elected secretary, Theisz, Avrial et Co. resigned (for the *second* time). The remnant has split into two bodies, one of which is led by the nose by Vésinier, the other by Vermersch (of the *Père Duchêne,* and here the editor of the *Qui Vive!* and at present of the *Vermersch Journal*). Personally and politically, the two are equally disreputable and at least 3 others are more than suspected of being spies. The French police have so overshot the mark with

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[a] F. Engels, 'The Congress of Sonvillier and the International'. - [b] the German Workers' Educational Society in London - [c] 16 January

their cunning that their *mouchards*[a] now only spend their time spying on *each other.*

The news about the Saxons' resolution gave us great pleasure. We shall see to publication in the appropriate form.[418] Letters about INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS have not yet arrived.[419]

To your questions:

1. The [membership] cards have been superseded by stamps following the resolution.[420]

2. The stamps were to have been ready yesterday at Jung's and in any case will be available by the time you reply, so that we are just waiting to hear from you *how many you need.* We shall be sure to send them off to you.

3. You should have given us the names or addresses of the Italian Freethinkers at once. *Everyone* we have contact with in Italy is a Freethinker. I assume you are referring to Stefanoni in Florence; he is an industrialist, a Bakuninist and—the founder of a rival international Freethinking, socialist society.[421]

There is no urgency about Marx's second anti-Proudhon edition.[b] It is much more important for *Capital* to appear in French,[395] and that will not be long in coming now. Negotiations are pending. It would be better *not* to say anything about the second edition of *Capital,*[396] since the remaining copies of the first edition have still to be disposed of and it would be better for this bomb to strike the Roschers, Fauchers & Co. unawares.

Marx has said nothing to me about printing the essay on Proudhon from the *Social-Demokrat.*[c] If I do not write anything to the contrary within a day or so, go ahead and print it.

Sorge is a BUSYBODY who forgets that correspondence between here and New York takes 3 weeks, and that the General Council has other things on its mind apart from the American squabbles. Had they only waited just 1 day before staging their *coup d'état,*[422] they would have had the answer from here, which would have rendered it superfluous. First, they admit a mass of unknown riff-raff in an incredibly casual fashion, and then, when the balloon goes up, we have to extricate them from the mess!

Goegg was here a few days ago. He really has improved greatly, and has progressed roughly to the stage reached by the German artisans in 1848. But from petty bourgeois to artisan is a real step forward. It is at least possible to talk to him now, a thing which

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[a] spies - [b] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the 'Philosophy of Poverty' by M. Proudhon.* - [c] K. Marx, 'On Proudhon'.

was quite out of the question 4 years ago. He is on his way to New York on business and wants to know whether you received the crate of wine he sent you for Christmas. He says that my article[a] killed Vogt stone-dead, and appears in general to be of the opinion that we were always in the right about him. It is quite possible that he may develop even further in time, or rather, that he may be developed by the course of events.

The news from Spain is good as far as it concerns the Federal Council. There is still a lot of intrigue going on in Barcelona and there is a strong Bakuninist influence in the *Federación*, but since in Spain the matter will be discussed by the *Congress* (in April)[423] and since workers are in the majority there rather than lawyers and doctors, etc., I surmise that all will be well. Lafargue is fortunately still in Madrid; the information about the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* comes from him.[b] Mesa, the editor of the *Emancipación*, is completely on our side.

In Italy we have *Cuno* in Milan, a Swiss engineer who knows Bebel and yourself and who up to now has blocked any Bakuninist resolutions there—apart from that, there are either Bakuninists or people who hang back. It is very difficult terrain and gives me a fiendish amount of work.

I enclose reports of 2 meetings[c] together with a polemic against Bradlaugh[424]; furthermore the circular of Sonvillier[374] in case you do not have it.

Best regards from us all to you and yours.

Your
F. E.

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[a] F. Engels, 'Once Again "Herr Vogt"'. - [b] Engels means the editorial note in *La Emancipación*, No. 31, 14 January 1872, to which he referred above. - [c] Presumably, the reports on the General Council meetings of 2 and 9 January 1872, published in *The Eastern Post*, Nos. 171 and 172, 6 and 14 January 1872.

# 183

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN PARIS

London, 19 January 1872
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

My dear Friend,

You will already have received the books[425] listed in the enclosed invoice for the sum of *£1 16s. 5d.* and I have debited your account accordingly.[a]

On the other hand I have credited you with your remittance of *£2 8s.*, which I have not yet cashed.

Hodgson's work is quite unknown to me, nor have I seen it advertised anywhere. However, I shall endeavour to find out something about it.

Our accounts should more or less balance now. I shall be writing to you about the *Gazette des Tribuneaux*, a journal of which I do not think we shall have any further need; the subscription expires at the end of January.

You will have received *The Eastern Post* journals which I addressed to you, as also the other printed matter which I have enclosed with them from time to time.

As for the International, things are going well. B.'s[b] intrigues will not amount to anything much. That man forgets that the working masses cannot be led as could a little bunch of doctrinaire sectarians. We have had, by the bye, some most valuable intelligence regarding his machinations in Russia—from the original source, at that. They are unutterably despicable.

Ever your obedient servant,

Yours,
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p. 276. - [b] Engels uses the Russian letter Б for the initial. The reference is to Bakunin.

## 184

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[426]

### IN MADRID

London, 19 January 1872

My dear Toole,[a]

We were delighted to get your letter of the 7th. As for Morago, you may be sure that Bakunin is at the bottom of it. As private correspondents, these men are assiduous beyond belief; and if he [were] a member of the Alliance, they would certainly have bombarded him with letters and blandishments. At any rate, the fact that they have resolved to place all these questions before a Spanish Congress[423] is a victory for ourselves, since:

1) it is a *negative*, albeit indirect, reply to the demand that a Congress of the International be *immediately* convened;

2) we have always found that, as soon as the workers themselves, as a body, consider these questions, their natural common sense and their innate feeling of solidarity invariably enable them speedily to smell out such personal machinations. For working men, the International represents a great acquisition which they have no intention at all of relinquishing; for the aforesaid doctrinaire intriguers, it represents no more than an arena for petty squabbles of a personal and sectarian kind.

In our reply we shall endeavour to make the maximum use of your observations; however, we cannot limit ourselves to what might best suit the Spaniards. The sorely assailed Swiss want just the opposite. However, I hope that we shall be able to write in such a way as to satisfy all our friends on the main points.

There have been requests from several quarters for a new impression of the *Poverty of Philosophy*, for which a new introduction would, of course, be required, and I hope that Moor will attend to this as soon as his work on the second edition of *Capital*[396] is completed; if, in the meantime, Mesa were to do the Spanish translation, he would probably get the text of the introduction in good time. But I cannot promise anything; you can imagine the amount of unexpected work that constantly devolves on Moor. He has entered into an agreement with Lachâtre[395]; the contract contained one or two quite inadmissible

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[a] Paul Lafargue's nickname

clauses. No doubt Jenny or Tussy will write, either to you or to Laura, and enlarge on the matter.

Now for the news.

1) Over here the French section of 1871,[338] a section which had never been accepted as such because of its refusal to delete utterly incredible things from its rules, has completely disintegrated—at the very moment when it was bringing out a long metaphysical declaration against the General Council, signed by 35 citizens.[a] The election of *Vésinier* as secretary has caused Theisz, Avrial & Co. to resign (for the second time!). The Vésinier clique next demanded the expulsion of Vermersch, a worthy rival to Vésinier, both as a private individual and as a man of politics. There followed another split, thus creating *three* rumps. This is group autonomy at its most extreme.

On the other hand we have over here a French section of 60 members,[359] an Italian section and a Polish one, aside from the old German section.[427] The calumnies in the Berlin *Neuer Social-Demokrat* were the work of some of *Schweitzer*'s hoodlums who had wormed their way into that section; they have just been expelled.[b]—The British Federal Council[330] is now functioning and its propaganda is proving very successful; we are especially anxious to build up support outside the old semi-bourgeois political societies and the old TRADES UNIONS, which are incapable of seeing beyond their trades. In Manchester, Dupont has been very useful to us. The republican clubs of Dilke & Co. adhere to the International in all the larger cities, and the best elements of almost all those clubs belong to us, so that one fine day this bourgeois republican movement will escape from its bourgeois leaders and fall into our hands.

I was greatly pleased by the article on the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* in the *Emancipación*.[c] I at once translated and sent it to the *Volksstaat*, Liebknecht's newspaper in Leipzig.[416]

In France Serraillier is being amazingly active. Needless to say, the results he has obtained are not for publication, but they are very good. Everywhere the sections are reforming under different names. One fact disclosed by this correspondence is that, in almost every case, the Bakuninists' correspondents are informers. In one town in the Midi, their member was the superintendent of police.[d] It has now been almost proved that Marchand of Bordeaux is an

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[a] *Association internationale des travailleurs. Déclaration de la section française fédéraliste de 1871...* - [b] See this volume, p. 297. - [c] 'Sucesos de la semana', *La Emancipación*, No. 31, 14 January 1872. - [d] Abel Bousquet

informer. As you may know, he mislaid the minutes of two meetings; well, all those mentioned in the said minutes have been taken to court, and the same intentions were harboured in regard to yourself. Marchand has never been able to explain what became of those minutes and, though proscribed in Geneva, he was able to return to Bordeaux without being harassed.

In Switzerland, not only has the Romance Committee, which represents at least ten times more Internationalists than the Jurassians, come out in favour of the General Council,[a] but also the *Tagwacht* of Zurich, organ of the Internationalists of German Switzerland (see No. 1 of 6 January).[428] The question it puts to those who speak of the authoritarian power wielded by the General Council is as follows:

'A dictatorship always presupposes the possession by the dictator of the material power that would enable him to enforce his dictatorial orders. Now, all these journalists would greatly oblige us if they would kindly let us know where the General Council keeps its arsenal of bayonets and mitrailleuses.[26] Suppose, for example, that the Zurich section should not be in agreement with this or that decision of the General Council (something which has not hitherto occurred), to what means could the General Council have recourse in order to compel the Zurich section to bow to that decision? But the General Council has not even the right definitively to exclude any one section from the Association—at the very most it can suspend its functions until the next Congress, which alone can give a final ruling... The most divergent views, not only in regard to the future organisation of society, but also in regard to the steps to be taken here and now, are represented in the great international association. That association, at its general congresses, does of course debate questions of this kind, but in no article of its Rules does it lay down a system, an obligatory norm for the sections. There is nothing obligatory save the fundamental principle: The emancipation of the workers by the workers themselves... Thus, in the International we find represented the most opposing political views, from the strict centralism of the Austrian workers to the anarchic federalism of the Spanish confederates. These last proclaim abstention from elections; the German confederates make full use of their votes in every election. In certain countries the Internationalists support other more or less progressive parties, elsewhere they remain aloof, as a distinct party, no matter what the circumstances. Nowhere, however, are there monarchists amongst the Internationalists. The same thing applies to questions of social economy. Communists and individualists work side by side, and it may be said that all forms of socialism are represented in the International...[b] However, the International has always shown itself capable of closing its ranks against the outside enemy, ... it has succeeded in maintaining its unity in the face of the Franco-Prussian War and, from that war, it has emerged bigger and stronger, whereas other societies have been crushed by the war. To a man, the International sided with the Paris Commune... And does the fact that this or that group holds a different view on questions of detail entitle the bourgeois press to talk of splits in the International?...

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[a] 'Réponse du Comité fédéral romand...', *L'Égalité*, No. 24, 24 December 1871. - [b] In the *Tagwacht*: '...and it may be said that there is no socio-economic view that is not represented in the International'.

You have only to read the circular from the Jura sections, protesting against this and that, but ending with the cry: "Long live the International Working Men's Association!" Is that a split? No, gentlemen, despite your efforts, the International will not be subject to splits, it will settle its own internal affairs and reveal itself more united and with its ranks more serried than ever ... the more you calumniate us, the more you talk of splits in our ranks, the more you attack us—the more shall we serry our ranks and the louder will the cry resound: Long live the International Working Men's Association!'

If you can make use of this for the *Emancipación*, so much the better.

In Germany the *Volksstaat* has come out with considerable force against the Jurassians and in favour of the General Council.[a] Furthermore, on 7 January the Saxon Congress, with 120 delegates representing 60 sections, held a private meeting (being forbidden by law to debate the matter publicly) at which they *unanimously* condemned the Jura circular and passed a vote of confidence in the General Council.[418]

The Austrians and Hungarians are also unanimous in their support of the General Council, though prevented by persecution from giving public proof of same; they can hardly ever meet, and any meeting in the name of the International is at once prohibited or broken up by the police.

In Italy no organisation so far exists. So autonomous are the groups that they will not or cannot unite. This is a reaction to the extreme and bourgeois centralism of Mazzini, who aspired to control everything himself, and very stupidly at that. By slow degrees enlightenment will dawn, but they will have to be allowed to learn from experience.

You say nothing about your wife[b]—I hope that you have had good news of her and also of the little boy.[c] Mrs Marx, who is with me at the moment, and the whole of the Marx family, SEND THEIR LOVE. Cordial salutations from my wife[d] and from myself also. Remember me to Laura when you write to her, and let me hear from you soon.

Yours ever,

The General[e]

First published in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

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[a] Cf. F. Engels, 'The Congress of Sonvillier and the International' (published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 3, 10 January 1872). - [b] Laura Lafargue, who was in San Sebastian at the time - [c] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [d] Lydia Burns - [e] Engels' nickname

## 185

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 19 January 1872

My dear Jung,

It is absolutely necessary that I see you to-morrow evening. I hope, therefore, that you will come. If it be impossible, I shall call upon you on Sunday morning.

Yours fraternally,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

## 186

## ENGELS TO THEODOR CUNO[429]

IN MILAN

London, 24 January 1872

Dear Cuno,

I have just received your letter via Becker[a] and see from it that the damned Mordecaians[409] have intercepted my lengthy letter to you of 16 December.[45] This is all the more annoying as it contained all the necessary information about the Bakuninist intrigues, and would have put you in possession of the relevant facts a whole month earlier. Moreover, as you are a foreigner, and so liable to deportation, I had requested you not to be too prominent in public agitation, so that you might stay where you are and retain your position, one which is now, unfortunately, quite ruined.

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[a] Johann Philipp Becker

[Membership] *cards* have been abolished by the Conference resolution in favour of stamps and have now been replaced by the latter.[420] The cards had been subject to much abuse over a long period, since everywhere a large number of blank cards had fallen into the hands of the police, who had made use of them for their own purposes. In a few days I shall send you the 100 *stamps* as a receipt for the 10 frs I have none in the house at present.—Nothing is known here of the old Captain with the wooden leg; he is not in touch with the General Council.[430]

I would gladly send you the *Rules*[309] if only I had them. They have been printed in French and English; a German version is due out any day, the Italian translation is lying in my desk ready for printing, but 1. we have no money to have them printed on our own account, and 2. in view of the general rebellion against the Conference and the General Council instigated by Bakunin among the Italians, it is highly questionable whether they would in fact recognise an edition revised by the General Council in accordance with the Conference resolutions. Before this is resolved it would in my view be pointless to print. In the meantime, various editions of the Rules have come out in Italian there, e.g. in Girgenti[a] (put out by the *Eguaglianza*), likewise in Ravenna (by the now defunct *Romagnolo*—Lodovico Nabruzzi in Ravenna could give you information about it), and also *La Plebe* of Lodi, Corso Palestro, has advertised some at 10c. It is true that all of these are badly and in part incorrectly translated and only contain the earliest Administrative Regulations, but for the time being they will have to do.

Becker tells me that he will write to you about the Bakuninist intrigues, but I do not want to rely on that, so here, in brief, are the essentials. Bakunin, who up to 1868 had intrigued against the International, joined it after he had suffered a fiasco at the Berne Peace Congress[431] and at once began to conspire *within it* against the General Council. Bakunin has a singular theory, a potpourri of Proudhonism and communism, the chief point of which is first of all, that he does not regard capital, and hence the class antagonism between capitalists and wage workers which has arisen through the development of society, as the main evil to be abolished, but instead the *state*. While the great mass of the Social-Democratic workers hold our view that state power is nothing more than the organisation with which the ruling classes—landowners and capitalists—have provided themselves in order to protect their social privileges, Bakunin maintains that the

[a] Modern name: Agrigento.

*state* has created capital, that the capitalist has his capital only *by the grace of the state.* And since the state is the chief evil, the state above all must be abolished; then capital will go to hell of itself. We, on the contrary, say: Abolish capital, the appropriation of all the means of production by the few, and the state will fall of itself. The difference is an essential one: the abolition of the state is nonsense without a social revolution beforehand; the abolition of capital *is* the social revolution and involves a change in the whole mode of production. However, since for Bakunin the state is the main evil, nothing must be done that can keep the state alive, i.e. any state, republic, monarchy, or whatever it may be. Hence, *complete abstention from all politics.* To commit a political action, especially to take part in an election, would be a betrayal of principle. The thing to do is to conduct propaganda, revile the state, organise, and when *all* the workers are won over, that is, the majority, to depose the authorities, abolish the state, and replace it by the organisation of the International. This great act, with which the millennium begins, is called *social liquidation.*

All this sounds extremely radical and is so simple that it can be learned by heart in five minutes, and that is why this Bakuninist theory has also rapidly found favour in Italy and Spain among the young lawyers, doctors, and other doctrinaires. But the mass of the workers will never allow themselves to be persuaded that the public affairs of their country are not also their own affairs; they are by nature *political* and whoever tries to convince them that they should leave politics alone will in the end be left in the lurch by them. To preach that the workers should abstain from politics under all circumstances means driving them into the arms of the priests or the bourgeois republicans.

Now as, according to Bakunin, the International was not formed for political struggle but in order that it might at once replace the old machinery of state when social liquidation occurs, it follows that it must come as near as possible to the Bakuninist ideal of future society. In this society there will above all be no *authority,* for authority=state=evil in the absolute. (How these people propose to operate a factory, run a railway, or steer a ship without one will that decides in the last resort, without unified direction, they do not, of course, tell us.) The authority of the majority over the minority also ceases. Every individual, every community, is autonomous, but how a society of even two people is possible unless each gives up some of his autonomy, Bakunin again keeps to himself.

So the International must be organised according to this pattern

as well. Each section is autonomous, and in each section each individual. To hell with the *Basle resolutions*,[399] which conferred upon the General Council a pernicious authority demoralising even to itself! Even if this authority is *voluntarily* conferred, it must cease—precisely *because* it is authority.

Here you have in brief the main points of the swindle. But who were the authors of the Basle resolutions? *The same Mr Bakunin* and Co.!

When these gentlemen saw at the Basle Congress that their plan for transferring the General Council to Geneva, i.e. getting it in their hands, stood no chance of success, they adopted another course. They founded the *Alliance de la démocratie sociale*, an international society *within* the large International under the pretext which you now encounter in the Bakuninist Italian press, for example in the *Proletario* and the *Gazzettino Rosa*: the ardent Latin races require a more striking programme than the chilly, deliberate Northerners. This little plan failed owing to the resistance of the General Council, which naturally could not tolerate the existence of any separate *international* organisation *within* the International. Since then, the same plan has appeared in all manner of forms in connection with the efforts of Bakunin and his adherents to substitute Bakunin's programme for the programme of the International. On the other hand, the reactionaries—beginning with Jules Favre and Bismarck and ending with Mazzini—have always come down hard upon the empty and vainglorious Bakuninist phrase-mongering when they have been at pains to attack the International. Hence the necessity of my declaration of 5 December against Mazzini and Bakunin, which was likewise printed in the *Gazzettino Rosa*.[a]

The core of the Bakunin conspiracy consists of a few dozen people in the Jura, who have scarcely 200 workers behind them; its vanguard in Italy consists of young lawyers, doctors, and journalists, who now come forward everywhere as the representatives of the Italian workers, with a few of the same breed in Barcelona and Madrid, and a few individuals here and there—in Lyons and Brussels. There are almost no workers among them; they have only one specimen here,[b] Robin.—The Conference (convened out of necessity, because a Congress had become impossible)[254] provided them with a pretext; and since most of the French refugees in Switzerland sided with them—they (the

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[a] F. Engels, 'Declaration Sent by the General Council to the Editors of Italian Newspapers Concerning Mazzini's Articles about the International'. - [b] in London

Proudhonists) had much in common with them, while personal motives also played a part—they launched the campaign. To be sure, a dissatisfied minority and unrecognised geniuses are to be found everywhere within the International—and they counted on them, not without reason. At the present time their fighting forces are:

1. Bakunin himself—the Napoleon of this campaign.
2. The 200 Jurassians and 40-50 members of the French section (refugees in Geneva).
3. In Brussels, Hins, editor of the *Liberté*, who does *not* support them *openly*, however.
4. Here, the remnants of the *Section française de 1871*,[338] never recognised by us, which has already split into 3 mutually hostile parts; then about 20 Lassalleans of the type of Mr von Schweitzer, expelled from the German section (for proposing *resignation en masse from the International*),[a] who, as defenders of extreme centralisation and strict organisation, fit marvellously into an alliance with the anarchists and autonomists.
5. In Spain, a few personal friends and adherents of Bakunin, who have greatly influenced, at least theoretically, the workers, particularly in Barcelona. But, on the other hand, the Spaniards attach great importance to organisation, and its absence among the others is conspicuous to them. How much success Bakunin may expect here will be revealed only at the Spanish Congress in April,[423] but as the workers will predominate at this congress, I have no fears about it.
6. Lastly, in Italy, as far as I know, the Turin, Bologna, and Girgenti sections have voted for convening a Congress *before* it is due.

The Bakuninist press asserts that 20 Italian sections have affiliated with them; I have no knowledge of them. In any event, the leadership is in the hands of Bakunin's friends and adherents almost everywhere, and they are raising a terrific hubbub. But on closer examination it will most likely be found that they haven't much of a following, since in the final analysis the overwhelming mass of Italian workers are still Mazzinists and will remain so as long as the International is identified there with abstention from politics.

At any rate the situation in Italy is such that, for the present, the International there is dominated by Bakuninist intrigues. Nor does the General Council think of complaining about this; the

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[a] See this volume, p. 297.

Italians have the right to make fools of themselves as much as they please, and the General Council will oppose this only in peaceable debates. They likewise have the right to express themselves in favour of a Congress in the Jurassian spirit, although it is extremely peculiar, to be sure, that sections that have just joined and can have no knowledge of anything should immediately take a definite stand on a question of this sort without even hearing *both* sides! I have already given the Turin people my opinion of this quite frankly,[a] and I shall do the same with other sections taking a similar stand. For every such statement of affiliation represents an indirect approval of the false accusations and lies against the General Council contained in the circular[374]; the General Council, incidentally, will soon issue its own circular[b] on this question. If you can prevent a similar declaration by the Milanese *until this latter appears*, you will be acting in complete accordance with our desires.

The joke is that these same Turinese who have declared their support for the Jurassians and who therefore reproach us here with authoritarianism, are now suddenly demanding that the General Council should act in an authoritarian manner quite without precedent for it and take steps against their rival, the *Federazione Operaia* of Turin, and outlaw Beghelli of the *Ficcanaso* who is not even a member of the International, etc.[c] And all this before we have even had a chance to listen to what the *Federazione Operaia* might have to say on it!

Last Monday[d] I sent you the *Révolution Sociale* with the Jura circular,[e] an issue of the Genevan *Égalité* (unfortunately I no longer have a single copy of the one containing the reply of the Genevan *Comité Fédéral*,[f][391] which represents 20 times as many workers as the Jurassians), and a *Volksstaat* which will show you how people in Germany regard the matter.[g] The Saxon provincial assembly—120 delegates from 60 places—has declared itself *unanimously* in favour of the General Council.[418]—The Belgian Congress (25-26 December[h]) is calling for a revision of the Rules, but at the *regular* Congress (in September).[404] From France

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[a] See this volume, pp. 291-95. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*. - [c] See this volume, p. 313. - [d] 22 January - [e] 'Circulaire à toutes les fédérations...', *La Révolution Sociale*, No. 8, 14 December 1871. - [f] 'Réponse du Comité fédéral romand...', *L'Égalité*, No. 24, 24 December 1871. - [g] Presumably, *Der Volksstaat*, No. 3, 10 January 1872, containing Engels' article 'The Congress of Sonvillier and the International' and a report headlined 'Die Landesversammlung des Sächsischen Social-Demokraten'.—[h] The Congress took place on 24-25 December 1871.

statements supporting us come in every day. Here in England, of course, all these intrigues fall upon barren soil. And the General Council, of course, will not call an extraordinary Congress for the benefit of a few intriguing and vainglorious individuals. As long as these gentlemen stay within legal bounds, the General Council will gladly allow them freedom of action, and this coalition of the most motley elements will soon fall apart of itself. But as soon as they undertake anything contrary to the Rules or Congress resolutions, the General Council will do its duty.

If one bears in mind what a time these people choose to embark on their conspiracy—precisely when the International is being hounded everywhere—it is impossible not to think that the gentlemen of the international Mordecai gang are involved in the affair. And this is actually the case. In Béziers the Genevan Bakuninists have as their correspondent the *Commissaire central de police*[a]! Two of the chief Bakuninists, Albert Richard from Lyons and Blanc,[b] were here and told a worker, Scholl from Lyons, with whom they got in touch, that the only way to overthrow Thiers was to put Bonaparte back on the throne, and that was why they were travelling about *at the Bonapartists' expense* to carry on *propaganda* among the émigrés *on behalf of a Bonapartist restoration*! That is what these gentlemen call abstention from politics! In Berlin the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, in Bismarck's pocket, is singing the same tune. For the time being I shall leave as a moot point the extent to which the Russian police are involved in this affair, though Bakunin was embroiled up to his eyes in the Nechayev business (he denies this, to be sure, but we have authentic Russian reports here, and since Marx and I understand Russian, he cannot bluff us).[280] Nechayev is either a Russian *agent-provocateur* or, at any rate, has acted like one; moreover, there are all sorts of suspicious characters among Bakunin's Russian friends.

I am very sorry to hear that you have lost your job. I had expressly written to you saying that you should avoid anything that might have these consequences and that your presence in Milan was of much greater importance for the International than the minute effect that one can have by agitating *in public*; much could be done underground, etc. If I can be of any assistance with translations, etc., I shall do so with the greatest pleasure; just let me know *from* which languages and *into* which language you can translate and *in what way* I can help.

So the police swine have also intercepted my photograph. I

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[a] Abel Bousquet - [b] Gaspard Blanc

enclose another and ask for 2 of you, one of which will be used to induce Miss Marx to part with a picture of her father for you. (She is the only person who still has a few good ones in her possession.)

I also ask you to take care with *all* persons connected with Bakunin. It is a characteristic of all sects that they stick together closely and carry on intrigues. *Every one of your confidences*—you may rest assured of this—will be conveyed to Bakunin at once. One of his main principles is the affirmation that keeping a promise and other such things are nothing but bourgeois prejudices, which a true revolutionary should always disregard in the interests of the cause. In Russia he speaks of this openly, in Western Europe it is a secret doctrine.

Write to me *very soon*. It would be very good if we could manage to prevent the Milan branch from joining in the chorus of the other Italian sections.

*Salut et fraternité.*

Yours,
F. Engels

If you write to Miss Burns you *need* neither an inside envelope, nor to make any mention of my name *whatever*. I open everything myself.

First published abridged in: F. Engels, *Politisches Vermächtnis. Aus unveröffentlichten Briefen*, Berlin, 1920 and in full in *Die Gesellschaft*, No. 11, Berlin, 1925

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## 187

## ENGELS TO CARLO TERZAGHI

### IN TURIN

[Draft]

[London, 29 January 1872]

My dear Terzaghi,

I wrote to you on the 15th of this month[a] and I then received your letter dated the 15th inst.[432] I communicated the contents of

[a] See this volume, pp. 294-95.

your letter to the General Council, where the great activity of the Turin workers was recognised with pleasure.

So far the Workers' Federation of Turin has not approached the General Council. If it did, the Council, *after listening to both parties*, would have to deliberate whether this federation could be provisionally admitted or not. I cannot promise you in advance that it will under no circumstances be admitted. For one thing, I am not the Council; then there is the Council's position, as follows.

It is true that the Basle Congress conferred upon the General Council the power to refuse admission, until the next Congress, to any new section[399]; but this power has never been put into practice except in cases of well-proven necessity, and only *after hearing the defence of the section in question*. How can we possibly commit the General Council in advance, before it has heard the other party? You can rest assured that in any case the Council will look after the interests of the International.

As for Mr Beghelli, we cannot vote for the public declaration you request. Beghelli does not belong to the International and he is outside the Council's jurisdiction, and even if this were not the case I do not think he is sufficiently important to be distinguished in this manner from other journalists hostile to the International.

But I must tell you: we did not expect requests of this sort from you. You have supported the calling of a special congress[374] whose sole aim is to accuse the General Council of authoritarianism, and to abolish the powers given to the General Council by the Basle Congress. And no sooner do you vote this support than you ask the General Council to perform acts ten times more authoritarian than any it has ever performed: you ask it to make use of these same powers which you have already condemned and refuse admission to a new section without even listening to what it has to say in its defence. What would your Jura friends say if we were to make ourselves guilty of such *authoritarianism*? You have certainly taken your decision on the basis of the Jura circular and you have, albeit indirectly, approved the lies and slanders it contains, without waiting for the reply of the General Council—you, a brand-new section, necessarily ignorant of the whole[a] matter. You had a right to do this, you are an autonomous section insofar as this autonomy is not limited by the laws of the International. But the General Council is responsible for its actions and cannot allow itself such liberty.

Perhaps you will now see for yourselves that such *authoritarian*

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[a] Crossed out in the original: 'previous history of the International'.

powers were conferred upon the General Council not without reason, that they may have some use and that, instead of inaugurating your career as Internationalists by indirectly condemning a General Council quite unknown to you, and with decisions which only tend to sow dissension at a time when universal government persecutions should be pushing all true Internationalists into the closest union—that instead of all this you would have done better to suspend your judgment until you are better informed.

Thank you for the twenty franc contribution, which I have passed on to the treasurer; I am enclosing in return 200 stamps at 10c. each. These stamps, affixed to a page of the General Rules which every member must possess, constitute proof of membership of the International.[420]

To the Emancipation of the Proletarian Society

International Section

Turin

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## 188

## MARX TO FERDINAND JOZEWICZ[433]

### IN BERLIN

[London,] 1 February 1872

Dear Citizen,

I have delayed my reply to your letter for 3 reasons.

*Firstly*, overwork, since in addition to all the confusion which a few vain mediocrities under the control of government agents have stirred up in the *International*—my time is taken up with a second German edition of my book on capital,[396] with a French edition,[395] for which I have to prepare a plan after the second German edition, and, finally, with a Russian edition, for which I had to supply a number of alterations to the text.[a]

[a] See this volume, p. 238.

*Secondly*, the stamps[420] were only delivered to the General Council at the beginning of this week. I enclose 500. The German edition of the *Rules and Administrative Regulations*[a] is in the press and will soon be available for despatch from the *Volksstaat* at 1 silver groschen each.

*Thirdly*, we are busy drawing up a circular[b] to be printed for private circulation which will give a clear account of the intrigues of Bakunin and his comrades, etc. As soon as it is finished and in print, you shall receive a copy. For the moment, I would only say that as regards the French, everyone worth keeping is sticking by us. The small separate section that was formed here has now split into 3 sections which are devouring each other.[338]

With fraternal greetings,

Karl Marx

First published in *Die Gesellschaft*, No. 3, Berlin, 1933

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Published in English for the first time

## 189

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG[118]

### IN LONDON

[London,] 1 February 1872

My dear Jung,

The letters we want for the project of the circular[b] are:

1) During the sitting of the Conference[c] you received a letter from one of the Bakuninists, I think from Joukowski, in which *the formation of a new section of propaganda*[339] was announced and the sanction of the General Council demanded. I knew from Outine that you had already sent a preliminary answer, and that that new section was nothing but a second edition of the '*Alliance de la démocratie socialiste*'.

This is the first letter we want.

2) *The letter of Malon* in which he calls upon the General Council to acknowledge a 'French Section', founded under his auspices, at Geneva.[434]

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[a] K. Marx, *Allgemeine Statuten und Verwaltungs-Verordnungen der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation*. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*. - [c] the London Conference of 1871

3) The letters received since the Conference from Switzerland, relating to the 'quarrel'[9] and which you told the General Council would be submitted to the Sub-Committee.[435]

Yours fraternally,
Karl Marx

In order to save time, please give all this to Regis who will call upon you to-morrow morning.

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Published in English for the first time

## 190

## MARX TO MAURICE LACHÂTRE AND JUSTE VERNOUILLET[436]

IN PARIS

London, 9 February 1872
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Sirs,

Please be so good as to make two copies of the enclosed contract on stamped paper, one to be signed by Mr Maurice Lachâtre, and then send both copies to me, one of which I shall return duly signed.

In a letter dated 2 February my translator tells me:

'I shall start work this very day and proceed more quickly or less quickly, *depending upon the time allowed* me by the publisher. At all events I shall be entirely at his disposal.'

You would oblige me by enabling me to advise Mr Roy of 'the time allowed'.

I have the honour to be, Sirs,
Your obedient servant,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 33, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the handwritten copy

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

# 191

## MARX TO ADOLPHE HUBERT

### IN LONDON

[London,] 12 February 1872

My dear Friend,

Herewith the notes:

Old Crémieux has been in London where he put up at the Golden Cross Hotel with a gentleman whom he caused to be entered in the hotel register as his son, but who is in reality Mr Truchy, a former captain on the General Staff, a Bonapartist in search of a fortune, and editor of the *Liberté* (Girardin's), to which he was appointed by Badinguet[a] and for which he writes military articles under the *nom de plume* of Mousselerès.

These gentry were in London to settle some business with the man at Chislehurst.[b] The result of the transactions was old man Crémieux's nomination as one of the members of the Regency of the Empire (in the event of Badinguet's death).

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] Nickname of Louis Bonaparte (Napoleon III). Badinguet was the name of a stonemason in whose clothes Louis Bonaparte escaped from prison in Ham in 1846. - [b] Napoleon III, who lived in that area of London after his release from captivity, from March 1871.

## 192

## MARX TO ASHER & Co.[437]

IN LONDON

[London,] 13 February 1872

Dear Sir,

Together with these lines I send you the only copy of the 'Inaugural Address'[a] I can still dispose of.

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50, Moscow, 1981

Reproduced from the original

## 193

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 15 February 1872

Dear Liebknecht,

Letters from Germany about enrolment *are still not forthcoming*.[419] If the dear Germans again will not go beyond promises and fine phrases, we shall never get anywhere with them.

I cannot procure for you the data about the POOR-RATES[438] for the moment. We are being kept busy by the reply[b] to the Jura circular,[374] which is very urgent, and local statistics are the sort of thing one must collect oneself from the sources. For the time being, do *not* mention the reply to the Jurassians in public.

You will be aware that Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc were the chief supporters of Bakunin & Co. (see the report on the last meeting).[439]

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[a] K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. -
[b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*.

Re the *Misère de la philosophie*, steps will be taken soon. Marx has signed the contract for the French translation of *Capital* and it will soon start to appear in *instalments*. (Between ourselves for the time being).[436] As soon as some have come out, it will be the turn of the *Misère de la philosophie*.

The *Manifesto* will follow, in German[189] and probably in French and English (having appeared in an English and a French periodical in New York[440]).

You see that things are in full swing here. But it all makes for a lot of work.

The Lassalleans here have been thrown out, as you know.[a] If they go on kicking up a fuss in the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, send us the paper when you have finished with it—it doesn't get sent to the Workers' Educational Society[135] anymore. The Lassallean gentlemen here had the impertinence to go on behaving as if they were 'The Society' and sent Scherzer as their delegate to the General Council, where he was turned back without further ado.

You will have received the 800-odd STAMPS from Marx. You stick them on the top of the back of the title leaf of the Rules, of which, I hope, we shall soon receive the 3,000 copies, together with the bill? Cf. the relevant Conference resolution, which is clear enough.[420]

Enclosed find a Prussian loan-certificate for 10 thalers in settlement of the accompanying invoice, for which I should like a receipt. Use the balance as you think fit.

Furthermore, 4 reports on meetings[b] from *The Eastern Post* and a few lines to Hepner.[45]

Cuno is behaving very courageously but has lost his job and is in a very bad way.[c]

I had guessed that your Italian could only be Stefanoni. Now just pay attention to this:

1. *Libero Pensiero* No. 18, 2 November 1871. Programme of the *Società Universale dei Razionalisti*, setting up a rival association to the International. According to its programme rationalist *monasteries* are to be established, a colossal sum of money to be invested in land is to be amassed and a *marble* bust *of every bourgeois* who donates 10,000 francs to the society is to be placed in the congress hall.[421]

2. There follow, in Nos. 20 & 21, increasingly virulent attacks on the International for repudiating atheism, as conceived by the

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[a] See this volume, p. 297. - [b] of the General Council - [c] See this volume, p. 305.

Alliance, and on the General Council for its tyrannical ways, etc.

3. After an interval, this is followed in No. 1 of 4 January 1872 by a lengthy abusive article about the General Council, in which *all the slanders of Schneider* and *Weber* from the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*[386] appear *in translation* and are accompanied by equally outrageous commentaries, e. g. on the Communist trial.[138]

4. This is followed in No. 3 of 18 January by *a letter from Wilhelm Liebknecht* of 28 December, in which the latter promises help to Stefanoni and offers to publish his contributions and to lend his support, without seeing it, to the programme of this honest society at the Saxon provincial assembly.[441]

5. This is followed in No. 4 of 25 January by another abusive article about the General Council in which the slanderous allegations about Marx by Messrs *Schenck and Winand are once more translated* from the *Neuer*.[415]

You can see in what fine company you have involved yourself with your letter-writing. Stefanoni, behind whom none other than Bakunin (who supplied him with all this material) is concealed, has *just used you as a tool.* He has used Feuerbach in the same way, having published one of his letters too. Büchner, of course, is also conspiring with Stefanoni against us. This is what happens when you take up with people you do not know, when a simple enquiry, or even the mere mention of a name, would have sufficed for us to give you the necessary information and to prevent you from compromising yourself in this way. As things stand you have no option but to write Stefanoni a *brief* rude letter, sending him the relevant numbers of the *Volksstaat.* However, since Stefanoni will take good care not to print your letter, you must send me a copy so that I can translate it and see that it appears in the Italian press,[a] for even the Bakuninist papers are at loggerheads with him. However, if you wish us to continue to be able to come out with you and on your behalf abroad, the first precondition is that you do not continue to make things difficult for us by writing such letters to unknown people.

The people in Spain have their hands full with their struggle against the government, and are much too busy to quarrel with us anymore.

The Marx family and all of us send best wishes to you all, especially to Bebel.

Your

F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p. 577.

Lafargue and Laura are in Madrid and intend to stay there for the time being.

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## 194

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

### IN GENEVA

London, 16 February 1872

*Au citoyen*[a] *J. Ph. Becker*

My dear old Comrade-in-arms,

It gave me great pleasure to receive a letter from you once again after so many years.

The business about Lessner's 10 frs has been settled.[442]

Can you make any suggestions about how we might assist Cuno in remaining where he is, i.e. in Milan? I cannot see any way from here and we would certainly be glad to do all we can to keep the brave fellow at such an important post. These damned Italians make more work for me than the entire rest of the International put together makes for the General Council. And it is all the more infuriating as in all probability little will come of it as long as the Italian workers are content to allow a few doctrinaire journalists and lawyers to call the tune on their behalf.

Marx sent the 100 stamps *à* 1 silver groschen in a registered letter to the address indicated in Cologne, but we have not yet had a reply.

Your young friend Wegmann is presumably the same person as the one about whom my cousin, Mrs Beust, wrote to me in Manchester a few years ago. I tried a great deal then to find him a position, even though convinced of the impossibility of doing so, and my efforts were indeed unsuccessful, a fact on which I reported to Anna Beust in detail.[45] I shall now write once more to Manchester on his behalf, but would be grateful if Wegmann

[a] To Citizen

could let me know in what field he is qualified to take up a position. Unfortunately, I cannot really hold out any prospects of success. The place is crawling with young German and Swiss engineers who snap up any position that arises in no time at all. I really tried everything I knew to find something for an Alsatian refugee, but without success, *even though the man was on the spot* and had very good references. He finally discovered something by pure chance after a long period of giving lessons.

Things are going well in Spain. The forcible measures taken against the International by the government have really cured people of abstention from politics, and Marx's son-in-law, Lafargue, who is in Madrid, is also doing his utmost to drive the Bakuninist quirks out of their heads. I have no worries about Spain. The people we are dealing with there are *workers*, and Bakunin's few doctors and journalists in Barcelona have to mind their ps and qs. The Spanish Federal Council is *completely* on our side. People in various sections have expressed very sensible views, and the Federal Council has released a circular (or was about to do so a little while ago), containing its entire correspondence with the General Council[443] and then putting the question whether the General Council had attempted to treat them, the Spaniards, in a dictatorial fashion. In the meantime, the situation has changed so much that it looks as if open conflict is imminent in Spain, and this has completely cut the ground from under the feet of the Jurassians and their adherents. They really do have other things on their hands now in Spain than to make such a to-do about trivialities.

Outine's letter and the *Suisse radicale* have arrived. We shall publicise the case[444] without delay.[a]

Your enquiry about the letters really did slip my mind. I shall write to Frankel at once to find out whether he received the two letters, and if not I shall keep on searching. If anything has gone astray I shall let you know immediately.

Marx sends greetings to you all and I do likewise.

Fraternally, your old

F. Engels

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association'.

# 195

## ENGELS TO GIUSEPPE BENEDETTI

### IN PISA

[Draft]

[London, 18 February 1872]

Citizen G. Benedetti,

I received a few days ago your letter of 7 January and I am not too sure that it is meant for me, since neither of the two stamps it bears is that of our Association, whether 'Intern. Democr. Assoc.' or 'Int. Assoc. *among* Working Men'. As however you mention the Basle Congress and the Jura circular,[374] it is probable that it has reached the correct address.

As for its contents, I must tell you that the Pisa section, as a section of the International Association *of* Working Men, is absolutely unknown to us. Resolution 4 of the Basle Congress says that any section or society wishing to become part of the International is obliged to give immediate notification thereof to the General Council, which (Resolution 5) has the right to admit or refuse the affiliation of any new society or group, except for an appeal to Congress,[445] and which admits genuine workers' and internationalist societies and sections as soon as it has obtained proof that their Rules contain nothing contrary to the General Rules (Resolution 14 of the Geneva Congress).[446]

I am sorry that these Congress resolutions weigh so heavily upon the sense of autonomy of the self-styled Pisa section, which despite being only recently formed and not yet admitted, naturally knows the 'temperament of the Association' much better than those who have belonged to it since its inception and who drafted its Rules. But although you are of the opinion that this temperament 'excludes any principle of authority', the General Council must unfortunately recognise *the authority of the laws* of the International, which oblige it to carry out the resolutions of Congresses (including that of Basle), and not to admit sections whose autonomy does not permit them to recognise the authority of the laws that are common to the Association as a whole.

As for the demand for an extraordinary Congress, I cannot submit it to the General Council unless your section is regularly admitted. Meanwhile I can tell you that you have the distinction of

being the *first* section (real or self-styled) to call for this Congress since the publication of the Jura circular.

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## 196

## ENGELS TO WILLIAM BURRS[447]

### IN MANCHESTER

[Draft]

[London,] 22 February 1872

In reply...[a] I beg to say that Mr Glaser[b] has been highly recommended to me and that I believe him to be a strictly honourable man and not without some means, and who is not likely to enter into engagements he could not fulfil so that, if I were in a position to do business with him, I should not hesitate to trust him to a moderate amount say £100 to 200.

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Published in English for the first time

[a] Dots in the original. - [b] de Willebrord

# 197

## MARX TO FERDINAND JOZEWICZ[448]

### IN BERLIN

[London,] 24 February 1872

Citizen Secretary,

I can only write a few words today. Because of the conspiracy of the 'international police' with certain *faux frères*[a] within the International, the General Council has heaped so many tasks upon me that I have even been compelled to put aside my theoretical work. So to business:

1. A resolution of the General Council, based on the four-month-long delay in printing the stamps (itself due to unforeseen obstacles in London), has set back the date by which unsold stamps should be returned from *1 March* to *1 July*. (Be kind enough to inform Liebknecht of this since I have no time to write to him at present.)

2. As far as double payment for the stamps is concerned, you have only to state in your report on 1 July that such-and-such a proportion of the money being forwarded stems from that source.

3. As far as the 'corresponding secretary' is concerned, the General Council leaves it to the Berlin section to arrange the matter as it thinks fit.

4. The Berlin section falls into the category of countries where 'legal obstacles' exist to regular organisation and in such countries the sections have absolute freedom to constitute themselves in a manner appropriate to the law of the land, without thereby forfeiting *any right* possessed by the other sections.[449]

5. The next Congress will be held in September 1872. The General Council has not yet decided on a location for the gathering.[450] The Social-Democratic Party would be well-advised to let us know without delay when they intend to hold their Congress.

6. The periodic reports of the General Council have been replaced by its weekly reports in *The Eastern Post*, the first despatch of which you will receive today.

6.[b] The *Volksstaat* is one of the organs in question.

7. The General Council thanks the Berlin section for having already appointed a statistical commission.[451]

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[a] traitors - [b] '6' occurs twice in the handwritten copy.

8. The Council enquires through me in what relationship the *Hamburgers* (i.e. the Committee of the Social-Democratic Party)[452] stand towards the General Council. Up to now we have not had a word from them.

9. The General Council requests the Berlin section to declare its approval of the resolutions of the last Conference of delegates of the International (in London).[254]

With fraternal greetings,

K. M.

First published in *Die Gesellschaft*, No. 3, Berlin, 1933

Printed according to the handwritten copy

## 198

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

### IN LONDON

[London,] 26[a] February 1872

Dear Jung,

Could you come and visit me on Thursday[b] evening to help Engels and myself prepare a report for the press on the monies disbursed by the General Council for the refugees, etc.?

Bring all your account books with you, and also as many details as possible about the people we have placed.[251]

We and a mass of Frenchmen will not go to Holborn tomorrow evening, since, in view of the uproar in the streets, the meeting cannot be held after all.[453]

Harrison has another brazenly boastful article in *The Times* about the wonderful help he & Co. have given to the *réfugiés*, thus putting an end to all need AMONGST THE REALLY DESERVING.[c]

Enclosed are a little letter and POST-OFFICE ORDER from Jenny.[d]

*Tout à vous*,[e]

K. M.

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[a] The original has '27', a slip of the pen. - [b] 29 February - [c] F. Harrison, 'To the Editor of *The Times*', *The Times*, No. 27309, 26 February 1872. - [d] Marx's daughter - [e] Yours sincerely

## 199

## MARX TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN MADRID

[London,] 28 February 1872

My dear child,

You may judge of the overwork—I am being bothered with ever since December last—from my negligence in replying to your own and Paul's letters. Still my heart was always with you. In fact, the health of poor little Schnappy[a] occupies my thoughts more than everything else, and I feel even a little angry at Paul's last epistle, full of interesting details as to the 'movement', but a mere blank in regard to that dear little sufferer.[454]

In consequence of uninterrupted reading and writing, an inflammation of my right eye has set in since a few days, so that it forsakes service for the moment and obliges me to limit even this letter to the most necessary matter-of-fact communications.

In the first instance, Keller is *not* the translator of my book.[b 147] When, at last, I had found out his whereabouts, I wrote at once.[17] In his reply, he told me that he had till then only translated about 200 pages, and that, moreover, he could not proceed with the work before the month of May, being bound by contract to finish the translation of a medical work. This would not do for me. I have found in Roy, the translator of Feuerbach, a man perfectly suitable to my purpose. Since the end of December, he has received from me the corrected manuscript of the Second German edition[396] up to *pagina* 280. To-day I have written him to send at once to Paris what manuscript may be ready.[17]

As to the biography, I have not yet made up my mind as to whether it be at all opportune to publish it in connection with this work.[455]

As to the preface for Proudhon,[456] *j'y penserai.*[c]

The printings Paul wants I shall send to-morrow[457] and should have done so before, if I had found the time to look after some statistical facts in 'the 18. Brumaire' which, I apprehend, are not quite correct.

To Liebknecht I shall write.[458]

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[a] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [b] Volume I of *Capital* - [c] I shall think of it.

As to Lara, making him—a man who is a perfect stranger to our party—a contributor to our party prints, is quite out of the question.[459] At the same time, you ought not to neglect all relations with his family. Under certain circumstances they might prove useful.

I regret that you have written to Woodhull et C°. They are humbugs that compromise us. Let Paul write to Charles A. Dana, editor of *The Sun* (New York) and offer him Spanish correspondence, and ask him at the same time (such things must be settled beforehand with the Yankees) as to the money terms. I enclose a few lines to Dana.[17] If he should not accept, I shall find another paper at New York. (*The Herald* or something else).

The *New Social Demokrat* is the continuation of Schweitzer's paper[a] under another editorship. He observed still a certain decorum. It is now a mere police paper, Bismarck's paper for the Lassalleans, as he has his feudal, his liberal, his all sort of colour papers.

*Apropos.* Misled by one of your letters I had put in the contract with Lachâtre[436] '*somme de ... sera remise à Paris ... quinze jours après demande*'.[b] I shall write him to-morrow, that I prefer the payment on lst July. In case of need, I can find the money, but I must be informed beforehand.

And now, my dear child, *adio*, with thousand kisses for little Schnappy and yourself, and my greetings to Paul.

Yours most devotedly
Old Nick[c]

The 'Circular' against the dissentients[d] you will receive as soon as printed.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Annali*, an. 1, Milan, 1958

Reproduced from the original

[a] *Der Social-Demokrat* - [b] 'the sum of ... shall be paid in Paris ... within 15 days upon demand' - [c] Marx's nickname - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International.*

## 200

## ENGELS TO SIGISMUND BORKHEIM[460]

### IN LONDON

[London, early March 1872]

...Sorge is very naive to ask for a book on Ireland from *our* standpoint. I have been trying to write one for two years now,[57] but the war, the Commune and the International have called a halt to everything else. In the meantime I recommend him the following:

1. *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland* by Prendergast, London, Longmans, 2nd ed., 1870-71.
2. *Memoir on Ireland* by O'Connell, London—Duffey, 1869.

For the historical fundamentals

3. *The Irish People and the Irish Land* by Isaac Butt, London—Ridgway.

This for the present.

The Irish question, simple as it is, is nevertheless the product of a prolonged historical struggle and so requires a thorough study. A manual to make the situation comprehensible in around 2 hours does not exist...

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Printed according to the original of Borkheim's letter to Sorge of 15 March 1872

## 201

## ENGELS TO LOUIS PIO[461]

### IN COPENHAGEN

[London,] 7 March 1872

Dear Mr Pio,

I was very pleased to receive your letter of 24 February and would have written to you sooner, even before receiving it, had I had a reliable address in *Köbenhavn* and had I not heard from Outine that you were away. The truth is that it had not escaped our notice that Mottershead has not attended to his duties as

Secretary for Denmark as he should. He has neglected a number of tasks that he should have carried out, as the accompanying letter to the Danish Federal Council makes clear. In order to remove Mottershead from the Secretariat, it would be a good idea for the Danish Federal Council to write to the General Council (c/o John Hales, GENERAL SECRETARY, 33 Rathbone Place, W. London), enquiring why the correspondence was being carried on so negligently. The fact of the matter was that we *intentionally* did not want to have a German Secretary for Denmark; our Frenchmen do not write English for the most part and we did not know how well correspondence in French would suit you—so our only alternative was to choose an Englishman, since you had written to us in English. And among such people who did not hold other offices, Mottershead seemed the most suitable. However, we see that he will not do and we have to find ways in which to activate the correspondence, so that things do not just stagnate. Cohen, the previous Secretary, no longer takes an interest beyond his immediate comrades, the cigar-workers, and moreover, he was arraigned by the Belgians at the Conference of September 1871 for his behaviour in Belgium at the time of a visitation from the General Council.[462] Since then he has not appeared.

For the time being, I shall correspond privately with you, if you agree, until official relations are re-established. I shall also send you a copy of *The Eastern Post* every week as it carries an official report on the meetings of the General Council. I have already sent you a copy of the issue of 24 February.[a] You will, of course, write to me *in Danish.* I understand your language perfectly, since I have made a thorough study of Scandinavian literature, and my only regret is that I cannot reply to you in Danish since I have never had the opportunity to practise it. Perhaps that will come later! Apart from myself, Marx understands Danish, but I doubt if anyone else does on the General Council.

I shall do my best to send you a report for publication in the *Socialisten* from time to time, and you should indeed receive one today or tomorrow,[b] if at all possible. I am unfortunately so preoccupied at the moment with my secretarial duties for Italy and Spain and with other tasks that I have hardly any time. Until I can find correspondents in Spain and Italy for you, I shall keep you supplied with news and newspapers from both countries. The best solution would be for you to exchange the *Socialisten* for

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[a] It contained a report on the General Council meeting of 20 February 1872. - [b] See this volume, p. 340.

papers from there—although there is the problem of cost, since their papers are weeklies and yours appears daily.

You will have heard in Geneva and Leipzig of the attempt made by some dissidents, led by Bakunin, to convene an extraordinary Congress in order to arraign the General Council.[374] The crux of the business concerns the International's stance on politics. These gentlemen call for *a complete abstention from all political activity*, and especially *from all elections*, whereas, right from the start, the International has written on its banner the conquest of political power by the working class as a means to social emancipation,[a] and the General Council has defended this position. Resolution IX of the Conference[b] sparked off the dispute,[325] but since the Conference resolutions have no binding force on issues of principle until they are endorsed by the federations, it is vital to have a decision of the Danish Federal Council endorsing this one. I shall say nothing on the substance of the matter, as this would be insulting to a nation so highly developed politically as the Danes.

By the way, recognition of the Conference resolutions has already come in from the majority, that is to say from Zurich, from Romance Switzerland, from Germany, England, Holland and America. In Spain the congress due to meet in April will decide[428]; in Italy they are all still at sixes and sevens; the Belgians have made no comment up to now; in France the individual sections have *all* given their approval—a federation there is out of the question.

Incidentally, the attempts of the Jura people to force through an extraordinary Congress failed spectacularly, and have been *abandoned* by them in an autographed circular (of 3 March).[463] In favour of their proposal were: *one* section in Spain (Palma, Majorca), *one* in Italy (Turin, which has now reversed its decision), and a number of supposed sections which in fact have neither applied for membership of the International, nor paid any subscriptions (Pisa, Bologna, etc.); in London a supposed *Section française de 1871*, which however has never been admitted because its local Rules are incompatible with the General Rules, and which has since split into four parts[338]—and that was all. In the meantime, the General Council has produced a reply to these

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[a] K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. IX. Political Action by the Working Class.

intrigues,[a] which is now in the press and which I shall send you as soon as it is ready.

I am sending you today through the post:

1 copy of the *Emancipación* from Madrid,

1 English and 1 French copy of the Conference resolutions;

1 English and 1 German copy of the new edition of the Rules.[b]

For the time being I shall send you the *Emancipación* along with *The Eastern Post* every week, and shall write to Madrid and Italy that they should send papers to you. If, when the *Socialisten* reappears, you can send me 4-6 copies of any interesting issues from time to time, I shall distribute them until you have made firm arrangements of your own.

Since I know that Mottershead has neither proposed that the Danish Federal Council should recognise the Conference resolutions, nor taken any action to implement the decision about the adhesive membership stamps, I am taking it upon myself to put these matters before the Danish Federal Council through you. As for the stamps (Conference Resolution IV, 1-5),[420] they were not ready until much later than expected and so the settlement date has been postponed by a decision of the General Council from 1 March (IV, 4) to 1 *July*. I am sending you *500 stamps* for the present. They cost *£2.1/10* and I would be obliged if you could let me know whether you need any more and how many. This information should best go to Mottershead (33 Rathbone Place) or to Hales.

We are keenly awaiting the results of your Rigsdag elections[464]—we think it of very great importance that workers from the International should sit in all the parliaments and that Bebel, who up to now has alone had this honour, should receive some support, no matter where. We believe that you in Denmark have good prospects of getting people in and hope that you are successful.

*Salut et fraternité.*

Yours,
F. Engels

The best way to reach me is to write to
Miss Burns,
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W. London.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International.* - [b] K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association.*

An inner envelope is *not* necessary—it is where I live. I only go to Rathbone Place once a week and we have moved out of Holborn.

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## 202

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 7 March 1872

My dear Jung,

I do not find the Rules of the Vermersch Section.[465] Please to look about, whether you have them.

Yours fraternally,
K. Marx

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## 203

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[137]

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 8 March 1872
33 Rathbone Place, W.C.[466]

Dear Sorge,

Have only received today the *German Rules*[a] sent by Liebknecht and they cannot be sent off until *Monday*.[b] Over there people seem

[a] K. Marx, *Allgemeine Statuten und Verwaltungs-Verordnungen der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation*. - [b] 11 March

to imagine that the General Council just conjures up everything out of a hat, whereas the contrary is the case: without the private contributions of its members and their personal friends, ***absolutely nothing*** could be done. I notice the same comments in letters from Speyer, Bolte and yourself, as I do in correspondence from other countries. Every country believes that our entire time can be devoted to it alone. If we wanted to grumble about every single detail, we could, e.g., complain that your REPORTS to us appear simultaneously in the *Volksstaat.*

Since I was commissioned by the General Council at long last to report on the SPLIT in America[422] (the matter had had to be postponed from one meeting to the next on account of the chaos within the International in Europe)—I have carefully gone through all the correspondence from New York together with everything that appeared in the papers and have discovered that we were by no means duly informed in time about the elements that brought about the breach. A portion of the resolutions I have proposed[a] has already been accepted, the rest will be passed next Tuesday[b] and the final judgment will then be sent off to New York.

You will receive 1,000 copies of the German Rules. Hales will send 500 in English. I am sending 200 French ones, which have all been ordered.

Eccarius says that the things were sent to Gregory[467] (his private correspondent) because you had written to him that you were resigning from office but had not named a new correspondent.

The complaint about the French having their 'own' correspondent is quite unjust,[468] since the Germans also had one of their own and Eccarius, the SECRETARY for the UNITED STATES, can certainly deal with correspondence in German and English, but not in French. Moreover, the complaint was politically ill-advised, since it seemed to justify the view of the French members of the COUNCIL that Section I aspired to dictatorial authority over the other sections.[354] It arrived here at the same time as the complaint from the COUNTER-COMMITTEE that Section I was represented on the old committee in numbers exceeding those stipulated by the Rules.

The cost of the Rules was higher for the COUNTER-COMMITTEE because import duties had to be paid (at least, that is what they maintain).

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[a] K. Marx, 'Resolutions on the Split in the United States' Federation Passed by the General Council of the I.W.A. in Its Sittings of 5th and 12th March, 1872'. - [b] 12 March

I hope that your committee will be satisfied with the decision of the COUNCIL.

We are having a pamphlet against the DISSENTERS[a] printed in Geneva, which will be almost as big as the one on the *CIVIL WAR*. In the meantime the dissenters have drawn in their horns in their last circular, so as to dull the polemic.[463]

IN ALL HASTE.

Yours,
K. Marx

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

## 204

## MARX TO ÉMILE EUDES

### IN LONDON

[London,] 9 March 1872

My dear Eudes,

Do not speak to your landlord until you have *removed your furniture* from your lodgings. Otherwise he might seize it and cause problems for you.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

First published in *L'Actualité de l'histoire*, No. 10, Paris, 1955

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*.

## 205

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[381]

### IN MADRID

London, 11 March 1872

My dear Lafargue,

If you wish to entrust me with your affairs, I shall be glad to look after them; all you have to do is write and ask your agent to send me your share certificates and bonds *by registered letter* addressed to *me* at 122 Regent's Park Road. These I would keep along with my own. As to the coupons, dividends and interest, I shan't be able to tell you anything until I have examined the documents, but that can be arranged without difficulty. In the case of ready cash I believe you would do better to have it remitted to Madrid by *bill of exchange* and deposit it with a banker down there; I feel sure there must be some to whom you can entrust it. If, however, you would rather have it sent to me, I would ask you to give *formal* instructions that this should be in the form of a *bill of exchange* (or mandate) *on London* made out *to my order*—again by *registered letter.* In either case the bill of exchange should be *short-dated.* Or again, you could split the amount and instruct your agent to send part to Madrid and the remainder to me. Whichever you wish. It is always much better to send a bill of exchange than banknotes. You will lose equally one way or the other, but probably less with a bill of exchange. Besides, in the event of theft a banknote is lost for good, whereas a bill of exchange[a] is difficult for a thief to cash and in such a case one can prevent payment.

There is always a certain risk, even with registered letters, when they pass from one country to the other, but I know of no other means of ensuring that your share certificates, etc., reach me. Besides, we have recently had a great deal of experience with registered letters, since those that are unregistered do not always arrive, while registered letters have hitherto arrived without exception.[b]

I have sent you a number of papers from here, for instance *on February 14th* four cuttings from *The Eastern Post,* the *Volksstaat,* the *Tagwacht* of Zurich, and the *Socialiste* of New York;

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[a] Engels has 'le billet de banque' (banknote)—a slip of the pen. - [b] Thus far Engels wrote in French. The rest of the original is in English.

*on February 21st The Eastern Post, Socialiste* and the French edition of the Rules[a] (to the *Emancipación*).

Tomorrow I shall send you 2 *Eastern Posts.* Unfortunately the two addresses to old ladies are the *only ones we have* and it would be *very important* to have another for both letters and papers as they cannot but become very suspect.

I can understand very well that our friends there are in reality a good deal more practical than they appear in their papers, and I perfectly understand the reason why. I am quite certain for instance that when they demand, that on the morrow of important events the land and the instruments of labour should be at once handed over to those who ought to hold them, they know perfectly well this to be impracticable, but must make the demand for consistency's sake. We must make a full allowance for their position. The Bakunist rubbish cannot be cleared away in one day, it is quite enough that the process of clearing it out has at last begun in good earnest.

From the Jurassian last circular you will have seen what a complete fiasco that ludicrous campaign has ended in.[463] However, the circular of the General Council in reply[b] is being printed and you may as well prepare our friends there for the fact that these men will be very roughly handled by us, and that all the facts we know about them—they are scandalous enough—will be laid before the Association. We must now make an end of this sect. Mohr's and my time has been wasted entirely by them for months past and this cannot go on. Only yesterday I had to send to Naples a complete pamphlet of twelve closely written pages in refutation of their absurdities.[45] They are *all* Bakunists in Naples, and there is only one amongst them, Cafiero, who at least is *de bonne volonté,*[c] with him I correspond. About other matters I write to your wife.[d]

Mrs Engels[e] sends her compliments to both of you.

Yours truly,

The General[f]

First published, in the languages of the original (French and English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance,* t. I, Paris, 1956

Printed according to the original

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[a] K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association.* - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International.* - [c] who at least means well - [d] Laura Lafargue (see next letter) - [e] Lydia Burns - [f] Engels' nickname

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[381]

IN MADRID

London, 11 March 1872

Dear Laura,

I should like to compliment you on Paul's articles in the *Emancipación*, which have given us all great pleasure, sending as they do a breath of fresh air into the desert of abstract declamation that prevails amongst the Spaniards.[a] Given all the tribulations and journeyings which have been inflicted on you over the past eighteen months and which, needless to say, I have followed with interest and at times with anxiety, it must be very gratifying for you to know that Paul's presence in Madrid, precisely at the decisive moment, has been of incalculable value both to us and to the whole Association. Had Bakunin & Co. won the day in Spain—and without Paul they would probably have done so—a split would have occurred and with it a public rumpus. But now this attempted rebellion has come to an ignominious end and we can proclaim a *victoire sur toute la ligne*.[b] In those articles in the *Emancipación* where, for the first time, the Spaniards were treated to some genuine learning, you yourself played an important part, indeed the really learned part, which means that I, as Secretary for Spain, owe you especial thanks.

I see from the Naples *Campana* that Paul has also extended his activities in that direction. So much the better. Naples harbours the worst Bakuninists in the whole of Italy. Cafiero is a good chap, a born intermediary and, as such, naturally weak. If he doesn't improve soon, I shall give him up too. In Italy the journalists, lawyers and doctors have thrust themselves so much to the fore that up till now we have been unable to get in direct touch with the workers. That is beginning to change and we are discovering that the workers, as everywhere else, are quite different from their spokesmen. It is ludicrous—these people cry 'we want complete autonomy, we don't want leaders' and at the same time, more than

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[a] This presumably refers to: [P. Lafargue,] 'El apólogo de San Simon', 'El reinado de la burguesia', 'Las panaceas de la burguesia', 'Organización del trabajo', *La Emancipación*, Nos. 29, 32-38; 1, 21, 28 January, 4, 11, 18, 25 February, 3 March 1872. - [b] victory all along the line

in any other country, they allow a handful of doctrinaire bourgeois to lead them by the nose. The Spaniards are much better in this respect, for on the whole they have progressed a good deal further than the aforesaid Italians.

There have been great rejoicings at your home since the Longuet affair and if, at the time of your engagement, one or two people may have cracked bad jokes about CASTING SHEEP'S EYES, you have now been fully avenged, for Jenny is doing her very best along similar lines. This business has, by the way, been of enormous benefit to her; she is happy and cheerful and also physically much better, while Longuet is a very kindly companion. Tussy is also very pleased about the affair and really gives the impression that she SHOULD NOT MIND TO FOLLOW SUIT. Day after tomorrow Longuet will give a guest performance at your house where he will cook *sole à la normande*, his national dish. We too have been invited and I shall be curious to see what my wife[a] makes of the taste. His last offering—*boeuf à la mode*—WAS NO GREAT SUCCESS.

The Fondevilles have ruined themselves utterly over here, morally speaking; they are out and out tricksters.

My best thanks for that amusing Spanish poem.[469] It has caused us a great deal of merriment.

I'm glad that Schnappy[b] is improving and hope soon to hear that he is perfectly well again. The poor little chap has already had a great deal to contend with.

So now good-bye, think kind thoughts of me and rest assured that, wherever you may go, my heartfelt interest will go with you. My wife, though still unknown to you, sends her best wishes.

Ever your old
General[c]

First published, in the language of the original (German), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

Printed according to the original

[a] Lydia Burns - [b] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [c] Engels' nickname

## 207

## ENGELS TO LOUIS PIO

### IN COPENHAGEN

[London, mid-March 1872]

Dear Mr Pio,

I think I cannot give you anything better for my first correspondence than the preceding translation of two excellent articles from the *Pensamento Social*.[a] I have not the slightest idea who may be the author, but they show an insight into the economical and historical conditions of the development of modern society which I am astonished to find in a paper coming from so remote a corner of the world.

By the bye, the article on organisation of agricultural production by Association from *Socialisten* which I got inserted in the published report of the Meetings of the General Council, has gone the round of the Spanish, Italian and American press, and I now find it reproduced in the *Pensamento Social*[470]; it has created great sensation and will not be without its fruit. Altogether, with regard to the all-important question of enlisting the small peasantry and *Husmaendena*[b] in the proletarian movement, the Danes, owing to their local circumstances and to their great political intelligence, are now in advance of all other nations. I have told Liebknecht and others this, but unfortunately they are too lazy to learn Danish.

Mottershead[c] has not attended the last three meetings of the General Council, but he intends, so he has told us, to resign from his office as Secretary for Denmark; he says he is too busy to carry out his duties as Secretary.

In the meantime, I beg you to be so kind as to correspond with me, and I take upon myself all responsibility for any repercussions which might affect you vis-à-vis the General Council because of it. We intend to transfer the secretaryship for Denmark to a Frenchman, a member of the *Commune de Paris*.[d]

With a socialist handshake and greetings,

F. Engels

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[a] Presumably the articles 'A Ignaldade' and 'A Internacional', published in *O Pensamento Social*, No. 1, February 1872. - [b] small tenants - [c] From here on up to and including the words '...literal translation' Engels writes in Danish. - [d] Frederic Étienne Cournet

I have translated the Portuguese articles into French, because this language permits an almost literal translation, and I have made it as literal as possible without regard to elegance or even correctness of French style.

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Published in English in full for the first time

## 208

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[118]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 15 March 1872
33 Rathbone Place, W. C.
(new address of the General Council)[a]

Dear Citizen,

I enclose the Resolutions of the General Council (in English and French[b]). The other Council[422] will receive them from Le Moussu.

Eccarius, at the end of the sitting of 12 March, told me privately that he would not send the Resolutions to New York and that, at next sitting, he would tender his resignation as Secretary for the United States. As this affair cannot be settled by the General Council before Tuesday next,[c] the Resolutions sent by me and Le Moussu, are not signed by a Secretary, the which, considering the form chosen, was not necessary. They will be printed in next week's *Eastern Post*.

During the discussion Eccarius spoke in a spirit most hostile to your Council. He spoke and voted against Resolution III, 2.[471] He was moreover offended because, in order to save time, I had not submitted the Resolutions to the subcommittee[435] of which he forms part, but laid them at once before the General Council. As the latter fully approved this proceeding, after my statement of

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[a] Marx added this on the letterhead of the General Council. - [b] K. Marx, 'Resolutions on the Split in the United States' Federation Passed by the General Council of the I.W.A. in Its Sittings of 5th and 12th March, 1872'. - [c] 19 March

the reasons which had induced me to act as I have done, Eccarius ought to have dropped his personal spleen.

For the *private* information of your Council I add that M. and Madame Huleck—he is an imbecile and she is '*une intrigante de bas état*'[a]—had for a moment slipped into the General Council at a time when most of us were absent, but that, soon after, this worthy couple was forced to withdraw consequent upon their intrigues with the *soi-disant Branche Française*[b] the which was excluded from the *International* and denounced by us, in the *Marseillaise* and the *Réveil*, on the eve of the plebiscite,[104] as '*une section policière*'.[c 50] Moreover, these two persons, after their arrival at New York, cooperated in the foundation of a Society hostile to the International and were in constant connection with *les beaux restes de la branche française*[d] at London. The same facts have been communicated by Le Moussu to the other Council.

Section 10 (French) has written an excellent letter to the General Council on the American split.[472]

Yours fraternally,
Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Reproduced from the original

## 209

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London. 17 March 1872
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Sorge,

I have a favour to ask of you, which I hope will not put you to too much trouble.

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[a] 'an intrigante of the basest kind' - [b] so-called French branch - [c] 'a police section' - [d] worthy remnants of the French section

Would you be so kind as to buy 50 copies of the issue of *Woodhull & Claflin's* which contains the translation of the *Communist Manifesto*, and 50-100 of the issues of the *Socialiste* with the French translation, and send them on to me?[440] I shall send you the money for them as soon as I know how much it comes to. If there are not enough copies available, may I ask you to send what you can obtain. However much both translations leave to be desired, we still have to use them as propaganda for the time being, the French version especially is quite indispensable for the Latin countries of Europe as a counter to the nonsense purveyed by Bakunin, as well as the ubiquitous Proudhonist rubbish.

As soon as we have time, Marx and I, we shall prepare a new edition of the *Manifesto* with an introduction,[189] etc., but at the moment we have our hands full. Apart from Spain and Italy, I have to act as Secretary for Portugal and Denmark as well at present. Marx has quite enough to do with his second edition of *Capital*[396] and the various translations that are now looming.[436]

We had intended to celebrate the revolution of 18 March with a PUBLIC MEETING tomorrow—but yesterday evening the HALL we had hired suddenly became unavailable! The pretext given was that THE FRENCH COMMUNISTS WERE NOT *ALLOWED* TO MEET *IN ANY HALL* IN LONDON! Since the owners are sure to be most unwilling to lose the 10 guineas rent, and since we shall sue for DAMAGES and shall get them too, it is obvious that they are being compensated by the government. Meanwhile we shall chance it and just go along quietly and if we find the door locked, which is probable, but not certain, we shall put the man who made the aforementioned statement into the WITNESS-BOX and see what can be made of the affair.[473] At all events we shall contrive to embarrass Mr Gladstone.

With warmest regards,

F. Engels

In Lisbon a paper has come out called *O Pensamento Social*, Rua de S. Boaventura, No. 57, Lisboa, which has a number of outstanding articles in the first issue.[a]

I enclose an article on Arthur O'Connor from the Brussels *Liberté*, which certainly deserves to appear translated in *The Irish*

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[a] See this volume, p. 340.

*Republic.* Up to now it is the *only* article in the entire European press to have come out in support of the poor devil.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere,* Stuttgart, 1906

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## 210

## MARX TO MAURICE LACHÂTRE[474]

### IN SAN SEBASTIAN

London, 18 March 1872

*To Citizen Maurice La Châtre*

Dear Citizen,

I applaud your idea of publishing the translation of *Das Kapital* in periodic instalments. In this form the work will be more accessible to the working class and for me that consideration outweighs any other.

That is the bright side of your medal, but here is the reverse. The method of analysis I have used, a method not previously applied to economic subjects, makes for somewhat arduous reading in the early chapters, and it is to be feared that the French public, ever impatient to arrive at conclusions and eager to know how the general principles relate to the immediate questions that excite them, may become discouraged because they will not have been able to carry straight on.

That is a disadvantage about which I can do nothing other than constantly caution and forewarn those readers concerned with the truth. There is no royal road to learning and the only people with any chance of scaling its sunlit peaks are those who have no fear of weariness when ascending the precipitous paths that lead up to them.

I remain, dear Citizen,

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

First published in: K. Marx, *Le Capital,* Vol. I, Paris, 1872

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

# 211

## ENGELS TO CESARE BERT[475]

### IN TURIN

[Draft]

London, 21 March 1872

Citizen Carlo Bert,

I have received your address from Citizen Ét. Péchard, who was passing through Turin at the end of February, and also the information that you are now the secretary of our section *Emancipation of the Proletarian*, instead of C. Terzaghi, who was expelled for embezzlement, etc. It will therefore now be my pleasant duty to correspond with you.

I have just received a long letter from Terzaghi[a] saying that he resigned as secretary and member of the *Emancipation of the Proletarian* because this society is made up in part of government agents and Mazzinians, and that this society wanted to pass a vote of no confidence in him because he was preaching *war on capital*.

Naturally, we here are much more inclined to believe what you and the other members of your Council told Péchard than what I hear from Terzaghi, who has always played all sorts of tricks on us. But in order to be able to act confidently and decisively and to fulfil our responsibility at the next Congress, we should like you to send us an official letter from your Council, setting out the charges against Terzaghi and letting us know the resolutions passed by your society concerning him. In no way can we have two rival, warring sections in the same town. Fortunately, the Administrative Regulations (Resolutions of the Basle Congress) give the General Council the right to admit or reject any new section.[476] You yourself see how necessary it is for our organisation to possess a right which Terzaghi's Jurassian friends wanted you to believe was authoritarian and unjustifiable.

Please reply as quickly as possible. A fraternal handshake.

Yours

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

Translated from the Italian

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, pp. 352-53.

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## MARX TO PAUL LAFARGUE[477]

### IN MADRID

London, 21 March 1872

My dear Toole,[a]

Enclosed herewith an extract from our missive against the dissidents[b] concerning the functions of the General Council.

All the General Council can do when applying the General Rules and the resolutions of Congresses to given cases is to take decisions as a tribunal. But their implementation in each country depends entirely on the International itself. Thus from the moment at which the Council ceases to function as *the instrument of the general interests* of the International, it becomes wholly invalid and powerless. On the other hand, the General Council itself is one of the Association's vital forces, being essential for the latter's unity and for preventing the Association from being taken over by hostile elements. The moral influence that the present Council (NOTWITHSTANDING ALL ITS SHORTCOMINGS) has been able to acquire vis-à-vis the common enemy, has wounded the vanity of those who saw the International as nothing save an instrument for their personal ambition.

Above all it should not be forgotten that our Association is *the militant organisation* of the proletariat and in no way a society created to bring amateur doctrinaires to the forefront. To destroy our organisation just now would be to abdicate. Bourgeois and governments combined could ask for nothing more. Read the report of the Rural Sacase[c] on the Dufaure plan.[478] What does he most admire and fear about the Association? 'Its organisation.'

We have made marvellous progress since the London Conference.[254] New federations have been set up in Denmark, New Zealand and Portugal, great expansion in the *United States*, in **France** (where, by their own admission, Malon & Co. do not possess one single section), in *Germany*, in Hungary, in England (since the formation of the British Federal Council). The *Irish* sections are of very recent formation. In Italy the only serious

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[a] Paul Lafargue's nickname - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International.* - [c] J. F. Sacase, 'Rapport fait au nom de la commission chargée d'examiner le projet de loi...'.

sections, in Milan and Turin, are ours; the others are led by lawyers, journalists and other bourgeois doctrinaires. (*Apropos*, one of Bakunin's personal grounds for complaint against me is that he has lost all influence in Russia where the revolutionary youth tread the same path as myself.)

The Resolutions of the London Conference[a] have already been recognised by France, America, England, Ireland, Denmark, Holland, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland (minus the Jurassians), the genuine working men's sections in Italy and, finally, the Russians and Poles. Those who fail to recognise them will do nothing to alter this fact, but will be forced to part company with the vast majority of the International.

I am overburdened with work, so much so that I haven't even found time to write to my SWEET Kakadou[b] and DEAR Schnappy[c] (of whom I should like to have further news). Indeed, the International impinges too greatly on my time and, were it not my conviction that my presence on the Council is still necessary at this period of strife, I should have withdrawn long since.

The English government prevented our celebration of 18 March, the resolutions concerning which, adopted at a meeting of English working men and French refugees, are enclosed herewith.[473]

La Châtre is an abominable charlatan. He wastes my time over the most absurd matters (e.g. his letter replying to my autograph,[d] in which regard I was compelled to propose certain alterations to him).

Roy (6, Rue [de] Condillac, Bordeaux) is a marvellous translator.[479] He has already sent me the manuscript of the first chapter (I had sent the manuscript of the second German edition to him in Paris).[396]

Yours ever,

OLD NICK[e]

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. - [b] Laura Lafargue's nickname - [c] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [d] i.e. Marx's letter to Lachâtre of 18 March 1872 (see this volume, p. 344) - [e] Marx's nickname

[Appendix][480]

## *Extract*

### *The Council's Right of Co-option*

'The body of the General Council is constantly changing, though some of the founding members remain, as in the Belgian, Romance, etc., Federal Councils.

'The General Council must fulfil three essential conditions, if it is to carry out its mandate. In the first place, it must have a numerically adequate membership to carry on its diverse functions; secondly, a membership of working men belonging to the different nationalities represented in the International Association; and, lastly, workers must be the predominant element therein. Since the exigencies of the worker's job incessantly cause changes in the membership of the General Council, how can it fulfil all these indispensable conditions without the right of co-option?' [Note: More than 3/4 of the members of the General Council in London are wage labourers.]

### *Functions of the General Council*

'Contrary to the rules of all bourgeois societies, the International's General Rules touch only lightly on its administrative organisation. They leave its development to practice, and its regularisation to future Congresses. Nevertheless, inasmuch as only *the unity and joint action* of the sections of the various countries could give them a genuinely international character, the Rules pay more attention to the General Council than to the other bodies of the organisation.

'Article 5 of the original Rules' (Article 6 of the revised Rules[a]) 'states:

'"The General Council shall form an *international agency* between the different national and local groups"'

(There follow examples of its activities: information, statistics to be compiled, etc., and also this important passage, falsified by the Jurassians:

'when *immediate practical steps should be needed*, as, for instance, in case of international[b] quarrels, *the action of all the societies be simultaneous and uniform*'.)

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[a] K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - [b] In the original: 'national'.

The same article states:

'Whenever it seems opportune, the General Council shall take *the initiative of proposals* to be laid before the different national or local societies.'

The General Rules charge the General Council with working out certain matters to be submitted to the Congress, etc. (see articles 4 and 6 of the revised edition). 'In the original Rules so little distinction is made between the spontaneous action of various groups and unity of action of the Association as a whole, that Article 6' (Article 7 of the revised Rules) 'states:' (*see this article*).

'The first administrative resolution of the *Geneva Congress*' (1866) '(Article I) says:

'"The General Council is *commissioned to carry* the resolutions of the Congress *into effect*."

'This resolution legalised the position that the General Council has held ever since its origin: that of the Association's *executive delegation*.

'The Geneva Congress at the same time charged the General Council with publishing "the official and obligatory text of the Rules".' (See the revised Rules, *Appendix* I, pp. 16, 17.)

'The same Congress resolved (Administrative Resolutions of Geneva, Article 14):

'"Every section has the right to draw up its own rules and regulations adapted to local conditions and to the laws of its own country, but they must not contain anything contrary to the General Rules and Regulations."

'Who is to establish whether' the required conformity actually exists? 'Evidently, if there would be no authority charged with this function, the resolution would be null and void. Not only could police or hostile sections be formed, but also the intrusion of declassed sectarians and bourgeois philanthropists into the Association could warp its character and, by force of numbers at Congresses, crush the workers. Since their origin, the national and local federations have exercised in their respective countries the right to admit or reject new sections, according to whether or not their Rules conformed to the General Rules.' As to the General Council, the exercise of this function 'is provided for in Article 6 of the General Rules' (end of Article 7, revised Rules), 'which allows local independent societies (i.e. societies formed outside the federal body) the right to establish direct contacts with the General Council.' Since the foundation of the *International* such local independent societies have only been recognised after being admitted by the General Council.

The same 'Article 6 of the Rules' (Article 7 of the revised Rules) 'deals with legal obstacles to the formation of national federations in certain countries where', by force of circumstances, 'the General Council is asked to function as a *Federal Council* (see *Le Congrès de Lausanne, Procès-verbaux*, p. 13, 1867).

'Since the fall of the Commune, these legal obstacles have been multiplying in the various countries, making action by the General Council therein, designed to keep doubtful elements out of the Association, more necessary than ever. Thus, for instance, the French committees recently demanded the General Council's intervention to rid themselves of informers, and in another great country' [between you and me: Austria] 'members of the International requested it not to recognise any section which has not been formed by its direct mandatory or by themselves.' They are seeking, in this way, to rid 'themselves of *agents-provocateurs*, whose burning zeal manifested itself in the rapid formation of sections of unparalleled radicalism.'

[*Note*: Needless to say, in countries like Poland and Russia members of the International can only maintain links with the General Council, which must act with the utmost discretion there.]

'Like all the International's groups, the General Council is required to carry on propaganda. This it has accomplished through its' publications, through its correspondence with individuals in countries where the Association has not yet been established, and through 'its agents, who laid the basis for the first organisations of the International in North America, in Germany and in many French towns' [*ditto* in Australia, in New Zealand].

'Another function of the General Council is to aid strikers and organise their support by the entire International. See General Council reports to the various Congresses. The following fact, *inter alia*, indicates the importance of its intervention in the strike movement. The Resistance Society of the English Foundrymen is in itself an *international "Trades Union"* with branches in other countries, notably in the United States. Nonetheless, during a strike of American foundrymen, the latter found it necessary to invoke the intercession of the General Council to prevent English foundrymen being brought into America.'

[*Note*: The only real *international Trades Union* in Europe is that of the cigar-men (cigar-makers). However, they stay entirely outside the proletarian movement and only have recourse to the General Council to further the interests of their trade.]

'The growth of the International obliged the General Council and all Federal Councils to assume *the role of arbiter*.'

Without the General Council having asked for it, 'the Brussels Congress' (1868) 'resolved that:

'"The Federal Councils shall transmit to the General Council every three months a report on *the administration* and *financial state* of their respective branches"' (see *Procès-verbaux du troisième Congrès* etc.) '(Administrative Resolution No. 3).

'Lastly, *the Basle Congress* occupied itself solely with regulating the administrative relations engendered by the Association's continuing development' itself. 'If it extended unduly the limits of the General Council's powers, whose fault was it if not that of Bakunin, Schwitzguébel, Fritz Robert, Guillaume and other delegates of the Alliance' of Socialist Democracy, 'who were so anxious to achieve just that?' [*Note*: At the Basle Congress these gentlemen imagined that the Council would be transferred to Geneva.]

'Here are two resolutions of the Basle Congress:

'"No. IV. Each new section or society which is formed and wishes to be part of the International, must immediately announce its adhesion to the General Council",

'and "No. V. The General Council has the right to admit or reject the affiliation of any new society or group, subject to appeal at the next Congress."'

It is these resolutions that 'authorise the General Council to intervene in the internal affairs of the federations.' However, these articles have never been applied *except in the case of sections placed outside federal associations* or *sections formed in countries where the International does not yet exist.* In these cases intervention by the Council is absolutely essential. On the other hand, the General Council has never 'intervened in the' internal 'affairs of new sections desirous of affiliating themselves with' *already* '*existing* groups or federations.'

'The resolutions cited above' only 'refer *to sections in the process of formation.* The resolutions given below refer to sections *already recognised*:

'"VI. The General Council has equally the right *to suspend*' (see the following *Note*) 'until the next Congress any section of the International."

'"VII. When conflicts arise between the societies or branches of a national group, or between groups of different nationalities, the General Council shall have the right to decide the conflict, subject to appeal at the next Congress which will decide definitely."

'These two articles are necessary for extreme cases, although up to the present the General Council has never had recourse to them. It has never suspended any section and, in cases of conflict, has only acted as arbiter at the request of the two' sections.

[*Note*: From the enclosed resolutions on the split in America[a] you will see that the Council has *suspended* one section composed almost exclusively of bourgeois. In the United States the intrusion of bourgeois seeking to turn the International into their instrument is very dangerous. This proves the necessity of Resolution VI of the Basle Congress.]

Apart from the various functions devolving upon the General Council as a result of the historical development of the International, there is yet another one, imposed on it by the enemies of our Association. By making the Council the object of their attacks, all the parties and sects hostile to the proletarian movement have 'placed it in the vanguard of the International Working Men's Association'.

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## 213

## ENGELS TO CARLO TERZAGHI

### IN TURIN

[Draft]

London, 21 [March] 1872

Dear Citizen,

I wrote to you on the 13th of this month[45] and later received your letter of the 10th. Péchard was told in Turin[481] that you had been expelled from the Emancipation of the Proletarian society for various reasons: that you refused to hand over a certain sum belonging to the Society as well as the 200 stamps which I sent you, etc., etc.

When such accusations are made, it is absolutely essential that the General Council should know whether or not they are true, before it can declare itself for one side or the other. I should be grateful, therefore, if you would tell me what is going on, because

[a] K. Marx, 'Resolutions on the Split in the United States' Federation Passed by the General Council of the I.W.A. in Its Sittings of 5th and 12th March, 1872'.

it is certain that such matters cannot be passed over in silence.

As for the contribution of 150 frs,[a] this money did not belong to the General Council but to a private Committee formed to collect funds with which to support the friendly press and other international causes, and since your sudden and enthusiastic declaration in favour of the Jura was such as to lead the Committee to believe that you had taken sides in a cause whose very foundations were necessarily unknown to you, the money was immediately spent on another purpose, and there are no more funds available at present.

I have not received *Il Proletario*, which you promised to send me regularly, for the last 6 weeks.

We have changed the address of the Council meetings. I cannot at present give you another personal address, but I believe the one you have, C. R.,[b] 122 Regent's Park Road, is still better than that of the General Council.

I think Savio is no longer in London but has gone to work in the provinces.[482]

Greetings and emancipation.

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## 214

## MARX TO EDOUARD VAILLANT

### IN LONDON

[London,] 4 April 1872

My dear Vaillant,

I shall expect you tomorrow evening at 7 o'clock for dinner at my house with...[c] and some other friends.

Yours ever,

Karl Marx

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[a] Engels has £150, presumably a slip of the pen. See this volume, p. 294. - [b] Probably for reasons of secrecy Engels gives the initials of Charles Renshaw, a Manchester businessman of his acquaintance, as the name of the addressee. - [c] name illegible

You would oblige me by lending me Villetard's book (I don't know the title)[a] in which there is a French translation of our manifesto on the civil war in France.[b]

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## 215

## ENGELS TO GENNARO BOVIO[118]

### IN TRANI

London, 16 April 1872

*To Citizen Gennaro Bovio, Trani*[483]

Esteemed Citizen,

I have received, and am returning with thanks, the various documents which you were so kind as to send me through esteemed Citizen Enrico Bignami.

The General Council of the International, as an administrative committee with clearly defined functions, has not been able to become acquainted with these documents and discuss them *officially*. I did, however, consider it my duty to submit them to those of its members who understand Italian, and they have all read them with great pleasure.

We are happy to acknowledge that, at the same time as an international league of workers was being formed here in London, you, in far-off Apulia, had the same idea and bravely promoted it at the Naples Congress.[484] We are grateful to you for informing us of this: it is fresh proof that the alliance of workers of the civilised world was already recognised in 1864 as a historical necessity, even in countries with which we were unable to establish contacts at that time, not knowing whom to address.[c] And we sincerely regret that

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[a] Ed. Villetard, *Histoire de l'Internationale*. - [b] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. - [c] Crossed out after '...address' in the draft of the letter: 'No doubt, if the Italian workers' societies in 1864, had taken up your idea and thus called into being, at

the Italian workers' societies, not having taken up your idea in 1864, have greatly delayed the development of the proletarian movement in Italy.

It gave us great pleasure to read your articles in the *Libertà* defending the Paris Commune against V. Hugo and others[a]; we willingly believe that they were the first articles to be written with this purpose in Italian. We published here at the same time the manifesto of the General Council on *The Civil War in France*, of which I have taken the liberty of sending you, on 23 March, a copy in English and one in German, since I do not have the French translation and the Italian one (in the *Eguaglianza* of Girgenti[b]) has not yet been completed. You will see from this pamphlet that our ideas coincide on this matter too, and that we have not failed in our duty either.

Greetings and brotherhood

Frederick Engels

Secretary for Italy to the General Council
of the International Working Men's Association

First published abridged in: N. Rosselli, *Mazzini e Bakounine. 12 anni di movimento operaio in Italia*, Turin, 1927 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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that time, an Italian working-class movement based on the social conditions of their country, fewer workers' societies in Italy today would be advocating sectarian doctrines which, moreover, are not Italian but French or Russian. I further believe that in the working-class movement *true* national ideas, i.e. ideas corresponding to the economic realities, both in industry and in agriculture, to the realities that are dominant in the country in question, are, at the same time, true *international* ideas. The emancipation of the Italian peasant will not occur in the same form as the emancipation of the English factory worker, but the better the one and the other realise what form corresponds to his conditions, the less will they disagree on matters of substance'. - [a] G. Bovio, 'Via smarrita!', *La Libertà*, No. 90, 10 June 1871, and 'Una difesa dopo la morte', *La Libertà*, Nos. 97-100; 5, 8, 12 and 15 July 1871. - [b] Modern name: Agrigento.

## 216

## ENGELS TO THEODOR CUNO[150]

### IN DÜSSELDORF

London, 22[-23] April 1872

Dear Cuno,

This morning I received your letter,[a] which I had awaited with anxiety. Gandolfi wrote me some time ago[b] saying it was believed that the Italian government had handed you over to the Prussians.—I found out about your arrest, etc., from the papers, which indicated that you were being deported for 'lack of visible means of support'. A police statement to that effect appeared in a Milan newspaper. This affair is not without significance. It is the first exploit of the international police conspiracy organised by Prussia, Austria, and Italy, and if you haven't been transported by the police from the Bavarian frontier to Düsseldorf, you owe this solely *to the stupidity of the Bavarians.* Tomorrow evening I shall report the matter to the General Council, after which the whole story will be included in the official report, which will be printed in *The Eastern Post* and sent out to every part in the world.[c] In the meantime, write an article about this in your own name and send it to the *Volksstaat,* the Geneva *Égalité,* and the *Gazzettino Rosa.* We shall take care of here, America, and Spain, as well as of France, over here.[485] The rascals will finally have to realise that they cannot keep on doing this with impunity and that the International's arms are longer than those of the King of Italy.[d] As soon as the story is printed I shall send you a copy, together with all the newspapers I can collect for you—they won't be too numerous.

The advice Liebknecht gave you—to write to Bismarck—is very good, but for altogether different reasons. First, instead of assisting you to obtain redress, Bismarck will be very *glad* it happened and will merely be irritated that the Bavarians released you, instead of realising that this gave them a splendid opportunity for having a member of the International transported all over Germany by the police. But you should write to Bismarck simply

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[a] Cuno's letter of 17 April 1872 - [b] on 14 March - [c] F. Engels, 'On the Police Persecution of the Member of the International Theodore Cuno'. - [d] Victor Emmanuel II

in order to be able to send his reply—which will be nothing but a lame excuse, of course—at a later date to Bebel, who will use it to raise *a row in the Reichstag*. But it is out of the question, of course, that Bismarck will do as much as lift a finger to punish Italy for having fulfilled his orders so well.

You must not be surprised that you have received so little support from the party comrades. From one of your previous letters I had already realised that you laboured under youthful illusions concerning the aid people receive when in need. Unfortunately, my answer to this letter was confiscated by the Mordecaians[409] and never reached you. I should add that, although our German workers have far outstripped all the others as concerns theory, in practice they have by no means shaken off their artisan-type mentality, and owing to the dreadfully petty-bourgeois character of life in Germany, they are tremendously narrow-minded, especially in money matters. That is why I wasn't at all surprised at what you experienced in this respect. If I had money, I should send you some, but we here are really on the rocks just now. We have more than a hundred helpless refugees of the Paris Commune, *literally* helpless, for no people ever feel as helpless abroad as do the French; and what they didn't eat up, we sent to a fine chap[a] in Cork, Ireland, who founded the International there and was rewarded by being excommunicated by the priests and the bourgeoisie and completely ruined. We are in a tight spot at the moment. If we get some money from somewhere or other, I shall see to it that you are not forgotten.

Let me know in what branches of your profession you have had practical experience and in general what you can do. I shall look around immediately to see if anything can be found for you here. England is overrun by foreign engineers, it is true, but perhaps something can still be done. I have some very good contacts.

During your imprisonment all sorts of things have happened. In Turin Terzaghi was sacked from the *Emancipazione del Proletario* for embezzlement and suspicious dealings with the *Questore*.[b] He still managed to publish 2-3 issues of the *Proletario* in which he attacks them as *canaglia, borghesi, vigliacchi*,[c] etc.—just as he earlier attacked the *Federazione Operaia*—but the paper now appears to be dead, just like almost all the little new papers in Italy—*Martello, Campana*, etc. I wrote to Terzaghi,[d] asking him about these

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[a] John De Morgan - [b] police superintendent - [c] canaille, bourgeois, cowards - [d] See this volume, pp. 352-53.

accusations, and he sent me a copy of the *Proletario* full of abuse, saying that I could see from that what a lot of scoundrels they were! I had had my suspicions about the man for months. Regis (who visited you under the name of Péchard, and who is in Geneva at present) found out that he was constantly going to Locarno to see Bakunin, and it is a good thing that he now stands exposed as a plain rascal.

In Bologna the *Fascio Operaio*[486] of the Romagna has held a congress in the course of which they threw off their masks and emerged as outright Bakuninists.[487] The Romagnese are joining the International, but won't hear a word about the need to recognise the Rules, etc. They have not yet written to us, although the congress took place on 18 March; we shall give them a jolly reception!—The Ravenna section has written to us announcing that they intend to join but *salva la propria autonomia*.[a] I have simply asked them whether they accept our Rules or not.[488]

I have just been looking at a heap of papers that has been sent to me and see that Pezza and Testini have also been arrested in Milan (around 30 March).

The circular of the General Council on Bakunin and Co.[b] is in the press and will probably be ready by the end of next week. I shall send you a copy without delay. It sets forth everything quite bluntly, and it will produce a terrific row.

I believe I'll be able to send you newspapers tomorrow—*Gazzettino Rosa* and some other Italian items, in general, anything I can lay my hands upon.

A congress of the Spanish members of the International was held in Saragossa on 8-11 April, at which our people won a victory over the Bakuninists.[489] It now turns out that the *Alliance de la démocratie socialiste*[10] continued to exist in Spain *within* the International as a *secret society* under the leadership of Bakunin—a secret society aimed, not against the government, but against the mass of the workers! I have every reason to suspect that the same thing is going on in Italy. What information do you have on this subject?

If anything comes of the job in Spain that Becker[c] had in mind for you, let me know at once so that I can give you letters of introduction to our people there. That job will probably be in Catalonia, the only industrial province of Spain, and you will be able to do very useful work, since the mass of workers there are

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[a] reserving their autonomy - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International* - [c] Johann Philipp Becker

admittedly good but leave their newspaper (*La Federación* in Barcelona) and the key positions in the hands of the Bakuninists.

There is only one newspaper appearing in Turin now—*L'Anticristo*, something of the order of a weekly *Gazzettino Rosa*. Then there are *La Plebe* in Lodi, *Il Fascio Operaio* in Bologna, and *L'Eguaglianza* in Girgenti[a]—all the other Italian newspapers are dead. Experience in other countries made it obvious to me long ago that this was bound to happen. It is not enough to have a few people at the top; the masses in Italy are still too backward to be able to support so many newspapers. Prolonged and dogged work, with more theoretical content than the Bakuninists possess, is required to free the masses from the influence of the Mazzinist nonsense.

Many thanks for the Milan address. Would it not be a good idea for you to write first and ask the man[b] to send you a report on the present position of the International in Milan? You could then send it to me and I would reply to him. The present corresponding secretary is Mauro Gandolfi, i.e. one of Bakunin's supporters.

Write to me very soon—especially on what you are able to do in your profession, so that I can take the necessary steps.

Cordially yours,
F. E.

The address you have been using to write to me (that of your Düsseldorf letter) is by far the best.

23 April 1872

First published in *Die Gesellschaft*, No. 11, Berlin, 1925

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[a] Modern name: Agrigento. - [b] Francesco Danieli

# 217

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 23 April 1872

Dear Liebknecht,

We all send you our congratulations on your performance in court.[274] After the trial of the Brunswickers[335] it was essential for someone to stand up to that gang and you have fairly done so. The only thing you might have left unsaid was the statement about the 1,000 members of the International.[490]

Here in England jurymen are locked up overnight or kept *prisoner* under guard in an hotel, to make sure that they do not come into contact with anyone. They are taken for walks under escort and are also escorted to church on Sundays, if they wish to go. An exception is only made in cases like the Tichborne trial,[491] where this was not possible because of the inordinate duration of the proceedings (105 days), but even then the jurymen are harassed in all sorts of ways.

Marx will reply to the *Concordia*[492] as soon as he has compared *The Times* of 1864.[a]

Your letter appeared in *The Eastern Post*[b]; whether it also appeared in *The Morning Post* is not to be discovered, since the paper is unobtainable here. The fact is that reading rooms where such things would be preserved, *have simply ceased to exist.* We send *The Eastern Post* regularly to the ends of the earth so that the letter will be publicised far more widely—and among the *right people*—than through other papers.

We can scarcely doubt that the sentence *must* be quashed. Such breaches of the law have been unheard of since the Demagogue trials.[116] Nor can it be to the advantage of the national-liberal bourgeoisie to establish such precedents, and I doubt very much whether Bismarck, who is hiding behind the small states with the intention of discrediting them, would be willing to risk that sort of thing in Prussia.

I have seen very little about the trial in the English press—I have so many foreign papers to read that I can only read *The*

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[a] 'The Budget', *The Times*, No. 24535, 17 April 1863. - [b] W. Liebknecht, 'To the Editor of *The Eastern Post*', *The Eastern Post*, No. 185, 14 April 1872 (the letter concerned the Leipzig trial).

*Daily News* and you must realise that since the introduction of the PENNY PRESS[493] it is not possible to find papers *anywhere* to read without buying them. The article from *The Daily News*[a] is enclosed; you can make good use of it.

I have passed the bill for the Rules[b] on to Marx; we shall send the money at the first opportunity.

I have not been able to get hold of a photograph of Blanqui up to now. The French have one but will not part with it, and there is none to be found here.

Enclosed the receipt for the 6 reichsthalers for the refugees.

It is just not possible for us to conjure up an introduction to the *Manifesto* out of a hat for you.[494] We shall have to study the socialist literature of the last 24 years, if we are to bring Section III up to date. This must be postponed for a subsequent edition, but we intend to send you a small 'Preface'[c] for the separate edition, and that will suffice for the moment.

What Scheu[d] has to say about the Belgians is partly correct; the fellows have never been worth much and are now worth less than ever. We have sent someone over there who will let us have a detailed report shortly. At all events Scheu's deductions are wide of the mark—the mass of the people will never go so far with Messrs Hins (who through his Russian wife has a certain connection with Bakunin) and Steens (whose vanity is great enough to seduce him into foolish adventures). Particularly since we are making very good progress elsewhere in the world. Our people have defeated the Bakuninists at the Spanish Congress in Saragossa.[489]

As for Cuno, he has behaved extremely well in Milan and what he tells me in his letters about his fate is completely true and has been confirmed by the Italian press.[e] But it seems quite undeniable to me that, on his journeyings, having been shown the door for the sake of the International through no fault of his own and having landed in Bavaria, helpless and penniless, he has since been treated *very uncouthly* indeed by the people he has encountered in various places. He may have had rather dewy-eyed ideas about the help he might look forward to, but your money would be better spent if it were reserved for people *such as him*, instead of its being squandered on tramps and rogues

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[a] 'News from Berlin', *The Daily News*, No. 8096, 9 April 1872. - [b] K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Preface to the 1872 German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*'. - [d] Heinrich Scheu - [e] See this volume, p. 356.

*like Rüdt, etc.*, about whom you yourselves write letters like those read out at the trial (and which have unfortunately not appeared in the *Volksstaat*—as though that might help!). But, of course, Cuno was not one of the full-fledged men of the 'Party' and so had no business getting into trouble! If I had money I would really sooner send it to him than to anyone else.

The General Council's circular against the Bakuninists[a] is now likely to appear next week; it is a French edition. The first instalment of Marx's second edition[b] will also come out soon, but do not mention it until Marx writes to you about it or until it is out.[145] The Russian translation[360]—a very good one—is out, the French version[436] is in the press.

Enclosed are:

1. Receipt for the 6 thalers.
2. 3 cuttings from *The Eastern Post*—meetings of the General Council,[c] etc.
3. 1 *ditto* on the celebrations of 18 March.[473]
4. 2 Irish documents.[495]
5. Our reply to the debate in Parliament.[d]
6. Article from *The Daily News* on your trial.[e] So *nine items* in all.

Must catch the post. Best regards to Bebel and keep your chin up; they haven't got you in jug yet. But make sure that the sale of the stamps goes through properly and not just in Leipzig; we shall *be very strict* at the next Congress.

Best wishes to your family.

Your
F. E.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International.* - [b] of Volume I of *Capital* - [c] Presumably *The Eastern Post*, Nos. 184-86; 7, 14 and 20 April 1872, containing reports on the General Council meetings of 2, 9 and 16 April. - [d] K. Marx, 'Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association Concerning Cochrane's Speech in the House of Commons'. - [e] 'News from Berlin', *The Daily News*, No. 8096, 9 April 1872.

# 218

## MARX TO JOHANN GEORG ECCARIUS[496]

### IN LONDON

[London,] 3 May 1872

Dear Eccarius,

You seem to have lost your wits and as I regard this as a passing phase, at least for the present, perhaps you will allow me to address you for the time being as neither SIR, nor *Herr* nor *Domine*, and also to write to you in German instead of English.

If you haven't lost your memory along with your command of the German language—and if you have, the MINUTES of the General Council can jog it—you will recollect that all the quarrels I have had with the English since the founding of the International up to the last conference[a] have been due simply and solely to the fact that I always took your side. Firstly, on the subject of *The Commonwealth*, against Odger, Cremer, Howell, etc.; secondly, against Fox, with whom I had been on very friendly terms[497]; and lastly, against Hales during the period when you were General Secretary.

If conflicts occurred later on, it would be important to establish *who* was responsible for them. I have only attacked you twice.

*Firstly*, on account of the premature publication of the Conference resolutions, in which, as you are well aware, you exceeded your brief.[498]

*Secondly*, because of the last skirmish with America where you caused great MISCHIEF. (I am leaving out of account here the fact that your actions brought such abuse from the AMERICAN PAPERS, aided and abetted by Karl Heinzen et Co., down on my head; I am just as impervious to this abuse as I had previously been to praise, both public and private, from the same source.)

You appear to imagine, however, that when you make BLUNDERS others must pay you compliments in return, instead of telling you the truth as one would to anyone else. I shall give you back Gregory's stuff tomorrow evening.[499] Today I have to go through the French and German proofs[b] simultaneously, so have no time to look through the American papers.

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[a] the London Conference of 1871 - [b] of the French and the second German edition of Volume I of *Capital*

As for my 'INDICTMENT', I shall simply confine myself to proving that 1. you were absolutely in the wrong to write to New York in the way that you wrote, *at such a decisive moment*, even supposing that your GRIEVANCES were justified, and 2. that your complaint about the suppression of papers vis-à-vis the General Council is absolutely without foundation. *Voilà tout.*[a]

Finally, let me give you some good advice. You must not think that old personal and party friends are or will be less well disposed towards you just because they see it as their duty to oppose your FREAKS. On the other hand, you should not imagine that the small clique of Englishmen who make use of you for certain purposes are your friends. I could prove the contrary if I wished.

And so *salut.* Since it is my birthday the day after tomorrow I have absolutely no desire to celebrate it in the unpleasant conviction that I have lost one of my oldest friends and like-minded comrades.

*Salut fraternel,*
Karl Marx

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## 219

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 7 May 1872

Dear Liebknecht,

I see now where your mistrust of Cuno stems from: you thought he was an agent of Becker's[b] who had come on a mission to lead the German International back into the arms of its mother-section in Geneva.[c] This was quite unnecessary. When Cuno was in Chemnitz,[d] he could have been enrolled as a member *there and then*, if you had not treated the International so platonically. In

[a] That's all. - [b] Johann Philipp Becker - [c] See this volume, pp. 370-72. - [d] Modern name: Karl-Marx-Stadt.

Milan, since he did not have our address, he turned to the only one known to him, that of Becker, and Becker, having admitted him, *directed him to us*. So just because Becker had once experienced the desire to annex Germany for himself, and because he may still intrigue a little here and there, you have to suspect every honest fellow who has had to turn to Becker because you were unwilling to act! I shall not believe your allegations about his boastfulness until I see proof; I have far less confidence in your correspondents in Nuremberg and elsewhere than I have in Cuno, who has never tried to pull the wool over our eyes, but has always reported more truthfully than most other people. Cuno's father is a Prussian official in Düsseldorf who simply threw him out; now he is stuck without a penny to his name. His possessions and those of his father are two different things altogether.

Enclosed an article by Lafargue from the *Emancipación*; you will have someone or other who knows enough Spanish to translate it.[500] Lafargue is doing a terrific amount of work in Spain and very skilfully too. The report from the *Liberté* on the congress in Saragossa was also by him. Incidentally, *do not forget to publish the second report, the one in the previous issue of the 'Liberté'*, in which he unmasks the secret intrigues of the Bakuninists and describes the spectacular victory gained over them by our supporters there.[501] This was the decisive defeat for that pig-headed Bakunin. The *Emancipación* is now the *best* paper we have. These Bakuninists are jackasses. The Spaniards have a very good organisation, one which has stood the test with flying colours precisely in the last 6 months, and now these fools come along and imagine that they can seduce people with their phrases about autonomy and get them to dissolve their organisation to all intents and purposes.

You ought to make more use of *The Eastern Post*; the information we make available there is truly of greater interest than the dogmatic legalistic waffle of Mr Acollas about the best of all possible constitutions.[502]

I still believe that the conviction will be quashed. In the first place, too many formal errors have been made, and secondly, the trial has already caused far too much of a rumpus.[274] Bismarck must surely perceive that he has gone too far and that quashing the sentence will be more advantageous for him than confirming it.

To the best of my knowledge, Stefanoni has not published your letter.[a] I have not received all the issues of the *Libero Pensiero* and

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[a] See this volume, p. 577.

unfortunately your letter arrived in Italy at the very moment when *all* our papers I had sent it to folded up simultaneously. As for Büchner, you only need glance at his last would-be socialist production to see the envy and hatred the little cripple feels for Marx, whom he plunders and distorts without ever mentioning him by name.[a] And I stick to my belief that it is *he* who has filled Stefanoni's head with all that junk. That he is on good terms with *you* is something he shares with Malon and many others who cherish a mortal hatred for us.

I am sending you today's *Daily News* with a delightful account of the behaviour of the German professors and students in Alsace and the reception given them by the Alsatians. A description of the German student is enclosed.[b] Both reports are by Major Forbes, the same man who was with the Saxons before Paris and was, at the time, beside himself with admiration for the German officers and soldiers, i.e. if anything he is prejudiced *in favour* of the Germans. You should make use of these descriptions of the representatives of 'German culture'; they are striking proof as to how threadbare that 'culture' of the bourgeoisie has become, and how ludicrous its official spokesmen.[503]

As soon as I have time I shall write you an article on the housing shortage and against the absurd Proudhonist stories that have appeared in a series of articles on the subject in the *Volksstaat*.[504]

Our reply to the Jurassians[c] is still in the press. The devil take all these co-operative printers.

There *is* nothing to tell you about the Congress. *Where* it will take place can only be decided at the last moment.[450] *That* it will take place, you know already.

The arrest of our people in Denmark will be of enormous advantage to us and will not do much harm to the victims.[505] Denmark is not Saxony. Unfortunately, I do not know *who* has been arrested and so am forced to interrupt the correspondence.

The *Emancipación* now regularly publishes extracts from the *Volksstaat*. Laura is looking after it, so make sure that the paper is sent there regularly.

In Belgium the Brussels Federal Council has let everything go to rack and ruin; the two decent people we have there do not have

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[a] This presumably refers to L. Büchner's book *Die Stellung des Menschen in der Natur in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft*. - [b] [A. Forbes,] 'The Opening of the Strasburg University. The Academical Excursion', *The Daily News*, No. 8120, 7 May 1872. - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*.

sufficient energy to intervene. The workers in the provinces are much superior, but Brussels is the rottenest soil of all and as long as the centre is there it is unlikely that anything decent can develop. Hins has gone off to Verviers and since then the *Liberté* is much more accessible, so *that* is a positive gain.

Give our best wishes to your wife[a] and Bebel. You will have heard that Jenny Marx is engaged to Longuet. The first instalments of the 2nd edition of *Capital*[145] are due in the next few days and so is the French edition.[436] We have already seen the proofs.

Your
F. E.

What Lafargue says about Büchner is rubbish, of course. He is not sufficiently well informed about such details.

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## 220

## ENGELS TO THEODOR CUNO[150]

### IN SERAING

[London,] 7[-8] May 1872

Dear Cuno,

It is very good that you are writing to Bismarck about your case—this should be done, if only to induce him to compromise himself and thus afford Bebel an occasion to address the Reichstag.[b]—By now you will have received *The Eastern Post* with the report on the General Council meeting at which I talked about your case[c]; I sent that issue off on the 2nd inst. You have probably also received the newspapers sent you on 24 and 27 April. I also reported on the arson plot, but this is very badly

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[a] Natalie Liebknecht - [b] See this volume, pp. 356-57. - [c] F. Engels, 'On the Police Persecution of the Member of the International Theodore Cuno'.

stated in the report, which I am sending you tomorrow, as is usually the case when I don't write these things myself.[506]

I have written off to a friend in Manchester[45] on your behalf, a cotton-spinner who will certainly do his best for you. Unfortunately, he only spends 2 days a week in Manchester now as, for the next 4 weeks or so, he has to spend the rest of his time in his father's factory in the country. He will therefore not be able to do very much for you until he has returned for good. And as misfortune would have it, another friend, a CONSULTING ENGINEER who has a lot of connections, happens to have just left for a two-month trip to Germany. So if I have nothing positive to tell you at the moment, you must put it down to these circumstances.

The secret society of the Bakuninists in Spain is a fully established fact; you will be able to read the details in the report (the *second one*) on the Saragossa Congress in the Brussels *Liberté*, which you will probably find in the *Volksstaat* in the next few days.[501] Luckily enough, the best of the people in it soon realised that the interests of this secret enterprise and the interests of the International were not at all identical, and as the International was dearer to them than everything else, they immediately shifted their stand and remained in the secret society solely in order to check on it and to paralyse its activity. One of them[a] was here as a delegate to the Conference[b] and saw for himself that everything they had told him down there about the intrigues, dictatorship, etc., of the General Council was empty twaddle. A short time later one of our best men—half Frenchman, half Spaniard[c]—came to Madrid, and this settled the matter. The Spaniards have an excellent organisation, of which they are rightly proud, and, as it happens, it has shown itself in the best light during the past 6 months. And now along come these jackasses from Bakunin's Alliance to the Saragossa Congress[423] and demand that they should kill off the entire organisation and render it impotent simply for the sake of the 'autonomy of the sections'! All the criticism the Jura camels made of the General Council, all the demands which they put to the General Council—the cancellation of all the powers transferred to it, the demotion of the General Council to the level of a mere correspondence bureau—all this was applied in Spain to the Spanish Federal Council. Of course, the Spanish workers simply laughed these doctrinaires out of court and in one voice bid them to be silent. This is the severest blow

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[a] Anselmo Lorenzo - [b] the London Conference of 1871 - [c] Paul Lafargue

Bakunin has received up to now—he was undoubtedly counting on Spain—and there cannot fail to be repercussions in Italy.

I do not doubt for an instant that the same secret society exists in Italy, though, perhaps, not in as rigid a form as in formalistic Spain. The best proof of this for me is the almost military precision with which the very same slogan, issued *from above*, was simultaneously proclaimed in every corner of the country. (Note that these are the very same persons who always preach the principle *dal basso all' alto*[a] to the people, and to the International!) It is only too easy to understand that you were not initiated, for even among the Bakuninists only the *leaders* are admitted to this esoteric society. Meanwhile, some individual symptoms of improvement can be observed in Italy. The Ferrarese have acquiesced; they have recognised the Rules and Administrative Regulations and have sent their own Rules here for our approval,[b] something which explicitly goes against the Bakuninist slogan.[507] The damned difficulty in Italy is simply getting into direct contact with the workers. These damned Bakuninist doctrinaire lawyers, doctors, etc., have penetrated everywhere and behave as if they were the hereditary representatives of the workers. Wherever we have been able to break through this line of skirmishers and get in touch with the masses themselves, everything is all right and soon mended, but it is almost impossible to do this anywhere due to a lack of addresses. That is why it would have been of great value for you to have remained in Milan and to have been able to visit various cities from time to time—if not now, then at any rate later on. With one or two able comrades at the key points we should have managed to deal with all this rabble in 6 months or so.

As for the Spanish police, all I can tell you is that apparently they are frightfully stupid and that there is no unity at all among them. For instance, one of our best men in Madrid[c] was ordered to be deported by the Minister of the Interior,[d] but the Governor of Madrid said *quod non*,[e] and he remained there undisturbed.

8 May. After writing this much I have now received your letter from Seraing. I cannot understand the business with the Prussian police.[508] The police could *not do anything at all* to you unless you had given them an excuse for legal proceedings, something you will doubtless have taken good care not to do. Could your Papa have staged such a comedy in order to rid himself of an inconvenient son?

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[a] from the bottom to the top - [b] Cf. F. Engels, 'To the Society of Ferrarese Workers'. - [c] Paul Lafargue - [d] Mateo Sagasta - [e] No

At all events, I enclose 50 francs in banknotes, serial numbers below. I have no addresses in Seraing, but shall write at once to César De Paepe, Hôpital St Jean, Brussels (he is a member of the Belgian Federal Council) and ask him to send you some. I shall also write to Alfred Herman, 57 Mont St Martin, Liège (though whether he is still in Liège I do not know). If you do not hear soon from De Paepe, write to him, mentioning my name. If you go to Liège, look Herman up. I enclose a few lines to him,[45] he will be able to give you everything—it is better than my writing to him through the post, he may no longer be there—you are quite close to Liège after all. An unrequested letter opened by the post might betray you.

As for Becker,[a] I shall clear up the somewhat comic mystery in my next letter. Until then,

Sincerely yours,
F. E.

The letter to Herman should only be given *to him personally*! He also lives with reactionary parents and brothers and sisters.

8 May, evening. As I had to go into town to get the enclosed Banque de France fifty-franc note (dated 11 October 1871, No. 2 648 626, in the upper left corner—626, in the upper right corner—Z 106), and it was too late to send this letter off by registered mail, which had to be done because of the money, I still have time to tell you the story about Becker, which is another instance of what petty intrigues go to make up world history. For a long time old man Becker has retained his own ideas of organisation, dating from the epoch *before* 1848: little groups, whose leaders keep in touch in a more or less organised way to give the whole movement a common thrust, a little conspiratorial activity on occasion, and the like; and then another idea, likewise dating from that period, is that the central executive organ of the German organisation must be located *outside* Germany. When the International was founded, and Becker took over the organisation of the Germans in Switzerland and other countries, he established a section in Geneva, which was gradually converted into the 'Mother Section of the Group of German-Language Sections' by organising new sections in Switzerland, Germany, etc. It then began to claim the top leadership, not only of the Germans living in Switzerland, America, France, etc., but also of the Germans in

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[a] Johann Philipp Becker

Germany and Austria. This was all the old method of revolutionary agitation employed up to '48, and as long as it was based upon the voluntary subordination of the sections, there could be no objection to it. But there was one thing the good soul Becker forgot: that the entire organisation of the International was too big for such methods and purposes. Becker and his friends, however, *accomplished* something and always remained direct and avowed sections of the International.

In the meantime the labour movement in Germany was growing, freeing itself from the fetters of Lassalleanism, and, under the leadership of Bebel and Liebknecht, it came out for the International *in principle*. The movement became too powerful and acquired too much independent significance for it to be able to acknowledge the leadership of the Geneva Mother Section; the German workers held their own congresses and elected their own executive organs. The relationship of the German workers' party to the International never was made clear, however. This relationship remained a purely platonic one; there was no actual membership for individuals (with some exceptions), while the formation of sections was forbidden by law. As a result, the following situation developed in Germany: They claimed the *rights* of membership, while they brushed aside its *obligations*, and only after the London Conference did we insist that henceforth they would have to comply with their obligations as well.

Now you will understand that there not only had to arise a certain rivalry between the leaders in Germany, on the one hand, and the Geneva Mother Section, on the other, but that individual conflicts also became unavoidable, especially over the payment of dues. The extent to which the General Council has been *authoritarian* in this affair, as in every other, you can see from the fact that it has been completely uninterested in the matter and has left both sides entirely to themselves. Each is right in some respects and wrong in others. From the very start Becker has attached great importance to the International, but has wanted to cast it in the long-obsolete mould. Liebknecht, etc., are in the right insofar as the German workers want to rule themselves, and not be controlled by an obscure council in Geneva; but in the last analysis they have sought to subordinate the International to their own, specifically German, aims and to make it serve them. The General Council would intervene solely at the request of both sides or in the event of a serious conflict.

Liebknecht evidently took you to be an agent of Becker's, travelling on behalf of the Geneva Mother Section, and *this*

explains all the mistrust with which it seems he received you. He is also a man of '48 and attaches more importance to such trifles than they deserve. You may be glad that you did not live through this period—I have in mind not the first revolutionary wave from February to the June battle[509] (that was splendid), but the democratic bourgeois intrigues, beginning with June 1848, and the ensuing emigration of 1849-51. At the present time the movement is infinitely greater.

This, I trust, will explain the reception you got in Leipzig. No special importance should be attached to such trifles—they are all things that are overcome by themselves in time. When you meet the Belgian members of the International, you will, perhaps, again be disappointed. Above all, don't entertain too great illusions about these people. They are very good elements, but the cause has, by and large, run along in a worn-out rut, and phrases are more important to them than the cause itself. The big words *autonomie* and *autoritarisme* can attract a large audience in Belgium as well. *Eh bien, vous verrez pour vous-même.*[a]

Yours very truly,
F. E.

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## 221

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

### IN GENEVA

London, 9 May 1872

Dear Becker,

Your suggestion of Geneva as a location for the Congress has much in its favour and has much support here, but naturally nothing can be decided at the moment since the position can alter from day to day.[450] In the meantime, we must know, if we are to be able to make a final decision, what the situation is like there and whether it will be possible for you *to be assured* of a compact and reliable majority of the Swiss delegates. The Alliance people[10]

[a] Well, you will see for yourself.

will use all the old tricks at their disposal to gain the majority for themselves, just as in Basle; the Jurassians will make sure that imaginary sections secure representation. Apart from Turin, the Italians will send *nothing* but friends of Bakunin—even Milan where, since Cuno's expulsion,[a] they once again have the upper hand. The Spaniards will be divided, though it is not yet possible to say in what proportions. Germany will be weakly represented as usual, the same applies to England; for France there will only be a few refugees from there and perhaps some from here; the Belgians are highly unreliable so that very great efforts will have to be made to secure a *respectable* majority. For a slight majority is as bad as none at all, and the squabbling would just start up all over again. So let us know what the situation is with you and in German Switzerland, and speak quite frankly so that we do not miscalculate.

Cuno has also had to flee from Düsseldorf with the police after him and he is now in Seraing near Liège.

Wegmann is in Manchester, but since he delayed so long the situation has changed, business is worse and work is hard to come by. However, I shall see to it that he gets something soon. Best wishes from Marx.

Yours very truly,

F. Engels

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## 222

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN LEIPZIG

London, 15[-22] May 1872

Dear Liebknecht,

Thanks for the letter from Verviers.[510] It confirms our information from other sources and, as far as Hins is concerned, it

[a] See this volume, pp. 356-57.

is agreeable to learn that his preference for the *Neuer*[a] not only makes itself felt in the *Liberté* but is also expressed directly. In this Hins, as a Bakuninist thanks to his wife, is quite consistent. It is good that all the scoundrels should meet up with each other.

I passed on the relevant information to Eccarius, who replied: Tell Liebknecht that I shall discuss corresponding with him again once he has answered my letter of last July.—What Sorge writes to you[511] is at present the subject of charges levelled at Eccarius, who has lost much ground here thanks to his repeated indiscretions.

It goes without saying that nothing can be decided at present about the location of the Congress.[450]

I am delighted to hear that the *Volksstaat* is selling so well.[512] As soon as time permits I shall contribute articles more frequently, but you can have no idea how hard-pressed we are, because Marx, myself and 1 or 2 others have to do absolutely *everything*.

We shall attend to the Preface for the *Manifesto*[b] at the first possible opportunity.[494] Marx has a terrific amount of work to do on the French translation[c]; much has to be altered in the opening part.[436] And then he has also to read the proofs of the 2nd German edition.[396]

The article on the housing shortage[d] will be done today or tomorrow.

The *Fédération Jurassienne* publishes a swinish little paper: *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, subscription obtainable from Adhémar Schwitzguébel, Sonvillier, Jura Bernois, 4 frs per annum, 2 frs a half-year. You should take it and hit them hard from time to time, it is Bakunin's *Moniteur*. In the last issue Lafargue, who is in Madrid under an assumed name, was directly denounced to the Spanish police.[513]

Enclosed is a cutting from *The Eastern Post*[514]—you will probably be sent the *first* edition, in which, thanks to Hales' indolence, the most important things are missing, as usual. If that is the case, drop me a couple of lines for the PUBLISHER so that he can send you the *second* edition. Otherwise you will still be in the dark. What I said about the Saragossa Congress is accurate enough, but Lafargue forgot to tell us that at the same time a resolution had been passed recognising and adopting the resolutions of the *Belgian* Congress (of 25 December 1871).[404] So that the victory was

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[a] *Neuer Social-Demokrat* - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Preface to the 1872 German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*'. - [c] of Volume I of *Capital* - [d] F. Engels, *The Housing Question*.

by no means as complete as he described it to us.[489] I am awaiting further details about this last resolution.

That the Alliance[10] has survived as a secret society, in Spain at least, is proved and recognised. Our own people were in it, because they knew no better and thought they had to be. This is a very serious matter for Mr Bakunin.

Don't forget to publish Lafargue's *2nd* report on the Saragossa Congress from the *Liberté*.[501] It has put the Jurassians into a fury and their last issue contains a public attack on Lafargue, myself, Marx and Serraillier. But they are as quiet as mice on the subject of the revelations about their *secret society. This is the tell-tale point* and so we must noise it abroad as much as possible. I am convinced that this secret organisation of the Alliance has branches in Switzerland and in Italy too. It will not be easy to obtain proof, however.—The next issue of *Égalité* will include a statement by Lafargue against the Jurassians.[a]

22 May. In the interim I have been writing the enclosed article on housing. Your Proudhonist[b] will be satisfied with it.

I shall write to Wigand about my *Condition of the Working-Class*.[515] But there can be no question at all of my attending to it *before* the Congress is over; my hands are full until then.

The *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* are unobtainable, except, perhaps, second-hand; that should be perfectly clear to you. The same goes for the *Misère de la philosophie* (although Vieweg in Paris, Frank's successor, may still have a few). A collection of essays is an old plan of ours but it also needs time. Mr Knapp will find sufficient instruction in *Capital*; once he has digested that he will doubtless know whether he is on our side or not, and if he still does not know, not even Moses and all the Prophets will be able to do anything for him. The crux of the matter is to be found in Chapters II and III of *Capital* and he should know where he stands on that before calling for further nourishment.

Your request for clarification about Proudhon should be satisfied for the moment by the enclosed article.

Enclosed the report on Spain in *The Eastern Post*,[c] which you are unlikely to have received. Please do *not* publish it. It was based on Lafargue's letters, but since the Jurassians are interpreting another

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[a] P. Lafargue, 'Aux citoyens rédacteurs du *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*. Madrid, 17 mai 1872', *L'Égalité*, No. 11, 1 June 1872; *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, No. 10-11, 15 June 1872. - [b] Arthur Mülberger - [c] Account of Engels' speech on the Saragossa Congress and the situation of the International in Italy. From the newspaper report on the General Council meeting of 7 May 1872.

resolution of the Congress in their own favour,[516] and since Lafargue's initial reports of victory were somewhat exaggerated in any event, it would be desirable for them *not* to circulate with a seal of approval from the General Council. I am not sending it to Italy or Spain either.

I shall now see what can be done about the Preface to the *Manifesto*. Marx is in the CITY checking on the quotation from the *Concordia*; those gentlemen have got a big surprise coming to them.[492]

Best wishes and hopes for a speedy quashing.

Your
F. E.

What view does the 'Committee' in Hamburg[452] take of the International? We must now try and clear up the situation there as quickly as possible so that Germany can be properly represented at the Congress.[450] I must ask you straight out to tell us frankly how the International stands with you.

1. Roughly how many stamps have been distributed to how many places, and *which places* are involved? The 208 counted by Fink[517] are surely not all there are?

2. Does the Social-Democratic Workers' Party intend to be represented at the Congress and IF SO how does it propose to place itself *en règle*[a] with the General Council in advance so that its mandate cannot be queried at the Congress? This would mean a) that it would have to declare itself to be the German Federation of the International in reality and not merely *figuratively* and b) that *as such* it would pay its dues before the Congress. The matter is becoming serious and we have to know where we are, or else you will force us to act on our own initiative and to consider the Social-Democratic Workers' Party as an alien body for whom the International has no significance. We cannot allow the representation of the German workers at the Congress to be fumbled or forfeited for reasons unknown to us, but which cannot be other than petty. We should like to ask for a clear statement about this quickly.

Receipt for Fink shortly.

Notabene. It would perhaps be a good idea, if at all possible, to send me proofs of the article, but I leave it up to you. However, an essential prerequisite for my collaboration is 1) no marginal

[a] to arrange matters

comments of any kind and 2) it must be printed in *long* instalments.

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## 223

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[165]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 23 May 1872

Dear Sorge,

Just a few lines in great haste.

I am overwhelmed with work.

Quite apart from all the International BUSINESS—everything is at sixes and sevens—every day I have to correct the *German proofs* of the second edition of *Capital* (which will appear in instalments)[145] and the *épreuves*[a] of the French translation[436] in Paris, which I often have to re-write completely to make matters clear to the French. And in addition I also have the *épreuves* of the *ADDRESS ON THE CIVIL WAR*,[b] which we are bringing out in French in Brussels. You will be receiving a constant flow of instalments in German and French from me.

In Petersburg a splendid Russian translation[c] has appeared.[360] The *Russian* socialist paper, *Die Neue Zeit* (its German title, the paper comes out in Russian), recently published a five-column-long leader lavishing praise on the book, which, however, was only meant as an introduction to a series of articles.[d] For this, the paper duly received a warning from the police, who threatened to suppress it.

I shall send Liebknecht my answer to the jackasses from the *Concordia* today.[e] I was unable to get round to it sooner. Moreover, it does no harm to leave that factory-owning mob their illusions of victory for a while.

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[a] proofs - [b] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. - [c] of Volume I of *Capital* - [d] 'С.-Петербургъ, 22 апрѣля', *Novoye Vremya*, No. 106, 23 April (5 May) 1872. - [e] K. Marx, 'Reply to Brentano's Article'.

As TO HEINZEN, I CARE NOT ONE FARTHING FOR THE *faits et gestes*[a] OF THIS 'democratic numbskull'. He is the true representative of the 'KNOW-NOTHINGS', in the literal sense of the word.

It will do no harm to send me the French translation of the *Communist Manifesto*.[440]

I shall tell you in my next letter why the GENERAL COUNCIL is simply abiding by its resolutions[b] for the time being without proceeding in a more aggressive manner. We shall not continue to correspond with those people any more but have only instructed Le Moussu to ask them to return the letters from Eccarius (who has probably already given the *ordre* to print his letter over there) and Hales.[518]

(*Between ourselves.* Eccarius has been demoralised for quite some time now and is now a scoundrel pure and simple—*canaille*, even.)

In sincere friendship,
Karl Marx

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## 224

## MARX TO EDOUARD VAILLANT[118]

### IN LONDON

[London,] 24 May 1872

My dear Vaillant,

Serraillier has received a letter from Brussels from some of the proscribed persons over there—which in my view makes it necessary that something be done here to avert if at all possible any further rumpus amongst the Communards. It is for this reason that I have agreed with Serraillier to ask you (and via you *Arnaud*), Cournet and Ranvier to come to my house tomorrow evening (*Saturday at 8 or 9 o'clock*, whichever is more convenient) to

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[a] feats and gestures - [b] K. Marx, 'Resolutions on the Split in the United States' Federation Passed by the General Council of the I. W. A. in Its Sittings of 5th and 12th March, 1872'.

discuss what should be done (needless to say the General Council has nothing to do with the affair).

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

I have had a letter from Rochat,[a] who is presently working in a coal-mine in the Borinage.

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## 225

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[137]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 27 May 1872

My dear Sorge,

I am flooded out with proofs, French proofs[436] (where I have to re-write an enormous amount that has been translated too literally) and German proofs,[396] all of which have to be sent off.[b] I can therefore only write you a few lines.

I am sending you the German and French versions of the General Council declaration on the farce of the '*Conseil fédéraliste universel etc.*'.[c] Ditto *notre circulaire privée sur les Jurassiens*.[d] (*More to follow*, as soon as we have the copies in quantity.) Eccarius handed in his resignation before his CASE was investigated.[496] Provisionally, Le Moussu is responsible for *toute l'Amérique* (we also have contacts in South America now). Send everything to me since I see Le Moussu every day, and do not send anything to Hales, who keeps on doing the stupidest things simply out of a desire to seem important. There is an *enquête*[e] pending against him as well as Eccarius because of the American *affaire*.

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[a] Presumably Rochat's letter to Marx of 23 May 1872. - [b] This refers to the proofs of the second German and the French edition of Volume I of *Capital*. - [c] K. Marx, 'Declaration of the General Council Concerning the Universal Federalist Council'. - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*. - [e] investigation

Eccarius has become both a fool and a scoundrel. I shall write to you about it in greater detail in the course of this week.

I shall insist on the 1,000 COPIES[a] tomorrow in the GENERAL COUNCIL.

Yours,
K. Marx

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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## 226

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT[519]

### IN LEIPZIG

London, 27[-28] May 1872

Dear Liebknecht,

Mrs Marx has shown me Eccarius' letter to you[520] and the only possible construction it permits is the one you have put on it and which we have already arrived at from other evidence, namely that Eccarius is mad. How deeply we have intrigued against him you can infer most easily from the fact that I have never said a word to you about the whole clique. Now, however, it is essential to put you *au fait*.

We have absolutely no idea what Eccarius can have in mind when he talks about intrigues directed against him ever since 1869 (!). I only know that up to September 1870, when I arrived here,[122] Marx, for the sake of their longstanding friendship, had always helped him out of the mess he had got into often enough with the English,[497] and whenever Marx himself had a row with the English it was on Eccarius' account, since the latter had always treated the International as his literary property and had been guilty of the gravest indiscretions in his Congress reports in *The Times* and in his reports to American papers. In short, he had always exploited the situation for his own literary ends. All this

[a] of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association

could be tolerated up to a certain point and we confined ourselves to rebuking him in private, but the offences were always repeated.

All of a sudden Eccarius announced that he was resigning his office as General Secretary and would *absolutely refuse to stand for re-election*. We had therefore to choose a successor who, in the circumstances, could only be an Englishman. Hales and Mottershead stood as candidates and Hales was elected. What Eccarius' intentions had been was something we only discovered later when he told Mottershead that he had simply gone on strike so as to receive 30/- a week instead of 15/-. He had thought he was indispensable, and when this plan went wrong he twisted the facts to make it appear that Marx had intrigued with Hales to get him thrown out, and I am firmly convinced that he himself believes this now, although no-one could have been more surprised by his abdication than us.

Then came the Conference.[a] Both the General Council and the Conference itself had resolved that the meetings should be held in private. An explicit resolution, of which you are aware, charged the General Council with the task of deciding which resolutions should be made public and which not. WELL, a few days after the Conference an article appeared in *The Scotsman*[b] and *The Manchester Guardian* with a detailed report on a number of the Conference sessions together with the Conference resolutions. This report then went through the entire English and European press. You can imagine the uproar this provoked. Everyone cried treason and called for an example to be made of the traitor. In all the International papers a chorus of abuse fell on the General Council for allowing such matters to appear in the bourgeois press while our own papers were starved of news.

We knew at once who the traitor was. Reports had appeared only about those sessions where Eccarius had been present. On the others there was not a single word, except for a garbled account of some of the resolutions. Marx took the first opportunity when we had Eccarius on his own to accuse him to his face and to advise him in all friendliness TO MAKE A CLEAN BREAST OF IT, to accept his punishment and to be more discreet in future. He [Eccarius] did in fact go to see Jung, the president of the ad-hoc investigating commission, and told him that he had indeed given the local OFFICE of the New York *World* an article about the Conference,[498] but on the explicit condition that its content was not revealed to the English press. However, he was perfectly aware of the unprinci-

[a] the 1871 London Conference of the International - [b] [J. G. Eccarius,] 'The International Conference', *The Scotsman*, No. 8789, 2 October 1871.

pled character of these people and of their connections with the English provincial press and must also have known that he had no right to sell the Conference transactions to the American press. In the process he made all sorts of lame excuses, saying that the English article contained statements not in the American article, so that someone else must have talked, and that someone was Hales in all likelihood (whose behaviour in all this business had been perfectly STRAIGHTFORWARD) and that he was the real traitor. In order to spare Eccarius, Jung delayed making a decision, but finally Eccarius was reprimanded, and since then this man, who would be ready any day to sell the entire International for a mess of pottage, has been all injured innocence.

Despite this we were foolish enough—and you can see from this how we have been intriguing against him—to propose and carry his nomination as American secretary.[331]

Since Hales' nomination a war to the knife has broken out between Eccarius and Mottershead, on the one hand, and Hales, on the other. The English have split into 3 parties, one anti-Hales, one pro-Hales, and a number of more or less neutral people in the middle. Hales also committed a host of follies—he is terribly vain and WANTS TO STAND FOR *HACKNEY*[a] NEXT ELECTION—but the attacks on him by the others were so ludicrously absurd that he was almost always in the right. In order to put an end to the commotion, which came to occupy the General Council almost to the exclusion of everything else, we were forced to appoint a sort of *Comité de salut public*[b] to which all personal matters are referred.[521] It is scarcely necessary to add that we did not hesitate to give Hales a good dressing-down when he deserved it, and that was often enough, just as we did to Eccarius or anyone else.

At all events, Hales still has the trust of the East End workers—our best people here—whereas Eccarius has associated with the most degenerate and suspect elements all of whom are hand in glove with the GREAT LIBERAL PARTY.

When the BRITISH FEDERAL COUNCIL[330] was formed, Mottershead, Eccarius & Co. were not invited since they did not represent any working men's associations. The way in which this was done was irregular and was criticised in the General Council, but it was very necessary if a repetition of the same business were to be avoided.

This means, according to Eccarius, that we had chosen the DAMNABLE SIDE.

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[a] a constituency in London's East End, a working-class district - [b] Committee of Public Salvation

As for America, the split took place immediately after the Conference[422]; the sub-committee (the secretaries)[435] were supposed to report on the matter and since it was Marx who had largely conducted the American correspondence up to then, he took over the mess and all the letters went to him. It goes without saying that Eccarius' position as secretary was virtually suspended until the General Council could reach a decision on the whole business. There was in fact no writing to be done. He seems to have regarded this as yet another insult. When it came to a decision, Eccarius took the part of Sorge's enemies. These consist of 1) a few Frenchmen who, like Malon & Co. in Geneva, want to be in command simply because they are Frenchmen and in part refugees of the Commune; 2) supporters of Schweitzer (Grosse & Co.); 3) the Yankee bourgeois friends of Mesdames Woodhull and Claflin, people who have got a bad name for themselves through their practice of FREE LOVE and who print anything and everything—A UNIVERSAL GOVERNMENT, SPIRITISM (*à la* Home) and so forth—anything but our stuff. The latter have now declared in reply to the resolutions of the General Council[a] that the International will only make progress in America if we *throw out* as many 'WAGE-SLAVES' as possible, since they were certain to be the first to sell themselves to the BOGUS REFORMERS AND TRADING POLITICIANS.[522]

Sorge and Co. have also made a number of formal blunders, but if the International in America is not to degenerate into a bourgeois tricksters' society pure and simple, they must have our full support. The good Germans (almost all the Germans), the best Frenchmen and all the Irish are on their side.

Our friend Eccarius, however, had foreseen that the organ of Section 12, *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, might provide him with a new literary refuge and so we are ON THE DAMNABLE SIDE.

In short, Eccarius has become thoroughly demoralised in his relations with the English agitators and TRADING POLITICIANS AND TRADES-UNIONS PAID SECRETARIES, all of whom either have been bought by the middle class or are begging them to make them an offer. His personal situation, which was truly wretched, though partly through his own fault, and finally his literary ambitions have been contributing factors. He has gone so far that I have abandoned all hope for him. I am very sorry for him, both as an old friend and collaborator as well as an intelligent person, but I cannot conjure the facts out of existence. Moreover, in his

[a] K. Marx, 'Resolutions on the Split in the United States' Federation Passed by the General Council of the I.W.A. in Its Sittings of 5th and 12th March, 1872'.

cynicism he admits it all quite openly. But if he imagines that we conspired against him and wished to expel him from the General Council, he is somewhat exaggerating his own importance. The opposite is the case: we let him go his own way despite countless opportunities to throw the book at him and we have not done so. We have confronted him with the truth only where it was quite unavoidable. But it was simply out of the question for us to stand aside while he turned the International into his own milch cow, riding roughshod over all other considerations.

Incidentally, Lochner, Lessner, *Pfänder* and Frankel are all completely in the picture about Eccarius, and if you write to any one of them, you will be unlikely to receive such a cool and dispassionate reply as from me.

28 May. News has come from America today. The separatist Federal Council is now in process of complete dissolution. Madame Woodhull and her Yankee friends from Sections 9 and 12 have held a meeting to push *her candidature as President of the United States*[523] on the basis of a programme which contains everything under the sun except capital and labour, and have made complete fools of themselves into the bargain.[a] It was all just too much. The Lassallean Section 6 has deposed its delegate, Grosse, accepted the resolutions of the General Council and has sent a delegate to *Sorge*'s Federal Council. Ditto Section 2, the worst of the French sections, which has also parted company with the separatist Council. Another 6 sections are about to follow suit. More details in the next *Eastern Post*.[b] You can see what sort of people Eccarius cultivated over there; *all* his private correspondents, Maddock, West, Elliott, etc., were present and spoke at the Woodhull meeting.

All these matters are *between ourselves*, the deliberations of the General Council are not my property and I am telling you of them here simply for your and Bebel's own private information.

The Belgians have debated a revision of the Rules but have not reached any conclusions.[c] Hins has tabled a draft proposing abolition of the General Council.[524] I would be quite contented with that personally; Marx and I will not re-enter it anyway and as matters stand at present we have scarcely any time to work and that is something that has to stop.

A letter to you from Marx[17] has gone off today. It contains the

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[a] V. Woodhull, 'The party of the people to secure and maintain human rights, to be inaugurated in the U.S., in May, 1872', *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, No. 26/104, 11 May 1872. - [b] *The Eastern Post*, No. 192, 2 June 1872. - [c] 'Congrès ouvrier belge', *L'Internationale*, No. 176, 26 May 1872.

declaration of the General Council against the petty intriguers here who have acquired a certain importance thanks to the bourgeois press on the Continent.[a]

Regards to your wife[b] and children, ditto Bebel.

Your
F. E.

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## 227

## MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[525]

### IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 28 May 1872

My dear Sir,

My reply to you has been so delayed because I had kept on hoping that I would be able to send you, simultaneously with the letter, the first instalments of the *2nd German edition of 'Capital'*[145] as well as the *French translation*[436] (Paris). But the German and French booksellers[c] have dragged the business out for so long that I cannot postpone it any longer.

First of all, my best thanks for the beautifully bound copy. The translation is *masterly*.[360] I would be grateful if you could let me have a second, unbound, copy—for the British Museum.[526]

I regret that *absolute* [lack of time] (*IN THE MOST STRICTEST SENSE OF THE WORD*) prevented me from making a start on the revision for the second edition before the end of December 1871. It would have been of great benefit for the Russian edition.

Although the French edition—(the translation is by Mr Roy, the translator of Feuerbach)—has been prepared by a great expert in both languages, he has often translated too literally. I have therefore found myself compelled to re-write whole PASSAGES in French, to make them palatable to the French public. It will be all the easier later on to translate the book from French into English and the Romance languages.

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[a] K. Marx, 'Declaration of the General Council Concerning the Universal Federalist Council'. - [b] Natalie Liebknecht - [c] Meissner and Lachâtre

I am so *overworked, and in fact so much interfered with in my theoretical studies, that, after September, I shall *withdraw* from the *commercial concern*,[a] which, at this moment, weighs principally upon my own shoulders, and which, as you know, has its ramifications all over the world.* *Mais, est modus in rebus*,[b] *and I can no longer afford—for some time at least—to combine two sorts of business of so very different a character.

The news you have communicated to me on our *mutual friend*[c] have delighted both myself and my family. There are few people in the world of whom I am so fond and whom I esteem so much.*[527]

You will much oblige me by delivering the enclosed letter to Dr W. Baranoff[528] at this address: 'Frau Baggohufudt-Gross, Theater Platz, Haus Baron Küster'.

In the hope of hearing from you soon.

Yours very sincerely,
A. W.[d]

One of the barkers at present living in Switzerland—Mr Bakounine—is playing such strange tricks that I would be very grateful for any precise piece of information about the man—1) as to the extent of his influence in Russia, 2) about his role in the trial of such notorious memory.[529]

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## 228

## MARX TO CÉSAR DE PAEPE[137]

### IN BRUSSELS

[London,] 28 May 1872[118]

My dear Friend,

Enclosed is a statement by the General Council against Vésinier

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[a] Marx intended to resign from the General Council of the International after the Hague Congress. - [b] But moderation in all things (Horace, *Satires*, I, 1). - [c] Hermann Lopatin - [d] A. Williams, Marx's pseudonym

and Co.[a] for the Brussels *L'Internationale.* The same thing has been sent to the *Liberté,*

1) because it needs publicity, 2) because Mr Steens *has suppressed* the General Council's reply to the British Parliament which was sent to him.[b]

I have read the report on the Belgian Congress[c] in the *L'Internationale.*[524] How is it that the Flemish are not included among the delegates? Generally speaking, according to the information received here by the French from their compatriots, it would not seem that the International has made much headway in Belgium after the events of the Commune.

For my part I should be ready to accept the Hins draft (with modifications of detail), not because I think it is good, but because it is always better to make certain experiments than to lull oneself with illusions.

It is very characteristic of the Alliance's[10] tactics: in Spain, where it is strongly organised although it has lost the support of the Spanish Federal Council, it attacked at the Barcelona Council all elements of organisation, the Federal Council, etc., as well as the General Council. In Belgium, where 'prejudices' have to be taken into account, it has been proposed that the General Council be abolished with its functions being transferred to the Federal Councils (this was opposed at Barcelona) and even enlarged.

I can hardly wait for the next Congress. It will be the end of my slavery. After that I shall become a free man again; I shall accept no administrative functions any more, either for the General Council or for the British Federal Council.

Yours as ever,

Karl Marx

First published in *L'Actualité de l'histoire,* No. 25, Paris, 1958

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Translated from the French

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[a] K. Marx, 'Declaration of the General Council Concerning the Universal Federalist Council'. - [b] K. Marx, 'Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association Concerning Cochrane's Speech in the House of Commons'. - [c] 'Congrès ouvrier belge', *L'Internationale,* No. 176, 26 May 1872.

## 229

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[137]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 29 May 1872

Dear Friend,

*En toute hâte.*[a]

In yesterday's meeting of the General Council, at which almost all the members of the Commune were present, Hales read out Praitsching's letter.[530]

I followed this up by relating the *aventures* of the *Contre* COUNCIL, basing myself partly on your letter,[b] and partly on the issue of the *World* you sent me, and I emphasised how these facts confirmed the necessity of the RESOLUTIONS adopted at my suggestion.[531] Eccarius WAS THUNDERSTRUCK.

This was followed by a useful INCIDENT which I instantly exploited.

Eccarius had received a letter from St Louis in which a German section which had formed there inquired which of the two FEDERAL COUNCILS to go by. I said, naturally, they should acknowledge the COUNCIL that agreed with us, the old one. Hales and Eccarius (although mortal enemies) spoke against this. I replied and the motion was carried in the very well-attended meeting with only 3 votes against (Hales, Eccarius and Delahaye—who counts for nothing with the other members of the Commune).

Le Moussu will inform you of this officially tomorrow, and you would then do well to make it known (naturally as something self-evident and not on instructions from London) that, on the occasion of this application from that German section, the General Council resolved that your COUNCIL is the only one with which it is *en règle*[c] and hence which is recognised.

*Tout à vous,*[d]

Karl Marx

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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[a] In all haste. - [b] Sorge's letter to Marx of 7 May 1872. - [c] in agreement - [d] Yours sincerely

## 230

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 5[-6] June 1872

Dear Liebknecht,

My condolences on confirmation [of your sentence].[532] So much is certain: in no other country are our party comrades subject to such persecution as in the glorious Empire of Bismarck-Stieber, scarcely excepting even Austria. However, if there is any certainty in anything, it is that *this* sentence will *never* be carried out to the end. In France and Spain, persecution of the International (apart from reprisals against the COMMUNARDS) exists up to now only on paper, and in Italy it rarely involves more than 3 months, the rest being commuted to a fine, which admittedly often works out at a rate of 3 frs per day.

Marx had taken Wuttke's book[a] himself and kept it despite much pestering. Finally, I myself forgot to keep reminding him of it. Now I have got it from him, I read it through in a day and then sent it on to Borkheim with the request to look around for a publisher. Your memory is playing tricks on you if you believe that you wrote to me earlier on, asking *me* to look into it. I know only that you asked me for my opinion and that I wrote to you saying it would be extremely difficult to find a publisher here who would pay, since Wuttke is completely unknown here. I would otherwise have added that neither Marx nor I have those sorts of contacts here, otherwise we would long since have discovered one for *Capital*.

I can now add only this:

1. Because of its many technical expressions, the book is very difficult to translate, almost impossible for anyone who is not in daily contact with English people.

2. The book would have to be significantly adapted for local consumption. All the waffle in the introduction and the excessively long chapter on Chinese literature would have to go and the arcane style would have to be transformed into PLAIN ENGLISH.

I think then that Borkheim is the right man to discover a

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[a] H. Wuttke, *Geschichte der Schrift und des Schrifttums...*

publisher, if this is at all possible. A businessman who seems totally unconnected with literature often has the best chance of succeeding with these things. It was Strohn after all who put us in touch with Meissner in Hamburg. At all events, do not count too much on Borkheim succeeding and do not waste time translating until he comes up with someone.

6 June. Wróblewski interrupted me yesterday and stayed the whole evening, so I can now answer your letter of the 4th as well, which I received this morning. I am sorry that you have to go inside so soon, but I hope you will not be in there for long.

The proofs of the *Manifesto* together with a short preface[a] will go off as soon as possible, tomorrow, I hope.[189]

Best thanks for the information about individuals,[533] but there is still no answer to my question about how your Party intends to put its relations with the General Council on a clear footing, without which it will be absolutely impossible for it to be represented at the Congress.[b]

Your
F. E.

Nothing can be done in the matter of the inheritance, if the people are reluctant to risk money. These things have to be looked at by lawyers, and they do nothing ON SPECULATION. Anyway, the best the heirs could hope for would be the satisfaction of knowing that they had been swindled. They cannot reckon on salvaging any money after all these years—it is 100:1 AGAINST.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Preface to the 1872 German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*'. - [b] See this volume, p. 376.

## 231

## ENGELS TO J. MOLESWORTH[534]

### IN LESTER

[Draft]

[London, after 5 June 1872]

...[a] have every confidence in the character of Mr Glaser whom you will, I have no doubt, always find straightforward in all his dealings. As to his means I cannot give you any definite information but as I have the confidence in him that he would not order more than he was justified in doing, I should not hesitate to give him a moderate credit say a couple of £100—or even more. I think if you were to limit your credit at the beginning to £200—and then extend it afterwards as the business goes on and you get better acquainted with him, you would be pretty safe.

It is what I should do in your case.

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## 232

## ENGELS TO CESARE BERT

### IN TURIN

[Resumé of a letter]

[London, 7 June 1872]

[...] In Milan, Ferrara, Naples, everywhere there are friends of Bakunin.[b] As for the Workers' Union[486] of Bologna, it has never written us a word. The Jura party, abandoned on all sides, seems to want to make Italy its great fortress. This party has formed, in

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[a] The beginning of the letter is missing. - [b] This sentence, the one opening the next paragraph, and the two parentheses are in German in the original, the rest of the text is in Italian.

the midst of the International, a secret society[10] which seeks to control it; we have proof of this as regards Spain, and the situation in Italy must be the same. These men, who always have the words autonomy and free federation on their lips, treat the workers like a flock of sheep, only good for being steered by the leaders of this secret society, using it for purposes of which the mass is unaware. You had a good example in Terzaghi (an investigation is being demanded into the handing over of the letter). Having rebelled against the whole organisation of the International, and knowing that it will have great difficulty in justifying itself at the Congress next September,[450] the Jura Committee is now looking for letters and mandates from the General Council in order to fabricate false accusations against us. I, like all of us, willingly consent to all letters being read to the Congress, but we do not find it agreeable to learn that the same letters, written for this or that section, have been put at the disposal of these gentlemen.

The circular[a] makes things known. We urge you meanwhile to suspend all decisions and you will subsequently act as the interest of the International dictates. I hope you will find that it is not the General Council, but these men of the Jura, acting solely to further the personal ambitions of Bakunin, head of the secret society, who have sown discord.

(Ask for immediate reply about the letter.)

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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Published in English for the first time

[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International.*

## 233

## ENGELS TO THEODOR CUNO[150]

### IN LIÈGE

London, 10 June 1872

Dear Cuno,

A few words in all haste. I have today sent by first post to Herman 2 copies (one of them for you) of the circular of the General Council on the Bakuninist intrigues,[a 385] wrapped in a copy of the *Kölnische Zeitung*. You will find in it all the material you need from A to Z.

We now possess accurate information on the Spanish secret society, *La Aleanza*—it will be quite a surprise to that gang at the Congress. The same society *doubtless* exists in Italy. If only Regis could get down there! But the poor devil is now peddling newspapers in Geneva, to earn a living as best he can. Cafiero in Naples and someone else in Turin whom I don't yet know turned letters of mine over to the Jurassians[535]; that doesn't matter to me in itself, but the very fact of their perfidy is unpleasant. The Italians will still have to pass through a school of experience to realise that a peasant people as backward as they are merely makes itself ridiculous when it tries to prescribe to the workers of big industrial nations the road they should take for their emancipation.

Incidentally, I no longer receive any Italian newspapers, so I cannot send you any. Cafiero, who always used to send them, has obviously got a bad conscience.

You will have received the letter from Düsseldorf, which I sent on to you.[536]

We know that affairs are in pretty bad shape in Belgium. The apathy of this neutral nation (*sit venia verbo*[b]) is the underlying reason for the fact that a plotter and a jackass can call the tune there. The International is falling apart in Belgium by the day, thanks to the inertia of the intelligent and reliable men among the leaders. Incidentally, the clique's leaders have done us a tremendous service with their new draft Rules. The proposal for the abolition of the General Council[524] has put an end to the last vestiges of their influence (which was far from small, since this was

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*. - [b] if that word can be used

one of the oldest federations). The Spaniards call this downright treason.[537] It's a pity that you're not going to Spain; you would like these people; *après tout*[a] they are the most gifted of all the Latins, and you could be very useful there. What they need is a dose of German theory, and they take it very well; besides, they are distinguished by a fanaticism and a class hatred of the bourgeois such as we northerners or the vacillating Italians cannot imagine.

The true author of the Belgian draft for the Rules is, of course, Bakunin again. The draft is by Hins and he is a tool of Bakunin both by virtue of a spiritual affinity and because of his Russian wife.

Liebknecht is going into the *cachot*[b] on the 15th of this month.[538]

As soon as my friends are back in Manchester, I shall again take a look around on your behalf. I can do nothing for the moment. For all your misfortunes, you nevertheless have the luck to have a profession which you can follow anywhere fairly easily, at least on the Continent, if needs be. Here, because of the different employment system, it is much more difficult.

Your recent description[c] of the impression Düsseldorf made upon you made me laugh heartily. Why, for us, the philistine Wuppertalers, Düsseldorf was always a little Paris, where the pious gentlemen of Barmen and Elberfeld kept their mistresses, went to the theatre, and had a right royal time. But the sky always looks grey where one's own reactionary family lives. Moreover, the process of industrial development, which has after all spread to Düsseldorf as well, is extremely depressing and deadly boring throughout Germany, so that I can well imagine that Wuppertal's dreariness and wretchedness have now conquered Düsseldorf as well. But one fine day we shall send them packing, and then we'll sing the old song again that they used to sing thirty years ago in Milan:

We, we, always we,
And if we go out on a spree,
Who'll have to pay for it? We!

But it will be the bourgeois that will have to pay for the spree.

Yours,
F. Engels

First published in *Die Gesellschaft*, No. 11, Berlin, 1925

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[a] after all - [b] gaol - [c] in Cuno's letter to Engels of 30 May 1872

# 234

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

### IN GENEVA

London, 14 June 1872

Dear old Friend,

We are not entirely in agreement with your calculations about the Congress. The Jurassians with their well-known manoeuvres, for example, and the Italians would certainly send close to 30 delegates on their own, if not 50. But unfortunately that is the least of our worries at the moment. What makes it impossible to hold the Congress in Switzerland this year is the unfortunate and quite unnecessary division between the German- and French-speaking Swiss workers which occurred on the revision of the Constitution[539]—a rift that has given the Jurassians such a wonderful opportunity to rejoice and solemnly expatiate on the superiority of their policy of abstention.[a] We here cannot help thinking that the two sides are equally to blame. The revised Swiss Constitution was at most no more than an extremely moderate bourgeois step forward. While, on the one hand, it forced the barbarians of the original cantons to bestir themselves a little, on the other hand, it could act as a brake to the most progressive cantons and in particular Geneva, which—as an industrial city which is also an autonomous republic—is in an exceptionally well-favoured position, since it would place them under the control of the overall Swiss peasant majority. So depending on the locality there was something to be said both for and against the revision; my personal sympathies were, if anything, *for* rather than against. But it is certain that the whole business was not worth the trouble of creating a dispute *within* the International and of giving the Jurassians the opportunity to crow: Look we savages are the better human beings, *nous nous abstenons*,[b] while the others quarrel over trifles and so prove that all politics are of the devil.—We are very well aware how things work in a place like Geneva, which is, after all, still pretty small, and in Switzerland as a whole for that matter, where everyone knows everyone else personally and so every political movement assumes the form of gossip and intrigue.

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[a] 'Le vote du 12 mai', *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, No. 6, 10 May 1872. - [b] we abstain

So we do not take the whole thing too seriously and are convinced that proletarian sentiments will once more gain the upper hand in a short time and put everything back on an even keel. But as I said, it does unfortunately make it impossible to hold the Congress in Geneva, and so we are thinking now of Holland.[450]

Utin, who is a fine fellow for all this (even though a Russian is, of course, neither a Frenchman nor a German), will be better off for being away from the local Genevan cliques. Incidentally, I have written as much to him in a letter,[45] saying that we are by no means of his opinion on the subject of federalism as he has been preaching it in the *Égalité*.[540] But all these questions are secondary and our real battle-field lies quite elsewhere. I hope to hear soon that you two non-Swiss will have forgotten your local Swiss quarrels and have got together to drown your sorrows in Yvorne or Cortaillod. Think of the hue and cry there would have been throughout the Swiss Federal Assembly if you two had proposed to them the liberation of the workers by the workers themselves!

Vaillant is well enough up to now and so is Frankel—who is even better than well since he is of a very amorous nature. I saw Jung yesterday and he seems to have recovered from the rheumatism that plagued him 18 months ago. Marx is also significantly improved on last winter, but is very busy with the 2nd German edition[396] and the French translation of *Capital*,[436] which is coming out now. The Russian edition has appeared and is very good.[360] As for the Russians in general, there is an enormous difference between those who came to Europe earlier on—noble, aristocratic Russians, among whom we must include Herzen and Bakunin and who are swindlers to the last man—and those who are coming now, all of whom are of the *people*. As far as talent and character are concerned, some of these are absolutely among the very best in our party. They have a stoicism, a strength of character and at the same time a grasp of theory which are truly admirable.

What is the title of your new, as yet embryonic, work?[541]

Fraternally yours,

F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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# 235

## ENGELS TO CARLO CAFIERO[542]

### IN NAPLES

[Draft]

London, 14 June 1872

No newspapers received from him since 16 May, although *The Eastern Post*, etc., sent regularly. How come?[a] Might it be too much of a coincidence that at the same time (10 May) the *Bulletin jurassien* boasts of having in its possession private letters from me to friends in Italy 'full of odious slanders',[535] etc., etc.? In any case, I have not written to anyone in Italy other than you, and it must be these letters of mine to you that Schwitzguébel's paper is referring to. You owe me an explanation of that matter and I expect you to give it to me. I am amazed that you did not supply it as soon as this was published.

My letters have nothing to fear from publication, but it is a question of honour *for you* to inform me whether they were sent to my enemies with your consent or not. If it was done with your consent, I can only come to one conclusion: that you have allowed yourself to be persuaded to join the *Bakuninist secret society, the Alliance*[10] which, preaching to the profane—behind the mask of autonomy, anarchy and anti-authoritarianism—the breaking up of the International's organisation, practises towards its initiates an absolute authoritarianism, with the aim of taking over the leadership of the Association. It is a society which treats the working masses as a flock of sheep, led by a few initiates whom they follow blindly, and which imitates, within the International, the role of the Jesuits in the Catholic Church.

If my conjecture is correct, I must congratulate you on having permanently safeguarded your precious 'autonomy' by delivering it entirely into the hands of Pope Bakunin. But I cannot believe that you, an anarchist and anti-authoritarian of the first water, should have so far forsworn your dearest principles, still less that you could stoop to such depths towards myself, when I have

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[a] Thus far in German in the original, the rest is in Italian.

always treated you with the greatest sincerity and trust. In short, you must clarify this matter, and without delay.

Greetings and emancipation.

Yours,
F. E.

First published in: M. Nettlau, *Bakunin e l'Internazionale in Italia. Dal 1864 al 1872*, Geneva, 1928

Printed according to the original

Translated from the Italian

## 236

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[150]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 21 June 1872

Dear Friend,

I received what you sent on 7 June yesterday (together with the enclosed report).[543]

You will in the meantime have received my second letter,[a] ditto Le Moussu's letter, which definitively formulates the COUNCIL's position for the UNITED STATES.

The next Congress will be held on the first Monday in September 1872 in The Hague (Holland)[450]—the official notification will be sent to New York next week. It simply will not do for you to fob us off with a memorandum. *At this Congress the life or death of the International will be at stake. You yourself and at least one other, if not two,* must attend. As for the sections which do *not* send *delegates* directly, they can send *mandates* (mandates for delegates).

*The Germans* for me, F. Engels, Lochner, Karl Pfänder, Lessner.

*The French* for *G. Ranvier, Auguste Serraillier, Le Moussu, Ed. Vaillant, F. Cournet, Ant. Arnaud.*

*The Irish* for *MacDonnel*, who is doing very well, or if they prefer, for one of the above-named Germans or French.

Naturally, only 1 delegate for each section, however numerous, unless it has over 500.

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[a] See this volume, p. 388.

You will already know of the beautiful Belgian project to revise the Rules.[a] It stems from Hins, an *ambitieux impuissant*,[b] who, together with his Russian wife, takes orders from Bakounine. One of its finest features is *the abolition of the* GENERAL COUNCIL.[524] The whole plan has been deservedly hauled over the coals in *La Emancipación* (Madrid), the organ of the Spanish Federal Council.[537] The same paper gave enthusiastic approval to our American resolutions.[544]

From the enclosed copy of the *Égalité* you will see that the *Congrès Romand* has also rapped Hins over the knuckles.[545]

I am sending you by post 4 COPIES of the *Circulaire* of the GENERAL COUNCIL on *Les prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale*.[c] Engels has despatched 200 to you per PARCEL COMPANY.

As for my *Capital*, the first German instalment will be published next week,[396] ditto the first French instalment in Paris.[436] You will be getting copies of both regularly from me for you and some of your friends. Of the French edition (the title-page of which reads, by no means as a mere phrase, '*entièrement révisée par l'auteur*',[d] for I have had the devil of a job with it), 10,000 COPIES have been printed and 8,000 sold already before publication of the first instalment.

In Russia, books after printing is completed but before they are released to the public, must be submitted to the censorship authority, which must file suit in court if it does not want to pass them.

They write me as follows from Russia regarding the Russian translation (a masterly one) of my book[360]:

'In the censorship office two censors went over the work and laid their conclusions before the censorship committee. Even before the examination it was decided in principle not to hold this book up merely because of the author's name, but to make a close investigation of how far it really corresponds to its title. The following is a summary of the conclusion that was unanimously adopted by the censorship committee and submitted to the Main Administration for decision:

'"Although the author, according to his convictions, is a thorough-going socialist and the whole book has a quite definite socialist character, nevertheless, in view of the fact that the presentation can by no means be called accessible to everyone and that, on the other hand, it possesses the form of a rigidly mathematical scientific demonstration, the Committee declares the prosecution of this book in court to be impossible."'[546]

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[a] 'Congrès ouvrier belge', *L'Internationale*, No. 176, 26 May 1872. - [b] ambitious nonentity - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*. - [d] fully revised by the author

Accordingly it was allowed out into the world. Three thousand copies have been printed. It was made available to the Russian public on 27 March, and 1,000 copies had been sold by 15 May already.

In his announcement of my book the primeval KNOW-NOTHING lout Heinzen found cause for amusement at the statement on the title-page: 'Translation rights reserved'. Who would want to translate such nonsense! The book was obviously written merely in order that Karl Heinzen shouldn't understand it.

We have issued a French translation of the *ADDRESS ON THE CIVIL WAR*, price 2 1/2d. per copy.[245] If wanted in the UNITED STATES, please write.

Regarding the Nicholson affair, it is best not to say anything about it in the GENERAL COUNCIL for the present.[547]

*Salut.*

Yours,
K. M.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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## 237

## MARX TO OCTAVE VAN SUETENDAEL

### IN BRUSSELS

[London,] 21 June 1872

Dear Citizen,

Many thanks for your letter.[548] Everywhere the same thing is going on. Everywhere it is non-working men who hamper the advance of the International and who intrigue against the General Council precisely because it represents the general interest and stands in the way of their petty personal ambitions.

According to the General Regulations, we have the right to ask the Belgian Federal Council for a copy of its printed regulations, and for information regarding the financial position of the sections and the number of members. We shall make these requests in such a manner as not to arouse suspicion.

As for the Paris correspondent, I now have his name.[a]

According to the General Regulations, *II, Art. 5*[b]: 'The General Council has the right to admit or to refuse *the affiliation of any new society or group*, subject to appeal to the Congress. Nevertheless, where there exist Federal Councils or Committees, the General Council is bound to consult them before admitting or rejecting the affiliation of a new branch or society, *without prejudice, however, to its right of provisional decision*'.

Thus, the new section now forming in Brussels has only to write to the General Council (and it may use my address, the Belgian secretary being away) and state that it wishes to form 'an independent society', in direct relation with the General Council. It must explain (without holding anything back) the reasons why it wants to constitute itself independently of the Belgian Federal Council. Whereupon, the General Council must consult the Belgian Council, however, '*without prejudice to its right of decision*'.

The Federation of Working Men's Societies of which you speak would be well-advised, when nominally constituting several sections (say 3 or 4), to request the Council to admit them all at the same time. Their very number would make it easier for the General Council to act. For the fact that *several* societies in Brussels desired to constitute themselves independently of the Belgian Federal Council would of itself provide serious presumptive evidence against the latter. Once admitted by the General Council, the said societies will have the right to send delegates to the next Congress—either a common delegate or one delegate per society. The next Congress will take place at The Hague,[450] on the first Monday of September 1872. I shall be sending an official communication to that effect to the Brussels *Internationale* in a few days' time.[c]

As for the Hins draft[524] (Hins and his wife are correspondents and agents of Bakunin), this has had a *very bad* reception in all the countries from which we have heard so far, France, Germany, England, etc.

In *L'Égalité* (organ of the Romance Federal Council), which I am sending you, you will find resolutions against the Hins draft.[545]

*L'Emancipación* (of Madrid), organ of the Spanish Federal Council, has published two articles against the Hins draft.[537]

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[a] Léon Adrien Massenet - [b] K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association.* - [c] See F. Engels, 'Announcement of the General Council on the Convocation and the Agenda of the Congress at The Hague', *L'Internationale*, No. 182, 7 July 1872.

The first article is in the issue of 8 June and is entitled 'The Belgian Draft of the General Rules'.

It says, among other things:

'If the draft stood the slightest chance of being accepted, this would of itself suffice to disorganise the International... The Congresses, which take place only once a year, cannot serve as a true link uniting the various federations. The immediate effect of the suppression of the General Council would be to disrupt the unity of the Association and the strength deriving therefrom... Consistency would further demand the suppression of the federal and local Councils, etc. ... The suppression of the General Council would spell death to the International.'

The *Volksfreund* ('Friend of the People'), the organ of the International sections of Brunswick, gave the Hins draft a thorough trouncing.[a] Among other things it says that, if the working men of other countries were to imitate those of Belgium, the International would be transformed from a society organised for struggle into an incoherent mass of pietistic[549] socialist conventicles. In its issue of 16 June it returns to the charge.[b]

It refers to the police Conference (consisting of Prussian, Austrian, Hungarian, etc., functionaries) which is to be held in Berlin in August and is to discuss measures to be taken by governments against the International. One of the first measures adumbrated by these gentlemen is to confine the proletarian movement within the *national boundaries* of each country. The *Volksfreund* concludes its article by saying: Thus it is the despotic governments on the Continent which, in order to destroy the International, propose to break the ties which bind the various national proletarian movements to the centre in London.

'Let our friends, the Belgians, ponder this: If we are reduced to the national level, as proposed by *Bismarck's agents in Berlin*,[c] we shall be killed off in all the Continental countries, one after the other, by the reactionary forces. If, on the other hand, we retain our centre in London and thus remain Europeans, we shall be invulnerable. Our General Council and headquarters in London is not accessible to the blows struck by reaction: it would succumb in one situation only: if government agents were able to stir up successful rebellions against the common centre of the Association among the ranks of continental Internationalists.'

Letters from the French sections express contempt for the Hins draft and say, for example, that according to this fine draft, France, Spain, Germany, Austria, Poland, Hungary—in a word, all those countries where the International is prevented by the

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[a] B. Becker, 'Der Kongreß der belgischen Internationale', *Braunschweiger Volksfreund*, No. 129, 5 June 1872. - [b] 'Die anti-sozialistische Konferenz in Berlin', *Braunschweiger Volksfreund*, No. 139, 16 June 1872. - [c] Italics by Marx.

governments from forming official federations, will be virtually excluded from the International 1) because it is intended to deprive them of their right to vote at Congresses, and 2) because, circumstances being what they are, the different sections in those countries would, without the General Council, lose all unified organisation and all reciprocal ties.

So, as you can see, the Hins draft will prove a fiasco. But there is one thing you must not forget! If the Federal Council sends deputies to the Hague Congress, insist that they be given *precise written mandates signed by all the members of the Federal Council.* That is the only way to prevent the trickery to which the friends of the Alliance[10] never hesitate to stoop in furtherance of their own particular little plans.

It goes without saying that you need fear no indiscretion, however slight, on my part.

Fraternal greetings,
Karl Marx

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## 238

## ENGELS TO ADOLF HEPNER

### IN LEIPZIG

London, 2 July 1872

Dear Hepner,

When mandates[a] are sent out it is absolutely essential to include one for Cuno, who is now in Belgium. He is of the greatest importance because of the Italian Bakuninists; these people will send nothing but lawyers and other doctrinaire bourgeois who play at being workers' representatives and who have done everything in their power to prevent the workers from corres-

[a] for delegates to the Hague Congress

ponding with us directly. It was precisely Cuno who was the first to break through this barrier and, had he remained there, the whole problem would have been solved by now. Moreover, Cuno is one of our very best people; Liebknecht's entire mistrust of him is groundless and is based on his belief that Cuno was an agent of J. Ph. Becker, working in the interests of the Geneva 'Mother Section', something that never crossed Cuno's mind. I had to explain the whole absurd story to him later on since he knew nothing about the Mother Section.[a] When I *know* what a man has *really accomplished*, I do not let myself be misled by such matters.

It goes without saying that the Congress deliberations will be conducted in all 3 languages—German, English and French—so that ignorance of the two last languages need deter no-one.[450]

Returning herewith *Boruttau*'s letter.[550] The man is assuredly honest, but terribly muddle-headed and driven on by an urge to perform deeds out of all proportion to his talents. These qualities make him a highly suitable DUPE for the Bakuninists who surround him and exploit him. If you read the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, you will see that precisely now, before the Congress, these gentlemen are doing all they can to obtain private letters and so forth from us and to discover what material damaging to them we have in our possession.[b] Apart from that the Boruttau letter is of no significance. It would not occur to us to do additional work for these gentlemen to our own detriment. If Boruttau is so unfamiliar with *notorious* facts which even Bakunin has never denied, it is not our responsibility to look up the issue of *Kolokol* where he can find it all, i.e. if he knows Russian, for if he doesn't, even referring him to the right issue will not help him.[c] So much is certain: we *have* the material. Moreover, as long as 3 years ago Borkheim published more on this matter in his *Russische Briefe*[43] than six Boruttaus could ask for. You would be well advised to tread warily with Boruttau. The magniloquent phrases of the Bakuninists have completely beguiled this muddle-head and this over-intense sort of honesty often turns into treachery in practice.

*'Scissions'*.[d] The circular is *confidential*[385] and so not intended for

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[a] See this volume, pp. 370-72. - [b] 'La Liberté de Bruxelles du 5 mai publie...', *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, No. 6, 10 May 1872. - [c] This presumably refers to Bakunin's appeal, 'Русскимъ, польскимъ и всѣм славянскимъ друзьямъ' (To Russian, Polish and All Slavic Friends), *Колоколъ* (The Bell), No. 122 & 123 (with Supplement No. 4), 15 February 1862. - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*.

publication. We do not know how the (legitimist) *Courrier de France* in Paris—which is publishing it—obtained possession of it. Likewise with the *Radical*, which may have taken it from the *Courrier*. A German translation in the *Volksstaat* (which you would have to produce over there) would only be desirable if the bourgeois press in Germany makes a scandal of the affair—*but in that event it would be very desirable indeed*. In the meantime the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne* has publicly attacked it,[551] so an article in the *Volksstaat* could do no harm. I assume that Liebknecht has left you the copy we sent him. If not, I shall send you one in a letter—a postal wrapper is impossible since the police have stolen everything I sent to Germany in that way.

Henri Perret, Temple Unique, Genève, has been instructed to *send the 'Volksstaat' 50 copies for distribution in Germany*. If they have not yet arrived, please drop him a few lines.

I shall write to *Wigand*.[552]

*'Schulze-Bastiat'*. Marx is buried up to his ears in work on the 2nd German edition[396] and the 1st French edition of *Capital*.[436] But even apart from this he would never agree to write an appendix to correct the blunders in such a completely unscientific book as Lassalle's.[a] He would have to correct almost the whole book. *Entre nous if* Marx ever does get around to correcting Lassalle there will be precious little of Lassalle left over. He has not done so up to now out of consideration for the many Lassalleans who have joined the Party, but one day it is sure to come.

*'The Housing Question'*. Liebknecht spoke of his intention of publishing my article[b] on its own.[504] If this is the case, please let me have the galley proofs since there are a number of disastrous printing errors in it. There is also the following to be considered:

You write to me about *Sax*. Is it worthwhile writing a special article on a book[c] which appeared in 1869? If so, I shall give the man a good hiding for you, and it would perhaps be a good idea to follow up the critique of the petit bourgeois solution to the housing problem with a critique of the grand bourgeois solution. In that event the two articles[d] could be published together on their own, which would provide a more exhaustive treatment of

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[a] F. Lassalle, *Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch, der ökonomische Julian, oder: Capital und Arbeit*. - [b] F. Engels, *The Housing Question*. - [c] E. Sax, *Die Wohnungszustände der arbeitenden Klassen und ihre Reform*. - [d] Parts I and II of Engels' work *The Housing Question*.

the subject. Please let me know about this soon so that I may act accordingly.

I shall also produce a small article for you about the latest squabble in America.[a]

Yours,
F. E.

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## 239

## ENGELS TO TH. SMART & Co.[553]

### IN LESTER

[Draft]

[London, after 3 July 1872]

Mr Glaser is a highly respectable man well known in Brussels whom I have no doubt you will always find thoroughly straightforward and honest in all his dealings. As far as I know, he is not without some means and I should not hesitate, if I were in a position to do business with him, to trust him to the extent of a couple of £100.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50, Moscow, 1981

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[a] F. Engels, 'The International in America'.

## 240

## ENGELS TO THEODOR CUNO[150]

### IN LIÈGE

London, 5 July 1872

Dear Cuno,

I sent some English and Spanish newspapers to Herman for you yesterday.

The Belgians make the same impression on everyone who comes in contact with them. The whole International there is just so much hot air and nothing more. This is chiefly the fault of the leaders, of whom only De Paepe is really capable, although indolent, while Hins is empty-headed, but cunning, scheming, ambitious and energetic. Through his Russian wife Hins is in direct contact with Bakunin and on the latter's instructions he has devised a salubrious project to abolish the General Council.[524] Hins is at present in Verviers. You would be doing us a service if you could keep an eye on him.

There is also a German section in Verviers which is in correspondence with the *Volksstaat*. I wrote to their correspondent, P. Schlehbach, rue de Pont 2, (on 14 June)[45] and also sent a copy of the *Scissions*,[a 385] but have had no reply up to now. It would be a good idea if you could slip over there and establish contact with them. *I have written to Hepner*[b] *saying that they should send you a mandate from Germany for the Congress.*[450] *To be on the safe side, however, it would be good if you could also get the German section in Verviers to give you a mandate from them in case they do not send someone of their own.* Bakunin & Co. will make every effort to beat us at the Congress, and as these gentlemen have no scruples about methods, we must take precautionary measures. They will send delegates from a hundred different societies not belonging to the International at all, and will try to obtain a seat and a vote for these persons as delegates of the International in order to place the General Council in the minority with the aid of a coalition of the most heterogeneous elements. Schweitzer and Hasenclever have already concluded an avowed alliance with the scoundrels over here—Vésinier, Landeck, Smith, Schneider, etc.—while the latter, in turn, are corresponding with the Jurassians and the American rogues (see the *Emancipación*[554] I sent yesterday).

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*. - [b] See this volume, pp. 403-04.

How have the *Scissions* been received there? I have sent Herman 5 copies in all, but they must be distributed. Is Herman doing that? And how is he doing in general? I heard that at the last Belgian Congress he spoke out very vigorously in favour of the General Council.

It is questionable whether you can qualify for Belgian citizenship. American citizenship is only obtainable by prior registration and five years' residence in the country.

The Congress will be held in any event. On the Continent there is never any guarantee against police interference; but then we will have to get aboard a steamer, go to England, and hold it there. It would be inexpedient to convene it in England from the very start, for although it would be quite safe from police interference here, it would nevertheless be subjected to attacks by our enemies. The General Council, they would say, is convening the Congress in England because only there does it possess an artificial majority.

Bakunin has issued a furious, but very weak, abusive letter in reply to the *Scissions*.[555] That fat elephant is beside himself with rage because he has finally been dragged from his Locarno lair out into the light, where neither scheming nor intrigues are of any more use. Now he declares that he is the victim of a conspiracy of all the European—*Jews*!

What will break the old scoundrel's neck is the continued existence of the 'Alliance'[10]—at least in Spain—as a *secret society*. Not only do we have proof of this, but the affair has now become quite public in Madrid, etc., so that there can be no denying it any more. This gentleman, who everywhere acted as the most devoted champion of the International, organised this quiet conspiracy to seize overall control and, with the assistance of his initiated Jesuit brothers, to lead the broad masses of workers by the nose like a blind herd! If this had been tolerated, I wouldn't have remained in the International for a day. To be Bakunin's sheep—that would have been the limit! The hardest blow of all for him is that we have uncovered this whole story and are threatening to expose him at the Congress. And now Lafargue (Marx's son-in-law, who has been in Madrid for 8 months) is accusing him, Bakunin, of having drawn up by his own hand and sent to Spain the secret instructions on how the International was to be run there![a]

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[a] P. Lafargue, 'Aux citoyens rédacteurs du *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*', *L'Égalité*, No. 11, 1 June 1872, reprinted in *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, No. 10-11, 15 June 1872.

The enclosed letter arrived today.
Give my best wishes to Herman, is he quite well again?

Yours,
F. E.

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## 241

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN [121]

### IN HANOVER

[London,] 9 July 1872

Dear Kugelmann,

My best thanks for the gift of £15 for Jennychen. I have worked myself so much into the ground that today (in 2 hours) I am leaving London with Engels for 4 or 5 days, and going to the seaside (Ramsgate).[556] From the date of my return until 2 September (when the international Congress is to meet at The Hague [450]) I shall have my hands more than full, but from then on I shall have more free time again. But this freedom will not begin until mid-September, because I myself shall go to The Hague.

Perhaps we could see each other later (that is, you could see me, for I would not be safe in Germany).

*Adio.*

Your
Karl Marx

As soon as the first instalments[a] (whether German [145] or French [436]) are out, you will of course receive them. *I am highly dissatisfied with Meissner.* He has led me by the nose—first overworked me due to the sudden haste with which he announced the 2nd edition (late November 1871); then wasted months and let the best time slip by. He is a lazy little philistine.

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[a] of Volume I of *Capital*

*To punish Meissner* it would be good if *you were to write him on the pretext* of wanting to know when the 'first' instalment will finally appear. You can then remark, quite *en passant*, that from my last letters it seemed to you that I *was feeling very embittered towards Meissner* and very *dissatisfied with him*; what is the reason for that? It is not my usual manner! The fellow has really annoyed me very much by his 'if you don't come today, you'll come tomorrow' attitude.

First published, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

## 242

## ENGELS TO ADOLF HEPNER

### IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 9 July 1872

Dear Hepner,

1. Proofs[a] sent off yesterday. Ditto general title.
2. A note to the above which I should very much like to see inserted since it forestalls a possible misunderstanding.[557]
3. Furthermore, the article on the American squabbles.[b]
4. Sax must wait awhile.[c] Marx and I are leaving tomorrow to relax a little for a few days at the seaside.[556] I shall be back on Tuesday the 16th of the month and shall go hard at it as soon as I have dealt with the correspondence that is certain to have piled up in my absence. Marx wanted to reply to the *Concordia* today but was unwell, and it is not clear whether he can manage it now before his return.[492] He has received the *Volks-Zeitung*. Lindau will receive no article from him, you can bet on that.[558] Marx will probably take steps himself on the matter.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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[a] of Part I of Engels' *The Housing Question* - [b] F. Engels, 'The International in America'. - [c] See this volume, pp. 405-06.

## 243

## ENGELS TO UGO BARTORELLI[559]

### IN FLORENCE

[Draft]

[London, 18 July 1872]

Citizen,

In reply to your letter of 27 June, postmarked Florence 6 July, and which, not being correctly addressed, reached me not until the 16th of this month, I should advise you that we have no other flag than that of the world proletariat, the red flag.

It would appear from the same letter that your society has constituted itself and considers itself as a section of the International; it is therefore my duty to inform you that the General Regulations currently in force require the completion of a number of formalities before new sections can be admitted.[560]

Section II, Art. 4 states:

Every new branch or society intending to join the International, is bound immediately to announce its adhesion to the General Council. The General Council has the right, etc. (*Basle* resolution).

And in Section V, Art. 1:

Every branch has the right to make particular rules and bye-laws, adapted to the local circumstances and the laws of its country; but these must in no respect contain anything contrary to the General Rules and Regulations (*Geneva* resolution).[561]

And since, according to Section II, Art. 2, 'the General Council is bound to execute the resolutions of Congresses', to which it is responsible, this General Council cannot recognise as sections of the International any societies other than those which have conformed to these articles, agreed to abide by the General Rules and Regulations of the Association, and whose Rules it has recognised as being in conformity with the General Rules and Regulations. We are sure that you have omitted to do this only because you were unaware of these rules, of which an authentic Italian edition does not exist. I therefore enclose a copy in French with the relevant articles marked in red.

As the Congress is approaching (2 September, in The Hague,[450] Holland) we would also draw your attention to Article 7 of Section I, which states: 'Only the delegates of such societies, sections or groups as form parts of the International, and shall

have paid their contributions to the General Council (10 c. per member), will in future be allowed to take their seats and to vote at Congresses.'

Greetings and brotherhood.

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## 244

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[121]

### IN HANOVER

[London,] 23 July 1872

Dear Kugelmann,

If nothing happens in between, I shall be at The Hague[450] on 2 September and shall be very glad to see you there. I had already sent you the *Scissions etc.*,[a 385] but it seems to have been confiscated. I am therefore enclosing a copy in this letter. You must excuse me for not writing more today. I have to send *épreuves*[b] to Paris and am in general overburdened with work.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International.* - [b] proofs (of the French edition of Volume I of *Capital*)

## 245

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[121]

IN HANOVER

[London,] 29 July 1872

Dear Kugelmann,

At the International Congress (Hague, opening 2 September),[450] it will be a matter of life or death for the International; and, before I resign,[a] I want at least to protect it from disintegrating elements. Germany must therefore have as many representatives as possible. Since you are in any case coming, write to Hepner that I ask him to get you a delegate's mandate.

Your
K. Marx

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 25, Stuttgart, 1901-1902

Printed according to the original

## 246

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG[562]

IN LONDON

[London, end of July 1872]

Dear Jung,

*Voilà*[b] Article 8 in the French and English versions:

*'Dans sa lutte contre le pouvoir collectif des classes possédantes, le prolétariat ne peut agir comme classe qu'en se constituant lui-même en parti politique distinct, opposé à tous les anciens partis formés par les classes possédantes. Cette constitution du prolétariat en parti politique est indispensable pour assurer le triomphe de la révolution sociale et son but suprême, l'abolition des classes.*

*'La coalition des forces ouvrières déjà obtenue par ses luttes économiques doit aussi servir de levier aux mains de cette classe dans sa lutte contre le pouvoir politique de ses exploiteurs.*

---

[a] from the General Council; see this volume, p. 384. - [b] Here is

*'Les seigneurs de la terre et du capital se serviront toujours de leurs privelèges politiques pour défendre et perpétuer leurs monopoles économiques et asservir le travail.*

*'La conquête du pouvoir politique devient donc le grand devoir du prolétariat.'*

*'Against the collective power of the propertied classes the working class cannot act, as a class, except by *constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes.*

'This constitution of the working class into a political party is indispensable in order to insure the triumph of the social Revolution and its ultimate end—*the abolition of classes.*

'The combination of forces which the working class has already effected by its economical struggles ought at the same time to serve as a lever for its struggles against the political power of landlords and capitalists.

'The lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies and for enslaving labour. To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes.'*

*Salut.*

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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## 247

## ENGELS TO ADOLF HEPNER[150]

IN LEIPZIG

London, 4 August 1872

Dear Hepner,

I was about to write a brief article for you on the latest Bakuninist affairs, when it developed that the General Council would have to make a statement on the matter itself. Thus the

article has turned into an address,[563] the German translation of which you will receive on Wednesday.[a]

The latest Spanish documents may well serve as a supplement shortly.[564] Bakunin retained the *Alliance de la démocratie socialiste*,[10] which you know of from the *Scissions*,[b 385] as a *secret* society in order to obtain control of the International. But we learned of this, and now we have the proof. Thus, the charge will now be made publicly, as otherwise the elections to the Congress in Spain[450] would be run by the Alliance and their outcome would be in its favour. Bakunin will break his neck in this affair.

You will have received the reply to the *Concordia*.[c 492] So that is what the armchair socialists amount to! I had not thought that they could be as stupid as *that*, I had thought that the paper must be edited by someone like Beta-Bettziech.

The *factum* of Verdy was something I knew from the *Kölnische Zeitung*, but I did not know that the man was also a trickster.[565] Very fine. That wretched Sonnemann, incidentally, regards every great historical event merely as an opportunity to change his lousy Frankfurt back into a free city of the Empire. And for this reason the Prussians must always serve as whipping-boy. According to our information, the preparations are being made on such a colossal scale that the Prussians can be defeated only if they are opposed by Austria, as well as France and Russia. But Austria will be *on* Prussia's *side*, unless some sudden change occurs, which is not to be expected in the circumstances. Moreover, we shall soon witness the diverting spectacle of William[d] issuing an appeal to the Poles and re-establishing some sort of Poland. And with this he, and the whole Prussian regime, will break their necks. The Prusso-German Empire is far from having reached its culminating point; this war (if it ends well, which is to be expected) will swiftly raise it to its climax, and then it will come tumbling down from the dizzy heights of Napoleonic glory. It is quite possible that *this time* the movement will start in Berlin; the contradictions are growing very acute there, and all that is required to bring things to a head is a change in the political situation. A Berlin revolution of that kind will certainly be pretty rough, but still it is better for it to come from within than after a Sedan, which only brings harm everywhere.[566]

Hirsch must send to Switzerland for the following writings of Bakunin:

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[a] 7 August - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*. - [c] K. Marx, 'Reply to Brentano's Second Article'. - [d] William I

*Lettres à un français* (anonymous), Geneva 1871.

*L'Empire knouto-germanique* by M. Bakounine, Geneva 1871. This is not obtainable from booksellers, I have tried it, but Boruttau will certainly get it for him since he is in raptures about it.

Pass on my greetings to Liebknecht and Bebel when you next visit them.

Best regards.

Yours,
F. E.

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## 248

## ENGELS TO THEODOR CUNO

### IN LIÈGE

London, 4 August 1872

Dear Cuno,

The Belgian Federal Council could not have done us a greater favour than by taking action against the German section in Verviers.[567] By doing that it shows how necessary it is to have a General Council in order to defend the autonomy of the sections *against* the *Federal Councils*. The Belgian Federal Council, however, cannot exclude the German section from the International, but only from the Belgian Federation:

> 'Administrative Regulations Section IV: Federal Councils or Committees, Article 4. Any Federation may refuse to admit or may exclude from its midst societies or branches. *It is, however, not empowered to deprive them of their International character.*'[a]

Thus as an independent section, the German section in Verviers has, under Art. 7 of the General Rules (end of the Article), the

[a] See present edition, Vol. 23, p. 12. Engels quotes in French; the italics by him.

right to correspond directly with the General Council. Please draw their attention to this fact and urge them to write to us; up to now nothing has arrived here.

Has Schlehbach in Verviers received my letter[a] and why does he not reply?

I am sending you an issue of the *Emancipación* and a circular in Spanish by Lafargue (Marx's son-in-law)[b] and would like you to study it carefully. You will see from it what was at stake for Bakunin: a secret society within the International to gain control of the latter. Fortunately, the plan has now come to light and just in time. This business will break Bakunin's neck. The General Council will issue an Address devoted to it on Tuesday,[c] also indicting the Spanish Federal Council, which has 5 members of the Alliance sitting on it.[563]

In all haste—I have to edit this Address and have a terrible amount of other work for the International in preparation for the Congress.[450]

Yours,
F. E.

Tell Herman that I have looked around for work for him, but have not come up with anything yet. There is no point in going to Jackson & Sons after my last experiences there in February. Tell Herman to write to his friend Prigneaux here: he is the right man.

First published in *Die Gesellschaft*, No. 11, Berlin, 1925

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[a] See this volume, p. 407. - [b] P. Lafargue, *A los internacionales de la region española*. - [c] 6 August

## 249

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 5 August 1872

My dear old Friend,

The fact that the Congress is to be held in The Hague[450] is due, above all, to your unfortunate split[a] on the question of revising the constitution.[539] We could not foresee where that would lead and had no time to waste. However, there are also the following considerations to be borne in mind:

1. We have not overestimated the strength of the Jurassians. On their own count, and this is confirmed by their membership dues, they number 294, including Section Longemalle with 62, and also 74 newly joined *graveurs* and *guillocheurs*.[b] But we know their tactics. Of the 62 Longemallers *every one* would have managed to obtain an illicit mandate by some means or other; then there are the people from the Jura itself, say a dozen, and then some 20 Italians and 6 Spaniards—which makes more than enough. In these circumstances some of the Belgians would have gone over to their side.

2. As for the forged mandates, they would have around 30-40 from America (from the Woodhull people), around a dozen from here (from the sections forming the UNIVERSAL FEDERALIST COUNCIL[417] which have never been affiliated to the International), around 50-60 from the German Schweitzerians who joined the Federalist Council directly, and if they play their cards well, they would also receive a fair number from Spain. I shall deal with Italy in a moment. So there was every chance that when the mandates are scrutinised—and this time everything depends on that—the societies which wish to *force* their way into the International without ever having belonged to it would have been able to gain entry with a majority, particularly when you remember how tolerant the workers usually are in such matters and how things worked out at all previous Congresses. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that there will be enough sections on our side, too, whose dues are not in order and which will have to take an indulgent line in voting so as to ensure that they too may be

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[a] See this volume, pp. 395-96. - [b] engravers and etchers

treated indulgently. And if that were to happen we would have had no choice but to take our hats and leave the International.

3. You underestimate the power of the Alliance[10] in Italy. In the whole of Italy we have only one section, Turin, of whose quality we are certain; and perhaps Ferrara. Milan has been, since Cuno's departure, completely in the hands of the Bakuninists, Naples always was and the *Fascio Operaio* in Emilia, the Romagna and Tuscany[486] is wholly under Bakunin's influence. These people constitute an International of their own, they have never applied for membership, have never paid dues, but they act as if they belonged to the International. Directed by members of the secret Alliance, they are very numerous and at a rate of 1 delegate for 50 members they could easily elect 40 delegates, 15-20 of whom would be sent from there and the rest would come from Longemalle, provided with blank mandates.

4. The Belgians will not swamp The Hague, they are reluctant to pay. Moreover, the last Congress in Brussels has proved that when matters come to a head, they are not so bad at all.[568] They have resolved that only sections that have been properly recognised can be represented in The Hague, and that is the main thing.

5. Finally, you should have read Schwitzguébel's hypocritical letter[a] complaining that the Congress is not to be held in Switzerland and already giving a gentle hint of a future protest.[569] If nothing else had shown me that we were pursuing the right tactics, this would.

At all events, pack your things and come, you will see that all will be well. But *only* if we, too, turn out in force. The others[b] are fanatics, they have a number of wealthy bourgeois on a string who are willing to pay, and they have no expenses themselves the whole year through. If our friends were half as active as they, matters would never have deteriorated to such a point. From America Sorge and Dereure are coming, the others (the Woodhullers) are sending 3, including a petticoat. All of us will come, of course. See to it that the Swiss spare no expense this time and that they are properly represented. Especially the Swiss Germans.

Incidentally, we shall be launching a bombshell tomorrow evening which will cause no small panic among the Bakuninists. It

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[a] A. Schwitzguébel, 'Au Conseil général de l'Internationale à Londres', *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, No. 13, 27 July 1872, Supplement. - [b] the Bakuninists

is a public statement about the continued existence of the *Alliance de la démocratie socialiste* as a *secret society*.[563] We have at long last received the necessary material and the proof of this from Spain[564] and are launching an attack without delay on the Spanish Federal Council, which has 5 members of the Alliance on it.[a] The *Emancipación* in Madrid opened fire last Saturday week[b] and there should be quite a battle. Of course, you will receive a copy for the *Égalité* without delay. Those swine imagined that with their secret organisation they could direct the entire International from Locarno.[c] But this revelation will break their necks, and if Switzerland and Germany exert themselves just a little bit so that the Alliance people do not get a majority after all *through the negligence of our friends*, then the whole bubble will burst and we shall have peace and quiet at last.

I shall pass on your instructions to Frankel and Lessner tomorrow.

Vaillant is jogging along here as always, he is busy with chemistry and Rule-revision,[570] something in which he takes a great interest.

Regards from Marx.

Your
F. Engels

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Spanish Sections of the International Working Men's Association'. - [b] 'Asociación Internacional de los Trabajadores. Nueva Federacion madrileña. Circular', *La Emancipación*, No. 59, 27 July 1872. - [c] Bakunin's place of residence at the time

## 250

## ENGELS TO WALERY WRÓBLEWSKI[571]

IN LONDON

[Draft]

London, 7 August 1872
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

*To Citizen Wróblewski,*
Chairman of the Judicial Committee

Citizen,

Having been accused by Citizen Hales of untruths at a plenary meeting of the General Council, I ask the Judicial Committee to call upon the said citizen to be more specific in his accusation and to communicate it to me so that I may defend myself.

At the same time I am accusing Citizen Hales before the Judicial Committee of having shamefully calumniated me by uttering such an accusation against me before the General Council.

I am instructing Citizen Marx to impart this communication to the Judicial Committee.

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## 251

## MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[165]

IN ST PETERSBURG

[London,] 15 August 1872

Dear Sir,

I hope you have received the first part of the second German edition[a 396] which I have sent you a few days since. I shall also send

[a] of Volume I of *Capital*

you the first 6 *livraisons*[a] of the French edition[436] which will be out in a few days. It is necessary to compare *both editions* because I have added and changed here and there in the French edition.

Your interesting letter[572] I have received and shall answer to it in a few days. I have also received the manuscript[573] and the article of the *Vestnik*.[b]

To-day I write in all haste, for one special purpose which is of the *most urgent* character.

Bakunin has worked secretly since years to undermine the International and has now been pushed by us so far as to throw away the mask and *secede openly* with the foolish people led by him—the same man who was the manager in the Nechayev affair.[529] Now this Bakunin was once charged with the Russian translation of my book,[c] received the money for it in advance, and instead of giving work, sent or had sent to Lubanin (I think)[d] who transacted for the publisher[e] with him the affair, a most infamous and compromising letter.[574] It would be of the highest utility for me, *if this letter was sent me* immediately. As this is a mere *commercial* affair and as in the use to be made of the letter no names will be used, I hope you will procure me that letter. But no ime is to be lost. If it is sent, it ought to be sent at once as I shall leave London for the Haag Congress[450] at the end of this month.

Yours very truly,

A. Williams[f]

First published, in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 1, St Petersburg, 1908

Reproduced from the original

Published in English in full for the first time

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[a] instalments - [b] I. Kaufman, 'Точка зрѣния политико-экономической критики у Карла Маркса', *Вѣстникъ Европы* (Vestnik Yevropy), Vol. III, Book 5, May 1872. - [c] Volume I of Capital - [d] N. N. Lyubavin - [e] N. P. Polyakov - [f] Marx's pseudonym

## 252

## MARX TO JUSTE VERNOUILLET

### IN PARIS

[London,] 15 August 1872

Dear Sir,

According to a letter from Mr Lachâtre which reached me yesterday, I am in future to send the proofs[a] to Mr Lahure.[436] However, Mr Lachâtre forgot to let me have Mr Lahure's address, which is why I am writing you this note.

Last week I despatched to Mr Dervaux, at the last address he had given me—34 Rue Fontaine, Quartier St Georges—the manuscript of Section II. He has not yet acknowledged receipt.

On Monday last[b] I sent him the final proof of instalment 6, which I had marked *ready for press* (after having made the few corrections indicated).

I hope that everything has reached the publisher's. If you have received No. 6 and made the corrections, I authorise you, as requested by Mr Lachâtre, to print instalments 1 to 6 straightaway.

Perhaps you would be good enough to reply by return of post.

Yours very faithfully,

Karl Marx

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[a] of the French edition of Volume I of *Capital* - [b] 12 August

## 253

## ENGELS TO E. GLASER DE WILLEBRORD[575]

### IN BRUSSELS

[Excerpt from a letter]

[London,] 19 August 1872

As you will already know, victory is now ours. The Italians, self-styled Internationalists, have held a Conference at Rimini[576] at which the representatives of 21 sections resolved that: The Conference, etc., etc.

It would be advisable to publish this immediately, in the *Internationale* and the *Liberté*. Bakunin, whose style is detectable throughout the document, realising that the game was up, has beaten a retreat all along the line and, with his followers, is leaving the International. *Bon voyage* to Neuchâtel.

But what is even more absurd is that, of the 21 sections which claim the right to convene an International Congress, only one, that of Naples, actually belongs to the International. The remaining 20, in order to safeguard their autonomy, have repeatedly abstained from taking any of the steps prescribed by our General Regulations as conditions of admission. Their principle is '*L'Italia farà da sè*'[a]; they constitute an International outside the International. The three other sections which maintain relations with the General Council—Milan, Turin and Ferrara—did not send delegates to Rimini.

Thus, in addition to the *Conseil fédéraliste universel*[417] constituted by societies which do not belong to the International and, for that very reason, claim to control it, we now have an anti-authoritarian Congress convened by societies outside the International and claiming to make laws for it.

For the rest, this has happened just at the right moment to open the Spaniards' eyes; in that country we have succeeded in enticing the fox from his lair. We have forced the Alliancists themselves to publish the Rules of the 'eminently secret' Alliance.[10] The present (Spanish) Federal Council, with 5 Alliancists out of 8 members, has been unmasked and publicly denounced as perfidious to the International. Everywhere the struggle has broken out between

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[a] 'Italy will cope on her own' (the device of the Italian independence fighters in 1848-49).

Alliancists and Internationalists. The oldest TRADE UNION in the world, that of machine-spinners and weavers in Catalonia, 40,000 strong,[577] has come out in support of us and sent Mora, who is one of us, to the Congress[450] because, according to his mandate, he knows better than anyone else what the Alliance is like.[a] The Rimini resolution will put paid to the Alliance in Spain.

The Danes are sending two delegates; the Germans 5 or 6 at least. Sorge and Dereure are on their way from America; the schismatics there want to send three.

Lafargue is coming with a mandate from the Portuguese.

Another advantage is that the Congress will henceforth be free of public rumpuses. Everything will go off decorously in front of the bourgeois public.

As for the Neuchâtel Congress, it will turn out to be nothing more than a meeting of the Jura Federation, in company with a few Italian sections, and hence an utter fiasco.

At last all is going well, but we must not allow this to lull us to sleep. If the Internationalists do their duty, the Hague Congress will be a great success; it will establish the organisation on a sound basis and will once again enable the Association to develop internally in a peaceful manner while confronting its external enemies with renewed vigour.

First published, in the language of the original (French), in: M. Nettlau, *Michael Bakunin. Eine Biographie*, Bd. III, London, 1898

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## 254

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN HUBERTUSBURG[538]

London, 24 August 1872

Dear Liebknecht,

I regret that I have to decline your proposal for me to offer myself as a candidate, if only because I have forfeited my status as a Prussian subject, and hence my rights of citizenship in the

[a] Mora did not attend the Hague Congress.

German Empire, by having stayed abroad for ten years without permission.[578]

We learned today that the Jurassians will be coming to The Hague[450] after all, but that they will withdraw after the first resolutions against the Alliance[10] and will then hold their own congress in Neuchâtel. Bakunin seems to have been premature with his instructions to Italy; the Spaniards will have shown him that things cannot be dealt with *in such a way* and that they would have to go to The Hague, if only to protest. The situation is that the Spanish Federal Council has an Alliance-majority and has operated an electoral procedure which makes it probable that they will send 4 Alliance representatives.[579] In contrast, the union of the (40,000-strong) Catalan factory workers[577] will send Mora, a supporter of ours.[a] The Italians will take good care not to show up after their Rimini resolution.[576]

Sorge is here, with me, and sends his regards.

Your
F. E.

The Bakuninists are unlikely to provoke a fight. *Their* cowardice is really without limits, though they are always ready to speak out of turn. But they won't attack unless they are 8 against 1.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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## 255

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[121]

### IN HANOVER

[London,] 26 August 1872

Dear Kugelmann,

At The Hague[450] the delegates must wear blue bands so that the people who come to meet them will recognise them.

---

[a] Mora did not attend the Hague Congress.

If anything goes wrong:
*Private address*: Bruno Liebers, 148 Jacob Catsstraat.
*Public Congress Hall*: Concordia, Lombardstraat.
In all haste,

Your
K. M.

First published in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

## 256

## ENGELS TO HERMANN JUNG

### IN LONDON

[The Hague, early September 1872]

Dear Jung,

In the whole of financial year I find payments for rent[580]

| | |
|---|---|
| 1871 October 31—Truelove | £7.7.— |
| and two payments to Martin | "5.— |
| | £12.7.— |

but *no* payments to Truelove on leaving the *old shop*.[a] Now this must have been paid—have you forgotten to enter it? Please write to the Hague to address on other side if this payment has been omitted on the books. I know last year at the Conference[b] we owed six months rent and now we owe none.

Yours fraternally,
F. Engels

[a] This refers to the premises of the General Council of the International at 256 High Holborn, London, W.C., which it occupied from 2 June 1868 to 20 February 1872, before moving to 33 Rathbone Place, Oxford Street. - [b] the London Conference of 1871

Bruno Liebers
148 Jacob Catsstraat
The Hague, Holland
Note on inside of envelope that it is for me.

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## 257

## ENGELS TO MALTMAN BARRY[581]

### IN LONDON

[London,] 15 September 1872

Dear Barry,

Marx wishes me to send you a few notes on the Hall of Science men,[582] here they are, I hope they will prove sufficient. Marx said he would send you the circular of the General Council[a] relating to these fellows, but for safety's sake I enclose you a copy which please return.

Yours truly,
F. Engels[b]

About April last a knot of men clubbed together, pretending to represent a few societies which nobody knows, and adopted the grandiloquent name of Universal Federalist Council of the I.W.M.A. and of the sections adhering to it.[417] Not one of the societies they pretended to represent belonged to the International. Not one of themselves belonged to it, on the contrary, two of them had been expelled from it. But this was the very reason why they claimed the right to supersede the then existing General Council and to [take the] direction of the International into their own hands. A circular of that General Council held them up to the ridicule of Europe and they were silent for a time. Now these very same men reappear under the name of Universal Federalist

[a] K. Marx, 'Declaration of the General Council Concerning the Universal Federalist Council'. - [b] Engels' signature is witnessed by the copyist.

Congress. We find here again the same Landeck who entered at the last trial of the International in Paris (June 1870) into a solemn engagement with the Prefect of Police[a] not to occupy himself anymore with politics or with the International,[b] and [was] since expelled from the London society of French refugees.[583] The same Vésinier, author of a whole library of Holywell street[c] literature *ad*[d] Louis Napoleon, expelled from the International by a committee of the Brussels Congress in 1868, and from the London society of refugees in 1872. The same Schneider, denounced in the German Press as a disturber of workmen's meetings (the police used next morning to pay for the windows, glasses and furniture smashed by him and his helpmates) and as a swindler.[e] The same Zielinski, his right hand man, the same Adolphe Smith, etc., we find moreover a few additional pretenders to fame such as the Pole Mileski who during the conference[f] translated all speeches into Polish for the exclusive benefit of himself, he being the only Pole present most of the time, and Oudet whose harebrained tomfooleries during the Commune are still in the recollection of many. Add a few German poor workingmen from the East End and you have the whole composition of this Universal Congress of twenty five rogues and fools.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: *Friedrich Engels. 1820-1970. Referate. Diskussionen. Dokumente*, Hanover, 1971

Reproduced from a handwritten copy

## 258

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 21 September 1872

Dear Sorge,

I hope that you have arrived safely in New York and that Cuno has also survived the terrors of the steerage.

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[a] J. Pietri - [b] See B. Landeck's statement to the Prefect of Police in *Troisième procès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs à Paris*, p. 4. - [c] Street in 19th-century London notorious for filth and vice. - [d] on - [e] See T. Kalb, G. Beer, 'Wer ist Joseph Schneider?', *Der Volksstaat*, No. 14, 17 February 1872. - [f] the conference of April 1872 at which the Universal Federalist Council was established

Of the Congress Resolutions[580] you took the following with you:

1. the new Articles 2 and 6 of the Administrative Regulations, Section II, *on the General Council*[a];

2. the report of the Commission on the Alliance[584];

3. the declaration of the minority[585];

4. the resolution about the transfer [of the seat of the General Council] and the election of 12 members of the General Council with plenary powers to co-opt another 3, together with the list of those elected.[586]

So what you still do not have are:

1. the resolution expressing sympathies with the martyrs of the proletariat[587];

2. the one about subscriptions,

3. the one about cancelling plenary powers and

4. perhaps the wording of the article in the Rules about politics.

I enclose all 4.

The other papers you left behind are 1. incoming items about which nothing was decided, 2. motions that were not accepted, 3. one or two motions on procedural matters which were adopted and, having been put into effect at the Congress, are now disposed of. All these will go into the minutes and are of no interest to you.

It occurs to me that perhaps you do not have

5. Lafargue's proposal for international TRADES UNIONS, so I have translated it from the Spanish and enclose it herewith.

As soon as we have received the report you promised on the mandate debate (which, as you know, was not minuted, owing to the stupidity of the President, who failed to have secretaries nominated), the resolutions will be officially compiled and published.[588]

Lucain took the Commission's papers with him to Brussels and is now sorting out the statements of the witnesses. As soon as we receive from him the papers, promised to us by the end of the month at the latest, all the evidence about Bakunin and the Alliance will be compiled and printed. We have now received some more very nice material, which could not be laid before the Commission because it arrived too late.

Next, the minutes of the Congress for publication.[589]

For the correspondence with Germany, Italy, etc., I enclose all the addresses known to me.

[a] Cf. K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the General Congress Held at The Hague from the 2nd to the 7th September, 1872'.

Hales raised hell in the Federal Council here, proposing a motion of censure against Marx because he had said that the English workers' leaders had been sold down the river—but a local English and an Irish section have already protested, saying that Marx is in the right. The whole crew—Hales, Mottershead, Eccarius, etc.—are furious that the General Council has been taken out of their hands.[590]

Guillaume has said in Brussels to Wilmart (who has passed it on to us in writing) that the Spaniards would re-establish the Alliance since it was now more necessary than ever.

West is still stuck here—no money for the return journey.

Give my warmest regards to Cuno and tell him to keep in touch with me wherever he might go. Best wishes,

Your
F. Engels

The Dutch say that the main reason they voted with the minority was that they want to be reunited with Belgium and hence have to oblige the Belgians!

Hepner has been arrested and threatened with 4 weeks gaol because, as you know, the Chief of Police in Leipzig has banned the International on his own initiative!

Resolution approved at the first public session:

The Congress of the International Working Men's Association, assembled at The Hague, expresses in the name of the world proletariat its admiration for the heroic fighters for the emancipation of labour who fell victims of their devotion, and sends fraternal and sympathetic greetings to all those who are at present persecuted by bourgeois reaction in France, Germany, Denmark and the entire world.

(Proposed by A. Schwitzguébel and 7 others.)[a]

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On subscriptions:

We propose that the subscription should remain as fixed by the General Rules.

(Proposed by E. Dupont and 3 others—*adopted* on Saturday morning.[b])

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On the cancellation of the old plenary powers:

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[a] The texts of the resolutions quoted and the first two comments in brackets are in French in Engels' letter. - [b] 7 September

I propose that all powers granted by the General Council, the councils, committees and sections in the countries where the International is banned should be cancelled and that the General Council alone should have the right to nominate representatives in those countries.

(Proposed by A. Serraillier and 7 other French delegates and adopted on Saturday.)

The Lafargue motion was passed unanimously on Saturday morning. However, I have only a *Spanish* version which will not correspond exactly to the official wording.

On behalf of the Portuguese Federation and the New Madrid Federation I propose:

That the new General Council be charged with the special mission of organising international trade associations (TRADES UNIONS).

For this purpose it will, within one month of the conclusion of this Congress, draw up a circular which shall be printed and forwarded to all working men's associations whose addresses are in its possession, whether they are affiliated to the International or not.

In this circular the Council will invite the working men's associations to form an International union of their respective trades.

Every working men's association shall be invited to fix itself the conditions under which it proposes to enter the International Union of its own trade.

The General Council is charged with unifying all the conditions put forward by the associations which have endorsed this idea and to draw up a general plan to be submitted to the provisional acceptance of all the working men's associations wishing to enter International trades unions.

The next Congress will then formally ratify the project.

(Supported by 10 others and passed unanimously without debate.)

Germany—everything to the editors of the *Volksstaat*, Hepner and, at the moment, Rud. Seiffert—the addresses of the Committee, etc., are to be found in the *Volksstaat*.

Italy: *Turin* Section (*Società Emancipazione del Proletario*): 1. Outer envelope: M. Jean Jacques Goss, Concierge de l'église évangélique, Via Principe Tommaso No. 1, Turin; inner envelope: Signor Cesare Bert—Secretary. 2. Signor Luigi Perrini, Viale del Rè 26, Torino. Be on your guard here against that scoundrel Carlo Terzaghi.

*Milan* Section: (*Circolo Operaio*[a]) Secretary, Mauro Gandolfi, Via Solferino 11, Milano (a member of the Alliance, and the Section is rotten. Details from Cuno). *Rome* Section: 1. Outer envelope: Signor Leonardo Centenari, direttore della Tipografia Rechiedei, Via Monserrato 25, Roma. Inner envelope: Signor Osvaldo

[a] Workers' Circle

Gnocchi-Viani.—Parcels—outer address: alla Libreria dell'Università, Via Staderari 38-40, inner address to O. G. Viani. Only registered 2 weeks before the Congress.

*Ferrara* Section: everything to be sent to Enrico Bignami, Periodico *La Plebe*, Via Cavour 19, *Lodi*, Lombardia. This and the Turin Section are the best. I know nothing about the Rome Section.

*Girgenti*[a] Section, Sicily: Avvocato Antonino Riggio (Bakuninist)—have heard nothing from there for ages.

Spain: *Consejo Federal de la Región Española*: Señor Don Julian Valero, Calle de Sorolla 35, Valencia. Inner envelope: Francisco Tomás.

*Nueva Federación Madrileña*: José Mesa y Leompart, San Pedro 16, 3° (third floor) Madrid (French).

Portugal: José C. Nobre-França, Travessa do Abarracamento de Peniche, No. 4, 2° andar (second floor), Lisboa, Portugal (French).

Serraillier, Auguste, 35 Gaisford Street, Kentish Town, London, N.W.

Brussels: De Paepe, César, Hôpital Saint-Jean, Bruxelles.

Geneva: H. Perret or J. Ph. Becker, Temple Unique, Genève.

Holland: H. Gerhardt, 472 Runstraat, Amsterdam.

Art. 7a of the General Rules, adopted Saturday morning by 28 to 13 (including abstentions), i.e. with more than a two-thirds majority.—

In its struggle against the collective power of the propertied classes, the working class cannot act as a class except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes.—This constitution of the working class into a political party is indispensable in order to insure the triumph of the social revolution, and of its ultimate end, the abolition of classes. The combination of forces which the working class has already effected by its economical struggles, ought, at the same time, to serve as a lever for its struggles against the political power of its exploiters. The lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies, and for the enslavement of labour. The conquest of political power has therefore become the great duty of the working class.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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[a] Modern name: Agrigento.

## 259

## ENGELS TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 1 October 1872
122 Regent's Park Road

Dear Jung,

Can you furnish me with the addresses of the Secretaries of
1) The Iron Founders,
2) The Ship's Carpenters,
3) The Ship's Caulkers (if they have a union).

I want these immediately in order to communicate with them on some strike affairs in Portugal[591]—I have applied to the British Federal Council but cannot learn that they are taking any steps whatever, and so I must act on my own hook.

Yours truly,
F. Engels

My and Mrs Engels'[a] compliments to Mrs Jung and yourself.

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## 260

## MARX TO P. VAN DER WILLIGEN[592]

IN LONDON

London, 4 October 1872

Dear Sir,

My best thanks for your pamphlet.[b]

The report of the Hague Congress will not appear for some little while, whereupon I shall send you a copy.

---

[a] Lydia Burns - [b] v.d.W. [van der Willigen, P.] *De Internationale en de Parijsche Commune van 1871.*

Enclosed the first instalment of the French translation of my book, *Das Kapital*.[436] I am sending you at the same time the 4 instalments of the 2nd German edition that have appeared so far.[396]

You must excuse me for not having replied any sooner to your various letters, the reasons being a complete lack of time and a surfeit of work. I shall be pleased to see you at my place one evening (e.g. Wednesday) next week.

Yours very sincerely,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50, Moscow, 1981

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## 261

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 5 October 1872
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Sorge,

*On vous taille de la besogne.*[a] Enclosed the French translation (because the wording can be done most literally in that language) of 2 articles from the *Federación* (Alerini's paper).[b] However, the Belgians are not really so terrifying. According to letters received subsequently they have already taken fright at their own boldness and do not know how to extricate themselves; in addition the disorganisation in the International in Belgium increases daily, which is very useful in view of the need to re-organise everything.

In contrast, you cannot simply ignore the resolutions of the Jurassians which, having been passed by a Federal Congress, amount to an open declaration of war.[593] *Le Conseil général est tenu*

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[a] You'll have your work cut out for you. - [b] Presumably 'El Congreso de la Haya' and 'Congreso de la Federación del Jura', *La Federación*, Nos. 162 and 163, 21 and 28 September 1872.

*d'exécuter les résolutions du Congrès*[a] (Geneva Resolution[594]). We wrote off to Geneva at once for the latest *Bulletin jurassien* and shall send it to you as soon as it arrives. In addition, you could if you want write directly to the *Comité Fédéral Jurassien* (address: Adhémar Schwitzguébel, graveur, Sonvillier, Jura Bernois, Suisse) and ask for information.

It is a very good thing that these gentlemen have openly declared war and thus given us a sufficient reason to show them the door. After this open declaration it is impossible for a majority of the federations to demand that the matter be brought before a Congress[b] especially since *at most* 4 would vote in favour (they themselves, the Spaniards, Belgians and Dutch), while all the rest would be against. Swift, vigorous action against these eternal troublemakers is, in our view, very much in place as soon as you have the evidence in your hands, and will probably suffice to disperse the threatened *Sonderbund*.[595]

Yesterday I sent you Nos. 65, 66 and 67 of the *Emancipación*.

The fact that Guillaume had told Wilmart in Brussels that the Spaniards would re-establish the Alliance since now, after the Hague Congress, it was more necessary than ever, was reported by Wilmart himself in a letter to Lafargue (which I have read).

I had intended to enclose the report on Spain, Portugal and Italy to the General Council[c] but will not have it ready in time for the post. However, I do enclose my report to Section 6,[596] which you can give to Bertrand.

Here Hales has launched a colossal slander campaign against Marx and myself, but it is rebounding on him without our having to lift a finger.[590] The pretext was Marx's statement about the corruptness of the English labour leaders. Some London sections and the whole of Manchester have protested most vigorously and Hales has lost his former majority in the Federal Council, so that he will probably be thrown out entirely soon.

That damned Lucain has still not sent us the papers about the Alliance that he took with him, so we are still unable to make a start.[d] The documents subsequently received from Switzerland give a full account of the Nechayev trial[280] and include some Russian publications of Bakunin's. They are all highly interesting and will cause a fearful scandal. I have never seen such an infamous band of scoundrels in all my life.

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[a] The General Council is commissioned to carry the resolutions of the Congress into effect. - [b] In the original: 'conference'. - [c] F. Engels, 'Report to the General Council of the I.W.M.A. upon the Situation in Spain, Portugal and Italy'. - [d] See this volume, p. 430.

My wife[a] discovered after your departure that Emma had accepted money from you for your laundry and asks me to tell you that this was done behind her back, for otherwise she would never have permitted it.

Do not forget the minutes of the mandate debate,[588] since without them we cannot include that section in the minutes[b]; no one here has anything on it.

With every post we are waiting for news from you and signs of life from the new General Council.

Best wishes to Cuno, I hope he will write soon.

Poor Hepner has indeed been given 4 weeks gaol because the International is prohibited in Leipzig!

Your
F. Engels

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## 262

## MARX TO MAURICE LACHÂTRE

### IN SAN SEBASTIAN

London, 12 October 1872

Dear Citizen,

You will, I am sure, excuse my long silence, which has been caused by an excessive amount of work. I have at last rid myself of the burdensome administrative business which devolved upon me as a member of the General Council of the International and which, as the days went by, was becoming more and more incompatible with my theoretical studies. At present I still have various tasks entrusted to me by the Hague Cong-

[a] Lydia Burns - [b] This refers to the minutes of the Hague Congress, which were to be published.

ress,[580] but after that I shall be able to dispose of my time more freely.

The first series of *Capital*[436] has been well done on the whole—I refer to those things incumbent upon the editor. However I was much shocked at the *errata* which it contains and which were not in the last proofs corrected by me. As an example I am sending you a bit from instalment II p. 16 which reads:

'*Ensuite nous avons vu que dès qu'il s'exprime dans la valeur, tous les caractères qui distinguaient le travail productif de valeurs d'usage disparaissent.*'[a]

In instalment II as published (p. 16) they have this totally meaningless sentence:

'*Ensuite nous avons vu que dès que le travail productif s'exprime dans la valeur, tous les caractères qui le distinguaient des valeurs d'usage disparaissent.*'[b]

There are other errors of this kind and I have sent a list of them to Mr Vernouillet, at the same time informing him that I shall pass nothing for press until I have in front of me the whole series of five instalments to be published.

Mr Vernouillet has been good enough to send me Mr Maurice Block's pamphlet (extracted from the *Journal des Économistes*).[597] Here we have a man of brains who doesn't even know what an '*average*' is, although he purports to have devoted his whole life to statistics! I wouldn't deny that there may have been a certain amount of ill-will on his part, but on the whole there is more stupidity in him than malice.

The changes it was necessary to make in Mr Roy's translation have taken a great deal of time, but it gets better from the third section onwards.

In Russia my book[c] has proved an extraordinary success. As soon as I have a little more time, I shall send you some extracts from the Russian reviews.[598] The Russian translation (in a fat volume) was published at the end of April ('72) and I have already been advised by Petersburg that a second edition will be appearing in 1873.[360]

At The Hague I found Laura very unwell and her health

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[a] 'Later on, we have seen that as soon as it finds expression in value, all the characteristics that distinguished labour as a creator of use values disappear'; cf. the corresponding passage in Section 2, Chapter I of the authorised English edition of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 35). - [b] 'Later on, we have seen that so far as productive labour finds expression in value, all the characteristics that distinguished it from use values disappear.' - [c] Volume I of *Capital*

deteriorated still further after my departure. A letter received yesterday brings better news and next month I shall have the pleasure of seeing her here with her husband.[a]

Last Friday the wedding took place between Jenny, my eldest daughter, and Longuet (who sends you his regards).[b]

How goes it with public affairs in Spain? In my opinion you and many of the other proscribed Frenchmen[c] (save, perhaps, for those most compromised) will soon be able to return home.

I remain, dear Citizen,

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

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## 263

## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

### IN LONDON

[London,] 14 October 1872

Dear Jung,

About the *grève*[d] you had best write directly[591]:

1. *Leipzig*: *Editor* of the *Volksstaat*, 4 Hoherstrasse.
2. *Vienna*: Editor of the *Volkswille*, 32 Alserstrasse.
3. *Berlin*: *Fr Milke*, compositor, 65 Hof IV, Schützenstrasse.

*Salut.*

K. M.

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[a] Paul Lafargue - [b] An inaccuracy in the original; the wedding took place on 9 October, Wednesday. - [c] Communard refugees - [d] strike

## 264

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH LESSNER

IN LONDON

London, Wednesday [16 October 1872]

Dear Lessner,

Would you please give the enclosed letter[a] to the Secretary of the FEDERAL COUNCIL tomorrow evening. If Hales then insists that it is necessary to write to Lisbon direct,[591] without going through me, it would be best if you were to say no more than this: the matter should be *dealt with speedily* and so the best course to take would be to reply to me without delay; if Hales still wanted to discuss formalities and personalities, this would only show that he did not want any *real work* to be done, but merely wanted to waste the time of the FEDERAL COUNCIL and to sacrifice the interests of the Portuguese workers to his personal intrigues. If they demand that I should give them the Lisbon address, it would be best to say nothing for the time being; it will all work out.

Your
F. E.

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Published in English for the first time

[a] F. Engels, 'To the British Federal Council, International Working Men's Association [Concerning Portuguese Strikes]'.

## 265

## ENGELS TO THEODOR CUNO

### IN NEW YORK

London, 29 October 1872
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Cuno,

Received your letter of the 8th and the minutes[a]; many thanks for both.

The *Bulletin jurassien*, which you will have received,[b] and the *Internationale* of Brussels, which is going off today, will prove to you that we must really get down to it and that it is absolutely essential for *Sorge* at least to shake off his reservations and agree to an election[c] so that not just unity of action but above all action itself can be ensured. If we do not, without further ado, take energetic steps to suspend the Jurassians because of their Congress resolutions, which ride roughshod over the Rules and the Hague resolutions,[598] and to expel the members of the anti-authoritarian Congress,[599] in so far as they belong to the International at all, and to proclaim and justify such actions, then these people really will become altogether too cocksure. Time is still on our side: the Belgians are frightened by their own initial courage and are vacillating, in Spain the opposition to the Alliance people is growing stronger by the day, they are already calling for an extraordinary Spanish congress to examine the behaviour of the Federal Council and the delegates in The Hague—but all of this will go cold if the impertinent behaviour of the Jurassians is tolerated. And you can see from Hales' letter in the *Internationale*[d] that these men will do their utmost.[600] Hales is the Jurassians' correspondent and distributes their *Bulletin* with its filthy articles here gratis to anyone who will take it and he sends it to all the sections.

I must close now to catch the post. Marx and I are overloaded as never before with work on the Congress, preparing things for print, and with correspondence.[588] Sorge will have received the

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[a] See this volume, p. 430. - [b] *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, Nos. 17 and 18, 15 September-1 October 1872. - [c] to the post of General Secretary of the General Council - [d] J. Hales, 'Conseil Fédéral Anglais, Londres, 21 octobre 1872', *L'Internationale*, No. 198, 27 October 1872.

*Emancipación*, you can translate it for him. The next STEAMER will bring another few issues. Along with the *Volksstaat* it is our best paper.

The business with West amused us greatly.

We all send our best regards to Sorge and yourself.

Your
F. Engels

Lafargue and wife[a] arrived here the day before yesterday.[601]

First published in *Die Gesellschaft*, No. 11, Berlin, 1925

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Published in English for the first time

## 266

## ENGELS TO JENNY LONGUET[602]

### IN OXFORD

London as usual, October 30th 1872

My dear Jenny,

You must consider me an awfully cruel individual to think that I should be capable to poison, by *malice prepensée*, even with one drop of vinegar, the sweetness of your honeymoon.[603] If Mottershead or Guillaume said such a thing of me, I should not wonder, but you! Indeed I never thought that there was in one of the numbers that little *entrefilet*[b] about a certain great man[c] whom I better not name, and if I had seen it I should have kept the number back or used Russian censorship to tease you a bit.

Your account of Oxford people only gives a sad confirmation to the sad fact that landladies are the same all the world over, indeed one does not know which are the worst, landladies or landlords. It's the difference of retail and wholesale which distinguishes the landlady of Stanhope House from the Marquis of Westminster,[d] the principle is the same.

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[a] Laura Lafargue - [b] note; presumably 'Proudhon y las huelgas', *L'Emancipación*, No. 68, 5 October 1872. - [c] P. J. Proudhon - [d] owner of residential areas in London

Now the Lafargues are here[601] and you no doubt now and then feel inclined to come over here, I hope you will recollect that there is always plenty of accommodation, both for you and for the Longuet of all Charlies, at our house, and he shall find a bed where he can stretch himself without laying crossways. And as I am on this subject, an idea strikes me. To-morrow night seven sharp we shall have the whole of your house, Lafargues and Ellen[a] and all, here for dinner, and would it not be a nice surprise if they found you here? I could not well write about this before, as the thing was only finally settled to-day, Mohr being so very uncertain on account of his hard work; but I know you're quite capable of making up your mind even to-morrow morning, and so I hope you will come. And as there are generally such things to be had as return tickets available for three or four days, you might stay a few days here, and perhaps Longuet finds time to come on Saturday to take you back on Sunday or Monday morning. If you leave by 2.30 train (if my old railway guide be still correct) you will be here in very good time, and indeed we might go across to Maitland Park[b] before dinner and see how they are getting on. I hope you will ruminate this suggestion to-morrow morning over breakfast and find it excellent.

As to the *purs, impurs* and *demipurs*[c] [604] I see very little of them, the *purs* are going to publish a pamphlet[d] containing all their grievances but it is still a mystery to me whether they will say much about us. At all events they are going to organise *une société indépendente où toute tendence anti-révolutionnaire serait exclue.*[e]

Last Sunday[f] Mohr delivered a lecture before the *Knoten.*[605] I brought a German chemical manufacturer, friend of Schorlemmer's[g] ('not unlike your brothers, but otherwise a typically easy-going son of the Palatinate', as Schorlemmer described him in his unsealed letter!) who permitted himself one or two objections but was pretty well rebuffed by Lessner and a few other working men.

So I am counting on your innate energy to make a bold decision and come here tomorrow; that would be an enormous pleasure.

---

[a] Helene Demuth - [b] the area where the Marx family lived - [c] pure, the impure and the semi-pure - [d] *Internationale et révolution* - [e] an independent society from which all anti-revolutionary tendencies would be excluded - [f] 27 October - [g] Thus far English in the original. The rest of the letter is in German.

My wife[a] and Pumps[b] join me in sending you both our best wishes.

Your old
F. Engels

This page has, of course, been written in German especially for Longuet's benefit. Lafargue is quite good at German and could follow Mohr's lecture fairly well.

First published, in the languages of the original (English and German), in: *Friedrich Engels. 1820-1970. Referate. Diskussionen. Dokumente*, Hanover, 1971

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## 267

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 2 November 1872
122 Regent's Park Road

Dear Sorge,

Enclosed is my report on Spain.[c]

I have just been asked to inform the General Council officially of the formation of the following two sections:

1. Associazione degli operai e degli agricoltori della Bassa Lombardia (Sezione di Lodi), Enrico Bignami, Via Cavour 19 (secretary).

2. Consociazione dei liberi Lavoratori Abruzzesi (Sezione di Aquila, in the province of the same name. Correspondence via Lodi for the moment).

The announcement comes from Bignami, who also states that both have adopted Rules that conform to the General Rules. I shall ask for copies and send them to you.[606]

Bignami is the only fellow in Italy to have taken our side, even though not very vigorously up to now. In his paper, *La Plebe*, he has printed not only my report on the Hague Congress[d] but also

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[a] Lydia Burns - [b] Mary Ellen Burns - [c] F. Engels, 'Report to the General Council of the I.W.M.A. upon the Situation in Spain, Portugal and Italy.' - [d] F. Engels, 'The Congress at The Hague (Letter to Enrico Bignami)'.

my much more outspoken private letter to him.[a] Since I have to send him news reports, the paper remains in our hands. In addition, he has had the General Rules reprinted with the Hague amendments and also my Congress report.[607] He is surrounded by the autonomists and so still has to act circumspectly.

I hear nothing from Turin any more. In Milan Cuno must find at least one contact for us so that we at least get reports. We hear from Ferrara via Lodi; the section was established by Bignami.

Marx asks me to tell you that *at the moment* the minutes[b] are still absolutely necessary here. In view of the lies that Hales, Mottershead and Eccarius are spreading here, as well as those of the Jurassians, etc., on the Continent, it may turn out any day that we need to reply in the form of extracts from these minutes. For you, on the other hand, they can easily be dispensed with for the time being. We are making a copy of the parts with the administrative resolutions together with their motivation and shall send it to you.

To be on the safe side I am again giving you the addresses for Spain, Italy and Portugal. If you have accepted the post, I think it is very sensible to have a *single* corresponding general secretary, who will only co-opt assistants for *languages*.[608]

Best regards to you all.

Your
F. Engels

José Mesa y Leompart, Calle de San Pedro No. 16, 3° (3rd floor), Madrid.

Spanish Federal Council: In a double envelope (the inner one to be addressed to Francisco Tomás) to Don Julian Valero, Calle de Sorolla 35, Valencia.

Lisbon: Signor Dom J. C. Nobre-França, Travessa do Abarracamento de Peniche No. 4, 2° andar (2nd floor), Lisboa.

Turin: Inner envelope: Cesare Bert, Secretary of the local section. Outer: Monsieur J. J. Goss, Concierge de l'église évangélique, No. 1, Via Principe Tommaso, Turin.

Turin, alternative address: Luigi Perrini, Viale del Rè 21 (without inner envelope, he is an old member).

Report on Italy to follow—on Portugal Lafargue is translating the report sent from there to the Congress.

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[a] F. Engels, 'Letters from London.—II. More about the Hague Congress'. - [b] of the former General Council

I am just revising the *French* translation of the *Manifesto*; the handwritten version that has been brought is quite good in the main, in so far as *Woodhull* was good.[609]

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906, and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 16 November 1872

Dear Sorge,

Your letter of the 25th crossed with mine of 2 November. Marx will have written to you since then.

I gave a copy of the Address[610] to Serraillier in French and first of all to MacDonnel in English for the Irish. I next copied one out myself for *The International Herald* and lastly sent one to the FEDERAL COUNCIL. The fact is that I was very uncertain whether the FEDERAL COUNCIL might not suppress it or, alternatively, that they might not print it *word for word* with various mistakes in the English and strong Germanisms, so as to expose it to ridicule. I have, of course, changed the latter since the Address was, *as it stood*, quite unprintable either in English or French. We have always had such things corrected by some educated NATIVE. You will have to do the same as in official documents it is often not possible to make even grammatical alterations, and it is always fatal. For Hales and the Jurassians, etc., any mistake of that sort is in any case a source of amusement.

Up to now the Belgians have not printed anything.

You will have to send the Address to Australia yourselves; you will have had a visit from Harcourt in the meantime; I do not have any addresses in Australia.[611]

Jones and Le Moussu have been warned. I shall see Serraillier

tomorrow and shall tell him to send you a report which, on account of *Dereure*, will have to dispense with both names and addresses—the latter he can send you *privatim*. More on Dereure below.

The stamps[420] cost about £1—Le Moussu did the design gratis. To print the Rules in English[a] cost around £12.

I have already told you of the formation of two new Italian sections.[b] The official letter now enclosed.

I am sending you today:

1 *Emancipación* and the manifesto of the *Nueva Federación Madrileña*[612]

1 *Égalité*

1 *International Herald*—report of the FEDERAL COUNCIL[c]

7 *Résolutions du Congrès de la Haye.*

The following matters to report in addition:

1. *Blanquists.* They have issued a pamphlet: *Internationale et révolution*[604] of which several copies per NEXT STEAMER. They announce their resignation from the International on the grounds that with the transfer of the General Council to New York it has committed suicide. They will found their own association and are already intriguing actively in France. It is therefore absolutely essential, firstly, that Dereure should not get hold of any addresses in France, and secondly, that he should say where he stands. Of course, this second point is only urgent if you consider it desirable. Serraillier will reply to this concoction in the *Liberté* and the *Égalité*. Ranvier has told Lafargue that the first draft was so full of personalities that he declared he would never put his name to it. He had never seen the second, published, version and his name appeared under it without his authorisation. He has quarrelled with them: they have had the audacity to put him on trial because he continues to belong to a refugee club called the *Cercle d'Études Sociales*[613] without permission, and he refused to submit to a schoolmasterly examination in the court set up by the *purs* (which is the name the Blanquists give themselves). As you can see, they are playing at *Commune révolutionnaire* in the same old way. You will be amused by their little pamphlet in which Vaillant in all seriousness presents all our economic and political ideas as Blanquist discoveries. They have already started to cause trouble

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[a] K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association.* - [b] See this volume, pp. 444-45. - [c] Presumably J. Hales' article 'Federal Council', *The International Herald*, No. 33, 16 November 1872.

in various places in France, apart from Paris where that tall man, Walter, is their agent. Although they are not a threat, they must not be given the means to stir up even more trouble, which is why Dereure must not have any addresses and why we must keep an eye on him.

2. *Spain.* Matters are going splendidly here. The FEDERAL COUNCIL has had a long thing printed and circulated on the quiet.[614] It contains

a) a report on the Congress by the 4 Spaniards which is full of lies,[a]

b) the resolutions of the anti-authoritarians of Saint-Imier,[599]

c) a motion from the Barcelona Federation to convoke a Spanish Congress on 25 December which would decide between the resolutions of The Hague and Saint-Imier,

d) a request to all local federations to give their views on this *by 10 November.*

The *Nueva Federación Madrileña* replied to this with the manifesto being sent to you today. It objects to the submission of the Hague resolutions to any International assembly except for the purposes of consideration and implementation. (We have already sent the materials necessary to counter the lies of the 4 Spaniards to Madrid.)

However, in order that the Spaniards should realise *who* actually rules them, the Jura Committee has already sent the Saint-Imier resolutions direct to all local federations in Spain with the request for their views on them; they have completely by-passed the Spanish FEDERAL COUNCIL.

In the meantime, things have been happening in Spain. The federations of Gracia (industrial suburb of Barcelona) with 500 members, of Toledo (200 members) and those of Badalona and Denia near Barcelona, have come out in our favour and against the Spanish Congress. In Valencia a large part of the local federation is on our side, as well as part of the one in Cádiz, which has already broken away from the old federation there. The sale of the *Emancipación*, which had been moribund and kept alive by money we had sent from here, is greatly on the increase once more (150 copies in Cádiz, Valencia and Gracia alone). In Gracia there was a large general assembly on 4 November.[615] The Barcelonese, with Alerini at their head, put their proposal forward, but as Mora (who is there) writes:

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[a] 'El Congreso de la Haya', *La Federación*, No. 162, 21 September 1872.

'Despite all his shouting and gesticulating with his arms and his stick, Alerini was unable to convince these atheists that the Society of Jesus[a] had been acting well. So it was resolved to approve all the Hague resolutions and to censure the attitude of the Spanish delegates.'[616]

Things are going well; if the worst comes to the worst we shall keep a very respectable minority in Spain which will part company with the rest and be of greater value than all the vague nonsense hitherto. However, it is quite possible that we shall smash the whole thing to pieces and throw the Alliance out. For all of this we have Mesa to thank, who has had to bear the brunt *all on his own.* Mora is feeble and at one point vacillated for a moment. Read the article 'Los medios de la Alianza', in *Emancipación* No. 71, to see how the Spanish FEDERAL COUNCIL attempted to win over Mora by INTIMIDATION.[617]

3. *London* FEDERAL COUNCIL. Thanks to the slackness of the better people among the English, Hales and Mottershead have succeeded in gaining complete control of the FEDERAL COUNCIL. A mass of delegates from imaginary sections have momentarily provided Hales with a majority; he is secretary and treasurer all in one, and you can see from the report in today's *International Herald*[618] that he is doing as he pleases. The only thing we can do is to hold the better elements together until those crooks clash with each other, which will happen soon enough. GIVE THEM ROPE ENOUGH AND THEY WILL HANG THEMSELVES. You will now be receiving *The International Herald* regularly so that you can see for yourselves how Hales is giving himself airs and acting as if he were the GENERAL COUNCIL. As soon as an opportunity presents itself—a breach of the Rules or something of the sort—and, as an intimate and correspondent of the Jurassians, Hales will provoke one soon enough, our people will split off and form a federation of their own, perhaps one together with the Irish. Unfortunately MacDonnel is leaving for America, but even so we have a very good successor to him in De Morgan, one, moreover, who travels all over England as a LECTURER. He is completely in the picture about the situation.

In order to ensure here the desired publicity for your proclamations, etc., it would be good if the General Council could *officially* put me in charge of these matters for England. The FEDERAL COUNCIL undoubtedly suppresses as much as it can, and although Riley of *The International Herald* is an honest fellow and has left the FEDERAL COUNCIL in DISGUST, he is weak and somewhat dependent on the FEDERAL COUNCIL for the sale of his paper. So if I

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[a] i.e. the Alliance of Socialist Democracy

can show him a resolution to that effect he will be covered and will do everything.

I leave it to you to decide whether you wish to send me plenary powers for Italy.[619] In view of the struggle there, in which our people are in a tiny minority, swift intervention would be very desirable. I do indeed maintain my private correspondence with them and also write for the *Plebe*, but without plenary powers I cannot exert any influence on the sections, which, like the one in Turin, appear to be going to seed entirely and do not communicate at all, something which happens all too often in Italy.

Marx is on a visit to Longuet and his wife in Oxford for a few days[620] so as to go through a part of the French translation of *Capital*[436] with Longuet. He will probably not be back before Monday.[a]

In my opinion you should in any case delegate plenary powers for France to Serraillier.[621] This sort of correspondence cannot possibly be conducted from over there; only, you should require him to send you monthly reports. You will not find anyone better; Dupont is too negligent unless he is spurred on daily and we frequently do not see him here for a fortnight at a time.

As to the Jurassians, it is our view that the best way to proceed is simply to declare that they had disqualified themselves from membership of the International by the resolutions of *their* congress in Saint-Imier,[593] which contravene such-and-such articles of the Rules and Administrative Regulations, and then simply to notify the other federations of this fact. Incidentally, things are going badly for them. In Biel, where they no longer had a single member (see *Scissions*[b]), a new section has been formed but it has affiliated itself to *Geneva*, and their model section in Moutier (see *Scissions*) has *repudiated* the resolutions of Saint-Imier. As you see, the Hague resolutions[580] are already bearing fruit everywhere.

As for Germany, it would be good if Marx were to have plenary powers—just in case of emergencies with the Schweitzerians.

All these are matters that you must consider.

I am up to my eyes in work here. The fact that Mesa has started to translate the *Manifesto* has forced me to send him a revised version of the French translation from the *Socialiste*.[622] The version

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[a] 18 November - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*.

you brought with you in manuscript turned out to be very useful in this, as it is much better, although still based on *Woodhull*'s English.[609] I am taking the opportunity this provides to put the French translation in order altogether. In addition I have articles to do for *Volksstaat*, *Emancipación* and *Plebe*; and as soon as Lafargue, who is now here, has found somewhere to live, we shall make a start on the *Alliance* business.[623] Lucain still has a lot of papers in Brussels and now writes that he will send them *at the end of next week*, because he wants to copy them![a]

What is that scamp Cuno up to?

Your
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO JENNY LONGUET

### IN OXFORD

[London,] 19 November 1872
122 Regent's Park Road

My dear Jenny,

Mohr tells me you and Longuet are coming over here on Thursday.[b] Lafargue tells me he will remove to his new residence 'perhaps' on Thursday. So, in order to avoid overcrowding, Lizzie and myself again place a room or two in our house at your disposal and hope you will avail yourselves of it—Capital lodgings, front top bedroom and front parlour, what more can you desire?

Lafargue is just dropping in. I tell him what I am writing, he says he *thinks* he will have removed by Thursday but on the

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[a] See this volume, p. 430. - [b] 21 November

whole seems to coincide with me. I tell him to mention it to Mohr and so I think this business is as good as disposed of, and the rooms will be got ready.

Viele Grüsse an Deinen Mann.

Dein alter[a]
General

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## MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

### IN ST PETERSBURG

[London,] 25 November 1872

My dear friend,

The letter sent over to me has been duly received and has done *its work.*[574]

If I have not written earlier, and if, even at this moment, I do not send but these few lines, it is because I want you to send me another—if possible—*strictly commercial address* under which I may write to you.

In consequence of the extradition of Nechayev[624] and the intrigues of his master Bakunin, I feel very anxious on your behalf and that of some other friends. Those men are able of every infamy.

I cannot enough express my gratitude for the interest taken in my work and labours by you and other Russian friends.

Yours most sincerely
A. Williams[b]

Please reply to those lines as soon as possible.

First published, in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 1, St Petersburg, 1908

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[a] Greetings to your husband [Charles Longuet]. Your old - [b] Marx's pseudonym

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 7 December[a] 1872

Dear Sorge,

Today I am sending you the *Emancipación* 76, *The International Herald* 36 and the Blanquist pamphlet,[b] which is quite unobtainable here and which I was only able to acquire this morning in a roundabout way. Serraillier has written off in answer to the *Liberté* in Brussels and the *Égalité* in Geneva, but those jackasses from the *Égalité* say it is too personal and refuse to print it!

On 3.12. I sent you the *Emancipación* 74/75, the *Plebe* 117 and *The International Herald* 33-35.

MacDonnel sailed for New York on Wednesday, I gave him a few lines for you.[45] If the Fenians there[625] should still mistrust him, you would be doing a service if you could reassure them; he helped us here very ably and quite selflessly.

1. *Holland.* Van der Hout arrived here the day before yesterday; the Dutch bourgeois will give him no more work, so he wants to look for some here. He says that the Jurassians had invited the Dutch Federation to a new separatist congress.[595] Whereupon they held a Dutch congress[626] at which they resolved: 1. to stand by the General Council, 2. to send a delegate to the separatist congress, but only to report, not to vote, 3. not to recognise any congress but the legitimate one of September 1873 and only to put their complaints, etc., to it. So this amounts to the divorce of the Dutch and the separatists.

2. *Spain.* You will have seen from the *Emancipación* that all is going well there. Apart from those known to you, Lérida, the new federation of Cádiz, a large proportion of the Valencians and Pont de Vilumara have come out against the Federal Council. After the Spanish Federal Council directly contravened both the General and the special Spanish Rules by convening a congress in Cordoba on 25 December[a] to choose between the resolutions of The Hague and Saint-Imier, the New Madrid Federation announced that the Federal Council had forfeited its mandate, and is calling for the

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[a] In the original: 'September'. - [b] *Internationale et révolution*

election of a new provisional Federal Council.[627] This decisive step will soon clarify the position. In the meantime, a section of our people in Spain, above all the Catalan factory workers, think that the issue should be fought out at the congress in Córdoba, and so will not join in for the present. The Alliance people are hurrying matters along so as to have a majority in Córdoba and they will most probably succeed in their aim, after which the Catalans will formally come over to us.

3. *France.* Despite the intrigues of the Jurassians and the Blanquists things are going well in the South, where there will be a congress in the next few days which will endorse the Hague resolutions and will probably issue an address to the General Council.[628] However, they demand that there should be someone *here* with plenary powers who can also delegate temporary powers for France. There is a whole pile of money to be raised which can only be collected by a fully authorised agent on the spot. Larroque, our best man in Bordeaux, is now asking Serraillier and myself to grant him such authority to collect monies there, and I think I am justified in doing so by virtue of the money-raising powers conferred on me, *until such a time as this is confirmed or cancelled by the General Council.* Since it is vital that there should be somebody at the congress I have just referred to who does have *some sort* of authority emanating from the General Council, I am taking it upon myself to issue it to him,[a] and if you disapprove you should inform me at once so that it can be withdrawn without delay.—Lyons is the only place where the Jurassians have some support, thanks to the indolence of the Genevans, but otherwise they have only individuals on their side. You will have seen that the *Bulletin jurassien* has taken the side of that policeman, Bousquet, and has declared him to be a man of honour.[629]

4. *England.* The opposition to Hales is growing. Murray, Milner and Dupont have come onto the Federal Council and will be joined by others. Riley has declared that he no longer wishes to have *The International Herald* as the official organ of this Federal Council and, as you will see, the relevant part of the title has disappeared. However, it will probably be a while before the swindle finally collapses. The Hague resolutions[b] will appear in the next *International Herald,* as will also some reports *by us* on the course of events in the International.[630]

We do not even have a complete set of the minutes.[c] Hales still

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[a] F. Engels. 'Mandate to E. Larroque'. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the General Congress Held at The Hague from the 2nd to the 7th September, 1872'. - [c] of the London General Council

has some. It would be a very good thing therefore if you could authorise Marx to take possession of *all* the papers belonging to the International and/or the old General Council, and particularly the *minutes*.[631]

A letter of authority for Serraillier for France is *absolutely* indispensable,[621] unless you want everything to fall apart once more. Serraillier is continuing to conduct his correspondence energetically and we are finding the money for him to do so, but he is nothing but a *private individual* as long as he has not received proper authorisation; and for all their autonomy, the French do want to be directed by someone who has been duly authorised by the General Council. We have nobody else but Serraillier for the job here; Dupont is much too unreliable for such an extensive correspondence and is too busy with his patent.

Greetings from Marx together with his family and from my wife.[a] Lafargue and Longuet are both here now so that *père* Marx is surrounded by his entire family.

Your
F. E.

Greetings to Cuno. Why does the scamp not write?

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## MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[165]

### IN ST PETERSBURG

[London,] 12 December 1872

Dear Friend,

From the enclosed you can see the results of the Hague Congress.[632] I read out the letter to Lyubavin[574] to the Commission *d'enquête*[b] on the Alliance[584] in the strictest confidence and without divulging the name of the addressee. Nevertheless, the secret was

[a] Lydia Burns - [b] of enquiry

not kept, firstly because the Commission included Splingard, the Belgian lawyer, among its numbers, and he was in reality no more than an agent of the Alliancists; secondly, because *Zhukovsky, Guillaume* et Co. had already earlier—as a preventive measure—recounted the story all over the place *in their own way* and with apologist interpretations. This was how it came about that, in its report to the Congress,[a] the Commission was compelled to pass on the *facts* relative to Bakunin that were contained in the letter to Lyubavin (of course, I had not revealed his name, but Bakunin's friends had already been informed on that score by Geneva). The question that presents itself now is whether the Commission appointed by the Congress to publish the minutes (of which I am a member) *may make public use* of that letter or not? That is for Lyubavin to decide. However, I may note that—ever since the Congress—the facts have been going the rounds of the European press, and this was none of our doing. I found the whole business all the more distasteful since I had reckoned on the strictest discretion and solemnly demanded it.

As a consequence of the expulsion of Bakunin and Guillaume, the Alliance, which had control of the Association in Spain and Italy, has unleashed a campaign of vilification, etc., against us everywhere. It is joining forces with all the disreputable elements and attempting to force a split into two camps. However, its ultimate defeat is assured. Indeed, the Alliance is only helping us to *purge* the Association of the unsavoury or feeble-minded elements who have pushed their way in here and there.

It is a fact that Bakunin's friends in Zurich have tried to murder poor Outine. Outine himself is in a very critical state of health at the moment. This scurvy deed has already been reported in a number of papers belonging to the Association (including the *Emancipación* in Madrid[b]) and will figure in detail in our official *Compte rendu* of the Hague Congress.[633] The same scurvy gang has made two similar attempts on the lives of their opponents in Spain. Its misdeeds will soon be exposed to the view of the world at large.

The fate of our dear 'MUTUAL FRIEND'[c] has been of the very greatest interest to my entire family. I have a plan to obtain help for him from Constantinople—through diplomatic channels.[634] It may work.

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[a] *Rapport de la commission d'enquête sur la Société l'Alliance secrète.* - [b] 'Los medios de la Alianza', *La Emancipación*, No. 71, 26 October 1872. - [c] Hermann Lopatin

I still have the manuscript you sent me,[a] for Outine is not in a position to see to the printing, while Elpidin is just a scoundrel belonging to the gang. It is very interesting.[573]

I am eagerly looking forward to the promised review (in manuscript),[635] as indeed to anything printed you have in this LINE. One of my friends wants to write something on the way my book[b] was received in Russia.

The publication of the French translation[436] has been interrupted by unpleasant ACCIDENTS, but will be resumed in a few days. An Italian translation is in preparation.[636]

Lastly, a request: My son-in-law, Dr Lafargue M.D. (a refugee), would—if possible—be happy to contribute to some *Russian Review*, etc.; he could supply articles either on the natural sciences or on the state of affairs in Spain and Portugal (as well as France).[637] However, his circumstances would not permit him to do this gratis and he could only submit articles in French.

I should very much like to see a copy of the book by Prof. Sieber (Kiev) on Ricardo's, etc., doctrines of value and capital,[c] which also contains a discussion of my book.

Yours very sincerely,

A. Williams[d]

In Volume II of *Capital* I shall, in the section on landed property, deal in great detail with the Russian form.[638]

One last point. I would like to publish something on Chernyshevsky's life and personality, etc., so as to create some interest in him in the West.[639] But I need information for it.

First published, in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 1, St Petersburg, 1908

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[a] the manuscript of an unpublished article by N. G. Chernyshevsky, 'Письма безъ адреса' (Letters Without an Address) - [b] Volume I of *Capital* - [c] N. Sieber, *Теорія цѣнности и капитала Д. Рикардо* (D. Ricardo's Theory of Value and Capital). - [d] Marx's pseudonym

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 14 December 1872

Dear Sorge,

I confirm my letter of the 7th inst.[a] and am sending today 1 copy of the *Emancipación* with the article on Bakunin[b] [640] containing information you too will not have had, and *The International Herald* with the Congress resolutions.[c] That jackass Riley has left out the voting figures.

In Lodi, No. 118 of the *Plebe*, which contained your Address, has been confiscated and Bignami, the editor, has been arrested.[641] It looks as though the Leipzig high treason trial[274] may be about to repeat itself there. We shall, of course, make as much capital as possible from the affair; it will appear at once in the *Volksstaat* and the *Emancipación*[642] as proof of whom the governments regard as the greater threat: the General Council and its adherents or the Alliancists. It is the best thing that could have happened to us in Italy.

You should have some brief reports on the meetings of the General Council printed in the *Oestliche Post* and in the American press, and send the relevant issues to the *Volksstaat, Égalité* and *The International Herald*, as well as one or two copies here, so that we can use them for Spain and Italy as well as for the French sections; the Danes and Dutch would also print them.

The letter of authority for Serraillier becomes more urgent every day.[621] The Jurassians on one side and the Blanquists on the other, are burrowing away all over France and are *making progress* while Serraillier is already starting not to receive replies from various quarters anymore because he can only write as a private individual. If you continue to delay out of consideration for Dereure, who has been more than suspect since the resignation of the Blanquists,[604] or for any other reason, we shall lose the greater

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[a] See this volume, p. 453. - [b] [J. Mesa y Leompart,] 'El Manifesto del Partido comunista ante los sabios de la Alianza', *La Emancipación*, No. 77, 7 December 1872. - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the General Congress Held at The Hague from the 2nd to the 7th September, 1872'.

part of France and the tables will be turned on us at the next Congress.

In haste.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[137]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 21 December 1872

Dear Sorge,

Just a few words in great haste.

The ostensible majority on the British Federal Council (consisting to a very large extent of SHAM SECTIONS numbering a few individuals and founded by that scoundrel Hales merely for the purpose of sending delegates) has SECEDED from the minority (which alone represents the large English sections in London, as well as in Manchester, Birkenhead, etc.).[643] The fellows secretly put together a circular to the Federation[a] (will be sent to you), (dated the 10th of this month), in which they summon the sections to a congress in London to make common cause with the Jurassians, with whom Hales has kept up contact ever since The Hague.

Our people—who now constitute the only legal Federal Council—at once sent out printed postcards to all the sections, advising them to delay any decision until they had received their counter-manifesto, to consult about which they all assembled in my house yesterday (to draw up the main points). You will get it

[a] 'To the Branches, Sections and Members of the British Federation of the International Working Men's Association'.

without delay.[a] It will be printed at the beginning of next week. They will also adopt a formal resolution to recognise the Hague Congress[580] and the General Council.

At the same time Engels, at the request of one of the Manchester sections, has prepared for them a reply[b] to the circular of the scoundrels (who include among their number that vain idiot *Jung*, who has been unable to stomach the removal of the General Council from London and who has for a long time now been Hales' TOOL). They will receive it in their meeting today and will print it without delay.

My view is that you should confine yourselves to the role of observers as much as possible for the time being, and leave the battle to the sections on the spot. In the meantime of course circulars like the one to Spain that I found in the *Emancipación*[c] are very good.[644]

*Apropos.* On my advice *The International Herald* and its proprietor, Riley (a member of the Federal Council), have gone independent.[630] We shall probably agree a contract whereby *we* shall publish our own international supplement to it once a week. I am sending you a copy today in which Engels and I open a polemic against Hales et Co.[d]

As for Poland, your letter cannot be sent *there.* The old General Council was *only* able to obtain Poland's accession on the condition (essential, given the situation in the country) that it dealt *exclusively* with Wróblewski, who lets us know what he thinks would be appropriate or necessary.

In this situation you have no choice. You must grant Wróblewski the same unlimited authority as we did, or else renounce Poland's membership.[645]

Because of the French translation,[436] which makes me more work than if I had to do it without the translator, I am so overworked that I have not been able to write to you, as I have wanted for such a long time.

Cuno has promised to provide details of the meeting of the Committee of Enquiry in The Hague.[584] Tell him that if he does not do so *immediately*, we cannot wait for him any longer and that his personal honour is at stake in the matter.

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[a] K. Marx, 'Address of the British Federal Council to the Sections, Branches, Affiliated Societies and Members of the International Working Men's Association'. - [b] F. Engels, 'The Manchester Foreign Section to All Sections and Members of the British Federation'. - [c] 'Consejo General. Á los miembros de la Asociacion en España', *La Emancipación*, No. 78, 14 December 1872. - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of *The International Herald*'.

With best wishes from the whole family.

Your
Karl Marx

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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## 275

## MARX TO WILLIAM RILEY[646]

### IN LONDON

[London,] 23 December 1872

Dear Riley,

When Hales sends his reply, the best thing will be to communicate it at once to me so that his letter and our reply may appear together in the same number.[647] At the same time, you would then do well, to state in an editorial remark that after the things that have happened, especially *his postcard*,[648] the columns of the *Herald*[a] will no longer be open to him.

Yours fraternally
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50, Moscow, 1981

Reproduced from the original

[a] *The International Herald*

## 276

## ENGELS TO ADOLF HEPNER[649]

IN LEIPZIG

London, 30 December 1872

Dear Hepner,

[...] and provides a direct refutation of Sybel,[a] in such a way, moreover, as presupposes independent and quite accurate thought of his own. Both Marx and I were delighted with the article,[b] even though it contains minor inexactitudes here and there. Of course, I was not in a position to know what Schramm is like otherwise, but he certainly knows his economics.

4. In contrast, of the two articles on the 'Revival of the Reform Movement',[c] the first is good, while the second is in direct conflict with the facts. The many wretched little congresses, which are taken seriously in this article only because they are taken seriously by *The Bee-Hive*, which has sold out to the bourgeoisie, have no other purpose than as preparations for the impending parliamentary elections. All the reform leagues listed in the article are of absolutely no importance and, moreover, consist, for the most part, of the *very same people*. And what people? With a few exceptions, they consist of the labour leaders whom Marx branded as corrupt at The Hague![590] It is impossible to judge the movement here from over there, taking *The Bee-Hive* and *Reynolds's* as your guides. The fact that a few TRADES UNIONISTS attend such congresses does not mean that the TRADES UNIONS are thinking of becoming political, which they (at least most of them, including the biggest ones) *couldn't* do at all without totally revising their rules. [...In] reality the movement here is lousier than ever, as is only to be expected with such industrial prosperity.

[...] Whenever we send [articles] or pamphlets to Spain, [Italy] or elsewhere, we regularly receive in return a number of copies of them, *without our asking for them*, and a further quantity is put at our disposal, as is indeed right and proper. The only administration that makes an exception here is that of the *Volksstaat*. I had to

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[a] H. Sybel, *Die Lehren des heutigen Socialismus und Kommunismus*. - [b] C. A. S[chramm], 'Der Tauschwerth', *Der Volksstaat*, No. 82, 12 October 1872. - [c] 'Der Wiederbeginn der Reformbewegung in England'. I, II, *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 98 and 102, 7 and 21 December 1872.

*buy* a copy of my *Peasant War*[a] *myself*. As for my *Housing Question*, I see Part I announced daily in the *Volksstaat*, but *do not have even a single complete copy* here to enable me to reply to Mülberger,[b] since Frankel had managed to mislay the copy of the *Volksstaat* which contained the concluding section, and the offprint sent to me had the last page missing! If Marx had not finally succeeded in finding his copy of the issue in question, I would have been quite unable to reply. I would put a lot of this down to sheer carelessness, e.g. the fact that a bill was sent to me for the copies of the *Manifesto*[c]; but in the long run it is going too far, and if a stop is not put to this truly shoddy treatment of us soon, the *Volksstaat* will have no reason to be surprised if one fine day Marx and I simply go on strike. It just will not do for us to have to beg for free copies or buy from the bookseller our own things which we have let you have *for nothing*. People in other countries immediately send us copies of *all* pamphlets, etc., because they know full well that we do more to publicise them and make them known [...] is not expressly requested.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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[a] F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*, 2nd German edition. - [b] A. Mülberger, 'Zur Wohnungsfrage', *Der Volksstaat*, No. 86, 26 October 1872. - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, 1872 German edition.

# 1873

## 277

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
### IN HOBOKEN

London, 4 January 1873[a]

Dear Sorge,

1. Have received your letters of 3 and 6 December. Cannot understand why the papers, etc., should not have reached you. I wrote to you on 7 and 14 December[b] about the arrests in Lodi and sent: on 14 December *Emancipación* and *International Herald*; on 22 December *Emancipación* and *International Herald*; on the 23rd *Emancipación* and *Égalité* (Cluseret against the Blanquists, which was good, though it was bad that *his* name appeared at the end[650]) and on the 24th, 3 copies of the circular of the Manchester FOREIGN SECTION.[c][651] There follow today: *Emancipación* and a further copy of the circular as well as the circular of the minority within the British Federal Council.[d]

2. So the *majority* of the British Federal Council has seceded—under the leadership of Hales, Mottershead, Roach and—Jung.[643] They have issued a circular[e] and come out against the Hague Congress, etc. Up to now we have only a single copy, but as soon as we obtain another you shall have it. So it was not the BRITISH FEDERAL COUNCIL but this HOLE AND CORNER MEETING of the majority that called for an English congress on 5 January.[652] However, organising a coup d'état among the English workers is not such a simple matter. The minority continued to assemble in its old meeting-place at 7 Red Lion Court, it constituted itself the BRITISH FEDERAL COUNCIL and advised all sections not to make up their minds until

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[a] 1872 in the original. - [b] See this volume, pp. 453-55, 458-59. - [c] F. Engels, 'The Manchester Foreign Section to All Sections and Members of the British Federation'. - [d] K. Marx, 'Address of the British Federal Council to the Sections, Branches, Affiliated Societies and Members of the International Working Men's Association'. - [e] 'To the Branches, Sections and Members of the British Federation of the International Working Men's Association'.

they had heard from it. Immediately after this, as early as 23 December, the circular of the Manchester FOREIGN SECTION, which I had drafted, was despatched, and this was followed on 31 December by that of the minority of the FEDERAL COUNCIL. In the meantime, the West End SECTION here had declared its opposition to the majority, Nottingham followed suit, even before the circular of the minority had reached it, ditto Middlesborough, which *immediately removed Jung from office* and requested the minority to propose a new delegate for them, ditto the Manchester DISTRICT COUNCIL. All declared themselves to be in favour of the Hague resolutions, and according to private information of Riley's, we can be sure of *all* the provincial sections, with the exception of Liverpool. So that would put paid to this coup d'état. I am particularly pleased by the prompt justice meted out to Mr Jung. It serves him right for following in the wake of Hales and allowing himself to be used as the tool of his mortal enemy Guillaume. He is now as dead as a doornail.

2.[a] *Belgium.* The Belgian Congress *s'est bien moqué du Conseil Général.*[b] They have declared that they want nothing to do with you and that the Hague resolutions are null and void.[653] Shall see whether I cannot send you more precise information on Tuesday[c]; I do not have the paper with me here.

3. The Spanish Congress[627] will come to the same decision since our people did not send any delegates. Unfortunately, Mesa writes to me that many of our supporters are involved in the insurrection,[654] and are in prison or in the mountains with the guerillas, which is especially disastrous just at this moment.

4. So you now have 1. the Jurassians, 2. the Belgians, 3. the *old* Spanish Federation and 4. the *present* minority sections here who have gone into rebellion. We are now unanimously of the opinion here that there is no case for suspension here, but that the General Council should simply state that such-and-such federations and sections have declared the properly valid rules of the Association to be null and void, that they thereby place *themselves* outside the International and *have ceased to belong to it.* This will rule out any talk of a conference, which would still be a possibility in the event of a suspension.

It is obvious that you can only proceed to such measures when you have the official documents in your hands. We shall procure them for you.

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[a] Thus in the original. - [b] has cocked a snook at the General Council. - [c] 7 January

5. In *Portugal* all is in perfect order; Lafargue received a letter yesterday saying that I could expect to receive a longer one.

6. Still no word from Denmark. I suspect that the Schweitzerians have used their Schleswig supporters there to kick up a stink. But there is no opening there for the Alliance.[10]

7. *France.* You will have received Serraillier's report. There have been numerous arrests in the South—37 people, 27 have been released again, some of our people are still imprisoned. In Toulouse, incidentally, a conference of our people was in progress at the very time of the arrests.[628]

8. *Italy.* The families of the 3 arrested men and of the 6 who fled in Lodi[641] are in the gravest need, and Bignami is bombarding me with letters asking for help, since the section has naturally been outlawed by the other Italian sections (of the Alliance). We have sent some money and have used our influence in Spain and Germany. The fact is, however, that not much can be obtained from there; people there have enough such expenses of their own. But something should be done in America. It is of the *greatest importance* that Lodi should be supported from outside, it is our strongest base in Italy, and the only reliable one, now that nothing more has been heard from Turin. As soon as these people can see that the International is something more than words, it will mean a serious blow for the Alliance, which uses all its money for printing, etc., and never helps people out. Lodi is much more important, and more can be done with less money there than with the Geneva jewellers' strike,[655] on which Outine once again, as usual, makes the existence of the International there depend. In this respect, the Genevans resemble the Belgians: they never do anything and always demand everything. What we here and you there *can* do for the jewellers is a drop in the ocean and will not advance their cause—the days of the great Genevan strike[656] are past and will never come back; until the internal affairs of the International have been put in order, we shall not have the means to carry out *any* strike. On the other hand, a colossal success can be obtained in Italy with half the effort or even less. Just picture the fury of the Alliancists when they suddenly read in the *Plebe: Soscrizione per le famiglie, etc., etc. Ricevuto dal Consiglio Generale dell' Internazionale, Nuovo Jork*[a]—so-and-so-many lire, and the General Council suddenly provides the Italians with proofs of its existence in this form! So do what you can. The people have been put in

[a] Subscription for the families, etc., etc. Received from the General Council of the International in New York

gaol because of *your* circular[a] and so you owe it to them. You ought to be able to raise some $30-50, but however much or little it is, *send them something and soon*, if you like with assurances of possible further remittances. If we lose Lodi and the *Plebe*, we shall no longer have a *pied-à-terre* in Italy, of that you may be sure.

9. We receive here at best 1 copy of most of the papers of the International and the Alliance, etc., and even then only with difficulty. However, we shall see to it that we procure them for you regularly.

10. Your proclamations are very much TO THE POINT,[657] but as long as you correspond in French with people like the Jurassians and the Belgians, and in *English* with Hales, you will risk having them print your things with all the linguistic errors and Germanisms, which would certainly not be pleasant. You must surely have some people whose mother-tongue is French or English and who would be in a position to look through these things. Our Frenchmen here would have raised hell if we had put their names to Marx's or my French. None of us can be so secure in a foreign language that he can produce a text for publication without having it knocked into shape by a native. *Apropos*, Mesa says that in your Address to the Spanish Congress you had in a sense acknowledged their right to sit in judgment on the Hague resolutions and had thereby compromised yourselves—since I have not seen the document (it will not come until the next *Emancipación*) I do not know what truth there is in this.

11. Serraillier does not know this Argaing either to whom you have sent a letter of authority.[658] If he was recommended by Walter, then something is *rotten*. Walter is an agent of the Blanquists, and is involved in intrigues in Toulouse, Bordeaux, etc. The Blanquists, by the way, have slipped up badly with their manifesto; one by one they are all trying to worm their way back into the International. Moreover, Ranvier has dissociated himself from the whole business.[604]

12. In Portugal they have a right of coalition, but not the right of association. So the International is not officially constituted there, but, since everything is shipshape, an authorised representative is not needed for the moment, and could only give rise to jealousy and dissension.—It would also be best to leave the Danes to themselves until we find out what is WRONG there.

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[a] 'Il Consiglio Generale alle Federazioni, alle Società affigliate, alle Sezioni ed a tutti i membri dell'Associazione Internazionale dei lavoratori'.

13. It serves Cuno right. Practical life in America will soon teach him some manners.[659]

Best wishes from Marx and me.

Your
F. E.

According to the last Spring-Street session[a] in *The World*—received from you this week—there can, I suppose, be no doubt that there are *agents provocateurs* among them.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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## 278

## ENGELS TO RUDOLF SEIFFERT[660]

### IN LEIPZIG

[Excerpt]

[London, between 15 and 20 January 1873]

31 December [1872]—letter to Liebknecht[45] and Hepner.[661]

6 January [1873] (Fink) a few items of printed matter, No. 38 of *International Herald*,[b] etc.

7 " (Fink) registered letter with article on Prussia.[c]

15 " (ditto) again *International Herald*,[d] 2 Nos., and other printed matter.

Hope everything arrived safely.

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[a] of the separatist Federal Council in New York - [b] containing Marx's and Engels' statement 'To the Editor of *The International Herald*' - [c] F. Engels, 'The "Crisis" in Prussia'. - [d] F. Lessner, '"Honest" John Hales', *The International Herald*, No. 41, 11 January 1873.

## 279

## MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[165]

### IN ST PETERSBURG

[London,] 18 January 1873

Dear Friend,

I have received, together with your letter, Sieber,[a] Golovachev,[b] and 5 VOLUMES OF Скребицкі [Skrebitsky].[c] I find it almost embarrassing for you to be put to such expense on my account. My warmest thanks!

The operas also arrived duly and gave my daughter great pleasure.[662] She believed, however, that they had been sent by a Russian lady she knows, and now asks me to convey her thanks to the unknown giver.

The *Знаніе* [Znaniye][d] had approached me directly earlier on with a request for contributions,[663] but I have no time for such things. As for Lafargue, he will send a trial piece through you.[637]

As to Chernyshevsky, it entirely depends on you whether I confine myself wholly to his scientific work, or touch on his other activities as well.[639] In the second volume of my book[e] he will, of course, only appear as an economist. I am familiar with a major part of his writings.

*As to the mutual friend,[f] you may be sure that if I take steps[634]—and I am still waiting for some informations [sic] on that point from Constantinople—they will be of such a nature as not to compromise him or anybody else.

As to L[yubavin] I should prefer suppressing that whole part of the enquiry to be published rather than expose him to the least danger.[664] On the other hand, boldness is perhaps the best policy. According to something which B[akunin] has published in Switzerland, not in his name, but in that of some of his Slavonian friends,[665] they intend giving *their own account* of the transaction as

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[a] N. Sieber, *Теорія цѣнности и капитала Д. Рикардо* (D. Ricardo's Theory of Value and Capital). - [b] [A. A.] G[olovachev], *Десять лѣтъ реформъ 1861-1871* (Ten Years of Reform 1861-1871). - [c] A. Skrebitsky, *Крестьянское дѣло въ царствованіе императора Александра II* (The Peasant Cause in the Reign of Alexander II). - [d] *Знаніе* (Knowledge), a journal. - [e] *Capital* - [f] Hermann Lopatin

soon *as circumstances* will permit them to do so. The indiscretion of their accomplices at The Hague was intentional and, I suppose, was meant as a sort of intimidation.

On the other hand, I cannot judge of the possible consequences of the publication, and, therefore, should wish our friend to communicate [to] me through you his resolution, after having again quietly *reconsidered* the case.*

The second FASCICLE of the French translation[a] will only appear in the course of the next few days.[436] The *délais* have been caused by all sorts of INCIDENTS which, in view of the present state of siege in Paris, make every transaction more difficult. The toil involved in revising the translation is incredible. I would probably have had less trouble if I had done the whole thing myself from the start. And moreover, such patched-up jobs are always an amateur job.

The last numbers of the Paris *Économiste* of last year contain a review of my book[a] by Block[b] which demonstrates once again how completely bankrupt the theoretical representatives of the MIDDLE CLASS are.

With best wishes for the New Year,

Yours very sincerely,

A. Williams[c]

First published, in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 1, St Petersburg, 1908

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[a] of Volume I of *Capital* - [b] M. Block, 'Les théoriciens du socialisme en Allemagne', *Journal des Économistes*, Nos. 79, 80; July, August 1872. - [c] Marx's pseudonym

## 280

## ENGELS TO EUGEN OSWALD

IN LONDON

[London,] 29 January 1873
122 Regent's Park Road

Dear Oswald,

My wife[a] and I thank you cordially for your kind invitation, but we are unfortunately not yet in a position to say whether we shall be able to take it up. My wife has again been plagued by all sorts of illnesses ever since Christmas; she is suffering from the after-effects of pleurisy, and so it is very doubtful whether she will be able to go out in the evening—it would be the first time for 2 weeks. For my part, I have promised the German Workers' Society[135] that I would, if required, put in an appearance at the meeting on Saturday evening and give a talk, and I shall be unlikely to hear before Friday[b] whether it is due to take place this Saturday or the following one.

When your children came yesterday afternoon I was just working with Marx on something that absolutely had to go off by the first post and so could not get away for a moment. My wife believes that Pumps[c] delivered 'A SAUCY MESSAGE' instead of my words: TELL THEM TO GIVE OUR COMPLIMENTS TO MR AND MRS OSWALD, AND THAT WE ARE MUCH OBLIGED [to them], BUT THAT I CANNOT JUST NOW TELL WHETHER WE CAN COME. If this is the case, you now know what happened.

Our best regards to Mrs Oswald and to your sister.

Sincerely yours,
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 33, Moscow, 1964

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Published in English for the first time

[a] Lydia Burns - [b] 31 January - [c] Mary Ellen Burns

## 281

## MARX TO ARISTIDE FANTON

IN [.....]

London, 1 February 1873
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, N. W.

My dear Fanton,

I have decided to write to you about a matter concerning our friend Dupont. Since you left, he has been working steadily and conscientiously. He was lucky enough to find an honest and skilful German workman who has the necessary set of tools worth nearly £500 St., thereby enabling Dupont to set up a small workshop with him where they not only make instruments based on Dupont's invention, but also manufacture improved versions of old instruments. I have seen them at work.

Unfortunately they have come to the end of their resources. Yesterday I obtained a loan of £8 St. for Dupont, but cannot be of greater help to him, since my disbursements for the French refugees[a] (more than £150 St.) have left me flat broke. This is a critical moment for their enterprise.

I hope you won't abandon our friend. If you come to his assistance, I shall see to it that funds are made available to him only as and when they are needed for the work, which would go ahead under my supervision.

With warm regards from all the family,

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

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Translated from the French

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[a] members of the Paris Commune

# 282

## MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER[137]

### IN GENEVA

[London,] 11 February 1873

Dear Becker,

The second FASCICLE of the French translation[a] has just been published.[436] You will have received it, if it has not been intercepted, before the arrival of these lines.

The German instalments to you and to others have obviously been intercepted. In a few weeks the whole first volume will appear[396] and I shall have it sent to you through a bookseller. I would be grateful if you could acknowledge receipt.

I can do absolutely nothing for Kostecki. 1. I am myself IN HIGH PRESSURE, I have run myself significantly into debt on behalf of *Messieurs les réfugiés français*, who, in consequence, do nothing but heap abuse on my head; 2. Mr Kostecki was by no means sent off *because of me*, far from it. He could not maintain himself in London and told me that he would go to Galicia and wanted help from the International; I told him that its coffers were empty, but added that something could possibly be done for him once he had arrived in Geneva. 3. All this took place long before the Hague Congress. Kostecki had taken his leave of me, but I met him long afterwards in the street in London and then heard nothing further. Since then everything has changed. Our ties with Galicia, where many Poles have gone from here since then, are active and in good order, and this is true also of other parts of Poland. So no new emissary is required. Moreover, Wróblewski thinks nothing of Kostecki, who is in general held in little regard by our Polish people.

I shall be writing to you in the next few days about relations within the International.[b]

Your
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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[a] of Volume I of *Capital* - [b] See this volume, p. 489.

## 283

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH BOLTE[666]

### IN NEW YORK

London, 12 February 1873

Dear Friend,

Up to now the first 8 instalments of the German edition of *Capital* have appeared.[145] Since the last part will come out in two or three weeks as well, I shall send the whole thing off at once (i.e. from instalment 5) to you and other friends in New York. As for an English edition, this is no doubt assured now, as a result of the French version.[436] Nevertheless, I look forward to it with some concern. The revision of the French translation is causing me more work than if I had done the whole translation myself. So if I am unable to find a completely competent English translator I would have to take the thing into my own hands, and the French edition has already prevented me—and, until I am through with it, will continue to prevent me—from working on the final version of the second volume.

Engels and I will, as far as our time permits, contribute to both the German and the Federal paper.[667]

The secessionists in England—Mottershead, Huber, Roach, Alonzo, Jung, Eccarius & Co.—have in recent weeks repeated the farce of the London *Universal Federalist Council*[417] in the form of a so-called Congress of the British Federation.[668] The gentlemen consisted only of themselves; two of them, Jung and Pape, had already been unseated by their sections, Middlesborough and Nottingham, and so did not even nominally represent anything. If you add all these HOLE-AND-CORNER SECTIONS together, which these people have invented, they will certainly not come to 50. With the exception of a small notice which Eccarius as a wage-slave of *The Times* managed to smuggle into that paper,[a] the congress passed unnoticed, but will be exploited by the secessionists on the Continent. Jung's speech at the congress surpasses everything in its stupidity and infamy. It is a gossipy tissue of lies, distortions and idiocy. The vain fellow seems to have suffered a softening of the brain. That is the way things are and one just has to get used

[a] [J. G. Eccarius,] 'An English International Congress', *The Times*, No. 27598, 28 January 1873.

to it; the movement wears people out and as soon as they feel themselves to be on the outside, they lapse into meanness and try and persuade themselves that it is someone else's fault that they have become scoundrels.

In my opinion the General Council in New York has made a great mistake by suspending the Jura Federation.[669] These people have already *left the International* by their declaration that the International's Congress and Rules do not exist for them; they have formed the centre of a conspiracy to set up a *Counter-International*; following their congress at Saint-Imier[599] similar congresses have taken place in Córdoba,[627] Brussels[653] and London, and lastly the Alliancists in Italy will hold a similar congress.[670]

Everyone and every group has the right *to withdraw from the International*, and when that happens the General Council has only to *record* their *departure* officially; it is not in any way its function to *suspend* them. *Suspension* is provided for where groups (sections or federations) merely dispute the authority of the General Council, or infringe one or another of its Rules or Regulations. However, the Rules have no article concerning groups which reject the organisation in its entirety—for the simple reason that, according to the Rules, it is *self-evident* that such groups no longer belong to the International.

This is by no means a pure formality.

The secessionists have resolved at their various congresses to convene a general secessionist congress to constitute their *new* organisation, which would be independent of the International. Such a congress is to take place in the spring or summer.[671]

At the same time these gentlemen would like to keep a door open in case of failure. This emerges from the bulky circular of the Spanish Alliancists.[614] If their congress is a failure, they reserve the right to attend the Geneva Congress,[672] a plan which the Italian Alliancist Gambuzzi ... was naive enough to reveal to me back during his stay in London.

So if the New York General Council does not alter its procedure, what will be the consequences?

The Council will follow up its suspension of the Jura by suspending also the secessionist federations in Spain, Italy, Belgium and England. Result: all the riff-raff will turn up again in Geneva and paralyse all serious work there, just as they did in The Hague, and they will once again compromise the whole work of the Congress for the greater good of the bourgeoisie. The great achievement of the Hague Congress[580] was to induce the rot-

ten elements to *exclude themselves*, i.e. to leave. The procedure of the General Council now threatens to invalidate that achievement.

These people do no harm when they *openly oppose* the International, the latter only benefits by it; but as hostile elements *within* the International they spell the ruin of the movement in all the countries where they have managed to obtain a foothold.

The work they and their emissaries cause for us in Europe can scarcely be imagined in New York.

In order to strengthen the International in those countries where the struggle is chiefly being carried on, what is needed above all is vigorous action from the General Council.

Now that the mistake has been made with the Jura, it would perhaps be best simply to ignore the others entirely for the time being (unless our own federations demand the opposite), and then to bide our time until the general secessionist congress, when we can announce that all its CONSTITUENCIES have withdrawn from the *International*, that they have excluded themselves from it and from now on are to be treated as alien and even hostile associations. Eccarius very naively stated at the London hole-and-corner congress that they *must make politics with the bourgeoisie*. His soul has been longing to sell itself for some considerable time now.

The news of the great misfortune that has befallen Sorge[a] has affected us very deeply. My very best regards to him.

*Salut fraternel.*

Karl Marx

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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[a] the death of his daughter

## 284

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT[673]

### IN HUBERTUSBURG

London, 12 February 1873

Dear Liebknecht,

Before I can give you a definite answer to the many questions in your letter, I must first know exactly what you mean by saying that 'the *Volksstaat* cannot become involved in International polemics at the present time'.[674] If the *Volksstaat* proclaims itself *neutral* in the International's war against the secessionists, if it refuses to explain these events clearly to the German workers, if, in a word, the Lassallean revolt is to be concluded by your shaking hands over and beyond the International and by your sacrificing the International and Yorck to the Hasselmanns, then our attitude to the *Volksstaat* will *change fundamentally*. So I must ask you to speak out frankly at once.

About my book,[a] negotiations are pending with Wigand and I would have to free myself from him before deciding on any alternative. But on the general issue of letting you have the rights to practically all our earlier writings *gratis* at the very moment when we are in a position to make money from them, I would ask you to bear in mind that we too need money, firstly in order to live, and secondly in order to meet the daily mounting costs of agitation, propaganda material, etc. The essays by Marx and myself will certainly be collected and printed, but at the moment we have no time to take care of it ourselves. I am even less in a position to distil the essence of Owen's works for you. In the first place I do not have the time and in the second, I lack the material—my collection of Owen's writings went astray in 1848-49, and these things are no longer obtainable.—At all events the *Misère de la philosophie* is being reprinted in Paris; as to the German translation, Marx is negotiating with Meissner about a complete edition of earlier writings and so can hardly just take out one of the largest works without further ado. And anyway, you have plenty of time before you get from the *Utopia*[b] to us; better look after the intermediate links first.

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[a] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. - [b] Th. Morus, *Utopia*.

Furthermore, I cannot conceal from you the fact that our treatment at the hands of the 'Party' does absolutely nothing to encourage us to entrust even more of our writings to it. I have not been sent even a single copy of my *Peasant War*; I had to *purchase* the copies I needed for myself. I am not even consulted about the publication of the articles on the housing shortage,[a] whether they should come out separately or together.[504] When I asked for free copies of the *Manifesto*[b] for us and for the Workers' Society here[135]—in recognition of their having reprinted it three times at their own expense—we were sent 100 copies *together with the bill.* I have written to Hepner about that[c] and now request once and for all that this boorish treatment should cease.

I shall try and unearth a copy of the *Utopia* (in English), but it may be difficult as all the old popular editions were bought up long since.

I must close here and regret that I am prevented by the need to catch the post from enclosing a few lines to your wife.[d] Please be kind enough to make my excuses. Does your family still live at 11 Braustrasse? We have only that address and the *Volksstaat.*

With best wishes from your

F. E.

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## 285

## ENGELS TO MAURICE LACHÂTRE[675]

### IN SAN SEBASTIAN

[Draft]

[London, after 14 February 1873]

Citizen,

I accept your proposal that I should write the life of Karl Marx, a work that would at the same time be the history of the German

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[a] F. Engels, *The Housing Question.* - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party.* - [c] See this volume, pp. 462-63. - [d] Natalie Liebknecht

communist party before '48 and of the socialist party after '52. Looked at from this point of view, the biography of the man would become the history of the party of which Marx indisputably is the highest personification, and would be of great interest to French democracy. It is this consideration that would persuade me to lay aside my work so as to devote myself to a task that would take time and call for research, if it was to be worthy of its subject. But I cannot agree to set to work until I have received a further letter from you informing me of the conditions which, no doubt by an oversight, you omitted to mention in your letter of 14 February.[a]

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## 286

## ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 11 March 1873
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

Would you be so kind as to hand the enclosed letter to Liebknecht[45] on your next visit to the Castle?[538] Up to now I have sent most letters for him to the office of the *Volksstaat*, because I did not know whether you still lived at 11 Braustrasse. Your enforced grass-widowhood must be increasingly burdensome to you as time passes. You really have a lot to put up with! At all events, however, you are still able to visit Liebknecht regularly, and if you do not think it too impertinent of me I would ask you to tell me how he is physically, what the treatment is like, whether he is limited to the resources of the Castle for food and drink, or whether he can supplement this from outside, and in general everything pertaining to his situation and Bebel's—he himself

[a] See this volume, p. 486.

writes very little about such matters, indeed recently he has stopped commenting on them altogether, and you will appreciate that all this interests us very much. Not only for the prisoners' *own* sake—our interest is also a little egoistic, since this is something that might happen to us too, one day, and we would like to know what we might have to expect. What is the position with regard to books? Can he have everything he needs—at least as far as scholarly and literary works are concerned—or is the censorship strict? I know of course that the pigeon-post, or THE UNDERGROUND RAILWAY as they say in America, is easily organised.

I hope that you are in good spirits and that you and the children are in good health. IT IS A LONG LANE THAT HAS NO TURNING, as the English proverb has it, and the TURNING cannot be very far away any more. And you may be sure that, however things turn out, you have friends here in London who take the warmest interest in Liebknecht's and your fate.

If any of the children should remember me, which I very much doubt, since I did not live in London at the time,[676] please give them my very kindest regards.

With sincere good wishes,

Yours truly,
Friedrich Engels

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## 287

## ENGELS TO EUGEN OSWALD

IN LONDON

[London,] 18 March 1873
122 Regent's Park Road

Dear Oswald,

My very best thanks for the concert tickets you so kindly sent—I have managed in the meantime to sell 2 more of the same sort. I

enclose 10/- for them and would ask you to give them to Pumps.[a]
My best regards to Mrs and Miss Oswald.

Yours cordially,
F. Engels

First published in: Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 33, Berlin, 1966

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## 288

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 20 March 1873
122 Regent's Park Road

Dear Sorge,

First of all let me convey to you our heartfelt sympathies on the great family misfortune that has befallen you.[b] We have all had to endure similar losses and know how deeply they scar a person's whole life. It takes a long time and a hard struggle to overcome them, but we know that you have the strength to do so.

Your last or rather your penultimate letter is in Marx's hands. He intended to drop you a few lines, but I doubt whether he has done so and cannot ask him today since he and Tussy have gone off to Brighton for a few days. As far as the minutes of the former General Council are concerned, they can be of no use to you, since you have already been notified of all the resolutions of general interest, and the others have lost all their validity. For us, on the other hand, they are *absolutely vital* in our struggle against the secessionists, if we are to be able to answer their lies and slanders. I think that the interests of the International are more important than the need to comply with a formality.—That the other secretaries[c] have failed to send in reports is indeed irregular. The one from Serraillier was in the letter that went astray. Wróblewski is *unable* to send one since everything in Poland is secret and we never used to ask for details from him

[a] Mary Ellen Burns - [b] the death of Sorge's daughter - [c] the corresponding secretaries of the former General Council in London

earlier either. How matters stand in Austria and Germany is something you know as much about as we do, since you correspond with people there directly and we do not have any further details about the position of the sections either. No report can be demanded from the secretaries who have resigned—Jung for Switzerland and Cournet for Denmark. So who else is left to report? We have not heard a word from Denmark, I am afraid that the Lassallean intrigues may have taken root there.

In France everyone seems to have been caught. Heddeghem has been the traitor, as proved by the trial in Caen, where the prosecutor actually named him as the informer. Dentraygues in Toulouse (Swarm), with his accustomed pedantry, kept a mass of useless lists which have told the police all they needed to know. His trial is now in progress,[677] we expect the reports any day. Larroque fortunately managed to escape to San Sebastian via London, from where he is attempting to renew contacts with Bordeaux. His address (to be kept secret) is:

Señor Latraque
21, Calle de la Aduana, San Sebastian, SPAIN.

No inner envelope is necessary.

Cuno was out of luck with his resolution from Section 29. He sent it to the Alliancist Spanish Federal Council, adding that Capestro=Cuno! So why the comedy of names?[678] The *Federación* of Barcelona duly printed the stuff and concluded—not without some apparent reason—that Cuno too had repented and realised that the old General Council was in the wrong.[a] That comes from mediating.

*Ad vocem*[b] Lodi. When your letter of 12 February arrived, they had all been released and Bignami was reinstated as editor. So I took it upon myself *not* to send the $20, since money was no longer needed, particularly as the General Council needs its money itself. May I ask you for instructions by return of post about whether to send it or whether you wish to dispose of it otherwise.[c]

As far as payments for the General Council are concerned, *I* have not yet received a penny. You will see from the Administrative Regulations, III, Art. 4, that subscriptions do not fall due until 1 March; the almost universal practice was for them not to be paid in until *shortly before* or *at* the Congress. Until then we lived

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[a] 'La verdad se va abriendo paso', *La Federación*, No. 183, 15 February 1873. - [b] As for - [c] See this volume, p. 466.

mainly from individual contributions and from credit. As to the former, I shall try to exact payments, but it will be difficult unless we wish to use up all the resources for the next Congress in advance and leave the course of the Congress itself to chance.

Send 80-100 English-language trade-union plans at once.[679] The 40 that have been sent, like most of the letters, have not yet arrived—a search is being made—and 40 is not enough for here anyway; we could distribute 30-40 in Manchester alone, since the TRADES UNIONS here are mainly local and not centralised. For the moment you could send everything for the BRITISH FEDERAL COUNCIL either to me, or to S. Vickery, the secretary, at 3 Oak Villas, Friern Park, Finchley, N. London. Or to F. Lessner, 12 Fitzroy Street, Fitzroy Square, W. London. The present headquarters of the FEDERAL COUNCIL is itself only provisional. I could also use some copies of the French version for Italy, Holland and Belgium; I send them out individually or 2-3 at a time to strike committees wherever a strike breaks out.

I cannot obtain any addresses in Holland or Belgium at the moment. Liebers is no longer in The Hague, but in Germany; van der Hout, who is an idler, by the way, is a COAL MINER near Essen.

The resolution of 26 January[a] is *very good.*[680] All that is needed now to settle the matter is for you to pass a resolution after the conclusion of the Jurassian, Italian and other congresses which are due to be held in March in which the resolution of 26 January is applied to the secessionists in Spain, Belgium, England and the Jura by name. Italy could only be referred to in so far as *recognised* sections—Naples, Milan, Ferrara, Turin, Lodi, Aquila—might be affected by it—the others have never belonged to the International.

The Address to the Spaniards[681] will also have a very good effect. On the one hand, it is thoroughly correct from a theoretical point of view and, on the other, it avoids everything which might provide the Alliancists with a pretext to make an anarchistic song-and-dance about it, and thirdly, it is brief. In general, all your Addresses have been received very well by the workers.

I have sent the resolution of 26 January to the BRITISH FEDERAL COUNCIL, where it will be presented this evening.

The demands of the General Council (of 15 December) about the admission of sections will beyond doubt never be fulfilled in *this* manner. The General Council *must* admit *every* section that

[a] 'An alle Mitglieder der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation'.

fulfils the conditions of the Rules and Administrative Regulations. It cannot lay down any new conditions, so No. 1 lapses in part (the General Council is entitled to require the statistics of numbers and branches of work, but not names), and No. 4 lapses entirely since Section III of the Administrative Regulations provides otherwise for the mode of payment. The best thing would be just to drop this quietly—we here have never obtained more than is prescribed in Nos. 2 and 3, and even then only with difficulty, and where people acted reliably in good faith we were never strict about formalities. For doubtful cases, of course, it is good to have such a resolution behind one.

It will be just as impossible for Wróblewski to stick to his instructions. The authorised representative for Poland must be taken fully into your confidence, otherwise we cannot achieve anything at all there, and a detailed monthly report from him is quite out of the question.—*Quant à moi,*[a] I can only report about Italy that there is nothing to report apart from the fact that the Lodi section has not yet reconstituted itself and the one in Turin has probably come apart at the seams.

It really was an unfortunate idea to pass the STAMPS on to me.[682] Last year we did not receive them before March or April, now it will be even later. Le Moussu, like all Frenchmen, is bone-idle in business affairs, unless matters are really pressing, and even a good kick is of no avail. Formerly, *Jung* saw to the printing and that task too now falls to Le Moussu, who does not know any English.

I have sent you *The International Herald* and the *Emancipación*, the former up to No. 50 (goes off today), the latter up to No. 88; I hope they have arrived safely.

I had almost forgotten to thank you for the wine that arrived at last after a lengthy journey. It went by German STEAMER to Bremen and was then sent on carriage paid from there to here where it arrived safely after some further wanderings. I have shared it with Marx, but have only tried a few bottles myself. The SWEET Catawba pleased the ladies very well. The red is not bad and the white I have tried so far is an interesting drink somewhere between hock and DRY SHERRY. The few bottles I still have in my cellar are being saved up for great occasions. The wine is pleasant to drink but lacks the individual character of the original European wines. I am very grateful to you for having enriched my knowledge of wine by

[a] As for me

a whole hemisphere and in such an agreeable manner; I was most astonished to discover the northerly position of the Ohio vineyards on this occasion. I had supposed they lay much further to the South.

The set-to in SPRING STREET[a] about Woodhull amused me greatly. I shall spread the story to Spain, etc. Likewise, that Eccarius has ventured to describe their SHAM congress[652] in *The World* as a mere friendly gathering. Have received the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* up to No. 4. Very good, if stylistically a little rough here and there—which does no harm at all, but bears witness to its proletarian character. Very good attack on Singer Co.[b]—OUGHT TO BE CONTINUED AND EXTENDED TO OTHERS.

Otherwise, nothing new here. The Jung-Hales slanders have been going through the entire Jurassian, Belgian and other secessionist papers. Longuet intends to answer them in the *Liberté*, whether it will come to anything is not quite clear to me, given his laziness.[c]

Must catch the post.

Best wishes.

Your

F. Engels

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[a] Situated in Spring Street was the office of the separatist Federal Council. - [b] 'Fabrikantenspiegel', *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 3, 22 February 1873. - [c] Ch. Longuet, 'Monsieur le Rédacteur, Lorsque j'ai lu l'article publié par *La Liberté*..., *La Liberté*, No. 14, 6 April 1873.

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## ENGELS TO MAURICE LACHÂTRE[683]

### IN SAN SEBASTIAN

[Draft]

[London, after 21 March 1873]

Citizen,

In your letter of 16 March you appear to be under the impression that I am 'presenting you with a book on the communist party', whereas it was you who, by requesting me to write a serious biography of Karl Marx,[a] asked for a history of that party. Marx has led an essentially active life and thus to recount his life would be to write the history of the philosophic and revolutionary movement, both German and international, since '42, in order to trace therein his personal participation and the influence of his writings. If you merely want a *reporter*'s biography, that has already been done. *L'Illustration* has published one[b] and if you care to send me a copy I shall make the necessary corrections.[684]

Since the study I had in mind was intended to be a serious work, I should have thought I would be doing you an injury by supposing that you who, in this business matter, have assumed the role of capitalist, would have wished to evade the prime social rule, operative even in our bourgeois society, that the capitalist pays the workman in proportion to his labour. However, since you say you are increasing your Capital for the sole purpose of placing it at the service of the Community, I shall consent to donate my labour on condition that you set aside a sum for the foundation of a weekly international organ, of which the socialist party has a pressing need, and of which Marx would be editor.

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[a] See this volume, p. 479. - [b] 'Karl Marx', *L'Illustration*, No. 1498, 11 November 1871.

## 290

## MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

### IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 22 March 1873

My dear Sir,

You would much oblige me in giving me *some information* on the views of Tschitscherin, relating to the historical development of communal property in Russia; and on his polemics on that subject with Bjeljajew.[685] The way in which that form of property was founded (historically) in Russia, is of course a secondary question, and has nothing whatever to do with the value of that institution. Still, the German reactionists like Professor A. Wagner in Berlin, etc., use that weapon put in their hands by Tschitscherin.[686] At the same time all historical analogy speaks against Tschitscherin. How should it have come to happen that in Russia the same institution had been simply introduced as a fiscal measure, as a concomitant incident of serfdom, while everywhere else it was of spontaneous growth and marked a necessary phase of development of free peoples?

Yours most truly,
A. Williams[a]

First published, in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 1, St Petersburg, 1908

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## 291

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 22 March 1873

Dear Sorge,

I wrote to you on the 20th inst.[b] and am today sending *Emancipación* No. 89 and *International Herald* No. 51.

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[a] Marx's pseudonym - [b] See this volume, pp. 481-85.

I forgot to add when talking of the $20 not sent to Lodi that during their period of difficulties, those people had received the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| from here | 50 frs |
| from the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, 20 thalers | 75 " |
| from Oberwinder in Vienna 50 florins | 125 " |
| Total | 250 francs |

I thought this was sufficient for a situation with such a favourable outcome: 3 were released after two weeks and only Bignami was in custody for circa 6 weeks.

The resolution of 26 January[680] and the Address to the Spaniards have been sent off to Lodi.

As you can see from the *Emancipación*, the Address to the Spaniards was very well received.[687]

Best wishes,

Your
F. E.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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## 292

## MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER[165]

### IN GENEVA

[London,] 7 April 1873

Dear Becker,

If I do not manage to write to you in detail, you must put the blame on my overwork. I shall have no spare time available until the French translation[a] is finished and the last page has been printed.[436] As for the 2nd German edition,[a] I was glad to send off the last of the proof-sheets the day before yesterday, and have

[a] of Volume I of *Capital*

instructed Meissner to send you the whole-volume edition *post-free*, which is due out in about a week.[396] You would oblige me by letting me know when it comes.

Engels asks you to forward the enclosed letter to Goegg[45] as soon as possible. It is to do with some information about the Alliance (we are at present engaged in assembling documentary evidence with which to demolish them[a]). Might I also ask you to send us, if at all possible, *the first programme of the public Alliance in Geneva*,[b] in which your name appeared among others.

We thought that the *Égalité* of Geneva must have folded up as we had not seen a copy since Outine's departure from Geneva. At his request I had induced some French friends to become correspondents for it, but our belief in its demise put a stop to everything. So if Perret wishes for reports from here, he must make sure that Engels (122 Regent's Park Road) and myself each receive a copy. We shall pay for it if he so desires.

The General Council will likely decide on Geneva as the venue for the next Congress.[672] You must even now start working to ensure a large attendance. This is all the more indispensable as the Alliancist band of rogues is planning to turn up *en masse*. Of course, they must not be allowed in. The Hague Congress[580] must have brought us at least *the one* advantage that the rabble will be removed from our midst. But for that it is essential for us to have completely reliable local representatives at our disposal.

With best wishes from the whole family.

Your
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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[a] This refers to work on the pamphlet *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*. - [b] *Programm der Internationalen Allianz der Sozial-Demokratie*

## 293

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 3 May 1873

Dear Sorge,

Have received your letter of the 9th and that of the General Council of the 11th.

1. Serraillier. What Dereure says is utter nonsense.[688] The priest story amounts only to this: Pottier, a delegate of the Commune in the 2nd arrondissement, to which Serraillier was assigned, *hired out* the churches to the priests (*le dit délégué loue la boutique nommé Eglise, etc. etc. au nommé ... pour y exercer le métier de cure*[a] was the formula) and Pottier collected all the money and used it for Commune and arrondissement business and credited it to the Commune. Serraillier never had a sou of it in his hands. Le Moussu, who rises to the word 'priest' like a hungry fish to the bait, actually intended to have Pottier and Serraillier arrested for this, because, as he expressed it, *ceci était un commerce immoral.*[b] When it comes to bad jokes I am not sure who has produced the best one, Le Moussu or Pottier and Serraillier. But to base serious accusations on such childish grounds is worse than childish. However, the Frenchmen of today are children. What the demonstration of the 22 is supposed to be, I do not know; I suppose it was the attempted resignation of the minority. The row between majority and minority in the Commune is still going on and for everyone with a Blanquist taint it is still an offence even today, and a capital offence moreover, to have belonged to the minority. All this is ancient history for us here; we have heard every conceivable variation on that tune until we are sick of it and would not give a brass farthing for the entire story.

2. *Arbeiter-Zeitung*—it must indeed be said that the uncouthness of its style could not be surpassed. However, that is American—the entire German-American press writes like that. For the present neither Marx nor myself have a single spare moment to write regular reports; I am up to my eyes in work for the Congress

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[a] the aforenamed delegate lets the premises, known as the church, etc., etc., to the person named ... for the purpose of carrying out the trade of priest - [b] it was *unethical* commerce

which is to be tabled in French[a] and Marx is immersed in his French translation.[436]

3. The Viennese. We know no more than has appeared publicly, since neither Oberwinder nor Scheu has written to us direct.[689] However, we have our suspicions about Scheu. 1. He is in touch with Vaillant and 2. there are signs that like his friend and predecessor, Neumayr, who has since gone mad, he is in contact with Bakunin. The echo of the latter's resounding phrases can be detected in Scheu's articles and speeches, and you will remember how his brother[b] disappeared from The Hague[580] as soon as the business with Bakunin came to a head. Up to now no serious allegations against Oberwinder have been made, at least in public. His collaboration on bourgeois papers took place with the foreknowledge and approval of the party and directly served party purposes. If *The Times* were put at my disposal tomorrow and I could write what I wanted and receive payment for it, I would accept without hesitation. Nobody objected to Eccarius doing this until he reversed the situation and exploited the International in his own financial interests and no longer wrote in its interests but in his own and those of *The Times*. And since in Austria feudalism has only partly been overcome, the masses are still incredibly stupid and conditions are still about the same as those in Germany before 1848, we naturally do not take it amiss that Oberwinder does not immediately demand the moon with the maximum of radical hullaballoo, but instead pursues the policies we advocated at the end of the *Communist Manifesto* as being appropriate for Germany at the time. Here and there he may exhibit an excess of petty-bourgeois caution, but in the first place even that has not been proved and in the second, it is no cause for such a tremendous hue and cry. Moreover, Oberwinder is no Austrian and so could be deported at any time. But, as I have said, we do not know the details and so reserve our judgment.

4. Admission requirements.[c]—Even assuming that formally you are in the right to make all these demands on the individual sections (which is, however, very much open to doubt), up to now *no* Federal Council has ever imposed these bureaucratically precise conditions, and had it imposed them, they would *never* have been fulfilled. What a great mistake it was to make such requirements even in *France* is demonstrated by the article in No. 49 of the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*,[690] which I am sending you today. I

[a] This refers to work on the pamphlet *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*. - [b] Heinrich Scheu - [c] See this volume, pp. 483-84.

informed Hepner[a] straightaway and, having made precise enquiries yesterday about Dentraygues and Heddeghem, I have despatched the necessary statement to the *Volksstaat.*[b]

5. WE EXPECT MORE NEWS ABOUT FRANCE BEFORE TAKING ANY STEPS. I do not see that there are any steps you could possibly take. *All* our sections have been uncovered. Heddeghem *was* a spy as early as The Hague. Dentraygues is not, but for personal reasons and from weakness, he denounced some individuals who had previously beaten him up. A member who wanted to obtain some money for the party had given his watch to Dentraygues, asking him to pawn it. Dentraygues' wife did so and later refused to redeem it or even to hand over the pawn-TICKET. This caused a scandal. A few people—mainly bourgeois—got together, gave Dentraygues a thrashing and then denounced him to the public prosecutor, at whose urgings *they confessed that the money had been intended for the use of the International!!!* This was the *real* beginning of the whole business—but since Heddeghem had already informed the police in Paris of all this, it could come as a surprise only to the Toulouse police at most. These then are the fellows that Dentraygues denounced, and there was *no one else.* How the police found out about other things you will see from the *Volksstaat.*[b] At all events, at the present time the organisation in France is in pieces and will take some time to recover since all communications have broken down. Larroque is in Spain, in San Sebastian. His address: Monsieur Latraque, Calle de la Aduana, No. 21—he is living there under that name. For goodness' sake do not send any new letters of authority to France. Larroque has been given 3 years *in contumaciam.*[c]

6. STAMPS.[682]—I hardly ever see Le Moussu, I have got Marx to give him a good kick, but still no answer. It is impossible to do any business with these Frenchmen without wasting whole weeks at a time chasing after them, and I cannot do that.

7. Venue for the Congress.[672]—I hope you have only asked the Swiss for their advice as we did with the Dutch last year. In Switzerland there is only *one possible place* and that is *Geneva.* There we have the mass of workers behind us, and also *a hall belonging to the International,* the Temple Unique, from which we can simply throw the gentlemen from the Alliance[10] out when they present themselves. Apart from Geneva, only Zurich would be possible; but there we have hardly more than the few *German* workers and not even all of these (vide the *Felleisen*) and your

[a] F. Engels, 'On the Articles in the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* (From a Letter to A. Hepner)'. - [b] F. Engels, 'The International and the *Neuer*'. - [c] in his absence

enquiry might even result in the proposal from various sides that the Congress should be held at the centrally situated town of Olten—the chief railway junction in Switzerland, in which case we should really be in the soup. The Alliancists are doing everything in their power to turn up at the Congress in force, whereas on our side everyone is going to sleep. No French delegates can come since the collapse. The Germans, although they have their own quarrel with the Lassalleans, were very disheartened by the Hague Congress, where they expected nothing but fraternity and harmony in contrast to their own squabbles, and have become apathetic. Moreover, the party authorities of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party consist at the moment of nothing but dyed-in-the-wool Lassalleans (Yorck & Co.) who are insisting that both the Party and its paper should be forced into the straitjacket of a Lassalleanism of the most superficial sort. The struggle continues; the Lassalleans wish to take advantage of the time in which Liebknecht and Bebel are in gaol[274] so as to get their own way. Little Hepner is putting up vigorous resistance, but he has been as good as forced off the board of the *Volksstaat* and anyway has been deported from Leipzig.[691] The victory of these fellows would be synonymous with the loss of the Party for us—for the moment at least. I have written Liebknecht a very determined letter to this effect[45] and am still awaiting a reply.—From Denmark nothing has been seen or heard. My long-held suspicion that the Lassalleans of the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* have thrown everything into confusion there through their supporters in North Schleswig and have induced people to withdraw from the International,[a] is daily confirmed by the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, which is much better informed about events in Copenhagen than the *Volksstaat*.—From England only a few delegates can come and it is very doubtful whether the Spaniards will send one, so it is to be expected that the Congress will be very poorly attended and that the Bakuninists will have more people there than us. The Genevans themselves are doing nothing, the *Égalité* seems to be defunct, so that even there no great support appears likely—merely the consciousness that there we shall *be sitting in our own house* and among people who know Bakunin and his gang and can throw them out if need be. So Geneva is the *only* place possible, and to secure a victory for us, the only necessary condition remaining—*though it is an absolutely indispensable one*—is that, in accordance with the resolution of 26 January,[680] the General Council should now announce the following *resignations*:

[a] See this volume, p. 466.

1. The *Belgian* Federation, which has declared that it has nothing to do with the General Council and which has repudiated the Hague resolutions.

2. That part of the *Spanish* Federation which was represented in Córdoba[627] and which contravened the Rules by declaring the payment of dues to the General Council to be optional, and which has also repudiated the Hague resolutions.

3. The *English* sections and individuals represented at the would-be London congress of 26 January, who have likewise repudiated the Hague resolutions.[652]

4. The Jura Federation which, at the congress they are due to hold shortly,[692] will undoubtedly give us adequate grounds to extend the resolution on suspension.

Lastly, it could be announced that the so-called Italian Federation which was represented at the so-called congress of Bologna[670] (instead of Mirandola), is not a member of the International at all since it has never satisfied even a single one of the conditions laid down by the Rules.[693]

Once this resolution has been published and the General Council has set up a committee in Geneva to make preparations for the Congress and to scrutinise the mandates *in advance*, a committee consisting e.g. of Becker,[a] Perret, Duval and Utin, if he is there, the mass surge forward of the Bakuninists will have been forestalled. As soon as the General Council has issued instructions to the committees that these people cannot be given recognition as delegates until they have been granted admission by the majority of the genuine and acknowledged delegates of the International, all will be well. Even if they were in the majority, they would be innocuous; they could go elsewhere and hold their own congress, but without having brought their majority to bear vis-à-vis ourselves. And that is all we can ask for.

Cordial regards from Marx too.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Johann Philipp Becker

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## MARX TO MAURICE LACHÂTRE [?]

### IN SAN SEBASTIAN

London, 12 May 1873

Dear Citizen,

Mr Roy's address is still Café Richelier, Place de Quinconce, Bordeaux. The Company by which I sent him the last German instalment[396] is to blame for the fact that it failed to reach him in good time. In accordance with the terms I agreed with him, I authorise you to send him 200 francs.

Yours very faithfully,
Karl Marx

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Translated from the French

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN LONDON

Manchester, 23 May [1873]
25 Dover Street

Dear Fred,

Put up at the Brunswick Hotel last night[694]; found neither Moore[a] nor Schorlemmer.

This morning I looked up Moore; he wasn't there. I asked his landlady if she could find me a room in the neighbourhood, whereupon she offered me SLEEPING ROOM in her own house. I came to an arrangement with her on the spot.

Then called on Gumpert, who was in Germany; I shall find out today (via Zapp) when he is due back.

On my return to the Brunswick Hotel I found Moore at the entrance. He was very pleased that I HAD SETTLED things with his landlady.

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[a] Samuel Moore

I have written to Tussy today[17] and am convinced that Mr Lissagaray must *pour le moment* make *bonne mine à mauvais jeu.*[a]

Your
K. M.

Regards to Mrs.[b] Shall see Renshaws.

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## 296

## MARX TO HUGO HELLER

### IN OXFORD

Manchester, 23 May 1873

Dear Friend,

I am staying up here for a day or two, but would rather not put off answering your letter[695] until my return to London.

I have sent 2/6d in stamps for a membership card to a member of the British Federal Council, Serraillier, so that it will, in a few days' time (the Federal Council meets only once a week), be sent to Oxford.

If Thomas, your friend there, would care to write to me direct, I shall be very glad to get in touch with him.

In a week or two the 2nd German edition of *Capital*, which came out in instalments, will be published in one volume[396] and I should be pleased to present it to you as a memento, and likewise such instalments of the Paris translation as have so far appeared.[436]

Madame and Mr Longuet have asked me to send you their warm regards.

*Salut fraternel.*

Karl Marx

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[a] make the best of a bad job for the moment; see this volume, p. 499. - [b] Lydia Burns

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 24 May 1873

Dear Moor,

I wrote to Gumpert the day before yesterday[45] and gave him my opinion on your case, together with a brief account of what had happened (of course, I kept quiet about everything to do with the situation at home, merely saying that you had had a lot of vexation in various matters), just so that I should have done my bit to win my bet about the diagnosis. Today I received a letter from his eldest stepson saying that Gumpert wouldn't be back for 8-10 days and that he had sent my letter on to him.

Kept busy by Lafargue until 4.30[a]; it got too late for me to send off a registered letter, so I shall send it on Monday with money so that you can use the time for excursions if you feel like it.

I also have the £50 here; should I give it to your wife?

We shall be finished with Russia in a few days, except for a tiny detail for which I shall have to work my way through the Russian stuff, in doing which I have been constantly interrupted.

Regards to Moore[b] and Schorlemmer.

Your
F. E.

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[a] This refers to work on the pamphlet *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association.* - [b] Samuel Moore

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 25 May 1873

Dear Fred,

I am quickly writing these few lines in reply in Schorlemmer's room. I am just on the point of going for a walk with him since Moore[a] is with his Dulcinea and only intends to reappear at about 6 o'clock.

It was damnably cold here with an easterly wind until today, so that I have caught a cold *in optima forma.*

The same day, or rather evening, as I arrived, the first person I encountered was, as usual, the inevitable Borchardt.

Yesterday I also met the worthy Knowles, very boozy, with a reddish complexion.

Brave Dakyns, I learn from Moore, will have nothing more to do with the International because it has split.[643]

I would be grateful if you could give the £50 to my wife.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Schorlemmer sends his regards and says—alluding to your letter to Gumpert[45]—that he has been confirmed once again in his belief that you are a great strategist.

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[a] Samuel Moore

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] Monday, 26 May [1873]

Dear Moor,

Enclosed £10 in 2 bills: C76, 48 876 & 77, London, 6 February 1873.—I shall go round to your wife with the money this afternoon.

I did a stupid thing on Saturday.[a] Your wife was here and in something of a flurry I gave her your letter[b]—she stared at the closing passage for some time but said nothing. Nor could she in fact make anything very much from your belief that Mr Lissagaray will have *pour le moment* to make *bonne mine à mauvais jeu*.[c] If she asks me, I shall say that all I know is that you had expressed doubts as to whether one could simply rely on Lissagaray's sticking to his promise and that you had therefore already talked here about writing to Tussy in an attempt to influence her.

So Mr Thiers has been truly out-parliamented and shown to the door by MacMahon, the greatest jackass in France. The reaction really is a slippery slope down which one cannot stop oneself sliding, once one has embarked on it. If MacMahon is *anything* at all, then he is a Bonapartist, and it is delightful to see that, just as in 1848 when the two old monarchist parties were forced to place Louis Bonaparte at the head, so now they have to rally behind his governor.[696] In my opinion, this makes the restoration of the Empire the only possible monarchist combination for the moment. The quarrels of the Orleanists and Legitimists will disgust MacMahon; the Rouhers, etc., will ensnare him and, when he is ripe for it, the point where they can instruct him how to lead the troops, etc., to a Bonapartist coup. Then everything will depend on the troops, and MacMahon, whatever else he may be, will certainly do everything in his power—and *en connaissance de cause*[d]—to train them to this end. *En attendant*,[e] Thiers is now becoming more popular than ever and Gambetta is receding into the background, so that when things start up once more, the line of people who will have to make complete asses of themselves all over again will stretch all the way from Thiers to Félix Pyat.

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[a] 24 May - [b] See this volume, p. 496. - [c] make the best of a bad job for the moment - [d] with expert knowledge - [e] Meanwhile

The thing that particularly delights me is that MacMahon has once again proved to Thiers what extraordinary scoundrels precisely the *military* worthies happen to be.

Regards to Moore[a] and Schorlemmer.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO MARX[697]

### IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 30 May 1873

Dear Moor,

This morning in bed the following dialectical points about the natural sciences came into my head:

The object of science: matter in motion, bodies. Bodies cannot be separated from motion, their forms and kinds can only be apprehended in motion; nothing can be said about bodies divorced from motion, divorced from all relation to other bodies. Only in motion does the body reveal what it is. Hence natural science obtains knowledge about bodies by examining them in their relationship to each other, in motion. Cognition of the various forms of motion is cognition of bodies. The investigation of these various forms of motion is therefore the chief object of the natural sciences.[b]

1. The simplest form of motion is change of *place* (within time, to do old Hegel a favour)—*mechanical* motion.

a) There is no such thing as the motion of a *single* body, but relatively speaking one can talk of a *falling* body in such terms. Motion towards a centre common to many bodies. However, as soon as a single body moves in a direction *other* than towards the centre, the laws of *falling* still apply, it is true, but they are modified[c]

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[a] Samuel Moore - [b] Marginal note by Carl Schorlemmer: 'Very good; my own view. C. S.' - [c] Marginal note by Carl Schorlemmer: 'Quite right.'

First page of Engels' letter to Marx of 30 May 1873

b) into the laws of trajectories and lead directly to the interaction of several bodies—planetary, etc., motion, astronomy, equilibrium—temporarily or apparently to motion itself. The *real* result of this kind of motion, however, is ultimately always the *contact* of the moving bodies; they fall into one another.

c) Mechanics of contact—bodies in contact. Ordinary mechanics, levers, inclined planes, etc. But *this does not exhaust the effects of contact.* Contact is manifested directly in two forms: friction and impact. It is a characteristic of both that, at certain degrees of intensity and under certain conditions, they give rise to *new* effects, no longer of a merely mechanical nature: *heat, light, electricity, magnetism.*

2. *Physics proper,* the science of these forms of motion, establishes the fact, after investigating each form of motion separately, that they *merge into one another* under certain conditions, and ultimately discovers that given a certain degree of intensity, which varies for different moving bodies, they all produce effects that transcend physics; changes in the internal structure of bodies—*chemical* effects.

3. *Chemistry.* In the case of the preceding forms of motion it was more or less immaterial whether the bodies under investigation were animate or inanimate. In fact inanimate objects revealed the nature of the phenomena involved in their greatest *purity.* Chemistry, on the other hand, can only discover the chemical nature of the most important bodies by using substances deriving from the life process. Its principal task is increasingly that of producing these substances synthetically. It forms the transition to the science of organisms, but the dialectical point of transition can only be constructed when chemistry has effected the real transition or is on the point of doing so.[a]

4. Organism—for the present I shall not indulge in any dialectical speculations on the subject.[b]

Since you are at the very centre of the natural sciences there, you will be in the best position to judge whether there is anything in it or not.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Marginal note by Carl Schorlemmer in English: 'That's the point!' - [b] Marginal note by Carl Schorlemmer: 'Nor shall I. C.S.'

If you think I am on to something, don't tell anyone about it lest some rotten Englishman or other makes off with it. Working it all out will take a long time yet.

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## 301

## MARX TO ENGELS[37]

### IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 31 May 1873
25 Dover Street

DEAR FRED,

Have just received your letter which edified me greatly. However, I shall venture no judgment until I have had time to reflect on the matter and consult the 'authorities'.[a]

I have been telling Moore about a problem with which I have been racking my brains for some time now. However, he thinks it is insoluble, at least *pro tempore*, because of the many factors involved, factors which for the most part have yet to be discovered. The problem is this: you know about those graphs in which the movements of prices, discount rates, etc., etc., over the year, etc., are shown in rising and falling zigzags. I have variously attempted to analyse crises by calculating these UPS AND DOWNS as irregular curves and I believed (and still believe it would be possible if the material were sufficiently studied) that I might be able to determine mathematically the principal laws governing crises. As I said, Moore thinks it cannot be done at present and I have resolved to give it up FOR THE TIME BEING.

The French catastrophe[696] was welcome in so far as it involved disgrace for Thiers and his lickspittles; but unwelcome since, if it had gone the other way, I might have hoped to see various individuals removed from London soon. Moreover, I regard any violent catastrophe now as UNTIMELY both from the viewpoint of the interests of France and from our own.

Nevertheless, I am by no means convinced that the *événement*[b]

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[a] Carl Schorlemmer and Samuel Moore - [b] event

will result in a restoration. The RURALS[478] had undoubtedly reckoned with some sort of revolt in Paris, Lyons and Marseilles, and especially in Paris. In that event they would have come down hard, some of the radical Left would have been arrested, etc., in short it would have led to a situation which *d'une manière ou d'une autre*[a] would have had to end in a restoration, and quickly at that. Bonaparte himself, in his attempt to carry out his coup d'état, i.e. to bring it to a conclusion, found himself paralysed the very first day by the merely passive resistance of the Parisians, and he knew full well that if that were to last another 6-8 days the coup would be lost and lost irretrievably. Hence the signal to go ahead with gruesome murders in the boulevards, etc., *sans provocation aucune*,[b] to improvise a *terreur*.[c] Mr Morny in particular, the real MANAGER, has since spoken very candidly about this planned operation, whose author he had been.

For that, however, the Rurals lacked the PLUCK; and they could only have had it if they had had one pretender instead of three. Their hope was rather the opposite one: that events would force them to stop acting like Buridan's ass.[698]

Now that they find themselves, in contrast, in a purely parliamentary situation, the row is flaring up again in their own ranks. Each hopes to gain the support of as much of the nearest faction, SAY, FOR INSTANCE, THE LEFT CENTRE, as would be necessary to enable him to dispense with his rivals. However, as far as MacMahon is concerned, in my judgment, the worthy fellow will never take any action on his own initiative. There is also another factor that must hasten the dissolution of this amalgam. The only thing that formally binds them together is God, i.e. Catholicism. The more impetuous and 'honest' people on the Right will absolutely insist that the Ministry should show its colours to the Pope[d] and Spain,[699] and it seems to me that, quite apart from any inner reluctance to do so, the need to consider Mr Bismarck's feelings must prevent any step in that direction. However, the Jesuit fathers who have actually directed the entire strategy of the Rurals up to now, including, i.a., that old bag, MacMahon's wife,[e] will not let themselves be fobbed off so simply. In such a situation the National Assembly might easily witness just such a swift *changement de décoration*[f] as took place recently. After all, it was

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[a] in one way or another - [b] without any provocation - [c] This refers to the actions of the instigators of the Bonapartist coup d'état in France on 2 December 1851. - [d] Pius IX - [e] Elisabette Charlotte - [f] change of sets

only the SHIFTING of 9 votes that made the *homme nécessaire*[a] impossible, a thing which, incidentally, disproves Hegel's view that necessity entails possibility.[b]

The day before yesterday I went to see Dronke in Southport. He has become exceedingly fat, which does not suit him. While there I saw *par accident* Strauss' book *Der neue und der alte Glaube*, loaned to him by a German philistine. I leafed through it, and it really is proof of the great weakness of the *Volksstaat* that no one there has put this damned priest and Bismarck-worshipper (who gives himself such airs vis-à-vis socialism) in his proper place.

This afternoon I am going to Buxton with Moore, so that I shall be out of the way until Monday.[c] As soon as I have seen Gumpert, I shall return. Just lazing-around and idling has done me a world of good.

Enclosed a letter from Tussy. In the letter the child received from me[17] I said to her that her last letter had greatly reassured me, etc.; her reproach that I was unjust towards Lissagaray was unfounded. I asked nothing of him but that he should provide proof instead of words that he was better than his reputation and that there was some good reason to rely on him. You can see from the reply how the *homme fort*[d] proceeds. The damned nuisance is that I must be very circumspect and indulgent because of the child. I shall not answer until I have consulted you on my return. Keep the letter by you.

Schorlemmer has just arrived. He cannot accompany Moore and me because Roscoe is unwell and this is the period for preparing for exams.

Schorlemmer read you letter[e] and says that he is essentially in agreement with you but reserves his judgment on points of detail. MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS LIZZY.

Your
K. M.

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[a] necessary man (Thiers) - [b] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*. In: *Werke*, Bd. IV, Buch II, Abschnitt 3, B, p. 211. - [c] 2 June - [d] strong man - [e] See this volume, pp. 500-04.

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 14 June 1873

Dear Sorge,

Work on the *Alliance*[a] has interrupted my correspondence. In addition the newspapers have only just started to arrive regularly again now that we have ordered them, and so it is only now that I can report properly again.

First, to deal with the points raised in your letters.

The ones from the General Council[b] are answered in the enclosure.

14 May.—The business about the shortage of funds is as old as the International itself. The Americans were the only ones to pay, and if it hadn't been for you, we would have been unlikely to receive even that.—Postponing the Congress[672] is absolutely out of the question; it would mean abandoning the field to the other side and anyway is not at all necessary, as you will see.

23 May.—The people in Geneva I am supposed to be giving a kick do not even answer us. Even old Becker[c] does not reply to Marx. Outine is we know not where. We *ourselves* do not receive the *Bulletin jurassien*, and only see extracts quoted in the *Liberté* and the *Internationale*.

27 May.—The statement on France[700]—*very good!*—has gone off in English to the British Federal Council and will go off today in French to the *Plebe*, the Spanish Federal Council and Portugal. By the bye the Portuguese are complaining that they are not receiving *anything at all* from you and yet they are very, *very* important for us!—Serraillier *has* absolutely nothing to write about, since he does not have a single address in France any more; *everyone* has been caught. However, he will send in a little report on the trials[677] for your own report to the Congress—there were trials *everywhere* where there were sections, in Béziers, Lisieux, etc., etc.—Correspondence for the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*? Who is to do it? Marx and I are so overworked that Marx has been limited by his doctor to 4 hours work a day because of blood-congestion in the

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association.* - [b] F. Engels, 'To the General Council of the International Working Men's Association'. - [c] Johann Philipp Becker

head, so that I have to deal with *everything* together with Lafargue. Frankel works in his SHOP until 9 p.m. The others cannot write.—The Hamburgers[452] are numbskulls. I shall write and tell Liebknecht.—For Holland the *German* version of the statement will be adequate.—The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* should make more use of the *Volksstaat.*

And now for some news, and this time it is no message of ill-tidings.

1. The British Congress, held in Manchester on 1 and 2 June, was a success.[701] 26 delegates.—Report from the Tory paper going off by BOOK-POST herewith; ditto 1 issue of the Brussels *Internationale.* The Federal Council to remain in London, although the locals wanted it transferred to Nottingham. *The Eastern Post,* hitherto the organ of Jung and Hales, has written a satirical article on the Congress which nevertheless acknowledges it as the real representative of the English International, and since then I observe that they have stopped publishing reports on BOGUS meetings in Hales' house; they seem to have shut up shop. Up to now they had always alternated these reports with reports from all of their 2 sections: Stratford and Limehouse, and Limehouse and Stratford; but this no longer seems to work.—Mottershead turned up in Hyde Park on Whit Monday[a] for the TRADES UNION MEETING, completely drunk as usual.—I have not received *The International Herald* for the past 2 weeks, so that too seems to have folded up. It's no misfortune since there are the other publications of the English press. The new French section here (Dupont and Serraillier) have some chance of starting up a French paper here, though French assurances cannot be relied on very much.

2. The Jurassians have carried out their decisive retreat.[692] You will see from the *Internationale* that they have resolved to propose to their colleagues in the Alliance: *not* to send representatives *to any congress 'que le prétendu Conseil général pourrait être tenté de convoquer',*[b] but to hold a separate congress *at a place in Switzerland to be determined by their federations.*

Translated that means: we cannot put in an appearance in Geneva, otherwise we shall be thrown out on our ears. So they will meet in some corner of the Jura; after the Olten Congress (see below) they cannot show their faces anywhere else in Switzerland.—Other reasons are: 1. Bakunin's old reluctance to appear in debates personally, 2. Guillaume's and his own expulsion, which would raise the crucial issue from the very outset in a *purely*

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[a] 9 June - [b] which the so-called General Council might be tempted to convene

*personal* form, added to which there is also the fact of Bakunin's *escroquerie*,[a] [574] which would immediately finish him off, and 3. the certainty that in reality they are in as bad a way as we are and that internal squabbles have exhausted and irritated their people too. At their great Jura congress only *nine* sections were represented! In Italy, for all their bluster, they cannot put a single newspaper on its feet, and in Spain, in the movement as it stands, their stock is=0. More, they have had to renege on their own policy of abstention at once, and sent 8 members (10 according to them) into the Cortes.

3. In Rome a committee '*of the International*' has been disbanded. It was called *Società del Silenzio*, clandestine society, oath of absolute obedience, the sacramental formula at the end of letters—the one proclaimed by Bakunin last year: *Salute e liquidazione sociale, anarchia e collectivismo*[b]—in short, the secret Alliance[10] with its whole bag of tricks. It comes just at the right time.

4. Serraillier has had an exchange in the *Liberté* with the Blanquists about the French trials[702] in which the latter took a very impudent line, but were duly boxed around the ears for it. What really finished them off was that after the letters of authority of those with mandates had been annulled at The Hague and the General Council was alone empowered to issue new ones,[c] Cournet and Ranvier issued a new letter of authority to Heddeghem in *their* names—and while still at The Hague!

5. Swiss workers' congress at Olten[703]—70 delegates, 5 Jurassians, proposed decentralisation, defeated with all votes against their 5—they withdrew at once. But you will have known this long since from the *Tagwacht*.[d]

I hope that your arm and voice are now recovered and that your prospects for the Congress have also improved. Even if the Congress is not very brilliant, it is nevertheless necessary and with some effort will turn out well. Don't forget that according to the Rules you must convoke it and prepare a programme 2 months in advance, i.e. by *1 July*.

*Alliance* as good as finished—in French; a mammoth task in this tricky language—shall hit out and surprise even you.

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[a] swindling - [b] Greetings and social liquidation, anarchy and collectivism - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the General Congress Held at The Hague from the 2nd to the 7th September, 1872. VI. Powers Issued by the General Council, and by Federal Councils'. - [d] 'Der Kongreß in Olten und die Gewerkschaftsbewegung der Schweiz', *Die Tagwacht*, No. 23, 7 June 1873.

Must catch the post. Cordial regards.

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL[704]

### IN HUBERTUSBURG

London, 20 June 1873

Dear Bebel,

I am answering your letter first because Liebknecht's is still with Marx, who cannot locate it just now.

It was not Hepner but Yorck's letter to him, signed by the Committee, which made us here fear that your imprisonment[274] would be used by the Party authorities, which unfortunately are entirely Lassallean, to transform the *Volksstaat* into an 'honest' *Neuer Social-Demokrat*. Yorck plainly confessed to such an intention, and as the Committee claimed to have the right to appoint and remove the editors, the danger was certainly big enough. Hepner's impending deportation[691] was another argument in favour of these plans. Under these circumstances it was absolutely necessary for us to know where we stood; hence this correspondence.[705]

You must not forget that Hepner, to say nothing of Seiffert and Blos, etc., do not enjoy anything like the same position vis-à-vis Yorck as you and Liebknecht do as founders of the Party, and that if you simply ignore such impertinences, this is something that can hardly be expected of them. The Party authorities, after all, have a certain formal measure of control over the Party paper, which they refrained from exercising when *you* were there, but which they have undeniably tried to impose this time, with damaging

effects on the Party. We thought it our duty, therefore, to do what we could to counteract this.

Hepner may have been involved in tactical infringements on points of detail, chiefly *after* receiving the Committee's letter, but we definitely think he is in the right on the substantial issue. Nor can I accuse him of weakness, for if the Committee clearly gives him to understand that he should resign from the editorial board, adding that otherwise he will have to work under Blos, I do not see what other resistance *he* could offer. He could certainly not barricade himself in the editor's office against the Committee. After such a categorical letter from a superior authority I can even find it in me to excuse Hepner's comments in the *Volksstaat* which you cited and which had when I first read them, earlier on, made an unpleasant impression on me.

This much is certain: since Hepner's arrest and absence from Leipzig, the *Volksstaat* has deteriorated greatly, and instead of quarrelling with him the Committee would have done better to give him every possible support. The Committee went so far as to demand changes in the editorial policy of the *Volksstaat*, they insisted that the scholarly articles should be omitted and replaced by leading articles in the style of the *Neuer*[a] and *threatened direct compulsion*. I do not know Blos at all, but if the same Committee simultaneously nominates him, it must be assumed that they have chosen someone after their own heart.

With regard to the attitude of the Party towards Lassalleanism, you, of course, can judge better than us what tactics should be adopted, especially in individual cases. But there is also this to be considered. When, as in your case, one is to a certain extent in the position of a competitor to the General Association of German Workers,[706] one can easily become too considerate of one's rival and get into the habit of always thinking of him first. But both the General Association of German Workers and the Social-Democratic Workers' Party together still form only a very small minority of the German working class. Our view, which we have found confirmed by long practice, is that the correct tactics in propaganda are not to entice away a few individuals and memberships here and there from one's opponent, but to work on the great mass, which is as yet uninvolved. The force of a single individual whom one has oneself reared from the raw is worth more than ten Lassallean defectors, who always bring the germ of their false tendencies into the Party with them. And if one could

[a] *Neuer Social-Demokrat*

only get the masses without the *local leaders* it would still be all right. But one always has to take along a whole crowd of these leaders into the bargain, who are bound by their earlier public utterances, if not by their views hitherto, and now must prove above all things that they have not deserted their principles but that, on the contrary, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party preaches *true* Lassalleanism. This was the unfortunate thing at Eisenach,[707] which could not be avoided at that time, perhaps, but there is no doubt at all that these elements have done harm to the Party and I am not sure that the Party would not be at least as strong today without that accession. In any case, however, I should regard it as a misfortune if these elements were to receive reinforcements.

One must not allow oneself to be misled by the cry for 'unity'. Those who have this word most often on their lips are the ones who sow the most discord, just as at present the Jura Bakuninists in Switzerland, who have provoked all the splits, shout for nothing so much as for unity. These unity fanatics are either people of limited intelligence who want to stir everything into one nondescript mush, which, the moment it is left to settle, throws up the differences again but in much sharper contrast, because they will then be all in one pot (in Germany we have a fine example of this in the people who preach reconciliation of the workers and the petty bourgeoisie)—or else they are people who unconsciously (like Mülberger, for instance) or consciously want to adulterate the movement. For this reason the biggest sectarians and the biggest brawlers and rogues shout loudest for unity at certain times. Nobody in our lifetime has given us more trouble and been more treacherous than the shouters for unity.

Naturally every party leadership wants to see successes, and this is perfectly good. But there are circumstances in which one must have the courage to sacrifice *momentary* success for more important things. Especially for a party like ours, whose ultimate success is so absolutely certain and which has developed so enormously in our own lifetimes and before our own eyes, momentary success is by no means always and absolutely necessary. Take the International for instance. After the Commune it had a colossal success. The bourgeois, struck all of a heap, ascribed omnipotence to it. The great mass of the members believed things would stay like that for all eternity. We knew very well that the bubble *must* burst. All the riff-raff attached themselves to it. The sectarians within it became arrogant and misused the International in the hope that the most stupid and

meanest actions would be permitted them. We did not allow that. Knowing well that the bubble must burst some time, our concern was not to delay the catastrophe but to take care that the International emerged from it pure and unadulterated. The bubble burst at The Hague[580] and you know that the majority of the Congress members went home sick with disappointment. And yet nearly all these disappointed people, who imagined they would find the ideal of universal brotherhood and reconciliation in the International, had far more bitter quarrels at home than those which broke out at The Hague. Now the sectarian quarrel-mongers are preaching reconciliation and decrying us as being quarrelsome and dictators. And if we had come out in a conciliatory way at The Hague, if we had hushed up the breaking out of the split—what would have been the result? The sectarians, especially the Bakuninists, would have got another year in which to perpetrate in the name of the International even far greater stupidities and infamies; the workers of the most developed countries would have turned away in disgust; the bubble would not have burst but, pierced by pinpricks, would have slowly collapsed, and the next Congress, which would have been bound to bring the crisis anyhow, would have turned into a row among the lowest kind of people, because *principles* would already have been sacrificed at The Hague. Then the International would indeed have gone to pieces—gone to pieces through 'unity'! Instead of this we have now got rid of the rotten elements with honour to ourselves—the members of the Commune who were present at the last and decisive session say that no session of the Commune left such an excruciating impression upon them as this session of the tribunal which passed judgment on the traitors to the European proletariat. For ten months we let them expend all their energies on lies, slander and intrigue—and where are they? They, the alleged representatives of the great majority of the International, now themselves announce that they do not dare to come to the next Congress. (More details in an article which is being sent off to the *Volksstaat* with this letter.[a]) And if we had to do it again we would not, taking it all together, act any differently—tactical mistakes are always made, of course.

In any case, I think the capable elements among the Lassalleans will fall to you of themselves in the course of time and it would, therefore, be unwise to break off the fruit before it is ripe, as the unity crowd wants to.

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[a] F. Engels, 'From the International'.

Incidentally, old man Hegel said long ago: A party proves itself victorious by *splitting* and being able to stand the split.[a] The movement of the proletariat necessarily passes through different stages of development; at every stage part of the people get stuck and do not participate in the further advance; and this in itself is sufficient to explain why the 'solidarity of the proletariat', in fact, everywhere takes the form of different party groupings, which carry on life-and-death feuds with one another, as the Christian sects in the Roman Empire did amidst the worst persecutions.

You must also not forget that, if the *Neuer*, for example, has more subscribers than the *Volksstaat*, this is due to the fact that each *sect* is necessarily fanatic and through this fanaticism obtains, particularly in regions where it is new (as, for instance, the General Association of German Workers in Schleswig-Holstein), much greater momentary successes than the Party, which simply represents the real movement, without any sectarian oddities. On the other hand, fanaticism does not last long.

I have to close my letter so as to catch the post. Let me only add hurriedly: Marx cannot tackle Lassalle[708] until the French translation[b] is finished (approx. end of July),[436] after which he will absolutely need a rest as he is very overworked.

That you have been serving your jail sentence stoically and are studying is very admirable. We shall all be glad to see you here next year.

Cordial greetings to Liebknecht.

Sincerely yours,
F. Engels

First published abridged in: F. Engels, *Politisches Vermächtnis. Aus unveröffentlichten Briefen*, Berlin, 1920 and in full, in Russian, in *Bolshevik*, No. 10, Moscow, 1932

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes*. In: *Werke*, Bd. II, p. 434. - [b] of Volume I of *Capital*

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## ENGELS TO WALTER WHITTER[709]

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, not before 24 June 1873]

Sir,

In reply to your inquiry I beg to say that I believe Mr De Morgan to be very honest but am not in a position to say anything definite as to his means.

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## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

### IN HANOVER

London, 1 July 1873

Dear Kugelmann,

The entire story about Marx's illness stems from that idiot Barry, who got it into the newspapers[710] and who will be given a good telling-off for it when he shows his face again.

The actual situation is as follows: From time to time but to an increasing extent over a period of years now, Marx has suffered from insomnia, which he has always tried to explain away with all sorts of unconvincing reasons, e.g. a persistent cough in the throat, but which remained even when the cough had been cured. The real slog with the French translation of *Capital*[436] (he more or less has to rewrite the whole thing from the beginning), the urgings of the publisher[a] and unpleasantness connected both with this and other things exacerbated the situation. However, he could not be brought to stop overworking himself until finally he began

[a] Maurice Lachâtre

to experience a conspicuous pressure at the top of the head and the insomnia increased to an unbearable point where even very powerful doses of chloral had no effect. I knew about these symptoms from Lupus[a] who had also worked himself sick, was then neglected by his doctor and was finally treated for what was falsely diagnosed as meningitis. So I told Marx straightaway that he had the same thing as Lupus and that he must stop working. He first tried to shrug it off with bad jokes, but soon discovered that the more he forced himself the less work he could do. So I finally prevailed on him to go to Manchester and consult Gumpert.[694] The latter just happened to be in Celle on a visit to his cousin Captain Wachs, so that Marx had about 12 days in Manchester to recover before Gumpert returned. I had written to Gumpert,[45] giving my opinion, and had also told him that Marx usually recovered very quickly. Gumpert thought my diagnosis was completely correct and put Marx under a strict regime: not more than 2 hours work in the morning and 2 in the evening, insisted on breakfast and exercise after breakfast, light wines with soda-water, plenty of movement, open bowels, a prescription I have not seen, a very powerful dose of chloral if the insomnia persisted, etc. Marx returned from Manchester much improved and even if he cannot quite keep it up, which is more than can be expected, he is nevertheless much better than previously, even on bad days. My intention is to take him right away from his work routine soon for a while, something which Gumpert incidentally also recommends as a definitive antidote, and if he can only get 2-3 weeks rest and fresh air, he will be in a better state to take a few knocks. At all events he now sleeps 4-5 hours a night without chloral and 1-1 $^1/_2$ hours after luncheon, and that is more than he has done for almost a year—in The Hague, for example, he *hardly slept at all.* Moreover, he knows that this time it is serious and sticks to the stipulations with an almost pedantic strictness, and, since any deterioration is immediately apparent, I can always preach rest and convalescence in good time.[711]

Otherwise, things are more or less all right—Jenny[b] is looking forward to giving birth (but do *not* let her see that I have told you)—Lafargue and I have finished the pamphlet on Bakunin and the Alliance commissioned by the Congress, and as soon as it has been approved by the Commission,[c] it will go into print; it is

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[a] Wilhelm Wolff - [b] Jenny Longuet - [c] The Commission appointed to prepare for publication the minutes and resolutions of the Hague Congress. Apart from Marx and Engels, it included Eugène Dupont, Léo Frankel, Auguste Serraillier and Benjamin Le Moussu.

sure to cause a terrible row.[623] Lafargue and Dupont have started up a workshop to make brass instruments so as to exploit a patent taken out by Dupont; Serraillier will act as their salesman. Johannard has gone to Liverpool, Vichard pretends to be engaged in business transactions, Mottershead goes on drinking, Hales and Jung have failed spectacularly in their efforts to play at secession here, Eccarius has disappeared without trace now that Parliament is not to be dissolved. I have sent other news items to the *Volksstaat*, where you will be able to read them in the next issue.[a]

With best wishes,

Your
F. Engels

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## MARX TO JUSTE VERNOUILLET

### IN PARIS

[London,] 10 July 1873

Dear Citizen,

After a lengthy interval, I have just sent off some of the manuscript (Part VI) and some proofs[b] to Mr Lahure.

As you will know, the most dangerous thing about an illness is a relapse, but I am now in a condition to set to work seriously once more on Mr Roy's manuscript[436]—of which a great deal has now accumulated.

However, the disruption caused by my illness cannot be to blame for the delay in the publication of fascicle IV and for the non-publication of fascicle V.

At a time when I was very unwell I passed sheet 27 for press,

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[a] F. Engels, 'From the International'. - [b] of the French edition of Volume I of *Capital*

but since it cannot be stereotyped without the ensuing instalment VI, I should be glad to have another proof.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

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## 307

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 26 July 1873

Dear Sorge,

I telegraphed yesterday, cost £1.16:
ENGELS TO SORGE, BOX 101, HOBOKEN, NEW YORK.
*Serraillier* YES.[712]

Therefore, send Serraillier instructions and the material at once so that he has enough time to prepare himself and doesn't have to appear without having read the papers. Ditto the money.

Neither Marx nor I could have taken on the task without setting off the old hue and cry again: they are up to their old tricks, it is Marx who is behind it all, as usual, and he is just using the New-Yorkers as a front! It was only with difficulty that I could persuade Serraillier to take it on; he has found a position at last that can feed him decently and first had to cover himself there; hence the 3 days' delay.

Have sent an invitation to the Congress to Bignami, who is at liberty once more.[641] Have also informed Serraillier, but as I have already mentioned,[a] he no longer has any correspondents in France.

Am sending off to you by today's post 2 parcels *à* 16 copies of Congress resolutions.[b] You could have had them long since had

[a] See this volume, p. 507. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the General Congress Held at The Hague from the 2nd to the 7th September, 1872'.

you asked. But since you had no French sections, I thought that those I had sent for the use of the General Council would suffice.—8 or 10 have been sent off to Buenos Aires.[713]

Have still not received any money.

The issue of *The International Herald* with the English translation of the Congress resolutions is no longer to be obtained. Moreover, Riley has seceded and gone over to the republican camp, and the reports of the FEDERAL COUNCIL are appearing once again in *The Eastern Post*, to the great annoyance of Jung and Hales, whose organ this was up to the time of the Manchester Congress[701]; the Congress, however, finished them off. For this reason I have *not* ordered *The International Herald* for Meyer.[a]

The statement about the French mandates has gone off to Italy, Portugal and Spain.[700]

Marx and I would welcome mandates from there. We shall presumably have to go, for various reasons, although we would, of course, prefer to stay here.

Marx will send on the instalments of *Capital*,[145] if he has not done so already. Four instalments of the French translation are out already,[436] the publisher[b] is afraid, and not without reason, that under the present clerical regime it may be confiscated, hence the slow appearance.

Admission for TRADES UNIONS varied. Some paid 1d per member, others a lump sum; yet others only enrolled the CENTRAL COUNCIL directly and they too paid a lump sum. In conformity with the relevant article in the Rules, affiliation was approved by simple resolution and a certificate was issued to them.—For 1sh. they could receive a printed illustrated version of it to hang on the wall.

The *Demokratische Taschenbuch* and the *Geheimnisse von Europa* might be obtainable if further details about the time and place of publication were available; the book-lexica do not stretch to such things and it is hardly worthwhile searching through 20 half-year issues of Hinrich's Bibliography[c] in order to discover finally that they are *not* there (which is all too likely to be the case with books of this sort).

I still have the Geneva money in my pocket, thanks to the impossible instructions you have lumbered me with. How am I to discover an address to send money to for the widows and orphans of the Commune? This part of the money really must be retained here for your further instructions, since we simply cannot carry

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[a] Hermann Meyer - [b] Maurice Lachâtre - [c] *Halbjahrskatalog der im deutschen Buchhandel erschienenen Bücher, Zeitschriften und Landkarten.*

out your orders. I would suggest transferring it to Serraillier with a request to devote it to the purpose specified, *if at all possible*, but otherwise using it for any refugees of the Commune in general. Or else transferring it to the International, which can certainly put it to good use.—The refugees here who have still not been fixed up are a pretty worthless lot. I shall send £10 to Geneva and hold the rest here, pending further instructions from you.[714]

*Oberwinder.*[a] We are entirely of your opinion as far as we can judge from the *published* documents.[715] Oberwinder has always been a TRIMMER who may have made too much of the backwardness of Austrian conditions in order to have an excuse to act as mediator. Andreas Scheu, on the other hand, is a muddle-headed fellow at best, who wants to stand out as a man who 'goes as far as possible' and whose ambition quite certainly outstrips his abilities. We have long suspected him of being in contact with the Bakuninists, and now, in his programme (*Volksstaat* No. 59), he has used the phrase taken directly from Bakunin that all other parties *constitute a single reactionary mass* vis-à-vis the proletariat.[716] We shall reserve our judgment until we learn more. Very suspect too is the fact that Heinrich Scheu, who was present at The Hague, has been here for 4 weeks and only looked up Marx after Mrs Marx had met him in the street. Up to now we have taken care not to discuss the matter with him, otherwise he behaves quite decently and heaps abuse on Bakunin and the Blanquists, but it is peculiar all the same.

*Würtz* was described to me by Pihl as a vain, importunate fellow who imagines he is indispensable and whose indiscretion in pushing himself forward has done them considerable harm. THE LONG AND THE SHORT OF IT IS that, thanks to the Lassalleans in Flensburg and others in North Schleswig, the Danes lean more towards the General Association of German Workers[706] and have got themselves into a mess as a result. Hence their silence. The devil take the socialists of all these peasant countries, they are always fooled by fine phrases.

Look at our Bakuninists in Spain, for example. On Bakunin's orders they abolished the state in Alcoy (the so-called atrocities were, of course, reactionary inventions), and set up a *Comité de salut public*[b] (which includes Severino Albarracin, a member of the Bakuninist Federal Council of Valencia and of the Correspondence Commission that has now been established in Córdoba[627]). So what happens? At the suggestion of some deputies anxious to

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[a] See this volume, p. 491. - [b] Committee of Public Salvation

mediate, peace is concluded; on the one hand, an amnesty, on the other, all resistance is abandoned and the troops move in amidst the jubilation of the bourgeois![717] In Barcelona they are neither strong nor courageous enough to attempt anything of the sort, but wherever they are, they strengthen 'anarchy', general confusion, and—they smooth the way for the Carlists.[718]

The report on the Alliance[a] is in print—I read the first proofs yesterday. It is supposed to be ready in a week but I very much doubt that it will. It will be some 160 pages long, I shall advance circa £40 for the printing costs. Edition of 1,000—price: 2 francs=1/9d sterling. I shall send you the first copies to come off the press. But since the thing simply has to be *sold* so as to recover our costs, please let me know right away how many copies can be *ordered* for you over there; we shall then have a few more sent. Could you also look around for a *reliable* bookseller who would distribute it over there. Because of the additional expenses you will probably have to fix the price at about 60-75 cents in your CURRENCY—*c'est votre affaire*[b]—at any rate, we here have to receive 1/9d per copy, with the exception of those sold through the bookseller since his discount will have to be subtracted, otherwise we shall not recover our costs. The book will hit the autonomists like a bombshell, and if anyone at all can be broken, it will finish off Bakunin. Lafargue and I wrote it together; only the *conclusion* is by Marx and myself. We shall send it to the entire press. You yourself will be surprised at the infamies revealed in it; even the people from the Commission[c] were quite astonished.

The FEDERAL COUNCIL here proceeds on its somnolent way. Apart from the printed reports I see and hear little of them. At all events, Jung, Hales, Mottershead and Co. are finished as far as their pseudo-International is concerned.

Get some Copenhagen addresses for me through Würtz *right away*, so that I can send there a few copies of the Alliance report. Have not heard another word from Pihl, so that I do not know if his address is still valid.

Apart from that things are jogging along here. My wife[d] is in Ramsgate and Mrs Marx was due to go there today too. Jenny Longuet will probably enlarge the family in a week or two (do *not*

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association.* - [b] that's your business - [c] The Commission appointed to prepare for publication the minutes and resolutions of the Hague Congress. Apart from Marx and Engels, it included Eugène Dupont, Léo Frankel, Auguste Serraillier and Benjamin Le Moussu. - [d] Lydia Burns

write to Marx or Mrs Marx about it until you receive official notice, THEY ARE VERY PARTICULAR ABOUT FAMILY MATTERS). Lafargue and Le Moussu have started up an ENGRAVING business, based on a patent.[719] Dupont too is attempting to exploit his patent in BRASS INSTRUMENTS, but keeps coming up against obstacles, mostly of his own making, since he knows as much about business as my dog. All this between ourselves. You have no idea how sensitive these people are about private communications, moreover their sensitivity is in direct proportion to their own tendency to gossip.

Finally, it would still be best if one of you were to come. How can we possibly represent the General Council here as effectively as this would be done by one of its members?

Your
F. Engels

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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## MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

### IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 12 August 1873

*N. Danielson, Esq.*

My dear Sir,

I have since months suffered severely, and found myself, for some time, even in a dangerous state of illness, consequent upon overwork. My head was so seriously affected, that a paralytic strike was to be apprehended, and even now I am not yet able to work more than a few hours. This is *the only reason* why I have not before acknowledged, and thanked you for, the precious collection of books you were so kind as to send me.[720]

You will have received—at least I read your last letter in that sense—3 copies of *Das Kapital* in one volume. I send you to-day the last *livraison*[a] of the *Heftedition*.[b] [145]

We are publishing the Revelations on the *Alliance*[c] [623] (you know the sect of teetotallers call themselves thus in England [721]), and want to know the *cheapest* way to send you a somewhat large number of copies. A letter relative to the chief[d] of that sanctimonious people is still held in reserve.[574]

I thank you much for your last long letter and shall make proper use of it. It is of great commercial value for myself.[722]

Yours most truly,

A. Williams[e]

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN RAMSGATE [723]

[London,] 29 August 1873

Dear Fred,

Serraillier was here this evening. He was full of complaints and very much in two minds about his going to Geneva.[724] Quite apart from personal reasons, he says he had only agreed in the first place because he thought we were going. In addition, however, he has now read the mandate, which had been promised him two weeks before the Congress, so he says. He finds that it contains things, such as increasing the powers of the Council, that he could not defend either personally or in the name of the Federal Council.[f]

But none of that is the essential point. The Federal Council has received a letter from Perret which makes it clear

1. that the *Fédération Romande* wishes to annul the plenary powers granted to the General Council by the Hague Congress [580];

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[a] instalment - [b] edition in serial parts - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*. - [d] Bakunin - [e] Marx's pseudonym - [f] the British Federal Council

2. that not a single member of the Romance gang in Geneva will accept a mandate from an English section, apart from Duval, and even he will only do so on the condition stated under 1;

3. that, as Perret writes, none of the oafs there is prepared to spend as much as a week at the Congress, which would be essential if the mandate is to go through.

Under these circumstances I am definitely of the opinion that it would be better for Serraillier not to go. The scandal rebounds back on us, not him, if he goes—under these circumstances, which could not have been foreseen. In my view he should send a letter enclosing the American papers[725] and go on to say that ill health prevents him from taking up the mandates he has received from New York, London, etc. Finally, he should say that the letters he has received in London from the main continental countries have convinced him that in the light of circumstances currently prevailing in France, Germany, Austria, Denmark, Portugal, etc., no *bona fide* congress is possible.

Telegraph *Yes* right away, if you agree; *No*, if opposed. I did not wish to commit myself to anything definite without consulting you first.

In view of the circumstances in Switzerland, which have been carefully concealed from us *up to the last moment*, I think it would be absolutely crazy to send Serraillier. Our complete abstention, which even at this stage both can and will make an impression on the governments and the bourgeoisie—despite the hullabaloo the papers will create to start with—*va au diable*,[a] if Serraillier turns up *under these circumstances*.

*Salut*.

Your

K. M.

Sorge also writes (perhaps you know already) that the Dutch have informed them that they will also attend the Jura Congress,[671] and he insists that the Dutch should *not* be admitted to our (!) Congress, a point which Serraillier, as their mandated representative, is expressly asked to support.

My compliments to Mrs.[b]

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[a] will go to the devil - [b] Lydia Burns

# 310

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 30 August 1873

Dear Moor,

If Serraillier won't go, we cannot force him to.[724] However, *I* cannot absolve him of his promise, since I have telegraphed his acceptance,[a] and in any event *he* must *himself* come to terms with the General Council.

Against the reasons you give, it must be urged that it is important for us to have a reporter; without Serraillier we shall not receive any account of what takes place, especially in the closed sessions.

What is *absolutely essential*, however, and our duty to the General Council, is that the two reports enclosed[725] which are utterly useless in Geneva in English, should be translated into French in time and sent off to Geneva. In the circumstances you must make sure that this is done. If 3-4 people each do a part at the same time, it can be ready in 1-2 days, and even if it doesn't come out just as one would have wished, the rush excuses everything.

In the circumstances, the sorrier our Congress[672] turns out to be the better, of course, and to that extent it is better if Serraillier doesn't go. But I am in the awkward position of having given assurances that he would attend, assurances that I cannot reverse unilaterally.

Why on earth doesn't even one of those Geneva jackasses write in good time! What a dirty trick, and brought about by the very people who made all the fuss to start with! The others will undoubtedly have the laugh on them and insist that they *should* indeed eat humble pie and recognise *their* Congress[671] and *their* new Rules. And Duval, who was in such a fury in The Hague,[580] has also joined in the hue and cry—it really is the last straw.

Well, it will all be very jolly. Regards to all.

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p. 518.

# 311

## MARX TO ENGELS[726]

### IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 30 August 1873

Dear Fred,

Your telegram[45] received; Serraillier arrived later on with *Perret's* letter to Days in his pocket.[727] I couldn't keep it for you because Days, who is secretary of the local Federal Council, needs to report on it on Tuesday.[a] However, Serraillier has promised to make a *copie* of it for you. The letter is classical; the 'illimited' powers or rather '*pouvoirs illimités*' which the *La Haye* Congress[580] granted to the General Council, must be withdrawn from it. On this point the *Genévois*—and ditto Mr Perret—are agreed; for then there is some hope that *des sections jurassiennes* will go over to them. For years now this same Perret has been writing that these sections would go over to them if only the General Council would proceed more energetically against the Jurassians! And of course everything is always looked at from the most bigoted and most parochial Swiss point of view. Furthermore, Frankel tells me that the same riff-raff are discontented with the resolutions passed at Olden, or whatever the place is called where the local Swiss congress met![703] In the circumstances there can be absolutely no question of going to Geneva[672] on account of people like that, people who even refuse to accept mandates from English sections.[b] I think you would do well to send a counter-order to Hepner without delay; he will still receive the *avis*[c] in time.

Yesterday, a few hours before I wrote to you, *je l'ai échappé belle*,[d] and can still feel the effects in all my bones. I drank a spoonful of raspberry vinegar and some of it stuck in my wind-pipe. I had a terrible choking-fit, my face went quite black, etc. Another second or so and I would have departed this life. The first thing that occurred to me *post festum*[e] was whether it might not be possible to bring about such accidents artificially. It would be the most decent and least suspicious method, and moreover a highly expeditious one, of doing away with oneself. It would be a great service to the English if one could recommend the experiment publicly.

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[a] 3 September - [b] See this volume, p. 523. - [c] message - [d] I had a narrow escape - [e] subsequently

Madame Longuet will arrive tomorrow, after all sorts of telegrams to and fro—it was very stormy in Boulogne.

*Apropos!* Lafargue and Le Moussu have *definitely split up.*[719] It took place—the separation, that is—when Le Moussu declared his willingness to do so since reluctance was in evidence on the other side. Le Moussu is now counting on you. I think the separation is a good thing and had become a necessity for both sides, since a lot of time was wasted in this war between the frogs and mice.[728]

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

As for Serraillier, who couldn't work for a week because he was unwell and who would have lost ABOUT another two weeks with the Geneva trip,[724] I am very pleased that we have not given him any reason to accuse us later on of having ruined his whole business! You know *how, where* and *when* the Frenchman makes a habit of bringing to bear his 'working-class nature' against the 'bourgeois' in his own party.

Have received a letter from França.[729]

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## 312

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 3 September 1873

Dear Moor,

Received your wife's letter this morning, according to which Jenny[a] has successfully put it behind her. Our warmest congratulations. There is always some cause for concern the first time and hence a double sense of relief if all goes well.

---

[a] Jenny Longuet

The Genevans are complete philistines. So everything is to be overturned on the possibility that *des sections jurassiennes* will return to the fold! I am convinced that they are already up to their tricks with the others and absolutely dying to compromise—had we gone there, we might well have found everything settled in advance. The confidential report of the General Council can hardly be entrusted to such a congress[672] *in extenso*. Incidentally, the others are also making a rather poor beginning with only 30 members![671]

I had given my agreement to Le Moussu on 2 matters unconnected with each other[a]:

1. to advance him the £23 for his patent, whatever the situation;

2. if Lafargue were to leave him in the lurch, or back out of his own accord, or if there were to be a separation in any other form that would not prejudice my relations with Lafargue—then I would enter into negotiations with him and Moore[b] on the same basis as they had established with Lafargue previously. It seems to follow from your letter that the terms of the separation were such that Lafargue cannot reproach me with anything if I take his place and go into partnership with Le Moussu. If this is right—and *your opinion on this will be entirely sufficient for me*—then Moore and Le Moussu can come and visit me in the evening, when I have to be in because of Andrews, and we can talk the matter over. But if he has to have the money for the patent *immediately*, he must let me know at once, since I would have to go to London right away to see to it.

My congratulations on your NARROW ESCAPE.[c] Unfortunately, such fits cannot be produced to order with any certainty. The raspberry vinegar, and even more solid bodies, might have got into your wind-pipe a hundred times over without provoking the same symptoms.

Have written to Hepner.[730]

Would you inform Le Moussu of what I said above, if you believe that I can do it with a good conscience vis-à-vis Lafargue? It should be made clear, incidentally, that my offer only refers to Lafargue's position in 'Moore & Le Moussu'. The other affair—the big printing works—should be abandoned *for the time being*, if only for commercial reasons. We shall have enough on our hands, for the moment at least, with exploiting the patent itself. I shall explain all this when I come.

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[a] See this volume, p. 527. - [b] George Moore - [c] See this volume, p. 526.

Best regards to the whole family from Lizzie and myself.

I hope that Andrews has also sent you the title, the table of contents and the *cover*[a]? Put on the cover, in small print at the bottom: *Prix 2 sh.*

Your
F. E.

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## 313

## MARX TO BENJAMIN LE MOUSSU

### IN LONDON

[London, after 3 September 1873]

My dear Le Moussu,

I have considered the matter about which you got in touch with me[719] and shall be obliged if you will come and see me before going into town.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

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[a] of Marx's and Engels' pamphlet *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*

## 314

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 9 September 1873

DEAR FRED,

Letter from Hepner enclosed.[730]

The copies of the *Alliance*[a] which were meant to go to your house have not yet arrived, even though Darson had them as early as last Saturday.[b] Therefore, so far I have had nothing to send off but the 12 copies still at your home.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

That sorry piece of work signed Perret, Duval, etc., was written—according to Trusov—by *Cluseret*.[731] I said to you at the time that it could not have been written by those oafs because of the AFFECTATION OF A SMALL SORT OF LITERARY STYLE.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association.* - [b] 6 September

# 315

## ENGELS TO JOHN DE MORGAN

### IN LONDON

[Draft] [London, around 18 September 1873]

Dear Citizen!

On Monday[a] I found the letter from you which Miss Carroll had left at my house.[732] That day and Tuesday I was so much engaged on French refugee and International business that I could not attend even to the most pressing portion of my own affairs, nor find time to reply to the numerous letters found here on my return to town. Otherwise I should at once have written to you that I could not take the chair for her next Sunday.

On Tuesday as I was just on the point of going out on business which admitted of no delay and *must be* settled before 1 o'clock that day, Miss Carroll called again. It was half past twelve and I had above a mile to walk to the place. If a dozen of my oldest friends had arrived from the other end of the world, I could not have seen them at that moment where I had not five minutes to spare. I must have treated them as I treated Miss Carroll.

On telling her as politely as I could my momentous situation, she merely asked me categorically whether yes or no, I would take the chair for her; I regretted I could not, as I had an engagement for that evening, and again expressed my sorrow for having to leave her so abruptly; upon which she at once interrupted me, leaving me not even the time to ask her when and where I could have another interview with her, by saying that she was quite used to that sort of thing on the part of the London Internationals, and walked out of the house.

I felt sorry for her, attributing her behaviour to the exaggerated touchiness often brought on by misfortune. Unfortunately, the would-be insulting letter she wrote to me since, leaves me no room to doubts as to what is hidden behind all this virtuous indignation.

As to taking the chair on Sunday I was compelled to decline the honour.

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[a] 15 September

1) because, as stated, I had a previous engagement;

2) because, contrary to your expectation, I do not recollect having heard Miss Carroll's name once before, nor could I get any further information from one or two others I asked.[a] And I cannot be expected to take the chair for parties of whom I know nothing or next to nothing.

3) I never took the chair at a public meeting of Englishmen and do not intend doing so. When I once took the chair for you, that was at the meeting of a German private society of which I was a member.

At all events this little incident[b] will not have been without its use, if you will see from it the impropriety of proposing people for chairmen using their names without having previously obtained their consent.

Yours fraternally

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## 316

## MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD

### IN LONDON

[London,] 20 September 1873

My dear Oswald,

I have written to Wróblewski,[17] who is as fluent in *Russian* as he is in Polish, being Lithuanian by birth.

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[a] Crossed out in the draft here: 'Suppose even she was what you must have considered her when you recommended her to me, a sincere revolutionist, you still must know that there are a good many different sorts of them and that it would be impossible for any of us to identify ourselves publicly with every one of them. Not knowing anything of Miss Carroll's views, it might very possibly have been my duty to get up at the end of her speech and express my dissent from part of what she had said, and thus do more harm than good.' - [b] Crossed out in the draft here: 'which for me has no importance whatever'.

If he does not agree I have another Russian (non-Polish) *in petto.*[a]

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

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## 317

## MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD

### IN LONDON

[London, 24 September 1873]

Dear Oswald,

In future could you please address yourself directly to the people you wish to recommend and not to me. I wrote to Wróblewski[17] on the basis of a letter which I had just received from you, while in the meantime, you had recommended Rozwadowski, whom I also knew about, but whom I had overlooked in favour of others, since he already had other employment.

But NEVER MIND.—We needn't fall out over this; however, you must realise that it is unpleasant to be put in a FALSE POSITION like that. I immediately told Wróblewski that the business had come to nothing and I do not think that he was greatly interested.

Yours,
K. M.

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[a] up my sleeve

## 318

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[137]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 27 September 1873

Dear Sorge,

My wife has written you a number of letters about my state of health. There was a serious possibility of my succumbing to apoplexy and I am still suffering greatly from headaches, so that I must severely restrict my working time. This is the sole reason for my long silence. As far as I can recollect, I have only written one letter to New York, and that was to Bolte[a] since it seemed to me from your letter that I might usefully intervene to smooth the troubled waters and clarify matters.

The fiasco of the Geneva Congress[672] was unavoidable. From the moment it became known here that no delegates would be coming from America, it was clear that matters were going awry. The attempt had been made in Europe to represent you as mere figureheads. If you had not put in an appearance and instead we had turned up, this would have been interpreted as confirmation of the rumour anxiously put about by our adversaries. It also would have passed as proof that your American Federation existed only on paper.

Furthermore, the British Federation was unable to scrape enough money together for a single delegate; the Portuguese, the Spaniards and Italians notified us that in the circumstances they could not send any delegates directly. The news from Germany, Austria and Hungary was just as bad and participation by the French was out of the question.

It was a foregone conclusion therefore that, under the circumstances, the great majority at the Congress would have consisted of Swiss—moreover, of local Genevans. From Geneva itself we had heard nothing; Outine was no longer there, old Becker[b] persisted in an obstinate silence and Mr Perret wrote once or twice to create a false impression.

At the very last moment a letter arrived for the British Federal Council from the Romance Committee in Geneva[727] couched in sentimentally conciliatory terms. In it the Genevans firstly refuse

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[a] See this volume, pp. 474-76. - [b] Johann Philipp Becker

to accept English mandates and then enclose a leaflet (signed by Perret, Duval, etc.) directly attacking the Hague Congress and the former General Council in London.[731] In some respects the fellows even go further than the Jurassians, e.g. they call for the expulsion of the so-called *brain-workers*. (The nicest thing about the whole business is that this piece of nonsense was written by that miserable MILITARY ADVENTURER *Cluseret* (who in Geneva describes himself as the founder of the 'International' in America). The gentleman wanted to have the General Council in Geneva in order to run a secret dictatorship from there.)

This letter, together with its enclosure, arrived just in time to keep Serraillier from setting off for Geneva,[724] and to induce him to protest against the activities of the fellows there (as did the British Federal Council) and to inform them in advance that their congress would be treated as nothing more than a local Genevan event. It was very good that no one turned up there whose presence might have cast doubt on such a view of the congress.

Notwithstanding this state of affairs the Genevans failed in their bid to gain control of the General Council, but they have, as you will be aware, managed to nullify all the work done since the first Geneva Congress[733] and even to carry through numerous measures running counter to the resolutions adopted there.

As I view European conditions, it is quite useful to let the formal organisation of the International recede into the background for the time being, but, if possible, not to relinquish control of the central point in New York so that no idiots like Perret or ADVENTURERS like Cluseret may seize the leadership and discredit the whole business. Events and the inevitable development and intertwining of things will of themselves see to it that the International rises again in an improved form. For the present it suffices not to let the connection with the most capable in the various countries slip altogether out of our hands and for the rest not to give a jot for the Geneva local decisions, to simply ignore them. The only good decision adopted there, to postpone the Congress for 2 years, facilitates this mode of action. Furthermore it upsets the calculations of the Continental governments, the spectre of the International refusing, just now, to be of service to them in the *impending reactionary crusade*; indeed, the bourgeois everywhere consider the spectre dead and buried.

*Apropos*. It is absolutely essential that the *account book* with the records of how the monies were managed for the refugees of the Commune is *sent back* to us. We simply cannot do without it if we are to justify ourselves against slanderous insinuations. It was

something completely unconnected with the general function of the General Council and in my view it should never have left our hands.

I hope that the American PANIC does not get too much out of hand and so have too great a repercussion on England and hence on Europe. General periodic crises are always preceded by such partial ones. If they are too violent they only preempt the general crisis and take the sting out of it.

With cordial greetings from my wife.

Your
Karl Marx

I would be glad to receive any cuttings from the Yankee papers reporting on the crisis.

What is the *address* of our mutual friend, Weydemeyer's executor[a]?

Next week Engels will send you the 25 copies of the *Alliance*[b] still outstanding.

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## 319

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 25 November 1873

Dear Sorge,

Having been summoned to Germany by the illness and death of my mother,[c][734] I returned from there a few days ago and found your letter of 22 October waiting for me. Quite unknowingly you do me an injustice to blame me for keeping you in the dark for so long about decisions and developments here. The facts are these.

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[a] Hermann Meyer - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* - [c] Elisabeth Engels

After long hesitation and after receiving lukewarm reports from some places and no news at all from others, Marx and I had come to the conclusion that the Congress[672] would become essentially a local Swiss affair and that since no one would be able to come over directly from America, we would do best to stay away too. (An additional factor was that no mandates arrived for either Marx or myself, apart from the alternative one from America.) As soon as this had definitively been agreed, I went off to the seaside at Ramsgate[723] to join my family, a break I needed urgently in view of my constant insomnia and nervous irritability. While I was there, Marx wrote to me about the sudden revelations about the treachery of the Genevans[a] which made it necessary to decide that neither should Serraillier attend the Congress.[724] This was pretty clear to me from Marx's letter and I agreed to it on condition that Serraillier should inform you at once.[b] A few days later I went to London for 24 hours in order to pay the *Alliance*[c] printer[d] and to organise the distribution. I had a look at the relevant documents and became convinced that it would have been the greatest folly for Serraillier to have gone there as your representative. Our absence and his, together with that of every German with one exception,[e] stamped the Congress as a merely local assembly which still looked respectable enough when compared to the Alliance,[671] but which could lay no claim to any moral authority vis-à-vis the International. Furthermore, the general world situation was such that any congress was bound to end badly, as we can see from the fact that by now both the congress of the Alliance and that of the International have completely been forgotten. WELL, I urged Marx to let you know at once and went off again, and until I received your present letter, I assumed that this had been done. For his part, Marx had thought that Serraillier would have given you the first news when he sent back the money and that he could therefore wait until he was in a position to give you information about the results of the Congress, etc.

Instead of that, Serraillier gave the money to Lafargue for safe keeping, as we discovered only last week, and I shall get it from Lafargue in the next few days and take care of the matter. I am very busy looking through the—extremely bad—German translation of the *Alliance* pamphlet, which has been sent to me—Bracke is bringing it out in Brunswick.[735] What I have of your version has

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[a] See this volume, pp. 523-24. - [b] Ibid., p. 525. - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association.* - [d] Andrews - [e] A. Burchardt

been very helpful in correcting the other one. Of course, the matter is urgent and I have to work through it as the manuscript has to go back this week.

Marx and his youngest daughter[a] went to Harrogate in Yorkshire yesterday; both of them are to spend some time there convalescing.[736] He needed it badly; the severe symptoms he had felt in the spring had vanished, but chronic brain pressure set in, which made him unable to work and unwilling to write, and which, if allowed to go unchecked for too long, might have serious consequences. During the next few days he will go and see our friend Gumpert in Manchester, the only doctor in whom he has complete confidence and who also looked after him in the spring. His condition is another reason why you have had to wait so long for a reply.

Bakunin's answer to the pamphlet has been to send the *Journal de Genève* and the Jurassians a statement announcing his political demise[737]: I withdraw—*dorénavant je ne troublerai plus personne et je ne demande que ce qu'on me laisse tranquille à mon tour.*[b] He is gravely mistaken in this. Apart from that, not the slightest attempt to reply to anything.

Outine has been here for 4 weeks or so and has told us still more wonderful stories about Bakunin. The fellow has really put his catechism[738] into practice; for years now he and his Alliance[10] have lived exclusively from *blackmail*, relying on the fact that nothing could be put into print about this without compromising other people who have to be taken into account. You have no idea what a low-down gang they are. That aside, their pseudo-International is as quiet as a mouse; the pamphlet has exposed their frauds and Messrs Guillaume & Co. will have to let the dust settle first. In Spain they have put an end to themselves, see my article in the *Volksstaat*.[c]

The real International is equally silent. I have still not had an answer from Mesa, to whom I wrote in September.[45] In Portugal they are all being persecuted and have to watch their step. In Italy a section has been formed in Melegnano,[739] a fact I herewith bring to the attention of the General Council; for the address see below. The *Plebe* is still coming out, but very irregularly and with a strong emphasis on mediation. That is all I have to report. The federation here, having been badly shaken by Jung, Hales & Co., is

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[a] Eleanor - [b] henceforth I shall interfere with no one and in return ask only that others should leave me in peace too. - [c] F. Engels, 'The Bakuninists at Work'.

now suffering badly from consumption; it is barely possible even to bring all the members together any more.

With best wishes.

Your
F. Engels

Address for Melegnano: Luigi Zoncada, Melegnano, Provincia de Milano, Italia.

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## 320

## ENGELS TO MARX[81]

### IN HARROGATE[736]

[London,] 29 November 1873

Dear Moor,

Lopatin left for Paris again yesterday evening. He intends to come here in a month or two, at which time Lavrov too will move in with his printing shop, unless he changes his mind on account of the expense, a matter to which I particularly drew Lopatin's attention.

It is unlikely that Lopatin and Outine will ever be very firm friends, their temperaments are not really compatible and the shadow of their first cool encounter in Geneva still weighs down on them. Moreover, Lopatin remains a great Russian patriot and still treats the русское дѣло[a] as something special, having nothing to do with the West, and is hardly grateful to Outine for having initiated us into its mysteries. In addition, Lopatin has just passed through Lavrov's hands and coming fresh, as he does, from the solitude of Siberia,[740] may well be fair game for the latter's befuddled dreams of reconciliation.

On the other hand, he is fed up to the back teeth with the

[a] (Russ.) Russian cause

whole Russian emigration nonsense and wants to have nothing further to do with it whereas Outine, despite and because of his hostility to the gang, is still up to his ears in all their gossip and thinks every last fart a matter of importance. He is absolutely furious because Lopatin wants to have Chernyshevsky's manuscript that you know about[a] printed not by Trusov but by Lavrov, *parce que cela leur donne du prestige*[b]!

So in my view it is of no great significance whether Lopatin takes Elpidin, for example, not for a sophisticated rogue, but for a simple ass. Even though it was precisely the indiscreet remarks of this same Elpidin to a certain Fedetzki or Feletzki, and the latter's inability to hold his tongue, that put the Russian government wise to Lopatin's presence in Irkutsk and so brought about his arrest.

When Lopatin arrived at Irkutsk, Chernyshevsky was 'quite close by', i.e. 700-800 English miles further on near Nerchinsk, but was straightaway removed to Srednevilyuisk, to the north of Yakutsk, 65° latitude, where, apart from the indigenous Tungus, the only company he has are the non-commissioned officer and the 2 soldiers who guard him.

Having escaped in July, Lopatin remained in hiding in Irkutsk for a month, ending up in the house of the very man who had been ordered to discover his hiding place. He then travelled on his own *telega*[c] to Tomsk, disguised as a peasant and doing the driving himself; from there he went by steamer, from Tobolsk by post-horse and finally by train to St Petersburg, still dressed as a peasant. There he stayed in hiding for another month, after which he quietly crossed the frontier by train.

In the перевод 'Капитала'[d] Chapters 2-5 (including machinery and large-scale industry) are by him, i.e. quite a decent chunk.[741] He is now translating from the English for Поляковъ.[e]

Yesterday I read the chapter on factory legislation[f] in the French translation.[436] With all due respect for the skill with which this chapter has been rendered into elegant French, I still felt regret at what had been lost from the beautiful chapter. Its vigour and vitality and life have gone to the devil. The chance for an ordinary writer to express himself with a certain elegance has been purchased by castrating the language. It is becoming increasingly impossible to think originally in the strait-jacket of modern

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[a] N. G. Chernyshevsky, 'Письма безъ адреса' (Letters Without an Address). - [b] because it will add to their prestige - [c] (Russ.) cart - [d] (Russ.) translation of *Capital* - [e] Polyakov - [f] *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. X, 'The Working-Day'.

French. Everything striking or vital is removed if only by the need, which has become essential almost everywhere, to bow to the dictates of a pedantic formal logic and change round the sentences. I would think it a great mistake to take the French version as a model for the English translation. In English the power of expression in the original does not need to be toned down; whatever has inevitably to be sacrificed in the genuinely dialectical passages can be made up in others by the greater energy and brevity of the English language.

*Apropos*, how does Mr Kokosky set about excusing his bad translation[735]? By claiming that I write in that 'Liebknecht/*Marx*ian style' that is so hard to capture! What a compliment!

Tussy's letter arrived yesterday evening. Shall answer it tomorrow, so that you don't receive everything on one day.

What does Gumpert have to say?

Best regards to Tussy.

Your
F. E.

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## 321

## MARX TO ENGELS[742]

### IN LONDON

[Harrogate,] 30 November 1873

Dear Fred,

On Thursday[a] I went to see Gumpert whom I found very bald and aged. The poor fellow suffers terribly from haemorrhoidal convolution he has had for ages and for which he at long last intends to have an operation, something which, as he admits himself, always involves a certain degree of danger. I dined at his home (apart from him I could not, of course, see anyone in the

[a] 27 November

few hours I had in Manchester) together with his four self-made children and their GOVERNESS.

Gumpert examined me BODILY and found a certain elongation of the liver which according to him I cannot get rid of completely until I go to Carlsbad.[a] I have to take the same water as Tussy (they call it Kissingen water here, on account of its resemblance to the real things), but none of the mineral baths. Apart from that my regime and Tussy's are somewhat different. She may only walk in great moderation—a point on which Gumpert is wholly in agreement with Tussy's local doctor, Dr Myrtle (a very sweet-smelling name, the man is a Scot and boasts himself a *Jacobite*[743] to this very day; he should get to know COLONEL Stuart chez Don Carlos); I, on the other hand, am supposed to go on vigorous marches. Gumpert's advice to do very little was scarcely necessary, since up to now I have actually done nothing, not even written letters. I had imagined that two weeks here would suffice, but Gumpert insisted on three. And in fact Tussy will not be able to take a much stronger mineral bath than she has been taking so far until the middle of next week.

*Apropos.* Gumpert has not received the Alliance pamphlet[b] that I sent him; in general, there have been many complaints in Manchester about the failure of the post to deliver PAPERS and PRINTS. So send him one by return; ditto a copy of your articles on Spain[c] printed in the *Volksstaat*, if you have received them yet. Gumpert says that all these things interest him greatly, and that we must help to keep him *au courant* by sending him things from London, as otherwise he will completely go to seed among the Manchester philistines.

I am very sorry that the good Lopatin has missed me; but how lucky he has been in his misfortune.[740] When he moves to London we shall protect him against Lavrov's SOFT-SAWDER.[d]

There was a storm here yesterday (although on the whole the air is extremely invigorating) and I caught a bad cold which has kept me indoors today, in accordance with the maxim: *Principiis obsta.*[e]

Our *lune-de-miel*[f] couple, about whom Tussy has already told you, were so horribly bored in the first 3 days—they are called Briggs incidentally—that the young husband prescribed a friend,

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[a] Czech name: Karlovy Vary. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association.* - [c] F. Engels, 'The Bakuninists at Work'. - [d] See this volume, p. 539. - [e] Resist the first beginnings (Ovid, *Remedia amoris*, V, 91-92). - [f] honeymoon

a devil with a limp, who arrived yesterday. Since then they seem LIVELIER, to judge by the noise they are making. Tussy and I took refuge in chess yesterday evening. Apart from that I have been reading Sainte-Beuve's book on *Chateaubriand*,[a] an author I have always disliked. If the man has become so famous in France it must be because he is in every respect the most classical incarnation of French *vanité*, a *vanité* not decked out in the light-hearted and frivolous garb of the 18th century, but strutting about in a romantic disguise and newly minted idioms; the spurious profundity, Byzantine exaggeration, the coquettishness with regard to the feelings, the flamboyant schillerising, WORD-PAINTING, theatrical, SUBLIME—in a word it is hotchpotch of lies never before achieved in either form or content.

It is very kind of Mr Kokosky to have invented a Liebknecht/Marxian style.[b] But it seems to refer to Liebknecht's *French* style, with which we are unacquainted. His German style is, after all, just as uncouth as that of Mr Kokosky and must please and appeal to him for that very reason.

Now that you are taking a look at the French translation of *Capital*,[436] I would be grateful if you could persevere with it. I think you will find that some passages are superior to the German.

MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS LIZZY.

*Addio.*

Your

K. M.

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[a] C.-A. Sainte-Beuve, *Chateaubriand et son groupe littéraire sous l'Empire*. - [b] See previous letter.

## 322

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN HARROGATE

[London,] 5 December 1873

Dear Moor,

I would have written to you yesterday as agreed, but I had the pleasure of a visit from your esteemed *associé*, Mr Le Moussu, from 3 to 6 p.m., who honoured me with a list of his complaints. Have no fear, I do not intend to take my revenge by repeating the entire rigmarole.[719] I have urged them both to keep the peace (Moore[a] a week ago, Le Moussu yesterday) and pointed out that they were now married and would simply *have to* get along with each other. They are two of the oddest fellows one could hope to find, each with a boundless idea of himself and his achievements, but each in his own speciality, and since their specialities are different, each criticises the other to perfection. I gave Moore £5 last week and another £5 to Le Moussu yesterday, reminding him of his duty to take no more than half for himself. He found this somewhat disagreeable, but since Moore did not come but sent him instead, it was my duty to do so after all that had taken place. Le Moussu then said that £10 were still owing on the patent and that would exhaust the £160. I can give them another £5 next week, if you authorise me to do so, in the event that no money comes in; but I shall categorically demand that Moore should get Longuet to cash it, since there have been enough remittances from *October* which, when cashed, should keep the machine going. If you could write a brief note to Moore along the same lines, it would be of help. And if they pester you with letters, just write and say that they simply must get along together until your return. That would do very nicely since all the GRIEVANCES are by no means as pressing as they make out.

Have sent the Alliance report[b] to Gumpert. What does he say about your head? I hope you have got rid of your cold.

I am now in a position to pay the £100 due at Christmas. Should I give it all to your wife, or just part and the rest to you on your return? And also, since you are staying 3 weeks, you will need more money for there; IF SO, SAY HOW MUCH, RECKONING LIBERALLY.

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[a] George Moore - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association.*

I had commissioned Aston over a fortnight ago to sell some SHARES but there are NO BUYERS for this special sort. If I manage to get rid of them (and I shall be seeing him tomorrow), your debts can be settled without delay, otherwise we shall have to wait until the beginning of February, when I have prospects of further money.

For your amusement I am sending you a pamphlet on banks,[a] belonging to Utin. It is by Geffcken, a Strasbourg professor. What clever-clever people they are! And they only quote members of their own lousy gang, authorities like Augspurg (who has ever heard of the Jew?) and the great Wagner of whom it is said:

> 'It the Tosafoth Yom Tobh no longer valid?
> What *is* valid? Murder! Murder!'[744]

Utin has left a whole pile of such pamphlets here, it's fantastic stuff, SERVES HIM RIGHT if he relies on his bookseller to make the choice. Judging them just by the titles, $^3/_4$ of them are only fit for the W.C., and significantly, *not a single one* of them has had its pages cut.

More soon on the French translation.[436] Up to now I find that what you have *revised* is indeed better than the German, but neither French nor German has anything to do with that. Best of all is the note on Mill,[745] *quant au style.*[b]

Enclosed an excerpt on the way in which mechanical energy is transformed into heat in the human body. Busch is one of the leading contemporary surgeons. The phenomenon described here also explains the claim made by both sides at the start of the war[c] that—in violation of military convention—the enemy was using dumdum bullets. Busch's cool account certainly puts one in mind of the old warning: do not play with firearms. A nice business when your own brain smashes open your skull.[746]

Best regards to Tussy.

Your
F. E.

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[a] F. H. Geffcken, *Das Deutsche Reich und die Bankfrage.* - [b] as regards style - [c] the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71

## 323

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

[Harrogate,] 7 December 1873

Dear Engels,

Of the £60 you gave me, ABOUT £23 remained for my journey (having made payments as follows: £10 to Moore[a] et Co.; *instalments*: £5 to BEERMAN, £5 to GROCER, £5 to Withers, £2.17sh. interest to the pawnbrokers, £4 dress, boots, etc., for Tussy, £5 left for my wife). With £10 more I shall have LARGELY enough, but will need £12 if I return via Manchester, as I promised Gumpert, and stay there for 2 days.

Be so good as to give my wife only £20 of the £100, and keep the £80 for me *in reserve*, as I have to make major payments on 3 and 16 January and would not like to expose her to the temptation of paying off less urgent debts.

The £5 will just have to be shoved down the throat of the Co.[719] I shall write to Moore today about collecting the remittances.

My COLD, which was damned SEVERE, has not yet gone completely, and I am still downing the medicine which Gumpert prescribed me from Manchester as soon as he heard of it. I hope it will be cured in 1-2 days. But you can see from the fact that I have not felt so well for years, despite this irksome, dizzy-making incident, what an extraordinarily beneficial effect the air here and the peaceful life have had on me (I have done absolutely *no* work whatsoever).

I caught the COLD through following too literally Gumpert's advice to take vigorous exercise after drinking the waters. It should have been clear from the state of the sky that a storm was to be expected.

The cure is doing Tussychen a world of good. Likewise the regimen which prescribes bed by 11 o'clock at the latest.

The *table of contents* of De Paepe's planned *magnum opus*[747] features, as the main section of Book 2, *données physiologiques*[b]:

'Analysis of Labour Power and Physiological Conditions of Its Existence.' 1. Karl Marx's theory of *labour power*, necessary labour and surplus labour.—The great economic and social significance of this theory; 2. Physiological analysis of what

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[a] George Moore - [b] physiological data

Marx calls *labour power* or the *power of the labourer*.—This force comprises three principal elements: the power of the nerves, the power of the muscles, the power of the senses.[a]

You see how he thus takes the opportunity to enter medical territory. The section ends:

14. How the foregoing physiological data enable us to determine, as precisely as possible, *the value* of labour power as *the basis of all exchange value* and the foundation of all economic science.

The last sounds like a misunderstanding. Then comes the theory of population under the heading: 'Data furnished by the study of the functions of reproduction.' I see from the table of contents that because of the delays in publishing the French translation of *Capital*,[436] he is unfamiliar with what has been done there and hence has been unable to appropriate it in any way.

The recalcitrance of the Cuban SLAVEHOLDERS is a GODSEND; it would be highly undesirable for the matter to drift on so indecisively. Moreover, any unpleasant complication that overtakes Castelar et Co. is to be welcomed.[748]

Have you read the Pope's[b] Encyclical in which, very transparently, our handsome William[c] is compared to the Roman Emperors who persecuted the Apostles and followers of Christ?[749]

The Left in the French Assembly will probably find itself subjected to special regulations. The scoundrels are reluctant to walk out *en masse*, for that would mean the end of the security which is the citizen's prime duty, as well as the official position of importance and the parliamentary remuneration, etc.

Gumpert wants to know when you are next going to show yourself in Manchester? I have reassured him by saying that you would in all likelihood come up on business in the spring.

COMPLIMENTS TO MRS LIZZY.

Your
K. M.

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[a] Here and below Marx quotes from De Paepe in French. - [b] Pius IX - [c] William I

## 324

## ENGELS TO MARX[750]

### IN HARROGATE

London, 10 December 1873

Dear Moor,

Enclosed you will find 3 halves of five-pound notes; please acknowledge receipt at once so that the rest can follow.

Heavy fog since yesterday morning from which I just escaped for a short hour by taking a walk to the Heath.[a] Up there blue sky and warm sunshine, AN ISLAND OF BRIGHTNESS IN A SEA OF FOG.

That good-for-nothing Roderich Benedix has left a bad odour behind in the shape of a thick tome against 'Shakespearomania'.[b] In it he has proved to a nicety that Shakespeare can't hold a candle to our great poets, not even to those of modern times. Shakespeare is apparently to be hurled down from his pedestal so that fat-arsed Benedix can be hoisted into his place. However, the first act of the *Merry Wives*[c] alone contains more life and reality than all German literature, and Launce[d] with his dog Crab is alone worth more than all the German comedies put together. By way of contrast, the ponderous posterior R. Benedix will indulge in considerations as serious as they are cheap over the casual manner in which Shakespeare often makes short work of his *dénouements* and thereby cuts short the tedious twaddle that in reality is nevertheless unavoidable. *Habeat sibi.*[e]

Yesterday received a geological map of the Rhine Province. The superficial conjectures I made *in loco*[f] mostly confirmed.

Best regards to Tussy.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Hampstead-Heath - [b] R. Benedix, *Die Shakespearomanie.* - [c] Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor.* - [d] a character in Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona* - [e] He is welcome to it. - [f] on the spot

## 325

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN LONDON

Harrogate, 11 December 1873

Dear Engels,

The halves of the notes have arrived, for which BEST THANKS. I have received a letter from Sorge[a]; he requests you urgently to send off the still missing 25 copies of the *Alliance*[b] to New York.

While you had fog up there, there was real spring weather down here, and air of a purity such as we are not accustomed to having in England.

Roderich Benedix comes as no surprise to me.[c] If he and those like him understood their Shakespeare, where would they get the courage to display their own 'wares' to the public?

Things are going badly for Bazaine.[751] The Orléans have no cheaper way to exhibit their own patriotism than by such an act of brutality against a Bonapartist general. The Duc d'Aumale is a modern Cato.

I have just written to Gumpert,[17] saying that we shall arrive in Manchester at 12 noon on Monday.[d]

*Salut.*

Your
K. Marx

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[a] of 26 November 1873 - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association.* - [c] Marx refers to Benedix's book *Die Shakespearomanie* - [d] 15 December

## 326

## MARX TO THOMAS ALLSOP[752]

### IN PENZANCE

[London,] 23 December 1873
1 Maitland Park Road, N.W.

My dear and honoured friend,

I felt very anxious about your protracted silence, Mr Leblanc being unable to inform me of your whereabouts and your doings. I am sorry to see from your letter that my apprehensions were not quite unfounded, but the mild climate of Penzance and your robust constitution will, I hope fervently so, soon rid you of the cough which, by the by, sways it now all over the country. It is, in the current phrase, quite a seasonable nuisance.

My youngest daughter[a] and myself have for three weeks stayed at Harrogate[736] whither our medical adviser[b] had sent us. The quiet life, breezy air, mineral waters and pleasant walks of the place have gone far to restore the health of the two patients. When we arrived, the season had already gone, so that we occupied our hotel 'in single blessedness',[c] being only disturbed and somewhat amused during the last days of our sojourn by the dropping in of a Church of England parson, a worldly wise old man, with no smack of cant about him, of fluent and trivial talk, with conventional varnish of manners and caring indeed for nothing save his belly. He was the true model of a modern Christian, using that word itself only with respect to the dishes our hotel-keeper provided and saying for instance: this is no Christian mutton chop, if that same chop happened to lack some virtue or other. The man had overrun most countries of Europe and was in himself a recording office of all the merits and demerits of its several hotels, always hunting in vain for that paragon of mankind—a perfect man—cook. At the same time he never tired of bitter sarcasms against the overstrained pretentions and the extravagant living of the miners of the black country,[d] being himself an incumbent at Durham. This man gave me and Eleanor constant occasion to think and speak of you, because a more striking contrast could hardly be fancied—you, so to say an

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[a] Eleanor Marx - [b] Eduard Gumpert - [c] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act I, Scene 1. - [d] the coal-mining and iron-working areas of Staffordshire and Warwickshire

anticipation of what the men of the new society will be, and he, the parson, a stereotyped mould of what the men of the old society have contrived to become.

I send you to-day three further parts of the *Capital*[a] which, on the whole, are less abstract than the preceding ones. If they contribute to enliven your hours of seclusion, I shall feel most happy. In general, I must say that my views commence to spread amongst the workmen of the Continent and that there the upper classes and the official representatives of political economy make much noise about them and feel rather annoyed at them.

In poor Spain things might still right themselves if French reaction gets not the upper hand. With all their shortcomings there is mettle in the Spaniards. The downbreak of the Spanish working class rising—which was unripe and senseless[753]—will prove useful if its leaders have been taught by dearly bought experience to emancipate themselves from highflown but hollow French phraseology and to apply themselves to the study of the real conditions of the movement. We have some excellent men at Madrid and Valencia. At Lisbon we have a nucleus of really superior workers.

In the United States our propaganda has been much accelerated by the crisis. It has acted as our recruiting officer.

In Germany we are pretty sure to send at the coming elections at least a dozen intelligent and energetic workmen to parliament.[754] The sudden and mighty industrial development in that country is our best agent. Bismarck and the middle class intend striking a blow at the proletarian press, the 'respectable' press confessing its inability to cope with it, but the old king[b] is rapidly sinking and his successor[c] cannot dare inaugurate his regime by unpopular measures.

In Russia, what with the social disorganisation consequent upon the emancipation of the serfs[755] and the awful growth of financial disease, what with the popular discontent at the loss of the Russian prestige through the Prussian achievements and the hesitations of a weak home-policy making half-concessions to-day to compensate them by ultra-reactionary measures to-morrow, the elements of a general convulsion are accumulating.

Thus, my dear friend, the world is moving with all that. What are the feeble efforts of upper class France at a moment where the

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[a] of the second German edition of Volume I of *Capital* - [b] William I - [c] Crown Prince Frederick William

foundations of the very stronghold of European reaction, of Russia, are shaking?

With my and Mrs Marx kind regards to Mrs Allsop and our best wishes for the coming year, I remain, my dear and honoured friend,

Yours most sincerely,
Karl Marx

Engels sends you his compliments and will immediately write to you.

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# APPENDICES

1

## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, 10 August 1870]

Dear Mr Engels,

Moor and Jenny sailed off for Ramsgate yesterday morning,[53] in order to see whether there is anywhere for us to put up our tents. I greatly fear that the rent will be enormous. I have been to see the house-agent, Mr Smith, several times already in order to spur him into action.[24] He claims to have taken all the necessary steps and to have written to the owner in Manchester. No reply has been forthcoming from that fine gentleman, who seems to be in no hurry at all about the business. Smith thinks, however, that you are not running a risk of any kind and that there is time enough to settle the matter for you. He promised to write to me again, but since I have not heard anything further so far, I shall go and see him again tomorrow and not mince words.

Lafargue has just sent a number of French papers and I enclose a copy of *Le Soir* for you here. It may contain something useful for your military articles.[a] You cannot imagine what a sensation these have been making here! They really have made everything wonderfully clear and vivid, and I cannot but think of you as the *jeune*[b] Moltke.

The nauseating vituperation in the *Figaro*, etc., really passes beyond all belief. They want to devour the vandals, bones and all, for having had the impudence to concentrate their forces and dare to set foot in the *sol sacré de la patrie*.[c] They all deserve to be thrashed by the Prussians; for all the French, even the tiny

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[a] F. Engels, *Notes on the War*. - [b] young - [c] sacred soil of the mother country

number of better ones, have an element of chauvinism in some remote corner of their hearts. This will have to be knocked out of them. Even here in our house, where there was also a bit of chauvinism, there is now just indignation about these gentry with their CIVILIS-A-A-ATION and their ideas which they were kind enough to try and import into Germany, which is no *sol sacré.*

From the stamps on the papers which Laura has sent, I see to my horror that they are still in Levallois-Perret and hence close to the fortifications.[a] We have long since warned them to leave Paris and take little Schnäpschen[b] to Bordeaux. But they won't listen, and I hope they won't have to pay for it. I shall close now so as to catch the post and at the same time to rush for the *Pall Mall* to see whether there are not any *NOTES ON THE WAR* by 'Z' in it. Yesterday they printed your article[c] as the FIRST LEADER, so as to make even more capital out of it politically.

The PEACE LEAGUE[56] donated £20 to the International yesterday to distribute the Address[d] in Germany and France. I don't know whether Moor will be happy about Wilhelmchen's[e] translation. The French translation of the *braves Belges*[f] is quite wretched; in terms of *fadaise*[g] it is surpassed only by the translation which has just arrived from the *braves suisses.*

Please give my best regards to your dear wife.[h]

Your old friend,

Jenny Marx

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[a] of Paris - [b] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [c] F. Engels, 'The Prussian Victories'. - [d] K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - [e] Wilhelm Liebknecht's - [f] worthy Belgians - [g] absurdity - [h] Lydia Burns

## 2

## ELEANOR MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[Ramsgate,] 12 August 1870
36 Hardres Street

My dear Engels,

You will see from the address that we are once more at Ramsgate.[53] I suppose you know that last Tuesday[a] Mohr and Jenny went to look for houses.—Mama and I left London yesterday, and after a very pleasant journey arrived here safe and sound. I say a *pleasant* journey, though I dont think Mama thought so. The sea was very rough, the waves washing over the ship and wetting everybody.—All the passengers with the exception of one lady, myself, and several gentlemen, were sea-sick. This lady and I climbed up just by the side of the Captain's deck, and there we sat down. It was great fun. This morning I turned out before six o'clock in the morning and walked about till nine. I intend to go to the sands now and take a good bath.—Yesterday Papa had a letter from Kugelmann.—He writes about that book to which Rossa's likeness is to be prefixed.[74] He thanks very much for what you wrote,[b] but says he has not got the likeness.—Now Jane sent it shortly after your preface was sent—so I suppose they didn't get it. Would you mind sending them your copy—you know that one that was given with *The Irishman*.—We shall be much obliged to you if you will.—Now I must finish, for I'm in a hurry to go out again, so with best love to all

Believe me to be
Your affectionate
Tussy

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[a] 9 August - [b] F. Engels, 'Notes for the Preface to a Collection of Irish Songs'.

3

## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

Ramsgate [around 18 August 1870]
36 Hardres Street

Dear Mr Engels,

I am enclosing a letter from Lafargue which will certainly be of interest to you. It is the first time in ages that we have heard from them and so we now know that they do not intend to take part in the *siège*. That is *one* consolation at least. All the news from Paris is really frightful. If the *grrrande nation* had attacked at the right time, they would have been spared the *régime* of Eugénie[a] and Palikao now. Isn't it scandalous that they simply continue to keep Rochefort in jail, the only intelligent politician among the whole of the *jeune France*[b]? The fact is that they deserve the Prussian rod even more than one might have supposed.

I really am furious about the business with the house[24] and just do not know how you can get around the marquis. Perhaps a letter to Mr Smith would be of more use than my personal intervention. He constantly shifts all the responsibility for the delay away from himself and onto the shoulders of the sub-agent. The whole affair is in a complete muddle.

Yesterday evening there was heavy rain here so that Moor could not go out for his evening walk. This morning the sun is shining splendidly again. I am convinced that the marvellous sea air here would help him to recover completely if only he didn't have this wretched rheumatism that keeps him from walking and sleeping. Last night, though, he had a much better time of it, and after lunch he again went to 'BYE-BYES' for a while, as we call the siestas. The girls are constantly by, in, near or on the sea and have red cheeks and even redder noses, but otherwise are very well and cheerful. Only both are suffering greatly on account of the DOWNBREAK of their favourite nations. Jenny is totally 'FRENCH' and Tussy 'IRISH'. And Pigott really has behaved like a madman. 'E. M.' is not Tussy. However, today she intends to send the ass an excerpt from the *Liberté* in which the French explicitly reject all assistance and enthusiasm on the part of the Irish, since they

[a] wife of Napoleon III - [b] young France

would prefer after all to deal with the 'honest English'. That's the treatment they get from Bonapartist France. This is the thanks for their torchlight processions and demonstrations.

Warmest regards from us all and particularly from me to your dear wife.[a]

Yours,
Jenny Marx

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## 4

## JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

### IN MANCHESTER

[London, around 13 September 1870]

Dear Mr Engels,

Warmest thanks for your kind long and interesting letter.[45]

To come back to the subject of our house,[24] I am sorry that you were put to the trouble of writing once again. The position with the wallpapering is as follows: Smith and the other agent said they were prepared to paper the room if you desired it; they both thought, however, that the red wallpaper, once it had been cleaned, mended and generally renovated, would be preferable to any other cheaper one, that it was 3 times as expensive as the one in the FRONT ROOM and that it was a genuine DINING ROOM paper. So I went back with Lenchen[b] to have another look at it, as I did not trust my own judgment entirely, and Lenchen was *definitely* of 'Smith's' opinion and still claims that she prefers it to any other. I remained undecided and since I did not really know what to do, I waited for your letter. It might perhaps be best if you could look at it for yourself and made up your own mind. It will only take a day if you want to have a new one. Please let me know what you would like to have. Apart from that, the house seemed in good REPAIR from top to bottom, and neither of us could find anything

[a] Lydia Burns - [b] Helene Demuth

amiss. Two broken windows were just being replaced and also a new *robinet*[a] (I can't just think of the German word) on the stone sink in the washhouse. Apart from that everything seemed to be in good order and I think that the man will replace anything still missing without delay. He appeared very willing in every respect.

At any rate, you must stay with us for a few nights and use our house as a base from which to make your ARRANGEMENTS. We shall be able to find room for everyone. For our house is a veritable palace and much too large and dear for us in my view.

Serraillier has written a very interesting letter from Paris which confirms everything we already knew long since about those amiable phrasemongers.[b]

Serraillier says you can almost get torn in pieces if you tell the truth, and even the better and the best ones are living on their memories of 1792. He is absolutely delighted about Rochefort, whom he has now seen for the second time, and he has enrolled in the home-guard unit *du cher* Gustave.[c] It might be better not to tell Dupont for the moment that Serraillier is helping to defend *le sol sacré*.[d] He might after all start to suffer from *le coeur gros*[e] and want to be off. *Et à quoi bon?*[f] With his quick temper Dupont would make a fine impression. We have had no news from the Lafargues. I am overjoyed that he is SAFE.

Jenny is feeling better, but is greatly affected by the fate of the *grrande nation*, with which both girls[g] are completely infatuated. Time will change all that. Indeed, we have all experienced that enthusiasm.

Best regards to your dear wife[h] from

Your

Jenny Marx

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[a] tap - [b] See this volume, p. 77. - [c] of dear Gustave (Flourens) - [d] the sacred soil - [e] a heavy heart - [f] And what would be the good of it? - [g] Jenny and Eleanor Marx - [h] Lydia Burns

5

## JENNY MARX TO PETER IMANDT[100]

IN DUNDEE

[London, around 13 June 1871]
1 Maitland Park Road

My dear Mr Imandt,

I have just received your letter and make all haste to let you know that Moor is 'ALL RIGHT'. The rumours are just a lot of police fabrications which Stieber has invented in league with those French scoundrels.[756] You will be receiving COPIES of the Address of the International[a] today. Perhaps you can arrange for something from it to appear in the press. The girls[b] have been with Laura for the past 6 weeks.[212] They were in Bordeaux at first. But then things got too hot for Lafargue. They made their escape from there and are now close to the Spanish border; SAFE, I hope.

Your brother also wrote briefly yesterday about Moor's arrest. Please tell him what you know. I have my hands full today.

You cannot imagine, dear Mr Imandt, what we have been through, all the misery and anger, during the last few weeks. It took more than 20 years to develop such brave, able, heroic men, and now almost all of them are lost. There is still hope for some, but the best have been murdered. Varlin, Jaclard, Rigault, Tridon.[757] And above all the true heroes, who fought on without leaders for 8 days in Villette, Belleville and St Antoine[c]: workers, both men and women!![d] The despicable loudmouths like Félix Pyat will probably save their skins. Others are still in hiding, but I am afraid that the bloodhounds will hunt them down.

With best regards.

Yours,
Jenny Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 33, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the original

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[a] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. - [b] Jenny and Eleanor Marx - [c] working-class quarters in Paris - [d] In the original, this sentence is given as a postscript.

## 6

## JENNY MARX (DAUGHTER) TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

[London,] 3 October 1871

My dear Doctor,

My best thanks for the portraits you have been kind enough to send us. They are excellent copies. I quite agree with you as to illustrated paper; but as unfortunately we only had *two* votes between us and as there were many votes against us, I assure you I had to fight many a hard battle, and at length only succeeded in effecting a compromise—that is to say, both copies have been sent to the artist who is going to publish the portrait, and he is to decide between them, or to make use of both.[758]

I am happy to say it has been possible to persuade Mohr to give up work for five days, and to go to the seaside.[316] To-day he will have to return, as there is a sitting of the International[a]: mama who is with him, writes, that the few days' rest have done him much good. And he was sadly in want of rest! To me it is a marvel how he has been able to bear all the toil and trouble of these last months.

The work has been, and still is, fearful. Take this day for an example. Early this morning there came a letter from an Italian section of the International—stating, that the Association is making wonderful progress in Italy (I suppose you have seen Garibaldi's letter on the International[b]), and asking for advice and assistance. Then arrived letters from different parts of France, and finally a crazy epistle from a Swede, who it seems has run mad. 'He calls upon' *le grand maître* 'to light torches upon the mountains in Sweden' etc. Close upon the postman's rap follows a ring. An arrival from France—Russia—or Hong Kong! The number of refugees here is daily increasing. These poor people are in the most heartrending misery—they have not learnt the art of Badinguet,[c] d'Orléans, Gambetta and Co. of providing for the

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[a] a meeting of the General Council - [b] Garibaldi's letter to Arthur Arnold published in *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 80 and 81, 4 and 7 October 1871. - [c] Nickname of Louis Bonaparte (Napoleon III), who, in 1846, fled from prison in Ham in the clothes of a mason by the name of Badinguet.

rainy day—they have come over here without clothes on their backs or a farthing in their hands. The winter here will be terrible.

Your fears with regard to the importation from France of *mouchards*[a] are but too well founded. Happily, the Council has taken its precautions. To give you a proof of the success of those precautionary measures, I need only tell you that the International held a conference from the 17[th] to the 23-rd,[254] and not a single paper knew of it. On the 24-th a banquet wound up the proceedings. Mohr was made to preside on the occasion (much against his will, as you may imagine), and he had the honour of having on his right hand the heroic Polish general Wróblewski. On the other side sat the brother of Dombrowski.[b] A great many members of the Commune were present. From Switzerland, Outine and Perret had arrived as delegates, from Belgium, De Paepe and five others, from Spain, Lorenzo—a most earnest devoted man—Liebknecht and Bebel could not come for want of cash. The Conference has transacted very much business. Among other questions of course the eternal Swiss squabble cropped up. A special Committee[367] was selected to examine the difference. The resolutions it has arrived at, will, it is to be hoped, put an end to the underhand machinations of the clique Bakounine-Guillaume-Robin.—The following are some of the resolutions on the Swiss affair—

'Considering

'That the *Alliance de la démocratie socialiste* has declared itself dissolved;

'That in its sitting of the 18th September the Conference has decided that all *existing* organisations of the International Association shall henceforth be obliged to designate and constitute themselves simply and exclusively as branches, sections, federations, etc., of the International Association with the names of their respective localities attached;

'That the existing branches and societies shall therefore no longer be allowed to designate themselves by sectarian names such as Mutualists, Positivists, Collectivists, Communists, etc.;

'That no branch or society already admitted shall any longer be permitted to form a separatist body under the name of "section of propaganda", alliance, etc., pretending to accomplish special missions distinct from the purpose common to the mass of militant proletariat united within the Association, etc.;

'That henceforth the General Council of the International Association will in this sense have to interpret the resolution of the Basle Congress "The General Council has the right either to accept or to refuse the affiliation of any new society or group pending appeal to the next Congress", etc., etc.'[c]

Tussy is calling me—so I must bring this letter to a close. I wished to write also to dear Trautchen,[d] but find I cannot do so

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[a] police spies - [b] Theophil Dombrowski - [c] Jenny Marx quotes in French. Cf. present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 429-30. - [d] Gertrud Kugelmann

to-day. Will you therefore ask her to excuse me, and tell her that every word of the report (in the German paper) concerning our arrest is *untrue*. Instead of our having proclaimed our names at Luchon, every letter was sent to us to the name of Williams or Lafargue. We lived in utter retirement, seeing no one but the doctor, of whom alas, we had need during the whole of our stay. The stay was sad indeed, for Laura's youngest child was ill during the whole time, and after fearful sufferings, died, towards the end of July—on the 26-th.—A few days after the child's death, just as the Lafargues were able to go out a little, M. de Kératry commenced his *guerre à outrance*[a] against us. Laura who had joined her husband at Bosost (in Spain) suffered much—her eldest child[b] fell ill, so ill that she thought it would die—it was suffering from dysentery, so prevalent in that part of Spain—and she could not move away, as the Spanish and French police were waiting to arrest her. The child is a little better now. Paul, meanwhile, had escaped by unknown paths into the centre of Spain. Tussy and I had been caught on our return from Bosost, arrested, kept close prisoners for several days in our house and then taken to the gendarmerie-barracks. The letter found on me I had written to O'Donovan Rossa. It was an answer to his *shamefull* condemnation in *The Irishman* of the Communal movement. I expressed my surprise that *he, of all men*, should believe the infamous calumnies against the Communists, invented by the wretched police organs *Le Figaro*, *Paris-Journal* etc. I claimed his sympathy (he is a power at New York at this moment) and that of his fellow-countrymen, for the heroic champions of a better society—for, I said, Irishmen, less than all others, can be interested in the continuation of the present state of things, etc.

With best love to Trautchen and Fränzchen[c]

Believe me, dear Doctor,

Very sincerely yours,

Jenny Marx

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[a] war to the knife - [b] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [c] Franziska Kugelmann

## 7

## ELEANOR MARX TO ARISTIDE BARRÉ[759]

IN LONDON

[London,] 10 October 1871
1 Maitland Park Road

Sir,

My father asks me to tell you that an engraver is wanted, and that if you apply as soon as possible you will obtain employment.—You should go to R. Harper and Son, 16 Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell, and say you have been sent by Mr Oswald of 39 Gloucester Crescent.

I am, Sir, Yours very truly,
E. Marx

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## 8

## JENNY MARX (DAUGHTER) TO LUDWIG AND GERTRUD KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

London, 21-22 December 1871

My dear friends,

First of all let me thank you for your kind letter, my dear Doctor, and ask you to pardon me for not answering it before this. If you knew how much I have had to do of late you would forgive me. For the last three weeks I have been running from one suburb of London to the other (which is no small undertaking in this immense city), and then I have often written letters until one o'clock in the morning. The object of these journeys and letters is

to obtain funds for the support of the refugees.[251] Hitherto, alas, we have been unsuccessful in our endeavours. The infamous calumnies of the shameless newspapermongers have so much prejudiced the English against the *Communeux*, that they are generally looked upon with unmitigated horror. Employers will have nothing to do with them. The men who had succeeded in obtaining engagements under borrowed names, are dismissed so soon as it is found out who they are. Poor M. and Mad. Serraillier for instance had obtained engagements as French teachers. A few days ago, however, they were informed that the services of an ex-member of the Commune and of his wife would no longer be required. But I can speak of these things from personal experience. The Monros, for instance, have broken off all connection with me, because they have made the terrible discovery that I am the daughter of the *pétroleur* chief,[a] who defended the iniquitous Communal movement.

As the refugees cannot find employment, you can imagine to what straits they are reduced. Their sufferings are beyond description—they are literally starving in the streets of this great city—the city, that has carried the *chacun pour soi*[b] principle to its greatest perfection. It is not to be wondered at that Englishmen, who consider starvation cases to be part and parcel of their own glorious constitution, who look upon the liberty to starve as a privilege to be proud of, are not much impressed by the nameless misery of foreigners for whom they have no sympathies whatever. For more than five months the International has now supported, that is to say, has held between life and death the great mass of exiles. But its resources are now exhausted. In this extremity we have had the enclosed *private* circular printed. I have drawn it up, and you will see carefully avoided any word or allusion that might shock the philistines.

You can imagine, my dear friends, how much all these difficulties and troubles worry poor Mohr. Not only that he has to fight with all the Governments of the ruling classes—into the bargain, he has hand to hand combats with the 'fat, fair and forty' landladies, who attack him, because this or that *Communeux* hasn't paid his rent. Just as he has lost himself in the *abstrakten Gedanken*,[c] in rushes Mrs Smith or Mrs Brown. If only the *Figaro* knew this—what a feuilleton would be offered to his readers!

What with interruptions of every kind Mohr has had the greatest difficulty to find time to arrange the first chapter of his

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[a] incendiaries' chief - [b] every man for himself - [c] abstract thoughts

book[a] for the second edition.[396] By hook and crook he now hopes to be enabled to send it to his publisher[b] before the end of the next week. He has much simplified parts of it. But, I am happy to say that in spite of such an ocean of cares, Papa's health is pretty good, better than it has generally been at this time of the year. Some weeks ago he had an abscess under the arm, but it was not a bad one and was soon cured. His cough also has almost left him—he only coughs in the morning—(formerly you will remember he sometimes coughed during the whole night).

The successors of the defunct Alliancists[10] have not given the General Council one moment's peace. During several months they succeeded in carrying their intrigues into every country. They went to work with such wild energy that for some time things looked bad for the future of the International. Spain, Italy, Belgium apparently sided with the Bakounine abstentionists, and were against the resolution on the necessity of the International taking part in politics.[c] Here in England the clique of abstentionists intrigued with Bradlaugh, Odger and their followers, they did not even scruple to make use of the *mouchards*[d] and *agents provocateurs* of Thiers and Badinguet.[e] Their organs, the *Qui Vive!* in London, and the *Révolution Sociale* in Geneva, outdid each other in calumniating '*ces autoritaires*', *ces* '*dictateurs*', *ces* '*Bismarckiens*' *du Conseil Général*. Mr Bradlaugh has resorted to the most miserable misrepresentation to calumniate '*le grand chef de ce conseil*'.[424] For weeks he secretly insinuated at private assemblies, at length he has openly proclaimed at a public meeting that Karl Marx was and is, a Bonapartist. His assertions are based upon the passage in the *Civil War* in which it is shown that the Empire '*was the only form of government possible*'—here Bradlaugh stops omitting the concluding words 'at a time when the bourgeoisie had already lost, and the working class had not yet acquired, the faculty of ruling the nation'.

However the success of these intrigants was only *apparent*, in reality they have everywhere been unsuccessful. All their deep laid plots and maneuvres have availed them nothing.

In Geneva, that hotbed of intrigants, a congress representing thirty sections of the International has declared itself for the

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[a] Volume I of *Capital* - [b] Otto Meissner - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. IX. Political Action of the Working Class. - [d] police spies - [e] Nickname of Louis Bonaparte (Napoleon III) who, in 1846, fled from prison in Ham in the clothes of a mason by the name of Badinguet.

General Council, has passed a resolution to the effect that the separatist factions cannot henceforth be considered to form parts of the International, their acts having clearly shown that their object is to disorganise the Association. That these sections, who under another name, are only a fraction of the old Alliance faction, by continuing to sow dissension, are opposed to the interests of the federation.[398] This resolution was voted unanimously in an assembly of 500 members. The Bakounists who had come all the way from Neufchâtel to be present would have been seriously ill-used, had it not been for the men whom they style '*des Bismarckiens*', '*des autoritaires*'—Outine, Perret etc. who rescued them and begged the assembly to allow them to speak. (Outine of course was well aware that the best means of killing them altogether was to allow them to make their speeches.)

From Belgium, the news according to De Paepe is equally good. On Sunday, a congress is to be held at Brussels.[404]

The Spanish Federal Council has likewise adopted all the resolutions of the delegates of the Conference, and has exposed the bad faith of the separatist faction.

In America the latter party, represented by Section 12,[332] is powerless. All they can do is to disturb the meetings of the other sections.

The London French branch[338] has ceased to exist—Vermersch (*Le Père Duchêne*) has acted as its undertaker.

I am afraid I have already taken up far too much of your time—yet I must add a few words in reply to your letter, my dear Doctor.

Papa's opinion is that in the event of a war between Russia and Prussia, Austria will be the scapegoat, and that the wolves will make it up by helping each other to a slice of the lamb.

I was sorry to hear you did not receive the *Illustrated* paper[758]—firstly, because it is difficult to get hold of copies of it, then I am sorry to think you have been fancying all this time that I forgot to send you the paper. Believe me, my dear 'Trautchen'[a] und 'Wenzel',[b] you were the very first persons it was sent to. I sent it you even before Laura had a copy. The portrait has likewise appeared in an Italian paper, in *The Illustrated London News*,[c] and will shortly be published in the Spanish *Illustración*. You see it is making *le tour du monde*.[d]—Thanks for the German *Illustration*.[e] I do not much like the portrait. In the attempt to beautify features

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[a] Gertrud Kugelmann - [b] Ludwig Kugelmann's nickname - [c] In the original: *London Illustrated Times*. - [d] a round-the-world trip - [e] *Illustrierte Zeitung*

etc.—the artist has sacrificed everything that was characteristic. A friend of ours says that if he had by chance seen it in a shop-window he would have said '*Voilà un bel homme qui ressemble à M. Marx*'.[a] I will send you another Paris *Illustration*, so soon as I can get a copy from Paris—here in London the paper is not to be had.

As regards Bergeret's book,[b] I have not sent it. It is not worth while reading. With one exception, all the books on the Commune that have hitherto appeared, are mere trash. That one exception to the general rule, is Lissagaray's work[c]—which you will receive together with this letter.

To return to the vexed question of the erratic letter that travelled all the way to Russia before reaching you, I must remark you are mistaken in supposing that I was realy vexed when I made a joke about German '*Bildung*'.[d]—Far be it from me, a *French barbarian*, to venture to criticize the cultivated *German nation, cette grrrrrrande nation*! But, as it seems you are determined to take up an imaginary gauntlet (imaginary it is, I assure you, for I have both of my gloves in my pocket), I must request you not to use unfair arms against me. If you will look at the enclosed address, you will see that I have never written Hanover with an accent over the ô. On the envelope I wrote 'Hannover'—when I write in English I only put *one n*, which is the correct spelling in English.—But let us shake hands (how I wish we could really do so!)—for it won't do to be quarrelling as the New Year is walking in. For the New Year I wish you all the best health and happiness, and above all, I hope we may see each other in its course. As our family cannot venture to go to the Continent, and as therefore there is no chance of our paying you a visit in Germany, you must by all means come over here to see us—for let me warn you, that unless you make up your minds to come to London during the next spring or summer, you may no longer find us here, as the English government is taking underhand measures to introduce a bill for the expulsion of Communists and Internationals. The prospect of settling down in the land of Yankee Doodle Dandy is not a very pleasing one to us. However, sufficient for the day is the evil thereof[e]!

With renewed wishes from all at home for your happiness, and with a hearty kiss to dear Fränzchen,[f] who will be quite a

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[a] 'That is a handsome man who resembles Mr Marx'. - [b] J. Bergeret, *Le 18 mars*. - [c] [P. O.] Lissagaray, *Les huit journées de mai derrière les barricades*. - [d] 'culture' - [e] Matthew 6:34 - [f] Franziska Kugelmann

grown-up young lady by the time I see her again (this summer I trust),

Believe me, my dear friends,

Ever affectionately yours,

Jenny Marx

December 22... We have just received your letters. I do not know how to thank you for all your kindness. You spoil us too much... The box has not arrived as yet, in unpacking it we shall follow your instructions to the letter.—With regard to your kind invitation, my dear Trautchen, accept my best thanks for it. I am afraid, however, it will be impossible for me to leave home this winter. I am able to make myself of some use here at this moment—besides which, I have already been away from home for four months this year,[281] and that seemed to be an eternity to me. I feel as if I had just only come back from that long banishment. You must promise to come and see us next year, my dear Trautchen!

By the bye I forgot to give you my opinion as to O'Donovan Rossa[a]—I am sorry to say that I believe there is much truth in the reports given of him. He has not answered the letter I wrote him—but has not again attacked the Communists and that is all I wanted.

The Irish in London are entering the ranks of the International. Irish Sections are being formed in various parts of the East-End... But you will think this tape-worm epistle is never coming to an end and perhaps it wouldn't, if my pen didn't positively refuse to mark. So with love to all

Believe me,

Your sincere friend

Jenny Marx

The box has just arrived. I really do not know which of the presents most to admire. I shall spare the locket for the very first *grand occasion* and shall at once get a frame for Shakespeare's portrait. It is one of the finest I have ever seen. Mohr is very much pleased with his book-shelves. Tussy and mama are not at home!

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[a] See this volume, p. 564.

# 9

## ELEANOR MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 29 December 1871
1 Maitland Park Road

My dear old Library,[a]

I suppose you'll be astonished at receiving a letter from me, but Papa is so busy that he has ordered his secretary to answer for him. Before speaking to you then of anything else I must give you his message. Mohr says he has been so busy that he could not answer your questions before—and that as regards Biedermann, you had only to compare your translation in the *Volksstaat* of resolution No. IX 'Political Action of the Working Class' with what he says to see that his was nothing but a police edition of them.[400] Moreover no second Conference has been held.—

Now that business is attended to let us return to ourselves.

No doubt you think that after all these years I have forgotten you. I can assure [you] I have done nothing of the kind. I remember both you and Alice[b] perfectly—at least I remember Alice as she *was*, now of course she must be quite changed. You I should know anywhere though I'm sure you'd never recognize *me*. People that saw me only two or three years ago hardly know me again. I should so like to see Alice, and you too. We quite expected to see you at the Conference, and I was much disappointed when you didn't come.[326]

I suppose you have heard of Jenny's and my adventures in France, about our being arrested, and cross-examined by M. le Préfet Kératry and M. le Procureur général Delpech.—Jenny and I on returning from Bosost, a small village in Spain (whither we had accompanied Laura and her little boy[c] who went [there] to stay a few days with Lafargue who had gone there to prevent being arrested), were arrested on the French frontier, and conducted by 24 gendarmes right across the Pyrenees from Fos to Luchôn, where we were staying. Arrived there we were driven to the door of M. de Kératry's house, kept waiting in front of it in an open carriage with two gendarmes opposite us for three quarters

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[a] Liebknecht's nickname coined by Marx's daughters - [b] Liebknecht's daughter - [c] Charles Étienne Lafargue

of an hour, and then taken to our own house. It was Sunday night and everybody out in the street. At our house we found the police who had in the morning searched the house from top to bottom, and had treated our poor landlady and our servant who were alone in the house very badly. Kératry had already cross-examined them, and we were informed that he would presently arrive to do the same for us. At last he came, for he wouldn't leave the park till the band stopped playing. Our room was already full of gendarmes, *mouchards*,[a] and agents of every description when the *Préfet* Kératry arrived accompanied by Delpech, *procureur général*, a *juge de paix*,[b] a *juge d'instruction*,[c] the *procureur de la république*,[d] etc. I was sent with the Commissaire de Toulouse and a gendarme into a side room and Jenny's examination began, it being then about 10 o'clock. They examined her over two hours but to no use for they heard nothing from her. Then came my turn. Kératry told me most shameful lies. He got one or two answers from me by pointing to Jenny's declaration, and telling me she had said such and such a thing. Fearing to contradict her I said: 'Yes, it is so.' It was a dirty trick, wasn't it? However he heard precious little with all that. The next day when they came again we refused to take the oath. Two days after Keratry came and said he should in the evening send orders for our liberation (we were guarded by police). Instead of that we were taken off to a 'gendarmerie', and there we passed the night. The next day we were, however, let off, though we could not really move a step without being watched, besides we couldn't get back our English passport. At last we got everything, and arrived at last in London. Laura went through much the same adventures at Bosost, though not quite so bad as we, for she was in Spain. It appears that Kératry after the first evening did everything he could to get us free but Thiers wished us to be imprisoned. What was very amusing were the blunders Kératry and the police made—for instance they looked in the mattresses for bombs, and thought that the lamp in which we had warmed the milk for the poor little baby who died,[e] was full of '*pétrole*'! And all that because Lafargue is Mohr's son-in-law, for Lafargue had done nothing at all.

There are a great many members of the Commune here, and the poor refugees suffer frightfully—they have none of them any money, and you can't think how difficult it is for them to get work. I wish they'd taken some of the millions they're accused of having stolen.

[a] police spies - [b] Justice of the Peace - [c] examining magistrate - [d] Baron Desagarre - [e] the Lafargues' youngest son

Now, my dear old-friend, good-bye.—Kiss all at home for me, especially Alice, and receive all our best wishes for the New Year. I must apologize for my dreadful writing, but I've such a wretched pen and almost no ink.

Once more 'A Happy New Year'

and believe me to be

Your affectionate

Tussy

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10

## JENNY MARX (DAUGHTER) TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[760]

IN HANOVER

[London,] 22 January 1872

My dear Doctor,

I am afraid your plan with regard to the refugees cannot be carried out. On the slightest pretext they would be delivered up into the hands of the Versailles hangmen. Why, even here in England the ministry have been working underhand to introduce a bill for their extradition. If it does not come to that it is simply owing to the fact, that so soon as the intention of the Government had been discovered, it was at once made known to the English people, who now being forewarned will be forearmed, and will not stand tamely by to see their country degraded by such an act. I do not know whether I have told you that it was Papa who first obtained information of the plans of the Government by means of an acquaintance of his connected with the Home Ministry,[a] and that he at once made them known in the General Council, after which the news was published in *The Eastern Post*.[761] And yet, with such proofs of the absolute necessity for the political and

[a] Nicolas Léon Thieblin

diplomatic action of the General Council staring them in the face, the miserable band of intrigants, who style themselves Internationals, continue to work as indefatigably as ever to undermine the Council. In the Belgian Congress[404] you will have seen that they have already reaped the first fruits of their intrigues. They have passed a resolution, the object of which is to transform the General Council into a *bureau de renseignement*.[a] De Paepe, who had written to the Council some time before the Belgian Congress, and with the contents of whose letter I acquainted you, had been altogether mistaken in his appreciation of the state of affairs!

In London, Bradlaugh is doing all the dirty work, together with his understrapper Le Lubez. They do not shrink from employing the vilest means to obtain their ends. Mr Bradlaugh's latest expedient consisted in spreading the report that Karl Marx is a police agent. But instead of entering into the details of that affair, I will send you the numbers of *The Eastern Post*, containing the correspondence on that subject.[424]

Papa has already sent off more than half his book[b] to Meissner.[396] In the first chapter he has made great alterations, and what is more important, he himself is satisfied (which does not happen often) with these alterations. The work he has done these last few weeks is immense, and it is really a wonder that his health (it continues to be good) has not given way under it.

*Entre nous*, my dear friend, I must say that I think Meissner has been behaving very badly to Papa—that instead of forcing him to do all this work at the last moment, he ought to have informed him of the forthcoming publication of a second edition at least four months ago and thus have given him time.

Unfortunately Papa is obliged at this moment likewise to prepare the first chapter for the French translator[436] who is at once to set to work, Lafargue having come across a first-rate French publisher,[c] who is very anxious to publish *Das Kapital*. The translator is not Keller, who was prevented from resuming his translation, because he is engaged on another work. Charles Longuet, one of the ex-members of the Commune, has found another translator for it—Leroy I believe his name is[d]—who has translated several works of Feuerbach[e] with much skill. He is said to have succeeded in rendering in the fixed formal French language much of the movement of German thought—no easy task. The book is to come out in *livraisons*[f]—thirty I believe.

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[a] information bureau - [b] Volume I of *Capital* - [c] Maurice Lachâtre - [d] Joseph Roy - [e] L. Feuerbach, *Das Wesen des Christenthums*; *Vorlesungen über das Wesen der Religion*... - [f] instalments

I must not forget to tell you that Lafargue has again been disturbed by the police, has been obliged to leave St Sebastian and is now staying at Madrid. So Laura is left alone with her child[a] in a strange country. We cannot imagine on what pretext Lafargue has again been expelled as the International, of which he formed sections, is not being persecuted at this moment in Spain.

As I wish to post this letter to-day I must say good-bye to you now. Hoping soon to have the long-promised letter from Trautchen and with my best love to her and Käuzchen,[b]

Believe me, my dear Doctor,

Very faithfully yours,
Jenny Marx

*Not only in Germany* books, papers and letters are being continually lost. I do not know whether this is owing to the so-called postboxes in the streets. The next time I send you anything I will post it at the office.[c]

First published, in Italian, in *Movimento operaio*, No. 2, Milan, 1955

Reproduced from the original

## 11

## ELEANOR MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

### IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 23 January 1872

Dear Sir,

Papa is so very much overworked at the present moment that he begs you will excuse his not writing himself and my doing so for him.—He has so *very* little time that I am convinced you will for once not mind his not writing himself.—He says I am to tell you that notwithstanding all the work he has to get through, he would have written long since had he not put off doing so from day to day in the hope of being able to correspond *directly* with you.—A

[a] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [b] Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann - [c] A note in the margin in Jenny Marx's hand: 'This Moreau is no doubt a police agent anxious to obtain the portraits of the Communists.'

second edition of Papa's book[a] is about to appear in Germany,[396] and this has given him much to do, for many changes have been made. A French edition[436] is also about to appear, and you can understand what work it is to prepare for all this.—He is up the greater part of the night writing, and all day he does not leave his room—I am much afraid that this will compromise his health.—It is to be hoped that he will soon have finished with these difficult editions. As to Roberti, Papa says I am to tell you that he has seen the essay in the *Revue Positive*, but never received the book.[762]—Thus it would be impossible for him to write anything in refutation of the said book—and the essay does not give sufficient matter for attack.—Papa thinks you would do well to retard the Russian edition in no way, but to continue as quickly as possible.[360]—I am in great hopes that when once a French edition of *Das Kapital* has appeared, an English one will soon follow[763]—the English ape everything the French do, only when a thing comes from *Paris* does it meet with success here.—For instance, the biography and portrait which appeared of Papa in the *Illustration*[758] have been copied by no end of papers—not only here but in Spain, Italy, Germany, America, etc.—doubtless you also have seen it in Russia.

We are all beginning to feel very anxious about our 'mutual friend'.[b]—The interest we all take in him makes us fear greatly.[740]—Alas that he should ever have left England!—It is several months since we heard anything, and the last news was not reassuring.—

Hoping, dear Sir, that you will excuse Papa, and begging you to accept his best compliments,

I am

Yours most faithfully,

Eleanor Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

[a] Volume I of *Capital* - [b] Hermann Lopatin

## 12

## WILHELM LIEBKNECHT TO LUIGI STEFANONI[764]

### IN FLORENCE

Leipzig, 29 February 1872

Sir,

I have just learnt that your paper has not only published repeated attacks on the International Working Men's Association, but that it has also (in Nos. 1 & 4 of this year[a]) translated and endorsed the filthy slanders of the police about the London General Council and Marx in particular, which appeared in the Berlin *Neuer Social-Demokrat*.[b]

Since the publication of my previous letter to you, in the *Libero Pensiero* No. 3,[c] was suited and perhaps designed to give the impression that I approve of this conduct, I hereby formally request you to inform your readers that I must repudiate any connection with men who aid and abet the European police in their persecution of the International and thus—whether consciously or unconsciously—play into the hands of Messrs Bismarck and Bonaparte.

I may tell you furthermore that the regional congress in Chemnitz, to which I referred in the letter published by you, has unanimously come out in favour of the London General Council.[418] In conclusion I would add that a copy of this letter is being sent to my friend and teacher, Karl Marx, for him to make whatever use of it he wishes.

W. Liebknecht

First published in *Gazzettino Rosa*, No. 110, 20 April 1872

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the Italian

Published in English for the first time

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[a] 'L'Internazionale e il Consiglio Supremo di Londra', *Il Libero Pensiero*, Nos. 1 and 4, 4 and 25 January 1872. - [b] J. Schneider, 'An die Socialdemokraten Deutschlands', *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, No. 67, 3 December 1871; see also items in Nos. 68-70 of *Neuer Social-Demokrat* of 6, 8 and 10 December 1871. - [c] on 18 January 1872

## 13

## JENNY MARX (DAUGHTER) TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[760]

IN HANOVER

London, 3 May 1872

My dear friend,

Knowing how deep an interest you take in everything that concerns Papa, I hasten to tell you that he has just received the first proof-sheets of the *livraisons*[a] to be published in French.[436] Unfortunately much time has been lost because M. Lachâtre, the publisher, insisted upon printing in the first *livraison* a portrait of the author of *Das Kapital*. Perhaps we ought to excuse Lachâtre for attaching so much importance to the publication of the portrait if we take into consideration the fact that the Russian government has allowed *Das Kapital* to be printed, but has put its veto upon the issue of the author's likeness![146] However that may be, the fact is that it is owing to the likeness which had to be first taken, then engraved, that a great delay has been occasioned.

The translation of the first part of the book is not so good as we had every reason to hope it would be from the fame of the translator, M. Roy, who has with great success translated Feuerbach. Papa is obliged to make numberless corrections, he has to re-write not only whole sentences but entire pages. This labour, added to the correcting of the proof-sheets[b] from Germany[396] and to the overwhelming International business is too much even for Papa, though you know his *Arbeitskraft*[c] is extraordinary. I hope therefore you will pardon him for not writing oftener to you. It is absolutely impossible for him to do so. I greatly fear he will soon fall ill again—as so much work will be unendurable when the hot weather sets in. At the present moment his health is not bad.

I suppose you have seen from the German papers that the International has been fiercely attacked in the House of Commons? Enclosed is the answer issued by the General Council[d] and which (with the exception of *The Eastern Post*) not one London paper has had the common fairness to insert.[765]

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[a] instalments (of Volume I of *Capital*) - [b] of the second German edition of Volume I of *Capital* - [c] capacity for work - [d] K. Marx, 'Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association Concerning Cochrane's Speech in the House of Commons'.

Though the British Government has been obliged to declare its inability to comply with the wishes of M. Thiers openly to interfere with the International, it secretly does all the dirty work demanded of it. Mr Gladstone furnishes M. Thiers with the correspondence of the General Council to the Continent. Last week, for instance, Outine from Geneva wrote to inform us that a letter Papa had written to him on International affairs[17] had evidently been opened, and that, strange to say, at the post-office in London the words *via Ostende* had been changed for *via Calais*, which of course enabled the Versaillists to make themselves acquainted with the contents of the letter. And this letter had been registered!

We have had very sad news from Spain. Our poor little Schnaps[a] is very very ill. He has never recovered from the terrible attack of cholera he had last August. He is getting weaker and weaker.

Will you please give my love to Trautchen and tell her I will write to her soon.

With kindest regards from all at home to yourself, Trautchen and Käuzchen[b]

Believe me, my dear friend,

Very sincerely yours,

Jenny Marx

First published, in Italian, in *Movimento operaio*, No. 2, Milan, 1955

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## 14

## JENNY MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN LEIPZIG

[London,] Sunday, 26 May 1872

My dear LIBRARY,[c]

Engels has taken upon himself the task of informing you about the Eccarius affair[d] and of putting you in the picture with regard to all the despicable infamies of which I cannot think without

[a] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [b] Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann - [c] Liebknecht's nickname coined by Marx's daughters - [d] See this volume, pp. 381-84.

indignation and which I might not be calm and dispassionate enough to recount to you myself. For my part, I am happy to seize the opportunity to thank you for the confidence you have so genuinely retained in your old and undoubtedly sorely tried friend, and to tell you of the intense sympathy and concern with which I have thought of you and your dear wife[a] in these difficult, troubled times. I have often longed to tell you how much I admired the fortitude, tact and skill which you have displayed in these trying circumstances. And to be quite frank, my thoughts have lingered even more with your wife than with you. In all these struggles we women have the harder part to bear, because it is the lesser one. A man draws strength from his struggle with the world outside, and is invigorated by the sight of the enemy, be their number legion. We remain sitting at home, darning socks. That does nothing to dispel our fears and the gnawing day-to-day petty worries slowly but surely sap our spirit. I can say this from over 30 years' experience, and can certainly claim that I am not one to lose heart easily. Now I have grown too old to hope for much and the recent terrible events[b] have completely shattered my peace of mind. I fear that we ourselves, we old ones will not live to experience much good any more and my only hope is that our children will have an easier time of it. You cannot imagine what we have had to endure here in London since the fall of the Commune. All the nameless misery, the suffering without end! And on top of that, the almost unbearable work on behalf of the International. As long as Moor had all the work and just managed, thanks to his diplomacy and tactical skill, to keep the various unruly elements together in the face of the world and the cohorts of enemies, as long as he succeeded in sparing the Association RIDICULE, inspired the trembling crew with fear and terror, attended no Congress and never claimed the limelight, had all the labour and none of the credit—as long as that was the case, the rabble remained silent. But now that his enemies have dragged him into the light of day, have put his name in the forefront of attention, the whole pack have joined forces, and police and democrats alike all bay the same refrain about his 'despotic nature, his craving for authority and his ambition'! How much better it would have been, and how much happier he would be, if he had just gone on working quietly and developed the theory of struggle for those in the fight. But he has no peace by day or by night.

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[a] Natalie Liebknecht - [b] the defeat of the Paris Commune

And what deprivation, what *gêne*[a] in our private lives! And at the very time when our girls need our help.

So you have heard of Jenny's engagement. Longuet is a very gifted man and he is good, honest and decent, and the harmony of opinions and convictions between the young couple is certainly a guarantee of their future happiness. On the other hand, I cannot contemplate their union without great uneasiness and would really have preferred it if Jenny's choice had fallen (FOR A CHANGE) on an Englishman or a German, instead of a Frenchman, who of course possesses all the charming qualities of his nation, but is not free of their foibles and inadequacies. At present, he is tutoring in Oxford, in the hope of making better contacts. But you know yourself how precarious private tutoring can be, and I cannot help being afraid that, as a political woman, Jenny will be exposed to all the anxieties and torments inseparable from it. All of this *entre nous*. I know that you will keep it to yourself. It was an immeasurable relief to be able to open my heart to an old loyal friend and reveal my silent worries. I feel easier after these words and hope that you will not be angry with me for 'striking such a sad note' instead of writing cheerful letters to you and your dear wife. We heard from Laura yesterday. Her little boy,[b] who is now $3^1/_2$ years old and the only survivor of her three children, had been lying sick with cholera for 9 months and was so emaciated that his poor parents had given him up for lost. Laura, in a strange land,[c] whose language she did not know, had spent the whole 9 months at his bedside! I need say no more. The child is now somewhat better and if he recovers still further and is able to travel, the Lafargues intend to come here in August. Tussy is *well and in good cheer* and a politician FROM TOP TO BOTTOM! Lenchen[d] is her old self. The smell of the SUNDAY ROASTBEEF is just coming in from the kitchen and since the tablecloth is pushing me away from the desk, I shall bid you an affectionate farewell.

Give your dear children a thousand kisses from their old friend, especially my dear Alice.

Embracing you and your dear wife, I remain your old friend

Jenny Marx

First published in *Wilhelm Liebknecht. Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels*, The Hague, 1962

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[a] straits - [b] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [c] The Lafargues lived in Madrid at the time. - [d] Helene Demuth

## 15

## JENNY MARX (DAUGHTER) TO LUDWIG AND GERTRUD KUGELMANN[766]

IN HANOVER

[London,] 27 June 1872

My dear friends,

If you knew how often I have sat down to write to you, and how often I have been interrupted before I had written half a dozen lines, I am sure you would forgive me for not having answered your last letter before this.

You, my dear Doctor, will be glad to hear that Mohr is entirely of your opinion with regard to his activity in the International. He is convinced that so long as he remains in the General Council, it will be impossible for him to write the second volume of *Das Kapital*, at which he has been unable to work during the last year. Consequently, he has made up his mind to give up his post as secretary immediately after the next Congress. Until that time however, he will have to work terribly hard in the Council and out of it, in order to prepare for the great battle that will be fought out at the Congress, which is to take place in Holland.[580]

You will have some idea of this work when I tell you that besides writing manifestoes, reading or answering mountains of letters, Mohr is obliged to attend not only the usual weekly sittings at Rathbone Place, but additional ones at our house and that of Engels,[767] the last of which lasted from four in the afternoon until one o'clock in the morning. So much for International business. The remaining time (and there is not much of it) is given up to the correction of the proof-sheets[a] from Meissner,[396] and the revision of the French translation,[436] which unfortunately is so very imperfect, that Mohr has been obliged to re-write the greater part of the first chapter. The first *livraison*,[b] consisting only of the portrait of the author, after the enclosed photograph by Mayall—an autograph letter[c] and answer from the publisher Lachâtre, will shortly appear, in about a week.—Of the Russian translation, which is excellent, a thousand copies have already been sold.[360]

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[a] of the second German edition of Volume I of *Capital* - [b] instalment - [c] See this volume, p. 347.

The French translation of the *Civil War* is producing a very good effect upon the refugees, equally satisfying all parties—Blanquists, *Proudhoniens*, and Communists. It is a great pity it did not appear earlier,[245] as it would undoubtedly have done much towards smoothing down the animosity against the General Council.—

And now, my dearest Trautchen,[a] let me also give you some news. In all probability *the* marriage so often announced by the *presse policière de Paris* will take place somewhere about the middle of July—the 18th or 19th. Last week the *Gaulois* married me for the 20th time. It selected the notorious Landeck as my husband.[b] When I am married in good earnest I suppose those idiotic scribblers will let me alone.

I cannot send you M. Longuet's photograph, my dear friends, as I only have a very horrible one, that is being exposed in the shop windows, a caricature made to please the bourgeoisie, and to satisfy them that physically as well as morally the *Communeux* are the monsters for which they took them. So soon as I have a better likeness I will send it [to] you. What do you think of the enclosed one of Papa? We all greatly admire it and think it superior to the one he had taken at Hanover.—

With best love from all at home to yourselves and Käuzchen[c]

Believe me as ever

your affectionate friend

Jenny Marx

First published, in Italian, in *Movimento operaio*, No. 2, Milan, 1955

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## 16

## JENNY MARX-LONGUET TO LUDWIG AND GERTRUD KUGELMANN[766]

IN HANOVER

London, 23 December 1872
1 Maitland Park [Road]

My dear friends,

A Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year to you!—All at home join me in that heartfelt wish! I say *all at home*—for as you

[a] Gertrud Kugelmann - [b] *Le Gaulois*, 18 June 1872. - [c] Franziska Kugelmann

will have seen from the above address I am again in my dear old home with my parents. My husband and I have left Oxford after a fruitless stay of six weeks, during which time not a single pupil was forthcoming. The learned Dundrearies who had taken lessons during the summer term were no doubt so much shocked at seeing Mr Longuet's name among the names of the delegates to the International Congress[580] that they resolved to have nothing to do with their former teacher. Of course this was a great disappointment to me *at first*, knowing how difficult it is to find employment where there is so much competition—this country is overflowing with all sorts of French professors, French exiled journalists, doctors, lawyers, tinkers and tailors having indiscriminately taken to that line. Gradually I have however become reconciled to our Oxford misadventures. I am so very much happier in London than in orthodox snubbish Oxford. London contains Modena Villas and in the front room first floor of Modena Villas I can always find my dear Mohr. I cannot express you how lonely I feel when separated from him—and he tells me that he also missed me very much, and that during my absence he buried himself altogether in his den. If only my husband and I could find something to do in London, I shall bless the ill luck that has driven us from the grand seat of sham science.

The Lafargues are also staying at Hampstead, where they intend settling down for a few years. Mama wishes me to tell you that Laura is looking much better now than while staying at the Hague—she is much more cheerful, and we trust, will gradually altogether recover from the terrible shock caused by the death of her dear little boy.[a] All the other members of our family are well. I trust, my dear friends, you will be able to give me equally good news of yourselves. Do write me soon. You know I take a deep interest in all that concerns you. If you, my dear Trautchen,[b] would only condescend to let me have one letter for every half dozen you write your friend Mrs Tenge I should be satisfied. You see I am not very exacting and not at all jealous!

The French translation of *Das Kapital* is slowly progressing.[436] The next *livraison*[c] will be excellent. Papa has re-written it altogether. The translator, who is a very dull dog, had made a sad mess of it. Unfortunately this sort of correction gives Mohr as much, if not more work, than if he had written the whole thing himself. He works every night till two or three o'clock in the morning. Have you read the articles on the first *livraison* that have

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[a] Charles Étienne Lafargue - [b] Gertrud Kugelmann - [c] instalment

just appeared in the *Liberté* of Brussels?[a] It was left for these Belgian wiseacres to discover that Marx and Proudhon have together resolved the '*constitution de la valeur*'. *Voilà ce que c'est que l'esprit belge—du faro tout pur,*[b] unadulterated. However dull these Belgians be, they are not too dull to carry on their miserable intrigues against the International. They work as hard as ever with their brothers of the Jura and have of late also joined hands with the model British workmen Hales and the drunken Mottershead. Their party has been further strengthened by the addition of Jung—whose shameful defection is the result of his grotesque vanity. The miserable wretch could not bear the idea of transferring the Council to New York, which robs him of all his importance. For weeks he fumed and fretted in silence, and now at length has openly entered the service of the Great Hales. All these petty intriguers however will soon have played out their small games, and certainly it will be a good thing for the Association to have got rid of such workers as the illustrious Jung, Hales etc. It is after all no misfortune these men have come out in their true colours.—

My paper is full—so I have just only time to repeat to you our best wishes for yourselves and dear Fränzchen.[c]

I remain your sincere friend

Jenny

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Reproduced from the original

## 17

## JENNY MARX-LONGUET TO LUDWIG AND GERTRUD KUGELMANN[766]

IN HANOVER

London, 12 May 1873

My dear friends,

I should be really grieved if I thought you had all this time been looking upon me as a faithless friend—but no—you must surely

[a] 'Karl Marx et son analyse de la valeur', *La Liberté*, Nos. 49 and 51, 8 and 22 December 1872. - [b] 'composition of value'. There you have the Belgian spirit as it is—the purest beer - [c] Franziska Kugelmann

know me well enough to have attributed my silence to everything but want of friendship. And indeed everything but that has been the cause of it. Ever since Christmas I have been altogether absorbed by the delightful battle known as the struggle for life. Were I to enumerate all the races I have run from the north to the south, from the east to the west of London—and run in vain—to pick up pupils for French, German, singing and elocution, I should sadly tire you. The result of all this has been the acquisition of a vast amount of experience, a thorough insight into the shameless impossible tricks of advertisers, agents, principals of schools etc. Though like Shakespeare's Rosalind I would rather have a fool to make me merry than experience to make me sad[a]—yet in this case I do not regret my hard earned experience—for I hope some day to make known to the public the machinations of these ghouls of middlemen and thus to save others from the snares into which I have fallen. My husband[b] has not been more successful than myself in this land of liberty and free competition. Of course if we had chosen to settle down somewhere in the provinces, to vegetate in some corner out of the world, we might have found employment long ago—but though married, my heart is as it ever was chained to the spot where my Papa is, and elsewhere life would not be life to me. If all fails however I suppose I must leave him... But sufficient for the day is the evil thereof[c]—I will not think of it beforehand.

I have yet to thank you for your last letters, my dear friends. To you, my dear Doctor, I need not write a line in answer to your opinion of the representatives of the Jura at the Congress.[580] Time has taken the trouble to do that for me, and to do it far more effectually than I could have done. Those miserable intriguers whose sole object is to sow dissension in the Association and to reap the benefit thereof, have been all along treated far too generously by their opponents.—Have you seen the last production of that infamous lump of vanity, Jung, in the *Liberté*[d]? The lies he tells of my husband he has concocted together with a *quondam* revolutionist who has now settled down as flunkey in an English gentleman's family, and is content to figure as 'calves'. A companion worthy of the illustrious Jung!

There is no truth whatever in the rumour to which you allude of Papa's going to America.—

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[a] Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, Act IV, Scene 1. - [b] Charles Longuet - [c] Matthew 6:34 - [d] H. Jung, 'Monsieur le rédacteur...', *La Liberté*, No. 18, 4 May 1873.

The second volume of *Das Kapital* does not progress at all, as the French translation,[436] which has to be almost entirely re-written, takes up the whole of Mohr's time. What do you think of it and of the epilogue to the second edition[396] of *Das Kapital*?

To you, dear Trautchen,[a] I need not say that I think of you very very often and that I long to see you again,—you and dear Fränzchen.[b] Does that young lady still recollect a certain *by-by*[c] of old? Give her my best love. Mohr sends you and Wenzel many greetings in which my husband and mama join. He will write to you soon.

Very faithfully yours,
Jenny

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Reproduced from the original

## 18

## CHARLES LONGUET TO HUGO HELLER

### IN OXFORD

[London,] 23 June 1873
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill

My dear Friend,

May I thank you on both my own and my father-in-law's behalf for your kind suggestion; but at this moment we neither of us have anything of importance to convey to Paris. So if the French customs search your pockets or your baggage for petrol, they will be wasting their time.

Do not, however, let this deter you from coming to see us on Friday,[d] if you have a moment to spare. In any case I very much hope we shall see you before your return to Oxford.

To the best of my knowledge there has never been a General Clément in the Commune; I presume you must mean Citizen

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[a] Gertrud Kugelmann - [b] Franziska Kugelmann - [c] Jenny's nickname coined by Marx - [d] 27 June

J. B. Clément, ex-member of the Commune for the 18th *arrondissement*.

My wife and I beg you to convey our respects to Mrs Heller.

With cordial salutations,

Charles Longuet

Published for the first time

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934].—3, 30, 38, 61, 127

[2] This refers to the letter which Ludwig Kugelmann wrote to Marx on the eve of France declaring war on Prussia (18 July 1870). He expressed his conviction that any further aggravation of Franco-Prussian relations would lead to war and criticised the proclamation adopted at a meeting of Brunswick workers held on 16 July 1870. He considered it to be a mistake to demand categorically of the French workers that they overthrow the Empire in order to avert war. The meeting was called by the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (the Eisenachers) in protest against war preparations by the ruling classes and to express solidarity with the manifesto issued by the Paris members of the International (see *Le Réveil*, 12 July 1870). Despite certain shortcomings the proclamation as a whole was internationalist in spirit. It is quoted by Marx in the 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War' (see present edition, Vol. 22).—3

[3] This refers to the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71.—3

[4] The issue of *Le Réveil* with the article in question has not been found.—3

[5] In July and August 1870, the town of Blois was the scene of a major political trial. Seventy-two people, among them such prominent Blanquists as Charles Victor Jaclard, Edme Marie Gustave Tridon, Gustave Paul Flourens, Théophile Charles Gilles Ferré, as well as Félix Pyat, were charged with conspiring to assassinate Napoleon III and stage a *coup d'état*. The Supreme Court sentenced most of the accused to penal servitude and to terms varying from 5 to 20 years in prison and exile.—3

[6] The *Fenians* were Irish revolutionaries who named themselves after the 'Féne'—the name of the ancient inhabitants of Ireland. Their first organisations appeared in the 1850s in the USA among the Irish immigrants and later in Ireland itself. The secret Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, as the organisation was known in the early 1860s, aimed at establishing an independent Irish republic by means of an armed uprising. The Fenians, who expressed the

interests of the Irish peasantry, came chiefly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia and believed in conspiratorial tactics. The British Government attempted to suppress the Fenian movement with drastic police action.—3

7 A reference to the psychological law formulated, in the mid-19th century, by Ernst Weber and Gustav Fechner. It establishes the correlation between the intensity of a sensation and the intensity of the stimuli that cause it.—4

8 Marx is alluding to Léo Frankel's article 'Ein belauschtes Zwiegespräch' in the *Volkswille*, No. 10, 2 April 1870, in which Frankel evolved a 'formula' that, he thought, explained the essence of value. See also Marx's letter to Engels of 14 April 1870 (present edition, Vol. 43).—4

9 At a congress of the Romance Federation held in La Chaux-de-Fonds between 4 and 6 April 1870, there occurred a split between the Bakuninists and the General Council supporters. The Bakuninist delegates, having usurped the name of the Romance Congress, elected their own Federal Committee and transferred its seat to La Chaux-de-Fonds. The General Council supporters continued their work under the leadership of the Romance Federal Committee residing in Geneva. On 28 June the General Council passed a resolution, submitted by Marx, which recognised the Geneva Committee as the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 136); the resolution was sent to both Federal Committees by Jung and published in *La Solidarité*, No. 16, on 23 July 1870, and in *Le Mirabeau*, No. 53, on 24 July 1870.—5, 26, 179, 285, 316

10 The *International Alliance of Socialist Democracy (L'Alliance internationale de la démocratie socialiste)*—an international anarchist organisation founded by Mikhail Bakunin and his followers in Geneva in October 1868. The programme of the Alliance called for the immediate abolition of all states, the equalisation of classes, and the abolition of the right of inheritance. The leaders of the Alliance sought admission to the International as an autonomous international organisation within the International Working Men's Association. Their claims were rejected by the General Council (see the resolution written by Marx and approved by the General Council on 22 December 1868: 'The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy', present edition, Vol. 21); and only after the leaders of the Alliance had expressed their readiness to dissolve it were its sections admitted to the International, on the common terms, in 1869. Having publicly declared the dissolution of the Alliance, the Bakuninist leaders actually preserved it as a secret, conspiratorial organisation and sought to use it to boost their influence in the International as a counter to the General Council.

The struggle of the revolutionary proletarian wing of the International against the Bakuninist sectarians gained momentum after the Paris Commune, and became especially sharp after the London Conference of 1871. By a decision of the Hague Congress of the International (1872), at which the existence of the secret Bakuninist Alliance and its divisive activities were exposed, its chief leaders, Mikhail Bakunin and James Guillaume, were expelled from the International Working Men's Association.—5, 26, 163, 181, 233, 255, 266, 358, 372, 375, 387, 392, 397, 403, 408, 415, 419, 424, 426, 466, 492, 509, 538, 567

11 The *Landwehr*—a second-line army reserve formed in Prussia during the struggle against Napoleonic rule. In the 1870s, it consisted of men under forty years of age who had seen active service and had been in the first-line reserve.

During the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, the Landwehr was used in military actions on a par with the regular troops.—7, 12, 20, 117

12 Between the end of July 1870 and February 1871, Engels wrote a series of 59 articles published in *The Pall Mall Gazette* under the title *Notes on the War* (see present edition, Vol. 22). In these articles, written in the form of military surveys, Engels analysed the events of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 from the angle of historical materialism. With the exception of the first three articles, signed 'Z', they were published unsigned.—7, 17, 22, 35, 56, 58, 62

13 In 1866 *The Manchester Guardian* published five articles by Engels on the Austro-Prussian war under the title *Notes on the War in Germany* (see present edition, Vol. 20).—7

14 The reference is to the report on a meeting organised by members of the German colony in Manchester at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War. One of the aims of the meeting was to set up a relief fund for the wounded and the families of the war dead. The report was published in *The Manchester Guardian*, No. 7466, on 22 July 1870 under the heading 'Meeting of Germans in Manchester'.—8

15 In his letter of 18 July 1870, Eugen Oswald, a German refugee, asked Marx to sign an Address on the Franco-Prussian War drawn up by a group of French and German democratic refugees. The Address was published as a leaflet on 31 July 1870; the editions that followed were signed by Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Bebel and other members of the International. Marx and his associates agreed to sign it on conditions outlined by Marx in his letter to Oswald of 3 August 1870 (see this volume, p. 34).

Oswald enclosed with his letter an excerpt from Louis Blanc's letter in which he called for the Address on the Franco-Prussian War to be signed by as many people as possible.—9, 11, 31, 35, 36, 37, 64

16 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—10, 24, 195

17 This letter by Marx has not been found.—10, 15, 26, 33, 65, 70, 106, 176, 192, 194, 204, 213, 327, 328, 384, 495, 506, 532, 533, 549, 579

18 'Departing for Syria' (*'Partant pour la Syrie'*)—the opening words of a song written in the early 19th century. During the Second Empire it became a sort of Bonapartist anthem and was sung at festivities arranged by Napoleon III.—10, 13

19 *'Lord, in Thee is all my trust' ('Jesus meine Zuversicht')*—a song by Christoph Runge, a German poet and publisher, dedicated to Luise Henriette von Brandenburg, the wife of the Elector. It was first published in Runge's *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen*, which appeared in Berlin in 1650.—10, 13

20 The draft of a secret treaty between France and Prussia, drawn up in 1866, was published in the German press after 20 July 1870. On 25 July it was published in *The Times*. The draft treaty envisaged the annexation of Belgium and Luxembourg by France in return for which France undertook to observe neutrality in Prussia's war against Austria in 1866. By publishing the draft Bismarck sought to turn public opinion in England and Belgium against France.—11, 19

21 On 23 January 1860 Britain and France signed a commercial treaty under which France renounced its excessively high protective tariffs. Article 2 of the treaty contained a special proviso which obliged France to lower the duties on imported British coal to 15 centimes per 100 kg. France in return was granted the right to export most of her goods to Britain duty-free.—11, 19

22 In the German original the term *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* (principal and spectacular actions) is used; this has several meanings. In the 17th and the first half of the 18th century it denoted plays performed by German touring companies. The term can also denote major political events.—11

23 This refers to the letter of 24 July 1870 written by the members of the Committee of the Russian Section of the International and signed by Nikolai Utin, Victor Bartenev and Anton Trusov. They wrote about the Section's struggle against Mikhail Bakunin and his attacks on members of the Russian Section as well as the Romance Federation. The authors also referred to their intention to publish a pamphlet against Bakunin (their plan was not carried out). The Committee members warned the General Council that Sergei Nechayev and Vladimir Serebrennikov had left for London and that the latter had obtained a recommendation to Dupont. Marx replied to their letter in his letter to Johann Philipp Becker of 2 August 1870 (see this volume, pp. 26-27).—11, 19, 22, 26

24 Marx means renting a house for Engels who intended to move from Manchester to London for good in September 1870 after retiring from the firm of Ermen & Engels. Jenny Marx took an active part in looking for a suitable house.—12, 15, 19, 49, 52, 555, 558, 559

25 This letter was written in English. It was first published in full (in English) in *Annali*, Milan, 1958, an. 1.—12

26 *Mitrailleuse*—a multi-barrelled, rapid-fire gun mounted on a heavy carriage. The mitrailleuse used in the French army in 1870-71 had 25 barrels that fired in succession by means of a special mechanism. It could fire up to 175 shots a minute with carbine cartridges. However, the experience of the Franco-Prussian War showed the mitrailleuse to be unsuited to battlefield conditions due to construction inadequacies.—12, 35

27 On this see also Engels' 'Notes on the War.—I' in *The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 1703, 29 July 1870 (present edition, Vol. 22).—13

28 Marx sent to Paul and Laura Lafargue a clipping from *Der Volksstaat*, No. 59, 23 July 1870, with a report from Berlin which quoted the declaration made by Bebel and Liebknecht in the Reichstag on 21 July 1870. He may also have enclosed the 'Politische Uebersicht' column from the same issue, dealing with the attitude of the German working class to the Franco-Prussian War. On Bebel's and Liebknecht's declaration in the Reichstag see Note 31.—14

29 Paul and Laura Lafargue lived in a suburb of Paris known as Levallois-Perret, on plâce de la Reine-Hortense, in the immediate vicinity of military fortifications.—14, 35

30 The 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War' (see present edition, Vol. 22) was published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 63, 7 August 1870, under the heading 'Manifest des Generalraths der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation', with the note to which Marx is referring in his letter.—16

[31] On 21 July 1870, during the vote on war credits in the North German Reichstag, Bebel and Liebknecht abstained, declaring that to vote for credits would signify giving a vote of confidence in the Prussian Government, which was waging a dynastic war; to vote against the credits, on the other hand, might be regarded as an approval of Bonaparte's treacherous policy. On 26 July 1870, Marx read their declaration in the General Council of the International, which unreservedly approved their action. The declaration was translated into English by Marx and published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* on 6 August 1870 in the report on the General Council meeting.—16, 51

[32] Engels' forecast proved correct. On 6 August 1870 one of the major battles of the early period of the war took place at Forbach (in Lorraine, not far from Saarbrücken), in which the Prussian troops defeated the French 2nd Corps under General Frossard. In historical literature this battle is also called the Battle of Spicheren. Engels refers to it as such in several of his letters.—18, 35, 54

[33] Engels attached these calculations to his article 'Notes on the War.—III', which he enclosed with his letter to Marx. As from 31 July Engels forwarded his articles directly to *The Pall Mall Gazette*.—20

[34] The *Zouaves* (after the name of an Algerian tribe)—a type of French light infantry first formed in 1830 as colonial troops in Algeria. Three Zouave regiments of the MacMahon Corps took part in the war of 1870-71.—21

[35] The *Turcos* or *Algerian riflemen*—French light infantry formed in the early 1840s from native inhabitants of Algeria (the officers and some of the NCOs were French).—21

[36] The *Garde mobile* (Mobile National Guard)—special armed forces introduced in France in 1848. From 1868 onwards it was made up of men who had reached call-up age but were not enlisted for active service or in the reserve; it was assigned to frontier defence, and to rear and garrison service. In 1870 it was called up for active service for the first time and formed the core of the French armed forces after the fall of the Empire. The *Garde mobile* was abolished in 1872.—21

[37] Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: *Marx on Revolution*. Translated by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1971.—22, 504

[38] The agenda for the next Congress of the International, to be opened in Mainz on 5 September 1870, was drawn up by Marx and approved by the General Council on 12 July 1870 (see present edition, Vol. 21). The text adopted by the Council was issued in English as a leaflet entitled *The Fifth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association* and appeared in a number of English, French and German papers.

On 14 July 1870 Marx sent to Hermann Jung the French text of the agenda for translation into German (see present edition, Vol. 43, pp. 537-38). The corrected German translation was published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 65, on 13 August 1870.—25

[39] Marx is referring to an attempt by the Bakuninists to gain a false majority at the Congress of the Romance Federation held in La Chaux-de-Fonds between 4 and 6 April 1870 (see Note 9), by sending delegates from minor and often non-existent sections, with a view to usurping the leadership of the Romance Federation of the International.—25

[40] On 17 May 1870 the General Council decided to convene the Fifth Congress of

the International in Mainz. On 2 August 1870 the General Council resolved to defer the Congress owing to the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War and ask the sections of the International for approval of its decision. The Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, the German sections in Switzerland, and the Belgian and Romance Federations of the International supported the General Council's proposal. On 23 August 1870 the Council officially decided to defer the Congress.—25, 33

41 The *Pan-Slavic Congress* met in Prague on 2 June 1848. It was attended by representatives of the Slavic countries forming part of the Habsburg Empire. The Right, liberal moderate wing, sought to solve the national problem through autonomy of the Slavic countries within the framework of the Habsburg monarchy. The Left, radical wing, wanted to act in alliance with the revolutionary-democratic movement in Germany and Hungary. Mikhail Bakunin affiliated with the Left. Radical delegates took an active part in the popular uprising in Prague (12-17 June 1848), directed against the arbitrary rule of the Austrian authorities, and were subjected to cruel reprisals.—26

42 From 3 to 9 May 1849, Dresden, the capital of Saxony, was the scene of an armed uprising caused by the refusal of the Saxon King to recognise the Imperial Constitution. The insurgents captured a considerable part of the city, the workers being the most active among the barricade fighters. The Russian revolutionary Mikhail Bakunin, the German working-class leader Stephan Born, and the composer Richard Wagner were active participants in the uprising.—27

43 Marx is referring to the articles by Sigismund Borkheim, 'Russische Briefe. VIII-X. Michael Bakunin, XI. Ein russischer penny-a-liner', which were published anonymously in *Die Zukunft* between July and November 1869. Analysing Bakunin's articles which had appeared in Russian, Borkheim criticised the author mainly for his Pan-Slavist ideas and the idealisation of the Russian peasant commune.—27, 404

44 In their letter of 24 July 1870 (see Note 23) the members of the Committee of the Russian Section asked Marx to pass on their thanks to Borkheim for his article against Sergei Nechayev published in *Der Volksstaat*, and expressed their willingness to support him in the polemics.

The dispute had arisen when Borkheim published his article 'Der Brief Njetschajeffs' (*Der Volksstaat*, No. 22, 16 March 1870). Borkheim warmly welcomed the development of the revolutionary movement in Russia, but at the same time exposed various false rumours which Nechayev had spread about his arrest, exile to Siberia, escape, etc.—27

45 This letter by Engels has not been found.—29, 43, 125, 156, 159, 185, 277, 305, 319, 321, 337, 352, 367, 368, 370, 396, 407, 453, 468, 479, 489, 493, 497, 498, 516, 526, 538, 559

46 *Bas* (Lower) *Empire* is the name sometimes given to the Byzantine Empire and also to the late Roman Empire. In a more general sense, the name is applied to any state going through a period of decline and disintegration. Here the Second Empire in France is meant.—30, 39, 41

47 Speaking in the House of Commons on 1 August 1870, Disraeli dwelt upon the idea of rapprochement between Britain and Russia. He pointed out that they were the only powers to have abided by the provisions of the Vienna Treaty of 1815 which guaranteed Prussia the right to Saxony.

Speaking in this connection on the Polish question, Marx had in mind the violation of the terms of the Vienna Treaty concerning the Constitution of the

Polish lands. Thus in 1832, following the suppression of the Polish uprising, the tsarist government, with the connivance of the Western powers, abrogated the Constitution in that part of Poland which was annexed to Russia in 1815 as an autonomous region. The same thing happened with regard to the guarantees of the autonomous rights of the Cracow Republic, whose territory was seized by Austria in 1846 after the suppression of the Cracow insurrection.—33

48 On 23 July 1870 *La Solidarité* published the General Council's resolution on the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland (see Note 9) signed by Hermann Jung, the Council's Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland. The editors of *La Solidarité* added their comments on the resolution, denying the right of the General Council to decide on this issue.—33, 36

49 The first open clash between the adherents of scientific socialism and the Bakuninists over abolishing the right of inheritance came at the Basle Congress (September 1869). Since none of the proposals produced an absolute majority the Basle Congress did not adopt any resolution on this question.—33

50 This refers to the *French Branch in London*, founded in the autumn of 1865. Besides proletarian members (Eugène Dupont, Hermann Jung, Paul Lafargue and others), the Branch also included petty-bourgeois refugees (Victor Le Lubez and later Félix Pyat). In 1868, after the General Council had adopted a resolution proposed by Marx (7 July 1868) condemning Pyat's provocative calls for terrorist acts against Napoleon III (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 7), a split occurred in the Branch, and its proletarian members resigned. But Pyat's group, having lost virtually all ties with the International, continued to call itself the French Branch in London. It also repeatedly gave support to anti-proletarian elements opposing Marx's line in the General Council. On 10 May 1870 the General Council officially dissociated itself from this group (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 131).—33, 64, 141, 342

51 Marx wrote this letter on a form from Borkheim' s office bearing its address: 9 Billiter Square, E.C.—36

52 The original version of the General Council's resolution, written by Marx on 22 December 1868, 'The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy', made the point that is was necessary to publish this resolution in all countries where sections of the International existed. This point was omitted from the final text (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 36).—37

53 Marx and his family were on vacation in Ramsgate from 9 to 31 August 1870.—38, 56, 60, 64, 82, 555, 557

54 *Boustrapa*—a nickname of Louis Bonaparte, composed of the first syllables of the names of cities where he staged putsches: Boulogne (6 August 1840), Strasbourg (30 October 1836) and Paris (coup d'état of 2 December 1851, which led to the establishment of a Bonapartist dictatorship in France).—38, 51

55 The *North German Confederation* (Norddeutscher Bund)—a federative state formed in 1867 under the domination of Prussia, after her victory in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866. It replaced the defunct German Confederation. The North German Confederation included 19 German states and three free cities, which were formally recognised as autonomous. Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg and Hesse-Darmstadt joined it in 1870. The establishment of the North German Confederation was a major step towards German national unity.

The Confederation ceased to exist in January 1871, when the German Empire was formed.—38, 91

56 The *Peace Society*—a pacifist organisation founded by the Quakers in London in 1816. The Society, which was actively supported by the Free Traders, donated £20 for the dissemination of the 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. Johann Philipp Becker used this money in Switzerland to have 30,000 copies of the Address printed in German and French.

At a meeting of the General Council on 2 August 1870, John Weston, who acted as chairman, announced that John Stuart Mill had commended the Address.—40, 51, 77, 82, 100, 556

57 Engels worked on *The History of Ireland* in the latter months of 1869 and during the first half of 1870. However, this work remained unfinished. Engels wrote the first chapter ('Natural Conditions') and part of the second chapter ('Old Ireland'), which are contained in Volume 21 of the present edition; the preparatory materials for the book will be found in part in Volume 21 and also in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978.—40, 329

58 The defeats of the French army at Forbach (Spicheren) and Werth led to spontaneous anti-government demonstrations in Paris, Lyons, Marseilles and other cities on 7-9 August 1870. These revolutionary actions almost coincided with the anniversary of the popular insurrection in Paris (10 August 1792) which had led to the overthrow of the monarchy in France and the foundation of the First Republic.

On 10 August 1870 *The Pall Mall Gazette* published a report on the events in Paris entitled 'Affairs in Paris. Prospects of Revolution'.—41

59 Engels alludes to Henri de Rochefort, editor of *La Marseillaise*, a Left Republican paper. From February 1870, he had been serving a six-month term in the Sainte-Pelagie prison for an article published in the newspaper on 12 January 1870, after the assassination of the journalist Victor Noir by Prince Pierre Bonaparte. *La Marseillaise* was suppressed from 18 May to 20 July 1870 for its articles directed against the ruling circles of the Second Empire, and on 9 September it ceased publication altogether.—41

60 The *Schiller Institute*, founded in Manchester in November 1859 to coincide with the celebrations of Schiller's centenary, was conceived as a cultural and social centre for the city's German colony. In 1864 Engels became a member of its Directorate and later President of the Institute, devoting much time to it and exercising considerable influence over its activities.

In September 1868 while Engels was away from Manchester, the Directorate invited Karl Vogt, who had connections with Bonapartist circles, to give a lecture at the Institute. This caused Engels to resign his positions (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 18). In April 1870 Engels was again elected a member of the Directorate, but he no longer took an active part in its work.—43

61 A reference to the letters written by the members of the Brunswick Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party and to other documents which Marx was receiving from Germany in connection with the disagreements that had arisen between the Brunswick Committee and the editorial board of *Der Volksstaat*, the central organ of the Party, over the attitude to the Franco-Prussian War and the tactics to be pursued by the working class.

At the beginning of the war the editorial board of *Der Volksstaat*, taking an internationalist position on the whole, rather ignored the task of national unification. Some members of the Brunswick Committee, on the other hand, underestimated the expansionist tendencies of the Prussian ruling circles, which had become obvious even in the initial stages of the war when it was largely defensive on the German side. When disagreements sharpened, the members of the Committee requested Marx to give his opinion on the subject.

Marx and Engels elaborated the tactical line of the German proletariat and the Social-Democratic Workers' Party and expounded it in their 'Letter to the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party' (see present edition, Vol. 22).—43, 45

62 Marx wrote this letter to Jung after he had received resolutions from the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections in Switzerland which endorsed the General Council's proposal to defer the regular congress of the International due on 5 September 1870.

A copy, handwritten by Marx, of the resolution of the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party was enclosed with the letter.—44

63 By a decision of the Vienna Congress of 1815, the northern regions of Savoy (Chablais, Faucigny and Geneves), which formed part of the Sardinian Kingdom, were declared a neutral zone. After Savoy and Nice had been annexed by France in 1859, Switzerland laid claim to these neutral regions.—45

64 This letter was published in English for the first time, in part, in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934] and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—45, 50

65 Engels is referring to workers employed in the large-scale replanning and reconstruction of Paris, a project headed by Georges Eugène Haussmann, the Prefect of the Seine Department, in the 1850s and 1860s. The purpose of the reconstruction was not only to improve the aristocratic areas and widen streets to make it easier for the troops to manoeuvre and the artillery to fire in the event of a popular uprising; it was also planned to reinforce Bonapartist influence among the section of the proletariat that received temporary employment as a result of this project.—46

66 This refers to the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and the formation of the North German Confederation (see Note 55).—47, 57

67 In his letter of 7 August 1870 Kugelmann informed Marx of the national enthusiasm that the war had given rise to in Germany.—47

68 The *Confederation of the Rhine* (Rheinbund)—an association of the states of Western and Southern Germany founded in 1806 under the protectorate of Napoleon. Initially it embraced 16 states. Five more joined later. All virtually became vassals of Napoleonic France. The Confederation collapsed in 1813 after the military defeats suffered by Napoleon in Germany.—47

69 In his letter to Marx of 13 August 1870 Liebknecht quoted the *Elberfelder Zeitung* as saying that Engels was in a state of 'patriotic euphoria'.—48

70 The *chassepot*—a breech-loading rifle named after its inventor, was adopted by the French army in 1866. It was much superior to Dreyse's needle gun used by the Prussian army.—48

[71] Engels is referring to the *German People's Party* (Deutsche Volkspartei) which was set up in 1865 and consisted of democratic elements of the petty bourgeoisie and partly of the bourgeoisie, chiefly from South German states. As distinct from the National Liberals, the German People's Party opposed the establishment of Prussian supremacy in Germany and advocated a so-called Greater Germany embracing both Prussia and Austria. While pursuing an anti-Prussian policy and advancing general democratic slogans, the People's Party at the same time voiced the particularist aspirations of some German states.—48

[72] Engels wrote this letter in reply to Mrs Marx's letter of 10 August 1870 (see this volume, pp. 555-56).—49

[73] *The Pall Mall Gazette* of 9 August 1870 carried the article 'England's Position' which was written in the form of a letter and signed with the pseudonym 'Von Thunder-ten-Tronckh' (Thunder-ten-Tronckh is a castle in Westphalia).—50

[74] Engels means the portrait of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, a Fenian leader, which Ludwig Kugelmann asked to be sent for a collection of Irish folk songs entitled *Erins Harfe* being prepared for publication by Joseph Risse. At the request of Marx's eldest daughter Jenny, Engels wrote short notes for the Preface (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 140). However, neither Rossa's portrait nor Engels' notes appeared in the collection, which was published in Hanover in 1870.—50, 54, 557

[75] The letter to the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party in reply to a request from the members of the Committee that Marx express his viewpoint on the war and the attitude the Party should take to it (see Note 61) was prepared jointly by Marx and Engels, during Marx's stay in Manchester from 22 to 30 August 1870, and sent to Germany signed by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 22).—50

[76] Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Writings on the Paris Commune*, Monthly Review Press, New York-London, 1971.—52, 76

[77] Engels calls Alsace and Lorraine a '*German-speaking Venetia*', by analogy with the Italian province of Venetia, which was part of the Habsburg Empire in 1799-1805 and 1814-1866 and a stronghold of the Italian national liberation movement against Austrian oppression.—53

[78] After the Battle of Gravelotte, which took place on 18 August 1870 (in historical literature it is also known as the Battle of Saint Privat), the Army of the Rhine under Bazaine was surrounded in Metz and surrendered in late October 1870.—53

[79] This refers to the defeats which the French army suffered at the Battle of Colombey-Nouilly (known also as the Battle of Borny) on 14 August 1870, the Battle of Vionville-Mars-la-Tour on 16 August, and the Battle of Gravelotte-Saint Privat on 18 August.—53

[80] An allusion to the Battle of Gravelotte (see Note 78).—54

[81] Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx, Engels, *On Literature and Art*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.—54, 58, 75, 538

[82] *The Times* of 22 August 1870 published a letter by Francis Douglas Elcho, M.P., in which he expressed his views concerning the organisation of the armed forces in Germany, France and Britain.—55

[83] Ferdinand Freiligrath wrote this poem on 25 July 1870, and *The Pall Mall Gazette* printed it on 20 August 1870.—55

[84] This letter was published in English for the first time, in part, in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934] and in full in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895.* A Selection, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—56

[85] Marx wrote this letter in reply to several letters from Sorge, written between 4 May and 4 August 1870. A correspondence developed, linking Marx, and also Engels, with Sorge in close friendship for many years.—56

[86] In his letters Sorge informed Marx that Robert William Hume, the General Council's correspondent in the USA, used his powers for self-advertisement. In the 'membership cards' of the International, which he issued without the knowledge of the General Council, Hume distorted the aims and tasks of the International Working Men's Association.

Marx informed the General Council about Sorge's letter on 6 September 1870. Eccarius, the Corresponding Secretary for the United States, was instructed to demand from Hume that he abide strictly by the Rules of the International Working Men's Association.—57, 60

[87] At the beginning of 1870, Gustave Paul Cluseret was empowered by the General Council to establish contacts with the French sections in the USA. However, passing himself off as an organiser of the International, Cluseret ignored the already existing sections in the USA and went beyond his brief. Several sections, including Section No. 1 (see Note 354), protested at Cluseret's behaviour and contacted the General Council, Johann Philipp Becker and Eugène Varlin with an inquiry about the powers granted to Cluseret. Marx replièd to the inquiry in his letter to Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt of 9 April 1870 (see present edition, Vol. 43).—57

[88] Marx is referring to the groundless assertion made by August Vogt, a member of German Section No. 1, that Victor Schily, who fought in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany and belonged to the International, was a spy.—57, 60, 102

[89] In August 1870 Cincinnati was the scene of the Fifth Congress of the National Labor Union, which embraced a number of trade union organisations and workers' societies in the USA. The Congress adopted a resolution expressing adherence to the principles of the International Working Men's Association and the Union's intention to join.

Sigfrid Meyer was elected delegate of the General Association of German Workers which, till the autumn of 1870, was part of the National Labor Union (it went under the name of Labor Union No. 5 of New York) and, at the same time, from December 1869, had been a section of the International (Section No. 1). Meyer was not able to attend the Congress, and the General Association of German Workers was represented by Friedrich Adolph Sorge.—57, 60

[90] This refers to Edward Kellogg's *A New Monetary System*, which Marx, evidently, first read in translation. In February 1871 Sorge sent him the first edition which had appeared in New York. This copy of the book with Marx's notes and remarks is still in existence.—58

91 In his article 'Notes on the War.—XII' Engels not only forecast the possibility of MacMahon's Châlons Army being encircled by the Prussian troops, but also pointed quite accurately to the place where it was to happen. Engels' prediction came true. On 1 and 2 September 1870, at Sedan, the Prussian troops defeated the French army under MacMahon and forced it to capitulate. Over 80,000 soldiers, officers and generals, Napoleon III among them, were taken prisoner. The Sedan catastrophe caused a revolution in Paris on 4 September 1870 which led to the collapse of the Second Empire and the proclamation of the republic in France. All power passed to the Provisional Government (known as the Government of National Defence) headed by the Orleanist Louis Jules Trochu.—58, 61

92 The *treaties of Tilsit*—peace treaties signed on 7 and 9 July 1807 by Napoleonic France, and Russia and Prussia, members of the fourth anti-French coalition. In an attempt to split the defeated powers, Napoleon I made no territorial claims on Russia. However, Russia, like Prussia, had to abrogate its alliance with Britain and, to its disadvantage, join Napoleon's Continental System. The treaty of 9 July imposed harsh terms on Prussia, which ceded nearly half its territory to the German states dependent on France, was made to pay indemnities and had its army reduced.—59

93 Marx may have had in mind rumours circulating in the press about Russia's pro-French orientation and the favourable reception given the French Ambassador, General Fleury, at the Russian court.—59

94 Ferdinand Freiligrath wrote his poem 'An Wolfgang im Felde' on 12 August 1870 and dedicated it to his son whom he had sent to the front as a volunteer.—59

95 On 12 August 1870 the German philosopher David Friedrich Strauss wrote an open letter to Joseph Ernest Renan, the French historian, which was published in the supplement to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. Strauss urged Renan to admit the justice of the rights for which Germany fought in the war and applaud her military successes.—59

96 In his letter to Marx of 26 July 1870, Sigfrid Meyer expressed the opinion that Friedrich Sorge was incompetent to carry out his duties as the Corresponding Secretary for the General Association of German Workers in the USA.—60

97 The *Arcadians*—an extreme right-wing group in the Corps législatif which received its name from *Rue des Arcades* where its members met.—61

98 The French army under Marshal Bazaine surrendered at the fortress of Metz on 27 October 1870.—62, 68

99 On the passage which Frederick Greenwood, the editor of *The Pall Mall Gazette*, added at the end of Engels' article 'Notes on the War.—XIII', see present edition, Vol. 22, Note 45.

Engels provided a correct description of the siege of Strasbourg by the Prussians in his 'Notes on the War.—XVII' (see present edition, Vol. 22).—62

100 This letter was first published in English in full in: *Marx on Revolution*. Translated by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1971.—64, 561

101 On 5 September 1870 the Paris Federal Council sent a letter to Marx and Eccarius, signed by Henrik Bachruch, with a request that they issue a proclamation to the German people as soon as possible. Enclosed with the letter

was the proclamation, 'Au peuple allemand, à la démocratie socialiste de la nation allemande', written on behalf of the French workers' societies and the French sections of the International Working Men's Association. It was published as a leaflet on 4 and 5 September 1870 and later in *Der Volksstaat*.—65, 66, 70, 79

102 See notes 61 and 75.—65

103 *Comites de la défense* (defence committees) were set up in a number of major French cities in the early stages of the Franco-Prussian War; their main function was to organise the supply of provisions for the army.—65, 89

104 In May 1870 Napoleon III's government held a plebiscite in an attempt to strengthen the tottering regime of the Second Empire. The issues put to the vote were formulated in such a way that disapproval of the policy pursued by the Second Empire could not be expressed without opposing all democratic reforms at the same time. Despite this, 1.5 million votes were cast against the government, with 1.9 million abstentions.—67, 342

105 A reference to the *Danish War*, the war waged by Prussia and Austria against Denmark in 1864; it was an important step on the way to Germany's unification under Prussian supremacy.—67

106 At the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War members of the German colony in Manchester (Carl Schorlemmer, G. Beer, J. G. Wehner and others) organised a committee to assist the war victims. Engels joined the committee but in September 1870, when the war ceased to be defensive on the German side, he withdrew.—68

107 Marx is referring to the Manifesto issued on 5 September 1870 by the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (*Manifest des Ausschusses der sozial-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei. An alle deutschen Arbeiter!*). The Manifesto proclaimed the German working class's loyalty to the cause of internationalism and called on German workers to organise mass protest meetings against the Prussian government's plans for annexations. Excerpts from the letter which Marx and Engels wrote to the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 260-62) were included in the Manifesto with a note that they had been written by 'one of our oldest and most meritorious comrades in London'.—69, 71, 79, 82

108 The General Council of the International including Marx played a major part in organising the movement of British workers for recognition of the French Republic by the British government. From 5 September mass demonstrations were held in London, Birmingham, Newcastle and other English cities.—70, 196

109 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934], and K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*, Kerr, Chicago, 1934.—71

110 The proclamation by the French sections of the International to the German people was published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 73, on 11 September 1870 (see Note 101).—71

111 Engels is referring to the bourgeois revolution in Spain which began in September 1868 when Queen Isabella was dethroned. In the course of the revolution Spain was declared a constitutional monarchy. It was not until February 1873 that a republic was proclaimed, but it survived less than a year.

In 1874 the big bourgeoisie and landowners brought about the restoration of the Bourbons.—71

112 The *Customs Parliament* (*Zollparlament*) was the leading body of the Customs Union (*Zollverein*) reorganised after the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and the signing of a treaty between Prussia and the South German states on 8 July 1867, which stipulated the establishment of such a body. The parliament consisted of members of the Reichstag of the North German Confederation (see Note 55) and specially elected deputies from the South German states—Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg and Hesse. It was to deal exclusively with trade and customs policy.—72

113 The reference is to the heroic uprising of Paris workers on 23-26 June 1848.—74, 99, 132

114 This refers to the *Déclaration réglant divers points de droit maritime* (Declaration Regulating Various Items of Maritime Law), a supplement to the Paris Peace Treaty of 1856 which marked the end of the Crimean War of 1853-56. It was signed on 16 April 1856 by the representatives of Austria, France, Britain, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia and Turkey. The Declaration formulated the rules of war at sea, incorporating the principles of armed neutrality, which were proclaimed in 1780 by the government of Catherine II and envisaged the abolition of privateering, immunity of neutral cargo in enemy vessels and of enemy cargo in neutral vessels (with the exception of war contraband), and the recognition only of a real blockade. Lord Clarendon, British representative at the Paris Congress, signed the Declaration on behalf of his country.—74, 93

115 On 9 September 1870 Wilhelm Bracke, Leonhard von Bonhorst, Spier, Kühn, Gralle, and Ehlers, members of the Brunswick Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, as well as Sievers, a printer, were arrested for publishing the Manifesto on the war on 5 September (see Note 107). In November 1871 these members of the Brunswick Committee were brought to trial (see Note 335).—75, 77, 79, 82, 85, 96, 196

116 *Demagogues* in Germany were the participants in the students' opposition movement after the liberation of the country from Napoleonic rule. After the 1830 Revolution in France the opposition movement of the so-called demagogues became more intense in Germany and gave rise to renewed police repression and arrests and increased emigration.—77, 85, 228, 360

117 The meeting Marx is writing about was called by the Labour Representation League (see Note 406) and trade union leaders on 13 September 1870 in honour of the French Republic. The resolution moved by George Howell was limited to the expression of sympathies with the French people. To oppose this, Robert Applegarth, a General Council member, moved a resolution that urged the British Government to use all its influence to bring an end to the war between France and Germany and to protest against any dismemberment of France. The resolution also demanded that a peace treaty be concluded on conditions that ensured a lasting peace in Europe. After a prolonged and heated discussion Applegarth's resolution was adopted by a majority of 7 votes.

By instructions for Belgium, Marx probably meant his letter to César De Paepe of 14 September 1870 (see this volume, pp. 79-81). Instructions for Switzerland and the United States have not been found.—77, 82

118 This letter was written on a letterhead of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association.—78, 100, 121, 125, 190, 248, 315, 341, 354, 378, 386

119 Referring to General Vogel von Falkenstein's vandalism in 1866, Marx had in mind the following fact: on 16 July 1866, during the Austro-Prussian war, the forces under Vogel von Falkenstein occupied the free city of Frankfurt. On his orders several senators were arrested, newspapers suppressed, and a heavy military indemnity imposed on the city which, on failure to pay, was threatened with destruction. These threats by the Prussian command led to the suicide of Frankfurt's burgomaster.—79

120 A reference to 'Manifeste aux Sections de l'Internationale' published in the Supplement to *La Solidarité*, No. 22, on 5 September 1870. It called upon the members of the International to take up arms to defend the French bourgeois republic proclaimed on 4 September 1870.—80

121 This letter was first published in English in full in: Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann*, Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad [1934].—81, 91, 108, 131, 157, 176, 243, 409, 412, 413, 426

122 This is the last letter in the sustained correspondence between Marx in London and Engels in Manchester. After retiring from the Ermen & Engels firm in Manchester, Engels moved to London on 20 September 1870 and settled not far from where Marx lived. After that they wrote to each other only occasionally, when one of them left London.—84, 380

123 This refers to the Manifesto of the Marseilles section of the International Working Men's Association, 'Aux travailleurs allemands!', written in the first half of September 1870 and printed originally as a leaflet and then, on 25 September, in *L'Internationale*, No. 89 and *Bulletin de la Fédération ouvrière rouennaise*, No. 3. Marx sharply criticised this Manifesto for its chauvinistic tendencies.—84

124 Marx is referring to the article printed on 15 September 1870 in *The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 1744 and dealing unfavourably with Spencer Beesly's pamphlet *A Word for France: Addressed to the Workmen of London*.—85

125 Marx is speaking about Engels' move to London. See Note 122.—87

126 Oswald enclosed with his letter to Marx of 23 September a copy of the letter he had sent to Thiers, in which he proposed the establishment of a 'neutral zone' between France and Germany. Oswald asked Marx for his opinion on the matter.—87

127 On 19 September 1870 *The Times* (under the heading 'Russia') published an excerpt from the *Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg* of 17 September 1870 stating that France's prestige would not suffer if, in concluding a peace treaty, she agreed to demolish her fortresses on the border with Germany.—88

128 The news of the defeat at Sedan caused an *uprising in Lyons* on 4 September 1870. On his arrival in Lyons on 15 September, Bakunin tried to assume leadership of the movement and carry out his anarchist programme. On 28 September the anarchists attempted a coup d'état which was a complete failure.—88, 162

129 Marx has in mind the collection of donations for Ferdinand Freiligrath started

in 1867 by German petty-bourgeois democrats when the London branch of the Banque Générale Suisse he had managed was closed down. Special committees organised in Germany and New York raised 60,000 thalers by subscription.—90, 102

130 *Francs-tireurs*—guerrilla volunteers formed into small detachments to defend France against the invaders. The Prussian command did not recognise the French guerrilla fighters as belligerents.—93

131 The *Thirty Years' War* (1618-48)—a European war, in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the Catholic German princes rallied under the banner of Catholicism and fought the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands and a number of Protestant German states. The rulers of Catholic France—rivals of the Habsburgs—supported the Protestant camp. Germany was the main battle arena and the object of plunder and territorial claims. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) sealed the political dismemberment of Germany.—93

132 *Landsturm regulations* (Verordnung über den Landsturm)—a law adopted in Prussia on 21 April 1813. It envisaged the organisation of detachments which were to employ the methods of guerrilla warfare in the rear and on the flanks of the Napoleonic army. Engels analysed the regulations in detail in *Notes on the War*, 'Prussian Francs-Tireurs' (present edition, Vol. 22, p. 201).—93

133 The *Loire Army* under the command of General d'Aurelle de Paladines fought near Orleans. For details of the operations by this army and its composition see Engels, *Notes on the War*.—XXXI and XXXII (present edition, Vol. 22).—93

134 On 26 November 1870, when the North German Reichstag discussed the question of granting credits for the continuation of the war against France, Bebel and Liebknecht spoke against credits and for a speedy peace treaty with the French Republic without annexations. On 17 December, after the Reichstag session had drawn to a close, Bebel, Liebknecht and Hepner were arrested and charged with high treason.—95

135 The *German Workers' Educational Society* in London was founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other members of the League of the Just. The Society's leaders played a prominent part in founding the Communist League (1847). In 1847 and 1849-50, Marx and Engels took an active part in the Society's work, but on 17 September 1850 Marx, Engels and a number of their followers temporarily withdrew because the sectarian and adventurist faction led by August Willich and Karl Schapper had increased its influence in the Society. In the late 1850s Marx and Engels resumed their work in the Society. When the International was established the Society became its German Section in London and from late 1871 it was a section of the British Federation. The German Workers' Educational Society in London existed until 1918, when it was closed down by the British Government.—96, 178, 233, 279, 319, 471, 478

136 On 19 December 1870 *The Times* published Gladstone's letter, dated 15 December, which announced an amnesty of the condemned Fenians (on the Fenians see Note 6). However, this amnesty was hedged round with numerous reservations, which caused Engels to compare it with the shabby amnesty of political prisoners announced in Prussia in January 1861 on the occasion of William I's accession to the throne.—96

137 This letter was first published in English in full in: Karl Marx, *On the First*

*International.* Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1973.—97, 106, 121, 130, 140, 178, 220, 243, 247, 250, 262, 333, 379, 386, 388, 459, 473, 534

138 The *Cologne Communist trial* (4 October-12 November 1852) was organised and stage-managed by the Prussian Government. The defendants were members of the Communist League arrested in the spring of 1851 on charges of 'treasonable plotting'. The forged documents and false evidence presented by the police authorities were not only designed to secure the conviction of the defendants but also to compromise their London comrades and the proletarian organisation as a whole. Seven of the defendants were sentenced to imprisonment in a fortress for terms ranging from three to six years. (See K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne,* present edition, Vol. 11.)—97, 130, 320

139 At the General Council meeting of 17 January 1871 (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 571-72), Marx strongly criticised George Odger, a trade union leader, who had praised the Government of National Defence and its Foreign Minister Jules Favre at a meeting in St James's Hall in London on 10 January.—98

140 This refers to Administrative Resolution VI passed by the Basle Congress, 'The Procedure for Expelling Sections from the Association'. It conferred on the General Council the right to suspend individual sections of the International until the meeting of the next Congress.—99

141 The reference is to the reactionary laws passed by the Constituent Assembly of the French Republic after the suppression of the June 1848 insurrection. The press laws of 11 July and 11 August envisaged severe punishment for the printing of articles against the government, the existing order and private property. The decree on clubs, adopted on 28 July 1848, placed them under the surveillance of the authorities.—99

142 In April 1849 the French bourgeois government, in alliance with Austria and Naples, intervened against the Roman Republic for the purpose of suppressing it and restoring the Pope's secular power. Despite its heroic resistance the Roman Republic was overthrown and Rome occupied by French troops.—99

143 Marx is referring to his work on the third book of *Capital,* which was, with the second book, to form Volume II of *Capital* (see also Note 219).

Marx planned to make a special study of agrarian relations in the United States in connection with his examination of the origin of rent.

The *American Civil War* (1861-65) was caused mainly by the struggle between two social systems—the capitalist system of wage labour in the North and the slave system in the South. Workers, farmers and the Black population played a decisive role in the defeat of the slave-owners of the South and the conclusion of the war in favour of the North.—100

144 In early February 1871, at Marx's request, Harney sent a written inquiry to the General Land Office in Washington (see *The Harney Papers.* Ed. by F. G. Black and R. M. Black, Van Gorcum and Co., Assen, 1969, pp. 267-69).—100

145 The second German edition of Volume I of *Capital* appeared between July 1872 and April 1873 in nine separate instalments, and in June 1873 it was published as a book. While preparing this edition Marx partly revised the text and introduced some changes in its structure.—100, 362, 367, 377, 385, 409, 474, 519, 523

146 Volume I of *Capital* was translated into Russian by Hermann Lopatin, Nikolai Danielson and Nikolai Lyubavin. It was the first translation of his work into any foreign language. The book was published in full in the spring of 1872 except for the portrait of Marx, because the censor had forbidden its reproduction in the Russian edition.—100, 578

147 The translation of Volume I of *Capital* into French, started by Charles Keller, was interrupted by the Franco-Prussian War. The first French edition appeared in separate instalments between 1872 and 1875 in a translation by Joseph Roy. Roy's translation being too literal, Marx virtually retranslated the whole book, introducing changes as against the second German edition.—100, 212, 258, 283, 327

148 This may refer to Nahmer, a German émigré living in New York, who wrote to Marx on 20 September 1867 offering his services as a translator of *Capital*.

The English translation of Volume I of *Capital*, edited by Engels, was published in London in 1887; half of the printed copies were distributed in the USA. Later the London edition was reprinted in New York.—100

149 After a certain decline, the movement for recognition of the French Republic (see Note 108) gained fresh momentum in Britain at the end of December 1870.—100, 102

150 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895.* A Selection, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—101, 356, 367, 393, 398, 407, 414

151 The *Central Committee of the International Working Men's Association for the United States* was formed on 1 December 1870 by delegates from several sections of the International: German Section No. 1, French Section No. 2 and Czech Section No. 3, with powers for a year.—101, 106, 217, 242, 244, 273

152 Marx is referring to the article 'On the Condition of West-European Workers from the Social and Hygienic Points of View', written by P. I. Yakobi and V. A. Zaitsev and published in the journal *Arkhiv sudebnoi meditsiny i obshchestvennoi gigiyeny* (Archives of Forensic Medicine and Social Hygiene), Book 3 for 1870, under the initials 'P. Ya.'. The article was based mainly on the first volume of Marx's *Capital*. A few copies of the journal appeared with this article and were sold out, then the censor stepped in and the article was banned.

Marx received this information from Hermann Lopatin.—105

153 Arrested in July 1862, Nikolai Chernyshevsky was kept in the Peter and Paul Fortress in St Petersburg until 1864 and then sentenced to seven years hard labour and exile for life in Siberia.—105

154 This refers to the admission fees to the International Working Men's Association which German Section No. 1 (see Note 354) had sent without getting a written acknowledgement of the receipt.—106

155 Marx and his daughter Jenny went for a holiday to Kugelmann in Hanover where they stayed approximately from 18 September to 7 October 1869. On 11 October Marx returned to Britain.—108

156 The *Bretons*—the Breton Mobile Guards, whom Trochu used as a gendarmerie to suppress the revolutionary movement in Paris. The Bretons replaced the *Corsicans* who, under the Second Empire, constituted a large section of the gendarmerie corps.—108

157 This refers to the *Convention on the Armistice and Capitulation of Paris* signed by Bismarck and Favre on 28 January 1871, after the Government of National Defence had ceased all resistance to the Prussian invaders and agreed to an ignominious surrender. In so doing, it sacrificed the national interests of France to the interests of the ruling classes, which needed all the available forces to suppress the revolutionary movement in the country. In signing the Convention Favre accepted the humiliating demands of the Prussians: payment of an indemnity of 200 million francs within a fortnight, immediate surrender of most of the Paris forts, handing over of the field guns and ammunition of the Paris army, and the disbanding of the *francs-tireurs* (see Note 130). The Convention provided for speedy elections to the National Assembly to decide on the question of a peace treaty.—109, 112, 197

158 This refers to the delegation of the Government of National Defence sent to Tours in mid-September 1870 to organise resistance to the German invasion in the provinces and to carry on external relations. From the beginning of October till the end of the war the delegation was headed by Gambetta. In early December 1870, it moved to Bordeaux.—109, 113

159 On the surrender at Sedan see Note 91.—109, 113

160 Marx is referring to a decree issued by Gambetta on 31 January 1871 which deprived all persons who had held high official posts during the Second Empire of the right to stand for election. On 3 February Bismarck sent a protest to Gambetta referring him to the clause on 'freedom of elections'. The government in Paris also issued a decree on electoral procedure which led to a serious conflict between Gambetta and the other members of the government, after which Gambetta resigned.—110, 113

161 The indemnity which Bismarck demanded from France and which she undertook to pay under the treaty was 5,000 million francs. The report on the armistice published in *The Times* on 2 February 1871 spoke of 10,000 million francs.—110, 113

162 King William I of Prussia was proclaimed Emperor of Germany on 18 January 1871.—110, 114

163 This presumably refers to the arrest and deportation of Joseph Schneider, a Frankfurt worker nominated in Stuttgart as a candidate for the Reichstag elections. This was reported by *Der Volksstaat*, 1 February 1871.—113

164 This letter is evidently an answer to Lavrov's inquiry concerning Hermann Lopatin's fate. From Lopatin's letter of 15 December 1870 Marx already knew that the latter was in Russia to make arrangements for Nikolai Chernyshevsky's escape from exile; however, probably for reasons of secrecy, he disclosed neither Lopatin's whereabouts nor the purpose of his trip.—115

165 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx, *On the First International*. Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1973.—115, 377, 421, 455, 469, 488

166 This is Marx's reply to letters he had received from Wilhelm Liebknecht's wife Natalie, dated 18 January, 22 and 27 February 1871. Natalie Liebknecht informed Marx that she could not send a receipt for monies received for the benefit of the families of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party who had been arrested in Germany. Such a receipt, she wrote, might have been

used as additional evidence against Liebknecht and Bebel who had been charged with high treason. One of the points on the indictment was the affiliation of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party to the International Working Men's Association since Prussian laws banned participation of German political parties and associations in any international organisation.—115

167 In his article 'The International Working Men's Association' (*The Fortnightly Review*, p. 531) Beesly wrote that the members of the International 'are all Republicans, and all determined opponents of war. In both these qualities they have drawn upon themselves the persecution of the despots of France and Prussia'.—116

168 In a letter of 8 October 1865 Lothar Bucher invited Marx to become the London financial correspondent of the *Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger*, and also suggested that Marx change sides and back Bismarck's government. These attempts to bribe him met with vehement protests from Marx (see present edition, Vol. 42, p. 202).

At the *Battle of Sadowa* (3 July 1866) in the Austro-Prussian war the Austrian army sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of the Prussian troops.—116

169 Marx has in mind *Papiers et Correspondance de la Famille Impériale*, published in two volumes in Paris at the end of 1870 and the beginning of 1871. Volume I included despatches by Minister Émile Ollivier in which he ordered the arrest of members of the International. These measures by the Bonapartist government were connected with preparations for a plebiscite called for 8 May 1870 (see Note 104).

On the eve of the plebiscite, members of the Paris Federation of the International were arrested and charged with conspiring to assassinate Napoleon III. Persecution of members of the International began simultaneously in Lyons, Rouen, Marseilles and other cities. The third trial of members of the Paris Federation was held from 22 June to 5 July 1870; the detainees were sentenced for being members of the International.—116

170 On 29 November 1850 *Olmütz* (*Olomouc*) was the scene of a meeting between the Prime Ministers of Prussia and Austria, Baron von Manteuffel and Prince von Schwarzenberg. Under pressure from Nicholas I, Emperor of Russia, Prussia renounced her plans for suppressing the uprising in the Electorate of Hesse and complied with Austrian demands.

On the initiative of Nicholas I negotiations between the Austrian Chancellor Prince von Schwarzenberg and the Prussian Prime Minister Count von Brandenburg had taken place in Warsaw in October 1850. The point at issue was the conflict between Austria and Prussia over supremacy in Germany. During this meeting Nicholas I intimated that he was firmly on Austria's side.—120

171 The French newspaper *Paris-Journal*, in issue No. 71, 14 March 1871, carried an article, 'Le Grand Chef de l'Internationale', alleging that it had in its possession a letter from Marx to Auguste Serraillier testifying to strife between the French and German members of the International; on 19 March this forged letter attributed to Marx was published in the newspaper. The slanderous statement was reprinted in bourgeois newspapers of various countries, including *The Times*. The attempts by the *Paris-Journal* to split the French and German members of the International were exposed by Marx at the General Council meeting of 21 March 1871 and also in a letter Engels wrote at his request to *The Times* (for the *Times* version of this letter see

present edition, Vol. 22, p. 285). In addition, at Marx's request Serraillier wrote a letter on 16 March 1871 exposing the slander of the *Paris-Journal* (a clipping from the *Courrier de l'Europe* with the text of Serraillier's letter was enclosed by Marx with his letter to Paul Lafargue).

At its meeting of 21 March 1871 the General Council exposed another provocative invention of the French reactionary press—the alleged expulsion of persons of German nationality from the Paris sections of the International.—121, 124, 130

172 In the first half of March 1871, the French bourgeois papers, notably the *Paris-Journal* and the *Gaulois*, actively campaigned for the foundation of a so-called *Anti-German League*.—122

173 The *Jockey Club*—an aristocratic club founded in Paris in 1833.—122

174 A meeting of Germans belonging to the propertied classes was held in Zurich in March 1871 to celebrate Germany's victory in the Franco-Prussian War. The meeting was the scene of a clash between a group of French officers interned in Switzerland and the Germans. The reactionary press tried to put the blame on the International. The Swiss section of the International exposed the slander in a special statement.—122

175 On 22 March 1871 the royalists attempted to stage a counter-revolutionary putsch in Paris under the pretext of a peaceful demonstration. Its aim was the restoration of the bourgeois regime overthrown by the proletarian revolution of 18 March 1871. One of the main organisers of the putsch was Henri de Pène, editor of the *Paris-Journal* (see K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*, present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 324-26).—124, 128

176 '*Hauptchef*' (principal leader)—the description given by Wilhelm Stieber, organiser of the 1852 Cologne Communist trial (see Note 138), to Julien Cherval, an agent provocateur, in an attempt to ascribe to him a leading role in the Communist League (see K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 407-19).—124

177 Marx and Engels learned about the strike of the cigar-workers in Antwerp from a letter written by Philippe Coenen, an organiser of the International's sections in Belgium and the Netherlands, on 29 March 1871. They immediately took steps to organise international aid for the strikers. At the General Council meeting of 4 April 1871 Engels spoke about the strike and proposed that the Council send letters and delegations to the British trade unions to organise support.

In response to the General Council's appeal, money to the Antwerp cigar-workers was sent by a number of British trades unions and by the workers of Brussels, where the cigar-workers walked out in solidarity.

The support by the General Council of the Antwerp cigar-workers defending their trade union enabled them to hold out till September 1871 and to push through their demands.—125, 127, 145, 190

178 Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel and Adolf Hepner, arrested on 17 December 1870 on a charge of high treason (see Note 134), were released from detention on 28 March 1871. Their trial took place in March 1872 (see Note 274).—127

179 Engels is referring to a message of greetings to the Paris Commune members which was adopted on 26 March 1871 at a meeting of the General Association of German Workers in Elberfeld. The message was despatched directly to Paris,

while a second copy, for safety's sake, was sent to the General Council, and later Eccarius forwarded it to Commune member Léo Frankel.—127

180 On 4 October 1871 *Der Volksstaat*, No. 80, carried an item unmasking Blind as a chauvinist and phrasemonger who, by self-praise, tried to make a reputation for himself as a public figure.—129

181 On 15 April 1871 *Der Volksstaat*, No. 31, carried a note reprinted from the *Petit Journal* of 5 April, which Marx sent to Liebknecht. It read: 'May we ask Mr Stieber, Chief of the German Police, in what kind of wagons he sent to Prussia the clocks, vases and statues from the apartment he occupied on the Königs-Boulevard?'—129

182 Liebknecht used the information sent by Marx for the report published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 31, 15 April 1871, unmasking Karl Vogt as a paid Bonapartist agent.—130

183 This refers to preparations for a trial of the Brunswick Committee members who were arrested on 9 September 1870 (see Note 115). The charge of 'causing a breach of the peace' was 'based', i.a., on the fact that they were members of the International Working Men's Association. The trial took place in November 1871 (see Note 335).—130, 288

184 After the victorious uprising of the Paris proletariat on 18 March 1871, power was in the hands of the Central Committee of the National Guard, which surrendered it to the Commune on 28 March following the elections of 26 March 1871.—132

185 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters on 'Capital'*, New Park Publications, London, 1983.—135, 152

186 The reference is to Ferdinand Freiligrath's poem 'An Joseph Weydemeyer', an attack on Gottfried Kinkel, written in January 1852 (Marx has, erroneously, '1851') specially for *Die Revolution*, a journal published in the USA by Weydemeyer. Since its publication in America was delayed, Freiligrath published this poem in the literary newspaper *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* (No. 10, 7 March 1852) printed in Stuttgart and Tübingen. In America the poem was published in May 1852.—135

187 In his letter to Marx written around 10 April 1871, Liebknecht asked his consent to reprint articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, and requested Marx to send a complete run of the journal.

The magazine published several reviews by Marx and Engels, three international reviews written jointly by them, as well as Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* and *Louis Napoleon and Fould*, and Engels' *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution, The English Ten Hours' Bill* and *The Peasant War in Germany* (see present edition, Vol. 10).—135

188 This refers to Section 2 ('The So-Called Primitive Accumulation') of the last, sixth Chapter of the first German edition of Volume I of *Capital*. When preparing the second German edition of this volume, which appeared in 1872-73, Marx made this section into a separate Chapter. In the authorised English edition Engels changed the composition of the volume making this Chapter into Part VIII (see present edition, Vol. 35).—135

189 A new German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* being prepared, Wilhelm Liebknecht, on behalf of the editors of *Der Volksstaat*, requested Marx

and Engels to write a new preface for it, which they duly did at the close of June 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 23).—135, 248, 319, 343, 390

190 This letter was first published in English in full in: Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann*, Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1934, and in: K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*, Kerr, Chicago, 1934.—136

191 On 13 June 1849 the petty-bourgeois Party of the Mountain organised a peaceful demonstration in Paris to protest against the infringements of the Constitution of the French Republic by the President and the majority of the Legislative Assembly. The demonstration was easily dispersed by government troops. It confirmed the bankruptcy of petty-bourgeois democracy in France.—136

192 The *International Democratic Association* included petty-bourgeois French and German émigrés in London and also English bourgeois Republicans.

In April 1871 members of the Association founded the Universal Republican League. Its leaders invited the General Council of the International to join, but their proposal was rejected unanimously at the General Council meeting on 25 April 1871.

With his letter Engels enclosed a newspaper clipping with the League's programme.—137

193 The *Poor Law of 1834*—An Act for the Amendment and Better Administration of the Laws Relating to the Poor in England and Wales—provided for only one form of relief for the able-bodied poor: workhouses with a prison-like regime.—138

194 Its revolutionary publications brought *Der Volksstaat* frequent harassment from the Prussian government. In April alone several issues were impounded 'for insulting state authorities and the Emperor of Germany'.—138, 158

195 These are notes for a reply to Francisco Mora (the letter itself has not been found) Engels made on an official message sent by the Spanish Federal Council to the General Council on 11 April 1871 in connection with the spinners' strike in Barcelona. The document is marked by Engels: 'Received 18 April.'—139

196 A reference to the appeal *The Civil War in France*, on which Marx was working at the time. It was first published in London on 13 June 1871, in English, as a pamphlet of 35 pages in 1,000 copies.—140, 141

197 Marx is speaking of the campaign started by the General Council of the International to explain to British workers the historical significance of the revolution in France. The Council organised a number of mass meetings in London, Manchester and other cities in defence of the Paris Commune.—140

198 This letter was first published in English in full in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *On the Paris Commune*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.—141

199 Marx drafted this letter after the General Council, at its meeting of 25 April 1871, had entrusted him with answering the slanderous inventions of the French petty-bourgeois democrat Félix Pyat, who had attacked General Council member Auguste Serraillier in connection with the elections to the Paris Commune.—141

200 This refers to Tridon's letter to the editors of *La Cigale*, who published it in No. 29, 19 July 1868 under the heading 'La commune révolutionnaire de

Paris'. Tridon, who was a Blanquist, condemned the provocative speech made by Pyat at a meeting held in Cleveland Hall, London, on 29 June 1868, to celebrate the anniversary of the June 1848 uprising. At this meeting Pyat read out an appeal, which he had allegedly received from the 'Paris Revolutionary Commune', a secret society, and moved a resolution proclaiming the assassination of Napoleon III to be the sacred duty of every Frenchman.

The same issue of *La Cigale* carried a resolution of the General Council disavowing Pyat's behaviour (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 7).—141

201 This refers to Karl Vogt's *Politische Briefe an Friedrich Kolb*, a pamphlet published in the autumn of 1870, in which the author tried to camouflage his one-time ties with the Bonapartists. This pamphlet was criticised by Engels in his article 'Once Again "Herr Vogt"' (see present edition, Vol. 22).—144

202 On 3 May 1871 Liebknecht wrote to Marx that after the publication in *Der Volksstaat* of an item about Vogt receiving subsidies from funds belonging to the Bonaparte family (see Note 182), he was reproached for unnecessarily returning to the 'Vogt affair'. Liebknecht stressed the need to publish more material on this question. In connection with this, Engels sent to *Der Volksstaat* his article 'Once Again "Herr Vogt"' (see present edition, Vol. 22).

On the *People's Party* see Note 71.—145

203 Bebel was released from detention on 28 March 1871 and on 3 April he spoke in the German Reichstag during the debate on the proposition made by the representatives of several bourgeois parties to include articles 'on basic rights' (freedom of the press, association, speech, etc.) in the German Constitution. Bebel asserted that in the German Empire all these rights were purely abstract and that all possible measures, including the use of revolutionary force, had to be taken for their genuine implementation.—145

204 This refers to the choice of candidates for the post of Secretary of the General Council following Eccarius' resignation as secretary on 9 May 1871. The committee of the General Council with Jung as chairman proposed Hales and Mottershead. During the discussion in the General Council questions were raised concerning the expulsion of Hales from the Elastic Web-Weavers' Society in 1867. When it was explained that the decision on expulsion had later been revoked, Hales was elected Secretary of the General Council on 16 May 1871.—147

205 An allusion to the fact that at that time the salary of the General Council's Secretary was 15s. per week. From mid-May 1871 it was reduced to 10s. per week.—147

206 On the night of 8 May 1871 the Paris Communards abandoned Fort Issy after ten days of bombardment by the Versailles troops that besieged Paris.—148

207 Marx drafted this letter in reply to Léo Frankel's letter written around 25 April 1871, in which he informed Marx about his election to the Executive of the Commune and requested advice concerning its work.

This letter was published in English for the first time in part in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934] and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—148

208 This refers to the municipal elections conducted by the Thiers government in April 1871 when the civil war was at its height. In Bordeaux the democratic

forces won the day. Four delegates of the International's section were elected. Most likely Marx learned this from his daughter Jenny's letter to Engels datelined Bordeaux, 9 May 1871.—149

209 The final peace treaty between France and the German Empire was signed in Frankfurt am Main on 10 May 1871. (The date given by Marx is a slip of the pen.) According to the terms of the preliminary peace treaty signed on 26 February 1871 at Versailles, France ceded Alsace and East Lorraine to Germany and paid 5 thousand million francs indemnity; until the indemnity was paid part of French territory continued to be occupied by the German troops. Under the treaty of 10 May France was to pay indemnities on more onerous terms and the occupation of French territory by the German troops was prolonged in exchange for help rendered by Bismarck to the Versailles Government in suppressing the Commune.—149

210 According to newspaper reports, out of the domestic loan that the government of the Third Republic had decided to float, Thiers and his ministers, Finance Minister Pouyer-Quertier among them, were to receive over 300 million francs by way of 'commission'. The law on the loan was passed on 20 June 1871, after the suppression of the Commune.—149

211 This letter was written in English, but the original has not been traced. It was published, abridged, in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934] and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—150

212 Towards the end of April 1871 Marx's daughters Jenny and Eleanor set out for Bordeaux to visit Laura and Paul Lafargue; in June all of them moved to Bagnères-de-Luchon. Early in August, fearful of persecution, Lafargue left for Spain and Laura followed him. Jenny and Eleanor were arrested in Luchon and later expelled from France. On this see K. Marx, 'Letter to the Editor of *The Sun,* Charles Dana' and Jenny Marx's Letter to the Editor of *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* (present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 396-99, 622).—150, 153, 177, 199, 201, 202, 206, 211, 561

213 A reference to Beesly's articles on the Paris Commune published in *The Bee-Hive,* No. 493, 25 March; Nos. 494, 495, 497 and 498, 1, 15, 22 and 29 April; Nos. 501-504, 20 and 27 May, 3 and 10 June 1871. Clippings of some of the articles with Marx's notes have been preserved in his archive.—150

214 *Comtism* or *positivism*—a trend in philosophy, sociology and historiography that arose in the 1830s, its leading proponent being Auguste Comte, the French sociologist. The positivists extended methods of natural science to the study of society. They saw the historical process in terms of slow evolutionary changes and denied the role of revolutions.—150

215 In November 1864, *The Bee-Hive* became the official organ of the International Working Men's Association, but, being closely linked with trade union leaders and bourgeois radicals, it remained a narrow trade unionist newspaper (see Marx's letter to Sigfrid Meyer of 4 July 1868, present edition, Vol. 43). Its editors delayed the publication of the International's documents and tampered with reports of the General Council meetings. The question of severing all links with the *Bee-Hive* editors was discussed in the General Council on 26 April 1870; Marx took part in the discussion (see present

edition, Vol. 21, p. 444) and was asked to draft a resolution to this effect which he presented to the General Council at its meeting on 17 May 1870.—150

216 At the same time as the official peace treaty between the German Empire and France was signed in Frankfurt am Main on 10 May 1871 (see Note 209), Bismarck and Favre made a secret verbal agreement on joint action against the Commune (negotiations had begun on 6 May 1871). The agreement allowed the Versailles troops to pass through the German lines, and the stopping of food supplies to Paris; the German High Command, moreover, was to present the Commune with an ultimatum demanding the dismantling of the fortifications protecting Paris. The Versailles troops invaded Paris on 21 May 1871.

Evidently Marx has in mind his letter to Léo Frankel and Louis Eugène Varlin of 13 May 1871. See this volume, pp. 148-49.—151

217 This refers to the *Communist League,* the first German and international communist organisation of the proletariat, formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847 as a result of the reorganisation of the League of the Just. The programme and organisational principles of the Communist League were drawn up with the participation of Marx and Engels. The Communist League's members took an active part in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany in 1848-49. In 1849 and 1850, after the defeat of the revolution, it was reorganised and continued its activities. Owing to police persecution and arrests of League members, in May 1851 the activities of the Communist League as an organisation practically ceased in Germany. On 17 November 1852, on a motion by Marx, the League announced its dissolution.—151

218 In his letter of 11 (23) May 1871, Nikolai Danielson informed Marx that Hermann Lopatin could not complete the translation of *Capital* into Russian and had asked Danielson to finish the work. Knowing from Lopatin that Marx intended to revise the first chapter of the first German edition of *Capital,* Volume I, for the Russian edition, Danielson asked Marx to send him the new version of the chapter. Being very busy at the time, Marx was unable to revise the chapter for the first Russian edition. In preparing the second German edition of Volume I of *Capital* Marx substantially revised the chapter and turned it into Part I, 'Commodities and Money' (see present edition, Vol. 35).

On the Russian edition of *Capital* see Note 146.—152, 238, 263, 265

219 In his letter to Marx, dated 11 (23) May 1871, Danielson wrote: '"Our mutual friend" [Lopatin], speaking in friendly company to people interested in the continuation of your work, said that your publisher, owing to commercial considerations, does not wish to print Volume II, which you have ready in manuscript, before Volume I has been sold out.' However, Volume II, which included the 2nd and 3rd books of *Capital,* was not actually ready for publication. After Marx's death Engels prepared the relevant manuscripts for the press and published them as Volumes II and III of *Capital.*—152

220 A reference to Lopatin's trip to Siberia to arrange Chernyshevsky's escape from exile. In February 1871 Lopatin was arrested and imprisoned in Irkutsk. He attempted to escape on 3 June but was caught immediately.

Apparently Marx did not know yet of Lopatin's arrest and did not understand Danielson's allusion to the matter in his letter of 11 (23) May 1871. However, aware of the danger Lopatin was facing he tried to warn him through Danielson.—152

221 Danielson regularly supplied Marx with Russian literature chiefly on economic problems. Among the printed matter which Danielson sent Marx in May 1871 was Chernyshevsky's work *On Landed Property*, published in *Sovremennik*, Nos. 9 and 11 for 1857.—152

222 Marx gave his advice in the form of medical prescriptions, knowing full well that his correspondence with Lafargue was under close surveillance. According to records in the French police archives, some of the letters sent by Paul Lafargue to Marx were intercepted.—153

223 Engels' contract with his partner Gottfried Ermen expired on 30 June 1869, so he resigned from the firm Ermen & Engels.—156

224 Jules Favre's Circular of 6 June 1871 to the diplomatic representatives of France urged the European governments to join forces in combating the International Working Men's Association. The Standing Committee of the General Council, at its meeting on 11 June 1871, discussed the text of the 'Statement by the General Council on Jules Favre's Circular' (see present edition, Vol. 22), drafted by Marx and Engels. The Statement was adopted by the General Council on 13 June and published in many papers, including *The Eastern Post*, No. 142, 17 June 1871, a copy of which was appended to the letter.—158

225 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *On the Paris Commune*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.—159, 228

226 The German translation of Marx's *The Civil War in France* was made by Engels and published in *Der Volksstaat* (Nos. 52-61, 28 June and 1, 5, 8, 12, 16, 19, 22, 26 and 29 July 1871), and, in abridged form, in *Der Vorbote* in August-October 1871; it also came out as a pamphlet in Leipzig.—159, 161, 166, 215

227 No sooner had *The Civil War in France* been published than numerous hostile comments appeared in the bourgeois press, for example, in *The Evening Standard*, No. 14623, 14 June 1871 (leader); *The Spectator*, No. 2242, 17 June 1871, 'The English Communists on Paris'; *The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 1979, 17 June 1871, 'The International Working Men's Association' (leader); *The Standard*, No. 14627, 19 June 1871 (leader); *The Times*, No. 27093, 19 June 1871 (leader); *The Times*, No. 27095, 21 June 1871 (leader).—159

228 Following his expulsion from Prussia in 1865, Liebknecht became a Hessian subject but settled in Saxony. On 24 May 1871 Liebknecht wrote to Engels about his intention to give up Hessian citizenship and apply for Saxonian citizenship because he was in danger of being expelled from Saxony too.

In the same letter Liebknecht asked Engels to recommend him as a correspondent for *The Pall Mall Gazette*; he also suggested that the *Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper* be used to publish the International's documents.—159, 166

229 Apparently an allusion to the *National Liberals*—the party formed by members of the German, mostly Prussian, big bourgeoisie in the autumn of 1866 after a split in the Party of Progress (see Note 236). The policy of the National Liberals reflected the German liberal bourgeoisie's capitulation to Bismarck. After the unification of Germany in 1871 it became increasingly subservient to the government.—160

230 Bebel spoke in the Reichstag on 25 May 1871 during the debate on the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine to the German Empire. He passionately defended the Paris Communards and ended by saying that 'the battlecry of the Paris proletariat—"War on the palaces, peace to the huts, death to privation and idleness"—will become the battlecry of the entire European proletariat'.—160

231 Engels' letters to Carlo Cafiero of 1[-3], 16 and 28 July 1871, written in English, were confiscated by the police when Cafiero was arrested in August 1871. They were translated into Italian by a police translator. These copies were discovered in 1946 by the Italian historian Aldo Romano among the documents of the prefecture at the State Archives in Naples. Engels' original letters have not been traced.

In the texts published in this volume, obvious distortions and errors by the translator and copyist have been corrected.

The letter of 1[-3] July 1871 was published in English for the first time in part in: Marx, Engels, Lenin, *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972.—161, 170, 180

232 Engels' intention to establish correspondence with L. Castellazzo, whose address he knew from Carlo Cafiero, did not materialise. In his letter of 28 June 1871, Cafiero informed Engels that Castellazzo and the Florentine *Società Democratica Internazionale* were being harassed by the police.—162

233 A reference to Jules Favre's Circular of 6 June 1871 addressed to the diplomatic representatives of France (see Note 224). In his Circular Favre made use of police forgeries and documents of the Alliance.—164

234 At the General Council meeting of 4 July 1871, Paolo Tibaldi, a Paris Commune fighter, exposed Luigi Wolff as a paid agent of the French police. The statement was published in *The Eastern Post,* No. 145, 8 July 1871.—164, 173

235 Engels made a tour of Lombardy in the summer of 1841.—165

236 The *Party of Progress* was formed by members of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie in June 1861. It advocated the unification of Germany under Prussian supremacy, the convocation of an all-German parliament, and the establishment of a liberal ministry responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. In 1866, after a split in the Party of Progress, its Right wing, the National Liberals (see Note 229), formed a separate party. Following the unification of Germany in 1871, the Left wing declared themselves the party of opposition, but this opposition remained only on paper.—166, 289

237 A Social-Democratic daily newspaper, *Crimmitschauer Bürger- und Bauernfreund, Organ des gesamten Osterlandes,* was founded in the summer of 1870 in Crimmitschau (Saxony).—167

238 The General Council members Odger and Lucraft expressed their disapproval of the Address of the General Council *The Civil War in France,* virtually joining in the campaign of slander against the International started by the bourgeois press when this Address was published. At its meetings on 20 and 27 June 1871 the General Council unanimously condemned Odger and Lucraft and accepted their resignations.—167, 186, 215, 233

239 Towards the end of June 1871 the editors of *The Pall Mall Gazette* took a hostile attitude to the Paris Communards and joined in the slander campaign unleashed by English bourgeois papers against the International Working

Men's Association. In this connection Marx and Engels officially broke off relations with the paper and on 4 July informed the General Council of their decision.—167

240 Marx wrote this in reply to the letter the lawyer Léon Bigot had sent to the Secretary of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. When a group of Communards were court-martialled in Paris (see Note 268) Bigot defended the accused Adolphe Alphonse Assi, a member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and the Paris Commune. In his letter, written with Assi's consent, Bigot asked the International's leaders what they thought of the slanderous accusation 'of spreading false rumours' about Assi which the bourgeois papers had levelled against Marx.

The letter is printed from the rough copy Marx made in a notebook where, under the heading 'Affaire Assi', a collection of material is to be found relating to the above-mentioned affair.—167

241 Marx wrote this letter in reply to A. O. Rutson, private secretary to Bruce, British Home Secretary. Rutson had asked Marx to send him copies of all official documents issued by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association.—169

242 On 17 May 1870 the General Council resolved to convene the Fifth Congress of the International in Mainz. However, the Congress was unable to meet owing to the Franco-Prussian War that broke out in July 1870 (see Note 40).—169, 237, 260

243 This refers to the 'Address to Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America' (see present edition, Vol. 20) written by Marx on the occasion of Lincoln's re-election as President. The Address was forwarded to Lincoln through Adams, the American envoy to London.

On 28 January 1865, Adams, on behalf of Lincoln, handed over the reply to the Address of the Central (General) Council. It was published in *The Times* on 6 February 1865.—169

244 In his letter of 28 June 1871 Cafiero informed Engels that a Russian lady, one of his 'socialist republican' friends, had started to translate *The Civil War in France* into Russian. Nothing is known of the fate of this translation.—170

245 *The Civil War in France* was published in French for the first time in *L'Internationale* in Brussels in July-September 1871 and in *L'Égalité* in Geneva in August-October 1871. It appeared between separate covers in Brussels in June 1872. In Spain Marx's work was published in *La Emancipación* in July-September 1871. The publication of the Italian edition, started in *L'Eguaglianza* (*Girgenti*) in November-December 1871, was not completed. The Dutch edition appeared in *De Toekomst* in June-July 1871. On the German translation of *The Civil War in France* see Note 226.—170, 400, 583

246 In his letter dated 28 June 1871 Cafiero informed Engels that for liaison with the Florentine *Società Democratica Internazionale* he should write to Francesco Piccini, a shoemaker.—170

247 Cafiero wrote that after serving a short term in prison on account of the strike organised by the Naples section in early 1870, Stefano Caporusso had renounced his socialist and republican convictions.—171

248 A reference to passports allowing the Communards to leave Paris. See also this volume, p. 151.—174

249 An allusion to the documents of the International Working Men's Association published by the General Council which Danielson asked Marx to send to him via Berlin for reasons of secrecy, giving the following address: *Berlin poste restante. Herrn Kirschbaum.*—174

250 The letter has been preserved in the form of a résumé in Marx's notebook of excerpts. It was written in reply to Charles Caron's letter to Hermann Jung of 15 July 1871, in which Caron informed Jung that the New Orleans Club International et Républicain wanted to affiliate to the International Working Men's Association. The Club was admitted into the International as Section No. 15.—176

251 In June 1871 the General Council began to raise funds and distribute them among the Commune refugees; it also found jobs for them. In July the General Council formed a special Relief Committee which included Marx, Engels, Jung and other members of the Council. On 5 September 1871 Marx and Engels, being busy with the preparations for the London Conference of 1871, resigned from the Committee. Marx nevertheless continued to take an active part in organising assistance to the Commune refugees.—176, 202, 326, 566

252 A reference to the second German edition of Engels' work, *The Peasant War in Germany,* put out by the *Volksstaat* Publishers in 1870.—178

253 Engels has in mind Borkheim's work, *Zur Erinnerung für die deutschen Mordspatrioten. 1806-1807,* which was published in *Der Volksstaat* in July-September 1871 and was to appear as a pamphlet some time later; A. Bebel's pamphlets *Unsere Ziele* (second edition) and *Die Reden Bebel's,* which were issued in August 1871 by the *Volksstaat* Publishers; and J. Dietzgen's *Die Religion der Sozial-Demokratie,* which was published between August 1870 and August 1871 in *Der Volksstaat,* and in 1871 appeared as a pamphlet.—178

254 An allusion to the preliminary conference held in London on 25-29 September 1865 instead of the congress of the International Working Men's Association planned for Brussels.

In line with a resolution of the Basle Congress (1869), the next congress of the International Working Men's Association was to be held in Paris. However, the persecution of the International's sections by the police in France compelled the General Council to move the next congress to Mainz (see Note 40). The outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War made the congress impossible; nor was it possible to hold it in the atmosphere of severe reprisals against the members of the International during the civil war in France, especially after the suppression of the Paris Commune. In these circumstances, the majority of national federations agreed that the congress be postponed and the General Council be empowered to fix the date of its convocation. At the same time the urgent tasks to be undertaken in the struggle against the Bakuninists and other sectarian elements, as well as other pressing problems, demanded the adoption of collective decisions. At its meeting on 25 July 1871 the General Council, at Engels' suggestion, resolved to convene a private conference of the International in London on the third Sunday of September. The majority of the federations agreed to the proposal.

The London Conference was held from 17 to 23 September 1871. Twenty-two voting, and ten non-voting, delegates took part in its work. The countries unable to send delegates were represented by the corresponding secretaries. Marx represented Germany, Engels—Italy. In all, nine sessions were held. The most important decision of the Conference was formula-

ted in Resolution IX, 'Political Action of the Working Class', which declared the need to found, in each country, an independent proletarian party whose ultimate goal was the conquest of political power by the working class.—178, 187, 308, 326, 346, 563

255 At the meeting of the General Council on 25 July 1871 the Bakuninist Robin, Guillaume's associate, raised the question about relations between the Bakuninist Alliance (see Note 10) and the International in connection with a speech made in Geneva by Utin, representative of the Russian Section of the International Working Men's Association, declaring that the Alliance had never been admitted into the International.

In its resolutions of 22 December 1868 and 9 March 1869 (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 34-36, 45-46), the General Council did refuse to admit the Alliance as an international organisation; should the Alliance dissolve itself, however, its separate groups were to be allowed to affiliate to the International Association as sections. Following the Alliance's declaration that it had dissolved itself, the General Council admitted into the International the Geneva Section, which called itself the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. During the discussion of this question at its meeting of 25 July 1871, the General Council confirmed that the Geneva Section of the Alliance had been admitted into the International. However, at Marx's and Engels' suggestion the General Council resolved to examine at the forthcoming conference the question of whether the leaders of the Alliance complied with the terms on which its sections had been admitted into the International; any violation of those terms placed the organisations of the Alliance outside the International Working Men's Association.—179

256 Caporusso embezzled the 300 lire which had been collected by members of the Naples Section to assist their imprisoned comrades.—180

257 The *League of Peace and Freedom* was a pacifist organisation set up in 1867 with the active participation of Victor Hugo, Giuseppe Garibaldi and other democrats. In 1867-68 Mikhail Bakunin was also among the members of the League.

Marx's tactics vis-à-vis the League of Peace and Freedom were approved by the Brussels Congress of the International in 1868, which opposed official affiliation to the League but was in favour of joint action by the working class and all the progressive anti-war forces.—182

258 The report on the General Council meeting of 25 July was published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 148, 29 July 1871.—185

259 On Engels' advice, Cafiero published the subsequent part of the letter (up to the words: 'At last Tuesday's meeting the Council...') in *Libero Pensiero* on 31 August 1871 and in several other Italian papers (see F. Engels, 'Mazzini's Statement Against the International Working Men's Association', present edition, Vol. 22).—185

260 This refers to the withdrawal of the Italian Mazzinists from the Central (General) Council in April 1865 following the discussion of the conflict in the Paris Section of the International (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 82-83).—185

261 This refers to Jung's letter to the editor of the bourgeois-democratic newspaper *L'Echo de Verviers*, in reply to the libellous attacks made on the International's leaders by the petty-bourgeois journalist Pierre Vésinier in the paper. Jung's

letter, dated 15 February 1866, had been edited by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 392-400).—186

262 In Volume 2 of his *Histoire de la révolution de 1848,* Louis Blanc maintained that the Bonapartists had taken an active part in the events of June 1848 (see Note 113), which, he alleged, had been provoked by them.—186

263 Engels is quoting Resolution VIII on organisational questions adopted by the Basle Congress of the International (1869). By decision of the London Conference of 1871 this Resolution was incorporated into the new edition of the Administrative Regulations (I. The General Congress, Art. 7) (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 8).—187

264 Marx is referring to the planned publication of the proceedings of the third court martial, which was to try a group of Paris Communards (see Note 268).

Owing to financial difficulties the proceedings were not published.—188, 195

265 This refers to the London Conference of the International Working Men's Association held between 17 and 23 September 1871 (see Note 254).—191, 217, 220, 221, 259

266 Engels has in mind the enquiry concerning Lopatin's fate which Marx made in his letter to Danielson dated 22 July 1871. In his reply to Marx on 31 July (12 August) Danielson wrote: 'The news about "our mutual friend" is correct. His position is extremely dangerous and may become chronic' (see Note 220).—192

267 Engels sent to Lavrov two issues of *The Eastern Post,* namely No. 148 of 29 July 1871, which carried the report on the General Council meeting of 25 July with Engels' speech on Mazzini's attitude towards the International and No. 149 of 5 August with the report on the General Council meeting of 1 August containing Marx's speech against Odger (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 607-08 and 610-11).—192

268 This refers to the trial of 15 members of the Paris Commune and 2 members of the Central Committee of the National Guard which began on 7 August 1871 in the Third Court Martial. Following the suppression of the Paris Commune there were altogether 26 courts martial in France. Judicial proceedings continued until 1877. The number of people shot, sentenced to exile with hard labour or confined to prison amounted to 70,000.—193, 207, 209

269 Paris was besieged by the Prussians in September 1870-January 1871 and by the Versailles Government troops in April-May 1871.—193

270 Marx wrote this letter to Theodor Koll, treasurer of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 135), in connection with the slander campaign which the Lassallean elements in the Society were conducting against him. They alleged that Marx had embezzled money collected by the Society for the striking tailors in Pest. Early in August 1871 Marx temporarily withdrew from the Society. In December 1871 the Lassalleans were expelled.—194, 202

271 On 1 May 1871 the tailors of 28 factories in Pest, Austria-Hungary, staged a strike, which later spread to other factories. The workers demanded hourly rates instead of piece rates, shorter working hours and a 20 per cent rise in wages. The strike was crushed by troops.—194

272 A reference to the bill of indictment against a group of the Paris Communards tried by the Third Court Martial (see Note 268). It was drawn up by public prosecutor Captain Gaveau (not long before that he had been a patient in a mental hospital, which he re-entered three months later and where he died). The bill of indictment was a collection of the most absurd slanderous inventions.—195

273 In his letter to Bebel and Liebknecht of 4 December 1870 Lefaivre thanked them in the name of the French Republic for their speeches in the North German Reichstag on 26 November 1870 (see Note 134). The letter of thanks was published in the *Börsenzeitung* and reprinted in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. Der Volksstaat* published it in No. 101, 17 December 1870.—196

274 Following the arrest of Bebel, Liebknecht and Hepner (17 December 1870), Bismarck's government started preparations for a trial of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, who were charged with 'high treason' (see Note 134). The trial was held in Leipzig between 11 and 26 March 1872.

Though the charges brought against them had not been proved, Bebel and Liebknecht were condemned to two-year imprisonment in a fortress (with the deduction of the two months they had spent in prison before the trial); Hepner was acquitted. Following the trial in Leipzig, early in July 1872 Bebel was again brought before the court 'for insulting His Majesty', which he had allegedly done when addressing workers in Leipzig. Bebel was sentenced to additional 9 months in prison and deprived of his seat in the Reichstag.—196, 360, 365, 458, 493, 510

275 The Russian revolutionary Yelizaveta Dmitrieva (Tomanovskaya) took an active part in the Paris Commune and helped Marx and the General Council in maintaining contacts with the French members of the International during the Commune and after its suppression. Marx's letter to Dmitrieva has not survived.—198

276 In August 1871, at the trial of a group of Communards, François Jourde, delegate of the Finance Commission of the Commune, was accused, among other things, of having set fire to the Ministry of Finance building.This charge was based on evidence fabricated by the police.—199

277 On 9 August 1871 *Der Volksstaat* published a statement by Amand Goegg addressed to the editors of the *Schwäbischer Merkur,* in which he declared himself an advocate of individualism. On 12 August *Der Volksstaat* published Bernhard Becker's letter headed 'Zur Geschichte des Preußischen Regierungssozialismus' referring to the time of his expulsion from the General Association of German Workers (1865).—199, 215

278 Between 16 and 29 August 1871 Marx stayed at Brighton where, on his doctor's advice, he received treatment for overstrain.—200, 201, 204, 206, 209

279 On 19 August 1871 the newspaper *Public Opinion* (apparently Engels had a copy of this issue already on 18 August) published, under the title 'A German View of the International', an account of the leader 'Die Internationale' from the *National-Zeitung,* No. 351, 30 July 1871. On August 26 the Editor of *Public Opinion* published Marx's protest against the libels contained in the account (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 393-94) as well as an apology, as demanded by Marx.—200, 201, 204

280 In 1869 Nechayev established contacts with Bakunin and began setting up a secret organisation called Narodnaya Rasprava (The People's Judgment) in a number of Russian cities. Having received from Bakunin the credentials of the 'Alliance révolutionnaire européenne', Nechayev passed himself off as a representative of the International. When members of Nechayev's organisation were arrested and put on trial in St Petersburg in the summer of 1871, the adventurist methods he had used—blackmail, intimidation, deception, etc.—were brought out into the open. The bourgeois press used the Nechayev case to discredit the International.

On 22 September 1871 the London Conference charged the General Council to declare publicly that the International Working Men's Association had nothing to do with Nechayev's activities. On October 16 the General Council adopted an appropriate resolution drafted by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 23).—201, 311, 436

281 Early in August 1871 Lafargue had to flee to Spain in order to escape persecution by the Versailles Government. On 11 August he was arrested in Huesca on the orders of the Thiers government, but released 10 days later.—202, 204, 570

282 The Appeal to members of the American sections of the International to raise money for the Paris Commune refugees was written by Marx and sent to Sorge, as can be seen from Marx's letter to Sorge of 5 September (see this volume, p. 211). The text of the Appeal has not been found.—203, 204, 208, 211

283 The text of Marx's telegram is not known.—204

284 This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895,* International Publishers, New York, 1953.—204, 236, 241

285 A strike by dressers started on 11 June 1871 at clothing factories in St Gallen (Switzerland). Eight hundred strikers who had resolved at their meeting to join the International were sacked. The support of the Swiss sections of the International enabled the strikers to hold out until September, secure reinstatement for the sacked workers, and win a reduction of the working day by one hour.—205

286 On 3 August 1871 *The New-York Herald* published a report from its London correspondent about his meeting with Marx on 20 July 1871. The author distorted the content of their talk. *Le Gaulois* published excerpts from this report and Marx sent its editor a copy of the relevant statement which he had sent to *The New-York Herald.* Marx's statement was published in *Le Gaulois,* No. 1145, 27 August 1871 (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 395); it did not appear in the *Herald.*—205

287 This letter was published in English, in full, for the first time in: *The Letters of Karl Marx,* selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—206

288 The letter from the Russian revolutionary A. Davydov of 21 August 1871 was prompted by a request Engels had made to him on 15 August for assistance to Paris Commune refugees. A cheque for £4 was enclosed with Davydov's reply. The text of Engels' letter to Davydov is not extant.

Marx wrote 'Davyson' instead of Davydov.—206

289 Of this letter only an excerpt cited in the article 'Pecuniary Position of the International' has been preserved. The article was published in *The World,* No. 3687, 21 September 1871.—208

290 Marx drafted this letter on the back of a letter from M. D. Conway, an American radical writer staying in Britain at the time. Conway enquired about the possibility of attending the General Council's forthcoming meetings.

This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895,* International Publishers, New York, 1953.—209

291 The reference is to the report of the International Working Men's Association's Central Committee for North America on the situation in the country and the activities of the International's organisations; it was sent to the London Conference of 1871.—211

292 In his letter of 30 August 1871 Collet asked Marx where he could get Volume I of *Capital,* or excerpts from it in English, French or Italian, for the purpose of comparing them with the addresses issued by the International, which, as he put it, alarmed him.—211

293 Engels wrote a review of Volume I of *Capital* for *The Fortnightly Review* in May-June 1868, but it was rejected by the editorial board (see present edition, Vol. 20).—212

294 Taking advantage of Engels' short holiday in Ramsgate (somewhere between 3 and 9 September 1871) Marx asked him to talk with the British democrat Thomas Allsop about assistance to the Paris Commune refugees.—213

295 In his letter to Marx of 7 September 1871 Allsop proposed that they meet on 12 September to discuss the question of assistance to the Paris Commune refugees; he also asked Marx to make a list of those who were in particular need.—213

296 The reference is to the London newspaper reports on the court proceedings instituted by Favre against Laluyé in March 1871. Favre charged Laluyé, a former Commander-in-Chief of the Paris National Guard, with slander.

The newspapers, which reported the case, notably *The Times,* kept changing their stance, supporting now Favre now Laluyé.—213

297 On 2 September 1871 *The Evening Standard* reproduced a slanderous article about Marx previously published by the London *Public Opinion* (see Note 279). Marx sent a letter to *The Evening Standard* enclosing a copy of his statement to the *Public Opinion* for publication. The statement was not published on the pretext that it had not been found in the envelope.—213

298 This is a draft of Engels' answer to an enquiry from this firm about MacDonnel who had applied to it for a loan to start a printshop.—214

299 Liebknecht offered Engels a mandate to attend the International's 1871 London Conference (see Note 265). Engels was to represent the Saxonian members of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party. See also this volume, p. 232.—215, 288

300 Liebknecht and his wife decided to name their son, born on 13 August 1871, Karl Friedrich Paul, in honour of Marx, Engels and Paul Stumf, Liebknecht's associate. This was the reason why Liebknecht enquired about Marx's and Engels' full names.—215

301 The London Trades Council was elected at a conference of trade union delegates in 1860. The Council headed the London trade unions, numbering many thousand members, and was fairly influential among the British workers. On 14 January 1867 the London Council resolved to co-operate with the International Association 'for the furtherance of all questions affecting the interests of labour; at the same time continuing the London Trades Council as a distinct and independent body as before'.—215

302 Referring to Engels' doubts about the wisdom of inviting Bernhard Becker to contribute to *Der Volksstaat* (see this volume, p. 199), Liebknecht wrote on 8 September 1871 that the editorial board 'needed men of ability', but that they intended to keep him 'on a string'.—216, 233

303 The reference is to B. Becker, *Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's*, Schleiz, 1868. Engels gave his assessment of this work in the article 'On the Dissolution of the Lassallean Workers' Association (Postscript)' (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 24).—216

304 On 9 September 1871 *Der Volksstaat*, No. 73, published an announcement, 'Zur Notiz', informing the readers that the paper, 'by agreement with the General Council, ... would be publishing an authentic history of the Paris Commune'.—216

305 In the summer of 1871, Bismarck and the Chancellor of Austria-Hungary Beust took coordinated steps to curb the working-class movement. The German and Austrian emperors specially discussed joint measures against the International at their meetings in Bad Gastein in August, and in Salzburg in September 1871.

The Italian government joined the general crusade against the International by breaking up the Naples Section in August 1871, and persecuting members of the International, Theodor Cuno among others (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 151-52).—216

306 *Verona* was the venue of the last congress of the Holy Alliance, held in October-December 1822. The congress adopted a resolution on the French intervention in Spain, which led to the restoration of the absolutist regime there in 1823.

In *Carlsbad* (Karlovy Vary), the conference of German states' ministers in August 1819 resolved to introduce precensorship in all German states, establish strict surveillance over the universities, prohibit student societies and set up a central committee of inquiry for prosecuting persons suspected of opposition.

In the 1820s the Austrian authorities instituted reprisals against the *carbonari*, members of secret political societies advocating unification, independence and liberal constitutional reforms for Italy.—216

307 Engels was on another holiday in Ramsgate (see Note 294) around 13-15 September 1871.—216, 229

308 This is Marx's reply to Sorge's letter of 8 August 1871. Sorge had informed Marx of the growing conflict in the International's Central Committee for North America with bourgeois reformists who were seeking to establish their influence over the organisations of the International.

This letter was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—217

309 The London Conference adopted a decision to put out a new authentic edition of the International's Rules and Administrative Regulations in English, French and German (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 3-20). This edition appeared in English as a pamphlet published in London in November 1871. The French edition appeared in December 1871. The official German edition appeared in *Der Volksstaat* on 10 February 1872, and as a separate publication in Leipzig in 1872.—217, 221, 236, 270, 282, 305

310 The International's Central Committee for North America proposed that all sections submit to the Committee lists of their members with addresses and occupations. Washington's Section No. 23 responded by declaring that it preferred to maintain direct contact with the International's General Council residing in London rather than with the Central Committee.—217, 236, 257

311 On receiving a false report of Marx's death, the conference of the Cosmopolitan Society adopted a resolution saying that Marx was 'one of the most devoted, most fearless and most selfless defenders of all oppressed classes and peoples'.

The *Cosmopolitan Society* was one of the many democratic organisations formed in the United States in the early 1870s. It consisted of petty-bourgeois elements and workers, and also included members of the International's sections. The society disbanded in early 1872.—220

312 The reference is to Danielson's letter to Eleanor Marx of 31 August (12 September) 1871 in which he asked whether Russian newspaper reports about Marx's serious illness were true.—220

313 When the Swiss conflict (see Note 9) was discussed at the 1871 London Conference, Utin, Perret and Serraillier exposed the splitting activities of the Bakuninists Robin and Bastelica.—220

314 Jenny Marx's letter to the American newspaper *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* about the police persecution she and her sister Eleanor had been subjected to in France in the summer of 1871 (see Note 212) was sent by Marx and published on 21 October 1871 together with his covering letter (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 432).—220

315 This letter is printed according to a handwritten copy now in the Berlin police archives.

It was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx, *On the First International*. Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1973.—221

316 Lavrov's letter of 29 September and this one by Engels refer to a consignment of books for Lavrov (see this volume, p. 218) and also discuss in a coded form the organisation of assistance to the French refugees.—222, 562

317 Marx, his wife Jenny and Engels went on holiday to Ramsgate from 28 September to 3 October 1871.—222, 562

318 This probably refers to certain French refugees and the Society of Commune Refugees (see this volume, p. 274).—223

319 In his letter of 8 October 1871 Perret asked Marx to send urgently the London Conference resolution relating to the split in Romance Switzerland (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 419-22).—223

320 A reference to the £42 collected by German Section No. 1 in the USA by subscription for the Paris Commune refugees. The money was later sent to the General Council to be distributed among the refugees. A deputation from the Society of Commune Refugees in London (see Note 378) attended the meeting of the General Council on 29 August 1871 to demand an account of how the émigré fund was being distributed. A resolution proposed by Engels was adopted, recognising the donors as the only persons with the right to monitor the actions of the General Council in this respect. At the Council's meeting of 16 October 1871 Marx insisted that the money should be distributed by the General Council to those Commune refugees who were hardest hit.—224

321 Marx's letter to Hales was written on a General Council form together with the text of the resolution on Nechayev (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 23). British newspapers did not publish the Nechayev resolution.—225

322 In response to Marx's enquiry, Utin wrote on 28 October 1871 that the Bakuninists were attempting to set up in Zurich a Slav section consisting of Bulgarian and Serbian students and to counterpose it to the Russian Section of the International. The group, which took the name of 'Slavenski Zaves', affiliated to the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. After the General Council refused to recognise it as a section of the International in the spring of 1872, it became part of the Jura Federation. The group ceased to exist in the summer of 1873.—227

323 The reference is to the 1871 London Conference resolutions (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 423-31). The General Council asked Marx to prepare them for publication in English, French and German.—227, 231, 257

324 The *Tugendbund* ('Union of Virtue') was one of the patriotic societies founded in Prussia in 1808 following the defeat by Napoleonic France. It united representatives of the liberal nobility and the bourgeois intelligentsia. The society advocated moderate liberal reforms and sought to rally support for the idea of an anti-Napoleonic liberation war.—228

325 At the sitting of the London Conference on 20 September 1871 Vaillant tabled a draft resolution stressing the need for political action by the working class. In the course of the discussion of this resolution and Serraillier's and Frankel's addenda to it Marx and Engels made speeches which provided the basis for the resolution 'Political Action of the Working Class' (IX). To draw up the resolution a special commission of the General Council was set up which included Engels, Martin and Le Moussu. The resolution was then discussed at the General Council's meeting of 16 October. Marx was asked to prepare it for the press.—231, 331

326 On 12 September 1871 Liebknecht sent Engels a mandate to attend the London Conference as a representative of the Saxonian members of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party.—232, 571

327 On 27 October 1871 *The Times* published an unsigned article 'The International Working Men's Association'. It described the origins of the International since 1848. Its closing lines stated that the Association's aim remained as it was at its foundation, 'the complete emancipation of the working class'.—233

328 The reference is to a number of sections organised by Bakuninists in the Swiss Jura. Relying on these sections, the Bakuninists managed to obtain a formal majority at the Romance Federation Congress held in La Chaux-de-Fonds on

4-6 April 1870. The Bakuninists attempted to seize leadership of the whole federation, which caused a split (see Note 9).

This conflict was discussed at the 1871 London Conference, and was resolved in favour of the genuine Romance Federal Committee. It was suggested that the Bakuninist Council should call itself the Council of the Jura Federation (see K. Marx, 'Resolution of the London Conference relating to the Split in Romance Switzerland', present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 419-22).—234

329 The list sent in by Engels appeared in *Der Volksstaat,* No. 92, 15 November 1871. It included *Il Proletario Italiano,* Turin; *Gazzettino Rosa,* Milan; *La Plebe,* Lodi; *Il Libero Pensiero,* Florence; *Il Romagnolo,* Parma; *Il Tribuno (Ciceruacchio),* Rome; *L'Eguaglianza,* Girgenti, Sicily, and *L'Operaio Italiano,* Catania, Sicily.—234

330 The 1871 London Conference, on Marx's initiative, instructed the General Council to establish a Federal Council for England. The General Council itself had acted as such from the International's foundation to the autumn of 1871. In October 1871 a provisional London Federal Council was formed from representatives of the International's London Section and some of the trade unions. From the outset it was dominated by a group of reformists headed by John Hales, Secretary of the General Council. They attempted to set the Federal Council against the General Council. Following the Hague Congress of 1872 the left wing of the Federal Council, supported by Marx and Engels, constituted itself the British Federal Council.—234, 302, 382

331 Eccarius was appointed the General Council's Corresponding Secretary for the USA (French sections excluded) at the Council's meeting of 2 October 1871.—236, 382

332 Section No. 12 joined the American sections of the International in July 1871. Its leaders, the feminists Victoria Woodhull and Tennessee Claflin, began campaigning for bourgeois reforms on behalf of the International. On 27 September 1871, without the knowledge of the New York Central Committee, Section No. 12 demanded that the General Council recognise it as the leading body of the International in the USA. Simultaneously it campaigned in the press against the sections which upheld the proletarian character of the International.

In its resolution of 5 November 1871 the General Council rejected the claims of Section No. 12 and confirmed the powers of the New York Central Committee. Nevertheless Section No. 12 continued to act in the same vein, which led to a split between the proletarian and petty-bourgeois sections. In March 1872 the General Council expelled Section No. 12 from the International, and in September 1872 this decision was confirmed by the Hague Congress.—236, 252, 568

333 This letter is printed according to a handwritten copy now in the Berlin police archives.

The letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx, *On the First International.* Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1973.—237

334 In his letter of 18 October 1871 Ferdinand Jozewicz informed Marx about the activities of the Berlin Section of the International and enquired about the expediency of the Section's public statements.—237

335 The trial of Bracke, Bonhorst, Spier and other members of the Committee of

the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party took place in the Brunswick district court in November 1871. (On their arrest see Note 115.) The main point of the indictment was their membership of the International. The court found Bracke and Bonhorst guilty of 'infringing public order' and sentenced them to 16 months in prison. In February 1872, however, the court of appeal quashed the sentence as groundless and cut the term of imprisonment from 16 to 3 months, also deducting the period of preliminary detention; this virtually amounted to an acquittal.—237, 242, 360

336 A short excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx, Engels, *On Literature and Art,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976; part of this letter appeared in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters on 'Capital',* New Park Publications, London, 1983.—238

337 Marx gives the pages and numbers of footnotes according to the first German edition of Volume I of *Capital* which came out in 1867. Marx inserted all the amendments and printing corrections enumerated in the appendix, together with some minor editorial changes, in the second German edition of Volume I which appeared in 1872-73. They were also included in all subsequent editions. (Volume 35 of the present edition reproduces the text according to the 1887 English edition of *Capital,* edited by Engels.) Throughout this letter the page numbers in brackets refer to the corresponding pages of the paperback English edition of *Capital,* Volume I, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1967, from which the passages cited have been taken (where relevant).—238

338 The *French Section of 1871* was formed in London in September of that year by French refugees. The leaders of the Section established close contacts with Bakuninists in Switzerland. The Rules of the French Section of 1871, published in *Qui Vive!,* its official newspaper, were submitted to the General Council at its extraordinary meeting on 16 October 1871 and referred to a special commission (see Note 341). At the General Council meeting of 17 October Marx tabled a resolution on behalf of the commission (present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 24-27), recommending that the Section bring several paragraphs of its Rules into line with the Rules of the International. In its letter of 31 October signed by Augustin Avrial, the Section rejected the General Council resolution. This reply was discussed in the commission and at the General Council meeting of 7 November 1871. Auguste Serraillier, Corresponding Secretary for France, submitted a resolution written by Marx, which was adopted unanimously by the Council (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 37-42). In December 1871 the French Section of 1871 split up into a number of groups. In some of his letters Marx called this section French Section No. 2 to distinguish it from the French Section in London, established in 1865 (see Note 50).—241, 256, 267, 278, 280, 302, 309, 315, 331, 568

339 The reference is to a group of French refugees, participants in the Paris Commune, who allied themselves with the Bakuninists in Switzerland (Aristide Claris, Benoît Malon, Jules Guesde, André Léo, and others). On 6 September 1871 they set up a section of propaganda and revolutionary socialist action together with members of the Geneva Section of the Alliance de la démocratie socialiste (Nikolai Zhukovsky, Charles Perron) which had dissolved on the eve of the London Conference. The General Council, proceeding from the London Conference decisions prohibiting the admission of sectarian groups, refused to admit the section. This was confirmed by the Hague Congress in September 1872.—241, 268, 315

340 At the morning sitting on 22 September 1871 the London Conference discussed the Belgian delegates' proposal, tabled by De Paepe, to limit the number of representatives from each nationality in the General Council. Marx opposed De Paepe. The Conference confirmed as members of the General Council all the previously admitted Communards.—241

341 After the 1871 London Conference, the Rules of the International's local organisations were subject to approval by the General Council. They were first discussed by the Council's committee which had been appointed on 6 October 1871 to prepare a new edition of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations, and included Marx, Jung and Serraillier.—242

342 On 1 November 1871 Kugelmann sent Marx the indictment handed down by the Brunswick court (see Note 335). Marx compares it to the Vienna court judgment of 26 July 1870 which charged the Austrian Social-Democrats Heinrich Oberwinder, J. Most and Andreas Scheu with high treason. They were sentenced to several years' imprisonment with a strict regime and one day a month without food.—243

343 The reference is to the followers of James O'Brien. On a number of questions, such as nationalisation of the land and the Irish question, they supported Marx in the International. Some other points of their programme were of a utopian character, viz: 'a just and direct exchange' of the products of labour at their cost-price through the establishment of public warehouses and the introduction of symbolic labour money.—244, 252

344 Prior to the establishment in December 1870 of the International's Central Committee for North America, the General Council maintained contact with the International's sections in the USA through its local permanent correspondents, who received their plenary powers from the General Council. The General Council approved the appointment of Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt on 29 September and 13 October 1868, and Marx sent their credentials to the USA on 28 October 1868 (see present edition, Vol. 43, pp. 148-49).—244

345 This letter marks the beginning of Engels' correspondence with Theodor Cuno, a member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, who organised a section of the International in Milan. On 1 November 1871, soon after he had arrived in Milan and begun working as an engineer at the large *Elvetica* plant, Cuno wrote to Engels, the General Council's Corresponding Secretary for Italy, requesting assistance in making contact with members of the International in Milan and Italy at large.

Part of the letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895*. A Selection, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—245

346 Engels established contact with the *Gazzettino Rosa* through Cafiero in July-August 1871; in the next few months the newspaper published several General Council documents.—245

347 The reference is to Giuseppe Garibaldi's letter to Giuseppe Petroni, editor of *La Roma del Popolo*, of 21 October 1871. In it, Garibaldi declared his disagreement with Mazzini's attacks on the Paris Commune and the International. This letter was published in many Italian newspapers. On 7 November 1871 Engels reported the content of the letter to the General Council. Engels

translated it and included it almost in full in the report of the Council's sitting. The report was published in *The Eastern Post* on 11 November 1871.—245

348 Marx sent Jung a letter from Mainier, Secretary of the Eastern Paris Section, who requested the General Council on 15 November 1871 to support the Paris jewellers, who intended to go on strike for a shorter working day. Marx's letter to Mainier has not been found. Its content is known from Mainier's reply of 27 November, in which he thanked Marx for his promise of assistance and informed him that no strike had taken place.—246

349 The reference is to the collection of funds for the Paris Commune refugees; in this connection the General Council appealed, in particular, to the British Radicals, notably to Charles Dilke, M.P.—249

350 The reference is to the nomination of Frederick Cournet, an active Communard, to the General Council. He was coopted at the meeting of 21 November 1871.—249

351 In his letter of 19 November 1871 Adolphe Hubert informed Marx of the forthcoming changes in the editorial board of *Qui Vive!*. He suggested that French members of the International and Paris Commune refugees close to Marx be brought onto the board.—250, 281

352 This letter was published in English for the first time in part in: *The International Socialist Review,* Chicago, 1911; and in full in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895,* International Publishers, New York, 1953.—251

353 The reference is to the Report for October 1871 of the North American Central Committee of the International to the General Council, signed by Sorge and dated 5 November 1871.—251

354 A reference to *German Section No. 1 in New York,* which was the oldest section of the International in the USA, and originated from a Communist Club set up in 1857 by German revolutionary émigrés. The nucleus of this club consisted of former members of the Communist League and Marx's associates. Its members played a leading role in the New York General Association of German Workers, which propagated Marxism. In December 1869 the General Association of German Workers affiliated to the International and took the name of Section No. 1. The Section engaged in an active struggle against bourgeois reformers.—251, 334

355 *Mutualists*—this is what the Right-wing Proudhonists called themselves in the 1860s when they were members of the French sections of the International. These sections advocated a scheme for working people's emancipation through organised mutual assistance, i.e., the formation of cooperatives, mutual aid societies, etc.—255

356 The reference is to the resolutions of the 1871 London Conference: 'Designation of National Councils, etc.' (Resolution II, Points 1, 2, 3), 'Political Action of the Working Class' (Resolution IX), 'The Alliance of Socialist Democracy' (Resolution XVI) and 'Split in the French-speaking part of Switzerland' (Resolution XVII) (see present edition, Vol. 22).—255, 270

357 Marx is referring to André Léo's speech at the 1871 Peace Congress in Lausanne. Léo called Ferré and Rigault sinister figures of the Commune.—256

358 On 16 November 1871 No. 39 of *Qui Vive!* carried a letter written, on behalf of the General Council by Serraillier, Corresponding Secretary for France, dated 11 November. Addressed to Vermersch, Editor of *Qui Vive!*, the letter stated that the General Council accepted no responsibility for the publication in the said newspaper of the London Conference resolutions, taken from some unofficial source. Serraillier drew attention, in particular, to the distortion of Point 2, Resolution XIII, which said that 'German working men have done their duty during the Franco-German war' (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 428).

In reply to Serraillier's letter, fifteen members of the French Section of 1871 published a 'Protestation' in No. 42 of *Qui Vive!*, 19-20 November 1871.—256

359 The reference is to the *French-Language Section in London,* formed in November 1871 by the proletarian elements from among the Paris Commune refugees. On 18 November 1871 the Section adopted its Rules, which were approved by the General Council in February 1872. The French-Language Section in London included Marguerittes, Le Moussu, De Wolffers, etc., and supported the General Council in its campaign against the petty-bourgeois stand adopted by some of the French refugees (Vermersch, etc.).—256, 269, 280, 302

360 The Russian edition of Volume I of *Capital* was published at the end of March 1872; the edition of 3,000 copies was rather large for that time. It was sold very quickly, contrary to the Tsarist censors' expectations; they considered *Capital* to be a work 'difficult to understand', and that was the reason they allowed its publication (see also Note 146).—256, 283, 362, 377, 385, 396, 399, 438, 576, 582

361 The case of Gustave Durand, who tricked his way into the International as a leader of the French Section of 1871 and then was discovered to be a police agent, was considered at the special meeting of the General Council on 7 October 1871. Durand's correspondence with police officers was brought before the Council. The resolution on Durand's expulsion was drawn up and submitted to the General Council meeting by Engels (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 21).—257, 267

362 The reference is to the letter to Serraillier of 13 November 1871 written on behalf of the International's sections in Béziers and Pézenas. The authors denounced Bousquet as a police agent and demanded his expulsion from the International.—257, 270

363 Engels meant 'Relazione sulla Sezione Napoletana dell'Associazione Internazionale dei Lavoratori'. This document, written in November 1871 by Carmelo Palladino, described the state of the workers' movement in Naples and the background and activities of the International's Naples Section. Some material from 'Relazione' was used by Marx and Engels in their work *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (see present edition, Vol. 23).—259

364 On 20 August 1871 the Naples Section was broken up by the police.—260

365 On the London Conference of 1865, see Note 254.

Engels probably has in mind the fact that the 1866 Geneva Congress of the International approved the agenda proposed by the London Conference of 1865 and worked out by the Central (General) Council.—260

366 This letter was published in English for the first time in part in: *Annali*, an. 1, Milano, 1958, and in full in: Karl Marx, *On the First International.* Arranged

and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1973.—265

367 The reference is to a commission set up by the London Conference to consider the Swiss conflict (see Note 9). It included Marx, Vaillant, Verrycken, MacDonnel and Eccarius; Engels also took part in the commission's work. The meeting mentioned by Marx was held on 18 September 1871. Marx reported on the commission's findings at the sitting of 21 September 1871, which unanimously adopted the resolution tabled by him (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 419-22).

The question of Robin's expulsion from the General Council for his attempt to disrupt the work of the commission was considered at several Council meetings. On 17 October 1871 Robin was expelled.—266, 563

368 An allusion to the custom of the ancient Parthians of shooting at an enemy from horseback with the horse turned away as if in flight. Hence the expression 'a Parthian shot', which means a parting shot or, in modern parlance, the last word in an argument.—266

369 Marx had in mind an episode from Book Four of Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel* in which Panurge, having quarrelled with a sheep trader travelling on the same ship, bought a ram called Robin (the traditional name for a ram in France) from the trader and threw it overboard, and the whole flock followed.—267

370 *Revenons à nos moutons* (let's return to our sheep)—an expression from a medieval French farce which means 'let us return to our starting point, the subject of our conversation'.—267

371 An allusion to the 'Protestation' of the French Section of 1871, published in *Qui Vive!*, No. 42, 19-20 November 1871 (see Note 358).—268

372 The reference is to Raul Rigault's article 'Les agents secrets', published in *La Patrie en danger*, No. 62, 11 November 1870. It said that Chouteau had been used by a police provocateur for the purpose of setting up a secret workers' society.—268

373 Marx is referring to Sicard's letter to Vermersch of 22 November published in *Qui Vive!*, No. 46, 24 November 1871.—269

374 The Congress of the Bakuninist Jura Federation held in Sonvillier on 12 November 1871 adopted the *Sonvillier circular*, 'Circulaire à toutes les fédérations de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs'. It was directed against the General Council and the 1871 London Conference, and countered the Conference decisions with anarchist phrases about the sections' political indifferentism and complete autonomy. The Bakuninists proposed that all the federations demand the immediate convocation of a congress to revise the General Rules and to condemn the General Council's actions.

The International's sections in Germany, Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, the USA, and also the Section in Milan, came out against the circular. Engels gave the Bakuninists a vigorous rebuff in his article 'The Congress of Sonvillier and the International' (present edition, Vol. 23).—270, 289, 292, 299, 310, 318, 323, 331

375 This letter by Engels to Lafargue is a postscript to Marx's letter to Laura and Paul Lafargue of 24-25 November 1871.

It was published in English for the first time in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. III: 1891-1895, Moscow, 1963.—271

376 Marx's letters to Bałaszewicz-Potocki of 25 and 29 November 1871 were found in the archives of the Third Department (political police in Tsarist Russia). Juliusz Bałaszewicz was an agent of the Russian secret police in London, where he posed as Count A. Potocki, a Polish émigré.

These letters were written in reply to Bałaszewicz's letters offering his assistance in distributing the documents of the International among Poles and Russians.

Marx's letters were written on letterheads of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association.—272, 273

377 The letter was written on a letterhead of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association.—273

378 The *Society of Commune Refugees*, formed in London in July 1871, attempted to gain control over the distribution of funds the General Council was collecting for the refugees. At the beginning of 1872 the society was transformed into a mutual aid society.—274

379 Answering the letter from Sorge of 12 November 1871 which said that the Irish members of the Central Committee of the International for North America in New York were against electing MacDonnel Corresponding Secretary of the General Council for Ireland, Marx deemed it necessary to give a detailed explanation of the matter.

MacDonnel had been elected Secretary on 1 August 1871. His activities resulted in the establishment of Irish sections of the International in a number of English towns in 1871-1872.—274

380 A reference to Lavrov's letters to Engels dated 26 October and 9 November 1871.—275

381 This letter was published in English for the first time in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. I: 1868-1886, Moscow, 1959.—277, 284, 336, 338

382 Mesa's letter to Lafargue of 28 November 1871 was forwarded by Lafargue to Marx on 3 December. Mesa wrote that the Spanish Federal Council regarded abstention from voting at elections as the only possible way for the proletariat to separate from the bourgeoisie and to form its own, independent party.—277

383 A reference to the article 'La politica de la Internacional', published in *La Emancipación*, No. 24, 27 November 1871. In the article the editorial board approved the London Conference resolution 'Political Action of the Working Class', but said that the policy of abstaining from political struggle was, for a time, a necessary measure in Spain. The article was reproduced in *La Federación* on 3 December 1871 (No. 120), and, slightly abridged, in *L'Égalité*, No. 24, 24 December 1871.—277, 282

384 A reference to the 'Declaration Sent by the General Council to the Editors of Italian Newspapers Concerning Mazzini's Articles about the International' written by Engels (see present edition, Vol. 23). It was written in reply to Mazzini's articles 'Documenti sull'internazionale' published in *La Roma del Popolo*, No. 38, 16 November; No. 39, 23 November, and No. 41, 7 December 1871.—278

385 From mid-January to early March 1872 Marx and Engels wrote 'Fictitious Splits in the International. Private Circular from the General Council of the International Working Men's Association' (see present edition, Vol. 23). Marx

set forth its principal propositions at the meeting of the General Council on 5 March 1872.

The circular was issued as a pamphlet in French at the end of May 1872; it was signed by all members of the General Council and sent to all federations of the International.—278, 284, 294, 393, 404, 407, 412, 415

386 After the 1871 London Conference the Lassalleans in the German Workers' Educational Society in London began campaigning against the General Council. They acted jointly with the Bakuninists and the petty-bourgeois refugees from the French Section of 1871. Joseph Schneider's article 'An die Socialdemokraten Deutschlands' was published in No. 67 of the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, 3 December 1871. In it he calumniated Marx, Bebel and the International, citing, in particular, the 'Protestation' of 15 members of the French Section of 1871 (see Note 358).

The *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, Nos. 68 and 69, 6 and 8 December 1871, published contributions by 'a *socialist* living in *London*' which contained attacks on the International. They could have been written by E. J. Weber.

In December 1871 the Lassalleans were expelled from the Society, and it declared its solidarity with the General Council and the decisions of the London Conference.—279, 297, 320

387 A reference to 'Ein offenes Wort an Herrn W. Liebknecht' by Frankel, published in the *Social-Demokrat*, No. 105, 5 September 1869; in the first part of the letter Frankel expressed support for Schweitzer, and in the second part, he criticised Liebknecht's speech at a workers' meeting in Vienna on 25 July 1869. The letter was reproduced in the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, Nos. 66 and 67, 1 and 3 December 1871. In his letter of 8 December 1871, Liebknecht asked Engels to persuade Frankel to protest publicly against the reprinting of the letter.—280

388 On 10 December 1871 the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, No. 70, carried an item which refuted the information published in the 'Politische Uebersicht' column of *Der Volksstaat* on 29 November 1871. *Der Volksstaat* had denied the assertion of the bourgeois press that Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, M.P., Radical, was an honorary member of the London Section of the International.—280

389 The *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, No. 69, 8 December 1871 carried a report from Copenhagen in the Lassallean spirit. Liebknecht, therefore, asked Engels in his letter of 8 December to help him find a correspondent in Denmark for *Der Volksstaat*.—280

390 A reference to Karl Boruttau's letter which Liebknecht forwarded to Marx together with his own letter of 8 December 1871.—281

391 On 2 December 1871 the general meeting of the Geneva Federation of the International heard a report by Perret, its delegate to the London Conference, about the work of the Conference and the decisions it had adopted (see also Note 398).—281, 310

392 In his letter of 8 December 1871 Liebknecht wrote: 'In last year's circular on Bakunin there is a reference to the *subterranée* ... of the I.W.M.A. You can prepare an explanation of this expression for our trial.' He had in mind the passage in the circular 'The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland' where Marx pointed out that the General Council may achieve success with the English workers not through 'showman's chatter', but by 'serious and unostentatious work' (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 87).—282

393 A reference to the adventurist and provocative activities of a group of French petty-bourgeois refugees in London headed by Félix Pyat, who were members of the French Section of the International (see Note 50).—282

394 In his letter of 8 December 1871 Liebknecht asked Engels to write an article for *Der Volksstaat* on the large crop of new speculative undertakings in Europe.—282

395 Laura Lafargue, in her letter to Marx of 12 December 1871, and Paul Lafargue, in his letter to Engels of the same date, reported on the results of their preliminary negotiations with Maurice Lachâtre, a French publisher, concerning the publication of the French translation of Volume I of *Capital* (see also Note 147). Laura wrote that Lachâtre had stated that not more than 4,000 francs would be needed to start work on the publication, of which the author had to pay one half. Lafargue had accepted these conditions and offered to pay the sum himself.—283, 298, 301, 314

396 In his letter to Marx of 28 November 1871 Meissner wrote that almost the whole of the first German edition of Volume I of *Capital*, issued in 1867, had been sold out. He suggested that Marx should start preparing the second German edition (see Note 145).—283, 298, 301, 314, 327, 343, 347, 374, 379, 396, 399, 405, 421, 435, 473, 489, 495, 496, 567, 574, 576, 578, 582, 587

397 A reference to the 'Circulaire à toutes les fédérations de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs' adopted at Sonvillier on 12 November 1871 (see Note 374). It was printed in *La Emancipación*, the organ of the Spanish Federal Council, on 25 December 1871.—284

398 The *resolutions of Thirty Sections in Geneva* were adopted at the meeting of the Geneva Sections of the International on 2 December 1871. They rejected the Bakuninist Sonvillier circular and expressed solidarity with and support for the General Council's activities and the London Conference resolutions. The resolutions of the thirty sections were published in *L'Égalité*, Nos. 23 and 24, 7 and 24 December 1871. In addition, Engels sent to Lafargue the 'Réponse du Comité fédéral romand à la Circulaire des 16 signataires, membres du Congrès de Sonvilliers', published in *L'Égalité*, No. 24, 24 December 1871, which condemned the Bakuninists' splitting activities. All these documents were published by Lafargue in *La Emancipación*, Nos. 29 and 30, 1 and 7 January 1872.—284, 568

399 A reference to the 1869 Basle Congress Administrative Resolutions, which extended the rights of the General Council; Resolution V gave the Council the right to refuse admission to new sections; Resolution VI gave it the right to suspend individual sections until the next congress. These resolutions were incorporated into the International's Administrative Regulations after the 1871 London Conference.—285, 289, 292, 296, 308, 313

400 On 23 December 1871 the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 300, and on 28 December, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 302, printed a report on the 1871 London Conference, including the texts of its resolutions. At Marx's request Eleanor Marx informed Liebknecht on 29 December (see this volume, p. 571) that the report was a falsification. On 30 December *Der Volksstaat*, No. 104, printed a statement in its 'Politische Uebersicht' column pointing out that the above-mentioned resolutions were falsified.

Engels referred to it as the 'Stieberian escapade' after Wilhelm Stieber, the

organiser of the trumped-up Communist trial in Cologne (1852). On the trial, see Note 138.—288, 571

401 Engels is referring to Liebknecht's letter of 23 December 1871.—288

402 The *Federal Diet* (Bundestag), the central body of the German Confederation, was founded in 1815 by the Congress of Vienna. It consisted of representatives of the German states and met in Frankfurt am Main under the chairmanship of the Austrian delegate. Having neither an army nor financial means at its disposal the Diet did not have any real power; it ceased to exist in 1866.—288

403 *Der Volksstaat* did not carry Engels' article on the subject.—289

404 In its discussion of the Sonvillier circular (see Note 374), the congress of the Belgian Federation of the International Working Men's Association held on 24-25 December 1871 in Brussels declined to back the demand of the Jura Federation that a General Congress of the International be convened without delay, yet at the same time instructed the Belgian Federal Council to draw up new draft Rules for the Association. Those behind the project were motivated by the desire to deprive the General Council of its powers. A short report on the congress was published in *L'Internationale*, No. 155, 31 December 1871, and also in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 5, 17 January 1872.—289, 296, 310, 374, 568, 574

405 In his letters to Marx and Engels of 2, 9 and 29 December 1871 and 1 and 4 January 1872, Maltman Barry proposed that a new secretary of the General Council be elected, since John Hales had been elected secretary of the British Federal Council (see Note 330).—291

406 The *Labour Representation League* was founded in November 1869. It embraced trade union leaders who sought to have working-class candidates elected to the House of Commons by making a deal with the Liberals. The League ceased to exist around 1880.—291

407 In a letter to Engels dated 4 December 1871 Carlo Terzaghi applied for financial assistance for *Il Proletario Italiano* newspaper, of which he was publisher. Engels drafted a reply after 6 January 1872. However, before the letter was despatched Engels read in the *Gazzettino Rosa* of Terzaghi's support for the demand of the Bakuninist Jura Federation that a General Congress be convened without delay. Thus, on 14[-15] January Engels wrote another letter with only the first two paragraphs of the old draft left more or less intact. The remainder was written partly between the deleted lines of the first draft and partly on a clean sheet. Engels wrote in German across Terzaghi's letter: 'Answered on 6 January 1872-14 January.'

The second version of the letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—291

408 In December 1871 in the Turin Workers' Federation (*Federazione operaia*), set up in late September of that year, a split occurred between the supporters of the International (including the Bakuninists) and the Mazzinians. The Mazzinians' opponents left the Federation to form a society called the Emancipation of the Proletarian (*La Emancipazione del Proletario*), which declared itself a section of the International. It consisted of workers from the railway workshops, the machine-building works and the arsenal. The Bakuninist Carlo Terzaghi was elected secretary. Later he was dismissed from the position and exposed as a police agent.—292

409 The *Mordecaians*—see this volume, p. 246.—292, 305, 357

410 A reference to the 'Réponse du Comité fédéral romand à la Circulaire des 16 signataires, membres du Congrès de Sonvilliers', resolutions of Thirty Sections in Geneva (see Note 398), and the 'Déclaration de la rédaction' directed against the Sonvillier circular. They appeared in *L'Égalité*, No. 24, 24 December 1871.—292

411 A reference to the report of the Bakuninist committee to the Sonvillier congress of 5 October 1871. The committee, after the split in the Romance Federation in April 1870, continued illegitimately to call itself the Romance Federal Committee. The report cited facts about the anarchist sections supporting the Bakuninists (mostly in highland Jura).—293

412 A reference to the statement carried by the *Gazzettino Rosa*, No. 360, 28 December 1871, as part of the 'Movimento operajo' review that the Emancipation of the Proletarian society in Turin had resolved, under Terzaghi's influence, to support the Sonvillier circular of the Jura Federation.—294

413 Engels means the publication of the resolutions passed by the congress of the Belgian Federation (see Note 404) by *Die Tagwacht*, No. 1, 6 January 1872 (in the 'Belgien' column), and by *La Emancipación*, No. 30, 7 January 1872.—296

414 On 5 January 1872 Liebknecht wrote to Engels asking when the next Congress of the International was to take place, and suggested Germany or a country bordering on it as its venue.—297

415 On 7 January 1872 the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, No. 3, printed a letter written by a number of Lassalleans. It was signed by Heinrich Schenck and Christian Winand, who had been expelled from the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 135), and contained libellous attacks on Marx and the General Council.

On 27 January 1872 *Der Volksstaat*, No. 8, carried a reply signed by A. Caulaincourt, secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society, under the heading 'Die Gegner der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation'. *Der Volksstaat*, No. 14 (17 February 1872), printed an article headed 'Wer ist Joseph Schneider?' criticising the Lassallean views expounded by Schneider in his article 'An die Socialdemokraten Deutschlands'. Directed against the International (see Note 386), it had appeared in the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, No. 67, 3 December 1871.—297, 320

416 A reference to the editorial statement in the 'Sucesos de la semana' column published by *La Emancipación*, No. 31, 14 January 1872, which described the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* as a newspaper which had sold out to Bismarck. This piece was translated by Engels and published by *Der Volksstaat*, No. 10, 3 February 1872.—297, 302

417 In April 1872 the *Universal Federalist Council* was formed in London, comprising what was left of the French Section of 1871 (see Note 338), some of the Lassalleans expelled from the German Workers' Educational Society in London, and representatives of the bourgeois Universal Republican League and the Land and Labour League. The Council proclaimed itself a 'true' leading body of the International in a pamphlet called *Conseil fédéraliste universel de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs et des Sociétés républicaines socialistes adhérentes*. This prompted Marx to write the 'Declaration of the

General Council Concerning the Universal Federalist Council'. In September 1872 the Universal Federalist Council convened a congress in London which claimed to be a congress of the International Working Men's Association. Its subsequent activities amounted to in-fighting between the various cliques which laid claim to leadership of the workers' movement.—297, 418, 424, 428, 474

418 The Congress of Saxonian Social-Democrats was held in Chemnitz on 6-7 January 1872. It was attended by 120 delegates, among them Bebel and Liebknecht, representing nearly 60 local organisations. In closed session the congress considered its attitude to the Sonvillier circular (see Note 374) and the battle against the anarchists in the International. Having rejected the circular and approved the resolutions of the London Conference, the congress gave its unanimous support to the General Council.—298, 304, 310, 577

419 Membership of the International could be either collective or individual. In countries where its activities were officially banned (Germany, for instance), the General Council issued membership cards to each new recruit individually.

The Congress of Saxonian Social-Democrats (see Note 418) passed a resolution in favour of recruiting individual applicants to the International.—298, 318

420 Resolution IV of the 1871 London Conference introduced penny stamps for the payment of membership dues. 'These stamps are to be affixed to a special sheet of the *livret* or to the Rules which every member is held to possess' (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 424). Consequently, the General Council ceased to issue membership cards.—298, 306, 314, 315, 319, 332, 447

421 Luigi Stefanoni, a bourgeois democrat and member of the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy, presented himself in November 1871 as the initiator of the Universal Society of Rationalists (*Società Universale dei Razionalisti*) allegedly intended to put into practice the principles of the International but free of 'its negative features'. Stefanoni advanced as a social panacea the utopian idea of buying land from the landlords and establishing agricultural colonies. The draft programme of the Society was printed by *Il Libero Pensiero*, No. 18, 2 November 1871. Later, Stefanoni published a number of slanderous articles directed against the General Council and Marx and Engels personally. Marx's and Engels' writings (e.g. Engels' letter to the editors of the *Gazzettino Rosa*, Marx's article 'Stefanoni and the International Again', present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 74-75, 160-63), which exposed Stefanoni's real ambitions, contributed to the failure of Stefanoni's attempts to subject the workers' movement in Italy to bourgeois influence.—298, 319

422 A reference to the split in the Central Committee of the International Working Men's Association for North America, which occurred in December 1871.

After the London Conference of 1871 strife flared up within the Committee between the proletarian and the bourgeois-reformist elements. As a result of the split two committees were formed, the Provisional Federal Council (Committee No. I), which comprised representatives of the 14 sections adhering to the proletarian stand (Friedrich Adolph Sorge, Friedrich Bolte, etc.), and the separatist council (Committee No. II), headed by Victoria Woodhull and other bourgeois reformists belonging to Section No. 12. At its meetings of 5 and 12 March the General Council voiced its support for the proletarian wing of the North American Federation; Section No. 12 was suspended from the International pending the next Congress. On 28 May 1872 the General Council

declared the Provisional Federal Council the sole leading body of the North American sections. The congress of the North American Federation held in July 1872 elected the standing Federal Council which included all members of the provisional body (see Engels' 'The International in America' and Marx's 'American Split', present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 177-83, 636-43).—298, 334, 341, 381

423 The second congress of the Spanish Federation of the International was held in Saragossa on 4-11 April 1872, attended by 45 delegates representing 31 local federations. The congress voted down the demand of Swiss Bakuninists that a General Congress be convened without delay, but, under the influence of the anarchists, decided to support the revision of the General Rules proposed by the Belgian Federation with a view to granting greater autonomy to the local sections. Opposing the Bakuninists, the congress ruled the expulsion of the editors of *La Emancipación* from the Federation to be illegal and restored their rights. However, when it came to electing the new Federal Council the Bakuninists managed to fill it mostly with members of the Alliance.—299, 301, 309, 331, 368

424 The bourgeois radical Charles Bradlaugh made slanderous attacks on Marx in a public lecture delivered on 11 December 1871 and in a letter to *The Eastern Post* printed in its second edition on 16 December. At the General Council meeting of 19 December Marx pointed to the close link between Bradlaugh's behaviour and the harassment of the International by the ruling circles and the bourgeois press.

Replying to the slanderous letters printed in January 1872 by *The National Reformer*, which was edited by Bradlaugh, Marx sent several statements exposing them to *The Eastern Post* (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 62-63, 71, 72-73).—299, 567, 574

425 In a letter to Engels of 21 December 1871 Pyotr Lavrov asked for two works by Alexander Bain, *The Senses and the Intellect* and *The Emotions and the Will*, and for *The Principles of Psychology* by Herbert Spencer. He also requested Engels to look for Sh. H. Hodgson's *A New System of Philosophy* (the title is inaccurate; the reference is either to Hodgson's *Philosophy of Reflection*, published in 1870, or to another of his philosophical works).—300

426 This is a reply to Lafargue's letter of 7 January 1872, in which he wrote that the Spanish Federal Council had rejected the Bakuninists' proposal on the convocation of an extraordinary Congress but supported the decision of the Belgian Federation to consider the revision of the General Rules at the next Congress. Knowing that Marx and Engels were working on the *Fictitious Splits in the International*, the General Council's reply to the Sonvillier circular, Lafargue warned them against being too personal. In conclusion he wrote that he had made arrangements with José Mesa to have Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* translated into Spanish (see Note 456).

The letter was published in English for the first time in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. I: 1868-1886, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959.—301

427 By the old German section Engels means the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 135).—302

428 Engels is referring to the Romance Federal Committee's official reply to the Sonvillier circular, which was approved at the meeting of 20 December 1871 (see Note 410), and to the article headed 'Die Internationale' and carried by

*Die Tagwacht*, No. 1, 6 January 1872. Below, Engels quotes this article in French.—303

429 This is Engels' reply to several letters from Theodor Cuno, including that of 11 January 1872 in which Cuno wrote that he had lost his job as an engineer since the owner of the factory made his continued employment conditional on his withdrawal from the International. He also wrote that he was threatened with deportation from Italy if, as the police had warned him, he did not 'modify' the nature of his public speeches.

This letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—305

430 In a letter of 27 December 1871 Cuno asked Engels for information concerning a 'retired captain with the wooden leg'. The latter, according to one of Cuno's friends, had a membership card issued by the General Council and was corresponding with London; Cuno suspected him of being a police agent.—306

431 The second congress of the League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 257), which was held in Berne on 21-25 September 1868, rejected by a majority vote the resolution proposed by Bakunin which called for 'economic and social equalisation of classes and individuals', 'abolition of the state', and 'abolition of the right of inheritance'. Bakunin and his followers withdrew from the League and, in the same year, formed an International Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Note 10).—306

432 In a letter of 14 January 1872, Carlo Terzaghi informed Engels about the split in the Workers' Federation (*Federazione operaia*) and the founding of a society called the Emancipation of the Proletarian (see Note 408). He appealed to the General Council not to recognise the Workers' Federation as a section of the International Working Men's Association. He also asked the General Council officially to disavow the statements made by Giuseppe Beghelli, one of the leaders of the Workers' Federation.—312

433 A copy of this letter, written by Marx in reply to Jozewicz's letter of 6-7 December 1871, was discovered in the Prussian Secret State Archives among the documents of Berlin's Police Presidium.—314

434 At the General Council meeting of 24 October 1871 Hermann Jung read out Benoît Malon's letter of 20 October to the Council, in which the latter repeated his request that the Section of Propaganda and Revolutionary Socialist Action be admitted to the International. Having obtained the opinion of the Romance Federal Committee, which strongly opposed recognition of this section, the General Council confirmed its earlier decision to refuse admittance.—315

435 The *Sub-Committee* (Standing Committee), or Executive Committee, grew out of the commission set up at the time of the International's inauguration in 1864 to draw up its rules and programme. It comprised corresponding secretaries for various countries, the General Council Secretary, and its treasurer. The Standing Committee, which had not been envisaged in the Rules of the International Working Men's Association, functioned as a working executive body. In the summer of 1872 the General Council decided to entrust all organisational matters to the Sub-Committee (which in June 1872 was renamed the Executive Committee).

As Corresponding Secretary of the General Council for Switzerland, Jung received a large number of letters dealing with the campaign waged by the

Romance Federation against the divisive Bakuninist sections; the letters were referred to the Sub-Committee for consideration.—316, 341, 383

436 The surviving manuscript copy of the letter does not bear the name of the addressee. However, its contents and Marx's correspondence on the subject indicate that it was addressed to the heads of the Lachâtre publishing house in Paris. On 13 February 1872 Marx received a reply from the manager Juste Vernouillet, who informed him about the despatch of copies of the agreement on the publication of the French translation of Volume I of *Capital*. The agreement was signed on 15 February by Marx on one side, and Maurice Lachâtre and Juste Vernouillet on the other. It stipulated that the French edition was to be published in 44 instalments, and sold five instalments at a time.

The French authorised edition of Volume I of *Capital* was published between 17 September 1872 and November 1875. The translation was done by Joseph Roy, who began in February 1872 and completed work in late 1873. The quality of the translation largely failed to satisfy Marx; besides, he was convinced that the original needed to be revised to adapt it to French readers.—316, 319, 328, 343, 362, 367, 374, 377, 379, 385, 396, 399, 405, 409, 422, 423, 435, 438, 450, 457, 460, 470, 473, 474, 488, 491, 496, 514, 515, 517, 519, 540, 543, 545, 547, 574, 576, 578, 582, 584, 587

437 This is a reply to the request from the firm Asher & Co. (contained in a letter of 12 February 1872) to send them a copy of the English edition of the *Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association*.

This letter was published in English for the first time in *Unbekanntes von Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx*. Part I: 1840-1874. Ed. by Bert Andréas, Jacques Grandjonc, Hans Pelger. Papers of the Karl-Marx-Haus, Trier, 1986.—318

438 In a letter to Engels of 16 January 1872, Liebknecht enquired about the amount of tax revenues for the benefit of the poor received in various parishes of London. He needed the figures for a criticism of the unequal distribution of poor-tax proceeds in the different parts of the German Empire.—318

439 At the General Council meeting of 6 February 1872 Marx called attention to the fact that Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc had become Bonapartist agents and had shortly before published a pamphlet *L'Empire et la France nouvelle. Appel du peuple et de la jeunesse à la conscience française* (Brussels, 1872), in which they appealed to the working people of France to assist them in trying to restore the Empire. The report on this meeting was carried by *The Eastern Post*, No. 176, 10 February 1872.—318

440 The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was published in English on 30 December 1871 in the American *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, No. 7. Chapter IV, except for the last four paragraphs, was omitted.

The first and second chapters of the *Manifesto* were published in French in the weekly *Le Socialiste*, the organ of the French sections of the International in the USA, in January-March 1872 under the heading 'Manifeste de Karl Marx' (Nos. 16-17, 19-24 and 26 of 20 and 27 January, 10, 17 and 24 February, and 2, 9, 16 and 30 March 1872).—319, 343, 378

441 Having advanced a plan to set up the *Universal Society of Rationalists*, Luigi Stefanoni tried to enlist support from a number of prominent members of the republican and working-class movements. With this in mind, he wrote to Liebknecht on 18 December 1871. The latter, having no real knowledge of Stefanoni's plans, sent him a letter of commendation. On receiving the letter

from Engels and acting on his advice, Liebknecht wrote to Stefanoni on 29 February expressing unreserved solidarity with the General Council (see this volume, p. 577).—320

442 On 20 January 1872 Becker wrote to Engels that he was forwarding to Friedrich Lessner the dues for the International's Milan section which he had received from Theodor Cuno. Becker further asked for 100 stamps to be sent to Cologne for the admission of new members to the Cologne section of the Association.—321

443 In January 1872 Engels learned from Paul Lafargue that the Spanish Federal Council was planning to publish its correspondence with the General Council in order to expose the slanders spread by the Jura Federation about the Council's 'dictatorial practices'. The plan was not carried through.—322

444 A reference to the search of Nikolai Utin's (Outine's) flat on 26-28 January 1872 by the Geneva police who had invented his alleged participation in forging Russian banknotes. Utin's papers, including some documents of the International he was keeping, were confiscated, and only the intervention of a progressive-minded lawyer prevented the Swiss authorities from handing them over to the Russian government.—322

445 A reference to the Administrative Resolutions passed by the Basle Congress of 1869 (see Note 399).—323

446 A reference to Article 14 of the Administrative Regulations adopted by the Geneva Congress of the International (1866), which states that the rules and bye-laws of individual sections must not contain anything contrary to the General Rules and Regulations of the International. This article corresponds to Article 12 of the English edition of the Regulations (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 446).—323

447 A draft of this letter was written by Engels across Burrs' letter to him of 19 February 1872. The former letter, as well as Engels' draft letters to J. Molesworth (written after 5 June) and to Th. Smart & Co. (3 July), are replies to enquiries by the relevant companies regarding E. Glaser de Willebrord's solvency and his reliability as a potential partner (see this volume, pp. 391 and 406).—324

448 When this letter was first published in *Die Gesellschaft* magazine (from the manuscript copy kept in the Prussian Secret State Archives), it was erroneously believed to be addressed to Fritz Milke. It is in fact a reply to Jozewicz's letter of 10 February 1872.

This letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx, *On the First International.* Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1973.—325

449 The reference is to Resolution X of the 1871 London Conference, 'General Resolution as to the Countries Where the Regular Organisation of the International Is Interfered with by the Governments' (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 427-28).—325

450 On 11 June 1872, on Marx's suggestion, the General Council resolved to convene a regular Congress in Holland on 2 September 1872 and decided on the principal item on the agenda, the consolidation of the International's organisation (revision of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations).

At its next meeting on 18 June the Council decided on The Hague as the venue for the Congress and appointed a special commission (Engels, Edouard Vaillant, Joseph MacDonnel) to prepare an official announcement of the forthcoming Congress. The announcement was written by Engels and despatched to *The International Herald*, which published it on 29 June 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 170-73).—325, 366, 372, 374, 376, 392, 396, 398, 401, 404, 407, 409, 411-13, 415, 417, 418, 422, 425, 426

451 Resolution VI of the 1871 London Conference, 'General Statistics of the Working Class', stated in Article 2: 'Every local branch is bound to appoint a special committee of statistics' (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 425).—325

452 The Dresden Congress of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party held between 12 and 15 August 1871 decided on Hamburg as the Party Committee headquarters.—326, 376, 508

453 A reference to the regular meeting of the General Council due to be held on 27 February 1872; Council members were unable to get to the meeting because of a public procession on that day to celebrate the recovery of the Prince of Wales.—326

454 Marx is apparently referring to Lafargue's letter to him written between 17 and 24 February 1872.—327

455 Maurice Lachâtre, the publisher of Volume I of *Capital* in French, intended to include a biography of Marx. Passing on Lachâtre's wish in a letter of 12 December 1871, Laura Lafargue also wrote that Paul Lafargue would undertake to write the biography. Lachâtre subsequently approached Engels with this proposal (see this volume, pp. 478-79).—327

456 On 7 January 1872 Lafargue wrote to Engels that since Proudhonist ideas held considerable sway with Spanish workers he had arranged with José Mesa to have Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* translated into Spanish, and passed on Mesa's request that a special foreword be written for the Spanish edition. However, the translation was not completed, and the foreword was not written. Several excerpts translated into Spanish were carried by *La Emancipación*.—327

457 In a letter written around 14 February 1872, Lafargue asked Marx to send him several copies of the *Inaugural Address*, *General Rules*, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, and *The Civil War in France*, and also of Joseph Dietzgen's works.—327

458 A reference to Lafargue's repeated requests for assistance in establishing ongoing contacts between *La Emancipación* and *Der Volksstaat* edited by Wilhelm Liebknecht. We do not know whether Marx wrote to Liebknecht as he had promised Lafargue.—327

459 In his letters to Marx written in February 1872 Lafargue proposed to get Lopez de Lara, a Spanish businessman residing in London, to finance publication of the International's official documents.—328

460 This excerpt is part of Engels' non-extant reply to Borkheim's letter of 24 February 1872. Borkheim wrote about Friedrich Adolph Sorge's request to recommend him books on the history of Ireland written from the materialist standpoint. Replying to Sorge on 15 March Borkheim quoted Engels' letter.

This excerpt was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.—329

461 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx, Engels, Lenin, *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. See also Note 118.—329

462 On 22 September 1871 the ninth session of the London Conference heard the case of James Cohen. The Belgian delegates voiced their indignation at Cohen who, sent to Belgium by the General Council in the summer of 1871 to organise aid to the striking machine-builders in Newcastle, acted not as a Council delegate but as a trade union representative. On returning to England Cohen tried to take credit for everything accomplished by the Belgian sections of the International. At Engels' suggestion the Conference passed a vote of censure on Cohen.—330

463 Probably a reference to the letter sent by the Committee of the Jura Federation to the Belgian Federal Council on 7 February 1872, which reported on the decision of the Committee to renounce its demand for an immediate Congress of the International.—331, 335, 337

464 A reference to the parliamentary elections to be held on 24 September 1872. Louis Pio and Paul Geleff, leaders of the Danish Federal Council, were nominated workers' candidates in Copenhagen. At the time of the elections they were in prison, having been arrested on 4 May, and failed to win the required number of votes.—332

465 A reference to one of the groups formed following the collapse of the French Section of 1871 (see Note 338). The General Council refused to admit this group to the International, since its Rules were at odds with the principles behind the General Rules.—333

466 The letter was written on a letterhead of the General Council bearing its previous address, 256 High Holborn, London, W.C. Marx crossed it out and wrote in the new address, 33 Rathbone Place, W.C.—333

467 At the General Council meeting of 20 February 1872 Johann Georg Eccarius reported that he had sent copies of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations to the address of J. W. Gregory, a member of the International in New York. Following Gregory's death in January 1872 the International's documents fell into the hands of petty-bourgeois elements in sections Nos. 12 and 9.—334

468 The Provisional Federal Council of the International Working Men's Association for North America protested against the appointment by the General Council of a special secretary for the French sections in the USA. In a letter to Marx of 8 March 1872 Sorge wrote that the protest originated from the Irish members of the International.—334

469 A reference to the poem '¡Leed y estremeceos!' enclosed by Lafargue with his letter to Engels of 11 February 1872.—339

470 A reference to Engels' account of the report of the Danish Federal Council and of Pio's article 'Om vore Landboforhold' (*Socialisten*, No. 17, 4 November 1871), made at the General Council meeting of 5 December 1871. The account was included in the report on the General Council meeting carried by *The Eastern Post*, No. 167, 9 December 1871. The translations of these items which Engels sent to Spain and Portugal were published in *La Emancipación*, No. 31, 14 January 1872, and *O Pensamento Social*, Nos. 1 and 2, February and March 1872.—340

471 During discussion of the split in the Central Committee of the International Working Men's Association for North America (see Note 422) at the General Council, Johann Georg Eccarius spoke out against Article 2 of Resolution III, specifically against the part reading: 'For these reasons the General Council recommends that in future there be admitted no new American section of which two-thirds at least do not consist of wage-labourers'.—341

472 On 1 February 1872 New York Section No. 10 sent the General Council a copy of its letter to the separatist Federal Committee in which it censured attempts by bourgeois reformists to use the International to promote their own ends.—342

473 The General Council meeting of 20 February 1872 approved Hermann Jung's proposal to mark the anniversaries of the Paris Commune with mass rallies in London. Still, the public meeting, for which 5,000 French and British democrats had gathered, did not take place, since at the last moment the owner of the hall where it was to be held refused admission. The meeting then elected 150 delegates who made their way to Frances Street, where the *Cercle d'Études Sociales* was housed (see Note 613), and marked 18 March, the first anniversary of the Paris Commune, with a ceremony. At the suggestion of Commune members Albert Theisz and Zéphirin Camélinat and General Council member George Milner, the delegates adopted three short resolutions written by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 128).—343, 347, 362

474 The facsimile of this letter was published as the preface to the French edition of *Capital* (see Note 436). In English it appeared for the first time in: Karl Marx, *Capital*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954.—344

475 This letter was written on the basis of the information received from Vitale Regis. In the second half of February 1872, on the instructions of the General Council, Regis (under the pseudonym of Étienne Pechard) spent ten days in Milan and Turin, where, acting on Engels' instructions, he was to acquaint himself with the actual state of affairs in the International's sections.

Regis described his trip in a letter to Engels of 1 March; he wrote about Carlo Terzaghi's expulsion from the Turin section of the International—the Emancipation of the Proletarian society—and his suspicions of Terzaghi's contacts with the police. This information prompted Engels to demand that Terzaghi explain his behaviour (see this volume, p. 352).

The original is mistakenly addressed to Carlo Bert and not Cesare Bert. Engels wrote across the letter: 'London, 21 March 1872. To C. Bert, Turin.'—345

476 A reference to Article 5 of Section II of the Administrative Regulations published on the decision of the 1871 London Conference; this article corresponds to Administrative Resolution V passed by the 1869 Basle Congress (see Note 399).—345

477 Part of this letter (without the appendix) was published in English for the first time in: Marx, Engels, Lenin, *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972.—346

478 A reference to the report delivered by Jean François Sacase at the French National Assembly on 5 February 1872 on behalf of the commission considering Jules Dufaure's bill, under which membership of the International was punishable by imprisonment. The bill was passed by the National Assembly on 14 March 1872.

Using the epithet 'Rural' with reference to Sacase, Marx implies his membership of the 'Assembly of Rurals', a derogatory name given to the National Assembly convened on 12 February 1871 in Bordeaux; it comprised mostly reactionary monarchists, provincial landowners, civil servants, rentiers and tradesmen elected in rural constituencies.—346, 505

479 On Marx's final assessment of Joseph Roy's translation, as well as on Marx's participation in preparing the French edition of Volume I of *Capital*, see 'Afterword to the French Edition' (present edition, Vol. 35), Note 436, and pp. 385, 515, 578 of this volume.—347

480 Marx sent Lafargue excerpts from a private circular entitled *Fictitious Splits in the International* and written by Engels and himself between mid-January and early March 1872, but not yet published at the time this letter was posted (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 79-123). The extracts enclosed with the letter correspond in content to the relevant section in Part IV of the *Fictitious Splits*. However, these extracts, apart from certain omissions and changes as compared to the published version, contain a number of remarks by Marx (he enclosed some of them in square brackets) that were not included in the pamphlet. In the present edition, the passages that are taken verbatim from the published version are enclosed in inverted commas.

Besides, since the circular refers to the articles of the original Rules, published in English in 1867 (see present edition, Vol. 20, Appendices), Marx adds in brackets the corresponding articles of the official version of the General Rules published in late 1871 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 3-20).—348

481 On Vitale Regis' (Étienne Pechard's) trip to Milan and Turin, see Note 475.—352

482 In a letter of 10 March 1872 Terzaghi asked Engels to remember him to Pietro Savio, an Italian refugee Communard.—353

483 A draft of the letter has also survived which, with the exception of the deleted passage (reproduced as a footnote) and several phrases crossed out by Engels, coincides with the text published here.—354

484 A reference to the Eleventh Congress of Italian pro-Mazzini Workers' Associations held in Naples on 25-27 October 1864. At the congress, Gennaro Bovio, representative of the Workers' Association of Trani, suggested that international workers' congresses be regularly convened, and that common Rules be worked out for them.—354

485 A piece Engels wrote on the persecution of Cuno was carried by *The Eastern Post*, No. 187, 27 April, and by the *Gazzettino Rosa*, No. 127, 7 May 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 151-52). Acting on Engels' advice, on 3 May Cuno wrote a letter to *Der Volksstaat*, which was published in No. 38 of 11 May 1872; a report on Cuno also appeared on 7 May in *L'Égalité*, Nos. 9 and 10.—356

486 The *Fascio Operaio* (Workers' Union) was founded on 27 November 1871 in Bologna with Erminio Pescatori as its leader. The Union did not directly declare that it was joining the International, but its manifesto, which was approved on 4 December, did proclaim the principle of international solidarity of the working people. The Union acted as a governing centre for similar organisations formed at the turn of 1871-72 in a number of towns in the Emilia-Romagna (Imola, Forli, Lugo, Rimini, etc.). It did not maintain regular contacts with the International.—358, 391, 419

487 The *congress in Bologna* was the first congress of anarchist groups from Mirandola, Genoa and Mantua, as well as representatives of the International's section in Naples and of the Romagna's workers' unions (*Fascii operai*), held on 17-19 March 1872. A number of congress resolutions bore the imprint of Bakuninism; in particular, the congress opposed participation in the elections and declared that it regarded the General Council and the Jura Federal Committee as mere correspondence bureaus.—358

488 A reference to one of the democratic societies in Ravenna, which, through the offices of Lodovico Nabruzzi, Sesto Montanari and Resta Luca, who were on *Il Romagnolo* editorial board, requested Engels in late October 1871 to help them organise a section of the International. Engels replied to Nabruzzi in early November (the letter has not been found). On November 25 the latter wrote to Engels about considerable successes in spreading the ideas of the International. However, that is where the correspondence ended. On 3 December 1871 *L'Internationale*, No. 151, in its 'Bulletin de l'interieur' column, carried a notice about the establishment of a section in Ravenna. Bakunin had managed to win Nabruzzi over to his side.—358

489 This assessment of the outcome of the Saragossa congress (see Note 423) was based on the information Engels received from Paul Lafargue. Following the receipt of more accurate information on the congress, specifically, on its decision to support the Belgian Federation's demand that the General Rules be revised, Engels changed his opinion. He wrote to Wilhelm Liebknecht about this on 22 May 1872 (see this volume, pp. 375-76).—358, 361, 375

490 On 14 March 1872 at the trial in Leipzig, replying to the question of defence counsel Freytag II from Plauen about the strength of the International in Germany, August Bebel quoted the figure of 1,000 members.—360

491 In his letters to Engels of 28 and 30 March 1872, Liebknecht wrote about violations of legal procedure at the Leipzig trial (the pressure placed on the jury by the prosecuting counsel, who constantly mixed with the jury and visited inns with them, etc.), and asked him about the corresponding English procedure.

Engels mentions the Tichborne trial in London against adventurer Arthur Orton who, posing as Roger Charles Tichborne, tried to obtain a legacy by means of forgery and fabricated evidence; the trial began on 11 May 1871 and lasted until April 1872.—360

492 Responding to the slanderous article, 'Wie Karl Marx citirt', written by the German bourgeois economist Lujo Brentano and published in the *Concordia* magazine, No. 10, 7 March 1872, Marx wrote a letter to *Der Volksstaat* on 23 May, which the newspaper carried on 1 June 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 164-67). Following the publication of Marx's reply in *Der Volksstaat*, *Concordia*, No. 27, 4 July 1872, featured another anonymous article (also written by Brentano), 'Wie Karl Marx sich vertheidigt'. Marx's reply to the second article was published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 63, 7 August 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 190-97).—360, 376, 410, 415

493 The *penny press* became widespread in England after the abolition, in 1855, of the stamp tax which greatly increased the price of newspapers.—361

494 In a letter to Engels of 19 April 1872, Liebknecht again wrote that the editorial board of *Der Volksstaat* intended to publish the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*

as a separate pamphlet and requested the preface to this edition as promised. Marx and Engels wrote the preface to the new edition on 24 June 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 174-75).—361, 374

495 Probably a reference to *Police Terrorism in Ireland*, a leaflet issued by the General Council of the International around 9 April 1872, and either to *Propaganda Fund for Ireland (April 21st, 1872)*, a leaflet by the General Council Corresponding Secretary for Ireland Joseph Patrick MacDonnel, or to his *To the Irish Sections of the International and the Working Classes in General (March 26th, 1872)*.—362

496 This is a reply to Eccarius' letter of 2 May 1872, which he had written following the General Council's discussion of his behaviour in dealing with the split in the Central Committee of the International Working Men's Association for North America.

After the General Council meetings of 5 and 12 March 1872 had approved the relevant resolutions proposed by Marx, John Hales (Council Secretary) and Eccarius (Corresponding Secretary for the USA) took up a conciliatory position towards the American bourgeois reformist elements. Eccarius opposed the expulsion of Section No. 12 and spoke out against Article 2 of Resolution III (see Note 471), accusing Friedrich Adolph Sorge and Section No. 1 (see Note 354), which he headed, of divisive activities. He refused to send the above-mentioned resolutions to the USA, stating in a number of letters (e.g. to petty-bourgeois activist John Elliott) that he strongly disapproved of them.

On 23 April 1872 the General Council meeting instructed Marx to prepare a detailed report on Eccarius' stand.

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx, *On the First International*. Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1973.—363, 379

497 In early February 1866 on Marx's insistence and contrary to the wishes of trade union leaders, Eccarius was appointed editor-in-chief of *The Commonwealth*, the official organ of the International Working Men's Association.

In September-October 1867, the General Council discussed the clash between Peter Fox and Eccarius. Fox had accused Eccarius of insulting some of the delegates to the Lausanne Congress in his reports published in *The Times* on 6, 9, 10 and 11 September.—363, 380

498 A reference to Eccarius' article on the 1871 London Conference in the American newspaper *The World*, which quoted some of its resolutions despite the Conference's decision not to make them public without special instructions from the General Council. Following investigation of this fact by the commission appointed by the Council on 10 October (with Hermann Jung as chairman, George Milner and George Harris), Eccarius was reprimanded at the General Council meeting of 30 January 1872.—363, 381

499 In a letter to Eccarius of 30 November 1871 J. W. Gregory, a member of the International in the USA and supporter of the bourgeois reformists, accused Section No. 1 (see Note 354) of divisive activities.—363

500 Engels is referring to Paul Lafargue's report 'Apertura del secundo congreso obrero de la region española' on the Saragossa Congress of the Spanish Federation (see Note 423) carried by *La Emancipación*, No. 44, 13 April 1872.—365

501 This is a reference to Lafargue's reports on the Saragossa Congress of the Spanish Federation which appeared in *La Liberté*, Brussels. The first report, dated 9 April, was printed in No. 17 of 28 April 1872, and also carried by *Der Volksstaat*, No. 36, 4 May 1872.

The second report, 'Congrès de Saragosse', written on 12 April, contained revelations about the secret Alliance and was published in *La Liberté*, No. 18, 5 May, and reprinted, in part, by *Der Volksstaat*, No. 41, 22 May 1872. On Lafargue's exaggeration of the successes scored by the General Council supporters at the Saragossa congress, see Note 489.—365, 368, 375

502 *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 35 and 36, 1 and 4 May 1872, printed the first two instalments of the article by the French lawyer Émile Acollas translated as 'Die Republik und die Gegenrevolution' (first published in the *Suisse Radicale*, and later as a pamphlet).—365

503 Liebknecht used the materials received from Engels in the 'Politische Uebersicht' column of *Der Volksstaat*, No. 40, 18 May 1872.—366

504 *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 10-13, 15 and 19 of 3, 7, 10, 14 and 21 February and 6 March 1872, reprinted from the Austrian workers' newspaper *Volkswille* a series of anonymous articles under the heading 'Die Wohnungsfrage'. The author of the articles was a doctor of medicine, the Proudhonist Arthur Mülberger. On 22 May Engels sent Liebknecht his reply to Mülberger's articles, which formed Part I of his work *The Housing Question* (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 315-37).—366, 405, 478

505 A reference to the arrest of members of the Danish Federal Council of the International, including Louis Pio, editor of the *Socialisten*, Harald Brix and Paul Geleff, which took place in the night from 4 to 5 May 1872. They were charged with the propagation of socialist ideas 'threatening public order'. In March 1873 the Danish court sentenced the local leaders of the International to various terms of imprisonment.—366

506 Engels reported on the Italian government's attempt to place the blame for the fire at the Milan Agricultural Academy on members of the International at the General Council meeting of 30 April 1872. Cuno had informed him of the fact on 25 April 1872. Engels' speech was included in the report on the meeting carried by *The Eastern Post*, No. 188, 4 May 1872.—368

507 On 3 March 1872 a letter was despatched to Engels informing him about the establishment of the Society of Ferrarese Workers and its intention to declare itself a section of the International. After its Rules were revised to conform with the General Rules of the Association, the General Council on 7 May 1872 admitted the Society of Ferrarese Workers to the International.—369

508 Cuno wrote to Engels on 6 May 1872 that he had been forced to flee from Germany to Belgium, having learnt that he was wanted by the Prussian police.—369

509 The reference is to the uprising of the Paris proletariat of 23-26 June 1848 (see Note 113).—372

510 A reference to the letter written by Pierre Schlebach to Liebknecht on behalf of the German refugee section of the International in Verviers in late April 1872 and sent on to Engels on 8 May. Schlebach wrote about the position of Eugène Hins, one of the leaders of the Belgian Federal Council, who had recommended the German members of the International in Belgium to adopt

the organisational structure of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers.—373

511 In a letter to Liebknecht of 17 April 1872, Sorge wrote that Eccarius' behaviour was strengthening the positions of the bourgeois reformist elements in the North American Federation (see Note 496).—374

512 On 8 May 1872 Liebknecht wrote to Engels: 'We now have 5,500 subscribers, an increase of 800 this quarter'.—374

513 A reference to the editorial in the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne,* No. 6, 10 May 1872, a reply to Paul Lafargue's report 'Congrès de Saragosse' featured by *La Liberté* on 5 May (see Note 501). The editorial disclosed that Pablo Farga was Lafargue's pseudonym in Spain.—374

514 Engels apparently sent Liebknecht a report on the General Council meeting of 7 May published in *The Eastern Post,* No. 189, 12 May 1872.
*The Eastern Post* was a daily with a morning and an evening edition.—374

515 On 15 May 1872 Liebknecht wrote to Engels: 'You will have to get a new edition of your *Condition of the Working-Class etc.* printed, since the old one is pretty well sold out.' The first edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* was issued in early June 1845 by Otto Wigand's publishing house in Leipzig (see present edition, Vol. 4). In his letter, Liebknecht also mentioned the prospects of publishing Marx's and Engels' collected works.—375

516 Engels is referring to Resolution IX of the Saragossa Congress of the Spanish Federation. The resolution declared that the congress supported the decision of the congress of the Belgian Federation that the International's General Rules should be revised.—376

517 Enclosed with Liebknecht's letter to Engels of 15 May 1872 was a receipt from *Der Volksstaat*'s forwarding agent Wilhelm Fink testifying to the sale of 208 copies of the General Rules of the International Working Men's Association, and the corresponding number of stamps pasted to them as membership fees.—376

518 A reference to the letters from Johann Georg Eccarius and John Hales to the members of New York Section No. 12, which had been expelled from the International by the General Council, in which they stated their disagreement with this decision. Hales' letter was printed by *Le Socialiste* on 18 May 1872.—378

519 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in *Marx and Engels on the United States,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979.—380

520 A reference to Johann Georg Eccarius' letter to Liebknecht of 20 May 1872 dealing with the discussion in the General Council of the stand adopted by John Hales and himself on the split in the Central Committee of the International Working Men's Association for North America. See this volume, pp. 363 and 579-81.—380

521 A reference to the *Judicial Committee* elected at the General Council meeting of 13 February 1872, which consisted of Armand Arnaud, Gabriel Ranvier, Frederick Bradnick, George Milner, Karl Pfänder, Hermann Jung and Walery Wróblewski, with the latter as chairman.—382

522 A reference to the appeal of the separatist Federal Council (Committee No. II) in New York, which was published in the *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly,* No. 25/103, 4 May 1872. A detailed analysis of this appeal was made by Engels

in his article 'The International in America' (present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 177-83).—383

523 At the meeting held in Apollo Hall, New York, on 9-11 May 1872, the followers of Victoria Woodhull nominated her for the post of US President.—384

524 The congress of the Belgian Federation held in Brussels on 19-20 May 1872 considered the draft Rules which had been drawn up by the Belgian Federal Council on the instructions of the Federation's congress held on 24-25 December 1871 (see Note 404). Under this draft, which was written by Eugène Hins, the powers of the General Council to all intents and purposes were to be annulled and the Council turned into a mere correspondence and statistical bureau. After heated debates the congress decided to submit the draft for discussion by the sections, and then for approval by the Federation's extraordinary congress scheduled for July 1872 (see Note 568).—384, 387, 393, 399, 401, 407

525 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, *Letters on 'Capital'*. Translated by Andrew Drummond. New Park Publications, London, 1983.—385

526 Between 1872 and 1875 Marx presented the British Museum Library with three editions of Volume I of *Capital*: the second German, the Russian and the French edition.

On 9 August and 15 November 1873 Marx received letters from J. Winter Jones, the principal librarian of the British Museum, expressing gratitude for the gift: 'I am directed by the Trustees of the British Museum to inform you that they have received the Present..., which you have been pleased to make to them; and I have to return you their best thanks for the same.'—385

527 In a letter of 15 (27) March 1872 Danielson informed Marx that after eleven months in prison, Hermann Lopatin had been released on condition that he did not leave Irkutsk.— 386

528 Marx's letter to V. O. Baranov has not been found. As can be inferred from Baranov's reply of 10 (22) June 1872, Marx had asked him for information about the progress of Bakunin's translation into Russian of Volume I of *Capital* (see Note 574).—386

529 A reference to the so-called *Nechayev trial* (see Note 280, as well as present edition, Vol. 23, p. 23).—386, 422

530 At the General Council meeting of 28 May 1872 John Hales read out a report on the work of the Provisional Federal Council (Committee No. I) of the North American sections for April 1872, which had been signed by the Council Secretary Charles Praitsching on 5 May. The report dealt with the unsuccessful attempts to reach an agreement with the separatist council on the basis of the General Council resolutions of 5 and 12 March 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 124-26).—388

531 Under the resolution passed by the General Council on 28 May 1872 the Provisional Federal Council of the North American sections of the International was recognised as the only lawful one.—388

532 In late May 1872 the Supreme Court of Appeal in Dresden confirmed the verdict reached by the Leipzig court in March 1872 at the trial of August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht (see Note 274).—389

533 A reference to the list of members of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party who were to liaise with the General Council of the International during Bebel's and Liebknecht's imprisonment. The list was cited by Liebknecht in his letter to Engels of 4 June 1872.—390

534 This draft of Engels' reply to Molesworth was added to the letter which he posted to Engels in Leicester on 5 June 1872.

On the reasons which prompted Engels to write this letter, see Note 447.—391

535 Engels is referring to a notice in the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, No. 6, 10 May 1872, stating that the editorial board was in possession of Engels' letters written in the autumn of 1871 to 'his Italian friends'. These letters had been handed over by Carlo Cafiero to the newspaper's editor James Guillaume.—393, 397

536 A reference to Engels' letter to Cuno of 22[-23] April 1872 (see this volume, pp. 356-59). It was addressed to Düsseldorf and arrived there on 25 April but apparently missed Cuno and was forwarded to him in Seraing (Belgium).—393

537 *La Emancipación*, Nos. 52 and 53, 8 and 15 June 1872, featured an article entitled 'El proyecto belga de Estatutos generales', which sharply criticised the draft Rules drawn up by the Belgian Federal Council.—394, 399, 401

538 On 15 June 1872 Wilhelm Liebknecht began to serve in the Hubertusburg fortress the prison sentence to which he had been condemned at the Leipzig trial (see Note 274). He remained in prison until 15 April 1874.—394, 425, 479

539 On 12 May 1872 a plebiscite rejected the government draft bill under which the Constitution of the Swiss Confederation, adopted on 12 September 1848, was to be revised. The draft bill, which provided for the introduction of a uniform army, school and legislation for the entire country, caused disagreement within the International's sections in Switzerland, with the supporters of stronger central authority on one side, and those who advocated retention of the cantons' autonomous rights on the other.—395, 418

540 Engels is referring to Nikolai Utin's article, 'Le fédéralisme ou la centralisation. Voulons-nous la souveraineté républicaine ou la dictature monarchique?', featured by *L'Égalité*, No. 9-10, 7 May 1872. Utin opposed the trends towards centralisation evident in the new draft Constitution of the Swiss Confederation.—396

541 Probably a reference to the work by Johann Philipp Becker, *Neue Stunden der Andacht* (Geneva, 1875) on which he worked intermittently from 1857 to 1875. The work was permeated with the spirit of militant materialism and atheism, and was a biting political pamphlet.—396

542 This letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx, Engels, Lenin, *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972.—397

543 Enclosed with Sorge's letter to Marx of 7 June 1872 was the report of the Provisional Federal Council for May of the same year.—398

544 *La Emancipación*, No. 43, 6 April 1872, carried the General Council's resolutions of 5 and 12 March 1872 on the split in the Central Committee of the International Working Men's Association for North America. The editorial introduction noted the great importance of these resolutions to the campaign

against the attempts by bourgeois politicians to use the working-class movement to further their own ends.—399

545 Marx is referring to Resolution IV, 'Contre la suppression du Conseil Général', adopted by the Fourth Congress of the International's Romance Federation, which was held in Vevey on 2-3 June 1872. It appeared in *L'Égalité*, No. 12, on 13 June 1872. The Congress unreservedly supported the resolutions of the 1871 London Conference and turned down the proposal of the Belgian Federal Council for a revision of the General Rules of the Association.—399, 401

546 Marx quotes and partly renders in his own words Nikolai Danielson's letter of 23 May (4 June) 1872. The information concerning the publication and circulation of Volume I of *Capital* is also taken from this letter.—399

547 On 7 June 1872 Sorge wrote to Marx that Nicholson, the treasurer of the Provisional Federal Council of the North American sections, had stopped attending the Council's meetings and disappeared altogether.—400

548 Marx's letter is a reply to Suetendael's letter of 20 June 1872. He thanked Marx for having sent him the General Council's circular on *Fictitious Splits in the International*, inquired about Eugène Hins' draft, and wrote about the dissent within the International's Brussels section.—400

549 *Pietists*, adherents of a mystical Lutheran trend which originated in Germany in the 17th century and placed religious feeling above religious dogmas.—402

550 Hepner wrote on 29 June 1872 that he was forwarding Engels Karl Boruttau's letter requesting the recommendation of material for the campaign against Bakunin.—404

551 A reference to the special issue of the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, No. 10-11, 15 June 1872, which featured replies from a number of Bakuninists to the General Council's circular *Fictitious Splits in the International* (including those from James Guillaume, Benoît Malon, and Mikhail Bakunin), as well as the reply of the editorial board to Paul Lafargue's letter in which he had exposed the activities of the secret Alliance in Spain.—405

552 On 29 June 1872 Hepner wrote to Engels requesting that he ask the Wigand publishing house in Leipzig to return the remaining copies of the first edition of Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* for transmission to *Der Volksstaat* publishers.—405

553 The draft of Engels' letter to Th. Smart & Co. was added to the firm's letter to Engels posted in Leicester on 3 July 1872. On the motives behind Engels' letter, see Note 447.—406

554 The reference is to the article 'La burguesia y la Internacional en los Estados-Unidos' carried by *La Emancipación*, No. 54, 22 June 1872. The article exposed the attempt by bourgeois reformists to use the International's organisation in the USA to promote their own ends. It was based on the materials sent by Engels to Paul Lafargue.—407

555 Bakunin's letter 'Réponse du citoyen Bakounine. Aux compagnons rédacteurs du *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*' was printed by the *Bulletin* on 15 June 1872 (No. 10-11). See Note 551.—408

556 Marx and Engels were on holiday in Ramsgate between 9 and 15 July 1872.—409, 410

557 In a separate edition of Part I of *The Housing Question* issued by *Der Volksstaat* publishers in 1872, Engels made the following note after the sentence 'It contains no part which is interest on capital, unless the house is encumbered with a mortgage debt': '*For the capitalist* who buys a ready-built house, part of the rent price, which is not composed of ground rents and overhead expenses, may *appear* in the form of interest on capital. But this alters nothing because it does not matter whether the builder of the house lets it himself or sells it for that purpose to another capitalist.'

In 1887, when preparing the second edition of his work, Engels amended this passage and omitted the note (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 334).—410

558 On 8 May 1872 Paul Lindau, a bourgeois democrat who published *Die Gegenwart* magazine in Berlin, again asked Marx to contribute to the magazine; Lindau requested Marx to write an article about the International.—410

559 This is Engels' reply to the letter from the Workers' Union (*Fascio Operaio*) in Florence of 27 June 1872 signed by Ugo Bartorelli. Engels made a note on the letter in German and Italian: 'Florence, 27 June 1872. Workers' Union. *Answered* 18 July. *Reply enclosed*.'—411

560 Engels goes on to quote Article 4 of Section II ('The General Council') of the Administrative Regulations. This article corresponds to Administrative Resolution IV passed by the Basle Congress (1869) of the International.—411

561 Article 1 of Section V ('Local Societies, Branches, and Groups') of the Administrative Regulations corresponds to Article 14 of the Regulations adopted by the Geneva Congress (1866) of the International (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 446).—411

562 The letter contains the text of Article 8 adopted at the General Council meeting of 23 July 1872 on the suggestion of Edouard Vaillant during the discussion of the new draft General Rules and Administrative Regulations (see Note 570). The Hague Congress incorporated it into the General Rules as Article 7a (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 243).

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx, *On the First International*. Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1973.—413

563 The reference is to the address entitled 'The General Council to All the Members of the International Working Men's Association' (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 205-10), drafted by Engels on the instructions of the Sub-Committee (see Note 435). At the General Council meeting of 6 August 1872 the draft provoked a lively discussion, with some of the Council's members opposing publication of the address pending an investigation into the Alliance's activities. The draft proposed by Engels was accepted by a majority vote.

The document has survived in Engels' handwriting in English and in French. It did not appear in *Der Volksstaat*.—415, 417, 420

564 Following the exposure by Paul Lafargue in April-early May 1872 of the existence of the secret Alliance in Spain, Engels requested Lafargue, José Mesa, Francisco Mora and the other editors of *La Emancipación* to let him have documentary proof of the Alliance's activities. By early August 1872 Engels received from Spain a copy of Bakunin's letter to Mora of 5 April 1872, the statutes of the Alliance in Spain, and other documents. These materials were used by Engels when drafting the above-mentioned address of the General Council.—415, 420

565 Enclosed with Hepner's letter to Engels of 22 July 1872 was a cutting from the *Frankfurter Zeitung* on the prospects of a military conflict between Germany on the one hand, and Russia and France on the other. It mentioned the appointment of Verdy du Vernois, Colonel of the General Staff, as head of the Headquarters of the First Army Corps stationed along the Russian border. The authors thought that the transfer had been occasioned by Colonel Verdy's involvement in the activities of leading financial quarters.—415

566 When discussing the possible consequences of a new European war inspired by the militarists, Engels surmised that in the course of such a conflict the German Empire could collapse in a manner similar to the Bonapartist Second Empire in France, which fell two days after the defeat at Sedan on 1-2 September 1870.—415

567 In discussing the draft Rules drawn up by the Belgian Federal Council (see Note 524), the members of the German section of the International in Verviers voiced their firm support of the General Council. In response, as Cuno wrote to Engels on 26 July 1872, the Bakuninist majority on the Belgian Federal Council tried to blacken the character of one of the section's members and demanded that he be expelled from the International. The section in question having refused to comply, it was expelled from the Belgian Federation by the Federal Council.—416

568 The reference is to the extraordinary congress of the Belgian Federation held in Brussels on 14 July 1872. It discussed the new draft of the General Rules of the International drawn up by Eugène Hins, which provided for the annulment of the powers of the General Council, thus turning it into a mere correspondence and statistical bureau. The majority (9 delegates out of 13) voted for the retention of the General Council, with its powers somewhat curtailed.—419

569 The protest against the venue of the Congress was sent by Adhémar Schwitzguébel to the General Council on 15 July 1872 on behalf and on the instructions of the Jura Federation.—419

570 The General Council, having included revision of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations in the agenda of the Hague Congress, began discussing the changes to be made in these documents on 25 June 1872. As a result, new draft Rules and Regulations were adopted (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 198-204), including, as Article 8, Resolution IX passed by the 1871 London Conference, 'Political Action of the Working Class'; its text was re-edited (see this volume, p. 414). The draft also incorporated articles specifying more precisely and extending the functions of the General Council.

The Hague Congress, which did not consider the draft Rules and Regulations in their entirety, incorporated the resolution 'Political Action of the Working Class' into the Rules as Article 7a; it also included in the Rules several administrative resolutions (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 243-53).—420

571 This letter is a draft of Engels' complaint to the Judicial Committee of the General Council (see Note 521). Engels decided to appeal because at the Council meeting of 6 August 1872, during the discussion of his draft address (see Note 563), John Hales accused him of falsifying the information received from Spain. Engels' complaint was discussed at the Committee meeting in late August 1872; however, due to the Hague Congress and the subsequent transfer of the General Council to New York, the investigation of this matter was not completed.—421

572 A reference to Danielson's letter to Marx of 20-25 July (1-6 August) 1872.—422

573 Danielson sent Marx a copy of Nikolai Chernyshevsky's unpublished article 'Letters Without an Address' written in 1862. Marx wanted to publish this work in Geneva with the help of Nikolai Utin. 'Letters Without an Address' was first published in 1874 in Zurich by Pyotr Lavrov. Marx showed great interest in the article and made a detailed synopsis.—422, 457

574 A reference to the letter written by Sergei Nechayev to Nikolai Lyubavin in the spring of 1870 on Bakunin's instructions in the name of the non-existent Bureau of Foreign Agents of the Russian Revolutionary Society *The People's Judgment*. In this letter, Lyubavin was threatened with reprisals if he did not release Bakunin from the commitments he had undertaken with regard to the translation of Volume I of *Capital* into Russian. (Under the agreement concluded through Lyubavin with the publisher Nikolai Polyakov, Bakunin was to receive 1,200 roubles for the translation, 300 roubles of which had been paid to him on account on 28 September 1869.) Nechayev's letter was forwarded to Marx by Lyubavin on 20 August 1872 and figured among the documents passed on by Marx and Engels to the committee appointed by the Hague Congress to inquire into the activities of the secret Alliance.—422, 452, 455, 509, 523

575 All that has survived of Engels' letter to Glaser de Willebrord is a long excerpt copied by Nikolai Zhukovsky from Glaser de Willebrord's letter to Désiré Brismée of 21 August 1872, in which he quoted the bulk of what Engels had written. The copy made by Zhukovsky was published by Nettlau in his lithographic biography of Bakunin (M. Nettlau, *Michael Bakunin. Eine Biographie*, Vol. III, Ch. 57, pp. 613-15) and, in an abridged form, by James Guillaume (J. Guillaume, *L'Internationale. Documents et souvenirs (1864-1878)*, Vol. II, Société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition, Paris, 1907, pp. 318-19).—424

576 The *Rimini Conference* (4-6 August 1872) was a conference of Italian anarchists which Bakunin helped prepare. A national Italian anarchist organisation was formed in Rimini which illegitimately assumed the name of the Italian Federation of the International. In a special resolution passed on 6 August the Conference declared that it was rupturing all solidarity with the General Council and urged the International's sections to send delegates to the separatist Bakuninist congress, scheduled for 2 September 1872 in Neuchâtel, rather than to the regular congress at The Hague. This divisive proposal was not backed by any of the sections of the International.—424, 426

577 A reference to the *Union de las tres clases de vapor* (Union of the Three Categories of Factory Workers), one of the first trade unions in Catalonia, which embraced weavers, spinners and other workers employed in the textile industry. The Union was a collective member of the International.—425, 426

578 In his letter to Engels of 18 August 1872 Liebknecht proposed that the former be nominated as a candidate in one of the Saxonian constituencies at the next elections to the Reichstag.—426

579 In a private circular of 7 July 1872 the Spanish Federal Council, which was dominated by the Bakuninists, suggested that all sections elect a delegation to the Hague Congress from a single list, and that a binding mandate be drawn up. As a result the Spanish Federation sent four Bakuninists as its delegates to

the Hague Congress (Tomás Morago González, Nicola Marselau, Alonso Charles Alerini and Rafael Farga Pellicer).—426

580 On 19 July 1872 at the meeting of the General Council Executive Committee (Sub-Committee; see Note 435), Engels was instructed to prepare the financial report for the Hague Congress covering the period since the London Conference in September 1871. The report was read out by Engels at the Hague Congress sitting of 7 September 1872, and unanimously approved.

Marx and Engels arrived at The Hague to take part in the Congress on 1 September 1872. On 8 September they travelled to Amsterdam, where they took part in the meeting marking the closure of the Congress. Engels returned to London on 12 September, and Marx around 17 September 1872.

The Fifth Congress of the International Working Men's Association was held on 2-7 September 1872 in The Hague and attended by 65 delegates from 15 national organisations. Its decision to include in the General Rules (as Article 7a) the major tenet on the conquest of political power by the proletariat, and its resolutions relating to Administrative Regulations signified a victory for Marxism. The Congress took stock of the struggle Marx, Engels and their followers had waged for years against petty-bourgeois sectarianism in the workers' movement, in whatever guise it appeared, most notably against Bakuninism; Mikhail Bakunin and James Guillaume, the anarchist leaders, were expelled from the International. The resolutions of the Hague Congress laid the groundwork for the future formation of independent political parties of the working class on a national level.—427, 430, 438, 450, 460, 475, 489, 491, 513, 523, 525, 526, 582, 584, 586

581 This letter has survived as a certified handwritten copy made from the original by John Burns, a leading figure in the British workers' movement, among whose papers it is kept at the British Museum Library. The copy of the letter is dated 15 September 1872, which may be incorrect. The letter is likely to have been written somewhat later, since it deals with the international Federalist Congress which took place in London on 16-19 September 1872. However, it is possible that having learned in advance about the convocation and agenda of the congress, Engels decided to give a description of its participants prior to its opening.—428

582 On 16-19 September 1872 the *New Hall of Science*, 142 Old Street, City Road, E.C., London (the headquarters of a group of radicals headed by Charles Bradlaugh), hosted an international congress convened by petty-bourgeois federalists as a gesture against the Hague Congress of the International (see Note 580). Its agenda was published in the *Federation*, No. 4, 14 September 1872.—428

583 The society of French refugees refers to the *French-Language Section in London* (see Note 359).

The above-mentioned (third) trial of members of the Paris Federation of the International took place in Paris between 22 June and 5 July 1870. Legal proceedings were instituted against 38 members of the International Working Men's Association. In the course of the trial, the attempts by the Bonapartist authorities to accuse them of involvement in a plot to assassinate Napoleon III collapsed. Nevertheless, the accused were given prison sentences and fined.—429

584 At the very first sittings of the Hague Congress a question was raised on the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy as a secret sectarian organisation

within the International. On the proposal put by Marx and other delegates, the sitting of 5 September appointed a special committee to inquire into the secret activities of the Alliance. Its members were Theodor Cuno, Roch Splingard, Lucain (Frédéric Potel), Paul Vichard and Walter (L. Van Heddeghem). On 5 and 6 September the Congress heard the evidence given by Marx, Wróblewski, Dupont, Serraillier, Guillaume, Zhukovsky, Morago González, Marselau, Alerini, and Farga Pellicer. Engels submitted to the committee a report on the Alliance (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 228-38).

Due to the torrent of incoming documents and a large volume of evidence, the committee could not complete the investigation but, on the basis of the material it had managed to examine, arrived at the conclusion that the Alliance was incompatible with the International, and on 7 September submitted a proposal to the Congress that Bakunin, Guillaume, Schwitzguébel, Malon, Marchand, and Bousquet be expelled from the International Working Men's Association. (The committee's report was later published in *La Liberté*, No. 42, 20 October 1872.) The Congress adopted the proposal on the expulsion of Bakunin and Guillaume, and passed a decision to make public the documents on the Alliance the committee had at its disposal. The committee, however, was unable to carry through this decision. The documents were sent to Marx and Engels in London and formed the basis for the pamphlet *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (see Note 623).—430, 455, 460

585 The *Declaration of the minority* (Déclaration de la minorité), a statement read out at the Congress sitting of 7 September by Victor Dave and signed by 13 anarchist delegates (four from Spain, five from Belgium, two from Switzerland and two from Holland), and also by the representative of New York Section No. 12 which the Congress had expelled from the International (see Note 332).

The statement rejected Congress decisions aimed at strengthening discipline and promoting centralisation within the International, and declared the 'autonomy' and 'independence' of the sections to be the basic principle. The minority declared that they would recognise the General Council only as a correspondence and statistical bureau. The statement by the anarchist minority was a step towards an open split in the International Working Men's Association.—430

586 On 6 September 1872 Marx and Engels proposed, on behalf of a large group of the General Council members, that the Council be transferred to New York for 1872-73. The proposal was prompted by the fact that the situation in Europe was unfavourable for the Council's work, and the danger that if it remained in London it may pass into the hands of French Blanquist émigrés, prone to adventurist and conspiratorial tactics, or of English reformists. Following a lively discussion, the Congress accepted this proposal by a majority vote and elected 12 members of the International of different nationalities to the future Council in the USA, granting them the right to co-opt three more members.—430

587 A reference to the resolution of the Hague Congress passed at its eighth sitting on 5 September 1872; it was not included into the official edition of the Hague Congress resolutions.—430

588 The first sittings of the Hague Congress were devoted to discussing the delegates' mandates. The results of the discussion were incorporated into a

number of resolutions passed by the Congress, notably into resolutions of Section IV (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 246-48).

The official version of the Hague Congress resolutions was written and edited by Marx and Engels, who were on the committee (together with Eugène Dupont, Léo Frankel, Auguste Serraillier and Benjamin Le Moussu) appointed to prepare the Congress minutes and resolutions for publication. The official edition appeared in November 1872 in French as a separate pamphlet; on 14 December 1872, *The International Herald*, No. 37, carried the official English version.—430, 437, 441

589 The minutes of the Hague Congress were not published in Marx's and Engels' lifetime.—430

590 At the British Federal Council meeting of 12 September 1872, John Hales, the Council Chairman, who was supported by the reformist majority, managed to have Marx reprimanded for the speech he had made at the Hague Congress on 3 September in defence of the mandate of Maltman Barry, a member of the British Federation. In his speech, Marx accused those who called themselves the British workers' leaders of having more or less sold out to the bourgeoisie and the government. Many sections within the British Federation protested against this decision by the Federal Council.—431, 436, 462

591 On 19 September 1872 a strike was launched at all Lisbon foundries, which was joined by carpenters, caulkers, and workers in other trades, who demanded shorter working hours. The strike was supported by the Portuguese Federation of the International.

On 17-18 September the Lisbon Federal Council wrote a letter to the British Federal Council (c/o Engels), requesting it to act without delay to prevent strike breakers being brought to Portugal from Britain.—434, 439, 440

592 This is a reply to van der Willigen's letter of 2 October 1872 in which the Dutch reporter asked Marx when and where the official account of the Hague Congress would be published. The original of Marx's letter is kept at Karl-Marx-Haus in Trier.—434

593 On 15 September 1872 an extraordinary congress of the Jura Federation was held in *Saint-Imier*, Switzerland, with 16 delegates attending. The congress voted down the resolutions of the Hague Congress; a report on it was printed by the *Bulletin de la Féderation jurassienne*, Nos. 17 and 18, 15 September-1 October 1872.

The Jura Federation congress was held immediately before an anarchist congress in Saint-Imier, which likewise opposed the decisions of the Hague Congress (see Note 599).—435, 441, 450

594 This is a reference to Article 1 of the Administrative Regulations adopted in 1866 by the Geneva Congress of the International (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 444).—436

595 Engels ironically applied the name *Sonderbund* (a separate union) to the emerging bloc of anarchists and their supporters who opposed the decisions of the Hague Congress. The original Sonderbund was a separatist association of reactionary Swiss Catholic cantons that existed in the 1840s.—436, 453

596 On the decision of German Section No. 6 (New York), Engels represented it at the Hague Congress. The above-mentioned report he wrote has not been found.—436

597 The pamphlet *Les théoriciens du socialisme en Allemagne. Extrait du Journal des Économistes*, Paris, 1872, was a review by Maurice Block of Volume I of *Capital*. A copy with Marx's marginal notes is extant. Marx gave his opinion of the pamphlet in his letter to Nikolai Danielson of 18 January 1873 (see this volume, p. 470).—438

598 Reviews of the Russian edition of Volume I of *Capital* were featured by *Peterburgskiye Vedomosti*, No. 97, 8 (20) April 1872; *Novoye Vremya*, No. 106, 23 April (5 May) 1872; *Birzheviye Vedomosti*, No. 147, 30 May 1872. *Syn Otechestva*, Nos. 97 and 98, 28 and 29 April 1872, carried the article 'The Teachings of Modern Socialism and Communism'; *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*, No. 4, April 1872, printed the article 'Concerning the Russian Edition of Karl Marx's Book', written by N. K. Mikhailovsky and published anonymously. Reviews of *Capital* also appeared in other Russian periodicals.—438

599 On 15-16 September an extraordinary congress of organisations comprising the Bakuninist Alliance was held in *Saint-Imier*, Switzerland. The congress decided not to recognise the resolutions of the Hague Congress and the powers of the General Council. It concluded the 'Pacte d'amitié de solidarité et de défense mutuelle' for the purpose of campaigning against the federations and sections of the International Working Men's Association which supported the decisions of the Fifth Congress at The Hague. The anarchist congress also adopted a special resolution rejecting political struggle on the part of the working class and denying the need to establish an independent proletarian political party. The congress issued an address to the sections of the International urging them to convene, six months later, an 'anti-authoritarian' congress.—441, 448, 475

600 In his letter, John Hales proposed the establishment of direct contacts between the British and the Belgian federation and accused the old General Council of 'authoritarianism'. This was in fact a declaration of support for the anarchists' campaign against the General Council.—441

601 The Lafargues arrived in London from The Hague, where they had gone from Spain to attend the International's congress.—442, 443

602 This is a reply to Jenny Marx-Longuet's letter of 27 October 1872. Thanking Engels for sending her two issues of *La Emancipación* with a critical article about Proudhon, Jenny wrote that 'Proudhon's unworthy disciple and mutual friend of ours' had read it with a bitter smile, which was a hint at Charles Longuet.—442

603 The wedding of Jenny Marx and the French socialist Charles Longuet took place on 10 October 1872. The newlyweds settled in Oxford.—442

604 A reference to the various groups of French refugees in London.

The '*purs*' are the Blanquists headed by Edouard Marie Vaillant. In November 1872 the Blanquists issued a pamphlet *Internationale et révolution* aimed against the decision of the Hague Congress to transfer the seat of the General Council to New York, in which they accused the leaders of the International of having renounced the idea of revolution. The pamphlet was signed by Armand Arnaud, Frederic Cournet, Edouard Margueritte, Constant Martin, Gabriel Ranvier and Edouard Vaillant, who simultaneously stated that they were withdrawing from the International. However, as Eugène Dupont

informed Marx on 6 November 1872, Ranvier was unaware that his name had been used.

The '*impurs*' are probably a group of French refugees headed by Pierre Vésinier and Bernard Landeck.—443, 447, 458, 467

605 *Knoten* (boors, louts, yokels), a label Marx and Engels often used in their letters to describe the members of the German Workers' Educational Society in London. The subject of Marx's lecture has not been established.—443

606 *Associazione degli operai e degli agricoltori della Bassa Lombardia* (Association of Workers and Agricultural Labourers of Lower Lombardy), the International's section in Lodi, and *Consociazione dei liberi Lavoratori Abruzzesi* (Society of Free Abruzzi Labourers), the International's section in L'Aquila, were both formed in October 1872 under the direct influence of Enrico Bignami. Bignami informed Engels of their formation and the adoption of appropriate Rules on 28 October 1872. On 22 December 1872 the New York General Council admitted these sections to the International on Engels' application. In December 1872-January 1873 their activities were banned by the government.—444

607 Engels is referring to the announcement, printed by *La Plebe*, No. 112, on 26 October 1872, of the forthcoming publication as a separate pamphlet of the report on the Hague Congress (which was probably the above-mentioned article by Engels 'The Congress at The Hague') together with the General Rules containing the amendments introduced by the Congress. Bignami failed to publish the pamphlet.—445

608 Friedrich Adolph Sorge was co-opted on to the New York General Council and elected its General Secretary on 11 October 1872. Writing to Marx about this on 12 October, Sorge outlined his plan for reorganising the work at the Council. He suggested that all correspondence should be the responsibility of the General Secretary; at the same time he proposed that for a number of countries authorised representatives be appointed by the General Council, predominantly from among the corresponding secretaries of the old Council. The new structure was approved by the General Council.—445

609 At Engels' request, Sorge brought with him to the Congress the handwritten text of a French translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, which had been prepared in the summer of 1872 by a Frenchman residing in the USA. The translator had used the English edition of the *Manifesto* in *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* (see Note 440).—446, 451

610 The reference is to the 'Address of the General Council. To the federations, affiliated societies, sections and all members of the International Working Men's Association. New York, October 20th 1872', the first official Address of the new General Council. It was published in *The International Herald*, No. 34, on 23 November 1872.—446

611 In June 1872 the *Democratic Association of Victoria* was established in Australia and announced that it was joining the International Working Men's Association.—446

612 The Bakuninist Spanish Federal Council issued a private circular which announced the convocation of a congress in Córdoba earlier than scheduled and arbitrarily changed the agenda, demanding that a choice be made between the resolutions of the Hague Congress and those of the anarchist congress in Saint-Imier. In this connection, on 1 November 1872, the New Madrid

Federation issued an Address, 'La Nueva Federación madrileña á todas las federaciones, secciones é individuos de la Asociación Internacional en España', which was signed 'Victor Pagés' and published in *La Emancipación*, No. 73, 9 November 1872. The authors of the Address proposed the election of a new Federal Council which would act in conformity with the International's Rules and the resolutions of its General Congresses.

The *Nueva Federación madrileña* (New Madrid Federation) was founded on 8 July 1872 by the members of the *Emancipación* editorial board expelled from the Madrid Federation by its anarchist majority. An important part in the foundation and work of the Federation was performed by Paul Lafargue. On 15 August 1872 the General Council recognised it as an equal member of the International (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 215). The New Madrid Federation resolutely opposed the anarchist influence in Spain and spread the ideas of scientific socialism.—447

613 The *Cercle d'Études Sociales* (Circle for Social Studies) was set up in London by refugee Communards in late 1871-early 1872 with the active participation by the French-speaking section formed in London in October 1871. International members Gabriel Ranvier, Hippolyte Lissagaray and Adolphe Hubert contributed greatly to the work in the Cercle. On their suggestion, Marx was unanimously admitted to the Cercle on 3 February 1872 and took part in its work until the autumn of that year.—447

614 A reference to the private 'Circular á todas las federaciones locales' issued in 1872 in Valencia by the Bakuninist Spanish Federal Council. It called for an extraordinary congress of the Federation with a view to declaring its agreement with the decisions of the Bakuninist congress in Saint-Imier. The circular included the report of the four Spanish delegates to the Hague Congress, which had originally appeared in *La Federación*, No. 162, on 21 September 1872.—448, 474

615 A general assembly of the *Gracia Federation* was held on 4-6 November 1872. Having heard the report on the Hague Congress delivered by Charles Alerini, one of the leaders of the Alliance, the assembly censured the attitude of the Spanish delegates at the Congress, rejected the anarchists' proposal to support the resolutions of the Saint-Imier congress and approved by a majority vote the resolutions of the Hague Congress.

The meeting of the Valencia Federation was held on 9 November 1872. It voted down the Alliancists' proposal to include the demand that the Saint-Imier resolutions be approved in the binding mandate given to the delegate to an extraordinary congress in Córdoba (see Note 627).—448

616 Engels learned about the success in the struggle against the Alliance in Spain from José Mesa. Presumably Mesa had enclosed with his letter the information received from Francisco Mora, who was in Barcelona at the time.—449

617 The article, probably written by Mesa on the basis of materials sent over by Lafargue or Engels, gave an account of Sergei Nechayev's activities in Russia, and also of attempts by Spanish members of the Alliance to beat up Mora and Anselmo Lorenzo.—449

618 *The International Herald*, No. 33, 16 November 1872 featured a report, signed by John Hales, on the meeting of the British Federal Council held on 7 November.—449

619 By the General Council decision of 5 January 1873, Engels was appointed

temporary representative of the Council for Italy and received the appropriate powers and instructions.—450

620 Marx stayed with Jenny and Charles Longuet in Oxford between 15 and 18 November 1872.—450

621 By a decision of 22 December 1872, Auguste Serraillier, who in 1871 and 1872 was Corresponding Secretary of the London Council for France, was appointed temporary representative of the General Council for France, and received his mandate and instructions.—450, 455, 458

622 The Spanish translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and Marx's and Engels' preface to the 1872 German edition was done by Mesa and printed by *La Emancipación*, Nos. 72-77, 2, 9, 16, 23 and 30 November and 7 December 1872. Mesa translated from the French version published in *Le Socialiste* (see Note 440) and sent to him by Engels, who had partially revised and corrected it. Engels also used the manuscript brought by Friedrich Adolph Sorge to the Hague Congress (see Note 609).—450

623 Since the committee appointed by the Hague Congress to inquire into the secret activities of the Alliance did not manage to examine the bulk of the documents submitted to it (see Note 584), Marx had the idea back at the time of the Congress of writing an exposure of the Bakuninist organisation. The Hague Congress decided to publish the documents pertaining to the Alliance (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 249-50). The documents were passed on to the committee appointed to prepare the Congress minutes and resolutions for publication, which included Marx and Engels among its members. In April 1873 they started work on *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*, as the Congress had resolved. The bulk of the work involved in the collection of additional material, its comparison and analysis was carried out by Engels and Paul Lafargue. The concluding part of the pamphlet was written by Marx (see this volume, p. 521). The pamphlet appeared in French in late August-early September 1873 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 454-580). In the summer of 1874 it was published in German in Brunswick in Samuel Kokosky's translation entitled *Ein Complot gegen die Internationale Arbeiter-Association*.—451, 517, 523

624 Sergei Nechayev, who was living in Zurich at the time, was arrested on 14 August 1872 by the Swiss authorities and in the autumn of the same year extradited to Russia as a criminal. Sentenced to 20 years' hard labour, Nechayev was kept at the Alexeyevsky Ravelin of the Peter and Paul Fortress in St Petersburg where he died ten years later.—452

625 A reference to the Irish sections of the International Working Men's Association in the USA. Their members were mostly former Fenians (see Note 6).—453

626 A reference to the congress of a number of the Dutch sections of the International held in Amsterdam on 24 November 1872. It was convened by the Dutch Federal Council as a response to the anarchist campaign against the resolutions of the Hague Congress.—453

627 The *congress in Córdoba*, attended only by Spanish anarchists (48 delegates), took place on 25 December 1872-2 January 1873. The congress rejected the resolutions of the Hague Congress and the General Rules of the International Working Men's Association, disbanded the Federal Council and replaced it with

a federal commission with severely restricted powers. It also aligned itself with the resolutions of the international anarchist congress in Saint-Imier (see Note 599), which were hostile to the International.

On the Address of the New Madrid Federation, see Note 612.—454, 465, 475, 494, 520

628 On 25 December 1872 a private conference of the International Working Men's Association's branches in Southern France was held in *Toulouse* and attended by delegates from Toulouse, Montpellier, Bordeaux, Béziers, Sète, Agen, Narbonne, Bayonne, Avignon, Castelnaudary, Lavardac, Perpignan, etc. The conference was to endorse the resolutions of the Hague Congress and put up a fight against the Bakuninists. These plans, however, were foiled by arrests of the International's members, which began at that time in Southern France.—454, 466

629 Engels is referring to Jules Montels' letter protesting at the expulsion from the International's Béziers section of anarchist Abel Bousquet, a police officer. The letter was published in *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, No. 20-21, 10 November 1872.—454

630 In conformity with the agreement signed by the publisher and proprietor of *The International Herald* William Riley and the British Federal Council, from 11 May 1872 (No. 6) the paper functioned as the Council's official organ. It was at Marx's suggestion that Riley broke the agreement on 30 November 1872 and refused to give the reformist majority of the British Council an opportunity to use the newspaper against the General Council. After the revolutionary wing of the British Federal Council formed a new Council in late December 1872 (see Note 643), the paper resumed its functions as the Council's mouthpiece.

The Hague Congress resolutions were published in *The International Herald*, No. 37, 14 December 1872. Reports on the International's activities on the Continent written by Engels were published between mid-January and mid-February 1873 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 409-13).—454, 460

631 On 30 December 1872 the General Council in New York authorised Marx to collect all property whatsoever of the late General Council of the I.W.M.A. and 'hold the same subject to the order of the General Council'.—455

632 At Danielson's request Marx sent him the resolutions of the Hague Congress of 1872 (see Note 588).—455

633 The beating up of Nikolai Utin (Outine) by members of the Alliance's Slav Section, which was to prevent him from completing the report he was writing for the Hague Congress on Bakunin's splitting activities, is described by Marx and Engels in *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 485).—456

634 Writing to Marx on 21 November (3 December) 1872, Danielson quoted a letter from Lopatin in which the latter reported that he had managed to escape from exile in Irkutsk but had been rearrested in Tomsk and returned to Irkutsk. It is possible that Marx intended to try and get him released through the British diplomat David Urquhart, with whom he maintained friendly relations.—456, 469

635 A reference to the manuscript of the article by the Russian bourgeois economist Yuli Zhukovsky, 'Karl Marx and His Book about Capital', which was

subsequently published in *Vestnik Yevropy*, Vol. V, September 1877, pp. 64-195. A critical review of this article by an ideologist of Russian Narodism (Populism) Nikolai Mikhailovsky, which appeared in the *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* magazine in October 1877 ('Karl Marx Before the Tribunal of Mr Zhukovsky'), prompted Marx to write a 'Letter to *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*' (see present edition, Vol. 24).—457

636 Marx is referring to the intention of Napoléon La Cécilia, a Communard and member of the International, and Enrico Bignami, editor of *La Plebe*, to translate and publish *Capital* in Italian. However, they did not succeed in carrying out this plan.—457

637 In a letter of 15 (27) December 1872 Danielson outlined a basis for Lafargue's work for Russian magazines, including *Znaniye*, and asked him to send a trial article. Fruitful cooperation between the Russian magazines *Ustoi*, *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* and *Severny Vestnik* and Lafargue began only in the 1880s.—457, 469

638 Marx intended to use the results of his research into agrarian relations in Russia in the section devoted to rent (in accordance with his plan, in the second book of Volume II of *Capital*). After Marx's death Engels published the first and second books of this volume as Volumes II and III of *Capital*.—457

639 Marx's intention to write Nikolai Chernyshevsky's biography or an essay about him remained unfulfilled since Danielson failed to obtain necessary information.—457, 469

640 Engels is referring to the article probably written by José Mesa, who drew on the materials he had been sent by Lafargue or Engels himself.—458

641 On 21 November 1872 the Royal prosecutor in Lodi announced that issue No. 118 of *La Plebe* of 17 November 1872 had been sequestrated for publishing the General Council's Address of 20 October (see Note 610). Prosecutor Gerli simultaneously announced that proceedings had been instituted against Enrico Bignami, the paper's editor. In December 1872 Bignami and three of his friends were arrested and charged with high treason and propagating the ideas of the International Working Men's Association.—458, 466, 518

642 Bignami's arrest and the sequestration of issue No. 118 of *La Plebe* were reported in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 101, 18 December 1872. The paper probably used the information supplied by Engels.

*La Emancipación* did not carry the report.—458

643 After the Hague Congress the reformist wing of the British Federal Council refused to recognise the Congress resolutions. To counter the reformists' actions, the revolutionary wing of the Council (Samuel Vickery, William Riley, George Milner, Frederick Lessner, Eugène Dupont and others) vigorously supported Marx and Engels. In early December 1872 a split occurred; the wing of the Council that remained loyal to the Hague Congress resolutions was established as the British Federal Council in late December 1872.

The British Federal Council existed until early 1874.—459, 464, 498

644 A reference to the General Council Address issued on 20 November 1872, which exposed the slander directed against the Hague Congress by the Spanish delegates.—460

645 By a decision of 2 February 1872, Walery Wróblewski, who from October 1871 and throughout 1872 had been Corresponding Secretary for Poland of the London General Council, was appointed representative for Poland by the New York General Council.—460

646 This letter was published in English for the first time in *Unbekanntes von Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx.* Part I: 1840-1874. Ed. by Bert Andréas, Jacques Grandjonc, Hans Pelger. Papers of the Karl-Marx-Haus, Trier, 1986.—461

647 The reference is to the reply by John Hales to Marx's and Engels' letter of 20 December 1872 to the editor of *The International Herald,* which exposed the divisive activities of the reformist wing of the British Federal Council. Hales' reply written on 30 December was published in *The International Herald,* No. 40, 4 January 1873. 'Our reply' is a reference to the 'Address of the British Federal Council to the Sections, Branches, Affiliated Societies and Members' adopted at the Federal Council meeting of 23 December (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 309-14). It was written by Marx and distributed as a leaflet signed by ten Council members in response to the reformist circular of 10 December.—461

648 A reference to the circular addressed by Hales to a number of London workers' societies on 21 December 1872, which contained slanderous attacks on the revolutionary wing of the British Federal Council. The circular was distributed as a postcard, which made its contents available to any police agent.—461

649 The manuscript of this letter has been seriously damaged; the words that have been deciphered are in square brackets.

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848-1895.* A Selection. International Publishers, New York, 1953.—462

650 A reference to Gustave Cluseret's article 'L'Internationale et la Dictature' spearheaded against the Blanquist pamphlet *Internationale et révolution* (see Note 604). The article was printed by *L'Égalité,* Nos. 22 and 23, 18 December 1872.—464.

651 The *Manchester Foreign Section* of the International Working Men's Association was formed in August 1872, mostly of emigrant workers. It resolutely opposed the reformist wing of the British Federal Council and supported Marx's and Engels' efforts to strengthen the British Federation and purge it of the elements that were disorganising its work. The circular mentioned by Engels was written by him at the request of the Manchester section in reply to the circular of 10 December 1872 drawn up by the reformist wing which had seceded from the British Federal Council. After the section had approved it, Engels' circular was published as a leaflet and sent to all members of the International in Great Britain (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 304-08).—464

652 The congress, which was convened by the reformist wing of the British Federal Council, took place in London on 26 January 1873. Attended by 12 delegates only, it refused to recognise the resolutions of the Hague Congress. The Federal Council set up by the secessionists ceased to meet as early as the spring of 1873; the sections that had supported it either fell apart or rejoined the British Federation.—464, 485, 494

653 On 25-26 December 1872 a regular congress of the Belgian Federation was

held in Brussels, with the anarchists in the majority. The congress refused to recognise the resolutions of the Hague Congress or to maintain contacts with the General Council in New York, and voiced support for the resolutions of the anarchist congress in Saint-Imier (see Note 599).—465, 475

654 In a letter to Engels of 29 December 1872, José Mesa informed him of the putsch launched by extremist groups of republican federalists in Madrid towards the end of 1872. He wrote that the participation in the putsch of many of the Internationals, who had joined in at the anarchists' instigation, had serious repercussions for the organisation in Spain.—465

655 The strike that affected jewellers' workshops in Geneva began in late November 1872 and lasted late into April 1873. The strikers demanded a nine-hour working day. At the request of the Romance Federal Council, the General Council appealed to the International's sections and federations to extend support to the striking jewellers. The latter received 49,000 francs from different countries, which enabled them to hold on. The strike ended in victory for the workers.—466

656 Engels is referring to the strike by 3,000 Geneva building workers in March and April 1868. The workers were demanding a reduction in the working day to ten hours, a pay rise, and payment by the hour instead of by the day. The victory of workers in Geneva was made possible by the solidarity campaign organised by the General Council and involving their British, French and German counterparts.—466

657 A reference to the address of the General Council to the Jura Federation issued on 8 November 1872, warning it that if it refused to revoke the resolutions of its congress in Saint-Imier (see Note 593) it would be suspended from the International pending the next General Congress. Implied also is the General Council address to the forthcoming Belgian congress issued on 1 December 1872, which urged the Belgian workers to consolidate the unity of the International Working Men's Association.—467

658 In a letter of 6 December 1872 Sorge wrote to Engels that the General Council had decided to grant temporary powers for Paris to Walter (L. Van Heddeghem), and for Toulouse to Ferdinand Argaing.—467

659 In a letter to Engels of 6 December 1872 Sorge wrote that against his advice, Theodor Cuno had turned down a job paying $75 a month, considering this to be too little. As a result, he had been forced to content himself with a job at a machine-building factory at less than half that wage.—468

660 This letter has survived as a scrap pasted by Seiffert onto his letter to Engels of 21 January 1873, in which he acknowledged receipt of all materials posted by Engels to *Der Volksstaat*.—468

661 Probably a reference to Engels' letter to Adolf Hepner of 30 December 1872, which has not survived in its entirety (see this volume, pp. 462-63).—468

662 A reference to the scores of Glinka's operas *Life for the Tsar* (*Ivan Susanin*) and *Ruslan and Lyudmila* sent, back in early 1871, by Danielson to Marx's eldest daughter Jenny at the request of Hermann Lopatin. The sender's name was not on the parcel, and became known to the Marx family only from Danielson's letter of 15 (27) December 1872.—469

663 Marx is referring to the letter requesting written contributions which he

received from the editorial board of the *Znaniye* magazine. It was signed 'A. Sleptsov' and sent at the end of 1870.—469

664 A reference to Nikolai Lyubavin's letter about Sergei Nechayev's threats. Nechayev demanded that Bakunin be released from his obligation to translate Volume I of *Capital* (see Note 574).—469

665 Marx is referring to the open letter sent to *La Liberté* by a group of Russian émigrés in Switzerland who were closely associated with Bakunin (Woldemar Holstein, Barthélemy Zaizev, Alexander Oelsnitz, Nikolai Ogarev, Vladimir Ozerov, Zemphiri Ralli, A. Ross, Valerian Smirnov). The letter, written on 4 October 1872, protested against Bakunin's expulsion from the International. It was printed by *La Liberté*, No. 41, on 13 October 1872.—469

666 This is Marx's reply to Bolte's letter of 22 January 1873. Having received information from Friedrich Adolph Sorge about his disagreements with some members of the General Council, notably Bolte, regarding the divisive activities of anarchists and British reformists, Marx outlines here the stand to be taken by the Council. Under Marx's influence, Bolte supported Sorge when the General Council resolution of 30 May 1873 was being worked out. It declared all organisations and individuals refusing to recognise the resolutions of the Hague Congress to have placed themselves outside the International.

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx, *On the First International*. Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1973.—474

667 Bolte asked Marx and Engels to contribute to the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* newly established in New York, and to the bulletin of the US Federal Council, which was to appear in English. The latter was never published.—474

668 The congress of the secessionist part of the British Federation (see Note 652), was attended by Bennet, Dunn, Eccarius, Foster, Grout, Hales, Jung, Mac Ara, Pape, Roberts, Seaman and Weston.—474

669 A reference to the General Council resolution of 5 January 1873, which announced the suspension of the Jura Federation pending the next regular congress of the International, since this organisation had rejected the resolutions of the Hague Congress.—475

670 On 15-17 March 1873 the Second Congress of the so-called Italian Federation of the International was held in Bologna and attracted representatives from 153 anarchist sections. The congress decided to unconditionally support the resolutions of the conference in Rimini (see Note 576) and the Saint-Imier congress (see Note 599), and to reject the Hague Congress resolutions.—475, 494

671 A congress of anarchist and reformist organisations within the International, which had refused to abide by the resolutions of the Hague Congress, was held in Geneva on 1-6 September 1873. Its organiser was the Bakuninist Geneva Section of Propaganda and Revolutionary Socialist Action (see Note 339). Having declared rejection of all authority as the basic principle of the international anarchist association, the congress abolished the General Council, revoked the right of congresses to pass any definite decisions on issues of principle, and removed from the General Rules Article 7a on the political action by the working class.—475, 524, 525, 528, 537

672 A reference to the next regular congress of the International scheduled for September 1873.

The 6th Congress of the International Working Men's Association was held in Geneva between 8 and 13 September 1873. Of the 31 delegates present at the Congress, 28 were representatives of the International's Swiss branches or its émigré sections in Switzerland. When considering the General Rules, the majority headed by Johann Philipp Becker endorsed the decisions of the Hague Congress of 1872 on extending the functions of the General Council (against opposition from Henri Perret and a number of other Swiss delegates). The Congress stressed the need for the working class to engage in political struggle. New York was left as the General Council's headquarters until the next Congress scheduled for 1875. The Geneva Congress of 1873 was the last congress of the International Working Men's Association.—475, 489, 492, 507, 525, 526, 528, 534, 537

673 This is Engels' reply to Liebknecht's letter of 8 February 1873 written from the Hubertusburg fortress where he had been imprisoned. The letter outlined a plan to publish a popular 'social and political library', which was to open with Thomas More's *Utopia*. It was also to comprise a number of Marx's and Engels' works. Liebknecht was making enquiries as to their reprinting. No such library, however, was established in the 1870s.—477

674 On 8 February 1873 Liebknecht wrote to Engels that *Der Volksstaat* was as yet unable to devote much space to the polemics inside the International. On 27 February 1873, replying to Engels' demand for an explanation of this, Liebknecht wrote that he had had in mind the paper's limited space and its difficult position following the arrest of its editors.—477

675 The draft of this letter, written in Lafargue's hand, was drawn up as a reply to Lachâtre's letter to Engels of 14 February 1873, probably soon after its receipt. In his letter, Lachâtre suggested that Engels write a short biography of Marx, which he intended to include in the French edition of Volume I of *Capital*, undertaken by his publishing house. This plan did not materialise.—478

676 Between May 1850 and July 1862 Liebknecht lived in exile in London, while Engels resided (from November 1850) in Manchester.—480

677 Between 10 and 25 March 1873 a major trial of members of the International's French sections was held in Toulouse. Its organisers made wide use of the evidence received from Emile Dentraygues, a member of the Toulouse section, who gave information about the composition and activities of nearly all the International's sections in Southern France. Twenty-two out of the 38 defendants were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment; Charles Larroque, a representative of the General Council who had managed to escape to Spain under an alias of Mortimer Latraque, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment *in absentia*. Apart from Toulouse, trials of the arrested members of the International were held in other towns of Southern France, including Cannes, Béziers, Narbonne, Perpignan, Montpellier, and Avignon.—482, 507

678 Following the Hague Congress, Theodor Cuno emigrated to the USA; involved in the campaign against anarchism, he signed the Address to the New Madrid Federation, issued by the International's Section No. 29 on 10 January 1873, using an alias, F. Capestro.—482

679 In line with the Hague Congress decision on the establishment of International

trade unions (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 245-46), the General Council on 26 January drafted rules for an international association, which Sorge sent to Engels on 12 February 1873. The draft rules were published in *The International Herald*, No. 49, 8 March 1873.—483

680 Under the resolution issued by the New York General Council on 26 January 1873, all organisations and individuals who refused to comply with the decisions of the Hague Congress thereby placed themselves outside the International Working Men's Association. Later, on 30 May, the General Council passed a new resolution which listed the federations, sections and individuals who had placed themselves outside the International.—483, 488, 493

681 A reference to the General Council Address to the Spanish workers issued on 23 February 1873, the day a republic was proclaimed in Spain. The General Council warned the Spanish workers against being carried away by bourgeois republican ideas and urged them to work for proletarian unity in order to build 'a republic of labour and social democracy'.—483

682 On 22 December 1872 the General Council decided that the stamps pasted on the members' personal copies of the International's Rules as a sign that they had paid their dues (see Note 420) would be printed in London. The plates were to be made by Benjamin Le Moussu, a professional engraver. Engels was requested to supervise their production.—484, 492

683 The draft of this letter, written in Lafargue's hand, is a reply to Lachâtre's letter of 16 March 1873 and has been dated on the basis of the postmark (21 March) stamped on the day of the latter's arrival in London.—486

684 The article 'Karl Marx', together with a portrait of the 'head of the International', was carried by the Paris weekly *L'Illustration* on 11 November 1871. It consisted of a biographical section, written by one of Marx's associates, and an introduction and conclusion by Eugène Vermersch, a petty-bourgeois journalist, who was largely hostile to Marxism. It is most probable that the biographical section was written by Engels.—486

685 The dispute between Boris Chicherin and Ivan Belyaev on the origins of the Russian commune was opened by Chicherin's article 'A Review of Historical Development of the Village Commune in Russia' published by *Russky Vestnik*, Vol. I, 1856, and a critical review of this article written by Belyaev and featured in Book One of *Russkaya Beseda*, 1856. Belyaev argued against Chicherin's idea that communal landownership, which still existed in Russia in the 19th century, had its roots in the taxation system of the Russian serf-owning state and was not a remnant of the ancient form of communal peasant property.—487

686 In his work *Die Abschaffung des privaten Grundeigenthums* which was directed against the decision on collective landownership passed by the International's Basle Congress (1869), the German armchair-socialist Adolph Wagner used several of Chicherin's works to support his case.—487

687 The General Council Address to the Spanish workers (see Note 681) was published in *La Emancipación*, No. 89, 18 March 1873. In an accompanying note, the editorial board approved of the Address.—488

688 In a letter of 9 April 1873 Sorge informed Engels that when confirming Auguste Serraillier's appointment as representative of the General Council for

France, Simon Dereure, referring to Benjamin Le Moussu, had levelled a number of charges against Serraillier, e.g., that at the time of the Commune he had appropriated the money received from priests for the lease of churches. Dereure also accused Serraillier of participation in 'the demonstration of the 22' mentioned by Engels below.

The *demonstration of the 22* probably refers to the protest of the Proudhnonist minority in the Paris Commune against the decree on the establishment of the Committee of Public Safety which had been passed by a majority vote at the Commune's meeting of 1 May 1871.—490

689 In a letter of 9 April 1873 Sorge asked Engels for detailed information on the strife among the Viennese socialists.

On 15 March 1873 *Der Volksstaat*, No. 22, printed a letter under the heading 'An die sozialdemokratische Partei Oesterreichs' by the socialist Andreas Scheu, who accused the editor of the Viennese *Volkswille* Heinrich Oberwinder of opportunism and nationalism. In the reply, carried by the *Volkswille*, No. 23, 19 March 1873, Oberwinder reproached Scheu with having links with the anarchists.—491

690 A reference to the article 'Internationale Arbeiterassoziation' published in the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, No. 49, 27 April 1873, in which the editors tried to place the responsibility for the arrests and trial of the International's members in France on Marx and the General Council (see Note 677).—491

691 In late 1872 Adolf Hepner was sentenced to four weeks' imprisonment for 'activities in support of the International' and participation in the Hague Congress, and expelled from Leipzig in the spring of 1873. He lived in a Leipzig suburb for a while, but was forced to move to Breslau (Wrocław) on account of police persecution.—493, 510

692 Engels probably means the congress of the Jura Federation held on 27-28 April 1873 in Neuchâtel (a report on the congress appeared in the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, No. 9, 1 May 1873). The Federation reiterated its refusal to recognise the Hague Congress resolutions and proposed sending delegates to an international anarchist congress scheduled to open on 1 September 1873 (see Note 671).—494, 508

693 The first four points of Engels' recommendations were incorporated by the New York General Council into its resolution of 30 May 1873 (see Note 680). Engels' proposal on the so-called Italian Federation was also taken into account by the Council, which on 30 May drew up a statement complementing the above-mentioned resolution.—494

694 Marx stayed in Manchester from 22 May to about 3 June 1873. The purpose of the trip was to consult Doctor Gumpert on a medical question.—495, 516

695 A reference to Heller's letter to Marx of 14 May 1873.—496

696 On 24 May 1873 the monarchist majority in the French National Assembly forced Thiers to resign, and Marshal MacMahon was elected President of the Third Republic. The reactionaries hoped that MacMahon's assumption of power would be a step towards the restoration of the monarchy.—499, 504

697 In this letter, Engels sets forth his ideas for *The Dialectics of Nature* (see present edition, Vol. 25), which he began in 1873. The letter was sent to Manchester, where Marx was staying at the time. Engels requested Marx to have Carl Schorlemmer and Samuel Moore read it; the manuscript still contains

Schorlemmer's marginal notes which are reproduced as footnotes in the volume.

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934]; and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—500

698 The French medieval logician Jean Buridan (or Buridanus) is said to have illustrated the 'unfreedom' of the will by the dilemma of a hungry donkey standing exactly in the middle between two bundles of hay and, unable to decide which to eat, starving to death.

Marx refers to the fact that both factions of the monarchist majority in the French National Assembly, the Legitimists (supporters of the Bourbon dynasty) and the Orleanists (supporters of the Orleans dynasty), failed to agree about a pretender to the French throne and nominated the Bonapartist MacMahon to the post of President of the Third Republic.—505

699 French monarchist clerical circles, campaigning for the restoration of the monarchy, sought to turn the external political situation to their advantage. They demanded that France align herself with the Pope in the struggle against the anti-Catholic measures taken by Bismarck's government in Germany (the so-called *Kulturkampf*), and also that France support the Carlist movement in Spain (see Note 718).—505

700 A reference to the General Council's statement on the credentials for France of 23 May 1873, which countered attempts by the Bakuninists and the Lassalleans to place the blame for L. Van Heddeghem's and Emile Dentraygues' betrayal on the General Council. The English translation of the statement was the work of Engels, who also edited the French translation by Lafargue.—507, 519

701 The Second Congress of the International's British Federation was held in Manchester on 1-2 June 1873. The congress was attended by 26 delegates from 23 sections. The congress heard the report of the British Federal Council and passed resolutions on the organisation of the British Federation, on propaganda, and on the need to set up an international Trades' Union. They voted that the Red Flag be declared the banner of the British Federation, and the land and all means of production be nationalised. Of particular importance was the resolution 'On Political Action, which stressed the need to establish an independent proletarian political party in Britain.—508, 519

702 On 13 April and 8 June 1873 *La Liberté* carried two letters by Auguste Serraillier to the editorial board of 1 April and 27 May, which blamed the Blanquists Frederic Cournet and Gabriel Ranvier for the activities of Emile Dentraygues, who had betrayed a number of the International's members at the Toulouse trial (see Note 677). Serraillier wrote that Cournet and Ranvier had granted Dentraygues powers for France without the General Council's approval.—509

703 The first general congress of Swiss trade, cooperative and other organisations was convened on the initiative of the International's sections and took place in Olten on 1-3 June 1873. It attracted 82 delegates representing about 10,000 workers. The congress founded the Swiss Workers' Union which existed until 1880. The congress paved the way for the establishment, in 1888, of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland.—509, 526

704 This letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1982.—510

705 On 11 April 1873 Adolf Hepner sent Engels the above-mentioned letter from the Committee of the Social-Democratic Party signed by Theodor Yorck. As is clear from Hepner's letter to Engels of 23 April 1873, the latter wrote on the subject to Wilhelm Liebknecht before that date. This letter of Engels' has not been found.—510

706 The *General Association of German Workers* was founded on 23 May 1863 at a meeting of workers' societies in Leipzig. The establishment of this political organisation promoted the advance of the German workers' movement. However, Ferdinand Lassalle and his followers directed the activities of the Association along reformist lines.

With the formation of the International, the sectarian and nationalistic line adopted by the Lassallean leadership became an obstacle to the involvement of the German workers in the international proletarian movement. Thanks to the persistent campaign by Marx, Engels and their followers against Lassalleanism, the foremost German workers had parted company with it by the early 1870s. At the Gotha Congress held in May 1875 the General Association of German Workers merged with the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers).—511, 520

707 On 7-9 August 1869 a general congress of Social-Democrats from Germany, Austria and Switzerland took place in *Eisenach*. 263 delegates representing over 150,000 workers attended. The congress founded the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, which declared itself a branch of the International Working Men's Association. The congress approved a programme incorporating the main principles of the International's General Rules.—512

708 In 1872-73 Liebknecht and Hepner repeatedly requested Marx to write a pamphlet or a series of articles for *Der Volksstaat* with a critique of Lassalle's ideas.—514

709 Engels is replying to Whitter's request of 24 June 1873 for a recommendation for John De Morgan, who wanted to reside in Whitter's house.—515

710 Kugelmann wrote in a letter to Engels of 29 June 1873 that on 28 June 1873 the *Frankfurter Zeitung* had carried a notice dated 'London, 26 June' about Karl Marx's dangerous illness.—515

711 On the basis of Engels' letter Kugelmann sent a note to *Der Volksstaat* which appeared in No. 58, 13 July 1873, and read: 'Various newspapers have recently reported that *Karl Marx* was seriously ill. We are pleased to inform our readers that this is not the case. Marx has merely been ordered by his doctors to work no more than 4-6 hours a day.'—516

712 The telegram was sent as a reply to Sorge's letter of 11 July 1873 requesting more speed in deciding who was to represent the General Council at the Geneva Congress, Engels or Serraillier (see Note 672). The General Council confirmed Auguste Serraillier as its delegate, and on 8 August sent him 'Instructions for the delegate of the G.C. to the 6th General Congress'. However, Serraillier did not attend (see Note 724).— 518

713 Sorge wrote to Engels on 20 June 1873 that three new sections had been set up in Buenos Aires, the French, the Italian and the Spanish, numbering 130, 90

and 45 members respectively. He asked Engels to send them the resolutions of the Hague Congress.

The first section of the International in Buenos Aires was set up on 28 January 1872 and comprised the Paris Commune refugees. The International's organisation in Buenos Aires grew with the arrival of delegate to the Hague Congress, Raimond Wilmart, who corresponded with Marx and Engels. In 1873, a number of new sections were set up in Buenos Aires, consisting mostly of emigrants.—519

714 On 11 August 1873, replying to Engels' letter, the General Council instructed him to pass on the money collected in the USA for the widows and orphans of Communards to Auguste Serraillier.—520

715 Engels is replying to Sorge's questions prompted by the editorial 'Zur Spaltung der Arbeiterpartei in Oesterreich' in *Der Volksstaat,* No. 48, 14 June 1873, which sharply criticised Heinrich Oberwinder's opportunistic stand. The editorial board termed the actions of Oberwinder's group 'an open betrayal of the workers' cause'.—520

716 A reference to a report from Vienna published in *Der Volksstaat,* No. 59, 16 July 1873, which quoted in full the resolution proposed by Andreas Scheu on 29 June 1873 at a workers' meeting in Wiener-Neustadt where the reorganisation of the Austrian Social-Democratic Workers' Party was discussed. Alongside consistently democratic demands and calls for the introduction of standard working hours and legal restrictions on women's and child labour, the resolution contained the statement that 'all other parties constituted a single reactionary mass vis-à-vis the proletariat'.—520

717 In Alcoy, a small but industrially important Spanish town, the workers' decision to declare a general strike on 7 July 1873 led to the armed uprising of 8 July, as a result of which power passed into the hands of the Bakuninists. The Public Welfare Committee they had set up (Engels refers to it as the *Comité de salut public* after the central body of revolutionary government in France during the Jacobin dictatorship of 1793-94) displayed total passivity and on 12 July surrendered the town to government troops without putting up any resistance. These events were thoroughly analysed by Engels in *The Bakuninists at Work* (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 590-95).—521

718 The *Carlists,* a clerical absolutist group which in the first half of the 19th century supported Don Carlos, brother of King Ferdinand VII and pretender to the Spanish throne. In 1833-40, the Carlists unleashed a civil war known as the First Carlist War. After Don Carlos' death in 1855 they transferred their support to his grandson, Don Carlos Jr. In 1872 they stepped up their activities which culminated in another civil war in 1873 (the Second Carlist War). The war lasted until 1876.—521

719 In 1873 Lafargue together with Benjamin Le Moussu and George Moore tried to open up in London an association dealing in the production of engravings. After Lafargue had resigned from the business in late summer 1873, he was replaced by Marx. The association fell apart in the spring of 1874.—522, 527, 529, 544, 546

720 The reference is to the following works, which Danielson sent to Marx: I. Belyaev, 'Laws and Legal Acts Establishing the State of Serfdom in Ancient Russia', in: *Arkhiv istoricheskikh i prakticheskikh svedeniy, otnosyashchikhsya do Rossii* (Archives of Historical and Practical Data Pertaining to Russia), Book Two,

St Petersburg, 1859; K. Nevolin, *Istoriya rossiiskikh grazhdanskikh zakonov* (A History of Russian Civil Laws), St Petersburg, 1851; M. Gorchakov, *Monastyrskii Prikaz (1649-1725)* (The Monastery Department, 1649-1725), St Petersburg, 1868; B. Chicherin, *Opyty po istorii russkago prava* (Essays on the History of Russian Law), Moscow, 1858; idem, *Oblastniye uchrezhdeniya Rossii v XVII veke* (Regional Institutions in Russia in the 17th century), Moscow, 1856; V. I. Sergeevich, *Veche i knyaz. Russkoye gosudarstvennoye ustroistvo i upravleniye vo vremena knyazei Ryurikovichei* (The Popular Assembly and the Prince. The Russian State System and Government under the Ryurik Dynasty), Moscow, 1867; N. Khlebnikov, *Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v do-mongolsky period russkoi istorii* (Society and the State during the Pre-Mongol Period of Russian History), St Petersburg, 1872, etc.—522

721 Ironically referring to the Bakuninists as teetotallers, Marx was hinting at the fact that they preached total abstinence from politics on the part of the workers.—523

722 A reference to Danielson's letter to Marx of 10 (22) May 1873, which gave a detailed exposition of the dispute between Ivan Belyaev and Boris Chicherin (see Note 685) and supplied a list of sources on the subject. It also contained a review of Russian literature on communal landownership in Russia, a question that interested Marx.—523

723 In early August 1873 Engels went to Ramsgate to recuperate. He returned to London between 12 and 15 September.—523, 537

724 A reference to Auguste Serraillier's planned trip to the Geneva Congress of the International (see Note 672) as the General Council representative. As a member of the British Federal Council, he was also to hold credentials from the British sections. However, by the end of August, drawing on the reports from the International's local branches, Marx and Engels had already realised that under the conditions obtaining at the time the Congress had no chance of becoming a truly international forum. They were gravely concerned about the conciliatory tendencies being displayed by some of the International's activists in Romance Switzerland, and their readiness to go back on a number of the Hague Congress resolutions in order to work out a compromise with the anarchists. Marx and Engels thus considered it inexpedient to send a representative to the Congress and persuaded Serraillier not to go to Switzerland.—523, 525, 527, 535, 537

725 A reference to the General Council documents sent by its Secretary Sorge to Engels in connection with the preparations for the International's congress. Among them were an Address and the annual official report of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the Geneva Congress, and the 'Annual Confidential Report of the General Council to the 6th General Congress of the International Working Men's Association in Geneva Opening on 8 September 1873'.—524, 525

726 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in *The Letters of Karl Marx.* Selected and translated with Explanatory Notes and an Introduction by Saul K. Padover. Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliff, New Jersey, [1979].—526

727 A reference to the letter written in late August 1873 by Henri Perret, Secretary of the Romance Federal Council in Switzerland, to Alfred Days, Secretary of the British Federal Council. It mirrored the conciliatory attitude taken by some

of the International's Swiss members vis-à-vis the Bakuninist sectarians and their willingness to make concessions, notably to revise the resolutions passed by the Hague Congress on the powers of the General Council.—526, 534

728 Marx alluded to *Batrachomyomachia* (The Battle of the Frogs and Mice), an ancient Greek anonymous mock-heroic poem parodying Homer's *Iliad*.—527

729 José Nobre-França, one of the organisers and leaders of the Portuguese sections of the International, sent a letter to Marx via Engels thanking him for the instalments of the French edition of Volume I of *Capital*. He noted the great importance of Marx's work in popularising the revolutionary theory among Portuguese workers and freeing them from the influence of Proudhonism.—527

730 In a letter which Adolf Hepner received on 4 September 1873, Engels described the circumstances in which the Geneva Congress of the International was being convened and advised him not to go to Switzerland. The letter has not been found, but its contents can be inferred from Hepner's reply of 5 September 1873 in which he agrees with Engels' reasoning.—528, 530

731 A reference to the Address 'Compagnons, notre Association traverse...' signed by Henri Perret, C. Bernard, Theodore Duval and others, which was issued in August 1873 in Geneva in connection with the forthcoming congress of the International (see Note 672). It was directed against some of the Hague Congress resolutions on organisational issues.—530, 535

732 A reference to John De Morgan's letter to Engels of 15 September 1873 introducing its bearer, reporter Ellen Carroll. De Morgan requested Engels to chair a meeting scheduled for 21 September, at which Miss Carroll was going to talk about the Paris Commune.—531

733 The *Geneva Congress*, the first congress of the International Working Men's Association, was held on 3-8 September 1866. There were 60 delegates from Britain, France, Germany and Switzerland. The Geneva Congress passed a number of important resolutions based on Marx's 'Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions', approved the Rules and Regulations, and elected a General Council of the Association. The Congress signified the completion of the formative period of the International as a mass international proletarian organisation.—535

734 Engels stayed in Germany (Engelskirchen) approximately from 28 October to 20 November 1873.—536

735 A reference to the German edition of the pamphlet which appeared in Brunswick in the summer of 1874 under the heading *Ein Complot gegen die Internationale Arbeiter-Association* (in Samuel Kokosky's translation). Engels was directly involved in editing the German translation.—537, 541

736 Marx, with his daughter Eleanor, stayed in Harrogate to recuperate from 24 November to 15 December 1873. On 27 November Marx went to Manchester for the day to consult Doctor Gumpert.—538, 539, 550

737 Bakunin announced his decision to withdraw from politics in an open letter carried by the *Journal de Genève* on 25 September 1873 and in a letter 'Aux Compagnons de la Fédération jurassienne' published in the *Supplément au Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne* on 12 October 1873.—538

738 A reference to the so-called *Revolutionary Catechism*, a copy of which was found in 1869 during the search at the home of Pyotr Uspensky, a member of Sergei Nechayev's organisation. The document was reproduced in the official reports on the Nechayev trial of 1871 (see K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*, present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 527, 544-49).—538

739 Engels was informed by Enrico Bignami on 22 July 1873 about the establishment of a section of the International in Melegnano, which took the name of Gustave Flourens. The section voiced its support for the General Council.—538

740 On 10 June 1873 after two abortive attempts Hermann Lopatin managed to escape from prison in Irkutsk. That August Lopatin arrived in Paris.—539, 542, 576

741 On Lopatin's part in translating Volume I of *Capital* into Russian see Note 146.

Chapters 2-5 of the first German edition of 1867 correspond to chapters IV-XXII of the first English edition, which was published in 1887 and edited by Engels (see present edition, Vol. 35).—540

742 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Literature and Art.* Selections from Their Writings. International Publishers, New York, 1947.—541

743 The *Jacobites*—supporters of the Stuart King James II of England, who was dethroned by the coup d'état of 1688-89, and of his descendants. In 1715 and 1745, they made unsuccessful attempts to stage an uprising with a view to restoring the Stuart dynasty.—542

744 Heinrich Heine's satirical poem 'Disputation' (*Romanzero*) describes a medieval dispute between a Catholic Capuchin and a learned rabbi, who refers to the Hebrew scripture Tosafoth Yom Tobh. 'To hell with your book,' retorts the friar. Then follows the reply of the enraged rabbi quoted by Engels.—545

745 Engels is referring to Marx's criticism of John Stuart Mill's vulgar economic views on surplus value expounded in Mill's *Principles of Political Economy with Some of their Applications to Social Philosophy*, London, 1868. It is to be found in the French edition of Volume I of *Capital* (1875), in the third German edition of 1883 and in the English edition of 1887 edited by Engels (see present edition, Vol. 35).—545

746 Wilhelm Busch began observing bullet wounds in late 1870 and published a number of works on the subject.—545

747 In November and December 1873 *L'Internationale* printed announcements of the publication, scheduled for 1874, of César De Paepe's work *Considérations et recherches sur le problème social au XIX siècle*, and gave the table of contents of this work. Below Marx quotes the table of contents of Volume 2 featured in *L'Internationale*, Nos. 254, 255 and 257, 23 and 30 November and 14 December 1873. De Paepe's work was not published.—546

748 In 1868-1878 the Cuban people waged a national liberation war against Spanish colonial rule. On 31 October 1873 the Spanish corvette *Tornado* attacked and captured the American steamer *Virginius* on the open sea. The

steamer was carrying military supplies and reinforcements for the insurgents in Cuba. On arrival in Santiago de Cuba, Captain Fry, several of the crew and passengers were put to death. The US government demanded that the culprits be punished, the vessel returned, and the surviving crew members and passengers released. The Spanish head of government Castelar agreed to meet some of the demands, but the authorities in Havana refused to act on his orders. The conflict was finally settled on 12 December 1873.—547

749 A reference to the Pope's Encyclical of 21 November 1873 issued in connection with the measures introduced by Bismarck's government against the Catholic Church in Germany (the so-called *Kulturkampf*).—547

750 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Literature and Art.* Selections from Their Writings. International Publishers, New York, 1947, and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—548

751 The French Marshal François Achille Bazaine, who during the Franco-Prussian War surrendered the Metz fortress to the Germans on 27 October 1870, was put on trial on the charge of high treason. The trial took place in Versailles between 6 October and 10 December 1873. Duc d'Aumale chaired the tribunal of military officers. Bazaine was given a death sentence, which was commuted to one of twenty years' imprisonment. After eight months in prison Bazaine fled to Spain in August 1874.—549

752 Marx is replying to Allsop's letter of 21 December 1873.—550

753 A reference to the participation of Spanish workers in cantonal uprisings in Spain launched by the extremist wing of the bourgeois republican federalists and their Bakuninist allies in the summer of 1873. These events were the climax of the Spanish bourgeois revolution of 1868-74. The defeat of the insurgents, whose leaders proved totally incapable of directing popular revolutionary action, paved the way for the restoration of the monarchy. For details, see Engels' *The Bakuninists at Work* (present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 581-98).—551

754 At the elections to the Imperial Diet held on 10 January 1874 the Social-Democrats won 9 seats; among those elected were August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht.—551

755 A reference to the Peasant Reform of 1861 in Russia, which was introduced from above by the ruling classes under pressure from the acute crisis of serfdom and the growing threat of a popular revolution. The reform was a step towards turning Russia from a tsarist empire into a bourgeois monarchy, yet it failed to eliminate many of the survivals of the feudal system in the country's agriculture. The peasants were set free from personal bondage but lost a substantial part of their land. For the plots that were left to them, they had to continue doing conscript labour for the landowners until the redemption agreement had been concluded. The terms of the redemption turned the peasants into debtors of the state, which paid the landowners the entire redemption fee, and then collected a far greater redemption sum from the peasants over a period of several decades.—551

756 A number of European newspapers announced that Marx had been arrested in Holland. A statement to this effect appeared in *The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 1970, 7 June 1871, in the article 'The Interregnum'. Marx replied with a letter to the

editor of *The Pall Mall Gazette* exposing this falsehood (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 360).—561

757 The information concerning Charles Victor Jaclard and Edme Marie Gustave Tridon proved erroneous. Jaclard escaped from prison on 7 October 1871, and Tridon emigrated to Brussels, where he died on 31 August 1871.—561

758 Marx's portrait, made from a 1867 photograph taken by Fr. Wunder of Hanover and engraved on wood by J. Robert, appeared on the front page of the Paris *L'Illustration*, No. 1498, 11 November 1871. The same issue printed an anonymous biography of Marx (see Note 684).—562, 568, 576

759 The letter gives some idea of Marx's work to organise assistance to the refugee Communards.—565

760 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in *Labour Monthly*, September 1957, and in full in *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Publishers, Vol. II, [Hanover] 1962.—573, 578

761 Marx reported on the intention of the Gladstone government to subject refugee Communards to persecution at the General Council meeting of 19 December 1871; his speech was published as part of the report on the Council meeting in *The Eastern Post*, No. 169, 23 December 1871.—573

762 Probably a slip of the pen in Eleanor Marx's letter. The reference is apparently to *La Philosophie positive*, No. 3 for November-December 1868, which featured a short review of Volume I of *Capital* written by Yevgeny De-Roberti. Referring to De-Roberti's book, Eleanor Marx probably meant his *Politiko-economicheskiye etyudy* (Essays on Politics and Economics), which appeared in St Petersburg in 1869.—576

763 Volume I of *Capital* first appeared in English under Engels' editorship in 1887.—576

764 This letter was written by Liebknecht on 20 February 1872 at Engels' suggestion and on the basis of the information supplied by him (see this volume, pp. 319-20). Liebknecht sent the text to Engels, who translated it into Italian and forwarded it to Carlo Cafiero in Italy to be published in the press (a handwritten draft of the translation has survived which is identical to the version published in the *Gazzettino Rosa*). The *Gazzettino Rosa* dated the letter 29 February 1872.—577

765 The declaration was written by Marx in connection with the slanderous speech made in the House of Commons by Alexander Baillie-Cochrane on 12 April 1872. It was published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 186, 20 April 1872.—578

766 This letter was published in English for the first time in *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Publishers, Vol. II, [Hanover] 1962.—582, 583, 585

767 A reference to the meetings of the General Council Executive Committee (see Note 435). The Committee meetings usually took place at Marx's or Engels' homes.—582

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*About, Edmond François Valentin* (1828-1885)—French writer and journalist; Bonapartist.—130

*Acollas, Émile* (1826-1891)—French lawyer and politician; radical-socialist.—365

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*Alerini, Charles* (b. 1842)—French anarchist, Corsican by birth; teacher; member of the Marseilles Section of the International; a participant in the Marseilles Commune (April 1871), after its suppression emigrated to Italy, then to Spain, where he propagated anarchism; editor of the *Solidarité révolutionnaire* (Barcelona); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—436, 449

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*Alexander Alexandrovich* (1845-1894)—heir to the throne; subsequently Emperor of Russia Alexander III (1881-94).—110, 114

*Allen, George*—English physician, Marx's family doctor.—5

*Allsop*—wife of Thomas Allsop.—552

*Allsop, Thomas* (1795-1880)—English stockbroker, author; democrat; sided with the Chartists; collaborated with Marx in helping refugees of the Paris Commune; was on friendly terms with Marx's family.—203, 213, 550-52

*Alonzo*—participant in the British working-class movement.—474

*Applegarth, Robert* (1834-1925)—a trade union leader, cabinet-maker; General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (1862-71); member of the London Trades Council; member of the General Council of the International (1865, 1868-72); delegate to the Basle Congress of the International (1869); subsequently left the working-class movement.—203

*Argaing, Ferdinand*—French revolutionary, Blanquist; member of the International, representative of the

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*Arnaud, Armand Antoine Jules* (1831-1885)—French revolutionary, Blanquist; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; emigrated to England after its suppression; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); withdrew from the International because of the Congress decision to transfer the General Council to New York.—269, 280, 379, 399

*Arndt, Ernst Moritz* (1769-1860)—German writer, historian and philologist; took part in the liberation struggle against Napoleon's rule.—13

*Assi, Adolphe Alphonse* (1841-1886)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, mechanic; Left Proudhonist; member of the International; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; after the suppression of the Commune, exiled to New Caledonia.—167

*Aston*—lawyer in Manchester.—544

*Augspurg, Dietrich Wilhelm Andreas* (1818-1898)—German economist, National-Liberal; member of the Reichstag in 1871-74.—545

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*Avrial, Augustin Germain* (1840-1904)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, mechanic; Left Proudhonist; member of the Federal Council of the Paris sections of the International; member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to England.—265, 267, 269, 280, 297, 302

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*Bachruch, Henrik*—Hungarian worker; Secretary of the German Section of the International in Paris (1870); member of the Paris Federal Council of the International; participant in the Paris Commune.—194

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*Bain, Alexander* (1818-1903)—Scottish philosopher, psychologist, professor of logic and English at Aberdeen University (1860-81).—276

*Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich* (1814-1876)—Russian revolutionary, journalist; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; later an ideologist of Narodism and anarchism; opposed Marxism in the First International; at the Hague Congress (1872) was expelled from the International for his splitting activities.—5, 19, 26-27, 33, 88, 162-63, 172, 184, 220, 241, 255-57, 263, 268-71, 276, 278, 285, 289, 293, 295-96, 300-01, 311-12, 315, 318, 320, 331, 338, 343, 347, 351, 358, 361-62, 369, 373-75, 386, 393, 396-98, 400, 402, 407-08, 415, 417, 419, 422, 424, 426, 430, 436, 452, 456, 458, 469, 491, 493, 508, 516, 520, 523, 538, 563

*Bałaszewicz, Juliusz Alexander* (b.1831)—Polish poet; agent of the Russian secret police in London in 1861-76 under the name of Count Albert Henryk Potocki.—272, 273

*Baranov (Baranoff), W. O.*—Russian scholar; Doctor of Philosophy; in 1871 lived in Geneva.—386

*Barbès, Armand* (1809-1870)—French revolutionary, a leader of secret societies during the July monarchy; was active in the 1848 revolution, deputy to the Constituent Assembly; sentenced to life imprisonment for participation in the popular insurrec-

tion of 15 May 1848; pardoned in 1854; emigrated to Belgium and withdrew from politics.—49

*Barré, Aristide Magloire* (b. 1840)—French metal-carver; member of the International; participant in the Paris Commune; emigrated to London after its suppression; a founder of the French Section of 1871; participant in the Hague Congress (1872).—565

*Barry, Maltman* (1842-1909)—British journalist, socialist; member of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); member of the General Council (1871-72) and the British Federal Council (1872-74); supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against the Bakuninists and British reformists; in the 1890s was in contact with the 'socialist wing' of the Conservatives.—290, 428, 515

*Bartorelli, Ugo*—Italian worker, Bakuninist; Secretary of the Workers' Union in Florence; member of the International.—411

*Bastelica, André Augustin* (1845-1884)—prominent figure in the French and Spanish working-class movement, printer; member of the International, Bakuninist; member of the General Council of the International (1871); delegate to the London Conference (1871).—199, 203, 205, 220, 265-70, 276

*Bazaine, François Achille* (1811-1888)—marshal of France; in the Franco-Prussian war commanded the 3rd Army Corps, then the Army of the Rhine; was besieged at Metz which he surrendered on 27 October 1870; was condemned to degradation and death (1873); the sentence was commuted for 20 years' imprisonment; escaped to Madrid in 1874.—41, 53, 62, 549

*Beaufort*—French refugee in London.—200, 235

*Bebel, August* (1840-1913)—prominent figure in the international and German working-class movement, turner; President of the Union of German Workers' Associations from 1867; member of the International; deputy to the North German and Imperial Reichstag from 1867; one of the founders and leaders of German Social-Democracy; opposed the Lassalleans; during the Franco-Prussian war took a proletarian internationalist stand; supported the Paris Commune; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—14, 16, 51, 95, 127, 129, 145, 160, 178, 196, 198, 216, 237, 247, 281, 288-89, 320, 332, 357, 362, 367, 371, 384, 416, 479, 493, 510, 512, 514, 563

*Bebel, Julie* (1843-1910)—August Bebel's wife.—95, 97

*Becker, Bernhard* (1826-1891)—German journalist, follower of Lassalle; President of the General Association of German Workers (1864-65); subsequently supported the Eisenachers; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—199, 215, 233, 402

*Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886)—German revolutionary; took part in the democratic movement of the 1830s-50s and in the 1848-49 revolution; after the defeat of the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849) left Germany; prominent figure in the International and delegate to all its congresses and the London Conference (1865); editor of *Der Vorbote* (1866-71); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—25-27, 78, 83, 159, 178, 306, 321-22, 358, 364, 370-71, 373, 395-96, 404, 418-20, 433, 473, 488, 495, 507, 534

*Beer, G.*—correspondent of *Der Volksstaat*.—429

*Beesly*—Edward Spencer Beesly's wife.—86, 226

*Beesly, Edward Spencer* (1831-1915)—British historian and politician, radical, positivist philosopher; professor

of history at University college, London (1860-93); Chairman of the inaugural meeting of the International held at St Martin's Hall (28 September 1864); defended the International and the Paris Commune in the English press; Marx's friend.—73, 74, 84, 85, 88, 92, 116, 150-51, 226

*Beghelli, Giuseppe* (1847-1877)—Italian journalist, democrat, follower of Garibaldi; in 1871 member of the Workers' Federation in Turin; in 1871-72 editor of the republican papers *La Democrazia* and *Il Ficcanaso*.—310, 313

*Belyaev, Ivan Dmitrievich* (1810-1873)—Russian historian, professor at Moscow University (1852-73); Slavophile.—488

*Benedetti, Giuseppe*—Italian anarchist; a founder of the Bakuninist organisation in Pisa, which pretended to be the International's section.—323

*Benedix, Roderich Julius* (1811-1873)—German author and playwright; manager of the theatre in Elberfeld (1845), author of plays popular among the lower middle classes.—548-49

*Bergeret, Jules Henri Marius* (1830-1905)—French revolutionary; was close to Blanquists; travelling salesman, then proof-reader; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to England and then to the USA; sentenced to death in his absence; in 1871 founded a weekly *Le 18 mars*.—569

*Bert, Cesare*—Italian mechanic; an organiser of the Turin Section of the International; in 1871-72 supported the General Council, then sided with the anarchists; delegate to the anarchist congress in Geneva (1873).—345, 391, 432, 446

*Bertrand, Francis-J.*—prominent figure in the American working-class movement, cigar-maker; Corresponding Secretary for the Section No. 6 of the International in New York; member of the Federal Council of the International for North America (1872) and the editorial board of *Arbeiter-Zeitung*; member of the General Council elected by the Hague Congress (1872).—437

*Bervi, Vasily Vasilyevich* (pseudonym *N. Flerovsky*) (1829-1918)—Russian economist and sociologist; enlightener and democrat; Narodnik utopian socialist; author of *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia*.—105

*Beslay, Charles Victor* (1795-1878)—French entrepreneur, man of letters and politician; member of the International; Proudhonist; member of the Paris Commune and its Finance Committee, delegate to the Bank of France; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to Switzerland and then to England.—270

*Besson, Alexandre*—French refugee in London, metal worker; member of the General Council of the International (1866-68); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium; a leader of the French Section in London; joined the group of petty-bourgeois republicans, follower of Félix Pyat; member of the French Section of 1871.—269

*Beta*—see *Bettziech, Johann Heinrich*

*Bettziech, Johann Heinrich* (pen-name *Beta*) (1813-1876)—German journalist, democrat; refugee in London; follower of Gottfried Kinkel.—415

*Beust, Anna von* (née *Lipka*) (1827-1900)—cousin of Frederick Engels.—321

*Biedermann, Friedrich Karl* (1812-1901)—German historian and writer, liberal, from the 1860s National-Liberal; editor of the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (1863-79); member of the Reichstag (1871-74).—97, 571

*Bignami, Enrico* (1844-1921)—prominent figure in the Italian democratic and working-class movement, journalist, republican; took part in Garibaldi's campaigns; organiser of the section of the International in Lodi; editor of *La Plebe* (1868-83); from 1871 constantly corresponded with Engels; worked for the establishment of the independent workers' party in Italy; opposed anarchism.—354, 433, 444, 458, 466, 483, 488, 518

*Bigot, Léon* (1826-1872)—French lawyer and journalist; Left republican; after the suppression of the Paris Commune counsel for the defence of Communards at the Versailles court martial.—167, 195, 199

*Bismarck-Schönhausen, Otto Eduard Leopold, Prince von* (1815-1898)—Prussian and German statesman, diplomat; Envoy to St Petersburg (1859-62) and Paris (1862); Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-71, 1873-90); Chancellor of the North German Confederation (1867-71) and of the German Empire (1871-90); carried through the unification of Germany under the supremacy of Prussia.—6, 10-11, 13-14, 19, 23, 33, 39, 41, 42, 47-48, 53, 68, 71, 74, 77, 79-80, 87, 89, 109-14, 116, 130, 149-51, 171, 196, 200, 216, 269, 308, 311, 328, 356, 360, 365, 367, 389, 402, 513, 551, 577

*Bjeljajew*—see *Belyaev, Ivan Dmitrievich*

*Blanc, Gaspard Antoine* (b. 1845)—French Bakuninist, roadman; member of the Lyons Section of the International; took part in the Lyons uprising (September 1870); after the suppression of the Paris Commune sided with the Bonapartists.—257, 270, 311, 318

*Blanc, Jean Joseph Charles Louis* (1811-1882)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, historian; in 1848 member of the Provisional Government and President of the Luxembourg Commission; pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie; a leader of petty-bourgeois refugees in London from August 1848; deputy to the National Assembly of 1871; opposed the Paris Commune.—11-12, 23, 31, 40, 55, 186

*Blank, Emil*—son of Marie and Karl Emil Blank; Frederick Engels' nephew.—230

*Blank, Karl Emil* (1817-1893)—German merchant; closely connected with socialist circles in the 1840s-50s; married Frederick Engels' sister Marie.—230

*Blanqui, Louis Auguste* (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, utopian communist; organised several secret societies and plots; active participant in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; leader of the proletarian movement in France; during the Commune was in prison.—49, 108, 172, 361

*Blind, Karl* (1826-1907)—German democratic journalist; took part in the Baden revolutionary movement of 1848-49; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in London in the 1850s; National-Liberal in the 1860s; during the Franco-Prussian war took a chauvinist stand.—12, 16, 23, 28, 30-32, 45, 53, 107, 128, 129

*Block, Maurice* (1816-1901)—French statistician and economist; representative of vulgar political economy.—438, 470

*Blos, Wilhelm* (1849-1927)—German journalist and politician; from 1872 member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; an editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1872-74), later representative of the opportunist trend in German Social-Democracy.—510

*Bolleter, Heinrich*—German refugee in London; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the Central Council of the International (November 1864 to 1865); participant in the London

Conference (1865); owner of the tavern where workers often held their meetings.—154

*Bolte, Friedrich*—prominent figure in the American working-class movement, cigar-maker; Secretary of the Federal Council of the International for North America (1872); member of the editorial board of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*; member of the General Council (1872-74) elected by the Hague Congress; in 1874 expelled from the International in view of the factious policy pursued by the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.—204, 251, 255, 257, 334, 474, 534

*Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Bonhorst, Leonhard von* (b. 1840)—German Social-Democrat, technician; member of the General Association of German Workers (1867-69); Secretary of the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers); subsequently withdrew from politics.—46

*Boon, Martin James*—mechanic; prominent figure in the British working-class movement; follower of O'Brien; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72); Secretary of the Land and Labour League; member of the British Federal Council (1872).—251

*Borchardt, Louis*—German physician, acquaintance of Engels in Manchester.—7, 498

*Borkheim, Sigismund Ludwig* (1825-1885)—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, emigrated after its defeat; London merchant from 1851; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels.—27, 36, 38, 52, 56, 178, 329, 389

*Boruttau, Karl* (d. 1873)—German physician and journalist, a Lassallean; later member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; member of the International; contributed to *Der Volksstaat*.—248, 281, 404, 416

*Bourbaki, Charles Denis Sauter* (1816-1897)—French general, Greek by birth; in the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71) commanded the Imperial Guard, 18th Corps, then Army of the East.—124

*Bousquet, Abel*—French anarchist, member of the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy; expelled from the section of the International in Béziers as a police agent.—257, 270, 302, 311, 454

*Boustrapa*—see *Napoleon III*

*Bovio, Gennaro*—Italian democrat; Left Mazzinist; member of the workers' societies of mutual help, delegate to their congress in Naples (1864); in 1871 supported the Paris Commune.—354

*Bracke, Wilhelm* (1842-1880)—German Social-Democrat; publisher of socialist literature in Brunswick; a founder (1869) and leader of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers); opposed the Lassalleans and Bakuninists; an editor of the *Braunschweiger Volksfreund*.—46, 242, 537

*Bradlaugh, Charles* (1833-1891)—English journalist and politician, radical, atheist; from 1860 editor of *The National Reformer*; sharply attacked Marx and the International Working Men's Association.—269, 299, 567, 574

*Braß (Brass), August* (1818-1876)—German journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to Switzerland after its defeat; National-Liberal and supporter of Bismarck from the 1860s; publisher of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.—11, 62

*Bray, John Francis* (1809-1895)—English economist; utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen; developed the theory of 'labour money'.—57

*Brentano, Lujo* (*Ludwig Joseph*) (1844-1931)—German vulgar economist; armchair socialist.—378, 415

*Brix, Harald Frederik Valdemar* (1841-1881)—prominent figure in the Danish working-class and socialist movement, journalist; a founder of the sections of the International in Copenhagen; editor of the *Socialisten*; an organiser of the Danish Social-Democratic Party (1876).—281

*Brunnow, Filipp Ivanovich, Baron von,* from 1871 *Count* (1797-1875)—Russian diplomat; Envoy (1840-54, 1858-60), then Ambassador (1860-74) to London.—32

*Brutus, Lucius Junius* (6th cent. B.C.)—according to legend, founder of the Roman Republic, Roman Consul (509 B.C.); condemned his own sons to death for having conspired against the Republic.—16

*Bucher, Lothar* (1817-1892)—Prussian official and journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848 and then a refugee in London; subsequently a National-Liberal and supporter of Bismarck.—116, 151

*Büchner, Ludwig* (1824-1899)—German physiologist and philosopher; representative of vulgar materialism.—320, 366

*Buckle, Henry Thomas* (1821-1862)—English historian and sociologist, positivist.—192, 210, 218

*Burchardt, A.* — German Social-Democrat; delegate to the Geneva Congress (1873) of the International from the Stuttgart organisation.—536

*Burns, Lydia* (*Lizzy, Lizzie*) (1827-1878)—Irish working woman, took part in the Irish national liberation movement; Frederick Engels' second wife.—5, 8, 19, 43, 50, 54, 73, 96, 167, 216, 286, 304, 339, 434, 436, 444, 451, 455, 464, 496, 506, 521, 524, 529, 543, 547, 559-560

*Burns, Mary Ellen (Pumps)* (born c. 1860)—niece of Engels' wife, Lydia Burns.—187, 246, 312, 332, 444, 471

*Burrs, William*—owner of a trading firm in Manchester.—324

*Busch, Wilhelm* (1826-1881)—German surgeon.—545

*Butt, Isaac* (1813-1879)—Irish lawyer and politician; Liberal M.P.; professor of political economy at Trinity College, Dublin; defended Fenian prisoners in state trials in the 1860s; an organiser of the Home Rule movement in the 1870s.—329

C

*Cafiero, Carlo* (1846-1892)—participant in the Italian working-class movement, lawyer; member of the International, in 1871 in Italy pursued the General Council's line; from 1872 a leader of the Italian anarchist organisations; in the late 1870s broke with anarchism.—161, 163-65, 170-73, 180, 183-88, 337, 338, 393, 397

*Camélinat, Zéphirin Remy* (1840-1932)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, bronze-worker; a leader of the Paris sections of the International; took part in the Paris Commune; emigrated to England after its defeat; subsequently active participant in the socialist movement.—265, 267, 269

*Campbell*—official in the London police.—275

*Capestro*—see *Cuno, Theodor Friedrich*

*Caporusso, Stefano*—Italian anarchist, tailor; a founder of the Naples Section of the International and its Chairman; delegate to the Basle Congress (1869); in 1870 was expelled from the section for embezzlement.—162, 171, 180

*Carlos, Don* (*Carlos María de los Dolores Juan Isidro José Francisco de Borbón, duke of Madrid*) (1848-1909)—

grandson of Carlos V; pretender to the Spanish throne under the name of Carlos VII; headed the Carlist revolt (1872-76); after its defeat fled to France.—542

*Carlyle, Thomas* (1795-1881)—British writer, historian, philosopher, Tory; preached views bordering on feudal socialism up to 1848; later a relentless opponent of the working-class movement.—39

*Caron, Charles*—Chairman of the Club International et Républicain in New Orleans (USA), admitted to the International Working Men's Association as Section No. 15.—176

*Carroll, Ellen*—English journalist; contributed to the Paris newspapers *Le Rappel* and *La Marseillaise*; correspondent in Paris during the Paris Commune.—531

*Castelar y Ripoll, Emilio* (1832-1899)—Spanish politician, historian and writer; leader of Right republicans; President of the Executive (September 1873-January 1874), promoted the restoration of monarchy (1874).—547

*Castellazzo, Luigi* (1827-1890)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; participant in the 1848-49 revolution and Garibaldi's campaigns; founder of the radical Società Democratica Internazionale in Florence.—161, 165

*Cato, Marcus Porcius* (95-46 B.C.)—Roman statesman; leader of the republicans; committed suicide, not wishing to survive the fall of the republic.—549

*Cavaignac, Louis Eugène* (1802-1857)—French general and politician, moderate republican; took part in the conquest of Algeria; after the February 1848 revolution War Minister (from May 1848); played a leading part in suppressing the June uprising (1848); head of the executive power (from June to December 1848).—99, 108

*Centenari, Leonardo*—member of the section of the International in Rome.—432

*Ceretti, Celso* (1844-1909)—Italian democrat; participant in Garibaldi's campaigns; founder of the Associazione republicana e anticattolica in Mirandola, member of the Federazione italiana dell'Internazionale; Bakunin's correspondent.—292

*Chalain, Louis Denis* (1845-c. 1885)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, metal-turner; member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to England, where he became member of the French Section of 1871 for some time, then moved to Austria and Switzerland where he sided with the anarchists.—203, 208, 265, 267, 280

*Charnier*—French refugee in the USA, member of the International; wine merchant; follower of Victoria Woodhull.—101

*Chassepot, Antoine Alphonse* (1833-1905)—French inventor of military equipment.—48

*Chateaubriand, François René, vicomte de* (1768-1848)—French writer, statesman and diplomat; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1823-24).—543

*Châtelain, Amable Pierre Eugène* (1829-1902)—French journalist and poet, participant in the 1848 revolution and the Paris Commune; refugee in London after its suppression; member of the French Section of 1871.—33

*Chautard, B.*—French spy, infiltrated into workers' organisations; member of the French Section of 1871 in London; was exposed and expelled from the Section.—231, 267-68

*Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich* (1828-1889)—Russian revolutionary democrat; socialist; materialist philosopher, writer and literary critic; a precursor

of Russian Social-Democracy.—27, 105, 152, 457, 469, 540

*Chicherin, Boris Nikolayevich* (1828-1904)—Russian lawyer, historian and philosopher; professor at Moscow University (1861-68); adherent of the constitutional monarchy.—488

*Chouteau, Henri* (1834-1896)—French house-painter; member of the Paris sections of the International; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard; participant in the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to London, where he became member of the French Section of 1871.—268

*Claflin, Tennessee Celeste* (1845-1923)—American feminist; sought to use the International's organisation in the USA for her own ends; together with her sister Victoria Woodhull published *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*.—382

*Clarendon, George William Frederick Villiers, 4th Earl of, 4th Baron Hyde* (1800-1870)—British statesman, Whig, later Liberal; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1847-52); Foreign Secretary (1853-58, 1865-66, 1868-70).—75, 94

*Claris, Aristide Jean* (nickname *Régis*) (1843-1916)—French journalist, anarchist; participant in the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Switzerland, where he became member of the anarchist section of propaganda and revolutionary socialist action; editor of *La Révolution sociale* (1871-72).—269

*Clarkson*—Engels' acquaintance in London.—189

*Clément, Jean Baptiste* (1836-1903)—French man of letters and journalist; freemason; member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Germany, then to Belgium and England.—587

*Cluseret, Gustave Paul* (1823-1900)—French politician, general; took part in the American Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Northerners; member of the International; was close to the Bakuninists; in the spring of 1870 acted as the General Council's correspondent in the USA; took part in revolutionary uprisings in Lyons and Marseilles (1870); member of the Paris Commune, military delegate (April 1871); after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to Belgium.—57, 70, 88, 464, 530, 535

*Cobbett, William* (1762-1835)—English politician and radical writer; published *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register* from 1802.—86

*Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865)—English manufacturer and politician; a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; M.P.—40

*Cochrane-Baillie, Alexander Dundas Ross Wishart, 1st Baron Lamington* (1816-1890)—English politician and man of letters; Conservative M.P.—578

*Coenen, Philippe* (1842-1892)—prominent figure in the Belgian working-class movement, shoemaker; secretary of the Antwerp newspaper *De Werker*; delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868), London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International, where he supported the Bakuninists; subsequently a founder of the Belgian Socialist Party.—124, 125, 190, 191

*Cohn* (or *Cohen*), *James*—British cigar-maker; active in the British and Danish working-class movement; President of the London Association of Cigar-Makers; member of the General Council of the International (1867-71), Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1870-71); delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) and the London Conference (1871).—125, 191, 330

*Collet, Collet Dobson* (1812-1898)—English radical journalist and public figure; editor and publisher of the

Urquhartist *Free Press* (1859-65) and *Diplomatic Review* from 1866.—212

*Comte, Isidore Auguste François Marie Xavier* (1798-1857)—French philosopher and sociologist; founder of positivism.—92, 150

*Conway, Moncure Daniel* (1832-1907)—American radical writer; at first Methodist minister, later pastor of the Unitarian church; opposed slavery; lived in Europe in 1863-64; during the Franco-Prussian war correspondent of the *New-York World*.—209

*Cotta, Johann Georg, Baron von Cottendorf* (1796-1863)—German publisher, owner of a large publishing house (1832-63); publisher of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser*.—135

*Cournet, Frederic Étienne* (1839-1885)—French revolutionary, Blanquist, journalist; member of the Paris Commune; emigrated to England after its suppression; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); withdrew from the International in view of the Congress decision to transfer the General Council to New York.—218, 249, 269, 280, 340, 379, 398, 482, 509

*Cousin-Montauban, Charles Guillaume Marie Apolinaire Antoine, comte de Palikao* (1796-1878)—French general, Bonapartist, Prime Minister and Minister of War (August-September 1870).—61, 558

*Cremer, Sir William Randall* (1838-1908)—participant in the British trade union and pacifist movement; a founder of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (1860); member of the London Trades Council and of the Land and Labour League; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held at St. Martin's Hall, London (28 September 1864); member of the Central Council of the International (1864-66) and its General Secretary; delegate to the London Conference (1865) and Geneva Congress (1866); opposed revolutionary tactics; subsequently Liberal M.P.—77, 363

*Crémieux, Isaac Moïse* (called *Adolphe*) (1796-1880)—French lawyer and politician; a liberal in the 1840s; member of the Provisional Government (February-May 1848); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848-51).—317

*Cuno, Edward Heinrich*—engineer and architect; employee in Düsseldorf; father of Theodor Friedrich Cuno.—369

*Cuno, Theodor Friedrich* (pseudonym *Capestro, Frederico*) (1846-1934)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, engineer, socialist; opposed anarchism in Italy; organiser of the Milan Section of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); after the Congress emigrated to the USA and took part in the International's activities there; subsequently participant in the American working-class and socialist movement.—245-46, 299, 305, 308-09, 312, 319, 321, 356-59, 361, 364, 367-73, 393, 403, 407, 416, 419, 430-32, 437, 440, 445, 451, 455, 460, 468, 482

D

*Dakyns, John Roche* (1836-1910)—English geologist; member of the International in Manchester from 1869; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels.—498

*Dana, Charles Anderson* (1819-1897)—American journalist, Fourierist, Abolitionist; an editor (1848) and editor-in-chief (1849-62) of the *New-York Daily Tribune*; from 1868 proprietor and editor of *The Sun* (New York).—89, 206, 328

*Danieli, Francesco*—member of the Milan Section of the International.—359

*Danielson, Nikolai Frantzevich* (pseudonym *Nikolai— on*) (1844-1918)—Russian economist and writer; an ideologist of Narodism in the 1880s-90s; corresponded with Marx and Engels for several years; translated into Russian volumes I (together with Hermann Lopatin and Nikolai Lyubavin), II and III of Marx's *Capital*.—152, 174, 192, 238, 385, 421-22, 451, 455-57, 469, 488, 522, 575

*Darson, A.*—publisher and bookseller in London.—530

*Davydov, Anatoly Nikolayevich* (b. 1823)—Russian revolutionary; in the early 1870s employee of the Odessa steamship line in London; drew close to Marx and helped the Commune refugees; in August 1873 returned to Russia.—200, 206

*Days, Alfred* (b. 1851)—Secretary of the British Federal Council of the International (from June 1873), joiner; delegate to the Congress of the British Federation in Manchester; participant in the co-operative movement in England.—526

*Deák, Ferencz* (1803-1876)—Hungarian statesman; representative of the liberal Hungarian aristocracy; advocated compromise with the Austrian monarchy; Minister of Justice in the Batthyány Government (March-September 1848); member of Chamber of Deputies from 1860.—88

*Delahaye, Victor Alfred* (1838-1897)—French mechanic, Proudhonist; member of the International from 1865; participant in the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to England; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871).—205, 266, 388

*Delescluze, Louis Charles* (1809-1871)—French revolutionary, journalist; participant in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; founder, editor and publisher of *Le Réveil* (1868-71); member of the Paris Commune; killed on the barricades in Paris in May 1871.—3

*Delpech*—French lawyer, reactionary; in 1871 Procurator-General of the Haute-Garonne department.—199, 571-72

*De Morgan, John*—Irish socialist, member of the International; supported the revolutionary wing in the British Federation.—357, 449, 515, 531-32

*Demuth, Helene (Lenchen)* (1820-1890)—housemaid and devoted friend of the Marx family.—443, 559, 581

*Dentraygues*—Émile Dentraygues' wife.—492

*Dentraygues, Émile Jean Philippe* (pseudonym *Swarm*) (b. 1836)—French railwayman; member of the Toulouse Section of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); betrayed his comrades at the Toulouse trial of the International's members (1873).—482, 492

*De Paepe, César* (1841-1890)—Belgian socialist, compositor, subsequently physician; a founder of the Belgian Section of the International (1865); member of the Belgian Federal Council; delegate to the London Conference (1865), Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and to the London Conference (1871) of the International; following the Hague Congress (1872) supported the Bakuninists for some time; a founder of the Belgian Workers' Party (1885).—79-80, 262-63, 266, 289, 296, 370, 386, 407, 433, 546-47, 563, 568, 574

*Dereure, Louis Simon* (1838-1900)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, shoemaker;

Blanquist; member of the Paris Section of the International; member of the *Marseillaise* editorial board; member of the Paris Commune; emigrated to the USA after its suppression; delegate to the Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International; member of the General Council, elected by the Hague Congress.—419, 425, 447-48, 458, 490

*De-Roberti, Yevgeny Valentinovich* (1843-1915)—Russian positivist philosopher; vulgar economist.—576

*Dervaux, A.*—employee in the Paris publishing house of Maurice Lachâtre.—423

*Desagarre, baron*—French lawyer, in 1871 prosecutor-general of the Republic in the Haute-Garonne department.—572

*Devoy, John* (1842-1928)—Irish journalist and revolutionary; a Fenian leader, a leader of the Land League (the 1880s); member of the Central Committee of the International for North America; an organiser of the Irish sections in the USA; subsequently participant in the national liberation struggle of the Irish people.—217

*Diderot, Denis* (1713-1784)—French philosopher of the Enlightenment, atheist; leader of the Encyclopaedists.—238

*Dietzgen, Joseph* (1828-1888)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, leather-worker; philosopher who independently arrived at dialectical materialism; member of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—178

*Dilke, Sir Charles Wentworth, Baronet* (1843-1911)—English politician and writer; Republican; a leader of the Radical wing of the Liberal Party; M.P.—249, 280, 302

*Disraeli, Benjamin, 1st Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and writer; leader of the Conservative Party in the second half of the 19th century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68); Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80).—32

*Dobrolyubov, Nikolai Alexandrovich* (1836-1861)—Russian revolutionary democrat; literary critic and materialist philosopher; one of the predecessors of Russian Social-Democracy.—238

*Dombrowski (Dąbrowski), Jarosław* (1836-1871)—Polish revolutionary democrat; participant in the national liberation movement in Poland in the 1860s; general of the Paris Commune; from the beginning of May 1871 Commander-in-Chief of all its armed forces; killed on the barricades.—563

*Dombrowski (Dąbrowski), Teofil* (1841-1890)—Polish revolutionary; participant in the Polish uprising of 1863 and the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to England; brother of Jarosław Dombrowski.—563

*Douay, Félix Charles* (1816-1879)—French general, commanded the 7th Army Corps in the Franco-Prussian war, was taken prisoner at Sedan; an organiser of the suppression of the Paris Commune.—42

*Dronke, Ernst* (1822-1891)—German journalist; member of the Communist League and an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); after the 1848-49 revolution emigrated to Switzerland and then to England; subsequently withdrew from politics and took up commerce.—213, 505

*Dubov (Dubow), A.*—member of the Bakuninist Slavonic Section of the International in Zurich.—227

*Dufaure, Jules Armand Stanislas* (1798-1881)—French lawyer and politician, Orleanist; an organiser of the suppression of the Paris Commune;

Minister of Justice (1871-73); Prime Minister (1876, 1877-79).—346

*Dupont* (died c. 1869)—Eugène Dupont's wife.—189

*Dupont, Clarise* (born c. 1868)—Eugène Dupont's daughter.—189, 200

*Dupont, Eugène* (c. 1837 (1831?)-1881)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement, musical instrument-maker; took part in the June 1848 uprising in Paris; from 1862 on, lived in London; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872); Corresponding Secretary for France (1865-71); participant in the London Conference (1865), Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867) (Chairman), Brussels (1868), and the Hague (1872) congresses, London Conference (1871) of the International; from 1870 organiser of sections of the International in Manchester; in 1872-73 member of the British Federal Council; in 1874 moved to the USA; associate of Marx and Engels.—5, 8, 19, 23-24, 57, 66-67, 69-70, 77, 79, 84, 101, 114, 141, 147, 180, 189, 200, 251, 302, 431, 450, 454-55, 472, 508, 517, 522, 560

*Dupont, Eugénie* (born c. 1862)—Eugène Dupont's daughter.—200

*Dupont, Marie* (born c. 1864)—Eugène Dupont's daughter.—189, 200

*Durand, Gustave*—member of the Lyons Section of the International, police spy; after the suppression of the Paris Commune passed himself off as a refugee in London; Secretary of the French Section of 1871; expelled from the International in October 1871.—256, 267, 270, 293-94

*Duru*—participant in the Paris Commune; refugee in London, then in Belgium.—224

*Duval, Théodore*—prominent figure in the Swiss working-class movement, joiner; a founder and member of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; in the early 1870 left the Bakuninists; member of the Romance Federal Committee of the International; opposed the Bakuninists; delegate to the Hague (1872) and Geneva (1873) congresses.—494, 524-25, 530, 535

E

*Eccarius, Johann Georg* (1818-1889)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, tailor, journalist; member of the League of the Just and later of the Communist League; a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-72), its General Secretary (1867-71); Corresponding Secretary for America (1870-72); delegate to all the International's congresses (with the exception of the 1873 Geneva Congress) and conferences; supported Marx till 1872; later took part in the British trade union movement.—10, 39, 57, 106, 123, 140, 147, 178, 223, 236, 244, 251, 257-58, 334, 341, 363, 374, 378-83, 388, 431, 445, 474, 485, 491, 517, 579

*Eilau, N.*—German merchant; acted as a mediator between Marx and members of the Paris Commune.—147, 151

*Elcho, Francis Wemyss Charteris Douglas, Lord* (1818-1914)—Scottish politician, Conservative M.P.; came out in Parliament with a demand to extradite the Commune refugees as criminals.—55

*Elliott, John T.*—American democrat; member of the International; active propagator of bourgeois reforms.—384

*Elpidin, Mikhail Konstantinovich* (1835-1908)—took part in the Russian students' revolutionary movement in the

early 1860s; emigrated to Geneva in 1865; founded a Russian printing plant where the newspaper *Narodnoye Dyelo* (People's Cause) was published; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—234-35, 457, 540

*Engels, Elisabeth Franziska Mauritia* (née *van Haar*) (1797-1873)—mother of Frederick Engels.—120, 155-57, 228-30, 536

*Engels, Emil* (1828-1884)—Frederick Engels' brother; a partner in the firm of Ermen & Engels in Engelskirchen.—155-56, 229

*Engels, Emma* (née *Croon*) (1834-1916)—Hermann Engels' wife.—156

*Engels, Hermann* (1822-1905)—Frederick Engels' brother; manufacturer in Barmen; a partner in the firm of Ermen & Engels in Engelskirchen.—119, 155-56, 203, 228

*Engels, Rudolf* (1831-1903)—Frederick Engels' brother; manufacturer in Barmen; a partner in the firm of Ermen & Engels in Engelskirchen.—119-121, 155-56, 200

*Engländer, Sigmund* (1828-1902)—Austrian journalist; emigrated to England in 1848; police agent.—203

*Ermen, Gottfried Peter Jakob* (1811-1899)—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—119

*Eudes, Émile François Désiré* (1843-1888)—French revolutionary, Blanquist; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard; member and general of the Paris Commune; after its suppression was in his absence sentenced to be shot; emigrated to England and then to Switzerland.—335

*Eugénie Marie Ignace Augustine de Montijo de Guzmán, comtesse de Teba* (1826-1920)—Empress of France (1852-70), wife of Napoleon III.—57, 558

F

*Fanton, Aristide*—acquaintance of the Marx family.—472

*Farga Pellicer, Rafael* (1840-1903)—Spanish anarchist, printer and journalist; an organiser and leader of anarchist groups and the first sections of the International in Spain; a leader of the secret Alliance; editor of *La Federación* (1869-73); delegate to the Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses.—285

*Faucher, Julius* (*Jules*) (1820-1878)—German writer, Young Hegelian; Free Trader; refugee in England from 1850; returned to Germany in 1861; member of the Party of Progress.—72, 298

*Favre, Jules Gabriel Claude* (1809-1880)—French lawyer and politician; a leader of the republican bourgeois opposition from the late 1850s; Foreign Minister (1870-71), together with Thiers headed the struggle against the Paris Commune; inspired the struggle against the International.—61, 65, 87, 98-99, 108-09, 112-13, 144, 151, 158, 164, 177, 196, 213, 308

*Fedetzki* or *Feletzki*—Polish refugee in Switzerland.—540

*Ferré, Théophile Charles Gilles* (1846-1871)—French revolutionary, Blanquist; member of the Paris Commune; member and then leader of the Committee of Public Safety and Vice-Procurator of the Commune; shot by the Versaillists.—256

*Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas* (1804-1872)—German materialist philosopher.—284, 320, 327, 385, 574, 578

*Fink, Wilhelm* (1833-1890)—German Social-Democrat, member of the editorial staff of *Der Volksstaat*.—377, 468

*Flerovsky, N.*—see *Bervi, Vasily Vasilyevich*

*Flourens, Gustave Paul* (1838-1871)—French revolutionary and naturalist, Blanquist; sympathised with Marxism; a leader of the Paris uprisings on 31 October 1870 and 22 January 1871; member and general of the Paris Commune; was brutally killed by the Versaillists on 3 April 1871.—560

*Fondeville, E.*—refugee of the Paris Commune in England; member of the International; delegate to the London Conference (1871) from the Bordeaux Section.—339

*Forbes, Archibald* (1838-1900)—Scottish journalist; during the Franco-Prussian war correspondent of *The Morning Advertiser* and *The Daily News*.—366

*Forestier*—French refugee in London.—226

*Fox, Peter (André, Peter Fox)* (d. 1869)—journalist; prominent figure in the British democratic and working-class movement; positivist; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held at St Martin's Hall, London (28 September 1864); member of the General Council of the International (1864-69); General Secretary of the Council (September-November 1866); Corresponding Secretary for America (1866-67).—363

*Frank, A.*—Paris publisher in the 1840s-early 1860s.—375

*Frankel, Léo* (1844-1896)—prominent figure in the Hungarian and international working-class movement, jeweller; member of the Paris Commune; headed the Labour and Exchange Commission; fled to Switzerland; in August 1871 came to London; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the 1872 Hague Congress of the International; a founder of the General Workers' Party of Hungary; associate of Marx and Engels.—4, 141-42, 148, 203, 205, 213, 280, 322, 383, 396, 420, 463, 508, 526

*Frederick II (The Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—132, 226

*Frederick William*—see *Friedrich Wilhelm*

*Frederick William III* (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—93

*Freiligrath, Ferdinand* (1810-1876)—German poet; member of the Communist League; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); clerk of the London branch of the Swiss Bank in the 1850s-60s; withdrew from revolutionary activity in the 1850s.—55, 59, 63, 90, 102, 135

*Freiligrath, Käthe* (1845-1904)—Ferdinand Freiligrath's daughter.—101

*Freiligrath, Louise*—Ferdinand Freiligrath's daughter.—102

*Freiligrath, Wolfgang*—Ferdinand Freiligrath's son.—60, 63

*Friedrich Karl Nikolaus, Prince* (1828-1885)—Prussian general and field marshal-general (1870); took part in the Danish war of 1864 and in the war of 1866 with Austria; during the Franco-Prussian war commanded the 2nd Army.—28

*Friedrich Wilhelm* (1831-1888)—Prussian Crown Prince; general and field marshal-general (1870); participant in the Austro-Prussian war (1866) and Franco-Prussian war (1870-71), in which he commanded the 3rd Army; after William I's death in 1888 King of Prussia and German Emperor under the name of Frederick III.—7, 29, 77, 100, 551

*Fuisse*—French refugee in England.—219

*Funke*—a partner in the firm of Funke, R. & Co.—119

G

*Gambetta, Léon Michel* (1838-1882)—French politician and statesman, lawyer; republican; member of the

Government of National Defence (1870-71); head of the delegation sent by this government to Tours.—90, 108, 110, 113, 499, 562

*Gambuzzi, Carlo* (1837-1902)—Italian lawyer; Mazzinist in the early 1860s, then anarchist; a leader of the secret Alliance and anarchist organisations in Italy; in January 1869 founded the Naples Section of the International.—187, 475

*Gandolfi, Mauro*—Italian merchant, Bakuninist; member of the Milan Section of the International.—356, 359, 432

*Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; took part in the revolutionary movement in Italy (1848-49); headed the struggle for Italy's national liberation and unification in the 1850s-60s; supported the Paris Commune; welcomed the establishment of the International's sections in Italy.—245-46, 289, 562

*Garibaldi, Ricciotti* (1847-1924)—Giuseppe Garibaldi's son; participant in the national liberation movement in Italy; took part in the Franco-Prussian war on the side of France as the commander of a brigade of the Vosges Army.—220, 245-46

*Garnier-Pagès, Louis Antoine* (1803-1878)—French lawyer and politician, moderate republican; member of the Provisional Government (1848); member of the Corps législatif (from 1864) and the Government of National Defence (1870-71).—65

*Geffcken, Friedrich Heinrich* (1830-1896)—German diplomat and lawyer; in 1866-69 Hanseatic Minister-Resident in London.—545

*George III* (1738-1820)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1760-1820).—77, 100

*Gerhard, Hendrick* (c. 1829-1886)—a founder and leader of the Dutch sections of the International, tailor; member of the Dutch Federal Council; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); joined the Bakuninists.—240

*Gerhardt, Charles Frédéric* (1816-1856)—French chemist.—433

*Giovacchini, P.*—member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Italy in 1871.—171

*Girardin, Emile de* (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician; editor of *La Presse* and *La Liberté*; lacked principles in politics; moderate republican during the 1848 revolution; subsequently Bonapartist.—317

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory, later Peelite; a leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the 19th century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55, 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—33, 70, 94, 100, 102, 110, 114, 259, 343, 579

*Glaser de Willebrord, E.*—participant in the Belgian working-class movement; member of the section of the International in Brussels.—188, 195, 199, 324, 406, 424

*Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton, Count Neithardt von* (1760-1831)—Prussian military leader and reformer; field marshal-general (1825); an organiser of liberation struggle against Napoleonic rule; Chief of Staff of Blücher's army in 1813-14 and 1815.—93

*Gnocchi-Viani, Osvaldo* (1837-1917)—Italian journalist, follower of Garibaldi; participant in the working-class and socialist movement from the 1870s; took part in the activities of the International in Italy (1872-73); a founder of the Italian Workers' Party (1882).—433

*Goegg, Amand* (1820-1897)—German journalist, democrat; member of the Baden Provisional Government in 1849; emigrated after the defeat of

the revolution; member of the International; joined the German Social-Democrats in the 1870s.—199, 215, 233, 296-97, 489

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—135

*Goldschmidt, Otto* (1829-1907)—German pianist, conductor and composer.—200

*Goldstücker, Theodor* (1821-1872)—German Sanskrit scholar; professor at University college in London (1852); member of the Royal Asiatic Society.—30

*Golovachev, Aleksey Adrianovich* (1819-1903)—Russian public figure and journalist; liberal; took part in drafting the 1861 Peasant Reform; author of *Десять лѣтъ реформъ. 1861-1871* and others.—469

*Gomez*—see *Farga Pellicer, Rafael*

*Gorchakov (Gorchakoff), Alexander Mikhailovich, Prince* (1798-1883)—Russian statesman and diplomat; Envoy to Vienna (1854-56); Foreign Minister (1856-82); State Chancellor (1867-82).—111

*Goss, Jean Jaques*—gate-keeper of an Evangelical church in Turin.—432, 445

*Gray, John* (1798-1850)—English economist, utopian socialist; follower of Robert Owen; an author of the 'labour money' theory.—57

*Greenwood, Frederick* (1830-1909)—English journalist, novelist; Conservative; first editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* (1856-80).—10, 15, 17, 22, 24, 29, 35, 62, 95, 160-61, 177, 226

*Gregory, J. W.* (d. 1872)—US Democrat; member of the Cosmopolitan Society; follower of Woodhull and Claflin.—334, 363

*Griesheim, Adolf von* (1820-1894)—German manufacturer; partner in the firm of Ermen & Engels; husband of Elise, Frederick Engels' sister.—119, 155-56, 229

*Grosse, Eduard*—German refugee in the USA, Lassallean; member of Section No. 6 and the Central Committee of the International for North America; supported bourgeois reformers.—382, 384

*Grousset, Paschal* (1844(5)-1909)—French journalist and politician, Blanquist, member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and the Paris Commune; after its suppression deported to New Caledonia, escaped in 1874.—70, 151

*Guillaume, James* (1844-1916)—Swiss teacher, Bakuninist; member of the International; delegate to the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Basle (1869) and the Hague (1872) congresses; an organiser of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; editor of the newspapers *Le Progrès, La Solidarité* and the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*; was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress for his splitting activities.—179, 268, 285, 295, 351, 431, 436, 442, 456, 465, 508, 538, 563

*Gumpert* (d. 1873)—Eduard Gumpert's first wife.—157

*Gumpert, Eduard* (d. 1893)—German physician in Manchester; friend of Marx and Engels.—17, 48, 51-52, 157, 495, 497-98, 506, 516, 538, 541, 544, 546-47, 549-50

H

*Hales, John* (b. 1839)—British trade unionist, weaver; member of the Land and Labour League; member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its Secretary (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); headed the reformist wing of the British Federal Council from the beginning of 1872.—147, 203, 206, 225, 291, 330, 332, 334, 363, 375, 378-79, 382, 388, 421, 431, 436, 440-41, 445-46, 449,

454, 459-60, 462, 464-65, 467, 485, 508, 517, 519, 521, 538, 584-85

*Harcourt, W. E.*—miner; an organiser of the Federation of the International in Australia; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—446

*Harney, George Julian* (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the English labour movement; a Chartist leader (Left wing); editor of *The Northern Star* and other Chartist periodicals; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels; in 1863-88 refugee in the USA; member of the International.—100, 105

*Harris, George*—prominent figure in the British working-class movement; follower of the Chartist O'Brien; member of the National Reform League; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72); Financial Secretary of the Council (1870-71).—244, 251

*Harrison, Frederic* (1831-1923)—English lawyer and historian; radical, positivist; took part in the democratic movement in the 1860s-70s; cooperated with Marx in rendering assistance to the Commune's refugees.—326

*Hasenclever, Wilhelm* (1837-1889)—German Social-Democrat; Lassallean; President of the General Association of German Workers in 1871-75.—407

*Hasselmann, Wilhelm* (b. 1844)—a leader of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; in 1871-75 editor of the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*.—477

*Haussmann, Georges Eugène, baron* (1809-1891)—French politician, Bonapartist; Prefect of the Seine department (1853-70); directed work on the reconstruction of Paris.—46

*Haxthausen, August Franz Ludwig Maria, Baron von* (1792-1866)—Prussian official and writer, conservative; author of works on the agrarian system and the peasant commune in Russia.—111, 132

*Heddeghem*—see *Van Heddeghem, L.*

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—181, 500, 506, 514

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—61, 91, 545

*Heinzen, Karl Peter* (1809-1880)—German radical journalist; from 1847 Marx's opponent; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland, later to England and in the autumn of 1850 to the USA where he became editor-in-chief of *Der Pionier* (1854-79).—138, 363, 378, 400

*Heller*—Hugo Heller's wife.—588

*Heller, Hugo*—Marx's correspondent; carried out his conspirative orders on posting the General Council's documents; in 1872-73 lived in Oxford.—496, 587

*Hepner, Adolf* (1846-1923)—German Social-Democrat; an editor of *Der Volksstaat*; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); subsequently emigrated to the USA.—95, 319, 403-07, 410, 413-14, 431-32, 437, 462, 468, 478, 492-93, 511, 526, 528, 530

*Herman, Alfred*—prominent figure in the Belgian working-class movement; sculptor; an organiser of the International's section in Belgium; member of the General Council and Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1871-72); delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868), the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; at the Hague Congress joined the anarchist minority.—191, 370, 393, 409, 417

*Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich* (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat; materialist philosopher and writer; left Russia in 1847; from 1852 lived in England where he estab-

lished the Free Russian Press and published the periodical *Polyarnaya Zvezda* (The Polar Star) and the newspaper *Kolokol* (The Bell).—396

*Higham, Joseph*—owner of the factory of musical instruments in Manchester.—189

*Hildebrand, Bruno* (1812-1878)—German vulgar economist and statistician; representative of the historical school in political economy; in 1863 published *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*.—4

*Hins*—Eugène Hins' wife.—263, 358, 401

*Hins, Eugène* (1839-1923)—Belgian teacher, Proudhonist; subsequently Bakuninist; a founder of the Belgian Section of the International; editor of *La Liberté* (Brussels), delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses.—26, 263, 289, 296, 309, 361, 367, 374, 384, 387, 394, 399, 401, 403, 407

*Hirsch, Carl* (1841-1900)—German Social-Democrat; member of the General Association of German Workers; from 1869 member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; after 1872 Paris correspondent of German Social-Democratic newspapers.—415

*Hodgson, Shadworth Hollway* (1832-1912)—English philosopher.—300

*Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—39-40, 85, 92

*Holländer, Jakab* (1846-1911)—Hungarian worker, International's correspondent in Budapest.—194

*Home, Daniel Dunglas* (1833-1886)—Scottish spiritualist.—383

*Horace* (*Quintus Horatius Flaccus*) (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—265, 385

*Hout, Isaak Salomon van der* (b. 1843)—Dutch worker, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from the sections in Amsterdam.—453, 483

*Howell, George* (1833-1910)—bricklayer, a leader of the British trade unions, former Chartist, Secretary of the London Trades Council (1861-62), participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, London, member of the General Council of the International (October 1864 to 1869); participant in the London Conference (1865) of the International; Secretary of the Reform League; opposed revolutionary tactics.—363

*Hrvaćanin* (*Ervaćanin*), *Manojlo* (1849-1909)—prominent figure in the South Slav liberation movement, journalist; in the early 1870s member of the Bakuninist Slavonic Section in Zurich.—227

*Huber*—participant in the British working-class movement.—474

*Hubert, Adolphe Antoine* (b. 1827)—French refugee in London; took part in the Paris Commune; member of the International.—188, 195, 198, 219, 250, 317

*Hück*—French major; during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71) Governor of the Toul fortress.—109, 112

*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885)—French writer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; opposed Louis Bonaparte; a refugee in 1851-70.—76, 355

*Huleck*—member of the General Council of the International (1868); member of the French Section in London; after the split in the Section (1868) opposed the General Council; emigrated to the USA; joined the group of bourgeois reformers.—342

*Huleck, Maria*—member of the General Council of the International (1868); emigrated to the USA; joined the group of bourgeois reformers.—342

*Hume, Robert William*—American radical journalist; a leader of the National Labor Union; member of the International; General Council's correspondent.—57, 60

I

*Imandt, Peter Joseph* (1823-1897)—German teacher, democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated to Switzerland and in 1852 to England; member of the Communist League; member of the International; follower of Marx and Engels.—89, 124, 213, 561

*Imandt, Robert*—nephew of Peter Joseph Imandt; during the Franco-Prussian war emigrated from France to England.—90, 124

J

*Jaclard* (née *Korvin-Krukovskaya*), *Anna Vasilievna* (1843-1887) — Russian writer; prominent figure in the Russian and international revolutionary movement; took part in the Paris Commune; member of the Central Committee of the Women's Association; member of the Russian Section of the International; returned to Russia in 1874; Charles Victor Jaclard's wife.—150

*Jaclard, Charles Victor* (1843-1900)—French physician and journalist, Blanquist; member of the International; active in the Paris Commune; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard; commander of a legion of the National Guard; following the suppression of the Commune, emigrated to Switzerland and then to Russia.—234, 561

*Jacoby, Johann* (1805-1877)—German radical journalist and politician; a Left-wing leader in the Prussian National Assembly (1848); member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (1862); founder of *Die Zukunft* (1867); joined Social-Democrats in the 1870s.—30, 87, 107, 111, 123

*Jeannerod, Georges* (1832-1890)—French officer and journalist; at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian war, military correspondent of *Le Temps*.—42

*Jessup, William J.*—American worker, carpenter; active participant in the American labour movement; Vice-President (1866) and Corresponding Secretary (1867) of the National Labor Union for the New York State; a leader of the Workers' Union of New York; General Council's correspondent in the USA.—244, 251

*Johannard, Jules Paul* (1843-1892)—active in the French working-class movement, lithographer; member of the General Council of the International (1868-69, 1871-72) and Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1868-69); member of the Paris Commune; sided with the Blanquists; after the defeat of the Commune emigrated to London; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—234, 248, 280, 517

*Jones, Edward* (born c. 1849)—member of the British Federation of the International; Secretary of the Manchester Section and from the autumn of 1872 Secretary of the Manchester District Committee; supported the General Council in the struggle against reformists.—447

*Jourde, François (Francis)* (1843-1893)—French bank employee; Right Proudhonist; active in the Paris Commune; leader of the Finance Committee of the Commune; after its suppression sentenced to exile to New Caledonia; escaped in 1874; after his return to France abandoned the working-class movement.—199.

*Jozewicz, Ferdinand*—German Social-Democrat; Corresponding Secretary for the Berlin Section of the International till the mid-March of 1872.—237, 314, 325

*Jung, Hermann* (1830-1901)—prominent figure in the international and Swiss working-class movement, watchmaker; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland (November 1864 to 1872); Treasurer of the General Council (1871-72); participant in the London Conference (1865); Chairman of the Geneva (1866), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and of the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council; supported Marx before the Hague Congress (1872); later joined the reformists of the British Federation.—25, 36-37, 44, 98, 147-48, 154, 178, 197, 202-03, 206-07, 219, 223-26, 231, 235, 246, 249, 285, 298, 305, 315, 326, 333, 381, 396, 413, 427, 434, 440, 460, 464-65, 474, 482, 484-85, 508, 517, 519, 521, 538, 585, 587

*Jung, Sarra* (d. 1890)—Hermann Jung's wife.—197, 249, 434

*Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis)* (born c. 60-died c. 140)—Roman satirical poet.—37

K

*Kalb, T.*—correspondent of *Der Volksstaat*.—429

*Kaufman, Illarion Ignatievich* (1848-1916)—Russian economist, professor at Petersburg University (1893-1916); author of works on money circulation and credit.—422

*Keller, Charles* (1843-1913)—French socialist; member of the International; translated into French part of Volume One of Marx's *Capital* in October 1869-March 1870; took part in the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Switzerland, where he sided with the Bakuninists.—284, 327, 574

*Kellogg, Edward* (1790-1858)—American economist; author of works on financial questions.—57, 106, 140

*Kératry, Emile, comte de* (1832-1904)—French politician and writer, Orleanist; Prefect of Paris Police (September-October 1870); later supervised the formation of the territorial armed forces in Brittany; in 1871 Prefect of the Haute-Garonne department; in April 1871 suppressed the Commune in Toulouse.—67, 199, 564, 571-72

*Kern, Auguste*—French democrat; refugee in London.—154

*Kinkel, Gottfried* (1815-1882)—German poet and democratic journalist; participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; sentenced to life imprisonment by the Prussian court; in 1850 escaped and emigrated to England; a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees in London; opposed Marx and Engels.—107

*Klein, Karl Wilhelm*—German worker; took part in the Elberfeld and Solingen uprisings of 1849; member of the Communist League; refugee in the USA from 1852; participant in the German working-class movement in the 1860s-70s; member of the General Association of German Workers; member of the International; delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and Brussels (1868) congresses.—117

*Knapp, Georg Friedrich* (1842-1926)—German economist, representative of the historical school in political economy; professor at Leipzig and Strasbourg universities.—375

*Knowles, Alfred*—merchant in Manchester.—498

*Kohlrausch, Heinrich Friedrich Theodor* (1780-1867)—German teacher and historian.—59

*Kokosky, Samuel* (1838-1899)—German Social-Democrat; editor of the *Braunschweiger Volksfreund* (1873-78);

translated into German the booklet of Marx and Engels *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*.—541, 543

*Kolb, Georg Friedrich* (1808-1884)—German politician, democratic journalist and statistician.—144

*Koll, Theodor*—German refugee in London; Treasurer of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.—194

*Kostecki, Albert Jan Kanty*—Polish refugee in London.—473

*Kugelmann, Franziska* (1858-c. 1930)—Ludwig Kugelmann's daughter.—81, 94, 111, 132, 158, 177, 243, 564, 569-70, 575, 578, 582, 585, 587

*Kugelmann, Gertrud* (b. 1839)—Ludwig Kugelmann's wife.—84, 94, 111, 131, 157, 176, 243, 563-70, 575, 578, 582-85

*Kugelmann, Ludwig* (1828-1902)—German physician; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; member of the International; delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; Marx's regular correspondent (1862-74); friend of Marx and Engels.—3, 6, 8, 47, 50-51, 54, 81, 91, 94, 108, 111, 131, 136, 143, 151, 157, 176, 243, 409, 412-13, 426, 515-17, 557, 562, 565-70, 573-75, 578, 582-87

*Kwasniewski, Gustav* (1833-1902)—German teacher and writer; a founder of the Democratic Workers' Union in Berlin; member of the Berlin section of the International and from 1869 member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; took part in the distribution of *Capital*; subsequently left the working-class movement.—221, 238

L

*Lachâtre (La Châtre, Lachastre), Claude Maurice, baron de* (1814-1900)—French progressive journalist; took part in the Paris Commune; publisher of Volume One of Marx's *Capital* in French.—301, 321, 328, 341, 344, 385, 423, 437, 478, 486, 495, 519, 574, 578, 582

*Ladendorf, August*—German democrat; a leader of the German workers' educational societies in Switzerland in the 1860s; editor of the *Felleisen*; delegate to the Lausanne Congress of the International (1867) and the Eisenach Congress of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (1869).—96

*Lafargue, Charles Étienne* (1868-1872)—Paul and Laura Lafargue's son.—14, 35, 65, 112, 114, 270, 272, 279, 284, 304, 327-28, 339, 347, 556, 564, 571, 575, 579, 581, 584

*Lafargue, Laura* (née *Marx*) (1845-1911)—Marx's second daughter; prominent figure in the French working-class movement; from 1868 Paul Lafargue's wife.—12, 13, 35, 59, 63, 65, 112, 123, 129-31, 142, 150, 153, 155, 177, 199, 206-07, 265, 272, 279, 283, 286, 301, 305, 321, 327, 328, 337-39, 342, 366, 438, 442, 443, 556, 564, 571, 572, 575, 581, 584

*Lafargue, Paul* (1842-1911)—prominent figure in the international and French working-class movement; member of the General Council of the International; Corresponding Secretary for Spain (1866-69); helped to organise the International's sections in France, Spain and Portugal (1869-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); a founder of the Workers' Party of France; disciple and associate of Marx and Engels; husband of Marx's daughter Laura.—12-13, 35, 65, 86, 89, 112, 121, 130-31, 146, 150, 153, 199, 202, 204, 211, 216, 265, 271, 277, 279, 284-87, 289, 299, 301-04, 321-22, 327-28, 336-38, 346-47, 365, 367, 369, 371-76, 408, 416, 425, 430, 432, 436, 439, 442-46, 451, 455, 457, 466,

469, 497, 507, 516, 521-22, 527-28, 537, 555, 558, 560-61, 564, 571, 572, 574-75, 581, 584

*Lahure, Louis Justin* (1846-1877)—Paris printer who published Volume One of Marx's *Capital* in French.—423, 517

*Landeck, Bernard* (b. 1832)—French jeweller; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard; took part in the Paris Commune; member of the French Section of 1871 in London.—268, 280, 407, 429

*Larroque, Charles* (pseudonym *Latraque*) (b. 1829)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; a leader of the International's section in Bordeaux; was brought to trial in 1873 but fled to Spain and continued to direct the work of the Bordeaux Section as a representative of the General Council.—454, 482, 492

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German journalist and lawyer; took part in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863); an initiator of the opportunist trend in the German working-class movement.—4, 216, 405, 416

*Latraque*—see *Larroque, Charles*

*Laurent, Auguste* (1807-1853)—French organic chemist.—240

*Laveleye, Émile Louis Victor, baron de* (1822-1892)—Belgian economist and journalist.—40

*Lavrov (Lawroff), Pyotr Lavrovich* (1823-1900)—Russian sociologist and revolutionary journalist; an ideologist of Narodism; eclectic philosopher; member of the International; took part in the Paris Commune; editor of the journal *Vperyod!* (Forward!) (1873-76) and the newspaper *Vperyod!* (1875-76).—115, 154, 168, 192-93, 210, 218-19, 222, 275, 300, 540

*Leblanc, Albert Marie Félix* (b. 1844)—participant in the French working-class movement; sided with the Bakuninists; engineer; member of the Paris organisation of the International; took part in the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to England.—550

*Lebouef, Edmond* (1809-1888)—marshal of France (1870); in 1869-70 Minister of War; at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian war Chief of Staff of the Rhine Army; after its first defeats resigned and commanded the 3rd Army Corps of Bazaine's Army.—39

*Lecky, William Edward Hartpole* (1838-1903)—Irish historian.—192, 210

*Lefaivre, A.*—French consul in Vienna (1869-71).—196, 198

*Lefrançais, Gustav Adolphe* (1826-1901)—French revolutionary, Left Proudhonist, teacher, took part in the revolution of 1848, from the late 1860s member of the International, member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Switzerland, where he joined anarchists.—282

*Le Lubez, Victor* (b. 1834)—French refugee in London; was connected with republican and radical elements in France and Great Britain, took part in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, London, member of the Central Council (1864-66), Corresponding Secretary for France (1864-65), participant in the London Conference (1865), expelled from the Council by the Geneva Congress (1866) for intrigue and slander.—138, 269

*Le Moussu, Benjamin* (pseudonym *Constant*) (b. 1846)—participant in the French working-class movement, engraver, member of the Paris Commune, after its defeat emigrated to London, member of the General Council of the International and

Corresponding Secretary for the French-language sections in America (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against the Bakuninists.—198, 207, 231, 258, 342, 378-79, 388, 398, 446, 484, 490, 492, 522, 527-29, 544

*Léo, André* (real name *Champseix, Léodile*) (1832-1900)—French authoress and journalist, took part in the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to Switzerland, supported the Bakuninists.—256, 263, 268-69

*Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim* (1729-1781)—German writer, critic and philosopher of the Enlightenment.—238

*Lessner, Friedrich* (1825-1910)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, tailor, member of the Communist League from 1847; took part in the 1848-49 revolution, was prosecuted at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); emigrated to London in 1856; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London and of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872), delegate to the London conferences (1865 and 1871), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) and the Hague (1872) congresses, member of the British Federal Council, friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—194, 202, 243, 322, 383, 398, 420, 440, 444, 483

*Le Verdet*—French refugee in London, took part in publishing *Qui Vive!* in the autumn of 1871.—268

*Liebers, Bruno* (1836-1905)—Dutch worker, member of the International's section in The Hague, took an active part in preparing for the Hague Congress (1872).—427-28, 483

*Liebknecht, Alice* (b. 1857)—Wilhelm Liebknecht's elder daughter.—384, 571, 573

*Liebknecht, Karl* (1871-1919)—Wilhelm Liebknecht's son, later a leader of the German and international working-class movement, a founder of the German Communist Party.—216, 384

*Liebknecht, Natalie* (1835-1909)—Wilhelm Liebknecht's second wife.—95, 97, 115, 127, 135, 367, 385, 479, 580

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, participant in the 1848-49 revolution, member of the Communist League and of the International, delegate to the Basle Congress (1869), deputy to the North German and Imperial Reichstag from 1867, a founder and leader of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, an editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1869-76), friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—5, 14, 16, 19, 45-48, 50, 59, 71, 77, 82, 90, 95-96, 116, 123, 127-136, 144-46, 159, 161, 166, 176, 178, 196, 198-99, 215-16, 232, 235, 247, 280-81, 288-90, 296-99, 302, 318, 320, 325, 327, 333, 340, 356, 360, 364-67, 371, 373-77, 380, 382-84, 389, 404-05, 416, 425, 468, 477-79, 493, 508, 510, 514, 543, 556, 563, 571-72, 577, 579

*Lind, Jenny* (1820-1887)—Swedish opera singer, Otto Goldschmidt's wife.—200

*Lindau, Paul* (1839-1919)—German democrat, journalist and writer, publisher of *Die Gegenwart* (1872-81).—410

*Lissagaray, Hippolyte Prosper Olivier* (1838-1901)—French journalist and historian, participant in the Paris Commune, joined the 'new Jacobins', after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to England; author of *Histoire de la Commune de 1871*.—496, 499, 506, 569

*Lochner, Georg* (born c. 1824)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement, carpenter, member of the Communist League, of the German Workers' Educational Society in London and of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1867 and 1871-72), delegate to the London conferences of 1865 and 1871, friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—186, 383, 398

*Longuet, Charles* (1839-1903)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, journalist, Proudhonist, member of the General Council of the International (1866-67, 1871-72); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1866), delegate to the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and the Hague (1872) congresses and the London Conference (1871); took part in the defence of Paris (1870-71), member of the Paris Commune, emigrated to England, later joined the Possibilists, husband of Marx's daughter Jenny.—65, 70-71, 192, 199, 203, 205, 280, 339, 367, 439, 442-43, 450-51, 455, 485, 496, 544, 574, 581, 583-86

*Longuet, Jenny*—see *Marx, Jenny*

*Lopatin, Hermann Alexandrovich* (1845-1918)—Russian revolutionary, follower of Chernyshevsky, Narodnik, member of the General Council of the International (1870), a translator of Volume One of *Capital* into Russian, friend of Marx and Engels.—33, 114, 152, 175, 385, 456, 469, 540, 542, 576

*Lopez de Lara*—Spanish merchant in London.—328

*Lorenzo, Anselmo* (1841-1914)—participant in the Spanish working-class movement, anarchist, printer, an organiser of the International's sections in Spain, member of the Spanish Federal Council (1870-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871).—265, 270, 286-87, 368, 563

*Lormier, Marie*—an acquaintance of the Marx family.—154

*Louis Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Lowe, Robert, 1st Viscount Sherbrooke* (1811-1892)—British statesman and journalist; Whig and later Liberal, M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer (1868-73), Home Secretary (1873-74).—158

*Lubbock, Sir John, 1st Baron Avebury* (1834-1913)—English naturalist and politician, Liberal; Darwinist, author of works on zoology and on history of primitive society.—192, 210

*Lucain*—see *Potel, Frédéric*

*Luciani, Giuseppe*—Italian journalist, member of the International, took part in the workers' organisations in Rome, contributed to democratic newspapers.—220

*Lucraft, Benjamin* (1809-1897)—leader of the British trade unions; cabinet-maker; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71); delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address *The Civil War in France* and withdrew from the International.—186

*Lyubavin, Nikolai Nikolayevich* (1845-1918)—Russian chemist, graduated from St Petersburg University (1867), later professor at Moscow University (1890-1906), in the 1860s a member of the student revolutionary circles; a translator of Volume One of *Capital* into Russian (the late 1860s).—422, 455, 469

M

*MacDonnel(l) (Mac Donnell), Joseph Patrick* (c. 1845-1906)—a leader of the Irish national liberation and international working-class movement, Fe-

nian, member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Ireland (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872), member of the British Federal Council (1872); in December 1872 emigrated to the USA where took part in the American working-class movement.—186, 208, 214, 217, 274, 398, 446, 449, 453

*Mack, Karl, Baron von Leiberich* (1752-1828)—Austrian field-marshal; during the war with France capitulated at the Ulm fortress on 17 October 1805 with an army of 23,000 men.—53

*MacMahon, Elisabette Charlotte*—MacMahon's wife.—505

*MacMahon, Marie Edme Patrice Maurice, comte de, duc de Magenta* (1808-1893)—French military figure and politician, marshal, Bonapartist; in the Franco-Prussian war commanded the 1st Army Corps, then the Army of Châlons, was taken prisoner at Sedan, participated in the suppression of the Paris Commune; President of the Third Republic (1873-79).—39, 53, 58, 68, 499, 505

*Maddison*—Scottish physician in London who treated Marx and his family.—5, 54, 56-57, 131, 143, 155

*Maddock, G. W.*—American radical.—384

*Maine, Sir Henry James Sumner* (1822-1888)—English lawyer and historian.—192, 210

*Malon, Benoît* (1841-1893)—French socialist, member of the International, delegate to the Geneva Congress (1866); an organiser of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (1868), member of the National Guard's Central Committee and the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Italy, then to Switzerland where he sided with anarchists, later a leader of the Possibilists.—263, 268-69, 276, 281, 315, 346, 366, 383

*Marchand, Louis Joseph Gabriel* (1842-1901)—French Blanquist, later Bakuninist, was sent on a mission to Bordeaux by the Paris Commune, after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to Switzerland where he was Secretary of the refugees' society; contributed to *La Révolution sociale*; was expelled from the International on the Bordeaux Section's demand.—302

*Martin, Constant* (1839-1906)—French revolutionary, Blanquist, later anarchist, took part in the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to London, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871).—207, 231, 427

*Marx, Eleanor* (*Tussy*) (1855-1898)—Karl Marx's youngest daughter, participant in the British and international working-class movement, married Edward Aveling in 1884.—31, 47, 50, 73, 97, 129, 146, 150, 153-54, 177, 199, 202, 206, 211, 218, 220, 288, 302, 339, 481, 496, 499, 506, 538, 541-43, 545-46, 548, 550, 557-58, 560-61, 563-64, 570-73, 575, 581

*Marx, Jenny* (née *von Westphalen*) (1814-1881)—Karl Marx's wife.—43, 50, 52, 97, 154, 200, 204, 206, 213, 216, 220, 283, 297, 304, 497-99, 520-21, 527, 534, 536, 546, 552, 555, 563, 570, 579, 581, 583, 587

*Marx, Jenny* (1844-1883)—Karl Marx's eldest daughter, took part in the international working-class movement, from 1872 Charles Longuet's wife.—31, 45, 97, 111, 117, 123, 129, 146, 150, 153-54, 177, 199, 201-02, 206, 211, 218, 220, 226, 242, 281, 286, 302, 326, 339, 367, 409, 438, 441, 443, 450-51, 496, 516, 521, 526-27, 555, 557-58, 560, 564-65, 568, 575, 578, 581-88

*Massenet, Léon Adrien* (b. 1834)—French man of letters, participant in

the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to Brussels, then to Geneva, brother of Jules Massenet, composer.—401

*Maxse, Frederick Augustus* (1833-1900)—British admiral and political writer.—40

*Mayall*—photographer.—582

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, democrat, a leader of the Italian national liberation movement, headed the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849), an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850), when the International was founded in 1864 tried to bring it under his influence.—17, 129, 164, 180, 185-86, 220, 242, 278, 289, 304, 308

*Meissner, Otto Karl* (1819-1902)—Hamburg publisher, printed *Capital* and other works by Marx and Engels.—385, 390, 409, 477, 489, 567, 574, 582

*Mendelssohn, Moses* (1729-1786)—German deist philosopher.—4

*Mesa y Leompart, José* (1840-1904)—participant in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement, printer, an organiser of the International's sections in Spain, member of the Spanish Federal Council (1871-72), the *Emancipación* editorial board (1871-73), New Madrid Federation (1872-73), fought anarchism; a founder of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (1879), translated several works by Marx and Engels into Spanish.—277-78, 299, 301, 433, 445, 449, 451, 465, 538

*Meyer, Hermann* (1821-1875)—took part in the German and American working-class movement, socialist, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA in 1852, an organiser of the International's sections in Saint Louis; Joseph Weydemeyer's friend.—208, 519, 536

*Meyer, Sigfrid* (c. 1840-1872)—a leader of the German and American working-class movement, socialist, engineer, member of the General Association of German Workers, opposed the Lassallean influence; in 1866 emigrated to the USA, member of the New York Communist Club and an organiser of the International's sections in the USA; follower of Marx and Engels.—57, 60, 100-01, 105, 244, 251

*Mileski*—Polish refugee in London, member of the Universal Federalist Council.—429

*Milke, Fritz*—German Social-Democrat, printer, member of the Berlin Section of the International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—439

*Mill, John Stuart* (1806-1873)—English economist and positivist philosopher.—40, 152, 545

*Mills, Charles*—English engineer, in 1871 member of the General Council of the International.—186

*Milner, George*—active participant in the British working-class movement, Irishman, tailor, follower of James O'Brien, member of the National Reform League, the Land and Labour League, the General Council of the International (1868-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871), member of the British Federal Council (autumn of 1872 to 1873), fought the reformist wing in the Council.—454

*Miquel, Johannes von* (1828-1901)—German lawyer, politician and financier, member of the Communist League in the 1840s, a National-Liberal from the 1860s, deputy to the North German and then Imperial Reichstag.—135

*Molesworth, J.*—owner of a trade firm in Manchester.—391

*Moll, Friedrich Wilhelm* (c. 1835-1871)—Solingen worker, member of the General Association of German

Workers, in 1864 emigrated to the USA, a founder of the General Association of German Workers in New York; after his return to Germany, member of the International, delegate to the Geneva Congress (1866).—117

*Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard, Count von* (1800-1891)—Prussian military leader and writer, general, from 1871 field marshal-general; Chief of the Prussian (1857-71) and the Imperial (1871-88) General Staff, an ideologist of Prussian militarism and chauvinism.—18-19, 48, 55, 555

*Moore, George*—English engraver, together with Lafargue and Le Moussu in 1873-74 organised an association of engravers of which Marx was a member for some time.—528, 544, 546

*Moore, Samuel* (1838-1911)—English lawyer, member of the International, translated into English Volume One of *Capital* (in collaboration with Edward Aveling) and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; friend of Marx and Engels.—28, 34, 63, 495, 497-500, 504-06

*Mora, Francisco* (1842-1924)—a leader of the Spanish working-class and socialist movement, shoemaker, an organiser of the International's sections in Spain and Portugal, member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1870-72), the *Emancipación* editorial board (1871-73), the New Madrid Federation (1872-73), fought anarchist influence; an organiser of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (1879).—140, 277, 284, 287, 425-26, 448-49

*Morago, González, Tomás* (d. 1885)—Spanish anarchist, engraver, a founder and leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy in Spain, member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1870-71), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—301

*More, Sir Thomas* (1478-1535)—English politician, Lord Chancellor (1529-32), humanist writer, author of *Utopia*, an early representative of utopian communism.—477

*Morley, John, Viscount Morley of Blackburn* (1838-1923)—British statesman and journalist, Liberal, editor-in-chief of *The Fortnightly Review* (1867-82).—107

*Morley, Samuel* (1809-1886)—English manufacturer and politician, Liberal M.P. (1865, 1868-85), owner of *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* (from 1869).—150

*Morny, Charles Auguste Louis Joseph, duc de* (1811-1865)—French politician, Bonapartist, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51), an organiser of the coup d'état of 2 December 1851, Minister of the Interior (December 1851 to January 1852); President of the Corps législatif (1854-56, 1857-65); stepbrother of Napoleon III.—505

*Mottershead, Thomas* (c. 1825-1884)—English weaver, member of the General Council of the International (1869-72), Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872), opposed Marx's line in the General Council and the British Federal Council.—100, 147, 291, 330, 332, 340, 380-82, 431, 442, 445, 449, 464, 474, 508, 517, 521, 585

*Mülberger, Arthur* (1847-1907)—German physician, journalist, Proudhonist.—375, 463, 512

*Murphy, William Martin* (1844-1921)—Irish railway businessman, M.P. (1885-92).—274

*Murray, Charles Joseph*—participant in the British working-class movement, shoemaker, Chartist, follower of James O'Brien, a leader of the National Reform League, member of the General Council of the Interna-

tional (1870-72) and the British Federal Council (1872-74), supporter of Marx and Engels.—454

*Myrtle*—physician in Harrogate.—542

N

*Nabruzzi, Lodovico* (1846-1920)—Italian journalist, Bakuninist, a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, member of the *Romagnolo* editorial board.—306

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—54, 59-60, 85, 93, 228, 309

*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoléon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—Prince, Napoleon I's nephew, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—1, 6-8, 10, 13, 19, 23, 30-31, 35, 38-39, 41-42, 46-48, 50-51, 57, 61, 66, 68, 71, 74, 80, 85-86, 92, 99, 108-10, 113, 132, 138, 144, 196, 270, 311, 317, 429, 499, 505, 562, 567, 577

*Naze, Leon Edouard* (b. 1841)—Paris lithographer, took part in the Paris Commune, after its suppression, refugee in London, member of the International.—219

*Nechayev (Netschajeff), Sergei Gennadievich* (1847-1882)—Russian revolutionary, conspirator, took part in the student movement in St Petersburg (1868-69), in 1869-71 was in close contact with Bakunin, founded a secret organisation Narodnaya Rasprava (People's Judgment) (1869), in 1872 was extradited by the Swiss authorities to the Russian government, died in the Peter and Paul Fortress, St Petersburg.—97, 201, 256, 290, 311, 451

*Neumayer, Ludwig*—Austrian Social-Democrat, journalist, member of the International, delegate to the Basle Congress (1869).—491

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—120

*Nicholson*—member of the Irish Section of the International in New York, Treasurer of the Provisional Federal Council for North America (till June 1872).—400

*Nobre-França, José Correia*—participant in the Portuguese socialist and workers' movement, an organiser of the first sections of the International in Lisbon.—433, 445, 527

O

*Obermüller, Wilhelm* (b. 1809)—German journalist, held particularist views.—48

*Oberwinder, Heinrich* (1846-1914)—a leading figure in the Austrian working-class movement, journalist, Lassallean in the early 1860s, later sided with the Eisenachers, delegate to the Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International, editor of the *Volksstimme* and *Volkswille*, in 1873 came out for collaboration with the bourgeoisie, in the late 1870s withdrew from the working-class movement, subsequently was exposed as a police agent.—488, 491, 520

*O'Brien, James* (literary pseudonym *Bronterre*) (1805-1864)—Irish journalist, Chartist leader, utopian socialist, founder of the National Reform League (1849).—57, 244, 252

*O'Connell, Daniel* (1775-1847)—Irish lawyer and politician, leader of the liberal wing in the national liberation movement, founder and leader of the Repeal Association.—329

*O'Connor, Arthur* (1763-1852)—a prominent figure in the Irish national liberation movement; in 1797-98, a leader of the United Irishmen society, arrested on the eve of the 1798 uprising, emigrated to France in 1803.—343

*Odger, George* (1820-1877)—a leader of the British trade unions, shoemaker, Secretary of the London Trades

Council (1862-72), member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland, the Land and Labour League, participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), its President (1864-67), took part in the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866), opposed revolutionary tactics; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address *The Civil War in France* and left the Council.—167, 186, 215, 233, 363, 567

*O'Donnell*—contributed to newspapers *The Irishman* and *The Irish People*.—275

*O'Donovan Rossa, Jeremiah* (1831-1915)—a leader of the Fenian movement, publisher of *The Irish People* (1863-65), in 1865 was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment, amnestied in 1870, emigrated to the USA where he headed the Fenian organisation; retired from political life in the 1880s.—275, 557, 564, 570

*Okolowicz, Auguste Adolphe* (b. 1838)—Polish refugee in France, general of the Paris Commune, sentenced to death after its suppression, escaped from prison, emigrated to Belgium.—234

*Ollivier, Émile* (1825-1913)—French politician, moderate republican, member of the Corps législatif (from 1857); became Bonapartist in the late 1860s, head of the government (January-August 1870).—116

*Orléans*—branch of the house of Bourbons in France.—39, 41, 49, 55, 67-68, 562

*Ostyn (Hosteins), François (Charles)* (1823-1912)—French turner, Belgian by birth, Proudhonist, member of the Federal Council of the International's Paris sections; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Switzerland where he joined Bakuninists.—281

*Oswald*—Eugen Oswald's wife.—95, 471, 481

*Oswald, Eugen* (1826-1912)—German journalist, democrat, took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden (1848-49), emigrated to England after the defeat of the revolution.—9, 11, 23-24, 28, 31-32, 34-37, 40, 64, 82, 87, 95, 174-75, 197, 471, 481, 532-33, 565

*Oudet, Joseph Emile* (1826-1909)—French worker, porcelain painter, member of the International and of the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to London.—429

*Outine*—see *Utin, Nikolai Isaakovich*

*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—British utopian socialist.—477

P

*Palikao*—see *Cousin-Montauban, Charles*

*Palladino, Carmelo* (1842-1896)—Italian anarchist, lawyer, a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, member of the Naples Section of the International.—185, 259-62

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman, Tory, from 1830 Whig; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-65).—11, 75, 94

*Pape, Fletcher*—member of the British Federal Council of the International (1872), belonged to the reformist wing.—474

*Pascal, C.*—French priest in Brighton.—202

*Paul I* (1754-1801)—Emperor of Russia (1796-1801).—111

*Pechard, Étienne*—see *Regis, Vitale*

*Pène, Henri de* (1830-1888)—French journalist, monarchist, an organiser of the counter-revolutionary uprising in Paris on 22 March 1871.—124

*Perret, Henri*—participant in the Swiss working-class movement, engraver, a leader of the International in Switzerland, General Secretary of the Romance Federal Committee (1868-73), member of the *Égalité* editorial board, delegate to the Geneva (1866) and Basle (1869) congresses and to the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; in 1869 broke with the Bakuninists, but adopted a conciliatory stand after the Hague Congress (1872).—5, 36, 179, 220, 223, 225, 405, 433, 489, 494, 523, 526, 530, 534, 563, 568

*Perrini, Luigi*—Italian worker, member of the Turin Section of the International.—432, 445

*Pertz, Georg Heinrich* (1795-1876)—German historian, moderate conservative.—93

*Pescatori, Erminio* (1836-1905)—follower of Mazzini and Garibaldi; founder of the Fascio Operaio (Workers' Union) in Bologna.—292

*Peter III* (1728-1762)—Emperor of Russia (1761-62).—111

*Petroni, Giuseppe* (1812-1888)—Italian revolutionary, journalist and politician, Mazzinist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution, editor of the *Roma del Popolo*.—245

*Pezza, Vincenzo* (1841-1873)—Italian journalist, Left Mazzinist; Bakuninist from the early 1870s, member of the Milan Section of the International.—358

*Pfänder, Karl* (c. 1819-1876)—active in the German and international working-class movement, painter; emigrated to London in 1845, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, of the Communist League and of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1867, 1870-72); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—383, 398

*Piccini, Francesco* (d. 1872)—Italian shoemaker, Left Mazzinist, member of the Mazzini workers' unions in Florence, then of the Left republican Società Democratica Internazionale.—169

*Pietri, Joseph Marie* (1820-1902)—French politician, Bonapartist, Prefect of Paris police (1866-70).—268

*Pigott, Richard* (c. 1828-1889)—Irish journalist, publisher of *The Irishman* (1865-79), supporter of the Fenians, sided with the British government in the 1880s.—66, 274, 558.

*Pihl, S. F.*—active in the Danish working-class movement, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from the Copenhagen Section.—520-21

*Pio, Louis Albert François* (1841-1894)—a leader of the Danish working-class and socialist movement, propagated Marx's ideas, organised the International's Danish sections (1871), editor of *Socialisten*, a founder of the Danish Social-Democratic Party (1876).—280, 329-33, 340

*Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai Ferretti)* (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—68, 547

*Polyakov, Nikolai Petrovich* (1843-1905)—Russian publisher, was close to the Narodniks; published the first Russian edition of Volume One of *Capital* by Karl Marx in 1872.—422, 540

*Potel, Frédéric* (pseudonym *Lucain*)—French refugee in Belgium, engineer, participant in the Paris Commune, member of the International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872) from the French refugees' section in Brussels.—430, 436, 451

*Potter, George* (1832-1893)—British carpenter, a reformist trade union

leader, member of the London Trades Council and a leader of the Amalgamated Union of Building Workers; founder, editor and publisher of *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*.—77, 203

*Pottier, Eugène Edme* (1816-1887)—French revolutionary, took part in the February revolution and the June uprising (1848), member of the International and of the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to Great Britain, then to the USA, returned to France in 1880, member of the Workers' Party, author of *L'Internationale* song.—490

*Pouyer-Quertier, Augustin Thomas* (1820-1891)—French manufacturer and politician, Finance Minister (1871-72), took part in peace negotiations with Germany in Frankfurt (1871).—149

*Praitsching, Charles*—member of the Provisional Federal Council for North America and General Council in New York; expelled from the International in 1873.—392

*Prendergast, John Patrick* (1808-1893)—Irish historian, Liberal.—329

*Prigneaux*—French refugee in London.—417

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist, a founder of anarchism.—4-5, 57-58, 162, 255, 264, 298, 327, 375, 442, 585

*Prudhomme* (b. 1843)—member of the International's Section in Bordeaux, Corresponding Secretary for Bordeaux.—115

*Pumps*—see *Burns, Mary Ellen*

*Pyat, Félix* (1810-1889)—French journalist, playwright and politician, democrat, took part in the 1848 revolution, emigrated in 1849 to Switzerland and later to Belgium and England, opposed independent working-class movement, conducted a slander campaign against Marx and the International, member of the Paris Commune (1871), after its suppression emigrated to England.—65, 141, 151, 282, 499, 561

R

*Rabelais, François* (c. 1494-1553)—French humanist writer.—267

*Ranvier, Gabriel* (1828-1879)—French revolutionary, Blanquist, decorator, member of the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), left the International because of the Congress decision to transfer the General Council to New York.—234, 269, 280, 379, 398, 447, 467, 509

*Razoua, Eugène Angèle* (1830-1878)—French journalist, republican, sided with the 'new Jacobins', took part in the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to Geneva, contributed to *L'Emancipación* (Madrid).—263, 268

*Regis, Vitale* (pseudonym *Étienne Pechard*)—Italian revolutionary, member of the Italian Section of the International in London, took part in the Paris Commune, member of the General Council (1871-72), participated in the revolutionary events in Spain (1873).—316, 345, 352, 358, 393

*Reitlinger*—friend and private secretary of Jules Favre.—197

*Renan, Joseph Ernest* (1823-1892)—French philologist and historian of Christianity, idealist philosopher.—59

*Renshaw, Charles*—Engels' acquaintance in Manchester.—353, 496

*Reuter, Fritz* (1810-1874)—German humorist.—158

*Reynolds, George William MacArthur* (1814-1879)—British politician and

journalist; publisher of *Reynolds's Newspaper*.—160

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—British economist.—457

*Richard, Albert Marie* (1846-1918)—French journalist, a leader of the Lyons Section of the International, delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses, member of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, took part in the Lyons uprising of September 1870; after the suppression of the Paris Commune, a Bonapartist.—257, 270, 311, 318

*Rigault, Raul Georges Adolphe* (1846-1871)—French revolutionary, Blanquist, student, journalist; member of the Paris Commune, delegate to the Commission of Public Safety, from 26 April Public Procurator of the Commune; on 24 May was arrested by the Versailles men and shot without trial.—268, 561

*Riggio, Antonio* (1842-1900)—Italian revolutionary, Left Mazzinist in the 1860s, lawyer, organised the International's section in Girgenti (1871), had contacts with the General Council, joined the Bakuninists in 1872.—433

*Riley, William Harrison* (1835-1907)—English journalist, republican, socialist, publisher and editor of *The International Herald*, member of the British Federal Council of the International (1872-73), withdrew from the working-class movement in 1873.—451, 454, 458, 460-61, 465, 519

*Roach, John*—a leader of the British working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), Corresponding Secretary for the British Federal Council (1872), belonged to its reformist wing, opposed the decisions of the Hague Congress.—186, 464, 474

*Robert, Fritz* (1845-1899)—Swiss teacher, Bakuninist, delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International, member of the *Solidarité* editorial board.—351

*Roberti*—see *De-Roberti, Yevgeny Valentinovich*

*Robin, Paul Charles Louis Jean* (1837-1912)—French teacher, Bakuninist, a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, member of the General Council of the International (1870-71), delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) and the London Conference (1871).—179, 220, 263, 265-67, 285, 308, 563

*Rochat, Charles Michel* (b. 1844)—a leader of the French working-class movement, member of the Paris Federal Council of the International, took part in the Paris Commune, member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Holland (October 1871 to 1872), delegate to the London Conference (1871).—203, 205, 213, 379

*Rochefort, Victor Henri, marquis de Rochefort-Luçay* (1830-1913)—French journalist and politician, Left-wing republican, publisher of *La Marseillaise* (1869-70); after the revolution of 4 September 1870, a member of the Government of National Defence; after the suppression of the Paris Commune was exiled to New Caledonia, monarchist from the end of the 1880s.—51, 65, 68, 558, 560

*Roscher, Wilhelm Georg Friedrich* (1817-1894)—German economist, founder of the historical trend in political economy, professor at Göttingen (1843) and Leipzig (1848) universities.—298

*Roscoe, Henry Enfield* (1833-1915)—English chemist, professor of chemistry at Victoria University (Owens College), Manchester.—506

*Rösler, Hermann Karl Friedrich* (1834-1894)—German economist and lawyer.—8

*Rothschild, H. J.*—German refugee in London.—37

*Rouher, Eugène* (1814-1884)—French statesman, Bonapartist, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, held several government posts during the Second Empire, President of the Senate (1869-70), after the fall of the Empire emigrated to England, a leader of Bonapartists in France in the 1870s.—499

*Roullier, Edmond Louis Henri Charles (Eduard)* (c. 1830-1903) — French shoemaker, Proudhonist, took part in the 1848 revolution, member of the Paris organisation of the International, took part in the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England, opposed the General Council of the International.—246, 263, 268, 280

*Roy, Joseph* (1830-1916)—French teacher, translated Volume One of *Capital* by Marx and works by Feuerbach into French.—283, 316, 327, 347, 385, 438, 495, 517, 574, 578

*Rozwadowski, Jósef* (b. 1846)—Polish revolutionary, took part in the national liberation uprising of 1863-64 in Poland, participated in the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England, member of the General Council of the International (1872).—175, 200, 210, 224, 276, 533

*Rüdt, August*—German journalist, Social-Democrat, member of the *Volksstaat* editorial board.—361

*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848, German petty-bourgeois refugee leader in England in the 1850s, National-Liberal after 1866.—26, 38, 40

*Rutson, A. O.*—private secretary to British Home Secretary H. A. Bruce.—169

S

*Sacase, Jean François* (1808-1884)—French law official, monarchist, from 1871 deputy to the National Assembly.—345

*Sadler, Thomas*—participant in the British working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72).—232

*Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo* (1827-1903)—Spanish statesman, leader of the Liberal Party, Minister of the Interior (1871-72), Foreign Minister (1874), Prime Minister (1881-83, 1885-90, 1892-95, 1897-99, 1901-02).—369

*Sainte-Beuve, Charles Augustin* (1804-1869)—French literary critic and writer.—543

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—255

*Savio, Pietro*—participant in the Italian national liberation movement and the Paris Commune (1871), after its suppression emigrated to England.—353

*Sax, Emil* (1845-1927)—Austrian economist.—405, 410

*Schäffle, Albert Friedrich Eberhard* (1831-1903)—German vulgar economist and sociologist, called for collaboration between bourgeoisie and proletariat, an armchair socialist.—70, 72, 78

*Schapper, Karl* (1812-1870)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League, took part in the 1848-49 revolution, a leader of the sectarian-adventurist group during the split in the Communist League (1850), again drew close to

Marx in 1856, member of the Central Council of the International (1865), participant in the London Conference (1865).—117

*Schenck, Heinrich*—member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, Lassallean, late in 1871 was expelled from the Society for slander of the International's General Council and his splitting activities.—320

*Scherzer, Andreas* (1807-1879)—German tailor, member of the Paris community of the Communist League which sided with the Willich-Schapper sectarian group in 1850; later refugee in London, a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; late in 1871 was expelled from it for slander of the General Council of the International and for his splitting activities.—297, 319

*Scheu, Andreas* (1844-1927)—a leader in the Austrian (1868-74) and British socialist movement, member of the International; emigrated to England in 1874.—490, 520

*Scheu, Heinrich* (1845-1926)—Austrian Social-Democrat, member of the International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), emigrated to England in 1873, Andreas Scheu's brother.—365, 491, 517

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—4

*Schily, Victor* (1810-1875)—German democrat, lawyer, took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, emigrated to France, member of the International, delegate to the London Conference (1865), friend of Marx.—57, 60, 102

*Schlebach, Pierre*—German refugee in Belgium, member of the International's Section in Verviers, *Der Volksstaat*'s correspondent.—407, 417

*Schneider, Joseph*—German worker, Lassallean, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, in the late 1871 was expelled from it for his splitting activities and slander of the General Council of the International.—113, 207, 280, 297, 407, 429

*Scholl, Jean Marie* (b. 1829)—French worker, member of the Lyons Section of the International, refugee in London.—314

*Schopenhauer, Arthur* (1788-1860)—German idealist philosopher, irrationalist and pessimist.—268

*Schorlemmer, Carl* (1834-1892)—German organic chemist, dialectical materialist; professor at Owens College in Manchester, member of the Royal Society, member of the International and the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, friend of Marx and Engels.—19, 63, 68, 70, 443, 495, 497-504, 506

*Schramm, Carl August*—German Social-Democrat, reformist, left the Party in the 1880s.—462

*Schweitzer, Johann Baptist von* (1833-1875)—German lawyer, a Lassallean leader, editor of *Der Social-Demokrat* (1864-67), President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71), supported unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy, hindered German workers in joining the International, fought against the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; was expelled from the General Association for his contacts with the Prussian authorities (1872).—10; 96, 255, 279, 302, 309, 327, 407, 418

*Schwitzguébel, Adhémar* (1844-1895)—Swiss anarchist, engraver, member of the International, a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the Jura Federation, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—233, 285, 295, 355, 374, 397, 419, 431, 436

*Seiffert, Rudolph* (1826-1886)—German Social-Democrat, member of *Der Volksstaat* editorial board, an organisér of

the Woodworkers' Amalgamation.—432, 468, 510

*Senior, Nassau William* (1790-1864)—English economist, vulgarised Ricardo's theory, opposed reduction of the working day.—238-39

*Sentiñon, Gaspard* (d. 1903)—Spanish anarchist, physician, a founder and a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy in Spain, delegate to the Basle Congress of the International (1869).—285

*Serebrennikov, Vladimir Ivanovich* (b. 1850)—Russian revolutionary, took part in the student unrest (1868-69), was imprisoned in the Peter and Paul Fortress (St Petersburg), then exiled to Riga, fled in 1870, emigrated to England and then to Switzerland, supporter of Nechayev.—26

*Serraillier*—Auguste Serraillier's wife.—73, 78, 566

*Serraillier, Auguste* (b. 1840)—a leader in the French and international working-class movement, shoemaker, member of the General Council of the International (1869-72), Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, Holland, Spain (1870) and France (1871-72), in September 1870 was sent to Paris as the General Council's agent, member of the Paris Commune, delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International, member of the British Federal Council (1873), associate of Marx and Engels.—20, 24, 33, 64, 67, 70, 73-74, 77, 79, 121, 141, 205, 222, 225, 256, 265, 278, 280, 302, 375, 378, 398, 432-33, 447, 450, 453, 455, 457-58, 466-67, 481, 490, 496, 508-09, 517-18, 520, 524-27, 535, 537, 560, 566

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English playwright and poet.—14, 55, 548-49, 550, 570

*Sicard, Auguste Alexandre* (1839-c. 1911)—French shoemaker, member of the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to London.—234, 269

*Sieber, Nikolai Ivanovich* (1844-1888)—Russian economist, one of the first popularisers of Marx's economic works in Russia, advocated radical bourgeois reforms.—457, 469

*Sievers*—printer in the publishing house of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party.—75, 79, 82

*Simon, Ludwig* (1810-1872)—German lawyer, democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49, one of the five imperial regents in 1849, emigrated to Switzerland, lived in Paris (1855-70).—87

*Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard (Simonde de)* (1773-1842)—Swiss economist, historian, representative of economic romanticism.—165

*Skrebitsky, Alexander Ilyich* (1827-1915)—Russian liberal historian, author of *Крестьянское дѣло въ царствованіе императора Александра II.*—469

*Smith*—a house-agent in London.—12, 16, 18, 43, 51-53, 555, 558-59

*Smith, Adolphe (Smith Headingley)*—English journalist, socialist, in 1871 sided with the French Section of 1871 in London, opposed Marx and his supporters.—407, 429

*Sonnemann, Leopold* (1831-1909)—German politician, journalist, banker, democrat, founder and publisher of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, took South German Federalists' stand in the 1860s, opposed unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy, deputy to the German Reichstag (1871-77 and 1878-84).—415

*Sorge, Friedrich Adolph(f)* (1828-1906)—prominent figure in the international and American working-class and socialist movement, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany,

emigrated to Switzerland, then to Belgium, from 1852 lived in the USA, organised the International's American sections, Secretary of the Federal Council for North America, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), General Secretary of the General Council in New York (1872-74), propagated Marxism, friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—56-57, 60, 102, 106, 141, 205, 211, 217, 234, 236, 241-42, 244, 251, 256-57, 273-74, 298, 333-35, 341-42, 374-77, 380, 383-84, 387, 398, 419, 425-26, 429-32, 435-37, 440, 443-51, 453-55, 458-61, 464-68, 476, 481-85, 487, 489-94, 507-10, 518-22, 524, 534, 536-39, 549

*Spencer, Herbert* (1820-1903)—British positivist philosopher, psychologist and sociologist.—276

*Speyer, Carl* (b. 1845)—German joiner, Secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (the 1860s), member of the International, in 1870 emigrated to the USA, member of the General Council from autumn 1872.—243, 251, 334

*Splingard, Roch Jules Jean Baptiste* (1843-1889)—Belgian anarchist, lawyer, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—456

*Steens, Eugène* (1825-1898)—a leader in the Belgian working-class movement, Left Proudhonist, journalist, member of the International, editor of the *Tribune du Peuple*, delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) and the London Conference (1871), supported anarchists in 1872.—263, 285, 296, 365, 385

*Stefanoni, Luigi* (1842-1905)—Italian writer and democratic journalist, rationalist, took part in Garibaldi's campaigns, founder and editor of *Il Libero Pensiero*, supported Bakuninists.—298, 319-20, 365, 577

*Steinmetz, Karl Friedrich von* (1796-1877)—Prussian general and field marshal-general (1871), commanded the 1st Army (before September 1870) during the Franco-Prussian war.—28-29

*Stepney, Cowell William Frederick* (1820-1872)—participant in the British working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International (1866-72), and its Treasurer (1868-70), delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and the London Conference (1871) of the International, member of the British Federal Council (1872).—206

*Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882)—Prussian police officer, Chief of the Prussian political police (1850-60), an organiser of and main witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852), chief of military police and head of German counter-espionage in France during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71).—5, 10, 13, 18, 116, 129, 131, 139, 157, 233, 389, 561

*Strauß (Strauss), David Friedrich* (1808-1874)—German philosopher and writer, Young Hegelian, author of *Das Leben Jesu*, National-Liberal after 1866.—59, 505

*Strohn, Wilhelm*—member of the Communist League, a friend of Marx and Engels, refugee in Bradford, England.—390

*Stuart, Charles Eduard* (1824-1882)—a descendant from the Scottish and English royal house of Stuart, colonel of the Austrian service, took part in the Carlist revolt in Spain (1872-76).—542

*Suetendael, Octave van*—Belgian mechanic, member of the Belgian Federal Council of the International, Treasurer of the mechanics' trade union, Marx's correspondent (1872).—400, 403

*Swarm*—see *Dentraygues, Emile*

*Sybel, Heinrich von* (1817-1895)—German historian and politician, National-Liberal from 1867, an ideolog-

ist of hegemonic aspirations of Prussia's ruling circles.—462

T

*Tauchnitz, Karl Christian Philipp* (1798-1884)—German publisher and bookseller, published dictionaries.—280

*Taylor, Alfred*—English worker, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72) and the British Federal Council (1872-73).—186

*Tenge* (born c. 1833)—Gertrud Kugelmann's friend.—584

*Terzaghi, Carlo* (b. 1845)—Italian lawyer and journalist, Secretary of the Federazione Operaia and the Emancipazione del proletario society in Turin, became police agent in 1872.—292-95, 312-13, 342, 345, 352, 357-58, 392, 432

*Testini*—Italian student, Bakuninist, member of the Milan Section of the International.—358

*Theisz, Albert Frédéric Félix* (1839-1881)—a leader in the French working-class movement, engraver, Proudhonist, member of the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England, member of the French Section of 1871 for a short time, member of the General Council of the International (1871), delegate to the London Conference (1871).—192, 205-06, 265, 267-70, 278, 297, 302

*Thérésa* (real name *Emma Valadon*) (1837-1913)—French singer.—8

*Thieblin, Nicolas Léon* (1834-1888)—English journalist, Italian by birth, studied at the military academy in St Petersburg, contributed to several newspapers in London.—4, 10, 15, 86, 158, 573

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836, 1840), deputy to the Constituent (1848) and Legislative (1849-51) Assemblies, head of the Orleanists after 1848, chief of the executive power (1871), dealt brutally with the Paris Communards (1871), President of the Republic (1871-73).—65, 85, 128, 132, 149, 196, 199, 203, 208, 270, 311, 499, 504, 506, 567, 572, 579

*Thomas, Ernest*—Hugo Heller's acquaintance, lived in Oxford in 1873.—496

*Tibaldi, Paolo* (1825-1901)—Italian revolutionary, Garibaldian, member of the International, took part in the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England.—160, 200

*Timashev (Timascheff), Alexander Yegorovich* (1818-1893)—Russian statesman, general, Minister of the Interior (1868-77).—105

*Tolain, Henri Louis* (1828-1897)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, engraver, Right Proudhonist, a leader of the Paris Section of the International, delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses, deputy to the National Assembly after the elections of 8 February 1871, went over to the side of the Versaillists during the Paris Commune, was expelled from the International on 1 April 1871, a senator in 1876.—293-94

*Tomanovskaya (Dmitrieva), Yelisaveta Lukinichna* (née *Kusheleva*) (1851-c. 1910)—Russian revolutionary, was in emigration from 1868 to 1873, took part in publishing the journal *Narodnoye Dyelo* (People's Cause), member of the Russian Section of the International in Geneva, supported Marx in the struggle against Bakuninists, friend of Marx and his family, took an active part in the Paris Commune, after its suppression left France, withdrew from revolutionary activities after her return to Russia.—198

*Tomás Oliver (Tomas), Francisco* (c. 1850-1903)—Spanish anarchist, mason, member of the Spanish Fed-

eral Council of the International (1872-73), a leader of the anarchist organisation in Spain.—433, 445

*Train, George Francis* (1829-1904)—American businessman, supported Victoria Woodhull's bourgeois reformist plans in his newspaper *The Train Ligue*.—275

*Trate, William*—witness for the defence at Jourde's trial.—199

*Travnick (Traunig), János*—Hungarian worker, member of the Workers' Union in Budapest.—194

*Tridon, Edme Marie Gustave* (1841-1871)—French revolutionary, journalist, Blanquist, member of the International, founded *La Patrie en danger* newspaper, member of the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to Belgium.—141, 561

*Trochu, Louis Jules* (1815-1896)—French general and politician, Orleanist, President of the Government of National Defence, Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces in Paris (September 1870 to January 1871), deputy to the National Assembly (1871).—61, 67, 108, 112

*Truchy* (pseudonym *Mousselerès*)—French officer, journalist, Bonapartist.—317

*Truelove, Edward* (1809-1899)—publisher and bookseller in London, Chartist, Owenite, printed Marx's *The Civil War in France* (1871).—250, 427

*Trusov, Anton Danilovich* (1835-1886)—Russian revolutionary, Polish by birth, took part in the 1863 Polish uprising, emigrated to Switzerland where he sided with Bakunin, member and Secretary of the *Narodnoye Dyelo* (People's Cause) editorial board in Geneva, broke with Bakunin, Secretary of the Russian Section of the International, returned to Russia in 1884.—530, 540

*Tschitscherin*—see *Chicherin, Boris Nikolayevich*

*Turski, Kasper Michał* (1847-1925)—Polish revolutionary, Blanquist, participant in the Paris Commune, member of the Bakuninist Slavonic Section in Zurich (1871-72).—227

*Tussy*—see *Marx, Eleanor*

*Tylor, Sir Edward Burnett* (1832-1917)—English anthropologist, ethnographer and historian of primitive culture, supporter of the evolution doctrine.—192, 210

*Tyrtaeus (Tyrtaios)* (7th cent. B.C.)—Greek poet, praised the war feats of the Spartans.—102

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*Urquhart, David* (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician, Turcophile, Tory M. P. (1847-52), founder and editor of *The Free Press* (1855-65) and *The Diplomatic Review* (1866-77), exposed foreign policy of Palmerston and the Whigs.—11, 40

*Utin (Outine), Nikolai Isaakovich* (1841-1883)—Russian revolutionary, took part in the student movement, member of the Zemlya i Volya (Land and Freedom) society, in 1863 emigrated to England, then to Switzerland, an organiser of the Russian Section of the International, member of the *Narodnoye Dyelo* (People's Cause) editorial board (1868-70), an editor of *L'Égalité* (1870-71), fought against Bakunin and his supporters, delegate to the London Conference of the International (1871), left the revolutionary movement after his return to Russia in the mid-1870s.—179, 220, 226, 263, 266, 315, 322, 329, 396, 456-57, 466, 489, 494, 507, 534, 538-39, 545, 563, 568, 579

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*Vaillant, Edouard Marie* (1840-1915)—French socialist, physician and engineer, Blanquist, member of the

Paris Commune and of the General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate to the Lausanne Congress (1867), London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872), after the Congress' decision to transfer the General Council to New York left the International.—192, 203, 205, 230, 280, 353, 379, 396, 399, 420, 447, 491

*Vallès, Jules Louis* (1832-1885)—French politician, writer and journalist, Proudhonist, member of the International and of the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England, then to Belgium.—234

*Van Heddeghem, L.* (pseudonym *Walter*) (born c. 1847)—police agent who infiltrated in the Paris sections of the International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); was exposed in 1873.—448, 467, 482, 492, 509

*Varlin, Louis Eugène* (1839-1871)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, bookbinder, Left Proudhonist, one of the International's leaders in France; delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Geneva (1866) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International, member of the Central Committee of the National Guard, member of the Paris Commune, shot by the Versaillists on 28 May 1871.—148, 561

*Venedey, Jakob* (1805-1871)—German radical journalist and politician, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848, liberal after the 1848-49 revolution.—87

*Verdy du Vernois, Julius von* (1832-1910)—Prussian general and military writer, during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71) Chief of the General Staff department, later War Minister (1889-90).—415

*Vermersch, Eugène Marie Joseph* (1845-1878)—French journalist, took part in the republican movement, published *Le Père Duchêne* during the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to Belgium, then to Holland and England, editor of *Qui Vive!*, which attacked the International and the General Council.—235, 268-69, 281, 297, 302, 333, 568

*Vernouillet, Juste*—director of Lachâtre's publishing house in Paris.—316, 423, 438, 517

*Vésinier, Pierre* (1824-1902)—French journalist, refugee, was expelled from the International for slander against the General Council (1868), member of the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England, an organiser of the Universal Federalist Council, which opposed Marx and the General Council of the International.—151, 186, 297, 302, 386, 407, 429

*Vichard, Paul Eugène* (b. 1835)—a prominent figure in the French working-class movement, participant in the Paris Commune, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—517

*Vickery, Samuel*—Secretary of the British Federal Council of the International (December 1872-May 1873), fought against its reformist wing, President of the British Federation's Congress in Manchester (1873).—483

*Victor Emmanuel II* (1820-1878)—King of Sardinia (1849-61), King of Italy (1861-78).—356

*Victoria* (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901).—70, 74, 77, 94, 100

*Victoria (Adelaïde Marie Louise)* (1840-1901)—elder daughter of Queen Victoria, wife (from 1858) of the Prussian Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, subsequently German Emperor Frederick III, Empress (1888), took the name of Frederic after her husband's death (1888).—77, 100

*Vieweg, F.*—a Paris publisher.—375

*Villetard de Prunières, Charles Edmond* (1828-1889)—French writer and

journalist, Orleanist, editor of the *Journal des Débats* (1866-73), author of the book on the International (1872) inimical to the working-class movement.—354

*Vinoy, Joseph* (1800-1880)—French general, Bonapartist, took part in the coup d'état of 2 December 1851, Governor of Paris from 22 January 1871, was active in the suppression of the Paris Commune.—132

*Vivanti, Anna*—London acquaintance of Marx's daughter Jenny, Paul Lindau's sister.—154

*Vogel von Falckenstein, Eduard Ernst Friedrich Hannibal* (1797-1885)—German general, during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71) General-Governor of the coastal regions of Germany.—75, 79, 82

*Vogt, August* (c. 1830-c. 1883)—prominent in the German and American working-class movement, shoemaker, member of the Communist League, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, member of the General Association of German Workers, together with Liebknecht opposed Lassalleanism, member of the International, in 1867 emigrated to the USA, member of the New York Communist Club and an organiser of the International's sections in the USA, correspondent of the General Council, supporter of Marx and Engels.—57, 60, 101, 105, 244

*Vogt, Karl (Carl)* (1817-1895)—German naturalist, petty-bourgeois democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49, one of the five imperial regents (June 1849); refugee in Switzerland from 1849, in the 1850s-60s received subsidies from Napoleon III, slandered Marx and Engels.—130, 132, 138, 144, 146, 299

*Voltaire* (pen-name of *François Marie Arouet*) (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—226

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*Wachenhusen, Hans* (1823-1898)—German journalist and writer.—228

*Wachs*—captain, Gumpert's relative.—516

*Wagner, Adolph* (1835-1917)—German vulgar economist, armchair socialist.—488, 545

*Walter*—see *Van Heddeghem, L.*

*Washburne, Elihu Benjamin* (1816-1887)—American politician and diplomat, Republican, US Envoy in Paris (1869-77), hostile to the Paris Commune.—169, 171, 176, 188, 212

*Watkin, Sir Edward William* (1819-1901)—English railway promoter, Liberal M.P.—203

*Weber, Joseph Valentin* (1814-1895)—German watchmaker, took part in the Baden revolutionary movement in 1848, refugee in Switzerland, later in London, Lassallean, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, for his splitting activities and slander of the General Council was expelled from the International in December 1871.—138, 280, 292

*Wegmann, Adolph* (born c. 1852)—German worker, emigrated to England, member of the Foreign Section of the International in Manchester.—321, 373

*Wehner, J. G.*—German refugee in Manchester, Treasurer of the Schiller Institute in the 1860s.—68

*Weiß, Guido* (1822-1899)—German democratic journalist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, in the 1860s belonged to the Party of Progress (Left wing), editor of *Die Zukunft*, organ of the People's Party (1867-71).—145

*Wenzel*—see *Kugelmann, Ludwig*

*West, William*—American radical, member of the Central Committee of

the International Working Men's Association for North America, Secretary of Section No. 12 (New York) which was expelled from the International by the Hague Congress (1872).—244, 384, 431, 442

*Weston, John*—active in the British labour movement, carpenter, subsequently manufacturer, Owenite, participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-72), delegate to the London Conference (1865), a leader of the Land and Labour League.—203

*Weydemeyer, Joseph* (1818-1866)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement, member of the Communist League, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA in 1851, colonel in the army of the North during the US Civil War, disseminated Marxism in the USA; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—536

*Whitter, Walter*—house-owner in London.—515

*Wigand, Hugo* (d. 1873)—owner of a publishing firm in Leipzig.—375, 405, 477

*William I* (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, Prince Regent (1858-61), King of Prussia (1861-88) and Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—6, 10, 12, 18, 19, 39, 41, 47-48, 53-54, 61, 71, 74, 76, 85, 88, 90, 109-10, 128, 415, 547, 551

*Willigen, P. van der*—Dutch journalist, socialist, refugee in London.—434

*Wilmart, Raymond* (pseudonym *Wilmot*)—French revolutionary, took part in the Paris Commune, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from the Bordeaux sections, in 1873 emigrated to Buenos Aires where he propagated Marx's ideas.—431, 436

*Winand, Christian*—German worker in London, Lassallean.—321

*Windthorst, Ludwig* (1812-1891)—German politician, Minister of Justice in Hanover (1851-52, 1862-65), deputy to the Reichstag, a leader of the Party of the 'Centre'.—94

*Wolff, Luigi* (*Louis*)—Italian major, originated from the *Thurn und Taxis* family, follower of Mazzini, member of the Associazione di Mutuo Progresso (organisation of the Italian workers in London), participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall London; member of the Central Council of the International (1864-65), took part in the London Conference (1865); was exposed as an agent of the Bonapartist police in 1871.—164, 173, 185

*Wolff, Wilhelm* (*Lupus*) (1809-1864)—German teacher, proletarian revolutionary, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League from March 1848, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49), took an active part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to Switzerland and later to England, friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—516

*Woodhull, Victoria* (née *Claflin*) (1838-1927)—American feminist, in 1871-72 tried to seize leadership in the North American Federation of the International by organising a section of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements; headed Section No. 12 expelled from the International by the General Council and the Hague Congress (1872), founder and editor of the *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* (1870).—328, 381, 384, 418-19, 485

*Wróblewski, Walery* (1836-1908)—Polish revolutionary democrat, a leader of the 1863-64 Polish uprising, general of the Paris Commune, member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary

for Poland (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), fought against Bakuninists.—175, 199, 218, 272, 276, 390, 421, 460, 473, 481, 484, 532-33, 563

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*Würtz*—member of the International in the USA, emigrant from Denmark.—520-21

*Wurtz, Charles Adolphe* (1817-1884)—French organic chemist.—240

*Wuttke, Johann Karl Heinrich* (1818-1876)—German historian and politician, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1849), professor at Leipzig University.—389

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*Yor(c)k, Theodor* (1830-1875)—a leader in the German working-class movement, carpenter, Lassallean, member of the Executive committee of the General Association of German Workers, left the Association in 1869 and took part in the organisation of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, its Secretary in 1871-74.—477, 493, 510

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*Zabel, Friedrich* (1802-1875)—German journalist, editor of the Berlin *National-Zeitung* (1848-75), supporter of the unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy.—200

*Zapp*—German refugee in Manchester.—495

*Zhukovsky (Joukowsky, Joukowski), Nikolai Ivanovich* (1833-1895)—Russian anarchist; participant in the St Petersburg revolutionary circles of the early 1860s; from 1862 refugee in Switzerland; a leader of the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—268, 315, 456

*Zichlinsky*—German refugee, Lassallean, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, late in 1871 was expelled from it for slandering the General Council and for his splitting activities.—207

*Zielinski*—member of the Universal Federalist Council in London, Polish by birth.—429

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*Dulcinea del Toboso*—a character in Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.—498

*Dundreary*—a character in Tom Taylor's play *Our American Cousin*, a garrulous, pompous, stupid fop.—584

*John Bull*—main character in John Arbuthnot's *The History of John Bull* (1712), his name is used to personify England or Englishmen.—11, 58, 94, 110, 114

*Launce*—a servant in Shakespeare's comedy *Two Gentlemen of Verona*.—548

*Michel*—name for a German philistine.—4, 38-39, 42

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*Robert Macaire*—a clever swindler, a character immortalised in Honoré Daumier's caricatures.—11

*Rosalind*—main character in Shakespeare's comedy *As You Like It*.—586

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*Winkelried, Arnold*—semi-legendary Swiss soldier, fought against the Austrian yoke (14 cent.).—38

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—Nr. 48, 14. Juni 1873; *Zur Spaltung der Arbeiterpartei in Oesterreich.*—520

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*Arbeiter-Zeitung*—a workers' weekly, organ of the German Section No. 1 and the Federal Council of the International for North America, published in New York from February 1873 to March 1875; carried reports of the General Council's meetings and documents of the International as well as some works of Marx and Engels. In the summer of 1874 it began to deviate from the International's line.—485, 490, 507

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*The Bee-Hive Newspaper*—a weekly trade-unionist newspaper published under various titles in London from 1861 to 1876; from November 1864 to April 1870 it printed documents of the International; in view of the growing influence of the bourgeois radicals on the newspaper's editorial board, the General Council of the International broke off relations with it in April 1870.—77, 150, 462

*Braunschweiger Volksfreund*—a German daily (a weekly up to No. 22), organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers), published in Brunswick from 15 May 1871 to 29 October 1878; B. Becker, W. Bracke, W. Blos and S. Kokosky were on its editorial board.—402

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*La Capitale. Gazzetta di Roma*—an Italian democratic daily published in 1870-72.—220

*The Commonwealth*—a weekly of the Central Council of the International published in London from February 1866 to July 1867; it was the successor of *The Workman's Advocate*; Eccarius was its editor from February to April 1866; Marx was on the Board of Directors till June 1866; because of the growing influence of the trade-unionists on the board, the newspaper virtually became an organ of bourgeois radicals.—363

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*La Défense nationale. Journal quotidien*—a Left Republican daily published in Bordeaux in 1870-71; members of the International were among its contributors.—86, 89

*Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*—a newspaper published under this title in Leipzig from 1843 to 1879; until the summer of 1848 it was conservative but later adopted a liberal stance.—288

*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*—a German-language yearbook published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge; only the first issue, a double one, came out in February 1844. It carried several works by Marx and Engels.—135, 136, 375

*Die Deutsche Post*—see *Londoner Deutsche Post*

*Dundee Advertiser*—a Scottish liberal paper published in 1801-1926 (a daily from

1861), in 1926 merged with *Dundee Courier* and came out as *Dundee Courier and Advertiser*.—213

*The Eastern Post*—a workers' weekly published in London under this name from 1868 to 1873, and under various titles up to 1938; organ of the General Council of the International from February 1871 to June 1872.—129, 150, 158, 192, 222, 233, 234, 258, 273, 286, 289, 290, 292, 299, 300, 319, 325, 330, 332, 336, 341, 356, 360, 362, 365, 367, 374, 375, 384, 397, 508, 519, 573, 578

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*L'Égalité. Journal de l'Association internationale des Travailleurs de la Suisse romande*—a French-language daily published in Geneva from December 1868 to December 1872, organ of the Romance Federation of the International; from 1869 to January 1870 it was controlled by the Bakuninists.—25-27, 78, 179, 256, 281, 282, 284, 290, 292, 294, 301, 310, 356, 375, 396, 399, 401, 408, 420, 447, 453, 458, 464, 489, 494

*L'Eguaglianza. Foglio ebdomadario della Società Internazionale degli Operai*—a weekly published in Girgenti (Sicily) from July 1871 to March 1872, organ of the local section of the International.—306, 355, 359

*Elberfelder Zeitung*—a German daily published from 1834 to 1904; a liberal newspaper in the 1860s.—48, 228

*La Emancipación. Periódico socialista*—a Spanish workers' weekly, organ of the Madrid sections of the International, published from June 1871 to April 1873; in September 1871-April 1872, organ of the Spanish Federal Council; fought against anarchist influence in Spain; published works by Marx and Engels.—271, 277, 284, 286, 296, 299, 302, 304, 332, 337, 338, 365, 366, 399, 407, 417, 420, 436, 442, 447-49, 451, 453, 457, 460, 464, 467, 488

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*The Examiner*—a liberal weekly published in London from 1808 to 1881.—212

*Il Fascio Operaio. Monitor del proletario. Periodico democratico sociale. Organo dell' Associazione di tal nome nella regione di Bologna*—an Italian weekly published in Bologna from December 1871 to September 1872; organ of the Bakuninists.—358-59

*La Federación. Organo de la Federación de la Asociación Internacional de los Trabajadores*—a Spanish-language newspaper which appeared in Barcelona from August 1869 to November 1873; weekly organ of the Barcelona Section and, later, of the Federal Council of the International in Barcelona; was under the influence of the Bakuninists.—140, 271, 277, 359, 436, 448, 482

*Felleisen. Organ der Deutschen Arbeiterbildungsvereine in der Schweiz*—a Swiss magazine, organ of the educational societies of German workers in Switzerland, published in Zurich and Geneva from 1862 to 1874; in August 1868 joined the International.—98, 492

*Ficcanaso. Giornale quotidiano politico amministrativo*—an Italian satirical republican daily, organ of the Left Mazzinists, published in Turin from 1868 to 1874.—310

*Figaro*—an English paper founded by the French Embassy; published in London from May 1870 to December 1898.—23

*Le Figaro*—a conservative daily published in Paris since 1854; from 1826 to 1833 it appeared under the title *Figaro, journal non politique*; was connected with the government of the Second Empire.—195, 555, 564, 567

*The Fortnightly Review*—an English historical, philosophical, and literary magazine founded in 1865 by a group of radicals; subsequently it became liberal in character; under this title it was published in London till 1934.—40, 86, 92, 107, 116, 212

*Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*—a democratic daily published in Frankfurt am Main from 1856 (under this title from 1866) to 1943.—28, 32

*Freie Presse*—see *Neue Freie Presse*

*Le Gaulois*—a conservative monarchist daily, organ of the big bourgeoisie and aristocracy, published in Paris from 1868 to 1929.—130, 583

*Gazette des Tribuneaux. Journal de jurisprudence et de débats judiciaires*—a conservative daily founded in Paris in 1825.—193, 195, 210, 222, 276, 300

*Il Gazzettino Rosa. Giornale monitor quotidiano*—a daily, organ of the Left Mazzinists, published in Milan from 1868 to 1873; in 1871-72 came out in defence of the Paris Commune, printed documents of the International; from 1872 was under the influence of the Bakuninists.—245, 294, 308, 356

*The Graphic*—an illustrated weekly magazine published in London from 1869 to 1932.—159

*Herald*—see *The New-York Herald*

*The Illustrated London News*—a weekly published since 1842.—32, 568

*L'Illustration. Journal universel*—an illustrated literary journal published in Paris since 1843.—486, 560, 576

*Illustrierte Zeitung. Wöchentliche Nachrichten über alle Ereignisse. Zustände und Persönlichkeiten der Gegenwart*—a weekly published in Leipzig from 1843 to 1944; in the mid-19th century was of a moderate liberal orientation.—568

*La Ilustración española y americana*—a magazine published in Madrid from 1857 to 1921 (until 1869 under the title *El Museo universal*); from 1869 it came out thrice a week.—568

*L'Internationale. Organe des sections belges de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*—a weekly published in Brussels with the active participation of De Paepe from 17 January 1869 to 28 December 1873; printed documents of the International; in 1873 it took the anarchist stand—79, 289, 384, 385, 399, 401, 424, 441, 508

*The International Herald*—a republican weekly published in London from March 1872 to October 1873; from May 1872 to May 1873 (with intervals) organ of the British Federal Council of the International; printed reports of the meetings of the General Council and the British Council, documents of the International, articles by Marx and Engels; in June 1873, its publisher and editor W. Rily

dropped out of the working-class movement.—446-47, 449, 450, 453, 454, 458, 460, 461, 464, 468, 484, 487, 508, 519

*The Irishman*—a weekly published from July 1858 to February 1885 in Belfast and then in Dublin; came out in defence of Fenians.—274, 557, 564

*The Irish Republic*—a weekly published by the Fenian refugees in New York in 1871-98.—258, 343

*Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*—a fortnightly founded in 1863 in Jena; came out till 1943.—4

*Journal de Genève national, politique et littéraire*—a conservative daily published in Geneva from 1826.—212, 256, 270, 271, 538

*Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg politique, littéraire, commercial et industriel*—a newspaper of the Russian Ministry for Foreign Affairs; published under this title in French from 1825 to 1914.—39, 87-88

*Journal des économistes. Revue mensuelle de l'économie politique et des questions agricoles, manufacturières et commerciales*—a liberal monthly published in Paris from December 1841 to 1943.—438, 470

*Kölnische*—see *Kölnische Zeitung*

*Kölnische Zeitung*—a daily published under this title in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; during the 1848-49 revolution and in subsequent years it expressed the interests of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie; in the 1870s Bismarck's mouthpiece.—85, 228, 393, 415

*Kolokol*—see *Колоколъ*

*Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger*—a daily newspaper, official organ of the Prussian government, published under this title in Berlin from July 1851 to June 1871.—62, 84, 85, 116

*Kreuz-Zeitung*—see *Neue Preußische Zeitung*

*Il Libero Pensiero. Giornale dei Razionalisti*—a weekly, organ of the republican rationalists, published in Milan and Florence in 1866-76; attacked the International and its General Council.—319, 320, 365, 577

*La Libertà. Giornale Democratico*—an Italian democratic paper, organ of the Left Mazzinists, published in Pavia twice a week from 1870 to 1872; carried material on the working-class movement, supported the Paris Commune.—355

*La Liberté. Organe socialiste hebdomadaire*—a democratic newspaper published in Brussels from 1865 to 1873; in 1872-73 a weekly; from 1867 an organ of the International Working Men's Association in Belgium.—79, 309, 343, 365, 367, 368, 374, 375, 387, 424, 447, 453, 485, 507, 509, 558, 585, 587

*La Liberté*—a conservative evening daily, mouthpiece of the big bourgeoisie, published in Paris from 1865 to 1940; during the siege of Paris in 1870-71 was published in Tours, and then in Bordeaux; in 1866-70 it was owned by E. Girardin; supported the policy of the Second Empire.—122, 317

*Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*—a liberal weekly founded in 1842; published under this title in London from 1843 to 1918.—23

*Londoner Deutsche Post*—a German weekly published in London from January 1870 to July 1871.—16

*Manchester Courier, and Lancashire General Advertiser*—a conservative daily published from January 1825 to January 1916.—8, 18

*The Manchester Guardian*—a daily founded in 1821; a newspaper of the Free Traders and, from the mid-19th century, of the Liberal Party.—7, 381

*La Marseillaise*—a daily newspaper, organ of the Left republicans, published in Paris from December 1869 to September 1870; from 18 May to 20 July 1870 was banned by the Bonapartist Government. The paper carried material on the activity of the International and the working-class movement.—41, 68, 70, 342

*Il Martello. Organo del Circolo Operaio di Milano. Giornale democratico socialista degli operai*—an Italian weekly, organ of the Milan Section of the International; published in February-March 1872; under the influence of Theodor Cuno it printed a series of articles against the Bakuninists.—357

*Moniteur*—see *Le Moniteur universel*

*Le Moniteur universel*—a daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1901; came out under this title from 1811; official government organ from 1799 to 1869.—85

*Morgenblatt*—see *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser*

*Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser*—a daily literary paper published in Stuttgart and Tübingen from 1807 to 1865; in 1840 and 1841 it printed several articles by Engels.—135

*The Morning Post*—a daily published in London from 1772 to 1937; in the mid-19th century organ of the Right-wing Whigs grouped round Palmerston.—360

*National-Zeitung*—a daily published in Berlin from 1848 to 1915; voiced liberal views in the 1850s; in 1870-71 it called for the annexation of the French territories, and for the armed suppression of the Paris Commune.—200, 201

*Neue Freie Presse*—an Austrian liberal daily with morning and evening editions; was published in Vienna from 1864 to 1939.—16, 129

*Neue Preußische Zeitung*—a conservative daily published in Berlin from June 1848 to 1939; organ of the Prussian Junkers and Court circles, also known as the *Kreuz-Zeitung* because the heading contained a cross bearing the device: 'Forward with God for King and Fatherland!'—11

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*—a theoretical journal of the Communist League; it was founded by Marx and Engels in December 1849; published from March to November 1850.—135

*Die Neue Zeit*—see *Новое Время*

*Neuer Social-Demokrat*—a daily published in Berlin from July 1871 to September 1876 three times a week, organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; adhered to sectarianism, waged a struggle against the leaders of the International and of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, supported Bakuninists and representatives of other anti-proletarian trends.—280, 281, 297, 299, 302, 311, 319, 320, 328, 374, 491, 493, 510, 525, 577

*New-York Daily Tribune*—a newspaper founded by Horace Greeley in 1841 and published till 1924; organ of the Left-wing American Whigs till the mid-1850s, and later of the Republican Party; it voiced progressive views and opposed slavery in the 1840s and 1850s; Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862; after its merger with *The New-York Herald* in 1824, it came out as *New-York Herald Tribune*.—89

*The New-York Herald*—a daily newspaper of the Republican Party published in New York from 1835 to 1924; after its merger with *New-York Daily Tribune* in 1924, it came out as *New-York Herald Tribune*.—205, 328

*Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*—a conservative daily published in Berlin from 1861 to 1918; in the 1860-80s the official organ of the Bismarck Government.—11

*The Observer*—a conservative weekly published in London since 1791.—158

*Oestliche Post*—a democratic newspaper published by German refugees in New York in 1869-72.—458

*The Pall Mall Gazette. An Evening Newspaper and Review*—a daily published in London from 1865 to 1920; in the 1860s and 1870s pursued a conservative line; Marx and Engels maintained contacts with it from July 1870 to June 1871; it was at this time that it printed a series of Engels' articles *Notes on the War*.—4, 7, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 23, 25, 32, 41, 42, 44, 56, 58, 76, 84, 85, 95, 158-60, 167, 177, 202, 556

*Paris-Journal*—a daily published from 1868 to 1882 by Henri de Pène; it supported the Second Empire, then the government of National Defence and Thiers; slandered the International and the Paris Commune.—122-24, 130, 564

*La Patrie en danger. Journal politique quotidien*—a daily published in Paris from 7 September to 8 December 1870, organ of the Blanquists.—268

*O Pensamento Social*—a Portuguese socialist weekly published from February 1872 to April 1873 in Lisbon; organ of the International's sections; the paper carried documents of the International and articles by Marx and Engels.—340, 343

*Le Père Duchêne*—a daily published in Paris by Eugène Vermersch from 6 March to 21 May 1871; was close in its trend to the Blanquist press.—235, 268, 297, 568

*Le Petit Journal. Quotidien*—a republican daily published in Paris from 1863 to 1944.—129, 144, 146

*La Philosophie positive*—a philosophical journal published in Paris from 1867 to 1883; it advocated the positivism of Auguste Comte.—576

*La Plebe. Giornale republicano razionalista-socialista*—an Italian paper published in Lodi from 1868 to 1875 and in Milan from 1875 to 1883 under the editorship of Enrico Bignami, until 1874 and from 1876—a weekly, in 1875—a daily; democratic before the early 1870s and later socialist; in 1872-73, organ of the International's sections; supported the General Council in its struggle against anarchists, printed the documents of the International and articles by Engels.—180, 245, 306, 359, 433, 444, 450, 451, 453, 458, 466, 467, 507, 538

*Preußisches Staats-Anzeiger*—see *Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger*

*Der Proletarier*—a German Social-Democratic weekly published from July 1869 to June 1871, first in Munich, then in Augsburg.—140

*Il Proletario*—see *Il Proletario Italiano. Giornale politico periodico dedicato ai figli del popolo*

*Il Proletario Italiano. Giornale politico periodico dedicato ai figli del popolo*—an Italian weekly, organ of the Turin Section of the International, published in 1871 under the editorship of Terzaghi; until 1874 continued to come out under various titles as the mouthpiece of the Bakuninists.—245, 292, 294, 308, 353, 357

*La Province. Journal Girondin*—a monarchist daily published in Bordeaux in 1870-71.—130

*Public Opinion. A Weekly Review of Current Thought and Activity*—a liberal weekly founded in London in 1861.—200, 201, 204, 213

*Qui Vive! Organ de la démocratie universelle*—a French daily published from October to December 1871 in London; organ of the French Section of 1871.—250, 256, 267-69, 281, 297, 577

*Le Radical*—a republican paper published in Paris from October 1871 to June 1872.—405

*Le Rappel*—a Left-wing republican daily founded by Victor Hugo and Henri Rochefort; was published in Paris from 1869 to 1928; it sharply criticised the Second Empire; in the period of the Paris Commune it came out in support of it.—28, 32, 76

*Le Réveil. Journal de la démocratie des deux mondes*—a weekly and, from May 1869 onwards, a daily newspaper of the Left republicans published in Paris under the editorship of Charles Delescluse between July 1868 and January 1871; printed documents of the International and materials on the working-class movement.—3, 342

*La Révolution sociale. Organe de la Fédération jurassienne. Journal hebdomadaire*—a weekly published in Geneva from October 1871 to January 1872, organ of Bakunin's Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—256, 269, 270, 278, 281, 293, 295, 310, 567

*Revue Positive*—see *La Philosophie positive*

*Revue der Rheinischen Zeitung*—see *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*

*Reynolds's Newspaper. A Weekly Journal of Politics, History, Literature and General Intelligence*—a radical weekly published by George William Reynolds in London from 1850; it was connected with the labour movement.—23, 160, 462

*La Roma del popolo. Publicazione settimanale di filosofia, religiosa, politica, letteratura*—a daily published in Rome from February 1871 to March 1872; organ of the Left-wing Mazzinists; it opposed the Paris Commune and the International.—180, 185

*Il Romagnolo*—an Italian democratic weekly published with intervals in Ravenna from September 1868 to October 1871.—306

*The Scotsman*—a liberal paper published in Edinburgh from 1817; a daily from 1855; from 1860, it came out under this title.—225, 381

*Der Social-Demokrat*—an organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; under this title was published in Berlin from 15 December 1864 to

1871, then, from 1871, it was named *Neuer Social-Demokrat*; in 1864-67 it was edited by J. B. Schweitzer. Marx and Engels contributed to the paper for a short time but ceased to do so in February 1865, since they disagreed with the political line of the editors.—298, 328

*Le Socialiste. Journal hebdomadaire de l'Union républicaine de langue française*—an American weekly published in French in New York from October 1871 to May 1873; organ of the French sections of the International; supported bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements in the Federation of the International for North America; after the Hague Congress (1872) broke off with the International.—336-37, 343, 451

*Socialisten*—a workers' paper published in Copenhagen from July 1871 to May 1874; a daily from April 1872; organ of the Danish Section of the International.—242, 280, 330, 332, 340

*Le Soir*—a daily published in Paris from 1867 to 1932; in 1871 supported Thiers' policy.—130, 555

*La Solidarité. Organe des sections de la Fédération romande de l'Association internationale des travailleurs*—a Swiss weekly, organ of the Bakuninists, was edited by James Guillaume from April to September 1870 in Neuchâtel and from March to May 1871 in Geneva.—33, 36, 80

*The Spectator*—a weekly published in London from 1828; at first liberal, later conservative.—56, 84, 159

*Staats-Anzeiger*—see *Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger*

*The Standard*—a conservative daily published in London from 1827 to 1916.—159

*Suisse radicale. Journal national, politique, industriel et littéraire*—a Swiss paper published in Geneva from 1866.—322

*The Sun*—a progressive newspaper published in New York from 1833; from 1868, under the editorship of Charles Dana.—206, 328

*Die Tagwacht*—a Swiss Social-Democratic paper published in Zurich from 1869 to 1880; in 1869-73 organ of the German sections of the International in Switzerland, later, of the Swiss Workers' Union and of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland.—296, 303, 304, 336, 509

*Telegraph*—see *The Daily Telegraph*

*Le Temps*—a conservative daily published in Paris from 1861 to 1943; opposed the Second Empire and was against war with Prussia.—42, 55

*The Times*—a conservative daily founded in London in 1785 under the title *Daily Universal Register*; comes out as *The Times* since 1788.—9, 10, 18, 29, 32, 52, 85, 121, 124, 130, 158, 159, 164, 168, 169, 197, 212, 233, 271, 326, 360, 380, 474, 491

*De Toekomst*—a workers' paper, published in The Hague in 1870-71 three times a week; printed documents and materials of the International.—91, 161

*La Vérité. Journal politique quotidien*—a French radical daily published in Paris from October 1870 to September 1871; at first it supported the Commune but then opposed its social measures.—212

*Vermersch Journal*—published in London by French refugees from December 1871 to March 1872.—297

*Volksfreund*—see *Braunschweiger Volksfreund*

*Der Volksstaat. Organ der sozial-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei und Gewerksgenossenschaften*—central organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party published in Leipzig from 2 October 1869 to 29 September 1876, first twice and, from July 1873, three times a week under the general editorship of Wilhelm Liebknecht; August Bebel played an important role in its publishing; Marx and Engels were its regular contributors.—5, 8, 14, 16, 19, 25, 46, 66, 71, 82, 83, 87, 90, 96, 97, 123, 125, 127, 129, 130, 135, 136, 144, 145, 160-61, 198, 200, 216, 233, 237, 248, 289, 297, 302, 304, 310, 315, 320, 325, 334, 336, 356, 362, 366-68, 374, 405, 407, 429, 432, 439, 442, 451, 458, 462, 463, 477, 478-79, 492-93, 506, 508, 510, 513, 517, 538, 542, 562, 571

*Volkswille*—a workers' paper published in Vienna from January 1870 to June 1874; at first a weekly, from October 1872 came out twice a week; printed documents of the International.—87, 139, 439

*Volks-Zeitung. Organ für jedermann aus dem Volke*—a liberal daily published in Berlin from 1853 to 1897 (under this title to 1889).—16, 410

*Der Vorbote*—a monthly, of the German-language sections of the International in Switzerland published in Geneva from 1866 to 1871 under the editorship of Johann Philipp Becker; on the whole, it upheld Marx and the General Council by regularly publishing documents of the International and information about its activity in various countries.—25, 27, 159

*De Werker. Orgaan der Vlaamsche Afdeelingen van de Internationale Werkervereeniging*—a newspaper published in Flemish in Antwerp from 1868 to 1914; in 1868-71, a weekly of the Flemish Section of the International, printed its documents; later on a daily of the Flemish and then of the Belgian Socialist Workers' Party.—91, 126, 191

*De Werkman*—a newspaper published in Amsterdam from 1868 to 1874; weekly organ of the Dutch Central Section of the International from 1869.—91

*Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*—an American paper published in New York in 1870-76 by the bourgeois feminists Victoria Woodhull and Tennessee Claflin; organ of the Section No. 12 of the International in the USA, which consisted of bourgeois reformists and was expelled from the International by the General Council in March 1872.—242, 343, 383, 384, 446, 451

*The World*—a daily of the Democrats published in New York from 1860 to 1931.—220, 381, 388, 468, 485

*Die Zukunft. Demokratische Zeitung*—a German democratic newspaper, organ of the People's Party, published in 1867 in Königsberg, and from 1868 to 1871 in Berlin.—27, 71, 87, 123

*Архивъ Судебной Медицины и Общественной Гигіены (Arhiv Sudebnoi Mediciny i Obshchestvennoi Gigieny)*—a quarterly, organ of the medical department of the Russian Ministry of the Interior, published in St. Petersburg in 1865-71.—102

*Вѣстникъ Европы. Журналъ историко-политическихъ наукъ (Vestnik Yevropy. Zhurnal istoriko-politicheskikh nauk)*—a Russian historical, political and literary magazine of

the liberal trend; published in St. Petersburg from 1866 to 1918; from 1868, a monthly.—422

*Знаніе. Ежемѣсячный научный и критико-библіографическій журналъ* (*Znaniye. Yezhemesyachnyi nauchnyi i kritiko-bibliograficheski zhurnal*)—a Russian progressive monthly containing scientific information; published in St. Petersburg in 1870-77.—469

*Колоколъ. Прибавочные листы къ Полярной Звѣздѣ* (*The Bell*)—a revolutionary-democratic newspaper; it was published by Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Ogaryov from 1857 to 1867 in Russian and in 1868-69 in French (*La Cloche*) with supplements in Russian; it came out in London till 1865, then in Geneva.—27, 404

*Московскія вѣдомости* (*Moskovskiya vedomosti*)—a paper published from 1756 to 1917, in the 1850s it became reactionary in character; a daily from 1859.—238

*Новое время. Газета политическая, экономическая и литературная* (*Novoye Vremya*)—a Russian moderate liberal daily published in St. Petersburg in 1868-1917; from the late 1870s, reactionary monarchist.—377

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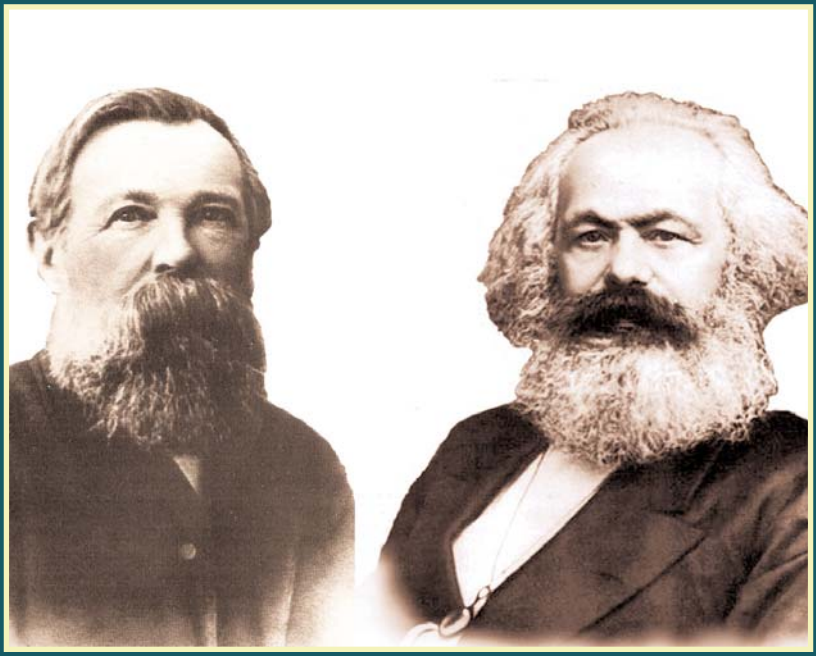

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# FREDERICK ENGELS

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## 45

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KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

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# Preface

Karl Marx's and Frederick Engels' letters from 1874 to 1879, contained in this volume, provide an unrivalled source for the history of the working-class movement and Marxist theory after the Paris Commune (1871), a period in which Marx also wrote his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (1875), Engels his *Anti-Dühring* (1876-78), and both of them together wrote their Circular Letter (1879) to the leading German Social-Democrats.

At the centre of Marx's studies during this period was his economic theory, mainly the questions examined in the second and third volumes of *Capital*, and his letters give us an idea of the ever broader range of sources he used in his examination of the economic development of bourgeois society. From Russia and the United States he received piles of printed matter on the agrarian problem, finance, trade, and industrial growth. Lamenting the loss in the mail of a large parcel of books sent from Russia, Marx wrote to Pyotr Lavrov that it contained 'things that were absolutely essential to the chapter in the second volume in which I deal with landownership, etc., in Russia' (see this volume, p. 58).

Marx followed closely the worldwide economic crisis of the 1870s, comparing its development in various countries, and comparing it with other crises of the 19th century. This, he wrote, was most important 'for the student of capitalistic production' (p. 355). Marx let his correspondents know he was compelled to delay completion of the subsequent volumes of *Capital*. Thus he wrote to Nikolai Danielson, a translator of *Capital* into Russian: 'I should under no

circumstances have published the second volume before the present English industrial crisis had reached its climax' (p. 354).

Marx's studies of the 1870s reaffirmed his judgement of joint-stock companies in the manuscript of the third volume of *Capital* (1863-65) as a new form of concentrating and centralising capital. In the same letter to Danielson, he wrote that large joint-stock companies in British, Belgian, French, and US communications and banking gave 'an impetus never before suspected to the *concentration of capital* and also to the accelerated and immensely enlarged *cosmopolitan activity of loanable capital*' (p. 356).

Marx's letters of this period often refer to his preparation of new editions of the first volume of *Capital*, notably its French translation, for which he made many important changes.

Marx's letters show the importance he attached to popular versions of the first volume of *Capital*. He wrote to Friedrich Adolph Sorge on 14 June 1876 that at Wilhelm Liebknecht's request he had taken part in preparing the second edition of Johann Most's pamphlet, *Kapital und Arbeit. Ein populärer Auszug aus 'Das Kapital' von Karl Marx*, and eliminated its most substantial faults. He had not put his name to it, however, 'because I should then have had to make even more alterations (I had to delete the bits about value, money, wages and much else, and substitute things of my own)' (p. 125).

Marx commended the popular pamphlet by the Italian socialist Carlo Cafiero, issued in Milan in 1879, *Il Capitale di Carlo Marx*, though he did reprimand the author for failing to show in the preface that 'the *material conditions* indispensable to the emancipation of the proletariat are engendered in spontaneous fashion by the progress of capitalist production'. Marx also advised Cafiero to pay closer attention in the next edition of his pamphlet to the method of research he, Marx, had used in *Capital* (p. 366).

The letters also illustrate in detail the intensive research Frederick Engels undertook, notably for his *Dialectics of Nature* and *Anti-Dühring*. Engels had gathered material for the former for many years, setting out to show 'that in nature, amid the welter of innumerable changes, the same dialectical laws of motion force their way through as those which in history govern the apparent fortuitousness of events' (see present edition, Vol. 25, p. 11).

Engels' letters reveal that *Dialectics of Nature* reflects his discussion of certain theoretical points with his correspondents during this

period. His letter to Pyotr Lavrov of 12[-17] November 1875, for example, is repeated almost verbatim in a passage of his manuscript. Setting forth his attitude to Darwinism as a whole, Engels examined the theory of the development of the organic world from the dialectico-materialist angle. He called attention to the limitations of Darwin's 'struggle for existence' formula, and proved that the laws of the animal world should not be applied to human society, as was done by the social Darwinians, whom Engels called bourgeois Darwinians (pp. 106-07).

However, in the summer of 1876 Engels shifted his attention to a more urgent task, that of countering the eclectic petty-bourgeois views of Eugen Dühring which were spreading fast in the socialist movement.

Dühring's doctrine, which professed to be an all-encompassing system of economic, philosophic and socialist views, was influencing some socialists not only inside but also outside Germany.

The idea that action against Dühring had to be taken came from Wilhelm Liebknecht. Informing Engels of the spread of Dühring's ideas, he wrote on 16 May 1876 that measures should be taken at once to refute them.

Marx and Engels agreed that the situation called for action. Their letters reflect concern and understanding of the objective need for a comprehensive and integral rendering of their own doctrine. On 25 May 1876 Marx wrote to Engels that he considered Dühring should be criticised 'without any compunction' (p. 119). Three days later, Engels let him know of what he proposed to do (pp. 122-23).

The volume contains a number of letters showing how and why Engels wrote *Anti-Dühring*. Some of Engels' letters refer directly to his work on the book, namely to the subject of public property in bourgeois society (p. 308) and to social Darwinism, which he discussed in his letter to Lavrov of 12[-17] November 1875. On 19 July 1878, sending a copy of *Anti-Dühring* to the German zoologist Oscar Schmidt, Engels wrote that in his work he had endeavoured, among other things, to give an outline 'of the relation of scientific socialism to the propositions of modern theoretical natural science in general, and to Darwin's theory in particular' (p. 313).

Marx participated in the work on *Anti-Dühring*. He helped Engels pick out material for some of the chapters, read the manuscript from beginning to end and wrote a critical outline of Dühring's views on the history of economic doctrines, which was used by Engels as the basis for Chapter X of Part II.

Engels gave two years of his life to this book, published as *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science* and popularly known as *Anti-Dühring*. It provided the first ever comprehensive presentation of Marxism as an integral, indivisible science.

Much of Marx's and Engels' attention in this period was turned to the change in the organisational forms of working-class unity. In 1874 the International had in fact ceased to function, though it was not officially disbanded until 1876. In a letter to Sorge in September 1874, Engels wrote: 'The *old* International is entirely wound up and at an end... It belonged to the period ... when the common, cosmopolitan interests of the proletariat could come to the fore... For ten years the International dominated one side of European history—the side on which the future lies... But in its old form it has outlived itself' (pp. 41,42). A new form of international unity was called for, Engels observed, based on the independent working-class parties that were springing up in different countries.

Marx and Engels saw their prime duty in helping the new socialist parties to achieve ideological unity and gain mass support. Their many letters to German Social-Democratic leaders show how they dealt with this task. The specific commitment to the German socialists was due to the fact that they were then the only workers' party which was already an independent political force, as the 1874 Reichstag elections had demonstrated. For the first time in history, the working-class movement had a socialist faction of nine deputies in a parliament. This made a distinct impact on the international socialist movement.

But, as Marx and Engels noted in their writings, the German Social-Democratic Party had not yet become a truly mass party functioning on the principles of the International. To achieve this most difficult goal it was necessary to mend the split in the German labour movement and secure unification of the two socialist organisations—the Social-Democratic Party (Eisenachers) of August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, and the General Association of German Workers consisting of followers of Ferdinand Lassalle (see present edition, Vol. 44, pp. 510-14 and this volume, pp. 6-7, 17, 43).

A draft programme, the basis for uniting the two organisations at a congress scheduled in Gotha for May 1875, appeared in the German socialist press in early March, causing Engels to write to Bebel on 18-28 March 1875 and Marx to Wilhelm Bracke on 5 May.

'You ask me what we think of the unification affair' (p. 60), Engels wrote in reply to Bebel's question, and set forth his critical view of many of the draft's provisions which, in the main, came from the Lassalleans: that 'in relation to the working class all other classes are only one reactionary mass', the 'iron law of wages' and 'state aid' to the producers' co-operative societies. He noted the absence in the draft of a provision on the international character of the workers' movement and on the significance of trade unions, and so on. Engels also set forth his own views on various issues raised in the draft.

Marx and Engels blamed the Eisenachers for making unjustifiable ideological concessions to the Lassalleans, amounting in substance to a departure from their 1869 programme (p. 62).

If it was impossible to 'advance *beyond* the Eisenach Programme,' Marx wrote to Bracke, '... they should simply have come to an agreement about action against the common foe' (p. 70).

In a letter to Bracke of 11 October 1875, Engels examined the by then already adopted Gotha Programme. He noted that it did not sufficiently reflect his and Marx's suggestions, and called attention to its Lassallean rhetoric and slogans, its vulgarly democratic demands, and the incorrectly interpreted provisions of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. 'When two factions are agreed,' Engels wrote, 'they should include in the programme what is agreed, not what is contested' (p. 95).

In letters to Bracke of 11 October and Bebel of 12 October, Engels explained why Marx and he had refrained from taking a public stand against the Gotha Programme. As he put it, it was because not only the bourgeois press but also the workers interpreted it 'communistically'. 'It is *this circumstance alone*,' Engels wrote, 'which has made it possible for Marx and myself not to disassociate ourselves publicly from a programme such as this.' Engels admitted at the same time that the unification as such was 'a great success... But it was undoubtedly to be had at a far cheaper price' (p. 98).

The subsequent period showed that the union of the two socialist parties did lead to success for the German workers. The united party's membership rose appreciably. Trade unions sprang up under its guidance. The 'mustering of Social-Democratic forces in Germany', as Marx put it (p. 188), that took place in January 1877 demonstrated that the party's prestige had risen, as did the number of its deputies in the Reichstag. But the ideological concessions made to the Lassalleans had lowered the party's theoretical standard, enhanced the influence of petty-bourgeois

socialism, and caused the spread of Dühringian views which, in turn, led to the appearance of opportunism (p. 295). It was indeed obvious that the ideas of scientific socialism had not reached the minds of even the most advanced workers.

Marx and Engels were disturbed by the indifference of some of the party's leaders to opportunist pronouncements in the labour press. Engels wrote to Liebknecht in July 1877: 'I was speaking of the *party*, and that's whatever it makes itself out to be before the public, in the press and at congresses. ... If, as you say, these people amount to no more than a tiny minority, then obviously the only reason you and the others have to pay any heed to them is that each of them has his supporters. ... Much can ultimately be sweated out by a healthy party, but it is a long and arduous process' (p. 257).

Opportunism grew strong when the party was compelled to go underground in October 1878 in connection with Bismarck's Exceptional Law Against the Socialists (better known as the Anti-Socialist Law). A new tactic was called for to suit the new situation. More, the leaders had to cope with vacillation and confusion. As Marx and Engels saw it, a socialist party organ published outside Germany would help. It would propagate the party's views freely, and spell out its political and tactical principles. Many of Marx's and Engels' letters referred to preparations for the publication of *Der Sozialdemokrat* (in place of the banned *Vorwärts*) and reflected their struggle for its ideological line. They warned the party leadership that the Zurich Trio—Bernstein, Höchberg, and Schramm—who had been picked for the newspaper's control committee and who were former followers of Dühring, would be sure to lace the future party paper's platform with their opportunist views.

The letters of Marx and Engels reflect what preceded the writing of their Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and others. The Circular Letter, drawn up by Engels on 17-18 September 1879 and endorsed by Marx, was intended, as Engels wrote to Sorge, 'just for *private circulation* among the German leaders' (p. 414). Marx held that considering the party's underground status, any public discussion of inner-party affairs, a public polemics, would be inevitably damaging. The Circular Letter criticised opportunism as a whole: its renunciation of class struggle and the working-class party's class character, the conversion of the latter into a party of reform with the exclusive aim of improving capitalism, surrender of the reins of the movement to 'educated bourgeois', and the like. The writers

of the Circular Letter called attention to the Zurichers' endeavours to pass off the aggregate of their petty-bourgeois views for socialism. Marx and Engels pointed to the class roots of opportunism, first of all to the existence of a considerable petty-bourgeois contingent in the party which attempted 'to reconcile superficially assimilated socialist ideas with the most diverse theoretical viewpoints' (p. 407).

In conclusion they stressed: 'We cannot co-operate with men who say openly that the workers are too uneducated to emancipate themselves, and must first be emancipated from above by philanthropic members of the upper and lower middle classes' (p. 408).

At the same time, Marx and Engels took note of the emergence in the socialist party of an ultra-left current represented by Johann Most, a follower of Dühring's, and others. According to Engels, their 'revolutionary tittle-tattle' was something that had ceased to surprise anyone after the preceding almost forty years (p. 363).

The emergence of the Most group, which was swiftly developing towards anarchism, was traceable largely to the invigoration of the opportunist trend. Engels informed Johann Philipp Becker that the newspaper *Freiheit* which Most published in London was publicly accusing the leaders of the party of patronising reformists, and blamed them for the mistakes of some socialist Reichstag deputies (p. 383).

Marx wrote to Sorge: 'Our complaint against Most is not that his *Freiheit* is *too revolutionary*; our complaint is that it has *no revolutionary content*, but merely indulges in *revolutionary jargon*. Again, our complaint is not that he *criticises the party leaders in Germany*, but, in the first place, that he *kicks up a row in public* instead of telling these men what he thinks in writing, as we do, i.e. *by letter*' (p. 411).

The Circular Letter helped the party leadership considerably in setting the desired political course and in consolidating the party. Meanwhile, Marx and Engels continued to work for the party's ideological unity and to combat opportunism and ultra-left sentiment. Of special interest in that respect were Engels' letters to Bebel of 14 and 24 November and 16 December 1879. Here he elaborated on the correlation of theory and practice, the party's policy and tactics, the fight for ideological unity, and the like.

Engels maintained that 'every victory gained in Germany gladdens our hearts as much as any gained elsewhere', and stressed the special responsibility borne by an advanced body such as the party of German Social-Democrats. He could not help feeling

concerned that 'the practical conduct of the German party, and notably the public utterances of the party leadership, should continue to accord with the general theory' (p. 421). He pointed out that it was essential to 'compare from time to time what has been said and what has been done with the theoretical tenets valid for any modern proletarian movement' (ibid.).

Engels wrote: 'A party ... can only look for its laws to its living and ever changing needs. But if it seeks to subordinate those needs to earlier resolutions that are now dead as a doornail, it will be digging its own grave' (p. 418).

Though these points were examined in relation to the underground Social-Democratic movement in Germany, they amounted in substance to general principles governing the development of the international socialist movement as a whole.

The correspondence of Marx and Engels shows that they followed developments in the working-class movement in Europe and the United States of America. They looked into its character and specific features from country to country, and any incipient new trends. Nor did they lose time to inform their correspondents about all the more significant events. In August 1874, for example, Marx let Sorge know about the appearance in France, where reaction dominated at the time, of trade unions (workers' syndicates) that could, as he saw it, serve as 'a point of departure for the time when freer movement' was again possible (p. 30).

When articles appeared in the German newspaper *Vorwärts* saying it was not necessary for the masses in France to fight the threat of a monarchist coup, Engels wrote to Liebknecht, Johann Philipp Becker and others that it was not a matter of indifference to the workers what type of government existed in their country—a reactionary monarchy as, say, in Germany or a bourgeois-democratic republic. Consolidation of the republic in France, he wrote, offered the working class an opportunity to win democratic rights requisite 'for organisation and struggle'. He added: 'That is all they need to begin with' (p. 294).

Examining the working-class movement in Britain, Marx and Engels pointed out that its distinctive features were the trade unions that served as the movement's main form, a lack of interest in socialist theory, and the traditional commitment to a two-party system. Politically, Marx wrote, the English workers followed as before the Liberal Party (p. 299). The English workers' movement, Engels wrote to Eduard Bernstein on 17 June 1879, 'has been

going round and round ... in a confined circle of strikes for wages and the reduction of working hours'. He added that the strikes were regarded in England not 'as an expedient and a means of propaganda and organisation, but as the ultimate aim'. Summing up, Engels stated: 'At this moment a genuine workers' movement in the continental sense is non-existent here' (pp. 360, 361).

The contacts of Marx and Engels with socialist leaders in various countries increased over the years. In the Appendices to this volume you will find an extract from the reply of Jules Guesde, editor of the French socialist newspaper *Égalité*, to a letter from Marx which, unfortunately, is not extant. Guesde's reply gives a clue to what Marx had written: the historical necessity for a revolutionary transformation of society, the nature of the transformation, and the special role of an independent and militant workers' party (p. 451).

Engels' ties with Enrico Bignami, editor of the Italian newspaper *La Plebe* (Milan), and Eudóxio Gnecco, editor of the Portuguese newspaper *O Protesto* (Lisbon), were quite strong. He informed them of the German socialists' campaign in the January 1877 Reichstag elections. For the Italian workers' movement, in which anarchist influences still prevailed, this was important. Engels' letter to Bignami about the election results was published in *La Plebe* on 26 February 1877 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 172-73).

An important means of securing ties among socialists of different countries, Marx and Engels held, was to exchange printed matter and learn about other parties' experience. Engels advised Johann Philipp Becker to contact the newly-established Portuguese socialist party, to print its contributions, and to supply it in return with requisite material (p. 174). He wrote the same to Liebknecht and other socialists.

On the whole, the correspondence of Marx and Engels was evidence of their growing influence on the international working-class movement. Besides, it reflected the growing role played by their associates heading the socialist movement and their increasing knowledge of theory.

Marx wrote to the German socialist Wilhelm Blos that he and Engels were categorically opposed to any personality cult. 'Neither of us,' he wrote, 'cares a straw for popularity. Let me cite one proof of this: such was my aversion to the personality cult that at the time of the International, when plagued by numerous moves—originating from various countries—to accord me public honour, I never allowed one of these to enter the domain of publicity' (p. 288).

The volume contains the letters of Marx and Engels to their Russian friends—Pyotr Lavrov, Nikolai Danielson and others. The contact with Lavrov was obviously strong and enduring. Marx posted various editions of the first volume of *Capital* to Lavrov, and received Russian books from him. He also regularly read the Russian-language journal *Vperyod!* published by Lavrov, which acquainted him with the state of the revolutionary movement in Russia (pp. 58, 91 et al.). Lavrov supplied him with various other material, including an account of the trials of young Russian revolutionaries in the 1870s. Marx passed on this information to Keyes O'Clery, an Irish MP, for use in the House of Commons (see this volume, pp. 210, 211; *MEGA,* Abt. I, Band 24).

In his long letters to Danielson, Marx set forth his views on the world economic crisis of the 1870s, industrial development, and Russia's financial straits (pp. 344, 346-47, 354-58). In a preface to the first Russian-language edition of the second volume of *Capital* in 1885, Danielson cited passages from Marx's letters to him of 15 November 1878 and 10 April 1879, examining the growth of capitalist relations in the United States, the British economic crisis of the 1870s, and the reasons why the appearance of the second volume was delayed.

In some of their letters, Marx and Engels delved into the foreign policy of European states and, notably, into the possibility of a new war in Europe and its consequences for the working-class movement. Though Engels wrote to Johann Philipp Becker on 20 November 1876 that there was a 'universal lull' at the time (p. 174), both he and Marx did not rule out the possibility of war between European countries in the 1870s. Dwelling on the subject in a letter to Bebel of 16 December 1879, Engels wrote he was convinced that a 'war such as that would, for us, be the greatest of misfortunes; it might set the movement back by twenty years' (p. 431).

Much space in the letters of 1877-78 was devoted to the rise of the revolutionary movement in Russia, its character, and international impact. Marx and Engels related revolution in Russia directly to the aggravation of the Eastern crisis that culminated in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. In their letters and articles of that period, they noted Russia's abrupt economic decline, the impending financial crisis, and the mounting disaffection among Russia's impoverished nobility and among the peasant masses (see

present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 39-50, 203-06, 251-52, and this volume, pp. 278, 295).

Marx and Engels were certain that a Russian revolution would inevitably influence the state of affairs in the rest of Europe, causing the revolutionary movement to grow and laying the ground for the downfall of autocratic monarchies. They were convinced revolution would break out if Russia lost its war against Turkey. In a letter to Liebknecht in February 1878 Marx made this plain in the following terms: 'The *defeat of the Russians* would have greatly *expedited social revolution in Russia,* of which all the elements are present in abundant measure, and *hence radical change throughout Europe*' (p. 296).

For Marx and Engels, revolution in Russia was part of the world revolutionary process. This explains their one-sided view of the democratic movement that sprang up at the time in Britain in support of the struggle of the Slav nations in the Balkans against Turkish rule (pp. 292, 299). In Marx's view it was tantamount to backing tsarism.

But even after the war, which culminated in Turkey's defeat, Marx and Engels noted that revolutionary events were coming to a head in Russia (p. 431).

The letters of Marx and Engels contain extensive biographical information. Those had been uneasy years for the two friends. Marx and his wife were often ill. Marx took the misfortunes of his eldest daughter Jenny, who lost her first-born child, very close to heart. Lizzie Burns, Engels wife, was taken ill time and again, and died in 1878. The letters show how considerate Marx and Engels were to each other and to their friends and associates. They helped them financially and offered moral support during the hard times of government persecution, when they were imprisoned or denied a chance to earn their living. The letters refer to many such cases. Engels, for example, wrote to Johann Philipp Becker, 'anything I can do for you will always be done without fail, and always with pleasure' (p. 383).

* * *

Volume 45 contains 292 of Marx's and Engels' letters. Out of these, 206 appear in English for the first time, while out of the 86 that did appear before, 35 had previously been published

incomplete. Those published in English earlier are indicated in the Notes. Out of the eight letters given in the Appendices, six appear in English for the first time.

In view of the organic connection of Engels' letter to August Bebel of 18-28 March 1875, Marx's letter to Wilhelm Bracke of 5 May 1875 and the Circular Letter of Marx and Engels dated 17-18 September 1879, with all the other correspondence of that period, and considering their particular scientific and political significance, the three said letters, already published in Volume 24 of the present edition, are also being given in this volume.

Obvious slips of the pen in the letters have been corrected without comment. Proper and place names and separate words abbreviated by the authors are given in full, except when the abbreviations were meant to mislead possible censors or were undecipherable. Defects in the manuscripts are pointed out in footnotes, while lost or illegible passages are indicated by omission points. If presumable reconstruction is possible, it is given in square brackets. Any text crossed out by the authors is reproduced in footnotes only where it is pertinent. Rough drafts of letters or fragments reproduced in some other document, etc., are indicated either in the text itself or in the Notes.

Foreign words and expressions are left as given by the authors, with a translation wherever necessary, and displayed in italics (in spaced italics if underlined in the original). Wherever Marx and Engels used English words and expressions in letters they had written in German, French or some other language, these are given in small caps. If whole passages are in English, they are placed in asterisks. If the same facts or events recur in the texts of different letters, the same note number is given every time. Some of the words are now somewhat archaic or have undergone changes in usage. For example, the term 'nigger', which has acquired generally—but especially in the USA—a more profane and unacceptable status than it had in Europe during the 19th century.

The texts of the letters and Notes were prepared by Vladimir Sazonov (letters dated from January 1874 to December 1877) and Natalia Kalennikova (letters dated from January 1878 to December 1879, and the Notes). The Preface is written by Valeria Kunina, assisted by Natalia Kalennikova. The Name Index, the Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature and the Index of Periodicals are by Natalia Kalennikova; Vera Popova took part in preparing the text and pertinent matter. The editors of the

volume are Valeria Kunina and Velta Pospelova (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The translations were done by Rodney Livingstone, Peter and Betty Ross (Lawrence & Wishart), K. M. Cook and Stepan Apresyan (Progress Publishers) and edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Nicholas Jacobs (Lawrence & Wishart), Lydia Belyakova, Yelena Kalinina, Stephen Smith (Progress Publishers), and Alexander Malysh and Vladimir Mosolov, scientific editors (Institute of Marxism-Leninism).

The volume was prepared for the press by the editors Svetlana Gerasimenko, Yelena Kalinina and Anna Vladimirova (Progress Publishers).

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## LETTERS

January 1874-December 1879

# 1874

## 1

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[1]

### IN HANOVER

[London,] 19 January 1874

Dear Wenzel,

Engels informed me of your letter to him.[2] Hence these lines. After my return[3] a carbuncle broke out on my right cheek, which was operated on; later it had several smaller successors, and I think that at the present moment I am suffering from the *last* of them.

Incidentally, don't worry at all about newspaper gossip and *still less answer it.* I myself allow the English papers to announce my death from time to time, without showing any sign of life. Nothing annoys me more than to appear to be supplying the public with reports of my state of health through my friends (*you are the great sinner in this respect*). I don't give a farthing for the public, and, if my occasional illness is exaggerated, it at least has the advantage that it spares me all sorts of requests (theoretical and otherwise) from unknown people in every corner of the earth.

My best thanks for the kind words from the Lady Countess and Fränzchen.[a]

I am very glad to receive the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and find all sorts of interesting things in it.

The relative victory of the ultramontanes and Social-Democrats in the elections[4] SERVES MR BISMARCK AND HIS MIDDLE-CLASS TAIL RIGHT. More another time.

Your
K. M.

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[a] Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann

Apropos. On the advice of my friend, Dr Gumpert (of Manchester), I have now rubbed quicksilver ointment in the place concerned at the first trace of carbuncle irritation and find that it works quite specifically.

What has happened to your friend, 'Dr Freund' of Breslau,[a] who in your opinion was so promising? It seems, *après tout, que c'est un fruit sec.*[b]

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 25, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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## 2

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN HUBERTUSBURG

London, 27 January 1874

Dear Liebknecht,

I am glad you give me an occasion to write to you; what with the many different things I have had to deal with recently, our correspondence would otherwise just come to a halt. *Ad rem*, then.

A short while—perhaps a week—before the Geneva Congress,[5] we received a little pamphlet of 16 pages from Geneva. It was signed by Perret, Duval and about another 6-8 names,[6] for the most part, like the two referred to, leaders of the Geneva International and the noisiest opponents of the Jurassians. The pamphlet contained the statement that the Hague Congress was in the wrong, that it was necessary to weaken the General Council, abrogate its powers of suspension, transfer it back to Europe and at the same time debar London for two years (the fools—as if we were pining to have it here!), etc., etc. This was followed by a letter from Perret. Although it was he above all who instigated and conducted the whole row with the Bakuninists, he declared that these concessions would have to be made since this would ensure

[a] Polish name: Wrocław. - [b] after all, that this is a dry fruit.

that '*des sections jurassiennes*'—by which he means the one in Münster-Moutier—joined forces with *them*.—Both Perret and the other Genevans had left us in the dark about this new development *right up to the very last moment*; they had failed to reply to our enquiries about the situation in Geneva and hence omitted to dispel the illusion they themselves had fostered that we could rely on unconditional support in Geneva—particularly since it was their doing that the London General Council had joined in the quarrel with the Bakuninists and become more and more deeply embroiled in it. Indeed, Perret had misled us only two weeks before, when he wrote telling us that the membership of the *Comité Romand* had been changed and that he had resigned! WELL, since all the information pointed to the fact that the Congress would be a purely local event in Geneva, or at most a Swiss Congress with negligible participation from abroad, we FINALLY decided not to attend.[a] Subsequent events proved us right, and Becker[b] was able to tell these sudden Genevan converts to 'anti-authoritarianism' that they could pass whatever resolutions they liked, but that no one would pay any attention and everything would be overturned at the next congress.

In the meantime, however, the whole intrigue came to light. Behind the affair was none other than that adventurer Cluseret, who had also inspired their celebrated pamphlet. The fellow imagined the moment had arrived for him to place himself at the head of the International and have the General Council transferred to Geneva. This latter notion had flattered the local bigwigs, who hoped to convert the International into a local Swiss gossip shop in which they could all play first violin. At the same time, M. Perret was in constant touch with Jung here, who, in the manner he had adopted since The Hague, told him a heap of lies about the powerful support they could count on here if they *reduced the International to an organisation concerned only with rendering support to* STRIKES, etc.

The Geneva *faiseurs*[c] followed his lead, and this resulted in the establishment of the *Union des Travailleurs*, a paper without anyone behind it but Cluseret, Perret & Co., together with their projected *Ligue universelle*.[7] So the whole thing was a new, somewhat modified scheme to make the International serve the Genevans' ends.

But the project was still-born. The paper published reports

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 44, pp. 523-25. - [b] Johann Philipp Becker - [c] mountebanks

from Germany, Belgium and France, all of which were written in Geneva; only the London reports were by Jung, and those were as full of lies as only Jung has learnt how to lie in the last fifteen months. When they tried to have their little plans adopted in the Geneva sections they failed everywhere without exception. The Belgians would have nothing to do with them, and now the Sheffield Congress has also given them short shrift, as could have been foreseen by anyone who knows anything about English TRADES UNIONS.[8] So that spells the end of their little plan, and M. Perret can now *resign* indeed.

So you can see how the very same little jackasses who deliberately ruined the Geneva Congress became turncoats immediately after it, and tried out a new swindle, which luckily has come to nought.

The pamphlet on the Alliance,[a] incidentally, has achieved its aim. The entire dissident press, which was an artificial phenomenon, sustained only by the prestige of the International, has now collapsed. The Brussels *Internationale* and probably also *Le Mirabeau* have folded up, not to mention the *Liberté*. The same thing has happened to the plethora of Spanish and Italian papers. I cannot say with assurance whether *La Federación* and the *Bulletin Jurassien* are still appearing, but I think not. This sectarian press will be replaced by a better one BY AND BY, but it will take time and that will do no harm. The bad elements will have to wear themselves out completely before better ones can come along.

Over here the whole mass of workers' leaders in the pay of the bourgeoisie, and in particular of Samuel[b] Morley, are trying their hardest *to get the bourgeois to elect them to Parliament as WORKING MEN'S CANDIDATES*. They won't succeed, though I would gladly see the whole crew there and for the same reasons as I welcome the election of Hasenclever and Hasselmann and still only regret the absence of my Tölcke. The Reichstag ruined Schweitzer, and it will ruin them too. It is the end of swindling and forces one to show one's colours.

The elections in Germany[4] place the German proletariat at the head of the European workers' movement. It is the first time that the workers have voted for their own people *en masse* and have put themselves forward as a party in their own right, and throughout the whole of Germany at that. It can hardly be doubted that measures to restrict the franchise will follow, though

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*. - [b] In the original: John.

not for a year or two. How right that feudal socialist R. Meyer[a] was in his contention that the General Association of German Workers would become increasingly international—despite its bosses—was confirmed by the second ballot in Frankfurt when the jackasses finally had to vote for Sonnemann and acted quite correctly: first vote for our own man, and then, if it is clear that he won't get in on the second round, vote for the opponent of the government, whoever he happens to be. This was a very bitter pill for the bosses. But history has its laws, and even the mighty Hasenclever cannot prevail against them.

You have already had news of Marx. He is better, but still needs to *take care not to overwork.* This morning we went out walking on Hampstead Heath, something he ought to do every day; however, it shows you that there is no question of his having to remain indoors, etc.

I assume that the Reichstag will just let you serve out your sentence, so it would be very good if Jacoby were to be elected.[9]

I intended writing something about Germany for the *Volksstaat,* but have been so involved in economic and statistical material that it threatens to become a small, or even a full-size, book.[10]

Best wishes to Bebel.

Your

F. E.

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## 3

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 14 February 1874

Dear Sorge,

Just a very hasty note to let you know that around a fortnight ago I sent you 1 parcel with 12 *Alliances*[b] and the day before

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[a] R. H. Meyer, *Der Emancipationskampf des vierten Standes,* Vol. 1, Berlin, 1874, p. 120. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association.*

yesterday, 2 parcels, each with 50 copies of the English Rules,[a] i.e. 100 in all.

I have managed to get hold of around three hundred copies of the German Rules here, and the English Federal Council has promised me a further 400-500 English ones. As soon as I have them, I shall send you the whole lot, together with some *Alliances*, per PARCELS COMPANY. The post is becoming too expensive; the English Rules cost 4 shillings! To save you problems with customs duties I shall refer to you on the cover as GENERAL SECRETARY, I.W.A.

It was obvious that the New York movement would slip out of your hands as soon as PUBLIC MEETINGS and other demonstrations replaced real work and organisation.

I suppose the German gentlemen will have found out by now what it means to join forces with the Yankee swindlers.

Your
F. Engels

More soon!

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## 4

## ENGELS TO WILHELM BLOS

IN LEIPZIG

London, 21 February 1874

Dear Friend Blos,

Things received with thanks. I enclose the article on the English elections.[b] The first of a series on the Military Law[c] will follow in a few days; the second[d] as soon as I have obtained a copy of Moltke's speech.

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[a] K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - [b] F. Engels, 'The English Elections'. - [c] F. Engels, 'The Imperial Military Law. I'. - [d] F. Engels, 'The Imperial Military Law. II'.

Jacoby's conduct is irresponsible.[9] If he did not wish to take up his seat he should have requested the Party Committee in advance just to put him forward as a mere 'name' in completely hopeless constituencies. The workers have neither the money nor the time to squander on empty gestures of this sort. The most strenuous efforts will be needed to get Bracke in, and victory there is doubly important since it is in a *rural* constituency. Jacoby has disqualified himself for good with this. The man is just *too much of a sage.* And his reasons are so trivial and vulgar-democratic! He hurls abuse at *force* as something reprehensible in itself, even though we all know that, when it comes down to it, nothing can be achieved without force. If Löb Sonnemann had written such things, that would not be so bad, or Karl Mayer of the *Schwäbischer Beobachter*—but a candidate of our party! However, it is a good thing that he has reduced himself to the level of a mere 'name'.

And in fact it is all very fine and logical: on the one hand, he rejects *force*, on the other, parliamentary *legal* action—what is left then but pure Bakuninist abstention?

Yours in friendship,

F. E.

Liebknecht's letter arrived yesterday.

First published, in Russian, in *Bolshevik*, No. 13, Moscow, 1932

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Published in English for the first time

## 5

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 27 February 1874

Dear Sorge,

The things listed on the back of this letter were sent off to you today in a parcel addressed to *F. A. Sorge, * General Secretary I.W.M. Association, 25 Hudson Street, Hoboken, N.J. via New York,* per Continental Parcels Express Company (W. Wheatley & Co.—

New York Agents: W. H. Bucknam & Co., 57 Broadway). Carriage forwarded, Value declared £10.*

The BRITISH FEDERAL COUNCIL has become so lackadaisical that I have not yet managed to extract an official price for the English Rules[a] from them—only a POSTCARD from Barry saying, *I THINK 1½D. WILL DO!*

I am charging 2 shillings each for the *Alliances*,[b] but in return am paying the carriage of those sent by post.[c]

I have to leave in an hour for a few days, so farewell and keep your chin up. Your police seem to want to outdo even those in Versailles.

Your
F. Engels

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## 6

## MARX TO GEORGE MOORE[11]

IN LONDON

[Draft]

London, 26 March 1874
1 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

It is quite understood that you are welcome to take your time in order to decide upon your course of action in regard to your private settlement with me.

But there was another item in my letter[12] of which you have taken no notice. In order to save expense, always caused by lawyers' letters, I had called upon you to send me the £2. 15s. due by Mr Lester Collier to the firm, and which, *according to the award*, are to be paid to me like all the rest of the outstanding debts.

Now to-day some incidents have come to my knowledge which give to the whole transaction with respect to the collecting of the outstanding debts a very ugly look.

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[a] K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*. - [c] See this volume, p. 7.

Messrs Merriman, Powell, et Co. had, as I told you in my last letter, written to the different firms (except Mr L. Collier) in order to call in the sums due by them. To-day, at their offices, they showed me three letters till then received in reply.

*The first letter* is from Mr *Dickes* (dated 25 March). He states therein that he 'paid his debt on *31st January 1874*' and that the receipt he holds is signed 'Received for Moore and Le Moussu. L. Rocher'.

*The second letter* is from the *Gardeners' Chronicle* (dated 25 March), and, according to it, 'they have paid all up on *February 26*'.

*The last letter* (dated 25 March) is from Mr Turner (Dover). He states that he '*holds receipt* from Messrs Le Moussu and Moore'.

I suppose that the other letters still to drop in will be cut upon the same pattern.

However that may be, the three cases already certified give cause not only for *actions before a County Court*, but, I am afraid, for *actions for embezzlement*.—This is at least the opinions expressed by Messrs Merriman, Powell, et Co., considering 1) that this money has been taken up not only *after* the dissolution of partnership, but while the lawsuit was pending,and after a *notice of warning* sent by Messrs M., P., and Co. to Mr Shaen on 22nd January; 2) that the fact of the drawing in the money was kept not only secret with regard to myself, but before the judge, Mr Harrison, when he was in presence of the three partners scrutinising every single item of the list drawn up originally by you of the outstanding debts, a fact which Mr Harrison, when summoned as a witness, will have to confirm; 3) that after the award had been communicated to the parties concerned the appropriation of the money was still withheld from my knowledge.

*I must now request you to write me at once as how far you have acted in common with Mr Le Moussu* in every single case. The moment my final instructions are once in the hands of my solicitors—and you understand that I am not at all inclined to be bothered with this affair longer than is strictly necessary—it will be no more in my power to stop such disagreeable proceedings as these 'very ugly facts' may give rise to.

Yours truly,

Karl Marx

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# 7

# MARX TO GEORGE MOORE

## IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 28 March 1874

*To Mr G. Moore*

Your yesterday's letter contains assertions which rest partly upon a misstatement and partly upon an erroneous interpretation of facts.

*Firstly. Your misstatement of facts.*

In the first statement of my solicitors in the hands of Mr Harrison at the time of his arbitration I declared not only that I had *received* the money collected from *The Engineer* and *The Farmer* (but of no other *'etc.'* which figures in your letter) but that I had spent it (and something more) in paying Messrs Longuet and Griset.[a] On the first day of our examination I handed over the respective receipts to Mr Harrison in proof of my declaration.

Mr Shaen having said in his counter-statement that I was not appointed liquidator of the concern, I replied that being the only creditor of the concern, I had a perfect right to act as my own liquidator. This declaration of mine is also contained in my written answer to Shaen's counter-statement, which I handed over to Mr Harrison, on the second day of our examination, and which he has now returned to my solicitors. In his award Mr Harrison has literally endorsed my claim by appointing me my own liquidator. Moreover, Le Moussu having further stated in his own oath to Mr Harrison that I had already laid hold on the machines,—which was not literally exact, but true in that sense that you held then the machines for me—I denied in no way his statement.

There was, therefore, on my part, no concealment of facts.

*Secondly. Your erroneous interpretation of facts.*

In order to prove Le Moussu's mendacity in which he had the boldness to persist when being on oath before Mr Harrison, I proved that the money was not collected by him, that the money [was] collected *in my name,* [that] on the contrary the invoices were made out by you, handed over by you to Longuet, [and the mon-

[a] Further the words 'creditors of the concern' are crossed out in the original.

ey was] collected by him in the name of the firm, and that my very name was not mentioned in *Mercurer*. This transaction...[a] The judicial proceedings having once begun, I took no step whatever to get at the outstanding debts. You will now have to judge for yourselves whether my proceedings have any analogy with yours.

I come now to another point. In your letter you say:

'I have received the money from *Dover*, the *Gardeners' Chronicle* and I will send you *Collier's Account*.'

You do not mention *Dickes*, but I expect that in your next letter of Monday I shall receive all the details.

In conclusion let me remark that in regard to the *legal* character of the past proceedings, I have only communicated to you not my own view, which is not yet at all settled, but an opinion provisionally expressed by my solicitors, Mr Merriman and Mr Powell, at the interview I had with them, in presence of another gentleman, on Thursday last.[b]

Yours,
K. Marx

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## 8

## MARX TO JENNY MARX[13]

IN LONDON

Ramsgate,[c] SUNDAY [19 April 1874]
16 Abbot's Hill

Dear Jenny,

16 Abbot's Hill—vis-à-vis Mme Williams—that is the address of the 'CLIFF' where I have lodgings. But NEVER MIND! There was no price fixed for it either. The landlady first asked for £1 and then came down to 12 shillings. They are incidentally perfectly decent 'folk'; the man, a COACH BUILDER, seems also to dabble in art. He

[a] The sentence remained unfinished. - [b] i.e. 26 March - [c] Marx took treatment at Ramsgate from mid-April to 5 May 1874.

has painted, and not just daubed, a very idealised and RATHER enigmatic figure who stands guard at the entrance to a certain place. And in the middle of the front-garden there is a TOM-THUMB-sized clay figure of Napoleon I, standing on a brick pedestal, dressed in black, yellow and red, etc., A VERY MANLY MAN, AND WELL DONE. The landlady has a number of children, including a six-week-old BABY who often makes his presence felt in a very disagreeable manner.

The air here is delightful, but despite all the walking I do, I have not yet managed to get good night's sleep.

The place is not quite deserted, but it is the HOME BREWED PEOPLE who are most in evidence, as yet.

I hope that Jennychen is feeling better and that the EXCELLENT LITTLE MAN[a] is not suffering too much with his teeth. Both mother and son are constantly in my mind.

Apropos. Tell Tussychen who found Tennyson's *Alexandrovna!*[14] so amusing, that there is nothing new under the sun (even though she is sufficiently well versed in the Bible to need no telling). In June 1872 the *comte du Nord* (subsequently Tsar Paul, the MADMAN, who was travelling under this name) found himself in Paris with his young wife. He was present at a session of the Académie Française at which M. de la Harpe read out a poetic epistle to his *Altesse impériale.*[b] Each stanza ended with the word 'Petrovich' (son of Peter), of which Grimm remarks:

> 'Apostrophe répétée, plus ridicule encore pour les oreilles russes qu'elle n'est étrange pour les nôtres. Ce mot, lorsqu'il n'est pas précédé de quelque épithète qui le distingue, est aussi familier en russe que le serait celui de Toinette ou de Pierrot en français'.[c]

Tussy will be doing Tennyson a great favour if she sends this piece of information to the *Quiddities and Oddities Journal.*

GIVE MY THANKS TO ENGELS FOR HIS LETTER.[15] Such a punctilious correspondent is seldom met with in our *temps corrompu.*[d]

*Adio* and greetings to everyone.

Your
Karl

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[a] Charles Longuet - [b] Imperial Highness - [c] 'The repetition of this name is even more ridiculous in Russian ears than it is strange in ours. Unless preceded by some distinguishing epithet, the word is as common in Russian as Toinette or Pierrot would be in French.' See F. M. Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique de Grimm et de Diderot, depuis 1753 jusqu'en 1790,* Vol. 11, Paris, 1830, pp. 154-55. - [d] degenerate age

# 9

## MARX TO JENNY LONGUET[16]

IN LONDON

[Ramsgate, between 20 and 24 April 1874]

Dear Jennychen,

I am sending the *épreuves*[a] today. Please let me have them back after Longuet has looked through them. I shall then make a definitive version of the copy to be sent to Paris.[17]

Today was the first day I have been able to do even the slightest amount of work. Up to now, despite baths, walks, marvellous air, care with my diet, etc., my condition was even worse than in London. Proof that the matter had reached a crisis point and that it was high time for me to disappear. For the same reason I am delaying my return, for it is absolutely vital for me to be *fit for work* when I come back. Engels' letter,[15] saying that he is arriving today, reminds me of one of the reasons, I SUPPOSE, for your not coming. How is your health? I am convinced that a few weeks at the SEASIDE would restore you completely. At present it is in fact more pleasant and soothing than during the actual season.

I hope that my darling Putty[b] will still recognise me.

Tell Tussychen that the 'SACRED MUSIC'—*sacrée musique*, as she translated it—was not actually known by this name among the frivolous Parisians, but that what it referred to had come from Italy, where they have always turned the Divine into a comedy, and was known as '*concerts spirituels*' in Diderot's day.

*Pour la bonne bouche*[c] Grimm retells the following witticism of the Chevalier de Boufflers:

'Les princes ont plus besoin d'être divertis qu'adorés; il n'y a *que Dieu qui ait un assez grand fonds de gaieté* pour ne pas s'ennuyer de tous les hommages qu'on lui rend.'[d]

*Adieu*, my darling.

Your

OLD NICK[e]

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[a] proofs (of the French edition of the first volume of *Capital*) - [b] nickname of Charles, first-born of Jenny Longuet - [c] As a final titbit - [d] 'Princes would rather be distracted than worshipped; *only God has a sense of humour great enough* to prevent him from being bored by all the homage he receives.' See F. M. Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique de Grimm et de Diderot, depuis 1753 jusqu'en 1790*, Vol. 7, Paris, 1829, p. 449. - [e] jocular name for Marx

# 10

# MARX TO MAURICE LACHÂTRE

## IN BRUSSELS

[London,] 12 May 1874

Dear Citizen,

It was not until today that I despatched to Paris the proofs[a] you sent me. I had a relapse; my doctor[b] sent me to the seaside resort of Ramsgate[c] and forbade me to do any work. It is as if the devil himself were involved. Now I am feeling better and hope I shall at last get it finished. There will be some three more instalments in all (including the instalment I have begun).[17]

I am much obliged to you for your amendments, etc. I have altered the sentence to which you drew my attention.

You will remember that I wrote to you in St Sebastian saying that Bismarck was backing Thiers, but that the Prussian ambassador, Arnim, was, with the King's[d] support, conspiring with the royalists. Bismarck has finally toppled Arnim and caused him to be recalled from Paris.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

Roy's manuscript was finished long ago, but as the whole thing had to be reworked from start to finish, the printer[e] in Paris has not yet received my version, of which only the draft has been done.

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[a] of the French edition of the first volume of *Capital* - [b] Eduard Gumpert - [c] Marx took treatment at Ramsgate from mid-April to 5 May 1874. - [d] William I - [e] Louis Justin Lahure

# 11

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[1]

### IN HANOVER

[London,] 18 May 1874

Dear Kugelmann,

I have received everything: your letters (including some kind lines from your dear wife and Fränzchen[a]), the 'Meyer' (police-socialist, *faiseur*,[b] literary scribbler),[18] the cuttings from the *Frankfurter*, etc., and finally a letter from Madame Tenge.

I am very grateful to you, your family and Madame Tenge for the kind interest in my progress. But you do me an injustice if you ascribe my failure to write to any other cause than shaky state of health, which continually interrupts my work, then goads me on to make up for the time lost by neglecting all other duties (letters included), and finally puts a man out of humour and makes him disinclined to activity.

After my return from Harrogate[3] I had an attack of carbuncles *d'abord*, then my headaches returned, insomnia, etc., so that I had to remain from the middle of April to 5 May in Ramsgate (SEASIDE).[c] Since then I have been feeling much better, but am far from being quite well. My specialist (Dr Gumpert in Manchester) insists upon my going to Karlsbad[d] and would like to make me travel there as soon as possible, but I must finally complete the French translation[17] which has come to a full stop, and, apart from that, I should much prefer it if I could meet you there.

In the meantime, while I was unable to write, I worked through a lot of important new material for the second volume.[e] But I cannot start on its final composition until the French edition is completed and my health fully restored.

So I have by no means yet decided how I shall spend the summer.

The progress of the German labour movement (ditto in Austria) is wholly satisfactory. In France the absence of a theoretical foundation and of practical COMMON SENSE is very evident. In England at the moment only the agricultural labourers' movement

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[a] Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann - [b] mountebank - [c] See this volume, pp. 13-14. - [d] Czech name: Karlovy Vary.- [e] of *Capital*

shows any advance[19]; the industrial workers have first of all to get rid of their present leaders. When I denounced the fellows[a] at the Hague Congress[20] I knew that I was letting myself in for unpopularity, slander, etc., but such consequences have always been a matter of indifference to me. Here and there people are beginning to see that in making that denunciation I was only doing my duty.

In the United States our party has to fight against great difficulties, partly economic, partly political, but is making headway. The greatest obstacle there are the professional politicians, who immediately try to falsify every new movement and change it into a new 'floatation business' ['Gründungsgeschäft'].

Notwithstanding all diplomatic moves, a new war is inevitable *au peu plus tôt, au peu plus tard,*[b] and before its conclusion there are hardly likely to be any violent popular movements anywhere, or, at the most, they will remain local and unimportant.

The visit of the Russian emperor[c] is giving the London police a great deal to do and the government here will be glad to get rid of the man as soon as possible.[21] As a precautionary measure it requisitioned forty police (*mouchards*[d]), with the notorious police commissioner Bloche at their head (Ali Baba and the forty thieves), from the French government, to watch the Poles and Russians here (during the Tsar's stay). The so-called amnesty petition of the Poles here is the work of the Russian embassy; in answer to it the Poles here issued an address, written and signed by Wróblewski, which is aimed at the English and which has been distributed in large numbers at the Sunday MEETINGS in Hyde Park. The English press (with very few exceptions) is obsequious—the Tsar is after all 'OUR GUEST'; but for all that the real feeling against Russia is incomparably more hostile than it has been since the Crimean War,[22] and the entry of a Russian princess[e] into the royal family has aroused rather than disarmed suspicion. The facts—the arbitrary abrogation of the decisions concerning the Black Sea in the Paris Treaty,[23] the conquests and trickeries in Central Asia, etc.—irritate John Bull, and Disraeli has no chance of remaining at the helm for any length of time if he continues Gladstone's unctuous foreign policy.

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[a] in a speech on 3 September 1872 (see *The Hague Congress of the First International. Minutes and Documents*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 37) - [b] sooner or later - [c] Alexander II - [d] spies - [e] Maria Alexandrovna

With my warmest greetings to your dear family and Madame Tenge.

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 25, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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## 12

## ENGELS TO GOTTFRIED ERMEN

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 1 June 1874

Dear Sir,

A fortnight's absence from London, and subsequently a slight cut in my hand which however disabled me for some time from writing, have caused some delay in my replying to your letter of the 16th April.

When, in 1869, we discussed the conditions on which ultimately I left the business,[24] I certainly gave you reason to hope that, even after the lapse of the five years stipulated, I might consent to allow you to retain my name in the firm. But this was always made dependent upon certain contingencies.

Had these contingencies been realised, I should have been quite willing, on application, to allow you to continue the use of my name in the firm.

But certainly, no word ever uttered by me could have induced you to consider yourself entitled to continue using my name after the 30th instant as a matter of course, and without my express permission.

The principal amongst these contingencies were:

1) That there should occur no collisions between the Manchester house, and that of my brothers[a] in Barmen. I am glad to say, that

[a] Hermann and Rudolf Engels

none such have occurred, and that moreover, from what I heard of my brothers last autumn, none are likely to occur, the two houses scarcely ever coming into competition.

2) That Mr Acton's views as to my not incurring any liability should prove correct.

Now I have consulted upon this point ever so many lawyers, and they are one and all unanimous as to my responsibility for all the debts of the firm so long as I allow my name to remain in the firm.

If you would be good enough to send me Mr Acton's opinion on the point written by himself, I believe I could make short work of this misunderstanding.

The point is so notorious, that it is laid down in plain terms in all handbooks on the law of partnership. I quote from one by a barrister of high reputation:

> 'If any retiring partner consent to be held out to the public as connected with the firm, as for instance by allowing his name to be written over the shop, or used in the advertisements or invoices of the firm, *he will continue liable.*'

So that, if there can be anything positive in English Law (which I should not risk to assert), it must be this point.

But even supposing Mr Acton to be right on this point, and all the other lawyers wrong, the contrary opinion of the others would merely prove the point to be such a knotty one that, if the very improbable case now under consideration should ever occur, and if my money should not go to the Creditors, it would surely go to the Chancery Lawyers.[25]

However, I shall be quite willing to give my consent to the old firm being continued for a period not extending beyond the 30th June 1875, on the condition of your giving me a distinct promise, that after the 30th of September 1875 my name shall not any longer appear as that of a partner on any goods sent out by the firm.

You see I am quite willing to do everything to facilitate the change of firm, giving you the use of my name there, where it is of most value to you, on the tickets and wrappers, for three months longer than you ask for.

Hoping that this letter will find you in good health and spirits, I remain

Yours very truly,

Fr. Engels

First published in: M. Jenkins, *Frederick Engels in Manchester* [Manchester, 1951]

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## 13

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[1]

### IN HANOVER

[London,] 24 June 1874

Dear Kugelmann,

I have at last decided to go to Karlsbad in the middle of August with my youngest daughter Eleanor (known as Tussy). You must therefore see about lodgings and inform me approximately how much it will cost per week. What happens later will depend on circumstances.

My best greetings to the Lady Countess and Fränzchen.[a]

Your
K. M.

The Austrian government would be stupid enough to put difficulties in my way; it is therefore advisable to let nobody know anything of the intended journey.

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## 14

## MARX TO ENGELS[26]

### IN RAMSGATE

Ryde, 15 July 1874
11 Nelson Street[27]

Dear Fred,

It is really shameful of me not to have written to you before, but, as is well known, it is very hard to find time when one is absolutely idle. This island is a little paradise, above all for the gentlemen who have everywhere turned the best-situated land into

[a] Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann

their own parkland. We have made a tour round the island by BOAT, have been in Ventnor, Sandown, Cowes, Newport and also on a number of walks. It is too hot to pursue the latter with any thoroughness, although compared to London, the temperature is doubtless very moderate.

Religion seems to thrive here among the NATIVES, but apart from that they are practical people. 'VOTE FOR STANLEY, *THE RICH MAN*', we found on posters all over the district. The Town Council of Ryde, on which various members of the Ryde Pier and Railway Company have seats and whose proceedings replace those of the House of Commons in the local press, is a true model of JOBBING.

Our LANDLORD is a SCRIPTURE READER FOR THE POOR, and his theological library, ABOUT TWO DOZEN VOLUMES, adorns our SITTING-ROOM. Although he is a member of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, I found Spurgeon's sermons among them. In Sandown, where I took a hot bath, I found a similar LIBRARY in the bathhouse, and one can scarcely move an inch without seeing posters advertising pious MEETINGS. And in fact, the PLEBS here is very poor and seems to seek its chief distraction in the church. It would be quite interesting to investigate how what was originally a community of fishermen became reduced IN NO TIME to this state of religious self-abasement. It is certainly not the result of 'over-population', since all told there are not even 100,000 genuine inhabitants.

My health is improved, above all no pills required. But my head, despite everything, is still not completely right.

Laurachen gave us great pleasure with her visit last Saturday.[a] Unfortunately, she had to return again on Monday evening. When we went down to the pier to see her off, we witnessed the arrival from Brighton of a Temperance gang back from an excursion. Half of them were drunk. As an old Englishman next to me remarked, it was 'THE WORST LOT HE HAD EVER MET WITH IN HIS LIFE', and neither have I ever actually experienced such a mob of stunted, loutish and smutty-minded idiots all at once, the women as ugly as sin, all of them 'young people'. For FOREIGNERS this SAMPLE of FREEBORN BRITONS would have been an amazing sight.

It is a matter of great regret that the Emperor of Russia[b] didn't break his neck in Saxony. You will have seen from the newspaper reports that if the Russians promised to give Bismarck a European sanction for his Articles of War at the Brussels Congress, what they really intended was to take up the issue of MARITIME RIGHTS[28] on the basis of their earlier preparatory work in Paris (1856).[c] If

[a] 11 July - [b] Alexander II - [c] See this volume, p. 18.

Gladstone had been Premier instead of Disraeli, the trick would have worked. As things stand, the congress can only be a FAILURE.

The abortive assassination attempt on Bismarck[29] seems, for all that, to have momentarily turned his head. Would he otherwise have talked, despite the waters at Bad Kissingen, among other things, of 'the freedom' that he himself and those who fell in the war have fought to acquire for Germany? The handsome William[a] for his part must consider it against all etiquette that no one thinks it worth the trouble to take a shot at him any more.

In France it is the fear of DISSOLUTION that makes the fellows so coy. MacMahon is obviously by no means as resolute as he pretends to be, despite his Royal Prussian Order in Council. He is too well aware that a coup d'état would make him dependent on the Bonapartists and would put a speedy end to his septennium.[30] On the other hand, he is afraid of a DISSOLUTION without previously regulating or 'organising' his authority as Marshal. If the Rurals[31] put their interests before their ideological fancies, they will make it 'possible for him to rule' despite his reluctance. But has anything as comic as this conflict and its heroes ever been seen in world history? If the Republic pisses its way to survival, certainly no one will have been more innocent of the deed than the professional republicans themselves.

With best regards to Mrs Lizzy and Pumps.

Your
Moor

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## 15
## ENGELS TO MARX
### IN RYDE

Ramsgate, 21 July 1874
11 Abbot's Hill

Dear Moor,

Last Friday[b] evening I received out of the blue a letter from Gumpert posted in *London*; he has gone there to have an

[a] William I - [b] 17 July

operation and asked us to visit him when it is all over (Saturday). I telegraphed and wrote to him at once[15] and have received a reply today saying that the operation went off all right and that he hopes to be up again in a few days. Depending on what he says in his next letter, I shall visit him either this week or early next, when I have to be in London on business and to fetch Pumps.

I hope that your head has finally given in to the sea air and has ceased to rebel.

The Carlists have indulged in the pleasure of shooting a Prussian officer. So the Prussian fleet can go off there and take its revenge without delay, instead of blockading you in Ryde. It seems obvious that one way or the other the Prussians will come into conflict with Spain. In the meantime, Bismarck is putting his injured wrist to good use.[29] There will certainly be new legislation on the press, assembly, associations, etc.

I fear that you are deceived in William.[a] I suspect that from now on he will regard it as one of the chief duties of all his ministers to take all bullets upon themselves in peacetime, in accordance with the Constitution. The only aspect of constitutionalism that he takes seriously.

Friend Dizzy[b] will probably want to become a minority minister once more now that his crack-brained SQUIRES have compelled him, perhaps for the first time in English history, actually to revoke two parliamentary measures passed by his predecessors: the school business and now the ENDOWED SCHOOLS COMMISSION.[32] The jackasses don't know what they are doing by overturning the traditional unassailability and once-and-for-all establishment of laws which have been enacted. This certainly knocks quite a hole in the Old English tradition of loyalty. A few more tricks of that sort and this Tory Parliament will find itself in quite the same position as the Versailles Assembly vis-à-vis the electorate, and it will cling to its septennium just as desperately as MacMahon.[30]

But what a blockhead that man is! First the Prussian MESSAGE,[c] and then the abdication of the author of the MESSAGE,[33] and now the self-same MacMahon begs for a postponement, immediately after almost giving the order to charge! I think all this will come to nothing, the Assembly will pass contradictory resolutions, will adjourn its sessions until the winter, without any result, and will then start to go round in circles once again until a majority has been created in favour of dissolution. If it achieved anything, it

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[a] William I - [b] Benjamin Disraeli - [c] See this volume, p. 23.

would be a sheer FLUKE, a lucky shot at billiards, and up to now this Assembly hasn't a single FLUKE to its credit.

What a financier this Magne is, wanting to squeeze even more money from already overstrained indirect taxes! And he was the financial wizard of the Second Empire! Gambetta really looks very dignified in comparison, as he stands there with his big drum with which to convert the three men of principle, Blanc, Quinet & Co.! And the beaten Italians and the beaten French celebrate the 'supremacy of the Latin race' in Avignon and Arqua over the corpse of Petrarch![34] While at the same time the German philistine revels in the *Kulturkampf*[35] and his English equivalent gets drunk for CHURCH AND STATE. VERILY the ruling classes are going to seed at the same rate everywhere, and even our German citizens do not lag behind the times in this respect.

Best regards.

Your
F. E.

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## 16

## MARX TO MAURICE LACHÂTRE

### IN BRUSSELS

[London,] 23 July 1874
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My dear Fellow Citizen,

After receipt of your last letter but one,[36] I myself informed Rochefort of its contents, but he had already made an agreement with the English publisher who brings out the *Lanterne anglo-française* in London.

As to the delay with our publication,[a] you may rest assured that no one is more distressed by it than I am. It is not, as you appear to imagine, merely a question of details and of minor corrections

[a] of the French edition of the first volume of *Capital*

of style; rather I had, indeed am still having, to do virtually the whole thing over again. Once condemned to this thankless task I added here and there some important new developments,[17] which will give the French edition—as I shall incidentally point out in the afterword—a value not possessed by the German original.[a] As to my French friends, they can only be of use on a few points of phraseology.

My earlier letters must have convinced you that physical weakness alone has prevented my finishing it. My health has been further aggravated by family misfortunes: Mrs Longuet's only child, a little angel ten months old,[b] has been taken from us by a sudden choleric attack, while my youngest daughter[c] has been suffering for months past from a serious illness.

However my physician[d]—who has given me strict instructions to refrain for the time being from work of any kind—says that a stay at Karlsbad and the taking of its mineral waters will effect a complete cure. I leave on the 15th of August, so that I shall be able to resume work at the end of September, and you have my guarantee that the task will be finished by the end of November.[37] At present the delay cannot be of much importance, seeing that the dead season has begun.

In any case, the previous delays, for which I was in no way responsible, and the total lack of publicity occasioned by the state of affairs in Paris, had long since killed off sales by instalment.[38] I have in my hands a letter from you (from San Sebastian) in which you say so categorically, adding that it would be impossible to set things in motion again until after the sale of the complete work.

I shall always be most grateful for the interest you have taken in this publication and for the patience with which you have put up with tiresome incidents. The need for a scientific basis for socialism is making itself increasingly felt in France, as everywhere else.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 35. - [b] Charles Longuet - [c] Eleanor Marx - [d] Eduard Gumpert

## 17

## ENGELS TO JENNY LONGUET

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 2 August 1874
11 Abbot's Hill

My dear Jenny,

I was sorry I did not see you again before my return and now write to you to remind you of your promise to come over here for a short time.[39] We are staying here till Tuesday fortnight and can accommodate you any day. After all you have gone through both bodily and mentally during these last weeks, it is absolutely necessary for you to have some change of air and change of scene, and I am sure you require the seaside quite as much as Mohr and Tussy require Karlsbad. Do take me for your doctor for the nonce and let me prescribe a short term of sea air for you. The sooner you come the better it will be for you. Mrs E.[a] was quite vexed I had not brought you with me there and then. She and Pumps send their loves to you.

Please remember me to Longuet and believe me yours ever faithfully and affectionately

F. Engels

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## 18

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 4 August 1874

Dear Fred,

Jennychen will join you the day after tomorrow; she'll probably leave by the 12 a.m. train from Maitland Station, Kentish Town. I shall come down with her for the day.[39]

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[a] Lizzie Burns

My four referees, Manning, Matheson, Seton and Adcock, all assembled at the SOLICITOR'S at precisely 12 o'clock on Saturday; the various STATEMENTS before the MAGISTRATE were taken care of and the papers were delivered to the HOME OFFICE by the SOLICITOR the same day. He thinks that a decision can be expected this week.[40]

Enclosed a letter from Lafargue of which I forgot to inform you.

For the last two days I have had the beginnings of a carbuncle on the left buttock. It will probably succumb to the mercury ointment. Sleep badly; I had taken the little chap[a] to my heart. Best regards to all at home.

Your
K. M.

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## 19

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[41]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 4 August 1874

Dear Sorge,

My long silence cannot be excused at all; *cependant il y a des circonstances atténuantes.*[b] That damned liver complaint has made such headway that I was positively unable to continue the revision of the French translation[c] (which actually amounts almost to complete rewriting), and I am very unwillingly submitting to the doctor's[d] orders that I go to Karlsbad. I am being assured that after my return I shall be fully able to work again, and being *unable* to work is indeed a death sentence for any man who is not a beast. The journey is expensive and so is the stay there, and what is more, it is not certain whether the foolish Austrian government might not expel me! The Prussians would scarcely be

[a] Charles Longuet - [b] however, there are extenuating circumstances - [c] of the first volume of *Capital* - [d] Eduard Gumpert's

so stupid, but they like to talk the Austrians into such compromising measures; and I actually believe that the false newspaper reports that Rochefort wants to go to Karlsbad, etc., stem from Mr Stieber and are, in the final analysis, aimed at me. I have neither time nor money to waste and have therefore decided to apply for British naturalisation,[40] but it is very likely that the British HOME MINISTER,[a] who decides on naturalisation like a sultan, will upset my plans. The matter will probably be decided this week. In any event, I am going to Karlsbad, if only because of my youngest daughter[b] who was seriously, dangerously ill, is only now able to travel again, and has also been told by her doctor[c] to go to Karlsbad.

About a week ago we were afflicted by a great misfortune, the death of Jenny's (Mme Longuet's) eleven-month-old BABY,[d] a truly lovable child. He fell victim to a *foudroyant*[e] attack of gastro-enteritis.

I have given Beifuss a receipt for the monies transferred to me (and which would have been of much greater use in New York, since I need American things from time to time, publications, I mean). You must also convey my thanks to Section I for the splendid box of cigars.

The few Frenchmen (I mean of those who still stuck to us in The Hague) later turned out for the most part to be rascals, in particular M. Le Moussu, who cheated me and others out of significant sums of money[f] and who then resorted to infamous slanders in order to whitewash his character and present himself as an innocent whose beautiful soul has gone unappreciated.

In England the International is as good as dead for the present. The Federal Council in London exists as such only in name, although some of its members are active individually. The great event over here is the reawakening of the AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.[19] The failure of their initial efforts does no harm, *au contraire.* As for the urban workers, it is regrettable that the whole gang of leaders did not get into Parliament. That is the surest way of getting rid of the rascals.

In France workers' syndicates are being organised in the various big cities and are in correspondence with one another. They confine themselves to *purely professional* matters, nor can they do anything else. Otherwise they would be suppressed without further ado. In this way they are keeping some sort of

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[a] Robert Lowe - [b] Eleanor - [c] Elisabeth Anderson-Garrett (see next letter) - [d] Charles - [e] sudden and terrible - [f] See this volume, pp. 11, 12.

organisation, a point of departure for the time when freer movement will again be possible.

By their own practical impotence, Spain, Italy, and Belgium demonstrate the content of their super-socialism.

In Austria our people are working under the most difficult conditions; they are compelled to move with the greatest caution. Nevertheless they have made one great advance: they have prevailed upon the Slav workers in Prague and elsewhere to act together with the German workers.[42] During the final period of the General Council in London I had tried in vain to achieve an understanding of this sort.

In Germany Bismarck is working for us.

General European conditions are such as to increasingly wage a *general European war*. We shall have to pass through it before there can be any thought of decisive overt activity on the part of the European working class.

My wife and children send you their best regards.

Your
Karl Marx

Despite errors of all sorts, the publication of B. Becker's pamphlet on Lassalle's movement[a] is very useful in putting an end to the sect.

You will have noticed how semi-taught philistine fantasies make their appearance in the *Volksstaat* from time to time. Such stuff emanates from schoolmasters, doctors and students. Engels has told Liebknecht off about it, which he seems to need from time to time.

In judging conditions in France, especially those in Paris, it should not be forgotten that alongside the official military and political authorities the gang of epauletted Bonapartist blackguards is still secretly active out of which the great republican Thiers formed the *military courts* for slaughtering the Communards. They constitute a sort of secret tribunal of terror; their *mouchards*[b] are everywhere, making the Parisian workers' districts, in particular, unsafe.

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[a] B. Becker, *Geschichte der Arbeiter-Agitation Ferdinand Lassalle's*. - [b] police spies

## 20

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[1]

### IN HANOVER

[London,] 4 August 1874

Dear Kugelmann,

About a week ago I wrote your dear wife a few lines,[12] telling her of the death of my only grandson[a] and the serious illness of my youngest daughter.[b] This was not an isolated but rather an acute outbreak of an illness from which she has long suffered. Eleanor is now up again, much sooner than her doctor (Madame Dr Anderson-Garrett) had dared to hope. She is able to travel, though of course still delicate. Madame Anderson thinks the Karlsbad waters will help considerably to restore her health, just as Dr Gumpert *ordered* rather than *recommended* me to go there. It is naturally difficult for me to leave Jenny[c] now (I mean IN ABOUT two weeks). I am in this respect less stoical than in others and family afflictions always hit me hard. The more one lives, as I do, almost cut off from the outside world, the more one is entangled in the emotional life of one's own circle.

You must send me your exact Karlsbad address by all means and, in particular, make my excuses to your wife and Fränzchen[d] for not answering their kind and affectionate letters.

Your
K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

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[a] Charles Longuet - [b] Eleanor Marx - [c] Longuet - [d] Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann

## 21

## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[1]

IN HANOVER

[London,] 10 August 1874

Dear Kugelmann,

I cannot leave here before 15 August (Saturday)[43] and shall take about 4 days to get to our destination, since Tussy[a] must not exert herself too much.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

## 22

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, Wednesday,
12 August [1874]

Dear Moor,

*Peasant War*[b] received with thanks.

Be so good and write at once a few lines about how you are, if you have not done so already. Jenny[c] has heard from Longuet that your leg is not all it should be and she is so worried about it that yesterday she was talking about going back to see you. The sea is visibly doing her good, the bathing is also good for her and her cough is gone, as far as I can judge. Unfortunately, she is still suffering from insomnia somewhat, and I do not know what to do about that except to advise her to try and snatch a little sleep after meals, which she has just done with success.

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[a] Eleanor Marx - [b] F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*. - [c] Longuet

In general, it would be good if you could write to her more frequently; you know how much she is attached to you.

Your
F. E.

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## 23

## MARX TO ENGELS[44]

### IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 14 August 1874

DEAR FRED,

I suppose you will have received the letter[12] I posted to you last Tuesday[a]? If not, we shall have to ask the Post Office to look into it, since another letter that Tussychen wrote likewise failed to arrive.

On going through the accounts with my wife yesterday, it turned out that she had had many additional expenses. So I gave her some of the money intended for my trip[43]: £16.5sh. for the LANDLORD and £15 for herself. For the moment I do not need more than what is left after I have made various purchases for the journey, and since I do not expect to be leaving Karlsbad before 18 or 20 September, you could send me what money I need then out of the next quarter's allowance.

However, it is very improbable that I shall be able to stay in Karlsbad. Last week there was a trial in Vienna where the accused was indicted on a number of counts, including the charge that he had sent a photograph of the 'Social Communist K.M.' (as the prosecutor described me) to London. Admittedly, this charge was not held by the court to be a criminal act.

New arrests have been made at all the Russian universities,[45] and it is obvious that throughout Europe the attempt is being made once again to turn the 'International' into a bogey.

---

[a] 11 August

HOWEVER THAT MAY BE, I shall set off tomorrow, since otherwise I shall arrive too late in the SEASON.

Tussy is feeling much better; her appetite is growing in geometric PROPORTION, but it is the characteristic feature of these women's ailments in which hysteria plays a part; you have to pretend not to notice that the invalid is again living on earthly sustenance. This too becomes unnecessary once recovery is complete.

The carbuncle did not develop into anything big, but it did go deep. Since yesterday the discharge has *quite stopped*, so it is starting to heal. A real blessing that I did not set off earlier. It could have been really unpleasant while travelling. HOWEVER, it was idiotic of Longuet to write about it to Jennychen. If there is any harassment in Karlsbad, I suppose I shall be compelled to beat a retreat to Hamburg. Borkheim is away.

With best regards to all.

Your
K. M.

Has Jennychen received the *Lanterne* which I posted off at the same time as the *Peasant War*[a]?

If Rochefort fails to produce a good *Lanterne* this week, he will have to be written off. The French government is doing all that is humanly possible to ridicule other people.

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## 24

## MARX TO JENNY LONGUET[16]

### IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 14 August 1874

My darling Child,

I think that you will have received at long last the letter[12] I addressed to Engels last Tuesday.[b] If not, enquiries should be

[a] F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*. - [b] 11 August

made at the Post Office, since such irregularities should not be allowed to pass without comment.

It was very wrong of Longuet to alarm you with the story of my carbuncle. Yesterday morning the so-called core came out, putting an end to the discharge. I then immediately put a plaster on it, which likewise began to have its usual effect. So you can see, my dear child, that all is well in this respect.

As far as my naturalisation is concerned,[40] my SOLICITOR had not received any further NEWS from the HOME OFFICE by last night. I shall go and see him again today. Come what may I shall take my departure tomorrow evening.[43] At the worst I should find myself forced to retreat from Karlsbad to Hamburg, which would be vexing enough, if only on account of the expense. After a long period in which neither the 'International' nor myself had attracted any attention, it is very curious that my name should have figured again JUST NOW in trials in Petersburg and Vienna, and that ridiculous RIOTS in Italy[46] should be connected not only with the 'International' but (see the reports from Rome in today's *Daily News*[a]) directly with me. The insinuation of the Rome correspondent that the INTERNATIONAL RIOTERS are acting on behalf of the Papists smells very much like a recipe provided by Bismarck.

Yesterday's *Evening Standard* contained a small LEADER which began with the words: 'THE INTERNATIONAL HAS BEEN SCOTCHED, BUT NOT KILLED.'[b] This was with reference to the arrest of 80 people in Marseilles,[c] something which is said to be secretly linked with the Italian farce, although the true connection was in fact very PALPABLE: *Bazaine s'est échappé.*[47] *Donc*—as *compensation Macmahoniste—80 Communards à Marseille sont arrêtés.*[d] The *Standard*, which at the level of sheer police nastiness can vie with *The Daily News*, goes on to comment that these REVOLUTIONISTS become very conservative as soon as they can lay hands on the smallest bit of property, and that they are nothing but penniless rabble, etc. In the same issue there is a telegram from Marseilles according to which one of the men arrested is a millionaire. BRAVE FELLOWS, THOSE BRITISH GENTLEMEN OF THE 'FREEST PRESS IN THE WORLD'! Moreover, it is a remarkable fact that various French (Parisian) papers which I have

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[a] 'International Bands in the Romagna (From Our Own Correspondent), Rome, August 10', *The Daily News*, No. 8831, 14 August 1874. - [b] *The Evening Standard*, 13 August 1874 ('The Internationalist snake has been scotched, not killed...' - [c] *The Evening Standard* of 13 August 1874 also reported on the arrests in Marseilles, in an item entitled 'The Arrest of Communists at Marseilles'. - [d] Bazaine has escaped. Whereupon—as a MacMahonist retaliation—80 Communards were arrested in Marseilles.

seen—including some very conservative ones—do not make any attempt to link the Italian farce with the 'International'.

Now to another topic. Frankel and Utin were here yesterday evening. The latter brought the news that Madame Tomanovsky has got *married.* (What he was uncertain about—quite between ourselves—was whether her imminent confinement had been prepared before or after the wedding. Nor did he have any details yet about the fortunate husband.[a]) Frankel was very upset by this unexpected blow.

General Cecilia bored me for 3 to 4 hours the day before yesterday. Among other things, he told me that they (*id est,*[b] as we already knew, he and his party, C. Martin) were founding a school for the French refugee children. In it, he said, *l'enseignement de l'hygiène*[c] was to play a part, as well as *économie sociale*, and would I do him the favour of composing A PRIMER for this on the English pattern? He also told me with great indignation that in one of its latest issues *Le Figaro* had made the grotesque assertion that the Republic had ruined France by its appointment of 4 generals *qui s'appellent*: Crémieux, Glais-Bizoin, Cecilia—*et* Lissagaray! I whispered this flattering piece of news into the latter's ear that very evening.

I am just gossiping on because I scarcely dare mention the only subject which interests you. The house is as silent as the grave, now that our little angel[d] is not there to animate it. I miss him at every turn. My heart bleeds when I think of him, and how can one get such a sweet, lovable little chap out of one's mind! But I hope, my child, that you will be brave for your old man's sake.

*Adieu,* my darling Schwärzchen,[e]

Your loving,

OLD NICK[f]

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[a] Ivan Davydovsky - [b] that is to say - [c] instruction in hygiene - [d] Charles, Jenny Longuet's son - [e] Marx's affectionate name for his daughter Jenny, alluding to her dusky appearance—'*schwarz*' means black. - [f] jocular name for Marx

## 25

## MARX TO ENGELS[16]

IN LONDON

Karlsbad, Austria,
1 September 1874
Germania, am Schlossberg

Dear FRED,

By next Wednesday[a] I shall have been here for two weeks and my powder, ALIAS MONEY, will just suffice for a third week. If you should write to me, please use the above address, but put Miss Eleanor Marx on the envelope. The cure has done wonders for Tussy; I am feeling better but my insomnia has not yet been overcome.

We are both living in strict accordance with the rules. We go to our respective springs at 6 every morning, where I have to drink seven glasses. Between each two glasses there has to be a break of 15 minutes during which one marches up and down. After the last glass, an hour's WALK, and finally, coffee. Another cold glass in the evenings before bed.

I am not allowed to drink anything but pure Pumpenheimer[b]; Tussy, on the other hand, DAILY receives a glass of Pilsner beer, which makes me envious. The doctor[c] prescribed for me by Kugelmann, an Austrian, very like the celebrated General Cecilia in his mannerisms, speech, etc., felt some initial anxiety at the prospect of my staying here. On his advice I have registered as *Charles* Marx, *Privatier*,[d] London, and this '*Privatier*' meant that I had to pay double the usual *spa taxes*, both for Eleanor and myself, into the worthy municipal treasury. But it did remove the suspicion that I might be the notorious Karl Marx. Yesterday,[e] however, I was denounced as such in the Viennese scandal-sheet *Sprudel* (a spa paper), and the Polish patriot Count Plater (a good Catholic and liberal aristocrat) was bracketed with me as 'head of the Russian Nihilists'.[48] But this has probably come too late, since I already have the municipal receipt for the spa tax I have paid. I could also have lived much more cheaply than where Kugelmann has lodged me, but his arrangements were useful and possibly

[a] 2 September - [b] i.e. water - [c] probably Ferdinand Fleckles - [d] private gentleman - [e] Marx is mistaken. It should be 'the day before yesterday', i.e. 30 August (see *Der Sprudel*, No. 18, 30 August 1874).

essential, in view of my specific need to appear respectable. I shall not travel back via Hanover *under any circumstances*, although Kugelmann does not yet know it, but shall instead take the southern route by which I came. The man irritates me with his grizzling and carping—and the sheer brutishness with which he quite baselessly poisons both his own life and that of his family. On the other hand, it is quite possible that I shall have to remain in Karlsbad for five weeks.

The surroundings here are very beautiful, and one cannot have enough of the walks here over the wooded granite mountains. But there are no birds in these forests. Birds are healthy and do not like the mineral vapours.

I hope that Jennychen is feeling somewhat better.

Best regards to all from

Moor

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## 26

## ENGELS TO MARX[49]

### IN KARLSBAD

London, 5 September 1874

Dear Moor,

Arrived back safely last night, or rather at 2 a.m., after a very rough but splendid sea-crossing[39]—waves up to 20 feet high. Jenny rather sea-sick at first, but better after σεισάκθεια[a]; [she spent] the whole time on deck in a warm, very well-sheltered place. Her chief problem is now irregular sleep, the poor girl spends the whole night brooding over her dead baby,[b] and there is nothing that can be done about it.

Last Sunday[c] I wrote to you[15] at Kugelmann's address, enclosing a CROSSED CHEQUE for £30 made out to him. Should you be unable to cash it, telegraph Miss Burns: CHEQUE RETURNED, and then

[a] vomiting - [b] Charles Longuet - [c] 30 August

either send or bring the cheque back with you and I shall send notes. This is for the worst eventuality; I couldn't manage things otherwise, but assume that on arrival it will be all right. If the sum is insufficient, as I almost suspect from your letter which was waiting for me here,[a] just drop me a line, and more will follow. At any event you must take the cure for as long as the doctor thinks necessary, and I enclose a further 2 £5 notes which I happen still to have for all eventualities—the first halves now, the second to follow in a few days. PARTICULARS OF NOTES AT FOOT.

Also waiting for me was a letter from Mesa[50]—a very pleasant surprise, very nice of him.

That the cure should begin by making your insomnia worse if anything seems normal to me in view of the inevitably stimulating effect of the waters. If you keep your doctor informed about the progress of this symptom, he will modify his orders accordingly, and make sure that the matter does not become too serious.

Jenny wrote to Tussy this week—I think it was Tuesday or Wednesday, the letter will probably have arrived by now.

Jenny suffered no after-effects from the tour of the caves, so that even a two-hour trip in an open carriage in the rain last Tuesday—the weather came down on us on the way home—went off well. She was in any case well protected with umbrella, WATERPROOF and SHAWL. On the whole, however, we had constant fine weather up to the very last days, while reports are that it has rained mercilessly on the continent.

Jersey has changed significantly since we were last there.[51] A tremendous amount of building, elegant villas, large hotels, dear, almost English prices in them, and at the market, too, everything more expensive; the London market forces prices up even here. The French language is rapidly disappearing, even country children speak almost nothing but English among themselves, and people under 30 almost all speak English without a trace of a French accent. Only the older notables cling to French. There are also two small railways there now on which you never hear a word of French. In the season 5 different entrepreneurs organise excursions around the island every day. We went on one with more than 150 people in 8-9 carriages. The public: philistines, CLERK and VOLUNTEER, and snobs all providing much occasion for amusement and sometimes annoyance. On such trips even in Jersey the TRUE BRITON casts off his laboriously acquired DOMESTICATION, but resumes it all the more conscientiously at the *table d'hôte.*

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[a] *See this volume, pp. 33-34.*

The growing supply of money among certain up-and-coming individuals—one can scarcely speak of strata—in the lower English middle class, and the SPREAD of luxuries and of the affectation of RESPECTABILITY associated with it, could be seen very clearly in Jersey precisely because Jersey is still counted a cheap and hence unfashionable little island. The RESPECTABILITY STANDARD of travellers to Jersey seems to diminish each year—an observation, incidentally, which we made also in Ramsgate, where no one complained about it more bitterly than the wretched barber who cut our hair so short last April.

*Nunc autem domine dimittis*[a]—I still have a pile of things to write, and it is time to have this letter registered. Best regards to Tussy, ditto Wenzel.[b]

Your
General[c]

D 67, 77773 and 4, London, 13 July 1874. 2 £5- BANK OF ENGLAND NOTES, 1st halves enc.

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## 27

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[52]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 12[-17] September 1874

Dear Sorge,

The invoice you requested enclosed.[d] As far as the German Rules[e] are concerned, please look in the books to see whether the printing costs for them were paid for by the old General Council

[a] But now, O Lord, dismiss me (cf. Luke 2:29). - [b] Ludwig Kugelmann - [c] jocular name for Engels - [d] See this volume, pp. 44-45. - [e] K. Marx, *Allgemeine Statuten und Verwaltungs-Verordnungen der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation* (K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*).

or not. I think not; they were charged up to *me privately* by the *Volksstaat* and, to the best of my knowledge, I have never been reimbursed. However, if the amount appears in the account book as one laid out by the General Council here, then obviously the copies will be inherited by the new General Council and the balance in its favour vis-à-vis myself rises to *£6.3.6.* Unless you have any claims on the money, which of course take precedence, the present General Council can use it as it wishes, *if* ***you*** *agree.* I have advanced £32 for the cost of printing the *Alliance*[a] and shall *certainly* lose something like half of it, so that there may be a nice little counter invoice at the end of the year. The fact is it would be idiotic to hand the money over to these nonentities who are only there to make sure that everything goes wrong.

With your resignation[53] the *old* International is entirely wound up and at an end anyhow. And that is a good thing. It belonged to the period of the Second Empire, when the oppression throughout Europe prescribed unity and abstention from all internal controversy for the workers' movement, then just reawakening. It was the moment when the common, cosmopolitan interests of the proletariat could come to the fore. Germany, Spain, Italy, and Denmark had only just entered the movement or were entering it. In reality, the theoretical character of the movement in 1864 was still very unclear throughout Europe, that is, among the masses. German communism did not yet exist as a workers' party, the Proudhonism was too weak to be able to insist on its particular fads, Bakunin's new trash did not yet exist even in his own head, and even the leaders of the English TRADE-UNIONS thought they could enter the movement on the basis of the programme laid down in the *Considérants*[b] of the Rules.[c] The first great success was bound to explode this naive conjunction of all factions. This success was the Commune, which was beyond doubt the child of the International intellectually, though the International did not lift a finger to produce it, and for which the International—to that extent with full justification—was held responsible. When, thanks to the Commune, the International became a moral force in Europe, the row began at once. Each tendency wanted to exploit the success for itself. The inevitable decomposition set in. Jealousy of the growing power of the only people who were really ready to continue working along the lines of the old comprehensive programme—the German Communists—drove the Belgian

[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association.* - [b] Preamble - [c] K. Marx, *Provisional Rules of the Association.*

Proudhonists into the arms of the Bakuninist adventurers. The Hague Congress was actually the end—and for both parties.[20] The only country where something could still be accomplished in the name of the International was America, and by a fortunate instinct the executive was transferred there. Now its prestige is exhausted there too, and any further effort to galvanise new life into it would be folly and a waste of energy. For ten years the International dominated one side of European history—the side on which the future lies—and can look back upon its work with pride. But in its old form it has outlived itself. In order to produce a new International like the old one—an alliance of all the proletarian parties of all countries—a general suppression of the workers' movement like that which prevailed from 1849 to 1864 would be necessary. For this the proletarian world has now become too big, too extensive. I think the next International—after Marx's writings have been at work for some years—will be directly Communist and will openly proclaim our principles.

Stahl from Chicago was here. A man of much practical ability, like most German Americans. I liked him in other respects too, but this does not mean that he won't do anything silly in Germany. Even he is not entirely immune to that conciliation nonsense.

The Belgians and the Bakuninists are now holding their congress in Brussels.[54] For reports see *The Times*, London, of 10 September et seq.[a] Fourteen full delegates: one German (Lassallean), one Frenchman, one Spaniard (an unknown called Gomez), one Schwitzguébel. The remainder all Belgians. General disagreement on all essentials, concealed by the fact that they did not debate, but only narrated and listened. Admittedly, I have only seen one report. The Italians announced what amounted to their resignation; a public International could only harm them, they intended in future only to conspire. The Spaniards are leaning in the same direction. For the rest, they just tell each other lies about the colossal movements they are creating. And they imagine they will still find people who will be taken in.

Mr Bastelica, too, has become a Bonapartist agent. In Strasbourg, he made approaches of that nature to Avrial, a former member of the Commune, and was, of course, shown the door. One by one, these anarchists all end up in the same way.

Mesa has written to me from Madrid saying that he will have to go to Paris because government persecution is becoming more

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[a] *The Times*, Nos. 28104, 28105, 28107, 28108, 28109; 10, 11, 14, 15, 16 September 1874 ('The Seventh International Working Men's Congress').

than he can bear. So we are back in contact with Spain once more.[50]

In Germany things are going splendidly despite the persecutions, in part *because of* the persecutions. The Lassalleans have become so discredited by their representatives in the Reichstag that the government had to start harassing them just so as to convey the impression that they are a serious movement. That aside, ever since the elections, the Lassalleans have found it necessary to cling to the coat-tails of our people.[4] It was a real stroke of luck for Hasselmann and Hasenclever to have been voted into the Reichstag. They are visibly ruining their reputation there: either they will have to join our people or make a mess of things off their own bat. Either course will finish them off.

Mr Jung thought it fitting to write to Liebknecht and make advances to him! Liebknecht sent me the letter and I have shown it to people who will reveal this to Mr Jung.

Marx is in Karlsbad drinking the waters to restore his liver.[43] He has had a lot of bad luck. Scarcely had he managed to recover somewhat in July on the Isle of Wight[27] when he had to return because his youngest daughter[a] suddenly fell seriously ill. No sooner had he arrived than Jenny's little boy[b] died at the age of about one year. That really hit him hard again. I think that once his liver is all right again the cure may more easily have an effect on his overworked nervous system. All the doctors prophesied that Karlsbad would do him a lot of good. Up to now the Austrian government has left him in peace, and he will probably be leaving at the end of this week.

The squabbles in New York, which made it impossible for you to remain in the General Council any longer, are just as much proof as consequence of the fact that the thing has outlived itself. When circumstances no longer allow a society to act effectively, when the first thing to be done is simply to keep the bond of union tied so that it can be used again when the occasion arises, there are always people to be found who cannot fit themselves into this situation, definitely want to play the BUSYBODY, and demand that 'something be done', and this something can then only be folly. And if these people succeed in getting the majority, they compel everyone who does not want to bear the responsibility for their absurdities to resign. What good fortune that we did not send the minute books over!

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[a] Eleanor - [b] Charles, first-born of Jenny Longuet

The French refugees are in utter chaos. They have all fallen out with each other and with everyone else for *quite personal reasons*, money matters for the most part, and we are now almost entirely rid of them. They all want to live without doing any real work, their heads are full of imagined inventions which would bring in millions if only someone would enable them to exploit their discoveries, a matter of just a few pounds. But anyone who is naive enough to take them at their word will be cheated of his money and denounced as a bourgeois into the bargain. Le Moussu has behaved more disgracefully than anyone and now stands exposed as a charlatan pure and simple.[a] All these people have been horribly demoralised by their dissolute life during the war, the Commune and in exile, and the situation really has to be desperate to rescue a Frenchman once he has let himself go. The great mass of politically unknown French workers, on the other hand, has simply abandoned politics for the moment and found work here.

Best regards.

Your

F. Engels

*17 September 1874*

*General Council of the International Working Men's Association*

On account with F. Engels

Account No. 1[b]

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1873 Nov. | Received per Serraillier | | | £16.-.- |
| Sept. | Telegram to New York | | | £1.16.- |
| " | 25 copies 'Alliance'[c] by post | | 2/- | £2.10.- |
| 1874 Feb. | 12 " " | | 2/- | £1.4.- |
| " | 12 " " | | 2/- | £1.4.- |
| " | 100 Engl. 'Rules'[d] by post | | $1^1/_2$d. | £12.6 |
| " | 400 " " | | $1^1/_2$d. | £2.10- |
| " | 300 Ger. " | | 1d. | £1.5.-£11.1.6 |
| | Balance in favour of the General Council | | | £4.18.6 |

[a] See this volume, pp. 11-13. - [b] The account is written on a separate sheet of paper and enclosed with this letter. - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*. - [d] K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*.

Account No. 2

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1874 August. | Printing costs of *L'Alliance* advanced by F. Engels | £32.-.- |
| | Up to now have received payment only for the above-mentioned 49 copies for America (not reckoning postage) | £4.18.- |
| | There remains owing to me (Accounts with Darson and Meissner still to be settled.) | £27.2.- |

London, 17 September 1874

F. Engels

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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Published in English in full for the first time

## 28

## MARX TO ENGELS[16]

IN LONDON

Karlsbad, 18 September 1874

Dear Fred,

We shall set off on Monday[a]; we shall make for Hamburg via Leipzig,[43] where I shall stop off for a while and see Wilhelm.[b]

You know that I am very lazy when it comes to writing, but on this occasion that was not the cause of my stubborn silence. The first three weeks were spent *almost without sleep*. Together with the exertion here that will make it all clear to you.

Although you drink only in the morning (evenings, before going to bed, we have a cold glass from a special spring brought into the house), the fact is that the whole day you find yourself caught up in a sort of machine that hardly leaves you a minute.

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[a] 21 September - [b] Liebknecht

Up at 5 or half past 5 in the morning. Then 6 glasses from different springs, one after the other. There must be at least a quarter of an hour between each glass.

Then breakfast is prepared, beginning with the purchase of pastry appropriate to the cure. After that, a walk lasting at least one hour. Finally, some of the very excellent coffee available here in one of the coffee houses outside the town. This is followed by a walking tour through the surrounding hills; at ABOUT noon you return home, but have to take a bath every other day, which takes up yet another hour.

There follows a change of toilette; *puis*[a] luncheon in a local hotel.

Sleeping *after* meals is strictly forbidden (it is allowed before meals) and rightly so, as I have become convinced after a single attempt. So, another tour, alternating with an excursion. Return to Karlsbad 6-8 in the evening, a light snack, and—to bed. This programme is varied by visits to the theatre (which always closes at 9, like all other ENTERTAINMENTS), concerts and reading room.

The effect of the waters is to make my head very IRRITABLE. So you will appreciate how unbearable Kugelmann has become in the long run. He had been so considerate as to give me a room between his and Tussy's so that I enjoyed him, not just when we were together, but also when I was alone. I patiently endured the way he incessantly poured out his solemn, long-winded balderdash in his deep voice. I had greater difficulty in putting up with the gang of Hamburg-Bremen-Hanover philistines, male and female alike, who simply refused to leave me in peace. But my patience came to an end finally when he inflicted his family scenes on me. The fact is that this arch-pedant, this pettifogging, bourgeois philistine has got the idea that his wife[b] is unable to understand him, to comprehend his Faustian nature with its aspirations to a higher world outlook, and he torments the woman, who is his superior in every respect, in the most repulsive manner. So it led to a quarrel between us; I moved to a higher floor, completely liberated myself from him (he was having a ruinous effect on my cure) and we only became reconciled once more just before his departure (which took place last Sunday[c]). However, I declared point-blank that I would not visit him in Hanover.

A man who turned out to be quite an agreeable companion was Simon Deutsch (the same one I had the row with in Paris, and who looked me up without more ado here). In addition half the

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[a] then - [b] Gertrud Kugelmann - [c] 13 September

local medical faculty soon assembled round my daughter[a] and me; all very acceptable people for my present purpose when I have to think little and laugh often. Also Knille, the painter from Berlin, a very charming chap.

Shall regale you in London with some amusing details of my adventures with Hans Heiling Kugelmann.

The more one hears of the details about the 'situation in Austria' the more one becomes convinced that this state is coming to the end of the line.

Up to now I have lost about 4 lbs (imperial weight) and even with my hand I can feel that the fat on my liver is in a *status evanescens.* I believe that I have finally achieved my purpose in Karlsbad, at least for a year. It would give me great pleasure if I could find a few lines from you awaiting me at Meissner's in Hamburg.

With best regards from Tussy and me to Madame Lizzy and Pumps.

Your
Moor

I was invited to go to Ischl (by Dr Kraus, editor of the *Wiener Medizinische Zeitung*[b]) and to Prague by Mr Oppenheim (the brother of Mrs Kugelmann and a very agreeable man), but after a certain stage is reached, one longs to be back at home.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original

## 29

## MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

### IN PRAGUE

Karlsbad, 20 September 1874

Dear Friend,

My daughter[a] and I had been eagerly looking forward to spending a few days with you in Prague and we had made all our

[a] Eleanor - [b] *Allgemeine Wiener medizinische Zeitung*

arrangements yesterday to make our way tomorrow (Monday) to the old Hussite city. Today, however, simultaneously with your kind letter, we received news from Hamburg which makes it imperative for me to choose the direct route via Leipzig in order to settle some business.[43]

However, all is not lost. I am almost certain to be coming back to Karlsbad next year and will incorporate the visit to Prague in my travel plans from the very start. Your sister[a] will already have written to you how very anxious I am, quite apart from the varied points of interest which Prague itself has to offer, to extend my personal acquaintance with yourself beyond the brief intermezzo here at the spa.

Farewell and rest assured of my feelings of friendship towards you; my travelling companion sends her best regards.

Yours,
Karl Marx

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## 30

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN HAMBURG

London, 21 September 1874

Dear Moor,

I would have written to you long before, had it not been for the fact that the news from Karlsbad left me in doubt whether a letter would still reach you.

Delighted to hear that Karlsbad has borne fruit. Once your liver is back in working order, it will be possible in due course to calm down your nervous system again after the further stimulation provoked by the cure. You will also have to continue the treatment on your return and should bring instructions with you from

[a] Gertrud Kugelmann

Karlsbad about how to proceed. It was absurd of you not to have gone via Dresden; the journey is much prettier and some idle touring would have done you good just now. But there is still time to visit the Holstein coast from Hamburg and you should in any case spend a few days there, it is very attractive. If you are SHORT OF CASH Meissner can give you an advance and we shall pay him back from here.

You will have seen reports of the Brussels congress[54] in *The Times*; they were obviously written by Wingfield, or whatever his name is, who was in The Hague. IT WAS A MISERABLE FAILURE: 14 people, all Belgians apart from 2 German Lassalleans (Frohme from Frankfurt and?[a]), Schwitzguébel, 1 Spaniard, Gomez, and Eccarius.—Rochat has sent us a highly entertaining account of the nonsense in a small Brussels paper, *La Gazette.*[b]

Furthermore, the two Scheus[c] and the restless Frankel were within an ace of destroying the German communist society here.[55] Determined to prove that they could act, they arranged a public meeting in their pub and *invited the Lassallean robber band of Zilinski et Co.*, whom they had such difficulty in ejecting only 2 years previously! I learned of it only when it was too late, gave Frankel a piece of my mind and also gave him instructions about what to do, whereupon, naturally, he did the opposite. WELL, as was to be expected, Zilinski turned up with 50-60 men (while from the society there were barely 10 men!), packed the committee with his own supporters and they HAD IT ALL THEIR OWN WAY. Finally, the meeting was adjourned, and so we were spared the worst, but it is not over yet. Since I have not yet seen Lessner (who must have something on his conscience, otherwise he would have come), I have not yet had a reliable report on what transpired. Frankel is very peeved about his act of heroism and your wife has given him a good scolding. The Scheus appear to be IRREPRESSIBLE MEDDLERS.

In Leipzig you will perhaps have a chance to see Blos who is being released tomorrow or the day after. At any rate, you will have heard that the Cologne workers want to publish a daily paper and Blos has approached me to find out whether they could call it *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*—Blos is to be the editor. Since it was not possible to confer with you—at the start of your stay in Karlsbad and before any news had arrived from you—I had to make a provisional decision. CONSIDERING that this is the first time that these people have approached us IN A BECOMING MANNER, 2. that it is unlikely that *we* shall ever publish a *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* again

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[a] Paul Kersten - [b] *La Gazette de Bruxelles* - [c] Heinrich and Andreas

ourselves, if only because of the provincial nature of Cologne, *I* had no objection *quant à moi*,[a] and I also hazarded the opinion that you too would agree to it. Jenny,[b] whom I consulted as your representative, was also of this opinion. It would have made a very shabby impression on the Rhineland workers if we had refused. However, if you have any objections there is still time to reverse the matter.[56]

The *Volksstaat* under Wilhelm[c] is becoming worse and even more boring thanks to the tendency to accept materials uncritically just to fill up space. Only here and there is there anything readable.

I am deeply immersed in the doctrine of essence. Back from Jersey, I found Tyndall's and Huxley's speeches in Belfast[57] waiting for me, which once again reveal the plight of these people, and the way they are stuck fast in the thing-in-itself and their cry of anguish for a philosophy to rescue them. This brought me back again, after all manner of interruptions on the first week, to the theme of dialectics. In view of the feeble mind of the natural scientists, the great *Logic*[d] can only be used sparingly, although as far as dialectics are concerned, it goes much more nearly to the heart of the matter. But the account of it in the *Encyclopaedia*,[e] on the other hand, could have been tailor-made for these people, the illustrations are taken largely from their own subject and are striking, and at the same time, because of the more popular presentation, they are freer of idealism. Now, since I neither can nor will exempt these gentlemen from the punishment of having to learn from Hegel, it is clear that there is a veritable treasure-trove here, all the more so since even today the old fellow can give them a number of tough nuts to crack. Tyndall's inaugural lecture, incidentally, is the boldest speech to have been delivered in England to such an audience, and has created a tremendous impression and panic. It is evident that Haeckel's much more incisive manner of speaking has not let him rest. I have the *verbatim* report in *Nature*, which you can read here. His acknowledgement to Epicurus will amuse you. So much is certain: the return to a genuinely reflective view of nature is making much more serious progress here in England than in Germany, and people here seek salvation at least in Epicurus, Descartes, Hume and Kant, rather than in Schopenhauer and Hartmann. The

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[a] for my part - [b] Jenny Longuet - [c] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [d] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*. - [e] G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*, Part I: *Die Logik*.

French thinkers of the eighteenth century, of course, are still taboo.

In New York, the rowdies and braggarts have obtained a majority in the General Council, and *Sorge has abdicated*[a] and completely retired. All the better. It means that we have absolutely no responsibility for the nonsense any more and it will soon die a natural death. How fortunate that we have records of the proceedings!

*Quant à la grande politique*,[b] we can fortunately LET IT TAKE CARE OF ITSELF; there will be time enough to laugh about it all when you return.

Otherwise everything here is ALL RIGHT, Jenny looked very well the day before yesterday and was in high spirits. Wróblewski is better and has used the electricity. There was never any question of amputating his arm, only of cutting out a piece of muscle in which, in all probability, a nerve end had become lodged, thus causing the pain. But he must have felt terrible and our money came in the nick of time.

Regards to Meissner from me; I shall be writing to him myself about various matters.

Warmest regards to Tussy, *à revoir*.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

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## 31

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN LONDON

[London,] 15 October 1874
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Laura,

If I sent you only one of the three articles[c] it was, firstly, because I thought you would have had the two previous ones from

[a] See this volume, p. 41. - [b] As for high politics - [c] F. Engels, *Refugee Literature*.

your Mama and, secondly, because of No. 1 I had given the few extra copies I had to the Poles for propaganda, and because of No. 2 I had no extra copies at all. I send you now my copy of No. 1 which I shall thank you to return at your convenience; as to No. 2 I have lent it to a friend and as usual not received it back, so that I must get it first before I can send it to you.

Of the *Bauernkrieg*[a] I expect to be able to send you, in a few weeks, a new edition with a few words added to the introduction,[b] but otherwise unaltered; as usual, the notice given me was too short.

With kindest regards to Lafargue.

I remain
very affectionately yours,
F. Engels

Mrs Engels[c] sends her kindest regards to you both.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 33, Moscow, 1964

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

## 32

## MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

### IN PRAGUE

London, 17 October 1874
1 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mr Oppenheim,

A few days ago I posted off one *Capital* and one *18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* for you and one copy of each of these books for Dr Gans jun. Would you be so kind as to send his copies on to him; he lives in Rosengasse, No. 17, 1st floor, Prague.

When I took my departure from Karlsbad, I did so with the intention of proceeding directly to Hamburg in order to settle my business with the bookseller[d] there and then to return to London

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[a] *Peasant War* - [b] F. Engels, 'Supplement to the Preface of 1870 for *The Peasant War in Germany*'. - [c] Lizzie Burns - [d] Otto Meissner

as soon as possible to resume my work. I soon discovered, however, that the *after-treatment* following the strict regime of Karlsbad is not to be taken lightly and so had to spend almost another two weeks romping around Dresden, Leipzig, Berlin and Hamburg.[43] Had I foreseen this—and my daughter[a] and I both regret our mistake—I would have first come to see you in Prague. *Mais l'homme propose et le chemin de fer dispose.*[b]

I hope that your health has improved and that your business may one day soon bring you in this direction.

My daughter sends you her best regards.

Yours very sincerely,
K. Marx

First published in *Rheinische Zeitung*, Köln, 21. Februar 1933

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

## 33

## ENGELS TO HERMANN LOPATIN[58]

### IN PARIS

[London, about 20 October 1874]

...But such was not at all my intention. On the contrary, I toned down as much as I possibly could, because after perusing the pamphlet: *Русской соціально-революціонной молодежи*,[c] I really could no longer bear any grudge to our friend[d] for the uncommonly severe and really unjustifiable expressions he had used towards us. As far as I am concerned *nous sommes quittes*,[e] and I am ready to shake his hand any time if he takes the thing as easy as I do.

First published, in English and in Russian, in *Istoriya SSSR*, No. 6, Moscow, 1959

Reproduced from Lopatin's copy

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[a] Eleanor - [b] But man proposes and the railway disposes. - [c] [P. L. Lavrov,] *Русской соціально-революціонной молодежи. По поводу брошюры: 'Задачи революціонной пропаганды въ Россіи'.* - [d] Pyotr Lavrov - [e] we are quits

# 1875

## 34

## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 7 January 1875

Dear Liebknecht,

Happy New Year!

Tomorrow or the day after I shall send you the epilogue and list of printer's errors.[59]

Owing to lack of time I have not, for the most part, read the explanations of terms. Only one thing struck me: *'fleurs de lys'*, mentioned in connection with Fleury, are what the brand-marks were called that were imprinted on felons during the *ancien régime* in France.[60]

The essay on the banking system is downright bad.[a] Kirchmann's stuff, too, would have been better left out of the *Volksstaat*.[b]

With kindest regards to all your family.

Your
K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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[a] 'Der Bankgesetz-Entwurf', *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 140 and 141, 2 and 4 December 1874; 'Die Reichsbank oder die Association des Reiches mit dem Kapital', *Der Volksstaat*, No. 146, 16 December 1874 (both essays were published under the correspondent's sign K-Z). - [b] See the article 'Kulturkampf und Parlamentarismus' (*Der Volksstaat*, No. 149, 23 December 1874), where J. H. Kirchmann's pamphlet, *Ueber Parlamentarische Debatten*, was discussed.

## 35

## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 9 January 1875

Dear LIBRARY,[a]

Herewith the epilogue, together with the list of printer's errors,[b] which you must supplement with the printer's errors marked by me on the unpaginated proof I enclose in a wrapper. In future the *prime consideration* in such cases must be that the proofs are sent off to me before publication in the *Volksstaat*. Corrécct the epilogue carefully. Your Rörig has some nice ideas about my abundance of time. He actually demands of me that I do a work for him on game laws outside Germany. Had I the time I should have no objection. But as it is, twelve hours in the day are not enough for me.

With kindest regards to your wife and children.

Your
Moor

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

## 36

## MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM[16]

IN PRAGUE

London, 20 January 1875

Dear Friend,

Excuse the delay in writing. I have been exceptionally busy, for it was not until today that I finished dealing with the translation

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[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht's jocular name given to him by Marx's daughters. - [b] See previous letter.

(French) of the as yet unpublished *livraisons*[a] of *Capital*.[17] As soon as the whole thing comes out I shall send it to you, for I have altered a lot and added a lot, especially in the final sections of the French edition.

Your consignment of pheasants and livers arrived in good time and met with a genuinely enthusiastic reception here.

I am not familiar with the Berlin paper[b] about which you wrote to me; however one of my disciples here may be contributing to it, unbeknown to me.[61]

I now have another request to make of you. The doctors have forbidden me to smoke without a cigar-holder. I should therefore like 200 holders for myself and my friends here; they came to my notice in Karlsbad, can be thrown away after every cigar if they no longer seem usable, and are not to be had over here. But bear in mind that this is a commercial commission, the costs of which you must acquaint me with if you carry it out, for otherwise I should feel embarrassed about approaching you in a similar predicament.

My daughter[c] sends you her kindest regards. She corresponds with Mrs Kugelmann and daughter from whom she has recently had letters.

When you next write, would you be so good as to tell me something more about the state of business in Bohemia?

I much look forward to the time when I shall see you here.

Yours very cordially,
Karl Marx

First published in *Rheinische Zeitung*, Köln, 21. Februar 1933

Printed according to the original

## 37

## MARX TO MAURICE LACHÂTRE

IN BRUSSELS

London, 30 January 1875

Dear Citizen,

I have today sent off to Paris the last part of the manuscript,[d] save only for the afterword, the table of contents and the *errata*,

[a] instalments - [b] *The International Gazette* - [c] Eleanor Marx - [d] of the French translation of the first volume of *Capital*

none of which can be done until I have before me those FASCICLES which have not yet been published.[17]

I agree that it would be best to *publish* the last FASCICLES together, but that does not explain why Mr Lahure should have ceased *printing* three months ago. (He hasn't even sent me back the proofs of instalments 34 and 35.) I am hard-pressed by other work and am receiving letter after letter from my German,[a] and likewise my Russian,[b] publisher, urging me to complete the final editing of the second volume.[62] So if, instead of printing and sending me the proofs as they come off the press, Mr Lahure continues to procrastinate, he alone will be to blame for any new delays and interruptions that may result. Not being desirous of writing further to that gentleman, I would request you to let him have your instructions.

Yours ever,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

## 38

## MARX TO JUSTE VERNOUILLET[63]

IN PARIS

[London, 3 February 1875]

...The Bonapartist gentry, or so it would seem, have finally succeeded in alarming the Orleanists, who will now hastily and after their own fashion botch up a republic for you.[64] But once constituted it will, I believe, also frustrate Orleanist intrigue, put an end to the Rurals'[31] régime and potter along in its own way...

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

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Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

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[a] Otto Meissner - [b] N. P. Polyakov

# 39

# MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV[65]

## IN LONDON

[London,] 11 February 1875

My dear Friend,

I am sending you today the German edition[a] in one volume (I no longer have any available *Hefte*[b]), and the first six fascicles of the French edition.[17] The latter contains many changes and additions (see e.g. *fascicle 6, p. 222* attacking John Stuart Mill—a striking example of how bourgeois economists, even with the best of intentions, instinctively go off the rails at the very moment when they seem about to light on the truth[c]). The most important changes contained in the French edition, however, are to be found in those parts not yet published, namely the chapters on accumulation.

Many thanks for the publications you sent me. What particularly interested me were the articles 'Что делается на родине?'.[66] If I had the time I would make excerpts for the *Volksstaat*. The 'Не наши'[d] are first-rate people. I rather suspect that our friend Lopatin had a hand in the said article.[67]

A large parcel of books and official publications was despatched to me from St Petersburg but was stolen, probably by the Russian government. Amongst other things it contained the reports, *Комиссія по сельскому хозяйству и сельской производительности въ Россіи* and *По податному вопросу*,[e] things that were absolutely essential to the chapter in the second volume in which I deal with landownership, etc., in Russia.[68]

My health has greatly improved since my stay at Karlsbad[43] but, for one thing, I am still compelled to greatly restrict my hours of

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[a] the second German edition of the first volume of *Capital* - [b] instalments - [c] See *Capital*, Vol. I, Part V, Ch. XVI (present edition, Vol. 35). - [d] Not Ours - [e] *Докладъ высочайше учрежденной коммиссіи для изслѣдованія нынѣшняго положенія сельскаго хозяйства и сельской производительности въ Россіи; Труды коммиссіи, высочайше учрежденной для пересмотра системы податей и сборовъ*, Vol. XXII: 'Сводъ отзывовъ губернскихъ земскихъ собраній, земскихъ управъ и особыхъ земскихъ коммиссій, по проекту преобразованія подушной системы сборовъ, составленному въ министерствѣ финансовъ', Parts I-III.

work and, for another, I was no sooner back in London than I caught a COLD which has not ceased to plague me ever since.

I shall come and see you when the weather turns finer.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

## 40
## MARX TO ENGELS[69]
### IN LONDON

[London, February-March 1875]

Go to it, but in jovial fashion. So stupid, that Bakunin may have *contributed*. What Peter Tkachov is above all trying to tell his readers is that you had treated *him* as an enemy, and he therefore invents all manner of disputes that never occurred.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 18 (Note 444), Moscow, 1961

Printed according to the original

## 41
## ENGELS TO HERMANN RAMM[70]
### IN LEIPZIG

[London, 18 March 1875]

Answered 18/3. *Possibly* 1,000 talers from me, but dependent on circumstances over which I have no control. Shall revert to this as soon as possible.[a]

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

[a] The text crossed out before this note reads: 'Answered 16/3/75. Have offered, as soon as I can make them available, 1,000 talers on the same terms as the other contributors but definite decision postponed until after the Congress,[71] so that I shall be entirely uncommitted should it produce a predominantly Lassallean programme and authorities.'

# 42

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL[72]

### IN ZWICKAU

London, 18-28 March 1875

Dear Bebel,

I have received your letter of 23 February and am glad to hear that you are in such good bodily health.

You ask me what we think of the unification affair. We are, unfortunately, in exactly the same boat as yourself. Neither Liebknecht nor anyone else has let us have any kind of information, and hence we too know only what is in the papers—not that there was anything in them until a week or so ago, when the draft programme appeared. That astonished us not a little, I must say.[73]

Our party had so often held out a conciliatory hand to the Lassalleans, or at least proffered co-operation, only to be rebuffed so often and so contemptuously by the Hasenclevers, Hasselmanns and Tölckes as to lead any child to the conclusion that, should these gentlemen now come and themselves proffer conciliation, they must be in a hell of a dilemma. Knowing full well what these people are like, however, it behoves us to make the most of that dilemma and insist on every conceivable guarantee that might prevent these people from restoring, at our party's expense, their shattered reputation in general working-class opinion. They should be given an exceedingly cool and cautious reception, and union be made dependent on the degree of their readiness to abandon their sectarian slogans and their state aid[74] and to accept in its essentials the Eisenach Programme of 1869[75] or an improved edition of it adapted to the present day. Our party has *absolutely nothing to learn* from the Lassalleans in the theoretical sphere, i.e. the crux of the matter where the programme is concerned, but the Lassalleans doubtless have something to learn from the party; the first prerequisite for union was that they cease to be sectarians, Lassalleans, i.e. that, first and foremost, they should, if not wholly relinquish the universal panacea of state aid, at least admit it to be a secondary provisional measure alongside and amongst many others recognised as possible. The draft programme shows that our people, while infinitely superior to the Lassallean leaders in matters of theory, are far from being a match for them where

political guile is concerned; once again the 'honest men' have been cruelly done in the eye by the dishonest.[a]

To begin with, they adopt the high-sounding but historically false Lassallean dictum: in relation to the working class all other classes are only one reactionary mass. This proposition is true only in certain exceptional instances, for example in the case of a revolution by the proletariat, like the Commune, or in a country in which not only has the bourgeoisie constructed state and society after its own image but the democratic petty bourgeoisie, in its wake, has already carried that reconstruction to its logical conclusion. If, for instance, in Germany, the democratic petty bourgeoisie were part of this reactionary mass, then how could the Social-Democratic Workers' Party have gone hand in hand with it, with the People's Party,[76] for years on end? How could the *Volksstaat* derive virtually all its political content from the petty-bourgeois democratic *Frankfurter Zeitung*? And how can one explain the adoption in this same programme of no less than seven demands that coincide exactly and word for word with the programme of the People's Party and of petty-bourgeois democracy? I mean the seven political demands, 1 to 5 and 1 to 2, of which there is not one that is not *bourgeois*-democratic.[77]

Secondly, the principle that the workers' movement is an international one is, to all intents and purposes, utterly denied in respect of the present, and this by men who, for the space of five years and under the most difficult conditions, upheld that principle in the most laudable manner. The German workers' position in the van of the European movement rests *essentially* on their genuinely international attitude during the war[b]; no other proletariat would have behaved so well. And now this principle is to be denied by them at a moment when, everywhere abroad, workers are stressing it all the more by reason of the efforts made by governments to suppress every attempt at its practical application in an organisation! And what is left of the internationalism of the workers' movement? The dim prospect—not even of subsequent co-operation among European workers with a view to their liberation—nay, but of a future 'international brotherhood of peoples'—of your Peace League[78] bourgeois' 'United States of Europe'!

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[a] 'Honest men'—members of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers); 'dishonest'—members of the General Association of German Workers (Lassalleans). - [b] the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71

There was, of course, no need whatever to mention the International as such. But at the very least there should have been no going back on the programme of 1869, and some sort of statement should have been made to the effect that, *though first of all* the German workers' party is acting within the limits set by its political frontiers (it has no right to speak in the name of the European proletariat, especially when what it says is wrong), it is nevertheless conscious of its solidarity with the workers of all other countries and will, as before, always be ready to meet the obligations that solidarity entails. Such obligations, even if one does not definitely proclaim or regard oneself as part of the 'International', consist for example in aid, abstention from blacklegging during strikes, making sure that the party organs keep German workers informed of the movement abroad, agitation against impending or incipient dynastic wars and, during such wars, an attitude such as was exemplarily maintained in 1870 and 1871, etc.

Thirdly, our people have allowed themselves to be saddled with the Lassallean 'iron law of wages'[79] which is based on a completely outmoded economic view, namely that on average the worker receives only the *minimum* wage because, according to the Malthusian theory of population, there are always too many workers (such was Lassalle's reasoning). Now in *Capital* Marx has amply demonstrated that the laws governing wages are very complex, that, according to circumstances, now this law, now that, holds sway, that they are therefore by no means iron but are, on the contrary, exceedingly elastic, and that the subject really cannot be dismissed in a few words, as Lassalle imagined. Malthus' argument, upon which the law Lassalle derived from him and Ricardo (whom he misinterpreted) is based, as that argument appears, for instance, on p. 5 of the *Arbeiterlesebuch*,[a] where it is quoted from another pamphlet of Lassalle's,[b] is exhaustively refuted by Marx in the section on 'Accumulation of Capital'.[c] Thus, by adopting the Lassallean 'iron law' one commits oneself to a false proposition and false reasoning in support of the same.

Fourthly, as its *one and only social* demand, the programme puts forward—Lassallean state aid in its starkest form, as stolen by Lassalle from Buchez.[80] And this, after Bracke has so ably demonstrated the sheer futility of that demand[81]; after almost all,

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[a] by Lassalle - [b] [F. Lassalle,] *Offnes Antwortschreiben an das Central-Comité zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitercongresses zu Leipzig.* - [c] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VII (see present edition, Vol. 35).

if not all, of our party speakers have, in their struggle against the Lassalleans, been compelled to make a stand against this 'state aid'! Our party could hardly demean itself further. Internationalism sunk to the level of Amand Goegg, socialism to that of the bourgeois republican Buchez, who *confronted the socialists* with this demand in order to supplant them!

But 'state aid' in the Lassallean sense of the word is, after all, at most only *one* measure among many others for the attainment of an end here lamely described as 'paving the way for the solution of the social question', as though in our case there were still a social *question* that remained *unsolved* in theory! Thus, if you were to say: The German workers' party strives to abolish wage labour and hence class distinctions by introducing co-operative production into industry and agriculture, and on a national scale; it is in favour of any measure calculated to attain that end!—then no Lassallean could possibly object.

Fifthly, there is absolutely no mention of the organisation of the working class as a class through the medium of trade unions. And that is a point of the utmost importance, this being the proletariat's true class organisation in which it fights its daily battles with capital, in which it trains itself and which nowadays can no longer simply be smashed, even with reaction at its worst (as presently in Paris). Considering the importance this organisation is likewise assuming in Germany, it would in our view be indispensable to accord it some mention in the programme and, possibly, to leave some room for it in the organisation of the party.

All these things have been done by our people to oblige the Lassalleans. And what have the others conceded? That a host of somewhat muddled and *purely democratic demands* should figure in the programme, some of them being of a purely fashionable nature—for instance 'legislation by the people' such as exists in Switzerland and does more harm than good, if it can be said to do anything at all. *Administration* by the people—that would at least be something. Similarly omitted is the first prerequisite of all liberty—that all officials be responsible for all their official actions to every citizen before the ordinary courts and in accordance with common law. That demands such as freedom of science and freedom of conscience figure in every liberal bourgeois programme and seem a trifle out of place here is something I shall not enlarge upon.

The free people's state is transformed into the free state. Grammatically speaking, a free state is one in which the state is free vis-à-vis its citizens, a state, that is, with a despotic

government. All the palaver about the state ought to be dropped, especially after the Commune, which had ceased to be a state in the true sense of the term. The *people's state* has been flung in our teeth *ad nauseam* by the anarchists, although Marx's anti-Proudhon piece[a] and after it the *Communist Manifesto*[b] declare outright that, with the introduction of the socialist order of society, the state will dissolve of itself and disappear. Now, since the state is merely a transitional institution of which use is made in the struggle, in the revolution, to keep down one's enemies by force, it is utter nonsense to speak of a free people's state; so long as the proletariat still *makes use* of the state, it makes use of it, not for the purpose of freedom, but of keeping down its enemies and, as soon as there can be any question of freedom, the state as such ceases to exist. We would therefore suggest that *Gemeinwesen*[c] be universally substituted for *state*; it is a good old German word that can very well do service for the French 'Commune'.

'The elimination of all social and political inequality', rather than 'the abolition of all class distinctions', is similarly a most dubious expression. As between one country, one province and even one place and another, living conditions will always evince a *certain* inequality which may be reduced to a minimum but never wholly eliminated. The living conditions of Alpine dwellers will always be different from those of the plainsmen. The concept of a socialist society as a realm of *equality* is a one-sided French concept deriving from the old 'liberty, equality, fraternity', a concept which was justified in that, in its own time and place, it signified a *phase of development,* but which, like all the one-sided ideas of earlier socialist schools, ought now to be superseded, since they produce nothing but mental confusion, and more accurate ways of presenting the matter have been discovered.

I shall desist, although almost every word in this programme, a programme which is, moreover, insipidly written, lays itself open to criticism. It is such that, should it be adopted, Marx and I could *never* give our allegiance to a *new* party set up on that basis and shall have to consider most seriously what attitude—public as well as private—we should adopt towards it. Remember that abroad *we* are held responsible for any and every statement and action of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party. E.g. by Bakunin in his work *Statehood and Anarchy,*[d] in which we are made to answer for

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[a] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the 'Philosophy of Poverty' by M. Proudhon.* - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party.* - [c] commonalty - [d] [M. A. Bakunin,] *Государственность и анархія* (for Marx's notes on this book see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 485-526).

every injudicious word spoken or written by Liebknecht since the inception of the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt.* People imagine that we run the whole show from here, whereas you know as well as I do that we have hardly ever interfered in the least with internal party affairs, and then only in an attempt to make good, as far as possible, what we considered to have been blunders—and *only theoretical* blunders at that. But, as you yourself will realise, this programme marks a turning-point which may very well force us to renounce any kind of responsibility in regard to the party that adopts it.

Generally speaking, less importance attaches to the official programme of a party than to what it does. But a *new* programme is after all a banner planted in public, and the outside world judges the party by it. Hence, whatever happens there should be no going back, as there is here, on the Eisenach programme. It should further be considered what the workers of other countries will think of this programme; what impression will be created by this genuflection on the part of the entire German socialist proletariat before Lassalleanism.

I am, moreover, convinced that a union on *this* basis would not last a year. Are the best minds of our party to descend to repeating, parrot-fashion, Lassallean maxims concerning the iron law of wages and state aid? I'd like to see you, for one, thus employed! And were they to do so, their audiences would hiss them off the stage. And I feel sure that it is precisely on *these* bits of the programme that the Lassalleans are insisting, like Shylock the Jew on his pound of flesh.[a] The split will come; but we shall have 'made honest men' again of Hasselmann, Hasenclever and Tölcke and Co.; we shall emerge from the split weaker and the Lassalleans stronger; our party will have lost its political virginity and will never again be able to come out whole-heartedly against the Lassallean maxims which for a time it inscribed on its own banner; and then, should the Lassalleans again declare themselves to be the sole and most genuine workers' party and our people to be bourgeois, the programme would be there to prove it. All the socialist measures in it are *theirs*, and *our* party has introduced nothing save the demands of that petty-bourgeois democracy which it has *itself* described in that same programme as part of the 'reactionary mass'!

I had held this letter back in view of the fact that you would only be released on 1 April, in honour of Bismarck's birthday,[82]

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[a] Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice,* Act I, Scene 3.

not wanting to expose it to the risk of interception in the course of an attempt to smuggle it in. Well, I have just had a letter from Bracke, who has also felt grave doubts about the programme and asks for our opinion.[83] I shall therefore send this letter to him for forwarding, so that he can read it without my having to write the whole thing over again. I have, by the way, also spoken my mind to Ramm[15]; to Liebknecht I wrote but briefly.[15] I cannot forgive his not having told us a *single word* about the whole business (whereas Ramm and others believed he had given us exact information) until it was, in a manner of speaking, too late. True, this has always been his wont—hence the large amount of disagreeable correspondence which we, both Marx and myself, have had with him, but this time it really is too bad, and *we definitely shan't act in concert with him.*

Do see that you manage to come here in the summer; you would, of course, stay with me and, if the weather is fine, we might spend a day or two taking sea baths, which would really do you good after your long spell in jail.[84]

Ever your friend,

F. E.

Marx has just moved house. He is living at 41 Maitland Park Crescent, N. W. London.

First published in: August Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, Zweiter Teil, Stuttgart, 1911

Printed according to the book

## 43

## ENGELS TO RUDOLF ENGELS[85]

IN BARMEN

London, 22 March 1875

Dear Rudolf,

I have received your letter as well as the two from Ermen & Engels and have made entries in conformity with them. Many thanks for dealing with the matter, which has been settled to my entire satisfaction.

Today there is something else. The day before yesterday in the evening little Heinrich Ermen suddenly turned up from Manchester with the following story:

Gottfried Ermen intends to retire in two years' time and has actually allowed Peter Ermen to insinuate his son-in-law, Matilda's husband, the schoolmaster Roby, into the business as an *associé*.[a] No more than a fortnight after Roby's arrival, however, he apparently had second thoughts when it transpired that the aforementioned Roby, who had been described to him in glowing terms as a man of many parts, a builder of schools and heaven knows what else, was no good at business. But Gottfried had become so deeply involved that he could find no way out and, despite the fact that Roby does nothing save study the bank account and *The Times*, Gottfried now wants to [force] him—now his nephew—onto his nephews as principal *associé* with a share approximately as large as those of the three nephews (Heinrich and his brother Franz and Franz, Franz's son) put together.

This Roby, you see, had a very nice little post on the ENDOWED SCHOOLS COMMISSION, a government commission set up by Gladstone several years ago to investigate and redress at least some of the most flagrant abuses in the administration of the very considerable endowments designated for schools; he was one of the commissioners. But as soon as Disraeli took the helm he engineered a vote in Parliament whereby he was authorised to disband the whole commission and assign such work as was still outstanding to the CHARITY COMMISSIONERS who, having been elected under a Conservative government, are much more inclined to conserve moderate abuses.[32] In this way our Roby lost his little post and, with Peter's help, hit upon the ingenious notion of becoming a manufacturer.

Now, the contract which Gottfried has had drawn up for this purpose between Roby and the three nephews is so framed that the three nephews actually undertake to work for *fourteen years*, in return for which Mr Roby can expect to get an income of £5,000 and they, between the three of them, perhaps slightly more. True, the two Franzes have signed but not, as yet, Heinrich, and if needs be this will enable the other two to withdraw, as Heinrich thinks his brother Franz would do, should he, Heinrich, not sign and find something else.

He then asked me to inquire whether you might feel disposed to carry on the business of Ermen & Engels in Manchester with him and/or his brother Franz and turn to account its already

[a] partner

established reputation, either by simply forming a partnership with the pair of them or, as is now very common over here, by turning the concern into a limited partnership (Ermen & Engels *LIMITED,* as the firm would then be called); in that case it would have to be ascertained which of the *associés* (the *gérants* of the Code Napoléon) would be liable to the full extent of their assets—the law on this point is almost exactly the same as in the Code Napoléon. As to the capital, he maintains that he will be able to raise it immediately—whether for the former or the latter—as soon as you give your assent, and this I can well believe, for after the good years of 1870-73 Lancashire is again so flush with money that people don't know how to invest it.

I said you would be unlikely to agree to this. You had quite enough to cope with; a limited company would be unlikely to suit you and you would be unlikely to agree to an ordinary company, if only because it might entail the removal of one of you to Manchester, and that wouldn't suit you; moreover you would be unlikely to start up a firm on the money that could be raised in Manchester. In short I was fairly lukewarm about the matter.

But the fact remains that there is still a fair amount of money to be made with the firm of Ermen & Engels in Manchester, particularly if, as would be the case here, one starts off with entirely new machinery which will soon be obtainable very cheaply. Heinrich is a *very good* spinner and twister and has a wife and $4^1/_2$ children, which does at least provide some guarantee for his performance. Franz has an exhaustive knowledge of bleaching, dyeing and bobbin manufacture and of the whole actual manufacturing process of SEWING and KNITTING yarns, including steel thread. On top of that Heinrich says that Franz has become an excellent businessman, which I can well believe, for all his talents lay in that direction. At any rate the two together would always be more acceptable to me than Gottfried. If you feel inclined to take up the idea, H. Ermen will come over at once when you will be able to take a closer look at him and question him at greater length about the details of his plan.

So think the matter over and let me know as soon as possible; apparently Heinrich can't postpone a definite decision vis-à-vis Gottfried for very much longer.

Love to Mathilde,[a] the children and yourself,

Your
Friedrich

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[a] Mathilde Engels

Devil take the Rhenish Engelses! Trusting in the numerous assurances of prompt payment, I have let myself in for all kinds of things and am now in a bit of a jam.

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## 44

## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE[86]

### IN BRUNSWICK

London, 5 May 1875

Dear Bracke,

Will you be so kind, after you have read the following critical marginal notes[87] on the unity programme,[a] to pass them on for Geib and Auer, Bebel and Liebknecht to see. Notabene. *The manuscript should be returned to you* so as to be at my disposal if needs be. I have more than enough to do, and, as it is, must take on far more work than laid down for me by my doctor. Hence it was by no means a 'pleasure' to write such a lengthy screed. Yet it was necessary if the steps I shall have to take later on are not to be misinterpreted by the party friends for whom this communication is intended.

After the Unity Congress[71] is over, Engels and I will publish a short statement to the effect that we entirely disassociate ourselves from the said programme of principles and have nothing to do with it.[88]

This is indispensable because of the view taken abroad—a totally erroneous view, carefully nurtured by party enemies—that we are secretly directing the activities of the so-called Eisenach Party from here. Only recently, in a newly published Russian work,[b] Bakunin suggests that I, for instance, am responsible, not

[a] 'Programm der deutschen Arbeiterpartei', *Der Volksstaat*, No. 27, 7 March 1875. - [b] [M. A. Bakunin,] *Государственность и анархія.*

only for that party's every programme, etc., but actually for every step taken by Liebknecht from the day he began co-operating with the People's Party.[76]

Aside from this, it is my duty to refuse recognition, even by maintaining a diplomatic silence, to a programme which, I am convinced, is altogether deplorable as well as demoralising for the party.

Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programmes. Hence, if it was impossible to advance *beyond* the Eisenach Programme[75]—and circumstances at the time precluded this—they should simply have come to an agreement about action against the common foe. But to draw up programmes of principles (instead of waiting till a longish spell of common activity has prepared the ground for that sort of thing) is to set up bench marks for all the world to see, whereby it may gauge how far the party has progressed.

The leaders of the Lassalleans came because circumstances forced them to. Had they been told from the start that there was to be no haggling over principles, they would have been *compelled* to content themselves with a programme of action or a plan of organisation for common action. Instead, our people allow them to present themselves armed with mandates, and recognise those mandates as binding, thus surrendering unconditionally to men who are themselves in need of help. To crown it all, they are holding another congress *prior to the congress of compromise,* whereas our own party is holding its congress *post festum.*[a] [89] Obviously their idea was to elude all criticism and not allow their own party time for reflection. One knows that the mere fact of unification is enough to satisfy the workers, but it is wrong to suppose that this momentary success has not been bought too dear.

Besides, the programme's no good, even apart from its canonisation of the Lassallean articles of faith.

I shall shortly be sending you the final instalments of the French edition of *Capital.*[17] Printing was held up for a considerable time by the French government ban. The thing will be finished this week or at the beginning of next. Have you received the six previous instalments? Would you also very kindly send me the *address* of Bernhard Becker, to whom I must likewise send the final instalments.

The *bookshop* of the *Volksstaat* has peculiar manners. For

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[a] after the event

M. Bracke

London, 5. Mai '75

Lieber Bracke

Gleichzeitig erhalte Randglossen zu dem Coalitionsprogramm, die Du wohl so gut, nach Durchlesung, an Liebknecht zu senden, Bebel u. Liebknecht mitzutheilen. Ich bin überzeugt, Du wirst schon mit über das Unheil, das mir ärztlich vorgeschrieben ist, was mir daher bezüglich von „Genuß" solch langes Werk zu schreiben. Doch war es nothwendig, damit später niemand in Stande bleibe, von der Parteifremden, für welche diese Mittheilung bestimmt ist, nicht misdeutet werden.

Nach abgeschlossenem Coalitions-Congress wurden Engels u. ich nämlich eine kurze Erklärung veröffentlichen, daß das Gotha, das vor besagten Principienprogramm bestehen und nichts damit zu thun haben.

Leider dies unterblieb, da man inzwischen das von Parteifreunden vorgelegt gewünschte Urtheil — die andere einzige Ansicht hegt, daß nur die Bewegung der organisirten Partei eingehen muß. Nach einer jetzt erschienenen russischen Schrift macht Bakunin mich u. Co. nicht nur für alle Programme etc. jener Partei verantwortlich, sondern sogar für jeden Schritt der Liebknecht am Tag seiner Coquetterie mit der Volkspartei an gethan hat.

Abgesehen davon ist es meine Pflicht, ein nach meiner Ueberzeugung durchaus verwerfliches, indirekt Partei-Demoralisirendes Programm mich nicht durch Schweigen stillschweigend anzueignen.

Deine Partei wird wichtige Bewegung ist wichtiger als ein Dutzend Programme. Handle man also nicht zu die Nothwendigkeiten eines Tag nicht zu — über das verfehlte Programm hinweg, so hätte man einfach einen Vereinigungskampf für Aktion gegen den gemeinsamen Feind abschließen sollen. Anstatt man aber Principienprogramme (statt Sätze, bis zur Zeit aufzustellen, wo dergleichen durch längere gemeinsame Thätigkeit vorbereitet war), so errichtet man vorab Welt Abschreckung, anstatt die der Höhe der Parteibewegung nicht. Die Chefs d. Lassalleaner kommen, weil die Verhältnisse sie dazu zwingen. Hätte man ihnen von vorn herein erklärt, man könne sich auf keinen Principienschacher ein, so hätten sie sich mit einem Actionsprogramm oder

First page of Marx's letter to Wilhelm Bracke
of 5 May 1875

instance, they haven't as yet sent me so much as a single copy of their reprint of the *Cologne Communist Trial.*[59]

With kind regards

Yours,
Karl Marx

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Jg. 9, Bd. 1, Nr. 18, Berlin, 1891 and in full in *Die Gesellschaft*, Jg. 4, Bd. II, Nr. 8, Berlin, 1927

Printed according to the original

## 45

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN LONDON

[London,] 8 May 1875

My dear Friend,

I have just received a letter from a Berlin businessman[a] (a very upright man and of no political importance at all, at any rate in the eyes of the world and the police), who asks me to explain to him some points in *Capital.*[90] When replying to him, which I did at once, I took the opportunity of requesting, in my turn, that he give me a safe address for your letters from Russia.[91] My letter will go off today.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] Carl August Schramm

# 46
# ENGELS TO EUGEN OSWALD
## IN LONDON

[London,] 8 May 1875

Dear Oswald,

I can't imagine what I was thinking about during our discussion yesterday when I maintained that teutsch was quite a modern spelling. What is modern is not the spelling but merely the significance attached to it as being the *correct* one. In Middle High German *tiutsch, tiusch* actually predominates throughout (e.g. Walther von der Vogelweide). Also *diutisch* (e.g. *Annolied*[92]). During the 16th century teutsch again predominated (e.g. Luther, U. von Hutten). In Old High German, on the other hand, it is *always diutisk, diotisk.* Indeed I believe that the older form *thiodisk, theotisk* has even been identified somewhere.

The facts are as follows: the Gothic, Old Norse, Anglo-Saxon, Old Saxon, Old Low Franconian th (þ) subsequently changes into d in Saxon and Franconian as a result of reduction or slurring, and likewise into d in High German as a result of the sound shift (which is why all words beginning with th in English uniformly start with d both in High German and in Low German, including Dutch). This correspondence, ostensibly flouting all the rules, induced in 13th-century High German scribes, when dealing with a word as important as the name of the nation itself, a tendency to redress the ostensibly correct distinction resulting from the sound shift by using T and thus adulterating the language.—All this had been as completely forgotten in Luther's day as had the origin of the word itself. From the Renaissance onwards, on the other hand, the names handed down by the Romans—*Teutones, Tuisto,* etc.—were used as an etymological basis and continued as such up till the time of Jacob Grimm.

My philological conscience will give me no peace until I have sent you a rectification of the statement I made yesterday. *Règle Générale*[a]: one ought not to prattle away about comparative philology after 2 o'clock in the morning.

Yours,
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

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[a] General rule

# 47

## MARX TO JENNY MARX

### IN SHANKLIN

[London,] 10 May 1875

Dear Jenny,

We have all been greatly concerned about your indisposition, but after the CASTOR-OIL and now that the weather is fine, I hope it has passed.

Engels' suggestion that I accompany him to Shanklin suited me quite well in that I thought it expedient to stay there, if only for your sake; but I would not have wished him to delay on my account or, on the other hand, to restrict my freedom of movement, thereby inconveniencing both me and himself. I am awaiting the final PROOF-SHEETS from Paris, you see, and would have no peace of mind if, because of my absence, the unspeakably protracted publication of the final instalments[17] were to be still further protracted. This time I have received two letters in succession from Lachâtre who is presently staying in Vevey (Switzerland). The fool expresses his utmost satisfaction with the *dernières livraisons*,[a] these being, he says, generally comprehensible, i.e. even to him. Of course, I shall not reply to this stuff, any more than to his disgruntled letter from Brussels.

I have sent off the circular (now already in Bracke's possession) on Liebknecht-Hasselmann's concoction; it's a little pamphlet[87]; also given the required information to Mr Schramm in Berlin[b]; finally, made Willebrord unhappy by STRICTLY refusing to collaborate in any way on a journal[12] under the editorship of *Messieurs de 'L'Indépendance'*.[c] I'm sorry for Willebrord's sake, but really, what a nonsensical request.[93]

Here at home everything goes on as usual. It seems to me that the finer weather is doing Jennychen good. To her great satisfaction MOTHER Lormier has subjected Longuet to a merciless criticism of his 'French' furniture RUBBISH. Lafargue's business appears to be getting on all right.[94]

I'm minding the house today, since Lenchen and Tussy have gone into town where they are to meet Jennychen at a furniture auction.

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[a] last instalments - [b] See this volume, p. 73. - [c] *L'Indépendance belge*

Our little garden is beginning to look quite green and cheerful.

Lopatin paid me a surprise visit on Friday.[a] The following Saturday he was already on his way to Hastings where he is to spend a few months. In Paris he found that his lodgings were never for one moment free of Russian visitors, which made it impossible for him to work.

With love,

Your
Karl

Give Madame Lizzy my regards.

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## 48

## ENGELS TO PATRICK JOHN COLEMAN[95]

### IN LONDON

[London,] 20 May 1875

[Draft]

As to your own business, I am sorry I am not in position to become security for *anybody*. I have done it once and the experience I made then has been such that I shall never repeat the act. If it was in my power to assist you in any other way I should be glad to do it, but at present I do not see any possibility of being useful to you.

[Engels' later note, in German, on the envelope of Coleman's letter]

Coleman, [18]75. McDonnell's follower at the time of the International.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

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[a] 7 May

# 49

## ENGELS TO A. GOUPPY

### IN MANCHESTER

[Draft]

[London,] 14 June 1875

Sir,

If my memory serves me right, I have seen you only once in my life. Hence it was not without some surprise that I read your suggestion that I should stand surety for you in the sum of £100. In any case, I must forewarn you that I am not in a position to undertake any guarantees for anyone at all.

As for the Dupont children, I explicitly declared to Dupont before his departure that if he were to go to America and leave them in England, he would be doing so at his own risk and peril; that, having advanced him more than a hundred pounds for their maintenance and education, I could do nothing further; and that, in consequence, he could in no way count on obtaining my help again. This I can only repeat to you. Having done all that I could for these poor children,[a] there can be absolutely no question of my making any further sacrifices on their behalf.

Respectfully yours, etc.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 44, pp. 189 and 200.

## 50

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV[96]

IN LONDON

[London,] 18 June 1875

My dear Friend,

When I visited you the day before yesterday I forgot to tell you an important piece of news of which you may not yet be aware. Traube, a Berlin physiologist, has succeeded in making artificial cells.[97] Needless to say, they are not completely natural cells, being without a nucleus.

If a colloidal solution, e.g. of gelatine, is combined with copper sulphate, etc., this produces globules surrounded by a membrane that can be made to grow by intussusception. Here, then, membrane formation and cell growth have left the realm of hypothesis! It marks a great step forward, the more so since Helmholtz and others were engaged in disseminating the absurd doctrine that the germs of terrestrial life fall ready-made from the moon, i.e. that they were brought down here by aerolites.[a] I detest the kind of explanation which solves a problem by consigning it to some other locality.

The trade crisis goes on. Everything now depends on the news that will arrive from the Asiatic markets which, for years, have been getting increasingly overstocked—especially those in East Indies. Under certain conditions, which are, however, not likely to materialise, the final crash may yet be delayed until the autumn.

One truly remarkable phenomenon is the decrease in the number of years between general crises. I have always regarded that number not as a constant, but as a decreasing magnitude; what is pleasing, however, is that the signs of its decrease are so palpable as to augur ill for the survival of the bourgeois world.[98]

My compliments to Mrs and Mr Noel.[b]

Yours ever,

K. M.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 25, p. 574. - [b] Rozalia Idelson and her husband Valerian Smirnov

## 51

## MARX TO JUSTE VERNOUILLET[99]

IN PARIS

[London,] 12 July 1875

Dear Citizen,

You have done me a great service in telling me all about the affair. I shall at once write to M. Lahure, asking him to let me have an unequivocal reply.[100]

In the meantime, perhaps you would be so kind as to send me the name and address of that *managerial* Cerberus,[a] as also the address of a *lawyer* to whom I might have recourse should need arise.

If the French government wants a rumpus, I have sufficient contacts with the European press to do it signal service in that respect.

Yours very sincerely,
K. Marx[b]

First published (facsimile) in *Renmin Ribao*, Beijing, 9 March 1983 and in the language of the original (French) in *Schriften aus dem Karl-Marx-Haus. Arbeiterbewegung und Geschichte*, Nr. 29, Trier, 1983

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## 52

## MARX TO MATILDA BETHAM-EDWARDS

IN LONDON

[London,] 14 July 1875
41 Maitland Park Crescent, N. W.

Sir,[c]

In your article 'The International Working Men's Association'[d] there occur matter-of-facts errors to some of which I shall call

[a] Adolphe Quêst - [b] There follows an undecipherable postscript. - [c] When Marx wrote this letter, he probably did not know that the author of the article, 'The International Working Men's Association', was a woman. - [d] The article was published anonymously in *Fraser's Magazine*, Nos. LXVII-LXIX, July to September 1875.

your attention. But before doing so, allow me to express my astonishment at your statement:

'We believe that an abbreviated translation of this work' (*Das Kapital*) 'is to be brought out shortly.'

I have reserved the right of translation and there exists a copyright treaty between Germany and England.[101] I shall, therefore, certainly stop the circulation of any such epitome, *not beforehand authorised by me.* Abbreviation affords the *traduttore*[a] peculiar facilities to turn *traditore.*[b] Even the *revision* of the not-abbreviated French translation, published in *livraisons*[c] at Paris, has given me more trouble than the re-writing the whole book in French would have done.[17]

Supposing that you know the translator, and being anxious to avoid the nuisance of law-proceedings, I have taken the liberty to write to you upon this subject.

With regard to the matter-of-fact errors occurring in your article, I shall limit myself to a few items.

You say:

'*Das Kapital* came out soon after Proudhon's essays on the *Fallacies of Political Economy,* and *in a little chapter* called the *Miseries of Philosophy* Marx answered Proudhon's *chapter* on the *Philosophy of Misery*', etc.

It was Proudhon's voluminous work: *Système des Contradictions Economiques ou Philosophie de la Misère,* to which I replied by the brochure, written in French, *Misère de la Philosophie.*[d] The latter was published in 1847, but *Das Kapital* only twenty years later, in 1867. I suppose that you have been led into error by Fribourg's most untrustworthy publication on the 'International'.[e]

Not being aware that, when giving in full the preamble of the Rules, and parts of the Inaugural Address of the International, you were actually quoting writings from my pen,[f] you reprint from an address, nameless and dateless, a proposition which, you say, 'must have come from the pen of Dr Marx himself'. Unfortunately, they did not. I never saw that address before I read it in the columns of *Fraser.*[g] It has evidently been indited by one of my adherents, but, at the same time, contains some loose phraseology I was not delighted to have fathered upon me.

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[a] translator - [b] traitor - [c] instalments - [d] See present edition, Vol. 6. - [e] E. E. Fribourg, *L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs.* - [f] K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association' and 'Provisional Rules of the Association'. - [g] *Fraser's Magazine*

Mazzini and Blanqui had never any 'correspondence' whatever with the General Council of the *International.* When the *International* was founded, some Italian workmen, partisans of Mazzini, and one Major Wolff (whom papers, detected at the time of the Paris Commune, have proved to have been a police spy, in the regular pay of the Bonapartist *prefet de police*), his agent, became members of the General Council. Wolff proposed an Inaugural Address and Rules which, it was known, had been written by Mazzini. Both documents being rejected, and those drawn up by me being accepted, Mazzini, soon after, induced his partisans to secede from the General Council, and remained, from that time to his death, the most irreconcilable enemy of the International.

Orsini[a] (the brother of the Italian patriot) was never present at the sittings of the General Council and never gave it any account, interesting or otherwise, of any subject whatever. He had some private correspondence with me, relating to his doings in the U. States.

Potter was never a member of the 'International', Hales was not present at the Basle Congress,[102] etc.

I have the honour, Sir,

To be yours most respectfully,

Karl Marx

First published abridged in *Sotheby and Co. Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books, Autograph Letters, Historical Documents, etc.*, London, 1952, and in full, in Chinese, in Marx/Engels, *Collected Works*, Renmin Publishers, Beijing, 1972, and in the language of the original (English, facsimile) in *Renmin Ribao*, Beijing, 9 March 1983

Reproduced from the facsimile

[a] Cesare Orsini

## 53

## MARX TO ENGELS[26]

### IN RAMSGATE[103]

Karlsbad, 21 August 1875
Germania, Schlossplatz

Dear FRED,

I arrived here last Sunday.[104] Dr Kraus had already left for Gmund where he has joined his family; has sorted out his relations with his wife.

As was my intention, I am now my own doctor and, as Dr Gans confided to me more in sorrow than in anger, the same applies to one third of the older visitors to the spa. Another very therapeutic factor so far as I am concerned is the absence of my personal physician Kugelmann.[a]

Though the *dramatis personae* may change, the public here looks much the same one time as another: Quetelet's AVERAGE MAN[105] is the exception; instead, extremes prevail—round as a barrel and thin as a rake.

I spend at least 12 hours out of doors, and once I have completed my business, my principal diversion consists in discovering new walks, beauty spots and vistas in the mountain forests, and here I am the more subject to surprises for having so little sense of direction.

As from today—when I received chits in return for the spa tax—I am safe from the police. I registered as a D. Phil. and not as a rentier, which is advantageous to my pocket. My namesake, the Vienna chief of police, is civil enough to arrive here always at the same time as myself.

Yesterday I went to the *Hopfenstock*,[b] renowned for its beer, to drink my glass of Giesshübler mineral water. There were some Karlsbad philistines there, and the entire conversation turned on what is locally an *everlasting* bone of contention, viz., the respective merits of the old Pilsner, Bürgerbräu and commercialised beer. 'Aye,' says one, 'I can sup 15 glasses (and they're big 'uns) of the old stuff and be none the worse.' 'Well,' says another, 'I used to stick up for it too, but now I'm above such bickering. I drink all and any of 'em and the result's the same,' etc. Beside these

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[a] See this volume, pp. 46-47. - [b] Hop Pole—a hotel in Karlsbad.

sagacious NATIVES, however, there sat two Berlin SWELLS, *Referendarien* or some such.[106] They were arguing about the merits of the coffee in the various well-known Karlsbad restaurants, and one of them declared in all seriousness: 'It has been *statistically*' (!) 'demonstrated that the coffee at the Garten von Schönbrunnen[a] is the best.' At this point a NATIVE cried: 'Our Bohemia's a pretty big place and it's done big things. Its Pilsner beer goes to every country in the world; Salzmann, the big brewer, has got a branch in Paris now, and it goes to America as well! A pity we can't also supply them with our big natural rock cellars, for they're part and parcel of Pilsner!'

Now that I've imparted to you the insights I have just gained with regard to the bustle of the world *in nuce*,[b] here are some of my travelling experiences.

In London, a crafty-looking little Jew with a small box under his arm climbed into our carriage with great haste. Shortly before we got to Harwich, he started looking for keys with which to open his box in order to see, as he said, whether his office-boy had packed the clothes he needed. 'For, while I was at the office,' he continued, 'I got a telegram from my brother in Berlin telling me to leave for Berlin immediately, so I sent the boy to my house to fetch the stuff I needed.' After searching here, there and everywhere, he at last found admittedly not the right key, but nevertheless a key that opened the box, only to discover that trousers and coat didn't match and that nightshirts, top-coat, etc., were missing. On the ship the little Jew poured out his heart to me. 'Such double-dealing! The world's never seen the like of it,' he cried, over and over again. This was his story: A German Yankee by the name of Börn- or Bernstein, recommended to him by his Berlin friend Neumann, had done him out of £1,700—him, who passed for one of the cleverest traders! This laddie, ostensibly engaged in the African trade, showed him invoices for goods worth many thousands of pounds which he had bought from leading houses in Bradford and Manchester; the ship they were in was berthed at Southampton. At this he gave him the advance he had asked for. But hearing nothing more from the man, he grew anxious and wrote to Manchester and Bradford. He even showed me the replies he received saying that Börnstein had taken samples and purchased goods from them, but payment was to be made only *on receipt of the goods*; the invoices were just a formality;

[a] Schönbrunn—royal palace and park in Vienna. - [b] in miniature

goods never received. In Southampton they were placed under distraint and the discovery made that B.'s shipment consisted merely of bales stuffed with straw matresses. Our little Jew who was incensed, not only about the £1,700, but above all by the fact that such a cunning trader should have let himself be taken in, wrote to his friend Neumann and to his brother in Berlin. The latter informed him by telegraph that B. had been located in Berlin, that the police had been notified and were keeping an eye on him, and that he must set off for Berlin without delay. 'Do you intend,' I asked, 'to hand the man over to the law?' 'Not on your life. I aim to get the money off him.' *I:* 'He'll have squandered it.' *He*: 'Not on your life! In the City, I tell yer, he did the fellers' (at this point he listed all manner of blokes) 'out of £12,000. It's me he's got to pay. The others will have to nab 'im where they can.' But the really choice part was that, when we arrived at Rotterdam, it was discovered that he couldn't travel beyond Minden where he would have to wait until 11 o'clock the following morning before continuing his journey. The fellow cursed the RAILWAY ADMINISTRATION like mad. All to no purpose.

We had a curious passenger on board—a corpse. His attendant was a red-haired German; he told me the dead man was called Nassauer, a young fellow of 34 from Mainz, on a trip to London, run over, his family wanted him buried at home. The dead man's escort, too, was unable to continue his journey straight away. The ship's captain told him they couldn't hand over the corpse until he had completed certain formalities with the German consul.

Between Cologne and Frankfurt (I travelled straight through) a Catholic priest[a] of worldly mien got in. From his conversation with others I gathered that he was on his way back to Frankfurt, his home, from Dublin where he had attended O'Connell's centenary.[107] He had plenty to say for himself. At Koblenz, where the carriages were changed, I found myself tête-à-tête with him in the carriage. He had come by the new route via Flushing; obviously the boat was far preferable to the Harwich *Dreckshuite.* I tried to draw him on the subject of the *Kulturkampf.*[35] But to start off with he was mistrustful and exceedingly reserved, though he spoke with much enthusiasm of Monsignore Cappele's eloquence. Eventually the Holy Ghost came to my aid. The priest pulled out a BOTTLE—it was empty; and he now told me that he had been

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[a] Mutzelberger

hungry and thirsty ever since arriving in Holland. I offered him my brandy BOTTLE, a few swigs from which loosened his tongue. He now began to talk nineteen to the dozen. When passengers got in, he cracked bad jokes with them in our mother tongue, but resumed his conversation with me in English, which he speaks very well. 'So great is the freedom we enjoy in the German Empire that one has to chat about the *Kulturkampf* in English.' Before we got out in Frankfurt I told him—without, however, disclosing my name—that he must not be surprised if, next day, he were to read in the newspapers about yet another conspiracy between the black and the red International.[108] At Frankfurt I learned (in the editorial office of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*) that my companion had been Mr Mutzelberger who acts as a kind of substitute for a Catholic bishop there. He too will have seen my name in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (which he reads). It published a note about my passing through there.[109]

Saw Sonnemann, who had just made another appearance in court for refusing to reveal a correspondent's name and had been granted a further ten days' stay of execution which, however, was to be the last.[110] Sonnemann is a man of the world, though one can see that he is aware of his own importance. In what was a fairly long conversation he explained that his principal aim was to involve the petty bourgeoisie in the Social-Democratic movement. The financial strength of his paper lay in its being avowedly the best commercial and stock-market paper in southern Germany. He was, he said, well aware of the service his paper rendered as political retailer of the workers' press. By contrast, however, that party did nothing for him. He had, for instance, taken on Vahlteich as correspondent; but the latter had been *forbidden* to act as such by the Executive Committee of the united party.[111] In the Reichstag, he said, Liebknecht's attitude was unduly demagogic; Bebel, on the other hand, was accorded the most universal acclaim, etc. I shall see him again on my return journey. I also saw Dr Guido Weiss who is spending a few days with his daughter (wife of Dr Stern, one of the editors of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*). Had I arrived at the office a little earlier, I would have had the misfortune to encounter Karl Mayer from Swabia (the former *Beobachter* man).

Incidentally, business in Frankfurt and all the other leading commercial centres is far worse than would appear from the German press.

Your friend Cafiero is living with Bakunin and he even bought the house in Lugano for him.

And now *vale faveque.*[a] I must get back to business. My kindest regards to Madame Lizzy.

Your
Moor

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## 54

## MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

### IN PRAGUE

Karlsbad, 1 September 1875
Germania

Dear Friend,

By the time your letter of the 12th ult. arrived in London, I had already set off on my journey here.[104] I found it extremely interesting. I shall be leaving here a week next Saturday (not this Saturday, that is, but the Saturday after)[b] and shall travel via Prague so that I may enjoy the pleasure of your company. However, urgent business will preclude my staying for more than 2 days.

With kindest regards.

Yours,
Karl Marx

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[a] good-bye and farewell - [b] 11 September

## 55

## MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

Karlsbad, 6 September 1875
Germania

Dear Friend,

Having had no reply to the letter I sent you last week, I conclude that you are not in Prague. On that assumption, I shall not return home via Prague on Saturday (11th September) but direct via Frankfurt.

*Au revoir,*

Your most sincere friend,
Karl Marx

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## 56

## MARX TO ENGELS[16]

IN RAMSGATE

Karlsbad, 8 September 1875
Germania

Dear Fred,

You will doubtless have already heard from Tussy that my first letter to her, which I handed in personally at the main post office here on 18 August in the presence of Dr Gans junior, has been intercepted, doubtless by the Prussian postal authorities. The subsequent ones have arrived; the latest, which I sent her last week, appears to have shared the fate of the first, for I should otherwise surely have had an answer from her.[112]

This time I'm really getting on splendidly with the cure; with rare exceptions good nights, too. But I am also, or so my

numerous doctor friends say, Karlsbad's model guest. From time to time these gentlemen have been at pains to lead me away from the path of 'salvation'[a] on the pretext '*praesente medico*',[b] etc., but their attempts have failed.

As a second-year patient I have been promoted in the hierarchy of the springs. Last year my sources of supply were Theresienbrunn (41° R), Marktbrunn (39°) and Mühlbrunn (43.6°), while I only took a glass of Sprudel twice. This year, from the second week on, they have been Felsenquelle (one glass a day) (45° R), Bernardsbrunn (53.8°) (two glasses) and Sprudel (two glasses) 59°-60° R, making five glasses of hot every morning, on top of which come one cold Schlossbrunn on rising and one at bedtime.

According to Prof. Ferdinand Ragsky's analysis, Sprudel water consists of:

In 16 ounces=7680 g.

| | |
|---|---|
| Sulphate of potash | 1.2564 |
| Sulphate of soda | 18.2160 |
| Chloride of sodium | 7.9156 |
| Carbonate of soda | 10.4593 |
| Carbonate of lime | 2.2870 |
| Carbonate of magnesia | 0.9523 |
| Carbonate of strontium | 0.0061 |
| Carbonate of ferric oxide | 0.0215 |
| Carbonate of manganic oxide | 0.0046 |
| Phosphate of clay | 0.0030 |
| Phosphate of lime | 0.0015 |
| Fluoride of potassium | 0.0276 |
| Silica | 0.5590 |
| Total of fixed constituents | 41.7099 |
| Free and uncombined carbonic acid | 5.8670 |

Among the fellows calling for the celebration of Sedan Day[113] here was a businessman from Barmen, Gustav Köttgen—might he be connected with the old fool[114]?

You had better watch out: Karl Grün is competing with you. He is bringing out a work on natural philosophy next spring and has already given a foretaste of it in the Berlin *Wage* which Weiss has sent me from Berlin.[115]

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[a] '*Heil*' in the original, meaning 'salvation' and 'treatment'. - [b] Here: that doctors were in attendance.

I shall be leaving here on Saturday,[a] initially for Prague, having got a letter from there today from Oppenheim.[b] From Prague I shall proceed via Frankfurt.

Dr Fleckles has just arrived and is taking me out for a meal. So my long letter has come to naught; moreover Dr Fleckles says it is unsuited to the cure. Kindest regards to Madame Lizzy.

Your
Moor

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original

## 57

## MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

### IN PRAGUE

Karlsbad, 9 September 1875
Germania

Dear Friend,

I shall be leaving on Saturday (11th) at 3.57 and am due to arrive at the State Railway Station in Prague at 8.50.[104]

I shall be on my own, without any female companion[c]; hence any old bedroom will do.

Many thanks for the *Prager Führer.*

With most cordial regards,

Your
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

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[a] 11 September - [b] See next letter. - [c] Marx is referring to his daughter Eleanor.

## 58

## MARX TO HERMANN SCHUMACHER

IN ZARCHLIN

London, 21 September 1875
41 Maitland Park Crescent, N. W.

Esteemed Sir,

Your letter of 27 June reached me in good time, but the book[a] did not arrive until much later, after I had already left London to take the cure at Karlsbad.[104] Hence the delay in replying. I didn't get back until yesterday.

While tendering my best thanks for your letter and the first part of Thünen, I shall be presumptuous enough to ask for the biography of Thünen you also offered me.[b] If you do not possess the second edition of *Capital*[c] I shall send it to you with the greatest pleasure.

I have always regarded Thünen as something of an exception among German economists, since it is exceedingly rare for an objective, independent inquirer to be found in their midst.

I would endorse your preface in its entirety if our attitudes in regard to 'wages' did not differ materially. Thünen and you yourself regard wages as the immediate expression of a genuine economic relation; I regard them as a spurious form concealing a content materially different from the expression of that form.

I am, Sir,
Yours faithfully,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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[a] J. H. Thünen, *Der isolirte Staat in Beziehung auf Landwirthschaft und Nationalökonomie*, 3rd ed., Part I, Berlin, 1875 (with Preface by the publisher H. Schumacher). - [b] [H. Schumacher,] *Johann Heinrich von Thünen. Ein Forscherleben.* - [c] the first volume of *Capital* in German

## 59

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN LONDON

[London,] 24 September 1875
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Mr Lavrov,

On my return from Ramsgate where I had spent a few weeks,[103] I found your letter of the 20th, along with a pile of newspapers, books, etc. which had arrived during my absence. To start with I shall try to get all this into some kind of order and, as soon as possible, turn to reading your article in *Впередъ!*[a]—so as to be able to tell you where we agree and where we differ in our views on the relationship of socialism to the struggle for existence as propounded by Darwin.[b] If this does not reach you within a day or two, you must excuse me on the grounds of the many letters I have to write and the backlog of work that remains to be tackled, since for the past month I have only been able to do those things which absolutely had to be done without delay.

I do not know the pamphlet of which you speak[116]; if you could let me have it by post for a day or two, I should be much obliged.

We once more have a Portuguese paper, *O Protesto* (The Protest) of Lisbon, of which six (weekly) issues have appeared—editorial department, Rua do Bemformoso 110, second floor, management, Rua dos Cardaes de Jesus (!) 69, second floor. I still have not looked through the four issues we have received.

Would you kindly remember me to Mr and Mrs Smirnov.[c]

Yours ever,
F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

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[a] [P. L. Lavrov,] 'Соціализмъ и борьба за существованіе', *Впередъ!*, No. 17, 15 (3) September 1875. - [b] See this volume, pp. 106-09. - [c] Valerian Smirnov and his wife Rozalia Idelson

## 60
## MARX TO PETER IMANDT
### IN DUNDEE

*London,* 27 September 1875
*41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.*

Dear Imandt,

I was very glad to hear from you again at last.

I have only just arrived back from taking the cure at Karlsbad.[104] It has done me a great deal of good and is also the reason why I didn't know about the article that was sent to me.[117] I imagine it originates from Barry, a very fanatical Scottish party member. The article in *Fraser's* (to which Eccarius, Hales, Mottershead, Jung contributed their share—chaps now in very low water) stems from a deplorable novelist, Mrs Betham-Edwards[a] who relates, e.g., that my anti-Proudhon piece[b] is a short chapter in *Capital.*

Printing of the French edition of the latter (the last three FASCICLES in particular heavily revised by me) has been constantly *disrupted by the French government.* The last three instalments, which were set more than six months ago, are finally to be allowed to leave the press. I shall send them to you on receipt of the same.

Kaub and Dr C. Hirsch, who have come over from Paris for a few days, tell me that things are going ill with our old friend Schily (he is still living at 4 rue St Quentin); to begin with, there had been trouble for years between him and his better half, health ruined, lost most of his German clients through their having to leave Paris after the catastrophe,[c] has grown morose, francophobe and somewhat conservative. He could probably do well for himself in Strasbourg, but is rightly too proud to petition the Prussians.

In Germany I found much disenchantment, even among the philistines, following the sorry outcome of the milliards windfall.[118]

The whole family send their warmest regards. Drop us a line again soon.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

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[a] See this volume, pp. 79-81. - [b] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy.* - [c] i.e. of the Franco-Prussian War that began in 1870

## 61

## MARX TO BERNHARD KRAUS

IN VIENNA

London, 30 September 1875

Dear Kraus,

May I most heartily commend to you my friend *Leo Frankel*, the bearer of these lines and a former member of the Paris Commune. I enclose another photograph, since the first was a poor one. I should be grateful if you could let me have your compendium of the new medical sciences.[a] You would already have received the French edition of *Capital*, had not the publication of the last instalments been delayed and obstructed by the French police.[17] It's bound to appear some day.

With best wishes from myself and daughter Eleanor,

Yours,
Karl Marx

First published in *Weg und Ziel*, Nr. 5, Wien, Mai 1978

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Published in English for the first time

## 62

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV[119]

IN LONDON

[London,] 8 October 1875
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Friend,

I am sorry that I and my wife were not at home when you were kind enough to call.

I got the *Quelques Mots d'un Groupe ... Russe etc.* from Engels[b] and shall, with your permission, show it to another of my friends

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[a] B. Kraus, *Compendium der neueren medicinischen Wissenschaften*. - [b] See this volume, p. 91.

before returning it. This puerile *scriptum* does not warrant an answer.

Yours sincerely,
K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

## 63

## ENGELS TO WILHELM BRACKE[72]

### IN BRUNSWICK

London, 11 October 1875
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.[a]

Dear Bracke,

I have put off answering your last letters, the most recent dated 28 June, firstly because Marx and I have been apart for six weeks—he at Karlsbad[104] and I at the seaside,[103] where I didn't see the *Volksstaat*—and next, because I wanted to wait and see how the new coalition and the combined committee[120] got on in practice.

We entirely share your view that Liebknecht, in his anxiety to achieve unity and pay *any* price for it, has made a complete mess of everything. Even if they deemed this necessary, there was no need to say or indicate as much to the other contracting party. Thereafter the vindication of one mistake has inevitably entailed another. The Unity Congress,[89] once established on an unsound basis and blazoned abroad, could on no account be allowed to fail, and thus they again had to give way on essential issues. You are perfectly right: this unification bears within it the seeds of dissension, and I shall be happy if, when the split does come, the *only* ones to go are the incurable fanatics, and not, with them, the whole of the otherwise sound rank and file who could, if given a

[a] This line is written by an unknown person.

good training, be licked into shape. That will depend on the time when, and the circumstances under which, the inevitable happens.

The programme in its final version[121] consists of 3 parts:

1. Lassallean dicta and slogans which ought in no circumstances to be adopted. When two factions are agreed, they should include in the programme what is agreed, not what is contested. By permitting this regardless, our people voluntarily passed under the Caudine yoke[122];

2. a series of vulgar democratic demands, drawn up in the spirit and style of the People's Party[76];

3. a number of would-be communist propositions, for the most part borrowed from the *Manifesto*,[a] but so reworded that, looked at in the light of day, every one without exception contains hair-raising balderdash. If they don't understand these things, they should either leave them alone or else copy them word for word from those who are generally admitted to know what they are talking about.

Luckily the programme fared better than it deserved. Working men, bourgeois and petty bourgeois alike read into it what it ought, in fact, to contain but doesn't contain, and it occurred to no one, of whatever complexion, to submit one of these wondrous propositions to public scrutiny in order to discover its real import. That's what has made it possible for us to say nothing about this programme. A further consideration is that one cannot translate these propositions into any foreign language without being *forced* either to write down stuff that is palpably idiotic or else place a communist construction on them, the latter having already been done by friend and foe alike. I myself have had to do so when making a translation for our Spanish friends.[123]

What I have seen of the committee's activities has not so far been gratifying. Firstly, their proceedings against your book and that of B. Becker; it wasn't the committee's fault if they didn't succeed.[124] Secondly, Sonnemann, whom Marx saw when in transit, said that he had offered Vahlteich the post of correspondent to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* but that the committee had *forbidden* Vahlteich to accept[b]! That's worse than censorship, and how Vahlteich could possibly submit to anything of the kind is beyond my comprehension. And then, what ineptitude! Rather they should have ensured that, everywhere in Germany, it was our people who worked for the *Frankfurter*! Finally, the methods

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - [b] See this volume, p. 85.

adopted by the Lassallean members at the founding of the Berlin co-operative printing office would seem to me not altogether above-board; after our people had confidingly appointed the committee as supervisory board of the Leipzig printing office, those in Berlin had first to be *coerced* into doing so.[125] But I am not very well acquainted with the details in this instance.

However, it's a good thing that the committee is comparatively inactive and, as C. Hirsch says, who was over here recently, confines itself to the humdrum existence of a news and information agency. Any vigorous intervention on its part would only precipitate the crisis, something its members would appear to sense.

And what weakness, assenting to a committee of three Lassalleans and two of our chaps! [111]

All in all, it looks as though they'll get away with a black eye, if a mighty one. Let us hope that that will be all and that meanwhile propaganda will have its effect upon the Lassalleans. If things hold out until the next Reichstag elections,[126] all may be well. But then Stieber and Tessendorf will do their damnedest and then, too, the time will come when our folk will see for the first time *what* exactly they have taken on in the persons of Hasselmann and Hasenclever.

Marx has returned from Karlsbad a completely different man, strong, invigorated, cheerful and healthy, and will soon be able to get down seriously to work again. He and I send our cordial regards. Write again every now and then and let us know how things are going. The Leipzigers[a] have all of them too deep interests of their own to be frank and open with us, and at this particular juncture the party would not dream of washing its *dirty linen* in public.

Most sincerely yours,

F. E.

First published abridged in: F. Engels, *Politisches Vermächtnis. Aus unveröffentlichten Briefen*, Berlin, 1920 and in full in *Die Gesellschaft*, Jg. 4, Bd. II, Nr. 8, Berlin, 1927

Printed according to the original

[a] above all Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel

## 64

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL[72]

IN LEIPZIG

London, 12 October 1875

Dear Bebel,

Your letter[a] wholly corroborates our view that for us unification[71] is premature and bears within it the seeds of future dissension. Should it prove possible to stave off such dissension until after the next Reichstag elections[126]—well and good...

The programme, as it now stands,[121] consists of three parts:

1. of Lassallean propositions and slogans whose adoption is a lasting stigma on our party. When two factions agree upon a common programme, they should include in it what is agreed, and not touch on anything where they disagree. True, Lassallean state aid figures in the Eisenach programme, but as *one* of many *transitional measures* and, from all I have heard, it would almost certainly have been thrown out on Bracke's motion at this year's Congress[81] had there been *no* unification. Now it figures as a unique and infallible panacea for all social ills. To have let the 'iron law of wages' and other Lassallean dicta be imposed upon it was for our party a tremendous moral defeat. It became converted to the Lassallean creed. That is something which brooks no denial. This part of the programme is the Caudine yoke[122] beneath which our party has crawled for the greater glory of Saint Lassalle;

2. of democratic demands, drawn up in the very spirit and style of the People's Party[76];

3. of demands on the '*present-day* state' (there is no knowing to whom, if anyone, the other 'demands' are addressed), which are very muddled and illogical;

4. of general propositions, for the most part borrowed from the *Communist Manifesto* and the Rules of the International,[b] but so reworded that what they convey is either *totally wrong* or pure *balderdash*, as Marx has made abundantly clear in the essay known to you.[c]

The whole thing is excessively disjointed, muddled, inconsequential, illogical and discreditable. Had the bourgeois press

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[a] See A. Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, Part II, Stuttgart, 1911, pp. 334-36. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - [c] K. Marx, *Critique of the Cotha Programme*.

possessed a single critical mind, he would have gone through this programme proposition by proposition, examined each proposition for its true content, shown it quite clearly to be nonsensical and enlarged on the contradictions and economic howlers (when it says, for instance, that the means of labour are today 'a monopoly of the capitalist class', as though there were no landowners, or talks of 'freeing *labour*' instead of the working class, the trouble nowadays being that labour as such is *far too free!*), thus exposing our whole party to the most dreadful ridicule. Instead of that the jackasses on the bourgeois papers have taken this programme perfectly seriously, reading into it what isn't there and interpreting it communistically. The workers are apparently doing the same. It is *this circumstance alone* which has made it possible for Marx and myself not to disassociate ourselves publicly from a programme such as this. So long as our opponents as well as the workers continue to read our views into that programme, we are justified in saying nothing about it.

If you are satisfied with the outcome in the matter of personnel, then our side must have lowered its sights considerably. Two of our men and three Lassalleans![111] So here again our people are not equal allies but losers, and outvoted from the start. Nor, from what we know of it, is the committee's[a] activity edifying: 1. Resolution *not* to place the two books about Lassalleanism by Bracke and B. Becker on the party's list; if this was withdrawn, the fault did not lie with the committee or Liebknecht[124]; 2. Ban on Vahlteich's acceptance of the post of correspondent to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* offered by Sonnemann, who himself told Marx this when he was in transit there.[b] What surprises me even more than the arrogance of the committee and the readiness with which Vahlteich knuckled under instead of giving the committee a piece of his mind, is the colossal stupidity of the said resolution. Rather, the committee should have ensured that a paper like the *Frankfurter* be served *exclusively* by our people in all districts.

...You are perfectly right when you say that the whole thing is an educational experiment which promises the most favourable results even with circumstances as they are. The unification as such may be considered a great success if it holds out for two years. But it was undoubtedly to be had at a far cheaper price.

First published in: A. Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, Teil II, Stuttgart, 1911

Printed according to the book

[a] the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany - [b] See this volume, p. 85.

## 65

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL[127]

### IN LEIPZIG

...but all I can see is that the legal status of the company must have changed considerably.[128] I'd like some elucidation on this point, and also as to what guarantees there are to prevent the Lassallean majority on the administrative board from taking over the whole printing office in the event of the split.[129]

From the fact of the [press's] removal, I gather indirectly that the plan to purchase a house for the purpose[a] has been abandoned or become unnecessary. That is undoubtedly a very good thing, for only in a case of the utmost necessity would a poor party like ours be justified in tying up money in property. First because it could be better used as working capital, and second because, in view of the total unpredictability of the law in Germany where political matters are concerned, one can never tell what might become of the property if, at any time, acute reaction should set in.

We again have a paper in Portugal, *O Protesto—Protest.* The movement there is forging ahead, despite much obstruction on the part of the government and the bourgeoisie.

Marx has complained bitterly about the incomprehensible comment in No. 104 on the passage in his 'Anti-Proudhon'—about the condemnation of coalitions by socialists and economists alike—namely that these were 'socialists of the Proudhonian stamp'.[130] In the first place, there was at that time not a single socialist of the Proudhonian stamp unless it were Proudhon himself. Secondly, Marx's assertion applied to *all* socialists who had hitherto entered the arena (except for us two, who were not known in France), in so far as they had occasion to concern themselves with coalitions—first and foremost *Robert Owen.* The same applies to the Owenites and, among the French, to Cabet *inter alia.* There being no right of coalition in France, this question was hardly touched on in that country. But since the only kind of socialism that existed before Marx was feudal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois or utopian, or a combination of various of these elements, it was clear that all these socialists, all of whom claimed to possess a definite universal panacea of their own, and were completely outside the real workers' movement, regarded *every* manifestation of the real movement—and that includes coalitions

[a] See this volume, p. 59.

and strikes—as a wrong turning that would deflect the masses from the one redeeming path of the true faith. Thus, you see, the comment was not only mistaken but utterly preposterous. However, it would seem to be impossible for our people—some of them, at least—to confine their articles to what they have really understood. In proof I cite the endless columns of theoretical-socialist matter by K-Z,[131] Symmachos[a] *et al* who, with their economic blunders and false perspectives and ignorance of socialist literature, furnish the means best calculated to destroy completely the superiority hitherto enjoyed by the German movement in the field of theory. Marx all but issued a statement on the subject of this comment.

But enough of complaining. I only trust that the hopes and expectations engendered by this injudicious and precipitate unification will be fulfilled, that the bulk of the Lassalleans will prove amenable to conversion from the Lassalle cult and adopt a more reasonable view of their real class position, and that the split, which will come as surely as two times two is four, will take place in what are for us the most favourable circumstances. But that I should also believe all this is more than anyone could ask.

Aside from Germany and Austria, the country to which we should continue to devote most of our attention is Russia. There, as in Germany, the government is the movement's principal ally. An infinitely better one, however, than our Bismarck-Stieber-Tessendorfs. The Russian court party, now more or less in the ascendant, is seeking to reverse all the concessions made during the 'new era' of 1861 [132] and the years that ensued, and to do so in true Russian style. Once again, for instance, only the 'sons of the upper classes' are to go to university and, in order to bring this about, all the rest are failed in their school-leaving examinations. In 1873 alone this fate befell no less than 24,000 young people, thus totally barring their way to a career, for they were even expressly banned from becoming elementary school-teachers! And then they're surprised at the spread of 'nihilism' in Russia. If Walster, with his knowledge of Russian, were to summarise a few of the pamphlets emanating from the *liberal* opposition and published by B. Behr in Berlin,[b] or if somebody could be found

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[a] Karl Kautsky's pen-name - [b] Engels is presumably referring to the following pamphlets that appeared in Berlin in 1875: [Koshelev] А. Кошелевъ, *Наше положеніе*; *Объ общинномъ землевладѣніи въ Россіи*; *Общая земская дума въ Россіи*; [Vasilchikov] А. Васильчиковъ, *Письмо министру народнаго просвѣщенія графу Толстому*; [Samarin and Dmitriev] Ю. Самаринъ и М. Дмитріевъ, *Революціонный консерватизмъ*.

Extracts made by Marx from A. I. Koshelev's book
*On Communal Landownership in Russia,* Berlin, 1875

with enough Polish to read the Lemberg[a] newspapers (e.g. *Dziennik Polski* or *Gazeta Narodowa*) and extract things of that nature, the *Volksstaat* could become Europe's leading newspaper on Russian affairs. And it almost looks as though the next do will take place in Russia. Should this happen at the time when the *inevitable* war between the German-Prussian Empire and Russia is in progress, as seems highly probable, it will have inevitable repercussions on Germany.

Marx sends his best regards.

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

[London,] 15 October 1875
Cordial regards to Liebknecht.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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Published in English in full for the first time

## 66

## MARX TO BERNHARD KRAUS[133]

### IN VIENNA

London, 20 October 1875

Dear Friend,

You will have seen from my daughter's[b] letter that, of the 3 letters you wrote me, not one has reached London, and that the same thing happened to the letters I wrote[134] and those directed to me (during my stay at Karlsbad). This bears the stamp of—Stieber! So in future write to me at the following address: Mr John Withers, 54 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, London.

If I didn't write to you from Karlsbad, it was because your

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[a] old name of Lvov - [b] Eleanor Marx

friends there told me that you intended to return thither from Gmund.

With sincere regards,

Your
K. M.

First published in *Weg und Ziel*, Nr. 5, Wien, Mai 1978

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## 67

## ENGELS TO PHILIPP PAULI

IN RHEINAU

London, 8 November 1875
(122 Regent's Park Road)

Dear Pauli,

We got back here safely last Saturday afternoon, having stopped overnight in Bingen, Cologne and Dover.[135] In accordance with your advice we took the steamer from Bingen to Cologne and didn't regret it for one instant. The crossing from Ostend was quite good for the time of year, though my wife suffered a little from seasickness for a while. In Dover, where we stayed at the Lord Warden, we recalled how once, in this same hotel, an old Englishman with six daughters had said: 'THANK GOD, TS THE COMFORTS OF AN ENGLISH HOTEL'—consisting of a good bed and a bad breakfast and unpolished boots, for which they charged us the trifling sum of 16/-, say, sixteen shillings.

Once again my wife and I would like to say how deeply grateful we are to you and your dear wife for receiving us so warmly and for promising to take Pumps under your wing every so often during her exile; and we are definitely counting not only on your bringing Mrs Pauli over here as soon as possible, but also on your regarding our house as your own whenever you come to London WITH OR WITHOUT NOTICE.

With sincere regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 68

## ENGELS TO PHILIPP PAULI

IN RHEINAU

London, 9 November 1875

Dear Pauli,

In my haste yesterday I forgot what was most important of all. I am therefore sending you today per Book Post a parcel containing:

1. 3 numbers of *The Housing Question*
2. *The Bakuninists at Work*
3. *On Social Relations in Russia* (separate copy of the first article, omitted from this publication, is on the wrapper of the parcel)[136]
4. *The Peasant War in Germany*
5. *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* (1860) by me
6. the *Communist Manifesto* by Marx and me
7. *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* by Marx (1851)[137]

and trust it will arrive safely.

Once again warm regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 69

## ENGELS TO RUDOLF ENGELS

IN BARMEN

London, 9 November 1875

Dear Rudolf,

I'm sorry that nothing has come of Paul's[a] trip; next year, perhaps.

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[a] Paul Engels

Last Saturday I and my wife returned from Heidelberg where we had taken our little one to spend a year *en pension.*[135] On the return journey we drank a truly excellent Oberingelheimer at the Domhotel; I at once ordered some to be sent to me and would ask you to arrange to pay Mr Theodor Metz, Domhotel, Cologne, *35 talers*=105 marks for my account.

Cologne is a town of miracles. Thus, between the Cathedral and the Central Station, I came upon a gentleman so similar to Hermann[a] as to be indistinguishable from him, save that he seemed to have grown somewhat, had a more grizzled beard and looked frightfully serious. I was only waiting—alas in vain—for him to go through the usual performance of collecting himself before falling into his arms. This miracle happened last Friday morning between 10 and 11 o'clock.

Love to Mathilde[b] and the children.

Your
Friedrich

First published in *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 46, Bd. 2, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1921

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Published in English for the first time

## 70

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV[138]

### IN LONDON

London, 12[-17] November 1875

*Mon cher Monsieur* Lavrov,

*Enfin, de retour d'un voyage en Allemagne,*[135] *j'arrive à votre article,*[c] *que je viens de lire avec beaucoup d'intérêt.*[d] *Voici mes observations y relatives, rédigées en allemand ce que me permettra d'être plus concis.*[e] [139]

1. Of Darwin's doctrine, I accept the *theory of evolution,* but assume Darwin's method of verification (STRUGGLE FOR LIFE, NATURAL

[a] Hermann Engels - [b] Mathilde Engels - [c] See this volume, p. 91. - [d] [P. L. Lavrov,] 'Соціализмъ и борьба за существованіе', *Впередъ!*, No. 17, 15 (3) September 1875. - [e] At last, on my return from a trip to Germany, I have got round to your article which I have just read with great interest. Here are my observations relating to it, written in German and thus enabling me to be more concise.

SELECTION) to be merely a first, provisional, incomplete expression of a newly discovered fact. Before Darwin, the very people who now, wherever they look, see nothing but the *struggle* for existence (Vogt, Büchner, Moleschott and others), once laid particular stress on *co-operation* in organic nature, the way in which the plant kingdom supplies oxygen and food to the animal kingdom and, conversely, the latter supplies plants with carbonic acid and manure, as indicated notably by Liebig. Both conceptions are to some extent justified, but each is as one-sided and narrow as the other. The interaction of natural bodies—both dead and living—comprises harmony as well as strife, struggle as well as co-operation. Hence, if a self-styled naturalist takes it upon himself to subsume all the manifold wealth of historical development under the one-sided and meagre axiom 'struggle for existence', a phrase which, even in the field of nature, can only be accepted *cum grano salis,*[a] his method damns itself from the outset.

2. Of the three *uběždennyie Darwinisty*[b] you cite, only Hellwald would seem worthy of mention. After all, Seidlitz is at best no more than a minor luminary and Robert Byr a novelist, whose novel *Drei Mal* is currently appearing in *Ueber Land und Meer.* And that's where all his rodomontade belongs.

3. While not denying the merits of your mode of attack, which I might describe as psychological, I would for myself have chosen a different one. Every one of us is more or less swayed by the intellectual medium in which he predominantly moves. For Russia, where you are better acquainted with your public than I am, and for a propagandist journal which appeals to the *sviazujuščij affect*—the moral sense—your method is probably the better one. For Germany, where false sentimentality has wrought and still wreaks such untold havoc, it would not be suitable, since it would be misunderstood and a sentimental twist put upon it. In our case, hatred is needed rather than love—at any rate to start off with—and, above all, the abandonment of all remnants of German idealism, the placing of material facts in the historical context that is theirs by right. Hence I would—and some time perhaps will—attack these bourgeois Darwinians in about the following terms:

All that the Darwinian theory of the struggle for existence boils down to is an extrapolation from society to animate nature of

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[a] with a grain of salt - [b] convinced Darwinians (hereinafter Engels quotes Lavrov's article in Latin transcription)

Hobbes' theory of the *bellum omnium contra omnes*[a] and of the bourgeois-economic theory of competition together with the Malthusian theory of population. Having accomplished this feat (the absolute admissibility of which, as indicated above under 1, I contest, especially where the Malthusian theory is concerned), these people proceed to re-extrapolate the same theories from organic nature to history, and then claim to have proved their validity as eternal laws of human society. The puerility of this procedure is self-evident, and there is no need to waste words on it. If, however, I did wish to enlarge upon it, I should represent them, firstly as bad *economists* and secondly as bad naturalists and philosophers.

4. The essential distinction between human and animal society is that the most animals do is *garner,* whereas humans *produce.* This unique but crucial distinction alone makes it impossible simply to extrapolate the laws of animal societies to human societies. What it does make possible, as you rightly remark, is that

> *čelověk vel borjbu ne toljko za suščestvovanie, no za naslaždenie i za uveličenie svojich naslaždenij ... gotov byl dlja vyssšago naslaždenija otrečsja ot nissšich.*[b]

While not contesting the conclusions you proceed to draw from this, I would, from my own premisses, draw the following inferences: At a certain stage, then, human production reaches such a level that not only necessary requirements are produced, but also luxuries if, to begin with, only for a minority. The struggle for existence—if, for the moment, this category be allowed—thus becomes a struggle for enjoyment, not just for the means of *subsistence,* but for the means of *development—socially produced* means of development—and in respect of this stage the categories of animal kingdom are no longer applicable. If, however, as has now happened, production in its capitalist form produces means of subsistence and development far in excess of what can be consumed by capitalist society since it keeps the great mass of real producers artificially at a distance from these means of subsistence and development; if, by its own existential law, that society is compelled continually to raise what is, for its own purposes, an already excessive production and hence periodically, every ten years, gets to the point of destroying, not only huge

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[a] war of all against all (an expression from Th. Hobbes' *Elementa philosophica de cive* and *Leviathan, or the Matter, Form and Power of the Commonwealth Ecclesiastical and Civil.* Preface). - [b] man was not simply engaged in a struggle for existence but also for enjoyment and *for the intensification of his enjoyment* ... was prepared to forego less high for the sake of higher enjoyment (italics by Engels)

quantitites of products, but even the productive forces themselves—what meaning still attaches to talk of the 'struggle for existence'? For in that case the struggle for existence can consist only in this—that the producing class takes over the management of production and distribution from the class formerly entrusted with that task but now no longer capable of it, and this, in effect, is socialist revolution.

I might remark *en passant* that the mere consideration of previous history as a series of class struggles is enough to reveal the utter shallowness of the view of that same history as a slightly modified representation of the 'struggle for existence'. Hence it's a favour I'd never do these bogus naturalists.

5. For the same reason I would have formulated rather differently your substantially correct proposition,

*čto ideja solidarnosti dlja oblegčenija borjby mogla ... vyrosti nakonec do togo, čtoby ochvatitj vcë čelověčestvo i protivupostavitj jego, kak solidarnoje obščestvo bratjev, ostaljnomu miru mineralov, rasteniji i životnych.*[a]

6. I cannot, on the other hand, agree that the *borjba vsěch protiv vsěch*[b] was the first phase of human evolution. I should regard the social instinct as one of the most essential factors in the evolution of humans from apes. The first humans must have lived in bands and, as far back as we can see, we find that such was the case.

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*17 novembre. J'ai été de nouveau interrompu et je reprends ces lignes aujourd'hui pour vous les remettre. Vous voyez que mes observations se rattachent plutôt à la forme, à la méthode de votre attaque, qu'au fond. J'espère que vous les trouverez assez claires, je les ai écrites à la hâte et en les relisant, je voudrais changer bien des mots, mais je crains de rendre le manuscrit trop illisible.*

*Je vous salue cordialement.*[c]

F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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[a] that the idea of solidarity as a means of alleviating the struggle might ... finally gain the whole of mankind and pit it, as a fraternal society imbued with solidarity, against the rest of the world of minerals, plants and animals - [b] war of all against all - [c] 17 November. Having again been interrupted, I have today resumed this letter so that it may go off to you. You will have seen that my observations apply rather to the form, to the method, of your attack than to its substance. I hope you will find them sufficiently clear; I wrote them in haste and, upon rereading them, find many words I should like to alter, but I fear to make the manuscript unduly illegible.

With cordial regards.

## 71

## ENGELS TO PAUL KERSTEN

IN LONDON

[London,] 24 November 1875
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mr Kersten,

I have just received your esteemed note of this morning[140] and hasten to inform you that I shall be pleased to see you and your friend at my house next Sunday evening at about six o'clock.

Yours faithfully,
F. Engels

[Engels' later note on Kersten's letter]

[18]75. Kersten has not been seen any more.

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## 72

## MARX TO MOREL

[London, probably autumn 1875]

Monsieur Morel,

Be so kind as to let me know, through Mr Theisz, your neighbour, what has become of the three copies of *Capital*[a] which you received from me.

Salutations,
Karl Marx

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[a] the French edition of the first volume of *Capital*

## 73

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV[141]

IN LONDON

[London,] 3 December 1875
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My dear Friend,

A carbuncle (and on my left nipple to boot)—which you may actually inspect for yourself by coming to call on me—makes it quite impossible for me to go out in the evening to attend the meeting of 4 December. For that matter, I should only have reiterated the opinion I have upheld for the past thirty years,[142] namely that the emancipation of Poland is one of the preconditions for the emancipation of the working class in Europe. The new conspiracies of the Holy Alliance[143] provide further proof of this.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

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## 74

## ENGELS TO WALERY WRÓBLEWSKI[141]

IN LONDON

[London,] 4 December 1875, midday
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Wróblewski,

This morning I awoke with so violent a cold in the head that it almost prevents me from talking. Hence, to my great regret, it will not be possible for me to attend your Polish meeting tonight, the more so since the evening promises to be one which will combine

all the advantages of the Polish climate with the pleasures of an English fog.

My feelings for the cause of the Polish people, feelings to which I am sorry not to be able to give expression tonight, will always remain the same; I shall always regard the liberation of Poland as being one of the foundation stones of the ultimate liberation of the European proletariat and, in particular, of the liberation of the other Slav nationalities. So long as the division and the subjection of the Polish people continues, so, too, will endure and reproduce itself with fatal inevitability the Holy Alliance between those who partitioned Poland, an alliance which signifies nothing but bondage for the Russian, Hungarian and German peoples, just as it does for the Polish people. Long Live Poland!

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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## 75

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH LESSNER

IN LONDON

[London,] 16 December 1875

Dear Lessner,

Frankel, who was imprudent enough to live in Vienna under an assumed name, has been found out and arrested. The French Embassy are demanding his extradition for arson and for taking part in the shooting of the Dominican monks.[144] But this is nonsensical, for a country does not extradite its own nationals but only foreigners, assuming in the first place that there could be any question of extradition here. He will probably get off with a token punishment for using a false name.

Your
F. E.

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## 76

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV[119]

IN LONDON

[London, 17 December 1875]

Dear Friend,

Our good Leblanc is very ill and likes to be visited. *Definite* limits were set for the last sheets (i.e. the last instalment, 44th, of the French edition of *Capital*).[17] Mr Lachâtre alleged that things had been so arranged with the printers that it would be impossible to go beyond the 44th sheet. This meant that I had to sacrifice the subject *index which had already been drawn up.* If I find a copy of it, I will send it to you.

Yours ever,
K. M.

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# 1876

## 77

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[145]

IN HOBOKEN

*London*, 4 April 1876
*41 Maitland Park Road*, N. W.
(PAY ATTENTION TO THE ADDRESS; IT IS 41 NOW INSTEAD OF 1, BUT SAME STREET)

My dear Friend,

It gave me great pleasure to see your handwriting again at last. My interpretation of your silence was correct, that is to say it tallied with your own explanation. I assure that we over here have also experienced more than enough mudslinging, though it was not done in so brazenly public a manner (and even that wasn't lacking in the early days after the Hague Congress[20]). But here one might say with Chernyshevsky: 'He who treads the path of history must not be afraid of getting besmirched'.[146]

I sent you the last fifteen *livraisons du*[a] *Capital*[b] at the beginning of January, namely on *Monday 3 January* (I made a note of every copy I sent off at that time, which is why I know the date). However, I'm not surprised that you haven't had them, for no less than three copies consigned to Paris from here did *not* arrive, and fresh ones had to be sent off. At the beginning of January there is such a HURLY-BURLY in the post office over here that to send anything by post is irresponsible. I shall send you a further fifteen numbers this week. I only regret that you didn't get consignment No. 1, since it is precisely this part, in particular the section on the accumulation process, that I have substantially revised and hence would like you to have read.

Engels and I cannot come to Philadelphia[147] because we have too much work on our hands—I, especially, have even less time to spare inasmuch as MY STATE OF HEALTH still compels me to lose ABOUT 2 MONTHS taking the cure at Karlsbad.

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[a] instalments of - [b] the French edition of the first volume of *Capital*

We intend to apply ourselves to the *Communist Manifesto*; but the time is not yet ripe for a decision on the appendix.[148]

And now I have various requests to make of you:

1. Might I have my *'Tribune'*[a] *articles* (*ex,* I think, Weydemeyer's effects) which had been kept by our friend Meyer[b] before his untimely death. I have got none of them.

2. Could the American *book catalogues* from 1873 up till the present be sent to me from New York (*needless to say at my own expense*)? The point is I want to see for myself (for the second volume of *Capital*) what has appeared that might, perhaps, be of use as regards American agriculture and relations of landownership, ditto as regards credit (panic, money, etc., and anything connected therewith).[62]

3. There is absolutely nothing to be gleaned from the English newspapers about the present scandalous goings-on in the United States.[149] Have you by chance kept any American PAPERS that refer to them?

With warmest regards from all the family.

*Totus tuus,*[c]
Karl Marx

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere,* Stuttgart, 1906

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## 78

## ENGELS TO PHILIPP PAULI

### IN RHEINAU

London, 25 April 1876
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Pauli,

I really don't know how we can thank you and your wife for all the kindness and friendship you have shown our Pumps,[d] so much so that she evidently feels completely at home with you. If her

[a] *New-York Daily Tribune* - [b] Hermann Meyer - [c] All yours - [d] See this volume, p. 104.

year *en pension* remains in her memory as the happiest of her life, it is you and your dear wife she has to thank for it.

She has told us of a nice little scheme which she devised when with you, and apparently with your help, aimed at bringing us all together at Whitsuntide. Unfortunately, as is usually the case with girls of her age, she has forgotten to tell us the most important thing of all, namely *when* in June her holidays begin. If I remember rightly, Miss Schupp said the holidays were in *July*, this being the hottest month of the year. So I shall first have to extract more accurate information from Mamsell Pumps on this point before I and my wife can come to any decision.

I hardly need tell you that it would give us both great pleasure to spend Whitsuntide with you at Rheinau.[150] Unfortunately my wife always feels somewhat seedy in the springtime, and for that there is only one doctor—sea air, so I shall see whether I can't send her there for a few weeks, in which case the trip to Germany would do her twice as much good.

We were quite delighted when Pumps wrote to say that Mrs Pauli had decided to come to England with us. That is splendid, and we only trust that Pumps is voicing not simply a hope but a firm decision to be implemented without fail, even if the Whitsuntide excursion comes to nothing through Pumps having possibly made a miscalculation about her holidays, for after all the summer lasts a long time and she will have to be fetched whatever happens. However, we prefer to hope that Pumps is right and that the combined strategical operation will go off splendidly. Needless to say we shall do everything we can to make your wife's stay here as agreeable as possible and to induce her to prolong it until you yourself come to fetch her. *Projet contre projet!*[a] Schorlemmer and Allman, if the latter hasn't gone away, would also be summoned, and the former will probably spend a fortnight with us at the seaside as he did last year. So we shall regard the thing as settled, the only point at issue being whether it takes place a fortnight earlier or later.

Schorlemmer was here for a few days in March; he looked very well and was very cheerful.

We got Mrs Pauli's letter in due course and were glad to learn that the pudding, after its long Odyssey, had arrived undamaged at its destination and had met with approval.

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[a] Plan for plan!

With warm regards from my wife and myself to you, your wife and the children.

Most cordially yours,
F. Engels

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## 79

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 18 May 1876

Dear Friend,

Pio's address is 15 Hargwyne Street, Stockwell, S. W.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

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## 80

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Ramsgate,[151] 24 May 1876
3 Adelaide Gardens

Dear Moor,

I have just received the two letters enclosed herewith.[152] The curse of paid agitators, of the semi-literate, lies heavy on our party

in Germany. If things go on at this rate the Lassalleans will soon be more lucid than anyone else because they assimilate less rubbish and Lassalle's writings provide the least noxious form of agitation. I wonder what this man Most really wants of us and what we should do to satisfy him. Obviously, these people imagine that Dühring, by his scurrilous onslaughts upon you, has rendered himself invulnerable vis-à-vis ourselves, for, if we make fun of his theoretical nonsense, it will look as though it's out of revenge for those personalities! The ruder Dühring is, the more humble and propitiating we are to be, and can, in fact, thank our stars that Mr Most, besides requiring us to point out Mr Dühring's howlers kindly and privily to him (as if nothing more than howlers was involved) in order that he might eliminate them from the next edition,[153] shouldn't ask us to kiss his most worthy of posteriors. This fellow—Most, I mean—has contrived to do a résumé of the whole of *Capital*[154] without understanding a word of the thing. Of this the letter provides striking proof while showing up the fellow for what he is. All such nonsense would be out of the question if only, instead of Wilhelm,[a] there were at the top a man with some modicum of theoretical insight, someone who wasn't eager to print every and any kind of nonsense—the crazier the better—and commend it to the workers with all the authority of the *Volksstaat. Enfin,*[b] the business has made my blood boil, and the question is whether it isn't about time we seriously reconsidered our position vis-à-vis these gentlemen.[155]

So far as that silly ass Wilhelm is concerned, all this is simply a welcome pretext to dun us for manuscripts. What a party leader!

I enclose an interesting news item from Constantinople in yesterday's *Daily News*[c]; one is all the more prepared to credit the man in that the softas' revolution[156] goes very much against the grain with him. The affair in the east is about TO COME TO A HEAD; the Serbians' renewed attempt to raise a loan, likewise their suspension of bills of exchange and the fresh demands of the Herzegovinian insurgents[157] are all evidence of the extent of Russia's machinations there. I am curious to see what turn things will take.

We've had our first rainy day here; yesterday there was only a brief shower. I hope all continues to go well with Jenny.[158] Lizzie and I send our love to all of you, the Longuets and Lafargues.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [b] In short - [c] 'The Revolution in Constantinople', *The Daily News*, No. 9386, 23 May 1876.

I have just noticed that Wilhelm has sent me the whole of Most's manuscript[159] in a wrapper. Who knows whether that is internationally admissible and hence whether it will arrive? Would you go and see some time if it's there and, IF SO, send it to me? I shall be staying here until the Friday of *next week*.[a] Mrs Leeson will show you where she keeps any papers, etc., that arrive for me.

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## 81

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 25 May 1876

Dear FRED,

At the same time as this letter I am posting off Most's manuscript[159] in the inadequately packed state in which it arrived. I opened the enclosed scrawl from Wilhelm[b] because I thought it had something to do with Most's affair. In addition, I removed from your house a communication from the GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY intending to forward it to you because I thought it was a business letter, but now discover it to be simply a PROGRAMME OF TOURIST ARRANGEMENTS.

I consider that, if one is to adopt a 'position vis-à-vis these gentlemen' one can do so only by criticising Dühring without any compunction. He has obviously been secretly at work among the literary loutish *careerists* devoted to him in order to obviate such criticism; they for their part have been counting on Liebknecht's weakness of which they are well aware. It was, BY THE BY, Liebknecht's duty, and he should be told as much, to let these laddies know that he had repeatedly asked for such criticism and that we had long (for the business started after my first return from Karlsbad[43]) refused on the grounds that the work was too

[a] 2 June - [b] Wilhelm Liebknecht

paltry. As he knows, and as his letters to us go to prove, the thing only seemed worth doing when, by repeatedly passing on to us the louts' letters, he drew our attention to the threat of debased propaganda within the party.[155]

As regards Mr Most *in specie*,[a] he must by the nature of things regard Dühring as an authentic thinker because of the latter's having broadcast the discovery, not only in a lecture to workers in Berlin, but subsequently in black and white, that Most was the only one to have made some sense out of *Capital*.[160] Dühring systematically flatters these louts—something they cannot complain we do. Most and Co.'s vexation over the way you *dumbfounded* the Swabian Proudhonist[161] is typical. It serves as a terrible example before which they quail, and they are trying to prevent such a thing ever happening again by means of tittle-tattle, stalwart bonhomie and outraged brotherly love.

Certainly, the root of the trouble is and will remain Liebknecht's want of manuscripts, in which, generally speaking, his editorial talent seems to be concentrated. However, the pettiness with which he avoids according Becker's history of the French Commune[b] so much as a word of recognition, let alone publishing an extract or two from it, proves that even the want of manuscripts is not the *only* governing factor.

You may remember that, in a recent conversation we had about Turkey, I drew your attention to the possibility of a puritan party (based on the Koran) amongst the Turks. This has now supervened. According to a news item from Constantinople in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, there is a plan, if things continue as they are, to remove the Sultan and put his brother in his place.[162] The correspondent, who speaks Turkish and has much personal intercourse with Turks in Constantinople, insists *inter alia* that they know very well what Ignatiyev is up to, and that he is the source of all the disquieting rumours circulating among the Christians in Constantinople. Of one thing we may be sure: the Turks are not to be got rid of WITHOUT HARNESS ON THEIR BACK, and the Russians, who did not dare (or, perhaps, could not, due to lack of money) act swiftly and thus seize time by the forelock, may perhaps by the present ADVENTURE contribute more to the collapse of their own régime than to that of the Turks in Europe.

Jennychen is well, but the little boy is somewhat seedy, though it's nothing of consequence, the doctor says. He is to be called

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[a] in particular - [b] B. Becker, *Geschichte der Revolutionären Pariser Kommune in den Jahren 1789 bis 1794*.

Jean (after Longuet's father) Laurent (NICKNAME OF LAURA) Frederick (in your honour).

The Copenhagen people have invited me by telegram, as well as in a letter to Pio (who left on Monday[a]), to attend a working men's congress (beginning of June).[163] It's fantastic to suppose I should now be able to give guest performances of this kind.

Today our park has been boarded off. Funny how ancient Teutonic customs survive as curiosities in England. This is the safeguarding of 'genuine freehold' by fencing off and hence separating it from the common mark.

Pumps has written long letters to my wife and Tussy. Even if the spelling sometimes isn't up to scratch, she has really made astonishing progress in the matter of style and ease of expression, which are far more important.

Kindest regards to Madame Lizzy.

Your
K. Marx

What a jackass Dizzy[b] has become! At a moment when England is completely isolated, he insists on keeping a dozen or more Fenians to himself![164]

As regards 'Richter',[c] Liebknecht shouldn't confine himself to mere HINTS when uttering warnings of this kind.[165] While there may be a possibility that my address book disappeared along with Richter, I don't for the time being believe it.

The fact of Eichhoff's working for Arnim was, of course, known to us long before Liebknecht, nor is there anything in the least surprising about it, in view of Eichhoff's hatred of Bismarck and Stieber. Notabene, in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* there is a Prussian *warrant* against Arnim, in accordance with which he is to be relieved of his money and handed over to the Berlin police; the authorities abroad will have their expenses paid and are assured of their services being requited in kind! (This on account of the *suppression of documents* for which he had already been sentenced.)[166]

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[a] 22 May - [b] Benjamin Disraeli - [c] Dmitry Richter

## 82

## ENGELS TO MARX[52]

### IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 28 May 1876

Dear Moor,

It's all very well for you to talk. You can lie in a warm bed—study Russian agrarian relations in particular and rent in general without anything to interrupt you—but I have to sit on a hard bench, drink cold wine, and all of a sudden drop everything else and break a lance with the tedious Dühring.[155] However, it can't be helped, I suppose, even if it means letting myself in for a controversy to which there is no foreseeable end; for otherwise I'll get no peace, and anyway, *amicus*[a] Most's panegyric on Dühring's *Cursus der Philosophie*[159] has shown me exactly from what quarter and how the attack must be made. It's essential to include that book as well because in many crucial points it reveals the weak sides and foundations of the arguments contained in the *Ökonomie* more clearly.[167] I shall order it straight away. For there's no philosophy proper—formal logic, dialectics, metaphysics, etc.—in it at all, rather it's supposed to present a course in general knowledge in which nature, history, society, state, law, etc., are discussed in what purports to be an internal relation. Again, there is a whole chapter in which the future, or so-called 'free', society is depicted in its less economic aspects and, *inter alia*, a syllabus is already laid down for the primary and secondary schools of the future. Here, then, one finds platitudinousness in an even simpler form than in the political economy, so that, by taking both books together, one can kill two birds with one stone by exposing that side of the fellow as well. As regards the magnanimous chap's view of history—that it was nothing but rubbish till Dühring came along—the book affords one the additional advantage of being able to quote his own preposterous words. ANYHOW, I HAVE HIM ON THE HIP NOW.[b] My plan is laid—*j'ai mon plan.* I shall begin by taking a wholly objective and apparently serious look at the stuff; then, as evidence of its nonsensicality on the one hand and platitudinousness on the other begins to mount up, my treatment of it will become correspondingly severe until eventually I come down on it like a ton of bricks.

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[a] friend - [b] Paraphrased words from Shakespeare's comedy *The Merchant of Venice*, Act. IV, Scene 1.

In this way Most & Co. will be deprived of the plea of 'uncharitableness', etc., while Dühring will still get his deserts. These gentlemen ought to be shown that we have more ways than *one* of dealing with such folk.

I hope Wilhelm[a] will print Most's article in the *Neue Welt*, for which it was evidently written. As always, Most is incapable of copying and has Dühring write the most absurd nonsense about natural science, e.g. the detachment of *rings* (according to Kant's theory) from *fixed stars*!

The trouble with Wilhelm isn't simply a want of manuscripts, something that could be overcome by printing more articles on topical questions, etc., as was done in Hepner's and Blos' time. It is Wilhelm's urge to make good the shortcomings of our theory, to have an answer to every philistine objection and to have a picture of future society, because that's another thing about which your philistine is always pestering them with questions; he is, besides, intent on being as independent of us theoretically as possible, and in this, considering his complete ignorance of theory, he has always been far more successful than he himself is aware. But he has thus put me in the position of having to remind myself that, compared with the theoretical bunglers on the *Volksstaat*, Dühring is at least an educated man and his *opera*[b] are better at any rate than the products of these subjectively and objectively obscure gentlemen.

You were absolutely right about the Turkish business and I only hope the affair will proceed satisfactorily; during the past week it appears to have hung fire somewhat and an oriental revolution, more than any other, calls for a prompt decision. The Sultan[c]—and this is the reason for the complaints about his constant requests for money—has accumulated a vast HOARD in the palace, so vast that the softas[156] have demanded that he hand over £5,000,000 of it, which means that there must be far more. The presentation of the Gorchakov Note of 3 emperors[168] will, one may hope, bring the matter to a head.

Please convey my best thanks to Jenny and Longuet for the honour they have done me; I shall try and show myself worthy of it. I trust the little boy with the three potent names is all right again.[d]

My re-reading of early history and my studies in the field of natural science have rendered me yeoman service where Dühr-

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[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [b] works - [c] Abdul Aziz - [d] See this volume, pp. 120-21.

ing[a] is concerned, and have done much to make things easier for me. Natural science, in particular, is a field in which I feel very much more at home and one in which I am able to move about with a fair amount of freedom and assurance, albeit with considerable caution. I am beginning to see an end even to this task.[169] The thing's beginning to take shape in my head, no small contributory factor being the idle existence here at the seaside, where I am able to turn over the details in my mind. In so vast a field it is absolutely essential to break off one's systematic studies every now and again, and ruminate upon what one has learnt.

Ever since 1853 Mr Helmholtz has been continuously harping upon the thing-in-itself and hasn't got it sorted out yet. The fellow doesn't hesitate to go on calmly bringing out reprints of the balderdash he had published *before Darwin.*[170]

Lizzie and I send our love to all of you. We shall be returning to London[151] on Friday.[b] I'm very glad to hear that Pumps is doing so well in the matter of style[c]; I, of course, have noticed it too, if to a lesser extent.

Your
F. E.

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## 83

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[171]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London, 14 June 1876]

Dear Friend,

I am today sending you for the third time *livraisons*[d] Nos. 31-44 of *Capital*[e]; should you once more fail to receive them, let me

[a] F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*. - [b] 2 June - [c] See this volume, p. 121. - [d] instalments - [e] the French edition of the first volume of *Capital*

know immediately, then I shall pick a SERIOUS QUARREL with the GENERAL POST OFFICE here. As for meddling by Dr Kugelmann (*resp.* Meissner, which I cannot credit, though I shall inquire further from the man himself), I was greatly surprised to hear of it since I am not yet a 'goner' and hence no one apart from myself has any say in the disposal of my writings.[172]

By 'scandalous goings-on' I meant what you suppose, but shan't be needing it until towards the end of September.[a]

Shall send you a copy of the Most,[154] corrected by me, forthwith; didn't put my name to it because I should then have had to make even more alterations (I had to delete the bits about value, money, wages and much else, and substitute things of my own).

More anon. Warm regards from the whole FAMILY.

Your
K. M.

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## 84

## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT[173]

IN LEIPZIG

[London, 14 June 1876]

Dear LIBRARY,[b]

Herewith—for communication to those concerned in Chemnitz—a copy of Most's thing, with corrections of what are often very bad printing errors.[154]

Warmest regards from one family to the other,

Your
K. M.

[a] See this volume, p. 115. - [b] jocular name for Wilhelm Liebknecht

[Address in Marx's handwriting on the postcard]

*Via Ostend* W. Liebknecht, Esq.,
11, Braustrasse,
*Leipzig* (Germany)

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## 85

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 14 June 1876

Dear Friend,

Engels will already have informed you that Liebknecht and his friends have reason to regard Richter as *under suspicion*—of spying.[165] If this were to be confirmed, it would also explain why my address book—containing *the addresses* of my correspondents in various countries—should have disappeared after the last visit which Richter deigned to pay me. The grave disquiet this business is causing me is solely on account of a few people in Russia.

Pio should be warned as well.

Yours ever,
K. Marx

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## 86

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 15 June 1876

My dear Friend,

I am delighted to see from your letter that the suspicions about R.[a] cannot be anything other than figments of the imagination.

Liebknecht first wrote to Engels, telling him that certain suspicions attached to R. and that he (Engels) should *privately* warn our Russian friends in London.[b] [165] Engels replied that he would do nothing so long as Liebknecht had not informed him of the facts upon which those suspicions were based. Then Liebknecht wrote saying that one evening, while in the company of several members of the *Volksstaat*'s despatch department and some other working men, R., *who was not altogether sober,* tried to filch a packet of letters (from the *Volksstaat*) intended for the post, that his friends did not try to stop him, but went with him to the post office and made him post the packet. The matter was reported to Liebknecht, so that it was not he, but the working men—who had previously trusted R. implicitly—who raised the alarm. Liebknecht himself says that the adage '*in vino veritas*'[c] is very far from being gospel truth, but nevertheless the incident gives food for thought. As you well know, once a suspicion of this kind has been aroused, other evidence invariably comes to mind which, however vague, lends itself to unfavourable interpretation.

In my opinion, Liebknecht was doing no more than his duty in reporting the matter; neither he (and up to a point this also applies to *me*) nor his friends were aware of the *intimate* ties between R. and yourself; otherwise he would certainly not have thought it necessary to have you informed. Misunderstandings of this kind can best be cleared up by plain speaking. In the life of a militant party one must be ready for anything; I, at any rate, was not at all surprised when I was accused of being one of Mr Bismarck's agents.

Engels was here last night. I asked him if he had written to you; he said he had *not*; he did not think it right to *write* to you on the subject, since Liebknecht had enjoined him to inform you

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[a] Dmitry Richter - [b] See next letter. - [c] Truth comes out in wine.

*privately*, and he had not yet had time to go and see you. I told him I had written to you, whereupon he said he would also write.[a]

I shall write and give Liebknecht the gist of your letter. At the same time I feel that it might be better not to let R. know anything about what has happened. When Liebknecht shows my letter to his friends, the latter—I feel sure—will do all in their power (for they are honest working men) to right the wrong they have done their comrade.

Last week's *Pall Mall Gazette* carried an article fulminating against Russia's financial policy.[b]

Yours ever,
K. Marx

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## 87

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 16 June 1876
122 Regent's Park Road

My dear Mr Lavrov,

A short while ago Liebknecht wrote asking me to inform you that R.[c] was under suspicion and, since I could not undertake such a mission without so much as a single fact to go on, I told him so outright.

Here is his reply, which I pass on to you *in strict confidence*:

'Last winter R. tried in the most conspicuous way to get hold of a packet of letters that was due to be sent me in Berlin. He was *tipsy* and, in consequence, went about it clumsily so that he was caught out. For hours, befuddled as he was, he was *obsessed* by the thought of getting hold of the packet, and in this he succeeded, but was forced by his companions to drop it into the letter-box, which he did after an attempt to *substitute* it had failed. Those who were present on this occasion had, up

[a] See next letter. - [b] 'Russian Credit', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 3529, Vol. XXIII, 10 June 1876. - [c] Dmitry Richter

till then, been absolutely convinced of his honesty, but now they began to wonder. Drunkenness, it is true, sometimes brings strange thoughts into a man's head, but nothing that had not already been there when he was sober. *In vino veritas*[a] does after all have a modicum of truth in it. I shall not mention here other highly suspicious circumstances, these not being so grave as the one I have related. But it is noteworthy that R. should have repeatedly offered himself as intermediary in the *carrying of letters* and that he should have asked for introductions to all manner of party members.'[b]

I am sorry that repeated interruptions should have prevented my passing on this communication before now; I really don't know what to make of the thing.

I trust that this letter finds you in good health. My regards to Mr Smirnov.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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## 88

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN LONDON

London, 30 June 1876

My dear Mr Lavrov,

To console you for the ban placed by Mr Bismarck on *Vpered*[c] in Germany, I must inform you that, six days since, I saw it on public display in bookshop windows in Heidelberg.[174] Mr Bismarck

[a] Truth comes out in wine. - [b] Engels quotes Liebknecht's letter in German. - [c] Thus in the original.

has not yet discovered a way of teaching all his policemen the letters of the Russian alphabet.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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## 89

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Ramsgate,[175] 25 July 1876
11 Camden Square

Dear Moor,

Have written to Lafargue asking him to let us know what day he is arriving, Friday or Saturday.[15]

Herewith Wilhelm's[a] letter with enclosure by Most. You see what sort of people they are—both of them. Take Wilhelm's portentous attitude to the 'attempts at a rapprochement'.[b] As though one—that is anyone—could become involved with canaille who have been convicted of such treason! And as though any kind of rapprochement could lead to anything! What is supposed to happen when they have effected it? If, circumstances being what they are and the situation what it is, these people want to resume the role of the International, LET THEM PLEASE THEMSELVES AND BAD MANNERS TO THEM!

The COLLAPSE of the Serbs is stupendous.[176] The campaign was intended to set the whole of Turkey in flames, and everywhere the tinder is damp—Montenegro has betrayed the campaign for her own private ends, Bosnia has absolutely no intention of rebelling now that Serbia proposes to liberate her, and the worthy Bulgarians aren't lifting a finger. The Serbian army of liberation is having to live at its own expense and, after a swashbuckling

[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht's - [b] See this volume, p. 184.

offensive, withdraw into its robber's lair without having been seriously defeated anywhere.—No doubt that will also serve as a lesson to the Romanians, in which case the Russian plans will be pretty well in the soup.

For the rest, I console myself here with Dühring's philosophy[a]—never before has anyone written such arrant rubbish. Windy platitudes—nothing more, interspersed with utter drivel, but the whole thing dressed up, not without skill, for a public with which the author is thoroughly familiar—a public that wants by means of beggar's soup[b] and little effort to lay down the law about everything. The man is as if cut out for the socialism and philosophy of the milliards era.[118]

Your
F. E.

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## 90

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 26 July[c] 1876

DEAR FRED,

SEASIDE or no SEASIDE, you must recall that you did not leave till last Monday[d]; moreover, according to the RELICTS living at No. 122,[e] you will both of you be returning in the middle or at the end of this week (or so I was informed only yesterday).[175] As for *last week*, Laura (and I accompanied her, as my wife had written to say she was very unwell) spent the second part of it in Brighton (Lafargue came down on Saturday and returned with myself and Laura on Sunday); Longuet and Jennychen, however,

[a] E. Dühring, *Cursus der Philosophie*... - [b] expression from Goethe's *Faust*, Part I, Scene 6 ('Hexenküche') - [c] June in the original - [d] 24 July - [e] i.e. in Engels' house in Regent's Park Road

were still SCHOOLBOUND.[177] The Lafargues will be coming down to Ramsgate this *Friday* or *Saturday*, and will return on Sunday, since Lafargue cannot interrupt his BUSINESS[94] and Laura has to resume her teaching on Monday. The only week she will have off is *the last week in August*. (She has got to make up this week for the one day she missed last week, which, in this heat, is far from agreeable.)

I shall pass on the contents of your letter[15] to the other members of the family.

My wife was still very unwell when we arrived, and slightly better when we left her. As soon as she feels fit enough she will certainly wish to spend a few days in Ramsgate. During the *next day or two* Lenchen will be completely taken up with the preparations for Tussy's trip.[178]

We were told in Brighton that Madame Bravo used to be a ballet dancer and Madame Cox her DRESSMAKER. During my wife's stay in Brighton, Mrs Bravo gave GREAT PUBLIC (*plus ou moins*[a]) DINNER PARTIES there.

In the last *Впередъ!* there's a disgustingly sycophantic article about Bakunin's funeral,[b] at which Guillaume, Brousse, the two Reclus and *l'illustre*[c] Cafiero were the chief ACTORS. Bakunin is depicted therein as the 'giant' of the Revolution. We are promised a sequel by the same correspondent on the subject of the plans put forward after the funeral for a coalition between the two Internationals, namely the Jurassians who want a '*FREE FEDERATION*' of workers, and the Germans who aspire to a '*People's State*' [*Volksstaat*]. To achieve this, it was said, all that was needed was to reframe Article 3 of the Rules in accordance with the version adopted at the 'Congress of 1873' (Guillaume's congress).[179] In a short paragraph in the *Volksstaat* (I don't know whether you've read it yet) Liebknecht declares that nobody could desire this more than we (i.e. he); but, incorrigible TALKER that he is, goes on to say: 'Let us see deeds instead of words'.[d] Naturally, he is gratified that Mr Guillaume should proclaim the 'People's State' the be-all and end-all of the non-Bakuninist International. Lavrov clearly considers it a good BUSINESS MANOEUVRE to accept Bakuninist articles, thus also committing that PARTY to his paper.[e]

The Brighton AQUARIUM has really come into its own since the time (three years ago) when I witnessed its beginnings.[180] In accordance with the compromise it has reached with PARSON POWER, it

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[a] more or less - [b] 'Бернъ, 4 іюля. Похороны М. А. Бакунина', *Впередъ!*, No. 37, 15 July 1876. - [c] the illustrious - [d] 'Das Begräbniß Bakunin's...', *Der Volksstaat*, No. 82, 16 July 1876. - [e] *Впередъ!*

now stays open on Sunday afternoons (until the evening), but on the arid condition that the poor devils of EXCURSIONISTS shall not obtain a drop of liquid, not even undistilled water. You ought to go and have a look at it one of these days.

Love to the whole FAMILY and kind regards to Madame Pauli.[a]

Your
Moor

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## 91

## ENGELS TO PHILIPP PAULI

### IN RHEINAU

Ramsgate, 11 August 1876
11 Camden Square

Dear Pauli,

On Friday[b] I duly proceeded to Cologne as planned and would have gone on overnight to London via Ostend had not the confounded midge bite on my left hand swollen to truly colossal proportions. So I went to an hotel in Cologne and held my hand in iced water for about an hour, which relieved the worst of the inflammation; on Saturday to England via Flushing. At Chatham I found a train going to Ramsgate and came straight here.[175] When I arrived in London on Tuesday I found Schorlemmer at the Marxes preparing to leave for Darmstadt on Wednesday, where he will doubtless arrive today.

It's still very fine here, moderately hot summer temperatures and a cool wind off the sea, on top of which the bottled beer is excellent and salt water bathing 'a proper treat',[c] as Nadler's seamstress would say.[181] His stuff has made me laugh a lot; the small town patriot of '48 is particularly well portrayed.[182]

The crossing from Flushing was once again as smooth as glass; I'm heartily sick of it by now; a bit of tossing about is all part of

[a] See this volume, p. 116. - [b] 4 August - [c] Engels has '*e wohres Laubsal*' (dialect).

the game, otherwise one has no idea of having been at sea. But that's something I can have whenever I want here aboard the pleasure boats which sail every afternoon.

We are staying here until Monday fortnight and in London shall, I trust, retire from the very idle life we've been a-leadin' of.

The trip and the sea-bathing have done my wife a great deal of good, so I have reason to hope that I shall also be able to get her through the winter in passable health. Both she and I send our kindest regards to you, your wife and the children, and in the hope that Rheinau's gnat population will shortly diminish I shall close because of incipient table-laying.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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## 92

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 15 August 1876
11 Camden Square

My dear Mr Lavrov,

On my return from Germany[175] I found awaiting me your letter of the 7th which I hastened to pass on to Liebknecht.[15] Since the people concerned are completely unknown to me, there was little else I could do.[183]

I hope our poor Smirnov will have strength enough to get over his illness. He has been working harder than the delicate state of his health allows, and he would be well-advised to take it a bit easier. With warmest regards both to him and to yourself.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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## 93

## MARX TO ENGELS[13]

### IN RAMSGATE

Karlsbad, 19 August 1876
Germania

Dear FRED,

I am writing to your London address since I don't know whether you are still living at the seaside.[175]

First, our adventures *en route*.[178] As I had planned, we spent a night in Cologne—left there at 6 o'clock in the morning, our next staging post being Nuremberg. We arrived in Nuremberg at about five in the afternoon, not intending to leave for Karlsbad until the following evening (it was the 14th and we had informed our Karlsbad landlady that we would be arriving on the 15th). Our cases were unloaded and entrusted to a man with a barrow who was to accompany us to the nearest inn, just beside the railway station on the outskirts of town. But at the said inn we were told there was only one room left, and at the same time the landlord conveyed to us the awful tidings that we were unlikely to find accommodation elsewhere since the town was overcrowded, partly as a result of a millers' and bakers' convention, partly by people from all over the world who were on their way to state musician Wagner's Festival of Fools at Bayreuth.[184] And such was the case. We spent ages wandering about the town with the barrow beside us; neither the smallest beer-house nor the biggest hotel could offer us asylum; all we gained was a nodding acquaintance with the (highly interesting) birthplace of German handicraftsmen. So we returned to the station; there we were told that the town closest to Karlsbad, whither we might still be transported by rail, was Weiden. We took TICKETS for Weiden. However, the worthy guard had already had one (if not more) over the eight; instead of making us get out at Neunkirchen, from which there was a new branch line to Weiden, he carried us on as far as Irrelohe (that's roughly what the beastly place is called)[a] and we had to spend two whole hours travelling back (in the direction opposite to that from which we had come) so that we finally arrived at Weiden at midnight. Here again the only hostelry in the place was full to overflowing so that we had to possess our souls in patience on the

[a] The correct name is Irrenlohe.

hard chairs at the railway station until four o'clock in the morning. Altogether, the journey from Cologne to Karlsbad took us 28 hours! Add to which, it was outrageously hot!

Next day at Karlsbad (where it hasn't rained for six weeks) what everybody was talking about, and what we experienced in our own persons, was the excessive heat! Likewise the water shortage; the Tepl looks as though it's been almost completely drained. Deforestation has reduced it to a sorry state; at times of heavy rain (as in 1872) it floods everything, in hot years it disappears altogether.

Incidentally, the excessive heat has let up during the past three days and, even on really hot days, we found wooded glens, long familiar to me, where it was bearable.

Tussychen, who was rather unwell during the journey, is recovering visibly here and, as always, Karlsbad is having a wonderful effect on me. During the past months the horrible feeling of heaviness in the head had shown signs of returning, but now it's completely gone again.

Dr Fleckles passed on a piece of news that astonished me very much. I had asked him whether his cousin, Madame Wollmann from Paris, was here; I met her last year—a most interesting lady. In reply he said that her husband had lost the whole of his own fortune, as well as his wife's, speculating on the Paris Bourse so that the family, now in desperate straits, was forced to retire to some German backwater. The curious thing about this affair is that Mr Wollmann had made a large fortune in Paris as a dyestuffs manufacturer; he had never gambled on the Bourse but had soberly invested the money not required for his business (as also that of his wife) in Austrian state bonds. All of a sudden he went a bit wrong in the head; he regarded the state of Austria as unsound, sold all his bonds, and *quite secretly*, without the prior knowledge of his wife or of his friends Heine and Rothschild, and in anticipation of a rise, he speculated on the Bourse in—Turkish and Peruvian securities!—until the last farthing had gone down the drain. The poor woman was just in process of furnishing her newly rented hotel in Paris when, one fine day, without any warning at all, she heard that she was a pauper.

Professor Friedberg (at Breslau University, medicine) tells me today that the great Lasker has brought out anonymously a semi-fictitious work entitled *Experiences of a Man's Heart*.[a] These exceedingly boastful experiences are preceded by a fulsome

[a] [E. Lasker,] *Erlebnisse einer Mannes-Seele*

foreword or introduction by Mr Berthold Auerbach. What Lasker experienced was this: that all women (including a daughter of Kinkel's) fell in love with him, and he proceeds to explain, not only why he didn't marry the whole lot at once, but why he didn't even so much as clinch matters with a single one of them. It's said to be a veritable odyssey of a milksop's heart. Hot on its heels came a parody (likewise anonymous)[a] SO HORRIBLE that, at great loss to himself, Otto's[b] big brother[c] bought up every copy of the *Experiences* he could lay hands on. 'Duty' calls me from my desk. So until next time, in so far as I am not prevented by the magically stupefying effect of the hot alkaline tipple from scrawling a line or two.

My love to Madame Lizzy.

Your
Moor

No Kovalevsky here. What I have got is a stout volume, sent me by Lavrov, about the functions of the 'state' in the future.[d] Anyway I am also putting off reading it till some future time. Just now everything's future here after the drums of the music of the future[185] at Bayreuth.

Swarming with Russians here.

Have just heard from my wife that you are still in Ramsgate. I am therefore sending the letter straight there.

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[a] H. J. Gehlsen, *Das Buch vom 'großen' Lasker oder Leiden und Freuden einer schönen Mannes-Seele.* - [b] Otto Bismarck - [c] Eduard Lasker - [d] [P. L. Lavrov,] 'Государственный элементъ въ будущемъ обществѣ', *Впередъ!*, Vol. IV, 1876.

# 94
# ENGELS TO JENNY MARX

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 20 August 1876
11 Camden Square

Dear Mrs Marx,

My best thanks for Tussy's letter which we have promptly forwarded to Jenny.[a]

Lenchen[b] has had a curious and distinctly unpleasant turn while down here. Last Tuesday she went bathing with my wife[c] and was assailed by a violent headache which persisted for three days. On Friday she had another try and was at once assailed by the same headache, this time more violently. On Friday evening it was again very bad and she simply could not sleep. It was not until Saturday afternoon that she managed to get a little sleep, but then came another violent attack which, however, died down in the late evening, whereupon she slept soundly and today is ALL RIGHT again. The result is that, this year at any rate, she would be well-advised not to repeat the bathing experiment.

Lenchen wanted to return to London no later than tomorrow, but we have persuaded her to give herself another day in which to recover completely from what have sometimes been extraordinarily violent attacks, so now she doesn't intend to return until Tuesday. We thought, if you were to come here on Wednesday and stay until Friday week, then we could all return to London together.[175]

Since STEAMERS take at least 30-31 days from the Cape, Carolinchen[d] could not, after all, arrive before 3-4 September, i.e. 3-4 days after your return.

We have had to put up with some pretty oppressive heat here—a few days ago there were thunderstorms and, since yesterday evening, there has been a lot of rain, but it's clearing up again now. My wife is in very good health, and bathing suits her particularly well. Both she and Lenchen send their warm regards.

Your devoted
F. Engels

First published in *Friedrich Engels 1820-1970. Referate. Diskussionen. Dokumente*, Hannover, 1971

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[a] Jenny Longuet - [b] Helene Demuth - [c] Lizzie Burns - [d] Karoline Juta

## 95

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN KARLSBAD[178]

Ramsgate, Friday, 25 August 1876

Dear Moor,

Your letter arrived here on Tuesday and is now circulating among your daughters.[a] No one here envies you your 28 hours of roving between Cologne and Karlsbad[b]; on the other hand, there's been much wagering as to the amount of Bavarian 'liquid' that helped to see you through your many vicissitudes.

A week ago on Monday Lenchen[c] arrived here from Hastings where she had been spending Sunday with Jenny and the Lafargues; despite being rather seedy, she went into the water, thereby incurring a frightful headache that lasted two days; a second attempt only made matters worse, so she had to give it up. She went home on Tuesday, and the day after that, the day before yesterday, your wife turned up here; she is noticeably better than she was—six weeks ago at any rate. She does a great deal of walking, her appetite is good and she seems to be sleeping very well. After being fortified by me at the station with a glass of port, she and Lizzie are loafing about on the SANDS and rejoicing at not having to write any letters. Sea-bathing has done Lizzie a power of good and I hope that this time it will last the winter through.

At this moment Ramsgate is populated almost exclusively by small GREENGROCERS and other quite small SHOPKEEPERS from London. These people stay here a week, for as long as the RETURN TICKET is valid, and then make way for others of the same ilk. It's the former day-trip public which now takes a week off. At first sight one would think they were working men, but their conversation immediately betrays the fact that they are RATHER ABOVE THAT and belong to quite the most disagreeable stratum of London society—they're the kind who, in speech and manner, are already preparing themselves, after the inevitably impending bankruptcy, for the no less inevitably impending career of COSTERMONGER. And now, let Tussy imagine her old friend Gore on the SANDS of a morning, surrounded by 30 or 40 *dames de la halle*[d] of that ilk.

In view of the ever denser stultification induced by the seaside, the most suitable reading has, naturally enough, been Mr Düh-

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[a] Jenny Longuet and Laura Lafargue - [b] See this volume, pp. 135-36. - [c] Helene Demuth - [d] market women

ring's natural philosophy of reality.[a] Never have I encountered anything so natural. Everything occurs naturally since everything is regarded as natural that occurs naturally to Mr D., which is why he invariably takes his departure from 'axiomatic propositions', for what is natural requires no proof. As far as banality goes, the thing is absolutely unprecedented. Poor though it is, the part dealing with nature is by far the best. Here, at any rate, there are still some withered remains of dialectical phraseology, but no sooner does he touch on social and historical conditions than the old metaphysic prevails in the form of *morality*, and then he gets well and truly onto the wrong tack and turns helplessly round and round in circles. His horizon barely extends beyond the area covered by the common law of the land[186] and, for him, Prussian officialdom represents 'the state'. We shall be returning to London a week today[175] and then I shall at once settle down to work on the fellow. The nature of the eternal truths he preaches will be apparent to you from his three *bêtes noires*—tobacco, cats and Jews—and they get it hot and strong.

Tussy's letter to Lenchen has just arrived here; I shall forward it to London directly.

With their hullaballo about TURKISH ATROCITIES,[187] *The Daily News* and old Russell have done the Russians a signal service and splendidly paved the way for the latter's next campaign, which may begin as soon as the liberal gents have taken the helm here. The liberal provincial press is even now sounding the alarm and, since OLD Dizzy[b] has retreated to the HOUSE OF LORDS,[188] it will no doubt be the liberal ranters who will lay down the law in the next session in the COMMONS. Not a word is said, of course, about the infamies perpetrated by the Montenegrins and Herzegovinians. Luckily the Serbs are getting knocked for six[176]—even Forbes, who, by the way, is again the one solitary rational war correspondent, speaks with unmistakable admiration of the superior military prowess of the Turkish troops—and it isn't so easy for the Бѣлый царь[c] to intervene.

Your wife and Lizzie send much love to Tussy as also to yourself.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

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[a] E. Dühring, *Cursus der Philosophie...* - [b] Disraeli - [c] White Tsar (Alexander II)

## 96

## ENGELS TO IDA PAULI

IN RHEINAU

Ramsgate, 27 August 1876
11 Camden Square

Dear Mrs Pauli,

The midges must indeed have been hard at it if you have felt obliged to follow in the footsteps of the emancipated Russian ladies and smoke cigarettes. I hope, however, that like us, you have had cooler weather for the past three or four days and hence freedom from midges. Here, we've been positively frozen and have had to have the windows shut, while my wife has been hankering for fur jackets. On Friday night in London it was only 6 degrees Reaumur, and in Liverpool the melons have been positively frozen hard.

Mrs Marx has been staying with us since Tuesday.[a] [189] She has made a fairly good recovery, but will probably have to leave before Tuesday as she is expecting a niece[b] from the Cape of Good Hope by then.

Despite the weather, we are persevering with our bathing as the sea is still warm and, with this wind, the breakers get better and better and keep one warm; it's precisely these cold sea-baths that have the most invigorating effect, and my wife's health has improved wonderfully since she's been going into the water. On Friday we repack our bags and shall then, I hope, at last settle down again. We are now both heartily sick of lounging about; my wife longs for her kitchen and I for my writing-desk and both of us for our big, roomy bed.

Marx's address in Karlsbad is: Dr. Marx, Germania, Schlossberg, Karlsbad.[178] I heard from him a few days since[c]; the Karlsbad water was doing both him and his daughter Tussy a great deal of good, but unfortunately it has a tiresome sequel: for months afterwards one may neither tipple nor eat salad or suchlike palatable things. He will stay there until mid-September at least and maybe a week longer, depending on the cure and the effect it has.

At the same time as yours we received a letter from Pumps. I shall reply to her as soon as I get back to London; here, where

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[a] 22 August - [b] Karoline Juta - [c] See this volume, pp. 135-37.

idleness is an institution, it always requires an effort of will to sit down and write.

What's the position about Pauli's trip to England? He must surely almost have completed his building operations at the factory and, being so fond of rough seas, he shouldn't put it off too long.

Mrs Marx asks me to send her warmest regards and my wife and I send you, Pauli and the children our love. I am sending Pauli a newspaper today. Well, may you all keep well and happy and, whenever the beer is especially good, spare a thought for

Your sincere friend,
F. Engels

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## 97

## MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

### IN PRAGUE

Karlsbad, 30 August 1876
Germania, Schlossberg

Dear Friend,

My daughter and I have been here for the past two weeks and, despite changeable weather and rain, intend to persevere for another two weeks.[178] We should be very glad to see you here. At any rate, drop us a line.

Very sincerely yours,
Karl Marx

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## 98

## MARX TO JENNY LONGUET[16]

IN HASTINGS

[Karlsbad, end of August-beginning of September 1876]

My Darling,

I was delighted to see from your letters, one of which unfortunately went astray, that your health has improved and that Hastings is suiting the fine little chap[a] and that he already has a presence of his own. *Macte puer vitute!*[b]

Here we jog along from day to day, as mindlessly as the cure demands if it is to be successful. Latterly we have virtually ceased our excursions into the mountain forests owing to the sharply changing weather,—now April showers, now a cloudburst, then sunshine again. But the cold that suddenly set in after the prolonged heat is now quite gone again.

We have made many acquaintances of late—aside from a few Poles, mostly German university professors and doctors of other descriptions.

Everywhere one goes one is plagued with the question: 'What do you think of Wagner?' It is highly typical of this latter-day Prusso-German imperial court musician that he, plus wife (the one who was divorced from Bülow), plus the cuckold Bülow, plus their mutual father-in-law Liszt, should all four be living together harmoniously in Bayreuth, cuddling, kissing and adoring one another, and generally enjoying themselves. If, moreover, one reflects that Liszt is a Roman monk and Madame Wagner (first name Cosima) his 'natural' daughter by Madame d'Agoult (Daniel Stern)—what better Offenbachian *libretto* could one possibly conceive than this family group with its patriarchal relationships? Or again, the goings-on of the said group might—like the Nibelungen[190]—be made the theme of a tetralogy.

I hope, dear child, that I shall find you well and happy. Give Longuet my best regards and my little grandson a dozen kisses from his GRANNY.

*Adio*

First published in *Annali*, an. 1, Milano, 1958

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[a] Jean Longuet - [b] Cf. 'Good speed to thy valour, O youth!', Virgil, *Aeneid*, IX, 641.

## 99

## MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

[Karlsbad,] 1 September 1876

Dear Friend,

I had never given up the idea of spending a day or two in Prague with my daughter, but did not wish to say anything about it in my letter to you, because I wanted to entice you here.[178] *Mais les affaires sont les affaires*[a]; perhaps on closer reflection you may find that a trip to Karlsbad might after all be of benefit to your health. I await your final decision on this score.

I wouldn't mind very much what the weather as such was like if it didn't to some extent clash with the conditions of the cure.

My daughter sends her warmest regards.

Yours very sincerely,
Karl Marx

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## 100

## MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

[Karlsbad,] 6 September 1876

Dear Friend,

Your sister's letter enclosed; her news of the *aventures de Norderney*[b] was of the very greatest interest to my daughter[c] and myself. I have seen your sister's portrait and heard many complimentary things about her in Hanover, and had hoped to

[a] But business is business. - [b] the adventures in Norderney - [c] Eleanor Marx

make her acquaintance at your home in Prague; however, I see from your letter that she is still staying in Aachen.

My cure ends on Sunday.[a] Monday is therefore the day appointed for our departure for Prague[178]; nevertheless, it's possible that our stay at Karlsbad will have to be prolonged. My daughter has suddenly become unwell. I hope it's nothing serious; I'm expecting a second visit from the doctor[b] this evening. You shall have further information as soon as I can communicate something more definite.

Yours very sincerely,
Karl Marx

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## 101

## MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

### IN PRAGUE

[Karlsbad,] 9 September 1876

Dear Friend,

Very many thanks from self and daughter[c] for your kind letter. She had a nasty fever, had to stay in bed for three days and at this moment is still confined to her room; but she is now quite out of danger thanks to the speedy intervention of Dr Fleckles junior. It's unlikely we'll be able to leave for Prague before Wednesday.[d] However, I'll notify you of the exact day before our departure.

Trusting meanwhile that we shall see you again shortly.

Yours,
Karl Marx

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[a] 10 September - [b] presumably Ferdinand Fleckles - [c] Eleanor Marx - [d] 13 September

## 102

## MARX TO IDA PAULI

IN RHEINAU

[Karlsbad,] 10 September 1876

My dear Mrs Pauli,

My warmest thanks for your kind invitation. I'm sorry to say that an unfortunate contingency has arisen which precludes my taking advantage of it.

Today, you see, our four weeks' cure came to an end.[178] As a result of the constant changes of weather, however, my daughter[a] went down with a cold, fever, etc. For the time being she is confined to her room and I shall of necessity have to prolong our stay here. As I must be in London on an appointed day because of certain business matters, I shall be able to make even fewer diversions on the return journey. But to postpone is not to abandon. Perhaps we shall meet again next year.

With kindest regards from my daughter to you and Mr Pauli.

Yours very sincerely,
Karl Marx

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Published in English for the first time

## 103

## MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

Karlsbad, 12 September 1876
Germania

Dear Friend,

I'm most grateful to you for your kind concern; fortunately my daughter[a] has completely recovered; *mais elle l'a échappé belle.*[b] She

[a] Eleanor Marx - [b] but she had a narrow squeak

was on the brink of pneumonia; speedy action by Dr Fleckles jun., her doctor, saved her from a long and dangerous illness.

As a result of this contingency, however, we shall have to stay here until Friday[a] for her to undergo after-treatment. We shall leave Karlsbad at 10.47 and arrive in Prague (State Railway Station) at 5.50 in the afternoon.

So until we meet again,

Yours very sincerely,
Karl Marx

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## 104

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN LONDON

[London,] 15 September 1876
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Mr Lavrov,

At the bottom of this note I append a few observations that Liebknecht has just sent me on the subject of the people you mentioned in your letter.[b] You will see that Liebknecht disclaims all responsibility for what D.[c] may have written and what Ch.[d] might have done.

I trust Mr Smirnov is getting better.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

'The letters from *me*, which G.[e] allowed to fall into the hands of the police, were from the outset intended for Stieber's eyes—not, however, the numerous letters from the Russians. L.[f] is mistaken if he imagines that I confided in *any* Russian refugee. I take no responsibility for such people's *chatter*, and chatter they

[a] 15 September - [b] See this volume, p. 134. - [c] Vladimir Dekhterev - [d] Ivan Chernyshev - [e] Grigory Gurevich - [f] Lavrov

do to a fearsome extent. Ch. went to Berlin *not* at my behest, though admittedly I was aware of it; there was no longer any damage to be done there.'[a]

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## 105

## MARX TO FERDINAND FLECKLES

IN KARLSBAD

Liège, Belgium, 21 September 1876
Hôtel de Suède

Dear Fleckles,

I am sending you POST-HASTE a line or two concerning an urgent matter.

A medical examination of my friend, Nikolai Utin, aged 35, has indicated incipient fatty degeneration of the heart. Karlsbad has been recommended to him, but since he is exceptionally busy in the spring, summer and autumn—he is an engineer in charge of big railway and similar undertakings—he can only spare time for treatment in December and during the winter months.

Since he is greatly afraid of the cold, he would like to know whether he might not go to Vichy rather than Karlsbad.

It is of course difficult, perhaps impossible, to reply to such a question without knowledge of his person. But at all events you will be able to give a general opinion as to whether Vichy might serve as a substitute for Karlsbad in cases of this kind.

The man in question is one of my dearest friends and for that reason I take the liberty of appealing to your friendship and requesting your early reply (to my London address: 41 Maitland Park Road, London). The child[b] and I leave here for home tomorrow.[178]

Yours very sincerely,
Karl Marx

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[a] Engels quotes Liebknecht's letter in German.- [b] Eleanor Marx

[From Eleanor Marx in French]

Dear Doctor,

I've just received the photographs from Karlsbad—but only eleven—have you got one of them? If so, send it off to me—if not, will you tell Hirsch?

I'm eagerly awaiting the letter you sent to London. Let me have some news about 'Marion', which interests me greatly—and work away at the last acts.

Good-bye—write and send me *your* portraits.

Yours sincerely,
Eleanor Marx

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## 106

## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

### IN BRUNSWICK

London, 23 September 1876

Dear Bracke,

A French work by Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune* (500-600 pages), is now being printed, publisher, H. Kistemaeckers, *librairie contemporaine,* Boulevard du Nord, 60, Bruxelles. This will be the first *authentic* history of the Commune. Not only has Lissagaray made use of all the published sources—he is also in possession of the material inaccessible to all others, quite apart from his having witnessed with his own eyes most of the events he depicts.

Yesterday I had from him a letter addressed to him by Julius Grunzig of Berlin, in which the latter offers himself as translator.

*D'abord,*[a] I don't know Grunzig; perhaps you can let me have some information about him.

Secondly, however, he says nothing whatever about where the thing is to be published or how and, even if we could use Mr

[a] First

Grunzig as translator (this depends entirely on his ability to do such work), he would be taken on *only* as translator, and in no case would he be entrusted with its publication.

I would suggest that you undertake to bring out this work, which is of importance to our party and of interest to the German reading public at large. But Lissagaray—who, needless to say, as a refugee in London, isn't exactly in a bed of roses—must, in return for the German publication rights conceded by him, get a share of the profits which you yourself should determine.

As for the translation, I would send Grunzig—since he was the first to apply and is also recommended by Most—some sample sheets to translate in order to assure myself of his competence.

Should you accept the proposal, the original would be sent to you (and/or the translator) in batches, so that the German translation might appear pretty well simultaneously with the French original.

Publication by instalments, as proposed by Grunzig in his letter, is inadmissible since the thing would then appear in German sooner than in French, and the Belgian publisher would object to this.

As regards payment of the translator, that is a matter to be settled exclusively between yourself and him.

You would oblige me by letting me have an early reply so that no time may be lost, and I can, if needs be, write to another publisher.

With best regards from myself and Engels.

Yours,
Karl Marx

My address is:
41 Maitland Park Road, N.W., London.

First published in: K. Marx-F. Engels, *Briefe an A. Bebel, W. Liebknecht, K. Kautsky und andere*, Teil I, Moskau-Leningrad, 1933

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# 107

## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

### IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 30 September 1876

Dear Bracke,

I had already learnt of your transactions with B. Becker from your various letters to Engels, since we always show one another everything that has a bearing on party interests.

As soon as I received your letter, Engels and I ventilated every aspect of the question and came to the conclusion that consideration for Becker is not in any way incompatible with your publication of Lissagaray's work.[a]

1. You *terminated* your ENGAGEMENT with B. Becker, *purely on business grounds*—long before there was any mention of Lissagaray's work—after *he* had abruptly *turned down* your proposals. Moreover, you paid him 300 talers by way of compensation. That meant that the matter was settled, nor could it possibly be assumed that, from then on, your house would refrain from printing any works relating to the history of the Commune.

2. In so far as Lissagaray's work competes with Becker's,[b] such competition is going to arise whether the work is published by you or by someone else. (Liebknecht just now offered to have it published by the *Volksstaat* printing office, an offer we would *in no circumstances* accept.) Lissagaray's work will be *appearing* in Brussels in a few weeks' time, whereas Becker won't have *finished* his until May 1877. So any injury he may incur thereby is in any case inevitable.

3. Although Becker's and Lissagaray's books have the same title—*History of the Commune*—they differ completely in kind and are works which, had not commercial or other considerations intervened, might very well have been brought out by the same publisher.

Becker's work is at best a compilation, written from the *German critical* standpoint, of material concerning the Commune which is available to anyone in Paris.

Lissagaray's book is the work of a participant in the events described (and to that extent it is in the nature of a memoir), a participant, moreover, who had at his command a wealth of

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[a] [P. O.] Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune de 1871*. - [b] B. Becker, *Geschichte und Theorie der Pariser revolutionären Kommune des Jahres 1871*.

manuscripts stemming from the protagonists in the drama, etc., which were not accessible to anyone else.

The only possible connection between the two works is that Becker will find in Lissagaray's book a fresh source which he cannot afford to leave out of account and which may necessitate extensive alterations to his manuscript, in so far as this has already been completed.

Your interest in the publication of Lissagaray's book is the same as induced you to commission Becker to compile the material—namely party interest which you can satisfy, as said above under 1., without remotely infringing your publishing ENGAGEMENTS originally entered into with Becker.

So much for that point.

As regards Mr Grunzig, I should like you to make inquiries from Most concerning the man's character. Should the particulars prove satisfactory, I would *tentatively* send Mr Grunzig a first sample sheet for translation so as to be able to judge whether he is up to this far from easy work.

Lissagaray has sent me the first five printed sheets. From this I see that it is a luxury edition, only thirty lines per page. If the French original runs to 500-600 pages, it will, in an ordinary German edition, hardly run to more than 400 pages.

Your stipulation as to the apportionment of profits meets with my complete approval; should it yield nothing, Lissagaray, like you yourself, must and will rest content with that.

As regards the translator's fee, that is a matter for you alone to decide. It is no concern of the French author.

As regards all the other stipulations—number of copies, design, prices, etc.—the decision is yours *alone*. (For Lissagaray has given me *plein pouvoir*[a] to act in his name.)

On the title-page you should print: 'Translation authorized by the writer of this work.'

On the title-page of the French original Lissagaray will put *'tous les droits réservés'*[b] so that you will be able to confiscate any eventual German translation that competes with yours.

With cordial regards,

Yours,
Karl Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Book I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

[a] absolute authority - [b] all rights reserved

## 108

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN LONDON

[London,] 7 October 1876

My dear Friend,

I have just received a letter from Paris (from an employee[a] at Lachâtre's booksellers) from which it transpires that the banning of *Capital*[b] is simply a myth, a myth, moreover, assiduously disseminated by the police and by Mr Quêst himself, the judicial administrator appointed by the late Buffet as sequestrator of Lachâtre's booksellers.[38]

Because it had been published under the state of siege, *Capital*—now that the state of siege has been raised—could only be banned by the regular courts, and the authorities fear a scandal of this kind. So they are seeking to suppress the book by underhand methods of intrigue.

You would greatly oblige me by advising me of the contents of the letter in which your agent Guyot mentions the banning of the book.[c] Kovalevsky, for his part, has Russian friends in Paris prepared to attest that even Lachâtre's booksellers has refused to sell them the work.

Armed with these proofs I shall be able to threaten Mr Quêst—a great miser, albeit a millionaire—with legal proceedings and a demand for damages and interest. It is only through the force of such threats that he has finally ordered the printing of the last fifteen instalments.[d] Under French law he is, vis-à-vis myself, merely Mr Lachâtre's representative, his deputy, and must fulfil all the conditions laid down in my contract with the latter.

Last September's *Revue des deux Mondes* contains a so-called critique of *Capital* by Mr Laveleye.[e] Only by reading it can one get any idea of the idiocy of our bourgeois 'thinkers'. Mr Laveleye is, however, naive enough to admit that, once you accept the doctrines of Adam Smith and Ricardo or even—*horribile dictu*[f]—those of the Careys and the Bastiats, there is no means of escaping the subversive doctrines of *Capital*.

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[a] presumably from Henri Oriol - [b] the French edition of the first volume of *Capital* - [c] See this volume, p. 440. - [d] Ibid., p. 92. - [e] E. de Laveleye, 'Le socialisme contemporain en Allemagne. I. Les théoriciens', *Revue des deux Mondes*, Vol. 17, Paris, 1876. - [f] dreadful to relate

I congratulate you on your LEADING ARTICLE in *Впередъ!* on Pan-Slav lyricism in Russia.[a] It is not only a masterpiece, it is above all a great act of moral courage.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

How is Smirnov's health progressing?

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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## 109

## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 7 October 1876
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear LIBRARY,[b]

According to a letter you wrote to Engels, you told the Congress that Engels was going to deal with Dühring. Instead, much to his displeasure, he found—and showed me immediately on my arrival from Karlsbad[178]—a report in the *Volksstaat* according to which you had said that I (something I would never dream of doing) was going to take issue with Mr Dühring.[191]

Resolve for me, O Oerindur, this dichotomy of nature![c]

Engels is busy with his work on Dühring.[d] It entails a considerable sacrifice on his part, as he had to break off an incomparably more important piece of work[e] to that end.

The fact that your Congress proffered a fraternal hand to Guillaume and Co., is, given the form it took, relatively innocuous.[192] However, any *real co-operation* with these people, who

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[a] [P. L. Lavrov,] 'Русскіе передъ южно-славянскимъ вопросомъ', *Впередъ!*, No. 42, 1 October 1876. - [b] jocular name for Wilhelm Liebknecht - [c] from Adolf Müllner's drama *Die Schuld*, Act II, Scene 5 - [d] *Anti-Dühring* - [e] *Dialectics of Nature*

have systematically worked to bring about the dissolution of the *International*, is to be avoided under all circumstances. The *very few* working men in the Jura, Italy and Spain whom they are still leading by the nose, may FOR OUGHT I KNOW be upright men. They themselves are incorrigible intriguers who, now that they have discovered their nullity *outside* the International, would like to worm their way in again through the back door so that they may resume their previous role.[193]

I had already been in communication with Bracke about the translation into German of Lissagaray's book before your proposal[a] reached me; I have concluded an agreement with Bracke.[194]

It is about time the *Volksstaat*, or rather, I should now say, the *Vorwärts*,[195] put a finger at last on the real source of the rot in dealing with the oriental question.[196] In one of its most recent numbers the *Kölnische Zeitung* says that one might echo the words of a famous diplomat: '*Il n'y a plus d'Europe!*'[b]; once upon a time it was possible to speak of other powers, now the stage is held by only one power—Russia!

But why is this? The German papers, in so far as they aren't dancing to Russia's tune, now heap reproaches on Disraeli, now accuse Andrássy of weak-minded vacillation.

Yet the nub of the matter is—*Bismarck's policy*. He embarked on it after Sedan[113] during the Franco-Prussian War. At this moment he is hamstringing Austria (and even England, relatively speaking) by his official flirtation with Russia; indeed, he is hamstringing the entire Continent. The passage (according to the latest advices) of armed Russian troops through the Romanian provinces (under the auspices of a Hohenzollern[c]) has led everyone in Paris and London to believe in the existence of an offensive and defensive alliance between Russia and Prussia. In fact, by his policy of conquest in France, Bismarck has disarmed Germany vis-à-vis Russia and condemned her to the shameful role she is playing at this moment, *et qui est véritablement 'la honte de l'Europe'*.[d]

Here in England a turning-point has been reached; the curtain is about to fall on the sentimental farce staged by the Whigs in their haste to reconquer the LOAVES AND FISHES OF OFFICE and for which an appropriate chorus has been provided from among the workers—such canaille as Mottershead, Hales *et tutti quanti*[e]—under the influence of bourgeois FIVE POUND NOTES; Gladstone has

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[a] See this volume, pp. 149-52. - [b] There is no longer a Europe! - [c] Carol I - [d] and which is truly 'the shame of Europe' (an allusion to É. de Girardin's pamphlet *La Honte de l'Europe*) - [e] and whoever else there may be

sounded the retreat, ditto Lord Russell, and now only the brazen Bob Lowe (the Australian ex-demagogue, the creature who, during the recent reform movement,[197] followed the example of Edmund Burke and branded the working class a SWINISH MULTITUDE) is making a fool of himself with his talk of the AUTOCRAT OF ALL THE RUSSIAS AS 'THE ONLY FATHER OF THE OPPRESSED'. Amongst the London workers, it is precisely the most progressive and resolute who have staged a PROTEST MEETING against the Pan-Slavophiles. They realise that, each time the working class acts as chorus to the governing classes (to a Bright, Gladstone, etc.), it is perpetrating an infamy. *Caeterum censeo*[a] that it behoves you to write a LEADING ARTICLE revealing how sorry a figure is cut by the German-Prussian, ostensibly anti-Russian, bourgeois press which, while at most presuming to criticise the ministers of other countries, maintains a most devout silence in regard to its own Bismarck.

With warmest regards to your family.

Your
Moor

Apropos. The rascal from Antwerp, whom Guillaume and Co., by their intrigues among the unwitting Dutch workers, foisted upon the Hague Congress[20] as its provisional president, one van den Abeele, has now himself been unmasked by his own people as an agent of the French government and has accordingly been thrown out of those sections of the International still eking out an existence in Belgium. This, after another of the same clique, Mr Bastelica, had publicly disclosed in Strasbourg that he was a Bonapartist agent![b]

[Note at the beginning of the letter]

The *Frankfurter Zeitung*'s 'unbaptized crusader'[c] is playing a thoroughly grotesque role in the oriental imbroglio.

First published in *W. Liebknecht. Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels*, Den Haag, 1963

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[a] For the rest, I consider. These are the initial words of Cato the Elder's famous expression: '*Caeterum censeo Carthaginem esse delendam*' (For the rest, I consider that Carthage must be destroyed). - [b] See this volume, p. 184. - [c] Presumably Leopold Sonnemann.

# 110

## MARX TO LEO FRANKEL[198]

### IN BUDAPEST

London, 13 October 1876
41 Maitland Park Grescent, N. W.

Dear Frankel,

I could not answer your long letter, for which I am much obliged, because I was not clear about your situation, that is, did not know whether a letter from me might not be to your detriment if intercepted by chance, no matter how harmless its content might be.[199] Will you be so kind as to explain to me, if possible, the following: What is the relationship between sown plains and highlands (the latter used possibly as pasture)?

You are quite right to take part in editing a workers' newspaper.[a]

As for the so-called Swiss international congress,[200] it is the work of the Alliancists—Guillaume and Company.[201] Knowing that they are worth absolutely nothing by themselves, they deem it necessary to step again into the limelight under the banner of 'unification', which they could not do alone.[202] Their plan was supported by the Malons, Pindys and other Arnoulds, who, frightened at the fact that the workers are 'acting' in Paris without them, are out to bring themselves back to people's minds as patented representatives of the workers. On the other hand, Guillaume's group cunningly took in Bebel while he was in Switzerland. However, this matters but little. The Gotha Congress did not appoint any official representative to the Swiss congress but contented itself with general rhetoric about the community of workers' interests.[192] Meanwhile I sent a warning to Leipzig, and if any of them goes to the congress as a private person, he will take a negative stance on the blandishments of long-standing conspirators against the International. How you acted as a former member of the General Council and a delegate to the Hague Congress[20] is entirely understandable. You must not in the least succumb to the intoxication of reconciliation, a state in which scheming villains always swindle honest fools.

They have just begun printing Lissagaray's book[b]; he is now busy reading the first proofs. The scoundrels, the so-called labour

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[a] *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik* - [b] *Histoire de la Commune de 1871*

leaders (Englishmen), those whom I exposed at the Hague Congress, swallowed during the Russo-Bulgarian campaign over atrocities[187] a handsome amount of five-pound notes from the great leaders Gladstone, Bright, Robert Lowe (the man who during the latest reform agitation[197] called the working class a swinish multitude[a]), Fawcett and others. But the plot is coming to a terrible end. These labour leaders, Mottershead and others, are the same dogs with whom it was impossible to hold a meeting against the butchers of the Commune.

I am sending you the latest issue of *The Diplomatic Review.* Despite the space it gives Urquhart to unload his inanities, the journal contains weighty facts concerning the Bulgarian epidemic of atrocities by which Russia has fooled the whole of Christian liberal Europe.[b]

I inform you on evidence from *the most trustworthy* source—and it would be a good thing to publish this fact in *Hungarian* papers—that some months ago the Russian government *suspended the payment of interest* due at fixed intervals to the Russian railways, and this *completely in secret;* every single department received private notification with *orders* to hold its tongue (and we know what that means in Russian). All this notwithstanding, the news of the fact reached not only me but also *Reuter's Telegraph Agency* (the biggest member of the Holy Trinity of European telegraph agencies, Reuter—Havas—Wolff) but the good man withheld the news at the special request of the Russian Embassy in London.

In any case, this is an edifying symptom of Russia's financial embarrassment. Should the English bourgeois feel it, he will again become pro-Turkish, for no matter how much the Turks owe England, it is nothing compared to the Russian debt.

Warm regards from my whole family.

Your
K. M.

First published, in Hungarian, in the newspaper *Népszava,* No. 142, Budapest, 17 June 1906

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[a] See this volume, p. 156. - [b] 'The Bulgarian Insurrection', *The Diplomatic Review,* Vol. XXIV, No. 4, October 1876.

## 111

## ENGELS TO ERNST DRONKE[203]

### IN WATERLOO

[Note]

[London, 15 October 1876]

Liverpool, 13 October 1876. E. Dronke.
Replied 15 October[15] that I had written to E. Blank.[15]

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

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## 112

## MARX TO THOMAS ALLSOP

### IN LIMINGTON

[London,] 16 October 1876
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My dear and honoured Friend,

A few days since Mr Leblanc informed us of the decease of your wife, but I find it even now almost impossible to address you a few lines. Those who had the privilege of knowing and admiring your noble companion for life, dare not intrude with empty words of consolations. It was in fact but her love for you, her fear to leave you alone that enabled her to resist so bravely to increasing ailings and to struggle so hard with nature for her own existence. Your love of mankind, your passionate interest in its general life, will, I hope, enable you to bear even with this irreparable loss.[204]

Your most devoted friend
Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Économies et Sociétés*, Tome IV, No. 11, Genève, 1970

Reproduced from the original

## 113

## ENGELS TO EMIL BLANK

### IN LEUTESDORF

[Copy]

[London,] 16 October 1876

*To E. Blank*

If then, upon the POLICY being deposited with you, you are prepared to open a credit of £150 for Dronke, I would gladly pay you that amount through Hermann[a] as soon as desired, likewise any possible expenses arising out of the transaction.[203] As soon as Dronke repaid the money you could remit it to me in any way you chose, and return the POLICY to him.

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## 114

## ENGELS TO THOMAS ALLSOP

### IN LIMINGTON

London, 17 October 1876
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Friend,

I have just been informed by Marx of the very, very heavy blow which has fallen upon you in the shape of the death of your wife. I fully realise the dreadful, dreary feeling of loneliness which this bereavement, after fifty years of happiness, must have thrown you into. At the same time I know your character well enough to be assured that, with time, you will get the better of it, and not give way to despondency. You are bound to live until you see at least the first instalment of the victory of that cause for which you have

[a] Hermann Engels

now worked and struggled for fully two generations; and there are events now preparing in the East which must hasten, and may bring about, the downfall of the old political and social system. In the meantime, rest assured that from the depth of my heart I feel with you in your affliction, and so does my wife. I say no more. I know that consolation in such a case would seem a mockery.

With heartfelt sympathy

Ever yours faithfully,

Frederick Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50, Moscow, 1981

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## 115

## ENGELS TO ERNST DRONKE

### IN WATERLOO

[Copy]

[London,] 20 October 1876

*To Dronke*

My brother-in-law Blank writes to say that he absolutely and categorically refuses to enter into a transaction such as you suggest.[203] Furthermore, he tells me he severed all connections with Hinsberg, Fischer & Co. three years ago, as is indeed the case.

I am sorry that nothing has come of the matter, since I should have liked to help you in so far as it was in my power to do so.

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## 116

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

London, 20 October 1876
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Kugelmann,

You may give Mr Caro the most positive assurances that, aside from announcements of family events in the more distant past and personal statements signed with his name on the Vogt affair, etc., Marx has never written *one line* for the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*,[205] and, if the gentlemen in Breslau[a] know better, we can only treat it as a joke. We don't even know Mr Caro by name, though his friendship with Gorchakov leads us to suppose that he knows relatively little of Russia, for Gorchakov would not be on such a footing with people who were *too well* versed in this subject. So let us hope that the order which is still lacking will shortly pop into the buttonhole that is pining for it.

Just now I'm writing a work on Mr Dühring for the *Vorwärts* in Leipzig.[153] For this purpose I need the review of *Capital* which you sent to Marx in March 1868 and which, if I'm not mistaken, was published by Dühring in a periodical appearing in Hildburghausen.[206] Marx simply can't find it. Knowing how conscientious you are in all matters, I presume you have something about it among your notes from that time—the *name*, perhaps, of the periodical and the No. of the volume in which the thing appeared. If you could let me know this, I would order the volume and have it here within a few days. But if you can't, you should, *under no circumstances*, write to Dühring about it, for the slightest—even if indirect—contact with the man and, still more, the very slightest service rendered by him would impair my freedom of criticism in a matter in which I should preserve it to the utmost.

Work on the second volume[b] will be started again in a few days. If, by the way, one wishes to correct *all* the inanities about Marx that circulate in learned circles, one would have one's work cut out. Yesterday, for example, a Russian told us about a Russian professor who stubbornly maintained that Marx was now engaged solely in Russian studies and was doing so because firmly convinced *que la commune russe ferait le tour du monde*[c]!

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[a] Polish name: Wrocław. - [b] of *Capital* - [c] that the Russian commune would make its way round the world

The war in the Orient will doubtless really get going soon.[207] Never before have the Russians been able to strike under such favourable diplomatic circumstances as now. Militarily speaking, on the other hand, circumstances are less favourable to Russia than in 1828, and financially very unfavourable, since no one will lend her anything. Just now I'm re-reading Moltke's history of the war of 1828-29[a]; a very good book although the man could not be frank about political matters.

Thank you for the Schäffle article.

Your
F. Engels

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## 117

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN LONDON

[London,] 21 October 1876

My dear Friend,

Enclosed a cutting from *The Pall Mall Gazette*. This extract from your leader (in No. 42 of *Впередъ!*[b]) is badly translated, even though it was done by Sir etc. Rawlinson. Kovalevsky informed me of it and also sent me the thing. He asked me to lend him No. 42 of your journal, but not even the prettiest girl in France can give more than she's got. I had already sent it to Utin (Liège).

Kovalevsky also told me—you could make use of it in your journal[208]—that a detestable Russian clique, which purports to represent the leading Russian men of letters, and has announced its venture in these terms to Rawlinson and other English notables, intends to publish a review in London for the purpose of acquainting the English with the true politico-social movement in Russia. Golokhvastov would be editor-in-chief, with other col-

[a] [H. K. B.] von Moltke, *Der russisch-türkische Feldzug in der europäischen Türkei 1828 und 1829*. - [b] See this volume, p. 154.

laborators from that disgusting journal *Гражданинъ*[a] and also, so it is said, Prince Meshchersky.

The Russian government has already given signs of its insolvency by ordering the Bank of Petersburg to announce that it would no longer pay foreign bills of exchange in gold (and/or silver). I had been expecting this, but what passes all understanding is the fact that, for two or three weeks before settling on this 'disagreeable' measure, the aforesaid government had again perpetrated the folly of seeking artificially to maintain the rate of exchange in the London market. This has cost it nearly twenty million roubles; it might just as well have thrown the money into the Thames.

This absurd operation—the artificial maintenance of the rate of exchange at government expense—belongs to the eighteenth century. Today it is only the alchemists of Russia's finances who can go in for such things. Since Nicholas' death these grotesque, periodically repeated, manipulations have cost Russia at least 120 million roubles. But it is typical of a government which still seriously believes in the omnipotence of the State. Other governments do at least know that 'money has no master'.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

First published abridged in *La Revue marxiste*, No. 4, Paris, 1929 and in full, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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## 118

## ENGELS TO ERNST DRONKE[209]

### IN WATERLOO

[Draft]

[London,] 1 November 1876

Dear Dronke,

I am writing today to tell you what I was on the point of telling you last Friday[b] when you categorically refused to let me intervene in any way.

I am not in a position to lose the sum of £150, still less £200,

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[a] *Grazhdanin* (Citizen) - [b] 27 October

nor, by the same token, to gamble with it. If I were still in business,[210] when any loss incurred could be made good in the course of time, that would be a rather different matter. Hence, even if I were on a different footing with Götz, whom I barely know by sight, and even if I didn't find the whole transaction highly unpleasant, in that it can't be carried out without the prior knowledge of Kyllmann, and therefore of Dr Borchardt, I would, under no circumstances, undertake a guarantee of the kind you want.

Even if I were still in business, I obviously couldn't consider gaily staking, for old friendship's sake, the sum of £150 on a business about whose standing I know absolutely nothing. But all the same I could have gone further than I can now when it's no longer possible for me simply to write off a loss of this order. On the other hand, I should be glad to help you so long as it's simply a question of making funds available to you for a stated period without my incurring a risk of this kind.

You had offered my brother-in-law[a] a POLICY amounting to £300 as collateral security. I told him that if he was willing to agree to your proposal I would pay him the £150 in the event of your not having paid it at the end of 6 months.[b] I could have raised the sum by then, which I was unable to do at that moment, and he would then have held the POLICY as security for myself. But he refused so much as to entertain the thing. Had you then made me exactly the same offer as you made my brother-in-law, I should not, it is true, have been in a position to advance you the £150 immediately, but no doubt something might have been arranged. Now, however, the latest American drawing has brought me a 5/20 bonus, the result being that I am in a position to make available over £150; it is at your disposal for a period of 6 months, provided you give me the POLICY as security. It will in any case be as safe with me as with anyone else, if not safer.

I have told you in all frankness how I see the matter and how far I'm able to go. Maybe you have other proposals to make, in which case I shall be glad to consider them. Just one final word: Whatever we may arrange, let it be arranged strictly between ourselves, with no third party, giving of guarantees,etc.; it's much simpler.

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[a] Emil Blank - [b] See this volume, p. 161.

## 119

## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

### IN BRUNSWICK

London, 6 November 1876

Dear Bracke,

I have been comparing Grunzig's translation—first sheet—most scrupulously with the original[a] and am about to inform him that I *cannot* accept his services.

In fact, to correct it (an *occasional* correction will doubtless be necessary with any translator) would take more time than if I were to translate it myself from start to finish. But I haven't the time for that. I cannot again go through the painful experience I endured in connection with the French translation of *Capital*.[17]

I'd be glad to have Kokosky, but he entirely lacks the deftness, the lightness of touch, which is precisely what the translation of this book needs.

I have already taken soundings in another quarter[211] but doubt whether the person in question will have the time. Meanwhile, it would be as well for you to cast round if possible for a professional translator in Leipzig. Since the book in question is not intended purely for working-class readers, it would be foolish to go and look for a translator specifically within a party that is not well endowed with literary talent, i.e. to proceed from the outset on the assumption that the translator *must* be a party man.

From what I hear, B. Becker has found a publisher in Switzerland.[b]

Yours sincerely,

K. M.

The *conciliation congress in Berne*—Engels and I wrote and told Liebknecht *the moment* we heard of the Germans' intention to send their delegates to it—is, and has been from the start, nothing but a Bakuninist intrigue.[200] What is more, proof of this reached us a few days ago from Portugal.[c] More anon.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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[a] [P. O.] Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (see this volume, pp. 149-50 and 152). - [b] See this volume, pp. 151-52. - [c] Ibid., pp. 173-74.

## 120

## MARX TO COLLET DOBSON COLLET

IN LONDON

London, 10 November 1876
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My dear Sir,

In communicating to you some *éclaircissements*[a] on the last movements of Mr Gladstone, I do so on the express understanding:

1) that until *January* next they be kept secret (this refers of course not to Mr Urquhart);

2) that if made use of in the January number of the *Diplomatic Review*, it be done in the form of a correspondence, dated from Rome, Naples or Vienna. Regard to the security of third persons renders these precautions necessary.

Since some time a Russian lady, Madame *Nowikoff*, has established her autumn and winter quarters in London; during the remainder of the year she travels on the continent or sojourns at Moscow. She is the wife—practically divorced, if not legally—of Mr Nowikoff, Russian dragoman at Constantinople,[b] who is himself the brother of the Russian ambassador at Vienna[c] (the latter has, I believe, been recently removed from Vienna to Constantinople).

Excluded in Russia from '*la bonne compagnie*' because of her matrimonial embarrassments, Madame Nowikoff plays nevertheless a certain part at Moscow where her saloon is frequented by *Frondeurs*, at the same time that other compatriots suspect her of being a subaltern agent of the Third Division. (*The Third Division* means the secret State police, a Star Chamber on a colossal scale, the main lever of the Russian governmental machine.) A busybody, she intrudes everywhere, on scientific congresses at Brussels, old Catholic meetings in Germany, etc. Once very handsome, she has now reached a certain age between 45 and 50, and pretends only to intellectual charms. Very amiable and adroit, she possesses indeed the qualities which, as the French say, '*distinguent la tripoteuse russe*'.[d] Still it would be a mistake to range her with the higher order of that species; her mind is of a very superficial cast.

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[a] explanations - [b] Ivan Novikov - [c] Yevgeny Novikov - [d] are characteristic of the Russian intrigantes

At London Englishmen (professors of science, literary men, politicians), Frenchmen, Slavs and Russians meet in her saloon. One of its principal attractions is the *cavalier servant* of the lady, '*son ami intime*', as she calls him—Count Beust, the Austrian ambassador.

Some London papers having met the 'Bulgarian atrocities',[187] ushered in by Mr Schuyler, with the 'Turkestan atrocities',[212] told by the same Mr Schuyler, Madame Nowikoff (in collusion with General Gorloff, the military attaché to the Russian Embassy at London) addressed a letter to Mr Gladstone, till then a perfect stranger to her—a letter, set off with an enthusiastic eulogy of his chivalrous exploits on behalf of the downtrodden Slavs, but really intended to give him lessons on the Turkestan events and to protest indignantly against the alleged foul slanders of some London prints. In answer to this missive she received a friendly reply, written and signed by Madame Gladstone.

Since then, Mr Gladstone has paid several visits to Madame Nowikoff who improved her opportunities so well that a literary campaign against the shameless revilers of Russian humanitarianism was at once resolved upon.

Two letters, the one by Madame Nowikoff, but anonymous, the other written by Gorloff and *signed with his name* (the which letter Mad. Nowikoff communicated to Mr Gladstone), were to be published in the *Daily News* as forerunners to an article of Mr Gladstone himself (in the *Contemporary Review*), so that he might refer to Gorloff's letter as a '*document justificatif*'. The gist of Gorloff's letter was the denial of General Kaufmann's atrocious order to General Golowatscheff,[213] as published by Mr Schuyler. The public denial of the authenticity of that order with *Gorloff's signature* would have derived a certain value from the circumstance that Gorloff occupies a double position; he is an attaché of the Embassy, but depends at the same time on the Russian war ministry, and might therefore have been considered its authorised spokesman.

However, at an interview of Mr Gladstone with Madame Nowikoff, she received, and communicated to him, a letter from Gorloff to the effect, that Schuwaloff, the ambassador, had forbidden him (Gorloff) to sign his letter with his name, as it might compromise the embassy. (Schuwaloff, of course, would not have cared a pin to see a lie publicly signed by Gorloff; but, as the Russian war minister, Miljutin, is the enemy both of Schuwaloff and Kaufmann, and a man not to be trifled with, Schuwaloff stood on his guard.)

Thereupon, by request of Mr Gladstone, Gorloff's letter was amended and abridged, that is to say, its invectives against the English revilers were suppressed, Mr Gladstone considering it more becoming to reserve that part of the business for himself; it was, moreover, agreed that Gorloff's letter should be signed 'A Russian'[a] and that of Madame Nowikoff 'Another Russian'.[b] As to Mr Gladstone's article for the November number of the *Contemporary Review*,[c] he had not only read it in manuscript to Madame Nowikoff; it was in fact but a summary of the lessons taught by the Muscovite Egeria to the English Numa.

In this article (see *Contemporary* pp. 883, 884) Mr Gladstone speaks of Gorloff's letter in the following terms:

> 'The defence so far as I find it supplied by a letter recently published in the *Daily News*, with the signature of "A Russian", which, as I learn from a friend, has the sanction of General Gorloff, military attaché at London.'

The passage is so worded as to make the public believe that 'A Russian', the writer to the *Daily News*, and General Gorloff are two different persons, the one having written and published the letter, the other sanctioned it after its publication; that Mr Gladstone became first acquainted with the letter of 'A Russian' through the columns of the *Daily News*; that only after having read it in that paper, he 'learned from a friend' that 'Gorloff has sanctioned it'. The most admirable trait is certainly the discreet introduction of Gorloff's name and the hiding of Madame Nowikoff under cover of 'a friend'.

When Madame Nowikoff, borne up by Gorloff's written testimony, had succeeded to impress Mr Gladstone with the conviction, that General Kaufmann's 'authentic' order to Golowatscheff was a myth,[214] she gave, amidst her Russian friends, rather freely vent to by no means flattering animadversions upon English ignorance and credulity. Having been appointed (some time after the last Polish insurrection,[215] and in succession to the hangman Muravieff) governor of Wilna,[d] Kaufmann contrived to overact even his part, so that General Berg, the commander of Warsaw, addressed a letter to the Czar[e] showing the impolicy to continue that man in his office, from which he was indeed at last removed. Such were the dispair and the disgust which his

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[a] 'The Russians in Turkestan', *The Daily News*, No. 9521, 27 October 1876. - [b] 'The Russians in Turkestan', *The Daily News*, No. 9523, 30 October 1876. - [c] W. E. Gladstone, 'Russian Policy and Deeds in Turkistan', *The Contemporary Review*, Vol. XXVIII, London, June-November 1876. - [d] now Vilnius - [e] Alexander II

ferociously infamous treatment of the Poles had evoked at Wilna, that its inhabitants actually welcomed as a saviour General Potapoff, his successor, one of the most notorious villains in the Russian service. (This same Potapoff was put at the head of the Third Division, when Schuwaloff exchanged this honourable post of spy-in-chief at home for that of Ambassador abroad.)

Muravieff was a Muscovite patriot who, in his merciless execution of the Czar's orders, was convinced to apply the only method sure to save the Empire from dismemberment. Kaufmann, on the contrary, is an intriguer, eager to outdo in atrocity even the common run of Russian generals, in order to make the Muscovites forget his foreign origin, to ingratiate himself with the Czar, and to oust Mr Miljutin from the war ministry which he covets.

*Before* the publication of the letters in the *Daily News* and Mr Gladstone's article in the *Contemporary Review,* I had been kept *au courant* of the incidents told in this letter. I had every reason to be convinced of the authentic character of my information, but if I had entertained the least doubt, it must have vanished after I saw in print what I knew beforehand.

Meanwhile the company of Madame Nowikoff has been enriched by a hopeful newcomer, Mr *Mackenzie Wallace,* a young man who, during his five years' residence in Russia, has learned the language of that country and become more or less familiar with its social state. He is now, like a true Briton of the 19th century, on the look out for 'realizing' his acquirements on the best market.

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung,* Heft 5, Berlin, 1975

Reproduced from the original

# 121

## ENGELS TO ERNST DRONKE[216]

### IN WATERLOO

[Draft]

[London,] 13 November 1876

Dear Dronke,

Since only five payments *à* £14=£70 have been made on the policy up till now, and it might well be that in the meantime you would find yourself compelled to make use of the money in another way and be unable to raise it on the 21st inst., and since I am actually advancing more than twice the amount already paid on the policy, you will pardon me if I prefer to make the payment myself in this instance, and I await your advice as to *when*. On the other hand, in order to oblige you so far as I can, I do not propose to set off against the £150 the £10 lent to you here, which means that I am advancing you *£160* in all, and this at 5%, repayable 1 May '77.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| You received here | £10 | £160 |
| CHEQUE 10 November 1876 | "10 | |
| To Drake & Son | "60 | |
| Payment on policy | "14 | 94 |
| Herewith CHEQUE for balance | | £ 66 |

I've got such frightful bronchial catarrh that I have been condemned to stay indoors in dressing-gown, slippers and a state of TEETOTALISM, hence can't go out to get any bank-notes.

[Note at the end of the letter]

LIFE ASSOCIATION OF SCOTLAND
5 Lombard St., E.C.
DUE 21 NOV. AT LATEST.

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# 122

## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 20 November 1876

Dear Bracke,

Enclosed the first French sheet for Mlle Isolde Kurz for her sample translation; the latter must be *returned to me at the same time as the French original* (for purposes of comparison).[194]

It is Lissagaray's opinion—since his book will be out by the beginning of January, whereas the difficulties over the translation will cause a delay—that it would be better after all to publish the German edition by instalments.

Also enclosed the great Guillaume's MISSIVE.[217] What I find particularly amusing is '*que pensent* **les** *socialistes de langue française*'.[a] These *socialistes* '*de langue française*' are, of course, wholly embodied in the Reclus brothers (secret co-founders of the Alliance[201] but otherwise unknown so far as *socialist works* are concerned) and De Paepe, who is Dutch by birth but in other respects Belgian.

I hope you will pull it off at the elections; a demonstration of this kind on the part of the peasants would be significant.[218]

Yours,
K. M.

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[a] what **the** *French-speaking socialists* think

## 123

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

### IN GENEVA

London, 20 November 1876
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Becker,

We have duly received your circular addressed to the Zurich section[219] and are likewise of the opinion that the time has come to oppose the Bakuninists' pretensions to form an International off their own bat.[200] Whether it is possible to achieve reorganisation on the basis you propose, namely a federation of the big organised national bodies, is, I should say, very doubtful, since legislation in most countries prohibits such associations from corresponding, let alone amalgamating, with associations abroad. But that is a side issue and could easily be got round or altered, once people are fully convinced that the continued existence of each one of those big organisations is of greater importance than its *formal* entry into an international society. As it is, you will encounter in the Germans the same Platonic indifference which, as a *party*, they invariably evinced towards the old International.

My chief purpose in writing to you today is to propose a fresh field of activity for you in this connection. The Portuguese, with whom I still correspond and who are very well organised, complain loudly of the lack of attention shown them by our friends. They say that the German-Swiss, Germans, Austrians, Americans, etc., have not only failed to pass on information to them, but have not even replied to their letters, whereas they have been regularly inundated with parcels, invitations to congresses, felicitations, etc., by the Jurassians, Bakuninist Spaniards, Italians and Belgians, so that the Portuguese workers have come to regard these as the only people who still have any interest left either in the International or the Portuguese movement. As you will realise, they must be stout fellows indeed who nonetheless don't let themselves be side-tracked, and that such is the case will be apparent to you from the following letter which they sent to the Bakuninist Congress in Berne:

'We have been invited by the Federation of Cádiz to send representatives to the Berne Congress and have since then read, in the *Bulletin jurassienne*, the circular convening that Congress and setting forth its agenda. Not having received this invitation until very late on, the Portuguese socialists are unable to send any

delegates; nevertheless, their Federal Council has resolved that we assure you of our *moral* solidarity with socialist workers all over the world, and state that we never have called that solidarity in question, nor ever shall let it be called in question; *accordingly, the express compact of solidarity which you propose to conclude seems to us* ***a formality that could well be dispensed with.***

'Subscribing as we do most ardently to the unification of all proletarians, we send you our fraternal greetings. Long live the International Working Men's Association!'

Well, I shall write and tell these people about your plan and also send them one of your circulars, although it's doubtful whether they understand German. But you would be well advised to get in touch with them immediately. You can write to them in French; should they reply in Portuguese, I can translate the answer for you.

You might get the above letter published in the *Tagwacht*, likewise the fact that on 5 January and the following days they are going to hold a congress in Lisbon[a] and will present a new party programme for discussion.[220]

The address is:

E.C. Azedo Gnecco
Rua do Bemformoso 110, 2°
Lisbonne, Portugal.

That's where their paper, *O Protesto*, is brought out; it's been going for over a year.

I hope that you will achieve something worthwhile and, if we can lend you a hand by providing addresses, etc., we shall gladly do so. Only you mustn't overburden us. Both of us, Marx and I, have quite specific theoretical work to do, of which, so far as we can now see, no one else would be capable, even if they were willing, and we must make use of the present universal lull to complete it. Yet who knows how soon some event won't suddenly involve us in the practical movement again? All the more reason for us to make use of the brief respite to carry the no less important theoretical side a little bit further.

Apropos. We have paid through Frankel for 12 instalments of the 12 copies of *Stunden der Andacht*[b] ordered by Marx and myself; hence we still have to pay for 3×12 instalments *à* 25 cts.=9 fr. If that is correct, let me know and I'll send you a money order.

The *Vorwärts* will shortly be publishing a critique of Dühring by me.[c] They had pestered me dreadfully before I took on this

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[a] [Notice about the forthcoming congress of Portuguese socialists on 5 January 1877.] *Die Tagwacht*, No. 96, 2 December 1876. - [b] J. Ph. Becker, *Neue Stunden der Andacht*. - [c] F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*.

disagreeable task[155]—disagreeable because the man is blind so that the contest is unequal, and yet the chap's colossal arrogance precludes my taking that into account.

Your
F. Engels

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## 124

## ENGELS TO GUSTAV RASCH[221]

### IN VIENNA

[Draft]

[London, end of November 1876]

Dear Mr Rasch,

The Schaible in question always has to go rushing into the breech on Blind's behalf wherever the latter has made things too hot for himself.[222] That's what happened in the 1859 affair. Blind (at the end of May or the beginning of June 1859) had printed in London an anonymous flysheet, *Zur Warnung*,[a] in which Karl Vogt was accused of allowing himself to be bribed with Bonapartist money and was denounced as a Bonapartist agent of the press in Germany. There was a request for its dissemination. This flysheet, printed in F. Hollinger's print-shop in London, was reproduced in *Das Volk*, a German paper printed in the same print-shop, from the original type which was still set up. Liebknecht saw the corrected proof, with corrections in Blind's handwriting, in this print-shop, and sent the flysheet to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which reprinted it in June. Thereupon Vogt sued the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* for libel, the latter asked Liebknecht to provide proof; he turned to Blind, who stated that he had played *no part whatever* in the matter. Vogt[b] now distorted the matter, making out that Marx was the man behind Liebknecht and had written the flysheet. This now gave rise to a dispute between

[a] *A Warning* - [b] Deleted in the original: 'thus winning his law-suit'.

Marx and Blind in the columns of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung.*

Using affidavits sworn by the compositor, Vögele,—i.e. legal instruments—Marx proved that the latter and Hollinger had set the type for the flysheet which had been *written in Blind's hand.* Blind persuaded Hollinger to make a false declaration, namely that the flysheet had not been printed in his shop and that Blind had not been the author; in addition, together with Hollinger, he persuaded the compositor Wiehe to make an equally false statement to the effect that, having worked for Hollinger for 11 months, he could corroborate the latter's assertions. Relying on this, Blind declared the statement that he was the author to be a *downright lie.* At this, the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* terminated the controversy.[a] Marx replied with a printed circular in English, declaring the above statements made by Blind and his witnesses to be a DELIBERATE LIE, and Blind himself to be A DELIBERATE LIAR (London, 4 February 1860).[b] Blind remained silent. But on 8 February 1860, the compositor Wiehe swore an affidavit before the stipendiary magistrate at Bow Street which contradicted his earlier statement:

1. he had not been employed by Hollinger for 11 months,

2. he had not been working at Hollinger's at the time the flysheet *Zur Warnung* was published,

3. he had heard from Vögele at the time that he (Vögele) and Hollinger had composed the flysheet in question, and that the manuscript had been in Blind's handwriting,

4. he himself had subsequently broken the types that were still standing into columns for reprinting in the *Volk,*

5. and had seen Hollinger give Liebknecht the proof-sheet corrected in Blind's hand and heard that, immediately afterwards, Hollinger had expressed his regret at having done so,

6. he had signed his earlier statement under pressure from Hollinger and Blind. Hollinger had promised him *money* while Blind had said he would give proof of his gratitude.[c]

Marx had copies of these documents circulated among various circles, and this elicited a reply. On 15 February a statement from Schaible appeared in *The Daily Telegraph*; Schaible sent it (copy) to Marx, who replied[12] saying that this changed nothing, either as regards Blind's obtaining false testimony by underhand means, or

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[a] For the details see K. Marx, *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 125-27). - [b] K. Marx, 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette' (ibid., pp. 10-11). - [c] Cf. present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 319-20.

as regards Blind's criminal CONSPIRACY with Hollinger to obtain by underhand means Wiehe's signature for the spurious forged document.

Now, as then—Schaible to the rescue![a]

Such are the facts. I know nothing further about the sorry fellow.

One more thing. Should you again do me the honour of referring to our encounter in London, might I request you to refrain in future from suggesting I talked about matters which were never the subject of discussion between us.[223] As to the self-determination of human beings, I could only have said that, viewed in this general way, it makes no sense to me. As to the autonomy of nations, if I discussed it at all it was to deny the southern Slavs the right to use it as a pretext for lending themselves to Russian expansionist plans, just as I now heartily applaud the drubbing inflicted on the Serbs[176]; to the best of my knowledge, however, we never discussed a social republic or the executions in Baden. Again, you have only what were entirely fortuitous circumstances to thank for the fact that, consequent upon your article, Marx did not declare that he had never seen you, and hence could not possibly have conducted these conversations.

I could not reply sooner as someone had borrowed my copy of Marx's *Herr Vogt*, in which the above may be found on pp. 55 et seq.,[b] and did not return it until yesterday.

Cordial regards.

Yours,
F. E.

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[a] Cf. the corresponding passage in Weber's opera *Der Freischütz* (libretto by Friedrich Kind), Act II, Scene 6. - [b] See present edition, Vol. 17, p. 111 ff.

## 125

## MARX TO COLLET DOBSON COLLET[224]

IN LONDON

[London,] 9 December 1876

My dear Sir,

Mr Gladstone's exhibition at yesterday's conference[225] prompts me to communicate—for your and Mr Urquhart's *private* information—a recent exploit of this sensational statesman.

About a week ago he wrote a letter to Madame Nowikoff telling her that the *Morning Post* was sold to the Austrian government *and that the Russian government ought,* on its part, *to buy London newspapers, in order to influence British opinion.* Even Mad. Nowikoff found this a rather strange proceeding on the part of an English ex-premier. In the same letter he asserts that his popularity is daily increasing and that he feels sure of soon upsetting the Disraeli cabinet.

Mr Gladstone has evidently lost his senses. From some hints given to me, I believe that Mad. Nowikoff, on her return to Russia, will receive a visit on the part of the secret police and be courteously invited to hand over the letters of Mr Gladstone in her possession. By these letters the Russian government will keep him in bondage.

This communication is strictly *private*; any indiscretion would expose third persons to great danger.

Yours faithfully,
Karl Marx

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# 126

## MARX TO ENGELS[226]

### IN LONDON

[London,] 11 December 1876

DEAR FRED,

Kovalevsky came to see me yesterday, asked for the Hanssen[227]; told him he should have it *tomorrow evening*; at the same time agreed that he and I should call on you that same evening (Tuesday).

I am sending you the Hanssen which, as I did, you will polish off with ease in a couple of hours.

Written about book-binding.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

After the *conference* (St. James)[225] Mr Gladstone entered the gallery where Madame Novikov was sitting, offered her his arm—*pour montrer*[a] (or so he said according to Novikov's account) *que l'alliance entre l'Angleterre et la Russie existe déjà*[b]—and, with her on his arm, strutted through the vast throng which made way on both sides; he a relatively small, skinny chap, she a veritable dragoon. She remarked to Kovalevsky: *que ces Anglais sont gauches!*[c]

Generalissimus Chernyayev had twice asked Novikov by telegraph whether he should also appear at the conference; she had to tell him that Mr Gladstone would be pleased to see him personally but thought a public appearance inexpedient.

At the conference (admission by TICKET) Harrison (who, in his article 'Cross and Crescent' in the *Fortnightly*,[d] makes great play with a few HINTS recently picked up from Kovalevsky) told Howell to his face that all the workers present without exception belonged to a paid band well known to him (Harrison).

Unfortunately Charles Darwin also lent his name to the rotten demonstration; Lewes refused to do so.

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[a] to show - [b] that the alliance between England and Russia already exists - [c] How gauche these English are! - [d] *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. XX, London, 1 July-1 December 1876.

## 127

## ENGELS TO PHILIPP PAULI

### IN RHEINAU

London, 16 December 1876

Dear Pauli,

Yesterday I sent you, carriage paid, per CONTINENTAL PARCELS EXPRESS and thereon per German Imperial parcel post, a crate addressed to: Dr Pauli, Mannheim (Chemical Works, Rheinau), Germany, containing a PLUM PUDDING for your wife,[a] a currant cake baked for you by my wife,[b] a book, a small box of handkerchiefs and a small ink-pot for Pumps. As the crate would not hold anything further, we were forced to put a new dress for her into the crate containing the pudding for the Schupps; that's the worst of these crates—one just has to take them as one finds them; they are German toy manufacturers' crates.

Should the small crate fail to turn up by Wednesday[c] at the latest, you had better make inquiries at the parcels office in Mannheim; the postal service is responsible for it—that office and CONTINENTAL PARCELS EXPRESS are agents one for the other. However, I hope that everything will arrive all right since we sent the things in good enough time for them to arrive *before* the Christmas bustle, which the Imperial postal service admits it can't cope.

Your two letters have arrived and I would thank you belatedly for the information about Schmidt. Similar news from Frankfurt[228]: Sonnemann, whom he gave as a reference, doesn't know him either, but one of the editors of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* knows him as a 'professional lèse-majesté man' and ditto a martyr with intent who later, 'on the strength of his martyrdom, became perhaps a bit of a *schnorrer*' (North German term for a cadger). He wrote to me again, whereupon I drew his attention to the bogus references he had given me[15] and since then have heard nothing more from the elephant on crutches.

I shall see to it that you get the articles[153] in one form or another as soon as several have come out. Later on they will come out in a separate edition which you will also receive, of course.

During the past four or five days my wife has got very much better for no apparent reason; it's almost miraculous how these

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[a] Ida Pauli - [b] Lizzie Burns - [c] 20 December

sort of things seem to happen in the case of women between 40 and 50. I only hope it lasts.

The small crate also contains some Christmas evergreen, holly with its ritual red berries, for sticking into the pudding when it's dished up. The holly's right on top, so that the customs men get their fingers pricked.

And now, warmest regards from my wife and myself to you all, and a merry Christmas!

Your
F. Engels

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## 128

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

### IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 18 December 1876

Dear Hermann,

I have safely received your two letters of 14 and 17 November, made the appropriate entries and found the statement of the account to be correct, save for an item I had not previously been advised of—payment of 90.68 marks to Emil Blank on 24 January 1876. I presume this is the total of the amounts I owed him for various consignments of wine sent to me through his firm over here. In which case this, too, is in order.

I return herewith the Indian paper; the characters are badly defaced Devanagari or Sanskrit characters,[229] which is why I was only able to read one word; it's a kind of *long*-hand, whereas all I've come across is *printed* characters. It would seem to be a Central Indian dialect, since in the North they mostly use Arabic characters.

True, I have again been allotted another £600 gas shares at par (which show me a profit of about 60-70 per cent) but on the other hand sundry Americans came my way at the last drawing, so that

at the moment I don't need any money other than the interest due to me. Since, however, all my gas companies will be issuing new shares or debentures in the course of this year, it's very nice for me to know that I can call on you at any time for £300-£500; for sometimes the whole amount has to be paid up at once and that means getting hold of money quickly.

Many thanks for your information about Schaaffhausen.[a] I had rather suspected that the rumours I had heard were exaggerated; however, Mevissen's resignation from the board might well be a sign that the rats have begun to desert the ship.

I am positive that war is not far off.[207] The Russians have got so deeply implicated that they can no longer turn back, and the Turks will, of course, resist any incursion into their territory. Come what may, England will protect Constantinople and the Straits, though we've by no means reached that stage yet, and I'm convinced that the Turks will best cope with the Russians if they are left to fend for themselves. The position between the Danube and the Balkans is one of the strongest in Europe, and as long as no railways or highways are built there, the strength of a Russian army that could be employed and provisioned there, would be limited to a maximum of, say, a hundred to a hundred and fifty thousand men at the outside. Hence it will probably be a protracted war fought out within the quadrilateral of fortresses Ruschuk, Silistria, Varna, Shumla,[b] and this the Turks are better able to withstand than the Russians. All that Bulgaria's so-called autonomy boils down to is the expulsion of the Turks from this strong position and the exposure of Constantinople to a Russian invasion. And the Turks, of course, aren't going to let themselves be bullied into this by any conference.[230] If you'd like to know exactly what obstacles the Russians will encounter there, give yourself a Christmas present in the shape of Moltke's *Russo-Turkish Campaign of 1828/29*,[c] Berlin 1845.[d] It's a very good book which will, at the same time, provide you with the specialised maps you will need for the impending war. This time it will be different from 1828 in that:

1. the Turks have an army,

2. Silistria, Ruschuk, etc., are ringed with modern, detached FORTS,

3. the Turks have, after the English, the most powerful fleet of iron-clads, and are in complete control of the Black Sea,

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[a] Schaaffhausen Bank Association - [b] Bulgarian names: Ruse, Silistra, Varna, Shumen (now Kolarovgrad). - [c] [H. K. B.] von Moltke, *Der russisch-türkische Feldzug in der europäischen Türkei 1828 und 1829*. - [d] 1836 in the original

4. the Russian Army is in the throes of reorganisation and hence hardly fit for war.

Love to Emma[a] and the children, and the compliments of the season from

Your
Friedrich

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## 129

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 21 December 1876
122 Regent's Park *Road*

Dear Becker,

Have received your post card, the *Précurseurs* and two copies of the French address.[231] If you could send a few more copies of the same, they would be most welcome (*in French*,—we'd be sending them on to Paris); we shall be glad to pay for them as soon as we know how much, say, 20 copies would cost.

Herewith money order for 15 francs, of which 9 fr. for the amount still outstanding on the *Stunden der Andacht*[b] and 6 fr. for two half-year subscriptions to the *Précurseur* for Marx and myself. You can send me *both* the numbers as this saves postage, and I can give Marx his. It's a very good thing that we have a French paper in Switzerland again; the Jurassians are hopelessly addicted to cliquism and calumny, and it will enable us to demonstrate that peace *with them* is an impossibility. I couldn't send you articles regularly because I don't want to tell lies, and all that can be said of the workers' movement here is that it has degenerated into Trades Unionism of the pettiest variety, and the self-styled leaders, not excepting Eccarius, are tailing after the liberal bourgeoisie in order to tout their services as agitators against the alleged Turkish atrocities,[187] and advocate the betrayal of the Balkan

[a] Emma Engels - [b] See this volume, p. 174.

peninsula to the Russians in the interests of humanity and freedom.

The fact that De Paepe attended the Berne Congress[200] is wholly consistent with his previous attitude. Since the time of the Hague Congress[20] he had officially remained with the seceded Belgians,[232] but as leader of the opposition, and is now really doing some good by persuading the Flemings to come out in favour of universal suffrage and factory legislation. This is the first sensible thing that has been done in Belgium. Now the Walloon braggarts will also have to co-operate. But for our people in Germany to have fallen into the Jurassian trap was inexcusable. Bakuninist organs everywhere exulted to high heaven when it became known that the Germans would be sending delegates to the Congress.[192] Liebknecht knew exactly what he was doing; in reply to a question as to what we thought of the proffered conciliation and what position we would adopt, I had told him: no position at all[15]; the fellows were just the same as they had always been, and if anyone wished to burn his fingers by having any truck with them, let him do so. And then they went and acted in this silly, gullible way, as though they were dealing with the most noble, honest men.

Have you had the New York, or rather Philadelphia, resolutions regarding the dissolution of the General Council[233]? In case you haven't I am sending you a few copies; it might provide you people with fresh grounds for taking the thing in hand.

In Geneva an Italian and French paper is appearing under the aegis of the Terzaghi of whom we drew a character-sketch in our *Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste*.[a] This person is now said to be abusing the Bakuninists. For, having long tolerated him, although he had already been denounced by us as a police spy, they were nevertheless eventually compelled to throw him out as such. He is simply a *mouchard*,[b] while his henchman Bastelica is a Bonapartist agent—in Strasbourg he published an invocation to the French workers to restore the Empire.

There's nothing to be done in Italy, Bakuninists everywhere, and in Spain I no longer have any address, but may soon be sent one.

Kindest regards,

Your

F. Engels

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 499-501). - [b] informer

# 1877

## 130

## MARX TO MAXIM KOVALEVSKY[234]

IN MOSCOW

London, 9 January 1877
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My dear Friend,

I have learned that a Russian lady[a] who has rendered the party important services is unable for want of money to find a lawyer in Moscow for her husband.[b] I know neither the husband in question, nor whether he is guilty or not. But a consequence of the trial could be exile in Siberia and, since Mrs ... is determined to follow her husband, whom she considers innocent, it is most important that she should at least be provided with the means for his defence. Since Mrs ... has left the management of her fortune to her husband and is wholly uninformed about such matters, only a lawyer could set things right.[235]

Mr Taneyev, whom you know and whom I have long esteemed as a devoted friend of the emancipation of the people is, perhaps, the only lawyer in Moscow who would take on so thankless a case. You would greatly oblige me by asking him to concern himself with our friend's exceptionally unfortunate situation.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book VI, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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Translated from the French

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[a] Yelizaveta Tomanovskaya - [b] Ivan Davydovsky

## 131

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT[236]

IN LEIPZIG

London, 9 January 1877

Dear Liebknecht,

*D'abord,*[a] a Happy New Year to you and family and all our friends.

Herewith the remainder of the 'Philosophy'[b]; I shall at once set to work on the 'Political Economy' and 'Socialism', although there might well be a hiatus after the 'Philosophy'. I wish you had waited until *after* the elections[237]; at that time you ought to have been using the space for agitation. Again, I'd be perfectly satisfied if some of my work appeared in two numbers per week, leaving the third free for your other stuff. But should you occasionally give me space in the third number of the week as well, I would naturally not object.

We had already sent Geib £10 via Bracke some time ago, as our contribution to the election fund, and so were unfortunately not in a position to make another one. Hence I couldn't accede to your request to send you something more. Provided you people are not deluding yourselves and the reports in the *Vorwärts* are not exaggerated[...]

If the Turks stand their ground, it will soon be all up with the Russians. General conscription has disorganised the Russian army far more than I had expected,[238] while the Turks have never been in better shape and, what is more, their fleet of ironclads is the best and strongest in the world after the British. If things get cracking—and if they don't there'll be another revolution in Constantinople and then things will really get cracking—it will lend singular actuality (topicality)[c] to your motion on the *restoration of Poland.*

[...]to tell the truth. And should they complain of my *tone,* I trust you will not forget to confront them with the *tone* adopted by Mr Dühring vis-à-vis Marx and his other precursors, and more particularly with the fact that I *substantiate,* and in detail at that, whereas Dühring merely calumniates and abuses his precursors.

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[a] First - [b] F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring,* Part I. - [c] The word in parentheses was probably inserted by Liebknecht.

They have asked for it, and they're going to be thoroughly hauled over the coals, you have my word for that.

Your
F. E.

First published in full, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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Published in English for the first time

## 132

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 9 January 1877

Dear Hermann,

Your letter duly received, with the remittance of *£300* with which I shall credit you in accordance with the statement. Many thanks for this and also for the current account which I shall take a look at. Your having somewhat increased the amount of your remittance doesn't make any difference. I got it on Saturday evening[a] when I had visitors here and, because of the plethora of visiting and PARTIES at this time of year, could not send you an acknowledgement of receipt until today, which you will, I hope, excuse.

I had no idea Hermann and Moritz[b] were at university. It will do them no harm at all to study for a year or two and, if they then want to go into the business, the knowledge they have gained will be all the more useful to them; the past two decades have thoroughly demolished the old commercial superstition that in business what is above all required is three years of quill driving, a good hand, the most execrable German, and a notable lack of knowledge. And should they wish to try something else, the whole world will be open to them.

Things may go hopelessly wrong for the Russians. I have always held that the introduction of general conscription[238] would ruin

[a] 6 January 1877 - [b] Hermann Friedrich and Rudolf Moritz Engels

the Russian army. But that it would happen so fast and so gloriously was something I didn't expect. Everything's going to pieces, discipline and administration, officers and soldiers, there's a shortage of everything—far more so even than there was during your splendid mobilisation in 1852, for in Russia theft is assuming really grandiose proportions. The more stores and depots there are for mobilisation purposes, the less there is in them, since they merely provide occasion for theft. And, what is more, the Turks have never been in such good shape as they are today; they already have more troops in Bulgaria than the Russians would be able to throw in with their four army corps (144,000 men *on paper*). And those four army corps also comprise all the reserves called up in Poland, who would go over at the first opportunity. The Romanian army is there simply for the purpose of being taken prisoner, and the Serbian peasant militia won't find it so easy to muster any more men, and such as it does muster will have already had quite enough.

I am being summoned to table and it's half past five—time for the post. Love to all from

Your
Friedrich

First published in *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 46, Bd. 3, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1921

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## 133

## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE[16]

### IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 21 January 1877

Dear Bracke,

Congratulations on the most recent mustering of Social-Democratic forces in Germany.[237] It has greatly impressed other countries, in particular England, where for years Berlin newspaper correspondents have done all they can to bemuse their British readers concerning the state of our party. But 'MURDER WILL OUT', as John Bull says whenever he goes bankrupt.

Well, now I'd like to know at long last (didn't want to pester you about it during the election campaign) just where I am with Miss Isolde.[a] She had sent me the first sample sheet of translation[b]; I had replied telling her she was fitted for the work provided she took her time and didn't go at it at full-tilt, and also sending her the four additional sheets.[12] At the same time, however, I also let her have a pretty lengthy catalogue of sins relating to the sample sheet.[194]

This would seem to have been something of a shock to the little lady's nerves, for her reply betrayed a certain petulance. Undeterred by this, I wrote again to the effect that I looked upon her as the translator of my choice.[12] Since that time weeks have gone by without sight or sound of her. It is now absolutely essential that the young lady should decide, *oui ou non*,[c] and, if the first, that she should actually let me have some work. Perhaps you would be so good as to write and tell her this. Should she have defected, we shall have to try the Scheus,[d] although I'd be reluctant (not that it's in any way relevant) to have anything to do with the Scheus. There's no more time to be lost. Should the gracious Isolde decline, she would also have to return me the French sheets she has received.

Would you be so kind as to draw up a contract in duplicate—in accordance with the conditions we have agreed—of which one, with your signature, will be retained by Lissagaray and the other, with his signature, will be returned to you.

*Salut.*

Yours
K. Marx

First published abridged in: P. Kampffmeyer und Altmann, *Vor dem Sozialistengesetz*, Berlin, 1928 and in full in: K. Marx-F. Engels, *Briefe an A. Bebel, W. Liebknecht, K. Kautsky und andere*, Teil 1, Moskau-Leningrad, 1933

Printed according to the original

[a] Isolde Kurz - [b] See this volume, p. 172. - [c] yes or no - [d] Andreas and Heinrich Scheu

## 134

## MARX TO FERDINAND FLECKLES

IN KARLSBAD

[London,] 21 January 1877

Dear Friend,

To begin with, my best thanks for the medicinal salts and my regret that your first, long letter went astray.

Tomorrow a small parcel of books goes off from here to Madame Wollmann, containing the French edition of *Capital* for your cousin and, for yourself (from the 'child'[a]), Lissagaray's *Histoire de la Commune.*

The muster-roll of the Social-Democratic party in Germany on the occasion of the general elections[237] has rudely alarmed, not only our amiable German philistine, but also *les classes dominantes* in England and France. An English paper comments sourly upon, *inter alia,* the contrast between 'THE MELODRAMATIC FITS AND STARTS OF THE FRENCH AND THE BUSINESSLIKE WAY OF PROCEEDING OF THE GERMAN SOCIALISTS'.

The increasing extent to which even the ideologists of the German middle classes are being affected by the insidious poison is evident from, amongst other things, a short pamphlet recently published by an old acquaintance of yours, Schäffle, entitled *Die Quintessenz des Socialismus.* You ought to order the thing, if only for amusement's sake. It is full of unintentional comedy. For, on the one hand, the little book, as the author himself indicates, is aimed especially at Protestant clergymen who, after all, cannot leave flirtation with socialism entirely to their Catholic rivals. On the other, Mr Schäffle, with a fantasy truly Swabian, paints so pretty a picture of the future socialist millennium as to make it seem the kingdom come of your cosy petty bourgeois, a paradise fit only for the Karl Mayers of this world.

Not only is the weather here unspeakable—close, damp, with a fog in so deep a tinge of yellow that one has, as I do, to keep the gaslight on throughout the morning, but the 'ORIENTAL QUESTION' is rampant. Wherever you go, you're buttonholed by *un* John Bull *quelconque*[b]: 'NOW, SIR, WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE ORIENTAL QUESTION?' Politeness precludes one from giving the only appropriate answer: 'I THINK, SIR, THAT YOU ARE A DAMNED ASS.'

---

[a] Eleanor Marx - [b] some John Bull or other

Whatever the outcome of the war,[207] whether favourable or unfavourable to the Little Father in Petersburg,[a] that 'sick man',[239] deafened and confused by the hysterical philanthropic bellowing of the English liberal 'PARTY OF PROFIT AT ANY PRICE', has given the signal for a convulsion which has long been in the making within his own Empire, the ultimate result of which will be to put paid to the whole of old Europe's present status quo.

Please give your dear cousin my warmest regards and apply yourself seriously to the study of the English language, for if the worst comes to the worst, England is still the best place in which to set up medical quarters.

Yours very sincerely,
Karl Marx

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## 135

## MARX TO WILHELM ALEXANDER FREUND[16]

### IN BRESLAU

London, 21 January 1877
41 Maitland Park Crescent, N. W.

Dear Friend Freund,[b]

My New Year's greetings to you and your dear wife are, unfortunately, belated owing to pressure of work and a sore throat which I caught during my last days in Karlsbad. My fate there was similar to that of Martin Luther's peasant who, given a leg up on one side of his horse, fell off on the other.[240]

My daughter[c] sends her best regards to your wife and yourself. She has, *inter alia*, been guilty of a translation, published by the local Shakespeare Society of which she is a member, of Professor Delius' 'Das epische Element in Shakespeare', a translation which has, however, earned her the highest praise from Mr Delius.[241] She has requested me to ask you for the name of the Swabian anti-

[a] Alexander II - [b] A play on words by Marx: '*Freund*'=friend. - [c] Eleanor Marx

Shakespeare professor and the title of his book about which you spoke to us in Karlsbad.[242] The matador of the Shakespeare Society here, Mr Furnivall, is determined not to forego enjoyment of that opus.

The 'Oriental Question' (which will end up with a revolution in Russia, whatever the outcome of the war against Turkey[207]), and the mustering of the Social-Democratic legions at home[237] will perhaps have convinced the German cultural philistine that there are more important things in the world than Richard Wagner's music of the future.[185]

With kindest regards to you and your dear wife,

Your most sincere friend,
Karl Marx

Should you happen to see Dr Traube, would you be so good as to give him my kindest regards and remind him that he promised to send me the *titles* of his various publications. This would be of great importance to my friend Engels, who is engaged on a work on natural philosophy[a] and intends to give more weight to Traube's achievements than has hitherto been done.[243]

First published in *Vorwärts*, Nr. 275, Basel, 16. Juni 1931, Beilage

Printed according to the newspaper

## 136

## MARX TO FREDERIC HARRISON

### IN LONDON

[London,] 21 January 1877
41 Maitland Park Crescent, N. W.

Dear Sir,

The bearer of this letter, my nephew, Mr Henry Juta of Cape Town, wants to complete his general studies at the London University, and, at the same time, to become a member of the Inner Temple.[244] For the latter purpose he has to sign a paper stating that he is no attorney etc. and his own signature has to be

[a] F. Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*.

countersigned by two barristers attesting that he is a proper person etc. As the affair is very pressing, I have taken the liberty to direct him to you in the hope that you will be so kind as to instruct the young man how to find his way out of this difficulty.

I have the honour, Sir, to be

Yours sincerely
Karl Marx

Fd. Harrison, Esq.

*First published, in the language of the original (English) and in German, in Neues Deutschland,* Nr. 15, Berlin, 15. Januar 1963

*Reproduced from the original*

## 137

## MARX TO GABRIEL DEVILLE

### IN PARIS

[Draft]

London, 23 January 1877
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen,

On receiving your kind letter of 15 December, I wrote to our friend Hirsch [12] about my obligations, stipulated in the contract, to Mr Lachâtre, the publisher of *Capital*, which do not admit of my agreeing to your project [245] without his authorisation. I then wrote to the latter [12] and from day to day vainly awaited his reply. Finally, a few days ago, I sent him a registered letter,[12] the first having doubtless been intercepted—an everyday occurrence in the Prusso-German Empire. Pending Mr Lachâtre's reply, I should further point out that, even should he give his consent, Mr A. Quêst would be quite capable of ordering the confiscation of every 'summary' of *Capital*. Since Mr Lachâtre had been convicted *in absentia* of 'communard' acts and was living abroad as a refugee, the judicial administration of Lachâtre's booksellers was placed by the Broglie ministry in the hands of Mr Quêst who belongs to the dregs of the conservative party and who has done

everything in his power first to hold up the printing of my book and then to prevent its distribution. He would be just the man to play a trick on you, despite the authorisation from Mr Lachâtre vis-à-vis whom I am myself bound by a private contract but who, vis-à-vis Mr Quêst, is entirely powerless, since this sequestrator is his legal trustee.

Under the circumstances I think that the best thing would be to put off for the moment 'a summary' of *Capital*, and in the meantime bring out a short review of it, if necessary in the form of a small pamphlet, which would be all the more useful in that Mr Block (in the *Journal des Économistes*)[a] and Mr Laveleye (in the *Revue des deux Mondes*)[b] have given the French public utterly false notions of *Capital*. Such a course had also been agreed at the outset by Mr Hirsch and myself.

Please accept my best thanks for your book which you were kind enough to send me and which is distinguished by great stylistic verve and a sound basis.

I trust the incident that has put us in touch with one another will be the starting point of a sustained correspondence.

Yours ever,
K. M.

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## 138

## ENGELS TO HERMANN RAMM

IN LEIPZIG

London, 25 January 1877

Dear Ramm,

Since I do not know whether Liebknecht is back from Offenbach,[246] I am writing to you.

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[a] M. Block, *Les théoriciens du socialisme en Allemagne. Extrait du 'Journal des Économistes'*. - [b] É. de Laveleye, 'Le socialisme contemporain en Allemagne. I. Les théoriciens', *Revue des deux Mondes*, Vol. 17, Paris, 1876.

To begin with, it is nearly a fortnight now since I had any of the *Dühring* proof-sheets[153] (the last, sent back at once, being Art. VI) and I'm afraid that a consignment may have gone astray.

Next, I had requested Liebknecht[15] to send me the Nos. of the *Neue Welt* containing my biography of Wolff[247]; I received the first 4 numbers, but since then it was only from the mutilated *Neue Welts* used for packing the *Vorwärts* that I saw that the subsequent part had also appeared. Needless to say, I neither kept a copy of the manuscript here, nor did anything about getting hold of the thing, having taken Liebknecht at his word; would you be so good as to see to this before all numbers have been torn to pieces and used up?

As to the by-elections, we over here are very much in the dark. All we know is that Rittinghausen is 'in', as the English say.[248] A pity that the Christian-Social chaplain, Laaf, was licked; in the first place, it would have been amusing to watch him steering a middle course through the Reichstag and, in the second, since he was evidently doomed to make an ass of himself, he would have stirred up dissension among the working men at Aachen, thus giving us a chance of introducing the thin end of the wedge.

What is most encouraging about the recent elections is the great progress made in the country, particularly in the big farming districts of Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg. Thence it's an easy step to Pomerania and Brandenburg and, once inroads have been made into the schnapps country,[a] it will soon be all up with the Prussian monarchy.

Ever your friend,

F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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[a] See Engels' article 'Prussian Schnapps in the Reichstag'.

## 139

## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 14 February 1877
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Bracke,

Lissagaray, who is otherwise completely in agreement with your draft contract, is firmly of the opinion that in every case the price (per copy) should be kept to the *minimum* quoted by you.[194]

So far as the free copies for himself are concerned, a dozen would amply suffice.

Apropos! Miss Isolde Kurz has written to me, partly to say that she will be sending you the manuscript direct, while the proof-sheets would come to me from you (I have no objection), partly to ask for a further consignment of sheets from the original; the latter have now been sent her by Lissagaray. *But notabene, Lissagaray* has also made all manner of alterations to the *introduction, additions* (very important ones) to the French original, etc., so that *nothing should be printed in Brunswick before Isolde has made corresponding modifications to the initial sheets she has already translated.* Thus, should Isolde's manuscript be already in Brunswick by the time my letter arrives, it should not be printed but returned to her for alteration.

It goes without saying that the German edition will acquire extra value as a result of these alterations and additions made by the author himself.

With kindest regards,

Yours,
K. Marx

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# 140

## ENGELS TO IDA PAULI

### IN RHEINAU

London, 14 February 1877

Dear Mrs Pauli,

I fear that, if all the plans hatched during the winter in Rheinau are to come to fruition, the length of the summer would have to be nine months rather than three. Time will show whether anything can come of the proposal you make in your kind letter, but one major snag is, alas, already evident to me and that is my wife's[a] health. So far she has come reasonably well through the winter, and similarly the wear and tear of the Christmas campaign (in which all festivities here in England are concentrated); but I couldn't yet say to what extent I shall be able to mobilise her, come September, for another Munich campaign without her acting as a drag on the mobility of others. During the past six weeks we have again had bad luck of one kind after another with maids and now, at the very time when she ought to be resting, she often has to exert herself beyond her strength. I had foreseen this eventuality and had therefore reserved the right vis-à-vis the Schupps to bring Pumps back at any time. Now things have come to such a pass that she absolutely must relieve my wife of the housekeeping, and since, apart from anything else, I myself cannot very well get away, I shall probably take advantage of an opportunity which presents itself and have her escorted back home around the 1st or, at the latest, the 15th of March. As soon as I know anything definite, which should be within the next few days, I shall let both Pumps and Miss Schupp have further particulars; until then I would ask you to say nothing about the matter to them.

As soon as we have got the house into some sort of order, I intend to take my wife to the seaside for a fortnight or so to help her recover her appetite and prevent her from getting too debilitated.[249] You'd have laughed had you seen me making the bed last night and lighting the kitchen fire this morning.

That you found the elections[237] tedious I can well believe, seeing that you are not allowed to vote in them. When we take over the helm, not only will women be given the vote, they will also be

[a] Lizzie Burns

elected and make speeches. The latter already applies to the school board here and, last November, I gave all my 7 votes to a lady who, as a result, had more votes than any of the other 7 candidates for election. Incidentally, the ladies who sit on school boards here are notable for the fact that they do very little talking and a great deal of working—as much on average as three men. Or perhaps it's a case of 'new brooms sweeping clean'? However, most of these 'brooms' are pretty ancient.

At all events we shall bear the September project constantly in mind and do all we can to implement it. And now I would beg you to convey my wife's and my own warm regards to Pauli and the children and accept our kindest regards on your own behalf.

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

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## 141

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Brighton, 23 February 1877
42 King's Road

Dear Moor,

I wrote to Bignami last week, took out a subscription to the *Plebe*, and wrote to him about the elections.[250] Three days ago, before we left,[249] I received 3 numbers, and he is going to let me have some that are missing.[251] My intervention could not have come at a better time.

*Plebe*, 7 January, reports proceedings at the Assizes against *Bignami*, the *Questore* (chief of police) of Turin (the self-same man who treated Terzaghi to a 'vermouth', see *Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste*[a]), for *embezzlement* (*tout comme chez nous*[b]). A policeman,

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association.* - [b] just like at home (a modified phrase from Nolant de Fatouville's comedy *Arlequin, empereur dans la lune; 'tout comme ici'* (just as here) is the stock response made by the people listening to Harlequin's inventions about life on the moon)

one Blandini, stated that, on Bignami's orders, he had carried out a *pro-forma*[a] house search *chez* Terzaghi, having also been ordered by Bignami only to remove what Terzaghi should give him. When a warrant went out for Terzaghi's arrest, he had already been notified by another policeman, Premerlani, acting on Bignami's orders; Terzaghi *era un agente segreto di Bignami che gli dava tre lire* (francs) *al giorno.*[b] About which the *Plebe* remarked that this showed what use the *fondi segreti dei governi di classe*[c] were put to.

To which there came a reply from a little Bakuninist sheet, *Il Martello*[d]—the name betrays my Cafiero.—Since discussion of the revolting Terzaghi case was not permissible, the little sheet fastened on the *fondi segreti dei governi di classe*: so in your case, it said, the *governi non di classe*[e] would likewise have *fondi segreti,*[f] so in your case, too, everything would remain as before—there follows all the same old anarchist rigmarole *que l'on sait.*[g] Having replied to this in due form, the *Plebe* at once proceeded to attack the *Bulletin Jurassien* for having been sent into a rage by four lines in the *Plebe* and acting as though the *Plebe* were enraged although it had simply been *edificata*[h] by the *Jurassien*'s insinuation.

> Come to that, [said the *Plebe,*] one would have to be exceedingly *ingenuo*[i] to take the bait proffered by people who, green with envy, went knocking at door after door to beg for a bit of animosity towards us in return for their calumnies. The hand, which has long been sowing tares and discord, is sufficiently well known for its Loyolan[j] machinations to be instantly detectable and *gli onesti non ne facciano tantosto giustizia.*[k]

The same No. contains a letter from E. Dörenberg (Drbg. of the *Berliner Freie Presse*) on the elections in Berlin.

No. of 16 February, letter from Brussels, 'Cesar De Paepe' about the recent Flemish agitation for factory laws and general suffrage, ends:

> *Noi crediamo altresì di arrivare, con questo metodo, più prontamente e più puramente all'emancipazione del proletario, piuttosto che star lì, abbaiando alla luna per degli anni e dei quarti di secolo, e attendendo che mamma Rivoluzione voglia degnarsi di venire a spezzarsi le catene dei lavoratori.*[l]

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[a] formal - [b] was a secret agent of Bignami's who gave him three lire a day. - [c] class governments' secret funds - [d] See *La Plebe,* 21 January 1877. - [e] *non*-class governments - [f] secret funds - [g] we are familiar with - [h] edified - [i] ingenuous - [j] from the name of St. Ignatius of Loyola, i.e. Jesuitical - [k] Honest folk won't take very long to size it up. - [l] We likewise believe that we shall, by this means, achieve the emancipation of the proletariat more promptly and more thoroughly than if we were to stand for years and generations baying at the moon and waiting until Mother Revolution should deign to come and break the workers' chains.

It further speaks of old Becker's proclamation[219] as a *symptom*, and in most amicable terms.

A very delighted letter from Bignami today, in which he says he will print my stuff on the elections, and confirms that the *Federazione dell'alta Italia*,[a] which extends from Venice to Turin and will shortly be holding a congress,[252] *vuole lottare sul terreno del suffragio universale*.[b] The *Plebe* is its official organ.

Thus the stronghold of lawyers, literati and dilettanti in Italy has been breached. And the best part of it is that all the former Alliance men[201] in Milan, Mauro Gandolfi, etc., of Cuno's time also seem to have gone over. Indeed, a bogus working men's movement could not have survived long in an industrial city like Milan. And Northern Italy is decisive not only strategically, but also to the working men's movement throughout the whole length of the agrarian peninsula.

Thus the world government in Neuchâtel[253] has nothing left that is uncontested except for Spain, and how long will that last?

If these events are to be followed more closely, by the way, it is high time that Mr Demuth took out a subscription to the *Bulletin jurassien*, as agreed. After all, we've got to know what anathemas are being uttered by the Holy See's universal dictator and deputy.[c]

Warmest regards to all,

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

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[a] Federation of Northern Italy - [b] intends to fight on the terrain of universal suffrage - [c] James Guillaume

## 142

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 24 February 1877

My dear Friend,

You would greatly oblige my wife and myself by coming to dine with us tomorrow (Sunday) at 2 o'clock. I shall then give you an explanation for my prolonged silence—throat trouble and work which, to some extent despite myself, has been thrust upon me.[254]

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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## 143

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Brighton, 2 March 1877
42 Kings Road

Dear Moor,

I have written to Liebknecht[15] and asked him to send the proof-sheets to me here until further notice; I usually get them by Monday at the latest, but have had none this week and am afraid that, as usual, something's been overlooked.[155] Would you be so good as to go to my house and see if any proofs have arrived there, and forward them to me? Mrs Leeson will show you what parcels of newspapers, etc., have arrived and you'll easily be able to pick them out; she can likewise give you NEWSPAPER WRAPPERS, etc., in which to pack the stuff. Otherwise the fellows are quite capable

of publishing under my name the balderdash they have set up in type.

In some respects I'm glad that Lina[a] and Pumps aren't coming until the middle of the month. In the first place, we shall then be home again, as we are thinking of coming back a week on Tuesday[b]; secondly, it would give me time to send Lina, in addition to the £15 I sent her in haste (all I happened to have at the time), another £5 against any eventuality, and again make it clear to her (not altogether unnecessarily, perhaps) that she should have an eye to comfortable rather than cheap travel, since all the money I have sent hitherto is, of course, intended only for the journey *here*.

We've had glorious weather here, but today it's misty and damp with occasional rain. How much the climate down here differs from that in London is apparent from the news item in this morning's paper which says that there was an inch and a half of ice on the water in the parks, whereas here the effect of the slight nocturnal frost had already been dissipated by the sun by ten o'clock. For a couple of weeks at the SEASIDE in winter, Brighton is indeed 'a fine place', which is why the more refined what-d'ye-call-'ems pullulate here. But it's a disgrace to London that, after the aquarium here has attained truly scientific rank by its achievements in the breeding of fish and amphibia, anyone could be presumptious enough to evoke its caricature in Westminster—MUSIC HALL with piscine accompaniment—and with such PUFFING into the bargain!

Best wishes,

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

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[a] Caroline Schöler - [b] 13 March

# 144

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN BRIGHTON

[London,] 3 March 1877

DEAR FRED,

I am sending you the things from Leipzig I found at your house,[a] together with the *Plebe.* As to the important declaration by the federation of *Italia alta*[b] in which they state that they have always abided by the 'original Rules' of the International,[255] and officially disassociate themselves from any actual federative link with the Italian Bakuninist groups,[256] you must see that the *Vorwärts* gets this as soon as possible, along with the other very interesting, and to me highly welcome, facts contained in the first letter[c] you sent me.[257] Otherwise Liebknecht will contrive to make nonsense of this affair too.

I've been very unwell of late, with a chronic cold, catarrh and cough.

ALL RIGHT about Lina.[d]

Lavrov, who is going through a damned bad period, has praised your anti-Dühring articles, though one (i.e., he) 'is unaccustomed to such gentleness in Engels' polemics'.

You will be getting a longer missive[258] from me some time next Monday'.[e] Do *not* regard this as a Dühringian manoeuvre of always making promises one never sticks to—namely doing something.

Kindest regards to Lizzy.

Your
K. Marx

Devil take Hirsch and his Castelnau. The latter has now asked me on behalf of them both to figure as a contributor to a working men's paper which they already have in hand. As if I had the time for that—and Hirsch must surely know that I haven't any! The mere fact of my name appearing, however, would make me needlessly 'responsible'. Because Mr Castelnau himself now admits

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[a] See previous letter. - [b] Northern Italy - [c] See this volume, pp. 198-200. - [d] Caroline Schöler - [e] 5 March

that, so long as Quêst is in charge, his *abrége*[a] will belong to the Land of Nod, it seems he is going to thrash me in some other way. I have yet to see either him or Hirsch lift so much as a finger on behalf of *Capital*, unlike Laveleye or Block.[b]

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## 145

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH LESSNER

IN LONDON

Brighton, 4 March 1877
42 King's Road

Dear Lessner,

This morning I got a letter from Hoffmann, 9 Hayes Court, Soho, to whom I had already sent two pounds through you. One child died before Christmas, a second on 15 February and on 25 February he lost his wife; he asks me for help, since he has not yet paid off the funeral expenses for the child and doesn't know how he can meet those for his wife, who is to be buried today, and which amount to £4. The letter (of 28 February) remained in London unattended to and hence I couldn't do anything for him in time; moreover today is Sunday when no action can be taken. Will you be so good as to call on the man and see what can be arranged and how things are with him, and if you have a pound or 30s. at your disposal you could, depending on the circumstances, give it to him on my behalf, or else write and tell me straight away what you think of the matter and I can send a Post Office order. Above all make it clear to the man that I didn't get his letter until this morning and was therefore unable to do anything.

I had to bring my wife here so that she could recover somewhat from her debility[249] and this she has managed to do; she is much

[a] summary (of the first volume of *Capital*). - [b] See this volume, p. 194.

better and I trust she will remain so. We go back on Tuesday week,[a] and a day or two after that Pumps will also be returning, accompanied by Miss Lina Schöler.

My wife sends her warm regards to you and yours and also to Nelli, as does

Your old friend,
F. Engels

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## 146

## MARX TO ENGELS[96]

### IN BRIGHTON

[London,] 5 March 1877

DEAR FRED,

Dühringiana enclosed.[258] I found it impossible to read the fellow without belabouring him constantly and at some length.

Now, having thus familiarised myself with him (and the section from Ricardo onwards, which I've not yet read, must contain many exquisite pearls), a task that required patience and a club ready to hand, I shall in future be capable of enjoying him in tranquillity. Once one sees how the laddie's mind works, so that one really gets the hang of his method, he proves to be a fairly entertaining SCRIBBLER. Meanwhile, what with my catarrh and consequent irritability, he has done me yeoman service by providing a secondary 'occupation'.

Your
Moor

Apropos. That most virulent article on Gladstone-Novikova, the sight of which had caused the *Whitehall Review* to quake in its boots, appeared yesterday in *Vanity Fair*, with improvements by

[a] 13 March

Barry.[259] As we could see, when Collet's son and daughter[a] came to visit us yesterday, it has met with Papa Collet's[b] disapproval, Gladstone being, after all, an honest though crazy man, and a polemic of this sort 'indecent'.

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## 147

## ENGELS TO MARX[96]

### IN LONDON

Brighton, 6 March 1877
42 King's Road

Dear Moor,

Very many thanks for the long opus re 'critical history'.[258] It is more than I need in order to destroy the fellow utterly in this field too. In fact Lavrov is to some extent right in maintaining that the fellow has been treated too decently hitherto.[c] When I now re-read the *Kursus der Nationalökonomie*[d] and knowing the fellow and his ways as I now do, so that I no longer need fear some hidden trap amidst the verbiage and can see the pompous *fadaise*[e] for what it is, I certainly consider that a little more contempt wouldn't come amiss. The good Lavrov is entitled to his own feelings about it, of course, and in his проповѣды[f] can leave out of account the crescendo which the likes of us must always bear in mind when engaged on so protracted a demolition job. When I've finished the 'Philosophy', however, there'll be no further need for him to complain about gentleness, still less when it comes to the 'Political Economy'.

Collet's grave misgivings apropos Gladstone were inevitable.[g] These are things that ought not to happen without orders from above. It would have been better to have remained silent until Gladstone was back in office and then left it to Urquhart to issue a

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[a] Clara Collet - [b] Collet Dobson Collet's - [c] See this volume, p. 203. - [d] E. Dühring, *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie...* - [e] twaddle - [f] homilies - [g] See previous letter.

grave warning by way of profound INNUENDOES incomprehensible even to the person concerned. The war against SECRET DIPLOMACY must itself be waged secretly and diplomatically.

I shall make a digest of the Plebeiana[257] for Wilhelm.[a] The present split in Italy spells disaster for *messieurs les* anarchist dictators. The brief comments in this number of the *Plebe* on the *spiriti ristretti ed anarchici—ed allo stesso tempo mostruosa contradizione, dittatoriali*[b] go to show that Bignami has acquired an intimate knowledge of the peculiarities of these people. All the same, Bakunin was more skilful and patient than Mr Guillaume, who is in too much of a hurry in the matter of world government.

What you sent me wasn't a new proof.[155] I've had none as yet. Wilhelm is making a thorough mess of things.

We return tomorrow week.[249] Lizzy is noticeably restored, appetite *almost* normal; but here, on this long uninterrupted stretch of beach, the air is really incomparable.

Best wishes,

Your
F. E.

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## 148

## MARX TO ENGELS[96]

### IN BRIGHTON

[London,] 7 March 1877

DEAR FRED,

As I might forget to do so later, I am sending off this contribution in the wake of my last epistle[258]:

1. The most important point of Hume's view of the influence of an increase in money on the stimulation of industry, a point which shows more clearly than anything else (if, indeed, there had been

[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [b] minds that are narrow and anarchic and at the same time—monstrous contradiction this—dictatorial

any room for DOUBT on this score) that he sees this increase as occurring only in conjunction with a depreciation of precious metals, a point to which Hume reverts on various occasions, as is apparent if only from the excerpt I have sent—is that 'THE *PRICE OF LABOUR*' rises only in the last resort, after that of all other commodities.[a] Now **M. Dühring**[b] **says not a word** about this; indeed, Hume whom he praises so highly, is treated by him in as slovenly and superficial a fashion as all the rest. Besides, assuming he had noticed the thing, which is more than doubtful, he would have seen fit, having regard to the workers, not to praise a theory of this kind but rather TO BURKE THE WHOLE.

2. My own particular way of dealing with the Physiocrats[260]—i.e. as the first methodical (not, like Petty, etc., merely casual) *exponents of capital* and of the *capitalist mode of production*—was something I did not, of course, wish to put on display just yet. The fact is, IN PLAIN WORDS SAID, that my viewpoint might be taken up and simultaneously debased by charlatans before I had a chance to expound it. Which is why I did not touch on this in the exposé I sent you.

But in dealing with Dühring it might perhaps be fitting to draw attention to the following two passages in *CAPITAL*. I quote them from the *French* edition because they are less vague here than in the German original:

*With reference to the Tableau Économique*[261]:

'La reproduction annuelle est un procès très facile à saisir tant que l'on ne considère que le fonds de la production annuelle, mais tous les éléments de celle-ci doivent passer par le marché. Là les mouvements des capitaux et des revenus se croisent, s'entremêlent et se perdent dans un mouvement général de déplacement—la circulation de la richesse sociale—qui trouble la vue de l'observateur et offre à l'analyse des problèmes très-compliqués. C'est le grand mérite des physiocrates d'avoir les premiers essayé de donner, dans leur *tableau économique*, une image de la reproduction annuelle telle qu'elle sort de la circulation. Leur exposition est à beaucoup d'égards plus près de la vérité que celle de leurs successeurs'.[c] (258, 259.)

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[a] D. Hume, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*, Vol. I, Dublin, 1779, pp. 303-04. - [b] E. Dühring, *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie....* - [c] 'Annual reproduction is a process very easy to comprehend provided one considers only the funds of annual production. But all elements of the latter have to pass through the market. It is there that the movements of capital and revenue meet, intermingle and lose themselves in a general interchange—the circulation of social wealth—which confuses the eye of the beholder and presents problems of great complexity to the

*With reference to the definition of 'travail productif'*[a]:

'Aussi l'économie politique classique a-t-elle toujours, tantôt instinctivement, tantôt consciemment, soutenu que ce qui caractérisait le travail productif, c'était de rendre *une plus-value.* Ses définitions du travail productif, changent à mesure qu'elle pousse plus avant son analyse de la plus-value. Les physiocrates, par exemple, déclarent que le travail agricole seul est productif. Et pourquoi? Parce que seul il donne une plus-value qui, pour eux, n'existe que sous la forme de la rente foncière.'[b] (p. 219).

'Although the Physiocrats could not penetrate the mystery of surplus value, yet this much was clear to them, viz., that it was "*une richesse indépendante et disponible qu'il*" (the possessor thereof) "*n'a point achetée et qu'll vend*"'[c] (Turgot) (p. 554, *Capital*, 2nd German ed.), and that the same could not arise out of **circulation** (l.c., *Capital*, pp. 141-145).

I happened to be at DINNER when the GREAT Barry arrived IN GREAT HURRY with 8 newspapers under his arm.

English newspaper editors are quite extraordinary ANIMALS. The EDITOR of *Vanity Fair* (i.e. the subordinate one; Mr Bowles, the head and PROPRIETOR, a semi-Urquhartite, has gone to Spain with his wife for the benefit of the latter's health) had at length published the article[259] from which the Scottish *Morning News* and the London *Whitehall Review* had shied away, ditto the 6 GOVERNMENTAL PAPERS, or rather the *CENTRAL PRESS* which is in the hands of the Tory Ministry and puts their stuff together for them.

*Bon.*[d] The same *Vanity Fair* MAN has, by way of revenge, now taken fright in his turn at the prospect of reprinting (in the interests of the cause and Mr Barry) the article already printed by those 8 journals, namely the one relating to Gladstone's ARTICLE IN THE *Contemporary Review.*[262] Writes, asking Barry what to do in the event of a LIBEL action. I gave Barry—who had providently come already armed with the above-mentioned 8 PAPERS—instructions as

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analyst. It is greatly to the credit of the Physiocrats that they should have been the first to attempt to give, in their *tobleau économique,* a picture of annual reproduction as it is when it emerges from circulation. In many respects their exposé is closer to the truth than that of their successors.'

[a] productive labour - [b] 'Indeed, classical political economy has always, whether instinctively or consciously, maintained that it was in the nature of productive labour to provide *surplus value.* The further it carries its analysis of surplus value, the more its definitions of productive labour change. The Physiocrats, for example, declare agricultural labour alone to be productive. And why? Because it alone provides surplus value which, for them, exists only in the form of rent.' - [c] 'independent and disposable wealth which he ... has not bought and which he sells' - [d] Very well.

to what answer he should give. I MUST BE VERY MUCH MISTAKEN IF EVEN THIS HESITATION (WHICH WE SHALL, HOWEVER, OVERCOME) HAS NOT SOMETHING TO DO WITH THE 'SCRUPLES' OF MR COLLET. IT IS, IN FACT, TOO BAD TO TAKE THE SECRET DIPLOMACY BUSINESS OUT OF THEIR HANDS!

By the by, Russian diplomacy has degenerated into pure farce. Mr Ignatiyev's TOUR, whether or not it is initially successful, will still remain, no matter what the circumstances, an even more grotesque and compromising pilgrimage than that of Mr Thiers after the farrago of the 4th of September.[263]

From the magnanimous *Gambuzzi* I have received an epilogue, 9 PAGES long, of his own contriving, upon the magnanimous *Fanelli*,[a] who has just died. Presumably intended to make me repent of the insulting remarks about *ejusdem*[b] Fanelli in the piece concerning the Alliance.[c 201]

Your
K. M.

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## 149

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 16 March 1877

My dear Friend,

A member of the HOUSE OF COMMONS (an Irishman[d]) intends to bring a motion—next week—to the effect that the English government should call upon the *Russian* government to introduce the reforms (in Russia), which it declares to be necessary in respect of Turkey. He wants to take advantage of the occasion by speaking of the horrors that are occurring inside Russia. I have

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[a] C. Gambuzzi, *Sulla tomba di Giuseppe Fanelli*. - [b] the same - [c] See K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 497). - [d] Keyes O'Clery

already supplied him with a few details about the measures taken by the Russian government against the refractory Poles of the United Church. Could you make a brief résumé—in French—of judicial and police persecution inside Russia in recent years? Since time is short—I was only informed of the matter today—and something is better than nothing, could you, since these incidents are fresher in your memory than in mine, do this 'something'? I believe that would be of great service to your suffering compatriots.[264]

As to Mrs Utin, I can make absolutely nothing of it, but I SHALL CROSS-EXAMINE HER AT THE NEXT INTERVIEW. Had she not, on various occasions and in the presence of my wife and myself,expressed the wish to see you, we should not have breathed a word of it.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

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## 150

## MARX TO MRS WOLLMANN

### IN KARLSBAD

[London,] 19 March 1877
[41 Maitland] Park Road

Dear Mrs Wollmann,

I have delayed replying in order to seek advice on so important matter from one of my friends, a former businessman.[a] He returned to London only yesterday, after a long absence.

With the income you mention you can live decently in London, though only, needless to say, on a modest bourgeois basis. In fact London is today probably the *cheapest* capital in Europe, thus offering the advantage that, provided you keep up the usual

[a] Frederick Engels

appearances, you can run your house in any way you wish, and that no one, not even the rich, need be unduly sociable. The city's enormous size and population relieve one of many considerations which are more or less obtrusive elsewhere. So far as education is concerned, in all the public schools—and these, even from the financial viewpoint, are the only ones I would recommend—they also have German teachers. In some respects the schools themselves are less adequate than those in Germany, in others they are to be preferred. But in any case, and particularly for a boy who is to prepare himself for the STRUGGLE with LIFE, England is a far more useful training school than Germany, that great barracks, servants' hall and nursery.[a]

As regards German teachers for private tuition, there is very heavy competition among them, and so the cost of LESSONS is not high.

Here, as in America and on the European Continent, there is a business crisis which in my view has yet to reach its peak. After that point has been reached, we shall enter the most favourable period of all for the launching of new businesses. But the sooner you move to London, the longer and more leisurely will be the time available to your husband to take the preparatory steps.

I need hardly tell you that both my daughters and I welcome your move to this country as an unexpected stroke of luck.

My kindest regards to Fleckles and the dear children,

Yours very sincerely,
Karl Marx

Should you wish to leaf through some of *Capital*, it would be best to *start* with the *last* section,[b] p. 314. In the scientific exposition the arrangement is prescribed for the author, although some other arrangement might often be more convenient and more appropriate for the reader.

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[a] By nursery (*Kinderstube*) Heine called Germany in his poem 'Zur Beruhigung' (in *Zeitgedichte*). - [b] the eighth section—'Le procès d'accumulation du capital'—of the French edition of the first volume of *Capital*

## 151

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN LONDON

[London,] 23 March 1877

My dear Friend,

I have received the article and it is now in the hands of the member of the House of Commons, to whom, by the by, I shall send the rectification.[264]

Beesly called on me yesterday; I spoke to him about an article by you[a] for the *Fortnightly*. He told me he would recommend you to John Morley, the editor-in-chief, but—and this is most disagreeable—it would have to be written in, or translated into, English before being sent to the editor. As to the length of the article, 16 pages is the usual requirement.

Allsop did not give us his latest address; perhaps Le Blanc could get hold of it.

Yesterday I received a letter from St Petersburg with a note advising me that a parcel containing several books had been sent off to me.[265] Unfortunately I have still to set eyes on it.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

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[a] [P. L. Lavrov,] 'La justice en Russie', *Vanity Fair*, Vol. XVII, 14 April 1877.

## 152

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

### IN GENEVA

London, 24 March 1877
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear old Friend,

I am sending you herewith a money-order for 50 fr. and, I think, 20 centimes and would ask you to send me in return *two* copies of the *Geschichte der süddeutschen Mairevolution*[a] and, if you can, the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne* for 1876. If you can send it through a bookseller, give him the parcel addressed: F. E. care of F. Wohlauer, St. Paul's Buildings, Paternoster Row, London; in which case it will cost very little. Marx and I would like you to use the rest of the money as an additional contribution to the *Précurseur.*

In No. 32 of the *Vorwärts* there is an article of mine, 'From Italy',[b] from which you will have seen that the empire of *Messieurs les* Bakuninists is in a truly splendid state of disintegration. The people on the *Plebe* deserve every support and would certainly be glad to make a reciprocal arrangement with the *Précurseur.* The paper's address is *La Plebe,* Via Carlo Alberto No. 1, Milan. The editor is called Enrico Bignami and he has maintained correspondence with me for years, which only became dormant when the Bakuninists' dictatorship was at its fiercest in Italy. Even Mr Malon has defected and he, after all, was one of the first seventeen International Brethren and founders of the Alliance[266]; one by one they are foreswearing their allegiance to the luckless Guillaume. World government is not exactly everybody's cup of tea and, as for these gentlemen's future congresses, there's every likelihood that the goings-on there will be even wilder than at The Hague.[20] Our policy of mercilessly unmasking these people and then letting them rip has been gloriously vindicated. What with Belgium's turning her back on them, the defection of the last remnant in Italy, and the lamentable role they play in Switzerland (the annual shindy in Berne with the obligatory free-for-all), they have nothing left save the minuscule Spanish Alliance which only

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[a] J. Ph. Becker und Ch. Essellen, *Geschichte der süddeutschen Mai-Revolution des Jahres 1849.* - [b] See present edition, Vol. 24.

keeps going because they have virtually no public outlet there and double-dealings are more easily conducted in the dark.

Your little piece in the *Neue Welt* amused me greatly.[a] You ought to write a sequel; it's good for the young to be reminded about the earlier movements, otherwise they imagine that they are indebted to no one but themselves.

Your old friend,
F. Engels

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## 153

## ENGELS TO PHILIPP PAULI

### IN RHEINAU

[London, 26 March 1877]

Dear Pauli,

I can't let this curious letter from Pumps go off without saying once again how very grateful my wife[b] and I are to you and your wife[c] for all the love and kindness you have shown the girl. I hope that when your children are bigger there will at last be an opportunity of squaring the account.

When will you be coming? Schorlemmer swears black and blue that you *have* to visit England before the summer, but that's all we can find out, and yet it would be very nice to know, approximately, when you will be turning up. Your room is ready; if you were to arrive at the end of this week, Schorlemmer could take advantage of the holidays and come too.

We spent three weeks in Brighton,[249] which did my wife a power of good; she returned stronger than even after last year's long spell at the seaside and recuperative trip, and she had been remarkably low. If only it lasts until the summer.

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[a] J. Ph. Becker, 'Abgerissene Bilder aus meinem Leben'. - [b] Lizzie Burns - [c] Ida Pauli

So after all the endless shilly-shallying it now looks as though they are going to come to blows in the Orient after all[207] and I shall be delighted if the Russians take a pasting. The Turks are people of a quite peculiar stamp, who cannot be judged by European standards, and their position, complete with fortresses, between the Danube and the Balkans is inferior in strength only to the position Metz-Strasbourg-Mainz-Koblenz. The Russians may yet break many a tooth there.

And now, warm regards to your wife and children and you yourself from my wife and

Your
F. Engels

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## 154

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV[267]

IN LONDON

[London, 27 March 1877]

My dear Friend,

Could you let me have Ignatiyev's Christian name, ditto a few details about his family and the man himself. As regards his political exploits, I am pretty well informed about them.

There has been a fine old mercantile and financial collapse in Moscow.

Yours ever,
K. M.

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## 155

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV[267]

### IN LONDON

[London, 29 March 1877]

My dear Friend,

My best thanks for the note which I received yesterday evening. You have no idea of the pusillanimity and shilly-shallying of the 'free' English press. That is the only reason why I am not yet in a position to let you have definite news about the fate of your article.[264]

Yours ever,
K. M.

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## 156

## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

### IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 11 April 1877

Dear Bracke,

Your title's a good one, except that, instead of 'text' you should put 'original text' or else just 'original', whichever you please.[268]

I am returning the first proof-sheet with this note; it will do, because the little madam,[a] despite her evident annoyance with myself, has stuck pretty accurately to my corrections. But every now and again she makes mistakes which are a bit too much of a good thing. On p. 14 we read: 'As luck would have it, a vague

[a] Isolde Kurz

piece of news burst open the doors.' How can a 'piece of news', and a 'vague' one at that, burst open doors? In French it's '*une vague nouvelle*', which should read: 'a fresh wave' (of people) that is!

Moreover, the translation has gone damned slowly up till now.

Could you send me an approximate list of works which have appeared in Germany during recent years on the commercial and industrial crisis there[118]?

What your complaint chiefly calls for is a 'good' doctor. But whatever you do, don't treat the thing too lightly. Easy to cure in the early stages, the illness will become malignant if not dealt with in good time.

Engels is very dissatisfied with the way in which the *Vorwärts* is printing his anti-Dühring piece.[155] First they forced him into doing it, and now they pay not the slightest heed to the terms of the contract. At election time,[269] when no one did any reading, his articles were simply used to fill up space; next, they print short, disjointed fragments, one fragment one week, another a fortnight or three weeks later, which means that readers (working men in particular) lose the thread. Engels wrote, admonishing Liebknecht.[a] He believes that this way of going about things is deliberate, that there's been intimidation by Mr Dühring's handful of supporters. It would be quite natural if the same blockheads who originally made such a song and dance about the 'deathly silencing of the hollow fool' should now wish to silence his critics. It's all very well for Mr Most to talk about the undue length of the articles. His apology for Dühring,[159] luckily for him never published, was very long indeed, and if Mr Most has failed to note that there's much to be learnt from Engels' positive exposés, not only by ordinary workers and even ex-workers like himself, who suppose themselves capable of getting to know everything and pronounce on everything within the shortest possible time, but even by scientifically educated people, then I can only pity him for his lack of judgment.

With kind regards,

Yours,
K. M.

*PS.* Mlle Kurz translates '*l'expropriation de toutes les denrées de première nécessité*',[b] which means expropriation by the government,

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[a] See next letter. - [b] expropriation of all the prime necessities

or public appropriation, as 'public alienation', which gives completely the wrong sense (p. 16).

*Rationnement* = being placed on short rations (as in a besieged fortress or on board a vessel when supplies are running out), as 'maintenance of all citizens' (p. 16). She sets down the first word that comes into her head, whether it makes sense or not.

Ditto, p. 16, she translates '*pour faire lever les provinces*', as 'to *levy* the province'; should read 'to cause the provinces' (not 'province') '*to rise*'.

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## 157

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN LEIPZIG

[Draft]

[London, 11 April 1877]

Dear Liebknecht,

I have today received your letter of the 9th. It's the same old story. First you make all kinds of promises, whereupon exactly quite the opposite happens and then, if I complain, I hear nothing from you for a fortnight and I'm told that you had too much to do and would I kindly spare you my unnecessary objurgations. IT IS ADDING INSULT TO INJURY.[a] So often has this comedy been played that I refuse to tolerate another performance.

My letter of yesterday, which will be in Leipzig first thing tomorrow morning, will get to you on 13 Friday,[15] and I expect an immediate reply to my questions. My reply to yours will depend on your reply to these, i.e. if by then there is any need at all for a reply from me.

If, by the evening of 17 Tuesday, I have had no reply, or no adequate one, from you, I shall no longer be able to show you any

[a] Phaedrus, *Fables* ('The Bald Man and the Fly').

consideration and shall myself see to it that such articles[155] of mine as remain are not mismanaged as hitherto. In which case it might very well happen that, in the course of things, I shall sooner or later find it necessary to air the whole business in public.

Your
E.

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## 158

## MARX TO PHILIP STEPHEN KING

IN LONDON

[London,] 14 April 1877
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

Please send me the Papers: *The Greek United Church in Russia* just laid before Parliament.

Enclosed for account sent £1, 3, 3.

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original (English) and in German, in *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch*, Nr. 8, Berlin, 1985

Reproduced from the original

## 159

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 17 April 1877

My dear Friend,

The agent has just handed me the fee of £2.10/- due to you from *Vanity Fair*; I am sending it by the enclosed POST-OFFICE order.

I am truly astonished by your letter. It was at my request that you took the trouble to write—and promptly at that—not only the article published, but also the manuscript for the Member of Parliament,[264] and yet you feel you are under an obligation to me! On the contrary, I am the one under an obligation.

We can discuss the Pio affair[270] when you keep your promise and come and see me.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

If they ask at the POST OFFICE for the name of the 'SENDER', you should give my name and address.

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## 160

## MARX TO THOMAS ALLSOP

IN LONDON

[London,] 20 April 1877
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My dear and honoured Friend,

During your last stay at London I spoke with you of *Wróblewski*. He was the most able and gallant general of the Paris Commune, and even at the age of 17[a] years, during the time of the Polish insurrection of 1863, the leader of the insurgent Lithuanians most redoubted by the Russians. During his exile in London he has lived in a poor but respectable way by drawing military maps and doing similar work. Though brought up in the usual style of Polish noblemen, he has courageously borne with more hardship than most of the workmen exiles. It would be in the interest of our cause to procure him the means of entering the Turkish

[a] Should be: 27.

service now that the war with Russia is at hand,[207] and all the more so that he wields great influence over his countrymen.

Myself, Engels and one or two other friends at London are willing to contribute our quota, if you and some of your friends would act in common with us. What he wants are the costs of travel and some money for dress etc. I hope that your health has been going on improving. Mrs Marx (who is rather ailing) and Tussy send their best love to you. As I do not know where to find you, I send this letter at haphazard. Old Leblanc, who will leave London for Paris, is still woefully beset by his marriage-mania.

Yours most devotedly,
Karl Marx

First published in the language of the original (English) in *Économies et Sociétés*, No. 6, Paris, juin 1967, Série S-11

Reproduced from the original

## 161

## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE[26]

### IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] *21 April* 1877

Dear Bracke,

On the sheet enclosed herewith I have again noted down for your benefit the most glaring of Kurz's mistakes.[194]

Months ago, when I ceased to correspond with her, I told Miss Kurz[12] that, being so short of time, I could at most only undertake to correct errors of fact such as might be made by any foreigner insufficiently *au fait* with French conditions—but not mere mistakes in translation.

Hence, if she does not proceed more carefully (I shall spare enough time for one or two more proof-sheets), you will have to find an expert corrector and deduct what you pay him from the translator's fee.

You should devise one footnote in which you say once and for all that *all notes*, unless expressly stated otherwise, are Lissagaray's own. By so doing you would save the cost of having to put '*A. d. V.*'[a] several times on every page.

[a] Short for '*Anmerkung des Verfassers*'—author's note.

Your idea of disseminating a portrait of me taken from the caricature provided by Lachâtre[271] does not appeal to me in the least.[a]

It is to be feared that Prussia has concluded a secret treaty with Russia; without such a treaty Russia could not invade Romania.[272] The workers' press concerns itself too little with the oriental question, forgetting that the government's politics gamble wantonly with the lives and money of the people.

At all events, public opinion amongst the workers, petty bourgeoisie, etc., should be duly alerted long enough in advance to make things difficult for the Prussian government (in its plans e.g. to get Russia to cede a little bit of Poland or to indemnify itself at Austria's expense), should it attempt to involve Germany in the war *on Russia's behalf* or so much as put pressure on Austria to that end.

With kindest regards,

Yours,
K. M.

*ad p. 17, Mandat tacite*, the gracious lady translates this as '*silent* mandate', which is nonsense; the term 'unspoken' agreements is used in German, to be sure, but never silent ones. But in the same sentence '*démarche de Ferrières*', meaning Jules Favre's journey to Ferrières, where Bismarck was, is translated as '*Ferrière*'s demarche', thus changing Ferrières the *place* into a *person*!

*ad p. 18*, she has omitted the place-name from battle 'of Chevilly'.

*ibid.* '*Trochu ... lui fit une belle Conférence*'. This she translates 'read *him* a fine lecture', a literal schoolroom rendering which, however, makes no sense in the German.

*ad p. 20, l'Hôtel de Ville* she translates as 'town house'; what is meant is the September government which was housed in the 'Hôtel de Ville'.

*ibid. à ce lancé*, another rendering that smacks strongly of the schoolroom: 'at *this throw* there came a roar from the whole rabble'. What on earth does the German mean—at this throw (which?) there came a roar, etc.? *Lancé* should here be translated as 'virulent cry'.

*ibid.* '*D'autres tocsins éclatent*' is translated 'new' (why not old?) '*tocsins* were *pulled* (!)'—What is meant is that more distress was being ventilated. The very word '*éclatent*',[b] not to mention the

[a] See this volume, p. 227. - [b] break out

whole context, should have shown her what nonsense she was writing.

*p. 25* Miss Kurz changed what the text calls the '*Cordeliers*'[273] of the old French Revolution into the latter's non-existent 'Franciscans'. Not content with that she changes '*le prolétariat de la petite bourgeoisie*'—the proletariat of the petty bourgeoisie—into 'the proletariat, the petty bourgeoisie'. Sheer carelessness, this!

*ad p. 26, contre-maîtres* she translates as '*senior boatswains*', whereas here it means *foremen*, while *chefs d'ateliers* are captains of industry.

*ad. p. 30, 'Paris capitulait avant le 15 sans l'irritation des patriotes'.*

Kurz translates this as 'Paris capitulated before the 15th, without exacerbation on the patriots' part', which would be correct if the original read:

'*Paris capitulait etc. sans irritation de la part des patriotes*' (instead of what it actually says: '*sans l'irritation des patriotes*').

Hence, what is meant is precisely the opposite, namely: 'Had it not been for the exacerbation of the patriots, Paris would have capitulated before the 15th.'

What is patently at fault here—the sentence is a very simple one—is once again the most unpardonable carelessness.

*ad. p. 32, 'Jules Favre demandait à Trochu sa démission'.*

Kurz translates this as: 'Jules Favre demanded *his dismissal* of Trochu.' Since a man does not *dismiss* himself from office, but is dismissed by his superiors, this sentence could only mean that Jules Favre wished to be dismissed from office by Trochu. In fact, however, Jules Favre demanded his (Trochu's) *resignation* of Trochu which is, indeed, the literal rendering of '*démission*'.

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## 162

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV[267]

IN LONDON

[London, 21 April 1877]

My dear Friend,

We shall expect you tomorrow (Sunday) for dinner (2 o'clock). In great haste, and with regards from Mrs Marx,

Yours,
K. M.

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## 163

## ENGELS TO B. LINDHEIMER

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 21 April 1877

*To Mr B. Lindheimer*

The last time you came and saw me, I categorically told you that I could not let you have more than the £1 I had advanced you, and you yourself declared that this went without saying. I am all the less prepared to go back on this in that, according to your own story, you could at any time obtain money from your friends in the City, were it not for your reluctance to approach them to this effect. But if the position be viewed in its proper perspective, it cannot possibly be harder for you to approach these friends of yours, who know you and your circumstances and to whom you were recommended, than myself who is as much a stranger to you as you are to me. In any case, I cannot spare you this step,

having already more than enough to do lending an occasional helping hand to party comrades who have no one in the CITY from whom they might obtain advances, and I would ask you politely but unequivocally to regard this as *my final word.*

I am, Sir, etc.

E.

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## 164

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN LONDON

[London,] 23 April 1877
(*BIRTHDAY* OF SHAKESPEARE)

My dear Friend,

On my daughter Tussy's behalf I am sending you a ticket (for two people) for the STALLS at the *Lyceum Theatre.*[274] It is for today's (Monday's) performance. The play is *Richard III.*[a] It would be as well if you were to get there a little after seven o'clock.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

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[a] by Shakespeare

## 165

## ENGELS TO WILHELM BRACKE

### IN BRUNSWICK

London, 24 April 1877

Dear Bracke,

It is hardly likely that you will get the photographic plate from Paris since Lachâtre is in exile and his business has been sequestrated by the government; the publishing house is being administered by an arch-reactionary[a] who is doing all he can to ruin it.[38] For that matter, the portrait is a rotten one and Marx quite unrecognisable[271]; if you like, we can send you a better photograph. I shall be glad to write the biography for you. Tell me how many *Kalender* pages you'd like at most and at least, so that I know how much space I can take up, ditto the delivery date.[275]

The three stenographic reports received with thanks[276]; a pity your subject was not a better one; if one is constantly compelled to cite witnesses who provisionally withhold their names, one is in a poor position. But all the same, the purpose has been achieved since a favourable vote in *that* company is, presumably, out of the question.[277] Bebel's speech is excellent—lucid, matter-of-fact and to the point.[278]

I should never have suspected any kind of Dühringian influence had Liebknecht told me the plain truth and promised me redress.[b] There was a definite agreement that an article should appear every week[155]; when I complained that it was not being adhered to, Liebknecht kept me waiting for ten days or more and during that time, despite his presence in Leipzig, there was no sign of rectification; finally he wrote and told me that I should spare him unnecessary objurgations—that was all, not a word about any future redress. Now, since I had no idea what influence other people might have over the editorial board, the only course open to me was to assume the above and, by means of an ultimatum, compel Liebknecht to keep his promises. I have written and told him he may, if he wishes, show the relevant letters from me to *anyone* he chooses, and hence, so far as I am concerned, they are at your disposal. Over here people are literally overwhelming me

[a] Adolphe Quêst - [b] See this volume, pp. 217-20.

with reproaches on the grounds that *I* have allowed the articles to be printed as mere stop-gaps so that no one could follow the thread. And when you consider it is now at least the sixth time that this tale has recurred, that I have been given the finest and most unequivocal promises, only to see, without fail, the very opposite happen, you will realise that in the end one grows sick of it.

So the Russians are in Bucharest.[272] I trust the Turks will at once occupy all their Danubian fortresses in the locality facing the Romanian bank and turn them into bridgeheads. In particular Calafat (Vidin), Giurgevo (Rustchuk) and Calarashi (Silistria).[a] That would force the Russians to lay siege to these fortresses on *both* banks, i.e. beleaguer them with *twice* the number of troops, thereby losing a great deal of time. But with every soldier the Russians have to leave behind in Romania, it will become easier for the Turks to meet them in the open field and prevent them from taking the fortresses. I likewise trust that Abdul Kerim will, as promised, send 20,000 Circassians to Romania to destroy the railways and do some thorough foraging. All honour to Strousberg for constructing the Romanian railways with such splendid ineptitude that they are already letting the Russians down.

*Re* trade regulations. Cross, the Home Secretary here, has brought in a BILL whereby all the many and sometimes conflicting laws governing the limitation of working hours are to be brought together within a *single* act[279] and thus become enforceable for the first time. I will try and get hold of the thing and send it to you or Liebknecht so that the liberal jackasses may see for once what a Conservative minister has the nerve to do in that line over here.

Time for the post and for a meal. Regards to all our friends.

Yours,
F. E.

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[a] Calafat, Giurgevo and Calarashi—the Romanian names of the towns on the left bank of the Danube; Vidin, Rustchuk (Ruse) and Silistria (Silistra)—the Bulgarian names of the towns on the right bank of the Danube.

## 166

## ENGELS TO B. LINDHEIMER[280]

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 26 April 1877

*To Mr B. Lindheimer*

The tales you first told me about your relations and your contacts in the CITY are so completely at variance with everything you now say that I regret I shall be unable in future to place any faith in your words. The fact that your relations are reluctant so much as to entrust you with money for your journey and that your supposed friends in the CITY merely refer you to the German society is even less calculated to inspire me with confidence. I do not know the party members you invoke,[a] nor if I did would their general testimony signify much in the face of such facts. Hence I regret that I can do nothing further for you in this matter.

Faithfully

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## 167

## ENGELS TO B. LINDHEIMER

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, 3 or 4 May 1877]

It is indeed incomprehensible to me why I, of all people, should be called upon to pay your travelling expenses. You yourself must have known what was the extent of your means and when the time

[a] Hoffmann and Immhof

had come to go home, for you came over here on the off chance and not as a working man at that. You let the time go by and then approached me, a total stranger, for help. You did not produce a single document relating either to your character or your position, for a party card does not serve the purpose of vouching for its holder. Your tales about your position and acquaintances blatantly contradict what you were subsequently obliged to tell me. Finally you attempt to force me to receive you at my house by behaviour which compels me to close my doors to you.

If I nevertheless send you a postal order on GOWER STREET OFFICE for the £1 in question, I do so simply with a view to giving you one last chance to prove that you are deserving of better treatment than that which you have hitherto forced me to mete out to you. Kindly acknowledge receipt.

Faithfully

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## 168

## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

### IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 26 May 1877

Dear Bracke,

What Miss Kurz has been awaiting has today gone off from London. In the course of next week she will (save, I think, for the appendix) be getting *everything* in the way of alterations which Lissagaray still has to send her.[194]

For the rest I should like to point out that:

1. *La* Kurz should have sent you, *as a matter of course*, anything *in manuscript form she had received from Lissagaray*, along with *her own manuscript*. Considering the masterly way she translates (see just a *few* recent examples overleaf), how can I keep a check on her without Lissagaray's ms.? I am convinced that, because of this, all manner of infelicities have already crept in.

2. She might very well have told herself that Lissagaray requires this ms. for his own second French edition.

All in all, the translation, when not actually wrong, is often unhelpful, philistine and wooden. But this may, perhaps, to some extent correspond to German taste.

With kind regards,

Yours,
K. M.

I should be grateful if you would insist that the said Kurz should, *firstly*, send you (for return to Lissagaray) that part of Lissagaray's ms. she has already translated (you can pass it on to me together with the proofs) and, *secondly*, always enclose with her own manuscript the manuscript she has just translated so that I may compare translation and original. All in all this additional manuscript does not amount to very much.

*The passage* heavily scored by me on *p. 73* should read thus:

'It [the people] looked for this emancipation to the autonomous Commune which, etc., etc., would conduct its administration independently, within the limits required to maintain national unity. Rather than the representative who may, etc., should, etc., it opposed to that monarchical excrescence of society, the "State", which, etc., undermines, etc., represents particular class interests which, etc., the delegation of communes endowed with a life of their own which, etc., was to administer the general national interests.'

*Examples*

*p. 49 'A l'appel de son nom il a voulu répondre'* Miss Kurz translates as: 'He wanted to respond to the summons issued to him.' Sheer rubbish! It means: 'He wished to answer when his name was called, etc.'

{*ditto 'les yeux ... brillants de foi républicaine'*; *foi* does not here mean 'troth'—nor does it ever mean that, save in the sense of 'upon my troth!' *(ma foi)*—but *faith, conviction*, etc. I have left it as it stands since I am generally averse to all such commonplaces in German; so what matter if she puts an X for a U.}

*p. 51 'des intrigants bourgeois qui couraient après la députation'*. Kurz translates 'who ran after the deputation'. A primary school child could hardly translate worse.

*p. 51 'pour statuer en cas de doubles nominations'* Kurz translates outrageously 'so as, if need be,' (what's that supposed to mean?) 'to decree double nominations'!!! Should read: 'so as to decide in the case of double nominations'.

*p. 54 'une permanence'* is translated as 'permanent session' (what the devil is that?). Means 'standing committee'.

*p. 59* instead of 'expired bills of exchange' she puts 'expired *merchandise*' (!!!).

*p. 70 'l'intelligence etc. de la bourgeoisie de cette époque'* she translates as 'the big bourgeois *of this point of time*' (!). An epoch is no more a *point* of time than a line is a *point* in space.

*p. 75 'C'est que la première note est juste'* she translates as: 'The reason was that *the first account* (!) was correct', should read, that from the start they had struck or hit the right note.

*p. 90 'plumitifs'*—'quill-pushers' she translates as *legal records*!!!

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## 169

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Brighton, 27 May 1877
42 King's Road

Dear Moor,

My obstinate silence must have surprised you. I've had a damned awful week with my eye: the bright sunlight has done it no good. I have been wearing spectacles all day for a week now and given alcohol the sack, but experienced no improvement at all to begin with. Only since yesterday has there been any definite change, inasmuch as I am no longer aware of my eye. When I come up to London[249] (Friday[a]) I shall definitely put paid to the thing; I'm sick of a condition which prevents me doing anything at all.

The stupid English papers carry tales of the enormous advances made by the Russians in Armenia[281] of which, so far, there have been very few. But unless the softas in Constantinople soon bestir themselves,[282] Muhtar Pasha may wreak considerable havoc.—It's

[a] 1 June -

characteristic of the way the war is being conducted on the Danube that the Tsar[a] has to put in an appearance before anything is done. For the rest, the administration of the Russian army would actually seem to have been better so far than might have been expected; however, we shall see how things go when the real campaign begins. But the decision lies with Constantinople and is now becoming an urgent necessity.

Monsieur Mac-Mahon, too, seems to have gone off the rails with his *coup de tête.*[b] [283] It is not proving attractive, nor, despite all efforts, will the Bourse really swallow the bait. Moreover his avowed intention of remaining within the bounds of legality is evidence that the results are not consistent with the promises made by Broglie & Co. If the French stand firm this time and vote properly, or at any rate no worse than last time, they may well be quit of this kind of reaction once and for all. The course things are taking shows that this coup does not envisage the use of force and, even if there was a subsequent attempt in that direction, it would probably misfire. A coup d'état cannot, like a bill of exchange, be fixed up at three months' date. Nor, come to that, is Broglie a man of blood, but rather a parliamentary intriguer who will certainly miss the right moment, even if Mac-Mahon's scruples and vacillations had not made this a virtual certainty from the start. *Enfin,*[c] the affair is taking an exceedingly favourable course, and if the electors allow the prefects, etc., to treat them like enfranchised cattle on this occasion, they will only be getting their deserts; but it doesn't look as though they will. What luck for that old swine Thiers if Mac-Mahon presents an ultimatum—favourable elections or else I resign! Idiot!

Your
F. E.

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[a] Alexander II - [b] rash act - [c] In short

# 170

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN BRIGHTON

[London,] 31 May 1877

Dear Engels,

I hope that your eyes are better. Madame Lormier, whose eye trouble got worse day by day and became really serious, was sent by Madame Longuet SENIOR a little jar of ointment (said to cost no less than 30 francs), a very small quantity of which completely cured her—*mirabile dictu*[a]—within a few days. There is no disputing that FACT. The ointment enjoys considerable repute in France and, by smelling, observing it, etc., you will doubtless discover what the main ingredient is.

So closely do your views on the STATE IN TURKEY agree with my own that I had said literally almost the same thing to Wróblewski.

But the crisis is not far off. Damad Mahmud and Co. who are under the direct influence of Russia, are apparently much inclined to conclude peace with the Russians, one of the terms being, of course (as indeed recommended by *The Times*, in the same number in which that paper raps Mac-Mahon over the knuckles for his anti-constitutionalism[b]), *the abolition of the constitution.* Nothing could be more opportune for the Tsar[c]; hitherto all that has taken place has been in the nature of a preliminary military parade; Russian victories in Asia Minor[281] have been overrated and overstated for various reasons (apart from BLOODY IGNORANCE) by the various parties; financial constraint as such is as yet in its infancy; the Caucasian malady is as yet no more than sporadic[284]; for the present the Tsar might get off with a *succès d'estime* and without constitutional constraint, and might in his turn have an important part to play in the occidental crisis, etc., etc. Midhat Pasha, I AM TOLD, DOES EVERYTHING FROM HERE TO PUSH THE MOVEMENT AT CONSTANTINOPLE ON WHICH, IN FACT, THE FATE OF TURKEY (AND THE IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS OF RUSSIAN 'DEVELOPMENT') DEPEND.

In France we are beginning to see what I have long in vain been telling Lissagaray (who is now again taking too rosy a view), namely that the really industrial and commercial bourgeoisie is

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[a] marvellous to say - [b] 'Peace Rumours' and 'The New French Ministry', *The Times*, No. 28956, 31 May 1877. - [c] Alexander II

becoming republican, as indeed events EVEN SINCE THIERS' RÉGIME have clearly shown, and that the *'hommes de combat'*[a] do not represent a particular class, but only the *beaux restes*[b] of the former parties' PROFESSIONAL POLITICIANS. The workers (in Paris) have taken for their watchword *que c'est cette fois l'affaire de Messieurs les bourgeois.*[c] Hence they are holding back.

From the enclosed cutting from the *Marseillaise* you will see how Mac-Mahon is being treated by the radical journals. The sagacious *République Française* tells him that the question can be decided only by his resignation; Émile de Girardin threatens him with IMPEACHMENT and, of all the papers, the *Siècle*, the *épicier*[d] paper *par excellence*, treats him with the greatest ruthlessness.

Meanwhile the Bonapartists are insistent. Too late in the day to draw the sword (apart from the fact that it's not in Broglie's LINE). But (after the Chamber has been further prorogued) there might be an attempt to institute an *état de siège*[e]—illegal, it is true, but covered by the ministers' *responsabilité légale*[f] and Mac-Mahon's *irresponsabilité constitutionelle.*[g] [283] Such a course, which is being urged by the Bonapartists at least, might yet give rise to violent clashes. It's a possibility, if an unlikely one.

Collet, as in duty bound, has informed me of Urquhart's death.

My own constitution, while not exceptionally flourishing, is pretty fair compared with what it usually is about this time of year. My wife is getting better.

The weaning of the little chap[h] (the Irishwoman is still with us in the meantime) has gone smoothly, but he evinces a dangerous passion for crawling up the stairs instead of round the drawing-room.

Warmest regards from one family to the other.

Your
K. M.

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[a] fighting men - [b] here 'last remnants' - [c] that this time it's the bourgeoisie's affair - [d] shopkeepers' - [e] state of siege - [f] legal responsibility - [g] constitutional irresponsibility - [h] Jean Longuet

## 171

## ENGELS TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

London, 25 June 1877

Dear Bracke,

Many thanks for your remittance of *£15.1.2.* in payment of interest which has been credited to you with thanks.

You should simply transfer the fee of 30 marks[285] to your election fund, if only by way of a sop to the man's conscience.

As for the next *Kalender,*[a] let us wait a bit before deciding what to do. After all, there's almost a year to go.

The beginning of *Dühring,* 'Political Economy',[155] goes off to Leipzig today. Liebknecht maintains that the congress resolution in no way affects *my* articles. I can only assume the same since the congress is not, after all, empowered to make arbitrary use of my articles or, without my consent, to relieve Liebknecht of the commitment he entered into vis-à-vis myself on the strength of a resolution adopted by last year's congress.[286]

You really are a martyr to ill-health. One might almost think that Brunswick had a dreadfully unwholesome climate. Gout, rheumatism, measles and an unknown complaint into the bargain—it's truly horrifying! I hope that all will end well.

What a wretched, petty-minded creature that Helmholtz must be so much as to let himself be irritated by the remarks of a Dühring, let alone be irritated to the extent of confronting the Berlin faculty with the alternative: either Dühring goes or I go![287] As though all that Dühring has written, rabidly envious as it is, was of any more consequence to science than a fart! But admittedly Helmholtz, though a quite outstanding experimentalist, is no whit superior to Dühring as a thinker. And then again, a German professorship—particularly in Berlin—is the top of German petty-bourgeois philistinism and provincialism. Where else could a man of, for example, Virchow's scientific repute set his highest sights on—becoming a town councillor!

You will yet be surprised at the kind of stuff the Turks are made of. If only we had in Germany a parliament such as that in

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[a] *Volks-Kalender*

Constantinople! So long as the mass of the people—in this case the Turkish peasant and even the Turkish middle landowner—remains sound, and sound he is, an oriental polity such as this is capable of withstanding a quite incredible amount of buffeting. Any other nation would have been destroyed by four hundred years of metropolitan corruption, a legacy from the Byzantines; all the Turks need do to be a complete match for Russia is slough off the topmost layer. Treachery, venality on the part of army leaders and commandants of fortresses, the squandering of money destined for the army, defalcation of all kinds, everything that would ruin any other state, is to be found in abundance in Turkey, but not in such abundance as to effect its ruin. The only danger for the Turks lies in the meddling of European diplomats, notably the English who are restraining the Turks from making uninhibited use of their military resources and expect them to put up with the most unheard-of provocation. Thus when, for instance, the Romanians let the Russians into their country,[272] the Turks were supposed to regard this as an act of *neutrality* and neither to occupy nor to consolidate the bridgeheads of their fortresses on Wallachian territory[a]—not on your life! That would infringe Romania's neutrality! And the Turks were good-natured enough to comply with this English and Austrian claptrap and thus reduce the defensive qualities of their Danubian fortifications by more than half!

The crossing of the Danube by the Russians at Matshin, which I foretold in conversation with Marx as much as three weeks ago, is an admission of their inability to force a crossing where it would have been of some use, namely *above* the Dobrudja.[288] The Russians will have to send at least two or three army corps through the Dobrudja if they want to carry the Chernavoda-Küstend[b] positions—how they propose to supply them and how many will reach their destination, I should dearly like to know. This action has been forced upon the Russians by the defeat of the Montenegrins[176] which they could not allow to happen without doing something about it. No doubt the campaign will now get under way, and the Russians are faced with the choice of sending as many troops across the Danube as military necessity demands but they will be unable to feed them, or of sending fewer—no more than they can feed,—whereupon the campaign will soon come to a halt. Nevertheless, the immediate future will probably

[a] See this volume, p. 228. - [b] Romanian name: Constanţa.

see a rash of Russian victories on the Danube—none of which will be of the least significance.

Kindest regards from your

F. E.

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## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 2 July 1877

Dear Liebknecht,

You would have spared both of us a great deal of unnecessary annoyance had you at once informed me of the simple fact that the supplement would actually be appearing *now,* and that you were going to publish my articles in it.[286] From your earlier letters I could only assume that the supplement could not appear before October and had, moreover, already been incorporated into the review[a] scheduled to come out at that time; hence I could only assume that, *despite* the resolution, you proposed to print the sequel to the article in the main body of the *Vorwärts.* Hence my many misgivings—all too justified in the event.

I have sent Ramm three articles and am today taking the precaution of writing to him again to say that he can go ahead with their publication in the supplement. A fourth article is finished and I am working on a fifth. Unfortunately there are all manner of lets and hindrances; the day after tomorrow I have to go to Manchester for a few days, and after that, my wife being unwell, to the seaside[289] where, however, I shall nevertheless be able to do a few hours' work every day.

As regards Urquhart, we have taken steps to get the material together.[290]

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[a] *Die Zukunft*

The round of trials and/or sentencings seems to be getting even merrier over there.[291] You ought to amend the penal code so that you can spend your nights in jug—or more precisely your prison cot—and be at large during the day.

It seems to us that the *Vorwärts* is taking the business in France a trifle too lightly.[292] True, it's no immediate concern of the workers and they know it and say: *à vous maintenant, MM. les bourgeois, faites votre jeu!*[a] All the same, it's of the utmost importance to future developments in France that the present lull before the next workers' movement should occur under the régime of a bourgeois republic when Gambetta & Co. would discredit themselves, rather than, as hitherto, under imperial pressure when they would regain their popularity and, on the day of action, assume the leadership again; that the squabbling over *forms of government*, now meaningless in France, should finally cease, and the republic appear for what it is—the classical form of bourgeois rule and simultaneously that of its impending dissolution. Come to that, you'd damned well know it in Germany if reaction were to be victorious in France.[293]

So far all has gone well on the Danube. An oriental army like that of the Turks, unfit for use in big strategical operations, could not possibly prevent the Russians from crossing.[294] But this is compensated by the fact that an oriental army of this kind is never the victim of its own stupidity. We shall now see how the Russians propose to feed their army in Bulgaria. With every step they advance their difficulties mount up in geometrical progression and the peculiar performance under fire of the *best* they have—the Caucasian army in Armenia—does not augur well for them. Meanwhile Montenegro is being reduced to pulp. I'm particularly glad for G. Rasch's sake.[295]

Your
F. E.

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[a] Now it's up to you, Messrs bourgeois, put up your stake!

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 15 July 1877
2 Adelaide Gardens

Dear Moor,

We have been installed here since Wednesday,[289] but this time, alas, the effect of the sea air has not been as rapid in my wife's case as we hoped; she can't quite get her appetite back. In my case, on the other hand, the aftermath of the excursion to Manchester is already 'out of sight, out of mind'.

The enclosed letter has been forwarded to me along with one from the selfsame Wiede[296] (who thus must obviously be someone other than our merry little hunchback[a]). Write and tell me what you say to the worthy fellow so that we proceed *unisono.*

The first proof of the 'Political Economy' is already here.[297] Sheet 6 of the 'Philosophy', from which 29 lines were omitted, is being reprinted; let's hope there is no further unpleasantness in store.[298]

I still find the collapse of the Russians in Asia somewhat inexplicable. The Caucasian army has a strength of 8 divisions *à* 16 battalions, i.e. 128 battalions of the line (apart from riflemen, garrison troops and new formations), but Loris-Melikov is said to have only 40-50 batts in all just now. If we estimate the flying columns near Batum and Bayazid[b] at a further 30 batts (certainly too high), there remain 50-60 batts TO BE ACCOUNTED FOR. These must therefore have remained in the Caucasus to cover the lines of communication. If this assumption runs counter to the vainglorious claims originally made by the Russians, that is no reason for rejecting it. ANYHOW the landing at Sukhum-Kaleh—whatever its real and immediate results may have been—would appear fully to have succeeded in achieving the aim of tying up almost half the Caucasian army in the Caucasus proper.[299]

In Bulgaria the Russians are apparently feeling their way for the time being, an easy enough task thanks to the *purely passive* resistance of the Turks (which has reduced the *Kölnische Zeitung*'s Prussian lieutenants to utter despair). At all events they are, it

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[a] Johannes Wedde - [b] Modern Turkish name: Dogubayazid

seems, preparing to make a rapid thrust through the Balkans, either via Gabrovo-Kazanlyk or via Sofia-Philippopolis.[a] If they do so, and the Turkish government refuses to let itself be intimidated thereby, this 'most modern form of warfare' could end in disaster. To maintain three army corps in Thrace and keep them supplied with ammunition, etc., when you have no negotiable lines of communication to your rear, is a feat that may be the undoing of even the great Nikolai Nikolayevich.

The fact of the matter is that a few Europeans are necessary to the Turks. These people think in terms either of attack *alone* or defence *alone*. A combination of the two is beyond them. Like that Turkish major who said to the *Kölnische Zeitung*'s lieutenant: You see all those Russians over there on the far side of the Danube?—Dammit, aren't your guns going to fire at them?—*Yok, efendim*, no Sir, but just let the Russians fire at us, and they'll see what sort of an answer we'll give them!—Meanwhile the Russians are setting up their batteries completely at their leisure. Had Silistria been defended *like this* in 1853, it would soon have fallen.[300]

Kindest regards from family to family,

Your
F. E.

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## 174

## MARX TO ENGELS[301]

### IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 18 July 1877

DEAR FRED,

First, as regards *Wiede*, I shall reply to him saying that in my present state of health I am not in a position (which is indeed the case) to interest myself in any periodical as a contributor.[296]

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[a] Bulgarian name: Plovdiv

It would certainly be very nice if a really scientific socialist periodical were to appear. This would provide an opportunity for criticism and counter-criticism in which theoretical points could be discussed by us and the total ignorance of professors and university lecturers exposed, thereby simultaneously disabusing the minds of the GENERAL PUBLIC—workers and bourgeois alike. But Wiede's periodical[a] *cannot* be other than SHAM-SCIENTIFIC; those same semi-educated louts and semi-informed literati, who infest the *Neue Welt*, *Vorwärts*, etc., will perforce constitute the bulk of its contributors. In such company ruthlessness—the prime requirement in all criticism—becomes impossible; moreover, constant heed must be paid to comprehensibility, i.e. to presentation for the ignorant. Imagine a chemical periodical in which the reader's ignorance of chemistry is invariably taken for granted. And apart from all that, the way in which those who would perforce be Wiede's contributors have conducted themselves in the Dühring affair calls for the precaution of maintaining as much distance from these gentlemen as political party relations permit.[302] Their motto seems to be: Anyone who criticises his adversary by abusing him is a man of sensibility; but he who abuses an adversary by genuinely criticising him is an unworthy individual.

I trust that the Russians' impudent goings-on beyond the Balkans will stir up the Turks against their old regime. The fact that the Russian defeats in European Turkey are leading straight to revolution in Russia has now been made plain even to Lavrov and Lopatin by the outbursts in the Russian press following the FAILURES in Armenia, outbursts which no censorship could have suppressed. The tone of the Petersburg newspapers is more menacing than that of the German press at the time when the siege of Paris was not proceeding as expected.[b]

For a few days during the past week and the early part of this one, my insomnia and a correspondingly chaotic condition of the cranial nerves assumed serious dimensions. Yesterday it started to get better again.

With kindest regards from family to family

Your
Moor

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[a] *Die Neue Gesellschaft* - [b] This refers to the siege of Paris by the Prussians during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71.

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## ENGELS TO MARX[49]

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 19 July 1877
2 Adelaide Gardens

Dear Moor,

I too shall write to Wiede[a] saying that, owing to lack of time, I can make no promises, let alone keep them. Unfortunately one cannot give the true, or rather intrinsic, reasons which you so rightly adduce. Besides—what do we know about Mr Wiede's ability to run a scientific review? Or even—on crucial occasions, of which surely there will shortly be more—about his reliability or merely his good will?

Herewith the latest from Wilhelm.[b] As regards the manuscript,[303] all I told him in my reply was that I would send the letter to you.[15] While in the *cachot*[c][291] he actually polished off three complete articles which appear in Nos. 80 and 81 of the *Vorwärts*.[d] Pitiable prevarication, a splendid example of how he would paraphrase your '*Critique* of the Programme', turning it into a glorification of the same. I rebuffed his request for an article on the war, saying I had no wish to compete for space in the *Vorwärts* with the worthy socialists of the future, or to give further cause for clamorous protests that I fill the paper with abstruse stuff of no interest to the bulk of the readers, who evidently prefer fantasy to fact.[286]

It's only a pity that our people in Germany have such lamentable opponents. If there were, on the bourgeois side, just one competent man with a knowledge of economics, he would soon put these gentlemen in their places and open their eyes to their own confusion. But what can be the upshot of a battle in which the only weapons on either side are commonplaces and philistian drivel! As a counterpart in Germany to the learned bourgeois noddle, a new German vulgar socialism is evolving that is a worthy successor to the old 'true socialism' of 1845.[304]

The Turks will have to hurry if the affair is to turn out satisfactorily. Should they allow the Russians in Bulgaria and on

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[a] See this volume, p. 241. - [b] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [c] cell - [d] W. Liebknecht, 'Das Ketzergericht in Berlin', *Vorwärts*, No. 80, 11 July 1877; 'Die Rothen wider die Blauen. I-II', *Vorwärts*, Nos. 80 and 81, 11 and 13 July 1877.

the southern slopes of the Balkans to establish a quadrilateral of *Russian* fortresses,[305] the situation might become chronic there, and in that case a thrust towards Constantinople would not be impossible, i.e. one having an eye to the purely *moral* effect as in 1828—or to treachery. And treachery would seem to be quite ON THE CARDS. That treachery there was at Nikopol—otherwise of no great importance *after* the Russian crossing—seems clear to me. Never before have 6,000 Turks, with a ditch and wall in front of them, surrendered without assault—except at Varna in 1828.[306] I get quite nervous, what with the newspapers arriving twice a day and bringing news of the Russians' activity and the unfailing inaction of the Turks; it was no worse than this even in 1828 when there was *no* Turkish army at all.

You really ought to go and see Gumpert and get him to give you something for your insomnia; he's still there and the TRIP will do you good. Don't let the thing go too far this time—I imagine you will be going to Karlsbad again in the middle of August, and until then you have a month which you would surely do better to spend in decent health. Things aren't going too well here either.[289] Since yesterday, for no apparent reason, Lizzie has been extremely unwell; the magic powers of sea-bathing have failed her for the first time and I'm beginning to get seriously alarmed.

Kindest regards to your wife, Tussy and Lenchen as well as the Longuets and Lafargues and yourself from us all.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 23 July 1877

DEAR FRED,

The enclosed *Journal des Débats* is already a bit out of date but is not without interest, notably the LEADER on the oriental war and the

articles from Russia. Also, *Volksfreund*,[a] which seems to have become Mr Dühring's monitor. Collet's 'ENGLAND, ENEMY OF TURKEY', etc.

I had intended to pay you a two- or three-day visit in Ramsgate; a trip to see Gumpert would be pointless for I know BY HEART, both from him and from the Karlsbad doctors and professors, everything that medical science *cannot* do in this particular case. Besides, my *insomnie* is somewhat better. But *un homme propose et l'autre dispose.*[b] The other, in this instance, being Hirsch who has come to London for the express purpose of spending a week in my company. More about him and what he has told me in the course of this epistle. But *tout d'abord*,[c] my plans for the immediate future.

I intend to leave shortly, if possible on 12th August, for *Neuenahr*[307] and *not for Karlsbad*, and this for the following reasons:

*First, because of the expense*: As you know, my wife suffers from serious digestive disturbances and, since I shall in any case be taking Tussy who has had another nasty attack, my wife would take great exception to being left behind. For the three of us plus luggage—if, for the sake of the cure one travels at one's leisure as I have several times done—the journey there and back would alone amount to £70. Moreover I long ago promised Lenchen,[d] who is very much run down, to convey her to her home where she cannot live completely gratis. Moreover, the family has all sorts of purchases to make for the trip.

*Secondly*: In unguarded moments, the Karlsbad doctors have themselves told me that, if one didn't want to visit Karlsbad every year, Neuenahr might be beneficial as an *intermezzo*. Of course, they would rather one always went to Karlsbad. But it might be better even from the viewpoint of hygiene to make a change for once and take less potent waters, for *variatio delectat corpus.*[e] Besides, my trouble is not so much my LIVER as the nervous upset occasioned by it. Hence, less potent waters, but of *essentiellement* the same composition.

Furthermore, there is one important matter I have always neglected because of the expense—the after-cure. In view of the greatly reduced travelling expenses and the fact that the house will be shut up (under Withers' care) for the duration of the cure, all

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[a] *Braunschweiger Volksfreund* - [b] One man proposes, the other disposes. - [c] first of all - [d] Helene Demuth - [e] variety becomes the body (an expression traced back to Euripides' tragedy *Orestes*, 234).

these birds would be killed with one stone by exchanging Karlsbad for Neuenahr.

HENCE q.e.d. I hope you approve.

Now for other matters—first of all Hirsch.

He has turned out very well and has not been wasting his time. I tried him out, amongst other things, on the subject of French statistics and found him to be *à la hauteur*.[a] He also gave me some very interesting information about the *almost universal* transformation of French industrial concerns into JOINT STOCK COMPANIES. In the first place, this was facilitated by legislation in the days of the Empire. In the second, the French are not partial to business, preferring whenever possible to live as rentiers. And to which end this form of business is, of course, A GODSEND.

According to Hirsch (and here he may be taking too rosy a view) the officers of the French Army, with the exception of those at the top, are republican. However that may be, it is a FACT and a typical one, that Galliffet (the incident with *la* Beaumont[308] really did take place, as Hirsch ascertained,according to further *recherches*[b]) offered his services to Mr Gambetta in a letter written in his own hand, and that the self-same Galliffet, after the *préfet* of his garrison town had been dismissed by Broglie, called on the disgraced *préfet*, together with his general staff, to proffer his condolences. If these things occur in a dry tree, etc.[c] On the other hand, there is a widespread belief among the non-commissioned officers, largely consisting of new men, that Mac-Mahon got rid of the Chamber[283] because it had put forward a series of proposals intended to improve the lot of non-commissioned officers.

Everything that happens at the Elysée[309] daily becomes common knowledge in Paris, for the Bonapartist *tapageurs*[d] who frequent the place cannot hold their tongues. Mac-Mahon is exceedingly embittered. The brute, whose first historic words were: *J'y suis, j'y reste*,[e][310] his second being: *C'est assez*,[f] is now uttering his last one. All he says from morn till night is: '*Merde!*'[g]

Hirsch is furious with the *Vorwärts* over the Dühring business as well as 'Nieder mit der Republik!'.[292] He wrote an exceedingly brusque letter to the executive (Geib, etc.)[111] about both these. He, too, now realises that fusion has degraded the party, both in theory and in practice.

With reference to 'Nieder mit der Republik!', he remarked that the great Hasenclever as a Prussian soldier (probably a reservist or

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[a] up to the mark - [b] researches - [c] Cf. Luke 23:31 - [d] brawlers - [e] Here I am, here I remain. - [f] That's enough - [g] Shit!

militia man) was at the gates of Paris at the time of the Commune, and hence has no reason to lay down the law in matters of principle.

He maintains that, at the time of the Prussian conflict,[311] Hasenclever was editor of a progressist[312] paper in Krefeld,[a] sold it to an ultra-reactionary, and gravely compromised himself in the course of a lawsuit arising out of the sale. This, as Bracke himself told him, was known to Bracke and Co. when they appointed Hasenclever co-editor with Liebknecht of the *Vorwärts*.[195]

Liebknecht, MEANWHILE, *est puni par où il a péché*.[b] The Lassallean gang is doing everything it can to harass and humiliate him. For instance, they reproach him with the pittance he is paid by the *Vorwärts*, say his wife (with five children) doesn't need a maid, etc. They have, contrary to all party and journalistic practice, deliberately so organised things that Liebknecht has to go to jug for all articles,[291] even if written during his absence, thus in fact playing the same role on the *Vorwärts* as the man of straw on a French paper.

Next month Hirsch is leaving Paris for Berlin where he is going to take over the editorship of the lithographed party papers for a month[c] and proposes to do so in such a way as to mortify the allied riffraff.

I enclose herewith a letter from the *Zukunft*, in case you have not also received one.[313] Send it back to me for answering.

What a nice piece of cunning on the part of 'citizen', 'thinker' and 'socialist of the future' Most. So a second fusion is planned; ourselves, combined with Mr Dühring, for he'll be there without fail; at the same time, our names under the editorship of Most and Co. will mean our swallowing all their infamies in public, and most gratefully at that! In which case I would infinitely sooner have obliged Wiede.[296] But I am obliged to Most for having given me the opportunity of tendering my refusal. These fellows imagine they are dealing with 'babes and sucklings'. *Quelle impudence!*[d]

I should say that the Russians have grossly miscalculated with their sabre-rattling; and when unsoldierly *coups de tête*[e] of this kind don't come off HERE AND THEN, their effect on their own army and the public is highly and miserably compromising, particularly so soon after the EXIT from Armenia.

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[a] Presumably *Westphälische Volkszeitung*. - [b] is reaping what he has sown (Bible, The Wisdom of Solomon 11:7). - [c] See this volume, pp. 252-53. - [d] What impudence! - [e] brain-waves

Friend Lopatin, it seems, has in the meantime again waxed unpatriotic.

I trust that your wife is feeling better.

*Salut* to all.

Your
Moor

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 24 July 1877

Dear Moor,

Newspapers, etc., received. Very many thanks.

Your plan does at any rate have the advantage of killing quite a lot of birds with one stone; I can only hope that the chief one, your liver, won't suffer accordingly.[a] Still, with so many medical authorities in favour, there's not much one can really say against it from that viewpoint either. Who knows whether this time Neuenahr won't do you more good than Karlsbad?[307] It's simply a lottery, *espérons le mieux*.[b] For essential needs enclosed CHEQUE for *£101.3.7*—the non-round sum is intentional!

At all events you really ought to come here for a few days and bring Hirsch with you if it can be managed. The change of air will do you good. By the way, I had thought of coming up to London once again for a day before 12 August, but don't let yourself be put off by such uncertainties.

What Hirsch has to say about France is very encouraging, particularly just now, even when one allows for some exaggeration. It's excellent that he should be giving a good account of himself. High time that a few people, at least, gave a good account

[a] See previous letter. - [b] We must hope for the best.

of themselves when so many are turning into fools and ragamuffins.

The *Zukunft*'s estimable letter returned herewith. One in identical terms has been forwarded to me from London.[313]

I think my reply will be as follows: firstly, it's impossible to agree to contribute to a scientific periodical with editors that are anonymous and contributors likewise unnamed. Congress resolutions, however unexceptionable they may be in the field of practical agitation, count for nothing in that of science, nor do they suffice to establish a periodical's scientific nature—something that cannot be decreed.[314] A socialist scientific periodical without a quite definite scientific line is an absurdity and, given the present epidemic in Germany of diverse and indefinite lines, there has so far been no guarantee whatsoever that the line to be adopted will suit us.—Secondly, however, after finishing the Dühring,[155] I shall have to confine myself to my own independent work and shan't therefore have the time. What do you think of it? There's no hurry.

You will see from the enclosed letter from Liebknecht, which I would like to have back so that I can answer it,[a] that Mr Dühring 'couldn't tarry till the hour of twelve had struck'[b] and has been the cause of his own undoing.[287] All this was, of course, the fruit of silly Wilhelm's sagacity, and such is his childish glee that he doesn't even notice how much 'the party' has been discredited as a result. What is one to do with people like these? On top of that the man is still quite proud of his articles on France in which he simply endorses Hasenclever's nonsense.[315] However we'd better wait and see whether all the jubilation over Dühring's downfall doesn't fizzle out again.

The Russian moves are extremely bold, but what good will they do anyone if the Turks' conduct of the war remains as it has been for the past four weeks? The right course was to march on the Russian flank with a combined force from Shumla and Rustchuk[c] and smite it. They now *have* the best pass in the Balkans (the Shipka) which they can easily hold and, according to today's news, the Turks are sending troops from Shumla via Jamboli[d] to Rumelia in order to display themselves to the Russians there, instead of transferring the troops from Rumelia—the Adrianople[e] garrison excepted—to Shumla and attacking Sistova[f] with all

[a] See this volume, pp. 256-58. - [b] From 'Kurzweil', a poem included in the collection *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* compiled by A. von Arnim and C. Brentano. - [c] Bulgarian names: Shumen (now Kolarovgrad) and Ruse. - [d] Bulgarian name: Yambol. - [e] Turkish name: Edirne. - [f] Bulgarian name: Svishtov.

available forces. The Turkish leadership *has* clearly allowed itself to be intimidated and has blundered accordingly. Moreover, it has everywhere abandoned the *now ripe* harvest to the Russians who therefore have enough to eat. Abdul Kerim has allowed the Turkish army to run so much to seed that more than 20% are in hospital, while the *Kölnische Zeitung*'s Prussian lieutenant says that in Shumla he saw crowds of Turkish officers (not men) drunk on spirits. And all as a result of inaction. It drives one wild to see such a magnificent position and such splendid fighting material go to waste like this. All the same the Russians won't get to Constantinople, nor will they find it so easy to deny even the Turks in the quadrilateral of fortresses[305] their supplies of food. Moreover, they have only two months left in which to force a decision and hence, despite all the follies of the Turks, this year's campaign has already as good as failed—were unpredictability not the rule out there! The despatch of British troops will probably be enough to prevent the Sultan[a] from concluding a separate peace, and that's what's good about it.

Lizzie is doing better. She went through a serious crisis on Sunday[b] and now seems to be gradually recovering.

Best wishes to everyone,

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[145]

### IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 25 July 1877

DEAR FRED,

Best thanks for the *billet doux*.[c]

Another word about Neuenahr.[307] If one keeps going unintermittently to Karlsbad, one is forever staking one's last card. If,

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[a] Abdul Hamid II - [b] 22 July - [c] love letter (see previous letter)

however, one has recourse to a less potent spa, there will always be a last resort should things take a turn for the worse. And one has to treat one's physique with as much diplomacy as everything else.

Herewith, ditto, an excerpt from Geib's letters to Hirsch. Hirsch regrets not having Liebknecht's letters with him because, he says, we should see from them that Liebknecht has been agitating vigorously against the Dühring clique for months. Liebknecht, it would seem, has to swallow a great deal of trouble which he conceals from us.

What do you think of the workers of the UNITED STATES? This, the first outbreak against the ASSOCIATED CAPITAL oligarchy that has arisen since the CIVIL WAR, will, of course, be suppressed,[316] but may well provide a point of departure for the constitution of a serious workers' party in the UNITED STATES. There are two favourable circumstances on top of that. The policy of the new President[a] will turn the negroes, just as the big expropriations of land (EXACTLY OF THE FERTILE LAND) for the benefit of the RAILWAY, MINING, etc. companies will turn the peasants of the West—whose grumbling is already plainly audible—into militant allies of the workers. So there's a pretty fair storm brewing over there, and the transfer of the centre of the International to the UNITED STATES[317] may yet, *post festum*,[b] be presented with a quite exceptional opportunity.

You will recall that Challemel (I don't know how the name is spelt) de Lacour[c] wrote a caustic, perfectly insulting anti-Mac-Mahon article in the *République Française* in which, *inter alia*, he spoke of the '*blessure opportune*',[d] failing which he [Mac-Mahon] would have been relegated to the same *gloire-liste*[e] as the Frossards, Faillys, etc. Thereupon notification was given in the official papers that the *République* was to be prosecuted for this libellous article. But it wasn't and, as Hirsch says, for the following reason: the famous Stoffel, mortal enemy of Mac-Mahon who dismissed him from the army and with whom he had a tremendous row during Bazaine's trial,[47] called on Gambetta and offered, should the trial proceed, to give evidence about Mac-Mahon's EXPLOITS during the battle of Sedan.[113] This soon became known in the Elysée[309] and the prosecution was dropped.

*Ad vocem*[f] Broglie. As you know, he had discharged his debts in the first *ordre moral* government[318] but now once more found himself in difficulties, of which the whole of Paris was aware. He was waiting for the death of a very old and frail relative (stinking

[a] Rutherford Birchard Hayes - [b] after the event - [c] Paul Armand Challemel-Lacour - [d] timely wound - [e] honours list - [f] As to

rich) in Switzerland, a Mrs von Staël (a relative of the famous VIRAGO[a]). This person died on 13 March 1877, leaving her whole fortune to a lady and—not a FARTHING to Broglie. Whereupon, like Dolleschall, he said: 'Now it's a question of daily bread. Now I have nothing to count on!'

Your reply to the Berliners[b] would be seasonable. The fellows must be made to feel that, if one is long-ENDURING, one is also capable of digging one's heels in.

I shall see whether the TRIP with Hirsch can be arranged.[c] Today he is at the Crystal Palace,[319] which means that I'm unlikely to see him until tomorrow afternoon (since he writes his articles for the *Vossische*,[d] etc., in the mornings).

*Salut.*

Your
Moor

*Sample of the 'great perspicacity' of the armchair socialists*:

'Not even great perspicacity such as is at the command of Marx is able to solve the task of "*reducing use values*"' (the idiot forgets that the subject under discussion is '*commodities*') 'i.e. vehicles for *enjoyment*, etc., to their opposite, to amounts of *effort*, to sacrifices etc.' (The idiot believes that in equalising values I wish to 'reduce' *use values* to *value*.) 'That is to substitute a foreign element. The *equation* of *disparate* use values is only explicable by the reduction of the same to a common factor of use value.' (Why not simply to—*weight*?)

Thus *dixit*[e] Mr *Knies*, the critical genius of professorial political economy.[f]

*Excerpts from letters from Geib to Hirsch.*

1. *Hamburg, dated 3.6.77*

(*Concerning the founding of the review*[g]): 'A comrade, *Karl Höchberg*, in Berlin' (in Hirsch's view a 'comrade' of the ILLUSTRIOUS Eugen Dühring), 'native of Frankfurt am Main, has undertaken to make the party an annual gift of 10,000 marks for literary purposes. Having thus been made independent, we resolved at Gotha to publish, as from 1 October, not only the *Review*[314] but also a *Social-Democratic news-letter*—autographed—such as we had privately discussed the previous year at Gotha. You immediately sprang to mind as editor of both papers. The review is to come out twice a month and the news-letter two or three times; six times while the Reichstag is in session, etc.

'Höchberg, who has a degree and is about thirty years old, will help as required with the editing of the *Review*, but will not have any administrative say in it. The editor of both undertakings is to have an annual salary of 3,000 marks... Everyone I have asked so far is agreed that the editing could be entrusted to no better hands than yours.'

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[a] Anne Louise Germaine de Staël - [b] i.e. to the *Zukunft* editorial board (see previous letter) - [c] to Engels in Ramsgate (see previous letter) - [d] *Vossische Zeitung* - [e] saith - [f] C. Knies, *Geld und Credit*, Part I: 'Das Geld', Berlin, 1873, p. 119. - [g] *Die Zukunft*

2. *Hamburg*, 5.7.77: ...'The review will come out as from 1 October... Höchberg, who will probably approach you direct, will assist you with the editing of the review. This I envisage as follows: You either hand over to him, or make some arrangement with him about, certain departments which he is to administer, such as, e.g., philosophy, history, natural science. New books in this sphere will be discussed by Höchberg... If it transpires that you have to devote your entire attention to the news-letter, it will be easy to make some other arrangement. In this connection I would mention Dr Wiede, who is a keen party member, speaks and writes French, English and Italian, has travelled widely and was himself proposing to publish a socialist review in Zurich.[a] When he was here recently I dissuaded him from carrying out his plan, etc.' (but to no effect!)

3. *Hamburg*, 18.7.77.

'...You have definitely accepted so far as the news-letter is concerned' (i.e. Hirsch proposes to try the thing out for a month in August). ...'We have still not settled anything definite in respect of the review. As you have refused, we have latterly been engaged in verbal negotiations here with Höchberg. Here we had to consider the circumstances that the Leipzigers are all, to a man, opposed to the review's editorial board being composed solely of newcomers to the party. Everyone likes Höchberg well enough, but not Wiede. It is feared that a weak editorial board—and an unknown one might ultimately turn out to be weak—in Berlin might easily be led into Dühringian channels, thus sowing the seeds of fatal dissension within the party. Not that I myself take such a gloomy view of it, though in one respect I agree with all the rest, namely that in the first quarter the review must be co-edited and signed—in other words, launched—by a lettered man, a comrade known to the whole party. I believe that you could do this quite well...' (whereupon, however, Hirsch declares that he won't do it).

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## 179

## ENGELS TO FRANZ WIEDE

### IN ZURICH

[Draft]

[Ramsgate, 25 July 1877]

Dear Sir,

Pray excuse me for, etc.

Now, as regards my collaboration on your projected journal,[a] I can, unfortunately, promise you nothing definite at the moment.

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[a] *Die Neue Gesellschaft*

As soon as I have completed my critique of Dühring for the *Vorwärts*,[155] I shall be obliged to concentrate my whole attention on a longer, independent work[169] which I have had in mind for years, one of the obstacles to its completion hitherto—aside from extraneous circumstances—having been my collaboration on socialist organs. When a man has totted up 56 years, he must finally make up his mind to take stock of his time so that something may finally come of his preliminary labours. Should an isolated case occur in which I again deemed it necessary to cast my vote in public, it would depend on the circumstances *where* this should be done, whether in the *Vorwärts* or elsewhere, and in this latter case I should, among all the various 'scientific journals' now being projected, be happy, in so far as I can now predict, to turn to yours first. If, therefore, I feel unable to make any firmer promise today, I would beg you to ascribe this solely to the reasons adduced above, and in no way to a want of sympathy for a journal which greatly interests me, to which I wish all prosperity and to which I have already subscribed through my bookseller.

I am, Sir, etc.

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## 180

## ENGELS TO MARX[320]

IN LONDON

[Ramsgate,] 31 July 1877
2 Adelaide Gardens

Dear Moor,

Just a couple of lines in great haste enclosing letter from W. Liebknecht which might perhaps influence your reply to the *Zukunft*.[321] I haven't yet sent a straight answer, but have written to Liebknecht about the oddity of expecting us to entrust our manuscripts to totally anonymous persons because a congress has conferred a scientific character on them.[314] I further told him that

I would write articles only in exceptional cases and when I myself considered it imperative.[a]

Wilhelm himself obviously doesn't know how things stand—otherwise he couldn't have made such a howler about Wiede. A fine way of setting up a scientific journal! Anyhow, it's a good thing there isn't any Dühringianism.

I was delighted by the business of the strike in America.[316] The way they throw themselves into the movement has no equivalent on this side of the ocean. Only twelve years since slavery was abolished and already the movement has got to such a pitch!

*Knies*[b] is capital. Dühring, too, concerning whom you have again hit the nail on the head. What he ultimately says, in fact,—translated from confusion into economics—is that value is determined by wages.[c]

Doubtless one will have to resign oneself to the Russians remaining between the Balkans and the Danube until the autumn. The Turks have allowed a very large proportion of their regular troops to succumb for want of proper provisioning during the fighting in Serbia and Montenegro,[176] and Abdul Kerim has done his best to finish off the rest. I doubt whether Mehemet Ali has more than 50,000 men capable of an offensive; Osman Pasha will have some 25,000 and another 25,000 south of the Balkans; that would seem to be all, the remainder being untrained militia of no use in the field. Provided the Turkish government doesn't now conclude a premature peace, the Russians will not get to Constantinople this year, but probably cross the Danube again in November and, not having yet made any impression on the fortresses which—barring accidents—are therefore likely to continue secure throughout this campaign, they can start from the beginning again in the spring—if at all.

The wretched *Standard* correspondent in Constantinople is, at Layard's behest, disseminating alarmist rumours in order that the English fleet may be imposed on the Turks.

Your

F. E.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 257-580. - [b] C. Knies, *Geld und Credit*. Part I: 'Das Geld'. - [c] E. Dühring, *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie...*, Leipzig, 1876, p. 27.

## 181

## ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

Ramsgate, 31 July 1877
2 Adelaide Gardens

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

May I request you to arrange at your convenience for this note[a] to reach your husband safely? With any luck you will shortly be relieved of labours of this kind and, I hope, for some considerable time.[322] The wives of our friends in Germany have to play their part in the struggle which their husbands are actively waging, and to play it in a manner which would come as a surprise to our wives here, in the security of England. It's all very well for us here to talk and criticise, when in Germany any thoughtless or ill-considered word may entail imprisonment and the temporary disruption of family life. Fortunately our German women do not allow themselves to be deterred by this and prove by their deeds that the sickly sentimentality of which one hears so much is just a class affliction peculiar to bourgeois women.

With warm regards to you and your children,

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

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## 182

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

Ramsgate, 31 July 1877
2 Adelaide Gardens

Dear Liebknecht,

Have received your two letters of 21 and 28. I can only hope that the Dühringian fiasco is over for good and that things won't

[a] See next letter.

be patched up again. The fact remains that those party organs which allowed themselves to be misled into according him scientific importance simply because of his harassment by the Prussians (!) have made asses of themselves. And that means all the ones I have seen.[287]

Vahlteich *certainly* made the remark about Marxians and Dühringians; immediately after the congress it appeared in all the papers that published his speech at the public meeting (where it was perpetrated).[323] Nor do I think he would repudiate it. The fact that he is now doing time seems to me no reason for making him out to be better than he is.

Élisée Reclus is a mere compiler and nothing more. Since he and his brother[a] were *co-founders* of the secret Alliance,[201] he could, if he would, give you more inside information than you could give him. Whether or not he belongs to your little lot makes no difference at all; politically he is muddle-headed and impotent.

I never said that the *bulk* of your people didn't want real science. I was speaking[15] of the *party*, and that's whatever it makes itself out to be before the public, in the press and at congresses. And there the order of the day is semi-literacy and your ex-worker dolling himself up as a man of letters. If, as you say, these people amount to no more than a tiny minority, then obviously the only reason you and the others have to pay any heed to them is that each of them has his supporters. The moral and intellectual decline of the party dates from the unification[71] and could have been avoided had a little more caution and intelligence been shown at the time. Much can ultimately be sweated out by a healthy party, but it is a long and arduous process and the health of the masses is certainly not an adequate reason for injecting them unnecessarily with a disease.

As regards the *Zukunft*, it's lucky that your letter reached me in time to prevent my sending the reply I had already decided to make to the invitation that I should contribute.[321] An invitation from *completely anonymous* editors who can proffer no better scientific credentials than a resolution in congress, as though a congress could confer a scientific character upon anything![314] What presumption, that we should entrust our manuscripts to completely anonymous people who might very well be the most arrant Dühringians!

You say that Wiede is a co-editor. But as recently as the 20th

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[a] Michel Élie Reclus

inst.[a] he himself invited me to work for a review[b] he was proposing to found *in Zurich*!

In short, I am sick of this muddle, this perpetual embarking on hare-brained and over-precipitate schemes. If only because of the necessity of my now finishing off, at long last, my own, lengthier works, I cannot at present enter into any agreements whatsoever. I shall complete the 'Dühring',[155] after which I shall write articles only when I myself consider it to be imperative and, were there to be a journal that was *not* a party organ, I would choose it for preference rather than remain at the mercy of congressional debates.[286] When all is said and done, there is no democratic forum for scientific works, and I don't want a repetition of my earlier experience.

You ought to go to Ghent[324] and come on to London from there; we certainly shan't be going to Ghent, otherwise why should we have withdrawn from practical participation at The Hague[20]? You would be able to reach London quickly and very cheaply via Antwerp, and there'll always be a room ready for you at my house.

I have got to close as the table is being laid.

Your
F. E.

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## 183

## MARX TO ENGELS[52]

### IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 1 August 1877

DEAR FRED,

Herewith letter from Höchberg to Hirsch who went back to Paris on Saturday.[c] Kindly return the letter after reading it, as I have got to let Hirsch have it back.

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[a] A mistake: Wiede wrote to Engels on 10 July 1877. - [b] *Die Neue Gesellschaft* (see this volume, pp. 253-54). - [c] 28 July

Höchberg's letter, I believe, gives a better idea of the man than anything that Liebknecht says (the latter again distinguishing himself by recommending addle-pated Acollas and that *faiseur*[a] Lacroix) or might say about him. Höchberg is the first man to buy his way into the party—with the best of intentions as I think—and seek to reshape it in his image. Evidently he has little if any knowledge of the personal standing of party members and writers 'abroad', whom he proposes to gather about him as an 'international' group. He takes *au sérieux*[b] the worthy B. Malon who was rejected even by the *Liberté belge*[c] as a superficial hack. As regards *Élisée Reclus*, the Protestant pastor's son, he should at least have known that he and his brother Pollux[d] are the 'souls' (to use the words of one who formerly inspired our *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*[325]) of the Swiss journal *Le Travailleur*[326] (other contributors being Zhukovsky, Lefrançais, Razoua *et tutti quanti*[e]) wherein, if in a more jesuitically refined form than is at the unfortunate Guillaume's command, war without quarter is being waged against the German workers' movement, its leaders in particular (not, of course, that Liebknecht, etc., are *named*) being denounced as people who—do *nothing* at the workers' expense, but rather hamper the movement and sap the strength of the proletariat in mock fighting and parliamentary intrigues. And in gratitude for this, Höchberg proposes to invite his collaboration from Berlin.

That cheery little hunchback Wedde TURNED UP a few days since, only to disappear to Germany again a short while after. He had an urgent mandate from Geib, namely to recruit you and me for the *Zukunft*.[313] Much to his chagrin, I made absolutely no secret either of our intention to abstain, or of the reasons for it, and at the same time intimated that, should time and circumstances again permit propagandist activity on our part, we would, as internationals, in no way feel bound by duty or sentiment to associate ourselves with Germany, our beloved fatherland.[f]

In Hamburg he had seen Dr Höchberg and ditto Wiede; the latter, he thought, had more than a touch of your Berliner's flippancy and arrogance; the former he liked, though finding him still very much prone to 'modern mythology'. For during the little chap's (Wedde's) first visit to London, I used the expression 'modern mythology' to describe the renewed ascendancy of the

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[a] humbug - [b] in earnest - [c] Belgian *Liberté* - [d] Michel Élie Reclus (an ironical comparison of Élisée and Élie Reclus with the twin brothers Castor and Pollux. - [e] all the rest - [f] Cf. F. von Schiller's drama *Wilhelm Tell*, Act II, Scene 1.

goddesses of 'Justice, Liberty, Equality', etc., and this made a profound impression on one who had himself done much in the service of these superior beings. Höchberg seemed to him to be tainted with Dühringianism, and he has a sharper nose than Liebknecht.

You will have received the Mehring.[a] Today I am also sending you a little anti-Treitschke pamphlet[b] which, while most boringly and superficially written, nevertheless has some points of interest.

The main trouble with Turkey is—the old story with all absolute monarchies. The Seraglio party—which is also Russian, just as the parties of *Charles I, Charles II, James II, Louis XVI and Frederick William IV* all sought to keep themselves going by recourse to foreign intrigue—is giving way but is far from being broken. In the first moment of alarm Abdul Kerim and Redif were summoned before a court martial. Mahmud Damad was disgraced, Midhat Pasha invited to return. Scarcely was the first *panique* over when Damad was again at the helm, protecting his trusties and keeping Midhat at arm's length, etc. I am convinced that the Muscovite diplomats are following the moves in Constantinople more attentively than those on either side of the Balkans.

*Apropos* '*value*' in the first[c] (most inadequate, even wholly erroneous, but not uninteresting) chapter of his *Теорія колебанія цѣнъ*[d] on 'Value', having passed under review all the epigonic musings of contemporary German, French and English scholastics, Kaufman makes the following, absolutely correct comment[e]:

> 'In our review of the doctrines of value ... we saw that the political economists had certainly grasped the importance of this category.... All the same ... everyone who occupies himself with economic science is familiar with the fact that in figures of speech the importance of value is raised to the extreme, but in actual fact is forgotten as quickly as possible, as soon as there has more or less been some mention of it in the introduction; it is impossible to give *even a single example* where what is said about value is to be found organically linked to what is said about other matters, where what is said about value in the introduction has any influence at all on the subsequent arguments. I refer here, of course, only to the pure category "value", as distinct from *price*.'[f]

That is, indeed, the hallmark of all vulgar political economy. Adam Smith began it; his few profound and surprising applica-

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[a] F. Mehring, *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie.* - [b] [F. Mehring,] *Herr von Treitschke der Sozialistentödter und die Endziele des Liberalismus.* - [c] A slip of the pen; should read: 'second'. - [d] *Theory of Price Fluctuation* - [e] Marx gives a free rendering of Kaufman's text; italics by Marx. - [f] [Kaufman] И. И. Кауфманъ, *Теорія колебанія цѣнъ*, Kharkov, 1867, p. 123.

tions of the theory of value are found in haphazard remarks which have no bearing whatever on his exposés *ex professo.* Ricardo's great transgression which, from the start, made him impossible to swallow, was precisely his attempt to prove the correctness of his theory of value in the light of economic facts which seemed wholly to contradict it.

My good nephews[a] yesterday did me the honour of presenting me with the five fat volumes of Bancroft's *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America.* The book, published by Longmans, came as a godsend to them, since all they had to do was put it down to their old man's[b] account at Longmans.

I have had a very nice reply from Dr Wiede to my letter of EXCUSE.[c]

As for the *Zukunft,* I shall not answer at all, CONSIDERING THAT AN ANONYMOUS CIRCULAR, SIGNED BY NOBODY, IS FROM ITS VERY NATURE—UNANSWERABLE AND NOT TO BE ANSWERED.

The Irish skirmishing in the HOUSE OF COMMONS is most amusing. Parnell, etc., told Barry that the worst thing was the attitude of Butt who, with an eye to being appointed judge, threatened to resign his position as LEADER. He might, they said, do them a great deal of harm in Ireland. Barry mentioned BUTT'S LETTER TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL,[327] a document they would like to have so as to prove that his inflexibility towards the intransigents was only put on; but where should I find the thing now?

*Salut.*

Your
Moor

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[a] Henry and Charles Juta - [b] Johann Carl Juta - [c] See this volume, p. 241.

## 184

## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

### IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 1 August 1877

Dear Bracke,

I shall be leaving London at the end of this week or the beginning of next and going to the Continent since my state of health necessitates my taking a cure.[307] In the meantime I have been forbidden work of any kind and you will therefore have to look elsewhere for someone to revise the translation of Lissagaray's book,[194] since *without revision* the thing's unprintable. (C. Hirsch might be able to suggest someone to you.)

Needless to say, Lissagaray finds the month's hiatus, during which you have failed to communicate with him, far from edifying and I consider his grievance to be fully justified.

Yours very sincerely,
K. M.

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## 185

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 8 August 1877

Dear Fred,

Still no news from the Longuets, which is all the more awkward in that we are leaving today (this evening).[307]

Herewith the *Tableau économique*[261] together with a few marginal notes.[328]

It was not possible for me to find Owen's stuff (or for that matter Fourier's *Fausse industrie*) in the attic since everything up

there (it also does duty as Carry's bedroom, and the ladies have arrayed all their trunks there, to be packed with what is indispensable for the journey) is in the utmost confusion.

*Ad vocem*[a] *Owen.* Sargant's work[b] would be easily obtainable; of greater importance and unobtainable is the little pamphlet ON PRIVATE MARRIAGES.[c] The two stout tomes[d] which Jennychen has got were definitely not at her house; I went through everything there; perhaps Longuet took them away with him. If the worst comes to the worst, all Owen's works could probably be obtained from OLD Allsop. MEANWHILE I have found here at home a very important work of Owen's in which he gives a résumé of his entire doctrine. *The Revolution in the Mind and Practice of the Human Race,* 1849. I had forgotten all about it. I shall take this to your house today, together with Fourier's *Théorie des quatre mouvements* and *Nouveau Monde industriel,* and *Hubbard*'s piece on Saint-Simon.[e] [329]

My wife is in a far from satisfactory state of health. I hope Madame Lizzy is improving; with any luck she will soon be able to begin bathing in the sea which has, after all, always helped her hitherto. We all send her our best wishes.

And now, OLD BOY, *au revoir.* The damned Prussians can't stop bickering and the bogus old N.C.O.[f] will do his utmost to push Francis Joseph into perpetrating some stupidity. All the latter needs now is a Hungarian revolution.

The Constantinople correspondent of the *République Française* writes that an intrigue of Mahmud Damad's has led to the deposition of the old Sheikh-al-Islam[330] because of his revolutionary opinions, and his replacement by some other jackass.[g] He believes that, unless the palace intrigues cease very soon, Constantinople is in for a tumultuous time.

*Adio.*

Your
Moor[331]

*So much for Quesnay's Tableau!*

*Sub I* a) *avances annuelles des fermiers,*[h] paid out by the same; replaced by product of 5 *milliards,* of which 2 milliards ($a^{IV}$),

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[a] As for - [b] W. L. Sargant, *Robert Owen, and His Social Philosophy.* - [c] Presumably R. Owen. *The Marriage System of the New Moral World.* - [d] Probably [R. Owen,] *The Life of Robert Owen,* Vol. I and *A Supplementary Appendix to the First Volume of The Life of Robert Owen,* Vol. I. A. - [e] G. Hubbard, *Saint-Simon, sa vie et ses travaux.* - [f] William I - [g] Hassan Cheirullah was replaced by Kara Chalil - [h] farmers' annual advances

the replacement *in natura* of the said *avances annuelles*, are spent by the *Classe Productive* (*fermiers* and their *ouvriers*[a]) in the course of the following year, i.e. the year beginning with the new harvest.

The *avances primitives*[b] of 10 milliards do not figure in the *Tableau*, but are presupposed, just as it is further presupposed that the farmers *have paid* 2 milliards *in money* as rents to REVENUE (LANDLORDS, CHURCH AND STATE) before the circulation depicted in the *Tableau* begins. Besides the replacement of the *avances annuelles* of 2 milliards *in natura*, the gross product provides a further 3 milliards of which 2 in *vivres*,[c] 1 in *matières premières*[d] for industry. These 3 milliards under a′, a″, a‴ are SURPLUS PRODUCE of which, however, only $^2/_3$ counts as NET PRODUCE, *produit net* or REVENUE because $^1/_3$, (IN FACT, the farmers' profit), forms the interest produced *in natura* for the *avances primitives* of 10 milliards.

*Sub III* c) *avances of the classe stérile*[e] *of 1 milliard* consist solely of *raw materials* (see my previous exposition[258]); expended in the course of the year ending with the last harvest. Are replaced by *industrial goods* (c′ and c″) to the value of 2 milliards; of which *1 milliard = value of matières premières, 1 milliard = value of means of subsistence*, which the *classe stérile* has received as *salaire*[f] from the other two classes in return for its labour.

*Now for the mouvement depicted in the Tableau*:

1. *b—a′*. LANDLORDS (incl. church, state) buy *vivres* for 1 milliard from *fermiers*; thus $^1/_2$ the money they paid for RENT OF LAND returns to them.

2. *b—c′—a‴*. LANDLORDS buy industrial goods for 1 milliard from *classe stérile*, the latter, for that same milliard, means of subsistence from *classe productive*; thus, the second half of the money, which it has paid for RENT OF LAND, returns to it.

3. *a—c″*. Farmers buy industrial products for 1 milliard from *classe stérile* (details in previous exposition). The line runs from *a* to c″ and from c″ back to *a*, so as to indicate that the greater portion of this expenditure by the farmers is capitalised, i.e. serves to maintain and enrich elements of the *avances annuelles* and *primitives*.

4. *c—a″*. *Classe stérile* buys from *classe productive* raw materials for 1 milliard and thus replaces its *avances* for the coming year, IN FACT, its productive capital. Thus 1 milliard in money flows back to

---

[a] productive class (farmers and their labourers) - [b] original advances - [c] means of subsistence - [d] raw materials - [e] advances of the sterile class - [f] wage

the farmers and they again find themselves in possession of the 2 milliards in money which constitute the nation's *pécule*[a] and which they put back into circulation primarily via the LANDLORDS (in payment of rent). The circulation of money *within* each individual class is excluded from the *Tableau*, and rightly so.

---

Bearing in mind the time of its publication, the whole thing is one of the most brilliant generalisations political economy has ever produced.

---

The exposé I originally gave you is based on the *Tableau* somewhat modified, with Quesnay's consent, by Abbé Baudeau in *Explication du Tableau économique*. The line a—c″ had given rise to misunderstandings. Similarly, in Baudeau's case, the *mouvement* does not start from b (LANDLORDS) but from a′ (farmers), inasmuch as payment of monetary rent is not assumed to have been made. This and sundry other details in no way alter the case.

On the whole I think you would be well-advised to use the *Tableau* solely for your own guidance, but to confine yourself *solely to words* when describing the various very simple movements for the *Vorwärts*. If the *Tableau* itself were reproduced, it would be necessary to go into small, inessential details, which would confuse people rather than enlighten them.

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Published in English for the first time

## 186

## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

### IN BRUNSWICK

London, 8 August 1877

Dear Bracke,

Your letter received. I leave today.[307] You will be getting a letter from me in a few days' time (perhaps even in two) directed to Ems *poste restante*.

---

[a] stock of money

Engels cannot be of service to you[332]; he is at a seaside resort and will shortly be moving on, possibly to Jersey or the Isle of Man or elsewhere.[333] Such little time for work as he has at his disposal is, moreover,—under present circumstances—wholly spoken for.

As regards B. Becker, I must say that I *am totally opposed to his being entrusted in any way with Lissagaray's work.*[194] In Paris he abused me and Engels—not to speak of yourself—in no uncertain terms and now in London (where he has been for the past two months) has taken great care to keep out of my sight. His fury—as I had already heard from Paris—was due solely to your publishing Lissagaray's work! His insults and intrigues are a matter of complete indifference to me, but I cannot under any circumstances permit this individual to be mixed up in anything that has to do with Lissagaray.

As for Isolde,[a] she seems to know more about extortion than translation.

Yours,
K. M.

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## 187

## MARX TO MALTMAN BARRY

### IN LONDON

[Neuenahr,] 15 August 1877

Dear Barry,

My address is: Dr K. Marx, Hotel Flora, *Neuenahr, Rhenish Prussia. Neuenahr* is the name of the village, this watering place not pretending to the dignity even of a market town. It is quite separated from the outer world; no railways within the boundaries of the valley of the Ahr.

I have seen from the *Times*—in the reading room of the

[a] Isolde Kurz

Kurhaus[a]—that you have published an advertisement relating to action in the oriental affair.[334] Please inform me of the progress you make in that line.

Yours truly,
K. M.

Be so kind as to cash the enclosed cheque for 40£ St. and to forward it to me, in the form of two Twenty Pound Notes (Bank of England Notes, of course), in a *registered* letter, via Ostend, under the *above address*. I write again the name of the village: *Neuenahr* (*Hotel Flora* is the name of the house where I live).

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Annali*, an. 1, Milano, 1958

Reproduced from the original

## 188

## MARX TO ENGELS[16]

### IN RAMSGATE

Neuenahr, 17 August 1877
Hotel Flora

DEAR FRED,

I'd have written to you before now, but when the whole person is, over a period of days, subject to conditions of a binding nature—in my case *a posteriori* always the immediate effect of the journey and one which drinking the spa waters only serves to consolidate—the said person is rendered singularly incapable of action. There's nothing much to report from here.[307] A veritable idyll; moreover, because the weather is not altogether favourable (although here, despite rain and wind, the air's always admirable), and no doubt also because of the persistent commercial crisis, the number of visitors has dropped from 3,000 to 1,700 or 1,800. Lucky Ahr Valley. No railways as yet; but a survey has already been made for a railway from Remagen to Ahrweiler, and *commencement d'exécution*[b] is threatened for next year; however, it is not to run down the Ahr Valley, but will branch off left to Trier.

I have discovered a very good doctor here. Dr Schmitz (a native of Siegen), who has sense enough, despite the beautiful house and

[a] spa rooms - [b] commencement of operation

garden he occupies here, to practise medicine in Italy during the winter (from the end of October onwards). He has knocked about the world a lot, including California and Central America. His appearance and MANNERS are very reminiscent of LITTLE Dronke in his heyday.

He has pretty well confirmed what I suspected and wrote and told you from London.[a] My liver no longer shows any trace of enlargement; the digestive APPARATUS is SOMEWHAT DISORDERED, but the actual trouble is of a nervous kind. Today Schmitz again told me that, after a three-week stay here, I should go somewhere higher up, in the Black Forest, and take my fill of mountain and woodland air. *Nous verrons.*[b] He recommends the same for my wife who, by the by, is having to take medicine and arrived here at just the right moment, before her trouble got any worse. Tussychen's appetite is improving, which is the best sign with her.

Just where Neuenahr is, the hills are rather too far away from the actual spa, at least for those whom Karlsbad has spoiled.

We are much disturbed at not having had a mortal word about the ADVENTURES of the Longuet family.

How is your wife? Better, I hope; is the weather as capricious where you are? Here, in the Ahr Valley, people are not at all used to this sort of thing.

At the spa rooms here (where, like everywhere else, one takes baths as well as drinking the alkaline tipple) there is a READING ROOM in which are available, not only German and Dutch newspapers, but also *The Times* and *Galignani's Messenger, Figaro* and the *Indépendance belge*—more than my requirements, in fact, since I refrain in so far as possible from reading newspapers here. Only, I see to my regret that the Turks are again wasting time—at least in my layman's opinion.

Some wine is drunk here, though it so happens that most of the guests (including myself) are forbidden Walporzheimer and the other red wines of the Ahr.

Schorlemmer had promised to come here; so far, however, I've had no 'intimation' of him, as Richard Wagner puts it.

And now, OLD BOY, with warmest regards from one family to another, I am,

Your

Moor

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[a] See this volume, p. 245. - [b] We shall see.

## 189

## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN EMS

[Neuenahr,] 18 August 1877
Hotel Flora

Dear Bracke,

Let me have the eighth sheet.[254]

Couldn't you come here for half a day? It's not far from Ems.

As regards B. Becker, he attempted (an attempt I thwarted without his knowledge) to cast suspicion on you in the eyes first of Hirsch and Kaub and to make you out to be a 'money-grubber'. Small wonder that he is now performing the opposite manoeuvre. It would be best not to give the man any indication that one knows him.

Hirsch is an absolutely reliable man and capable of the utmost self-sacrifice; his main weakness—insufficient knowledge of human nature so that people who know how to feign enthusiasm for the cause find it easy to take him in, if not for very long.

Trusting that I shall see you here and that you will make the acquaintance of my wife and daughter[a] (the youngest is with me here),

Yours very sincerely,
K. M.

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[a] Eleanor Marx

## 190

## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN EMS

Neuenahr, 24 August 1877
Hotel Flora

Dear Bracke,

I much regret that under the circumstances our meeting is not feasible, since this would mean interrupting your cure, *which is inadvisable.*

I at once started going through the proofs,[254] a task that was interrupted by the arrival of my friend Professor Schorlemmer from Manchester who, however, is only staying here for a day or two. A letter to you I began *yesterday* at the same time[12] will also include a few comments of mine and hence I shan't be able to finish it until I have done the proof-reading.

Apropos. I have had a letter from London from my friend Maltman Barry (a Scot). He is a former member of the General Council in London and the most zealous and competent of our British party comrades. He informs me that he is going to the Ghent Congress[324] and would like a *recommendation to delegates from Germany* if any should be coming. Perhaps you would be good enough to write me a note for him to this effect.

With kindest regards,

Yours,
Karl Marx

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# 191

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN NEUENAHR

Ramsgate, 25 August 1877
2 Adelaide Gardens

Dear Moor,

Through Schorlemmer you will already have received news of the Longuets, Lafargues and ourselves[15] either the day before yesterday or yesterday at the latest; since then you will have heard from Jenny direct about the little chap's[a] illness which has caused her somewhat excessive alarm; according to a letter from her today, the boy is out of danger, fortunately.

We leave here on Tuesday[b] after a seven-week stay[289] which has done me a great deal of good but fallen far short of our expectations so far as Lizzie is concerned. WEATHER PERMITTING, I shall probably have to subject her to an even more drastic change of air.[333]

I congratulate you on your liver's restoration to health. You must certainly make for the hills of the Black Forest. I asked Schorlemmer to bring you the map of Baden I used in 1849[335] and trust he has done so. You may find it of use; considering the scale, the high ground in particular is very well drawn.

No doubt you are at last having better weather. We have done splendidly here. When it was raining everywhere else, it was merely overcast here. Two rainy afternoons in seven weeks, and today the first really wet day—and even then with longish breaks—so one can hardly complain of that. The rain, such as it was, fell mostly at night.

The immobility of the Turks may be largely attributed to the want of a train. To enable an army, not merely to fight, but to move about freely, seems to be beyond the ability of all barbarians and semi-barbarians; their army, organised with great difficulty along something approaching modern lines (for fighting), is expected to move about with the APPLIANCES of an old barbarian army. They have introduced modern weapons, but the ammunition pertaining thereto must tag along of its own accord. They organise and concentrate brigades, divisions and army corps in accordance with the rules of modern strategy, but forget that,

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[a] Jean Longuet - [b] 28 August

unlike a band of janissaries, spahis or nomads, these cannot fend for themselves. This is already evident in the case of the Russians, and even more so in that of the Turks; hence, where armies of this kind are concerned, any calculation will err that ascribes to such military formations the mobility of the Western Europeans.

The blunders now being perpetrated by the Turks are all due to the anxiety which Gurko's advance has aroused in Constantinople.[336] Instead of being ordered to link up immediately—via the passes unoccupied by the Russians—either with Osman or Mehemet Ali, Suleiman is to make an immediate stand against the Russians and provide *immediate* protection for Constantinople. Hence the useless carnage on the Shipka Pass,[337] part of a combined operation which had been agreed with the other two armies and, being as usual unsynchronised, had miscarried. None of this, however, has made any difference, and once again everything will be the same as it was before.

The COLLAPSE of the Russians' military organisation is complete. They admit to losses of 15,000 men during the fighting (in Europe); their losses from sickness must amount to twice that or more. Transport completely BROKEN DOWN. Not one road under construction anywhere. Camp police non-existent. Even without the climate, the filth and the putrefying corpses would be enough to cause mass epidemics. Six Russian army corps, now eight, are in Bulgaria and, as a result of *one* battle, have been thrown back onto the defensive—of the most passive kind. Out of 50 Russian infantry divisions, 16 are on the Danube, 9 in the Caucasus and Asia, at least 5 are moving up, 6 are guarding the Black Sea and Baltic coasts, total 36; there remain 14, of which 2 are indispensable to the Baltic provinces, hence 12 infantry divisions=at most 120,000 men or, counting cavalry and artillery, 150,000 combatants available for all eventualities! And this against the 'sick man'[239]! Moreover, owing to a shortage of officers, new formations are either impracticable or worthless. In short, it's worse than during the Crimean War.[22] And the same stupidity into the bargain: impelled by rage at the defeat at Plevna[338] they at once set colossal reinforcements in motion, although these will be able to operate for a month at most, during which time they will be useless and hard put to it to keep themselves in grub. And by the end of October at the latest it will be time to turn back—back, proud Cid[a]—to the bare larders of Wallachia, not one bridge will remain across the Danube and at the end of May 1878 they will, if

[a] J. G. von Herder, *Cid*, Canto 28.

all goes well, begin again exactly where they began at the end of May 1877.[339]

Best wishes to you all,

Your
F. E.

By the way, the Turks may take a few more severe beatings before the winter but that's of no consequence provided Constantinople doesn't let this intimidate it.

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## 192

## MARX TO NIKOLAUS DELIUS

### IN BONN

Bad Neuenahr,[307] 25 August 1877
Hotel Flora

Dear Professor Delius,

My daughter Eleanor, who is with me here taking the waters, had the privilege of translating into English, for the London Shakespeare Society, one of your papers on the epic element in Shakespeare,[241] and would very much like to make your acquaintance in person. If it would be convenient to you to name a day and time at which we might meet, I should be glad to introduce my daughter to you.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,
Karl Marx

We shall probably be spending another 8 or 9 days here before, WIND AND WEATHER PERMITTING, moving on to the Black Forest.

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## 193

## ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 4 September 1877
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

No more than a short note in great haste in reply to your amiable letter of the 28th ult. Liebknecht had said something about coming to London[340] from the Ghent Congress[324]; on my return from Ramsgate,[289] I now find that that Congress is to take place between 9 September (next Sunday) and 17 September (the following Sunday).[a] Now, I myself am leaving for Scotland tomorrow with my wife, on the doctor's advice, and shall be there a fortnight,[333] during which time letters will not as a rule be able to reach me; I intend in any case to be back by Thursday the 20th, or Friday the 21st at the latest so that, even if Liebknecht were to come over on the 18th, he would arrive at most a couple of days before me. Moreover, during this period I shall keep in touch with my house by telegraph so as to ascertain all that is necessary concerning his arrival. The people who look after our house during our absence have been instructed to make him really comfortable when he arrives, his room is ready and waiting for him, and I am sure that my instructions will be complied with. Whether the Marxes will be back here by that time, I cannot quite say, but from the last news I got, I am inclined to think they will, as they had left Neuenahr and said nothing more about going to stay in the Black Forest, as originally intended.[307] Perhaps you know more about it through Mrs Marx than we do over here. At all events, Liebknecht can obtain the latest news about this when he is in Ghent by dropping a line to Mad. Lafargue (Marx's second daughter), 225 Camden Road, N. W., London. Should neither Marx nor I be here when Liebknecht arrives, he can find entertainment, not only at the Lafargues', but also at the house of Marx's eldest daughter, Mad. Longuet, 30 Leighton Grove, Leighton Road, Kentish Town, N. W., or look up our old friend Lessner, 12 Fitzroy Street, Fitzroy Square. At the moment the Longuets are also away—at the seaside resort of Yarmouth—and

[a] A slip of the pen: 16 September was a Sunday.

will be back at any rate by the middle of September, though I can't say what day.

I do indeed share your view that Liebknecht spends too much time *sitting down*[291]; it may be as well not to make a fuss about such things, but that doesn't mean one should accustom oneself to a sedentary way of life. Whether you can wean him away from service in the front line (or rather the avant-garde) is, I should say, somewhat doubtful; anyone who has spent so many years in that service derives too much pleasure from it; however, by long practice he will soon reach the stage of eluding the toils of the penal system. Doubtless, however, you could wish nothing better than that Liebknecht should not continue to spend in prison such time as he is not on duty and all such time as he is not in prison either in the Reichstag or on his travels.

My wife most cordially reciprocates your amiable sentiments.

With warmest regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

Since I do not know whether Liebknecht is with you, might I request you to be so kind as to convey the contents of this letter to him.

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## 194

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[52]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, *27 September 1877*
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Friend,

Unfortunately it is not till now, on my return from the Continent (whither I had been sent by the doctors),[307] that I have found your letter. Hence my answer may perhaps arrive much too late. As for the rest, *Pater peccavi*[a]! But the damned *insomnia*

[a] Father, I have sinned (Luke 15:18).

which has afflicted me this year has made me tremendously remiss about writing, since I have simply had to devote all my more tolerable moments to work.

Should *Weydemeyer* not have had *Kapital und Arbeit* printed yet, I would look it over as the original was full of the most appalling printing errors.[341] You have absolutely no idea of the treatment meted out to me by the party, i.e. the Chemnitzers (AS REPRESENTED BY Vahlteich). Only at Liebknecht's insistence, and also because Chemnitz had represented the thing as extremely urgent, did I undertake the work before leaving for Karlsbad, despite the highly disordered state of my nerves. And in view of the many asininities perpetrated by Most (now happily ensconced with Mr Dühring; a conceited laddie who, when he reads something, *no matter what*, instantly converts it into material for publication) and the small amount of space prescribed, this was no trifle. VERY WELL! Months went by without any news, I made enquiries[12] to which Vahlteich 'coolly' replied, saying the thing was only being set up in such fleeting moments as were left to the *party* printing office after setting up the Chemnitzers' philistine advertisements! Never before have I encountered such cool effrontery! This meant that the printing took almost a year! And when the opusculum did at last appear, it was swarming with printing errors which distorted the sense!

To avoid losing time it might perhaps be better if you were to go ahead with the printing in the way you suggested, and I was to correct for the second edition what had been printed (which would be far easier).

I and Engels will amend the *Communist Manifesto* straight away and then let you have it.[148]

*Ad vocem*[a] *Capital* and *Douai:*

*Firstly*: Has *Douai* got *a publisher*?

*Secondly*: The French edition[17] consumed so much of my time that I myself shall not again collaborate *in any way* on a translation. You must know whether Douai knows enough *English* to do the thing *on his own*. If so, he has my full authorisation and my blessing.[342] In which case, however:

*Thirdly*: He must without fail, when translating, compare the 2nd German edition with the *French edition* in which I have included a good deal of new matter and greatly improved my presentation of much else. There are two things I shall be sending you *in the course of this week*:

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[a] Re

1. *A copy of the French edition for Douai.*

2. *A list* of places where *the French edition* shouldn't be *compared with the German,* but the French text be used as the only basis.

In *Naples* Mr *Uriele Cavagnari* is preparing the *Italian* edition of *Capital* (from the French edition); he is having the book printed at his own expense and is going to sell it at cost price. Good man![343]

What you write about the Germans in no way surprises me. It's exactly like that over here. That's why Engels and I have disassociated ourselves from the whole bunch (as has Lessner). The only exception is a German working man with whom I am on friendly terms and whose name momentarily escapes me (Weyer,[a] I think); he has a seat on the London TRADES' UNION COUNCIL and was responsible for the only sensible resolution—that working men should elect only working men to represent them in the HOUSE OF COMMONS—at the SHAMEFUL TRADES' UNION CONGRESS in Leicester,[344] at which the bourgeois played patron, among their number Mr *Th. Brassey,* the great swindler and millionaire, son of the notorious railway Brassey who 'contracted for' Europe and Asia.

The *Ghent* Congress,[324] whatever else it left to be desired, at least had the advantage that Guillaume and Co. were totally abandoned by their former allies. It was only with difficulty that the Flemish workers were restrained from lambasting the great Guillaume. That bombastic chatterbox De Paepe, and with him Brismée, insulted them; Mr John Hales ditto. The latter placed himself under the command of—*Barry* whom I had induced to go, partly as a member of Congress (as whose delegate, I don't know), partly as correspondent for the *Standard* (London).[345] I for my part do not wish ever again to become personally involved with Jung and Hales, but their second defection is useful so far as the Jurassians are concerned. Barry is my FACTOTUM here; he also kept an eye on the *Times* reporters (which newspaper has sacked Mr *Eccarius*). But more especially it was through him that, for months on end, I sustained *incognito* a cross-fire against that Russomane Gladstone in London's FASHIONABLE PRESS (*Vanity Fair* and *Whitehall Review*), as also in the English, Scottish and Irish provincial press, unmasking his underhand dealings with the Russian spy Novikova, the Russian Embassy in London, etc.; it was through him, too, that I exerted influence on English parliamentarians in the Commons and the Lords, who would throw up their hands in horror if they

[a] Adam Weiler

knew that it was the RED TERROR DOCTOR, as they call me, who had been their *souffleur* during the oriental crisis.

That crisis marks *a new turning-point* in European history. Russia—and I have studied her affairs from original *Russian* sources, unofficial and official (the latter accessible to only very few, but procured for me by friends in Petersburg),—has long been on the verge of an upheaval; all the elements are to hand. The gallant Turks have advanced the explosion by many years through the blows they have dealt not only to the Russian army and Russian finances, but also personally to the *dynasty in command* of the army (Tsar,[a] heir-apparent[b] and six other Romanovs). The upheaval will begin, *secundum artem*,[c] with some constitutional tomfoolery, *et puis il y aura un beau tapage*.[d] Unless Mother Nature is exceptionally unkind, we shall yet live to see the fun!

The silly nonsense in which the Russian students are indulging is merely a symptom, and of no value in itself. But symptom it is. All strata of Russian society are economically, morally and intellectually in a state of complete disintegration.

This time the revolution will begin in the East, hitherto the impregnable bastion and reserve army of counter-revolution.

It was with pleasure that Mr Bismarck watched the drubbing, but more than that it was not to be. Russia, if too much weakened, could not again keep Austria in check as she had done during the Franco-Prussian War! And, should revolution actually result there, what would become of the Hohenzollern dynasty's last safeguard?

Just now everything depends on the Poles (in the Kingdom of Poland) lying doggo. Rioting is the last thing that is wanted there at the moment! Bismarck would immediately step in, and Russian chauvinism would again rally round the Tsar. On the other hand, were the Poles to bide their time until Moscow and Petersburg are in flames and Bismarck were then to step in as saviour, Prussia would meet—her Mexico[346]!

Again and again I have dinned this into such Poles as I am in contact with and as have any influence over their compatriots.

The *French crisis*[347] is an altogether secondary affair compared with the oriental one. Yet one can only hope that the bourgeois republic wins, for otherwise we shall have the same old game all over again, and no nation can afford to repeat the same stupidities too often.

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[a] Alexander II - [b] Prince Alexander Alexandrovich (future Emperor Alexander III) - [c] by the rules of the game - [d] and then there'll be a fine how-do-you-do.

With warmest regards from myself and my wife,

Your
Karl Marx

*Postscript*

The Genevan notary, Wessel, has informed me of the business of *Lingenau's* will.[348]

We (i.e. the executors) shall have to appoint a proxy in America, and you would be the only suitable person. What we need to know above all, however, is how the matter stands in America and whether the will can be implemented without endless court proceedings. You would oblige me if you could make inquiries about this and let me know.

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## 195

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

### IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 5 October 1877

Dear Hermann,

At the end of this month (31 October) I shall have to make payments of approx. £380 and should therefore be pleased if you would send me the corresponding amount pretty soon. Might I add that I should be grateful if it could be so arranged that the remittance is made payable here *before* the 31st (incl. the three days of grace, hence nominally payable on the 27th inst. at the latest), since I should otherwise be unable, local banking practice being what it is, to avail myself of it on the 31st and, for anyone not in business, discounting is always troublesome and sometimes, even, well nigh impossible unless one gets various other people moving; and I should imagine that the Barmen Bankers' Association can make payment three days after date or sight as readily as ten.

I've loafed about a great deal this summer, seven weeks at the seaside[289] and then a fortnight in Scotland,[333] but it has actually done me a tremendous amount of good.

No doubt you will now admit that I was right in my assessment of the Turks' power of resistance and the weakness of the Russians in attack.[a] Next year the Turks will be twice as strong because they will be able to train their men during the winter. Should the Russians *not* move their army across the Danube for the winter, and this I can scarcely believe, they may be in for a surprise. Ice floes on the Danube, for instance, have scant respect for pontoon bridges, even if they do belong to the Emperor of Russia. Still, come what may, Russia will have her Constitution before the end of 1878 and, with it, the second edition of the French Revolution of 1789-94.

The man who has largely prevented the Turks from playing an altogether different kind of game with the Russians is the Sultan's[b] brother-in-law, Mahmud Damad Pasha, friend of Ignatiyev and for years in the latter's pay. Should you ever hear that he has been overthrown, you may rest assured that the vigour with which the war is conducted will be of a completely different order. He is also the man who brought about Mehemet Ali's recall.

Love to Emma,[c] the children, and all brothers and sisters,

Your
Friedrich

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## 196

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

### IN HANOVER

London, 12 October 1877

Dear Kugelmann,

I am writing in great haste (I have a chemist from Mannheim[d] and a university lecturer from Munich staying with me) to inform

[a] See this volume, pp. 187-88. - [b] Abdul Hamid II's - [c] Emma Engels - [d] Probably Philipp Pauli

you as requested that I have received your letter and that, if I have the time and am able to do so, I shall gladly supply Mr Ecker with information as soon as I know more precisely what he wants of me.[349] I doubt if I can be of much help to him, for a perfect working man's dwelling, which on the one hand meets all the sanitary, etc., requirements and on the other won't cost the working man too much, is, as you know, like a triangular square.

We are getting on pretty well here; Marx has been at Neuenahr,[307] for the moment his liver is back to normal, his nerves are better, hence also his nights and, but for his being such a prey to colds, there would be little to complain of. I myself am very well; loafed about a lot during the summer, on top of which there have been numerous visitors, but I think I shall be able to get back to work next week.

Best wishes,

Your
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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## 197

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

### IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 13 October 1877

Dear Hermann,

It will be quite all right if the sum is made payable to me here in the manner described, but on the **30th.**[a] It must go through my bank, you see, and won't be credited there until the relevant cheque has actually been received by the CLEARING HOUSE in the afternoon; but by then the bank will be closed and I shan't be able to make use of it until the following day. Would you also be good enough to advise me *which* banker in Barmen is placing the money at my disposal, so that I can establish my identity;

[a] See this volume, p. 279.

otherwise, if one no longer represents a firm, one frequently runs into difficulties in a case like this.

The collapse of the Russian army's organisations, command, staff, ammunition supply, rations, clothing, camp administration, etc., becomes daily ever more complete, a mighty debacle entailing the sacrifice of some 100,000 men. During the last fortnight in September and the first week in October the Russians are said to have lost 15,000 *dead* (i.e. those who *died* of wounds and sickness) and, since the beginning of the war, 47,000 dead alone. If they stay before Plevna[350] and on the Lom for another three weeks, it could be that the entire army will disintegrate.

Best wishes.

Your
Friedrich

There has in fact been a bit of frost here too, but the geraniums are still flowering a little outside. In Scotland, however, the entire harvest is done for; on 20 September, near Edinburgh, I noticed that the corn was still quite green.[333]

First published in *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 46, Bd. 3, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1921

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## 198

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[52]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 19 October 1877

Dear Sorge,

At the same time as this letter, I am sending you the enclosed manuscript for *Douai*, in case he is doing the translation of *Capital*.[a] The manuscript contains, besides a few alterations to the German text, indications as to where the latter is to be replaced by the *French edition*.[17] In the copy of the French edition intended for

[a] See this volume, pp. 276-77.

Douai, also despatched to your address today, the above-mentioned passages in the manuscript are marked. I found the work much more time-consuming than I had thought, added to which I had a nasty bout of influenza and have not quite got over it yet.

In case of publication,[342] Douai must say in the foreword that, besides the 2nd German edition, he has used the French edition which came out later and was revised by me, but BY NO MEANS that *this American* edition *has been authorised by the writer.* Were he to do so, English booksellers would at once set about pirating it in England, and would be *legally* entitled to do so. Although I am happy to concede translation rights *all over* Europe, wherever there is a COPYRIGHT [agreement] with England, this certainly does not apply to England, that land of Mammon. London booksellers have already made several attempts, frustrated by me, to contrive an English edition without my consent and hence also without payment. I, however, am quite determined that these gentlemen shall not enrich themselves at my expense, be it by a penny.

Just at the moment Engels' time is taken up in all kinds of ways, first by work for the *Vorwärts,*[155] secondly by a flood of philistine visitors from Germany, thirdly by his own 'influenza', and fourthly by his wife's illness. This is why we have been unable to tackle the *Manifesto* together to date.[148]

In Germany a corrupt spirit is asserting itself in our party, not so much among the masses as among the leaders (upper class and 'workers'). The compromise with the Lassalleans has led to further compromise with other waverers; in Berlin (via *Most*) with Dühring and his 'admirers', not to mention a whole swarm of immature undergraduates and over-wise graduates who want to give socialism a 'higher, idealistic' orientation, i.e. substitute for the materialist basis (which calls for serious, objective study if one is to operate thereon) a modern mythology with its goddesses of Justice, Liberty, Equality and *Fraternité.* Dr Höchberg, the gentleman who edits the *Zukunft,* is a representative of this tendency and has 'bought his way' into the party—no doubt with the 'noblest' of intentions, but I don't give a fig for 'intentions'. Seldom has anything more pitiful than his programme for the *Zukunft* been ushered into the world with more 'modest pretensions'.

The workers themselves, when like Mr Most and Co. they give up working and become *literati by profession,* invariably wreak 'theoretical' havoc and are always ready to consort with addle-heads of the supposedly 'learned' caste. In particular, what we had been at such pains to eject from the German workers' heads

decades ago, thereby ensuring their theoretical (and hence also practical) ascendancy over the French and English,—namely *Utopian* socialism, the play of the imagination on the future structure of society,—is once again rampant and in a far more ineffectual form, not only as compared with the great French and English Utopians, but with—Weitling. It stands to reason that Utopianism which bore within itself the seeds of critical and materialist socialism, *before* the advent of the latter, can now, *post festum*, only seem silly, stale and thoroughly reactionary.

Latterly the governing principle of the *Vorwärts* would seem to have been to accept manuscripts—'*copie*', as the French say—regardless of its provenance. To take a few of the recent numbers,—first we find a chap unacquainted with the rudiments of economics providing grotesque *revelations* about the 'laws' governing crises.[351] All he reveals is his own inner 'collapse'. And then we actually get a pert lad from Berlin being allowed to publish, at the 'sovereign people's' expense, an endless series of articles containing his unedifying thoughts on England and the most egregious Pan-Slav poppycock[352]!

*Satis superque!*[a]

Your
Karl Marx

Apropos. Some (a few) years since, a kind of Blue Book (whether official or not, I don't know) came out on the conditions of the MINERS in Pennsylvania[353] who are known to be in a state of altogether feudal dependence on their MONEY LORDS (I believe the thing came out after a bloody encounter[354]). It is of the utmost importance that I should have that publication and, if you can get hold of it for me, I will send you what it costs; if not, you might be able to let me have the title, in which case I should apply to Harney (in Boston).

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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[a] Enough is as good as a feast!

## 199

## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

### IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 23 October 1877

Dear Bracke,

Your news is bad but was readily predictable. I have already suggested on a number of occasions that you should kick out the gracious Isolde.[a] However much corrected, her product remains an abortion.[254] Add to that the waste of time, waste of money, etc. There can be no legal objection to that person's being 'kicked out' since she does not, and is unable to, perform what she contractually undertook to do. *Blos* had at one time proffered his services (unfortunately not until after Isolde).[194]

The review, *Zukunft*, is by no means satisfactory, its main endeavour being to substitute ideological catch-phrases such as 'justice', etc., for materialist knowledge. Its programme is wretched! Promises, what's more, to peddle phantasms of the future structure of society. This, the first result of a bourgeois[b] buying his way into the party, is not a happy one—as might have been predicted.

The *Vorwärts*, too, is publishing a mass of immature, stereotyped *essays* by aspiring and presumptuous striplings.[c] I shouldn't have thought the proletariat's money was intended to provide a dumping-ground for such exercises.

I trust your health is improving. I myself have been suffering from influenza for several weeks,—most disruptive of work.

Yours,
K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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[a] Isolde Kurz - [b] Karl Höchberg - [c] See also previous letter.

## 200

## MARX TO SIBYLLE HESS[355]

IN PARIS

*London*, 25 October 1877
*41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.*

Dear Mrs Hess,

Very many thanks from myself as well as from Engels for the two copies we have been sent of the 'dynamic theory of matter'.[a]

We are both of the opinion that the work of our late friend has *very considerable scientific merit* and does credit to our party. So, quite apart from our personal relations with an ally of many years' standing, we would regard it as our duty to explain the significance of his work and to do all we could for its sales.

Are the two parts announced in Hess' foreword also available in manuscript?[356]

You will not take it amiss if I enclose herewith the price of the two copies, the point being, not so much your personal expense, as the cost of the undertaking.

Yours very sincerely,
Karl Marx

I shall write to Petersburg and New York on the subject of the work.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

[a] by Moses Hess

## 201

## MARX TO SIGMUND SCHOTT[96]

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 3 November 1877
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

My best thanks for the packages.

Your offer to arrange for other material to be sent to me from France, Italy, Switzerland, etc. is exceedingly welcome, although I feel reluctant to make undue claims on you. I don't at all mind waiting, by the by, nor will this in any way hold up my work, for I am applying myself to various parts of the book in turn. In fact, *privatim*, I began by writing *Capital* in a sequence (starting with the 3rd, historical section[357]) quite the reverse of that in which it was presented to the public, saving only that the first volume—the last I tackled—was got ready for the press straight away, whereas the two others remained in the rough form which all research originally assumes.

I enclose a photograph herewith, because the copy of the French edition[17] that goes off to you at the same time as this letter only contains a very far from flattering likeness done from a London photograph by a Parisian artist.

Your most obedient Servant,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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## 202

## MARX TO WILHELM BLOS[358]

### IN HAMBURG

London, 10 November 1877
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Blos,

I was delighted to hear from you [*Dir*][a] again at last (that *'Dir'* slipped naturally from my pen. So do drop the *'Sie'*[b] in future). I had long since proposed that the abominable Isolde[c] be dismissed, and fulminated against her in vain.

Whenever, in *'la Place'*, the word *place* is written with a capital P, it always means the *Place Vendôme*, that being the seat of the commander of the National Guard; in Paris at the time he was the equivalent of what we call 'town-major'.

As regards the *'suppression de l'État'*,[d] an expression which Lissagaray himself will be altering in the 2nd French edition,[e] the sense is no different from that expounded in my pamphlet on the 'Civil War' in France.[f] In short, you can translate it 'abolition (or suppression) of the class state'.

I 'bear no ill-will' (as Heine says)[g] and nor for that matter does Engels.[359] Neither of us cares a straw for popularity. Let me cite one proof of this: such was my aversion to the personality cult that at the time of the International, when plagued by numerous moves—originating from various countries—to accord me public honour, I never allowed one of these to enter the domain of publicity, nor did I ever reply to them, save with an occasional snub. When Engels and I first joined the secret communist society, we did so only on condition that anything conducive to a superstitious belief in authority be eliminated from the Rules.[360] (Lassalle subsequently operated in the reverse direction.)

But events such as occurred at the last party congress[286]—they are being well and truly exploited by enemies of the party abroad—have in any case made it necessary for us to be circumspect in our relations with 'party members in Germany'.

Apart from that, my state of health compels me to devote to the

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[a] The familiar form of address in German: '*Dir*'—'Thee'. - [b] you (as opposed to '*Du*') - [c] Isolde Kurz - [d] suppression of the state - [e] [P. O.] Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune de 1871*. - [f] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. - [g] H. Heine, *Lyrisches Intermezzo*, 'Ich grolle nicht...'.

completion of my book[a] the time allotted to me for work by my doctor; and Engels, who is working on several longer books, is still sending contributions to the *Vorwärts*.[155]

It would amuse me to hear more from time to time about my 'combinations with Father Beckx'.[361]

Engels will be writing to you shortly.

With warm regards from my wife and my daughter Eleanor.

*Totus tuus*,[b]
Karl Marx

First published in *Der wahre Jacob*, Nr. 565(6), Berlin, 17. März 1908

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## 203

## ENGELS TO ERNST DRONKE

### IN WATERLOO

[Copy]

[London], 20 November [1877]

Unless I have the RECEIPT by tomorrow morning, I shall feel compelled to go to the CENTRAL OFFICE here and inform them of everything that has taken place.[362]

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

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[a] *Capital* - [b] Ever yours

## 204

## MARX TO SIBYLLE HESS[355]

IN PARIS

London, 29 November 1877
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mrs Hess,

Both I and Engels have been absent from London for some considerable time and, after returning, I necessarily had first to read our late friend's book,[356] before being in a position to write to you.

Engels and I thank you very much for sending the same. In so far as we have any influence, we shall endeavour to disseminate it. It contains some brilliant notions but unfortunately—no doubt because Hess could not put the finishing touches to it—there are quite a number of dubious points that lend themselves to attack by professional natural scientists.

Wishing you the best of success, I remain

Yours sincerely,
Karl Marx

First published in *Vorwärts*, Nr. 67, Basel, 9. Februar 1930, Beilage

Printed according to the original

## 205

## ENGELS TO MARX[363]

IN LONDON

[London, end of 1877-beginning of 1878]
Saturday morning

Dear Moor,

I have gone and got me two swollen ankles and shall be unable to wear boots for a couple of days. I shall drive to the bank forthwith to collect some money and, if you care to come this evening, you will find what you require.

Tussy is quite right; Maskelyne should be read either after or at the *same time* as Wallace, for the details about people in Maskelyne, all of which cannot possibly be remembered, acquire interest only through the intimate knowledge of these various persons displayed by Wallace. So be so kind as to return it when you come so that I shall be able to appreciate Wallace in all his FOOLERY.

Your
F. E.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

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# 1878

## 206

## MARX TO THOMAS ALLSOP

IN LONDON

[London,] 1 January 1878

My dear Friend,

I hope one good thing the new year will do—act beneficently upon your health.

My best thanks for the Owen addresses and proclamations.[a]

The Trafalgar Square meeting of Friday last was much more important than the newspaper reports would make it appear.[364] There was a gathering of at least 15,000-20,000 people. The Russian party, as represented by the Honourable Bradlaugh, Hales, Mottershead, Osborne, etc., was forced, after a tremendous hand to hand fight, to evacuate the place with torn dresses, swollen eyes and broken noses. A dozen wounded were delivered to the next hospital. John Bull came out as a true bull and not as a lamb. The Turkish party was in overwhelming majority. *Entre nous*, I had somewhat my hand in getting up this demonstration, as, in point of fact, I have since many, many months acted through some British workmen and *ci-devant*[b] workmen upon the very diversified layers of the Pro-Turkishers. But, of course, if I had made the least public move, the whole thing would have been spoilt. In such *national* affairs no foreigner must appear. If he thinks it his duty to do something, he must do so *secretly*, behind the scenes, by a few natives upon whose discretion he can rely. One day I shall tell you [about] the very strange relations into which I have thus entered with British Grandees who would get into a white rage if they had the least suspicion under whose advice they were acting.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 262-63. - [b] former

I have received letters and prints from Russia.[365] The misery now prevailing there is truly shocking. Save the governmental dependents and the by no means strong fraction of Pan-Slavists, discontent is universal. They had hoped peace would be at once concluded after the fall of Plevna.[350]

As to Turkey, the great danger for her is Mahmud Damad who alone is responsible for the failure of the first campaign. This fact is known at Constantinople, and I wonder whether some fanatical Softas[156] will not have the good sense to 'extinguish' that scoundrel. As Hobbes said: The equality of men is proved by this ... that the smallest man, the weakest man, can in one way or other kill the tallest, the biggest one.[a]

Apart from all incidents of war, with the help of that model administration the Russians owe, the winter in Bulgaria will decimate their army. Already all their pontoon-bridges, save that of Zimnicea[366] (which also will *not stand* the repeated attacks of the Danube ice), are swept away, and, by the by, they will be cut off from Wallachia.

In France the Dufaure cabinet will not last long. The discovery of the military conspiracy will kill it.[367]

The whole family send you their new year wishes and you know that they come from the heart.

Yours most devotedly,
Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original (English) and in Japanese, in *Keizai Gakuronshu*, Vol. 35, No. 1, Tokyo, 1969

Reproduced from the original

## 207

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 11 January 1878

Dear Old Man,

*Avant tout*,[b] a Happy New Year to you, and may it bring you less in the way of troubles and burdens than the previous one!

[a] Marx is rendering a passage from Th. Hobbes, *Leviathan, or the Matter, Form and Power of the Commonwealth Ecclesiastical and Civil.* - [b] First of all

The package eventually arrived a few days ago.[a] My best thanks. I have not quite finished looking through the *Bulletin jurassien*; I find it interesting to follow the decline of that gang and its ultimate relegation to the back of the stage as a result of our electoral victories of 10 January 1877.[237] Let them now scheme and snarl to their heart's content; they've gone to pot and there they will remain.[368]

You will be receiving from the post office a money order for 50 frs which you should regard as our contribution to the *Précurseur*. In accordance with the new regulations, I have to retain over here the receipt they gave me; the money order, or so they tell me, will be sent to you from Basle.

We are pretty well. Marx is notably better as compared with former years; his wife is not quite up to the mark, but the doctor[b] promises a complete cure; I myself cannot complain.

Things seem to be going very well indeed for you people in Switzerland; the formation of a workers' party is a great step forward[369] and, even if the programme isn't nearly radical enough for the taste of *Messieurs les Bakounistes*, it doesn't matter a damn. A party that has the political means to take a direct part in the struggle, and the prospect of soon being able to throw a not inconsiderable weight into the scales, as is the case in Switzerland, has better things to do than to force each individual collaborator to accept its ultimate aims as dogma. There is, of course, much room for improvement in the programme, but it was modelled on the garrulous programme concocted in Germany at the time of the unification.[121]

In Germany, too, big mistakes were made, in particular as regards the attitude adopted—in a spirit altogether Bakuninist—towards the French crisis.[292] And yet on this occasion we again saw how far ahead of us France has come in matters of practice. Lousy though the solution may have so far proved to be, it is nevertheless the first time that anything has been achieved there without a violent upheaval[367]—and violence there, so soon after the bloodbath of 1871, could only lead to the revival of repression and of Bonapartism. But as it is, there is every prospect that the workers will very shortly gain freedom of the press, the right of association and assembly and whatever else is requisite for organisation and struggle, and that is all they need to begin with. They are in a position to discover where they stand theoretically, as is most necessary, and at last, when the opportunity presents

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[a] See this volume, p. 214. - [b] George Allen

itself, to enter the revolution as a tightly knit party and with a definite programme. And then again, the debonapartisation and republicanisation of the peasants, which is now in full swing, is another tremendous gain. And, lastly, the decisive point was reached because the *common soldier declared he would not fight*—the collapse of militarism has begun from within and may soon find a sequel in Germany, especially if present policy should make it necessary to lead the army into the field in support of the Russians.

Another big mistake in Germany is to have allowed students and other ignorant 'scholars', in the guise of scientific representatives of the party, to flood the world at large with vast quantities of the most arrant nonsense. However, this is a childish ailment which has to be got over, and it is precisely in order to hasten it on that I made such a thorough example of Dühring.[a]

That apart, things are going quite splendidly there as well and, if they now really get cracking with their anti-Russian agitation, it might prove very effective.

Apropos, Buffenoir, whom the *Vorwärts* is presently making such a fuss of,[370] is a somewhat ambiguous individual; in the first place, he's a clericalist, in the second he has recently eulogised Gambetta in effusive poetical verse and has no standing whatever amongst the workers of Paris. Another instance of Liebknecht's getting himself into a mess.

I hope the peace terms proposed by the Russians will be such that the war will go on. Not having any bridges over the Danube, their army is cut off and might starve miserably if the weather stays bad. And an undecided war, or fresh defeats, would undoubtedly give rise to revolution in Petersburg. Initially started by the court and constitutional, in other words 1789 preceding 1793.[371] Just let a national assembly convene in Petersburg, and the whole of Europe will assume a different aspect.

Your old friend

F. E.

First published in: F. Engels, *Vergessene Briefe (Briefe Friedrich Engels' an Johann Philipp Becker)*, Berlin, 1920

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[a] F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*.

## 208

## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT[372]

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 4 February 1878[373]

... We are most decidely espousing the Turkish cause and for 2 reasons:

1. because we have studied the *Turkish peasant*—i.e. the mass of the Turkish people—and in this way have come to see him as indubitably one of the *ablest and most moral representatives of the peasantry in Europe*;

2. because the *defeat of the Russians* would have greatly *expedited social revolution in Russia*, of which all the elements are present in abundant measure, and *hence radical change throughout Europe.*

Things took a different course. Why? In consequence *of England's and Austria's treachery.*

*England*—I mean the English government—came, for example, to the rescue of the Serbs when they had been beaten[176]; by misrepresenting the facts, she caused the Turks to suspend hostilities in the erroneous belief that the Russians had *proffered an armistice* (through England) *of which the first condition was the aforesaid suspension. It was this alone that enabled the Russians to win their final spate of victories.*[374] Otherwise their armies would have been decimated by hunger and cold; only the opening up of the way to Rumelia where supplies were to be had (i.e. taken) and where, furthermore, the climate was milder, permitted them to escape from the mousetrap in Bulgaria, cram-full with soldiers, and pour their hordes into the south. Disraeli was (and still is) hamstrung in his own cabinet by the Marquis of Salisbury, Russian agent and confidant of Ignatiyev, by the Grand Cophta[375] OF COMMONPLACE—EARL OF Derby—and by the EARL OF Carnarvon, who has since resigned.

*Austria* prevented the Turks from enjoying the fruits of their victories in Montenegro, etc.[376]

Finally—and this is one of the main reasons for their ultimate defeat—*the Turks failed to stir up revolution* in Constantinople, thus allowing that incarnation of the old Seraglio régime—*Mahmud Damad*—brother-in-law to the Sultan,[a] to remain the real power behind the war—exactly the same thing *as actually*

[a] Abdul Hamid II

*entrusting the Russian cabinet with the conduct of the war against itself.* The systematic paralysing and compromising of the Turkish army by this laddie can be demonstrated down to the smallest detail. Come to that, everyone in Constantinople is aware of it and this *increases* the *historical guilt* of the *Turks.* A people incapable of resolute revolutionary action at moments of intense crisis such as this is doomed. The Russian government knew what Damad was worth to them; it *brought more strategy and tactics to bear on keeping Midhat Pasha away* from Constantinople and Damad *at* the helm than on the capture of *Plevna.*[350]

The man behind the Russian victory was, of course, *Bismarck.* He was responsible for the *Alliance of the Three Emperors*[143] whereby *Austria* was kept quiet. Even after the fall of Plevna all Austria would have had to do was marshal 100,000 men—and the Russians would have been compelled quietly to withdraw or to content themselves with the paltriest of spoils. From the start, Austria's *abdication* gave the Russian party in England the upper hand, France (as a result of the post-Sedan catastrophe—catastrophe *after* Sedan[113]—engineered by the then premier, Mr Gladstone) having ceased to exist in English eyes as a continental military power.

The consequence will simply be *the dissolution of Austria,* which is inevitable if the Russian peace terms be accepted[377] and this means that Turkey (at least in Europe) will continue to exist in name only. Turkey was *Austria's barrier against Russia* and her retinue of Slavs. So presumably at the first appropriate moment there'll be a call for 'Bohemia'.

But Prussia *qua* Prussia—i.e. as specifically opposed to Germany—also has interests of a different kind: Prussia as such *is her dynasty,* she has *come to be* and is what she is on Russia's '*warranty*'. The defeat of Russia, revolution in Russia, would ring Prussia's death-knell.

For otherwise, after the great victory over France, after Prussia had become the leading military power in Europe, we may presume that not even Mr von Bismarck would have assigned her the same position vis-à-vis Russia as she had occupied in 1815 as a supernumerary on the political stage of Europe.

Finally, to panjandrums such as Bismarck, Moltke, etc., the prospect of personal eminence held out by the *succession of European wars now beginning* ... is by no means a matter of indifference.

It goes without saying that Prussia must, as occasion arises, demand 'compensation' for the *Russian victories* which *she* alone

made possible. This is already plainly evident from the behaviour of the Russians vis-à-vis the Romanian government which had gone to the *rescue* of those same Russians at Plevna before Muscovite reinforcements arrived. Karl von Hohenzollern is now to demonstrate his gratitude by handing back the part of Bessarabia ceded by the Russians after the Crimean War.[378] That this will not be permitted out of hand by Berlin, Petersburg is aware, and is prepared to make HANDSOME compensation.

But there are other aspects to all this. *Turkey* and *Austria* were the last bulwarks of the old European political order that was patched up again in 1815; with *their* downfall it will suffer total collapse. This debacle—which will take the form of a series of ('localised' and ultimately 'general') wars—will precipitate the *social crisis*—and with it the *decline* of all these sabre-rattling SHAM POWERS.

First published in: W. Liebknecht, *Zur orientalischen Frage...*, 2. Aufl., Leipzig, 1878

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Published in English in full for the first time

## 209

## MARX TO THOMAS ALLSOP

### IN LONDON

[Extract]

[London,] 4 February 1878

You are mistaken, if you believe that Disraeli is in my opinion a great man. He was always a self-seeker, and such people, whatever their natural gifts, are always deficient. But, *dans le royaume des aveugles les borgnes*, etc.[a]!

You are still more mistaken, if you consider *Lord Commonplace*[b] as a small man or an adversary easily to be borne down! He is, on the contrary, the mightiest man in the British Empire. On the one hand, the *oldest nobility* man, on the other the *intellectual* incarnation of the great middle-class. *Business is business*—this is the only serious part of your bourgeois: everything else is

[a] *Dans le royaume des aveugles les borgnes sont rois*—In the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed is King. - [b] The Earl of Derby (see also this volume, p. 296).

*show*—and must, consequently, be got rid of by *mild talk*, conventional utterances, inane twaddle. What a power, therefore, the Lord of Commonplace! If an Earl of Derby did not exist, the decaying nobility and the upstart brokers ought to have invented him...[379]

Turkey and Austria were the last props of the *old State System of Europe*... It will go now altogether to the wall, expiring in a succession of wars, which will precipitate the *Social Crisis* and engulf all the so-called *Powers*, those sham-powers, victors and vanquished—to make room for a European Social Revolution.

One way or another our enemies are digging their own graves!

First published, in the language of the original (English), in the catalogue *Sotheby Parke Bernet and C°*, London, 1966

Reproduced from the catalogue

## 210

## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT[52]

### IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 11 February 1878[373]

At least something worthwhile has been achieved by the Russians; they have exploded England's 'great Liberal Party' and rendered it incapable of governing for some time to come, while the Tory Party has gone to the trouble of officially bringing about its own demise through the medium of those traitors Derby and Salisbury (the latter being the real pro-Russian force within the Cabinet).[a]

The English working class had gradually become ever more demoralised as a result of the period of corruption after 1848, and had finally reached the stage of being no more than an appendage of the great Liberal Party, i.e. of its *oppressors*, the capitalists. Its direction had passed completely into the hands of the venal TRADES UNION leaders and professional agitators. In the wake of the Gladstones, Brights, Mundellas, Morleys, and the whole gang of factory owners, etc., these laddies ranted and roared *in majorem gloriam*[b] of that emancipator of the nations, the Tsar,[c] while never

[a] See this volume, p. 296. - [b] to the greater glory - [c] Alexander II

raising a finger on behalf of their own brethren in South Wales, condemned by the mine-owners to death by starvation.[380] The wretches! And to crown it all in worthy fashion, during the recent divisions in the House of Commons (on 7 and 8 February, when most of the chief dignitaries of the 'great Liberal Party'—Forster, Lowe, Harcourt, Goschen, Hartington and even (on 7 February) the great John Bright himself—left their army in the lurch and made off during the *division* so as not to compromise themselves unduly by voting[381]), the *only labour representatives* in the House of Commons and they, *horribile dictu*,[a] direct *representatives of the miners, and themselves miners* born and bred, namely *Burt* and the pitiful *Macdonald*, voted with those pro-Tsar enthusiasts, the rump of the 'great Liberal Party'!

But the rapid unfolding of Russia's plans suddenly broke the spell, disrupting the 'mechanical agitation' (of whose mechanism five pound notes were the mainspring); at this moment it would have been '*physically dangerous*' for Mottershead, Howell, John Hales, Shipton, Osborne and all the rest of the crew to make their voices heard at a public workers' meeting; even their 'CORNER and TICKET MEETINGS' are forcibly disbanded and broken up by the populace.

But it will take your ponderous 'Anglo-Saxon' too long to wake up—in time, at any rate, for the next events...

Russian diplomacy is very far from sharing the fatuous 'Christian' prejudices against the 'Crescent'. Turkey, reduced in Europe to Constantinople and a small part of Rumelia, but with a compact hinterland in Asia Minor, Arabia, etc., is to be shackled to Russia by means of an offensive and defensive alliance.

During the last campaign the 120,000 *Poles* in the Russian army rendered sterling service[382]; now the Poles are to be joined by *Turks*—and the *Russians* will have under *their flag* the two bravest races of Europe, who have to avenge themselves on Europe for their humiliation—not a bad idea!

*In 1829 Prussia*—but at that time she was still no more than the biggest of Europe's small states and the self-confessed protégée of Russia[383]—acted just as she is doing now.

The desperate situation in which the Russian army found itself after Diebitsch had led it over the Balkans (*July 1829*) has been well described by *Moltke*.[b] Only diplomacy could have saved it.

The second campaign was on the point of turning out as badly

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[a] horrible to say - [b] [H. K. B.] von Moltke. *Der russisch-türkische Feldzug in der europäischen Türkei 1828 und 1829.*

as the first[384]—and then *finis Russiae*—it would be all up with Russia. That is why *Nicholas*, the Tsar, went to Berlin on 10 June 1829, allegedly in order to attend the *wedding* of *Prince William* of *Prussia* (the present German emperor). He asked Frederick William III (he 'of the conqueror's crown[a]) to prevail upon the Porte to send him plenipotentiaries so as to open peace negotiations. At that time Diebitsch had not yet crossed the Balkans, the greater part of his army being pinned down outside Silistria and Shumla.[b] In concert with Nicholas, Frederick William III officially ordered Baron *Müffling* to Constantinople as envoy extraordinary, the intention being, however, that he should act as *Russia's* agent there. Müffling was of pure Russian stock, as he himself relates in *Aus meinem Leben*: he had drafted the Russian campaign plan in 1827 and indeed insisted that Diebitsch should march over the Balkans *coûte que coûte* (whatever the cost), while he, as peace mediator, conducted intrigues in Constantinople. He himself says that the Sultan,[c] *alarmed* by such a march, would appeal 'to him as a friend'.[d]

Under the pretext of assuring the peace of Europe, he succeeded in getting France and England to eat out of his hand—in particular the latter country, by exerting influence through the Russophil English ambassador, Robert Gordon, on the latter's brother, the *Earl of Aberdeen*, and through him on *Wellington*—who was later bitterly to rue it.

After Diebitsch had crossed the Balkans, he was gratified to receive a letter from Reshid Pasha dated *25 July* (1829) inviting him to open the peace negotiations. *On that same day*, Müffling had his first discussion with Reis Effendi (Turkish Minister of the Exterior)[e] whom he intimidated by the vehemence of his address (*à la* Prince Reuss[f]); he also invoked Gordon, etc. The Sultan gave way to the pressure of the Prussian ambassador (who was supported by Gordon, the English, and *Guilleminot*, the French *ambassador*, both of whom had been briefed by *Müffling*) and accepted the following 5 peace terms: 1. Integrity of the Ottoman Empire; 2. retention of the former treaties between the Porte and Russia; 3. adherence of the Porte to the Treaty of London (concluded *6 July 1827*) between France, England and Russia for

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[a] In the original 'im Siegerkranz'. 'Heil dir im Siegerkranz'—the initial words of the Prussian National Anthem written by Balthasar Gerhard Schumacher on the basis of Heinrich Harries' poem *Lied für den dänischen Unterthan*. - [b] Bulgarian names: Silistra and Shumen (now Kolarovgrad). - [c] Mahmud II - [d] F. C. F. Müffling, *Aus meinem Leben*, Berlin, 1851, p. 303. - [e] Pertev Reis Effendi - [f] Heinrich VII of Reuss

the regulation of Greek affairs[385]; 4. firm undertakings as regards the freedom of shipping in the Black Sea; 5. further negotiations between Turkish and Russian chargés d'affaires relating to indemnification and any other claim either party might make.

On 28 August Sadek Effendi[a] and Abdul Kader Bey, the two Turkish plenipotentiaries, accompanied by *Küster* (*attaché at the Prussian Embassy* in Constantinople), arrived at Adrianople[b] where the Russians had set up their general headquarters about a week previously. Diebitsch opened negotiations *on 1 September* without waiting for the arrival of the *Russian plenipotentiaries* (Alexei Orlov and Pahlen), who had got no further than Burgas.

*But while negotiations were in progress, Diebitsch's troops continued their advance on Constantinople.* Insolent and overbearing (*despite* or rather *because of* the rottenness of his position), he gave the Turkish plenipotentiaries a *week's deadline* by which to assent to the following points:

The fortresses of Braila, Giurgevo[c] and Calafat to be razed and the places themselves to be incorporated into Wallachia. Anapa and Poti, on the Black Sea, to be ceded to Russia; also the Pashalik of Akhaltsikhe; reparations amounting to 700,000 'purses' (some 120 million francs), payment to be guaranteed by handing over Silistria and the Danubian principalities[d] as a pledge to Russia. Indemnification of Russian merchants to the tune of some 15 million francs for losses sustained, payable on three appointed dates after each of which the Russian army would withdraw, first to the foot of the Balkans, then to the north of those mountains and, finally, across the Danube.

The Porte objected to these terms which were so greatly at variance with the Tsar's[e] assurances of moderation. The new Prussian ambassador Royer (Müffling had absconded on 5 September, after completing his fell assignment—he, the 'friend to the Porte' and the angel of peace), in company with General Guilleminot, Müffling's dupe, and Sir Robert Gordon, *supported the protests of the Porte,* for insolence such as this ran counter to the agreement and was *even* too much for him 'of the conqueror's crown'. Diebitsch knew that militarily speaking he was in a tight corner and made bogus concessions: in the public peace treaty, the article concerning the *amount of war reparations* would be withdrawn; the first instalment of the indemnification of Russian merchants was reduced for, *as the Turkish envoys said*: 'The most

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[a] Mehmed Sadek - [b] Turkish name: Edirne. - [c] Romanian name: Giurgiu. - [d] Moldavia and Wallachia - [e] Nicholas I

ignorant must know that the Porte could not pay.' Peace was finally concluded on 5 September.[386]

Great sensation in Europe, great indignation in England; Wellington fumed; even Aberdeen drew attention in a despatch to the danger lurking in every single clause of the treaty, and endeavoured to bring about a general alliance whereby *all the great powers* (including Russia) *would guarantee peace in the Orient.* Austria was willing; but *Prussia frustrated the project,* and saved Russia from the dangers a European congress would present to her. (*France,* where Charles X was preparing his coup d'état, entered into a *secret* understanding with *Russia*; a secret treaty was also concluded, whereby France was *to receive the Rhine Provinces.*[a]

Under these circumstances there was no need for Nesselrode to beat about the bush; he sent an insolent and contemptuous despatch to the English Cabinet, i.e. a despatch addressed to Count Lieven (the Russian ambassador) in London.

This is what Prussia did at the time and has now done again on a grander scale. Fine Hohenstaufens—these Hohenzollerns! Statesmanship presented no difficulties to Bismarck in the Austrian and French affair; against Austria, he had Bonaparte's protection and the Italians, and against France, the whole of Europe. Moreover, the goal to which he aspired had been determined by the circumstances, which had paved the way to its attainment.

Now that circumstances have become more complex, he is a genius no longer.[b]

First published in: W. Liebknecht, *Zur orientalischen Frage...*, 2. Aufl., Leipzig, 1878

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 17, p. 146. - [b] In Liebknecht's pamphlet, there follows a passage of which it has not been established whether it is part of Marx's letter or is by Liebknecht himself. It reads: 'Inside Russia the situation is confused. The gentle Alexander intends to build a *penal establishment* in *Novaya Zemlya* to which *political offenders* will be banished, and that means *la mort sans phrase*—death, pure and simple. It would be a good thing if peace were to reign for the next year or two. In particular this would be conducive to internal decay in Russia. The government's first move there (following the example of Prussia after 1815) would be to persecute *pan-Slav agitators.*[387] In so far as it was necessary, they have been exploited; the day of reckoning will come when the turmoil of war has ceased.'

## 211

## MARX TO SIGMUND SCHOTT[388]

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 29 March 1878
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

I have, though somewhat belatedly, obtained *Volume IV (Industrieactien)* of the SALING, to which you so kindly drew my attention. I did not wish to reply to your letter until I had at length had time to run through the thing, and have found it *very useful.*

I have tried, without success, to obtain *via* the booksellers the second volume of *Glagau*[a] (it has probably been banned), and also *Rudolph Meyer's* book[b] on account of which he has been prosecuted. Since the said Meyer has cited me in court as a competent witness to the 'scholarship' of his work he ought, if only for decency's sake, to have sent it me to look at.

Finally, I have one more thing to ask of you, namely to be so kind, provided it is not too time-consuming, as to let me have a list of the *names* of *Perrot's* published writings on the subject of joint-stock companies, etc.[c]

From Petersburg Mr *Kaufman* has sent me (*Russian* text) his bulky tome on the *Theory and Practice of Banks,*[d] likewise his *History of the Bank of England* etc.[e] So far I have only read the *first*-named. Written in a 'high-falutin' style, with considerable self-important pretensions to absolute 'scholarship', it is an *enthusiastic apology* for the economy of *Gründung*[118] and swindling. Yet such writings are most beneficial, for the apology, in so far as it has any real content, and all unbeknown to its author, ends up by demonstrating for good or ill, and contrary to the moralising philistine, the correlation between the necessary product of the present system of production itself and what your philistine condemns as 'abuse', 'malpractice', etc.

I used to subscribe to the *Frankfurter Zeitung,* but do so no longer because of its 'Swiss' standpoint which alone can account

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[a] O. Glagau, *Der Börsen- und Gründungs-Schwindel in Deutschland.* - [b] R. Meyer, *Politische Gründer und die Corruption in Deutschland.* - [c] F. Perrot, *Der Bank-, Börsen- und Actienschwindel.* - [d] [Kaufman] И. И. Кауфманъ, *Теорія и практика банковаго дѣла* - [e] И. И. Кауфманъ, *Исторія банковаго дѣла въ Великобританіи и Ирландіи.*

for its lunatic flights of fancy on the subject of the oriental imbroglio. But now a friend of mine in Germany[a] is persecuting me by occasionally sending me what he believes to be an interesting issue of the paper. From what little (but nevertheless still 'over-much') that has thus come my way, it seems to me that a *marked change* is occurring in the line taken by the paper. Is this the case, or is it not? Has Mr Sonnemann shifted further to the 'right'?

I trust that you are having better weather than we are. Since my return from Germany in mid-September[307] I have suffered from a permanent cough, etc.

With kindest regards I am, Sir,

Yours sincerely,
Karl Marx

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## 212

## MARX TO VALERIAN SMIRNOV[389]

IN LONDON

[London,] 29 March 1878
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Smirnov,

I take it that you are still editor of the *Впередъ!*,[b] and therefore that this note will find you at the address I have selected.

Party friends in Paris have asked me for information about two agitators within our societies in Paris, namely a '*Prince Kropotkin*' and a lady, one '*Kulishova*', a particular friend of Costa's.

Do you, perhaps, know anything about these individuals from the political aspect?

Yours very faithfully,
Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original (German), in *International Review for Social History*, Vol. III, Leiden, 1938

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[a] Presumably Carl Hirsch. - [b] *Vperyod!* (Forward!)

## 213

## ENGELS TO CARL HIRSCH

IN PARIS

London, 3 April 1878
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Hirsch,

Would you be so kind as to forward the enclosed note[a] to Lopatin? We don't know whether the old address we have for him still holds good.[b] It has to do with an article for Bracke's *Kalender* on the condemned Russians.[390]—The *Égalité* hasn't been arriving for some time past; I hope nothing has happened to it. With the suspension of the *Bulletin jurassien*[c] for want of money, the Bakuninists' swaggering has come to an inglorious end. It's encouraging to see the movement growing so powerful that it can sweep aside every one of these rubbishy factions without undue difficulty. As soon as I have a complete set of them here I shall send you some articles of mine on the movement in 1877,[d] which have appeared in the New York *Labor Standard*. As regards Dühring, I've all but finished now. No doubt you will shortly see something more about his 'socialism' in the *Vorwärts*.[e] This worthy man has cost me an atrocious amount of time, but unfortunately there was no [alternative], it being a case of all or nothing. Precious chaps, these anarchists! That great enemy of the state, Adhémar Schwitzguébel, Guillaume's right-hand man, who would rather chop off his own hand than place a voting-paper in a ballot box, is an officer *dans l'armée fédérale*[f]! as the *Bulletin jurassien* itself declares. Kindest regards to all our friends, especially Kaub and Mesa.

Yours very sincerely,
F. E.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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[a] See next letter. - [b] From February 1878 Lopatin stayed in Montreux. - [c] *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* - [d] F. Engels, *The Workingmen of Europe in 1877*. - [e] F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Part III. - [f] in the federal army

## 214

## ENGELS TO HERMANN LOPATIN[391]

IN PARIS

[London, 3 April 1878]

... My warmest regards to Lavrov. I was glad to see that his excellent article in the last issue of *Впередъ!*[a] had been translated for the *Vorwärts*; it will not be without effect.[392] Unfortunately my eye is in rather a delicate condition, which prevents my reading Russian; Russian characters always hurt my eye; let's hope it doesn't persist...

First published, in Russian, in *Istoriya SSSR*, No. 6, Moscow, 1959

Printed according to Lopatin's letter to Lavrov of 17 April 1878

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

## 215

## MARX TO THOMAS ALLSOP

IN EXMOUTH (DEVON)

[Postcard]

[London,] 28 April 1878

My dear and honoured Friend,

Mrs Marx is continually changing, sometimes up, then again down. As soon as the weather becomes more congenial, she must, of course, leave London.

Meanwhile we all hope to enjoy soon the pleasure to see you here.

I have received a whole lot of latest 'Russian' publications from Petersburg.[365] They bear witness to a great internal commotion.

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[a] *Vperyod!* (Forward!)

Bismarck seems to break rapidly down, bodily and otherwise.

Yours most devotedly,
K. M.

First published in: Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, Berlin, 1968

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## 216

## ENGELS TO WILHELM BRACKE[96]

### IN BRUNSWICK

London, 30 April 1878

Dear Bracke,

Herewith Lissagaray's receipt for the *300 marks* which he has changed into £15 at a loss of approx. 6 marks against gold at par, doubtless so that he should not have to acknowledge Bismarck's currency reform.[393]

I think that in taking the view you do of the Imperial railways and the tobacco monopoly[394] you may be looking a bit too far ahead. Aside from the enormous increase of power that would accrue to Prussian dominion, on the one hand through total financial independence of any control, on the other through direct command of two new armies, that of railway officials and that of tobacco sellers, and the consequent power to confer appointments and engage in corruption—aside from all that, it must not be forgotten that nowadays any transfer of industrial and commercial functions to the state may, depending on the circumstances, have a twofold purport and a twofold effect: one reactionary, a step back into the Middle Ages, one progressive, a step forward towards communism.[a] We in Germany, however, have only just crept out of the Middle Ages and are only this moment engaged in entering modern bourgeois society through the medium of large-scale industry and the crash.[395] In our case, what needs to be developed to the highest possible degree is precisely that *bourgeois* economic régime which concentrates capitals and accentuates contradictions,

[a] Cf. F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Part III, Ch. II (present edition, Vol. 25, p. 265).

notably in the north-east. To my mind the economic dissolution of feudal conditions east of the Elbe is, for us, the most essential step forward, along with the dissolution throughout Germany of small businesses in industry and the crafts and their replacement with large-scale industry. And, after all, the only good thing about a tobacco monopoly is that, at one stroke, it would change one of the most infamous cottage industries into large-scale industry. On the other hand, the state tobacco workers would also at once become subject to exceptional laws and, still worse, deprived of the liberty to associate or strike. In our case the Imperial railways and the tobacco monopoly are not of necessity state industries—the railways not *yet*, at any rate, whereas in England they are only just coming to be so; posts and telegraphs, on the other hand, *are*. And by way of compensation for all the disadvantages those two new state monopolies would bring us, we'd simply get a handy new expression to use in agitation. For a state monopoly that is set up simply for reasons of money and power, not out of compelling and intrinsic necessity, wouldn't even provide us with a proper argument. And the process of setting up a tobacco monopoly and abolishing the cottage tobacco industry would, what's more, take at least as long as Bismarckism can possibly hope to survive. Again, you may be sure that the Prussian state would both debase the *quality* of tobacco and raise the price to such an extent that the adherents of free competition would gleefully point to this discrediting of state communism, and the people would be forced to agree with them. The whole thing is an ignorant fancy of Bismarck's altogether worthy of his plan of 1863 to annex Poland and Germanise her within three years.

Had I known that the Party of Progress[312] had for years been proposing [the abolition of] tax exemption for the military, I should have advised you against bringing the motion in question. To my mind, our function is to support *bourgeois* demands only when the bourgeois parties fail to do what they damned well ought to; but judging by your own speech, this does not appear to have been quite the case. I merely mention this on account of Richter's reply.[396] Naturally I don't dispute for one moment that our airing of the question may have great advantages as regards propaganda, though I can't, needless to say, give an unqualified verdict from here.

I've now finished Mr Dühring, fortunately, apart from the revision of the final articles,[a] and trust I shall have no more of his

[a] F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Part III.

esteemed company while on this earth. What a conceited ignoramus! If the rest isn't printed quickly, it won't be my fault.

Kind regards.

Yours,
F. Engels

An excerpt from this letter was first published in: F. Engels, *Politisches Vermächtnis. Aus unveröffentlichten Briefen*, Berlin, 1920; first published in full, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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## 217

## MARX TO CARL HIRSCH

IN PARIS

[London,] 26 June 1878

Dear Hirsch,

I cannot lay hands here on Bucher's reply in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine*.[a] The *Frankfurter*[b] is said to have reprinted it.[397]

Kindly send it to me *by return*.

Yours very truly,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

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[a] *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* - [b] *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*

## 218

## MARX TO SIGMUND SCHOTT

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

[London,] 13 July 1878

Dear Friend,

Having had no word whatsoever from Germany, I should particularly like to know whether you got the letter.[12] I wrote you immediately on receipt of yours.

I don't even get newspapers if they are addressed to me in my name.

If you have not received my letter, perhaps you would be good enough to write in future (without further particulars as to the addressee) to Edwin Willis, Esq., 40 Maitland Park Crescent, London, N. W.

Yours truly,
K. M.

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## 219

## MARX TO SIGMUND SCHOTT

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

[London,] 15 July 1878

Dear Friend,

I got your letter on the very day I had already sent you a brief note[a] by a roundabout route.

In your last letter but one (of 30 June), you asked me *nothing* save whether some of the comments in the German press on my first epistle to *The Daily News*[b] had reached me. Answer: no.

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[a] See previous letter. - [b] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Herr Bucher*. -

I would not dream of dedicating a 'book' to Mr Bucher. He owes me an answer to my '30' lines.[a] I have neither the time nor any reason to supply the '3,000' lines he deems necessary in place of his own.[398] This fable is the progeny of the London correspondent of the *Vossische Zeitung*, he, so far as I am aware, being Dr Elard Biscamp, a notorious blackguard.[399] This time, however, his bad joke has come off.

The state of my health bids me go to Karlsbad. But Mr Bismarck, who was so urgently bidden to go to Kissingen, doesn't want me to.[29] Что дѣлать? (*que faire?*[b]), as the Russians say.[400] Look round for a makeshift in the shape of a British seaside resort not as yet under the aegis of the new Holy Alliance's[143] saviours of society. My wife is seriously ill and will probably have to go to Karlsbad; it seems unlikely that her ex-ladyship, the ex-Baroness von Westphalen, will be regarded as contraband.

I trust your trip will do you good. Should you spend any length of time in one place, you might write to me from there. I shall probably have an article of mine in English (not yet printed)[c] to send you which, however, will have absolutely nothing to do with the good 'FATHERLAND', AS THE ENGLISH CALL IT.

With kindest regards,

Yours,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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## 220

## ENGELS TO VALERIAN SMIRNOV

IN LONDON

[London,] 16 July 1878
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Mr Smirnov,

Yesterday I sent you a copy of my anti-Dühring pamphlet[401] which I trust you have received.

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[a] K. Marx, 'Reply to Bucher's "Declaration"'. - [b] what is to be done? - [c] K. Marx, 'Mr. George Howell's History of the International Working Men's Association'.

I also wished to send copies both to Lopatin and to Lavrov, but I do not know whether Lopatin is still in Switzerland, nor the present address of either of them in Paris. If you could tell me to what addresses I should send the pamphlets, I should be most obliged to you.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (French), in *International Review for Social History*, Vol. III, Leiden, 1938

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## 221

## ENGELS TO OSCAR SCHMIDT

### IN STRASBOURG

[Draft]

[London, 19 July 1878]

Dear Sir,

In yesterday's no. of *Nature* I see an announcement of a lecture to be given by you at the natural scientists' conference in Kassel 'on the relation of Darwinism to Social Democracy'.[402]

That the advocates of Darwinism in Germany would not be able to evade the necessity of adopting a position vis-à-vis the socialist world outlook was something socialists had foreseen long before Mr Virchow so amiably tipped the wink.[403] Whatever that position may turn out to be, it can only contribute to the clarification of the situation and of men's minds. On the other hand, it is desirable from both points of view that this should be done in full awareness of the facts.

By way of making a contribution of my own, I am taking the liberty of sending you by post a copy of my work *Herr Eugen Dühring's etc.*, which has just come out.[401] In it, I have endeavoured to give, among other things, an outline of the relation of scientific socialism to the propositions of modern theoretical natural science in general, and to Darwin's theory in particular. The passages relating to Darwinism are marked.

With your permission, I shall in due course and from my own standpoint subject your lecture to the kind of ruthless criticism which alone does justice to free science and which any man of science must welcome, even when applied to himself.[404]

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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## 222

## ENGELS TO PHILIPP PAULI

### IN RHEINAU

London, 30 July 1878

Dear Pauli,

Let us hope our people will today do their duty, as we are entitled to expect after all that has happened.[405] Since Bismarck has perpetrated the colossal bloomer of trying to exploit all that shooting business to topple the liberals, and is now using the socialists simply as a pretext,[406] it is with even greater pleasure that we can observe the champions of law and order squabbling amongst themselves. I cannot comprehend Bismarck; his 'nerves' must have gone completely to pieces, together with what little intelligence he still had. *Passe encore*[a] that he should fail to see that what his Bonapartist game effectually boils down to is the alternate playing off of the workers against the bourgeois and of the bourgeois against the workers, thus doing both in the eye. But it's plain madness for *him* to want to overthrow the liberals, those 'we are but dogs'[407] yes-men who will go on licking the boot that kicks them up the backside in return for a bare minimum of cajolery—those liberals who are his only protection against the out-and-out feudal-orthodox-reactionary court—and thus to deliver himself up irrevocably to the reactionaries, the very people he has betrayed and persecuted and by whom he is mortally detested. And he calls himself a 'statesman'! And proposes to bring about the downfall of the socialists by means of a policy that

[a] It's not so bad

can benefit no one save the socialists! Were the worthy fellow in our pay, he could not work better on our behalf. What is more, he actually postpones the sitting of the Reichstag until the last moment, simply in order that the anti-socialist battue may have time to peter out, the bourgeois to become ashamed of his abject role of denouncer, and the parties of law and order to fall so thoroughly foul of each other as to lose all hope of sorting themselves out again. And while socialism is having its roots so lavishly manured *at the base*, it is supposedly being killed off by the pruning of a few of its topmost shoots in September! No, dear Bismarck, *cacatum non est pictum*.[a]

Thanks for the newspaper. Three-quarters of all the hullaballoo is sheer fabrication on the part of the *Londoner Journal* (Dr Juch, an old good-for-nothing wastrel of the most disreputable kind, and Schweitzer, book-printer, who received a drubbing during the Crown Prince[b] demonstration but was too much of a coward to complain!); what is more, this paper is *intent* on being purchased by the reptile fund[408] which, however, already possesses a paper here in the shape of the *Hermann* and takes the view *non bis in idem*.[c] The truth of the matter is that, in two associations over here, a few louts of German origin, likewise most disreputable, are kicking up a great row so that they may, apropos the business of the shootings in Berlin, cut a dash as representatives here of the workers of all countries. The seductive prospect of having a rôle to play has misled little Ehrhart of Mannheim into consorting with this gang. For the third time now in approximately four years they have proclaimed themselves the international central council of the proletariat.[d] Should this shouting and scribbling go beyond a certain point, we shall be obliged to unmask these gentry in public so that people shan't think we are at the back of this balderdash—something it is wholly in the interests of reaction to disseminate.

The prospect of a trip to Germany this year would seem to be poor, even if politics were not becoming ever more obstructive. I shall be glad if I can get my wife to the nearest seaside town for a couple of weeks; hitherto it wasn't even to be thought of. Last week she scarcely ever left her bed. The thing is *exceedingly grave* and might turn out very badly. Mrs Marx, too, is unwell with liver and stomach trouble, and has been told by the leading specialist here that, while there's no getting rid of it altogether, it might be made bearable. We don't yet know what spa he will prescribe.

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[a] Cacking isn't painting. - [b] Frederick III - [c] not to pay twice for the same thing - [d] See this volume, pp. 364-65.

Marx is comparatively well for this time of year. His eldest daughter has had another baby, a boy.[409] Congratulations from us all on your 'No. 8'.[410] So if Mrs Marx isn't sent to the Continent, you are unlikely to have any visitors from over here this year.

Pumps is as lazy about writing as ever, if not more so. But in other respects the school in Manchester has done her a lot of good.[411]

Kindest regards from us all to you, your wife[a] and the children.

Your
F. Engels

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## 223

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN PARIS

London, 10 August 1878
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Mr Lavrov,

I hope you have received the copy of my anti-Dühring[401] which I sent off to you yesterday. I should have sent it earlier had I known your present address. I wrote to Smirnov,[b] 4 Lower Charles St., and then to Lopatin,[15] 6 rue Linné, to ask for it, but neither has replied. Could you let me know where I should send Lopatin's copy? We find his silence somewhat disturbing, for an earlier letter,[c] sent to him at the same address, was forwarded to him to Switzerland where, or so he wrote and told me, he intended to stay only until the month of June; and since then *Начало*[d] reports his having been *arrested in Russia*.[412] Although the news is not without chronological snags, his silence makes us anxious.

As you will have seen, the German Darwinians have, in response to Virchow's appeal,[403] come out unequivocally against socialism.

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[a] Ida Pauli - [b] See this volume, pp. 312-13. - [c] Ibid., p. 307. - [d] *Nachalo* (The Beginning)

Haeckel, whose pamphlet I have just received, limits himself to speaking in general terms about the 'crazy doctrines of socialism',[a] but Mr Oscar Schmidt of Strasbourg is going to flatten us *con amore*[b] at the natural scientists' conference[c] in Kassel.[402] It's a waste of effort. If reaction in Germany gets the bit between its teeth, its first victims, after the socialists, will be the Darwinians. Anyway, whatever happens to them, I shall take it upon myself to reply to these gentlemen.[404] And in any case, we have every reason to be satisfied with that event as, indeed, with events in general. Mr Bismarck who, for 7 years, has been working for us as if he was in our pay, now appears incapable of moderating his offers to speed up the advent of socialism. *Après moi le déluge*[413] does not suffice him; he insists upon having that deluge in his own lifetime—let his will be done. I am only afraid that he will do his work too well and that the deluge will arrive before its appointed time.

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

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## 224

## MARX TO GEORGE RIVERS[414]

### IN LONDON

[London,] 24 August 1878
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

The London Correspondent of the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung*[d] indulged in the bad joke that I had written a book *Herr Bucher*[e]; thereupon the false rumour spread through Germany, and the

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[a] E. Haeckel, *Freie Wissenschaft und freie Lehre,* Stuttgart, 1878, pp. 3-4. Engels quotes from Haeckel in German. - [b] lovingly - [c] In the original: 'Naturforscherversammlung'. - [d] Elard Biscamp - [e] See this volume, p. 312.

Prussian Police did its utmost to confirm it by domiciliary visits at the shops of several booksellers intended to catch copies of *Herr Bucher*. Thus, you see, *Herr Bucher* is a hoax.

You will oblige me by sending me catalogues, if there be suit, of your American and secondhand books.

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

Reproduced from the original

## 225

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 4 September 1878

Dear Sorge,

With a view to restoring my HEALTH I am leaving today for Malvern where I shall spend three weeks.[415] (*Address*: Dr K. Marx, Malvernbury, Great Malvern, Worcester.) My wife has already been there some weeks and is seriously unwell; my little grandson[a] has been through a bad illness—and all this TROUBLE is the explanation for my not having written before.

As TO Douai, I am entirely of your opinion; do not give him *Capital*.[b]

My best thanks for your efforts over the Philadelphia PAPERS[416] and Weydemeyer's *Extract*.[417]

The copies have safely reached Engels and myself; it's no go so far as England is concerned, if only on account of the host of printer's errors; also, the translation has certain shortcomings which render it unsuitable for this country. However, I intend (on my return) to arrange for a somewhat AMENDED EDITION of it for London, but in such a way that I shall write a short foreword

[a] Jean Longuet - [b] See this volume, pp. 276-77.

while the book itself will appear under Weydemeyer's name. I.e. if that meets with your approval.

Mr Bismarck is working nicely on our behalf.

*Salut.*

Your faithful friend,
Karl Marx

I hope I shall soon hear better news of your health. My wife asks me to send you her warm regards.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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## 226

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH LESSNER

### IN LONDON

[London,] 12 September 1878
Half past one in the morning

Dear Lessner,

My poor wife[a] has just been released by death from her long sufferings.

I cannot send you the wine. However, you can have it fetched at any time.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Lizzie Burns

## 227

## ENGELS TO RUDOLF ENGELS

IN BARMEN

London, 12 September 1878

Dear Rudolf,

At half past one this morning my wife,[a] to whom I had been legally married the previous evening, died peacefully after a long illness.

I anticipate a number of additional expenses and, as my bank balance is somewhat low, you would oblige me by promptly sending me a remittance of about £200 at your earliest convenience.

Your
Friedrich

First published in *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 46, Bd. 3, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1921

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## 228

## MARX TO JENNY LONGUET[418]

IN MALVERN

[Postcard]

[London, 16 September 1878]

My dear Child,

I hope that the better news of Johnny[b] continues. You must let us have bulletins every day, and always the strict truth. The little chap is the apple of my eye. Above all, he must be spared undue exertion, hence not too much movement (passive or active) OUT OF

[a] Lizzie Burns - [b] Jean Longuet

HIS HOME. If he makes good progress, as I hope, it might be better not to leave until Saturday (instead of Friday[a]). For one additional day's rest and recuperation is of great importance in his case.

Today Engels took himself off to Hampton[419] with Madame Renshaw and Pumps who has already put on quite the air, not to say BEHAVIOUR, of a '*princesse régnante*',[b] along with the 5 GUINEA mourning gown; this last, however, has only served to increase her ill-conceived 'glee'. Tussy will be sending you further details of these peculiar goings-on.

According to the news sent by Liebknecht, Bismarck's Bill[420] will be rejected out of hand or else passed with modifications that will draw its sting.

MY BEST LOVE TO YOU AND YOUR MAMA. Puppy,[c] the good little fellow, is much improved.

Your
Moor

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## 229

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN LITTLEHAMPTON[419]

[London,] 17 September 1878

DEAR FRED,

I am writing this letter before going to your house (it is still very early); should I find a letter for you there, I shall send it under separate cover.

The news from Malvern is much better so that it won't be necessary for me to go there; but for safety's sake the doctor is now calling regularly every day; I had already suggested as much to my wife so as to prevent their constantly flying into needless

[a] 20 September (see this volume, p. 332). - [b] reigning princess - [c] Probably Henry Longuet.

PANICS on the one hand and neglecting necessary precautions on the other; but she and above all Jennychen foolishly objected, not wishing, as they said, to add 'needlessly' to the already enormous doctors' BILLS in Malvern. Now they realise that I was right. I had similarly prescribed a regular drive at the best time of day, whenever the child's[a] condition permitted. This, too, has now been endorsed by the doctor. These drives are Jennychen's only recreation and, for my wife—whose cure has been seriously impaired by the continual TROUBLES with the child—the only means of combatting these influences which are so detrimental to her health. So long as I remained there,[415] I saw to it that this was done.

Mr Eulenburg (*vide* PAPERS OF TO-DAY)[421] will not, for his part, be carrying any coals to Newcastle.[b] Anything more pitiful than the EXTRACT—quintessence—of his SPEECH I have yet to see. Stolberg, too, is good. The purpose of the exceptional law[420] is to deprive the Social-Democratic movement of every vestige of legality. *Probatum est.*[c] *Mettre hors la loi*[d] has, from time immemorial, been an infallible means of making anti-government movements 'illegal', and protecting the government from the law—*la légalité nous tue.*[422] Reichensperger represents the Rhenish bourgeois of the Centre.[423] Bamberger adheres faithfully to 'We are but dogs!'.[407]

Bebel has clearly made an impression.[424] (See *Daily News* OF TO-DAY.)

It's a good beginning.

According to various English newspapers our friend Kovalevsky has been shot in Odessa; they spell his name thus—Kowalsky. The FAT BOY, who came to see me on Sunday,[e] told me a very choice anecdote. Before his departure, sundry 'diplomatic' aspirants amongst his Moscow students had to sit an examination. They included a number of laddies much older than himself, notably Montenegrins, who were being given an academic training at the expense of the RUSSIAN *ASIATIC* (DIPLOMATIC) *DEPARTMENT*. These laddies are distinguished by their DENSENESS and advanced age, as once the country bumpkins at our grammar school in Trier, who were preparing to enter the seminary (Catholic) and most of them drawing stipends.

Although marks (for university examinations) in Russia run from 0 to 5, Kovalevsky awarded only two lots of marks—4 for

[a] Jean Longuet's - [b] A punning reference to the name Eulenburg, 'Eulen'=owls, and 'to take owls to Athens', the equivalent of carrying coals to Newcastle. - [c] It has been proved. - [d] To put outside the law - [e] 15 September

those who knew nothing at all and 5 for those who knew something. During the last examinations he was approached by one of his students, a long, lanky Montenegrin of 32, who said: 'You must award me a 5; I know that I don't know anything, but on the other hand I know that, if I get "another" 4, the ASIATIC DEPARTMENT will send me packing back to Montenegro; *so that's why* you must award me a 5.' Needless to say, he failed his examination with flying colours, since Kovalevsky—as, indeed, he had told him—could see NO NECESSITY for his continued residence in Moscow.

The oddest part of it is—or so Kovalevsky says—that all these laddies from Montenegro become imbued while in Moscow with a fanatical hatred of the Russians. They naively told him as much themselves, the alleged reason being that 'the Russians IN GENERAL, and Russian students in particular, tell us we're barbarians and blockheads and treat us as such'. Hence the Russian government achieves precisely the opposite of what it intended with its 'benefactions'.

What used to be a private joke of ours, namely that it's the Russian socialists who commit the 'atrocities' for which the 'law-abiding' German Social-Democrats are to be put *hors la loi*, has been adduced in all seriousness by the fatuous Stolberg.[425] Only he forgot to add that, alongside those 'atrocities', there exists in Russia a 'state of law' which is the ideal if unattainable goal aimed at by that squireen Bismarck's bill.

The fact that the Russians, with the support of Prussia and Austria, are yet again seeking 'European mediation' is a highly significant symptom.

*Adio.* I trust that you are recovering in Littlehampton from your recent shock. Love from Tussy and Lenchen.

Your
Moor

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## 230

## MARX TO JENNY MARX[26]

IN MALVERN

[London,] 17 September 1878

Dear Jenny,

As arranged on my departure,[415] herewith POST OFFICE ORDER for £3. If, in view of the change in circumstances, it shouldn't be enough, let me know immediately.

After my return I suffered from a very severe headache; however, that has got better since I received a reassuring letter about Johnny from dear Jennychen; and your good news today—still continuing, I trust—was balm to me.

I shall not say very much about the goings-on at No. 122 Regent's Park Road, since Tussy is YOUR REGULAR CHRONICLER in that sphere and I mustn't skim off the cream. But I can't resist telling you about one episode which, in its originality, is reminiscent at one and the same time of Balzac and Paul de Kock. When Tussy, MRS Renshaw and Pumps (she has now been KNIGHTED; Engels will be calling her Pumpsia from now on) were sorting out the dead woman's odds and ends, MRS Renshaw found, amongst other things, a small packet of letters (ABOUT eight, six of which were from members of the Marx FAMILY, two from Williams—Ramsgate) and made as if to hand them to MR Chitty, who was present at the operation. * *'No,' said he, 'burn them! I need not see her letters. I know she was unable to deceive me.'** Could Figaro (I mean the real one of Beaumarchais) have *trouvé cela*[a]? As MRS Renshaw remarked later to Tussy: *'Of course, as he had to write her letters, and to read to her the letters she received, he might feel quite sure that these letters contained no secrets for him—but they might do so, for her.'*

Together with this letter I am today sending you *The Daily News* and *The Standard*, on account of the telegrams about the German Reichstag.[421] Bebel WAS EVIDENTLY THE ONLY SPEAKER IMPOSING[424]; the government spokesmen—Stolberg and Eulenburg—deplorable beyond words; Bamberger true to his motto 'We are but dogs!'[407];

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[a] thought that up (an allusion to Figaro's words from Beaumarchais' *La folle journée, ou le mariage de Figaro*, Act V, Scene 8: 'Ah, Figaro, pends-toi; tu n'as pas deviné celui-là!')

Reichensperger—the Rhenish bourgeois under the thumb of the Catholic Party of the Centre.[423] Even lickspittle Reuter doesn't think this first performance much of a success!

I hope that you and Jennychen will get a little better during this week; keep on going for drives, *ensemble*,[a] WIND, WEATHER AND THE HEALTH OF THE CHILD[b] PERMITTING; should this not be possible for once, *you yourself* should never miss a drive; but I hope the little lad WILL BE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE and hence, too, his sorely tried mama. Best wishes to Jennychen and a kiss for Johnny.

*Adio.*

Your
Moor

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## 231

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Littlehampton,[419] 18 September 1878
Selborne Cottage

Dear Moor,

As usual I did not express myself clearly. Since I couldn't expect you to go over daily and forward me my letters, I sent the people at home a few addressed envelopes so that they might forward me the letters every two or three days. What I had meant to ask you to do was to make sure, during the first few days, that the letter concerning money I was expecting wasn't left lying around for a number of days, and that the general business of sending stuff became a regular routine; also to take an occasional look at the newspapers and other papers that had arrived (and were, according to my instructions, to remain there) in case they should include anything that called for attention. I hope we now understand one another.

[a] together - [b] Jean Longuet

This morning's *Standard* contains a good article full of well-merited contempt on the subject of the law and the debate.[426] I am sending it to Leipzig.[427] The debate is deplorable enough as far as the law-and-order men are concerned. Bismarck, totally incapable of refuting the facts adduced against him by Bebel,[424] has recourse to the pitiful subterfuge of saying that he sympathised with the Social-Democrats until they began extolling the Commune—he, who himself patted the Commune on the back for copying Prussia's municipal statutes! And then he reviles as a band of robbers a party represented in the Reichstag, and the call to order is rejected!

I am sending you a *Kölnische Zeitung*.[a] First there is a demand for *Russian laws* for the *Germans*, and then the Petersburg correspondent says that since in *Russia those same Russian laws* have proved ineffective, the only remedy lies in a constitution, popular representation, freedom of the press, etc.! The stupid paper failed to notice this, as no doubt did our people too, alas. The *last part* of the piece from Moscow is also interesting. Mark the things and send them to Leipzig (Ramm—Hermann—Färberstraße 12[IIb]); they might notice it after all and make use of it.

Russia's numerous and forceful moves in Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, etc., would seem to be intended on the one hand TO FISH IN TROUBLED WATERS, WHERE SOMETHING MAY BE EXPECTED TO TURN UP AT ANY MOMENT and, on the other, to deceive public opinion at home. But who knows what may yet come of it? Bismarck may soon be so placed that his only recourse will be to seek another war with France, thus sparking off a European war of East versus West, in the course of which no one is more likely to go under than he. At all events, the Turkish war has shown how rotten the whole of Europe is, and that the eruption is closer than we might have expected. No matter what happens, it will turn out to our advantage.

I was delighted to hear that the little boy[c] is better, which means that with any luck the perpetual alarms are now a thing of the past.

Here it has been raining incessantly since yesterday evening. This little place consists of two parts—the VILLAGE and harbour on the River Arne, and the BEACH 500 paces to the south-east, some 150 houses on a dune, where one might well imagine oneself in Holland. SANDS as lovely and firm as at Ostend.

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[a] No. 249 of 7 September 1878 - [b] the address of the *Vorwärts* editorial board - [c] Jean Longuet

I may spend a couple of hours in London at the end of this week; IF SO I shall, if possible, let you know.

Your
F. E.

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## 232

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN LITTLEHAMPTON[419]

[London,] 18 September 1878

DEAR FRED,

ALL RIGHT.

Herewith a letter from Kaub, which please be good enough to return as I have not yet answered it. Hirsch has behaved like a fool during his stay in Paris and seems to be intent on achieving martyrdom. Incidentally, the goings-on in Paris patently show how right you were to warn me against making a pilgrimage to that city.

A fine republic, to let itself be ordered about by Messrs Bismarck and Stieber! Last night Barry came to see me. The Lausanne congress did not take place, as he learnt while still in Paris where he therefore remained. It was simply as REPORTERS that Hirsch and he went to the meeting, but the latter had already been dispersed, and those attending it taken into custody; Hirsch was not arrested until later that night, in his own house.[428] The next day the IRREPRESSIBLE Barry presented himself at the police headquarters (with the moral support of documents showing him to be correspondent of *The Standard* and a *contributor* to *The Whitehall Review*). There he saw a subordinate official to whom he applied for permission to see 'his friends', Hirsch and Guesde. At this he was given the addresses of the two police officers who had arrested Hirsch and Guesde. Both were outraged by the cheek of this ENGLISH *bifstek*, and ended up by pushing him out of the office.

Barry, undismayed, returned to the police headquarters where he managed to penetrate as far as the great Gigot. After exchanging a few words with big Barry, this 'POLITE' policeman asserted that he didn't speak enough English or Barry sufficient French; so rang for an interpreter. Substance of the conversation: that what Barry said about Hirsch's non-participation should be told to the examining magistrate, not the Prefect of Police; that the arrest was 'legal', etc. At which Barry: IT MIGHT BE LEGAL IN FRANCE FOR OUGHT HE KNEW, BUT IT WOULD NOT BE SO IN ENGLAND. At which Gigot, with solemn pathos: *Les étrangers qui viennent chez nous, etc., doivent se soumettre aux lois de la Ré-pu-bli-que frrrançaise.*[a] Whereat THE BRAZEN Barry, SHAKING HIS HAT, rejoined: '*Vive la République!*' This last exclamation brought the blood to Gigot's face, and he gave Barry to understand that he had no wish to exchange political ideas with him, etc. This time, however, Barry was merely bowed politely out of the room.

He has—vis-à-vis myself—put the lid on what was, on that occasion, amusing effrontery on his part. For he told me that he was going to spend another week at Hastings with his family and now *I* would doubtless have the time to get together for him material for articles (in *The Nineteenth Century*). He might well, in making this fresh onslaught, have fared worse than in the dens of the two French police officers.

Once again, Levy's paper[b] has shown itself to be the most shameless in London. In today's leading article he tells his readers that Reichensperger, speaking for the 'Centre',[423] came out *in favour of* the Bill[420] (for such was the interpretation put by Levy on the news sent him by his reptile[408] correspondent in Berlin), and Bismarck's majority was assured. By the by, even Levy, whatever his admiration for the GREAT CHANCELLOR, must needs confess that the great man HAD RATHER THE WORSE of it in his verbal encounter with the 'brilliant' Bebel.[424]

The only one of Utin's pamphlets I have yet looked at is that by *Adolph Samter* (*Die Reform des Geldwesens*); the following is a SAMPLE of how he quotes (he often quotes me, but paraphrases more often still; all the pamphlet boils down to is the silly notion of introducing, in place of the *bank note*, a '*commodity note*', something which had, to all intents and purposes, been introduced in 1848 with the Prussian government's *loan bank notes*). I say: 'Although gold and silver are *not* by Nature money, money *is* by Nature gold

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[a] Foreigners who visit our country, etc., must submit to the laws of the Frrrench Re-pu-blic. - [b] *The Daily Telegraph*

and silver, etc.'[a]; he, citing the correct page number, gives as a quotation: 'Gold and silver *is* by its nature money. *Marx*, etc.'[b] The art of reading would appear to be increasingly on the wane among the 'educated' estates in Germany. In the case of the said Samter, the nonsensical and ungrammatical quotation doesn't even conceal an evil intent. Thus he gives as a quotation from Petty, 'Labour is the father, nature the mother of *material* wealth', because when speaking of 'material' wealth, I said that in this case Petty's words were appropriate, etc.[429]

Apropos. Our FAT BOY, Kovalevsky, came across Ralston again in Switzerland and was immediately asked whether he knew the Russian socialist who had described him (Ralston) in the feuilleton of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* as a HUMBUG, COWARD, etc. (The article was written by my wife[c]). Kovalevsky, though he had some inkling of its provenance, answered truthfully that he knew of no such Russian. However, since that time Ralston (with whom he is again saddled over here) has become far less confiding. (The article in the above-mentioned feuilleton referred to a nasty piece of twaddle Ralston wrote on the subject of 'RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE'.[d])

Yesterday Mr Montefiore jun. came to see me; is going to Berlin; and, in a manner altogether typical of a young English man of letters, especially in London, said to Tussy: 'If only the Prussians would do me the kindness of arresting me for a day or two! What splendid material it would provide for an article in a review or a LETTER TO *The Times*!'

I went to your house and have sent off to you the letter I found there.

*Adio.*

Your
Moor

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[a] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part I, Ch. II (present edition, Vol. 35). - [b] A. Samter, *Die Reform des Geldwesens*, Berlin, 1869, p. 62. - [c] [J. Marx,] 'Vom Londoner Theater', *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*, 25 May 1877. - [d] W.R. S. Ralston, 'Russian Revolutionary Literature', *The Nineteenth Century*, Vol. I. No. 3, May 1877.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Littlehampton,[419]] 19 September 1878
Selborne Cottage

Dear Moor,

Letter *re* money received. I immediately telegraphed and wrote to N. Cohen & Co., telling them to pay the money into my bank. But since it was made payable as of *yesterday*, it is quite possible that they delivered the cheque to my house yesterday, or sent it through the post. Would you be so kind as to go and ask about it at my house? If nothing has been handed in or arrived at 122 Regent's Park Road,[a] then all will be in order and the bank will probably send the advice to me here tomorrow, as I asked them to do.

In haste, TO CATCH FIRST POST.

Your
F. E.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

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## 234

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Littlehampton,[419] 21 September 1878

Dear Moor,

I return Kaub's letter herewith. Hirsch would appear to have taken literally Mesa's assurance that, as a German, he would be

[a] Engels' London address

invulnerable in Paris. Now he's likely to pay for it with a spell in jug, for they'll remand him in custody for as long as they can.[428]

Barry's adventures really are killing.[a]

I, too, saw Levy's brilliant article[b] at a pub where I went to shelter from the rain. The paper[c] is worthy of the man.

It is high time there was a change in Constantinople, otherwise the numerous provincial insurrections will bring about a state of affairs conducive to the collapse of European Turkey—i.e. exactly what Bismarck and the Russians want so as to fish in troubled waters and not implement the Treaty of Berlin.[430] Midhat's return to Crete and a bold coup on his part could give a different turn to things. If the present state of affairs continues, the Russians will stay there and the renewed prospects of plunder this will give them might also stem the natural course of things inside Russia itself.

We are just off to spend a couple of hours in Brighton.

Your
F. E.

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## 235

## MARX TO ENGELS[431]

### IN LITTLEHAMPTON[419]

[London,] 24 September 1878

Dear Fred,

Herewith a scrawl from Liebknecht[432]; I opened the letter because I thought it might contain news of the party which would perhaps call for immediate action on our part.

I should be grateful if you would send back Lavrov's letter by return; it arrived today and has not yet been answered. The only

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[a] See this volume, pp. 327-28. - [b] Ibid., p. 328. - [c] *The Daily Telegraph*

interesting thing about it is the passage relating to Wróblewski,—probably correct, as it is in keeping with his temperament as *homme d'action*[a] and is, moreover, *plus ou moins*[b] confirmed by his silence where we are concerned.

After the opening of the Reichstag, I received the Bill submitted to the same by the government, together with the preamble[420]; yesterday, from the same quarter (Bracke) I likewise received the stenographic report of the Reichstag sittings of 16 and 17 September.[c] One has little conception—even at this stage—either of the AVERAGE Prussian minister's stupidity and his master's[d] 'ingenuity', or of the nastiness of his hangers-on, the representatives of the true-blue German bourgeoisie—until one sees before one the stenographic report of this, its most recent manifestation. I am to some extent occupied in making extracts from it for the English press, but I'm not yet sure whether it's quite what I want for *The Daily News*.[433]

The Russians' ploy in Afghanistan,[434] like the INCIDENTS in Turkey—all this is of little interest to me now except in so far as it provides *argumentum ad hominem*[e] in regard to European statecraft. I am, besides, convinced that nothing Russia, and Prussia INTO THE BARGAIN, can now do on the international stage can have other than pernicious consequences for their régime, nor can it delay the latter's downfall, but only expedite its violent end.

My wife, Jennychen and Johnny arrived here safe and sound on Friday[f] afternoon and the whole company took up quarters with us until yesterday evening when Jennychen removed, lock, stock and barrel, to Leighton Grove[g] so as to be there to receive Longuet. But the big man won't be arriving till this evening. The child is much better and, miraculously enough, Jennychen also recovered somewhat during the last few days of her stay in Malvern.

Yesterday old Petzler called in with a letter from a parson[h] who edits a magazine, also DABBLES IN SOCIALISM and wants SOME INFORMATION from me.[435] Meanwhile Bismarck has again succeeded in placing socialism *à l'ordre du jour*[i] so that even *la haute politique*[j] is in consequence *plus ou moins* lost from view.

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[a] man of action - [b] more or less - [c] *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags*. 4. Legislaturperiode. I. Session 1878, Vol. I, Berlin, 1878, pp. 29-91. - [d] Bismarck's - [e] argument based on facts - [f] 20 September - [g] the street in London where the Longuets lived - [h] Moritz Kaufmann - [i] on the agenda - [j] high politics

Hoping that Mother Nature is assisting your recovery, and with love from Tussy, Jennychen and my wife.

Your
Moor

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## 236

## MARX TO MORITZ KAUFMANN[435]

### IN BIRKENHEAD

[Draft]

[London, 3 October 1878
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.]

Dear Sir,

Mr Petzler told me you had written an article on my book *The Capital* and my life, to be reprinted together with other articles of yours, and that you desired me or Engels to correct any errors on your part.[a] I can of course not decide how far this is feasible before having got a copy of [the] said article.

The best history of the Commune is *Lissagaray's*: *Histoire de la Commune.* Its first edition, however, is exhausted and no second one yet published. The address of Lissagaray is: 35 Fitzroy Street, Fitzroy Square, London, W.; he may perhaps be able to procure you a copy of his work.

*En attendant*,[b] I forward you the 'Address' on the Commune written by me immediately after its downfall on behalf of the General Council of the International.[c]

I shall also send you—if you do not yet possess it—by post a recent publication of my friend Engels: *Herrn Eugen Dühring's*

[a] See this volume, p. 332. - [b] In the meantime - [c] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France.*

*Umwälzung der Wissenschaft*, which is very important for a true appreciation of German Socialism.

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

M. Kaufmann, Esq.

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## 237

## MARX TO MORITZ KAUFMANN[435]

### IN BIRKENHEAD

[Draft]

London, 10 October 1878
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

I have confined myself to point out in the proof-sheets one or two mistakes. To enter on the more important mis-statements, I had neither the leisure, nor would it have suited your purpose.

*Proof-sheet b.*

I have struck out: 'one of whom was the youthful Lassalle'. He was never a collaborator of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, though he first entered at that time into personal relations with me.

I have added 'the *Russian*' translation of the *Capital*, because it is exactly in Russia that the younger University Professors have openly adopted and defended my theory.[436]

*Proof-sheet d.*

I have struck out '*and formerly one of its members*'. *Mehring* was never a member of the German Social-Democratic Party; the fact is that, by denouncing to Liebknecht some operations of the manager of the reptile funds,[408] he tried to become a member. Soon after, having been publicly branded with infamy by a judgment of the Frankfurt tribunal, on the occasion of his action for defamation against Herr Sonnemann (the proprietor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*),[437] he boldly accepted his position as a literary

scamp. Even the most conservative amongst the honest adversaries of German Social Democracy would be rather startled to find such a man styled: 'the historian of Social Democracy'. Of course, he enjoys the esteem of Mr Bamberger who, as a refugee in Paris, after the downfall of the Revolution of 1848 in Germany (he had acted during that revolution the part of a spouting demagogue), got his practical training at the hands of the Second Empire financiers, enriched himself by his participation in the Mexico loan swindle,[438] etc., returned to Germany after the Prussian victory and became one of the leading spirits of the German '*Börsen- und Gründungsschwindelperiode*'.[a] It is not exactly Mr Albert Grant at London (and he is of the Bamberger stamp, and, curiously to say, native of the same town—Mayence) one would address himself to for information and criticism of the Owenite movement f.i.

How far you were happy in considering Mr Howell's article (in *The Nineteenth Century*) as a 'historical source', you may see from the sheet I forward with these lines.[439]

I shall forward you to-morrow Mr Engels' book.[b]

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## 238

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ARNOLDT

### IN KÖNIGSBERG

[Draft]

[London,] 21 October 1878

In reply to your esteemed letter of the 18th, I shall gladly take temporary charge of the documents concerned.[440] Having no fire-proof safe, however, I cannot, of course, accept responsibility in the matter of fire or theft, and should be obliged if you would *expressly* acknowledge this fact in your *accompanying letter*. Other

[a] 'stock-exchange speculation during the *Gründerjahre*' (a play on the title of Glagau's work *Der Börsen- und Gründungs-Schwindel in Deutschland*). - [b] F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*.

aspects can be dealt with in our subsequent correspondence. I shall preserve the papers concerned as carefully as those of a similar nature belonging to myself.

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## 239

## MARX TO AN UNKNOWN CORRESPONDENT

London, 4 November 1878

Dear Friend,

You would greatly oblige me by seeing if you could safely convey the enclosed letter to *Mrs Liebknecht's* address, *11 Braustrasse, Leipzig*. It concerns the 'stomach problem' for Liebknecht's family, but I don't trust the German post.[441]

Yours very sincerely,
Karl Marx

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## 240

## MARX TO ALFRED TALANDIER[442]

IN PARIS

[Draft]

[London, about 10 November 1878]

I have undertaken to write to you regarding the letter attacking Mr Barry in the *Marseillaise* of 6 October.[443]

When the *Marseillaise* of 6 October eventually and quite by chance—which I can prove—fell into Mr Barry's hands, he at once wrote a reply *in English* which he requested me to translate into French for him. For several days I postponed doing as he had asked—why, you will understand when you have read my letter. Mr Barry could not divulge all the facts

1) without compromising Hirsch, whose fate has not yet been decided[a];

2) without compromising Hirsch's brother-in-law[b] who is still living in Paris;

3) without citing me and thus probably getting me involved in a public dispute with you;

4) without attacking certain individuals who figure in your letter;

5) without exposing the bad faith of the *Marseillaise.*

In my opinion, it is not an 'opportune' moment to arouse the mirth of the reactionaries by squabbling in this way. On the other hand, Mr Barry is fully entitled to defend himself. And there we have the dilemma. The only hope of diverting him from his purpose seemed to me to be Mr Hirsch's arrival in London (which he had given me to expect in the event of his being expelled from France). Then, by the publication of a few lines in the *Marseillaise*, compromising no one, he could have satisfied Mr Barry. Unfortunately, there has been no sign of life from him since his expulsion. At length Mr Barry lost all patience and, since he perfectly understood my objections to the publication of his reply (which would have appeared, if needs be, in a Swiss newspaper), we agreed

1) that he would leave his reply in my hands for the time being and

2) that I would endeavour to settle the matter by writing to you.

I now come to the nub of the matter.

### *Facts*

1) The *Social-Democratic Club* (which was a section of *the International* while that organisation existed), 6 Rose Street, Soho, consists of two sections, one German, the other English. The former elected Mr Ehrhart as [its] representative at the congress, the latter Mr Barry. It having been noised about London that the congress,

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[a] See this volume, p. 327. - [b] Karl Kaub

banned by the police, would be held in Lausanne, the mandates were sent to the office of the Lausanne congress.[428]

Here is a copy of Mr Barry's credential, the original of which has been entrusted to me:

*'*Social-Democratic Working Men's Club*, 6 Rose Street, Soho Square.
'English Section. London, August 31, 1878.
'Citizens, The bearer of this Credential—Citizen Maltman Barry—is the representative of the English Section of the Social-Democratic Club of London.
'To the Bureau Socialist Congress. Lausanne, Switzerland.
'*Fr. Kitz, Secretary, English Section, Social-Democratic Club.*'*

Again, after Mr Barry's return, he was called on, in a letter from the secretary *Kitz*, to account to the club for the execution of his mandate. This letter is also in my possession.

It is thus completely proven that Mr Barry was the mandatory of a Social-Democratic (working-class) society and not, as you have disseminated, somewhat 'lightly', of the 'international police'.

2) You further say that, in his letter to the *Marseillaise*,[a] Barry complains 'of not having been arrested by the French police', to which you add: 'Citizen Hirsch does not, for his part, complain of not having been arrested, etc.', so giving the public to understand that you were speaking in Hirsch's name. But, in a letter to me dated 14 October, Citizen Hirsch describes your letter as 'infamous' and says he had not been told of it until after his release. You forget, by the way, that Barry was not the only English delegate to the congress, there having been at least a dozen, not one of whom was arrested by the French police. The *Vorwärts*, the central organ of the German Socialist Party (now suppressed), evidently grasped the point of that passage in Barry's letter when it remarked that 'the French government was perfectly prepared to please Mr Bismarck by arresting Hirsch, etc., but did not dare take complaisance so far as to lay hands on *Englishmen*'.[b] For that matter, Mr Barry, still acting in concert with Hirsch's brother-in-law, expressed his opinion fairly and squarely to Mr Gigot and, since the latter had minutes taken of that discussion, you are in a position to inform yourself from official sources as to the close relationship between Mr Barry and the French police.

But I forget that, for the greater glory of 'those who govern us', you seem intent on suggesting that the French police is not a member, but the dupe of 'the international police'. The powers-that-be of the Republic thought otherwise, excusing themselves

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[a] M. Barry, 'Les socialistes et le gouvernement', *La Marseillaise*, No. 198, 2 October 1878. - [b] 'Die Verhaftungen in Paris', *Vorwärts*, No. 109, 15 September 1878.

vis-à-vis Hirsch's brother-in-law by insinuating that 'those who govern us' should show some consideration for 'neighbouring powers'.

3) Now, what are the grave facts which authorised you to become '*the disseminator of so terrible an accusation*', namely that Mr Barry 'owed his appointment as delegate to those men' (the men, that is to say, of the international police)?

They are founded on nothing, i.e. on futile tittle-tattle which a highly suspect private individual by the name of *Schumann* retailed to you in secret, without Mr Barry's knowledge.[a]

Let us revert for a moment to Schumann. After his return to London, he had nothing more urgent to do [than] announce the happy news of his release to *The Standard*, a 'Tory and Bonapartist newspaper'. Then this same individual, wholly unknown to me up till then, gained entry to my house on a false pretext. As I was hauling him over the coals for the tittle-tattle repeated in your letter, he replied: 'But Mr Talandier did wrong; I told him expressly that all I was retailing was mere hearsay, that I personally knew nothing about Barry, etc.'[b]

*Of his own accord* he asked me for Barry's address, in order that he might be able to apologise to him. In fact he did nothing of the kind but, on the contrary, confided to a refugee, of whose connections with myself he knew nothing, that in an interview with him Marx had affirmed that he had also denounced Barry as a spy. This would seem to render superfluous any further discussion of the *honourableness* of your client and guarantee. Since then I have received some particulars about him which will find their way to Copenhagen.

In your letter you ask: 'How did Mr Maltman Barry ... come to write to the *Marseillaise*?' Very simply, if you please. Mr Barry, to whom I had given a letter of recommendation to Hirsch, was taken by the latter to the *Marseillaise* and presented to Mr Maret. After his return to London, Mr Barry sent a *letter in English* to Hirsch's brother-in-law, who was supposed to decide when the

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[a] The following sentence is crossed out in the manuscript: 'And you find it strange that Mr Barry did not reply publicly to the accusations secretly directed against him? -

[b] The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: 'As for me, I know very well whence all this tittle-tattle about Mr Barry comes. It is spread by some intriguers from the so-called *International Labour League*[444] which is actually neither "international" nor a "*Labour* League". They have a grudge against Barry because at the *International Congress at The Hague* (1872)[20] he shared the opinion of the vast majority of the General Council against these gentlemen, etc.'

time was ripe for its insertion in the *Marseillaise*. The said brother-in-law, thinking it might be of service to Hirsch, translated the letter into French and handed it *in person* to the editorial department of the *Marseillaise*. Hence, by publishing your denunciation without any comment whatsoever, that paper perpetrated a gross impropriety, which can only be explained by your letter to Mr Henri Maret, published in the same issue of the paper.[a] This is especially improper when it is taken into consideration that you are a friend and correspondent of Mr Bradlaugh[445] who is a personal enemy of Mr Barry and of the late *International*.

4) Another complaint weighing on Mr Schumann's tender conscience and mentioned by you, is Mr Barry's alleged activity in Paris as 'correspondent ... of *The Standard*, an English Tory and ... *Bonapartist* newspaper'.

To call *The Standard* a 'Bonapartist' newspaper is a joke. So long as Louis Bonaparte remained a useful ally, exploitable by England, he was cosseted by *The Standard*, but not in such a disgusting manner as by *The Times*, nor so naively as by Messrs Bright and Cobden, then the leaders of the English radicals, and *The Standard* never sold itself to him as did the liberal newspaper, *The Daily Telegraph*. Today—and still in the English interest—*The Standard*, along with almost the whole of the English press, has changed, where French affairs are concerned, into a partisan of the 'moderate', if not 'opportunist' republic.[446]

All that remains, then, is the epithet 'Tory'. Kindly note that the said Tory newspaper never ceases to attack the new Holy Alliance[143] and its chief, Mr *Bismarck*, whereas *The Times* acts as his *semi-official* organ, as he himself declared in the German Reichstag. Well, now, Mr Eccarius—one of the delegates of the so-called *International Labour Union*, to which Schumann and Mr Bradlaugh belong, acted as *Times* correspondent at the Paris Congress. So why should Mr Barry not have done likewise for *The Standard*? You have lived long enough in England to know that the English working class has no newspaper at its disposal and is therefore compelled, on the occasion of working men's congresses, etc., to look for publicity to the papers of its masters, whether Whig or Tory, and that in neither case is it expected to accept responsibility for the opinions of either. You have lived long enough in England not to seek to attach labels, borrowed from the vocabulary of the French parties, to English political relations. For

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[a] *La Marseillaise*, No. 202, 6 October 1878.

otherwise, I feel sure, you would never have accepted the post of English government official.

5) The circumstances being what they were, this would only have been considered reprehensible had you—like that great republican Karcher, correspondent of the *République française*—dedicated a book to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge.[a]

Finally, I come to the last item in your accusation against Mr Barry. In the first place, it seems that he committed an unpardonable offence in having acted in a manner contrary to the views of *L'Homme libre* and of Mr Bradlaugh on the Eastern Question. It has to be admitted that, if this places a man under suspicion of being affiliated to the international police, then the great majority of socialists in all the countries of Europe and in the United States would have to share the ill-fortune of Mr Barry.

7)[b] And now I come to the last item in your philippic. And very grave indeed it is—Mr Barry allowed a week to go by before deigning to reply to one of the scurrilous articles published by Mr Bradlaugh in *The National Reformer*[447]! ... But there are attenuating circumstances.[c]

8) Mr Barry was the less concerned about Mr Bradlaugh's articles dated 22 and 29 August in that, as early as *13 July*, he had published in *The Spectator* an article under his own name in which he explained at some length the line of conduct adopted by him during the dispute among the English parties provoked by the Eastern War. He took care to 'disseminate' that article by getting it reprinted in the form of a flysheet.

It was for the compatriots of Mr Barry to decide between the latter and Mr Bradlaugh for—be it noted—the articles in *The*

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[a] T. Karcher, *Les écrivains militaires de la France.* - [b] There is no point 6 in Marx's draft. - [c] The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: 'First of all, rightly or wrongly, *The National Reformer* exercises no influence on English public opinion. Again, Mr Barry was a member of the General Council of the International when the latter publicly denounced Mr Bradlaugh as a "Bonapartist": his connections (in London) with Plon-Plon earned him widespread notoriety; as to his intimacy with the *"PETTY COAT" diplomacy* of the Bonapartist party (in London),[448] Citizen Leblanc can enlighten you; finally his interviews with Bonapartists in Paris were described by me at the time in a London paper,[449] a time when Longuet, Serraillier, etc., and other French refugees were publicly condemning the man who dared to reprint the infamous comments in the Bonapartist and gutter press upon the expatriate Communards; when he was publicly dressed down even by men such as Hales, Jung, etc., who now keep company with him in the so-called "INTERNATIONAL LABOUR LEAGUE", for his attacks on the International. Remembering all this, Mr Barry could well afford to ignore Bradlaugh's scurrilous articles in *The National Reformer.*'

*National Reformer* of 22 and 29 August were nothing more than a 'rehash'. And decide his 'compatriots' did—*on the 22nd of July*. On that day there was a big public meeting (in London), convened by the *Social-Democratic Club*, to uphold the cause of the German Socialist Party vis-à-vis Bismarck; all the newspapers published verbatim accounts of it and did not conceal from the public that the chairman, elected chairman of that meeting was—Mr *Maltman Barry*.

9) I will not touch on the attitudes adopted by the various parties during the Eastern War. If all those who failed to follow the line set by Mr Bradlaugh, not to say *L'Homme libre*, have incurred the suspicion of being affiliated to one kind of police or another, I very much fear that the vast majority of socialists in Europe and the United States will find themselves tarred with the same brush as Mr Barry. But we should be perfectly capable of calling in question the competence of a tribunal which seems to us, at any rate, to be an abettor of the new Holy Alliance. On top of everything else, Mr Barry had one particular reason for overlooking Mr Bradlaugh's impertinence, namely the resolution passed in 1871 by the members of the majority on the former *General Council of the International* (to which Mr Barry belonged) to ignore Mr Bradlaugh until such time as he had *refuted* the public denunciations by that Council in respect of 1) the intimate relations between the editor of *The National Reformer* and Plon-Plon and other Bonapartists, both male and female; 2) the lies he published about *the International*; 3) the calumnies directed against the Communards in London, deriving from the muddied waters of the Bonapartist and gutter press.

At all events, you now know that there is no substance whatever in your letter attacking Mr Barry. All that is wanted of you is a declaration in the *Marseillaise*, stating in a few lines that, after having received the required information, you withdraw your denunciation.

Yours very faithfully,

Karl Marx

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## 241

## MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[320]

### IN ST PETERSBURG[450]

London, 15 November 1878
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My dear Sir,

I received this morning your letter, dated October, 28th.

I did not receive the letter you allude to; it may have been intercepted by the German post or been lost; the Prussian postmasters having so much been interfered with on the part of Government, that many letters 'vanished', nobody knows whither, even by mere blundering. In point of fact, the last letter I had the honour to get from you, is dated—*7th May 1877.*[a]

The interruption of my own correspondence to you was simply the result of warnings I had received (since the latter date), on the part of friends residing in Russia, to suspend letter-writing to them, as it might, despite the innocent contents of the letters, bring them into trouble.

In regard to the second edition of *Capital*, I beg to remark[451]:

1) I wish that the *divisions into chapters*—and the same holds good for the *subdivisions*—be made according to the French edition.

2) That the translator compare always carefully the second German edition with the French one, since the latter contains many important changes and additions (though, it is true, I was also sometimes obliged—principally in the first chapter—to '*aplatir*'[b] the matter in its French version).

3) *Some changes* I consider useful—*I shall try to get* [them] *ready* for you at all events *within 8 days*, so that I may despatch them Saturday next (to-day is Friday).[c]

So soon as *the second volume* of the *Capital*[62] will go in print—but this will hardly be before the end of 1879—you shall get the manuscript in the way demanded.

I have received some publications from Petersburg, for which my best thanks.[365] Of the polemics of *Tschischerin* and other people against me, I have seen nothing, save what you sent me in 1877 (one article of Sieber, and the other, I think, of Michailoff,[d] both in the *Fatherlandish Annals*,[e] in reply to that queer would-be

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[a] Presumably a reference to Danielson's letter of 7 March 1877. - [b] simplify - [c] See this volume, p. 346. - [d] Nikolai Mikhailovsky - [e] *Отечественныя Записки.*

Encyclopedist—Mr Joukowski). Prof. Kowalewskiy, who is here, told me that there had been a rather lively polemics on the *Capital*.[452]

[The][a] English crisis which I predicted on p. 351 of the French edition, note—has at last come to a head during the past few weeks. Some of my friends—theoreticians and businessmen—had asked me to omit that note because they thought it unfounded. So convinced were they that the crises in the north and south of America and those in Germany and Austria were bound, as it were, to 'cancel out' the English crisis.

The first country in which business will describe an *ascending* line is the *United States* of North America. Only this improvement will there set in under conditions altogether altered—for the worse. The people will try in vain to get rid of the monopolising power and the (as far as the *immediate happiness* of the masses is concerned) baneful influence of the great *compagnies* swaying industry, commerce, property in land, railroads, finance—at an always accelerated rate since the outbreak of the Civil War.[453] The best Yankee writers are loud in proclaiming the stubborn fact that, if the Anti-Slavery war has broken the chains of the black, it has on the other hand enslaved the white producers.[454]

The most interesting field for the economist is now certainly to be found in the United States, and, above all, during the period of 1873 (since the crash in September) until 1878—the period of chronic crisis. Transformations—which to be elaborated did require in England centuries—were here realised in a few years. But the observer must look not to the older States on the Atlantic, but to the newer ones (*Ohio* is a striking example) and the newest (*California* f.i.).

The imbeciles in Europe who fancy that theoreticians like myself and others are at the root of the evil, might learn a wholesome lesson by reading the *official* Yankee reports.

You would much oblige me by some information which you as a banker must possess—on the present state of Russian finance.

Yours very truly,
A. W.[b]

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[a] The passage from here to the words 'Only this improvement' was written in French in the English original. - [b] A. Williams (Marx' pseudonym).

## 242

## ENGELS TO ERNST DRONKE

### IN LIVERPOOL

[Copy]

[London,] 19 November 1878

My dear Dronke,

I wrote to you in the beginning of this month[15] to inform you that I had been legally advised that the policy you deposited with me as security[a] was no security whatever unless assigned to me by Mrs Dronke, and that therefore I had instructed my solicitors to draw up a form accordingly.

On the 10th I informed you[15] that this form had been handed to Messrs Whitley and Maddock, solicitors, 6 Water St., Liverpool, and requested you to call and examine it.

I have not had a reply from you to either of these communications, and am now informed that up to the 17th at least you had not called at Messrs Whitley and Maddock.

As none of my letters have been returned to me by the post, I must conclude that they have reached you. However to make matters sure, I have requested Messrs Whitley and Maddock to have this letter delivered at your house. It is needless for me to repeat that unless the above documents are signed and in my hands on the morning of the 23th inst. at latest, I shall decline paying the payment then due.

Your truly
F. E.

London, 19 November 1878

To E. Dronke
The assignment of Policy

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, pp. 165, 171.

## 243

## MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

### IN ST PETERSBURG[450]

London, 28 November 1878

*My dear Sir,

I have received the three books with best thanks.[a] I was prepared, by some Russian friends, to expect, on the part of Mr Tshitscherin, a very feeble production, but my expectations have been surpassed. He is evidently unacquainted with the very elements of Political Economy and fancies that, by being edited under his name, the trivialities of the Bastiat school become transformed into original and self-evident truths.

Last week I was prevented from looking at the *Capital.* I have now done so, and find that—save the changes which the translator must make by comparing the second German edition with the French one—only a very few alterations are necessary, the which you will find later on in this letter.

*The two first sections** ('Commodities and Money' and 'The Transformation of Money into Capital') *are to be translated exclusively from the *German text.* There, *p. 86,* line 5 from bottom* READ: 'And, as a matter of fact, the value of each single yard is but the materialised form of a part of the social labour expended on the whole number of yards.'[455]

In Chapter XVI of the French edition (not contained in Chapter XIV of the German edition) the added passage on J. St. Mill, *p. 222, column II, line 12 from bottom, should read*: 'I always assume, he says, the actual state of affairs which predominates wherever workers and capitalists are distinct classes, etc.!'[b 456] *The following two sentences, viz.:* 'It is a strange optical illusion to see everywhere a state of affairs which as yet exists as an exception in this world of ours! But to continue'—* are to be *struck out,* and the following sentence is to be read thus: *

'Mr Mill would like to think there is no absolute necessity that such should be the case—even in an economic system where workers and capitalists are distinct classes.'[457]

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[a] *Сборникъ государственныхъ знаній,* vols V and VI, 1878, containing B. N. Chicherin's articles 'Нѣмецкіе соціалисты: I. Лассаль' and 'Нѣмецкіе соціалисты: II. Карлъ Марксъ', and A. Chuprov's book *Желѣзнодорожное хозяйство,* Vol. II. - [b] Here and below Marx quotes from the French edition of *Capital* in French.

The crisis and ensuing work stoppages, the closure of factories and bankruptcies *proceed boisterously in the industrial counties, but here at London, in order not to frighten the general public, the newspapers do their best to hush these unpleasant but stubborn 'incidents'. One reading only the London money articles gets indeed but very scanty information.

Yours most sincerely,

A. Williams*[a]

First published abridged, in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 1, St Petersburg, 1908 and in full, in German, in *Die Briefe von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels an Danielson*, Leipzig, 1929

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## 244

## ENGELS TO ERNST DRONKE

### IN LIVERPOOL

[Draft]

London, 29 November 1878

My dear Dronke,

I hear from Messrs Whitley and Maddock that you informed them of your intention not to have the assignment of the Policy executed.[b] Moreover I have not had a word of reply or explanation from yourself. Under these circumstances I can only again repeat, that the Policy belongs to Mrs Dronke and that you had no right whatever to dispose of it. It is therefore no security for me unless assigned by her in the form prescribed by law. Unless this is done, I shall know how to qualify the transaction, and of course shall not pay any premium to keep it in existence.

Yours truly

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

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[a] Marx's pseudonym - [b] See this volume, p. 345.

# 245

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 12 December 1878
122 *Regent's Park Road*, N. W.

Dear Old Man,

We are all most sorry to hear that things are going so badly with you and, so that you may at least have some help straight away, I have taken out a money order for you for £2 sterling on which, according to the information here, you will be paid 50 frs 40 over there. I have been told to retain the order *here*, as an order will be sent you by the Swiss post office in *Basle*, so unless this is done at once, you must complain. I shall see if I can get hold of some more money for you very shortly.

It will, if my own experience is anything to go by, be virtually impossible to obtain any agencies for you here. Having been out of business for almost ten years, I have seen all my commercial connections gradually die a natural death; when a man no longer has anything to haggle over, you see, he's no longer of any interest to those gentlemen. However, I shall see if there's anyone I might be able to sound out, although I can't for the time being hold out any prospects for you.

As for the *Précurseur*, by the way, if the paper doesn't pay for itself I wouldn't, if I were you, expend a single *sou* on it.[458] I cannot see why you should sacrifice yourself for the benefit of the Genevan workers and their local Genevan politics. If they want a paper, let them pay for it themselves. It's enough in all conscience that you should have to bear the brunt of the worry and the work. Considering all the sacrifices you have made, you really do have the right to call these people together and tell them that you can't go on paying, and that if they want to keep the paper going they must provide the resources themselves.

Today the news has reached us by telegraph that the Federal Council proposes to suppress the magnanimous Guillaume's *Avant-garde*.[a] I don't know whether it will really happen, but if for one reason or another the last Bakuninist organ were to

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[a] '(From Our Own Correspondent. The Socialist Movement. Berne, Dec. 11)', *The Times*, No. 29436, 12 December 1878.

disappear, and the Genevans proved unwilling to provide the resources, the *Précurseur* could all the more readily succumb.

Borkheim is still at Hastings, on the coast, confined to bed with the left side of his body paralysed and will recover, if at all, only very slowly. In other respects he seems cheerful enough, and writes from time to time.

Luckily the Prussians have now also placed a ban on my *Dühring*.[a] Henceforth nothing may be sold in Germany that is directed against bogus socialist rowdies. Thus *every* anti-Bakuninist publication by Greulich.[b] myself, etc., has been banned. In Bismarck's estimation, anarchist and Dühringian cliquishness should lessen our people's cohesion and bring about what he most ardently desires—an attempted coup that would enable him to *shoot*. Despite all this, our workers in Germany are behaving altogether admirably, and I hope that they will bring the entire Prussian empire to rack and ruin. This much, however, Mr Bismarck will have achieved: When the set-to begins in Russia—and it won't be long now—things will also be pretty well *au point* in Germany.

With warmest regards from Marx and his wife, and hoping to hear better news of you soon,

from your old friend,

F. E.

First published in: F. Engels, *Vergessene Briefe (Briefe Friedrich Engels' an Johann Philipp Becker)*, Berlin, 1920

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[a] F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*. - [b] H. Greulich, *Der Staat vom sozialdemokratischen Standpunkte aus. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit den Anarchisten.*

# 1879

## 246

## MARX TO HUGO HELLER[459]

[IN OXFORD]

[Extract]

[London,] 29 January 1879

Dear Friend,

... You would oblige me by copying for me verbatim the passage in Busch [OR Buret?][a] in which I am taxed with the bad taste of having preserved the life of the Champagne phiz...[460]

First published, in the language of the original (German), in the catalogue *Sotheby Parke Bernet and C°*, London, 1963

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## 247

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 30 January 1879

Dear Old Man,

It hardly needed a postcard from you for me to bestir myself on your behalf.[461] From a friend in Manchester[b] I have received one pound to be used for victims of the Anti-Socialist Law.[462] I could not put it to better use than by passing it on to you, and I have

[a] The words in square brackets were added by the compiler of the catalogue presumably because the name was illegible in the original. - [b] Probably Carl Schorlemmer.

also added a second, for which you should get a remittance of 50 frs 40 from Basle and get it, probably, the day after you receive this letter. I have retained the receipt. Anything more that can be done later on, will be done.

As to agencies, there's nothing doing.[a] Business here is absolutely rotten, and no one wants to take any chances.

So far as the *Précurseur* is concerned, I would, if I were you, tell the people in Geneva once and for all that I was not in a position *to pay out anything whatever* in respect of the paper. It is a crying shame. Not only do you take upon yourself all the worry and the work, getting nothing in return, but on top of that you are expected to cough up the expenses. But the Genevans have always been like that. Ever since Calvin and his predestination,[463] they have regarded themselves as the chosen people and expected everything to fall into their laps. It was thus in the case of the *Égalité*, when Utin had to supply both the work and the cash. It was thus in the case of the great building workers' strike, when the International had to provide the cash,[464] but knocked in vain at the Genevans' doors when there were strikes elsewhere.

We were much tickled by the news that, like Achilles, the great Guillaume has withdrawn sulking into his tent.[465] This was bound to happen. The anarchists weren't worthy of the name until anarchy broke out in their own midst. Still, Guillaume was at least the great Bakunin's successor—but that an upstart like Brousse should propose to turn the world upside down—why, it's positively ludicrous.

Over here Most is publishing a little sheet, the *Freiheit*, for the communist Workers' Society[55]; so far it has sold well.[466] We wish it all prosperity but otherwise, of course, have nothing to do with it, nor are we in any way responsible for its contents.

In Germany, by the way, things are going rapidly downhill. A walloping for the Reichstag[467]—such is the latest and best [piece of news]. Only let it carry on like this, with more and more taxes on top, and the good Bismarck will yet be surprised by his petty bourgeois, who are going to the devil fast enough as it is. Apart from the unavoidable suffering it will bring down upon individuals, nothing could be of greater advantage to us on the whole than what is now happening. Any harm Bismarck could do *us*, he has already done; what he is now doing affects our opponents, the petty bourgeois men of Progress,[312] and, with time, will also affect the liberal big bourgeoisie.

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[a] See this volume, p. 348.

So let him keep it up! And aside from this, affairs in Russia are going ahead splendidly, and that's the main thing. If there's an explosion there, then William,[a] too, might as well pack his bags.

Your
F. E.

First published in: F. Engels, *Vergessene Briefe (Briefe Friedrich Engels' an Johann Philipp Becker)*, Berlin, 1920

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## 248

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 1 March 1879

Dear Liebknecht,

We have again tried to come to an arrangement with *The Whitehall Review* through Barry, if only in regard to the Reichstag reports, but the jackass insisted on the articles being signed; so we had to give him a flat refusal and let him go. The negotiations lasted a pretty long time and, until matters had reached the stage of *oui ou non*,[b] there was, of course, nothing we could tell you.

The election in Breslau[468] has made a splendid impression here too. Still more, however, the speed with which Bismarck is ruining himself. He really is coming 'one cropper after another'[469]—going *de chûte en chûte*. He has now lost virtually all of his apologists in the English press—even *The Times*, which was very deeply involved with him, is trying to extricate itself.[470] Now that he's become a protectionist, the English, of course, are all the more reluctant to have anything further to do with him. Even in Germany, come to that, a reversion to the protectionist system would be downright reactionary. Still, it's excellent that Monsieur Bismarck should again be drifting towards dissolution.[467] Only let him drive the German philistines really wild and even they will lose patience in the end, particularly if their pockets are affected.

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[a] William I - [b] yes or no

And as for the MUDDLE Bismarck is making in the field of foreign policy, that is altogether beyond compare.

Most's little paper[a] seems to be making good progress—he turns up from time to time, but not often, and we cannot, of course, accept any responsibility at all for its contents. But we wish it success, of course, as we do anything that is moving in the right direction, however imperfect its methods may be.

Your
F.

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## 249

## MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[471]

### IN ST PETERSBURG[450]

London, 10 April 1879

My dear Sir,

When I received your letter of February (and at the same time the valuable prints, which have come to my hands like the others you mention[472]) my wife had fallen so ill that the doctors doubted whether she was likely to survive the attack, and meanwhile my own state of health underwent some serious shocks. (In point of fact, since, consequent upon the state of things in Germany and Austria, I was precluded from paying my annual visit to Karlsbad,[b] I have never enjoyed a comparative state of ease.) Under these circumstances which have only improved a very short time since, I could not study the papers sent me. In the meantime I had sent you a letter[12] by a German on the way to St Petersburg, limiting myself to an acknowledgement of your letter and recommending the bearer, but, to my great astonishment, he reappeared yesterday here and told me that, consequent upon some incidents, he had not got farther than Berlin and renounced altogether visiting Petersburg.

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[a] *Freiheit* - [b] See this volume, p. 312.

And now, *primo,* I am obliged to tell you (*cela est tout à fait confidentiel*[a]) that I have been informed from Germany, my second volume[b] *could not be published* so long as the present régime was maintained in its present severity. This news, considering the status quo, did not surprise me, and, I must confess, was far from annoying me—for these reasons[473]:

*Firstly:* I should under no circumstances have published the second volume before the present English industrial crisis had reached its climax. The phenomena are this time singular, in many respects different from what they were in the past, and this—quite apart from other modifying circumstances—is easily accounted for by the fact that never before the *English crisis was preceded* by tremendous and now already 5 years lasting crisis in *the Unites States, South America, Germany, Austria,* etc.

It is therefore necessary to watch the present course of things until their maturity before you can 'consume' them 'productively', I mean '*theoretically*'.

One of the singular aspects of the present state is this: There have, as you know, been crashes of banks in Scotland and in some of the English counties, principally the Western (of Cornwall and Wales) ones. Still the real *centre of the money-market*—not only of the United Kingdom, but of the world—*London* has till now been little affected. On the contrary, save a few exceptions, the immense joint-stock bank companies, like the Bank of England, have as yet only *profited* of the general prostration. And what this prostration is, you may judge from the utter despair of the English commercial and industrial philistine of seeing ever better times again! I have not seen the like, I have never witnessed a similar moral dislocation although I was in London in 1857 and 1866[474]!

There is no doubt, one of the circumstances favourable to the London money-market is the state of the *Bank of France,* which, since the recent development of the intercourse between the two countries, has become a *succursale*[c] to the Bank of England. The Bank of France keeps an immense amount of bullion, the convertibility of its banknotes being not yet re-established, and at the signal of any perturbation of the London stock-exchange French money flows in to buy securities momentarily depreciated. If, during last autumn, the French money had been suddenly withdrawn, the Bank of England would certainly have had refuge

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[a] this is in strict confidence - [b] of *Capital* - [c] branch

to its last remedy *in extremis*, the *suspension of the Bank Act*,[475] and in that case we would have had the monetary crash.

On the other hand, the quiet way in which the *restauration* of cash payments was effected in the United States, has removed all strain from that corner upon the resources of the Bank of England. But what till now mainly contributed to prevent an explosion within the London money-market, is the apparently quiet state of the banks of *Lancashire* and the other industrial districts (saving the mining districts of the West), though it is sure and ascertained, that these banks have not only invested great part of their resources in discounting of bills of, and advances upon, unprofitable transactions of the manufacturers, but have, as f.i. at Oldham, sunk a great part of their capital in the foundation of new fabrics. At the same time stocks, mainly of cotton produce, are daily accumulating not only in Asia (India principally) whither they are sent on consignment, but at Manchester, etc., etc. How this state of things could pass away without a general crash among the manufacturers, and, consequently, among the local banks, reacting directly upon the London money-market—is difficult to foresee.

Meanwhile strikes and disturbance are general.

I remark *en passant* that during the past year—so bad for all other business—the *railways* have been flourishing, but this was only due to extraordinary circumstances, like the Paris exhibition,[476] etc. In truth, the railways keep up an appearance of prosperity, by accumulating debts, increasing from day to day their *capital account.*

However the course of this crisis may develop itself—although most important to observe in its details for the student of capitalistic production and the professional *théoricien*—it will pass over, like its predecessors, and initiate a new 'industrial cycle' with all its diversified phases of prosperity, etc.

But under the cover of this 'apparently' solid English society, there lurks another crisis—*the agricultural* one which will work great and serious changes in its social structure. I shall recur to this subject on another occasion.[a] It would lead me too far at present.

*Secondly:* The bulk of materials I have received not only from *Russia*, but from the *United States*, etc., make it pleasant for me to have a 'pretext' of continuing my studies, instead of winding them up finally for the public.

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[a] See Marx' letter to Danielson of 12 December 1880 (present edition, Vol. 46).

*Thirdly:* My medical adviser[a] has warned me to shorten considerably my 'working-day' if I were not desirous to relapse into the state of 1874 and the following years where I got giddy and unable to proceed after a few hours of serious application.

In regard to your most remarkable letter I shall confine myself to a few observations.

The railways sprang first up as the '*couronnement de l'oeuvre*'[b] in those countries where *modern industry was most developed*, England, United States, Belgium, France, etc. I call them the '*couronnement de l'oeuvre*' not only in the sense, that they were at last (together with steamships for oceanic intercourse and the telegraphs) the *means of communication* adequate to the modern means of production, but also in so far as they were the basis of immense joint-stock companies, forming at the same time a new starting point for all *other sorts* of joint-stock companies, to commence by banking companies. They gave in one word an impetus never before suspected to the *concentration of capital* and also to the accelerated and immensely enlarged *cosmopolitan activity of loanable capital*, thus embracing the whole world in a network of financial swindling and mutual *indebtedness*, the capitalistic form of 'international' brotherhood.

On the other hand, the appearance of the railway system in the leading states of capitalism allowed, and even forced, states where capitalism was confined to a few summits of society, to suddenly create and enlarge their capitalistic *superstructure* in dimensions altogether disproportionate to the bulk of the social body carrying on the great work of production in the traditional modes. There is, therefore, not the least doubt that in those states the railway creation has accelerated the social and political disintegration, as in the more advanced states it hastened the final development, and therefore the final change, of capitalistic production. In all states, except England, the governments enriched and fostered the railway companies at the expense of the public Exchequer. In the United States they received as a present a great part of the public land, not only the land necessary for the construction of the lines, but many miles of land along both sides [of] the lines, covered with forests, etc. They became so the greatest landlords, the small immigrating farmers preferring of course lands so situated as to ensure their produce ready means of transport.

The system inaugurated in France by Louis Philippe, of handing over the railways to a small band of financial aristocrats, endowing

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[a] George Allen - [b] consummation of business

them with long terms of possession, guaranteeing the interest out of the public pocket, etc., etc., was pushed to the utmost limit by Louis Bonaparte whose régime, in fact, was essentially based upon the traffic in railway concessions, to some of which he was so kind as to make presents of canals, etc.

But in Austria, and Italy above all, the railways were a new source of unbearable state indebtedness and grinding of the masses.

Generally, the railways gave of course an immense impulse to the development of Foreign Commerce, but this commerce in countries which export principally *raw produce* increased the misery of the masses. Not only that the new indebtedness, contracted by the governments on account of the railways, increased the *bulk of imposts* weighing upon them, but from the moment every local production could be converted into cosmopolitan gold, many articles *formerly cheap*, because invendible to a great degree, such as fruit, wine, fish, deer, etc., became *dear* and were withdrawn from the consumption of the people, while, on the other hand, the *production itself*, I mean the special *sort of produce*, was changed according to its *greater or minor suitableness for exportation*, while formerly it was principally adapted to its consumption *in loco*. Thus f.i. in Schleswig-Holstein agricultural land was converted into pasture, because the export of cattle was more profitable, but, at the same time, the agricultural population was driven away. All these changes [were] very useful indeed for the great landed proprietor, the usurer, the merchant, the railways, the bankers and so forth, but very dismal for the real producer!

It is, to conclude by this my letter (since the time for putting it to post draws nearer and nearer), impossible to find real analogies between the United States and Russia. In the former the expenses of the government diminish daily and its public debt is quickly and yearly reduced; in the latter public bankruptcy is a goal more and more appearing to become unavoidable. The former has freed itself (although in a most infamous way, for the advantage of the creditors and at the expense of the *menu peuple*[a]) of its paper-money, the latter has no more flourishing fabric than that of paper-money. In the former the concentration of capital and the gradual expropriation of the masses is not only the vehicle, but also the natural offspring (though artificially accelerated by the Civil War[453]) of an unprecedented rapid industrial development,

[a] common people

agricultural progress, etc.; the latter reminds you rather of the times of Louis XIV and Louis XV, where the financial, commercial, industrial superstructure, or rather the *façade* of the social edifice, looked (although they had a much more solid foundation than in Russia) like a satire upon the stagnant state of the bulk of production (the agricultural one) and the famine of the producers. The United States have at present much overtaken England in the rapidity of economical progress, though they lag still behind in the extent of acquired wealth, but at the same time the masses are quicker, and have greater political means in their hands, to resent the form of a progress accomplished at their expense. I need not prolong the antitheses.

Apropos. Which do you consider the best Russian work on credit and banking?

Mr Kaufman was so kind as to send me his book on 'theory and practice of banking',[a] but I was rather astonished that my former intelligent critic in the Petersburger *Messager de l'Europe*[477] had converted himself into a sort of Pindar of modern Stock-Exchange swindling. Besides, considered merely—and I expect generally nothing else of books of this kind—from *Fachstandpunkt,*[b] it is far from original in its details. The best part in it is the polemics against paper-money.

It is said that certain foreign bankers with whom a certain government desired to contract new loans, have asked as a guarantee—a constitution. I am far from believing this, because their modern method of doing the business was, till now at least, and could be, very indifferent as to forms of government.

Yours truly,
A. Williams[c]

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[a] [Kaufman] И. И. Кауфманъ, *Теорія и практика банковаго дѣла.* - [b] the point of view of an expert - [c] Marx's pseudonym

## 250

## MARX TO RUDOLPH MEYER

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 28 May 1879
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

I enclose the letter from Mr Reichenbach intended for yourself[478]; at the same time I am sending you issue 10[a] per BOOK-POST.

I shall be pleased to make your personal acquaintance, having made sundry vain attempts to acquaint myself with your *Politische Gründer*.[b] If you are not already otherwise engaged, you will find me at home tomorrow at any time between 10 o'clock in the morning and 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

I am, Sir, Your obedient Servant
Karl Marx

To R. Meyer, Esq.

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## 251

## ENGELS TO J. GUGENHEIM

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 16 June 1879

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your esteemed letter of 29 May and regret that under present circumstances I cannot comply with

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[a] Marx is presumably referring to the tenth instalment of the French edition of his *Capital*. - [b] R. Meyer, *Politische Gründer und die Corruption in Deutschland*.

the wish expressed in the same that I deliver a lecture to your Society.[479]

The organ of that Society, the *Freiheit*, has thought fit publicly to attack the attitude of Social-Democratic deputies in the Reichstag.[480] Now even though statements have been made in the Reichstag by certain of our members which I, too, regard as inept (and about which I have not hesitated to express my views privately and in an appropriate place),[481] I can in no way declare myself in agreement with the kind of criticism chosen by the *Freiheit* and still less with its having felt obliged to pursue *this* kind of criticism *in public*.

You will understand that if I were willing to deliver a lecture to the Society under these circumstances, this would inevitably give rise to the view in Germany and elsewhere that I condoned the attitude adopted by the *Freiheit*.

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## 252

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN[482]

### IN ZURICH

[Draft]

[London,] 17 June [1879]

In reply to your esteemed note of the 13th, which did not reach me until yesterday, I regret to inform you that I am not in a position to give you the name of a person capable of producing the articles you desire in a really competent manner.[483]

For a number of years the English workers' movement has been going round and round bootlessly in a confined circle of STRIKES for wages and the reduction of working hours—not, mark you, as an expedient and a means of propaganda and organisation, but as the ultimate aim. Both on principle and statutorily the TRADES UNIONS actually exclude any political action and hence participation in any general activity on the part of the working class as a class. Politically the workers are divided into Conservatives and Liberal-

Radicals, into supporters of a Disraeli (Beaconsfield) administration and supporters of a Gladstone administration. So one can speak of a workers' movement here only to the extent that STRIKES take place which, victorious or otherwise, do not advance the movement by one single step. In my view only harm can come of inflating STRIKES such as these into struggles of world-historical importance (as does e.g. the *Freiheit* here), STRIKES which were, moreover, as often as not deliberately engineered by the capitalists in the late years of depression so as to have an excuse for closing down their factories, STRIKES in which the working class makes no progress whatsoever. No attempt should be made to conceal the fact that at this moment a genuine workers' movement in the continental sense is non-existent here, and hence I don't believe you will miss much if, for the time being, you don't get any reports on the doings of the TRADES UNIONS here.

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## 253

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

[Draft]

London, 26 June 1879
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Comrade,

I am sorry you didn't tell me from the start that in making your inquiry you had *my* reporting in mind[a]; had you done so, you would have received a definite answer straight away.

When, after being much pressed to do so, I decided to tackle the tedious Mr Dühring, I told Liebknecht that this was positively the last time I would allow journalistic activities to interfere with my more substantial work[484] unless political events made this absolutely imperative—something I alone must decide.[b] During the nine years I have spent here in London, I have learnt that it's

[a] See previous letter. - [b] Cf. this volume, pp. 257-58.

no good trying to complete more substantial works while simultaneously engaging in practical agitation. I grow no younger with the passage of time and must at long last restrict myself to definite tasks if I am to get anything done at all. I wrote and told Mr Wiede as much when he founded the *Neue Gesellschaft.*[a]

As for Mr Höchberg, you are mistaken if you think that I feel any 'antipathy' towards him. When Mr Höchberg founded the *Zukunft,* we got invitations to contribute signed 'the Editorial Board'.[313] Unless I am much mistaken, Mr Höchberg was not even known to us by name at that time, and it goes without saying that we paid no attention to anonymous communications of this kind. Soon after, Mr Höchberg made known his programme of the *Zukunft,*[b] according to which socialism was to arise out of the concept of 'justice'. Such a programme directly excluded from the outset all those who ultimately regarded socialism, not as the logical outcome of any idea or principle such as justice, etc., but as the ideal product of a material-economic process, of the social process of production at a given stage. Thus Mr Höchberg had himself precluded all possibility of our collaborating with him. But aside from the above programme, nothing has come to my notice on the strength of which I could form any authentic idea of Mr Höchberg's philosophical views. Not that all this is in any way a reason for feeling any 'antipathy' towards him, or prejudice against a literary venture for which he is responsible. On the contrary, I adopt the same attitude towards it as I do towards any other prospective socialist publication until I know what's going to be in it—one of sympathy and expectation.

But that is all by the way—the fact of the matter is that I must restrain myself from contributing to journals if I mean to finish work that really ought to be of greater importance to the movement as a whole than an article or two in periodicals. And, as you can see, I have for several years observed this rule impartially vis-à-vis all-comers.

I am also interested to see from your letter that people over here have led you to believe that I, and presumably Marx as well, am 'in complete agreement' with the policy of the *Freiheit.* Precisely the reverse is true. We have not seen Mr Most since he began his attacks on the Social-Democratic deputies.[480] Nor was he able to learn what we thought of this until the middle of the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 253-54. - [b] *Die Zukunft. Socialistische Revue. Prospect.* See also Höchberg's leading article, 'Der Socialismus und die Wissenschaft', published in 1877 in the first issue of the *Zukunft.*

month when I replied to an invitation from the secretary[a] of the Workers' Society[55] to go and lecture there.[b] I refused outright because it could only lead people in Germany, etc., to conclude that I agreed with the kind of polemic the *Freiheit* is conducting, and publicly at that, against the Social-Democratic deputies; little though I may approve of certain statements in the Reichstag, this is by no means the case.

As we have heard much the same thing from another quarter, we would be glad to be in a position that would enable us to scotch these misrepresentations once and for all. The simplest way of doing this would be for you, if you would be so kind, to let us have a copy of the relevant passages from letters so that we may know precisely *what* has been said about us and conduct ourselves accordingly. Your allusions could, of course, be only of a general nature, but for that very reason it is all the more desirable that we should have some definite information so that we can act upon it direct. After almost forty years, revolutionary tittle-tattle is something that has ceased to surprise us.

Should Mr Most fall into the hands of the anarchists, or even of Russians of Tkachov's stamp, it would at most spell his own undoing. These chaps will fall victim to the anarchy they have themselves created. Which is not to say that it mightn't be quite a good thing to knock them on the head every now and again.

Unless one or two of the works you mention are still to be had at the booksellers, I would not be able to get hold of copies for you; I myself no longer possess a copy of some of them and have tried in vain to get them second-hand.

As regards the French movement, besides our contacts with party members over here, we also maintain direct relations with Paris nor, for that matter, were the links we established at the time of the International ever broken at all. Thus, for instance, only quite recently we received a new socialist paper appearing in Oporto, *O operario*.

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[a] J. Gugenheim - [b] See this volume, pp. 359-60.

## 254

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER[485]

IN GENEVA

London, 1 July 1879

Dear Old Man,

The new half year has brought me in some money and I therefore hasten to notify you that I have sent off a money order to you for £4 sterling=100 francs 80 centimes; you will doubtless get it straight after receipt of this letter. I hope it will be enough to relieve your chronic ill-luck, if only for a short spell. I wish we could do more than just offer you an occasional helping hand, but as you know, recent events have led to heavier demands from all sides.

Liebknecht's unseasonable mildness in the Reichstag[486] has, understandably enough, created a most disagreeable impression in the Latin countries of Europe, as it has among Germans everywhere. Indeed, we immediately wrote and told him as much.[481] Agitation of the old, easy-going, lackadaisical sort, interspersed with an occasional 6 weeks-6 months in quod, is a thing of the past where Germany is concerned. No matter how the present state of affairs comes to an end, the new movement is starting off on a more or less revolutionary basis and hence its character must be far more resolute than in the first period of the movement, now concluded. Either the maxim about the peaceable attainment of the goal will no longer be necessary, or else no one will continue to take it seriously. By making that maxim impossible and giving a revolutionary cast to the movement, Bismarck has done us a tremendous service which more than outweighs the bit of harm caused by interference with agitation.

On the other hand, the aforementioned tame speech in the Reichstag has meant that big-mouthed revolutionary charlatans have again begun to raise their heads, and are trying to disorganise the party by cliquism and intrigue. At the hub of these machinations is our local Workers' Society[55] which still harbours braggarts of '49 vintage, *à la* Weber, Neustadt an der Hardt and family. After the revival of the movement in Germany, the people over here had lost such significance as they may still have possessed in the years 1840-62; now they see an opportunity of pushing their way to the top. Even in recent years young Weber,

one Kaufmann and others have constituted themselves the central committee of the European-American working men's movement on at least six occasions, but have always been obstinately ignored by the irreverent world. Now they intend to force it through and have discovered an ally in Most. The *Freiheit* is shouting for revolution by fire and sword which, for the worthy Most, is, of course, a quite unprecedented pleasure in which he could never before have allowed himself to indulge. Moreover, it has grossly exaggerated the goings-on in the Reichstag and made them a pretext for disrupting the party and forming a new one. This is to exploit the present exigency and enforced silence in Germany for the benefit of a few nitwits whose ambition is notably disproportionate to their capabilities—and if, as we have heard, Most has let it be known that he has our support, then he is lying. Since he embarked on this role he's kept well out of sight. *Au fond*,[a] it's as well that he should unmask himself like this, thus ruining any prospects he might subsequently have in Germany; he is not without talent, but horribly vain, undisciplined and ambitious, and so it's better that he should go and put his foot in it. Come to that, the *Freiheit* won't, presumably, survive much longer, and then all this will quietly relapse into oblivion.

With most cordial regards from Marx and

Your

F. E.

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## 255

## MARX TO CARLO CAFIERO[487]

IN NAPLES

[Draft]

London, 29 July 1879
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen,

My sincerest thanks for the two copies of your work[488]! Some time ago I received two similar works, one written in Serbian, the

[a] Really

other in English (published in the United States),[341] but both of them err in that, by seeking to provide a succinct and popular résumé of *Capital*, they also devote themselves in too pedantic a manner to the scientific *form* of the argument. Thus it seems to me that they more or less lose sight of their principal object, which is to make an impression on the public for whom these résumés are intended. And it is here that your work is vastly superior!

As to the concept of the *thing*, I believe I am not mistaken when I find an apparent gap in the views set out in your preface, which is that there is no proof that the *material conditions* indispensable to the emancipation of the proletariat are engendered in spontaneous fashion by the progress of capitalist production.[a]

Moreover, I share your opinion—if I have interpreted your preface aright—that one ought not to overload the minds of the people one is proposing to educate. There is nothing to prevent your making, at the right moment, a further attempt aimed at placing greater emphasis on this materialist basis of *Capital*.

Once again many thanks.

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

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## 256

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL[489]

IN LEIPZIG

[Copy]

London, 4 August 1879

Dear Bebel,

Since I last wrote on 25 July[b15] Hirsch has informed us of his correspondence with Bernstein and Liebknecht about the new

[a] In the original, the following passage is deleted: 'and the class struggle which finally leads to a social revolution. What distinguishes critical and revolutionary socialism from its predecessors is, in my opinion, precisely this materialist basis. It shows that at a certain stage of historical development the animal inevitably transforms into a man'. - [b] In the manuscript of the draft: 'which I trust you received (it was *registered*)'.

paper.[490] To judge by this, matters would appear to be materially different from what your letter had entitled us to assume.

Since Hirsch's altogether justifiable inquiries as to what arrangements had been made and who would be running the paper, on the one hand financially, on the other administratively, met with no other reply from Liebknecht save: 'the party plus Höchberg',[491] and the reiterated assurance that everything was in order—we could only assume, even then, that the paper would be financed by Höchberg and that the 'we' to whom, according to E. Bernstein's letter, 'the production and supervision' would be entrusted,[492] would, once again, be Höchberg and his secretary Bernstein.[a]

From Bernstein's second letter to Hirsch just received, it transpires that such is indeed the case.[493]

You will not, I presume, fail to perceive that the errors against which I warned in my last [letter] will now almost inevitably form an intrinsic part of the paper. Höchberg has shown himself to be exceedingly muddle-headed in matters of theory and, in practice, impelled by an irresistible urge to fraternise with all and sundry who profess to be, not merely socialist, but also and even simply *social*. He showed his true colours in the *Zukunft*, discrediting the party both as regards theory and in practice.

What the party needs above all is a *political* organ. And really Höchberg is at best a wholly unpolitical man, not even a social *democrat*, but a social *philanthropist*. Nor, according to Bernstein's letter, is the paper *to be in the least political*, but socialist on principle, which, in such hands, necessarily means social-fantastic, a new edition of the *Zukunft*. A paper of this kind would represent the party only if the latter were willing to degrade itself and become a mere appendage to Höchberg and his armchair socialist friends. If the party leaders were really to try and bring the proletariat under the leadership of Höchberg and his ambiguous friends, the workers would be unlikely to go along with them;

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[a] The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'That C. Hirsch cannot assume the editorship in these circumstances without quite *specific* guarantees of his independence vis-à-vis his superior on the financial side, goes without saying. I doubt very much whether *sufficient* guarantees of this kind could be given, and regard it as fairly certain that the negotiations with C. Hirsch will come to nothing. But even were they to succeed, it is virtually certain that Hirsch's position would ultimately become untenable through his being controlled by two superiors of whom one, who provides the finances, is not a social democrat but a social philantropist, and the other, as Liebknecht admits, "would himself like to be editor".'

dissension and disorganisation would inevitably result; but Most and the ranters over here would experience their greatest triumph.

In these circumstances, which were quite unknown to us when I wrote my last letter, we believe that Hirsch is absolutely right in refusing to have anything to do with the matter. The same applies to Marx and myself. Our consent regarding contributions was given in respect of a genuine party organ and hence was applicable only to such—not, however, to a private organ of Mr Höchberg's masquerading as a party organ. To that we would in no circumstances contribute.[a] Marx and I therefore specifically ask that you should kindly ensure we are not named as contributors.

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## 257

## MARX TO RUDOLPH MEYER

IN LONDON

[London,] 7 August 1879

Dear Mr Meyer,

I am today sending you your *Gründer*[b] PER BOOK-POST.

My departure[494] was held up as a result of Longuet's having fallen ill: he is feared to have gastric fever, and we shall probably hear today what the verdict is. If the thing's serious I shall have to abandon the trip to Jersey (which I wanted to visit because the place is new to my companion—my youngest daughter[c]) and go to a seaside resort near London. I shall be going to one of these in

[a] The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'We shall continue to correspond with C. Hirsch and shall see what can be done if he accepts the editorship. As circumstances are now, he is, of all possible editors, the only one in whom we would have sufficient confidence.' - [b] R. Meyer, *Politische Gründer und die Corruption in Deutschland.* - [c] Eleanor Marx

any case, even after my return from Jersey, along with Madame Lafargue and my grandson,[a] and look forward to your visiting me there.

Should anything unforeseen happen to precipitate your departure, perhaps you would be so kind as to return the volumes of periodicals (the Leipzig and Paris ones), at the same time letting me know (all letters will be forwarded to me from my house) whether the January issue (1879) of the *Österreichische Monatsschrift für Gesellschaftswissenschaften* was followed by a second.

With best wishes for your future, and cordial regards from my wife and my daughter, Eleanor,

Yours very sincerely,
Karl Marx

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## 258

## MARX TO ENGELS[495]

IN LONDON

St Aubin's, 14 August 1879
Trafalgar Hotel

Dear Fred,

I am sending this note to your London address since—to go by your letter to my wife[15]—there is no knowing that you will still belong to the population of Eastbourne after today.[496]

Herewith letter from Hirsch to me,[497] ditto letter from Louise Juta to Pumps.

Our crossing from Southampton to Jersey[494] was made altogether too watery by a tremendous downpour of rain; we arrived dripping wet at St Hélier where it was also 'pouring' hard. Since then the weather, after occasional vacillations and transitions and set-backs, has been very good. The farmers in Jersey thought

[a] Jean Longuet

the end of the world was at hand; they maintain that they've never had such a bad spring and summer. Tomorrow we are moving to the *Hôtel de l'Europe, St Hélier.* We are leaving our present lodgings in St Aubin's because Tussy and I cannot stand the monotonous daily fare of lamb or MUTTON in consequence of which I have, during the past few days, become an involuntary VEGETARIAN. We could find nowhere else to stay—we spent a great deal of time hunting round—in these parts. When we arrived in Jersey, it was still comparatively empty, but as time went on there was immigration on a massive scale, notably of FRENCHIES. When we made inquiries at the Hôtel de l'Europe this morning, it so happened, fortunately for us, that 60 French people were just getting ready to leave, whereas on the other hand the STEAMERS laden with fresh human scum had not yet come in.

On leaving London from Waterloo Station, we met Harney, who was seeing his wife off to Jersey. Luckily she already had a first class TICKET, whereas we were travelling second. On the BOAT we met again. Like us, she is not prone to SEA SICKNESS, but was in other respects unwell. On landing we again went our different ways, but she gave us the address of her brother with whom she is staying. Since then, we have paid a short visit of 'condolence'. The woman is utterly IMPRACTICABLE. Although a native of Jersey, she can provide no information other than what may be found in the GUIDE. A good woman, but not JUST THE PERSON for such as are travelling for recreation. I have been at long last sleeping properly here, only I have not quite shaken off a cold caught as a result of the abominable weather. But in this mild climate it will no doubt soon disappear of its own accord. Tussy ALL RIGHT.

Two Derbyshire farmers, father and son, were until recently our companions at table in the Trafalgar Hôtel. The day before yesterday they went on a sailing trip to St Malo and, having 'been to France' for the first time in their lives, returned with an immoderately inflated opinion of themselves. The father even felt half-inclined to go with his son on a TRIP to the MEDITERRANEAN, but thought it would be 'too hot' there. 'BY NO MEANS,' said his son, who is the BOOK-LEARNED man of the two, 'BY NO MEANS, THERE IT IS NOW—WINTER!' I was likewise informed by the old man (who is, by the by, in his prime and A SHARP FELLOW, WITH THE TRUE BUSINESS EYE) that St Malo was situated on the south-west coast of France. On the other hand, both are well-versed in the sphere of agriculture and other FARMERS' QUESTIONS.

Tussy finds that bathing presents no difficulties worth mentioning, and has so far been bathing alternately in St Brelade's Bay

and St Hélier's Bay, and now alternately in the latter and St Clement's Bay.

From my wife's letter, I see that Schorlemeyer was ill when he arrived; I hope to have better news of him soon.

Since my arrival here I haven't looked at any newspapers, have read nothing at all save Carleton's *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, FIRST VOLUME. It was hard enough work, getting through the first volume; the second I shall save up for better times. They are UNCONNECTED TALES in which Irish peasant life is portrayed now from this angle now from that—hence not suitable for consumption all at one go. For that very reason it's a book one ought to buy and own in order to regale oneself *à fur et mesure*,[a] now with one dish, now with another. Carleton is neither a good stylist nor a good compiler, but his originality consists in the fidelity of his descriptions. As the son of an Irish peasant, he knows his subject better than any Levers or Lovers.

With kindest regards from Tussy and self to all of you

Your
Moor

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## 259

## MARX TO JENNY LONGUET[498]

IN RAMSGATE

St Hélier, 19 August 1879
Hôtel de l'Europe

My dear beloved Jennychen,

Long live the little citizen of the world![499] *Il faut peupler le monde de garçons d'autant plus que la statistique anglaise montre un excès de filles.*[b] I'm glad that the catastrophe has proceeded auspiciously so far, though unfortunately under somewhat difficult circumstances. The ARRANGEMENT made by Mamma strikes me as being *far from

[a] by degrees - [b] It's as well to stock the world with boys, particularly since statistics in England show a surplus of girls.

the most convenient. At all events, Tussy and myself leave to-morrow for London and then I shall be very soon *at your side*[500] and everything will be quietly settled. Here the rainy time—otherwise so unknown to this delicious island—has again set in, so that we had already commenced discussing our departure, the whole aspect of our sojourn here having changed with the climatic and meteorologic changes.

The Hôtel de l'Europe is excellent and one day we must go here together, *toute la famille.*

I can hardly expect to-morrow morning when the boat will start from here to Southampton. I feel so anxious with you and little Johnny.

In the meantime my best compliments to Mamma and Longuet.* Just don't fret or worry, my child, everything will turn out all right.

Your trusty
OLD NICK[a]

You must excuse the brevity of this note, the reason being that the letter has to be posted at once.

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## 260

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN ST HÉLIER[494]

Eastbourne,[496] 20 August 1879
53 Grand Parade

Dear Moor,

I return herewith the letters from Hirsch,[497] ditto one from Liebknecht which I have just answered.[501] I've drawn his attention to his strange contradictions, viz.: 'you wrote to Hirsch saying that the paper was backed by "the party+Höchberg", which must

[a] jocular name for Marx

surely mean, if Höchberg is in any way a plus, his purse, for in other respects he's a negative quantity. You now write and tell me that Höchberg hasn't contributed a penny. Maybe somebody can make sense of that, I GIVE IT UP.' Also that it was absurd to say that Hirsch had 'misinterpreted' Bernstein's letter[492] 'in an even sillier way', since that letter admitted of no misinterpretation at all, Bernstein having plainly made himself out therein to be the effective head of the editorial board. Naturally, I went on, Liebknecht believed that he had arranged everything for the best, but Hirsch was entitled to see for himself and Liebknecht was preventing him from doing so by withholding the relevant material; so if Hirsch were to refuse, it would be Liebknecht's fault. 'As for ourselves, this much is certain: If Hirsch does not accept, we shall have to consider very carefully what we should do; we certainly shan't take the bait without knowing who in fact "The Party" is that is backing the paper.'[490] For it was precisely now, I told him, when all the rotten and conceited elements were able to push themselves to the fore without let or hindrance, that the time had at last come to abandon a policy of dissimulation and conciliation and even, if necessary, to be undeterred by a few rows and rumpuses. A party that would sooner let itself be hoodwinked by any and every blockhead, rather than summon up the courage to disavow him in public, might as well pack up. E.g. Kayser.[502]

The Lafargues have been here since Monday[a] and are staying until the day after tomorrow; we shall see if we can keep Laura here a few days longer. She brought us news that Jenny's catastrophe had gone off all right in Ramsgate,[499] as probably everyone, apart from herself and Longuet, had predicted. Otherwise everything there seems to be going on as well as can be expected.

Since yesterday the weather has been very uncertain, which isn't particularly good for Jollymeier; he had pretty well recovered, fever gone, appetite restored, little pain, but there's now been some kind of check and his improvement is no longer so rapid, though so far he's not actually any worse. Today we had the regatta, on which occasion some rain is *de rigueur*.[b] As you are further to the south-west and nearer the Atlantic, I'm afraid you are getting it worse and more at first hand.

Also enclosed an embarrassed letter from Bernstein which I have *not* yet answered. It would be best if you kept everything

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[a] 18 August - [b] inevitable

until further notice; there's no hurry about Bernstein and the noble *Jahrbuch* can remain quietly in London until I arrive.[503]

From Schorlemmer's point of view, it's a good thing that we stayed here and, indeed, shall be staying here at any rate until the 28th; what happens then will depend on his condition and, of course, the weather. If possible, a few days in the Isle of Wight and places nearby.

Old Ruge, in the youthful guise of a NIGGER[a] SERENADER, has been trotting round the pier today selling programmes for a fireworks' display.

Lafargue and Laura send their love and join us in hoping that you are all still keeping well. Best wishes from Pumps and me to Tussy and you.

Your
F. E.

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## 261

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN RAMSGATE[500]

Eastbourne, 25 August 1879
53 Grand Parade

Dear Moor,

I hope you got my letter[b] sent to the Hôtel de l'Europe, St Hélier, together with an enclosure from Liebknecht to me and a letter (returned) from Hirsch to you.

In the meantime Hirsch has been arrested in Paris and after two days in detention he was compelled to leave the country. He is in London, staying with Lessner.[504] Yesterday I got from him a whole parcel of correspondence to do with the newspaper affair[490]; very interesting. In my view he has acted quite correctly. (He knew my

[a] See p. XXVIII of the Preface. - [b] See previous letter.

address, as I had sent him a few excerpts, omitting anything offensive, from the letter of Liebknecht's I passed on to you.)[505]

I've just received 1. a letter from Höchberg in Scheveningen and 2. one from Bebel,[506] the purpose of both being to induce us to contribute. There's no hurry about a reply as Vollmar, the editor taken on in place of Hirsch, won't be out of jug for another three weeks! A really excellent prelude, this.

I'd send you the whole bag of tricks if I was sure of your address. According to your wife it is 62 Plains of Waterloo, while Laura maintains it's 71. As soon as I know for certain where you are, I'll send you the lot. What an unholy muddle these people have again got themselves into. Liebknecht, Bebel, Viereck, Höchberg, Schramm, Bernstein, they all of them write something different and there's nothing but confusion and contradiction. So all we can do is wait, and at least there'll be no need for us to be disturbed by this business during our holiday.

I wrote at once to Hirsch[15] and told him I'd be back in London next Thursday.[a]

You will in the meantime have heard from the Lafargues that they have been here. Unfortunately the weather wasn't up to much.

How's Jenny getting on? As well as could be expected, according to the last news I got from your wife. I hope this is still the case. Give her my love and congratulate her on her strapping boy.[b] Your refound ability to sleep will, I trust, continue, thereby removing the chief obstacle that prevents you feeling really fit. Let's hope the Ramsgate weather will suit your wife too. Jollymeier is much better, but the changeable weather is a sharp reminder to him that something is still slightly amiss between muscles and joints. Pumps is ALL RIGHT; as usual sea-bathing is doing me a power of good; I think I'm getting properly fat.

If you don't write tomorrow, then better [write] to London. The postal facilities here are antediluvian; a letter posted on Wednesday would not arrive until after our departure.

Best wishes to all of you, and see to it that Jenny doesn't take it upon herself to return home too soon. How long are you staying there?

Your
F. E.

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[a] 28 August - [b] new-born son, Edgar Longuet

Do you have Kovalevsky's London address, or can I get it from Tussy?

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## 262

## MARX TO ENGELS[507]

### IN EASTBOURNE[496]

Ramsgate, 25 August 1879
62 Plains of Waterloo

Dear FRED,

My letter from Jersey[12] and yours from Eastbourne[a] have evidently crossed.

Last Wednesday,[b] the very day after we had heard by telegraph of the catastrophe at Ramsgate,[499] we left for London first thing in the morning. For Tussy's sake I was sorry to cut short her stay in Jersey but knew that, for various reasons, my presence had become necessary in Ramsgate. I arrived there on Thursday amidst thunder, lightning and torrents of rain. On Friday it was fine, on Saturday IT RAINED DOGS AND CATS from morn till night, fine again yesterday, outlook uncertain today. Place is full of Jews and fleas.

The main thing is that Jennychen has got safely through the 9 critical days and, CONSIDERING THE CIRCUMSTANCES, is reasonably well. For the time being she is feeding the baby herself; most desirable that she should go on being able to do so. My wife is making slow progress but is better nonetheless.

My head's not quite ALL RIGHT yet. Yesterday, *by way of a test*, I glanced at certain mathematical notebooks I had brought with me, but very soon had to abandon the premature JOB which was done only as a—TEST.

I have not taken and am not taking sea baths, but only warm sea baths; for in consequence of the frightful weather when we

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[a] See this volume, pp. 372-74. - [b] 20 August

arrived in Jersey, my throat trouble got worse and was compounded by a sudden toothache, neither being quite gone yet, although much alleviated, and only reminding me by an occasional twinge that they are still lurking in the background.

Hirsch is in London[a]; he had left his visiting card at my house, but I had no time to look him up (he's staying with Lessner) because of my abrupt departure from London. The enclosed letter from Kaub will inform you of the very odd circumstances attending Hirsch's renewed expulsion from Paris.

I hope that there has been an improvement in Schollymeyer's condition. Kindest regards to him and Pumps to whom in addition Johnny asks to be specially recommended.

Have you read Allman's—or whatever he's called—inaugural speech?[508] It's something I would have been capable of myself, although NO MAN OF SCIENCE.

*Adio,* OLD BOY.

Your
Moor

Wright, the head of the Massachusetts LABOR STATISTICS BUREAU, has sent me the complete set of REPORTS FROM 1874 to 1879 (so doesn't know about Harney's earlier consignments), together with the compendium of the Massachusetts Census, and has, at the same time, written to say THAT 'HE SHALL BE PLEASED, IN FUTURE, TO SEND YOU OUR PUBLICATIONS AS SOON AS ISSUED'.

Such '*politesses*' come to us only from Russia and the UNITED STATES.

Dana, my old patron, CALLED LAST FRIDAY[b] AT Maitland Park, Tussy SENT ME HIS CARD.

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[a] See this volume, p. 374. - [b] 22 August

## 263

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN RAMSGATE[500]

Eastbourne,[496] 26 August 1879

Dear Moor,

Have at last got your letter[a] and, with it, your exact address which I needed if I was to send you all the rubbish *ad vocem*[b] party organ.[490] Since, for Hirsch's sake, I couldn't put off replying to Höchberg, I wrote him the enclosed note,[c] which is unlikely to gratify him.

As you will see from Bebel's letter it contains exactly the same arguments as Liebknecht used in his last letter.[501] From this it may be deduced that Liebknecht *has not shown him my last letter*[509] although *expressly instructed* by me to do so. I now intend, as soon as you have sent the stuff back to London, 1. to *instruct* Bebel to make sure that letter is shown to him, so that he may see that all this palaver has already been answered, 2. to set out side by side for his benefit all the contradictions contained in the various letters written to C. Hirsch, so that he may see what a beastly mess they've gone and made of things again with their free and easy ways. If this is put to him properly, Bebel is, I think, just the man to take advantage of it. I shall, of course, first submit the letter to you for approval, likewise to Hirsch, *cujus res agitur.*[d]

We were all very glad to hear that Jenny is doing well. I altogether agree that, if at all possible, she should go on feeding the child herself,[499] give up the School[177] and thus at last rid herself of the BOTHER with NURSES and SERVANTS, the root of that trouble being after all her constant and enforced absence from home. As for you and your wife, you must stay at the seaside for just as long as you possibly can. You both have a lot of leeway to make up and ought not to come back until your head and her digestive organs have again condescended to function pretty well normally. It's not as though there's any hurry now and, besides, the weather is gradually becoming, if not brilliant and settled, at any rate more changeable in a nicer way than of late. It seems much the same where you are as it is here. Jollymeier would be ALL RIGHT if he could have a week of constant sunshine.

I hope, when I again see Tussy, to find her in an improved state

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[a] See previous letter. - [b] re - [c] See next letter. - [d] who is the interested person

of health as a result of sea bathing. If you'd only written and told us, she could have come over here on Saturday[a] and gone on bathing until the day after tomorrow! In the event, it wasn't till Sunday morning that I learned from the Lafargues that you were in Ramsgate and not where she was at all.

By the way, my three weeks at the seaside have nothing like satisfied me, I'm chewing over all manner of plans for the time when Jollymeier, whom London will probably suit better than the sea, is once again fit to travel. Do you think it would be a good idea if, in about 14 to 18 days' time and WEATHER PERMITTING, we three were to shake off the Eternal-Feminine[b] for once and go and play at being BACHELORS somewhere or other for a week or two?

Warmest regards from all of us to all of you.

Your
F. E.

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## 264

## ENGELS TO KARL HÖCHBERG

### IN SCHEVENINGEN[510]

Eastbourne, 26 August 1879

Dear Mr Höchberg,

As I do not know how long you will be staying in Scheveningen, I hasten to advise you in reply that you have been misled in regard to the information allegedly given us by C. Hirsch. He did not assure us that the new newspaper[c] was to be 'your private property', or that it was to 'adopt a moderate attitude'.[511] Our view of the affair is based, not upon Hirsch's assurances, but upon our

[a] 23 August - [b] From the final couplet of Goethe's *Faust*: 'The Eternal-Feminine entices us on'. - [c] *Der Sozialdemokrat*

appraisal of all the relevant correspondence conducted between Leipzig and Zurich on the one hand and C. Hirsch on the other. I must refrain from going into the whole comedy of errors these letters represent, and in which nobody has been more blameless than Hirsch. In my view his conduct in the whole affair has been perfectly rational, frank and honourable. Hence I must wholeheartedly approve of his decision to refuse the editorship on the terms mooted which have not yet even been settled between the interested parties in Leipzig and Zurich, and at this juncture my only concern is to deflect from him a reproach he does not deserve.

With Social-Democratic greetings,

Yours faithfully,
F. Engels

Back in London as from day after tomorrow.[496]

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## 265

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN EASTBOURNE[496]

Ramsgate, 27 August 1879
62 Plains of Waterloo

DEAR FRED,

Our letters keep crossing. No doubt you will have had mine (posted last Monday[a]); yours—of 25 August[b]—together with enclosures safely received.

I am only writing a line or two, as my wife is having to go somewhere near the post office, so you will get this acknowledgement of your letter before you leave.

I enclose for the *amusement* of yourself, Jollymeyer and Pumps, a letter from Tussy to my wife. PLEASE RETURN IT AT ONCE AFTER PERUSAL.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 376-77. - [b] Ibid., pp. 374-76.

Jennychen is doing well[499]; is not allowed to leave her room until next Monday and will then have to spend *at least another week* with us,[500] as Longuet is going back to London earlier.

The weather has been deteriorating from day to day, but it's always tolerable for an hour or two and the SEA BREEZE is beneficial, showers notwithstanding. It is Liebknecht himself who deserves the 'jackass' label he is seeking, with his habitual loutish courtesy, to pin on Hirsch—something he always does when 'caught' *in flagrante.*

Best wishes to everyone.

Your
Moor

Kovalevsky's address: 42 Gower Street.

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## 266

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN LONDON

[Ramsgate,] 28 August 1879

DEAR FRED,

The enclosed letter from Master Most, forwarded by Tussy,[512] has just arrived. You must let me know by return what sort of answer you consider suitable. What Most wants is obviously something which he for his part might 'misuse'; on the other hand what Mr Lübeck does is inspired by Mr Bernstein.[a]

A beautiful morning today; whether the weather will hold for the rest of the day is another matter.

*Salut.*

Your
Moor

[a] See this volume, p. 411.

PLEASE RETURN THE MOST LETTER.

Yesterday evening, after the rain had stopped, we took Johnny[a] down to the beach. *Some people said: 'That little boy looks like a prince.' Johnny turned fiercely round and retorted: 'I look like a little Jollymeyer!'

From a letter received from the house Lafargue I see that the other Meyer[b]—not the Jollymeyer—had another scene at Lafargues. Poor fellow!*

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## 267

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 3 September 1879
62 Plains of Waterloo

Dear Engels,

Meyer (R.) wrote[c] and announced his intention of visiting me, while at the same time saying, on the other hand, that I was to let him know, i.e. telegraph him, 'DO NOT COME', should I be otherwise engaged. FIRSTLY, therefore, I telegraphed him in the 'negative', secondly, however, proceeded to write him a letter[12] *to this effect, that in consequence of Mrs Marx's bad health my whole time is taken up 'presently'*. I am telling you this in order that you may know how things stand, should he raise the matter with you. In fact my wife is IMPROVING only very slowly and hence BY NO MEANS ANXIOUS TO SEE MEYER HERE.

Jennychen had her first outing today, a fifteen minute walk[499]; SHE PROGRESSES FAVOURABLY.

Your
Moor

How is Jolly getting on?

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[a] Jean Longuet - [b] Rudolph Meyer - [c] on 29 August 1879

# 268

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

### IN GENEVA

London, 8 September 1879

Dear Old Man,

I am sorry to hear that you are still in the clutches of misfortune and it's not within my power to extricate you from them altogether. In the meantime I have been able to place two pounds at your disposal, and have also received a third from a friend,[a] who is both a chemist and a communist of the first water; I have just taken out a money order for you in respect of these three pounds, *vulgo* 75 fr. 60, and hope it will be paid you without delay. It goes without saying, of course, that you need feel absolutely no embarrassment where I am concerned; anything I can do for you will always be done without fail, and always with pleasure, and it's disgraceful we shouldn't have reached the stage of ensuring our veterans a carefree existence.

The *Freiheit* is unlikely to survive until the new year, unless it derives a new importance from the stupidities of its opponents. It is intended to set up an official party organ in Zurich[490] and to entrust its management—under the ultimate control of the Leipzigers—to Germans in Zurich of whom it cannot be said that they inspire me with confidence. At any rate, in the *Jahrbuch* for social science edited by Höchberg, one of their number, there are some rather extraordinary things: the party was wrong in making itself out to be a *workers'* party, brought the Anti-Socialist Law[462] upon itself by *otiose attacks* on the *bourgeoisie*, what was wanted wasn't revolution, but *slow*, peaceful development, etc.[513] This cowardly twaddle, needless to say, is all of it grist to Most's mill, and he is all agog to exploit it, as you will see from recent numbers of the *Freiheit*.[514] We had been invited by Leipzig to contribute to the new organ[b] and had, indeed, consented; but since learning who is to be immediately responsible,[c] we have again cried off, nor, after this *Jahrbuch*, can there be any intercourse whatever with men who are trying surreptitiously to introduce such twaddle and such toadyism into the party—with Höchberg and Co. The Leipzigers will discover soon enough what

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[a] Carl Schorlemmer - [b] *Der Sozialdemokrat* - [c] See this volume, pp. 367-68.

kind of allies they have landed themselves with. All in all, it's just about time we took a stand against the philanthropic big and petty bourgeois, the students and professors who are forcing their way into the German party and seeking to water down the proletariat's class struggle against its oppressors till it becomes an institution for universal fraternisation, and this at a moment when the bourgeois, with whom we are supposed to fraternise, have outlawed us, destroyed our presses, disrupted our meetings and delivered us up *sans phrase*[a] to the caprices of the police. The German workers are hardly likely to join in such a campaign.

Our people in Russia have scored a signal victory—they have disrupted the Russo-Prussian alliance.[b] If they hadn't, by their ruthless action, put the fear of God into the Russian government, it would probably have succeeded in overcoming the internal discontent felt by the aristocracy and middle classes over the English ban on the entry of troops into the open city of Constantinople[515] and the ensuing diplomatic defeat in Berlin.[430] But as it was, blame for those defeats had to be shifted onto another country, onto Prussia. Though uncle and nephew may have temporarily patched things up at Alexandrovo,[516] the breach is now beyond repair. And, unless there's a catastrophe in Russia very soon, there will be war between Russia and Prussia, a war predicted by the General Council as the inevitable consequence of the French war while this last was still in progress, and which was avoided only with the utmost difficulty in 1873.[517]

Well, keep your pecker up, and drop us a line again soon—a proper letter, since in a mere postcard you can't really get things off your chest.

Warmest regards from Marx and

Your old friend,

F. E.

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[a] without more ado - [b] See also this volume, p. 387.

## 269

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 9 September 1879
62 Plains of Waterloo

Dear FRED,

Various INCIDENTS have meant that money is visibly running out, whereas I wish to spend another week here,[500] despite the weather which, since Sunday evening, has been very uncertain.

You will hear more about our sojourn here, which has done me, in particular, a great deal of good, from the Lafargues.

Enclosed a letter from Sorge. Since I haven't got Becker's address with me, and you are corresponding with him anyhow, PLEASE write and tell him to send me the form for the *power of attorney*.[a]

How are things with Jollymeyer?

Your
K. M.

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## 270

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN RAMSGATE[500]

London, 9 September 1879

Dear Moor,

Herewith something from Liebknecht, together with enclosures, in which there would appear to be little that is new, which is why I have been in no hurry to send them. For obvious reasons I have

[a] See this volume, pp. 392-93.

told Hirsch nothing about all this stuff, it being better to avoid unnecessary rows.

Höchberg has written to Hirsch from Scheveningen, virtually asking him to invite him over here and assure him of a good reception, to which Hirsch hasn't deigned to reply. On receiving a further postcard from Höchberg, Hirsch sent him a ditto, saying you weren't back yet and he himself, Hirsch, was likewise about to leave for the coast. So we probably shan't be bothered by the man.

Meanwhile it might be a good thing if you were to return the documents to me. I really ought to reply to Bebel at long last[506] 1. on account of Hirsch, who would like to see his personal business clarified vis-à-vis Bebel and is getting a bit impatient and 2. because by good fortune the *Jahrbuch* Kovalevsky brought you will enable us quite simply to give the chaps definite reasons why it's absolutely impossible for us to contribute to an organ in which Höchberg has any say at all. The articles concerned are:

1. 'Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland' by * * * (Höchberg and, probably, Bernstein and Lübeck),[513]
2. Critiques by C. L. (Lübeck), notably of *Cohn's 'Was ist Sozialismus'*,[a] concluding part,
3. Report from Germany No. 1 by M. Sch. (Max Schlesinger in Breslau).[b]

Höchberg declares outright that the Germans made a mistake when they turned the socialist movement into a mere *workers'* movement and, by *unnecessarily provoking* the bourgeois, drew down upon themselves the Anti-Socialist Law[462]! The movement ought, he says, to be placed under the direction of bourgeois and educated elements, its character to be wholly that of peaceable reform, etc. You can imagine with what GUSTO Most embraces these lamentable propositions, and once again makes himself out to be the genuine representative of the German movement.[514]

*Enfin*,[c] I believe—and no doubt you will share my opinion—that, after this business, we would be well-advised to establish our standpoint—vis-à-vis the Leipzigers, at least. If the new party

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[a] See Lübeck's reviews of the following books: C. F. W. Walther, *Kommunismus und Sozialismus*, St. Louis, 1878; G. Cohn, *Was ist Sozialismus?*, Berlin, 1878; J. B. Meyer, *Fichte, Lassalle und der Sozialismus*, Berlin, 1878; C. Frantz, *Der Föderalismus als leitendes Prinzip für die soziale, staatliche und internationale Organisation*, Mainz, 1879. In: *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*. Zürich-Oberstrass, 1879. - [b] M. Sch[lesinger], 'Bericht über den Fortgang der sozialistischen Bewegung: Deutsches Reich, I'. In: *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, Zürich-Oberstrass, 1879. - [c] In short

organ plays the same tune as Höchberg, we might be compelled to do so publicly as well.[a]

If you will let me have the things (I've still got one copy of the *Jahrbuch* here), I will draft a letter to Bebel and send it to you; needless to say, there's no need for you to interrupt your holiday on account of this trifle. But something has got to be done soon, otherwise Hirsch will again start writing private letters to all and sundry, thus lending the affair much too exclusively a personal character.

Ever since Russian diplomacy has had to allow events inside Russia dictate its goals, everything's been going wrong for it. At the very time when nihilists and pan-Slavs are so thoroughly demolishing its German alliance[b] that any apparent patching-up can at most be short-lived, at this same time, its agents in Afghanistan are driving England—in the event of war with Germany—into the arms of Bismarck. Bismarck, I am sure, is doing everything he can to bring about war with Russia. In concert with Austria and England, he could risk it all right: England would ensure Denmark's neutrality, probably Italy's and maybe even that of France. But it would be better if things were to come rapidly to a head in Russia, and the prospect of war be eliminated by an internal upheaval. The position is beginning to favour Bismarck too much. A simultaneous war against Russia and France would become a struggle for national survival and the resulting outburst of chauvinism would put paid to our movement for years to come. And on top of that, the odds would be greatly in Bismarck's favour the moment England acceded: a long, hard fight, but at 3:2 the eventual outcome would be much as in the Seven Years' War.[518]

Sam Moore writes to say that the sale of the ESTATE has so far been going very well, most of it having been sold for 39-40 times the amount of the gross rent; nothing remains unsold but the moors and woods which they assess at £11,600, including stocks of timber, and think they can hang on to until business improves in Sheffield, when they might succeed in getting a better price.

What has become of the Lafargues? Since Pumps went to see them a week ago on Friday[c] we've neither heard nor seen anything of Paul.

Jollymeier is still tinkering away at his rheumatism which refuses to budge. Gumpert advised him to go to Buxton and yesterday he said that, unless it gets better soon, he would go there at the end

[a] See this volume, pp. 394-408. - [b] Ibid., p. 384. - [c] 5 September

of the week. He, Pumps and I send you all our cordial regards and trust that life at the seaside is doing you good. What are your plans about coming back[500]? Put it off as long as you possibly can; what with the changeable weather, I know what will happen once you're back here—nowt as anyone could wish for.[a]

Your
F. E.

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## 271

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 10 September 1879
62 Plains of Waterloo

DEAR FRED,

Yesterday I got a note from Kovalevsky saying he had had a letter from Russia which necessitated his immediate return to the land of his birth. He didn't send me the *Jahrbuch*.[b]

Laura spent a week with us, and Paul a few days every now and again; the day before yesterday he returned with her to London. Laura, by the by, had let Pumptia know she was leaving.

My wife is still making very slow progress; I have got much better.[500] The air down here suits me extraordinarily well. Besides, I was kept in *mouvement perpétuel*[c] by Laura.

Herewith the letters received from you today. (The others will go off at the same time, but under separate cover.) Liebknecht has no discernment. The letters prove what they are intended to refute, namely our original view that the business was bungled in Leipzig, whereas the men in Zurich proceeded in accordance with the terms prescribed for them.[490] Incidentally, their HORROR at the attack made by the otherwise so innocuous *Laterne* on that scoundrel Kayser[519] shows more clearly than anything else what is the calibre of these chaps. Schramm, though a sound man in other

[a] Engels used a dialectal expression here: *es is nix zu wolle*. - [b] See this volume, p. 386. - [c] perpetual motion

respects, has always been a philistine. The Leipzigers for their part are already so 'parliamentarily minded' that they regard criticism of one member of their Reichstag côterie as a *crime de lèse majesté.*

I altogether agree with your view that no further time should be lost in stating our views, *forcibly* and *ruthlessly*, as to the *Jahrbuch* bunkum,[513] i.e. *pro nunc*[a] 'presenting' it to the Leipzigers in black and white. Should they proceed to go ahead with their 'party organ' in this way, we shall have to disavow them *publicly.* In such matters, the line has to be drawn somewhere.

I haven't replied to Most,[b] nor shall I do so; as soon as I'm in London I shall write, inviting him to turn up in person. You ought to be present at the meeting.

The most typical thing about Bismarck is the way in which he came to be at odds with Russia. He wanted Gorchakov removed and Shuvalov put in his place. Since this miscarried, the obvious conclusion was—*voilà l'ennemi!*[c] And you may be pretty sure that Bucher did not fail to exacerbate his master's irritation. *On retourne toujours à son premier amour.*[d] From the point of view of our movement and of Europe generally, nothing could be more injurious than the implementation of Bismarck's plan. So long as old William[e] is alive, this won't be so easy; it might always happen that Bismarck himself falls victim to the reaction he sparked off with the Anti-Socialist Law.[462] *En attendant,*[f] the black cloud[520] in the east is already doing him a service; once again he is the 'man they need' and the liberals now feel it to be their 'patriotic' duty to kiss his arse. Not only will the iron military budget be renewed at the next sitting of the Reichstag; it might be 'perpetuated', as William originally wished. The secret of Russian diplomacy's success ABROAD was the deathly silence OF RUSSIA AT HOME, the spell being broken by the movement in that country. Its final victory was the Treaty of Paris of 1856.[521] Since then, nothing but blunders.

I HOPE POOR SCHOLLYMEYER'S HEALTH WILL IMPROVE. MY BEST WISHES FOR HIM.

Your

Moor

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[a] for the time being - [b] See this volume, p. 381. - [c] That's the enemy! - [d] One always returns to one's first love (somewhat paraphrased words of a romance from Isouard's opera—libretto by Ch. G. Étienne—*Joconde*, Act III, Scene 1). - [e] William I - [f] Meanwhile

## 272

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN RAMSGATE[500]

London, 11 September 1879

Dear Moor,

Letters received.[a] Yesterday Hirsch called at my house where he also encountered the Lafargues and Henry Juta; he is going to bring me the stuff I had returned to him earlier on, and then I shall set to work forthwith.[b]

Laura and Paul, i.e. notably the latter, said they would be coming again next Sunday evening.[c] Much though we appreciate this, it is a matter that calls for careful consideration on account of Tussy. Since our return, she has been dining with us on Sundays and I shall, needless to say, invite her for next Sunday as well. As Paul had said the Longuets would be returning this week, I had thought of going to see Jenny tomorrow or the day after and asking her to help me out of this quandary by taking over Tussy for the *evening*. But on leaving, Laura said that Jenny wouldn't be back till *Saturday*, and so I have no other recourse than to contrive things in this way. If it's feasible, let me know at once; if not, some other way out must be found. The Lafargues never arrive *before 7 o'clock*.

Kindest regards. For three days now Jollymeier has been much better—Buxton probably not necessary.[d]

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p. 388. - [b] Ibid., p. 389. - [c] 14 September - [d] See this volume, pp. 387-88.

## 273

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

[Ramsgate,] 11 September 1879
62 Plains of Waterloo

DEAR FRED,

Letter and enclosure[a] received with many thanks.

The Longuet family will be 'making' for London, as Lessner puts it, on Saturday (next).[b] So far all has gone well with Jennychen, although she still has a bit of asthma, but she proposes—obstinately, *à la Lupus*[c]—to combine feeding her child[d] with teaching.[177]

Yesterday, to my intense surprise, *Meyer*[e] suddenly materialised in front of me on the SANDS. To my relief, he immediately explained that he had taken lodgings for the day in *Margate* whither he would be returning in a few hours' time, and that all he wanted was to inquire about 'madame's'[f] health, etc. I did the honours of the place for a while and then handed him over to Longuet so that he might speed him on his way. He—Meyer—is going to Edinburgh for the TRADES UNION CONGRESS.[522] I'm glad this 'crisis' was so short-lived. The good fellow's tendency towards Ramsgate has been IRREPRESSIBLE. He told Longuet, by the by, that his liver had got much worse so that he could no longer 'take' the accustomed amount of 'spirits' without their going to his head. An attempt, no doubt, to gloss over his recent ACCIDENTS at Maitland Park, etc.

The weather here is partly good and partly bad, the latter having a tendency to predominate.

Your
Moor

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[a] Marx is referring to a cheque (see next letter). - [b] 13 September - [c] Like Wilhelm Wolff - [d] Edgar Longuet - [e] Rudolph Meyer - [f] Jenny Marx

## 274

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN LONDON

[Ramsgate,] 14 September 1879[523]

Dear Fred,

Tell Tussy that she is invited to 2 o'clock dinner *at Jenny's* on Sunday and to a display of Edgar 'Marcel' Longuet who was today registered a British citizen at Ramsgate.

For Jennychen and suite leave for London tomorrow; ditto Helene[a] to give her support.

Cheque encashable Monday.

I have discovered another letter from Hirsch to myself which belongs in the dossier[b] of the case; I enclose it.

*Salut.*

Your
Moor

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## 275

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

### IN GENEVA

London, 15 September 1879

Dear Old Man,

I trust you got my last letter[c] and the money order for 75 frs by post.

Sorge writes saying that he has written to you, too, about the necessity of renewing the power of attorney in respect of Lingenau's will, since Geib's death might otherwise put the lawyers

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[a] Helene Demuth - [b] Marx is referring to the correspondence over the publication of the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat*. - [c] See this volume, pp. 383-84.

of the contending party into the position of being able to declare the old power of attorney invalid and thus bring about new delays.[348]

Marx, who is still at the seaside[500] and has apparently made a wonderful recovery, has just written telling me to ask you to send him the form for the power of attorney[a] so that he can attend to the same. Would you therefore be so good as to do this as soon as possible. If it involves you in any expense, write and tell me at once what it amounts to and I will send you the money. The sooner this is done the better. The power of attorney should, of course, be exactly the same as before, only omitting Geib's name, or else mentioning him as deceased.

The business of the German party organ in Zurich[490] is becoming more and more of a lark. The Zurich editorial committee which, under the general management of the Leipzigers, is to supervise and censor the paper, consists of Höchberg, Schramm and Bernstein. But now, in the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, published in Zurich by Höchberg, Schramm, Höchberg and Bernstein have printed an article 'Rückblick auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland'[513] in which all three are revealed to be common or garden bourgeois and pacific philanthropists; they accuse the party of having been too exclusively a '*workers' party*', and of having provoked the hatred of the bourgeoisie, and claim that leadership of the movement should be entrusted to 'educated' bourgeois of their own stamp. That's really going a bit too far.

Luckily Höchberg dropped in on me unexpectedly the day before yesterday, whereupon I gave him a piece of my mind. The unfortunate lad—not a bad chap, *au fond*,[b] but alarmingly naive—came down to earth with a bang when I pointed out to him that we couldn't think of lowering the proletarian flag which we had held aloft for nigh on 40 years, still less join in the general petty-bourgeois fraternisation fantasies against which we had been fighting, again for nigh on 40 years. In short, now he at last knows where he stands with us and also why, whatever the Leipzigers may say or do, we can't march shoulder to shoulder with people of his ilk.

We shall likewise supply Bebel with a quite categorical statement as to our standpoint vis-à-vis these allies of the German party,[c] and then wait and see what they will do. If the party organ adopts the standpoint of the said bourgeois article, we shall publicly declare

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[a] Ibid., p. 385. - [b] at bottom - [c] See next letter.

our opposition to it. However, they're unlikely to let things go so far.

Write soon, then.

Warmest regards from Marx and

Your old friend,

F. Engels

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## MARX and ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL, WILHELM LIEBKNECHT, WILHELM BRACKE AND OTHERS[524]

(CIRCULAR LETTER)[525]

IN LEIPZIG

[Draft]

[London, 17-18 September 1879]

Dear Bebel,

The delay in replying to your letter of 20[a] August has been due, on the one hand, to Marx's prolonged absence[500] and, on the other, to a number of incidents: first, the arrival of the 'Richter' *Jahrbuch*,[513] secondly that of Höchberg himself.[b]

I can only conclude that Liebknecht did not show you the last letter I wrote him, although I specifically instructed him to do so. Otherwise you would certainly not have adduced the same reasons as had been put forward by Liebknecht, and to which I had already *replied* in the aforesaid letter.[509]

Let us now run through the individual points with which we are concerned here.

### I. THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH CARL HIRSCH

Liebknecht asked Hirsch whether he would undertake to edit the party organ that was about to be founded in Zurich. Hirsch sought information as to the financing of the paper: what funds

[a] The original erroneously has: '29'. - [b] See this volume, p. 393.

were available and who was providing them? Firstly, so as to know whether the paper might not peter out within a few months. Secondly, to ascertain who held the purse-strings, thus having the final say as to the paper's stance. Liebknecht's reply, telling Hirsch that 'everything is in order; you will be getting further information from Zurich' (Liebknecht to Hirsch, 28 July), didn't arrive.[526] But what did reach Hirsch from Zurich was a letter from Bernstein (24 July) in which Bernstein informed him that '*We* are being entrusted with the production and *supervision* (of the paper)'. A discussion had taken place 'between Viereck, Singer and *ourselves*' during which it was suggested

> 'that your position might be rendered somewhat difficult by the differences of opinion which you, as a *Laterne* man, have had with individual comrades, though *I* myself do not consider this objection carries much weight'.

Not a word about the financing.

Hirsch answered by return on 26 July, enquiring about the paper's material circumstances. Which comrades had undertaken to cover the deficit? Up to what amount and for how long?—The question of the editor's salary didn't enter into this at all; Hirsch merely wanted to know whether 'means have been secured to ensure the paper's continued existence for at least a year'.

On 31 July, Bernstein replied, saying that any deficit there might be would be covered by voluntary contributions of which *some* (!) had already been subscribed. Hirsch's remarks about the stance he thought the paper should adopt, of which more below, elicited deprecating remarks and *injunctions*:

> 'It is all the more necessary for the *supervisory committee* to insist on it in that it, in turn, is subject to control, i.e. is responsible. On these points, therefore, you must come to an understanding with the supervisory committee.'

They asked him to reply by return preferably by telegraph.

Hence, instead of getting a reply to his justified questions, Hirsch was informed that he was to be editor under a *supervisory* committee based in Zurich, with views differing very materially from his own and members of whose names he wasn't even informed!

Hirsch, quite justifiably outraged by this treatment, chose rather to come to an understanding with the Leipzigers. His letter of 2 August to Liebknecht must be known to you, since Hirsch *expressly demanded* that it be shown to you and Viereck. Hirsch is even willing to submit to a supervisory committee in Zurich, inasmuch as the latter is to put its comments to the editor in writing and these may be referred for decision to the controlling committee in Leipzig.[527]

In the meantime Liebknecht had written to Hirsch on 28 July:

'*Of course* finance is available for the undertaking, seeing that it is backed by the entire party+(INCLUSIVE) Höchberg. But I'm not concerned with the details.'

Nor does Liebknecht's next letter contain anything about the financing—only an assurance that the Zurich committee is not an editorial committee, but is only to be entrusted with *administration* and the financial side. As late as 14 August, Liebknecht wrote to me along the same lines, and asked that we persuade Hirsch to accept. You yourself, as late as 20 August were still so little acquainted with the actual circumstances that you wrote to me saying:

'He' (Höchberg) 'has no more say in the editing of the paper than *any other well-known member of the party.*'

Finally, Hirsch received a letter from Viereck, dated 11 August, containing the admission that

'the 3 men domiciled in Zurich are to, qua *editorial committee,* apply themselves to founding the paper and, subject to the agreement of the three Leipzigers, select an editor ... *so far as I recall,* the resolutions that were sent them also asserted that the (Zurich) founding committee mentioned under 2., was to assume *both political* and financial responsibility towards the party.... From this state of affairs it follows, or so it seems to me, that ... there can be no question of anyone assuming the editorship without the concurrence of the 3 men domiciled in Zurich and entrusted with the founding by the party'.

Here as last was *something* definite, at least, for Hirsch to go on, if only in regard to the position of the editor vis-à-vis the Zurichers. They were an *editorial* committee; they were also *politically* responsible; without their concurrence no one could assume the editorship. In short, Hirsch was simply instructed to come to an understanding with 3 men in Zurich whose names had still not been disclosed to him.

But to make the confusion worse, Liebknecht added a postscript to Viereck's letter:

'Singer from Berlin was here just now and *informed* us that the supervisory committee in Zurich is *not,* as Viereck imagines, an *editorial* committee, but essentially an administrative committee which is financially responsible to the party, i.e. to ourselves, for the paper; of course, its members also have the right and the duty to discuss the editing with you (a right and a duty of which, by the way, *every* member is possessed); they are *not* empowered to place you under their *guardianship.*'

The Zurich trio and one member of the Leipzig committee—the *only one*[a] present at the discussions—insist that Hirsch is to be

[a] Louis Viereck

subject to official direction by Zurich, while another Leipzig member[a] contests this outright. And yet Hirsch is to make up his mind before these gentlemen are agreed amongst themselves! The fact that Hirsch was entitled to acquaint himself with the resolutions they had adopted and which embodied the conditions with which he was expected to comply, was entirely overlooked, the more so since it never seems to have occurred to the Leipzigers that they *themselves* should become properly acquainted with those resolutions. How, otherwise, can the above-mentioned inconsistency be accounted for?

If the Leipzigers were unable to agree upon the powers vested in the Zurich people, the latter harboured no doubts on this score.

Schramm to Hirsch, 14 August:

> 'Had you not written at one time that in a similar case' (as that of Kayser),[b] 'you would do just as you had done before, thus holding out the prospect of a similar *modus operandi*,[519] we would not be wasting words on the subject. As it is, however, and in view of that statement of yours, we must reserve the right to have the casting vote as to what articles the new paper should take.'

The letter to Bernstein in which Hirsch was alleged to have said this was dated 26 July, *long* after the conference in Zurich at which the Zurich trio's powers were laid down. But so much were those in Zurich already revelling in the sense of their own bureaucratic authority that, in reply to this subsequent letter of Hirsch's, they were already laying claim to new powers, namely the *decision* as to what articles should be included. The editorial committee was already a *censorship* committee.

Not until Höchberg arrived in Paris did Hirsch learn from him the *names* of the members of the two committees.[528]

If, then, discussions with Hirsch broke down, what was the cause?

1. The obstinate refusal, on the part of both Leipzig and Zurich, to give him any hard and fast information about the paper's financial basis and hence the likelihood of keeping it afloat, if only for a year. Not until he was over here did he learn from me (following your communication to me[506]) how much had been subscribed. Hence, the only conclusion it was really possible to draw from previous communications (the party+Höchberg) was either that the paper was already being largely financed by Höchberg or that it would soon be entirely dependent on his subsidies. And this latter eventuality is still far from being excluded. The sum of—if I read it right—800 marks is *precisely*

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[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [b] See this volume, pp. 398-400.

the same (40 pounds sterling) as had to be contributed by the local association, *Freiheit*,[529] during the *first half year*.

2. Liebknecht's repeated assurances, which have since proved totally erroneous, that Zurich was to have no official control whatever over the editorship, and the resulting comedy of errors;

3. The certainty finally established that not only were the Zurich people to control the editing, they were actually to censor it, and that the only role that would redound upon him, Hirsch, would be that of the man of straw.

His refusal at that juncture is something we cannot but approve. The Leipzig committee, or so we hear from Höchberg,[530] has received reinforcements in the shape of two more who do not live in the place[a] and hence that committee can intervene quickly only if the three Leipzigers are agreed. As a result, the real centre of gravity has altogether shifted to Zurich, and Hirsch or, for that matter, any true revolutionary and proletarian-minded editor, would not have been able to work with the people there for any length of time. More about this later.

## II. THE PROPOSED STANCE OF THE PAPER

As early as 24 July Bernstein had informed Hirsch that the differences he, as a *Laterne* man, had had with individual comrades would render his position more difficult.

Hirsch replied[b] that in his view the paper's stance would in general have to be the same as that of the *Laterne*, i.e. such as to avoid prosecution in Switzerland and not cause undue alarm in Germany. He inquired who those comrades might be and continued:

> 'I know of only one and can promise you that in a similar case of *undisciplined conduct* I should deal with him in exactly the same way.'

Whereupon Bernstein, conscious of his newly acquired dignity as official censor, replied:

> 'Now as regards the paper's stance, it is the view of the supervisory committee that the *Laterne* should not serve as a model; in our view the paper should be less taken up with political radicalism, but rather adopt a line that is socialist on principle. Instances such as the attack upon Kayser, which was frowned on by all comrades without exception' (!), 'must under all circumstances be avoided.'[c]

And so on and so forth. Liebknecht called the attack on Kayser 'a bloomer', and so dangerous did it seem to Schramm that he immediately imposed censorship on Hirsch.[d]

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[a] Ignaz Auer and Karl Grillenberger - [b] On 26 July 1879. - [c] Eduard Bernstein's letter to Carl Hirsch of 31 July 1879. - [d] See this volume, p. 397.

Hirsch again wrote to Höchberg, saying that a case such as that of Kayser

'could not occur should an official party organ exist, whose lucid expositions and friendly hints *could* not be so presumptuously brushed aside by a deputy'.

Viereck also wrote, saying that what was required of the new paper was that it adopt a

'dispassionate attitude and, in so far as possible, bury the hatchet'; it ought not to be an 'enlarged version of the *Laterne*' and 'the most Bernstein can be reproached with is that he holds views that are too moderate, if reproach it be at a time when we cannot, after all, crowd on sail'.

Well, now, what is this Kayser case, this unpardonable crime Hirsch is supposed to have committed? In the Reichstag, Kayser spoke in favour of and voted for protective tariffs, the only one of the Social-Democratic deputies to do so. Hirsch accused him of having infringed party discipline, in that Kayser

1. voted for indirect taxation, the abolition of which is expressly demanded by the party programme[a];

2. voted Bismarck funds, thus infringing the first and fundamental rule of our party tactics: not a farthing for this government.

Hirsch is undeniably right on both counts. And, after Kayser had spurned, on the one hand, the party programme to which the deputies, by their resolution in congress, had in effect been solemnly pledged and, on the other hand, the most imperative and all-important rule of party tactics, after he had voted Bismarck *funds, out of gratitude for the Anti-Socialist Law*,[462] Hirsch was again perfectly justified in our opinion in handling him as roughly as he did.

We have never understood how it was that this attack upon Kayser could have aroused such a furore in Germany. I am now told by Höchberg that it was the 'faction' which gave Kayser *permission* to act as he did, and Kayser is held to be covered by that permission.

If such is the case, then it is really too bad. In the first place, Hirsch could have known no more than the rest of the world about this secret resolution.[b] Then, again, the discredit incurred by

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[a] See 'Programm der sozialistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands', *Der Volksstaat*, No. 59, 28 May 1875. - [b] Deleted in the manuscript: 'Even admitting that two or three other Social-Democratic deputies (for it is unlikely that any more were there) had allowed themselves to be misled into permitting Kayser to recite his inanities in front of all and sundry, and vote Bismarck funds, it was their duty publicly to assume responsibility for this and then wait and see what Hirsch would say.'

the party, for which previously Kayser alone could have been blamed, is all the greater for this affair, as is Hirsch's merit in having brought to light in public and for all the world to see Kayser's preposterous phraseology and his even more preposterous vote, thus saving the honour of the party. Or has German Social-Democracy indeed been infected with the parliamentary disease, believing that, with the popular vote, the Holy Ghost is poured upon those elected, that meetings of the faction are transformed into infallible councils and factional resolutions into sacrosanct dogma?

Admittedly, a bloomer has been made—not by Hirsch, however, but by the deputies who gave Kayser the protection of their resolution. And if those upon whom, above all others, it is incumbent to see that party discipline is maintained, themselves so glaringly infringe that party discipline by a resolution of this kind, then so much the worse. But it is even worse still if they have the audacity to believe that it was not Kayser, by his speech and vote, or the other deputies by their resolution, who infringed party discipline, but Hirsch, inasmuch as he attacked Kayser despite that resolution about which, moreover, he knew nothing.

For the rest, there can be no doubt that the policy the party had adopted towards the question of protective tariffs was as muddled and vacillating as it has always been in regard to virtually all economic questions—e.g. imperial railways[531]—when they have become a practical issue. The reason for this is that the party organs, notably the *Vorwärts*, rather than subject such questions to a thorough discussion, have preferred to apply themselves to the construction of the future social order. When, *subsequent to* the Anti-Socialist Law, the question of protective tariffs suddenly became a live issue, views on the subject diverged, assuming a wide variety of nuances, and there was absolutely no one to hand possessing the qualification that would have enabled him to form a lucid and accurate opinion, namely a knowledge of conditions in German industry and the latter's position in the world market. Again, as was bound to happen, protectionist tendencies cropped up here and there amongst the electorate; tendencies which, it was felt, ought also to be taken into consideration. The only possible way out of the confusion would have been to take a purely political view of the question (as was done in the *Laterne*), but this was not pursued with any determination. Thus it was inevitable that in this debate, the party acted for the first time in a hesitant, uncertain and muddled way and ended up by thoroughly discrediting itself through the person of and in company with Kayser.

The attack on Kayser is now being used as a pretext to admonish Hirsch, in tones ranging through the whole gamut, to the effect that the new paper must on no account repeat the excesses of the *Laterne*, must be less taken up with political radicalism and rather adopt a line that is socialist on principle and dispassionate. And this from Viereck no less than from Bernstein who, precisely because he is too moderate, appears to the former to be the right man, seeing that just now we cannot, after all, crowd on sail.

But why go abroad at all, unless one intends to crowd on sail? Abroad, there's nothing to prevent this being done. In Switzerland there are no German press, combination and penal laws. Hence, not only can one say things there, which could not, even before the Anti-Socialist Law, be said at home because of the ordinary German laws, but one is actually *duty-bound* to do so. For here one is under the eyes, not of Germany alone, but of Europe and it is one's duty, insofar as the *Swiss* laws allow, openly to proclaim for Europe's benefit the methods and aims of the German party. Anyone in Switzerland seeking to abide by the *German* laws would only prove that he is deserving of those German laws and that he has, in effect, nothing to say save what he was allowed to say in Germany before the Exceptional Law. Nor should any account be taken of the possibility that the editors might be temporarily deprived of the chance to return to Germany. Anyone who is not prepared to run that risk is not fit to occupy so exposed and honourable a post.

More. If the German party was ostracised by the Exceptional Law, this was precisely *because* it was the only serious opposition party in Germany. If, in an organ published abroad, it renders thanks to Bismarck by abandoning its role as the only serious opposition party, by behaving in a nice, docile manner and adopting a dispassionate stance when kicked, it only proves that it deserved to be kicked. Of all the German émigré papers that have appeared abroad since 1830, the *Laterne* is undoubtedly one of the most moderate. If, however, even the *Laterne* was too insolent—then the new organ could not but compromise the party in the eyes of sympathisers in non-German countries.

### III. THE MANIFESTO OF THE ZURICH TRIO

In the meantime we have received Höchberg's *Jahrbuch*, containing an article, 'Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung

in Deutschland',[a] which, as Höchberg himself informed me, was actually written by the three members of the Zurich committee.[b] Here we have their authentic critique of the movement up till now, and hence their authentic programme for the new paper's stance insofar as this is dependent on them.

At the very start we read:

> 'The movement, regarded by Lassalle as an eminently political one, to which he sought to rally not only the workers but all honest democrats, and *in the van of which* were to march the independent representatives of science and *all men imbued with a true love of mankind*, was trivialised under the chairmanship of J. B. von Schweitzer into a *one-sided struggle of the industrial workers to promote their own interests*.'[c]

I shall not inquire whether and to what extent this is historically true. The specific charge against Schweitzer is that Schweitzer *trivialised* Lassalleanism, here regarded as a bourgeois democratic-philanthropic movement, into a one-sided struggle of the industrial workers to promote their own interests—*trivialised* it by *emphasising* its character as a class struggle of industrial workers against the bourgeoisie.[d] He is further charged with having 'repudiated bourgeois democracy'.[e] But has bourgeois democracy any business to be in the Social-Democratic Party at all? If it consists of 'honest men', it surely cannot wish to join, and if it

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[a] See this volume, p. 394. - [b] Höchberg, Bernstein and Schramm - [c] *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, p. 84. - [d] These two sentences were substituted by the authors for the following passage deleted in the manuscript: 'Schweitzer was a great blackguard, but very talented intellectually. His particular merit consisted in his having broken free of the original, narrow Lassalleanism with its limited panacea of state aid... Whatever wrong he may have done out of corrupt motives and however much, too, he may have clung to the Lassallean panacea of state aid in order to preserve his domination, he nevertheless had the merit of having broken free of the original, narrow Lassalleanism, of having broadened the party's economic horizons and thus paved the way for its subsequent merger with the German party as a whole. The class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie, that pivot of all revolutionary socialism, had already been advocated by Lassalle. If Schweitzer stressed this point even more strongly it was, at any rate, a step forward so far as the cause was concerned, however much of a pretext he may thus have afforded dangerous individuals for calling his dictatorship in question. It may rightly be said that he turned Lassalleanism into a *one-sided* struggle of the *industrial* workers to promote their own interests. But one-sided only in the sense that, for reasons that were politically corrupt, he wished to have nothing to do with the farm workers' struggle to promote their own interests vis-à-vis the big landowners. It is not that with which he is reproached here; rather the 'trivialisation' consists in his emphasising its character as a class struggle of industrial workers against the bourgeoisie.' - [e] *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, p. 84.

nevertheless wishes to join, this can only be for the purpose of stirring up trouble.

The Lassallean party 'chose to present itself in a *most one-sided* manner as a *workers' party*'.[a] The gentlemen who wrote those words are themselves members of a party which presents itself in the most one-sided manner as a workers' party, and now hold office in the same. Here we have a complete incompatibility. If they think as they write, they ought to leave the party or at least resign from office. If they don't, it is tantamount to admitting that they intend to use their official position to combat the party's proletarian character. Hence the party is betraying itself if it allows them to remain in office.

Thus, in the view of these gentlemen the Social-Democratic Party ought *not* to be a one-sided workers' party but a many-sided party of 'all men imbued with a true love of mankind'. This it is to prove, above all, by divesting itself of crude proletarian passions and applying itself, under the direction of educated philanthropic bourgeois, 'to the formation of good taste' and 'the acquisition of good manners' (p. 85). After which the 'seedy appearance' of some of the leaders would give way to a respectable 'bourgeois appearance'.[b] (As though the outwardly seedy appearance of those referred to here were not the least that could be held against them!) After which, too,

> 'there will be an *influx of supporters* from the ranks of the *educated* and *propertied* classes. *These,* however, must first be won over if the ... agitation engaged in is to have *perceptible results*...'. German socialism has laid 'too much stress on winning over the *masses,* thus omitting to prosecute vigorous' (!) 'propaganda amongst the so-called upper strata of society'. For 'the party still lacks men who are fit to represent it in the Reichstag'. It is, however, 'desirable and necessary to entrust the mandates to men who have had the time and the opportunity to become thoroughly conversant with the relevant material. Only rarely and in exceptional cases do ... the simple working man and small master craftsman have sufficient leisure for the purpose'.[c]

Therefore elect bourgeois!

In short, the working class is incapable of emancipating itself by its own efforts. In order to do so it must place itself under the direction of 'educated and propertied' bourgeois who alone have 'the time and the opportunity' to become conversant with what is good for the workers. And, secondly, the bourgeois are not to be combatted—not on your life—but *won over* by vigorous propaganda.

If, however, you wish to win over the upper strata of society, or

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[a] Ibid., p. 85. - [b] Ibid., p. 86. - [c] Ibid., pp. 87-89.

at least their well-intentioned elements, you mustn't frighten them—not on your life. And here the Zurich trio believe they have made a reassuring discovery:

'Now, at the very time it is oppressed by the Anti-Socialist Law, the party is showing that it *does not wish* to pursue the path of forcible, bloody revolution, but rather is determined ... to tread the path of legality, i.e. of *reform*.'[a]

If, therefore, the 5-600,000 Social-Democratic voters, $^1/_{10}$ to $^1/_8$ of the total electorate—and dispersed, what is more, over the length and breadth of the country—have sense enough not to beat their heads against a wall and attempt a 'bloody revolution' with the odds at one to ten, this is supposed to prove that they will, for all time, continue to *deny* themselves all chance of exploiting some violent upheaval abroad, a sudden wave of revolutionary fervour engendered thereby, or even a people's *victory* won in a clash arising therefrom! Should Berlin ever be so uneducated as to stage another 18 March,[532] it would behove the Social-Democrats not to take part in the fighting as 'louts besotted with barricades' (p. 88) but rather to 'tread the path of legality', to placate, to clear away the barricades and, if necessary, march with the glorious army against the one-sided, crude, uneducated masses. Or if the gentlemen insist that that's not what they meant, then what did they mean?

But there's better in store.

'Hence, the more calm, sober and considered it' (the Party) 'shows itself to be in its criticism of existing circumstances and its proposals to change the same, the less likelihood is there of a repetition of the present successful move' (introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law) 'by means of which conscious reaction has scared the bourgeoisie out of their wits by holding up the red spectre' (p. 88).

In order to relieve the bourgeoisie of the last trace of anxiety, it is to be shown clearly and convincingly that the red spectre really is just a spectre and doesn't exist. But what is the secret of the red spectre, if not the bourgeoisie's fear of the inevitable life-and-death struggle between itself and the proletariat, fear of the unavoidable outcome of the modern class struggle? Just abolish the class struggle, and the bourgeoisie and 'all independent persons' will 'not hesitate to go hand in hand with the proletarians'![b] In which case the ones to be hoodwinked would be those self-same proletarians.

Let the party, therefore, prove, by its humble and subdued demeanour, that it has renounced once and for all the 'impro-

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[a] *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, pp. 87-88. - [b] Ibid., p. 88.

prieties and excesses'[a] which gave rise to the Anti-Socialist Law. If it voluntarily undertakes to remain wholly within the bounds of the Anti-Socialist Law, Bismarck and the bourgeoisie will, no doubt, oblige by rescinding what would then be a redundant law!

'Let no one misunderstand us'; we don't want 'to relinquish our party and our programme,[b] but in our opinion we shall have enough to do for years to come if we concentrate our whole strength, our entire energies, on the attainment of certain immediate objectives which must in any case be won before there can be any thought of realising more ambitious aspirations.'[c]

Then, too, the bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and workers, who 'are now scared off ... by ambitious demands',[d] will join us *en masse.*

The programme is not to be *relinquished,* but merely *postponed*—for some unspecified period. They accept it—not for themselves in their own lifetime but posthumously, as an heirloom for their children and their children's children. Meanwhile they devote their 'whole strength and energies' to all sorts of trifles, tinkering away at the capitalist social order so that at least something should appear to be done without at the same time alarming the bourgeoisie. Here I can only commend that communist, Miquel, who gives proof of his unshakable belief in the inevitable downfall of capitalist society within the next few hundred years by swindling it for all he's worth, contributing manfully to the crash of 1873,[395] and thus *really* doing something towards the collapse of the existing order.[533]

Another offence against good manners was the 'exaggerated attacks on the *Gründer*',[118] who, after all, were 'only children of their time'; hence 'the vilification of Strousberg and suchlike men ... would have been better omitted'.[e] Sadly we are all 'children of our time', and if this be sufficient grounds for excuse, it is no longer permissible to attack anyone, and we for our part would have to desist from all polemic, all struggle; we would calmly submit whenever kicked by our opponents, because we would know in our wisdom that they are 'only children of their time' and cannot act otherwise than they do. Instead of repaying them their kicks with interest, we should rather, it seems, feel sorry for the poor fellows.

Similarly, our support for the Commune had one drawback, at any rate, namely

'that it put off people otherwise well-disposed towards us, and generally increased the *hatred* felt for us *by the bourgeoisie*'. Moreover, the party 'cannot be

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[a] Ibid., p. 87. - [b] 'Programm der sozialistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands'. - [c] *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik,* p. 88. - [d] Ibid. - [e] Ibid., p. 95.

wholly exonerated from having brought about the October Law, for it had needlessly exacerbated the *hatred of the bourgeoisie*'.[a]

There you have the programme of the three censors of Zurich. As regards clarity, it leaves nothing to be desired. Least of all so far as we're concerned, since we are still only too familiar with all these catch-phrases of 1848. There are the voices of the representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, terrified lest the proletariat, impelled by its revolutionary situation, should 'go too far'. Instead of resolute political opposition—general conciliation; instead of a struggle against government and bourgeoisie—an attempt to win them over and talk them round; instead of defiant resistance to maltreatment from above—humble subjection and the admission that the punishment was deserved. Every historically necessary conflict is reinterpreted as a misunderstanding and every discussion wound up with the assurance: we are, of course, all agreed on the main issue. The men who in 1848 entered the arena as bourgeois democrats might now just as well call themselves Social-Democrats. To the former, the democratic republic was as unattainably remote as the overthrow of the capitalist order is to the latter, and therefore utterly irrelevant to present political practice; one can conciliate, compromise, philanthropise to one's heart's content. The same thing applies to the class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie. On paper it is recognised because there is no denying it any longer, but in practice it is glossed over, suppressed, emasculated. The Social-Democratic Party *should not* be a workers' party, it should not bring upon itself the hatred of the bourgeoisie or, for that matter, of anyone else; above all, it should prosecute vigorous propaganda amongst the bourgeoisie; instead of laying stress on ambitious goals which are calculated to frighten off the bourgeoisie, and unattainable anyway in our own generation, it should rather devote all its strength and energies to those petty-bourgeois stop-gap reforms which provide new props for the old social order and which might, perhaps, transform the ultimate catastrophe into a gradual, piecemeal and, as far as possible, peaceable process of dissolution. These are the same people who keep up an appearance of ceaseless activity, yet not only do nothing themselves but also try to ensure that nothing at all is done save—chin-wagging; the same people whose fear of any kind of action in 1848 and '49 held back the movement at every step and finally brought about its downfall; the same people who never see

[a] *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, pp. 95, 96.

reaction and then are utterly dumbfounded to find themselves at last in a blind alley in which neither resistance nor flight is possible; the same people who want to confine history within their narrow philistine horizons, and over whose heads history invariably proceeds to the order of the day.

As for their socialist import, this has already been adequately criticised in the *Manifesto*, Chapter: 'German, or "True" Socialism'. Wherever the class struggle is thrust aside as a distasteful, 'crude' manifestation, the only basis still left to socialism will be a 'true love of mankind' and empty phrases about 'justice'.

It is an inevitable manifestation, and one rooted in the process of development, that people from what have hitherto been the ruling class also join the militant proletariat and supply it with educative elements. We have already said so clearly in the *Manifesto*. But in this context there are two observations to be made:

*Firstly*, if these people are to be of use to the proletarian movement, they must introduce genuinely educative elements. However, in the case of the vast majority of German bourgeois converts, this is not the case. Neither the *Zukunft* nor the *Neue Gesellschaft* has contributed anything that might have advanced the movement by a single step. Here we find a complete lack of genuinely educative matter, either factual or theoretical. In place of it, attempts to reconcile superficially assimilated socialist ideas with the most diverse theoretical viewpoints which these gentlemen have introduced from the university or elsewhere, and of which each is more muddled than the last thanks to the process of decay taking place in what remains of German philosophy today. Instead of first making a thorough study of the new science, each man chose to adapt it to the viewpoint he had brought with him, not hesitating to produce his own brand of science and straightaway assert his right to teach it. Hence there are, amongst these gentlemen, almost as many viewpoints as there are heads; instead of elucidating anything, they have only made confusion worse—by good fortune, almost exclusively amongst themselves. The party can well dispense with educative elements such as these for whom it is axiomatic to teach what they have not learnt.

*Secondly*, when people of this kind, from different classes, join the proletarian movement, the first requirement is that they should not bring with them the least remnant of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, etc., prejudices, but should unreservedly adopt the proletarian outlook. These gentlemen, however, as already shown, are chock-full of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas. In a country as petty-bourgeois as Germany, there is certainly some

justification for such ideas. But only *outside* the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. If the gentlemen constitute themselves a Social-Democratic petty-bourgeois party, they are fully within their rights: in that case we could negotiate with them and, according to circumstances, form an alliance with them, etc. But within a workers' party they are an adulterating element. Should there be any reason to tolerate their presence there for a while, it should be our duty *only* to tolerate them, to allow them no say in the party leadership and to remain aware that a break with them is only a matter of time. That time, moreover, would appear to have come. How the party can suffer the authors of this article to remain any longer in their midst seems to us incomprehensible. But should the party leadership actually pass, to a greater or lesser extent, into the hands of such men, then the party will be emasculated no less, and that will put paid to its proletarian grit.

As for ourselves, there is, considering all our antecedents, only one course open to us. For almost 40 years we have emphasised that the class struggle is the immediate motive force of history and, in particular, that the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat is the great lever of modern social revolution; hence we cannot possibly co-operate with men who seek to eliminate that class struggle from the movement. At the founding of the International we expressly formulated the battle cry: The emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class itself.[a] Hence we cannot co-operate with men who say openly that the workers are too uneducated to emancipate themselves, and must first be emancipated from above by philanthropic members of the upper and lower middle classes. If the new party organ is to adopt a policy that corresponds to the opinions of these gentlemen, if it is bourgeois and not proletarian, then all we could do—much though we might regret it—would be publicly to declare ourselves opposed to it and abandon the solidarity with which we have hitherto represented the German party abroad. But we hope it won't come to *that*.

It is intended that this letter should be communicated to all five members of the committee in Germany, and also to Bracke....

Nor have we any objection to its being communicated to the people in Zurich.

First published in *Die Kommunistische Internationale*, XII. Jahrg., Heft 23, Berlin, 15. Juni 1931

Printed according to Engels' manuscript

[a] K. Marx, 'Provisional Rules of the Association' (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 14).

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## MARX TO CARL HIRSCH[534]

IN LONDON

[London,] 18 September 1879

Dear Hirsch,

Arrived in London![500]

Greetings,

Yours

K. M.

First published in: Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, Berlin, 1973

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

## 278

## MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 19 September 1879
41 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, N. W.

My dear Sir,

I have just returned to London after almost two months rustication in the isle of Jersey[494] and at other sea-side places.[500] I was forced to do so and suspend all work during that time on medical advice because of nervous derangement. For this reason I was also unable to do justice to the mental food you were so kind as to forward me, but now I feel much reinvigorated and shall set at work with a will.

The book of Kowalewsky I got from himself.[535] He is one of my 'scientific' friends who every year comes to London in order to explore the treasures of the British Museum.

You will receive a longer letter so soon as I have disposed of some urgent work accumulated during my absence.

In the meantime, with my best wishes

Yours sincerely
A. Williams[a]

First published, in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 1, St Petersburg, 1908

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## 279

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[41]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 19 September 1879
41 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, N. W.

Dear Friend,

It was not till the day before yesterday that I got back to London after a seven-week stay, first in Jersey and after that in Ramsgate. But I had at least made provision that business matters and *commissions* contained in your letters be immediately attended to by Engels. However, I have not yet had from old Becker[b] the form for the power of attorney which you want me to sign, and which Engels asked him to send me.[c] As soon as the thing arrives I'll fill it in.[348] My LONG RUSTICATION was due to my nervous condition—(complicated by the fact that, because of Bismarck, Karlsbad has been inaccessible to me for the past two years)—which has latterly made all brain work virtually 'unfeasible'. But I'm much better now.

The new edition of Weitling[d] hasn't reached me. The only American journal I am sent is the by no means very substantial *Paterson Labor Standard*. The things you sent last, Labor Bureau

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[a] Marx's pseudonym - [b] Johann Philipp Becker - [c] See this volume, p. 393. - [d] The new edition of Weitling's *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit* came out in New York in 1879 under the title *Des seligen Schneider's Weitling Lehre vom Sozialismus und Communismus.*

Statistics of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Massachusetts, received with thanks (likewise Steward's speech). I am delighted that the CHIEF of the Massachusetts Bureau,[a] as he tells me in a letter, should from now on be sending me the PUBLICATIONS direct (also the census) immediately they come out.[b]

As for Most and Co., our attitude towards them is a 'passive' one, i.e. we maintain no sort of relations with them, although I do see Most himself from time to time at my own house. To say that Engels and I had made any kind of *'statement'* condemning Most or the *Freiheit* is a lie on Mr Lübeck's part. According to a letter Engels received from little Jew Bernstein in Zurich, Most had written to Switzerland and Germany claiming he had our support. To this Engels replied that if Bernstein could adduce any *proof* of this, he would make a public statement refuting these untruths.[c] But Bernstein (nephew of the Berlin rabbi Rebenstein, of the Berlin *Volks-Zeitung*) was IN FACT unable to adduce an atom of proof. Instead he confided the bogus secret to that jackass Lübeck who, with the usual discretion of such PENNY-A-LINERS, sold it forthwith to the United States.

The issues upon which we differ from Most in no way tally with those of the gentlemen in Zurich, the trio 'Dr Höchberg-Bernstein (his secretary)-and C. A. Schramm'. Our complaint against Most is not that his *Freiheit* is *too revolutionary*; our complaint is that it has *no revolutionary content*, but merely indulges in *revolutionary jargon*. Again, our complaint is not that he *criticises the party leaders in Germany*, but, in the first place, that he *kicks up a row in public* instead of telling these men what he thinks in writing, as we do, i.e. *by letter*; in the second, however, that he merely used this as a pretext to make himself look important and to disseminate the *silly secret conspiracy-mongering* of Messrs *Weber* JUNIOR[d] *and Kaufmann*. Long before his arrival these laddies had felt it was their vocation to take the 'general working men's movement' under their august wing and, in their numerous attempts to realise this 'gracious' venture, had gone plotting and scheming all over the place. The good John Most, a man of the most childish vanity, actually believes that, because the self-same Most is no longer domiciled in Germany but in London, the whole world has been turned upside down. The man's not without talent, but he kills what he has by writing so profusely. Moreover, he has no

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[a] Carroll Davidson Wright - [b] See this volume, p. 377. - [c] Ibid., pp. 362-63. - [d] Ibid., pp. 364-65.

*esprit de suite.*[a] With every change of wind he turns now this way, now that, like a weathercock.

However, things might well come to such a pass that Engels and I would feel compelled to issue a 'public statement' against the Leipzigers and their allies in Zurich.

This is how matters stand. Bebel wrote telling us that they intended to found a party organ in Zurich[b] and asked that we lend our names to it as contributors. Hirsch was named as putative editor. Whereupon *we accepted* and I wrote to Hirsch[12] (then in Paris, from which he has since been expelled for the second time[504]), telling him to accept the editorship since he alone could give us the guarantee that the kind of graduate, undergraduate, etc., rabble and armchair socialist riff-raff who had filled the columns of the *Zukunft*, etc., and were already invading those of the *Vorwärts*, were fended off and the party line rigorously adhered to. But now it transpired that Hirsch had unearthed a hornets' nest in Zurich. The five men, *Dr Höchberg* (who used his money to buy his way into the party, a cousin of Sonnemann's, the sentimental drooler), little Jew *Bernstein*, his secretary, *C. A. Schramm*, philistine, if a well-meaning one, and Leipzig's emissary, *Viereck* (also a philistine lout, natural son of the German Emperor[c]) and a Berlin businessman, *Singer* (petty bourgeois, paunch, called on me a few months ago); these five men constituted themselves—by supreme authority of the Leipzigers—a constituent committee and appointed an *administrative committee* in Zurich, also responsible for *supervising the editorial side* and consisting of the trio [illegible] (Höchberg-Bernstein-C. A. Schramm) which was to decide in the first instance, but must defer to a court of the last instance composed of Bebel, Liebknecht and a few other German leaders. Well, what Hirsch wanted to know first was *whom the money* was coming *from*; Liebknecht wrote, saying from the 'party+Dr Höchberg'; Hirsch deducted the rhetorical flourish and reduced this quite correctly to 'Höchberg'. Secondly, Hirsch did not wish to subordinate himself to the trifolium Höchberg-Bernstein-C. A. Schramm, in which he was the more justified for having received from Bernstein, in reply to a letter asking for information, a bureaucratic dressing down,[493] condemning his *Laterne* for—*mirabile dictu*[d]—being ultrarevolutionary, etc. After protracted correspondence, in which Liebknecht played a by no means brilliant role, Hirsch withdrew; Engels wrote

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[a] sense of logic. - [b] *Der Sozialdemokrat* - [c] William I - [d] wonderful to relate

to Bebel saying that *we*, too, would withdraw,[a] just as, from the very start, we had refused to contribute to the *Zukunft* (Höchberg)[313] and the *Neue Gesellschaft* (Wiede).[296] These laddies, nonentities in theory and nincompoops in practice, are seeking to draw the teeth of socialism (which they have rehashed in accordance with academic formulae) and of the Social-Democratic *Party* in particular, to enlighten the workers or, as they put it, to provide them, out of their confused and superficial knowledge, with 'educative elements' and, above all, to make the party 'respectable' in the eyes of the philistines. They are poor *counter-revolutionary* windbags. WELL. The weekly organ is now appearing (or is to appear) in Zurich, under their supervision and the general supervision of the Leipzigers. (Editor, Vollmar.)

In the meantime Höchberg[b] came over here to rope us in. He found only Engels who, in a critical discussion of the *Jahrbuch* Höchberg had brought out (under the pseudonym Dr *L. Richter*), showed him how deep was the gulf between him and us. (Have a look at the *lamentable* concoction: the article signed with 3 * is the triumvirate Höchberg-Bernstein-C. A. Schramm.[513]) (But the good John Most also figures therein, in the sycophantic article about that quill-pusher Schäffle.[c]) Never has anything more discreditable to the party appeared in print. What a lot of good Bismarck did, *not to himself but us*, by imposing silence on Germany and thus giving these laddies a chance of making themselves plainly heard. Höchberg came down to earth with a bang after Engels had given him a piece of his mind; he's a partisan of 'peaceable' development and, in point of fact, expects proletarian emancipation to be achieved solely by 'educated bourgeois', i.e. people like himself. After all, hadn't he been told by Liebknecht that *au fond*[d] we were all of us agreed, that everyone in Germany—i.e. all the leaders—shared his view, etc.?

In fact Liebknecht, having made the tremendous blunder of treating with the Lassalleans, flung wide the door to all these demi-men and thus, *malgré lui*,[e] paved the way for demoralisation within the party which could be eliminated *only* by the Anti-Socialist Law.[462]

Now should the 'weekly'—the party organ—in fact *go ahead* along the lines laid down in Höchberg's *Jahrbuch*, we shall be compelled to make a public protest against this debauching of party and theory! Engels has written a circular (letter) to Bebel,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 366-68. - [b] Ibid., p. 393. - [c] See Most's review of Schäffle's book *Bau und Leben des sozialen Körpers*, Bände III-IV, Tübingen 1878, in the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*. Zürich-Oberstrass, 1879. - [d] at bottom - [e] despite himself

etc.[a] (just for *private circulation* among the German leaders, of course), in which our point of view is plainly set forth. So the gentlemen are forewarned and, moreover, are well enough acquainted with us to know that this means bend or break! If they wish to compromise themselves, *tant pis*[b]! In no circumstances shall we allow them to compromise *us*. To what depths they have already been brought by parliamentarianism will be evident to you from the fact that they impute it a dire crime in Hirsch to have—what?—handled that scoundrel Kayser somewhat roughly in the *Laterne*, on account of his disgraceful speech regarding Bismarck's customs legislation[519]! But, or so they now maintain, the party, i.e. the handful of the party's parliamentary representatives, had authorised Kayser to speak as he did. More shame to that handful! But even this is a pitiful evasion. In fact they had been silly enough to allow Kayser to speak for himself and in the name of his constituents; he, however, spoke in the party's name. Be that as it may; they are already so far infected with parliamentary cretinism as to believe themselves *above criticism* and to denounce criticism as a *crime de lèse majesté!*

As regards the *Communist Manifesto*, nothing has so far been done because now Engels, now I, had not enough time.[148] But it must at long last be proceeded with.

I hope that your next letter will bring reassuring news as to the health and prosperity of you and yours. MEANWHILE—my wife sends her most cordial regards—I remain,

Yours very truly,
Karl Marx

John Most wrote and told me about Lübeck's tittle-tattle in the Chicago paper.[512] I didn't reply; but now that I'm in London, I shall ask him to come and see me in person, and shall tell him what I think by word of mouth.

Hirsch has been here since his expulsion from Paris. I haven't seen him yet since he could not, of course, have found me at home while I was away.

I am using a *'registered'* envelope only because I could find no other and yet wanted to avoid any further delay.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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[a] See this volume, pp. 394-408. - [b] so much the worse

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## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 24 September 1879

Dear Old Man,

Your postcard[a] received. I have taken out a money order for £1 12s. which should come to 40.20 francs, so that you won't be in a hole if the cost of the power of attorney[b] amounts to a bit more. Marx is back,[500] apparently in the very best of health, so no doubt work on the 2nd volume of *Capital*[62] can now go briskly ahead.

As regards the progress of negotiations with our people in the land of the philistines, I shall let you have further news in due course.[490]

In haste.

Your old friend,

F. E.

First published in: F. Engels, *Vergessene Briefe (Briefe Friedrich Engels' an Johann Philipp Becker)*, Berlin, 1920

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## 281

## ENGELS TO MARX[536]

IN LONDON

[London, after 8 October 1879]

Didn't you send the noble Barry the notes I put into *Fraser*[c]? I put them there under Pumps' own eyes and in such a way that they were visible from outside. If not, send them off to him.

Your

F. E.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

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[a] of 19 September 1879 - [b] See this volume, pp. 392-93. - [c] *Fraser's Magazine*

## 282

## MARX TO BERTHA AUGUSTI[16]

IN KOBLENZ

[London,] 25 October 1879

Dear Mrs Bertha,

I have a (tiresome) visitor sitting next to me, but do not wish to miss the opportunity of telling you in all haste how grateful I am to you for the pleasure afforded me by reading your novel in the *Kölnische*.[a] Great talent is discernible by all, but the achievement is particularly surprising to one who is aware of the confined and cloistered conditions in which you work. Moreover I would take the liberty of adding that I am a great heretic as far as German novels are concerned, think nothing of them and have been greatly spoiled by the best French, English and Russian novelists. Hence it was also with my habitual mistrust that I embarked on the reading of your *Verhängnisvolles Jahr*.

Wishing you all prosperity,

Most cordially yours,
Karl Marx

First published in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Nr. 5, Berlin, 1966

Printed according to the original

## 283

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL[485]

IN LEIPZIG

London, 14 November 1879[537]

Dear Bebel,

Many thanks for your communications, as also those of Fritzsche and Liebknecht,[538] which have at last enabled us to get a clear idea of the facts.

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[a] B. Augusti, *Ein verhängnisvolles Jahr*. In: *Kölnische Zeitung*, Nos. 247-302, 6 September-31 October 1879.

That things have not, from the start, been exactly straightforward, however, is evident from earlier letters from Leipzig and the muddles and misunderstandings with Hirsch generally.[a] The latter could not have happened if, from the start, the Leipzigers had put paid to Zurich's pretensions to censorship. Had they done so and informed Hirsch of the fact, everything would have been all right. But since they didn't, I can only conclude, after again comparing commissions with omissions, present communications with previous letters from all concerned, that Höchberg wasn't altogether wrong when he told me that Zurich had imposed censorship solely on Hirsch's account, it being unnecessary in the case of Vollmar.

As regards the financing,[b] I'm not particularly surprised that you should take matters so lightly. For this is the first time you've had a go at the thing. But Hirsch had already been through this particular mill with the *Laterne* and, as for us, who have so often witnessed such things and even experienced them in person, we can only endorse his request that careful consideration be given to this point. *Freiheit*, despite all subsidies, is left at the end of its third quarter with a deficit of £100=2,000 marks. I have never known a German paper, banned at home, that could have survived without substantial subsidies. Do not allow yourselves to be dazzled by initial successes. The real difficulties involved in smuggling become manifest only with time, and multiply constantly.[539]

What you say about the attitude of the deputies and of the party leaders generally to the protective tariffs question corroborates every word of my letter.[c] It was bad enough, in all conscience, that a party which prides itself on being so superior to the bourgeois in the sphere of economics should, when first put to the test in that sphere, prove just as divided, just as ignorant, as the National Liberals[540] who could at least plead a genuine clash of bourgeois interests in extenuation of their inglorious collapse. But it was even worse that that split should have been seen to happen, that your attitude should have been wavering and uncertain. Once you

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[a] The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'If the Zurich trio had no pretensions to censorship, why were those pretensions, which were so loudly and insistently voiced by them, not immediately quashed by Leipzig? Only two things were needed to induce Hirsch to go to Zurich: 1. Information about the true facts of the case, such as we have now had, 2. Notification to the effect that we, the Leipzigers, have written to the Zurichers telling them that they are not to intervene officially in the editorship, and, if they nevertheless do so, you must take no notice; you are responsible to us and to us alone'. - [b] of the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* - [c] See this volume, pp. 400-01.

knew that unity was unattainable, there was only one thing to do—declare the question to be a purely bourgeois question, which indeed it is, and abstain from voting.[a] But the worst thing of all was permitting Kayser to make his lamentable speeches and to *vote for the Bill at its first reading.* It was not until *after* that division that Hirsch attacked him,[519] and if Kayser later, at the third reading, voted against the Bill, he only made matters worse, not better.

The resolution in congress is no excuse.[541] If the party proposes to regard as binding all the earlier resolutions made by congress in the easy-going days of peace, it will be placing itself in fetters. The constitutional basis upon which a living party functions must not only be self-created, it must also and at all times be susceptible to change. Inasmuch as the Anti-Socialist Law[462] makes congresses and hence the amendment of earlier congressional resolutions impossible, it also abolishes the binding force of those resolutions. A party that is deprived of the opportunity of passing binding resolutions can only look for its laws to its living and ever changing needs. But if it seeks to subordinate those needs to earlier resolutions that are now dead as a doornail, it will be digging its own grave.

So much for the formal aspect. However, it is the content of that resolution that really invalidates it. In the first place it is incompatible with the programme in that it admits of voting *indirect taxation.* Secondly it is incompatible with essential party tactics inasmuch as it permits taxation to be voted for the present-day state. Thirdly, however, it implies, translated into plain language:

The congress admits to not being well enough informed about the question of protective tariffs to pass a definite resolution, for or against. Hence it declares itself *incompetent* in this matter, inasmuch as it restricts itself, for the benefit of the dear public, to the enunciation of a few commonplaces, some of them meaningless, some incompatible either with each other or with the party programme, and then proceeds gladly to wash its hands of the whole affair.

And is this declaration of incompetence whereby what was, in peace-time, a purely academic question was swept under the carpet,—is this declaration,[b] now that, in time of war, the question

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[a] The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'to invoke the point in the programme that rejects *all* indirect taxation and the tactics which prohibit voting this government *any* taxes, and to adopt as the sole precept *abstention* from voting'. - [b] In the manuscript of the draft: 'this wretched piece of trash'.

has become a burning one, to be considered as binding upon an entire party until legally invalidated by a new resolution which present circumstances preclude?

This much is certain: whatever the impression made on the deputies by Hirsch's attacks upon Kayser, those attacks reflect the impression made by Kayser's irresponsible action upon Social-Democrats abroad, whether German or non-German. And it is high time it was realised that the reputation of the party has to be kept up, not only within its own confines, but also in the eyes of Europe and America.

And this brings me to the report.[542] However good it may be at the start and however skilful—in the circumstances—the treatment of the protective tariffs debate, this does not atone for the concessions made to the German philistines in the third part. Why the altogether superfluous passage about 'civil war', why such deference to 'public opinion' which, in Germany, will always be that of the beer-swilling philistine; why, at this point, the total obliteration of the movement's class character? Why give the anarchists that pleasure? And, what is more, all these concessions are utterly useless. The German philistine is cowardice incarnate; he has no respect for anyone who does not inspire fear in him.[a] But anyone who tries to curry favour with him he regards as one of his own kind and accords him no more respect than he accords to his own kind, which is to say none at all. And now that the storm of beer-swilling philistine indignation known as public opinion has, as is generally admitted, died down and the burden of taxation has in any case reduced these people to pulp, why go on with this billing and cooing? If only you knew what it sounded like abroad! It's a good thing for a party organ to be managed by men immediately involved in the party and the struggle. But were you to spend only six months abroad, you would feel quite differently about this quite uncalled-for self-abasement of the party deputies before the philistines. The storm that broke over the French socialists after the Commune was, after all, a very different kind of thing from the uproar about Nobiling[406] in Germany. And how much prouder and more self-confident was the bearing of the French! Where, in their case, may such weaknesses, such kow-towing to opponents, be discerned? They remained silent when they could not speak freely, they let the

[a] The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'Bismarck treats him as he deserves, i.e. spurns him, and he therefore idolises Bismarck.'

philistines shout till they could shout no more, they knew their time would surely come, and now it is here.

I can well believe what you say about Höchberg.[543] Indeed, I have absolutely no objection to him as a private individual. I also believe that it was only the anti-socialist campaign that made him realise what, in his heart of hearts, he wanted. That what he wanted was bourgeois and not proletarian was something I tried—probably in vain—to make him see.[a] But once he had formulated a programme, I must have credited him with more than German philistine weakness had I assumed that he would not try to gain recognition for it. Höchberg before and Höchberg after that article[513] are, indeed, two different persons.[b]

But now, in No. 5 of the *Sozialdemokrat,* I find a contribution from the Lower Elbe[c] in which Auer uses my letter as a pretext[d] to accuse me—without mentioning my name but leaving small room for doubt—of 'sowing the seeds of suspicion in regard to the trustiest comrades', i.e. of *calumniating* them (for otherwise I should be perfectly justified in so doing).[e] Not content with that, he falsely attributes to me things as stupid as they are infamous, and which were not contained in my letter at all. Auer, or so it would seem, supposes that *I* want something or other of the party. But as you know, it is not *I* who want anything of the party; on the contrary, it is *the party* that wants something *of me.* As you and Liebknecht know, all I have ever asked of the party is that it should leave me in peace so that I can complete my theoretical works.[169] You know that, for the past sixteen years, I have nevertheless been approached over and over again with the request that I write for party organs, and that I have actually done so, that I have written whole series of articles, entire pamphlets at Liebknecht's *express behest*—such as *The Housing Question* and *Anti-Dühring.* I won't go into details about the kindnesses the party has bestowed on me in return—e.g. the agreeable transactions in congress on the subject of *Dühring.*[286] Again, you know that Marx and I have voluntarily conducted the defence of the party against its opponents abroad throughout the party's existence, and that we have never asked anything of the party in return, save that it should not be untrue to itself.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 393, 413. - [b] The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'at least so far as the party is concerned'. - [c] [I. Auer,] 'Von der Niederelbe, 23. Oktober', *Der Sozialdemokrat,* No. 5, 2 November 1879. - [d] See this volume, pp. 394-408. - [e] The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'I have no intention of discussing Auer's attack, as stupid as it is infamous and provoked. I should, however, remark that Auer appears to imagine...'

But if the party asks of me that I should contribute to its new organ,[a] it is only to be expected that it should at least ensure that, while negotiations are still in progress, I should not be calumniated as a calumniator in the self-same organ and, what is more, by one[b] of its nominal co-proprietors. There is, so far as I am aware, no literary or other code of honour to which this would conform, and I believe that even a reptile[408] would not stand for such treatment. Hence I must ask you:

1. What satisfaction can you proffer me for this unprovoked and rotten insult?

2. What guarantees can you offer that nothing of the kind will ever happen again?

For the rest, all I want to say about Auer's insinuations is that we over here underestimate neither the difficulties the party has to contend with in Germany, nor the significance of the victories won in the face of them and the hitherto exemplary conduct of the party *masses*. It goes without saying that every victory gained in Germany gladdens our hearts as much as any gained elsewhere—more so, indeed, seeing that from the very start the German party developed in accordance with our theoretical propositions. But for that very reason we cannot but be particularly concerned that the practical conduct of the German party, and notably the public utterances of the party leadership, should continue to accord with the general theory. Undoubtedly our criticism will be displeasing to some; yet no amount of uncritical praise could, after all, be of such value to the party[c] as the presence abroad of a couple of men who, uninfluenced by confusing local conditions and the minutiae of the[d] struggle, compare from time to time what has been said and what has been done with the theoretical tenets valid for any modern proletarian movement, and in whom that party may see reflected the impression its actions have made outside Germany.

Most cordially yours,

F. Engels

First published in: A. Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, Teil III, Stuttgart, 1914

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[a] *Der Sozialdemokrat* - [b] Ignaz Auer - [c] In the manuscript of the draft: 'and to the party leadership'. - [d] Ibid.: 'practical'.

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## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London, 14 November 1879
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sorge,

I am at last able to send you all the powers of attorney.[a] I didn't get the others until the end of the week before last; they arrived when *I was confined to the house* by a most INFAMOUS cold and then, after that, my worthy SOLICITOR contrived to spin out the affair for another week, and only today did I finally receive *my* power of attorney. The account both for these and the first one will be sent to you later. The other 3 (or rather 4) powers of attorney will go off to you at the same time as this letter—but under separate cover.

You will doubtless have got my letter[b] in which I told you about the latest goings-on in the bosom of the party. Since then Höchberg and his associates[c] in Zurich have been *removed,* at least nominally, from the editorial committee which now sits in Leipzig, while Vollmar functions as editor in Zurich. His paper, *Der Sozialdemokrat,* isn't worth much. But at any rate all our associates worth mentioning, Liebknecht, Bebel, Bracke, etc., have disowned Dr Höchberg's, alias Richter's, *Jahrbuch,*[544] though as yet only—in private.

You will have seen in the papers that the anti-communist gang, composed of very heterogeneous elements, was finally defeated at the Marseilles Congress.[545]

My wife is still dangerously ill and I myself am not yet completely fit.

With kindest regards from my family.

Your
Karl Marx

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere,* Stuttgart, 1906

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[a] See this volume, pp. 392-93. - [b] Ibid., pp. 410-14. - [c] Eduard Bernstein and Carl August Schramm

## 285

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN LEIPZIG

London, 24 November 1879

Dear Bebel,

I had good reasons for assuming that Auer was alluding to myself.[a] The date proves nothing. He *expressly excludes* Most. So go and *ask him yourself whom he meant*; then we shall see what he says. I'm positive that the misunderstanding was *not* on my side.[546]

Höchberg did, to be sure, make the statement in question.[b]

I know that you were mostly away while the negotiations with Hirsch were going on and it never occurred to me to hold you personally responsible for what happened.

As regards the question of tariffs, your letter wholly corroborates what I have said.[c] If feelings were divided, as was indeed the case, and if it was thought desirable to take those divided feelings into consideration, what was called for was, *of course, abstention, no less.* Otherwise it would have meant taking *one side* only into consideration. But why the protectionist section was more deserving of consideration than the free trade one is difficult to see. You say you cannot adopt a purely negative attitude in Parliament. But since everyone ultimately voted *against* the Bill, their attitude was, after all, purely negative. All I'm saying is, they ought to have known from the start how they intended to conduct themselves; they ought to have acted in conformity with the final vote.

Questions which enable Social-Democratic deputies to abandon a purely negative attitude are very narrowly circumscribed. All are questions which immediately involve the relation of workers to capitalists: factory legislation, the normal working-day, employer's liability, payment in goods, etc. Perhaps also improvements in the purely bourgeois sense such as constitute a positive step forward: standardisation of coins and weights, freedom of movement, extension of personal freedom, etc. You're unlikely to be troubled with these for the time being. In the case of all other economic questions, such as protective tariffs, nationalisation of the railways, assurance companies, etc., Social-Democratic deputies must always uphold the vital principle of consenting to nothing that increases

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[a] See this volume, p. 420. - [b] Ibid., p. 417. - [c] Ibid., pp. 417-18.

the power of the government vis-à-vis the people. And this is made all the easier in that feelings within the party itself will, of course, invariably be divided in such cases and hence abstention, a negative attitude, is automatically called for.

What you say about Kayser makes the matter even worse. If he speaks in favour of protective tariffs in general, why does he vote against them[502]? If he intends voting against them why does he speak in favour of them? If, however, he has studied the subject with great diligence, how can he vote for tariffs on iron? Had his studies been worth a penny, he couldn't fail to have discovered that there are *two* ironworks in Germany, the Dortmunder Union and the Königs- und Laurahütte, *either* of which is capable of *meeting the entire domestic demand*; besides these there are many smaller ones; hence that a protective tariff is utter nonsense in this case; that the only remedy in this case is the capture of the foreign market, hence unadulterated free trade or *bankruptcy*; also that the iron-masters themselves can only want a protective tariff if they have formed a *ring*, a conspiracy which imposes *monopoly prices on the domestic market*, so that they are better able to sell off their surplus products abroad at cut prices, *which they are in fact already doing at this moment.* It was in the interests of this ring, this conspiracy of monopolists that Kayser was speaking and, insofar as he voted in favour of tariffs on iron, was also voting, and Hansemann of the Dortmunder Union and Bleichröder of the Königs- und Laurahütte will be laughing in their sleeves at the stupid Social-Democrat who has, for good measure, *studied* the subject *with diligence*!

You must at all costs get hold of Rudolph Meyer's *Politische Gründer in Deutschland.* Without a knowledge of the material assembled here on the swindles, the crash and the political corruption of recent years, it is impossible to form an opinion on present conditions in Germany. How is it that this store of riches was not exploited at the time for the benefit of our press[547]? The book is banned, of course.

The passages in the report[542] I particularly have in mind are[a] 1. those in which so much emphasis is laid on winning over public opinion—to have this factor against you was to be hamstrung; it was a matter of life and death that '*this hatred be turned into* **sympathy**', etc.—sympathy! from people who just before, during the Terror,[406] had shown themselves to be dirty blackguards. There was no need to go to such lengths, especially as the Terror

[a] See this volume, p. 419.

had *long since ended*; — 2. those to the effect that the party, which condemns war in any shape or form (hence also the one which it is *forced* to wage, which it wages notwithstanding) and whose goal is the universal fraternisation of all men (in terms of a slogan the goal of every party, in terms of immediate reality that of none, for not even we wish to fraternise with the bourgeois so long as they wish to remain bourgeois), cannot envisage civil war (hence not even in a case where civil war is the only means to the end). This proposition may also be construed as follows: that a party which condemns bloodshed in any shape or form cannot envisage either blood-letting or the amputation of gangrenous limbs, or scientific vivisection. Why all these empty phrases? I'm not asking that all your language should be 'vigorous', I am not reproaching the Report for saying too little—on the contrary, there is much that would have been better left unsaid. The next part is much better and so Hans Most[a] has fortunately overlooked the few passages out of which he could have made capital.

But it was a blunder to insert a solemn announcement in the *Sozialdemokrat* to the effect that Liebknecht had taken the Saxon oath of allegiance. Hans won't let that one pass by,[548] and his anarchist friends will be sure to embroider on it. Marx and I don't consider the matter itself to be as dangerous as, e.g., Hirsch took it to be in the heat of the moment. You people must know whether '*Paris vaut bien une messe*',[b] as Henri IV said when he became a Catholic, thus sparing France a thirty years' war,[549] and whether the advantages are of a kind to justify such inconsistency and the taking of an oath which, moreover, is the only one which cannot entail a prosecution for perjury. But once it had been taken, nothing ought to have been said about it until *others* had kicked up a fuss; that would have been time enough to go on to the defensive. But for the *Sozialdemokrat,* Hans wouldn't have heard a word about it.

I was delighted at the lambasting you gave the notorious drunkard and wastrel.[550] We shall see that this is spread about in Paris, though we are stumped for the French words that would convey the foregoing pithy expressions.

We are, by the way, fully aware that it is all very well, as they say, for us here to talk, and that your position is much more difficult than ours.

That the petty bourgeois and peasants should be joining us is, I grant you, a sign of the movement's rapid progress, but it also

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[a] Johann Most - [b] Paris is really worth a Mass.

constitutes a danger to the movement, once one forgets not only that these people have got to come, but also that they are coming simply *because* they have got to. Their joining us proves that the proletariat really has become the leading class. But since the ideas and ambitions they bring with them are those of the petty bourgeois and the peasant, it must not be forgotten that the proletariat would forfeit its leading historical role were it to make concessions to those ideas and ambitions.

Most cordially yours,
F. Engels

Herewith another loose postscript.[a]

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## MARX TO ACHILLE LORIA

IN MANTUA

London, 3 December 1879
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

For reasons of health I was compelled to absent myself from London for a time. On my return today I found awaiting me your letter of 23 November and your work.[b] I hasten to acknowledge receipt and at the same time express my thanks to you.

Yours very truly,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

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[a] The postscript is missing in the manuscript. - [b] A. Loria, *La rendita fondiaria e la sua elisione naturale.*

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## MARX TO AN UNKNOWN CORRESPONDENT[551]

### IN LONDON

[London,] 11 December 1879

My dear Sir,

Will you come to dinner next Sunday[a] at 2 o'clock?

Yours truly
Karl Marx

First published (facsimile) in: Г. П. Броше, И. С. Ремезов, Л. Декав, *Письмо Г. П. Броше. Последняя коммунарка 1871 г. Les Anciennes. П. Кропоткин. П. Л. Лавров*, Paris, 1924

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## 288

## MARX TO CHARLES WALSTONE (WALDSTEIN)[552]

### IN LONDON

[London,] 13 December 1879

Liebes[b] Waldhörnlein,[c]

You will—I hope—be so good as to come and dine with us tomorrow (Sunday) at 2 o'clock. There will be a young Russian[d] who is worth studying, being a 'type'. Don't be frightened! He carries neither daggers nor revolvers nor explosive 'chemicals' about himself. Besides, your name does not yet figure on the 'black' list.

And now *vale faveque*[e]
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50, Moscow, 1981

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[a] 14 December - [b] Dear - [c] Walstone's jocular name derived from the German word *Waldhorn* meaning French horn. - [d] Presumably N. Vasiliyev. - [e] good-bye and farewell

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## ENGELS TO THOMAS ALLSOP[553]

IN LIMINGTON

London, 14 December 1879
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Friend,

I am very sorry indeed to learn that you have been ill and are not yet completely restored to health. I hope your legs will soon be all right again so as to allow you to stir about—I know how you will miss your usual exercise.

We are all pretty well here so far, our patients and half-patients seem to come round gradually.

The man in *The P.M.G.*[a] does indeed to some extent divine that there are breakers ahead, but as a true Philistine, he seems unable to distinguish appearances from reality. No doubt the crash in Russia is impending and may break out any time. And no doubt, the collapse of Russian despotism must re-act with immense force upon Germany and Austria. But whether an immediate outbreak there be probable or whether it even have chances of success, is more than I pretend to know. The man is quite right, too, in saying that the system of drilling the whole male population, as is now the rule all over the continent, will end in revolutionising these monster armies *from within.* But this is a process requiring some little time, and as far as Germany goes, it is only lately showing itself. This constant penetration of fresh revolutionary elements into the army, noticed with every new yearly batch of recruits, has been the principal motive for introducing the [*Anti-*]*Socialist law.*[462] And how little this Socialist Law, with all its terrorism, has effected, has again been shown last Thursday. At the last election in 1878, at Magdeburg, our candidate[b] only got $^1/_3$ of the votes given; now there was a fresh election there, and he[c] very near got the full half of the votes, and stands a chance of passing at the second ballot.[554] The joke of the thing is, that this candidate of ours is a natural son of old William, the emperor, by an actress, Miss Viereck, whilom the old fellow's mistress.

Anyhow, the outbreak in Russia must hasten the movement in Central and Western Europe. The governments of Vienna and Berlin will lose heart when they have no longer that unfailing

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[a] *The Pall Mall Gazette* - [b] Wilhelm Bracke - [c] Louis Viereck

mainstay of all reaction—the absolute Russian government. And the moral effect of a revolutionary successful movement in Russia upon the masses in Central Europe must be immense.

The worst would be, to us, if Russia, to avoid revolution, launched into foreign war. But so long as they have not the French Alliance, they scarcely venture.

Anyhow, by next spring this Russian crisis, which we think here is the most important one since 1848, must come to a head either one way or another, and I hope you will recover your full strength so as to enjoy the stirring times which are, it appears, still in store for you.

Very faithfully yours

F. Engels

First published in the language of the original (English, facsimile) and in German, in *Neues Deutschland*, Nr. 107, Berlin 19. April 1970

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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL[127]

IN LEIPZIG

London, 16 December 1879

Dear Bebel,

I find it incomprehensible that Auer should now say he had meant Most amongst others, since in the article he all but specifically excepted him.[546] But let it rest at that.

In No. 10 of the *Sozialdemokrat* there are 'Preßgeschichtliche Rückblicke' which unmistakably stem from one or other of the three asterisks.[a] Here we read that it can *only be an honour* for Social-Democrats to be compared with belletrists such as Gutzkow and Laube, i.e. with men who, long before '48, had already laid to rest such political character as they still had left, if indeed they ever had any. Again:

'The events of 1848 were bound to come, either *accompanied by all the blessings of peace*, if governments had responded to the demands of the time, or, **alas**—since they did not do so—the only recourse that remained was violent revolution.'[555]

[a] Karl Höchberg, Eduard Bernstein and Carl August Schramm

In a paper in which it is possible actually to *deplore* the revolution of 1848 which, for the first time, opened wide the door to Social-Democracy, in such a paper there is no room for us. From this article and from Höchberg's letter, it is plainly evident that the three asterisks claim the right to advocate in the *Sozialdemokrat*—and this on an equal footing with proletarian views—their own petty-bourgeois socialist opinions first clearly enunciated in their *Jahrbuch*.[513] And, now that things have gone so badly off the rails, I fail to see how you people in Leipzig propose to prevent this without an actual breach. Now as before, you regard these men as party members. We cannot do so. The dividing line created between us and them by the *Jahrbuch* article is distinct and absolute. We cannot even negotiate with these people so long as they claim to belong to the same party as ourselves. The points that have arisen in this case are ones which no longer admit of being discussed in any proletarian party. To subject them to discussion within the party would mean jeopardising the whole of proletarian socialism.

In these circumstances it might, in fact, be better if we did not contribute. We would be constantly protesting and would, after a few weeks, have to give public notice of our resignation, which would do nothing to promote the cause.

We regret very much being unable, at this time of repression, to give you our unqualified support. So long as the party in Germany remained true to its proletarian character, we were prepared to set aside all other considerations. But now that the petty-bourgeois elements you have admitted have come out in their true colours,[a] it's a different matter. The moment they are permitted to insinuate their petty-bourgeois ideas piecemeal into the organ of the German party, that organ, by the same token, is closed to us,[b] no more nor less.

The matter of the oath[548] is of very little concern to us. It might have been possible, as you yourself wished, to find some other procedure that would to some extent have eliminated the

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[a] The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'and claim the right within the party to advocate as socialism their petty-bourgeois hesitations and limitations, it's a different matter. A party to which they belong is no place for us, nor can we even treat with such people so long as they do not constitute themselves an independent petty-bourgeois-socialist faction of the party, or so long as they insist that they belong to the same party as ourselves, we cannot even treat with them.' - [b] The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'We cannot, and never shall be, able to work hand in hand with petty-bourgeois socialism.'

disagreeable impression, but it's of no great moment.[556] Discretion shall be observed, as you request.

Malon's journal[a] might have a salutory effect, for 1. Malon is not the kind of man to do much damage and 2. his collaborators among the French will see to it that the thing is kept on its proper course. If Höchberg imagines it will provide an arena for his petty bourgeoiserie, he'll find that he's thrown his money down the drain.

We were very pleased about the Magdeburg election.[554] The staunchness of the working-class masses in Germany is admirable. The letters from working men in the *Sozialdemokrat* are the only good things in it.

I return herewith Höchberg's letter. The man's completely hopeless. If we refused to do anything in company with the *Zukunft* people, this was, it seems, out of personal vanity. But a third of these people's names were, and still are, *completely unknown* to us, and approximately another third are notorious petty-bourgeois socialists. And a thing like that called itself a 'scientific' journal! And Höchberg still believes it had an 'enlightening' effect. Testifies to the much vaunted lucidity of his own intellect which, right up to this very day, and despite my every endeavour, has been unable to grasp the difference between petty-bourgeois and proletarian socialism. All differences of opinion are 'misunderstandings'. Exactly as in the case of the democratic wailers[557] of '48. Or else 'over-hasty' deductions. Of course, since any deduction is over-hasty which deduces a specific meaning from the chatter of these gentry. For they aren't just trying to say *such and such*, but also, as likely as not, the opposite.

Apart from this, world history proceeds on its course untroubled by these philistine advocates of prudence and moderation. In Russia things will surely come to a head within a few months. Either absolutism will be overthrown and then, immediately after the overthrow of that great storehouse of reaction, a new wind will blow across Europe. Or else there will be a European war, and the *present* German party, too, will be submerged in the inevitable struggle of each individual people for its national existence. A war such as that would, for us, be the greatest of misfortunes; it might set the movement back by twenty years. But the new party that must surely emerge from it at last would, in all European

[a] *La Revue socialiste*

countries, be freed of a host of hesitations and pettinesses such as presently hamper the movement everywhere.

Most cordially yours,
F. E.

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## 291

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 19 December 1879

Dear Old Man,

I was supposed to be getting some money yesterday and it had long been understood that you would thereupon at once be sent a remittance. But it came too late for me to draw a money order that same day, and all through the afternoon I kept thinking: A letter's bound to arrive from Philipp this evening! And sure enough, it did arrive. So you've deprived me of the pleasure of giving you an unexpected Christmas treat. Well then, I have drawn a money order for five pounds sterling, against which, according to the rate here, 126 frs should be paid to you over there—as will, no doubt, be done without delay.

Over here we are all so-so; I can't complain, Marx is fitter than last year, although he still isn't really up to the mark. Mrs Marx has long been subject to bouts of indigestion and is seldom entirely well. The second volume[a] is making slow progress, nor is it likely to progress any faster until a summer better than the last one enables Marx to recover properly for once.[62]

Yesterday I wrote and told Bebel[b] that we couldn't contribute to the *Sozialdemokrat*. From Höchberg's subsequent letters it emerges that he intends, as a matter of course, to continue advocating in the *Sozialdemokrat* the views expressed in the *Jahrbuch*.[513] And as

[a] of *Capital* - [b] See previous letter.

long as the Leipzigers remain on their present footing with him and his philistine colleagues, I cannot see how they can refuse to allow this. But it also means that we are excluded. Having combatted this same petty-bourgeois socialism ever since the *Manifesto*[a] (indeed, since Marx's anti-Proudhon piece[b]), we cannot go hand in hand with it at a moment when it is using the Anti-Socialist Law[462] as a pretext for raising its banner again. And it is better so. We would involve ourselves in an endless debate with these gentry, the *Sozialdemokrat* would become a battleground, and in the end we should after all be forced publicly to announce our resignation. Not that all this would be of use to anyone save the Prussians and the bourgeois, and so we would rather avoid it. But this should not be regarded as a model by other people—those who, unlike us, have not themselves been forced *by these particular negotiations* to pick up the gauntlet thrown down by Höchberg and Co. I see no reason at all why you, for example, should not contribute to the paper.[558] The articles from German working men are the only things in it that give one any pleasure, and things of yours could only enhance the paper; and since it does exist, a paper that's as good as it's possible to make it is, after all, preferable to one that is merely bad. I say this on the assumption that these people pay you properly, for it would be asking altogether too much of a man in your position that he should, into the bargain, work for nothing. In fact, we're not particularly incensed against the Leipzigers over this business. We saw it coming for years. For Liebknecht cannot resist mediating and making friends left and right, nor is he exactly fussy about what elements have been imported so long as the party gives the appearance of being really strong and having plenty of members and, if possible, funds. And so he'll go on until one day he burns his fingers. When that happens the better men will no doubt revert to the right course.

The *Freiheit* is all sound and fury, quite devoid of content or meaning, and Most, who in other respects is not without talent, has here shown himself incapable of producing a single idea since he uprooted himself from the bedrock of the party. If I've got to have undiluted abuse, then give me the late Karl Heinzen any day; he succeeded in being even more ham-handed.

The powers of attorney have all gone off to New York,[c] since when nothing more has been heard. There's no relying on

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - [b] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*. - [c] See this volume, pp. 392-93, 410, 422.

Liebknecht's expectations, of which he always has more than is good for him.

For years Lessner has had nothing much to do with the Society here[55]; he seldom turns up, and then doesn't do anything much except grumble and grouse about the course of things generally.

In Russia matters are going splendidly! They'll soon come to blows there. And when that happens, the bowels of the great men of the German Empire will instantly turn to water—a veritable flux! That will be the next turning point of world history.

You shouldn't allow the poor anarchists to irritate you so.[559] They, too, are in a truly forlorn state. In the West they have nothing left to do save be anarchical amongst themselves and tear one another's hair out, and in Russia all their murderous deeds achieve—as they have just discovered to their dismay—is pulling the Constitutionals'[560] chestnuts out of the fire for them!

Regards from Marx and

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO AMÉLIE ENGEL[561]

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, around 1879-1880]

Madame,

Many years of experience have impressed upon me the principle that under no circumstances should one give financial aid to strangers.

Moreover I cannot at this moment raise the sum you want. Were I able to do so, I should be under an obligation to use it, as I do *every penny* I can spare, for the relief of our German party comrades who are being persecuted by Bismarck.

Besides, since you have connections that will procure you audiences with princesses, you are unlikely to experience difficulty in extricating yourself from this momentary embarrassment.

Finally, I cannot refrain from mentioning that, while your visit came as a surprise to me, I have since then been equally certain of receiving a request of the kind contained in your letter.

Yours very truly

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# APPENDICES

1

## BRIEF ACCOUNT OF MARX'S LETTERS TO CARL HIRSCH[562]

### IN PARIS

On 31 January 1875 K. Marx sends Hirsch a letter relating to the work *Misère de la Philosophie*[a] printed at his expense (1,500 copies) by a Mr Vogler, a publisher in Brussels. In this letter he says also that Vernouillet, who sends him letters, is a very sensible man; finally he asks him how long it is since he saw Freund and Mesa; the last address which he had for Freund was: 53, route de Versailles (Auteuil).

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On 10 December 1875 Karl Marx, 41 Maitland Park Road, London, N. W., writes to Hirsch concerning his book *Le Capital*, speaks of Lachâtre in Vevey (Switzerland) and of Kaub.

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On 16 February 1876 Karl Marx invites Hirsch to pay a visit to his good friend Lopatin, 25, rue Gay Lussac, and advises him to make his acquaintance.

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On 4 May 1876 Karl Marx informs C. Hirsch that a certain Henri Oriol, 177, rue St Denis, an employee at the Lachâtre bookshop, has written to him that the *Rappel* asked him for a review of the work *Le Capital*, and Mr Oriol is asking me, Marx says, for an article about this work, a kind of key which could also serve as an introduction.[563]

K. Marx also asks for news of Kaub.

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[a] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*.

On 23 September 1876 K. Marx writes to Hirsch: The day before yesterday I came back from Karlsbad.[178] On my arrival I found a letter from Lavrov relating to the book *Le Capital*, the publication of which is to be banned in France, as he was told by his agent in Paris, Guyot of the Palais Royal.[a] He sends greetings from the Kaub family.

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On 10 April 1877 Karl Marx asks Hirsch for information about the Galliffet and Madame de Beaumont affair.[308] He adds that the *Vorwärts* called Galliffet a 'dog'. He also asks him for the result of the scandalous trial of the 'simpleton' Louis Blanc (sic) against the Russian Panayev.

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On 14 May 1877, in a letter to Hirsch, K. Marx speaks of *gens*[b] Kaub, hostile to the Tsar, whom he calls a 'Kindernhund',[c] child murderer.[564] But the sentry protects him.

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On 1 August 1877 K. Marx writes a socialist letter to Hirsch in which the names of Höchberg, Engels, Elisée Reclus and Arnould figure, and against the Protestant pastors of Germany.

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On 20 February 1878 Karl Marx informs Hirsch that he has learnt from Lissagaray that a large number of people, supporters of the F. Pyat Commune, are working again to restore that harlequin Thiers who has done so much harm to the Commune; further on he says: Louis Blanc at least had the courage not to lick the boots of Mr Thiers as J. Favre, Simon, etc., did.

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Printed according to C. Hirsch's file from the archives of the Paris Prefecture of Police

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[a] See this volume, p. 153. - [b] here: the family of - [c] thus in the police statement

## 2

## ELEANOR MARX TO CARL HIRSCH

IN PARIS

*London*, 25 October 1875
41 Maitland Park Road

Dear Mr Hirsch,

I enclose herewith a short appreciation, written by my mother, of an English actor Mr Irving. Mama would be pleased if you could arrange for its insertion in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.[565]

If he had enough time, Papa would himself have written an appreciation of Mr Irving in whom we are greatly interested (although we do not know him personally). First, because he is a man of exceptional talent and, secondly, because the entire English press, in consequence of the most wretched intrigues, has set about him, and engineered what can only be described as a plot against him. By getting the *Frankfurter* to print Mama's appreciation, you would be doing us a great service.[566]

I should also like to ask you on behalf of a friend, a Russian lady, if you think it might be possible to have an appreciation of Mr Irving published in the *Journal des Débats*,[a] or else in the *Temps* or *Le Siècle*.

I very much hope you will forgive me for bothering you like this, but you have so many contacts with the French and German press, and your influence is so great that you are the only person to whom we could turn. I hope that you will excuse me, and not hold it too much against me.

Papa asks me to say how grateful he is to you for the newspapers you were good enough to send him. He also sends his warm regards, as do we all, to our friend Kaub. Mama thanks you in advance and, as for myself, I remain

Yours ever,
Eleanor Marx

Mama asks me to say that she does not wish her name *to appear* in the *Frankfurter*, but that if you want to say who wrote the appreciation, you may do so 'as between friends'.

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[a] *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*

3

## JENNY MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

[London, between 16 and 20 August 1876]

My dear and esteemed Friend,

You really have heaped coals of fire on my head, and having just looked at the date of your first dear letter and even that of the second I must needs cover myself with sackcloth and ashes. I *come* to you with a sincere *Pater peccavi*.[a] As soon as I got your first letter I meant to write straight away; then something intervened and I put it off, and to put off letter-writing is the surest way of killing it dead. One only has to start putting it off and a day turns into a week and a week into a month, and as for the speed with which the moons mount up to a year, that is something the gods and we old people are best qualified to know. The older one gets and the worse the times become, the quicker they pass and the faster the hours fly by. That's how it is with me, at any rate. And there must surely be something to be said in favour of old age. After all it's utterly wretched and miserable to be no longer young, and lively and 'sound'; one senses this particularly when, on top of old age, ill-health supervenes, as has recently happened to me, and this is probably the best plea in my favour for having neglected my duty of writing to so old and well-tried a friend. For months I have suffered from such severe headaches, etc., etc., that I often felt dazed and giddy and if only for that reason could not write. A three weeks' stay in Brighton has more or less set me up again. Last Friday[b] my husband and my youngest daughter[c] left for Karlsbad,[178] both of them unfortunately for reasons of health—or rather ill-health. This exceedingly expensive trip means there can be no question of other excursions or visits to loyal friends near and far, and, greatly though my husband would welcome an opportunity of paying his respects to Mont Blanc and old Becker, he must perforce adhere scrupulously to his cure and eschew any extra trips. Nor shall I myself be able to pack my knapsack this year; and I puff and I blow hot and cold in the diabolical heat. I got a letter from Karlsbad yesterday. After many tribulations they finally arrived at the institute for afflictions of the liver. In

[a] Father, I have sinned (Luke 15:21) - [b] 11 August - [c] Eleanor Marx

Nuremberg they spent hours trotting about in search of a bed.[a] Nothing to be had, not even in the meanest pothouse. The bakers were holding a convention, while from all directions the trombones and trumpets of the future,[185] the Siegfrieds, Valkyries and *Götterdämmerung*[b] heroes were pouring into Nuremberg which they had to leave without having sampled its wares. Then they got on the wrong train and it was only after a truly Don Quixote-like series of to-ings and fro-ings, which continued for 28 hours, that they arrived in the country of springs.

Your news was all of it most interesting, and if I don't reply *en détail* you should put it down to this cruel heat, which must be the scapegoat for a great deal just now. I can't tell you how sorry I am for not having provided you with any material so far.[c] It would seem that there's nothing to be done with the manager. I've written to him so often. My husband had a letter from Borkheim not long ago[d] in which he says he is in fact a bit better. I think the best and safest course would be for you to approach him personally. He knows best where the things are kept and so can give orders for them to be looked out and sent to you. As for the other books, papers, etc., you want, I shall approach our old friend Lessner about them. Engels and my husband no longer have any connection whatsoever with the old Workers' Society[55] which is now very very much *run down* and has become a rowdy *society of louts.*

Whatever ingenuity Lessner may have expended hitherto on keeping it together, he is now heartily sick of the thing. But he can be more helpful to you than anyone else, and is an honest, reliable man who in politics has always behaved exceptionally well and honestly. One of the old guard '*qui meurt mais ne se rend pas*'[e]![567] I shall be visiting our friend Engels in Ramsgate next week[f] and therefore want to settle everything with Lessner beforehand so far as I can. I'm positive you had best deal with Borkheim direct. His address is:

S. Borkheim, Esq.
1 Denmark Place,
*Hastings*

And now, my esteemed friend, goodbye for the present.

This time next year, I trust, we shall all be 'over there', i.e. in

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[a] See this volume, p. 135. - [b] Wagner's opera - [c] See Engels' letter to Becker of 17 August 1880 (present edition, Vol. 46). - [d] on 1 August 1876 - [e] 'who will die rather than surrender'. - [f] See this volume, p. 141.

our 'beloved fatherland'[a] so that we may see all our old comrades again at last. In which case we shall also make a bee-line for Papa Becker. With warmest regards,

Your old friend,
Jenny Marx

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4

## ELEANOR MARX TO CARL HIRSCH

IN PARIS

[London,] 25 November 1876
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

For several weeks past I have been on the point of writing to you—I have actually started a letter on several occasions, but one thing and another always prevents my finishing it.

Just now in particular I have little time, since I am very busy with the election for the 'School Board'. This committee, which is entrusted with the management of the public schools and with compulsory instruction, is a pretty important one and is chiefly concerned with combatting the so-called 'Church Party' which seeks the outright abolition of compulsory instruction. I am working to promote the candidature of a woman—a Mrs Westlake—who, though essentially bourgeois like almost all Englishwomen, is at any rate very much a free thinker and worth more than any of the men who are offering themselves as candidates. I go from house to house canvassing votes and you would never believe the comical things I see and hear. At one house they demanded that we teach 'religion above all'—at another I was informed that 'instruction is the curse of the country, that education will be the ruin of us', etc., etc. All in all it is amusing, but also sad at times, when you call on a workman who tells you that he would like to 'consult his employer' first.

[a] Quotation from Max Schneckenburger's poem *Wacht am Rhein.*

We receive the *Révolution*[a] every day. What do you make of it? Can it long survive? I have my doubts about it. Tell us what you think.

Next week you will have a visit from Mr Kistemaeckers—the publisher of Lissagaray's book[b]—a very good, very honest man. He is going to Paris to introduce the book in Paris and nothing should be said about his visit for fear of alerting the police.

Papa (who for the past few weeks has been very unwell on account of a heavy cold and bronchitis) is very vexed at not having had any news from Paris. As you know, he sent a case of instalments to Paris, hoping to receive in exchange sewn copies of the book—and not only has he received nothing, he hasn't even had any news.[568] If you know anything about this, please let him know, I beg you, dear Sir.

But I see I have come to the end of my paper. So I shall bid you adieu for today. I told you in my last letter how well my pince-nez suits me—I grow more delighted with it every day.

Many good wishes from everyone here to Kaub, as also to yourself

and

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

Eleanor Marx

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## 5

## JENNY MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

[London, 20 or 21 January 1877]
41 Maitland Park Road, Haverstock Hill

My dear Friend,

It's a long, long time since you had news of me or so much as a reminder of my existence; I did not even break my silence when fate struck you yet another terrible blow and you might, with perfect justification, have expected a few words of commiseration

[a] *La Révolution française* - [b] [P.] Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune de 1871.*

from your friends.[569] Let me assure you that it was not lack of sympathy that caused me to remain silent. If I failed to write, it was because the tragic news literally bereft me of speech, nor did I wish to impinge on your great sorrow with all the commonplaces of sympathy and condolence. I know only too well how difficult it is and how long it takes to regain one's own balance after losses of this sort; it is then that life comes to our aid, with its little joys and big worries, with all its little, day-to-day drudgeries and petty vexations, and the greater sorrow is deadened by lesser, hourly ills and, without our noticing it, the violence of the pain abates; not that the wound has ever healed, and this is specially so of the mother's heart, but little by little there awakens in one's breast a fresh sensibility, a fresh sensitivity even, to new sorrows and new joys, and thus one goes on and on living, with a sore if ever hopeful heart, until at last it ceases to beat and gives way to eternal peace.

On the whole (though always and everywhere there are clouds) things have gone quite well with us. This year my husband and Tussy (our youngest) were again compelled to visit Karlsbad which had done them so much good on a previous occasion. This time, too, my husband found the treatment most beneficial. But alas, immediately on his return to this damp, foggy country of ours he caught so bad a cold that he has not hitherto been able to rid himself of the really frightful sneezing and coughing which have become almost chronic. Even a minor operation to shorten what is known as the uvula in his throat—it had become relaxed and elongated and was causing a constant excess of phlegm—does not so far seem to have done very much good. Tussy fell seriously ill in Karlsbad and came home pale and emaciated. She is better again now and busy doing various translations from German or French into English. As a member of the Shakespeare Society, she translated a pamphlet by Professor Delius of Bonn on the epic element in Shakespeare,[241] to the complete satisfaction of all concerned, and Professor Delius wrote her the most flattering letter in which he congratulated himself and the Society on the acquisition of such a 'FELLOW WORKER'. This SUCCESS will give her the *entrée* to literary circles and magazines where she might be able to find paid work and thus be released from her teaching, which is onerous and takes an undue toll of her health. Lissagaray, to whom she is engaged, has brought out his book on the Commune[a] in Brussels. It has turned out really well, seems to be selling well,

[a] [P.] Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune de 1871.*

and is presently being translated into German[a] and English.[570]

As for my husband, he is at this moment DEEPLY IN THE EASTERN QUESTION AND HIGHLY ELATED by the firm, honest bearing of the sons of Mohammed vis-à-vis all the Christian HUMBUGS and hypocritical ATROCITY MONGERS.[187] (As may be gathered from today's telegrams, the Russians—the civilisers according to Gladstone, Bright and all the FREEMEN AND STILLMEN AND MERRYMEN—would seem to be pulling out in real earnest.)

Preoccupied though he is with this great political question, he is no less interested in the victory of the socialists in Germany[237]; not that they will be sending so very many more 'men' into parliament, but the number of votes they got everywhere, even in the bureaucratic bigwigs' districts of Berlin, is truly overwhelming and seems to have infuriated the climbers and speculators [*Gründer*][118] and slave-drivers.

Longuet fell ill this spring of a nervous fever from which he is recovering only very gradually and which has left him still very much on edge and irritable. He is as excitable, vociferous and argumentative as ever, but in his favour be it said that he has given his lessons at King's College regularly and to the satisfaction of his superiors.[177] On 10th May Jenny gave birth to another little boy[b] who at first looked very weak, small and ailing. Now he has one little tooth and eats so well that he has become a fine, fat, sturdy lad who is the pride of the whole family. When he drives up in his CARRIAGE AND FOUR, i.e. in the parental PERAMBULATOR, everyone rushes out joyously to meet him in the hope of being the first to pick him up, OLD GRANNY at their head. Jenny continues to suffer from asthma and a persistent cough, but that doesn't prevent her from carrying out her onerous duties at school and at home, nor does it diminish her *embonpoint*[c] or the fresh bloom of her rosy cheeks. Lafargue and Laura also live quite close by. Unfortunately their business, printing by the *procédé* Gillot,[d] hasn't been doing very well.[94] Always and everywhere, the competition of big capital stands in their way. In an attempt to overcome it, Lafargue has thrown himself into the breach and works like a NIGGER. Laura has likewise given proof of wondrous energy, courage and extreme application in all spheres, whether at home or elsewhere. Indeed, one might apostrophise Lafargue with 'cobbler stick to your last'. It is a shame he should have deserted old Father Aesculapius.[571] But all the same, prospects of success would seem to have improved somewhat of late. Larger orders are

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[a] See this volume, p. 189. - [b] Jean Longuet - [c] girth - [d] Gillot process - [e] See p. XXIX of the Preface.

coming in and Lafargue, who always sees everything through rose-tinted spectacles, is now hoping for a big 'JOB'. Laura has completely recovered her health and looks fresh and blooming and so youthful that she's addressed as 'MISS' by everyone who doesn't know her to be a married woman of nine years' standing.

Our friend Engels is as flourishing as ever. He is always healthy, vigorous, cheerful and in good spirits, and he thoroughly relishes his beer (especially when it's the Viennese variety). I cannot tell you much about our other acquaintances because we see only very few of them now, particularly the French—no Le Moussus, no Serrailliers, above all no Blanquists. WE HAD ENOUGH OF THEM. Wróblewski keeps in touch with the Turkish minister so that he can go to Turkey as soon as war breaks out. He'd have been far better advised to have gone there long since, for poverty and wounds have made his life a very hard one. Should there not be a war he will go under completely here, particularly after the terrible state of excitation he's been in. It will be a pity if he doesn't find something suitable to do. He has a really excellent brain and is a sterling fellow. Of the English working men *à la* Mottershead, Eccarius, Hales, Jung, etc., I would rather say nothing. They are all of them arch-blackguards, corrupt and corruptible, and chasing BY HOOK AND BY CROOK after the HONEST SHILLING. A truly abject lot![a]

But enough for today. My husband has been *awaiting*—so far in vain—the promised *Tribune*[b] *articles got together* by Weydemeyer. You would greatly oblige him if you would look into the matter and send them to him.[c] He needs them urgently.

And now there's only a small corner left in which to say goodbye and to convey the most cordial wishes, both for your own prosperity and for that of your family, from my husband, my children and, above all, from your old friend

Jenny Marx

[Postscript, written at the head of the first page of the letter]

Lessner is doing fairly well with his LODGING HOUSE; a baby every year—breeding like a rabbit.

First published abridged in *Briefe and Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

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[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 155-56. - [b] *New-York Daily Tribune* - [c] See this volume, p. 115.

## 6

## ELEANOR MARX TO CARL HIRSCH

IN PARIS

London, 8 June 1878[a]

Dear Mr Hirsch,

I owe you my excuses for having neglected to reply to your kind letter and trust that you won't take it too much amiss. To begin with, I have been suffering from neuralgia for the past few weeks, as well as from bouts of atrocious toothache—and, if you have ever had toothache, you will understand my lack of inclination to write. Next, I am working just now for several literary societies (CHAUCER SOCIETY, SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY, PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY etc.) at the BRITISH MUSEUM and this work leaves me very little time.[b] Finally, I was so ashamed of my idleness that I no longer dared write. Today, however, I have taken my courage in both hands, for Papa has instructed me to drop you a line on his behalf. He is very unwell at the moment and in his present state of health it is *impossible* for him to let you have anything for your journal.[c] He has, I think, been working too hard latterly and will be absolutely forced to do nothing for some time. I feel sure you will excuse him and that you will tell this to your colleagues on the *Égalité*.

I must thank you for asking me to collaborate on your journal, but at the moment I cannot—every bit of my day is taken up with work at the MUSEUM.

What do you make of Nobiling?[406] Do you know anything about the man? The English press is indignant—more so, perhaps, than the German. One can see how delighted they would be to lay everything at the door of socialists of all countries, so as to resume their persecution. They are delighted that Germany is about to have a bit of reaction and terrorism—if only they could treat themselves to a bit of that over here! I fear it will be a bad business for our friends Liebknecht and the others. A little persecution can be beneficial, but not reaction, which suppresses newspapers, MEETINGS—in other words every means of propaganda. As yet we know nothing definite about Nobiling, for one cannot believe the reactionary press. The effect here was overwhelming when news of the second attempt at assassination came through—

[a] 1879 in the original - [b] See this volume, p. 446. - [c] *L'Égalité*

nothing but cries of indignation on all sides, cries made more indignant by the fact that the bourgeois are terribly afraid. So if you know anything about Nobiling, write and tell us.

We have seen Mr Zanardelli once or twice. Is he not a little bit of a hothead? I didn't see him long enough to judge, but that is how he struck me.

Lissa[garay] has left for Jersey—before his departure he asked me to send you his best compliments. Papa also sends you a cordial handshake, likewise to Kaub.

Shall we see you soon in London? You really ought to come and spend a few days here.

Yours sincerely,
Eleanor Marx

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## 7

## JULES GUESDE TO KARL MARX[572]

### IN LONDON

[Excerpt]

Paris, [March-April 1879]
Hôpital Necker, Rue de Sèvre

Very dear Citizen,

I could not be more grateful to you for the sympathy and esteem which you have been kind enough to show me, and I ask you to believe that, for my part, although I find myself in disagreement with you on the subject of the International,[573] I have always professed the deepest admiration for the author of the *Communist Manifesto*[a] and *Capital*.

In fact this disagreement, I can say it now, would never have arisen—on my part at least—had I known you better.

For everything that you express in your letter coincides with what I think—and *have always thought*.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

If I am a revolutionary, if I believe like you in the need for force to solve the social question in a collectivist or communist way, I am also like you the convinced opponent of movements *à la* Cafiero which—useful though they may be in Russia—do not correspond in France, or in Germany, or in Italy, to any of the demands of the situation. You were able to see this from my campaign in the *Radical* against the Comic Opera insurgents in Benevento.[574]

Like you I am convinced that before thinking of action, one must set up a party, a *conscious* army, by means of active, continuous propaganda.

Finally, like you I do not believe that the simple destruction of what exists will be enough to build what we want, and I think that for a more or less considerable period the impulse, the direction should come from above, from those who are 'better informed'.[a]

It is in these conditions that, since my return, I have been busy setting up this 'independent and militant workers' party' which you so rightly declare to be 'of the highest importance' in view of the events which are being prepared.

But for this party to be both 'independent' and 'militant', it is essential that the French proletariat which is to constitute it should be delivered from the dupery of bourgeois Radicalism and that, on the other hand, it should be persuaded that its emancipation can only be achieved through struggle...

If I were not so ill—and so poor—I would announce my next visit to you,[575] so much would I like to have a long talk with you. But I do not dispose of myself either physically—or pecuniarily. And I must limit myself to sending you all my thanks and assuring you of my complete devotion

To you and to the Revolution

Jules Guesde

First published in full in the language of the original, French, in *Le Combat marxiste*, No. 19, Paris, mai 1935

Printed according to the journal

Translated from the French

[a] Here and below Jules Guesde quotes Marx.

## 8

## MARX TO MAXIM KOVALEVSKY[576]

### IN MOSCOW

[London, April 1879]

Mr Kareyev's work[577] is excellent. However, I do not quite share his view of the Physiocrats.[260] I take the theory of capital, i.e., of the contemporary structure of society. From Petty to Hume, this theory was developed only piecemeal—a bit here, a bit there—according to the requirements of the period when the author lived. Quesnay was the first to put political economy on its real, i.e., capitalist, basis, and the curious thing is that he did so apparently as a landowner's tenant. Mr Kareyev is definitely wrong in saying that the Physiocrats opposed only one social occupation, namely agriculture, to others, i.e., industry and commerce, but never went, unlike Smith, so far as to oppose social classes to each other. If Mr Kareyev had recalled the main idea of Ricardo's Preface to his famous creation,[a] in which he examines three classes of the state (landowners, capitalists, and workers, the latter tilling the soil by their labour), he would have seen that the first invention of the three classes in the economic sphere and their mutual relations could find a place only in the system of agriculture, where Quesnay put it. In addition, a writer should distinguish between what an author really gives and what he gives only in his own imagination. This is true even of philosophical systems; thus, what Spinoza considered the cornerstone of his system and what actually constitutes that cornerstone are two entirely different things. It is not surprising, therefore, that some of Quesnay's adherents, such as Mercier de la Rivière, saw the essence of the whole system in its paraphernalia while the English Physiocrats writing in 1798 were the first to demonstrate—on the basis of Quesnay's concepts and contrary to Adam Smith's—the need to abolish private ownership of land.[578]

First published, in Russian, in the magazine *Byloye*, No. 20, Leningrad, 1922

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Translated from the Russian

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[a] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation.*

# NOTES
# AND
# INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] This letter was published in English for the first time in *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann by Karl Marx,* Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1934.—3, 17, 21, 31, 32

[2] Worried by the report of Marx's illness in the *Frankfurter Zeitung,* Ludwig Kugelmann wrote to Engels on 13 January 1874 asking him for more information concerning the state of Marx's health.—3

[3] Marx, accompanied by his daughter Eleanor, took a rest cure at Harrogate between 24 November and 15 December 1873.—3, 17

[4] In the Reichstag elections of 10 January 1874, the German Social Democrats scored a significant victory. The number of votes cast for them rose from 41,461 in 1871 to 171,351; six deputies (including Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, who were serving a prison sentence at the time) were elected, as against two at the 1871 elections. For the first time, three seats went to the General Association of German Workers which polled 180,319 votes.

Alongside the left-wingers, the clerical Party of the Centre (see Note 423) also managed to strengthen its position. Marx referred to its members as the 'ultramontanes'. The latter advocated unlimited authority for the Catholic Church and opposed the *Kulturkampf* (see Note 35) pursued by Bismarck.

Engels learned about the results of the elections from Kugelmann's letter of 13 January 1874.—3, 6, 43

[5] The *Geneva Congress* of the International Working Men's Association took place between 8 and 13 September 1873. Marx and Engels reversed their original intention to take part in its work, since the mounting reprisals against the working-class movement and financial difficulties precluded its being a truly international assembly. Unable to send their own delegations, nearly all the International's organisations handed over their mandates to the delegates of Romance Switzerland.

When debating the Rules, the majority led by Johann Philipp Becker confirmed the Hague Congress resolutions (see Note 20) to extend the sphere of competence of the General Council, notwithstanding the opposition of the Swiss delegates Henri Perret and Theodore Duval. The congress emphasised the need for the working class to wage a political struggle. New York remained the seat of the General Council.

The Geneva Congress of 1873 was the last congress of the International Working Men's Association.—4

6 The reference is to the address 'Compagnons, notre Association traverse...' issued in Geneva in August 1873 and signed by H. Perret, C. Bernard, T. Duval, M. Josseron, P. Detallancourt, H. Renauld and Laplace. Timed to coincide with the Geneva Congress (see Note 5), it was directed against some of the Hague Congress resolutions (see Note 20) on organisational issues.—4

7 The *Ligue universelle des Corporations ouvrières* was set up in late 1873-early 1874 by Perret and other members of the Swiss working-class movement. The attempts by the League's founders to involve German and British trade unions in its work having failed, the League ceased to exist.—5

8 On 14 January 1874, the Sheffield trade union congress refused to declare its solidarity with the Ligue universelle des Corporations ouvrières (see Note 7).—6

9 In the Reichstag elections of 10 January 1874, Johann Jacoby failed to obtain a majority vote in any of the constituencies where he had been nominated. At the second ballot held on 27 January, he was elected in the Leipzig Constituency, but refused to take up his seat in protest at the Imperial Constitution. As a result, the Social-Democrats lost one seat in the Reichstag. Jacoby's conduct was criticised by *Der Volksstaat*, 20 February 1874.—7, 9

10 In 1873-74, Engels concentrated on research into German history as he was planning a treatise on the subject. His intention, however, failed to materialise. Judging by the preparatory materials, Engels planned to cover the period right up to 1873 with particular emphasis on the time since the French Revolution. Part of Engels' manuscript, entitled *Varia on Germany*, is to be found in Vol. 23 of the present edition, and a more detailed version, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Russian Edition, Vol. X, Moscow, 1948.—7

11 This letter from Marx to George Moore, like that of 28 March, dealt with the business of the firm holding a patent for engraving work; the partners were Paul Lafargue, Benjamin Le Moussu and George Moore. In late summer 1873, Lafargue withdrew from the firm and Marx took his place. The firm fell apart in the spring of 1874.—10

12 Marx's letter has not been found.—10, 31, 33, 34, 75, 176, 189, 193, 222, 270, 276, 311, 353, 376, 382, 412

13 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, *On History and People*, McGraw Hill Book Company, New York, 1977. It appeared in English in full in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—13, 135

14 Tennyson's poem, written on the occasion of the arrival in Britain of Grand Duchess Maria Alexandrovna, fiancée of Prince Alfred, the Duke of Edinburgh, was entitled 'A Welcome to Her Royal Highness Maria Alexandrovna, Duchess of Edinburgh, 7 March 1874'; each stanza ended with the word 'Alexandrovna!'.—14

15 Engels' letter has not been found.—14, 15, 24, 38, 66, 130, 132, 134, 159, 180, 184, 195, 201, 219, 243, 257, 271, 316, 345, 369, 375

16 This letter was published in English for the first time in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by

Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—15, 34, 37, 45, 55, 87, 143, 188, 191, 267, 416

17 A reference to the French edition of the first volume of *Capital*. An attempt to translate Marx's principal work into French was first made by Charles Keller, a member of the Paris Section of the International. Between October 1869 and April 1870, he translated about 400 pages which he sent to Marx for editing, After the defeat of the Paris Commune, however, Keller was forced to emigrate to Switzerland, where he embraced Bakuninist views, after which Marx terminated co-operation with him.

In December 1871, Paul Lafargue assisted Marx in concluding a contract for the publication of *Capital* with the progressive French journalist and publisher Maurice Lachâtre. The contract was signed on 15 February 1872. Under it, *Capital* was to appear in 44 instalments, one printer's sheet each. The work appeared between 1872 and 1875 in two instalments at a time, but was sold in series of five instalments each, making nine series in all.

The last instalments having come out, the series were stitched together and sold as separate books.

The first volume of *Capital* was translated into French by Joseph Roy. Marx did not think much of the effort and made a vast number of alterations, in fact, revised the book. As he himself said, the authorised French translation had an independent scientific value alongside the German original.

In this edition, the first volume of *Capital* is published in Engels' authorised English translation with the interpolations from the French edition given in the Appendix (see present edition, Vol. 35).—15, 16, 17, 26, 56, 57, 58, 70, 75, 80, 93, 113, 166, 276, 282, 287

18 Marx is referring to Rudolph Meyer's book *Der Emancipationskampf des vierten Standes,* which appeared in Berlin in 1874 in instalments. The second instalment was sent to Marx by Kugelmann on 15 April 1874.—17

19 The agricultural labourers' movement for shorter working hours and higher wages in the central and eastern counties of England began in March 1872 with a strike in Warwickshire, where the Agricultural Labourers' Union was set up. In May 1872, the National Agricultural Labourers' Union was formed under Joseph Arch's leadership and by late 1873 its membership had reached about 100,000. By April 1874, the strikers managed to win a pay rise.—18, 29

20 The *Hague Congress* (2-7 September 1872) of the International Working Men's Association was the most representative in its history. Present at the congress were 65 delegates from 15 countries. It took stock of the campaign against Bakuninism within the International and mapped out a programme of action suited to the new conditions that had emerged after the Paris Commune. Its main decision was to endorse the London Conference (1871) resolution on the political action of the working class concisely formulated as Art. 7[a] of the International's Rules. The congress also reached a number of decisions aimed at consolidating the Association's organisational structure.

After the congress, the Bakuninists declared their disagreement with its resolutions, causing what amounted to a split in the International. The Hague Congress laid the foundation for future political parties of the working class in various countries.—18, 42, 114, 156, 157, 184, 214, 258, 339

21 In May 1874, Alexander II arrived in England to strengthen Russia's contacts with the British government. The stated purpose of the Tsar's visit was to see his daughter Maria Alexandrovna, the Duke of Edinburgh's wife.—18

[22] The *Crimean War* (1853-56), or the Eastern war, was waged by Russia against the allied forces of Britain, France, the Kingdom of Piedmont and Turkey for supremacy in the Levant. It ended in Russia's defeat and the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty in 1856. In acoordance with this treaty, Russia renounced its claims to the 'protection' of the Christian subjects of the Turkish Empire, agreed to the neutralisation of the Black Sea and was forbidden to have military bases and warships there, and recognised the collective protectorate of the great powers over Serbia, Moldavia and Wallachia, which remained under the Sultan's sovereignty. Russia also pledged not to erect fortifications on the Åland Islands.—18, 272

[23] The international conference involving Russia, Britain, Austria-Hungary, Germany, France, Italy and Turkey, held in London in January-March 1871, produced a convention that revoked articles XI, XIII and XIV of the 1856 Paris Treaty. The ban on the presence of Russian and Turkish warships and strongholds in the Black Sea area was lifted.—18

[24] The Ermen-Engels partnership contract signed on 30 June 1864 for a term of five years, which had made Engels a co-owner of the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels, expired in the summer of 1869.

The terms of Engels' withdrawal from the business were set forth in the draft agreement drawn up by him on 2 December 1868: '1) Mr Engels retires from business on the 30th June 1869 and engages not to be interested, either directly or indirectly, as principal or assistant, in any similar or competing business either in England or on the Continent for the term of five years after that date. 2) Mr Engels consents that Mr G. Ermen, if he should think proper to do so, continues the firm of Ermen and Engels as long as he is a partner in the concern. 3) Mr G. Ermen pays Mr Engels on 30th June 1869 the sum of £1750, seventeen hundred and fifty Pounds St. 4) Mr Engels to have the right of keeping £5000 in the concern at 5% Interest between 30th June 69 to 30th June 1870. Manchester, December 2nd 1868.'

On 1 July 1869, Engels left the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels and wholly devoted himself to party, scientific and journalistic pursuits.—19

[25] The *Court of Chancery* or *Court of Equity*—one of the high courts of England, which after the judicial reform of 1873 became a division of the High Court of Justice. The jurisdiction of the court, presided over by the Lord Chancellor, covered matters concerning inheritance, contractual obligations, joint-stock companies, etc. In a number of cases the powers of this court overlapped those of other high courts. In contrast to the English common law accepted in other courts, the legal proceedings in the Court of Chancery were conducted on the basis of the so-called law of equity.—20

[26] An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in *The Letters of Karl Marx,* selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—21, 82, 222, 324

[27] In the second half of July 1874, Marx took a rest cure in Ryde on the Isle of Wight. Engels was in Ramsgate (Eastbourne) between mid-July and mid-August 1874.—21, 43

[28] In late July 1874, Brussels was the venue for a conference of European states convened on the initiative of Russia to discuss new rules of warfare. Being unwilling to discuss maritime rights, an issue that Russia intended to raise again, Britain refused to take part.—22

[29] Bismarck spent July and August 1874 at Bad Kissingen where an assassination attempt was made on him on 13 July. It was organised by the Catholic clergy enraged by the *Kulturkampf* policy he was pursuing (see Note 35). Bismarck was wounded by a shot fired by the artisan Kullmann.—23, 24, 312

[30] On 20 November 1873, the French National Assembly passed a law on the septennium, which allowed Mac-Mahon to hold the post of president of the republic for seven years (up to 20 November 1880). This signified consolidation of the President's individual power and bolstered the monarchists' position.

The monarchist parties' attempts to have the National Assembly dissolved and the monarchy restored made in the summer of 1874 provoked indignation in republican quarters. Fearing an outburst on the part of the republican-minded masses, on 9 July Mac-Mahon issued an address to the Assembly stating that he would use all available means to retain the power granted him for the term of seven years. At the same time, he demanded an early introduction of new laws that would, to all intents and purposes, secure his dictatorship. Specifically, he demanded that the President be given a right to dissolve the Assembly, announce new elections and form the majority in parliament.—23, 24

[31] The *Rurals* (the *Assembly of the Rurals*, the *French Rural Assembly*)—a derogatory nickname of the French National Assembly convened in February 1871 in Bordeaux and made up mostly of provincial landowners, officials, rentiers and tradesmen elected in the rural constituencies. The majority of the deputies (430 out of 630) were monarchists.—23, 57

[32] In 1870, the Gladstone government introduced a reform of public education which provided for the opening of secular schools controlled by locally elected school boards (alongside parish schools) at which religious instruction was no longer compulsory. The reform was attacked by the Conservatives. In mid-July 1874, one of them, Lord Sandon, proposed an amendment to the law of 1869 which had established the Endowed Schools Commission. He suggested that the money be henceforth distributed by the Charity Commission, which would have allowed the church to regain the ground it had lost in school education. Sandon's Bill was strongly opposed by the Liberals.—24, 67

[33] Pierre Magne, the finance minister in the Mac-Mahon government, tried to eliminate the enormous budget deficit of 1873 (149 million francs), among other things by greatly increasing indirect taxes on all everyday necessities. In July 1874, his proposals were discussed in the French National Assembly. They were opposed by the left-wing deputies, who feared discontent and possible mass protests. After a stormy debate, some of Magne's proposals were rejected, and he was forced to resign.—24

[34] In July 1874, Padua and Arqua (Italy), Avignon and Vaucluse (France) hosted a festival to mark the quincentenary of the death of Petrarch, the great Italian lyric poet. The choice of venues was not accidental. The 'new man', as Petrarch has been called, spent his last years in Arqua near Padua. In Avignon, the Popes' residence from 1309, he was ordained, which gave him access to the papal court. In Vaucluse near Avignon, Petrarch spent four years (1337-41) in total seclusion, and later repeatedly returned there to work and rest. It was here that he wrote or conceived most of his works.—25

[35] *Kulturkampf* (struggle for culture)—the name given to a system of measures implemented by the Bismarck government in the 1870s against the Catholic Church and the Party of the Centre which was closely associated with it (see Note 423). Using the pretext of a campaign for 'secular culture', the Bismarck

government sought to subjugate the clergy and cripple the Party of the Centre. With this end in view, it passed laws (1871-75) curtailing the rights of the Catholic clergy and abolishing the Catholic Church's right of supervision over the schools. Bismarck used the anti-Catholic campaign to bolster Prussian influence in the Polish lands under Prussian jurisdiction. In the second half of the 1870s and the early 1880s, as the working-class movement began to grow, Bismarck effected a reconciliation with the Catholic Church in an effort to consolidate the forces of reaction, and most of these laws were repealed.—25, 84

36 In his letter of 24 June 1874 Lachâtre requested Marx to pass on his proposal to start a joint magazine or newspaper in London to the French émigré journalist Rochefort.—25

37 Marx (accompanied by his daughter Eleanor) took a cure at Karlsbad from 19 August to 21 September 1874. Having returned to London on 3 October, he resumed work on the French translation of the first volume of *Capital* and finished editing the last instalments in late January 1875 (see this volume, pp. 55-56).—26

38 Under the contract signed by Marx and Maurice Lachâtre in February 1872 (see Note 17), the French edition of the first volume of *Capital* was to appear in instalments. The delay in the publication, which took four years (1872-75), was caused, alongside the circumstances mentioned in this letter, by the growth of political reaction following the Paris Commune. In mid-1875, the French government transferred legal rights over Lachâtre's publishing house in Paris to Adolph Quêst, an official who procrastinated with the printing of the last instalments of *Capital* and did his best to obstruct its dissemination.—26, 153, 227

39 Jenny Longuet's health was shaken by the death of her first son, Charles, in late July 1874. On 6 August, Marx took her to Ramsgate, where Engels was on holiday at the time. Marx stayed with them until 9 August. In the second half of August, Engels with his family and Jenny Longuet took a trip to Jersey and returned to London on 5 September.—27, 38

40 Before leaving for Karlsbad for medical treatment in August 1874, Marx applied for British naturalisation to the Home Office as a precaution against possible reprisals by the Austrian authorities. The application was, however, turned down, ostensibly because Marx had failed to be 'loyal to his own King and Country' (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 564).—28, 29, 35

41 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895.* A Selection. International Publishers, New York, 1953.—28, 410

42 Marx is referring to the inaugural congress of the Austrian Social-Democratic Workers' Party illegally held in Neudörf on 5 and 6 April 1874. Present at it were 74 delegates, 10 of them representing Czech workers' organisations that favoured a single Austrian Social-Democratic Party incorporating workers' organisations in the Slav territories. The congress founded the party and elected its leading bodies. The *Dělnické listy* (Workers' Paper) published in Prague in Czech was to become the party's central printed organ alongside the *Gleichheit.*—30

43 On 15 August 1874 Marx, accompanied by his daughter Eleanor, left for Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary) on doctors' recommendations, where he stayed from 19 August to 21 September. On the way back to London, Marx stopped off in

Dresden, Leipzig, Berlin and Hamburg. In Leipzig, where he stayed approximately from 25 to 28 September, he had talks about the state of the German working-class movement with Wilhelm Liebknecht and Wilhelm Blos, as well as with members of the Leipzig party branch. While in Hamburg on 29 September-1 October, Marx met Social-Democratic leaders.—32, 33, 35, 43, 45, 48, 53, 58, 119

44 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx. *On Education, Women and Children.* Arranged and edited with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1975.—33

45 In November 1873-March 1874, Russia witnessed mass arrests among the revolutionary-minded intellectuals and students in St Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Odessa and some other cities. The arrests broke up the Narodnik (Populist) group of the so-called Chaikovists (after the name of N. V. Chaikovsky, one of its founders). The members of the group conducted propaganda among the workers, in particular they read extracts from the first volume of *Capital* and published revolutionary literature. They were the first to issue Marx's work *The Civil War in France* in Russian. The majority of those arrested were involved in the 'trial of the 193' in 1877-78, the biggest political trial of the Narodniks in Tsarist Russia.—33

46 A reference to the abortive attempts by Italian anarchists to launch an uprising in Bologna and Apulia early in the morning of 8 August 1874.—35

47 The French Marshal Bazaine, who had surrendered the Metz fortress in October 1870 during the Franco-Prussian war, was charged with high treason and sentenced to death in December 1873. Two days later, the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. In August 1874, after eight months in prison, Bazaine fled to Spain.—35, 251

48 On 30 August 1874, the Viennese newspaper *Der Sprudel* reported: 'The long-standing leader of the International, *Marx,* and the head of the Russian Nihilists, the Polish Count *Plater,* have arrived at Karlsbad for a cure.' The next issue (No. 19, 6 September 1874) stated that Count Plater was associated neither with the Russian Nihilists nor with the International.—37

49 This letter was published in English for the first time, in an abridged form, in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Letters. The Personal Correspondence, 1844-1877.* Edited by Fr. J. Raddatz, Boston, Toronto, [1981].—38, 243

50 Engels is probably referring to José Mesa's letter of 24 August 1874. The latter wrote that despite his enforced move to Paris he still kept in touch with members of the Spanish section of the International Working Men's Association in Madrid, on which Engels could rely, and supplied a number of addresses.—39, 43

51 Engels spent the time between 28 July and 8 November 1857 at seaside resorts, including St Hélier in Jersey, where Marx visited him in early October.—39

52 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895,* Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934.—40, 122, 258, 275, 282, 299

53 Sorge withdrew from the General Council on 12 August 1874 and informed Engels about this on 14 August; his official resignation followed on 25 September.—41

54 On 7-13 September 1874, a number of organisations that had found themselves outside the International due to their refusal to recognise the Hague Congress resolutions (see Note 20) held a congress in Brussels that declared itself the seventh congress of the International Working Men's Association. It was attended by members of anarchist groups from Switzerland, Spain and Belgium, two Lassalleans—members of German workers' organisations in Belgium—and Eccarius, who had been delegated by the breakaway faction of the British Federation. The congress revealed disagreement among the participants, including the anarchists themselves, on the issue of the working class' attitude to the state.—42, 49

55 The reference is to the *German Workers' Educational Society* in London founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other members of the League of the Just. After the establishment of the Communist League in 1847, the leading role in the Society was assumed by the League's local communities. Marx and Engels were actively involved in its work in 1847 and 1849-50. On 17 September 1850, Marx, Engels and some of their followers left the Society in protest at the domination of the Willich-Schapper group, and rejoined it only in the late 1850s. After the foundation of the International Working Men's Association, the Society with Lessner among its leaders, became its German section in London. The London Educational Society existed until 1918, when it was closed down by the British government.—49, 351, 363, 364, 434, 443

56 The plan to start a workers' newspaper called the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne failed to materialise at that time.—50

57 Engels is referring to John Tyndall's inaugural address to the 44th congress of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, which opened in Belfast on 19 August 1874 (the address was published in *Nature,* No. 251, 20 August 1874), and to Henry Huxley's speech 'On the Hypothesis that Animals Are Automats, and Its History' made at the Association's meeting of 24 August (*Nature,* No. 253, 3 September 1874).

Engels used Tyndall's speech in his *Dialectics of Nature* (see present edition, Vol. 25, p. 481).—50

58 The only passage of this letter by Engels to have survived is the one quoted by Hermann Lopatin in his letter to Pyotr Lavrov of 27 October 1874. Engels wrote this letter in reply to Lopatin's letter of 15 October dealing with Engels' articles *Refugee Literature.* Lavrov was sharply criticised in one of them for his conciliatory attitude towards the Bakuninists (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 19-21). Lopatin quotes the passage in English and introduces it in the following way: 'Engels himself sent me his short article. In the letters that we exchanged in this connection he assures that he has tried to show restraint and did not wish *exploiter à fond* this issue.'—53

59 The reference is to the reprint of Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11) in *Der Volksstaat* (28 October-18 December 1874) (see also Note 137). It was the first time that Marx was named the author of this work.

The epilogue, written for the *Revelations* and dated 'London, 8 January 1875', was printed in *Der Volkstaat,* No. 10, 27 January 1875 (see present edition, Vol. 24). In the first half of 1875, a separate edition of the work (based on the publication in *Der Volksstaat*) appeared in Leipzig.—54, 73

60 An incorrect explanation of the French term (*Fleurs de lys,* Lilies—the symbol of legitimist monarchy) was given in an editorial footnote to Chapter IV of

*Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* printed by *Der Volksstaat,* No. 140, 2 December 1874. After Marx's intervention, the error was set right in the supplement to *Revelations* published in *Der Volksstaat,* No. 7, 20 January 1875 (see also present edition, Vol. 11, p. 442).—54

61 In his letter to Marx of 29 December 1874, Max Oppenheim wrote that he was regularly receiving *The International Gazette* from Berlin. He believed that Marx was the paper's London correspondent.—56

62 Following the publication of Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* in 1859 (see present edition, Vol. 29), Marx wrote a lengthy economic manuscript in 1861-63. It was a second rough draft of *Capital* (the first being the 1857-58 manuscript). In 1863, he definitively decided that the work was to have four books, the first three being theoretical, and the fourth, presenting a historical and critical survey. In August 1863, having completed work on the manuscript of 1861-63, Marx began preparing *Capital* for the press.

This work resulted in a third rough draft of *Capital*—the Economic Manuscript of 1863-65, consisting of three theoretical books. The draft for the fourth book (*Theories of Surplus Value*) formed part of the 1861-63 manuscript. Subsequently, Marx returned to the first book. On Engels' advice, Marx decided it would be the first to be published, and was preparing it for the press throughout 1866 and the first half of 1867. The first German edition of the book appeared in September 1867 as Volume One of *Capital.* Under the plan agreed with the publisher Otto Meissner, the second and third books, analysing the process of circulation of capital and the forms of capitalist process as a whole, were to appear as Volume Two, and the fourth book, dealing with 'the history of economic theories', as the third and final volume of *Capital.*

Marx, however, did not manage to prepare the second and third volumes of *Capital* for the press. After his death, Engels completed the work and published Marx's manuscripts of the second and third books as Volume Two (1885) and Volume Three (1894). Engels also intended to prepare for the press and publish the above-mentioned manuscript of the fourth book as Volume Four of *Capital* but died before this plan had been carried out. In the present edition of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels, this book of *Capital* has been included in the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (vols 30-34), while the first three volumes of *Capital* make up vols 35-37 respectively.—57, 115, 343, 415, 432

63 This excerpt from Marx's letter to Juste Vernouillet is the passage from Marx's original letter quoted by the Munich antique dealer Emil Hirsch in his letter to Dr Pappenheim of 9 September 1899. Marx's letter, according to Hirsch, was dated 'London, 3 February 1875', took up two pages and dealt with the publication of Marx's manuscript by Louis Lahure (probably a reference to the French translation of the first volume of *Capital*; see this volume, Marx's letter to Maurice Lachâtre of 30 January 1875). According to Hirsch the quoted passage was to be found in the concluding part of the letter. Marx's addressee was not mentioned.—57

64 On 21 January 1875, the French National Assembly began debating the draft 'law on the organisation of public authority' which formed part of the 1875 Constitution. The fundamental issue—the nature of the state system in France—was to be solved in the debate on the amendments to the Bill held on 29 and 30 January. By the final vote on 30 January the Constitution indirectly recognised the state system as a republic.—57

65 This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters on 'Capital'*, New Park Publications Ltd., London, 1983.—58

66 'What's Going on at Home?'—a section in the *Vperyod!* (Forward!) magazine published by Pyotr Lavrov. It carried reports from Russia.—58

67 The section 'What's Going on at Home?' in *Vperyod!* (Vol. III, London, 1874) carried an anonymous article from Irkutsk dated February 1874; its actual author was Hermann Lopatin, who described a group of religious dissenters he met in Siberia called 'Not Ours'. They denied the existence of God and opposed government authority, property, family and all existing laws and customs in protest against the existing system in Russia.—58

68 Marx finally received both books mentioned here. The name of the first appears on his list 'Russisches in my bookstall'.

Marx intended to use the results of his research into the agrarian relations in Russia when putting the finishing touches to the section on ground rent in the second volume of his *Capital* (see Note 62). However, this intention was not fulfilled. After the Russian translation of the first volume of *Capital* appeared in print in 1872, Marx continued his study of Russian economic writings, making copious notes as he went along.—58

69 Marx wrote this letter on the cover of Tkachov's pamphlet *Offener Brief an Herrn Friedrich Engels,* Zurich, 1874. Tkachov's work was written in reply to Engels' third article in the *Refugee Literature* series carried by *Der Volksstaat* on 6 and 8 October 1874 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 19-28). In his letter to Engels of 1 February 1875 Wilhelm Liebknecht proposed that Engels write a refutation to the pamphlet. Marx may have read the pamphlet in February or March and passed it on to Engels with his comments. A short while later, Engels wrote articles IV and V in the *Refugee Literature* series, which were printed by *Der Volksstaat* on 28 March and 2, 16, 18 and 21 April 1875.

This letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *Collected Works* (present edition, Vol. 24, Note 44).—59

70 This is a short record of a reply to Hermann Ramm's letter to Engels of 7 February 1875. Ramm wrote that the *Volksstaat* publishers planned to purchase a plot of land to build new premises for the party printing office in Leipzig and requested Engels to help collect the necessary funds. This plan is also mentioned in Engels' letter to August Bebel of 15 October 1875 (see this volume, pp. 123-25).—59

71 At the *Gotha Congress,* which met between 22 and 27 May 1875, the two trends in the German working-class movement—the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (the Eisenachers) led by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht and the Lassallean General Association of German Workers—united to form the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. This put an end to the split in the German working class. The draft programme of the united party, which Marx and Engels subjected to fierce criticism, was adopted by the congress with only insignificant amendments.—59, 69, 97, 257

72 This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme,* Lawrence, London, [1933].—60, 94, 97

73 This letter is closely connected with the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 24). It sets out Marx's and Engels' shared opinion on the merger of the two German workers' parties, the Eisenachers (see Note 75) and the Lassalleans, which was likely to take place in early 1875. The letter was

occasioned by the publication on 7 March 1875 of the draft programme of the future united Social-Democratic Party of Germany in *Der Volksstaat* (the organ of the Eisenachers) and the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* (the organ of the Lassalleans). This draft was approved with only minor amendments by the unity congress at Gotha held on 22-27 May 1875 and came to be known as the Gotha Programme.

Marx and Engels welcomed the merger of the two parties, but believed that the Eisenachers should have shown greater dedication to principle and refused to make theoretical and political concessions to the Lassalleans.

Engels' letter was first published by Bebel, only 36 years later, in his book *Aus meinem Leben,* Zweiter Teil, Stuttgart, 1911.—60

74 A reference to one of Ferdinand Lassalle's programme theses providing for the establishment of workers' producer associations with the aid of the state. Lassalle and his followers repeatedly stressed that what they had in mind was a state in which power would pass into the hands of the working people through universal suffrage.—60

75 This refers to the *Programm und Statuten der sozial-demokratischen Arbeiter-Partei,* adopted at the general German workers' congress in Eisenach in August 1869 and published in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* on 14 August 1869. The congress founded the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany, subsequently known as the Eisenachers. For the most part the programme complied with the principles of the International Working Men's Association.—60, 70

76 The *German People's Party,* founded in September 1868, embraced the democratic section of the bourgeoisie, mostly in the South-German states, which campaigned against Prussian hegemony in Germany and called for a federative German state.—61, 70, 95, 97

77 A reference to the following articles of the draft Gotha Programme:

'The German workers' party demands as the free basis of the state:

'1. Universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot for all males who have reached the age of 21, for all elections in the state and in the community. 2. Direct legislation by the people with the right to initiate and to reject bills. 3. Universal military training. A people's militia in place of the standing army. Decisions regarding war and peace to be taken by a representative assembly of the people. 4. Abolition of all exceptional laws, in particular the laws on the press, associations and assembly. 5. Jurisdiction by the people. Administration of justice without fees.

'The German workers' party demands as the intellectual and moral basis of the state:

'1. Universal and equal education of the people by the state. Compulsory school attendance. Free instruction. 2. Freedom of science. Freedom of conscience.'—61

78 The *League of Peace and Freedom* was a pacifist organisation set up in Switzerland in 1867 with the active participation of Victor Hugo, Giuseppe Garibaldi and other democrats. The League asserted that it was possible to prevent wars by creating the 'United States of Europe'. Its leaders failed to expose the social sources of wars and often confined anti-militarist activity to mere declarations. At the General Council meeting of 13 August 1867 Marx spoke against the International's official participation in the League's inaugural congress, since this would have meant solidarity with its bourgeois programme, but recommended that some members of the International should attend the

congress in their own right in order to make it adopt revolutionary-democratic decisions (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 426-27, and Marx's letter to Engels of 4 September 1867, present edition, Vol. 42).—61

79 The so-called iron law of wages was formulated by Ferdinand Lassalle in his *Offnes Antwortschreiben an das Central-Comité zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitercongresses zu Leipzig*, Zurich, 1863, pp. 15-16.—62

80 Philippe Joseph Buchez, one of the first ideologists of the so-called Christian socialism, put forward a plan to set up workers' producer associations with the aid of the state.—62

81 Engels is referring to Wilhelm Bracke's work *Der Lassalle'sche Vorschlag. Ein Wort an den 4. Congreß der social-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei* (1873), which criticised Article 10 of the Eisenach programme. As an immediate target it demanded that the party campaign for 'state promotion of co-operatives and state credit for the free producer associations with democratic guarantees'. Bracke proposed that this provision be replaced by a statement of the need to set up an all-embracing trade union organisations, 'to abolish private ownership of what at present constitutes capital', and to 'attain the international unity of the proletariat'.—62, 97

82 In March 1872, August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht were sentenced to two years' imprisonment for their membership of the International Working Men's Association, their socialist convictions and democratic politics. At another trial, on 6 July 1872, Bebel was sentenced to additional nine months' imprisonment and deprived of his seat in the Reichstag for 'insulting His Imperial Highness William I.'

Liebknecht was released on 15 April 1874, while Bebel was freed only on 1 April 1875.—65

83 In his letter to Engels of 25 March 1875, Bracke wrote: 'The programme, submitted for the "unity congress" and signed by Liebknecht and Geib, forces me to write these lines. The adoption of this programme is impossible as far as I am concerned, and Bebel is of the same opinion for his part.' Bracke particularly drew attention to the points of the programme which proclaimed the introduction of producers' co-operative societies with state aid. 'The Lassalleans have evidently made this point a *conditio sine qua non* for unification, and our representatives, Liebknecht and Geib included, have endorsed the same for the sake of unification. In order to "bring about" unification, they have discarded their convictions and given their consent to something of whose wrongness they are convinced... However, since Bebel seems determined to take up the struggle, I would at least feel moved to support him to the best of my abilities. But before that I should like to know what you and Marx think of the affair. Your experience is greater, and your understanding better, than mine.'—66

84 In a letter to August Bebel (which has not come to light), Engels invited him and Liebknecht to visit London. In his reply of 23 February 1875 Bebel wrote that he was too busy with party matters to make a trip in 1875. He did not visit Marx and Engels in London until 1880.—66

85 The original of this letter is kept at the Engels family archive in Engelskirchen.—66

86 This is a covering letter to Marx's *Marginal Notes on the Programme of the German Workers' Party*, which went down in history as *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (see present edition, Vol. 24). Marx's letter to Bracke was first published by

Engels, together with the *Critique of the Gotha Programme,* in 1891 in *Die Neue Zeit,* Vol. 1, No. 18.

An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in *The Socialist Series,* number one, under the title 'The Socialist Programme. By Karl Marx', The Socialist Labour Press, Glasgow [1918]. It appeared in English in full in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works.* In two volumes, Moscow-Leningrad, 1936.—69

87 A reference to Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* which analyses the draft programme of the future united Social-Democratic Party of Germany formed as a result of the merger of the Eisenachers and the General Association of German Workers. The work significantly promoted the fundamental theoretical issues of scientific socialism and set an example of uncompromising struggle against opportunism. The *Critique of the Gotha Programme* was written in April-early May 1875, and was intended for the Eisenachers' leaders (see Note 75). Marx's letter to Bracke of 5 May 1875 was in fact an integral part of the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (see Note 86).

Despite opposition from the opportunist Social-Democratic leaders, Engels had the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* published in 1891, together with his foreword and Marx's letter to Bracke, in the theoretical organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, *Die Neue Zeit,* Vol. 1, No. 18. As his letter to Kautsky of 23 February 1891 makes clear, he was forced to tone down some of the more outspoken passages and appraisals and to make a number of deletions in Marx's manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 49).—69, 75

88 Later, Marx and Engels decided against publicly opposing the Gotha Programme, considering such action inexpedient when the merger of the two German working-class organisations was already a *fait accompli.* Their attitude to the united party formed in Gotha was based on the belief that, in the long run, the elimination of the organisational rift in the German working-class movement would be conducive to the struggle of the German proletariat for its emancipation.—69

89 The original plan was to hold the unity congress in Gotha on 23-25 May 1875, the Lassalleans' congress prior to it, and the Eisenachers' congress on 25-27 May. In reality, the unity congress took place on 22-27 May, and the Eisenachers' and the Lassalleans' congresses were held during it.—70, 94.

90 Marx is most probably referring to Schramm's letter of 31 March 1875, in which the latter wrote of his intention to contribute a series of popular articles about *Capital* to *Der Volksstaat.* Schramm requested Marx to explain to him some points on the theory of ground rent. Judging from Schramm's letter to Marx of 14 May (see Note 91), Marx actually did so, but his letter, written between 8 and 14 May, has not been found. The following year, Schramm published a book, *Grundzüge der National Oekonomie.* Abth. 1, Leipzig, 1876, a copy of which he probably sent to Marx. This book has been found in Marx's library.—73

91 Replying to Marx, Schramm wrote on 14 May 1875: 'Many thanks for your kind and detailed letter which is particularly valuable to me in view of its explanations of ground rent. As you requested, I am sending you the desired addresses below: the owners, Bamberger and Bernstein, are both known to me personally, and I think I can vouch for their reliability.'

Probably a reference to the Berlin wholesale firm of *Bamberger & Co., Leinen- und Baumwollwaren engros,* Breitestraße 22. It was owned jointly by Jacob Bamberger and Ad. Bernstein.—73

92 *Annolied* (The Song of Anno)—a poem written by an unknown author in the late 11th century in Middle High German in praise of Anno, Archbishop of Cologne.—74

93 In his letters of 29 March and 25 April 1875, E. Glaser de Willebrord asked Marx to contribute to the socialist weekly *La Réforme sociale* he was planning to start in Brussels.—75

94 After his withdrawal from the engravers' firm in the summer of 1873 (see Note 11), Lafargue bought a photolithographic and etching workshop in the hope of solving his financial problems.—75, 132, 447

95 This is a draft of Engels' reply to Patrick John Coleman's letter of 19 May 1875. It was written down on the last page of Coleman's letter informing Engels about his intention to go into trading business and requesting him to become security for him.—76

96 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters on 'Capital',* New Park Publications Ltd., London, 1983.—78, 205, 206, 207, 287, 308

97 *Traube's artificial cells*—inorganic formations representing a model of living cells; they were created by the German chemist and physiologist Moritz Traube by mixing colloidal solutions. He read a paper on his experiments to the 47th Congress of German Naturalists and Physicians in Breslau on 23 September 1874. Marx and Engels thought highly of Traube's discovery.—78

98 Marx elaborated these ideas in Chapter XXV of the French edition of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 17). Engels did not include this passage in the English translation of the volume which is to be found in Vol. 35 of the present edition.—78

99 This is Marx's reply to Juste Vernouillet's letter of 11 July 1875.—79

100 Marx is referring to the delay in the printing and distribution of the French edition of the first volume of *Capital* (see notes 17 and 38). The obstacles put up by the French government in the way of *Capital* are described in Marx's letter to Peter Imandt of 27 September 1875 (this volume, p. 92).—79

101 The copyright treaty was signed by the free city of Hamburg and Great Britain on 16 August 1853. Article 2 of the treaty covered translations.—80

102 The *Basle Congress* of the International Working Men's Association was held between 6 and 11 September 1869. Present at it were 78 delegates from eight major European countries. For the first time the International's congress was attended by an American, the delegate of the National Labor Union of the United States, Andrew Carr Cameron.

The congress heard a report written by Marx on the instructions of the General Council and stressing the International's role in leading the strike movement.

The issues of landed property and the right of inheritance figured prominently at the congress. To all intents and purposes the Basle Congress

resolution confirmed that of the Brussels Congress on the abolition of private ownership of land. No decision was taken on the question of abolishing the right of inheritance as the resolution submitted for consideration by the congress failed to win the required number of votes.

There was almost no disagreement on the resolution recommending the workers to set up trade unions in all industries and to form associations on a nationwide scale. Defence of the workers' interests and a campaign to replace the wage labour system by 'associated free labour' were proclaimed the trade unions' main tasks.

The Basle Congress also took a number of decisions directed at consolidating the International's organisation, extending the functions of the General Council and enhancing its role as the leading body of the International Working Men's Association. Paris was chosen as the venue for the next congress, scheduled for 1870.—81

103 Engels was on holiday in Ramsgate between mid-August and 22 September 1875.—82, 91, 94

104 Between 15 August and 11 September 1875, Marx was in Karlsbad for a second time taking treatment. On his way there, he stopped over in Frankfurt am Main (see Note 109). On his way back to London, he spent several days in Prague visiting Max Oppenheim.—82, 86, 89, 90, 92, 94

105 The notion of the 'average man' was elaborated in the works of the Belgian statistician Lambert Adolphe Jacques Quetelet. According to him, the 'average man' was the perfect, 'true type', while individuals were merely its distorted representatives. Marx used the English translation of Quetelet's main work, *A Treatise on Man and the Development of His Faculties*, Edinburgh, 1842.—82

106 *Referendar*—a junior official in Germany, usually a lawyer, doing a training course at a court of law or in the civil service.—83

107 6 August 1875 was a birth centenary of David O'Connell, leader of the Irish national liberation movement.—84

108 The *red International*—a name for the International Working Men's Association that came into use in the 1860s.

The *black International*—a name for the Order of Jesus that became current after the publication in 1873 of N. Steffen's article 'Brief eines Luxemburgers an einem Landsmann. Dritter Brief' in *Die Grenzboten*, No. 42, p. 119.—85

109 The 'Frankfurter Angelegenheiten' column of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (No. 229, 17 August 1875) featured the following note: 'Frankfurt, 17 August. Late last week Mr *Karl Marx* arrived here from London. His friends were pleasantly struck by his healthy looks and high spirits. He was on his way to Karlsbad, where he intended to stay for about four weeks.'

Marx passed through Frankfurt am Main around 13-14 August 1875.—85

110 A reference to one of the trials against the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. The immediate cause of the reprisals against the newspaper was the publication on 25 March 1875 of an article on *Kulturkampf* and of an article on the reptile fund on 30 March (see notes 35 and 408). The editors were sentenced to imprisonment for their refusal to name the authors of those articles. Leopold Sonnemann, editor-in-chief and publisher, was arrested on 28 August and remained in prison until late September 1875.—85

[111] In line with the decision of the Gotha unity congress of 1875 (see Note 71), the leading bodies of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany were the Executive Committe (Vorstand), Control Commission (Controlkomission) and Committee (Ausschuss). The Executive Committee elected at the Gotha Congress had five members: Hasenclever and Hartmann, the chairmen; Auer and Derossi, the secretaries, and Geib, the treasurer. Thus the Executive came to comprise three Lassalleans (Hasenclever, Hartmann and Derossi) and two Eisenachers (Auer and Geib). The Executive Committee was to be based in Hamburg.—85, 96, 98, 246

[112] Marx's letters from Karlsbad to his daughter Eleanor (Tussy) have not been found.—87

[113] The reference is to the battle of 1 September 1870 during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, in which the French army was smashed. The crushing defeat at Sedan speeded up the collapse of the Second Empire and led to the proclamation of a republic in France on 4 September 1870.—88, 155, 251, 297

[114] On Marx's and Engels' attitude to the German socialist Gustav Adolph Köttgen, see their 'Letter from the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee to G. A. Köttgen' (present edition. Vol. 6, pp. 54-56).—88

[115] The introduction to Grün's book was published under the heading 'Ueber Weltanschauungen. Präludium zur *Philosophie in der Gegenwart*' in *Die Wage*, Nos. 33-38, 20 August-17 September 1875. The book itself was completed in March 1876 and issued by Otto Wiegand's publishing house (K. Grün, *Die Philosophie in der Gegenwart. Realismus und Idealismus*, Leipzig, 1876). In May 1873, Engels had made a start on one of his principal works, *Dialectics of Nature*.—88

[116] A reference to the anonymous and undated pamphlet published in Brussels under the title *Quelques mots d'un groupe socialiste révolutionnaire russe à propos de la brochure: Alliance de la Démocratie socialiste et l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*. The pamphlet was presumably written by Michal Kasper Turski. It was spearheaded against Marx's and Engels' work *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (see present edition, Vol. 23).

Lavrov wrote to Engels on 20 September 1875: 'You have probably seen a small pamphlet that Nechayev's anonymous followers have published in Brussels as a response to the pamphlet about the "Alliance". But, of course, neither the group nor its writings are of any value whatsoever.' In late September-early October 1875 Lavrov sent a copy of the pamphlet to Engels.—91

[117] In a letter to Marx of 25 September 1875, Peter Imandt enclosed an article, 'The International Working Men's Association. By an Internationalist', carried by *The Dundee Advertiser* on that day. 'The enclosure will show you that *The Dundee Advertiser* has a very good friend of yours among its correspondents. I was surprised to see the article this morning, and have no idea where it originates,' he wrote.—92

[118] Under the terms of the peace treaty signed after its defeat in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, France paid 5,000-million-franc reparations to Germany, which contributed to the rapid growth of German economy. The period of feverish business activity, which witnessed the mushrooming of

railway, industrial, construction and commercial joint-stock companies, banks and credit and social security companies and was accompanied by large-scale speculation, stock-exchange swindles and machinations, has come to be known as *Gründerjahre* (or the period of *Gründertum*). By 1873 it had resulted in a crash followed by an economic crisis, which lasted well into 1877.—92, 131, 218, 304, 335, 405, 447

119 Marx wrote this letter on a postcard. On the side reserved for the address he wrote: 'Mons. P. Lawroff, 3, Evershot Road, Tollington Park, Holloway.'—93, 113

120 Engels is referring to the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany formed at the unity congress in Gotha in May 1875 (see Note 71), whose Executive Committee consisted of three Lassalleans and two Eisenachers (see Note 111).—94

121 The reference is to the programme of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany adopted by the unity congress in Gotha (see Note 71) in May 1875. Marx described it and gave a critical analysis of it in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (see present edition, Vol. 24), as well as in his letter to Wilhelm Bracke of 5 May 1875 (see this volume, pp. 69-73). Engels dealt with it in his letter to August Bebel of 18-28 March 1875 (ibid., pp. 60-66).

The programme adopted at the congress ignored Marx's and Engels' comments on some of fundamental points. The point on proletarian internationalism was included at Liebknecht's suggestion.—95, 97, 294

122 In 321 B.C., during the second Samnite war, the Samnites surrounded the Roman legions in the Caudine Forks near the Roman town of Caudium and drove them under a yoke, which signified the worst possible disgrace for a defeated army. Hence the phrase 'to pass under the Caudine yoke': to be submitted to extreme humiliation.—95, 97

123 As is clear from Jose Mesa's letter to Engels of 4 July 1875, Engels had read the text of the Gotha Programme to him during Mesa's stay in London, which he left for Paris in late June. In his letter, Mesa asked Engels for the latest news of his friends in Germany, their merger with the Lassalleans and the Gotha Programme. Mesa intended to pass on the information to his friends in Madrid.—95

124 In his letter to Engels of 28 June-7 July 1875, Wilhelm Bracke wrote that the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany decided, by the Lassalleans' three votes to the Eisenachers' two, to delete from the list of Party literature printed in its central organs, *Der Volksstaat* and the *Neuer Social-Demokrat,* two anti-Lassallean works, namely Wilhelm Bracke's 'Der Lassalle'sche Vorschlag' (Brunswick, 1873) and Bernhard Becker's 'Geschichte der Arbeiter-Agitation Ferdinand Lassalle's' (Brunswick, 1874). Both books had been issued by Wilhelm Bracke's publishing house. On Bracke's resolute demand, this decision by the Executive Committee was revoked.—95, 98

125 The national German co-operative printing office in Berlin was founded in August 1875. Its board comprised the Lassalleans Wilhelm Hasselmann, Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche and Heinrich Rackow. The Leipzig co-operative printing office had been set up by the Eisenachers in July 1872. After the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 462) the Social-Democratic co-operative printing offices were closed down.—96

126 The next Reichstag elections were held on 10 January 1877 (see Note 237).—96, 97

127 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—99, 429

128 The opening part of the letter is missing. At the top of the first extant page there is a note in Bebel's hand: 'Zu Engels' Brief vom 12. Okt. 1875.' This note, as well as the fact that Engels' letter to Bebel of 12 October 1875 was published by the latter in his book *Aus meinem Leben* without the concluding part, suggests that what Engels wrote to Bebel on 12 and 15 October belongs to the same letter. Since, however, there is no direct proof of this, and the middle part of the letter is missing, the two parts bearing different dates are published as independent letters in the present edition.—99

129 This is probably a reference to the Leipzig co-operative printing office set up by the Eisenachers in 1872. From June 1875, the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, in which the majority were the former members of the General Association of German Workers, acted as a supervisory council over the printing office. Cf. this volume, pp. 74 and 118-19.—99

130 *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 103, 104 and 106, of 8, 10 and 15 September 1875, reprinted the article 'Karl Marx über Strikes und Arbeiter-Koalitionen' from the Viennese *Gleichheit*, the central organ of the Austrian Social-Democrats. This unsigned article was a translation into German of § 5 ('Strikes and Combinations of Workers') from Chapter II of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy*, with the introduction and conclusion by the author of the article.

In the 1885 edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy*, Engels supplied the passage from Marx's book mentioned in this letter with the following note: 'That is, the socialists of that time: the Fourierists in France, the Owenites in England' (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 209).—99

131 *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 55, 68, 82, 91 and 92 (1875) carried articles signed 'K-Z' (see also this volume, p. 54).—100

132 Engels draws a parallel between the period of reforms in Russia following the abolition of serfdom in 1861 and the 'New Era' in Prussia.

The '*New Era*'—the reference is to the 'liberal' course announced by Prince William of Prussia (King of Prussia from 1861) when he became regent in October 1858. He made the Manteuffel Ministry resign and called the moderate liberals to power. The bourgeois press dubbed this the policy of the 'New Era'. It was, in fact, solely intended to strengthen the position of the Prussian monarchy and the Junkers. This soon became clear to the representatives of the liberal opposition whose hopes had been deceived and who refused to approve the government project of a military reform. The constitutional conflict that ensued and Bismarck's advance to power in September 1862 (see Note 311) put an end to the 'New Era'.—100

133 This letter of Marx's was written on the back of Eleanor Marx's letter to Bernhard Kraus of 20 October 1875.—103

134 The letters mentioned by Marx and despatched from Karlsbad where he stayed taking a cure from 15 August to 11 September have not been found.—103

135 In late October-early November 1875, Engels and his wife Lizzie Burns took Lizzie's niece Mary Ellen Burns to a boarding house in Heidelberg, where she

stayed from November 1875 to March 1877. Engels and his wife returned to London on 6 November 1875.—104, 106

136 Engels' pamphlet *On Social Relations in Russia* (F. Engels, *Soziales aus Russland,* Leipzig, 1875) comprised an introduction and the fifth article from the *Refugee Literature* series (see present edition, Vol. 24). By 'the first article' Engels means the fourth article in the series, directed, like the fifth one, against Pyotr Tkachov's *Offener Brief an Herrn Friedrich Engels.* This fourth article was printed in *Der Volksstaat,* Nos. 36 and 37, 28 March and 2 April 1875.—105

137 The Cologne Communist Trial was held in 1852. It was preceded by arrests of many Communist League leaders and activists in the summer of 1851 and their detention for a period of eighteen months. Marx's work *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* was written between late October and early December 1852. In 1853, two separate editions of the work appeared, one in Basle and the other in Boston. They were not, however, distributed in Germany. In the first half of 1875, a new separate edition appeared in Leipzig, a copy of which Engels probably sent to Pauli.—105

138 This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels. *Selected Correspondence,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—106

139 In places this letter coincides almost word for word with the item 'Struggle for Life' in Engels' *Dialectics of Nature* (see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 583-85).—106

140 In his note dated 24 November 1875, Paul Kersten asked Engels to arrange a meeting with Marx and Engels for himself and his friend.—110

141 An extract from this letter pertaining to the liberation of Poland was read by Walery Wróblewski at a meeting held in London on 4 December 1875 to mark the anniversary of the Polish uprising of 1830 and published on 31 December 1875 by the newspaper *Vperyod!* (Forward!), No. 24, as part of the article 'Anniversary of the 1830 Polish Uprising'.—111

142 Marx's and Engels' first public speeches on the Polish question were made at the international meeting held in London on 29 November 1847 to commemorate the 17th anniversary of the 1830 Polish uprising (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 545-52).—111

143 Marx is referring to the so-called alliance of three emperors which came into being at the conference of the German, Austro-Hungarian and Russian emperors in Berlin in September 1872. It was an attempt to resurrect the reactionary Holy Alliance founded by Russia, Austria and Prussia in 1815.—111, 297, 312, 340

144 This is Engels' reply to Lessner's letter of 15 December 1875. The latter wrote that he was told *The Daily News* of 13 December had carried a telegraph communication about Leo Frankel's arrest.

Frankel was arrested in Vienna on 9 December 1875. As a member of the Paris Commune, he was charged with arson in the city and with shooting hostages, including the Archbishop of Paris, Georges Darboy. After two months' imprisonment in Vienna Frankel was transferred to Budapest. Since, for reasons of domestic policy, the French government did not dare to publicly demand Frankel's extradition, he was released on 27 March 1876. He informed Marx of this on 28 March.—112

145 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx, *On America and the Civil War.* Edited and translated by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1972.—114, 250

146 Marx is expressing a familiar idea voiced in Nikolai Chernyshevsky's review of the Russian edition of Henry Charles Carey's *Letters to the President on the Foreign and Domestic Policy of the Union and Its Effects, as exhibited in the condition of the People and the State*: 'The course of history is not the pavement of Nevsky Prospekt... Those who are afraid of getting grimy and dirting their boots, should not take up public work' (*Sovremennik,* Vol. 85, Part II: 'Contemporary Review', January 1861, p. 51. In Russian).—114

147 In his letter to Marx of 17 March 1876, Sorge asked whether Marx and Engels would be able to come to Philadelphia to take part in the centenary of the USA's foundation.—114

148 The reference is to the publication of the English translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* in the United States of America. As a delegate to the Hague Congress of the International in 1872 Sorge had brought with him the English translation of the *Manifesto* made by Hermann Meyer and asked Marx and Engels to look it through. They promised to make the necessary additions and corrections, but an excessive workload prevented them from doing so.—115, 276, 283, 414

149 Marx is referring to mounting corruption and large-scale swindles in the USA under President Grant, especially in railway construction.—115

150 There is no reliable information on whether Engels visited his wife's niece Mary Ellen Burns (Pumps) at Whitsuntide on 4 June 1876.—116

151 Between 20 May and 2 June 1876, Engels and his wife Lizzie Burns were on holiday in Ramsgate.—117, 124

152 Engels received Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter of 16 May 1876 and Johann Most's letter. Liebknecht wrote: 'A manuscript by Most enclosed, which will show you that the Dühring epidemic has hit even people who are otherwise quite sensible; it needs to be dealt with. Send the manuscript back.'

On Most's manuscript, see Note 159.—117

153 This is probably a reference to Dühring's *Cursus der Philosophie als streng wissenschaftlicher Weltanschauung und Lebensgestaltung,* Leipzig, 1875. Engels criticised the book in his *Anti-Dühring* (see present edition, Vol. 25, Part I, 'Philosophy').—118, 162, 180, 195

154 Johann Most's pamphlet *Kapital und Arbeit. Ein populärer Auszug aus 'Das Kapital' von Karl Marx* was originally published in Chemnitz in 1873. At Wilhelm Liebknecht's request, in early August 1875 Marx and Engels edited it for the second edition, which appeared in Chemnitz in April 1876. However, Marx and Engels did not consider it an adequate exposition of *Capital* and were able to correct only the major errors. For this reason, Marx demanded that his name should not figure on the title-page of the second edition.—118, 125

155 The publication of Eugen Dühring's *Cursus der Philosophie als streng wissenschaftlicher Weltanschauung und Lebensgestaltung* and the second edition of his *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Sozialismus* (1875) made his views very popular in Germany. Among the German Social-Democrats, he acquired such followers as Johann Most, Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche, and

Eduard Bernstein. Even August Bebel came under his influence for a short time. In view of this, in his letters to Engels of 1 February and 21 April 1875, Liebknecht proposed that the latter use *Der Volksstaat* to criticise Dühring's views.

Engels did so for the first time in the essay 'Prussian Schnapps in the German Reichstag' carried by *Der Volksstaat* in February 1876 (see present edition, Vol. 24).

Marx agreed with Engels that Dühring's views had to be exposed to serious criticism. Engels interrupted the work on *Dialectics of Nature* which he had begun in May 1873 and made a start on *Anti-Dühring* (see present edition, Vol. 25). It took him over two years, from May 1876 to July 1878, to complete it. Part I of the book was mainly written between September 1876 and January 1877 and was printed in the *Vorwärts* as a series of articles under the heading *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Philosophie* in January-May 1877.

Part II was written in July-August 1877. Marx contributed Chapter X. This part was published under the heading *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der politischen Oekonomie* in the *Wissenschaftliche Beilage* and the supplement to the *Vorwärts* in July-December 1877.

Part III was written mostly between August 1877 and April 1878 and appeared in the *Vorwärts* in May-July 1878 under the title *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung des Sozialismus.*

The book aroused strong resistance on the part of Dühring's followers. At a regular party congress held in Gotha from 27 to 29 May 1877, they tried to prevent the publication of Engels' work in the party's central organ. *Anti-Dühring* appeared in the newspaper with lengthy intervals.

In July 1877, Part I of the book was published in Leipzig as a separate pamphlet. In July 1878, Parts II and III were also published there as a separate pamphlet. The first complete edition of *Anti-Dühring,* with Engels' preface, appeared at the same time.

In late October 1878, following the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany, *Anti-Dühring* was banned along with Engels' other works.—118, 120, 122, 175, 201, 207, 218, 220, 227, 236, 249, 254, 258, 283, 289

156 On 22 (10) May 1876, Constantinople witnessed a mass demonstration of the softas, Moslem students of theology and constitutional law. One of their basic demands was the convocation of a representative body to approve the state budget. The Sultan was forced to meet some of the softas' demands. Specifically, he dismissed the Grand Vizier (Prime Minister) and the Sheikh ul Islam (head of the Moslem clergy).—118, 123, 293

157 In July 1875, a national liberation uprising against Turkish rule flared up in Herzegovina. In August, it spread to Bosnia. It was the starting-point of the Eastern crisis of the 1870s which ultimately led to the war between Serbia and Montenegro on the one hand, and Turkey on the other (see Note 176) and eventually to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 (see Note 207). The war over, Austro-Hungarian troops entered Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Berlin Treaty (see Note 430); the uprising was suppressed.—118

158 On 10 May 1876, Jenny, Marx's daughter, gave birth to a son, Jean Laurent Frédéric Longuet, who was called Johnny in the family.—118

159 Johann Most's manuscript was a panegyric on Eugen Dühring's *Cursus der Philosophie,* which appeared in 1875. Most's article about Dühring was printed in September-October 1876 in the *Berliner Freie Presse* under the heading 'Ein Philosoph'.—119, 122, 218

160 Marx is probably referring to Dühring's opinion of Most's pamphlet *Kapital und Arbeit* (see Note 154) made in the second edition of his *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Socialismus*, Berlin, 1875, p. 570.—120

161 Marx is referring to Engels' work *The Housing Question*; its first and third parts contain criticism of Arthur Mülberger's articles which were reprinted under the general heading 'Die Wohnungsfrage' by *Der Volksstaat* in February-March 1872 from the Austrian workers' paper *Volkswille* (see present edition, Vol. 23).—120

162 On 30 May 1876, a palace revolution overthrew Sultan Abdul Aziz and enthroned his nephew Prince Murad (Murad V) who had a reputation as reformer. On 4 June Abdul Aziz was assassinated.—120

163 On 6 June 1876, the congress held in Copenhagen re-established the Danish Social-Democratic Workers' Party which had been originally founded in 1871 as a section of the International and dissolved by the government in 1872. Up to 1884, it was called the Social-Democratic League. The congress approved rules and a programme based on the principles of the Gotha Programme of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (see Note 121). Louis Pio was elected chairman, and Paul Geleff the second chairman of the Executive.—121

164 At the House of Commons sitting on 22 May 1876, one of the Irish M.P.s inquired of Prime Minister Disraeli whether the government intended to amnesty the Fenians who were still in prison. Disraeli stated that 15 Fenians remained imprisoned, and that the government had no intention of pardoning them since it regarded them as 'criminals and deserters'. The statement provoked a storm of indignation among the Irish M.P.s.

The *Fenians* were Irish revolutionaries who had taken their name from the 'Féne', the ancient population of Ireland. Their first organisations appeared in the 1850s among the Irish immigrants in the USA, and later in Ireland itself. The secret Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, as the organisation was known in the early 1860s, aimed at establishing an independent Irish republic by means of an armed uprising. The Fenians, who expressed the interests of the Irish peasantry, came chiefly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals, and believed in conspiratorial tactics. The British government attempted to suppress the Fenian movement by severe police reprisals. In September 1865 it arrested a number of Fenian leaders, who were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment (O'Donovan Rossa received a life sentence). In 1867, following the abortive attempt at an uprising, hundreds of Irishmen were thrown into prison.

Marx and Engels, who repeatedly pointed to the weak sides of the Fenian movement, their reliance on conspiracy and sectarian errors, nevertheless had a high regard for its revolutionary character and did their best to encourage it to embark on mass struggle and joint action with the English working class.

In the 1870s, the Fenian movement declined.—121

165 In his letter of 16 May 1876, Wilhelm Liebknecht warned Engels that he and his friends had reason to suspect Dmitry Richter of espionage. Later the suspicions were proved to be unfounded (see this volume, pp. 155-59).—121, 126, 127

166 The German diplomat Count Harry von Arnim, who had been ambassador to France since 1872, was recalled from Paris in April 1874 for obstructing Bismarck's policies. On his departure, he took with him important documents from the embassy archives. This caused his arrest in Germany in October 1874

and in December he was sentenced to three months in prison by a Berlin court. On 24 June 1875, the Supreme Court (*Kammergericht*) prolonged his term to nine months, but in the meantime Arnim had departed for Switzerland for medical treatment. Since he refused to return to Prussia, a warrant for his arrest was issued on 16 May 1876, no matter what his whereabouts. On 21 May the warrant was carried by the Berlin press and reprinted by other German newspapers in the course of the next few days.—121

167 This is probably a reference to Eugen Dühring's *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie einschliesslich der Hauptpunkte der Finanzpolitik.* Engels made a thorough critical analysis of this work in *Anti-Dühring,* notably in Part II entitled 'Political Economy' (see present edition, Vol. 25).—122

168 A reference to the *Berlin Memorandum* of Russia, Austria-Hungary and Germany, to which France and Italy also acceded. It was drawn up on 13 May 1876 by the representatives of the three states: Gorchakov, Andrássy and Bismarck. The Berlin Memorandum, which was addressed to the Turkish government on the occasion of the uprising in Bosnia and Herzegovina (see Note 157), demanded that a two-month truce be concluded with the insurgents. The Memorandum was to be handed to the Turkish government on 30 May, but the plan was not carried through due to the palace revolution in Constantinople on that same day (see Note 162).—123

169 Engels is referring to *Dialectics of Nature,* which he began in May 1873 and, having written the 'Introduction' and drafted about a hundred notes and fragments, had to interrupt work on it in May 1876 to write *Anti-Dühring* (see Note 155). After *Anti-Dühring* had been completed and published, Engels returned to *Dialectics of Nature* in mid-1878 but had to interrupt it again in order to prepare for the press the manuscripts of the second and third volumes of *Capital* following the death of Marx. *Dialectics of Nature* remained unfinished (see present edition, Vol. 25).—124, 254, 420

170 Darwin's main work, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life,* appeared in 1859.—124

171 Marx wrote on the envelope of this letter: 'Mr. F. A. Sorge, Bez. 101, Hoboken, N. J., via *New York* (U. States), *per next steamer.*' The date has been established by the postmark.—124

172 In a letter of 4 April 1876 (see this volume, p. 115), Marx requested Sorge to send him the articles published by the New-York *Tribune* of which he was the author. In his reply of 2 June 1876, Sorge wrote that Kugelmann had asked several months earlier for these articles to be included in Marx's complete works planned by the Hamburg publisher Otto Meissner. Sorge had received this information from Livingstone, who kept the articles from the *Tribune* after Hermann Meyer's death. Livingstone refused to send them to Kugelmann without Marx's knowledge.—125

173 This letter was written on a postcard (the original is kept at the Karl-Marx-Haus in Trier). The date has been established by the postmark.—125

174 Engels is probably referring to his trip to Heidelberg with his wife Lizzie on 24 June 1876 to fetch Mary Ellen Burns, his wife's niece, from her boarding house for a holiday (see also this volume, pp. 115-16).—129

175 Engels was on holiday in Ramsgate between 24 July and 1 September 1876. In early August, he and his wife took Mary Ellen Burns back to her boarding

house as her holidays were over. On 5 August, he returned to Ramsgate.—130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 138, 140

176 In late June 1876, Serbia and Montenegro declared war on Turkey in support of the popular uprising which had flared up in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the summer of 1875 (see Note 157). However, the ill-prepared offensive of the Serbian army was halted as soon as early July and, after its defeat had opened up the road to Belgrade for the Turkish troops, Russia categorically demanded the immediate cessation of hostilities against Serbia and Montenegro and an armistice. After a ceasefire lasting six weeks, in February 1877 Turkey and Serbia signed a peace treaty on the terms of *status quo ante.*

On 31 March 1877, a conference of European powers in London issued a protocol that enjoined Turkey to conclude a peace treaty with Montenegro, cease its arms build-up, etc. Turkey having rejected the Russian ultimatum to comply with the London Protocol, Russia declared war on it on 24 (12) April 1877, and Montenegro became a Russian ally.—130, 140, 177, 237, 255, 296

177 From 1874, Charles Longuet taught French at the King's College in London, and Jenny Longuet—German at Clement Dun's school. In 1880, after the Paris Commune members had been amnestied, Longuet returned to Paris.—132, 378, 391, 447

178 Between 15 August and 15 September 1876, Marx, accompanied by his daughter Eleanor (Tussy), was in Karlsbad taking a cure for the third time. Having completed it, he spent a few days with Max Oppenheim in Prague, and then, after brief visits to Kreuznach and Liège, returned to London on 22 September 1876.—132, 135, 139, 141, 142, 144, 145, 146, 148, 154, 440, 442

179 Marx gives an account of the resolution passed at the meeting held after Bakunin's funeral on 3 July 1876.

The anarchist congress (the so-called sixth general congress of the International Working Men's Association) held in Geneva from 1 to 6 September 1873 approved new Rules for the Bakuninist International. Article 3 declared complete autonomy of the federations and sections of the Association.—132

180 Marx and his daughter Eleanor spent a few days in Brighton in March 1873.—132

181 Engels is referring to the poem 'Die hochdeutsche Nähdersmädle' included in a selection written in the Palatinate dialect: K. G. Nadler, *Fröhlich Palz, Gott erhalts*!, Frankfurt a.M., 1851, p. 144. Engels used this book in his work *The Frankish Period* (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 81-107).—133

182 Engels probably means, above all, the poem 'Herr Christoph Hachstrumpf..." in Nadler's book (see Note 181).—133

183 In his letter to Engels of 7 August 1876, Lavrov stated that a young man, a Russian socialist residing in Berlin and corresponding with German Social-Democrats and Russian socialists (Grigory Gurevich), had carelessly allowed some letters addressed to him, including letters from Liebknecht, to be opened at the post office, after which they had fallen into the hands of the police. On 6 August, Lavrov received a letter from one Dekhterev in Leipzig, who informed him, allegedly on behalf of the German Social-Democrats, that a

certain Chernyshev had been despatched to Berlin to investigate this matter (see this volume, p. 147).—134

184 The Wagner Festival Opera House opened at Bayreuth with a performance of Wagner's tetralogy *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (see Note 190) on 13-17 August 1876.—135

185 'The music of the future'—Richard Wagner's music, whose principles he expounded in his *Zukunftmusik. Brief an einem französischen Freund* (1861) addressed to Frédéric Villot, keeper of the French museums, and in his book *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft.*—137, 192, 443

186 This law also known as Prussian Law (*Allgemeines Landrecht für die Preussischen Staaten*) was promulgated in 1794. It included criminal, state, civil, administrative and ecclesiastical law and bore the distinct imprint of obsolete feudal legal standards.

After the annexation of the Rhine Province to Prussia in 1815, the Prussian government tried to introduce Prussian Law into various legal spheres there to replace the French bourgeois codes in force in the province. This was done by introducing a series of laws, edicts and instructions aimed at restoring the feudal privileges of the nobility (primogeniture), Prussian criminal and marriage law, etc. These measures were resolutely opposed in the province and were repealed after the March revolution by special decrees issued on 15 April 1848.—140

187 In April 1876, a national liberation uprising began in Bulgaria. It was brutely suppressed by Turkish troops in May. The press in many countries expressed its indignation at the 'Turkish atrocities'.—140, 158, 168, 183, 447

188 On 12 August 1876, Disraeli was made Earl of Beaconsfield, and from that moment on became leader of the Tories in the House of Lords.—140

189 Probably a slip of the pen: Jenny Marx arrived in Ramsgate on Wednesday, 23 August (see this volume, p. 139).—141

190 *Der Ring des Nibelungen*—a cycle of four operas by Richard Wagner: *Das Rheingold, Die Walküre, Siegfried* and *Die Götterdämmerung.*—143

191 Marx is referring to the report of the second congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany held in Gotha from 19 to 23 August 1876. It was printed in *Der Volksstaat,* Nos 98-102, from 23 August to 1 September in the section 'Kongress der Sozialisten Deutschlands'. This particular reference is to the part of the report featured by *Der Volksstaat,* No. 102 on 1 September. Reporting on the debate with Dühring, its author, Julius Motteler, mistakenly mentioned Marx instead of Engels. Wilhelm Liebknecht rectified the misunderstanding in his letter to Marx of 9 October 1876.—154

192 The Berne anarchists sent an invitation to the Gotha Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany held in August 1876 to take part in their congress to be convened that October. The anarchists expressed their hope for a 'reconciliation' and co-operation with the German Social-Democrats. However, as Liebknecht wrote to Marx on 9 October, the Gotha Congress turned down the proposal that official representatives be sent to Berne. Julius Vahlteich was present at the anarchist congress as a guest from Germany (see Note 200).—154, 157, 184

193 From 1869 onwards, Bakunin and his followers, who had set up their own secret organisation, the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Note 201), within

the International, sought to take over the leadership of the IWMA and to replace its programme with their own. Following the Hague Congress of 1872 (see Note 20), the anarchists openly advocated a split in the International. Beginning in 1873, they endeavoured to unite the socialist organisations of various countries under their supremacy with a view to 'restoring' the International. These attempts suffered a fiasco at the international socialist congress in Ghent in 1877 (see Note 324).—155, 247

194 Considering it very important to familiarise workers with the true history of the Paris Commune, Marx became actively involved in the commissioning of a German translation of a book written by one of its members, Prosper Olivier Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune de 1871*. He requested Wilhelm Bracke, and Engels asked Wilhelm Blos to find somebody to do the job. The sample translation done by Julius Grunzig failed to satisfy Marx, as did that by Isolde Kurz. Although Marx was already overburdened with work, he had to spend a great deal of time and effort editing the translation. In the autumn of 1877, on Marx's and Engels' proposal, Wilhelm Blos was recruited as another editor. Lissagaray's book appeared in German in Brunswick late in 1877.—155, 172, 189, 196, 222, 230, 262, 266, 285

195 The general socialist congress held in Gotha from 19 to 23 August 1876 decided, at its meeting of 23 August, to publish a single organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, *Vorwärts*, that was to replace *Der Volksstaat* and *Der Neue Social-Demokrat*. The congress elected Wilhelm Liebknecht and Wilhelm Hasenclever editors of the new paper, which was to appear from 1 October.—155

196 Complying with Marx's request, Liebknecht wrote a long article, 'Die Schande Europas', which was carried by the *Vorwärts*, No. 6, 13 October 1876.—155

197 The reference is to the mass electoral reform movement in England in 1865-67 The programme of the movement, led by the Reform League (its leading bodies included members of the General Council of the International), bore the direct influence of Marx's ideas. He favoured an independent position of the English working class in the reform campaign. Unlike the bourgeois parties, which confined their demands to voting rights for householders and tenants, the Reform League, on the insistence of the General Council, demanded manhood suffrage. However, the vacillations of bourgeois radicals and the conciliatory policies of trade union leaders allowed the English bourgeoisie to split the movement and prevent implementation of the measures proposed by the General Council. In the end, in 1867 a reform was introduced that granted suffrage only to the petty bourgeoisie and the top strata of workers.—156, 158

198 The German original of the letter has not been found.—157

199 Marx's apprehension had been aroused by the fact that Leo Frankel was not released from Budapest prison until 27 March 1876 (see Note 144), and the Hungarian authorities had a chance to keep him under secret surveillance and intercept his correspondence.—157

200 On the proposal of the anarchist Jura Federation, which withdrew from the International since it refused to recognise the resolutions of the Hague Congress (see Note 20), a congress of representatives of some workers' and socialist organisations (mostly anarchist and Proudhonist) took place in Berne from 26 to 30 October 1876. Since the International Working Men's Association had officially ceased to exist by decision of the conference held in Philadelphia in

the summer of 1876, one of the issues discussed in Berne was the so-called solidarity pact that, or so the congress organisers hoped, would resurrect the International on the basis of their programme. In this connection, the participants in the Berne congress made an attempt to involve representatives of the German Social-Democrats in its work (see Note 192). A decision on this question was postponed until the next congress. However, the international socialist congress convened in Ghent in 1877 (see Note 324) turned down the anarchists' proposals and confirmed the resolutions of the Hague Congress.—157, 166, 173, 184

201 The *Alliance of Socialist Democracy* was founded by Mikhail Bakunin in Geneva in October 1868 as an international anarchist organisation which incorporated the secret conspiratorial organisation he had set up earlier in Italy (see Note 266). The Alliance had sections in Italy, Spain, Switzerland and in the south of France. In 1869, it applied to the General Council of the International Working Men's Association for admission. The General Council agreed to admit the sections to the International on condition that the Alliance was disbanded as an independent organisation. Having joined the International, Bakunin to all intents and purposes ignored this decision and incorporated the Alliance into the International under the guise of a Geneva Section (called the 'Alliance of Socialist Democracy. Central Section'). Marx, Engels and the General Council resolutely opposed the Alliance, exposing it as a sect hostile to the working-class movement which sought to split it and obstruct its independent development. At the Hague Congress of the International (1872), the Bakuninists sustained a shattering blow. Bakunin and Guillaume, the leaders of the Alliance, were expelled from the International.—157, 172, 200, 210, 257

202 In his letter to Marx of 9 October 1876, Leo Frankel wrote that he had heard rumours about the forthcoming unity congress in Switzerland (see Note 200) at which Marx's and Lassalle's followers were to be present, and asked what his attitude to the congress should be.—157

203 This note was written by Engels on Dronke's letter of 13 October 1876, in which Dronke requested Engels to help him obtain a loan of £150 to ease his precarious financial position.—159, 160, 161

204 Also extant are a few lines of the letter's rough draft: "... her warm glowing heart was always open for the wrongs and woes of humankind; she felt for the oppressed, the struggling, the lowly. How deep, how bitter must be your sorrow, your solitude and loneliness!..."—159

205 In connection with the Vogt affair Marx had four statements printed in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*: 1) 'Letter to the Editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*' (No. 300, 27 October 1859); 2) 'Declaration' to the Editorial Board of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*' (supplement to No. 325, 21 November 1859); 3) 'To the Editors of the *Volks-Zeitung*' (supplement to No. 48, 17 February 1860); and 4) 'Declaration' to the Editorial Boards of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* and other German Newspapers (supplement to No. 336, 1 December 1860). See present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 3, 8-9, 12-13 and 19-20).—162

206 Eugen Dühring's review of the first volume of *Capital* was printed in December 1867 by the Hildburghausen monthly *Ergänzungsblätter zur Kenntniß der Gegenwart*, Vol. III, 3rd issue, pp. 182-86. In early January 1868, Kugelmann sent Dühring's review to Marx. Engels used it when working on *Anti-Dühring* (see present edition, Vol. 25).—162

207 Engels' forecast based on an in-depth analysis of European policy in the Levant proved correct. The Russo-Turkish war began on 24 April 1877 and ended in defeat for Turkey. On 3 March 1878, the preliminary San Stefano Treaty (see Note 430) was signed, which granted complete sovereignty to Serbia, Montenegro and Romania.—163, 182, 191, 192, 216, 222

208 Part of this letter was published by Lavrov in *Vperyod!* (Forward!), No. 44 on 1 November 1876.—163

209 Engels drafted this letter on the back of Ernst Dronke's letter to him of 31 October 1876, in which Dronke requested him to be his guarantor for the receipt of a £200 loan (see also Note 203).—164

210 Engels left the Ermen & Engels firm on 30 June 1869.—165

211 Marx is referring to the talks with Wilhelm Blos. On 16 November 1876 Blos accepted Engels' proposal that he translate Lissagaray's *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (Engels' letter has not been found). However, on 14 November Wilhelm Bracke wrote to Engels that he had already found a translator (Isolde Kurz) (see Note 194).—166

212 A reference to the Khiva military expedition undertaken by K. P. Kaufmann, Turkestan's Governor-General. In the course of the campaign against the Khiva Khanate launched in March 1873, it was conquered by the Russian army, which ruthlessly exterminated the nomadic Turkmen tribes that put up resistance.—168

213 On 18 July 1873, K. P. Kaufmann, Governor-General of Turkestan, gave the order to General Golovachev to exterminate the Turkmen tribe of Jomuds who refused to submit to the conquerors of the Khiva Khanate. The English translation of the order was published by Eugene Schuyler, American Consul in Constantinople, in the book *Turkistan. Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja,* London, 1876.—168

214 Following the *Daily News* publication of letters that cast doubt on the authenticity of Kaufmann's order to Golovachev, Eugene Schuyler had a letter published in *The Times* on 16 November 1876. The author stated that he had seen the original document and reminded readers that the extracts quoted by the *Russky mir* magazine (2-14 February 1875) and by *The Times* (6 April 1875) in the report marked 'Hamburg, 25. März' had not been disputed at the time.—169

215 The reference is to the national insurrection which began in January 1863 in the Polish lands belonging to Tsarist Russia. The insurrection of 1863-64 stemmed from the Poles' efforts to gain national independence and was provoked by oppression on the part of the Tsarist government. The National Committee which led the insurrection advanced a programme of action for Polish independence and put forward demands of an agrarian-democratic character. But the insurgent government showed insufficient resolve and a lack of consistency, not daring to infringe on the privileges of big landowners. This repelled the bulk of the peasantry and was one reason why the insurrection failed.

Grave damage was also done by the hopes of the national movement's Right wing for assistance from the ruling circles of Bonapartist France and from bourgeois-aristocratic Britain, both of which were pursuing self-seeking ends that were entirely alien to Poland's national interests.

The Polish insurrection had been suppressed by the Russian government by the autumn of 1863, but isolated insurgent units fought on until the end of 1864.

The Polish insurrection was vigorously supported by democrats in Russia and Western Europe.—169

216 Engels wrote this draft letter on the back of Ernst Dronke's letter to him of 12 November 1876. Dronke proposed that he himself should make the payments on the policy he had given Engels as security for the money he had been advanced (see Engels' letter to Dronke of 1 November 1876, this volume, p. 165). Dronke also promised that the annual payments on the policy would be made on 22 November.—171

217 Marx is referring to James Guillaume's letter which Bracke had forwarded to him enclosed in his own letter to Marx of 14 November 1876.—172

218 Wilhelm Bracke, who believed that the working class can succeed only through an alliance with the peasantry, was actively engaged in agitation among the latter in the 1870s. At the German Reichstag elections of 10 January 1877 (see Note 237), he was nominated at the Brunswick 1st electoral district and was supported by a large number of rural voters. He lost the main elections but won the by-elections in the Glauchau-Meerane district on 22 February.—172

219 The circular of the Central Committee of the German-language sections to the Zurich section, drawn up by Johann Philipp Becker, was published as pamphlets in German and French in Zurich in October 1876 (see Note 231). It criticised the proposal advanced by the Zurich section of the International to take part in the anarchist congress in Berne scheduled for October of that year (see Note 200).—173, 200

220 The first congress of the Portuguese workers was held in Lisbon from 1 to 4 February 1877. It gave the final shape to the Portuguese Socialist Party founded in 1875, adopted party rules and a programme drawn up along the lines of the Gotha Programme of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany see Note 73), and elected a Central Committee. At the request of Azedo Gnecco, made in his letter to Engels of 21 January 1877, in late January Marx and Engels sent a letter of greetings to the congress also signed by Friedrich Lessner, Paul Lafargue and Maltman Barry. The congress received another such letter from the leadership of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. Engels appraised the work of the congress in his essay 'The Workingmen of Europe in 1877' (present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 216-17).

Johann Philipp Becker had a note on the forthcoming congress of the Portuguese socialists published in *Die Tagwacht,* No. 96, 2 December 1876.

The letter of greetings to the congress signed by Marx, Engels, Lessner, Lafargue and Barry has not been found.—174

221 The rough draft was written on the back of Rasch's letter to Engels of 13 November 1876.—175

222 In 1876, a polemic between Gustav Rasch and Karl Heinrich Schaible began in the *Vorwärts.* It was triggered off by Rasch's article 'Deutsche Flüchtlinge in London', carried by *Der Volksstaat,* No. 88, 30 July 1876, and Schaible's 'Antwort eines Deutschen auf Gustav Rasch's "Deutsche Flüchtlinge in London"', which appeared in the *Vorwärts,* No. 19, 12 November of the same year. On 13 November Rasch wrote to Engels requesting information about relations between Schaible and Blind and the former's behaviour during Marx's campaign against Vogt. Rasch wrote that the notes he wanted from Engels would be used in his reply to Schaible's article.

Rasch used Engels' reply in the article 'Antwort eines Deutschen auf Gustav

Rasch's "Deutsche Flüchtlinge in London"' printed by the *Vorwärts,* No. 5, 12 January 1877. Without mentioning the source, Rasch quoted in full the part of Engels' letter dealing with Blind and Schaible.—175

223 Engels is suggesting that in his article 'Deutsche Flüchtlinge in London', printed by *Der Volksstaat* on 30 July 1876, Gustav Rasch was prevaricating when he wrote that during his encounter with Marx and Engels in London they discussed 'human rights, the autonomy of nations, the social republic and those executed in Baden'.—177

224 The address on the envelope is in Marx's hand: 'C. D. Collet, Esq., Sunny Bank Highgate'.—178

225 On 8 December 1876, St James' Hall in London was the venue for the national conference on the Eastern Question. Its chief organisers came from the Liberal Party.—178, 179

226 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, *On History and People.* Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations, by Saul K. Padover, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, [1977].—179

227 Probably a reference to Georg Hanssen's work *Die Gehöferschaften (Erbgenossenschaften) im Regierungsbezirk Trier* published in Berlin in 1863 as a separate pamphlet. Engels used this work in *Anti-Dühring* (see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 150 and 296).—179

228 Engels then goes on to retell and quote a letter from one of the editors of the *Frankfurter Zeitung,* Eduard Sarny, of 5 September 1876, which was a reply to Engels' inquiry, most probably to Leopold Sonnemann, made on 2 September 1876.—180

229 *Devanagari*—the character in which Sanskrit is usually written and printed.—181

230 Engels is referring to the Constantinople Conference of Ambassadors of European States that took place between 11 and 23 December 1876. Its participants agreed to demand that Turkey grant autonomy to Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria.—182

231 Johann Philipp Becker evidently sent Engels two copies of the circular 'Association Internationale des travailleurs. Réponse du Comité central des sections de langue allemande en Suisse à une lettre de la section de Zurich, concernant le congrès international de la secte des antiautoritaires, du 26 Octobre 1876 à Berne'. Engels received the German edition of the pamphlet containing this circular in October or November 1876 (see Note 219).—183

232 On 25 and 26 December 1872, Brussels was the venue for the congress of the International's Belgian Federation, at which the Bakuninists and Proudhonists had the majority. The congress rejected the resolutions of the Hague Congress (see Note 20) and declared its refusal to maintain relations with the General Council in New York. It further decided to accede to the resolutions passed by the international anarchist congress in St Imier (15 September 1872), which had openly declared a split in the International. In a resolution passed on 30 May 1873, the General Council stated that the Belgian Federation had thus placed itself outside the International Working Men's Association.—184

233 The resolution to dissolve the General Council and the International Working Men's Association was adopted at the latter's conference held in Philadelphia

on 15 July 1876. The documents of the conference were published as a pamphlet entitled *Internationale Arbeiter-Association. Verhandlungen der Delegirten-Konferenz zu Philadelphia, 15. Juli 1876,* New York, 1876.—184

234 This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *The Communist View on Morality,* Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1974.—185

235 This letter was written at Nikolai Utin's request and based on information received from him. Referring to the important services rendered to the party by Tomanovskaya, Marx meant her activities as a member of the Russian section of the International and her participation in the Paris Commune.—185

236 The second page of the original letter is missing. The penultimate paragraph of this letter is published according to the text quoted by Wilhelm Liebknecht in an item printed by the *Vorwärts,* No. 8, 19 January 1877, in the section 'Sozialpolitische Uebersicht'. He introduced the quotation with the following note: 'A competent person writes to us in a private letter about the present state of the Eastern Question.'—186

237 Regular elections to the German Reichstag were held on 10 January 1877. About half a million votes were cast for the socialist candidates of whom 12 were actually elected (see also Note 248).—186, 188, 190, 192, 197, 294, 447

238 General conscription was introduced in Russia on 1 January 1874.—186, 187

239 A '*sick man*'—an expression used by Nicholas I with reference to Turkey in the talks of 9 January 1853 and in subsequent negotiations with George Hamilton Seymour, the British envoy.—191, 272

240 In one of his toasts (*Tischreden*) Martin Luther likened the world to a drunken peasant unable to mount a horse (*D. Martin Luthers Werke, kritische Gesamtausgabe, Tischreden,* Weimar, 1912, Bd. I, S. 298).—191

241 Nikolaus Delius' article 'Die epischen Elemente in Shakespeare's Dramen' appeared in 1877 in the *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft.* Translated into English by Eleanor Marx, it was included in the transactions of the New Shakespeare Society.—191, 273, 446

242 In his reply of 29 July 1877, Freund informed Marx of the book's title: G. Rümelin, *Shakespearestudien,* 2. Aufl., Stuttgart, 1874.—192

243 Marx is referring to M. Traube's principal achievement, the creation of 'artificial cells' (see Note 97).—192

244 The *Inner Temple*—one of the Inns of Court in London, four legal societies having exclusive right of admitting persons to practise at bar.—192

245 Gabriel Deville intended to prepare for the press and publish in France an exposition of the first volume of *Capital.* But he was able to accomplish this only in 1883, after Marx's death. Deville's book *Le Capital de Karl Marx. Résumé et accompagné d'un aperçu sur le socialisme scientifique* appeared in several editions in Paris in 'La bibliothèque socialiste' series.—193

246 In January 1877, Wilhelm Liebknecht was in Offenbach where he was nominated for the second ballot to the German Reichstag (see also Note 237).—194

247 Engels' work *Wilhelm Wolff* was printed in June-November 1876 in *Die Neue Welt* of which Wilhelm Liebknecht was the editor (see present edition, Vol. 24).—195

248 After the elections to the German Reichstag held on 10 January 1877 (see Note 237), a second ballot took place in a number of constituencies. As a result, three more Social-Democratic deputies were elected (in addition to the nine who had been successful at the first ballot): August Bebel (later replaced by Wilhelm Bracke), August Kapell and Moritz Rittinghausen.—195

249 From about 20 February to 17 March and in the second half of May 1877, Engels stayed in Brighton with his sick wife.—197, 198, 204, 207, 215, 232

250 Engels' letter to Enrico Bignami of 13 February dealing with the results of the elections to the German Reichstag of 10 January 1877 (see Note 237), was read out at the congress of the Federation of Northern Italy (see Note 252) and then published in *La Plebe,* No. 7, 26 February 1877. See Engels' 'Letter to Enrico Bignami on the German Elections of 1877' (present edition, Vol. 24).—198

251 On 20 February Engels received *La Plebe* of 7 and 21 January and 16 February 1877.—198

252 The second congress of the International's Federation of Northern Italy was held in Milan on 17 and 18 February 1877. On the significance of the congress, see Engels' article 'From Italy' (present edition, Vol. 24).—200

253 Neuchâtel (Switzerland) was the place of residence of James Guillaume who, after Mikhail Bakunin's death in 1876 headed the international anarchist alliance (see also Note 193).—200

254 Marx means the editing of the German translation of Prosper Olivier Lissagaray's *Histoire de la Commune de 1871,* which occupied him between October 1876 and August 1877 (for details, see Note 194).—201, 269, 270, 285

255 The International's Rules were adopted by the Central (General) Council on 1 November 1864 and finally approved by the Geneva Congress on 5 September 1866 (see present edition, Vol. 20).—203

256 On 26 February 1877, *La Plebe* published three resolutions passed by the second congress of the Federation of Northern Italy under the heading of 'Congresso Socialista di Milano'. Marx is referring to Resolution III.—203

257 Engels used the article 'Congresso Socialista di Milano' carried by *La Plebe* when working on his article 'From Italy' published by the *Vorwärts,* No. 32, 16 March 1877 (see present edition, Vol. 24).—203, 207

258 Enclosed in Marx's letter to Engels of 5 March 1877 were Marx's 'Randnoten zu Dührings *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie*'. The manuscript, which contains a critical analysis of the first three sections of the second edition of Dühring's book, was used by Engels as the basis for Chapter X, 'From *Kritische Geschichte*', of Part II of his *Anti-Dühring* (see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 211-43).—203, 205, 206, 207, 264

259 In February and March 1877, Marx provided the English journalist Maltman Barry with advice and materials. Barry was working on essays dealing with Gladstone's foreign policy that were published by several conservative papers. The *Vanity Fair* of 3 March 1877, for example, carried Barry's article 'Mr. Gladstone', and of 10 March its sequel, 'The Great Agitator Unmasked'.—206, 209

260 The *Physiocrats*—followers of a trend in the classical bourgeois political economy that arose in France in the mid-18th century. The Physiocrats held Nature to be the only source of wealth, and agriculture the only sphere of the

economy where value was created. Although they underestimated the role of industry and commerce, the Physiocrats made an important contribution to economic science by shifting the search for the origins of surplus value from circulation to production, thereby laying the basis for the analysis of capitalist production. Advocates of large-scale capitalist farming, they exposed the moribund nature of the feudal economy, thus paving the way ideologically for the bourgeois revolution in France. Marx gave a critical analysis of the Physiocrats' views in the *Theories of Surplus Value,* the central section of the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 352-76).—208, 452

261 The *Tableau économique*—François Quesnay's chart of the reproduction and circulation of the total social product—was first published as a short pamphlet in Versailles in 1758. Marx used Quesnay's *Analyse du Tableau économique* (first printed in 1766) contained in Eugène Daire's edition of *Physiocrates. Première partie,* Paris, 1846. Marx made an in-depth study of the Tableau économique in the *Economic Manuscript of 1861-63* (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 204-40), in Chapter X of Part II of *Anti-Dühring* (ibid., Vol. 25, pp. 211-43), and in *Capital,* Volume Two, Chapter XIX (ibid., Vol. 36).—208, 262

262 In his article 'Russian Policy and Deeds in Turkestan', published in *The Contemporary Review* (Vol. XXVIII) in November 1876, Gladstone described the political line pursued by the Russian government as one 'of marked moderation and prudence'. In his opinion, it presented no threat to British rule in India. Maltman Barry's article 'Mr. Gladstone and Russian Intrigue', written with Marx's assistance and printed by the *Whitehall Review* on 3 February 1877, subjected Gladstone's views to a critical analysis.—209

263 On 4 September 1870, the people of Paris launched an uprising that overthrew the Second Empire and established a republic headed by the bourgeois Government of National Defence. On 12 September 1870, Thiers, its head, left for London whence he intended to travel to St Petersburg and Vienna. The purpose of the tour was to convince the governments of the three countries of the 'loyalty' of the French republican government (see K. Marx, *The Civil War in France,* present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 311-12).—210

264 At Marx's request, Pyotr Lavrov compiled a résumé of judicial and police persecution in Russia, which Marx passed on to the Irish M. P. Keyes O'Clery. The latter used the information in his speeches delivered in the House of Commons on 3 and 14 May 1877 (see $MEGA_2$, Erste Abteilung, Band 25, S. 462).

Pyotr Lavrov also wrote an article in French entitled 'La justice en Russie', which Marx helped to get printed in the British weekly *Vanity Fair* on 14 April 1877.—211, 213, 217, 221

265 As is seen from Danielson's letter of 7 (19) March 1877, he sent Marx the following books: A. Vasilchikov, *Landownership and Agriculture in Russia and Other European States,* vols I-II, St. Petersburg, 1876; P. A. Sokolovsky, *Essays in the History of the Village Commune in the North of Russia,* St Petersburg, 1877; V. Ya. Bunyakovsky, *Anthropobiological Researches as They Apply to Russia's Male Population,* St Petersburg, 1874; *Statistical Chronicle of the Russian Empire* and *A Collection of Materials Concerning the Artels in Russia,* issues I-III (all in Russian). See also Note 68.—213

266 In 1864, Mikhail Bakunin set up the secret anarchist *Alliance de la démocratie sociale* in Florence. Later, Frenchmen, Poles and others also became its members. The International Brethren formed the kernel of the Alliance, its 'élite'. In 1868, this secret organisation founded the semi-legal Bakuninist *Alliance de la démocratie socialiste* (see Note 201).—214

267 Marx wrote this on a postcard. The address on the back is also in his hand: 'M. P. Lawroff, 21, Alfred Place, Tottenham Court Road. W.'.—216, 217, 225

268 In his letter to Marx of 9 April 1877 Wilhelm Bracke wrote the following concerning the publication of the German translation of Lissagaray's *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (see notes 194 and 211) that was being prepared at the time: 'I have, as you will see, thought up the title myself, but must admit that I don't like it. What I find particularly displeasing is the note that Lissagaray corrected the text beforehand.'—217

269 A reference to the campaign that preceded the elections to the German Reichstag held on 10 January 1877 (see also notes 237, 246 and 248).—218

270 Having squandered the money collected for party purposes, Louis Pio and Paul Geleff, leaders of the Danish Social-Democratic Party, secretly left Denmark on 23 March 1877 and settled in the USA (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 219).—221

271 A reference to the portrait of Marx in the French edition of the first volume of *Capital* (see this volume, p. 287).—223, 227

272 In March 1877, the Romanian government agreed to let Russian troops pass through its territory. On 24 April Russia declared war on Turkey.—223, 228, 237

273 *Cordeliers*—members of a political club founded at the time of the French Revolution in Paris in 1790. Officially known as the Society of the Friends of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, this club got its other name from the old convent of the Franciscan friars called Cordeliers (from the knotted cord worn as a girdle) in which it held its meetings. Among its members were such prominent revolutionaries as Georges Danton and Camille Desmoulins. Initially, the Cordeliers supported Robespierre and later the left-wing revolutionaries, the Hébertists. In 1794 the latter tried to instigate an uprising against Robespierre's followers. The attempt failed, and the club ceased to exist.—224

274 The *Lyceum Theatre*—a drama theatre in London.—226

275 In Mid-June 1877, Engels wrote a short biography of Marx which was published in the *Volks-Kalender* for 1878 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 183-95).—227

276 Bracke sent Engels the stenographic reports of the German Reichstag sessions of 16, 17 and 18 April 1877 (*Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags.* 3. Legislaturperiode, I. Session 1877, Bd. I, Berlin, 1877, S. 489-594), at which the changes in the trade regulations were discussed.—227

277 The Reichstag session of 18 April 1877 discussed Bracke's proposal to reconsider the election of the National Liberal Dr. Weigel from Kassel on the grounds that pressure had been put on the voters. He said, in part: 'The credentials commission stated first of all that rejection had been proposed without any evidence and without supplying the names of the individuals

concerned... I should like to draw your attention to the fact that the persons involved are essentially dependent people, workers, for whom the mere mention of their names in the protest is often sufficient for them to lose their jobs or bring about other unpleasant experiences.'—227

278 In the discussion of the Bill on the trade regulations proposed by the Catholic Party of the Centre (see Note 423), Bebel spoke at the Reichstag session of 18 April 1877 in defence of the alternative Social-Democratic Bill which provided for a set of measures aimed to shorten working hours, introduce labour protection, etc. He embarked on a sharp polemic with representatives of the bourgeois parties.—227

279 In 1877, the British Home Secretary Richard Assheton Cross introduced a Bill providing for measures to regulate working hours, specifically in the domestic industry and workshops. The Bill limited the working day of adolescents to 10 1/2 hours and supplemented the law of 1874 on restricting child labour. The Bill became law in 1878.—228

280 The original of Engels' letter to B. Lindheimer has not been found. The rough draft was written on Lindheimer's letter to Engels of 25 April 1877.—229

281 Russia declared war on Turkey on 24 April 1877 (see Notes 207 and 272) and conducted successful operations in the Caucasus.—232, 234

282 At that time Engels obviously did not yet know about the softas' demonstration held in front of the premises of the Chamber of Deputies in Constantinople on 24 May 1877 (for the softas see Note 156). At the Chamber's session, the softas' delegates voiced their indignation at the surrender of Ardagan by Turkish troops and demanded the immediate resignation of the War Minister Redif-Pasha and a War Council member, Damad Mahmud-Pasha. The Chamber decided to invite all ministers to discuss the necessary military steps. A state of siege was proclaimed in the capital and its environs the next day and numerous arrests were made. There was no change in the nature of hostilities.—232

283 The President of the Third Republic Mac-Mahon, who had the support of the Catholic reactionaries, tried to stage a coup d'état in May 1877. In violation of the Constitution, on 17 May he appointed a new administration headed by the monarchist Broglie and disbanded the bourgeois-republican government. On 18 May, the sessions of both chambers of the National Assembly were postponed for a month, and on 25 June the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved. New elections were scheduled for 14 October 1877.—233, 235, 246

284 A reference to the Adzhars' guerrilla warfare in the rear of the Russian army in the Caucasus, which held back its advance in that theatre of war.—234

285 Engels was entitled to a fee for his article 'Karl Marx' written for Bracke's *Volks-Kalender* for 1878 (see Note 275).—236

286 At the 29 May sitting of the Gotha Congress of the German Socialist Workers' Party (27-29 May 1877), Dühring's followers demanded that the publication of Engels' *Anti-Dühring* be stopped in the party's central organ. The proposal was made by Johann Most and Julius Vahlteich. August Bebel proposed that Engels' work appear as a separate edition rather than in the *Vorwärts*. Referring to the resolution of the 1876 congress concerning the publication of Engels' articles, Wilhelm Liebknecht suggested that they should be carried either by the scientific supplement to the *Vorwärts* or in the *Zukunft* magazine, or as separate pamphlets. Parts II and III of *Anti-Dühring* appeared in the supplement to the *Vorwärts*.—236, 238, 243, 258, 288, 420

287 From 1872, Dühring, a lecturer at the University of Berlin, fiercely attacked university professors including Prof. Helmholtz, and also some aspects of university life. For this, he suffered reprisals at the hands of the reactionary professors and, in July 1877, on the insistence of the faculty of philosophy was deprived of the right to lecture. His followers launched a vigorous protest campaign, and the democratic quarters at large denounced his expulsion.—236, 249, 257

288 On 22 (10) June 1877, Russian troops crossed the Lower Danube. On the Russian army's crossing of the Middle Danube, see Note 294.—237

289 Engels and his sick wife stayed in Ramsgate between 11 July and 28 August 1877.—238, 240, 244, 271, 274, 280

290 In a letter of 14 June 1877, Liebknecht asked Engels for a photograph of Urquhart, who had just died, and requested him to write a short biography of the deceased.—238

291 From 15 June to 15 August 1877 Liebknecht was serving a sentence of two months. In a letter to Engels despatched on 27 June from Leipzig prison, he wrote that as the editor of the *Vorwärts* and an organiser of the Social-Democrats' election campaign in the winter of 1876-77 he had had a multitude of charges brought against him, and this would entail several court trials.—239, 243, 247, 275

292 From 10 June 1877 the *Vorwärts* carried a series of articles covering the conflict between the monarchists and the republican majority in the French Chamber of Deputies and Mac-Mahon's attempt to effect a coup d'état (see Note 283). The first of them was an editorial 'Zum jungsten Staatsstreich des Herrn Mac-Mahon'. The editorial board took a nihilist stand on these events, implying that it was immaterial to the proletariat whether it was campaigning under a bourgeois republic or a monarchy. These views were stated most directly in the editorial 'Nieder mit der Republik!' (Down with the Republic!) featured by the *Vorwärts* on 1 July 1877 and written, most probably, by Wilhelm Hasenclever.—239, 246, 294

293 For the most part, this paragraph coincides with the note printed by the *Vorwärts* on 11 July 1877 in the 'Sozialpolitische Uebersicht' column, which opened with the words 'We have received a letter *from Paris*' and was supplied with editorial comments.

The note may have been written by Carl Hirsch, who used a passage from Engels' letter to him (which has not been found). The comment on the note was probably written by Hasenclever.—239

294 On 27 (15) June 1877, Russian troops crossed the Middle Danube in the vicinity of Sistovo (Svištov in Bulgarian).—239

295 When staying in London in 1876, the German Social-Democrat Gustav Rasch maintained friendly relations with Prince Nicholas of Montenegro.—239

296 In his letters to Marx of 9 July and to Engels of 10 July 1877, Franz Wiede proposed that they contribute to the *Neue Gesellschaft* magazine he was planning to start (the first issue appeared in Zurich in October 1877). In a letter to Engels of 20 July 1877, Wiede asked for a speedy reply to his proposal.—240, 241, 247, 413

297 Engels is referring to the proofs of Part II of *Anti-Dühring* (see Note 155), which appeared in the *Vorwärts* between 27 July and 30 December 1877 as a

series of articles under the general heading 'Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der politischen Oekonomie'.—240

298 In July 1877 the first part of *Anti-Dühring* was published in Leipzig as a separate pamphlet headed 'Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft. I. Philosophie'.—240

299 A Turkish landing force disembarked in Sukhumi in May 1877 to launch guerrilla operations in the rear of the Russian Caucasian army, but was pushed back in early September 1877.—240

300 A reference to the Russian army's siege of Silistria, a Turkish fortress (Bulgarian name: Silistra), in May-June 1854, during the Crimean War of 1853-56.—241

301 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895,* Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934. The full English translation of the letter was published for the first time in *The Letters of Karl Marx,* selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—241

302 Marx is most probably referring to Johann Most and Julius Vahlteich who tried to secure a ban on the continued publication of *Anti-Dühring* at the Gotha Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (see Note 286).—242

303 After the leaders of the Eisenach party had read the *Critique of the Gotha Programme,* the manuscript was returned to Marx. Planning a pamphlet devoted to the Gotha Programme, Liebknecht asked Engels in a letter of 13 July 1877 for a copy of Marx's manuscript as he did not have one.—243

304 'True socialism'—an ideological trend widespread in Germany in the mid-1840s. The 'true socialists'—Karl Grün, Moses Hess, Hermann Kriege and others—indulged in the sentimental preaching of love and brotherhood and of pseudo-socialist ideas, and denied the need for political action and a revolution. Marx and Engels criticised this trend of the reactionary German petty bourgeoisie particularly in *The German Ideology* (see present edition, Vol. 5), in the *Circular Against Kriege, German Socialism in Verse and Prose,* and also in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (Vol. 6).—243

305 Engels is referring to the establishment of a quadrilateral of Russian fortresses to counterbalance the Turkish one on Bulgarian territory. Rustchuk, Shumla, Silistria and Varna were a stronghold where the main Turkish forces were concentrated at the outset of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.—244, 250

306 On 15-16 (3-4) July 1877, after a fairly brief storming of the besieged Turkish fortress of Nikopol (southern bank of the Danube), its garrison headed by the commandant surrendered, and the Russian troops had no difficulty seizing the town. Varna had been captured by the Russian army on 11 October (29 September) 1828 during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29.—244

307 Marx, accompanied by his wife and daughter Eleanor, took a course of treatment in Neuenahr (Germany) from 8 August 1877 and returned to London about 27 September.—245, 248, 250, 262, 265, 267, 273, 274, 275, 281, 305

308 A reference to the scandal involving General Galliffet and Madame de Beaumont. In all probability, Marx first learned about it from the *Vorwärts,* which on 6 April 1877 carried an item beginning with the words 'The Nemesis

has grabbed another one by the hair!' in the 'Sozialpolitische Uebersicht' column. The author went on to say that about two weeks previously, at a ball in Paris, in a fit of jealousy Galliffet had seriously wounded his mistress Mme de Beaumont, President Mac-Mahon's sister-in-law, and had consequently been imprisoned. The Paris papers hushed up the scandal. The *Vorwärts* viewed this unsavoury story, with a hangman of the Paris Commune as its protagonist, as striking proof of the degeneration of bourgeois society. Marx learned the details of the scandal from Carl Hirsch, who arrived in London from Paris about 20 July.—246, 440

309 *Palais de l'Elysée*—the residence of the President of the French Republic in Paris.—246, 251

310 The words 'Here I am, here I remain' are ascribed to Mac-Mahon, who was supposed to have uttered them during the Crimean War, on 8 September 1855, in response to the suggestion that he retreat from the Malakhov Hill which he had seized and which was to be blown up by the Russians on 9 September.—246

311 A reference to the *constitutional conflict* in Prussia that arose in February 1860 over the refusal of the bourgeois majority in the Lower Chamber of the Prussian Provincial Diet to endorse the army reorganisation project proposed by War Minister von Roon. However, the government soon managed to secure allocations from the Provincial Diet to 'maintain the army ready for action', which in fact meant the beginning of the planned reorganisation. When, in March 1862, the liberal majority of the Chamber refused to approve military spending and demanded a ministry accountable to the Provincial Diet, the government dissolved the Diet and announced new elections. The Bismarck Ministry was formed at the end of September 1862. In October, it again dissolved the Provincial Diet and began to carry out the military reform without the sanction of the Diet. The conflict was settled only in 1866 when, after Prussia's victory over Austria, the Prussian bourgeoisie gave in to Bismarck.—247

312 A reference to the *Party of Progress* formed in June 1861 (its most eminent members were Waldeck, Virchow, Schulze-Delitsch, Forchenbeck and Hoverbeck). The party's programme included the unification of Germany under the aegis of Prussia, the convocation of an all-German Parliament, and the formation of a strong liberal ministry accountable to the Chamber of Deputies. Fearing a popular revolution, the Party of Progress gave no support to the basic democratic demands—universal suffrage and freedoms of the press, association and assembly. In 1866 the party split, and its Right wing founded the National Liberal Party, which capitulated to the Bismarck government.—247, 309, 351

313 On 20 July 1877 the *Zukunft* editors wrote to Marx and Engels inviting them to contribute to the magazine and referring to the relevant decision of the Gotha Congress to start a scientific review (see Note 314). The letters were signed 'The *Zukunft* editorial board' and gave the forwarding office of the *Berliner Freie Presse,* edited by Johann Most, as its address.—247, 249, 259, 362, 413

314 At its sitting on 29 May 1877 the Gotha Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (see Note 286) approved August Geib's proposal to have a scientific review published twice monthly in Berlin starting on 1 October. It was decided that a fortnightly theoretical supplement to the *Vorwärts* was to appear up to that date. The first issue of *Die Zukunft. Socialistische Revue* came out in Berlin in October; its editor was Karl Höchberg, who worked under the

penname of R.-F. Seifert. He sought to give the magazine a reformist slant.—249, 252, 254, 257

315 Engels is referring, above all, to the series of articles by Wilhelm Liebknecht 'Die Rothen wider die Blauen.' I-II, in which he sought to play down the impact made by the article 'Nieder mit der Republik!' that Hasenclever had published in the *Vorwärts* on 1 July 1877 (see Note 292).—249

316 In 1877, the United States witnessed large-scale workers' action against the industrialists. One of the major events was the railway workers' strike in July 1877 provoked by a 10 per cent wage cut on the three main west-bound railway lines. The strike was suppressed by force.—251, 255

317 The decision to transfer the seat of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association from London to New York was taken at the Hague Congress of the International in September 1872.—251

318 A reference to Broglie's first term of office as Chairman of the Council of Ministers from May 1873 to May 1874. Broglie's reactionary ministry declared the establishment of 'moral order' as its goal.—251

319 The *Crystal Palace*—a structure of metal and glass in London's Hyde Park built for the 1851 Great Exhibition and later used for various displays and shows.—252

320 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *On the United States,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979.—254, 343

321 On 28 July 1877, Wilhelm Liebknecht asked Engels and Marx to become contributors to the *Zukunft* (see Note 313). He wrote that the magazine was to be edited by 'bright young men', Höchberg and Wiede, and stressed that the editorial board would work under strict control from the party leadership.—254, 257

322 At that time Wilhelm Liebknecht was serving a sentence in Leipzig prison (see Note 291).—256

323 A reference to Vahlteich's speech at the anarchist congress in Berne on 27 October 1876. Present at the congress as a guest, he stated: 'We have neither Marxians nor Dühringians among us.' In an attempt to defend him, Liebknecht wrote to Engels on 21 July 1877: 'Vahlteich, certainly, made *no* such statement.'—257

324 The reference is to the international socialist congress in Ghent convened by the Belgian Proudhonists and the Swiss anarchists. They made a fresh attempt to unite all the socialist organisations in Europe on their platform. Present at the congress, which took place between 9 and 16 September 1877, was a group of Marxist delegates, including Wilhelm Liebknecht, Johann Philipp Becker and Leo Frankel, who opposed the anarchists. The majority confirmed the resolutions of the Hague Congress of the International (1872) on the need to set up national political parties in their own right in line with the principles of the International Working Men's Association.—258, 270, 274, 277

325 *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* a newspaper of the German revolutionary proletariat, was published in Cologne during the 1848-49 revolution under the direct guidance of Marx and Engels. Its prospectus was drawn up by Heinrich Bürgers, but his participation in the work of the editorial board was limited: he contributed only one article, and even that was revised by Marx.

In late 1876, Bürgers had his 'Erinnerungen an Ferdinand Freiligrath' published in the *Vossische Zeitung* where he stated that a democratic newspaper in Cologne was initiated by him and Georg Weerth. In the final, fifth, chapter of his 'Erinnerungen' published in the *Vossische Zeitung* (No. 302) he wrote that Marx was the soul of the Communist League's Central Authority (Sunday Supplement, No. 52, 24 December 1876).—259

326 The original mentions an anarchist weekly, *Le Travail,* published in 1873 under the editorship of James Guillaume, its contributors also being the persons named in the letter.—259

327 By the 'Irish skirmishing' in the House of Commons Marx means the speeches of the Irish M.P.s who advocated Home Rule. The Irish national party—the *Irish Home Rule League* led by Isaac Butt—was founded in the early 1870s and, after the 1874 elections, was represented by 60 deputies in the House of Commons. The main point on its programme was Irish self-government to be secured strictly by parliamentary means. In their campaign, the League's deputies made a wide use of obstruction: introduction of numerous amendments, and highly protracted speeches on all kind of subjects. This hampered the settlement of the questions under discussion and delayed debate on the next items on the agenda. An expert in these tactics was Charles Parnell, who turned them into an effective weapon in the struggle for a law on Home Rule.

At the General Council meeting of 4 January 1870 a letter was read from Isaac Butt who offered his assistance in establishing a union between the English and the Irish workers (see *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870. Minutes,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, p. 197).—261

328 In a somewhat revised form, Engels included Quesnay's *Tableau économique* and comments on it in *Anti-Dühring* (see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 229-39).—262

329 Engels used the above-mentioned works by W. L. Sargant, Robert Owen, Charles Fourier and N. G. Hubbard when working on Chapter I, Part III of *Anti-Dühring* (see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 244-54).—263

330 *Sheikh-al-Islam*—title of the head of the Moslem clergy in Turkey (the Ottoman Empire).—263

331 In the original here follows Quesnay's *Tableau économique.*—263

332 Bracke wrote to Marx on 5 August 1877: '*After* Miss Kurz I shall now compare the translation of the sheets to follow with the French original and, in cases of doubt, consult Liebknecht, Engels or B. Becker.' See also Note 194.—266

333 Engels was in Ramsgate at the time (see Note 289), and between 5 and 21 September 1877, he and his wife were on holiday in Scotland.—266, 271, 274, 280, 282

334 In 'The War in the East' column, *The Times,* No. 29018 of 11 August 1877, carried an advertisement signed by Maltman Barry and dated 10 August. It related to the meeting scheduled for 13 August and a demonstration in support of Turkey and in protest against Russia's Eastern policies.—267

335 The reference is to Engels' participation in the uprising in South-Western Germany in May-July 1849 during which he fought in the ranks of the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army.—271

[336] In late July 1877, an advance unit of the Russian army led by General Gurko moved through the Balkans towards Adrianople, but was later forced to retreat.—272

[337] On 21-26 (9-14) August 1877, bloody battles were fought for the Shipka Pass. The Turkish army's attempt to capture it failed completely. Having sustained enormous losses, Suleiman-Pasha's army was forced to retreat.—272

[338] On 30 (18) July 1877, Russian troops made a second unsuccessful attempt to capture Plevna.—272

[339] The Russo-Turkish war began on 24 (12) April 1877, and the Russians were preparing to cross the Danube in May. On 11 May (29 April) and the early morning of 26 (14) May, they sank the two largest Turkish vessels and crossed the Danube in late June.—273

[340] Wilhelm Liebknecht was unable to come to London after the Ghent Congress.—274

[341] A reference to the English translation of Johann Most's pamphlet *Kapital und Arbeit* (see Note 154) done by Otto Weydemeyer from the second German edition of the work. It was originally published in the form of eleven extracts from Marx's *Capital* in the American weekly, *The Labor Standard,* between 30 December 1877 and 10 March 1878. In August 1878, the work appeared anonymously as a separate pamphlet.—276, 366

[342] The planned US edition of the English translation of the first volume of *Capital* did not materialise. The first volume of *Capital* appeared in English in London only in 1887. The translation was done by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling with Engels' assistance.—276, 283

[343] Uriele Cavagnari failed to complete an Italian edition of the first volume of *Capital.* A concise exposition of the work in Italian was published by Carlo Cafiero in Milan in 1879. The work appeared in full in Turin in 1886.—277

[344] The tenth annual British Trades' Union Congress took place in Leicester between 18 and 22 September 1877.—277

[345] On 11, 13, 17 and 18 September 1877, the *Standard,* under the general heading 'The International Working Men's Association', carried detailed accounts (From our own correspondent) of the Ghent Congress. Their author was most probably Maltman Barry.—277

[346] Marx is referring to the joint invasion of Mexico by France, Britain and Spain in December 1861 with the aim of overthrowing the progressive government of Benito Juárez. However, the heroic resistance put up by the Mexican people forced the invaders to leave the country.—278

[347] Marx is referring to the conflict between the monarchists and the republican majority in the Chamber of Deputies (see notes 30 and 283).—278

[348] On 18 March 1876, Ferdinand Lingenau, a German socialist who had emigrated to the United States, bequeathed about $7,000 to the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, naming August Bebel, Johann Philipp Becker, Wilhelm Bracke, August Geib, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Karl Marx as executors. After his death on 4 August 1877, they tried to have his estate passed on to the party, but Bismarck managed to prevent this by applying diplomatic pressure.—279, 393, 410

349 In a letter to Engels of 8 October 1877, Ludwig Kugelmann wrote about Karl Ecker, 'the royal Prussian factory inspector' who wished to study the living conditions of British workers. Kugelmann advised Ecker to read the first volume of Marx's *Capital* and Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England,* and suggested he get in touch with Engels personally.—281

350 Engels' information about the losses sustained by the Russian army at Plevna and its 'collapse' and 'disintegration' was grossly exaggerated. There was prolonged fighting for this strategically located fortress from July to November 1877. After three abortive attempts to take Plevna by storm, in which the Russian army lost about 25,000 men, it was decided to resort to a siege, which began in September. On 28 November (10 December) 1877, the totally isolated 50,000-strong garrison tried to break through but, having lost about 6,000 men, surrendered. The fall of Plevna allowed the Russian command to release over 100,000 men for an advance beyond the Balkans.—282, 293, 297

351 Marx is referring to the article 'Die Folgen des großen Krachs' printed anonymously by the *Vorwärts,* Nos 117 and 118 on 5 and 7 October 1877. On 19 July 1878, Sorge informed Marx in writing that its author was Adolph Douai.—284

352 On 15 and 17 June and 10, 12, 14 and 17 October 1877, the *Vorwärts* (Nos 69, 70 and 119-22) carried a series of anonymous articles under the general heading 'Aus Heuchelland. Stille Beobachtungen eines Berliners in London'.—284

353 *Blue Books*—Parliament and Foreign Office documents and materials published in Britain since the 17th century.

On the American edition to which Marx is referring, see Note 416.—284

354 A reference to the Pennsylvanian miners' strike of 1874-75 which was shot down by troops.—284

355 This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, *On History and People.* Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations, by Saul K. Padover, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, [1977].—286, 290

356 Marx received the first part of Moses Hess' work *Dynamische Stofflehre. I. Kosmischer Theil,* Paris, 1877. The work was to have two more parts: the organic (*Organischer Teil*) and the social (*Sozialer Teil*). Nothing is known about the publication of the last two parts.—286, 290

357 Marx is referring to the *Theories of Surplus Value* which make up the bulk of his Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (see Note 62).—287

358 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx, Engels, Lenin, *Communist Morality,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964.—288

359 Referring to the Dühringians' speeches at the Gotha Congress of 1877 (see Note 286) in his letter to Marx of 30 October-6 November 1877, Blos inquired whether Marx and Engels were really angry with the party members in Germany. German workers, he wrote, were more interested in Marx's and Engels' articles in the press than ever. According to him, Marx and Engels were more popular than they could have imagined thanks to the activities of the Social-Democrats.—288

360 By the 'secret communist society' Marx means the League of the Just, a secret organisation of German political refugees set up in Paris in 1836-37. In

January-February 1847 its members had talks with Marx and Engels, as a result of which they consented to join the League on the condition that it would be reorganised and an end be put to any personality cult.

At the congress held in London between 2 and 9 June 1847 the League of the Just was renamed the Communist League. New Rules were drafted at this congress with the active participation of Marx and Engels. After the discussion by the Communist League's communities the Rules were considered by the second congress and finally approved on 8 December 1847 (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 585-88).—288

361 In his letter to Marx (see Note 359) Blos wrote that the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* had discussed 'Dr Marx's mutual combinations with Father Beckx'. Blos meant the newspaper's leading article, which had likened the activities of the international association of socialists, i.e., the International, to that of the Order of Jesuits, and Marx to its leader Beckx.—289

362 A reference to Ernst Dronke's infringement of the contract under which Engels rendered him financial assistance (see Engels' letters to Emil Blank of 16 October and to Ernst Dronke of 20 October and 1 and 13 November 1876 in this volume, pp. 160, 161, 164-65, 171).—289

363 Engels wrote this letter when working on the article 'Natural Science in the Spirit World', which he most probably finished in early 1878. Here the reference is to the books: J. N. Maskelyne, *Modern Spiritualism,* London, 1876, and A. R. Wallace, *On Miracles and Modern Spiritualism,* London, 1875, Engels' principal sources of information on spiritualists and spiritualism attacked in his article.

The article first appeared in the Social-Democratic yearbook *Illustrierter Neue Welt-Kalender* for 1898 published in Hamburg. Engels incorporated it into *Dialectics of Nature* (see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 345-55).—290

364 Presumably an error in Marx's letter: the meeting in Trafalgar Square took place not on Friday, but on Saturday, 29 December 1877. It was called by the supporters of Turkey in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78.—292

365 In 1876-78, Marx received a considerable number of works on Russia's social, economic and political development from Nikolai Danielson in St Petersburg. The Russian section of Marx's library grew rapidly in this period (see Note 265).—293, 307, 343

366 *Zimnicea* (*Zimniza*), a village in Romania near which the Russian army crossed the Danube in the early morning of 27 (15) June 1877.—293

367 Following the republicans' overwhelming victory at the elections to the Chamber of Deputies on 14 October 1877 (see Note 283) the Broglie ministry was forced to resign on November 19. The attempt by Mac-Mahon and his followers to effect a coup d'état on 13 December fell through due to the resistance of the junior officer corps and especially the body of privates, who shared the republican leanings of the French peasantry. On 14 December, Jules Dufaure's government was formed. In January 1879, Mac-Mahon was obliged to resign before his term of office had expired. Jules Grévy, a moderate republican, was elected president of the Republic. The bourgeois-republican system was definitively established in France.—293, 294

368 Engels is referring to the anarchists. Inability to agree about the final goals of the campaign, failures in practical work (the abortive anarchist putsches in Italy in 1874 and 1877) gave rise to substantial theoretical differences among them.

At the congress of the so-called anarchist International in Verviers in 1877, the Bakuninists' statement that all political parties, including the socialists, were essentially reactionary, aroused vigorous protests from the Belgian, the French and some of the Italian delegates.—294

369 In May 1877, a congress of the Swiss Workers' Union in Neuenburg accepted Johann Philipp Becker's proposal for a merger with the Grütli-Verein, a petty-bourgeois organisation, to form a single Social-Democratic party. A commission established for the purpose and including members of the two organisations drafted a joint contract and a programme for the Social-Democratic party in Switzerland, which in fact coincided with the Gotha Programme adopted by the German Social-Democrats in 1875. In June 1878, a meeting of the Grütli-Verein deputies in Lucerne rejected the contract and adopted the programme subject to further revision. The planned merger did not take place (see also present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 218-19).—294

370 A reference to Hippolyte Buffenoir's articles printed under the heading 'Aus Frankreich' in the *Vorwärts*, Nos 124, 128, 129, 132, 133, 140 and 145, on 21 and 31 October, 2, 9, 11 and 30 November and 12 December 1877. In connection with the elections to the French Chamber of Deputies on 14 October 1877, Buffenoir acted as co-author of the manifesto issued by a group of the so-called autonomous socialists of Paris on 9 October 1877.—295

371 Comparing the different stages of the French Revolution, Engels believed that a Russian revolution would end in the establishment of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship, as had happened in France in 1793 when the Jacobins came to power.—295

372 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx, *On Colonialism and Modernization*, Anchor Books, New York, 1969.—296

373 The letters to Liebknecht of 4 and 11 February 1878 were despatched following a request contained in his letter to Marx of 22 January 1878. Liebknecht asked for one or several articles as preparatory material for a speech on the Eastern Question in the German Reichstag. Both of Marx's letters were published anonymously in the second edition of Liebknecht's pamphlet *Zur orientalischen Frage oder Soll Europa kosakisch werden? Ein Mahnwort an das deutsche Volk*. The afterword to this edition which appeared in Leipzig a month after the first edition, on 27 February 1878, ended as follows: 'By way of conclusion, I am supplying two letters from a friend who has made a more thorough study of the Eastern Question than anyone else. The clarity of judgment, sharp insight, all-embracing knowledge—all point to an expert. *Ex ungue leonem*' (Judge the lion from his claws).—296, 299

374 On 25 (13) December 1877 the Russian army embarked on the decisive offensive on the Balkan theatre of war. Having crossed the Balkans, Russian troops entered Sofia on 4 January 1878 (23 December 1877), smashed the last Turkish army in the battle of Philippopol (Plovdiv) on 15-17 (3-5) January 1878, and entered Adrianople (Edirne) on 20 (8) January and continued their advance towards Constantinople (Istanbul). On 31 (19) January, Turkey was compelled to sign an armistice in Adrianople.—296

375 The *Grand Cophta*—the name of an omnipotent and omniscient priest who headed the non-existent Masonic 'Egyptian Lodge' which the famous eighteenth-century impostor 'Count' Cagliostro (Giuseppe Balsamo) claimed to have founded.—296

376 In the summer of 1876, Russia and Austria-Hungary signed an agreement in Rheinstadt on Austro-Hungarian neutrality in the event of a Russo-Turkish war. They also concluded a secret convention in Budapest in March 1877, under which Russia agreed to Austria-Hungary's occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in exchange for its neutrality.—296

377 The terms of the peace with Turkey, which bolstered Russia's position in the Balkans, were agreed on when signing the San Stefano preliminary peace treaty in March 1878 (see Note 430). They were revised to the advantage of Austria-Hungary and Britain at the Berlin congress in June 1878.—297

378 Under the Paris Peace Treaty concluded in 1856 at the end of the Crimean War (see Note 22), Russia lost the Danube delta and the part of Southern Bessarabia adjacent to it.—298

379 Marx is playing on the well-known saying ascribed to Voltaire: 'If God did not exist, He ought to have been invented.'—299

380 The economic crisis of the 1870s heavily afflicted the miners in South Wales, where many pits were closed down and unemployment assumed massive proportions. In January 1878, only 20 mines out of 500 were working in Monmouth and Glamorganshire.—300

381 On 7 and 8 February 1878, the House of Commons debated additional allocations to the Conservative government in the event of Britain's involvement in the Russo-Turkish war. The Liberal leaders, especially Forster and Bright, who had previously opposed such allocations and any anti-Russian action, changed their tactics and did not take part in the final voting; as a result the Conservatives managed to get their demand approved, by a significant majority of 328 to 124.—300

382 As from 1 January 1874, when universal conscription was introduced in Russia, Poles were also subject to the draft.—300

383 At the time of the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29, Prussia's stand towards Russia was one of benevolent neutrality.—300

384 The first campaign of the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29 took place in May-October 1828. It revealed that the Russian troops were confronted by a numerically superior Turkish army, its strategy being that of temporising and wearing out the enemy. The second campaign was waged between May and August 1829.—301

385 This treaty confirmed the St Petersburg Russo-British protocol of 4 April 1826 recognising Greek autonomy. Like the protocol, it included an agreement on the diplomatic recognition of Greece and on armed mediation in the Greco-Turkish conflict. The contracting parties confirmed the commitment recorded in the protocol to seek no territorial or commercial benefits for themselves in pacifying Greece except such as were common to all European states.—302

386 In September 1829 Turkey and Russia concluded a treaty in Adrianople which ended the war of 1828-29. Under the treaty Russia obtained the Danube delta, including the islands, and a considerable part of the eastern Black Sea coast south of the Kuban estuary. Turkey was to recognise the autonomy of Moldavia and Wallachia, granting them the right to elect their own hospodars (rulers). Their autonomy was guaranteed by Russia. The Turkish government also undertook to recognise the independence of Greece, whose only obligation

to Turkey was to pay an annual tribute to the Sultan and abide by all the previous treaties relating to the autonomy of Serbia, which was to be formalised by a special firman.—303

387 Marx is drawing a parallel here with the persecution of the so-called Demagogues, participants in the intellectuals' opposition movement in Germany following the Napoleonic wars. The term became current after the Karlsbad conference of ministers of German states in August 1819, which agreed on measures for the suppression of the Demagogues.—303

388 The original is kept at the Karl-Marx-Haus in Trier. The Editors are not in possession of Sigmund Schott's letter, to which Marx is replying.—304

389 Marx wrote on the envelope of the letter: 'To the Publisher of "*Forward*", *Hornsey Road, Post Office,* London, N.'—305

390 Engels had requested Lopatin to write for the *Volks-Kalender* for 1879 an article on the trials of the Russian Narodniks (Populists) brought before the court for revolutionary agitation and propaganda in St Petersburg in 1877-early 1878 (see Note 391). However, the article was not needed, since, after the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 462), the *Volks-Kalender* was closed down.—306

391 This letter has come down to us as an extract quoted by Lopatin in French in his letter to Lavrov of 17 April 1878. He also rendered in Russian the substance of the other two parts of Engels' letter:

'He wrote to me to ask for a photograph of the women condemned in the trial of the 50 for Bracke's almanach for 1879. He also wants me to write an article about this trial or about the recent Russian movement, about 16 large-sized pages, for 160 marks=200 francs;

'Engels writes that England shows all signs of an approaching industrial and commercial crisis, which will be a worthy consummation of all separate European crashes: Austrian, Prussian, Russian, etc. So far, two main industries have been severely affected: the cotton industry and the production of iron. The general crash will possibly be delayed until August or September.'—307

392 *Vperyod!* (Vol. V, 1877, pp. 1-120) featured the article 'The Outcome of the Reforms. Surveys of the Successes of Economic Exploitation in Russia over Recent Years'. As is clear from Lopatin's letter to Engels of 23 April 1878, its author was Nikolai Kulyabko-Koretsky (pen-name Dahl). The *Vorwärts* published its German translation under the heading 'Die Folgen der czaristischen Reformen' between 15 February and 15 March 1878.—307

393 In 1871-73, a single gold coin was introduced in Germany to replace the different currencies of the kingdoms, principalities and duchies.—308

394 In a letter to Engels of 26 April 1878, Bracke praised the railway project and the tobacco monopoly introduced by Bismarck. But he still regarded as wrong 'any participation by the party in implementing these measures'.—308

395 A reference to the economic crisis of 1873, which in Germany lasted into the late 1870s (see also Note 118).—308, 405

396 Eugen Richter, the leader of the Party of Progress, said in the Reichstag on 10 April 1878 with respect to the Bill introduced by Wilhelm Bracke on the repeal of the law exempting the military from communal taxes (passed on 22 December 1868): 'We consider it important enough to note a change at

present in the tactics of the socialist gentlemen.... You, Sirs, obviously do not consider the modern state and its organisation so bad as to make them unworthy of the effort, made by the previous speaker [Bracke] in his speech, to partially improve them.... We will be far from displeased if you follow in our footsteps and bring up our old proposals.'—309

397 Lothar Bucher had a 'Declaration' printed in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* and the *Frankfurter Zeitung* on 21 June 1878 concerning Marx's and Engels' letter to the editor of *The Daily News* (see present edition, Vol. 24 pp. 230-31), which many German newspapers had reprinted with the mistake made in the translation. On 27 June, Marx sent his reply to Bucher's 'Declaration' to a number of German newspapers (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 232-33).—310

398 In his 'Declaration' concerning Marx's and Engels' letter to the editor of *The Daily News* (see Note 397), Lothar Bucher stated that it would take 3,000 lines to refute Marx's 30.—312

399 On 9 July 1878, the London correspondent of the *Vossische Zeitung* had a statement printed in which, referring to allegedly 'verified sources', he asserted that Marx had intended to answer Bucher's 'Declaration' in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (see Note 397) with a whole book entitled *Herr Bucher.*—312

400 An allusion to the novel by Nikolai Chernyshevsky (*What Is to Be Done?*), which appeared in French in Lodi, Italy, in 1875.—312

401 The first complete edition of Engels' *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft. Philosophie. Politische Oekonomie. Sozialismus,* with the author's preface, was published in Leipzig in early July 1878.—312, 313, 316

402 On 18 July 1878, the London journal *Nature* (Vol. XVIII, No. 455, p. 316) printed the programme of the 51st congress of natural scientists and physicians scheduled for 18-24 September in Kassel. Among the reports to be read was Oscar Schmidt's 'On the Relation of Darwinism to Social Democracy'.

On 23 July, Oscar Schmidt stated his willingness to send Engels a copy of his report, which was to appear in the November issue of the *Deutsche Rundschau.* It also came out as a pamphlet: O. Schmidt, *Darwinismus und Socialdemocratie,* Bonn, 1878.—313, 317

403 Engels is referring to Rudolf Virchow's speech at the 50th congress of German natural scientists and physicians in Munich on 22 September 1877. Virchow associated Darwinism with the socialist movement and declared it dangerous to the existing social system (see R. Virchow, *Die Freiheit der Wissenschaft im modernen Staat,* Berlin, 1877, S. 12). Engels ironically wrote that Virchow had 'amiably tipped the wink'.—313, 316

404 Engels intended to subject to criticism the Darwinians', including Oscar Schmidt's, writings against socialism in his *Dialectics of Nature* (see present edition, Vol. 25, p. 314), but did not carry out this plan.—314, 317

405 On 24 May 1878, the majority in the German Reichstag (251 to 57) voted down the government bill directed against socialists, after which the Reichstag was dissolved on 11 June, and new elections were scheduled for 30 July. The Socialist Workers' Party of Germany polled 437,158 votes this time.—314

406 On 11 May and 2 June 1878, assassination attempts were made on William I, the first by unemployed tinner Max Hödel and the second by anarchist Karl Eduard Nobiling, who had never belonged to the Socialist Workers' Party of

Germany. These events provoked a vicious campaign against the socialists and provided a pretext for the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law in October 1878 (see Note 462).

In his turn, Bismarck used the assassination attempts to break down the resistance of the National Liberals (see Note 540), who had a short while before voted down the government proposal to introduce protective tariffs on iron. As a result of Bismarck's policies, the National Liberal Party lost about a quarter of its seats in the 1878 Reichstag elections.—314, 419, 424, 449

407 'We are but dogs!' ('Hunde sind wir ja doch!'). This is how, according to August Bebel, the German democratic political writer Luis Bamberger described the treatment which the National Liberals received from Bismarck.—314, 322, 324

408 The *reptile fund*—the special fund at Bismarck's disposal for bribing the press and individual journalists. Reptiles was the name used by the left-wing press to designate periodicals which defended the interests of the government and had been bribed by it.—315, 328, 334, 421

409 On 4 July 1878, Jenny Longuet, Marx's eldest daughter, gave birth to a baby boy, Henri Longuet, whom the family called Harry.—316

410 Engels is referring to the birth of the eighth child in Philipp Pauli's family, of which the latter informed him on 17 July 1878.—316

411 In 1877-78, Mary Ellen Burns (Pumps) lived with her relatives in Manchester.—316

412 *Nachalo* (No. 2, April 1878) wrote: 'Arrested in St Petersburg the other day were: 1) *Pyankov,* detained by the police in Furshtadtskaya St. and beaten within an inch of his life without the slightest provocation; exiled (!!) to Archangel; 2) *Goloushev,* chief witness in the Zasulich case; 3) *Pavlovsky* and 4) *Lopatin.*'

Lavrov wrote on 11 August in reply to Engels' letter: 'The news reported by *Nachalo* relates either to the brother of *our* Lopatin, a participant in the "trial of the 193", or to his cousin, who has just been deported to Vologda Gubernia, having been involved in the Kiev students' case. *Our* Lopatin had come over from Switzerland but then left again for a while; I think he will be back in about a month, if not earlier. He has not left an address, but I had a letter from him about a fortnight ago.'—316

413 *Après moi* (or *nous*) *le deluge!*—a phrase attributed to Mmle Pompadour or to Mme Du Barry, who addressed it to Louis XV.—317

414 This letter was published in English for the first time in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung,* Berlin, 1959, No. 3.—317

415 Between 4 and 14 September 1878 Marx stayed with his wife, his daughter Jenny and his grandson Jean in Malvern.—318, 322, 324

416 After a long search, Sorge sent Marx an 'Annual Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, for 1876-1877', Part III. *Industrial Statistics,* Vol. V, Harrisburg, 1878, containing information he needed on the situation in the mining industry of Pennsylvania.—318

417 Sorge sent Marx the English translation of Johann Most's pamphlet *Kapital und Arbeit* done by Weydemeyer (see Note 341), which appeared anonymously in August 1878 under the heading *Extracts from the 'Capital' of Karl Marx.*

Marx's intention to have a new edition of the pamphlet published with his preface was not carried through.—318

418 This letter was published in English for the first time in part in: K. Marx, *On Education, Women and Children.* Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover. Mc Graw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1975 and in full in *The Letters of Karl Marx,* selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—320

419 After Lizzy Burns' death on 12 September 1878, Engels left for Littlehampton (on 16 September).—321, 325, 327, 330, 331

420 A reference to the Anti-Socialist Law. The discussion of the bill began in the Reichstag on 16 September 1878 (see Note 462).—321, 322, 328, 332

421 On 17 September 1878, *The Daily News* and *The Standard* carried reports from Reuters and their own correspondents covering the 16 September session of the German Reichstag, at which Stolberg-Wernigerode, Reichensperger, Helldorf-Bedroe, Bebel, Eulenburg and Bamberger took the floor.—322, 324

422 *La légalité nous tue* (legality is killing us): Marx repeats what Jean Pons Viennet, a right-wing representative in the French Chamber of Deputies, said in his speech on 23 March 1833. This was also quoted by the conservative politician Odillon Barrot in his speech to the Constituent Assembly of the French Republic early in 1849.—322

423 The *Party of the Centre,* a political party of German Catholics, was formed in 1870-71 following the merger of the Catholic groups in the Prussian Landtag and the German Reichstag (the deputies of these parties sat in the centre of the assembly hall). The Party of the Centre normally took a non-committal approach, manoeuvring between the pro-government parties and the left opposition in the Reichstag. It united different social sections among the Catholic clergy, landowners, bourgeois and part of the peasantry (mostly in small and medium states in Western and South-Western Germany), and supported their separatist and anti-Prussian leanings. Although in opposition to the Bismarck government, the Party of the Centre nevertheless voted for its repressive measures against the working-class and socialist movement. Engels described it in detail in his essays 'The Role of Force in History' (see present edition, Vol. 26) and 'What Now?' (Vol. 27).—322, 325, 328

424 In his speech to the Reichstag on 16 September 1878, August Bebel refuted the groundless accusations against the Social-Democrats which had given Bismarck a pretext to introduce the Anti-Socialist Bill. He noted that time would show its pointlessness, since the Social-Democrats would be able to disseminate their ideas even working underground.—322, 324, 326, 328

425 Opening the Reichstag session on 16 September 1878, Count Stolberg-Wernigerode stated the allied governments' conviction that ideas repudiating all norms of law and morality and seriously threatening the state and society had become prevalent among the general public. This, he said, was sufficient grounds for introducing an anti-socialist law.—323

426 On 18 September 1878, *The Standard,* No. 16897, carried an article covering the debate on the Anti-Socialist Bill that had begun in the Reichstag on 16 September.

Further on, Engels is referring to the telegraphic communication in the

same issue of the newspaper: 'The German Parliament. The Anti-Socialist Bill. Speech of Prince Bismarck' dealing with the Reichstag sitting of 17 September.—326

427 On 27 September 1878, the *Vorwärts*, No. 114 (the 'Aus England, London, 20. September' section) featured extracts from a number of British newspapers dealing with the Anti-Socialist Bill. *The Standard* was not mentioned in the review.—326

428 The second French workers' congress held in Lyons on 28 January-8 February 1878 decided that an international socialist congress would be held in Paris in September, during the world industrial exhibition. Its convocation was initiated first and foremost by Jules Guesde. The French government banned the congress, but on 4 September the delegates assembled in Paris met unofficially, since it was already too late to try and convene a congress in Lausanne. The police dispersed the participants and arrested 38 people, Guesde among them. They appeared in court on 24 October.

Carl Hirsch, who was present at the meeting as a reporter, was arrested on 6 September, kept in custody until 9 October, and then deported.—327, 331, 338

429 Marx quoted from Petty's book *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions* (London, 1667, p. 47) in *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 35, Part I, Ch. I, Section 2). In his book *Die Reform des Geldwesens* (Berlin, 1869, S. 7), Adolph Samter reproduced this passage from *Capital*.—329

430 On 3 March (19 February) 1878, Russia and Turkey signed a *preliminary peace treaty in San Stefano* (near Constantinople). The treaty's provisions included the establishment of an autonomous Bulgarian principality which would be nominally dependent on Turkey, state sovereignty for Serbia, Montenegro and Romania and their territorial expansion. It consolidated Russia's position in the Balkans, which brought counteraction on the part of Britain and Austria-Hungary, who even resorted to a show of strength (a British squadron entered the Sea of Marmara, etc.). Russia was thus forced to agree to the convocation of an international congress to revise those sections of the treaty that involved 'common European interests'. The congress, in which Russia, Britain, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, Germany, France and Italy took part, was held in Berlin between 13 (1) June and 13 (1) July 1878. It resulted in the Treaty of Berlin which significantly amended the provisions of the San Stefano Treaty. The territory of self-governing Bulgaria was cut by more than half, and the Bulgarian territories south of the Balkan Ridge were to form Eastern Rumelia, an autonomous province that remained under the Sultan; the territory of Montenegro was also to be substantially curtailed. The Treaty of Berlin confirmed the provision of the San Stefano Treaty that Russia was to receive back the part of Bessarabia severed from it in 1856 and sanctioned the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary. After the Berlin congress the Balkans remained a focus of conflict, which led to the First World War.—331, 384

431 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, *On Revolution*. Translated by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1971.—331

432 In his letter to Engels of 22 September 1878, Liebknecht expressed his condolences on the death of Lizzie Burns.—331.

433 Having analysed the stenographic report, sent by Wilhelm Bracke, of the first debate of the Anti-Socialist Bill in the Reichstag, Marx outlined an article on

the subject (see 'The Parliamentary Debate on the Anti-Socialist Law', present edition, Vol. 24). He did not carry out his plan to use this material for the British press.—332

434 As a threat of an armed conflict with Britain emerged in the course of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, the tsarist government agreed on an alliance with Afghanistan. The Russian envoy Stoletov, who arrived in Kabul on 22 June 1878, made arrangements with the country's rulers for a Russo-Afghan treaty. However, having settled the Anglo-Russian differences, the tsarist government decided against such an alliance.—332

435 Marx's letters to the British clergyman Moritz Kaufmann of 3 and 10 October 1878 are replies to the latter's request that he look through Kaufmann's article about himself, which was to appear in the *Leisure Hour* magazine in December 1878 and to be included in a book on the history of socialism he was preparing for publication. Kaufmann's book *Utopias; or, Schemes of Social Improvement. From Sir Thomas More to Karl Marx* came out in London in 1879. Marx read through the last two chapters.—332, 333, 334

436 Marx may have had in mind the professor of political economy at Kiev University Nikolai Sieber, one of the first to popularise Marx's economic theory in Russia. In 1876-78, Sieber published a series of articles entitled *Marx's Economic Theory* and some polemic articles against the Russian critics of Marx, Yuli Zhukovsky and Boris Chicherin.—334

437 In May 1876, Franz Mehring publicly accused Leopold Sonnemann of using his public position as editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt* to engage in speculation during the *Gründerjahre* (see Note 118) and extract considerable profits. Sonnemann having denounced this accusation as slander, Franz Mehring had legal proceedings instituted against him. The court of the first instance found Sonnemann not guilty. In June 1877, the court of appeal found that Mehring's accusations were justified but still left Sonnemann unpunished.—334

438 In the late 1850s, the Mexican government of Zuloaga and Miramón issued state bonds that became an object of large-scale speculation in France (see present edition, Vol. 19, p. 197).—335

439 Marx most probably sent Moritz Kaufmann his article 'Mr. George Howell's History of the International Working-Men's Association' (see present edition, Vol. 24), a reply to Howell's 'The History of the International Association' (*The Nineteenth Century*, July 1878) presenting the International's history in a distorted way.—335

440 Hermann Arnoldt, a Königsberg Social-Democrat and member of the local Johann Jacoby Fund committee (a fund for assisting the Social-Democratic press), requested Engels to accept for safekeeping the Fund's securities to the amount of about 3,000 marks, fearing confiscation by the Prussian government after the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 462).—335

441 This letter was occasioned by Marx's and Engels' attempts to get Liebknecht a job on the London *Whitehall Review*, since the *Vorwärts*, where he had been a member of staff, had been banned with the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany on 21 October 1878.

On 4 November, Marx sent a letter through a third party to Natalie Liebknecht, which she received on 14 November. Its contents are not known, but Liebknecht must have read it, since on 18 November he thanked Engels

and Marx for their efforts to find him a job (see also this volume, p. 352).—336

442 As can be seen from the rough draft of this letter Marx had intended to alter the original arrangement of the text. The alterations have been taken into account in the present edition.—336

443 Alfred Talandier's letter to the editor of *La Marseillaise* of 2 October 1878, which calumniated Maltman Barry, was printed by that newspaper on 6 October (No. 202) in the section 'Congrès ouvrier'.—336

444 The *International Labour Union* (or *League*) was founded in London early in 1878 by several former members of the General Council of the IWMA, who had refused to recognise the resolutions of the Hague Congress (see Note 20). Acting jointly with the bourgeois radicals, including Charles Bradlaugh and Pratt, they unsuccessfully tried to reinstitute the International on their own platform.—339

445 Alfred Talandier was the permanent Paris correspondent of *The National Reformer* edited by Charles Bradlaugh.—340

446 The name partisans of the 'opportunist' republic in France was applied to moderate republicans (Gembetta, Grévy et al.), who fought against Mac-Mahon's attempts to restore the monarchy (see notes 283 and 367).—340

447 On 22 September 1878, *The National Reformer,* Vol. XXXII, No. 12, carried a short note alleging close relationship between Mr Maltman Barry and the Paris police.—341

448 A reference to Napoleon III's wife Eugénie de Montijo de Guzmán who lived in England after the fall of the Second Empire; following her husband's death in 1873, she assumed leadership of the Bonapartist party.—341

449 On 23 December 1871, *The Eastern Post* printed Marx's letter to the editor concerning Charles Bradlaugh's slanderous attacks on him (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 62-63).

The same issue featured a report of the meeting of the International's General Council held on 19 December 1871 at which Marx had exposed Bradlaugh's activities.—341

450 The address on the envelope is in Eleanor Marx's hand: 'N. Danielson, Esq., Société du Crédit Mutuel, Pont de Kazan, Maison Lessnikoff, St Petersburg, Russia.'—343, 346, 353

451 On 28 October (9 November) 1878, Danielson informed Marx that six or seven months before he had written to him that the first volume of *Capital* had sold out and that the prospects for a second Russian edition were discussed. He requested Marx to let him know whether he was planning any changes to the text and asked for the proof-sheets of the second volume to be sent on to him as soon as they go in print.—343

452 The polemics in the Russian press on the first volume of Marx's *Capital* in 1877-79 involved scholars and political writers and were opened by Yuli Zhukovsky's article 'Karl Marx and His Book on Capital' (*Vestnik Yevropy,* September 1877). The article provoked a number of replies, two of which Danielson had sent to Marx: N. Sieber's essay 'A Few Notes Apropos Yu. Zhukovsky's Article "Karl Marx and His Book on Capital"' (*Otechestvenniye Zapiski,* No. 11, November 1877) and N. Mikhailovsky's article 'Karl Marx

Before the Tribunal of Mr Zhukovsky' (*Otechestvenniye Zapiski*, No. 10, October 1877), which prompted Marx to write to *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 196-201). In 1878, sharp criticism of Marx was levelled in B. N. Chicherin's article 'The German Socialists: 2. Karl Marx' (*Sbornik Gosudarstvennikh Znanii*, Vol. VI, St. Petersburg, 1878). Sieber's article 'B. Chicherin *contra* K. Marx' (*Slovo*, February 1879) was a reply to it.—344

453 The *Civil War in America* broke out in April 1861. The Southern slaveholders rose against the Union and formed the Confederacy of the Southern States. The war was caused mainly by the conflict between the two social systems: the capitalist system of wage labour established in the North and the slave system dominant in the South. The Civil War, which had the nature of a bourgeois-democratic revolution, passed two stages in its development: the period of a constitutional war for the maintenance of the Union and that of a revolutionary war for the abolition of slavery. The decisive role in the defeat of the Southern slaveholders and the victory of the North in April 1865 was played by the workers and farmers. Marx analysed the causes and the nature of the war in his articles published in the Viennese newspaper *Die Presse* (see present edition, Vol. 19).—344, 357

454 The next two passages were quoted by Nikolai Danielson, in a somewhat modified form, in the preface to the first Russian edition of Volume Two of *Capital*, St Petersburg, 1885, p. XII.—344

455 A reference to the following passage in the second German edition of Volume One of *Capital*: 'And, as a matter of fact, the value also of each single yard is but the materialised form of the same definite and socially fixed quantity of homogeneous human labour' (see also K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part I, Chapter III, Section 2, present edition, Vol. 35).—346

456 Cf. the French edition of Volume One of *Capital*, Part V, Ch. XVI: 'I always assume the actual state of affairs, which, with a few exceptions, prevails everywhere, i.e., that the capitalist pays all preliminary expenses, including the worker's wages.'—346

457 Cf. K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part V, Ch. XVI (present edition, Vol. 35).—346

458 From 1877 Johann Philipp Becker was editor and publisher of the Swiss socialist journal *Le Précurseur*.—348

459 This extract was first published, in German, in the catalogue *Sotheby Parke Bernet and C°*, London, 1963, as item No. 247. The letter was said to take up half a page and was rendered in English, up to the passage published in this volume, as follows: Marx 'informing his correspondent that he sent off three copies of *Das Kapital* and received payment for them'. The letter was purchased by an agent of the Maggs Brothers auctioneers; its subsequent fate is unknown.—350

460 Marx is replying to Hugo Heller's letter of 9 January 1879, which stated that in his work *Graf Bismarck und seine Leute während des Krieges mit Frankreich* (Bd. II, Leipzig, 1878, S. 159) 'court flatterer' Moritz Busch represented Marx as preserver of the late King's life (probably Frederick William IV). Hugo Heller added that 'Champagne was still the King's undoing'.

In his next letter, that of 10 February 1879, Heller apologised to Marx for misinterpreting this passage in Busch's book; in actual fact, the reference was not to Marx but to Mr Wiehr. Later, Heller copied out the pertinent passage and sent it on to Marx.—350

461 On 26 January 1879, Johann Philipp Becker wrote to Engels about the financial predicament his family was in now that he had lost his job as a correspondent following the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law banning the entire socialist press.—350

462 The *Anti-Socialist Law* (The Exceptional Law Against the Socialists) was introduced by the Bismarck government on a majority vote in the Reichstag on 21 October 1878 to combat the socialist and working-class movement. It banned all party and mass workers' organisations and the socialist and workers' press, and sanctioned confiscation of socialist literature and persecution of Social-Democrats. But the Social-Democratic Party, in accordance with the Constitution, preserved its group in the Reichstag. By skilfully combining illegal and legal methods of work and suppressing reformist and anarchist tendencies within its ranks, the party managed substantially to strengthen and extend its influence among the masses. Marx and Engels actively assisted the party's leaders.

Under pressure from the working-class movement, the law was repealed on 1 October 1890. Engels examined it in his essay 'Bismarck and the German Working Men's Party' (present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 407-09).—350, 383, 386, 389, 399, 413, 418, 428, 433

463 The theological system of John Calvin, a Protestant reformer of the 16th century, emphasised the doctrine of predestination and salvation solely by God's grace.—351

464 During the strike and lockout of Geneva building workers in March-April 1868, the General Council of the International arranged for financial assistance to the strikers. Money was received from France, Germany, the United States, Britain, Austria and Belgium.—351

465 A reference to Guillaume's resignation from the Jura Federation (it fell apart in 1878) of the so-called anarchist International and his departure from Switzerland to Paris in May 1878.—351

466 The first issue of the *Freiheit* appeared in London on 4 January 1879.—351

467 On 31 December 1878, the government submitted for the Reichstag's consideration a bill on its deputies' disciplinary responsibility (the so-called muzzle bill). It was spearheaded against the Social-Democratic deputies and the democratic opposition in the Reichstag and came up for debate on 4-7 March 1879. The bill granted a specially appointed commission the right to punish a deputy if 'he failed to show restraint in his attacks on speakers from among the opposition', and even expel him from the Reichstag. On 7 March, the deputies turned down the bill by a majority vote as infringing their democratic rights.—351, 352

468 On 5 February 1879, the western constituency of Breslau (Wrocław) held by-election occasioned by the death of the deputy Heinrich Bürgers. The ballot, conducted against the background of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 462), demonstrated the strength and unity of the working class. The workers' deputy Julius Kräcker failed to win a majority, but did poll over 7,500 votes.—352

469 In the original 'von Fall zu Fall'—a phrase that came to designate unpredictable and indefinite policies. In connection with the Berlin Conference (1876) of Russia, Germany and Austria-Hungary (see Note 430), the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Andrássy stated that the three great powers had not reached a definite decision on the Eastern Question but had agreed to

coordinate their positions 'von Fall zu Fall'. Applying the phrase to Bismarck's policies, Engels puns on the word 'Fall', 'failure', changing the meaning of the expression to 'one cropper after another'.—352

470 In February 1879, *The Times* printed a number of articles dealing with Bismarck's finance policies. Some of them, e.g., the leader of 13 February 1879 devoted to the opening of the German Reichstag, questioned the purposes of Bismarck's protectionist policy.—352

471 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934. In a fuller form, it appeared in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters on 'Capital',* New Park Publications Ltd., London, 1983.—353

472 Marx is referring to Danielson's letter of 5 (17) February 1879, which contained a review of Russia's finance policies 'over the past 15 years'; the same day he sent Marx a large number of books on which the review was based.—353

473 The text below (including the paragraph beginning: '*Thirdly:* My medical adviser...') was quoted almost in full by Danielson in the preface to the first Russian edition of Volume Two of *Capital,* St Petersburg, 1885, pp. XIII-XIV.—354

474 A reference to the world economic crises of 1857 and 1866 which seriously affected the British economy.—354

475 The *Bank Act* of 1844 (An Act to Regulate the Issue of Bank-Notes, and for Giving to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England Certain Privileges for a Limited Period) was introduced by Robert Peel on 19 July 1844. It provided for the division of the Bank of England into two separate departments, each with its own cash account—the Banking Department, dealing exclusively with credit operations, and the Issue Department, issuing banknotes. The Act limited the number of banknotes in circulation and guaranteed them with definite gold and silver reserves that could not be used for the credit operations of the Banking Department. Further issues of banknotes were allowed only in the event of a corresponding increase in precious metal reserves.

A detailed description of the Act was given by Marx in *Capital,* Vol. III, Chapter XXXIV (see present edition, Vol. 37).—355

476 A reference to the world industrial exhibition which opened in Paris on 1 May 1878.—355

477 The Russian economist Illarion Kaufman had an article devoted to Volume One of *Capital* and entitled 'A Point of View of Politico-Economic Criticism in Karl Marx's Work' published anonymously in *Vestnik Yevropy,* St Petersburg (May 1872). Marx quoted it in the 'Afterword to the Second German Edition of *Capital*' (see present edition, Vol. 35).—358

478 Reichenbach, an aspiring writer living in Paris, sent a letter and several books to Marx's address to be passed on to Rudolph Meyer. In a letter to Marx of 27 May 1879 Meyer apologised for the inconvenience caused and expressed a wish to meet him.—359

479 J. Gugenheim, the secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 55), had asked Engels to deliver 'a scientific lecture' there.—360

480 On 24 May 1879, the 'Socialpolitische Rundschau' column of the *Freiheit* criticised the Social-Democratic deputies' stand in the Reichstag on protective tariffs (see Note 502).—360, 362

481 On 16 May, 1879 Engels sent a letter to Wilhelm Bracke (not extant) with the request that he forward it to August Bebel. As follows from Bebel's reply to Bracke of 24 May, Engels criticised Wilhelm Liebknecht's Reichstag speech on the introduction of the state of siege in Berlin (see Note 486) as evidence of the Social-Democrats' submission to the Anti-Socialist Law.—360, 364

482 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in *The Labour Monthly,* Vol. 15, No. 9, IX, London, 1933. In full it appeared in: Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.

The letter is written on the back of Bernstein's letter to Engels.—360

483 A reference to the author of the articles on the British labour movement for the Zurich *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik.* When making this request, Eduard Bernstein believed the author could be Engels himself (see this volume, p. 361).—360

484 The writing of *Anti-Dühring,* which Engels began in late May 1876, caused him to postpone a number of scientific works he was planning or had already started, notably the *Dialectics of Nature* (see also Note 169).—361

485 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx, *Selected Works,* in two volumes, Vol. II, Moscow-Leningrad, [1936].—364, 416

486 A reference to Liebknecht's speech in the Reichstag on 17 March 1879 on the introduction of the so-called local siege in Berlin and its environs. Liebknecht stated that the Social-Democratic Party would abide by the Anti-Socialist Law, being 'a party of reform in the strictest sense of the word'. His speech showed that some Social-Democratic leaders were undecided about the tactics to be adopted in the initial months following the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law.—364

487 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx, Engels, Lenin, *On Scientific Communism,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967. It appeared almost in full in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters on 'Capital',* New Park Publications Ltd., London, 1983.—365

488 Marx is referring to Carlo Cafiero's pamphlet *Il Capitale di Carlo Marx,* which was a popular exposition of the first volume of *Capital.* It appeared in Italian in Milan in 1879.—365

489 Nothing is known about what has happened to the original letter. There is a copy and a rough draft which largely coincide. Engels may have made the copy for Carl Hirsch (see Note 497).—366

490 This refers to the preparations for the publication of the illegal newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* in Zurich, the new central printed organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. The need for such a newspaper emerged after a ban on the entire party press, above all the *Vorwärts,* following the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law in October 1878 (see Note 462). In July-September 1879, extensive correspondence on the political line of the new paper and its editors was maintained between August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Louis Viereck (in

Leipzig), Carl Hirsch (in Paris), Eduard Bernstein, Karl Höchberg, Carl August Schramm (in Zurich), and Marx and Engels (in London).

The campaign Marx and Engels conducted for a sound political line of the party's future central printed organ is fully expounded in their Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and Others of 17-18 September 1879 (see this volume, pp. 394-408).—367, 373, 374, 378, 383, 388, 393, 415

491 A phrase from Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to Carl Hirsch of 28 July 1879 (see also this volume, p. 396), which Hirsch sent on to Marx and Engels.—367

492 Bernstein's letter to Hirsch of 24 July 1879 is also quoted and mentioned by Marx and Engels in the Circular Letter (see this volume, p. 395).—367, 373

493 Mentioned here is Eduard Bernstein's letter to Carl Hirsch of 31 July 1879. Marx and Engels quote it in their Circular Letter (see this volume, p. 395).—367, 412

494 Marx and his daughter Eleanor (Tussy) left for Jersey on 8 August and stayed there until 20 August 1879.—368, 369, 372, 409

495 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx, Engels, *On Literature and Art,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976 and in full in *The Letters of Karl Marx,* selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—369

496 Between 5 and 7 August 1879, Engels, accompanied by Carl Schorlemmer, left for a holiday in Eastbourne. He returned to London on 28 August.—369, 372, 376, 378, 380

497 Enclosed in Carl Hirsch's letter to Marx of 7 August 1879 was a copy of Engels' letter to August Bebel of 4 August (see this volume, pp. 366-68). Hirsch quoted the letter he had received from Liebknecht that day concerning the planned illegal party printed organ (see Note 490). Marx and Engels used this information for their Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and Others (see this volume, p. 395).—369, 372

498 This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, *On Education, Women and Children.* Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1975.—371

499 On 18 August 1879, Marx's daughter Jenny Longuet gave birth to a son, Edgar, in Ramsgate.—371, 373, 376, 378, 381, 382

500 On 21 August 1879, Marx interrupted his stay in Jersey (see Note 494) and arrived in Ramsgate to join his daughter Jenny and her newborn son Edgar. He returned to London on 17 September.—372, 374, 378, 381, 385, 388, 390, 393, 394, 409, 415

501 Marx and Engels included a concise exposition of Liebknecht's letter to Engels of 14 August 1879 in the Circular Letter (see this volume, p. 396). Engels' reply is not extant.—372, 378

502 A reference to the speech made by the socialist deputy Max Kayser with the consent of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag on 17 May 1879 in defence of the government plan to introduce protective tariffs. Marx and Engels sharply criticised Kayser, who supported a proposal made in the interests of big industrialists and landowners and prejudicial to the mass of the

population. They also condemned the lenient attitude displayed towards it by some of the German Social-Democratic leaders (see this volume, pp. 396-401).—373, 424

503 The first volume of the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* edited by Karl Höchberg under the assumed name of Dr Ludwig Richter, appeared in Zurich in August 1879; Engels received this issue on 28 August, immediately after his return from Eastbourne.—374

504 Carl Hirsch described the circumstances of his arrest and deportation from France in August 1879 in a letter to Engels of 23 August 1879.—374, 412

505 Engels' letter to Carl Hirsch, which contained excerpts from Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to Engels of 14 August 1879 (see Note 501), has not been found.—375

506 Engels answered Karl Höchberg's letter of 24 August 1879 on 26 August (see this volume, pp. 379-80).

A reply to Bebel's letter to Engels of 20 August 1879 was the Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and Others (see this volume, pp. 394-408).—375, 386, 397

507 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx, *On America and the Civil War*. Edited and translated by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1972. In full, it appeared in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—376

508 The inaugural speech made by George James Allman, President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in Sheffield on 20 August 1879 at the opening of the Association's 49th annual congress, was printed in the London journal *Nature* on 21 August.—377

509 Engels' letter to Liebknecht of 20 August 1879 mentioned here has not been found (see this volume, p. 372).

August Bebel, who wrote to Engels on the same day, could not possibly have known what it was about.—378, 394

510 The address on the envelope in Engels' hand is: 'Den Heer Karl Höchberg, Dr. phil. Hôtel Ealeries, Scheveningen, Holland.'— 379

511 In his letter of 24 August Karl Höchberg wrote that, as far as he was informed, Engels had refused to contribute to *Der Sozialdemokrat* because of Carl Hirsch's unfavourable reports.

On the real reasons why Marx and Engels refused to contribute to the paper, see this volume, pp. 412-13.—379

512 On 24 August 1879, Johann Most wrote to Marx that the *Chicagoer Arbeiter Zeitung* had published Carl Lübeck's report alleging Marx and Engels had made an official statement against the *Freiheit*. Johann Most asked Marx to let him know whether or not this was true.—381, 414

513 A reference to the programmatic article 'Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland' which appeared anonymously in the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, Jg. 1, 1. Hälfte, Zürich-Oberstrass, 1879, S. 75-96. Its authors were Karl Höchberg (pen-name Ludwig Richter), Eduard Bernstein and Carl August Schramm. Marx and Engels examined it in detail in the Circular Letter (this volume, pp. 401-08).—383, 386, 389, 393, 394, 413, 420, 430, 432

514 The *Freiheit* of 30 August 1879, and its sample issue called 'Was nun?' of 6 September carried two articles criticising the first volume of the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik* from an anarchist viewpoint. The first article, printed in the 'Socialpolitische Rundschau' column, reviewed the materials featured by the *Jahrbuch* and the second, 'Auch eine Denkschrift', analysed the article 'Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland'.—383, 386

515 At the time of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, Britain, which feared a partition of Turkey, decided to prevent the Russian troops from entering Constantinople by threatening to break off diplomatic relations. To avoid a conflict, the tsarist government agreed to the San Stefano Peace Treaty (see Note 430).—384

516 A reference to the meeting between Alexander II and William I, which took place on 3 and 4 September 1879 in Alexandrovo, not far from the Russian-German border.—384

517 See K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War' (present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 263-70).

The attempt by Bismarck's government to provoke a new war with France in 1873-74 failed due to the negative attitude taken by the governments of Austria, Britain and Russia.—384

518 The *Seven Years' War* (1756-63)—a war by Britain and Prussia against Austria, France, Russia, Saxony and Sweden. It led to France ceding many of its colonies (including Canada and almost all its possessions in the East Indies) to Britain, while Prussia, Austria and Saxony were obliged to recognise, in the main, its pre-war frontiers.—387

519 In his articles 'Die Zolldebatte' and 'Zur Kaiser'schen Rede und Abstimmung' in *Die Laterne,* a weekly he was publishing (Nos 21 and 23, 25 May and 8 June 1879), Carl Hirsch scathingly criticised the speech made in the Reichstag by Max Kayser, who supported the government plan to introduce protective customs tariffs (see Note 502).—388, 397, 414, 418

520 An ironic allusion to what Napoleon III said on 26 August 1867 in Lille: 'For 14 years many of my hopes have been fulfilled and great success has been attained, but our horizon has also been darkened by black clouds.'—389

521 The *Treaty of Paris* concluded the Crimean War (1853-56). It was signed by representatives of Austria, Britain, France, Prussia, Sardinia and Turkey, on the one hand, and of Russia, on the other, at the Congress of Paris on 30 March 1856. Under the treaty, Russia, which lost the war, ceded the Danube delta and part of southern Bessarabia, renounced its protectorate over the Danubian Principalities and agreed to the neutralisation of the Black Sea (involving the closure of the Straits to foreign warships and a ban on Russia and Turkey maintaining navies and naval arsenals on the Black Sea). By skilfully exploiting the differences betweeen Britain and France, the Russian diplomats at the congress succeeded in obtaining peace on mitigated terms.—389

522 The 12th annual British Trades Union Congress took place in Edinburgh between 15 and 20 September 1879.—391

523 This letter was probably written on 12 September, Friday, as a reply to Engels' letter of 11 September 1879 (14 September was a Sunday).—392

524 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in the magazine *International Press Correspondence,* No. 39, Berlin, 1931; minus the introduction (address to August Bebel), the letter was published in English in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934. It appears in full in the present edition, Vol. 24.—394

525 This letter, intended by Marx and Engels for '*private circulation* among the German leaders' (see this volume, p. 414), is a major document of their struggle against reformism and for the revolutionary programme of the Social-Democratic party.

The draft was written by Engels in mid-September 1879, discussed with Marx on 17 September, and despatched with their signatures.

The italics in the letters of the third parties quoted by Engels are his own.—394

526 Carl Hirsch received Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter of 28 July 1879, of which he informed Marx on 2 August.—395

527 The Leipzig controlling committee comprised August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche, Karl Grillenberger and Ignaz Auer. Misled by Carl Hirsch's information, Marx and Engels believed that one of the members was Louis Viereck, not Fritzsche.—395

528 Hirsch and Höchberg met in Paris on 15 and 16 August 1879.—397

529 An ironic reference to the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 55). The *Freiheit* was the Society's printed organ (see also p. 360).—398

530 Hirsch received the information from Höchberg when they met in Paris in August 1879, and passed it on to Engels in a letter of 23 August.—398

531 Bismarck's plan to introduce Imperial administration over all German railways was discussed at the Gotha Congress of the Social-Democrats in August 1876. The congress approved the transfer of private railways to the state but noted that their takeover by the Imperial government would promote the interests of the bourgeoisie and militarist quarters (see *Protokoll des Socialisten-Congresses zu Gotha vom 19. bis 23. August 1876,* Berlin, 1876, S. 89).—400

532 Barricade fighting in Berlin on 18 March 1848 marked the beginning of the 1848-49 revolution in Germany.—404

533 An ironic allusion to the fact that Johann Miquel, a right-wing National Liberal leader (see Note 540), was founder and member of various joint-stock companies. As a young man, he was a member of the Communist League.—405

534 This note is written on a postcard addressed to: 'Carl Hirsch, Esq., 12 Fitzroy Street, Fitzroy Square, W.'—409

535 In his letter to Marx of 30 August (11 September) 1879, Danielson wrote about the publication of the first part of Maxim Kovalevsky's 'very interesting work' *Communal Landownership and the Causes, Course and Consequences of Its Disintegration* and offered to send a copy to Marx if he had not yet received one from the author. Marx began a study of the work in October, making detailed notes on the nature of the commune and its place and socio-economic role in different epochs and among different nations.—409

536 This letter was written on the back of Maltman Barry's letter to Engels of 8 October 1879. On Marx's advice, Barry requested Engels to give his comments on Carl Blind's article 'Prince Napoleon and European Democracy' printed by *Fraser's Magazine,* No. 118, October 1879. Nothing further is known about this matter.—415

537 A rough draft of this letter is extant which essentially coincides with the letter published in this volume. The passages crossed out in the draft, as well as additions contained in it, are given in the footnotes.—416

538 August Bebel's letter to Engels of 23 October 1879 (see notes 541, 543 and 544) and that of Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche and Wilhelm Liebknecht of 21 October enclosed with it, were a reply to Marx's and Engels' Circular Letter to the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party (see this volume, pp. 394-408).

Fritzsche and Liebknecht considered Marx's and Engels' criticism of their conciliatory attitude to the reformist policies advocated by Karl Höchberg, Carl August Schramm and Eduard Bernstein to be unwarranted.—416

539 Engels is referring to the smuggling into Germany of the Social-Democratic newspapers *Die Laterne* and *Der Sozialdemokrat* printed abroad after the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 462).—417

540 *National Liberals*—the party of German (mostly Prussian) bourgeoisie formed in the autumn of 1866 after the split in the Party of Progress (see Note 312). The policies it pursued showed that a significant part of the liberal bourgeoisie had given up the claim to expanding its sphere of influence and capitulated to the Bismarck government. After the unification of Germany in 1871 the National Liberal Party acquired its final shape as a party of the big bourgeoisie, above all industrial tycoons.—417

541 August Bebel tried to justify the tactics of the Social-Democratic deputies in the debate of protective tariffs in the Reichstag (see Note 502) by referring to the resolution passed by the party congresses in 1876 and 1877. It stated that the issue had no major significance for the party and that, this being so, party members are allowed to act as they saw fit.—418

542 A reference to the 'Rechenschaftsbericht der sozialdemokratischen Mitglieder des deutschen Reichstages' signed by Bebel, Bracke, Fritzsche, Kayser, Liebknecht, and other deputies and carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat,* Nos. 2-4, 12, 19 and 26 October 1879.—419, 424

543 August Bebel wrote to Engels about Karl Höchberg's selfless financial assistance to the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.—420

544 August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche and other Social-Democratic leaders insisted that they had had nothing to do with the article by Karl Höchberg, Eduard Bernstein and Carl August Schramm, 'Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland' (see Note 513).—422

545 After a fierce clash between the revolutionary delegates headed by Jules Guesde and the reformist wing, the third French workers' congress (Marseilles, October 1879) resolved to form an independent workers' party in France.—422

546 On 18 November 1879, August Bebel wrote to Engels that the reference in Ignaz Auer's article, marked 'Von der Niederelbe, 23. Oktober' and printed anonymously by *Der Sozialdemokrat,* No. 5, 2 November 1879 (see also this

volume, pp. 420-21), was to Most, not to Engels. The explanation was that, at the time, Auer had not yet familiarised himself with Marx's and Engels' Circular Letter to the German Social-Democratic leaders.

On 11 December, Bebel informed Engels that he had received a letter from Auer who assured him that he had meant Most and Erhardt, not Engels.—423, 429

547 Engels probably did not read the review of Rudolph Meyer's *Politische Gründer und die Corruption in Deutschland* published by the *Vorwärts*, No. 27, 4 March 1877.—424

548 The editorial 'Zur Eröffnung des sächsischen Landtages', printed in *Der Sozialdemokrat* on 16 November 1879, stated that the three Social-Democrats elected to the Saxon Landtag (Wilhelm Liebknecht, Otto Freytag and Ludwig Puttrich) had taken the oath of allegiance to King William I. This legal procedure enabled them to perform their duties as deputies.

Reporting this on 22 November 1879 in the 'Socialpolitische Rundschau' column, the *Freiheit* edited by Most sharply criticised the behaviour of the Social-Democratic deputies.—425, 430

549 The *Thirty Years' War* (1618-48)—a European war in which the Pope, the Spanish and the Austrian Habsburgs and the German Catholic princes rallied under the banner of Catholicism against the Protestant countries. The rulers of Catholic France—rivals of the Habsburgs—supported the Protestant camp.—425

550 On 23 November, *Der Sozialdemokrat* carried August Bebel's review of Bernhard Becker's *Geschichte und Theorie der Pariser revolutionären Kommune des Jahres 1871*. The book, written by 'a drunkard and wastrel', as he put it, was 'libel against socialists and the Commune'.—425

551 The addressee of this note is not quite certain. The note is to be found in the autograph album belonging to the French revolutionary Gustave Brocher who resided in London from 1876. A facsimile of the note is included in the book *Letter to G. P. Brocher. The Last Communard of 1871. Les Anciennes. P. Kropotkin, P. L. Lavrov* (published in Russian in Paris in 1924) and is supplied with a caption that reads: 'A genuine letter by Karl Marx addressed to Professor Brocher in 1879 in English. The author of the letter asks Brocher to dinner.' These facts give reasons to believe that Marx's unknown correspondent was Gustave Brocher.

There is, however, another hypothesis. In April 1883, Brocher requested Engels to send him Marx's autograph and wrote again on 2 July to thank him for it. Marx's note to the unknown correspondent could have been this autograph.—427

552 The original of this letter as well as Marx's letter to Charles Walstone of 26 January 1880 (see present edition, Vol. 46) are kept in Lord Walstone's family archive. In 1968 he passed on their photocopies to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU, Moscow. According to Lord Walstone, the addressee was his father, the British archaeologist Charles Walstone, who at that time had his father's family name, Waldstein.

Marx must have met Lord Walstone's father during a lecture at the British Museum.—427

553 Engels is answering Thomas Allsop's letter of 12 December 1879, in which the latter asked for Engels' opinion of the article from *The Pall Mall Gazette* enclosed in the letter. Allsop did not mention the title of the article or the date of the

paper, so it can only be conjectured that this was one of the four articles dealing with the crisis of the autocracy in Russia printed on 4, 9, 10 and 12 December by *The Pall Mall Gazette*: 'The Czar and His People', 'Kill or Cure for Russian Despotism', 'What Next in Russia' and 'The Collapse of Authority in Russia'.—428

554 At the Reichstag elections of 30 July 1878, 437,158 votes were cast for the Social-Democrats throughout the country, including 6,253 in Magdeburg. Wilhelm Bracke became a Social-Democratic deputy.

An additional election to the Reichstag was held in Magdeburg not on Thursday, as Engels states, but on Wednesday, 10 December 1879. It was conducted against the background of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 462), but the Social-Democrats managed to get their deputy Louis Viereck, who had won over 4,000 votes out of the total of more than 14,000, take part in the second ballot. The Social-Democrats' influence was clearly growing.—428, 431

555 Engels quotes from 'Preßgeschichtliche Rückblicke' published in *Der Sozialdemokrat* on 7 December 1879 with minor changes.—429

556 August Bebel wrote to Engels on 11 December 1879: 'Specifically on the issue of the oath, I hold a different opinion. I, too, believed that the oath had to be taken; if one refused to take it, then one needn't have participated in the elections. But I should like it ... to be stated that we regard the oath only as a formality that has to be observed because without it no access to the chamber and no use of the mandate are possible. The oath does not shake our socialist republican convictions'.—431

557 *Wailers* (Heuler)—the name which the republican democrats in Germany applied in 1848-49 to the moderate constitutionals, who, in turn, called their opponents 'agitators' (Wühler).—431

558 In his letter of 16 December 1879, Johann Philipp Becker wrote to Engels that he had been invited by Karl Höchberg, Eduard Bernstein and Wilhelm Liebknecht to contribute to the *Sozialdemokrat*.—433

559 In a letter to Engels of 16 December 1879, Johann Philipp Becker raved against the activities of the anarchists in Geneva.—434

560 *Constitutionals*—representatives of the liberal opposition movement advocating moderate constitutional reform in Russia.—434

561 The rough draft of this letter was written on the spare page of one Amelie Engel's letter to Engels, in which she asked for financial assistance. Nothing further is known about Engels' letter.—434

562 These summaries of Marx's letters to Hirsch were made by the French police and kept in Hirsch's file in the Paris Police Prefecture's archive.

Marx's original letters were confiscated during Hirsch's arrest on 6 September 1878. The *Vorwärts*, No. 111 of 20 September (Supplement), reported this in the correspondence from Paris of 9 September.—439

563 In his letter of 13 April 1876, Henri Oriol wrote that his request for a review of the French edition of the first volume of *Capital* 'was purely personal' and connected with his wish to help with republican propaganda.—439

564 Marx labels Alexander II a child murderer because of the harsh sentence given in St Petersburg in March 1877 to 47 young people aged between 18 and 23, members of one of the Narodnik (Populist) organisations ('the trial of 50').

They were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, deportation to Siberia and hard labour. The trial attracted close public attention both in Russia and abroad.—440

565 Jenny Marx's article was published anonymously in the morning issue of the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt* on 21 November 1875 under the heading 'Aus der Londoner Theaterwelt'. It was the first in the series of her articles dealing with English theatre and cultural life, and was devoted to Henry Irving, the best Shakespearian actor of the time. Until May 1877, Jenny Marx wrote four more articles for the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.—441

566 Carl Hirsch was the Paris correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*.—441

567 The phrase 'La garde meurt et ne se rend pas!' (The guard dies, it does not surrender) is ascribed to the French general Cambronne, Brigade Commander of the Old Guard in the Battle of Waterloo on 18 June 1815. It was a reply to the British envoy's demand to surrender. After Cambronne's death, these words were engraved on a monument to him in Nantes.—443

568 A reference to the first French edition of Volume One of *Capital* which appeared in instalments between 1872 and 1875. The last instalments published, they were sewn and sold as a book.

The exchange of separate instalments for the sewn copies was done for Marx by Henri Oriol. Having failed to obtain permission for the exchange from Adolphe Quêst (see Note 38), he purchased the missing instalments, sew them and sent over 40 copies of *Capital* to Marx after December 1876.—445

569 Jenny Marx expresses her commiseration to Sorge upon the death of his daughter Clothilde in February 1873 and his 14-year-old son Max in October 1874.—446

570 Prosper Lissagaray's *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* was published in 1886 in Eleanor Marx's translation.—447

571 Having taken permanent residence in France in 1868, Lafargue gave up his medical career and devoted himself to journalism and politics.—448

572 This is Jules Guesde's reply to Marx's non-extant letter of early 1879.

An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in *Science & Society. A Marxian Quarterly*, Vol. IV, No. 1, New York, 1940.

This is the first time the letter has been published at such length in English.—450

573 Having emigrated to Switzerland in the summer of 1871, Jules Guesde sided with the anarchists and supported their campaign against the General Council of the International.—450

574 In April 1877, a small group of anarchists led by Carlo Cafiero and Enrice Malatesta tried to stage a revolt in the Italian province of Benevento, which ended in a fiasco. In June 1877, Jules Guesde sharply denounced the adventurist actions of Cafiero and other Bakuninists.—451

575 Jules Guesde arrived in London in May 1880 to discuss the programme of the French Workers' Party with Marx, Engels and Lafargue. They met at Engels' flat, where Marx dictated the preamble to the programme (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 340).

The practical part of the programme was drafted by Guesde with Lafargue's assistance, and Marx and Engels introduced a number of more precise definitions.—451

576 The present extract was written down by the Russian historian Nikolai Kareyev on the basis of Maxim Kovalevsky's oral translation from English into Russian and published by Kareyev in the *Byloye* (The Past) magazine, No. 20, 1922 in the article 'Karl Marx's Letter to M. M. Kovalevsky on the Physiocrats'.

The letter was published in English for the first time in *The Letters of Karl Marx,* selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction b Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood, Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.–452

577 A reference to Nikolai Kareyev's book *The Peasants and the Peasant Question in France in the Last Quarter of the 18th Century,* a copy of which was sent to Marx by Maxim Kovalevsky with the author's permission. As follows from Kareyev's article (see Note 576), Marx thanked Kovalevsky for the book in the opening (non-extant) part of the letter.—452

578 See K. Marx, *The Economic Manuscript of 1861-63* [John Gray. Polemics against the Landed Aristocracy from the Physiocrats' Viewpoint] (present edition, Vol. 34).—452

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*Abdul Aziz* (1830-1876)—Sultan of Turkey (1861-76); deposed on 30 May 1876 and assassinated on 4 June.—120, 123

*Abdul Hamid II* (1842-1918)—Sultan of Turkey (1876-1909).—250, 280, 296

*Abdul Kader Bey*—Turkish statesman, supreme judge of Constantinople and Anatolia; representative at the Russo-Turkish peace negotiations in Adrianople (1829).—302

*Abdul Kerim Pasha* (1807-1885)—Turkish military leader, Generalissimo (from 1876); commander-in-chief of the Turkish army at the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, was removed in 1877.—228, 250, 255, 260

*Abeele, Henri van den* (b. 1847)—Belgian merchant, anarchist; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); expelled from the International by the General Council's decision of 30 May 1873.—156

*Aberdeen, George Hamilton Gordon, Earl of* (1784-1860)—British Tory statesman; leader of the Peelites from 1850; Foreign Secretary (1828-30, 1841-46) and Prime Minister of the Coalition Ministry (1852-55).—301, 303

*Acollas, Émile* (1826-1891)—French lawyer and politician, socialist radical.—259

*Acton*—lawyer in Manchester.—20

*Adcock*—one of Marx's witnesses when he applied for British naturalisation in 1874.—28

*Agoult, Marie Catherine Sophie de Flavigny, comtesse d'* (pseudonym *Daniel Stern*) (1805-1876)—French writer.—143

*Alexander II* (1818-1881)—Emperor of Russia (1855-81).—18, 22, 140, 156, 169-70, 191, 233, 234, 278, 299, 303, 384, 440

*Alexander Alexandrovich* (1845-1894)—heir to the throne, later Emperor Alexander III of Russia (1881-94).—278

*Allen, George*—English physician, Marx's family doctor.—294, 356

*Allman, George James* (1812-1898)—English biologist.—116, 377

*Allsop*—Thomas Allsop's wife.—159, 160

*Allsop, Thomas* (1795-1880)—English democrat, former Chartist; collaborated with Marx in helping the refugees of the Paris Commune; friend of Marx's family and Engels.—159, 160, 213, 221-22, 263, 292-93, 298-99, 307-08, 428-29

*Anderson, Elisabeth* (née *Garrett*) (1836-1917)—an English author, the first woman to qualify as a medical doctor in England.—29, 31

*Andrássy, Julius* (*Gyula*), *Count* (1823-1890)—Hungarian statesman, championed the interests of the nobility; Prime Minister of Hungary (from 1867), Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary (1871-79).—155

*Arnim, Harry, Count von* (1824-1881)—German diplomat, envoy (1871) and Ambassador (1872-74) to Paris; opposed Bismarck; condemned for appropriating diplomatic papers (1874); emigrated to Nice to evade punishment.—16, 121

*Arnoldt, Hermann*—German merchant in Königsberg, Social-Democrat.—335

*Arnould, Arthur* (1833-1895)—French novelist and journalist, follower of Proudhon; member of the Paris Commune; after the Commune was suppressed emigrated to Switzerland where contributed to anarchist newspapers.—157, 440

*Auer, Ignaz* (1846-1907)—German saddler, Social-Democrat, a leader of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party; deputy to the Reichstag several times.—69, 96, 98, 398, 420, 421, 423, 429

*Auerbach, Berthold* (1812-1882)—German writer of stories idealising the small peasantry; later an apologist of Bismarck.—137

*Augusti, Berta* (née *Schoeler*) (1827-1886)—German authoress, Marx's acquaintance.—416

*Avrial, Augustin Germain* (1840-1904)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; mechanical engineer; Left Proudhonist; member of the Federal Council of the Paris sections of the International (1870); member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to England.—42

B

*Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich* (1814-1876)—Russian democrat, journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; an ideologist of Narodism (Populism) and anarchism; opposed Marxism in the International; was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress (1872) for his splitting activities.—41, 59, 64, 69, 85, 132, 207, 351

*Balzac, Honoré de* (1799-1850)—French realist novelist.—324

*Bamberger, Ludwig* (1823-1899)—German journalist, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; later emigrated to Switzerland, England, Holland, in the 1850s—to France; later National Liberal, deputy to the Reichstag (1871-93).—322, 324, 335

*Bancroft, Hubert Howe* (1832-1918)—American historian.—261

*Barry, Maltman* (1842-1909)—English journalist, member of the International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), member of the General Council (1871-72) and the British Federal Council (1872-74); supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against Bakuninists and reformist leaders; after the International continued to take part in the English socialist movement; contributed to *The Standard* as well as to other newspapers.—10, 92, 206, 209, 261, 266-67, 270, 277, 327-28, 331, 336-42, 352, 415

*Bastelica, André Augustin* (1845-1884)—prominent figure in the French and Spanish working-class movement; printer; member of the International, Bakuninist, member of the General Council of the International (1871), delegate to the London Conference of 1871.—42, 156, 184

*Bastiat, Frédéric* (1801-1850)—French economist and politician.—153, 346

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*Bayer, Karl Robert von* (pseudonym *Robert Byr*) (1835-1902)—German novelist.—107

*Bazaine, François Achille* (1811-1888)—marshal of France, commanded a French corps in Mexico (1863-67); during the Franco-Prussian war commanded the Army of the Rhine; capitulated at Metz on 27 October 1870.—35, 251

*Beaconsfield, Earl of*—see *Disraeli, Benjamin*

*Beaumarchais, Pierre Augustin Caron de* (1732-1799)—French dramatist.—324

*Beaumont de*—MacMahon's sister-in-law.—246, 440

*Bebel, August* (1840-1913)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, turner; member of the International; deputy to the North German (1867-70) and the German Reichstag (1871-81 and from 1883); a founder and leader of German Social-Democracy, championed the Paris Commune; friend and associate of Marx and Engels; leader of the Second International.—7, 60, 65, 66, 69, 85, 96, 97, 99-101, 157, 227, 322, 324, 326, 328, 366-68, 375, 378, 386-87, 393-94, 397, 408, 412-13, 416, 417, 419, 420-26, 429-32

*Becker, Bernhard* (1826-1891)—German journalist and historian; follower of Lassalle; President of the General Association of German Workers (1864-65); member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from 1870); delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—30, 70, 95, 98, 120, 151, 152, 166, 266, 269

*Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886)—prominent figure in the international working-class movement; brushmaker; took part in the German and Swiss revolutionary democratic movement in the 1830s and 1840s and in the 1848-49 revolution, commanded the Baden people's army during the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; active member of the International, delegate to all its congresses and to the London Conference (1865); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—5, 173-75, 183, 200, 214, 215, 293, 348-49, 350, 364, 383-85, 392, 410, 415, 432-34, 442-44

*Beckx, Pierre Jean* (1795-1887)—Belgian clergyman, General of the Society of Jesus (1853-84).—289

*Beesly, Edward Spencer* (1831-1915)—British historian and radical politician; positivist philosopher; chaired at the Inaugural Meeting of the International on 28 September 1864 in London; supported the International and the Paris Commune in 1870-71.—213

*Behr, B.*—German publisher.—100

*Beifuß*—treasurer of a US section of the International.—29

*Berg, Fyodor Fyodorovich, Count* (*Berg, Friedrich Wilhelm Rembert*) (1793-1874)—Russian field-marshal, Governor General of Finland (1855-63), Viceroy of the Kingdom of Poland (1863-73).—169

*Bernstein, Aaron* (pseudonym *A. Rebenstein*) (1812-1884)—German publicist, democrat, founder (1853) and editor of the *Volks-Zeitung*; Eduard Bernstein's uncle.—411

*Bernstein, Eduard* (1850-1932)—German Social-Democrat, publicist, editor of *Der Sozialdemokrat* (1881-90); came out with open revision of Marxism after Engels' death.—360-63, 366, 367, 373-75, 381, 386, 393, 395, 397-99, 401, 402, 404, 406, 408, 411-13, 417, 422, 429

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*Beust, Friedrich Ferdinand, Count von* (1809-1886)—Saxon and Austrian

statesman, champion of independence of lesser German states; Foreign Minister (1866-71) and Chancellor (1867-71) of Austria-Hungary; Ambassador to London (1871-78) and to Paris (1878-82).—168

*Bignami*—Italian police officer, chief of the police in Turin.—198-99

*Bignami, Enrico* (1844-1921)—prominent figure in the Italian democratic and working-class movement, journalist; republican; took part in the Italian national liberation struggle headed by Garibaldi; organised a section of the International in Lodi; editor of *La Plebe* (1868-75, 1875-83); from 1871 on, constantly corresponded with Engels; opposed anarchism.—198, 200, 207, 214

*Biscamp (Biskamp), Elard*—German democrat, journalist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated after the defeat of the revolution; member of the editorial board of *Das Volk*.—312, 317

*Bismarck* (or *Bismarck-Schönhausen*), *Otto, Prince von* (1815-1898)—statesman of Prussia and Germany, Ambassador to St Petersburg (1859-62) and to Paris (1862); Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-71) and Chancellor of the German Empire (1871-90); unified Germany; introduced an Anti-Socialist Law (1878).—3, 16, 30, 35, 65, 100, 121, 127, 129, 137, 155, 156, 223, 278, 297, 303, 308-09, 312, 314, 315, 317, 319, 321, 323, 326-28, 331-32, 334, 338, 340, 349, 351-53, 364, 387, 389, 399, 401, 405, 410, 413-14, 419, 434

*Blanc, Jean Joseph Charles Louis* (1811-1882)—French socialist, historian; in 1848, member of the Provisional Government of the French Republic and Chairman of the Luxembourg Commission; a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees in London from August 1848; deputy to the National Assembly of 1871; opposed the Paris Commune.—25, 440

*Blandini*—police officer in Turin (Italy).—199

*Blank, Karl Emil (Emilius)* (1817-1893)—German merchant in London; was close to socialists in the 1840s-50s; husband of Frederick Engels' sister, Marie.—159, 161, 165, 181

*Blanqui, Louis Auguste* (1805-1881)—French revolutionary; utopian communist, organised several secret societies and plots; active participant in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; leader of the French revolutionary proletarian movement; was imprisoned several times.—81

*Bleichröder, Gerson von* (1822-1893)—German financier, head of a Berlin bank, Bismarck's personal banker.—424

*Blind, Karl* (1826-1907)—German journalist, democrat, took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden in 1848-49; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in London in the 1850s; National Liberal (from the 1860s); chauvinist during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71).—175-77

*Bloche*—French police commissar.—18

*Block, Maurice* (1816-1901)—French statistician and vulgar economist.—194, 204

*Blos, Wilhelm* (1849-1927)—German publicist, member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from 1872); an editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1872-74); deputy to the Reichstag from 1877 to 1918 (with intervals); Minister President of the Württemberg Government (1918-20).—8, 123, 285, 288-89

*Bonaparte, Louis*—see *Napoleon III*

*Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul* (1822-1891)—Napoleon III's cousin, nicknamed Plon-Plon.—341, 342

*Borchardt, Louis* (1820-1883)—German physician, Liberal, Engels' acquaintance in Manchester.—165

*Borkheim, Sigismund Ludwig* (1826-1885)—German publicist, democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; after its defeat emigrated, merchant in London from 1851.—34, 349, 443

*Börnstein* (*Bernstein*)—American merchant.—83, 84

*Boufflers, Stanislas, marquis de* (1738-1815)—French writer.—15

*Bowles, Jessica* (d. 1887)—Thomas Gibson Bowles' wife.—209

*Bowles, Thomas Gibson* (1842-1922)—English publicist and politician, M.P. for King's Lynn; Conservative; founder and publisher of the weekly *Vanity Fair* (1868-88).—209

*Bracke, Wilhelm* (1842-1880)—German Social-Democrat, publisher of socialist literature in Brunswick; a founder (1869) and leader of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers); member of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag (1877-79); opposed Lassalleanism and Bakuninism; supported Marx and Engels.—9, 62, 66, 69-70, 73, 94-96, 97-98, 149-52, 155, 166, 172, 186, 188, 189, 196, 217, 222, 227, 228, 230-32, 236, 237, 247, 262, 265-66, 269-70, 285, 306, 308-10, 332, 394, 408, 422

*Bradlaugh, Charles* (1833-1891)—English journalist and politician, Radical, republican; editor of *The National Reformer* (from 1860).—292, 340-42

*Brassey, Thomas* (1805-1870)—British railway contractor engaged in the building of railways in Europe, America, India and Australia.—277

*Brassey, Thomas, 1st Earl* (1836-1918)—British economist and politician, railway and shipbuilding contractor; Liberal M.P. (1868-85); son of the above.—277

*Bravo.*—132

*Bright, John* (1811-1889)—English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; M.P. (from 1843); held several ministerial posts; leader of the Left wing of the Liberal Party in the 1860s.—156, 158, 299-300, 340, 447

*Brismée, Désiré* (1823-1888)—Belgian printer and publisher, Proudhonist; a founder of the Belgian section of the International (1865), member of the Belgian Federal Council (from 1869), delegate to the Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International and the London Conference (1871); sided with the Bakuninists; later abandoned the anarchists, member of the Executive Commitee of the Belgian Workers' Party.—277

*Broglie, Jacques Victor Albert, duc de* (1821-1901)—French politician, writer and historian; deputy to the National Assembly (1871-75); envoy to London (1871-72), Prime Minister (1873-74 and 1877), monarchist.—193, 233, 235, 246, 251

*Brousse, Paul Louis Marie* (1844-1912)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, physician; took part in the Paris Commune; after the defeat of the Commune lived in Spain until 1880, then in Switzerland where he sided with the anarchists; member of the French Workers' Party (from 1880), a Possibilist leader.—132, 351

*Bucher, Lothar* (1817-1892)—Prussian official and journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; a refugee in London; later National Liberal; champion of Bismarck.—310, 312, 389

*Buchez, Philippe Joseph Benjamin* (1796-1865)—French politician and historian, Christian socialist.—62-63

*Büchner, Ludwig* (1824-1899)—German physiologist and vulgar materialist philosopher.—107

*Bucknam, W. H.*—employee of a New York agency engaged in international postage.—10

*Buffenoir, Hippolyte François Philibert* (1847-1928)—French publicist and writer; contributed to the *Vorwärts*.—295

*Buffet, Louis Joseph* (1818-1898)—French politician and statesman, Liberal and later Conservative; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative assemblies (1848, 1849); Minister of Finances (January-April 1870); deputy to the National Assembly (from 1871); head of government and Home Minister (March 1875-February 1876); later senator.—153

*Bülow, Hans Guido von* (1830-1894)—German pianist and conductor.—143

*Bürgers, Heinrich* (1820-1878)—German journalist, contributor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842-43); member of the Cologne community of the Communist League (1848); an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League (from 1850), later Liberal.—259

*Burke, Edmund* (1729-1797)—British politician and publicist, a Whig leader, M.P.—156

*Burns, Lydia (Lizzy, Lizzie)* (1827-1878)—Irish working woman, Frederick Engels' second wife.—27, 52, 76, 86, 89, 104, 106, 116-18, 121, 124, 134, 137-41, 161, 180, 181, 197-98, 203-05, 207, 215, 216, 238, 240, 244, 248, 250, 263, 268, 271, 274, 275, 283, 315, 319, 320, 324

*Burns, Mary Ellen (Pumps)* (born c. 1860)—niece of the above.—24, 27, 38, 47, 104, 106, 115, 116, 121, 124, 141, 180, 197, 202, 205, 215, 316, 321, 324, 369, 374, 375, 377, 380, 387, 388, 415

*Burt, Thomas* (1837-1922)—English miner, Secretary of the Miners' Union in Northumberland, M.P. (1874-1918), supported the Liberal Party.—300

*Busch, Moritz* (1821-1899)—German publicist, radical, owner of *Die Grenzboten* (1859-66); supported Bismarck's policy.—350

*Butt, Isaac* (1813-1879)—Irish lawyer and politician, Liberal M.P.; defended the Fenian prisoners in state trials in the 1860s; chairman of the Irish Home Rule League in the 1870s (until 1877).—261

*Byr, Robert*—see *Bayer, Karl Robert von*

C

*Cabet, Étienne* (1788-1856)—French lawyer and writer, utopian communist, author of the book *Voyage en Icarie*.—99

*Cafiero, Carlo* (1846-1892)—participant in the Italian working-class movement, lawyer; member of the International; a leader of Italian anarchist organisations (from 1872); abandoned the anarchists in the late 1870s.—85, 132, 199, 365-66

*Calvin, John (Jean Chauvin)* (1509-1564)—Reformer; founder of Calvinism, a Protestant teaching distinguished by its particular intolerance of Catholicism, as well as of other Protestant doctrines.—351

*Cambridge, George William Frederick Charles, Duke of* (1819-1904)—British general, commander-in-chief of the British army (1856-95).—341

*Cambronne, Pierre Jacques Étienne, comte* (1770-1842)—French general, took part in Napoleonic wars, commanded a guardsmen's brigade in the battle of Waterloo (1815).—443

*Cappele*—Catholic priest.—84

*Carey, Henry Charles* (1793-1879)—American economist, advocated harmony of class interests in capitalist society.—153

*Carleton, William* (1794-1869)—Irish novelist.—371

*Carnarvon, Henry Howard Molyneux Herbert, 4th Earl of* (1831-1890)—British Conservative statesman, Secretary of State for the Colonies (1866-67 and 1874-78).—296

*Caro, Jakob* (1836-1904)—German historian, professor at Breslau University (from 1869).—162

*Carol (Karl) I* (1839-1914)—Prince (1866-81) and King (1881-1914) of Romania; nephew of King William I of Prussia.—155, 298

*Castelnau, H.*—French socialist, an editor of *L'Intransigeant*.—203

*Cato, Marcus Porcius, the Elder* (234-149 B.C.)—Roman statesman and writer.—156

*Cavagnari, Uriele*—Italian socialist, intended to publish the first volume of Marx' *Capital* in Italian in 1877.—277

*Cecilia*—see *La Cécilia, Napoléon François Paul Thomas*

*Challemel-Lacour, Paul Armand* (1827-1896)—French publicist and politician; after the coup d'état of 1851 emigrated, returned after the amnesty of 1859; Republican deputy to the National Assembly (from 1872); senator (from 1876), Ambassador to Berne (1879) and to London (1880).—251

*Charles I* (1600-1649)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1625-49), beheaded during the English Revolution.—260

*Charles II* (1630-1685)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1660-85).—260

*Charles X* (1757-1836)—King of France (1824-30); deposed during the July revolution of 1830.—303

*Chaucer, Geoffrey* (1340-1400)—English poet.—449

*Chernyayev, Mikhail Grigoryevich* (1828-1898)—Russian military and public figure, lieutenant-general, took part in the Crimean war (1853-56), commander-in-chief of the Serbian army (1876).—179

*Chernyshev, Ivan Yakovlevich*—Russian socialist, refugee in Switzerland and Germany.—147

*Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich* (1828-1889)—Russian revolutionary democrat, philosopher, writer and literary critic; predecessor of Russian Social-Democrats.—114, 312

*Chicherin (Tschitscherin), Boris Nikolayevich* (1828-1904)—Russian philosopher, historian, writer and public figure; a leader of the liberal Westerners in the Russian social movement; author of works on the history of communal landownership in Russia.—343, 346

*Cluseret, Gustave Paul* (1823-1900)—French politician, general; took part in the US Civil War on the side of the North; member of the International, sided with the Bakuninists; participant in the revolutionary uprisings in Lyons and Marseilles (1870); member of the Paris Commune, military delegate (April 1871); after the defeat of the Commune emigrated to Belgium, later to the USA.—5

*Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865)—English manufacturer, bourgeois radical, a leader of the Free Traders and a founder of the Anti-Corn Law League, M.P.—340

*Cohn, Gustav* (1840-1919)—German economist, professor at Zurich (from 1875) and at Göttingen universities.—386

*Coleman, Patrick John*—Secretary of an Irish section of the International in London.—76

*Collet*—Collet Dobson Collet's son.—206

*Collet, Clara Elizabeth* (1860-1948)—English public figure, author of

works on the statistics of women's labour; labour correspondent of the Board of Trade (from 1893); Collet Dobson Collet's daughter.—206

*Collet, Collet Dobson* (1812-1898)—English radical journalist and public figure, musician, editor and publisher of *The Free Press* (1855-65), organ of Urquhart's followers, editor of *The Diplomatic Review* (1866-77).—167-70, 178, 206, 210, 235, 245

*Collier, Lester.*—11, 13

*Costa, Andrea* (1851-1910)—prominent figure in the Italian working-class and socialist movement, a leader of Italian anarchist organisations in the 1870s; criticised anarchism in 1879; one of the organisers and leaders of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Romagne (1881-91), M.P. (from 1882), member of the Socialist Party of Italy (from 1892).—305

*Cox.*—132

*Crémieux, Isaac Moïse* (called *Adolphe*) (1796-1880)—French lawyer and politician, member of the Provisional Government (February-May 1848), deputy to the Constituent and Legislative assemblies (1848-51), deputy to the National Assembly (1871-75), supported Left Republicans, senator (from 1875).—36

*Cross, Richard Assheton, Viscount* (1823-1914)—British statesman, Conservative, Home Secretary (1874-80, 1885-86).—228

*Cuno, Theodor Friedrich* (1846-1934)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, engineer, socialist, fought anarchism in Italy; organiser of the Milan section of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); emigrated to the USA and took part in the International's activities there; a leader of The Knights of Labor, an American workers' organisation.—200

D

*Damad Mahmud*—see *Mahmud Dschelal ed-din Pasha Damad*

*Dana, Charles Anderson* (1819-1897)—American journalist, Abolitionist, editor-in-chief of the *New-York Daily Tribune* (1849-62), an editor of *The New American Cyclopaedia* (1857-63) and *The New-York Sun* (1868-97).—377

*Danielson, Nikolai Frantsevich* (pen-name *Nikolai—on*) (1844-1918)—Russian economist, publicist, a theoretician of Narodism in the 1880s-90s; correspondent of Marx and Engels for a number of years; translated the three volumes of Marx's *Capital* into Russian (the first volume jointly with Hermann Lopatin and Nikolai Lyubavin).—343-44, 346, 353-55, 358, 409

*Darson, A.*—publisher and bookseller in London.—45

*Darwin, Charles Robert* (1809-1882)—English naturalist, founder of the theory of evolution by natural selection.—91, 106, 107, 124, 179, 313, 316-17

*Davydovsky, Ivan Mikhailovich*—Russian nobleman, Yelizaveta Tomanovskaya's second husband.—36, 185

*Dekhterev, Vladimir Gavrilovich* (1853-1903)—Russian psychiatrist.—147

*Delius, Nikolaus* (1813-1888)—German philologist, expert in Shakespeare's legacy, professor at Bonn University.—191, 273, 446

*Demuth, Frederick* (1851-1929)—Helene Demuth's son, English worker.—200

*Demuth, Helene* (*Lenchen*) (1820-1890)—housemaid and devoted friend of the Marx family.—75, 132, 138-40, 244, 245, 323, 392

*De Paepe, César* (1841-1890)—Belgian socialist, printer, later physician; a founder of the Belgian section of the International (1865), member of the Belgian Federal Council, delegate to the London Conference (1865), Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) congresses, the London Conference (1871) of the International and Ghent International Socialist Congress (1877); a founder of the Belgian Workers' Party (1885).—172, 184, 199, 277

*Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Earl of* (1799-1869)—British statesman, Tory leader; from the 1850s, a leader of the Conservative Party; Prime Minister (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68).—296, 298, 299

*Derossi, Karl* (1844-1910)—German journalist; member (from 1869) and Secretary (1871-75) of the General Association of German Workers, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (1875-78); emigrated to Switzerland in 1879, then to the USA where contributed to the German-language workers' newspapers.—96, 98

*Descartes* (*Cartesius*), *Réné* (1596-1650)—French dualist philosopher, mathematician and naturalist.—50

*Deville, Gabriel Pierre* (1854-1940)—French socialist, propagated Marxism, member of the French Workers' Party, publicist; author of a popular exposition of the first volume of Marx's *Capital*; delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Paris of 1889.—193, 194

*Devonshire, Spencer Compton Cavendish, Duke of, Marquis of Hartington* (1833-1908)—British statesman and politician, Liberal; M. P. (from 1857); the de facto leader of the Liberal Party (1875-80), Secretary of State for War (1882-85).—300

*Dickes*.—11, 13

*Diderot, Denis* (1713-1784)—French philosopher of the Enlightenment, atheist, leader of the Encyclopaedists.—15

*Diebich-Zabalkansky, Ivan Ivanovich* (*Diebitsch, Hans Karl Friedrich Anton*), *Count* (1785-1831)—Russian field marshal-general, commander-in-chief (1829) of the Russian army during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29 and of the troops (from December 1830) which crushed the Polish insurrection of 1830-31.—300-02

*Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and author, Tory leader, later leader of the Conservative Party; Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80).—18, 23, 24, 67, 121, 140, 155, 178, 296, 298, 361

*Dizzy*—see *Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield*

*Dolleschall, Laurenz* (b. 1790)—police officer in Cologne (1819-47); censor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—252

*Dörenberg, E.*—German publicist, contributed to the *Berliner Freie Presse*.—199

*Douai, Karl Daniel Adolph* (1819-1888)—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat, later socialist; French by birth; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA (1852), took part in the American socialist movement; edited a number of socialist newspapers, contributed to the *Vorwärts*.—276-77, 282-84, 318

*Dronke*—Ernst Dronke's second wife.—345, 347

*Dronke, Ernst* (1822-1891)—German writer, 'true socialist'; later member of the Communist League and an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); after the 1848-49 revolution emigrated to Switzerland, then to England; associate of Marx and Engels; subsequently withdrew from

politics.—159, 161, 164-65, 171, 268, 289, 345, 347

*Dufaure, Jules Armand Stanislas* (1798-1881)—French lawyer and statesman, Orleanist, Minister of the Interior (1848, 1849), Minister of Justice (1871-73, 1875-76, 1877-79), Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1876, 1877-79).—293

*Dühring, Eugen Karl* (1833-1921)—German philosopher, economist, lawyer, petty-bourgeois socialist, lecturer at Berlin University (1863-77).—118-20, 122-24, 131, 139-40, 154, 162, 174, 186, 205, 206, 208, 218, 227, 236, 242, 245, 246, 247, 249, 251-56, 258, 260, 276, 283, 295, 306, 309, 312, 316, 361, 420

*Dupont, Eugéne* (c. 1837 (1831?)-1881)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; musical instrument-maker; took part in the June 1848 uprising in Paris; from 1862 on, lived in London; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872), Corresponding Secretary for France (1865-71); took part in the London Conference (1865), Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867) (Chairman), Brussels (1868), and the Hague (1872) congresses, and the London Conference (1871); organiser of sections of the International in Manchester (from 1870); member of the British Federal Council (1872-73); moved to the USA in 1874; associate of Marx and Engels.—77

*Duval, Théodore*—prominent figure in the Swiss working-class movement, joiner; a founder of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; in early 1870 left the Bakuninists; member of the Romance Federal Council of the International; delegate to the Hague (1872) and Geneva (1873) congresses of the International.—4

E

*Eccarius, Johann Georg* (1818-1889)—German tailor and journalist, prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, member of the League of the Just and later of the Communist League, a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-72), General Secretary of the Council (1867-71), Corresponding Secretary for America (1870-72), delegate to all congresses and conferences of the International; supported Marx and Engles up to the Hague Congress (1872); participant in the British trade union movement in the 1870s and 1880s.—49, 92, 183, 277, 340, 448

*Ecker, Karl*—German engineer, factory inspector in Hanover.—281

*Ehrhart, Franz Joseph* (1853-1908)—German Social-Democrat, upholsterer; refugee in England; supporter of Johann Most; Secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (1878-first half of 1879); deputy to the German Reichstag (1898-1908).—315, 337

*Eichhoff, Karl Wilhelm* (1833-1895)—German socialist and journalist, refugee in London (1861-66); member of the International (from 1868) and one of its first historians; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (from 1869); edited a number of legal workers' papers in the 1880s.—121

*Engel, Amélie.*—434-35

*Engels, Emma* (née *Croon*) (1834-1916)—Hermann Engels' wife.—280

*Engels, Hermann* (1822-1905)—Frederick Engels' brother, manufacturer in Barmen, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen.—19, 106, 160, 181-83, 187-88, 279-80, 281-82

*Engels, Hermann Friedrich Theodor* (1858-1926)—Hermann Engels' son, student of Berlin University (1876-77), later manufacturer, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm.—187

*Engels, Mathilde* (née *Remkes*) (1831-1905)—Rudolf Engels' wife.—68, 106

*Engels, Paul* (1857-1883)—Rudolf Engels' son, merchant, later army officer.—105

*Engels, Rudolf* (1831-1903)—Frederick Engels' brother, manufacturer in Barmen, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen (from 1861).—19, 66-68, 105-06, 320

*Engels, Rudolf Moritz* (1858-1893)—Rudolf Engels' son, student of Leipzig University (1876-78), later manufacturer, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm.—187

*Epicurus* (c. 341-c. 270 B.C.)—Greek materialist philosopher, atheist.—50

*Ermen*—Heinrich Ermen's wife.—68

*Ermen, Franz*—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels; Peter Ermen's son.—67, 68

*Ermen, Franz jr.*—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels, Franz Ermen's son.—67

*Ermen, Gottfried* (*Godfrey*) *Jakob* (1811-1899)—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels; Peter Ermen's brother.—19-20, 67-68

*Ermen, Heinrich*—a partner of Gottfried Ermen in Bridgewater Mill, Pendlebury; Peter Ermen's son.—67-68

*Ermen, Peter* (1802-1889)—a founder (1837) and partner of the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—67, 68

*Esselen, Christian* (1823-1859)—German author, democrat, headed the Workers' Association in Frankfurt in 1848; emigrated to Switzerland, later to the USA.—214

*Étienne, Charles Guillaume* (1777-1845)—French journalist and dramatist.—389

*Eugénie Marie Ignace Augustine de Montijo de Guzmán, comtesse de Teba* (1826-1920)—Empress of France (1852-70), Napoleon III's wife.—341

*Eulenburg, Botho Wend August, Count of* (1831-1912)—Prussian statesman, Conservative, Minister of the Interior (1878-81), Prime Minister (1892-94); took part in drawing up the Anti-Socialist Law.—322, 324

*Euripides* (c. 480-c. 406 B.C.)—Greek dramatist.—245

F

*Failly, Pierre Louis Charles Achille de* (1810-1892)—French general, commanded a corps during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71).—251

*Fanelli, Giuseppe* (1826-1877)—prominent figure in the Italian democratic movement, took part in the Italian revolution of 1848-49 and in Garibaldi's campaign of 1860; follower of Mazzini, friend of Bakunin, a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; organiser of sections of the International and groups of the Alliance in Spain (1869); delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) of the International; M. P. (from 1865).—210

*Farga Pellicer, Rafael* (pseudonym *Gomez*) (1840-1903)—Spanish printer and journalist; a founder and leader of anarchist groups and first sections of the International in Spain; one of the leaders of the secret Alliance; editor of *La Federación* (1869-73); delegate to the Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International; expelled from the International by the General Council's decision of 30 May 1873.—42, 49

*Fatouville, Nolant de* (d. 1715)—French playwright.—198

*Favre, Jules Claude Gabriel* (1809-1880)—French lawyer and politician,

leader of the bourgeois republican opposition from the late 1850s; Foreign Minister (1870-71); together with Thiers, headed the struggle against the Paris Commune, inspired struggle against the International.—223, 224, 440

*Fawcett, Henry* (1833-1884)—English economist, M.P. (from 1865), Liberal.—158

*Fleckles, Ferdinand* (1836-1894)—German physician, practised in Karlsbad from 1864 to 1866; editor of *Der Sprudel*; Marx's acquaintance.—37, 89, 136, 145, 147-49, 190-91, 212

*Fleury, Charles* (real name *Carl Friedrich August Krause*) (b. 1824)—merchant in London; Prussian spy and police agent.—54

*Forbes, Archibald* (1838-1900)—Scottish journalist, contributed to *The Morning Advertiser* and *The Daily News*, war correspondent during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 and Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.—140

*Forster, William Edward* (1818-1886)—English manufacturer and politician, Liberal M.P., Secretary of State for Ireland (1880-82).—300

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—262-63

*Francis Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary (1848-1916).—263

*Frankel, Léo* (1844-1896)—prominent figure in the Hungarian and international working-class movement; jeweller; took part in the Paris Commune, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; a founder of the General Workers' Party of Hungary (1880); associate of Marx and Engels.—36, 49, 93, 112, 157-58, 174

*Frederick III* (1831-1888)—Crown Prince of the German Empire (from 1871), King of Prussia and German Emperor (March-June 1888).—315

*Frederick William III* (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—301

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—260, 350

*Freund*—Wilhelm Alexander Freund's wife.—192

*Freund, Wilhelm Alexander* (1833-1918)—German physician, lecturer at Breslau University; friend of Marx's family.—4, 191-92, 439

*Fribourg, Ernest Edourd*—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; engraver, subsequently businessman; Right-wing Proudhonist; a leader of the Paris section of the International; author of *L'Association internationale des travailleurs* which was hostile to the International and the Paris Commune.—80

*Friedberg, Hermann* (1817-1884)—German physician, professor at Breslau University (from 1866).—136

*Fritzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1825-1905)—German cigar-maker; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; a founder and leader of the General Association of German Workers (1863); member of the International, adhered to the Eisenachers in 1869; deputy to the North German (1868-71) and the German Reichstag (1877-81); emigrated to the USA in 1881.—408, 416

*Frohme, Karl Franz Egon* (1850-1933)—German publicist, Social-Democrat, follower of Lassalle in the 1870s, later a leader of the reformist wing of German Social-Democracy; deputy to the German Reichstag (from 1881); delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Paris (1889).—49

*Frossard, Charles Auguste* (1807-1875)—French general, commanded a corps

during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, captured at Metz.—251

*Furnivall, Frederick James* (1825-1910)—English philologist, Christian socialist, founded several literary societies, the New Shakespeare Society among them.—192

G

*Galliffet, Gaston Alexandre Auguste, marquis de* (1830-1909)—French general, captured at Sedan during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71; released in March 1871 to take part in the struggle against the Commune; butcher of the Paris Commune; held several military posts from the 1870s.—246, 440

*Gambetta, Léon Michel* (1838-1882)—French statesman and politician, lawyer, moderate republican; member of the Government of National Defence (1870-71); Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister (1881-82).—25, 239, 246, 251, 295

*Gambuzzi, Carlo* (1837-1902)—Italian lawyer, follower of Mazzini in the early 1860s; later anarchist; a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy and of anarchist organisations in Italy; founded a section of the International in Naples in January 1869.—210

*Gandolfi, Mauro*—Italian merchant, Bakuninist, member of the Milan section of the International.—200

*Gans*—physician in Karlsbad.—82

*Gans*—physician in Prague, son of the above.—52, 87

*Geib, Wilhelm Leopold August* (1842-1879)—German Social-Democrat, bookseller in Hamburg; member of the General Association of German Workers (1863); participant in the Eisenach Congress of 1869; one of the founders of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, its treasurer (1872-78); deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-77).—69, 96, 98, 186, 246, 251, 252, 259, 392

*Geiser, Bruno* (1846-1898)—German Social-Democrat, publicist; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party and of the International (1872); editor of the *Volksstaat* (1875) and the *Neue Welt* (1877-86); deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-87); expelled from the party at the end of the 1880s.—408

*Gigot, Albert* (1835-1913)—French lawyer, liberal, later conservative; Prefect of Paris police (1877-79).—328, 338

*Gillot, Firmin* (1820-1872)—French lithographer, invented zincography.—447

*Girardin, Émile de* (1806-1881)—French publicist and politician; editor of *La Presse*, and *La Liberté*; moderate republican during the 1848-49 revolution; later Bonapartist.—155, 235

*Gladstone, Catherine* (née *Catherine Glynne of Hawarden*) (1807-1874)—William Ewart Gladstone's wife.—168

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory and later Peelite, a leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the 19th century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55, 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—18, 23, 67, 155-56, 158, 167-70, 178, 179, 205, 206, 209, 277, 297, 299, 361

*Glagau, Otto*—German writer and publicist; author of a work on stock-exchange speculation.—304

*Glais-Bizoin, Alexandre Olivier* (1800-1877)—French politician, lawyer, moderate republican; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49), member of the *Corps législatif* (the 1860s), member of the Government of National Defence (1870-71).—36

*Glaser de Willebrord, E.*—participant in the Belgian working-class movement; member of a section of the International in Brussels.—75

*Gnecco, Eudóxio Cesar d'Azedo*—prominent figure in the Portuguese working-class movement, member of the Portuguese section of the International (1871); a founder of the Portuguese Socialist Party, member of its Central Committee (1875); editor of *O Protesto*.—174

*Goegg, Amand* (1820-1897)—German democratic journalist; member of the Baden Provisional Government (1849); emigrated after the revolution; member of the International; joined the German Social-Democrats in the 1870s.—63

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—131, 379

*Golokhvastov, Pavel Dmitrievich* (1839-1892)—Russian historian and publicist.—164

*Golovachov (Golowatscheff), Nikolai Nikitich* (b. 1825)—Russian lieutenant-general, military governor of Turkestan (from 1867).—168, 169

*Gomez*—see *Farga Pellicer, Rafael*

*Gorchakov, Alexander Mikhailovich, Prince* (1798-1883)—Russian statesman and diplomat; Foreign Minister (1856-82) and State Chancellor (1867-82).—123, 162, 389

*Gordon, Sir Robert* (1791-1847)—British diplomat, Ambassador Extraordinary to Constantinople (1828-31) and to Vienna (1841-46).—301-02

*Gore*—English acquaintance of Eleanor Marx.—139

*Gorlov* (Gorloff), *Alexander Pavlovich* (1830-1905)—Russian lieutenant-general, military attaché in the United States of North America (from 1868) and in London (1873-82).—168, 169

*Goschen, George Joachim Goschen, 1st Viscount* (1831-1907)—British statesman and politician, financier; German by birth; Liberal; M.P. from 1863, member of government on more than one occasion, Chancellor of the Exchequer (1887-92); author of works on economics.—300

*Götz, E.*—Engels' acquaintance in Manchester.—165

*Gouppy, A.*—French refugee in Manchester.—77

*Grant, Albert*—German businessman from Mainz.—335

*Greulich, Hermann* (1842-1925)—German bookbinder; emigrated to Zurich in 1865; member of the Zurich section of the International (from 1867); founder and editor of the *Tagwacht* (1869-80); subsequently a founder of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party and leader of its reformist wing.—349

*Grillenberger, Karl* (1848-1897)—German worker, then journalist; publisher of several Social-Democratic newspapers; member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from 1869); sided with its reformist wing; deputy to the German Reichstag (from 1881).—398

*Grimm, Friedrich Melchior, Baron von* (1723-1807)—German diplomat, writer of the Enlightenment; lived in France from 1748, member of the Encyclopaedists' circle; from 1792 was in Russia's diplomatic service; Russian Consul in Gotha, later in Hamburg.—14, 15

*Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl* (1785-1863)—German philologist, author of a historical grammar of the German language and of folklore adaptations; professor at Göttingen and then at Berlin; liberal.—74

*Griset*.—12

*Grün, Karl Theodor Ferdinand* (pen-name *Ernst von der Heide*) (1817-1887)—German journalist, 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s; petty-

bourgeois democrat during the 1848-49 revolution; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing); refugee in Brussels (1850-61), professor at Frankfurt am Main (1862-65) and at Vienna (from 1870).—88

*Grunzig, Julius* (b. 1855)—German Social-Democrat, journalist; deported from Berlin (1883) under the Anti-Socialist Law; emigrated to the USA, contributed to several US workers' papers.—150, 152, 166

*Guesde, Jules (Mathieu Jules Bazile)* (1845-1922)—prominent figure in the French and international socialist movement; founder and editor of *L'Égalité*; a founder of the French Workers' Party (1880) and author of its programme; propagated Marxism in France.—327, 450, 451

*Gugenheim, J.*—German Social-Democrat, Secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (from April 1879).—359-60, 363

*Guillaume, James* (1844-1916)—Swiss teacher, Bakuninist; member of the International, delegate to the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses; a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, edited anarchist papers (1868-78); was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress for his splitting activities.—132, 154, 156, 172, 200, 207, 214, 259, 277, 306, 348, 351

*Guilleminot, Armand Charles, comte de* (1774-1840)—French general and diplomat, took part in the wars of the French Republic and of Napoleonic France; Chief of Staff of the French interventionist army in Spain (1823), Ambassador to Constantinople (1824).—301, 302

*Gumpert, Eduard* (d. 1893)—German physician in Manchester, friend of Marx and Engels.—4, 16, 17, 23, 26, 28, 31, 244, 245, 387

*Gurevich, Grigory Yevseyevich* (1854-d. after 1920)—Russian publicist, socialist, sided with the Narodniks; refugee in Germany (1874-79).—147

*Gurko (Romeiko-Gurko), Iosif Vladimirovich* (1828-1901)—Russian general, took part in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.—272

*Gutzkow, Karl Ferdinand* (1811-1878)—German writer, public figure, liberal, member of the Young Germany literary group.—429

*Guyot*—Lavrov's agent in Paris in the 1870s.—153, 440

H

*Haeckel, Ernst Heinrich* (1834-1919)—German materialist biologist; professor at Jena University (1862-1909).—50, 317

*Hales, John* (b. 1839)—British trade unionist, weaver; member of the Reform League and of the Land and Labour League; member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its Secretary (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); headed the reformist wing of the British Federal Council in 1872; expelled from the International by the General Council's decision of 30 May 1873.—81, 92, 155, 277, 292, 300, 341, 448

*Hansemann, Adolph von* (1826-1903)—German financier, head of the *Disconto-Gesellschaft* banking firm (from 1864); commercial adviser and Consul-General of Austria-Hungary in Berlin.—424

*Hanssen, Georg* (1809-1894)—German economist; author of works on the history of agriculture and agrarian relations.—179

*Harcourt, William George Granville Venables Vernon, Sir* (1827-1904)—British statesman and politician, M.P. (1868-80), Liberal leader (1894-98).—300

*Harney, George Julian* (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the English working-class movement, a leader of the Chartist Left wing; edited several Chartist periodicals; refugee in the USA (1862-88), member of the International; friend of Marx and Engels.—284, 370, 377

*Harney, Mary*—George Julian Harney's wife (from 1856).—370

*Harrison, Frederic* (1831-1923)—English lawyer and historian, radical, positivist, took part in the democratic movement in the 1860s-70s; cooperated with Marx in helping Commune refugees.—11, 12, 179, 193

*Hartington*—see *Devonshire, Spencer Compton Cavendish, Duke of, Marquis of Hartington*

*Hartmann, Eduard von* (1842-1906)—German idealist philosopher; ideologist of Prussian Junkers.—50

*Hartmann, Georg Wilhelm*—German Social-Democrat, member of the General Association of German Workers; one of the two presidents of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (from 1875); deputy to the German Reichstag (1878-81).—96, 98

*Hasenclever, Wilhelm* (1837-1889)—German Social-Democrat, journalist, Lassallean; President of the General Association of German Workers (1871-75); one of the two presidents of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (1875-76); together with Wilhelm Liebknecht edited the *Vorwärts* (1876-78); deputy to the North German and the German Reichstag (1869-71, 1874-78, 1879-88).—6, 7, 43, 60, 65, 96, 98, 247, 249, 408

*Hassan Cheirullah, effendi*—head of the Moslem clergy of the Ottoman Empire (until 1877).—263

*Hasselmann, Wilhelm* (1844-1916)—a leader of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; editor of the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* (1871-75); member of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (from 1875); deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-76, 1878-80); expelled from the party as an anarchist in 1880.—6, 43, 60, 65, 75, 96

*Havas, August* (1814-1889)—co-proprietor of the French news agency, *Havas*.—158

*Hayes, Rutherford Birchard* (1822-1893)—US President (March 1877-March 1881), Republican.—251

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—50

*Heine*—the owner of a banking house founded in Hamburg in 1797 by Solomon Heine (1767-1844).—136

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—288

*Heinzen, Karl Peter* (1809-1880)—German radical journalist; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland, later to England and, in the autumn of 1850, to the USA.—433

*Heller, Hugo*—correspondent of Marx, carried Marx's instructions concerning transportation of material for the General Council of the International; lived in Oxford in 1879.—350

*Hellwald, Friedrich Anton Heller von* (1842-1892)—Austrian ethnographer, geographer and historian.—107

*Helmholtz, Hermann von* (1821-1894)—German physicist and physiologist, professor at Berlin University (from 1871).—78, 124, 236

*Henry IV* (1553-1610)—King of France (1589-1610).—425

*Hepner, Adolf* (1846-1923)—German Social-Democrat, an editor of *Der Volksstaat*; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872), member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; subsequently emigrated to the USA.—123

*Herder, Johann Gottfried von* (1744-1803)—German writer and literary theorist of the Enlightenment; a founder of the *Sturm-und-Drang* trend.—272

*Hess, Moses* (1812-1875)—German radical writer, 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s; member of the Communist League; after its split sided with the Willich-Schapper separatist group; member of the General Association of German Workers; member of the International, took part in the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses.—286, 290

*Hess, Sibylle* (née *Pesch*) (1820-1903)—Moses Hess' wife.—286, 290

*Hirsch, Carl* (1841-1900)—German Social-Democrat, journalist; member of the General Association of German Workers; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party from 1869; after 1872 Paris correspondent of German Social-Democratic newspapers.—92, 96, 149, 193, 203, 245-48, 251-53, 258, 262, 269, 305, 306, 310, 327, 328, 330, 337-40, 366-69, 372-73, 375, 377-81, 386, 387, 390, 392, 401, 409, 412, 414, 417-19, 423, 425, 439-41, 444-45, 449, 450

*Hobbes, Thomas* (1588-1679)—English materialist philosopher.—108, 293

*Höchberg, Karl* (pseudonym *Dr Ludwig Richter*) (1853-1885)—German writer and publisher, social reformist; member of the German Social-Democratic Party (from 1876); published and financed *Die Zukunft* (1877-78) and *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* (1879-81).—252, 253, 258-60, 283, 285, 362, 367-68, 372-73, 375, 378-80, 383, 386-87, 393-94, 396-99, 401-02, 411-13, 417, 420, 422, 429-33, 440

*Hoffmann*.—204

*Hoffmann, Wilhelm*—German worker, refugee in London.—229

*Hohenstaufens*—emperors of the Holy Roman Empire (1138-1254).—303

*Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—278, 303

*Hollinger, Fidelio*—German refugee in London, owner of a print-shop which published *Das Volk*.—175-77

*Howell, George* (1833-1910)—a leader of the British trade unions, mason; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69); Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Congress of Trade Unions (1871-75); Liberal M.P. (1885-95).—179, 300, 335

*Hubbard, Nicolas Gustave* (1828-1888)—French economist, historian and publicist.—263

*Hume, David* (1711-1776)—Scottish philosopher, historian and political economist.—50, 207-08, 452

*Hutten, Ulrich von* (1488-1523)—German poet, Reformer, ideologist and participant in the knights' uprising in 1522-23.—74

*Huxley, Thomas Henry* (1825-1895)—English naturalist, follower of Charles Darwin and populariser of his theory.—50

I

*Idelson, Rozalia Christophorovna* (died c. 1915)—Valerian Nikolayevich Smirnov's wife.—78, 91

*Ignatiyev, Nikolai Pavlovich, Count* (1832-1908)—Russian statesman and diplomat, Ambassador to Turkey (1864-77), Russia's representative at the conclusion of the San Stefano Peace Treaty (1878); Minister of the Interior (1881-82), member of the State Council (from 1877).—120, 210, 216, 280, 296

*Imandt, Peter* (1823-1897)—German teacher, democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League; refugee in Lon-

don from 1852; supported Marx and Engels; member of the International.—92

*Immhof.*—229

*Irving, Sir Henry* (1838-1905)—English producer and actor, played in Shakespeare's tragedies.—441

*Isouard, Nicolas (Nicolo), dit* (1775-1818)—French composer.—389

J

*Jacoby, Johann* (1805-1877)—German radical writer and politician; headed the Left wing in the Prussian National Assembly (1848); joined the Social-Democratic Workers' Party in 1872.—7, 9

*James II Stuart* (1633-1701)—King of England, Scotland and Ireland (1685-88).—260

*Jennychen*—see *Longuet, Jenny*

*Johnny*—see *Longuet, Jean Laurent Frédéric*

*Jolly (Jollymeier, Jollymeyer)*—see *Schorlemmer, Carl*

*Juch, Hermann*—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat, refugee in London; editor of the newspaper *Hermann* (1859-69), founder of the *Londoner Journal* (1878).—315

*Jung, Hermann* (1830-1901)—prominent figure in the Swiss and international working-class movement; watchmaker; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland (November 1864 to 1872); Treasurer of the General Council (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1865), Chairman at the Geneva (1866), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and at the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council (1872); supported Marx before the Hague Congress (September 1872); later joined the reformist wing; at the end of the 1870s left the working-class movement.—5, 6, 43, 92, 277, 341, 448

*Juta, Charles*—son of Marx's sister Louise Juta.—261

*Juta, Henry* (1857-1930)—English lawyer and public figure; son of Marx's sister Louise Juta.—192, 261, 390

*Juta, Johann Carl* (1824-1886)—Dutch bookseller in Cape Town; husband of Marx's sister Louise.—261

*Juta, Karoline*—daughter of Marx's sister Louise Juta.—138, 141

*Juta, Louise Amalia*—daughter of Marx's sister Louise Juta.—369

K

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—50, 123

*Kara Chalil, effendi*—head of the Moslem clergy in the Ottoman Empire (from 1877).—263

*Karcher, Théodore* (1821-1885)—French publicist, republican; after the coup d'état of 1851 emigrated to Belgium, later to England.—341

*Kareyev, Nikolai Ivanovich* (1850-1931)—Russian historian and publicist, liberal, professor at Warsaw and St Petersburg universities (1879-84).—452

*Karl von Hohenzollern*—see *Carol (Karl) I*

*Kaub (Kolb), Karl (Charles)*—German worker; refugee in London and after 1865 in Paris; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1865, 1870-71); delegate to the London Conference (1865).—92, 269, 306, 327, 330, 337, 339-40, 377, 439-41, 445, 450

*Kaufman, Illarion Ignatievich* (1848-1916)—Russian economist, professor at St Petersburg University; author of works on money circulation and credit.—260, 304, 358

*Kaufmann, Konstantin Petrovich von* (1818-1882)—Russian general, first Governor General of Turkestan (1867-82).—168, 169, 170

*Kaufmann, Moritz* (1839-d. after 1914)—English clergyman, author of works on socialist teachings.—432-35

*Kaufmann, S. F.*—member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.—365, 411

*Kautsky, Karl Johann* (1854-1938)—German Social-Democrat, publicist, economist and historian; editor of *Die Neue Zeit* (1883-1917); author of theoretical works on Marxism; abandoned Marxism in the early 1900s.—100

*Kayser, Max* (1853-1888)—German Social-Democrat, deputy to the German Reichstag (1878-87); represented the reformist wing in German Social-Democracy.—373, 388, 397-401, 414, 418, 419, 424

*Kersten, Paul*—German sculptor, Social-Democrat.—49, 110

*Kind, Johann Friedrich* (1768-1843)—German writer.—177

*King, Philip Stephen*—bookseller in London.—220

*Kinkel, Gottfried* (1815-1882)—German poet and democratic publicist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, was sentenced to life imprisonment by Prussian court, in 1850 escaped for England; a leader of petty-bourgeois refugees in London; opposed Marx and Engels.—137

*Kinkel, Marie*—Gottfried Kinkel's daughter.—137

*Kirchmann, Julius Hermann von* (1802-1884)—German lawyer, writer and philosopher, radical; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848, later member of the Party of Progress, deputy to the German Reichstag (1871-76).—54

*Kistemaeckers, Henri*—Belgian writer.—149, 445

*Kitz, Frank* (born c. 1848)—English socialist, member of the Socialist League (from 1885), Secretary of the English section of the Social-Democratic Workers' Club in London.—338

*Knies, Karl* (1821-1898)—German vulgar economist.—252, 255

*Knille, Otto* (1832-1898)—German artist.—47

*Kock, Charles Paul de* (1793-1871)—French novelist and dramatist.—324

*Kokosky, Samuel* (1838-1899)—German publicist, Social-Democrat from 1872, edited several Social-Democratic newspapers; translated into German the pamphlet *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* by Marx and Engels.—166

*Koshelev, Alexander Ivanovich* (1806-1883)—Russian writer and public figure.—100

*Köttgen, Gustav Adolph* (1805-1882)—German artist, poet; took part in the working-class movement in the 1840s; was close to 'true socialists'; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany.—88

*Kovalevsky, Maxim Maximovich* (1851-1916)—Russian sociologist, historian, ethnographer, lawyer; liberal; author of essays on the history of the primitive communal system.—137, 153, 163, 179, 185, 322-23, 329, 344, 376, 381, 386, 388, 409, 452

*Kraus*—Bernhard Kraus' wife.—82

*Kraus, Bernhard* (1828-1887)—Austrian physician; founded and edited the *Allgemeine Wiener medizinische Zeitung* (from 1856).—47, 82, 103-04

*Kropotkin, Pyotr Alexeyevich, Prince* (1842-1921)—Russian revolutionary, theoretician of anarchism, sociologist, geographer and geologist; an émigré (1876-1917).—305

*Kugelmann, Franziska* (1858-c. 1930)—Ludwig Kugelmann's daughter.—3, 17, 21, 31

*Kugelmann, Gertrud* (née *Oppenheim*) (b. 1839)—Ludwig Kugelmann's wife.—3, 17, 21, 31, 46-48, 56, 144

*Kugelmann, Ludwig* (1828-1902)—German physician, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; member of the International; delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International; correspondent of Marx and Engels (1862-74).—3, 4, 17, 19, 21, 31, 32, 37, 38, 40, 46, 47, 82, 125, 162, 280-81

*Kulishova, Anna Moiseyevna* (real name *Rosenstein*) (1854-1925)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik; joined the Bakuninists (1872); refugee in Italy (from 1878); broke off with anarchism; participant in the Italian socialist movement, prominent figure in the Socialist Party of Italy (from 1892); Andrea Costa's wife.—305

*Kurz, Isolde* (1853-1944)—German authoress.—172, 189, 196, 217, 218, 222, 224, 230-32, 266, 285, 288

*Küster*—German army officer; attaché of the Prussian Embassy in Constantinople (1829).—302

*Kyllmann.*—165

L

*Laaf*—German chaplain, Christian socialist, candidate at the by-elections to the German Reichstag in 1877.—195

*La Cécilia, Napoléon François Paul Thomas* (1835-1878)—Italian-born French revolutionary; professor of mathematics; participant in Garibaldi's expedition (1860); member of the Paris section of the International; an editor of *Le Rappel*; general of the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England; maintained friendly relations with Marx and Engels.—36

*Lachâtre (Lachastre), Claude Maurice, baron de* (1814-1900)—French progressive journalist; took part in the Paris Commune; publisher of the first volume of Marx's *Capital* in French.—25-26, 56-57, 75, 113, 153, 193, 223, 227, 439

*Lacroix (Sigismond Julien Adolphe Krzyzanowski, dit Sigismond)* (1845-1907)—Polish-born French journalist; contributor to and editor of a number of periodicals; member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1883).—259

*Lafargue, Laura* (1845-1911)—Marx's second daughter, participant in the French working-class movement; Paul Lafargue's wife (from 1868).—22, 51-52, 118, 121, 131-32, 139, 212, 244, 271, 274, 369, 373-75, 379, 382, 385, 387, 388, 390

*Lafargue, Paul* (1842-1911)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; journalist, author of several works on the theory of Marxism; member of the General Council of the International (from 1866); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); a founder of the French Workers' Party (1880); disciple and associate of Marx and Engels.—28, 52, 75, 118, 130, 132, 139, 244, 271, 274, 374, 375, 379, 382, 385, 387, 388, 390, 447, 448

*La Harpe (Laharpe), Jean François de* (1739-1803)—French poet and critic.—14

*Lahure, Louis Justin* (c. 1850-1878)—Parisian printer; printed the French edition of the first volume of Marx's *Capital*.—16, 57, 79

*Lasker, Eduard* (1829-1884)—German politician, a founder and leader of

the National Liberal Party which he left in 1880; deputy to the German Reichstag (from 1867).—136-37

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German writer and lawyer; took part in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder and first President of the General Association of German Workers (1863-64); an initiator of the opportunist trend in the German working-class movement.—62-63, 65, 97, 100, 118, 288, 334, 402-03

*Laube, Heinrich* (1806-1884)—German writer and dramatist; member of the Young Germany literary group; later theatre director.—429

*Laveleye, Émile Louis Victor, Baron de* (1822-1892)—Belgian historian and economist.—153, 194, 204

*Lavrov, Pyotr Lavrovich* (1823-1900)—Russian sociologist, philosopher, revolutionary journalist, an ideologist of Narodism; member of the International, took part in the Paris Commune; editor of the magazine *Vperyod!* (1873-76) and the newspaper *Vperyod!* (1875-76).—53, 58, 59, 73, 78, 91, 93-94, 106, 109, 111, 113, 117, 126-30, 132, 134, 137, 147, 153, 154, 163-64, 201, 203, 206, 210-11, 213, 216, 217, 220-21, 225, 226, 242, 307, 313, 316-17, 331, 440

*Layard, Sir Austen Henry* (1817-1894)—English archaeologist and politician, Radical, M.P. (1852-69), Liberal (from the 1860s); Ambassador to Madrid (1869-77) and to Constantinople (1877-80).—255

*Leblanc, Albert Marie Félix* (b. 1844)—participant in the French working-class movement, sided with the Bakuninists; engineer; member of the Paris section of the International; took part in the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England.—159, 222, 341

*Leblanc (Le Blanc), F. D.*—refugee in London.—113, 213

*Leeson, E.*—acquaintance of Engels' family in London.—119, 201

*Lefrançais, Gustav Adolphe* (1826-1901)—French revolutionary, Left-wing Proudhonist, teacher; participant in the 1848 revolution; member of the International (from the late 1860s), member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Switzerland and joined anarchists.—259

*Le Moussu, Benjamin* (pseudonym *Constant*) (b. 1846)—participant in the French working-class movement; engraver; member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to London; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for the French-speaking sections in the USA (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against Bakuninists.—11, 29, 44, 448

*Lenchen*—see *Demuth, Helene*

*Lessner, Friedrich* (1825-1910)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; tailor; member of the Communist League from 1847; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; defendant at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); emigrated to London in 1856; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London and of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872); took part in the British socialist movement (the 1880s-90s); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—49, 112, 204-05, 274, 277, 319, 374, 377, 391, 434, 443

*Lever, Charles James* (1806-1872)—Irish-born British novelist.—371

*Levy, Joseph Moses* (1812-1888)—English journalist, a founder and publisher of *The Daily Telegraph* (from 1855).—328, 331

*Lewes, George Henry* (1817-1878)—

English positivist philosopher, physiologist and writer.—179

*Liebig, Justus, Baron von* (1803-1873)—German scientist, agrochemist.—107

*Liebknecht, Natalie* (née *Reh*) (1835-1909)—Wilhelm Liebknecht's second wife (from 1868).—55, 247, 256, 274-75, 336

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League and the International; propagator of the International's ideas in the German working-class movement; deputy to the North German (1867-70) and the German (from 1874) Reichstag; a founder and leader of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party; editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1869-76) and the *Vorwärts* (1876-78, 1890-1900); during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 took an internationalist stand; supported the Paris Commune; delegate to the international socialist congresses in 1877 (Ghent), 1889, 1891 and 1893; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—4, 6, 7, 9, 30, 43, 45, 50, 54, 55, 60, 65, 66, 69-70, 75, 85, 94, 96, 98, 103, 118-23, 125-30, 132, 134, 147, 151, 154-56, 166, 175-76, 184, 186-87, 194, 201, 203, 207, 218-20, 227, 228, 236, 238, 239, 243, 247, 249, 251, 254-60, 274-76, 295, 296, 299, 303, 321, 331, 334, 336, 352-53, 361, 364, 366-67, 372-75, 378, 381, 385, 388, 394-98, 408, 412, 413, 416, 420, 422, 433, 434, 449

*Lieven, Christofor Andreyevich, Count* (1774-1839)—Russian diplomat, envoy to Berlin (1810-12), Ambassador to London (1812-34).—303

*Lindheimer, B.*—German Social-Democrat.—225-26, 229-30

*Lingenau, Johann Karl Ferdinand* (c. 1814-1877)—German-born American socialist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA; he bequeathed his fortune to the German Social-Democratic Party.—279, 392

*Lissagaray, Hippolyte Prosper Olivier* (1838-1901)—French journalist and historian, Left Republican; participant in the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to Belgium and then to England.—36, 149-52, 155, 157, 166, 172, 189, 190, 196, 222, 230-31, 234, 262, 266, 288, 308, 333, 440, 445, 446, 450

*Liszt, Franz* (1811-1886)—Hungarian composer and pianist.—143

*Longuet, Charles* (September 1873-July 1874)—son of Jenny and Charles Longuet, Marx's grandson.—14, 15, 26, 28, 29, 31, 36, 38, 43

*Longuet, Charles Félix César* (1839-1903)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, journalist; Proudhonist; member of the General Council of the International (1866-68, 1871-72); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1866); delegate to the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Hague (1872) congresses and the London Conference (1871); member of the Paris Commune, later joined the Possibilists; member of the Paris Municipal Council in the 1880s and 1890s.—12, 15, 27, 32, 34, 35, 75, 118, 121, 123, 131, 143, 244, 262, 263, 268, 274, 332, 341, 372, 373, 390, 391, 447

*Longuet, Edgar* (1879-1950)—active in the French working-class movement; son of Marx's daughter Jenny and Charles Longuet; physician; member of the Socialist Party.—372, 375, 376, 378, 391, 392

*Longuet, Felicitas*—Charles Longuet's mother.—234

*Longuet, Henry* (*Harry*) (1878-1883)—son of Jenny and Charles Longuet, Marx's grandson.—316, 321

*Longuet, Jean*—Charles Longuet's father.—121

*Longuet, Jean Laurent Frédéric (Johnny)* (1876-1938)—active in the French and international working-class movement; son of Marx's daughter Jenny and Charles Longuet; lawyer; a leader in the French Socialist Party.—121, 123, 143, 235, 271, 318, 320, 322, 324-26, 332, 372, 376, 382, 447

*Longuet, Jenny* (1844-1883)—prominent figure in the international working-class movement; Marx's eldest daughter, Charles Longuet's wife from 1872.—14-15, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32, 34-36, 38-39, 43, 50, 51, 75, 118, 120, 123, 131, 138, 139, 143, 212, 244, 262, 263, 268, 274, 316, 320-22, 324, 325, 332, 333, 371-73, 375-76, 378, 381, 382, 390-92, 447

*Lopatin, Hermann Alexandrovich* (1845-1918)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik, member of the General Council of the International (1870); a translator of the first volume of Marx's *Capital* into Russian; friend of Marx and Engels.—53, 58, 76, 242, 248, 306, 313, 316, 439

*Loria, Achille* (1857-1943)—Italian sociologist and economist, falsifier of Marxism.—426

*Loris-Melikov, Mikhail Tarielovich, Count* (1825-1888)—Russian general and statesman, commander of the Caucasian Corps during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78; Minister of the Interior (1880-81).—240

*Lormier, Marie*—French acquaintance of Marx's family.—75, 234

*Louis Philippe* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—356

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—358

*Louis XV* (1710-1774)—King of France (1715-74).—358

*Louis XVI* (1754-1793)—King of France (1774-92), guillotined during the French Revolution.—260

*Lover, Samuel* (1797-1868)—British writer, Irish by birth.—371

*Lowe, Robert, 1st Viscount Sherbrooke* (1811-1892)—British statesman and journalist; contributor to *The Times*; Whig and later Liberal; M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer (1868-73); Home Secretary (1873-74).—29, 156, 158, 300

*Loyola, St Ignatius of (Inigo Lopez de Loyola)* (1491-1556)—Spanish nobleman, a founder of the Society of Jesus (1534).—199

*Lübeck, Carl*—German journalist, Social-Democrat, emigrated in 1873.—381, 386, 411, 414

*Luther, Martin* (1483-1546)—prominent figure of the Reformation, founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany; ideologist of the German burghers.—74, 191

M

*Macdonald, Alexander* (1821-1881)—one of the reformist leaders of the British trade unions, President of the National Miners' Union (from 1863), M.P. (from 1874); advocated the Liberal Party's policy.—300

*M(a)cDonnel(l), Joseph Patrick* (1847-1906)—prominent figure in the Irish working-class movement; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Ireland (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); emigrated to the USA in 1872 and took part in the working-class movement there.—76

*MacMahon (Mac-Mahon), Marie Edme Patrice Maurice, comte de, duc de Magenta* (1808-1893)—French marshal, senator, Bonapartist; participant in a number of wars of the Second Empire; a butcher of the Paris Commune; President of the Third Republic (1873-79).—23, 24, 35, 233, 235, 246, 251

*Mackenzie, Wallace.*—170

*Magne, Pierre* (1806-1879)—French statesman, Bonapartist, Minister of Finance (1855-60, 1867-69, 1870, 1873-74).—25

*Mahmud II* (1785-1839)—Sultan of Turkey (1808-39).—301

*Mahmud Dschelal ed-din Pasha Damad* (1840-1884)—Turkish statesman, member of the War Council, War Minister several times, demoted and deported (1878); returned in 1880; was exposed as an accomplice in the assassination (in 1876) of the Turkish Sultan Abdul Aziz and sentenced (in 1881) to exile for life.—234, 260, 263, 280, 293, 296-97

*Mahomet*—see *Mohammed*

*Malon, Benoît* (1841-1893)—French socialist, member of the International; delegate to the Geneva Congress (1866); member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Italy and then to Switzerland where he joined the Bakuninists; a leader of the reformist trend in the French Workers' Party and of the Possibilists (from 1882).—157, 214, 259, 431

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, author of a theory of population.—62, 108

*Manning, Charles*—one of Marx's witnesses when he applied for British naturalisation in 1874.—28

*Maret, Henri* (1838-1917)—French radical journalist, writer and politician, editor of *La Marseillaise*; deputy to the National Assembly from 1881.—339-40

*Maria Alexandrovna* (1853-1920)—Grand Duchess, Alexander II's daughter, Duke of Edinburgh's wife from 1874.—14, 18

*Maria Fyodorovna* (1759-1828)—Princess of Württemberg, Empress of Russia, Paul I's wife (from 1776).—14

*Martin, Constant* (1839-1906)—French revolutionary, Blanquist, took part in the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to London, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871).—36

*Marx*—Austrian police official, chief of police in Vienna.—82

*Marx, Eleanor* (*Tussy*) (1855-1898)—Karl Marx's youngest daughter, took part in the British and international working-class movement; married Edward Aveling in 1884; active propagator of Marxism.—26, 34, 37, 39-40, 46, 47, 51, 56, 75, 87, 89, 93, 121, 132, 135, 136, 138-42, 144-46, 148, 190, 191, 212, 222, 226, 244, 245, 268, 269, 289, 291, 321, 323, 324, 329, 333, 369-72, 374, 376-78, 380, 390, 392, 441-42, 444-46, 449, 450

*Marx, Jenny* (née *von Westphalen*) (1814-1881)—Karl Marx's wife.—13-14, 30, 33, 49, 52, 75, 76, 93, 121, 131-32, 138-41, 201, 211, 222, 225, 235, 244, 245, 263, 268, 269, 274, 279, 289, 294, 307, 312, 315, 318-19, 322, 329, 332, 333, 349, 353, 369, 371, 372, 375, 376, 380, 382, 388, 391, 414, 422, 432, 441-48

*Maskelyne, John Nevil* (1839-1917)—English illusionist, organised anti-spiritualist seances.—291

*Matheson*—one of Marx's witnesses when he applied for British naturalisation in 1874.—28

*Mayer, Karl* (1819-1889)—German democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49); after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Switzerland; editor of *Der Beobachter* in Stuttgart in the 1860s.—9, 85, 190

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; leader of the national liberation movement in Italy, head of the Provisional Govern-

ment of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London; fought against the International and the Paris Commune.—81

*Mehemed Ali Pasha* (real name *Karl Detroit*) (1827-1878)—Turkish general; German by birth; commanded a corps in Bosnia (1875-76), commander-in-chief in Bulgaria (1877), recalled in 1878; took part in the Berlin Congress (1878); later commander-in-chief in Albany.—255, 272, 280

*Mehmed Sadek, effendi*—Turkish statesman, Minister of Finance, plenipotentiary at the Russo-Turkish peace negotiations in Adrianople (1829). —302

*Mehring, Franz* (1846-1919)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement, philosopher, historian and journalist; author of several works on the history of Germany and German Social-Democracy and of a biography of Marx; member of the German Social-Democratic Party (from 1891); a regular contributor to *Die Neue Zeit*; one of the leaders and theoreticians of the Left wing of the German Social-Democratic Party.—260, 334

*Meissner, Otto Karl* (1819-1902)—Hamburg publisher, printed Marx's *Capital* and other works by Marx and Engels.—45, 47, 51, 52, 57, 125

*Mercier de la Rivière, Paul Pierre* (1720-1793)—French economist, Physiocrat.—452

*Merriman*—Marx's attorney.—11, 13

*Mesa y Leompart, José* (1840-1904)—participant in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement, printer; an organiser of the International's sections in Spain, member of the Spanish Federal Council (1871-72) and the New Madrid Federation (1872-73), fought anarchism; a founder of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (1879); translated into Spanish a number of works by Marx and Engels; their supporter.—39, 42, 306, 330, 439

*Meshchersky, Vladimir Petrovich, Prince* (1839-1914)—Russian writer and journalist, an ideologist of the reactionary nobility, monarchist.—164

*Metz, Theodor*—an innkeeper in Cologne.—106

*Mevissen, Gustav von* (1815-1899)—German banker and politician, leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; founder of a number of big joint-stock and credit banks and industrial joint-stock companies.—182

*Meyer, Hermann* (1821-1875)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement, socialist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated to the USA in 1852, an organiser of the International's sections in St Louis.—115

*Meyer, Rudolph Hermann* (1839-1899)—German economist and publicist, conservative.—7, 17, 304, 359, 368, 382, 391, 424

*Midhat Ahmed Pasha* (1822-1884)—Turkish statesman, Grand Vizir (1872, 1876-77), succeeded in proclaiming the first Turkish Constitution (23 December 1876); later was condemned and banished to Arabia.—234, 260, 297, 331

*Mikhailovsky, Nikolai Konstantinovich* (1842-1904)—Russian sociologist, journalist and literary critic, ideologist of liberal Narodism; an editor of the *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* (1868-84).—343

*Milyutin, Dmitry Alexeyevich, Count* (1816-1912)—Russian general, War Minister (1861-81).—168, 170

*Mill, John Stuart* (1806-1873)—English economist and philosopher.—58, 346

*Miquel, Johannes von* (1828-1901)—German lawyer, politician and financier; member of the Communist

League; chief burgomaster of Osnabrück (1865-70, 1876-80); a leader of the Right-wing National Liberals (from 1867); deputy to the North German and the German Reichstag.—405

*Mohammed* (*Muhammad, Mahomet*) (c. 570-632)—founder of Islam.—447

*Moleschott, Jakob* (1822-1893)—Dutch physiologist and philosopher; lectured in Germany, Switzerland and Italy.—107

*Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard, Count von* (1800-1891)—Prussian military leader and writer; general, field-marshal (from 1871); chief of the Prussian (1857-71) and the Imperial (1871-88) General Staff.—8, 163, 182, 297, 300

*Montefiore, Leonard* (1853-1879)—English journalist.—329

*Moore, George*—English engraver.—10-13

*Moore, Samuel* (1838-1911)—English lawyer, member of the International, translated into English the first volume of Marx's *Capital* (in collaboration with Edward Aveling) and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; friend of Marx and Engels.—387

*Morel*—French refugee in London.—110

*Morley, John, Viscount Morley of Blackburn* (1838-1923)—British journalist and statesman, Liberal; editor-in-chief of *The Fortnightly Review* (1867-82).—6, 213

*Morley, Samuel* (1809-1886)—British industrialist and politician, Liberal M.P. (1865, 1868-85).—6, 299

*Most, Johann Joseph* (1846-1906)—participant in the German working-class movement, anarchist; bookbinder; deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-78); emigrated to London in 1878; published the newspaper *Die Freiheit* there; expelled from the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany as an anarchist (1880); emigrated to the USA (1882).—118-20, 122, 123, 125, 130, 150, 152, 218, 247, 276, 283, 351, 353, 362, 363, 365, 368, 381, 383, 386, 389, 411, 413, 414, 423, 425, 429, 433

*Mottershead, Thomas G.* (c. 1825-1884)—English weaver; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72), Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); later opposed Marx's and Engels' line in the General Council and the British Federal Council, one of the active members of the latter's reformist wing; expelled from the International by decision of the General Council (1873).—92, 155, 158, 292, 300, 448

*Müffling, Friedrich Ferdinand Karl, Baron* (1775-1851)—Prussian general, then field-marshal general, military writer, took part in the wars against Napoleonic France.—301-02

*Muhtar Ahmed Pasha* (1832-1919)—Turkish general, commander-in-chief of the Turkish troops in Asia Minor during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.—232

*Mülberger, Arthur* (1847-1907)—German physician, journalist; Social-Democrat.—120

*Müllner, Amadeus Gottfried Adolf* (1774-1829)—German poet, dramatist and literary critic.—154

*Mundella, Anthony John* (1825-1897)—British statesman and manufacturer; M.P. from 1868; Vice-President of the Committee of Council for Education (1880-85); held a number of ministerial posts.—299

*Murad V* (1840-1904)—Sultan of Turkey (May-August 1876); nephew of Sultan Abdul Aziz.—120

*Muravyov* (*Muravieff*), *Mikhail Nikolayevich, Count* (1796-1866)—Russian statesman, participant in the campaign against Napoleon in 1812, Governor General of the North-

Western Territory (1863-64).—169, 170

*Mutzelberger*—German Catholic priest in Frankfurt am Main.—84, 85

N

*Nadler, Karl Christian Gottfried* (1809-1849)—German poet.—133

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—14, 68

*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoléon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—Napoleon I's nephew, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—52, 175, 303, 314, 340, 357

*Nassauer*.—84

*Nesselrode, Karl Vasilyevich, Count* (1780-1862)—Russian statesman and diplomat; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1816-56); State Chancellor (from 1845).—303

*Neumann*.—84

*Neustadt an der Hardt*—participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; refugee in England, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.—364

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—164, 301, 302

*Nikolai Nikolayevich* (1831-1891)—Grand Duke, Nicholas I's son; commander-in-chief of the Russian army in the Balkans during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.—241

*Nobiling, Karl Eduard* (1848-1878)—German anarchist; made an attempt on William I's life in 1878.—419, 449, 450

*Noel*—see *Idelson, Rozalia Christophorovna*

*Noel*—see *Smirnov, Valerian Nikolayevich*

*Novikov (Nov(w)ikoff), Yevgeny Petrovich* (1826-1903)—Russian writer and statesman, envoy to Athens (1865), Ambassador to Vienna (1870) and to Constantinople (1879-82).—167

*Novikov (Nov(w)ikoff), Ivan Petrovich*—Russian general, Olga Alexeyevna Novikova's husband.—167

*Novikova (Nov(w)ikoff), Olga Alexeyevna* (née *Kireyeva*) (1840-1925)—Russian journalist, for a long time lived in London.—167-70, 178, 179, 205, 277

O

*O'Clery, Keyes, Count* (1849-1913)—Irish historian and politician, M.P. (1874-80).—210, 221

*O'Connell, Daniel* (1775-1847)—Irish lawyer and politician, leader of the liberal wing of the national liberation movement.—84

*Offenbach, Jacques* (1819-1880)—French composer.—143

*Oppenheim, Max*—Gertrud Kugelmann's brother, lived in Prague.—47, 48, 52, 53, 55-56, 86, 87, 89, 142, 144-45, 146, 147

*Oriol, Henri*—clerk in Lachâtre's publishing house in Paris; owner of the printshop which put out socialist literature (1883-86).—153, 439

*Orlov, Alexei Fyodorovich, Count, Prince* (from 1856) (1786-1861)—Russian military leader, statesman and diplomat; signed the treaties of Adrianople (1829) and Unkiar-Skelessi (1833) with Turkey; headed the Russian delegation to the Paris Congress (1856).—302

*Orsini, Cesare*—Italian refugee; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67); spread the International's ideas in the USA; Felice Orsini's brother.—81

*Orsini, Felice* (1819-1858)—Italian democrat, republican, prominent figure in the struggle for Italy's

national liberation and unification; executed for his attempt on the life of Napoleon III.—81

*Osborne, John*—English trade unionist; plasterer; participant in the Inaugural Meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-67), reformist.—292, 300

*Osman Nuri Pasha* (1832-1900)—Turkish military leader, marshal; participant in the Crimean (1853-56) and Russo-Turkish (1877-78) wars, War Minister (1878-85).—255, 272

*Oswald, Eugen* (1826-1912)—German journalist, democrat; took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden (1848-49); emigrated to London after the defeat of the revolution.—74

*Otto-Walster, August* (1834-1898)—German journalist and writer; member of the General Association of German Workers, Social-Democrat; emigrated to the USA in 1876.—100

*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—English utopian socialist.—99, 262-63, 292, 335

P

*Pahlen, Fyodor Petrovich, Count* (1780-1863)—Russian diplomat, Russia's representative during the conclusion of the Adrianople Peace Treaty (1829); member of the State Council (from 1832).—302

*Panayev*—shareholder of Louis Blanc's newspaper *L'Homme Libre*.—440

*Parnell, Charles Stewart* (1846-1891)—Irish politician and statesman, Liberal, M.P. (from 1875), leader of the Home Rule League (1877-90); President of the Irish Land League (from 1880).—261

*Paul I* (1754-1801)—Emperor of Russia (1796-1801).—14

*Pauli, Ida*—Philipp Viktor Pauli's wife.—104, 115-17, 133, 134, 141-42, 146, 180, 197-98, 215, 216, 316

*Pauli, Philipp Viktor* (1836-d. after 1916)—German chemist, friend of Marx and Engels; headed a chemical plant in Rheinau (1871-80).—104, 105, 115-17, 133, 134, 142, 146, 180, 181, 198, 215, 216, 288, 314, 316

*Perret, Henri*—participant in the Swiss working-class movement, engraver; a leader of the International in Switzerland, Secretary of the Romance Federal Council (1868-73); member of the *Égalité* editorial board; delegate to the Geneva (1866) and Basle (1869) congresses and to the London Conference (1871) of the International; broke with the Bakuninists in 1869; after the Hague Congress (1872) adopted a conciliatory stand.—4-6

*Perrot, Franz*—19th-century German economist and journalist.—304

*Pertev, Reis, effendi* (d. 1837)—Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs (from 1827).—301

*Peter III* (1728-1762)—Emperor of Russia (1761-62).—14

*Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca)* (1304-1374)—Italian poet of the Renaissance.—25

*Petty, Sir William* (1623-1687)—English economist, father of the classical bourgeois political economy.—208, 329, 452

*Petzler, Johann* (d. 1898)—German democrat, teacher of music; refugee in London from the 1850s.—332, 333

*Phaedrus* (c. 15 B.C.-A.D. c. 70)—Roman fabulist.—219

*Pindar* (c. 522-c. 443 B.C.)—Greek poet.—358

*Pindy, Jean Louis* (1840-1917)—French joiner, Proudhonist; member of the International, delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congres-

ses, organiser of the International's section in Brest (1869); took part in the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Switzerland and joined the anarchists.—157

*Pio, Louis Albert François* (1841-1894)—a leader of the Danish working-class and socialist movement, propagated Marx's ideas, an organiser of the International's Danish sections (1871), a founder of the Danish Social-Democratic Party (1876); emigrated to the USA in 1877.—117, 121, 126, 221

*Plater, Wladyslaw* (1806-1889)—Polish politician; took part in the insurrection of 1830-31.—37

*Plon-Plon*—see *Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul*

*Polyakov, Nikolai Petrovich* (c. 1843-1905)—Russian democratic publisher, was close to Narodniks; published the first Russian edition of the first volume of Marx's *Capital* (1872).—57

*Potapov, Alexander Lvovich* (1818-1886)—Russian adjutant general; took part in the Crimean war (1853-56); Chief of Staff of the gendarmes' corps and of the Third Department of the Imperial Chancellory (1861-64); Governor General of the North-Western Territory (from 1868); chief of gendarmes (1874-76).—170

*Potter, George* (1832-1893)—a British trade union leader, carpenter; member of the London Trades Council and a leader of the Amalgamated Union of Building Workers; founder and publisher of *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*.—81

*Powell*—Marx's lawyer.—11, 13

*Premerlani*—policeman in Turin (Italy).—199

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist; founder of anarchism.—64, 80, 92, 99, 433

*Pumps*—see *Burns, Mary Ellen*

*Pyat, Félix* (1810-1889)—French journalist, playwright and politician, democrat; took part in the 1848 revolution; opposed an independent working-class movement; conducted a slander campaign against Marx and the International; deputy to the National Assembly (1871); member of the Paris Commune (1871), after its suppression emigrated to England; returned to France after the amnesty of 1880; member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1888).—440

## Q

*Quesnay, François* (1694-1774)—French economist, founder of the School of Physiocrats; physician by profession.—262, 263, 265, 452

*Quêst, Adolphe*—judicial administrator, manager of Lachâtre's publishing house in Paris.—79, 153, 193-94, 204, 227

*Quételet, Lambert Adolphe Jacques* (1796-1874)—Belgian statistician, mathematician, astronomer and sociologist.—82

*Quinet, Edgar* (1803-1875)—French politician and historian; participant in the 1848 revolution; refugee (1852-70); took part in the bourgeois-pacifist congress of the League of Peace and Freedom in Geneva (1867); deputy to the National Assembly (1871-75).—25

## R

*Ragsky, Ferdinand*—Austrian chemist, professor at Vienna.—88

*Ralston, William Ralston Shedden* (1828-1889)—English writer, author of works on literature and history of Russia.—329

*Ramm, Hermann*—German Social-Democrat, member of the editorial

board of *Der Volksstaat* and *Vorwärts*.—59, 66, 194-95, 238, 326

*Rasch, Gustav* (d. 1878)—German lawyer, democrat, journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; after its defeat a refugee in Switzerland and France; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party from 1873.—175, 177, 239

*Rawlinson, Sir Henry Creswicke* (1810-1895)—English historian, orientalist, army officer in Persia; member of the Council of India (1858-59, 1868-95); M.P. (1858-59, 1865-68); President of the Royal Asiatic Society (1878-81); contributed to many English newspapers.—163

*Razoua, Eugène Angèle* (1830-1878)—French journalist, Republican; deputy to the National Assembly; took part in the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Geneva; member of the International; contributed to a number of periodicals.—259

*Reclus*—Protestant priest, father of Élie and Élisée Reclus.—259

*Reclus, Jean Jacques Élisée* (1830-1905)—French geographer, sociologist and politician, theoretician of anarchism; member of the International; took part in the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated and lived in Italy, Switzerland and Belgium.—132, 172, 257, 259, 440

*Reclus, Jean Pierre Michel Élie* (1827-1904)—French ethnographer, journalist, utopian socialist; took part in the 1848 revolution; director of the National Library during the Paris Commune.—132, 172, 257, 259

*Redif Pasha*—Turkish statesman, War Minister (1877).—260

*Reichenbach*—young German writer.—359

*Reichensperger, August* (1808-1895)—German lawyer and politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing) (1848-49) and to the German Reichstag (1871-84); a leader of the Catholic Party of the Centre.—322, 325, 328

*Renshaw*—an acquaintance of Engels' family in London.—321, 324

*Reshid Mustafa Mehemed Pasha* (1802-1858)—Turkish statesman; repeatedly held posts of Grand Vizir and Foreign Minister.—301

*Reuß, Heinrich VII, Prince* (1825-1906)—Prussian diplomat and general, Ambassador Extraordinary to Constantinople (1877), Ambassador to Vienna (1878-94).—301

*Reuter, Paul Julius, Baron von* (1816-1899)—founder of the Reuter telegraph agency in London (1851); German by birth.—158, 325

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—English economist.—62, 153, 205, 261, 452

*Richter, Dmitry Ivanovich* (1848-1919)—Russian statistician, economist and geographer; lived in emigration in the 1870s.—121, 126-28

*Richter, Eugen* (1838-1906)—German politician, leader of the Party of Progress, deputy to the German Reichstag (1871-1906).—309

*Rittinghausen, Moritz* (1814-1890)—German journalist, democrat; contributed to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); member of the International; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party till 1884; deputy to the German Reichstag (1877-78 and 1881-84).—195

*Rivers, George*—bookseller in London.—317-18

*Roby, Henry John* (1830-1915)—British manufacturer, classical scholar; Liberal; member of the government schools commissions (1864-74); a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Roby (1874-94); M.P. (1890-95).—67

*Roby, Mary Ann Matilda* (née *Ermen*) (d. 1889)—Peter Ermen's daughter, wife of the above from 1861.—67

*Rochat, Charles Michel* (b. 1844)—a leader of the French working-class movement; member of the Paris Federal Council of the International; took part in the Paris Commune; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Holland (October 1871 to 1872); delegate to the London Conference (1871).—49

*Rochefort, Victor Henri, marquis de Rochefort-Luçay* (1831-1913)—French journalist, writer and politician, Left-wing republican; member of the Government of National Defence; after the suppression of the Paris Commune was exiled to New Caledonia whence fled to England; organised the second edition of the Anglo-French magazine *Lanterne* in London and Brussels (1874-76).—25, 29, 34

*Rocher, L.*—11

*Rörig*—Wilhelm Liebknecht's acquaintance, forester.—55

*Rothschild, Alphonse, baron de* (1827-1905)—French banker, head of the banking house.—136

*Roy, Joseph* (1830-1916)—French teacher, translated the first volume of Marx's *Capital* and works by Feuerbach into French.—16

*Royer, von*—Prussian diplomat, envoy to Constantinople (1829).—302

*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in England in the 1850s; became a National Liberal after 1866.—374

*Rümelin, Gustav* (1815-1888)—German writer and statistician, sociologist, author of works on statistics, history and literature.—191

*Russell, John, 1st Earl Russell* (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader; Prime Minister (1846-52, 1865-66), Foreign Secretary (1852-53, 1859-65).—140, 156

S

*Sadek, effendi*—see *Mehmed Sadek, effendi*

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—263

*Salisbury, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, 3rd Marquis of* (1830-1903)—British statesman, Conservative leader (from 1881), Secretary of State for India (1866-67, 1874-78), Foreign Secretary (1878-80), Prime Minister (1885-86, 1886-92, 1895-1902).—296, 299

*Salzmann.*—83

*Samarin, Yuri Fyodorovich* (1819-1876)—Russian writer and public figure.—103

*Samter, Adolph* (1824-1883)—German economist, follower of Rodbertus.—328

*Sargant, William Lucas* (1809-1889)—English teacher and economist, Owen's biographer.—263

*Sarny, Eduard*—German journalist, an editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*.—180

*Schäffle, Albert Eberhard Friedrich* (1831-1903)—German vulgar economist and sociologist, armchair socialist, rejected the class struggle.—163, 190, 413

*Schaible, Karl Heinrich* (1824-1899)—German physician and writer; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, then emigrated to England.—175-77

*Scheu, Andreas* (1844-1927)—a leader in the Austrian (1868-74) and British socialist movement; member of the International; emigrated to England in 1874; a founder of the Social-Democratic Federation.—49, 189

*Scheu, Heinrich* (1845-1926)—Austrian Social-Democrat, member of the International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); emigrated to England in 1873; brother of the above.—49, 189

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—259

*Schily*—Victor Schily's wife.—92

*Schily, Victor* (1810-1875)—German democrat, lawyer; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; refugee in France; member of the International, delegate to the London Conference (1865); Marx's friend.—92

*Schlesinger, Maximilian* (1855-1902)—German journalist, Social-Democrat, Lassallean; contributor to a number of newspapers and magazines.—386

*Schmidt, Eduard Oscar* (1823-1886)—German zoologist, Darwinist, professor at Strasbourg (from 1872).—313-14, 317

*Schmidt, Johann Joseph.*—180

*Schmitz, Richard* (1834-1893)—German physician in Neuenahr (from 1863).—267

*Schneckenburger, Max* (1819-1849)—German poet.—444

*Schöler, Caroline (Lina)* (1819-1891)—German teacher in Cologne; friend of Marx's family.—202, 203, 205

*Schollymeyer, Schorlemeyer*—see *Schorlemmer, Carl*

*Schopenhauer, Arthur* (1788-1860)—German idealist philosopher, irrationalist and pessimist, ideologist of Prussian Junkers.—50

*Schorlemmer, Carl* (1834-1892)—German organic chemist, professor at Manchester; member of the International and of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party; friend of Marx and Engels.—116, 133, 215, 268, 270, 271, 350, 371, 374, 375, 377-80, 382-83, 385, 387, 389, 390

*Schott, Sigmund* (1818-1895)—Württemberg writer and politician; advocate of Germany's unification under Prussia's supremacy; a founder of the National Association.—287, 304-05, 311-12

*Schramm, Carl August* (1830-1905)—German Social-Democrat, reformist; left the Party in the 1880s.—73, 75, 375, 378, 393, 395-98, 402-08, 411-13, 417, 422, 428, 431

*Schumacher, Balthasar Gerhard* (1755-d. after 1801)—German lawyer, author of the song on which Prussian National Anthem was based.—301

*Schumacher, Hermann* (c. 1826-1904)—German economist.—90

*Schumann, Fritz*—delegate to the International Socialist Congress in Paris (September 1878) from the Danish Social-Democratic Workers' Party and from the International Labour Union.—339, 340

*Schupps*—family of Engels' acquaintances in Heidelberg, with whom Mary Ellen Burns stayed in 1875-77.—116, 180, 197

*Schuyler, Eugene* (1840-1890)—American historian and diplomat, secretary of the diplomatic mission in Russia (1869), General Consul in Constantinople (1876-78), later American minister in Athens and US representative in Romania and Serbia.—168

*Schweitzer*—owner of a printing-house in London, where the *Londoner Journal* was printed.—315

*Schweitzer, Johann Baptist von* (1833-1875)—German lawyer, a Lassallean leader; editor of *Der Social-Demokrat* (1864-67); President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71); supported unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy; fought against the Social-Democratic

Workers' Party; was expelled from the General Association for his contacts with the Prussian authorities (1872).—6, 402

*Schwitzguébel, Adhémar* (1844-1895)—prominent figure in the Swiss working-class movement, anarchist; engraver; member of the International; a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy and of the Jura Federation; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); expelled from the International by the General Council's decision (1873).—49, 306

*Seidlitz, Georg von*—German naturalist, follower of Darwin.—107

*Serraillier, Auguste* (b. 1840)—participant in the French and international working-class movement; shoemaker; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72), Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, Holland, Spain (1870) and France (1871-72); in September 1870 was sent to Paris as the General Council's agent, member of the Paris Commune; delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International, member of the British Federal Council (1873); associate of Marx and Engels.—44, 341, 448

*Seton*—one of Marx's witnesses when he applied for British naturalisation in 1874.—28

*Shaen*—English lawyer.—11, 12

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English poet and playwright.—65, 122, 191, 226, 446

*Shipton, George* (1839-1911)—prominent figure in the British trade union movement, reformist, Secretary of the House-Painters' Union and of the London Trades Council (1871-96).—300

*Shuvalov (Schuwaloff), Pyotr Andreyevich, Count* (1827—1889)—Russian statesman and diplomat, general, member of the State Council (1874); chief of gendarmes (1866-74); Ambassador to London (1874-79).—168, 170, 389

*Sieber, Nikolai Ivanovich* (1844-1888)—economist; one of the first popularisers of Marx's economic works in Russia; held radical bourgeois reformist views.—343

*Simon, Jules François Simon Suisse* (1814-1896)—French statesman and idealist philosopher; moderate republican, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49); member of the Government of National Defence, Minister of Public Instruction in that government and in Thiers' government (1870-73); deputy to the National Assembly of 1871, an instigator of struggle against the Paris Commune; Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1876-77).—440

*Singer, Paul* (1844-1911)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement, a leader of the German Social-Democrats; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from 1878); deputy to the German Reichstag (1884-1911); member (from 1887) and Chairman (from 1890) of the Executive Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.—396, 412

*Smirnov, Valerian Nikolayevich* (pseudonym *Doctor Noel*) (1848-1900)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik, physician; emigrated to Zurich in the early 1870s, then to London, Paris, and Berne; member of the International; an editor of the newspaper and magazine *Vperyod!*—78, 91, 129, 134, 147, 154, 305, 312-13, 316

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—153, 260, 452

*Sonnemann, Leopold* (1831-1909)—German politician, journalist, banker, democrat; founder and publisher of the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*; deputy to the German

Reichstag (1871-77, 1878-84).—7, 9, 85, 95, 98, 156, 180, 305, 334, 412

*Sorge, Friedrich Adolph* (1828-1906)—prominent figure in the international and American working-class and socialist movement, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to Switzerland, then to Belgium, from 1852 lived in the USA; organised the International's American sections, Secretary of the Federal Council for North America, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), General Secretary of the General Council of the International in New York (1872-74), propagated Marxism; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—7-10, 28, 30, 40, 41, 43, 44, 51, 114-15, 124-25, 275-77, 279, 282-84, 318-19, 385, 392, 410, 414, 422, 445-48

*Spinoza, Baruch (Benedictus) de* (1632-1677)—Dutch philosopher.—452

*Spurgeon, Charles Haddon* (1834-1892)—English Baptist priest.—22

*Staël, Madame de (Anne Louise Germaine Necker, baronne de Staël-Holstein)* (1766-1817)—French authoress.—252

*Staël, Madame de* (d. 1877)—a relative of the above.—252

*Stahl, Heinrich*—German socialist in Chicago.—42

*Stern*—Joseph Stern's wife.—85

*Stern, Joseph* (1839-1902)—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; an editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt* (from 1873).—85

*Steward, Ira* (1831-1883)—prominent figure in the American labour movement, leader of the Eight-Hour League in Boston and of the National Ten-Hour League; an organiser of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics (1869) and of the International Labor Union (1878).—411

*Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882)—chief of Prussian political police (1850-60); an organiser of and main witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); chief of military police during the Austro-Prussian (1866) and Franco-Prussian (1870-71) wars.—29, 96, 100, 103, 121, 147, 327

*Stoffel, Eugène, baron* (1823-1907)—French army officer; during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71) served in MacMahon's General Headquarters; discharged from the army (1872).—251

*Stolberg-Wernigerode, Otto, Prince* (1837-1896)—German statesman and politician, conservative, deputy to the German Reichstag (1871-78), Vice-Chancellor of the German Empire (from 1878).—322-24

*Strousberg, Bethel Henry* (1823-1884)—German-born railway contractor who lived in England; went bankrupt in 1873.—228, 405

*Suleiman Pasha* (1840-1892)—Turkish general; commander-in-chief in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, then commander of the Danubian army; commander-in-chief of Turkish troops (December 1877-February 1878).—272

T

*Talandier, Pierre Théodore Alfred* (1822-1890)—French democratic journalist, took part in the 1848 revolution; emigrated to London after the coup d'état of 1851; member of the General Council of the International (1864); senator (1876-80, 1881-85).—336-42

*Taneyev, Vladimir Ivanovich* (1840-1921)—Russian public figure, lawyer, materialist philosopher; from 1866, counsel for the defence at a number of political processes.—185

*Tenge, Therese* (née *Bolongaro-Crevenna*) (born c. 1833)—wife of the Westphalian landowner Tenge-

Ritberg; acquaintance of Ludwig Kugelmann's family in Hanover.—17, 19

*Tennyson, Alfred* (1809-1892)—English poet.—14

*Terzaghi, Carlo* (b. 1845)—Italian lawyer and journalist; editor of *Proletario italiano*, Secretary of the Federazione operaia and the Emancipazione del proletario societies in Turin; became police agent in 1872.—184, 199

*Tessendorf(f), Hermann Ernst Christian* (1831-1895)—Prussian Public Prosecutor, member of the Berlin City Court (1873-79); organised persecution of Social-Democrats.—96, 100

*Theisz, Albert Frédéric Félix* (1839-1881)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, engraver; Proudhonist; delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) and the London Conference (1871) of the International, member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to England, member of the General Council of the International (1872) and its treasurer.—110

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Orleanist, Prime Minister (1836 and 1840), President of the Republic (1871-73); hangman of the Paris Commune.—16, 30, 210, 233, 235, 440

*Thünen, Johann Heinrich von* (1783-1850)—German economist.—90

*Tkachov, Pyotr Nikitich* (1844-1885)—Russian revolutionary, journalist, an ideologist of Narodism.—59, 363

*Tölcke, Karl Wilhelm* (1817-1893)—German Social-Democrat, Lassallean; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; President of the General Association of German Workers (1865-66) and member of its Executive Committee till 1874.—6, 60, 65

*Tomanovskaya, Yelizaveta Lukinichna* (pseudonym *Yelizaveta Dmitrieva*) (née *Kusheleva*) (1851-d. after 1910)—Russian revolutionary, lived in emigration from 1868 to 1873, member of the Russian section of the International in Geneva, supported Marx in the struggle against Bakuninists; friend of Marx and his family; took an active part in the Paris Commune (1871); after its suppression emigrated; withdrew from revolutionary activities after her return to Russia.—36, 185

*Traube, Moritz* (1826-1894)—German chemist and physiologist.—78, 192

*Treitschke, Heinrich Gotthard von* (1834-1896)—German historian and journalist; historiographer of the Prussian state (from 1886); deputy to the German Reichstag (1871-88).—260

*Trochu, Louis Jules* (1815-1896)—French general and politician, Orleanist; head of the Government of National Defence; commander-in-chief of the armed forces of Paris (September 1870-January 1871); deputy to the National Assembly (1871).—223, 224

*Turgot, Anne Robert Jacques, baron de l'Aulne* (1727-1781)—French economist and statesman; Physiocrat; Controller General of Finance (1774-76).—209

*Turner.*—11

*Tussy, Tussychen*—see *Marx, Eleanor*

*Tyndall, John* (1820-1893)—English physicist, professor at the King's College in London.—50

U

*Urquhart, David* (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician, Turcophile; exposed the foreign policy of Palmerston and the Whigs, M.P. (1847-52); founder and editor of *The Free Press* (1855-77) renamed *Diplomatic Review* (1866).—158, 167, 178, 206, 209, 235, 238

*Utin (Outine), Nikolai Isaakovich* (1841-1883)—Russian revolutionary, took part in the student movement, member of the Land and Freedom society; emigrated to England in 1863, then to Switzerland; an organiser of the Russian section of the International in Geneva and an editor of *L'Égalité* (1870-71); Marx's supporter in the struggle against Bakuninism; delegate to the London Conference of the International (1871); retired from political activity in the mid-1870s; returned to Russia in 1878.—36, 148, 163, 328, 351

*Utina, Natalia Jeronimovna* (née *Corsini*)—Nikolai Utin's wife; contributed to *Vestnik Yevropy* and other periodicals.—211

V

*Vahlteich, Karl Julius* (1839-1915)—German Social-Democrat, shoemaker; first secretary of the General Association of German Workers (1863-February 1864); delegate to the Eisenach Congress (1869) and a leader in the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-76 and 1878-81); emigrated to the USA and took part in the working-class movement there.—85, 95, 98, 257, 276

*Vasilchikov, Alexander Illarionovich* (1818-1881)—Russian economist and public figure.—103

*Vasiliyev, Nikolai Vasiliyevich* (1857-1920)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik; physiologist, Doctor of Medicine; carried on propaganda among St Petersburg students; emigrated to Switzerland in the latter half of the 1870s and continued his revolutionary activity there; lived in London for some time.—427

*Vernouillet, Juste*—director of Lachâtre's publishing house in Paris.—57, 79, 439

*Viennet, Jeyn Pons Guillaume* (1777-1868)—French writer and politician.—322

*Viereck*—German actress, Louis Viereck's mother.—428

*Viereck, Louis* (1851-1921)—German Social-Democrat, a leader of the reformist wing of the party in the latter half of the 1870s; deputy to the German Reichstag (1884-87); left Social-Democratic movement after 1888; emigrated to the USA in 1890.—375, 395-96, 399, 401, 412, 428

*Virchow, Rudolf* (1821-1902)—German naturalist and politician; founder of modern pathological anatomy and the theory of cellular pathology; a founder and leader of the Party of Progress (1861-84).—236, 313, 316

*Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro)* (70-19 B.C.)—Roman poet.—143

*Vögele, August*—German refugee in London, compositor in Hollinger's print-shop (1859).—176

*Vogler, Carl Georg* (born c. 1820)—German publisher and bookseller in Brussels, member of the Communist League.—439

*Vogt, Karl* (1817-1895)—German naturalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five Imperial Regents (June 1849); emigrated in 1849; Louis Bonaparte's paid agent in the 1850s and 1860s; slandered Marx and his associates; exposed by Marx in the pamphlet *Herr Vogt* (1860).—107, 162, 175-76

*Vollmar, Georg Heinrich von* (1850-1922)—German army officer, Social-Democrat, a leader of the reformist wing of German Social-Democracy; an editor of *Der Sozialdemokrat* (1879-80); deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-87 and 1890-1918).—375, 413, 417, 422

W

*Wagner, Cosima* (1837-1930)—Franz Liszt's daughter, Richard Wagner's second wife.—143

*Wagner, Richard* (1813-1883)—German composer, conductor and musical writer.—135, 137, 143, 192, 268, 443

*Wallace, Alfred Russel* (1823-1913)—English biologist, a founder of zoogeography; simultaneously with Darwin came to the theory of natural selection.—291

*Walster*—see *Otto-Walster, August*

*Walstone (Waldstein), Charles* (1856-1927)—English archaeologist, acquaintance of Marx's family.—427

*Walther von der Vogelweide* (c. 1170-c. 1230)—German minnesinger.—74

*Weber, Carl Maria von* (1786-1826)—German composer.—177

*Weber, Joseph Valentin* (1814-1895)—German watchmaker; took part in the Baden revolutionary movement in 1848; after its suppression, refugee in London; member of the German Workers' Educational Society there; expelled from the Society for his splitting activities and the slander of the General Council of the International (December 1871).—364

*Weber, Louis*—German watchmaker; refugee in London after the 1848-49 revolution, Lassallean, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; expelled from the Society for the intrigues against Marx and his supporters (April 1865); son of the above.—364, 411

*Wedde, Friedrich Christoph Johannes* (1843-1890)—German journalist and writer, democrat.—240, 259

*Weiler, Adam* (1841-1894)—German joiner; refugee in London, member of the British Federal Council of the International (1872-73), supporter of Marx and Engels, member of the London Trades' Council; member of the Social-Democratic Federation (from 1883).—277

*Weiß, Guido* (1822-1899)—German democratic journalist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; belonged to the Party of Progress (Left wing) in the 1860s; editor of *Die Zukunft*, organ of the People's Party (1867-71), publisher of a weekly *Die Wage* (1873-79).—85, 88

*Weitling, Wilhelm* (1808-1871)—one of the early leaders of the working-class movement in Germany, tailor by profession; theorist of utopian egalitarian communism; emigrated to the USA in 1849.—284, 410

*Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of* (1769-1852)—British general and statesman, Tory; commanded troops in the wars against Napoleon I (1808-14, 1815); commander-in-chief of the British army (1827-28, 1842-52), Prime Minister (1828-30) and Foreign Secretary (1834-35).—301, 303

*Wenzel*—see *Kugelmann, Ludwig*

*Wessel, Jean Marc Albert* (1829-1885)—Swiss lawyer and politician, notary in Geneva.—279

*Westlake*—English public figure, elected to the school board from Marylebone on 30 November 1876.—444

*Weydemeyer, Joseph* (1818-1866)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; a responsible editor of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* (1849-50); emigrated to the USA in 1851, participated in the US Civil War on the side of the Northerners; disseminated Marxism in the USA; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—115, 448

*Weydemeyer, Otto*—participant in the American working-class movement; son of the above.—276, 318-19

*Wiede, Franz* (born c. 1857)—German journalist, founder and editor of *Die Neue Gesellschaft*, reformist.—240-43, 247, 253, 255, 257, 259, 261, 362, 413

*Wiehe, Johann Friedrich*—German refugee in London, compositor in Hollinger's print-shop (1859).—176, 177

*Willebrord*—see *Glaser de Willebrord, E.*

*William I* (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, King of Prussia (1861-88) and Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—16, 263, 301, 352, 384, 389, 412, 428

*Willis, Edwin.*—311

*Wingfield, Lewis Strange* (1842-1891)—English traveller, writer and actor; correspondent of *The Times* during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71) and at the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—49

*Withers, John*—London baker, acquaintance of Marx's family.—103, 245

*Wohlauer, Ferdinand*—bookseller in London, Engels' acquaintance.—214

*Wolff, Bernhard (Benda)* (1811-1879)—German journalist, owner of the Berlin *National-Zeitung* (from 1848); founder of the first telegraph agency in Germany (1849).—158

*Wolff, Luigi (Louis)*—Italian major, follower of Mazzini; member of the Associazione di Mutuo Progresso (organisation of Italian workers in London); member of the Central Council of the International (1864-65), participant in the London Conference (1865); exposed as an agent of the Bonapartist police in 1871.—81

*Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus)* (1809-1864)—German proletarian revolutionary, teacher, prominent figure in the Communist League; editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—195, 391

*Wollmann*—factory owner in Paris.—136, 212

*Wollmann*—Ferdinand Fleckles' cousin, wife of the above.—136, 190, 211-12

*Wright, Carroll Davidson* (1840-1909)—American economist and statistician, head of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics (1873-88).—377, 411

*Wróblewski, Walery* (1836-1908)—Polish revolutionary democrat, a leader of the 1863-64 Polish uprising; general of the Paris Commune; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); actively supported Marx and Engels in the struggle against Bakuninists.—18, 51, 111-12, 221-22, 234, 332, 448

Z

*Zanardelli, Tito* (b. 1848)—Italian journalist, socialist, editor of a number of democratic newspapers; a refugee in Paris.—450

*Zhukovsky (Joukowski), Juli Galaktionovich* (1833-1907)—Russian economist, journalist, sociologist, manager of the State Bank, senator.—344

*Zhukovsky, Nikolai Ivanovich* (1833-1895)—Russian revolutionary, anarchist; refugee (from 1862), Secretary of the Geneva Section of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; member of the International (from 1869), withdrew from it in 1872 in protest to Bakunin's expulsion by the Hague Congress.—259

*Zilinski (Zichlinsky)*—German refugee in London, Lassallean, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; expelled from the Society in 1871.—49

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*Aesculapius* (Rom. Myth.)—God of medicine and of healing.—447

*Ali Baba*—hero of the Arabian fairy-tale *Ali Baba and Forty Thieves.*—18

*Castor* (Rom. Myth.)—one of the twin sons of Zeus and Leda.—259

*Cid Campeador*—national hero of Spain, the main character of the 12th-century Spanish poem *El cantar de mio Cid,* hero of Herder's poem *Cid.*—272

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*Egeria* (Rom. Myth.)—the nymph who advised the Roman King Numa Pompilius.—169

*Faust*—the title character in Goethe's tragedy.—46

*Figaro*—the title character in Beaumarchais' comedy *La folle journée, ou le mariage de Figaro.*—324

*Hans Heiling*—an earth and mountain spirit, according to a saga. He married a mortal woman but out of jealousy he turned her into a rock.—47

*Harlequin*—a character in Italian *commedia dell' arte,* an enamoured quick-witted servant who finds a way out of various predicaments.—440

*John Bull*—the title character in John Arbuthnot's *The History of John Bull* (1712); the name is often used to personify England.—18, 188, 190, 292

*Mammon*—the idol of wealth among some ancient peoples.—283

*Numa Pompilius*—second King of Ancient Rome (715-673 or 672 B.C.).—169

*Oerindur*—a character in Adolf Müllner's drama *Die Schuld.*—154

*Pollux* (Rom. Myth.)—one of the twin sons of Zeus and Leda.—259

*Shylock*—a character in Shakespeare's comedy *The Merchant of Venice.*—65

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*Demokratisches Wochenblatt. Organ der sozial-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei*—a German workers' newspaper, published under this title in Leipzig from January 1868 to September 1869 under the editorship of Wilhelm Liebknecht; at the Eisenach Congress (1869) it was declared a central organ of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany and renamed *Der Volksstaat*.—65

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*Le Figaro*—a French conservative daily published in Paris since 1854. From 1826 to 1833 it appeared under the title *Figaro, journal nonpolitiqué*.—36, 268

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*Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*—a democratic daily published in Frankfurt am Main from 1856 (under this title from 1866) to 1943.—3, 17, 61, 85, 95, 98, 120, 121, 156, 180, 310, 329, 334, 441

*Fraser's Magazine. For Town and Country*—a literary, popular scientific and political liberal monthly published in London from 1830 to 1882.—80, 92, 415

*Freiheit*—a German-language weekly of the anarchist group of Johann Most and Wilhelm Hasselmann; published in London from 1879 to 1882, in Belgium in 1882 and in the USA from 1882 to 1910.—351, 353, 360-63, 365, 383, 398, 411, 417, 433

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*Gardener's Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*—an agricultural weekly published in London since 1841.—11, 13

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*L'Internationale. Organe des sections belges de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*—a weekly organ of the Belgian sections of the International published in Brussels from 1869 to 1873; printed documents of the International; took the anarchist stand in 1873.—6

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*Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*—a social-reformist magazine published in Zurich in 1879-81 by Karl Höchberg (pseudonym Dr Ludwig Richter); three issues came out.—374, 383, 386-87, 393, 401-02, 413, 422, 430, 432

*Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*—a daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1944, was conservative in the 1870s-80s.—244, 441

*Journal des Économistes. Revue mensuelle d'économie politique et des questions agricoles, manufacturières et commerciales*—a liberal monthly published in Paris from 1841 to 1943.—194

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*Kölnische Zeitung*—a daily published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; expressed the interests of the National-Liberal Party in the 1870s.—155, 240, 241, 326, 416

*Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*—a daily published under this title from 1785 to 1911; also called *Vossische Zeitung* after its owner Christian Friedrich Voss.—252, 312, 317

*The Labor Standard*—a socialist weekly published in New York from 1876 to 1900; Engels contributed to it in the 1870s.—306

*La Lanterne*—a radical republican weekly published by Henri Rochefort from 30 May 1868 in Paris and, after it was banned by the Bonapartist authorities, in Brussels (from August 1868 to November 1869), opposed the Second Empire; Rochefort published the second edition of the paper in London in 1874-76.—25, 34

*Die Laterne*—a Social-Democratic weekly, published by Carl Hirsch in Brussels from 15 December 1878 to 29 June 1879.—388, 395, 398, 399, 401, 412, 414, 417

*The Leisure Hour*—a magazine published under this title in London from 1852 to 1905.—332

*La Liberté. Organe socialiste hebdomadaire*—a democratic paper published in Brussels from 1865 to 1873 (in 1872-73 daily); from 1867, an organ of the International in Belgium.—6, 259

*Londoner Journal*—a German-language petty-bourgeois paper published in London from 1878 to 1891.—315

*La Marseillaise*—a radical republican weekly published in Paris from 1877 to 1914.—235, 336-40, 342

*Il Martello. Organo del Circolo Operaio di Milano, Giornale democratico socialista degli operai*—an Italian Bakuninist weekly published in Bologna under the editorship of Andrea Costa in January-March 1877.—199

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*The National Reformer*—a radical weekly published in London from 1860 to 1893.—341, 342

*Nature. A Weekly Illustrated Journal of Science*—a journal published in London since 1869.—50

*Die Neue Gesellschaft. Monatsschrift für Socialwissenschaft*—a reformist magazine published in Zurich from October 1877 to March 1880; its editor-in-chief was Franz Wiede.—242, 243, 253, 258, 362, 407, 413

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a daily newspaper of the revolutionary-proletarian wing of the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution

in Germany; it was published in Cologne under the editorship of Marx from 1 June 1848 to 19 May 1849 (with an interval between 27 September and 12 October 1848); Engels was among its editors.—259, 334

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*—a theoretical journal of the Communist League, founded by Marx and Engels and published by them from December 1849 to November 1850.—49

*Die Neue Welt. Illustriertes Unterhaltungsblatt für das Volk*—a socialist fortnightly published in Leipzig from 1876 to 1883, then in Stuttgart and Hamburg till 1919; its editor was Wilhelm Liebknecht (1876-80); Engels contributed to it in the 1870s.—123, 195, 215, 242

*New-York Daily Tribune*—a newspaper founded by Horace Greeley in 1841 and published until 1924; organ of the Left-wing American Whigs until the mid-1850s and later of the Republican Party; opposed slavery in the 1840s and 1850s. Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862.—115, 448

*The Nineteenth Century. A Monthly Review*—a liberal journal published under this title in London from 1877 to 1900.—328, 335

*Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*—a daily published in Berlin from 1861 to 1918; semi-official paper of Bismarck's government in the 1860s-80s.—310

*O operaio*—a Portuguese socialist paper published in Oporto in the late 1870s and the 1880s.—363

*Österreichische Monatsschrift für Gesellschaftswissenschaften und Volkswirtschaft*—a conservative Catholic monthly published in Vienna in 1879 and 1880.—369

*The Pall Mall Gazette. An Evening Newspaper and Review*—a daily published in London from 1865 to 1920; conservative in the 1860s and 1870s; Marx and Engels maintained contacts with the paper from July 1870 to June 1871; it published a series of Engels' articles *Notes on the War*.—128, 163, 428

*Paterson Labor Standard*—an American weekly published in Paterson from 1878; from 1899 to 1906 appeared under the title *The National Labor Standard*.—410

*La Plebe. Giornale republicano-razionalista-socialista*—an Italian paper published under the editorship of Enrico Bignami in Lodi (1868-75) and in Milan (1875-83); till the early 1870s—democratic, then socialist paper; in 1872-73 was organ of the Italian sections of the International and supported the General Council.—198-200, 203, 214

*Le Précurseur*—a French-language socialist weekly, organ of the Social-Democrats of Romance Switzerland; published in Geneva from 1877 to 1887 under the editorship of Johann Philipp Becker.—183, 214, 294, 348-49, 351

*Il Proletario Italiano*—a newspaper published in Turin twice a week from 1871; appeared under the title *Il Proletario* from 1872 to 1874.—184

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*Le Radical*—a democratic paper published in Paris in 1877.—451

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*La République Française*—a bourgeois-radical daily founded by Léon Gambetta and published in Paris from 1871 to 1924.—235, 251, 263, 341

*La Révolution française*—a newspaper published in Paris in 1876.—445

*Revue des deux Mondes*—a literary and political fortnightly published in Paris from 1829 to 1944.—153, 194

*La Revue socialiste*—a monthly founded by Benoît Malon, at first a socialist republican, then syndicalist and co-operative organ; published in Lyons and Paris from 1880, in Paris from 1885 to 1914; Marx and Engels contributed to it in the 1880s.—431

*Schwäbischer Beobachter*—see *Der Beobachter*

*Le Siècle*—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939; in the 1870s it was moderate republican—235, 441

*Der Sozialdemokrat. Organ der Sozialdemokratie deutscher Zunge*—central organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany; published weekly in Zurich from September 1879 to September 1888 and in London from October 1888 to 27 September 1890; edited by Georg von Vollmar (1879-80) and by Eduard Bernstein (1881-90); Marx and Engels contributed to it.—367, 372, 374, 378, 379, 383, 386, 392-99, 401, 402, 412-13, 417, 420, 421, 422, 425, 430, 431, 433

*The Spectator*—a weekly published in London since 1828; at first liberal, then conservative.—341

*Der Sprudel*—a weekly published in Vienna from 1869 to 1876.—37

*The Standard*—a conservative daily published in London from 1857 to 1916 (see *The Evening Standard*).—255, 277, 322, 324, 326, 327, 339, 340

*Die Tagwacht*—a German-language Social-Democratic paper published in Zurich from 1869 to 1880; organ of the German sections of the International in Switzerland in 1869-73, later of the Swiss Workers' Union and the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland.—174

*Le Temps*—a conservative daily organ of the big bourgeoisie published in Paris from 1861 to 1943; opposed the Second Empire and war with Prussia.—441

*The Times*—a conservative daily published in London since 1785.—42, 49, 67, 234, 266, 268, 277, 329, 340, 352

*Le Travailleur*—a French-language anarchist monthly published in Geneva from May 1877 to May 1878 under the editorship of Nikolai Zhukovsky, Élisée and Éli Reclus and others.—259

*Tribune*—see *New-York Daily Tribune*

*Über Land und Meer*—an illustrated weekly published in Stuttgart from 1858 to 1923.—107

*L'Union des Travailleurs*—a workers' monthly published in Geneva in 1873-74, held a reformist stand.—5

*Vanity Fair. A Weekly Show of Political, Social and Literary Wares*—a conservative weekly published in London from 1868 to 1929.—205, 209, 220, 227

*Das Volk*—a German-language weekly published in London from 7 May to 20 August 1859; it was founded as the official organ of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; Marx took part in its publication beginning with issue No. 2 and in early July he became its de facto editor.—175, 176

*Volksfreund*—see *Braunschweiger Volksfreund*

*Volks-Kalender*—a Social-Democratic almanac published in Brunswick from 1875 to 1878; its editor-in-chief and publisher was Wilhelm Bracke.—227, 236, 306

*Der Volksstaat. Organ der sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei und Gewerksgenossenschaften*—central organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party published in Leipzig from 2 October 1869 to 29 September 1876 (twice a week, from July 1873 three times a week) under the general guidance of Wilhelm Liebknecht; August Bebel greatly influenced the paper; it regularly printed articles by Marx and Engels.—7, 30, 41, 54, 55, 58, 61, 94, 103, 118, 123, 127, 132, 154, 155

*Volks-Zeitung. Organ für jedermann aus dem Volke*—a liberal daily published in Berlin from 1853 to 1897.—411

*Vorwärts. Central-Organ der Socialdemokratie Deutschlands*—central organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany after the 1876 Gotha Congress; published in Leipzig three times a week from October 1876 to October 1878; Marx and Engels helped its editorial board.—155, 162, 174, 186, 195, 203, 214, 218, 238, 239, 242, 243, 246, 247, 254, 265, 283, 284, 285, 289, 295, 306, 307, 326, 338, 400

*Vossische Zeitung*—see *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*

*Die Wage. Wochenblatt für Politik und Literatur*—a democratic journal published in Berlin under the editorship of Guido Weiß from 1873 to 1879.—88

*Westphälische Volkszeitung*—a daily, organ of the Party of Progress, published in Hagen in the 1860s; its editor-in-chief was Wilhelm Hasenclever (1862-63).—247

*Whitehall Review*—a conservative weekly published in London from 1876 to 1929.—205, 209, 277, 327, 352

*Wiener medizinische Zeitung*—see *Allgemeine Wiener medizinische Zeitung*

*Die Zukunft. Socialistische Revue*—a social-reformist review published twice a month from October 1877 to November 1878 in Berlin.—238, 247, 249, 252, 253, 254, 257, 259, 261, 283, 285, 362, 367, 407, 412, 413

*Вѣстникъ Европы. Журналъ историко-политическихъ наукъ*—a Russian historical, political and literary journal of liberal trend, published in St Petersburg from 1866 to 1918; from 1868, monthly.—358

*Впередъ! Двухнедѣльное обозрѣніе*—a Russian paper published by Pyotr Lavrov in London in 1875-76; printed material on the struggle of the proletariat of different countries.—91, 106, 107, 132, 154, 163

*Впередъ! Непеpіодическое обозрѣніе*—a Russian journal published from 1873 to

1877 at first in Zurich and then in London; five issues appeared; Pyotr Lavrov was its publisher from 1873 to 1876; it printed many articles on the working-class movement in the West and on the activity of the International.—129, 305, 307

*Гражданинъ*—a Russian literary and political weekly published in St Petersburg from 1872 to 1914; organ of the nobility.—164

*Начало. Органъ русскихъ соціалистовъ*—the first Narodnik paper in Russia published illegally in St Petersburg from March to May 1878; four issues appeared; the paper strove to unite revolutionaries of different trends.—316

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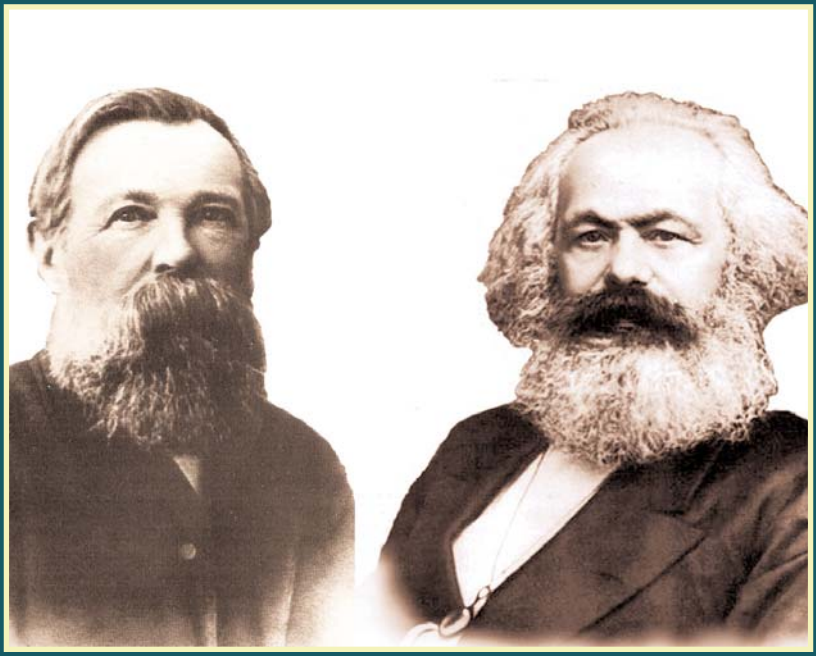

## VOLUME 46

Letters 1880-83

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 46

## Letters 1880-83

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TRANSLATORS:

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PETER and BETTY ROSS: Letters 1, 3-7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29-31, 34, 35, 38, 39, 42, 45-53, 61, 63, 65-72, 74, 76, 78-81, 85-93, 95-98, 101-14, 116, 117, 120-22, 124, 126-28, 130, 132-46, 149-63, 165-75, 177-82, 184-89, 191, 192, 194-99, 201-17, 219, 220, 222-29, 231-35, 238-41, 243-46, 250-54, 257
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# Preface

Volume 46 of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels contains letters dating from January 1880 to March 1883. It was during these last few years of Marx's life that Engels assumed the main burden of corresponding with leaders of the international working-class movement.

Marx concentrated on his economic research; he also studied the history and culture of primitive society, world history, agriculture and peasant conditions in different countries, notably socio-economic relations and the state of the peasant commune in Russia after the abolition of serfdom. He also pursued his interest in higher mathematics and collected new facts for *Capital*. His plans to complete *Capital*, however, were not destined to be realised by him. His health deteriorated rapidly, compelling him to devote much time to medical treatment and often live out of London. Deprived of his library, he could not work on the second and third volumes of *Capital* (see this volume, pp. 158, 161) and even failed to finish reading the proofs of the third German edition of the first volume (pp. 425, 434). All this is reflected in this volume.

Responding to Paul Lafargue's request and prompted by the vital need of the workers' movement, Engels in this period wrote *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 281-325), destined to become the most widely read Marxist book alongside the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

*Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, produced in the spring of 1880, was based on three chapters of *Anti-Dühring*. The introduction to the

French edition was written by Marx and published over the signature of Paul Lafargue (see pp. 16, 332). The pamphlet played a conspicuous role in imparting the Marxist outlook to the French socialists. '... I have seen what a regular revolution the thing has wrought in the minds of many of the better people in France,' wrote Engels (p. 300). This encouraged Engels to prepare a separate German edition (1882). To make it more comprehensible to factory workers (pp. 335, 352, 369), he revised the text, added a few new passages, and wrote a special preface (p. 331). An essay on the history of landownership in Germany from the ancient commune to the 1870s, 'The Mark' (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 439-56), was appended.

The essay, which later appeared under separate cover, entitled, *Der deutsche Bauer. Was war er? Was er ist? Was könnte er sein?*, completed Engels' research of 1881-82 into the social system of the ancient Germans. Its inclusion as a supplement in the German-language edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* was meant to arouse the German Social-Democrats' interest in the peasantry as the working class's potential ally. The importance Marx and Engels attached to this is reflected in Engels' letter of 23 September 1882, urging Bebel to read up on the subject, thus gaining 'solid foundations to go on in any debate [in the Reichstag] about landownership or agrarian questions' (p. 336).

Engels tried to resume his study of the philosophy of natural science he had begun in 1873 and dropped owing to his work on *Anti-Dühring* (see present edition, Vol. 25). But only short spells of time were available to him, though, as he put it, the book (*Dialectics of Nature*), 'has also long been pending' (p. 350). He managed to write a few fragments in 1880-82 (see Vol. 25, p. 660). The problems raised in *Dialectics of Nature*, and the history of primitive society which Engels studied in the early 1880s, were only partly reflected in his letters of that period.

By the 1880s, socialist workers' parties had sprung up in Austria, France, Denmark, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and the United States of America. The emergence of national working-class parties was an objective trend that had begun in the 1860s. The letters in this volume produce a fairly good cumulative picture of the help that Marx and especially Engels had given them in drawing up their programme and in their strategy and tactics.

Marx and Engels took the emergence of self-dependent national working-class parties as a sign of the times. They were critical of the untimely attempts at re-establishing the International and working out a single legislative political and economic programme for all countries where socialists could come to power. Since the matter had been put on the agenda of the impending international congress in Switzerland, called on the initiative of the Belgian socialists, the Dutch Social-Democrat Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis requested Marx in January 1881 to give his opinion on this score.

The reply to Nieuwenhuis (see p. 61) and Engels' letter to Johann Philipp Becker of February 10, 1882, stressed it would be not only useless but also harmful to restore the International or hold international congresses at the time 'in so far as they do not relate to the immediate, actual conditions obtaining in this or that specific nation' (p. 67). The formation of mass socialist parties was still far from completed. Indeed, it had only just begun in some countries, so that a new, 'reorganised International ... would only give rise to fresh persecution' (p. 196). As Marx and Engels saw it, international contacts between socialist organisations were then, in fact, maintained through the socialist and workers' press, and through contacts between recognised workers' leaders (see p. 197). This meant new ways of consolidating the workers' international unity were coming to the fore. Not until later, when the workers' movement attained a higher level and the ideas of scientific socialism spread, would the ground be ready for 'the establishment of an *official*, formal International' (p. 198).

Marx's and Engels' contacts with the German working-class movement were especially strong. The Socialist Workers' Party of Germany was then the largest proletarian political organisation in the world. It had proved its viability despite the difficult climate created by the Anti-Socialist Law of October 1878. Continuously persecuted, it managed to maintain its membership, establish an underground organ, the newspaper *Sozialdemokrat*, in Switzerland, and to keep alive its contacts with the masses.

The letters in this volume give a good idea of the diversity of Marx's and Engels' aid to the German Social-Democrats. They urged them to combat the reformist sentiment introduced by bourgeois intellectuals who, admitted to the party before the enactment of the

Anti-Socialist Law, opposed the revolutionary tactics of the left wing, and tried, as Engels wrote, 'to get rid of the Anti-Socialist Law at any cost and to do so ignominiously by means of moderation and meekness, tameness and toadyism' (p. 279).

Engels countered this by examining the situation in the party and in Germany, and stressing that this course of action had no hope of succeeding. 'After 3 years of unprecedented persecution...,' he wrote to Eduard Bernstein on 30 November 1881, 'our lads have returned, not only in all their former strength, but actually stronger than before' (p. 153). And he amplified: 'the movement ... from being restricted to a few local centres, has *only now come to be a national movement.* And that is what frightens the bourgeois most of all' (p. 154).

Engels had deep faith in the perseverance of the German workers. Bismarck's policy, which amounted to war against the workers (a state of siege had been declared in a number of cities, and the like), he noted, only helped the German Social-Democrats' influence to grow. 'The infamies to which socialist workers everywhere have been subjected,' Engels wrote Sorge on 20 June 1882, 'have everywhere made them much more revolutionary than they were even 3 years ago' (p. 279). Not submission, as suggested by the right-wing leaders (Blos, Hasenclever, and others), but workers' pressure, Engels held, could force the government to repeal the Anti-Socialist Law.

The clash with the reformist elements in the party and division on fundamental and tactical issues were objectively unavoidable, because the right and left wings of the German Social-Democratic movement reflected the interests of different social groups. In principle, Marx and Engels considered a break with the reformists desirable because, as Engels wrote Bebel on 21 June 1882, the schism would 'serve to elucidate the situation and we shall be rid of an element that in no way belongs to us' (pp. 281-82). But considering the Anti-Socialist Law, Engels advised against needless haste, because in the circumstances the workers might think the break would weaken the party and augur loss of its gains. Division over controversial issues, he held, called for a public discussion, which, however, was practically impossible owing to the Anti-Socialist Law. All the same, Marx and Engels promised the party's revolutionary leaders public support if matters should come to 'a show-down with these gentry and the party's left wing declares itself' (p. 282).

Engels wrote a large number of letters to Bernstein, editor of the *Sozialdemokrat*, the party's central organ. He offered advice as to the

tactics the paper should follow to suit the conditions of that time. Engels commended the paper's opposition to the reformist stance of the right-wing Social-Democratic deputies in the Reichstag (pp. 173, 203, 244), and advised its editors to seek workers' support and apply for help to correspondents 'from amongst the genuine workers — not those who have become "leaders"' (p. 188). This tactic, worked out jointly by Marx and Engels (see, e. g., p. 393), proved successful. 'I am delighted,' Engels wrote Bernstein on 22 February 1882, 'that subscriptions should have passed the 4,000 mark and that the paper should find regular distribution in Germany, despite the police, etc. It is an *incredible* feat for a German paper that is *banned*' (p. 203).

At a difficult time for the German Social-Democrats, Marx and Engels undertook to represent the party in the international workers' movement, explaining its political tactics. In their letters to various countries, they called on the working class to give its moral and material aid to the German Social-Democrats. Marx started collecting funds for victims of the Anti-Socialist Law, addressing himself, among others, to Friedrich Adolph Sorge and journalist John Swinton, who was close to the socialists in the United States. 'Even if the monetary result were not important,' he wrote Swinton on 4 November 1880, 'denunciations of Bismarck's new *coup d'état* in public meetings held by you, reported in the American press, reproduced on the other side of the Atlantic — would sorely hit the Pomeranian *hobereau* [Junker] and be welcomed by all the socialists of Europe' (p. 41).

The letters in this volume show the part Marx and Engels played in organising the French Workers' Party. They established contact with Jules Guesde and the editors of the *Égalité* through Paul Lafargue. This gave them an opportunity to influence the French labour movement. A big role here, as we have said, was played by Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. In March 1880, Engels contributed an article, 'The Socialism of Mr Bismarck', to the *Égalité*. It struck out against the Bonapartist social demagogy of that time. At the request of Benoît Malon, Marx drew up a *Workers' Questionnaire* (see present edition, Vol. 24). More important still, he participated in drawing up the Workers' Party programme, whose theoretical part he simply dictated to Guesde in the presence of Engels and Lafargue (see pp. 43-44). Later, Engels commented: 'A masterpiece of cogent reasoning, calculated to explain things to the masses in a few words;

I have seldom seen its like and, even in this concise version, found it astonishing' (p. 148). This, indeed, was the programme the Workers' Party congress adopted in the autumn of 1880 in Le Havre. Its adoption, Marx pointed out, opened an entirely new stage in the French workers' struggle. This was when '*the first real workers' movement*' began in France, he said (p. 44).

The theoretical views of the members of the newly formed Workers' Party, however, were still immature. The revolutionary wing headed by Guesde and Lafargue (Collectivists) and the reformist followers of Malon and Brousse (Possibilists) were entangled in a controversy. It had begun before the congress and was especially heated after it. Contrary to any revolutionary transformation of society, the Possibilists advanced the idea of the workers' gradually winning a majority in the municipalities, thus paving the way for broader public services (*services publics*) and the gradual transfer of the means of production into the possession of the municipal authorities (municipal socialism).

In letters to Bebel and Bernstein, Engels predicted that a conflict within the Workers' Party was objectively unavoidable. 'It would seem,' he wrote, 'that *any* workers' party in a large country can develop only through internal struggle, as indeed has been generally established in the dialectical laws of development.... Such being the case, it would be sheer folly to advocate unification. Moral homilies are of no avail against teething troubles which, circumstances being what they are today, are something that has got to be gone through' (p. 343).

Marx and Engels sided with the Collectivists, who controlled the *Égalité* (p. 173). In his letters, Engels informed socialists in different countries of the reasons for the turmoil within the French Workers' Party, and stressed the fundamental nature of the controversy (see pp. 196-97, 332-33, 370). The argument concerned diametrically opposite attitudes to the party's political programme: whether the struggle against the bourgeoisie should be fought as a class struggle or whether the class nature of the movement and the revolutionary programme should be opportunistically renounced in all cases where such renunciation would win it more followers and more votes in elections. Engels pointed out that the Possibilists were 'sacrificing the proletarian class character of the movement' (p. 350).

In addition, Marx and Engels also called attention to the Guesdists' theoretical faults and the many tactical mistakes they made in the heat of the struggle. To begin with, Guesde and Lafargue negated

reforms in bourgeois society. They denied the need of fighting for democratisation, and of combining struggle for society's social reorganisation with struggle for democratisation. In the absence of insight, Engels pointed out, 'party politics cannot be pursued with success' (p. 333). Engels therefore faulted Guesde's utterances against the Radicals (Clemenceau) (ibid.), who had in the early 1880s worked for democratisation of the French Republic and thereby furthered the vital tasks of the working-class movement in the country.

Engels deplored the Guesdists' lack of political skill. He censured them for having involved themselves in a polemic on personal grounds which only obscured the fight for fundamental aims, and also for their contentiousness, quick temper, failure to wait for the right time of action, and for phrase-mongering (pp. 181, 154-55 et seqq.). These blunders prevented Marx and Engels from giving their full support publicly to the Collectivists.

All the greater was the importance that Marx and Engels attached to correct coverage in the socialist press of Germany of the state of affairs in the French Workers' Party. They called on the French and German socialists regularly to exchange their newspapers—*Égalité* and *Sozialdemokrat* (pp. 360-61). In his many letters to the leaders of the German Socialist Workers' Party, Engels never failed to refer to the struggle inside the French party. This was doubly necessary, because, having failed to grasp its substance, the editors of the *Sozialdemokrat* had initially backed the Possibilists (pp. 386-87). His letters to Bernstein, Bebel, and others, showing the social and political similarity of possibilism and reformist currents in the workers' and socialist movements in other countries, finally prompted the editors of the *Sozialdemokrat* to back the Guesdists.

Marx and Engels were aware that the two distinct currents could no longer coexist within one party, it was time the Guesdists and Possibilists parted ways (see pp. 343, 350-51). At the St-Étienne congress in September 1882 the Possibilists had not only emasculated, but in effect totally rejected, the Havre programme by proclaiming local party branches fully autonomous as concerned programme issues (p. 341). That was why neither Engels nor Marx were discouraged by the fact that only a minority followed Guesde and Lafargue as a result of the split. Engels observed: 'The whole of the "workers' party", both factions included, constitutes only a small and dwindling portion of the Parisian working-class masses' (p. 333). The party, he said,

was in the first stage of the internal struggle that the socialists in Germany had already passed (p. 351).

Marx and Engels believed that being champions of revolutionary principles, the Guesdists had a far better future than the Possibilists, even though the latter were in the majority. 'To be momentarily in the minority — *quoad* [as to] organisation — and have the right programme,' Engels wrote to Bernstein in November 1882, 'is at least better than having no programme and a large, though almost entirely nominal and bogus, following' (p. 389). Years later, he was proved right.

The correspondence of Marx and Engels in 1880-83 is evidence of their unflagging interest in the British labour movement, which was experiencing change, however slow, due to Great Britain's changing economic situation. The prolonged depression had shaken the Empire's industrial monopoly. The condition of the working people deteriorated. Radical workers' clubs sprang up in London. This was a new symptom, Marx wrote to Pyotr Lavrov at the end of January 1882 (p. 185), and evidence of the appeal socialist ideas had won among a section of the working class which began to oppose the Liberal Party, Gladstone's government, and '*official* trades-unionism' (ibid.).

The labour movement's vitalisation in the early 1880s also stimulated interest in scientific socialism among a part of the democratic intelligentsia. 'The English,' Marx wrote to Sorge in December 1881, 'have latterly begun to take rather more notice of *Capital*' (p. 162). He had been asked for permission to translate it into English or to translate it himself (ibid.). In letters to his friends, Marx said the first honest reviews had appeared in the British press. He commended young English philosopher Belfort Bax's article, 'Karl Marx', in the journal *Modern Thought* of December 1881, and described it as the first English publication 'pervaded by a real enthusiasm for the new ideas themselves' and standing up boldly against British philistinism (p. 163).

Engels' letters contain the story of his association with *The Labour Standard*, a trades union newspaper, in 1881. The attempt at addressing trades union members directly, setting forth the basics of the Marxian political economy and propagating the ideas of scientific socialism, proved unsuccessful. In letters to the *Labour Standard* editor George

Shipton of August 10 and 15, 1881, Engels deplored that the impact his articles had made on readers was very weak (pp. 123 and 121). He explained: 'The British working man just doesn't want to advance; he has got to be galvanised by events, the loss of industrial monopoly' (p. 121).

Despite its various setbacks, Marx and Engels noted, the British bourgeoisie was able to offer more favourable conditions to more highly qualified workers thanks to Britain's enormous colonial possessions and its supremacy in the world market. They saw this as the reason for the weakness of the British labour and socialist movement, the slow spread of socialist ideas in the labour movement, and the protracted formation of an independent labour party. But Engels' contributions to *The Labour Standard* had not passed without influence. George MacDonald, a British socialist with Marxist leanings, pointed out, among others, that it had been Engels' articles in *The Labour Standard* that prompted him to accept scientific socialism (see *How I Became a Socialist*, London, 1896, pp. 61-62).

Letters showing Marx's and Engels' relationship with Henry Mayers Hyndman, a prominent English radical, are of considerable interest. Marx tried to explain what factors he thought created possibilities for power to pass peacefully into the hands of the British working class. In December 1880, he wrote: 'If you say that you do not share the views of my party for England I can only reply that that party considers an English revolution not *necessary*, but—according to historic precedents—*possible*. If the unavoidable evolution turn into a revolution, it would not only be the fault of the ruling classes, but also of the working class. Every pacific concession of the former has been wrung from them by "pressure from without"' (p. 49).

Marx's letter to Hyndman of 2 July 1881 shed light on the reasons for their estrangement. Hyndman had put out a pamphlet, *England for All*, as a kind of commentary on the programme of the Democratic Federation he had founded the month before, in which he set out the content of a number of sections from the first volume of *Capital* without crediting Marx. The latter objected to this publication, chiefly because the Federation's bourgeois democratic goals conflicted with the ideas borrowed from *Capital*. The pamphlet would have made sense, Marx pointed out, 'for the foundation of a distinct and independent Working Class Party' (p. 103). Later, however, even though he was strongly critical of Hyndman (pp. 161-62, 234, 347), Marx admitted the objective usefulness of Hyndman's pamphlet because it propagated the ideas of *Capital* (p. 163).

Numerous letters from 1880 to 1883 show Marx's and Engels' continual interest in Ireland. At the end of 1880 in a letter to John Swinton, Marx stressed the connection between the land questions in Ireland and England. Defeat of English landlordism in Ireland, he believed, would bring about the collapse of the land system in England (p. 40). But the Land League's peasant war against English landlordism and Gladstone's rule, and the heightened activity of Irish M.P.s under Charles Parnell, led Marx to conclude that Home Rule was the only possible solution of the Irish problem. This he wrote to Jenny Longuet at the end of April 1881 (see p. 90) and Eduard Bernstein in July 1882. 'In the absence of a foreign war or the threat thereof,' he wrote, 'an Irish uprising has not the remotest prospect of success' (p. 287), and amplified: 'The only recourse remaining to the Irish is the constitutional method of gradual conquest, whereby one position is taken after another' (pp. 287-88).

The letters also show that Marx and Engels followed events in North America. Engels noticed 'the colossal speed with which the concentration of capitals' was taking place there (p. 251). The two friends were aware that the labour movement in the United States followed a specific and anything but easy road. Apart from objective conditions (free land in the West, and so on), the spread of socialist ideas was hindered by strong sectarian tendencies imparted by German socialist immigrants, on the one hand, and the dissociation of socialist propaganda from the daily struggle of the workers, on the other, leaving the stage free for the spread of various radical bourgeois theories. Highly popular, for example, were the ideas of the radical economist Henry George. Nationalisation of landed property, which he considered the lever of social reconstruction, found a following among farmers and those workers who still dreamed of returning to the land and were angered by the plunderous ways of real estate profiteers, railroad companies, and the like. Marx, however, thought the attempt at blaming all social evils on private landownership wholly groundless. Contrary to George's theory, cheap land in the United States was contributing to the growth of the capitalist system at a rate unheard of in Europe. In June 1881, writing of George's ideas to Swinton and Sorge, Marx described them as 'merely an attempt, tricked out with socialism, to *save the capitalist régime* and, indeed, *to re-establish it on an even broader basis* than at present' (p. 101).

Marx's and Engels' ties with Russian revolutionaries and public leaders continued to expand. Their letters of 1880 to 1883 to Lavrov, Vera Zasulich, Danielson, Hartmann, Minna Gorbunova and others, reflect their lasting interest in the social-economic and political processes underway in Russia and in the life of their Russian acquaintances. Revolution was in the air in Russia. Marx and Engels held that the country stood 'on the threshold of a world historical crisis' (p. 18). As before they believed that events in Russia would create a revolutionary situation in Europe (see p. 209). And even though they were wrong about the time the crisis would break out, Engels predicted quite correctly in 1882 that the collapse of the Russian Empire would be a long process that would 'go on for years' (p. 208).

Intensive ideological search was under way within the Narodnik (Populist) movement, leading to its split and the emergence of two groups, Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) and Chorny Peredel (General Redistribution), whose members (Georgi Plekhanov and Vera Zasulich) founded the Emancipation of Labour group, the first Russian Marxist group, in 1883, after Marx's death. The future of the peasant commune and its place in the social reorganisation, that is, the idea of non-capitalist development in Russia, was the central problem that occupied the Russian revolutionary movement at that time. Marx's works, notably *Capital*, were fairly well known in Russia (see p. 45), and he was repeatedly asked to give his views on the matter (see, e.g., pp. 71-72).

The volume contains Marx's letter to Vera Zasulich, outlining his ideas about the future of the peasant commune in Russia. The analysis in *Capital*, he observed, 'does not adduce reasons either for or against the viability of the rural commune', and added that it might become 'the fulcrum of social regeneration in Russia' provided 'the deleterious influences which are assailing it from all sides' are eliminated, and it is ensured normal conditions for spontaneous development (pp. 71-72). To be sure, the letter did not speak of the long reflections that led up to this answer. This we see from the drafts of the letter examining the development of the peasant commune after the abolition of serfdom in 1861 (see Vol. 24).

Marx had ties with the Executive Committee of Narodnaya Volya, which he and Engels considered a revolutionary party 'of exceptional devotion and vigour' (p. 18). They had always opposed terrorism as a means of political struggle, but regarded its terrorist acts in Russia's

specific conditions of the time as a reaction to governmental terrorism and the absence of elementary democratic freedoms for open political struggle.

The volume contains a number of letters concerning the question of national independence and the views of Marx and Engels on concrete independence struggles of oppressed peoples. Engels pointed out in a letter to Kautsky in February 1882 that 'it is historically impossible for a great people to discuss this or that internal question in any way seriously so long as national independence is lacking' (p. 191).

Marx and Engels considered the work of setting the West European proletariat free a priority, at least for Europe, with everything else being subordinate to that aim (see p. 205). They took the example of the liberation struggle of the Slav peoples to show that the value of any movement of oppressed nations in the historical setting of the time depended on whether it clashed with the interests of the working class. They were convinced that only 'the victory of the proletariat will liberate them [the oppressed nations] in reality and of necessity' (ibid.).

Until the end of his life, Marx followed developments in India. In February 1881, in a letter to Danielson, he observed that serious complications had arisen there for the British government, if not a general outbreak, caused by merciless exploitation of the indigenous population (see p. 63). It was the duty of the proletariat of Europe, Marx and Engels held, to back the liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples. Marx commended the meetings organised by the French followers of Guesde in defence of the popular movement in Egypt (see p. 297).

At the same time, Marx and Engels warned the European socialists against indiscriminate acceptance of national movements and their leaders, calling attention to the intrinsic contradictions of social processes. 'As I see it,' Engels wrote in reference to the National Party of Egypt and its leader Arabi Pasha in August 1882, 'we can perfectly well enter the arena on behalf of the oppressed fellaheen without sharing their current illusions (for a peasant population has to be fleeced for centuries before it learns from experience), and against the brutality of the English without, for all that, espousing the cause of those who are currently their military opponents' (p. 302).

Reflecting on the future of the colonies, Engels said he was sure

they would all become independent. But he refused to predict how exactly this would occur. As he saw it, revolutions could win in India and Algeria and Egypt. That, he added, 'would certainly suit *us* best' (p. 322), meaning the revolutionary proletariat in the advanced countries. Engels assumed, however, that the proletarian revolution would first occur in Europe, and the colonial countries would 'have to be temporarily taken over by the proletariat and guided as rapidly as possible towards independence' (ibid.).

Marx's and Engels' letters to each other in the last few years of their joint activity produce an inspiring picture of intellectual collaboration and intimacy. Engels, naturally, saw to it that Marx had the best doctors and the best health resorts in Europe, and even Algeria. 'Your altruistic concern for me is unbelievable,' Marx wrote in September 1882 (p. 326). But bereavements occurred one after the other: Marx's wife died in 1881, and his eldest daughter Jenny in January 1883. This was a blow Marx could not survive. He passed away on 14 March 1883.

'Mankind is the poorer for the loss of this intellect — the most important intellect, indeed, which it could boast today,' wrote Engels (p. 462), who was destined to outlive his friend and carry on the cause to which they had both devoted their lives.

* * *

Volume 46 contains 257 letters by Marx and Engels, of which 138 are published in English for the first time and 119 were published in this language earlier, 45 of them in part only. Those previously published in English are indicated in the notes. The Appendices present four letters of Jenny Longuet's and one of Jenny Marx's. They contain thoughts expressed by Marx at one time or another and show his attitude towards various events. All the letters in the Appendices appear in English for the first time.

Obvious slips of the pen have been silently corrected. Proper and place names and separate words the authors had abbreviated, are given in full. Defects in the manuscripts are indicated in the footnotes, while passages of lost or illegible texts are indicated by omission points. Texts crossed out by the authors are reproduced in footnotes only where they substantially affect the meaning.

Foreign words and expressions are retained in the form in which they were used by the authors, with a translation where necessary in the footnotes, and are italicised (if underlined by the authors, they are given in spaced italics). English words and expressions used by Marx and Engels in texts written in German and French are printed in small caps. Longer passages written in English in the original are placed in asterisks.

The numbers of notes relating to the same facts and events given in the texts of different letters, are duplicated.

The texts of the letters and the notes were prepared by Alexander Zubkov. He also wrote the preface. The volume was edited by Valentina Smirnova. The name index and the indexes of quoted and mentioned literature and of periodicals were prepared by Victoria Reznikova (Institute of the History and Theory of Socialism).

The translations were made by Rodney Livingstone, Peter and Betty Ross and Stanley Mitchell and edited by Nicholas Jacobs (Lawrence & Wishart), K. M. Cook, Stephen Smith, Margarita Lopukhina, Andrei Skvarsky and Yelena Vorotnikova (Progress Publishers) and Norire Ter-Akopyan (USSR Academy of Sciences).

The volume was prepared for the press by the editor Margarita Lopukhina (Progress Publishers).

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## LETTERS

January 1880-March 1883

# 1880

## 1

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 10 January 1880

Dear Liebknecht,

Your letter arrived slap in the middle of the festive hurly-burly which, in view of the multiplication of the Marx family [1] and also because two of our friends[a] from Manchester were staying with us, assumed pretty formidable proportions. In order to forward your letter I had to consult the *latest* POST OFFICE DIRECTORY which was not to be had except at some distance from this house. *Enfin*[b] I laid my hands on it at the beginning of this week and sent your letter to

Alexander Macdonald Esq. M.P.
Well Hill (according to the DIRECTORY, Well hl.)
by Hamilton, North Britain (N. B.)

Macdonald is the bigger scoundrel of the two [2] but more deeply involved officially with the coal miners. Maybe you will get his reply before mine. As soon as Parliament opens, you can address your letters simply: Alexander Macdonald, House of Commons.

Since you say you have asked Macdonald for the documents mentioned in the main body of your letter, I shall of course do nothing further on this score until I hear from you again.

The silver and/or bimetallism [3] affair is the chimera of a few cotton speculators in Liverpool. Since it is virtually only silver that circulates among the Indian and Chinese traders, and silver has fallen from $^1/_{15.5}$ to $^1/_{17.5}$-$^1/_{18}$ of the value of gold over the past 10 years, this circumstance has, of course, further accentuated the crisis in the said article brought about by the over-export of cotton goods to the Far East. In

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[a] Probably Carl Schorlemmer and Samuel Moore - [b] Finally

the first place, prices fell as the result of increased supply, and then, on top of that, these depressed prices represented an even lower gold value than hitherto so far as the English exporter was concerned. The crafty men of Liverpool, to whom it was quite inconceivable that cotton could ever fall in price as well, now blamed everything on the difference in the currency and thought that all would be in order and the Indo-Chinese trade would flourish, once it had been decreed here that silver should again be $^{1}/_{15.5}$ of the value of gold; i. e. that the British public must put up with silver at 13%-15% above its value so that cotton goods exporters might profit by that amount. That's all there is to the swindle, and a few more CROTCHET-MONGERS have latched on to it. It was never of any significance. Not long ago *The Times* was philanthropic enough to opine that gold currency was unsuited to so poor a country as Germany and that it would be preferable to revert to the more convenient silver currency—in the unspoken hope of creating an outlet for the London money market where the latter could dispose of its depreciated silver at a price higher than its value. Again a pious hope, of course, just like our friend Bismarck's childish fancy not long since to go back to bimetallism and reissue the taler as good for all payments, although it is worth 15% less than the amount it is supposedly good for. However, the German money chaps have grown *so* crafty under friend Bismarck that this no longer proved an attraction and the talers that had been issued came hurtling back at lightning speed into the Bank and the imperial treasuries.

I, too, wish you and all the others success in the New Year, as I do *the Russian revolution* which will surely get under way in the course of it and at once impose a quite different character upon Europe. For this too we are largely indebted to our friend Bismarck. With his ostentatious trip to Austria and the alliance he concluded there[4] he presented the Russian government at precisely the right moment (*for us!*) with the alternative: war or revolution. *Quel génie!*[a]

Your
F. E.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

[a] What a genius!

## 2

## MARX TO CHARLES WALSTONE (WALDSTEIN) [5]

IN LONDON

[London,] 26 January 1880

Dear Waldhorn,[a]

If I don't find you in, I shall leave this note for you. I am prepared to come at 7 o'clock on Wednesday evening, WIND AND WEATHER PERMITTING. THAT IS TO SAY, IF IT BE NOT TOO COLD FOR THE PRESENT CONDITIONS OF MY *corpus delicti*.[b] For in this world all promises are relative.

Meanwhile, *salut*

Your

Moor

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50, Moscow, 1981

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

## 3

## ENGELS TO CARL HIRSCH

IN LONDON

[London,] 17 February 1880

Dear Hirsch,

Many thanks for the banker's letter which I return herewith. But I have not the faintest idea what can be meant by 'negotiated *à 340*[c]'. I can discover no rational connection whatever between this figure and German or Austrian currency. If the man would tell us how many marks he thinks he will be able to get for 200 Austrian gulden,

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[a] Waldhorn (French horn) is a jocular name given to Walstone by Marx. - [b] A pun on *corpus* (body) and *corpus delicti* (substance of the offence).

Borkheim could decide what to do, and I think he would probably send them to him for realisation.

Your
F. E.

First published in Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, Berlin, 1968

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

## 4

## MARX TO BERNHARD KRAUS [6]

### IN LONDON

[Copy]

[London,] 26 March 1880

Dear Dr Kraus [Kranz?],

I had quite forgotten that today was Good Friday; hence found the Café Royal shut on arriving there with my daughter Eleanor at 12 o'clock, waited until 1 o'clock and, not seeing you arrive, [proceeded?] to your hotel. Would you be so kind as to write to me today — so that I have your reply tomorrow — and let me know whether you might honour us with your company at dinner this Sunday at 5 o'clock (not 2).

With best wishes from Miss Eleanor.

Yours,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to a copy in an unknown hand

Published in English for the first time

5

# ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER [7]

IN GENEVA

London, 1 April 1880

Dear Old Man,

This is to notify you that I have taken out a money order for you at the post office for four pounds sterling—should amount to 100 frs 80 cts—and hope it will reach you safely. I trust that your health and that of your wife has improved now that the bitter winter is happily behind us. Here things are so-so. Mrs Marx is still not quite up to the mark and Marx, too, could be better. When winter's over, he always has his worst time; his coughing fits prevent him from sleeping.

For the rest, things have reverted to what they were in 1850. The Workers' Society has split up into a multitude of parties [8]—Most here, Rackow there—and it is as much as we can do not to get drawn into this maelstrom.[a] So many storms in a teacup, which may have an altogether salutary effect on some of the participants in that they contribute to their development but, so far as the march of events is concerned, whether 100 German working men here declare themselves for this side or for that is pretty immaterial. If they could exert any influence on the English—but there's no question of that. In his thirst for action Most cannot keep still but nor, for that matter, can he get anything done; people in Germany just won't see that, because Most has been statutorily slung out of the country, the moment of revolution is at hand. The *Freiheit* is to become, by hook or by crook, the most revolutionary paper in the world, but this cannot be achieved simply by repeating the word 'revolution' in every line. Luckily it matters very little what's in the paper and what isn't. The same thing applies to the Zurich organ,[b] which advocates revolution one day, only to declare on the next that a violent upheaval is the greatest of misfortunes, which is afraid on the one hand of being outdone by Most's rhetoric and fears on the other that the workers may take its own rhetoric to heart. Well, take your pick between the empty rantings of the *Freiheit* and the narrow philistinism of the *Sozialdemokrat*.

[a] See this volume, p. 9. - [b] *Der Sozialdemokrat*

I fear that our friends in Germany are deluding themselves as to the kind of organisation that ought to be maintained under present circumstances. That elected members of parliament should wish to place themselves in the van because there would otherwise be no leadership — to that I have no objection. But they can neither demand nor impose the implicit obedience that could be demanded by the former party leadership, *specifically* elected for the purpose. Least of all under present circumstances, without a press, without mass meetings. The more loose-knit the organisation now seems to be, the more tightly-knit it is in reality. Instead of this, the old system is to be retained, the party leadership is to have the final say (although there is no congress to discipline or, if necessary, dismiss it), and anyone who attacks one of its members is branded a heretic. At the same time, the best of them are themselves aware that they have in their midst all sorts of incapable and otherwise not very savoury persons, and they must be obtuse indeed if they fail to see that it is not they who are in control of their organ, but Höchberg, thanks to his money-bags, and with him his fellow philistines Schramm and Bernstein. In my view, the *old* party, together with its former organisation, is finished. When, as may be expected, the European movement shortly gets going again, then it will be joined by the vast mass of the German proletariat, of which the 500,000 men of 1878 [9] will form the trained and educated nucleus, and then, too, the old 'rigorous organisation' deriving from the Lassallean tradition will become a brake which, though it might hold back a waggon, no one could hope to apply to an avalanche.

At the same time, these men are doing a number of things which may wholly disrupt the party. First, the party is to go on maintaining its former agitators and editors by saddling itself with a mass of papers which contain nothing more than may be found in any middle-class local rag. And the workers are supposed to tag along with that indefinitely! Secondly, their bearing in the Reichstag and in the Saxon Diet is for the most part so meek as to discredit both them and the party in the eyes of the whole world; they make 'positive' suggestions to the existing government as to how it might do better in minor questions of detail, etc. And the workers, who have been declared outside the law and delivered up, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of the police, are expected to regard this as adequate representation! Thirdly, there is their tolerance of the philistine petty bourgeoiserie of the *Sozialdemokrat*. In *every* letter we are told that we must

on no account believe any reports of splits or differences of opinion within the party, but everyone who comes here from Germany assures us that our people are completely bewildered by this conduct on the part of their leaders and that they by no means agree with it. Nor could it be otherwise, given the character of our workers which has so splendidly stood the test. It is a peculiarity of the German movement that all the mistakes committed by the leadership are invariably put right by the masses, and no doubt such will again be the case this time.[10]

Well, keep your pecker up and drop us a line occasionally. Borkheim is still in pretty well the same helpless condition as before.[a]

Your
F. E.

First published in: F. Engels, *Vergessene Briefe* (*Briefe Friedrich Engels' an Johann Philipp Becker*), Berlin, 1920

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## 6

## ENGELS TO H. MEYER

### IN LONDON

[London,] 3 April 1880
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Mr H. Meyer,

Your favour of 25 March [11] did not come into my hands until late at night on Saturday, 27 March, and hence, if only for that reason, I could not accept your invitation.

In view of the rifts and differences of opinion that have recently occurred among German Social-Democrats here and elsewhere, I am unable for the time being to declare myself in favour either of one party or of the other, especially as I cannot but reprobate, not only the policy of the Zurich *Sozialdemokrat*, but also and no less that of the London *Freiheit*.[b]

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 45, p. 349.-[b] See this volume, p. 7.

I would request you to be good enough to convey this to the executive, and meanwhile remain

Yours very truly,
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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Published in English for the first time

## 7

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN LEIPZIG

[London, after 27 April 1880] [12]

[...][a] so as to make the whole thing impossible without actually prohibiting it.

Mr Hasselmann will soon become harmless if you people bring to light *really* compromising facts about him and take the wind out of his sails in the Reichstag, i. e. proceed in a frankly revolutionary way, which can be done by using quite temperate language, as you yourself did in exemplary fashion in your speech on the persecutions.[13] If, however, a person is constantly afraid of being thought by the philistine, as often happens, to be a bit more extreme than he really is, and if in fact the enclosed cutting from the *Kölnische Zeitung* is correct in reporting that the Social-Democrats have brought a motion intended to restore the *guild privilege* of trading in home-made goods, then the Hasselmanns and Mosts will have an easy task.

None of this, however, is really of much consequence. What is now keeping the party alive is unobtrusive, spontaneous activity on the part of individuals; like its organisation, it is kept going by their irrepressible journeyings. In Germany we have fortunately reached the stage when every action of our adversaries is advantageous to us; when all historical forces are playing into our hands, when nothing,

[a] The beginning of the letter is missing.

absolutely nothing, can happen without our deriving advantage from it. For that reason we can quietly allow our adversaries to work for us. Bismarck is working for us like a real Trojan. He has now won Hamburg for us [14] and will shortly also make us a present, first of Altona, and then of Bremen. The National Liberals [15] are working for us, even though all they do is submit to kicks and vote taxes. The Catholics are working for us, even though they voted first against, and then *for*, the Anti-Socialist Law,[16] in return for which they, too, have simply been delivered by Bismarck over to the tender mercies of the government, i. e. also placed outside the law. Anything we can do is a mere drop in the ocean compared with what events are doing for us at this moment. Bismarck's feverish activity, which is throwing everything into disorder and putting everything out of joint without achieving anything of a remotely positive nature; which is stretching the philistine's tax-paying potential to the utmost limit, and this for nothing and worse than nothing; which wants one thing one day and the opposite the next and is forcibly driving into the arms of the revolution the philistine who would so gladly grovel at his feet — this is our strongest ally, and I'm delighted at your being able to confirm from actual observation that there has in fact been a shift to the left, as was inevitable in the circumstances.

In France, too, things are progressing well. Our communist viewpoint is breaking new ground everywhere and the best of those advocating it are all of them former anarchists who have come over to us without our raising a finger.[a] Unanimity has thus been established among European socialists; any who are still shilly-shallying aren't worth mentioning now that the last remaining sect, the anarchists, has melted away. There, too, we find increasingly a general shift to the left among the bourgeois and peasants, as you have already remarked; but there's one snag here: this shift to the left is primarily tending towards *a war of retribution* and that must be avoided.

The victory of the Liberals here has at least *one* good aspect in that it puts a spoke in the wheel of Bismarck's foreign policy.[17] Since he might just as well dismiss the Russian war from his mind now, he will, as usual, doubtless sell his ally — Austria — to the first comer. After all, the bitter experiences of 1864-66 have already shown the Austrians that Bismarck seeks allies only to betray them [18] — but they're too stupid and will again fall into the trap.

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[a] Engels probably means, above all, Paul Brousse and Benoît Malon.

In Russia, too, everything is proceeding splendidly, despite judicial murder, banishments and an appearance of calm. You can't banish sheer lack of money. *Not one banker will make a loan* without a guarantee from the Imperial Assembly. Hence the present desperate recourse to an *internal* loan. *On paper* it will be a success, in reality a total failure. And then they will have to convene some assembly or other if only to obtain cash—always supposing something else doesn't happen in the meantime.

Kindest regards to you and Liebknecht from Marx and

Yours
F. E.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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Published in English for the first time

## 8

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [19]

### IN LONDON

London, 4 May 1880

My dear Lafargue,

What are we to do about the introduction Malon has submitted? [20] Grateful as I am for his good intentions, what is needed here are facts, and where would he get them from? The history of German socialism from 1843 to 1863 is not yet in print, and Malon's German friends in Zurich know hardly anything about that period, which preceded their entry into political life. So it is natural enough that Malon's introduction should omit the most important facts while going into details which can hardly interest the French reader and should, besides, be riddled with mistakes of a fairly serious kind. To mention only one—Lassalle was never editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. He never so much as contributed to it, if one excepts a feuilleton in a single issue—a feuilleton which was, moreover, completely rewritten by the editorial staff. At that time Lassalle was almost wholly taken up with the adulteries and divorce proceedings of Countess Hatzfeldt and her

Frederick Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, Paris, 1880

Bibliothèque de la REVUE SOCIALISTE
I.

# SOCIALISME UTOPIQUE

ET

# SOCIALISME SCIENTIFIQUE

PAR

FRÉDÉRIC ENGELS

Traduction française par

PAUL LAFARGUE

Prix : 50 centimes

PARIS
DERVEAUX LIBRAIRE-ÉDITEUR
32, Rue d'Angoulême, 32

1880

husband [21]; and had he offered to join the editorial department, we should have refused outright to associate ourselves with a man up to his eyes in the filth necessarily arising from the conduct of such a scandalous case. Neither Marx nor I have ever collaborated with Lassalle. In about 1860 he suggested we should join him in founding a big daily newspaper in Berlin, but the conditions we laid down were such that he was bound to find them unacceptable.[22]

Come to that, if someone is needed to introduce me to the French public, as is very possible, it seems to me that it could only be you, who have taken the trouble to translate my articles[a] and who *alone* are in a position to get hold of the necessary information which I have asked Marx to let you have. To my mind, I owe it to you as much as to myself to take on no one else.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

First published in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

## 9

## MARX TO PAUL LAFARGUE [23]

### IN LONDON

[London, circa 4-5 May 1880]

Dear Lafargue,

Here is the fruit of my consultation (of yesterday evening) with Engels. Polish the phrases, leaving the gist intact.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

First published as a facsimile in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 19, Moscow, 1961

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

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[a] F. Engels, 'Le Socialisme utopique et le socialisme scientifique', *La Revue socialiste*, Nos. 3, 4 and 5, 20 March, 20 April and 5 May 1880.

## 10

## MARX TO FERDINAND DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS[24]

### IN THE HAGUE

London, 27 June 1880
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

At the urgent insistence of my doctor I must refrain from work of any kind for some time to come; [indeed][a] I should already have left London on a recuperative trip to the seaside or mountains had I not been prevented from doing so by the very serious illness of my wife. Letters sent to the above address, however, will always find me, as they will be forwarded.

But my present state of health apart, I could not have complied with your request,[25] if only because I don't know enough Dutch to be able to judge whether this or that expression is appropriate.

Nevertheless, to go by the essays of yours I have read in the *Jahrbuch der Sozialwissenschaft* (Volume I, Second Half),[26] I have not the slightest doubt that you are the right man to provide the Dutch with a résumé of *Capital*—I would also mention *en passant* that Mr Schramm (C. A. S., p. 81)[b] *misconstrues my theory of value*. From a note in *Capital* to the effect that A. Smith and Ricardo are mistaken in *lumping together value* and *price of production*[27] (let alone *market prices*, therefore)—he could already have gathered that the connection between 'value' and 'price of production', hence also between 'value' and the market prices that oscillate about the 'price of production', has no place whatever in the theory of value as such, still less can it be anticipated by cliché-ridden, scholastic generalisations.

Under present circumstances the 2nd part of *Capital*[28] cannot appear in Germany, which I am quite glad of inasmuch as certain economic phenomena are, at this precise moment, entering upon a new phase of development and hence call for fresh appraisal.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
[Karl Marx]

First published, in Russian, in the magazine *Istorik-marksist*, Vol. 6 (40), Moscow, 1934

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[a] Manuscript damaged. - [b] [C. A. Schramm,] 'Zur Werttheorie', signed 'C.A.S.', *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, 1880.

## 11

## ENGELS TO MINNA GORBUNOVA

### IN BIARRITZ

London, 22 July 1880
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Madam,

After a number of vagaries, your letter from Biarritz [29] has safely reached me here, where I have been living for the past 10 years, and I hasten to let you have such information as it is within my power to give.

I have talked over the matter with my friend Marx, and we both take the view that no better sources on the English industrial school system are to be had over here than the official reports[a] you already possess. The content of other non-official literature on the subject amounts to little more than window-dressing, where it is not expressly designed to provide an advertisement for some humbug or other. I shall have a look round and see if I can find anything that might interest you among the reports of the School Boards and the Education Department in recent years, and shall send you further details if you would be so kind as to let me know to what address I should write or send packages, either within the next fortnight or so, or else in the autumn (since I shall be away from London for some time [30]). The industrial education of young people is in an even worse state here than in most countries on the Continent and what is being done, is done mostly for appearances' sake. You will have seen from the actual reports that the 'Industrial Schools' are by no means on a par with continental industrial schools, but are a kind of penal institute where neglected children are committed for a given number of years by order of court.

On the other hand, the efforts made in America might perhaps be of greater interest to you. The United States has sent a wealth of material connected with this to the Paris Exhibition,[31] material which must be lodged in the big library in the rue Richelieu [32] and of which

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[a] *Reports of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the State of Popular Education in England* and *Reports of Reformatory and Industrial School.*

you will find details in the catalogue of the exhibition at the said library.

I am further endeavouring to find out for you the address of a Mr Da Costa[a] in Paris; his son[b] played a part in the Commune in 1871, and the father is himself employed in education, is passionately interested in his profession and would be more than willing to be of assistance to you.

Again, the schools for the further education of adult working men over here are not as a rule up to very much. Where anything worth while is done, it is usually thanks to special circumstances and individual personalities, i. e. local and temporary. In all such matters, the only element that systematically recurs here is humbug. The best of establishments relapse after a short while into a stultifying routine and the avowed purpose increasingly becomes a pretext for the employees to earn their keep as comfortably as possible. So much is this the rule that even establishments for the education of the children of the middle classes — bourgeoisie — form no exception. Indeed I have latterly come across a number of notable instances of this very kind.

I am sorry that at this stage I should not myself be able to place any fresh material at your disposal; for a number of years it has unfortunately been impossible for me to follow the course of public education in any detail. Otherwise I should have been only too delighted to be able to offer you more. Everything that furthers public education and hence the movement, however indirectly, in a country such as Russia, which stands on the threshold of a world historical crisis, and has produced a dynamic party of exceptional devotion and vigour — everything of this nature commands our most ardent sympathy.

I am, Madam,

Yours truly,
F. Engels

First published in Russian and in the language of the original (German) in the book *Neizdanniye pisma F. Engelsa* (F. Engels' Unpublished Letters), Leningrad, 1924

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[a] Eugene François Da Costa - [b] Charles Nicolas Da Costa

## 12

## MARX TO PHILIP STEPHEN KING [33]

IN LONDON

[London,] 27 July 1880
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

Please send me:
Part IV of *Reports from Her M's Consuls.*

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

First published in the language of the original (English) in *Marx-Engels Jahrbuch*, Nr. 8, Berlin, 1985

Reproduced from the original

## 13

## ENGELS TO MINNA GORBUNOVA

IN BIARRITZ

London, 2 August 1880
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Madam,

In all haste — for several days my house has been full of friends, come on a visit from the provinces — herewith the address:

M. Da Costa, 40 rue Gay-Lussac, Paris. Since I have only seen the old gentleman once and very briefly, he will certainly not remember me. But all you need say by way of introduction is that Marx obtained the address expressly for you through his son-in-law Longuet — who is a friend of young Da Costa's. [a]

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[a] Charles Nicolas Da Costa

In the course of this week I shall have time to write to you at greater length, and shall address my letter to Paris, *poste restante.*

Meanwhile I remain,

Yours faithfully,
F. Engels

First published in Russian and in the language of the original (German) in the book *Neizdanniye pisma F. Engelsa* (F. Engels' Unpublished Letters), Leningrad, 1924

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## 14

## ENGELS TO MINNA GORBUNOVA [34]

### IN PARIS

London, 5 August 1880
122[a] Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Madam,

Further to my brief note sent to Biarritz,[b] all I can tell you is that I don't in fact know of any documents or reports I could recommend to you other than those first enumerated by yourself in your previous esteemed letter.[35] However, after the school holidays, when the various people I'm acquainted with return, I shall make further inquiries, and if I find anything new, shall send it to you in Moscow [36] or report to you further. In order that such correspondence should appear perfectly innocuous, I shall write in English and sign myself E. Burns. When communicating with me from there, you could address your letters: Miss E. Burns, 122 Regent's Park Road, N. W., London. An inner envelope is unnecessary; she is my niece.

I was most interested to hear about your activities in Moscow and about the prospect of your setting up an industrial school with the help of the president of the земство[c] [37]; we, too, have the statistical reports of all the Russian земства over here, as in general quite excel-

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[a] 112 in the manuscript. - [b] See previous letter. - [c] Zemstvo

lent material on economic conditions in Russia, but unfortunately I cannot look it out at this moment as it is at Marx's house and he and all his family are away at the seaside.[38] However it wouldn't be much help to me in answering your inquiry,[39] since this calls for a knowledge of the relevant branches of the cottage industry, its operation, products and competitiveness, and that can only be acquired on the spot. All in all it seems to me that most, at any rate, of the branches of industry you mentioned would probably be capable of competing with large-scale industry for some time yet. Industrial revolutions such as these progress extremely slowly; even the handloom has not yet been entirely superseded in some branches in Germany, whereas in England those same branches did away with it 20 or 30 years ago. In Russia that process might well be even slower. After all, the long winter provides the peasant with a great deal of spare time, and even if he only earns something during the day, that is still so much gain. Admittedly these primitive forms of production cannot escape their ultimate demise, and in a highly developed industrial country, as here, for example, one might claim that it would be more humane to accelerate this process of dissolution rather than prolong it. In Russia the situation may well be different, especially as there is some prospect there of violent changes in the political situation as a whole. The minor palliatives which have proved virtually useless in Germany, as you yourself have of course discovered, and also elsewhere, might in Russia help the people on occasion to surmount the political crisis and keep their industry going until such time as they also have a say. The schools, however, might perhaps enable them to get at least some idea of *what* they ought to say. And all genuine educative elements that are dispersed among the people will, to a greater or lesser extent, contribute to that end. Technical instruction might perhaps best achieve its aim if it sought, on the one hand, to organise the operations at any rate of the more viable branches of traditional industry in a more rational way and, on the other, to provide the children with sufficient training in general technology to facilitate their transition to other industries. Aside from such generalisations there is, at this distance, little to be said. Except that this much seems pretty clear to me: The Moscow *gouvernement* is unlikely to become a seat of large-scale industry in the near future, since it is remote from the coal-mining areas, and wood fuel is already in short supply. Cottage industry in some, if not always the same, form might persist there for a bit longer even if protective tariffs were to make feasible the introduction of this or that

large enterprise, such as the cotton industry of Shuya and Ivanovo in the Vladimir *gouvernement*. And, after all, the only way one can really help the peasants is to see that they get more land and cultivate it in associations.

Your report about the incipient decay of the община[a] [40] and the artel [41] confirms news that has also come to us from another quarter. Nevertheless this process of disintegration may go on for a very long time. And since the general current in Western Europe is flowing in precisely the opposite direction and, with the next convulsion, must acquire a strength of a quite different order, it may be expected that in Russia, too, which has certainly produced a great many critical minds over the past 30 years, this current will still be strong enough to make a timely appeal to the people's innate, millennial urge to associate before that urge is completely extinguished. For this reason, productive associations and other means of promoting the associate system among the people in Russia should also be looked at from an aspect other than the Western one. Admittedly they still remain no more than minor palliatives. I remain,

Yours most respectfully,
F. Engels

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## 15

## MARX TO JOHN SWINTON

### IN LONDON

[Postcard]

Ramsgate, 15 August 1880
10 Cumberland Road

Dear Sir,

I got only today your letter.[42] I am staying here with my family,

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[a] obshchina

and, if your time allows, shall be very glad to see you in Ramsgate.[43]

Yours truly
Karl Marx

[On the side reserved for the address]

John Swinton, Esq.
12 Norfolk Street, Strand, London

First published in the language of the original (English) and in Japanese in: Suzuki Koichiro, *Sihonron hekireki,* Tokyo, 1971

Reproduced from the original

## 16

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER[44]

### IN GENEVA

Ramsgate, 17 August 1880

Dear Old Man,

Your postcard was not forwarded to me here[30] until today and I immediately took out a money order for you for two pounds sterling, i. e. 50 frs and a few centimes (on which I wrote my *London* address). It goes without saying, of course, that we wouldn't let you be thrown out of your house while we were restoring our health at the seaside here. There's no need for you to make such a to-do about a few pence; that sort of thing is a matter of course between old comrades-in-arms who have been fighting under the same flag for forty years and who hearken to the same trumpet-calls.

We are all here — Marx, his wife and his daughters, together with husbands and children,[a] and the visit is proving especially beneficial to Marx, who, I hope, will be completely refreshed. His wife has unfortunately been ailing for some time, but is as cheerful as could be expected. I shall be returning to London next week but Marx ought to stay here as long as he possibly can.

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[a] Laura and Paul Lafargue; Jenny and Charles, Jean, Henri and Edgar Longuet

Apropos, I should perhaps add that there's been a great muddle over the letters. Marx has never had letters of yours for safe-keeping, whereas Borkheim was supposed to have had some of yours and, when Mrs Marx was still in Geneva with you, you got her to ask Marx to get Borkheim to give them to him.[a] But now Borkheim denies ever having got any from you; so what the actual facts of the case are, we over here are unable to fathom.

Well, I hope that, for the time being at least, you have extricated yourself from the worst of your predicament and will get a bit of peace. Kindest regards from us all, and in particular from,

Your
F. Engels

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## 17

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

[Ramsgate,] 30 August 1880

Dear Sorge,

I am writing from Ramsgate, where I now am with my wife [38]; before that I took her up to Manchester for a consultation with my friend Dr Gumpert. She is suffering from a *dangerous* liver complaint.

In consequence of our wanderings I only got your letter very belatedly. I am entirely of your opinion. If you can't get hold of any money — i. e. $ 200 — in YANKEELAND, the matter will have to be dropped.[45] What the position is here will be evident to you if only from the fact that the *Égalité* went under for want of 3,000 francs.[46] I will, for form's sake, let Liebknecht know about the affair.

The article from *The Sun* received with many thanks.[47] Though he

[a] See present edition, Vol. 45, p. 443.

may have the best of intentions, the man nevertheless shows that he doesn't understand the first rudiments of the matter about which he writes.

*De minimis non curat lex*,[a] and among those *minima* I number, *inter alia*, the priestly Douai.[48]

With warmest regards,

Your
Karl Marx

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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Published in English for the first time

## 18

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[49]

### IN LONDON

[Bridlington Quay,] 3 September 1880

My dear Laura,

I have only a few minutes to reply to your amiable letter—we have been inspecting a geological amateur's collection this evening and tomorrow we are off to an excursion to Flamboro' Head. The weather here continues grand: regular Rhenish October weather, that is the acme of fine weather as far as I know, not a cloud on the sky, hot sun, cool bracing air at the same time. Why cannot you and Lafargue come for a week, the place is getting empty, plenty of apartments and accommodation of every sort.

I have not heard from Pumps since the letter I had at Ramsgate dated, I believe, 15th August. I wrote her at once, and since then, on arrival in London, last Friday[b] this day week, a postcard, but no reply. Now I am almost certain that she has written to Sarah or her mother Mrs Nicholls who stays in our house during my absence.

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[a] The law does not concern itself with trifles. - [b] 27 August

Would it be too much trouble for you to call there and inform me of the result of your inquiries as I am getting rather anxious and as I am sure there is some misunderstanding abroad by which I am kept without news?

It is now half past nine at night, all windows wide open and yet the fine cool air outside will not come in rapidly enough to enable me to keep my coat on. The beer—oh the beer, it would be worth your while to come here only in order to drink one glass of beer at the Pier refreshment rooms, a nice little café—such splendid beer!

Moore and Beust are off to the 'Parade' (such a thing you know is *de rigueur*[a] at every seaside place) to hear the music and hunt *backfishes*, of which there are excellent specimens here; you know the *backfish*[b] lives on dry land. At all events before leaving they wished to be kindly remembered to both of you.[c]

Yours affectionately
F. Engels

First published in the language of the original (English) in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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## 19

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [50]

IN LONDON

Bridlington Quay, Yorkshire,
3 September 1880
7 Burlington Place

My dear Lafargue,

Why Geneva?[51] The seat of the Swiss Federal Government is Berne and, besides, any other Swiss town would do as well as Geneva. Unless you have specific objections, of which I may be unaware, the

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[a] the form - [b] See this volume, p. 29. Engels puns on the German *Backfisch* (Anglicised here) which means both 'adolescent girl' and 'fried fish'. - [c] Laura and Paul Lafargue

stuff might just as well be deposited in Zurich where someone could undoubtedly be found to take charge of the business. If it suits you, send the things to me here and we will readdress them to someone who will immediately attend to them.

May the soil rest lightly
On the egalitarian *Égalité*.[46]

Yours ever,
F. Engels

First published in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

## 20

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [19]

### IN LONDON

Bridlington Quay, 9 September 1880

My dear Lafargue,

I had to write to you in haste the day before yesterday [52] because we were due to leave at 9.30 for an excursion to Flamboro' Head where our two naturalists [a] botanised in the sea. In case I didn't express myself clearly enough, let me summarise.

The more serious aspect of Grant's scheme is that he alone has the right to raise or lower the value of your shares, if not make them virtually worthless. To begin with, he is deducting 12% per annum for the first 4 guides. If the gross profit amounts to 15%, that leaves a net profit, the shareholders' dividend, of only 3%; if 20% it leaves 8%, etc. But with the generous salaries Grant proposes to pay the local directors, can one count on such profits? That seems to me exceedingly doubtful.

Let us suppose, however, that the gross profit amounts to 20% or even 25%. What will Grant do then? He will propose to borrow yet

[a] Samuel Moore and Adolph Beust

more money so as to launch the remainder of the guides. And he will claim that he can only obtain that money at 15% or 20%. Since he will have a ready-made majority, the vote will go his way. And since you and Jervis won't be able to obtain the money at a cheaper rate, you will get nowhere at all by opposing him. Well then, £3,000 at 12%, £3,000 at 20%, gives an average of 16% — just imagine how a business can function if it is saddled with interest at that rate before so much as a thought can be paid to dividends.

There is nothing to prevent Grant providing you with funds, as soon as there is a further need of them, at still higher interest, the rate of which will depend upon him alone. Since it is he who pockets the interest, at least the greater part thereof, it is in his interest to approach as closely as possible the rate of gross profit generated by the firm. He shares the interest only with the man who advances this money — the net profit he shares with all the other shareholders.

So in fact the value of your PAID UP shares goes down and down and Grant alone has the right to reduce it to nothing. In other words he pays the two of you for your literary property 1. £400; 2. £300 each the moment it suits him to get rid of you; 3. in virtually worthless shares carrying no dividend; total £500 each, always provided Grant does not find a way of avoiding payment of the £300 — which wouldn't be too difficult — by accusing you of breach of contract, in which case there would be a fine old lawsuit costing you much more than £300, even if you won.

Grant cannot invoke your letter. Even if it contains what he alleges, that letter ceases to be valid after the month during which you were bound by it.

Jervis' interest is not identical with yours. If he has neglected his affairs and is prepared to sacrifice the lot of them for £300 a year, that goes to show that they weren't worth the trouble of discussing. Jervis is staying in London. Once launched by Grant on this enterprise, it is in his interest to be launched by him on other enterprises, to act as his *UNDERSTRAPPER* until such time as he has enough money and enough financial contacts to do without him. You have an entirely different interest. You are going to Paris, you hope to find an assured existence in this enterprise. Ask yourself if such is to be found under the terms proposed by Grant.

It is likewise in the interests of your SOLICITOR, evidently another underling, to pay court to Grant. And this applies to everyone save yourself. All the more reason not to conclude anything in haste.

Jervis has undertaken to find the necessary capital; well and good, but this must obviously be on terms acceptable to you, and not on such as would deliver you over bound hand and foot to a money-lender of the first water.

You would do well to sound Bradshaw. The latter has a twofold interest in coming to an arrangement with you in respect both of this country and of the Continent. If only as a means of putting pressure on Grant. It would be better still to have a choice between the two. And Bradshaw cannot allow himself to go in for the sharp practices that are the other man's stock-in-trade. Unfortunately you can no longer have full confidence in Jervis, once he claims to have tired of the matter and advises you to accept forthwith.

That is, of course, the gloomier aspect of the affair. Grant may possibly have more generous intentions, but once the contract has been signed you will be at his mercy, of that you may be certain.

With a man like Grant I see no means of safeguarding oneself. You could insert a condition that all net profits must be used to pay off the £3,000 and that no dividends are distributed so long as the company is paying interest of more than 6% — they would either not accept it or find a way of deleting if at the first shareholders' meeting. And that would merely safeguard the first £3,000; as regards subsequent borrowings it would do nothing of the kind; it would be nonsensical to repay with one hand and borrow with the other.

My advice is *try to manage without Grant* and, if you can't, at least try to make him fear that you can do without him, so that he robs you a little less UNMERCIFULLY than he intended. He will rob you anyhow.

The weather here continues magnificent, sunshine all the time, bracing air, north-east breeze, sea-bathing already somewhat bracing, but this evening I fear I shall have to wear an overcoat as at Ramsgate. The visitors are quite different from those at Ramsgate. Here we have the SHOPKEEPER, the small manufacturer, the TRADESMAN from Leeds, Sheffield, Hull, etc., an atmosphere decidedly more provincial yet at the same time more solid than at Ramsgate; no 'ARRYS. What strikes you most is the fact that all the young girls are *backfish*[a] between 14 and 17 years — what you call the ugly age, although there are some very pretty ones here. Of young girls fashioned to perfection there are none or virtually none. No sooner have they ceased to be backfish than they're put into long skirts and, so it would seem,

[a] Properly *Backfische* — adolescent girls

get married. All the women of 18 and over that one sees are accompanied by their husbands and even by children. Nor did poor Beust, who casts tender glances at the backfish, succeed in initiating any amorous exchanges, however brief. Papa and mama, like the Prussians of Frederick II, are 'constantly on sentry go'.

My best wishes to Laura. The two herbalists[a] send their compliments. The thing has been sent to Beust's father[b] in Zurich. The newspapers will be returned to you. I don't know Marx's whereabouts, for I have not had word from him.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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Translated from the French

## 21

## MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[53]

### IN ST PETERSBURG[54]

Ramsgate, 12 September 1880

My dear Sir,

I need not tell you that I should feel only too happy to do anything you consider useful,[55] but a short statement of the circumstances in which I find myself at this moment will convince you that I am at present unfit for theoretical labour. Having been sent here by the medical men in order to 'do nothing' and to restore my nervous system by the '*far niente*',[c] an illness of my wife, under which she suffered long time since, has suddenly been aggravated to a degree which menaces to tend to a *fatal* termination. Whatever little time I may snatch for work, is necessarily limited to things which I *must* get rid of.

However, the most important part for the *public in general* is that

[a] Moore and Beust - [b] Friedrich Beust - [c] Abbreviated from *dolce far niente* (sweet doing nothing), which originates from a similar Latin expression used by Pliny the Younger in Epistle VIII.

which you have already performed — the drawing up of the statistical tables and the interpretation of the *facts* which they imply. It would be a pity if you delayed the publication which I expect myself with the greatest impatience.[56]

Whatever you may have found useful in my letters for that purpose, you may freely dispose of. Only I fear it is not much, since I sent you only a few fragmentary scraps.

The present crisis was the greatest England has passed through with regard to duration, extent and intensiveness,[57] but despite the failures of some Scotch and English provincial banks — the crowning of the past English great periodical crises, I mean the financial crash in London, shone by its absence. This most extraordinary incident — the absence of the *monetary panic* properly so called, was due to a concatenation of circumstances the analysis of which would lead me too far at present. One of the most decisive circumstances was, however, this: The heavy bullion drain of 1879 was to a great extent met by the cooperation of the Banque de France and the Imperial Bank of Germany. On the other hand, the sudden revival in the United States — since the spring of 1879 — reacted on England like a *deus ex machina.*[a]

As to the agricultural crisis, it will gather strength, develop itself, and, by the bye, come to a head, carrying with it quite a revolution in the relations of landed property,— quite independent of the cycles of the commercial-industrial crises. Even such optimists as Mr Caird have commenced 'to smell a rat'. Most characteristic of English blockheadedness is this: since two years there have been published letters of farmers — in *The Times* as well as in agricultural papers — giving the items of their expenses in cultivating their farms, comparing them with their returns at present prices, and winding up with a positive *deficit.* Would you believe that not one of the specialists — expatiating upon these accounts — has thought of considering *how these accounts* would stand if *the item of rent* was struck out in many cases or reduced 'most feelingly' in many other cases? But this is a delicate point which must not be touched. The farmers themselves, though become unbelievers in the *nostrums* proposed by their landlords or the '*plumitifs*'[b] of the latter, dare not yet assume attitudes of bold vi-

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[a] *deus ex machina* — a god from the machine (by which in ancient theatre gods were shown in the air); a power or an event that comes in the nick of time to solve a difficulty -

[b] hired scribblers

rility, considering that they, on their part, are denounced by the rustic 'labouring class'. A nice pickle it is altogether.

I hope there will be no general war in Europe. Though, ultimately, it could not check, but would rather intensify, the social, I mean thereby the *economical*, development, it would certainly produce a useless exhaustion of forces for some longer or shorter interval.

Please to send your letters as before to my London address, from where I shall always receive them even in case of momentary absence.

Yours most sincerely
A. Williams[a]

First published, in Russian, in the magazine *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 1, St Petersburg, 1908

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Published in English for the first time

## 22

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [58]

IN LONDON

Bridlington Quay, 12th September 1880

My dear Lafargue,

How can I advise you on business if you give me all the information afterwards? If you had sent me the draft articles [59] before, I should have known better what to say. Do not say that you had not got it; it was your business to have had it as soon as printed. *Mais on dirait que vous brûlez de vous faire voler.*[b]

You say the articles *forbid* to borrow at more than 10%. Whoever told you that, reckoned upon your credulity. Article 74 says distinctly that the directors can raise money *upon such terms and conditions in all respects as they think fit.* Now I do not know and cannot be expected to know whether the acts of parliament forbid limited companies to raise money at more than 10%. I doubt it. But if it be the fact, you have before your eyes the proof that that is no use whatever. Have

[a] Marx's pseudonym - [b] But anyone would think you were begging to be robbed.

you not written to me that Grant wanted to raise £ 3,000 — at 10% and a bonus of 20% at the end of five years? 20% divided by 5 is 4, and 10 + 4 are 14; thus, you pay really 14% for your money. Why do you not speak of that when people want to make you believe that Grant cannot get more than 10% out of your company in interest?

Then you say, Jervis and Mason had pris des garanties contre Grant, en ce que rien de nouveau pouvait être décidé sans qu'on ait au moins le vote des $^4/_5$ des actionnaires, et que Grant n'avait que 55% et que par conséquent il ne pouvait rien faire sans votre consentement.

Décidément on se moque de vous.[a] In the whole agreement *not a word* about $^4/_5$ of the shareholders. All resolutions by *simple majorities*. It may be in the acts of parliament that $^4/_5$ are required *to alter the original deed of association*. But that is not the question. I have shown you the way how Grant by his system of loans at 10% and any bonus he likes, can suck all the profits out of the company. And Article 74 gives him the right to do so, without even consulting anybody but his directors who, whatever they may be, are sure to be his puppets.

Secondly. All the capital being subscribed you have

1) 5,000 votes for original capital — £ 5,000.-

2) 3,000 votes for preference shares 3,000 at £ 5 each (Art. 49). 8,000 votes in all. Out of these you, Jervis and Mason have together 2,250 votes, that is to say not 45% against 55%, but 28% against 72%. Still more than $^1/_5$, but not very far off. Let a few shares be sold by one of you, and the power to stop even alterations of deed of association is lost by you. You will be told that it is not intended to issue all the preference shares. But how long that remains so, will depend upon Grant.

There is another article which may affect you and alter the case. Art. 21 says that for calls not yet made, but paid up by the shareholder voluntarily, interest up to 10% shall be paid. I should presume that this applies to your *paid up* shares, only, if it was so, Jervis and Mason would have pointed it out to you; at least I should think so. If that be the case and you can secure 10% on the greater part of your shares that would be so much in your favour. *See whether it is so or not.*

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[a] safeguarded themselves against Grant in that no new decision could be taken without the consent of at least $^4/_5$ of the shareholders and that Grant had only 55% and hence could do nothing without your consent.— They're having you on, no doubt about that.

Upon the whole I think, after your last letter, a little more favourably of the business. If the money raised at such ruinous interest can be limited to the first £ 3,000 .- and these repaid after the 5 years or before, the thing may work well. But it strikes me that it will require very large profits indeed to pay all these lavish expenses. £ 50.- to each director, £ 100.- to the Chairman, £? to the Manager, £ 300.- to the directors in London and Paris and so forth. All that with a working capital of £ 3,000.-, less than three times the salaries named above! And 14% interest besides.

I cannot write to you about Jervis as you say you read my letters to him and Mason. Else I should have something to say to that. Anyhow, the honesty of a financier is different from that of some people, be it ever so honest in its own way.

I must conclude; dinner is going to be laid. Si vous ne voyez pas d'autre voie, naturellement vous vous êtes trop avancé pour reculer tout seul. Mais réfléchissez bien, et rassurez-vous sur les points indiqués ci-dessus.

Je n'ai que l'argent absolument nécessaire pour mon voyage et même peut-être pas cela. Mon CHEQUE-BOOK est à Londres où je serai de retour samedi soir [30]; jusque là, je ne pourrai rien faire.

Si vous pouvez retarder l'affaire G. jusqu'à mon arrivée, on pourrait peut-être avoir plus de renseignements.

Bien des choses à Laura de la part de nous tous.

Bien à vous

F. E.

Je rapporterai les articles d'association à moins que vous n'en avez un besoin immédiat.[a]

First published, in the languages of the original (English and French), in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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[a] Unless you can see some other way out you have, of course, gone too far to withdraw all on your own. But think it over carefully and make sure about the points outlined above.

I only have such money as is absolutely essential for my journey, and maybe not even that. My cheque-book is in London, whither I shall return on Saturday evening [30]; until then I shall be unable to do anything.

## 23

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Bridlington Quay, 13 September 1880
7 Burlington Place

Dear Moor,

Have received the enclosed from Liebknecht. I am writing to tell him that, provided he hears nothing to the contrary within the next few days, we shall be back in London again from next Sunday, 19 September,[30] and shall be expecting them (him and Bebel).[60] So if you should be prevented in any way, kindly let me know.

I haven't had an answer to a postcard sent from here to your address in Ramsgate[38] on 29 August; no doubt it didn't arrive. Yesterday I heard from Lafargue, who said you would be returning to London today.

We shall be returning at the end of this week; wet weather since the day before yesterday, before which the weather was splendid.

I hope your wife is better.

Warmest regards to all, likewise from Moore and Beust.

Your
F. E.

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If you can postpone the Grant business until my arrival, it might be possible to obtain more information.

Best wishes to Laura from us all.

Yours ever,
F. E.

I shall bring the articles of association with me unless you need them at once.

## 24

## MARX TO FERDINAND FLECKLES

IN KARLSBAD

[London,] 29 September 1880

My Dear Friend,

My best thanks for your letter.[61] Ladies have their own ideas about things. Which is why my wife[a] didn't want to reply on this side of the form, nor indeed, in accordance with any formula, but after her own fashion. Not having read her letter, I don't know whether her answer is appropriate; however, women will have their way.[b]

Eleanor sends her kind regards.

*Tout à vous,*[c]
Karl Marx

First published in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Nr. 1, Berlin, 1966

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## 25

## ENGELS TO EUGEN OSWALD AND AN UNKNOWN CORRESPONDENT[62]

IN LONDON

[London,] 5 October 1880
122 Regent's Park Road

Dear Oswald,

Many thanks for the recommendations for Beust,[d] which have all been attended to. As regards Kaulitz, I got an identical letter—

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[a] Jenny Marx - [b] Marx paraphrases the German proverb 'Des Menschen Wille ist sein Himmelreich' corresponding to the English 'The will of man is the arbiter of his fortune'. - [c] All yours - [d] Adolf von Beust

my reply on the reverse. As regards Br.,[a] we are unlikely to quarrel.

Ever yours
F. Engels

[On the reverse of the letter]

* (Copy) Confid.

Sir,

Mr Kaulitz was introduced to me on his arrival in England last spring, by a letter from an old friend in Germany. The letter stated that Mr Kaulitz was of a very good family, his father being one of the first notaries in Brunswick (a position of much importance and great trust in Germany), and recommended him warmly to me. From what I have seen of him since, he appears to be a man of very great business abilities and to have succeeded very well, so far, in the scholastic line; but on this point no doubt the professional gentleman to whom Mr K. may have referred you, will be able to give you more satisfactory information.

I am etc.
F. E.*

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

The letter to Oswald is printed according to a typewritten copy and that to the unknown correspondent reproduced from a photocopy of the original

Published in English for the first time

[a] Presumably Bennet Burleigh (cf. this volume, p. 38).

## 26

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 12 October 1880

Dear Old Man,

I've heard from Liebknecht that you're still short of cash but that they can't help you just now. By a lucky chance I was on the point of putting a five pound note on one side for you and have lost no time in changing it into a money order for 126 frs. I trust it reaches you safely and soon and will tide you over your initial difficulties until such time as the Leipzigers can do something for you. And so they damned well ought. You're certainly as much a victim of the Exceptional Law [16] as the agitators in Germany who have been deprived of their livelihood.

Liebknecht was here [60] and promised that the Zurich paper [a] would adopt a different attitude in keeping with the party's former attitude. If that is done, it's all we ask.

Adieu and keep your pecker up.

Your old friend

F. Engels

First published in: F. Engels, *Vergessene Briefe (Briefe Friedrich Engels' an Johann Philipp Becker)*, Berlin, 1920

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## 27

## ENGELS TO HARRY KAULITZ

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 28 October 1880

Mr H. Kaulitz

I return herewith Mr Burleigh's letter.

As to the matter of Mr Lafargue, you concede the chief point,

[a] *Der Sozialdemokrat*

namely that you have given his name as a reference without his permission. The rest is beside the point.

With regard to Beust,[a] I do not propose to go into the question of *when* you offered to give the said lessons elsewhere. This much is certain: that after our return from Bridlington Quay [30] you again offered to give lessons to Beust, that you promised, in the presence of myself and Schorlemmer, to set about the thing in the manner stipulated, that you did the opposite of what you had promised, and that Beust, far from attacking his 'very dear friend Kaulitz' behind his back, told him in Trafalgar Square exactly what he thought of him, adding quite rightly that all three of us had been convinced from the outset that you wouldn't do a single thing you had promised. I should have written you off there and then had it not been for the fact that I avoid making *private* matters a cause for breaking with people with whom I have been in any way connected *politically*.

Concerning the tittle-tattle in the Central News, I will not labour the point as to whether it was you or Most who disseminated it, since I am not permitted to divulge my sources, and since, on the other hand, I lay no store at all by the agent's letter.

If one is compelled to make a decision such as mine in regard to yourself, one bases it not on this or that particular indiscretion, but rather on the other's whole mode of behaviour, observed over a considerable period. And in any case your almost daily intercourse with Most and Co., which you freely admit, is quite enough to supply, in place of the fact you contest, another that is no less convincing.

Yours very truly

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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[a] Adolf von Beust

## 28

## MARX TO JOHN SWINTON

### IN NEW YORK

London, 4 November 1880
41 Maitland Park Road, N.W.

My dear Sir,

I have sent you today a copy of the French edition of the *Capital.* [63] I have at the same time to thank you for your friendly article in *The Sun.* [43]

Apart Mr Gladstone's 'sensational' failures abroad [64] — political interest centres here at present on the Irish 'Land Question'. And why? Mainly because it is the harbinger of the *English 'Land Question'*.

Not only that the great landlords of England are also the largest landholders of Ireland, but having once broken down in what is ironically called the 'Sister'-island, the English landed system will no longer be tenable at home. There are arrayed against it the British farmers, wincing under high rents, and — thanks to the American competition — low prices; the British agricultural labourers, at last impatient of their traditional position of ill-used beasts of burden, and — that British party which styles itself '*Radical*'. The latter consists of two sets of men; first the *ideologues* of the party, eager to overthrow the political power of the aristocracy by mining its material basis, the semi-feudal landed property. But behind these principle-spouters, and hunting them on, lurks another set of men — sharp, close-fisted, calculating *capitalists*, fully aware that the abolition of the old land laws, in the way proposed by the ideologues, cannot but convert land into a commercial article that must ultimately concentrate in the hands of capital.

On the other side, considered as a national entity, John Bull has ugly misgivings lest the aristocratic English landed garrison in Ireland once gone — England's political sway over Ireland will go too!

Liebknecht has to enter prison for 6 months. — The *Anti-Socialists' Law* [16] having failed to overthrow or even to weaken the German Social-Democratic organisation, Bismarck clings the more desperately to his panacea, and fancies that it *must* work, if only applied on a larg-

er scale. Hence he has extended the *state of siege*[65] to Hamburg, Altona, and 3 other Northern towns. Under these circumstances the German friends have written me a letter of which one passage runs thus:

'The Socialist Law, though it could not break and never will break our organisation, does impose pecuniary sacrifices almost impossible to bear. To support the families ruined by the police, to keep alive the few papers left to us, to keep up the necessary communications by secret messengers, to fight the battle on the whole line — all this requires money. We are nearly exhausted and forced to appeal to our friends and sympathisers in other countries.'

So far this extract.

Now, we, here at London, Paris, etc., will do our best. At the same time, I believe that a man of your influence might organise a subscription in the United States. Even if the monetary result were not important, denunciations of Bismarck's new *coup d'état* in public meetings held by you, reported in the American press, reproduced on the other side of the Atlantic — would sorely hit the Pomeranian *hobereau*[a] and be welcomed by all the socialists of Europe. More information you might get from Mr Sorge (Hoboken). Any money forthcoming to be sent over to Mr *Otto Freytag, Landtagsabgeordneter,*[b] *Amtmannshof, Leipzig*. His address ought of course not to be made public; otherwise the German police would simply *confiscate*.

*À propos*. My youngest daughter[c] — who was not with us at Ramsgate — just tells me that she has cut my portrait from the copy of the *Capital* I sent you, on the pretext that it was a mere caricature. Well, I shall make up for it by a photogram to be taken on the first fine day.

Mrs Marx and the whole family send you their best wishes.

Yours most sincerely,

Karl Marx

First published in *Science and Society*, Vol. II, No. 2, New York, 1938

Reproduced from the original

[a] Junker - [b] deputy to the Provincial Diet - [c] Eleanor Marx

## 29

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [63]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 5 November 1880
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sorge,

You must excuse my long silence on the grounds 1. of excessive pressure of work, 2. of my wife's exceedingly grave illness which has now lasted for something over a year.

You have yourself seen what JOHN Most has blossomed out into and, on the other hand, how wretchedly the so-called party organ, the Zurich *Sozialdemokrat* (not to mention the *Jahrbuch* [a] of that place) — *duce* [b] Dr Höchberg, has been run. As a result Engels and I have been constantly engaged in acrimonious exchanges with the Leipzigers in the course of which many a hard word has been said.[c] But we have eschewed any kind of *public* intervention. It does not befit those who are peacefully — *comparativement parlant* [d] — ensconced abroad to contribute to the gratification of government and bourgeosie by doing anything to aggravate the position of those who are operating in the homeland under the most difficult circumstances and at considerable personal sacrifice. Liebknecht was here a few weeks ago [60] and promised 'improvement' in every respect. The party organisation has been revived, something that could only be done by secret means, i. e. in so far as 'secret' denotes secret from the police.

It was, believe it or not, in a *Russian* socialist paper [e] that I first discovered what a blackguard Most is. He has never dared print in *German* what is to be read here in the *Russian* VERNACULAR. This isn't just an attack on individual persons but a dragging-through-the-mire of the *entire German workers' movement*. At the same time *his utter incomprehension* of the doctrine in which he used to traffic is grotesquely in evidence. It's idle chatter, so silly, so illogical, so abysmal that it finally dissolves into *the inane*, namely into Johannes Most's unbounded personal vani-

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[a] *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* - [b] chief - [c] See present edition, Vol. 45, pp. 366-68, 379-80, 394-408, 416-21, 423-26, 429-31. - [d] comparatively speaking - [e] *Черный передѣлъ* (Cherny Peredel)

ty.[a] Having failed, for all his caterwauling, to achieve anything in Germany — save, perhaps, among certain hoodlums in Berlin — he has allied himself with the Parisian successors of the Bakuninists, the group which publishes the *Révolution Sociale* (its circulation = 210 EXACTLY, but possesses allies in the shape of *Pyat's Commune*. *Pyat*, that cowardly, melodramatic farceur — in whose *Commune* I figure as *Bismarck*'s right-hand man — has a grudge against me for having always treated him with the utmost contempt and frustrated all his attempts to use the *International* for his sensation-mongering). At all events there's one good thing Most has done, namely to bring together in one group all the brawlers — Andreas Scheu, Hasselmann, etc., etc.

In view of *Bismarck*'s new emergency decrees [65] and the persecution of our party members, it is absolutely essential that there should be a *whip-round* for the party. Yesterday I wrote and said as much to *John Swinton*[b] (for a well-disposed bourgeois is best suited to this job), at the same time telling him that he should refer to you for further information about conditions in Germany.

Apart from the inanities mentioned on the previous page — and during our long years of exile how many of the same have we not seen explode like squibs and then fizzle out again! — things in general are going splendidly (I mean the course of events in Europe as a whole), as they are within the confines of the genuinely revolutionary party on the Continent.

You will probably have noticed that the *Égalité*, in particular, (thanks *en première instance*[c] to *Guesde's* having come over to us and to the efforts of my son-in-law, Lafargue) has become the first 'French' *workers' paper* in the true sense of the term. Even *Malon* — albeit with the inconsistencies inseparable from his eclectic nature — has felt bound, in his *Revue socialiste*, (we used to be enemies, he being one of the original co-founders of the *Alliance* [67]) to espouse *le socialisme moderne scientifique*,[d] i. e. the *German* variety. I drew up a '*questionneur*'[sic][e] for him which was first published in the *Revue socialiste* and then reprinted in quantity for distribution throughout France. Shortly afterwards Guesde came to London to collaborate with us (MYSELF, Engels and Lafargue) in drafting an electoral programme [68] for the use of the workers in the forthcoming general elections. With the exception of

[a] [J. Most] [I. Мостъ,] *Нѣмецкая соціалъ-демократія* in *Черный передѣлъ*, No. 2, September 1880, pp. 11-13. - [b] See previous letter. - [c] in the first place - [d] B.Malon, 'Les Débuts du Parti ouvrier', *La Revue socialiste*, No. 11, 5 August 1880. - [e] K. Marx, 'Workers' Questionnaire'

some foolishnesses such as *minimum wages* fixed by law, etc., which despite our protests Guesde thought fit to dole out to the French workers (I told him that if the French proletariat was so puerile as to require these sops SO IS IT NOT WORTH WHILE DRAWING UP ANY PROGRAMME WHATEVER), the economic section of this very short document consists (apart from some introductory words which define the communist aim in a few lines) solely of demands that have, in fact, arisen spontaneously out of the workers' movement itself. To bring the French workers down to earth out of their verbal cloud-cuckoo land was a tremendous step forward, and therefore aroused much resentment among all those French intellectual frauds who make a living as 'cloud-assemblers'. The programme was first adopted, after most vigorous opposition on the part of the anarchists, in the *Région centrale* — i. e. Paris and all its purlieus, and later in many other working-class areas. The simultaneous formation of opposing workers' groups — which (*sauf les anarchistes*,[a] not made up of genuine workers, but of déclassé people with a few misguided workers for their rank-and-file) nevertheless adopted most of the 'practical' demands in the programme — as also the ventilation of the most diverse points of view in relation to other matters, is to my mind proof that this is *the first real workers' movement* in France. Hitherto there have been nothing but sects there which, of course, received their *mot d'ordre*[b] from their founders, while the bulk of the proletariat followed the radical or pseudo-radical bourgeois and fought for them when the day came, only to be slaughtered, deported, etc., on the morrow by the very laddies they had placed at the helm.

The *Émancipation*, which first came out a few days ago at Lyons, will be the organ of the '*parti ouvrier*'[c] — a party that has arisen on the basis of German socialism.

Meanwhile we have also had — and still have — our pioneers in the very camp of the enemy — i. e. in the radical camp. *Theisz* has taken on the workers' question in the *Intransigeant*, Rochefort's organ; after the defeat of the 'Commune' he, like all 'thinking' French socialists, came to London as a Proudhonist and, while there, changed completely as a result of personal intercourse with myself and of a conscientious study of *Capital*. My son-in-law,[d] for his part, gave up his teaching post at King's College,[69] went back to Paris (his

[a] save for the anarchists - [b] word of command - [c] workers' party - [d] Charles Longuet

family, I'm glad to say, is remaining here for the time being), where he became one of the most influential editors of *Justice*, owned by Clemenceau, the leader of the extreme left. He has laboured to such good purpose that Clemenceau who, only last April, publicly entered the arena as the opponent of socialism and the advocate of the American-democratic-republican viewpoint, recently made an anti-Gambetta speech[a] at Marseilles, in which, to judge by its general tenor no less than its references to the most essential points in the *minimum programme*, he came over to our side. Whether he sticks to what he promised doesn't really matter. At all events, he has introduced an element of ours into the radical party whose organs, comically enough, now admire as SOMETHING WONDERFUL, on Clemenceau's lips, what had been ignored or sneered at by them when merely a catchword emanating from the '*parti ouvrier*'.

I need hardly tell you — for you know what *French chauvinism* is like — that the secret strings whereby the LEADERS — from Guesde-Malon to Clemenceau — have been set in motion, must remain *entre nous. Il n'en faut pas parler. Quand on veut agir pour Messieurs les Français, il faut le faire anonymement, pour ne pas choquer le sentiment 'national'*.[b] *As it is, the Anarchists denounce our co-operators already as Prussian agents, under the dictatorship of the 'notorious' Prussian agent* — Karl Marx.

In Russia — where *Capital* is more widely read and acclaimed than anywhere else — our success is even greater. On the one hand, we have the *critics* (mostly young university professors, some of them personal friends of mine,[c] SOME also *littérateurs*), on the other, the *terrorist Central Committee*,[70] whose recent *programme*, clandestinely printed and published in St Petersburg,[71] aroused considerable ire among the anarchist Russians in *Switzerland*, who bring out *The Black Redistribution*[d] (to translate literally from the Russian) in Geneva. Unlike the terrorists, who risk life and limb, these men — most of whom (but not all) left Russia *of their own accord* — constitute the so-called Propaganda Party. (In order to disseminate *propaganda in Russia* — they remove *to Geneva*! What a *quid pro quo*!) These gentry are all of them opposed to politico-revolutionary action. Russia is to leap

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[a] 'Discours de M.Clémenceau', *La Justice*, No. 291, 1 November 1880. - [b] *between ourselves*. You mustn't talk about it. If one wants to act on behalf of *Messieurs les Français*, this must be *done anonymously* so as not to offend 'national' sentiment. - [c] N. I. Sieber, M. M. Kovalevsky - [d] *Черный передѣлъ*

head-over-heels into the anarchist-communist-atheist millennium! Meanwhile they pave the way for that leap by tedious doctrinarianism of which the self-styled *principes courent la rue depuis le feu Bakounine.* [a]

Well, that's enough for now. Let us [hear] from you soon. Warmest regards from my wife.

*Totus tuus,* [b]
Karl Marx

I should be most grateful if you could unearth for me some sound stuff (meaty) on economic conditions in *California,* OF COURSE AT MY EXPENSE. California is of great moment to me because in no other place has revolution by capitalist centralisation been effected with such effrontery at such great speed.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere,* Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

## 30

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 5 November 1880
*IN HASTE*

Dear Sorge,

I had just sent off a longish letter to you [c] when, after the event—*post festum* but not before the post office closed—another point occurred to me in connection with that poor devil Borkheim. Last summer, when I went from Ramsgate [38] to see him in Hastings, where I found him ill in bed, he requested me to ask you to dun a certain *Francis Murhard* (215 Washington Street, Hoboken). This man owes our

[a] principles have been current since the late Bakunin's time. - [b] Ever yours - [c] See previous letter.

friend Borkheim some money—£10 if I remember aright—which he lent Murhard for the journey to America and in respect of which he possesses a promissory note.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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Published in English for the first time

## 31

## MARX TO FERDINAND FLECKLES

### IN CARLSBAD

[London,] 12 November 1880
*In haste*

Dear Friend,

Herewith a card of introduction to my son-in-law Longuet who is to introduce you to Rochefort.

No doubt you will by now have received the letter my wife eventually sent off; like all female invalids, she always despairs of the doctors who happen to be attending her.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Karl Marx

[Address on the envelope in Marx's hand]

Dr. F. Fleckles, Carlsbad (Austria)

First published in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50, Moscow, 1981

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# 32

## MARX TO ACHILLE LORIA[72]

IN MANTUA

London, 13 November 1880
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mr Loria,

Domestic upsets resulting from my wife's very dangerous illness have delayed my reply to your letter of 14 September.[73] I regret that my lack of personal means does not allow me to provide for your stay in London, the more so since I have the highest opinion of your talent, your learning and your scientific future.[74]

Being of a somewhat solitary disposition and eschewing as I do all contact with the English press, I have very little influence and few connections to place at your disposal. I know from experience that Italian competition, as regards both contributions to the press and private lessons, is OVERDONE in London, as in every other sphere of the struggle for existence.

Nevertheless, on the re-opening of Parliament — until which time everyone, i. e. *THE UPPER TEN THOUSANDS*, deserts the metropolis — I shall consult SOME WELL-MEANING AND INFLUENTIAL MEN. In the meantime, perhaps you would be so kind as to let me know whether you speak French and a modicum of English.

Yours very faithfully,
Karl Marx

First published abridged in A. Loria, *Ricordi di uno studente settuagenario*, Bologna, 1927 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

## 33

## MARX TO HENRY MAYERS HYNDMAN [75]

### IN LONDON

[London,] 8 December 1880

My dear Sir,

Mrs Marx, like most sickly people whose illness has assumed a chronic character, becomes sometimes suddenly unable to leave her bedroom and then fit again for social intercourse. Believing she could within a few days pay a visit to Mrs Hyndman, she did not write to her at once, but as we are this week inundated with visitors from the Continent, she begs me to write you that she will give herself the pleasure to call upon Mrs Hyndman next week.

I welcome the prospect of the journal you speak of. If you say that you do not share the views of my party for England I can only reply that that party considers an English revolution not *necessary*, but — according to historic precedents — *possible*. If the unavoidable evolution turn into a revolution, it would not only be the fault of the ruling classes, but also of the working class. Every pacific concession of the former has been wrung from them by 'pressure from without'. Their action kept pace with that pressure and if the latter has more and more weakened, it is only because the English working class know not how to wield their power and use their liberties, both of which they possess legally.

In Germany the working class were fully aware from the beginning of their movement that you cannot get rid of a military despotism but by a Revolution. At the same time they understood that such a Revolution, even if at first successful, would finally turn against them without previous organisation, acquirement of knowledge, propaganda, and [word illegible]. Hence they moved within strictly *legal* bounds. The illegality was all on the side of government, which declared them *en dehors la loi*.[a] Their crimes were not *deeds*, but *opinions* unpleasant to their rulers. Fortunately, the same government — the working class having been pushed to the background with the help of the bourgeoisie — becomes now more and more unbearable to the

[a] beyond the law

latter, whom it hits on their most tender point—the pocket. This state of things cannot last long.

Please to present my compliments to Mrs Hyndman.

Yours very truly,
Karl Marx

First published in: H. M. Hyndman, *The Record of an Adventurous Life*, London, 1911

Reproduced from the book

## 34

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

### IN GENEVA

London, 24 December 1880

Dear Old Man,

This is to advise you in all haste that I have taken out a money order for you for five pounds sterling = 126 frs, which I trust you will receive.

When Liebknecht was here [60] I hauled him over the coals for having failed so much as to consider you when distributing the relief fund. I told him you were just as much, if not more, a victim of the Anti-Socialist Law [16] as many of the Berliners, amongst whom there are some notorious blackguards. Now he has written to say: *Becker will be cared for*. So make sure this is done and, if not and supposing it embarrasses you to dun them, drop me a line and I'll see to it for you.

Better luck in the New Year.

Your old friend,
F. Engels

First published in: F. Engels, *Vergessene Briefe (Briefe Friedrich Engels' an Johann Philipp Becker)*, Berlin, 1920

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## 35

## MARX TO CARL HIRSCH

### IN LONDON

[London,] 29 December 1880

Dear Hirsch,

You would oblige me by coming here next Friday evening (*7 o'clock*) to dine with us and to celebrate the New Year.

*Salut.*

K. M.

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# 1881

## 36

## MARX TO CHARLES LONGUET

IN PARIS

[London,] 4 January 1881

Dear Longuet,

With the immense agglomerate of old newspapers it would take me too much time to find out *The Eastern Post* which contains the controversy of the General Council (inclus. its Communard members) with the illustrious Bradlaugh.[a] [76] However, I suppose Lessner will have the *Post* ready at hand. This, however, is for you the least important thing. That Bradlaugh denounced the Communards, that he reproduced the worst calumnies, as you told him then in the *Post*,[b] of such papers as the *Liberté*, the *Soir*, that he fell foul of the manifesto of the General Council on 'The Civil War in France',[c] etc., this will hardly damage him in the eyes of the Paris bourgeoisie. Still the thing may be shortly hinted at as characteristic of the man. In an answer of the General Secretary of the General Council (it was *Hales*, but that man must not be honoured by naming him) to Bradlaugh (in *The Eastern Post*, *September 1871*), he said amongst other things:

> '...The wanton destruction of private dwellings (by Thiers' bombardment) was the work of Mr Bradlaugh's friends... Rochefort has been sentenced under the Republic to transportation for life for a press offence. Fancy Mr Bradlaugh being transported for life for his utterances!'[d]

The important thing is that Bradlaugh was denounced by the General Council (extracts of whose sittings were reported by *The*

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[a] 'Mr Bradlaugh and the International', *The Eastern Post*, No. 173, 20 January 1872. - [b] 'Mr Bradlaugh and the Communists', *The Eastern Post*, No. 168, 16 December 1871. - [c] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France. Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association*. - [d] J. Hales, 'To the Editor of *The Eastern Post*', *The Eastern Post*, No. 158, 7 October 1871.

*Eastern Post*) as a Courtesan of Plon-Plon (he was at London then) and because of his suspect relations in Paris.[a] In the sitting of the General Council of *December 19, 1871* I (informed by the Frenchman, who wrote under the name Azamouth or another Turkish name, and who was informed by a lady — probably the Brimont, present at social gathering later on referred to) denounced a recent trip of Bradlaugh's to Paris, where he associated with Détroyat and Émile de Girardin. In his honour the latter gave a dinner where equivocuous, i. e. *Bonapartist*, ladies assisted and where Bradlaugh rendered himself ridiculous by the boastful display of his pretended London influence.

If Bradlaugh says that the Brimont was a great patriot, at the time he made her acquaintance, he may be fully believed. Before the battle of Sedan all Bonapartists were so far patriots that they wished victory to their Emperor.[b] After the battle of Sedan they still remained patriots, because, from their standpoint, *France could only be saved* by Louis Bonaparte's restauration, even if that restauration must be accomplished by the aid of Bismarck.

It is self-understood that you must *not name* me. As to the details of Bradlaugh's intimacy with the Brimont, Blanc (*le vieux*)[c] is the man to furnish them.

In his controversy with the General Council Bradlaugh got the help — of the *Soir* (Paris journal). In the Council's sitting of *January 2, 1872* Serraillier communicated:

> 'He had read an article in *Le Soir* written in defence of Bradlaugh. It said he (Bradlaugh) *had honoured the Journal* (*Le Soir*) *by contributing to it* and was a safe governmental man, and had nothing to do with demagogic intrigues.'

When Gladstone dissolved Parliament (the occasion on which he was overthrown by Disraeli), Bradlaugh's lecturing room was decorated by immense placards with the inscription 'Farewell to Iconoclast, the People's Redeemer! Welcome to the great dreadnaught of St Stephen's!' [77] But he had counted without his host. He was not elected member of Parliament, despite his public begging letters (for a good testimonial) to Bright and other leaders of the 'great liberal party', who replied in a very cool way. It was also no use boasting of having dined with a life-Bishop (of the church of England).

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[a] 'International Working Men's Association', *The Eastern Post*, No.169, 23 December 1871. - [b] Napoleon III - [c] old man

In the last election[a] Bradlaugh was happier for this reason: He was one of the noisiest demagogic supporters of Gladstone's pro-Russian campaign against Disraeli — in fact one of the most turbulent tools of the Party who wanted to get in 'Place and Pelf' again, *coûte que coûte.*[b] Moreover, no constituency was to be hazarded in the impending, decisive electoral battle. The prudery of the Whig and radical party had to be thrown overboard. Now Bradlaugh's election at Northampton was not safe, despite the strong contingent of shoemakers in that town who belong to his 'sect'; but these shoemakers had before voted for him like one man, and he had failed. But then there was another liberal candidate, difficult to place, because notorious for his '*affaires véreuses en matière de finances*'[c] and moreover damaged by some scandals of another sort (*des gifles reçus*).[d] This man was Labouchere. He is one of the three proprietors of *The Daily News*, hence the partner of that *gros bonnet*[e] of the liberal party — the *pietist* capitalist *Samuel Morley*. Difficult as it was to carry through either Bradlaugh or Labouchere, it was feasible to do so by making a *couple* of them. Samuel Morley's — the pietist's — public recommendation (by printed letter) of the atheist Bradlaugh secured him the religious element of Northampton, while Bradlaugh secured to Labouchere the infidel shoemakers of that town. Thus both together passed as members for Northampton.

The utter meanness of Bradlaugh shines most in the manoeuvres by which he has succeeded to oust all the other popular preachers of free thought (the scientific preachers address themselves to other *couches sociales*[f]) such as Mrs Law, who wanted not to be his personal *séides*,[g] by appropriating to himself all the funds of the party. He even succeeded to have all lecturing halls in London shut to them, while he built out of the party's funds a lecturing hall for his own personal use. Mrs Law etc. were so confined to lecturing in the provinces. If it interests you (but I think it is not worth while entering into details), you can have full information on this point from the persons concerned.

*Salut*

K. M.

(*Verte*)[h]

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[a] in 1880 - [b] at any cost - [c] shady dealings in financial matters - [d] slaps in the face - [e] bigwig - [f] social strata - [g] henchmen - [h] (Turn over)

Can you give me some information on a person named *E. Fortin* who has written me several letters addressing me as: '*Mon cher maître.*' His demand is very 'modest'. While he studies the *Capital* he proposes to make monthly *résumés* which he is kind enough to be willing to send over to me monthly, whereupon I shall correct them monthly, elucidating the points he might have misunderstood. In this quiet way, when he had done with the last monthly résumé, and I sent it back corrected — he would have a manuscript ready for publication and — as he says — inundate France with torrents *de lumière.*[a]

Now I shall — even for mere want of time — not answer to his call, but at all events I must reply to his letter. He may be a well-intentioned man. Before writing him I should like to have some information. He resides at present at Beauvais, 22, rue de la Porte de Paris.

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## 37

## MARX TO AN UNKNOWN CORRESPONDENT[78]

### IN LONDON

[London,] 31 January 1881
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

Please to forward me the papers etc. enumerated in the enclosed list. At the same time you would greatly oblige me by the information whether there exists a short compendium of the Factory and Workshops' Acts?

I possess myself the several Acts, but a member of the French Chamber of Deputies has asked me to procure him such a compendium where he might find the whole matter together. Has not been

[a] of light

something of the sort been published by Mr Redpath, Factory Inspector?[a]

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 35, Moscow, 1964

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## 38

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[79]

### IN VIENNA

London, 1 February 1881
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mr Kautsky,

Having been long prevented, I am at last able to reply to your letter.[80]

Now, in view of the fact that you intend to come here shortly, it would be a somewhat unnecessary labour to let you have a detailed critique *in writing* of the book you have been good enough to send me; since I shall, in all probability, have the pleasure of discussing it with you in person, I shall confine myself to just a few points.

1. What you say on p. 66 etc. is invalidated by the fact that other, real differences exist between surplus value and profit on capital besides the percentage estimate based on the variable or total capital. The main passages from *Capital* relating to this are summarised in *Anti-Dühring*, p. 182.[81]

2. Even if the armchair socialists[82] persist in demanding that we proletarian socialists should help them solve the problem of how to avoid what looks like imminent over-population and the threat of collapse this poses to the new social order, that is very far from being a reason why I should do them such a favour. To resolve all the

[a] Presumably A. Redgrave, *The Factory and Workshop Act, 1878*, London, 1879.

doubts and scruples of these chaps which they owe to the excess of their own muddle-headed wisdom, or even to refute, for example, all the monstrous twaddle which Schäffle alone has assembled in his many fat tomes, [83] is, in my opinion, a sheer waste of time. It would fill a fair-sized book were one merely to attempt to put right all the *misquotations* from *Capital* inserted by these gentlemen between inverted commas. They should first learn to read and copy before demanding to have their questions answered.

Moreover, I do not regard the question as in any way a burning one at a moment when American mass production, as yet only in its infancy, and *really* large-scale agriculture are threatening to all but suffocate us by the sheer volume of the means of subsistence produced; on the eve of an upheaval of which one of the first consequences must be to *populate the globe*—what you say on the subject on pp. 169-70, skates too lightly over this point—and which, moreover, will *of necessity call for* considerable demographic growth in Europe.

Euler's calculation [84] has about as much merit as the one concerning the kreutzer which, invested at compound interest in the year dot, doubles every 13 years and therefore now amounts to some $\frac{1 \times 2^{144}}{60}$ gulden, a silver nugget larger than the earth. When you say on p. 169 that social conditions in America are not very different from those in Europe, this holds good only so long as you consider nothing but the large coastal cities, or even the outward legal forms those conditions assume. There can be no doubt that the vast mass of the American people live in conditions that are exceedingly favourable to demographic growth. The stream of immigrants is proof of this. And yet it has taken more than 30 years to double itself. Alarmism doesn't come into it.

The abstract possibility that mankind will increase numerically to such an extent that its propagation will have to be kept within bounds does, of course, exist. But should communist society ever find itself compelled to regulate the production of humans in the same way as it has already regulated the production of things, then it, and it alone, will be able to effect this without difficulty. In such a society it would not, or so it seems to me, be particularly difficult to obtain deliberately a result which has already come about naturally and haphazardly in France and Lower Austria. At all events, it's for those chaps to decide whether, when and how it's to be done and what

means they wish to use. I don't consider myself qualified to supply them with suggestions and advice about this. Indeed, these chaps will, presumably, be every bit as clever as we are.

Incidentally, as early as 1844 I wrote (*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, p. 109): 'For even if Malthus were completely right, this' (socialist) 'transformation would have to be undertaken straight away; for only this transformation, only the education of the masses which it provides, makes possible that moral restraint of the propagative instinct which Malthus himself presents as the most effective and easiest remedy for over-population.'[a]

That must suffice until I am able to discuss the other points with you in person. You are quite right to come over here. You are one of the few among the younger generation who really tries to learn something, and hence it will do you a lot of good to get out of the atmosphere of non-criticism in which all the historical and economic literature currently being produced in Germany is going to wrack and ruin.

With sincere regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 39

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 2 February 1881

Dear Mr Bernstein,

Enclosed a letter to Kautsky,[b] which kindly forward; I don't know whether the Vienna address I was given is still the right one.

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[a] F. Engels, *Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy* (present edition, Vol. 3, p. 439).-
[b] See previous letter.

The 5 nos. of the *Sozialdemokrat* since the year began testify to a significant step forward. Gone are the melancholy, despairing tones of a 'beaten man', the complementary grandiloquence of stuffy respectability, the incessant revolutionary rhetoric *à la* Most alternating with philistine tameness, finally the constant preoccupation with Most. The tone has become lively and purposeful. The paper will no longer act as an opiate if it stays like this; rather it will put new heart into our people in Germany. As you have the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* you would do well to take a look at it occasionally. The mockery and contempt with which we treated our opponents were precisely what brought us in almost 6,000 subscribers in the 6 months prior to the state of siege [85] and, although we started again from scratch in November, we again had the full tally and more by May '49. The *Kölnische Zeitung* has now admitted that in those days it *only had 9,000*.

As it seems that you are short of material for your feuilleton, you might, sometime, reprint the poem from No. 44 of 1848: 'This morning I went to Düsseldorf'; possibly with the title 'A Socialist-Eater of 1848' (feuilleton to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of 14 July 1848) and, under it, the author: Georg Weerth (died Havana, 1856). [86] So just keep it up!

Yours,
F. E.

'Thou shalt not steal' and the apology for the execution of Louis XVI [87] are very good.

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## 40

## MARX TO CARL PEARSON [88]

### IN LONDON

[London,] 15 February 1881
41 Maitland Park, N. W.

My dear Sir,

I should have answered before but for great pressure of work during the last days.

Will you give me the pleasure to call on me on Thursday next,[a] 8 o'clock p. m.?

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

First published in *Neues Deutschland*, 15./16. Dezember 1984 as a facsimile and in German translation

Reproduced from the original

## 41

## MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON [7]

### IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 19 February 1881

My dear Sir,

In all haste these few lines in answer to your friendly letter.

Since my return from Ramsgate [38] my health was generally improving, but the detestable weather, lasting for months, we are passing through, has blessed me with a perpetual cold and coughing, interfering with sleep, etc. But the worst is that Mrs Marx's state becomes daily more dangerous notwithstanding my resort to the most celebrated medical men of London, and I have besides a host of

[a] 17 February

domestic troubles, which it would be tedious entering upon. On the other hand, I had and have to struggle through an immense lot of blue books [89] sent to me from different countries, above all from the United States, so that my working time is hardly sufficient for the task, since all night labour has for many years absolutely been interdicted by my medical advisers. Hence an awful correspondence-indebtedness starts me in the face. Just now my whole family is in a hubbub because of the removal of my eldest daughter, Madame Longuet, with her children,[a] from London to Paris, where her husband[b] — (since the amnesty; he was in the interval Professor of King's College, London) [69] — has become one of the editors of the *Justice* (he inspired Clemenceau's semi-socialistic speech at Marseilles[c]). You understand how painful — in the present state of Mrs Marx — this separation must be. For her and myself our grandchildren, three little boys, were inexhaustible sources of enjoyment, of life.

Now first as to the enclosed manuscript.[90] Its author, Mr Lafargue, is the husband of my second daughter,[d] and one of my direct disciples. He has requested me to try whether through your interference he could become a contributor to a Petersburg Review, the *Отечественныя Записки* or the *Слово*. (I think they are the only ones where he might have a chance.) If so, you would be empowered to change or suppress anything not suitable to the St Petersburg Meridian. As to his 'name', the initials would do. At all events it will interest you to read the manuscript.

I have read with the greatest interest your article [56] which is in the best sense of the word 'original'. Hence the Boycotting. If you break through the webs of routine thought, you are always sure to be 'boycotted' in the first instance; it is the only arm of defence which in their first perplexity the *routiniers* know how to wield. I have been 'boycotted' in Germany for many many years, and am still so in England, with that little variation that from time to time something so absurd and asinine is launched against me that I would blush to take any public notice of it. But try on: The next thing to do — in my opinion — is to take up the wonderfully increasing *indebtedness of the landlords*, the upper class representatives of agriculture, and show them how they are 'crystallised' in the retort under the control of the 'new pillars of society'.

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[a] Jean, Henri and Edgar - [b] Charles Longuet - [c] 'Discours de M. Clémenceau', *La Justice*, No. 291, 1 November 1880. - [d] Laura

I am very anxious to see your polemics with the *Слово*.[91] As soon as I shall sail in more quiet waters I shall enter more fully upon your *Esquisse*.[a] For the present I cannot omit one observation. The soil being exhausted and getting not the elements — by artificial and vegetable and animal manure, etc.— to supply its wants, will with the changing favour of the seasons, of circumstances independent of human influence — still continue to yield harvests of very different amounts, though, summing up a period of years, as f. i. from 1870-80, the stagnant character of the production presents itself in the most striking character. Under such circumstances the favourable climatic conditions pave the way to a *famine year* by quickly consuming and setting free the mineral fertilizers still latent in the soil, while *vice versa* a *famine year*, and still more a series of bad years following it, allow the soil-inherent minerals to accumulate anew, and to work efficiently with returning favour of the climatic conditions. Such a process goes of course everywhere on but *elsewhere* it is checked by the modifying intervention of the agriculturist himself. It becomes *the only regulating factor* where man has ceased to be a 'power' — for want of means.

So we have *1870* an excellent harvest in your country, but that year is a *climax year*, and as such immediately followed by a very bad one; the year *1871*, the very bad harvest, must be considered as the starting point for a new little cycle, till we come to the new climax year 1874, which is immediately followed by the famine year 1875; then the upwards movement begins again, ending in the still worse famine year 1880. The summing up of the years during the whole period proves that the average annual production remained the same and that the mere natural factors have alone produced the changes comparing the single years and the smaller cycles of years.

I wrote you some time ago,[b] that if the great industrial and commercial crisis England has passed through went over without the culminating financial crash at London, this *exceptional* phenomenon was only due to — French money. This is now seen and acknowledged even by English *routiniers*. Thus *The Statist* (January 29, 1881) says:

'The money market has only be[en] so easy as it has been during the past year *through an accident*. The *Bank of France* in the early autumn permitted its stock of gold

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[a] [N. F. Danielson,] *Очерки нашего пореформеннаго общественнаго хозяйства*. Signed: *Николай — онъ*. - [b] See this volume, p. 30.

bullion to fall from £30 Millions to £22 Millions... *Last autumn undoubtedly there was a very narrow escape.*' (!)

The *English railway system* rolls on the same inclined plane as the European *Public Debt system.* The ruling magnates amongst the different railway-nets directors contract not only — progressively — new loans *in order to enlarge their networks*, i. e. the 'territory', where they rule as absolute monarchs, but they enlarge their respective networks *in order to have new pretexts for engaging in new loans* which enable them to pay the interest due to the holders of obligations, preferential shares, etc., and also from time to time to throw a sop to the much ill-used common shareholders in the shape of somewhat increased dividends. This pleasant method must one day or another terminate in an ugly catastrophe.

In the *United States* the railway kings have become the butt of attacks, not only, as before this, on the part of the farmers and other industrial '*entrepreneurs*' of the *West*, but also on the part of the grand representative of commerce — the *New York Chamber of Commerce.* The octopodus railway king and financial swindler *Gould* has, on his side, told the New York commercial magnates:

> You now attack the railways, because you think them most vulnerable considering their present unpopularity; but take heed: after the railways *every sort of corporation* (means in the Yankee dialect *joint stock company*) will have its turn; then, later on, *all forms of associated capital*; finally, *all forms of capital*; you are thus paving the way to — *Communism* whose tendencies are already more and more spreading among the people.

M. Gould '*a le flair bon*'.[a]

In *India* serious complications, if not a general outbreak, is in store for the British government. What the English take from them annually in the form of rent, dividends for railways useless to the Hindoos, pensions for military and civil servicemen, for Afghanistan and other wars, etc. etc.— what they take from them *without any equivalent* and *quite apart* from what they appropriate to themselves annually *within* India, speaking only of the *value of the commodities* the Indians have *gratuitously* and annually to send *over* to England, it amounts to *more than the total sum of income of the 60 millions of agricultural and industrial labourers of India*! This is a bleeding process, with a vengeance! The famine years are pressing each other and *in dimensions* till

[a] has a good nose

now not yet suspected in Europe! There is an actual conspiracy going on wherein Hindus and Mussulmans cooperate; the British government is aware that something is 'brewing', but this shallow people (I mean the governmental men), stultified by their own parliamentary ways of talking and thinking, do not even desire to see clear, to realize the whole extent of the imminent danger! To delude others and by deluding them to delude yourself—this is: *parliamentary wisdom* in a nutshell! *Tant mieux!* [a]

Can you tell me whether Prof. Lankester's '*Chapter on Deterioration*' [92] (I have seen it quoted in your article) is translated into Russian? He is a friend of mine.

Last month we had here Russian visitors, amongst others Prof. Sieber (now settled at Zurich) and Mr Kablukoff (Moscow). They were all day long studying at the British Museum.

No news of our 'mutual' friend [b]?

Apropos. *Janson*'s last statistical work [c]—comparing Russia with Europe—has made much sensation. I should be glad to see it. [93]

With best compliments

Yours very truly,
Karl Marx

Should Lafargue's article find no 'home' in Petersburg, be so kind as to return it to me. [94]

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[a] All the better! - [b] Hermann Lopatin - [c] [Janson] Ю. Э. Янсонъ, *Сравнительная статистика Россіи и западно-европейскихъ государствъ*, т. 1-2, С.-Петербургъ, 1878-1880.

## 42

## MARX TO FERDINAND DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS [95]

IN THE HAGUE

London, 22 February 1881
41 Maitland Park Road, N.W.

Dear Comrade,

My prolonged silence is due to the fact that I wished to enclose in my reply to your letter of 6 January a conspectus of the amendments that you might care to make in the event of a 2nd edition of *Kapitaal en Arbeid.* [96] As a result of domestic disturbances, unforeseen labours and other disruptions, I have not yet got this done and shall therefore be sending off this letter without the enclosure for the present, lest my continued silence be misconstrued by you. The amendments I consider necessary relate to details; the main thing, the spirit of the thing, is there already.

I have to thank you for the kind dedication, [97] since you, personally, have thereby thrown down the gauntlet before our bourgeois antagonists.

The author [a] of *Mannen van beteekenis*, [98] an inspector of schools OR SOMETHING OF THAT SORT, wrote to me requesting material for a biographical memoir and, in addition, got his publisher to approach my brother-in-law, Juta, with a view to his persuading me to accede to a request of the kind I habitually turn down. The gentleman — the author of *Mannen* — wrote to me saying he did not share my views but recognised their importance, protested his esteem, etc. The selfsame individual subsequently had the effrontery to embody in his pamphlet a libellous fabrication by that notorious Prussian spy, Stieber, and likewise, — on the inspiration, no doubt, of one of the armchair socialists [82] in Bonn, — to accuse me of deliberate misquotation, nor, in so doing, did the estimable fellow even go to the trouble of reading up my polemic against the worthy Brentano in the *Volksstaat*, [99] where he would have seen that Brentano, who had originally denounced me in the *Concordia* (manufacturers' sheet) for 'formal and substantive falsification', later extricated himself with the lie that he

[a] Arnold Kerdijk

had misunderstood me, etc. A Dutch journal proposed to open its columns to me for the chastisement of the 'inspector of schools', but *on principle* I do not reply to pin-pricks of this kind. I have never, even in London, taken the slightest notice of such literary yapping. Any other course would mean wasting the better part of my time on making rectifications all over the place, from California to Moscow. In my younger days I sometimes did some hard hitting, but wisdom comes with age, at least in so far as one avoids useless DISSIPATION OF FORCE.

The forthcoming Zurich Congress's 'question' which you mention would seem to me a mistake.[100] What is to be done, and done *immediately* at any given, particular moment in the future, depends, of course, wholly and entirely on the actual historical circumstances in which action is to be taken. But the said question, being posed *out of the blue*, in fact poses a fallacious problem to which the only answer can be a *critique of the question* as such. We cannot solve an equation that does not comprise within its terms the elements of its solution. Come to that, there is nothing specifically 'socialist' about the predicaments of a government that has suddenly come into being as a result of a popular victory. On the contrary. Victorious bourgeois politicians immediately feel constrained by their 'victory', whereas a socialist is at least able to intervene without constraint. Of one thing you may be sure — a socialist government will not come to the helm in a country unless things have reached a stage at which it can, before all else, take such measures as will so intimidate the mass of the bourgeoisie as to achieve the first desideratum — time for effective action.

You may, perhaps, refer me to the Paris Commune but, aside from the fact that this was merely an uprising of one city in exceptional circumstances, the majority of the Commune was in no sense socialist, nor could it have been. With a modicum of COMMON SENSE, it could, however, have obtained the utmost that was then obtainable — a compromise with Versailles beneficial to the people as a whole. The appropriation of the Banque de France alone would have rapidly put an end to the vainglory of Versailles, etc., etc.

The general demands of the French bourgeoisie before 1789 were, *mutatis mutandis*,[a] just as well-defined as are today, with a fair degree of uniformity, the primary, immediate demands of the proletariat in all countries where there is capitalist production. But could any 18th-

[a] the necessary changes being made

century Frenchman, *a priori*, have the least idea of the manner in which the demands of the French bourgeoisie would be implemented? A doctrinaire and of necessity fantastic anticipation of a future revolution's programme of action only serves to distract from the present struggle. The dream of the imminent end of the world inspired the struggle of the early Christians against the Roman Empire and gave them confidence in victory. Scientific insight into the inevitable disintegration, now steadily taking place before our eyes, of the prevailing social order; the masses themselves, their fury mounting under the lash of the old governmental bogies; the gigantic and positive advances simultaneously taking place in the development of the means of production—all this is sufficient guarantee that the moment a truly proletarian revolution breaks out, the conditions for its immediate initial (if certainly not idyllic) *modus operandi*[a] will also be there.

My own conviction is that the critical conjuncture for a new international working men's association has not yet arrived; hence I consider all labour congresses and/or socialist congresses, in so far as they do not relate to the immediate, actual conditions obtaining in this or that specific nation, to be not only useless but harmful. They will invariably fizzle out in a host of rehashed generalised banalities.

Yours most cordially,
Karl Marx

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## 43

## ENGELS TO JENNY LONGUET[101]

### IN PARIS

[London,] 24 February 1881

My dear Jenny,

Well may the illustrious Regnard recommend his factum to your 'charity'.[102] This Jacobin defending English respectable Protestant-

[a] mode of operation

ism and English vulgar Liberalism with the historical *appareil* of that same vulgar Liberalism is indeed an object of deepest charity. But to his 'facts'.

1) The 30,000 protestants' massacre of 1641. The Irish Catholics are here in the same position as the Commune de Paris. The Versaillais massacred 30,000 Communards and called that the horrors of the Commune. The English protestants under Cromwell massacred at least 30,000 Irish and, to cover their brutality, *invented* the tale that this was to avenge 30,000 protestants murdered by the Irish Catholics.

The facts are these.

Ulster having been taken from its Irish owners who at that time 1600-1610 held the *land in common*, and handed over to Scotch protestant military colonists, these colonists did not feel safe in their possessions in the troublous times after 1640. The puritan English Government officials in Dublin spread the rumour that a Scotch Army of Covenanters [103] was to land in Ulster and exterminate all Irish and Catholics. Sir W. Parsons, one of the two Chief Justices of Ireland, said that in a 12-month there would not be a Catholic left in Ireland. It was under these menaces, repeated in the English Parliament, that the Irish of Ulster rose on 23rd October 1641. But no massacre took place. All contemporaneous sources ascribe to the Irish merely the intention of a general massacre, and even the two protestant Chief Justices (proclam. 8th February 1642) declare that 'the chief part of their plot, and amongst them a general massacre, had been *disappointed*.' The English and Scotch however, 4th May 1642, threw Irish women naked into the river (Newry) and massacred Irishmen. (Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, 1865.)

2) *L'Irlande la Vendée de l'Angleterre.* [104] Ireland was Catholic, Protestant England Republican, therefore Ireland—English Vendée. There is however this little difference that the French Revolution intended to *give* the land to the people, the English Commonwealth intended, in Ireland, to *take* the land from the people.

The whole Protestant reformation, as is well known to most students of history save Regnard, apart from its dogmatical squabbles and quibbles, was a vast plan for a confiscation of land. First the land was taken from the Church. Then the Catholics, in countries where Protestantism was in power, were declared rebels and their land confiscated.

Now in Ireland the case was peculiar.

'For the English,' says Prendergast, 'seem to have thought that god made a mistake in giving such a fine country as Ireland to the Irish; and for nearly 700 years they have been trying to remedy it.'

The whole agrarian history of Ireland is a series of confiscations of Irish land to be handed over to English settlers. These settlers, in a very few generations, under the charm of Celtic society, turned more Irish than the aborigines. Then a new confiscation and new colonization took place, and so *in infinitum.*

In the 17th century, the whole of Ireland except the newly Scotchified North, was ripe for a fresh confiscation. So much so, that when the British (puritan) Parliament accorded to Charles I an army for the reduction of Ireland, it resolved that the money for this armament should be raised *upon the security of 2,500,000 acres to be confiscated in Ireland.* And the 'adventurers'[105] who advanced the money should also appoint the officers of that army. The land was to be divided amongst those adventurers so that 1,000 acres should be given them, if in Ulster for £200.- advanced, in Connaught for £300, in Munster for £450, in Leinster for £600. And if the people rose against this beneficent plan they are Vendéens! If Regnard should ever sit in a National Convention, he may take a leaf out of the proceedings of the Long Parliament,[106] and combat a possible Vendée with these means.

The Abolition of the Penal Laws[107]! Why the greater part of them were repealed, not in 1793 but in 1778, when England was threatened by the rise of the American Republic, and the second repeal, 1793, was when the French Republic arose threatening and England required all the soldiers she could get to fight it!

The Grant to Maynooth by Pitt.[108] This pittance was soon repealed by the Tories and only renewed by Sir R. Peel in 1845. But not a word about the other *c a d e a u que faisait à l'Irlande ce grand homme* (*c'est la première fois qu'il trouve grâce devant les yeux d'un Jacobin*),[a] that other '*dotation*' not only '*considérable*' but actually lavish — the 3 Million £ by which the Union of Ireland with England[109] was bought. The parliamentary documents will show that the one item of the purchase money of rotten and nomination boroughs alone cost no less a sum than *£1,245,000* (O'Connell, *Memoir on Ireland addressed to the Queen*).

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[a] *present* this great man gave to Ireland (it is the first time that grace has been bestowed upon him in the eyes of the Jacobins)

Lord Derby instituted *le système des écoles nationales.*[110] *Very true* but why did he? Consult Fitzgibbon, *Ireland in 1868*, the work of a staunch Protestant and Tory, or else the official Report of Commissioners on Education in Ireland, 1826. The Irish, neglected by the English government, had taken the education of their children into their own hands. At the time when English fathers and mothers insisted upon their right to send their children to the factory to earn money instead of to the school to learn, at that time in Ireland the peasants vied with each other in forming schools of their own. The school-master was an ambulant teacher, spending a couple of months at each village. A cottage was found for him, each child paid him 2d. a week and a few sods of turf in winter. The schools were kept, on fine days in summer, in the fields, near a hedge, and then known by the name of hedge-schools. There were also ambulant scholars, who with their books under the arm, wandered from school to school, receiving lodging and food from the peasants without difficulty. In 1812 there were 4,600 such hedge-schools in Ireland and that year's report of the Commissioners says that such education

> was 'leading to evil rather than good', 'that such education *the people are actually obtaining for themselves*, and though we consider it practicable to correct it, *to check its progress appears impossible*: it may be improved *but it cannot be impeded*'.

So then, these truly *national* schools did not suit English purposes. To suppress them, the *sham* national schools were established. They are *so little secular* that the reading-book consists of extracts both from the Catholic and Protestant Bibles, agreed upon by the Catholic and Protestant Archbishops of Dublin. Compare with these Irish peasants the English who howl at compulsory school attendance to this day!

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## 44

## MARX TO VERA ZASULICH [111]

IN GENEVA

London, 8 March 1881
41 Maitland Park Road, N.W.

Dear Citizen,

A nervous complaint which has assailed me periodically over the last ten years has prevented me from replying any sooner to your letter of 16 February. I am sorry that I cannot provide you with a concise exposé, intended for publication, of the question you have done me the honour of putting to me. Months ago I promised the St Petersburg Committee to let them have a piece on the same subject. [112] I hope, however, that a few lines will suffice to dispel any doubts you may harbour as to the misunderstanding in regard to my so-called theory.

In analysing the genesis of capitalist production I say:

'At the core of the capitalist system, therefore, lies the complete separation of the producer from the means of production ... the basis of this whole development is the *expropriation of the agricultural producer*. To date this has not been accomplished in a radical fashion anywhere except in England... But *all the other countries of Western Europe* are undergoing the same process' (*Capital*, French ed., p. 315).

Hence the 'historical inevitability' of this process is *expressly* limited to the *countries of Western Europe*. The cause of that limitation is indicated in the following passage from Chapter XXXII:

'*Private property*, based on personal labour ... will be supplanted by *capitalist private property*, based on the exploitation of the labour of others, on wage labour' (l.c., p. 341).

In this Western movement, therefore, what is taking place is the *transformation of one form of private property into another form of private property*. In the case of the Russian peasants, *their communal property* would, on the contrary, have to be *transformed into private property*.

Hence the analysis provided in *Capital* does not adduce reasons either for or against the viability of the rural commune, but the special study I have made of it, and the material for which I drew from

original sources, has convinced me that this commune is the fulcrum of social regeneration in Russia, but in order that it may function as such, it would first be necessary to eliminate the deleterious influences which are assailing it from all sides, and then ensure for it the normal conditions of spontaneous development.

I have the honour to be, dear Citizen,

Yours very faithfully,
Karl Marx

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Translated from the French

## 45

## ENGELS TO S. F. KAUFMANN

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 11 March 1881
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mr Kaufmann,

In reply to your esteemed note of the 9th inst. I regret that I am unable to fall in with your wishes regarding the guarantee. My experiences with guarantees have been such that I have resolved once and for all to advance the money straight away myself, if I can, rather than give a guarantee. However the money is not available; if I had it and could do without it, I should regard it as my prime duty to hand it over to the party in Germany to whom we now owe every penny we can spare.[a]

[a] Here Engels deleted the following passage: 'There is, however, another reason. Over the past 10 years I have seen all too often how rapid is the turnover here of the people who go to make up the local German working men's associations and, such being the case, it might well come about that the Society [8] adopted a line quite different from its present one before my guarantee expired and that in the last resort I was standing guarantee for Mr Most, which surely cannot be asked of me.'

Trusting that you will find elsewhere the means of obtaining the funds you need,

I remain,

Yours very truly

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## 46

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [113]

### IN ZURICH

London, 12 March 1881

Dear Mr Bernstein,

Herewith some material on the anti-adultery commandment. [114] Whether you'll be able to use it, I confess I don't know. It's a ticklish subject and you must know whether more harm than good will be done by touching on it. At all events I wanted to show you one way of dealing with this commandment without relapsing into moral philistinism, and it may be useful to you anyway to have the historical material on the case, in so far as it was available to me.

For the rest, the paper [a] is doing very well on the whole and some of the nos. are very good; rather less doctrinaire articles, like the one on state socialism, [b] would do no harm. How can one lump together Turgot, one of the leading economists of the 18th century, with Necker, that highly practical man of *haute finance*, [c] precursor of your Laffittes and Péreires and, worse still, the wretched Calonne, the man of hand-to-mouth expedients, who was a genuine *après moi le déluge* [d] [115] aristocrat? How can one place these — Turgot in particular and even Necker — cheek by jowl with Bismarck who, at the most, wants money regardless, *à la* Calonne, and the said Bismarck in his turn quite summarily cheek by jowl with Stoecker on the one hand and Schäffle and Co. on the other, every one of whom in his turn pursues quite different lines? If the bourgeois lump them all together,

[a] *Der Sozialdemokrat*. [b] [K. Kautsky,] 'Der Staatssozialismus und die Sozialdemokratie', signed: Symmachos, *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 10, 6 March 1881. [c] high finance. [d] after me the deluge

that is no reason why we should proceed as uncritically. Here, precisely, are the roots of doctrinairism, in that one *believes* the self-interested and narrow assertions of one's opponent and proceeds to construct on those assertions a system which naturally stands or falls with them. With Bismarck it is a case of money, money and again money, and the pretexts he gives change in accordance with purely external considerations. Give him a differently composed majority in the Reichstag and he'll jettison all his present plans and prepare conflicting ones. That's why one can never ever infer a declaration of modern society's bankruptcy from anything that is done by an animal as irrational in theory and inconsistent in practice as Bismarck. Still less from the intellectual St Vitus dance of a fool like Stoecker. Nor yet from the twaddle of 'thinking men' *à la* Schäffle. Their 'thinking' (and this is pretty well all they do 'think') is not directed towards declaring modern society bankrupt. On the contrary, they are, of course, simply living in the hope of patching it up again. But what kind of a thinking man is e. g. Schäffle? In his *Quintessenz*[a] the silly Swabian admits that he pondered one of the (simplest) points in *Capital* for ten years before getting to the bottom of it; in fact the bottom he got to was pure nonsense.[116]

It is nothing but self-interested misrepresentation on the part of the Manchester bourgeois to describe as 'socialism' all interference by the state with free competition: protective tariffs, guilds, tobacco monopoly, nationalisation of branches of industry, the Overseas Trading Company,[117] royal porcelain factory. That is something we should *criticise*, but not *believe*. If we do the latter and base a theoretical argument thereon, this will collapse together with its premisses,—simply upon it's being proved, that is, that this alleged socialism is nothing but feudal reaction on the one hand and, on the other, a pretext for extortion, its secondary object being to turn as many proletarians as possible into officials and pensioners dependent on the state, and to organise, alongside the disciplined army of officials and military, a similar army of workers. Compulsory suffrage imposed by senior functionaries instead of by factory overseers—fine socialism that! This is where you get if you believe what the bourgeois himself doesn't believe but only pretends to, namely that the state = socialism.

Otherwise I find that your views on the attitude to be adopted by

[a] [A. Schäffle,] *Die Quintessenz des Socialismus*, Gotha, 1875.

the paper coincide entirely with my own, and I'm also glad that of late there has no longer been such liberal use of the *word* revolution as there was at the outset. That was quite all right earlier on, after the sorry opiate-mongering of 1880,[118] but it would be preferable, and this, too, with an eye to Most, to be wary of high-flown rhetoric. One may express revolutionary thoughts without forever harping on the *word* revolution. The pitiful Most is, by the way, quite beside himself; he's at a loss where to pull in and now, on top of that, the success of Fritzsche and Viereck in America[119] has taken the last bit of wind out of his sails.

The paper can now really serve to encourage and cheer up our people in Germany, something a number of them, or at least their so-called leaders, are much in need of. I've received a few more jeremiads and answered them in accordance with their deserts. Viereck was very down in the mouth at the start, but a few days in the fresh air of London were enough to restore his resilience. The paper must import that fresh air into Germany and by far the best way of doing so is to mock our adversaries, treat them with contempt. Once the people learn to laugh at Bismarck & Co. again, much will have been gained. But it mustn't be forgotten that this is the first time such a thing has happened to the people, at any rate the vast majority, or, more especially, that a large number of agitators and editors will have the discomfort of being jolted out of their very comfortable berths. Such being the case, it is just as necessary to cheer people up as it is constantly to remind them that Bismarck & Co. are still the same jackasses, the same scoundrels and the same poor wretches, impotent in face of the historical movement, as they were before the attempted assassinations.[120] So any joke at the expense of this rabble is of value.

As regards Ireland, only this much: The people are far too canny not to know that an uprising would spell their ruin; it would stand no chance save in the case of war between England and America.[121] Meanwhile the Irish have forced Gladstone to introduce continental standing orders in Parliament,[122] thus undermining the whole of the English parliamentary system. They have further forced Gladstone to forswear all his cant and to become more Tory than even the worst of Tories. The Coercion Bills[123] have gone through, the Land Bill[124] will either be thrown out by the Upper House, or else it will be castrated, and then the fun will begin, in other words, the covert disintegration of the parties will become overt. Since Gladstone's nomination,

the WHIGS and moderate TORIES, i. e. the big landowners generally, have been secretly combining to form a big landed property party. As soon as this comes to fruition, and family and personal interests have been adjusted, or as soon as the new party is driven out into the open in consequence of, say, the Land Bill, the administration and the present majority will disintegrate. Then the new bourgeois-radical party will come out in opposition to the new conservative party, but with nothing to fall back on save the workers and the Irish peasants. And so that there may be no recurrence of bilking and trickery here, a proletarian-radical party is in process of formation under the leadership of Joseph Cowen (M. P. for Newcastle), an old Chartist who is half, if not wholly, communist and a very worthy chap. Ireland is responsible for all this, Ireland is the driving force in the realm. This for your private information. More on the subject anon.

Regards,

Yours
F. E.

Since Kautsky — will you give him my regards? — will be coming over here soon, there's no point in answering him at length. My regards to Beust should you see him.

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## 47

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER [125]

IN GENEVA

London, 28 March 1881
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Old Man,

I shall send you some money the instant you put me in a position to do so by letting me have *your new address*. For I have to produce this,

and such addresses as I find in the *Précurseur* do not seem to me really fit to be produced if they are not to create difficulties. The moment I have had a reply you will at once get 100 frs and a lengthy reply from

Your
F. Engels

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## 48

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN LEIPZIG

London, 30 March 1881

Dear Bebel,

Viereck (a postcard from whom I enclose) wants me to give you an account of the Boston meeting; but here too, as commonly in combined operations, there has been hitch after hitch; 1. Harney wrote a week later; 2. he forgot to enclose the newspaper report which I did not get till yesterday. Today I gave this to Kautsky, who is over here, for him to work on for the *Sozialdemokrat*.[126]

The meeting in Boston was first-rate; ill-advertised but nevertheless attended by 1,500 people, 1/3 German. The first speaker was Swinton, an American communist who came to visit us here last summer[43] and is the proprietor of a big New York paper.[a] Then Fritzsche. Finally, Wendell Phillips, the great anti-slavery man who, with the exception of John Brown, did more than anyone else for the abolition of slavery and the prosecution of the war, and is the foremost speaker in America—maybe in the world. He returned thanks to the Germans and gave them credit for the fact that in 1861, in every large city, it was the German gymnasts who shielded him with their own bodies from the American mob, and who kept St Louis in the Union.[127] To give you just one example of how he spoke:

[a] *The Sun*

'Being as far as I am away from the field of battle, I would not presume to criticise the method of combat. I look at Russia, 4,000 miles away, and see what a nightmare weighs on the shoulders of the people there. I only hope that someone will be found to relieve them of it. And if the dagger alone can do it, I say: Welcome to the dagger! Is there any American here who would disapprove? If he would, then he should look (pointing to a picture on the wall) at Joe Warren who died at Bunkers Hill.'[a]

That was on the 7th of March. On the 13th a bomb did what the dagger had been unable to do.[128]

According to today's *Standard*, *Most* is to be prosecuted by the British government because of the article on the assassination attempt![129] If the Russian Embassy and Gladstone are absolutely intent on making a great man out of the silly nincompoop, no one can stop them. At the same time, it's far from certain that Most will be found guilty. The moral indignation about the bomb in the big newspapers was largely a matter of observing the proprieties, something your bourgeois here never omits to do, if only for appearances' sake. The humorous papers, which reflect public opinion far more faithfully, have taken an altogether different view of the case and, by the time the trial draws to a close, much may have changed in this respect, so that it's far from certain whether the 12 jurymen will reach the unanimous verdict that is called for.

To return to our American friends, Wendell Phillips' championship (induced by a young American journalist, Willard Brown, who was over here last year, when he consorted much with Marx and generally did his utmost for them with the American press and gave them the boosting they needed) is of the first importance. Their success has altogether exceeded my expectations and shows that Bismarckery has fallen greatly in the esteem of the Germans, even middle-class Germans, in America. However [ ]'s[b] hopes of a *second* trip with Liebknecht would hardly seem practicable; it is inadvisable to turn up twice in rapid succession. Moreover, such a trip — anyhow inadmissible before next year — ought to have been rendered unnecessary by the great event in Petersburg and its inevitable consequences. Alexander III, whether he wants to or not, will have to take some decisive step to get things moving, but before that there might be a short period of intensive persecution, and Switzerland will no doubt soon embark on mass expulsions. Meanwhile old William,[c] if not actually on his last legs, becomes dottier and dottier, Bismarck

[a] Retranslated from the German. - [b] Viereck in German means quadrangle. - [c] William I

grows daily more rabid and seems absolutely intent on playing the part of a rampaging Prussian Roland, the bourgeois parties go further off the rails every day, while the government's taxation mania sees to the rest. Even if we all sat with our hands in our laps, events would forcibly propel us to the fore and pave the way for victory. It is a real pleasure to see a revolutionary world situation we have long predicted mature into a general crisis, blinkered opponents do our work for us, and the inexorability of a development that is heading for universal collapse prevail in, and as a result of, the general confusion.

Regards from Marx and from your
F. E.

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## 49

## ENGELS TO GOTTLIEB LEMCKE

### IN LONDON

[London,] 2 April 1881
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mr Lemcke,

I have just heard that one of my brothers[a] will be passing through London with his family this evening, and this will mean my spending with them the few hours they will be pausing here. I therefore greatly regret that I shall be unable to take advantage of your kind invitation to the opening ceremony of the new club-house.[130] Hoping that the club will prosper and flourish, I remain

Yours very truly,
F. Engels

First published in the journal *Internationale wissenschaftliche Korrespondenz zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Nr. 10, Berlin (West), 1970

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Published in English for the first time

[a] Apparently Hermann Engels

## 50

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER [131]

### IN GENEVA

London, 4 April 1881

Dear Old Man,

I am writing to you just before the post goes, having only this moment got the money order, four pounds sterling = 100 frs 80 cts, which I trust will be paid over to you without delay. Your address was indispensable,[a] as the post office here *insists* on it, otherwise no money order. I shall press Liebknecht about his false promises[b]; those fellows *must* do something for you. I'm glad, by the way, that our people have plucked up courage again; for a time most of them were suffering from a bad attack of *cold feet*; the paper,[c] too, is giving a good account of itself. That philistine Most is definitely in luck; his *Freiheit* was on its last legs, whereupon the British government felt impelled to give it a helping hand, and did so in the most brilliant manner. [129] Such colossal stupidity passes all belief, but it so happens that we have the liberals at the helm and they are capable of any stupidity, any dirty trick. They went ahead in such a hurry that so far they don't even know under which Act they will charge Most! But Bismarck needed this coup for his socialist debate in the Reichstag [132] and, since Gladstone, our premier, is an enthusiastic admirer of the bumped-off Alexander,[d] there was no difficulty about the thing. It will be all the more difficult for them to draw up an indictment, let alone produce a jury that will find Most guilty. So Most will become famous on the cheap, even if only for a brief spell, while Bismarck, even though he, too, may be gently rubbing his hands just now, will ultimately find himself discredited yet again.

Kindest regards from Marx and your

F. Engels

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[a] See this volume, p. 76. - [b] Ibid., p. 50. - [c] *Der Sozialdemokrat* - [d] Alexander II

## 51

## MARX TO JENNY LONGUET [133]

IN ARGENTEUIL

[London,] 11 April 1881

My dear Jennychen,

It's been boring ever since you left — without you and Johnny and Harra! and MR 'TEA!' [a] Sometimes I hurry across to the window when I hear children's voices which sound like those of our children, momentarily oblivious of the fact that the little chaps are on the other side of the Channel!

One comfort is that you have found a nice place to live and that it suits the children; otherwise everything seems to be RATHER WORSE than in London, with the exception, however, of the climate, whose beneficial effect — beneficial also to asthma — you will discover BY AND BY.

I have found yet another doctor for Mama, one recommended to me by Prof. Lankester, namely Dr Donkin; HE SEEMS A BRIGHT AND INTELLIGENT MAN; but for Mama's complaint it does indeed strike me that ONE MAN [is] AS GOOD, AND PERHAPS BETTER, THAN ANOTHER MAN. However, the CHANGE OF MEDICAL ADVISERS serves to distract her and, during the initial period — which doesn't usually last long — she is full of praise for the new Aesculapius. Longuet's eyeglass turned up immediately after his departure; it was, in fact, tucked away in your bedroom. Hirsch has been selected to bring it to you, but that gossip-hunter seems hardly able to tear himself away from London at a moment when there is so much to be smelt out. The 'great' Most affair [129] alone is an inexhaustible source of fresh water (if by no means a 'cooling stream') for the said hart. [b] Now he threatens to postpone his departure till 18 April. Then, too, he has found a kindred spirit in Kautsky — on whom he had frowned so grimly; even Engels takes a much more tolerant view of this joker [c] since the latter gave proof of his considerable drinking ability. When the charmer — the little joker, [c] I mean — first came to see me, the first question that rose to my lips was — are you

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[a] Marx' grandsons: Jean, Henri and Edgar Longuet - [b] A pun on the name Hirsch — hart. ('As pants the hart for cooling streams / When heated in the chase'.) - [c] *Kautz* (diminutive Käutzchen), an untranslatable pun on the name Kautsky.

like your mother[a]? Not in the least, he exclaimed, and silently I congratulated his mother. He's a mediocrity, narrow in outlook, overwise (only 26 years old), a know-all, hard-working after a fashion, much concerned with statistics out of which, however, he makes little sense, by nature a member of the philistine tribe, for the rest, a decent fellow in his own way; I unload him onto *amigo*[b] Engels as much as I can.

The day before yesterday the Dogberry CLUB[134] was here; yesterday, besides the 2 Maitland girls[c]—and, briefly, Lankester and Dr Donkin—we were invaded by Hyndman and his wife,[d] both of whom have too much staying-power. I quite like the wife on account of her brusque, unconventional and determined manner of thinking and speaking, but it's amusing to see how admiringly she hangs on the lips of her complacent chatterbox of a husband! Mama grew so weary (it was close on half past ten at night) that she withdrew. But there was some BYPLAY which tickled her. For Tussy has discovered a new infant prodigy amongst the Dogberries—one Radford; this youth is already a BARRISTER-AT-LAW, yet looks down upon the *jus*[e] and works in the same LINE as Waldhorn. HE LOOKS WELL, CROSS between Irving and the late Lassalle (but has nothing in common with the latter's cynical, smarmily importunate mannerisms *à la* marquis-cum-Jew), AN INTELLIGENT AND SOMEWHAT PROMISING BOY. WELL, that's him in a nutshell. So shockingly did Dolly Maitland pay court to *him* that during supper Mama and Tussy were constantly exchanging signals. Finally, Mr Maitland also turned up, pretty well sober, and began a verbal duel with his instructive neighbour, Hyndman, on the subject of Gladstone in whom Maitland, a spiritualist, believes. *I—rather annoyed by a bad throat—felt glad when the whole lot vanished. It is a strange thing that one cannot well live altogether without company, and that when you get it, you try hard to rid yourself of it.*

Hartmann is working hard in Woolwich as a COMMON WORKMAN; it is becoming increasingly difficult to converse with him in any language. The Russian REFUGEES in Geneva insist that he should disavow Rochefort and do so publicly. This he neither will nor can, even had this not been made impossible by the immoderate letter sent to Rochefort by the Petersburg Committee and published by him in the *Intransigeant*.[135] The Genevans have, indeed, long been trying to convince

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[a] Minna Kautsky - [b] friend - [c] Dolly and Clara Maitland - [d] Mathilda Hyndman - [e] law

Europe that it was, in fact, *they* who were directing the movement in Russia; now that the *lie* they themselves had disseminated has been taken up by Bismarck *et cie* and constitutes a threat to them, they assert the opposite and vainly endeavour to convince the world of their innocence. In fact, they are mere doctrinaires, muddle-headed anarcho-socialists, and their influence on the Russian 'theatre of war' is ZERO.

Have you been following the course of the legal proceedings against the assassins in St Petersburg?[136] They are sterling chaps through and through, *sans pose mélodramatique*,[a] simple, matter-of-fact, heroic. Shouting and doing are irreconcilable opposites. The Petersburg Executive Committee,[70] which took such vigorous action, issues manifestoes of exquisite 'moderation'. It is remote indeed from the bungling way in which Most and other puerile ranters advocate TYRANNICIDE as a 'theory' and 'PANACEA' (the same thing was done by ENGLISHMEN as innocent as Disraeli, Savage Landor, Macaulay and Mazzini's friend, Stansfeld); they, on the other hand, are at pains to teach Europe that their *modus operandi*[b] is a specifically Russian and historically inevitable mode of action which no more lends itself to moralising — for or against — than does the earthquake in Chios.[137]

In this connection there was a fine old scandal in the House of Commons (as you know, so as to oblige Bismarck and Gorchakov these miserable Gladstonites are making an onslaught, in the person of the pitiful Most,[129] on the freedom of the press in England, in which they are unlikely to succeed). Lord Churchill, a bumptious Tory youth, and member of the Marlborough FAMILY, questioned Sir Charles Dilke and Brassey, both UNDERSTRAPPERS in the CABINET, about the financial support afforded to the *Freiheit*. This was flatly denied and Churchill was compelled to name his authority. He named the ubiquitous Mr Maltman Barry! I enclose a cutting about this affair from the *Weekly Dispatch* (the Dilkes' paper, edited by the 'PHILOSOPHICAL RADICAL', Ashton Dilke, brother of the great 'Dilke'), and a statement by Maltman Barry in *The Daily News*. Clearly Dilke is lying. How pitiful that this braggart, the self-appointed future 'President of the English republic' should, for fear of losing his post, allow Bismarck to dictate upon what journals he ought or ought not to bestow £ 1! Only suppose it became known that, immediately after Hart-

[a] without melodramatic posturing - [b] way of going about things

mann's arrival in London, Ashton Dilke invited him to a LUNCHEON! But Hartmann turned this down, not wanting to 'exhibit' himself.

Apropos the Comtist renegade Maxse. This laddie is done far too great an honour in *La Justice* which handles him with kid gloves. In the eyes of this peculiar clique — ENGLISH LIBERALS and their even worse subspecies, the SO CALLED RADICALS — it is indeed a crime on the part of *La Justice* that, flouting all tradition and contrary to agreement, it fails to treat these SHAMS AND HUMBUGS in the accepted manner, to perpetuate the legend that is current about them in the liberal press on the Continent! If one considers the enormous effrontery with which the London press attacks socialist parties in all European countries, and how difficult it is for anyone who thinks it worth the trouble to say a word in return or even to get a brief answer into that press — it is really a bit too much to have to recognise the principle that, should a Paris newspaper venture to criticise that arch-hypocrite and CASUIST of the old-fashioned school, the 'great' Gladstone, it is duty-bound to put entire columns at the disposal of Mr Maxse and his prose, in order that he might repay Gladstone IN KIND for the *avancement*[a] provided by the latter!

Assuming the policy adopted by Gladstone (man of the COERCION [123] and ARMS ACT [138]) vis-à-vis Ireland to be as right as it is in fact wrong, would this constitute any reason to talk of that man's '*générosité*' and '*magnanimité*'? As though there was any question of *any* such things between England and Ireland! Maxse really ought to be told that, while such Pecksniffian expressions may have free currency in London, they do not have it in Paris!

Get Longuet to read *Parnell*'s speech in Cork in *today*'s *Times*.[b] He will find in it the substance of *what ought to be said about Gladstone's new LAND ACT* [124]; in this connection it should not be forgotten that Gladstone, by his disgraceful preliminary measures (incl. abolishing the freedom of speech of members of the Lower House),[122] has brought about the conditions under which *mass EVICTIONS are now taking place in Ireland*, while the *ACT* is pure humbug, seeing that the LORDS who can get anything they want from Gladstone, and no longer have to tremble before the Land League [139] — will DOUBTLESS throw it out or else so castrate it that the Irish themselves will end up by voting *against* it.

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[a] advancement - [b] 'Cork, 10 April', *The Times*, No. 30165, 11 April 1881.

Give the children a hundred kisses from me; regards to Longuet. Write and tell me, DEAR CHILD, about the state of your health.

*Adio.*

Your

OLD NICK[a]

DEAR JOHNNY, HOW DO YOU LIKE FRANCE?[b]

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## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN[140]

### IN ZURICH

London, 14 April 1881

Dear Mr Bernstein,

Very many thanks for the excerpt—for numerous reasons, however, it is desirable that we should read the full text of the relevant speeches. Kautsky will already have asked you to let us have the shorthand report[141] for a day or two. So much has been said in the Reichstag and Landtags that would have been better left unsaid that we cannot express an opinion on such matters unless we are fully acquainted with the case.

Your announcement that you wished to resign from the paper[c] came as a most unpleasant surprise. We can see absolutely no reason for it and it would give us *great pleasure* if you were to reconsider your decision. You have edited the paper ably from the outset, have given it the right tone, at the same time developing the humorous side it needed. Erudition in a newspaper editor is far less important than the ability speedily to interpret things from the aspect that matters, and

[a] Marx's jocular nickname.- [b] Written in large block letters at the beginning of the letter - [c] *Der Sozialdemokrat*

this you have nearly always done. Kautsky, for example, would never be able to do that; he always has too many secondary viewpoints, which is perfectly all right for longish articles in a *revue*, but in the case of a paper, where rapid decisions are called for, frequently makes it impossible to see the wood for the trees, and that mustn't happen in a party organ. Alongside you, Kautsky would be quite all right, but on his own he would, I'm afraid, be all too often prevented by qualms of conscience over theory from following up a crucial advantage as unswervingly as is required by the *Sozialdemokrat*. I don't see who could take your place at this juncture, so long as Liebknecht remains in jail [142] and doesn't go to Zurich, which would be senseless except in an emergency, since there's much more need of him in the Reichstag. So you'll have to stay on after all whether you like it or not.

If we have not yet come forward directly and *by name* in the *Sozialdemokrat*, the fault, I do assure you, does not lie with your editorship of this paper up till now. On the contrary. It lies with the very statements made in *Germany* I alluded to at the beginning. Admittedly, we have been promised that this won't recur and that the revolutionary nature of the party is to be plainly spelled out and adhered to. But we should like to see evidence of it first, nor do we have any great confidence (rather the reverse) in the revolutionary bent of certain of these gentlemen, and that is precisely why it is most desirable that we should have the stenographic reports of the speeches made by *all* our deputies. *After* you have used them you can easily send them over here for a day or two; I guarantee their prompt return. That will help to clear away the last obstacles that still exist — through no fault of our own — between ourselves and the party in Germany. *This in confidence.*

It would seem that Gladstone has paved the way for the triumph of Most. It's hardly likely that 12 jurors will be found who will *unanimously* find Most guilty, and, if only one finds him innocent, the case will fall to the ground. Admittedly, he can be brought before another jury, but this hardly ever happens. On top of that, however, the 1861 Act, [143] under which Most is being charged, has never been applied before and by and large it is the opinion of jurists that the wording is inapplicable to the case.

Argyll's resignation from the Ministry because the Irish LAND BILL [124] confers on tenants a measure of co-ownership of the land is an ill omen for the fate of the BILL in the Upper House. Meanwhile Parnell has made a successful start in Manchester to his *English* agitational

tour. The position of the grand liberal coalition is becoming ever more critical. But then over here everything moves slowly, if the more surely for that.

So don't be deterred by the initial difficulties; don't lose heart but carry on editing just as before. If the worst comes to the worst, you could write to Leipzig and ask them to send you an assistant. That would probably be the best way of overcoming the difficulties you have to contend with. Then, when you have taught the new man the ropes, there will still be time enough to talk of resigning.

Kindest regards.

Yours
F. Engels

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## 53

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN LEIPZIG

London, 28 April 1881

Dear Bebel,

In response to your inquiry I asked my source (a stockbroker) whether the person concerned would do better to continue paying the GREAT BRITAIN MUTUAL & CO. (Office 101, Cheapside, it's the same surely? GREAT BRITAIN MUTUAL INSURANCE?) or to stop payment of the calls, and received the reply:

* 'We fear there is no alternative but to keep on paying the calls as they are made.' *[a]

Ede[b] has sent us the stenographic reports of the Reichstag debates on the state of siege and the Accident Insurance Bill. [144] We congra-

[a] Engels supplies this English text in parentheses after the German translation of this sentence.- [b] Eduard Bernstein

tulate you on both your speeches. The one on the Accident Bill pleased us particularly. It strikes the right note — high-minded, yet based on a real knowledge of the facts, and ironically superior. Your criticism of the Bill was all that could have been said or desired. I have been expressly asked to tell you all this on Marx's behalf as well as my own. It was the best speech of yours we have ever read, and the debate gave one the impression that the turner, Bebel, was the only educated man in the whole of the Reichstag.

At the 2nd reading you might possibly include the following: You might perhaps ask us, gentlemen, how we can prevail upon our consciences to grant *money* to this government, even though it be for the relief of workers who have met with an accident? Gentlemen, after what the Prussian Landtag and you yourselves have done in the matter of subventions, the power of the Reichstag in financial affairs, its ability to wring concessions from the government by virtue of the fact that it holds the purse-strings, has gone by the board. The Reichstag and Landtag have thrown away their entire budgetary authority with nothing to show for it in return, and here it is certainly no longer a case of a paltry million or two.— All those subventions, moreover, were for purposes of exploitation (protective tariffs, purchase of the railways at 30% above their value — Rhenish Rail were standing at less than 120, rose to 150 as a result of the government's offer to purchase, now 160!), and *this time* it is, after all, at least *supposed* to be for the workers.

For the rest, the terms of acceptance you proposed fully protect you to your rear.

But what a typically inflated, maliciously stupid, Prussian Junker-cum-bureaucrat Brother von Puttkamer is! [145]

Your
F. E.

Marx sends kindest regards.

Ede writes to say that he is staying on for the time being. [a]

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[a] See this volume, p. 85.

## 54

## MARX TO JENNY LONGUET [146]

### IN ARGENTEUIL

[London,] 29 April 1881
41 Maitland Park, N. W.

My dear Jenny,

I congratulate you upon the happy delivery; at least I presume that everything is right from your taking the trouble to write. My 'womankind' expected the 'newcomer' to increase 'the better half' of the population; for my own part I prefer the 'manly' sex for children born at this turning point of history. They have before them the most revolutionary period men had ever to pass through. The bad thing now is to be 'old' so as to be only able to foresee instead of seeing.

The 'newcomer' [a] steps in pretty closely to your own birthday, Johnny's, and mine. He, like ourselves, patronizes the merry month of May. I am of course charged by Mama (and Tussy, though she finds perhaps yet the time to write herself) to wish you all possible good things, but I do not see that 'wishes' are good for anything except the glossing over one's own powerlessness.

I hope by and by you will find the servants you want and get your '*ménage*' [b] into some quiet routine. I felt rather anxious about the too many troubles weighing upon you just now, at such a critical moment.

Johnny, according to your last letter, is recovering his health. He is in fact the most delicate of the three boys [c] whom I have the honour to know personally. Tell him that while walking yesterday through the park — our own Maitland Park — that glorious person, the park-keeper, suddenly approached, asked for news about Johnny, and at last communicated me the important fact that he will 'retire' from his office and make place to a younger 'force'. With him one of the pillars of the 'Lord Southampton' disappears. [147]

There is little going on in 'our circle' as Beesly daubed it. Pumps still awaits 'news' from Beust; has in the meanwhile thrown an eye

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[a] Marcel Longuet - [b] house-keeping - [c] Jenny Longuet's sons: Jean, Henri and Edgar

upon 'Kautsky' who, however, did not yet 'declare'; and she will always feel grateful to Hirsch for having not only virtually 'declared', but, after a refusal, renewed his 'declaration', just before his trip to Paris. This Hirsch becomes more and more a nuisance. My 'opinion' of him grows less and less.

The last London craze was the Disraeli exaltation which gave John Bull the satisfaction of admiring his own magnanimity. Is it not 'grand' to act the sycophant with regard to a dead man whom just before his kicking the bucket you had saluted with rotten apples and foul eggs? At the same time this teaches the 'lower classes' that however their 'natural superiors' may fall out amongst each other during the struggle for 'place and pelf', death brings out the truth that the leaders of the 'ruling classes' are always 'great and good men'.

It is a very fine trick of Gladstone — only the 'stupid party' does not understand it — to offer at a moment when landed property in Ireland (as in England) will be depreciated by the import of corn and cattle from the United States — to offer them at that very moment the public Exchequer where they can sell that property at a price it does no longer possess! [148]

The real intricacies of the Irish land problem — which indeed are not especially Irish — are so great that the only true way to solve it would be to give the Irish Home-rule and thus force them to solve it themselves. But John Bull is too stupid to understand this.

Engels comes just, sends you his best compliments, and as it is almost post-time, so that I cannot afterwards finish this letter, I must abruptly end it.

With my compliments to Johnny, Harry and the 'good' Wolf[a] (who is indeed an excellent boy) and also to father Longuet.

Yours,
Old Nick

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[a] Edgar Longuet

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## ENGELS TO JENNY LONGUET

IN ARGENTEUIL

London, 31 May 1881
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Jenny,

Many thanks for your kind letter, it is really too good of you to sit down and write to us in the midst of the trouble you have to pass through. But let me at once pass to the main thing. I have every reason to hope that unless unforeseen accidents occur, you still will soon have your Mama[a] with you. Mohr told me on Sunday that the doctor[b] thinks she is getting strong enough for the journey. There are great changes in her state from time to time, sometimes she goes about in the day and even to theatres in the evening, but at other times she suffers from very bad pains and scarcely leaves her bed for a couple of days. But these attacks seem to pass off as they come and not to leave her visibly worse. Still she is upon the whole losing flesh and this seems to be the only constant symptom which if not arrested may turn out serious. What the nature of the complaint is I am totally ignorant of and am apt to conclude that the doctors are equally in the dark, anyhow they don't seem to agree at all about it. When Tussy wrote to you, your Mama was just suffering from one of these attacks, and I believe there was a slight misunderstanding about what the doctor said, namely that she was *then* temporarily not in a fit state to travel. The doctor himself wishes her very much to go, as he anticipates a good effect from the change.

Now about Mohr's Turkish baths, they need not frighten you, he is taking them merely for the sake of his rheumatically stiff leg which bothers him in walking. As to his cold, the present warm weather will soon reduce it to an infinitesimal quantity and a change to the seaside will finish it off—that is my opinion. I have just taken him up to Hampstead Heath, I hope the walk will do him good. Your Mama was out, so she cannot be so very bad just now.

I am glad that amidst all the *petites misères de la vie de campagne*[c] you still are well pleased with house, garden and climate which after all

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[a] Jenny Marx - [b] Donkin - [c] petty inconveniences of country life

are the main thing, to the rest you will either gradually find remedies or — get used to them. My especial envy is directed of course to the wine cellar and the cellars generally for which we may sigh in vain here in London.

You must indeed have risen tremendously in the eyes of old Collett since you and Longuet have got Clemenceau round to the only 'correct' view about Tunis. [149] I can very well imagine the old man's enthusiasm at seeing the truly orthodox policy preached in a large Paris daily. Fancy the old buffer, who all his life has defended the power of the *Crown*, now talking of a saviour of the *Republic*.

We are going on here much in the usual way, excepting that we have Mrs Pauli here who brings her eldest step-daughter to Manchester where she is going to stay some time with an old friend of Pauli's. She is not quite so stout as she was but quite as lively. Last Sunday by a godsend we got some *waldmeister*,[a] and with the help of a dozen of Moselle we brewed three bowls of *Maitrank*[b] which were duly emptied by a — rather numerous — company. There were fourteen of us, and they were very jolly. Lenchen was there also and told me this morning it had not very well agreed with her: 'she never had such a *Katzenjammer*[c] in her life' (please don't let it out!). Mrs Pauli is very sorry she cannot see you here this time and wishes to be most kindly remembered to you.

Hartmann called yesterday with the news that he is off to America, it is a good thing for him, he could never settle down here properly until he got work for a short time in Siemens' electric factory in Woolwich but that is at an end now too. He talks of coming back in a few months.

Pumps is going on as usual, suffers now and then from headaches, my only complaint is an increasing left-ear deafness, I hope the summer may cure it.

Kind regards to you and Longuet. Pumps sends her love and I join her in it.

Yours affectionately,

F. Engels

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[a] woodruff, Lat. *Asperula odorata* - [b] wine flavoured with sweet woodruff - [c] hangover

# 56

# MARX TO JOHN SWINTON

## IN NEW YORK

London, 2 June 1881
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mr Swinton,

I need hardly recommend you the bearer of these lines, my excellent friend, Mr Hartmann. I send you through him a photogram of mine; it is rather bad, but the only one left to me.

As to the book of Mr Henry George,[a] I consider it as a last attempt — to save the capitalistic regime. Of course, this is not the meaning of the author, but the older disciples of Ricardo — the radical ones — fancied already that by the public appropriation of the rent of land everything would be righted. I have referred to this doctrine in the *Misère de la Philosophie* (published in 1847 against Proudhon).[b]

Mrs Marx sends you her best compliments. Unfortunately her illness assumes more and more a fatal character.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Yours most sincerely,
Karl Marx

The 'Viereck' was so stultified at his arrival in the US that he confounded my friend Engels with myself and transformed my compliments to you in those of Engels; he did the same with regard to another American friend of mine[c] by whose letter I was informed of the *quid pro quo*.

First published in *A Souvenir from Jimmie Higgins Book Shop*, New York, 1923

Reproduced from the original

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[a] H. George, *Progress and Poverty: an inquiry into the cause of industrial depressions and of increase of want with increase of wealth. The Remedy*, New York, 1880.- [b] See present edition, Vol. 6, p. 203.- [c] G. J. Harney

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## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [150]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 2 June 1881

Dear Sorge,

I recommend to you most heartily the bearer of this card, my friend Hartmann.

First published in *The New-York Herald*, No. 16455, 10 September 1881

Reproduced from the newspaper

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 2 June 1881

My dear Sorge,

In the person of the bearer I introduce to you our friend Leo Hartmann, of Moscow celebrity. To recommend him specially to your attention could be superfluous. If during his stay in America you can in any way be of service to him you will by that render a service to the common cause and a personal favor to Marx and myself.

Yours truly,
Fr. Engels

First published in *The New-York Herald*, No. 16455, 10 September 1881

Reproduced from the newspaper

## 59

## MARX TO JENNY LONGUET

### IN ARGENTEUIL

[London,] 6 June 1881

My dearest Don Quixote,

I am really wrong to have not written before this, but you know my good intentions and weak doings in this line. There passes, however, no day, when my thoughts are not with you and the lovely children.[a]

As to my health you need not trouble you[rself]; I had a nasty cold, almost as sempiternal as was the *Stockschnupfen*[b] of Seguin *selig*[c] — but it is now rapidly passing away.

As to Möhmchen, you are aware that there is no cure of the illness she suffers from, and she gets indeed weaker. Fortunately the pains are not such as they mostly are in such cases, the best proof of which is that she attends still several times during the week at London theatres. She keeps in fact wonderfully up, but travelling to Paris is quite out of the question. I consider it a most happy event that Lina Schoeler surprised us yesterday and is to stay about a month.

Has Johnny got Reineke or rather Renard the Fox[d] I sent him? and has the poor fellow somebody to read it for him?

To-day (Bank Holiday) [151] and yesterday infernal rainy and cold weather, one of the bad tricks the celestial father has always in store for his London plebeian cattle and sheep. Yesterday he spoiled by the rain the Hyde Park Demonstration of Parnell's.[152]

Hartmann has on Friday last left for New York and I am glad that he is out of harm's way. But foolishly, a few days before his departure, he *asked the hand of Pumps from Engels* — and this by writing, telling him at the same time that he believed he committed no mistake in doing so, *alias*, he (Hartmann) believed in his (Hartmann's) acceptance on the part of Pumps — the which girl had indeed rather hardly flirted with him, but only to stir Kautsky. I learn now from Tussy that the same Hartmann had offered himself to her before her voyage to Jersey. But the present case is the worse as the distinguished

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[a] Jean, Henri, Edgar and Marcel - [b] chronic cold in the nose - [c] the late - [d] J. W. v. Goethe, *Reineke Fuchs*.

Perovskaya, the victim of the Russian movement, had lived with Hartmann in 'free' marriage. And she has hardly died on the gallows.[153] From Perovskaya to Pumps—rather too bad this, and Mama is quite disgusted with it and the whole male sex!

Longuet's article on Ireland was good. We all thought there had something happened seeing that for some time he seemed more and more to disappear from the columns of the *Justice*. Have you seen or heard anything of the illustrious Hirsch? He sent me today two New York papers.

There is only one news worth reporting. A Yankee[a] is said to have invented a coal-cutting machine which would do away with the greatest part of the present labour of the colliers—viz. the 'hewing' of coal in the coal-measures and mines, leaving to the miners only the task of *breaking* the cut of coal and loading it into trucks. If this invention prove successful—as there is every reason to believe—it will give an immense stir in Yankeeland and do great damage to John Bull's industrial supremacy.

Mama also asks me to tell you that the pretext for Lina's [Schoeler] presence is the wedding of Lisa Green, daughter of the[b] successful admirer of Martin Tupper.

Laura does everything to amuse and cheer Möhmchen.

Helen[c] sends you her love.

And now kiss many many times for me Johnny, Harra and the noble Wolf[d]. As to the 'great unknown' one,[e] I dare not make so free with him.

How is your asthma? Does it still cling to you? I hardly understand how you manage to get breathing time with 4 children and only nominal servants.

Farewell, my dear child,

Old Nick

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[a] Jeffrey - [b] This part of the sentence is in German in the original.- [c] Demuth - [d] Edgar Longuet - [e] Marcel Longuet

## 60

## ENGELS TO JENNY LONGUET

IN ARGENTEUIL

London, 17 June 1881
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Jenny,

I hasten to reply to your letter of the 15th received this morning only. When I wrote to you last,[a] the doctor[b] *insisted* upon your Mama going to Paris and it was herself who resisted, saying she did not feel strong enough for the journey. A few days later the doctor found that she had indeed become so much weaker that he could no longer advise her to go to Paris. She is indeed getting extremely thin and emaciated and complained to me today a great deal about increasing weakness, especially when dressing, she has begun to stay the greater part of the day in bed and the doctor made her get up and go out for a walk while I was there. He has now told Mohr that the best thing to do is for *both of them* to go to Eastbourne, and that at once. We tried to persuade her, but of course she offered all kinds of resistance: now she ought to go to Paris if anywhere, and so forth, so we told her that a fortnight's stay at Eastbourne would perhaps restore her forces sufficiently to enable her to go to Paris afterwards, etc., etc. I left them at it, and you will probably hear the result in a day or two from Tussy who said she would write to you soon.

Whatever the nature of the complaint may be, this constant and increasing loss of flesh and strength seems a very serious feature, especially as it does not seem to come to a stop — most of the doctors said that this was not in itself a dangerous symptom unless it went beyond a certain point; that they had known cases where the weakening all of a sudden had been arrested and strength recovered. I hope the seaside will have that effect, if we only had her there already.

To Mohr the change will be equally favourable, he wants a bit of bracing up too, his cough is not so bad at nights and he sleeps better, that is one thing.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 91-92. - [b] Donkin

A very great piece of good luck has been the arrival of Lina Schoeler who is now staying at your house, as lively and good-natured as ever, and a good deal more deaf. Her presence cheers your Mama up a good deal, I hope she will stay for some time.

Sam Moore has passed his final examination as Barrister successfully last week.

I hear from Tussy that you have got a fresh servant and that she seems to suit you, so your household troubles bid fair to diminish too.

I close this letter so as to send it by early mail in the morning, hoping thus it may reach you to-morrow night. Miss Parnell's letter I shall return in a few days. Kind regards to Longuet and Johnny from yours affectionately

F. Engels

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## 61

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [154]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 20 June 1881

Dear Sorge,

Today I had broken off some other work I was doing, meaning to embark at long last on a lengthy letter to you and now, as ill luck would have it, I've had one visitor after another and thus hardly have time enough left to drop you a few lines before the post goes. Hence a *brief* survey.

Your son [a] pleases everyone he meets here. Since I have been suffering continuously for 6 months and more from a cough, cold, sore throat and rheumatism, which only seldom permit me to go out and keep me out of society, he and I have an hour or so of private conver-

[a] Adolph Sorge

sation ABOUT ONCE A WEEK and I find that he has, *au fond*,[a] absorbed rather more of our views than would appear. He is an altogether capable, decent lad with, moreover, cultivated manners and a pleasant temperament. He is, besides, and that is all-important, FULL OF ENERGY.

My last visitors, only just gone, were Viereck and his newly married wife, also née Viereck.[b] I had not seen the gentleman since he came back from America.[119] A few days ago he sent Kautsky to see me with sundry scraps of paper for me to *sign* (one written by Liebknecht and also signed by him in his own and Bebel's names). All of them related to certain agreements respecting the Lingenau legacy[45] negotiated by Viereck with the *'New Yorker Volkszeitung' et cie.* I *refused to sign* since, in this matter, I am obliged, as I explained, to deal only with our chief executor, Sorge. At the same time I gave Viereck to understand that, in my view, the first thing to be done was to pay you the 120 dollars for the lawyer in St Louis out of what still remained of the American fund in New York. Viereck now tells me today that — upon my accepting responsibility vis-à-vis the Leipzigers — he at once sent off instructions to that effect to New York. He arrived IN THE NICK OF TIME, for otherwise a *formal protest* would have gone off from me to Leipzig tomorrow, a protest against the *modus operandi*[c] of the Leipzig party leaders who had hitherto conducted themselves in this matter as if the decision rested *solely with them.*

Now, *post festum*,[d] Viereck has mentioned your claim in respect of an advance of 80 dollars. I told him that, after the court decision, should this be unfavourable, we, the executors, would indemnify you, as we damned well ought.

Before getting your copy of Henry George,[e] I had already had 2 others, one from Swinton and one from Willard Brown. I therefore gave one to Engels and one to Lafargue. Today I shall have to confine myself to a very brief assessment of the book. Theoretically, the man is totally *arrière*.[f] He has understood nothing of the nature of *surplus value* and hence, after the English pattern, but lagging far behind the English, he loses himself in speculations about those portions of surplus value that have become independent — about the relations between profit, rent, interest, etc. His basic tenet is that *everything* would be *in order* were rent to be paid to the State. (You will also find payment of this kind among the transitional measures in the *Commu-*

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[a] basically - [b] Laura Viereck - [c] way of going about things - [d] after the event - [e] See this volume, p. 93. - [f] stick-in-the-mud

*nist Manifesto.*[a]) This view owes its origin to the bourgeois economists; it was first advanced (if we disregard a similar postulate in the late 18th century) by the earliest *radical* disciples of Ricardo immediately after the latter's death. In 1847, in my anti-Proudhon book, I commented on it thus: '*Nous concevons que des économistes, tels que Mill*' (senior, not his son John Stuart who repeats the same thing in somewhat modified form), '*Cherbuliez, Hilditch et autres, ont demandé que la rente soit attribuée à l'État pour servir à l'acquittement des impôts. C'est la franche expression de la haine que le* capitaliste industriel *voue au* propriétaire foncier, *qui lui parait une inutilité, une superfétation, dans l'ensemble de la production bourgeoise.*'[b]

As already mentioned, we ourselves adopted the appropriation of rent by the State amongst many other *transitional measures* which, as is likewise indicated in the *Manifesto*, are and cannot but be contradictory in themselves.

But making a *socialist* PANACEA of this desideratum of the English *radical* bourgeois economists, declaring this procedure to be a solution of the antagonisms inherent in today's mode of production — this was the prerogative of *Colins*, a native of Belgium and on old, retired officer of Napoleon's Hussars who, in the latter days of Guizot and the early ones of *Napoleon le petit*,[155] sent out into the world from Paris bulky volumes on the subject of this, his 'discovery',[c] likewise making the further discovery that, while there is indeed no God, there is an '*immortal*' human soul, and that animals have 'no sensitivity'. For had they any sensitivity, i. e. soul, we would be cannibals and a kingdom of righteousness could never be set up on this earth. His 'anti-landed property theory', along with his soul, etc., theory, has for years been advocated month after month in the Paris journal *Philosophie de l'Avenir* by his few remaining disciples, mostly Belgians. They call themselves '*collectivistes rationnels*' and have applauded Henry George.

In the same vein as them, and at much the same time, one Samter, amongst others, a shallow-pated Prussian banker and lottery collec-

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, p. 505.- [b] 'We understand such economists as Mill, Cherbuliez, Hilditch and others demanding that rent should be handed over to the State to serve in place of taxes. That is the frank expression of the hatred the *industrial capitalist* bears towards the *landed proprietor*, who seems to him a useless thing, an excrescence upon the general body of bourgeois production.' See K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, present edition, Vol. 6, p. 203. - [c] J. G. Colins, *L'économie politique. Source des révolutions et des utopies prétendues socialistes*, vols I-III, Paris, 1856-57.

tor from East Prussia, distended this 'socialism' to fill a hefty tome.[a]

All these 'socialists' since Colins have this in common — they allow *wage labour* and hence also *capitalist production* to subsist, while endeavouring to delude themselves and the world into believing that the transformation of rent into taxation paid to the State must bring about the automatic disappearance of *all the abuses* of capitalist production. So the whole thing is merely an attempt, tricked out with socialism, to *save the capitalist régime* and, indeed, to *re-establish it on an even broader basis* than at present.

Again, this cloven hoof, which is at the same time an ass's hoof, is unmistakably in evidence in the declamations of Henry George. It is all the more inexcusable in his case in that he ought, on the contrary, to have asked himself the question: How comes it that in the UNITED STATES, where the land was relatively — i. e. by comparison with civilised Europe — accessible to the great mass of the people and TO A CERTAIN DEGREE (again relative) still is, the capitalist economy and the corresponding enslavement of the working class have developed more *rapidly* and *brazenly* than in any other country?

On the other hand, George's book, like the sensation it created in your midst, is significant in being a first, if unsuccessful, attempt at emancipation from orthodox political economy.

H. George, by the by, seems to know nothing of the history of the earlier *American ANTI-RENTERS*[156] who were men of practice rather than theory. In other respects he is a talented writer (talented, too, in the matter of boosting the YANKEES), as is shown by, e. g., his article on California in the *Atlantic*.[157] He also has the revolting presumptiousness and arrogance that is the unmistakable hallmark of all such PANACEA-mongers.

Between ourselves, my wife's illness is, alas, incurable. In a few days' time I shall be taking her to the SEASIDE at Eastbourne.

*Salut fraternel.*[b]

Your

K. Marx

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 33, 1891-92 and in full in the book *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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[a] A. Samter, *Social-Lehre. Ueber die Befriedigung der Bedürfnisse in der menschlichen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1875. - [b] Fraternal greetings.

# 62

## MARX TO HENRY MAYERS HYNDMAN

IN LONDON

[Draft]

Eastbourne, Sussex, 2 July 1881
43 Terminus Road

My dear Sir,

The state of Mrs Marx's health which becomes daily more critical and demands my continual attendance upon her, will account for my belated reply to your letter d. d. June 5.

I confess to some astonishment at the discovery that, during your stay at London, you should have so closely kept the secret of your plan, then matured and executed, to publish, with certain modifications, the rejected article of *The Nineteenth Century* as chapters II and III of *England for All*, that is to say of your *comments on the Federation's Foundation Program.* [158]

In your letter which does not at all refer to the surprise thus kept in store for me, you say:

> 'If you think I ought to acknowledge your book by your name, etc.'

That question, it seems to me, ought to have preceded your publication instead of coming behind it.

You favour me with two reasons for freely using the *Capital*, a work not yet Englished, without mentioning the book itself or its author.

One reason is, that 'many (Englishmen) have an horror of Socialism and that name'. Was it with a view to assuage this 'horror' that you evoked [on] p. 86 '*the demon of Socialism*'?

Your second and last reason is, that '*the* Englishmen have a dread of being taught by a foreigner'!

I have not found it so during the times of the 'International', nor of Chartism. [159] But let that pass. If this dread of 'the' Englishmen frightened you, why tell them in the preface p. VI that the 'ideas' etc. of chapters II and III, whatever else they may be, bear at all events the stigma of being no home-make? The Englishmen you have to deal

with can hardly be so dense as to fancy that the above-said passage points to an—*English* author.

Apart, however, from your rather humorous reasons, I am decidedly of opinion that to have named the *Capital* and its author, would have been a big blunder. Party programs ought to keep free of any apparent dependence upon individual authors or books. But allow me to add that they are also no proper place for new scientific developments, such as those borrowed by you from the *Capital*, and that the latter are altogether out of place in a commentary on a Program with whose professed aims they are not at all connected. Their introduction might have had some fitness in the *Exposé* of a Program for the foundation of a distinct and independent Working Class Party.

You are good enough to inform me that your brochure 'though marked "price half-a crown" is not published', but 'merely' to be 'distributed to members of the Democratic Federation, etc.' I am quite sure that this was your intention, but I know that it is not opinion of your printer. A friend of mine saw your brochure in my study, wanted it, copied its title and place of printing, ordered it through his booksellers Williams and Norgate on the 13th of June and got it by them with their account note d. d. 14th June.

And this brings me to the only point of practical import. In case the public press should pounce upon your brochure, I might be obliged to speak, considering that chapters II and III consist in part of passages simply translated from the *Capital*, but separated by no marks of quotation from a remainder, much of which is not exact or even implies misunderstandings.

I have written with that full frankness which I consider the first condition of friendly intercourse.

Best compliments of Mrs Marx and myself to Mrs Hyndman.

Yours very truly,

K. M.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Annali*, an. III, Milano, 1960

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# 63

# ENGELS TO MARX

## IN EASTBOURNE [160]

[London,] 7 July 1881
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Moor,

In my last letter I quite forgot to mention money; owing to Schorlemmer's presence I have been somewhat restricted in my movements. You can now have £100 *à* £120, and it's simply a question of whether you want it all at one go and how much is to be sent there and how much is for here. When you get this letter, make up your mind *straight away* so that I get your answer by *tomorrow*. For Schorlemmer and Pumps are going to the theatre tomorrow evening, while I shall remain at home. I can then at once make out a CHEQUE in favour of Lenchen and take it to her. You or your wife can of course decide what is to be done with the money.

Tussy and Dolly Maitland acted very well; the girl showed a great deal of SELF POSSESSION and looked quite charming on the stage. Tussy was very good in the emotional scenes, though it was somewhat apparent that she had taken Ellen Terry for her model, as Radford had Irving, but she'll soon wean herself from that; if she really wants to make her mark in public she must unquestionably STRIKE OUT A LINE OF HER OWN, and she'll do that all right.

I hear that the sea air has not yet had the desired effect on your wife; that often happens in the early days; it may, and I trust will, come later.

Pumps is going to Manchester with Schorlemmer on Monday[a] to bring back little Lydia; I hear you have written to Tussy asking her to join you. I may perhaps come later when Pumps is back. We shall probably be going to Bridlington Quay [161] shortly and then to Jersey with Schorlemmer when he returns from Germany; at any rate that's what we've planned to date.

Best wishes from us all to your wife and yourself.

Your
F. E.

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[a] 11 July

## 64

# ENGELS TO NORRIS A. CLOWES

### IN NEW YORK

[Draft]

London, 22 July 1881
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Norris A. Clowes Esq. [162]

Dear Sir,

I am sorry my time will not allow me to write to you the statement you desire.[a] However, if you wish to make yourself acquainted with the present state of the Labour Movement in Great Britain, you will find the necessary information in the weekly *Labour Standard* published at 2 Whitefriars St. of which twelve numbers have up to now been issued. Most of the non-signed leaders are written by me. [163]

If you wish to enter into communication with Mr Most, you had better write to the Editor of the *Freiheit*,[b] 252 Tottenham Court Road, W., London, who will be able to tell you whether such communication will be possible under present circumstances.

I shall be glad to see you in case you should come to London.

I remain
Yours very truly,
F. E.

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[a] In the manuscript the following passage is crossed out here: 'as it would require entering into the history of the British working class and its action since at least 1824, if not since the industrial revolution caused by steam, and to that my time will not allow'.-[b] Karl Schneidt

## 65

## MARX TO JENNY LONGUET

### IN ARGENTEUIL

[London,] 22 July 1881

*My dear Jenny,

The doctor[a] has just left Mama, and we shall start on Tuesday or Wednesday next. You will be informed by telegram of the exact day.

Please *write at once*, because Mama will not get away from London before you have written her which things from London may be required by you. You know she is fond of that sort of commission-business.*

I enclose £5, since you will have to pay cash for the hire of bed-linen etc.; the remainder will be paid when I arrive. Only on these terms will I agree to the arrangement you have suggested.

As *to the story Hirsch has told you with respect to Lafargue, it is a mere *lie*. Lafargue, as I was sure from the beginning, has never written anything of the sort to his Paris correspondents.

*Adio*, dear child, with 1000nd kisses to the children

Old Nick*

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[a] Donkin

## 66

## MARX TO ENGELS [72]

### IN LONDON

Argenteuil [164], 27 July 1881
11 Boulevard Thiers

Dear Engels,

I can't write at any greater length today as I have a mass of letters to get off and on this, our first day, the little ones [a] have rightly laid claim to me.

The journey from London to Dover went off as well as could be expected, i. e. my wife, who was most unwell when we set out from Maitland Park, did not notice any change for the worse as a result of the journey. On the boat she at once went to the ladies' cabin where she found an excellent sofa to lie on. The sea was quite calm and the weather couldn't have been finer. She landed in Calais in better shape than when she had left London and decided to carry on. The only stations where our TICKETS allowed us to break the journey to Paris were Calais and Amiens. She thought the latter place (ABOUT 2 HOURS' journey from Paris) too close to stop at. Between Amiens and Creil she felt diarrhoea coming on, and the griping pains also grew more violent. At Creil the train stopped for only 3 minutes, but she had just enough time to do what was necessary. In Paris, where we arrived at 7.30 in the evening, we were met at the station by Longuet. However the direct train from this station to Argenteuil left too late for us to wait for it. So, after the *douaniers* [b] had examined our trunks, by CAB to St Lazare station and from there, after waiting some while, by RAILWAY to our destination which we did not reach, however, until ABOUT 10 O'CLOCK. She was in very poor shape, but this morning (at any rate now, ABOUT 10 O'CLOCK) feels better than she used to do in London at a similar hour. At all events, the return journey will be made in much easier stages.

Longuet is introducing me to his doctor [c] today, so that we can act immediately in the event of the diarrhoea recurring.

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[a] Marx's grandsons: Jean, Henri, Edgar and Marcel Longuet - [b] customs officers - [c] Dourlen

We found everyone well here, except that Johnny and Harry had slight colds as a result of the change of temperature (all the children, especially Johnny, had been affected by the days of extreme heat). As a *summer residence* the house is first-class, must obviously have once served as such for a *richard.*[a]

WITH BEST COMPLIMENTS TO Pumps.

Your
Moor

It would seem that Tussy has written to her correspondent over there[b] telling him of my arrival and hence, or so Longuet tells me, this is already an open secret. The 'anarchists', he says, will impute to me the malicious intention of swinging the vote.[165] Clemenceau told him that I had absolutely nothing to fear from the police.

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## 67

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN ARGENTEUIL

Bridlington Quay, Yorkshire
29 July 1881
1 Sea View

Dear Moor,

I got your letter[c] yesterday morning before we left[161] and was very glad to hear that you did, after all, have a reasonably good journey. But you are right in proposing to break the return journey; it's far too risky, letting such an invalid remain on the go for 12 hours.

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[a] very rich man - [b] Carl Hirsch - [c] See previous letter.

I only hope that the change of air and scene doesn't fail to produce the desired effect.

We left at 10.30 and arrived here at 5.5, minus my trunk, which had gone astray, but turned up before evening. After perhaps a quarter of an hour's search we found lodgings that were first-rate and not too dear (2 doors away from last year's, but a great improvement in every way). We had some rain yesterday, but today it seems to be slowly clearing up. The day before yesterday, by way of insuring myself against rainy weather such as we have again become familiar with lately in London, I went to fetch the Skaldin and the first two volumes of Maurer's *Fronhöfe*[a] from Tussy.

Our present plan is to remain here for 3 weeks or, perhaps, 4, depending on the weather and other circumstances. I have got some CHEQUES with me, so if you need anything, don't hesitate to let me know roughly how much you want. Your wife must not and shall not want for anything; if there's something she would like to have or something you know would give her pleasure, then have it she must.

Tussy dropped in to see us the day before yesterday, so I accompanied her home to fetch the books and drink the inevitable glass of Pilsener with her. Here one can pretty well do without German beer, for the BITTER ALE in the little café on the pier is excellent, and has a head on it like German beer.

Write again soon and tell me how things are.

Warm regards from all of us to your wife and Jenny. Pumps sends her special love to Johnny, as do I. Our regards, too, to Longuet.

Your
F. E.

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[a] [Skaldin] Скалдинъ, *Въ захолустьи и въ столицѣ*, Санкт-Петербургъ, 1870 and G. L. Maurer, *Geschichte der Fronhöfe, der Bauernhöfe und der Hofverfassung in Deutschland*, vols I-II, Erlangen, 1862.

# 68

## MARX TO ENGELS [166]

### AT BRIDLINGTON QUAY

Argenteuil, 3 August 1881
11 Boulevard Thiers

DEAR FRED,

Drawing so heavily on your EXCHEQUER is a great embarrassment to me, but the anarchy which has wrought havoc with the housekeeping over the past 2 years and given rise to all sorts of arrears has been oppressing me for some considerable time. On the 15th of this month I have £30 to pay in London, and this has been a weight on my mind since the day we left.

When we shall return is far from clear. Every day we experience the same ups and downs here as we did in Eastbourne, [160] only with the difference—as for instance yesterday—that there are sudden and frightful bouts of pain. Our Dr Dourlen, who is an excellent doctor and fortunately lives quite close by, immediately intervened and used one of the powerful opiates which Donkin had been deliberately keeping up his sleeve. After that she[a] had a good night and today feels so well that she got up for once as early as 11 o'clock and is finding distraction in the company of Jenny and the children.[b] (The diarrhoea was STOPPED on the 2nd day after our arrival. From the start Dourlen had said that if it was merely an ACCIDENT, it didn't matter; but it might also be a symptom of an actual intestinal infection. Fortunately this was not the case, therefore.)

The temporary 'improvements' do not, of course, inhibit the natural course of the disease, but they delude my wife and fortify Jenny—despite my objurgations—in the belief that our stay in Argenteuil should last as long as possible. I know better how things stand, and my anxiety is all the greater for that. Last night, IN FACT, was the first occasion on which I had anything like a decent sleep. My thoughts, they are so dull and dead as turned a mill-wheel in my head.[c] And this is why I have so far remained exclusively in Argenteuil, neither

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[a] Mrs Marx - [b] Jenny Longuet and her sons Jean, Henri, Edgar and Marcel - [c] A paraphrase from Goethe's *Faust* (Der Tragödie Erster Teil, 'Studierzimmer').

visiting Paris nor writing so much as a line to anybody there encouraging them to come and visit me. Longuet has already heard Hirsch,[a] in the office of *La Justice*, express legitimate surprise at this 'abstention'.

And, INTO THE BARGAIN, a Kotzebue-like drama has been played out here during the past 5 days.

Jenny had, for cook, A VERY LIVELY YOUNG GIRL FROM THE COUNTRY with whom she was satisfied in every respect, since she also behaved most amiably towards the children. Her only testimonial from her last MISTRESS, wife of Dr Reynaud (another Argenteuil doctor), was a 'negative' one to the effect that she had quitted her service *voluntarily*. Old MOTHER Longuet who, so far as she is able, exercises a dictatorship over Jenny, was by no means satisfied with this, nor could she think of anything better to do than to go and write, off her own bat, to Madame Reynaud.

Madame Reynaud is a pretty coquette and her husband a dissolute jackass; hence things happen in this couple's house that are much gossiped about in Argenteuil. *They didn't know that their former maid had again taken service in the same locality*, and with none other than Mr Longuet, an intimate friend of Dr Dourlen's whose wife was an intimate enemy of Madame Reynaud's! THIS WAS TO BE LOOKED AFTER.

So one fine morning along comes Madame Reynaud — not, hitherto, personally acquainted with Jennychen —, tells the latter that the girl had had improper affairs with men (*et Madame?*) and, what is worse, is a thief having, *dans l'espèce*,[b] stolen a gold ring of hers; she assures Jenny that she means to settle the matter *en famille*,[c] without appealing to the '*autorités*' etc. Well and good, Jennychen SUMMONS THE GIRL, Madame Reynaud chats with and AT THE SAME TIME threatens her, the girl confesses, returns the ring — *whereat* Dr Reynaud denounces the unfortunate creature to the *juge de paix*.[d] UPSHOT: yesterday she was brought before the *juge d'instruction*[e] at Versailles. As you know, the *Code*,[167] being a relic of Roman Law whereby *familia = servi*,[f] refers to Assizes petty crimes which would ordinarily come before a police court.

In the meantime Jenny had made every imaginable representation to the *juge de paix*, an excellent man, but the matter had ceased to rest

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[a] Carl Hirsch - [b] Here: in this particular case. - [c] Here: in private. - [d] police court magistrate - [e] examining magistrate - [f] slaves

with him the moment he had been officially notified of it. Nevertheless, Jenny's statements, which he wrote down, and *la* Reynaud's extra-judicial procedure, which she also placed on record, will be of some benefit to the girl.

Jenny's defence of the girl surprised the *juge de paix*, but he took it all in a very light vein. *Mais vous ne voulez pas défendre le vol?* he asked her.—*Mais non, Monsieur, commencez par arrêter tous les grands voleurs d'Argenteuil, et de Paris par dessus le marché!* [a]

The immediate upshot is that she has no cook. The stupid GIRL from London—sister of our one-time Carry—IS GOOD FOR NOTHING IN THAT LINE and in any case has her hands full with the 4 children.

Apropos. Nordau—who is taking Hirsch's place on the *Vossische Zeitung*—was awarded a French order! Whereupon Hirsch denounced him to *La Justice*! The latter attacked the government for decorating such a traducer of France (he is a German-Hungarian Jew who attacked Tissot on Bismarck's behalf in his *le vrai pays des milliards* [168]), likewise Bleichröder who wished to encumber *la belle France* with indemnities of 10 rather than 5 milliards. [169]

That jackass Nordau, presently in Paris, replied to *La Justice*, in a letter in which he made himself out to be the CHAMPION of France. Whereupon he was unmasked in *La Justice* and, the day after, in *La République française*.

*Salut.*

Your
Moor

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[a] You're not proposing to stand up for theft?—No, monsieur, but start off by arresting all the big thieves of Argenteuil, not to mention those of Paris.

## 69

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN ARGENTEUIL

Bridlington Quay, Yorkshire
6 August 1881
1 Sea View

Dear Moor,

Your letter arrived on the evening of the day before yesterday, to all intents open, thanks to the envelope. A trip to Flamborough Head had been arranged for yesterday, so I haven't got round to replying to you until today.

As regards the paltry £30, don't let it give you any grey hairs. Unless I hear to the contrary I shall send off *in plenty of time* a CHEQUE for that amount to Tussy whom you will be instructing. Should you need *more*, however, let me know and I shall make the CHEQUE larger. For I only brought a few CHEQUE forms with me and have to be economical with them.

Very many thanks for the news of the patient.[a] If I were you, I would stick as closely as possible to the period laid down by Donkin; I'm sure the local doctor[b] will also back you up there. Should the bouts of pain grow more frequent, they might well occur while you were en route and that could land you in a very serious predicament.

The business with the maid is at any rate funnier for us than for poor Jennychen. How fortunate that she should at least have Lenchen there just now. It is impossible to know which of the two French *bourgeoises* is the more admirable, old Mother Longuet who, on the pretext of finding Jennychen virtuous maids, sees to it that she is perpetually maidless, or the good doctor's wife[c] who gives her word (without which she would never have got her ring back) only to break it in the interests of public morality as soon as the ring is returned to her.

Up here everything follows its usual somewhat dreary SEASIDE course, except that I've unfortunately had to give up bathing, as it

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[a] Mrs Marx - [b] Dourlen - [c] Madame Reynaud

was making me deafer and deafer. I find this most disagreeable, but there's nothing else for it if I'm not prematurely to go about Allsop-fashion. I am writing to Laura today, inviting her to spend some time here; she can then so arrange things that she will be back in London at the time of your return, or at any rate shortly afterwards.[170]

Enclosed a letter from Gumpert which will surprise you. I need hardly say that the person concerned is the sister, resident in Manchester, of Berta Böcker of London.[a]

The award of an order to Nordau is really incomprehensible. It was only a short while ago that I saw his vile book, *Aus dem wahren Milliardenlande*, reviewed with the utmost satisfaction in the *Kölnische Zeitung*.[b] But it agrees in one respect with Bleichröder as also with Nordau's conclusions, namely that there is still a remarkable amount to be got out of the country. Of this the starving Prussian Junkers will take mental note.

My ink is running out; there is still just enough left for Laura, so I shall close, with warm regards to you all from

Your
F. E.

You're quite right not to bother about Paris any more than you think fit, whatever Hirsch and all the rest may say.

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[a] See this volume, p. 117. - [b] 'Aus dem wahren Milliardenlande', *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 189, 10 July 1881.

## 70

## MARX TO CARL HIRSCH

### IN PARIS

Argenteuil, 6 August[a] 1881
11 Boulevard Thiers

Dear Hirsch,

I have been here for nearly a fortnight [164]; haven't visited Paris or any of my acquaintances. My wife's condition has permitted neither the one nor the other.

Because of her growing weakness, it is possible that I shall have to leave much earlier than I originally planned and I therefore intend (if NO ACCIDENT INTERFERES) to come to Paris TOMORROW MORNING with Lenchen and Johnny. I shall take a cab to your house and, if your time permits, count on your accompanying us. [171]

Regards to Kaub.

Your
K. Marx

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## 71

## MARX TO ENGELS

### AT BRIDLINGTON QUAY

[Argenteuil,] 9 August 1881

DEAR FRED,

Have just received your letter. I am registering this one; Longuet says that, while there can be no question of Stieberian tampering

[a] July in the ms.

with letters, registered ones, especially at little places like Argenteuil, are handled with greater despatch.

On Satuday[a] we took my wife to Paris; she watched it go by from an open carriage, which pleased her much (on myself it made the impression of a *foire perpétuelle*[b]). A few pauses, of course, and SITTING DOWN BEFORE cafés. On the way back she felt momentarily sick, but wants to go there again.

Her condition is, as usual, sometimes too much to bear, sometimes better for hours on end. She grows steadily thinner and at the same time weaker. Yesterday there was slight cutaneous bleeding which the doctor[c] considers a symptom of debility. I told him we must seriously consider going home; he said we could wait a day or two before finally deciding. She herself, after I had spoken to her about leaving at the end of this week, played a trick on me by sending out a mass of washing which will *not be returned until the beginning of next week*. At all events I shall let you know by telegraph when we are leaving (should there not be time SIMPLY to notify you beforehand by letter). Oddly enough, though I get damned little rest at night and my days are racked with worry, everyone tells me how well I look — as is, indeed, the case.

Jennychen's asthma is bad, the house being a very draughty one. The child is heroic, as always.

On Sunday I was to show Helen[d] round Paris. I wrote and advised Hirsch[e] of it beforehand — and IN THE NICK OF TIME. He was just on the point of *leaving* for Germany (to the intense annoyance of Kaub and the chagrin of his wife). He wants to show the party leaders in Germany that there's nothing out of the way about exposing oneself to apprehension by the police. He made off yesterday.

A pleasant couple, Jaclard and his Russian wife,[f] came to *déjeuner*[g] here yesterday. Today we expect, for the same PERFORMANCE, Lissagaray and our doctor's wife (along with her sister).

From Jaclard we learned that he had attended an election meeting at Batignolles where the following put themselves up as candidates: *Henry Maret*, our *Dr Regnard* and — *Pyat*, who turned up — *SELF-UNDERSTOOD with the permission of the police* — suddenly and unexpectedly. Pyat was frightfully jeered at. When he mentioned the

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[a] 6 August - [b] perpetual fair - [c] Dourlen - [d] Helene Demuth - [e] Carl Hirsch (see previous letter). - [f] Anna Korvin-Krukovskaya - [g] luncheon

Commune there was a general cry of '*Vous l'avez lâchée!*'[a] Regnard fared no better. In order to appear paradoxical and profound, the idiot opened with the declaration: '*Je suis contre la liberté!*'[b] GENERAL HOWLING! His subsequent declaration that it was '*liberté des congrégations*'[c] he had meant availed him nothing. The champion of anti-clericalism [172] was a flop, likewise Henry Maret.

It may be that the extreme left will slightly increase its numbers, but the chief upshot of this will PROBABLY be victory for Gambetta. Things being what they are in France, the shortness of the election period will decide the issue in favour of *faiseurs*[d] with numerous 'strongholds' in their possession, prospective bestowers of places in the machinery of government, and the men who control the 'exchequer', etc. The 'Grévystes'[e] could have licked Gambetta if, after the latter's recent FAILURES, they had had the energy to throw his appendages, Cazot, Constans and Farre, out of the cabinet. Since they didn't, the place-hunters, speculators on the Bourse, etc., etc., are saying to themselves, 'GAMBETTA IS THE MAN!' THEY HAVE NOT DARED TO ATTACK HIM IN HIS STRONGHOLDS, YOU CANNOT RELY UPON THEM.The general onslaughts daily made upon him in the radical and reactionary press CONTRIBUTE TO ENHANCE HIM DESPITE ALL HIS TOMFOOLERIES. On top of which the peasants regard Gambetta as the *nec plus ultra*[f] in *possible* republicanism.

At the same time as this letter, another will go off to Tussychen, telling her what to do. I shall need a little more money, since this time the journey is going to cost a lot (the doctor thinks, moreover, that a few days in Boulogne might do the patient good because of the sea air), we shall have to meet a large doctor's bill and also make some compensation to Jennychen for all the expenses we have put her to.

So Gumpert is founding a 3rd (or is it 2nd?) family? Good luck to him. It seems a sensible thing for a doctor to do. My wife has heard a number of people extolling the Böcker woman of Manchester.

*Salut.*

Your
Moor

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[a] You deserted it.-[b] I am against liberty.-[c] liberty of the congregation-[d] humbugs-[e] Jules Grévy's followers-[f] the last word

Beesly is making ever more of an ass of himself. Weiler ought to put a stop to the glorification of Max Hirsch in *The Labour Standard.*[173]

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## 72

## MARX TO LAURA LAFARGUE[72]

### IN LONDON

[Argenteuil,] 9 August 1881

Dear Laurachen,

I can only write you a line or two as the post is about to go.

Mama is in a serious condition as a result of her growing weakness. It was therefore my intention (as we shall only be able to travel by easy stages this time) to set off at all costs at the end of the week, and I informed the patient accordingly. Yesterday, however, she thwarted my plan by sending out our washing. So there can be no question of our leaving before the beginning of next week.

We may — depending on the state she is in — stop in Boulogne *for a few days*. The doctor[a] thinks that (given favourable conditions) the sea air might momentarily have an invigorating effect.

Next time (but for this purpose you must write *at once* giving me your latest address) I shall send you a fuller report. Best wishes to Paul.[b]

Your

Old Nick

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[a] Probably Dourlen - [b] Lafargue

## 73

## ENGELS TO GEORGE SHIPTON

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

Bridlington Quay,
10 August 1881

Dear Mr Shipton,

I return the proof-sheet [174] altered as you wish. The first passage you seem to me to have misunderstood and the second alteration is merely formal.[a] Anyhow, I do not see what good such alterations can do if asked for on Tuesday, received here on Wednesday, to arrive again in London on Thursday after the publication of the paper.[b]

But there is another thing. If such *very* mild and innocent things as these begin to appear to you too strong, it must occur to me that this must be the case, in a far higher degree, with my own articles, which are generally far stronger. I must therefore take your remarks as a symptom, and conclude that it will be better for both of us if I discontinue sending you leading articles. It will be far better than going on until, upon some inevitable point, we come to an open rupture. Moreover my time will certainly not allow me to go on writing leaders regularly,[163] and on this ground alone I had come to some similar resolution to be executed, as I then thought, after the Trades Union Congress.[175] But the sooner I stop the better will be perhaps your position before that Congress.

There is another point: I consider you ought to have sent me before publication the copy or proof of the article on the Max Hirsch Trades Unions in Germany,[c] as to the only man on your staff who knew anything of the matter and could make the necessary notes to it. Anyhow it will be impossible for me to remain on the staff of a paper which, without consulting me, lends itself to writing up these Trades Unions, comparable only to those worst English ones which allow themselves to be led by men openly sold to, or at least paid by the middle class.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 120-21.- [b] *The Labour Standard* - [c] See this volume, pp. 117-18.

I need not add that otherwise I wish every success to *The Labour Standard* and if desired shall now and then contribute occasional information from the continent.

Yours truly
F. E.

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## 74

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN ARGENTEUIL

Bridlington Quay, Yorkshire
11 August 1881
1 Sea View

Dear Moor,

Your registered letter arrived yesterday evening but it, too, was open, this time *completely*. I enclose the envelope for you to see; it just wasn't stuck down.

I've this moment sent Tussy a CHEQUE for £50, *REGISTERED*. If you want all or part of the remaining £20 (over and above the £30 you spoke about) sent to Paris, Tussy can arrange things more quickly than if payment was made by a CHEQUE on London posted straight to you over there. She can easily get hold of a money order on Paris.

As regards the French elections I am entirely of your opinion. This Chamber won't continue sitting much longer anyway; once the *scrutin de liste*[a] has come through, it will soon be dissolved again.

Yesterday morning I informed Mr Shipton that he wouldn't be getting any more leading articles from me.[b] Kautsky had sent me an insipid thing on international factory legislation in a poor translation which I corrected and sent to Shipton.[174] Yesterday the proof and a letter arrived from Shipton who thought 2 of the passages 'too strong', having, what's more, misconstrued one of them; he asked me

[a] Here: result of the poll.- [b] See previous letter.

whether I would be prepared to tone them down. I did so and replied as follows:

1. What did he mean by submitting me the request for amendments on Tuesday[a]—i. e. Wednesday up here—when my reply couldn't have reached London until Thursday, *after* the paper[b] had come out.

2. If he thought *this* too strong, how much more so my own far stronger articles? Accordingly it would be better for us both if I gave up.

3. My time no longer permitted me to write a leading article regularly each week and I had already planned to inform him of this *after* the TRADE UNION CONGRESS (September).[175] Under the circumstances, however, it would no doubt improve his position vis-à-vis that congress were I to give up then and there.

4. He damned well ought to have shown me the Max Hirsch article *before* it was printed.[173] I couldn't remain * on the staff of a paper which lends itself to writing up these German Trade Unions, comparable only to those very worst English ones which allow themselves to be led by men sold to, or at least paid by the middle class *.[c] Apart from that I wished him the best of luck, etc. He will get my letter this morning.

I didn't tell him the most vital reason of all, namely, the total ineffectiveness of my articles so far as the rest of the paper and its readers are concerned. Any effect there may be takes the form of an invisible response on the part of unavowed apostles of FREE TRADE. The paper remains the same old omnium-gatherum of probable and improbable CROTCHETS; in matters of politics it is ±,[d] but if anything more Gladstonian. The RESPONSE, which once showed signs of awakening in one or 2 nos., has died away again. The BRITISH WORKING MAN just doesn't want to advance; he has got to be galvanised by events, the loss of industrial monopoly. *En attendant, habeat sibi.*[e]

We have been here for a fortnight now, weather changeable, mostly cold and often threatening, but not very often actually wet. We shall stay at least another week, perhaps a fortnight, but certainly no longer.

Since I've been here I have been taking *The Daily News* instead of the *Standard*. It is even more stupid, if that's possible. Preaches anti-vivisectionism! Also as deficient in news as the *Standard*.

[a] 9 August - [b] *The Labour Standard* - [c] See this volume, p. 119. - [d] more or less - [e] In the meantime let him do as he likes.

Hirsch[a] may suffer for his pleasure jaunt. But he can't help being what he is.

Best wishes to everyone.

Your
F. E.

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## 75

## ENGELS TO GEORGE SHIPTON

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

Bridlington Quay,
15 August 1881

Dear Mr Shipton,

I cannot make it out, how you could so strangely misunderstand Mr Kautsky's article.[174] To the first passage you objected because State interference went against the grain of 'many prominent men in the Unions'. Of course it does, because they are at heart Manchester School[176] men and so long as their opinions of such are taken into account, no working-class paper is possible. But my addition to the passage in question must have convinced you, that the State interference here alluded to, was such, and such only, as has been in England the law of the Land for years: factories and workshops' acts,[177] and nothing further: things not objected to by even your 'prominent men'.

As to the second passage, Mr Kautsky says: an international regulation of the *war of competition* is as necessary as that of *open warfare*; we demand a *Geneva Convention*[178] for the workpeople of the world. The 'Geneva Convention' is an *agreement* entered into by the various *Governments* for the protection of wounded and ambulances in battle. What therefore Mr Kautsky demands, is a similar agreement between the various *Governments* for the protection of the workpeople not of one state only, but of all, against overwork especially of women and

[a] Carl Hirsch

children. How out of that you can make an appeal to the *workpeople* of the world to *meet in a Convention of delegates at Geneva*, I am utterly at a loss to understand.[a]

You will own that the occurrence of such misunderstanding on your part cannot at all encourage me to alter my resolution.[b]

As to the Hirsch article,[173] I do know Mr Eccarius and only too well for a traitor to the cause and it will be utterly impossible for me to write for a paper which opens its columns to him.

Moreover, I do not see any progress. *The Labour Standard* remains the same vehicle of the most various and mutually contradictory views on all political and social questions which it was, perhaps unavoidably, on the first day of its existence, but which it ought no longer to be by this time, if there was an undercurrent among the British working class tending towards emancipation from the liberal Capitalists. Such undercurrent not being shown itself up to now, I must conclude it does not exist. If there were unmistakable signs of its existence, I might make an extra effort to assist it. But I do not think that one column a week drowned as I might say amongst the remaining multifarious opinions represented in *The Labour Standard* could do anything towards producing it.

And as I told you, I had resolved to stop writing after the Trade Unions Congress,[175] because of want of time; so whether I write a few articles more till then, would make no difference.

So waiting and hoping for better times, I remain

Faithfully yours,

F. E.

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[a] In the manuscript the following passage is crossed out here: 'If you had understood the drift of the article, you must have at once seen that here was a measure of an immediately practical nature, so easy of execution that one of the existing governments of Europe (the Swiss Government) had been induced to take it in hand; that the proposal to equalize the hours of labour in all manufacturing countries by making factory and workshop's legislation a matter of international state agreement, was one of the greatest immediate interest to the working people. Especially to those of England who, besides the Swiss, are the best protected of all against overworking and therefore are exposed to an unfair competition on the part of Belgian, French and German workpeople whose hours of work are much longer.'-[b] See this volume, p. 119.

## 76

## MARX TO ENGELS

### AT BRIDLINGTON QUAY

[Argenteuil,] 16 August 1881

DEAR Engels,

We shall have to leave tomorrow, as I have received a letter from MISS Maitland[a] saying that Tussy is **very ill*, will not allow Miss Maitland to attend her any longer, has called no doctor,* etc. Lenchen will possibly, indeed probably, have to accompany Mama to London; I shall have to set off at once (i. e. TO-MORROW and then carry on non-stop).

Your
K. M.

I at once wrote to Dr Donkin about Tussy; however he may no longer be in London.

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## 77

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN PARIS

[Argenteuil,] 16 August 1881

My dear Lavroff,

I must leave to-morrow and will therefore have no occasion to see

[a] Dolly Maitland

you again for this time. But having once found my way to Paris, I shall put in my appearance from time to time.

*En attendant au revoir*

*Tout à vous*[a]
K. Marx

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## 78

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LONDON

Bridlington Quay, Yorkshire
17 August 1881
1 Sea View

Dear Moor,

Your telegram just received. I hope your wife managed the journey all right and conclude from the above that you evidently arrived by the night boat. Drop me a line to say how things are going.

As regards our departure, we ourselves were very much in the dark. Owing to a variety of circumstances we were unable to make preparations for tomorrow when our week expires. On receiving your telegram we arranged with the LANDLADY that we should pay another half week's rent and shall now be arriving back in London on Monday[b] evening if nothing crops up in the meantime. The weather: pretty well continuously overcast, threatening and cold; since yesterday it has been decidedly wet and in conditions like that Bridlington Quay becomes a downright bore.

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[a] Meanwhile, good-bye, All yours - [b] 22 August

Gambetta HOOTED DOWN *très-bien*[a] in Charonne.[179]

Your

F. E.

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## 79

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN[180]

### IN ZURICH

Bridlington Quay, Yorkshire,
17 August 1881

Dear Mr Bernstein,

Having spent the past 3 weeks at the seaside here,[161] I am making the most of the bad weather that has set in to drop you a few lines before I leave for home on Monday, the 22nd. If I have time, I shall also write to Kautsky,[b] but he will in any case very shortly be getting a reply and a copy of his article in *The Labour Standard*.[174]

I presume the anti-Semitica got back to you all right; I sent them to Kautsky as you hadn't let me have a more precise address.[181] Never have I seen anything so stupid and puerile. This movement is of importance *only* in the sense that in Germany — thanks to the cowardice of the bourgeoisie — *any* movement instigated from above is of importance, namely as an electioneering ploy to obtain a conservative majority. As soon as the elections are over, or even earlier if the movement (as now in Pomerania) overshoots the mark set by those in higher places, it will, on orders from above, collapse like a pricked balloon and 'never more be seen'[c]. Movements of this kind cannot be treated with too much contempt and I am glad that the *Sozialdemokrat* did so.[182] I have, by the way, heard from C. Hirsch who, acting on a sudden whim, took a jaunt to Berlin, whence he writes[183]:

'The anti-Semitic movement has been organised entirely — one might almost say

[a] very nicely - [b] See this volume, pp. 140-42. - [c] Goethe, 'Der Fischer'.

on orders — from above. I have gone into the poorest of haunts and no one has taken exception to my nose; nowhere, either in omnibuses or trains, have I heard a word spoken against the Jews. The semi-official papers, which hawk round anti-Semitic goods, have very few readers. Germans have a natural aversion to Jews, but I notice that the hatred felt for the government by working men as well as by petty-bourgeois and philistine progressives is far more virulent.'

Of the thousand and one secret police in Berlin, he says that everyone is aware who they are and

'in consequence they know nothing. They are so naive that they always frequent the same pubs and sit at the same tables'.

Your articles on the subject of 'intellects' [184] are *very good.* Again, your treatment of Bismarck's mania for nationalisation as something we should not endorse but which, like everything else that happens, nevertheless turns out *nolens volens* [a] in our favour, is quite outstanding, and likewise your treatment of 'intellects' as being those of people who, in so far as they are worth anything, come to us of their own accord but, in so far as we have first to recruit them, can only do us harm through what remains of the old leaven. There is much else of equal merit, though anyone could, of course, find occasional fault with the way things are put. The last number, too, was very good as a whole — the right kind of tone, brisk, assured, which the leaders had lost after the assassination attempts [128] and the exceptional law,[16] is back again and makes up for what Frederick William IV used to call 'trouser trumpetings'. You've given Bradlaugh a first-class drubbing.[b]

A few notes as to detail:

1. There's no need to be so complimentary about Vallès.[185] He is a wretched man of letters, or rather, literatus, an absolutely worthless peddlar of stock phrases who, for want of talent, took up with extremists so as to dabble in tendencies — so-called isms — and thus find a market for his indifferent belletristic wares. During the Commune he did nothing but pontificate and, if he exerted any kind of influence, it was for the worse. Don't allow Parisian cliquishness (for which Malon also has a great proclivity) to mislead you about this *drôle de fanfaron.*[c] What kind of politician he is may be seen from his letter to Grévy [186] when the latter became president, advising him to introduce the socialist republic *par ordre du mufti* [d], etc., a letter which retarded the amnesty by many months.

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[a] willy-nilly - [b] *Der Sozialdemokrat,* No. 33, 11 August 1881. - [c] big-mouthed rascal - [d] by ukase

2. The Spaniards are by no means a bunch of anarchists. There's a quite outstanding nucleus in Madrid (the erstwhile nueva federación madrileña [187]) and, in addition, some very good elements, notably in Valencia and in certain of the smaller Catalonian industrial towns, not to mention others dispersed elsewhere. The most energetic and clear-sighted is our friend José Mesa, presently in Paris, a quite excellent fellow who also collaborates with Guesde and the rest of them over there, and keeps them in touch. If you want news about Spain, write to him in French (Malon will be able to forward the letter direct or through Guesde — I haven't got his address up here). You can mention my name.

On the whole I consider that a young man who is doing so well in and by his post as you, ought by rights to stick to that post. It is, I think, most questionable whether Kegel, who in any case is still in jug, would prove equally adaptable. What his theoretical standpoint is, I do not know, and in any case there is nothing to show that his qualifications are suited to anything more than a local paper, and a humorous one at that. LET WELL ALONE, as the English say; don't try and improve on what is good. I must confess that the thought of any change fills me with mistrust and uneasiness.

Well, now for the Revolutionary Congress.[188] Lafargue has got hold of an Italian who was a delegate but — why I don't know — was thrown out. In addition, Lafargue has met various other members of that gang, likewise anarchists, at the house of a French wine and provisions merchant. It appears that:

1. The congress consisted of *twenty-odd* people, mostly *resident in London* with mandates from elsewhere. Also a few Frenchmen and Italians and one Spaniard. They held their sessions *in public*. But not a soul turned up, neither dog, nor cat, nor reporter. After this vain wait for a public had lasted 3 or 4 days and still continued in vain, they took an heroic resolution and declared the sessions were to be *secret*!

2. The first thing that was noted was the general disappointment caused by the ineffectuality of the anarchist movement as a whole, and the certain knowledge that nowhere at all was there anyone at all behind the vociferous few. Everyone knew this to be true of himself and his own locality and, although everyone had hoodwinked everyone else into believing the most colossal lies about the colossal strides made by the movement in his *own* district, everyone had none the less believed the lies told by *everyone else*. So colossal was the collapse of

their illusions that, even in the presence of strangers, they were unable to suppress their astonishment at their own ineffectuality.

3. The congress was retrieved up to a point, first by the meeting to which, of course, they invited reporters, and next by the silly questions asked in Parliament by idiotic Tories and even more idiotic Radicals. In view of the present plague of nihilists, it was only to be expected that the press should make capital out of a meeting attended by at most 700 men.

So when the *Freiheit* speaks of delegate No. 63, etc.,[189] this refers to the number of the *mandate* made out by 1, 2 or 3 men, either in blank or in the name of a man wholly unknown to them and resident in London, or by 10-20 in the name of a delegate travelling to London. The number of delegates actually present was nearer 20 than 30, and of those who actually went there from elsewhere, certainly below 10.

NB. All this to be used with circumspection, as I have it *third-hand.* E. g. your allusion to it might take the form of a question — whether that was how it happened.[190] The gentlemen always fasten on *one* inaccurate word. It's the same old story as in the case of *all* anarchist congresses. You should read in *Fictitious Splits in the International* what the fellows wrote about their own Congress of the Fédération Jurassienne, or the account in the *Alliance of Socialist Democracy* of the first congress after the split.[191] With those chaps, the first form anarchy assumes is that all want to be officers, and none rankers. Take, for instance, that raging anarchist Adhémar Schwitzguébel (*quel nom!*[a]) whose objection to acceptance of office from the state as a betrayal of the cause doesn't prevent him from being a lieutenant *dans l'armée fédérale suisse*[b]!

Kindest regards to yourself and also to Kautsky who will get a letter when next it rains.

Yours,
F. Engels

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[a] what a name! - [b] in the Swiss Federal Army

## 80

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Bridlington Quay,
18 August 1881
1 Sea View

Dear Moor,

Not until last night did I get your Argenteuil letter explaining your sudden arrival. I trust Tussy's indisposition is of no real significance — she wrote me a cheery letter only the day before yesterday; at all events, I shall presumably hear further details tonight or tomorrow morning, and also whether your wife accompanied you as far as Boulogne or Calais or whether she stopped off before that.

Yesterday, then, I at last plucked up the courage to make a thorough study of your mathematical mss.[192] without any reference to manuals and was glad to find I had no need of them. I offer you my congratulations. The thing is so crystal clear that one can only marvel at the obstinacy with which mathematicians insist on shrouding it in mystery. But that is what comes of those gentry's one-sided mentality. To write firmly and categorically $\frac{dy}{dx} = \frac{0}{0}$ could never enter their heads. And yet it is obvious that $\frac{dy}{dx}$ can only be the pure expression of a process undergone by x and y when the last trace of the *terms* x and y has disappeared and all that remains is the expression, free from all quantity, of the process of variation they are undergoing.

There is no need to fear that some mathematician may have anticipated you in this. The above method of differentiating is, after all, much simpler than any other — so much so that I myself have just used it to deduce a formula that had momentarily slipped my mind, afterwards verifying it in the usual way. The process would undoubtedly create a great stir, especially since it clearly demonstrates that the usual method, ignoring dx dy, etc., is *positively wrong*. And the particular beauty of it is that *only* when $\frac{dy}{dx} = \frac{0}{0}$ is the operation absolutely correct mathematically.

So old Hegel was quite right in supposing that the basic premiss for differentiation was that both variables must be of varying powers and at least one of them must be to the power of at least 2 or $^1/_2$.[a] Now we also know why.

When we say that in $y = f(x)$, x and y are variables, this is an assertion which, so long as we continue to maintain it, has no implications whatsoever and x and y still remain, *pro tempore*,[b] factual constants. Only when they *really* change, i. e. *within the function*, do they become variables in fact, nor does the relationship implicit in the original equation — not of the two quantities as such, but of their variability — come to light till then. The first derivate $\frac{\Delta y}{\Delta x}$ shows this relation as it occurs in the course of true variation, i. e. in any *given* variation; the final derivate $= \frac{dy}{dx}$ shows it purely and simply in its generality and hence, from $\frac{dy}{dx}$ we can arrive at any $\frac{\Delta y}{\Delta x}$ we choose, while this itself never covers more than the particular case. But in order to proceed from the particular case to the general relation, the particular case as such has to be eliminated. Hence, after the function has gone through the process from x to x′ with all this implies, one can simply let x′ revert to x; it is no longer the old x, a variable only in name; it has undergone *real variation*, and the *result* of that variation remains, even if we again eliminate that variation itself.

Here at last we are able to see clearly what has long been maintained by many mathematicians who were unable to produce rational grounds for it, namely that the differential *quotient* is the prototype, while the differentials dx and dy are derived: the derivation of the formula itself requires that the two so-called irrational factors should originally constitute one side of the equation and only when one has reduced the equation to this, its original form, $\frac{dy}{dx} = f(x)$, can one do anything with it, is one rid of the irrational factors, replacing them with their rational expression.

The thing has got such a hold over me that it not only keeps going round in my head all day, but last night I actually had a dream in

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, Book I, Section II, Chapter 2. Note: Der Zweck des Differentialkalkuls aus seiner Anwendung abgeleitet.- [b] temporarily

which I gave a fellow my studs to differentiate and he made off with the lot.

Your
F. E.

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## 81

## MARX TO ENGELS

### AT BRIDLINGTON QUAY

[London], 18 August 1881

DEAR FRED,

No doubt you will by now have had the brief note I wrote you day before yesterday from Argenteuil and have gathered from it that I am here without my wife (not *with her* as you necessarily supposed in your letter).

On hearing the news of Tussy's condition I resolved to leave that very same day if possible; my wife, on the other hand, was to set off *to-day* with Helen[a] and travel FIRST CLASS, first to Amiens and spend the night there; then, the next day, to Boulogne and rest there for at least a day, but 2 or 3 days if she wished; thence to Folkestone and, depending on circumstances, from there straight on to London or else (and this seemed to me best), by a later train of her own choosing. It was, of course, distressing to part from her, but the REAL SUPPORT FOR HER IS Helen; MY OWN PRESENCE wasn't absolutely necessary. Moreover, my departure compelled her finally to make up her mind to tear herself away from Argenteuil, which after all had got to happen in view of her growing weakness.

So I left Paris on Tuesday[b] evening at 7.45 by EXPRESS TRAIN via Calais, and arrived in London at ABOUT 6 O'CLOCK (MORNING).

I at once telegraphed Dr Donkin who was here by 11 o'clock and

[a] Demuth - [b] 16 August

had a long consultation with Tussy. HER STATE IS ONE OF UTTER NERVOUS DEJECTION. She has been eating next to nothing for weeks, less than Dr Tanner during his experiment.[193] Donkin says there's no organic trouble, HEART SOUND, LUNGS SOUND, etc.; fundamentally the whole condition is attributable to a PERFECT DERANGEMENT OF ACTION OF STOMACH which has become unaccustomed to food (and she has made matters worse by drinking a great deal of tea: he *at once* forbade her *all tea*) and a DANGEROUSLY OVERWROUGHT NERVOUS SYSTEM. Hence SLEEPLESSNESS, NEURALGIC CONVULSIONS, etc. It was a miracle, he said, that a COLLAPSE of this kind hadn't happened before. He intervened at once and, what is most important of all in this little person's case, brought it home to her that, if she was an obedient patient, *there would be no danger, but that if she insisted on having her own way, all would be perdu.*[a] (Indeed he is convinced that this is so.) Fortunately she promised to do as he said, and when she makes a promise she keeps it. Later on, he says, she will have to go away in order to distract herself.

Another reason for hastening my departure was the knowledge that Donkin intended to take his HOLIDAYS in the Hebrides from 17 August. He is staying here until Saturday on Tussy's account and will then leave a *remplaçant*[b] for her and my wife.

At the latest meeting of *électeurs* Mr Gambetta learnt something inside the MEETING-HALL[179] that he had learnt only at the hands of the crowd outside the meeting-hall at the first Belleville MEETING.[194] This second meeting also consisted solely of people who had been invited by his own COMMITTEE, and none of them was admitted except after a twofold *triage*[c] by the stewards appointed by the *comité*. Hence the uproar was all the more significant. On both occasions *Galliffet!* was the *cri* that predominated. Thus Gambetta learnt the lesson that effrontery of the *Italian* variety is out of place in Paris. Had Rochefort been able to speak in public and had he thus been enabled to offer himself then and there as a competing candidate, Gambetta would certainly have been defeated. As a result of what happened at the time of the Commune, the Belleville working-class population lost about 20,000 men, most of whom have been replaced by lower middle-class philistines. And even the remaining or newly arrived working-class population of Belleville (both *arrondissements*) is one of *arriérés*, stick-in-the-muds, whose ideal, if it goes beyond Gambetta, stops at Rochefort; both were returned as deputies there in 1869.

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[a] lost - [b] locum - [c] screening process

As to the state of the *parti ouvrier*[a] in Paris, someone who is wholly impartial in this respect, namely Lissagaray, admitted to me that, although only existing *en germe*,[b] *it alone* counts for anything vis-à-vis the bourgeois parties OF ALL NUANCES. Its organisation, though still tenuous and *plus ou moins fictive*,[c] is nevertheless sufficiently disciplined for it to be able to put up candidates in every *arrondissement*—to make its presence felt at MEETINGS and annoy the OFFICIAL SOCIETY PEOPLE. I myself have been following this aspect in Paris papers of every complexion and there's not one that doesn't grind its teeth at that GENERAL NUISANCE—*le parti ouvrier collectiviste*.[d] [195]

As regards the latest splits among the leaders of the *parti ouvrier*, it would be best if I told you about this in person later on.

With best wishes to Pumps and Mrs Rendstone.

Your
Moor

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## 82

## MARX TO JENNY LONGUET

### IN ARGENTEUIL

[London,] 18 August 1881

My dear sweet child,

I came to London, i. e.[e] in Maitland Park about 7 o'clock.

Tussychen is looking pale and thin, since weeks she eats almost nothing (literally); her nervous system is in a state of utter dejection; hence continuous sleeplessness, trembling of the hands, neuralgic convulsions of the face, etc.

I telegraphed at once to Dr Donkin; he put in his presence at 11 o'clock (yesterday morning), had a long consultation with and examination of Tussy. He says that there is no organic disease, heart

[a] workers' party - [b] in embryo - [c] more or less a fiction - [d] collectivist workers' party - [e] The beginning of the letter is in German.

sound, lungs sound, etc., but only action of stomach quite deranged by her foolish way of living, and nervous system fearfully overwrought.

He has succeeded to frighten her into obedience to his prescriptions, and you know, if she once gives way and promises, she will keep her promise. With all that, her recovery cannot but be slow, and I arrived in the very nick of time. There was the greatest danger in case of any further delay.

Donkin was about — as he had informed me before our departure — to leave this day London for the Hebrides. Because of Tussy, and hoping still to hear something of Maman, he will now stay till the end of the week.

Tell me about the state of Maman, whether she has left you, etc. How is Longuet and Harra[a]? and yourself and the other dear children[b]?

How do you go on with your new servant?

Apropos. Sarah[c] (Engels' Sarah), now for some hours daily the helpmate of Tussy, a girl of the best character and *fitness for every thing*, told Tussy that she had nothing liked better than to go with you, but Pumps did never tell her about Lizzy's having left you and about your want of a *remplaçant*[d] for her. She has also told Tussy and again myself, that she *is still ready* to come over to you. Only she dares not travel alone to France, but this matters little. I myself can bring her over later on.

And now *adio*, dear child. The pleasure to be with you and the dear children has given me a more substantial satisfaction than I could have found anywhere else.

My compliments to that excellent Dr Dourlen.

With 1000 kisses for the children

Yours,
Old Nick

Tussy sends her best wishes to Wolf[e] and the whole family.

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[a] Henri Longuet - [b] Jean, Edgar and Marcel - [c] Parker - [d] locum - [e] Edgar Longuet

## 83

## MARX TO ENGELS

### AT BRIDLINGTON QUAY

[London,] 19 August 1881,
11.30 p. m.

Mama and Helen[a] have JUST arrived via Folkestone, after stopping at Boulogne.

What I didn't write and tell you — Longuet and little Harry are very ill. Nothing but misfortune in the family at the moment.

*Salut.*

K. M.

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## 84

## MARX TO JENNY LONGUET [196]

### IN ARGENTEUIL

[London,] 20 August 1881
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My Sweetheart,

You may find it difficult to make head or tail of the above scrawl. But in effect, Mama and Helen arrived safely last night.

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[a] Demuth

# 85

# ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

## IN LEIPZIG

London, 25 August 1881

Dear Bebel,

I would have replied sooner to your letter of 13.5.[197] But, after the Leipzig 'local', [198] I waited to see whether you might perhaps send me another forwarding address; as you haven't I am using the old one, and also enclosing a letter from Tussy Marx to Mrs Liebknecht, for whom we haven't got an address either.

Bernstein still writes to say he wants to leave the *Sozialdemokrat*, and now proposes that Kegel be taught the ropes and, once he knows them, appointed in his place. My view is that any change would be for the worse. Bernstein has made good, so greatly exceeding our expectations (for instance, his articles on 'intellects'[184] were, trifles apart, quite excellent and written along exactly the right lines) that it would be hard to find anyone better. Kegel hasn't proved himself, at any rate in *this* sphere, and, as things stand now, all experimentation should be avoided. I have urgently requested Bernstein to stay,[a] and believe you could do no better than give him similar advice. In his hands the paper is getting better and better, and so, too, is he. He has genuine tact and is quick on the uptake—just the reverse of Kautsky, who is an exceptionally good chap, but a born pedant and hair-splitter in whose hands complex questions are not made simple, but simple ones complex. Like all the rest of us, I am very fond of him as a person and, in longer articles of the review type, he might occasionally do something pretty good, but even with the best will in the world he can't go against the grain, *c'est plus fort que lui.*[b] On a newspaper, a doctrinaire of this kind is a real disaster; even Ede[c] was forced to append a critical note to one of his articles in the last *Sozialdemokrat*. On the other hand, he has written a fly-sheet for the consump-

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[a] See this volume, pp. 85-86 and 128.- [b] it's too much for him - [c] Eduard Bernstein

tion of peasants in Austria[a] in which he gives proof of something of his mother's[b] gift for short story writing; aside from one or two erudite expressions, it's really good and should be effective.

I wrote to Liebknecht about the speeches in the Landtag, and in reply [199] was told that these had been a matter of 'tactics' (but I had pointed out that it was precisely those tactics that prevented us from siding openly with him) and that speeches of a different kind would shortly be made in the Reichstag. True, this has now been done by you [200]— but what is one to think of Liebknecht's unfortunate and wholly unnecessary remark about the 'Reich Chancellor's honesty' [201]? It may have been *meant* ironically, but that's not evident from the report, and what capital the bourgeois press made out of it! I have sent no further reply — it does no good, after all. But Kautsky, too, has told us not only that Liebknecht is writing letters all over the place — e. g. to Austria — saying Marx and I are in complete agreement with him and had sanctioned his 'tactics', but also that people *believe* him. This really can't go on indefinitely! Again, the *Freiheit* has got a lot of fun of Hartmann's[c] speech on the Accident Bill [202] which, if the passage they quote is genuine, was certainly a pretty wretched affair.

In France, working-class candidates obtained 20,000 votes in Paris and 40,000 in the provinces [203] and, if their leaders hadn't perpetrated one stupidity after another since setting up the collectivist workers' party, things would have gone even better. But there, too, the masses are better than most of their leaders. For instance, several Parisian candidates lost thousands of votes through using empty revolutionary verbiage (as much part of the business in Paris as patter is of trade) in the provinces as well where it was taken seriously and people asked: 'How can you make a revolution without weapons and organisation?' For the rest, developments in France are taking their regular, normal and very necessary course along peaceful lines, and that is a very good thing just now, for otherwise the provinces could not be swept earnestly into the movement.

I understand very well that your fingers should itch, when everything's going so nicely for us in Germany and you, having your hands tied, cannot reap the fruits of victories that are all but falling into your laps. But this does no harm. Many people in Germany have set

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[a] [K. Kautsky,] *Der Vetter aus Amerika, eine Erzählung für Landleute, erbaulich zu lesen.* - [b] Minna Kautsky - [c] Georg Wilhelm Hartmann

too much store by overt propaganda (Viereck, who was completely cast down by the impossibility of making overt propaganda, is just one striking example of this), and too little by the real impetus of historical events. It can do nothing but good if experience acts as a corrective in this case. The fact that we cannot reap the fruits of our victories *at the moment* in no way means that they are lost to us. The galvanising of the indifferent, inert masses can only be effected by actual events and even if, in present circumstances, those thus galvanised are left in a state of some considerable bewilderment, the word of deliverance will, when the time comes, strike home with all the more force; the effect upon state and bourgeoisie will be all the more drastic when the 600,000 votes [204] are suddenly multiplied threefold, when, besides Saxony, *all* the big towns and industrial districts fall to us and even rural workers are, for the first time, so situated as to be intellectually accessible to us. To take the masses by storm in this way is of far greater value than to win them over gradually by *overt* propaganda which, under present circumstances, would in any case quickly be stamped on. As things are now, the Junkers, clergy and bourgeois *cannot* allow us to cut the ground from under their feet and hence it is better to let them take care of this themselves. For a time will surely come when a different wind will blow. Meanwhile it's you people who must in person go through the mill, it's you who must endure the infamies of the government and the bourgeoisie, and that's no laughing matter. But mind you don't forget any of the dirty tricks played on yourselves and on all our people; the day of retribution is nigh and it must be exploited to the full.

Your
F. E.

Viereck is in Copenhagen. Address *poste restante*, Copenhagen.

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## 86

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN ZURICH

London, 27 August 1881

Dear Mr Kautsky,

In a day or two you will be getting by post 1. *The Labour Standard* containing your article,[a] in connection with which there have been sundry comic interludes, 2. a *Nature* of 18 August, 3. your ms. back.

After I had somewhat revised what was an altogether bungled translation, I sent it to Shipton for a leading article. However, the worthy Shipton got it all wrong and complained to me,[b] but as usual too late. God knows what the man took the bit about 'State interference' in favour of the workers to mean — certainly not what it said, nor that such State interference has long *existed* in England in the shape of FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS ACTS.[177] Still worse: into the words WE DEMAND A GENEVA CONVENTION [178] FOR THE WORKING CLASSES he read a demand by you for *the convening of a conference of delegates in Geneva* to settle the matter!! What can one do with such an oaf? I made this business the occasion to go ahead with my decision and break with *The Labour Standard*, as that paper is getting worse rather than better.

In *Nature* you will find a speech made by John Simon[c] before the international Medical Congress here [205] in which *the bourgeoisie is virtually put on the mat by medical science.* J. Simon is MEDICAL OFFICER TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL,[206] virtual head of Britain's entire public health inspectorate, and the same who is so frequently and approvingly quoted by Marx in *Capital*, a man — perhaps the last of the old really professional and conscientious officials of the 1840-60 period who, in the performance of his duty, everywhere found that bourgeois interests were the first obstacle he was obliged to combat. Hence, his instinctive hatred of the bourgeoisie is as violent as it is explicable. Now he, a doctor, finding his own special field invaded by the Church-led bourgeoisie and their anti-vivisection movement, has turned the tables on them. Instead of preaching dull and colourless sermons like

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[a] [K. Kautsky,] 'International Labour Laws', *The Labour Standard*, No. 15, 13 August 1881. - [b] See this volume, pp. 122-23. - [c] J. Simon, 'State Medicine', *Nature*, No. 616, Vol. XXIV, 18 August 1881.

Virchow, he goes into the attack comparing the *few scientific* experiments made by doctors on *animals* with the *vast commercial* experiments made by the bourgeoisie upon the *popular masses*, thereby placing the question for the first time in its true perspective. An extract from this would make a splendid feuilleton for the *Sozialdemokrat.* [207]

The Congress, by the way, declared unanimously that vivisection was essential to science.

Your fly-sheet[a] shows that you have inherited something of your mother's[b] gift for short story writing. It pleased me more than anything you have written hitherto. A little more polishing might have enabled you to improve one or two expressions and turns of speech, and I would advise you to do this in the case of a second edition. Literary German is a very clumsy idiom for narrative prose and erudite words such as reaction, which mean nothing to the peasant, ought to be avoided. The thing is worthy of being seriously revised by you along these lines. It is the best fly-sheet I have ever seen.

Your Mostian chaps in Austria will have to learn by painful experience; there are no two ways about it. It's a process during which many otherwise good elements come to grief, but if those elements are positively intent on conspiring for the fun of it and with no particular purpose in mind, there's no helping them. Luckily the proletarian movement has an enormous reproductive capacity.

Viereck and wife[c] had an awful lot of bad weather in Scotland, after which they left for Copenhagen where they have now arrived. They will be remaining there for the time being — address *poste restante*, Copenhagen.

Our French friends, it seems, are still not satisfied with the many stupidities perpetrated over the past 2 years out of officiousness, cliquism, an itch for oratory, etc. *Le Citoyen* has, it seems, been sold to the Bonapartists who have not yet unceremoniously kicked our men out, but have stopped their pay and otherwise treated them *en canaille*,[d] as though trying to push them into striking and so get rid of them. On top of that, all our chaps have fallen out with one another, as so often happens when things go wrong. One of the most unhappy is Brousse, a thoroughly honest chap but a consummate muddle-head and one who positively insists that the entire movement should de-

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[a] [K. Kautsky,] *Der Vetter aus Amerika, eine Erzählung für Landleute, erbaulich zu lesen.* - [b] Minna Kautsky - [c] Laura Viereck - [d] like dirt

vote itself to converting erstwhile anarchist friends. It was he, too, who was originally responsible for the crazy resolution concerning the rejection of candidature.[208] For the rest, the steady, peaceful course of events in France can, in the long run, only prove favourable to us. Not until the provinces have been drawn into the movement, as has been happening since 1871, and emerge, as they are increasingly doing, as a power in the land — along normal legal lines, that is,— can an end be put in the interests of us all to the spasmodic form hitherto assumed by developments in France, derived from coups in Paris and for years retarded by reaction in the provinces. *Then, when* the time has come for Paris to act, it will not have the provinces against it, but behind it.

Kindest regards from all,

Yours
F. Engels

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## 87

## MARX TO KARL KAUTSKY[209]

### IN ZURICH

[London,] 1 October 1881
*In great haste*

Dear Mr Kautsky,

I enclose a line to your mother[a] together with the enclosed note for my daughter.[b][210] It would have saved time if you had sent me your mother's Paris address.

I would have asked your mother to spend a few days at my house and at the same time take a look round London with me. *My wife's*

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[a] Minna Kautsky, see next letter.- [b] Jenny Longuet

*fatal illness*, which day by day *is drawing closer to its consummation*, prevented this. I am her *garde malade*.[a]

I get the *Arbeiterstimme* regularly; it edifies but does not surprise me, for I've known my Swiss for decades.

With regard to Mr McGuire, it would appear from your letter that he is in London. How comes it that none of our New York friends gave him letters of recommendation? I have, *prima facie*,[b] always been somewhat suspicious of YANKEE socialists and know in particular that the kind that Shipton keeps in touch with are * very crotchety and sectarian. With all that, Mr McGuire may be an excellent party man.*

Yours very sincerely,
Karl Marx

My wife and daughter[c] send you their compliments.

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## 88

## MARX TO MINNA KAUTSKY

### IN PARIS

London, 1 October 1881
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Madam,

I enclose herewith a note for my daughter.[210] Argenteuil is quite close to Paris, about 20 minutes from the Gare[d] St Lazare.

I would have taken the liberty of inviting you to stay at my house in London — and your son will have told you how greatly everyone in the family admires your works — had not my wife's shocking and,

[a] nurse - [b] Here: from the outset. - [c] Eleanor Marx - [d] Station

I fear, *fatal* illness put a stop, as it were, to our intercourse with the outside world.

With sincerest wishes for your future prosperity,

Yours very truly,
Karl Marx

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## 89

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [211]

### IN ZURICH

London, 25 October 1881

Dear Mr Bernstein,

I am most grateful to you for having written to me about the *Égalité* business.[212] Aside from the point at issue, this provides me with an opportunity of letting you know what is Marx's attitude, and hence also my own, towards the French movement. And from this one instance you will be able to gauge our attitude towards other non-German movements, in so far as these are in sympathy with us and we with them.

I am glad that you are not at present in a position to give financial support to the *Égalité*. Lafargue's letter was another of those *coups de tête*[a] which the French, in particular those south of the line Bordeaux-Lyons, now and again find themselves unable to resist. So certain was he of perpetrating a stroke of genius and a blunder rolled into one, that he didn't even tell his wife[b] (who has prevented many such things) about it until after the event. With the exception of Lafargue, who is always in favour of 'something being done', *n'importe quoi*,[c] we over here were unanimously against *Égalité* No. 3.[d] I confidently

[a] impulsive actions - [b] Laura Lafargue - [c] no matter what - [d] Engels means the third series of *L'Égalité*.

predicted that, with their 5,000 frs (*if* as much), they would last out for 32 numbers. If Guesde and Lafargue are intent on acquiring the reputation in Paris of *tueurs de journeaux*,[a] we can't stop them, but nor shall we do anything else. If, contrary to all expectation, the paper improves again, and if it gets really good, we shall always be able to see what can be done if it finds itself in a predicament. But it's absolutely essential that these gentlemen should learn at last how to stand on their own feet.

The fact of the matter is that, during the past 12 or 15 months, our French friends, who are trying to set up the *parti ouvrier*,[b] have made one blunder after another, and this applies to all of them without exception. The first was committed by Guesde when, for absurdly purist reasons, he prevented Malon from accepting the editorship of the labour department on the *Intransigeant* at a salary of 12,000 frs. *That was when the whole squabble began.* This was followed by the unpardonable folly over the *Émancipation*, when Malon allowed himself to be misled by the false promises of the Lyonnais (the worst working men in France), while Guesde showed himself no less feverishly anxious to have a daily paper *à tout prix*.[c] Next came the hair-splitting over the matter of candidature,[208] in which connection it is more than probable that Guesde was guilty of the solecism you reprobate, though it is obvious to me that Malon was *seeking* to pick a quarrel. Finally, the ingress into, followed by the egress from, the *Citoyen français*, of Mr Bourbeau, alias Secondigné, an adventurer of the worst repute — his egress being due simply to non-payment of salary, *not to any political motive.* Next, Guesde, in very mixed company, joined the most recent *Citoyen*, and Malon and Brousse the miserable *Prolétaire* which they — or Malon at any rate — had always secretly opposed as a vulgar loutish rag.

The *Prolétaire* was the organ of the very narrowest clique of the most inveterate scribblers among the Parisian workers. It was axiomatic that access could be had and contributions made only by genuine manual workers. The most bigoted Weitlingian 'scholar'-baiting was the order of the day. The sheet was in consequence quite without substance, while preening itself on being *la plus pure expression*[d] of the Parisian proletariat. Hence, for all its apparent cordiality, it always secretly looked upon other papers, including the 2 *Égalités*, as mortal enemies and intrigued against them.

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[a] killers of newspapers - [b] workers' party - [c] at all costs - [d] the purest expression

When Malon now maintains that the French workers' party is endeavouring to create an organ for itself in the *Prolétaire*, and questions the need for a competing *Égalité*, no one is better aware than Malon, 1. that the two first *Égalités* also existed alongside the *Prolétaire* simply because 2. nothing could be made of the *Prolétaire*, and Malon knows the *Prolétaire* people just as well as Guesde does, and 3. that the few blockheads on the *Prolétaire*, together with Malon and Brousse, don't by any means make up the whole of the French workers' party. Hence he knows that all this is a red herring and that it is *he* who is seeking to create an organ for *himself* in the *Prolétaire*, having made things too hot for himself everywhere else.

But the link that binds Malon and Brousse to this potty little sheet is their common jealousy of Marx. To the majority of French socialists it is an anathema that the nation which confers upon the world the boon of *idées françaises*[a] and has a monopoly of ideas — that Paris, *centre des lumières*[b] — must now all of a sudden import its socialist ideas ready-made from a German, Marx. But there's no denying the fact and, what is more, Marx's genius, his almost excessive scientific scrupulousness and his incredible erudition place him so far above all the rest of us that anyone who ventures to criticise his discoveries is more likely to burn his fingers than anything else. That is something which must be left to a more advanced epoch. If, then, French socialists (i. e. the majority) are obliged, whether they like it or not, to bow to the inevitable, it will not happen without a certain amount of grumbling. It is the *Prolétaire* people who say, of both Guesde and Lafargue, that they are Marx's mouthpieces or, translated into more familiar idiom, that *ils veulent vendre les ouvriers français aux Prussiens et à Bismarck.*[c] And in everything M. Malon writes, this grumbling is most plainly audible and, what's more, in most ignoble form: Malon is at pains to find or impute other progenitors (Lassalle, Schäffle and actually De Paepe!) on whom to father Marx's discoveries. Now it is, of course, perfectly in order to disagree with party members, no matter whom, as to their mode of procedure in this or that case, or to dispute or differ on a point of theory. But thus to contest the right of a man like Marx to his own achievements is to betray a pettiness such as is found, one might almost say, only in a compositor,— a race of whose self-conceit you will surely have had ample experience. I sim-

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[a] French ideas - [b] centre of enlightenment - [c] they want to sell the French workers to the Prussians and Bismarck

ply cannot understand how anyone can be envious of genius; it's something so very special that we, who have not got it, know it to be unattainable right from the start; but to be envious of anything like that one must have to be frightfully small-minded. The furtive way Malon goes about it, doesn't improve matters. The fact that it is *he* who eventually comes out worst, betraying his lack of knowledge and discernment at every turn, is something of which he might at some time be made unpleasantly aware, should it at any time become necessary to scrutinise Malon's goodly *Histoire du Socialisme 'depuis les temps les plus reculés'*[a] (!!) and other productions with an eye to their substance.

Brousse is, I think, the most hopelessly muddle-headed man I have ever known. He has dropped the anarchy — i. e. opposition to political activity and voting — out of anarchism, while at the same time retaining all its other catchwords and, more notably, its tactics. Thus, in tedious articles in the *Prolétaire* directed against Guesde (but not naming him), he is currently brooding on the insoluble question of how to set up an organisation in such a way as to preclude a dictatorship (Guesde's!!). If this consummate literary and theoretical ignoramus, whose forte, however, is cliquism, is again able to play a part, the blame must be shared by Lafargue, Guesde and Malon.

Lastly Guesde. In matters of theory this man is by far the most lucid thinker amongst the Parisians, and one of the few who takes no exception at all to the German origins of present-day socialism. *Hinc illae lacrimae.*[b] Which is why the gentlemen of the *Prolétaire* are letting it be known that he is merely Marx's mouthpiece, a rumour which, with lugubrious mien, Malon and Brousse carry further afield. Outside that clique no one dreams of such a thing. What there is to it, we shall see anon. That he is domineering may well be true. Every one of us is domineering in the sense that he would like to see his views predominate. If Guesde seeks to do this by direct and Malon by tortuous means, it says much for Guesde's character and for the superiority of Malon's worldly wisdom — especially in dealing with people like the Parisians who obstinately dig their heels in if you try to dictate to them but are only too delighted to let you lead them by the nose. Come to that, whenever I have heard anyone who is worth his salt described as domineering, I have only been able to conclude that

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[a] from the earliest times. See B. Malon, *Histoire du socialisme depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours.* - [b] Hence those tears (Terence, *Andria*, I, 1, 99).

there was nothing that could really be said against the man. Guesde's failings are of quite a different kind. First, the Parisian superstition that the word revolution is something one must continually bandy about. And secondly, boundless impatience. He is suffering from a nervous complaint, believes he has not much longer to live and is absolutely determined to see something worthwhile happen before he goes. That, and his morbid excitability, provide the explanation for his exaggerated and sometimes destructive thirst for action.

If, in addition, you take the inability of the French, especially the Parisians, to conceive of differences that are other than *personal*, and it is obvious enough how it was that these gentry, as soon as they had scored a few small successes, saw themselves already at the goal, sought to divide as yet inexistent spoils, and fell out with each other in the process.

Guesde's pamphlets and articles, by the way, are the best to have appeared in the French language, and he is, moreover, one of the best speakers in Paris. Also, we have always found him forthcoming and reliable.

Now for ourselves. We, i. e. Marx and I, do not even correspond with Guesde. We have only written to him for specific reasons of business. We have no more than a general idea of what Lafargue says in his letters to Guesde, nor have we by any means read everything Guesde writes to Lafargue. Heaven only knows what plans the two of them have exchanged of which we have no inkling. Every now and again Marx, like myself, has transmitted advice to Guesde via Lafargue, but it has hardly ever been taken.

It is true, however, that Guesde came over here when the question arose of *drafting* a programme for the French workers' party.[68] The *considérants* to this was dictated to him by Marx,[a] here in my own room, in the presence of Lafargue and myself: the worker is free only when he is the owner of his instruments of labour — this may assume either individual or collective form — the individual form of ownership is being daily and increasingly superseded by economic developments, hence, all that remains is that of communal ownership, etc.— a masterpiece of cogent reasoning, calculated to explain things to the masses in a few words; I have seldom seen its like and, even in this concise version, found it astonishing. The remaining contents of the programme were then discussed; we added this and took out that, but

[a] See K. Marx, 'Preamble to the Programme of the French Workers' Party'.

as for Guesde being Marx's mouthpiece, how little this holds water is evident from the fact that he insisted on including his nonsense about the *minimum du salaire*[a] and since not we but the French were responsible for the thing, we eventually gave him his head, although he admitted that, theoretically, it was absurd.

Brousse was in London at the time and would have liked to join us. But Guesde was short of time and anticipated, not incorrectly, that Brousse would engage in tedious arguments about ill-digested anarchist terms; he therefore insisted that Brousse should not attend this meeting. *C'était son affaire.*[b] But Brousse has never forgiven him for it and it's to that time that his intrigues against Guesde go back.

This programme was subsequently discussed by the French and accepted with a few alterations, including Malon's which were by no means improvements.

Then, too, I wrote 2 articles for the *Égalité* No. II on *Le socialisme de M. Bismarck*[c] and that, so far as I'm aware, is the sum total of our active participation in the French movement.

But what mainly annoys the small-minded carpers who count for nothing, yet like to think themselves all-important, is the fact that Marx, thanks to his theoretical and practical achievements, has attained a position in which he enjoys the complete trust of the best people in all the labour movements in the various countries. At *critical junctures* it is to him they turn for advice, when they generally find that his advice is the best. He occupies that position in Germany, in France, and in Russia, not to speak of the smaller countries. Hence it is not Marx who imposes his opinion, let alone his will, on these people; rather it is these people who come to him of their own accord. And it is precisely on this that Marx's peculiar influence rests, an influence of the utmost importance to the movement. Malon also wished to come here, but to procure a special invitation from Marx through Lafargue, which naturally he didn't get. We were as prepared to deal with him as we are with anybody else *de bonne volonté*,[d] but invite him! Why? Who has ever had an invitation of that kind from us?

Marx's attitude, and hence also my own, towards the French is the same as towards the other national movements. We are constantly in touch with them in so far as it is worth our while and opportunities

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[a] minimum wage - [b] It was his business. - [c] F. Engels, 'The Socialism of Mr Bismarck, I-II', *L'Égalité*, Nos. 7 and 10, 3 and 24 March 1880 (see present edition, Vol. 24). - [d] willingly

present themselves, but any attempt to influence people against their will would only do us harm, destroy the old trust that dates from the International. And we have, after all, too much experience *in revolutionaribus rebus*[a] to do that.

Now for two more FACTS.

1. It was Guesde, and with him Lafargue, who, in the *Égalité*, brought quite undeserved fame to Malon, turned him, as it were, into a legend, and this simply because Guesde thought, in typically French fashion, that as a writer one had to have a *working man* beside one.

2. And here is something the recipient of the letter has authorised me to tell you: Lissagaray, who was the chairman of the meeting at which Malon arraigned that blackguard Lullier, writes to say that, just as the meeting was supposed to begin, Lullier sent word to Malon requesting a short discussion. Malon departed, didn't return, and finally *his Comité* went in search of him (Lissagaray was the chairman of the *Comité* and the meeting) only to find him toping most jovially and on the brink of a peaceable understanding with Lullier, the man he had (rightly) described as the dirtiest of blackguards. Had not Malon had to leave at 9 o'clock for the congress at Zurich,[213] there would have been the risk of a full reconciliation. And he describes himself as a man of politics!

Mesa's address is: J. Mesa, 36 Rue du Bac, Paris.

Marx knows nothing about this letter. He has been in bed for the past 12 days with bronchitis and all kinds of complications, but since Sunday[b] — due precautions having been taken — there has no longer been any danger. I've been anxious enough, I can tell you. Now things are looking up and tomorrow, 27 October, we shall, I trust, show the world that we are still there as large as life.[214] Kindest regards to Kautsky.

Your
F. E.

As regards the *Égalité*, I think it would be best if our people were *not* to found a new paper for the time being, at any rate until the state of affairs within the party has become a little less obscure. If they do want to start one, however, neither we nor anyone else can stop them, though I don't see how it's going to be managed this time without

[a] in revolutionary matters - [b] 23 October

a row between the *Égalité* and the *Prolétaire*. This wouldn't be a major disaster, but it would still be a perhaps unnecessary case of teething trouble.

What kind of operation is Kautsky having? — I trust he won't let himself be cut up into a complete Malthusian!

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## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

### IN GENEVA

[London,] 4 November 1881
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Old Man,

Your postcard re the congress [215] arrived too late for me to write to you about it. Since then we have also had sundry calamities over here. Mrs Marx has been in bed for months, critically ill, and then Marx went down with bronchitis accompanied by all sorts of complications which, at his time of life and considering the general state of his health, was certainly no laughing matter. Fortunately the worst is over and, so far as Marx is concerned, all danger has been completely eliminated for the time being, though he has to spend the greater part of the day in bed and is greatly weakened.

Herewith money order for 4 pounds sterling = 100 frs 80 c. which is what I have to send you this time. I trust it will come in handy for, delighted though I am to hear that you have been able to make a start at earning a living, it is after all only a start and I'm only sorry that of late I myself have been somewhat short and therefore unable to step into the breach any sooner.

I'm always glad when a so-called international congress passes off, as it did on this occasion, without anyone making an ass of himself in public. You always get such a hotchpotch of people attending these affairs, some of whom have no other object than to look important in

public and who for that very reason are capable of any stupidity. Well, this time it went off without any mishap.

Our people in Germany have given a splendid account of themselves at the elections.[216] In 23 or 27 constituencies (I can't find out the exact number) they were in the second ballot, despite the fact that on this occasion all the other parties turned out to the very last man. And this under the stress of the exceptional law [16] and state of siege,[65] without a press, without meetings, without any means of public agitation and in the certain knowledge that by way of return the livelihood of some thousands within the party would again be sacrificed. It is altogether splendid and the impression it has made throughout Europe, and particularly here in England, has been quite tremendous. How many seats we get is neither here nor there. Enough anyway to say what is necessary in the Reichstag. But the fact that we have gained ground in the larger towns instead of losing it — that is first rate and here's three cheers for our lads in Germany!

Your old friend,
F. E.

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## 91

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [217]

### IN ZURICH

London, 30 November 1881

Dear Mr Bernstein,

If any one outside event has contributed to putting Marx more or less to rights again, then it is the elections.[216] Never has a proletariat conducted itself so magnificently. In England, after the great defeat of 1848,[218] there was a relapse into apathy and, in the end, resignation to bourgeois exploitation, with the proviso that the Trades Unions

fought individual battles for higher wages. In France the proletariat disappeared from the stage after the 2nd December.[219] In Germany, after 3 years of unprecedented persecution and unrelenting pressure, during which any form of public organisation and even communication was a sheer impossibility, our lads have returned, not only in all their former strength, but actually stronger than before.[16] And stronger in one crucial respect, in that the movement's centre of gravity has shifted from the semi-rural districts of Saxony to the *large industrial towns*.

The bulk of our people in Saxony consist of hand-loom weavers, who are doomed to obsolescence by the power-loom and are only just enabled to keep going by starvation wages and secondary occupations (gardening, toy carving, etc.). These people find themselves in an economically reactionary situation and represent an obsolescent stage of production. So they are not born representatives of revolutionary socialism — not, at any rate, to the same degree as are the workers in large-scale industry. Hence they are not reactionary by nature (as, for instance, the remaining hand-loom weavers eventually became *over here* — the hard core of the 'CONSERVATIVE WORKING MEN') but cannot be relied upon in the long run. This is also very largely due to their appallingly miserable condition, which means that they have far less power of resistance than townsmen, and also to their dispersion, which makes them easier to enslave politically than the inhabitants of large towns. The facts reported in the *Sozialdemokrat*[a] fill one with admiration for the heroism with which so many of those poor devils continued to stand firm.

But they are not the right kind of nucleus for a great national movement. In certain circumstances — as in 1865-70 — their poverty renders them more readily receptive to socialist views than the inhabitants of large towns. But this same poverty also makes them unreliable. A drowning man clutches at any straw, nor can he wait for a boat to push off from the bank and come to his rescue. The boat is socialist revolution, the straw, protective tariffs and state socialism. It is significant that there, in our old constituencies, it was almost only conservatives who stood any chance against us. And if, on a previous occasion, Kayser could talk such rubbish about protective tariffs[220] without anyone's venturing any real objection, whose was the

[a] 'Warum sind wir in Glauchau (Sachsen) unterlegen?', *Sozialdemokrat*, No. 47, 17 November 1881.

blame — as Bebel himself remarked in a letter to me [221] — if not the constituents', and Kayser's in particular?

Now everything's different. Berlin, Hamburg, Breslau, Leipzig, Dresden, Mainz, Offenbach, Barmen, Elberfeld, Solingen, Nuremberg, Frankfurt am Main, Hanau, *as well as* Chemnitz and the Erzgebirge districts — that's backing of quite a different order. A class that is revolutionary by reason of its economic situation has come to be the nucleus of the movement. Aside from that, the movement is evenly distributed over the entire industrial area of Germany and, from being restricted to a few local centres, has *only now come to be a national movement.* And that is what frightens the bourgeois most of all.

As regards those who have been elected, we shall have to hope for the best, although I find it very difficult to do so where some of them are concerned. But it would be a disaster if, this time, Bebel were not to be returned.[222] For there will be many new elements — each armed, no doubt, with his own little schemes — whom Bebel alone, with his unerring tact, would be able to keep in order and prevent from making asses of themselves.

As regards the French, it would now be best simply to let Messrs Malon and Brousse have their head, and show what they can do. But it's unlikely to come to that. One of these days the *Égalité* will appear; Brousse will, as before, be guardedly libellous, launching attacks in the *Prolétaire* without naming names, while the others, falling headlong into the snare, will, in their attacks, name names from the outset, whereupon they will be hailed as disturbers of the peace, sectarians, spreaders of dissension and budding dictators. Nothing can be done to stop this. The fellows are completely incapable of waiting until their opponents have got into a mess of their own contriving, but must perforce take issue with them and thus give them a longer lease of life. Left to their own devices Malon and, more especially, Brousse would scupper themselves (and probably each other) within 6 months. But as things are, it may take longer.

Like almost all such congresses, the Congress of Rheims [223] served to impress the outside world but, seen in the cold light of day, was a swindle. Of the 'federations' represented there, only the Centre, Nord and Est really exist; the others exist only on paper. The Algerian federation had elected the *bourgeois* Henry Maret (*radical deputy*) as its delegate!!, which just shows what kind of allies Malon has got. Guesde had wanted only *properly organised* federations to be re-

presented on the *Comité national* — but his proposal was turned down. This was *misrepresented*, i. e. *suppressed*, in the official account in the *Prolétaire*.[a] Thus, half the delegates to the congress and on the *Comité national* represent *nothing at all*, or at best only castles in Spain. The haste to declare the *Prolétaire*, already completely taken over by Malon and Brousse, an official gazette was due solely to the desire to steal a march on the forthcoming *Égalité*. As usual, none of the resolutions on organisation were determined by expediency but by the opportunist considerations of the parties concerned.

Here is something that will give you an idea of Malon's Marxophobia: last spring he asked Lafargue, when the latter was in Paris, to obtain from *Marx a foreword* to the new edition of Malon's *Histoire du Socialisme*; needless to say, Lafargue laughed in his face and told him he must have a very poor idea of Marx if he thought him capable of lending himself to such humbug.

G. Howell, luckily not returned as 'labour candidate' for Stafford, is undoubtedly the biggest blackguard of all the *politicanti*[b] ex-working men here. He was until recently secretary of the Trades Unions Parliamentary Committee (needless to say, a salaried post) and took occasion to cook the books, this being only hushed up with some difficulty; however, he was given the sack.

Within the next few days I shall write to K. K. of Käsburg[c] about the Polish affair.[224] In the meantime, give him my best regards.

Marx is still very run down, isn't allowed to leave his room or engage in any serious occupation, but he is visibly gaining weight. His wife is growing ever weaker.

With best regards,

Yours,

F. E.

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[a] 'Cinquième congrès national ouvrier socialiste de Reims. Compte rendu analytique', *Le Prolétaire*, Nos. 162 and 163, 5 and 12 November 1881. - [b] politicising - [c] Karl Kautsky's jocular nickname (*Käse* = cheese).

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## MARX TO JENNY LONGUET [140]

### IN ARGENTEUIL

London, 7 *Décembre* 1881

My dear, sweet Jennychen,

You will, assuredly, find it quite natural that I should not feel in the mood for 'writing' at the moment and hence only now be sending you this brief note. Since I haven't yet even left the sick room, there was no gainsaying the doctor's interdict on my attending the funeral. Moreover I resigned myself, for only the day before her death our dear departed [a] had told her NURSE, apropos some neglected formality: 'WE ARE NO SUCH *EXTERNAL* PEOPLE!'

Schorlemmer came up from Manchester of his own accord.

I still have to paint my chest, neck, etc., with iodine and, when regularly repeated, this produces a somewhat tiresome and painful inflammation of the skin. The said operation, which is only being performed to prevent a relapse during convalescence (now complete apart from a slight cough), is therefore doing me sterling service just at this moment. There is only one effective antidote for mental suffering, and that is physical pain. Set the end of the world on the one hand against a man with acute toothache on the other.

It now gives me extraordinary happiness to recall that, despite numerous misgivings, I ventured on the trip to Paris. Not only because of the time itself that she, of undying memory, spent with you and the little ones [b] — 'barely' marred by the image OF A CERTAIN DOMESTIC BULLY *et Mirabeau de la cuisine*,[c] but also the reliving of that time during the final phase of her illness. There can be no doubt that during that phase the presence of you and the children could not have distracted her to such good purpose as her mental preoccupation with you all!

Her resting-place is fairly close to that of dear 'Charles'.[d]

It is a comfort to me that her strength gave out before it was too late. Because of the highly unusual location of the growth — which meant that it was moveable, not static — the really typical and unbearable pain did not set in until the very last days (and even then

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[a] Jenny Marx - [b] Jean, Henri, Edgar and Marcel Longuet - [c] and kitchen Mirabeau - [d] son of Charles and Jenny Longuet

could still be kept within limits by the injection of morphine which the doctor had intentionally held in reserve for the end, since with protracted use it ceases to have any effect). As Dr Donkin had predicted, the course of the illness assumed the form of a gradual decline, as in the weakness that comes of old age. Even during *her last hours*, there were no death agonies, a gradual falling asleep, her eyes larger, lovelier, more luminous than ever.

Apropos. Engels — as always the truest of friends — has sent you at my request a copy of the *Irish World* in which an Irish bishop *declares himself against landownership* (private). This was *one of the last items of* NEWS I passed on to *your mamma*, and she thought you might get it into A FRENCH PAPER so as to horrify *the French clericals*. At all events it shows that such gentlemen are able to pipe any tune they like.

(In *La Justice* of 2 December 1881 a certain laddie by the name of B. Gendre[a] seeks, under the title '*Le catholicisme socialiste en Allemagne*', to assuage his chauvinism by taking *au sérieux*,[b] like Laveleye before him, the *fanciful statistics* of our friend R. Meyer (in his book *Emancipationskampf des 4. Standes*). The fact is that, since the German Empire came into being, the so-called *Catholic socialists* have *only once* elected a deputy to the Reichstag and that, from the moment of his election, he 'figured' only as a 'member of the Centre'.[225] As to the *numerical strength of the Catholic labour unions*, on the other hand, our R. Meyer accords *France* a number disproportionately greater even than that he accords Germany.)

Have just received *La Justice* of *7 Décembre* and see that, under the rubric *Gazette du jour*, there is an obituary, which says inter alia:

> '*On devine que son*' (*il s'agit de votre mère*) 'mariage *avec Karl Marx, fils d'un avocat de Trèves*, ne se fit pas sans peine. *Il y avait à vaincre* bien des préjugés, le plus fort de tous était encore le préjugé de race. *On sait que l'illustre socialiste est d'origine israélite*.'[c]

*Toute cette histoire*[d] IS A *SIMPLE INVENTION*, THERE WAS *NO préjugés à vaincre*.[e] * I suppose, I am not mistaken in crediting Mr Ch. Longuet's inventive genius with this literary * '*enjolivement*'.[f] * The same writer when speaking of the limitation of the working day and the factory acts,

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[a] real name Varvara Nikitina - [b] seriously - [c] 'One may suppose that her' (this refers to your mother) '*marriage* to Karl Marx, son of a Trier barrister [Heinrich Marx], *did not take place without difficulties. A great many prejudices* had to be overcome, *the strongest of all being racial prejudice*. The illustrious socialist is known to be of Jewish origin.' - [d] The whole thing - [e] prejudices to be overcome - [f] embellishment

mentioned in another number of the *Justice* — 'Lassalle and Karl Marx', the former having never printed or spoken a syllable on the matter in question. Longuet would greatly oblige me in never mentioning my name in *his* writings.

The allusion to your Maman's occasional anonymous correspondence (in fact in behalf of Irving) [226] I find indiscreet. At the time she wrote to the *Gazette de Francfort* (she never wrote to the *Journal de Francfort* — as the *Justice* calls it —, a simply reactionary, and philistine paper) the latter (the *Gazette*) was still on more or less friendly terms with the socialist party.

As to the '*von Westphalen[s]*', they were not of Rhenish, but of* Brunswickian origin. * The father of your mother's father[a] was the factotum of the * notorious * *Duke of Brunswick*[b] (during the 'seven years' war'). As such he was also overwhelmed with favours on the part of the British government and married a near relative of the Argyll's.[c] His papers relative to the war and politics have been published by the Minister v. Westphalen.[d] On the other hand,* '*par sa mère*,'[e] * your mother descends from a small *Prussian* functionary[f] and was actually born at Salzwedel in the Mark. All these things need not be known, but knowing nothing of them, one ought not to pretend correcting * *d'autres*[g] '*BIOGRAPHIES*'.

* And now, my dear child, send me a long description of the doings of Johnny et Co. I still regret that Henry was not left to us at the time he went on so well. He is a child who wants a whole family's attendance being singly, exclusively concentrated upon him. As it is, with so many other little ones requesting your care, he is rather an impediment.

With many kisses to you and your 'little men'[h]

Your devoted father,
K. M.

I was rather disagreeably affected by Meissner's communication, that a new third edition of the *Capital* Vol. I has become necessary. I wanted indeed to apply all my time — as soon as I should feel myself able again — exclusively to the finishing of the 2nd volume.[227]

---

[a] Christian Heinrich Philipp von Westphalen - [b] Ferdinand - [c] Jeanie Wishart of Pittarow - [d] Ch. H. Ph. von Westphalen, *Geschichte der Feldzüge des Herzogs Ferdinand von Braunschweig-Lüneburg*. - [e] through her mother - [f] Julius Christoph Heubel - [g] other - [h] Jenny Longuet's four sons

Please write a few words in my name to *Reinhardt*. I could not find his address. He was an acquaintance of Mama's.*[a]

First published, in Russian, in the magazine *Nachalo*, No. 5, St Petersburg, 1899

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

## 93

## MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER[72]

### IN GENEVA

[Postcard]

London, 10 December 1881

Dear Friend,

You may have already learned from the papers of my wife's death (she breathed her last on 2 December). You will find it natural enough that, during the first days following upon this irreplaceable loss, I should have been in no state to write letters; in fact, apart from her brother, Edgar von Westphalen, in Berlin you are the *only one* whom I have so far informed in person; other friends and acquaintances have been notified by my youngest daughter.[b]

To the last my wife remained your loyal friend and was rightly incensed by the party's failure to help you — a man who has, for so many years, been a staunch and heroic standard bearer — and your loyal spouse[c] in your struggle for existence.

I myself am still an invalid, but on the road to recovery; so serious a grip had pleurisy combined with bronchitis gained over me that for a time, i. e. several days, the doctors doubted whether I would pull through.

Farewell, dear friend. Regards to your wife.

K. M.

---

[a] The last two paragraphs were added by Marx at the beginning of the letter. - [b] Eleanor Marx - [c] Elisabeth Becker

[On the side reserved for the address]

M. J. Ph. Becker, Chemin des Vollandes, Eaux Vives.
*Genève (Switzerland)*

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

## 94

## MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

### IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 13 December 1881

My Dear Friend,

On the second of this month, after a long and painful malady, I lost my wife. I had been with her during the autumn months—as her *garde-malade*,[a] first to the English seaside (Eastbourne), afterwards to Argenteuil (about 20 minutes from Paris) where she and myself enjoyed together the great pleasure to be with our eldest daughter (Madame Longuet) and her 4 little boys[b] (the eldest about 5 years), all exceedingly attached to their grandparents.

It was a very risky affair, on my part, to undertake this voyage to Paris, considering the enfeebled state of my dear wife. But trusting to my excellent friend, Dr Donkin, I dared it in order to procure her this last satisfaction!

Unfortunately, my own health having been more or less shaky during all this time, I suddenly underwent—after our return to London—an attack of bronchitis complicated by a pleurisy, so that during 3 out of the last 6 weeks of her life, I could not see my wife, although we were in two rooms contiguous to each other.

Till now I was not yet able to leave my house. I was very near 'leaving this bad world'. The doctors want to send me to the south of France or even to Algeria.

---

[a] nurse - [b] Jean, Henri, Edgar and Marcel

The letters of condolence I have received from all sides were so far a great source of consolation for me, as there rang through them (except a single *Russian* letter) a true ring of sympathy, of true acknowledgment and understanding of the rare qualities of my dear wife.

My German editor[a] informs me that a third edition of the *Capital* has become necessary. This comes at a moment anything but opportune. In the first instance I must first be restored to health, and in the second I want to finish off the 2nd vol.[227] (even if to be published abroad) as soon as possible. I have now the additional interest to have it ready in order to inscribe in it a dedication to my wife.

However that may be, I will arrange with my editor that I shall make for the 3d edition only the fewest possible alterations and additions, but, on the other hand, that he must this time only draw off 1,000 copies, instead of 3,000, as was his want. When these 1,000 copies forming the 3d edition are sold, then I may change the book in the way I should have done at present under different circumstances.

Believe me always

Your true friend

A. Williams[b]

First published, in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 1, St Petersburg, 1908

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

## 95

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[228]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 15 December 1881

Dear Sorge,

Having heard our news from over here by word of mouth from your son,[c] you must surely have been prepared to learn of the death of my wife, my unforgettable and beloved partner (on 2 December).

[a] Otto Meissner - [b] Marx's pseudonym - [c] Adolph Sorge

I myself had not recovered sufficiently to pay her my last respects. Indeed, I have so far been confined to the house, but am to go to Ventnor (Isle of Wight) next week.

I am emerging from this last illness doubly handicapped, emotionally by the loss of my wife, physically in that I am left with a thickening of the pleura and increased sensitivity of the bronchial tubes.

I shall, alas, have to fritter away a certain amount of time on schemes for restoring my health.

Another edition of the German text of *Capital*[227] has now become necessary. Most inopportune so far as I'm concerned.

Your Henry George is increasingly revealing himself to be a humbug.

I trust Sorge jun. arrived in good shape; give him my regards.

Your
K. Marx

The English have latterly begun to take rather more notice of *Capital*, etc. For instance, in last *October's* (or November's, *I am not quite sure*) issue of the *Contemporary*, there was an article by *John Rae* on GERMAN SOCIALISM.[a] (Very inadequate, full of mistakes, but 'FAIR', as one of my ENGLISH FRIENDS remarked to me day before yesterday.) And why FAIR? *Because John Rae does *not suppose* that for the forty years I am spreading my pernicious theories I was being instigated by '*bad*' motives.* 'I must praise his magnanimity!' *The fairness of making yourself at least sufficiently acquainted with the subject of your criticism seems a thing quite unknown to the penmen of British philistinism.

Before this, in the beginning of June, there was published by a certain *Hyndman* (who had before intruded himself into my house) a little book: *England for All*. It pretends to be written as an *exposé* of the programme of the '*Democratic Federation*'[158]—a recently formed association of different English and Scotch radical societies, half bourgeois, half *prolétaires*.[b] The chapters on Labour and Capital are only literal extracts from, or circumlocutions of, the *Capital*, but the fellow does neither quote the book, nor its author, but to shield himself from exposure remarks at the end of his preface:

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[a] J. Rae, 'The Socialism of Karl Marx and the Young Hegelians', *The Contemporary Review*, Vol. XL, October 1881.- [b] See this volume, pp. 102-03.

'For the ideas and much of the matter contained in chapters II and III, I am indebted to the work of a great thinker and original writer, etc., etc.'

Vis-à-vis myself, the fellow wrote stupid letters of excuse, for instance, that 'the English don't like to be taught by foreigners', that 'my name was so much detested, etc.' With all that his little book — so far as it pilfers the *Capital* — makes good propaganda, although the man is a 'weak' vessel, and very far from having even the patience — the first condition of learning anything — of studying a matter thoroughly. All these amiable middle-class writers — if not specialists — have an itching to make money or name or political capital *immediately* out of any new thoughts they may have got at by any favourable windfall. Many evenings this fellow has pilfered from me, in order to take me out and to learn in the easiest way.

Lastly, there was published on the 1st December last (I shall send you a copy of it) in the monthly review *Modern Thought* an article: '*Leaders of Modern Thought*: No. XXIII — *Karl Marx. By Ernest Belfort Bax.*'

Now this is the first English publication of that kind which is pervaded by a real enthusiasm for the new ideas themselves and boldly stands up against British philistinism.This does not prevent that the biographical notices the author gives of me are mostly wrong, etc. In the exposition of my economic principles and in his translations (i. e. quotations of the *Capital*) much is wrong and confused, but with all that the appearance of this article, announced in large letters by placards on the walls of West End London, has produced a great sensation. What was most important for me, I received the said number of *Modern Thought* already on the 30th of November, so that my dear wife had the last days of her life still cheered up. You know the passionate interest she took in all such affairs.*

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

## 96

## MARX TO JENNY LONGUET [72]

IN ARGENTEUIL

London, 17 December 1881
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My Dear Child,

Tussy, SUPPORTED BY Engels, is this moment taking the Christmas hamper for our little ones by CAB to the PARCEL COMPANY. *Helen*[a] wants me to point out specially that 1 little jacket for Harry, 1 for Eddy,[b] and a woollen bonnet for Pa[c] are *from her*; again for the selfsame Pa, a 'little blue frock' from *Laura*; from myself a SAILOR'S SUIT for MY DEAR Johnny. On one of the last days of her life, Möhmchen[d] laughed so merrily when telling Laura how you and I took Johnny to Paris, and chose a suit for him there in which he looked like a little *bourgeois gentilhomme*.[e]

The letters of condolence I get from near and far, and from people of such various nationalities, professions, etc., etc., are, in their appreciation of Möhmchen, all of them animated by a spirit of truth and a depth of feeling rarely found in what are as a rule merely conventional tributes. I ascribe this to the fact that everything about her was natural and genuine, unforced and without affectation. Hence the impression she made on others was one of vivaciousness and lucidity; even Mrs Hess writes:

> 'In her, Nature has destroyed its own masterpiece, for never in my life have I met so witty and loving a woman.' [229]

Liebknecht writes to say that, without her, he would have succumbed to the wretchedness of exile,[230] etc., etc.

How exceptionally healthy she was by nature, for all her delicate constitution, is evident from the fact that, despite being bed-ridden for so long, she did not have a sore spot on her body, much to the astonishment of the doctors; during my recent illness I already had a number of sore places after only two weeks of being confined to bed.

---

[a] Demuth - [b] Edgar Longuet - [c] Marcel Longuet - [d] Pet name for Jenny Marx. - [e] a bourgeois with pretensions to gentility (from the title of a play by Molière)

The weather has been very bad since I got over my illness, so I have been under house arrest up till now, but next week, on doctors' orders, I am to go to Ventnor (Isle of Wight) and from there, later on, somewhere further south. Tussy will accompany me.

You will be getting (posted at the same time as this) an article about me in the monthly review *Modern Thought*.[a] It's the first time an English critic has gone into the matter with such enthusiasm. It arrived in time to cheer Möhmchen up. Where the QUOTATIONS from the German 'text' are too bad (I MEAN too badly DONE INTO ENGLISH), I have got Tussy to write in corrections on such few copies as we are reserving for friends. The mistakes that occur under the heading 'LIFE' are indifferent.

And now, my dear child, the best service you can do me is to keep your chin up! I hope that I shall spend many more happy days with you and worthily fulfil my functions as a GRANDPA.

With a thousand kisses to you and the little ones,

Your loving
OLD NICK

I could have written much more about Vivanti, etc., but believe that Tussy has bagged this for herself.

First published, in Russian, in the magazine *Nachalo*, No. 5, St Petersburg, 1899

Printed according to the original

## 97

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN ZURICH

London, 18 December 1881

Dear Mr Kautsky,

I got the telegram from you and Bernstein at 3.50 this afternoon and am glad to be able to inform you that Marx has now recovered to

[a] See this volume, p. 163.

the extent that he can be sent — initially — to the south coast of England. He will be going there in the course of this week; as soon as he has grown a little more accustomed to the open air and there is no further fear of a relapse, he will then probably move on to the south of Europe and spend some time there.

I couldn't reply to you by telegram, as it would have meant going to the CENTRAL OFFICE and, as usual, I had Pumps, her husband[a] and Sam Moore (all of whom send you their best wishes) here for a meal and later on, as you can imagine, more people dropped in. There would hardly be any point in telegraphing tomorrow as this letter will doubtless arrive just as soon (±).[b]

About the Poles, something presently[224]; things here have been rather at sixes and sevens of late.

So the *Égalité* is appearing again. Almost all the articles in No. 1 begin quite splendidly and end up most disappointingly.[231] I haven't seen No. 2 yet.

Best wishes to Bernstein.

Yours
F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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Published in English for the first time

## 98

## ENGELS TO FERDINAND DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS

### IN THE HAGUE

London, 29 December 1881
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Comrade,

I am glad to be able to inform you that the news according to which Karl Marx is mortally sick is wholly false and fictitious. He has

[a] Percy Rosher - [b] more or less

now got over his illness (bronchitis and pleurisy) and, on the advice of his doctors, has today left for Ventnor (the Isle of Wight); they hope that the warm climate and dry air there will rapidly complete his recovery. I will forward your letter to him.

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in the magazine *Istorik-Marksist*, Vol. 6 (40), Moscow, 1934

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## 99

## MARX TO ROLAND DANIELS [232]

### IN COLOGNE

To Mr Roland Daniels
with compliments

Karl Marx

Ventnor (Isle of Wight),
31 December 1881

My daughter[a] happened to bring this photogram with her when we left London; she told me of this when my letters to your esteemed mother[b] and yourself[233] had already been despatched. Hence this is being sent later.

First published in German and in Russian in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collection of Photographs*, Moscow, 1976

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Published in English for the first time

[a] Eleanor Marx - [b] Amalie Daniels

# 100

## ENGELS TO LEV HARTMANN

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, end of December 1881]

I have a letter from America for you, but I am instructed to hand it to you personally.

Can you come and receive it?

Your[a]

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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[a] Unsigned

# 1882

## 101

## MARX TO LAURA LAFARGUE [72]

IN LONDON

Ventnor, 4 January 1882
1 St Boniface Gardens

Dear Laurachen,

Today is our first sunny and tolerable day in Ventnor. The weather is said to have been excellent — up till the time of our arrival.[234] Thereafter GALES EVERY DAY, wind raging and howling throughout the night, in the morning THE SKY OVERCAST, LEADEN, LONDONLIKE. Temperature significantly lower than in London and, on top of that, and most tiresome of all, a great deal of rain. (The air itself was of course 'purer' than in London.)

In the circumstances it was only natural that my cough, IN FACT my bronchial catarrh, should have got worse rather than better. But for all that I have progressed to the extent that for part of the night I sleep naturally, without opium, etc. However my general condition is not such as to render me fit for work. Today, ABOUT the end of the first week of our stay, it looks as though a change is setting in. Given warmer weather this would certainly be a splendid health resort for convalescents of my description.

My companion[a] (this *strictly between ourselves*) eats practically nothing; suffers badly from nervous tics; reads and writes all day long, when not engaged in buying the necessary provisions or taking short walks. She is very taciturn and, INDEED, seemingly endures staying with me simply out of a sense of duty, as a self-sacrificing martyr.

Has there been no more news from Jenny about the arrival of the CHRISTMAS BOX[b]? I'm worried about the thing.

---

[a] Eleanor Marx - [b] See this volume, p. 164.

You will understand, dear child, if I have nothing positive to report to you from here, my experiences hitherto having been purely negative, unless it be the great discovery that local literature here is represented by 3 newspapers, and that there is even A SCHOOL OF ART and SCIENCE INSTITUTION where a big lecture is to be given next Monday evening ON THE CASTES AND 'MÉTIERS' OF INDIA.

Today I received a letter from Reinhardt in Paris in which he speaks of our sad bereavement[a] in the MOST SINCERE and MOST SYMPATHETIC manner. The vehemence with which the bourgeois papers in Germany have announced either my demise, or at any rate the inevitable imminence thereof, has tickled me hugely, and the 'man at odds with the world' will have to get fit for action again, if only to oblige them.

Willard Brown has written to Tussy from New York; he has entrusted the business of your house to a very intimate and competent friend of his in new Orleans[235]; the latter has written to say that AT FIRST SIGHT there has been a great deal of underhand work but that he must first make further investigations in order to obtain actual proof.

I enclose, as a curiosity for Paul,[b] a cutting from the *MONEY ARTICLE* in *The Times* (29 December 1881) which was obviously inserted by Messrs Say and Rothschild.[c](Regards to Paul and Helen.[d])

*Adio,* MY DEAR CHILD, write soon.

Your
OLD NICK

First published in the language of the original (German) in *Annali,* an. I, Milano, 1958

Printed according to the original

[a] the death of Jenny Marx - [b] Lafargue - [c] 'Money-Market and City Intelligence', *The Times*, No. 30390, 29 December 1881. - [d] Demuth

# 102

## MARX TO ENGELS [140]

### IN LONDON

Ventnor, 5 January 1882
1 St Boniface Gardens

Dear FRED,

Cold and wet during the day, raging winds at night; that, by and large, is the kind of weather and climate we've been experiencing here up till today.[234] — The exception was yesterday, when it was dry with brilliant sunshine.— According to letters received by Tussy, it has been the same everywhere on the south coast of England; disappointment everywhere on the part of the not inconsiderable number of convalescing, etc., rabble. *Qui vivra verra.*[a] Perhaps there will be a change for the better.

I now wear — (*au cas de besoin*[b]) — a muzzle, alias RESPIRATOR; this makes one less dependent on the caprices of the weather when taking one's obligatory walk.

I still have a tiresome and persistent cough and bronchial catarrh; but it's an undoubted step forward that I should get a few hours sleep at night without recourse to artificial remedies, and this despite the roar of the wind across the sea close by; on the contrary, the noise helps to send me to sleep.

My companion, Tussy, is sorely plagued with nervous tics and insomnia, etc. However I hope that her frequent excursions in the fresh air — for she goes into 'town' every day to attend to this and that — will have a beneficial effect on her.

What has tickled me greatly was the announcement by the LIBERAL ASSOCIATION — I no longer recall where, Birmingham perhaps[236] — that, in celebration of some ANNIVERSARY or other, not only will OLD Bright and THE ILLUSTRIOUS VESTRYMAN AND CAUCUSMAN Chamberlain be speaking, *but that also old Obadiah's '*son*', Mr Jacob Bright jun.[237] and several '*Miss' Cobden*, are to put in their appearance. It is not said whether one of the 'Miss' Cobden or all of them will be given away to the young Obadiah, so as to perpetuate in the most appropriate and safest way the Bright-Cobden stock.*

---

[a] Who survives will see.- [b] in case of need

A different picture is presented by the 3,000 LANDLORDS' MEETING AT Dublin,[238] *duce*[a] Abercorn, the sole aim of which is *'to maintain... contracts and *the freedom between man and man in this realm*'.* The laddies' rage at the ASSISTANT COMMISSIONERS is comical.Their attacks on Gladstone are, by the by, fully justified, but it is only the latter's COERCITIVE [sic] MEASURES and his 50,000 men,[123] not counting the police, that permit these gentlemen to confront him in so critical and threatening a manner. All this uproar is, of course, merely aimed at getting John Bull ready to pay 'compensation costs'. SERVES HIM RIGHT.

You will see from the enclosed letter from Dietzgen that the unhappy fellow has 'progressed' backwards and safely 'arrived' at the *Phänomenologie*.[239] I regard the case as an incurable one.

I have also had a very kind letter of condolence from Reinhardt in Paris who asks me to give you, amongst others, his kindest regards. He always had a soft spot for my beloved partner.

I wish I were fit for action again; not yet reached that stage, alas.

With best wishes from Tussy.

Your
Moor

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

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## 103

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 6 January 1882

Dear Mr Bernstein,

I am writing to you in haste today in order to shed some light on the peculiar expressions that occur in the last number of the *Égalité*

[a] under the leadership of

on the subject of the *Sozialdemokrat*. The point is that, out of the goodness of his heart, Guesde engaged for the German section of the paper a person known to be the mortal enemy of everything appertaining to 'Zurich',[a] and the said person was unable to refrain from thus expressing his displeasure that the *Sozialdemokrat* should survive and not the *Laterne*. You would oblige us and serve the cause by taking no notice of this. If it happens again, we shall at once put a stop to it. By contrast, we were delighted that the *Sozialdemokrat* should not have hesitated to accuse the deputies of downright cowardice, thus bringing matters to a head, something which many of them, had Bebel not been there, would doubtless have sooner avoided.[240]

The *Égalité* people, by the way, have been luckier than, *au fond*,[b] they deserved. Malon and Brousse made horrible fools of themselves in connection with Joffrin's candidature by putting forward a watered-down programme—in defiance of the congressional resolution passed at Rheims,[223] and quite simply suppressed one of the points discussed there, just because it happened not to suit their book (*Égalité*, No. 4, p. 7, Paris).[c] In this way they put the *Égalité* in the right which, in the circumstances and on tactical grounds, was absolutely imperative—not Guesde and Co., but Malon and Co., were the real '*autoritaires*',[d] the strivers after dictatorship.[e] And, now that the struggle has come out into the open, I need hardly say that our sympathies lie wholly with Guesde and his friends. Moreover, the *Égalité* is, and always has been, infinitely superior to the *Prolétaire* as far as content is concerned. Malon and Brousse are again behaving like true Bakuninists: they accuse others of hankering for dictatorship and, under pretence of maintaining their 'autonomy', want to rule the roost themselves without regard for party resolutions.

Marx is at Ventnor in the Isle of Wight, but writes to say that the weather is atrocious,[f] worse than here. Well, it will soon change, no doubt; at all events, there would now seem to be no real danger of a relapse. The haste the bourgeois press was in to disseminate the news of his confidently anticipated demise did him no end of good: 'Now I must live to a ripe old age, if only to spite the damned rascals.'

---

[a] Carl Hirsch - [b] really - [c] 'Allemagne', *L'Égalité*, 3rd series, No. 4, 1 January 1882. - [d] authoritarians - [e] 'Paris', *L'Égalité*, 3rd series, No. 4, 1 January 1882. - [f] See this volume, p. 171.

Kautsky will have to be patient for a few more days. Schorlemmer is still here, which means that the most that I can do is dabble in natural science; on top of that, there's all the coming and going which won't be over until next week. Then, when time's no object, as Schorlemmer says Darmstadt-fashion, I'll write to him about the Poles.[a]

Kindest regards to him and you,

from yours
F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Book I, Moscow, 1924

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## 104

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN VENTNOR

London, 8 January 1882

Dear Moor,

We were glad to hear that there was no reason for yours and Tussy's silence and, even though you couldn't be expected to make very much progress in view of the adverse weather, you have at least benefited to the extent that the danger of a relapse has now been pretty well eliminated, which was, after all, the main reason why you were sent to Ventnor.

The festive season here ends tomorrow. Schorlemmer will be returning to Manchester, and then it's back to the grindstone. I am looking forward to it; things were really getting too much. Tuesday with Lenchen, Friday with Pumps, yesterday with the Lafargues, today here at my house — and every morning the eternal Pilsener; it couldn't go on indefinitely. Lenchen was always one of the party, of course, and still is, so she hasn't felt too lonely.

[a] See this volume, pp. 191-95.

By the time you get this note you will have been edified by old William's[a] magnificent proclamation in which he avows his solidarity with Bismarck and declares all this to be the free expression of his own opinion.[241] I also liked the bit about the inviolability of the person of the monarch having persisted in Prussia since time immemorial. Particularly when one considers the shots fired by Nobiling.[120] How comforting for Alexander II and III that their persons should be inviolable! One might, by the way, imagine that one was living under a travesty of Charles X when one reads that sort of drivel.

There has been yet another nice item in *The Standard*, a letter from a Russian general about the situation and the Nihilists,[242] just like what used to be said and written by the Prussian generals of 1845 about demagogues,[243] liberals, Jews, the bad principles of the French, and the universal and undying loyalty to the king felt by the sound core of the nation. Which didn't, of course, set the revolution back one day. You will have seen that the *zemstvos*[37] have rebelled against Ignatiev, partly via the medium of petitions, partly by an outright refusal to convene.[244] That is a most important step, the first to be taken by official bodies under Alexander III.

Like you, we hope for better weather. Yesterday was very fine with a north-wester from which you will have been sheltered. Schorlemmer and I were on the go the whole day and it was not until half past midnight that we accompanied Lenchen home from Laura's, covering the whole distance on foot. Today it's been beastly and wet, though during a brighter spell we got out and about for an hour or so with Sam Moore who turned up again the day before yesterday. It's blowing good and hard again outside. How is Tussy actually? Regards to her and to you from us all.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

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[a] William I

# 105

## MARX TO ENGELS [166]

### IN LONDON

Ventnor, 12 January 1882
1 St Boniface Gardens

Dear Engels,

I am going to try spending one more week here (the 3rd as from today); so far there's been no improvement in the weather—if anything the reverse. On Monday, Tussy is going up to London for a theatrical performance she is taking part in, after which she will come back here.

By the time I left London, I had to pay out SOMEWHAT LESS THAN £ 20 of the £ 40 you gave me on unavoidable expenses. Here my lodgings cost me 2 GUINEAS a week and with coal and gas but excluding other EXTRAS, ABOUT £ 2 15s.; remaining weekly expenditure ABOUT 4 GUINEAS. Considering the climatic performance this hole has put up, it's a tidy sum. Including travelling expenses, I have spent ABOUT £ 17 and have still got £ 5. This will not suffice for the last week (incl. Tussy's INCIDENTAL London TRIP and our probable return together next week). So I'd be grateful if you could let me have SOME £ by Monday NEXT, if it can be done.

As for future plans, the first consideration must be to relieve Tussy of her role as my companion (when I again set forth I shall be able to dispense with an escort altogether). The girl is under such MENTAL PRESSURE that it is undermining her health. Neither travelling, nor CHANGE OF CLIMATE, NOT PHYSICIANS CAN DO ANYTHING IN THIS CASE. All one can do for her is to do as she wishes, and let her take a course of theatrical LESSONS with Madame Jung. She has an ardent desire to open up a career for herself, or so she imagines, as an independent, active artist and, once this has been conceded, she is undoubtedly right in saying that, at her age, there's no more time to be lost. Not for anything in the world would I have the girl think she is to be sacrificed as an old man's 'nurse' on the altar of family. In fact, I am convinced that *pro nunc*[a] Madame Jung is the only doctor for her. She is not open

[a] for the time being

with me; what I say is based on observation, not on her own statements. Nor is the above assertion in any way incompatible with the fact that the most disquieting symptoms, which notably occur at night, are of an alarmingly hysterical nature, or so Miss Maitland[a] told me (she spent 2 days here). But for this, too, no remedy is available just now save an absorbing and congenial pursuit. I have certain conjectures about her affairs of the 'heart', but that is too delicate a subject to admit of discussion in black and white.

I have had a letter from the Sorge family,[245] written by the old man, countersigned by Mrs Sorge and Sorge jun.,[b] in which they invite me TO TURN OVER A NEW LEAF, i.e. go and settle with them in New York. Well meant, at any rate!

In the *Arbeiterstimme* in which C. Schramm, invoking myself, attacked Karl Bürkli,[c] Bürkli now attacks Schramm, [d] for whose benefit he demonstrates that everything he [Schramm] has adduced is quite beside the point since I nowhere consider the kind of money he, Bürkli, proposes, namely 'interest-bearing mortgage bank certificates'. Bürkli does, however, express surprise that I should make no mention of the Pole, August Cieszkowski (*Du crédit et de la circulation*, Paris, 1839), although in his *Système des contradictions économiques* that 'rough diamond Proudhon' frequently, if respectfully, takes issue with Cieszkowski (the 'prior inventor' of Bürkli's bank certificates). The said Cieszkowski — a count, as Bürkli, NATIVE of Switzerland, remarks, and a ['doctor of philosophy' and 'Hegelian'] [e] INTO THE BARGAIN, if not actually a '*fellow-countryman* of Marx', i.e. as 'deputy for Posen' in the 'Prussian' National Assembly — the said count, etc., did in fact once call on me in Paris (at the time of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*), and such was the impression he made on me that I neither wanted nor would have been able to read anything whatever of his contriving. Nevertheless, it's a notable fact that the inventors of 'real' credit money, which was meant to serve as a means of circulation at the same time, as opposed to what they call 'personal' credit money (e.g. present-day bank-notes), should have chanced their hand — albeit in vain — as far back as the founding of the Bank of England, and this in the interests and at the behest of the landed aristocracy.[f] At

[a] Dolly Maitland - [b] Friedrich Adolph, Katharina and Adolph Sorge - [c] C. Schramm, 'Karl Bürkli und Karl Marx', *Arbeiterstimme*, Nos. 52 and 53, 24 and 31 December 1881.- [d] K. Bürkli, 'Abschüttelungs halber', *Arbeiterstimme*, 7 and 14 January 1882.- [e] manuscript damaged - [f] See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Part V, Ch.XXXVI (present edition, Vol. 37).

all events, Bürkli is under a delusion as to the 'historical' date of birth of the Cieszkowskian 'idea', independently rediscovered by himself.

What has struck me from the first about the Bismarck-William manifesto [241] is the confusion as between Prussian king and German emperor! In the latter capacity, the laddie has, after all, no historical antecedents whatsoever, nor yet Hohenzollern traditions (on which a start has now been made with the 'Prince of Prussia's' ostentatious trip to England — to study the Constitution! [246]). After the nauseous protestations, expiring in submissive love, of your Mommsens, Richters, Hänels [247] *et tutti quanti*,[a] it was charming of Bismarck to play this card — however silly his manner of doing it. With any luck we shall yet see something happen.

Your
K. M.

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## 106

## ENGELS TO EMIL ENGELS

### IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 12 January 1882

Dear Emil,

After sundry disturbances and unforeseen events, among which the eating and drinking that goes with the festive season, I have composed myself sufficiently to send you, Lottchen, Elisabeth and her fiancé[b] my heartiest congratulations on their engagement. I would never have thought, when travelling to Manchester with August Erbslöh in the late autumn of 1842 [248] (I've only seen him once or

[a] and all the rest - [b] Charlotte and Elisabeth Engels, Carl Alexander Erbslöh

twice since then in Barmen), that his son would marry a niece of mine. Admittedly, neither of the two young people had been so much as thought of at that time. It is a subject that lends itself to all kinds of suitable and unsuitable remarks—which, however, I shall refrain from making since anyone can easily do that for himself and the young couple will in any case be much too preoccupied with present and future to have time for utterly useless comments on a past that is antecedent to their births.

Apart from that, I shall soon be moved to hope that engagements in our family, along with their more immediate and more remote consequences, will come at rather less frequent intervals, though admittedly in a family as numerous and prolific as ours these cases multiply proportionately to the square of the distance in time from a starting-point that lies over 60 years behind us, and there's no going against a natural law such as that.

I'm keeping quite well on the whole, except that I'm rather deaf in my left ear and regularly catch cold during the winter, but I got used to that years ago. At all events, the mild winter will help you shake off the effects of pneumonia, or at any rate alleviate them. Today it turned so warm again that I had to take my greatcoat off, despite a bit of SCOTCH MIST.

Love to you all, especially to Lottchen and the happy couple.

Your
Friedrich

I shall be glad to see Emil[a] here.

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[a] Emil Engels jun.

## 107

## MARX TO AMALIE DANIELS

IN COLOGNE

[Ventnor,] Isle of Wight, 12 January 1882
1 St Boniface Gardens

My dear Mrs Daniels,

On the same day as I wrote to you,[233] my daughter[a] found an even earlier photograph of mine among the papers she had brought with her from London. I at once sent it to Cologne[b] in the enclosed envelope, the same in which it was returned to me by the 'Imperial Post Office'.

Perhaps you would be so good as to send me *your exact address*. I shall then despatch the *corpus delicti*[c] anew.[249]

Best regards.

Yours very sincerely,
K. Marx

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## 108

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN VENTNOR

London, 13 January 1882

Dear Moor,

First, I enclose £20 in 4 bank-notes *à* 5 GK 53969, 70, 71, 72. London, 7 October 1881. I have in addition given Lenchen £10 so

[a] Eleanor Marx - [b] See this volume, p. 167. - [c] exhibit

that she can pay the RATES and still have something in hand. Next week, larger amounts will become available and then, after your return, we shall be able to make further plans.

I'm very glad that you should feel strong enough to be able to travel alone in future.

I skimmed through part of the Schramm-Bürkliade[a] and was greatly tickled by it. Even before 1842, Cieszkowski had already written a book on natural philosophy (botany)[b] and, if I am not mistaken, also contributed to the *Deutsche*, if not actually the *Hallische Jahrbücher*.[c]

Our Parisian friends have reaped what they had sown. What we had both of us told them would happen has actually come to pass. They have, by their impatience, ruined what was a first-rate position which, if they were to have made the most of it, called precisely for discretion and the ability to wait and see. For Malon and Brousse had set a trap for them in true old Alliance style [67] — calumny in the form of mere hints, no open naming of names, and supplemented on the sly by word of mouth; they went straight into it like so many schoolboys (Lafargue in the van), inasmuch as they counterattacked *by name* and were then dubbed disturbers of the peace. Moreover, their argument is so utterly puerile; as soon as one reads their opponents' retort, this leaps to the eye. Thus Guesde suppresses important qualificative passages of Joffrin's because they don't suit his book, and *fails to mention* the fact that, despite his opposition, the Comité national [250] declared Joffrin's programme to be *more radical* than the *programme minimum*,[251] thus giving Joffrin the party's *blessing*. A fact which he, of course, triumphantly parades before Guesde.[d] Then Lafargue words his articles in such a way as to enable Malon to say in reply: 'But have we ever maintained that the struggles of the medieval *communiers*[e] against the feudal aristocracy were anything but *class struggles* — and do you, Mr Lafargue, contest this?' — And now we get jeremiad after jeremiad from Paris, saying that they have been hopelessly defeated and, at the next meeting of the Comité national, would even be set upon physically, and Guesde is as despairing as he was uppish 4 weeks ago, and can see no salvation in anything short of secession by

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[a] See this volume, p. 177.-[b] A. von Cieszkowski, *Prolegomena zur Historiosophie*, Berlin, 1838.-[c] *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst* and *Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst*-[d] J. Joffrin, 'A M. Jules Guesde, rédacteur de *l'Égalité*', *Le Prolétaire*, No. 171, 7 January 1882.-[e] commoners

the minority. And *now*, finding to their astonishment that they are having to lie on the bed they have made,—now they come to the laudable conclusion that they must eschew all personalities!

I am sending you an old *Kölnische Zeitung* which, however, contains a very interesting article on Russia.[252]

Incidentally, the factum (anti-Guesde) in the *Prolétaire*, written by Malon and Brousse and signed by Joffrin, is a splendid example of Bakuninist polemics and very much in the style of the 'Sonvillier circular',[253] but ruder.

So the ukase has been issued *re* the reduction of *vykup*[a] payments.[254] Having regard to the colossal *nedoimki*,[b] the paltry per cent or two will, no doubt, make a great deal of difference! But every million it doesn't get makes a difference to the Russian Treasury.

Bismarck, by the way, has had better luck than might have been expected: the Reichstag has endorsed his pilgrimage to Canossa by a $^2/_3$ majority.[255] But that would seem to be about the only thing upon which this Reichstag is able to agree. A fine majority: feudalists, ultramontanes, particularists, Poles, Danes, Alsatians, a few men of Progress,[256] demoscratchers and socialists!

*Ad vocem*[c] pilgrimages, this morning I met Furnivall wearing a blue ulster, belted at the waist, and a broad-brimmed hat—he looked exactly like a pilgrim going to the Holy Land on a quest for St Anthony's beard.

Kindest regards to Tussy.

Your
F. E.

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[a] redemption - [b] deficit - [c] As to

# 109

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN LONDON

[Ventnor,] 15 January 1882

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR THE £20.

I have resolved to leave tomorrow as the weather is getting progressively 'colder', which does my swollen cheek no good. So I shall lose only 2 days, and this will also save Tussy the double journey.

Though repeatedly warned, our people in Paris have got themselves into a nice mess[a] (SERVES Lafargue AND Guesde RIGHT); however, since they possess two papers,[b] they may, with a little ingenuity, nevertheless gain command of the field.

I regard it as a major victory, not only in Germany itself but vis-à-vis the outside world GENERALLY, that Bismarck should *admit* in the Reichstag that the German workers have to some extent 'given the thumbs down' to his state socialism.[257] London's rascally bourgeois press always sought to disseminate the opposite.

I have received an extraordinarily kind letter from OLD Frankel from the 'state prison', ditto a letter from Wróblewski who was *évidemment*[c] writing on behalf of his Polish party in Geneva[258]; but in his haste he forgot to append not only the party's name but also his own.

If, as Joffrin relates in his factum in the *Prolétaire*,[d] he once staged *a pro-Guesde demonstration* in London against the 'International' there, it was at all events such a *platonic* demonstration that no one knew anything about it apart from Joffrin himself and perhaps a few of his closest accomplices, i. e. it was carried out entirely in 'private'.

*Salut.*

Your
Moor

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[a] See this volume, pp. 181-82. - [b] *L'Égalité* and *Le Citoyen* - [c] evidently - [d] See previous letter.

# 110

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV[72]

IN PARIS

London, 23 January 1882
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Friend,

I enclose a few lines for the Russian edition of the Communist *Manifesto*[a]; as these are to be *translated* into Russian they have not been polished to the degree that would be necessary if they were to be published IN THE GERMAN VERNACULAR.

I have only been back in London for a few days. For as a result of pleurisy and bronchitis, from which I had recovered, I was left with chronic bronchial catarrh which my doctor[b] hoped to clear up by sending me to Ventnor (Isle of Wight), a place that is usually warm, even in winter. On this occasion, however,—during the 3 weeks of my stay there—Ventnor was invaded by cold, wet, dull, misty weather while at the same time in London the weather turned almost summery, only to change again, however, on my return.

The intention now is to send me somewhere in the south, possibly Algiers. It is a difficult choice, because Italy is barred to me (a man was arrested in Milan for having a name like mine); I can't even go from here to Gibraltar by STEAMER, as I have no passport and even the English demand a passport there.

Despite all the urging on the part of doctors and those closest to me, I would never have agreed to such a time-wasting operation were it not for the fact that this accursed 'English' disease impairs one's intellect. Moreover a relapse, even if I pulled through, would take up still more time. All the same I intend to carry out some further experiments here first.

*I send you a number of *Modern Thought* with an article on myself[c]; I need not tell you that the biographical notice of the author is altogether wrong. My daughter—your correspondent Eleanor, who sends you her love—has in the copy forwarded to you taken upon herself to correct the English misquotations from the *Capital*. But

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 24. - [b] Donkin - [c] See this volume, p. 163.

however badly Mr Bax — I hear he is quite a young man — may translate, he certainly is the first English critic who takes a real interest in modern socialism. There is a sincerity of speech and a ring of true conviction about him which strike you. A certain John Rae — I think he is lecturer of Political Economy at some English University — has, some months ago, published in *The Contemporary Review* an article on the same subject,[a] very superficial (though he affects to quote many of my writings he has evidently never seen), and full of that pretence of superiority which the true Briton is inspired with thanks to a peculiar gift of stolid blockheadedness. Still he tries hard to be so condescending as to suppose, that from conviction, and not from interested motives, I am, for almost 40 years, misleading the working class by unsound doctrines! Generally speaking, people here commence to yearn for some knowledge of socialism, nihilism, and so forth. Ireland and the United States on the one hand; on the other, the impending struggle between farmers and landlords, between agricultural labourers and farmers, between capitalism and landlordism; some symptoms of revival among the industrial working class, as f. i. at some late partial elections for the House of Commons, where the official workingmen's candidates (especially the renegade of the International, miserable Howell [259]), proposed by the acknowledged leaders of Trades' Unions and publicly recommended by Mr Gladstone, 'the people's William' — were disdainfully rejected by the workmen; the demonstrative radical clubs forming in London, mostly composed of workmen, English and Irish intermingling, dead against the 'great liberal party', *official* trades-unionism, and the people's William, etc. etc.— all this induces the British philistine to want just now some information on Socialism. Unfortunately, the reviews, magazines, journals, etc., exploit this 'demand' only to 'offer' the public the expectorations of venal, ignorant, and sycophantic penny-a-liners (suppose even that they are shilling-a-liners).

There appears a 'weekly', called *The Radical*, full of good aspirations, bold in language (the boldness is in the *sans gêne*,[b] not in the vigour), trying to break through the trammels of the British press, but, with all that, of feeble performance. What the paper lacks, are intelligent editors. Many months ago these people wrote to me, I was then at Eastbourne [160] with my dear wife, then at Paris,[164] etc., so that they had not yet any interview with me. I consider it in fact useless.

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[a] Ibid., p. 162. - [b] nonchalance

The more I have read of their paper, the more I feel convinced that it is incurable.

My daughter[a] reminds me that it is high time to finish this letter, the last minutes for letter delivery being near.*

*Salut,*
Karl Marx

First published, in Russian, in the magazine *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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## 111

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [260]

### IN ZURICH

London, 25 January 1882

Dear Mr Bernstein,

Not until today have I been able to get round to answering your letter of the 12th. Marx is home from the Isle of Wight with his youngest daughter,[a] both considerably better, and Marx strong enough to go walking with me yesterday for 2 hours without a break. Since he isn't working yet and the Lafargues as often as not also drop in before dinner (i. e. 5 o'clock) when a bottle of good Pilsener is served up, my hours of daylight are usually frittered away and I have never liked writing by lamplight after the warning (chronic conjuctivitis) that was given to my left eye 3 years ago.

Just now I happen to be at Marx's, so would you be so good as to thank Höchberg very much on Marx's behalf for his kind offer which, however, he is unlikely to be able to make use of; all that he knows for certain about his journey south is that he is *not* going to the Riviera or to any part of Italy, if only on account of the police. The first proviso where convalescents are concerned is that there should be no harass-

[a] Eleanor

ment by the police, in which respect Italy can hold out fewer guarantees than anywhere else — save, of course, Bismarck's empire.

We were greatly interested by what you told us of the goings-on among the 'leaders' in Germany. I have never made a secret of my opinion that the masses in Germany have been far better than their leaders, particularly since the press and agitation combined to turn the party into the latter's milch cow and butter purveyor, only to see the said cow abruptly slaughtered by Bismarck and the bourgeoisie.[261] For the thousands instantly ruined thereby, it is a personal disaster not to have been placed in an immediately revolutionary situation, i. e. exile. Otherwise not a few who are now bemoaning their fate would have gone over to Most's camp or at any rate found the *Sozialdemokrat* far too moderate. The majority of our people remained in Germany, as they needs must, for the most part going to fairly reactionary places, where they remained social outcasts dependent for their living on philistines and became, to a great extent, themselves tainted with philistinism. For them, everything soon began to turn on the hope that the Anti-Socialist Law would be repealed. Small wonder that, under pressure from the philistine establishment, some of them became obsessed with the idea — in reality an absurd one — that this could be attained by the exercise of moderation. Germany is a truly infamous country for people without much willpower. The narrowness and pettiness of prevailing conditions, both civil and political, the provincial character of even the cities, the petty but cumulative harassment in the running battle with police and bureaucracy — all this enervates instead of stimulating resistance, and in this way many of those in the 'great nursery'[a] grow childish themselves. Petty conditions engender a petty outlook, so that a great deal of intelligence and vigour is called for if anyone living in Germany is to look beyond the immediate future, to keep his eyes fixed on the wider context of world events and not succumb to that complacent 'objectivity' that cannot see beyond its own nose and is therefore the most blinkered subjectivity, even though it be shared by a thousand other such fellow-subjects.

True, the emergence of such a tendency, cloaking its lack of insight and resolution under the mantle of 'objective' wisdom, is natural enough; nevertheless it must be ruthlessly combated. And for this the working masses themselves provide the best purchase. They alone in

[a] A paraphrase from Heine's 'Zur Beruhigung'.

Germany live in anything approaching modern conditions, all their misfortunes, great and small, are attributable to the pressure exerted by *capital* and, whereas all other struggles in Germany, both social and political, are petty and paltry and revolve round paltry issues which have long been surmounted elsewhere, the workers' struggle alone is noble, it alone is abreast of the times, it alone does not enervate the participants but is for them a constant source of fresh energy. So the more you are able to draw your correspondents from amongst the genuine workers,—not those who have become 'leaders'—the better will be your chance of counterbalancing the whines of the leadership.

This time it was inevitable that all manner of peculiar people should get into the Reichstag. All the more unfortunate, then, that Bebel should not have been elected.[222] He alone is lucid, politically far-sighted and energetic enough to prevent blunders being committed.

Could you not, *after you have done with them*, let us have for a week or two the 'stenographic reports' of debates[a] in which our deputies have played a serious part? I will vouch for their return. Newspaper reports, as we have often seen, simply cannot be relied on and none of the deputies, not even Liebknecht, could be induced to send us speeches that do them no honour.

31 January

More interruptions. Amongst others, little Hepner has been here, on his way to seek refuge in America, his purse and heart alike empty of content. A poor little chap in every respect, author of a well-intentioned pamphlet on distraint, the law governing bills of exchange, the Jewish question and postal reform, dull as dull can be, all the old Jewish stuff he turned out 10 years ago,[262] completely gone to rack and ruin; I almost felt like advising him to get baptised. Yet he provided me with the opportunity of finding out about the new imperial judicial code.[263] It really is unutterably infamous! All the dirty tricks of Prussian law combined with all the infamies of the Code Napoléon,[264] and without any of the latter's better side. The

[a] *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstages.* V. Legislaturperiode. I. Session 1881/82 [Bd. I], Berlin, 1882.

judge has freedom of decision in all spheres, being bound by nothing save — the Disciplinary Law which, in political cases, will undoubtedly, and indeed does, grant him power of 'discretion'. Thus — within the general German context — the judge inevitably becomes the executive official and tool of the police. Incidentally, here is a joke (originating no doubt from Windthorst) about Leonhardt, who is alleged to have said on his death-bed: 'Now I have avenged myself on Prussia; I've given it a legal system that's bound to bring it to its knees.'

Bürkli's interest-bearing mortgage certificates, also supposed to represent money, go back much further than that thoroughly addlepated, old Hegelian Pole, Cieszkowski.[a] Similar schemes for the general good of mankind had already been adumbrated as far back as the founding of the Bank of England. Since there is no mention whatever of credit in the first volume of *Capital* (apart from the conditions governing simple debt), credit money *admits* of consideration here only, if at all, in its very simplest form (token of value, etc.) and in relation to its lowliest monetary functions, while *interest-bearing* credit money does not admit of consideration at all. Hence Bürkli is right in telling Schramm that none of these passages in *Capital* apply to *my* particular monetary paper; and Schramm is right when he proves to Bürkli from *Capital* that he, Bürkli, hasn't the faintest idea of the nature and function of money.[b] This is not to say, however, that Bürkli's own particular monetary proposal is actually reduced to its own absurdity; that would require, besides general proof that this 'money' is incapable of fulfilling the most essential monetary functions, particular proof as to the functions which such paper might really be able to fulfil. Moreover, when Bürkli says, 'What concern have I with Marx? I stick to Cieszkowski' — the whole argument adduced by Schramm against Bürkli falls to the ground. — How fortunate that the *Sozialdemokrat* shouldn't have got mixed up in all this business! No doubt the whole hullabaloo will eventually die down of its own accord.

That crises are one of the most powerful levers of political upheaval has already been pointed out in the *Communist Manifesto* and was expounded in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Review up to and including 1848, not without the rider, however, that a recurrence of prosperity will in turn hamstring the revolutions and pave the way for the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 177-78. - [b] Ibid.

victory of reaction.[a] Any detailed argument in support of this should take into consideration intermediate crises, some being of a more localised and some of a more specialised character; we are currently experiencing one such intermediate crisis which may be attributed entirely to swindle on the stock exchange; up till 1847 they were recurring middle terms, which is why, in my *Condition of the Working Class*,[b] the cycle is still shown as a five-year one.

In France, there have been gross blunders on both sides. However, in the end Malon and Brousse, in their impatience to bring matters to a head and engineer the suspension of the *Égalité* (which is quite outside the competence of the Union Fédérative [265]), have put themselves so clearly in the wrong that they are likely to suffer for it. Such bungling would be incomprehensible in cabalists as wily as Malon and Brousse, unless they felt that time was against them. For the *Prolétaire* is said to be on its last legs and, if it expires, they will have no paper at all while the others will have two.[c] Hence the issue had to be decided while they still had a paper in which the resolutions were published. The scurrilities and pure fabrications they are now disseminating against Guesde, Lafargue, etc., and in particular Joffrin's concoction[d] — not concocted by him, however, but by Brousse and Malon — are altogether in the style of the old Bakuninist Alliance, [67] and have awakened old memories in us. The *Sozialdemokrat* is absolutely right not to get involved until things have cleared up a bit, which they will, I think, before very long.

I had also meant to write to Kautsky about the Poles, [224] but will have to drop that for today. Kindest regards,

Yours,

F. E.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 489-90 and Vol. 10, pp. 493-510.- [b] Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 382.- [c] *L'Égalité* and *Le Citoyen*- [d] See this volume, p. 182.

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [140]

### IN ZURICH

London, 7 February 1882

Dear Mr Kautsky,

I have at last got round to answering your letter of 8 November. [224]

One of the real tasks of the revolution of '48 (and the *real* as distinct from illusory tasks of a revolution are always carried out on the strength of that revolution) was the restoration of the oppressed and disunited nationalities of Central Europe in so far as these were at all viable and, in particular, ripe for independence. In the case of Italy, Hungary and Germany, this task was carried out by the executors of the revolution, Bonaparte, Cavour and Bismarck, in accordance with the circumstances obtaining at the time. There remained Ireland and Poland. Ireland need not be considered here; it is only very indirectly concerned with conditions on the Continent. But Poland lies in the middle of the Continent and keeping it partitioned is precisely the bond that continually re-cements the Holy Alliance [266] and hence Poland is of great interest to us.

Now it is historically impossible for a great people to discuss this or that internal question in any way seriously so long as national independence is lacking. Prior to 1859 there was no question of socialism in Italy; even the republicans were few in number, although they constituted the most vigorous element. Not until 1861 did the republicans begin to expand, [267] subsequently yielding their best elements to the socialists. Similarly in Germany. Lassalle was on the point of giving up the cause for lost when he was lucky enough to be shot. It was not until 1866, the year that actually decided Little Germany's Greater Prussian unity, [268] that both the Lassallean and the so-called Eisenach parties [269] acquired any significance, and it was not until 1870, when the Bonapartist urge to interfere had been eliminated for good, that the cause gathered momentum. If we still had the old Federal Diet [270], where would our party be now? Similarly in Hungary. It wasn't until 1860 that it was drawn into the modern movement—sharp practice above, socialism below. [271]

Generally speaking an international movement of the proletariat is

possible only as between independent nations. What little republican internationalism there was in the years 1830-48 was grouped round the France that was to liberate Europe, and *French chauvinism* was thus *raised* to such a pitch that we are still hampered at every turn by France's mission as universal liberator and hence by its natural right to take the lead (seen as a caricature in the case of the Blanquists but also much in evidence in that of e. g. Malon & Co.). In the International, too, the French not unnaturally took this view. They, and many others, had first to learn from events, and must still do so daily, that international co-operation is possible only among *equals*, and even a *primus inter pares*[a] at most for immediate action. So long as Poland remains partitioned and subjugated, therefore, there can be no development either of a powerful socialist party within the country itself or of genuine international intercourse *between Poles other than émigrés* and the rest of the proletarian parties in Germany, etc. Every Polish peasant and workman who rouses himself out of his stupor to participate in the common interest is confronted first of all with the fact of national subjugation; that is the first obstacle he encounters everywhere. Its removal is the prime requirement for any free and healthy development. Polish socialists who fail to put the liberation of the country at the forefront of their programme remind me of those German socialists who were reluctant to demand the immediate repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law [16] and freedom of association, assembly and the press. To be able to fight, you must first have a terrain, light, air and elbow-room. Otherwise you never get further than chit-chat.

Whether, in this connection, a restoration of Poland is possible *before* the next revolution is of no significance. It is in no way *our* business to restrain the efforts of the Poles to attain living conditions essential to their further development, or to persuade them that, from the international standpoint, national independence is a very secondary matter when it is in fact the basis of all international co-operation. Besides, in 1873, Germany and Russia were on the brink of war [272] and the restoration of *some kind* of Poland, the embryo of a later, real Poland, was therefore a strong possibility. And if these Russian gents don't soon put a stop to their pan-Slav intrigues and rabble-rousing in Herzegovina, [273] they may well find themselves with a war on their hands, a war neither they, nor Austria nor Bismarck will be able to control. The only people who are concerned that the

[a] first among equals

Herzegovina affair should take a serious turn are the Russian Pan-Slav Party and the Tsar; no one can really concern himself with the rapacious Bosnian riff-raff any more than with the idiotic Austrian ministers and officials who are presently pursuing their activities there. So even *without* an uprising, as a result, rather, of purely European conflicts, the establishment of an independent Little Poland would be by no means impossible, just as the Prussian Little Germany invented by the bourgeois owed its establishment not to the revolutionary or parliamentary methods they had dreamed of, but to war.

Hence I am of the opinion that *two* nations in Europe are not only entitled but duty-bound to be national before they are international — Ireland and Poland. For the best way they can be international is by being well and truly national. That's what the Poles have understood in every crisis and proved on every revolutionary battleground. Deprive them of the prospect of restoring Poland, or persuade them that before long a new Poland will automatically fall into their laps, and their interest in the European revolution will be at an end.

We, in particular, have absolutely no reason to impede the Poles in their necessary efforts to attain independence. In the first place they invented and put into practice in 1863 the methods of struggle which the Russians are now so successfully imitating (cf. *Berlin und [St] Petersburg*, Appendix 2) [274] and, in the second, they were the only reliable and capable military leaders in the Paris Commune. [275]

Come to that, who are the people who oppose the Poles' national aspirations? First, the European bourgeoisie in whose eyes the Poles have been utterly discredited since the 1846 insurrection with its socialist tendencies [276] and, secondly, the Russian pan-Slavs and those they have influenced, such as Proudhon, who saw this through Herzen's spectacles. But up till today few Russians, even the best of them, are free of pan-Slav tendencies and recollections; they take Russia's pan-Slav vocation for granted, just as the French do France's natural revolutionary initiative. In reality, however, pan-Slavism is an imposture, a bid for world hegemony under the cloak of a non-existent *Slav* nationality, and it is our and the Russians' worst enemy. That imposture will in due course disintegrate into the void, but in the meantime it could make things very awkward for us. A pan-Slav war, as the last sheet-anchor for Russian Tsardom and Russian reaction, is presently in preparation; whether it will actually materialise is a moot

point, but if it does there is one thing of which we may be certain, namely that the splendid progress in the direction of revolution now being made in Germany, Austria and Russia itself will be totally disrupted and forced into different and quite unpredictable channels. At best, this would set us back by 3-10 years; in all likelihood it would mean one last respite for a constitutional 'new era'[277] in Germany and also, perhaps, Russia; a Little Poland under German hegemony, a war of retribution with France, renewed racial incitement and, finally, another Holy Alliance. Hence pan-Slavism is now more than ever our mortal enemy, despite — or perhaps just because of — its having one foot in the grave. For the Katkovs, Aksakovs, Ignatievs and Co. know that their empire will be gone for ever the moment Tsardom is overthrown and the stage taken by the Russian people. And hence this ardent desire for war at a moment when the treasury contains less than nothing and not a banker is willing to advance the Russian government so much as a penny.

That is precisely why the pan-Slavs have a mortal hatred of the Poles. Being the only *anti*-pan-Slav Slavs, they are consequently traitors to the sacred cause of Slavdom and must be forcibly incorporated into the Great Slav Tsardom of which the future capital is Tsarigrad, i. e. Constantinople.

Now you may perhaps ask me whether I have no feeling of sympathy for the small Slav peoples and fragments thereof which have been split apart by those three wedges — the German, the Magyar and the Turkish — driven into the Slav domain? To tell the truth, damned little. The Czecho-Slovak cry of distress:

*Bože! ... Ach nikdo není na zemi*
*Kdoby Slavům* (sic) *spravedlivost činil?*[a]

has been answered by Petersburg, and the entire Czech national movement cherishes the aspiration that the Tsar should *spravedlivost činiti*[b] them. The same applies to the others — Serbs, Bulgarians, Slovenes, Galician Ruthenians (at least some of them). But these are aims of a kind we cannot support. Only when the collapse of Tsardom frees the national aspirations of these diminutive peoples from their entanglement in pan-Slav hegemonic tendencies, only then can we let them do as they please and, in the case of most of the Austro-Hungarian

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[a] 'O God ... there's no one on earth who would see that justice be done to the Slavs'. From Jan Kollár's *Sláwy dcera*, Part III, 'Dunag', p.287.- [b] see that justice was done

Slavs, I am sure that six months of independence will suffice to bring them begging for re-admittance. But in no circumstances will these little nationalities be granted the right they are presently arrogating to themselves in Serbia, Bulgaria and East Rumelia—of preventing, that is, the extension of the European railway network to Constantinople.

Now as for the differences that have arisen between the Poles in Switzerland, these are émigré squabbles [224] such as are seldom of any consequence, least of all in the case of an emigration which will be celebrating its centenary in 3 years' time and which, owing to the urge felt by all émigrés to do, or at any rate plan, something, has given birth to plan after plan, one new so-called theory after another. But, as you will see from the foregoing, we are not of the same opinion as the *Równość* people and, indeed, we told them as much in a message sent on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of 29 November 1830, which was read out at the meeting in Geneva. [a] You will find a Polish version of it in the report (*Sprawozdanie*, etc.—Biblijoteka *Równości*: No. 1, Geneva, 1881), pp. 30 ff. The *Równość* people have apparently allowed themselves to be impressed by the radical-sounding slogans of the Genevan Russians and are now anxious to prove that they are not open to the reproach of national chauvinism. This aberration, of which the causes are purely local and transitory, will blow over without having any appreciable effect on Poland as such, and refuting it in detail would be more trouble than it was worth.

How the Poles, by the way, will sort things out with the White and Little Russians and Lithuanians of the old Poland, or with the Germans as regards the frontier is, for the time being, no concern of ours.

Proof, by the way, of how little the workers, even in allegedly 'oppressed' countries, are tainted by the pan-Slav yearnings of the academics and bourgeois is provided by the splendid accord between German and Czech workers in Bohemia.

But enough for now. Kindest regards from

Yours,

F. E.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 343-45.

## 113

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER [113]

IN GENEVA

London, 10 February 1882

Dear Old Man,

We had absolutely no idea that you were so seriously ill; all we knew was that you had been suffering from erysipelas and that's something that can be cleared up pretty easily. Had I had an inkling of how matters stood, I should have raised some money for you straight away, even though I myself was very short at the time and calls were being made on me from all sides. However, it's still not too late and I've therefore taken out a money order for you for four pounds = 100 frs 80 cts. of which you will doubtless have already been advised; because of an irregularity that cropped up here I wasn't able to write until today.

Between ourselves, one might almost count it a blessing that Marx should have been so preoccupied with his own illness during his wife's last days as to prevent him being unduly preoccupied with his loss, both when it was impending and when it actually happened. Even though we had known for 6 months or more how matters stood, the event itself still came as a terribly hard blow. Marx left yesterday for the South of France [278]; where he will go from there won't be definitely decided until he gets to Paris. Under no circumstances will he make for Italy first; at the start of his convalescence even the *possibility* of harassment by the police must be avoided.

We have thought about your proposal [279] and take the view that the time has not yet come, though it soon will, to put it into effect. Firstly, a new, formally reorganised International in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy and Spain would only give rise to fresh persecution and ultimately leave one with the choice either of giving the thing up, or of carrying on in *secret*. The latter option would be a calamity on account of the inevitable passion for coups and conspiracies and the no less inevitable admittance of *mouchards*.[a] Even in France the renewed application of the law banning the International,[280]

[a] informers

a law which has not been repealed — far from it — is by no means impossible.— Secondly, in view of the current wrangles between the *Égalité* and the *Prolétaire*, there's absolutely no counting on the French; we would have to declare ourselves for one party or the other and that, too, has its disadvantages. As individuals we are on the side of the *Égalité*, but shall take good care not to support them publicly *just now* after the succession of tactical blunders they have made, despite our express warnings.— Thirdly, the English are proving more intractable than ever at present. For 5 whole months I tried, through *The Labour Standard*, for which I wrote leading articles,[163] to pick up the threads of the old Chartist movement and disseminate our ideas so as to see whether this might evoke some response. Absolutely nothing, and since the editor,[a] a well-meaning but feeble milksop, ended up by taking fright even at the Continental heresies I introduced into the paper, I called it a day.[b]

Thus, we should have been left with an International confined, apart from Belgium, *exclusively to refugees*, for with the possible exception of Geneva and its environs we couldn't even count on the Swiss — *vide* the *Arbeiterstimme* and Bürkli.[c] It would, however, hardly be worth the trouble to set up a mere refugee association. For the Dutch, Portuguese and Danes wouldn't really improve matters either and the less one has to do with Serbs and Romanians the better.

On the other hand the International does indeed still *exist*. In so far as it can be effective, there *is* liaison between the revolutionary workers of all countries. Every socialist journal is an international centre; from Geneva, Zurich, London, Paris, Brussels and Milan the threads run criss-cross in all directions and I honestly don't see how at this juncture the grouping of these small centres round a large main centre could give added strength to the movement — it would probably only lead to greater friction. But once the moment comes for us to concentrate our forces, it will, for that very reason, be the work of a moment, nor will any lengthy preparation be called for. The names of the pioneers in one country are known in all the others and a manifesto signed and supported by them all would make a tremendous impact — something altogether different from the largely unknown names of the old General Council. But that is precisely why such a manifesto should be saved up for the moment when it can really strike home, i. e. when events in Europe provoke it. Otherwise you will de-

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[a] George Shipton - [b] See this volume, pp. 119-20. - [c] Ibid., pp. 177-78.

tract from its future effect and will simply have put yourselves out for nothing. But such events are already taking shape in Russia where the avant-garde of the revolution will be going into battle. You should — or so we think — wait for this and its inevitable repercussions on Germany, and then the moment will also have come for a big manifesto and the establishment of an *official*, formal International, which can, however, no longer be a propaganda association but simply an association for action. For that reason we are firmly of the opinion that so splendid a weapon ought not to be dulled and blunted during the comparatively peaceful days on the very eve of the revolution.

I believe that if you think the matter over again you will come round to our view. Meanwhile we both wish you a good and speedy recovery and hope to hear before long that you are quite all right again.

Ever your old friend,
F. E.

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## 114

## MARX TO ENGELS [72]

IN LONDON

Marseilles, 17 February 1882
Hôtel au petit Louvre,
Rue de Cannebière

DEAR FRED,

I presume that Tussy dropped you a line yesterday. I had not originally intended to leave Paris until next Monday[a]; since my *state of health was rather not improving, I took at once the resolution of re-

[a] 20 February

moving to Marseilles, and thence at once, on Saturday, to sail for Algiers*.[278]

In Paris, accompanied by my Johnny,[a] I called upon but one mortal, namely Mesa. (In fact he, Mesa, *sollicitierte*[b] me to chatter too much, in addition to which I returned to Argenteuil somewhat too late, ABOUT 7 O'CLOCK IN THE EVENING. I didn't sleep a wink all night.) I tried to persuade Mesa to ask his friends, notably Guesde, if they would be kind enough to *postpone* a meeting with me *until my return *from Algiers*. But all that in vain. In fact, Guesde is so much on all parts assailed just now, that it was important for him to have an 'official' meeting on my side*. After all, one was bound to concede that much to the party. Hence I arranged a meeting at the Hôtel de Lyon et de Mulhouse, 8 boulevard Beaumarchais, to which Guesde and Deville came with Mesa at ABOUT 5 in the afternoon. I first received them downstairs in the restaurant, having been accompanied there from Argenteuil (on Wednesday[c] afternoon) by Tussy and Jennychen. Guesde was rather embarrassed on Jennychen's account BECAUSE HE HAD JUST [brought out] an acrimonious article against Longuet, ALTHOUGH SHE (Jennychen) DID NOT TAKE NO REGARD WHATEVER TO THAT INCIDENT. As soon as the young ladies had left, I *d'abord*[d] went up to *ma chambre*[e] with them, chatted there for ABOUT 1 HOUR, then DOWN — it being now time for Mesa to be off — to the restaurant where they still had leisure ENOUGH to empty a BOTTLE of Beauve with me. By 7 o'clock they'd 'all' gone. WITH ALL THAT, although I was in bed by 9 o'clock, a fiendish din of traffic without intermission until 1 o'clock, at which time (ABOUT 1 O'CLOCK) I had a *vomissement*,[f] having again got too much engrossed in conversation.

A fine day for the journey to Marseilles, and ALL RIGHT until just beyond the STATION at Lyons. First, 1½ hours *d'arrêt*[g] AT *Cassis* on account of the locomotive's DISTEMPER; then again the same mishap with the engine AT Valence, although this time the *arrêt* wasn't so long. Meanwhile it had turned bitter cold with a nasty BITING WIND. Instead of arriving *some time before* midnight, we did not reach [Marseilles] until after 2 o'clock in the morning; to some extent I was MORE OR LESS FREEZING, despite all my wrappings, the only antidote I found being 'alcohol' and I AGAIN AND AGAIN RESORTED TO IT. During the last quarter of an hour (if not more) in the exposed, cold and windswept *gare de Mar-*

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[a] Marx's grandson Jean Longuet - [b] incited - [c] 8 February - [d] first - [e] my room - [f] bout of vomiting - [g] stop

*seille*,[a] there was one last *épreuve*[b] in the shape of prolonged formalities before obtaining possession of one's LUGGAGE.

Today it's sunny in Marseilles, but the wind itself not yet warm. Dr Dourlen advised me to stay at the above-named hotel, whence I shall leave for Algiers tomorrow (Saturday) at 5 in the afternoon. The office of the Paquebots à vapeur des Postes françaises[c] is located here, *in the very hotel* at which I am staying, so that I was able to take a ticket (at 80 frs FIRST CLASS) for the *paquebot*[d] *Said* straight away; one's BAGGAGE is likewise ENREGISTERED here, so that everything is as convenient as can be.

Apropos. I [got] hold of a *Prolétaire* (*L'Égalité* is also SOLD here). Lafargue seems to me to be constantly fomenting further USELESS INCIDENTS — though maybe the DETAILS are *far from exact. As to his characterising *Fourier* a 'Communist', he is now that they[e] make fun of him obliged to explain in *what sense* he might have called Fourier as a 'Communist'.* Such 'audacities' may be ignored, 'interpreted' or 'differently interpreted'; what is worse is that SUCH small FACTS BE SAVED at all. To my mind, he is far too long-winded.

*My best compliments to Laura; I shall write her from Algiers. There is one single man sufficient as patron; it is a long letter written by Longuet to his friend* Fermé, who has successfully made his way from being an erstwhile deportee to Algeria (under Napoleon III) to the post of *juge d'appel*[f] of Algiers. No question of passports and such like. Nothing is entered on the passengers' tickets save Christian and surnames.

My compliments also to Lenchen[g] AND THE OTHER FRIENDS.

*Addio*.

OLD MOOR

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[a] Marseilles station - [b] trial - [c] Steam Ferries of the French Post Office - [d] steam ferry - [e] the editors of the *Prolétaire* - [f] appelate judge - [g] Demuth

# 115

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN LONDON

[Postcard]

[London,] 18 February 1882
122 Regent's Park Road

My dear Mr Lavrov,

I am exceedingly sorry to have missed you this afternoon—however if, as I hope, this note reaches you tonight, I would ask you to be so good as to come to my house tomorrow, Sunday evening, at about 7 or 8 o'clock. You will find some friends there and we shall all be very pleased to see you.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

[On the side reserved for the address]

P. Lavrov, Esq.
13 Alfred Place
Tottenham Court Road
W. C.

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## 116

## MARX TO ENGELS [72]

### IN LONDON

[Postcard, unsigned]

Alger,[a] 21 February 1882
Hôtel d'Orient

Dear Fred,

I left Marseilles on Saturday 18 February at 5 in the afternoon aboard the *Said*, EXCELLENT STEAMER; the PASSAGE was a fast one, so that we had already reached Algiers by half past three in the morning on Monday (20 February).[278] However, it was a chilly crossing and, though the ship was equipped with every comfort, the 2 nights were sleepless ones for me owing to the diabolical noise of the engines, wind, etc., which were disturbing in the cabin.

Here again, I found in store for me the same *quid pro quo, mutatis mutandis*[b] as in the Isle of Wight.[234] This particular SEASON happens to be, for Algiers, exceptionally cold and wet, while Nice and Menton are presently luring away most of its visitors! I had in any case had some misgivings and more than once hinted at the possibility of starting off *d'abord*[c] with the Riviera. However it would seem to be a *fatalité*.[d] The good *juge*[e] gave me a most friendly welcome yesterday; Longuet's letter had forewarned him the day before I arrived; he is calling on me today to consider future moves. Then I shall write at greater length. Kindest regards to all. Letters aren't dispatched every day to France and England.

Write to me under my name, *Aux soins de* Monsieur Fermé, *juge au tribunal civil*,[f] No. 37, Route Mustapha Supérieur, Alger.

[On the side reserved for the address]

Fr. Engels, Esq.
122 Regent's Park Road,
*Londres*, N. W. Angleterre

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

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[a] Algiers - [b] topsyturvydom, allowing for different circumstances - [c] first - [d] fatality - [e] judge (Fermé) - [f] Care of Monsieur Fermé, Judge in the Civil Courts.

## 117

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [24]

### IN ZURICH

London, 22 February 1882

Dear Mr Bernstein,

I am answering your letter straight away, 1. because of the increasing urgency of the pan-Slav business, and 2. because, now that Marx has left,[278] I shall have to set seriously to work again and shall no longer have time for such lengthy dissertations.

The 'short-hand reports'[a] will be returned today. Many thanks. Mostly rather dull, but I'm happy enough if it all passed off without any denial of principles or anything really discreditable happening. I should always be grateful if you could send me further consignments from time to time. I was much gratified to see that the shocking blunders perpetrated earlier in the Saxon Landtag had been retrieved.[118] I imagine the *Sozialdemokrat* is quite satisfied with the result of its intervention. Signing the statement must have been a bitter pill for Blos.[240] I am delighted that subscriptions should have passed the 4,000 mark and that the paper should find regular distribution in Germany, despite the police, etc. It is an *incredible* feat for a German paper that is *banned*. Before '48 such papers got in much more easily through having the support of the bourgeois and the booksellers, but no subscriptions were ever received. But in this case the workers actually *pay* — proof of their discipline and of the extent to which they live and have their being in the movement. I have no misgivings whatever about our German lads when things come to a head. They have stood the test splendidly on every occasion. And it's not *they* who are behaving like philistines but only their leaders who, from the start, have been prompted by the masses, not the masses by them.

That my letter[b] should have failed to convert you is quite understandable, since you were already in sympathy with the 'oppressed' southern Slavs. For after all, everyone of us, in so far as he has first gone through a liberal or radical phase, has emerged from it with these feelings of sympathy for all 'oppressed' nationalities, and I for

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[a] See this volume, p. 188.- [b] Ibid., pp. 191-95.

one know how much time and study it took me to shake them off—but then it was for good and all.

Now, however, I must ask you not to ascribe to me opinions I have never expressed. I am in no way concerned with the official Austrian viewpoint represented for years by the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*. Where it was right, it's out of date, and where it isn't out of date, it's wrong. I have absolutely no cause for complaint about the centrifugal movement in Austria. A 'bulwark against Russia' becomes superfluous the moment revolution breaks out in Russia, i. e. when some sort of representative assembly meets. As from that day, Russia will be busy with its own affairs, pan-Slavism will collapse like the nonentity it is and the Empire will begin to crumble. Pan-Slavism is simply an artificial product of the 'educated classes', of the towns and universities, the army and the civil service; it is unknown in the country and even the landed aristocracy is in such a fix that it would execrate any kind of war. From 1815-59, cowardly and foolish though its policy may have been, Austria *was* indeed a bulwark against Russia. To afford it yet another opportunity—now, on the eve of revolution in Russia—of setting itself up as a 'bulwark' would be tantamount to giving Austria a new lease of life, a new historical justification for its existence, and postponing the disintegration which inevitably awaits it. And in allowing the Slavs to come to power, Austria has, with true historical irony, itself declared that what has hitherto been its sole *raison d'être* has ceased to exist. Come to that, a war with Russia would, within 24 hours, put paid to Slav domination in Austria.

You say that, as soon as the Slav peoples (always excepting the Poles!) have no further grounds for looking to Russia as their only liberator, pan-Slavism will be checkmated. That's easily said and it sounds plausible. But in the first place the danger of pan-Slavism, in so far as it exists, does not lie at the periphery but at the centre, not in the Balkans but in the 80 million slaves upon whom Tsarism draws for its army and its finances. Hence it is there that the greatest effort must be made and, indeed, *has been* made. And is it to be blighted by a war?

Again, I do not propose to go into the question of how the smaller Slav nations have come to look to the Tsar as their only liberator. Let it suffice that they do so; we cannot alter the fact and it will rest at that until Tsarism has been smashed; if there's a war, all these interesting little nations will be on the side of Tsarism, the enemy of all bourgeois progress in the West. So long as this remains the case, I can

take no interest in their *immediate* liberation here and now; they are as much our declared enemies as their ally and patron, the Tsar.

We must co-operate in the work of setting the West European proletariat free and subordinate everything else to that goal. No matter how interesting the Balkan Slavs, etc., might be, the moment their desire for liberation clashes with the interests of the proletariat they can go hang for all I care. The Alsatians, too, are oppressed, and I shall be glad when we are once more quit of them. But if, on what is patently the very eve of a revolution, they were to try and provoke a war between France and Germany, once more goading on those two countries and thereby postponing the revolution, I should tell them: Hold hard! Surely you can have as much patience as the European proletariat. When they have liberated themselves, you will automatically be free; but till then, we shan't allow you to put a spoke in the wheel of the militant proletariat. The same applies to the Slavs. The victory of the proletariat will liberate them in reality and of necessity and not, like the Tsar, apparently and temporarily. And that's why they, who have hitherto not only failed to contribute anything to Europe and European progress, but have actually retarded it, should have at least as much patience as our proletarians. To stir up a general war for the sake of a few Herzegovinians, which would cost a thousand times more lives than there are inhabitants in Herzegovina, isn't my idea of proletarian politics.

And how does the Tsar 'liberate'? Ask the peasants of Little Russia whom Catherine liberated from 'Polish oppression' (pretext — religion) only to annex them later on. And what does all this Russian pan-Slav imposture amount to? The capture of Constantinople, that's all. Nothing else would act so powerfully on the religious traditions of the Russian peasant, inspire him to defend the holy city of Tsarigrad and give a new lease of life to Tsarism. And once the Russians are in Constantinople, farewell to Bulgarian and Serbian independence and liberty — the little brothers (*bratanki*) would soon realise how much better off they had been even under the Turks. It calls for the most colossal naïveté on the part of the said *bratanki* for them to believe that the Tsar is out for their good rather than his own.

You say that a Greater Serbia would be as good a bulwark against Russia as Austria. As I have already said, the 'bulwark' theory generally has ceased to hold any water for me since a revolutionary movement gained strength in Russia. I have also said that I look forward with pleasure to Austria's disintegration. But this brings us to the

*quality* of these exiguous nations which is, after all, a consideration when it comes to sympathising with them.

In 2-4 generations' time and after general European upheavals, Greater Serbia will certainly be feasible; today, having regard to the cultural level of its elements, it as certainly is not.

1. The Serbs are divided into 3 denominations (the figures are taken from Šafařík, *Slovanský Národopis* and are applicable to 1849): Greek Orthodox 2,880,000; Catholic, including the so-called Croats who, however, speak Serbian, 2,664,000, minus the Croats, 1,884,000; Mohammedans 550,000. Where these people are concerned, religion actually counts for more than nationality, and it is the *aim* of each denomination to predominate. So long as there's no cultural advance such as would at any rate make toleration possible, a Greater Serbia would only spell civil war. See enclosed *Standard.*

2. The country has 3 political centres—Belgrade, Montenegro, Agram. Neither the Croats nor the Montenegrins wish to submit to the supremacy of Belgrade. On the contrary. The Montenegrins and your friends, the aborigines in Krivosije and Herzegovina, would uphold their 'independence' vis-à-vis Belgrade or any other central government—Serbian or otherwise—just as much as they would vis-à-vis the Turks or the Austrians. That independence consists in demonstrating their hatred of the oppressor by stealing cattle and other valuable chattels from their own 'oppressed' Serb compatriots as they have done for the past 1,000 years, and any attack on their right of rapine is regarded as an attack on their independence. I am enough of an authoritarian to regard the existence of such aborigines in the heart of Europe as an anachronism. And even if these little folk had had a standing as high as Sir Walter Scott's vaunted Highlanders, who were also really shocking cattle thieves, the most we could do is condemn the *manner* in which they are treated by present-day society. If we were at the helm, *we too* should have to put an end to the Rinaldo Rinaldini-Schinderhannes business which, by long tradition, these laddies indulge in. And so would the government of Greater Serbia. Here too, then, Greater Serbia would mean a revival of the struggle now being conducted by the Herzegovinians, and hence civil war involving all the highlanders of Montenegro, Cattaro and Herzegovina.

On closer consideration, then, Greater Serbia does not appear anything like as simple and straightforward a matter as pan-Slavs and liberals *à la* Rasch would have us believe.

Well, go on sympathising with these aborigines as much as you like; there's certainly no denying them a sort of poetic radiance and, in fact, they do still produce folk songs that closely resemble the old Serbian ones (which are very fine); I shall even send you an article from *The Standard* by way of proof. But the fact remains that they are the tools of Tsardom, and there's no room in politics for poetical feelings of sympathy. And if the rebellion of these laddies threatens to unleash a general war that would make a complete hash of our revolutionary situation, they and their right of cattle stealing will have to be mercilessly sacrificed to the interests of the European proletariat.

Come to that, if Greater Serbia were to materialise it would only be an enlarged version of the principality of Serbia. And what has the latter achieved? Set up an educated bureaucracy on the Austrian model, consisting of chaps from Belgrade and other towns who have been to university in the West, particularly Vienna, and, knowing nothing of the conditions governing communal ownership among the peasants, make laws after the Austrian pattern that fly in the face of those conditions so that masses of peasants are impoverished and expropriated, whereas in the days of the Turks they enjoyed *full autonomy,* grew rich and paid fewer taxes.

The Bulgarians have depicted themselves in their folk songs, a collection of which, made by a Frenchman, has recently appeared in Paris.[a] Fire plays a major role here. A house burns down, the young woman is burnt to death because, instead of his wife, her husband chooses to save his black mare. Another time a young woman saves her jewellery and leaves her child to burn. If, by way of exception, there is a noble and courageous act, it is invariably performed by a *Turk.* In what other part of the world would you find such a beastly lot?

Incidentally, if you take a look at a passable philological map of the district (e.g. Šafařík's, in the above-mentioned book, or Kiepert's of Austria and the countries of the Lower Danube 1867[b]) you will find that the liberation of these Balkan Slavs is not an altogether simple affair and that, with the exception of Serbian territory, there are pockets of Turks all over the place, and a Greek fringe along the coast, not to mention Salonika which is a Spanish Jewish town. True, the worthy Bulgarians are now rapidly dealing with the Turks in Bulga-

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[a] [A. Dozon,] *Български народни пъсни. Chansons populaires bulgares inédites,* Paris, 1875. - [b] H. Kiepert, *Karte von Böhmen, Maehren und Oesterreich,* Berlin, 1866.

ria and East Rumelia by slaughtering them, driving them out and burning down their houses over their heads. Had the Turks adopted the same course, instead of allowing them more autonomy and fewer taxes than they have at present, the world would no longer be troubled with a Bulgarian question.

As regards war, you would seem to me to have *le coeur un peu trop léger*.[a] If war breaks out, it will be easy for Bismarck to make it look as though Russia were the aggressor: he can wait, but the Russian pan-Slavs *can't*. But Germany and Austria once committed in the East, one would have to be a poor judge of Frenchmen, and particularly Parisians, not to anticipate that there would instantly arise a chauvinistic clamour for retribution which would reduce to silence the peaceful majority of the people and cause France to appear yet again as the aggressor; or that the chauvinism then prevailing would very soon demand the left bank of the Rhine. That this would soon involve Germany in a struggle for survival so that there, too, patriotic chauvinism would completely regain the upper hand, seems to me self-evident. So far, all the prospects are against us. But once a war is under way, there is no knowing what will be the outcome of this, the first such European conflict since 1813-15, and I would be the last man to wish for it. If it does come, however, then it can't be helped.

But now for the other side of the coin. In Germany we have a situation that is drifting ever more rapidly towards revolution and must before long push our party to the fore. We ourselves needn't lift a finger, just let our opponents do the work for us. On top of which a new era[277] is impending with a new, liberalising, highly irresolute and wavering Emperor,[b] who is exactly cut out to be a Louis XVI. All that is wanting is a timely impulse from without. This will be afforded by the situation in Russia where the onset of the revolution is only a question of months. Our people in Russia have virtually taken the Tsar prisoner,[281] have disorganised the government and shattered popular tradition. Even without any other major coup, a collapse must ensue in the very near future, and the process will go on for years, as it did between 1789 and '94. Hence it will allow ample time for repercussions in the West, more notably Germany, so that the movement will gradually gather momentum, unlike 1848, when reaction was already in full swing throughout Europe by 20 March. Never, in short, has there been so magnificent a revolutionary situa-

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[a] to be a bit too light-hearted - [b] William II

tion. Only one thing can spoil it: as Skobelev himself said in Paris, only war with another country could get Russia out of the morass into which it is sinking.[282] That war would repair all the damage our people, at the cost of their lives, have done to Tsarism. It would be enough at any rate to rescue the Tsar from his captivity, to expose the social revolutionaries to the general fury of the mob, to deprive them of the support they now get from the Liberals and undo all they have achieved by their sacrifices; everything would have to be begun all over again under less favourable circumstances. But a play of this kind scarcely admits of a second performance and even in Germany — upon that you may depend — our people will either have to join in the patriotic ululations, or draw down upon their heads a furore by comparison with which the one that followed the assassination attempts [120] was mere child's play; and Bismarck's riposte to the recent elections would be of quite a different order from the one he made then with his Anti-Socialist Law.[16]

If peace is maintained, the Russian pan-Slavs will be bilked and will soon have to retreat. Whereupon the Emperor[a] can at most try one last throw with the old bankrupt bureaucrats and generals who have already once been on the rocks. That could last for a month or two at the outside, after which there would be no recourse save to call on the Liberals — i. e. a National Assembly of some kind and that, if I know my Russia, would mean revolution *à la* 1789. And then you go and suggest I want war! Not on your life, even if it means the demise of 200 noble robber nations.

But enough of that. And now for Bürkli. I haven't read his pamphlet[b] and have mislaid it, but shall look and see if I can find it in Marx's house or mine. So I can't say exactly what he is after.

(25 February)

I have just been hunting high and low at Marx's and couldn't find it. With our division of labour, specialised questions of this kind fall to Marx's share and, because of his illness, we haven't even been able to discuss the matter.

I assume that Bürkli permits every Zurich real property owner to take out a mortgage of this kind on his property, and that the rele-

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[a] Alexander III - [b] K. Bürkli, *Demokratische Bank-Reform*, Zurich, 1881.

vant certificate is supposed to circulate as money. In this way the amount of money in circulation is dictated by the amount which the real property in question is worth, and not by the far smaller amount that would suffice for circulation. So even at this stage:

1. Either they are non-redeemable certificates, in which case they depreciate in accordance with the law expounded by Marx [283];

2. Or they are redeemable, in which case the portion over and above what is needed for circulation returns to the bank for redemption and ceases to be money, which, of course, means that the bank must tie up capital.

Now a substitute for money which is interest-bearing and of which, therefore, the value fluctuates day by day is, if only for that reason, an unsuitable means of circulation; not only does one first have to agree the price of the commodity in real money, but also the price of the paper. The people of Zurich would have to be worse businessmen than I suppose if, the certificates being redeemable, they didn't all promptly surrender them to the bank for redemption, and go back to using only the old, convenient, non-interest-bearing money. Which means that the cantonal bank would have tied up in mortgages its own capital as well as everything it could borrow and would have to cast round for new sources of working capital.

But, if non-redeemable, they simply cease to be money. Metallic or good paper money is drawn from the outside world which, luckily, is a little bit larger than the Canton of Zurich, and that's what people use, for no one will accept these dreary certificates as money and in that case they are, as you rightly say, no better than Brandenburg mortgage bonds. And if the government insists on forcing the public to accept them as money, it is in for a surprise.

This between ourselves; if you make use of it, please don't mention *my* name since, as I have said, I have not read the little pamphlet or had time to read up the subject in the classic economic texts; but if one tries to criticise such things out of one's head, just like that, there's no guaranteeing that one won't make blunders. At all events, the thing is nonsensical.

Marx arrived in Algiers [278] on Monday morning, a place I and the doctors had always wanted him to go to, though he himself wasn't very keen. He has met a judge in the *tribunal civil*[a] there, a former deportee of Bonaparte's, who has made a close study of communal

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[a] Civil Courts (Fermé)

ownership among the Arabs and has offered to enlighten him on the subject.

Kindest regards both to yourself and Kautsky.

Yours,
F. E.

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## 118

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN LONDON

[London,] 23 February 1882
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My Dear Friend,

The *Financial Reform Almanach 1882* gives the following addresses:
Dilke, W. Ashton, 1 Hyde Park Gate, S. W.
Ditto Sir Charles, 76 Sloane St, S. W.

When I got home from your place I found a letter from Dr Donkin (the one who treated Hartmann some time ago, and also the Marx family) in which he says:

* 'I had a letter from Hartmann a few days ago (dating from 14 Huntley St, Bedford Sq.) asking me if he might come and see me. I answered his letter directly—giving him the choice of two days—but have heard nothing of him.

'In case my letters have miscarried will you tell me if you know anything about him. If you see him perhaps you will tell him that I will see him any morning here (60 Upper Berkeley St., W.) between 11 and 12 o'clock.' *

Would you be so kind as to pass on the preceding lines to Hartmann? Since Donkin's letter failed to arrive, I fear there may be some mistake as to the *number*, of which I am not sure, since I know of it only from Donkin. Hence it is impossible for me to communicate with Hartmann direct or with any certainty, and that is why I am asking you to act as intermediary, the more so since you say it is quite close to your place.

I am replying to Donkin,[284] saying that I hope to be able to tell him something more precise within the next few days; if possible, could you let me have some further information concerning this matter on Sunday evening?

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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## 119

## MARX TO JENNY LONGUET

### IN ARGENTEUIL

[Postcard]

[Algiers,] 23 February 1882

Dearest Child,

The good weather has set in; live in a most comfortable Villa, out of the fortifications of Algiers, on the hills; only thing I want now is tranquillity, hope soon to be a 'better' man again.

Kisses to all the children; compliments to Longuet.

Yours most devoted
Old Nick

[On the side reserved for the address]

Madame Charles Longuet
11, Boulevard Thiers, Argenteuil
près Paris (France)

First published, in Russian, in the magazine *Nachalo*, No. 5, St Petersburg, 1899

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Published in English for the first time

# 120

## MARX TO ENGELS [72]

IN LONDON

*Algiers*, 1 March 1882
Hôtel Pension Victoria,
Mustapha Supérieur,
Boulevard Bon Accueil

(Letters can now be sent to me direct at the above address)

DEAR FRED,

The telegram [284] I sent you anticipated my POSTCARD,[a] as the latter would have caused somewhat unnecessary anxiety. The fact is that thanks to an accumulation of unfavourable circumstances of a petty nature (incl. the sea crossing), I have been frozen to the marrow, my *corpus delicti*[b] having landed at Algiers on 20 February.

December was an atrocious month in Algiers, January fine, February cold when not also damp. I struck the 3 coldest days of the said last month, the 20th, 21st and 22nd of February. No sleep, no appetite, a bad cough, somewhat perplexed, not without an occasional bout of *profunda melancolia*, like the great Don Quixote. AT ONCE THEN back to Europe, no go, what with the *faux frais*,[c] on top of which the prospect of another 2 nights in one of the *cabines*, one's brain tortured by the racket from the engines! Or again, certain escape from the *quid pro quo*[d] by setting off at once for Biskra, right next to the Sahara Desert? But difficult, considering the fact that the means of communication or transport demand a further journey of 7 to 8 days and, according to the advice of someone familiar with the conditions, no small undertaking for a *pro nunc*[e] invalid in view of possible INCIDENTS before arrival in Biskra!

Anyway, as the thermometer on the *après-midi*[f] of 22 February indicated fair weather and I had already spied out the Hôtel-Pension Victoria on the day of my arrival in company with the good JUDGE

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[a] See this volume, p. 202. - [b] Here: offending body - [c] unforeseen expenses - [d] Here: topsyturvydom - [e] temporary - [f] afternoon

Fermé, I left the Grand Hôtel d'Orient (also *sleeping* there THE ABOMINABLE PHILOSOPHICAL RADICAL Ashton Dilke — BY THE BY, to *le Petit Colon* and other *petits journaux Algériens*[a] every Englishman IS A LORD, EVEN Bradlaugh FIGURES HERE AS LORD Bradlaugh) with *bagage* to *une des collines en dehors de la fortification, du côté de l'Est de la ville.*[b] Magnificent position here, from my *chambre*[c] the bay of the MEDITERRANEAN, the port of Algiers, villas climbing up the *collines* as in an amphitheatre (*des ravines au dessous des collines, d'autres collines au dessus*)[d]; further away, *des montagnes,*[e] among those *visibles* being the snowy crests *derrière Matifou, sur les montagnes de Kabilie, des points culminants du Djurdjura.*[f] (All the aforementioned *collines* are of limestone.) At 8 o'clock in the morning there is nothing more magical than the panorama, the air, the vegetation, a wonderful *mélange* of Europe and Africa. Every morning — at 10 or 9-11 or THEREABOUTS MY PROMENADE between *des ravines et les collines situées au dessus de la mienne.*[g]

WITH ALL THAT one lives on nothing but dust. IN FIRST INSTANCE only FROM 23-26TH FEBR. REALLY EXCELLENT CHANGE; but now (and nevertheless I'm still *so frozen that* EVEN THEN *the only difference* between my clothing in the Isle of Wight [234] and my clothing in the city of Algiers is that in the villa I have up till now simply replaced the rhinoceros greatcoat with my light *great*coat, no other change having been made so far) there began (and will doubtless last for some 9 days reckoned from the 27TH Feb.) the so-called *tempête, c.a.d. le tapage du vent sans de tonnerre et sans d'éclairs,*[h] DANGEROUS AND TREACHEROUS TIME MUCH FEARED EVEN BY THE NATIVES. So in fact only 3 really fine days up till now.

Meanwhile, my cough got worse FROM DAY TO DAY, *le crachement abominable,*[i] little sleep, * above all a certain nasty feeling that my *left side* is once for all deteriorated by the perish, and my intellectual state most dejected. Thus I summoned Dr Stephann (best Algiers doctor). I had two interviews yesterday and to-day. What to do? I am just go[ing] to Algiers to make prepare his prescriptions given; they are, after he had very seriously examined me,* 1. *collodion cantharidal*[j]

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[a] the *Petit Colon* and other little Algerian papers - [b] *one of the hills* outside the fortifications on the eastern side of the city - [c] room - [d] hills (ravines below the hills, other hills above) - [e] mountains - [f] beyond Matifu of the mountains of Kabylia, the highest peaks in the Jurjura - [g] ravines and the hills above mine - [h] tempest, in other words a roaring wind without accompaniment of thunder or lightning - [i] vile expectorations - [j] cantharidic collodion

applied with a *pinceau*[a]; 2. *arseniate de soude*[b] in a specific quantity of water; 1 tablespoon of same at every mealtime; 3. *au cas de besoin*,[c] especially if the cough comes on at night, a tablespoonful of a MIXTURE *of codéine* and *julep gommeux*.[d] He is coming again in a week's time; as to my BODILY EXERCISES, has ordered me * to keep within very moderate limits; no real intellectual work except some reading for my distraction.* So in fact I shan't be back AT London A BIT (RATHER A LESS) sooner! *Hence a man ought never [to] delude himself by too sanguine views! *

I must break off as I have to go to the chemist in Algiers. *By the by, you know that few people more averse to demonstrative pathos; still, it would be a lie [not] to confess that my thought to great part absorbed by reminiscence of my wife, such a part of my best part of life! Tell my London daughters[e] to write to Old Nick[f] instead of expecting him to write himself first.

How is Pumps going on in that serious work of man-creating? Give her my best compliments.

Give my compliments to Helen,[g] ditto Moore, Schorlemmer.

Now, old good fellow,

Yours,*
Moor

*Apropos! Dr Stephann, like my dear Dr Donkin, does not forget — the cognac.*

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

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[a] paint brush - [b] arseniate of soda - [c] in case of need - [d] eucalyptus julep - [e] Laura Lafargue and Eleanor Marx - [f] Marx's jocular name in the family - [g] Demuth

# 121

## MARX TO ENGELS [72]

### IN LONDON

[Postcard]

[Algiers,] 3 March 1882

Dear FRED,

Your letter dated 25 February [284] arrived yesterday together with the *Daily News* CUTS (O. N.[a] tragi*comical* secret of politics and passion in England). I trust Tussy will at last stop playing fast and loose with her health; that Cacadou, alias Laurachen, continues to flourish, for she is subjected to a great deal of physical exertion. As yet no reply from Paris.

The *tempête — c'est ici l'expression sacramentale*[b] — has been going on since 26 February though always with VARIABLE ASPECTS.

*On 2 March* confined to the house FOR THE WHOLE DAY in common with all my fellow-lodgers; pouring rain from EARLY MORNING from a SKY of a colour reminiscent of London, grey as grey; this time however the squalls were accompanied by thunder and lightning; at 4 o'clock in the afternoon an azure sky AGAIN; later on a really lovely moonlit evening. One short spell alternating with another throughout the day, now a rise in temperature, now a drop. Meanwhile I resumed inter alia the painting of my skin; that very night A REMARKABLE IMPROVEMENT SETTING IN.— *This morning*, 3 March, painting first task of the day; despite wind not intimidated, from 9 o'clock to ABOUT quarter TO 11 out for a stroll in the balmy sea air which I found MOST DELIGHTFUL; got back just before the wind worked itself into a fury again. I shall be SUMMONED TO *déjeuner*[c] IN A FEW MINUTES and am making use of this vital moment to send these FEW LINES TO YOU.

Your
Moor

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[a] Olga Novikova - [b] Tempest — that's the ritual expression here - [c] luncheon

[On the side reserved for the address]

Fr. Engels
122 Regent's Park Road,
London, N. W., Angleterre

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## 122

## MARX TO JENNY LONGUET [166]

### IN ARGENTEUIL

[Algiers,] 16 March 1882
Hôtel Victoria
(Go on writing to me here,
aux soins de [a] Fermé)

My Dear Child,

After receiving *your letter through Fermé,* I sent a messenger to the Hôtel d'Orient to make inquiries there as well; he was handed a letter for me from you dated 24 February.

I shall now give you a short account of the state of my health.

Since my cough had become more persistent, with severe expectoration, insomnia, etc., I sent for Dr Stephann (who also looks after some of my other fellow-lodgers) and have thus been under his care since *26 February* when he first examined me. He is a very shrewd and determined man. He found that, as a result of the unfortunate concatenation of events from the time I left Paris until now, my left side, which had been weakened by pleurisy, was functioning abnormally. The chief antidote consists in *vésicatoires* [b] (the drawing off of fluid by painting the left side of my back and the lefthand side of my chest with cantharidic collodion) which works well in my case, and also a 'soothing' cough mixture; lastly, an arsenical preparation (as tasteless as water) to be taken after every meal. *In so far as the weather permitted,* I was to continue taking a gentle stroll each morning.

Unfortunately (had the weather been more favourable, my violent

[a] Care of - [b] vesicatories

coughing would [undoubtedly][a] have gone of its own accord) I began to spit blood on 6 March but, after 8 and 9 March, had a really serious [haemorrhage] with some residual pain until the 12th, and on the 13th *all trace of haemorrhage had gone.* So this disagreeable episode lasted a week; Dr Stephann intervened energetically, forbidding all movement (walks, needless to say); likewise ALMOST all TALK; hot foot-baths, etc., along with drastic medicaments. During this time the treatment with *vésicatoires*, cough TONICS, etc., continued and did, in fact, reduce the coughing quite amazingly. Also, the weather has gradually begun to change although not yet ALTOGETHER *comme il faut.*[b] From my hill-top villa (Hôtel Victoria) I have before me the prospect of the bay and, to one side, villas rising in an amphitheatre —, [finest air],[a] even without a stroll, [wafting] past the little balcony in front of my own and the adjoining *chambres*,[c] or again in the verandah, the latter giving access to the first floor. The doctor will not permit me to resume my strolls until he has again examined the *corpus delicti.*[d] Be it noted that latterly not only have I regained my appetite, but have at last managed to *snatch some sleep.* (From the 16th of February, IN FACT SINCE THE NIGHT IN THE hôtel in Paris, I had suffered from insomnia unremittingly until the moment referred to above.)

* Take now all in all, the upshot is, as I too reported to London,[e] that in this foolish, ill-calculated expedition, I am now just arrived again at that standard of health when I possessed it on leaving Maitland Park.[f] I must, however, say that many visitors here too passed, and are passing still through the same trial. Since 10 years Alger had not such a failure of the winter season. Myself had had some doubts; there was the experience of the Isle of Wight[234] and other corners, but Engels and Donkin fired each other mutually into African furor, neither one nor the other getting any special information, considering that in regard to temperature this year was extraordinary. I had now and again by innuendo given to understand to begin at least by Mentone (or Nizza) as Lavrov had received from Russian friends very favourable news, but all this was ruled down by my sanguine good old Fred[g] who, I repeat it, I say it amongst you and myself, may easily kill some one out of love.

I must tell you that in this Villa-Hôtel, the two ladies, its managers, did everything in my service, no care nor attention neglecting.

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[a] Difficult to decipher in the ms.- [b] as it should be - [c] rooms - [d] offending body - [e] See this volume, pp. 213-15. - [f] Marx's London address - [g] Engels

And as to the operations relating to the *vésicatoires*, a young *pharmacien*, Mr Casthelaz (with his mother he is here as a patient ever since December) is so kind as to tattoo me, then open the* blisters filled with fluid, *then put linen on the somewhat rough skin, etc. He does all such things in the most genteel way, and offers these voluntary services in the most delicate manner.*

Nothing could be more magical than the city of Algiers,unless it be the *campagne*[a] outside that city in summertime [and] before; it would be like the *Arabian Nights*, particularly — given good health — with all my dear ones (in particular not forgetting my GRANDSONS[b]) about me. I have been delighted each time you have sent me news of the staunch little fellows; Tussy, too, has written saying that she can't stop thinking about the children, and longs to have them with her again. [It is] hardly likely that I shall be able to leave this place before the month is out, for I must firstly complete the full course of treatment prescribed by Dr Stephann, and not till then (always supposing that ALL THEN AS TO WEATHER ALTOGETHER SETTLED) shall I actually be able to commence the actual fresh air treatment.

I have seen nothing of the *Justice* (polemic with *Citoyen*), nor indeed any of the Paris papers save for the *Égalité*. I was very pleased to learn from your letter that Tussy had found a tactful solution to the catastrophe.[285] If and when Lissagaray launches his *Bataille*, you will, I presume, send me the early numbers; *I do not believe in a great result*; *mais qui vivra verra.*[c]

During my very first days here (while I was still at the Hôtel d'Orient), the GOOD Fermé 'over-walked' me — I mean, set me traipsing *up hill and down dale*, and likewise *OVERTALKED* me. *All this I put at once an end to this, making him understood that I was an invalid.* But he meant very well, and now he knows rest, SOLITUDE and silence to be duties that are incumbent on me as a citizen.

Kisses to all the children. Regards to Longuet. And many kisses to yourself, dear child,

From your
OLD NICK

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[a] countryside - [b] Jean, Henri, Edgar and Marcel Longuet - [c] Here: We shall see.

## 123

## MARX TO PAUL LAFARGUE [286]

IN PARIS

[Algiers,] Monday, 20 March [1882]

My dear Paul,

Your kind letter of 16 March was delivered to me today (20th) so that it seems to have taken far less time to get here than is usual for letters from London.

First of all, my gallant Gascon, 'what does Mustapha supérieur [a] refer to?' Mustapha is a proper name like John. If you leave Algiers by the rue d'Isly, you see a long street in front of you. On one side of it, in the foothills, rise Mauretanian villas surrounded by gardens (one of these villas is the Hôtel Victoria); on the other side — along the road — houses are spread out in descending terraces. All of this together is called Mustapha supérieur: Mustapha inférieur [b] begins at the incline of Mustapha supérieur and stretches down to the sea. Both Mustaphas form a single commune (Mustapha) whose mayor (this gentleman bears neither an Arab nor a French name but a German one) communicates with the inhabitants from time to time by means of official notices — a very soft regime, as you see. New houses are constantly being constructed in Mustapha supérieur, old ones are being demolished, etc., but although the workers engaged in this activity are healthy people and local residents they go down with fever after the first three days. Part of their wages, therefore, consists of a daily dose of quinine supplied by the employers. The same practice can be observed in various places in South America.

My dear augur. You are so well informed that you write: 'You must be consuming all the French newspapers that are sold in Algiers'; in actual fact I don't even read the few newspapers which the other hotel residents in the Victoria receive from Paris; my political reading is entirely limited to the telegraphic announcements in the *Petit Colon* (a small Algerian paper similar to the Parisian *Petit-Journal*, the *Petite République Française*, etc.). That's all.

Jenny wrote that she was sending Longuet's articles which you

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[a] Upper Mustapha - [b] Lower Mustapha

mention too, but I still haven't received them. The only newspaper that I receive from London is *L'Égalité*, although you can't call it a newspaper.

What a strange fellow you are, St Paul! Where did you get the idea or who told you that I should 'rub my skin with iodine'? You will interrupt me and say that this is a mere trifle, but it does reveal your method of the 'material fact'. *Ex ungue leonem.*[a] In reality, instead of 'rubbing my skin with iodine' I have to have my back painted with cantharidic collodion to draw out the fluid. The first time I saw my left side (chest and back) treated in this manner, it reminded me of a kitchen garden in miniature planted with melons. Since 16 March when I wrote to Engels [284] there has not been a single dry place either on my back or my chest (the latter is also being treated) on which the operation could be repeated; this cannot happen now before the 22nd.

You say: 'A letter of invitation is enclosed which will make you laugh.' *Es regular.*[b] But how do you expect me to laugh when the 'enclosed' letter is still in your hands? When the opportunity arises, I shall remind Mr Fermé of his former comrade — the Proudhonist Lafargue. At present, while Doctor[c] forbids me to go out, I am using the time to refuse frequent visits and prolonged conversations.

The rains continue as before. The climate is so capricious; the weather changes from one hour to the next, going through every phase or suddenly leaping from one extreme to the other. However, there are signs of gradual improvement, but we shall have to wait. And just to think that from the moment of my departure for Marseilles and right up to the present there has been the finest weather in both Nice and Menton! But there was this insistent idea — for which I was not responsible — of the African sun and the wonder-working air out here!

Last Saturday we buried one of the residents of the Victoria, by the name of Armand Magnadère, in Mustapha supérieur; he was quite a young man sent here by Parisian doctors. He worked in a Paris bank; his employers continued to pay his salary in Algiers. To please his mother they arranged by telegraph to have his body exhumed and sent to Paris — all at their expense. Such generosity is seldom met with even among people charged with 'other people's money'.

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[a] Judge the lion from his claws. - [b] Of course - [c] Stephann

My sleep is gradually returning; someone who has not suffered from insomnia cannot appreciate that blissful state when the terror of sleepless nights begins to give way.

Greetings to my dear Cacadou[a] and to all the others.

Yours,
K. Marx

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN LONDON

[Postcard]

[Algiers,] 23 March, Thursday [1882]

DEAR FRED,

Just now — after BREAKFAST — MY HELP[b] lanced, etc., the dense throng of greatly distended blisters produced on one side of my chest by yesterday's embrocation; after which [he told] me to idle away another hour or two in bed; so here I am scribbling a few lines on this postcard, as there's no time to be lost; for a messenger from this house is leaving for Algiers at an unusually early hour in order to take letters to the post office there, etc. (There's no post to France on Mondays and Wednesdays.)

Ever since Tuesday (21 March) another storm has been raging night and day save for the usual INTERVALS — thunder, not much lightning, downpours in the evening and particularly at night, *today in the morning as well*. As the storm approached on Tuesday afternoon, presaged by a SKY so overcast, pitch-black and lowering, I was

[a] Laura Lafargue - [b] Maurice Casthelaz

particularly struck by the rôle the TRULY AFRICAN SIROCCO played in the said storm.—Dr Stephann here yesterday; EXAMINATION *satisfactory*; progress; still *peccans*[a] [are] a place at the *very bottom* of one side of my chest and a corresponding place on my back. Next week (i. e. ABOUT Wednesday or Thursday of next week), my HELP is to refrain from embrocating those spots; so Stephann is specially reserving this for himself.

Regards to all.

Your
Moor

[On the side reserved for the address]

Fr. Engels
122 Regent's Park Road,
London, N. W., Angleterre

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## MARX TO JENNY LONGUET

### IN ARGENTEUIL

[Algiers,] Monday, 27 March 1882

My Dear Child,

I received your letter to-day (27 March); you know how delighted I am always to hear of you. My reports to you did not conceal the worst from you; so you may also feel quite sure that I *simply tell the truth* in announcing you that since the date of my last letter to you[b] my state of health is progressively improving. There is no longer insomny (the worst of all), nor want of appetite, nor any violent character of cough, the latter indeed much subdued. Of course the *vésicatoi-*

[a] at fault - [b] See this volume, pp. 217-19.

*res*[a] can, because of their intense action, only once a week be renewed; so the process of the healing of the membranes (the essential tissue of the organ has not at all suffered) on the left side wants some time. Of course the most unsteady weather, with sudden changes, storms, heats, colds, rain, in fact only a few good intervals,— the steady *seasonable* air warm and '*sec*'[b] is still the great desideratum. When we just, like yesterday, had caught the decisive turning point — it was a beautiful day, and I had a promenade,— but to-day sky grey (with a *nuance noirâtre*[c]), rain pouring down, wind howling. People here get it quite tired, for, it must not again and again be repeated: this such weather since December (inclus.) quite anormous in Algier. The thing was to inform oneself before starting on such a *chasse aux oies sauvages*.[d]

*Entre nous*[e]: Though in the Isle of Wight [234] the weather was unfavourable, but still my health improved so greatly that people wondered when myself returning to London. But, then, I had *tranquillity* at Ventnor; at London, on the contrary, Engels' excitement (Lafargue, too, a quack, thought 'walking', free air etc. were all I did want) in fact has upset me: I felt, I could not longer stand it; hence my impatience to get from London away on any condition whatever! People may kill some one out of real most sincere love; with all that nothing more dangerous in such cases for a reconvalescent!

As I told you,[f] dear child, I have had the good chance of having met with well-meaning, kind and unpretending people (French-Swiss and unmixed French, no German nor English in my Villa-Hôtel). Mr Maurice Casthelaz functions as volunteer under the orders of Dr Stephann; no Nym[g] more careful or attentive. Hence, my child, do not worry yourself as to my fancied helpless situation. Enough of male and female helps; and, on the other hand, it is the privilege of a 'patient' to be silent, to withdraw, etc., whenever I prefer the solitude or take no notice of the company.

Generally I have altogether neglected the French, English etc. daily press; I read only the telegraphic news. What I had desired, f. i., was Longuet's articles on the *grève*[h] (Lafargue wrote me greatly praising those articles). As to Massard's *sottise*,[i] I know to that moment nothing save what you have written me.

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[a] vesicatories - [b] dry - [c] blackish tinge - [d] wild goose chase - [e] Between us - [f] See this volume, p. 219. - [g] Helene Demuth - [h] strike - [i] stupidity

Write to Hirsch to send me his Adam-Contribution.[287] What I would like, to get *durch Wünschenkappe*[a] on a brilliant day here over Johnny; what would my little darling wonder at *Maures*,[b] Arabs, Berbers, Turks, niggers, in one word this Babel and costumes (most of them poetic) of this oriental world, mixed with the 'civilised' French etc. and the dull Britons. Kiss also my sweet Harry, the noble Wolf, and the grand Pa[c]!

And now farewell, my best child; also my compliments to Longuet.

Yours,
Old Nick

As to any working, is still out of the question; not even the correction of the *Capital* for a new edition.[d]

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## MARX TO ENGELS[72]

### IN LONDON

[Algiers, 28-] 31 March 1882

DEAR FRED,

*28 March*: A maddeningly wet day early this morning — when I finished writing a short epistle to Tussy.[284] This had already gone off, however, when a storm developed which, for the first time, put on a good performance; not only howling wind, torrents of rain and thunder, but incessant lightning INTO THE BARGAIN. This went on until late at night, accompanied as usual by a considerable drop in temperature. Interesting, the varying colours of the waves in the lovely, almost elliptical bay; the surf snowy white, and the sea beyond changing from blue to green.

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[a] by magic cap - [b] Moors - [c] Henri, Edgar and Marcel Longuet - [d] Marx is referring to the third German edition of Volume One of *Capital*.

*29 March* (Wednesday): Maddening drizzle today; no less maddening the moaning gusts of wind; temperature, cold and damp.

Today, shortly before *déjeuner*[a] (takes place at a QUARTER PAST or perhaps half past 11) Dr Stephann arrived for the specific purpose of 'devoting' himself to the painting of those places at the very bottom of my back and chest he had specially signalled out and reserved for his own attack. Beforehand, as on every visit, a thorough examination; by far the largest part of my left side was accorded much better STATUS; the aforementioned *nethermost* spots, presently giving forth no more than a low murmur in place of Helmholtz's musical note, can only be put to rights by slow degrees (anything speedier being hampered by the bad weather). Today, for the first time,—no doubt because he thought me far enough on the road to recovery for him to speak his mind—Stephann told me that I had already suffered a *rechute*[b] of a most serious kind by the time I arrived in Algiers. The *épanchements*[c] could only be controlled by recourse to *vésicatoires*,[d] and I had made better progress than might have been foreseen. He added, however, that I should have to treat myself very carefully for years. When I leave Algiers, he will give me a written diagnosis—intended in particular for my London doctor.[e] People of my age, he said, should be careful not to experiment too often with *rechutes*. A few hours after *déjeuner* the *tableau*[f] on my skin began to come to life in grim earnest; like someone who feels his epidermis has contracted and he himself is seeking to burst out of it; agony all night long; I had been absolutely forbidden to scratch.

*30 March*: At 8 o'clock in the morning my ASSISTANT-DOCTOR, my helpmate,[g] appeared at my bedside. It transpired that, as a result of spontaneous movements, the blisters GENERALLY had burst; a veritable flood had taken place during the night—linen, flannel, night-shirt soaked. So the painting had had the *desired effect on the places under attack*. My kind HELP at once proceeded to bandage me, not only so as to prevent the flannel's rubbing, but also to draw off what remained of the fluid. This morning (*31 March*) Mr Casthelaz discovered that the SUCTION was at last nearing its end and the process of drying-out almost complete. This being so, I shall probably be able to undergo a second application within the same week (beginning 29 March). *Tant mieux*.[h]

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[a] lunch - [b] relapse - [c] effusions - [d] vesicatories - [e] Dr Donkin - [f] picture - [g] Maurice Casthelaz - [h] So much the better.

*30 March* (yesterday), the weather turned nice and warm at about midday, for which reason I strolled out onto the balcony; later I slept a little to make up for the restless night, as I shall also do today, since the strict avoidance of scratching keeps one awake at night even though, as during the night of 30 to 31, it's not agonising.

Weather today (31 March) uncertain; no rain yet, at all events; might turn relatively 'fine' towards midday, as it did yesterday.

There's nothing further to add to the health bulletin; quite satisfactory on the whole.

Have received [a letter] from Tussychen today.

Apropos, a short while ago she sent me the enclosed letter; I can't make out the signature; you will be able to. At all events a strange phenomenon, a Quedlinburg lawyer with a *Weltanschauung* of his own! But one thing I can't make out: Has the copy of the chap's 'book' intended for me arrived at Maitland Park,[a] or does he want to have my exact address first so as to ensure that his book gets there safely? If the first, Tussy should acknowledge receipt of his book, if the second, send him my 'safe' address.

*Mon cher*,[b] like other FAMILY MEMBERS, you, too, will have been struck by my mistakes in spelling and syntax, and bad grammar; I never recall these — my absent-mindedness being still very great — until after the event. SHOWS YOU there's something in the saying *sana mens in sano corpore*.[c] No doubt this will mend itself BY AND BY.

The *tocsin pour déjeuner*[d] has just sounded and this little note must accordingly be got ready for the messenger to Algiers. So my love to one and all.

Your
Moor

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[a] Marx's London address - [b] Dear old man - [c] a sound mind in a sound body - [d] lunch bell

## 127

## ENGELS TO HENRY MAYERS HYNDMAN

### IN LONDON

[London, circa 31 March 1882]

Dear Sir,

I thank you for the pamphlet[a] you have sent me. I am very glad that glorious old Tom Spence has been brought out again.

I shall be very happy to make your personal acquaintance as soon as you shall have set yourself right with my friend Marx whom I see you can now afford to quote.

Yours truly,
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN LONDON

[Postcard]

[Algiers,] Tuesday, 4 April 1882

Dear Fred,

Have received your postcard[284]; Laurachen's letter dated 29 March has also arrived.

My congratulations to Pumps.[288]

I'm progressing well on the whole but the weather is making an April fool of me.

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[a] [Th. Spence,] *The Nationalisation of the Land in 1775 and 1882...*, London, Manchester, 1882.

*On 31 March,* Friday afternoon — a few hours before I DISPATCHED my letter to you[a] — Fermé called; he told me *inter alia* of a secret vouchsafed to him by an Algerian meteorologist, namely that next week the weather would *d'abord*[b] be very wild for 3 days on account of the sirocco, after which there would be 3-4 wet days but finally a normal spring would step into the breach, booted and spurred. And anyone who doesn't believe it is mistaken.

Meanwhile Saturday (1 April), as well as Monday (3 April), was *warm* (a bit 'too' CLOSE) but the wind (no sirocco yet) confined me to my balcony on account of the swirls of dust; by contrast, the morning of 2 April (Sunday) was so fine and inviting that I went for a 2 hours' stroll.

Last night a piping wind; rain at ABOUT 5 o'clock *this morning*; dry since 8 o'clock, sky overcast, continual squalls. Yesterday evening wonderful moonlight on the bay. I can never stop feasting my eyes on the sea in front of my balcony.

Give my best regards to Jollymeyer,[c] ditto the others.

Your
Moor

[On the side reserved for the address]

Fr. Engels
122 Regent's Park Road,
London, N. W. (Angleterre)

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[a] See this volume, pp. 225-27. - [b] at first - [c] Schorlemmer's jocular nickname from the English 'jolly' and the German 'Meier' (farmer).

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## MARX TO JENNY LONGUET

### IN ARGENTEUIL

[Algiers,] 6 April 1882

My Sweet Child,

Just now judge Fermé brought me your letter d. d. March 31; I am always delighted at your letters, but whenever, my dear child, did you find the time for writing them? I think often anxiously at your little household, limited to the services of this queer fish of Emily, and the four little boys[a] alone would absorb the whole working time of a superior servant.

Fermé handed me also a few days ago the promised numbers of the *Justice* (*ci-inclus*[b] Hirsch's elucubrations reproduced from Madame Adam's *Revue*[287]). Longuet's articles on the '*grèves*'[c] are very good. *En passant.* He says somewhere that Lassalle did *only* invent the *words* (not the law itself developed by Ricardo, Turgot, etc.[289]). In fact, however, he, Lassalle, borrowed, to German 'cultured' people well known, *expression of Goethe* who himself had modified *Sophocles*' '*ewige unwandelbare Gesetze*'[d] into '*ewige eherne Gesetze*'.[e]

Fermé had to sit opposite to me in my '*chambre*',[f] silent, reading, until I had finished a letter to Tussy (from her I had the same day received a letter, ditto one from Engels) to be ready for the messenger to Algiers.

I expect Dr Stephann to-day. If he comes, I should be able to report on his examination, before despatching these lines you tomorrow morning. Meanwhile the progress of my health goes on satisfactory, though slowly for somebody eager to be again active and to drop that *invalid's, stupid métier.* All this delay is due to this violent Algerian distemper, altogether quite anormous, never heard of since Fermé's 12 years long sojourn here. The weather remains fidgety, fitful, capricious; *April weather*, from sunny changing suddenly into rainy, from hot to cold, chilly, from a sky *diaphane*[g] to scowling, almost black; from the dry atmosphere to being heavy with aqueous vapours; in

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[a] Jean, Henri, Edgar and Marcel Longuet - [b] including - [c] 'strikes' - [d] 'eternal immutable laws' (from Sophocles' *Antigone*) - [e] 'eternal iron laws' - [f] room - [g] clear, transparent

one word, the weather far from being 'settled' or having subsided to what here may be considered the average 'normal' Algerian 'spring' character. However, if the wind blows not violently, if there be no rain, the April's early hours were pleasant, so that I could indulge my morning promenades to-day, yesterday, and the day last before yesterday; thus I enjoyed three consecutive morning promenades one or two hours long.

I am just interrupted *by a noise* rising from the little, in terraces mounting little garden (*ein rotblühender Garten*[a]) that forms the avenue to our *Verandah* (behind it the first *étage*[b] of our Villa), while my *chambre* on the second *étage* (and 5 other ones) opens upon the little gallery over the Verandah, both of them looking at the sea before and from all sides to a charming panorama. Well, the noise called me upon the gallery, and how he would laugh, at my side, so heartfully, so delightfully, that little Johnny, below him in the garden a real pitch dark negro, dancing, playing a small fiddle, beating his long iron castagnettes, writhing his body into plastic grimaces and folding his face into broad humorous grins. These Algerian Negroes were formerly in general slaves of Turks, Arabs, etc., but were emancipated under the French régime.

Well, there looks down *behind him*, the negro, another figure, in a dignified manner and rather condescendingly smiling at the blackie's exhibition. This is a *Maure* (*anglice* Moor, *germ.* Mohr); *en passant* the *Maures* are called *the Arabs* in Algeria, a small minority of them, withdrawn from the desert and their communities, dwelling in the towns at the side of the Europeans. They are taller than the average French measure, oval faces, noses aquiline, eyes large and brilliant; hairs and beards black, their skin's colour running over an *échelle*[c] from almost white to darkly bronze. Their costumes — even if in tatters — elegant and graceful, a *culotte*[d] (or a mantle), a rather toga of thin white wool, or a *capot à capuchon*[e]; for their cover of the head (for which *the capuchon* serves also in unfavourable (too hot etc.) weather) a turban or a piece of white *mousseline*, wound round their *culottes*; generally they leave their legs naked, the feet also, but more rarely they wear *pantoufles*[f] of yellow or red maroquin.

Even the poorest *Maure* surpasses the greatest European comedian as to the '*art de se draper*' *dans son capot*,[g] and to show natural, graceful,

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[a] a garden in red blossom - [b] floor - [c] range - [d] breeches - [e] cape with a hood - [f] shoes - [g] art of draping in his cape

and dignified attitudes, whether walking or standing (*if they ride* on their mules, or asses, or exceptionally on horses,— always throwing their both legs on some side down, instead of a European taking his horse *between* his both legs — then they offer the image of indolence).

Well, the said *Maure* — behind the negro in our garden — cries out for sale of 'oranges' and 'cocks' (incl. hens), a strange combination of these articles vendible. Between the *Maure,* majestical even then, and the dancing grinning nigger there struts an animal — a most vain *paon*[a] (belonging to one of our co-*pensionnaires*[b]) with its wonderfully blue throat and most adorned long tail. At this trio, how my Johnny's laughter I should like to hear ring!

*It is now 4 o'clock* p. m. (during part of the afternoon, I had of course some conversation with Fermé, having brought me your letter, then later on he removed himself to Algiers). The rain pours down: the sudden lowering of the temperature most disgusting. My best compliments to Dr Dourlen!

*7 April 1882*

Raining through the whole night; this morning is sky covered, but no rain; pleasant air, but too saturated with watery vapours. I had an hour's promenade (9-10 a. m.), doubtful whether not surprised by rain — but none yet. As Dr Stephann came not yesterday nor the day before, I wrote him to-day morning, but at all events these lines, in order to be despatched still to-day, cannot await the Doctor's examination. He will not appear before 5 o'clock afternoon. You see, it is a good sign, that the Dr neglects me a little; in other words, he is no longer anxious to strictly repeat his visits in court intervals.

How I shall feel happy when returning to my grandsons and their excellent Maman! I am not at all inclined here to prolong my sojourn longer than the Dr considers it absolutely necessary. Many kisses from your

Old Nick

The inclosed cut from a German-American paper Engels sent me; it is an amusing criticism of the newest 'Teutsche Bedientenpoesie'.[c] I hope Longuet tries to understand it.

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[a] peacock - [b] lodgers - [c] German servile poetry

Dear child, I had already sealed this letter, but was forced to reopen it. Dr Stephann came a bit earlier than expected. The fresh examination led him to conclude — and I am very pleased to be able to tell you this — that my left side has in the meantime healed almost as well as the right one.[290]

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## MARX TO ENGELS[72]

### IN LONDON

[Algiers,] 8 April[a] (Saturday) 1882

Dear Fred,

At 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon I was examined by Dr Stephann. Despite the changeable weather, which had again brought on a persistent cold, he was very satisfied; found that the *épanchement*[b] low down (to the left of my chest) had almost completely disappeared; the one on my back (low down on the left) being rather more stubborn. Yesterday he gave this a special lambasting by painting it with *collodion cantharidal*.[c] The result was most acute pain and, thanks to the 'painting', a sleepless night (from 7 to 8 April), but this morning there has also been a most effective pumping of water from the blisters that have formed. So I have no doubt that this offending spot will also capitulate in the very near future. My assistant-doctor, Mr Casthelaz, had to work away for half an hour in my flourishing watermelon plantation, after which I was made to lie in bed until *déjeuner*[d] at half past eleven; for after bandaging the drawing off, drop by drop, of any residual fluid works best in that position.

On the other hand Stephann found my cough somewhat worse (only *relatively*, however, for the cough had reached a nadir), a con-

[a] March in the ms.- [b] effusion - [c] cantharidic collodion - [d] luncheon

sequence of the absurd weather; for 4 days this week the *mornings* were fine enough for walks; since yesterday afternoon it has never stopped raining; in the night and today THE RAIN ASSUMED THE '*caractère torrentiel*'; today there has been a feeble attempt at lighting the fire in the dining-room, but these fireplaces don't in fact seem to exist for that purpose, BUT ONLY FOR SHOW'S SAKE.

After *déjeuner* I retired for a nap AT 2 O'CLOCK to make up in part for last night, but by some infernal chance the *courts are on vacation* this week and next. So my plan was thwarted by the otherwise most amiable JUDGE Fermé who didn't release me until ABOUT 5 p. m. when dinner time was approaching. Fermé told me amongst other things that during his *carrière* on the bench a form of *torture* has been used (and this happens 'regularly') to extract confessions from Arabs; naturally it is done (like the English in India) by the 'police'; the judge IS SUPPOSED TO KNOW NOTHING ABOUT ALL OF IT. On the other hand, he says that when, for example, a murder is committed by an Arab gang, usually with robbery in view, and the actual miscreants are in the course of time duly apprehended, tried and executed, this is not regarded as sufficient atonement by the injured colonist family. They demand INTO THE BARGAIN the 'pulling in' of *at least* half a dozen *innocent Arabs*. But this is resisted by the French judges and particularly the *cours d'appel*,[a] though now and again the life of an *individual*, isolated judge may be threatened by the colonists if he does not provisionally consent (his competence extends no further) to having a dozen innocent Arabs locked up for suspected murder, burglary, etc., and involving them in the investigation. However we are aware that when a European colonist dwells among the 'lesser breeds', either as a settler or simply on business, he generally regards himself as even more inviolable than handsome William I. Still, when it comes to barefaced arrogance and presumptuousness vis-à-vis the 'lesser breeds', to a grisly, Moloch-like obsession with atonement, the British and Dutch outdo the French.

Pumps' FAMILY MISSION shows great promise,[288] as opposed to Hyndman's political mission which might be regarded as problematical. It serves the laddie right that your note[b] should have annoyed him, especially since he took these liberties with me only because he was counting on my own inability, for 'considerations of propaganda', to compromise him in public.[291] He knew that well enough.

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[a] courts of appeal - [b] See this volume, p. 228.

Scandalmonger Bodenstedt and Friedrich Vischer-Sewer-Aesthete are the Horace and Virgil of William I.[292]

Apropos. The *Kölnische Zeitung*'s article on Skobelev you sent me is most interesting.

This note won't leave today (Saturday), for there are *no 'paquebots'* [a] at all to Marseilles on *Mondays*, *Wednesdays* or *Saturdays*; but by way of exception a *paquebot* leaves Algiers on a *Sunday* at *1 p. m.* and letters for it must be delivered to the post office by 11 o'clock in the morning (Sunday); the Hôtel Victoria, Algiers, despatches a MESSENGER with the letters *early* on Sunday *mornings*. On the other days, when there is a *paquebot* from Algiers to Marseilles, departure is at 5.30 in the afternoon.

But I wanted to get these lines off by tomorrow, since Dr Stephann's last examination was so especially favourable.

Best wishes to everyone.

Your
Moor

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## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN LONDON

[London,] 10 April 1882
122 Regent's Park Road

My dear Lavrov,

I am returning the proofs,[293] for which I thank you. I should have done so earlier had I not hoped to see you last night and to say Христосъ, воскресъ ли онъ? [b]

Would you be so kind as to lend me the German manuscript of the

[a] ferry-boats - [b] Engels is using a Russian Easter greeting in an ironical form

preface for a day or two? The *Sozialdemokrat* has asked us to send it to them and, since the thing has appeared in the *Народная воля*[a] (to which we are proud to find ourselves contributors), there can no longer be any objection.

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

Our ideas seem to me to have been very well rendered.

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## 132

## ENGELS TO BERTHOLD SPARR [294]

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 12 April 1882

Dear Sir,

I am not acquainted either with you or with the Mr K. Schmidt you refer to. If you mean Mr K. Schneidt, the anarchist, he will be able to get you into the club in Rose Street [295] and obtain assistance for you. In view of the way in which the people on the *Freiheit* have laid into the Social-Democratic Party in Germany,[296] I hardly feel called upon to give the adherents of that tendency a helping hand. However I do not know which tendency you belong to. The German Club, which sides with the great party in Germany, is, as anyone will tell you, at 49 Tottenham Street [297] and I find it inconceivable that both these clubs should let a fugitive party member starve to death.— In view of the great distress brought about among the members of the great Social-Democratic Party by police persecution in Germany, my resources will scarcely permit me to support, in addition, ad-

[a] Narodnaya Volya

herents of other, opposing tendencies. If, however, the Tottenham Street society is prepared to do something for you, I shall be pleased to make a contribution.

Yours very truly

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## 133

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

[Postcard]

[London, 13 April 1882]

Dear Sorge,

Have posted to you today such *Égalités* as have so far appeared. More to follow. Marx is in Algiers; had a recurrence of pleurisy but has now almost completely got over it. Will have to take very great care of himself next winter. Trust your letter will arrive soon. What is your son[a] doing? Kindest regards.

Your
F. E.

[On the side reserved for the address]

F. A. Sorge, Esq.,
*Hoboken, N. Y.*
U. S. America

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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[a] Adolph Sorge

## 134

## MARX TO LAURA LAFARGUE [166]

IN LONDON

[Algiers,] Thursday, 13 April 1882

Darling Cacadou,

I reproach myself for not having written to you again until now, not that there's anything special to report from here. How often do I not think of you — at Eastbourne,[298] beside my Jenny's[a] sick-bed, and during your faithful daily visits so cheering to that crosspatch, OLD NICK. But you should know, dear child, that this week and last were Fermé's Easter vacation; he lives in the rue Michelet (as part of the route Mustapha supérieur[b] is called) at the foot of the hill from which the Hôtel Victoria looks down. It's only a stone's throw away for him, although he has to 'clamber' since there's no proper path leading up to it. And in fact he has latterly been visiting me assiduously, thus frustrating the best of resolutions in regard to afternoon letter-writing.— Otherwise not an unwelcome guest, MR Fermé, nor devoid of humour. After I had given him some *Citoyens* and *Égalités* to read, he arrived chuckling not a little over Guesde's 'terrorism of the future' [which is to go on] until — this anticipated in heavy type — the last bourgeois oppressor has been guillotined out of existence. Fermé is not fond of Algiers whose climate doesn't suit either him or his family (often visited by fever, etc.) although its members are all of them '*des indigènes*' *à commencer par Madame l'épouse.*[c] Above all, however, his salary as a judge is hardly suffiçient for even the most modest way of life. Living in a colonial capital is always expensive. But one thing he does admit — in no town ELSEWHERE, which is at the same time the seat of the central government, is there such *laisser faire, laisser passer*[d]; police reduced to a *bare minimum*; unprecedented public *sans gêne*[e]; the Moorish element is responsible for this. For Mussulmans there is no such thing as subordination; they are neither 'subjects' nor '*administrés*'[f]; no authority, save in *politica,*[g] something which Europeans have totally failed to understand. Few police in Al-

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[a] Jenny Marx - [b] Upper Mustapha - [c] 'natives', starting with his lady wife - [d] easy-going ways - [e] nonchalance - [f] persons under the jurisdiction of others - [g] political matters

giers, and such as there are for the most part *indigènes*. And yet, with such a medley of national elements and unscrupulous characters, frequent clashes are inevitable, and it is here that the *Catalonians* live up to their old reputation; the white or red belts they wear, like the Moors, etc., outside their coats and not, like the French, beneath their clothing, often conceal 'bodkins'—*long stilettos* which these sons of Catalonia are not slow to 'employ' with equal impartiality against Italians, Frenchmen, etc., and natives alike. Incidentally, a few days ago a gang of forgers was apprehended in the province of Oran, amongst them their chief, a former Spanish officer; their European agency, it now transpires, is in the capital of Catalonia—Barcelona! Some of the laddies were not arrested and escaped to Spain. This piece of news, and others of a similar kind, derives from Fermé. The latter has received 2 advantageous offers from the French government; *firstly*, a transfer to New Caledonia where he would, at the same time, be responsible for introducing a new legal system, salary 10,000 frs (he and family to travel there gratis and, on arrival, be given free official accommodation); or, *secondly*, to *Tunis*, where he would likewise occupy a higher magisterial rank than here, and under far more favourable conditions. He has been given a certain period in which to make up his mind; will accept one or the other.

From Mr Fermé to the *weather* is a natural transition, since he freely heaps imprecations on the same.—Since Easter Monday (incl.) I have not missed a single morning stroll, although only yesterday (12th) and today have been spared the caprices of April. *Yesterday, bien que nous subissions le léger siroco et, par conséquent, quelques coups de vent, ce fut le maximum du beau temps: à 9 heures le matin (le 12) le température à l'ombre fut de 19.5°, et celle au soleil, de 35°.*[a] In spite of having gone for a walk in the morning (12 April), I visited Algiers in the afternoon in order to take a look at the Russian ironclad, *Peter the Great,* which had arrived in the harbour there a few days before.

The official meteorological office has forecast intense atmospheric disturbances for 15-16 April (when there'll be *orage*[b]), 19, 21, 25, 27, 29 and 30 April; nevertheless, the weather during the remainder of April will on the whole be fine; at the same time it is feared that *in May*, to make up for the absence of a *true Algerian spring* (which did

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[a] although we experienced a slight sirocco and, as a result, some gusts of wind, it was the finest possible weather: at 9 o'clock in the morning (the 12th) the temperature was 19.5° in the shade and 35° in the sun.- [b] a storm

not begin till yesterday), summer will arrive all at once and with it unbearable heat. HOWEVER THAT MAY BE, I do not, as *corpus vile*,[a] feel inclined to serve as an experimental station for the weather. In view of the altogether abnormal character of the past 4½ months, God knows WHAT ALGERIA MAY HAVE IN STORE. Large numbers of shrewd folk (amongst them *l'illustre*[b] 'Ranc') departed from the African shore day before yesterday. I shall only stay until Dr Stephann has declared my left side to be in good order again, apart, of course, from the scar well known to the *doctissimi*[c] Drs Donkin and Hume, left by an earlier attack of pleurisy. What has been tiresome here so far is the constant recurrence of my cough, even if WITHIN MODERATE LIMITS; withal, much boredom.

*Interruption of the most argeeable kind*: KNOCKS AT THE DOOR; *Entrez!*[d] Madame Rosalie (ONE OF THE SERVING SPIRITS) brings me a letter from you, dear Cacadou, and, from the good Gascon,[e] a long letter of which the paper, like the envelope, already bears the official stamp: '*L'Union Nationale*'.[299] This time he seems to have pulled it off! *Ce n'est pas une de ces entreprises patronées par Mr Ch. Hirsch!*[f] On the other hand, to be sure, the prospect of my Cacadou's departure looms closer! But not just yet, I trust. Also, I regard it as some compensation that AUNTY Cacadou should represent so great a gain to Jennychen and her children[g]; anyway, with Paris so close, there's no need to spend the whole year in London.—Apropos. *Has Lafargue* sent the next instalment of the article to Petersburg? (I don't know what became of the first consignment.)[300] It's most important not to lose the vantage point of Petersburg; it will gain in importance daily! Also for anyone who sends despatches there.

*Second interruption*: It is 1 O'CLOCK P.M., and I have promised to visit the '*Jardin du Hamma*' *ou*[h] '*Jardin d'Essai*' with Madame Casthelaz, *son fils*,[i] and one of our other fellow *pensionnaires*,[j] Madame Claude (of Neufchâtel). We have to be back BEFORE DINNER (6 O'CLOCK P.M.), later than which EVERY EFFORT AT WRITING NEVER AS YET DARED UPON BY ME. So no more till tomorrow. Simply by way of a supplement * to the useful knowledge of Cacadou I allow myself to remark, that on that very Hamma took place the landing of 24,000 soldiers under the commandment of Charles V, emperor, (or Carlos I, according to the Spaniards) on 23 October 1541[301]; 8 days later he had to ship the * *beaux*

[a] a vile body - [b] the illustrious - [c] most learned - [d] Come in. - [e] Paul Lafargue - [f] It isn't one of those enterprises patronised by Mr Ch. Hirsch. - [g] Jean, Henri, Edgar and Marcel Longuet - [h] or - [i] her son - [j] lodgers

*restes de son armée détruite sur les vaisseaux échappés à la tempête du 26, et ralliés à grand' peine par Doria, à Matifou. Ce dernier lieu où finit la baie d'Alger c. à. d.— le cap Matifou*[a] — OPPOSITE, ON THE EAST, TO ALGIERS, IS TO BE ESPIED, *par des bonnes lunettes*,[b] BY MYSELF FROM Hôtel Victorias GALLERY.

*Vendredi*,[c] 14 April

*I commence this letter *at the moment* when I have a few lines to be added to the foregoing, that is to say at about *1 o'clock p. m.* The day ended yesterday as fine as that of the 12th. Both *the evenings* 12 and 13 (about 8 hours p. m.) were warm — quite exceptional this — but cool (relatively) at the same time, hence really delightful. This morning the warmth a little more 'heavy', and just since two hours the wind blows violently, probably the '*orage*' predicted yesterday from 14-15.

Yesterday at 1 o'clock p. m. we went down to Inferior Mustapha whence the tram brought us to *Jardin Hamma* or *Jardin d'Essai*, the which used for '*Promenade Publique*' with occasional military music, as '*pépinière*'[d] for the production and diffusion of the indigenous vegetables, at last for the purpose of *scientific botanical experiments* and as a *garden* of '*acclimatation*'.— This all encloses a very large ground, part of which is mountainous, the other belonging to the plain. In order to see more minutely, you would want at least a whole day, and beside being somebody with you a *connaisseur*, f. i. like M. Fermé's friend and old Fourieriste, M. Durando, professor of botanics, who is the leader of a section of the 'Club Alpin Français' on its regular Sunday excursions. (I very much regretted that my bodily circumstances and the Dr. Stephann's strict prohibition till now did not yet allow me to share in these excursions, having 3 times [been] invited thereto.)

Well, before entering the 'Jardin d'Essai' we took coffee, of course in the free air, a Mauresque '*café*'. The Maure prepared it excellently, we were on a bank. On a rough table, in inclined positions, their legs crossed, half a dozen Maure visitors [...][e] were delighted in their small '*cafétières*',[f] (everyone gets one of his own) and together

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[a] remnants of his shattered army aboard the vessels which had escaped the storm of the 26th and been rallied with much difficulty by Doria, at Matifu. This latter place, where the Bay of Algiers ends — Cape Matifu - [b] with good glasses - [c] Friday - [d] nursery - [e] Illegible passage in the ms.- [f] coffee pots

playing at cards (a conquest this on them of civilisation). Most striking this spectacle: Some these Maures were dressed pretentiously, even richly, others in, for once I dare call it *blouses*, sometime of white woollen appearance, now in rags and tatters — but in the eyes of a true Musulman such accidents, good or bad luck, do not distinguish Mahomet's children. *Absolute equality in their social intercourse*, not affected; on the contrary, only when demoralized, they become aware of it; as to the hatred against Christians and the hope of an ultimate victory over these infidels, their politicians justly consider this same feeling and practice of absolute equality (not of wealth or position but of personality) a guarantee of keeping up the one, of not giving up the latter.* (Nevertheless, they will go to rack and ruin WITHOUT A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT.)

*In regard to the plain part of the *Jardin d'Essai* I remark only: It is cut by *three great longitudinal* '*allées*'[a] of a wonderful beauty; opposite to the principal entry is the '*allée*' *of the platenes* [*platanes*][b]; then the '*allée des palmiers*',[c] ended by an oasis of immense 72 '*palmiers*', limited by the railway and the sea; at last the '*allée*' of the magnolia and a sort of *figues* (*ficus roxburghi*). These three great '*allées*' are themselves cut by many others crossing them, such as the long '*allée des bambous*' astonishing, the '*allée*' of '*palmiers à chanvre*',[d] the '*dragon[n]iers*',[e] the 'eucalyptus' (blue gum of Tasmania), etc., (the latter are of an extraordinarily quick vegetation).

Of course, these sorts of* *allées* cannot be reproduced in European '*Jardins d'acclimatation*'.[f]

During the afternoon there was a concert of military music in a large open space encircled by plane trees; the conductor, a non-commissioned officer, wore ordinary French uniform, whereas the musicians (common soldiers) wore red, baggy trousers (of oriental cut), white felt boots buttoning up to the bottom of the baggy trousers; on their heads a red fez.

While on the subject of the garden, I did not mention (though some of these were very pleasing to the nose) orange trees, lemon — ditto, almond trees, olive trees, etc.; nor, for that matter, cactuses and aloes which also grow wild (as do wild olives and almonds) in the rough country where we have our abode.

Much though this garden delighted me, I must observe that what

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[a] avenues - [b] plane trees - [c] palm trees - [d] hemp palms - [e] dragon trees - [f] Botanical Gardens

is abominable about this and similar excursions is the ubiquitous *chalky dust*; though I felt well in the afternoon and after coming home and during the night, my cough was nonetheless rather troublesome, thanks to the irritation caused by the dust.

I am expecting Dr Stephann today, but as I cannot put off the despatch of this missive, I will send a report to Fred[a] later on.

Finally, as Mayer of Swabia used to say, let us take a little look at things from a higher historical perspective. Our nomadic Arabs (who have, in many respects, gone very much to seed while retaining, as a result of their struggle for existence, a number of sterling qualities) have memories of having once produced great philosophers, scholars, etc., which, they think, is why Europeans now despise them for their present ignorance. Hence the following little fable, typical of Arab folklore.

A ferryman is ready and waiting, with his small boat, on the tempestuous waters of a river. A philosopher, wishing to get to the other side, climbs aboard. There ensues the following dialogue:

*Philosopher*: Do you know anything of *history*, ferryman?

*Ferryman*: No!

*Philosopher*: Then you've wasted half your life!

*And again*: *The Philosopher*: Have you studied mathematics?

*Ferryman*: *No!*

*Philosopher*: Then you've wasted more than half your life.

Hardly were these words out of the philosopher's mouth when the wind capsized the boat, precipitating both ferryman and philosopher into the water. Whereupon,

*Ferryman* shouts: Can you swim?

*Philosopher*: No!

*Ferryman*: Then you've wasted your *whole* life.

That will tickle your appetite for things Arabic.

With much love and many kisses.

OLD NICK

(BEST COMPLIMENTS TO ALL)

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[a] Engels

# 135

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 17 April 1882

Dear Mr Bernstein,

As soon as I heard from Lavrov that the preface[a] had appeared in the *Narodnaya Volya*[302] I asked for a copy of the original,[b] but he had left it in his desk in Paris; however, he said he would write. Then I went to Marx's and searched in vain for the *brouillon*.[c] Finally I got Lavrov to let me have a copy of the Russian translation so that, if the worst came to the worst, I could retranslate it myself; I feared, as indeed happened, that some Russian or other would see to this. Lavrov has just sent me the enclosed copy of the original. However, I have only myself to blame for this. For I had meant to send you a postcard, but have got Schorlemmer and Adolf Beust staying with me, and there's quite a lot of gadding about with Mrs Lafargue (whose husband[d] is in Paris) and Tussy Marx, so that the postcard got overlooked. But in order that you may see that good intentions were not wanting, I am belatedly sending you the thing.

Congratulations on your attack upon Geiser's spineless conduct.[303]

Confidential: Marx has been in Algiers since 21 February. On arrival he had a fresh attack of pleurisy as a result of catching cold on the journey; he found wretched weather conditions, but is now pretty well all right again. How long he'll stay there is not yet certain. Has had distinctly bad luck with the weather.

Kindest regards from

Yours,
F. Engels

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Preface to the Second Russian Edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*' (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp.425-26).- [b] See this volume, pp. 235-36 - [c] draft - [d] Paul Lafargue

# 136

## MARX TO ENGELS [72]

IN LONDON

[Algiers,] Tuesday, 18 April 1882

DEAR FRED,

Got your letter yesterday,[284] likewise Tussy's, together with the 'imperial' remittance.[a]

In my last letter to Laurachen[b] I announced the arrival of our '2 finest days'; but even before I had finished the letter, the sirocco (the official weather bulletins, like other French printed matter, spell it sometimes with one c, sometimes with 2) began to blow and the din served me as an overture to the '*mouvements atmosphériques intenses*'[c] which had been predicted. I admitted to Laura that I was tired of such things — if not, indeed, tired of Africa, and was determined to turn my back on Algiers the moment Dr Stephann DID NO LONGER 'WANT ME'.

From the 14th April (afternoon) to the 17th April, gusts of wind, storms, heavy downpours, burning sunshine, continual ups and downs, now hot now cold (almost from one hour to the next). First thing this morning gloriously fine, but now, at 10 A.M., the wind is already piping its maddening tune.— In its report — or rather forecast — yesterday, the meteorological office announced an '*intense mouvement atmosphérique*' for 3-4 May, but more especially for 7-8 May (not having *pro nunc*[d] probed any further into the future); in addition, for the first week of this self-same May, it has promised us SO CALLED '*seismiques mouvements*'[e] (apparently the periodicity of these '*seismiques*' coincides with latent earth tremors).

Dr Stephann called on the 16th (Sunday), percussed, and declared that there was no longer any trace of '*pleurésie*'[f] (AS FAR AS TO '*rechute*'[g]); on the other hand he was, he said, less satisfied with the bronchial condition (also on the left) than when he last examined me. However, he painted away with great vigour (a vigour I damned well had time to appreciate in the course of Sunday afternoon — 16 April — and

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[a] Engels had arranged the remittance through the bankers Kayser & Co. *Kaiser* = Emperor.- [b] See this volume, pp. 238-43.- [c] intense atmospheric disturbances- [d] for the time being- [e] seismic disturbances- [f] pleurisy- [g] relapse

night, and right into the small hours of Monday — 17 April!).— Incidentally, Dr Stephann shares my view that bronchial trouble is inseparable from this weather and, such being the case, any prolongation of my stay here could only have unfavourable consequences. He thinks he will be able to let me leave, with a written diagnosis, at the end of April unless something unforeseen should happen — e. g. the weather here take a distinct turn for the better or, which seems unlikely, my health take a turn for the worse. All things being equal, then, I should leave *on 2 May*, being delivered back to Marseilles *by the selfsame Said* under the same Captain Mace (very nice chap) who brought me to Algiers, and from there should go and try my luck at Cannes, Nice or Menton. So don't send me either letters or anything in the way of documents or newspapers from London, *unless it be JUST AFTER THE RECEIPT OF THESE LINES.* But should I change my mind in the meantime, I shall at once notify you from here.

I am afraid that '*IRON*' may arrive in Algiers after not only I, but also the Casthelaz FAMILY, have evacuated Africa; all the world's preparing to take flight. You must excuse the meagreness of this MISSIVE. The night of the 16th to 17th April was sleepless because of the vigour of the painting; no pain from the 17th to the 18th April because the ASSISTANT DOCTOR [a] had already attended to me by 7 o'clock yesterday morning; but the itching due to the formation of new skin banished sleep for the 2nd night running. Since, in addition, I went for a stroll (2 whole hours) very early this morning, *üw begrijp* [b] (I can no longer recall how the Dutch spell it, but I still hear the *ü begreip*! — what it's got to do with 'concept', God alone knows — as enunciated in the old days at Zalt-Bommel [304] by Pastor Rothhaus's [c] wife, since divorced and replaced by my cousin [d]), IN ONE WORD, as you can conceive, I have got to lay my head on my pillow and make up for some sleep. Meanwhile:— sleep, what would'st thou more? Only first let me tell you about the rotten trick played by the French authorities on a poor, thieving Arab, a poor, multiple assassin by profession. Only at the last minute — ON THE MOMENT, as the infamous COCKNEYS say, 'TO LAUNCH' the poor sinner 'INTO ETERNITY' did he discover that he wasn't going to be shot but guillotined! *This, in defiance of prior arrangements!* In defiance of promises! He was guillotined despite what had been agreed. But that wasn't all. The French having always permitted this hith-

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[a] Maurice Casthelaz - [b] You [can] conceive - [c] A. Roodhuizen - [d] Antoinette Philips

erto, his relatives had expected the head and body to be handed over to them so that they could sew the former to the latter and then bury the 'whole'. *Quod non!* [a] Howls, imprecations and gnashing of teeth; the French authorities dug their heels in, the first time they had done so! Now, when the body arrives in paradise, Mohammed will ask, 'Where have you left your head? Or, how did the head come to be parted from its body? You're not fit to enter paradise. Go and join those dogs of Christians in hell!' And that's why his relations were so upset.

Your
OLD Moor

On closer inquiry — I hadn't asked him before — Stephann told me that, although he doesn't speak German, he is the son of a German. His father emigrated to Algiers from the Palatinate (Landau).

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## 137

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 21 April 1882

Dear Mr Bernstein,

I am sending you a piece from the *Kölner Zeitung* on 'Baron Hirsch'.[305] It is significant that *bourgeois* papers should find it necessary to denounce such a trickster. The whole article is worth reprinting if space is available. It would make a splendid feuilleton, particularly as emanating from the *Kölnische Zeitung*. If you can't reprint it in its entirety, perhaps you would return it to me when you have done with it. You might also return me the ms. of the 'Preface' [b] sometime.

Let me elucidate: Mahmud *Nedim* Pasha is, like Mahmud Damat

[a] But no.- [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Preface to the Second Russian Edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*' (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 425-26).

Pasha (the Sultan's[a] brother-in-law), Russia's chief paid agent in Constantinople. When the Russian, Poliakov, who was also after the Turkish railway concessions, had failed to get them (for the Russians could not start a war against Turkey and *simultaneously* con the Turks), it was naturally of the utmost concern to the Russians to see to it that the terms imposed upon the Austrian, Hirsch, who was the sole competitor and, what's more, Austria's *protégé*, were of such a kind as to make Hirsch, and with him Austria, hated in Turkey and to prevent Turkey from getting a coherent railway network after all. Besides, anything that weakened Turkey financially was advantageous to Russia — relatively speaking. So Nedim does his deal. Hirsch pays him for selling Turkey to *him* and Russia pays him again just for selling Turkey. The fact is that Russian diplomacy does business in the grand manner, with none of your small shopkeeper's niggardly, envious eye to his competitors and hence, if there's no other way of doing it, it can even permit an adversary like Austria an apparent or momentary advantage and nevertheless turn this to its own account.

Kindest regards to you and Kautsky.

Yours,
F. E.

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## 138

## MARX TO ENGELS [72]

### IN LONDON

[Algiers,] Friday, 28 April 1882

Dear Fred,

Received your letter and the *Kölnische Zeitungs*.

This note is simply to inform you that I shall be leaving Algiers on

[a] Abdul Hamid II

2 May (Tuesday) on the same *Said* and with the same *commandant*[a] Mr Mace, '*lieutenant de vaisseau*',[b] as brought me to Algiers. Last Wednesday I paid a visit to a French squadron of 6 ironclads; naturally I inspected the flagship, *Le Colbert*, where a petty officer, a handsome, intelligent lad, showed me around and demonstrated everything in detail. As I took my leave he told me in typically French fashion that he was sick of his boring duties and hoped to get his discharge *bientôt*.[c] I and my companions (3 *co-locataires*[d] from the Hôtel Victoria) were not allowed on board until after 'duties'. So we watched the manoeuvres of the flagship and the 5 other ironclads from our boat, alias skiff, as we rowed to and fro. There is to be a 'ball' on the *Colbert* tomorrow afternoon. I could have got hold of an invitation card for this, too, through Fermé, but there wasn't time. For on Tuesday (25 *Avril*) I was given my final examination by Stephann; no more *tatouement*[e] with collodion; *quo-ad*[f] a recurrence of pleurisy ALTOGETHER ABSOLVED; however I'm to see him tomorrow (Saturday) at 3 o'clock to get his written diagnosis and take my leave of him. The weather is now very hot on occasion, but IN FACT a hurricane—with sirocco storms coming and going—has persisted (uninterruptedly at night, in repeated gusts during the day) throughout the week (including TO-DAY). That is the reason why my cough has not responded hitherto; HENCE high time to flee Algiers.

Best wishes to all.

Your
OLD Moor

Apropos; because of the sun, I have done away with my prophet's beard and my crowning glory but (in deference to my daughters) had myself photographed before offering up my hair on the altar of an Algerian barber. I shall receive the photographs next Sunday (30 April). *Specimina* will be sent to you from Marseilles. On inspection you will observe that, CONSIDERING the 8 whole weeks (during which I did not in fact have one day of complete repose) of painting with collodion (after the manner of Ludwig of Bavaria [306]), *j'ai fait encore bonne mine à mauvais jeu*.[g]

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[a] captain - [b] Lieutenant Commander - [c] soon - [d] fellow lodgers - [e] painting - [f] as to - [g] I am still putting a good face on things.

## 139

## MARX TO JENNY LONGUET

### IN ARGENTEUIL

[Algiers,] 28 April 1882

Dearest Child,

Only 2 lines: I think only seaside living can help poor Harry. You ought — *if possibly* — lose no time to get him and his brothers[a] to Normandy. It is childish to fancy that in any case I should return to England without a previous visit to you and my grandsons, whether we meet in Normandy, at Paris, or elsewhere.

As to my health, it proceeds favourably; otherwise Dr Stephann would not allow me to leave 'Africa'. I think, 2 weeks or so, will suffice for the 'transitory' stadium at the Riviera.

My best wishes, dearest child,

Old Nick

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## 140

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [113]

### IN ZURICH

London, 3 May 1882

Dear Mr Bernstein,

Could you not send me some additional offprints of the article on early Christianity[b] or further copies of the relevant issue? I should like to have them very much and they would come in useful for prop-

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[a] Jean, Edgar and Marcel - [b] F. Engels, 'Bruno Bauer and Early Christianity'.

aganda purposes. I should send them to people who don't otherwise see the *Sozialdemokrat*; 3 or 4 would suffice.

Encl. a note which is of interest in that it gives evidence of the colossal speed with which the concentration of capitals is taking place in America. UNITED STATES BONDS are *Staatsschuldscheine der Vereinigten Staaten*. N.Y.C. and H. R. STOCK are the shares of the NEW YORK CENTRAL and HUDSON RIVER Railroad; REAL ESTATE = *Grundbesitz*.

A dollar is slightly more than 4 marks = roughly 4 marks = 5 frs.

Delighted to see that people everywhere are supporting the *Sozialdemokrat* against the whines of the milksops.

Darwin's letter was of course addressed to Marx and was an extremely kind one.[307] But beware of the article by Lafargue in the *Citoyen* of 28 April on '*La sélection darwinienne et les classes régnantes*' which he concludes with the discovery of a new Amphioxus; it's too funny for words. Lafargue is in Paris and I have just written to him[284] pouring frightful scorn on his *Amphioxus Lafargii*.

Best wishes.

Yours,
F. E.

Don't let the Society here[8] mislead you about the DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION.[158] So far, the latter has been of no importance at all. Its leader is an ambitious parliamentary candidate by the name of Hyndman, a former Conservative; only with the help of the Irish and with specifically Irish aims in view can he succeed in staging a big meeting, and when he does he plays third fiddle; otherwise the Irish would tell him where to get off.

Gladstone has made a dreadful ass of himself — his Irish policy has failed utterly; is having to drop Forster and the LORD LIEUTENANT of Ireland, Cowper Temple (whose father was a Palmerston on his mother's side),[a] and say *pater peccavi*[b]; the Irish Members of Parliament have been released, the Coercion Bill has not been extended, part of the farmers' rent arrears are to be cancelled, another part to be taken over by the state against fair amortisation.[308] On the other hand, the TORIES have now got to the stage of wanting to salvage whatever there is to be salvaged; thus, before the farmers *take possession* of the land,

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[a] Engels confuses Francis Thomas Cowper with William Cowper-Temple, who was the son of the 5th Earl Cowper. After the latter's death his widow married, as her second husband, Lord Palmerston.- [b] Father, I have sinned (Luke 15:18).

they are to discharge their rents with state assistance on the Prussian mode so that the landlords do actually get *something*! The Irish have really made dawdling John Bull get a move on. That's what comes of shooting! [309]

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## 141

## MARX TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN LONDON

Monte Carlo, 6 May 1882
Hôtel de Russie

My dear Cacadou,

Only a few hours since I arrived here at Monte Carlo.[310] I even doubt whether I shall find the time enough to indite a letter announced already to Engels (at all events he will but receive it a day later).

For the present I am obliged to run about on different errands. I enclose one photo for you, another for Fred [a]; no art can make the man look worse.

Old Nick

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[a] Engels

# 142

## MARX TO ENGELS [72]

### IN LONDON

Monte Carlo, 8 May 1882
Hôtel de Russie

DEAR FRED,

2 or 3 weeks before I left Algiers (at the beginning of May),[310] the meteorologists had already forecast storms at sea. In fact, during my last days in Africa, the sirocco blew itself out and very hot weather set in, spoilt, however, by gusts of wind, eddies of dust and unexpected, if temporary and often short-lived, drops in temperature. During that same time my bronchial catarrh grew worse and has not yet been properly subdued. The storm at sea (during the night of 4 to 5 May) was such that, even in the cabin, there was an appreciable draught. It was pouring when I arrived in Marseilles (on the morning of 5 May), and continued to rain all the way to Nice. I even imported *one wet day* (yesterday) into Monte Carlo; glorious weather today. So you see how constant I have remained, for until I arrived it hadn't rained for months in Nice or Monte Carlo. But this time it was just badinage, not real earnest as in Algiers.

In Nice, where I spent the 5th and 6th, I soon discovered that the wind could be very capricious and that a uniform, even temperature was by no means to be expected. Today my brief experience was confirmed by Dr Delachaux, *médecin-chirurgien*[a] (lives at Interlaken), who is staying at the same hotel here. He has spent his holiday touring Nice and its environs, and the most famous places on the Riviera * generally, so far with an eye to business as to ascertain which places he might best recommend to sufferers of lung diseases, bronchial catarrh of a chronic character, etc. He declared decidedly against Nice, but preferred Monte Carlo even to Menton.* Dr Delachaux returns to his native Switzerland today.

You will know EVERYTHING about the charm exerted by the beauties of nature here, whether from your own observations,[311] or from paintings and printed descriptions. Many of its features vividly recall those of Africa.

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[a] doctor and surgeon

As regards a 'warm, dry atmosphere', it will soon, generally speaking, be available everywhere. The sun-spots indicate that there will be intense activity of the rays, and a drought is feared in France.

FOR CONSCIENCE SAKE I shall consult Kunemann, a German doctor, here tomorrow. I have with me Dr Stephann's written diagnosis (only on looking at his visiting card do I see that Stephann is also *Professeur suppléant à l'Ecole de Médecine*[a] at the faculty of Algiers) which will spare me further talkee-talkee.—As soon as Stephann declared that I was rid of my pleurisy, I at once began, as prescribed by him (Stephann), to embrocate with tincture of iodine all the spots on the upper part (left) of my chest and back. Since the time I boarded the ship until TO-DAY I have discontinued these operations which would in any case be 'difficult' for me to carry out in person on my own back, despite Dr Delachaux's advice that I should attempt it with the help of a mirror. *Qui vivra verra.*[b] At all events, I shall speak to Dr Kunemann first.I am anxious to get out and about in the open air as much as I can.

Practically all the Parisian and Italian papers and periodicals are to be found in the reading room of the Monte Carlo Casino; a fair selection of German papers, very few English. I read in the *Petit Marseillais* of today's date about '*l'assassinat de lord Cavendish et de M. Burke*'.[312] The public here, e.g. my table-d'hôte companions in the Hôtel de Russie, is, by contrast, more interested in what goes on in the Casino's *salles de jeu* (*tables de roulette et de trente-et-quarante*).[c] I was particularly amused by a son of Albion, sulky, ill-tempered and bewildered, AND WHY? Because he had lost a certain number of yellow boys, whereas he had been absolutely intent on 'copping' the same. He couldn't understand that not even British boorishness is able 'TO BULLY' fortune.

These lines must be my last since letters from here have first to be sent to the post office in Monaco by messenger.

Kindest regards to all.

Your

Moor

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[a] Assistant lecturer at the School of Medicine - [b] Here: We shall see. - [c] gaming rooms (roulette and trente-et-quarante tables)

## 143

## MARX TO JENNY LONGUET [72]

IN ARGENTEUIL

Monte Carlo, 8 May 1882
Hôtel de Russie, Monte Carlo

Dear Jennychen,

The said *Monte Carlo*, whence I send you these lines, is one of the 3 places (adjoining one another) whose trinity constitutes the state of 'Monaco' (i. e. Monaco, Condamine and Monte Carlo). A really beautiful situation. Climate preferable to that of Nice or even Menton.

I need hardly say that with comical consistency I imported into the region *the first 2 rainy days* (since January); it would seem that they were only awaiting my arrival from Algiers for this to happen. Apart from that I struck magnificent weather.

As you will have learnt from my last letter,[a] I am quit of my pleurisy; the bronchial catarrh can only clear up very gradually. Moreover the atmosphere will soon be warm and dry *everywhere* (which, however, raises fears of a water shortage); the intensity of the sun's action will be all the greater for its being strewn with large spots. So everywhere there will soon be the kind of weather I need.

As I am not sure how long I shall be staying here, I should like you to let me know at once from Paris *where* I can find you; it would be best if you *telegraphed* me here, for a telegram will give me sufficient information in 3 or 4 words.

Lots of kisses for the children.

Your
Old Moor

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[a] See this volume, p. 250.

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## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [113]

IN ZURICH

London, 10 May [313] 1882

Dear Mr Bernstein,

My afternoon having already been broken into, I shall employ it in writing to you. As regards the Virgin Mary-Isis, that was a point upon which I could not enlarge, if only for reasons of space.[314] Like all hagiolatry, the Marian cult belongs to a much later period than the one I am considering (a time when it was clerical policy to produce in the persons of the saints a new version of the polytheistic peasantry's numerous tutelary gods), and finally it would be necessary to provide historical *proof* of the derivation, which would demand specialised study. The same applies to the gloria and moonlight. In the imperial days of Rome, by the way, the cult of Isis was part of the state religion.

*Bimetallism.*[3] The main thing — particularly after many of the 'leaders' have been so frightfully cock-a-hoop about our party's superiority over the bourgeois in matters of economics, a superiority of which those gentlemen are totally innocent — the main thing is that we should beware of inviting censure in this field as is unblushingly done by the said gentlemen the moment they think it will serve to flatter a particular kind of worker, win an electoral victory or gain some other advantage. Thus, because silver is mined in Saxony, they think it in order to dabble in the bimetallist nonsense. So to catch a few more votes, our party is to go and make an immortal ass of itself in the very sphere which is *supposed* to be its forte!

But that's our literary gents all over! Just like the bourgeois literati, they think themselves entitled to the privilege of learning nothing and laying down the law about everything. They have, for our benefit, concocted a hotch-potch of literature which, for ignorance of economics, new-fangled utopianism and arrogance, has yet to find an equal, and Bismarck did us a tremendous favour by banning it.

When we speak of bimetallism today, it is not so much bimetallism generally as the specific case of bimetallism in which the ratio of gold to silver is, say, $15^1/_2 : 1$. A distinction must therefore be drawn here.

Bimetallism is becoming daily more impracticable in that the ratio

of the value of silver to that of gold which, at one time, was at least fairly constant and changed only gradually, is now subject to daily and violent fluctuations, the initial tendency being for the value of silver to fall as a result of the colossal increase in production, especially in North America. The exhaustion of gold is an invention of the silver barons. But whatever the cause of the change in value, it remains a fact and that is what concerns us first of all. Silver is becoming daily less capable of serving as a measure of value, whereas gold is not.

The ratio of the value of the two is now about $17^1/_2 : 1$. But the silver people want to reimpose upon the world the old ratio of $15^1/_2 : 1$, and that is just as impossible as maintaining the price of mechanically produced yarn and cloth everywhere and for all time at that of manually produced yarn and cloth. The die does not determine the value of the coin, it is merely a guarantee, for the recipient, of weight and standard and can never confer on $15^1/_2$ lbs of silver the value of $17^1/_2$.

All this is dealt with so lucidly and exhaustively in *Capital*, chapter on money (Chap. III, pp. 72-120) [315] that there's nothing more to add. For material relating to more recent fluctuations, cf. Soetbeer: *Edelmetall — Produktion und Werthverhältnis etc.* (Gotha, Perthes, 1879). Soetbeer is the leading authority in this sphere, and the father of German currency reform — even before 1840 he was advocating a 'mark' equivalent to $^1/_3$ taler.

Hence, if silver is minted at $15^1/_2$ lbs = 1 lb. gold, it flows back into the state treasuries, everyone wants to be rid of it. That's what the United States discovered in the case of its silver dollar minted to the old standard and worth only 90 c., as did Bismarck when he tried forcibly to put back into circulation the silver talers that had been withdrawn and replaced by gold.

Mr Dechend, the chairman of the Bank, imagines that bimetallism will enable him to pay off Germany's external debts in bad silver instead of gold at full value, and thus avoid any kind of gold crisis, something that would certainly be most convenient for the Reichsbank if only it were feasible. But all that is forthcoming is the proof provided by Mr Dechend himself, that he is totally unfitted to preside over a bank and would be more at home at a school desk than a board-room table.

Your Prussian Junker, too, would certainly be happy if the mortgages he contracted in silver at $15^1/_2 : 1$ could be repaid or serviced in silver at $17^1/_2 : 1$. And since this would necessarily occur inside the country, it would be perfectly feasible for debtors to rook their credi-

tors by this means — provided only the aristocracy could find people to lend them silver at $17^1/_2:1$ in order that they might make repayments at $15^1/_2:1$. For their own means certainly do not permit them to make repayments. But they would, of course, be compelled to accept their silver at $15^1/_2$ and thus, so far as they were concerned, everything would remain as before.

As regards the German production of silver, its extraction from *German* ore dwindles yearly in importance as compared with (Rhenish) extraction from *South American* ore. Total production in Germany in 1876 amounted to about 280,000 lbs, of which 58,000 were from South American ore; since that time this figure has risen considerably.

That the debasing of silver to the status of a fractional currency must depress the value of silver still further is obvious; the use of silver for purposes other than money is minimal, nor is it likely to show a rapid increase because demonetisation throws more silver on to the market.

It is inconceivable that England should ever introduce bimetallism. No country that is on the gold standard could re-introduce bimetallism *now* and on a permanent basis. In any case, *universal* bimetallism does not admit of general application; if all men were to agree today that silver was once more to be worth $15^1/_2:1$, they could not alter the fact that it is worth only $17^1/_2:1$, and there's absolutely nothing to be done about it. One might just as well decide that twice two equals five.

During our early days of exile Bamberger did us many a good turn; he was a decent and obliging man, secretary to Karl of Brunswick. We subsequently lost sight of him.[316]

Kindest regards,

Yours,
F. E.

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## 145

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN LEIPZIG

London, 16 May 1882

Dear Bebel,

I have been long meaning to write to you. Particularly since I don't know whether Marx has answered your last letter.[317] He several times promised me that he would, but you know how it is when one is ill. So today I have at last got round to it.

Marx first went to the Isle of Wight,[234] but the weather there was cold and wet. Then to Algiers via Paris. Caught cold again during the journey, encountering more wet, chilly weather in Algiers, later succeeded by rapid variations in temperature. Once again his cold assumed the form of pleurisy, less severe than his first attack here, but long drawn-out. Now he is thoroughly recovered and, since it has at last got really hot in Africa, has fled to Monte Carlo, the gaming establishment of the Prince of Monaco.[a] As soon as the summer has really begun, he will leave and join Madame Longuet and her children on the Normandy coast; is unlikely to be back before the beginning of July. All he has got to do now is shake off once and for all his obstinate cough, and in this he will probably succeed. He had his photograph taken in Algiers and is looking quite his old self again.

It is a great misfortune that you, of all people, should have suffered defeat in elections which otherwise went off so splendidly.[222] Your presence was doubly necessary in view of the many new, and in some cases unreliable, elements that have got in. Indeed it would seem that, at the start, a number of not very edifying blunders were perpetrated. Now things seem to be going rather better. I was therefore doubly delighted (and Marx no less so) by the courageous attitude of the *Sozialdemokrat*, which did not hesitate to come out unequivocally against the whining and pusillanimity of Breuel & Co., even when deputies such as Blos and Geiser came out in favour of it.[318] We, too, were appealed to, and Viereck wrote me a very pathetic letter about the paper whereat I informed him of my view in altogether amiable if no uncertain terms [284] and, since that time, have heard nothing more

[a] Charles III

of him. Hepner, too, has passed this way, 'sick at heart and poor of purse'[a] and terribly sorry for himself; he had written a very indifferent little pamphlet [262] from which I could see how greatly he had deteriorated morally. The chief plaint in both cases was that the *Sozialdemokrat* failed to take account of the laws presently in force in Germany, the contents of the paper being such that its distributors were had up by the German courts for *lèse majesté*, high treason, etc. Yet it is perfectly evident from the paper itself and the reports of the proceedings against our people that, whatever the circumstances, and no matter how the paper was written, those swine on the bench would find some pretext for committing them. To write a paper in such a way as to afford no handle to the said judges is an art that has yet to be discovered. And, what is more, these gentlemen forget that an organ as weak-kneed as they desire would drive our people pretty well *en masse* into Most's camp. However, I shall none the less advise Bernstein,[b] to whom we have otherwise lent our moral support whenever possible, to modulate the tone of moral indignation a bit by the use of irony and derision, for such a tone, if it is not to become boring, has to be so stepped up as ultimately to become ridiculous.

Singer came to see me the day before yesterday and from him I learned that the forwarding address is still all right, something I was not quite sure about since we haven't used it for so long. He has another drawback. He belongs to those who regard the nationalisation of anything as a semi-, or at all events pre-, socialist measure and are therefore secret devotees of protective tariffs, tobacco monopoly, nationalised railways, etc. These prevarications are the legacy of the unduly one-sided fight against Manchesterism [176] and, because they facilitate debate in a middle-class and 'eddicated' environment, enjoy a considerable following particularly among those bourgeois and academic elements who have come over to us. You in Berlin, he tells me, recently debated the point, he being luckily outvoted. We cannot, for the sake of such minor considerations, afford to discredit ourselves either politically or economically. I tried to make him see that in our view 1. protective tariffs are quite the wrong thing for Germany (not, however, for America), because our industry has expanded and become a viable exporter under free trade, but for it to be a viable exporter, competition from foreign semi-manufactures on the home market is absolutely essential; that the iron industry, which produces

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[a] A paraphrase from Goethe's 'Der Schatzgräber'. - [b] See this volume, pp. 288-89.

4 times more than is required by the home market, uses the protective tariff only against the *home market* while selling *abroad*, as the facts go to show, at give-away prices; 2. that the tobacco monopoly is nationalisation on so minute a scale that it can't even do duty for an example in the debate nor, for that matter, do I give a damn whether or not Bismarck puts it into effect since either way it must eventually redound to our benefit; 3. that the nationalisation of railways is of benefit only to the shareholders who sell their shares above value, but of no benefit at all to us because we should be able to deal as summarily with one or two big companies as with the state, once we had the latter; that the joint-stock companies have already provided proof of the extent to which the bourgeois as such is redundant, in as much as the management is wholly in the hands of salaried officials, nor would nationalisation provide any further argument. However, he had got the thing too firmly fixed in his mind and agreed with me only to the extent of admitting that, from a political viewpoint, your dismissive attitude was the only correct one.

Time for the post. Kindest regards to yourself and Liebknecht.

Your
F. E.

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## 146

## MARX TO ENGELS [72]

IN LONDON

Monte Carlo (Monaco), 20 May 1882
Hôtel de Russie

*PRIVATELY*

DEAR FRED,

It would be pointless to impart all this to the children, since it would alarm them unnecessarily. But I must tell SOMEBODY AT LEAST about what I have just gone through.

In my last letter (I don't know exactly whether I wrote to you direct, or to Tussy or to Laura), I said I would let you have further details after my encounter with Dr Kunemann.[a] This took place on 8th May; he is an Alsatian, a scientifically (medically) educated man; e. g. he told me about Dr Koch on the bacillus before I got your letter[284]; has a large practice; 52-54 years old at the very least, since he was a student at Strasbourg university in 1848; politically, he has found the paper *Le Temps* to be the organ that corresponds most closely to his temperament; science, he said, had convinced him that progress could only be 'slow'; no revolutionary upheaval — for otherwise, progress would, in consequence, be forced to 'double back' almost as far as it had come (as in the Echternach procession,[319] *p. e.*[b]); first prerequisite, education of the masses and 'non-masses', etc. IN ONE WORD, POLITICALLY, A REPUBLICAN PHILISTINE; I mention this merely to show why I didn't go into such matters with him aside from discussing the 'Machiavellian' politics of Charles III, absolute tyrant of Monaco. He regards me as an 1848 man and, apart from that date, I vouchsafed no further particulars as to the rest of my PUBLIC ACTIVITY. Now to the matter in hand. Originally he concluded from my *visiting card*, which has Dr on it and which I had had conveyed to him through his maid, that I was a Dr of Med., his view being further confirmed by *Dr Stephann's card* which I handed to him, ditto those of *my new medical acquaintance*[c] from Interlaken, and of Dr Donkin, whom I mentioned as the friend of my friend Prof. Ray Lankester, since he wished to know who had treated me in London, etc. Then I gave him Stephann's *consultation écrite*[d] to read.

Well, since he regarded me as a medical colleague, EITHER THEORETICALLY OR PRACTICALLY, he freely spoke his mind after having ausculated and percussed me. And to my horror, the *pleurisy had returned*, even if not in so severe a form, *being confined to one spot on the left of my back*; bronchitis, on the other hand, pretty well — *chronic*! He thought that 1 or 2 *vésicatoires*[e] might put paid to the thing (*pleurésie*); during *9 May* (*Mardi*)[f] first *vésicatoire*, *on 13 May* (*Samedi*)[g] only my 2nd visit to Kunemann, second *vésicatoire* prescribed; could not be applied until 16 May (*Mardi*) after my skin had dried up; I visited him on *19 May* (Friday); ausculation and percussion; found an improvement, the

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[a] See this volume, p. 254. - [b] *par exemple*, for example - [c] Delachaux - [d] written diagnosis - [e] vesicatories - [f] Tuesday - [g] Saturday

*épanchement*[a] in particular being reduced to almost nothing; he suggested (these doctors are always afraid that their patient will grow restive, the whole of this week having been *plus ou moins*[b] ruined and tormented) that to continue with *vésicatoires* was no longer essential; I need do no more than embrocate with TINCTURE OF iodine (prescribed by Stephann for bronchial trouble), this time the upper *as well as the lower* places on my left side, chest and back. I thereupon declared that, if the *épanchement* had not altogether disappeared, I would, on the contrary, prefer another *vésicatoire* (on 23 May, *Mardi*); I had, I said, been told by Dr Stephann that in cases of pleurisy tincture of iodine was an ineffectual, uncertain antidote which only served to prolong the trouble. My plumping for the heroic remedy was obviously far more agreeable to Dr Kunemann himself; I now hope that, on 26 or 27 May, he will [tell] me this 2nd *rechute*[c] is the FINAL one (*pro nunc*[d]).

Indeed, as regards [myself], 'fate' would seem on this occasion to have displayed an alarming consistency — almost, one might say, as in Dr Müllner's tragedies.[320] Why does Dr Kunemann declare my bronchial condition (and I already knew I would be told as much) to be thus 'chronic'? Because the weather throughout the Riviera has been so exceptionally bad, has taken such an abnormal turn; but he suggested that this might be normal to the extent that *from January to the beginning of May*, there had been too little rain — virtually none; the weather had been too warm and fine and a reaction to it must have set in. I explained this to him more simply by pointing out that all this must be blamed on my arrival from Algiers; I had brought rain with me to Marseilles on the 4th May and, with some reluctance, the weather in the place of my present abode had — *mutatis mutandis*[e] — assumed the character of the 'bad weather' I had recently gone through in Algeria. Much patience is demanded, especially on the part of the recipients of my letters. Such repetitiveness is altogether too boring. A pointless, arid, not to say expensive, existence!

Tomorrow I shall write to Tussy,[f] since her unanswered letter dates back furthest. Today it's awkward for me since the new skin formed after the *vésicatoire* still tends, when I stoop, to rub painfully against my coat or shirt. *Notabene*: What I write and tell the children

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[a] effusion - [b] more or less - [c] relapse - [d] for the time being - [e] allowing for different circumstances - [f] See next letter.

is the truth, but *not the whole truth.* What's the point of alarming them?

Your
Moor

Dr Kunemann's error about my being a '*medical*' *colleague* was cleared up when, at the end of my first visit, he refused payment; was all the more honeyed when I informed him that, as a *layman*, I should have to 'shell out'.

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## 147

## MARX TO ELEANOR MARX

IN LONDON

[Postcard]

Monte Carlo (Monaco), 21 May 1882
Hôtel de Russie

Dearest Child,

Your being my oldest creditor, I had in fact intended writing today (Sunday) a long letter, but *l'homme propose, mais le thermomètre dispose. Il y a aujourd'hui un jour parfaitement beau, mais* exceptionnel: *donc je veux l'exploiter en air libre, au lieu 'd'écrire', et de ne pas écrire le soir. C'est convenu avec mes conseillers de santé.*[a]

Before leaving *ami*[b] Fermé, I told him: On landing at the Southern coast of France, the weather at once will come out a turn-coat. And indeed — so 'fatal' a man I pride myself upon this my quality — the prophecy has been partially fulfilled. From the *beginning of January* the Riviera enjoyed a summer weather never so brilliant, some grumblers

[a] man proposes but the thermometer disposes. Today is a wonderfully fine day, but it's *exceptional.* Accordingly I intend to take advantage of it in the open air instead of 'writing', and to desist from writing in the evening. That has been agreed with my medical advisers. - [b] friend

only complaining of an absolute lack of rain almost. The moment I arrived on the 4th May at Marseille, there set in rain, lasting sometimes a whole, more generally a half day, and mostly during the nights; a general lowering of temperature; then and there cold winds; altogether changeable, variable weather; atmosphere, even if not often, too saturated with aqueous vapours. With all that, here *a relatively good warm weather*, only not so dry and more constant than I want just now for my lungs. But nowhere in Italy or elsewhere you will find it a better one now: Cannes, Monte Carlo and Mentone are the three most healthsome places, of the most *equable* and *on an average*—warmer temperature than Nizza, Rome and Naples.

Yours,
Old Nick

[On the side reserved for the address]

Miss Marx
41 Maitland Park Road
Maitland *Park*
London (N. W.) (*Angleterre*)

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## 148

## MARX TO JENNY LONGUET

### IN ARGENTEUIL

[Postcard]

Monte Carlo, 26 May 1882
Hôtel de Russie

Dearest Child,

I am always happy to receive a letter from you, though regretting that your Old Nick steals some time of your night's rest.

My health is improving with the weather; possibly I shall perhaps at the beginning of June go to Cannes, and remain there for a week or

so. Everything depends of medical advice, and the character of the summer opening in June.

[As to] Lafargue's (I mean the *man's of Cuba*) paper[a] has committed great blunders, mostly from ignorance, and the childish aspiration 'to go as far as possible'.

As to the *Bataille*, I have seen till now not anything brilliant. In fact I do know it only to No. 4; but I will have always the time to see that!

My heart is with you and the children; I yearn for them. However, I shall, after a series of most disagreeable 'medical' experiments, precipitate nothing. With all that, I hope to be soon with them.

Your
Old Nick

[On the side reserved for the address]

Madame Charles Longuet
11, Boulevard Thiers, Argenteuil
près Paris

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## 149

## MARX TO ELEANOR MARX [72]

IN LONDON

Monte Carlo, 28 May 1882
Hôtel de Russie

Dear Tussychen,

There was nothing from Bebel either in Engels' letter [321] or your letter which I got yesterday evening. It must have remained in London by mistake. AT ALL EVENTS, I WASH MY HANDS OF IT.

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[a] *L'Égalité*

Today 24 degrees in the shade, and summer temperatures have generally prevailed here ever since the date of my last postcard to you[a] (although the sky isn't as completely cloudless as the *cognoscenti* of this place demand). In such circumstances, my lengthy report has come to nothing for all my 'good intentions'; not that anything of much value is lost thereby.

As regards the sea-crossing from Algiers, nothing need be said save that it was made in unfavourable weather conditions; during the night of 4 to 5 May, in particular, there was a violent storm that turned my cabin (which, for good measure, I had to share with a philistine businessman from Lyons) into a veritable wind tunnel. It was cold and pouring with rain when we arrived off Marseilles in the early morning (5 May). The STEAMER didn't actually go right in, so the passengers and baggage had to be taken off by boat and, for their further delectation, spend several hours in a cold, draughty *douane-purgatorio*[b] until the time came for them to depart for Nice. Those chilling 'moments' *détraquaient plus ou moins de nouveau ma machine*[c] and, in Monte Carlo, once more precipitated me *entre les mains d'un Esculape*[d]; for I have no need of such when it's merely a question of treating the 'bronchial trouble' since all I have to do is follow Dr Stephann's instructions. In a few days' time (next Tuesday, 30 May, perhaps) I expect to be given a clean bill of health by Dr Kunemann. So whatever happens I shan't be leaving this den of thieves before the beginning of June. Whether I stay on or not is for Dr Kunemann to decide. The sensitivity of people suffering from disorders of the respiratory organs (who by the same token are also more liable to a relapse) is greater in what is normally a favourable climate. In the North, for instance, a sudden draught would not instantly evoke the spectre of pleurisy, bronchitis and the like, whereas in Algiers your French philistine must always [be] on his guard against them. A Madame Fleury, here in the Hôtel de Russie, was sent to Cannes from Paris because of her bronchitis. She recovered completely during March and April, enjoyed climbing the hills, etc. By way of an after-cure and distraction, she then left Cannes for Monte Carlo, a quite short 2-hour journey during which she caught cold while in Antibes station — and is now in worse case than previously in Paris. One hears of visitors to this place who haven't

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[a] See this volume, pp. 264-65. - [b] customs purgatory - [c] again more or less threw my machine out of gear - [d] into the hands of an Aesculapius

come simply to gamble and enjoy themselves, and of whom 9 out of every 10 undoubtedly fall victim to '*rechutes*'.[a]

Goethe, when he applauds a man for 'sloughing' his old snake's skin,[b] does not in all likelihood see the sloughing of artificially produced '*fausses peaux*'[c] as part of the rejuvenation process.

Another time, when it isn't as 'sweltering' as it is today, I must really tell you something about this Principality of Gerolstein (not even Offenbach's music is wanting, or Mademoiselle Schneider,[322] or, indeed, the spruce and dapper *carabiniers*[d] — not 100 all told). Nature here magnificent and art has actually improved on it,— I refer to the gardens, conjured out of the barren rock, which cover the steep incline from top to bottom, often going right down to the exquisitely blue sea, like the terraces of the hanging gardens of Babylon. But the economic basis of Monaco-Gerolstein is the casino; if it were to close tomorrow it would be all up with Monaco-Gerolstein — the whole of it. I dislike visiting the gaming room; it reminds me that at the *table d'hôte*,[e] in the cafés, etc., almost the only topic that is talked or whispered about is the *tables de roulette et de trente et quarante*.[f] Every now and again something is won, as for instance 100 frs by a young Russian lady (wife of a Russian diplomat-cum-agent) (she is one of the guests at the Hôtel de Russie) who, in return, loses 6,000 frs, while someone else can't keep enough for the journey home; others gamble away the whole of large family fortunes; very few take away a share of the plunder — few of the gamblers, I mean, and those that do are almost without exception rich. There can be no question of intelligence or calculation here; no one can count with any probability on being favoured by 'chance' unless he can venture a considerable sum. But I can understand the attraction it holds out, particularly for *le beau sexe*[g]; *les mondaines*[h] not less than the *demi-mondaines*, SCHOOL-GIRLS and bourgeoises alike ALL PUSH ON, a fact to which this place can supply eyewitnesses and to spare. Apart from Monaco-Gerolstein, which would founder along with the casino, I don't believe that Nice — the rendez-vous in the winter months of the quality and of fortune-hunters alike — could continue to subsist as a fashionable centre without the casino at Monte Carlo. And withal, how childish is the casino by comparison with the Bourse!

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[a] relapses - [b] From Goethe's *Zahme Xenien*, V. - [c] artificial skins - [d] carabineers - [e] Here: in the hotel dining-room. - [f] roulette and trente-et-quarante tables - [g] the fair sex - [h] society women

(This pen and this ink need replacing; they elicit from me the outburst that it requires real artistry to write with them!)

To the right of the casino (where the gambling goes on), almost cheek by jowl with it, is the Café de Paris and next to that a kiosk. This is daily adorned with a placard, not printed, but handwritten and signed with the initials of the quill-pusher; for 600 frs he will provide, in black and white, the secret of the science of winning a million francs with a 1,000 at the *tables de roulette et de trente-et-quarante*. Nor, or so it is said, is it by any means rare for people to fall victim to this confidence trick. Indeed, most of the gamblers, both male and female, believe there is a science in what are pure games of chance; the ladies and gentlemen sit outside the said Café de Paris, IN FRONT of, or on the seats in, the wonderful garden that belongs to the casino, heads bent over little (printed) tables, scribbling and doing sums, while one of them may earnestly expound to another 'what system' he prefers, whether one should play in 'series', etc., etc. It's like watching a bunch of lunatics. However, Grimaldi of Monaco[a] and his Principality of Gerolstein and the lessees of his casino are thriving and are, AFTER ALL, more 'interesting' in the Offenbachian sense than those whom they fleece.

Should I change my address, *I shall send it to you by telegraph*. At all events the return journey, initially to Paris, will be made in stages and 'with caution'.

Love to all,

OLD NICK

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[a] Charles III

## 150

## MARX TO ENGELS [72]

### IN LONDON

[Monte Carlo,] 30 May 1882

DEAR FRED,

After the application (the 3rd in Monte Carlo) of a *vésicatoire* [a] on 23 May I did in fact have another appointment with Dr Kunemann before today, but only in connection with my 'bronchial trouble'. *Quo-ad* [b] my *pleurésie*, however, he found today, after a lengthy final examination, that the *épanchement* [c] was '*gone*'; what remains is so-called *dry pleurésie*; there is no longer any moisture to retard matters; however the sound of one membrane rubbing against the other, to put it in popular if incorrect terms, still remains. He thought it would be beneficial to finish up with one more *vésicatoire* today and then move on to Cannes for *a day or two*, after which I would be able to take myself off to Paris.

He thought I had contracted pleurisy quite accidentally; considering my normal, robust physique I might just as well never have got it, or, by the same token, have done so — accidentally! — as much as 40 years ago. Getting rid of it is harder because of the danger of a relapse.

As I was made to parade my naked charms, front and back, he drew my attention to the fact that, previously, as a result of pleurisy, my left side had swollen by comparison with the right; now it was the other way round, for my left side (I refer to the affected spot) had contracted by contrast with the right, this being the result of my *traitement*.[d] So as to rid myself completely of the last mementoes, as it were, of pleurisy, I am to spend some time *later on* in the mountains where the air is more rarified. My lungs must be 'set to rights' again by gymnastics of this kind, gymnastics imposed upon them by the locality. It was all the more difficult for me to follow the details in that he sought to bring them (the details) home to me in French frequently interspersed with Alsatian German, but also with some

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[a] vesicatory - [b] As to - [c] discharge - [d] treatment

YANKEE-English. However one thing was clear, and that was what Dr Stephann had told me on the first day: Your thorax is what it is, so if spurious tissue takes up some of the space that one lung should occupy, that lung must make do with less space. The said tissue disappears in proportion as the lung re-expands. I have only just left Dr Kunemann, i. e. it's now nearly 6 o'clock in the evening which (6 o'clock) is the latest posting time FOR TO-DAY. *Tomorrow* — because of the final *vésicatoire* to be applied tonight — writing will be OUT OF THE QUESTION; day after tomorrow I shall have to recuperate and so it's 'unlikely' that you'll get any further news before the 2nd or 3rd of June (as I shall also have to pack).

With best wishes.

OLD Moor

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## 151

## MARX TO JENNY LONGUET [72]

### IN ARGENTEUIL

[Postcard]

Cannes, 4 *Juin*[a] 1882

Dearest Child,

I'll come at *some of the first days of the week beginning on the 6th June.* I cannot specify; it will depend on circumstance not to be exactly foreseen. Hence *you oblige me* greatly by not bothering about the exact day or hour of arrival. Till now, I have always found that *nothing has done me more harm than people, at the station, waiting for me.* Do not tell anybody else (*ci-inclus le Gascon, le Russe et le* Hirsch)[b] that I am expected that week. I'll want some absolute quietness *alone with your family, No. 11, Boulevard Thiers.*

Yours,
Old Nick

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[a] June - [b] (this includes the *Gascon* [Lafargue], the Russian [Lavrov] and Hirsch)

By 'quietness' I mean the 'family life', 'the children's noise', that 'microscopic world' more interesting than the 'macroscopic'.

[On the side reserved for the address]

Madame Charles Longuet
11, Boulevard Thiers, Argenteuil
près Paris

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## 152

## MARX TO ENGELS [72]

### IN LONDON

Cannes, 5 *Juin*[a] 1882

DEAR FRED,

ON 30TH MAY (*pro* Monte Carlo) my back last branded; on 31ST MAY post-operative treatment confined me to the house; on 3rd June I was set free by Kunemann and left the same day. He advised me to stay in Cannes for a couple of days, whatever the circumstances,[323] this being essential if only to allow the wounds inflicted on me to 'dry out'.

Thus I have spent an entire month vegetating in this *repaire*[b] of aristocratic idlers or ADVENTURERS. Nature superb, in other respects a dreary hole; it is 'monumental' because consisting solely of hotels; no plebeian 'masses' here, apart from the *garçons d'hotels, de café*, etc., and *domestiques*,[c] who belong to the *Lumpenproletariat*. The old robber's lair on its rocky promontory surrounded on 3 sides by the bay, i. e. *Monaco*, was at least an ancient, crumbling, medieval sort of Italian townlet; on the other hand, *Condamine*, built for the most part low down by the sea, between the 'town' of Monaco and the *maison de jeu*[d] (i. e. Monte Carlo), and growing fast. *Monaco* is, IN THE STRICT SENSE,

[a] June - [b] haunt - [c] waiters in hotels and cafés etc., and servants - [d] gaming establishment

the 'polity', the 'state', the 'government'; *Condamine* is common-or-garden 'petty-bourgeois' society; but Monte Carlo is 'THE PLEASURE', AND, THANKS TO THE *banque de jeu*,[a] THE FINANCIAL BASIS OF THE WHOLE TRINITY. Odd that these Grimaldis should have turned out to be what they have always been; formerly, they lived off piracy and one of them,[b] F.I.,[c] wrote to Lorenzo dei Medici saying their territory was very restricted and, moreover, barren; hence Nature had pointed the way to buccaneering; it would therefore be magnanimous on Lorenzo's part, since they did not 'venture' to hunt down Florentine vessels, if he were to guarantee them an annual 'gratuity'. CONSEQUENTLY Lorenzo paid them a small annual fee.—After the HOLY ALLIANCE'S [266] victory over Napoleon, Talleyrand, who, for his own diversion, had selected from amongst the émigrés that arch-blackguard, the ex-tyrant of Monaco,[d] to be one of the companions—Talleyrand, then, thought it amusing to 'restore' him, the father of 'Florestan',[e] '*au nom du principe de le légitimité*'.[f] The restoration of these 2 men, this COUPLE—him of Hesse-Cassel[g] and him of Monaco—is worthy of a place in a new edition of Plutarch[h]; at the same time, what a contrast between the German 'patriarch' and the Genoese (his main preoccupation, financial loot)!

A grievance nursed in private by our Dr Kunemann is that, when already functioning as physician in ordinary to His Most Serene Highness, the present Charles III (blind as a bat), he (Kunemann) became unacceptable as a result of his liberal principles and had to make way for an Englishman (Dr Pickering). THE SURVIVAL OF THE BEST—i. e. as a little duodecimo tyrant's physician in ordinary—*to a Britisher, of course, warranted by the nature of the beast! And that is the worst; this same Dr Pickering, before being called by natural selection, he had dangerously fallen ill at Monaco, was treated and cured by* Dr Kunemann. There are many such piteous dramas of destiny in this world of ours!

Oddly enough, this hot weather has made my bronchial cough worse rather than better. All the greater 'pretext', of course, for catching cold! Kunemann, by the by, (and the fellow's a first-rate doctor, familiar with English, German and French medical literature, a specialist in diseases of the chest and lungs) is not of your

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[a] casino - [b] Lamberto Grimaldi - [c] for instance - [d] Honoré IV Grimaldi - [e] Florestan I - [f] in the name of the principle of legitimacy - [g] Elector William I - [h] Plutarch, *Vitae parallelae.*

opinion regarding my journey back to Paris. I ought not, he says, to make it by easy stages; the weather is now hot and not only during the day, the nights, too, being warm. The most likely place to catch cold now, he avers, is at railway stations and the more often I break the journey, the greater the probability of *rechutes*[a]; rather, I ought, while in Cannes, to equip myself for the journey with 2 bottles of good old claret. Like Dr Stephann, he bases his view on the grounds that, in the treatment of pleurisy like that of bronchitis, etc., the stomach should be treated as the *basis*; eat well and amply even if it goes against the grain, and 'accustom' oneself to so doing; 'drink' 'decent stuff' and go for drives, etc., to distract oneself, if not allowed to walk, climb, etc., much; think as little as possible, etc.

So, having followed these 'directions', I am well on the way to 'idiocy', and for all that have not rid myself of the bronchial catarrh.

A consoling thought for me is that it was bronchitis that sent old Garibaldi to his 'eternal rest'.[324] Of course, AT A CERTAIN AGE it becomes completely INDIFFERENT how one may be 'LAUNCHED INTO ETERNITY'.

I have been here since 3 June,[b] and shall be leaving this evening. In Nice and, on this occasion likewise in *Cannes*, where it is exceptional, a *strong (if warm) wind and eddies of dust*. Nature, too, can evince a certain philistine humour (after the manner, already humorously anticipated in the Old Testament, of the serpent feeding on dust, cf. the dusty diet of Darwin's worms[325]). Similarly, there is a vein of natural wit that runs all through the Riviera's local press. On 24 May, for instance, there was a terrible *orage*,[c] notably at *Menton*; lightning struck close *auprès de la gare*[d] (of Menton) and tore the sole off a passing philistine's shoe while leaving the rest of the philistine intact.

With love to all.

OLD MOOR

I shall not [let] friends know about my presence in Paris until I've been there a few days. It is still necessary for me to have as little 'intercourse with people'[326] as possible. I shall have a good doctor to consult in the person of Dr Dourlen.

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[a] relapses - [b] May in the ms. - [c] storm - [d] beside the station

## 153

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN LONDON

[Postcard]

Argenteuil, 9 June 1882
11 Boulevard Thiers

DEAR FRED,

As you know, everywhere I go I must, like TICKETS OF LEAVE, report to the doctor nearest to the place where I first take up my abode.[327] Yesterday, therefore, EXAMINATION by Dr Dourlen. *State of health exactly *the same* I left in which it was at Monte Carlo. As to the *bronchite*, I shall for a few weeks try the sulphurous waters of Enghien, about 15 minutes distance from Argenteuil; if this will not work, he wants to send me to the Pyrenées (Cauterets). (The same things had me already told by Dr Kunemann, who, in the last time, commenced to feed me with *pastilles de sulphure.*[a] A specialist[b] at Enghien is a special friend of Dr Dourlen to whom he will give me a letter. Generally Dr Dourlen found the tone and strength of my body much other than when I left; he was even astonished that I was in so good a condition after two* *rechutes et apres 14 vésicatoires.*[c]

*Compliments to all.

Old* Moor

*Longuet brings me every evening the *Standard*, so useless to him. I have not yet written to the Gascon[d][328]; my cough warns me to be careful before seeing friends.*

[On the side reserved for the address]

Frederick Engels, Esq.
122 Regent's Park Road,
London, N. W., *Angleterre*

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[a] sulphur pills - [b] Dr Feugier - [c] relapses and after 14 vesicatories - [d] Paul Lafargue

## 154

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN LONDON

[Postcard]

[Argenteuil,] 15 June 1882

DEAR FRED,

I thought I should be able to report progress over the past week or so. But the *temperature fell* as soon as I arrived, in fact *one day after my arrival.* The weather, therefore, according to what I've been told by Dr Dourlen, as also by his MEDICAL FRIEND[a] in Enghien, won't allow me to begin my sulphur treatment yet. In my former condition, during the happy time when I could smoke, I should have found the weather DELIGHTFUL. True, the sky is overcast more often than not, a bit of rain now and again, gusts of wind, not so much summer as late autumn, but nice weather for all that, if you're in good health!

Yesterday — as a result of a note to St Paul the Gascon[b] — he came to visit me.[328] I WAS GLAD TO SEE HIM. In compliance with my *avis*[c] he will keep silent — *until further orders* — about my presence here.

I go early to bed, get up late, spend a large part of the day with the children and Jennychen and take advantage of every favourable moment to go for a short stroll. All things considered I feel better than AT ANY TIME in Algiers, Monte Carlo or Cannes. It seems likely that the weather too will change for the better here. I shall write you a letter as soon as I've made my first trip to Enghien.

Best wishes to everyone.

Your
Moor

Tussychen has sent Jennychen an interesting eye-witness account of the Hyde Park meeting.[329]

[On the side reserved for the address]

Fr. Engels
122 Regent's Park Road,
London, N. W., *Angleterre*

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[a] Dr Feugier - [b] Paul Lafargue - [c] admonition

## 155

## MARX TO LAURA LAFARGUE [72]

### IN LONDON

[Postcard]

Argenteuil, 17 June 1882
11 Boulevard Thiers

*PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL*

Dearest Child,

I had previously arranged with Engels — as I since explained verbally to Paul[a] — that, as soon as I was able to leave for Switzerland (probably in the latter half of July), *you should accompany me*. In fact I could hardly set forth on this hazardous journey ALONE. So, you see, it's *plus ou moins votre devoir d'accompagner le vieux de la montagne*.[b]

However, as I shall have to stay here for at least another 3 weeks on account of the sulphur treatment at Enghien, I trust that Helen[c] and Tussy will make a SHORT TRIP here during that time. *I have written to Helen and Tussy in that sense.*

Jennychen has invited Lafargue for tomorrow.

*Adio*.

OLD NICK

[On the side reserved for the address]

Madame Paul Lafargue
37 Tremlett Grove, Junction Road,
London, N., Angleterre

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[a] Lafargue - [b] more or less your duty to accompany the old man of the mountain - [c] Demuth

## 156

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[330]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 20 June 1882

Dear Sorge,

I shall attend to your business affairs within the next few days.[331] I am sending the money for the *Égalité* to Lafargue, who is in Paris, and shall extract a receipt from him, however irregular the form it may take. As regards *The Labour Standard* you'll lose nothing if I only arrange for the subscription to run from 1 July; the paper gets more pitiful all the time.

Marx was in Algiers for approx. 2 months where, as I think I told you,[a] he had a relapse of PLEURISY; having been cured of it, he went to Monte Carlo in Monaco and had another but milder one. He left there for Paris approx. 3 weeks ago and is now staying with his daughter, Madame Longuet, in Argenteuil near Paris whence he travels daily to Enghien to avail himself of the local sulphur springs for his chronic bronchial catarrh and cough. His general state of health is very good; as to his further MOVEMENTS, that depends entirely upon the doctors.

The English translation of the *Manifesto* we have been sent is quite unpublishable without total revision. But you will realise that anything of the kind is inconceivable under present circumstances.

I have not seen or heard anything of Leo[b] for months. He's a peculiar cove who must be allowed to go his own way. I have not even got his address. Apropos, for some time I have been receiving communications for Leo from Dr Lilienthal in New York, which I can only deal with via Paris. Who is this Lilienthal?

The Lassalleans' thrustfulness after their arrival in America was inevitable. People who carried the one true gospel in their pack could hardly have behaved with less pretentiousness towards those Americans still languishing in spiritual darkness. Moreover it was for them to find new ground in America to replace that which was being in-

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[a] See this volume, p. 237. - [b] Lev Hartmann

creasingly cut from under their feet in Germany. By way of return we are happily rid of them in Germany; in America, where everything proceeds ten times as quickly, they'll soon be bested.

I trust your eyes will improve through being spared. I too had something of the sort once and know what a vile business it is.

In Germany things are going splendidly on the whole. It is true that the literary gentlemen in the party have tried to bring about a change of front, at once reactionary, bourgeois, tame and cultured, but it has proved a resounding failure. The infamies to which socialist workers everywhere have been subjected have everywhere made them much more revolutionary than they were even 3 years ago. You will have seen the details in the *Sozialdemokrat*. Of the leaders, Bebel is the man who behaved best over the affair. Liebknecht shilly-shallied somewhat, for not only did he himself welcome every 'eddicated' semi-social democrat with open arms while failing to run a careful eye over him, but his son-in-law, that obese sluggard Bruno Geiser, is one of the biggest wailers.[332] Because it makes short work of their literary earnings, these people would like to get rid of the Anti-Socialist Law[16] at any cost and to do so ignominiously by means of moderation and meekness, tameness and toadyism. As soon as the law is repealed (not even the bourgeois believe that it will be renewed either by the present or some other eventual Reichstag, since it has proved totally ineffective), the split will probably be brought out into the open, whereupon your Vierecks, Höchbergs, Geisers, Bloses & Co. will form a separate right wing, in which case we shall be able to negotiate with them as occasion arises, until they eventually come to grief for good and all. We said as much[a] immediately after the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law when Höchberg and Schramm published in the *Jahrbuch*[333] what was, under the circumstances, a quite infamous assessment of the party's activities up till that date, and demanded that the party conduct itself in a more 'eddicated', decorous and presentable manner.[b]

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and Others'. - [b] [K. Höchberg, E. Bernstein and C. A. Schramm,] 'Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland. Kritische Aphorismen von***', *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, 1. Jg., 1. Hälfte, Zurich-Oberstrass, 1879.

My regards to Adolph,[a] have had no sign of life from him. Kindest regards.

Your
F. Engels

Tell Adolph that Pumps has had a little girl.[b]

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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## 157

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN LEIPZIG

London, 21 June 1882

Dear Bebel,

I shall have to answer your letter from memory, having given it to Tussy for forwarding to Marx[c] since when I have not seen it again.

For the past 3 weeks or so Marx has been staying with his daughter[d] at Argenteuil near Paris, is said to be looking very well, brown as a real 'Moor' (this being his nickname, as you know), and in very good humour, his only ailment now being a bronchial cough. In order to get rid of this he has at last had to do Vogt the favour of becoming a member of the Brimstone gang.[334] For he is undergoing a sulphur cure at the neighbouring town of Enghien. What further peregrinations he makes is for the doctors to decide.

That there will ultimately be a show-down with the bourgeois-

[a] Adolph Sorge - [b] Lilian Rosher - [c] See this volume, p. 266. - [d] Jenny Longuet

minded elements in the party and a parting of the ways between right and left wings is something about which I have long harboured no illusions and, indeed, had already declared desirable in my handwritten commentary[a] on the *Jahrbuch* article. That you should have come to take the same view can only be most welcome to us. If I did not expressly mention the point in my last letter,[b] it was because I saw no immediate necessity for a split of this kind. Were the gentlemen to decide of their own free will to form a separate right wing, everything would soon be in order. But they are hardly likely to do so; they know they would be an army consisting solely of officers without soldiers, like the 'Robert Blum column' which came over to us in the 1849 campaign and insisted on fighting only 'under the command of that brave man Willich'.[335] Upon our asking how many effectives went to make up this heroic column, we were told — and you can imagine our mirth — one colonel, eleven officers, a bugler and two men. On top of which the colonel was at great pains to look like a stalwart Schinderhannes and had a horse he was unable to ride.— Every one of these gentry wants to be a leader, but they can't even *act the part* of leader except within our party, and so *they* will take good care not to provoke a schism. On the other hand they know that, subject as we are to the Anti-Socialist Law,[16] *we* too have reasons for avoiding internal splits which we cannot debate in an open forum. Hence we shall have to put up with epistolatory and verbal cabalism and jeremiads from these people until we are again in a position to thrash out inside the country itself and before the workers those points on which we differ as to tactics and principles unless, of course, their antics are such that our hand is forced. Meanwhile the Anti-Socialist Law will, one way or another, shuffle off this mortal coil and, as soon as that's been got rid of, the position, or so it seems to me, must be fairly and squarely stated; what should be done next will automatically emerge from the attitude adopted by these gentry.

Once they have organised a separate right wing we shall be able, as and when occasion arises and in so far as it is admissible, to come to an agreement with them as to common action, or even enter into a compact with them, etc. Although this is unlikely to be necessary: the schism itself will lay bare their impotence. They have neither adherents amongst the masses, nor talent, nor knowledge — all

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and Others'. - [b] See this volume, pp. 259-61.

they have is pretensions, and those in plenty. However, we shall have to wait and see. Whatever happens, it will serve to elucidate the situation and we shall be rid of an element that in no way belongs to us.

There is no need to fear that, in such a case, we shall no longer have any presentable candidates for the Reichstag. That is a pure figment. If a working man in the Reichstag now and then says I when he ought to say me, all we need ask is how long the Hohenzollerns, let alone field marshals, have been able to distinguish between I and me. Frederick William III and his adored Louise perpetrated more howlers in the matter of I and me than did even A. Kapell. And if Bismarck isn't afraid of appointing to his economics council workers who speak ungrammatically, but vote grammatically, can *we* afford to jib? But I know that to many it's an abomination. To us not in the least. And it would put an end to the utterly senseless practice of our deputies, which is supposed to be 'democratic' but isn't, whereby every man must speak in turn. How could any party possess as many good parliamentary speakers as that, and what is supposed to happen when there are, say, 200 of our men in the Reichstag?

But of one thing you may be sure: When it comes to a show-down with these gentry and the party's left wing declares itself, we shall go along with you whatever the circumstances, and do so actively and with our visors up. If I did not contribute to the *Sozialdemokrat* in my own name before,[336] this was due solely to the influence so long exerted upon the paper by these people and the prolonged absence of any guarantee that they would not regain it.

As you know, there's a split in the workers' party in Paris. The *Égalité* people (our best, Guesde, Deville, Lafargue, etc.) were unceremoniously thrown out by those on the *Prolétaire* (Malon, Brousse, etc.) at the recent congress of the Centre of France. The *Sozialdemokrat* rightly censured this procedure in a passage which the *Égalité* translated. Thereupon the *Prolétaire* replied, saying that its own point of view concerning this matter had been put to the German party leadership with whom it had since been in complete accord.[337] Do you know anything about this? The *Prolétaire* people are the most egregious liars; but on the other hand I recall all too many instances of stupendous blunders perpetrated in the Leipzig *Volksstaat* and *Vorwärts* in regard to French affairs and persons. Can you tell me anything about what actually happened? I shall try and let you have the

cutting from the *Prolétaire*. Malon, Brousse & Co. are finding their labours as workers' candidates unduly tedious and are therefore consorting with sundry radical bourgeois and *literati*, and inviting others of that ilk to join forces with them; they imagine that they will thereby get themselves elected more quickly. They are fighting the *Égalité* with the same old infamous weapons used by the Bakuninists.

Your
F. E.

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## 158

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN LONDON

[Argenteuil,] 22 June 1882

DEAR FRED,

Your letter [284] arrived no more than a minute or two before the post which goes damned early. Hence only a few words.

I have not been able to REPORT PROGRESS until today because the sulphur operations were suspended from Sunday[a] until yesterday inclusive on account of the rainy weather and did not begin again until today. AT PRESENT TIME it's devilish cold at Cauterets and the season there doesn't NORMALLY begin until the middle of JULY. So in the event Enghien has proved most opportune, although up till now the weather has not been good enough to permit UNINTERRUPTED use of the *institution thermale*. Other people, who need not be careful about a

[a] 11 June

'*résidu*',[a] wouldn't have to bother so much. Dr Dourlen says that the whole difficulty lies in avoiding anything that might cause a recurrence of pleurisy.

Let the chaps in New York go ahead with their own 'reprint', though they must take care that there are no unauthorised additions.[338]

We shall, then, expect Helen[b] on Sunday.

It is still too early — for I must fight shy of all lengthy conversations just now — to advise Lavrov of my presence. He's just the man to make me prattle on for hours.

Love to Jennychen.[c]

Your
K. M.

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## 159

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN LONDON

[Postcard]

[Argenteuil,] 24 June 1882

DEAR FRED,

I got the REGISTERED LETTER yesterday; today I realised it in Paris. As a result of the present changeable weather I had an attack of muscular rheumatism in the region of my hips; as a result of this and other things a sleepless night from the 22nd to the 23rd on account of severe pain. No food the next day (though absolved my sulphur inhalation at Enghien yesterday); Dourlen called in the evening and helped by embrocating me with laudanum; ALL RIGHT now as regards this INCIDENT, except that slight twinges of muscular rheumatism still persist.

As regards Enghien the first question to be answered — for this depends upon the individual — is whether the local sulphur spring is

[a] residue - [b] Demuth - [c] A slip of the pen in the ms.: Marx probably means his daughter Eleanor.

strong enough. AT ALL EVENTS Reinhardt got rid of his bronchitis here, like Longuet before him. The latter was also at Cauterets *at an earlier time long before his marriage. Its height above the sea level 1200-1400 *mètres* about. I should be very glad if I should not want it for the bronchial catarrh; at all events Cauterets was out of the question for this time. Helen[a] will arrive at St Lazare *gare où*[b] Longuet there to receive her.*

*Salut.*

Your
Moor

[On the side reserved for the address]

F. Engels. Esq.
122 Regent's Park Road,
London, N. W.

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## 160

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN[339]

### IN ZURICH

[London, 26 June 1882]

...In Ireland there are two tendencies within the movement, the first and earliest being the *agrarian*. Out of organised brigandage, backed by the farmers, on the part of the clan chiefs whom the English had dispossessed, and the big Catholic landowners (in the 17th century these brigands were called *Tories*, a name that has descended by direct line to the Tories of today), there gradually evolved an indigenous resistance, organised according to locality and province, on the part of the farmers against the interloping English landlords. The names — RIBBONMEN, WHITEBOYS, CAPTAIN ROCK, CAPTAIN MOONLIGHT,[340]

[a] Demuth - [b] Station where

etc.—have changed, the form the resistance has taken—the shooting, not only of hated LANDLORDS and agents (collectors in the LANDLORDS' service), but also of those farmers who take over a farm from others who have been forcibly evicted,—BOYCOTTING, threatening letters, nocturnal attacks with intimidation, etc.—all this has been going on for as long as the English have owned land in Ireland, i. e. at least since the end of the 17th century. This form of resistance is irrepressible, cannot be curbed by force and will disappear only with its causes. But by its nature it is *local* and *sporadic*, nor can it ever become a general form of *political* struggle.

The period immediately after the Union (1800) [109] saw the beginnings of the *liberal-national* opposition of the *urban bourgeoisie* who, as in every agrarian country with small towns in process of decay (e. g. Denmark), found their natural leaders in the *lawyers*. The latter also need the farmers; hence they have to invent slogans to attract the farmers. Thus *O'Connell* lit, first, upon *Catholic emancipation*,[341] and then upon the *Repeal of the Union*. Latterly supporters of this trend have been forced by the infamies of the landowners to adopt a different course. Whereas, in the *social* sphere, the *Land League* [139] pursues more revolutionary (and in this instance attainable) aims, namely the total elimination of the interloping LANDLORDS, its *political* posture is, if anything, rather tame since its only demand is HOME-RULE, i. e. a local Irish parliament alongside and subject to the parliament of the Empire. This, too, is undoubtedly attainable by constitutional means. The frightened landlords are already clamouring for (and the Tories themselves proposing) the speediest possible redemption of farmland in order to save what can still be saved, while *Gladstone*, for his part, is declaring a greater measure of self-government for Ireland to be altogether admissible.

After the American Civil War these two tendencies were infiltrated by a third—*Fenianism*.[312] The hundreds of thousands of Irish soldiers and officers who fought in that war did so with the ulterior motive of building up an army for the liberation of Ireland. The dissension between England and America after the war became the Fenians' principal lever. Should war supervene, Ireland would, within a few months, be either a member of the United States or a republic under the latter's protection. The sum which England so willingly undertook to pay and did pay during the Alabama negotiations with the Geneva arbitrators [342] was the *price* at which *American intervention in Ireland was bought off*.

As from that moment, the principal danger was eliminated. The police were enough to keep the Fenians in order. In this they were helped by the betrayals inseparable from any conspiracy, and yet it was only the *leaders* who betrayed, going on to become downright spies and falsifiers of evidence. The leaders who got away to America indulged in émigré revolutionary politics there and, for the most part, went to seed like O'Donovan Rossa. All of this — if, of course, on an exaggerated American scale — will seem very familiar to anyone who witnessed the European emigration over here between 1849 and 1852.

There can be no doubt that many Fenians have now come home again and have revived the former armed organisation. They provide an important impulse within the movement and compel the liberals to adopt a more resolute posture. But otherwise they achieve nothing unless it be to frighten John Bull. True, the latter is growing perceptibly weaker on the periphery of his empire, but as close to home as this he is still in a position to suppress with ease any kind of Irish rebellion. For a start there is, in Ireland, a permanent 'CONSTABULARY' 14,000 strong, equipped with rifles and bayonets and having had a military training. Then some 30,000 line troops who could easily be reinforced by an equal number of line and English militia. In addition, the navy. And in suppressing rebellion, John Bull's brutality is without equal. *In the absence of a foreign war or the threat thereof, an Irish uprising has not the remotest prospect of success*; and here *only two* powers might constitute a threat — *France* and, to a far greater degree, the *United States*. France is out of the question. In America the parties are coquetting with the Irish vote; they make many promises but abide by none. Nor have they any intention of involving themselves in a war on Ireland's behalf. It even serves their interests that conditions in Ireland should be such as to encourage massive Irish emigration to America. And it is understandable that a country which, in 20 years' time, will be the most populous, wealthy and powerful in the world, should feel small inclination to rush headlong into adventures which could and would upset its gigantic internal development. In 20 years' time it will have completely changed its tune.

But should the danger of a war with America arise, England would give the Irish anything they asked, and with both hands — saving only complete independence which, in view of that country's geographical position, is not at all desirable.

Accordingly the only recourse remaining to the Irish is the consti-

tutional method of gradual conquest, whereby one position is taken after another; and here the lurking presence of armed Fenian conspiracy can still furnish a most effective element. But these very Fenians are being increasingly impelled into a kind of Bakuninism; the only purpose to be served by the assassination of Burke and Cavendish was the frustration of the compromise between the Land League and Gladstone. In the circumstances, however, that compromise would have been the best thing for Ireland. Because of rent arrears the LANDLORDS are evicting the tenants from house and home in their tens of thousands and are doing so under the protection of the military. To check this systematic depopulation of Ireland (those who are evicted either starve to death or have to go to America) is the prime necessity just now. Gladstone is prepared to table a Bill whereby arrears will be paid on lines similar to the redemption of feudal taxes in Austria in 1848—one-third by the farmer, one-third by the state, one-third written off by the LANDLORDS. That is the Land League's own proposal. Thus the 'heroic deed' of Phoenix Park appears to be, if not[a] sheer folly, at all events a piece of pure Bakuninist, histrionic, senseless '*propagande par le fait*'.[b] If its consequences have not been the same as those of the similar follies perpetrated by Hödel and Nobiling,[120] this has been due solely to the fact that Ireland does not, as yet, lie within the purlieus of Prussia. Hence it must be left to the Bakuninists and Mostians to place such puerilities on a par with the execution of Alexander II, and to pose the threat of an 'Irish revolution' that never happens.

One more thing that should be noted about Ireland: never praise an Irishman—politician—unconditionally or give him your unqualified support, until he's dead. Celtic blood and the habitual exploitation of the farmers (after all, in Ireland this constitutes the sole livelihood of all the 'educated' classes, and of the lawyers in particular) make professional Irish politicians exceedingly prone to corruption. In return for his agitation, O'Connell got the farmers to pay him £30,000 a year no less. When England effected the Union at a cost of £1,000,000 in bribes, one of those who had been bribed was reproached with having sold his country. Says he: 'Aye, and damned glad I was to have a country I could sell.'

The infamies perpetrated against our people by the German governments, police and judges are gradually assuming a character that

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[a] Up to here the letter is printed according to the ms. - [b] propaganda by deeds

makes even the strongest language employed in condemning them look insipid. But since language is not necessarily given added emphasis by forceful expressions, and the repeated use of the same expressions such as scoundrel, etc., detracts from the effect, so that one has to have recourse to ever more 'forceful' expressions and thus lapse into the style of Most-Schneidt,[343] it would be desirable to adopt a method whereby forcefulness of expression would be assured even in the absence of intemperate language. And that method exists; it consists primarily in the use of irony, derision, sarcasm, which have a more deadly effect on an opponent than the crudest expressions of indignation. I think the *Sozialdemokrat* would be well advised to adopt the old, predominantly *derisive* style whenever this is feasible, as indeed was done in the last number. An occasional application of the cudgel would then be all the more effective. Bebel is also in complete agreement with me here. And, besides, your present correspondents already attend pretty adequately to lurid descriptions of events.

In response to the *Égalité*'s translation of the passage in the *Sozialdemokrat* about the expulsion of their people from the Congrès du Centre, the *Prolétaire* published a pharisaical article about an *échange de lettres courtoises entre le* Comité extérieur *du parti ouvrier socialiste allemand et le Comité national français.*[a] [344] Can you tell me anything about this? I was quite unaware of the existence of a *Comité extérieur*; might it perhaps be the much-celebrated *Communications Office*[345]?

The *Bataille* is on its last legs — *c'est une défaite, et méritée.*[b] Lissagaray has proved totally unfit to be a journalist and he, like his collaborators, Malon and Brousse, appeals to the Parisians' chauvinistic Germanophobia vis-à-vis Guesde, etc., *Marxistes, nébulosités allemandes,*[c] etc. None of which has deterred Lissagaray from informing the *Citoyen*'s proprietor[d] of his desire to join the editorial department! Needless to say the editorial department instantly turned him down (this *privatim*).

Marx is in Argenteuil with his daughter,[e] hiding away from Paris and availing himself of the sulphur springs in Enghien for his chronic bronchitis and cough; otherwise he is well and cheerful, but must still take great care of himself.

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[a] exchange of polite letters between the *External Committee* of the German Socialist Workers' Party and the French National Committee - [b] it's a defeat and a deserved one - [c] German nebulosities - [d] Blommestein - [e] Jenny Longuet

Did Adolf Beust give you Mirabeau's *Secret History of the Court of Berlin* which I gave him to pass on to you? The book will be very useful to the *Sozialdemokrat.*

Yours,
F. E.

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## 161

## MARX TO ENGELS [72]

### IN LONDON

[Postcard, unsigned]

[Argenteuil,] 4 July 1882

Dear Fred,

Summer did not actually begin until the 1st of July (or rather the second only). Up till now I've had 2 sulphur baths *with douches*, the 3rd will be tomorrow; never before have I encountered anything as magnificent as the shower-bath (alias douche); one climbs out of the bath on to a slightly raised board, and this *en 'nature'* [a]; the bath attendant then manipulates the spray (about the size of a fire extinguisher) like a virtuoso his instrument, dictates the movements of the *corpus* and bombards all parts of that *corpus* in turn (*save the head, (the cranium)*) for 180 seconds (alias 3 minutes) now with greater, now with lesser force, even unto the legs and feet incl. in an ever mounting crescendo.

As you will see, there is little inducement here for a man to write. I have to be at the railway by half past eight in the morning (i. e. this the time of leaving exactly for Enghien), back to Argenteuil about 12 o'clock, *déjeuner* [b] shortly afterwards; *après* [c] a great need for rest, as this sulphur is tiring in whatever form; then out and about, etc. The air in the inhalation room is murky with sulphurous vapours; 30-40 minutes'

[a] in a state of nature - [b] luncheon - [c] afterwards

spell here; every 5 minutes, at a special table, one inhales steam laden with specially pulverised sulphur (from one of the pipes (zinc) with stopcocks); each man encased in *caoutchouc*[a] from head to foot; after which they march in file round the table; innocent scene from Dante's inferno.

Regards to Schorlemmer. I still have a photograph of me for him, taken in Algiers.

Lafargue regards himself *as a gros*[b] *oracle* here. Paris is for him THE ONLY PLACE OF THE WORLD WORTH MANHOOD.

[On the side reserved for the address]

Fr. Engels
122 Regent's Park Road
London, N. W., Angleterre

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## 162

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 15 July 1882

Dear Mr Bernstein,

I am replying to your last letter straight away as there would otherwise be a 3 days' gap on account of the Sunday postal arrangements.

I was shown the Mehringiad[346] by an acquaintance here and at once recognised both author and prompter. Ever since the time his plans for the *Sozialdemokrat* went so completely awry because of the presence of yourself and Bebel, Hirsch[c] has been working himself up into a ludicrous rage against the 'Zurich people'. We have often

[a] rubber - [b] great - [c] Carl Hirsch

enough given him the broadest hints to the effect that we were not in accord with him in this respect; rather, anything he did, he did on his own responsibility, but this has helped only to the extent that he doesn't pester *us* with his lamentations. He has, by the way, been back in Paris (on sufferance) for some considerable time, and last Saturday (8 July) married a certain Miss Lina Haschert.

As for the actual contents of the thing, there is no reason for us to intervene. Mehring has treated the world to so many lies about us that, were we to deny just one of them, it would be tantamount to an admission that all the rest were true. For years we have let all this mendacious tittle-tattle pass unheeded, unless absolute necessity compelled us to reply. Our people have the *Volks-Zeitung* at their disposal, so all that is needed is a communication to the effect that an article of mine, signed by me, appeared in the *Sozialdemokrat* of ? June.[347] That is the best way to reply. You yourself can, of course, also refer to it in the *Sozialdemokrat* as you intended, and say that Marx and I always agree beforehand on any public move we make. I'm very glad that the article in the *Sozialdemokrat* appeared at this precise moment; it will knock all these inanities on the head.

On the other hand I think you would be well advised to leave Höchberg out of it. After all, he simply wants to appear as a private individual and hence will be able to conduct his own defence if he thinks it necessary. I don't know whether it would be doing him a service to rake up the old affair of the *Jahrbuch* article, etc.[a] — should there be doubts *within the party* about our position, we might be compelled to revert to it, though I for one think it quite unnecessary.

Since Marx leads a completely secluded existence in Argenteuil and keeps his presence there as secret as possible, he has seen nothing of Hirsch, at least so far as I know, nor is he in any way anxious to do so. Marx needs peace and quiet, and I shall not therefore bother him with all this business before it proves absolutely necessary, i. e. before Hirsch forms any further cabals.

Kautsky has written me one, indeed two, long letters[348] about everything under the sun. However, as I have already told you,[b] I no longer have the time for such lengthy correspondence and to be able to investigate and reply to this or that I should, what's more, actually have to embark on specialised studies. That is the whole reason for my silence.

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[a] See this volume, p. 279. - [b] Ibid., p. 203.

I know absolutely nothing of value about Chartism.[159] If I could persuade our old friend Harney in Boston (ex-editor of *The Northern Star*) to write a history of Chartism, he would be the man.

Kindest regards.

Yours,
F. Engels

I myself have been so much out of touch with Hirsch that I have no occasion whatever to give him my views on this business. If occasion arose, I should of course do so.

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## 163

## ENGELS TO ADOLF HEPNER [349]

### IN NEW YORK

[Draft]

London, 25 July 1882

Dear Mr Hepner,

My delay in replying has been due to Marx's illness and frequent changes of abode. It was not until recently that I was able to correspond with him about business matters. Our views [a] on your projected undertaking [350] are as follows:

As you are fully entitled in law to reprint anything that appears in Europe, you would, in our opinion, do best to go ahead and exercise that right without asking anybody. If you wish to reprint the *Communist Manifesto* we can have no objection whatever, nor would it occur to us to protest against it, provided there were no changes or omissions — in any case inadmissible in an historical document — or unless compelled to do so by unwarranted notes. We cannot write a preface, not only because we are not together, but also, and still

[a] Ibid., p. 284.

more, because we should thereby be identifying ourselves to some extent with an undertaking which we are not in a position either to supervise or to control, nor, indeed, might we wish to do so. As it is, you will be entirely at liberty to reprint anything else you wish, without our ever having cause to complain of the company in which our works appear.

The same applies to my *Condition of the Working Class*. If you reprint it as it stands I can have no objection. Were I, however, to give you my special consent, I should be obliged to provide the addenda and notes needed to bring the book up to date, and that would be 6 months' work. Moreover I should require prior guarantees that the undertaking, once begun, would be brought to a conclusion.

I trust I have convinced you that it would be in your best interests to go ahead on your own. We shall certainly not place any obstacle in the way of the undertaking unless compelled to do so; rather the reverse.

As regards a new abridgement of *Capital*, Marx has had so many unpleasant experiences with this kind of thing that no further approaches should be made to him about the matter, especially not at the moment. However (*this in confidence*) Marx has purged the *second* edition of *Most*'s abridgement [351] of its grosser errors and made a few addenda, so that this edition is not without its merits and could be reprinted.

Otherwise there is little that I can recommend for reprinting. The literature produced by Leipzig consists largely in the socialism of the future and doctoral dissertations by parliamentary candidates. Jules Guesde's French stuff is good on the whole, but too closely geared to French conditions. Bracke's *Nieder mit den Sozialdemokraten!* is perhaps not suitable for America. Bebel's parliamentary speeches are by far the best thing that Germany has produced in our line, but they are, of course, made for the occasion. Lassalle teems with economic howlers and his whole viewpoint was superseded long ago. Bracke's *Lassalle'scher Vorschlag* is a pretty good piece of criticism, though not exhaustive.

Well, it's for you to choose. Wishing your undertaking the best of luck,

Yours,

F. E.

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# 164

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN PARIS

[Postcard]

[London,] 31 July 1882

My dear Lavrov,

I should have thanked you long since for sending me the Russian *Manifesto*,[352] but I couldn't very well write to you without giving you news of Marx and he had expressly forbidden me to tell anyone in Paris, no matter whom, that he was in Argenteuil. Unfortunately the prohibition of the doctors, who have given him strict instructions to talk as little as possible, means he is still in *solitary confinement*.

Kovalevsky called while I was out. He only saw Miss Marx[a] and left no address. He must have departed a few days after his arrival, but I have absolutely no idea what route he took. It would seem that he intended to return to his own country. Miss Marx is at Argenteuil; if you wrote to Longuet, perhaps you might be able to learn more.

Yours ever,
F. E.

[On the side reserved for the address]

Monsieur P. Lavroff
328 rue St Jacques
*Paris*
France

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[a] Eleanor Marx

# 165

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

Argenteuil, *jeudi, 3 août*[a] 1882
11 Boulevard Thiers

DEAR FRED,

The difficulty over letter-writing is due to the following: at 7.30 a. m. I start off by washing and dressing myself, taking early morning coffee, etc.; at 8.30 a. m. departure for Enghien, not as a rule returning before noon, then *déjeuner en famille*[b] at Argenteuil; from 2-4 p. m., rest, then a walk and pottering about with the children with consequences more detrimental to one's faculties of sight and hearing (let alone thought) than were ever experienced even by the Hegel of the *Phänomenologie*; finally, at 8 p. m., evening SUPPER, thereby concluding the day's work. So when would one find time for correspondence?

Tussychen is being of enormous help to Jennychen, nor could her stay here really be considered as a rest cure if she were not so fond of the children[c] and of poor Jennychen and evincing in these particular circumstances qualities which lie dormant in London. Tussy and Laura have not seen one another yet and aren't exactly longing to do so. But for decency's sake they will have to meet at least once while I am here.

Now for a health bulletin. My cure began on 17 June. The weather up till now has been so far below the average for summer (French) that the season which starts in June in Enghien is regarded as a FAILURE by the *établissement thermal*[d] and something 'better' is looked for in August and September. Constant changes of temperature, the sky often heavily overcast, *particularly in the mornings* after rain and *orages*,[e] violent winds, moisture-laden atmosphere and hence often *une chaleur lourde*,[f] alias London's 'CLOSE' STATUS. The French have been at pains to stave off an alliance with England[353]; by contrast, the English climate (I MEAN specifically the London climate) would seem to be making itself increasingly at home here, in Paris and environs. Such is the case this year at any rate. In between times, of course, we

[a] Thursday, 3 August - [b] lunch en famille - [c] Jean, Henri, Edgar and Marcel Longuet - [d] thermal establishment - [e] storms - [f] oppressive heat

have an occasional fine day, or fragments thereof. In these circumstances my cure is having to contend with 'agreeable obstacles'. As Lenchen will recall, there was one particular day when Dr Feugier's examination, and the one undertaken a few hours later by Dr Dourlen, resulted in the same verdict: the *râlements*[a] had disappeared and this meant the 'bronchial' character of the catarrh had been eliminated. I didn't pass on 'such matters' to you; I suspected that the said bronchial catarrh had by no means croaked its last, and, indeed, during a brief spell of bad weather, it began to croak anew. That the cough hadn't 'disappeared' (though greatly alleviated, of course), I was aware, but didn't much mind about what remained of the cough once its character had changed.

Indeed, upon auscultating me last Monday (31 July), Dr Feugier found that the râle was still there, although grown fainter; the weather, he said, was especially malign and harmful in the case of these particular complaints. As a rule, patients only continue the sulphur cure for 3 weeks; indeed, many people cannot tolerate it for a longer period without the risk of feverish attacks, etc. In view of my otherwise strong constitution and since I am still troubled by a cough, especially of a morning, he thought it best to continue the cure *until the middle of August*, with INHALATION, BATHS, DOUCHES and the drinking of sulphurous waters; no purpose would be served by prolonging it beyond that date. I shall, of course, follow the doctor's advice. On the other hand, however, it will by then probably be *too late* for the Engadine plan [354]; both Feugier and Dourlen are afraid that I might otherwise expose myself to climatic ADVENTURES which a man, above all one in my condition, would do better not to invite unnecessarily.—I hope you will *in any case* come and spend a few days here (in which case the Lafargues would easily find you accommodation in Paris), not only so that we may confer about *que faire après*,[b] but more especially, you must understand, because I long to see you again after all these DAMNED *vésicatoires*[c] and one or two very close shaves!

Laurachen wrote and told me that *Deville* is leaving for his home town of Tarbes on the evening of 2 August. But since I had expressed a desire to see him, Mesa proposed we should come to *déjeuner*[d] with him on 2 August, when I should meet, besides the Lafargues, also Deville and Guesde. This was the first time that I had agreed to such a meeting. (It is always the livelier talk, and/or chatter which tells on

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[a] râle - [b] what's to be done next - [c] vesicatories - [d] luncheon

me — after the event.) Went off well. The *Citoyen* people seem to me to be succeeding with their public MEETINGS on the Egyptian, etc., *affaires* [355]; however, as far as the performance of their paper is concerned, *ils laissent beaucoup à désirer*.[a] Incidentally, *and aside from the self-styled socialist journals*, a large and most influential part of the *Paris press* is incomparably more independent than that of London. Despite pressure from most of the PROFESSIONAL POLITICIANS, despite collusion between the *République Française*, the *Temps* and the *Journal des Débats*, working hand-in-glove under the immediate direction of Gambetta; despite, what is more, the attempts at bribery by the FINANCIERS (Rothschilds, etc.) who have an immediate interest in joining the English crusade against Egypt, the Paris press has quashed every attempt (even Freycinet's disguised ones [356]) at joint intervention with England or with a Quadruple Alliance [357]; without that press, Clemenceau would not have won his victory in parliament. But where in London is there even a modicum of an 'independent' press?

I cannot in fact remember where Loria's *grandes*[b] opus[c] is to be found in my library; nor would it seem to me worth your while taking the trouble to look for it. As you know, after reading the 'opus' (or RATHER the first half of the book, for I hadn't the patience to do more than skim through the 2nd half containing Mr Loria's fantasies about how his ideal norm, small landed property, i. e. smallholdings, could *adequately* be *constructed*), I was far from edified by the sickening covert flattery vis-à-vis myself and the overt assumption of 'superiority' not to mention falsification of certain of my views the better to refute them. Yet, though my first reaction was that I wanted to have no truck with him, I allowed myself to become further involved because he showed talent, because he had done a lot of swotting; because he was a poor devil who had written to me at length about his thirst for knowledge; because he was still very young and his admittedly far from youthful tendencies — they were, if anything, wise beyond his years — seemed understandable in view, partly of conditions in Italy, and partly of the school from which he derived; also because he sought to make his own, in so far as in him lay and not always without success, the methods of research he had found in *Capital*. I was 'amused' and pleased by his way of openly preening himself on having 'antiquated' *Capital* with his 'landed property'. For all that, I still harbour serious doubts about the young man's character.

[a] they were much disappointed - [b] great - [c] A. Loria, *La rendita fondiaria e la sua elisione naturale*, Milan, Naples, Pisa, 1880.

After I had read through these 2 pamphlets,[a] however, and a couple of days after Tussy's arrival here, I gave her my very categorical and final verdict — in words — I give you three guesses! — in *the exactly same terms* which *the said Tussychen was amazed to find again, word for word, in your letter of 31 July* which I showed her! Thus we, you and I, not only came to exactly the same conclusion, but *formulated* the same *in exactly the same way*! Such being the case, we can, in future, *only* adopt an attitude of *ironical aloofness* towards him, without in any way becoming further involved in the business! He is far worse than the Kauzkitten,[b] who at least has the best of intentions.

Apropos Hirsch. If he really has collaborated with Mehring,[346] the party will never forgive him. Should I see him, I shall ask him point-blank. Come to that, as regards the controversy over my *status*, it would have been better had nothing been said. What are the workers to believe, unless it be that I was, so to speak, shamming sick, and had squandered all that time and money without good reason?

Next week the Lafargues are moving into their proper quarters which are said to be very pleasant, and cheap as local *logements*[c] go.

*Au revoir*, OLD BOY. My love also to Lenchen.

Your
Moor

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## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

### IN GENEVA

London, 9 August 1882

Dear Old Man,

I had no opportunity yesterday of taking out a money order for you. But I did so first thing today and you will be paid £5 sterling

[a] A. Loria, *La legge di popolazione ed il sistema sociale*, Siena, 1882 and *La teoria del valore negli economisti italiani*, Bologna, 1882. - [b] Karl Kautsky - [c] lodgings

over there, which, according to the table, equals 126 frs. I was very glad to get another letter from you [358] and hear how you are getting on. I, too, would give I don't know how much if you, Marx and I could foregather once more, but this year it's unlikely I shall have any such luck. There might still be a chance of your seeing Marx this summer, but that depends on where the doctors send him. I shall have to postpone the rest of my reply for a day or two as it's nearly time for the post and I still have to write at some length to Bernstein about this and that.

In the meantime keep yourself hale and hearty as always. Kindest regards.

Your old friend
F. Engels

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## 167

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [359]

### IN ZURICH

London, 9 August 1882

Dear Mr Bernstein,

Today just a few comments in great haste, as I shall be going to the seaside in a few days' time and my hands are absolutely full.

1. A *German* edition of *Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique* is something I have long had in mind, particularly now that I have seen what a regular revolution the thing has wrought in the minds of many of the better people in France.[360] I am glad that we see eye to eye here. The only thing is that the German text, because more concentrated, is appreciably more difficult than the French from which quite a lot is omitted. To popularise the work without prejudice to the substance, and in such a way as to make it fit for general use as a propaganda pamphlet is a difficult task; however, I shall do the best I can at the seaside. When shall you be able to start printing and how long will the impression take? I must, of course, be sent the proofs (in

duplicate, as in France, which has a number of advantages).

2. Naturally you would have thought that, in view of our old friendship, Liebknecht was really within his rights in asking you to hand over my letter[a] to him, and that you were under an obligation to put it at his disposal. I can find nothing to complain about in that. Nor could you know that, of the many differences I have had with Liebknecht, four-fifths were due to similar high-handed acts on his part, to the public misuse of private letters, to notes, etc., on my articles that were either silly or ran immediately counter to the sense of the passage. On this occasion, too, he has made unjustifiable use of my letter. That letter was written with specific reference to your article.[339] Liebknecht treated it as though it were '*my*' account of the Irish question *as a whole*. Frightfully easy and all the more so if one trots out in refutation Davitt's speeches which *had not as yet been made at all* at the time the letter was written and, indeed, have no bearing at all on that letter, Davitt and his state ownership of land having hitherto been no more than a *straw in the wind*. But Liebknecht always takes this kind of easy way out when trying to come the 'top dog'. Now, I don't begrudge him his fun, but he ought not to misuse my letters for the purpose and in this way *he* has compelled me to request you in future (let me try to make this sound as formally diplomatic as possible) *de lui donner — tout au plus — lecture de mes lettres sans cependant lui abandonner l'original ni lui en laisser copie.*[b]

3. I have passed on to Marx, in as humorous a form as possible, the substance of the Hirsch-Mehringiad[346] and I fear that, should little Carl[c] see Marx, he will go through a not altogether agreeable quarter of an hour.

4. I should say that, in the Egyptian affair,[355] you take the so-called National Party rather too much under your wing.[361] We don't know much about Arabi, but I'd wager 10 to 1 that he is a run-of-the-mill Pasha who begrudges the financial chaps their tax revenue because he would, in good oriental fashion, sooner pocket it himself. Here we have the same old story as in all agrarian countries. From Ireland to Russia, from Asia Minor to Egypt, the peasant of an agrarian country is there to be exploited. It has been the same since the time of the Assyrian and Persian empires. The satrap, alias pasha, is the eastern prototype of the exploiter, as are the business men and

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[a] See this volume, pp. 285-90. - [b] at most to permit him to read my letters, without, however, handing over the original to him or letting him keep a copy. - [c] Carl Hirsch

jurists in the west today. REPUDIATION of the Khedive's[362] debts may be all right, but the question is, what then? And we West European socialists ought not to allow ourselves to be so easily duped as the Egyptian fellaheen[363] or as—all Latins. Strange. All Latin revolutionaries lament the fact that their revolutions invariably redound to someone else's advantage—quite simply because they have always been taken in by the word 'revolution'. And yet it's hardly possible for a scrap to break out anywhere without revolutionary Latins raving about it with one voice—and quite uncritically. As I see it, we can perfectly well enter the arena on behalf of the oppressed fellaheen without sharing their current illusions (for a peasant population has to be fleeced for centuries before it learns from experience), and against the brutality of the English without, for all that, espousing the cause of those who are currently their military opponents. The utmost caution should be observed in making use of the politically emotional French and Italian party papers in all questions of international politics; we Germans, however, now we have attained superiority where theory is concerned, are duty bound to preserve it in this sphere also by the exercise of criticism.

But now, enough of criticism. Unfortunately I haven't got sufficient time left today to send you a contribution for the feuilleton.[364] I am particularly keen to prove to our good little Carl in black and white what tremendous piffle it was he fobbed off on Mehring about my relations with the *Sozialdemokrat*. However, you will get it before long and may then, if you like—it's all the same to me—make some direct allusion to it in a note, without, of course, actually mentioning our little Carl, who must surely by now be panting for cooling streams.[a]

Well, my kindest regards. If at all possible, I shall also send you a letter from the coast for *ce brave*[b] Kautsky whose address, or such as I have, is of somewhat ancient date. The last one was that of some lassie with a French name—a genuine *accommodation* address, I trust.

Yours,
F. E.

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[a] Hirsch = hart, hence 'as pants the hart for cooling streams'.- [b] the good

# 168

## MARX TO ENGELS [72]

### IN LONDON

[Argenteuil,] *jeudi*,[a] 10 August 1882

DEAR FRED,

Next Tuesday Dr Feugier will be letting me know whether I am to quit Enghien for good or carry on as I have been doing for another day or so.

Unfortunately I must first—supposing I (and Laura) go from here to Switzerland (Vevey or some such place is recommended)—have an additional MONETARY SUBSIDY. For I discovered *by chance* that Jenny is under severe pressure from her LANDLORD (and it's no laughing matter here) for the rent, and today I had the utmost difficulty in getting her to accept enough money to settle the business.

Furthermore, I am hoping that Johnny will go to London with Tussy (the *only opposition comes from Longuet*, who doesn't care a damn whether it's a respite for Jennychen or good for Johnny), in which case I shall have to give Tussy some extra money to take the lad for a couple of weeks to the seaside in England. Monsieur Longuet's main objection to letting us have Johnny for six months is that, for reasons of health, Johnny ought to go to the seaside in Normandy whither he would accordingly be accompanied by Longuet to stay with OLD Madame Longuet[b] at Caen.

In fact, Johnny is running wild here and has, in France, forgotten such rudiments of reading, writing, etc., as he had. He has grown naughty out of boredom (i. e. [for want of] occupation) and gives Jennychen more trouble than the 3 younger ones.[c] Monsieur Longuet does 'nothing' for the child, but his 'love' consists in not letting him out of his sight during the brief intervals when he himself is visible, for in Argenteuil he usually spends the morning in bed and leaves for Paris again at 5 in the afternoon.

In view of what lies ahead of Jennychen, [365] it will be absolutely impossible for him to restrain young Johnny. Tussy is AN EXCELLENT DISCIPLINARIAN and will bring him to heel again. So at least we can put

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[a] Thursday - [b] Felicitas Longuet - [c] Henri, Edgar and Marcel Longuet

paid to Longuet's 'objection' that Johnny cannot go to England (where Tussy would also send him to school) because he must go 'to the seaside'; he is to go 'to the seaside', but do so in England.

Aside from the aforementioned expenses, I shall not, after paying the doctor[a] and buying various necessities, have very much left for the trip from here to Switzerland. I hate squeezing you like this, but am forced to do so if I am not to come straight back to London.

*Salut.*

Moor

The announcement in the French, i. e. Parisian, newspapers, starting with the *Temps*, that Liebknecht was on his way to Paris, 'to establish contact with the German workers and visit the socialist, Karl Marx, who is now living at Argenteuil after his return from Algiers',[b] this note, I say, and the way it was couched, smacked of the 'police' and was too indiscreet even for Liebknecht. If he should still find me here, I shall tell him exactly what I think of his 'indiscretion' (it's all due to his wanting to make himself look important).

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 10 August 1882

Dear Sorge,

Herewith receipt from the *Égalité*; I haven't been able to obtain a better one for you from that remarkably businesslike office. Since Laura Lafargue moved to Paris, we over here no longer see or hear anything of that paper. The amount paid was 14/-.

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[a] Dr Feugier - [b] 'Allemagne', *Le Temps*, No. 7773, 6 August 1882.

*The Labour Standard*, 1 July-5 August, goes off today in 2 parcels. It would be madness for you to take out a separate subscription to the thing. I shall simply send you my copy instead of throwing it into the waste-paper basket.

Marx still at Argenteuil,[327] undergoing a sulphur cure in Enghien for chronic bronchitis. He still has to take considerable precautions against a recurrence of pleurisy. As for the rest, only the doctors know, or again they may not.

In great haste.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN ARGENTEUIL

Great Yarmouth,[366] 20 August 1882
10 Columbia Terrace

Dear Moor,

The money has been paid in so I went straight to the bank today and requested a draft for 1,200 frs. I hope to have it on Tuesday.

How did last Tuesday's[a] great medical examination go[b]? Not a word about it so far.

If there is any difficulty about the CHEQUE, just send it back and I shall then send you a draft on Paris instead. It was simply a make-shift arrangement.

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[a] 15 August - [b] See this volume, pp. 303, 308.

Pumps and BABY[a] are very lively; the little thing has already got two teeth. Schorlemmer leaves for Germany tomorrow week. The table is being laid so I've got to stop.

Your
F. E.

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## 171

## ENGELS TO EMIL ENGELS Jun.

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

Great Yarmouth, 20 August 1882
10 Columbia Terrace

Dear Emil,

We have been here for the past 10 days,[366] Schorlemmer, Pumps, BABY[a] and I, and the fact that I haven't got round to replying to you until today can be blamed on the sweet indolence of a seaside resort.

First of all, I have written direct to Sam Moore recommending you to him and asking him to send you the address of his office in town (in the case of BARRISTERS these are called CHAMBERS), for I haven't got it here and during the daytime it is, of course, the only place where he can be found. You will find him an exemplary Englishman, possessing all the good qualities of his nation and none of the bad. Needless to say he is also a Social Democrat and also speaks German though it's a bit rusty. He will be happy to oblige you in any way, provided it is in his power to do so, and will be of more use to you than I could be. When one has been out of touch with the business world for nearly 13 years and with Manchester for 12,[367] one no longer has much influence over people for whom it is axiomatic that one hand washes the other. Moore, on the other hand, has only been out of

[a] Lilian Rosher

touch with it for 3-4 years and still lives in their midst, so in his case it's more likely that something can be arranged. I, for example, don't even know whether the people I used to be connected with are still alive, whether they still own the same business, or whether they may not have sold up entirely. To introduce you to Ermen & Roby would be far more likely to do harm than good; those chaps certainly wouldn't show you their mill and would end up by telling all their other spinning and manufacturing acquaintances on the Exchange to be on their guard against you.

You won't get inside any mills making knitting or sewing yarns, because to my knowledge there are none in Manchester apart from Ermen & Roby. There is a variety of DOUBLERS of SEWINGS where all you will see are the old doubling machines; they sell the yarn untreated. How best to get inside a mill depends upon each particular case; on the whole I have always found that it works best if you make a clean breast of things to the people you've been otherwise recommended to and tell them who you are. To try and get what you want by trickery, as many German spinners have done, nearly always leads to your being found out and denounced to the others on the Exchange, after which you never get to see anything at all. People here compete with one another on a much grander scale than in Germany and the little dodges that are often appropriate enough over there, don't go down at all over here.

Schorlemmer will also be back there at the beginning of October and he, too, will be able to help you. *More* useful to you than anything would be a letter of recommendation from Ermen & Engels to a big German commission house who will surely be able to give you further help and also tell you in which particular instances it might be advisable to keep quiet about what you yourself are.

Well, that's enough for today. The table is about to be laid. Otherwise things are going very well here; the fine weather, Pilsener beer, sea air and sea-bathing have quite driven away the gastric catarrh I had on the Monday of your departure. Pumps and Schorlemmer send you their best wishes.

Your

F. Engels

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# 172

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN GREAT YARMOUTH

Argenteuil, Monday, 21 August 1882
11 Boulevard Thiers

DEAR FRED,

The 'conversion into silver'[a] took place the day before yesterday.

The week beginning last Monday[b] distinguished itself by abominable weather: rain (at times cold), storms, sultriness; above all wet, while a 'water shortage' was 'officially' announced in Paris. Not even the Flood would have deterred the bureaucrats here from contriving an 'official drought' in respect of water for drinking, washing, domestic and industrial purposes, etc.

Yesterday, my last perambulation in the *salle d'inhalation*[c] and the pleasure of a bath and douche at Enghien, where I was also given my valedictory examination by Dr Feugier; result:

1. The bronchial râle much reduced; would have gone completely but for my ill-luck with the weather.

2. The pleuritic *frottement*[d] noise remains in *status quo*; an altogether predictable circumstance. At best, and this is by no means frequent, the after-effects of *pleurésie* may last for years. They are sending me to Lake Geneva, whence the weather reports have so far been favourable, since both *doctores*[e] are of the opinion that the last traces of my bronchial catarrh might well depart of their own accord there. *Qui vivra verra.*[f] The season, they say, is too far advanced for respiratory gymnastics in the mountains, and I must, above all, avoid the cold.

On this occasion I have been ordered to travel to Switzerland only by day and shall therefore have to stay overnight in Dijon and not betake myself to my destination until the morrow. They are absolutely determined, of course, to obviate any pretext for a '*rechute*'.[g]

Tussychen left last Wednesday with Johnny; we have had a letter

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[a] A jocular hint at the receipt of money from Engels. - [b] 14 August - [c] inhalation room - [d] rubbing - [e] Dourlen and Feugier - [f] We shall see. - [g] relapse

from her; all went well. She intended to go to Eastbourne with Johnny on 19 August (Saturday). Because her pedagogic purposes demand above all that to begin with THE YOUNG MAN should be solely under her supervision, Tussy has chosen a seaside resort where he won't find any 'friends'.

Jennychen is, alas, poorly. What is more, present 'circumstances'[365] make rest and recuperation completely impossible for her.

Laura IS ALL RIGHT, leaves with me *tomorrow*.

Lissagaray's row with the Brousse gang[368] has had one good result in that the latter no longer has a daily paper at its disposal. That diplomat Malon is keeping neutral vis-à-vis Brousse in this affair, since he (Malon) could not permit himself, vis-à-vis Rochefort, his editor-*en-chef*, to express sympathy for Brousse *et cie* in the *Intransigeant* (nor does he 'wish' he 'could').

Guesde and his party are gaining the upper hand.

Best wishes to Jollymeyer[a] and Pumps.

*Salut.*

'Moor'

Mr Longuet, with his usual tact, is fetching *Roy* to meet me at *déjeuner*[b]; in the course of 3 months the only day he could hit on for the purpose was today, when I have to pack, etc., etc.; in addition, I must pay a farewell visit to Dr Dourlen and, finally, would like to be on my own with Jennychen.

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[a] See this volume, p. 229. - [b] luncheon

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## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN GREAT YARMOUTH

Lausanne, 24 August 1882
Hôtel du Nord

DEAR [Fred],[a]

Yesterday, on from Dijon to Lausanne,[369] wet and relatively cold. Nine o'clock at night arrived at Lausanne in the rain. First question I asked the waiter: 'How long has it been raining here?' Reply: 'Only been wet for 2 days' (i.e. since the day I left Paris). *C'est drôle!*[b]

Today we shall look round in Vevey, Montreux, etc., for somewhere to stay. *In the meantime* write to Lausanne, *poste restante*. I should like to have a timely supply of extra MUNITION so that some may always be available against any and every eventuality. Address letters to Dr Charles Marx, not Karl Marx.

Longuet remained true to his own self till the day of my departure. For during both my previous visits to Argenteuil,[370] Longuet kept promising the translator of *Capital*, that poor devil Roy, to arrange a meeting with me; on neither occasion was Longuet able to find a suitable time. And on this occasion, when Longuet again started to maunder on about my meeting Roy, I told him he might arrange it at any time during the last 4 weeks. *Eh bien!*[c] *Not until the day of my departure* when I had to pack, pay a farewell call on Dr Dourlen and still had a great deal to discuss with Jennychen, etc., does Longuet go off to Paris without my prior knowledge, pick up Roy and bring him back to *déjeuner*[d] (1 o'clock) in Argenteuil. There was a chilly north-east wind and, as a result of my obligatory CONVERSATION with POOR Roy in the garden, I caught cold. THANKS TO Longuet!

Apropos. A German who is Paris correspondent to a lot of bourgeois German newspapers wrote to me as my most humble and obedient servant, saying that, while honesty demanded I should know that he was not a Social Democrat, still less correspondent to newspapers of that complexion, people in all circles of German 'society' were

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[a] illegible - [b] Funny! - [c] Well! - [d] luncheon

anxious to have official news of my health; therefore requested TO INTERVIEW me at Argenteuil, etc.

OF COURSE, I DID NOT REPLY TO THAT SOFTSAWDER PENMAN.

Love to all.

Moor

I shall go and see OLD Becker[a] and Wróblewski in Geneva as soon as my cough has eased up again.

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## 174

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LAUSANNE

Great Yarmouth, 25 August 1882
10 Columbia Terrace

Dear Moor,

Telegram just received [284]; a line or two on business in the utmost haste.

Your letter arrived on Monday evening,[b] but by then I had sent off to Argenteuil the money order received from A. Kayser & Co. on Hirsch *fils ainé*,[c] Paris, 1,200 frs *à présentation*.[d] The very next day I wrote to Jenny,[284] telling her what was in the letter, and asked her to make sure it was forwarded. Paying it in from where you are will present little difficulty.

We shall be staying here for another fortnight — it suits everyone marvellously, save for Jollymeyer who sometimes gets rheumatism as a result of the weather we're having. On Monday[e] he's off to Ger-

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[a] Johann Philipp Becker - [b] Presumably a slip of the pen in the original. Engels may have received Marx's letter of Monday, 21 August (see this volume, pp. 308-09) either on Tuesday 22 August or Wednesday 23 August. - [c] elder son - [d] at sight - [e] 28 August

many. I shall accompany him to London and hope to bring Tussy and Johnny back here with me.

I wish you better weather than we have been having for the past 4 days, but as much benefit as we are deriving from sea air. The infant[a] is developing a ravenous appetite and visibly gaining weight.

Warmest regards from all to you and Laura.

Your
F. E.

What do you think of De Paepe's firing his revolver at Duverger[371]? O GREEN EYED MONSTER![b]

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## 175

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN LAUSANNE

Great Yarmouth, 26 August 1882
10 Columbia Terrace

Dear Moor,

Your[c] and Laura's letter arrived from Lausanne this morning, and I am using the lull momentarily prevailing in this room to write to you. This time it wasn't you who brought on the bad weather, but *The New York Herald* with its forecast of a depression. Whereas Tussy was able to attribute the previous bout of wet weather here to your undue proximity in Paris, we cannot but observe now that the latest change for the worse coincides precisely with your removal farther afield, and that on Wednesday evening[d] we here were subjected to the same violent downpour as were you in Lausanne. This morning,

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[a] Lilian Rosher - [b] Shakespeare, *Othello*, Act III, Scene 3. - [c] See this volume, pp. 310-11. - [d] 23 August

too, there has been one shower after another, and there's still no sign of the 'FINER LATER ON' that was predicted.

An anathema upon Longuet and his tactlessness. But then, was it absolutely necessary, in a cold north-easter, to entertain Roy in the *garden* of all places?

The Egyptian campaign [355] is off to a good start. The *Kölnische Zeitung* goes so far as to maintain that the FORTS of Alexandria were silenced in 2½ hours and that the English had continued the bombardment for the remaining 5 hours simply with a view to destroying the city.— The rapid occupation of the Canal was nicely done, but as soon as I saw that upon embarking Wolseley had ostentatiously proclaimed the bombardment of Abukir to be his intention, the whole thing became clear to me and I was able to give Schorlemmer an exposé of the whole plan of campaign as presently being carried out. Since then I have seen from back numbers of the *Kölnische Zeitung* that the plan to march on Cairo via Ismailia had already been common knowledge in London 10 or 12 days beforehand,[a] so well had the secret been kept! The plan itself is still the most rational that could have been devised in the circumstances. However its execution won't be particularly rapid. Admittedly the clever English have sent field guns there, but not horses or mules for the teams. They are presently buying up mules in southern Europe and Africa. *Ballons captifs*,[b] essential for reconnaissance in a flat, treeless country, were rejected, but are now being sent out *belatedly*. Reconnaissances in force were carried out against the fortified Egyptian position before Alexandria — senseless since no one is so stupid as to deploy in strength *before* a fortified position. The heroism at Shafuir is ludicrous — a five-hour engagement and *2* English wounded! Wolseley, who already has 30,000 men, is now calling for his third division, but this is still in process of mobilisation. And when it does arrive he will have barely enough in hand, once he has occupied Cairo and Alexandria, to clear the Delta and occupy the coastal towns. If Arabi is clever enough to parry each main blow and withdraw to Central and/or Upper Egypt, the affair could become extremely protracted. Apart from the fact that, given a somewhat early rise in the level of the Nile, a breaching of the dams can turn everything to water for the

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[a] 'Paris, 12. Juli', 'Das Bombardement von Alexandrien', *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 192, 13 July 1882, second edition. - [b] captive balloons

English. However, it is more than probable that the affair will be brought to a conclusion, not by military action, but by diplomatic collusion behind the scenes.

A nice little item: the merits of RED TAPE have been brought to light by C. W. Siemens in his capacity as president of the BRITISH ASSOCIATION.[372] The metric system was, after all, legalised in England alongside the existing one some years ago. Moreover authentic copies of the original metre and original kilogram were sent for from Paris. But if anyone wants to obtain an authentic, standard copy of these units from the appropriate authority, the latter informs him that the relevant Act of Parliament neither entitles nor obliges it to provide one. If, however, you sell by metres or kgs that have *not* been authorised by the aforementioned authority, that is FRAUDULENT and criminal. So this prudent little omission nullifies the whole Act and *basta*, you're back where you started. Moreover, Siemens maintains that, since the introduction of the metric system on the Continent generally, the damage done to English industry by its adherence to the old system has been enormous; a great deal of machinery, etc., he says, is no longer exportable, because built in conformity with units other than metres and kgs.

I hope that your cough has abated and that you, too, may get some better weather at last. Watch out when travelling by steamer. In the evenings it is often cold and misty on the water. You'll probably have to continue to take care of yourself until the spring and then, when you have finally got rid of your bronchitis, some respiratory gymnastics in the mountains will see us round the corner.

In Vaud there is a splendid wine called Ivorne which I highly recommend, especially when it's *old*. Then they drink Cortaillod, a red from Neuchâtel, which has a slight sparkle; the froth forms a star in the centre of the glass; also pretty good. Lastly Veltliner (Valtellina), the best wine in Switzerland. Besides these the *petit*[a] Burgundy, Macon and Beaujolais were pretty good in my day[373] and not dear. Take heroic draughts of all these varieties and, when bored for long spells by your peregrinations, reflect that this is, after all, the only way to restore your former verve; though it may lie dormant for a little while, the day will come when it will be only too necessary to us. My regards to Becker[b] and Wróblewski if you see them.

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[a] little - [b] Johann Philipp Becker

Warmest regards from everyone here to you and Laura, who will be the recipient of my *next* letter.[284]

Your
F. E.

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## 176

## ENGELS TO JENNY LONGUET

### IN ARGENTEUIL

Great Yarmouth, 27 August 1882
10 Columbia Terrace

My dear Jenny,

Many thanks for your letter. I should have been satisfied with a postcard. I am glad you opened my letter to Mohr and so took care of the contents.[a]

I had a letter from Lausanne[b] and a telegram from Vevey[374] with their[c] new address, Hôtel du Léman, where they seem to be inclined to settle down. As to Mohr's health I was really glad to have a cool and impartial report from you, Laura who saw him only a few hours, reported rather over favorably and Tussy on the other hand, on seeing him again at Argenteuil, was rather disappointed that no more progress had been made. I am quite of your opinion that we have every reason to be content with what progress he *has* made under the very unfavorable weather that has persecuted him so tenaciously, and after three pleurisies, two of which were so severe. I never expected that he would be able to pass next winter in England, and said so before he went to Algiers to Helen[d] and other discreet people. So that is no surprise to me; I am only disappointed that he will scarcely be able to come over before for a few weeks. Anyhow I am glad that the doc-

[a] See this volume, p. 311.- [b] Ibid., pp. 310-11.- [c] Marx and Laura Lafargue- [d] Demuth

tors are so unanimous upon this point, that will make him submit all the easier. A little more Enghien or Cauterets for his remnant of bronchitis and then a climatic cure on high ground in the Alps or Pyrenees will then set him completely up again ready for work. But as you say, all this would be upset by a relapse, which, however, is now unlikely especially with the experience he has gained.

My dear Jenny, I know all the fearful troubles you have had to go through and are going through even now. My thoughts have been often with you and I was sorry I could not find any way in which to make myself useful to you. You and Mohr were almost the constant subjects of our almost daily conversation when I called in the morning at Nim's[a] for my Pilsener beer. But I know my brave Jenny will not lose heart and when you are over the next trial,[b] I hope and expect you will be able to arrange your household in a way that will give you some rest and peace.

You have no idea what a change has come over Pumps since she is here. She occupies herself with nothing but her baby,[c] dress, amusements, pleasure trips, everything seems to have gone out of her head. And she treats the little one well, with excellent temper and patience, but then it is really a very good child, and even now while cutting two teeth, almost always laughing. Let us hope mother and child will continue in the same way.

Schorlemmer who sends his kindest regards leaves tomorrow for Germany, and I shall go to London with him for a day or two to look after business. We shall stay here for another fortnight unless driven away by the weather which has been exceedingly changeable since last Tuesday.[d] Poor Percy[e] who came last Wednesday seems to be destined to have a wet holiday, a bad lookout for a rheumatic subject. As for myself the sea air and bathing is bracing me up famously and I expect this winter I shall do some real work. .

Kind regards from all to Longuet and yourself and children[f] and best love from your affectionately

F. Engels

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[a] Helene Demuth - [b] birth of a child - [c] Lilian - [d] 22 August - [e] Rosher - [f] Jean, Henri, Edgar and Marcel Longuet

# 177

## MARX TO ENGELS[72]

### IN LONDON

[Postcard, unsigned]

Vevey, 4 September 1882
Hôtel du Léman

DEAR FRED,

Laura will be writing to you at length about events, or rather the uneventfulness here, since we are living in the Land of Cockaigne.[374] Like others, we have been for TRIPS on the LAKE.

On 31ST August I got Jennychen's letter enclosing your letter[284] and the CHEQUE which last I handed in at the local bank of Genton et Co. for *encaissement*[a] in Paris.

On 31 August, 1ST, 2ND and 3RD SEPTEMBER marvellous weather (too hot yesterday). Today wet and stormy; hope it won't degenerate into general rain. Odd that I should still be coughing; I think I'm the only person in Vevey who coughs; at all events I haven't met anyone else who does. My GENERAL STATE, however, is most satisfactory; with Laura I climbed not only to the top of the local vineyard, but also to the top of the much higher vineyard at Montreux, without feeling the slightest discomfort.

I was called on at our hotel by a MR Songeon, *président du conseil municipal de Paris*[b]; is one of the *réfugiés*[c] whom I knew in London in 1849-1850. He presented me with the official report made to the *conseil municipal* of Paris by the deputation (amongst whom Mr Songeon) it had sent to Rome for Garibaldi's apotheosis[375]; the thing is mainly concerned with 'Songeon's' own apotheosis, since he always acted as spokesman for the other French delegates. Also showed me a copy of *Capital* which is to accompany him to the sylvan retreat not far removed from here, whither he was wending his way.

So far the English haven't made such rapid progress in Egypt[355] as Wolseley 'prognosticated'.

Mr Virchow, or so I see from the *supplément* to yesterday's *Journal de Genève*, has again demonstrated that he is far and away above

[a] collection - [b] Chairman of the Municipal Council of Paris - [c] refugees

Darwin, he alone, in fact, being scientific and hence also 'contemptuous' of organic chemistry.

[On the side reserved for the address]

Fr. Engels, Esq.
122 Regent's Park Road,
*London*, N. W., *Angleterre*

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## 178

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN VEVEY

London, 12 September 1882

Dear Moor,

Postcard[a] and Laura's letter received. Am glad to hear you are having good weather at last and hope it will continue. We have been back here since Saturday; Tussy and Johnny spent a week at Yarmouth with us.

I remember Songeon very well; I often used to wonder what destiny might lie in store for that patronising, bonhomous countenance, until I eventually found it in the paper—chairman of the municipal council! That, in fact, was what was already written all over his face in 1850.

Many a bill on London from Genton & Co. has passed through my hands!

If you are planning to see something more of Switzerland, you could hardly take a better or more convenient route than that from Geneva via Berne to Interlaken and Brienz, thence over the Brünig Pass (only 3,150 feet up) to Lake Lucerne and, if you feel like it, from there to Zurich. It's an easy trip for a convalescent and would take

[a] See previous letter.

you to some of the loveliest spots in Switzerland. You could make a longish halt at Interlaken and Lucerne or some other place on the shores of that lake. Morges, on Lake Geneva, is also a pretty spot and from it you get the finest view of Mont Blanc.

It is becoming increasingly evident that the Egyptian affair [355] was contrived by Russian diplomacy. Now that Gladstone has been sufficiently soft-sawdered by sweet Olga,[a] he is to be entrusted to a wilier mentor for treatment of a more drastic kind. England has got to occupy Egypt in the midst of peace so that, in self-defence, poor old Russia may thereby be compelled to occupy Armenia, likewise in the midst of peace. The Caucasian army has already moved up to the border, and there are 48 battalions at Kars alone—a constantly mobile army, this. And in order to prove that Gladstone assents to the liberation of yet another 'Christian' country from the yoke of the UNSPEAKABLE TURK, this particular moment has been chosen for the ostentatious recall of the English commissions despatched to Asia Minor after the Congress of Berlin [376] to supervise the reforms, and for the publication of their reports which show that they have been fooled by the Turks and that everything remains as before, official corruption being ineradicable. *Palmerston est mort, vive Gladstone! Vive Gambetta*,[b] who would also have gladly put his seal to the Russian alliance in Egypt. Alas, the good old times are a thing of the past, and Russia no longer *backs* Russian diplomacy, but confronts it.

I'd be damned glad if I could come over and see you, but were anything to happen to me, even temporarily, all our financial arrangements would be thrown out of gear. There's not a soul here to whom I could give power of attorney or entrust what are really rather complicated cash transactions. Sam Moore would have been the only possible man, but he is away and these matters can only be attended to on the spot. Besides I had been hoping that you might come over, at any rate this summer, if only for a brief spell. It was obvious to me even before you left England and suffered your relapses that you wouldn't be able to spend next winter here, and I said as much to Lenchen. Now, having had relapses, it is absolutely essential for you to spend a winter that takes the form of spring, and I was glad when I heard that Dourlen and Feugier had said so unequivocally, and with one voice. Lonely though it is here without you, there's nowt as we can do about it, and everything must be subordinated to your

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[a] Olga Novikova - [b] Palmerston is dead, long live Gladstone! Long live Gambetta

making a complete recovery. But this also demands that finances be kept on an even keel, and I therefore consider it my bounden duty not to run any risks so long as this remains the case.

Hartmann[a] has invented and patented an electric lamp and has sold it for £3,000 to a stingy fellow under a no less stingy contract, so that it is exceedingly doubtful when and whether he will get his money. Meanwhile he has got himself another post — but for how long? It's difficult to make head or tail of his perpetual UPS AND DOWNS.

Best thanks for the Algerian presents brought back by Tussy. The dagger is genuinely oriental — no grass will grow where it's stuck into the ground. I shall have to obtain a stem for the pipe before I can try it out. Pumps is very proud of her Arabian bracelets. She is busy furnishing her new house which will probably take her another week. Her little girl[b] came on remarkably at Yarmouth. Johnny has been going to infant school since yesterday (in Grafton Terrace, opposite your old home).

Love from all to yourself and Laura.

Your
F. E.

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## 179

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[7]

### IN VIENNA

London, 12 September 1882

Dear Mr Kautsky,

You really must forgive me for having kept you waiting so long for an answer. I have had so many interruptions of every kind that finally, in order to get any work done at all, I had to give short shrift to

[a] Lev Hartmann - [b] Lilian Rosher

everything of lesser importance and put aside all such correspondence as was not absolutely necessary. And since, with your colonial question,[377] you had set me a task that was by no means easy to tackle, your letters met with the same fate, and in the process the good Walter got overlooked.

Should Walter and Dr Braun come over here, I shall be glad to see them and whatever can be done for them I will gladly do. As for the rest, it will no doubt turn out all right. But *what* is Walter actually expected to study over here? That's what needs clearing up first of all. Socialism as such? No need for him to come over here for that, since it's to be had everywhere save in Austria and Germany; moreover, he will quickly exhaust that field, i. e. such literature as is worth reading. Economics? History? Of these he will find an *embarras de richesses*[a] at the British Museum — so much so, indeed, that a newcomer runs the risk of instantly losing his bearings. Natural science? That would mean lectures which are wildly expensive here. It seems to me that, before the chap is sent over here, a definite curriculum should be laid down for his studies — at least in outline — and if this were sent to me, it would be easier to judge whether it could best be carried out in this country or somewhere else. Without at least *some* knowledge of English, he would be completely at a loss here. It would, I think, be a good idea to get him to study French and English for 6 months beforehand, so that he could at least read a modicum of both before he went abroad. He should, besides, have some previous knowledge of history, geography and, if possible, also mathematics and natural science if he wants to study profitably. What the situation is in this respect I cannot know; but if it's at all unsatisfactory, it would certainly be better if you first got him to come to Vienna, so that he might acquire these things under the guidance of his friends and generally learn exactly *how* one sets about learning something thoroughly off one's own bat. Otherwise, here in London, it would, for the most part, be money down the drain. These are simply thoughts that have passed through my mind when pondering on the case and which may be completely irrelevant, but after all I know little or nothing about the young man's level of education, and that is why I considered it necessary to raise these points. If you let me know more about this, you will not be kept waiting for an answer. All things being equal I am, as you know, always in favour of getting ambitious young peo-

[a] too great a profusion

ple to come abroad so that they may extend their horizons and rid themselves of the parochial prejudices which they must needs acquire at home.

You should not, by the way, count too much on Marx so far as Walter is concerned. He is unlikely to come home before next May, and even then he will probably have to take great care of himself if he is to get his work completed. In particular he is now strictly forbidden to talk overmuch, on top of which he has to spend his evenings quietly if he is not to have bad nights. In the daytime, however, he will, of course, be working. If one is trying to get rid of chronic bronchitis of many years' standing and ensure, after three serious bouts of pleurisy, not only that it disappears without trace, but also that it doesn't recur, and to do all this in one's sixty-fifth year, one has enough to contend with on that account alone.

You ask me what the English workers think of colonial policy. Well, exactly what they think of any policy — the same as what the middle classes think. There is, after all, no labour party here, only conservatives and liberal radicals, and the workers cheerfully go snacks in England's monopoly of the world market and colonies. As I see it, the actual colonies, i. e. the countries occupied by European settlers, such as Canada, the Cape, Australia, will all become independent; on the other hand, countries that are merely ruled and are inhabited by natives, such as India, Algeria and the Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish possessions, will have to be temporarily taken over by the proletariat and guided as rapidly as possible towards independence. How this process will develop is difficult to say. India may, indeed very probably will, start a revolution and, since a proletariat that is effecting its own emancipation cannot wage a colonial war, it would have to be given its head, which would obviously entail a great deal of destruction, but after all that sort of thing is inseparable from any revolution. The same thing could also happen elsewhere, say in Algeria or Egypt, and would certainly suit *us* best. We shall have enough on our hands at home. Once Europe has been reorganised, and North America, the resulting power will be so colossal and the example set will be such that the semi-civilised countries will follow suit quite of their own accord; their economic needs alone will see to that. What social and political phases those countries will then have to traverse before they likewise acquire a socialist organisation is something about which I do not believe we can profitably speculate at present. Only one thing is certain, namely that a victorious proletariat cannot forcibly confer

any boon whatever on another country without undermining its own victory in the process. Which does not, of course, in any way preclude defensive wars of various kinds.

This business in Egypt[355] has been contrived by Russian diplomacy. Gladstone is to take Egypt (which he is far from having or from holding, even if he had it), so that Russia may take Armenia; which would, according to Gladstone, be the liberation of another Christian country from the Mohammedan yoke. Everything else to do with the affair is pretence, humbug, prevarication. Whether the little scheme will succeed will soon become apparent.

With kindest regards.

Yours,
F. E.

Dr Sax has just sent me his book on Thuringia.[a] Would you thank him for it on my behalf and tell him I shall reply as soon as I have read it.

My forwarding address is: Mrs P. W. Rosher, 122 Regent's Park Road; *no* inner envelope. It's Pumps who, incidentally, has already got a baby girl.[b] She doesn't actually live with me any more, but that doesn't matter.

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## 180

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 13 September 1882

Dear Mr Bernstein,

Nothing came of working at the seaside resort of Yarmouth—

[a] E. Sax, *Die Hausindustrie in Thüringen.* - [b] Lilian Rosher

5 people in one room, including my niece[a] and her 4-month-old baby,[b] made it impossible to do anything, and work was dissipated in pleasure and the consumption of excellent Pilsener beer. But tomorrow I go into action, and there'll be no respite until the pamphlet is finished.[378]

Your suggestion *re* a preface on Bismarckian socialism is quite all right so far as it goes, and up to a point accords with what I myself want. But this stuff could not be dealt with in a preface; it would make it far too long. Besides, I could do with more material on accident insurance, etc., especially the proposed legislation, without which I cannot manage.

I have been turning the matter over in my mind for a long time, and I can well see that something ought to be written about it. I now propose to write (for the *Sozialdemokrat*) a series of articles (each of which would constitute an independent whole) on the kind of bogus socialism now proliferating in Germany — a series which could subsequently be published in pamphlet form.[379] First part: Bismarckian socialism. 1. Protective tariffs. 2. Nationalisation of railways. 3. Tobacco monopoly. 4. Workmen's insurance. But for this I should have to have:

*ad*[c] 2, a stock-exchange list giving the prices of the recently nationalised railways (Berg. Märk., Berlin-Görlitz, Berlin-Stettin, Märkisch-Posen) shortly *before* nationalisation and, wherever possible, the price paid by the state for these railways;

*ad* 4, the Bill as submitted to the Reichstag by Bismarck.

If you can procure these things for me, I shall have sufficient material.

To this, I would, however, append a second part in which I would criticise a number of woolly ideas enfranchised by Lassalle and still echoed now and again by our people — e. g. the 'iron law of wages',[289] 'the full return to the *labourer*' (not *labourers*) 'for work performed',[380] etc. To make a clean sweep here is even more necessary than it would be in respect of the first part, and if this annoys some of those Lassallean 'leaders' who have unfortunately come to be accepted,[381] so much the better. Hence I do in fact regard the second part as the more important one.

On the other hand, there's no knowing whether it mightn't just suit

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[a] Mary Ellen Rosher (Pumps) - [b] Lilian Rosher - [c] as regards

the book of certain persons if St Ferdinand[a] were to be subjected to this kind of unbiassed criticism. It might be said, should anything of the sort appear in the party organ, that it was an attempt to provoke a split in the party and a breach of the long-standing compact with the Lassalleans. In which case the whole thing might be brought out in pamphlet form as soon as it was finished, without prior publication in the *Sozialdemokrat*.

So either the *whole thing* appears in the *Sozialdemokrat*, and subsequently as a pamphlet,

or it appears straight away as a pamphlet,

or, for the time being, does not get written at all.

*Voilà mon cas.*[b] Well, you choose what you would prefer and, if necessary, consult one or two others. But once something has been settled, there must be no going back on it. I cannot expose myself to another dose of the unpleasantness occasioned by Most's protests against the *Dühring*.[382]

Incidentally, some very nice preparatory work relating to Bismarckery and attendant phenomena has already been done in two articles in the *Sozialdemokrat* on the possible repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law.[383] I assume they are by Bebel; if not, the party can congratulate itself upon possessing another chap who is so splendidly capable of getting to the root of the matter and disregarding all considerations of a secondary nature, and this in a style at once so straightforward and lucid. The articles are first-rate.

What you say by way of an excuse for the flabbiness of various people in Germany is something I have already told myself on more than one occasion. Yet again and again we find the same old German want of character and backbone, coupled with the urge to play the role — vis-à-vis the philistine, not the worker — of a worthy, respectable citizen who is a very far cry from the dangerous ogre he is made out to be. These always turn out to be people who consider their modicum of education absolutely essential if the worker is not to emancipate himself but rather be liberated by them. In their eyes, the emancipation of the working class is attainable only through your eddicated mediocrity; how could the poor, helpless, uneddicated workers hope to achieve it on their own account?

I wrote to Kautsky yesterday.[c] He tells me he has found some quite

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[a] Ferdinand Lassalle - [b] That's my position. - [c] See previous letter.

passable *doctores philosophiae*[a] there. If they *really* are passable, they would be most welcome.

Adolf Beust will be able to sing you the tune of 'The Vicar of Bray'.[384]

Kindest regards.

Yours,
F. E.

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## 181

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN LONDON

Vevey, 16 September 1882
Hôtel du Léman

DEAR FRED,

Just as I was about to write to you, the *garçon*[b] brought me the *Journal de Genève* with the news of Bebel's death.[c] It's frightful — the greatest misfortune for our party! He was a unique phenomenon in the German (one might say in the 'European') working class.

Your altruistic concern for me is unbelievable, and I am often secretly ashamed — but I won't pursue this theme any further for the present.

My plan, before I left Paris, was AT ALL EVENTS to spend at least October in London and to be together with you. Feugier and Dourlen also thought there could be no objection to this, should October prove passable. It might yet be so, despite September being wet. The barometer rose here on the 8th, reached the top of the scale on the 9th,

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[a] doctors of philosophy - [b] waiter - [c] The news turned out to be false (see this volume, pp. 328, 330).

gradually fell right down to the bottom on the 12th, rose again on the 13th (having reached about the same level as on the 11th), then fell and has, since last night, been slowly rising again. Although GENERALLY throughout Switzerland there has been heavy rain and storms (many landslides and 'ACCIDENTS' resulting therefrom), the weather round about Vevey in particular has been relatively good (cold only by way of an exception in the mornings and early hours of the evening). This is why we have continued to stay here. The air is invigorating. Despite perpetual changes of temperature and humidity in the course of the same day, my sense of well-being is steadily mounting. My catarrh is, I think, no longer bronchial but has turned into the ordinary kind; but I shall not know this for certain until I get to Geneva where I shall consult a good German doctor, i. e. get him to auscultate me. But the trip you suggest,[a] delightful though it would be, is unlikely to be feasible in present Swiss weather conditions. This year's vintage would seem to be a 'flop'. Indeed, snow can already be seen to be falling — earlier than usual — on the *montagnes de la*[b] Dent du Midi; it's 'REGULAR' on the Jura.

The Bernese *Bund* has declared that as a military commander Wolseley almost surpasses the old Napoleon.

There's one snag about the goings-on with the Russians[c]; it's quite possible that Bismarck would allow them — the last-mentioned — to commit themselves, but what we should see next would be 'consolation prizes' for Austria and COMPENSATION for the Prussian imperium. Thus Russian intervention in Armenia might lead to general war, and that is probably what Bismarck wants.

Apropos! The dagger, as you can no doubt see from the crudeness of the workmanship, is of Kabyle[385] origin. As regards the stem for the pipe, I brought 3 such — bamboo stems — with me (at the *jardin d'acclimatation*[d] the pipes were provided with only one); I didn't want to burden Helen[e] and Tussy with these stems which were too long for their *malles*,[f] but was planning to bring them to London myself.

From Jennychen's letter — just received by Laura — I see that *Longuet* has gone to Aubin *with Wolf*[g] *and Harry*. Unfortunately Jennychen's health gives cause for concern, as I had already been told by the doctors (Feugier and Dourlen) in Paris. Jennychen anxiously awaits news of Johnny from London; she has had NO NEWS since Tus-

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[a] See this volume, pp. 318-19. - [b] mountains of the - [c] See this volume, p. 319. - [d] Botanical Gardens - [e] Demuth - [f] trunks - [g] Edgar Longuet

sychen's trip to Yarmouth with Johnny. Indeed Laurachen is writing to Jennychen today and telling her that John is ALL RIGHT and has already started going to infant school, as we saw from your letter.[a]

Love to Tussychen, Lenchen and Pumps, AND NOT TO FORGET, MY GRANDSON.[b]

We shall in any case write and tell you if we leave Vevey.

Your
Moor

Have not the Prussian scoundrels, by imprisonment, etc., been party to Bebel's death?

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## 182

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN VEVEY

London, 18 September 1882

Dear Moor,

Your[c] and Laura's letter arrived at 9 o'clock in the evening; I at once went to impart what was necessary to Tussy and Lenchen.

We over here were also exceedingly perturbed by the false news of Bebel's death.[386] Since Saturday night there had been many indications that it was false, and in the *Justice*, just received, there's a telegram from Liebknecht saying that, while Bebel had been dangerously ill, he was now on the mend.

At the same time I turned up most opportunely, the news having

[a] See this volume, pp. 318-20. - [b] Jean Longuet - [c] See previous letter.

just been received that Jenny had had a baby girl [365] and that everything was going as well as could be expected.

When you go away from Vevey, leave an address (poste restante or something of the sort) for letters. Will write at greater length tomorrow or the day after.

Your
F. E.

Love to Laura.

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## 183

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN VEVEY

London, 20 September 1882

My dear Laura,

I hope Mohr got my short note of the 18th.[a] Today, though under difficulties, I must fulfil my word to you. Have worked all day till six, then dined, now it's just nine, and so I am still a little under the influence of digestion, and besides Percy[b] is sitting in the room but fortunately has got hold of *Joseph Andrews.*[c]

Do I know Vevey? Why I was quartered there in September 1849 [373] for about a fortnight and know all the Swiss shore of the lake from Villeneuve to Geneva, the Dent du Midi and the Mont Blanc and all the rest. If I am not much mistaken we officers were quartered in your Hotel on the Quay. On the square under the trees, facing the lake, Willich used to exercise his two horses.

I am only sorry you cannot even partially follow the route I made

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[a] See previous letter. - [b] Rosher - [c] H. Fielding, *The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews and His Friend Mr. Abraham Adams.*

out for you,[a] the Bernese Oberland in many respects beats the lake of Geneva hollow. But if Mohr is to try for a visit to England in October, it will soon be time for you to leave the Alps. I do hope there will be no risk to him in trying to come. Otherwise it would be folly. But let the doctors decide, as also about his winter-resort. Only if he is to come he ought not to drive it too late. We have had fine but rather cold weather, especially night and morning; yesterday rain all day, today dry but mostly dull. By the way, Mohr's statistics of the barometer[b] tally exactly with our experiences at the time at Yarmouth, only that we had a very wet day with the highest barometer, Tussy praying all the time for the stupid thing to fall again!

As to the star-foaming wine, that quality is the exclusive property of *Cortaillod*—the other Neuchâtel wines do not possess it as far as I know, nor are they so good.

I wonder who got up that foolish story about Bebel.[c] The Cologne Gazette[d] up to Friday last week[e] (date of the Paris papers that reported it) knows or at least tells nothing about it. The thing looks as if it was a canard concocted by Mehring and worked at Paris by Hirsch. I may be on the wrong scent, but I should not be at all astonished if it was so. Who else should have so quickly put in the *Bataille* and in the *Citoyen* a necrology, in which (in the *Bataille* at least) an *old* speech of Bebel's was quoted that he was for lawful means exclusively? The fright we got was something awful. On Friday night two members of the Working Men's Society Tottenham St.[297] came and asked me, was it true? That was the first I heard. Tussy had the *Bataille* with the article mentioned above same night; the silence of the *Justice* might be explained by Longuet's absence. Hunting up German papers in the cafés was useless; the nos that could contain anything would no longer lie on the tables on Saturday. At last, Tussy (not I) got her *Sozialdemokrat* on Saturday night, and that was not only silent, but stated that Bebel was fit to go out again. To lose Bebel would have been irreparable. Where to find such another head not only in Germany but anywhere else? Where such theoretical clearness, such practical tact, such quiet determination among the younger generation? Well, it's not true and the relief I felt when all doubt had disappeared, I cannot describe.

I am also extremely glad that Jenny has got over her crisis and that

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[a] See this volume, pp. 318-19. - [b] Ibid., pp. 326-27. - [c] A reference to the false news of Bebel's death. - [d] *Kölnische Zeitung* - [e] 15 September

the result is the fulfilment of a wish long felt by many.[365] I believe she had a very hard time of it. No doubt Dourlen has provided her with someone to look after her, the people at 41 Maitland Park[a] make no doubt he has, and in that case the absence of the 'creator'[b] might perhaps be a blessing.

Little Pumpsia[c] has the chicken-pox and is very restless and takes at last to crying. The whole affair will be over in a few days and would not upset her so but for two pimples having come out on her tongue which, together with the coming of two teeth, make her mouth feel rather painful. Otherwise everything all well.

Love from all to yourself and Mohr and from yours affectionately,

F. Engels

Bernstein writes that 'The Vicar of Bray'[384] has created a tremendous sensation.

Tussy had written *three times* to Jenny, since her return here, up to *last Sunday*!

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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## 184

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 22 September 1882

Dear Mr Bernstein,

Herewith preface, chapters I and II. No. III has also been completed, as has a concluding note of some 7 pages on early German common ownership of land ('The Mark').[378] But I want to revise it thoroughly once again and shall keep it here for a while.

The puff at the beginning is something I cannot allow. Because

[a] Eleanor Marx and Helene Demuth - [b] Charles Longuet - [c] Lilian Rosher

Lafargue was the editor of the French edition and Malon sent in a highly inadequate affair, Marx wrote this introduction [20] with Lafargue, which may have been suitable on that occasion. In a German edition edited by myself, that sort of thing simply wouldn't do. However, once Marx is back here I might at some time write a little pamphlet for you on the theme of German socialism from 1840 to '52. [387] It's got to be done some day. But Marx has got more than half the material, and God knows where he's tucked it away.

I would, of course, have to have *both* drafts of the Accident Insurance Act, ditto all the new bills of a social nature submitted to the Reichstag in the autumn.

The wholesale condemnation of indirect taxation had been mooted by us as far back as 1849 and '50, [388] and that's where Lassalle got it from. I have noted the other things you say about Lassalle. Certain points are open to objection, but that's neither here nor there. Lassalle as a *person* simply doesn't come into it, but I cannot do otherwise than demolish the illusion that Lassalle was an original thinker in the economic (or indeed any other) field. [a]

I am glad to hear that the articles were written by Vollmar [383]; it shows how much he has come on. I quite agree with what you say about the Anti-Socialist Law. [16] We shall benefit only if the law is *purement et simplement* [b] abrogated. And that will happen only if new life can somehow be injected into the German political puppet-show, and if something should happen immediately conducive to a revolution, a new era, [277] Russian constitution or something of the sort. In which case there can be no doubt that we shall obtain majorities everywhere where there are now strong minorities and, besides Saxony, win over all the larger towns.

As for the French, your plaint is the eternal one which everybody voices. They are governed by the moment, and by personalities. I don't read the *Citoyen* and do not get the *Égalité* at all regularly, nor do I know whether it still exists, so cannot have any real idea of what the chaps have been up to of late. But of one thing you may be sure — there can be no peace with Brousse. The latter is, and will remain, a consummate anarchist, his only concession being the admissibility of participating in elections; moreover *he* and Malon, by throwing the others out of the Fédération du Centre, [265] have intensified the struggle in the conduct of which Brousse is employing wholly Bakuninist

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[a] See this volume, pp. 324-25. - [b] purely and simply

tactics—slander, lies and every imaginable dirty trick. The tactics the others employ may on occasion be silly and childish, may fail in their objective and make it impossible for us foreigners to intervene on their behalf (as, indeed, we have regularly refused to do), but the fact remains that it has become impossible, once and for all, to do anything whatever in concert with Brousse. He will not rest content until his clique, 'Alliance'-fashion,[67] has gained control of the entire movement. Come to that, the whole of the 'workers' party', both factions included, constitutes only a small and dwindling portion of the Parisian working-class masses. The latter still continue to follow men like Clemenceau, against whom Guesde has conducted his polemic in a way that is far too personal and also quite wrong in other respects. Besides, Clemenceau is perfectly capable of development and might, given the chance, go much further than at present, especially once he has realised that what is entailed is a *class struggle*; true, he won't realise this until he *has to*. Now, Guesde has got it firmly into his head that Gambetta's *république athénienne*[a] is far less of a threat to socialists than Clemenceau's *république spartiate*,[b] and hence wishes to prevent the latter, as though we or any party in the world could prevent a country from passing through its historically necessary stages of development; nor has he stopped to think that it would be difficult to attain socialism in the France of a republic *à la* Gambetta without having first passed through a republic *à la* Clemenceau. But in the absence of such an insight into the necessary historical context of things and hence into the probable course of their development, party politics cannot be pursued with success. However, I have thrown up the sponge and am leaving the chaps to their own devices. Nor will the Belgians get anywhere with their admonitions.

John Stuart Mill's niece and adoptive daughter, who contributed to the election fund, is called *Helen* Taylor and is not therefore the same as Ellen M. Taylor. Although both these Christian names mean Helena, they are two quite distinct persons.

I know absolutely nothing about Garcia.[c] From time to time someone from the club[8] comes to see me, and I shall ask about him when the occasion arises.

Apropos. How did the rumour about Bebel's death get into the *Citoyen* and the *Bataille*? It came as a tremendous shock to us over

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[a] Athenian republic - [b] Spartan republic - [c] See this volume, pp. 347-48.

here—as it did to Marx in Vevey, where he spent 3 weeks,[374] and we had no means of verifying it until we got the *Justice* on Monday evening, containing a telegram with Liebknecht's *démenti*; for the information, or lack of it, in the *Sozialdemokrat* could not reassure us completely because of its having been published on the Thursday.—By now Marx will probably be on his way back to Argenteuil, though he might spend a few days in Geneva. He is better but the poor summer has undone most of the good work effected by the cure.

I would ask you to briefly acknowledge receipt of the ms., and also to send me the ms. *with* the proofs,—in a wrapper, of course. How long can I keep the remainder[a] here without causing inconvenience?

Kindest regards,

Yours,
F. E.

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## 185

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN LEIPZIG

London, 23 September 1882

Dear Bebel,

We have had a fine old fright on your account. A week ago yesterday, on Friday the 15th[b] inst., 2 people from the Society[8] came to see me at 10 o'clock at night in order to ascertain the truth of the report, which had already appeared (with obituary) in 2 issues of the *Citoyen*, that you were dead. I told them that it was highly unlikely but could

[a] A reference to Chapter III of the German translation of Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* and the article 'The Mark' appended to it (see this volume, pp. 331-32).-
[b] 16th in the ms.

say nothing definite. As I had a boring visitor sitting with me, who wouldn't go although I had ceased to utter a word, it was not until after 11 that I was able to hurry round to Tussy Marx and found her still up. She had the *Bataille*, likewise with an obituary, but with no details as to the source of the news which was, however, considered to be beyond doubt. Hence general consternation. The greatest misfortune that could befall the German party was at least a strong probability. That there should have been no mention of it in the English papers, exulting as they were over Egypt,[355] was only too understandable. Well, on Saturday evening my *Sozialdemokrat* failed to arrive, which sometimes happens, but on Sunday morning I was lucky enough to discover that Tussy had got hers and, to judge by its contents, the news seemed highly improbable. To have consulted German newspapers in cafés would have been hopeless from the start, since they replace them each day. And so we remained in a state of the most excruciating uncertainty until finally, on Monday evening, the *Justice* arrived with an official denial.

Marx had just the same experience. He was at Vevey on Lake Geneva[374] and read the story in the reactionary *Journal de Genève* which naturally retailed it as being beyond doubt. He wrote to me the same day absolutely aghast.[a] His letter arrived that same Monday evening and so I was able to convey to him by the early post the happy news that the whole thing was an invention.[b]

No, old fellow, you won't be allowed to peg out on us at such a tender age. You're 20 years younger than I am, we have many a jolly battle ahead of us and, when we have fought them side by side, it will be your duty to stay in the firing line, even though I may have cut my last caper. And, since people alleged to be dead are supposed to live longest, you, like Marx,[389] have now doubtless been condemned to a good long life.

But who in heaven's name brought this nonsense up—is that liar Mehring at the back of it again[390]?

Did you get my last letter—written some 2-3 months ago? The one in which I replied about the tamer elements in the party?[c]

Meanwhile you will have seen that your wish that I should contribute openly to the *Sozialdemokrat* has been met on several occasions. Moreover I yesterday sent off to Bernstein the first two of the three

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[a] See this volume, p. 326.-[b] Ibid., p. 328.-[c] Ibid., pp. 280-83.

Dühring chapters which are to come out in German after the French edition [360] and which I have extensively revised and popularised. The rest is finished but I shall keep it here, provided it does not upset the printing arrangements, so that this, the most difficult section, can be thoroughly gone over again. An appendix will follow in the shape of a lengthy note on early German common ownership of land. When you go to quod I would advise you to procure from one library or another:

G. L. v. Maurer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Marken-, Hof-, Dorf- und Städteverfassung in Deutschland,*

also his *Geschichte der Markenverfassung in Deutschland.*

It is very necessary that someone in Germany should familiarise himself to some extent with the subject — a person capable of reading these things with an open mind and without ready-made 'cultivated' preconceptions. These are the chief works and a knowledge of them would mean that you would have extremely solid foundations to go on in any debate about landownership or agrarian questions.

Judging by the few articles he has written in the *Sozialdemokrat* (on the possible repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law), [383] Vollmar would appear to have turned out very well. I should be glad if this also proved to be the case elsewhere; we could damned well do with some efficient chaps.

Marx is slowly recovering from his three attacks of pleurisy. For his long-standing, highly troublesome, sleep-inhibiting bronchial cough he had recourse while in Argenteuil to the nearby sulphur springs at Enghien, but in view of the bad weather did not, out of consideration for his general condition, effect the complete recovery that would otherwise have been virtually certain. After that he went to Vevey for three weeks with Madame Lafargue, intending to leave there the day before yesterday, first for Geneva, then Paris and then, given passable weather, to come over here for a few weeks in October. Under no circumstances ought he to spend the winter in London, but whether in the south of England or elsewhere is for the doctors to decide. However I can tell from his letters that there has been a steady improvement, albeit hampered by the bad summer.

Where exactly are you chaps at this moment? It seems as though you have all been turned by the 'Lesser' [198] into a lot of Flying Dutchmen, just as Marx has been by his illness.

Give Liebknecht my kindest regards when you see him.

The whole Egyptian affair is an act of vengeance by the Jews (Rothschild, Erlanger, etc.) for their erstwhile expulsion from Egypt under Pharaoh.[391]

Your
F. E.

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## 186

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN LONDON

Paris,[392] 28 September 1882

DEAR FRED,

A letter from Laura in which I had enclosed a note[284] was accidentally left lying on the writing-desk at Laura's and so cannot be sent off before the post goes.[393] But in order that no time may be lost, I would again ask you to send me some bank notes from London as soon as possible (*address* as before to Argenteuil), in case Dr Dourlen, as I hope, allows me TO CROSS THE CHANNEL.

Today rain is pelting down from the so-called heavens, despite the fact that Alphand continues to fear a *famine d'eau.*[a]

At the same time, drop me a couple of LINES AS TO THE state of the weather in London.

Moor

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[a] water shortage

# 187

## MARX TO ENGELS [72]

IN LONDON

Paris, 30 September 1882

Dear FRED,

Just as I was on the point of leaving Argenteuil for here (i. e. *la Gare*[a] St Lazare), to wait for Laura, dine with her in Paris and return with her to Argenteuil, I was caught by the *facteur*[b] with your letter [284] and enclosure. Laura will be arriving in ABOUT A quarter of an hour, PROBABLY with your letter to her.

Today I was examined by Dr Dourlen in Jennychen's PRESENCE. The *râlement muqueux*[c] *has disappeared*; SOME *whistling* remains but I am well on the way to ridding myself of this persistent catarrh, the character of which has already changed considerably. My GENERAL *habitus*[d] has, it appears, improved enormously in addition to which I have grown 'fatter'.

Under no circumstances does he wish me to spend more than a fortnight — 3 weeks if the weather is really fine — in London. He is less afraid of moderate cold than of a moist atmosphere. Nor, under any circumstances, am I to travel via Calais by the special night train, but go to Calais by day and not leave there till the day after, by the morning STEAMER.

For the rest, *la campagne de l'hiver*,[e] as he called it, should start early, in the Isle of Wight, Jersey, Morlaix (Brittany) or Pau. Otherwise he would sooner I *didn't stay anywhere too far south* except *IN CASE OF NEED*, which is also why he had considered Vevey a better place for me than Montreux which is warmer. He assumes that normal temperatures, etc., will not suddenly rebel again in consequence of my arrival. Finally, he will *not* give me *definite* 'permission' to leave for London *until* his mind has been set at rest by the meteorological bulletins for the next few days. (French doctors are strongly prejudiced against the London climate.) He is now certain the cure will be complete, provided no mistakes are made. Hence I shall not get away before Tuesday[f] at the earliest.

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[a] the station - [b] postman - [c] *mucous râle* - [d] condition - [e] winter campaign - [f] 3 October

If the French government — AS REPRESENTED BY THE SWINDLING FINANCIER Duclerc — knew of my presence here (particularly in view of the absence of the Chamber), it might, even without Dr Dourlen's permission, send me packing, the '*Marxistes*' and '*Anti-Marxistes*' having, at their respective socialist congresses at Roanne and St-Étienne,[394] *both* done their damnedest to ruin my stay in France. Nevertheless, I regard it as some compensation that the selfsame Alliance gang — the Malons, Brousses, etc. — should have seen their hopes so sadly dashed *in as much as* (to use our Bruno's[a] favourite turn of speech) the 'unspoken' innuendo, 'Marx is a "German", alias "Prussian", hence French "*Marxistes*" too are traitors', could no longer cut any ice with anyone, nor yet dare make itself 'heard', even for a moment. *C'est un progrès.*[b]

Clemenceau has been seriously ill and has not quite recovered yet. He, too, took *Capital* with him from Paris to read while he was ill. It would now seem to be the fashion for FRENCH REAL OR WOULD BE 'ADVANCED' LEADERS — IF 'THE DEVIL BE SICK'.[395]

Love to all, not forgetting Jollymeyer.

Moor

I shall write or telegraph before I leave France.

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## 188

## MARX TO LAURA LAFARGUE[72]

IN PARIS

[London,] 9 October 1882
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Cacadou,

The weather over here isn't bad, i. e. there are a few reasonably fine hours when the sun is shining brightly; for the rest a cloudy sky

[a] Bauer - [b] It's a step forward.

and occasional showers of rain; not cold generally speaking and the old, familiar fog only in the mornings and evenings.

Schorlemmer came up to London on Saturday,[a] just for a friendly reunion; he has got to return to Manchester this evening, since he has to 'perpetrate' a lecture there tomorrow. He sends you his kindest regards.

Engels is most annoyed at not having been sent the *Égalité* for many months past, nor is my copy of that paper now being despatched to London. How much is the subscription to the *Citoyen*, incl. postage to London? I forgot about it when I left Paris and shall send a MONEY ORDER immediately on hearing from you.

Yesterday we dined with Engels; Pumps was there too, OF COURSE, with her BABY[b] and Percy.[c] The BABY is very cheerful and her conversation livelier than that of her *maman*—at all events.

Yesterday evening Donkin came to see me, but won't be giving me a medical examination until later this week; he thought I was looking better. He considers the ISLE OF Wight to be the best place for me to stay during the approaching FOG TIME OF England.

Johnny is cheerful and, on the whole, 'HAPPY', although it's touching how often he speaks of his *maman*[d] and Harry. Under Tussy's guidance he has once again acquired the habit of washing himself from head to foot in 'cold water' every morning. His 'well-being' leaves nothing to be desired; going to bed regularly at an early hour (8 p. m.) also suits him. His learning has progressed as far as 'capital letters', likewise to deciphering the large Roman numerals on clocks.

I am most anxious that you should send me news of Jenny's STATE, personal and domestic. Is the Longuet FAMILY[e] back yet?

The great agitator, St Paul,[f] will, OF COURSE, again be enthroned on the heights of the Boulevard de Port-Royal.[g] Write and tell me about his ADVENTURES, but above all about yourself—how you are and how things are going.

My cough is still tiresome, but more as a *MEMENTO* that I have got to throw it off completely if I am to become ALTOGETHER fit for action again.

Lenchen and Johnny send their love.

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[a] 7 October - [b] Lilian Rosher - [c] Percy Rosher - [d] Jenny Longuet - [e] Charles Longuet and his sons Henri, Edgar and Marcel - [f] Paul Lafargue - [g] Paris address of the Lafargues

Farewell, Cacadou, my trusty and beloved travelling companion,

OLD NICK

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## 189

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [113]

### IN ZURICH

London, 20 October 1882

Dear Mr Bernstein,

I have long been intending to write to you about French affairs, but have only just got round to it. Just as well, since it means that I can kill two birds with one stone.

1. *St-Étienne.*—Despite the well-meant advice of the Belgians, the inevitable has happened; the incompatible elements have taken themselves off. [394] And that is a good thing. In the beginning, when the *parti ouvrier* [a] was formed, it was necessary to admit all elements who accepted the programme; if they did so with mental reservations this would be bound to emerge later on. We over here have never been under any illusion about Malon and Brousse. Both were educated in the Bakuninist school of intrigue; Malon was actually one of those responsible for the foundation of Bakunin's secret 'Alliance' [67] (one of the 17 founders). But *enfin,* [b] they had to be given a chance to show whether, along with Bakunin's theory, they had also sloughed off his practice. Developments have shown that, if they accepted the programme (and adulterated it, Malon having introduced sundry changes for the worse), it was with the mental reservation that they would subvert it. What was begun at Rheims [223] and Paris [337] has been completed at St-Étienne. The programme's proletarian class

[a] workers' party - [b] after all

character has been eliminated. The communist *considérants*[a] of 1880[68] have now been replaced with the Rules of the International of 1866[b] which had to be couched in such elastic terms precisely because the French Proudhonists had lagged so far behind, yet could not be left out. The positive demands of the programme have been neutralised in that every locality may, whenever it wishes, formulate an individual programme for each individual occasion. Not only is the so-called party of St-Étienne not a workers' party — it isn't a party at all because it hasn't in fact got a programme: at most it is a Malon-Brousse party. The worst these two can reproach the old programme with is that it repelled more people than it attracted. That has now been put right: neither Proudhonists nor Radicals[396] can now have any grounds for remaining aloof and, if Malon and Co. were to have their way, the 'revolutionary pap' of which Vollmar complains[397] would be the official expression of the French proletariat.

In all Latin countries (and elsewhere too, perhaps), the practice as regards congressional mandates has always been exceedingly lax. Many of these could not stand close scrutiny. So long as it wasn't taken too far, and so long as only matters of little consequence were involved, small harm was done. But the Bakuninists were the first to introduce this (initially in the Jura) as a regular thing, going in for expert mandate-rigging and attempting by this means to make their way to the top. Similarly now at St-Étienne. The preliminaries to the congress have been generally dominated by all the old Bakuninist tactics which stop at nothing — lies, slander, covert cliquism. That's the only thing Brousse is master of. These chaps forget that subterfuges and the like, which may succeed in the case of small sections and in a small territory such as the Jura, will necessarily bring about the downfall of those who try them on in the case of a genuine workers' party in a large country. The apparent victory scored at St-Étienne will not be a lasting one and Malon-Brousse will soon be done for once and for all.

It would seem that *any* workers' party in a large country can develop only through internal struggle, as indeed has been generally established in the dialectical laws of development. The German party has come to be what it is through the struggle between the Eisenachers and Lassalleans,[269] in which, after all, the actual scuffles played

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[a] preambles (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 340) - [b] *Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Statuts et règlements,* London, 1866.

a leading role. Unification only became possible when the gang of scoundrels deliberately cultivated as a tool by Lassalle had lost its efficacity and even then we were in far too great a hurry to effect that unification.[381] In France, those people who have admittedly relinquished Bakuninist theory but continue to make use of Bakuninist weapons and at the same time seek to sacrifice the class character of the movement to their own particular ends, will likewise have to lose their efficacity before unification again becomes feasible. Such being the case, it would be sheer folly to advocate unification. Moral homilies are of no avail against teething troubles which, circumstances being what they are today, are something that has got to be gone through.

Come to that, the Roanne people stand in great need of constant and searching criticism. Revolutionary hot air and futile impetuosity are things they are all too often prepared to tolerate.

2. *Citoyen-Bataille.* As long ago as last summer, at a time when things were going badly for the *Bataille*, when its funds had been frittered away on advertising, etc., the capitalists had pulled out and Lissagaray had broken with Malon-Brousse, Lissagaray proposed to Guesde that the two papers be amalgamated, that they should both be editors-in-chief and each have the right to sling out three of the *other* paper's editors. Thus did Lissagaray think to rid himself of the hated Lafargue. This was unanimously rejected by the editors of the *Citoyen*. The *Bataille* continued to founder. Thereupon Lissagaray approached the proprietor (a Dutch FINANCIER[a]) of the *Citoyen*, and negotiated the amalgamation *behind its editors' backs* in the hope that this coup de main would place them at his mercy. The reverse happened. The editors of the *Citoyen* continued to publish the paper without a day's interruption, and sued the proprietor for breach of contract. Lissagaray's coup was thereby foiled and he himself utterly put to shame, as he has himself admitted by having recourse to the extreme measure of challenging the '*lâche*[b] Lafargue', as he describes him in the *Bataille*, to a duel which, it is to be hoped, the latter will not accept under any circumstances.—That Lissagaray has ruined himself for good and all by this Bonapartist coup can be pretty well assumed. To go and risk the very existence of a paper at a moment when it is more necessary than ever to the party in their struggle against the St-Étienne faction and to do so in order to save one's own paper from

[a] Blommestein - [b] cowardly

foundering, to change (had this coup succeeded) the character of that paper, no matter what the cost, and to change it, what's more, in alliance with the bourgeois proprietor and in the teeth of the editors, the representatives of the party,—that really is a bit too thick!

Should the enclosed be unduly strong, you must tone it down.[398] What's the position as regards printing the pamphlet?[378] Marx is here (but secretly!) and will, I hope, be able to spend the winter on the English coast.

Yours,
F. E.

Since this letter is being sent off at 5 p. m. on 20 October, it should be in your hands by tomorrow evening or Sunday[a] morning.

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## 190

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 21 October 1882

My dear Laura,

The day before yesterday we received from Paul[b] the two first nos of the transplanted *Citoyen.*[c] From the *Justice* we had already seen what a Coup de Jarnac[399] the noble-hearted *Prospère*[d] had tried to give the Parti ouvrier[e]; from the above two *Citoyens* we saw that *le coup avait manqué et*[f] from the stupid shot in the *Citoyen et Bataille* against '*le lâche*[g] Paul Lafargue' we saw that Prospère *le sa-*

[a] Saturday in the ms. - [b] Lafargue - [c] See this volume, pp. 346-47 and 370. - [d] Lissagaray - [e] Workers' Party - [f] the coup had failed and - [g] the cowardly

*vait parfaitment*,[a] and was reduced to unmask himself as what he really is, a Cassagnacquian spadassin.[400] Of course Paul will not have been such a fool as to *donner dans ce panneau*.[b]

Now for two days there have not arrived either *Citoyen*, or *Citoyen et Bataille*, and today even *La Justice* is not to hand. We are therefore quite at sea. Has the *Citoyen* been stopped for want of funds after two nos, or has it merely been owing to the *génie éminemment organisateur des français*[c] that we have not received it? You know, in a crisis like this we ought to be regularly supplied with that information which we cannot obtain here. I have written a long letter to Bernstein yesterday[d] about both Malon-Brousse and this last affair; but every day something may happen in Paris about which it would be important to communicate at once to Bernstein the correct version. How can I do so without materials? Is it really impossible for the Parisian friends to do those things which are the most important to their own interests?

I heard from Mohr today that you have written to him and that Jenny is better. Mohr is very well on the whole, Donkin who examined him was almost surprised at the great improvement he found (barring the unavoidable remnants of the two later pleurisies); he thinks he can pass the winter on the English South Coast. He will have to go soon, we have a perfectly beastly wet day to-day — but warm — and when other people have fine weather we begin to have fogs.

I wish you could first pop in some Sunday evening and see the change. Mohr of course cannot go out at nights, so there is nobody but the Pumpses and now and then Helen.[e] The 'crimm' has entirely disappeared. The other day the great Loria called again. That evening Jollymeier happened to be here, and as we were all a little bit on, poor Loria had to undergo some chaffing, he asked Helen had she *also studied political economy* and told us he had tasted Moselle wine in Berlin but it tasted like *sugar and water*. Well, you can imagine the explosions. I appreciate, the poor pedant has enough of our 'sarcastic' company. Imagine he would not believe that you and Tussy were sisters and stared when he heard who your father was.

Today Signor Alessandro Oldrini called at Mohr's while I was there, but with a consistency of which I was very glad, he was not

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[a] was perfectly informed - [b] get into this trap - [c] Frenchmen's exceptional gift for organising - [d] See previous letter. - [e] Demuth

received. If Mohr had seen him, God knows how many Zanardellis would have followed.

The Pumpses are getting on very well, they have been a fortnight or so in their new house, but it is not yet quite furnished — for want of *cash*. The baby[a] has had an abscess on the chest but is getting better. Charley[b] and Miss Bevan have been married three weeks, I have not yet seen them since the happy despatch.

Now it is getting on fast for post-time and as I want you to have this letter tomorrow morning I must conclude. Kind regards to Paul and if you see them, Guesde and Mesa.

Yours affectionately,
F. E.

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## 191

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN[401]

### IN ZURICH

London, 27 October 1882

Dear Mr Bernstein,

In great haste the finale of the Paris affair,[c] for I can hardly suppose the Parisians send you these things — even we over here have to extract them from the chaps by force.

Well, the *Citoyen* continued to appear under its old editors, while Lissagaray edited *Le Citoyen et la Bataille* with the aid of two anarchists, Mals and Crié. On Friday evening *Citoyen et Bataille* made an attempt to have the *Citoyen* confiscated (by the police) on account of a Wanda Kryloff feuilleton, whereupon the proprietor of the old *Citoyen*, Blommestein, a Dutch financier and now Lissagaray's *associé*,[d] asserted his proprietorial rights. Having been warned in

[a] Lilian Rosher - [b] Presumably Roesgen - [c] See this volume, pp. 343-44, 344-45. - [d] partner

good time, they removed the feuilleton, and the police inspector who came to confiscate it had to go away discomfited. On Sunday, the editors of the *Citoyen et Bataille* declared that, should further attempts be made to confiscate the *Citoyen*, they would resign *en masse* (all 3 of them). That same evening, Sunday, the *Citoyen des deux mondes*, as it had been called on legal advice, was confiscated for bearing an unauthorised title, again at Blommestein's behest. On Monday, i. e. Tuesday morning, it reappeared as the *Citoyen international* and called upon the editors of the *Citoyen et Bataille* to stand by their word and resign. Not them! Mals and Crié declared secretly that *they* at any rate would resign, but did not; Crié was arrested for alleged complicity at Montceau-les-Mines[402] and is now in quod.

In the meantime, since the editors of the *Citoyen* would have gone in daily fear of its being confiscated unless they changed its name, the paper has, for the past 4 days, been calling itself *L'Égalité*, alongside which the weekly *Égalité* is to continue appearing. Where they are getting the money from I don't know; it's 3 weeks since we had any news of the chaps. Nor did we get an *Égalité* today. But since your Frenchman's *génie éminemment organisateur*[a] manifests itself, especially in our friends' case, in organising the most tremendous disorder, one cannot draw any conclusions from that.

The attempt to kill the *Citoyen* with the help of the judiciary and police has stripped Lissagaray of the last remnants of his disguise. He has combined stupidity and baseness in rare measure.

Marx asks whether you could procure for him a copy of the Swiss Factory Act.[403] We should be greatly obliged if you could let us know in which year the Factory Act now in force in Germany was passed and whether it is a separate Act or part of the Imperial Trade Regulations. We should then be able to get hold of it. Marx needs it for the 3rd edition of Volume I[b] and promises in return to send you something every now and again for the *Sozialdemokrat*. In a few days he will be leaving for the Isle of Wight where, provided nothing untoward happens, he will spend the whole winter (5 or 6 hours' journey from here).

Your MISTER Garcia is one of the many little democrats who scurry about London, and have a finger in every association. Their new central boss — or, as Stieber puts it, ringleader,[404] is a BARRISTER called

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[a] exceptional gift for organising - [b] of *Capital*

Hyndman, a strongly democratic and ambitious man who unsuccessfully stood for parliament in the recent elections. All these little folk have no one behind them but each other. They split up into all manner of sects and into a befuddled non-sectarian tail consisting of those who hail democracy in whatever guise. They are intent on impressing the world with their own importance. Hence the catalogues of unknown celebrities in Garcia's articles. In most of them there are good intentions and to spare, but likewise the intention to cut a figure. Hence I would advise you to treat the chap's letters with *considerable reserve*; after all, his principal aim is to elevate to the position of an important party a small clique which has, for twenty years, remained one and the same nonentity, if under various names and in a variety of guises. But, or so it seems to me, the *Sozialdemokrat* is not there in order to create a continental reputation for these busy nobodies. Herewith the card of one of the little associations of which Garcia is secretary and to which he recently invited me to lecture; I, of course, refused.

I anxiously await the material on Bismarck.[a] If Marx goes away now, I shall set to work in earnest and, should I become engrossed in a lengthier piece of work[b] which ought to have been finished long ago, I shall *not be able to extricate myself at all quickly*, and I should warn you in advance that in that case you will have to wait. If I had got the stuff here, I could start in on it straight away and polish off this business *first of all*. Bebel promised but didn't send anything and now is actually bound for prison where Liebknecht already is,[405] and there's absolutely no hope of getting anything from the others.

Encl. for Kautsky.

Kindest regards,

Yours,
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p. 324. - [b] A reference to *Dialectics of Nature*.

# 192

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL [7]

IN LEIPZIG

London, 28 October 1882

Dear Bebel,

I have at last got round to writing — Marx has been back here for about 3 weeks and leaves the day after tomorrow for the Isle of Wight, so I have had no respite in which to do anything.

As regards Vollmar's articles, [383] I was particularly taken with the first one on account of its rightful dismissal of the wails emitted by those 'right wing' gentlemen who are clamouring for the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law, [16] even upon conditions that would be worse for the party than the Anti-Socialist Law itself, provided this would enable them to go back to founding newspapers *à la Gerichts-Zeitung* and hence to the old literary fleshpots of Egypt. [406] In my view it would be perfectly in order to point out to these people — and it was exclusively against them that the article was levelled — that a *voluntary* repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law might very easily be accompanied by conditions that aggravated the position of the *party*; to emphasise that the last way we shall rid ourselves of the Anti-Socialist Law is by begging and cringing.

Otherwise the question is an academic one so far as I am concerned. I believe that the Law will receive its quietus from the events which will usher in the revolution and which cannot be long in coming.

I read the second article pretty cursorily as there were 2 or 3 people with me who kept chatting all the time. Otherwise I should have detected, from the way he visualises revolution, the French influence and hence also, no doubt, my Vollmar. Your handling of this aspect has been absolutely right. [407] It is the longed-for, ultimate realisation of the phrase 'single reactionary mass'. [408] *Here* all the official parties combined in a lump, *there* we socialists in column; a great decisive battle, victory at one stroke all along the line. Things aren't that easy in reality. In reality, as you indeed point out, a revolution begins the other way round, in that the great majority of the people, as also of the official parties, band together *against* the government thus isolated

and overthrow it and only after such of the official parties as still remain viable have reciprocally, collectively and successively brought about their own ruin, only then will Vollmar's great parting of the ways come about and with it our opportunity to rule. If, like Vollmar, we were to try and begin the revolution straight off with the *last act*, we should have a pretty rotten time of it.

I paid little attention at the time to the final passage on the new tactics — there's certainly a great deal of indictable stuff there if looked at in conjunction with the Penal Code. However no great harm can be done if someone occasionally goes a bit too far in this direction; as it is, they err all too often in the other. So if I have made too light of this passage you, or so it seems to me, have taken it too seriously; you will have seen from Viereck's jubilations in the *Süddeutsche Post* how the right wing is seeking to make capital out of your reply.[409] I don't believe our people in Germany would have accepted Vollmar's way of talking simply on the strength of his articles, though the proclamation he has called for, 'We are organising *in secret*', certainly deserves to be rejected.

I am eagerly awaiting the material on Bismarck,[a] but as you're both in jug,[405] no doubt I shall now have to wait some time. But if by then I have got my teeth into a different, longer work, which has also long been pending,[b] I shan't be able to break off, and Bismarck will have to wait.

In France the long-expected split has occurred.[394] The original association of Guesde and Lafargue with Malon and Brousse was probably inevitable when the party was founded, but Marx and I were never under any illusion that it could last. The point at issue is purely one of principle: ought the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie to be waged as a *class struggle*, or ought it to be conceded that, in good opportunist (or Possibilist, as the socialist translation has it) fashion, the programme and the movement's class character be dropped wherever this would enable more votes or more 'supporters' to be won? Malon and Brousse have come out in favour of the latter, thereby sacrificing the proletarian class character of the movement and making a division inevitable. Well and good. The development of the proletariat takes place everywhere to the accompaniment of internal struggles, and France, which is presently forming a work-

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[a] See this volume, p. 324. - [b] Engels means *Dialectics of Nature* (see present edition, Vol. 25).

ers' party for the first time, is no exception. We in Germany have passed beyond the first phase of the internal struggle (with the Lassalleans) and others still lie ahead of us. Unification is perfectly all right provided it works, but there are things which take precedence over unification. And when, like Marx and me, one has spent a lifetime fighting harder against the self-styled socialists than against anyone else (for we regarded the bourgeoisie simply as a *class* and hardly ever took issue with individual bourgeois), one cannot feel unduly perturbed just because the inevitable struggle has broken out.

I hope this will reach you before you go to quod. Marx and Tussy send their love. Marx is recuperating in fine style and, if there's no recurrence of his pleurisy, he'll be stronger next autumn than he has been for years. When you see Liebknecht in the '*Käfigturm*',[a] as they call it in Berne, give him regards from us all.

Your
F. E.

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## 193

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [19]

### IN PARIS

London, 30 October 1882

My dear Lafargue,

I should be glad if you would send the daily *Égalité regularly* to the

Editors of the *Sozialdemokrat*
Zurich, Switzerland.

In return, they will send you the *Sozialdemokrat*. The exchange—a daily for a weekly paper—may not be fair, but all the same it is you

[a] prison (literally: cage tower)

who will benefit. The idea is to keep the editors of the *Sozialdemokrat* in touch with what is going on in Paris and, as you yourself will realise, it is impossible for a ± proletarian editorial board to subscribe to all the sheets that keep springing up and disappearing in Paris.

Up till now, the *Sozialdemokrat*'s chief source of Parisian news has been Vollmar, a German Reichstag deputy and ex-officer who was paralysed as a result of a wound. He is a friend of Malon's, so you can imagine the extent to which the latter has turned him against your party. To that end he has not only made use of the many mistakes with which you have unfailingly supplied him (an example being Léon Picard's absurd article about the Germans in Paris last September [410]) but, as is his wont, has also told him one lie after another.

For all that, Vollmar is a good chap; in Germany he issued a pamphlet so impossibilist [383] that he will no longer be able to remain a Possibilist in France. It would be worth finding an opportunity to talk to him and get him to see the other side of the coin. I haven't got his Paris address, but it shouldn't be difficult to find.

In Zurich I am bringing out a German edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* with a great many addenda. [378] I shall send you some copies as soon as they arrive. The thing will be about twice as long as your translation. [20] Would there be any chance of publishing a new French edition based on this German one?

Again I repeat that, for you, it is of the utmost importance to keep the *Sozialdemokrat* informed; Bernstein could not be more willing, but from over here we cannot keep him in touch with things of which we ourselves are so often left in ignorance. You would do well to seek occasion to write to him, asking for information of some sort, etc. It is by such *innocent* means that Malon succeeds in ingratiating himself with others, means which you persist in ignoring. You should remember from time to time that Paris is no longer the capital of the world (which no longer has a capital) and less still the world itself.

Love to Laura.

Yesterday Marx dined with me and in the evening we all had supper at his house, after which we sat together drinking rum until one o'clock, and today he has left for Ventnor.

Yours ever,

F. E.

First published in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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Translated from the French

## 194

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN VENTNOR

[Postcard]

[London, 1 November 1882]

Dear Moor,

I trust all has gone well with you so far.[411] Two *Égalités* have gone off and 2 old *Kölnische Zeitungs* yesterday. This evening it's raining and blowing like fun here. Yesterday's brief debate about Maceo's extradition from Gibraltar discreditable to Gladstone & Co.[412] Johnny had 2 teeth pulled out today with a totally unexpected heroism that surprised even Dr Shyman. No other news.

Wednesday evening.

Your
F. E.

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## 195

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN[413]

IN ZURICH

London, 2-3 November 1882

Dear Mr Bernstein,

Have still received no proofs[378] (*just arrived* 3/11). On the other hand, have had from Bebel the Accident and Health Insurance Bill of *1882*, but not the earlier one[144] which represents *genuine* Bismarckian socialism, unclouded by parliamentary divisions. This I would much like to have, along, perhaps, with other matter relating to the Accident Insurance *Bank*; without it I can do nothing.[414]

Many thanks for Marquis Posener.[a] I do not need all the details in respect of the remaining railways. The *early or mid-1879 prices* (before anything was known about nationalisation) would suffice. The difference between then and now would be proof enough of the way the state has bought up the bourgeoisie.

In many respects Lassalle was a good jurist and, moreover, had studied his Roman law of inheritance sufficiently to impress jurists by the extent of his knowledge. (Impress was a favourite expression of his; while contemplating the Rosetta Stone[415] in the British Museum, he said to Marx: 'Should I, do you think, set aside six months in order that I may impress the Egyptologists?') In Germany all one has to do is elaborate some point in accordance with a particular theory, and the jurists of today have forgotten that the theory elaborated by Lassalle was *lifted word for word from Hegel's Philosophy of Law* and *History*[b] and, moreover, does not hold water if applied to the Roman law of inheritance; this did not evolve out of what Hegel called 'the *will*'; rather, it evolved out of the history of the Roman *gens*, the tribal kinship group about which, indeed, few jurists know very much. I only said, by the way, that I should be obliged to demolish the legend of Lassalle as an *original thinker*,[c] and that is absolutely essential.

I had not seen Lafargue's letter in the *Prolétaire*[d] and shall certainly ask for it to be sent me from Paris, though I am unlikely to get it. If you still have it, I should be glad if you could send it me; you shall have it back. Incidentally, Malon had better be on his guard; Lafargue has a whole pile of compromising letters from him.

Picard's absurd article[410] has *certainly been disclaimed* in the *Citoyen*, as Marx saw with his own eyes. Come to that, the man who sent it to you, marked in blue, does not know French; he *has underlined as a chauvinistic remark of the* Citoyen's *a passage* which Picard *attributes to the exploiteurs bourgeois ... ligue des patriotes ... dont Gambetta est la tête*[e]! I have marked it in red. Picard enjoys pitting himself against Guesde and, by way of playing a nasty prank on the latter, smuggled the article into the paper; if a proper editorial

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[a] Stock Exchange nickname for the Märkisch-Posener Railway Company.- [b] G. W. F. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts oder Naturrecht und Staatswissenschaft im Grundrisse* and *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*.- [c] See this volume, p. 332.- [d] Ibid., pp. 363-64.- [e] *bourgeois exploiters* ... patriotic league ... of which Gambetta is the chief

department were a possibility over there, this nonsense wouldn't have occurred.

Now for the 'nothing short of creditable performance put up by the editors of the *Citoyen* in the *affaire* Godard'.[416] We happen to know all about this, Marx having often heard the tale when in Paris, both from those who had taken part and those who had had nothing whatever to do with it. Following an incident at a meeting Godard went to the editorial office of the *Citoyen* where he was accorded an amiable reception by Guesde who still has something of a soft spot—of a *personal* nature—for his erstwhile anarchist brothers. In the middle of a quiet conversation Godard, with no excuse whatsoever, suddenly dealt Guesde a violent blow in the face. The others sprang to their feet, whereupon Godard, like the cowardly anarchist he is, took refuge in a corner—surely they would not ill-treat him, a *prisonnier*[a]? And, instead of beating him into pulp, the childlike *Citoyen* chaps conferred together and decided *qu'en effet il fallait le lâcher parce qu'il—était prisonnier*[b]!! Godard left in a hurry, sad to say, unchastised. But the following evening, when most of the editors were known to be absent, a dozen armed (with cudgels, etc.) anarchists forced their way into the office and, with threats, demanded satisfaction of some kind or other. Massard, however, stood firm, and they had to retire empty-handed. But now the *fédération du centre*[265] was informed; for several evenings they placed working men on guard, and *messieurs les anarchistes* did not return.

But now I would ask you to give me some idea of the sort of thing the 'nothing short of creditable', etc., is supposed to have consisted in.

The whole gist of your letter points to the conclusion that you are not getting the *Citoyen* regularly and hence, apart from the *Égalité* and the *Prolétaire*, have to depend on the accounts provided by comrades in Paris who, in turn, exclusively rely on the services of Malon and Co., in regard to whom their credulity would seem to have assumed no mean proportions. In my view, however, the party organ ought in no circumstances to allow its judgment of a workers' movement in a foreign country to be unduly influenced by comrades in that country's capital who are, after all, a shifting population. German associations abroad are unquestionably the worst sources of information on the movement abroad; they seldom command a bird's eye view and generally have their own particular connections to the

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[a] prisoner - [b] that in fact he ought to be let go because he—was a prisoner!

exclusion of any others, which means that they are unable to participate in the daily life and development of the movement around them; finally, they persist in the belief that, even today, they are still of more than passing significance to the masses actually inside Germany. What would have become of our freedom to form an opinion of the English movement or non-movement, had we paid the slightest heed to the changing majority in the London Society [8]? And are not the German associations in New York equally uncritical in their attitude towards the American labour movement? Every association desires above all else to be thought important, and will therefore—in the absence of a very energetic and intelligent leadership—fall an easy prey to any foreigner who knows the ropes.

Nor have you any other source, i. e. other than *Malon at second hand*, for your reiterated assertion that in France 'Marxism' suffers from a marked lack of esteem. Now what is known as 'Marxism' in France is, indeed, an altogether peculiar product—so much so that Marx once said to Lafargue: '*Ce qu'il y a de certain c'est que moi, je ne suis pas Marxiste.*' [a] But if, last summer, the *Citoyen* was able to sell 25,000 copies and attain a standing such that Lissagaray hazarded his reputation in order to gain control of it,[b] would not this seem somewhat incompatible with the lack of esteem you insist upon? Even more incompatible, however, is the fact that the said lack of esteem does not prevent these chaps from enjoying an esteem so great as to enable them, after being chucked out of the *Citoyen*, to start up an important new daily paper *the selfsame day*[c] and, supported *almost exclusively* by *workers and petty bourgeois* (*ouvriers et petits industriels*[d] as Lafargue puts it), to keep it going for almost a fortnight despite harassment by the proprietor[e] of the old *Citoyen*, and find a capitalist with whom they will be negotiating the paper's[f] fate—*oui ou non*[g]—tomorrow. The facts speak so clearly for themselves that Malon will doubtless have to swallow his 'lack of esteem'. However, so great is the 'esteem' in which Mr Malon himself is held that, upon his applying to Rochefort for an increase in the fee he is paid for his *Intransigeant* articles, he received the reply: '*Je vous paierai plus si vous écrivez moins.*' [h] One of these days Malon ought to have a go at founding a daily paper in Paris without so much as a farthing in his

[a] 'If anything is certain, it is that I myself am not a Marxist.' - [b] See this volume, pp. 343-44 and 346-47. - [c] Ibid., pp. 344-45. - [d] workmen and small industrialists - [e] Blommestein - [f] *L'Égalité* (daily edition) - [g] yes or no - [h] 'I shall pay you more *if you write less.*'

pocket, and then he could show us just what the esteem he enjoys is capable of doing.

But enough. I have asked Lafargue to send the *Égalité* to the *Sozialdemokrat* by way of exchange,[a] and today he writes to say he will do so, in return for which kindly send the *Sozialdemokrat* to the *Égalité*. Should the *Égalité* not arrive regularly, you need only drop a line on a postcard to P. Lafargue, 66 boulevard de Port-Royal, Paris.

As regards Vollmar's articles,[383] the first in particular, levelled as it was directly against those people who, cost *what it may*, are clamouring for the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law,[16] was very good and hit the nail on the head. The second I read rather cursorily before a journey, with 3 or 4 people chattering around me. Otherwise I would not have taken the lenient view I in fact did of the excessively fervent language which, in conclusion, he advocates for use by the party. Bebel is right about this point[407] which, however, I think he takes rather too seriously. The real weakness of the 2nd article (which I did note, but attached little importance to) lies in its childish idea of the coming revolution which is to *begin* by the whole world splitting itself 'À Guelph! À Waibling!',[417] into 2 armies — on one side ourselves, on the other the whole of the 'single reactionary mass'.[408] I. e. the revolution is to start with the *fifth act*, not with the first, in which the masses of the opposition parties stand shoulder to shoulder against the government and its blunders and thus win through, whereupon one after the other of the individual parties amongst the victors loses its efficacity and puts itself out of the running, until finally the mass of the people are thereby forced onto our side, at which juncture the decisive battle so much vaunted by Vollmar can take place. However, in this context the point was a subsidiary one; what mattered was the demonstration that, if the gentlemen of the 'right wing' were to have their way, we should indeed be able to rid ourselves of the Anti-Socialist Law on conditions which, while more detrimental to the party than the Anti-Socialist Law itself, would permit these gentlemen to publish sheets like the Hamburg *Gerichts-Zeitung*, etc., and pass them off as party organs. In this I agree entirely with Vollmar and have, indeed, written and told Bebel as much.[b]

Yesterday I took out in your name, 137 alte Landstrasse, Riesbach,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 351-52.- [b] Ibid., p. 349.

a money order for 12/- = 15.10 frs in payment of Marx's and my subscription. Kindly remind me when this again falls due.

Congratulations on entering your seventh thousand.[a]

Yours,
F. E.

In view of your amendment in the preface,[b] there is no longer any call for an allusion to the Wyden Conference,[418] and I shall therefore delete it. Kindly send me *2* fair proofs.[378] Proof will go off today or tomorrow.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN VENTNOR

[London,] 3 November [1882]

Dear Moor,

Postcard received[284] — we were somewhat anxious, not having heard how you felt on the day after your journey.— ALL RIGHT! Encl. letter from Lafargue — so Brissac, Picard and Bouis did after all waver for a moment![419]

You will have seen that Andrea Costa has been elected in Ravenna and that there was a republican majority in Norway.[420]

Herewith the *Égalité* and the latest DOINGS of two 'locals' in whom you have always taken an interest.

Your
F. E.

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[a] of *Der Sozialdemokrat* - [b] F. Engels, 'Preface to the First German Edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*' (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 457-59).

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## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 4 November 1882

Dear Mr Bernstein,

'I beg to confirm mine of yesterday's date. I also have pleasure in acknowledging receipt of your favour of the 1st inst. and make haste to reply to same.' As you can see, the old counting-house style is not yet quite defunct.—In fact I am writing straight away in order to save you a great deal of unnecessary trouble. It is most kind of you to hunt out and send all those books for us but 'as of now we have no real use for them'. For in the 3rd edition[a] Marx merely intends to bring the state of factory legislation up to date by making emendations and additions; to that end he needs *the text of the original Acts and nothing more*. Secondary matters such as the protection of labour, liability, etc., are not of importance for *this* purpose. And I wrote and told you yesterday what I still need for Bismarck[414]: the early or mid-1879 stock market prices of the last 6 railways to be nationalised, and the *first* reading of Bismarck's Accident, etc., Insurance Bills. If I need the latest edition of Saling[b] due to come out in the meantime (it was kind of you to advise me of this), I can get hold of it within 4-5 days.

I was quite glad to have your information about Garcia; after all, one never knows when one may not run into the man. What he says about agitation on the part of certain TRADES UNION chiefs in regard to the channel tunnel is quite true. They are the very ones who were always open to purchase by the radical bourgeois (under Morley) and on this occasion they have been joined by G. Shipton, the editor of *The Labour Standard*. There is absolutely no doubt that these people are in the pay of the Channel Company; they are not running up travelling expenses, etc., out of sheer enthusiasm. Admittedly it is a pretty innocuous business at present, but Shipton himself has now had a taste of bourgeois money, of course, and in view of his utter spinelessness and unbounded craving for popularity, this may lead to

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[a] 3rd German edition of Vol. I of *Capital*.—[b] *Saling's Börsen-Papiere*

something more. He has lost his virginity and the other 'REPRESENTATIVE WORKING MEN', those who have grown grey in the hurly-burly, will doubtless take him completely in tow before long.

That you are being bombarded from Paris with pro-Malon anti-Guesde letters I willingly believe. But after all, the correspondent you cite pronounces himself an incompetent judge in as much as he admits writing under the impression of the current anti-German campaign and reproaches you for doing your duty as editor of the party organ, namely 'taking a bird's eye view', critical and all-embracing, of the affair and, unlike himself, refusing to be swayed by transitory and local events. And if, 2 months later, the man is still harping on this one unfortunate article[410] and permits his view of a significant faction of the workers to be determined by this one incident alone, does that mean that the party organ ought to proceed in an equally blinkered fashion? If there exists in Paris a whole lot of non-socialist and semi-socialist workers who vent their chauvinism on the hated Germans, is the *Citoyen* at fault? Certainly no more at fault than the German socialists in Paris if, when things come to a head, a whole lot of non-socialist German workers in Paris, London, New York or any other big American city accept a lower wage, thereby depressing the wages of the natives (in America even those of the Irish!) and bringing the German workers *en masse* into not altogether undeserved disrepute? And, finally, if he found the article so hard to stomach, why didn't he *object*? A disclaimer *did* appear and admittedly it made pretty light of the matter, but Marx tells me that, according to the tenets of the Paris press, it was as adequate as any that is customarily issued in respect of an editor who has blundered, always assuming that *no pressure* has been brought to bear on the paper. But such pressure could have been brought to bear, and very simply at that. Had a letter of protest been drawn up and delivered to the office either by a single individual or a deputation, the editors would have had to take the matter seriously. Had the editor in attendance (it might even have been Picard himself) made difficulties, all that would have been required was the threat, that, if the letter failed to appear in the *Citoyen* on the following day, it would be sent forthwith to the *Sozialdemokrat*, in Zurich. If your correspondent did not know enough French, Vollmar was there; had the latter been absent, Hirsch[a] would have gladly taken the thing on. If the chaps had acted in this way they

[a] Carl Hirsch

would have earned themselves respect, taught the *Citoyen* a useful lesson and I should have been heartily glad. But to submit to it all like so many sheep and then give vent to cries of woe is typically German and has earned the Germans the contempt they deserve. If *we* had put up with that sort of thing from the French and English, if our people had behaved so spinelessly in Germany, where should we be today? Before the German socialists in Paris demand it is their view of the French movement that should prevail in the party organ, they must demonstrate, firstly, that they are at all capable of free and impartial criticism and, secondly, that they are able to *stand their ground* vis-à-vis the French. Neither of these things has happened.

As to the undesirability of a daily paper in Paris, I am unable to share your view. In *Paris* the influence of a weekly is confined to small circles; if one wants to influence the masses one must have a daily. We too were opposed to a daily when there was no prospect of getting hold of one and the childish emigration to Lyons took place in connection with the *Émancipation*.[208] Things are different now. The *Citoyen* and its editors have made a name for themselves in Paris, bourgeois papers of all complexions have been compelled to engage in disputations with it and been triumphantly dismasted and, were we now to lose the daily, it would be a signal defeat. The fact that it cannot be an ideal, perfect paper, that a spuriously democratic system of editing by *comité* often ends up with there being no editing at all, as in the case of Picard's article, in no way alters the case. Not long ago, however, Lafargue sent me the issues, some 20 of them, dealing with the split,[394] and it seemed to me that the paper was by no means so bad — apart from those aspects we have long criticised and which would be no different in a weekly. But in the view of anyone familiar with conditions in the Paris press a paper appearing twice weekly would be impracticable from the start; it would come *stillborn* into the world. Either a weekly or a daily. And with the latter the former editors of the *Citoyen* undoubtedly now have a very considerable chance of succeeding, as is evident from their rapid transition to the daily *Égalité* which is already selling more than 5,000 copies in Paris.

Now for the Clemenceau MEETING. To assess this, like other things in Paris, by German standards, is quite impossible. When Gambetta was unable to make himself heard in his own constituency,[179] there were shouts of triumph from the entire radical and socialist press. The

same thing has now happened to Clemenceau.[421] Clemenceau is a cool, calculating man, quite prepared to go further, when he sees the need for it, and even become a communist, provided he can be *convinced*: *convainquez-moi donc!*[a] And the workers in his constituency are employing a highly effective means of persuasion by demonstrating to him that his seat is in danger. That may give a shove to his somewhat slothful study of socialism.

But who were the people who did it? Guesde & Co. on their own perhaps? No, the chairman was in fact Joffrin, Malon's friend and Clemenceau's future rival candidate in Montmartre! So our people were decent enough, as always hitherto in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, to vote for Malon's chairman and side with Malon's people. If we are to censure the attitude of the workers, Malon's people are far more deserving of censure than Guesde's.

The passage in the *Citoyen* simply says that these tactics should continue to be employed against Clemenceau; if they have been successful once, why not again? It remains to be seen whether the *Prolétaire* would be able to pay the *Égalité* in the same coin at meetings. Nothing I have witnessed so far has given me cause to believe that this would be so. But even were it momentarily to be the case, it wouldn't matter, and would be unlikely to continue for long.

And now a quick word or two before the post goes—otherwise this letter won't leave until Monday morning—on the campaign you have in mind with regard to the programme.[422] I consider it most untimely. The programme is a bad one, but no one discusses it any more. An amended programme requires that it should not be open to dispute. So long as delegates are not elected in public, therefore, so long as *every* mandate can be disputed, it would be better not to interfere with the programme unless absolutely necessary. An amended programme would give the right wing an excuse to set themselves up as the true faithful who have complete confidence in the old well-tried programme, etc. So think twice about it before sowing these seeds of discord among a party that is bound hand and foot.

The greatest danger to any political émigrés lies in the urge to be up and doing; something has really got to happen; something has really got to be done! And so things happen whose import one fails to appreciate and which, as one later realises oneself, had far better

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[a] Go on. Convince me!

never happened at all. Might you and Vollmar be suffering from the urge to be up and doing? If so beware—of yourselves.

With kindest regards.

Yours,
F. E.

Marx is in Ventnor, Isle of Wight[411]; getting on well.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN VENTNOR

London, 6 November 1882

Dear Moor,

Today I got a note from Laura in which she tells me that the fate of the *Égalité* will not be decided until tomorrow[423]; prospects, however, are most favourable.

Have you seen today's *Standard*? Telegram from Frankfurt[a] to the effect that, since Ignatiev's arrival in Paris, there have been renewed attempts—initially, it would seem, of a fairly lukewarm kind—at a Russo-French compromise: if France were to do something more about the extradition of dynamiters,[424] Russia for its part would vigorously back up France in Tunis, Egypt, etc. So that explains the police campaign in France! We shall see if anything of a relevant nature is submitted to the Chambers.

Lafargue has sent me the *Prolétaire* containing the indictment of himself, Guesde, etc., which was read out at St-Étienne.[425] A truly Bakuninist concoction, but otherwise weak: its strongest props are mutually contradictory *letters*, written on the spur of the moment by *Lafargue to Malon*, and calmly reproduced by the latter without, it would seem, any fear of the same being done to *his* letters by

[a] 'Russia and France. Frankfort, Sunday Night', *The Standard*, No. 18191, 6 November 1882.

Lafargue. Nor is he wrong; these gentlemen have made opportune use of their material and were Lafargue then to come out with Malon's letters, it would be *moutarde après diner*.[a] I shall send you the thing tomorrow. But you must let me have it back for the sake of Bernstein, against whom I may well make use of it. In place of what I asked for, or along with it, the latter has proposed to send a small library of books *about* factory legislation, something which I can only hope I have nipped in the bud in good time[b]; I expect to get the Swiss Factory Act[403] any day now and shall order for you the latest German trade regulations which contain the provisions for factories.

No other news here.

Your
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS[72]

### IN LONDON

[Ventnor,] 8 November 1882

Dear Fred,

What do you think of Deprez' experiment at the Munich Electricity Exhibition?[426] It was almost a year ago that Longuet promised to procure Deprez' works for me (notably his demonstration that electricity makes it possible to convey energy over considerable distances by means of a simple telegraph wire).[427] For a close friend of Deprez', Dr D'Arsonval, is a contributor to the *Justice* and has published this and that about Deprez' investigations. Longuet, as is his wont, is always forgetting.

I greatly enjoyed looking at the 'paper' you sent in which Sher-

[a] Mustard after dinner, i.e. shutting the stable door after the horse has bolted.-
[b] See this volume, p. 359.

brooke and Rivers Wilson parade as 'TRUSTEES IN LONDON FOR THE BONDHOLDERS'.[428] In yesterday's *Standard*, *HOUSE OF COMMONS* DEBATES, Gladstone was severely rapped over the knuckles on account of the said TRUSTEES,[a] since the above-named Rivers Wilson also occupies a senior (i. e. well-paid) position in the English PUBLIC DEBTS administration. Gladstone, clearly much embarrassed, at first attempted TO POOH-POOH [the matter] but, upon notice being given of a MOTION of censure over Rivers Wilson, Gladstone mendaciously denied all knowledge of the Galveston and Eagle etc. Railway Co. OUR SAINTLY GRAND OLD MAN[b] is playing a role no less glorious over the 'extradition' from Gibraltar.[412] It was not for nothing, one recalls, that this same Gladstone, together with one Graham, etc., underwent his apprenticeship in the captious official oligarchy under Sir Robert Peel.

No one could be better suited for the clumsy, lying, stupid equivocation and lame excuses that characterise the Egyptian affair than Sir Charles Dilke.[429] He has neither the pietistic casuistry of Gladstone, nor the quizzical levity of the *quondam*[c] Palmerston. Dilke is simply an ill-mannered parvenu who imagines himself great by reason of his boorishness.

Since I take *The Standard* here, I too discovered therein the telegram from Frankfurt to which you allude.[d]

Apropos. I should be glad if Bernstein could send me the *Jahrbuch* containing the *article* by *Oldenburg* (at least I think that's what the author is called) on my theory of value.[e] Although I don't actually need it, it would nevertheless be better if I had before my eyes what was argued at the time. When I wrote to the little Dutch parson[f] the whole thing was quite fresh in my mind. Since then there has been all the business of my illness and also the loss of my wife — a long period of intellectual twilight.

A violent wind rages ceaselessly here, particularly of an evening and at night; first thing in the morning it's usually wet, or at any rate GLOOMY; during the day there are always fine intervals which have to be snatched; at the same time the weather is unsettled, capricious. Last Sunday,[g] for instance, at 4 o'clock, I went up onto the Downs where I walked along the cart-track past Bonchurch, the topmost of

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[a] 'Imperial Parliament. House of Commons. Sir C. Rivers Wilson', *The Standard*, No. 18192, 7 November 1882. - [b] Gladstone - [c] erstwhile; here: late - [d] See this volume, p. 363. - [e] H. O[ldenburg], 'Die Grundlage des wissenschaftlichen Sozialismus', *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, Jahrg. I., Zweite Hälfte, Zurich-Oberstrass, 1880. - [f] Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis (see this volume, pp. 65-67). - [g] 5 November

whose houses, ascending in terraces, are almost on a level with the track (the lowest are right down by the sea); the track goes meandering on, sometimes up, sometimes down, between the hilly part of the Downs and where they dip down to the sea. (When I was here last time with Tussy [234] I didn't venture up as far as the track.) Here one can spend hours sauntering along, enjoying hill and sea air at one and the same time. It was as warm as summer; the sky pure blue, with only small, translucent white clouds; all at once a *cold shower*, SKY SUDDENLY OVERCAST. To this, no doubt, I owe the muscular rheumatism (afflicting the left side of my chest, close to the old *corpus delicti*[a]) which on Monday night became so severe that on Tuesday, overcoming my reluctance, I sent for a doctor. In reply to my questions, my OLD SPINSTER MacLean told me that there were 2 doctors who called at her house. *The greatest, the most fashionable man was 'J. G. Sinclair Coghill, Physician to the Royal Hospital for Consumption'.* I asked *whether he be the old fogey whose coach I had had the displeasure of meeting almost daily before the door of her house. Indeed,* he was the man. For he comes to see a permanent lodger here, an *old lady 'with whom nothing serious it was the matter', but 'she liked to see the doctor at least 3 times in the course of a week'.* This johnny I declined. However, the 2nd doctor who was consulted by her other lodgers was, she said, a young man called Dr James M. Williamson. It was him I called in; *indeed he is a nice young fellow, nothing priestly about him.* In fact, he could prescribe nothing save a LINIMENT for me to rub in. (So long as this muscular rheumatism persists it will hamper me, inducing as it does a feeling of discomfort, especially when I cough.) For the rest, he is apologetic about the bad weather. As regards the cough which has, particularly of late and also while I was in London, assumed an increasingly irksome, spasmodic character, I am my own health officer and hope I shall soon rid myself of it without the aid of a DOCTOR of medicine.

In order not to be too dependent on capricious variations in wind and temperature when loitering out of doors, I am again forced to carry a RESPIRATOR with me, in CASE OF NEED.

A great commotion has been caused here by a letter that appeared in *The Standard*[b] and the *Globe* TO THAT EFFECT that Ventnor is a CENTRAL HEAD OF TYPHOID FEVER and that a number of persons have fallen victim

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[a] Here: seat of the trouble.- [b] 'Typhoid at Ventnor', *The Standard*, No. 18191, 6 November 1882.

to it of late. Official and unofficial replies to this 'LIBEL' have now appeared in the local press. But the funniest thing of all is that the Ventnor municipal panjandrum wants to start a LIBEL-CASE against the writer of the letter!

*Salut.*

Moor

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## MARX TO PHILIP STEPHEN KING [33]

### IN LONDON

*Ventnor* (Isle of Wight)
9 November 1882
1 St Boniface Gardens

Dear Sir,

I enclose Post Office Order for £4,10,10 (cf. your Fol. L. 83), your note having been sent over to me after my return from the continent. Please forward me the Reports etc. (see the other page) to my present residence at Ventnor. Please also send to the same address your monthly parliam. lists until my return to London. I do not know the title, nor the time of the publication, of a recent *Report on the London Bakehouses* the which, at all events, has been published in the spring or the summer of this year. You would oblige me by getting it for me.

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

P. S. King, Esq.

1) *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories for the years* 1877-1882.
2) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain etc.* for 1881 and 1882.
3) *Agricultural Statistics*, Ireland, General abstracts for the *year 1880-1881* and the year *1881-1882*.

4) *Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom.* The numbers: 28 and 29.
5) *Reports of the Commissioners of Her M's Inland Revenue* for the years *1874-1882.*
6) The last edition of:
*Alexander Redgrave: Factory and Workshop Act, 1878, with Introduction etc.* (published by Shaw and Sons).[430]

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 9 November 1882

Dear Sorge,

I have paid for *The Labour Standard* up till 3 December, 4/5d., and advised Shipton to send all future accounts to me.[431] Should you wish to cancel the subscription, perhaps you would let me have prompt notification.

Marx was here for 3 weeks, very much better; all he needs now is decent air and careful treatment. His minor ailments have been vanquished to the extent that he will certainly be rid of them next summer. The main thing is to get him through the winter without a recurrence of PLEURISY, and for that reason he has gone to Ventnor in the ISLE OF Wight[411] whence I have just received a line or two from him.[a] So far as circumstances permit, the 3rd edition[b] will now be taken vigorously in hand there and won't, I trust, occupy too much time. For the rest he was very cheerful and sprightly and, if all goes well until next autumn, he will be stronger than he has been for years.

My thanks with regard to Lilienthal. I now know the man as well as if we had been at school together.

I'm glad to hear that your Adolph[c] is getting on well; I trust he will

[a] See this volume, pp. 364-67. - [b] 3rd German edition of Vol. I of *Capital* - [c] Adolph Sorge jun.

soon find a LINE that will give him the opportunity he wants of getting on quickly. His letters have arrived but, like many others, unfortunately still remain unanswered.

Hepner is a proper Schlemihl [432]; moreover his campaigns, like the one he is waging against Schewitsch, are too much concerned with hair-splitting. Who, after all, is going to wax so enthusiastic about 'German culture'! He really ought to familiarise himself with American culture first. But that is typically German. Here we have someone arriving from a small town in the depths of Germany who cannot wait to enlighten America. However America will BREAK him IN all right and, since he has talent, and at one time also possessed a great deal of gumption, he may yet prove very useful.

16 November

That shows you what things are like here. Having had to break off a week ago I have only today got round to continuing this and, I trust, finishing it off.

Lafargue has been in Paris ever since the spring; his wife [a] followed later, during the summer; she spent a month with Marx in Vevey.[374] For Marx had first been in Algiers,[278] then in Monte Carlo (Monaco) [310] and in both places had suffered a recurrence of PLEURISY. After that he stayed with the Longuets in Argenteuil [327] where he availed himself of the sulphur springs at nearby Enghien for his chronic bronchitis. Then to Vevey and finally back here.

You might like to know that Lafargue (with a great deal of assistance from me, since he had absolutely no intention of learning German from his wife) has published in French 3 chapters from my *Anti-Dühring* (introduction and the two first chapters of Part III 'Socialism') under the title *Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique.*[20] It made a tremendous impression in France. Most people are too lazy to read stout tomes such as *Capital* and hence a slim little pamphlet like this has a much more rapid effect. I shall now publish the thing in German — with insertions calculated to give it a strong popular appeal; the ms. is already in Zurich and the first sheet has been printed.[378] I shall send it to you as soon as it is ready. Meanwhile you have, of course, in Dr Stiebeling a purveyor of popular knowledge to

[a] Laura Lafargue

America *in utraque lingua.*[a] He is a well-meaning man but no theorist and accordingly he is somewhat muddle-headed.

The *Égalité* is now appearing daily *and* weekly. Whether the daily edition (in place of the *Citoyen* which our people were chucked out of thanks to a financial *coup*[b]) can keep going depends upon negotiations with a man of means. The *Sozialdemokrat* is being much too weak-kneed in regard to the split between our people and Malon, but the smooth, cunning, rascally Malon (one of the 17 founders of Bakunin's secret 'Alliance'[67]) has so ingratiated himself with the Germans in Paris and our people have made a number of such colossal blunders that the Paris people are doing their utmost to bring pressure to bear on Zurich. What's more, Liebknecht also intrigued with Malon when passing through Paris on his way home from here. If, however, Lafargue and Guesde commit some altogether too extravagant follies, I shall talk the *Sozialdemokrat* round, never fear.

Your
F. E.

Regards to Adolph.

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[a] Here: in two tongues (German and English).- [b] See this volume, pp. 343-44 and 346-47.

## 202

## MARX TO ELEANOR MARX[72]

IN LONDON

[Ventnor,] 10 November[a] 1882
1 St Boniface Gardens

* My dear Tussychen,

On the whole, I cannot at all complain of Ventnor. The weather was unsettled, tempestuous, alternately rainy, dry, sunny, chilly, etc., but with all that very seldom foggy, a good deal of pure air and, except [for] a few days, generally always a few hours fit for longer promenades. Yesterday and today the air rather cold, but from 11 to 2 o'clock on the sea shore (where children are playing, and reminding me of poor Harry[b]) and on our Undercliff walk,[234] and up to the railway station, and even to the down, no want of sunshine! *

You should not forget, dear child, that I was by no means quite ALL RIGHT when I arrived here. On the contrary: a spasmodic cough pretty well all the time, a great deal of sputum, increasingly unsatisfactory nights during the previous 2 weeks, no sense of well-being whatever. That couldn't change all in one day; rather a progressive change for the better.

*Au fond*[c] I was in fact glad to have had recourse to Dr Williamson for my muscular rheumatism before Donkin's PRESCRIPTION arrived from London (today). The rheumatism is really very close to the former seat of my ITERATED PLEURISY, but Dr Williamson was able to convince me by percussion and auscultation that ALL WAS STILL RIGHT — and had been since Donkin's last examination. The cough has abated, but when he called today (his second visit) Williamson persuaded me to take yet another medicine; it would, he said, shorten the transitional period leading to the stage at which all I shall need to complete my recovery will be fresh air and plenty of outdoor exercise.

Under the circumstances I have not yet got down to any real work, though I have been occupying myself with one thing and another by way of preparation.

Do you have William Langland's *Complaint of Piers the Ploughman*?

---

[a] February in the ms. - [b] Henri Longuet - [c] At bottom

If not, you may be able to borrow it from Furnivall for me, or alternatively, as it isn't dear, I could also buy it in the EARLY etc. series.[433]

Also would you see if you could find among the (old-style) *Égalités* (I mean the old weekly *Égalité*) on the table by my bed an article, or rather a report, on the encomiums of *official economists in Paris* with regard to cheap Chinese labour in Europe? I don't know whether this same matter of the Chinese was discussed in the copy of Malon's former *Revue*[434] (the copy is behind the sofa on one of the shelves of my book-case). If so you might send it to me if you cannot lay your hands on the *Égalité*.

How is my Johnny faring? Cough gone? My love to him and Lenchen. And how is your health?

Finally, I must write to poor Jennychen. It distresses me; I fear that this burden is more than she can bear.[365]

*Salut.*

OLD NICK

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## 203

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN VENTNOR

London, 11 November 1882

Dear Moor,

I was able to show Tussy your letter[a] on the evening it arrived, for in the morning Lenchen and Johnny had gone to Percy's[b] OFFICE to watch the LORD MAYOR'S SHOW and in the evening we all foregathered at Pumps's for DINNER. Johnny was very charming and Pumps's gosling very well-behaved.

I am very glad you should have found a pleasant doctor[c]; it is always better if a convalescent has someone like that at hand, and what

[a] See this volume, pp. 364-67. - [b] Rosher - [c] James M. Williamson

good can it do if every trifle must first be referred back here? I trust the rheumatism and cough are now on the mend.

Today I am sending you 2 *Égalités* and one weekly ditto. The manifesto of the (Lyons) Conseil national[435] will convince you that the Lyonnais are still the typical louts they have always been. No further news about the progress of the negotiations with the Parisian capitalist,[423] so nothing would appear to have been settled yet.

The rudeness with which Dilke replies to awkward questions[436] is indeed striking, but seems very much to the taste of the bunch of liberal parvenus who sit behind him. Well, they'll feel the *clôture*[a][437] soon enough. The business in Gibraltar[412] stinks more every day; the extradition was ordered, not only by the police, but also by a magistrate, i. e. a *judge*, and the Governor reads about it in the paper and doesn't lift a finger! Meanwhile the Russians are encroaching more and more on Persia and Afghanistan and building roads to Meshed in Persia and from Samarkand via Bukhara to Balkh (the Bactria of the Ancients) in Afghanistan, while their intrigues in Turkey are such that not even Aleko Pasha, their protégé in East Rumelia, can swallow them. But neither big Gladstone nor little Dilke have any eyes for this. The Russians certainly have something in mind for next spring. But the kind of credit they enjoy will be evident to you from the announcement of the Poti-Baku Railway's Preference Loan. They have to use a company as a cloak and, moreover, on what terms!

Vollmar has opened his pro-Malon campaign in the *Sozialdemokrat*—Malon's promptings being instantly recognisable in the saccharine tone of the apologia with which the article concludes.[438] But what do you think of Wilhelm's[b] panegyric of Bennigsen in the *Justice*? It's really laid on a bit thick, even for the worthy Wilhelm.

The Swiss Factory Act[403] also goes off in today's parcel. I shall ask Bernstein for Oldenburg's article[c] at the earliest opportunity. Bernstein will probably think twice before writing to me; I made such good use of his own arguments to refute his conclusions concerning the French business that he is unlikely to find very much more to say.[d]

Now, with the closure of the debate, the House of Commons has sunk wholly to the level of a continental Chamber which, in view of its present composition, is the position best suited to it.

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[a] closure - [b] Presumably Wilhelm Liebknecht. - [c] See this volume, p. 365. - [d] Ibid., pp. 354-57, 360-62.

I am very curious to hear more about the experiment made by Deprez at Munich.[426] However, I completely fail to understand how, in that case, laws for estimating resistance in wires hitherto regarded as valid and still applied in practice by engineers (in their calculations) can continue in force. Hitherto it has been calculated that, given the same conductive material, resistance *increases* in proportion as the diameter of the conducting wire *decreases*. I wish Longuet could be induced to cough up those things. For this means that the vast and hitherto untapped sources of hydraulic power have suddenly become exploitable.

But now I must pack up the papers. All well here.

Your
F. E.

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## 204

## MARX TO ENGELS [166]

### IN LONDON

[Ventnor,] 11 November 1882

Dear Fred,

I return the *Prolétaire*.[a] Difficult to say who is the greater—Lafargue, who pours out his oracular inspiration upon the bosoms of Malon and Brousse, or these two heroes, heavenly twins who not only tell deliberate lies, but deceive themselves into thinking that the outside world has nothing better to do than to 'intrigue' against them and, indeed, that everyone has the same cranial structure as the magnanimous twain.

Lafargue has the blemish customarily found in the negro tribe—*no sense of shame*, by which I mean shame about making a fool of oneself.

But it is time, if the journal[b] is not to be wilfully ruined and if they

[a] See this volume, pp. 363-64. - [b] *L'Égalité*

do not *intend* (which I can't believe) to *let* it go under as a result of proceedings taken by the government—it is time, I say, for Lafargue to put a stop to his childish bragging about the grisly deeds of his revolution of the future. But on this occasion he has been properly hoist with his own petard. Naturally alarmed because some denunciatory sheet or other, in defiance of police regulations, has reprinted hair-raising anarchist excerpts from the suppressed *Étendard*, thus making the latter seem 'more progressive' than Paul Lafargue, the licensed oracle of *socialisme scientifique*—alarmed at such revolutionary competition, Lafargue quotes himself (and he has, of late, acquired a pretty habit, not only of unloosing his oracles on the world, but of 'perpetuating' them by self-quotation) as proof that the *Étendard*, i. e. that *anarchism,* has merely aped the wisdom of Lafargue and Co., though merely with the intention of realising it prematurely, before the time is ripe. That's what sometimes happens to oracles; what they believe to be their own inspiration is, on the contrary and more often than not, merely a recollection that has remained stuck in their minds. And what Lafargue has written and 'quoted' from himself is, in fact, no more than the recollection of a Bakunian precept. Lafargue is, indeed, the last remaining disciple of Bakunin seriously to believe in him. He should reread the pamphlet he and you wrote about the 'Alliance',[a] and then he would realise whence he has derived this, his most recent ammunition. Indeed, much time has had to pass before he HAD UNDERSTOOD Bakunin AND, INTO THE BARGAIN, HAS MISUNDERSTOOD HIM.

Longuet as the last Proudhonist and Lafargue as the last Bakuninist! *Que le diable les emporte!*[b]

It's a fine day today, and I must go out of doors (it's only half past ten in the morning).

In my last letter, I told you I intended to get rid of my cough without the help of MEDICAL MEN. But Dr Williamson gave me to understand *d'une manière autoritaire*[c] that I must for all that be so good as to swallow my medicine. In fact, the brew has done me good; its main ingredient is quinine disulphuricum; the others—morphia, chloroform, etc., have invariably formed part of the brews I have previously had to swallow.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (written in collaboration with Paul Lafargue).—[b] May the devil take them!—[c] in authoritative manner

What's the position in regard to Hartmann's pangs *qua* inventor[a]? *Salut.*

Moor

You'll have seen from the PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES in yesterday's *Standard*[b] that the 'worthy' *Rivers Wilson* has obliged to the extent of sorrowfully offering up on the altar of country his project, the *TRUSTEESHIP* he assumed in company with the magnanimous Lowe alias Sherbrooke.[428] A bitter pill for Rivers Wilson.

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## 205

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN VIENNA

London, 15 November 1882

Dear Mr Kautsky,

I got your telegram at 3 p. m. today and at once replied by telegraph: 'Impossible'. Not having your home address to hand and necessarily assuming from the 'Reply paid' that the office of origin would know *where* to send the reply, I addressed the telegram simply 'Kautsky, Vienna'. Well, I have this moment, 9.30 p. m., received the enclosed slip. There is no possibility of tracing the letter with your home address, so all I can do is write to you at once in order not to miss the morning post.

If I am not to dissipate every bit of my energy again, and I have been doing this for years, I shall have to draw a very strict line so far as my journalistic activity is concerned — confining myself to the *Sozialdemokrat* and even then writing only when practical need arises

[a] See this volume, p. 320. - [b] 'Imperial Parliament. House of Commons. The Obligations of Civil Servants', *The Standard*, No. 18195, 10 November 1882.

or when, as in the recent case of Mehring's inanities,[346] it has to be shown that there is no hostility between the *Sozialdemokrat* and us over here. As a result of Marx's absence and illness, party correspondence with diverse countries has devolved exclusively upon myself, and that is a heavy enough burden anyway. So if I am to devote my advancing years to the completion of my more weighty works,[439] it will be utterly impossible for me to contribute to your periodical,[a] though I wish it every success.

The Darwin article in particular is an impossibility just now. I wrote to Bernstein saying he should have it as soon as I lit upon this subject in the course of my studies, and that might be months ahead; not that he is entirely blameless for he has encouraged me to work in a quite different field—one that I, too, consider to be more necessary.[b] So until I have slogged my way through that, returned to natural science and then progressed to zoology, there can be no question of it. To dash off a few commonplaces on Darwin would serve neither you nor me. For the rest I must confine myself, in view of the late hour, to thanking you for the various interesting reports on the situation over there and in conclusion sending you my heartiest congratulations on your engagement.[c]

Yours very sincerely,

F. E.

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## 206

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN LONDON

[Ventnor,] 20 November 1882

Dear Fred,

By the end of this week (i. e. next Monday, *27 November*) I shall be on my uppers. As I am supposed to advise you a week beforehand,

[a] *Die Neue Zeit*. - [b] See this volume, pp. 324-25. - [c] to Louise Strasser

I am now doing so. Before leaving London I paid ABOUT £5 to the PARLIAMENTARY BOOKSELLER St. King and ABOUT £2 to Kolkmann (bookseller), but also spent £3 on sundry items.

Tussy and Johnny left me at ABOUT 3 O'CLOCK today in passable weather.

I am perturbed over the news from Paris; it's unpardonable that Lafargue, Guesde, etc., should permit themselves to be caught up in legal proceedings[440]; it could have been foreseen; the whole thing was simply occasioned by 'anxiety' over competition from the 'anarchists'! Puerile!

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

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## 207

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN VENTNOR

London, 21 November 1882

Dear Moor,

I was on the point of asking you how your reserves stood when your letter[a] arrived today. Encl. CHEQUE for £30 which you will be able to cash in the usual way. That being so, you will get the money on Monday, possibly even on Saturday or, if you're prepared to lay out 1/- on a telegram, as early as Friday.

Encl. 1. a mathematical experiment by Moore.[441] His conclusion, namely that THE ALGEBRAIC METHOD IS ONLY THE DIFFERENTIAL METHOD DISGUISED, relates, of course, solely to his own method of geometrical construction and to that extent is fairly correct. I have written to tell

[a] See previous letter.

him [284] that you attach no importance whatever to the way in which one symbolises things in a geometrical construction, the application of the curves to the equations being, after all, sufficient. What's more, I went on, the basic difference between your method and the old one consists in your transforming x into x′, i. e., making it a *true variable*, whereas the others proceed from x + h which simply represents the sum of two quantities but never the variation of a quantity. Which is why your x, even though it has passed through x′ and reverted to the first x, is nevertheless different from what it was before, whereas if one simply adds h to x and then subtracts it again, x remains constant throughout. But then any graphic depiction of variations must necessarily be the depiction of a *past* process, of the *result*, i. e. of a quantity that has become constant; the line x, the portion added to that constant, is depicted as x + h, two portions of one line. From this it clearly follows that a graphic depiction of how x becomes x′ and then x again is impossible.

Further, 2., a letter from Bernstein which has just arrived and which I should like to have back.[442]

(I was interrupted by Pumps and the baby[a] so shall have to get a move on with this letter as I have persuaded myself that it must go off at 5.30.)

I don't know whether I ought not to fire a broadside or two at Vollmar for his doctoring of history *à la* Malon.[438] His suppression of the Marseilles Congress[443] is carrying the falsification of history a bit too far. If Bernstein fails to raise this in the notes on the final article, it will have to be put right.

I shall send you the *Égalité* as soon as I have read it. As usual, a letter Lafargue promised to write has not yet arrived. His public reply to the examining magistrate, in which he came the professor, was a childish affair.[444] These people are acting as though they were absolutely intent on being arrested. Fortunately the government is pretty rocky, so it's possible that they will still get away with it.

Tussy and Johnny arrived ALL RIGHT yesterday.

Your

F. E.

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[a] Lilian Rosher

# 208

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

Ventnor, 22 November 1882
1 St Boniface Gardens

DEAR FRED,

CHEQUE most gratefully received.

Sam,[a] as you, too, immediately saw, criticises the analytic method as applied by me [441] in as much as he quietly sets it aside and instead turns his attention to the geometrical application, about which I said nothing at all.

I might similarly dismiss the development of the actual differential method as it is called — beginning with the mystical method of Newton and Leibniz, then going on to the rationalist method of d'Alembert and Euler and concluding with Lagrange's strictly algebraic method (still, however, emanating from the selfsame original premisses of Newton and Leibniz) — I might dismiss the whole of this historical development of analysis by saying that, *in practice*, no essential change has been brought about in the geometrical application of differential calculus, i. e. in geometrical symbolisation.

Since the sun is just coming out and this, therefore, is the moment to go for a walk, I shall not, *pro nunc*,[b] enlarge further on the subject of mathematics but shall, on some later occasion, return to a detailed discussion of the various methods.

Bernstein's information about the 'nationalisation' of the railways in Prussia is interesting.[442]

I do not share his views about the great size of Malon's and Brousse's organisation [445]; the analysis provided at the time by Guesde of the 'numerous' (!) delegation attending the congress of St-Étienne has not been refuted, but this would be straining at gnats.[c] The first decision to organise a genuine workers' party in France dates back to the Marseilles Congress [443]; at the time Malon was in Switzerland; Brousse WAS NOWHERE, and the *Prolétaire* — along with its trade unions — held aloof.

---

[a] Samuel Moore - [b] for the time being - [c] Matthew 23:24

That jackass Amos — the mouthpiece of English officialdom in Egypt — has enormously impaired his clients' case by affording Keay, author of the pamphlet *Spoiling the Egyptians*, the opportunity for 'A REJOINDER' in *The Contemporary Review*.[446] Prominent among those whom Keay has ground ever more deeply into the MUD are Rivers Wilson, Rowsell and Goschen, and with them the British Ministry.

*Salut.*

Moor

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## 209

## ENGELS TO MARX[447]

### IN VENTNOR

London, 22 November 1882

Dear Moor,

You will have received my letter of yesterday's date, with CHEQUE for £30.

Hartmann[a] was here on Sunday evening in a state of intense inventor's euphoria. His cell has been in action since Friday, operating a galvanometer with high resistance which at first registered more than 50° and is now steady at 46°. It would, he said, continue to run smoothly without further attention not just for three, but actually for six months or even a year. However, he had no intention of showing it to buyers because of as yet unpatented improvements. So my intervention was again required. I firmly refused and arranged for the matter — a perfectly simple one that presents no real difficulty — to be settled by Percy[b] (which it has), advising him [Hartmann] in future to supply his

[a] Lev Hartmann - [b] Rosher

English buyers with the article he had sold them and not something else, either better or worse. Whether it will do any good is another question. The chap's a fanatical worker; work and fanaticism are wearing him out; the only sleep he gets is between 3 and 5 in the morning, and he looks ghastly but is correspondingly well turned out and every time he comes here he is wearing a different suit. One of his new patent improvements is as follows: To protect the cell's caustic potash, KOH, against the carbonic acid in the air, and to prevent it turning into potassium carbonate, he poured *oil* onto the solution and, according to Percy, simply couldn't understand why this failed to do the trick, the combination of fat and alkali forming instead something that looked like soap and, indeed, *was* soap!

I have recently obtained SECOND HAND what I have long been looking for — a complete bound edition of *Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*, and guess from the sale of whose library it had come? — *Dr Strousberg's!* I found therein a passage in Plutarch's *Marius* which, seen in conjunction with Caesar and Tacitus,[a] explains the entire agrarian structure.

> The Cimbri 'had migrated, but not, as it were, all at one go, or in a regular stream; rather, they had always pushed on, year after year, during the good season and in this way had, over a long period, fought and battled their way across the Continent'.[b]

This passage, seen in conjunction with the Suebi's annual move to new lands, as described 70 years later by Caesar, reveals the manner in which the Germanic migrations took place. Where they spent the winter, there they would sow in the spring and, having reaped, would move on until winter brought them to a halt again. That they *regularly* tilled the land in summer (if they did not engage in rapine insteed) can be assumed with some certainty in the case of peoples who had brought agriculture with them from Asia. In the case of the Cimbri, the process of migration is still in evidence; in Caesar it comes to an end, the Rhine forming an impassable frontier. Together, these two manifestations explain why, in Caesar, '*privati ac separati agri apud eos nihil est*'[c]: migration means that collective cultivation was only possible by kinship community, and to pace out individual fields

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[a] Caesar, *Commentarii de bello Gallico* and Tacitus, *Germania*, both in the abovementioned edition. - [b] Quated from Plutarch's *Life of Marius* according to *Die Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit...*, Vol. 1, 'Die Urzeit', p. 61. - [c] amongst them there are no private or separate fields

would have been absurd. In Tacitus, the step forward — or, perhaps, back — to individual cultivation within the framework of common ownership has been made.

Tussy has sent me by hand various newspapers for onward transmission to you; with them, I enclose an *Égalité*. The *Égalité*'s impertinence would really seem to have made an impression on the *Parquet*[a]; the addresses are still written in Lafargue's hand.

Kindest regards.

Your
F. E.

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## 210

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN VENTNOR

London, 23 November 1882

Dear Moor,

Encl. letter from Lafargue which you might let me have back as I only got it this morning. So he will doubtless have to wend his way to the *cachot*[b] within the next few days. What incurable fools they are. If Guesde and Lafargue are locked up in Montluçon, the paper[c] will be pretty well done for. The government dare not bring them before a court in Paris, but may well take the liberty of quietly neutralising one after the other in the provinces. Until the paper had been firmly established, they ought not to have provided any pretexts for intervention; instead of that we have these Bakuninist antics.

I had asked Lafargue for information about the relative strength of the two parties and also about the Maret-Godard affair.[416] You see

[a] Public Prosecutor's Department - [b] prison - [c] *L'Égalité*

what he says. Obviously it was to please the *Chambres Syndicales*[a] and none other than Malon & Co. sacrificed the programme and the movement's entire past since the time of the Marseilles Congress.[448] His apparent strength is his real weakness. If you debase your programme to the level of the most ordinary TRADES UNIONS, you will clearly have no difficulty in obtaining a 'large public'.

Electricity has enabled me to score a minor triumph. You may perhaps remember my discussing the Cartesian-Leibnizian point of dispute in regard to mv and $mv^2$ as measures of motion.[449] What it boils down to is that mv is the measure of mechanical motion when transmitted by mechanical motion *as such*, whereas $\frac{mv^2}{2}$ is the measure of motion when it changes its form, i. e. the measure in conformity with which it turns into heat, electricity, etc. Now, so long as the chaps in the physical laboratories had the sole say in electrical matters, the measure of electromotive force, the force regarded as representative of electrical energy, was the volt (E), the product of the intensity of the current (ampère, C) and resistance (ohm, R).

$$E = C \times R.$$

And that is correct so long as electrical energy does not change on transmission into another form of motion. Now, however, in his presidential address at the last meeting of the British Association,[372] we have Siemens proposing an additional unit, the watt (hereafter W) which is intended to express the true energy of an electric current (i. e. as distinct from other forms of motion, *vulgo* energy) and whose value is volt × ampère, $W = E \times C$.

But $W = E \times C = C \times R \times C = C^2R$.

*Resistance* in electricity represents the same as *mass* in mechanical motion. Hence it would appear that in electrical as in mechanical motion the quantitatively measurable manifestation of this motion — on the one hand velocity, on the other intensity of current — functions, in the case of simple transmission *without* change of form, as a simple factor of the first power, while in the case of transmission *with* change of form, as a factor *squared*. Thus what I have formulated for the first time is a universal natural law of motion. Now, however, I must really go ahead and finish my dialectics of nature.

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[a] Syndicalist Chambers (more on these trade union organisations see on pp. 388-89)

All is well at your house, but the beer everywhere is rotten; only the German stuff in the West End is any good.

Your
F. E.

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## 211

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN LONDON

[Ventnor,] 27 November 1882

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed Lafargue's letter. In my note to you[a] I had already given vent in advance to my vexation over Lafargue's and Guesde's foolishness, and thus discounted it. Inconceivable that anyone at the head of a movement could place everything at risk in so frivolous, to put it bluntly, in *so inane* a way—*pour le roi de Prusse*[b]! Lafargue's article on the spellbound Ministry of Finance was very well done.[450]

As regards the Paris 'syndicates', I know from impartial reports I received from Paris (while staying at Argenteuil[451]) that the said syndicates are a great deal worse, if such a thing be possible, than the London TRADES UNIONS.

Your verification of the role of the *second power* when energy is transmitted with change of form is very pretty and I congratulate you on it.[c]

*Salut.*

Moor

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[a] See this volume, pp. 374-76. - [b] for the King of Prussia, i. e. for nothing - [c] See this volume, p. 384.

## 212

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 28 November 1882

Dear Mr Bernstein,

To begin with, my best thanks for the information about the nationalised railways. It is amply sufficient.[452] I have received from Bebel the Accident and Health Insurance Bills of *1882*, but must, of course, also have those of 1881, the original wording [144] being precisely the one in which Bismarck's soul, filled with ardour for the poor, has ample space to flap its wings; in the second wording, in which the said wings have already been substantially clipped as a result of bourgeois divisions, we no longer find Bismarck in his entirety.

Marx used to get the *Arbeiterstimme*, but as he has probably failed to renew his subscription it no longer arrives.

Aside from a few minor points, Vollmar's article [438] is pure Malon at one remove. In it the history of the French workers' movement since 1871 is *completely falsified*, and that sort of thing simply should not happen. For instance, in the 2nd article Guesde is blamed for not having joined up with the few small cliques (later the progenitors of the *Prolétaire* or, in other words, the out and out *coopérateurs* against whom he was just then conducting a campaign)! As though the chaps who were subsequently to bring out the *Prolétaire* would have even considered admitting a 'non-worker'! But more falsified than anything else is what Deville has correctly depicted in the *Égalité* of 19 November (*'Il y a cinq ans'*,[a] history of the *Égalité*), namely, the fight for the 'collectivist' programme [68] at the congresses and *the victory of that programme in 1879 at the Marseilles Congress.*[443] This is completely suppressed in Vollmar's article. I cannot assume that Vollmar deliberately perpetrated this falsification, but nor is it any easier to explain his ignorance of the subject and the fact that he appears to know nothing at all about the French workers' movement save what Malon thought fit to tell him.

Hence, by omitting the Marseilles Congress, he suppresses the vital fact that the French workers' party had accepted the collectivist

[a] 'Five Years Ago'.

programme 3 years ago, so that Malon's abandonment of it was a *definitely retrograde step*. Since it is now essential that our people in Germany should be told the story of the French movement, not as it ought to have happened to fit in with Malon's present requirements, but as it really did happen, this is something which must unquestionably be put right. In my view, the simplest way of doing so would be to relate it to the above-mentioned article by Deville, precisely because this is so utterly unpolemical. Should you no longer have it, I can send it you forthwith on a postcard.

Malon, by the way, had better watch out. Should we at any time wish to portray his *faits et gestes*[a] more accurately if as minutely as he got Vollmar to depict those of Guesde, he would have a rough time of it. We still have all the documents in which, on 18 March '71, he *disavowed the rising*, only to join it after the event, when things were doing better than he had expected.

Now as regards the strength of the two factions, I have obtained a report on the subject from Lafargue.[453] In Paris the Roanne people have 15 groups with whose help they have kept the *Égalité* going for a whole month now, which does at any rate say something for the quality of these chaps. In the provinces they are, so Lafargue says, very strong. The Fédération du Nord[454] is, in essence, on their side; they do not wish to *prendre part aux querelles des Parisiens*[b] but they uphold the old collectivist programme which also features prominently in their *Forçat*; the Roanne people are holding their next congress at Roubaix, to which *all* the delegates of the North will be going, and are constantly in the closest touch with the Fédération du Nord. The other provincial workers' paper, *L'Exploité de Nantes*, has similarly printed the old programme together with the *considérants*[c][455] in a prominent position. It reprints articles from the *Égalité*, and Deville is a contributor. This means that *the only* two workers' organs in the provinces are *both* on their side. '*En province*',[d] aside from the North, '*partout où il y a un groupement ouvrier, à Reims, Epinay, Lyon, dans tout le bassin houillier de l'Allier, à Bordeaux, Angoulême, Rochefort, nous battons les Possibilistes qui n'ont de force qu'en Bretagne at à Marseille — et encore.*'[e]

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[a] goings-on - [b] take part in the squabbles of the Parisians - [c] preambles - [d] 'In the provinces' - [e] 'wherever there is a concentration of workers, at Rheims, Epinay, Lyons, throughout the Allier mining district, at Bordeaux, Angoulême, and Rochefort, we are vanquishing the Possibilists who are strong only in Brittany and in Marseilles — if strong is the right word.'

That Malon should obtain a wide hearing for the empty verbiage of his *considérants* without a programme is not surprising. But if one founds a party without a programme in which everyone can have a say, it cannot properly be called a party. The impotence of the old sectarians, for whom Malon and Vollmar show such tender regard, has been in evidence for years and it would be best to let them wither quietly away. As for the *Chambres Syndicales*[a] — well, if one is going to account a member of the workers' party every STRIKE association which, like the English TRADES UNIONS, fights solely for high wages and short working hours but doesn't otherwise give a damn for the movement,— then the only party one will actually form is one for the *preservation* of wage labour rather than its abolition. And, or so Marx tells me,[b] these Parisian *Chambres Syndicales* are for the most part even more colourless than the English TRADES UNIONS. To abolish a party programme just to please these people is no way to spur them on. And has the like ever been seen before — a party without a programme, a party whose wishy-washy *considérants* (written wholly in the spirit of the communist Miquel, who likewise believed communism to be feasible in 500 years' time [456]) lead up to the conclusion that each group should concoct its own private programme?

Well, now, what benefit does Malon derive from the *Chambres Syndicales*? They pay no contributions, they send no delegates to the Federal Council, they were nominal members of the Union fédérative [265] before the split and have nominally remained so — they are, as Lafargue puts it, '*complétement platoniques*'. They are there for show. As for Malon's other groups, Lafargue writes:

> '*Dans le XVII arrondissement nos amis ont organisé, après le congrès, un groupe qui immédiatement s'est trouvé composé de 29 membres. Pour nous faire pièce, les possibilistes ont subdivisé leur groupe qui, à ce que l'on me dit, ne se composait que d'une vingtaine de membres, en cinq sous-groupes réunis par un comité fédéral du quartier. Le tour est joli, mais ne trompe que les indifférents et ceux qui sont éloignés.*'[c]

That's just what the Bakuninists used to do. On the other hand, so Lafargue says, the Possibilists are really strong only in Montmartre, where they are also well-organised.

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[a] Syndicalist Chambers - [b] See this volume, p. 385. - [c] 'In the XVII arrondissement our friends organised, after the Congress, a group of which the immediate composition was 29 members. To play a trick on us the Possibilists *subdivided* their group, which by all accounts consisted of some twenty members only, *into five sub-groups* convened by a federal committee in the quarter. It's a pretty trick, but one that can deceive only those who are indifferent or far away.'

To be momentarily in the minority — *quoad*[a] organisation — and have the right programme is at least better than having no programme and a large, though almost entirely nominal and bogus, following. We have been in the minority all our lives and have thrived on it. And the comparative weakness (supposing it exists, which I am very much inclined to doubt — the Possibilists did not dare attend the Roanne people's *conférence contradictoire*[b] on the two congresses[457]); the comparative weakness where organisations in Paris are concerned would be outweighed two or three times over by journalistic influence.

So how your Paris correspondents are able to regard the St-Étienne folk as the 'genuine workers' party' is beyond me. In the first place they are not a party at all, let alone a *workers'* party, any more than are the workers over here. But they are in embryo what those over here have become in full maturity, namely the *tail of the radical bourgeois party.* The only thing that keeps them together is bourgeois radicalism, for they have no labour programme. And as for those labour leaders who descend to manufacturing a docile labour vote for the radicals, they are, in my view, *downright traitors.*

Your remarks also led me, just for fun, to ask about Godard.[416] The said Godard, '*qui se dit anarchiste comme son maître Maret, écrit dans un journal opportuniste de Toulouse*'.[c] To refuse a chap of this kind what is known as a rectification is quite in keeping with the customs of the Paris, as of any other, press.

On the other hand our friends have again perpetrated a really colossal bloomer in as much as they have, by their rrrevolutionary bragging, exposed themselves to prosecution before the paper[d] had found its feet. Guesde has been arrested, as you know, and Lafargue will probably soon follow in his wake. When both are in jug, the most active — not only writing, but fighting — men will have been got out of the way. Deville is lazy, Massard quite good for his post of *secrétaire de la rédaction,*[e] but they are hardly the people to keep a paper going in difficult circumstances. I won't mention the other 3 — Brissac and Bouis, old Communards, are so much ballast, and Picard is a common-or-garden journalist.

Whatever you do, by the way, don't allow anyone to persuade you that Guesde and Lafargue intended, 'by hook or by crook, to make

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[a] as to - [b] public debate - [c] 'who professes to be an anarchist like his master Maret, *writes for an opportunist Toulouse journal*' - [d] *L'Égalité* - [e] secretary to the editors

all organisations subject to their own directives'. It is a constantly recurring catchword in Bakuninist tactics, and in other contexts in France it may always be resorted to in lieu of other arguments.

Treatment of other countries in the *Égalité*! If only you knew what disorder reigns and what the standard of German is like in *that* office! Should Lafargue remain at large, you would do best always to address yourself to him; he does at least forward the things. Otherwise I have no advice to offer.

If you want to use the resumé of the pamphlet,[378] I am quite agreeable. The concluding note will follow shortly. The *affaire* Schmidt[458] is very nice. *Pollaky* has been running a private detective's office in London for some time. In the directory, under the heading INQUIRY OFFICER (of whom 18 are listed), there is an entry: 'Pollaky, Ignatius Paul, 13 Paddington Green, W. (not at all far from where I live), Correspondent to the *Foreign Police Gazette*.'

I trust my congratulations on your attaining your 7th thousand[a] will again prove outdated. I, for my part, am 62 years old today.

Kindest regards.

Yours,
F. E.

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## 213

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN VENTNOR

London, 30 November 1882

Dear Moor,

Encl. a letter from Bebel[459] received today. The 'mystery' which he is unable to understand all of a sudden and which may release them from the Anti-Socialist Law,[16] is, of course, the outbreak of the crisis in Russia.[b] Curious that none of these people can get used to the

[a] of *Der Sozialdemokrat*. [b] See this volume, pp. 414-15.

idea that the impulse might come from that quarter. And it is not as though I haven't explained this to him more than once. I regard his hopes for a new *major* crisis as premature — there could be an interim crisis as in 1842, and Germany, the most backward country industrially, which must content itself with the crumbs that fall to it from the demand of the world market, would certainly suffer worse than any other.

Guesde was released in Montluçon immediately after the first hearing, and neither Bazin nor Lafargue was arrested; on the contrary, Bazin published in the *Égalité* a letter to the chief of police of his *arrondissement*, objecting to the *mouchards*[a] that sniffed round his house and advising him of the times at which he could be arrested at home.[b] Those chaps have more luck than sense. I shan't be able to read the *Égalité* until after the 5.30 post has gone; so it will reach you tomorrow by the 2nd post (2 nos).

I have obtained, second-hand, *Vom Entstehen und Untergange der polnischen Konstitution vom 3. Mai 1791*, 1793, place of publication not given. This is the book you have mentioned so often[460] in which the infamies perpetrated upon Poland by Frederick William II are described at length. Cost one whole mark!

Hartmann's battery for lighting 6 Swan incandescent lamps is expected to be ready tomorrow. If the thing proves a success, i. e. provides a steady light over an extended period, hence actual proof of the constant intensity of the current, it will at once be exhibited in public and a company 'founded' to exploit it. Hartmann will also be showing sundry items at the Crystal Palace[461] where a new electrical exhibition is shortly to be held. He and his backer, whom Percy[c] found for him, are highly enthusiastic about the invention.

All well here.

Your
F. E.

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[a] informers - [b] G. Bazin, 'À Monsieur le commissaire de police', *L'Égalité*, 4th series, No. 38, 30 November 1882. - [c] Rosher

# 214

## MARX TO ENGELS [72]

### IN LONDON

[Ventnor,] 4 December 1882

DEAR FRED,

Herewith Bebel's letter [459] which I found most interesting. I do not believe an industrial crisis will supervene as soon as all that.

The weather in November was good on the whole, though very changeable. The first days of December alternated between bitter cold and a nasty, damp mugginess. Today it is fine, but I am nevertheless condemned to remain in my room. In the last few days I have suffered from hoarseness (certainly not due to talking) and an unpleasant sensation in my gullet; I have also been coughing more and not sleeping very well, despite my long, regular and constant walks. Hence I have again called in the doctor.[a] These gentlemen cannot be shaken off so easily! It is only a tracheal catarrh, but all the same he thought I ought to keep within doors until the inflammation has gone. Besides giving me some soothing medicine to take, he has ordered me to inhale vapour of benzoin (with something else added — seems to me something like chloroform). Today he again auscultated and percussed me — for the 3rd time since my arrival — and found that everything was otherwise in order. He will drop in again in a few days' time to see if I can be released from my confinement.

What is remarkable about the stuff in the *Plebe* concerning my theory of value is the rubbish talked by all 3, Laveleye, Cafiero and Candelari, [462] in mutual opposition *l'un contre l'autre.*[b] In the quotation concerning my aforementioned theory of value which Candelari adduced from *Malon's Histoire critique de l'économie politique*, Malon's superficiality is such that it actually surpasses that of all 3 smatterers.

*I hope *that all right in 41*, Maitland Park Road.*[c] I was ex-

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[a] James M. Williamson - [b] one against the other - [c] Marx's address in London

pecting a line or two from there, but I know that POOR Tussy OVERWORKED.

*Salut.*

Moor

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## 215

## MARX TO ENGELS

### IN LONDON

[Postcard]

[Postmarked Ventnor, 8 December 1882]

Returned herewith *Prolétaire* received today, containing account of Shipton & Co.[463] (whom, incidentally, Lafargue praised to the skies in the selfsame *Égalité* because of a collection made for a FRENCH 'STRIKE'. That's what happens when every momentary STIMULUS immediately causes him to turn in some 'predestined' direction).

In your last postcard [284] delivered today, on the other hand, you mention a *Prolétaire*, sent me by mistake and to be returned to you, which never arrived here.[a] It should have come yesterday or today, or at least within the past week, but *quod non*[b]—*perhaps it has got lost in the post*?

The *Sozialdemokrat* ought to procure some *material* (*detailed*) on the treatment of workers in Prussian state mines, etc., to help define the nature of Wagener-Bismarckian state socialism.

*Salut.*

Moor

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[a] See this volume, p. 394. - [b] not so

[On the side reserved for the address]

F. Engels, Esq.
122 Regent's Park Road,
London, N. W.

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## 216

## ENGELS TO MARX [7]

### IN VENTNOR

London, 8 December 1882

Dear Moor,

What happened about the *Prolétaire* was this: when I recently sent you a parcel of *Égalités* and *Kölnische Zeitungs*, I also meant to send you the TRADES UNION *Prolétaire* [463] and supposed I had included it. Somebody was in the room while I was packing up the parcel and I did this rather hurriedly. Finding next day that the TRADES UNION *Prolétaire* was still here, but not the other containing the Saint-Étienne skulduggery, [425] I thought I must have sent it you twice over. Now, looking around by the light of day, I have found it — still in the original wrapper in which you returned it, this being undoubtedly the reason why I couldn't find the same.

From your postcard to Tussy, [284] I see that you are still confined to the house — which is all to the good considering the snow we're getting and the wet slush on the ground; but no doubt we shall soon have better weather (not the very best, but better than at present). During your first winter in the north since your attack of pleurisy you will have to resign yourself to tracheal affections of a milder kind; only next summer's cure will be able to scotch those.

In order to get the parallel between Tacitus' Germans [a] and the American Redskins sorted out at last, I have gently been making excerpts from the first volume of your Bancroft. [b] The similarity is,

[a] Tacitus, *Germania*. - [b] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, Vol. I, New York, 1875.

I must say, all the more surprising in that the modes of production are so utterly different — on the one hand fishermen and hunters and no stock-breeding or crop farming, on the other migratory stock-breeding overlapping with crop farming. It just goes to show how, at this stage, the method of production is less crucial than is the degree to which old blood ties and the ancient mutual community of the sexes within the tribe are being dissolved. Otherwise the Tlingits in what was once Russian America could not be the exact counterpart of the Germans — probably even to a greater extent than your Iroquois.[464] Another puzzle which is solved here is how placing the main burden of work on women is perfectly compatible with great respect for those women. In addition, I have found confirmation of my assumption that the *jus primae noctis*,[a] originally found in Europe among the Celts and Slavs, is a survival of the ancient sexual community: in two tribes, widely separated and not of the same race, it is still exercised by the shamans as representatives of the tribe. I have learned a great deal from the book — enough for the present as regards the Germans. I shall have to save up Mexico and Peru until later. For I have returned the Bancroft and, in exchange, taken the remaining things by Maurer,[465] *all* of which are therefore now at my house. I had to look through them because of my concluding note on the Mark,[378] which is growing rather long and is still not to my liking although I have rewritten it 2 or 3 times. But to sum up in 8 to 10 pages what happened after rise, flowering and decline is no joke. If I have the time, I shall send it you so that you can give me your opinion. As for myself, I should be glad to be quit of the stuff and to have another go at the natural sciences.[449]

It's odd, the way one can see how the concept of *holiness* arose among the so-called aboriginal peoples. What was holy, originally, is what we took over from the animal kingdom — the *bestial*; as compared with that, 'human institutions' were as much of an abomination as they are in the gospels by comparison with divine law.

Hartmann's installation of his battery for lighting 6 Swan lamps (incandescent bulbs *à* 6 candle-power) was supposed to have been ready yesterday, but I don't know whether it succeeded or not.[b]

I shall draw Bernstein's attention to Saarbrücken, as I have already done before. But the Anti-Socialist Law [16] will make material

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[a] the right of the first night. - [b] See this volume, pp. 381-82, 391.

hard to come by there. Even prior to that, every effort was made to keep this area *undefiled.*

*Égalité* by the second post. Lafargue is still at liberty since it was he who addressed it to me.

Apropos TRADES UNION DEPUTATION [463]: When, at the meeting of the Possibilists, the French had sung the *Marseillaise* in their honour, the virtuous Shipton and his mates thought fit to retort by singing in unison '*GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!*' This according to the *Kölnische Zeitung* which I sent to Laura.

Well, I wish your throat, no less than the weather, a good recovery.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO MARX [466]

### IN VENTNOR

[London, 13 December 1882]

Just received this, 9.20 p. m. After appearing at Montluçon Paul[a] will, of course, be released at once. In the meantime I shall send Laura THE NEEDFUL tomorrow without fail. At 41 Maitland Park[b] ALL RIGHT.

First published, in the language of the original (German), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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[a] Lafargue - [b] Marx's address in London

# 218

# ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

## IN PARIS

London, 14 December 1882

My dear Laura,

I received your letter last night at half past nine, too late even to send a line by this morning's post, as foreign letters posted up here after nine are not forwarded until next evening.

I had scarcely any money in the house, and had given Percy[a] a cheque to cash for me today in town. But he will not be here before six at best, also too late to send you a banknote by 5.30 mail. However as soon as I get the money I shall forward one so as to help you over the first few days. No doubt Paul[b] will fare as Guesde and Bazin did and be at liberty if not to-day, at least to-morrow, as soon as the comedy of an examination before the austere Piquand shall have been gone through.[440] I forwarded both Paul's and your letter to Mohr, and told Nim[c] about the affair this morning.

More anon, when I shall be able to send substantial comfort.

Yours affectionately,

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

Reproduced from the original

[a] Rosher - [b] Lafargue - [c] Helene Demuth

# 219

## MARX TO LAURA LAFARGUE[72]

IN PARIS

Ventnor, Isle of Wight,
14 December 1882
1 St Boniface Gardens

Darling Cacadou,

*All* your letters have arrived on time and yet, miserable sinner that I am, it is only now that I write to you, having learned from the General's letter[a] just received that Paul[b] has been arrested. The General enclosed Paul's letter and yours, so that I am *au fait*. No doubt Paul will be released within a few days.

Why haven't I written before? Because I had nothing particularly cheerful to report, for you will anyhow have learned from your correspondence with the General that I myself am not *at all* in bad shape and have only been confined to the house for the past fortnight because of a *TRACHEAL CATARRH*, nor have I again succumbed either to pleurisy or to bronchitis. This, then, is most encouraging, CONSIDERING THAT MOST OF MY *CONTEMPORARIES*, I MEAN FELLOWS OF THE SAME AGE, JUST NOW KICK THE BUCKET in gratifying numbers. There are too many young donkeys for the old ones to be kept alive.

Paul has *latterly* been writing his best *stuff*[c] with humour, impudence, and solidity combined with verve, whereas *before* that I had been troubled by certain ultra-revolutionary turns of phrase, having always regarded these as 'hot air' — a speciality our people would be well-advised to leave to the so-called anarchists who are, in fact, props of the existing order, not creators of disorder, and are, by their nature, poor, childish creatures — *ce n'est pas leur faute, le chaos*.[d] Just now they have, as '*péril social*',[e] come to the aid of the '*affaires véreuses cabinet*'.[467] The worst of it is that, even if there were in existence a purely impartial 'examining magistrate', he would be compelled publicly to pronounce them wholly and utterly 'innocuous'! One could forgive these anarchists anything if only they weren't too 'inno-

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[a] 'General' was the Marx family's nickname for Engels. See this volume, p. 396. - [b] Lafargue - [c] See this volume, pp. 385, 402. - [d] it is not their fault if there's chaos - [e] 'social menace'

cent' for words! Not that that means they are 'saints'. A good joke was made by a Pope[a] upon his being asked by Henry VII (Richard III's victorious antagonist) to translate Henry VI to the community of saints; the Pope replied that an '*innocens*'[b] (alias 'IDIOT') was not, as such, eligible to be nominated a '*sanctus*'.[c] [468]

Here, my child, you would at any rate find better weather than in most other districts including, I need hardly say, France and Italy. I live the life of a hermit here, consorting with no one, SAVE when Dr Williamson's visits, costing SUCH PER MINUTE,[d] bring me in contact with the latter.

Well, child, as soon as your *devoirs*[e] permit (for Paul's GALLANT FIGHT WITH THE POWERS THAT BE MAKE THE MAN SYMPATHIC [SIC], TO USE THIS, A FRENCH PENNY-A-LINER'S PHRASE) *come over here and stay with me*!

* Some *recent Russian publications*, printed in Holy Russia, not abroad, show the great run of my theories in that country.[469] Nowhere my success is to me more delightful; it gives me the satisfaction that I damage a power, which, besides England, is the true bulwark of the old society.

Yours,
Nick *

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## 220

## ENGELS TO MARX [470]

### IN VENTNOR

London, 15 December 1882

Dear Moor,

Herewith the appendix on the Mark.[f] Be so kind as to return it on *Sunday* so that I can revise it on Monday — I didn't get the final revision done today.

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[a] Julius II - [b] an innocent - [c] a saint - [d] Should read 'so much per minute'. - [e] duties - [f] F. Engels, 'The Mark'.

I consider that the view here put forward concerning rural conditions in the Middle Ages and the *second* phase of serfdom from the middle of the 15th century onwards is, on the whole, incontrovertible. I have read all the passages in Maurer[465] that relate to this, finding therein almost all my propositions — and, *what's more, substantiated*; also, precisely the opposite, but either unsubstantiated or drawn from a period which happens *not* to be the one under discussion. This applies in particular to *Fronhöfe*, Vol. 4, conclusion. These contradictions are due in Maurer's case 1. to the habit of adducing, indiscriminately and side by side, documentary proof and examples from any and every period, 2. to a residue of legalistic prejudice which invariably trips him up when it comes to understanding a *process of development*, 3. to his gross underestimation of *force* and the role it plays, 4. to the enlightened presupposition that, since the dark Middle Ages, things *must* have changed steadily for the better; this prevents him from perceiving, not only the antagonistic nature of true progress, but likewise individual setbacks.

As you will see, the thing isn't all of one piece, but is a proper paste-and-scissors job. The first draft was all of one piece, but unfortunately it was wrong. Only by slow degrees have I mastered the material, which is why there's so much patchwork.

Incidentally, the general reintroduction of serfdom is *one* of the reasons why no kind of industry could develop in Germany in the 17th and 18th centuries. First, there was the division of labour in the guilds which was the *reverse* of that in manufacturing; instead of being divided within the workshop, labour is divided *among the guilds*. Here in England, there was migration to those parts of the country where there were no guilds. This was prevented in Germany by the transformation of country folk and the inhabitants of agricultural market towns into serfs. But it was also this which eventually proved the undoing of the guilds the moment they encountered competition from foreign manufactures. I shall not mention here the other reasons that contributed to the suppression of German manufactures.

Today has again been all fog and gaslight. Hartmann's battery probably a FAILURE where lighting is concerned, being useful at most for telegraphy, etc.[a] More about this as soon as anything definite has been established.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 381-82, 391.

Look after yourself, and let's hope the weather will soon be such that you will be allowed out.

Your
F. E.

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## 221

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 15 December 1882

My dear Laura,

Only after 7 last night Percy[a] came with the needful so there was nothing to be done before today, so now I enclose a five-pound Bank of England note the number of which I have kept here, and will run the risk to send it *whole* for once.

No doubt you will by this time be quite assured about Paul's[b] fate, at least for the present.[440] I have no doubt he is free again now, if not already back in Paris. But I am afraid the Bonapartist and other conservative judges of Montluçon will give them[c] a couple of months each of retired life. The government evidently wishes to create a few precedents in the provinces before it dares to try repression in Paris. And thus the *parquèt*[d] at Montluçon engaged the business, which, once engaged, must be carried out by the judges to the desired end, were it only to save the credit of the magistrature. And as the case will no doubt come before the *police correctionnelle*,[e] there can be not even that shadow of a doubt which a jury might still have rendered possible.

The change to a short prison life would not in itself have anything very dreadful, indeed I think it would do Paul more good than harm.

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[a] Rosher - [b] Lafargue - [c] Lafargue and Guesde - [d] prosecutor's office - [e] disciplinary court

But very likely their time will come at a moment when they, Paul and Guesde, are both most wanted for the *Égalité*. And the paper had so much improved lately. Whether it is the cumulative effect of Parisian life and journalistic activity, Paul's articles lately have been very much better, since he dropped the dogmatism of the scientific oracle and took up the *ligne spirituelle*.[a] That on the candidature [of] Bontoux was charming,[471] but I think I discover a little female hand in that here and there. So was that on the *behexte ministerium*[b][450] (I forgot the French title) which also pleased Mohr specially.[c] Now if Paul and Guesde are locked up, the soul of the paper is gone. Deville is witty and amusing only at intervals, generally he is clear but dull and doctrinaire, Massard is the reverse of a good Christian, for that with him the flesh is willing but the spirit (*esprit*) is weak. And I must conclude, from what information I possess, that Paul and Guesde are also the two who will be most wanted in a financially critical moment. Thus it will be a great pity that just at this time dynamitic brag and competition with the rrrrevolutionarism of the anarchists should have brought them in this predicament.

Anyhow I hope you look down upon these *petites misères du haut de votre troisième*[d] with the same calmness as the *quarante siècles*[e] of General Bonaparte *du haut de leurs pyramides*[f] on the French army and Bonaparte himself.

How is Jenny[g] getting on? is she better? I do not hear much about her at Maitland Park,[h] indeed they[i] do not know much themselves.

Very affectionately yours,

F. E.

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[a] line of wit - [b] spellbound ministry - [c] See this volume, p. 385. - [d] petty miseries from the height of your third floor - [e] forty centuries - [f] from the height of their pyramids - [g] Longuet - [h] the Marx family's address in London - [i] Eleanor Marx and Helene Demuth

## 222

## ENGELS TO MARX [7]

### IN VENTNOR

London, 16 December 1882

Dear Moor,

Having been interrupted yesterday,[a] I shall continue today. You will have noticed how hurriedly my letter was dashed off — I was being perpetually disturbed by Pumps and BABY,[b] first while revising the ms.,[c] then while writing the letter. The point by which I set most store — because of the dissentient view you once expressed — is the almost total recession — *de jure* or *de facto* — of serfdom in the 13th and 14th centuries. So far as the country east of the Elbe is concerned, the freedom of *German* peasants is an established fact by reason of colonisation; as regards Schleswig-Holstein, Maurer admits[d] that at the time (somewhat later, perhaps, than the 14th century) 'all' peasants had regained their freedom. Again, as regards the South of Germany, he admits that it was in this particular period that the bondsmen were treated best. The same thing applies to a greater or lesser extent in Lower Saxony (e. g. the new 'tenant farmers', virtually copyholders). He does not, however, share Kindlinger's view[e] that serfdom did not *come into being* until the 16th century. That it subsequently reappeared, however, in a 2nd refurbished edition, seems to me indubitable. Meitzen[f] specifies the years in which allusions to serfs first recur in East Prussia, Brandenburg and Silesia: mid-16th century, ditto Hanssen in respect of Schleswig-Holstein.[g] When Maurer calls this a *mitigated* form of serfdom he is right, if one compares it with the period between the 9th and 11th centuries which, in fact, saw the continuation of ancient Germanic slavery; right, too, if one compares it with the legal rights still exercised, as the statute books of the 13th century

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[a] See this volume, p. 400. - [b] Lilian Rosher - [c] F. Engels, 'The Mark'. - [d] G. L. von Maurer, *Geschichte der Fronhöfe, der Bauernhöfe und der Hofverfassung in Deutschland.* - [e] N. Kindlinger, *Geschichte der Deutschen Hörigkeit insbesondere der sogenannten Leibeigenschaft.* - [f] A. Meitzen, *Der Boden und die landwirthschaftlichen Verhältnisse des Preussischen Staates...* - [g] G. Hanssen, *Die Aufhebung der Leibeigenschaft und die Umgestaltung der gutsherrlich-bäuerlichen Verhältnisse überhaupt in den Herzogthümern Schleswig und Holstein.*

confirm, both then and later, by the lord over his serfs. But as compared with the *de facto* position of the peasants in the 13th and 14th—and in North Germany also the 15th—centuries, the new serfdom was ANYTHING BUT a mitigation. Let alone after the Thirty Years' War[472]! It is also significant that, whereas in the Middle Ages there were innumerable degrees of bondage and serfdom, so that the *Sachsenspiegel*[473] gives up the attempt to 'make a tally', this becomes remarkably easy after the Thirty Years' War. *Enfin*,[a] I look forward to hearing your opinion.

It was also Pumps' fault if, at the place where I mention Russian common ownership, I failed to paste on a note saying that this information came from you.

The enclosed is from old Becker[474]; luckily I was able to respond to his gentle nudging straight away and send him £5, as I had just sold some SHARES and the money had been paid on the same day.

Herewith 2 *Égalités*—hope they'll be delivered tomorrow—from which you will see that Lafargue was immediately released[b] and was expected back in Paris yesterday evening.[440]

Hartmann's battery[c]: so long as he only plugged in the galvanometer, in which the resistance is represented by a very long wire so that there is only a gradual consumption of electro-mechanical power, all went well. But as soon as he plugged in the lamp in which the resistance is concentrated at one point, namely the thin, short, incandescent wire, that was that; the hydrogen immediately polarised the silver electrode, and the weak current produced only a faint red glow in the wire. Now his head is again full of all manner of innovations, each of which proves that he is looking for the difficulty in the wrong place. But whether the gents who are advancing the money will agree to any further experiments is a moot point.

Do you think you might be able to book a couple of beds down there for Schorlemmer and myself in the first week of January? We would not be at all averse to nipping down for a day or two, if nothing intervenes. But that something will intervene is all too probable in view of Schorlemmer's rheumatism, etc. However, if we knew that you could arrange for us to stay either with you or close by, and

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[a] Well - [b] See 'L'Arrestation de Lafargue' and 'L'Affaire de Montluçon', *L'Égalité*, 4th series, Nos. 53 and 54, 15 and 16 December 1882. - [c] See this volume, pp. 381-82, 391.

exactly how much notice we should have to give you, we could make our arrangements accordingly.

Your
F. E.

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## 223

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

### IN GENEVA

London, 16 December 1882

Dear Old Man,

I have been waiting for some time for some money to come in so that I could send you another fiver. It eventually came in yesterday, followed that very evening by your postcard.[a] I therefore immediately took out a money order for the said fiver = 126 frs, and hope the money will reach you without delay.

I was very glad to hear that you have extricated yourself from the cantonal and communal mire; it's a sheer waste of time and productive of nothing but tittle-tattle and pointless vexation. Incidentally, that jackass Solari is still sending me 2 copies of the *Précurseur*. It must be a fine despatch department!

Every year the anarchists commit suicide and every year rise anew from their ashes, and so it will go on until such time as anarchism is subjected to serious persecution. It is the only socialist sect that really can be destroyed by means of persecution. For its perpetual rebirth depends on a steady supply of would-be bigwigs who wish to play a role on the cheap. Anarchism is as if tailor-made for that. But run a risk? Not on your life! Hence the present harassment of anarchists in

[a] See this volume, p. 404.

France will damage that gang only if it isn't sheer make-believe or hanky-panky on the part of the police. But either way its victims will be those poor devils, the miners of Montceau. [402] Incidentally, I have grown so used to the anarchist buffoons that it seems to me quite natural to have that clownish caricature tagging along like this beside the movement proper. They are dangerous only in such countries as Austria and Spain, and then only for the time being. Again the Jura, where watch-making is carried on in houses scattered all over the place, would seem a foreordained hotbed of this ballyhoo, and here your blows could prove quite beneficial.

Marx has been given permission by the doctors to spend the winter on the south coast of England and has been in the Isle of Wight for 6 weeks or so. [411] Hitherto, all has been well as regards the two main counts: no sign of any recurrence of pleurisy or bronchitis. The rotten weather we have been having here (for a week the fog has scarcely lifted at all) means that convalescents are inevitably subject to colds of all sorts and, for one in Marx's condition, these are lingering and troublesome. But if it remains at that, no matter. However, he might well be sent out to Switzerland again next summer, in which case you will certainly see one another.

Madame Lafargue's address is 66 Boulevard de Port-Royal, Paris. Not long ago her husband was arrested, but has already been set free. The point at issue was certain speeches he had made in the provinces and, upon their being summoned by the examining magistrate of Montluçon, he and Guesde, instead of obeying, poured vile scorn upon him in the *Égalité*. Whereupon he naturally issued a warrant for their arrest but, although Lafargue went daily to the newspaper office and was at so little pains to conceal his whereabouts that he actually announced he was going to speak, and did speak, at meetings, it took the clever Parisian police three weeks to seek him out. Like Guesde before him, he was immediately released after the first hearing at Montluçon. They might still get a couple of months apiece. [440]

As you know, the workers' party in France has split. [394] Malon and Brousse can hardly wait for the day when they become deputies, which means that a herd of voters has to be quickly rounded up. In other words a party created *without a programme* (literally — for a long series of '*considérants*' [a] is followed by the conclusion that every local-

[a] preambles

ity must draw up its own programme), in which every Tom, Dick and Harry is welcome and, to carry this through, people are being admitted into the party before the congress who accept the old programme with the reservation that, come the congress, they will subvert it. Guesde, Lafargue, etc., were outvoted and those who stood by the programme went to Roanne. Our people are no tacticians and have committed hopeless blunders, but nevertheless they will win through and the 'Possibilists' won't have it all their own way for long. Our chaps have a very considerable lever in the shape of the daily *Égalité* and, moreover, are all of them devoted to the *cause*, something which cannot be said of those intriguers, Malon and Brousse.

Well, good-bye, old man, and keep your pecker up. You're unlikely to decline as fast as all that and, as you know, we're all heading the same way!

Your
F. E.

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## 224

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 16 December 1882

Dear Mr Bernstein,

Schorlemmer complains that he has not received the *Sozialdemokrat* for some little while; his subscription expired and he sent me the encl. CHEQUE (which I forgot about) no less than a month ago with the request that his *annual* subscription be renewed and 'the balance be used for party purposes'.

The ms. of the Mark has had to be completely rewritten 3 times; on top of that I again had to go through about 5 or 6 of Maurer's 10 fat

volumes,[465] besides which there were other sources to compare. I have now sent it to Marx who has slogged away at the subject much more thoroughly and for much longer than I have[475]; I expect it back on Monday.

Malon *se moque de*[a] Vollmar. Otherwise he would certainly have corrected the latter's howler to the effect that the 'Alliancists' attacked by the *Égalité* were understood in the sense of the Bakuninist Alliance.[67] Far from it. The Possibilists were thus described because they are now wholly indistinguishable from the people in the Alliance socialiste[476] which was founded some 4 years ago by Jourde, the ex-Communard for finance, with the help of past and present Proudhonists (e.g. Longuet) and which constitutes *La Justice*'s socialist reserve. You must certainly have seen this Alliance mentioned in connection with elections; it put up candidates for the recent general election to the Chamber and obtained nearly as many votes—in some *arrondissements* at any rate—as the Parti ouvrier.[b] If Vollmar knew nothing of this, despite his year and a half in Paris, it was because Malon deliberately kept it from him like much else. That's what happens when you give a gang your uncritical support.

I have to chuckle when Vollmar praises Malon as the party disciplinarian and accuses the others of a breach of discipline.[438] Who, I ask, is guilty of indiscipline—he who carries the old flag high or he who recruits people with the express aim of deserting the colours and exchanging the old flag for a new one? Where, I ask, would Malon have got his majority at St-Étienne from[394] if he hadn't first recruited people whose intention from the start, and this was precisely why they had been recruited, was to subvert the old programme?

That was a choice row between Malon and his Clovis Hugues over Louis Blanc. And they call themselves a party!

You will have seen that the Fédération du Nord[454] has declared outright for Roanne.

Some of Lafargue's articles in the more recent issues of the *Égalité* have been truly delightful, e.g. on Bontoux's candidature.[471] Witticisms are better suited to them than doctrinaire pontifications.

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[a] is making fun of - [b] Workers' Party

Would you please be good enough to see that the issues are sent on to Schorlemmer.

Yours very sincerely,
F. E.

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## 225

## MARX TO ENGELS [72]

### IN LONDON

[Ventnor,] 18 December 1882

DEAR FRED,

I return the ms.[a]; *very good*!

The doctor[b] has just left; I can't say that I notice any PROGRESS, rather the reverse. Though not cold out of doors, it is damp and rainy and the doctor says he cannot allow me to go out until the next fine day; otherwise he wouldn't accept the responsibility.

*Au diable! il faut patienter!*[c]

*Salut.*

Moor

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[a] F. Engels, 'The Mark'. - [b] James M. Williamson - [c] Drat it! One must be patient!

## 226

## ENGELS TO MARX [7]

IN VENTNOR

London, 19 December 1882

Dear Moor,

Your letter arrived at 5 o'clock yesterday afternoon and this morning I got back the ms.[a] Your opinion is most flattering though it is one I cannot share, at any rate so far as form is concerned. As it was fine and warm at midday you will doubtless be released at last for an hour or two from your confinement indoors. Here, though, the fog has grown worse again since 1 o'clock and at times it is like night.

This is how I see the Podolinski business.[477] His real discovery is that human labour is capable of retaining solar energy on the earth's surface and harnessing it for a longer period than would otherwise have been the case. All the economic conclusions he draws from this are wrong. I have not got the thing to hand but read it in Italian not long ago in the *Plebe*. The point in question, namely how the amount of energy contained in a specific amount of foodstuffs can, through labour, yield a greater amount of energy than itself, I resolve as follows: Let us assume that the amount of food a person needs each day represents an amount of energy expressed as 10,000 cal (units of heat). These 10,000 cal will, *ad infinitum*, = 10,000 cal and are known in practice to lose on conversion into other forms of energy as a result of friction, etc., a portion that cannot be put to use. Significantly so in the case of the human body. Hence the *physical* labour performed in economic labour can never = 10,000 cal; it is invariably less.

But this is by no means to imply that physical labour is *economic* labour. The economic labour performed by 10,000 cal in no way consists in the *reproduction*, complete or partial, of these same 10,000 cal in any form whatever. On the contrary, they are for the most part lost in the increased heat given off by the body, etc., and such useful residue as remains lies in the fertilising property of excretions. The economic labour performed by an individual through the expenditure of these 10,000 cal consists rather in the stabilisation over a longer or shorter

[a] F. Engels, 'The Mark'.

period of the *fresh* cal he absorbs from the radiation of the sun, and this is the only connection the latter have, so far as labour is concerned, with the first 10,000 cal. Now whether the *fresh* cal stabilised by the expenditure of 10,000 cal of daily nourishment amount to 5,000, 10,000, 20,000 or a million is dependent solely upon the level of development of the means of production.

To demonstrate this in the form of calculations is possible only in the case of the most primitive branches of production: hunting, fishing, stock farming, agriculture. In hunting and fishing fresh solar energy is not even stabilised; rather, use is simply made of what has been stabilised already. At the same time it is clear that, assuming the individual concerned takes normal nourishment, the amount of protein and fat he obtains by hunting or fishing is independent of the amount of these substances he consumes.

In stock farming energy is stabilised in as much as the vegetation, that would otherwise rapidly wither, die and decompose, is systematically converted into animal protein, fat, skin, bone, etc., hence stabilised over a longer period. Here calculations already become complicated.

Even more so in agriculture where the energy value of auxiliary materials, fertilisers, etc., must also be taken into consideration.

In industry all calculations come to a full stop; for the most part the labour added to a product simply does not permit of being expressed in terms of cal. This might be done at a pinch in the case of a pound of yarn by laboriously reproducing its durability and tensile strength in yet another mechanical formula, but even then it would smack of quite useless pedantry and, in the case of a piece of grey cloth, let alone one that has been bleached, dyed or printed, would actually become absurd. The energy value conforming to the production costs of a hammer, a screw, a sewing needle, is an impossible quantity.

To express economic conditions in terms of physical measures is, in my view, a sheer impossibility.

What Podolinski has completely forgotten is that the working individual is not only a stabiliser of *present* but also, and to a far greater extent, a squanderer of *past*, solar heat. As to what we have done in the way of squandering our reserves of energy, our coal, ore, forests, etc., you are better informed than I am. From this point of view, hunting and fishing may also be seen not as stabilisers of fresh solar heat but as exhausters and even incipient squanderers of the solar energy that has accumulated from the past.

Further: Man, by his labour, does deliberately what plants do unconsciously. Plants — and there is nothing new in this of course — are the great absorbers and repositories of solar heat in modified form. Thus man, by his labour, in so far as it stabilises solar energy (which in industry and elsewhere is by no means always the case), succeeds in combining the natural functions of the energy-consuming animal with those of the energy-gathering plant.

Podolinski went astray after his very valuable discovery, because he sought to find in the field of natural science fresh evidence of the rightness of socialism and hence has confused the physical with the economic.

Encl. CHEQUE for £40 so that you can cash it when you want and will have something to fall back on.

As regards Tussy's coming, I shall speak to her this evening. So far as we ourselves are concerned Jollymeier at once agreed, of course; the details can only be arranged if he does come.[a] More tomorrow.

Your
F. E.

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## 227

## ENGELS TO MARX[7]

IN VENTNOR

London, 22 December 1882

Dear Moor,

To come back to Podolinski again,[b] I stand corrected: storage of energy by means of labour takes place strictly speaking only in *arable*

[a] See this volume, pp. 404-05. - [b] See previous letter.

*farming*. In stock farming the energy stored in plants is, in general, merely transferred to the animal, hence we can only speak of storage in so far as nutritive plants are put to use which would, in the absence of stock farming, go to waste. In all branches of industry, on the other hand, energy is merely *expended*. The most one can say is that vegetable products such as wood, straw, flax, etc., and animal products in which plant energy is stored, are made available by processing, i. e. are *preserved for a longer space of time* than if they had been allowed to decay naturally. Hence the time-honoured economic fact that all industrial producers are dependent for their subsistence on the products of agriculture, stock farming, hunting and fishing can, if desired, also be translated into physical terms, though this is not particularly rewarding.

Herewith letter from Laura [478]; Jenny's case would not, in fact, appear to be too bad, always providing she obtains proper and regular treatment — this being necessary not because of any immediate danger, but because of the extremely unpleasant consequences that might result from neglect.

Hartmann has thrown up the sponge here and tomorrow is crossing the ocean again. It's just as well. His contracts over here have involved him in such a mass of legal obligations (some of them unfulfilled) that he himself no longer knows where he stands. I shall tell you all about it when I see you and am glad he is going away. It has now transpired that, all the while he was touching me for loans, he was pocketing anything from five to six pounds a week.

You are right when you say that Bernstein doesn't always allow himself adequate time for reflection. But he's not alone in that. Take a look at Lafargue's recent discoveries in *'Prêtres et commerçants'* (*Égalité*, 20 December) and, ibid., Deville's latest reconstruction[a] of Weitlingianism [479] — by no means an improvement.

I am glad that 'we concur', as they say in business, on the subject of serfdom.[b] Certainly, serfdom and bondage are not a form peculiar to the Middle Ages and feudalism; we find them everywhere, or almost everywhere where conquerors have the land tilled for them by the original inhabitants — e. g. at a very early date in Thessaly. Indeed, this fact has clouded my view, like that of many others, of medieval servitude; we were all too eager to see it as being simply based upon

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[a] G. Deville, 'Le travail', *L'Égalité*, 4th series, Nos. 57 and 58, 19 and 20 December 1882. - [b] See this volume, pp. 400, 403-04.

conquest; it rounded things off so neatly and tidily. Cf. Thierry, among others.[a]

Again, the position of the Christians in Turkey during the heyday of ancient Turkish semi-feudalism was not dissimilar.

But here is Pumps arriving for dinner, it being now 5 o'clock, and thus I am the victim of *force majeure*.[b] I hope that this glorious weather has pulled you round again.

Your
Fred

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## 228

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN LEIPZIG

London, 22 December 1882

Dear Bebel,

I hope you will be set free the day after tomorrow for 24 hours[480] and thus have no difficulty in getting hold of this note.

All that was meant by the bit you found mystifying in my last letter[c] was that I expected the repeal of the Exceptional Law[16] to be brought about by events either of a revolutionary nature themselves (e. g. a fresh coup or the convocation of a national assembly in Russia, whose repercussions on Germany would at once become apparent), or those which at any rate would give impetus to the movement and pave the way for revolution (change of monarch in

[a] A. Thierry, *Histoire de la conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands, de ses causes, et de ses suites jusqu'à nos jours, en Angleterre, en Écosse, en Irlande et sur le continent*, vols I-III, Paris, 1825. - [b] superior strength - [c] See this volume, p. 349.

Berlin, death or resignation of Bismarck), either of which would almost inevitably usher in a 'new era'.[277]

The crisis in America would seem to me, like the one over here and like the pressure on German industry that has not yet lifted everywhere, to be not a crisis proper, but the after-effect of overproduction dating back to the previous crisis. On the last occasion the crash in Germany came prematurely because of the milliard racket, whereas here and in America it came at the proper time, in 1877. But never, during a period of prosperity, had the productive forces been so expanded as in the years between 1871 and 1877, hence, as in 1837-42, the chronic pressure here[a] and in Germany on the main branches of industry, especially cotton and iron; the markets are still not able to absorb all those products. Since American industry is, in the main, still working for the protected home market, a local interim crisis may very easily arise there, in consequence of the rapid increase in production, but ultimately it will only serve to hasten the time when America becomes capable of exporting and of entering the world market as England's most dangerous competitor. Hence I do not believe — and Marx shares my view[b] — that the real crisis will come very much before it is due.

I would consider a European war to be a disaster; this time it would prove frightfully serious and inflame chauvinism everywhere for years to come, since all peoples would be fighting for their own existence. All the work done by the Russian revolutionaries, who are on the eve of victory, would be ruined and set at nought; our party in Germany, temporarily overwhelmed by the tide of chauvinism, would be dispersed, while exactly the same would happen in France. The only good thing that might come of it would be the setting-up of a Little Poland — which would also and automatically ensue from revolution; a Russian constitution resulting from a disastrous war would have an import, probably of a conservative nature, quite different from one forcibly imposed by revolutionary means. Such a war would, I believe, retard the revolution by 10 years, at the end of which, however, the upheaval would doubtless be all the more drastic. Incidentally, there has again been a prospect of war. Bismarck has been flaunting the Austrian alliance just as he did the South German alliances at the time of the Luxembourg affair in 1867.[481] Whether anything will come of this in the spring remains to be seen.

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[a] in England - [b] See this volume, p. 392.

We found your reports on the state of German industry most interesting, in particular the express confirmation that the cartel agreement between the ironmasters had collapsed. It could not possibly last, least of all between German industrialists for whom the pettiest fraudulence is the very breath of life.

We haven't as yet seen the things by Meyer[482] and what you say is therefore news to us. That Marx would figure alongside his cardinals was only to be expected; Meyer always derived quite exceptional pleasure from proceeding direct from Cardinal Manning to Marx, nor did he ever fail to mention the fact.

In his *Sociale Briefe* Rodbertus was hot on the scent of surplus value, but that was as close as he got. Otherwise it would have put paid to his thoughts and endeavours as to how best to help the debt-ridden country Junkers, something the good man surely could not have wished. But as you say, he is worth infinitely more than the majority of German vulgar economists, including the armchair socialists[82] who after all live solely off our leavings.

The story of Carlchen's[a] wooing was also new to us. The wedding, or so I have been told by eye-witnesses, was a most mournful affair, so much so that someone who was present at the civil ceremony exclaimed: '*C'est l'enterrement de A!*'[b]

Yesterday I sent off to Zurich the final ms. for the pamphlet, namely an appendix on the constitution of the Mark and a short history of the German peasantry generally.[378] Since Maurer[465] writes very badly and confuses many things, it is difficult to track down what you want at the first reading. As soon as I get the proofs I shall send you the thing, which contains, not simply abstracts from Maurer, but indirect criticism of him, as also much else that is new. These are the first-fruits of long years of study devoted to German history, and I am delighted at being able to present it first of all to the workers rather than to schoolmasters and other 'eddicated' gents.

Now I must stop, for otherwise I shall not be able to register the letter in time to catch the evening post. The Prussians would not as yet seem to have reached the stage of Stiebering[c] registered letters, all of which have so far arrived in proper condition. I have by long practice acquired a pretty shrewd eye for such things.

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[a] Carl Hirsch - [b] It's a rattling good funeral! - [c] from Stieber, chief of the Prussian police

I should be glad if your wife[a] would kindly accept the enclosed Christmas card and the compliments of the season.

Your
F. E.

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## 229

## MARX TO ELEANOR MARX[72]

### IN LONDON

[Postcard, unsigned]

[Ventnor, 23 December 1882]

Dear Child,

From Laura's letter (which Engels sent me for information today[b]) I see that Jennychen is again afflicted by that beastly inflammation.[478] Should it be neglected, I can only fear the worst. We must really consider (and you should talk this over with Lenchen before coming to join me here) whether we ought not to relieve Jennychen at any rate of Harry, even if it should necessitate his coming here. How can Jennychen find time for the treatment of her illness WITH ALL THESE BABIES TOGETHER? And again, how neglected (as regards health) our Johnny will be should one of the others not be displaced in his stead?

Harry makes a difficult position doubly difficult for poor Jennychen.

All I want you to bring is *Physiologie* by *Rank* (or *Ranke*—I'm not sure). Also *Freeman's* rotten *little book* (*History of Europe*), since it

[a] Julie Bebel - [b] See this volume, p. 413.

serves me in lieu of a chronological table; it is in my bedroom on the shelves where the newspapers, etc., are.

[On the side reserved for the address]

Miss Marx
41 Maitland Park Road, Maitland Park,
*London*, N.W.

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# 1883

## 230

## MARX TO JAMES M. WILLIAMSON

### IN VENTNOR[411]

Ventnor, 6 January 1883
1 St Boniface Gardens

Dear Dr Williamson,

I return with best thanks the enclosed letter.[483]

My intended promenade was yesterday stopped by the rain. When rising this morning about a quarter past 9 o'clock, I got suddenly into a spasmodic cough, gasping, wrestling as if it were with suffocation. Unfortunately, I had used up the morphia, nor had I any of the 'lozenges' prescribed by you, but I took a table-spoon-(rather somewhat more)-ful of the tonic. What in point of fact surprised me was, that during the course of yesterday my cough was much less troublesome than it had been for the last weeks. Nor was my night specially disturbed. Mere moral agencies, I suppose, do not touch the movements of the mucus.

Yesterday afternoon I had received from Paris a letter with bad news as to the health of Madame Longuet, my oldest daughter. I knew of course that her illness was serious, but I was not prepared to hear that it passes now through a critical phasis.

Yours very truly,
Karl Marx

First published as a facsimile and in German translation in *Neues Deutschland*, 12./13. März 1983

Reproduced from the facsimile

# 231

## MARX TO ELEANOR MARX[72]

IN LONDON

Ventnor, 8 January 1883
1 St Boniface Gardens

Dear Tussychen,

I received a short note on Saturday from Dr Williamson enclosing a letter to Williamson from Dr F. Bayshawe dated 4 January '83, 5 Warrior Square, St Leonards on Sea, in which he says amongst other things:

* 'We had a week of almost continuous rain or moist air, which gave place on the 2nd to *dry weather*, of varying direction. Since that we have had sunshine each afternoon, tho' not much of it. I will endeavour to send you some further statistics tomorrow. I believe we may say generally that the climate of Hastings is dryer than much of the South Coast, tho' this may be at the expense of some warmth etc.' *

On Saturday (6 January) the weather here was fine round about midday; yesterday, too, it was dry, but colder; it is always sunniest on the esplanade. I went for a stroll yesterday and the day before, and today it promises to remain fine. It is generally coolish unless one is actually in the sun. At all events, a steady rise in temperature has now been predicted.

There's always Hastings to move to if prospects here prove deceptive; besides which, there comes a moment when a change of place is of itself beneficial. This much at least we know — there is SOME SENSE in exchanging Ventnor for Hastings, but not for places on the South Coast that are closer to Ventnor and in which conditions are almost exactly the same as in the ISLE OF Wight.

Every now and again I still have to tussle furiously with the accumulation of MUCUS; after getting up on Saturday morning I EVEN had a spasmodic attack [of coughing] so that for several seconds I vainly struggled for breath. I believe it was due to nervous irritation — my anxiety over Jennychen! Upon that I need not enlarge. I would have hastened to Argenteuil *at once*, but for the possibility of saddling the child with the extra burden of a sick visitor! For no one can guarantee

that the journey WOULD [not] HAVE PUNISHED ME WITH A RELAPSE such as I have so far fortunately escaped. All the same, it's hard not being able to go and see her.

Love from
OLD NICK

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## 232

## ENGELS TO MARX

### IN VENTNOR

London, 9 January 1883

Dear Moor,

In great haste I am sending you the following enclosures: 1. Lafargue, 2. Bebel, 3. Hepner,[484] of which I should like to have 2. and 3. back.

So at last there has been a report on Jenny's condition from which one can tell how matters really stand. In my opinion the case isn't as bad as it looks; the poor child has allowed herself to grow unduly weak as a result of over-exertion and her distaste for medical treatment, but she will soon pick up again under Laura's management. I at once sent Laura £15, the last five being intended to give Laura a somewhat freer hand when she visits Jenny and buys things for her. Until Jenny is able to run her house again, Johnny ought certainly to remain over here.

Bebel's information on German industry is interesting, though it strikes me that one ought to take it *cum grano salis*.[a] What are expanding are for the most part the luxury industries and possibly mechanical weaving — though in the latter case export opportunities are restricted by the tariffs on yarn. Since the annexation of Alsace

[a] with a grain of salt

they have had more spindles than they need as also, since 1870, ironworks, so how can *big* industry as such expand to any great extent? Moreover the fact that beet sugar has made such an impression on him suggests a narrow view. The circumstance that the state pays for the profits of the sugar-manufacturing Junkers has already been debated in the Landtag.

Hepner. What do you make of the little Jew's proposal (obviously at the insistence of his *associé*[a] Jonas) to hold a pistol to our heads as regards a preface to the *Manifesto*? In my view, either one completely ignores insolent letters like these or at most refers him to the preface of the Leipzig edition[b]; if that isn't good enough for him he ought to leave the *Manifesto* unprinted.

If you write to Sorge about Hartmann[c] (supposing that you have not already done so) you might slip in a line or two about little Hepner.

Time for the post—I had to go into town to see to the money and then get it off, have therefore been delayed.

Your
F. E.

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## 233

## MARX TO ELEANOR MARX[166]

IN LONDON

[Ventnor,] 9 January 1883

My Dear Good Child,

How kind of you to write to me so often and at such length; however I do not wish TO ENCROACH ON THE VERY LITTLE 'FREE' TIME YOU HAVE TO

[a] partner - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Preface to the 1872 German Edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*'. - [c] Lev Hartmann

DISPOSE OF. I got your letter after I had sent off mine,[a] after my return from an excursion by the sea. I have had no further news from Paris.

Today I was on the point of 'setting forth on foot' again — DESPITE THE NOISE OF THE WIND — when my doctor[b] arrived; he told me I was to stay at home as it was very cold outdoors. He examined me again. All as before, in as much as the catarrh is *chronic* (hence, too, the persistent hoarseness), though from a 'higher' viewpoint my condition has improved in as much as the critical spots have not been affected in any way. This semi-permanent cough would be tiresome enough, but with the daily *vomissements*[c] it becomes loathsome. This frequently makes work impossible, though the doctor believes — he still believes AND THAT IS SOMETHING! — he can rid me of this torment (with the help of a little remedy he has just prescribed). *Qui vivra, verra.*[d]

Apropos. SOMEWHERE in my bedroom or my desk there must still be COPIES of my photograph from Algiers in a writing case or some LITTLE BOX or other. * If you could find them, you might send me two photogramms. One of them I have promised to forward to Madame Williamson.* [485]

Yesterday Mr Meissner sent me his account for 1881; it shows a very slight drop, so there is bound to be a corresponding increase for 1882 as he also wrote saying that he is rapidly running out of copies of *Capital*.[486] Naturally he is getting impatient about the revised sheets.[e] It is an unconscionable time since he heard from me on the subject. Now he will get some definite news.

Cowen's SPEECH *quoad*[f] '*EGYPT*' [487] is on the same lines as Hyndman's political music of the future, English style. These groaning bourgeois (and even Cowen is a bourgeois in this respect), these poor British bourgeois, who groan as they assume more and more 'RESPONSABILITIES'[g] in the service of their historic mission, while vainly protesting against it — and can even Cowen himself help smirking over the entrancing little prospect of all those fortified offensive positions between the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean and, INTO THE BARGAIN, an 'African-British Empire' from the Delta to the Cape? Very naice! In fact there could be no more blatant example of Christian hypocrisy than the 'conquest' of Egypt — conquest in the midst of peace! Even Cowen, and he is certainly the best of the English *parlementaires*,[h] secretly admires

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[a] See this volume, pp. 420-21. - [b] James M. Williamson - [c] vomiting - [d] We shall see. - [e] of the first volume of *Capital*, 3rd German edition - [f] as to - [g] sic - [h] parliamentarians

this 'heroic exploit'; 'THE DAZZLE OF OUR MILITARY PARADE'. POOR Cowen! He is a typical British 'BOURGEOIS' (on this point); he believes he has done a splendid 'deal', and very cheaply at that; he doesn't even see that the English 'OLD GRAND MAN'[a] is simply the tool of other, non-British smart Alecs in so far as 'policy' plays a part in this event; however Goschen & Co. coolly assumed 'RESPONSABILITY' for the 'HOME' INTEREST.

Cowen has actually become such a prey to superstition that he regards Lord Dufferin as INDEED AN OVERWHELMING DIPLOMATIC GENIUS. But drat the British!

* Kiss my grandson[b] for me.

Farewell,
Old Nick *

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## 234

## MARX TO ENGELS[72]

### IN LONDON

[Ventnor,] 10 January 1883

Dear FRED,

It was very good of you to forward me Lafargue's letter so promptly.[484] It reassured me very much, the more so since, by the same post today, I heard direct from Lafargue, according to whom a turn for the better would seem to be assured. I entirely share your view that Johnny ought *under no circumstances* to leave just now. There can be no question of that until Jenny has completely recovered. It would be unpardonable to add to the difficulty of the child's position. I shall write to Longuet direct this very day. I should be glad if you could drop Jennychen a few lines to the same effect. After all, it's not as though Johnny is going to be lost *pour l'armée territoriale*.[c]

[a] W. E. Gladstone - [b] Jean Longuet - [c] for the territorial army, meaning here his relations in Paris

It is curious how, nowadays, any sort of nervous excitement immediately grips me by the throat, as red Wolff did his brother, the corn profiteer.[488] *Alias*,[a] the initial shock of the bad news from Paris a few days ago induced a fit of spasmodic coughing during which I thought I was going to choke. Poor Jennychen must often have suffered from this highly DISTRESSING FEELING during the course of her asthma.

As for 'little Hepner', I suggest we treat him in a 'businesslike' way, telling him that he is at liberty to reprint our preface to the Leipzig edition[b] and also pointing out that the Russians published a new translation last year.[c] If he doesn't consider it worth while to reprint the *Manifesto without our writing another special preface*, he can take it or leave it, as he thinks fit in the circumstances. 'Holding a pistol to one's head' comes as second nature to 'our people' and, where little Hepner is concerned, it's something we have to accept as a matter of course.

POOR Meissner has sent me a statement of accounts *for 1881*,[486] saying it had been a poor year; not that this really signifies for, by his own account, he was getting 'short' of copies in 1882; so the fewer he sold in 1881, the more he must have sold in 1882. My prolonged silence must have bamboozled him. At last Mahomet will be going to him, though not, alas, what he would greatly prefer — a bundle of revised sheets.[d] Since my long — and only seldom interrupted — confinement to the house first began, but especially as a result of constant nausea or, to use the more *aesthetic South German* expression *à la* Madame Karl Blind, née Cohen,[e] as a result of daily '*puking*' (caused by my cough), I have up till now been scarcely capable of pressing on with the revision. But I believe that, given patience and rigorous self-discipline, I shall soon get back onto the rails again.

Moor

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[a] Here: latterly - [b] See this volume, p. 422. - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Preface to the Second Russian Edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*'. - [d] of the first volume of *Capital*, 3rd German edition - [e] The reference is to Mathilde Blind.

## 235

## MARX TO ELEANOR MARX [72]

IN LONDON

[Ventnor,] 10 January 1883

Dear Child,

The enclosed letter from Lafargue (be so kind as to send it back sometime) reassured me greatly on Jennychen's account, although Lafargue may have painted too rosy a picture out of consideration for me; but it does seem as though the immediate danger is over.

Charming, the accounts of Wolf and Pa [a] (who is now an IDOLATER OF Wolf's), etc.

As things are at present (and Engels agrees with me over this) it would be a most unfavourable moment to send Johnny off to Argenteuil. He *cannot go back* until Jenny is again in a condition to look after her household. All one must concentrate on is the main issue, not lesser considerations, and it was those that were very nearly the death of Jenny. What difference would a few months here or there make, quite apart from the fact that the poor boy would, from the start, be precipitated into chaos.

I hope, Tussychen, that you will at once write to Jennychen telling her what I have said. I shall today drop Longuet a line on this subject, addressed to the *Justice*.

You must let Johnnychen have news of his brothers and sister; you will, OF COURSE, also give Lenchen the main gist of Lafargue's letter.

Yesterday the weather was horrible; today, too, it looks damp and far from 'glorious'. But I shall, I think, [take] my 'CONSTITUTIONAL' today [...] [b]

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[a] Edgar and Marcel Longuet - [b] The end of the letter is missing.

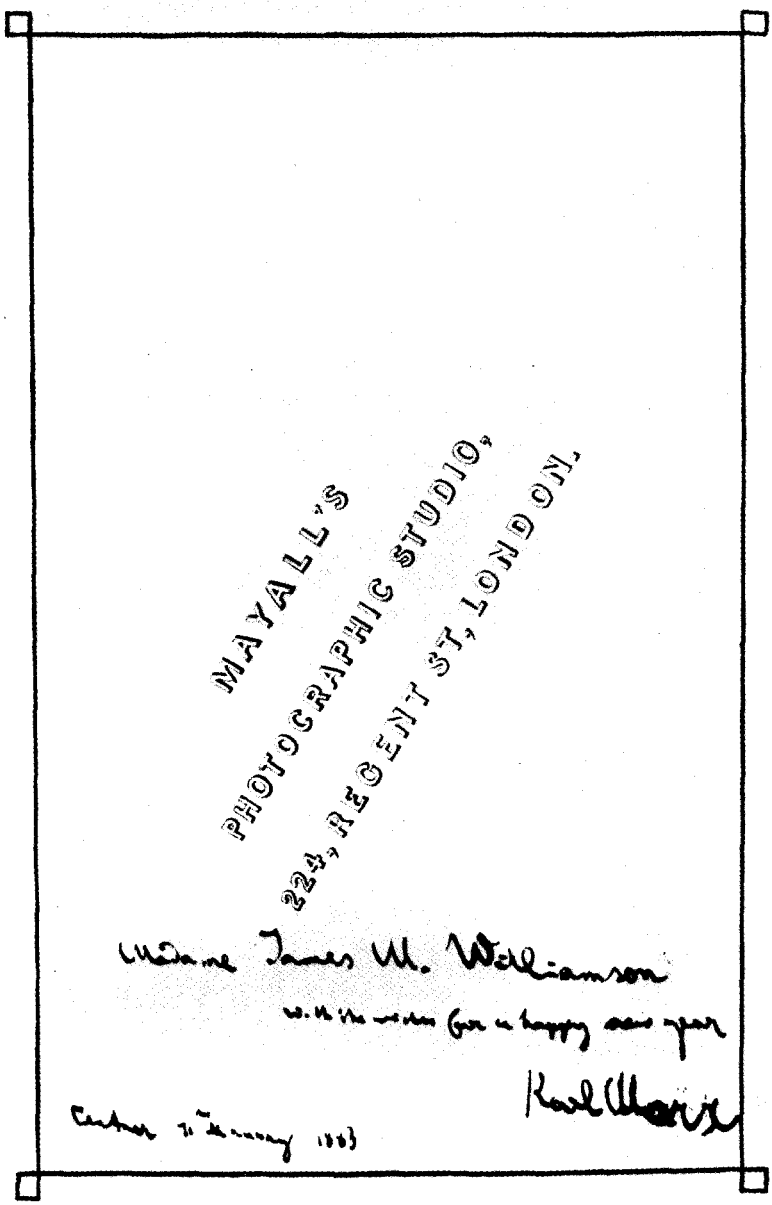


Marx's congratulation to Mrs James M. Williamson
on the reverse of his photograph of 1875

## 236

## MARX TO Mrs JAMES M. WILLIAMSON[489]

IN VENTNOR

Ventnor, 11 January 1883

Madame James M. Williamson with the wishes for a happy New Year.

Karl Marx

Published for the first time

Reproduced from a photocopy of the original

## 237

## MARX TO JAMES M. WILLIAMSON

IN VENTNOR

Ventnor, 13 January 1883
1 St Boniface Gardens

Dear Dr Williamson,

The fatal news of the death of my oldest daughter[490] forced me to at once return to London.[411]

Please, dear Doctor, send your bill to 41 Maitland Park, London, N.W. I regret that I had not the time of taking leave from you. — Indeed I find some relief in a grim headache. Physical pain is the only 'stunner' of mental pain.

Yours very truly,
Karl Marx

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Reproduced from the copy of the original

## 238

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [113]

### IN ZURICH

London, 18 January 1883

Dear Mr Bernstein,

Days of festivity, followed by days of mourning, [490] constant obstructions. At present I have scarcely a moment to call my own, as you will understand when I tell you that Marx is back here from Ventnor, [411] confined to the house with bronchitis — so far, luckily, only a mild attack — and forbidden to talk much, while all the family business devolves on me. (But not a word of all this in the paper [a]; Marx would be furious if he were to see the worthy Viereck's indiscreet and, what's more, not altogether veracious comments in today's *Süddeutsche Post.*)

*Enfin,* [b] I still have an hour or so to spare for you. As for Gumbel, returned herewith, he resembles Heine's Gumpelino [c] in as much as he too is interested in stocks and shares. For that matter, he's an outstanding example of the German socialist abroad, having obviously been in Paris. Because we have provided these chaps with a theory of which they are entirely innocent, seldom bothering, moreover, to acquire a rudimentary — if indeed any — understanding of it, every provincial nincompoop among them considers himself superior to all other foreigners. Arriving from Heilbronn, or whatever the potty little place may be called, in London or Paris, he is appalled when he finds that his particular brand of provincialism does not hold good there. Instead of broadening his horizons and learning something, he deliberately makes himself more blinkered than before, for this serves to render all the more glaring the contrast between himself and the bad, stupid foreigners — i. e. his supposed superiority over them. Yet this is the kind of person who predominates in German associations abroad, and if you are now under pressure from them, just ask yourself who it was, after the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law, [16] that sought to give undeserved prominence to these associations by means of centralisation, etc. If you had known the chaps then as well

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[a] *Der Sozialdemokrat* - [b] Well - [c] See Heine's *Reisebilder*, 2nd part.

as you do now, you would have been unlikely to go to so much trouble.

'The party with clean hands' — meaning what? The hands, perhaps, of Hasselmann or Fritzsche and of so many others, about whom everyone arriving here as an exile or something of the kind had a tale to tell?

Gumpelino is at his best when he comes to his stocks and shares. When some such provincial champion of moral virtue tilts thus pharisaically at practices, unpleasant enough in themselves, but from which the party none the less derives a real advantage that far outweighs any possible damage, there must be a catch somewhere. The workers do not have stocks and shares, nor do they give a damn for the financial page. Hence — the little bourgeois, who also wants to dabble in stocks and shares, proceeds to demand that his party paper carry a benevolent, honest, moral, financial page. In the first place, it is not the business of a socialist paper to indicate how best the workers can be exploited — income from stocks and shares is, however, also the product of unpaid labour. If, then, in the second place Gumpelino nevertheless demands that the socialist press should do this, it says little for his socialism and even less for his flair as a businessman. I, too, have stocks and shares, buying and selling from time to time. But I am not so simple as to look to the *socialist* press for advice on these operations. Anyone who does so will burn his fingers, and serve him right! Get yourself baptised, Abraham Gumpelino!

We were delighted by the way Grillenberger and the *Sozialdemokrat* replied to Puttkamer's piece of hypocrisy.[491] That's the way to do it. Not to twist and turn beneath the opponent's blows, or whine and whimper and stammer out excuses about no harm's being meant, as is still done by so many. Hit back — that's what one should do — for every blow dealt by the enemy, pay him back two or three. These have always been our tactics and up till now we have, I believe, always pretty well got the better of our opponents. 'Moreover, the genius of our soldiers lies in attacking, as is perfectly right,' says old Fritz in his orders to his generals[492] and that, indeed, is what our workers do in Germany. But when, in the debate on exceptional laws generally, — given that □'s[a] abstract is right — Kayser, for instance, retracts whining that we are revolutionaries only in the Pickwick-

[a] Louis Viereck (square in German = Viereck).

ian sense,[a] what then? What he should have said was that neither the entire Reichstag nor the Federal Council would be sitting had it not been for a revolution; that old William, when he gobbled up three crowns and a free city,[493] was likewise a revolutionary; that legitimacy itself, and the very foundations of the so-called constitution, are no more than the product of innumerable revolutions effected against the will of the people and directed against the people. Oh, this damned German slackness of thought and will, introduced at such pains into the party with the 'eddicated' men,—if only we could rid ourselves of it again!

Time for the post. I shall reply as soon as possible to whatever points in your letter I may have overlooked. Thanks for the photograph. Proofs[b] when?

Regards, yours,
F. E.

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## 239

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN[24]

### IN ZURICH

London, 8 February 1883

Dear Mr Bernstein,

1. I trust you have received the final ms. (*The Mark*) which was sent off from here registered on 20 December. But the printing delays are now getting really too outrageous. If it goes on like this you had better reset the title and put 1884 on it. When, exactly, will there be another sheet?

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[a] A reference to Max Kayser's speech in the Reichstag on 11 January 1883. - [b] of Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, German edition

2. I have received — *neither* the first Accident Bill, *nor* Bebel's speech on the subject. Meanwhile it has struck me that a specific attack on Bismarckian socialism has become outdated.[a] Viereck's little paper[b] has lost all inclination for it. Singer, who had been suffering badly from nationalisation mania on the last occasion but one, was, on the last occasion, completely free of it and genuinely revolutionary,[494] while as for those weaklings in the Reichstag, Blos, Geiser & Co., their courage, if not their enthusiasm, would appear to have evaporated. So why crack a nut with a sledgehammer? I think we should let Bismarckian socialism dig its own grave. After which all that remains is a criticism of the rotten Lassallean remnants. But if the pamphlet[378] is printed so slowly, this attack, too, may have ceased to be topical by the time the thing comes out.

3. You are mistaken about Malon. The man is not as stupid, or rather as naive, as he makes himself out to be. *C'est un faux bonhomme*[c] who has learnt from the Bakuninists how to manipulate people on the sly while making out that it is he himself who is being manipulated. One of these days you will see that I am right.

4. Stock exchange tax. Has long existed here in England in the form of a simple, everyday stamp on the transfer document — $^1/_2$% of the amount paid and 5/- transfer fee (securities *au porteur*[d] are rare over here; they are free). The only consequence is that the *real* speculation on the stock exchange is in margin dealings where no actual transfer takes place. Hence only affects the so-called 'solid capital investment'. Nor has anything ever been devised that the stock market speculators cannot circumvent.

I am against it, 1. because we, after all, demand only *direct* taxation, rejecting *any* that is indirect, so that the people may know and sense what they are paying, and also so that capital can be got at in this way, 2. because we certainly cannot vote one penny to *this* government.

You are right in describing the outcry against the stock exchange as petty-bourgeois. The stock exchange simply adjusts the *distribution* of the surplus value *already stolen* from the workers, and how that is done may at first be a matter of indifference to the workers as such. However the stock exchange adjusts this distribution in the direction

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[a] See this volume, pp. 324-25.- [b] *Süddeutsche Post*- [c] Shifty customer- [d] to bearer

of centralisation, vastly accelerates the concentration of capitals and is therefore as revolutionary as the steam engine.

Equally petty-bourgeois, though perhaps just excusable, are taxes with a moral purpose — beer, spirits. In this context they are quite ludicrous and altogether reactionary. Had the stock exchange in America not created colossal fortunes, how would large-scale industry and a social movement have been possible in that land of farmers?

It would be quite a good idea if you were to lash out here. But with circumspection. There must be no gap in one's defences where your Stoeckers are concerned.

5. 3rd edition of *Capital*.[227] Will doubtless take some time yet as Marx is still ailing. His stay in Ventnor, where it rained continuously, did him no good. On top of that there has been the loss of his daughter.[490] He has been back here for the past 3 weeks and is so hoarse that he can barely speak, so not much could be discussed (only don't mention this in the paper,[a] of course).

6. We should be grateful for the Rodbertus-Meyer book.[b] At one time the man was almost on the point of discovering surplus value, but his estate in Pomerania prevented him from doing so.

Very many thanks for the photograph.

Kautsky has sent me his pamphlet on American grain. Choice irony: 3 years ago the population was to be reduced because it would otherwise have nothing to eat; now the population does not even suffice to eat what America produces![495] That's what happens when you study so-called 'questions' one by one without linking them together. In so doing you naturally fall victim to that dialectic which 'is objectively present', Dühring notwithstanding, 'in things themselves'.[496]

I am delighted to hear that the Hohenzollern family again boasts a professing pederast. It would not be complete without one. Admittedly Prince Karl, like Frederick William II, also 'operated' in that line, but he also included women. That reminds me, did Adolf Beust give you Mirabeau's *Secret History of the Court of Berlin*[c] which I gave him to pass on to you? If not, get hold of it. The book is inimitable on

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[a] *Der Sozialdemokrat*. - [b] [J. K.] Rodbertus-Jagetzow, *Briefe und Socialpolitische Aufsätze*, Berlin [1882], edited and with a preface by R. Meyer. - [c] H. G. Mirabeau, *Histoire secrète de la cour de Berlin...*

the subject of Frederick William II; the best bits have been dog's-eared.

Kindest regards.

Yours,
F. E.

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## 240

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [24]

### IN ZURICH

London, 10 February 1883

Dear Mr Bernstein,

I respectfully confirm mine of yesterday's date [a] and herewith enclose a letter for Kautsky [b] whose old address may no longer be any good.

To come back to the stock exchange tax, there is absolutely no need for us to deny the 'immorality' and rascality of that exchange; we can even paint a really lurid picture of it as the spearhead of capitalist gain where ownership becomes directly synonymous with theft, but then go on to conclude that it is by no means in the interests of the proletariat to destroy this immaculate spearhead of the present economy; rather it should be allowed to deploy perfectly freely, so that even the most stupid can see where the present economy is taking them. We shall leave moral indignation to those who are avaricious enough to have recourse to the stock exchange without themselves being stock exchange men and who, as is only right, are cleaned out. And then if the stock exchange and 'solid business' come to blows and if the country Junkers, who also seek to dabble in securities and are inevitably fleeced, make a third in the three-sided battle between the

[a] See previous letter.- [b] See next letter.

main elements of the exploiting class, then we, the fourth, shall be the ones to laugh.

The request for an exact address with number and street applies to you as well. Otherwise I cannot send any money, which I must certainly do, inter alia, for 6 copies of the Schmidt pamphlet[458] which Schorlemmer and I wish to send to Germany and which I ask for.

But now I must close.

Yours,
F. E.

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## 241

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN VIENNA

London, 10 February 1883

Dear Mr Kautsky,

At long last I can get round to answering you and thanking you for the various things you have sent. You have no idea of the way impediments of all kinds have prevented me, not only from working, but also from attending to the most urgent correspondence. Since Marx has been ill the burden has fallen upon myself alone and, on top of that, the number of inquiries, etc., has doubled. Moreover, I cannot very well write in the evenings because it tires my eyes and interferes with my sleep. Thus all written work is dependent on the few—in wintertime here, all too short—hours of daylight and, in view of the distances one has to cover here, a single trip into town will, as often as not, disrupt one's entire working day. And some fine to-ing and fro-ing I have had to do of late!

Enough of that. I have not yet seen *Die Neue Zeit*. But I shall write to Dietz today. I must have *street and house number* if I am to send the subscription per money order; that's the rule here.

Your treatise on American food production is most timely. The fact that you make such use of the information supplied by Mr Meyer must have made him very proud. [497] Is he still in Vienna, and do you still see him from time to time?

But what irony of history! 3 or 4 years ago you, a *neonato*[a] Malthusian, were advocating the necessity of restricting the population by artificial means, because otherwise the time would soon come when we should none of us have enough to eat. And now you prove that the population is not even large enough to consume America's surplus food production as well as what Europe herself produces. Solve, I pray, Count Oerindur, this conundrum posed by nature![b] Presumably, then, it won't be rations that are withheld, but rather that much-vaunted little sponge! Which is not to say, of course, that this same or some other method might not be of great practical use in middle-class families to keep the number of children proportionate to income, and prevent the wife's health being ruined by too frequent confinements, etc. But I still maintain that this is a private matter between husband and wife, or at most the family doctor (in one such case I myself recommended what you call the 'Raciborski method'), and that our proletarians will continue as before to live up to their name by producing numerous *proles*.[c]

It will not surprise you to learn that my standpoint in regard to your article on hetaerism [498] still remains the same, namely that community of wives (and of men for women) was the basis for sexual relations within the tribe. The psychological argument against this, deriving from jealousy, interpolates more recent views, and is disproved by countless facts (some of which below). Darwin is no more of an authority in this field than in that of political economy, whence he imported his Malthusianism. We know practically nothing about apes in this respect, since observations in a menagerie prove nothing and are difficult to make in the case of a troop of wild apes, while such as are alleged to have been made cannot claim to be accurate, conclusive or even universally valid. Gorillas and orang-outangs must in any case be excluded, since they do not live in troops. Those primitive tribes you adduce, with a loose form of monogamy, are, in my view,

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[a] new born - [b] A. Müllner, *Die Schuld*, Act 2, Scene 5. - [c] progeny

degenerate, as Bancroft has shown of the Californians of the peninsula.[a] Proof of primitivity is provided, not by barbarism, but by the degree of integrity of ancient tribal blood ties. These, therefore, must first be established in each individual instance before conclusions can be drawn from individual manifestations in this tribe or that. For instance, in the case of the peninsular Californians, these ancient ties have become very much looser, nor has any other organisation come to take their place; a sure sign of degeneracy. But even these argue *against you*. For amongst them, too, the women periodically revert to concubinage. And this is a crucial point though you do not so much as mention it. Just as it may be confidently inferred that, wherever,— e.g. with the *Hutzwang*[499] — the land periodically reverts to common ownership, there will once have been complete common ownership of land, so too, I believe, one may confidently conclude that there has originally been community of wives wherever women — symbolically or in reality — periodically revert to concubinage. And this happens, not only amongst your peninsular Californians, but also amongst many other Indian tribes, not to mention the Phoenicians, Babylonians, Indians, Slavs and Celts, either symbolically or in reality; hence it is very ancient and widespread and entirely refutes the psychological argument based on jealousy. I am curious to see how, in due course, you will contrive to overcome this obstacle, for you cannot after all omit all mention of it.

Here comes Pumps with her husband and child[b] and that means no more writing. This is always happening.

With kindest regards,

Yours,
F. E.

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[a] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, Vol. I, New York, 1875. - [b] Percy and Lilian Rosher

## 242

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 16th February 1883

My dear Laura,

I begin this letter — 4 p. m. — uncertain when I may be able to finish it, the constant interruptions I have lately been subjected to leave me no quiet time except at night and then I dare not write much, as that affects my eyes.

Your *Salas y Gomez*[a] is on the whole a masterpiece. There is the same roughness of language as in the original — roughness as we like it in young good red wine, *gesunde Herbigkeit*,[b] and which makes Chamisso's terzine come nearer to Dante's than those of any other poet. I compared it with the original line for line and am astonished at the fidelity of the reproduction. Still I would wish you to try and alter a few passages so as to make it perfect. The end, you say yourself, is hurried and so indeed it is. But for details.

*Introduction.* Terz. 3. Thus towered it — it could not 'tower' while it could only be descried from the mast-head. — *From* the *Ruric*: impossible, because Chamisso himself was on board the *Ruric*.

Terz. 5. I think wants re-moulding. *Den Versuch zu wagen*[c] applies merely to the risk of getting the boats safely through the breakers caused by coral reefs which encircle all islands in those latitudes.

Terz. 7, 3. One syllable short, *our* cannot be used bisyllabic.

Terz. 15. The translation: *albeit* ... that *might* obliterate, is open to misleading. The original says clearly that it is the men's own steps that have obliterated the writing.

Terz. 31, 1. This *cold* rock will never do while it burns his feet through his soles.

*1st Tablet.* Terz. 1. *Ich sah bereits im Geiste*[d] — that cannot be suppressed in the beginning. The reader, from the translation, must believe that the man was already *in full possession* of all these fancied

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[a] A reference to Laura Lafargue's English translation of Adelbert von Chamisso's narrative poem *Salas y Gomez* (written in 1829).- [b] healthy roughness - [c] *to venture* an attempt - [d] I already saw in my mind's eye

treasures, and only at the end, Terz. 8, there is an indication, and that, after the previous omission, not strong enough, that all this was a mere fancy-dream. The character of the adventurous seafarer in quest of wealth forms the basis of the whole piece, and ought therefore to come out strong from the beginning of the story.

Terz. 4, 1: and for myself too were content and gain, is not to be understood without reference to the original.[a]

Terz. 9, 3: the *cabins* gives a syllable too much in the verse, and is not literal. *Der untre Raum* is in ship's language the *hold*, and moreover monosyllabic.

*2nd Tablet.* Not a fault to find except one and that is one in copying. Terz. 16, 1: For they (have) sighted me, the *have* is omitted.

*3rd Tablet.* Terz. 7. 'Worser far' I prefer, but will the philistine public? And will you turn philistine enough to say 'worse by far'?

Terz. 15-20: your own variations indicate that you are not quite satisfied with your work. I do believe that here a fresh attempt might be made with advantage. The conclusion again is very good.

As usual the beginning, when one is not yet *recht im Zug*,[b] and the end when one gets tired a little, are the weak points, but I think after you have had it laid aside for a time, you will be able to go at it again with fresh vigour and make it what indeed you *can* make it.

Mohr wants to read it too, but not yet. Latterly he has had very bad sleepless nights which have broken down his intellectual appetite, so that he began to read, instead of novels, publisher's catalogues. However the night before last was good and he was quite another man yesterday; another good symptom: his feet, previously ice-cold in the evening and only to be warmed by hot mustard-baths, for the last two nights were quite warm and no baths required. The chronic inflammation of the larynx and bronchiae is slowly becoming subdued, but swallowing still painful and the voice very hoarse. I shall continue to-night after I have seen him. His appetite was very good yesterday, Nim[c] surpasses herself in inventing new dishes for his case.

17th February. It was 1 o'clock when I came back last night from Maitland Park,[d] so I could not finish this letter. Mohr was going on

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[a] Chamisso has: 'und selber hat ich Ruhe nicht gewonnen' - [b] quite in full swing - [c] Helene Demuth - [d] the Marx family's address in London

pretty much as usual, but he had given up the catalogues and returned to Frédéric Soulié, anyhow a good sign. What do you say to this, that he drinks a *pint of milk* a day, he who could not bear milk to be on the table! Anyhow it does him good. Besides rum now and then (in the milk especially) he takes a bottle of brandy about every four days.

The worst is that his case is so complicated that while the most pressing things, the breathing organs, have to be attended to, and now and then a sleeping draft is to be given, other things have to be neglected, for instance the stomach which is as you know none of the most perfect organs of digestion. But still his appetite keeps up pretty well, and we do our best to supply him such food chiefly as contains much nourishment in a small compass.

I think our friends have been in too great a hurry with the new *Égalité*. What is to become of the paper if Paul[a] and Guesde get 'time to serve' at Moulins, and that is after all not quite impossible?[440] Guesde's opening article[b] is not at all what it should be. What he says of judges elected by universal suffrage, is quite as applicable to universal suffrage itself, to the Republic, to any political institution. If *Messieurs les français* do not know how to use this universal suffrage *tant pis pour eux*.[c] Give our people in Germany the right to elect the judges and they will carry the election in all large towns and make Berlin too hot a shop for old William and Bismarck, unless they have recourse to a coup d'état. But to say: *white* because my adversary says: *black*, is simply *subir la loi de son adversaire, et une politique de bébés*.[d] I am afraid Guesde's old anarchist rodomontades are cropping up again rather fast, and in that case he will lose himself. Paul's *deux embêtés*[e][500] are charming. That is just his line.[f]

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[a] Lafargue - [b] J. Guesde, 'Rentrée en ligne', *L'Égalité*, 5th series, No. 1, 16 February 1883.- [c] so much the worse for them - [d] to adopt the ways of one's adversary, which is a puerile policy - [e] two bored ones - [f] The end of the letter is missing.

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## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [501]
### IN ZURICH

London, 27 February 1883

Dear Mr Bernstein,

I recently had a little dispute with Viereck which has forced me to break with him. As he might possibly come to Zurich for the congress [502] and make use of the occasion to mention the matter in *private* conversation, I am concerned lest in that event *his* version be the only one to go the rounds. I therefore authorise you to read this letter to anyone Viereck may discuss the matter with, but at all events to Bebel and Liebknecht.

Some little while before Christmas Viereck, or rather his wife, [a] sent me the visiting card of one Deinhardt, a Munich engineer, with three questions of a chemico-physico-industrial nature and asked me to get hold of the information if possible. I sent the card to Schorlemmer in Manchester who rightly suspected from the questions a pushful and importunate inventor and for good measure appended a 'motto' to his extremely terse reply. Here is the card as returned to Viereck:

'1. Has ozone come into use alongside chlorine and chloride of lime for bleaching rags in English paper mills? — *No.*

'2. Compared with other bleaching agents, does ozone offer a manufacturing concern any noteworthy advantages in a technical or financial sense? — *No.*

'3. Is the production and use of ozone in an industrial concern attended by considerable difficulties? — *Yes.*

'C. Deinhardt, Engineer (printed on card).

'Motto: *Apage inventor!*' [b]

In this form the card went back. So if Viereck did not wish to show Deinhardt the motto, all he had to do was copy questions and answers onto a sheet of paper or a postcard, and that would have been that.

Next I received No. 7 (17 January) of the *Süddeutsche Post* (which Viereck sent me in exchange for *The Labour Standard*) and, in the 'Letter Box', saw the following:

'To Mr Deinhardt, engineer of this city. The author of the 'electrotechnical revolution' writes to tell us that, *despite information to the contrary supplied by Prof. Schorlemmer,*

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[a] Laura Viereck - [b] Be off with you, inventor!

of Manchester, he must stand by his contention *that the production of ozone would be effected by means of a dynamo, etc.*'

What was the meaning of this? How was it that this purely private piece of information found its way into the paper rather than into a proper letter box? And how could Viereck have had the impudence to make public use in his paper of private information supplied by Schorlemmer for Deinhardt—on Viereck's own evidence an extremely importunate man—purely to oblige Viereck? Either Viereck didn't know what he was doing or he did it out of revenge for the 'motto'.

But there is nothing whatever in the 3 questions and answers that turns on whether the production of ozone is effected by means of a dynamo; a dynamo is not mentioned at all. Thus, by indirectly attributing to Schorlemmer a statement actually denying that the production of ozone is effected with a dynamo, Viereck is guilty of outright *falsification*; he is attributing to Schorlemmer things he has never said. But obviously it cannot be a matter of indifference to a chemist whose reputation extends beyond Europe if someone attributes to him things about chemico-physical questions he has never said, and does so publicly in the university city of Munich where, after all, there are also chemists and physicists who might possibly read it.

So I sent the paper, as was only my duty, to Schorlemmer who sent me the following letter for Viereck:

'If anyone' (I am quoting from memory) 'publishes a private communication without permission, then it is improper. But if in addition he goes on to distort the said communication, then it is barely ethical.'

Accordingly Schorlemmer called for the publication of the card as it stood, with questions, answers and motto, in order that the matter might be clarified.

Whereupon a long letter arrived from Viereck addressed to me. Deinhardt, he said, had bombarded him with three letters on the subject of ozone (so the *Apage inventor* was *wholly appropriate*!). By sending him [Viereck] the above-mentioned letter I was now holding a *pistol to his head* (*which is untrue*, let him show it to you; all I did was demand in polite terms full satisfaction for Schorlemmer), while Schorlemmer's letter and the demands made therein were even more intemperate. He could not, he added, publish the motto (needless to say this request was not intended seriously) and the remainder only if Schorlemmer *withdrew* the insulting expressions contained in his letter; for the time being he could not admit having made a mistake, but

must refuse to accede to our peremptory demands in 'this entirely unqualifiable form'.

'*I did not even know*,' his letter goes on, 'that Prof. Schorlemmer read the *Süddeutsche Post* and surely cannot in any circumstances assume that you had sent him this issue *ad hoc*[a]! For I regard it ... as out of the question that you *could inform against me* and I should have been only too pleased had you suggested what steps ought to have been taken to pacify the much agitated professor.' ... 11/12 of his readers consisted of party members ... nothing ought to be imputed to him that was 'inconsistent with the conduct of a man of honour', etc.

So they make improper use of Schorlemmer's name and, *on their own admission*, distort what he says because they hope *he won't find out*. And when I, the sole cause of his involvement in the affair, tell him about it, then I am '*informing*' against Viereck. Not Schorlemmer but Viereck is the injured party, because Schorlemmer characterises Viereck's conduct, and with great restraint at that. Not a word about the *falsification* of which Schorlemmer was the victim.

Well, Viereck may read our reply to anyone he chooses. We sent him a statement, addressed not to him but to the editorial board, i. e. a statement intended for publication, together with a request that at the same time they print questions and answers. What does Viereck do? First, a polite apology in the 'Letter Box', to wit:

'We profoundly regret this tiresome misunderstanding' and promise to put the matter right.

And then? In No. 17, 9 February:

'*In regard to the electrotechnical revolution.* On being consulted, Prof. Schorlemmer of Manchester supplied the following information which we herewith print in order to clear up a (!) misunderstanding (!)': (the questions and answers follow).

The clarification of this 'misunderstanding' is tantamount to the total obfuscation of the affair, as is satisfaction for Schorlemmer to attempted mockery and to further misuse of his name. Thereafter I returned the *Süddeutsche Post* unopened. Yet another postcard from Viereck, asking what he had done to deserve being rebuffed in this *insulting* (everything is insulting!) way, etc. What I said in my reply — also per postcard — he can read to you himself if he likes. 'One must

[a] for this purpose

make a complete break with a swine like that,' Schorlemmer writes to me. And that has been done.

Yours,
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [7]

### IN ZURICH

London, 27 February 1883

Dear Mr Bernstein,

Your letter received yesterday evening. [503] The *Égalité* has gone phut again and I would ask you to publish the following facts (see enclosed slip of paper) in the *Sozialdemokrat.* [504] Let us hope that the chaps will finally learn some sense and not go founding daily papers on the strength of contracts of this kind. Taking legal action is a mug's game and costs money, and any French court of law would revel in non-suiting socialists and losing them their case, while the paper would still remain defunct.

Guesde and Lafargue, amongst others, were arraigned [440] under Article 91 of the *Code pénal* [167] — conspiracy and incitement to civil war — death penalty. What a farce!

At any rate, it's a good thing that they can no longer publicly declare their solidarity with the anarchists, the latter being now *behind bars* — mere children who play with fire and, when given a hiding, try and make out they're the most innocent fellows in the world. And now some fool in Brussels sets off a bomb in his own trousers pocket! In due course dynamite will come to seem plain ridiculous.

Now for a different tableau. Because of a dirty trick Viereck played on Schorlemmer in the *Süddeutsche Post*, I have broken with him. Further details are contained in a letter I have sent to Schorlemmer[a]

[a] See previous letter.

and which he, if he is agreeable, will send on to you tomorrow direct from Manchester (I have got it here, returned because I had forgotten to sign it).[a] I need hardly tell you that, when Viereck and Fritzsche were over here, they would have been given a very cool reception by us had they not come as the official emissaries of the party. As it was, however, and since Marx was exempted by his indisposition, I had to some extent to do them the honours.[505] Moreover, a certain intimacy grew up between his (Viereck's) present wife[b] and my niece[c] (both of whom were then secretly engaged), etc., etc. At the same time I told him pretty plainly what I thought of his proclivity for vulgar democracy. In short, I became involved with him, but now it is all over.

The veriest boot-black could not have tolerated the treatment meted out to Schorlemmer by Viereck. Yet Schorlemmer is, after Marx, undoubtedly the most eminent man in the European socialist party. When I got to know him 20 years ago he was already a communist. At that time an impoverished private assistant to English professors, he is now a member of the Royal Society (the equivalent over here of the *Akademie der Wissenschaften*), and the world's leading authority in his own speciality, the chemistry of the simpler hydrocarbons (paraffin and its derivatives). His great *Treatise on Chemistry*, brought out jointly with Roscoe,[d] but written almost entirely by Schorlemmer (as all chemists know), is now without a rival in England and Germany. And this position he has carved out for himself abroad, in competition with men who exploited him for as long as they could, and he has done so entirely on the strength of genuinely scientific work, without ever making any concession to humbug. Moreover, he never hesitates to proclaim himself a socialist as, for instance, when he reads jokes aloud from the *Sozialdemokrat* for the benefit of the other lecturers with whom he is lunching; but he also demands, and justly so, that he should not have unwanted publicity, in whatever guise, thrust upon him, as was done by Viereck. But now, good-bye until tomorrow. It is almost midnight and I have broken my rule of not writing at night.

28 February. There is, however, one favour I would ask of you, and that is not to keep chucking the word 'comrade' at me in the paper.[e]

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[a] Words in brackets were added by Engels at the bottom of the page.- [b] Laura Viereck - [c] Mary Ellen Rosher - [d] H. E. Roscoe, C. Schorlemmer, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Chemie*, vols I-III, Brunswick, 1877-82. - [e] *Der Sozialdemokrat*

To begin with, I detest anything that smacks of title-mongering and since, in all the German literature that counts for anything, people are called simply by their names and are not given titles unless under attack, we too should conform to this unless the designation 'comrade' is *really* intended to *inform* the reader that the person concerned belongs to the party. What is in place and normal on the platform and in verbal debate can look pretty awful in print. And then again, we here are not in fact 'comrades' in the narrower sense of the term. We can hardly be said to belong to the German party any more than to the French, American or Russian, nor can we regard ourselves as any more bound by the German programme [506] than by the minimum programme. [68] We set no little store by this, our special position as representatives of *international* socialism. But it also precludes us from belonging to one particular national party — so long, that is, as we are unable to return to Germany and participate immediately in the struggle there. Just now it would be pointless.

What you say about Liebknecht's complicity in importing philistine elements has long been our view. For all his excellent qualities, Liebknecht has one fault, namely the desire to attract 'educated' elements to the party by hook or by crook, and to him, a former teacher, the worst thing that can happen is for a working man in the Reichstag to say '*me*' for '*I*'. A man like Viereck ought never to have been put up as a candidate. He would have exposed us in the Reichstag to far more deadly ridicule than would a hundred wrong '*mes*' of which, after all, the Hohenzollerns and field marshals are likewise guilty. Unless the newcomers — the educated ones and those from bourgeois circles generally — adopt the proletarian standpoint *unreservedly*, they can do nothing but harm. But if they have genuinely adopted that standpoint, then they are exceedingly useful and welcome. Another of Liebknecht's characteristics is that, for the sake of a momentary success, he will unhesitatingly sacrifice subsequent, more important successes. Thus Viereck and Fritzsche's highly dubious mission to America. [119] It went off reasonably well, but is there any knowing to what ridicule Fritzsche may not expose us later on in America? And then people will say: 'And there you have the representative of German Social Democracy in America, sent over officially!' And the caution one has to observe vis-à-vis this type of person when it comes to candidatures is evident from the Oppenheimer case. [507]

Yet another interruption!

1 March. We have always done our utmost to combat the narrow, petty-bourgeois philistine mentality within the party because, having developed since the Thirty Years' War,[472] it has infected *all* classes in Germany, and has become a German hereditary ill, sister to servility and humble submissiveness and every German hereditary vice! This it is that has made us ridiculous and contemptible abroad. It is the chief cause of the slackness and weakness of character so prevalent in our midst. It prevails on the throne no less frequently than in a cobbler's lodging. Only since the time a *modern* proletariat took shape in Germany, only since then has a class developed there that is virtually untainted by this hereditary German scourge, a class which has given proof of clear-sightedness, energy, humour and tenacity in the fray. And can we be expected not to combat every attempt at artificially inoculating that healthy — in Germany, the only healthy — class with the old hereditary germ of philistine narrow-mindedness and philistine slackness? But during the first period of shock after the assassination attempts[120] and the Anti-Socialist Law,[16] the leaders fell prey to an anxiety which in itself is proof of their having lived far too much amongst philistines and been subject to pressure from philistine opinion. The idea at the time was that the party should, if not actually *become* philistine, at any rate *appear* to be so. That, I am glad to say, has now been overcome, but the philistine elements — these being particularly prevalent among university men, most of them incapable of passing their examinations — introduced in pre-Anti-Socialist Law days are still there, and a close watch must be kept upon them. We are glad to have your assistance here and, being on the *Sozialdemokrat*, you are in a key position.

But for goodness sake don't go raking up that wretched *Jahrbuch* article.[a] It was an apologia for the stock exchange men. But one can perfectly well be at one and the same time a stock exchange man and a socialist and therefore detest and despise the *class* of stock exchange men. Would it ever occur to me to apologise for the fact that I myself was once a partner in a firm of manufacturers? There's a fine reception waiting for anyone who tries to throw that in my teeth! And if I could be certain of making a million on the stock exchange tomorrow, and thus put an ample supply of funds at the disposal

[a] [K. Höchberg, E. Bernstein, C. A. Schramm,] 'Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland. Kritische Aphorismen', *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, 1. Jg., 1. Hälfte, Zürich-Oberstrass, 1879.

of the party in Europe and America, to the stock exchange I should promptly go.

What you say about courting the enemy's praise is perfectly right. We have often been infuriated by the glee with which the slightest sign, be it only a fart, of recognition from the armchair socialists [82] was recorded in the *Volksstaat* and the *Vorwärts*. It was the phrase, 'We must exact recognition from the bourgeoisie in every sphere', that marked the beginning of Miquel's betrayal. [456] And however much Rudolf Meyer may butter us up, [482] all the recognition he is likely to get in return is for his really meritorious *Politische Gründer.* [a] We never, of course, discussed serious topics with him, but confined ourselves almost entirely to Bismarck and the like. But Meyer is at least a decent fellow and one who is also quite capable of defying the aristos, nor is he ambitious like all the rest of the armchair socialists, who are now also flourishing in Italy; one specimen, Achille Loria, was over here recently but two calls on me were enough for him.

In the case of Viereck, who knows absolutely nothing about the matter, the to-do over the electrotechnical revolution is merely an advertisement for the pamphlet he has published.[b] In fact, however, it's a tremendously revolutionary affair. The steam engine taught us to transform heat into mechanical motion, but the exploitation of electricity has opened up the way to transforming *all* forms of energy — heat, mechanical motion, electricity, magnetism, light — one into the other and back again, and to their industrial exploitation. The circle is complete. And Deprez's latest discovery, namely that electric currents of very high voltage can, with a comparatively small loss of energy, be conveyed by simple telegraph wire over hitherto undreamed-of distances and be harnessed at the place of destination [426] — the thing is still in embryo — this discovery frees industry for good from virtually all local limitations, makes possible the harnessing of even the most remote hydraulic power and, though it may benefit the *towns* at the outset, will in the end inevitably prove the most powerful of levers in eliminating the antithesis between town and country. Again, it is obvious that the productive forces will thereby acquire a range such that they will, with increasing rapidity, outstrip the control of the bourgeoisie. All Viereck sees in it, short-sighted as he is, is

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[a] R. Meyer, *Politische Gründer und die Corruption in Deutschland*, Leipzig, 1877. - [b] See previous letter.

a fresh argument in favour of his beloved nationalisation. What the bourgeoisie cannot do must be done by Bismarck.

I'm sorry about the Schumacher business. Let's hope it's just a passing phase; he used to be such a lively, resolute chap. But, as you say, it's that damned German imperial atmosphere! [508]

There are a great many reasons why I should not consider coming to the congress. [502] Things being what they are just now on the Continent, I would sooner remain here.

Kautsky has sent me his second piece on marriage [498] in which he again tries to sneak in community of wives as a secondary manifestation. But that won't do. Indeed, I shall write to him about it [a] and enclose the letter in one to you. It is Kautsky's misfortune that, in his hands, complex questions do not resolve themselves into simple ones—rather, simple questions become complex. And then, it's impossible to achieve anything if one is so prolific. He ought to write popular stuff for the sake of the fee, and take his time over scientific matters, thus dealing with them in a considered and exhaustive way, which alone can be rewarding.

The pederast, who made us laugh a great deal, has already been posted on to Manchester where he will be widely disseminated.

Marx is still incapable of work, keeps to his room (he returned here immediately after his daughter's death [490]), and reads French novels. His case seems to be a very complicated one. My hopes are high, now that a better season is on its way.

Yours,
F. Engels

Whatever you do, don't put anything about Marx's state of health into the paper [b]; Viereck shamefully exploited in the *Süddeutsche Post* the information I sent his wife [c] from time to time (he hardly ever wrote to me himself!), but naturally I was able to keep this from Marx, otherwise he would have hauled me over the coals. Here again Viereck had failed to ask my permission.

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[a] See next letter. - [b] *Der Sozialdemokrat* - [c] Laura Viereck

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN VIENNA

London, 2 March 1883

Dear Mr Kautsky,

I have received your second article on marriage[498] and, since this contains your answer to my criticism of the first one,[a] I shall continue where I left off; I happen to have an hour to spare which will not be the case tomorrow.

To begin with I consider it absolutely inadmissible that, having contested community of wives as a primary manifestation, you should seek to reintroduce it as a secondary one. Wherever common ownership exists, be it of land, women or anything else, it will necessarily be primitive, a legacy of the animal kingdom. The subsequent process of development consists entirely in the gradual *dissolution* of this primeval common ownership; in no case do we find an instance of secondary common ownership evolving out of primitive private ownership. So irrefutable and universally valid do I consider this proposition to be that, even were you to produce what appeared to be exceptions — and however striking these might be at first sight — I would not regard them as an argument to the contrary, but only as a question yet to be solved.

Moreover, having made jealousy the one decisive factor in the first article, you ought not to discard it entirely in the second. Article I presupposes a loose form of monogamy, and this very largely on the strength of jealousy for, as I have said, your other reasons carry very little weight with me. But if jealousy is able to overcome natural community of sexes — and you do *after all* indirectly concede the existence of the latter when you say: 'Within the tribe *complete sexual licence* prevailed' — if jealousy can relegate that natural licence to the confines of temporary monogamy, how much more easily must it be able to overcome lesser obstacles. The tribe's common ownership of captives is, however, an obstacle of much less magnitude. A woman remains a woman, whether she is free or a slave; true, in the case of

[a] See this volume, pp. 437-38.

female slaves, a man's jealousy is able to impose sole possession much more easily than in the case of free women who have a *right* to adultery! But the moment there is any question of marriage with captives, the jealousy of the husbands suddenly evaporates; the community of sexes which so appalled them in the primitive state, becomes acceptable and pleasing and, even after monogamy or polygamy has already been introduced, even in the case of Semitic peoples where harems are the rule, husbands do not object to their wives coupling with every Tom, Dick and Harry, either in the temple or at special seasons. No, my dear fellow, you can't dismiss the thing as easily as all that. For you are duty-bound to stick to the point even when it becomes awkward for you to do so. If *primary* community of sexes was inhibited by jealousy, then community of sexes is excluded once and for all, right down to and including capitalist society. Either your second article refutes the first or vice versa.

Incidentally, I would contest your statement that the freedom of women, at your first stage, contributed to monogamy because there could be no question of repression. The argument that community of sexes is dependent on repression is itself false and a modern distortion arising out of the idea that common ownership in the sexual sphere was only *of* women *by* men and at the *latter's pleasure*. This is totally foreign to the primitive state. Common ownership in this sphere was available to *both* sexes. To refute the false assumption, however, is not the same thing as refuting the correct facts on which the distortion is based.

Again, by reducing all community of sexes and traces thereof to marriage by rapine with foreign women, you attribute to that form of marriage, *qua* predominant form, a really vast range. Yet you adduce not the slightest proof of this.

What follows is lost in a welter of hypotheses [among them much] [a] that is undoubtedly correct [in regard to specific times and] [a] places. But you generalise at the speed of an express train, whereas questions of this kind do not lend themselves to such rapid despatch. And while the Celtic clan, the Roman *gens* and the German *Geschlecht* are, it is true, all sub-divisions of the tribe, they all have very marked differences and also, surely, different origins. As do the various kinds of clan amongst non-Celtic peoples.

I am convinced that, should you pursue these studies or resume

[a] Ms. damaged.

them after a lapse of time, you will arrive at quite different conclusions and, perhaps, regret your premature endeavours in this difficult field. You have done some hard slogging, but you have leapt too rapidly to conclusions, at the same time laying too much weight on the opinions of self-styled anthropologists, all of whom have what I might call a certain obliquity reminiscent of your armchair socialist.[82] While you may refute Bachofen's deification and mystification of community of sexes,[a] this is not to say that community of sexes does not and will not continue to exist.

Well, the dinner-bell is being rung — no offence meant, and so I still remain,

Your old friend,
F. Engels

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## 246

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN LEIPZIG

London, 7 March 1883

Dear Bebel,

I shall have to reply to you from memory today as I must have left your letter with Marx, but first of all I should like to congratulate you on your release the day after tomorrow.[405]

The rapid advances in German industry you have described please me enormously. What we are now experiencing is the second Bonapartist empire in all its aspects: the stock exchange is mobilising all capitals that are still wholly or partially idle by attracting them and

[a] J. J. Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht. Eine Untersuchung über die Gynaikokratie der alten Welt nach ihrer religiösen und rechtlichen Natur*, Stuttgart, 1861.

rapidly concentrating them in a few hands; the capitals thus made available to industry are ushering in an industrial boom (which is by no means necessarily the same thing as a high level of business activity) and, once the affair gets going, it will continue to accelerate. Only two things distinguish the era of Bismarck from the era of Bonaparte III: The latter owed its prosperity to what was relatively free trade; the former is making headway despite protective tariffs that are wholly uncalled for, particularly in Germany. And, secondly, the Bismarckian era is putting far more people out of work. This is partly because the increase in population is much greater in our case than in that of France where two children are the rule, partly because Bonaparte, thanks to his building operations in Paris, generated an artificial demand for labour, whereas in our case the milliard era [169] came to an early end; but again it must partly be due to other causes about which I am not clear. At all events philistine Germany is at last becoming a modern country, and that is absolutely vital if we are to make rapid progress.

When one reads the German bourgeois papers and the speeches in the Chamber one might imagine that one was living in the England of Henry VII and VIII; the same complaints about danger from vagrants, the same outcry for the forcible suppression of vagrancy — the *cachot*[a] and the lash. Here is the best proof of how rapidly the producers are losing touch with their means of production, of how rapidly the smaller enterprises are being supplanted by the machine and the perfecting of the machine. But what could be more ludicrous and despicable than those bourgeois who hope that moral sermons and penal methods sermons will enable them to do away with the inevitable consequences of their own actions. It is a crying shame that you are not in the Reichstag [222]; this is a theme that would be right up your street.

The precedent you set in the Saxon Landtag by calmly taking the oath [509] has had its imitators. The Italians have unanimously declared that the oath need not be a stumbling-block and Costa took the oath without demur.[420] And, after all, these are people who declare themselves to be 'anarchists', even though they vote and are elected by vote!

There has been a scandalous delay over my pamphlet [378] in Zurich, but the printing ought to be done by now; whether the binding will

[a] prison

take as long in tin-pot Zurich, I don't know. At all events I am still awaiting copies, having as yet had none. The part on the 'Mark' will clarify much of Maurer for you; the man's writing is atrociously slipshod but the content is excellent. I have read the book 5 or 6 times and shall reread it next week after I have again been through the relevant material in the remainder of his collected works.[465]

We were most delighted at the way the virtuously religious Puttkamer was dealt with, first by Grillenberger in the Reichstag and then several times in the *Sozialdemokrat*.[491] He will be on his guard now!

Little Hepner has reprinted *Unsere Ziele*[510] in New York, allegedly improved and with a little picture that is said to represent your portrait but in fact represents an honest to God YANKEE. As I only have the 1st edition, I can't say whether or what changes have been made by him for the worse/better. If you haven't got his edition I can send you one; after all, you had better see what the Americans think you ought to look like.

Now I must close, for I must go and see Marx whose health is still not really making the progress it should. If it were two months from now, the warmth and air would do their work but as it is there's a north-east wind, a storm almost, with flurries of snow, so how can a man expect to cure himself of a long-standing case of bronchitis!

Regards to Liebknecht.

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in: A. Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, Teil III, Stuttgart, 1914 and in full, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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247

# ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 10 March 1883

My dear Laura,

Not having received a letter from Paul[a] this morning, I conclude that in this frosty and snowy weather with east wind, you will not be in too great a hurry to come to London. Anyhow, if you should make up your mind to come, everything is prepared for you.

Donkin saw Mohr yesterday evening and I am glad to say gave a far more favorable account of his health than a fortnight ago. He said Mohr was decidedly not worse, but better, if anything, than then; and if we could keep him up for the next two months, there would be a good chance of bringing him round again. Of course he is still getting weaker, on account of the difficulty of swallowing, but we *must* force him to eat and drink. This is what Tussy wrote me on a postcard last night and what Nim[b] told me today; I shall see Tussy tonight and if any more details are to be had shall write again at once. The abscess in the lungs he considers to be going on very favorably at present. The nocturnal sweats have now ceased the last 4 nights (or 5) but instead of that there is a certain feverishness in the day-time which of course is also weakening.

He gave me the *Prolétaire* and the reply of Guesde's Committee, as well as the '*vil*'[c] number of the *Citoyen and Bataille* which I am to keep for him. The copy sent by Paul can therefore with the rest be used for Zurich.[d] So this time the business part of the affair can be attended to, fortunately, but with Mohr's present state of health, that cannot always be reckoned upon if he be in exclusive possession of the materials.

These ex-Bakounists Malon and Brousse are a beastly dirty lot. Such barefaced forgery would be enough, anywhere out of Paris, to kill them for ever. But with the immense hold of *la phrase* upon the Parisians, who knows how many thousand votes the '*ouvrier manuel*'[e] will not concentrate upon himself? *Enfin espérons le mieux.*[f]

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[a] Lafargue - [b] Helene Demuth - [c] base - [d] *Der Sozialdemokrat* - [e] manual labourer - [f] Finally, let's hope for the best.

Kind regards to Paul.

Very affectionately yours,
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

Reproduced from the original

## 248

## ENGELS TO CHARLES LONGUET

### IN ARGENTEUIL

[Telegram]

London, 14 March, 4:32 afternoon [1883]

Marx expired suddenly at three this afternoon letter follows

Engels London

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 35, Moscow, 1964

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

## 249

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [511]

### IN HOBOKEN

[Telegram]

London, 14 March 1883

Marx died today

Engels London

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 64, 15 March 1883

Reproduced from the original

## 250

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT [512]

IN LEIPZIG

London, 14 March 1883

Dear Liebknecht,

You will all have learned from my telegram to Mrs Bebel [284] — the only address I have got — of the terrible loss suffered by the European socialist revolutionary party. Only last Friday the doctor [a] — one of the leading medical men in London — had told us that there was every prospect of getting him as well as he had ever been, provided only he sustained his strength by taking food. And from that very moment he began eating with a better appetite again. Then, just after two o'clock this afternoon, I found the household in tears and was told he was terribly weak; Lenchen called out to me to come upstairs, saying he was half asleep, and, when I got there — she had been out of the room for barely two minutes — he was sound asleep, but it was for ever. The greatest intellect of the second half of this century had ceased to think. What the immediate cause of death was, I would not venture to guess without medical advice, the whole case being so complex as to require pages if it were to be described adequately, even by a doctor. And, indeed, it is no longer of any real importance. I have suffered anxiety enough over the past six weeks, and all I can say is that, in my opinion, the death, first of his wife, [513] and then, in a most critical period, of Jenny, [490] helped to bring on the final crisis.

Although I have seen him this evening laid out on his bed, his features rigid in death, I simply cannot conceive that this man of genius has ceased to fructify the proletarian movement of both worlds with his stupendous ideas. We all of us are what we are because of him; and the movement is what it is today because of his theoretical and practical activities; but for him we should still be in a welter of confusion.

Your

F. Engels

First published, as a facsimile, in: W. Liebknecht, *Karl Marx zum Gedächtnis*, Nürnberg, 1896

Printed according to the facsimile in the book

[a] Donkin

## 251

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [512]

### IN ZURICH

London, 14 March 1883

Dear Bernstein,

You will have got my telegram. [284] The thing happened frightfully quickly. Our hopes were at their highest when, this morning, his strength suddenly failed him, after which he simply fell asleep. Within two minutes this intellect of genius had ceased to think, and at precisely the moment when we had been encouraged by the doctors to entertain the highest hopes. Only someone who constantly kept company with him could have any idea of how valuable this man was to us in regard to theory and also, at every critical moment, in regard to practice. Along with him, his great breadth of vision will also disappear from the stage for years to come. These are things we others are not equal to. The movement will continue on its way but it will miss the calm, timely, considered interventions which have hitherto saved it many a weary digression.

More shortly. It is now midnight and I have had to spend the entire afternoon and evening writing letters and seeing to all manner of things.

Yours,
F. E.

First published in the magazine *Der Wahre Jacob*, Nr. 565 (6), 17. März 1908

Printed according to the original

## 252

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER [512]

IN GENEVA

London, 15 March 1883

Dear Old Man,

Rejoice that you saw Marx once more last autumn,[514] you will never see him again. Yesterday afternoon, at 2.45, when he had been left on his own for barely two minutes, we found him peacefully asleep in his chair. The most powerful intellect our party possessed had ceased to think, the stoutest heart I have ever known was beating no more. An internal haemorrhage would seem to be indicated.

We two are now pretty well all that is left of the old guard of the days before '48. Well, we shall continue to man the breach. Though bullets may whistle and friends fall, it won't be the first time we two have seen that happen. And if one of us is hit by a bullet—well and good, provided only it is properly lodged so that one isn't left writhing for too long.

Your old comrade in arms,

F. Engels

First published in: F. Engels, *Vergessene Briefe (Briefe Friedrich Engels' an Johann Philipp Becker)*, Berlin, 1920

Printed according to the original

## 253

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [512]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 15 March 1883
11.45 p. m.

Dear Sorge,

Your telegram arrived this evening. Many thanks.

To keep you regularly informed about Marx's state of health was

impossible because of his perpetual ups and downs. But here, briefly, are the main facts.

In October '81, shortly before the death of his wife,[513] he went down with PLEURISY. Having recovered from that, he was sent to Algiers in February '82 and, the weather during the journey being wet and cold, arrived there suffering from another bout of PLEURISY. The execrable weather persisted; he had only just recovered when, because of the approach of hot summer weather, he was sent to Monte Carlo (Monaco). Arrived there suffering from another, though milder, bout of PLEURISY. Further execrable weather. Cured again at last, he went to Argenteuil near Paris, to stay with his daughter, Madame Longuet. There he availed himself of the nearby sulphur springs at Enghien for the treatment of his long-standing bronchitis. And there, too, the weather continued to be really appalling, but the cure did some good. Next, 6 weeks in Vevey, whence he came back here in September, apparently almost restored to health. He had been authorised to spend the winter on the south coast of England. And he himself was so sick of a wandering and idle life that renewed exile in southern Europe would probably have damaged his morale as much as it would have benefited his physique. With the onset of London's foggy season he was sent to the Isle of Wight where it rained continuously and he again caught cold. Schorlemmer and I had intended to visit him early in the New Year, but then reports reached us which necessitated Tussy's going there at once. Immediately afterwards came the news of Jenny's death[490] — whereupon he came back here, again suffering from bronchitis. After all that had happened and at his age this spelt danger. On top of that there was a host of complications, in particular an abcess of the lung and a tremendously rapid loss of strength. Nevertheless, the illness as a whole was taking a favourable course, and only last Friday the doctor *en chef*[a] in whose hands he was — one of the leading younger doctors in London who had been specially recommended to him by Ray Lankester — held out the rosiest hopes. But anyone who has ever examined lung tissue under a microscope knows how great is the danger, when a lung is festering, of the wall of a blood vessel becoming perforated. And that is why, every morning for the past 6 weeks, as I turned the corner, I was mortally afraid that the blinds might have been lowered. Yesterday, at half past two in the afternoon, his best time for receiving visitors, I arrived to find

[a] Donkin

the household in tears; it seemed as if he was nearing his end. I asked for news, tried to get to the bottom of the matter and to offer consolation. There had been a slight haemorrhage, followed, however, by a sudden collapse. Our good, old Lenchen,[a] who has looked after him better than a mother would after her child, went upstairs, came down again: he was half asleep, she said, and invited me to come up with her. When we went in, he lay there sleeping, never to wake again. His pulse and breathing had stopped. In the space of two minutes he had passed away painlessly and peacefully.

All events, however terrible they may be, that come about with natural inevitability, bear within them their own consolation. So it was here. The art of medicine might, perhaps, have been able to secure for him a few years of vegetable-like existence, the life of a helpless creature, not dying suddenly but inch by inch, a triumphant testimony to the skill of the doctors. But that is something our Marx could never have stood. To live with so many uncompleted works before him, with the tantalising desire to complete them and the impossibility of doing so — that would have been a thousand times more bitter for him than the gentle death that overtook him. 'Death is not a misfortune for the one that dies but for the one that survives',[b] as he used to say with Epicurus. And to see this powerful man of genius continue to vegetate, a total wreck, for the greater glory of medicine and as a laughing-stock for the philistines whom, at the height of his powers, he had so often felled to the ground — no! A thousand times better that it should be as it is, a thousand times better that we should bear him the day after tomorrow to the grave in which his wife lies sleeping.

And after all that had gone before, with which not even the doctors are as familiar as I am, there could, in my view, have been only one choice.

Be that as it may. Mankind is the poorer for the loss of this intellect — the most important intellect, indeed, which it could boast today. The movement of the proletariat will continue on its course but it has lost its focal point, the point to which Frenchmen, Russians, Americans and Germans would automatically turn at moments of crisis, on every occasion receiving clear, indisputable advice such as only genius and consummate expertise can give. Local bigwigs and lesser luminaries, if not imposters, will be given a free hand. Ultimate

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[a] Helene Demuth - [b] Epicurus to Menoeceus

victory remains assured, but the digressions, the temporary and local aberrations — already so inevitable — will now proliferate as never before. Well, we have got to see it through — what else are we here for? But we're not going to lose heart, for all that — not by a long chalk.

Your
F. Engels

First published in full in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

## 254

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH LESSNER [515]

### IN LONDON

London, 15 March 1883

Dear Lessner,

At three o'clock yesterday our old friend Marx went gently and peacefully to his eternal rest; the immediate cause of death was, or so we presume, an internal haemorrhage.

The funeral will take place on Saturday[a] at 12 noon, and Tussy asks you to attend.

In great haste,

Your
F. Engels

First published in *Deutsche Worte*, Jg. XVIII, Nr. 5, Wien, 1898

Printed according to the original

[a] 17 March

## 255

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN PARIS

London, 24 March 1883

My dear Lavrov,

I have received a long telegram from Moscow asking me to lay a wreath on Marx's grave on behalf of the students of the Petrovsky Academy of Agriculture[516]; not having my address, they telegraphed the editorial department of *The Daily News*. Now they are asking me to let them know the price of the wreath and my address. But it is not signed with a name—merely: Students of the Petrovsky Academy in Moscow.

To whom should I reply? Perhaps you could advise me. As the telegram arrived after the burial, and the grave has today been reopened for the burial of Longuet's little boy[a] who died last Tuesday,[b] I shall not be able to lay the wreath on it till next week. But then I should like to let the worthy young men know that I have received their telegram and carried out the task they entrusted to me.

Yours ever, in haste,

F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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[a] Henri Longuet - [b] 20 March

## 256

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 25 March 1883

My dear Laura,

Enclosed a letter from Meyer which was directed to Maitland Park[a] — Tussy opened it without looking at the address, but when she saw from whom it was, she gave it at once to Nim[b] who handed it to me.

To-day Nim found among Mohr's manuscripts a large parcel containing the best part if not the whole of the second volume of the *Capital*[227] — above 500 pages in folio. As we do not yet know in what state of preparation for the press it is, nor either what else we may find, it will be better to keep this piece of good news out of the press for the present.

Pumps is expecting No. 2 daily and nightly if indeed it has not arrived to-day — since Friday no news from her. No. 1[c] is a year old to-day. Jollymeier sends his love to you. Kind regards from both of us to Paul.[d] Tell him that the last No. of the *Sozialdemokrat* contains but the report of the funeral[e] — the same essentially which was in the *Justice*.[f]

The English and German press have been inexact and badly informed but upon the whole decent. Even Malon was not so bad.

Latest news. In walks Pumps and Percy[g]! So there the full 12 months is happily passed.

Most affectionately yours,

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

Reproduced from the original

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[a] London address of the Marx family - [b] Helene Demuth - [c] Lilian Rosher - [d] Lafargue - [e] F. Engels, 'Karl Marx's Funeral'. - [f] 'Discours de Frédéric Engels', *La Justice*, No. 27, 20 March 1883. - [g] Mary Ellen and Percy Rosher

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH THEODOR CUNO[349]

### IN NEW YORK

London, 29 March 1883

Dear Cuno,

Your letter evoked roars of laughter over here.[517] Anyone who knew Moor as he was at home and within his intimate circle, is aware that he was never called Marx there, or even Karl, but only Moor, just as each of us had his own nickname; indeed, at the point where nicknames ceased so too did the closest intimacy. Moor had been his nickname since his university days and on the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* he was always called Moor. If I had addressed him in any other way he would have thought something was amiss that needed putting right.

Your
F. Engels

First published in the journal *Die Gesellschaft*, Jg. 11, Nr. 11, Berlin, 1925

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# APPENDICES

1

## JENNY LONGUET TO CHARLES LONGUET

IN PARIS

[London,] 1 October 1880

My dear Charles,

I was well rewarded yesterday for spending without murmuring a most dreary evening — the evenings are getting so long and chill — by the arrival of your article. It gave me much pleasure for it is wittily written, and I rejoice to think that it will give much satisfaction to Liebknecht. Liebknecht is a great enthusiast with regard to revolutionary France — so great an optimist indeed in this respect, that during the Franco-Prussian war etc. he even lost all discrimination in judging of Trouchu and Co.— therefore your praise of him in the *Justice* will sound like sweetest music to his ear and make him forget for a moment the troubles that lie so heavily upon him. He seems to me to be quite broken down by the last two years. With tears in his eyes he spoke to me of the struggles he and his family had passed through and which were yet in store for them. From all his sons he must part if he does not wish them to be shot or crippled, they must emigrate to America. 'My happiest time,' he said, 'was that spent in England' — and yet heaven knows, he did not lie on a bed of roses here! 'I often think of it with regret. But there was a fate that drove me to Germany, that has driven me on ever since and will shape my destiny to the end.— When I heard of the Amnesty, [518] my first thoughts were with you all — I already saw you hopelessly restlessly tossed on a small skiff on the wild ocean of Paris. But what must be must be.' To which I said Amen. There is a Providence (or rather a fate) that shapes our ends, rough-hew them as we will! — I quite agree with you in thinking that the men of the Commune should never forget how boldly the German socialists fought for the cause of the vanquished, and that therefore by writing your article you have paid a debt of gratitude, and I think *now* that if Bebel and Liebknecht have evinced

less sympathy for the Nihilists[242] of Russia, it is because they have had altogether false notions on the subject and have had the misfortune of meeting with a quantity of Russian humbugs calling themselves Nihilists, with which the Continent swarms.

Fortunately for Liebknecht he has had his eyes opened now by Papa and Hartmann, who has interested him deeply and has shown him the importance of the Russian movement and the unparalleled grandeur of the true Nihilist heroes. The *soi-disant*[a] Nihilists that infest the Continent, Hartmann said, are nearly always fellows whose only reason for leaving Russia is that they will not work, and that they can find ways and means to live without working elsewhere — numbers of them are not refugees.

Pardon this endless letter in which I have not yet found time to mention that which lies nearest your heart. My object is to make it last until I shall hear the welcome sound of the postman's knock — shall get a letter from you, or read an article written by you. It is only since you are gone, my dear Charles, that I feel how dear you are to me and how lonely life would be without you! I was not quite well this morning and yesterday, having horrid fits of sickness — but when they are over I am all right again — my misgivings will come but too true!!! The children are blooming like roses and I can see that Harry[b] is daily gaining strength. He begins to grow wonderfully fond of and interested in all that the Wolf[c] does, and follows him about from room to room, calling for him when away. Little Edgar is a very sunbeam of brightness, in his delightful joyousness he constantly reminds me of our poor little Caro[d] and I tremble lest anything should happen to this lovely child — you alarmed me by telling me of your neuralgia — I hope Tussy's cordial has spelled it away.

Your
Jenny

How is it I only receive one copy of the *Justice* when your articles are in it? Do not forget to send two.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

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[a] so-called - [b] Henri, Jenny Longuet's second son - [c] nickname of Edgar, Jenny's third son - [d] Jenny's first-born son, who died eleven months old.

## 2

## From JENNY LONGUET'S LETTER TO CHARLES LONGUET

IN PARIS

[London,] 27 October 1880

... I was very glad to see that the notes on Eastern affairs are bearing such good fruit. Pelletan of late has written the most childish trash on the subject, every line giving evidence of the darkest ignorance. Your article is written in the simple, clear, elegant style for which French prose is famous, and which makes the stuff of treaties go down quite pleasantly. But how is it you are so stingy? Why not send me *four* copies of your own articles always — or at least *three*. Now again, I have no number to send my correspondent Collet, who would send more matter, if he saw that some use was made of the information given. From Papa it is impossible to get a paper returned, besides if returned, I could not send it to anyone, as it would be marked all over with blue pencil marks. That is the reason why I could not at once send your last article to Parnell. If he were to take an interest in the *Justice* — a great end would be gained. Notes direct from him would be invaluable at this crisis. [519] Your article on the Treaty of Berlin, [376] Papa has not seen yet, therefore I cannot give you his opinion. He told me last Sunday, shocked at the ignorance displayed by Pelletan on Eastern affairs, that he would order the 'blue books' [89] and write to you himself on the subject. Good-bye.

Your loving
Jenny

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

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Published in English for the first time

## 3

## From JENNY LONGUET'S LETTER TO CHARLES LONGUET

IN PARIS

[London,] 31 October 1880

... I had the *Justice* with your two articles in it last night, and feel quite elated to see what excellent use you have made of the matter I sent you. Your article on the frontier must create a sensation, what you disclose is quite new in France, and even little known in England, because intentionally suppressed. And then the form you give to heavy stuff is so amusing and sarcastic, that even the French reader will not consider the matter too dry. The pity is, that you always send me one copy, and that I am not able to send a paper to Collet, which would keep my correspondence with that short-armed but long-sighted individual alive and procure for you an abstract of the intrigues now going on, and save you the trouble of reading blue books [89] yourself: I also want the first article[a] on the Berlin Treaty [376] for Collet. Papa was greatly pleased with your article—he had often grumbled at childish notes in the *Justice* on the delays caused by the Turks etc.—delays in reality skilfully brought about by the Russians! Papa also liked your article on Girardin and relished the quotation *sur le mâle et l'âne*[b] from Proudhon.—But I am sure *you* relished still more the pleasure of quoting the name of your master than the quotation itself!!! Am I right?

I am sorry to think you should have taken the trouble to translate what I sent you on Ireland. I never intended you to do that, fancying that you would take parts here and there and scribble down in an hour at most some sort of correspondence. As you make such a serious matter of it, I shall not send any more of my productions. They would only waste your time. My intention had been to save your time by reading much matter referring to Ireland for you. It is so long ago since I sent you my letter, that I do not remember what I wrote, but fancy the news will be too stale now.

I have not read Roy's articles. Papa considers the second one to

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[a] See previous letter.- [b] about a man and an ass

be superior to anything that has hitherto been published on Littré.

Love and kisses from all.

Your
Jenny

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

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4

## JENNY LONGUET TO CHARLES LONGUET

IN PARIS

[London,] 23 November 1880

My dear Charles,

I was just going to write to Papa to ask him to send you a copy of the *Capital*, when I heard from Mama that a volume had already been sent you.[a] To-day, being Sunday, Johnny and I paid our usual visit at Maitland Park[b] (I have only time to go there once a week) and so I had at length an opportunity of asking Papa's opinion of your latest productions. He seemed very pleased at the publication of Bright's opinion on the Irish question, considering it most opportune and wondering how you had got hold of that interesting document. Liebknecht's letter he thinks will do really good service. You have made Liebknecht's style sound quite elegant, which is not its general characteristic. As to your own article in answer to Massard, Papa also much approved of it, though I must add that his praise is rather more qualified than was mine.— First, he does not agree with you as to the greatness of the fact of the 4 *août*,[520] declaring that a careful study of the history of that event diminishes it wonderfully in importance and shows that only minor points were conceded. As to the revolutionary side of the struggle for the limitation of the working day, he thinks

[a] French edition of the first volume of *Capital* - [b] London address of the Marx family

you have passed it over without notice in your answer to those revolutionists of the fire and sword.— From the *Capital* you will see that the fight of the English working class assumed more than once the character of a revolution, and that the governing classes only granted what they dared not refuse. If Massard and Co. thirst for fight, they will derive much satisfaction by a perusal of the history in England of the limitation of the working day! Apropos, as to the question of the fixation of a minimum salary, it may perhaps interest you to know that Papa did all he could to persuade Guesde to omit it from their programme,[68] explaining to him that such a measure, if adopted, would, according to economical laws, produce the result of making of this fixed minimum *a maximum.* But Guesde stuck to it, on the plea that it would give them a hold on the working classes if it did nothing else. Guesde, you see, is opportunist like the rest of them.[a]

Papa is much surprised to see the want of judgment the French radical press is evincing in its treatment of General Farre who, he considers, acts like a man who knows that judged by his *compères,*[b] Cissey would be saved, *qu'ils s'entendraient comme larrons en foire.*[c] If the Press by its foolish noise gets Farre revoked, Papa thinks they will have lost the best man in the Gambettist camp.

I have not yet received the promised series of your articles. As I suppose I shall have to wait for some time before you carry out that good intention of yours, will you in the meantime, nay by *return of post*, send me your last article containing Bright's letter, ...[d]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 43-44. - [b] accomplices - [c] that birds of a feather flock together - [d] The end of the letter is missing.

5

## JENNY MARX TO JENNY LONGUET

IN ARGENTEUIL

London, 20 August 1881
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My darling little Jenny,

Our trip went off wonderfully well, thanks to Helen's[a] energy and circumspection. I still don't know how she managed to drag all the BAGS AND BAGGAGES about or to cart this old bundle of bones from place to place. At Folkestone she actually contrived to get hold of a SLEEPING COUPÉ in which we lay and slept like in our own beds. At Boulogne I sent you and Moor a telegram. Moor never got his. What is more, the ship only sailed at 6 o'clock so we didn't arrive here until 11. I came upon Moor and Tussy COSY in the PARLOUR. Tussy propped up with cushions on the sofa. Her crazy mode of life has left her in such a weak and feverish state that she can walk no better than I do. Radford has proved a faithful friend. He brought her JELLIES and DAINTIES every day, took her out in CABS, rushed in despair to Mrs Anderson who, in her stead, sent another lady WHO DID HER NOT MUCH GOOD. I trust the modern young Aesculapus [sic] will make an impression on her. Although I never ceased grieving for one moment at Argenteuil and left you IN TEARS AND SORROWS, the memory of you and your love and kindness remains nevertheless as the richest treasure of my heart, on which and I shall feed like a MISER. No more, *as I am poor even in thanks.

Poor Longuet! He frightened me quite. He looked so ill and stared at me with such big eyes.

The darling Harry and my poor Johnny. He will not much regret old granny.* I was so unjust to the dear child when he rushed about screeching—a peculiarity of childhood and part of its happiness.

*Adio.*

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[a] Demuth

Apropos: I only gave you 110 frs and the TICKETS are marked 70 per TICKET, SO you had to make up the amount. THANKS AND KISSES TO ALL OF YOU FROM OLD GRANNY.

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# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] On 18 August 1879, in Ramsgate, Marx's daughter Jenny Longuet gave birth to a son, Edgar.—3

[2] The reference is to two trade unionists, Alexander Macdonald and Thomas Burt, who were elected to the House of Commons in 1874.—3

[3] *Bimetallism*, the practice of using both gold and silver as a monetary standard by specifying that both constitute legal tender at a fixed ratio to each other.

This practice existed in a number of countries in the 18th and 19th centuries but did not meet the needs of developed commodity economy and went against the very nature of money as the only commodity which was to be a universal equivalent.

Liebknecht quoted from this letter by Engels in his speech in the Saxon Landtag on 16 January 1880, opposing a return to bimetallism.

Engels analysed the issue of bimetallism in some detail also in his letter to Eduard Bernstein of 10 May 1882 (see this volume, pp. 256-58).—3, 256

[4] A reference to Bismarck's visit to Austria in September 1879 and the Austro-German alliance concluded in Vienna on 7 October of that year. Art. 1 of the treaty stipulated that, should one of the contracting parties be attacked by Russia, the other was obliged to come to its aid. Art. 2 stated that, should one of the signatories be attacked by any other country, the other was to maintain benevolent neutrality. Should the aggressor have Russian support, Art. 1 was to apply. Concluded for a term of five years and later repeatedly extended, this treaty was the first in a series of agreements that ultimately led to the establishment of a military bloc headed by Germany and to a division of the European countries into two hostile camps that subsequently clashed in the First World War.—4

[5] The originals of this letter and that of 13 December 1879 (present edition, Vol. 45, p. 427) are kept in the family archive of Lord Walstone, who presented photocopies of them to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in 1968. The addressee was Lord

Walstone's father, the English archaeologist Charles Walstone, who held his father's surname, Waldstein, at the time.—5

[6] This letter is printed according to a handwritten copy made by an unknown person. Failing to decipher Marx's handwriting, he put 'Kranz?' in square brackets after the addressee's name, Kraus. Also in square brackets and with a question mark is the word 'proceeded'. The copy contains further notes made by the same person.—6

[7] Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934].—7, 60, 320, 349, 394, 403, 410, 412, 445

[8] A reference to the *German Workers' Educational Society* in London, which was founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other leaders of the League of the Just. In 1847 and 1849-50 Marx and Engels took an active part in the Society's work, but on 17 September 1850 they and a number of their followers withdrew from it because the Willich-Schapper sectarian and adventurist faction had temporarily increased its influence in the Society. The subsequent weakening of the sectarians' influence made it possible for Marx and Engels to resume their work in the Educational Society late in 1850. When the International Working Men's Association was set up, the Society, with Friedrich Lessner as one of its leaders, became the German Section of the International in London.

This letter deals with the differences of opinion associated with the need to work out a new tactics for the German Social-Democrats after the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law in October 1878 (see Note 16).—7, 72, 252, 333, 334, 356

[9] At the Reichstag elections on 30 July 1878, shortly before the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 16), the Social-Democrats won 437,158 votes.—8

[10] Despite the Anti-Socialist Law, most of the primary organisations continued to function, using every available legal opportunity to make known the proletariat's feelings and sentiments (e. g., a meeting held at the funeral of Wilhelm Bracke, one of the party leaders). The obstacles put up by the authorities, failed to stop the socialists from carrying out a major campaign to collect funds for the persons deported from Berlin, renewing the contacts lost in the initial confusion, and setting up illegal organisations.—9

[11] On behalf of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 8), H. Meyer invited Engels to its meeting of 27 March 1880, which was to discuss the Society's reorganisation.—9

[12] The real date of the letter, erroneously indicated by Bebel as 27 March 1880 in his letter to Engels of 22 September 1880, has been ascertained by the event mentioned in it, the Hamburg Reichstag elections on 27 April. In the second Russian edition of Marx's and Engels' *Works* and in *Werke*, the letter is dated early May 1880.—10

[13] In March-May 1880, the Reichstag debated the extension of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 16) until 1886. At the third reading of the Bill on 4 May, an ultra-'revolutionary' speech was made by the Social-Democratic deputy and former Lassallean Wilhelm Hasselmann, who sided with the Russian terrorists and the French anarchists and openly opposed the Social-Democrats' line. *Der Sozialdemokrat* (No.

20, 16 May 1880) declared that Hasselmann had placed himself outside the party. By Bebel's 'speech on the persecutions', Engels means the latter's speech in the Reichstag on 6 March, which was carried, in a slightly abridged form, by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 11, 14 March 1880, under the heading 'Polizei-Orgien in Berlin unter dem Belagerungszustand'.— 10

[14] Engels is referring to the victory of the Social-Democratic candidate Georg Wilhelm Hartmann at the Reichstag elections in Hamburg on 27 April 1880. He obtained 13,155 votes out of the 23,231 cast.— 11

[15] The *National Liberals* (die Nationalliberale Partei) was the party of the German, mostly Prussian, bourgeoisie, which emerged in the autumn of 1866 as a result of the split in the Party of Progress (see Note 256). The policy of National Liberals showed that a considerable section of the liberal bourgeoisie renounced claims to broader political rights and capitulated before Bismarck's Junker government. After the unification of Germany, the National Liberal Party acquired its final shape as a party of the big bourgeoisie, notably the industrial tycoons.— 11

[16] The *Exceptional Law against the Socialists* (Gesetz gegen die gemeingefährlichen Bestrebungen der Sozialdemokratie — the Law against the Harmful and Dangerous Aspirations of Social-Democracy) was introduced by the Bismarck government, supported by the majority in the Reichstag, on 21 October 1878 to counter the socialist and workers' movement. Better known as the Anti-Socialist Law, it made the Social-Democratic Party of Germany illegal, banned all party and mass workers' organisations and suppressed the socialist and workers' press. Socialist literature was confiscated and the Social-Democrats subjected to reprisals. However, during its operation, the Social-Democratic Party assisted by Marx and Engels uprooted both opportunist and 'ultra-Left' elements and substantially strengthened its influence among the people. Under pressure from the mass workers' movement, the Anti-Socialist Law was abrogated on 1 October 1890. For Engels' assessment of the Law, see his article 'Bismarck and the German Working Men's Party' (present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 407-09).— 11, 38, 40, 50, 127, 152, 153, 192, 209, 279, 281, 332, 349, 390, 395, 414, 430, 448

[17] The British general elections, held between late March and mid-April 1880, produced a victory for the Liberals. They obtained 349 seats in the new Parliament as against 243 received by the Conservatives. Leadership of the Cabinet was assumed by Gladstone, who opposed the policy of rapprochement with Germany.— 11

[18] Engels is referring to the events of the Danish War of 1864, in which Prussia and Austria were allies. After their victory over Denmark, Austria established its government in Holstein, and Prussia in Schleswig. But as a result of its defeat in the Austro-Prussian War which Bismarck unleashed in 1866 and the establishment of the North German Confederation, Austria lost all rights to Holstein, and Schleswig-Holstein became a Prussian province.— 12

[19] This letter was published in English for the first time in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. I: 1868-1886, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959.— 12, 27, 351

[20] A reference to the introduction to the French edition of Engels' work *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, which appeared in Paris in 1880 in Paul Lafargue's translation under the title *Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique*. Engels produced the pam-

phlet at Lafargue's request, having rewritten three chapters of *Anti-Dühring* (Chapter I of the Introduction and chapters I and II of Part III) to form a popular work in its own right. It was first printed by the French socialist magazine *La Revue socialiste*, Nos. 3, 4 and 5, 1880, and then published, also in 1880, as a pamphlet. The French socialist Benoît Malon embarked on an introduction to it, but his effort was deemed unacceptable, and the introduction as it appeared was written by Marx, who had first consulted Engels (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 335-39). In the pamphlet, the introduction carried the signature of Lafargue, whom Marx requested to 'polish the phrases, leaving the gist intact' (see this volume, p. 16).— 12, 332, 352, 369

[21] Lassalle was Countess Sophie von Hatzfeldt's lawyer in her divorce case in 1846-54.— 15

[22] On the reasons for Marx's and Engels' refusal in January 1861 to collaborate with Lassalle in the publication of a newspaper, see present edition, Vol. 41, pp. 252, 261 and 281-82.— 15

[23] Marx wrote this on the last page of his introduction to the French edition of Engels' pamphlet (see Note 20).— 15

[24] Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters on 'Capital'*, New Park Publications, London, 1983.— 16, 203, 432, 435

[25] In a letter of 19 June 1880, the Dutch socialist Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis requested Marx to look through a popular outline of Volume One of *Capital* he had written in Dutch. Nieuwenhuis' work, entitled *Karl Marx. Kapitaal en Arbeid*, appeared in The Hague in 1881.— 16

[26] The book review column of the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* (Erster Jahrgang. Zweite Hälfte, Zürich-Oberstrass, 1880) featured two reviews by Nieuwenhuis, one of Eduard von Hartmann's *Die Phänomenologie des sittlichen Bewusstseins* (Berlin, 1879), and the other, of Dr J. A. Levy's *Engelsch Kathedersocialisme* (Belinfanto, s' Gravenhage, 1879).— 16

[27] The reference is to one of the notes to Chapter V of Volume One of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 35). In it, Marx replaced the term 'price of production' with its synonym, 'average price'.— 16

[28] As Marx's principal economic work advanced, the plan and structure of *Capital* repeatedly changed. As of 1867, when Volume One appeared in print, Marx proposed to publish the work in three volumes of four books, with the second and third books making up the second volume (see present edition, Vol. 35). After Marx's death, Engels prepared for the press and published the manuscripts of the second and third books as volumes Two and Three. He died before he was able to publish the fourth and last book, *Theories of Surplus Value* (Volume Four of *Capital*).— 16

[29] The reference is to Minna Gorbunova's letter to Engels written in the first half of July 1880. She said she wanted to use in Russia the already available experience, and asked Engels to recommend her books on vocational training in England.— 17

[30] Between mid-August and 18 September 1880, Engels was on holiday in Ramsgate and Bridlington Quay.— 17, 23, 34, 35, 39

[31] The reference is to the World Exhibition of 1878 in Paris.— 17

[32] Rue de Richelieu in Paris is the address of Bibliothèque nationale.—17

[33] The London-based book trading firm of Philip Stephen King specialised in the sale of government and parliamentary publications, statistical material, etc. Marx used its services between 1867 and 1882. He probably needed the book ordered in this letter for his work on Volume Two of *Capital*.—19, 367

[34] This letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—20

[35] In her letter to Engels of 25 July 1880, Minna Gorbunova mentioned the Acts of Parliament on primary education of 1870, 1873 and 1876, as well as the *Report of the Committee of the Council on Education 1878-1879*.—20

[36] In her letter of 25 July 1880, Gorbunova wrote that she was shortly to return to Moscow and gave Engels her address: Toporov's House, Bolshaya Molchanovka St., Moscow.—20

[37] *Zemstvos*—local-self-government bodies set up in a number of gubernias (*gouvernements* in the text) of European Russia under the Zemstvo Reform of 1864. It was an attempt to adapt the Russian autocratic system to the needs of capitalist development.—20, 175

[38] Marx and his family were on holiday in Ramsgate from early August to 13 September 1880.—21, 24, 35, 46, 60

[39] Gorbunova asked Engels for advice concerning vocational training in Russia. She asked him, in particular, about the ways 'to avoid, while promoting vocational training in those industrial branches that are most adapted to big production, the advancement of factory production with its workers totally alienated from the land'.—21

[40] *Obshchina* (Commune)—a pre-capitalist spontaneously evolved social group of agricultural producers, who own or control their means of production.—22

[41] *Artel*—an association of small producers in pre-revolutionary Russia engaged in joint economic activity (carpentry, fishing, masonry, wood-cutting, agriculture, etc.).—22

[42] The Editors are not in possession of John Swinton's letter to which Marx is replying.—22

[43] Marx met John Swinton, then responsible editor of the New York *Sun*, in Ramsgate in August 1880. Swinton published an account of the interview Marx granted him in *The Sun* on 6 September 1880 (see Vol. 24, pp. 583-85), and in the collection *Current Views and Notes of Forty Days in France and England*, New York, 1880.—23, 40, 77

[44] Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *The Communist View on Morality*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1974.—23

[45] On 18 March 1876, the German socialist Ferdinand Lingenau, who had emigrated to the United States, bequeathed about $ 7,000, half of his fortune, to the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. He appointed August Bebel, Johann Philipp Becker, Wilhelm Bracke, August Geib, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Karl Marx his executors. After Lingenau's death on 4 August 1877 in St Louis (Missouri) they tried to have

the money bequeathed to the party transferred to its funds, and gave Sorge power of attorney. Sorge wrote to Marx on 13 August 1880 that he would have to drop the matter if he did not get hold of some money to continue with it. Bismarck ultimately managed to prevent Lingenau's legacy being credited to the Social-Democratic Party's funds.—24, 99

[46] The reference is to the suspension, in August 1880, owing to the shortage of funds, of the publication of the French newspaper *L'Égalité*, to which Paul Lafargue had been contributing.—24, 27

[47] The reference is to the piece on Marx's activities and works written by Hazeltine, a staff member on *The Sun*.—24

[48] Marx's ironic reference to Douai's article in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* sent to Engels by Sorge on 13 August 1880.—25

[49] This letter was published in English for the first time in: Friedrich Engels, Paul et Laura Lafargue, *Correspondance*, Vol. I, Ed. Sociales, Paris, 1956.—25

[50] Engels wrote this letter on the same sheet of paper as one to Laura Lafargue of the same date.

This letter was published in English for the first time in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. I: 1868-1886, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959.—26

[51] This probably refers to the Lafargues' plan to set up a commercial business to earn their living (see this volume, pp. 27-29).—26

[52] The Editors are not in possession of Engels' letter to Paul Lafargue of 7 September 1880.—27

[53] Part of this letter was quoted by Nikolai Danielson in the preface to the first Russian edition of Volume Two of *Capital*, St Petersburg, 1885.—30

[54] The address on the envelope containing this letter was written in Eleanor Marx's hand: N. Danielson. Société du Crédit mutuel, Pont de Kazan, maison Lessnikoff, St Petersburg, Russia.—30

[55] On 21 August (2 September) 1880, Danielson requested Marx to write an article on Russia's post-reform economy for a Russian magazine.—30

[56] This refers to the article 'Очерки нашего пореформеннаго общественнаго хозяйства' ('Sketches of Our Post-Reform Social Economy') Danielson published in the *Slovo* in October 1880 under the pen-name Nikolai —on.—31, 61

[57] A reference to the world economic crisis which began in 1873 and particularly affected the United States and Germany. In the late 1870s, it spread to Britain.—31

[58] Almost all of this letter is in English, with the exception of the few paragraphs in French. It was published in English in full for the first time in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. I: 1868-1886, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959.—32

[59] The reference is to the draft rules of Grant's firm in which Paul Lafargue planned to be a partner (see Note 51).—32

[60] Liebknecht visited Marx and Engels in London in the last ten days of September 1880. (Bebel was unable to come.) They discussed the stance of the party's printed

organ *Der Sozialdemokrat* (Zurich) during the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law.

The Institute of Marxism-Leninism does not have Engels' letter to Liebknecht mentioned here.—35, 38, 42, 50

[61] This is a reply to an undated letter of Dr Ferdinand Fleckles who had enclosed a medical form to be filled in by Jenny Marx. Marx wrote it on the front of the form. Jenny's description of her illness is on the back.—36

[62] The letter to Eugen Oswald is in German, and that to the unknown correspondent, in English. The latter is the response to Kaulitz's request for a letter of recommendation for a teaching post.—36

[63] The French translation of Volume One of *Capital* was prepared by Joseph Roy. Marx made substantial changes in and additions to the manuscript. For this reason, he maintained that, like the German original, the French edition had a scientific significance of its own. In conformity with the French edition, changes were introduced into the subsequent editions of *Capital* in German, Russian and other languages.

The publication was undertaken by Maurice Lachâtre, a French journalist and publisher. The book was printed by the Lahure press in Paris. Under the contract signed by Marx and Lachâtre, *Capital* was to come out in instalments, 44 in all, 16 printed pages each. The work was printed in two instalments at a time, but was sold in series of five instalments each, which made nine series in all. Publication was begun in September 1872 and completed in November 1875.

Having received a copy of *Capital* from Marx, Swinton wrote to him on 7 December 1880: 'A thousand thanks for the great work *Capital* which I shall have bound handsomely, and keep as a treasure through life.'—40, 42

[64] Marx is probably referring to the outcome of the second Anglo-Afghan War of 1878-80. The staunch resistence of the Afghans forced Britain to abandon its plans to conquer and partition the country, and made it reach a compromise with Khan Abdur Rahman. The period also witnessed an aggravation of the situation in British-annexed Transvaal, where a Boer uprising flared up in mid-December 1880.—40

[65] A reference to the so-called local state of siege declared by Bismarck in Berlin and its environs on 28 November 1878 on the strength of Para. 28 of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 16) and extended to Hamburg, its environs and the adjacent Prussian territories (see also Note 198) on 29 October 1880. Under it, meetings could be held only with police permission, distribution of printed matter in public places was prohibited, persons considered politically unreliable were deported, and the right to own, carry, import and pass on arms was withdrawn or restricted.—41, 43, 152

[66] This letter was first published in English in: *Science and Society*, Vol. II, No. 2, New York, 1938.—40

[67] The *Alliance of Socialist Democracy* was founded by Mikhail Bakunin in Geneva in October 1868 as an international anarchist organisation. In 1869 the Alliance approached the General Council of the International Working Men's Association with a request to be admitted to the International. The General Council agreed to admit individual sections of the Alliance provided the latter dissolved as an independent organisation. On entering the International, Bakunin did not actually comply with this decision and incorporated the Alliance into it under the

guise of a section (called 'the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. Central Section'). Marx, Engels and the General Council fought the Alliance, exposing it as a sect hostile to the working-class movement (for details, see present edition, Vol. 23). The Hague Congress of the International (1872) dealt a severe blow at the anarchists and expelled the Alliance's leaders Mikhail Bakunin and James Guillaume from the International.—43, 181, 190, 333, 341, 370, 408

[68] A reference to the *Programme électoral des travailleurs socialistes*, the preamble to which was dictated by Marx to Jules Guesde (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 340). The theoretical part was followed by a minimum programme incorporating an economic and a political section. The election programme was widely discussed at workers' meetings and adopted as the official programme of the French Workers' Party (see Note 195) at its national congress in Le Havre in November 1880.—43, 148, 342, 386, 447, 474

[69] From 1874, Charles Longuet taught French at King's College, and Jenny Longuet, German at the Clement Dun school.—45, 61

[70] A reference to the Executive Committee of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) group, a revolutionary Narodnik (Populist) organisation formed in August 1879, when the secret revolutionary society Zemlya i Volya (Land and Freedom) split into Narodnaya Volya and Chorny Peredel (the Black or General Redistribution). The founders of the Narodnaya Volya were professional revolutionaries, advocates of a political campaign against the autocracy.—44, 83

[71] Marx means the Programme of the Executive Committee of the Narodnaya Volya (St Petersburg, 22 March 1880). Marx had a copy of this edition.—45

[72] This letter was published in English for the first time in: *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—48, 107, 118, 159, 164, 169, 184, 198, 202, 213, 216, 225, 233, 245, 248, 253, 255, 261, 266, 270, 271, 272, 277, 290, 303, 317, 338, 339, 364, 371, 392, 398, 409, 417, 420, 424, 426

[73] In a letter of 14 September 1880 from Mantua, Achille Loria asked Marx to find him a job as a writer or journalist in London, and inquired whether Marx would take him on as secretary.—48

[74] In late November 1879, Achille Loria sent Marx an advance copy of his book *La rendita fondiaria e la sua elisione naturale*, Milan, 1880.—48

[75] The Editors are not in possession of the original of this letter, which is reprinted from Hyndman's book *The Record of an Adventurous Life*.—49

[76] The controversy between the General Council and the bourgeois radical Charles Bradlaugh arose after the latter's attacks on Marx in a public lecture in London on 11 December 1871, and in his letter to *The Eastern Post* (16 December). At the General Council meeting of 19 December, Marx drew attention to the close connection between Bradlaugh's statements and the campaign of persecution unleashed against the International by the ruling quarters and the bourgeois press, which became especially fierce after the International issued the address 'The Civil War in France' in June 1871. Marx replied to Bradlaugh in a series of statements featured by *The Eastern Post* (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 71-73).—52

[77] Bradlaugh nominated himself as a candidate at the elections, contributed to the press under the pen-name Iconoclast and hoped to be elected to the House of Commons in 1874 (St Stephen's in Westminster had been the seat of the House of Commons since 1547).—53

[78] This letter was probably sent by Marx to the London bookseller Philip Stephen King (see Note 33).—55

[79] A fragment of this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *On Malthus*, People's Publishing House, Delhi, 1956.—56

[80] In his letter of 4 December 1880, Kautsky asked Engels to comment on his book *Der Einfluss der Volksvermehrung auf den Fortschritt der Gesellschaft*, Vienna, 1880. He sent a copy to Engels in December 1880 through Bernstein. Kautsky wrote that he was coming to London for a few months in order to meet Engels and Marx personally. He arrived in London in March 1881 and met Engels on several occasions.—56

[81] Engels is referring to the first separate German edition of *Anti-Dühring*, which appeared in Leipzig in 1878 (see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 196-97).—56

[82] Armchair socialists (*Kathedersozialisten*)—followers of a trend in bourgeois socialism that emerged in Germany in the 1860s-70s. In 1873, its champions (Gustav Schmoller, Adolph Wagner and Lujo Brentano) set up a society called Verein für Sozialpolitik which had its own printed organ, *Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik*. Armchair socialists supported Bismarck's social policy, advocated class harmony and opposed the workers' revolutionary action.—56, 65, 416, 449, 453

[83] By 1881, A. E. F. Schäffle had the following works printed: *Das gesellschaftliche System der menschlichen Wirtschaft*, Tübingen, 1873, in two volumes; *Die Quintessenz des Socialismus*, Gotha, 1875; *Bau und Leben des socialen Körpers*, Tübingen, 1875-78, in four volumes; *Enzyklopädie der Staatslehre*, Tübingen, 1878; *Grundsätze der Steuerpolitik*, Tübingen, 1880.—57

[84] On page 169 of his book, Kautsky refers to Leonhard Euler's calculation, according to which the doubling of the Earth's population may theoretically occur in less than 12 years.—57

[85] A reference to the state of siege declared on 26 September 1848 in Cologne by the Prussian authorities. Its consequence was the suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* until 12 October 1848.—59

[86] On Engels' advice, this poem by Georg Weerth was reprinted by *Der Sozialdemokrat* on 11 August 1881. The title, 'Ein Sozialistenfresser aus dem Jahre 1848', was to mirror that of Ludwig Börne's well-known lampoon 'Menzel der Franzosenfresser', Paris, 1837.—59

[87] Engels is referring to the first of the two essays entitled 'Die zehn Gebote' carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 5, 30 January 1881, which exposed the Prussian kings' policy of robbing the people, and to Eduard Bernstein's article 'Ein Gedenktag', printed under the pen-name Leo in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 4, 23 January 1881, on the 88th anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI.—59

[88] This is Marx's reply to the letter by the young English mathematician Carl Pearson of 9 February 1881. Pearson, who was at that time a supporter of the working-class

movement, believed that the situation in England favoured the dissemination of socialist ideas, and asked Marx to entrust him with the translation of Volume One of *Capital*.

The meeting scheduled for 17 February did not take place. The day before, Pearson let Marx know that the appointed time was inconvenient for him.

There is another letter from Pearson to Marx, dated 11 April 1881, from which it emerges that Marx and Pearson failed to reach an agreement concerning the translation.

Volume One of *Capital* was translated into English by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling and appeared in print in 1887.—60

89 A reference to the publications of official documents by the governments of various countries, which Marx called the Blue Books after the publications of the British Parliament.—61, 471, 472

90 Marx is referring to the manuscript of Paul Lafargue's essay the Russian translation of which 'Движеніе поземельной собственности во Франціи' ('The Movement of Land Property in France') was published in the monthly *Ustoi* (Principles), Nos. 3-4 and 6, 1882.—61

91 Marx is referring to the promise of the *Слово* (*Slovo*) editors 'to return to the subject of the article' (on Danielson's article, see Note 56) 'in one of the magazine's later issues' (*Слово*, October 1880, p. 142, editorial note). However, Danielson's article was never mentioned again.—62

92 *Degeneration. A Chapter in Darwinism* (London, 1880), a work by Edwin Ray Lankester, appeared in Russian translation in St Petersburg in 1883 under the title *Вырожденіе. Глава изъ теоріи развитія (дарвинизма)*.—64

93 A copy of Janson's book was sent to Marx by Danielson, as is clear from his letter of 24 February (8 March) 1881.

The notebooks with excerpts and synopses from Russian books and other sources on Russia filled in by Marx in January-February and May-June 1881 contain excerpts from this book.—64

94 The address on the envelope containing this letter was written in Eleanor Marx's hand: N. Danielson, Société du Crédit mutuel, Pont de Kazan, maison Lessnikoff, St Petersburg, Russia.—64

95 This letter was published in English for the first time in: *International Press Correspondence*, Berlin, 1931, No. 13, II-III, Special Number.—65

96 This refers to Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis' work *Karl Marx. Kapitaal en Arbeid* (see Note 25). The second edition of the book appeared in 1889.—65

97 The dedication read: 'To Karl Marx, the bold thinker, the noble fighter for the rights of the proletariat, this book is dedicated by the author as a token of respectful esteem.'—65

98 *Mannen van beteekenis in onze dagen* (The Outstanding Men of Our Day)—a book series published in Haarlem in 1870-82. The tenth volume of the series, edited by N. C. Balsem, contained a biography of Marx written by Arnold Kerdijk.—65

99 Marx's polemic with Lujo Brentano was set off by the latter's article in the Berlin magazine *Concordia*, No. 10, 7 March 1872. Brentano, who had the article pub-

lished anonymously, tried to discredit Marx as a scholar by accusing him of scientific incompetence and deliberate misquotation of the sources he used. When on 1 June 1872 *Der Volksstaat* carried Marx's reply (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 164-67), *Concordia* (No. 27, 4 July) responded with another article by Brentano (also anonymous) to which Marx replied in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 63, 7 August 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 190-97). After Marx's death, the campaign of slander launched by Brentano was taken up by the British bourgeois economist Sedley Taylor, who was exposed by Engels in June 1890 in the preface to the fourth German edition of Volume One of *Capital* and in 1891 in the pamphlet 'In the Case of Brentano versus Marx' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 95-176). In the section of the pamphlet called 'Documents' Engels reproduced both of Marx's letters to *Der Volksstaat*.—65

100 This refers to the International Socialist Congress to be convened in Switzerland on the initiative of Belgian socialists to discuss the establishment of a new International. The congress took place not in Zurich (the Zurich cantonal council forbade it), but in Chur between 2 and 4 October 1881. It was attended by delegates of socialist parties from 12 countries. The congress decided against forming a new International.

In his letter to Marx of 6 January 1881 Nieuwenhuis expressed the intention of the Dutch Social Democrats to discuss at the congress the laws to be passed immediately in the political and economic fields by the socialists should they come to power.—66

101 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. The end of the letter is not extant.—67

102 Albert Regnard, a French writer and historian, wrote to Marx's daughter Jenny Longuet in connection with his articles on Irish history (they have not been found) because her contributions on Ireland to the French newspaper *La Marseillaise* in 1870 (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 414-41) had found recognition among the readers.—67

103 *Scotch Covenanters*—the signers and adherents of the National Covenant, a religious and political alliance proclaimed in Scotland in 1638 after the successful uprising of 1637 against Charles I's absolutist government. Rallying round the banner of the Presbyterian (Calvinist) Church against 'Popedom', the signatories of the Covenant fought for Scotland's national autonomy. The Covenanters' war against Charles I brought forward the outbreak of the bourgeois revolution in England.—68

104 *Ireland—English Vendée*; *Vendée*—a department in Western France, the centre of a largely peasant-based royalist uprising during the French Revolution. The word Vendée came to denote counter-revolution.—68

105 *Adventurers*—in the 16th and 17th centuries, a name for members of the English commercial and financial bourgeoisie, partners in colonial and merchant companies, profiteers and bankers, who financed risky but potentially very lucrative colonial and other ventures. The name derived from the Merchant Adventurers, a trading company.—69

[106] The *Long Parliament* (1640-53) — the English Parliament which was convened by Charles I and became the constituent body of the English Revolution.—69

[107] The *Penal Laws* (or *Code*) were introduced by the English colonialists in Ireland in the late 17th and the first half of the 18th century under the pretext of a need to combat Catholic conspiracies and the enemies of the Anglican Church. To all practical purposes, the laws deprived the Irish, who were mostly Catholic, of all political and civil rights: restricted the right of inheritance, and of acquisition and alienation of property; introduced the practice of confiscating property; established onerous terms of lease for Catholic peasants, which aggravated their bondage to English landlords and land agents; banned Irish national schools; imposed harsh penalties on teachers, Irish Catholic priests, etc. It was not until the late 18th century that the growing national liberation movement in Ireland forced the authorities to abrogate a significant part of the penal laws.—69

[108] A reference to the subsidies granted to the Irish Catholic College opened in the town of Maynooth in 1795. Pitt's government tried to use the foundation of the College to win over the Catholic clergy and the leading stratum of the Irish bourgeoisie in order to split the Irish national movement.—69

[109] The *Anglo-Irish Union* came into force on 1 January 1801 and deprived Ireland of the last remnants of parliamentary autonomy (the Irish Parliament was disbanded and Irish M.P.s received a number of seats in the British Parliament, where they were in the minority).—69, 286

[110] The *system of national schools*—a reference to the school reform of 1831 introduced by the then Chief Secretary for Ireland Stanley (Lord Derby). Henceforth, joint schools were set up for Catholic and Protestant children and only religious subjects were taught separately.—70

[111] Marx's letter to Zasulich, which became known to many Russian revolutionary Marxists, including Georgi Plekhanov, was preceded by several drafts, which are included in Volume 24 of the present edition.

The letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—71

[112] Marx is probably referring to the request that he write a book on the Russian village commune made by the revolutionary Narodnik Nikolai Morozov in December 1880 on behalf of the Executive Committee of Narodnaya Volya (see Note 70).—71

[113] Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—73, 196, 250, 256, 341, 430

[114] A reference to Engels' article 'Du sollst nicht ehebrechen' which remained unpublished. See *MEGA*$_2$, Bd. 1/25, S. 213-14.—73

[115] Engels is rewording a well-known phrase that belongs to Jeanne Antoinette Poisson, Marquise de Pompadour, usually ascribed to Louis XV, 'après nous le déluge'.—73

[116] Engels proceeds to critically analyse the views of A. E. F. Schäffle, which the latter set forth in the book here mentioned.—74

[117] The *Overseas Trade Society* (*Seehandlung*) — a merchant and credit company founded in Prussia in 1772. It enjoyed a number of major state privileges and granted large loans to the government, acting, in fact, as its banker and broker. In 1904, it was officially transformed into the Prussian State Bank.— 74

[118] An allusion to the indecision displayed in tactical issues by the Social-Democratic leaders in Germany after the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 16). Their wavering was reflected in Liebknecht's speech in the Reichstag on 17 March 1879 on the introduction of the so-called local state of siege in Berlin and its environs (see Note 65), and that in the Saxon Landtag on 17 February 1880 on the elections in Chemnitz's No. 1 constituency. Liebknecht stated in the Reichstag that the Social-Democratic Party would abide by the Anti-Socialist Law, being a party of reform in the proper sense of the word, and opposed a 'violent' revolution as nonsense. In the Provincial Diet, he said that since the Social-Democratic Party of Germany was taking part in the elections to the legislative bodies, it was not a party advocating the overthrow of the government.— 75, 203

[119] In February-March 1881, by decision of the Wyden Congress (see Note 418) of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche and Louis Viereck visited the United States. Engels, who disapproved of the trip, wrote: '...this much is certain — no amount of American money will make good the damage that will infallibly be done if, after the manner of Fritzsche and Viereck, the emissaries again water down the party's viewpoint into a semblance of vulgar democracy and homespun philistinism' (see present edition, Vol. 47, letter to August Bebel of 18 January 1884).— 75, 99, 447

[120] An attempt on William I's life was made on 2 June 1878 by the German anarchist Karl Eduard Nobiling, who fired from a sporting rifle loaded with small shot. This attempted assassination, as well as that by apprentice E. M. Hödel on 11 May 1878, served as a convenient excuse for Bismarck to demand that the Reichstag pass the Exceptional Law against the Socialists (see Note 16).— 75, 175, 209, 288, 448

[121] In December 1880, the British Prime Minister Gladstone declared that he intended to submit to Parliament a new bill on the state of emergency in Ireland (see Note 123). This prompted the Left wing of the Irish Land League (see Note 139) to urge the peasants to refuse payment of land rent. The more resolute section of the revolutionary democrats believed this would be a prologue to a long-expected armed uprising.— 75

[122] This may refer to the resolution passed by the House of Commons on 3 February 1881 introducing a new procedure in the British Parliament. Seeking to combat the obstructionist tactics of the Irish opposition in the House of Commons, which made it impossible to get a coercion bill for Ireland (see Note 123) passed by Parliament, Gladstone proposed a resolution granting the Speaker the right to interrupt any M.P. at any point and to expel him from the House.— 75, 84

[123] The *Coercion Bills* were passed by the British Parliament several times throughout the 19th century in order to suppress the revolutionary and national liberation movement in Ireland. In early 1881, the House of Commons passed two bills introducing exceptional laws in Ireland. They declared a state of emergency there and assigned troops to evict tenants refusing to pay rent.— 75, 84, 172

[124] The *Irish Land Bill* was debated in Parliament from late 1880, but did not become law until 22 August 1881 (an Act to further amend the law relating to the occupation and ownership of land in Ireland and for other purposes relating thereto). The new Act somewhat restricted the high-handed practices of the English landlords with respect to their tenant farmers. Landlords lost the right to evict tenants provided the latter paid the rent on time, and the amount of rent payable was fixed for 15 years. Although the Land Bill gave the landlords a chance to sell land to the state at a profit, and the fixed rent remained very high, the English landlords opposed the Bill, seeking to maintain their undivided rule.—75, 84, 86

[125] Engels is replying to Johann Philipp Becker's letter of 24 March 1881 in which the latter thanked him for the help he had received in October 1880.—76

[126] The reference is to a meeting in the United States at the time of Fritzsche's and Viereck's stay there (see Note 119).

A report on the meeting held in Boston on 6 March 1881 was printed by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nos. 13 and 16, 27 March and 17 April 1881.—77

[127] German democratic emigrants, including members of the German gymnastic clubs, took an active part in the American Civil War of 1861-65 on the side of the North. In 1861, German emigrants residing not far from St Louis joined the Northerners' detachments and prevented Governor D. Jackson from handing the town over to the South.

*German gymnastic clubs*—organisations of German democratic emigrants, including workers, set up in the USA by participants in the 1848-49 revolution. At a congress in Philadelphia on 5 October 1850, the gymnastic clubs joined together to form a Socialist Gymnastic Association (Sozialistischer Turnverein), which maintained contacts with German workers' organisations in America.—77

[128] A reference to the assassination of Emperor Alexander II of Russia on 1 (13) March 1881 by decision of the Executive Committee of Narodnaya Volya. On this organisation, see Note 70.—78, 127

[129] Most's article 'Endlich!' on the assassination of Alexander II was carried by *Die Freiheit*, No. 12, 19 March 1881. On 30 March, Most was arrested in London, tried on 4 May and sentenced in June to 16 months' imprisonment and forced labour for the written defence, in a foreign language, of a political assassination.—78, 80, 81, 83

[130] On behalf of the board of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 8) Gottlieb Lemcke invited Engels to the opening ceremony of the Society's new club-house at 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, London, W.—79

[131] This is Engels' reply to Johann Philipp Becker's letter of 30 March 1881.—80

[132] On 30 and 31 March 1881 the German Reichstag debated the report of the Prussian government and the Hamburg Senate on the introduction of the 'local state of siege' in Berlin and Hamburg-Altona (see Note 65).—80

[133] This letter was published in English for the first time in: *The Labour Monthly*, London, 1931, Vol. 13, No. 7.—81

[134] The *Dogberry club* (after a character in Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing*) was

a jocular name for the gatherings at the Marxs' of the family members, Engels and other friends—devotees of Shakespeare's work.—82

135 In 1874, Henri Rochefort, a French journalist, writer and politician exiled from France after the defeat of the Paris Commune, found himself in Geneva, where he contacted Russian political refugees. The Executive Committee of the Narodnaya Volya (see Note 70) sent him a letter requesting him to assist the Committee's agent Lev Hartmann in organising a propaganda campaign against the tsarist government. Judging by Marx's letter, it was this letter that Rochefort reprinted in his newspaper (the Institute of Marxism-Leninism does not have the copy of *Intransigeant* at its disposal). The publication caused Russian refugees in Geneva to voice their protest at an open meeting. The statement that they were breaking off all contacts with Rochefort appeared in *Die Freiheit* on 26 March 1881.—82

136 The trial of the Narodnaya Volya (see Note 70) members, notably Andrei Zhelyabov, Sofia Perovskaya, Nikolai Rysakov, Timofei Mikhailov, Nikolai Kibalchich and Gesya Gelfman, who took part in the assassination of Alexander II on 1 (13) March 1881, was held on 26-29 March (7-10 April) 1881. All of them, except Gelfman, were sentenced on 29 March to death by hanging and executed on 3 (15) April. In Gelfman's case, on account of her pregnancy the sentence was commuted to penal labour for life; she died in prison on 1 February 1882.—83

137 Over 3,000 people perished and more than 1,000 were injured in the earthquake on the island of Chios on 3-11 April 1881. The town of Chios and the neighbouring villages were almost totally destroyed.—83

138 The *Arms Act* (Peace Preservation Act) declared bearing arms without a permit to be a breach of the peace liable to punishment by the courts. On 18 March 1881, the operation of the Act was extended to Ireland.—84

139 The *Irish Land League*—a mass organisation set up in October 1879 by the revolutionary democrat Michael Davitt. It embraced mostly peasants and urban poor and enjoyed the support of the progressive elements of the Irish bourgeoisie. The League's agrarian programme expressed the spontaneous protest of the Irish people against the landlords' rule and national oppression. However, some of its leaders attempted to reduce its activities to the campaign for Home Rule, that is, limited autonomy of Ireland within the framework of the British Empire, and did not go so far as to demand the abolition of the English landlords' rule. In 1881, the Land League was banned by the British government but, to all practical purposes, continued to exist up to the late 1880s.—84, 286

140 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.—85, 156, 171, 191

141 Engels is referring to the *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstags* that included the speeches made by Ignaz Auer and August Bebel on 30 and 31 March 1881 on the subject of the 'local state of siege' in Berlin and Hamburg, and Bebel's speech on the Workers' Accident Insurance Bill delivered on 4 April 1881 (see notes 65 and 144). The shorthand report was sent by Bernstein to London before 28 April.—85

142 From mid-November 1880, Wilhelm Liebknecht served six months in the Leipzig prison for the speech he had made at a workers' meeting in Chemnitz.—86

[143] This probably refers to the Act to Consolidate and Amend the Statute Law of England and Ireland relating to Offences against the Person passed by the British Parliament in 1861.

On Most's conviction, see Note 129.—86

[144] The reference is to the *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstags*. 4. Legislaturperiode. IV. Session 1881, Vol. I, Berlin, 1881 (see Note 141). The Workers' Accident Insurance Bill was part of Bismarck's so-called labour legislation. It provided for the establishment of an Imperial Accident Insurance Bank. Two-thirds of the insurance expenses were to be incurred by the employers, and one-third, by the workers; those who earned 750 marks a year or less were to have their contributions paid by the Treasury. Bebel subjected the Bill to well-substantiated and sharp criticism and demanded that the workers' accident insurance be wholly financed by the employers. The Bill was passed by the Reichstag on 27 June 1884. Bebel's speeches were also printed by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nos. 16-22, 17 April-29 May 1881.

On the *state of siege*, see Note 65.—87, 353, 386

[145] Engels is alluding to Robert Victor von Puttkamer's speech in the Reichstag on 30 March 1881 in which he accused the Social-Democrats of preparing to stage acts of terrorism and referred to Most's article (see Note 129), where the address 'brothers' was used on repeated occasions.—88

[146] Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: *Le Monde moderne et la femme d'aujourd'hui*, Vol. I, Paris, 1908.—89

[147] Marx and his family lived not far from Maitland Park, at 41 Maitland Park Road. The street was crossed by Southampton Road, named probably after Lord Southampton.—89

[148] A reference to one of the terms of the Irish Land Bill of 1881, which became law on 22 August 1881 (see Note 124).—90

[149] The radical leader Georges Clemenceau criticised the government of J. Ferry when France launched a military expedition against Tunisia in April-May 1881. Clemenceau accused the government of wasting money on military ventures that only weakened France. He explained his accusations by the fact that the conquest of 'uncivilised' nations was undermining the moral prestige of the French.—92

[150] This note, and Engels' letter to Sorge that follows, were printed in *The New-York Herald* as part of the interview given by Sorge to the newspaper correspondent at the request of the editors on the occasion of the Russian revolutionary Narodnik Lev Hartmann's arrival in New York from London in June 1881.—94

[151] *Bank Holidays* in Great Britain—the six public holidays on which banks are closed.—95

[152] The protest meeting against the Coercion Bills for Ireland (see Note 123), which took place in Hyde Park on 5 June 1881, passed a resolution which held the British government responsible for the difficult position of the Irish people, demanded that the eviction of tenants who had failed to pay their rent be stopped, the arrested leaders of the Land League (see Note 139) be released, and that the Secretary of State for Ireland William Forster, who ruthlessly suppressed the national libera-

tion movement there, resign. A long speech at the meeting was made by Charles Stewart Parnell, who censured Forster's activities in Ireland.—95

153 This rumour was based on an episode in the Narodnaya Volya organisation's fight against the autocracy.

Sofia Perovskaya and Lev Hartmann, posing as husband and wife, took a flat in the house from which a tunnel was dug to the Moscow-Kursk railway line as part of a plan to blow up the tsar's train. The attempt, undertaken on 19 November 1879, was abortive. Perovskaya also helped with the preparations for the assassination of Alexander II, which was carried out on 1 March 1881, and was arrested shortly afterwards.

On Perovskaya's execution, see Note 136.—96

154 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: *Justice* (London), No. 441, 25 June 1892.—98

155 *Napoléon le petit*—a nickname given by Victor Hugo to Louis Bonaparte in his speech at the meeting of the French Legislative Assembly in 1851; gained wide currency after Hugo's lampoon *Napoléon le Petit* appeared in print in 1852.—100

156 *Anti-Renters*—in the 1830s and 1840s, land tenants in the State of New York who refused to pay rent to the big landowners and demanded that the farms be sold to them. The Anti-Renters offered armed resistance to the rent collectors. The greatest unrest took place between 1839 and 1845. The campaign against the landowners ended in a compromise: from 1846, they gradually began to sell land to tenants.—101

157 Marx is probably referring to Henry George's article 'The Kearney Agitation in California' carried by *The Popular Science Monthly* in August 1880. Marx wrote out excerpts from it, which are still extant.

The Editors are not in possession of a copy of the *Atlantic Monthly*.—101

158 The reference is to the Democratic Federation, an English socialist association set up in June 1881 and headed by Henry Mayers Hyndman. Its programme closely resembled that of the Chartists (see Note 159).

At the inaugural conference of the Democratic Federation, each participant received a copy of Hyndman's pamphlet *England for All* in which (Chapter II—'Labour' and Chapter III—'Capital') the author presented whole sections of Volume One of *Capital* as the programme of the Federation, distorting many of Marx's ideas and making no reference to either the work or its author.

In 1884, the Democratic Federation was transformed into the Social Democratic Federation.—102, 162, 251

159 *Chartism*—a political movement of British workers in the 1830s-50s advocating the People's Charter, which contained the demand for universal suffrage and specified the terms that would guarantee this right to the workers. Arising from the consequences of the industrial revolution, Chartism was a revolutionary form of workers' protest against capitalist exploitation, their lack of political rights and the landlords' and big bourgeoisie's monopoly of power. The Chartist movement was a major stage in the working-class struggle at the time preceding the emergence of Marxism.—102, 293

160 Between late June and around 20 July 1881, Marx and his ailing wife rested in Eastbourne.—104, 110, 185

[161] Between 28 July and 22 August 1881, Engels was on holiday in Bridlington Quay (Yorkshire).— 104, 108, 126

[162] In a letter of 10 June 1881, Theodor Friedrich Cuno asked Engels to help Norris A. Clowes, the *New-York Star* correspondent for Ireland.— 105

[163] In May-August 1881 Engels contributed to the printed organ of the British trade unions *The Labour Standard*, which appeared in London and was edited by George Shipton. Engels's contributions were printed anonymously nearly every week as leaders (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 376-418). All in all, Engels wrote 11 articles. The last one, 'Social Classes — Necessary and Superfluous', appeared in *The Labour Standard* on 6 August 1881, after which Engels terminated his work for the paper due to the mounting opportunist tendencies among its editors.— 105, 119, 197

[164] Between 26 July and 16 August 1881, Marx and his wife stayed with their daughter Jenny Longuet in Argenteuil not far from Paris.— 107, 115, 185

[165] On 26 July 1881, the French government issued a decree scheduling the elections to the Chamber of Deputies for 21 August, earlier than the date originally fixed.— 108

[166] Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.— 110, 176, 217, 238, 374, 422

[167] *Code pénal* — the penal code adopted in France in 1810 and introduced in 1881 into the regions of Western and South-Western Germany conquered by the French.— 111, 445

[168] In the 1870s, the French journalist Victor Tissot protested at the military indemnity to Germany under the terms of the Versailles Peace of 1871 in his repeatedly reprinted books *Voyage au pays des milliards*, *Les Prussiens en Allemagne. Suite du Voyage au pays des milliards* and *Voyage aux pays annexés. Suite et fin du Voyage au pays des milliards*. Max Simon Nordau attacked Tissot's stand in his books *Aus dem wahren Milliardenlande. Pariser Studien und Bilder* (1st ed., Leipzig, 1878, 2nd ed., under the title *Paris. Studien und Bilder aus dem wahren Milliardenlande*, Leipzig, 1881), *Paris unter der dritten Republik. Neue Bilder aus dem wahren Milliardenlande* (1st and 2nd editions, Leipzig, 1880 and 1881).— 112

[169] The reference is to the 5 milliard francs which France paid to Germany as indemnity under the terms of the peace treaty after its defeat in its war with Prussia in 1870-71.— 112, 454

[170] The Editors are not in possession of Engels' letter to Laura Lafargue of 6 August 1881. Laura Lafargue's letter to Engels of 13 August 1881 makes it clear that she was unable to take up his invitation.— 114

[171] Marx met Hirsch in Paris on 7 August 1881.— 115

[172] In his speech at the election meeting in Batignolles (see Note 165), Albert Adrien Regnard denounced the domination of Church congregations over primary and secondary schools and advocated compulsory free secular primary schooling. Marx ironically calls him a champion of anti-clericalism ('*Kulturkämpfer*' in the

original) drawing a parallel wlith the *Kulturkampf* policy pursued by the Bismarck government in the 1870s. To suppress the clergy and weaken the Party of the Centre (see Note 225), laws were introduced that banned political agitation by clergymen, withdrew their right of supervision over the schools, etc. Bismarck's campaign was a failure. In the late 1870s-early 1880s, seeking to unite the forces of reaction, Bismarck effected a reconciliation with the Catholic clergy. Nearly all the laws passed against it at the time of the *Kulturkampf* were abrogated (see also Note 255).— 117

173 *The Labour Standard*, No. 14, 6 August 1881, anonymously printed the article by Johann Georg Eccarius 'A German Opinion of English Trade Unionism'. Eccarius regarded highly the German trade unions founded in 1868 by Max Hirsch and Franz Duncker (the so-called Hirsch-Duncker trade unions). For Engels' opinion of the article, see this volume, p. 119.— 118, 121, 123

174 The reference is to Karl Kautsky's article 'International Labour Laws' published anonymously in *The Labour Standard*, No. 15, 13 August 1881.— 119, 120, 122, 126

175 The fourteenth annual British trades union congress took place in London on 12-17 September 1881.— 119, 121, 123

176 The *Manchester School* — a trend in economic thinking which reflected the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. Its supporters, known as Free Traders (the centre of their agitation was Manchester), advocated free trade and non-interference by the government in the economy. In the 1840s and 1850s, the Free Traders formed a separate political group, which later constituted the Left wing of the Liberal Party.— 122, 260

177 *Factories and workshops' acts* — laws regulating labour conditions in British industry. The emergence and advancement of factory legislation was a consequence of the workers' economic and political struggle against capitalist exploitation. The first laws adopted regulated the children's, adolescents', and women's labour conditions in the textile industry (early 19th century). Step by step, the operation of the factories and workshops' acts was extended to the other industries.— 122, 140

178 The *Geneva Convention* of the Red Cross of 1864 — an international document signed at the conference of 16 European states in Geneva. The Geneva Convention established principles for belligerents' treatment of the wounded and the sick, and granted the right of neutrality to the medical personnel taking care of the wounded men.— 122, 140

179 On 16 August 1881, Gambetta was to speak in Charonne (a Paris district) at the meeting of his constituents, but the assembly refused to let him take the floor.— 126, 133, 361

180 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Literature and Art*. A selection of writings, International General, New York, 1974.— 126

181 As instructed by Eduard Bernstein, on 23 July 1881 Karl Kautsky despatched to Engels several anti-Semitic articles from German newspapers.— 126

182 Engels is referring to articles printed by the newspaper in the winter (9, 23 and 30 January and 6 February) and summer (30 June and 28 July) of 1881. On 30 June and 7 July, the 'Feuilleton' column of the newspaper also carried excerpts from

Marx's work 'On the Jewish Question' (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 146-74).— 126

183 Below, Engels quotes Hirsch's letter to him of 11 August 1881.— 126

184 Engels is referring to two of Bernstein's articles with the same title, 'Es fehlt uns an Intelligenzen', published under the pen-name Leo in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nos. 31 and 33, 28 July and 11 August 1881.— 127, 137

185 On 11 August 1881, *Der Sozialdemokrat* (the 'Sozialpolitische Rundschau' column) referred to Jules Vallès as a 'brave and highly esteemed member of the Commune'. The editors mentioned Vallès' letter printed by *Le Citoyen de Paris*, in which he refused to stand for election to the French Chamber of Deputies (to which he had been nominated by two Paris districts), saying that he preferred to enter parliament not through the door but on the shoulders of the insurgent people.— 127

186 Jules Vallès' open letter to the President of the French Republic Grévy was published in early February 1879 in the newspaper *La Révolution Française*.— 127

187 The *New Madrid Federation* was formed on 8 July 1872 by the members of *La Emancipacion* editorial board expelled by the anarchist majority from the Madrid Federation after the newspaper had exposed the activities of the secret Alliance in Spain. An active part in the organisation and work of the New Madrid Federation was taken by Paul Lafargue. The new Madrid Federation fought against the spread of anarchism in Spain, popularised the ideas of scientific socialism, and campaigned for the foundation of an independent proletarian party there. Its printed organ, *La Emancipacion*, had Engels as one of the contributors.— 128

188 A reference to the International Anarchist Congress, which took place in London on 14-19 July 1881. Engels' report of the congress was quoted verbatim by Bernstein in the 'Sozialpolitische Rundschau' column of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 35, 25 August 1881.— 128

189 The speakers at the Anarchist Congress used numbers rather than names (see reports on the congress printed by *Die Freiheit*, Nos. 31, 32 and 33, 30 July, 6 and 13 August 1881). The *Freiheit* report of 23 July stated that 45 delegates holding 80 mandates represented 59 federations and 320 sections.— 129

190 *Der Sozialdemokrat* of 25 August 1881 carried this information almost verbatim in the 'Sozialpolitische Rundschau' column.— 129

191 The reference is to the Anarchist Congress in Saint-Imier (Switzerland) convened after the Hague Congress of the First International had expelled Mikhail Bakunin and James Guillaume.— 129

192 Engels is probably referring to his study of Marx's manuscript on the history of differential calculus, on which Marx worked in 1878-82. Marx did his first research in mathematics back in the 1860s. The extant manuscripts were published for the first time in: K. Marx, *Matematicheskiye rukopisi* (Mathematical Manuscripts), Moscow, 1968. They will be included in full in *MEGA* I/28.— 130

193 The American physician Henry S. Tanner set a peculiar record in New York in 1880: having decided to find out how long the human organism could go without food, he fasted over a month (from 28 June to 7 August).— 133

[194] This refers to the election meeting held in the Paris district of Belleville on 12 August 1881, at which Léon Gambetta outlined his programme.— 133

[195] *Collectivists* in the French socialist movement of the 1870s-80s were the followers of Marxism who advocated collectivisation of the means of production and workers' involvement in the political struggle. Their leaders were Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue (hence Guesdists, another and more common name for the French Marxists). Right from its formation in 1879, the Workers' Party was torn apart by fierce ideological dissent, which in 1882 led to its split (see Note 394).

On the party programme, see Note 68.— 134

[196] Marx added these lines to his wife's letter to their daughter Jenny Longuet of 20 August 1881 (see this volume, pp. 475).— 136

[197] August Bebel's letter to Engels of 13 May 1881 has not been found. Engels may be referring to Bebel's letter of 13 June 1881, written in reply to Engels' letter of 28 April.— 137

[198] After a 'local state of siege' (see Note 65) was introduced in Leipzig in June 1881, many active socialists, Bebel and Liebknecht among them, were deported from the city. On 2 July 1881, they left Leipzig and settled down in Borsdorf close by.— 137, 336

[199] Engels' letter to Liebknecht and the latter's reply have not been found.— 138

[200] On 4 April 1881, August Bebel criticised in the Reichstag the Workers' Accident Insurance Bill (see also notes 141 and 144).— 138

[201] Engels is referring to Liebknecht's speech in the Reichstag on 31 May 1881 on the Workers' Accident Insurance Bill (see Note 144): 'The historical process of evolution is infinitely stronger than the most powerful ruler. Prince Bismarck has himself experienced some interesting transformations, he honestly confessed ... that for a while he was bringing up the rear of the Free Traders, then of the Protectionist movement, and now of socialism' (see *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstags*. 4. Legislaturperiode. IV. Session 1881, Vol. II, Berlin, 1881, p. 1455).— 138

[202] A reference to the speech on the Workers' Accident Insurance Bill (see Note 144) made by the German Social Democrat Georg Wilhelm Hartmann in the Reichstag on 15 June 1881, of which *Die Freiheit* (No. 26, 25 June 1881) wrote: 'Hartmann crawled on his belly before Bismarck and the Reichstag when the Bill was debated.' *Die Freiheit* quoted from Hartmann's speech referring to the *Frankfurter Zeitung*; some of the fragments deviate from the text of the official shorthand report (see *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstags*. 4. Legislaturperiode. IV. Session 1881, Vol. II, Berlin, 1881, pp. 1757-59). Judging by the shorthand report, Hartmann stated that 'the Social Democrats gladly welcome the Bill submitted by the Imperial Chancellor' and that 'the main principle' of Social-Democracy was 'the aspiration to humanity' and 'the moral feeling of assistance to those in need'.— 138

[203] The reference is to the results of the elections to the French Chamber of Deputies held on 21 August 1881, at which candidates from the French Workers' Party were standing for the first time (see Note 208).— 138

[204] At the 1877 elections, the German Social-Democrats received about half a million votes.— 139

[205] The Seventh International Medical Congress was held in London between 3 and 9 August 1881.— 140

[206] The *Privy Council*— a special body under the King of England, first formed in the 13th century, consisting of secretaries of state and other officials, as well as top clergy. For a long time, it had the right to initiate legislation on behalf of the king, bypassing Parliament. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the Privy Council lost a great deal of its power. It retained only the right to accept and consider appeals concerning the colonial, ecclesiastical and administrative matters. The Privy Council comprises a number of committees, including those on scientific research, industry, medicine and agriculture. At present, the Privy Council has virtually no say in the administration of the country.— 140

[207] On 22 September 1881, *Der Sozialdemokrat* carried a leader headed 'Die Vivisektion des Proletariats'.— 141

[208] In October 1880, Malon, Guesde and Brousse started the newspaper *L'Émancipation* in Lyons and, on Brousse's suggestion, made a written commitment not to stand for election. In November 1880, *L'Émancipation* ceased to exist, and the editors' commitment was no longer valid. This enabled Guesde to stand at the elections of 21 August 1881 to the French Chamber of Deputies from the town of Roubaix, for which Malon and Brousse fiercely attacked him.— 142, 145, 361

[209] Marx wrote this letter in reply to Kautsky's letter of 28 September 1881, in which he asked Marx to introduce his mother Minna Kautsky, who arrived in Paris in the autumn of 1881, to Marx's daughter Jenny Longuet, who lived in Argenteuil near Paris.— 142

[210] The Editors are not in possession of Marx's note to Jenny Longuet.— 142, 143

[211] Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Moscow-Leningrad, 1936, New York, 1936.— 144

[212] In a letter of 14 October 1881 posted on 20 October, Bernstein informed Engels that Lafargue had requested him in early October to hold a collection among his friends to help finance a new edition of *L'Égalité*. Bernstein asked Engels' advice on the way to treat Lafargue's request, since he felt he was not competent enough to correctly appraise the situation in the French working-class movement.— 144

[213] The International Socialist Congress, originally to be held in Zurich, met in Chur between 2 and 4 October 1881 (see also Note 100).— 150

[214] 27 October 1881 was the day fixed for the elections to the German Reichstag (see Note 216).— 150

[215] In a postcard dated 13 October 1881 Johann Philipp Becker wrote to Engels about the Chur Congress (see Note 100), in which he had taken part as a representative of the German workers in Switzerland.— 151

[216] At the elections to the German Reichstag on 27 October 1881 the Social Democrats won 312,000 votes and 12 seats.— 152

[217] This letter was published in English for the first time in an abridged form in: K. Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Moscow-Leningrad, 1936, New York, 1936.— 152

[218] Engels is referring to the mass demonstration in London, called by the Chartists

for 10 April 1848. It was to present a petition to Parliament for the adoption of the People's Charter. The Government prohibited the demonstration, and troops and police were brought to London to prevent it. The Chartist leaders, many of whom vacillated, called off the demonstration and persuaded the masses to disperse. The failure of the demonstration was used by the Government for an attack on the workers and repression of the Chartists.— 152

219 This refers to Louis Bonaparte's coup d'état on 2 December 1851.— 153

220 On 17 May 1879, with the approval of the whole Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag, the Social-Democratic deputy Max Kayser defended the government project for protective customs tariffs. Marx and Engels sharply criticised Kayser because the proposal promoted the interests of big industrialists and landowners, and further condemned some of the German Social-Democratic leaders' stand vis-à-vis Kayser (see present edition, Vol. 45, pp. 259-62).— 153

221 This refers to August Bebel's letter to Engels of 18 November 1879.— 154

222 The following Social-Democrats won seats in the Reichstag at the elections of 27 October 1881: Wilhelm Blos, Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Dietz, Karl Frohme, Bruno Geiser, Karl Grillenberger, Wilhelm Hasenclever, Max Kayser, Julius Kräcker, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Moritz Rittinghausen, Karl Wilhelm Stolle and Georg Heinrich von Vollmar. August Bebel was not elected in either of the three constituencies where he had been nominated. Neither did he win at the second ballot in the Mainz constituency on 15 December.— 154, 188, 259, 454

223 The Rheims Congress of the French Workers' Party took place between 30 October and 6 November 1881. It was attended by 44 delegates. The Congress endorsed the National Committee (Comité national) of the French Workers' Party, set up on Malon's and Brousse's initiative in mid-October 1881 (see Note 250).

At the Rheims Congress, Malon and Brousse managed to get a decision passed recognising that the minimum programme (see Note 68) did 'not quite' live up to 'the working people's aspirations'. The Congress resolved to leave the programme in force until a new one had been adopted. This decision was spearheaded against the Marxist groups that united around *L'Égalité* edited by Jules Guesde.— 154, 173, 341

224 At the International Socialist Congress held in Chur (see Note 100), serious differences surfaced between the Polish socialist groups. Kautsky, who wrote to Engels about the matter on 8 November 1881, asked for his opinion concerning the stand *Der Sozialdemokrat* ought to take in this affair. Engels set forth his views in a letter to Kautsky of 7 February 1882 (see this volume, pp. 191-95).— 155, 166, 190, 191, 195

225 The *Centre* (Zentrum) — a political party of German Catholics formed in 1870-71 as a result of the unification of the Catholic groups in the Prussian Provincial Diet and the German Reichstag (its seats were in the centre of the assembly halls). It united, under the banner of Catholicism, the Catholic clergy of various social ranks, landowners, bourgeoisie and certain sections of the peasants, especially in the petty and medium-sized states of Western and South-Western Germany, and supported their separatist and anti-Prussian tendencies. Engels gave a detailed description of the Party of the Centre in his work *The Role of Force in History* (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 509-10).— 157

226 An allusion to Jenny Marx's reviews of the London theatrical scene in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, specifically, the acting of Henry Irving: 'Aus der Londoner Theaterwelt' (21 November 1875); 'Londoner Saison' (4 April 1876); 'Englische Shakespeare-Studien' (3 January 1877); 'Shakespeares Richard III in Londoner Lyceum-Theater' (8 February 1877), and 'Vom Londoner Theater' (25 May 1877). All the reviews appeared anonymously.— 158

227 The third German edition of Volume One of *Capital*, which appeared in print after Marx's death (in 1883), was edited by Engels. By the 2nd volume Marx means here the part of his work that later made up the second and the third volumes of *Capital*.— 158, 161, 162, 434, 465

228 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: *The Socialist Review*, III-VIII, London, 1908. It appeared in English in full in *The Labour Monthly*, No. 3, London, 1933. The first half of the letter is in German, and the second, in English.— 161

229 Sibylle Hess' letter to Marx of 11 December 1881.— 164

230 Liebknecht's letter to Marx of 12 December 1881. After the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, Liebknecht was in exile first in Switzerland and then in London. He returned to Prussia in 1862 after an amnesty.— 164

231 The first issue of the third series of *L'Égalité* appeared on 11 December 1881. Among others, it carried Guesde's programmatic article, Lafargue's article on the successes of the German Social-Democrats at the latest Reichstag elections, Guesde's report of the Rheims Congress, and Engels' speech at Jenny Marx's graveside.— 166

232 The dedication and the letter to Roland Daniels Jun. were written by Marx on the back of his photograph taken in August 1875. The original is kept in the Karl-Marx-Haus in Trier.— 167

233 On 31 December 1881, Marx replied to the letters from Amalia and Roland Daniels Jun. of 11 December 1881, in which they offered him their condolences on the death of his wife Jenny on 2 December. Marx's letters have not been found and probably did not reach their addressees.— 167, 180

234 Marx was taking a cure in Ventnor, on the Isle of Wight (the south of England), between 29 December 1881 and 16 January 1882. He was accompanied by his youngest daughter Eleanor.— 169, 171, 202, 214, 218, 224, 259, 366, 371

235 The Lafargue family had property in New Orleans.— 170

236 The reference is to the traditional annual voters' meeting in Birmingham convened by the Birmingham Liberal Association on 3 January 1882. John Bright, leader of the British bourgeois radicals and M.P. for Birmingham, and Joseph Chamberlain, a public figure in the city, who spoke at the meeting, fully supported the Irish policies of Gladstone's Liberal government. Specifically, they vindicated his actions aimed at implementing the so-called Land Act of 1881 for Ireland (see Note 124).— 171

237 Probably an ironic reference to Jacob Bright, John Bright's younger brother.— 171

238 A reference to the meeting held on 3 January 1882. The official pretext for it was

a discussion of the functions of the assistant commissioners, appointed to carry out the Land Act of 1881 for Ireland (see Note 124). It was stated at the meeting that their decision to introduce a rent reduction was not objective. The landlords demanded that the government immediately consider their complaints and promulgate the law on compensation for losses they could sustain should the government sanction the rent reduction.— 172

239 Joseph Dietzgen wrote to Marx on 3 January 1882 that he was studying Hegel's works, in particular, his *Phänomenologie des Geistes*.— 172

240 When the Reichstag debated the observance of the Anti-Socialist Law in December 1881, deputies Wilhelm Blos and Wilhelm Hasenclever adopted a conciliatory stand. In its leader, *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 51, 15 December 1881 strongly protested that the Social-Democratic deputies in the Reichstag 'should neither wail nor complain, but brand and expose ... not enter into negotiations, but protest'. The protest was supported by the party majority outside the Reichstag and by the Social-Democratic group within it. At a special meeting at which Bebel was also present, although he was not a Reichstag deputy at the time, the members of the parliamentary group unanimously issued a declaration endorsing the general line of *Der Sozialdemokrat* as the party's printed organ. The declaration was printed by the newspaper on 16 February 1882. Both Blos and Hasenclever had signed it.— 173, 203

241 This refers to William I's rescript signed by him and Bismarck (*Erlass vom 4. Januar 1882. Deutscher Reichs-Anzeiger und Königlich Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*, 7 January 1882). William demanded that, in future, all government acts be regarded as a constitutional expression of the King's own opinion. Referring to Art. 49 of the Prussian Constitution, which granted the King of Prussia the right to personally direct government policies, William laid down that his ministers and officials should curb any 'doubt' about the Prussian King's 'constitutional right'.— 175, 178

242 *Nihilists*— Russian intellectuals of humble origin (the 1860s). They flatly refused to accept the ruling ideology, morality and way of life. Nihilism was not a comprehensive philosophy; the only thing its proponents shared was their rejection of things as they stood. The term 'nihilism' was later applied by the reactionary press to all revolutionaries at the moments when the class struggle began to mount.— 175, 470

243 *Demagogues* in Germany were members of the opposition movement after the liberation of the country from Napoleonic rule. The name became current after the Karlsbad Conference of Ministers of the German States in August 1819, which adopted a special decision on the persecution of the demagogues.— 175

244 In June and September 1881 Count Nikolai Ignatiev, the Russian Minister of the Interior, assembled 'knowledgeable' Zemstvo representatives of his own choosing to discuss some of the practical issues of domestic policy: resettlement, consumption of alcohol, etc. In this connection, 12 Zemstvo assemblies requested that Zemstvo representatives be involved in the legislative activities not on isolated occasions but on a permanent basis, and that they be selected not by the government but by the Zemstvos themselves.— 175

245 Sorge wrote to Marx on 27 December 1881: 'Come over to us, old friend, and be-

come one of us! We will offer you as good a home as we can, and new surroundings and old work will in time alleviate your sorrow and sustain you.' — 177

246 An ironic allusion to William I's flight to England at the time of the March 1848 revolution in Germany (up to 1861, William was heir to the Prussian throne and held the title of Prince of Prussia). In England, he maintained close contacts with the country's leading politicians.— 178

247 Marx is referring to Theodor Mommsen's, Eugen Richter's and Albert Hänel's assurances of their loyalty to the crown voiced at the German Reichstag sessions in November-December 1881.— 178

248 Engels first came to England in the latter half of November 1842 to study commerce at a cotton mill in Manchester belonging to the firm of Ermen & Engels. Engels' visit lasted until 26 August 1844.— 178

249 Marx sent a photograph of himself to Cologne for the second time probably in late January 1882, having received Amalia Daniels' letter of 19 January. On 5 February, Roland Daniels Jun. acknowledged receipt of the photograph and explained the confusion with the post by the fact that several persons of the same name resided in Cologne.— 180

250 The *Comité national* (National Committee) of the French Workers' Party was set up on the initiative of its Right-wing leaders Malon and Brousse in mid-October 1881, just before the Rheims Congress of the party (see Note 223), which endorsed it. The National Committee was formed on the principle of equal representation of all six federations (five persons from each) which constituted the French Workers' Party at the time: the Federative Union of the Centre (see Note 265), the Eastern Federative Union, the Northern Federation, the Federative Union of the South, the Federative Union of the West, and the Algerian Federation. To all practical purposes, only the first three federations were in existence at the time, whereas the other three existed only on paper and their representatives, who were under Malon's and Brousse's influence, did not have legal powers. Thus, with the exception of the five Collectivists (Guesdists), who represented the Northern Federation, the remaining 25 members of the National Committee were Malon's and Brousse's followers, which placed the party leadership into the hands of Right-wing elements.— 181

251 On the minimum programme, see Note 68. Jules Joffrin, nominated as the party candidate at the elections to the Paris City Council, set forth his election programme in a speech made in the Monmartre district of Paris. In it, he totally ignored the theoretical part of the programme drawn up by Marx and replaced a number of important and quite concrete points (the issue of the 8-hour day, collective property, etc.) in its practical part by vague phrases. On 8 January 1882, using its advantage in the National Committee (see Note 250), Malon's and Brousse's group managed to get Joffrin's opportunistic election programme approved.— 181

252 This may refer to the note 'Russland' carried by the *Kölnische Zeitung* on 25 July 1881. The note refuted the opinion of certain European newspapers that General Mikhail Skobelev, who visited Paris in the summer of 1881, had been instructed by the Russian government to pave the way for a Franco-Russian alliance, open negotiations on the abolition of political émigrés' right of asylum, etc. The *Kölnische Zeitung* stated that Skobelev's visit was a private one.— 182

253 The *Sonvillier Circular* (Circulaire à toutes les fédérations de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Sonvillier, 1871) was passed by the Bakuninist Jura Federation at the congress in Sonvillier on 12 November 1871. It was spearheaded against the decisions of the London Conference of the International (1871) and attacked the activities of its General Council. It demanded the immediate convocation of a general congress to revise the Rules of the International along anarchist lines. The General Council responded by issuing a private circular 'Fictitious Splits in the International' written by Marx and Engels, which exposed the Bakuninists' efforts to split the organisation (see present edition, Vol. 23).— 182

254 The mounting peasant movement in Russia in the 1860s-70s caused by the peasants' desperate condition forced the tsarist government to agree to slightly reduce the redemption payments. The law of 28 December 1881 reduced peasants' redemption payments by one ruble for a plot per person in Russia, and by 16 per cent in the Ukraine.— 182

255 The phrase 'to go to Canossa' goes back to the humiliating pilgrimage undertaken to Pope Gregory VII at Canossa Castle (Northern Italy) in 1077 by the German Emperor Henry IV in the course of the protracted struggle between the emperors and the popes for the investiture.

In May 1872, Bismarck, who had launched a campaign against the Catholic Church that supported the separatist and anti-Prussian sentiments in Germany, stated: 'We shall not go to Canossa.' During the campaign (the *Kulturkampf*), a law was promulgated on 4 May 1874 which restricted the powers of the consistory (ecclesiastical court). However, in the late 1870s, when Bismarck needed the support of the Catholic Party of the Centre to combat the workers' movement and the growing influence of the German Social-Democratic Party, he abrogated nearly all the laws passed during the Kulturkampf campaign, had the principal advocates of the anti-Catholic policy resign, and made his peace with the new Pope Leo XIII. By 'the pilgrimage to Canossa' Engels is ironically referring to the abrogation of the law of 4 May 1874 effected by 233 votes to 115 in the Reichstag on 12 January 1882.— 182

256 By referring to *ultramontanes* Engels meant the Centre (see Note 225).

*Particularists* — members of a political movement in Germany which emerged after the establishment of the German Empire and opposed the policies of the Prussian government. The movement spread among the ruling classes of the petty and medium-sized South-Western German states. The top Catholic clergy, landowners and the bourgeoisie of these states resented Germany's unification under Prussian supremacy believing it to be an encroachment on their rights. As a result they cherished separatist aspirations, expressed their discontent with Bismarck's policy of Prussianisation of Germany, demanded autonomy from central power and immutability of local private rights and privileges. In the Reichstag the Particularists, who represented the states with a predominantly Roman Catholic population, supported the Party of the Centre.

The *Poles*, *Danes* and *Alsatians* formed independent groups in the Reichstag. They also supported the Catholic Party of the Centre. Their presence in the Reichstag was accounted for by the existence in the German Empire of national minorities discontented with the policy of enforced Germanisation. It was pursued with particular ruthlessness by Bismarck in the Polish provinces annexed by Ger-

many in 1814-15 and in Alsace and Lorraine, which Germany received as a result of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. The Danish deputies in the Reichstag represented Schleswig and Holstein, annexed by Prussia in 1867. The Poles and the Alsatians were the most powerful among the national parliamentary groups.

The *men of Progress* were members of a Prussian bourgeois party founded in June 1861. The Party of Progress demanded Germany's unification under Prussian supremacy, the convocation of an all-Germany parliament and the establishment of a strong liberal ministry accountable to the Chamber of Deputies. In 1866, a Right wing split off from the Party of Progress, a section that capitulated before Bismarck and set up a National Liberal Party (see Note 15). The vacillations in the policies pursued by the Party of Progress mirrored the instability of the merchant bourgeoisie, small industrialists, and a section of the craftsmen, on whom it relied. In 1884, the Party of Progress united with the Left wing of the National Liberal Party that had split off from it to form the German Party of Free Thinkers (Deutsche Freisinnige Partei).— 182

257 At the Reichstag meeting of 9 January 1852, Bismarck was forced to admit that the working masses were distrustful of the government's attempts to improve their condition.— 183

258 This refers to the letters Leo Frankel (18 December 1881) and Walery Wróblewski (7 December 1881) sent to Marx on the occasion of his wife's death.

At the time, Frankel was detained in the prison in Vác (Austria-Hungary), where he was placed in June 1881 on the charge of breach of the press law.

By Wróblewski's 'Polish party' in Geneva Marx had in mind a group of Polish Marxist refugees with whom Wróblewski became close in the late 1870s.— 183

259 In July 1878, George Howell, a former member of the General Council of the International, published a libellous article, 'The History of the International Association', in *The Nineteenth Century* monthly review. The author calumniated the history of the First International and Marx's role in it. In August of the same year, Marx published an article called 'Mr. George Howell's History of the International Working-Men's Association' in *The Secular Chronicle, and Record of Freethought Progress*, Vol. X, No. 5 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 234-39).

In 1881, Howell stood for election to the House of Commons in Stafford but was voted down at the elections.— 185

260 Engels wrote this letter at two sittings, on 25 and 31 January 1882.

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.— 186

261 An allusion to the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 16).— 187

262 It has not been established which pamphlet of Hepner's is meant.— 188, 260

263 The new imperial judicial code came into force on 1 October 1879. Engels described it in his work *The Role of Force in History* (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 506-08).— 188

264 *Code Napoléon*— a system of bourgeois law incorporating five codes (civil, civil procedural, commercial, criminal, and criminal procedural) adopted under Napoleon in 1804-10.— 188

265 The *Federative Union* (full name, Union fédérative du Centre, the Federative Union of the Centre), one of the six associations constituting the French Workers' Party, had been formed by April 1880. An association of the party's organisations in Paris, it consisted of 80 groups. The Union's leadership was in the hands of the party's Right opportunist wing, the Possibilists — Brousse, Malon and Joffrin (editors of the *Prolétaire*). At the meetings of the Federative Union of the Centre on 17 and 24 January 1882, the *Égalité* editorial board and all party groups siding with the Guesdists were expelled from the Federative Union. Only 28 groups voted in favour, that is, slightly more than one-third of the groups making up the Federative Union (48 groups out of the 80 were present at the meetings mentioned above). After their expulsion from the Federative Union of the Centre, the Guesdists founded a revolutionary federation and called it the Federation of the Centre (Fédération du Centre).— 190, 332, 355, 388

266 The *Holy Alliance* — an association of European monarchs founded in September 1815 on the initiative of the Russian Tsar Alexander I and the Austrian Chancellor Metternich to suppress the revolutionary movement.— 191, 273

267 The national liberation movement for the unification of Italy ended in 1861 with the establishment of a single Italian state (only Rome, which was incorporated into the Italian state after the abolition of the Pope's secular authority in 1870, remained outside it at the time). The event paved the way for the expansion of the independent workers' movement.— 191

268 *Little Germany* — a plan for the unification of Germany under the Prussian aegis minus Austria.

Engels is referring here to the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, which gave birth to the North German Confederation (Norddeutscher Bund), a federative state formed in 1867 to replace the disintegrated German Confederation. The establishment of the North German Confederation was a major step towards the national unification of Germany. The Confederation ceased to exist in January 1871, when the German Empire was founded.— 191

269 By the Lassallean party Engels implies the General Association of German Workers, the first national German workers' organisation founded on 23 May 1863 at the congress of workers' associations in Leipzig. The main organisational documents and the programme were drawn up by Ferdinand Lassalle, who became the organisation's first president. The errors in Lassalle's propaganda strategy and in his tactics, as well as the anti-democratic structure of the Association gave rise to a strong opposition, the bulk of which joined the Eisenachers.

The *Eisenach Party* — the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany set up at the General Congress of German, Swiss and Austrian Social-Democrats held in Eisenach on 7-9 August 1869. The party programme declared support for the principles of the First International, although Lassallean ideas still wielded a considerable influence in it. At the Congress in Gotha in 1875, the Eisenachers and the Lassalleans formed a single party of the working class, which called itself the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany up to 1890.— 191, 342

270 The *Federal Diet* (Bundestag) — the central organ of the German Confederation set up by the Vienna Congress in 1815. It comprised representatives of the German states and sat in Frankfurt-am-Main under the chairmanship of the Austrian rep-

resentative. The Federal Diet ceased to exist together with the German Confederation at the time of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866.— 191

271 A reference to the constitution of 1860 (the so-called October diploma— Oktoberdiplom). It gave Hungary, which formed part of the Austrian monarchy, certain rights (the convocation of a Hungarian parliament, the use of the Hungarian language in administration, etc.) The crisis of the Austrian Empire and mounting popular discontent led to its transformation in 1867 into the dual Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Hungary was recognised as a sovereign part of the state. Political consolidation promoted the development of capitalism there. In 1868, the first workers' organisations emerged in the country, the Budapest Workers' Union and the General Workers' Union (subsequently the latter became the leading organisation of the socialist workers' movement).— 191

272 A reference to the events of 1873-75, when the Bismarck government tried to provoke a war with France. The Russian government resolutely sided with France. Thanks to the pressure being put on the German government by Russia, Austria and Britain, Bismarck's attempt failed.— 192

273 In January 1882, Bosnia and Herzegovina, which had been occupied by Austria in 1878 under the terms of the Berlin Congress, witnessed an uprising provoked by the Austro-Hungarian government's law of 1881 on military conscription to be introduced in the occupied territories. The uprising reached its peak in the first half of February 1882. The Tsarist government tried to use it to promote its own ends.— 192

274 This refers to the national liberation insurrection of 1863-64 in the Polish territories belonging to Tsarist Russia. The insurrection was suppressed by the Russian government.

The anonymous book, *Berlin und St. Petersburg. Preussische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Russisch-deutschen Beziehungen*, Leipzig, 1880, was the work of the German political writer Julius Eckardt. Appendix 2, to which Engels refers here, deals with the Polish insurrection of 1863-64.— 193

275 This refers, above all, to Walery Wróblewski and Jarosław Dombrowski. Wróblewski, appointed general, commanded one of the Commune's three armies. General Dombrowski, who first headed the defence operations at one of the key sectors of the front, later commanded the 1st Army of the Commune and in early May 1871 was appointed commander-in-chief of its armed forces.— 193

276 The reference is to the programme advanced in the days of the Cracow uprising (February 1846) by Dembowski, who voiced the interests of the peasantry and the urban poor (to give land to those who had none, radically to improve the workers' condition by setting up national, or 'social', workshops). The National Government formed in Cracow on 22 February issued a manifesto announcing the abolition of feudal duties and taxes. The Cracow uprising was suppressed early in March 1846. In November, Austria, Prussia and Russia signed a treaty on the annexation of the city to the Austrian empire.— 193

277 Engels is referring to the 'liberal course' proclaimed by William, Prince (King from 1861) of Prussia, in October 1858, when he assumed the regency. In actual fact, not one of the reforms expected by the bourgeoisie was carried out. William's

policy aimed at consolidating the Prussian monarchy and Junkerdom.—194, 208, 332, 415

278 In early February 1882, following medical advice, Marx took a trip to Algiers, where he stayed from 20 February to 2 May. On the way there, he stopped over in Argenteuil (a Paris suburb) to visit his daughter Jenny Longuet (9-16 February).—196, 199, 202, 203, 210, 369

279 In his letter to Engels of 1 February 1882, Johann Philipp Becker proposed setting up a new international workers' organisation along the lines of the International Working Men's Association.—196

280 Under the law proposed by the Minister of Justice Dufaure, and passed by the French National Assembly on 14 March 1872, membership of the International was punished by imprisonment.—196

281 The reference is to the situation that emerged after the assassination of Emperor Alexander II on 1 March 1881, when Alexander III sat it out in Gatchina (the Tsar's summer residence near St Petersburg) fearing fresh terrorist acts by the secret Executive Committee of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) organisation.—208

282 In the course of his visit to France in the winter of 1882, General Skobelev had a meeting with Serbian students in Paris (17 February) at which he talked about the need to emancipate the Slav peoples of Europe. As in his subsequent statements, which gave rise to a great deal of anxiety and commotion in Europe, Skobelev lashed out at Germany, describing a war with it as inevitable and urging a Russo-French alliance.—209

283 See present edition, Vol. 35, Chapter Three, 'Money, or the Circulation of Commodities'.—210

284 The Editors are not in possession of this letter (telegram, note).—212, 213, 216, 221, 225, 228, 245, 251, 259, 262, 283, 311, 315, 317, 337, 338, 358, 379, 393, 394, 458, 459

285 In a letter of 24 February 1882, Jenny Longuet wrote to Marx that her sister Eleanor had turned down Prosper Lissagaray's proposal of marriage.—219

286 This letter was first published in Russian among Marx's 16 letters from the Longuet family archive by the magazine *Nachalo* (Beginning), No. 5, 1899. Its translation into German was printed by the *Neue Deutsche Rundschau*, Vol. 2 (October 1899). The Editors are not in possession of the original letter. It was published in English for the first time in an abridged form in: *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—220

287 This refers to Carl Hirsch's article 'Le Socialisme en Allemagne' in Volume 15 of *La Nouvelle Revue* (founded by Juliette Adam), March-April 1882, and signed 'Un socialiste allemand'.—225, 230

288 On 25 March 1882, Engels' niece Mary Ellen Rosher gave birth to a daughter, Lilian.—228, 234

289 Marx has in mind the 'iron law of wages', which Lassalle tried to substantiate by

reference to scientific authorities in his pamphlet *Offnes Antwortschreiben an das Central-Comité zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitercongresses zu Leipzig*, Zurich, 1863, pp. 15-16.

For Marx's and Engels' criticism of the Lassallean law, see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 69.

By Ricardo's and Turgot's statements on the law of minimum wages, Marx means Ricardo's *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, 3rd ed., London, 1821, pp. 73-499, and Turgot's *Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses* (1766) in *Œuvres de Turgot*, new ed., by E. Daire, Vol. 1, Paris, 1844, p. 10. Marx's critique of Ricardo's and Turgot's ideas on this issue is contained, in particular, in *Theories of Surplus Value* (Volume Four of *Capital*) (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 362-67, and Vol. 32, pp. 35-54).—230, 324

290 In the extant English original, the last paragraph is missing. In this edition, it is retranslated from the Russian publication in *Nachalo*, No. 5, 1899.—233

291 On Marx's relations with Hyndman see Marx's letter to Hyndman of 2 July 1881 (this volume, pp. 102-03).—234

292 An ironic reference to the sycophantic statements by the German poets Friedrich Bodenstedt and Friedrich Theodor Vischer, a Hegelian, author of a four-volume work on aesthetics. Comparing them to Horace and Virgil, Marx is alluding to the fact that those Roman poets wrote panegyrics and odes to Emperor Augustus (Octavianus).—235

293 The reference is to the proofs of the Russian translation of Marx's and Engels' preface to the second Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, a project initiated by Georgi Plekhanov, who had also done the translation. The request for the preface was made through Pyotr Lavrov. Marx and Engels wrote it on 21 January 1882, and despatched it to Lavrov on 23 January. It appeared for the first time in the magazine *Narodnaya Volya* on 5 February. The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* with this preface appeared in print in 1882 in Geneva in the *Russian Socio-Revolutionary Library* series.

Engels failed to obtain the German original of the preface from Lavrov, as the latter had left it among his papers in Paris (at the time, Lavrov was expelled from Paris on the insistence of the Russian government, and moved to London). Lavrov did not send Engels a copy of the German original until about 17 April, but earlier, on 13 April, *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 16, featured the preface in translation from the Russian text printed by *Narodnaya Volya*. Engels did not like the translation (see this volume, p. 244). The German original of the preface was published in *MEGA* I/25, pp. 295-96.—235

294 Engels replies to Berthold Sparr's letter of 12 April 1882.—236

295 6 Rose Street, Soho Square, London, W. was the address of the Social-Democratic Workers' Club, which in the 1880s had a German and an English section. The German section was the first branch of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 8) and had close contacts with *Die Freiheit*, Most's newspaper.—236

296 Engels is referring to *Die Freiheit*'s propaganda campaign against the policies and tactics of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany and the stand taken by the So-

cial-Democratic deputies in the German Reichstag. On the eve of the Reichstag elections of 1881, Most urged his followers in Germany to do their best to prevent Bebel's and Liebknecht's election to the Reichstag (for criticism of Most's and *Die Freiheit*'s position, see this volume, p. 7).—236

297 The reference is to the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 8), which in the 1880s had its offices at 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, London, W.—236, 330

298 Laura Lafargue visited Eastbourne during Marx's and his wife's stay there between late June and 20 July 1881.—238

299 *L'Union Nationale*, a French insurance company where Paul Lafargue was employed at the time.—240

300 This refers to the sequel to Paul Lafargue's article 'Движеніе поземельной собственности во Франціи' ('The Movement of Land Property in France'). It was published in full in Russian in the *Ustoi* (Principles) magazine, Nos. 3-4 and 6, 1882.—240

301 The reference is to Charles V's abortive campaign of 1541 in Algeria (which at the time formed part of the Ottoman Empire) under the pretext of suppressing the pirates who had made it their base. Having suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Turkish troops near the town of Algiers, the Spanish troops were driven from the country's other strongholds.—241

302 Engels learned about this from Lavrov's note of 6 April 1882.—244

303 In early April 1882, the Social-Democratic deputy Bruno Geiser received a provocative anonymous letter from New York about preparations for an insurrection in Germany. Geiser informed the police about the letter and made a statement to the effect that the German Social-Democrats had never aimed at a revolution. The leader 'Bekennt Farbe!' in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 16, 13 April 1882, sharply criticised Geiser's statement and contained a reminder that the party was indeed trying to bring forward a revolution in Germany.—244

304 Probably a reference to one of Marx's visits to his uncle Lion Philips in Zalt-Bommel (Holland). Marx visited him between 28 February and 16 March 1861, late August-early September 1862, 21 December 1863-19 February 1864 and 19 March-8 April 1865.—246

305 On 20 April 1882, the *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 109, carried a report marked 'Konstantinopel' which exposed the machinations of Baron Moritz Hirsch, a notorious Austrian railway speculator to whom Turkey had granted a railway concession.—247

306 An allusion to the poetic efforts of King Ludwig I of Bavaria, whose trivial verses, later completely forgotten, diverged from proper German grammar and provoked a great deal of ridicule.—249

307 The Editors do not have Darwin's letter to Marx; Longuet mentioned it in Darwin's obituary carried by *La Justice* and reprinted by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 18, 27 April 1882 (the note 'Darwin').—251

308 The mounting discontent of the Irish people forced Gladstone's government to

make certain concessions, notably to repeal the emergency measures introduced in 1881 (see Note 123). On 2 May 1882, the leaders of the Irish national movement were released from prison. The Viceroy of Ireland Francis Thomas Cowper and Secretary for Ireland William Forster, both advocates of emergency measures, resigned.—251

309 Engels alludes to the numerous terrorist acts in Ireland in 1882 provoked by the intolerable position of the tenants there: twice as many landlords, their agents, British government officials, and others were assassinated as compared with the previous years.—252

310 Having left Algiers on 2 May 1882 on his doctor's advice, Marx travelled to Monte Carlo via Marseilles and Nice, and lived there for a month, up to 3 June.—252, 253, 369

311 Engels stopped over in Genoa on 5-6 October 1849 on his way from Switzerland (he had emigrated there after the defeat of the Baden-Palatinate uprising) to England. He had to travel via Italy since he was liable to be arrested if he entered Germany or France.—253

312 The newly appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland, Lord Cavendish, and the deputy of the previous secretary, Thomas Henry Burke, were assassinated on 6 May 1882 in Phoenix Park, Dublin, by members of the terrorist organisation called The Invincible, which included former Fenians (the Fenians were a secret Irish revolutionary, or republican, brotherhood, which fought for Irish independence and the establishment of an Irish republic in the 1850s-60s). Marx and Engels disapproved of the terrorist and anarchist tactics of the Fenians' epigones (see this volume, p. 247).—254, 286

313 In the manuscript the letter is dated 10 March. This is a slip of the pen, since Engels is replying here to the question Eduard Bernstein asked about Mary-Isis in his letter of 4 May.—256

314 The reference is to the exchange of opinions between Engels and Bernstein concerning Engels' article 'Bruno Bauer and Early Christianity' written in the second half of April 1882. It was published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, 4 and 11 May.—256

315 See present edition, Vol. 35, Chapter III.—257

316 In his letter to Engels of 4 October 1882, Bernstein made inquiries about the Zurich businessman Louis Bamberger, who had claimed he knew Marx, Engels and Freiligrath.—258

317 Engels is referring to Bebel's letter to Marx of 12 December 1881 in which he offered Marx his condolences on the death of his wife, Jenny. He also wrote about the difficulties being encountered by *Der Sozialdemokrat* and the results of the Reichstag elections of 1881, in which the Social-Democrats had done quite well.—259

318 Engels is referring to the materials carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nos. 4, 5 and 9 on 19, 26 January and 23 February 1882. They gave a rebuff to Ernst Breuel's two open letters (Nos. 4 and 9, 19 January and 23 February) in which he accused the editors of bias, anarchist leanings, etc., in connection with their criticism of Wilhelm Hasenclever's and Wilhelm Blos' opportunist stand (see Note 240).—259

319 The *Echternach procession*—an annual festival held on Trinity Sunday ever since the

Middle Ages in the town of Echternach (Luxembourg) as a token of gratitude for the subsidence of the St Vitus' dance, epidemic that raged there in 1374. The members of the procession do not just move forward but make more complicated forward and backward steps.—262

320 The German playwright and literary critic Amadeus Gottfried Adolf Müllner gave pride of place in his plays to fate and predestination. Necessary romantic attributes of the so-called tragedies of fate were unlucky days, ill omens, fatal weapons, etc.; the plot usually had a tragic end.—263

321 Presumably this refers to Engels' letter received by Marx before 20 May 1882.—266

322 Here and below, Marx ironically alludes to Offenbach's comic opera *The Duchess of Gerolstein*; in the latter half of the 19th century, the leading part in it was played by the famous French actress and singer Hortense Schneider.—268

323 On his way from Monte Carlo to Argenteuil Marx stopped over in Cannes between 3 and 5 June 1882.—272

324 Garibaldi died on 2 June 1882 of bronchial catarrh.—274

325 A joking allusion to the Old Testament dictums about dust being the serpent's meat (Genesis 3:14, and Isaiah 65:25), as well as to Darwin's book *The Formation of Vegetable Mould, through the Action of Worms, with Observations on Their Habits*, London, 1881. According to Darwin, worms help in the formation of humus by digging up the earth and passing it through their bowels.—274

326 An ironic allusion to Adolph von Knigge's work *Ueber den Umgang mit Menschen* (Hanover, 1804) laying down the rules of human behaviour in contacts with other people. Knigge's opus abounded in superficial discourse and truisms.—274

327 Between 6 June and 22 August, Marx stayed with his daughter Jenny Longuet in Argenteuil.—275, 305, 369

328 After more than nine years of emigration in London Paul Lafargue returned to Paris in early April 1882.—275, 276

329 This meeting held by the Democratic Federation (see Note 158) on 11 June 1882, in which about 40,000 people took part, was in protest at the introduction of new Coercion Bills in Ireland (see Note 123).—276

330 The letter was published in English for the first time in the magazine *Science and Society*, Vol. II, No. 2, New York, 1938 (the first paragraph of the letter was omitted).—278

331 In a letter of 5 May 1882, Sorge asked Engels to pay for his subscription to several newspapers (promising to send him the money later) and to look through the English translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* which Engels had received previously and which Sorge intended to publish in the United States. He also asked Engels for a preface or an afterword for this publication.—278

332 Engels ironically compares the opportunist-minded Social-Democratic deputies in the Reichstag with the bourgeois constitutionalists at the time of the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, whom democratic republicans had nicknamed 'wailers' ('Heuler').—279

[333] This article outlined the programme of the opportunist trend in the German Social-Democratic Party after the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany in October 1878. Marx and Engels subjected the article to a detailed analysis and crushing critique in their 'Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and Others', III. The Manifesto of the Zurich Trio (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 262-69).—280

[334] The *Brimstone Gang* (Schwefelbande)—the name of a students' association at Jena University in the 1770s, whose members were notorious for their brawls. Subsequently, the phrase became widespread. In 1849-50, a group of German petty-bourgeois refugees in Geneva were known by this name. In 1859, the Bonapartist agent Karl Vogt slanderously linked the activities of this 'Brimstone gang' with Marx and his followers. Marx dealt with the matter in his pamphlet *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 28-37).—281

[335] The event described by Engels took place during the Baden-Palatinate uprising in May-July 1849, in which he was involved (see his work 'The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution', present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 149-239).—281

[336] The first article which appeared in *Der Sozialdemokrat* under Engels' name was the obituary 'Jenny Marx, née von Westphalen' (No. 50, 8 December 1881; see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 422-24). But he considered his first official contribution to the newspaper to be the article 'Bruno Bauer and Early Christianity' (No. 19, 4 May 1882).—283

[337] The reference is to the Congress of the Federative Union of the Centre held on 14-21 May 1882 in Paris, which confirmed the decisions to expel the editors of *L'Égalité* passed by the meetings of the Federative Union of the Centre held on 17 and 24 January (see Note 265). The note entitled 'Frankreich' in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 23, 1 June 1882 denounced the congress decision on the expulsion of the *Égalité* group. The passage mentioned in this letter appeared, in translation, in *L'Égalité*, No. 27, 3rd series, 11 June 1882. The Editors do not have the issue of the *Prolétaire* with the reply to this.—283, 341

[338] Adolf Hepner, a German Social-Democrat who had emigrated to the United States, wrote to Engels on 3 May 1882 asking for permission to reprint Marx's and Engels' works in the USA. (For Engels' reply to Hepner on his own and Marx's behalf, see this volume, pp. 294-95).—284

[339] On 18 May 1882, *Der Sozialdemokrat* (No. 21) featured a leader 'Die Situation in Irland' written by Bernstein under the pen-name Leo. Engels considered it necessary to explain his stand in a letter to Bernstein. The latter passed it on to Liebknecht, who included a major part of it, without the author's permission and with editorial comments, in the article 'Zur irischen Frage' printed by *Der Sozialdemokrat* No. 29 on 13 July 1882. Liebknecht supplied the letter with a polemical conclusion and the following editorial introduction: 'A friend of Ireland, familiar with the country and the people as few people are, writes to us from London about his disagreement on individual points with the opinion set forth in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 21.' Engels voiced his protest at the unauthorised publication in a letter to Bernstein of 9 August 1882 (see this volume, pp. 300-01).

Part of the original has been lost, which is why the letter is printed according to

*Der Sozialdemokrat* and partly to the extant original manuscript. The letter was published in English for the first time, in part, in: Marx and Engels, *On Colonialism*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959.—285, 301

340 *Ribbonmen*—participants in the peasant movement that arose in Northern Ireland in the late 18th century. They were united in secret groups, whose emblem was a strip of green cloth.

*Whiteboys*—participants in the Irish peasant movement, which in the 1760s grew into a large-scale rebellion against the rule of English landlords. To make themselves unrecognisable, these men, who usually acted at night, painted their faces black and wore white shirts. In the 19th century, many of their societies merged with those of the Ribbonmen, but some continued to operate under their old name up to the end of the century.

*Captain Rock*—the name of the members of the various secret peasant societies that emerged and operated in Ireland between the second half of the 18th and the mid-19th century.

*Captain Moonlight*—the usual signature under warnings sent by the Ribbonmen's secret society to landlords.—285

341 *Catholic Emancipation*—the abolition of restrictions on the political rights of Catholics in Ireland by the British Parliament in 1829 as a result of a mass movement. Catholics were granted the right to stand for election to Parliament and to hold certain government offices. Simultaneously, the property qualification was raised fivefold. The British ruling classes hoped this manoeuvre would bring the élite of the Irish bourgeoisie and Catholic landowners over to their side and cause a split in the Irish national movement.—286

342 A reference to the conflict between the USA and Great Britain caused by the latter's aid to the Southern states during the American Civil War of 1861-65. The British government built and equipped warships for the Southerners, which greatly undermined the Northerners' trade by their actions. Among the vessels was the *Alabama*, a privateering ship that sank 70 Northerners' vessels. After the war, the US government demanded that the British government make full reparations for the damage inflicted by the *Alabama* and other privateering vessels to the property of American citizens. Under the decision of an arbitration court passed in Geneva on 14 September 1872, Britain was to pay $15.5 mln to the United States, which it indeed did.—287

343 An allusion to the weekly newspaper *Die Freiheit* published in London by Johann Most, a German anarchist refugee, and edited by Karl Schneidt. The newspaper was obsessed with ultra-revolutionary rhetoric and notorious for its rude attacks against the policies and tactics of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany and its activists.—289

344 The reference is to the events that occurred at the congress of the Federative Union of the Centre held on 14-21 May 1882 (see Note 337).

On the *National Committee*, see Note 250.—289

345 The *Wyden Conference* of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (August 1880) instructed the party leadership to set up a communication office that would establish and maintain contacts with the German Social-Democrats and the socialist parties and organisations in other countries.—290

[346] This refers to Franz Mehring's article in the bourgeois newspaper *Weser-Zeitung* of 2 July 1882. An opponent of the Social-Democratic movement at the time, Mehring lashed out against *Der Sozialdemokrat*. He referred to Marx's and Engels' disagreement with the editorial board and stressed the paper's 'lack of tact', for which, he alleged, German workers were being constantly persecuted. By way of conclusion, Mehring promised further exposures of the newspaper. He also wrote about Marx's poor health and predicted he might be unable to complete his work on *Capital*. The *Sozialdemokrat*'s editors used the advice by Engels given here in an article against Mehring written in quite harsh terms and printed under the heading 'In eigener Sache' in No. 31, 27 July 1882.—291, 299, 301, 377

[347] Engels is referring to his article 'Bruno Bauer and Early Christianity' published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nos. 19 and 20 on 4 and 11 May 1882 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 427-35).—292

[348] In a letter of 11 May 1882, Kautsky asked for Engels' opinion on the future of the colonies, notably those in Asia, after the victory of the European proletariat. Kautsky's second letter on this subject is dated 31 May 1882.—292

[349] This letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895*. A Selection, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—293, 466

[350] In his letter of 3 May 1882, Adolf Hepner, a German Social-Democrat who had emigrated to the United States, asked Engels for permission to publish his and Marx's works in the *Arbeiter-Library* series.—293

[351] A reference to Johann Most's pamphlet *Kapital und Arbeit. Ein populärer Auszug aus 'Das Kapital' von Karl Marx*. 2nd edition, Chemnitz [1876]. The first edition appeared in Chemnitz in 1873. On Liebknecht's request, Marx, with Engels' help, made changes in and additions to the second edition. For Marx's appraisal of this publication, see Engels' letter to Philip Van Patten of 18 April 1883, present edition, Vol. 47.—294

[352] A reference to the second Russian edition of Marx's and Engels' *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (see Note 293).—295

[353] The growth of the Egyptian national movement in the early 1880s (see Note 355) led to a provisional alliance between Britain and France. On the eve of the conflict with Egypt provoked by Britain in July 1882, there were differences of opinion among French politicians: the former Prime Minister Gambetta and Freycinet, who replaced him in January 1882 (see Note 356), favoured intervention. The radical leader Clemenceau, who sought revenge on Germany, opposed the idea of an invasion, insisting that it would further aggravate the Anglo-French contradictions and thus consolidate the position of Germany.—296

[354] *Engadine*—a Swiss mountain watering place famous for its extremely healthy climate.—297

[355] In 1879-82, Egypt witnessed an upsurge of the national liberation movement against British and French capital which had established direct financial control over the country (in 1878, representatives of Britain and France were made ministers of the Egyptian government and given the right of veto). The insurrection of the Cairo garrison forced the Khedive of Egypt (see Note 362) to issue a constitu-

tion in September 1881. In December, Egypt acquired a parliament led by the National Party which had been founded that same year and represented a bloc of liberal landowners and merchants with the patriotically minded officers and intellectuals supported by the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie. The National Party set the country's independence as its target ('Egypt for Egyptians'). However, in the summer of 1882, having provoked a conflict with Egypt, Britain opened hostilities, which, despite the resistance of the Egyptian troops headed by Colonel Arabi, ended in a British victory. In September, they captured Cairo, and Egypt became their colony to all intents and purposes.

The public meetings of protest against the British aggression and the bombardment of Alexandria mentioned by Marx were organised in Paris by the Federation of the Centre (see Note 230) in late July 1882 with the participation of the *Citoyen* editors Henri Brissac, Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue. The Guesdists' resolution on Egypt hailed Arabi Pasha and the National Party as worthy of the great mission they had assumed.—298, 301, 313, 317, 319, 323, 335

356 Freycinet agreed to cooperation with Britain only in the Suez Canal zone. His proposal was turned down by the Chamber of Deputies on 29 July 1882, and his cabinet resigned.—298

357 Marx is referring to the Quadruple Alliance, the convention of the four powers, Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia, signed on 15 July 1840 in London. Its objective was to render military aid to the Sultan of Turkey against the Egyptian ruler Mohammed Ali to settle the Egyptian crisis of 1839-41, which arose from the rivalry of the European powers over hegemony in Egypt and the Middle East.—298

358 Engels is referring to Johann Philipp Becker's letter of 2 August 1882, in reply to his own letter of 10 February 1882 (see this volume, pp. 196-98).—300

359 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *On Colonialism*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959.—300

360 The reference is to the French edition of Engels' work *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (see Note 20) and the plans for a German edition. Bernstein wrote to Engels about the need for such an edition on 7 July 1882 (see Note 378) and asked for a short afterword on Bismarck's state socialism.—300, 336

361 *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 32, 3 August 1882, published the article 'Die Socialdemokratie und die egyptische Frage', which approved of the resolution passed by the meeting convened in Paris by the Guesdists. They protested against the bombardment of Alexandria by the British and hailed Arabi Pasha and the National Party.—301

362 *Khedive*—the title (1867-1914) of the viceroy of Egypt.—302

363 *Fellah*—a peasant or agricultural labourer in Egypt. The fellaheen constituted the lowest exploited class of the rural population.—302

364 The contribution Engels had promised for the feuilleton was the old English folk song 'The Vicar of Bray', which he translated into German in early September 1882; the translation, with Engels' comments on the political significance it had for Germany, was published under his name by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 37, 7 September 1882 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 436-38).—302

365 On 16 September 1882, Jenny Longuet gave birth to a daughter named Jenny after her grandmother.—303, 309, 329, 331, 372

[366] Engels spent his holiday in Great Yarmouth on the east coast of England from 11 August to 8 September 1882.—305, 306

[367] Engels terminated his employment at the Manchester trade firm on 1 July 1869 and moved to London on 20 September 1870.—306

[368] On 2 August 1882 Paul Brousse, S. Deynaud, Victor Marouck and Louis Mouttet resigned from the *Bataille* editorial board. The reason they gave for their split with its editor-in-chief Prosper Lissagaray was secretary J. Labusquière's announcement that he was resigning from the paper because Lissagaray was restricting his initiative, controlling his actions and keeping a check on the contributions of the above-mentioned editors, Labusquière's friends.—309

[369] Marx and his daughter Laura stayed in Lausanne from 23 to 27 August 1882.—310

[370] Marx stayed in Argenteuil between 26 July and 16 August 1881 and 9 and 16 February 1882.—310

[371] On 2 August 1882, the Belgian socialist César De Paepe, suspecting Arthur Duverger, secretary of the magazine *L'Europe*, where he himself was also employed at the time, of having an affair with his wife, gravely wounded him. The jury acquitted De Paepe.—312

[372] This refers to the speech made on 23 August 1882 by Carl Wilhelm Siemens, President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at the Association's 52nd congress in Southampton. It was published in *Nature*, No. 669, 24 August 1882.

The *British Association for the Advancement of Science* was founded in 1831 and still exists; the materials of its annual meetings are published as reports.—314, 384

[373] Engels lived in Switzerland (Geneva, Lausanne, Neuchâtel and Berne) from the second half of October 1848 to mid-January 1849 and from 12 July to early October 1849. In 1849, he also visited Vevey (Canton Vaud), where he stayed from 24 July to about 20 August.—314, 329

[374] Marx and his daughter Laura Lafargue stayed in Vevey (Canton Vaud, Switzerland) from 27 August to 25 September 1882.—315, 317, 334, 335, 369

[375] A reference to the ceremonies held in Rome and throughout Italy on 11 June 1882 to commemorate Giuseppe Garibaldi, who died on 2 June.—317

[376] The international congress attended by representatives of Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy and Turkey and chaired by Bismarck was held in Berlin between 13 June and 13 July 1878. The congress ended with the signing of the Berlin Treaty revising the terms of the San Stefano preliminary treaty of 1878 that terminated the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 to the detriment of Russia and the Slav peoples of the Balkans. The territory of self-governing Bulgaria defined by the San Stefano Treaty was more than halved; the Bulgarian districts south of the Balkans were to form an autonomous province called Eastern Rumelia and remain under the Sultan; and the territory of Montenegro was significantly curtailed. The Berlin Treaty confirmed the article of the San Stefano Treaty that returned to Russia the part of Bessarabia lost in 1856 but it also sanctioned the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary.—319, 471, 472

377 In a letter of 11 May 1882 Kautsky asked Engels to give his opinion of the future of the colonies in Asia after the victory of the European proletariat. As for Kautsky himself, he asserted that the British proletariat and India would both benefit if India remained under Britain.—321

378 A reference to the preparation of the German edition of Engels' work *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (see Note 360). As he had promised, Engels prepared the German text by making additions to and changes in it, and wrote a preface (present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 457-59). He also supplemented it by his essay 'The Mark' (ibid., pp. 439-56) on the emergence and development of landed property in Germany. The work was finished in September 1882, and the pamphlet was printed in Hottingen-Zurich at the end of the year and was on sale in early 1883 under the title *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft*.—324, 331, 344, 352, 353, 358, 369, 390, 395, 416, 433, 454

379 The plan for a series of articles or a pamphlet about Bismarck and Lassalle was not carried out by Engels.—324

380 Engels touches here on the Lassallean tenet about 'a fair distribution of the proceeds of labour', which found expression in the Gotha Programme. Marx analysed it in his work *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 83-88).—324

381 This refers to the merger of the two German workers' parties, the Eisenachers and the Lassalleans (see Note 269), which took place at the Gotha Unity Congress held between 22 and 27 May 1875.—324, 343

382 At the 29 May meeting of the Gotha Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (27-29 May 1877), Johann Most proposed that the party's central printed organ should no longer feature articles like Engels' pieces criticising Dühring. He was supported by Carl Julius Vahlteich. August Bebel suggested a compromise: *Vorwärts* was to terminate publication of Engels' articles against Dühring, which were to appear as a separate pamphlet put out by *Vorwärts* publishers. Wilhelm Liebknecht resolutely opposed Most's and Vahlteich's proposal, reminding the audience that the decision to have Engels' works published had been passed by the previous congress, that, in significance, they were second only to Marx's *Capital*, and that they were essential to promote the interests of the party. Liebknecht made an amendment to Bebel's proposal: to publish such articles in the *Vorwärts* theoretical supplement or in *Die Zukunft* magazine, or as separate pamphlets. The congress approved Bebel's proposal with Liebknecht's amendment. Parts II and III of *Anti-Dühring* were published in the supplement to the *Vorwärts*.—325

383 A reference to two articles by Georg Heinrich Vollmar published anonymously in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nos. 34 and 35, 17 and 24 August 1882 under the heading 'Aufhebung des Ausnahmegesetzes?'. In the same year, they appeared in Hottingen-Zurich as a separate pamphlet entitled *Aufhebung des Sozialistengesetzes? Ein Wort zur Taktik der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (signed 'Surtur').—325, 332, 336, 349, 352, 357

384 Engels is referring to his translation of the English song 'The Vicar of Bray' (see Note 364), sung to a folk tune.—326, 331

385 *Kabyles*, a branch of the great Berber people living in Northern Algeria.—327

386 On 15 September 1882, *La Bataille* and *Le Citoyen* carried notices of Bebel's death. On 16 September, the *Journal de Genève* reported that Bebel died in Zwickau.—328

387 Engels did not carry this plan through.—332

388 Marx and Engels repeatedly wrote about taxation in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49 (see, e. g., 'No More Taxes!!!', 'Appeal', 'The Trial of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats', present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 36, 41 and 323-39). In 1850, Marx took up the issue of taxes in his work *The Class Struggles in France. 1848 to 1850*; it was also dealt with in Marx's and Engels' 'Address of the Central Authority to the League, March 1850' and some other works (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 45-145, 277-87).—332

389 An allusion to the notices of Marx's death printed by some German bourgeois papers in late 1881.—335

390 See also Note 346.—335

391 An allusion to the Biblical legend about the Jews' flight from Egyptian captivity.

In 1875, assisted by the Rothschild banking house in Britain and in France (Erlanger was the Rothschilds' representative in Egypt), the British Prime Minister Disraeli bought for the British government the Suez Canal shares belonging to the Egyptian Khedive.—337

392 On his way back from Switzerland to London, from 28 September to the first days of October Marx stayed with his daughter Jenny Longuet in Argenteuil, whence he made several trips to Paris.—337

393 In a letter to Engels of 28 September 1882, Laura Lafargue wrote that on 26 September, on their way from Vevey to France, she and Marx had met Johann Philipp Becker in Geneva. Bad weather drove them away the next day.—337

394 The reference is to the two congresses of French socialists held simultaneously in the autumn of 1882: that of the Possibilists in St-Étienne and that of the Guesdists (Marxists) in Roanne.

At the regular Congress of the French Workers' Party convened in St-Étienne on 25 September 1882, a split took place. The Marxist (Guesdist) deputies left the Congress and assembled in Roanne on 26 September, declaring themselves the Sixth Congress of the French Workers' Party. The Possibilists, who stayed in St-Étienne, rejected, both formally and essentially, the programme drawn up with Marx's participation and approved at the Congress in Le Havre in November 1880 (see Note 68), and granted the districts the right to produce their own election manifestos. In Engels' words, in the programme, approved by the St-Étienne Congress after a revision of its preamble, its 'proletarian class character has been eliminated' (see this volume, pp. 341-42). The congress expelled from the party the leaders and activists of its Marxist wing: Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, Émile Massard, Gabriel Deville, Fréjac and Gustave Bazin, and approved a new name for the party, Fédération française des travailleurs socialistes révolutionnaires.

The Marxist congress in Roanne, which sat up to 1 October, confirmed its commitment to the Marxist programme and retained the old name, the French Workers' Party. It had its stronghold among workers in the major industrial centres and certain groups of the Paris proletariat, mainly at big factories. The Possi-

bilists were followed by Parisian artisans, as well as by workers in the south (Marseilles) and west (Brittany), who were still under the influence of petty-bourgeois ideas.—339, 341, 350, 361, 406, 408

395 Marx paraphrases the beginning of a saying popular in the early Middle Ages in the European countries: 'The devil was sick, the devil a monk would be; the devil was well, the devil a monk was he'.—339

396 *Radicals* (the 1880s and 1890s)—a French parliamentary group that had split off from the bourgeois party of moderate republicans ('opportunists'). Their leader was Clemenceau. The radicals put forward a bourgeois-democratic programme virtually abandoned by the 'parent' party: abolition of the Senate, separation of the Church from the state, introduction of progressive income taxes. In order to win voters over to its side, the group also demanded shorter working hours, disability pensions, and some other social and economic steps.—342

397 An allusion to Vollmar's second article, 'Aufhebung des Ausnahmegesetzes?' (see Note 383).—342

398 It has not been established just what material Engels enclosed with the letter. It may be the article 'Aus Frankreich' featured by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 45, 2 November 1882.—344

399 *Coup de Jarnac*—a treacherous blow. The expression originated with the name of one of the fighters in a duel that took place on 10 July 1547, Guy Chabot de Jarnac, who dealt his adversary a cunningly aimed surprise blow, which proved lethal.—344

400 The reference is to the challenge to a duel sent by Prosper Lissagaray to Paul Lafargue; likening Lissagaray to the French politician and journalist Paul Adolph Granier de Cassagnac, Engels is ironically hinting at Cassagnac's scandalous press publications, which led to a number of duels and trials for libel.—345

401 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in *The Labour Monthly*, London, 1933, Vol. 15, No. 9.—346

402 In August 1882, during a miners' strike at Montceau-les-Mines the anarchists staged a number of provocations, laying the blame on the strikers. The arrested men were brought to court in October.—347, 406

403 A reference to the first Factory Act passed by the Swiss government on 23 March 1877, which came into force on 1 March 1878 as the Union Law on the Labour Conditions at Factories (das Bundesgesetz betreffend die Arbeit in den Fabriken).—347, 364, 373

404 *Ringleader* (Haupt-Chef)—at the Cologne Communist trial in 1852, a Prussian police official, Stieber, thus called agent provocateur Cherval, seeking to ascribe to him the leading role in the Communist League and create an impression that he had contacts with Marx and the accused in the trial (see Marx's pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 407-19).—347

405 Liebknecht was in prison from 15 October 1882; Bebel received a jail sentence to begin on 1 November 1882 and served it in the Leipzig prison until 9 March 1883.—348, 350, 453

[406] According to the Bible, during the Jews' flight from Egyptian captivity, the weak-spirited among them, driven by hunger and privation, began to yearn for the days spent in captivity, when they were at least well fed.—349

[407] Engels is referring to August Bebel's article 'Aufhebung des Sozialistengesetzes?' in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 42, 12 October 1882, directed against two Vollmar's articles printed in *Der Sozialdemokrat* and as a separate pamphlet (see Note 383). Bebel's critique was spearheaded mostly against Vollmar's second article, in which the author advocated putsch tactics and a secret organisation of the party. Bebel denounced these tactics as unacceptable and even fatal for the party. In a letter to Engels of 1 October 1882, he explained that the imprudent language and tone of the articles like those by Vollmar could well entail unnecessary losses in the party.—349, 357

[408] Lassalle's tenet that, with respect to the proletariat, all the other classes were 'one reactionary mass' was incorporated in the programme of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany approved at the Gotha Congress (see Note 381). For a criticism of this tenet, see Marx's work 'Critique of the Gotha Programme' (present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 88-89). In this letter, Engels uses the phrase 'single reactionary mass'.—349, 357

[409] After Bebel's critique of Vollmar's articles published as a separate pamphlet under the pen-name 'Surtur' (see Note 383), the Right-wing Social Democrat Louis Viereck stated in his newspaper *Süddeutsche Post* that the pamphlet did not express the opinion of the party. *Der Sozialdemokrat* (No. 44, 26 October 1882) protested at Viereck's statement, stressing that the articles comprising the pamphlet were written by a party member and originally published by the party's printed organ.—350

[410] Léon Picard's article mentioned here appeared in *Le Citoyen* on 3 September 1882 under the heading 'L'affaire de la rue Saint-Marc'. Chauvinistic in spirit, it was disclaimed by the editorial board. The article set the German refugees against the Guesdists (for details, see Engels' letter to Bernstein of 4 November 1882, this volume, pp. 359-60).—352, 354, 360

[411] Marx stayed in the south of England in Ventnor (the Isle of Wight) between 30 October 1882 and 13 January 1883.—353, 363, 368, 406, 419, 429, 430

[412] The Cuban revolutionaries General Antonio Maceo and two of his fellow-officers arrested by the Spanish government escaped from prison in Cadiz in August 1882 and sought political asylum in the Gibraltar fortress on British territory. On 20 August they arrived at the fortress but were instantly arrested and handed over to the Spanish police. At the House of Commons sittings of 31 October and 7 November, members of Gladstone's Liberal government (Ashley, Charles Dilke et al.) attempted to justify the Gibraltar authorities. At the same time, they denied that the government in London had anything to do with the matter.—353, 365, 373

[413] Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *On Scientific Communism*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967.—353

[414] Engels planned to write a pamphlet about Bismarck and Lassalle (see this volume, pp. 324-25, 433).—353, 359

[415] The *Rosetta Stone*, a basalt slab found in Egypt near the town of Rosetta by an of-

ficer of Napoleon's expeditionary corps in August 1799. It had a text carved out on it in the Egyptian hieroglyphic, Egyptian demotic and Greek languages. In 1822, the hieroglyphic text was deciphered by the French scholar J. F. Champollion. The slab is kept at the British Museum in London.—354

416 The reference is to the conflict between Guesde's followers and anarchist Godard, whom they accused of taking a bribe from the French gas company. In a letter to Engels that has not survived, Bernstein probably voiced his disapproval of the Guesdists' stand in the Godard affair.

On the comparative prestige of the parties that were formed after the split of the French Workers' Party at the St-Étienne Congress, see Engels' letter to Bernstein of 28 November 1882 (this volume, pp. 386-90) in which Engels used the information contained in Lafargue's letter of 24 November.—355, 383, 389

417 Engels uses the old battle cry, 'Hie Welf, Hie Waibling!', of the two rival medieval political parties, of which one supported the Welf, and the other, the Hohenstaufen (or Waibling, from the name of their family residence and the town), dynasty. The cry sounded for the first time, or so the legend has it, during the battle at Weinsberg in 1140. Later, at the time of the struggle between the Popes and the German emperors in Italy in the 12th-15th centuries, the rivalry was between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines (the German names changed Italian-fashion).—357

418 The *Wyden Conference*—the first congress of the German Social Democrats after the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 16) held on 20-23 August 1880 in Wyden Castle, Canton of Zurich (Switzerland).—358

419 The Editors are not in possession of Lafargue's letter to which Engels is referring. What is meant here is probably Brissac's and Bouis' resignation from the *Égalité* editorial board, and the political vacillations of Picard, an editor of *L'Égalité* and *Le Citoyen*.—358

420 At the general elections in Italy in October 1882, socialist Andrea Costa was elected to parliament from the city of Ravenna thus becoming the first socialist deputy in the country's history.

The elections to the Norwegian parliament (Storting), in which the republicans scored an impressive victory, were held in September-November 1882.—358, 454

421 At the meeting held on 29 October 1882 in Constituency No. 18 in Montmartre, where Clemenceau was deputy, the working-class voters shouted him down.—361

422 In late 1882, Eduard Bernstein and Georg Heinrich von Vollmar planned to open a discussion in *Der Sozialdemokrat* with a view to introducing changes into the party programme. The Editors followed Engels' advice and confined themselves to indirect criticism of the opportunist demands contained in the Gotha programme.—362

423 A reference to the negotiations between the *Égalité* editorial board and the Banque populaire in Paris concerning the financing of *L'Égalité*, 4th series (it appeared between 24 October and 28 December 1882).—363, 373

424 The term '*dynamiters*' gained wide currency in European conservative quarters in the 1870s-80s and was applied to the revolutionary terrorists and persons who manufactured and stored explosives. *L'Égalité*, 4th series, No. 19, 11 November

1882, which reprinted the telegram from *The Standard* of 6 November, explained the recent political reprisals in France by the negotiations about the extradition of the 'dynamiters' (Russian political refugees).—363

425 This probably refers to the account of the National Committee report at the St-Étienne Congress (see Note 394) printed in *Le Prolétaire.* The report was spearheaded, almost in toto, against Guesde, Lafargue and other leaders of the revolutionary section of the Workers' Party of France and included a one-sided selection of fragments from Lafargue's letters to Benoît Malon. The Editors are not in possession of a copy of the issue of *Le Prolétaire* mentioned here.—363, 394

426 At an Electricity Exhibition in Munich (1882), the French physicist Marcel Deprez demonstrated the first experimental electric transmission line he had installed between Miesbach and Munich.—364, 374, 449

427 Marcel Deprez published the results of his research into electricity mostly in the journal *La Lumière Electrique* for 1881 and 1882. His works on electric power transmission appeared in the journal *Électricité* for 1881.—364

428 Marx is referring to the sensational news concerning the participation of Rivers Wilson, managing director of the English Public Debts Administration, and of Lord Sherbrooke as proxies and trustees of the Texas Galveston and Eagle railway joint-stock company. As a result of the M.P.s' interpellations in the House of Commons on 6 November 1882 pertaining to the incompatibility of British officials holding responsible jobs in the finances with their participation as trustees in speculative ventures, Rivers Wilson and Lord Sherbrooke were forced to divest themselves of the powers of company trustees.—365, 376

429 Marx alludes to the debate on events in Egypt (see Note 355) in the House of Commons on 6 and 7 November 1882.—365

430 The second edition of Alexander Redgrave's book *The Factory and Workshop Act, 1878*, with introduction, copious notes, and an elaborate index (London, 1879) was received by Marx from King's company. The copy, with Marx's notes, is extant.—368

431 In a letter of 22 August 1882, Sorge asked Engels to deal with the matter of subscription fees for *The Labour Standard.*—368

432 *Peter Schlemihl*—a character in Chamisso's story *Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte*, who exchanged his shadow for a magic purse.—369

433 Marx probably referred to William Langland's allegoric poem *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman, together with Vita de Do-wel, Do-bet, et Do-best, secundum Wit et Resoun.* There are three versions of the poem. A volume containing them all was published by the Early English Text Society in 1867-85. (The Society was founded by Frederick James Furnivall in 1864.)—372

434 On 9 June 1880, *L'Égalité* (No. 21, 2nd series) carried a report ('Le patriotisme de la bourgeoisie et les Chinois') on the meeting held on 5 May 1880 by the Paris Society of Political Economists in connection with the Chinese emigration to California. Participants in the meeting praised the cheap Chinese labour. This event was also covered by *Le Revue socialiste* (No. 9, 5 July 1880) in the article 'La Question chinoise devant les économistes', signed 'B. M.'. Its author was probably Benoît Malon.—372

435 The manifesto of the National Council, set up as a counterbalance to the Possibilist National Committee by decision of the Roanne Congress (see note 394) on the basis of the Lyons party groups with a seat in Lyons, was printed on 5 November 1882 by *L'Égalité* (3rd series, No. 47) under the heading 'Parti ouvrier. Conseil national'.— 373

436 Engels is referring to the House of Commons' debate on the Egyptian events (see Note 355) in early November 1882.— 373

437 *Clôture* — the parliamentary procedure whereby debate is closed and the measure under discussion is brought up for an immediate vote. The *clôture* was announced on 11 November 1882. The voting was to be on the changes in parliament procedure.— 373

438 The reference is to the first of the three articles by the German Social-Democratic refugee Georg Heinrich von Vollmar carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nos. 46, 47 and 49 on 9, 16 and 30 November 1882 under the heading 'Zur Spaltung der französischen Arbeiterpartei' and signed 'V.'. The articles were a response to the piece called 'St. Étienne oder Roanne?', which appeared in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nos. 41, 42 and 44 on 5, 12 and 26 October 1882. The last one was signed 'Leo' (Bernstein's pen-name).— 373, 379, 386, 408

439 Engels is referring, above all, to *Dialectics of Nature* (see Note 449).— 377

440 The reference is to the legal proceedings instituted against Guesde, Lafargue and other activists of the French Workers' Party for the speeches they had made in Lyons, Roanne, Montluçon, Bézenet, and Saint-Chamond, among other places, after the Roanne Congress (see Note 394). Guesde and Bazin were summoned by the examining magistrate Édouard Piquand to the court of the first instance in Montluçon for 14 November, and Lafargue, for 21 November on the charge of instigation to civil war, assassination, burglary and arson (see Note 444), but the suspects publicly refused to appear before the jury. Lafargue, who had been staying in Paris since 7 October, was arrested by the Paris police on 12 December. In late April 1883, the jury of the town of Moulins sentenced Lafargue, Guesde and Dormoy to six months' imprisonment and a fine. Guesde and Lafargue served their sentences in the Ste Pélagie prison in Paris from 21 May 1883.— 378, 397, 401, 404, 406, 441, 445

441 Samuel Moore's mathematical research mentioned here made up a few pages of notes concerning the method of substantiating the differential calculus independently worked out by Marx (see also Engels' letter to Marx of 18 August 1881, this volume, pp. 130-32). Marx commented on Moore's notes in his letter to Engels of 22 November 1882 (see this volume, p. 380). See also Note 192.— 378, 380

442 Replying on 17 November 1882 to Engels' letters of 2-3 and 4 November, Bernstein listed the market value of the shares of the principal state-owned Prussian railways.— 379, 380

443 The *Marseilles Congress*, the first congress of the French Workers' Party, was held between 20 and 31 October 1879. In the sharp controversy that arose between the Marxists (collectivists), on the one hand, and the petty-bourgeois anarchists and Proudhonists, on the other, the Marxists headed by Jules Guesde got the upper hand. The congress passed a number of decisions of fundamental significance: on

the nationalisation of the industries and landed property; on the seizure of political power by the workers, on the establishment of a party that assumed the official name Fédération de parti des travailleurs socialistes en France (in practice called the Workers' Party). The congress approved party rules and set the task of drawing up a programme.—379, 380, 386

444 A reference to Paul Lafargue's open letter to Édouard Piquand, the Montluçon examining magistrate, entitled 'L'affaire de Montluçon' (*L'Égalité*, 4th series, No. 26, 18 November 1882) written as a reply to the summons of 15 November to appear before the jury on 21 November (see Note 440). In it, Lafargue refused to stand for trial.—379

445 Marx is referring to the Possibilists' party established at the St-Étienne Congress and headed by Brousse and Malon (Fédération française des travailleurs socialistes révolutionnaires) (see Note 394).—380

446 A reference to Sheldon Amos' review of John Seymour Keay's pamphlet 'Spoiling the Egyptians' reprinted in London in 1882. The review appeared in *The Contemporary Review*, Vol. XLII, October 1882, under the heading '"Spoiling the Egyptians": Revised Version'. Keay responded with the article '"Spoiling the Egyptians". A Rejoinder' featured by *The Contemporary Review*, Vol. XLII, November 1882.—381

447 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx, Engels, *Pre-Capitalist Socio-Economic Formations*. A Collection, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979.—381

448 The reference is to the split in the French workers' movement at the St-Étienne Congress in September 1882 (see Note 394). On the Marseilles Congress, see Note 443.—384

449 Engels is referring to his manuscript *Dialectics of Nature*, specifically the article entitled 'The Measure of Motion.—Work'.

*Dialectics of Nature* (present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 313-588) was the culmination of profound studies carried out by Engels over a number of years. Engels wrote the items included in *Dialectics of Nature* from 1873 to 1882 with intervals, during which time he studied a vast amount of source material on major problems of the natural sciences and more or less completed ten articles and chapters and many notes and fragments, all in all, almost 200 sketches. After Marx's death, he became engrossed in work to complete and publish *Capital* and in the affairs of the international working-class movement, and had no choice but to stop work on *Dialectics of Nature*, which remained unfinished and unpublished in his lifetime (for more details about the work on and publication of the book, see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. XIX-XXV and 660-63).—384, 395

450 Lafargue's article 'Le Ministère enchanté' was printed by *L'Égalité*, 4th series, No. 32, 24 November 1882; it sharply criticised the activities of former Finance Minister Jean Batiste Léon Say.—385, 402

451 In 1882, Marx stayed with his daughter Jenny Longuet in Argenteuil between 6 June and 22 August and from 28 September and into the first days of October.—385

[452] Engels intended to use these materials for a pamphlet about Bismarck and Lassalle (this volume, pp. 324-25). He did not carry out his plan.—386

[453] The information and quotations concerning the balance of power between the Possibilists and the Guesdists after the split in the French Workers' Party (see Note 394) were contained in Lafargue's letter to Engels of 24 November 1882.—387

[454] *Fédération du Nord* (Northern Federation), which was formed in the spring of 1880, was one of the six federations into which the French Workers' Party had been organisationally divided prior to its split (see Note 394). The Northern Federation united the party branches in Lille and Roubaix. After the split at the St-Étienne Congress, it sided with the Marxists.—387, 408

[455] The reference is to the Preamble to the Programme of the French Workers' Party drawn up by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 340).—387

[456] Engels alludes to the stand taken by Johannes Miquel, a former member of the Communist League and later a National Liberal and minister in the Prussian government. Miquel's departure from the revolutionary stand was apparent even in his letters to Marx of 6 April and 15 August 1856. Miquel maintained that a revolution in Germany was not 'all that near' and that during it the proletariat should form a firm alliance not only with the petty but with the liberal bourgeoisie as well, and after its victory adopt tactics that would not alienate the bourgeoisie.—388, 449

[457] This refers to the St-Étienne and Roanne congresses (see Note 394).—389

[458] A reference to the exposure of the German agent provocateur Johann Karl Friedrich Elias Schmidt in Zurich. The *Sozialdemokrat* editors brought forth a pamphlet *Die deutsche Geheimpolizei im Kampfe mit der Sozialdemokratie. Aktenstücke und Enthüllungen auf Grund authentischen Materials dargestellt* (Hottingen-Zurich, 1882) that described the machinations of Schmidt and his superiors. It was reprinted there in the same year with the same subtitle under the heading *Deutsche Polizeischuftereien*.—390, 436

[459] Engels is referring to Bebel's letter of 14 November 1882 written in the Leipzig prison in reply to Engels' letter of 28 October 1882 (see this volume, pp. 349-51).—390, 392

[460] Engels is referring, above all, to Marx's unfinished work on Polish history which he was writing in 1863 and which involved the use of the book *Vom Entstehen und Untergange der polnischen Konstitution vom 3-ten May 1791*, Parts I-II, 1793 (it was published anonymously in Leipzig; its authors were J. Potocki, H. Kołłantaj and F. K. Dmochowski). The extant sketches for the work, which Marx planned to entitle *Deutschland und Polen. Politisch-militärische Betrachtungen bei Gelegenheit des Polnischen Aufstands von 1863*, and the notes he had made for it were published in: K. Marx, *Manuskripte über die polnische Frage (1863-1864)*, Amsterdam, 1961, and, in Russian and German, in: *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. XIV, Moscow, 1973. The mistakes that occurred in the original publication when deciphering the manuscripts were corrected in the latter.—391

[461] The *Crystal Palace*—a glass-and-steel building erected for the first World Exhibition in London in 1851.—391

[462] The polemic around Marx's theory of value was launched in *La Plebe*, No. 13, 8 October 1882, by Romeo Candelari's article 'La critica dell'economia radicale

moderna'. Candelari had several more polemical articles printed by the newspaper, among them 'De Laveleye e Rodbertus' (No. 14, 15 October 1882), which contained Laveleye's pronouncements concerning Marx's theory of value.

Candelari's articles also appeared in Nos. 15, 16, 17 and 18 of *La Plebe* of 22 and 29 October and 5 and 12 November 1882. Issue No. 17 also carried Carlo Cafiero's letter to the editors called 'Polemica'.—392

463 The reference is to the British trade union delegation headed by the editor of *The Labour Standard* George Shipton which visited France in late 1882. (On the purpose of the visit, see this volume, pp. 359-60.)—393, 394, 396

464 *Tlingits*—a group of Indian tribes inhabiting south-eastern Alaska.

By 'once Russian America' Engels is referring to Russia's possessions in North America (Alaska), which, under the treaty of 30 March 1867, the Russian government sold to the United States for $7.2 mln.

In 1880-81, Marx wrote down a detailed synopsis of Lewis H. Morgan's book *Ancient Society or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery, through Barbarism into Civilization*, London, 1877. It was published as 'Marx's Excerpts from Lewis Henry Morgan's *Ancient History*', in *The Ethnological Notebooks of Karl Marx*, Assen, 1972, pp. 95-241.

Morgan built his research of primitive society on studies into the gentile communities of North American Indians, including the Iroquois, a group of tribes living in the north-east of the USA.—395

465 Georg Ludwig von Maurer's works on the agrarian, urban and state system in medieval Germany are: *Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark-, Hof-, Dorf- und Stadt-Verfassung und der öffentlichen Gewalt*, Munich, 1854; *Geschichte der Markenverfassung in Deutschland*, Erlangen, 1856; *Geschichte der Fronhöfe, der Bauernhöfe und der Hofverfassung in Deutschland*, vols I-IV, Erlangen, 1862-63; *Geschichte der Dorfverfassung in Deutschland*, vols I-II, Erlangen, 1865-66; *Geschichte der Städteverfassung in Deutschland*, vols I-IV, Erlangen, 1869-71.—395, 400, 408, 416, 455

466 Engels wrote these lines to Marx on Laura Lafargue's letter of 12 December 1882. Laura informed him that Paul Lafargue had just been arrested by the Paris police and, under its orders, was to be sent to Montluçon to stand for trial there.—396

467 *Affaires véreuses cabinet* (cabinet of black affairs, or black cabinet)—a secret establishment at the postal departments of France, Prussia, Austria and some other states that opened and inspected correspondence; had existed since the time of the absolutist monarchies in Europe.—398

468 A reference to the events in the period when the Tudors' absolutist monarchy was being established in England following the War of the Roses (1455-85). The war was caused by the conflict between the feudal lords that grouped around two rival royal dynasties, the Lancasters and the Yorks. The founder of the dynasty, Henry VII Tudor, who had defeated King Richard III of York, made an attempt to sanctify the dynasty, seeking to consolidate the monarchy and his claim to the throne, which he based on his kinship with the Lancasters. With this end in view, in 1506 he requested Pope Julius II to canonise one of the Lancasters, King Henry VI, who had been dethroned by the Yorks at the time of the War of the Roses.—399

469 Marx probably arrived at this conclusion after reading the book by V. V.

(V. P. Vorontsov) *Sudby kapitalizma v Rossii* (The Destiny of Capitalism in Russia), St Petersburg, 1882. In the preface to the book, the author, a noted Russian writer and economist, leader of Liberal Narodism (Populism), mentioned Russian 'socialists of the Marxian school' who maintained that Russia was to follow the route of capitalist development.—399

470 This letter was published in English for the first time in part in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, [1934] and in full in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—399

471 A reference to Lafargue's article 'Notre candidat' in *L'Égalité*, 4th series, No. 47, 9 December 1882.—402, 408

472 The *Thirty Years' War* (1618-48)—a European war in which the Pope, the Spanish and the Austrian Habsburgs and the German Catholic princes rallied under the banner of Catholicism and fought against the Protestant countries, Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands and a number of German states. The rulers of Catholic France—rivals of the Habsburgs—supported the Protestant camp. Germany was the principal battleground and the chief object of plunder and the belligerents' aggressive claims. The war ended with the signing of the Westphalian Peace Treaty, which fixed Germany's political fragmentation.—404, 448

473 The *Sachsenspiegel* (Saxonian mirror)—a medieval German law code explaining the local (Saxonian) common law.—404

474 A reference to a postcard from Johann Philipp Becker to Engels of 13 December 1882. For Engels' reply, see this volume, pp. 405-07.—404

475 Engels is referring to Marx's lengthy studies of writings on the commune and forms of communal property, and the Russian village commune in particular, as part of his research into land rent and agrarian relations in general. Specifically, somewhat earlier Marx had made a thorough study of Kovalevsky's book *Communal Land Ownership: the Causes, Course and Consequences of Its Disintegration* (1879), from which he copied out passages on the character of the commune and its place and socio-economic role at different times and among different peoples.—408

476 This refers to the Socialist Republican Alliance founded in Paris in October 1880 by a group of amnestied Communards. Among them were noted and influential figures in the working-class and democratic movement, former members of the International Working Men's Association and its General Council. The members of the Alliance declared themselves socialists, but refused to be committed to any doctrine whatsoever. In early 1881, the Alliance fell apart.—408

477 The reference is to Sergei Podolinski's article 'Il socialismo e l'unità delle forze fisiche', which was first published in 1881 in *La Plebe*, Anno XIV, Nuova serie, No. 3, pp. 13-16, and No. 4, pp. 5-15, and then reprinted by the German journal *Die Neue Zeit*, Jg. 1, 1883, pp. 413-24, and 449-57, under the heading 'Menschliche Arbeit und Einheit der Kraft'.—410

478 In a letter to Engels of 21 December 1882 Laura Lafargue wrote that she was un-

easy about Jenny Longuet's health and that the latter should consult a doctor.—413, 417

479 *Weitlingianism*—the doctrine of utopian egalitarian communism advocated by Wilhelm Weitling that gained some currency among German craftsmen. In the early 1840s, it had had a certain progressive role, but later, since it rejected the need for active political struggle on the part of the proletariat and advocated sectarian, conspiratorial methods, it began to act as a brake on the evolution of the German workers' class awareness. The reactionary features of Weitling's doctrine, which gradually acquired a religious, Christian colouring, became more and more apparent with the passage of time. Neglect of the laws of history and dogmatism typical of the doctrine led to scientific methods and the need for a bourgeois-democratic stage in the revolution in Germany being ignored, and to excessive stress on the role of personality in history.—413

480 At that time, Bebel was doing a 4-month jail sentence in the Leipzig prison (he was allowed to go and stay at home on 2-9 January 1883).—414

481 On the eve of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, Bismarck made it understood to Napoleon III that, in exchange for France's neutrality, he would not hinder expansion of its territory at the expense of Belgium, Luxembourg and the German lands lying between the Rhine and the Moselle. On 6 August 1866, the French government demanded that Bismarck pay the promised compensation, insisting that the frontiers be changed back to those of 1814, the Prussian garrison withdrawn from Luxembourg, and the latter's annexation by France be ensured. But Bismarck resolutely rejected these demands and responded to them on 19 March 1867 by making public the Prussian secret alliance with the South German states of Baden and Bavaria concluded back in 1866.

Referring to Bismarck's behaviour at that time, Engels implies his negotiations of 19 November 1882 with the Russian Foreign Minister Girs, who was asking for Germany's assistance for Russian policies in the East. After the negotiations, the German press featured notes and official articles on the alliance concluded by Germany and Austria-Hungary back in 1879.—415

482 This refers to Rodbertus' *Briefe und Socialpolitische Aufsätze*, published by Dr. Rudolf Meyer (vols I-II, Berlin [1882]). In a letter to Engels of 14 November 1882, Bebel jokingly noted that Meyer was full of praise for Marx and Engels, flattered probably by his 'good reception' in London in 1879-80, but that they had to share the 'glory' with 'the five cardinals who had honoured him in the same manner'.—416, 449

483 A reference to Dr F. Bayshawe's letter to James M. Williamson dated 4 January 1883, 5 Warrior Square, St Leonards on Sea (see this volume, p. 420).—419

484 A reference to Paul Lafargue's letter to Engels of 6 January describing the state of Jenny Longuet's health, August Bebel's letter of the same date, in which he set forth his ideas about the impending crisis in the German economy, and Adolph Hepner's letter with the request for a new preface to the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.—421, 424

485 By all indications, Eleanor Marx failed to find a copy of Marx's Algerian photo, and he had to send Mrs Williamson a photo taken in 1875 (see this volume, pp. 166-67).—423

[486] The reference is to the sales of the second German edition of Volume One of *Capital* published in 1872 by Otto Meissner in Hamburg.—423, 425

[487] Liberal M. P. and former Chartist Joseph Cowen justified the British invasion in Egypt (see Note 355) in his speech in Newcastle on 8 January 1883.—423

[488] Marx is probably referring to the events of 1847. On 28 March 1847, the *Deutsche-Brüsseler Zeitung*, No. 25, carried an article about corn speculation written, presumably, by Ferdinand Wolff, a member of the Communist League whose brother was a corn profiteer.—425

[489] Marx's New Year wishes to Mrs Williamson were written on the back of a photo of his taken in 1875 (see this volume, pp. 166-67).—429

[490] Jenny Longuet died on 11 January 1883.—429, 430, 434, 450, 458, 461

[491] Engels is referring to the speech made by the Social-Democratic deputy Karl Grillenberger at the Reichstag meeting on 14 December 1882. It was spearheaded against Minister of the Interior Robert Victor von Puttkamer, who tried to justify the need for the introduction of a state of siege in several regions of Germany in connection with the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 16), insisting that Social Democracy was undermining the sanctity of the family and advocating free love. The reference is also to the *Sozialdemokrat* articles dealing with Grillenberger's speech, 'Aus Grillenberger's Rede über die Handhabung des Sozialistengesetzes' (Nos. 1 and 2, 1 and 4 January); 'Zum Kapitel von der freien Liebe. Etwas für Herrn von Puttkamer zum Vorlesen im Reichstage' (No. 2, 4 January); 'Puttkamer und die "Heiligkeit" der Familie' (No. 3, 11 January); 'Zum Kapitel von der freien Liebe. Den Herren v. Puttkamer und v. Nostiz Wallwitz gewidmet' and 'Von der patentierten Ehre' (No. 9, 22 February 1883).—431, 455

[492] A phrase from Frederick William II's instructions of 14 August 1748 for the major-generals of cavalry.—431

[493] An allusion to Prussia's annexation of the formerly independent states—Hanover, Nassau and the Electorate of Hesse, as well as the free city Frankfurt am Main—as a result of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and the unification of Germany.—432

[494] During his stay in London in May 1882, Paul Singer discussed with Engels the attitude the Social-Democratic Party should take to Bismarck's policies, which probably compelled Singer to modify his stand.—433

[495] Engels compares Kautsky's book *Der Einfluss der Volksvermehrung auf den Fortschritt der Gesellschaft* (1880), which defended the 'sound core' of Malthus' theory, with his own pamphlet *Die überseeische Lebensmittel-Konkurrenz*, which was an off-print from *Staatswirthschaftliche Abhandlungen* (Serie II, Heft IV und V, 1881).—434

[496] Engels is referring to Hegel's idea of the objectively existing dialectical contradiction in things and processes, which Dühring attacked in his book *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Socialismus*.—434

[497] In the first part of his work *Die überseeische Lebensmittel-Konkurrenz* (Leipzig, 1881) (see Note 495), Kautsky makes use of the information on the forms of agriculture in Canada supplied by Rudolf Meyer to the Viennese newspaper *Das Vaterland*.—437

498 A reference to the first article, entitled 'Hetärismus', from the series of Kautsky's articles *Die Entstehung der Ehe und Familie* in the Darwinist journal *Kosmos* (Stuttgart, Jg. VI, Bd. XII, October 1882-March 1883). The second article was called 'Die Raubehe und das Mutterrecht. Der Clan', and the third, 'Die Kaufehe und die patriarchalische Familie'. In 1883, they were published as a separate edition under the general heading of the series.—437, 450, 451

499 The *Hutzwang* (enforced partition) — under the law of ancient Germans, the duty of all members of the commune to remove the fences around their land plots for the period between the harvest and the sowing so that the land could be used as communal pasture in the meantime.—438

500 Engels may be referring to the letter to the French Minister of Justice signed by Lafargue and Guesde and printed by *L'Égalité* on 16 February 1883. The letter was entitled 'Deux noveaux prétendants'. In an ironic manner, Guesde and Lafargue demanded a milder punishment for themselves, equal to that reserved for royalty, for, considering the morals of the French monarchs, was anybody able to vouch that the accused did not have royal blood in their veins?—441

501 Engels had first despatched this letter to be approved by Schorlemmer but by an oversight must have omitted to address it, and it was returned to the author. It was sent by Engels to Bernstein alongside with another letter, that of 27 February-1 March 1883 (see this volume, pp. 445-50).—442

502 A reference to the Copenhagen Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, which took place from 29 March to 2 April 1883; originally, the congress was to be held in Zurich.—442, 450

503 A reference to Bernstein's letter to Engels of 24 February 1883.—445

504 On 8 March 1883, *Der Sozialdemokrat* reported that the publication of *L'Égalité* was about to be stopped, as the owner of the printing press had cancelled his contract with the editorial board.—445

505 Viereck and Fritzsche stayed in London in the second half of January 1881 on their way to the United States (see Note 119).—446

506 This refers to the programme approved at the Unity Congress in Gotha on 22-27 May 1875 (see also Note 381).—447

507 In February 1883, the German socialist Moses Oppenheimer was proved guilty of secret contacts with the bourgeois press and embezzlement of party funds.—447

508 Eduard Bernstein wrote to Engels on 24 February 1883 that as far as he knew, Georg Schumacher in Solingen was agitating for the *Süddeutsche Post* and urging the workers to read that newspaper and not *Der Sozialdemokrat*. Replying on 7 March to this letter by Engels Bernstein wrote that the things said about Schumacher were not true.—450

509 Engels alludes to the oath taken by Liebknecht in the Saxon Landtag in November 1879, and by August Bebel in July 1881.—454

510 The *Deutsch-Amerikanische Arbeiter-Library* series initiated by Hepner opened with Bebel's pamphlet *Unsere Ziele*, which Hepner published in 1883 in New York under another title, *Die Ziele der Arbeiterbewegung*, having first made a number of changes.—455

511 Engels' telegram to Sorge of 14 March 1883 was published in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* without Engels' knowledge (the editors added the word 'afternoon') to create the impression that the telegram had been addressed to the newspaper. For the telegram that Engels did send to the paper, see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 462.

Engels voiced his protest at the editors' high-handedness in a letter to the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* of 18 April 1883 (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 472).—457

512 This letter was published in English for the first time in: F. Engels, *On the Death of Karl Marx*, Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow, 1933, and F. Engels, *The Fourteenth of March 1883*, Lawrence, London, 1933.—458, 459, 460

513 Jenny Marx died on 2 December 1881.—458, 461

514 Marx visited Johann Philipp Becker in Geneva on 26 September 1882 before his departure from Switzerland.—460

515 This letter was published in English for the first time in: F. Lessner, *Sixty Years in the Social-Democratic Movement*, The Twentieth Century Press, London, 1907.—463

516 Engels included the full text of the telegram from the students of the Petrovsky Academy of Agriculture in Moscow in his article 'On the Death of Karl Marx' printed by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, 3 and 17 May 1883 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 473-81).—464

517 In a letter of 16 March 1883, Theodor Cuno asked Engels to confirm that Marx was called Mohr by his family. Cuno wanted to mention it in his article about Marx. Hepner, however, asserted that Marx had never had such a nickname and that mentioning it could only 'harm' the party.—466

518 The Communards were amnestied in July 1880.—469

519 A reference to the mounting political tension in Ireland in the late 1870s-early 1880s engendered by the campaign for Home Rule and by the people's protest action against the landlords (see notes 124 and 139).—471

520 Probably a reference to 4 August 1789, when, pressed by the mounting peasant movement, the French Constituent Assembly solemnly removed feudal duties and taxes, which had by that time been abolished, to all practical purposes, by the insurgent peasants. However, the laws that were later promulgated abrogated only the personal duties without redemption fees. The abolition of all feudal duties without redemption payments was not carried out until the time of the Jacobean dictatorship by the law of 17 July 1793.—473

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*Abdul Hamid II* (1842-1918) — Turkish Sultan (1876-1909).— 248

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*Aksakov, Ivan Sergeyevich* (1823-1886) — Russian writer, Slavophile; criticised the domestic policy of tsarism (the 1850s-60s); a champion of pan-Slavism and great power chauvinism (the 1870s-80s).— 194

*Aleko Pasha* (*Vogorides, Alexandros*) (c. 1823-1910) — Bulgarian-born Turkish statesman and diplomat, counsellor of the Embassy in London (1856-61), ambassador to Vienna (1876-78), governor of Eastern Rumelia (1879-84).— 373

*Alexander II* (1818-1881) — Emperor of Russia (1855-81).— 80, 175, 288

*Alexander III* (1845-1894) — Emperor of Russia (1881-94).— 78, 175

*Allsop, Thomas* (1795-1880) — English democrat, Chartist; was persecuted on suspicion of being an accomplice in Orsini's attempt on the life of Napoleon III in 1858; later collaborated with Marx in helping refugees of the Paris Commune.— 114

*Alphand, Jean Charles Adolphe* (1817-1891) — French state official, engineer; directed reconstruction works in Paris from 1854 and was in charge of the city water supply from 1878.— 337

*Amos, Sheldon* (1835-1886) — English lawyer, barrister in Egypt from the early 1880s, judge in the Court of Appeal (local tribunal) in Alexandria (1882).— 381

*Arabi Pasha, Ahmed Arabi el Husseini* (c. 1839-1911) — Egyptian politician and military figure; headed the national liberation movement (1879-82); a leader of the National Party; War Minister

(from February 1882) and head (from July 1882) of the National Government; after the defeat at Tell el-Kebir (13 September 1882) was taken prisoner and banished by the English authorities to the island of Ceylon, where he was kept till 1902.—301

*Argyll, George John Douglas Campbell, 8th Duke of* (1823-1900)—British statesman, Peelite; Lord Privy Seal (1853-55, 1859-66 and 1880-81); Postmaster-General (1855-58 and 1860), Secretary for India (1868-74).—86

*Azamat Batuk*—French journalist, real name H. L. Thieblin.—53

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*Bachofen, Johann Jakob* (1815-1887)—Swiss historian and lawyer, author of *Das Mutterrecht*.—453

*Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich* (1814-1876)—Russian democrat, journalist, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; an ideologist of Narodism (Populism) and anarchism in later years; opposed Marxism in the International; was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress of 1872 for his splitting activities.—46, 341, 370, 375

*Bamberger, Louis* (b. 1821)—German journalist; in the 1850s emigrated to London, where he engaged in financial operations at his father's bank; an editor of the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* (1848-51); Secretary of Charles of Brunswick; later a merchant in Zurich.—258

*Bancroft, Hubert Howe* (1832-1918)—American historian, author of a number of works on the history and ethnography of North and Central America.—395, 438

*Barry, Maltman* (1842-1909)—English journalist, socialist; member of the International, of the General Council (1871-72) and of the British Federal Council (1872-74); delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); supported Marx and Engels in the struggle against Bakuninists and reformist leaders of British trade unions; contributed to several conservative newspapers in the 1870s; after the dissolution of the International continued to take part in the British socialist movement.—83

*Bauer, Bruno* (1809-1882)—German idealist philosopher, Young Hegelian; author of works on the history of Christianity; radical; National Liberal after 1866.—339

*Bax, Ernest Belfort* (1854-1926)—British socialist, historian, philosopher and journalist; one of the first exponents of Marxism in England from the early 1880s; from 1882 member of the Democratic Federation, transformed into the Social-Democratic Federation in 1884; was prominent among its left-wing members; took an active part in socialist agitation in London; maintained friendly relations with Frederick Engels from 1883; a founder and a leader of the British Socialist Party in 1911.—163, 185

*Bayshawe, F.*—English physician.—420

*Bazin, Gustave*—an active participant in the French working-class movement, socialist, member of the French Workers' Party in the 1880s, delegate to the Rheims Congress (1881), was arrested on the charge of instigation to civil war in late November 1882; Guesde's supporter.—391, 397

*Bebel, August* (1840-1913)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; turner; member of the First International; deputy to the North German (1867-70) and to the German Reichstag (1871-81

and from 1893); a founder and leader of the German Social-Democrats; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.— 10-12, 35, 77-79, 87-88, 99, 137-39, 154, 173, 188, 259-61, 266, 279, 280-83, 289, 291, 294, 325, 326, 328, 330, 333, 334, 349-51, 353, 357, 386, 390, 414-17, 421, 433, 442, 453-55, 469

*Bebel, Julie* (1843-1910) — August Bebel's wife.— 417, 458

*Becker, Elisabeth* (d. 1884) — Johann Philipp Becker's wife.— 159

*Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886) — prominent figure in the international working-class movement; brushmaker; took part in the German and Swiss democratic movements in the 1830s and 1840s and in the 1848-49 revolution; prominent figure in the First International in the 1860s, delegate to all its congresses; editor of *Der Vorbote* (1866-71); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.— 7-9, 23, 38, 50, 76, 80, 151-52, 159-60, 196, 197, 299, 311, 314, 404, 405, 407

*Beesly, Edward Spencer* (1831-1915) — British historian and politician, bourgeois radical, positivist, professor at London University (1860-93); defended the International and the Paris Commune in the English press (1870-71).— 89, 118

*Bennigsen, Rudolf von* (1824-1902) — German politician, advocate of Germany's unification under Prussia's supremacy; President of the National Association (1859-67); from 1867 leader of the Right-wing of the National Liberal Party, which defended the interests of the big industrial bourgeoisie; deputy to the German Reichstag (1871-83 and 1887-98).— 373

*Bernstein, Eduard* (1850-1932) — German Social-Democrat from 1872; editor of *Der Sozialdemokrat* (1881-90); came out with a revision of Marxism after Engels' death.— 8, 58-59, 73-75, 85-87, 126-29, 137, 144-51, 152-55, 165-66, 172-74, 186-90, 203-08, 210, 244, 247-48, 250-52, 256, 260, 285, 291, 300-02, 323-26, 331-34, 335, 341, 345, 346-48, 352, 353-58, 359-62, 364, 365, 373, 377, 379, 380, 386, 389, 390, 395, 407-08, 413, 430-36, 442, 445-48, 450, 459

*Beust, Adolf* — German physician, Friedrich von Beust's son, Engels' relative.— 26, 30, 35, 36, 39, 244, 326

*Beust, Friedrich von* (1817-1899) — Prussian army officer, member of the committee of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848); an editor of the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung* (September 1848-February 1849); later a teacher; took part in the foundation of the International's section in Zurich in 1867.— 30, 76, 89, 290

*Bevan* — Charles Roesgen's wife.— 346

*Bismarck* (in full *Bismarck-Schönhausen*), *Otto Eduard Leopold, Prince von* (1815-1898) — statesman of Prussia and Germany, diplomat; Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-71 and 1873-90) and Chancellor of the German Empire (1871-90), author of the Anti-Socialist Law (1878).— 4, 11, 40, 43, 53, 73-75, 78, 80, 83, 112, 146, 175, 178, 182, 183, 187, 191, 192, 208, 209, 256, 261, 282, 324, 327, 348, 350, 359, 386, 415, 433, 441, 454

*Blanc, Jean Joseph Charles Louis* (1811-1882) — French petty-bourgeois socialist, historian, member of the Provisional Government and President of the Luxembourg Commission in 1848; pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie; emigrated to England in August 1848; a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees in London; deputy to the National Assembly (1871), opposed the Paris Commune.— 53, 408

*Bleichröder, Gerson von* (1822-1893) — German financier, head of a big banking house in Berlin; Bismarck's personal banker and unofficial adviser in financial matters; in 1871 Bismarck consulted him on the question of indemnities imposed on France.— 112, 114

*Blind, Mathilde* (née *Cohen*) (1841-1896) — English translator, authoress and poetess, Karl Blind's stepdaughter.— 425

*Blommestein* — Dutch financier, owner of the French newspaper *Citoyen* in the early 1880s.— 343, 346-47, 356

*Blos, Wilhelm* (1849-1927) — German journalist and politician; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party from 1872; deputy to the Reichstag (1877-1918, with intervals); Prime Minister of the Württemberg Government (1918-20).— 203, 259, 279, 433

*Blum, Robert* (1807-1848) — German democratic journalist, leader of the Left in the Frankfurt National Assembly; took part in the defence of Vienna against counter-revolutionary forces in October 1848; court-martialled and executed after the fall of the city.— 281

*Bodenstedt, Friedrich von* (1819-1892) — German poet, journalist and translator.— 235

*Böcker* — Eduard Gumpert's wife.— 114, 117

*Böcker, Berta* — sister of the above.— 114

*Bonaparte, Louis* — see *Napoleon III*

*Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul* (1822-1891) — son of Jérôme Bonaparte, cousin of Napoleon III; known under the nicknames of Plon-Plon and the Red Prince.— 53

*Bontoux, Paul Eugène* (1820-1904) — French engineer and financier, took part in building railways and factories in France, Austria, Hungary and Serbia; one of the founders (1878) and director of the Union générale joint-stock bank in Paris, set up on the Legitimists' and clericals' funds; was sentenced in 1882 to five-year imprisonment for speculative machinations; emigrated.— 402, 408

*Borkheim, Sigismund Ludwig* (1826-1885) — German democratic journalist, took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, emigrated after its defeat; London merchant from 1851, was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels.— 6, 9, 24, 46

*Bouis, Casimir Dominique* (1843-1916) — French journalist, Blanquist, member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; Chairman of the Commission which investigated the activity of the Government of National Defence; after the suppression of the Commune banished to New Caledonia; member of the French Workers' Party in the 1880s, member of the editorial board of *L'Égalité* (1882).— 358, 389

*Bracke, Wilhelm* (1842-1880) — German Social-Democrat; publisher of socialist literature in Brunswick; a founder (1869) and a leader of Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers), member of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag (1877-79).— 294

*Bradlaugh, Charles* (1833-1891) — English journalist and politician, radical, atheist; editor of the weekly *National Reformer* from 1860; opponent of Marx and the International Working Men's Association.— 52-54, 214

*Bradshaw* — English businessman.— 29

*Brassey, Thomas, Lord* (1836-1918) — English economist and politician; big railway and shipbuilding contrac-

tor; Liberal M. P., Civil Lord of the Admiralty (1880-84).—83

*Braun, Heinrich* (1854-1927)—German Social-Democrat, journalist; contributed to *Die Neue Zeit* (1883-88), took part in the publication of several other journals, later reformist.—321

*Brentano, Ludwig (Lujo)* (1844-1931)—German economist; one of the major representatives of armchair socialism.—65

*Breuel, Ernst*—German Social-Democrat, was banished from Hamburg under the Anti-Socialist Law; refugee in Copenhagen from the early 1880s; criticised the stand of the *Sozialdemokrat*'s editors in 1882.—259

*Bright, Jacob* (1821-1899)—English politician, bourgeois radical, M.P., John Bright's brother.—171

*Bright, John* (1811-1889)—English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; M. P. (from 1843); leader of the Left wing of the Liberal Party from the early 1860s, held several ministerial posts.—53, 171, 473, 474

*Brimont*—French Bonapartist, Charles Bradlaugh's acquaintance in Paris.—53

*Brissac, Henri* (1823-1906)—participant in the French working-class movement, socialist, journalist; member of the Paris Commune, General Secretary of the Executive Committee, then of the Committee of Public Safety, banished to New Caledonia after the suppression of the Commune; returned to France after the 1880 amnesty, member of the French Workers' Party, an editor of *L'Égalité* in 1882; Guesde's supporter.—358, 389

*Brousse, Paul Louis Marie* (1844-1912)—French physician; socialist; participant in the Paris Commune; lived in emigration after its suppression, sided with the anarchists; joined the French Workers' Party in 1879; a leader and ideologist of the Possibilists, an opportunist trend in the French socialist movement.—11, 141, 145-47, 149, 154, 155, 173, 181, 190, 282, 289, 309, 333, 339, 341, 342, 345, 350, 374, 380, 406-07, 456

*Brown, John* (1800-1859)—American farmer; a prominent leader of the revolutionary wing of the abolitionist movement; took an active part in the armed struggle against the slave-owners in Kansas (1854-56); attempted to organise a revolt of black slaves in Virginia in 1859; was tried and executed.—77

*Brown, Willard*—American socialist, journalist, Marx's acquaintance in the 1880s.—99, 170

*Brunswick, Charles Frederick August William of (Braunschweig, Karl Friedrich August Wilhelm von)* (1804-1873)—Duke of Brunswick from 1823, overthrown in early September 1830, emigrated; tried to return to power with the help of a number of European states; maintained contacts with democratic émigrés in the 1840s-50s; published the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*.—258

*Brunswick, Ferdinand, Duke of* (1721-1792)—general in the Prussian service; during the Seven Years' War (from November 1757) commander of the Prussian and Allied troops, which fought against the French and Austrian armies.—158

*Bückler, Johann* (1777-1803)—German robber, nicknamed Schinderhannes (Hannes the Skinflint).—206, 281

*Burke, Thomas Henry* (1829-1882)—British statesman, permanent Irish Under-Secretary from 1869 to 1882; killed by members of the Irish terrorist

organisation 'The Invincibles' on 6 May 1882.—254, 288

*Bürkli, Karl* (1823-1901)—Swiss socialist, economist and journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; an organiser and leader of the First International in Zurich, delegate to the Geneva (1866) and Secretary of the Lausanne (1867) congresses of the International; a founder and leader of the Swiss co-operative movement.—177, 181, 189, 197, 209

*Burleigh, Bennet* (1839-1914)—English journalist, one of the first directors of the Central News information agency (founded in 1870).—37, 38

*Burns, Lydia (Lizzy, Lizzie)* (1827-1878)—Irish working woman, Engels' second wife.—104

*Burns, Mary Ellen*—see *Roscher, Mary Ellen*

C

*Caesar (Gaius Julius Caesar)* (c. 100-44 B.C.)—Roman general, statesman and writer, author of *Commentarii de bello Gallico*.—382

*Cafiero, Carlo* (1846-1892)—participant in the Italian working-class movement, member of the First International; pursued the General Council's line in Italy in 1871; one of the leaders of the Italian anarchist organisations from 1872, abandoned anarchism at the end of the 1870s; published a summary of Volume One of Marx's *Capital* in Italian (1879).—392

*Caird, James* (1816-1892)—Scottish agriculturist, Liberal M.P. (1857-65), author of works on the land question in England and Ireland.—31

*Calonne, Charles Alexandre de* (1734-1802)—French statesman, Controller-General of Finance (1783-87); a leader of the counter-revolutionary émigrés during the French Revolution.—73

*Candelari, Romeo*—Italian journalist, contributed to the *Plebe* in the 1880s.—392

*Carlos I*—see *Charles V*

*Cartesius, Renatus (Descartes, René)* (1596-1650)—French philosopher, mathematician and naturalist.—384

*Cassagnac*—see *Granier de Cassagnac, Bernard Adolphe*

*Casthelaz*—Maurice Casthelaz's mother.—219, 240

*Casthelaz, Maurice*—French physician and pharmaceutist, Marx's acquaintance.—219, 222, 224, 226, 233, 240, 246

*Catherine II* (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-96).—205

*Cavendish, Frederick Charles, Lord* (1836-1882)—English statesman and politician, Liberal M.P. from 1865; appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland in May 1882; killed by members of the Irish terrorist organisation 'The Invincibles' on 6 May 1882.—254, 288

*Cavour, Camillo Benso, conte di* (1810-1861)—Italian statesman, head of the Sardinian Government (1852-59 and 1860-61), pursued a policy of unifying Italy under the supremacy of the Savoy dynasty relying on the support of Napoleon III; headed the first government of united Italy in 1861.—191

*Cazot, Théodore Joseph Jules* (1821-1913)—French statesman, moderate bourgeois republican, lawyer; opposed the Second Empire regime, was in prison from 1851 to 1859; General Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government of National Defence (1870), deputy to the National Assembly (from 1871), Minister

of Justice (1879-January 1882), Gambetta's supporter.— 117

*Chamberlain, Joseph* (1836-1914) — British statesman, Mayor of Birmingham (1873-76), member of William Gladstone's cabinets (1880-85 and 1886).— 171

*Chamisso, Adelbert von* (1781-1838) — German romantic poet.— 439

*Charles I* (1600-1649) — King of Great Britain and Ireland (1625-49), executed during the English revolution.— 69

*Charles III* (1818-1889) — Prince of Monaco (1856-89).— 259, 262, 273

*Charles V* (1500-1558) — Holy Roman Emperor (1519-56) and King of Spain under the name of Charles (Carlos) I (1516-56).— 240

*Charles X* (1757-1836) — King of France (1824-30).— 175

*Cherbuliez, Antoine Élisée* (1797-1869) — Swiss economist, wanted to combine the teaching of Sismondi with elements of Ricardo's theory.— 100

*Churchill, Randolph Henry Spencer, Lord* (1849-1895) — British statesman, a leader of the Conservatives, Secretary of State for India (1885-86), Chancellor of the Exchequer (1886); advocate of colonial expansion, opponent of the Home Rule for Ireland.— 83

*Cieszkowski, August* (1814-1894) — Polish philosopher and economist, owner of an estate in the Posen district from 1847; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; member of the Prussian Provincial Diet (from 1852).— 177, 181, 189

*Cissey, Ernest Louis Octave Courtot de* (1810-1882) — French general and politician; took part in the suppression of the Paris Commune, commanded the Versailles Corps; elected to the National Assembly (1871); War Minister (1871-73 and 1874-76), was accused of high treason in 1880 and resigned.— 474

*Claude.*— 240

*Clemenceau, Georges Eugène Benjamin* (1841-1929) — French statesman and journalist, leader of the Party of Radicals from the 1880s; Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1906-09 and 1917-20).— 45, 61, 92, 108, 333, 339, 361-62

*Clowes, Norris A.*— American journalist, correspondent of the *New-York Star* for Ireland in the early 1880s, Theodor Friedrich Cuno's acquaintance.— 105

*Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865) — English manufacturer and politician; a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; Member of Parliament (1841-65).— 171

*Coghill, J. G. Sinclair* — English physician in Ventnor.— 366

*Colins, Jean Guillaume César Alexandre Hippolyte, baron de* (1783-1859) — French petty-bourgeois economist, Belgian by birth.— 100-01

*Collet, Charles Dobson* — English radical journalist and public figure, an editor of the Urquhartist newspaper *Free Press* (1859-65) and publisher of the journal *Diplomatic Review* from 1866.— 92, 471, 472

*Constans, Jean Antoine Ernest* (1833-1913) — French statesman, moderate republican; Minister of the Interior (1880-81 and 1889-92), pursued a policy aimed at the suppression of the working-class movement.— 117

*Costa, Andrea* (1851-1910) — prominent figure in the Italian working-class and socialist movement, a leader of anarchist organisations in Italy in the 1870s; criticised anarchism in 1879, subsequently campaigned for an independent political workers' party; a founder and leader of the Revolutionary So-

cialist Party of Romagna (1881-91); M. P. from 1882.—358, 454

*Cowen, Joseph* (1831-1900)—British politician and radical journalist; supported the Chartists; an organiser of the meeting in defence of Garibaldi in Newcastle in September 1862; M. P. from 1874.—76, 423, 424

*Cowper, Francis Thomas de Grey, Lord* (1834-1905)—British statesman, Liberal, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1880-April 1882); nephew of the following.—251

*Cowper-Temple, William Francis, Baron Mount Temple* from 1880 (1811-1888)—British statesman, M. P., held portfolio in a number of Liberal cabinets, Palmerston's stepson.—251

*Crié*—French journalist, anarchist; an editor of the *Citoyen et Bataille* from 1882.—347

*Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—leader of the English revolution, Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653.—68

*Cuno, Theodor Friedrich* (pseudonym *Capestro, Frederico*) (1846-1934)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, socialist; corresponded with Engels (1871-72); actively opposed the anarchists in Italy; organiser of the Milan Section of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); after the Congress emigrated to the USA and took part in the International's activities there; later participant in the American working-class and socialist movement.—466

D

*Da Costa, Charles Nicolas Maurice* (b. 1846)—French socialist, Blanquist, took part in the Paris Commune; emigrated to England; after the defeat of the Commune sentenced in absentia to ten years' imprisonment; returned to France after the 1880 amnesty; withdrew from active political life; published a book about Blanquists (1911); Charles Longuet's friend; Eugène François Da Costa's elder son.—18, 19

*Da Costa, Eugène François* (1818-1888)—professor of mathematics in Paris.—18, 19

*D'Alembert, Jean Baptiste Le Rond* (1717-1783)—French philosopher and mathematician.—380

*Daniels, Amalie* (née *Müller*) (1820-1895)—wife of Roland Daniels, a leader of the Communist League.—167, 180

*Daniels, Roland*—son of the above.—167

*Danielson, Nikolai Frantsevich* (pseudonym *Nikolai—on*) (1844-1918)—Russian economist and writer, a theoretician of liberal Narodism (Populism); corresponded with Marx and Engels for many years; completed the translation of Volume One of Marx's *Capital* begun by Hermann Lopatin and also translated the second and third volumes.—30-32, 60-64, 160, 161

*Dante, Alighieri* (1265-1321)—Italian poet.—291, 439

*D'Arsonval, Jacques Arsène* (1851-1940)—French physiologist, physicist and biophysicist.—364

*Darwin, Charles Robert* (1809-1882)—English naturalist, founder of the theory of natural selection of species.—251, 274, 318, 377, 437

*Davitt, Michael* (1846-1906)—Irish revolutionary democrat, a leader of the national liberation movement in Ireland; an organiser (1879) and leader of the Land League, advocate of the Home Rule in Ireland, M.P. (1895-99);

took part in the English working-class movement.—301

*Dechend, Hermann Friedrich Alexander* (1814-1890)—German statesman, Chairman of the Bank of Prussia (from 1864), then of the Reichsbank (1875-90), member of the State Council (from 1884).—257

*Deinhardt, C.*—a Munich engineer.—442, 443

*Delachaux*—a doctor and surgeon in Interlaken (Switzerland).—253, 254

*Demuth, Helene (Lenchen, Nim, Nym)* (1820-1890)—housemaid and friend of the Marx family.—92, 96, 113, 115-16, 124, 132, 136, 164, 170, 174-75, 200, 215, 224, 284, 285, 297, 299, 315, 316, 319, 328, 331, 340, 345, 372, 397, 417, 426, 440, 456, 458, 462, 465, 475

*De Paepe, César Aimé Désiré* (1841-1890)—Belgian socialist, compositor, subsequently physician; one of the founders of the Belgian Section of the International (1865); member of the Belgian Federal Council; delegate to the London (1865) Conference, the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and to the London (1871) Conference of the International; following the Hague Congress (1872) supported the Bakuninists for some time; a founder of the Belgian Workers' Party (1885).—146, 312

*Deprez, Marcel* (1843-1918)—French physicist and electrician; worked on the problem of electric energy transmission.—364, 374, 449

*Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, 14th Earl of Derby* (1799-1869)—British statesman, Tory leader, Prime Minister (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68).—70

*Détroyat, Pierre Léonce* (1829-1898)—French journalist and writer, naval officer; Bonapartist; took part in the Crimean (1853-56) and Franco-Prussian (1870-71) wars; owner and editor of several newspapers in the 1870s-80s; Émile de Girardin's relative.—53

*Deville, Gabriel Pierre* (1854-1940)—French socialist, active member of the French Workers' Party, journalist; author of a popular exposition of the first volume of Marx's *Capital*, and also of a number of philosophic, economic and historical works, delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress (1889), abandoned the working-class movement in the early 20th century.—199, 282, 297, 386-87, 389, 402, 413

*Dietz, Johann Wilhelm* (1843-1922)—German publisher; Social-Democrat, founder of the Social-Democratic publishing house, deputy to the Reichstag from 1881.—437

*Dietzgen, Joseph* (1828-1888)—German Social-Democrat, tanner; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—172

*Dilke, Ashton Wentworth* (1850-1883)—British politician, journalist and traveller, bourgeois radical, owner and editor of the *Weekly Dispatch* from the early 1870s, M. P. (1880-83).—83, 211, 214

*Dilke, Sir Charles Wentworth, Baronet* (1843-1911)—British politician and writer; a leader of the Radical wing of the Liberal Party, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (1880-82), president of the local government board (1882-85).—83, 211, 365, 373

*Disraeli, Benjamin, 1st Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and author, a Tory leader; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68) and Prime Minister (1868 and 1874-80).—53, 83, 90

*Donkin, Horatio Bryan* (1845-1927) — English physician, who treated Marx and his family between 1881 and 1883.— 82, 91, 97, 106, 110, 113, 124, 133, 134, 157, 211, 215, 218, 226, 240, 262, 340, 345, 371, 456, 458, 461

*Doria, Andrea* (1468-1560) — Genoese admiral and politician; ruler of Genoa (1528-60); from 1528 was in the service of Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor; navy commander in an expedition against Algeria (1541).— 241

*Douai, Carl Daniel Adolph* (1819-1888) — French-born journalist; petty-bourgeois democrat, later socialist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA in 1852; took part in the American socialist movement; editor of several socialist papers, the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (1878-88) among them; contributed to the *Vorwärts*.— 25

*Dourlen* — Gustave Dourlen's wife.— 116

*Dourlen* — Gustave Dourlen's sister-in-law.— 116

*Dourlen, Gustave* — French physician in Argenteuil, who treated Marx and his family in 1881 and 1882.— 107, 110, 111, 113, 116, 118, 135, 200, 232, 274-75, 276, 284, 297, 308, 309, 310, 319, 326, 331, 337, 338, 339

*Dozon, Auguste* (1822-1891) — French diplomatic official and writer; compiled and translated collections of Balkan folklore.— 207

*Duclerc, Charles Théodore Eugène* (1812-1888) — French journalist and politician, moderate republican; member of the *National* editorial board (1840-46); Minister of Finance (May-June 1848).— 339

*Dufferin and Ava, Frederick Temple Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, 1st Marquis of* (1826-1902) — British statesman and diplomat, Liberal, member of Gladstone's Cabinet (1868-72), big landowner in Ireland.— 424

*Dühring, Eugen Karl* (1833-1921) — German eclectic philosopher, economist and jurist, petty-bourgeois socialist, lecturer at Berlin University (1863-77).— 434

*Durando* — French professor of botany in Algiers in the early 1880s.— 241

*Duverger, Artur* (real name *Boégoert, Bogaert, Boégaert*) — Belgian journalist, member of the Socialist Party from 1879; correspondent of the *Égalité* for Belgium in the early 1880s.— 312

E

*Eccarius, Johann Georg* (1818-1889) — German tailor and journalist, prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, member of the League of the Just and later of the Communist League; a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the First International (1864-72), the Council's General Secretary (1867-71); Corresponding Secretary for America (1870-72); delegate to all the International's congresses and conferences; supported Marx up to 1872; joined the leaders of the British trade unions in the spring of 1872.— 123

*Engels, Charlotte* (née *Bredt*) (1833-1912) — wife of Emil Engels, Frederick Engels' brother.— 178-79

*Engels, Elisabeth* (b. 1861) — Frederick Engels' niece, Emil Engels' daughter.— 178-79

*Engels, Emil* (1828-1884) — Frederick Engels' brother, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen.— 178-79

*Engels, Emil* (1858-1907) — Frederick Engels' nephew, Emil Engels' son.— 306-07

*Engels, Hermann* (1822-1905) — Frederick Engels' brother, manufacturer in Barmen, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen.— 79

*Epicurus* (341-270 B. C.) — Greek atomist philosopher.— 462

*Erbslöh, Carl Alexander* (b. 1854) — August Erbslöh's son, husband (from 1882) of Elisabeth Engels, Engels' niece.— 178-79

*Erbslöh, Carl August* (1819-1894) — German businessman in Barmen, Engels' acquaintance.— 178

*Erlanger, Michel* (1828-1892) — merchant, employee at the Rothschild banking house in France; Rothschilds' representative in Egypt in the 1880s.— 337

*Ermen* — businessmen in Manchester, partners in the Ermen & Engels and the Ermen & Roby firm.— 307

*Euler, Leonhard* (1707-1783) — mathematician, expert in mechanics and physicist of Swiss descent, worked at the St Petersburg (1727-41 and 1766-83) and Berlin (1741-66) Academies of Sciences.— 57, 380

F

*Farre, Jean Joseph Frédéric Albert* (1816-1887) — French general, War Minister (1879-81).— 117, 474

*Fermé* — French lawyer, republican; was banished to Algeria during the Second Empire, later a judge of a civil tribunal in Algeria; Charles Longuet's and Paul Lafargue's acquaintance.— 200, 202, 210, 214, 217, 219, 221, 229-30, 232, 234, 238, 239, 241, 249, 264

*Fermé* — wife of the above.— 238

*Feugier* — French physician in Enghien, who treated Marx from June to August 1882.— 275, 276, 297, 303, 304, 308, 319, 326

*Fielding, Henry* (1707-1754) — English writer.— 329

*Fitzgibbon, Gerald* (1793-1882) — Irish lawyer and journalist, author of *Ireland in 1868*.— 70

*Fleckles, Ferdinand* (died c. 1894) — German physician, practised in Karlsbad, Marx's acquaintance.— 36, 47

*Fleury*.— 267

*Florestan I* (1785-1856) — Prince of Monaco (1841-56).— 273

*Forster, William Edward* (1818-1886) — British manufacturer and politician, Liberal M.P., Chief Secretary for Ireland (1880-82); pursued a policy of brutal suppression of the national liberation movement.— 251

*Fortin, Edouard* — French journalist, socialist, member of the French Workers' Party.— 55

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837) — French utopian socialist.— 200

*Frankel, Léo* (1844-1896) — prominent figure in the Hungarian and the international working-class movement; jeweller; member of the Paris Commune; Corresponding Secretary of the General Council of the First International for Austria and Hungary (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; a founder of the General Workers' Party of Hungary; delegate to several congresses of the Second International; associate of Marx and Engels.— 183

*Frederick II (the Great)* (1712-1786) — King of Prussia (1740-86).— 30

*Frederick William II* (1744-1797) — King of Prussia (1786-97).— 391, 432, 434-35

*Frederick William III* (1770-1840) — King of Prussia (1797-1840).— 282

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861) — King of Prussia (1840-61).— 127

*Freeman, Edward Augustus* (1823-1892) — English historian, Liberal, professor at Oxford University from 1884.— 417

*Freycinet, Charles Louis de Saulses de* (1828-1923) — French statesman and diplomat, moderate bourgeois republican; held ministerial posts several times, Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1879-80, 1882, 1886 and 1890-92) and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1879-80, 1882 and 1886).— 298

*Freytag, Otto* — German lawyer, Social-Democrat, deputy to the Saxon Provincial Diet.— 41

*Fritzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1825-1905) — a reformist leader of the German Social-Democratic and trade union movement; tobacco-worker; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; one of the founders (1863) and leaders of the General Association of German Workers; follower of Lassalle; joined the Eisenachers in 1869; deputy to the North German and the German Reichstag (1868-71 and 1877-81).— 75, 77, 431, 447

*Furnivall, Frederick James* (1825-1910) — English philologist and editor; Christian socialist, founded a few literary societies, the New Shakespeare Society and the Early English Text Society among them.— 182, 372

G

*Galliffet, Gaston Alexandre Auguste, marquis de* (1830-1909) — French general; commanded a cavalry regiment during the Franco-Prussian war; was taken prisoner at Sedan but was released to fight the Commune; commanded a cavalry brigade in the Versailles army; held a number of high military posts from the 1870s.— 133

*Gambetta, Léon* (1838-1882) — French statesman, bourgeois republican; member of the Government of National Defence (1870-71); organised in the provinces military resistance to Prussia; Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1881-82).— 45, 117, 126, 133, 298, 319, 333, 354, 361

*Garcia, Charles J.* — English journalist, London correspondent of the *Sozialdemokrat* in the early 1880s; Hyndman's supporter.— 333, 348, 359

*Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882) — Italian revolutionary, democrat, took part in the revolutionary movement in South America in the 1830s and 1840s; chief organiser of the defence of the Roman Republic (April-July 1849); leader of the Italian national movement for the liberation and unification of the country in the 1850s-60s; headed the Alpine riflemen in the Italian war of 1859; supported the Paris Commune, greeted the foundation of the International's sections in Italy in the 1870s.— 274, 317

*Geiser, Bruno* (1846-1898) — German Social-Democrat, journalist, editor of the journal *Neue Welt*, deputy to the Reichstag (1881-87).— 244, 259, 279, 433

*George, Henry* (1839-1897) — American journalist, economist and politician.— 93, 99-101, 162

*Girardin, Émile de* (1806-1881) — French journalist and politician, editor of *La Presse* in the 1830s-60s (with intervals) and of *La Liberté* (1866-70); moderate republican during 1848-49 revolution;

deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1850-51); later Bonapartist; notorious for his lack of principles in politics.—53, 472

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory and later Peelite, leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the 19th century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55 and 1859-66), Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886 and 1892-94).—40, 53, 54, 75, 80, 82-84, 86, 90, 121, 172, 185, 251, 286, 288, 319, 353, 365, 373

*Godard*—French anarchist, journalist.—355, 383, 389

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—110, 126, 230, 260, 268

*Gorbunova* (in the second marriage *Kablukova*) *Minna Karlovna* (1840-1931)—Russian statistician and economist, Narodnik writer; studied abroad the organisation of vocational training for a few years and corresponded with Engels in connection with this in 1880; studied female domestic crafts in Moscow Gubernia in the 1880s; contributed to the journal *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*.—17-18, 19, 20, 21

*Gorchakov, Alexander Mikhailovich, Prince* (1798-1883)—Russian statesman and diplomat; envoy to Vienna (1854-56); Foreign Minister (1856-82).—83

*Goschen, George Yoachim, Viscount of Hawkhurst* from 1900 (1831-1907)—British statesman and politician; German by birth; at first Liberal; M. P. from 1863, member of Government several times, author of a number of works on economics.—381, 424

*Gould, Jay* (1836-1892)—American millionaire, railway owner and financier.—63

*Graham, Sir James Robert George* (1792-1861)—British statesman, Whig and later Peelite; Home Secretary (1841-46), First Lord of the Admiralty (1830-34 and 1852-55).—365

*Grant*—English manufacturer.—27-29, 33

*Granier de Cassagnac, Paul Adolph Marie Prosper* (1843-1904)—French journalist and politician; known for his duels and sharp polemics.—345

*Green, Lisa*.—96

*Grévy, François Jules Paul* (1807-1891)—French statesman, moderate republican; President of the Republic (1879-87).—117, 127

*Grillenberger, Carl* (1848-1897)—German fitter, editor, head of a Nuremberg printing house; member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party from 1869, publisher and editor of Social-Democratic newspapers in Nuremberg; organised the distribution of the *Sozialdemokrat* in South Germany; deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-97); member of the Party leadership (1884-90); an opportunist in the 1880s.—431, 455

*Grimaldi*—dynasty of Monaco princes; has reigned from the 14th century up to the present (with an interval from 1793 to 1814).—273

*Grimaldi, Lamberto* (died c. 1494)—Prince of Monaco (1457-c. 1494).—273

*Guesde, Jules* (*Mathieu Jules Bazile*) (1845-1922)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; republican at the beginning of his career; sided with the anarchists in the first half of the 1870s; later a founder of the French Workers' Party (1879) and exponent of Marxism in France; leader of the revolutionary wing of the French socialist movement for many years.—43, 44, 128, 145-50,

154, 173, 181, 183, 190, 199, 282, 289, 294, 297, 333, 346, 350, 355, 360, 362, 363, 370, 378, 380, 383, 385, 386, 387, 389, 397, 401, 402, 406, 441, 445, 474

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874) — French historian and statesman, Orleanist; Foreign Minister (1840-48), Prime Minister (1847-48); virtually determined the home and foreign policy of France from 1840 to the February 1848 revolution; expressed the interests of the big financial bourgeoisie.— 100

*Gumbel, Abraham* — German Social-Democrat, refugee in France in the early 1880s; bank clerk in Paris (1883); author of letters to the editors of the *Sozialdemokrat*, in which he criticised the paper's position on the split in the French Workers' Party.— 430, 431

*Gumpert, Eduard* (d. 1893) — German physician resident in Manchester, a friend of Marx and Engels.— 24, 114, 117

H

*Hales, John* (b. 1839) — British trade unionist; weaver; member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its Secretary (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; headed the reformist wing of the British Federal Council from the beginning of 1872; expelled from the International in 1873.— 52

*Hänel, Albert* (1833-1918) — German politician, professor of history of state law, leader of the Party of Progress group in the Reichstag (1867-93 and 1898-1903), then sided with the Party of Free Thinkers.— 178

*Hanssen, Georg* (1809-1894) — German economist; author of a few books on the history of agriculture and agrarian relations.— 403

*Harney, George Julian* (1817-1897) — prominent figure in the English labour movement; a Chartist leader (Left wing); editor of *The Northern Star*, *Democratic Review*, *Red Republican* and *Friend of the People*; lived in the USA (1862-88); member of the International; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels.— 77, 93, 293

*Harry* — see *Longuet, Henri*

*Hartmann, Georg Wilhelm* — German worker; member of the General Association of German Workers; from 1875 one of the two chairmen of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany; deputy to the Reichstag (1878-81).— 82, 138

*Hartmann, Lev Nikolayevich* (1850-1908) — Russian revolutionary, Narodnik (Populist); took part in a terrorist act of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) group against Alexander II in 1879, following which emigrated to France; representative of the Narodnaya Volya group abroad; left London for the USA at the end of 1881.— 82, 92-94, 95, 96, 138, 278, 320, 376, 381, 391, 395, 400, 404, 413, 422, 470

*Haschert, Lina* — Carl Hirsch's wife.— 292

*Hasselmann, Wilhelm* (1844-1916) — one of the leaders of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers (1871-75).— 10, 43, 431

*Hatzfeldt, Sophie, Countess von* (1805-1881) — friend and supporter of Ferdinand Lassalle.— 12

*Hatzfeldt-Wildenburg, Edmund, Count von* — Sophie von Hatzfeldt's husband.— 15

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831) — German philosopher.— 131, 296, 354

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856) — German revolutionary poet.— 187, 430

*Helmholtz, Hermann Ludwig Ferdinand von* (1821-1894) — German physicist and physiologist, author of *Über die Erhaltung der Kraft* (1847).— 226

*Henry VI* (1421-1471) — King of England.— 399

*Henry VII* (1457-1509) — King of England (1485-1509).— 399, 454

*Henry VIII* (1491-1547) — King of England (1509-47).— 454

*Hepner, Adolf* (1846-1923) — German bookseller and journalist; one of the founders of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (1869); editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1869-73); one of the accused at the Leipzig High Treason Trial (1872); delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); contributed to socialist newspapers during emigration in the USA (1882-1908).— 188, 260, 293-94, 369, 421, 422, 425, 455

*Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich* (1812-1870) — Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher and writer; left Russia in 1847, from 1852 lived in England where he established the Free Russian Press and published the periodical *Polyarnaya Zvezda* (Pole Star) (1855-62, 1869) and the newspaper *Kolokol* (The Bell) (1857-67).— 193

*Hess, Sibylle* (née *Pesch*) (1820-1903) — Moses Hess' wife.— 164

*Heubel, Julius Christoph* — small official in Salzwedel (Prussia), Jenny Marx's grandfather.— 158

*Hilditch, Richard* — English economist of the mid-19th century.— 100

*Hirsch, Carl* (1841-1900) — German Social-Democrat, journalist, editor of a few Social-Democratic newspapers; expounded ideas of scientific socialism in Paris in the summer of 1879.— 5, 51, 81, 90, 96, 106, 111, 112, 114-16, 122, 126, 225, 240, 248, 271, 291-93, 299, 301, 302, 311, 330, 360, 416

*Hirsch, Max* (1832-1905) — German economist, prominent figure in the Party of Progress; together with Franz Duncker, founded reformist trade unions in 1868; deputy to the Reichstag (1869-93).— 118, 119, 121, 123

*Hirsch, Moritz* (1831-1896) — Austrian banker, bourgeois philanthropist; got a concession to build a railway in Turkey in 1869.— 248

*Höchberg, Karl* (pseudonym *Dr Ludwig Richter*) (1853-1885) — German social reformist; son of a rich merchant; joined the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany in 1876; founded and financed a number of newspapers and journals.— 8, 42, 186, 279, 292, 448

*Hödel (Hoedel), Emil Heinrich Max* (1857-1878) — an apprentice from Leipzig; made an attempt on the life of William I on 11 May 1878.— 288

*Hohenzollerns* — dynasty of Brandenburg Electors (1415-1701), Prussian Kings (1701-1918) and German Emperors (1871-1918).— 282, 434, 447

*Honoré IV* (1758-1819) — Prince of Monaco (1814-19).— 273

*Horace* (*Quintus Horatius Flaccus*) (65-8 B. C.) — Roman poet.— 235

*Howell, George* (1833-1910) — British mason, a reformist leader of the British trade unions; former Chartist; Secretary of the London Trades Council (1861-62), participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (October 1864 to 1869); participant in the London Conference of the International (1865); Secretary of the Reform

League; Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress (1871-75); opposed revolutionary tactics.— 155, 185

*Hugues, Clovis* (1851-1907) — French poet, journalist and politician; was close to radicals; supporter of the Paris Commune; deputy to the National Assembly from 1881.— 408

*Hume* — English physician in London.— 240

*Hyndman, Henry Mayers* (pseudonym *John Broadhouse*) (1842-1921) — British socialist, reformist; founder (1881) and leader of the Democratic Federation, transformed into the Social-Democratic Federation in 1884.— 49-50, 82, 102-03, 162, 228, 234, 251, 348, 423

*Hyndman, Mathilda* (d. 1913) — Henry Mayers Hyndman's wife from 1876.— 49, 50, 82, 103

I

*Ignatiev, Nikolai Pavlovich, Count* (1832-1908) — Russian diplomat and statesman, ambassador to Turkey (1864-77), Russia's representative at the signing of the San Stefano Peace Treaty (1878); Minister of the Imperial Domains (1881-82), then Minister of the Interior.— 194, 363

*Irving, Henry* (1838-1905) — famous English producer and actor; played in a number of Shakespeare's tragedies.— 82, 104, 158

J

*Jaclard, Charles Victor* (1840-1903) — French socialist, Blanquist, journalist, physician and mathematician; member of the International and of the Paris Commune, following the suppression of the Paris Commune emigrated to Switzerland and then to Russia; after the 1880 amnesty returned to France, where continued to take part in the socialist movement.— 116

*Janson, Yuli Eduardovich* (1835-1893) — Russian statistician and economist, professor at St Petersburg University, head of a statistical department of the Petersburg City Council (from 1881); author of a few works on the theory and history of statistics.— 64.

*Jeffrey* — American engineer and inventor.— 96

*Jenny* — see *Longuet, Jenny*

*Jervis* — Lafargue's partner in publishing business in England in the early 1880s.— 28-29, 33, 34

*Joffrin, Jules François Alexandre* (1846-1890) — French socialist, mechanic; an organiser of the Mechanics' Syndicate in Paris; took part in the Paris Commune; after its suppression refugee in England (1871-81); member of the French Workers' Party, a leader of its Possibilist wing, member of the Paris City Council from 1882.— 173, 181, 183, 190, 362

*Johnny* — see *Longuet, Jean Laurent Frédéric*

*Jollymeier, Jollymeyer* — see *Schorlemmer, Carl*

*Jonas, Alexander* (d. 1912) — German-born American socialist, journalist, editor-in-chief of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* from 1878.— 422

*Jourde, François* (1843-1893) — French socialist, bank employee; member of the French Section of the International; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; head of the Finance Commission; banished to New Caledonia after the suppression of the Commune; escaped in 1874; returned to France in 1880.— 408

*Julius II* (1443-1513) — Pope (1503-13).— 399

*Jung* — see *Vezin, Jane Elisabeth*

*Juta, Johann Carl* (1824-1886) — Dutch merchant, Marx's brother-in-law, husband of Marx's sister Louise.— 65

K

*Kablukov, Nikolai Alexeyevich* (1849-1919) — Russian economist and statistician, Narodnik (Populist); professor at Moscow University.— 64

*Kapell, August* (b. 1844) — German Social-Democrat, carpenter, Lassallean; member of the General Association of German Workers in the 1860s-early 1870s; a founder and leader of the General Association of German Carpenters; deputy to the Reichstag (1877-78), was banished from Hamburg under the Anti-Socialist Law (1880); later abandoned political activity.— 282

*Karl von Hohenzollern, Prince* (1801-1883) — son of King Frederick William III of Prussia.— 434

*Katkov, Mikhail Nikiforovich* (1818-1887) — Russian revolutionary journalist, editor of *Moskovskiye Vedomosti* (1850-55 and 1863-87).— 194

*Kaub* — Karl Kaub's wife.— 116

*Kaub, Karl* — German worker, a refugee in London and after 1865 in Paris; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the Central (November 1864 to 1865) and the General (1870-71) Council of the International, participated in the London Conference of 1865.— 115, 116

*Kaufmann, S. F.* — German refugee in London, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London in the 1880s.— 72

*Kaulitz* — notary in Brunswick, G. Kaulitz's father.— 37

*Kaulitz, G.* — German Social-Democrat, refugee in London, Engels' acquaintance.— 37, 39

*Kautsky, Karl* (1854-1938) — German Social-Democrat, journalist, economist and historian, editor of *Die Neue Zeit* (1883-1917); associated with Marxists in the 1880s; author of several theoretical works on Marxism; an ideologist of Centrism in the German Social-Democratic Party and the Second International.— 56-58, 77, 81, 86, 95, 99, 120, 122, 126, 129, 138, 140-43, 150, 155, 165-66, 174, 190-95, 211, 248, 292, 299, 302, 320-23, 325, 348, 376-77, 434, 435-38, 451-53

*Kautsky, Louise* (née *Strasser*) (1860-1950) — Austrian socialist, Engels' secretary from 1890; delegate to the Zurich Congress of the Second International (1893); Karl Kautsky's first wife.— 377

*Kautsky, Minna* (1837-1912) — German writer, author of a few novels on social themes; Karl Kautsky's mother.— 82, 141, 142-44

*Kayser, Max* (1853-1888) — German journalist; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany; deputy to the Reichstag (1878-87), belonged to the right wing of the Social-Democratic group.— 153, 311, 431-32

*Keay, John Seymour* (1839-1909) — big English bank official in India (1862-82), Liberal; took part in the political life of India and England.— 381

*Kegel, Max* (1850-1902) — German journalist and poet; joined the Social-Democratic Workers' Party in 1869; contributed to various workers' press organs (the 1870s-80s) and was imprisoned for this several times during the

operation of the Anti-Socialist Law; founder and editor of the Social-Democratic journals *Nußknacker* and *Wahre Jakob* (the 1880s); author of the party anthem.— 128, 137

*Kerdijk, Arnold* (1846-1905) — Dutch public figure and journalist, Liberal, close to armchair socialism.— 65

*Kiepert, Johann Samuel Heinrich* (1818-1899) — German geographer and cartographer, professor at Berlin University from 1859, compiled a number of geographic atlases.— 207

*Kindlinger, Nikolaus* (1749-1819) — German historian.— 403

*King, Philip Stephen* — bookseller in London, corresponded with Marx from 1867.— 19, 367, 378

*Koch, Robert* (1843-1910) — German scholar, a founder of modern microbiology; discovered the pathogens of tuberculosis and cholera in the 1880s.— 262

*Kolkmann* — bookseller in London.— 378

*Kollár, Jan* (1793-1852) — Slovak poet and philologist, a leader of the national movement, advocated the unity of the Slav peoples within the framework of the Austrian Empire (Austro-Slavism).— 194

*Korvin-Krukovskaya (Jaclard), Anna Vasilyevna* (1843-1887) — Russian revolutionary, member of the Russian Section of the First International; took part in the Paris Commune; Charles Victor Jaclard's wife.— 116

*Kotzebue, August Friedrich Ferdinand von* (1761-1819) — German writer and journalist, extreme monarchist.— 111

*Kovalevsky, Maxim Maximovich* (1851-1916) — Russian sociologist, historian, ethnographer and lawyer; politician, Liberal; author of a number of works on the history of the primitive communal system.— 45, 295

*Kraus, Bernard* (1828-1887) — Austrian physician, founder and publisher of the *Allgemeine Wiener medizinische Zeitung* (1856-87).— 6

*Kryloff, Wanda.*— 346

*Kunemann* (born c. 1828) — German physician in Monte Carlo, who treated Marx in May and early June 1882.— 254, 262-64, 267, 270, 273, 275

## L

*Labouchere, Henry* (1831-1912) — British politician, diplomat and journalist, Liberal M.P.; an owner of the *Daily News* from the late 1860s.— 54

*Lafargue, Laura* (1845-1911) — Marx's second daughter; was active in the French working-class movement; translated into French many of Marx's and Engels' works; Paul Lafargue's wife from 1868.— 23, 25, 26, 30, 35, 96, 114, 118, 164, 170, 175, 186, 200, 215, 216, 222, 228, 238, 240, 244, 245, 252, 262, 277, 296, 297, 299, 303, 304, 309, 312, 315, 318, 320, 328, 329, 331, 336, 337, 338, 339-41, 344-46, 352, 363, 369, 396-99, 401, 402, 406, 413, 417, 421, 439-41, 456-57, 465

*Lafargue, Paul* (1842-1911) — prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; member of the General Council of the International (from 1866); a founder of the French Workers' Party (1879); follower and associate of Marx and Engels, husband of Marx's daughter Laura from 1868.— 12, 15, 23, 25-30, 32-35, 38, 43, 61, 64, 99, 106, 118, 128, 144-45, 147, 148, 150, 155, 170, 174, 181, 183, 186, 190, 200, 220-22, 224, 240, 244, 251, 266, 271, 275, 276-78, 282, 291, 297, 299, 332, 340, 343-50, 351-52, 354, 356, 357, 358, 361, 363, 369-70, 374, 375, 378, 379, 383, 385, 387-91, 396, 398, 399, 401, 402, 404, 406,

413, 421, 424, 426, 441, 445, 456-57, 465

*Laffitte, Jacques* (1767-1844) — French banker and liberal politician, headed the government in the early period of the July monarchy (1830-31).— 73

*Lagrange, Joseph Louis* (1736-1813) — French mathematician and mechanic.— 380

*Landor, Walter Savage* (1775-1864) — English poet, writer and critic; was suspected of being an accomplice in Orsini's attempt on the life of Napoleon III in 1858.— 83

*Langland, William* (c. 1330-c. 1400) — English poet.— 371

*Lankester, Sir Edwin Ray* (1847-1929) — English biologist, professor from 1874.— 64, 82, 262, 461

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864) — German writer and lawyer; participated in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863); an initiator of the opportunist trend within the German Social-Democratic movement.— 12, 15, 82, 146, 158, 191, 230, 294, 324, 325, 332, 343, 354

*Laura* — see *Lafargue, Laura*

*Laveleye, Émile Louis Victor, baron de* (1822-1892) — Belgian historian and vulgar economist.— 157, 392

*Lavrov, Pyotr Lavrovich* (1823-1900) — Russian philosopher, subjective sociologist and journalist, an ideologist of the revolutionary Narodism (Populism); emigrated in 1870; member of the International and of the Paris Commune, edited the journal *Vperyod!* (1873-76) and the newspaper *Vperyod* (1875-76).— 124-25, 184-86, 201, 211-12, 218, 235, 244, 271, 284, 295, 464

*Law, Harriet* (1832-1897) — a leading figure in the atheist movement in England; member of the General Council (June 1867 to 1872) and of the Manchester Section of the International (1872); published the *Secular Chronicle* (1876-79).— 54

*Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm* (1646-1716) — German philosopher and mathematician.— 380, 384

*Lem(c)ke, Gottlieb* (c. 1844-1885) — member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.— 79

*Lenchen* — see *Demuth, Helene*

*Leonhardt, Gerhard Adolf Wilhelm* (1815-1880) — German lawyer and statesman, Minister of Justice in Hanover (1865-66) and Prussia (1867-79).— 189

*Lessner, Friedrich* (1825-1910) — German tailor; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; defendant at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); refugee in London from 1856; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-72) and of the British Federal Council (1872-73); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.— 52, 463

*Liebknecht, Natalie* (1835-1909) — wife of Wilhelm Liebknecht from 1868.— 137

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900) — prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, took part in the 1848-49 revolution, member of the Communist League and of the International, deputy to the North German Reichstag (1867-70), deputy to the German Reichstag from 1874 (with intervals); one of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party; friend and associate of Marx and En-

gels.—3, 4, 12, 24, 35, 38, 40, 42, 50, 78, 80, 86, 99, 138, 164, 188, 261, 301, 304, 328, 334, 336, 348, 351, 370, 373, 442, 447, 455, 458, 469-70, 473

*Lilienthal, F. W.*—German physician, refugee in New York (the 1880s), was close to socialists.—278, 368

*Lingenau, Johann Karl Ferdinand* (c. 1814-1877)—German-born American socialist, bequeathed his money to the German Social-Democratic Party.—99

*Lissagaray, Prosper Olivier* (1838-1901)—French journalist; took part in the Paris Commune, adhered to the bourgeois-democratic 'new Jacobins' group, emigrated to England after the defeat of the Commune; author of the *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (1876), returned to France in 1880, published *La Bataille* (1882-83, 1888-93), a newspaper which opposed Guesde and Lafargue, leaders of the French Workers' Party.—116, 134, 150, 289, 309, 343, 346, 356

*Littré, Maximilien Paul Emile* (1801-1881)—French philosopher, philologist and politician.—473

*Longuet, Charles* (1839-1903)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, journalist, Proudhonist; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67, 1871-72), Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1866), delegate to the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Hague (1872) congresses and the London Conference (1871); member of the Paris Commune (1871), later joined the Possibilists, member of the Paris City Council (the 1880s-90s), husband of Marx's daughter Jenny from 1872.—19, 23, 44, 47, 52-55, 61, 81, 84, 90, 92, 96, 98, 107, 108, 109, 111, 135, 136, 157, 199, 200, 202, 212, 219, 220, 224, 230, 232, 285, 295, 303, 309, 310, 313, 316, 327, 330, 340, 364, 369, 375, 408, 424, 426, 457, 469-74, 475

*Longuet, Charles (Caro)* (September 1873-July 1874)—son of Jenny and Charles Longuet, Marx's grandson.—156

*Longuet, Edgar* (1879-1950)—son of Jenny and Charles Longuet, Marx's grandson.—3, 61, 81, 89, 90, 95, 96, 107, 110, 135, 158, 160, 164, 165, 219, 225, 230, 240, 296, 303, 316, 327, 340, 426, 470

*Longuet, Felicitas*—Charles Longuet's mother.—111, 113, 303

*Longuet, Henri (Henry, Harra, Harry)* (1878-1883)—son of Jenny and Charles Longuet, Marx's grandson.—23, 61, 81, 89, 90, 95, 107, 108, 110, 111, 135, 136, 158, 160, 164, 165, 219, 225, 230, 240, 250, 256, 303, 316, 327, 340, 371, 417, 464, 470, 475

*Longuet, Jean Laurent Frédéric (Johnny)* (1876-1938)—son of Jenny and Charles Longuet, Marx's grandson.—23, 61, 81, 85, 89, 90, 95, 96, 98, 107, 108, 109, 110, 115, 158, 160, 164, 165, 199, 219, 225, 230, 231, 232, 240, 250, 296, 303, 308, 312, 316, 318, 320, 328, 340, 353, 372, 378, 379, 417, 421, 424, 426, 475

*Longuet, Jenny* (née *Marx*) (1844-1883)—Marx's eldest daughter, prominent figure in the international working-class movement, wife of Charles Longuet from 1872.—23, 61, 67-70, 81-85, 89-92, 95-96, 97-98, 106, 109, 110, 111, 113, 116, 117, 134-35, 142, 143, 156-59, 160, 164-65, 169, 199, 212, 217, 218-19, 220-21, 223-25, 230, 232, 240, 250, 255, 259, 265-66, 271-72, 276, 277, 278, 284, 289, 296, 303, 309, 310, 311, 315-17, 328, 329, 330, 331, 338, 340, 345, 402, 413, 417, 419, 420, 421, 424-26, 429, 430, 434, 458, 461, 469-75

*Longuet, Jenny* (1882-1952) — daughter of Jenny and Charles Longuet, Marx's granddaughter.— 303, 329, 331

*Longuet, Marcel* (1881-1949) — son of Jenny and Charles Longuet, Marx's grandson.— 89, 95, 96, 107, 110, 111, 158, 160, 164, 165, 219, 225, 230, 240, 250, 256, 303, 316, 340, 426

*Lopatin, Hermann Alexandrovich* (1845-1918) — Russian revolutionary Narodnik, member of the General Council of the International (1870), one of the translators into Russian of the first volume of Marx's *Capital*, friend of Marx and Engels.— 64

*Loria, Achille* (1857-1943) — Italian sociologist and economist.— 48, 298, 345-46, 449

*Louis XVI* (1754-1793) — King of France (1774-92), executed during the French Revolution at the end of the 18th century.— 208

*Louise, Auguste Wilhelmine Amalie* (1776-1810) — Queen of Prussia, wife of Frederick William III, daughter of Karl Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.— 282

*Lowe, Robert, 1st Viscount Sherbrooke* (1811-1892) — British statesman and journalist, contributed to *The Times*; Whig, later Liberal, M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer (1868-73), Home Secretary (1873-74).— 376

*Ludwig I* (1786-1868) — King of Bavaria (1825-48).— 249

*Lullier, Charles Ernest* (1838-1891) — French journalist, retired naval officer, took part in the insurrection of 18 March 1871, member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and its commander-in-chief (18-25 March 1871), waged propaganda against the Paris Commune, exiled to New Caledonia after the suppression of the Commune.— 150

M

*Macaulay, Thomas Babington* (1800-1859) — English historian and politician, Whig, M. P.— 83

*Macdonald, Alexander* (1821-1881) — an English trade union leader, President of the National Miners' Union, M. P. from 1874, pursued a Liberal policy.— 3

*Mace* — French captain of the *Said*.— 246, 249

*Maceo, Antonio* (c. 1848-1896) — Cuban revolutionary, general, a leader of the liberation movement against the Spanish rule, active in the popular uprisings (1868-78, 1881 and 1895), killed in action.— 353

*Machiavelli, Niccolò* (1469-1527) — Italian politician, historian, military theorist and writer.— 262

*MacLean* — English house-owner in Ventnor (Isle of Wight).— 366

*Magnadère* — Armand Magnadère's mother.— 221

*Magnadère, Armand* (d. 1882) — bank official in Paris.— 221

*Mahmud Damat Pasha (Djelal Eddin)* (1840-1884) — Turkish statesman, member of the war council, repeatedly War Minister, demoted (1878) and exiled; returned in 1880; sentenced (1881) to life exile for his involvement in the assassination of the Sultan Abdul-Aziz; brother-in-law of Abdul-Hamid II.— 247-48

*Mahmud Nedim Pasha* (1810-1883) — Turkish statesman, Governor-General of Syria and Smyrna, Naval Minister (1856), Grand Vizier (1871-76, with intervals), fell under strong influence of Ignatiev, Russian Ambassador; had to resign under public pressure in 1876, Minister of the Interior (1879-83).— 247-48

*Maitland*—Dolly Maitland's father, acquaintance of the Marx family.—82

*Maitland, Clara*—Dolly Maitland's sister.—82

*Maitland, Dolly*—English actress, acquaintance of the Marx family.—82, 104, 124, 177

*Malon, Benoît* (1841-1893)—French socialist, member of the International, delegate to the Geneva Congress (1866), deputy to the National Assembly (1871), member of the Paris Commune, after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to Italy and then to Switzerland; later a leader and ideologist of the Possibilists, took part in the foundation of the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy (1868).—11, 12, 43, 45, 127, 145-47, 150, 154, 155, 173, 181, 190, 192, 282, 289, 309, 332, 339, 341, 342, 343, 345, 350, 352, 356, 360, 362, 363, 370, 373, 374, 380, 384, 386, 387, 388, 392, 408, 433, 456, 465

*Mals*—French journalist, anarchist, member of the editorial board of the *Citoyen et Bataille*.—346, 347

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, author of a theory of population.—58

*Manning, Henry Edward* (1808-1892)—English clergyman, converted into Catholicism in 1851, cardinal from 1875; was close to Christian socialism.—416

*Maret, Henry* (1838-1917)—French radical journalist, an editor of the *Marseillaise*, deputy to the National Assembly from 1881.—117, 154, 383, 389

*Marlborough*—English ducal family.—83

*Marius, Gaius* (c. 156-86 B. C.)—Roman general and statesman, Consul (107, 104-100, 86 B. C.).—382

*Marx, Eleanor* (*Tussy*) (1855-1898)—Marx's youngest daughter, prominent figure in the British and international working-class movement, married Edward Aveling in 1884.—6, 36, 41, 82, 89, 91, 95, 98, 104, 108, 109, 113, 117, 120, 124, 132-33, 134-35, 137, 143, 159, 164, 165, 169-72, 175, 176, 180, 182, 184, 186, 198, 199, 215, 216, 219, 225, 227, 230, 244, 245, 262, 263-65, 266, 276, 277, 280, 295, 296, 298, 303-04, 308, 309, 312, 315, 318, 320, 328, 330, 331, 335, 340, 345, 351, 366, 371-72, 378, 379, 394, 412, 417-18, 420, 421, 422-24, 426, 456, 461, 463, 470, 475

*Marx, Heinrich* (1777-1838)—Marx's father, lawyer, councillor of justice in Trier.—157

*Marx, Jenny* (née *von Westphalen*) (1814-1881)—Marx's wife from June 1843.—7, 23, 24, 36, 41, 46, 47, 48, 49, 60, 61, 81, 82, 89, 91, 95, 96, 98, 101, 102, 103, 104, 107, 109, 110, 113, 115, 116, 117, 118, 124, 125, 130, 132, 135, 136, 143, 151, 155-58, 159, 160, 161, 162, 164, 170, 196, 235, 365, 458, 461, 475

*Mason*—Lafargue's English partner in publishing business in the early 1880s.—33, 34

*Massard, Émile*—French socialist, journalist, member of the French Workers' Party (withdrew from it in the 1880s); secretary of the editorial board of the *Égalité* in the early 1880s.—224, 355, 389, 402, 473, 474

*Maurer, Georg Ludwig Ritter von* (1790-1872)—German historian, studied the social system of ancient and medieval Germany.—109, 336, 395, 400, 403, 407, 416, 455

*Maxse, Frederick Augustus* (1833-1900)—English journalist, admiral, Comtist, contributed to the newspaper *Justice* in the 1880s.—84

*Mayer, Karl* (1819-1889) — German petty-bourgeois democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49); after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Switzerland, edited the newspaper *Beobachter* in the 1860s.— 243

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872) — leader of the national liberation movement in Italy, head of the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849), an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850), tried to gain an influence over the International when it was being formed (1864), opposed the Paris Commune and the International in 1871, hindered the development of the independent Italian working-class movement.— 83

*McGuire, P. J.*— American socialist and trade union leader, reformist, member of the US Socialist Party, a leader of the Carpenters' Union in the 1880s; delegate to the international socialist congress in Chur in 1881.— 143

*Medici, Lorenzo* (1449-1492) — statesman and poet, ruler of Florence (1469-92).— 273

*Mehring, Franz* (1846-1919) — prominent figure in the German working-class movement, historian, journalist; became Marxist in the 1880s; author of works on the history of Germany and German Social-Democracy, biographer of Karl Marx, an editor of the *Neue Zeit* magazine, a leader and theoretician of the German Left-wing Social-Democrats, played a prominent part in the foundation of the Communist Party of Germany.— 292, 299, 301, 302, 330, 335, 377

*Meissner, Otto Karl* (1819-1902) — Hamburg publisher, published *Capital* and some other works by Marx and Engels.— 158, 161, 423, 425

*Meitzen, August* (1822-1910) — German statistician, economist and historian, author of works on the history of agrarian relations in Germany, an official of the statistical departments in Prussia and the German Empire in 1867-82.— 403

*Mesa y Leompart, José* (1840-1904) — printer, prominent figure in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement, an organiser of the International sections in Spain, member of the Spanish Federal Council (1871-72) and of the New Madrid Federation (1872-73), actively fought anarchism, one of the first exponents of Marxism in Spain, a founder of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (1879), translated a number of works by Marx and Engels into Spanish.— 128, 150, 199, 297, 346

*Meyer, H.*— member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.— 9-10

*Meyer, Rudolf Hermann* (1839-1899) — German bourgeois economist and journalist, Conservative.— 157, 416, 434, 437, 449, 465

*Mill, James* (1773-1836) — English economist and philosopher, follower of Ricardo's theory.— 100

*Mill, John Stuart* (1806-1873) — English economist and positivist philosopher, son of the above.— 100, 333

*Miquel, Johannes* (1828-1901) — German lawyer, politician, banker; member of the Communist League up to 1852, later a National Liberal, deputy to the North German and the German Reichstag (1867-77 and 1887-90).— 449

*Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel Victor Riqueti, comte de* (1749-1791) — leading figure in the French Revolution, advocate of constitutional monarchy.— 156, 290, 434-35

*Mohammed* (*Mahomet, Muhammed*) (c. 570-632) — founder of Islam.— 242, 247, 425

*Molière* (real name *Jean Baptiste Poquelin*) (1622-1673) — French dramatist.— 164

*Mommsen, Theodor* (1817-1903) — German historian, author of works on the history of Ancient Rome.— 178

*Moore, Samuel* (1838-1911) — English lawyer, member of the International, translated into English the first volume of Marx's *Capital* (in collaboration with Edward Aveling) and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, friend of Marx and Engels.— 3, 26, 30, 35, 98, 166, 175, 215, 306, 307, 319, 378, 380

*Morley, Samuel* (1809-1886) — English industrialist and Liberal politician, M. P. (1865, 1868-85).— 54, 359

*Most, Johann Joseph* (1846-1906) — German anarchist, joined the working-class movement in the 1860s, deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-78), emigrated to England in 1878 after the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law; founder (1879) and editor of the *Freiheit*; as an anarchist, expelled from the German Socialist Workers' Party in 1880, emigrated to the USA in 1882 where continued his anarchist propaganda.— 7, 10, 39, 42, 43, 59, 75, 78, 80, 81-83, 86, 105, 141, 187, 260, 289, 325

*Müllner, Amadeus Gottfried Adolf* (1774-1829) — German poet, playwright and literary critic.— 263, 437

*Murhard, Franz* (*Francis*) — German refugee in the USA.— 46-47

N

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821) — French statesman and general, first Consul of the French Republic (1799-1804), Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).— 188, 273, 327, 402

*Napoleon III* (*Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte*) (1808-1873) — nephew of Napoleon I; President of the Second Republic (December 1848 to 1851), Emperor of the French (1852-70).— 53, 100, 191, 200, 210, 454

*Necker, Jacques* (1732-1804) — French banker and politician, several times Director General of Finance in the 1770s and 1780s, attempted to carry out reforms.— 73

*Newton, Sir Isaac* (1642-1727) — English physicist, astronomer and mathematician, founder of classical mechanics.— 380

*Nicholls* — an acquaintance of the Engels family in London.— 25

*Nicholls, Sarah* — an acquaintance of the Engels family in London, daughter of the above.— 25

*Nieuwenhuis, Ferdinand Domela* (1846-1919) — prominent figure in the working-class movement in Holland, a founder of the Dutch Social-Democratic Party, M. P. from 1888, delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889, 1891 and 1893, went over to anarchism in the 1890s.— 16, 65-67, 166-67, 365

*Nikitina, Varvara Nikolayevna* (née *Gendre*) (1842-1884) — Russian journalist, lived in Italy from the late 1860s, later in France, contributed to several French periodicals.— 157

*Nim, Nym* — see *Demuth, Helene*

*Nobiling, Karl Eduard* (1848-1878) — German anarchist, made an attempt on the life of William I (1878) which served as a pretext for the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law.— 175, 288

*Nordau, Max Simon* (real name *Südfeld*) (1849-1923) — German-born French writer and journalist.— 112, 114

*Norgate* — bookseller in London.— 103

*Novikova, Olga Alexeyevna* (1840-1925) — Russian journalist, lived in England for a long time, was in fact a diplomatic agent of the Russian government under Gladstone's administration in the 1870s.— 319

O

*O'Connell, Daniel* (1775-1847) — Irish lawyer and politician, leader of the Liberal wing in the national liberation movement.— 69, 286, 288

*O'Donovan Rossa, Jeremiah* (1831-1915) — a leader of the Fenian movement, published *The Irish People* (1863-65); was arrested in 1865 and sentenced to life imprisonment, amnestied in 1870, emigrated to the USA where he headed the Fenian organisation, retired from political life in the 1880s.— 287

*Offenbach, Jacques* (1819-1880) — French composer, a founder of the classical operetta.— 268

*Oldenburg, Heinrich* — German Social-Democrat, journalist.— 365

*Oldrini, Alessandro* — Italian-born French socialist, fought on the side of France in the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71), lived in France in the 1870s-early 1880s, exiled from France in late 1882.— 345

*Oppenheimer, Moses* — German Social-Democrat, was proved guilty of secret ties with the bourgeois press and embezzlement of Party funds (1883).— 447

*Oswald, Eugen* (1826-1912) — German journalist, democrat, took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden (1848-49), emigrated to England after the defeat of the revolution.— 36-37

P

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount* (1784-1865) — British statesman, first Tory, from 1830 Whig, Foreign Secretary (1830-41 and 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58 and 1859-65).— 251, 319, 365

*Parker, Sarah* — Engels' housemaid.— 135

*Parnell, Charles Stewart* (1846-1891) — Irish politician and statesman, Liberal, bourgeois nationalist, M. P. from 1875, Home Rule Party leader from 1877, a founder and leader of the Irish Land League (1880-81).— 84, 86, 95, 471

*Parnell, Miss.* — 98

*Parsons, William* (c. 1570-1650) — English statesman, took part in the colonisation of Ireland, big Irish landowner, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland (1640-48), Privy Councillor from 1623, M. P.— 68

*Pauli, Ida* — Philipp Viktor Pauli's wife.— 92

*Pauli, Philipp Viktor* (1836-after 1916) — German chemist, Carl Schorlemmer's friend, was on intimate terms with Marx and Engels, was in charge of a chemical plant in Rheinau, near Mannheim (1871-80).— 92

*Pearson, Carl* (1857-1936) — English mathematician, biologist and philosopher, professor at University College in London from 1884; champion of socialist ideas and the working-class movement.— 60

*Peel, Sir Robert* (1788-1850) — British

statesman, moderate Tory, Prime Minister (1834-35 and 1841-46), repealed the Corn Laws in 1846.—69, 365

*Pelletan* (1846-1915)—French bourgeois politician, journalist, editor-in-chief of the *Justice* from 1880, associated with the Left-wing Radicals.—471

*Péreire, Isaac* (1806-1880)—French banker, Bonapartist, deputy to the Corps legislatif; together with his brother Émile Péreire, founded the joint-stock bank *Crédit Mobilier* in 1852; it went bankrupt in 1867 and was liquidated in 1871; author of works on credit.—73

*Péreire, Jacob Émile* (1800-1875)—French banker, adhered to the Saint-Simonists (1825-31), later a Bonapartist, a founder (1852) and director of the *Crédit Mobilier*.—73

*Perovskaya, Sofia Lvovna* (1853-1881)—Russian revolutionary, prominent figure in the *Narodnaya Volya* (People's Will) secret society, executed for involvement in the assassination of Alexander II.—96

*Philips, Antoinette* (*Nannette*) (c. 1837-1885)—Marx's cousin.—246

*Phillips, Wendell* (1811-1884)—American public figure and politician, orator, a leader of the revolutionary wing in the abolitionist movement, advocated revolutionary methods in the struggle against the Southern slaveholders, joined the working-class movement in the 1870s, favoured the formation of an independent workers' party in the USA, joined the First International in 1871.—77-78

*Picard, Léon*—French socialist, journalist, member of the French Workers' Party, an editor of the *Égalité* in the early 1880s.—352, 354, 358, 361, 389

*Pickering*—English physician in Cannes.—273

*Piquand, Édouard*—French lawyer, examining magistrate in Montluçon in the early 1880s.—397

*Pitt, William* (1759-1806)—British statesman, a Tory leader, Prime Minister (1783-1801 and 1804-06).—69

*Plon-Plon*—see *Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul*

*Plutarch* (c. 45-c. 127)—Greek moralist, writer and philosopher.—273, 382

*Podolinski, Sergei Andreyevich* (1850-1891)—Ukrainian public figure, politician, scientist, Darwinist, one of the first propagandists of Marx's economic theory in the Ukraine; emigrated to Austria in 1871, later to France, lived in Switzerland from the 1880s; had contacts with Russian revolutionary émigrés, an initiator of putting out socialist literature in Ukrainian in Vienna (1879); was personally acquainted with Marx and Engels, and regularly corresponded with them.—410, 411, 412-13

*Poliakov, Samuil Solomonovich* (1837-1888)—railway entrepreneur and financier in Russia.—248

*Pollaky, Ignatius Paul*—owner of a private police bureau in London in the early 1880s, contributed to the *Foreign Police Gazette*.—390

*Prendergast, John Patrick* (1808-1893)—Irish historian, Liberal, author of works on the history of Ireland.—68

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, petty-bourgeois socialist, economist and sociologist, a founder of anarchism.—44, 93, 100, 177, 193, 472

*Pumps*—see *Rosher, Mary Ellen*

*Puttkamer, Robert Victor von* (1828-

1900) — Minister of the Interior in the German Empire (1881-88), initiated the persecution of Social-Democrats at the time of the Anti-Socialist Law.— 88, 431, 455

*Pyat, Félix* (1810-1889) — French journalist, playwright and politician, democrat; took part in the 1848 revolution, emigrated to Switzerland in 1849 and later to Belgium and England; opposed independent working-class movement, using the French Section in London, conducted a slander campaign against Marx and the First International; deputy to the National Assembly (1871), member of the Paris Commune (1871); emigrated to England after the suppression of the Commune, returned to France after the 1880 amnesty, published the newspaper *Commune* (September-November 1880).— 43, 116

R

*Raciborski, Adam* (1809-1871) — Polish physician, took part in the 1830-31 insurrection in Poland, emigrated to France after the suppression of the insurrection.— 437

*Rackow, Heinrich* — German Social-Democrat, emigrated to London in 1879, a tobacco shop owner, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.— 7

*Radford, Ernest* — English lawyer, acquaintance of the Marx family, Dolly Maitland's husband.— 82, 104, 475

*Rae, John* (1845-1915) — English economist and sociologist, contributed to the *Contemporary Review* in the 1880s, author of *Life of Adam Smith*.— 162, 185

*Ranke, Johannes* (1836-1916) — German physiologist and anthropologist, professor at Munich University.— 417

*Rasch, Gustav* (d. 1878) — journalist, lawyer, took part in the 1848-49 revolution, emigrated to Switzerland and then to France after the suppression of the revolution, member of the German Social-Democratic Party from 1873.— 206

*Redgrave, Alexander* — factory inspector in England.— 56, 368

*Redpath* — see *Redgrave, Alexander*

*Regnard, Albert Adrien* (b. 1836) — French radical journalist and historian, took part in the Paris Commune, emigrated to England after its suppression, returned to France after the 1880 amnesty.— 67-69, 117

*Reinhardt, Richard* (1829-1898) — German poet, refugee in Paris; Heinrich Heine's secretary, friend of Marx and Engels.— 170, 172, 285

*Rendstone* — Marx's acquaintance.— 134

*Reynaud* — French physician in Argenteuil.— 111, 112, 113

*Reynaud* — wife of the above.— 111, 112, 113

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823) — English economist.— 16, 93, 100, 230

*Richard III* (1452-1485) — King of England (1483-85).— 399

*Richter, Eugen* (1838-1906) — German Left-wing liberal politician, leader of the Party of Progress, member of the North German Reichstag (1867) and of the German Reichstag (1871-1906), a founder and leader of the Party of Free Thinkers (Deutsche Freisinnige Partei), opposed Bismarck, favoured free trade, fought Social-Democracy.— 178

*Roby, Henry John* (1830-1915) — English school teacher, author of a Latin grammar; partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Roby (1874-94), Liberal M. P. (1890-95).— 307

*Rochefort, Victor Henri, marquis de Rochefort Luçay* (1831 or 1830-1913) — French journalist and politician, Left-wing republican, published the journal *La Lanterne* (1868-69) and the newspaper *La Marseillaise* (1869-70); member of the Government of National Defence (4 September-31 October 1870), exiled to New Caledonia after the suppression of the Commune, monarchist from the end of the 1880s.— 44, 47, 52, 82, 133, 309, 356

*Rodbertus (Rodbertus-Jagetzow), Johann Karl* (1805-1875) — German economist; a leader of the Left Centre in the Prussian National Assembly (1848), subsequently a theoretician of 'state socialism'.— 416, 434

*Roesgen, Charles* — employee at the firm of Ermen & Engels in Manchester.— 346

*Roodhuizen, A.* — pastor in Zalt-Bommel, husband of Marx's cousin Antoinette Philips.— 246

*Roscoe, Sir Henry Enfield* (1833-1915) — English chemist, author of chemical manuals.— 446

*Rosher, Lilian* (b. 1882) — Mary Ellen Rosher's daughter.— 280, 306, 312, 316, 320, 323-24, 331, 340, 345, 346

*Rosher, Mary Ellen* (née *Burns*) (*Pumps*) (born c. 1860) — Lydia Burns' niece.— 25, 89, 95, 104, 108, 134, 135, 166, 174, 215, 228, 234, 280, 306, 307, 309, 316, 320, 323, 324, 328, 340, 345, 346, 372, 379, 403, 404, 414, 438, 465

*Rosher, Percy White* — English merchant, married Mary Ellen Burns in 1881.— 316, 329, 340, 381, 391, 397, 401, 438, 465

*Rothaus* — see *Roodhuizen, A.*

*Rothschild, Alphonse de* (1827-1905) — head of the Rothschild banking house in France.— 170, 298, 337

*Rowsell.*— 381

*Roy, Joseph* — translator of the first volume of Marx's *Capital* and Ludwig Feuerbach's works into French.— 309, 310, 313, 472

S

*Šafařik, Pavel Josef* (1795-1861) — Slovak philologist, historian and archaeologist, a Liberal leader in the movement for national independence, supported the programme of Austro-Slavism.— 206, 207

*Saling, A.* — German publisher of the *Börsen-Jahrbuch*, an annual for bankers and industrialists.— 359

*Samter, Adolph* (1824-1883) — German economist, follower of Rodbertus.— 100

*Sax, Emil* (1845-1927) — Austrian economist.— 323

*Say, Jean Batiste Léon* (1826-1896) — French politician and statesman, economist, bourgeois republican; an editor of the *Journal des Débats*, deputy to the National Assembly from 1871, Minister of Finance in 1872-82 (with intervals).— 170

*Schäffle, Albert Eberhard Friedrich* (1831-1903) — German economist and sociologist, advocated refusal from the class struggle.— 57, 73, 74, 146

*Scheu, Andreas* (1844-1927) — prominent figure in the Austrian and English socialist movement, edited the newspaper *Gleichheit*, member of the First International; emigrated to England in 1874, a founder and an active member of the Social-Democratic Federation in England.— 43

*Schewitsch, Sergei Yegorovich* (1844-1912) — Russian-born American socialist, an editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* in the 1870s-80s.— 369

*Schinderhannes* — see *Bückler, Johann*

*Schmidt, Johann Karl Friedrich Elias* — German secret police agent in Zurich.— 436

*Schneider, Catherine Jeanne Hortense* (1838-1920) — French actress and singer.— 268

*Schneidt, Karl* — German journalist, took part in publishing Social-Democratic newspapers in Hamburg, emigrated to London in the early 1880s where sided with anarchists, an editor of the *Freiheit*.— 105, 236, 289

*Schoeler, Lina* — German teacher, friend of the Marx family.— 95, 96, 98

*Schorlemmer, Carl* (1834-1892) — German organic chemist, dialectical materialist, professor at Manchester; member of the First International and of the German Social-Democratic Party, member of scientific societies in Britain, the USA and Germany; friend of Marx and Engels.— 3, 39, 104, 156, 174-75, 215, 229, 244, 291, 306, 307, 309, 311, 316, 339, 340, 345, 404, 407, 409, 412, 436, 442-46, 461, 465

*Schramm, Carl August* (1830-1905) — German Social-Democrat, reformist, an editor of the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*; critic of Marxism in the second half of the 1870s, abandoned the working-class movement in the 1880s.— 8, 16, 177, 181, 189, 279

*Schumacher, Georg* (1844-1917) — German tanner, later merchant; deputy to the Reichstag (1884-98), belonged to the opportunist wing of the German Social-Democrats; sided with Liberals during the Reichstag elections of 1898; this caused his expulsion from the Social-Democratic Party.— 450

*Schwitzguébel, Adhémar* (1844-1895) — engraver, prominent figure in the Swiss working-class movement, member of the First International, Bakuninist, a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the Jura Federation, expelled from the International in 1873.— 129

*Scott, Sir Walter* (1771-1832) — Scottish poet and novelist.— 206

*Secondigné, Achille (Boubeau)* — French journalist, an editor of the *Citoyen* in the early 1880s.— 145

*Seguin, Arthur Edward Shelden* (1809-1852) — English opera singer.— 95

*Serraillier, Auguste* (1840-1878) — shoemaker, prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement, member of the First International from 1864 and of the General Council of the First International (1869-72), Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, Holland and Spain (1870), and France (1871-72), member of the Paris Commune, delegate to the London Conference (1871) and to the Hague Congress (1872) of the International, member of the British Federal Council (1873-74), associate of Marx and Engels.— 53

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616) — English poet and dramatist.—312

*Sherbrooke* — see *Lowe, Robert*

*Shipton, George* (1839-1911) — prominent figure in the English trade union movement, reformist, secretary of the Amalgamated Society of House Painters and Decorators, member of the Land and Labour League, edited *The Labour Standard* (1881-85), secretary of the London Trades' Union Council (1871-96).— 119-20, 122-23, 140, 143, 197, 359, 368, 393

*Shyman* — a dentist in London.— 353

*Sieber, Nikolai Ivanovich* (1844-1888) — Russian economist, one of the

first who defended and popularised the Marxian economic teaching in Russia.— 45, 64

*Siemens, Carl Wilhelm* (1823-1883) — German electrical engineer, businessman; lived in London from 1859 where he was in charge of the London branch of the German Siemens & Co., President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1882 and member of other scientific societies, author of works on heat and electricity.— 92, 314, 384

*Simon, John* (1816-1904) — English physician, medical inspector in the Privy Council.— 140

*Simon, Jules François Simon Suisse* (1814-1896) — French statesman, idealist philosopher, moderate bourgeois republican, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49), member of the Government of National Defence, Minister of Public Education in it and in Thiers' government (1870-73), deputy to the National Assembly (1871), inspired the struggle against the Commune, Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1876-77).— 140

*Singer, Paul* (1844-1911) — prominent figure in the German working-class movement and in the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag, active member of the Marxist wing in the Second International, member of the Board of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany from 1887, its Chairman from 1890; deputy to the Reichstag from 1884 and Chairman of its Social-Democratic group from 1885.— 260, 261, 433

*Skaldin* — see *Yelenev, Fyodor Pavlovich*

*Skobelev, Mikhail Dmitrievich* (1843-1882) — prominent Russian general, took part in military expeditions to Central Asia (1873, 1875-76 and 1880-81) and in the Russo-Turkish war (1877-78).— 209, 235

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790) — Scottish economist.— 16

*Soetbeer, Georg Adolf* (1814-1892) — German economist and statistician.— 257

*Solari, Jean* — Swiss socialist, journalist, editor of the *Précurseur* in the early 1880s.— 405

*Songeon* — French democrat, member of secret workers' revolutionary societies in Paris during the 1848 revolution, émigré in London in the 1850s, Chairman of the Paris City Council in the 1880s.— 317, 318

*Sophocles* (c. 497-406 B. C.) — Greek dramatist.— 230

*Sorge, Adolph* (d. 1907) — Friedrich Adolph Sorge's son, mechanical engineer, lived in the USA up to 1895; worked as an engineer in Baku oilfields in 1895-98, later moved to Germany.— 99, 161, 162, 177, 237, 280, 368

*Sorge, Friedrich Adolph* (1828-1906) — German teacher, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA in 1852 where he organised American sections of the International, secretary of the General Council, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), General Secretary of the General Council in New York (1872-74), a founder of the Socialist Workers' Party of North America (1876-77), friend and associate of Marx and Engels.— 24, 25, 42-47, 94, 98-101, 161-63, 177, 237, 278-80, 304-05, 368-70, 457, 460

*Sorge, Katharina* — Friedrich Adolph Sorge's wife.— 177

*Soulié, Melchior Frédéric* (1800-1847) — French revolutionary romantic writer and dramatist, republican;

opposed the Restoration, took an active part in the July 1830 revolution.—441

*Sparr, Berthold*—German Social-Democrat, lawyer, exiled from Berlin (1881) on the strength of the Anti-Socialist Law, émigré in London in 1882 where he sided with German anarchists, followers of Most.—236

*Spence, Thomas* (1750-1814)—English utopian socialist, advocated abolition of private property in land and establishment of the agrarian socialism.—228

*Stansfeld, James* (1820-1898)—English statesman and Liberal politician, M.P. (1859-95), held responsible government posts, Mazzini's friend.—83

*Stephann*—German-born physician in Algiers in the 1880s, treated Marx (second half of February-late April 1882).—214, 215, 217, 218, 219, 221, 223, 224, 226, 230, 232, 233, 235, 240, 241, 243, 245-47, 249, 250, 254, 262-63, 267, 274

*Stephann*—father of the above.—247

*Stiebeling, George*—German-born American statistician and petty-bourgeois journalist, member of the Central Committee of the sections of the First International in the USA, was expelled from the International for his splitting activities, member of the Socialist Workers' Party of North America, wrote several economic articles.—369

*Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882)—chief of the Prussian political police (1850-60), an organiser of and principal witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852), together with Wermuth wrote *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neuenzehnten Jahrhunderts*.—65

*Stoecker, Adolph* (1835-1909)—German clergyman and politician, founder (1878) and leader of the Christian-Social Party close to the extreme Right wing of the Conservatives, opposed the working-class socialist movement, preached anti-Semitism, deputy to the Reichstag from 1881.—73-74, 434

*Strasser, Louise*—see *Kautsky, Louise*

*Strousberg, Bethel Henry* (real name *Baruch Hirsch Strausberg*) (1823-1884)—German-born English railway entrepreneur, ruined in 1875.—382

*Swan, Joseph Wilson* (1828-1914)—English physicist, an inventor of the electric lamp.—391, 395

*Swinton, John* (1830-1901)—Scottish-born American journalist, editor of several major New York newspapers, among them *The Sun* (1875-83), founder and editor of the weekly *John Swinton's Paper* (1883-87).—22-23, 40-41, 43, 77, 93, 99

## T

*Tacitus, Publius Cornelius* (c. 55-c. 120)—Roman historian, orator and politician.—382, 383, 394

*Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de* (1754-1838)—French diplomat, Foreign Minister (1797-99, 1799-1807 and 1814-15), represented France at the Vienna Congress (1814-15).—273

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*Taylor, Helen* (1831-1907)—English public figure and politician, participated in the movement for women's political rights; supported the demand for Ireland's autonomy in 1880-85, took part in the foundation of the Democratic Federation (1881); follower of Hyndman; John Stuart Mill's stepdaughter.—333

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B. C.) — Roman author of comedies.— 147

*Terry, Ellen Alicia* (1847-1928) — English dramatic actress, famous performer of Shakespearean roles.— 104

*Theisz, Albert Frédéric Jules* (1839-1881) — metal-worker, prominent figure in the French working-class movement, Proudhonist, member of the Paris Commune, emigrated to England after the suppression of the Commune, member of the General Council of the International (1871).— 44

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*Thiers, Louis Adolph* (1797-1877) — French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836 and 1840), head of the Orleanists after 1848, Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1871), organised the suppression of the Paris Commune (1871), President of the Republic (1871-73).— 52

*Tissot, Victor* (1845-1917) — French writer and journalist, lived in Switzerland up to 1874, later in France; contributed to the *Gazette de Lausanne et Journal Suisse* from 1868 and edited it during the Franco-Prussian war, an editor of the *Figaro* in 1891-93.— 112

*Trouchu, Louis Jules* (1815-1896) — French general and politician, Orleanist, took part in the conquest of Algeria (the 1830s-40s), the Crimean (1853-56) and Italian (1859) wars; head of the Government of National Defence, commander-in-chief of the Paris armed forces (September 1870-January 1871), sabotaged the defence of the city, deputy to the National Assembly (1871).— 469

*Tupper, Martin Farquhar* (1810-1889) — English writer, author of *Proverbial Philosophy*.— 96

*Turgot, Anne Robert Jacques, baron de l'Aulne* (1727-1781) — French economist and statesman, Physiocrat, Controller-General of Finance (1774-76).— 73, 230

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V

*Vallés, Jules Louis Joseph* (1832-1885) — French writer, politician and journalist, republican; was imprisoned several times for his struggle against the Second Empire; member of the First International and of the Paris Commune, member of the Commission of Education and Foreign Relations; edited the *Cri du Peuple* (1871), was close to the Blanquists and Proudhonists; emigrated to England after the suppression of the Commune; edited the *Cri du Peuple* in France from October 1883.— 127

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*Viereck, Louis* (1851-1921) — German publisher and journalist, a leader of the Right wing in the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany at the time of the Anti-Socialist Law; deputy to the Reichstag (1884-87); dismissed from all responsible Party posts by decision of the 1887 St Gallen congress; emigrated to America in 1896 and withdrew from the socialist movement.— 75, 77, 93, 99, 139, 141, 259, 279, 350, 430, 431, 442-44, 445-47, 449, 450

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Progress; opposed Darwinism in the late 19th century.—317

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*Vischer, Friedrich Theodor* (1807-1888)—German Hegelian philosopher, author of a voluminous treatise on aesthetics.—235

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*Vogt, Karl* (1817-1895)—German naturalist, petty-bourgeois democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five imperial regents (June 1849), emigrated to Switzerland in 1849, received subsidies from Napoleon III in the 1850s and 1860s, slandered proletarian revolutionaries, exposed by Marx in his pamphlet *Herr Vogt*.—280

*Vollmar, Georg Heinrich von* (1850-1922)—German Social-Democrat, a leader of the opportunist, reformist wing of German Social-Democracy, edited the *Sozialdemokrat* (1879-80), was repeatedly elected deputy to the German Reichstag and Bavarian Landtag.—332, 336, 342, 349, 350, 352, 357, 360, 363, 373, 379, 386, 388, 408

W

*Wagener, Hermann* (1815-1889)—German journalist and politician, ideologist of Prussian Junkers, edited the *Neue Preußische Zeitung* (1848-54), a founder of the Prussian Conservative Party, Privy Councillor in the Bismarck government (1866-73), favoured 'state socialism'.—393

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*Warren, Joseph* (1741-1775)—American politician, a leader of the American revolution of the 18th century, killed in action at Bunker Hill in 1775.—78

*Weerth, Georg* (1822-1856)—German proletarian poet and journalist, shop assistant; member of the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49), friend of Marx and Engels.—59

*Weiler, Adam* (1841-1894)—German émigré, member of the British Federal Council of the International (1872-73), supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against English reformists, later joined the Social-Democratic Federation.—118

*Westphalen, Caroline von* (née *Heubel*) (1780-1856)—Jenny Marx's mother.—158

*Westphalen, Christian Heinrich Philipp von* (1724-1792)—secretary and friend of the Duke of Brunswick, took part in the Seven Years' War, author of a work on its history, Jenny Marx's grandfather.—158

*Westphalen, Ferdinand Otto Wilhelm Henning von* (1799-1876)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1850-58), half-brother of Jenny Marx.—158

*Westphalen, Gerhard Julius Oscar Ludwig Edgar von* (1819-1890)—Jenny Marx's brother, member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee (1846), lived in America in 1847-65, and in Berlin in the early 1880s.—159

*Westphalen, Jeanie von* (née *Wishart of Pittarow*) (1746-1811)—wife of Christian Heinrich Philipp von Westphalen from 1765, mother of Johann Ludwig von Westphalen, Jenny Marx's grandmother.—158

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1842)—Jenny Marx's father, Privy Councillor in Trier.—158

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*William I* (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, King of Prussia (1861-88), Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—78, 175, 178, 234-35, 441

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*Williamson, James M.*—English physician in Ventnor, treated Marx from November 1882 to early January 1883.—366, 371, 372, 375, 392, 399, 419, 420, 429

*Willich, Johann August Ernst* (1810-1878)—Prussian officer who left the service on political grounds, member of the Communist League, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, one of the leaders of the sectarian group that split away from the Communist League in 1850, emigrated to the USA in 1853, took part in the American Civil War on the side of the North.—281, 329

*Wilson, Charles Rivers* (1831-1916)—big English state and colonial official, head of the English Public Debt Administration (1874-94), Minister of Finance in the national government of Egypt (1878-79).—365, 376, 381

*Windthorst, Ludwig* (1812-1891)—German politician, Minister of Justice in Hanover (1851-52 and 1862-65), deputy to the Reichstag and a leader of the Party of the Centre.—189

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*Wolff*—German merchant, brother of Ferdinand Wolff.—425

*Wolff, Ferdinand* (*Red Wolff*) (1812-1895)—German journalist, member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee in 1846-47, member of the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49, left Germany after the 1848-49 revolution, supported Marx during the split in the Communist League (1850), later withdrew from political life.—425

*Wolseley, Garnet Joseph* (1833-1913)—English general, commanded English troops in Egypt in 1882.—313, 317, 327

*Wróblewski, Walery* (1836-1908)—Polish revolutionary democrat, a leader of the Polish liberation insurrection of 1863-64, general of the Paris Commune, emigrated to London after the suppression of the Commune, sentenced to death in absentia, member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), actively fought the Bakuninists, headed the Polish revolutionary society *Związek Ludu Polskiego* in London in 1872, advocated the idea of the Polish-Russian revolutionary union, returned to France after the amnesty, maintained contact with Marx and Engels.—183, 311, 314

## Y

*Yelenev, Fyodor Pavlovich* (pseudonym *Skaldin*) (1827-1902)—Russian writer, journalist, liberal; Secretary of the Editorial Commissions for the Prepara-

tion of the Peasant Reform of 1861 (1859-61); author of essays *Въ захолустьи и въ столицѣ* (In the Backwoods and in the Capital); member of the Council for the Press Affairs in 1868-96 and simultaneously, from 1890, member of the Council of the Ministry of the Interior; took a reactionary stand from the 1870s.—109

Z

*Zanardelli, Tito*—Italian-born French socialist, took part in the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71), lived in France in the 1870s-early 1880s, member of the International, contributed to the *Égalité*, exiled from France in late 1882.—346

*Zasulich, Vera Ivanovna* (1849-1919)—took part in the Narodnik (Populist) movement (from 1868) and later in the Social-Democratic movement in Russia, a founder (1883) and active participant in the Marxist Emancipation of Labour group.—71-72

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*Arbeiterstimme* — a weekly of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party and the General Trade Union Association published in Zurich from 1881 to 1901 and in Berne from 1902 to 1906.— 143, 177, 197, 386

*The Atlantic Monthly* — an American monthly published in Boston from 1857.— 101

*La Bataille* — a daily edited by Prosper Lissagaray and published in Paris from 1882 to 1892 in two series.— 219, 266, 289, 330, 333, 335, 343

*Der Bund. Eidgenössisches Zentralblatt* — a Swiss radical daily, published in German in Berne from 1850.— 327

[Cherny Peredel] *Черный передѣл* — a Russian journal of the revolutionary Narodnik organisation Cherny Peredel (General Redistribution); it was published between the early 1880 and the late 1881; initially its editors were Georgi Plekhanov, Pavel Axelrod, Yakov Stefanovich, Lev Deutsch; 5 issues appeared in all: the first two in Geneva and the rest three in Minsk.— 45

*Le Citoyen* — a French socialist daily, published under various titles in Paris from 1881 to 1884. Its editors were Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, Benoît Malon, Émile Massard, Achille Secondigné and others.— 141, 145, 190, 219, 238, 251, 298, 330, 332, 333, 334, 340, 343-45, 346-47, 354-56, 360-62, 370

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*Le Citoyen et la Bataille* — a newspaper edited by Lissagaray, Mals and Crié and published in Paris in 1882.— 344-45, 346, 347, 456

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*La Commune* — a daily edited by Félix Pyat and published in Paris in September-November 1880.— 43

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*The Contemporary Review* — a bourgeois-liberal monthly published in London since 1866.— 162, 185, 381

*The Daily News* — a liberal daily of the industrial bourgeoisie, published in London from 1846 to 1930.— 54, 83, 121, 216, 464

*Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst* — see *Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst*

*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* — a German-language yearly published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge; only the first issue, a double one, appeared in February 1844. It carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.— 58, 177

*The Eastern Post* — an English workers' weekly published in London under this title from 1868 to 1873, and under various titles up to 1938; organ of the General Council of the International from February 1871 to June 1872.— 52-53

*L'Égalité* — a French socialist weekly, founded by Jules Guesde in 1877; an organ of the French Workers' Party from 1880 to 1883. It was published in six series, each with its own subtitle. The first three series were published weekly (113 issues in all). The 4th and 5th series appeared daily (56 issues in all). Only one issue of the 6th series appeared in 1886.— 24, 27, 41, 144, 146, 149, 150, 155, 166, 173, 183, 190, 197, 200, 219, 221, 237, 238, 266, 278, 282, 283, 304, 332, 340, 347, 351, 353, 356, 357, 358, 361, 362, 370, 372, 373, 374, 379, 383, 384, 386, 387, 390, 391, 393, 394, 396, 402, 404, 407-08, 413, 441, 445

*L'Émancipation. Organe Quotidien du Parti Ouvrier* — a French socialist daily published in Lyons from 31 October to 24 November 1880 under the editorship of Benoît Malon.— 145, 361

*L'Étendard Révolutionnaire. Organe anarchiste hebdomadaire* — a French anarchist daily published in Lyons from 30 July to 8 October 1882.— 375

*L'Exploité de Nantes* — a French workers' newspaper published in Nantes in 1882.— 387

*The Financial Reform Almanach* — a yearly published in London and Liverpool from 1865 to 1904.— 212

*Le Forçat*—a French socialist weekly published in Lille from 14 July 1882 to 7 July 1883; newspaper of the Fédération du Nord of the French Workers' Party.—387

*Foreign Police Gazette*—a police newspaper published in London in 1882.—390

*Freiheit*—a German-language weekly of the anarchist Most-Hasselmann group published in London (1879-82), Switzerland (1882) and New York (1882-1908).—7, 9, 80, 83, 105, 129, 138, 236

*Gazette de Francfort*—see *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*

*Gerichts-Zeitung. Tagblatt für Hamburg, Altona und Umgegend*—a daily of the right wing of the German Social-Democratic Party published in 1878-81.—349, 357

*The Globe and Traveller*—a daily published in London from 1803 to 1921; mouthpiece of the Whigs up to 1866, and later of the Conservatives.—366

*Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst*—a literary and philosophical journal of the Young Hegelians published in Leipzig from January 1838 to June 1841. In July 1841 it began to appear under the title *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst*. Until June 1841 the journal was edited by Arnold Ruge and Theodor Echtermeyer in Halle and from July 1841, by Arnold Ruge in Dresden. In January 1843 it was closed down by the government.—181

*L'Intransigeant*—a newspaper published in Paris in 1880-1948; its founder and editor-in-chief was Henri Rochefort (1880-1910); in the 1880s it was a mouthpiece of radical republicans.—44, 82, 145, 309, 356

*Irish World and American Industrial Liberator*—a weekly published in New York from 1870.—157

*Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*—a German-language journal published by Karl Höchberg (pseudonym Dr Ludwig Richter) in Zurich from 1879 to 1881; three issues appeared.—16, 42, 279, 281, 292, 365, 448

*Journal de Francfort*—was published in French in Frankfurt am Main from 1799 to 17 July 1866 (with intervals).—158

*Journal de Genève national, politique et littéraire*—a Swiss conservative daily founded in 1826.—317, 326, 335

*Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*—a daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1944; during the 1848 revolution it voiced monarchist views; after the 1851 coup d'état, an organ of the moderate Orleanist opposition.—298

*La Justice*—a daily newspaper of the Radical Party published in Paris from 1880 to 1930. Directed by its founder Georges Clemenceau, the newspaper advocated in 1880-96 the views of the Party's left wing, i. e. the programme of separate democrat-

ic and social reforms, and voiced the interests of the petty and middle bourgeoisie. In 1880 Charles Longuet became its editor.— 45, 61, 84, 96, 111-12, 157, 158, 219, 230, 328, 330, 334, 335, 344, 345, 364, 373, 408, 426, 465, 470

*Kölner Zeitung* — see *Kölnische Zeitung*

*Kölnische Zeitung* — a German liberal daily published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945.— 10, 59, 114, 182, 235, 247, 248, 313, 330, 353, 394, 396

*Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* — a daily published in Berlin from 1785; also called *Vossische Zeitung* after its owner Christian Friedrich Voss.— 112

*The Labour Standard. An Organ of Industry* — a trade union weekly published in London from 1881 to 1885. Engels was its contributor in 1881.— 105, 118, 119-21, 123, 126, 140, 197, 278, 305, 359, 442

*Die Laterne* — a satirical Social-Democratic weekly published in Brussels from 15 December 1878 to 29 June 1879 under the editorship of Carl Hirsch.— 173

*La Liberté* — a conservative evening daily published in Paris from 1865 to 1944; in 1866-72 it belonged to Émile Girardin, supported the policy of the Second Empire.— 52

*Modern Thought* — a monthly journal on problems of religion, politics, ethics, science and literature published in London from 1879 to 1884.— 163, 165, 184

[Narodnaya Volya] *Народная Воля* — a Russian illegal newspaper of the terrorist Narodnik organisation of the same name. It was published from October 1879 to October 1885, the printing being carried out by underground printing shops in various cities of the country. 12 issues appeared in all. Up to 1 March 1881 its editors were Nikolai Morozov and Lev Tikhomirov and later Hermann Lopatin and others.— 236, 244

*Nature. A Weekly Illustrated Journal of Science* — a journal published in London since 1869.— 140

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie* — a daily published in Cologne under the editorship of Marx from 1 June 1848 to 19 May 1849 (with an interval between 27 September and 12 October 1848); an organ of the revolutionary proletarian democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; Engels was one of its editors.— 12, 59, 466

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* — a journal published by Marx and Engels from December 1849 to November 1850, theoretical organ of the Communist League.— 189

*Neue Zeit* — a journal of the German Social-Democrats published in Stuttgart from 1883 to October 1890 once a month, and then, up to the autumn of 1923, weekly

under the editorship of Karl Kautsky (1883-1917); Engels was its contributor between 1885 and 1894.—377, 437

*The New-York Herald*—a daily of the Republican Party published from 1835 to 1924.—312

*New Yorker Volkszeitung. Den Interessen des arbeiterden Volkes gewidmet*—a German-language socialist daily published in New York from 1878 to 1932.—99

*The Nineteenth Century. A Monthly Review*—a liberal journal published in London under this title from 1877 to 1900.—102

*The Northern Star*—an English weekly, central organ of the Chartists, published from 1837 to 1852; first in Leeds, from November 1844 in London. Its founder and editor was Feargus O'Connor, George Harney being one of its co-editors. Engels contributed to the paper from 1843 to 1850.—293

*La Nouvelle Revue*—a bourgeois-republican journal founded by Juliette Adam and published in Paris from 1879.—230

[Otechestvenniye Zapiski] *Отечественныя Записки*—a Russian literary and socio-political monthly published in St Petersburg from 1868 to 1884 under the editorship of Nikolai Nekrasov (up to 1877), Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin, Grigory Yeliseyev and Nikolai Mikhailovsky (after 1877); it was the literary mouthpiece of Russian democrats, being in fact an illegal journal of the underground revolutionaries; it was closed down by the government in 1884.—61

*Le Petit Colon Algérien*—a French-language bourgeois-republican daily published in Algiers from 1878.—214, 220

*La Petite République Française*—a radical-republican daily published in Paris from 1875 to 1893.—220

*Le Petit-Journal*—a republican daily published in Paris from 1863 to 1944.—220

*Le Petit Marseillais*—a republican daily published in Marseilles from 1868 to 1944.—254

*La Philosophie de l'Avenir. Revue du socialisme rationnel*—a republican monthly published in Paris from 1875 to 1900.—100

*La Plebe*—a monthly published from 1868 to 1875 either in Lodi or Milan and from 1875 to 1883 irregularly only in Milan; it was a bourgeois-democratic newspaper up to the early 1870s and then became an organ of the socialist workers' movement. Engels contributed to it from the end of 1871. As a mouthpiece of the Italian section of the IWMA it advocated in 1872-74 the policy of the General Council, published articles by Marx and Engels and the documents of the International.—392

*La Plebe. Revista Socialista*—an Italian socialist monthly published under the editorship of Enrico Bignami in Milan in 1881 and 1882 (as a new series of *La Plebe*).—410

*Post*—see *The Eastern Post*

*Le Précurseur*—a French-language socialist weekly published in Geneva from December 1876 to November 1886 under the editorship of Johann Philipp Becker.—77, 405

*Le Prolétaire*—a workers' weekly published in Paris from 1878 to 1884, became an organ of the Possibilists from the early 1880s.—146-47, 151, 154, 173, 182, 183, 190, 197, 200, 282, 289, 354, 355, 362, 363, 374, 380, 386, 456

*The Radical*—a weekly published in London from 14 December 1880 to July 1882.—185

*La République Française*—a daily founded by Léon Gambetta and published in Paris from 1871.—112, 298

*Revue der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung*—see *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*

*La Révolution Sociale*—a Bakuninist newspaper published in Paris in 1880.—43

*La Revue socialiste*—a monthly founded by the Possibilist Benoît Malon; initially a socialist-republican and later a syndicalist and co-operative journal; it was published from 1880 in Lyons and Paris, and from 1885 to 1914 in Paris. Marx and Engels contributed to it in the 1880s.—43, 372

*Równość (Égalité), Czasopismo socyjalistyczne (périodique socialiste)*—a Polish-language socialist monthly published in Geneva (Switzerland) from 1879 to 1880.—195

[Slovo] *Слово*—a literary and popular scientific monthly of a liberal trend published in St Petersburg from 1878 to April 1881.—61

*Le Soir*—a republican daily published in Paris from 1867.—52-53

*Der Sozialdemokrat. Organ der Sozialdemokratie deutscher Zunge*—a German-language weekly, central organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, published in Zurich from September 1879 to September 1888 and in London from October 1888 to 27 September 1890. It was edited by Georg von Vollmar in 1879 and 1880 and Eduard Bernstein from 1881 to 1890. Marx and Engels were among its contributors.—7, 8, 9, 38, 42, 59, 73, 77, 80, 86, 126, 127, 137, 141, 153, 173, 187, 189, 190, 203, 236, 251, 259-60, 279, 282, 289, 291-92, 302, 324, 325, 330, 334-36, 347-48, 351-52, 357, 358, 360, 370, 373, 377, 390, 393, 407, 431, 434, 445, 446, 448, 450, 455, 456, 465

*The Standard*—a conservative daily founded in London in 1827.—78, 121, 175, 206, 207, 275, 363, 365, 366, 376

*The Statist. A Journal of Practical Finance and Trade*—a weekly published in London from 1878.—62

*Süddeutsche Post. Unabhängiges demokratisches Organ für jedermann aus dem Volk*—a democratic newspaper published in Munich from 1869 to 1884.—350, 433, 442, 445

*The Sun*—a newspaper published in New York from 1833 to 1950.—24, 77

*Le Temps*—a daily of the big bourgeoisie published in Paris from 1861 to 1943.—262, 298, 304

*The Times* — a daily founded in London in 1785 under the title of *Daily Universal Register*; appears as *The Times* from 1788.— 31, 84, 170

*Der Volksstaat* — central organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party published in Leipzig from 2 October 1869 to 29 September 1876, first twice weekly and, from 1873, three times a week.— 65, 282, 449

*Volks-Zeitung* — a democratic daily published in Berlin since 1853.— 292

*Vorwärts. Central-Organ der Sozialdemokratie Deutschlands* — a newspaper published in Leipzig from October 1876 to October 1878. It appeared as a result of a merger of the *Neuer Sozialdemokrat* and the *Volksstaat*. Marx and Engels rendered constant assistance to its editors. The paper was suppressed when the Anti-Socialist Law was promulgated.— 282, 449

*Vossische Zeitung* — see *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*

*Weekly Dispatch* — a newspaper published in London from 1801 to 1928; voiced radical views in the 1880s.— 83

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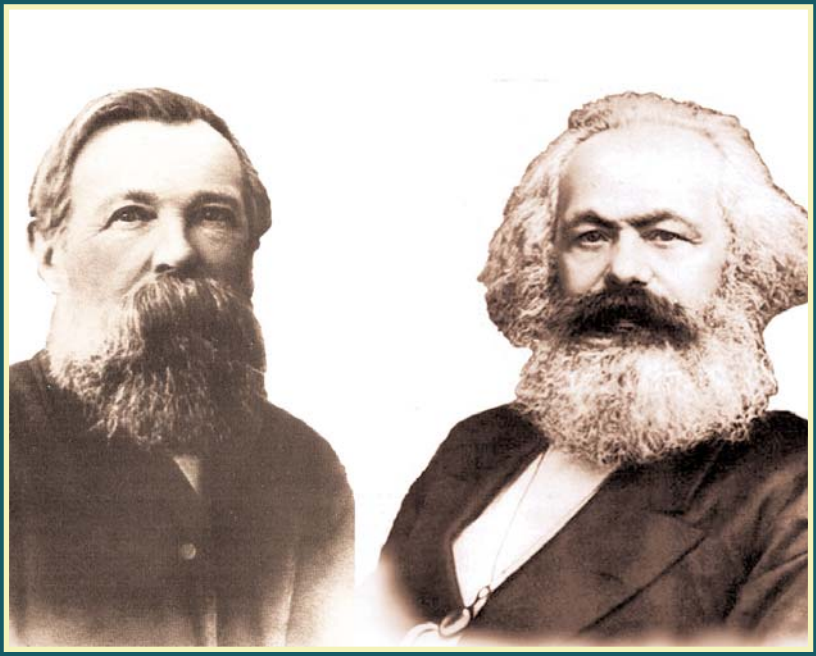

## VOLUME 47

Letters 1883-86

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 47

## Letters 1883-86

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STEPHEN SMITH: Letters 10, 76

# Preface

Volume 47 of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels contains Engels' letters dated from April 1883 to December 1886.

The letters at the beginning of this volume to the participants of democratic and labour movements in Russia, Germany, Holland, Britain, the United States and Italy on Marx's death reflect the world-wide concern over this sad development.

After Marx's death, the volume of Engels' correspondence increased considerably. The stream of letters from all over the world was evidence of growth of the workers' and democratic movement in Europe and the United States, of Engels' influence on this process and his expanding ties with leaders of socialist parties.

New names appeared among his correspondents, such as those of Hermann Schlüter, John Lincoln Mahon, Pasquale Martignetti, and Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky. He wrote not only to friends, comrades and followers, but also to strangers who turned to him for advice or with requests (see this volume, pp. 8, 27, 66, 282-83). For Engels maintaining and expanding his international contacts was a most demanding duty. He wrote to August Bebel on 30 April 1883: 'For after all, we wish to maintain intact, in so far as it is in my power, the many threads from all over the world which spontaneously converged upon Marx's study' (p. 17).

Marx named Engels and Eleanor Marx his 'literary executors'. Engels concentrated on completing the publication of Marx's unfinished works, first of all volumes II and III of *Capital*, which he had left in handwritten variants, and of new editions of Volume I of *Capital*

(p. 39). Engels also intended to undertake, but unfortunately did not write, a full biography of Marx on the basis of the existing extensive correspondence and other material from Marx's archive, which would incorporate the history of the German socialist movement from 1843 to 1863 and of the International from 1864 to 1872 (pp. 17, 26). In his letters, Engels referred repeatedly to the history of the International Working Men's Association, stressing the role Marx had played in it. 'Mohr's life without the International,' he wrote (in English) to Laura Lafargue on 24 June 1883, 'would be a diamond ring with the diamond broken out' (p. 40).

Engels completed the preparation for the printer, begun by Marx, of the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital* before the end of 1883. This involved much painstaking labour (as his letter to Friedrich Adolph Sorge of 29 June 1883, among others, shows). He also went out of his way to assure the appearance of *Capital* in other languages (p. 87), choosing translators with great care, and often helping to edit their translations. With Samuel Moore, Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx, he organised and edited the first English translation of Volume I of *Capital* (pp. 436-37) which took him 'the better part of a year' (p. 492).

Many of Engels' letters refer to his preparation for the printer of the second and third volumes of Marx's *Capital.* They are imbued with respect for his deceased friend and with the wish to make the works of Marx available to the working class and progressive intellectuals. '...Some labour when you're dealing with a man like Marx, who weighed every word,' Engels wrote to Johann Philipp Becker on 22 May 1883. 'But to me it is a labour of love; after all I shall be back again with my old comrade' (p. 26).

Other letters on this score give a fairly good idea of how Engels laboured over *Capital*'s economic manuscripts — how he virtually deciphered Marx's handwriting, how he determined the chronological framework, collated notes, compared separate variants, checked quotations, and finally transcribed the entire volume in order to edit the clean copy (pp. 29, 33, 42-43, 53, 88-89). He could not let anyone else do this because, as he put it, '*there is not another living soul* who can decipher that writing and those abbreviations of words and style' (p. 93).

Preparation of Volume III dragged out and the volume did not appear in print until 1894. In his letters to Karl Kautsky of 21-22 June 1884 and Johann Philipp Becker of 2 April 1885, and elsewhere,

Engels emphasised the scientific significance of the second and third volumes of *Capital* (pp. 154, 267).

Engels followed carefully the dissemination of Marx's ideas. Of particular interest are his letters about the popular summary of *Capital* produced by the French socialist Gabriel Deville. Engels was concerned that the explication of Marxism's basic economic principles should be comprehensible to working people and not overly abstruse (p. 61), and in his letters to Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky he recommended publishing the popularisations by Deville and Paul Lafargue. This would, he argued, introduce *Capital* and its ideas into the United States (pp. 464-65). Engels also welcomed Kautsky's book, *Karl Marx's Oekonomische Lehren*, which was well received by the public (p. 482).

In the 1880s, economic literature, notably by the so-called 'armchair socialists' (Kathedersozialisten), charged that Marx had borrowed his theory of surplus value from Rodbertus (pp. 138-39). This charge of plagiarism had to be refuted once and for all owing to the influence the armchair socialists were gaining among some Social Democrats. Engels produced a critical analysis of the main works of Rodbertus, whom he vividly described as 'apostle of the careerists of Bismarckian socialism' (p. 139) in letters to Eduard Bernstein and Karl Kautsky (pp. 72, 125-26, 193-94), whose content accords with ideas Engels originally expressed in his prefaces to the first German edition of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* ('Marx and Rodbertus') and the first edition of Volume II of *Capital* (see present edition, Vols. 26 and 36).

The correspondence refers extensively to Engels' work on the translation and republication of a number of other important works by Marx and himself. The letters show that, in choosing these works, Engels was above all guided by the needs of the workers' movement, with an eye to the continuous entry into it of new people unversed in theory.

In some countries, the workers' movement of the 1880s was quite strongly influenced by the anarchists. The focal point of their polemics with Social Democrats was the question of the State. On 18 April 1883, answering the American Philipp Van Patten's question on Marx's attitude to anarchists, Engels elaborated on the historical future of the State. He described anarchist formulae — that the proletarian revolution should begin by abolishing the State — as 'anarchist absurdities', because this would be tantamount to destroying 'the only organism by means of which the victorious working class can exert its

newly conquered power' (p. 10). Engels dwelt on the matter also in a letter to Bernstein, this time in connection with the latter's attack in the press on some American socialists who had also failed to understand Marx's doctrine of the State. Engels referred Bernstein to Marx's *The Civil War in France* and cited extracts from *The Poverty of Philosophy* and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (pp. 73-74, 86). To bring the Marxist doctrine of the State to those who had newly joined the socialist movement, Engels republished these and other works (Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and Engels' *Anti-Dühring* and *The Housing Question*).

Engels examined the nature and class essence of the State in his *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see present edition, Vol. 26). He noted that he wrote the book to fulfil Marx's wishes. Marx had read *Ancient Society* by the liberal American scholar, Lewis H. Morgan, and had himself planned to write on the subject (pp.103, 115-16).

The correspondence of the 1880s lifts the veil on Engels' further elaboration of the theory of socialist revolution. He was above all preoccupied by the question of tactics and, in particular, by what he saw as the incorrect evaluation by the German Social Democrats of the character of the expected revolution. Engels examined capitalist world development in the 1880s, and concluded that the socialist revolution in countries with semi-absolutist political survivals and feudal relations in agriculture (for instance, Germany) would necessarily be preceded by a bourgeois-democratic stage. '...In our case ...,' he wrote to Bernstein in 1883, 'the first, immediate result of the revolution can and *must*, so far as *form* is concerned, be nothing other than a *bourgeois* republic'(p. 51). Then and only then would the struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie follow classical lines, i. e. pave the way to '*direct*, undisguised class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie' (ibid.). At the same time, Engels warned against imagining 'the revolution as something that can be achieved overnight. In fact it is a process of development on the part of the masses which takes several years even under conditions that tend to accelerate it' (p. 51).

All his life Engels examined the dynamics of capitalist economics. Like Marx, he noticed the modification of the economic cycle and the appearance of intermediate five-year crises. He associated this with the uneven development of the leading states and the gradual decline of Great Britain in the world market (pp. 23, 82). To be sure, not all

of Engels' predictions came true. Among others, this applies to the idea of an economic 'crisis without end' (p. 402) which he predicted in a letter to Nikolai Danielson of 8 February 1886 and Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky of 3 February 1886 (pp. 396-97). In the 1890s, Engels would elaborate on his views, noting capitalism's considerable stability and expanding sphere of influence (see present edition, Vol. 37).

In many of his letters, Engels touched on various international problems of the mid-1880s which arose owing to the rivalry of the European powers in the Balkans, Germany's aggressive policies, and the views of certain circles in France who wanted back the lands Prussia had seized in 1871 (pp. 353, 483-84, 485-86, 510-11, 513-14). Examining the diplomatic games in Europe, the balance of power and the probable consequences of a military conflict, Engels helped European socialists to work out their tactics in questions of war and peace. In his letters to August Bebel, Johann Philipp Becker and Friedrich Adolph Sorge he stressed that workers of all countries should fight against the militarist system and the war danger. Though Engels admitted that war might create favourable conditions for the victory of the working class, he did not relate revolution and its victory directly to war. On the contrary, he was convinced war would take an incredibly high toll and 'retard our movement' (pp. 353-54, 487).

Special mention should be made of letters to members of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany which, as Engels put it, was at that time the leading European workers' party (p. 36).

The German labour movement in 1883-86 was exposed to the rigours of Bismarck's Anti-Socialist Law. By combining legal and illegal methods, the party managed to win influence among the mass of the people by the mid-1880s. Engels described its success in Reichstag elections as a trial of strength (p. 198).

He believed that socialist parties should participate in election campaigns and parliamentary activity, but did not regard them as the only or main form of struggle. Looking into the experience of the German Social Democrats, he called their attention to the conditions on which they might come forward with their own bills without prejudicing their principles. In a letter to Bernstein of 11 November 1884, he said such bills could be formulated 'without regard for petty-bourgeois prejudices' and could avoid being utopian (p. 217). He elaborated on this in a letter to Bebel of 20-23 January 1886 (pp. 388-89).

Engels helped the left wing of the German Social Democratic movement in its fight against reformist elements who had a majority in the Social Democratic parliamentary group. He traced the spread of reformism to the influence of the petty bourgeoisie. 'In a philistine country like Germany,' he observed in a letter to Johann Philipp Becker of 15 June 1885 'the party must also have a philistine "educated" right wing' (p. 300). That most of the parliamentary group were men of petty-bourgeois background was traceable to the absence of deputies' salaries, which barred the doors to the Reichstag for many promising worker deputies.

Reacting to differences within the Social Democratic parliamentary group over the bill on State subsidies to shipping companies, Engels set forth his views on party unity in letters to Bebel and others (pp. 239, 269-71, 284 et al). Letting matters reach an open break with the right wing, he felt, was undesirable in the context of the Anti-Socialist Law, and would only weaken the party: in the absence of a forum for public discussion, the rank-and-file would hardly be able to understand the reasons for, and substance of, the split. Engels wrote to Bernstein on 5 June 1884: '*We* ... must steer clear of anything that might lead to a breach, or rather might lay the *blame* for that breach at our door. That is the universal rule when there is a struggle within one's own party, and now it applies more than ever' (p.145).

We see from his correspondence that Engels was a faithful reader of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, the central organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, and, indeed, was always ready to help its staff headed by Bernstein. His letters were often made the core of editorials, and thus came to be known to the German workers (pp. 139-42, 329-31).

Engels' letters to August Bebel, leader of the party's left wing, touched on an especially broad spectrum of problems. Engels wrote of Bebel: 'There is no more lucid mind in the whole of the German party, besides which he is utterly dependable and firm of purpose' (pp. 201-02).

Engels' letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht of 2 January 1886, first found in 1983, is being published in English translation here for the first time, filling a gap in their correspondence which has reached us incomplete.

During that period, Engels devoted much of his attention to the independent movement of the English working class, especially in connection with 'the sudden emergence' of socialism in Britain (p. 82). He saw the 'secret' of its revival (some decades after Owenism and

Chartism had faded away) in the erosion of Britain's monopoly in the world market by American and German competition, and the impact of the economic depression which had dragged on and on since 1873 (ibid.). More than ten years of slump had increased unemployment, ruined tenant farmers, and speeded up rural migration to the cities, adding to the number of homeless and jobless. The radical-minded intellectuals and politically active workers, disappointed in the Liberals, turned to socialism for relief from economic strains and social contradictions. The word 'socialism' was on everybody's lips. In a letter to Laura Lafargue, who was in Paris, Engels referred to 'the new Socialist "rage" in London' (pp. 94-95).

Engels, as his letters show, was critical of the Democratic Federation formed and headed by Henry Mayers Hyndman in 1881 and renamed the Social Democratic Federation in 1884. His guarded attitude was due to its heterogeneous membership, the young people who had 'emerged from amongst the bourgeoisie'. These elements, he wrote, varied considerably 'morally and intellectually', and had no root in the working class (pp. 54, 82). 'The elements presently active,' he wrote to Bebel on 30 August 1883, 'might become important, now that they have accepted our theoretical programme and thus acquired a basis, but only if a spontaneous movement broke out amongst the workers here and they succeeded in gaining control of it' (p. 54).

After reading the Federation's manifesto, Engels commented that 'these people have now at last been compelled publicly to proclaim our theory as their own, a theory which, at the time of the International, seemed to them to have been imposed upon them from outside' (ibid.). But the incorporation in the programme of a Marxist provision — the socialisation of the means of production — did not mean a mass working-class political party had emerged. Engels, however, had urged English workers to set up such a party as early as 1881, in his contribution to *The Labour Standard* (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 404-06). The trade union movement was far removed from socialist ideas. Yet the Social Democratic Federation's leadership, notably Hyndman, renounced contacts with the organised workers. Engels wrote to Laura Lafargue in February 1884: '...The new "respectable" Socialist stir here does go on very nicely, the thing is becoming fashionable, but the working classes do not respond yet. Upon that everything depends' (p. 105).

Engels criticised Hyndman for his lack of scruples, his disregard of

political principles, and chauvinism in regard to other nations. He called him to account, too, for his excessive ambition, and his tendency towards political intrigue (pp. 118, 123, 155, 165, 236-37, 247, 366-67). The fact that Marx had broken off relations with Hyndman in 1881 had, of course, contributed to Engels' guarded attitude (see present edition, Vol. 46, pp. 102-04).

Working jointly with Samuel Moore, Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx on the English translation of Volume I of *Capital*, Engels was sceptical of Hyndman's translation of some of its chapters (pp. 127, 313, 424) printed in *To-Day*. He criticised Hyndman's translation in an article, 'How Not to Translate Marx' (present edition, Vol. 26). Nevertheless the appearance in the socialist press of large fragments of *Capital* before its publication under separate cover in 1887 after Engels' editing had helped the spread of Marx's economic theory among workers and intellectuals.

Engels' letters betray his good knowledge of such socialist periodicals as *Justice* and *To-Day* from which he obtained an idea of the people who had attached themselves to the socialist movement in the early half of the 1880s (pp. 85-86, 114, 122, 424). He was also briefed on the activity of the Social Democratic Federation by Eleanor Marx, Edward Aveling, William Morris, Belfort Bax, and other of its left-leaning members. Towards the close of 1884, Hyndman's sectarian tactics caused profound differences within the Federation, and led to the resignation of those on its left wing who formed a new organisation, the Socialist League. Engels set forth the history of that split in letters to Bernstein and Sorge (pp. 236-38, 245). In the years that followed, he informed his correspondents in Germany and in the United States of the activity of those two socialist organisations.

Although critical of the SDF leadership, Engels approved of its actions in defence of the unemployed (holding demonstrations, sending deputations to MPs, and so forth). However, he described its leaders' attempt at attracting the mass of workers with ultra-left slogans of 'social revolution' as reckless 'revolutionary ranting' (pp. 407-08, 427). In the autumn of 1886 he admitted, however, that the 'Social Democratic Federation is beginning to be something of a power, since the masses have absolutely no other organisation to which they can rally' (p. 529). However, among the active socialists of the SDF, the Radical Clubs in the East End, and the Socialist League, he saw no one who could lead a mass movement of the unemployed (pp. 526, 534). Engels had close contacts with members of the Socialist League and

supported their newspaper, *The Commonweal*, and was doubly upset by the symptoms in its ranks of 'teething troubles', sectarianism, and anarchist influence (pp. 438, 446, 471).

Despite some successful actions, the socialist movement in Britain of the early half of the 1880s was divided and had no public backing to speak of. '...The masses,' Engels wrote to Sorge, 'are still holding aloof, although here too *beginnings* of a movement are perceptible. But it will be some time before the masses are in full spate, which is a good thing because it means that there will be time for proper leaders to emerge' (p. 492).

In a series of letters Engels referred to specific features in the history of France and its labour movement. Ever since 1789, he pointed out, the political struggles in France had followed classical lines, with the governments that succeeded each other 'moving ever further to the Left' (pp. 149, 342). In 1885 Engels welcomed the collapse of Jules Ferry's cabinet which had ruled on behalf of the big bourgeoisie and stock exchange speculators with a big stake in colonial conquest, and had predicted the imminent victory in elections of the Radicals. This, he hoped, would provide favourable conditions for class struggle (pp. 270, 364). What might hamper the growth of the French labour movement, he maintained, was its low theoretical level and the surviving influence of various types of pre-Marxian socialism (pp. 183, 342). In his view, it had not yet fully recovered from the defeat of the Paris Commune (p. 211).

The correspondence is an important source of information about the processes that were underway in the French socialist movement of the early half of the 1880s. In 1882 the movement broke up into separate organisations of reformists (Possibilists) and collectivists, the latter comprising the Workers' Party, by and large an adherent of scientific socialism. Engels' letters clarify his outlook and that of the leaders of the Workers' Party on two crucial issues that had a bearing on the party's future: the relationship with the Possibilists, and use of the bourgeois parliament in the workers' interests.

At a complicated time, with the Workers' Party locked in struggle with the Possibilists, Engels urged its leaders to study theory. Some of his letters to Lafargue were printed as articles in the French socialist press (pp. 235-36, 255-56). He commended Lafargue and Deville for lecturing on Marx's teaching in France and for coming to grips with the opponents of Marxism in the press (pp. 107, 134-35, 171, 179-83).

Engels welcomed the independent labour faction in the Chamber

of Deputies. For the first time, the voice of labour resounded publicly in defence of the striking miners of Decazeville. The workers' deputies edged away from the Radicals, which Engels considered as 'a great event' (pp. 409, 414, 418, 441-42). Although the faction was small, the Workers' Party had now acquired a public political tribune.

Time and again, in letters to Bebel, Liebknecht, and Paul and Laura Lafargue, Engels offered his view of bourgeois radicalism in France whose influence had risen in the autumn of 1885. Some of his statements were over-emphatic. This applied first of all to his ideas about the historical possibilities of the Radicals, and also to over-optimistic predictions of the imminent emergence of the French socialists onto the political foreground (pp. 300, 314, 343, 470).

A conspicuous place in the volume is taken up by Engels' correspondence with his old friend, the American socialist Friedrich Adolph Sorge, and with Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky, who translated some of Engels' works. His letters show how profoundly he understood the specificity of the United States, a country that had had no feudal past and was the 'ideal of all bourgeois: a country rich, vast, expanding, with purely bourgeois institutions unleavened by feudal remnants or monarchical traditions, and without a permanent and hereditary proletariat' (p. 452). Still, the emergence of large-scale industry there resulted in the appearance of an indigenous working class.

A powerful workers' action for an eight-hour working day was mounted in 1886, with 11,500 enterprises being engulfed in strikes. This and the success of the French socialists Engels described as 'the two events of world historic importance' of the year (p. 470). The strikes demolished the image of a non-antagonistic America to which the European bourgeoisie had resorted in the election campaign. 'What has completely stunned these people is the fact that the movement is so strongly accentuated as a labour movement, and that it has sprung up so suddenly and with such force' (p. 533).

The socialist movement in 19th-century America was strongly influenced by German immigrants. Nor was this influence all positive. The Lassalleans, advocates of essentially political struggle, had all too often caused a weakening of local unions which confined themselves to economic demands only. The Socialist Labor Party founded in 1876 consisted almost exclusively of German immigrants. It had its newspapers, *New-Yorker Volkszeitung* and *Der Sozialist*, both of which appeared in German. At times, the German socialist move-

ment in the United States was perceived by its members as a branch of the German socialist movement in Europe. Engels referred scathingly to the bookwormish dogmatism of the German socialists in the USA (p. 531). In a letter to Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky in December 1886, he deplored their sectarianism and non-participation in the 1886 movement of the American workers (pp. 541-42). He was troubled by the lack of cohesion and unity in the US labour movement, and referred to the subject at length in his letters, emphasising its importance (pp. 470, 525).

The letters show that Engels saw the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor, an organisation of chiefly unskilled white and black workers, as the point of departure in the drive for a true working-class party in the USA. Not that he was blind to the mistakes of its leaders. He considered it a real force, stating in no uncertain terms that the Order should be revolutionised from within, that it was necessary 'to work in their midst, to form ... a nucleus of men who know the movement and its aims' (pp. 532, 541). Neither the Knights of Labor nor the United Labor Party, whose founding Engels welcomed in his letter to Laura Lafargue of 24 November 1886, however, proved viable.

When Kelley-Wischnewetzky asked for Engels' permission to translate and publish his book, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, he gave his consent and promised to edit the translation. In lieu of a preface, he wrote an article, 'The Labour Movement in America' (see present edition, Vol. 26), where he raised the problems he had discussed in his correspondence with Kelley-Wischnewetzky (pp. 82, 525, 530, 540-41), and made an incisive analysis of the popular US economist Henry George.

Engels' correspondence reflects his keen interest in the social-economic and political history of Russia and the Russian revolutionary movement. His chief Russian correspondents in 1883-86 were Nikolai Danielson, Pyotr Lavrov, and Vera Zasulich. Their letters, along with the periodicals and other literature, were for him a continuous source of information about life in Russia.

Engels saw the specificity of Russia in that there every degree of 'social development is represented, from the primitive commune to modern big industry and high finance, and ... all these contradictions are forcibly pent up by an unheard-of despotism' (p. 281). He predicted an imminent financial crash and stressed the disaffection among all social groups over the internal situation. He observed that 'the so-called emancipation of the peasants' in 1861 had not entirely

liberated the peasants, with left-overs of feudal relations surviving in the countryside. As in the 1870s, one of the central subjects in the correspondence between Engels and the Russian revolutionaries was that of the prospects for revolution in Russia. Engels clearly overestimated the revolutionary sentiment in Russia when he wrote that the Tsar's government was 'at bay' and that the country would soon have its own 1789 (pp. 112, 338). His optimism was partly stimulated by the activity of Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) revolutionary organisation (pp. 256, 338).

His letter to Vera Zasulich of 23 April 1885 contains his conception of the character and motive forces of the impending revolution in Russia. He discusses possible revolutionary scenarios, from a palace coup to a people's revolution, which he compares to the Jacobinic dictatorship of 1793 . When he gave both main dates of the French Revolution, 1789 and 1793, he evidently had in mind the succession of stages in the revolutionary cycle, from the bourgeois to the bourgeois-democratic revolution (pp. 112, 281).

Like Marx, he was certain that the Russian revolution would tear down tsarism, that 'last stronghold of reaction' (pp. 488-89), and thereby influence the political situation in the rest of Europe, ending tsarism's policy of conquests (pp. 338, 515-16).

The letters show that Engels welcomed the growth of revolutionary forces in Russia and that he established close ties with the first Russian Marxists in the Emancipation of Labour group.

Nor did he ever deny support to Russian socialists who had translated into Russian such works as: K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy* (1886), Volume II of *Capital* (1885), and his *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (1884), and so forth. He commended their professional skill. In a letter to Sorge of 29 June 1883 he wrote, 'Translating the *Manifesto* is awfully difficult; by far the best renderings I have seen are the Russian' (p. 42).

The correspondence of 1883-1886 is a valuable source of information about Engels' life and offers evidence of his boundless respect for Marx. To perpetuate the memory of his friend, often to the detriment of his then shaky health, he worked from eight to ten hours at his desk, editing Marx's manuscripts (pp. 197, 202, 456, 492). Conscious of the pressure of his obligations, he wrote to Johann Philipp Becker on 15 October 1884: '...My misfortune is that since we lost Marx I have been supposed to represent him. I have spent a lifetime doing what I was fitted for, namely playing second fiddle, and indeed I be-

lieve I acquitted myself reasonably well. And I was happy to have so splendid a first fiddle as Marx. But now that I am suddenly expected to take Marx's place in matters of theory and play first fiddle, there will inevitably be blunders and no one is more aware of that than I' (p. 202).

The letters produce a vivid and most attractive portrait of Engels, a revolutionary internationalist, theorist, sensitive and responsive friend, a man brimming with energy and optimism. They testify to his touching affection for Marx's daughters, and his warm concern for such veterans of the labour movement as Friedrich Lessner, Johann Philipp Becker, George Julian Harney, and others.

* * *

Volume 47 contains 310 letters by Frederick Engels. Of these 180 are published in English for the first time; 130 letters have been published in English before, 65 of these in part only. All previous publications are indicated in the notes.

Letter No. 310 of 25 March 1886, the use of which was kindly granted by University College Library, London, shortly before the deadline, was included in the volume at the last moment on p. 543, so that the chronological order had to be disregarded.

Eleanor Marx-Aveling's letter to Horatio Bryan Donkin of 8 February 1886, the use of which was kindly granted by University College Library, London, is included in the Appendix and is being published in English for the first time.

Obvious errors in the text of the letters have been silently corrected. Abbreviated proper and place names, and individual words are given in full, except when the abbreviations were made for reasons of secrecy or cannot be deciphered. Defects in the originals are indicated in the footnotes, and passages with lost or illegible words are denoted by omission marks. Wherever their hypothetical reconstruction was possible, it is given in square brackets. Any text crossed out by the author is reproduced in footnotes only if it has a substantive bearing on the sense. The special nature of certain letters which were drafts or fragments reproduced in other documents is indicated either in the text itself or in the notes.

Foreign words and expressions in the text of the letters are retained

in the form in which they were used by the authors, with a translation where necessary in the footnotes and italicised (if they were underlined by the authors they are italicised and spaced out). English words and expressions used by Engels in texts written in German and French are printed in small caps. Longer passages written in English in the original are placed in asterisks.

The numbers of notes relating to the same facts and events in the texts of different letters, are repeated.

The texts of letters and notes were prepared for publication by Irina Shikanyan (April 1883 to November 1885), Yelena Kofanova (November 1885 to January 1886), and Natalia Sayenko (January to December 1886). The Preface was written by Irina Shikanyan. Editors of the volume are Valeria Kunina and Velta Pospelova. The name index and the index of periodicals are by Andrei Pozdnyakov with the assistance of Yelena Kofanova, and the index of quoted and mentioned literature is by Yelena Kofanova (Russian Independent Institute of Social and National Problems).

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KARL MARX
FREDERICK ENGELS

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME

47

# 1883

## 1

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV [1]

### IN PARIS

London, 2 April 1883

My dear Lavrov,

I hasten to acknowledge receipt of your letter enclosing a postal order for 124.50 frs. I shall not be able to cash it until Wednesday [a] at the earliest, as tomorrow I have to examine the manuscripts left by Marx. [2] On completion of the commission I shall announce the fact in the *Sozialdemokrat* of Zurich, and shall ask the editorial department to send you one or two copies of that particular number. It goes without saying that no mention will be made of Citizen Krantz's [b] name. [3]

I have found the manuscript of the *Zirkulation des Kapitals* [c] and of the third book: *Die Gestaltungen des Gesammtprozesses* [d] — some 1,000 in-folio pages. [4] So far it's impossible for me to say whether the manuscript as it stands is in a fit condition to go to press. In any case I shall have to copy it out as it is in rough draft. Tomorrow I shall at last have time enough to devote several hours to going through all the manuscripts that Moor has left us, in particular an outline of dialectics which he had always intended to do. [5] But he always refrained from telling us how far his work had progressed, for he was aware that, once people realised something was ready, he would be pestered until he consented to its publication. All this is between you and me; I have no right to publish anything without Tussy who is my literary co-executrix.

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[a] 4 April - [b] a pen-name for Pyotr Lavrov - [c] *Circulation of Capital* - [d] *The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole*

We were all delighted and surprised to hear that our good, brave — to the point of madness — Lopatin had so happily regained his freedom.[6] Let us hope that, while retaining his bravery, he has left his madness behind him in Russia. I hope to see him here one of these days. Please give him my warm regards.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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Translated from the French

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## 2

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 11 April 1883

My dear Laura,

I do indeed think, along with you, that Paul ought to go and see his mother and I have told him so many a time and many a year ago. As to the extra expense, that will not be much and I can soon find you that, if informed in time. Only, if things are as you describe, it will require some considerable diplomacy on Paul's part, not to spoil his own game — that Christian sister of charity ought not to be made an enemy of[7] — she is *always* there and Paul *not*, and if only her suspicions are aroused, be sure she will never cease to beguile the old woman into a will as much in her favour as the law will permit. So that point I suppose is settled — you'll have to look after the execution.

We all of us have had a hearty laugh at your account of the Argenteuil adventures.[8] It is so like him[a] from beginning to end. To-day it

[a] Charles Longuet

is a week that Tussy sent him a very categorical letter: when is the boy[a] to come? Not a line in reply. *Il est toujours en train de réfléchir.*[b]

Paul is sure of six months at least.[9] He was awfully funky about it when here, and amused Liebknecht out of all measure with his *horror carceris.*[c] But if he does not now start in earnest to learn German, I shall consider him to be nothing but *un enfant gâté.*[d] Imagine he writes to me that he *will* learn it—'*comme vous le dites très bien* (!) *il pourra* (!) *devenir nécessaire que je le sache pour des traductions!*'.[e] As if the perfection of his own accomplishments, bright as they are, did not entirely depend on his reading certain German things, published and unpublished! He rejoices in the prospect of the 2nd volume [of] *Capital* being published, but will he ever be able to read it?

If M-me Gendre will translate the *Manifest*[f] into French and let me revise the translation (it's no child's play, you know) I will write her a preface sufficient to explain the historical circumstances, etc.[10] But as I know nothing much of the lady, I am bound to say at present: no revision, no preface. A *right* to stop any proceedings of hers in that direction I have not. This notabene is for Paul. So is this: What speech of Giffen he writes about I don't know, nor where it was published.

Pumps is still 'expectant', or was so at least last night. Percy's mother told him the other day that really he ought to be a little better informed in a case like that.

Jollymeyer is here for a few days. Since then (as some days before he left 10 days ago) we have every evening a bobby promenading before the house, when I let Carlo out about 12. The imbeciles evidently think we are manufacturing dynamite, when in reality we are discussing whisky.

Kind regards from him and myself to both of you.

Yours affectionately,

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

Reproduced from the original

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[a] Jean Longuet - [b] He is still thinking it over. - [c] fear of imprisonment - [d] a spoilt child - [e] 'As you say *very aptly* (!) it may (!) prove necessary for me to know it for translations!' - [f] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party.*

## 3

## ENGELS TO FERDINAND DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS [1]

### IN THE HAGUE

London, 11 April 1883
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Comrade,

You must understand that, since the death of my old friend, I have been so taken up with correspondence, business matters, the perusal of his writings, etc., that I have been able to attend only to what was absolutely imperative. [2] Today I have at last found a minute or two in which to thank you for your letter of condolence [11] and for your excellent obituary in *Recht voor Allen.* [a] That obituary was undoubtedly one of the best we have seen, and was unanimously acclaimed as such among our circle of intimates here.

Many thanks, too, on behalf of his surviving daughters [b] and of myself, to the Dutch workers' party [12] for their participation, at least in spirit, in our friend's last rites. In this they were at one with our German, French, Spanish, Russian and American comrades.

Should fate or the urge to travel—in our case sadly curbed—bring me to Holland, I shall consider myself under an obligation to look you up, just as I would urge you to look me up should you come to England.

Marx has left a great wad of manuscript for the second part of *Capital*, the whole of which I must first read (and what handwriting!) before I can tell to what extent it is printable and to what extent it requires complementing from subsequent notebooks. [4] At all events, *the main substance is there.* Since I cannot as yet say anything more definite, however, I would ask you not to put anything in the papers about it just now, as this might lead to misunderstandings. Besides, Marx's youngest daughter Eleanor is my literary co-executrix, I can do nothing without her and the ladies, as you know, are sticklers for form.

---

[a] F. D. Nieuwenhuis, 'Karl Marx', *Recht voor Allen*, No. 4, 24 March 1883.-
[b] Laura Lafargue and Eleanor Marx

Excuse me *dat ik niet op hollandsch schrijf*[a]; in recent years I have had no practice in the use of your language.

Very sincerely yours,
F. Engels

I enclose my photograph and beg you to send me yours. As soon as we have got new ones of Marx I shall send you one.

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4

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN
### IN ZURICH

London, 14 April 1883

Dear Mr Bernstein,

Dr Aveling, editor of *Progress*, wrote to *The Republican* with a view to purchasing the wood block of Marx's portrait which appeared in that paper. [13] Came the reply: *THAT* BLOCK HAS BEEN SENT TO GERMANY FOR THE *Sozialdemokrat*, SO IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR YOU TO HAVE IT. Aveling now enjoins me to write forthwith, asking if he could have the block as soon as possible. If not, then perhaps a cliché of it. There may also be some misunderstanding, the block having, perhaps, gone to the *Neue Welt*. Please let me know at once by postcard. [14]

The report of the Congress [15] most edifying. [16]

In great haste,

Yours,
F. E.

[a] for not writing in Dutch

The 2nd volume of *Capital* is there — but I can't tell you what a state it's in — 1,000 pages of ms. to go through.[17] However, don't put anything in the paper yet; as soon as I can say anything for sure, I'll let you have something authoritative.

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## 5

## ENGELS TO THOMAS JAMES KNOWLES[18]

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 17 April 1883

Dear Sir,

There exists a manuscript — a critical résumé of *Das Kapital* by me[a] — among the papers of the late Dr Marx, but up to to-day we have been unable to find it amongst the mass of papers left by him.

However, even if found, I should hesitate to send it to you at least for the purpose you indicate.[b] I am not aware that it is usual, in the literature of this or any other country, for one author to lend his manuscripts to another.

As to our experience of English review-writers it has not been very encouraging. With the exception of a few clergymen of the Church of England, they have invariably distorted our views and disfigured our actions. Their utter ignorance of our theory and practice has been equalled only by their presumption. The *XIX Century* I believe, in July 1878, published an article of George Howell on the International[c]

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[a] F. Engels, *Synopsis of Volume One of 'Capital' by Karl Marx*. - [b] See this volume, p. 12. - [c] G. Howell, 'The History of the International Association', *The Nineteenth Century*, No. XVII, July 1878.

brimfull of untruths and inaccuracies. Marx sent you a reply[a] but you refused to insert it.

I am afraid, if you want to acquaint yourself with Marx's views you will have to read the German, Russian or French edition of *Das Kapital.*

I know but one living Englishman capable of giving a correct account of the contents of *Das Kapital.* It is a barrister in Manchester.[b] If you desire I shall be glad to ask him whether he is willing to undertake the task for you.

Yours faithfully

Jos. Knowles Esq.
the Hollies, Clapham Common
S. W.

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## 6

## ENGELS TO PHILIPP VAN PATTEN [19]

### IN NEW YORK

[Draft]

London, 18 April 1883

Philipp Van Patten,
57 2nd Avenue, New York

Esteemed Comrade,

My statement in reply to your inquiry of the 2nd April as to Karl Marx's position with regard to the Anarchists in general and Johann Most in particular shall be short and clear.

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[a] K. Marx, 'Mr George Howell's History of the International Working-Men's Association'. - [b] Samuel Moore

Marx and I, ever since 1845, have held the view that *one* of the final results of the future proletarian revolution will be the gradual dissolution and ultimate disappearance of that political organisation called *the State*; an organisation the main object of which has ever been to secure, by armed force, the economical subjection of the working majority to the wealthy minority. With the disappearance of a wealthy minority the necessity for an armed repressive State-force disappears also. At the same time we have always held, that in order to arrive at this and the other, far more important ends of the social revolution of the future, the proletarian class will first have to possess itself of the organised political force of the State and with its aid stamp out the resistance of the Capitalist class and re-organise society. This is stated already in the *Communist Manifesto* of 1847, end of Chapter II.[a]

The Anarchists reverse the matter. They say, that the Proletarian revolution has to *begin* by abolishing the political organisation of the State. But after the victory of the Proletariat, the only organisation the victorious working class finds ready-made for use, is that of the State. It may require adaptation to the new functions.[b] But to destroy that at such a moment, would be to destroy the only organism by means of which the victorious working class can exert its newly conquered power, keep down its capitalist enemies and carry out that economical revolution of society without which the whole victory must end in a defeat[c] and in a massacre of the working class like that after the Paris Commune.

Does it require my express assertion, that Marx opposed these anarchist absurdities from the very first day that they were started in their present form by Bakunin? The whole internal history of the International Working Men's Association is there to prove it. The Anarchists tried to obtain the lead of the International, by the foulest means, ever since 1867[20] and the chief obstacle in their way was Marx. The result of the five years' struggle was the expulsion, at the Hague Congress, September 1872, of the Anarchists from the International,[21] and the man who did most to procure that expulsion was Marx. Our old friend F. A. Sorge of Hoboken, who was present as a delegate, can give you further particulars if you desire.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 505-06. - [b] In *Der Sozialdemokrat* this sentence reads: 'This State may require very important changes before it can fulfil its new functions.' - [c] In *Der Sozialdemokrat*: 'another defeat'.

Now as to Johann Most. If any man asserts that Most, since he turned anarchist, has had any relations with, or support from Marx, he is either a dupe or a deliberate liar. After the first No. of the London *Freiheit* had been published,[a] Most did not call upon Marx and myself more than once, at most twice. Nor did we call on him or even meet him accidentally anywhere or at any time since his new-fangled anarchism had burst forth in that paper.[b] Indeed, we at last ceased to take it in as there was absolutely 'nothing in it'. We had for his anarchism and anarchist tactics the same contempt as for that of the people from whom he had learnt it.[c]

While still in Germany, Most published a 'popular' extract of *Das Kapital*.[d] Marx was requested to revise it for a second edition. I assisted Marx in that work. We found it impossible to eradicate more than the very worst mistakes, unless we re-wrote the whole thing from beginning to end, and Marx consented his corrections being inserted on the express condition only that his name was never in any way connected with even this revised form of Johann Most's production.[e]

You are perfectly at liberty to publish this letter in the *Voice of the People*,[f] if you like to do so.

Yours fraternally,
F. E.

First published, slightly abridged, in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nr. 21, 17 Mai 1883 and in full, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Reproduced from the original, checked with the newspaper

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[a] on 4 January 1879 - [b] The words 'since his new-fangled anarchism had burst forth in that paper' are omitted in *Der Sozialdemokrat*. - [c] See letters of K. Marx to J. Ph. Becker of 1 July 1879 and to F. A. Sorge of 19 September 1879, and of F. Engels to J. Ph. Becker of 1 April 1880 (present edition, Vols. 45, 46). - [d] J. Most, *Kapital und Arbeit. Ein populärer Auszug aus 'Das Kapital' von Karl Marx*, Chemnitz [1873]. - [e] See this volume, p. 14. - [f] In *Der Sozialdemokrat*, the words 'in the *Voice of the People*' are omitted.

7

## ENGELS TO THOMAS JAMES KNOWLES [22]

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 20 April 1883

Dear Sir,

If we do find the ms. in question I shall be glad and give you the refusal of it, on two self-understood conditions but which I may as well mention 1) that in case of refusal you do not communicate it to anybody else, and 2) that in case you print it, it appears as a separate article out of all connection with any other.

Yours faithfully,
F. E.

Allow me to say that I am no 'Dr' but a retired cotton-spinner. [23]

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Published in English for the first time

8

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [24]

IN ZURICH

[London,] 23 April 1883

Herewith also the proofs. [25] Your letter received; shall answer it this week with an article about Marx for the *Sozialdemokrat*. I still have all sorts of matters to deal with before I can finish it off properly. [26]

The little piece about the good Marx being led astray by the evil Engels has been performed countless times since 1844, alternating with the other little piece about Ormuzd-Engels being lured away from the path of virtue by Ahriman-Marx. Now, however, the eyes of the worthy Parisians will at last be opened.

Yours,
F. E.

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## 9

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [27]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 24 April 1883

Dear Sorge,

Enclosed a line or two for Gartman from his friend Brocher, a muddle-headed anarchist but a sterling chap. Perhaps you would be good enough to send it on.

The *Volkszeitung* has perpetrated follies enough, though still not as many as I expected. Nevertheless they have all contributed their share, Schewitsch, Cuno, Douai, Hepner. Here was a quartet performed by would-be know-alls who, JOINTLY AND SEVERALLY, knew damned little. However I felt impelled to write a line to the editors, [a] pointing out that they had printed my telegram to you [b] as though it had been addressed to *them* and had, in my second to *them*, [c] inserted a false statement to the effect that Marx had died in Argenteuil. [d] We did not, I told them, stand for that sort of thing over here; as a result they had

[a] F. Engels, 'To the Editors of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*' (18 April 1883). - [b] of 14 March 1883 - [c] F. Engels, 'To the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*' (16 March 1883). - [d] Marx died in London.

made it impossible for me to send them any further reports and, in the event of their again venturing to make such misuse of my name, I should be compelled to ask you to announce at once in public that the whole thing was a falsification on their part. Those gentlemen ought to confine their Yankee HUMBUG to themselves. Besides, the Americans are far more honest; according to the *Volkszeitung*, I was sent a telegram [28] which I never received and I was almost inclined to believe that the gentlemen on the *Volkszeitung* had pocketed the money for themselves. Now Van Patten writes to say that there hadn't been any money in the first place. I am now compelled to make this publicly known over here, for otherwise it would be said that I had withheld the telegram from the Paris press and the *Sozialdemokrat*. The answer re Most, which I sent Van Patten in response to his enquiry, [a] will doubtless have already been published by him by the time this arrives.

At the Copenhagen Congress [15] it was resolved that Liebknecht's and Bebel's trip to America should take place next spring. [29] It has to do with money for the election campaign in 1884-85. (All this is *between ourselves*.) Liebknecht has proposed to Tussy that she should accompany him as his secretary and she is very keen to go; so it might easily be that you see her there before long. Generally speaking we have not made any plans yet. The literary work (third edition, Volume I of *Capital*, editing of Volume II, the ms. of which has been found though as yet there is no knowing to what extent it is ready for printing or requires supplementing, [17] biography based on the enormous correspondence, [30] etc.) takes up all my spare time, besides which Tussy has a mass of literary ENGAGEMENTS to get through.

You are, of course, fully entitled to print the passages on Henry George in Marx's letters. [31] The question is, however, whether it might not be better to wait until I am able to sort out for you the marginal notes made by Marx in his copy of George's book and then do the whole lot at one go. Résumés of the kind Marx provides, theoretically acute but brief and unaccompanied by examples, are surely still above the head of your average American and after all there is no hurry. I shall take a closer look at the things as soon as I have time. If, in the meanwhile, you send me a copy of the relevant passage in Marx's letter, it will make the job simpler. [b]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 9-11. - [b] Ibid., p. 42.

Pamphlet herewith. I have only received a few copies myself; the 2nd edition is in the press.[25] *Does Weydemeyer know English now?*[32] His earlier translations were grammatically and stylistically quite unprintable; they would have made us look appalling asses and at the same time exposed the author to ridicule. Anyhow I should like to see a specimen.

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

## 10

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 28 April 1883

Dear Bernstein,

(I think we should discard the boring 'Mr'.) The continuation of what follows will contain some correspondence, i. a. with Americans over Most.[a]

It is unforgivable that you are not returning via London,[33] I had quite counted on it. Well, perhaps you'll come in summer and we'll take a swim in the sea together. You can always be sure of a bed at my home.

Mayall, the leading London photographer always to work for Marx, has the principle: WE DO NOT TAKE MONEY FROM EMINENT PEOPLE. So we can't now press the man for copies (he is extremely muddled), except by a roundabout route. Hence we have given him an order,

[a] Ibid., pp. 9-11.

claiming it was for a German bookseller, for 1,000 *cartes de visite* (£12 = M240 = 24d. each) and 200 CABINET PORTRAITS ($^3/_4$ figure) *à* £8 = M160 = 80d. each. It is the last and best picture to depict Moor at his sprightly Olympian ease, confident of victory. I am offering them to you, and to Liebknecht and Sorge in New York after deducting those we need ourselves. How many do you want? You don't have to sell them all at once. They will be better in any case than any made there.

Yours,
F. E.

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## 11

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG [34]

London, 30 April 1883

Dear Bebel,

There is a very simple answer to your question as to whether I might remove to Germany or Switzerland or somewhere else on the Continent, namely that I shall not go to any country from which one can be expelled. But that is something one can only be safe from in England and America. I should at most go to the latter country on a visit, unless otherwise compelled. Hence I shall remain here.

Moreover England has another great advantage. Since the demise of the International there has been no labour movement whatsoever here, save as an appendage to the bourgeoisie, the radicals and for the pursuit of limited aims *within* the capitalist system. Thus, only here does one have the peace one needs if one is to go on with one's theoretical work. Everywhere else one would have had to take part in practical agitation and waste an enormous amount of time. As regards practical agitation, I should have achieved no more than any-

one else; as regards theoretical work, I cannot yet see who could take the place of Marx and myself. What younger men have attempted in this line is worth little, indeed, for the most part less than nothing. Kautsky, the only one who applies himself to study, has to write for a living and for that reason if no other can achieve nothing. And now, in my sixty-third year, up to my eyes in my own work and with the prospect of a year's work on the second volume of *Capital* and another year's work on Marx's biography,[30] along with the history of the German socialist movement from 1843 to 1863 and of the International from 1864-72,[35] it would be madness for me to exchange my peaceful retreat here for some place where one would have to take part in meetings and newspaper battles, which alone would be enough to blur, as it necessarily must, the clarity of one's vision. To be sure, if things were as they were in 1848 and 1849, I would again take to the saddle if need arose. But now—strict division of labour. I must even withdraw as much as possible from the *Sozialdemokrat*. You have only to think of the enormous correspondence, formerly shared out between Marx and myself, which I have had to conduct on my own for over a year now. For after all, we wish to maintain intact, in so far as it is in my power, the many threads from all over the world which spontaneously converged upon Marx's study.

As regards a monument to Marx,[36] I do not know what ought to be done. The family is against it. The simple headstone made for his wife, which now also bears his and his little grandson's [a] names, would be desecrated in their eyes if replaced by a monument which, here in London, would be scarcely distinguishable from the pretentious philistine monuments surrounding it. A London cemetery of this kind looks quite different from a German one. The graves lie closely side by side, not room for a tree between them, and a monument is not allowed to exceed the length and breadth of the small plot that has been bought.

Liebknecht spoke of a complete edition of Marx's writings. All very well, but Dietz's plan for Volume II has made people forget that that Volume was long since promised to Meissner and that an edition of the other, shorter works would likewise have to be offered to Meissner first, and then could *only* appear *abroad*. After all, even *before* the Anti-Socialist Law[37] it was always said that not even the *Communist*

[a] Henri Longuet

*Manifesto* could be printed in Germany save in the document read out at your trial.[38]

The manuscript of Volume II was completed prior to 1873, probably even prior to 1870.[17] It is written in German script; after 1873 Marx never used anything but Latin characters.

It is too late for registration, so this letter must go off as it is; however, I shall seal it with my seal.

A letter this evening to Liebknecht in Berlin.[39]

Your
F. E.

First published in: A. Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, Th. III, Stuttgart, 1914

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## 12

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 1 May 1883

Dear Sorge,

So as to obtain a good photograph of Marx, we have ordered from Mayall, the leading photographer here, who took the last ones of him,

1,000 *cartes de visite* £12

i. e. approx. 3d. apiece;

200 CABINET SIZE, $^3/_4$ figure, *à* £8

i. e. approx. 9d. apiece

of the last nice one.

You can have some of these at cost price — I have also offered them to Liebknecht and Bernstein in Zurich.[a] If the above quantity does not

[a] See this volume, pp. 15-16.

suffice, no doubt we shall be able to get hold of more, but a quick decision is necessary.

Your
F. Engels

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## 13

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG[34]

London, 10 May 1883

Dear Liebknecht,

If you carry on in this way, causing me unnecessary expenditure of ink by the schemes you keep hatching and the ill-considered actions you perform off your own bat, our correspondence would assuredly cease.

All I asked you for originally was a *reply*, telling me what my legal position was in regard to Wigand. The 1845 contract envisages a 2nd edition and lays down the fee to be paid for it.[40] Question:

1. Am *I* still bound by this?
2. If *so*, and if Wigand refuses to print a 2nd edition on the conditions of payment agreed, does that release me *outright*?

I have *never* been able to get an answer from you to these simple questions and, since you promised to obtain one for me, I can only describe it as 'neglect on your part'.

Never have I instructed you either personally or via a third party to act on my behalf, and I cannot conceive why, at this moment, you took it into your head to set such a thing in motion off your own bat and without even reflecting. *I would expressly request* that you

make no move whatever; I should at once write to Wigand and *disclaim everything*.

Meissner has written today; makes no mention at all of publication instalments.[a] The contract does not entitle us to interfere here. But if Dietz can show Meissner that it is to his own advantage, he may do it after all.

Lafargue's address:

66 Boulevard de Port-Royal, Paris (close to Ste-Pélagie, handy for a chap going to quod).[9]

Photographs will be delivered in batches and sent to Dietz as soon as possible.[b]

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## 14

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL [41]

### IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG [34]

London, 10-11 May 1883

Dear Bebel,

That you would sooner *not* sit in the Reichstag, I am ready to believe. But you can see what your absence has made possible. Some years ago Bracke wrote to me saying: Bebel is, in fact, the only one of us possessed of real parliamentary tact.[42] And I have found this constantly confirmed. So there's probably no alternative but for you to return to your post at the first opportunity and I should be delighted were you to be elected in Hamburg so that necessity relieved you of your doubts.[43]

Certainly, agitational and parliamentary work becomes very bor-

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[a] This refers probably to the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital*.- [b] See this volume, pp. 15-16.

ing after a time. It is much the same thing as advertising, puffing one's wares and travelling around are in business: success is slow in coming, and some never achieve it. But there's no other alternative, and once you are in it you've got to see the thing through to the end, if all your trouble is not to have been for nothing. And the Anti-Socialist Law [37] means that this, the only course to have remained open, simply cannot be dispensed with.

Despite the way it was written, the report on the Copenhagen Congress [15] enabled me to read sufficiently between the lines to amend Liebknecht's, as always rosy, version of things.[a] At all events I perceived that the half-and-halfs [44] had suffered a severe defeat and this, I admit, led me to believe that they would now draw in their horns. Yet such does not seem to be the case, or not to that degree. We have never been under any illusions about these men. Neither Hasenclever nor, for that matter, Hasselmann, should ever have been admitted, but Liebknecht's undue haste over unification — against which, at the time, we protested for all we were worth — has landed us with a jackass and also, for a while, with a rascal.[45] In his day, Blos was a lively, courageous chap but after his marriage, etc., the stuffing was soon knocked out of him by the difficulty of making both ends meet. Geiser always was an indolent, self-opinionated fellow and Kayser a big-mouthed *commis-voyageur*.[b] Even in 1848 Rittinghausen was a nonentity; he's only a socialist *pro forma*, in order to enlist our help in achieving his direct government by the people. But we have better things to do.

What you say about Liebknecht is something you have doubtless long been thinking.[46] We have known him for many years. Popularity is the very stuff of life to him. Hence he has *got to* conciliate and conceal in order to postpone the crisis. Besides, he's an optimist by nature and sees everything through rose-tinted spectacles. That's what keeps him so lively and is the main reason for his popularity, but it also has its disadvantages. So long as I corresponded only with him, not only did he report everything in accordance with his own rosy views, but also withheld everything that was unpleasant and, upon being questioned, replied in such an airy and off-hand way that, more than by anything else, one was unfailingly needled by the thought 'Can the man suppose us so stupid as to be taken in by it?'

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[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 7 and 32.- [b] commercial traveller

Add to that his incessant busyness, an undoubted asset in day-to-day agitation but involving us over here in a mass of useless letter-writing; a perpetual stream of projects whose only outcome was to burden *other people* with extra work — in short, as you will understand, all this made a really businesslike and down-to-earth correspondence of the kind I have conducted for years with you as well as with Bernstein a sheer impossibility. Hence the constant bickering and the honorary title he once jokingly conferred upon me here of being the rudest man in Europe. My letters to him were, it is true, often rude, but the rudeness was conditioned by the contents of his own. No one knew that better than Marx.

Again, for all his valuable qualities, Liebknecht is a born schoolmaster. If a working man in the Reichstag happens to say me instead of I, or pronounce a short Latin vowel as a long one, and the bourgeois laugh, he's in despair. Hence he has to have 'eddicated' men, like that weakling Viereck who, with a *single* speech, would make us look more foolish in the Reichstag than would two thousand wrong 'mes'. And then, he can't wait. A momentary success, even if it means the sacrifice of a subsequent, far greater one, takes precedence over everything else. You people will discover that in America, when you go there in the *wake* of Fritzsche and Viereck.[47] Their mission was a blunder as great as the over-hasty unification with the Lassalleans who, six months later, would have come to you of their own accord — but as a disorganised gang without their bankrupt leaders.

As you see, I speak to you quite frankly — in confidence. But I also believe that you would do well firmly to resist Liebknecht's persuasive blandishments. Then he's bound to yield. If really confronted by a decision, he will certainly adopt the right course. But he would rather do so tomorrow than today, and in a year's time rather than tomorrow.

If a few deputies were in fact to vote for Bismarck's Bills,[48] thus planting a kiss on his backside in return for having theirs kicked, and if the parliamentary group[49] failed to expel these people, I too would, of course, be capable of publicly disassociating myself from a party prepared to tolerate such a thing. To the best of my knowledge, however, that would be impossible, having regard to existing party discipline whereby the minority has *got to* vote with the majority. But you are better informed than I.

Any split that took place while the Anti-Socialist Law is in opera-

tion I should look upon as a misfortune, since all means of communicating with the masses have been cut off. But it may be forced on us and then we shall have to look facts in the face. So if anything of the sort should happen — no matter where you are — I should be glad if you could inform me and do so at once, for my German papers always arrive very belatedly.

Blos, when he went to Bremen after being expelled from Hamburg, did indeed write me a very plaintive letter [50] to which I sent a very firm reply. [39] Now, my papers have for years been in the most shocking muddle, and finding this particular one would be a day's work. But some time I shall have to put them in order and, if needs be, shall send you the letter in the *original.*

Your view of the business conditions is being corroborated in England, France and America. [51] It is an intermediate crisis like that of 1841-42, but on a much vaster scale. Generally speaking, it is only since 1847 (because of Californian and Australian gold production which resulted in the world market becoming fully established) that the ten-year cycle has clearly emerged. Now, when America, France and Germany are beginning to break England's monopoly of the world market and when, therefore, overproduction is beginning, as it did before 1847, to assert itself more rapidly, the quinquennial intermediate crises are also recurring. Proof of this is the complete exhaustion of the capitalist mode of production. The period of prosperity no longer reaches its full term; overproduction recurs after only 5 years and, even during those 5 years, things in general go downhill. Which, however, is very far from proving that, between 1884 and 1887, we shan't have a period of pretty brisk trade, as happened between 1844 and 1847. But then the great crash will quite surely come.

11 May. I had wanted to write and tell you more about the general state of trade, but meanwhile it is time for the registered mail. Till next time, then.

Your
F. E.

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## 15

## ENGELS TO ACHILLE LORIA [52]

IN MANTUA

London, 20 May 1883
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Sir,

I have received your pamphlet on Karl Marx. You are entitled to subject his doctrines to the most stringent criticism, indeed to misunderstand them; you are entitled to write a biography of Marx which is pure fiction. But what you are not entitled to do, and what I shall never permit anyone to do, is slander the character of my departed friend.

Already in a previous work [a] you took the liberty of accusing Marx of quoting in bad faith. When Marx read this he checked his and your quotations against the originals and he told me that his were all correct and that if there was any *bad faith* it was on your part. And seeing how you quote Marx, how you have the audacity to make Marx speak of profit when he speaks of *Mehrwerth*, [b] when he defends himself time and again against the error of identifying the two (something which Mr Moore and I have repeated to you verbally here in London) I know whom to believe and where the bad faith lies.

This however is a trifle compared to your 'deep and firm conviction... that *conscious sophistry* pervades them all' (Marx's doctrines); that Marx 'did not baulk at paralogisms, while *knowing them to be such*', that 'he was often a sophist who wished to arrive, *at the expense of the truth*, at a negation of present-day society' and that, as Lamartine says, '*il jouait avec les mensonges et les vérités comme les enfants avec les osselets*'. [c] [53]

In Italy, a country of ancient civilisation, this might perhaps be taken as a compliment, or it might be considered great praise among armchair socialists, [54] seeing that these venerable professors could never produce their innumerable systems except 'at the expense of the truth'. We revolutionary communists see things differently. We re-

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[a] A. Loria, *La teoria del valore negli economisti italiani*. - [b] surplus value - [c] 'he played with lies and truth like children with marbles'

gard such assertions as defamatory accusations and, knowing them to be lies, we turn them against their inventor who has defamed himself in thinking them up.

In my opinion, it should have been your duty to make known to the public this famous '*conscious sophistry*' which pervades all of Marx's doctrines. But I look for it in vain! *Nagott!* [a]

What a tiny mind one must have to imagine that a man like Marx could have 'always threatened his critics' with a second volume which he 'had not the slightest intention of writing', and that this second volume was nothing but 'an ingenious pretext dreamed up by Marx in place of scientific arguments'. This second volume *exists* and it will shortly be published. Perhaps you will then learn to understand the difference between *Mehrwerth* and profit.

A German translation of this letter will be published in the next issue of the Zurich *Sozialdemokrat.*

I have the honour of saluting you with all the sentiments you deserve.

F. E.

First published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nr. 21, 17. Mai 1883

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Translated from the Italian

Published in English for the first time

## 16

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER [55]

### IN GENEVA

London, 22 May 1883

Dear Old Man,

How can you suppose that *I* might somehow be able to find paid literary work for a young party member [b]? After all, it is years since

[a] The following words were added in the newspaper: (Lombardic swear-word for: nothing at all).- [b] Ludwig Klopfer; see next letter.

I had any sort of contact with German publishers apart from Meissner (on account of *Capital*), let alone with newspapers and periodicals. So what could I do? Even if the man could translate the other way round, from German into French or English, I should be unable to help him find work. You would certainly do better to approach Liebknecht who after all has the *Neue Zeit* and connections in plenty.

We shall be saddled with Marx's house until next March, so there is no need to be over-hasty about the removal or plans for the future. Moreover a tremendous amount of work is involved in getting these papers in order. What surprises me is that Marx has actually saved papers, letters and manuscripts from the period prior to 1848, splendid material for the biography which I shall of course be writing and which, inter alia, will also be the history of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and of the movement of 1848-49 on the Lower Rhine, as well as the history of the rascally emigration in London between 1849 and 1852 and of the International.[30] The first task is the editing of Volume II of *Capital*[4] and that is no joke. There are in existence 4 or 5 revisions of Book II, of which only the first is complete, the others having been merely started on[17]; some labour when you're dealing with a man like Marx, who weighed every word. But to me it is a labour of love; after all I shall be back again with my old comrade.

For the past few days I have been sorting letters from 1842-62. As I watched the old times pass before my eyes they really came to life again, as did all the fun we used to have at our adversaries' expense. Many of our early doings made me weep with laughter; they didn't, after all, ever succeed in banishing our sense of humour. But there were also many very serious moments in between whiles.

This is in confidence; mind you, don't let a word of it get into the papers. Such information as is ripe for imparting will be published by me from time to time in the *Sozialdemokrat*. Bernstein is getting on very well, he is eager to learn, is witty and has an open mind, can put up with criticism and is quite free of all petty-bourgeois moralisings. But our lads in Germany have also been truly magnificent, ever since the time that the Anti-Socialist Law[37] liberated them from the 'eddicated' gentlemen who, in their ignorant academic muddleheadedness, had attempted prior to 1878 to instruct the workers from on high, an attempt that was, alas, condoned by all too many of the

'leaders'. This worthless lumber has not yet been entirely cleared away, but the movement has again taken a decidedly revolutionary turn. That is precisely what is so splendid about our lads, the fact that the masses are far better than almost any of the leaders; and now that the Anti-Socialist Law is compelling the masses to take care of the movement *themselves*, now that the influence of the leaders is reduced to a minimum, the movement is better than ever.

Your old friend
F. Engels

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## 17

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KLOPFER

### IN GENEVA

London, 22 May 1883

Dear Mr Klopfer,

I should be only too glad to help you if I possibly could. However I have *absolutely no* publishing or literary connections in Germany and should not know whom to approach.[a] The party, however, still has various periodicals, etc., in Germany, e. g. Liebknecht's and Kautsky's *Neue Zeit* in Stuttgart (Dietz Verlag); you should get Becker to give you letters for them. If anything can be done for you, it is over there; we here are as cut off from everything as you are in Geneva.

Your letter of the 9th bears the Geneva postmark of the 13th. I hope that this will at least partly explain my delay in replying.

[a] See previous letter.

Trusting that the adoption of the above course will enable you to achieve your object, I remain,

Yours truly,
F. Engels

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## 18

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 22 May 1883

My dear Laura,

I had not, as Paul suggests, forgotten his five pd. note, but having Sam Moore here, could not get a free moment when to get it ready and register the letter. Yesterday evening Sam returned to Manchester and the note would have left here to-day, but for Paul's letter which alters his directions to me. The cheque is enclosed, £ 10.-

So *ce cher* Paul is while I write this, a prisoner. [9] He has just (5.45) been debarred from receiving visitors and can now in all rest and peace discuss with Guesde the chances of *la révolution révolutionnaire*. We drank his health last Sunday [a] in a bowl of splendid *Maitrank* [b] and wished him any amount of pluck and patience.

Well, for a long time I thought you might profit of Paul's involuntary seclusion, to come over to London, and would have at once placed the whole of 122 Regent's Park Road at your disposal, but from all I learnt I was afraid I might hurt someone's feelings by such a proposal. Even Nim when she returned, never mentioned a word about it, that you had spoken of showing your bright face in this dull climate; and when Paul wrote he expected you to lunch with him

[a] 20 May - [b] Wine flavoured with sweet woodruff, May wine.

every morning in St-Pélagie I lost heart altogether. Now however it is all right, and I hope to hear soon from you that you accept my invitation, to make this place your headquarters for a couple of months at least, which of course will not exclude trips to the sea-side, etc. If Paul has to be under lock and key, so much the more reason for you to look after your own health.

While Sam was here, we found out, through him, the very unpleasant fact that Mohr never had, nor have we, the right to stop unauthorised translation of the *Kapital*. The right was lost as soon as the first year elapsed without a *commencement* of translation being published. So as there are several fellows in the field, [56] we have to dodge and to use the unpublished 2nd volume as a means to bring them round.

The 2nd volume will give me an awful deal of work — at least the II book. [4] There is one *complete* text, of about 1868, but a mere *brouillon*. [a] Then there are at least three, if not four, *Ueberarbeitungen* [b] belonging to various later periods, but none of them completed. That will be a job to select from them a definitive text! The 3rd book is complete since 1869-70 and has never been touched since. But here, where the rent of land is treated, I shall have to compare his Russian extracts [57] for notes, facts and instances. Maybe I shall be able to concoct even a bit of a 3rd volume from the ms. of 1858-62 [58] (the beginning of which appeared in Berlin [in] 1859 [c]) and which at the end of every chapter contains the critical history of the theoretical points discussed in it.

Lately I have been occupied with sorting the correspondence. There is a large box full of most important letters [from] 1841 (nay 1837 from your grandfather Marx [d]) to 1862. It is nearly sorted, but it will take me some hours more to complete it. I can assure you it is great fun to me to stumble over these old things most of which concern me as much as they did Mohr and there is such a deal to laugh over. Nim helps me — awful lot of dusting required! and we have many a good laugh over old times. The correspondence since 1862 he has sorted, in a passable way, himself. But before we fathom all the mysteries of that garret full of boxes, packets, parcels, books, etc., some time must elapse. And I have to prepare for the 3rd edition sundry additions from the French translation [59] which I know Mohr intended inserting; and that must be done in 3-4 weeks.

[a] draft - [b] revised versions - [c] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One. - [d] Heinrich Marx

But now it's post-time and so good-bye for to-day.

Yours affectionately,
F. Engels

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## 19

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 2 June 1883

My dear Laura,

Herewith cheque £ 10.- for Paul as desired. To judge from his letter, he seems to be pretty cheerful for his condition, but of course the *grincement des clefs et des verroux*[a] must be something awful.[9] What is comparative liberty by day when one is reduced to solitary confinement by night, and how is he to sing:

Singet nicht in Trauertönen
Von der Einsamkeit der Nacht,
Denn sie ist, o holde Schönen,
Zur Geselligkeit gemacht.[b]

As Paul is going to work up his German in prison, you might give him that to translate.

Now, by this time the two heroic martyrs[c] ought to be pretty well

[a] clinking of keys and bolts

[b] Sing no more in strains of sadness
Of the loveliness of night!
Darksome hours were made for gladness,
Social joy, and love's delight.
Goethe, *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, translated by R. Dillon Boylan, London, Henry Bohn, 1861.

[c] Paul Lafargue and Jules Guesde

settled down and don't you think you might come over, say by Thursday or Friday next[a]? The fact is I expect Jollymeier to-night who will be able to stay here till Monday week, 11th June, and he would so like to see you. Moreover, Tussy talks very much about your coming and seems very anxious to have you here and to consult you about the disposal of the things in the house, etc., etc., the sole responsibility seems to weigh very much upon her. So that your journey would be to some extent *on business*. If you will come and if you write at once, I shall send you the funds by return, I should have added them to the cheque to-day, only my balance is low and I have money to come in next week.

Among Mohr's papers I have found a whole lot of mss, our common work, of before 1848.[60] Some of these I shall soon publish.

There is one I shall read to you when you are here, you will crack your sides with laughing. I read it to Nim and Tussy, Nim said: *jetzt weiss ich auch, warum Sie Zwei damals in Brüssel des Nachts so gelacht haben, dass kein Mensch im Hause davor schlafen konnte.*[b] We were bold devils then, Heine's poetry is childlike innocence compared with our prose.

There is a chance of a translation of the *Kapital* being published by Kegan Paul and Co., they would be the best men.[56] Tussy is going to see them on Monday[c]; if anything practicable comes of it, we shall then go together afterwards. S. Moore will translate, and I shall revise. There are other people at it, but if we can arrange the thing, they will soon be out of the field. S. Moore was here in Whitweek, and we settled the matter with him, as far as he is concerned. He is by far the best man, slightly heavy, but that can be mended. He has been of immense use to us as our legal adviser. Indeed I have still to write to him by first mail upon a legal question.

Pumps is going on very well and her two babies too, the boy is awfully big and fat, very near the size of his sister! at least so says the proud Mamma. If you are here next Sunday (to-morrow) week, we shall have a grand bowl of *Maitrank*,[d] it is just in its prime now, I mean the Waldmeister, we have had two bowls here on Sundays and two at Tussy's in the week, and plenty of Moselle left!

If you say you will come, the same day I shall write to Dublin for a case of the best and of the *super* best Claret which we will finish quietly betwixt us.

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[a] 7 or 8 June - [b] Now I know why you two laughed at night in Brussels at that time so that no one could sleep in the building. - [c] 4 June - [d] Wine flavoured with sweet woodruff, May wine.

A few lines to Paul in a day or two. In the meantime affectionally yours,

F. Engels

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## 20

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [61]

### IN ZURICH

London, 12-13 June 1883

Dear Bernstein,

It is half past eleven at night and having just read the proof of the second sheet of the third edition of *Capital* [a] (no small task), and sent it off, I shall try and utilise what is left of the evening at least to begin a letter to you.

As regards internal matters, I had more or less read between the lines of the official report [b] and, soon after, also received a short exposé from Bebel. Some while previously I had written and told Bebel that there must ultimately be a break with the ninnies of the right wing,[c] but that in my view it was not in our interests to force it before we were again in a position to consort directly with the masses; i. e. not so long as the Anti-Socialist Law remained operative. [37] Should they *force* our hand, then we should see to it that it was *they*, not us, who rebelled against party discipline, in which case the game would already be ours. And they should be brought to do this if they refused to keep quiet. So far as Liebknecht is concerned, he will do everything in his

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[a] the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital*. - [b] *Protokoll über den Kongreß der deutschen Sozialdemokratie in Kopenhagen*. See also this volume, p. 21. - [c] See Engels' letter to August Bebel of 21 June 1882 (present edition, Vol. 46).

power to put off the crisis, but when it does come and he realises that it can no longer be postponed, he will be in the right place.

Let me briefly sum up what I have to do:

1) Put the papers in order [2]; here almost everything has to be done by myself since no one except me knows about the old stuff, and there's an enormous pile of it in a fine state of disarray. Much is still missing and a lot of packages and boxes haven't even been opened yet.

2) See to the third edition, with sundry alterations and a few addenda from the French edition. [59] On top of that, read the proofs.

3) Take advantage of an opportunity that has presented itself to bring out an English translation — in connection with which I today called on one of the big publishers here [a] — and then revise the translation myself [56] (Moore, who will be doing it, is first-rate, a friend of ours for twenty-six years, but slow).

4) Collate the 3 or 4 versions of the beginning of Volume II and prepare them for the press, besides *making a fair copy* of the whole of the second volume. [17]

5) Spend a week every now and again tippling with Schorlemmer who returned to Manchester yesterday — he always brings some work with him, but *o, jerum!* [b]

*Voilà la vie!* [c]

The jackass in the *Vossische* (I've been sent the thing [d] *four times*) would certainly seem to have disseminated a lot of despondency in good old Germany respecting the despondent Marx. I might, some time when in really jolly mood, take a kick at him. Were these oafs to get the chance of reading the correspondence between Moor and myself, they'd be speechless with rage. Heine's poetry is trifling by comparison with our impudent, mocking prose. Moor was capable of becoming furiously angry, but down-in-the-mouth — *jamais!* [e] I was convulsed when I reread the old stuff. This correspondence is, by the way, also historically memorable and, in so far as it is in my power, it will end up in the right hands. Unfortunately I only have the letters Marx wrote after 1849, but those are complete.

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[a] Kegan Paul - [b] *O, jerum, jerum, jerum! O, quae mutatio rerum!* (Oh, dear me, dear me, dear me. A crazy world. Lord, hear me!) — part of the refrain from a student song attributed to Eugen Höfling. - [c] That's life! - [d] 'Zur Beurteilung von Karl Marx', *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, No. 235, 1st supplement, 24 May 1883. - [e] never!

Herewith part of the original draft from the last part of the *Communist Manifesto* which you want to keep as a memento. The first two lines were dictated, and were taken down by Mrs Marx.[62]

I would have sent you the enclosed poem by Weerth in time for the feuilleton, had you not so contrived matters that your letter arrived twelve hours too late — as it was, I had to wait and see whether you printed the feuilleton *tel quel*.[a] Anyhow, you can put it in somewhere else.[63] If only by contrast with the solemn Freiligrath, all of Weerth's stuff is ironical and humorous. Never any question of 'sherioushness' here.

As regards the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law, the chaps in Germany can never see beyond their own noses. By disappointing Russia (and things are far more acute there) with his proclamation in Moscow just as Frederick William IV disappointed the Prussians in 1841,[64] Alexander III has done more towards that end than all your Geisers, Bloses and Co. could ever do with their lamentations. If, one fine morning, he is riddled with bullets — as he surely will be — Bismarck's *internal* régime won't be worth a brass farthing. Then they'll change their tune. Even if old William[b] merely (I don't mean Wilhelm Blos[c]) kicks the bucket, there will of necessity be changes. The men of today have never experienced, nor can they possibly imagine, what a crown prince,[d] grown up in what has in the meantime become a revolutionary situation, is capable of. And a fool, what's more, as vacillating and weak-willed as 'our Fritz'. Nor, for that matter, can the possibility be excluded that the crazy French government may fall foul of all the world in such a way as to incite violent action in Paris. Tunis, Egypt, Madagascar, Tonkin[65] — and now they are actually seeking to contest England's possession of a few rocky islands, with barely 50 inhabitants, off the coast of Normandy. I only hope that nothing happens in Paris, for the stupidity that prevails among the masses there is exceeded only here, in London.

And on top of that the ingenuous Bismarck works for us like the very devil. His latest theory — that the imperial constitution is nothing but a contract made by governments for which they can substitute another one any old day, without consulting the Reichstag — is a real godsend to us. Just let him try. Add to which the manifest intention to bring about a conflict, his stupid, impertinent Bödikers & Co. in the Reichstag — all this is grist to our mill. True, this

[a] as it stood - [b] William I - [c] In Engels' text the parenthesis was a footnote. In German 'merely' = *bloss*. - [d] Frederick William

means the end of the catch-phrase about 'one reactionary mass',[66] a phrase generally appropriate only for declamation (or, again, for a *truly* revolutionary situation). For it is precisely in this that the quirk of history—one operating in our favour—consists, namely that the *different* elements of that feudal and bourgeois mass erode, fight with and devour one another, to *our* advantage and are, therefore, the very opposite of that uniform mass which your *lout* imagines he can dismiss by dubbing the whole lot 'reactionary'. On the contrary. All these diverse scoundrels must first mutually destroy, utterly ruin and discredit each other, and pave the way for us by proving their ineptitude, each lot in turn. It was one of Lassalle's greatest mistakes, when engaged in agitation, wholly to lose sight of what little dialectics he had learned from Hegel. Thus, just like Liebknecht, he never saw more than one side and, since the former, for certain reasons, happened to see the right side, he ultimately proved superior to the great Lassalle after all.

The one regrettable thing about the present German bourgeois movement is precisely that the chaps constitute no more than 'one reactionary mass', and this has got to stop. We can make no progress until at least part of the bourgeoisie has been forced over onto the side of a *genuine* movement, whether by internal or external events. That is why we have now had enough of Bismarck's régime *in its present form*, why he can only benefit us by provoking a conflict or resigning and also why the time will come for the Anti-Socialist Law to be done away with by semi-revolutionary or wholly revolutionary means. All those arguments as to whether the 'Lesser'[67] alone should go, or the Law as a whole, or whether the ordinary penal law should be tightened up, seem to me like arguments about the virginity of Mary *in partu* and *post partum*.[a] What is crucial is the wider political situation both at home *and abroad*; and this changes, does not remain as it is today. In Germany, by contrast, the case is discussed solely on the assumption that present conditions in Germany will persist *eternally*. And running parallel with this is an idea, related to that of one reactionary mass, namely that, with the subversion of the present state of affairs, we shall come to the helm. That is nonsense. A revolution is a lengthy process, cf. 1642-46 and 1789-93[68]; and in order that circumstances should be ready for us and we for them, all the intermediate parties must come to power in turn and destroy themselves. And

[a] during and after parturition

then we shall come — and may, perhaps, once more be momentarily routed. Not that I think this very probable in the normal course of events.

I have today despatched to '*Volksbuchhandlung, Hottingen-Zurich*',[a] freight forward per CONTINENTAL PARCELS EXPRESS (correspondent of the German and Swiss parcel post), a parcel containing the photographs ordered,[b] invoice enclosed. Of the money you should retain the £17/- credited to my account over there, against 4 frs for snifters transmitted by proxy, subscriptions, etc. (If, when remitting the balance, it would be more convenient to include a little more or a little less, that would, of course, be ALL RIGHT.) Over here 500 *cartes*[c] and 280 CABINETS are still available — first come, first served. Not that you have any competitors as yet, save for Dietz. Just how much is pushed on to me you will realise when I tell you that I have today had to attend, single-handed, to all the details of checking and repacking the photographs for you and Dietz, and have likewise had to take them to the office (2 1/2 English miles from here). And then I'm expected to work!

Borde is a jackass whom we have known for years; at Marx's house there are a hundred or more of the notebooks he sent him, lying about unopened. *Envoyez-le au diable.*[d]

I shall not come to Switzerland until the continental routes are safer. After all, there was no certainty of Marx's being able to travel to, or through, France unscathed this summer. Once one has been expelled, that is that, unless one is prepared to take steps such as I should find impossible. Don't I know it!

You do not, by the way, bore me in the least with internal matters. Anyone who's abroad can never hear enough about the details of this sort of internal struggle in a workers' party which, despite everything, is the leading one in Europe. And that kind of thing is withheld from me on principle by friend Liebknecht, all of whose reports are rosy red, dawn pink, sky-blue and green as the tender leaves of hope.

For the anniversary of the June battle of 1848, I am sending you a *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* article by Marx,[e] who was the only man in

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[a] a Social Democratic publishing house. - [b] See this volume, pp. 15-16. - [c] *Cartes de visite*; small photographic portraits mounted on a card. - [d] Consign him to the devil. - [e] 'The June Revolution'

the whole of the European press to back up the insurgents after they had fallen.

Kindest regards,

Yours,
F. E.

13 June 1883

Do you think the time is ripe for the *Sozialdemokrat*'s feuilleton to print an *excessively* impudent piece Marx and I wrote in 1847,[69] in which the 'true socialists', who are now also members of the Reichstag, are pulled to pieces? The most impudent thing ever to have been written in the German language.

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## 21

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

### IN BENEVENTO

London, 19 June 1883
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

I was very pleased to receive your fine Italian translation of my *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*.[70] I have been through it and I have suggested minor alterations in a number of places, although I am diffident and aware that my Italian is imperfect and that I am out of practice. I hope that despite this you can understand the translation (into Italian or French) of the additions to the first German edition which I have inserted at the corresponding points in your manuscript.

I am enclosing a copy of the recently published German edition, and a copy of the 2nd edition, which is going to press at the moment, will follow.[25] I am sorry that the translation could not have been

made from the German text, since Italian is much better suited than French to the dialectical mode of presentation.

Thank you for your kind offer to send me several copies of the translation; six, or at most a dozen, will be enough.

Yours respectfully,
Fred. Engels

I am sending by the midday post a *registered* parcel containing
1) your manuscript,
2) the copy of the German edition.

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## 22

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 22 June 1883

Dear Bernstein,

When you go to Paris, you must certainly cross the water and spend a day or two here. The trip both ways will cost you less than the amount you would fritter away in Paris in that time. A room has already been prepared for you here. I can then also show you the impudent ms. I mentioned, as well as the other mss.[69] Madame Lafargue will advise you about the best way to make the journey.

Yours,
F. E.

Regards to Liebknecht.

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## 23

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 24 June 1883

My dear Laura,

When you spoke of your knowledge of what poor Moor's views and wishes had been at Vevey,[71] it was in connection with dispositions of a more or less testamentary nature, and I therefore naturally concluded that you alluded to similar subjects. And as those might comprise wishes as to what should be done with some mementos of your Mama, etc., books and so forth, and as here we are bound to come to some conclusion or other, and Tussy moreover seems to shun responsibility of acting on her own hook, I thought it my clear duty to inform you, so that, in case you had anything to communicate, it could be done in time.

After poor Mohr's death, on my inquiry, Tussy informed me that he had told her, she and I were to take possession of all his papers, and procure the publication of what was to be published, especially the 2nd volume[a] and the mathematical works.[72] The 3rd German edition[b] is in hand, I am looking after that too. If you wish to have Mohr's exact words, Tussy will no doubt give them to you if you ask her to do so.

This matter was talked about here when Paul was here, and I am almost certain he is aware of it.

As to the expression, literary executors, I am alone responsible for it. I could not find another at the time, and if by it I have in any way offended you, I humbly ask your pardon.[73]

How the disposition itself can wound you, I cannot see. The work must be done *here on the spot.* The real work, that you know as well as Tussy does, will mostly have to be done by me. But as Mohr had one daughter living in London, I find it but natural that he should associate her to me in such work as she could do. Had you been living here instead of in Paris, all the three of us would have been jointly appointed, no doubt about that.

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[a] of *Capital* - [b] of the first volume of *Capital*

But there is another view of the case. According to English law (which we had explained by Sam Moore) the only person living which is the legal representative of Mohr, in England, is Tussy. Or rather the only person who can become his legal representative by taking out letters of administration. This must be done by the *next of kin living in England*—Tussy; unless she declines and proposes someone else, who also must reside in the United Kingdom. So that legally I too am out of it. For various reasons these letters of administration *have* to be taken out.

Of the projects Mohr discussed with you at Vevey I was of course utterly ignorant and only regret you did not come over since the 14th March, when we should have known and complied with them as much as possible. But here is how the matter stands with regard to the English translation.[a] We find (from Sam. Moore as well as from Meissner) that we have *no right* to stop anyone from publishing an unauthorised translation. That right, in the best of cases, lasts but three years after first publication and lapsed finally in 1870. Now there were several people in the field and a well-meaning but poor and unbusinesslike publisher, Reeves, the most undesirable man of all, told Radford he had found a translator and was going to publish his translation. There was then no time to lose. We must find someone willing and able to do the work—we could think of no one but Sam. Moore and of Kegan Paul and Co. as publishers. The two entered into correspondence, then Tussy saw Kegan Paul, then I. Nothing is concluded, but very probably we shall come to some agreement. The question is: would you, under the altered circumstances, have undertaken to do the translation and bind yourself to a given time, say 6 months?

As to the History of the International, I am perfectly willing, as far as *I* am concerned, that all papers, etc., relating to the International be handed over to you for that purpose. But my plan was to write a full biography of Mohr,[30] and if you take those papers, that falls to the ground. Mohr's life without the International would be a diamond ring with the diamond broken out.

I have said nothing to Tussy about your letter, as I do not wish to interfere in any way between two sisters. Therefore, if you require any explanations from her, you will please write direct to her. But I think

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[a] Of the first volume of *Capital*; see this volume, p. 29.

the best thing you could do, is to come over and have the matter mutually explained. You know very well there is on my part no other desire but to consider your wishes as much as possible and in every respect. And I am the same in the case with Tussy. If you wish to have your name associated to ours in the common work, and if you wish to share this work, and means can be found how, I for one shall only be glad of that. As it is we shall want your assistance often enough for information, etc., and nothing could throw greater obstacles in our way than fresh unpleasantness between you and Tussy. What we all of us are desirous of seeing carried out, is a befitting monument to the memory of Mohr, the first portion of which will and must be the publication of his posthumous works. Let us then all contribute what we can towards that end.

The only person to whom I have spoken about this matter is Nim and she is quite of the opinion expressed above.

As to our two martyrs,[a] they seem happy and contented enough, and even afraid of Grévy's putting an end to their prison-bliss on the 14th July.[9] What a fine sentence that on Louise Michel![74] Fortunately nobody knows who will rule France a couple of years hence. A shell between the legs of Alexander III, and all prison doors in Europe and Asia fly open except — the Irish ones.

Now I must conclude. I have to read proof-sheets No. 4 of 3rd edition[b] which arrived here on Saturday[c] and I have bound myself to return them in 48 hours. Then I have to work at the alterations for 3rd edition (done up to page 404) partly upon an annotated copy,[75] partly upon the French edition,[59] which must be done quick so as not to give excuse for delay. So no more at present.

Ever yours affectionately,

F. Engels

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[a] Paul Lafargue and Jules Guesde - [b] the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital* - [c] 23 June

## 24

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[76]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 29 June 1883

Dear Sorge,

My evening's work has been disrupted by callers and this has given me a bit of spare time in which to write to you.

The critique of Henry George, which Marx sent you, is essentially a work of such extraordinary skill and stylistically so much all of a piece, that it would be a pity to tone it down by including the desultory marginal comments that appear in English in Marx's copy.[a] These will always be to hand in case of need later on. Every word of the letter he sent you was written, as was usually Marx's custom on such occasions, with an eye to the subsequent publication of the text. So you will not be guilty of any indiscretion if you have it printed. If it is to come out in English, I will translate it for you, since the translation of the *Manifesto*[b] has again shown that there seems to be no one over there who can translate *our* German, at any rate, into literary, grammatical English.[77] This calls for a writer with practice in both languages, practice, what's more, that is not merely confined to the daily press. Translating the *Manifesto* is awfully difficult; by far the best renderings I have seen are the Russian.[78]

The 3rd edition of *Capital*[c] is causing me a tremendous amount of work. We have one copy in which Marx follows the French edition[59] when indicating the emendations and additions to be made,[75] but all the detailed work remains to be done. I have got as far as 'Accumulation',[d] but here it is a case of revising almost completely the entire theoretical section. On top of that there is the responsibility. For to some extent the French translation lacks the depth of the German text; Marx would never have written in German in that way. Moreover the publisher keeps pressing me.

Until I finish this there can be no question of my going on to Vol-

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[a] See this volume, p. 14. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - [c] the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital* - [d] i.e. Part VII of the first volume of *Capital*

ume II. There are in existence at least four versions of the beginning, thus often did Marx apply himself to the task, the editing of the definitive work having been interrupted on each occasion by illness. How the arrangement and conclusion of the last, dating from 1878, will agree with the first, which goes back to before 1870, I cannot yet say.[17]

Practically everything has been saved from the period up to 1848. Not only virtually all of the mss he and I worked on at the time (in so far as they haven't been eaten by mice), but also the correspondence. Everything after 1849 is also complete, of course, and, from 1862 on, is actually in some sort of order. Also extensive written material on the International, sufficient, I imagine, for a full history, though I have not yet been able to take a closer look at it.

There are also 3 or 4 notebooks of mathematical studies. I once showed your Adolf[a] an example of Marx's new explanation of differential calculus.[79]

Had it not been for the mass of American and Russian material[80] (there are over two cubic metres of books of Russian statistics alone), Volume II would have long since been printed. These detailed studies held him up for years. As always, everything had to be brought right up to date and now it has all come to nothing, apart from his excerpts which will, I trust, include many of his customary critical commentaries for use as notes to Volume II.

The photographs are here[b]; as soon as I can find time to pack them I shall send them to you. But how? Book post precludes any stout packing, no parcel post exists as yet, and to send a small package like this per parcels agency would cost a mint of money. Perhaps you would let me know how best to go about it.

I have already read five sheets of the final proof of the 3rd edition; the man has promised to send three sheets a week.

Your
F. Engels

I haven't possibly got time to answer little Hepner's many long letters just now. His reports are always of interest to me, intermingled though they are with a great deal of personal gossip and written with the sense of superiority of the newly disembarked. Meanwhile you had better convey my apologies to him.

[a] Adolf Sorge jun.- [b] See this volume, p. 18.

Schewitsch has sent me a 'dignified' reply and regrets my 'small-mindedness'.[a] Dignity becomes him. He won't get an answer.

Nor will Most, who is, of course, bound to confirm everything I have said,[b] which is exactly what has made him so furious. I believe he will find support in sectarian America and sow confusion for a time. But it is precisely in the nature of the American movement that all mistakes must be experienced in practice. If America's energy and vitality were backed by Europe's theoretical clarity, you would get everything fixed up within ten years. But that is, after all, an historical impossibility.

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## 25

## ENGELS TO GABRIEL DEVILLE

### IN PARIS

London, 12 August 1883
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen Deville,

I have received your letter and your manuscript, for which I thank you.[81] Next week I shall be leaving London for a seaside resort.[82] There I shall have sufficient leisure to look over your work which will be returned to you as soon as possible.

Your manuscript arrived at an opportune moment. Only yesterday I completed the final editing of the 3rd German edition of *Capital*,[c] and have undertaken to begin editing the 2nd volume immediately on my return from the seaside. So your work reached me precisely at the moment when I happened to have a short interval of time.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 13-14 and 91.- [b] Ibid., p. 11.- [c] the first volume

I have read the section you sent to Marx a little while ago; it seems to me very clear and very accurate. And, since it comprises the most difficult part of the work, there would appear to be no reason to anticipate any misapprehensions in the remaining sections.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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## 26

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

Eastbourne, 19 August 1883
4 Cavendish Place

My dear Laura,

At last out of London.[82] As soon as I saw my way clear, I sent Percy (last Wednesday[a]) over here to look out for apartments. He did his business well, and found excellent accommodation, not without difficulty. Two doors from the Parade, facing the Pier, fine rooms, no sun more than is wanted, good sea-view, good cooking, the only thing we are sorry for is that it could not be arranged in time for you to go with us. On Friday we arrived here, Pumps, babies and girl, Nim, Jollymeier (who felt a little out of sorts again but has picked up here at once and will soon leave us) and myself. First-class Scotch mist on arrival, fine rain off and on all night, very encouraging! But next day splendid, so that we could take our walks under the trees and show Nim a little of the place. To-day, Sunday, fine morning but

[a] 15 August

becoming foggy, well we must take our chance, but anyhow so far the place looks quite different to what it did in the rainy weather when last here.[83] There has been an immense deal of building, the lodging part of the town has about doubled in size, all the fields towards Beachy Head and a good deal of the slope are built over. Pilsener Beer is flourishing and better even than in London. Nim and Pumps find things cheaper and better here than at home.

Emily Rosher's little *avorton*[a] died yesterday, best thing it could do.

I wrote to Deville at once announcing arrival of his ms.[b] At the same time or a little after I got also Sam Moore's translation[c] — so I shall have plenty to do here, besides working off my colossal arrears of correspondence.

The place is very full, but the style of the people seems to be more 'free and easy' than formerly. Even on Sunday morning the chimney-pot hat plays but a very poor part, and 'athletic' costumes run about pretty free.

Just now the whole party throng in again, awfully thirsty, Jollymeier has to open the Pilsener, and you conceive that it is no use struggling against the difficulties crowding upon me and stopping not only rational but even irrational correspondence. The second bottle has just been opened, the little girl is crawling about my knees, and so I give it up in despair. The whole colony send their kindest regards to you and Paul whose half-term we shall celebrate the day after tomorrow[9] in an extra draft of Pilsener.

Nim wishes you, literally, 'to have a good look-out about her fortune, as she expects it soon to come in'.[84]

And so, dear Laura,

Yours most affectionately,

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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[a] abortion - [b] See previous letter. - [c] Part of the English translation of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56).

## 27

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG[34]

[Eastbourne,] 21 August 1883

Dear Liebknecht,

Your letter[85] has remained unanswered because of final work on the 3rd edition,[a] after which I came to stay here at

4 Cavendish Place, Eastbourne, England where I intend to remain until about 12 September.[82]

Mrs Marx died on 2 December 1881, Jenny on 9 January 1883. Both deaths were reported in the *Sozialdemokrat*.[b]

The Paris *Vorwärts!* was a little sheet which is now being accorded more importance than it deserves; the editors were a dilatory lot. Marx's main concern was to keep it on the right lines and from time to time he also wrote polemical articles and reviews attacking the Prussians.[c] Heine sent Marx some of the advance proofs of the *Wintermärchen* from Hamburg for publication in the *Vorwärts!* before the book appeared in Germany.[86]

I actually only set eyes on a few numbers and the little paper did not survive for long, so I cannot let you have any further details.

Marx wrote quite a lot of things for the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, including a polemical discourse against Heinzen.[d]

Bebel's letter safely received; will be answered from here[e]; along with all the other correspondence, have been unable to attend to it because of overwork. Tell Bebel that Schorlemmer, who is here, will be going to Darmstadt shortly and staying there until about the middle of September. If Bebel is visiting those parts before then, Schorlemmer would like him to let him know (Prof. Schorlemmer, Darm-

[a] the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital*.- [b] F. Engels, 'Jenny Marx, née von Westphalen'; 'Jenny Longuet, née Marx'.- [c] K. Marx, 'Critical Marginal Notes on the Article "The King of Prussia and Social Reform. By a Prussian"'; 'Illustrations of the Latest Exercise in Cabinet Style of Frederick William IV'.- [d] K. Marx, 'Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality. A Contribution to German Cultural History. Contra Karl Heinzen'.- [e] See this volume, pp. 52-55.

stadt is sufficient address) and tell him where Schorlemmer can meet him; in which case he will do his utmost to look him up.

Lafargue finished half his time today.[9]

Your
F. E.

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## 28

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

### IN BENEVENTO

England, Eastbourne, 22 August 1883
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Citizen,

Please excuse my delay in replying to your letter of 25/6 and your postcard of 30/7.[87] The need to finish in a short time the text of the 3rd German edition of *Capital*[a] forced me to suspend all correspondence.

I do not know much about Ahn's method, and the dictionary you mention is entirely unknown to me. In order to learn a language the method I have always followed is this: I do not bother with grammar (except for declensions and conjugations, and pronouns) and I read, with a dictionary, the most difficult classical author I can find. Thus I began Italian with Dante, Petrarch and Ariosto, Spanish with Cervantes and Calderon, Russian with Pushkin. Then I read newspapers, etc. For German, I think the first part of Goethe's *Faust* might be suitable; it is written, for the most part, in a popular style, and the things which would seem difficult to you would also be difficult, without a commentary, for a German reader.

[a] the first volume

For the works of Marx, etc., you could approach the offices of the *Sozialdemokrat*, Hottingen-Zurich, Switzerland; it is the official organ of the German workers' party.

Thank you for the copies of the translation, which reached me in good condition, and also for kindly sending your photograph, in return for which I enclose mine.

Yours with regards,
F. Engels

The normal London address is fine; I am here at the seaside for a few weeks.

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## 29

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [88]

### IN ZURICH

Eastbourne, 27 August 1883
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Bernstein,

Herewith money order for £4 for old Becker.[a] I am still hoping that the news — and it wouldn't be the first time — is being exaggerated by his family. But he is, of course, very old, has been through a great deal and, or so I was told by Mme Lafargue, looked considerably older last year in Geneva by comparison with his hearty appearance at The Hague.[89]

I shall not be able to write a great deal today. The post leaves here at one o'clock in the afternoon and here beside me, for proof-reading, lies sheet 19 of *Capital*,[b] which also has to go off.

[a] Johann Philipp Becker - [b] of the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital*

Many thanks for your suggestion about Kaler-Reinthal,[90] but I cannot, unfortunately, take advantage of it. With the exception of trifles, all my extra jobs are of a kind that call for my *personal* attention. And in so far as I could pass anything on, it would have to be to a man who spoke *coulant*[a] English and was intimately acquainted with London and local conditions, thus being able to save me running errands.

I am staying here until about 12 September,[82] until when the above address holds good; then back to London.

Besides proofs and arrears of correspondence, I must, while here, attend to:

1) Deville's ms., French popularisation of *Capital*.[81]

2) Ms., part of the English translation,[b] both of them sorely in need of revision. So you see, no peace here either. Luckily I live right next to the sea and sit besides an open window through which the sea air comes wafting in.

I was very sorry that you didn't come over here. I had a number of things to discuss with you. We have in any case got to resign ourselves to the fact that *some* of Marx's unpublished works will have to appear abroad[c] and you alone could give me practical information or suggestions relating to this; it is, however, something that has to be discussed verbally — by letter it would be endless. But please say nothing about this, otherwise it might arouse false hopes in the people who run the printing works out there; my experience of party presses is such that I would *think twice* before entrusting a major and important work to any of them.

I shall retain the money order here, it being expressly stated thereon that it is of no use to the recipient. I gave your address, 137 alte Landstraße Riesbach, from memory; if wrong, please put this right at the *main* post office in Zurich.

My suggestion about the impudent ms. was, as it were, a bad joke.[d] So long as the Anti-Socialist Law is in force,[37] and the *Sozialdemokrat* is the only possible organ, it is imperative not to sow discord among the party merely for the sake of such secondary issues, and that is what would happen if one sought to make a 'question of principle' out of this issue.

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[a] fluent - [b] of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56) - [c] See this volume, p. 17. - [d] Ibid., p. 37.

It would seem to me that, in the treatment of the 'republic', especially in France, the most important aspect did not emerge clearly enough in the *Sozialdemokrat*,[91] namely this:

In the class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie, the Bonapartist monarchy (the characteristics of which have been expounded by Marx in the *Eighteenth Brumaire* and by myself in *The Housing Question*, II, and elsewhere) adopted a role similar to that of the old absolute monarchy in the struggle between feudalism and bourgeoisie. But just as that struggle could not be fought out under the old, absolute monarchy but only under a constitutional one (England, France 1789-92 and 1815-30) so, too, that between bourgeoisie and proletariat can only be fought out in a republic. Inasmuch, then, as the French were helped by favourable conditions and revolutionary antecedents to overthrow Bonaparte and establish a bourgeois republic,[92] they have the advantage over us, who remain stuck in a farrago of semi-feudalism and Bonapartism, of already possessing the form in which the struggle must be fought out and which we must first *master* for ourselves. Politically they are a whole stage ahead of us. Hence, the inevitable consequence of a monarchist restoration in France would be that the struggle for the restoration of the *bourgeois* republic would again appear on the agenda; continuance of the republic, on the other hand, means mounting intensification of the *direct*, undisguised class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie until a crisis is reached.

Similarly in our case the first, immediate result of the revolution can and *must*, so far as *form* is concerned, be nothing other than a *bourgeois* republic. But in this instance it will be no more than a brief, transitional period since fortunately we do not possess a purely republican bourgeois party. A bourgeois republic with, perhaps, the Party of Progress[93] at the helm, will serve us at first *to win over the great mass of the workers to revolutionary socialism* — which will have been effected in a year or two — and will be conducive to the thorough erosion and self-destruction of all possible intermediate parties but not ours. Only then can we successfully take over.

The great mistake made by the Germans is to imagine the revolution as something that can be achieved overnight. In fact it is a process of development on the part of the masses which takes several years even under conditions that tend to accelerate it. Every revolution that has been achieved overnight has merely ousted a reaction-

ary regime doomed from the outset (1830) or has led directly to the exact opposite of what was aspired to (1848, France).

Yours,
F. E

What do you think of this:

'The last so-called *red number of the "Rheinische Zeitung"*[a] (third edition) of 19 May 1849, which carried the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*'s farewell message by Ferdinand Freiligrath at the top of its front page, was again confiscated by the police here not long ago. A second-hand dealer had bought as waste paper a number of copies of this last farewell issue of the sometime organ of democracy and was selling them at 10 pfennigs a piece. The police put a stop to this by confiscating such of the papers as the dealer still had left. If the confiscation was effected on the grounds that the sheet's wretched pale red print was bound to harm its readers' eyes, the public has cause to thank the police; today, the text would be most unlikely to inflame anyone's feelings.'[b]

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## 30

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL[94]

### IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG[34]

Eastbourne, 30 August 1883
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Bebel,

I am taking advantage of a moment's peace to write to you. In London numerous jobs, down here numerous interruptions (three grown-ups and two small children in one room!); on top of that proof-reading[c] and the revision of an English specimen translation[56] as also of a popularised French version of *Capital*.[81] How's a chap to write letters!

I have corrected up to sheet 21 of the 3rd edition which contains

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[a] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. - [b] See *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 119, 20 July 1883. - [c] of the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital*

voluminous addenda; by the end of the year the thing will be out. As soon as I am back I shall get down to Volume 2 in real earnest and that is an enormous task. Alongside parts that have been completely finished are others that are merely sketched out, the whole being a *brouillon*[a] with the exception of perhaps two chapters. Quotations from sources in no kind of order, piles of them jumbled together, collected simply with a view to future selection. Besides that there is the handwriting which certainly cannot be deciphered by anyone but *me*, and then only with difficulty.[17] You ask why I of all people should not have been told how far the thing had got. It is quite simple; had I known, I should have pestered him night and day until it was all finished and printed. And Marx knew that better than anyone else. He knew besides that, if the worst came to the worst, as has now happened, the ms. could be edited by me in the spirit in which he would have done it himself, indeed he told Tussy as much.[95]

As regards the photograph,[b] the head is quite excellent. The pose is stiff, as in all his photographs; he was a bad 'sitter'. It does not irritate me in any way but, because of the stiffness of the pose, I prefer the smaller one to the larger.

The election in Hamburg[96] has also created a great sensation abroad. But then the behaviour of our chaps could not have been more exemplary. Such tenacity, perseverance, flexibility and ready wit, such waggish confidence of winning in the struggle with the greater and lesser miseries of the Germany of today, is unprecedented in recent German history. Especially splendid is the contrast it presents to the corruption, flabbiness and general decay of all other classes of German society. The very extent to which these classes demonstrate their inability to rule brings out in brilliant relief the ruling mission of the German proletariat, its ability to overturn the whole sordid old mess.

The 'jets of cold water' directed by Bismarck on Paris[97] are becoming ridiculous, even in the eyes of the French bourgeois. Even a paper as stupid as the *Soir* has discovered that nothing more is involved than the new appropriations in the Reichstag for the military (this time the field artillery).[c] As for his alliances (he has descended to Serbia, Romania and now Spain of all places[98]), all these are houses built of cards that will be blown down by a puff of wind. If he's lucky he won't need them and if he's unlucky they will land him in

[a] draft - [b] of Marx - [c] *Le Soir*, 29 August 1883.

the cart. The greater a blackguard a man is, the more he believes in the uprightness of others and that, in the end, is his undoing. It is unlikely to get to that stage with Bismarck so far as his foreign policy is concerned, for the French won't do him the favour of picking a quarrel. Only the Tsar[a] might try something of the kind out of desperation and come to grief in the process. But I hope he will come to grief at home before that.

The manifesto of the Democratic Federation in London[99] has been issued by some 20-30 little societies which, under various names (always the same people), have been persistently trying to look important for the past 20 years at least and always with the same lack of success. All that is important is that these people have now at last been compelled publicly to proclaim our theory as their own, a theory which, at the time of International, seemed to them to have been imposed upon them from outside, and further that a number of young people have lately emerged from amongst the bourgeoisie who, to the shame, be it said, of the English workers, understand these things better and embrace them more enthusiastically than do the workers. For even in the Democratic Federation the workers have accepted the new programme for the most part no more than reluctantly and outwardly. Hyndman, the head of the Democratic Federation, is an ex-Conservative, an ambitious man, hopelessly jingoistic but not stupid. He behaved pretty shabbily[b] towards Marx (to whom he had been introduced by Rudolf Meyer), and for that reason has been personally ignored by us.[100] On no account whatever allow yourself to be bamboozled into believing that a real proletarian movement is afoot here. I know that this is what Liebknecht would have himself and the rest of the world believe, but it is not so. The elements presently active might become important, now that they have accepted our theoretical programme and thus acquired a basis, but only if a spontaneous movement broke out amongst the workers here and they succeeded in gaining control of it. Until then they will continue to be so many isolated individuals with, behind them, an omnium-gatherum of muddle-headed sects, the remnants of the great movement of the forties,[101] but nothing more. A really universal labour movement will come about here — barring the unexpected — only when the workers become sensible of the fact that England's world

[a] Alexander III - [b] The words 'ziemlich schofel' ('pretty shabbily') were crossed out in the original and 'nicht schön' ('not nicely') written above them in an unknown handwriting.

monopoly has been broken. Participation in the domination of the world market was and is the economic basis of the English workers' political nullity. As the appendage of the bourgeois in the economic exploitation of this monopoly, though nevertheless participating in the advantages that accrue from the said exploitation, they are, in the nature of things, a political appendage of the 'Great Liberal Party' which, for its part, courts them in minor matters, acknowledges TRADES UNIONS and STRIKES as legitimate factors, has abandoned the struggle for an unlimited working day, and enfranchised most of the better paid workers.[102] But once America and the combined competition of the other industrial nations have made a sizeable breach in this monopoly (imminent in the case of iron, less so, unfortunately, in that of cotton), just wait and see what happens here.

I asked Liebknecht to tell you[a] that, if you happened to be in the neighbourhood of Darmstadt between now and 12 September, you should advise Schorlemmer who is staying there, so that he can look you up somewhere in that region. It is probably too late now. Regards to Liebknecht.

Your
F. E.

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## 31

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[103]

### IN STUTTGART

London, 18 September 1883

Dear Mr Kautsky,

As regards the Geiser business, I do not believe the time has yet come for me to intervene.[104] The chaps must first compromise them-

[a] See this volume, pp. 47-48.

selves a bit more in the eyes of the public. The paltry little flysheet and the failure of the motion on the right to work are not enough; they must express themselves in yet stronger terms if we are to get a proper hold on them and if they are not to lie their way out by pleading false excuses. Meanwhile it would be most helpful if you would gather together material in this connection, for the moment will come when we shall have to have a go at these gentlemen. There's no immediate hurry.[a] Bebel and the *Sozialdemokrat*, as you say yourself, have got the masses behind them, and there is, after all, an antidote to hand. That you have a great deal of this sort of thing to put up with in that Swabian hole, I can well believe, considering that Stuckert[b] and Munich are the worst places in Germany. And then, I definitely have not got the time to become embroiled in a dispute that would demand a great deal of toil and trouble. If it has *got* to be—well and good. I return the flysheet herewith.

Lack of time precludes my engaging in further detailed discussion of the articles on marriage.[105] In any case, primitive hetaerism is so remote in time and has been so much overlaid by later developments, whether progressive or otherwise, that nowadays we can nowhere expect to find examples in their pristine form. But all subsequent forms lead back to those primitive origins. Of this much I am certain,—until you have completely dropped the element of jealousy as a *determining social factor* (in primitive times), it will not be possible to give a correct account of the way things have developed.

Generally speaking, in the case of all those scientific researches which embrace so wide a field and such a mass of material, nothing can really be achieved except by dint of many years of study. Individual aspects that are both new and accurate—and these are, of course, to be found in your articles—present themselves more readily; but to survey the whole and to order it anew is something that can only be done after it has been fully explored. Otherwise there would be many more books like *Capital*. So I am glad to see that you have turned to themes—for immediate literary treatment—such as early biblical history[c] and colonisation,[d] which make it possible to achieve something without so exhaustive and detailed a study, and yet at the same time strike a topical note. I liked the colonisation article very much. Unfortunately almost all the material you've got is

[a] See this volume, p. 64.-[b] Stuttgart-[c] K. Kautsky, 'Die Entstehung der biblischen Urgeschichte', *Kosmos*..., Vol. XIII, June 1883.-[d] K. Kautsky, 'Auswanderung und Kolonisation', *Die Neue Zeit*, Nos. 8 and 9, 1883.

German which, as usual, is toned down and fails to present either the lurid hues of tropical colonisation or its most recent mode. The latter is colonisation, directly and wittingly carried out in the interest of stock-market manipulations, as now by France in Tunisia and Tongking.[65] Of this there is a new and striking instance in the South Seas slave trade; that trade was the immediate purpose of the attempted annexation of New Guinea, etc., by Queensland. Almost on the same day as the expedition set out to annex New Guinea, a Queensland vessel, the *Fanny*, left for the same island and others further east in order to seize LABOUR, returning, however, *without* LABOUR but with wounded as well as other unpleasant signs of an encounter.[106] *The Daily News* reports this and, in a leading article,[a] remarks that the British can hardly censure the French for such practices while doing the same thing themselves! (Beginning of September.)

Last week, at the TRADES UNIONS CONGRESS sitting at Nottingham, Adam Weiler's proposal to press for international factory legislation was thrown out by 26 votes to 2 on the motion of the 'Labour' parliamentarian Broadhurst.[107] So much for Liebknecht's much-vaunted TRADES UNIONS![108]

Why doesn't Fritz Denhardt write for the *Neue Zeit* any more?[109] He had a very nice cheery style. The journal itself, of course, has to content with appalling difficulties: the censorship it has to impose upon itself is a thousand times worse than the old, official censorship used to be. You still have some pretty odd contributors and you yourself must often enough long for better ones. At all events, this business has for you the advantage of enabling you at the same time to pursue your scientific studies and let them come to gradual fruition.

Incidentally, Java provides proof of the fact that nowhere and at no time does a population increase so rapidly as under a not unduly oppressive system of bondage: 1755—2 mill.; 1826—$5^1/_2$ mill.; 1850—9 mill.; 1878—19 mill.;—an almost tenfold increase in 125 years—the only example of anything like Malthusian growth. Were they to send the Dutch blood-suckers packing the population would become fairly stable.

Adler turned up just as I was off to the seaside and likewise on my return; he is a man of some promise. He saw much here that might be of use to him.[110]

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[a] *The Daily News*, 12 September 1883.

I yesterday received a money order from Stuttgart for £6 3/- for the photographs,[a] but there was no accompanying letter. Will you ask Dietz to be so kind as to drop me a note informing me what name (Christian name) and address (in Stuttgart) he gave at the post office on taking out the order? The post office here is very pedantic in such matters, and if the particulars I give differ in the slightest respect I shall not get the money.

The 2nd volume of *Capital* will provide me with work and to spare. The bulk of the ms. dates back to *before 1868* and is in places no more than a *brouillon*.[b] [17] The second book will greatly disappoint the vulgar socialists, it contains virtually nothing but rigorously scientific, very minute examinations of things that take place within the capitalist class itself, and nothing at all out of which to fabricate catch-words and orations.

Pumps has already got two offspring. Tussy Marx has taken rooms near the British Museum. Lenchen is keeping house for me.

Kindest regards.

Yours,
F. E.

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## 32

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 19 September 1883

My dear Laura,

At last returned from Eastbourne,[82] where correspondence was rendered difficult and almost impossible by circumstances. When proof-sheets[c] arrived — 3 times a week — my company left me to my

[a] See this volume, pp. 15-16.- [b] draft - [c] of the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital*

work, but on the silent understanding that I was not to exact anything further — and how indeed could I have asked for peace and quietness in the one sitting room allotted to us all, especially when the thirst for Pilsener drove them in at certain times of the day?

I was besides busy with Sam Moore's specimen translation[a] the greater part of which is very good and lively; the beginning — rather a difficult chapter[b] — wanted a deal of 'look after', on account of his not having been exact enough in rendering the terminology, but that could be easily settled. I am certain from what I have seen that he will do the job well.

I also began revising Deville's pamphlet,[81] it requires more work, especially in the beginning where great precision is necessary, but is wanting here and there. However I shall have no difficulty in setting that right, only it will take a week or a fortnight. I shall set to work seriously to-morrow. As far as I have gone, I am much pleased with his work, he has well understood everything (except small details) and it is written in a more lively style than I thought it would be.

As soon as that is shaken off I begin with the 2nd volume [of] *Kapital.*

I hope you received my post-card [111] with the information you had asked me for. It was sent the day after I received your letter.

We came back last Friday,[c] Pumps and Percy stayed here over Sunday, their house not being in order. Since then we had a thunderstorm and fearful rain in parts of London which flooded their back drawing-room. Otherwise they are flourishing. The little boy is getting on wonderfully well, he was five months yesterday, and is extremely intelligent for his age.

Nim declares she must reduce her allowance of beer. She thinks she is getting too fat with it.

This morning Lopatin walks in, his adventures have ripened him considerably.[112] He will be here again directly and have dinner with us. He says he saw Paul lately and found him well and content, all things considered.[9]

Tussy I have not seen yet, I believe she is not in town, I wrote her a line but she did not turn up on Sunday. As soon as Nim can get off she'll call on her.

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[a] the English translation of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56) - [b] the first chapter of Volume I of *Capital* — 'Commodities'. - [c] 14 September

Of my little pamphlet *Entwicklung etc.* two editions are already sold, the third is in the press.[25] That shows anyhow that it is not too difficult for the mass of the working people in Germany.

When this letter arrives, Paul will have 'done' $^2/_3$ rds of his time — I hope he will keep his pluck up for the two last and most trying months.

Of the 3rd edition [of] *Kapital*[a] I have read proofs up to page 448, so if they go on at this rate, the whole will be completed by December. I am sorry Mohr has not lived to see how well this time the thing is done: no delay, no trouble with the printers, no trifling complaint but is at once set right, and excellent proofs with very few mistakes. Leipzig [113] seems at last, and at least in this one respect of printing, to become '*ein klein Paris*'.[b] High time it was.

So now I conclude this budget of miscellaneous news in order to set a few little jobs right before Lopatin drops in again. Kind regards for[c] Paul and a hearty kiss for yourself from

Yours affectionately,

*Le général pour rire*[d]

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

Reproduced from the original

## 33

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 3 October 1883

My dear Laura,

Herewith cheque for £ 14.- of which £ 4.- are your $^1/_3$ share of £ 12.- sent by Meissner on account of 2nd edition [of] *Kapital*,[e]

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[a] the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital* - [b] 'a little Paris' - [c] In the original mistakenly: 'from'. - [d] The general, in a manner of speaking. - [e] the second German edition of Volume I of *Capital*

£4.- for Tussy and £4.- for Longuets children, which Tussy has banked for the present until a little more money accrues to them, when we can consider, along with you, what is to be done in their interest.

Jollymeier left here yesterday, highly enchanted with Paris. He says you will come over at Christmas—hope it will turn out true!

Today I sent to you, registered, pages 1-123 of Deville's ms.[8] I cannot find his letter with his address. The defect of the thing is that many parts of it have been done rather too hurriedly. This is principally the case with the descriptive portions (especially *manufacture* and *grande industrie*[a]). The points do not at all come out as they ought to do. It is not sufficient to express them, as much as possible, in Marx's own words; these cannot be torn from the context without giving rise to misinterpretation or leaving many things in comparative obscurity. Deville would do well to revise these two chapters throughout and to complete them by some of the exemplifications of the original without which they have become very abstract and to working-men-readers obscure. In the theoretical parts there are also many slight inaccuracies (some too, as his definition of *marchandise*,[b] very serious) and *des choses faites à la hâte*,[c] but these it was mostly not very difficult to set more or less right. Then many portions, of interest and importance for theoretical economic science, but without immediate *portée*[d] on the question between capital and labour, might be omitted. One or two I have indicated.

Now then I close. Though a good deal better I am ordered to lie down as much as possible quietly for a few days longer and so with kind regards to the prisoners[9] and sincere love from Nim and myself remain

Ever yours affectionately,

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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[a] Cf. this volume, p. 76. - [b] commodity - [c] things done in haste - [d] bearing

## 34

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 15 October 1883

My dear Laura,

My last letter was awfully rough. But I was not allowed to sit long at the desk, and *had* to write — as you will allow — to Deville first.[39] So I could only say a few words to you and these must have looked very unkind indeed. Pardon me.

Well, I have made up my mind *d'en finir avec cette sacrée maladie chronique*.[a] Since last Wednesday night[b] I have stayed in bed, in order to do away with any excuse for the constant cause of all my relapses, want of rest and temptation for moving about. To-day I feel quite well, and inclined for a dance. But that is just the time when absolute rest is most needed, and therefore I shall not stir out of bed until bed will do me more harm than good. If nothing unexpected occurs, I think I shall be *en pleine guérison*[c] before the week is out. So now, that will satisfy you I hope as far as my health is concerned.

I perfectly understand what Jollymeier meant by his letter to you. Gumpert had given him the note of warning — *awfully exaggerated*, though, for my case — but Gumpert could not interfere in my treatment by another doctor. Still I think Jollymeier might have found another way to save Gumpert's scruples as to medical étiquette without frightening *you*. As it is, I have used your letter to stir up my doctors a bit, and with success. *Ich hab' ihnen Beine gemacht*,[d] and energetic treatment is now all the rage.

But enough of that. All I am sorry for, and very sorry, is that I responded in such an unkind way to your letter and to the kind feeling which had dictated it. It has weighed on my mind all the time, and yet I would not again write to you until I could indicate a decided improvement and good reasons for an approaching final cure.

Fortin has written, he wants a preface[e] and asks about 20 questions which it would take a year to answer thoroughly. Tussy was here when his letter came, I read it to her and I wish you could have heard

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[a] to get rid of this accursed chronic ailment - [b] 10 October - [c] fully fit - [d] I made them get a move on - [e] to the French edition of Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*; see also this volume, p. 358.

us laugh at that never ending series of inquiries, each requiring a volume to answer it completely. I shall ask him to send me the manuscript[a] and put off the rest for better times.

Read to-day proof-sheet[b] up to page 600.

Tussy has promised to look up the American reports for Paul.[114]

It is getting post-time and dinner-time too. But before concluding: Deville writes to say he has no time to recast the 3 chapters indicated by me.[81] Please do, you and Paul, as much as you can, to get him to revise them as much as possible. Such as they are, they are not intelligible but to those who know the original. He says the publisher will give no time. But the whole cannot be printed at once!! A fortnight will do it and it will be a *wonderful improvement.*

Kind regards to the prisoner[c] now soon to be free.

A kiss from Nim and from your affectionate

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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## 35

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 8 November 1883

Dear Bernstein,

I have been keeping to my bed for the past few weeks in order to rid myself of a chronic ailment, mild in itself but tiresome and long neglected; I shall be up again in a few days. Hence my silence. Please accept my apologies and also convey them to Kautsky; I don't know whether he is still in Stuckert.[d]

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[a] See Engels' letter to Laura Lafargue, 21 March 1887 (present edition, Vol. 48).- [b] of the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital*- [c] Paul Lafargue- [d] Stuttgart

The article on the right to work was very good and very much *à propos*.[a] Kautsky had already bombarded me about the same subject[b] and I shall be perfectly willing as soon as it becomes *necessary*, but I think one should first let these gentlemen compromise themselves a little more; they ought first to formulate more precisely what they mean by it; one must never stop people from giving 'complete and full' expression to their nonsense; only then does one get something really tangible. I hope your article will commit the chaps to this course.

If the Germans in Paris have not had their eyes opened to Malon & Co. *now*, there's no helping them. Their open alliance with the *traitors* of the English labour movement, the official representatives of the TRADES UNIONS, has earned them the applause of the entire English bourgeois press from *The Times* and *The Daily News* to *The Standard*.[115] A good thing that Guesde and Lafargue were doing time,[9] thereby enabling this magnificent performance to be put on with no interruptions whatever!

Apropos. Do you know a Dr Moritz[c] Quarck (sic!) In Rudolstadt? This man, with whom I am totally unfamiliar, has referred me to a pamphlet,[d] with which I am equally unfamiliar, attacking one Fleischmann[e] with whom I am even less familiar, and wants to translate *The Poverty of Philosophy* into German.[f] I have my misgivings.

Well, let me know sometime soon what is going on in the world. I have become so stupid, lolling about in bed, that I can no longer marshal my thoughts.

Yours,
F. E.

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[a] [E. Bernstein,] 'Das Recht auf Arbeit', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 44, 25 October 1883.- [b] See this volume, p. 56.- [c] A mistake; should be Max.- [d] [M. Quarck,] *Kommerzienrath Adolf Fleischmann als Nationalökonom und die Thüringer Hausindustrie*.- [e] A. Fleischmann, *Die Sonneberger Spielwaaren-Hausindustrie und ihr Handel*.- [f] See this volume, pp. 66 and 67.

## 36

## ENGELS TO VERA ZASULICH

### IN GENEVA

London, 13 November 1883
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen,

I am not really in a position to answer the questions you have been so good as to put to me.[116] The publication of the second volume of *Capital*, in the original text, continues to be delayed. Up till now I have had to confine my attention mainly to the 3rd edition of the first volume.[a]

So far I have heard nothing at all from St Petersburg in regard to a Russian translation of the 2nd volume. Nor, for that matter, do I believe that, as things are now, there could be any question of publishing a work of this kind in the Russian capital; no doubt they would first want to take a look at the German text.

On the other hand, the political situation in Russia is now so tense that a crisis might supervene any day. I even think it probable that the press will be free in Russia before it becomes so in Germany. And in that case the translator of the first volume, Германъ Лопатинъ,[b] could, with some reason, claim the right to translate the second.[117]

I do not, therefore, believe that the time is yet ripe for an attempt to arrive at a final decision on this matter, but must thank you sincerely for your kind offer which I shall bear in mind. Perhaps we shall be able to see things more clearly in a month or two, and then we can renew our discussion on the subject.

It pleases me very much to hear that it is you who have undertaken to translate my *Entwicklung etc.*[c]; I look forward eagerly to seeing your work and fully appreciate the honour you have done me.

---

[a] in German - [b] (Russ.) Hermann Lopatin - [c] *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*

I am, my dear and courageous citizen,

Yours ever,
F. Engels

To Citizen Vera Zasulich

First published, in Russian, in *Gruppa 'Osvobozhdeniye truda'*, No. 1, Moscow, 1924

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## 37

## ENGELS TO MAX QUARCK

### IN RUDOLSTADT

London, 13 November 1883

Dear Sir,

I have kept you waiting a long time for an answer.[a] Firstly because I had to keep to my bed on account of a mild but tedious indisposition and, secondly, because you are not the first to have approached me about the matter in question. Hence, before I could reply to you, I had to make further inquiries.

The result is that Mr Eduard Bernstein of Zurich has now definitely expressed his intention of translating *The Poverty etc.* into German and has enlisted my support.[118] This I cannot possibly refuse, since he was the first to speak to me about the matter, his qualifications for the task are known to me, and immediate printing in Zurich is assured, should it become apparent that publication in Germany itself might meet with difficulties.

Under the circumstances, and in the knowledge that neither I nor anyone else is legally empowered to prevent you or others from publishing a translation of that work, I have nothing further to say other

[a] See this volume, p. 64.

than to express my thanks to you for having thought fit to approach me in the first place.

I remain,

Yours very truly,

F. Engels

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Published in English for the first time

## 38

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 13 November 1883

Dear Bernstein,

Encl. for Vera Zasulich.[a]

As to Quarck,[b] you have taken a load off my mind.[119] I have written telling him that *you* were the first to apply and that you would be translating *The Poverty etc.*[118] The man has thus been disposed of. His pamphlet[c] is 'Quarck'.[d] Marx would wring my neck were I to agree to his being translated by this boastful Hohenzollern-worshipper and conservative state socialist.

But it behoves us to make a proper job of it. Nothing pedestrian; the thing is by no means so easy. You might, if you have got as far, send me the ms. of the first sheet; that would give us an opportunity to agree upon the whole *modus operandi.*

I have not been sent Plekhanov's pamphlet[e]; only the *Manifesto* and *Wage Labour and Capital.*[f] From this I learn that it has appeared in a *German* edition.[120] Why has no one deigned to send me and Marx's heirs a copy?

Nor have I ever received a copy of the new edition of the *Manifesto*

[a] See this volume, pp. 65-66. - [b] Ibid., p. 66. - [c] [M. Quarck,] *Kommerzienrath Adolf Fleischmann als Nationalökonom...* - [d] In German 'Quark' = curd or cottage cheese; fig. rubbish. - [e] G. V. Plekhanov, *Соціализмъ и политическая борьба* (Socialism and Political Struggle). - [f] by Marx

(German).[a] Nor yet of the 3rd edition of *Entwicklung*.[b] And I have never heard a word of what became of 'The Mark', which had been trimmed to size expressly for a separate edition.[121] This, of course, only happens to one when 'easy-going' Germans are involved.

Of the portraits of me in existence there is only one that you have got; I don't imagine that the man (in Brighton) would quote a cheap price for prints in bulk, but I shall do what I can. So you see, *I* bear no grudge against your office,[c] but their worships could well be a little less touchy about a bad joke, especially since they devote a full half column of every number to that kind of thing.

Beware of the *Droit à la paresse*.[122] Parts of it were too much even for the French and it was much exploited by Malon and Brousse at Lafargue's expense. You must certainly see to it that the wailers[123] are not provided with an easy excuse just now; even friend Bebel is still somewhat Germanic in this respect. Which reminds me of the poem about the 'arse'. If the author is responsible for all the heroic deeds enumerated therein, he is entitled to celebrate them in song. Besides, I am speaking of the sex organs, and it is difficult for me to enter into discussion with people who include their bottoms under that heading.

It certainly must have been hard for our friend Lavrov to have set his hand to a document saying that he and his Russians 'had definitively broken with their anarchist traditions'.[124] Not that he set much store by them, but all the same there was about them something attractively 'Russian'. Besides, he is a thoroughly honest old fellow who is, however, invariably the hen that hatches out ducks' eggs in the form of 'Russian youth' and watches aghast as the ducklings set out across the HORRIBLE water. This has happened to him umpteen times.

Kautsky's visit[125] will give me much pleasure; I trust I shall be up to the mark again by then.

Yours,
F. E.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - [b] F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. - [c] i. e. *Der Sozialdemokrat*

## 39

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

### IN GENEVA

London, 30 November 1883

Dear Old Man,

I can't tell you how glad I was to see your own handwriting again. Nowhere had I been able to learn anything definite about how you were getting on, and am now glad to know that you are at least to some extent back on your feet again.

I, too, have been in bed for a good month now, in order to rid myself of a mild but most tiresome and prolonged ailment, and can only write very briefly since any position but the horizontal is forbidden me. But no doubt I, too, will soon be up again and able to tackle the large accumulation of work.

As soon as I can resume the task of putting Marx's papers in order, I shall look out the things you want,[126] but everything is still in the utmost disorder since I have to attend to everything myself. Mme Lafargue has been living in Paris for a year or more now, and the youngest sister[a] has furnished a couple of rooms nearby — nearby being half an hour's walk from here, and since it is I alone who must decide what is important and what is not among the vast mass of papers, etc., it is understandable that, considering her many literary activities, she should leave the sorting out to me.

I, too, hope that I shall see you again, my old comrade-in-arms, somewhere some day — who knows whether it might not be, as once before, at Durlach and Vöhrenbach in mid-campaign[127]? How wonderful that would be! And, after all, the present swindle can't go on for very much longer, provided Mr Bismarck does not again hold up or temporarily obstruct revolutionary developments by unleashing a general war, as is clearly his intention.

You will be getting from the post office a money order for £5 sterling.

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[a] Eleanor Marx

But now I must lie down flat on my back again. Goodbye, old man. See that you get fit again, and write sometimes to your old, trusty

F. Engels

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## 40

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN LONDON [128]

[London, 1 December 1883]

Dear Kautsky,

What can be the matter? Not a sign of you either at Tussy's or at my house!

Yours,
F. E.

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935

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## 41

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 13 December 1883

My dear Laura,

I did not intend to write to you until I should be able to inform you that I was 'up and doing' again. To-day it is eight weeks that I went

to bed for good (or rather bad) and although I feel considerably better, and keep in bed more for safety's sake than anything else, I am still far from able to use my legs as I ought to. These poor 'lower extremities' to use the language of respectability, are woefully shrunk, and what is quite as bad, have left scarcely anything 'behind them'. The worst is I am quite at ease only when laid flat on my back and writing has to be done in a constrained position and soon becomes a torture, so this must excuse my short and unfrequent letters.

Paul's article in *Progress*[a] I read with much pleasure, it hits more than one nail on the head. Let us hope the 'Blé' will come out soon after the period of *étrennes*,[b] [114] and be followed soon by that novel[c] which I am most anxious to see. Paul in Balzac's slippers it will be good! By the bye I have been reading scarcely anything but Balzac while laid up and enjoyed the grand old fellow thoroughly. *There* is the history of France from 1815 to 1848, far more than in all the Vaulabelles, Capefigues, Louis Blancs and *tutti quanti*.[d] And what boldness! What a revolutionary dialectic in his poetical justice!

But alas, we always drop back from the blooming field of romance into the dreary sick-bed of reality. This bids fair to be a poor Christmas! In the best of cases I may be allowed to spend it on the first floor, with order to go to my bedroom when one ought to begin to enjoy oneself! And no tipple, or at all events wine to be taken by the spoonful, as medicine! Well it can't be helped.

Percy is now partner of 'Garman and Rosher, Chartered Accountants' Walbrook House, E. C. Hope he will prosper. His father has at last forked out the needful and set him up though with the sourest face and in the unpleasantest way possible.

Tussy has got neuralgia again, she will call here to-night, but only after this letter has gone. The Jutas (he, she,[e] and Willa) arrived here last week, so Tussy will have plenty on her hands.

*Kapital*, 3rd edition[f] now fully printed, will be issued very soon; as soon as we get copies we shall send you one.

Pumps and Percy were in Manchester last week, say Jollymeier is not quite well yet. When we are all on our legs again, we must have a continuation of last summer's sprees, and you must then bring Paul

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[a] P. Lafargue, 'Socialism and Darwinism', *Progress*, Vol. 2, December 1883, pp. 343-49. - [b] Christmas presents - [c] The novel which Lafargue was trying to write was entitled *Jugement de Paris*. - [d] all the rest - [e] Johann Carl and Louise - [f] the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital*

too, unless he is clever enough to get himself locked up again. In the meantime *mille saluts* to him and to you too from

Your affectionate
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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## 42

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [24]

### IN ZURICH

[London, 22 December 1883]

If you have still got *The Labour Standard*, will you please send it to *Lafargue straight away*; he gave Shipton's remarks a lambasting in the *Cri du Peuple*, and wants to have the original as the thing is creating a furore.[129] I wouldn't be able to get hold of another copy before Monday, not to say Thursday[a] (and perhaps not even then).

Have been up again since Saturday[b] but still very wobbly.

You gave von der Mark his deserts all right! The fool imagines people should take account of what *he* understands by 'State'![130] Just as Rodbertus criticised Marx for supposing capital to be *real* capital, rather than Rodbertus' 'notion of capital'.[131] German to the core.

Kautsky back?

Regards, yours,
F. E.

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[a] 24 and 27 December accordingly - [b] 15 December

# 1884

## 43

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [94]

### IN ZURICH

London, 1 January 1884

Dear Bernstein,

First a Happy New Year to you, Kautsky and the whole newspaper office.[a]

Then a request to send me last week's *Sozialdemokrat*. It should have arrived on Saturday, 29 December, but hasn't reached me yet.

A fortnight ago I was at last able to get up again, have improved steadily and hope to be fit for work in a week's time. And a damned good thing too!

I trust you were not too much infuriated by the number of amendments I made to your ms.[118] As I once said to Kautsky, while we cannot imitate Marx's style, our own ought to be such as not to be wholly out of keeping with Marx's. Provided you don't lose sight of this altogether, we may well produce a work that is presentable.

The note on American slavery[b] shall be done, and various others besides. I shall also be able to include a fair amount in the preface.[c] How true the passage on slavery was is still evident today: capitalist production in the cotton states is not prospering — through not having any *coolies*, Chinese or Indian, i. e. slaves disguised as free labour; whereas in Cuba, Mauritius, Réunion, etc., it flourishes in so far as, and only in so far as, it has coolies at its disposal.

As regards your earlier inquiry about the passage from *The Civil War in France* in the preface to the *Manifesto*,[132] you will, no doubt,

[a] *Der Sozialdemokrat*. - [b] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 167-68. - [c] F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'.

concur with the answer that is given in the original (*The Civil War*, pp. 19 ff.).[a] I am sending you a copy in case you have not got one there. It is simply a question of showing that the victorious proletariat must first reshape the old, bureaucratic, administratively centralised state machine before they can use it for their own purposes; whereas, since 1848, *all* bourgeois republicans, so long as they were in opposition, have heaped abuse on that machine but, no sooner in office, have taken it over intact and made use of it, partly against reaction but to an even greater extent against the proletariat. That the Commune's *unconscious* tendencies should, in *The Civil War*, have been credited to it as more or less deliberate plans was justifiable and perhaps even necessary in the circumstances. The Russians have very properly appended the passage from *The Civil War* to their translation of the *Manifesto*.[133] If there hadn't been such a great rush over getting it out, we could have done this and one or two other things.

Apropos. You once spoke of Guesde's disreputable past, or something of the sort. I know absolutely nothing about that. Undoubtedly just a pack of lies on Malon's part, but I should be glad if you would enable me to clear the matter up.

I shall shortly be sending you one pound sterling from Schorlemmer for his subscription, the balance for party purposes. It's too late to take out a money order today.

At last things have got moving again in Russia. The affair of the sledge and the Tsar is most suspect,[134] that of Sudeikin, on the other hand, crystal clear.[135] We should like to send Alexander[b] a telegram wishing him 'a happy holiday'.

Has Tussy Marx sent you *To-Day* and the last numbers of *Progress*? If not I shall attend to this. These two are *completely divorced* from the TRADES UNIONS movement and are in fact run by a *very motley* society. Bax is very honest but still somewhat green, Aveling is good but has little time in which to familiarise himself with economics, a subject utterly foreign to him. Joynes is an unreliable chap (once a schoolmaster at the big doss house at Eton, travelled to Ireland with Henry George, was arrested with him and lost his post; is therefore looking around to see what's doing) and Hyndman, an ambitious party leader *in partibus infidelium*,[c] provisionally in search of a party

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 328-35. - [b] Alexander III - [c] It means literally: in parts inhabited by unbelievers; here: nominally.

and meanwhile issuing orders into the blue,—come to that a pretty shrewd fellow.[a] One's best course is to do justice to the aspirations without identifying oneself with the persons. At all events, the publication of *To-Day* and the transformation of *Progress* into a socialist journal is of great significance at this particular juncture, now that the poor in the East End OF London are beginning to find their voice. On top of that, all over the country we have chronic overproduction which now seems to be hastening on the crisis. Circumstances are favourable, but whether the people who have taken the matter in hand are a match for those circumstances remains to be seen. This time it's hardly likely to remain without a sequel, as have so many previous curtain-raisers.

Now *basta*. I haven't written a letter as long as this for the past three months. Schorlemmer and I send our cordial regards to all our friends.

Yours,
F. E.

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## 44

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN ZURICH

London, 9 January 1884[b]

Dear Kautsky,

(Why must we continue to bore each other with 'Mr'?) The news about the coronation scenery is absolutely typical and has aroused much mirth; at the same time we have taken care that it does not leak

[a] See this volume, p. 54. - [b] 1883 in the original

out prematurely over here; i. e. before the scenery has been delivered and paid for.[136] Not a soul knows about it apart from Schorlemmer, Lenchen and Tussy.

Many thanks for Frankel's address.

So far as purely theoretical matters are concerned, Deville's summary[a] is the best that has yet appeared. He has understood everything aright, though his use of terminology has been very lax and this I have amended in the manuscript. On the other hand the descriptive part is treated far too cursorily, with the result that some of it is totally incomprehensible to anyone unfamiliar with the original. Again, what would make for much greater ease of comprehension, particularly in a popular account, namely the *historical* emergence of manufacture and large-scale industry as *consecutive historical periods*, is pushed much too much into the background. (We aren't even told that 'factory legislation' does not operate at all in France, but only in England!) And, finally, he gives a full summary of the entire contents, including stuff which Marx had had to bring in if his account of scientific developments was to be complete, but which is not necessary to an understanding of the theory of surplus value and its consequences (and this alone is what counts in the case of a popular summary). Similarly as regards the number of coins in circulation, etc.[b]

But then he also quotes verbatim from Marx's recapitulatory propositions, having given no more than an incomplete account of the assumptions upon which they were based. Consequently these propositions are frequently so distorted that in the course of my perusal I often found myself wanting to contest a proposition of Marx's, the limitations of which are made plain in the original by what goes before; in Deville, however, they are accorded absolutely universal, and hence false, validity. I can't change this without redoing the whole ms.

Now as to your translation of this,[137] my position vis-à-vis Meissner compels me to adopt an entirely neutral position. As soon as you write and tell me definitely that you will take the thing on, I propose, and I have already discussed this with Tussy who shares my view entirely, to act as follows: I shall write to Meissner saying that someone intends to publish Deville's piece (which I shall send Meissner) in German and that I can see nothing in this that might damage the sales of *Capital* — boost them, more likely; I shall then add that I can-

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[a] G. Deville, *Le Capital de Karl Marx. Résumé et accompagné d'un aperçu sur le socialisme scientifique.* - [b] See *Capital*, Vol. I, Part I, Ch. III, Sect. 2b (present edition, Vol. 35).

not stop it but that, if he intends to take preventive action, he might let me know and I shall then pass this on.

Seen in the abstract (i. e. disregarding Meissner), a new popular and *short* account (*half* the size of Deville) of the theory of surplus value is much needed, and Deville's work is, so far as theory goes, far better than the rest. What should be dropped are 1) detailed references to the individual chapters and subsections of *Capital* and, 2) anything that is not necessary to an understanding of the theory of surplus value. This will involve rewriting the descriptive part from the beginning, and also considerable abridgement. It would allay the worst of Meissner's misgivings, especially if we changed the title to e. g. *Unpaid Labour and Its Transformation into Capital* or something of the kind.

At worst the thing could be printed by Dietz and published in Switzerland, like Bebel's *Frau.*[138]

So give the matter some thought and drop me a line.

I enclose the two photographs[a] for you and Motteler.

The business of the missing no. of the *Sozialdemokrat* has since been cleared up — the greatest success scored by Social Democracy to date is to have contrived *to put 53 weeks into a year,*[139] — a real miracle. Just let them carry on like that and we'll all live two per cent longer.

Kindest regards to Bernstein and yourself from

Yours,
F. E.

I had intended to enclose a one pound money order from Schorlemmer but it is now too late; must do so in my next. When does Tussy's and my subscription expire? Up till yesterday she had not received her *Sozialdemokrat* either. Might it have been forgotten? Kindly look into it.

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[a] of Engels

# 45

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 14 January 1884

My dear Laura,

Herewith cheque £15.- which I hope will stop the landlord's cravings. The same dearth of news of which you complain, reigns supreme here, and old Nim and I have the house much to ourselves, of which I at least do not much complain, being still rather shaky and progressing only slowly. Percy is very busy in his new concern, and has had very poor health lately, rheumatism, erysipelas of the nose, and to wind up, catarrh of the stomach. Tussy and Aveling called yesterday. 'Yesterday' reminds me of *To-Day* which I suppose you have got. A rather motley society[a] of most of which lot Heine said: *Viel dunklere Wolke war die Idee, die ihr im Herzen getragen.*[b] Well, it's a beginning, and they will weed each other out in time.[c]

Do you receive the *Sozialdemokrat*? If not, let me know. There ought to be an exchange of publications between Zurich and Paris which you might organise, it will prevent such blunders and misunderstandings as were current some time ago. Kautsky wishes to translate Deville's *Capital*,[137] has a copy been sent to Zurich? If not please see to it (address Redaktion *Sozialdemokrat*, Volksbuchhandlung, Hottingen-Zurich, Suisse). If this translation be done, I shall require another copy to be sent to Meissner, to prevent unpleasantness hereafter. I shall let you know, as soon as it is settled.

Herewith 5 photos of Mohr and 4 of mine. Of Mohr's you can have as many as you like, large or small.

Paul's examples of victorious German 'goût' are mostly as old as the hills.[140] That German *gravures pour enfants* (*Bilderbogen*)[d] are generally good, is simple enough. For more than 50 years they have been made chiefly at Düsseldorf, Munich, etc., and the designs are by young and often rising artists who do this work to earn a little money. 40 years ago however I recollect that French *gravures* of that sort came

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[a] See this volume, p. 74. - [b] The thought you carried in your heart was a much darker cloud. - [c] Cf. this volume, p. 82. - [d] pictures for children (picture-sheets)

to Germany, a good many by Adam the horse- and soldier-painter, and they were immensely superior to the German ones in chic and life. If that has not been continued by French artists, they must have found no market.

As to *toys*, the German superiority is 1) cheapness, domestic industry at starvation level (described lately by Dr Emanuel Sax, *Die Hausindustrie in Thüringen*, very good) and 2) in that they are invented by *peasants*; townspeople never will be fit to invent for children, least of all French townspeople who hate their own children.

For *furniture* Paul gives the reason himself: the stupid fiscal policy of the French government.

*Flowers* similar: division of labour and low wages: who can compete against the East End of London and Germany in cheapness? Generally speaking, bourgeois taste is getting so much out of taste that even the Germans may hope to be able to satisfy it. And if any trade has become broken down enough to make 'cheap and nasty' its market-rule, then you may be sure the Germans will step in and defeat all competition by starving their own workpeople. And as this is the rule generally now for all trades, it explains the appearance of German goods in all trades and all markets.

I sent Lavroff last Thursday's *Standard* containing a report of an interview of their correspondent with a Petersburg police chief and in which Lavroff is blamed for all — the whole thing of course got up for the benefit of the philistine, but so stupidly that the effect aimed at is visible plainly in every word.[135]

Jollymeier left here last Monday,[a] better a good deal, but not yet himself again. Sam Moore did not come at all, he had a bad catarrh of the stomach and is now busy at the court of chancery in Manchester and Liverpool. He is doing very well indeed in law-business, for a beginner.

Had a letter from Meyer[b] this morning informing me that he will not be here till March, and asking from me nothing less than to forward to him all the material I have for the history of German Socialism up to 1852! which of course I want myself for Mohr's biography.[30] Of course I shall decline.

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[a] 7 January - [b] Rudolf Hermann Meyer

Nim sends her love to you and Paul, and to use the sacramental philistine British phrase, I 'join' her.

Very affectionately yours,
F. E.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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## 46

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL [94]

### IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG [34]

London, 18 January 1884

Dear Bebel,

At last I have recovered sufficiently to spend at least a few hours a day at my desk and thus fulfil my obligations in regard to letter-writing. The thing was neither serious nor painful, but damned tedious and *gênant*,[a] and I shall have to take great care of myself for some little while yet.

You will have received my letter about Miss Issleib written in bed in pencil. Since I have heard nothing more, I can only suppose the matter has been dropped.[141] — I dictated to Kautsky, who happened to be on the spot,[125] a letter to Liebknecht [39] which I hope he has received and shown to you as requested. From it you will have seen that I am under no illusions as to the American business,[b] nor was I in any way inclined to give you the impression that I regarded the thing as absolutely essential. But I still maintain that, if it is to succeed, you two must go and no one else. Whether you can do so, I have absolutely no idea — you will know best. But this much is certain — no amount of American money will make good the damage that will infallibly be done if, after the manner of Fritzsche and Viereck, the emissaries again water down the party's viewpoint into a semblance

[a] inconvenient - [b] See this volume, p. 14.

of vulgar democracy and homespun philistinism.[47] And your presence would certainly be the best guarantee that nothing of the sort would happen.

I was delighted by the good news you sent me about the movement's progress. The government could not, in fact, have hit on any better means of keeping the movement going and intensifying it than by everywhere involving our chaps in these violent local struggles with the police, particularly when the police in Germany is made up of such worthless characters that our lads can turn the enemy's own weapons against him and take the offensive. And if, on top of that,—as recently in Berlin—the police are confused by constantly changing instructions from above, so much the better.

Should there be any repetition of the attempt to bring 'the right to work' back into fashion,[142] I would write something about it in the *Sozialdemokrat*. I have discussed this with Kautsky[a]; but first I should like Geiser and Co. to commit themselves a bit, to produce something tangible for us to go on, though Kautsky maintains that they won't. These ne'r-do-well students, shop assistants, etc., are the bane of the movement. They know less than nothing and are, for that very reason, reluctant to learn anything at all; their so-called socialism is nothing but philistine hot air.

Whether you will rid yourselves of the emergency article,[67] I cannot say; there will always be the pretext that only in this way is it possible to protect the person of old William,[b] a phrase before which all Philistia will grovel on their bellies.

Many thanks for your book *Die Frau*.[138] I read it with great interest and there is much in it that is very good. What you say about the development of industry in Germany is particularly good and clear. This is a matter to which I, too, have again been turning my attention of late and I would, given the time, write something about it for the *Sozialdemokrat*. Odd, how the philistines fail to realise that the 'plague of vagabonds' they so lament is, in the present state of agriculture and handicrafts in Germany, the inescapable consequence of the rise of large-scale industry, or that, because Germany is always the last to arrive on the scene, the development of this selfsame large-scale industry can only take place there under the constant pressure of poor business conditions. For the Germans are only able to com-

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[a] See this volume, p. 55. - [b] William I

pete by paying lower wages, depressed to starvation level, and by regularly exploiting to the utmost the cottage industry that forms the background to manufacturing industry. The transformation of handicrafts into cottage industry and the gradual transformation of cottage industry, in so far as this pays, into manufacturing and machinery — such is the present trend in Germany. So far, the only large-scale industry proper we have is iron; in the textile industry — thanks to starvation wages and the fact that weavers possess potato plots — the hand-loom still prevails.

In this country, too, industry has taken on a different character. The ten-year cycle would seem to have been disrupted since 1870, when American and German competition began to destroy England's monopoly of the world market. Since 1868 business has been slack in the main branches, while production has been gradually increasing; and now, here and in America, we appear to be on the eve of another crisis which has not, in England, been preceded by a period of prosperity. That is the secret behind the sudden emergence of the socialist movement over here — sudden, although it has been slowly maturing for the past 3 years. Organised labour — TRADE UNIONS — has, as yet, no sort of connection with it; the movement proceeds under 'educated' elements of bourgeois origin, some of whom seek to make contact with the masses and occasionally succeed in so doing. Morally and intellectually, these elements vary considerably and it will be some time before they sort themselves out and the position becomes clear. But the thing is hardly likely to fizzle out again altogether. Henry George and his nationalisation of land [143] may well play a meteoric role because this issue is of traditional significance over here — of real significance, too, owing to the vast dimensions of the big estates. But in the long run this by itself must cease to have any pull in what is the world's leading industrial country. Besides, George is a bourgeois born and bred, and *his* plan of meeting all state expenditure out of rent is merely a second edition of the *Ricardian* school's plan, i. e. purely bourgeois.

If you wish to study a model of state socialism, then take a look at *Java*. There the Dutch government has, on the basis of the old, communistic village communities, organised production as a whole along such nicely socialist lines, and so neatly assumed control of the sale of all produce that, apart from some 100 million marks for army and civil service pay, there remains each year a clear profit of some 70 mil-

lion marks for payment of interest to the luckless creditors of the Dutch state.[a] Bismarck is a mere child by comparison!

One way or another, we shall have a Russian constitution in the course of this year, and then the fun will begin.

Your
F. E.

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## 47

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG[34]

London, 23 January 1884

Dear Bebel,

I forgot to say in Saturday's letter[b] that you and Liebknecht should on no account order copies of the third edition of *Capital*[c] since we shall be sending one for each of you as soon as we get any. A third will go to the party archives in Zurich.[144]

Tussy will have written to you regarding a translation of *Die Frau.*[145] It's unlikely that you'll get any royalties from it, though there's no harm in trying—at most 3 PENCE = 0.25 mark per copy sold; that is the usual form here. The actual book could, I believe, only fetch, say, 2 *à* 2.50 marks here, of which 30% at least would go to the retail booksellers. Moreover, the kind of publishers who deal in such books are very few and far between and also *pauvres.*[d] We ourselves shall have to invest something like £200 in cash in the English edition of *Capital*,[56] and may also have to advance the translator's fee,

[a] See this volume, pp. 102-03. - [b] See previous letter. - [c] the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital* - [d] poor

and then work on a fifty-fifty basis; it probably couldn't be done in any other way.

Kindest regards to Liebknecht and yourself from

Your
F. E.

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## 48

## ENGELS TO CHARLES FITZGERALD [146]

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, between 26 and 28 January 1884]

Enclosed I beg to hand you post office order 10[sh.] 10 for my year's subscription to *Justice*.

I am so overcharged with work, not only for the immediate future, but for a considerable period of time to come, that it would be folly on my part to promise contributions to your paper. I have been disabled from active work for the last six months and am only now slowly regaining the strength necessary to accomplish my most urgent task—to prepare for the press the manuscripts left by my late friend Marx. So that I am bound to devote all my time. I did promise an article to *To-Day* but that was in better days and I am afraid they too will have to wait.

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## 49

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [94]

### IN ZURICH

London, 28 January 1884

Dear Bernstein,

You will have got my letter of the 1st, as will Kautsky that of the 9th.[a] I am in some doubt about the latter, being unsure of the number of the house (38?); I also sent him the photographs he wanted.[b]

My inquiry today concerns the following:

Various things among Marx's papers will be suitable for the party archives [144]; just now I am in process of sorting his books, etc., and am glad to be again in a condition to do so. Besides these, however, there is a good deal of superfluous stuff which would be very useful to an editorial library for the party organ[c] and is superfluous here, as we have *in duplo*.[d] Firstly dictionaries: 1) the big French-German Mozin-Peschier, 5 volumes quarto, binding very dilapidated, 2) the old Italian Jagemann, also very good, 3) Spanish, Dutch, Danish, perhaps even more. I can't yet be sure whether Tussy might not want to keep one thing or another; if not shall I send them to Zurich with the remainder? Besides these, one thing or another will continue to turn up and could be offered to you, once I know that you are interested.

Further, as regards *Justice*. This paper has suddenly been launched upon the world by Hyndman with insufficient financial and absolutely *no* literary preparation. *To-Day* might survive and within 6 to 12 months pave the way for a weekly. But as it is the two of them are bound to sap each other's strength. Hyndman, however, cannot wait and will probably burn his fingers yet again. They have asked me to contribute, but I refused on the grounds of lack of time. One can send stuff to *To-Day* without hesitation; but this won't do in the case of a weekly purporting to be a party organ until one knows the whys

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[a] See this volume, pp. 73-75 and 75-77. - [b] of Engels - [c] i. e. *Der Sozialdemokrat* - [d] duplicate copies

and wherefores. It is apparent from the complete dearth of ideas in the first two numbers that the chaps are at their wits' end and are looking to new contributors for further material. In short it has misfired and only an unexpectedly favourable turn of events can put it on its feet.

In case Mr von der Mark or anyone else should again speak of our 'concessions' to the anarchists,[130] the following passages prove that we had proclaimed the cessation [Aufhören] of the state before the anarchists even existed: *Misere de la philosophie*, page 177:

'*La classe laborieuse substituera, dans son développement, à l'ancienne société civile une association qui excluera les classes et leur antagonisme, et il n'y aura plus de pouvoir politique proprement dit, puisque le pouvoir politique est précisément le résumé officiel de l'antagonisme dans la société civile.*'[a]

*Manifesto*, end of Section II:

'When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared ... *the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another.*'[b]

The last issue of the *Sozialdemokrat*[c] was again very good. Cheerful and plenty of meat in it. Admittedly this last does not always depend upon the editors. Your rendering of Lafargue is truly delightful; the German substitutions cheered me up enormously.[122]

Regards to Kautsky.

Yours,
F. E.

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[a] 'The working class, in the course of its development, will substitute for the old civil society an association which will exclude classes and their antagonism, *and there will be no more political power properly so-called, since political power is precisely the official expression of antagonism in civil society*' (K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, present edition, Vol. 6, p. 212).- [b] See present edition, Vol. 6, p. 505.- [c] No. 4, 24 January 1884.

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## ENGELS TO LUDWIK KRZYWICKI

### IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG [34]

[Draft]

London, 28 January 1884
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Comrade,

In reply to your kind note of the 23rd inst.,[147] we shall be only too happy to welcome the appearance of a Polish translation of Karl Marx's *Capital* and are perfectly willing to assist, in so far as this lies in our power, in the removal of any obstacles that stand in the way of its publication.

Accordingly, in our capacity as the author's literary executors, we[a] hereby give you our express permission to publish this translation[b] and we wish you every success.

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## 51

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV [1]

### IN PARIS

London, 28 January 1884
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Lavrov,

Some three weeks ago I sent you a *Standard* containing an article I thought might be of interest to you[c]; I hope it reached you safely.

[a] Frederick Engels and Eleanor Marx - [b] In the original the following words are deleted: 'in so far as we are empowered to give such permission'. - [c] See this volume, p. 79.

I am at present engaged — as my health at long last permits — in sorting out the books, etc., left by Marx. Amongst other things they comprise, thanks to the kindness of Danielson, an entire library of Russian books, with some very important material on present social conditions in Russia; it contains almost everything that has been brought out on the subject. At my age, and overburdened as I am with work, it would be impossible for me to resume *a novo*[a] the thorough-going survey of Russia so unfortunately interrupted by the death of our friend.[57] So it seemed to me, and Tussy is of the same opinion, that it was our duty to place these books at your disposal. In your capacity as the acknowledged representative of the revolutionary Russian emigration and as an old friend of the deceased, you have clearly more right than anyone else to the collection of books so devotedly provided by friends, both yours and ours, in Russia — either for your personal use or to form the nucleus of a library for the revolutionary Russian emigration. If you accept, I could send them either to your own address or to any other you might indicate this February. The only books I should keep here would be those from which Marx had made extracts, along with one or two others which I might need for the second volume of *Capital*[4]; the remainder when all deductions have been made, would amount to a hundred or so volumes at the outside.[148]

As for the second volume, I am at last beginning to see daylight. For the most important parts — i. e. the beginning and the end of the second book, *Circulation of Capital*,— we have a version dating from 1875 and later. To this nothing needs to be added save quotations in accordance with the indications supplied. For the middle section there are no fewer than four versions dating from before 1870, and therein lies the only difficulty.[17] The third volume, *Capitalist Production as a Whole*, exists in two versions dating from before 1869; subsequent to that there is nothing but a few notes and a notebook full of equations, the purpose of which is to arrive at the many reasons why the *Mehrwertsrate* becomes the *Profitrate*.[b][149] But the extracts from books both on Russia and on the United States[80] contain a vast amount of material and copious notes on land rent, while others relate to money capital, to credit and to paper money as an instrument of credit, etc. As yet I do not know what use I shall be able to make of this for the third book; it might perhaps be better to combine them in a separate

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[a] anew - [b] the rate of surplus value becomes the rate of profit

publication, and I shall certainly do so if the difficulty of incorporating them into *Capital* proves too great. My chief concern is that the book should come out as soon as possible, and also and above all that the book I publish should be unmistakably a work by *Marx*.

Any day now we should receive copies of the 3rd edition of Volume I, [a] and one will be sent off to you as soon as they arrive.

The Russian publications from Geneva — the *Manifesto*, etc.[78] — gave me much pleasure.

I have just had a letter from two Poles, Krzywicki and Sosnowski, requesting our [b] consent to a Polish translation of *Capital* which, of course, we gave.[c] Sosnowski is in Paris; do you, by any chance, know these citizens? [150]

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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## 52

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN ZURICH

London, 4 February 1884

Dear Kautsky,

A quick line before the post goes.

Please write and tell me by return *what* sort of version you propose to do of Deville [137] — word for word, including all the titles, or abridged, as I suggested? [d] As soon as I know this, I can put the matter to Meissner; I must have something definite to tell him. A copy has been ordered for Meissner in Paris; by the time it arrives, your answer may have got here as well.

[a] of the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital* - [b] Engels' and Eleanor Marx's - [c] See previous letter. - [d] See this volume, pp. 76-77.

I shall be glad to look over the *theoretical* part, although I can hardly suppose it is necessary. There's no point in my looking over the descriptive part, as you won't have any difficulty in avoiding Deville's mistakes. Of these the chief is his presenting as absolute, Marxian propositions which, in Marx, hold good only with qualifications (omitted by Deville) and which therefore appear false.

All other matters in a day or two.

Yours,
F. E.

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## 53

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [61]

### IN ZURICH

London, 5 February 1884

Dear Bernstein,

You can set your mind at rest about one thing: I could wish for no better translator than you yourself.[118] In attempting, in the first sheet, to give an accurate and precise rendering of the sense, you have paid rather too little attention to the syntax, *voilà tout.*[a] Moreover I wanted to incorporate Marx's idiosyncratic syntax which is unfamiliar to you; hence the many emendations.

If, having once put the sense into German, you go through the ms. again with an eye to readable syntax, at the same time bearing in mind that you should wherever possible avoid the wearisome syntax of the schoolroom which always puts the verb of the subordinate clause right at the end — and which was drummed into all of us —, you will have little difficulty and be perfectly capable of putting everything right yourself.

[a] that's all

You would do best to send me the ms. *by sections*, each of them ±[a] a whole, 1, 1½ or 2 printed sheets at a time. In which case I shall also supply the notes for it straight away. I should also like to see the proofs; many things look quite different in print.

Please send me the article on Proudhon in the old *Social-Demokrat*.[151] I had overlooked it; the *whole thing* might have to go into the preface. You will get it back, of course.

As regards von der Mark and the *Volkszeitung*, I am entirely of your opinion.[130] When Marx died, Schewitsch *falsified* my telegram to Sorge and printed it as though it had been sent to the *Volkszeitung*. I protested.[b] He glossed over the falsification with the lie that the first word had been illegible — though he copied it *correctly*! while the other he had 'considered necessary in the interests of the paper'! Moreover he thought it 'petty' of me to have drawn his attention to it. Petty it certainly was not, *magnanimous* rather, considering the way those gentlemen took advantage of Marx's death to draw attention to themselves and proclaim their semi-alliance with Most. However, Schewitsch is the last Russian socialist aristocrat; such men must always 'go further than anyone else' and are accustomed to use the world at large as a means to serve their own ends. The article on tolerance was downright silly.[152] Russians have set about one another *con amore*,[c] as have the Irish.

I don't know whether you get the *Travailleur*, etc.; I receive a few copies from time to time and shall send them to you. Also two *Sozialdemokrats* with scorings by Marx which might interest you.

I shall keep Schorlemmer's pound here then; will you debit me with this, in return credit Schorlemmer with his annual subscription, and pay the balance (inserting an announcement to this effect in the *Sozialdemokrat*) into the election fund.[d] Similarly, will you debit me with Tussy's and my subscriptions, supposing that she doesn't decide to send you *To-Day* in exchange. Finally, will you alter Tussy's address and send items to

Miss Marx,
32 Great Coram St., London, W. C.

As to what is to be done with the money for Marx's memorial, I have absolutely no idea.[e] How much is there altogether? If you wish,

[a] more or less - [b] F. Engels, 'To the Editors of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*' (18 April 1883); see also this volume, pp. 13-14. - [c] Here: with a will. - [d] 'Allgemeiner Wahlfonds', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 9, 28 February 1884. - [e] See this volume, p. 17.

I shall write an article for your issue of 14 March. Let me know roughly what it should be about so that it fits into your scheme.[153]

Meissner, then, will doubtless still have copies of the *18th Brumaire*[a]; his failure to push it is doubtless attributable to timidity. Marx sold him the *entire* edition, so there is nothing we can do.[b]

Tussy has taken the best of the dictionaries — French and Italian — but there are still plenty left and I have made certain that you get one particularly nice item — the editorial copy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The parcel will go off in the course of this month.

I don't know of any poems — *König Dampf*, perhaps, from my *Condition of the Working-Class*[c]? A search is being made here for the English original, but it seems to have fallen into oblivion, like the Serbian of Goethe's lament of Hassan Aga's noble wife, only still more so, since the latter does after all still exist in black and white.

What wouldn't Bismarck give to have the 'Viennese in Berlin', namely the anarchists! A perfect caricature of the Russians — though obviously *bred by the police*![154]

Yours,
F. E.

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## 54

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV[1]

### IN PARIS

London, 5 February 1884

My dear Lavrov,

So I shall send you the books; that is agreed.[d]

The 2nd volume[e] — ah! If you only knew, my old friend, how it

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[a] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - [b] See Marx's letter to Engels of 29 January 1869 (present edition, Vol. 43, p. 211). - [c] E. P. Mead, 'The Steam King'; see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 474-77. - [d] See this volume, p. 88. - [e] of Marx's *Capital*

weighs on me! But then six months have gone to waste, thanks to my infernal illness. And, even so, I shan't be able to set about things seriously before the middle of March. It will take me up till then to get all the books, papers, periodicals, etc., in order, and I can't work on them for more than a few hours a day without becoming overtired. It weighs on me all the more heavily for the knowledge that *there is not another living soul* who can decipher that writing and those abbreviations of words and style. As to publication by instalments,[155] that will depend to some extent upon the editor and upon legislation in Germany; hitherto I have not thought such a method particularly useful for a book of this kind. I shall try and do what Лопатинъ[a] wants in regard to the proofs. But then Вѣра Засуличъ[b] wrote to me a couple of months ago asking whether I would allow her to do the translation. I told her that I regarded Лопатинъ as having first refusal and that it was still too soon to talk about the matter.[c] What could be discussed at once, however, would be the possibility of publishing the translation *in Russia*. Do you think that might be done? The 2nd book is purely scientific, dealing solely with questions *as from bourgeois to bourgeois*, but the 3rd will contain passages which make me doubt the very possibility of their being published in Germany under the Anti-Socialist Law.[37]

The same difficulty applies to the publication of Marx's complete works, and that is only one of the many difficulties to be overcome. I have some 60 sheets (each of 16 printed pages) of old manuscripts by Marx and myself dating from between 1845 and 1848. Of this material only extracts could be published, but I shan't be able to get down to it until I have finished with the manuscript of the 2nd volume of *Capital*. So all we can do is wait.

The article you speak of,[156] and which we no longer have here, will amount to between 3 and 5 printed sheets; it is a detailed summary of the political development of France from 24 February 1848 up till 1851. It is summed up in the *18th Brumaire*[d] but all the same it is worth translating. I myself am on the lookout for a complete set of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung Revue*,[e] only $^2/_5$ths of which are in my possession.

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[a] (Russ.) Lopatin - [b] (Russ.) Vera Zasulich - [c] See this volume, p. 65. - [d] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - [e] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*

Deville sent me his manuscript[81] for revision. Being indisposed, I confined myself to the theoretical part where I found little that needed correcting. However the descriptive part has been done in too great haste. To begin with, it is at times unintelligible to anyone who has not read the original and, what is more, he frequently presents Marx's conclusions while passing over the conditions under which those conclusions alone hold good; at times that gives a somewhat false impression. I have drawn his attention to this, but they were much too eager to publish the book.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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## 55

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 5 February 1884

My dear Laura,

I knew he[a] would turn up again. Received the *Travailleur*. Much amused that Paul and Guesde had '*manqué train*'.[b] [157] Hope soon to receive good news about the children,[c] Tussy is rather anxious about them; and hope you got over your cold. Nim has caught one just as bad as yours can be, I wanted her last night to take a hot whisky night-cap, but she declined, so you may think. Pumps is below, she called yesterday with Elsa, who looks as *plain* as ever (and quite as *angular* at the same time), they met Tussy and Aveling here, who called on business; Bradlaugh and Mrs Besant are furious at the new

[a] Paul Lafargue - [b] 'missed the train' - [c] Jean, Edgar, Marcel and Jenny Longuet

Socialist 'rage' in London which threatens to cut short their vittles, and so have opened an attack or two on Tussy and Aveling. Bradlaugh throws about the most mysterious innuendos about Mohr's having preached assassination and arson and having been in secret league with Continental governments,—but nothing tangible.[158] I want to get him to come out a bit more, before I unmask *my* batteries.

Nim and I are now busy among the books at Maitland Park.[159] There are a good many that would be uselessly heaped up in my place or at Tussy's, indeed there will be no room here for more than half. Now there is a lot of good French books and valuable, which we thought might be more useful in your and Paul's hands than anywhere else, for instance:

Mably, *Oeuvres complètes.*

Adam Smith in French (capital edition bound).[a]

Malthus—ditto.[b]

Guizot, *Histoire de la civilisation en France.*

All the books about the French Revolution (Loustalot,[c] *deux amis de la liberté*,[160] etc., etc.).

Now if you will have them we will send them to you free of charge. I cannot make out a complete list. Also if Paul wants any more American official publications, there are lots—I shall require but a few. There are some other books of yours here (*Old England Dramatists etc.*) which can be sent same time.

Please let me know soon, as time becomes pressing and we are in an awful *embarras de richesses.*[d] The Russian books we have promised to Lavroff, he is I think positively entitled to them, being Danielson's next friend outside Russia. Another lot of duplicates, etc., we intend sending to Zurich—part for the *Partei-Archiv*,[144] part for a *bibliothèque de rédaction.* The Blue Books[161] mostly to Sam Moore for use with the translation.[e] And a few 'popular' things to the *Arbeiterverein* here.[162]

Now if you or Paul should wish for any particular books besides, please say so, and we will forward everything not absolutely required here.

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[a] A. Smith, *Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations.* - [b] T. R. Malthus, *Essai sur le principe de population...* - [c] Élisée Loustalot published a weekly *Révolutions de Paris.* - [d] difficulty over the sheer amount - [e] of the first volume of *Capital* into English (see Note 56)

Yesterday I received a letter from a certain Nonne,[a] *Kandidat der Philologie*, was here some time ago, now in Paris, resides 56 Boulevard de Port-Royal. He is a leading man amongst the German workmen in Paris who you recollect had a few years ago been coaxed round by Malon's soft sawder, and were further pushed in that direction by some stupid blunders of the *Citoyen*. They are now furious anti-Broussists since the 'international Conference' [115]; but still thick with Adhémar Leclère and his *Cercle international*.[163] I have asked Paul several times to get into connection with the Paris Germans. They are not worth much, but they *influence the German party as to Parisian affairs*. Since the Socialist Law,[37] these societies abroad have naturally recovered an influence much above their merits, as they are the only bodies remaining in possession of a public organisation. It will be difficult for the *Sozialdemokrat* to go direct against them in its judgment of Parisian internal quarrels. So they are worth coaxing a bit, which will not be difficult, and as the man is your neighbour, I thought best to send him my card '*pour introduire M. Nonné auprès de M. et M-me Lafargue*'.[b] Whether anything will come of it I don't know, anyhow I hope you will excuse the liberty I have taken.

Sorry I could not see much of *citoyen* Robelet — he came, was seen and vanished again.

Will Paul favour us with a few words about his mysterious adventures in *la Province*?[157]

What has become of the *citoyenne* Paule Mink [164]? The last reports were '*qu'elle se multipliait dans le midi*'[c] and, what after this is not so much to be wondered at, '*qu'elle développait son sujet*'.[d] The outcome??

Yours affectionately,

F. Engels

Would you please forward as soon as ever possible another copy of Deville's *Capital*? Kautsky is to translate it, but Meissner's permission is necessary and I cannot expect to get it unless I send him the original.[e]

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[a] For Engels' reply see next letter. - [b] 'to introduce Mr Nonne to Mr and Mrs Lafargue' - [c] 'that she *was being torn to pieces* in the south' - [d] 'that she *was elaborating her subject*' - [e] See this volume, p. 76.

How about the new edition of the *Misère de la philosophie*? People keep bothering me about it. Has anything been done?[165]

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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## 56

## ENGELS TO HEINRICH NONNE[166]

### IN PARIS

[Draft]

[London, between 9 and 21 February 1884]

I cannot say anything definite about the plan outlined by you, so long as I do not know what persons are involved and what your intentions are. All I can say is that I could, in certain circumstances and provided they were worth the trouble, enter into a *cartel*, but never form an *alliance*, with people who have not comlpetely and unreservedly adopted the revolutionary communist standpoint. Besides my time is completely taken up with work that it is absolutely imperative I should do, and my international correspondence is, in any case, already extensive enough. Clemenceau would certainly have to be induced to go considerably further before we could ally ourselves with him; whether, as the immediate ministerial candidate of the extreme Left, he would wish to be on more than ordinarily 'good terms' with us would seem to be debatable. One can remain thus on good terms with socialists of the most diverse shades of opinion until a difference of principle or tactics crops up, whereupon sympathy turns into antipathy. Accordingly, it is now for you to decide whether I am a man who would suit your book.

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## 57

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER [55]

### IN GENEVA

London, 14 February 1884
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Old Man,

There is no reason for you to worry about my health; the thing was a long drawn-out but not at all dangerous, and is steadily abating.

I have sent Laura a copy of the note with the New Year's greetings.

I have also taken out a money order for five pounds to enable you, old chap, to cosset yourself and your wife a bit. I hope that the comparatively mild winter and the better time of year now approaching will put you both on your feet again.

I have found a few things that emanated from you but cannot yet say whether there are any more. There's a whole big hamper full of letters, etc., to be looked through. As soon as I've sorted it out, I shall send you everything that turns up.[126]

Now, as regards your plan,[167] it is the circumstances presently prevailing in Germany that are the first consideration. From time to time I get information on the subject direct from Germany and, according to this, the despotism of the police is unrestrained and the government is determined to put a stop to *any* public agitation by our party, no matter what the pretext for that agitation or under what name it is conducted. The fact that Social Democrats are at the back of it is enough for any meeting to be dispersed, any attempt to have a say in the press smothered and any participant expelled from a locality subject to the state of emergency.[67] The experience of the past six years cannot leave us in any doubt as to that.

Now I am of the view that the appropriateness, timing and object of a renewed attempt at mass agitation are things we who live abroad are utterly incapable of deciding, and that this must be left entirely to those in Germany who have to endure the pressure there and who know best what is possible and what is impossible. So if you approach

Bebel or Liebknecht, and they deliberate the matter there, it would, in my view, be for them to decide the pros and cons, and for us to abide by their decision.

Come to that, things aren't going too badly in Germany where agitation is concerned, although the bourgeois papers suppress most of it and only sometimes and despite themselves emit an anxious moan about the rapidity with which the party is gaining ground instead of losing it. The police have opened up for our men a quite splendid field — the omnipresent and unremitting struggle with the police themselves. It is being conducted everywhere and continuously with great success and, better still, with great humour. The police are defeated and — ridiculed into the bargain. And, in the circumstances, I consider this struggle to be more useful than any other. Above all, it keeps contempt for the enemy alive in our lads' minds. No worse troops could be sent into action than those of the German police; even when they have the upper hand they suffer moral defeat, and our lads' confidence in victory grows from day to day. The effect of this struggle will be such that, as soon as the pressure at last lets up (and that will happen on the day things get cracking in Russia) we shall not be numbered in our hundreds of thousands but in our millions. Among the so-called leaders there may be plenty of rotten stuff, but in our masses I have unmitigated faith, and what they lack in revolutionary tradition, they will increasingly be taught by their guerilla war with the police. And, say what you will, we have never yet seen a proletariat learn in so short a time to act collectively and march shoulder to shoulder. Hence, although nothing may appear on the surface, we can, I think, confidently look to the day when the alarm is sounded. Then just watch them stand to!

Fraternal greetings from your old friend

F. Engels

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## 58

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN PARIS

London, 14 February 1884

My dear Lavrov,

I have noted what you say about the Russian translation of the 2nd volume of *Capital*. I shall revert to this at the appropriate moment.[168]

As to the German edition, you will be aware that over there we are under threat from absolute despotism and that *anything* is liable to be suppressed. Marx never allowed himself to be inhibited by the legislation of the day; he always spoke his mind and it would be truly miraculous if the 2nd volume did not contain enough confiscable and suppressible material to fall foul of the law of 1878.[37] But that is a risk we must run and, as for myself, I certainly have no intention of watering anything down.

When Германъ Лопатинъ [a] was here [b] he told me that Nikolai Danielson wanted me to return him a book entitled *Труды Комиссіи для изслѣдованія хлѣбной промышленности въ Россіи.*[c] I have now found several books on the marketing and production of grain: the title most closely resembling the one he quotes is *Труды экспедиціи, снаряженной императорскими Вольнымъ экономическимъ и Русскимъ географическимъ обществами, для изслѣдованія хлѣбной торговли и производительности въ Россіи,*[d] Volume 2, 1870.

Might that be the book he is referring to? If so I shall return it to 27 Мойка,[e] St Petersburg as soon as I have your confirmation.

I hope to send off your books [f] next week; I have kept some of them.

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[a] (Russ.) Hermann Lopatin - [b] See this volume, p. 59. - [c] *Proceedings of the Committee of Inquiry into Bakeries in Russia.* - [d] (Russ.) *Trudy...* (Papers of an Expedition Sponsored by the Imperial Free Economic and Russian Geographical Societies for Studying Grain Cultivation and the Grain Trade in Russia). - [e] (Russ.) Moika St. - [f] See this volume, p. 88.

If I find I don't need them for the 2nd volume, I shall despatch them to you later.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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## 59

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [88]

### IN ZURICH

London, 16 February 1884

Dear Kautsky,

I happen to have an hour or two to spare today, hence my prompt reply.

Not only Deville's *historical* section, but also his descriptive one (working day, cooperation, manufacturing, large-scale industry, etc.) will require revision, of which you may assure yourself by going through a couple of chapters. All I shall do for the present, so far as Meissner is concerned, is to send him the French text and inform him that revision is under way [137] and that I shall let him have further details in due course.

The *Poverty* is also coming out in a new French edition in Paris. I am writing a preface to it [169]; in the one to the German edition, I shall dispose of the myth of Rodbertus.[a] This stemmed from Rudolf Meyer [170] and has been so widely hawked around in Germany, this country and even America, that the thing has got to be scotched once and for all. I shall show, 1) that in 1850 we had had no opportunity of learning anything whatsoever from Mr Rodbertus, 2) that he was

[a] F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'.

quite unknown to us, 3) that his great discoveries had already been commonplaces in 1848, 4) that the remedies he specifies for use in socialist therapy had already been criticised in the *Poverty*, *prior to* Rodbertus' discovery of them.

So as you see, there's plenty left for you to do; but the above matters can only be attended to, because experienced, *by me*, while I am also the only person to possess the necessary material from the years 1840-50.

Rodbertus' theory of rent is nonsense; the first 1861-63 manuscript of *Capital* contains a detailed and somewhat ironical critique of it by Marx, in a very long section, *Theories of Surplus Value*, which I shall probably publish at the end of the 2nd volume or as a 3rd volume.[171]

What I require for my preface, however, is Rodbertus' *Offener Brief an das Comité des Deutschen Arbeitervereins*, Leipzig, 1863. Could you or Ede get hold of the thing and let me have it for a few days? As soon as I have made extracts, you shall have it back.

I have not yet received the Proudhon article from the old *Social-Demokrat*[151] promised me by Ede — might arrive this evening. I shall probably translate it for the French edition.

If Ede were suddenly to turn up here it would please me no end; I could join him in a drink, being now once again able to indulge in a very modest way.

Let us now return to your last letter but one.[172] Dietz asked for the *Condition of the Working-Class* long ago, and I virtually promised he should have it as soon as I had found out how I stood with *Wigand*, its former publisher. For the past 15 years Liebknecht has been promising to ascertain this through Freytag (i. e. what my legal position is vis-à-vis *Wigand*), and still I'm in the dark.[a] At all events, Dietz has first refusal, and ultimately I shall myself take steps to find out what I am entitled to do.

It would be a good thing if someone were to take the trouble to throw light on the proliferation of state socialism, drawing for the purpose on an exceedingly flourishing example of the practice in *Java*. All the material is to be found in *Java, How to Manage a Colony*, BY J. W. B. Money, BARRISTER AT LAW, London, 1861, 2 VOLS. Here one sees how the Dutch have, on the basis of the communities' age-old communism, organised production for the benefit of the state and ensured that the people enjoy what is, in their own estimation, a quite com-

[a] See this volume, pp. 19-20.

fortable existence; the consequence is that the people are kept in a state of primitive stupidity and the Dutch exchequer rakes in 70 million marks a year (now probably more). It's a most interesting case, and conclusions as to its practical application are easy to draw. It also shows how there, as in India and Russia today, primitive communism (provided no modern communist element comes to stir it up) supplies the best and also the broadest basis for exploitation and despotism, and survives in the midst of modern society as an anachronism (to be eliminated or, one might almost say, turned back on its course) no less glaring than the Mark communities of the original cantons.[173]

There is a *definitive* book — as definitive as Darwin's was in the case of biology — on the primitive state of society; once again, of course, Marx was the one to discover it. It is Morgan's *Ancient Society*, 1877. Marx mentioned it, but my head was full of other things at the time and he never referred to it again which was, no doubt, agreeable to him, wishing as he did to introduce the book to the Germans *himself*[174]; I can see this from his very exhaustive extracts. Within the limits set by his subject, Morgan rediscovers for himself Marx's materialist view of history, and concludes with what are, for modern society, downright communist postulates. The Roman and Greek gens is, for the first time, fully elucidated in the light of that of savages, in particular the American Indians, thus providing a firm basis for the history of primitive times. If I had the time to spare, I would work up the material, together with Marx's notes, for the feuilleton of the *Sozialdemokrat* or for the *Neue Zeit*, but it's out of the question. All the impostures — endogamy, exogamy and whatever else the balderdash is called — of Tylor, Lubbock and Co. have been demolished once and for all.[175] These gentry are doing all they can to suppress the book in this country; it is printed in America and I ordered it 5 weeks since but cannot get hold of it, although the name of a London firm figures as co-publisher on the title-page!

Kindest regards.

Yours,
F. E.

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## 60

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 16 February 1884

My dear Laura,

To-morrow is Sunday and on Monday we shall have to rummage in Maitland Park again,[159] so if I don't write to-day to you there is no telling how long it may be delayed. We have got the old '*Speicher*'[a] at last cleared out, found a whole lot of things that have to be kept, but about half a ton of old newspapers that it is impossible to sort. I think next week we can begin to clear out and the week after sell up the remainder for what it will fetch. I was afraid at one time I should have to give it up again, but fortunately I am getting better every day, I can walk again for half an hour as fast as ever and with Nim's help get through two bottles of Pilsener and a fair allowance of claret every 24 hours.

Amongst the manuscripts there is the first version of the *Kapital* (1861-63) and there I find several hundred pages: *Theorien über den Mehrwert*[171] partly worked up into the text of the later versions,[176] but there will be quite enough left to swell the 2nd volume into a 2nd and a 3rd.

Bernstein is sending me an article of Mohr's on *Proudhon*, published in the Berlin *Social-Demokrat* of 1865. Very likely the whole of it will have to be translated for the French edition of the *Misère*.[165]

By the bye Bernstein will be in Lyons to-morrow and may come to Paris while once on the road, and even extend his trip to London. If he does come to Paris, pray engage him to come here too, I want to see him about a good many things; he knows he finds a bed here ready to receive him and if he is a little short of cash, that should not stop him, we can arrange about that.[177]

Paul tells me I can take my time about the preface to the *Misère*[169] but I don't believe in that sort of thing, I have too much experience of publishers. I want to know by what time Oriol will require it, though I won't undertake that I shall deliver it to the day or even the week; but I ought to have *some* idea. The house in Maitland Park has to be

[a] 'storehouse'

delivered up on the 25th March, and I have plenty of other things to do besides; I must be able to arrange my plans beforehand to some extent at least.

What Paul thinks is an article of Mohr's on Proudhon's *la propriété c'est le vol*,[a] is in the *Heilige Familie* which I have got.[b]

I cannot much share Paul's enthusiasm about the London *Justice*, I find the paper awfully dull. But what can you expect of a set of people who take in hand the task of instructing the world about matters of which they themselves are ignorant? There is not a single burning question which they know how to tackle; Hyndman combines internationalist phraseology and jingo aspirations, Joynes is a muddled ignoramus (I saw him a fortnight ago), Morris is all very well as far as he goes, but it is not far, poor Bax gets himself fast in German philosophy of a rather antiquated character—all that might do for a monthly where they have time to get themselves into harness, but for a weekly, with all sorts of *questions d'actualité* to be tackled, it is blamable.

Anyhow the new 'respectable' Socialist stir here does go on very nicely, the thing is becoming fashionable, but the working classes do not respond yet. Upon that everything depends. And this is why it was so stupid to hurry on the bringing out of *Justice*. Articles like these will never stir up the masses. Six months' intercourse with working people would have prepared a public and taught the writers how to write for it. But what's the use of grumbling? *Les petits grands hommes veulent absolument faire leur petit bonhomme de chemin!*[c]

I hope the children[d] are better. Nim is rather anxious about them. Do please let us know how they are going on.

Best love from Nim and from

Your affectionate

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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[a] property is theft - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family*, Ch. IV (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 23-54). - [c] Petty great people always want to follow their own path! - [d] Jean, Edgar, Marcel and Jenny Longuet

## 61

## ENGELS TO JOHN DARBYSHIRE [178]

### IN MANCHESTER

[Draft]

[London, not earlier than 17 February 1884]

Cannot do anything myself in that line, shall I hand their principles to the Democratic Federation,[99] to *Justice* or *To-Day*?

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## 62

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 21 February 1884

My dear Laura,

Your news about the children's[a] health is more or less reassuring — except poor Wolf[b] who, however, seems the strongest of the lot and, we hope, will have got over the worst when you next give us some news.

As to what is to be done in case anything happens to Longuet, well, that will have to be considered if that event should occur; I do not see what much should be gained if we 'speculated' on that now — I mean speculating in the philosophical sense — at any rate I do not see either what we can do under present circumstances with such a paternal father as Longuet, but if you do, I shall be most happy to hear from you on the subject.

We have arranged with Gittens about packing and forwarding the books, etc., for you and Lavroff[c] and as they have not come for them for two days, Nim has gone to stir them up.

[a] Jean, Edgar, Marcel and Jenny Longuet - [b] Edgar Longuet - [c] See this volume, p. 95.

Herewith the preface to the *Misère* by — Mohr himself! [151] Bernstein has re-discovered this old article which I have at once translated. Please, you and Paul, to turn my translation into proper French and return it along with the original which belongs to the *Partei-Archiv* [144] at Zurich. There will only a few more words be required. But what will the French public say to the rather unceremonious manner in which Mohr speaks of them? And will it be wise to have this true and impartial judgment at the risk that the Brousses say: *voilà le Prussien* [a]? Anyhow, I should be very loth to soften the article down to suit *le goût parisien* [b] but it is worth considering. There is no denying that the *bas empire* [c] has been there for 18 years.

Paul's *bon dieu* [d] is charming, so is the introduction to his *conférence.* [179] The *exposé* too is quite taking for his public and I am not astonished at his success. But he might now and then give them a *new* illustration from the *Kapital* besides the old quotation of Liebig about the size of recruits [e]; and not treat 1) *la concurrence* and 2) *l'offre et la demande,* [f] which is but *la concurrence* over again. If I am strict with him, it's because I see it does him good and he improves considerably by hammering a bit now and then; his last performances certainly show great progress, and if he would only be a little more attentive to certain theoretical points (mostly of detail) he would be a great light in Paris, *ville-lumière* [g] as it is.

Now I must conclude. Nim has come back and we must make up book-packets for Russia and America, in time for registering. She says Gittens cannot come before Tuesday or Wednesday [h] — so she sends you a kiss, I the same, and *une bonne poignée de main* [i] to Paul

From your affectionate

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance,* t. I, Paris, 1956

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[a] here you have a Prussian - [b] the Parisian taste - [c] Lower Empire (designation of the late Roman, or Byzantine Empire, and also of any empire on the decline); here, the Second Empire in France. - [d] God - [e] K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, Part III, Ch. X, Sect. 2 (see present edition, Vol. 35). - [f] 1) competition and 2) supply and demand - [g] illuminating city - [h] 26 or 27 February - [i] a firm handshake

# 63

# ENGELS TO HEINRICH NONNE

## IN PARIS

[Draft]

[London, about 26 February 1884]

What I wrote and told you about Malon[39] are the simple facts of which I have been given proof and which are in no way altered by Paris gossip. Malon did indeed quit the Peace Congress[180] in company with Bakunin and 15 others, and he was a co-founder of the secret Alliance.[20] The document of March 1870 has actually been in my possession[181]; what the lies are that Malon has recently been concocting about the International are of no interest to me; I am unlikely so much as to look at them. In my view the fact that he is self-taught does not give him the right to falsify history. If *he* is fit to play a leading role among the French, I am sorry for the French proletariat.

As regards your propagation of international relations,[a]

1) the aims are so vague that I really cannot give up any time on the strength of your general prospects;

2) virtually all the people you mention are unknown to me (the only one I know at all *well* is precisely the one you fail to name). But one cannot be active in the international movement for 40 years without having everywhere old friends and allies to whom one is politically and morally committed. I should therefore first have to obtain information from them about many of your people and about the attitude of one side to the other. I cannot very well do that, however, without giving some inkling of your scheme;

3) but I cannot possibly embark on an alliance without having the least idea of where and into what further associations it will lead me. Some kind of central committee would presumably be set up in Paris, which would decide on the admission of new members and on possi-

[a] See this volume, p. 97.

ble action, and it might so happen that I found myself in the same association as people whom I should be compelled to oppose outright or that I became responsible for an action I disapproved of. That is an eventuality I cannot expose myself to at all.

Do not, however, let this deter you. If you are able to achieve something worthwhile, it will please me nonetheless. I am grateful to you for your confidence and remain, etc.

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## 64

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN ZURICH

London, 3 March 1884

Dear Kautsky,

Ede Bernstein has assumed the responsibility of drinking a fraternal pledge[a] with me in your name and on your behalf. I hereby take the liberty of putting this into immediate effect in the hope that you will not disavow his action.

Apart from that, he left this evening for Paris[177] where he will spend tomorrow, departing the same night; no doubt he will reach Zurich at the same time as this letter.

Enclosed the sale of Russia to Bismarck for Bismarck to invest with Bleichröder with a view to a new Russian loan.[182] Ferry and Gladstone were the first to be taken in but, if Bleichröder supplies the

[a] A little ceremony which precedes the use of *Du* (thou), the familiar form of address.

money, the same thing may happen to Bismarck and, once the fun begins in Russia, it will be all up with the lot of them.

Your
F. Engels

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## 65

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV [183]

### IN PARIS

[London,] 3 March 1884
122 Regent's Park Road [N. W.]

My dear Lavrov,

Last Friday [a] I sent you through the agency of Messrs Flageollet frères, 27 rue Paul Lelong, Paris a case containing the books you know about.[b] *Carriage has been paid over here*; if they charge you for it, let me know. In case of non-arrival you should make enquiries at the above address.

It was despatched from here per Messrs Gittens & Co.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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[a] 28 February - [b] See this volume, p. 88.

## 66

## ENGELS TO VERA ZASULICH [184]

### IN GENEVA

London, 6 March 1884
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen,

For me, as also for Marx's daughters, it will be a great day when the Russian translation of *The Poverty of Philosophy* appears.[185] I need hardly say that I shall be glad to place at your disposal any material that might be useful to you. This is what I propose to do.

In addition to the German translation, a new French edition is at present being printed in Paris.[165] For these two editions I am preparing a few explanatory notes, the text of which I shall send you.

For the preface there is in existence an article by Marx on Proudhon in the Berlin *Social-Demokrat* (1865), which contains virtually all that is necessary. It will be printed at the beginning of the two new French and German editions. The only copy in existence is in our party archives at Zurich [144]; if a second one doesn't turn up amongst my own or Marx's papers (I shall know about this in a few weeks), you will easily be able to get hold of a copy of it through Bernstein.

For the German edition I shall have to do a separate preface[a] rebutting the absurd contention by reactionary socialists [186] that in *Capital* Marx plagiarised Rodbertus, and proving that, on the contrary, Marx had produced his critique of Rodbertus in the *Poverty* before Rodbertus wrote his *Social Letters*.[187] To my mind this is of no interest to a Russian public as yet unpenetrated by our pseudo-socialists. But you are the best judge; the thing is at your disposal should you think it suitable.

What you tell me about the increase in the study of books on socialist theory in Russia gives me much pleasure. The theoretical and critical spirit, which has virtually disappeared from our German schools, would indeed appear to have taken refuge in Russia. You ask me to suggest some books for translation. But you have already translated, or promised to translate, almost all of Marx's works and you have taken the best of mine. The remainder of our German books are ei-

[a] F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'; see also this volume, pp. 101-02.

ther weak on theory or concerned with matters more or less restricted to Germany. The French have latterly produced some pretty good stuff, but this is still in its infancy. Deville's summary of *Capital*[81] is good as regards the theoretical part, but the descriptive part was done in too great haste and is virtually unintelligible to anyone not familiar with the original; moreover it is too long for a summary. However I believe something worthwhile might be made of it if it were rewritten, and a summary of *Capital* would always be of use in a country where the book itself can only be obtained with difficulty.

It is true that, when I spoke of the situation in Russia,[a] I was also thinking, inter alia, specifically of her finances — but not exclusively. For a government at bay, like the one in Petersburg, and a captive Tsar, like the hermit of Gatchina,[b] the situation cannot continue without becoming ever more tense.[188] Nobility and peasantry both ruined, the army ruffled in its chauvinism and shocked by the daily spectacle of a государь[c] who hides himself away; the necessity for an external war as a safety-valve for 'evil passions' and for general discontent — at the same time the impossibility of embarking upon one for lack of money and of favourable political conjunctures; a powerful national intelligentsia impatient to break the fetters that bind it and, on top of all this, a total absence of money and an authority with the knives of the дъятели[d] at its throat[189] — it seems to me that with every month the situation must become more impossible and that, were a bold and constitutionally minded grand duke to turn up, Russian 'society' itself must see that a palace coup would be the best way out of this impasse. Will Bismarck and Bleichröder now come to the rescue of their new friends?[182] I doubt it. Rather, I wonder which of the two contracting parties will be cheated by the other.

Enclosed a manuscript of Marx's (copy) for you to use as you think fit. I no longer know whether it was in *Слово*[e] or in *Отечественныя записки*[f] that he found the article 'Karl Marx Before the Tribunal of Mr Zhukovsky'.[g] This is the reply he wrote; it bears the stamp of a piece done for publication in Russia, but he never sent it to Peters-

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[a] See this volume, p. 65. - [b] Alexander III - [c] (Russ.) tsar - [d] (Russ.) activists - [e] (Russ.) *Slovo* (The Word), a journal. - [f] (Russ.) *Otechestvenniya zapiski* (Fatherland's Notes), a journal. - [g] N. [K.] M[ikhailovsky]. 'Карлъ Марксъ передъ судомъ г. Ю. Жуковскаго', *Отечественныя записки*, No. 10, October 1877.

burg for fear that the mere mention of his name might compromise the existence of the review which published his reply.[190]

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

Your translation of my pamphlet[a] strikes me as excellent — what a beautiful language Russian is. All the advantages of German but without its ghastly coarseness.

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Translated from the French

## 67

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[191]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 7 March 1884

Dear Sorge,

After suffering continuously throughout the whole autumn and winter from a minor if very tiresome disorder, and spending 2 months resting in bed, I am at last sufficiently recovered to be able to work regularly and to pay off the letters I owe. I trust that you and your wife will also gradually get over the after-effects of your far more serious illness and then gradually resume your old way of life.

Since I am not yet completely mobile and my excursions are limited to the immediate neighbourhood, and not having anyone to send out on errands, I carried out your commission in rather a different way. Your copy of *Capital*, 3rd edition,[b] and likewise one of Deville's *Le Capital*, were despatched to you in 2 parcels per BOOK POST; I shall send the photographs in the same manner, having now found out how to pack them. No doubt you will be able to obtain the other 2 copies of *Capital* easily enough over there.

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[a] *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* - [b] the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital*

I have taken out a year's subscription to *To-Day* for you and you will, no doubt, be getting it regularly. The chaps are very well-intentioned but damnably ignorant; which may be all right for *To-Day*, but now the DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION [99] is bringing out a weekly journal, *Justice*, which is conspicuous for the exceeding boredom of its invariably repetitive contents and for its total inability to get hold of the right end of the stick even when dealing with a question of the day. I shall send you a couple of issues; it's not worth taking. All in all, the DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION cannot simply be taken on trust; it harbours all manner of dubious elements. Hyndman, who sets himself up as a party leader *in partibus infidelium*,[a] is a pretty unscrupulous careerist, and only a few years ago stood unsuccessfully as a Conservative candidate for Parliament [192]; moreover, he treated Marx very shabbily.[100] I will have nothing whatever to do with the DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION, a handy excuse being want of time, and am on closer terms only with *To-Day*, more notably Bax. The latter is a very good chap, save only that he is most unseasonably swotting up on *Kant*. *If you have no objection*, I shall publish in *To-Day* an English version of the letter Marx wrote to you about Henry George.[31] Then you will be able to make further use of it over there.

I shall hardly have time to enter into a debate with Stiebeling.[193] Such little tin gods can safely be left to their own devices. In any case, it will be years before anything can be done to inhibit sectarianism in America. Thus the great Most will, no doubt, eventually end up as Karl Heinzen II. I get the *Wochen-Volkszeitung*,[b] but there's not much in it.

What the position is as regards Bebel's, Liebknecht's or anyone else's going to America, I don't know.[29] When they asked me, I told the chaps that it probably wouldn't do to go tapping America for election funds every third year. In Germany, by the way, the position is very good. Our lads are conducting themselves really splendidly. Everywhere the Anti-Socialist Law [37] is involving them in local struggles with the police, to the accompaniment of all manner of jokes and dirty tricks, struggles which usually turn out in our favour and are a source of the best propaganda in the world. Every now and again one or other of the bourgeois papers vents a sigh about the enormous progress made by our people, and they all of them dread the coming elections.[194] A fortnight ago one of my nephews from

[a] It means literally: in parts inhabited by unbelievers; here: nominally. - [b] *Wochenblatt der N. Y. Volkszeitung*

Barmen was over here — a liberal conservative. 'In Germany,' I told him, 'we have got to the stage when we can sit with our hands in our laps and let our opponents do the work for us. No matter whether you repeal, renew, tighten up or moderate the Anti-Socialist Law, whatever you do plays into our hands.' 'Yes,' said he, 'it is remarkable how circumstances are working for you.' 'To be sure they are,' I said, 'but they wouldn't be if we hadn't diagnosed them aright forty years ago, and acted accordingly.' No reply.

In France, too, things have been going better since Lafargue, Guesde and Dormoy were released from prison.[9] They are very active, spend much time in the provinces where, luckily, their chief strength lies, possess little news-sheets in Rheims and St Pierre-les-Calais,[a] and will be holding a congress at Roubaix in a month's time.[195] Every Sunday, what is more, they give a very well-attended lecture in Paris, when Lafargue speaks on the materialist view of history, and Deville on *Capital*.[179] I shall write and ask them to send you the things, all of which are printed. It's fortunate that they haven't got a daily in Paris just now, since it's much too early for that. A new edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy* is coming out in Paris.[165] Likewise a German one in Zurich and a Russian in Geneva. I don't believe I have yet sent you a copy of my *Entwicklung*,[b] never having received more than one or two myself. (The oafs!) Now the thing has come out in a 3rd edition, as well as in French, Italian, Russian and Polish. Aveling wishes to translate it into English.[c] He, too, is an admirable young man, but he has TOO MANY IRONS IN THE FIRE and is currently engaged in time-consuming strife with his former friend Bradlaugh; the socialist movement here is cutting the ground from under the latter's feet — and with it his livelihood. That means he must fight for it, but it isn't easy for that narrow-minded and rascally fellow.

So far, all is well with Tussy who generally comes here on Sundays. Lenchen is, as you know, keeping house for me. In a fortnight's time I shall be able to settle down in real earnest to Volume II of *Capital* — another huge task, but I look forward to it.

You should read Morgan (Lewis H.), *Ancient Society*, published in America in 1877. A masterly exposé of primitive times and their com-

[a] *La Défense des travailleurs* and *Le Travailleur* - [b] *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* - [c] See this volume, p. 394.

munism. *Rediscovered Marx's theory of history all on his own*, and concludes by drawing communist inferences in regard to the present day.

Kindest regards to Adolf.[a]

Your
F. E.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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## 68

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [196]

### IN PARIS

[London,] 11 and 15 March 1884

My dear Lafargue,

In complete agreement with almost all your alterations, [197] except for the following:

p. 6, wrong ideas about ... exchange value—you can't continue with an 'and'; what follows, his utopian interpretation, is *caused* by those wrong ideas; that causation must be shown.

p. 6, bottom: he deafens us, etc., has been unduly shortened; what is lacking is the *false* or *spurious* science. You must try to stick closer to the original.

p. 7, same objections; and also: 'but who, having to forego some of his pretensions to originality'—this corrupts the text. Marx says: 'There is in addition the clumsy repugnant show of erudition of the self-taught, whose natural pride in his original reasoning has already been broken' [b]; he has, in fact, been an original thinker and is proud so to have been, but is so no longer, having discovered that what he be-

[a] Adolf Sorge jun. - [b] K. Marx, 'On Proudhon', present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 30-31; here and below Engels quotes Marx's article in German.

lieved to be original and new had already been said by others before him; then he goes on to spurious science, etc. Your text *denies* the originality of Proudhon.

*ibid.* Cabet. You have no right to make Marx say more than he actually said: 'Cabet—worthy of respect for his practical attitude towards the French proletariat'.[a] Marx says nothing of devotion, a word he abhorred, as you must know,—it might run: worthy of respect for the rôle he played amongst the French proletariat (or in the political movement of the French proletariat), etc., or something of the sort.

ibid. Can you say: to preach *throughout all 3 volumes*?

Ibid. bottom, *Thiers*: if you abridge in the way you do, you ought to add what the original says: 'Thiers, by his reply opposing Proudhon's proposals, *which was then issued as a special booklet*'.[b] This is, I think, the famous book *De la propriété*, but I am not sure.

p. 8, *credit ... might accelerate*—not credit, but the application thereof; you should therefore say: might *serve* to accelerate, or some such turn of phrase.

p. 9, displays the cynicism of a moron to the greater glory of the Tsar? 'For the greater glory of the tsar he expresses moronic cynicism'.[c] The extreme cynicism with which Proudhon addresses himself to the misfortunes of Poland pays court to the policy of the Tsar.[198] This is what needs to be brought out.

ibid. bottom. *On the one hand*, etc.—the *two contradicting tendencies* which govern the interests of the petty bourgeois, should not be omitted; your text appears to do away with them.

p. 10, rowdy would be better than scandalous.

*15 March*

Well, now! Try to be more faithful to the original; Marx isn't a man with whom one can afford to take liberties. I hope that Laura will insist upon the text's being well and faithfully rendered.

Herewith the £10.

We have all the books and BOOK-CASES[d] here and, for the past 3 days, have been busy amalgamating the two libraries and setting them in

[a] Ibid., p. 31.-[b]Ibid.-[c] Ibid., p. 32.-[d] from Marx's library

order. It's the very devil of a task and Nim and I are both tired, so WITH LOVE TO Laura FROM Nim AND MYSELF NO MORE AT PRESENT

FROM YOURS TRULY,
F. E.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French

## 69

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [94]

### IN ZURICH

London, 24 March 1884

Dear Ede,

In great haste, a bit of gossip. We have at last wound things up today at Maitland Park [159] and handed back the old house to its owner. [a] I, on the other hand, am still in the throes of sorting out the books and papers nor, until this has been done, shall I be able to embark on any regular work.

The demonstration of the 16th [199] caused two people to make fools of themselves — Hyndman and Frohme.

Hyndman, without having actually given his assent, had been proposed as speaker — by, it is said, Rackow. Not being convinced of success, he declared in *Justice* that 'a working man' must speak and that as for *him*, he would merely listen. [b] The same issue of *Justice* contained an extremely impertinent notice on the last number of *To-Day* — amounting to a veiled declaration of war. [200] Hyndman next proceeded to intrigue against the despatch of delegates to the Roubaix congress, [195] alleging that those responsible were in a minority and that one ought not to go meddling in internal French disputes. [201] But at a committee meeting of the DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION [99] the following Tuesday, [c] he was well and truly defeated; his most

[a] Edwin Willis - [b] H. M. Hyndman, 'A Sad Anniversary. To the Editor of *Justice*', *Justice*, No. 8, 8 March 1884. - [c] 18 March

trusty followers took the floor against him, nor could he confess the real motives for his intervention; it was enthusiastically resolved to participate in both demonstration and congress, and Hyndman, who would *now* have gladly spoken in Highgate, had cut off his own line of retreat, the invitation to speak having passed to Aveling and been gladly accepted. That's what invariably befalls these clever-clever cliquists — they are hoist with their own petard.

Frohme apparently spoke very well in Highgate and, by contrast, quite atrociously at the Society.[162] I am sending you the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* in which the philistine reporter naively betrays his delight at the way Frohme had, with his atrocious platitudes, voiced his inmost thoughts for him.[a] This, apparently, was altogether too much of a good thing and gave rise to a tremendous row in the Society; Frohme was given a dressing-down and is said to have declared that he hadn't met a single socialist, let alone a *human being*, in London. He's unlikely to reappear for some time to come. He has left me alone, I'm glad to say.

Many thanks for the *Deutsches Tageblatt* which I return herewith. To reply to Bernhard Becker's balderdash would be doing him too great an honour. What the ex-president of mankind[202] writes and the *Tageblatt* prints is a matter of complete indifference, and even in Berlin it has long been forgotten. This kind of impotent malice chokes on its own bile. But what sort of press must it be to print such stuff? Even the Parisian Figaristes were more adept liars, albeit only during the period of general alarm immediately after the Commune.

All things considered, the March article was very good, with the right emphasis on essential points. So, too, was the one in the next issue, about the People's Party[203] man preaching to the peasants, its only fault being to invoke the 'concept' of democracy.[b] That concept changes according to the *demos* and hence does not get us one step further. What in my view should have been said is this: For the seizure of political power, democratic *forms* are also necessary to the proletariat for whom, however, like all political forms, they are only a means. But if, today, you want democracy as an *end*, you have to look for support to the peasants and petty bourgeoisie, i. e. to classes which are in decline and which, from the moment they try to preserve

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[a] 'Die Märzfeier in London', *Londoner Zeitung. Hermann*, No. 1316, 22 March 1884. -
[b] [E. Bernstein,] 'Zum Gedenktage der Märzkämpfe', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 11, 13 March 1884 (leader); 'Zur Naturgeschichte der Volkspartei', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 12, 20 March 1884 (leader).

their existence by factitious means, are *reactionary* in their relations with the proletariat. Another thing that should not be forgotten is that the *logical* form of bourgeois rule is, precisely, a democratic republic which, however, has become too much of a risk only because of the progress already made by the proletariat, but which, as France and America go to show, is still feasible simply as bourgeois rule. Regarded, therefore, as 'definite, historically evolved', the 'principle' of liberalism is really just an illogicality; a liberal constitutional monarchy is an adequate form of bourgeois rule 1) at the beginning, when the bourgeoisie has not yet quite done with absolute monarchy, and 2) at the end, when the proletariat has already rendered a democratic republic too much of a risk. And yet a democratic republic is still the *final* form assumed by bourgeois rule, the form in which it comes to grief. And here I conclude this rigmarole.

Nim sends her regards. I didn't see Tussy yesterday.

Your
F. E.

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## 70

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN ZURICH

London, 24 March 1884

Dear Kautsky,

You'd do best to order Morgan's book in America; the few copies printed for England in association with the firm of MacMillan appear to be sold out or unavailable — I got mine *second-hand* and then only with difficulty. I don't know the American publisher. Mine cost me 13/4d.

When I can find time I shall get out something on it for you for the

*Neue Zeit*, provided you are willing to print a separate copy in pamphlet form (it would be approx. 3 sheets); actually I am indebted to Marx for it and can incorporate his notes.[174]

I have now agreed with Meissner that the 2nd book of *Capital* should appear separately at first; the 3rd,[4] and the *Theories of Surplus Value*,[171] will then follow on as the second half of Volume II. This will get the thing moving more quickly. Time for the post.

Your
F. E.

The Morris affair is of no significance; they are a muddle-headed lot.[204]

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## 71

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 31 March 1884

My dear Laura,

Even if it had not been for Paul's letter this morning, this afternoon was set apart for a letter to you. I am so bothered and pestered just now that not only my time, but also my room and my desk are not my own. On Monday last[a] we got clear of 41 Maitland Park Road, paid Willis and gave him the key.[159] What furniture there was left, is in Gittens' hands, they offered £ 12.10.- but advised a sale—we are trying to get £ 15.- out of them to have done with it; this will be attended to this week. Then I have been busy with the books, and was getting clear—two more days would have settled the heavy work—when lo! the landlord sends the painters to do the house outside, and

[a] 24 March

here we are, three dawdling fellows in the house, all windows open, every room invaded at the most unexpected hours, and to crown all, a bleak east-wind blowing inside as well as outside. That I got as fine a specimen of rheumatism as could be wished for, was only natural. Fortunately, if the dawdlers keep possession of the house even now, the east-wind has left us and so has, more or less, the rheumatism; and I am promised possession of my room for to-day,—on condition of giving it up to-morrow. So let us enjoy the present while it lasts.

Nim says there is such a weight off her mind now since the old house is done with that she at last can sleep again, it was a nightmare for her which even an occasional nightcap of 'Irish' could not drive away. Our place has much changed, two of my book-cases have gone below, the piano is in the corner between the fire-place and folding door (in the front room), the other corner filled up by one of Mohr's book-cases, while his large book-case (that behind his sofa) now takes the place where the piano stood in the back room. As soon as the painters will have cleared out, I shall finish the sorting of the last heap of books, and then try and get off the last box of books, for you, there is a nice little lot of things relating to the French Revolution, Loustalot, *Feuille Villageoise*, *Prisons de Paris pendant la Révolution*,[205] etc., etc.

I have settled with Meissner that the 2nd book (*Zirkulationsprozess des Kapitals*[a]) is to be published first separately; as soon as the *gross* work is finished, I can begin. The 3rd book will follow, along with *Theorien über den Mehrwert*,[b] a long critical work forming part of the *first* ms. of the *Kapital* (1862) which I have discovered.[171] The English translation is going on slowly, Sam has too much law-work to attend to, and is too conscientious to hurry on with it, 'regardless of quality'.[56]

The movement here is showing more and more of its emptiness every week. *Justice* drives me to despair by its utter incapacity of tackling even one single question. *To-Day* will live this next month entirely by Davitt and Paul who you will have been glad to learn from *Justice* is the first living authority on French peasant property.[206] These fellows cannot even give a man his due without trying to make him look ridiculous. Bax and Aveling are the only two, as far as I can see at present, of whom something can be made; but Bax has Kant on the brain and Aveling in order to live, has to keep a good many irons

[a] *The Process of Circulation of Capital* - [b] *Theories of Surplus Value*

in the fire and is a perfect novice in everything relating to political economy. Paul will no doubt see Bax at Roubaix [195]; he and a workingman[a] have been delegated by the Democratic Federation,[99] much against Hyndman's will who has lately made several attempts at forcing his personal plans and dodges upon them, but was ignominiously defeated: so he opposed sending delegates to Roubaix as he wanted to keep open the chance of a connexion with Brousse and Co. That fellow will not go far: he cannot bide his time.

I am afraid Paul will be disappointed with regard to a German delegate to Roubaix; unless Liebknecht does come[b]; but as he has promised to do so, it is not likely. The others do not speak French, except perhaps Bernstein, and him the deputies are sure not to send, as they mostly hate him, and would replace him in Zurich if they could and dared. Thanks to the great accession of petit bourgeois—*gebildete Schafsköpfe*,[c] our 'leaders' in Germany have become a sorry lot. Anyhow I hope Roubaix will be a great success *devant le public*,[d] it will help on enormously; in the meantime I enclose the cheque £ 10.- and send you plenty of kisses from Nim and your affectionate old cripple

F. Engels

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## 72

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN ZURICH

London, 11 April 1884

Dear Kautsky,

Have got yours and Ede's letter. I hope to be done with Morgan next week [174]; cannot do much at the moment as Schorlemmer and

[a] Harry Quelch - [b] See this volume, pp. 125 and 129. - [c] educated numbskulls - [d] in public

Moore are here. This will be my last job for some time; it is no joke making a résumé of so meaty and ill-written a book. If Tussy can find the letter, I shall also include an assessment of Richard Wagner by Marx [207]; what the connection is you must find out for yourselves.

Thereafter work will proceed uninterruptedly on Volume II [a] as well as on revisions of: 1) your *Poverty*, [118] 2) notes and preface [169] to the French ditto, [165] 3) revision of the English translation [56] which ought now to forge ahead. Besides that, 4), more *Dühring* [208] and whatever else may be sent me from France for revision.

Fabian has been going for me with a persistence he would be quick to drop if he knew how much entertainment we over here derive from it. Some years ago he had suggested that we should write for a periodical to be founded by him and another great thinker, [b] and this on the basis of a philosophical programme they had laid down ready cut and dried and consisting in a crabbed and misconstrued fourth generation Kantianism. After that he went for my dialectical approach to mathematics and complained to Marx that I had defamed $\sqrt{-1}$. [209] And now the fun is beginning all over again. Let him roam the world arm in arm with von der Mark; he will not be read by me.

*The Condition of the Working-Class.* The last news *I* had about it from Liebknecht was that Freytag had told him that I was still bound by my contract with Wigand. You can't go by what Liebknecht *says*, and what he has done in this matter amounts to nil. [c] I shall write to Freytag myself; it is the only thing to do. [39]

However much Geiser may abuse the atheists, Bismarck certainly won't do him the favour of repealing the Anti-Socialist Law. [37] Whoever may have harboured any illusions on this point hitherto will doubtless now be rid of them, Bismarck having thrown in his last reserve, that old jackass Lehmann, in order to preserve it. [210]

How delicious that the parliamentary group should have *forbidden* Liebknecht to write for a paper. [d211] That beats the old Prussian censorship. Well, if Liebknecht stands for that, things have come to a pretty pass.

Rodbertus, [e] etc., received, many thanks; will be returned next week. The relevant note in *Capital* is in the 2nd edition, p. 552 [f] and

[a] of *Capital* - [b] Wilhelm Ludwig Rosenberg - [c] See this volume, pp. 19-20 and 102. - [d] *Berliner Volksblatt* - [e] K. Rodbertus, *Offener Brief an das Comité des Deutschen Arbeitervereins zu Leipzig*. - [f] See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part V, Ch. XVIII (present edition, Vol. 35).

will, in the 3rd edition, be considerably qualified by me in an addendum; kindly attend to this.

You must now excuse me, as I still have to write to Ede.

Your
F. E.

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## 73

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [1]

### IN ZURICH

London, 11 April 1884

Dear Ede,

Like you, I think it would be better to allow Frohme's massive tome [a] to die a natural death.

A delegation to Roubaix would have done a great deal of harm at a moment when the Anti-Socialist Law [37] was under discussion. The wailers [123] would have apportioned the blame for its renewal — in any case inevitable — to that delegation alone; this had to be avoided. Congresses are demonstrations and an occasion for useful personal encounters, and as such are of secondary importance, nor should more weighty considerations be sacrificed to them. I shall try to make this clear to the Parisians. In the circumstances, the address was the only thing possible and quite adequate. [195] The very thought of an international congress in London [212] appals me. I should go away.

As regards the Rodbertus stuff, you would do best to wait until you have my preface to the *Poverty* [b]; you can't possibly be aware of the most important works, namely those concerning England (alluded to

[a] K. Frohme, *Die Entwicklung der Eigenthums-Verhältnisse.* - [b] F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'.

in *Poverty*, p. [...] [a]) from which it is plain that the socialist *application* of Ricardo's theory of value — Rodbertus' great hobby-horse — had been an economic commonplace in England since 1820 and one universally known to socialists since 1830. As I have, I believe, already written and told you, [b] I shall show, on the same occasion, that, far from purloining the least thing from Rodbertus, Marx had, in the *Poverty*, unwittingly criticised in advance all the said Rodbertus' works, both written and unwritten. I think we had best withhold our attack until the *Poverty* has come out in German, and then go it hot and strong (i. e. the main attack I mean; no harm at all in skirmishes to draw Rodbertus' fire).

I look forward to seeing the ms. [118] Notabene, should you have difficulty over the Hegelian expressions in the 2nd chapter, simply leave blanks in the ms. and I will fill them in; the German version must contain the terminology proper to that school, otherwise it will be incomprehensible.

There were *three* copies of the 3rd edition. [c] I racked my brains a bit over the *Dühring* that came with them and then simply laid it on one side, imagining it had got in by accident. That it might be a hint about a 2nd edition never occurred to me. I am delighted to find that this is so, more especially since I have learnt from various sources that the thing has been more influential — particularly in Russia — than I would ever have expected. So after all the tedium of a polemic with an inconsiderable opponent has not prevented the attempt to present an encyclopaedic survey of our view of the problems pertaining to philosophy, natural science and history from taking effect. I shall make virtually no changes but stylistic ones and, perhaps, add something to the section on natural science.— Its earlier publication in 2 parts was due to the way the thing came out (as a separate edition), otherwise there would have been absolutely no sense in it. [208]

The cards for Nim you ask about have not yet turned up.

Your
F. E.

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[a] A blank in the original. Apparently Engels had in mind pp. 49-50 of the first edition of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 138). - [b] See this volume, p. 101. - [c] of the first volume of *Capital* in German

## 74

# ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 18 April 1884

My dear Laura,

Best thanks for your news about the children[a] which were very grateful to all of us. Will hope the new arrangement may work at least for some time and without too much friction, though she[b] looks, from what you say, a rough subject enough to create any amount of that.

As to our 'Socialist' group here, I too am of opinion and said so, that Bax and Aveling are the only ones worth having, they at least study with a will, though not always a well directed one. But the worst is, this little clique of *public* 'mutual admirators' and at least partially *secret* 'mutual detractors' (especially Hyndman) are getting a regular nuisance through their mischievous gossip. First we hear from Sam Moore that he has heard in Manchester that Hyndman was busy translating the *Kapital*. This mystery we have as yet not been able to sift thoroughly but it will probably turn out a *canard*. Now, before we are well over that, those two busybodies in Paris[c] spread the report that Aveling was at it! The long and the short of this is as follows. Aveling, who studies the German text, has translated a few pages for his own benefit. When Hyndman was named as a possible competitor in the field, Sam at the same time declared that his own translation was getting on very slow, and he would be glad of some help. So Aveling was mentioned; I looked over his work and found it utterly useless. He was however very eager, and so, on his meeting Sam Moore here last week, it was arranged that he should try his hand at the chapter 'Der Arbeitstag',[d] this being chiefly descriptive and free, comparatively, from difficult theoretical passages for which Aveling is totally unfit *as yet*, that is to say until he has worked himself through the whole book and understands it. But at

[a] Jean, Edgar, Marcel and Jenny Longuet - [b] a new housekeeper of the Longuets - [c] Ernest Belfort Bax and James Leigh Joynes - [d] 'The Working Day'

the same time I said to Sam that I made it a condition that you should be asked also to take a share in the work, of which Sam was very glad, and now I come to ask you to choose one. The matter stands at present as follows:

Sam is now doing the 1st *Abschnitt*[a] from the beginning, we have gone over part of his 1st chapter and it is very good, though we shall revise it again. He intends going on to the end, page 127 (2nd edition) and the most difficult parts (p. 22-44) we shall each do independently and then compare.—From p. 128 to 221 (2nd *Abschnitt* and 3rd *Abschnitt*, chapters 5, 6 and 7) all is completed. Chapter 8th we will let Aveling try. All the rest is open to you to choose from. I do not think you will like to take the next 4th *Abschnitt*, *Kooperation*, *Teilung der Arbeit...*, *Maschinerie etc.*[b] p. 318-529, this being rather technical, and so is the 6th *Abschnitt*: *der Arbeitslohn.*[c] The 7th: *die Akkumulation*,[d] I should suppose, would suit you best. But choose for yourself. Any technical terms for which it might be difficult to find the English equivalent in Paris, you might leave room for, we could hunt them up here or in Manchester and fill them in. As all parts of the translation pass through my hands, I can easily restore the unity of expression (the application of the same technical terms throughout the book). If you accept our proposal, as I hope you will, and choose a section for yourself, we shall have fulfilled at least partially Mohr's wish and have your name and your work associated with this translation which I am convinced more and more every day is an absolute necessity, if the present movement here is not to collapse like a pricked ball by its own inanity; and we shall also be able to hasten the publication. Tussy has undertaken to hunt up all the quotations from Blue Books [161] and to transcribe the original passages so as to avoid retranslation and errors unavoidably connected with it. She will also see Kegan Paul as soon as possible, may be to-day (the Easter holidays stopped action in that direction), and arrange an interview for me with him when we hope we may be able to settle business matters; we shall then also know whether there is any truth in the Hyndman report.

So if you do say yes, at least something good will have to be connect-

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[a] part - [b] 'Cooperation', 'Division of Labour...', 'Machinery etc.' - [c] 'Wages' - [d] 'Accumulation'

ed with the gossiping reports of Bax and Joynes; for to tell you the truth I have no great faith in Aveling's *present* attempts.

Of Mohr's photographs there are about 450 small ones (*cartes*[a]) 24/-per 100 and 250 large ones (cabinets) 50/-per 100 cost price. I shall send you a good parcel of them if you like as soon as I shall have time to pack them. At present I have still heaps of books to stow away. Sam left on Wednesday, Schorlemmer is still here till Monday.[b] He sends kindest regards by the million.

The copy [of the] 3rd edition[c] I sent to Danielson direct on 5th April, *registered*, and should be glad if Paul would mention this in his next letter to him. Lopatine had asked me to send it and given me the address.

Now I shall have to write to Paul. So until next time I remain

Your very affectionate

F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [196]

### IN PARIS

London, 18 April 1884

My dear Paul,

A quarter to 5—so must hurry!

My congratulations on the success of your Congress,[195] a success that is evident from the different way in which the earlier and later meetings are reported in the *Journal de Roubaix*. The Germans did right in not sending a delegate, for had they done so it would have

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[a] *Cartes de visite*; small photographic portraits mounted on a card-[b] 21 April-
[c] of the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital*

unduly facilitated the further retention of the Exceptional Law[37] by the government and the bourgeoisie; the *moderates* in our party (very numerous among the leaders, very few among the masses, who are first-rate) would have exploited this; such a mistake would have been impermissible. In cases of this kind, demonstrations, even international ones, must be foregone.

When shall I get back the ms. of the translation[a]? This time you really must try harder, I beg of you. It is essential that the thing should either be done well or not at all. And when will it be possible to begin printing? I ask this so that I can make arrangements to write a few notes and a short preface[b]—if you like you can do a preface and send it to me here. You asked that you be given precedence over the German edition; but I have got a complete ms. of the first part of the latter and the Zurich people will begin printing the moment a manuscript reaches them.

What with this German text and the English *Capital* to revise,[56] my hands are full, and accordingly I wish ho know how to arrange things so as to avoid unnecessary loss of time. For it's essential that I get down to the 2nd volume[c]—and now Zurich has to inform me of the need for a 2nd edition of my *Anti-Dühring*[208] and a 4th of the *Peasant War*,[213] which means further revisions and further prefaces to be done! And that's what I—and Mr Bismarck—have gained from the banning of my books in Germany!

Old William[d] is more or less *in extremis*.[e] He no longer recognises those who come to see him, nor can he repeat the phrases he has been taught to say by rote in reply to deputations.

Nim has just come back from shopping, she sends you her '*amours*' (LOVES) and as much as you want of them.

Yours ever,
F. E.

*Twenty minutes past five.*

First published in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

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[a] of the French translation of Marx's 'On Proudhon' - [b] for the second French edition of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* (see Note 165) - [c] of *Capital* - [d] William I - [e] near death

## 76

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN ZURICH

London, 22 April 1884

Dear Kautsky,

Letters and ms.[118] received, similarly cards for Nim. More anon. Hard at work on Morgan,[174] having been able to return to it only today.

The purpose of this is the following:

Please inform the printers that I have *very major revisions* to make right at the beginning both of *Anti-Dühring*[208] and the *Peasant War*[213] and so must insist that *no new edition is tackled before receipt of my manuscript*. I shall write at further length to Ede as soon as he can get back,[a] i. e. in about a week, for he, after all, is the one who has to take care of these things.

So please see that not one line is set *under any circumstances*. I wouldn't be able to acknowledge it.

In haste,

Your

F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50, Moscow, 1981

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

## 77

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[88]

IN ZURICH

London, 26 April 1884

Dear Kautsky,

I had made up my mind and told everyone here that I would play a trick on Bismarck and write something (Morgan)[174] that he would

[a] See this volume, pp. 135-36.

positively be unable to ban. But with the best will in the world I found it impossible. The chapter on monogamy and the final chapter on private ownership as the source of class antagonisms and also as the detonator that exploded the old communal system I find absolutely *impossible* to couch in such a way as to comply with the Anti-Socialist Law.[37] As Luther said: Let the devil come and fetch me, I cannot do otherwise.[214]

Nor would there be any point in the thing if I intended to write merely an 'objective' review and not deal with Morgan critically, if I did not try to evaluate the results recently achieved or present them in the light of our views and of what has already been achieved. Our workers would get nothing out of it. So — good and necessarily banned, or — permitted and execrable. The latter I cannot do.

I shall probably (Schorlemmer is here again until Monday[a]) be finished next week. It will amount to a full 4 sheets or more. If you are then *willing* to risk publishing it in the *Neue Zeit* (after you have read it) may any blood that is spilt as a result be on your own heads and don't blame me afterwards. If you are sensible, however, and do not wish to jeopardise the whole periodical for the sake of one article, you will do better to print it as a pamphlet either in Zurich or in the same way as *Frau*.[138] But that is your own look-out.

I think the thing will have a particularly important bearing on our general view. Morgan enables us to present entirely new aspects by providing us, in the shape of prehistory, with a factual basis we have hitherto lacked. Whatever doubts you may still entertain about individual primitives and 'savages', with the gens the case has been largely resolved and prehistory elucidated. And that is why the thing should be thoroughly worked on, properly weighed up and presented as a coherent whole — but also dealt with *without regard for the Anti-Socialist Law*.

And there's another most important point: I must show how brilliantly Fourier has anticipated Morgan in so many things. It is thanks to Morgan that for the first time the brilliance of Fourier's critique of civilisation really comes across. And that will mean a lot of work.[b]

I hope you got the letter I wrote on Monday on the subject of the

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[a] 28 April - [b] See present edition, Vol. 26, p. 276 (footnote).

new editions.[a] Will you make sure that *absolutely nothing* is set up in type before my ms. arrives. The *Peasant War* is being *completely* rewritten.[213] In the case of *Dühring*, the alterations, etc., made to the *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* have to be inserted right at the beginning, there's a great deal to be corrected and some more stuff to be put in.

Apropos. I have here approx. 50 copies of *Dühring*. If you can use them I shall send them off at once, but you must tell me by what route, so that they don't go via Germany and get seized. They will certainly know about that over there. Let me have as full details as possible.

Your
F. E.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

## 78

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

### IN HANOVER

London, 4 May 1884
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Kugelmann,

My health is ALL RIGHT; it was a tedious and inconvenient affair though in no way serious, but to describe it to you would take pages. I received your card and also send my thanks for the Leibnitziad[215]; unfortunately I cannot embark on incidental studies of this kind, as I have my hands full attending to Volume II[b] and revising translations of Marx's things into German,[118] English[56] and French.[165] On top of that there are new editions of two of my works.[c] The 2nd book

[a] The reference is probably to the previous letter which Engels sent on Tuesday, 22 April. - [b] of *Capital* - [c] *Anti-Dühring* and *The Peasant War in Germany*; see also this volume, pp. 130 and 131.

will probably appear separately, but, having lost so much time during the autumn and winter, I am very behindhand with everything and, as I am being solicited from so many quarters, I have resolved to make no more promises.

Your
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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## 79

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [196]

### IN PARIS

London, 10 May 1884

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith cheque for £14.

Since I do not see any of the Paris papers, it is only from *The Standard* and from yourself that I know what is going on; your electoral tactics are just what I myself would have recommended [216] — these people will do themselves in if left to their own devices; GIVE THEM PLENTY OF ROPE AND THEY ARE SURE TO HANG THEMSELVES. However, Bernstein wrote and told me that you had put up a candidate [a] in opposition to Joffrin, and that he thought this ill-advised; let me know what the circumstances are so that I can answer him.

Thank you for the article — it is only the first one and I cannot now remember if I wrote the sequel.[217]

I have only seen the first number of Vaillant's translation. It is good and accurate, save that he does not always appear to be conversant with military terminology.

Your lectures and those of Deville are excellent [179] but, at least for the published version, you should develop more exhaustively the con-

[a] Louis Simon Dereure; see this volume, p. 141.

clusions of your second one on Darwinism. That part seems overwhelmed by the mass of premisses leading up to the conclusion, nor is the latter self-evident enough, while its detail is inadequately developed. I have not yet read the third one. As soon as the translation of *The Poverty of Philosophy* has been completed in Zurich,[118] I shall suggest that they bring out the lectures in German.

I shall now withdraw, having a rather important piece of work to complete: *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*,[174] which I hope to have rid myself of by the end of next week. Until then I must soldier on.

Give Laura a kiss from me and from Nim, who also sends one to you.

Yours ever,
F. E.

First published in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, Vol. I, Paris, 1956

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

## 80

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

[London,] 17 May 1884

Dear Ede,

The ms.[a] will be finished today; there remains the checking and the polishing, which will take a day or two. Then you shall have it. I think that Kautsky is arranging for the *Neue Zeit* to print the chapter on the family (minus monogamy[b]) as a sample and that the whole will be printed separately. You can let me have your suggestions about ways and means when you get it.

A word on the Paris elections[c] and other matters as soon as I have time. At the moment I am impatient to be done with the ms. and

[a] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. - [b] See present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 170-82. - [c] See this volume, p. 141.

have left everything else, however urgent, on one side. It will be long—approx. 130 closely written octavo pages and is called *Die Entstehung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats.*[a]

Time for the post and a meal. Regards to Kautsky.

Your
F. E.

Amongst other vicissitudes, Pumps' little boy is very dangerously ill; I am very anxious about him.

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## 81

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN AND KARL KAUTSKY

### IN ZURICH

London, 22 May 1884

My Dear Fellows,

Herewith the ms.[a] with the exception of the final chapter which still needs revising. You will find that it is not suitable for the *open* market in Germany, so consider whether it ought to be printed in Stuttgart under a false style or then and there in Zurich, and let me know in writing. Since the Prussian schnapps affair,[218] *everything bearing my name has been banned.* If it goes to Stuttgart I shouldn't want it to be revealed beforehand to the Wise Men who hold sway there.[219] In any case I must read the *proof* myself and would ask you for the sheets *in duplicate*, on good paper with a wide margin, otherwise one cannot make proper corrections. Perhaps you would be good enough to send a postcard acknowledging receipt. I shall answer your letters tonight or tomorrow; I have put everything on one side in order to

[a] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.*

get the enclosed finished and must presently set off for the funeral of Pumps' little boy who died on Sunday.[a]

Your old friend
F. E.

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## 82

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [1]

### IN ZURICH

[London,] 23 May 1884

Dear Kautsky,

I trust you will have received the ms. of chapters 1-8 [b]; it went off to you yesterday by *registered mail*. As I have already suggested, I think the best thing to do, if you want to use some of it for the *Neue Zeit*, would be to take the chapter on the family with the exception of monogamy.[c] It anticipates the latter to the extent necessary to produce a fairly well rounded whole.

As to the ban, I have already written and told you that everything by me is banned on principle [d]; 'Prussian Schnapps' was a personal insult to Bismarck and, now that Richter has used it to concoct a policy of his own for schnapps,[220] the schnapps and wrapping-paper man will henceforward give me no rope at all. Anyhow all your arguments [221] fall to the ground with the successful endorsement of the Anti-Socialist Law [222] and with the banning of the *Süddeutsche Post* that immediately ensued.[223] And the government can afford to be harsh when letting fly with its bans; proof of this is provided by the liberal press which is literally clamouring for vigorous action against us. You, as an Austrian, cannot possibly follow the reasoning that

[a] 18 May - [b] of Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* - [c] See this volume, p. 135. - [d] See previous letter.

goes on in the minds of people like Bismarck, Puttkamer & Co.; for that you would have to be familiar with the Prussian police regime before 1848; to restore *this* to full bloom by means of the Anti-Socialist Law is the prime motive of these Junker bureaucrats. Everything else — at home — is secondary.

I have not yet heard anything further about the *Dührings* that are stored here.[a]

I have Rodbertus' *Kapital*. Seems to be nothing in it. A repository of the most meagre material, endlessly repeated.

The things from the archives are being carefully looked after at my house and I shall be punctilious about returning them.[224] As soon as I have polished off the final chapter and put various other things — books, etc. — in the house in order, I shall tackle the 2nd volume of *Capital* — in the *daytime*; in the *evenings* I shall first of all revise your *Poverty of Philosophy*[118] and do the notes and preface for it.[b] This apportionment is not only useful but absolutely essential, since one does not study Marx's handwriting by lamplight for any length of time unless one is intent on going blind. Moreover my critique of Rodbertus will be confined in the main simply to the accusation of plagiarism[225] and all the rest — his social salvationist utopias, rent, mortgage relief for the landed aristocracy, etc., only mentioned in passing. So you will have sufficient material to administer a sound thrashing to this little Pomeranian exploiter of cottagers,[226] who might have become a second-rate economist had he not been a Pomeranian. Now that the milksops, who cling to us on the one hand and to the armchair socialists[54] on the other with the intention of protecting both their flanks, have, *à la* Freiarsch Thüringer,[c] played off the 'great[d] Rodbertus' against Marx, and now that Adolph Wagner and other Bismarckians have actually elevated the same to the rank of prophet of careerist socialism,[227] we have absolutely no cause to spare this prodigy invented by Rodbertus himself and loudly extolled by Meyer (who knows nothing about economics and, in the former, possessed his own secret oracle). The man achieved absolutely nothing in the field of economics; he had much talent, but always remained a dilettante and, above all, an ignorant Pomeranian and arrogant Prussian. The most he ever

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[a] See this volume, p. 133. - [b] F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'. - [c] Freiwald Thüringer (Max Quarck) - [d] In the original: 'graußen' (South-German dialect).

achieved was to present a number of neat and correct points of view, but he was never able to turn them to good account. How can a decent chap actually come to be regarded as the apostle of the careerists of Bismarckian socialism? It is history's revenge upon this artificially inflated 'prodigy'.

Your news from Germany about internal matters is always very welcome.

But now I must write to Ede.

Your
F. E.

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## 83

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [88]

### IN ZURICH

London, 23 May 1884

Dear Ede,

I trust your business trip was eventually crowned with success. All that is necessary to begin with, I think, is for the gentry to be thrown off the scent; once you have managed to do that, the old route, or parts of it, can again be made use of. The stupidity of the police will see to the rest. [228]

I ordered Rodbertus' *Normal-Arbeitstag*, but it was out of print. I should be grateful if you could let me have the thing—on loan, of course,—since it contains the only authentic version of his proposed labour reforms.—I am now returning the issues of the old *Social-Demokrat* by REGISTERED MAIL, [224] having discovered that Lessner possesses them. The translation to be agreed with Lafargue is still pending, [a] which is why I had to have the original here; now, of course, it can be returned.

[a] See this volume, pp. 116-17.

Singer has been over here and I informed him, amongst other things, of my views regarding the tactics to be adopted in the case of final ballots. For I consider it nonsensical to try and set up universally applicable rules for these which, when it actually comes to the point, are never adhered to. We have great potential power of which no use at all will be made if abstention from the polls is prescribed in all cases where none of our people are involved in the final ballot. As it happens, in all such cases electoral pacts — e.g. with the Centre [229] — invariably come into being automatically: We shall vote for you *here* if you vote for us *there*, and many a seat have we acquired thus. Blunders may result of course, but blunders will always be made, nor is this any reason for committing an even greater one. I therefore told him that, in places like Berlin, for instance, where the electoral campaign is virtually confined to ourselves and the men of Progress, [93] pacts *before* the general election were not out of the question — you cede us that constituency and in return we cede you this one — but only, of course, if one can count on their being observed. What I consider inept is, in effect, the attempt by congresses to formulate in advance universally valid rules for as yet non-existent tactical cases.

*Au fond*, [a] I am glad that the Anti-Socialist Law has been renewed and *not* repealed forthwith. [222] The liberal philistine would have secured a tremendous electoral victory for the Conservatives [230]; in order to preserve the Anti-Socialist Law he would not only go through fire and water, but wade through the deepest of cess-pits. And it would only have resulted in another, more draconian law. As it now stands, it has probably been renewed for the last time and will, once old Wilm [b] succumbs to his nephritis, soon cease to exist in practice. And the thorough discrediting of the German Free Thinkers [231] and of the Centre Party in the course of the division [232] is also of some value, though not as much as Bismarck's right to work. [233] Now that that addle-pate has taken this up there's a chance of our ridding ourselves of the wailers [123] *à la* Geiser. Come to that, no one but a Bismarck could perpetrate such a blunder in the face of a workers' movement that cannot be kept down even by means of emergency laws. For the present our people are right to press for implementation and thus implicate him as deeply as possible; the moment the man has committed himself a bit more (though he is not likely to do so very soon), the whole imposture will resolve itself — into Prussian police

[a] On the whole - [b] William I

chicanery. *Qua* electoral programme, the slogan by itself will do him damn' all good.

The right to work was Fourier's idea but realised in his case only in the *phalanstère*,[234] and thus presupposes the adoption of the latter. The Fourierists — peace-loving philistines of *Démocratie pacifique*, as their paper was called — disseminated the slogan precisely because it sounded safe. The Parisian workers of 1848 swallowed it whole — it being something theoretically utterly unclear — because it seemed so practical, so non-utopian, so readily realisable. The government realised it — in the only way it could be realised in a capitalist society — in the form of preposterous national workshops.[235] Similarly in this country, during the 1861-64 cotton crisis, the right to work was realised in Lancashire in the form of municipal workshops. And in Germany it is likewise being realised in those hunger and cudgel workers' colonies about which your philistine is now enthusing. Advanced as a *separate* demand, the right to work *cannot* be realised in any other form. The demand for its realisation by capitalist society can only be met by the latter within the terms of its *own* existence, but if the demand for the right to work be made of *that society*, then it is made on these specific terms and hence is a demand for national workshops, workhouses and [workers'] colonies. But if the demand for the right to work is to comprise *indirectly* the demand for the subversion of the capitalist mode of production, it is, in regard to the present state of the movement, a dastardly piece of tergiversation, a concession to the Anti-Socialist Law, a slogan whose only purpose can be to bemuse and befuddle the workers as to the aims they ought to pursue and the only terms upon which they can attain them.

In the Paris municipal elections, our people have in fact pursued the tactics recommended by you, only putting up Dereure against Joffrin because there was at first no Opportunist[236] standing against him, so that in this instance opposition was pretty well obligatory. Simoneau did not come upon the scene until later, whereupon Guesde immediately demanded that Dereure withdraw; but at this point Dereure's courage failed him and thus he suffered a resounding defeat. Vaillant, on the other hand, triumphed over the Possibilists[237] in his *arrondissement*, for Retiès was a tosspot (*poivrard*) of the worst repute and was deservedly defeated. And if Joffrin was defeated in the final ballot, it was not our people but his who were to blame. It will, by the way, be necessary to go on opposing the Possibilists until they

deign to come to an agreement with our chaps at election time; so long as they simply go on making themselves out to be the *parti ouvrier par excellence*,[a] they will force our chaps into direct opposition. So either—or; it's for those gentlemen to decide.

As regards Joffrin in particular, his programme was so lousy and lukewarm that even the Radicals refrained from putting up a rival candidate, Joffrin's programme being, in essence, *their own*!

Over here *Justice* gets more wretched by the week.

Your
F. E.

I shall also set to work on the *Dühring*.[208] When roughly do you want to start printing? Once I have begun, I shall be able to knock off some 6 to 8 sheets straight away, although it is precisely at the beginning that there is much revision to be done.

*The Peasant War* will be completely rewritten save for the account of military events.[213] I have learned a great deal about the subject in recent years and shall be including quite a lot of German history. This as soon as *Dühring* is ready!

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Published in English in full for the first time

## 84

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 26 May 1884

My dear Laura,

Since the receipt of your letter of the 15th we have had sorrowful times. On the 18th Pumps' little boy died and was buried on the 22nd.

[a] workers' party *par excellence*

The child suffered from whooping-cough, bronchitis, convulsions and croup, there was but little hope a week before he died. I was under the impression Pumps or Percy had written to you, and they it seems relied on me for letting you know; well, I was busy finishing my pamphlet[a] to which I postponed even the most pressing letters—and finishing it, as you may conceive, under difficulties of every sort. Well, it's done, the last sheets go off tomorrow. How long they will be over the printing of it, I don't know.

I am sorry you won't go in for the 'Akkumulationsprozess des Kapitals'.[b] Think it over again. I am afraid we cannot do without help from without, and to tell you the truth I have deuced little confidence in what assistance I may get here. Aveling has *den besten Willen*[c] but he is to translate strange matter *aus einem ihm unbekannten Deutsch in ein ihm unbekanntes Englisch*[d]; if it was natural science it would be easy enough, but political economy and industrial facts where he is not acquainted even with the commonest terms. And Sam[e] who is doing the first chapter far better than I expected, takes such a time over it. And yet it is daily becoming a greater necessity to have it out, and Kegan Paul and Co. with whom I expect to come to terms soon, are pressing, but unless I can promise the ms. by say November, complete, I cannot well conclude anything. You might try a few pages and see how you get on. A German-English dictionary would be useless; the words *you* would have to look for, you would not find there; you could leave space for them, and I could fill them in, they will mostly be technical or philosophical terms.

Paul's *conférences*[f] are a great success,[179] the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* brings them regular, their own translation, I believe. If the French had two or three people who could and would assimilate German publications in the same manner, it would help them on immensely. I foresee that when my *Ursprung der Familie etc.*[g] comes out, Paul will be mad after translating it, there are things in it just in his line,[h] but if he begins he will have to take the German words in their own sense and not in the sense he pleases to impart to them, because I shall have no time whatever to work at it. I shall now start with the 2nd volume [of] *Kapital* and work at it during daylight, the evenings

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[a] *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.- [b] The reference is to Part VII of the first volume of *Capital*, see also this volume, p. 128 and Note 56.- [c] best intentions- [d] from unfamiliar German into unfamiliar English- [e] Samuel Moore- [f] lectures- [g] *The Origin of the Family etc.*- [h] See this volume, p. 293.

will be for the revision of the various translations in hand and threatened. This pamphlet I just finished will be the last independent work for some time to come. Will you please tell Deville that I have not as yet had the time to read his last *conférence*, but shall do so before the week is out and hope it is as good as its predecessors.

Now I must conclude, it is past eleven and Nim is moving for bed, she has got 'pains all over', *id est* slight muscular rheumatism in consequence of cold, and she must stand at the door while I post this letter, as Annie is in bed, so in order to keep Nim no longer from her much needed rest (she has slept a bit in her arm-chair already) I hope you will excuse the blank space at the foot of this.

By the way, it appears Liebknecht has been in Paris, the German papers tell the most extraordinary things about his mysterious proceedings, [238] also that he spoke at a banquet together with that muff Lecler. [a]

Kisses from Nim and

From yours affectionately,

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

Reproduced from the original

## 85

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 5 June 1884

Dear Ede,

Have spent a week at the seaside. [239] While there I got a nasty cut on my right index finger and hence can only write briefly and badly. So Kautsky will have to wait, the *Sozialdemokrat* being more important

[a] Henri Leclère

than the *Neue Zeit* and, in the latter's case, the circumstances are such that it makes no difference anyway whether I stick my oar in or not. Besides I consider that all Kautsky's moves, in so far as he has told me about them and in so far as I am able to judge the situation, have been absolutely correct.[240]

As regards the *Sozialdemokrat*, it is a rather different matter. Now that their worships, the wailers,[123] have formally combined into a party and constitute a majority in the parliamentary group,[49] now that they have recognised, and are exploiting, the power they have acquired thanks to the Anti-Socialist Law,[37] I consider it to be more than ever our duty to defend all *our own* vantage points to the utmost, especially our vantage point on the *Sozialdemokrat*, which is the most important of all.

These people *live* off the Anti-Socialist Law. Were there to be free discussion tomorrow, I should be all for letting fly at once, in which case they would soon come to grief. But so long as there is no free discussion, so long as they control all the papers printed in Germany and their numbers (as the majority of the 'leaders') enable them to make the very most of gossip, intrigue, whispering campaigns, *we*, I believe, must steer clear of anything that might lead to a breach, or rather might lay the *blame* for that breach at our door. That is the universal rule when there is a struggle within one's own party, and now it applies more than ever. The breach must be so contrived that we continue to lead the old party while they either resign or are chucked out.

Then the timing. Just now everything is in *their* favour. We cannot, after the breach, stop them from slandering and reviling us in Germany, from posing as the representatives of the masses (for the masses do *elect* them after all!). We have only the *Sozialdemokrat* and the foreign press. They can gain a hearing, we can only do so with difficulty. So if *we* precipitate a breach at this moment, the great mass of the party will claim not without justification that we have sown discord, have disorganised the party at the very time when, beset by dangers, it is laboriously reorganising itself. If we can avoid it, the breach ought to be postponed, and this is still my view, until some change in Germany gives us rather more elbow room.

If a breach becomes inevitable nevertheless, it must not be of the personal kind, it must not involve any rows (or what could be represented as such) between e. g. you and the Stuttgarters[219]; rather the occasion for it must be a quite specific point of principle, i. e. in this

case of an infringement of the programme. Rotten though the programme may be, a cursory perusal of it will enable you to find enough in it to support your argument.[241] The programme, however, is not subject to the jurisdiction of the parliamentary group. The breach must be prepared in advance to the extent that Bebel, for one, agrees to it and at once goes along with you. And, thirdly, you must know what you want and are *able* to do once the breach has been made. To allow the *Sozialdemokrat* to pass into the hands of these people would be to make the German party the laughing-stock of the entire world.

The worst thing of all in such a case is impatience; decisions made on the spur of the moment and dictated by passion always seem to oneself tremendously noble and heroic, but they regularly lead to blunders, as I know only too well from a hundred examples from my own practical experience.

So: 1) postpone the breach for as long as possible, 2) if it becomes inevitable, make sure that it emanates from *them*, 3) get everything ready in the meantime, 4) do nothing without Bebel, for one, and possibly also Liebknecht, who will again be good for something (possibly *too* good) once he sees that the thing is inevitable and, 5) defend your vantage point on the *Sozialdemokrat envers et contre tous*,[a] down to your last cartridge. That is my view.

You could certainly repay the 'condescension' of these gentlemen a thousand times over. You're certainly never at a loss for a ready answer in other respects and can certainly confront those jackasses with enough irony as well as disdain to make them rue this behaviour. There can be no serious discussion with ignoramuses like these who glory in their own ignorance; rather, they must be derided, hoist with their own petard, etc.

Don't forget either that, should things come to a head, my hands are very much tied by the vast amount of work ahead of me and I shan't be able to join in the fray to the extent I might wish to do.

I should also be grateful if, instead of general complaints about the philistines, you could give me a few details of *what* they object to and *what* they demand. *Nota bene*, the longer you negotiate with them, the greater the amount of self-incriminating material they must inevitably supply you with!

Write and tell me how far I ought to go into these matters when

[a] against all-comers

corresponding with Bebel; I shall have to write to him shortly and intend to put off doing so until Monday the 9th inst., by which time I may have had a reply from you.

Regards to Kautsky.

Your
F. E.

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## 86

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL [88]

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG [34]

London, 6 June 1884

Dear Bebel,

Have received your letter of the 4th inst. and shall attend to the enclosure. You do not say whether you got my registered letter of 21 April, [39] in which I returned the *envelope*, its seal *broken*, of your letter of the 18th of that month. If it has been intercepted, then the Stieberising of letters has been doubly proven. [242]

If everything were to go according to the wishes of the Conservatives [230] and Liberals, [243] and likewise accord to the secret yearnings of the progressist philistines, [93] there can be no doubt that the Anti-Socialist Law [37] would long since have been perpetuated as an institution in Germany and that it would so remain. But that can only happen if nothing happens elsewhere in the world, and everything remains as it is now. Despite all these philistine desires, the Law was on the very brink of disaster when friend Bismarck applied his two last and most powerful levers — Lehmann's direct intervention [210] and the threat of dissolution. [244] Hence it would not even require a particularly violent convulsion of the present status quo, peaceful as it is, to put an end to the whole caboodle. And in my opinion this will surely happen before two years are out.

True, Bismarck has, for the first time, played a *really* nasty trick on us by procuring 300 million marks for the Russians.[182] That will give the Tsar[a] a couple of years' respite from an *acute* financial emergency and thus temporarily eliminate the danger that looms largest — the necessity of having to convene the Estates for the voting of subsidies, as in France in 1789 and Prussia in 1846. If the revolution in Russia is not to be put back by several years, there must either be some unforeseen complications or else a couple of nihilistic thunderbolts.[b] Neither of these can be counted on to happen. All we may be sure of is that the recent borrowing operation cannot be repeated.

At home, on the other hand — as you yourself say — a change of monarch is imminent and is bound to make everything totter. Here again it is as it was in 1840, before the death of old Frederick William III. So many interests are bound up with the old familiar state of political stagnation that there is nothing the heart of Philistia as a whole desires more fervently than its perpetuation. But with the old monarch[c] the keystone disappears and the whole artificial structure collapses. The afore-mentioned interests, faced with an entirely new situation, suddenly discover that the world of today looks completely different from that of yesterday, and that they will have to look round for new mainstays. The new monarch[d] and his new entourage have plans that have long been suppressed; the whole body of those who govern or are capable of governing expands and changes; officials are perplexed by the new conditions, and the insecurity of the future, the uncertainty about who will be at the helm tomorrow or the day after, causes the action of the entire government machine to falter. That, however, is all we require. But we shall get more. For in the first place we may be sure that while, at the start, the new government may have liberalising aspirations, it will soon become frightened at its own daring, will vacillate hither and thither and eventually grope its way hither and thither, living from hand to mouth, from instance to instance, each decision conflicting with the next. Aside from the general effect of this vacillation, what will become of the Anti-Socialist Law if it is administered under these conditions? The slightest attempt to administer it 'fairly' would be enough to render it ineffective. Either it has to be operated as at present, purely at the whim of the police, or it

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[a] Alexander III - [b] Cf. this volume, pp. 256, 275. - [c] William I - [d] Crown Prince Frederick William

will everywhere be broken.— That is one aspect. But there is another, namely that then, at last, some animation will return to the bourgeois political scene, the official parties will cease to be the one reactionary mass they now are (which is no gain to us, but rather a dead loss), and again begin seriously combatting one another and likewise struggling for political supremacy. It will make a tremendous difference to us whether, on the one hand, both National Liberals and Crown Prince Free Thinkers [231] have a chance of coming to the helm, or whether, as now, the ability to govern is confined to the liberal Conservatives. We shall never be able to lure the masses away from the liberal parties so long as the latter are not given an opportunity of discrediting themselves in practice, of taking the helm and demonstrating their ineptitude. As in 1848, we are still the opposition of the future and must, therefore, have the most extreme among the existing parties at the helm before being able to confront it as the opposition of the present. Political stagnation, i. e. aimless and purposeless struggle between the official parties, as at present, can be of no service to us in the long run. What could, however, is a progressive struggle between those parties, with the centre of gravity gradually shifting to the Left. That's what is currently happening in France where, as always, the course of the political struggle has assumed a classical form. The successive governments are moving ever further to the Left, and a Clemenceau government is already in sight; it will not be the most extreme bourgeois government. With every shift to the Left, concessions accrue to the workers (cf. the recent strike at Denain in which, for the first time, the military did *not* intervene [245]) and, more important still, the field is being increasingly cleared for the decisive battle, while the position of the parties becomes more distinct and well-defined. This slow but inexorable progress of the French Republic towards its logical conclusion — the confrontation between radical would-be socialist bourgeois and genuinely revolutionary workers — I consider to be a manifestation of the utmost importance, and I hope that nothing will happen to stop it. And I am glad that our people are not yet strong enough in Paris (but all the stronger for that in the provinces) to be misled by the force of revolutionary phrases into attempting a putsch.— In muddle-headed Germany, needless to say, progress is not being made along the same purely classical lines as in France; we have lagged much too far behind for that, and everything we experience has already had its day elsewhere. But despite the

rottenness of our official parties, political life of some description would be of far greater advantage to us than the present political death in which action is confined to the secret intrigues of foreign policy.

Sooner than I expected, friend Bismarck has lowered his trousers and shown the assembled people the posterior of his right to work [233] — an amalgam of the Poor Act of the 43rd year of the reign of Elizabeth and the Bastille amendment of 1834.[246] What bliss for Blos, Geiser and Co. who have, after all, been riding the hobby-horse of the right to work for some time now[a] and who already seem to imagine that it was *they* who had roped in Bismarck! And, having once embarked on this topic, I feel impelled to tell you that the performance of these gentry, both in the Reichstag — in so far as one can judge from the inadequate newspaper reports — and in their own press, has increasingly convinced me that *I*, at least, do not even remotely share their standpoint or have anything at all in common with them. These allegedly 'educated' but in fact utterly ignorant and obstinately ineducable philanthropists, who were not only admitted in the face of Marx's and my long and oft reiterated warnings, but were actually shepherded into the Reichstag, would seem to me to be becoming increasingly aware that they are in a majority in the parliamentary group and that it is precisely they who, with their time-serving attitude towards every crumb of state socialism tossed to them by Bismarck, more than any one else, are concerned that the Anti-Socialist Law should remain in force and that it should be applied leniently, if at all, to well-meaning persons like themselves — again something which only people like you and I prevent the government from doing, for if these, the afore-mentioned philanthropists, were rid of us it would be easy for them to prove that there was no call for an Anti-Socialist Law where they were concerned. Their abstention as well as their general performance in connection with the Dynamite Bill was likewise typical.[247] But what's going to happen at the next election [194] if, as seems probable, the safest constituencies fall to these chaps?

It is a great pity that, during the next few critical months, you will be so far away; now, with the elections upon us, we should certainly have had occasion to tell each other a great deal. Could you not let me have an address from which my letters could be forwarded to you? I also hope you may sometimes be able to send me some interesting information about your trip.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 55-56.

Apart from what seems to me steady progress and increasing cohesion on the part of the eddicated bourgeois elements of the party, I am not at all anxious about the course things are taking. I would, if possible, rather see a split avoided so long as we have no freedom of action. But if it has to be—and it is for you people to decide, then so be it!

A work of mine on the origin of the family, property and the state is about to appear. As soon as it comes out I shall send it to you.

Your old friend
F. Engels

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## 87

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

### IN GENEVA

London, 20 June 1884

Dear Old Man,

I hereby notify you that I have today taken out a £5 money order on your behalf and hope the post office will have advised you of its receipt by the time this letter arrives—it goes off by the next post. I have long looked forward to being able to make the above available and am glad that the moment has now come.

However, I cannot, alas, write you a long letter since, in my particular condition, prolonged sitting at my desk is bad for me and consequently prohibited. Unfortunately I have again knocked myself up a bit by doing so, for I have had a great deal of work to get through; but resting in a prone position, as I have again been doing most assiduously for the past few days, will soon put me to rights again. I am now dictating the 2nd volume of *Capital*,[a] and so far it has been go-

[a] Presumably to Oskar Eisengarten (see this volume, p. 153).

ing quite quickly, but it's the devil of a job and will demand a great deal of time and, in parts, much brain-racking. Luckily my brain is in pretty good shape and quite up to the mark where work is concerned as you will, I hope, be able to see from a little book on the origin of the family, private property and the state soon to be published. The second book of *Capital* will also, I think, come out before the end of the year, and the third next year.

At Whitsuntide I spent a week with Borkheim [239]; he is still laid up, with one side half paralysed, gets up three times a day for meals and to do some writing, is writing his biography,[248] and is in good spirits and surprisingly cheerful for one in his condition, but sometimes suffers terribly from boredom. Moreover, he cannot read anything that demands much effort — not that he ever really has done. I send him books and the like every so often. He asked fondly after you and, in fact, we talked a great deal about you and about the old days.

Amongst Marx's papers I have found a few military campaign journals and the like relating to German columns in Switzerland which, no doubt, form part of the papers you mention.[126] Some more may turn up. Everything is safely here, but is still in a state of complete disorder. For the time being I shall have to lock away all correspondence, etc., in a large trunk until I have time to sort the stuff out and put it in order. But now it is absolutely essential that a text, both printable and written in a legible hand, be produced of the final volumes of *Capital*. Neither of these things can be done by any one now alive save for myself. If I were to kick the bucket first, no one else could possibly decipher the things which Marx himself was often unable to read, although his wife and I could do so. The letters, on the other hand, are written in such a way that others can read them.

In three or four months' time we shall be having elections in Germany.[194] I am extremely optimistic. There are many milksops amongst the leaders, but my faith in the masses is unshakable.

Your old friend

F. Engels

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## 88

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[249]

### IN ZURICH

London, 21-22 June 1884

Dear Kautsky,

I hope you are now back from your trip to Salzburg[250] and will soon be able to tell me something about the outcome of the Stuckert[a]-on-the-Neckar affair over the *Neue Zeit*.[240] According to what I hear from Ede and also from August,[b] something of a damper has since been put on the passions of the Wise Men.[219] It is high time, too, that I heard something definite concerning the fate of my ms.[c] Ede dropped me a pencilled note and promised something more, but did = 0.

Your ms.[118] still reposes here and has not yet been attended to for the following reason. After having completed the ms.[c] I was like a cat on hot bricks until I could begin work on Volume II of *Capital*. I did so. Next, I proposed to set about revising your work, as also the English translation (of the 1st volume of *Capital*),[56] in the evenings. But I had reckoned without my host. I had been hard at it since Easter, often spending 8 or 10 hours at my desk and, as a result of the posture this involved, my former indisposition partially reappeared — this time in chronic, not in its previous sub-acute, form. So desk work was again forbidden, *sauf quelques exceptions*.[d] I therefore took the heroic step of engaging Eisengarten so that I might dictate the ms. to him and, since the beginning of the week, he and I have been slogging away from 10 to 5 every day, during which time I lie on the sofa, recovering visibly (idiotic word — nothing to be seen, only felt) but, of course, slowly. The thing's going far better than expected. Eisengarten is intelligent and hard-working and puts his heart into the thing, the more so since he is just working his way through the 3rd edition of the 1st volume. But most of the mss. are such that I have to spend every evening going through what I have dictated if I am to produce a text that is even provisionally valid. At the moment this takes up all my available time. But I believe that things will improve, as we are

[a] Stuttgart - [b] Bebel - [c] *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* - [d] save for a few exceptions

now coming to the original gospel written before 1870, which means that there will be less re-editing.[17] Anyway, I couldn't very well have revised your ms. *lying down*. But if you are in a hurry, I shall find the time and do it all at one go. There could be no question of this, however, nor for that matter, any necessity for it, unless you had got almost all of it done. I shall then — if not before — also let you have the preface about Rodbertus.[a]

For the rest, I shall not discuss in detail your complaints about the eddicated chaps; I have known these worthies in this guise or that for 40 years now and have already given Ede my opinion of them at some length.[b] The main thing is not to let oneself be browbeaten and, at the same time, retain one's composure.

The dynamiters have at long last discovered just what to do. They are concerned with striking at the root of the old social order, and now it transpires that the root in question is in fact the tail. This profound truth with which they are imbued eventually enabled them to discover how best to set about it, and they went and blew up a pissoir.[251]

Which reminds me that the man behind the Geneva-Carouge *Explosion* is none other than the Italian *mouchard*,[c] Carlo Terzaghi, who had already been unmasked by us in *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy*.[252]

The expelled Austrian anarchists [253] purport to be connected with the regular German charities which have long existed over here. One of them touched me for alms but was unmasked and, upon his returning today, was chucked out at top speed.

The 2nd book of *Capital* will give us even more headaches, at least to start off with, than the first one. But it contains quite admirable analyses that will, for the first time, show people what is money and what capital and much else.

But now it is time to lie down again. All things considered, and apart from the localised trouble, I'm as fit as a fiddle, and my brain is in first-class condition.

Regards to Ede.

Your
F. E.

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[a] F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'.- [b] See this volume, pp. 144-47. - [c] police spy

Sunday 22nd.

Postscript. Hyndman intends to *buy up* the whole of the little movement here. He has done everything he can think of to ruin *To-Day*. Bax, who advanced the money for the purpose, got his sums wrong and was soon cleaned out. Hyndman, who is rich and also has access to the resources of Morris, a very rich but politically inept art lover, will either take *To-Day* under his wing or let it perish. Either way, he believes, he will reign supreme. I am glad that I have remained aloof from the whole caboodle. Hyndman is shrewd and a good business man, but superficial and STOCK-JOHN-BULL; moreover his ambition far outruns his talents and achievements. Bax and Aveling have the best of intentions and are, besides, learning by degrees, but everything's at sixes and sevens, nor can these literati do anything on their own. The fact is that the masses are not yet going along with them. Once the chaps have sorted themselves out a bit it will be better.

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [184]

### IN ZURICH

London, 26 June 1884

Dear Kautsky,

The anti-Rodbertus ms.[254] goes back tomorrow by registered mail. I found little that called for comment and have made a few pencilled notes. Apart from these I would add the following:

1) Roman Law is the consummation of the law of *simple*, i. e. of precapitalist, *commodity production*, though the latter also embodies much of the legal system of the capitalist period. Exactly, that is, what our burghers *needed* at the time of their rise and, in accordance with local common law, did *not* get.

On p. 10 there are several things I object to: 1. Surplus *value* is

the exception only in the case of production by slaves and serfs. It ought to read surplus *product*, most of which is directly consumed but not *valorised.*

2) As regards the means of production, the matter is not quite as you say. In all societies based on a division of labour that has evolved naturally, the product, and hence also to some extent the means of production, dominates the producer — on occasion at any rate — as did, in the Middle Ages, the soil the peasant who was simply an appurtenance of the land and the tool the guild handicraftsman. Division of labour is the direct domination of the instruments of labour over the worker, although not in the capitalist sense.

Much the same applies to the concluding bit on the means of production.

1) You should not separate *agriculture* any more than *technology* from political economy, as you do on pp. 21 and 22. Rotation of crops, artificial fertilisers, the steam engine, the power loom, cannot be separated from capitalist production any more than the tools of the savage and the barbarian from *his* production. The tools of the savage condition *his* society just as much as do more modern ones capitalist society. What your view boils down to is that, while production does indeed determine the social institution *today*, it did not do so before capitalist production existed, because tools had not as yet been guilty of original sin.

The moment you say means of production, you say society and a society *determined* by, amongst other things, those means of production. Means of production *as such*, extraneous to society and without influence over it, exist no more than does capital *as such.*

But how the means of production, which, at earlier periods, including that of simple commodity production, exercised only a very mild domination compared with now, came to exercise their present despotic domination, is something that calls for proof and yours strikes me as inadequate, since it fails to mention one pole, namely the creation of a class which no longer had any means of production of its own, or, therefore, any means of subsistence, and hence was compelled to sell itself piecemeal.

In the case of Rodbertus' positive proposals, emphasis ought to be laid on his Proudhonism — after all he proclaimed himself Proudhon I, the forerunner of the French Proudhon. Constituted value, invented by Rodbertus as early as 1842,[255] is to be established. His proposals here are lamentably retrograde by comparison with Bray

and with Proudhon's exchange bank. The worker is to get only $^1/_4$ of the product, but that is assured! We can discuss this later.

Repose (physical) is suiting me splendidly; I get better every day and this time the cure will be complete. The dictation of the 2nd book of *Capital* is going ahead splendidly. We[a] have already reached Part II — but there are big gaps. The editing is only provisional, of course, but that too will get done. I can see my way ahead, *cela suffit.*[b]

Ede's letter received with thanks. You will have to be patient with my letter-writing; I mustn't get run down again and a frightful amount of work and correspondence is piling up.

My regards to you both,

Your
F. E.

*Wage Labour and Capital*[c] will go off as soon as the comparison is done, perhaps tomorrow.[d]

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## ENGELS TO EVGENIA PAPRITZ

### IN LONDON

[London,] 26 June 1884
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Madam,

The lithographed journal to which you have been so good as to draw my attention is already known to me by repute, although I have not yet been fortunate enough to see a copy of it.[256]

Are you not, perhaps, being a trifle unjust towards your compatriots? Marx and I have not, for our part, found any cause for complaint in them. While certain schools may have been more noted for

[a] Engels dictated Marx's ms. to Oskar Eisengarten; see this volume, p. 153.- [b] that's enough - [c] by Marx - [d] See this volume, p. 159.

their revolutionary zeal than for their scientific studies, and while, here and there, some degree of trial and error may have been and may still be in evidence, we have, on the other hand, witnessed a critical spirit and a devotion to research, even in the field of pure theory, wholly worthy of a nation capable of producing a Dobrolyubov and a Chernyshevsky. And here I speak, not only of the active revolutionary socialists, but of the historical and critical school in Russian literature, which is infinitely superior to anything of the kind produced in Germany and France by way of official history. And even among active revolutionaries our ideas, and the science of economics as remodelled by Marx, have always met with an intelligent and sympathetic response. As you are doubtless aware, a number of our works have quite recently appeared in Russian translation, and are to be followed by others, notably Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy*. His short work dating from before 1848, *Wage Labour and Capital* (Наемный трудъ и капиталъ), has also appeared under that title in this series.[257]

I am exceedingly flattered by your suggestion that a translation of my *Outlines etc.* might prove useful. Although still a little proud of this, my first work on social science, I am all too aware that it is now completely out of date and replete, not only with mistakes, but also with 'howlers'. The misapprehensions it could hardly fail to engender would, I fear, quite outbalance such good as it might do.

I shall be sending you by post a copy of *Dühring's Revolution etc.*[a]

As for our old newspaper articles, it would be difficult to lay hands on them just now. Most of them have little relevance today; as soon as the publication of the manuscripts left by Marx allows me sufficient leisure, I intend to bring them out as a collection with explanatory notes, etc. But that will not be for some time to come.

I am not quite sure what you mean by the manifesto addressed to *English* working men. Might it be The Civil War in France, the International's manifesto on the Paris Commune[b]? That I could send you.

If my health permitted, I should ask your permission to come and call on you; unfortunately I am not allowed to go out and about, though I feel reasonably well when *at home*.— Should you be willing

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[a] F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring. Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*.- [b] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France. Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association*.

to do me the honour of dropping in on me here, you would always find me at your service round about seven or eight o'clock in the evening.

I am, Madam,

Yours very truly,
F. Engels

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Translated from the French

## 91

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [61]

### IN ZURICH

London, 29 June 1884

Dear Ede,

1. I return *Wage Labour and Capital*[a] herewith. The Silesian edition has certainly required a great deal of revision.[258] I did not, it is true, have time to compare it with the original throughout, but only those passages that worried me most. However, you chaps have got it there and will be able to attend to that when correcting the proofs.

2. I shall get another portrait of Marx done by the same man who did mine, and let you have it. It is not a chalk drawing but an enlarged photograph. But how will a colour-print turn out if the chap has never seen Moor and his singularly dark complexion?[259]

3. A parcel of 40 *Revolutions*[b] went off from here yesterday addressed to Volksbuchhandlung, 3 Kasinostraße, Hottingen-Zurich, Switzerland, 'BOOKS, VALUE £3 CARRIAGE *FORWARD*' (i. e. not prepaid) per CONTINENTAL PARCELS Express, which is the correspondent of the German Imperial Post Office and of the Swiss Post Office, and likewise of the French parcels offices. The association stuff [*Vereinssachen*] from Zurich also comes here by the same route. There is no parcel post be-

[a] by Marx - [b] F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring. Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*; see this volume, p. 133.

tween England and the Continent, hence no 'postal packages *à* 5 kilos', or not, at any rate, for this country; splitting them up would mean doubling the cost *over here*. Not splitting them up into 2 parcels surely wouldn't raise the cost of consignment *there* as much as would splitting them up over here.

4. Schorlemmer writes to say that his brother Ludwig in Darmstadt has not yet received a single number of the *Sozialdemokrat* despite the fact that receipt of his subscription was acknowledged in the paper. Is this an isolated misfortune or general one? Please look into it.

5. I can't get hold of any socialist poems specifically by Weerth. There are some in Moses Hess' old *Gesellschaftsspiegel* of 1845, but I believe you have already seen those. I once heard something about a collection of his verse but have never set eyes on it.[260] In any case, *he* never published such a thing any more than *we* did.

6. The archivist will have to wait; I haven't the time to get my own things in order. If I do get round to it, you may be sure he won't be overlooked.[261] But now the prime consideration is the completion of the 2nd volume of *Capital*. The thing's going swimmingly, the preliminary edition of about $^1/_3$ having been done, and is progressing by something like $^1/_2$ a printed sheet a day, or a little under. As soon as we get to the last part ('The Circulation of the Aggregate Social Capital'),[a] Eisengarten can, with my help, copy out the existing ms. of 1878,[17] while I can get on with the final editing of what has already been done. In this way we shall finish before so very long, and then go on to the 3rd, most important book.

Only then will it be possible to consider putting the old pre-'48 mss. in order and preparing extracts thereof for the press. It's not that I am unwilling, but this requires work, i. e. time.

So you, too, have finally come round to the view that we shall end up by coping quite successfully with the 'Wise Men'.[219] I sent for a few numbers of the *Neue Welt*, so as to meet the gentlemen *chez eux*[b] for once. So far have only read the correspondence column. German schoolboy cheek which presupposes a very tame readership.

You should not, by the way, allow yourself to get worked up about pin-pricks; that is the golden rule in this struggle. And remember that

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[a] See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. II, Part III: 'The Reproduction and Circulation of the Aggregate Social Capital'. - [b] on their own ground

Nothing gives one more delight
Than one's antagonists to bite,
Than making scurvy jokes about
This uncouth clod, that clumsy lout.[a]

Regards to Kautsky.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO SARAH ALLEN [262]

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, about 6 July 1884]

Madam,

In reply to your note of the 5th arrived to hand yesterday and an answer to which was retarded by my absence from town, I beg to say that I consider Mr E. Aveling quite a desirable tenant and have no doubt that you will not regret having let your premises to him.

Yours, etc.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 36, Moscow, 1964

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[a] G. Weerth, *Nichts Schönres gibt es auf der Welt...*

## 93

## ENGELS TO GABRIEL DEVILLE

IN PARIS

London, 8 July 1884

My dear Citizen Deville,

Thank you for sending me your lectures [179] — the last one reached me yesterday and I have not yet had time to read it. I have no doubt that it is no less excellent than its predecessors. I shall suggest to our friends that they translate them into German and publish them in the same way as you are doing in Paris; it's precisely what we need for propaganda just now.

Would you be so kind as to pass on the enclosed note to Lafargue *without Mme Lafargue's knowledge*? He'll tell you the reason for this — perfectly innocent, by the way.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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## 94

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN ZURICH

London, 11 July 1884

Dear Kautsky,

I trust Ede will get over his feverish attack; give him my regards and tell him that I, too, shall be drinking to his health.

To have let Auer have the Hamburg stuff is perfectly all right so far as I'm concerned. I suggested Bebel and Dietz merely because I had

to tell the man to *whom* I intended to mention his name; needless to say this does not in any way restrict your freedom of action.

The matter of Dietz is becoming a bore. If he won't say either yes or no, then we can't go on waiting for him. My chief concern is that the thing[a] should come out and, secondly, that it should not be instantly confiscated *en masse*. I. e. two things that are to be had simultaneously only in Switzerland. Printing in Austria should be considered only in *case of need*; 1) it would mean fresh delays and negotiations and 2) the thing would be banned *all the same*, you need be under no illusions as to that[b]; and 3) not only could it be banned in Austria, but also seized (remember the Viennese affair you told me about last autumn). So do get something positive done at last.

There must still be something peculiar going on in the *Neue Zeit*, otherwise that wise man Schippel would certainly not have been allowed to talk of a 'Rodbertusian-Marxian theory', or of things that '*one* has come to recognise since Rodbertus'; and without editorial comment at that.[c] The Germans must have fallen low indeed if they have still not discovered that what Marx has in common with Rodbertus is nothing more than the *application égalitaire de la théorie ricardienne*[d] mentioned by Marx on p. 49 of the *Poverty*[e] and which has been a commonplace among English socialists since 1827! But that is very far from being surplus value as defined by Marx and applied by him to every aspect of the science of economics. Which is why the good English, and likewise Rodbertus, for all their borrowings from Ricardo, have made no headway at all in the matter of economics; the first advance in this field was made by Marx, who demolished all previous political economy.

Incidentally, if I am to tackle Rodbertus *properly*, I must have his piece of 1842,[f] *Zur Erkenntniss unsrer Zustände*, or whatever it is called. You quoted from it.[g] Could you let me have it for a day or two or, better still, buy it for me? To judge by some of the quotations, it

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[a] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. - [b] Cf. this volume, pp. 131-32. - [c] M. Schippel, 'H. M. Hyndman. *The Historical Basis of Socialism in England*, London, 1883', *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 7, 1884. - [d] equalitarian application of Ricardian theory - [e] See K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, present edition, Vol. 6, p. 138. - [f] 1841 in the original. - [g] K. Kautsky, 'Das *Kapital* von Rodbertus', *Die Neue Zeit*, Nos. 8-9, 1884, pp. 343, 389.

would seem to be the best, because the first thing that he wrote, his later stuff being a mere rehash, hence increasingly flimsy.

Your
F. E.

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## 95

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [263]

### IN ZURICH

London, 19 July 1884

Dear Kautsky,

Did not get the letter from you and Ede until this morning, although postmarked Zurich 17/7.

I agree to your proposals, provided the thing now goes ahead. If our workers can read Roman just as easily as German characters, I would myself, of course, prefer Roman. Format about the same as *Entwicklung*[a] — Bebel's *Frau* [138] was too large. If you believe you can sell 5,000, I am quite agreeable. So just get on with it and let me have the proofs soon. The arrangement with Schabelitz is also quite satisfactory.[264]

So the only reward we get for the consideration we have shown Dietz is his regarding us all as his enemies!

That the *Neue Zeit* is to cease publication [265] is no misfortune for the party. It is becoming increasingly clear that the great majority of *literary* party men in Germany belong to the ranks of those opportunists and pussy-footers whom the Anti-Socialist Law,[37] adversely though it may affect their pockets, has placed in exactly the right *literary* atmosphere; they can express themselves uninhibitedly, whereas we are prevented from giving them a piece of our mind. Thus the very fact of having to fill up such a review every month demands considerable forbearance, and entails the gradual encroachment of philanthropy, humanism, sentimentality — in short all the anti-revolutionary vices

[a] F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific.*

of your Freiwalds,[a] Quarcks, Schippels, Rosuses[b] et al. People who refuse on principle to learn anything and who turn out nothing but literature about literature and à propos of literature ($^9/_{10}$ of all German writing today consists of writing about other writing) will, needless to say, produce more sheets per year than those who mug up a subject and attempt to write about other books only when 1) they have mastered those other books, 2) the latter contain anything that is worthwhile. The preponderance of these gentlemen in literature published *in Germany*, a preponderance created by the Anti-Socialist Law, is unavoidable so long as that Law endures. On the other hand, we have a weapon of altogether different calibre in the shape of the literature appearing abroad.

It would be delightful if you were to come to this country. But I don't know whether you ought to count with such certainty on the New Yorkers. Over 3 months ago Aveling was taken on as London correspondent[c] and, though he has written regularly, he has not yet had a penny. Here on the spot there's nothing to be earned. Neither *Justice* nor *To-Day* pay, and if there's anything to be picked up elsewhere in the press, everyone is on to it like a pack of wolves.

The clairvoyance in the *Neue Welt*[266] is the best thing that could have happened. That sort of 'erudition' regularly degenerates into such-like nonsense. The cruder the better—it will be over all the sooner. I did so laugh when I got your postcard. A few more such audacious Geiseriads and the chap will have to pack his bags.

Hyndman's book,[d] like the man himself, is a pretentious, impertinent jumble in which he, too, continually tries to pick holes in Marx (for not being an Englishman; Hyndman is the most jingoistic John Bull imaginable) and yet is so ignorant of English history that it's all w r o n g except for what he has learnt from the Germans. But Hyndman is about to come a cropper here; true he has, with his own and Morris' money, now bought up the entire movement, financially speaking (likewise *To-Day* which Bax is unable to carry on for want of resources, and which has now been transferred lock, stock and barrel to Hyndman), but his eagerness to play the dictator, his envy of all potential rivals and his persistent self-promotion, have rendered him suspect to even his surest friends, and his position in the DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION[99] is growing shaky. *Cet homme n'ira pas loin, il ne sait pas*

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[a] Freiwald Thüringer—pen-name of Max Quarck - [b] Robert Schweichel - [c] to the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* - [d] H. M. Hyndman, *The Historical Basis of Socialism in England.*

*attendre*.[a] On top of that, *Justice* is becoming ever sillier, and I hope that this *initial* phase of the movement here will very soon be over[b]; it is becoming dreadfully unedifying.

With your bacillu*m*, you have given Geiser an opening [267] which, however, he may with any luck be too stupid to exploit. Both forms, *baculus* and *baculum*, are current, hence either gender so far as the derivation is concerned. But bacillus has long since been exclusively adopted in biology.

As I shall probably be going to the seaside for a bit at the end of this or the beginning of next month, I should be grateful if I could have Rodbertus' *Zur Erkenntniss now*.[c] I shall return it immediately, along with the *Normal-Arbeitstag*, etc., but it is necessary for me to have seen the thing because *he himself* maintained in 1879 that Marx had made use of it without due acknowledgment.[187] No such accusation could ever be brought against Marx save by people without any idea of the hair-raising ignorance it requires so much as to assert anything of the kind. Anyone who has read Ricardo — and even in Adam Smith there are passages enough to this effect — must after all know what is the 'source' of surplus value without having to read the great[d] Rodbertus first.

Your
F. E.

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## 96

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 22 July 1884

My dear Laura,

'*La suite à demain!*'... *mais je l'attends encore, cette suite*[e] which was to explain to me the many otherwise inexplicable things in your last let-

[a] This man will not go far; he does not know how to bide his time. - [b] See this volume, p. 236. - [c] Ibid., p. 163. - [d] In the original: 'graußen' (South German dialect). - [e] 'More tomorrow!' ... but I am still waiting for this continuation

ter. Why, I thought you lived in one of the finest, airiest, healthiest, etc., quarter of Paris, at an elevation sufficient to raise you above all earthly things, and now all at once you are going to move, and that at this blessed hot time of the year, and Paul is going to Bordeaux, and the whole world is all sixes and sevens and the long and the short of it is that you are not coming [268] but must spend the hot season in Paris, and will only leave Paris at that season when Heine admired it most:

die Sterne
sind am schönsten in Paris
Wenn sie eines Winterabends
Dort im Strassenkot sich spiegeln.[a]

Well, Nim and Jollymeier who came on Friday,[b] and myself have given this matter our most serious consideration and we have come to the unanimous, but so far not very satisfactory conclusion: that something must be wrong somewhere.

Anyhow: As *La Suite*[c] won't come, I hope you will after all come yourself and let all these considerations go to the wind. If you wait for Paul's going to Bordeaux to start a paper, that may or may not come off these next 100 years. If he does not go, and it is absolutely necessary that you should move from 66 Boulevard de Port-Royal, well, then let *him* hunt for apartments and do the moving. So I do not see what should stop you from coming over — if only for 3 weeks say — and as soon as you tell me that you are coming, we will make the road as smooth for you as we can.

Tussy and Edward are off on honeymoon No. I, if not back already again — the grand honeymoon is to come off next Thursday.[d] Of course, Nim, Jollymeier and I have been fully aware of what was going on for a considerable time and had a good laugh at these poor innocents who thought all the time we had no eyes, and who did not approach the *quart d'heure de Rabelais* [269] without a certain funk. However we soon got them over that. In fact had Tussy asked my advice before she leaped, I might have considered it my duty to expati-

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[a] The stars
Are at their prettiest in Paris,
When they are reflected in the street filth
On a winter's evening.
Engels quotes from memory Heine's *Atta Troll*, Ch. II. - [b] 18 July - [c] continuation - [d] 31 July

ate upon the various possible and unavoidable consequences of their step — but when it was all settled, the best thing was for them to have it out at once before other people could take advantage of its being kept in the dark. And that was one of the reasons why I was glad that we knew all about it — if any wise people had found it out and come up to us with the grand news, we should have been prepared. I hope they will continue as happy as they seem now, I like Edward very much, and think it will be a good thing for him to come more into contact with other people besides the literary and lecturing circle in which he moved, he has a good foundation of solid studies, and felt himself out of place amongst that extremely superficial lot amongst whom fate had thrown him.

Jollymeier is very well and lively now — while I work he takes long walks — he is off now on one of them. Pumps has at last got over her bronchitis, etc., and will move to-day into her new house in Kilburn — beg pardon, 'West Hampstead' (I never knew Hampstead to reach as far as Edgware Road, but so it seems).

Nim is very well and lively — next week I suppose we shall have to move towards the sea, but where to? that grand question remains still to be solved. As to myself I am right enough on condition of keeping — for the present — within very narrow bounds both as to exercise, work and enjoyment — I hope the change of air will finally set me right.

And now for '*la suite*', and let it be a good one, a *suite* that brings you over!

Paul's *Blé* has arrived this morning. What a pity he does not follow the wise counsels of *la rédaction du*[a] *Journal des économistes*! [270]

Very affectionately yours,

F. E

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[a] the editorial board of

## 97

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

[London, not earlier than 25 July 1884]

Dear Ede,

You may send the enclosed to Auer if you wish; I have contrived it with that in view.

As regards the apportionment of constituencies,[271] I assure you that I, too, have often been annoyed about it, but it is due to the desire to proceed, in purely tactical matters, in accordance with general principles and this always happens at congresses where everything is made to look so nice and simple. Dual candidatures are, of course, useless as a rule; but if you reckon that in the doubtful constituencies the best people are more likely to get in than the others and you therefore put them up there, you must either tolerate dual candidatures in their case or run the risk of their not being elected at all. So if you're totally opposed to dual candidatures, you must put up the best people in the safest constituencies. But then it is odd that this relegation to doubtful constituencies never happens to Liebknecht but only to Bebel, and that e. g. at the last election Liebknecht had, if I am not mistaken, *two* quite good constituencies.[a] *Enfin*[b] such things cannot be avoided. Nor must one forget that a battle always has its ups and downs and hence not be put out if the downs sometimes tend to predominate.

At all events, this much is certain: so long as we have the *Sozialdemokrat*, their worships the opportunists may do as they wish; and even if they gained control of the parliamentary group (which is after all only possible if Bebel is not re-elected), they wouldn't have won, not by a long chalk. What are their intentions towards the masses? The latter keep pressing these same people onwards whether they like it or not. And if the Wise Men[219] also succeeded in gaining command of the *Sozialdemokrat*, this would be of shorter duration than the *Sozialdemokrat*'s first weak-kneed period which at the outset also met with

[a] See Engels' letter to Bernstein of 30 November 1881 (present edition, Vol. 46).-
[b] Well

support, even among the better of the 'leaders', but was utterly rejected by the masses.

As to the Vast Erudition of the celebrated non-atheist,[272] I shall be highly delighted if it takes every possible opportunity to parade itself. An equally mysterious savant[a] crops up in Paul de Kock's *Amant de la lune*; when, having gone to the utmost trouble, people finally get the measure of his erudition, they discover that it consists in a couple of conjuring tricks with corks. Think of all the trouble we went to before this celebrated man finally consented to provide us with just a *few* samples of his erudition! And how pretty they are! And he has actually got as far as clairvoyance.[266] What more could we want?—*cela marche!*[b]

Regards to Karl Kautsky, also from Schorlemmer.

Your
F. E.

Tell Manz, who has written to me, that a portrait just like mine is now being done for him and that he shall have it as soon as it is ready[c]; in a sprawling city like London, however, I can't chase after things personally and must therefore depend on other people.

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## 98

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 26 July 1884

My dear Laura,

*La suite, la suite de la suite et la conclusion par*[d] Paul Lafargue to hand. I have just sent my *amanuensis*[e] home and have a few minutes

[a] Saucissard.- [b] He's doing well.- [c] See this volume, p. 159.- [d] The continuation, continuation of the continuation and the conclusion by; see this volume, pp. 166-68.- [e] secretary (Oskar Eisengarten)

left to say that I shall be very glad not only to revise Paul's article but also to offer suggestions as to points of attack.[273] But for that I must have the book[a] and to get it I must know the *exact title*—please let me have that at once so that I can order it.

It appears, then, that after all we shall have to do without you at the seaside.[268] Well, I don't know—if this weather continues, whether France is not preferable. We have now, 5 p. m., hardly 17° Centigrade and plenty of rain so that poor Jollymeier has not been able to take his walk.

Pumps and Percy are just coming in for dinner so I must conclude. Love from all.

Yours affectionately,
F. E.

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## 99

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

[London,] 28 July 1884

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Proofs[b] returned herewith. Shall continue to return them promptly. But I would ask you to be rather more indulgent with my spelling; I have no cause in my advancing years to let myself be either *c*ivilised or *c*entralised, let alone *c*ited.[c] Supposedly 'consistent' spelling is usually far less consistent and far less historical than the good old casualness.

I am in full agreement with your suggestions. However these are things you know more about than I do.

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[a] P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *Le Collectivisme. Examen critique du nouveau socialisme.* - [b] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.* - [c] At that time *zivilisieren*, *zentralisieren* and *zitieren* were customarily spelt with a 'c'. In this letter Engels spells them with a 'z'.

I would now ask you to be good enough to let me have the final proofs and, when the book is ready, 25 copies of the deluxe edition and 5 of the other; I shall not be able to manage with less.[264]

To save postage, the ms. can be sent *with* the proofs in a stiff, strong wrapper; over here mss. and proofs are both charged as book post. They must, however, carry the *full* amount of stamps, otherwise they won't arrive here.

Yours faithfully,
F. Engels

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## 100

## ENGELS TO JAMES LEIGH JOYNES

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 30 July 1884

Dear Sir,

I am sorry I cannot at present give you my consent to a translation of my *Entwicklung etc.*[a] for *To-Day*, as I am bound by a previous engagement to another gentleman.[b]

As to my promise of an article for *To-Day*, that promise was given to Mr Bax and as far as I know Mr Bax is no longer one of the Editors of *To-Day*.[c]

Yours faithfully,
F. E.

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[a] *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* - [b] Edward Aveling - [c] See this volume, p. 177.

# 101

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

[London, July 1884] [274]

[...] [a] By way of self-sacrifice I looked through a few numbers of the *Neue Welt*. It was so deadly dull that it couldn't be done for long. As regards Mr Geiser, his 'erudition' is unassailable *there*. The very fact of a person's parading his erudition in a penny paper of this kind is proof enough that he has failed to take in anything at all. Even had he not invariably written cholera ba*cc*illus for bacillus, as though the word stemmed from *bacca* and not *baculus*. Besides, it's to be found in any Latin dictionary. The assertion that both materialism and idealism are one-sided and must be synthesised in a higher entity [b] is a hoary one and ought not to worry you; again, that atheism merely expresses a negation is an argument we ourselves had already advanced against the philosophers 40 years ago, only with the corollary that atheism, as the *mere* negation of, and referring only to, religion, would itself be nothing without it and is thus itself another religion. Typical of the remaining erudition is an article by Blos on the Greek and German gods [c] in which alone I noted the following serious bloomers:

1. The *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* are said to be by Reuchlin. While they did originate from his entourage, he had less of a hand in them than Ulrich von Hutten.[275]

2. The Greek gods '*feast* on nectar and *quaff* ambrosia'!

3. 'Mead', alias 'Meed',[d] he explains in brackets, is 'beer', when every child knows that it is, and always has been, made, not with malt, but with honey.

4. Blos does not even know the names of the German gods; [he] [e] gives them now in early Nordic, now in German. Alongside the early Nordic Odin whose German name (early Saxon Wodan, Old High German Wuotan) he doesn't know, we find the Old High German Ziu. Odin is also said to have a wife called Freia; but in early Nordic

[a] The first part of the letter is missing.- [b] A reference to the article by Bruno Geiser, 'Das Innere der Erde', *Die Neue Welt*, Nos. 14 and 15, 1884.- [c] W. Blos, 'Die Götter in der Dichtung', *Die Neue Welt*, No. 10, 1884.- [d] In the original: 'Met', alias Meth.- [e] The manuscript is damaged here.

she is called Frigg, Old High German Fricka, something even Richard Wagner could have told him. There you have a little nosegay culled rapidly in the space of 10 minutes! Not even the meanest cur could be frightened by erudition of *that* sort. Just let them strut like peacocks in their penny paper; you only have to look behind their fans to see where the droppings come from!

Your
F. E.

Regards to Karl Kautsky.

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## 102

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE [276]

### IN PARIS

London, 1 August 1884

My dear Laura,

Leroy-Beaulieu duly arrived.[a] Thanks. Have not had much time yet to look at it, but shall do now,[b] Schorlemmer has gone to Germany yesterday.

We shall probably start on Monday[c] for Worthing near Brighton — it's Percy's choice, and from all other people's reports a horridly dull place.[277] All the same to me, but if Pumps does not like it, she will have to settle that with the husband of her bosom. Shall let you have exact address as soon as possible.

Have had a bad cold in consequence of the heat and exposure to drafts — have not smoked or tasted beer for nearly a week, but am on the right side of both again since yesterday.

[a] P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *Le Collectivisme. Examen critique du nouveau socialisme*.- [b] See this volume, pp. 179-83.- [c] 4 August

As Paul's article on the *blé*[a] is not complete yet and they are almost sure to have a month between that and the attack on Leroy-Beaulieu, [273] so that this latter article will only appear in the *October* No., there will be a bit of breathing time—at least I hope so. I do want a bit of rest, and shall have, besides this affair, plenty of translations to revise while at the seaside. The great thing for Paul will have to be—*conciseness*, limitation of the question *strictly to Leroy-Beaulieu's criticisms on Mohr*, leaving entirely out Lassalle, etc.—except perhaps when Leroy-Beaulieu gives occasion to show his glaring ignorance. However as soon as I have looked the book over I shall be able to judge better. Anyhow as the book is big and the place for reply small, the limitation to what is strictly necessary will be unavoidable.

Now I must conclude—it's blazing hot, I have written already five letters and have still to write to 'Mrs Aveling' and to Zurich.

Nim too has a bit of the cough and what I almost feel inclined to call a whooping-cough sometimes—but it is not bad. You know that Tussy caught a *regular whooping-cough* from little Lilian Rosher! It's positively true.

Tell Paul to give you a kiss each for Nim and me.

Very affectionately yours,

F. E.

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## 103

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN ZURICH

London, 1 August 1884

Dear Kautsky,

Have today returned Rodbertus' *Zur Erkenntniss* by *registered mail*, and trust it will arrive safely. After receipt of this, don't send any

[a] wheat; Engels is referring to Paul Lafargue's article 'Le blé en Amérique; production et commerce'.

more *letters* here. I shall be going to the seaside[277] on Monday[a] and might even be able to send you my new address *pro tempore* tomorrow.

Rodbertus' book is indeed by far the best thing he ever wrote — youthful work in both the good and the bad sense — the original version of subsequent flimsier ones — shows how close he came to the thing, if he had only followed it up instead of setting his sights on Utopias. I am *very glad indeed* to have seen it. Time for the post and lunch.

Your
F. E.

Regards to Ede, the ex-epididymitician.

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## 104

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN[263]

### IN ZURICH

Worthing, 6 August 1884
48 Marine Parade

Dear Ede,

After all manner of vagaries I have at last landed up here, on the South coast, where I hope to stay for a good 3 weeks.[277] At our door we have the whole expanse of the Channel, though at low tide it recedes a good 300 paces; on the whole a quiet, boring little spot where, between bouts of idleness, I shall probably find enough time to look through your and Kautsky's translation of the *Poverty*.[118]

Perhaps you would be so kind as to arrange for the proof-sheets[b] to

[a] 4 August - [b] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.*

be sent me here until further notice. Eisengarten will arrange for the *Sozialdemokrat* to be forwarded from London.

The weather here is fine and hot and I still have to notify umpteen people of my new address. So no further news (in any case damned scarce) save that Hyndman has now succeeded in buying *To-Day* as well. Bax, who invested in it what little money he had — I warned him as early as October that it wouldn't be enough — was *au bout de ses finances*,[a] at which juncture Hyndman interposed his attendant page, Champion, through whom he offered additional funds if he, Champion, became editor in place of Bax. Thus seized by the throat, Bax accordingly resigned, the result being that Hyndman now controls the whole of the so-called socialist press. But as in the case of all such little fellows whose ambition is disproportionate to their character and talents the moment of victory was also the moment of defeat. Outward success is matched by failure within his own faction. To an increasing extent Hyndman's following is coming to consist only of those he has bought outright, and/or people who are financially dependent on him. He is daily losing ground in the DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION. The day before yesterday there was a conference of delegates[278]; what transpired there I cannot say since Aveling, though he attended it, is at present in Derbyshire. For he and Tussy have got married without benefit of registrar, etc., and are now revelling in each other's company amidst the Derbyshire hills. Nota bene: No publicity should be given to this; it will be time enough when, perhaps, some reactionary puts something into the papers about it. The fact is that Aveling has a lawful wife whom he cannot get rid of *de jure* although he has for years been rid of her *de facto*. The matter is fairly common knowledge over here, and has, on the whole, been taken well, even by literary philistines. My London is almost a Paris in miniature and it educates its people.

But enough for now. Regards to Karl Kautsky.

Your

F. E.

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[a] at the end of his finances

# 105

# ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

## IN PARIS

Worthing, 6 August 1884
48 Marine Parade

My dear Laura,

Here we are and here is our address in as primitive a place as the British sea-side will admit of[277] — the first lodgings we took we had to leave because the old Madam objected to smoking!!

No Lager Beer as yet, but Percy is hunting some up at Brighton — as soon as that is to hand I will try whether I can digest Leroy-Beaulieu[273]; it is blazing hot but fine continental heat and sea-breeze, the Channel is right before our noses but at ebbtide about $^1/_4$ mile away. Pumps and Nim just come in for beer, they say it is so hot they cannot stand it outside any longer and the house is indeed cooler.

Why, after all *ces pauvres parisiens*[a] will be done out of their share of cholera! What a shame after all their preparations.

Nim just says she hopes she has come into a fortune on July 31st in that grand drawing in Paris. If so, you are to telegraph at once to the Baroness de Demuth at the above address, as she wants to come out with a grand treat.

I am lazy and have so many letters to write! So I hope I shall have good news from Paul, that is to say that the great Leroy-Beaulieu is not in such a hurry to pocket his thrashing.[b]

Anyhow, I must take *beneficium caloris*[c] and conclude.

The whole lot send any amount of loves, ditto

Yours affectionately,
F. E.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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[a] those poor Parisians - [b] See this volume, pp. 174-75 and 179-83. - [c] beneficial heat

## 106

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [196]

### IN PARIS

[Worthing, about 11 August 1884] [279]

p. 1. Beaulieu always writes Schoeffle: the gentleman's name is *Schäffle*.

p. 3, *nascent* capitalist system—? about 1780-1800? The *birth* of that system dates back to the 15th century, whereas nascent big industry merely led to its apogee.

pp.1 and 4. Maine does not in any way deserve to be cited in the same breath as Maurer; he discovered nothing and is merely a disciple of the disciples of Maurer; long before his day, the communal ownership of land in India had been known about and described by Campbell, etc.; that in Java by Money, that in Russia by Haxthausen.[a] His only merit is to have been the first Englishman to have accepted and vulgarised Maurer's discoveries.

p. 5, must be entirely recast. The examples you give do not apply to the point under discussion. The peasant's plot which turns into capital would be *land as capital*, a very complex matter not discussed by Marx until the *3rd book*.[b] Your slave-owner producing for the New Orleans market is no more a capitalist than the Romanian boyar who exploits forced peasant labour. No one can be a capitalist unless he owns the means of labour and *exploits* the free working man!

Rather you should say: the loom of the small peasant of prerevolutionary times, which was used to weave clothing for his family, was not capital, nor yet is it capital when the peasant sells to the merchant the cloth he has been able to make during the long winter evenings; but if he employs a paid hand to weave those commodities for the merchant, and if he pockets the difference between the cost of production and the price of the sale of the cloth, then the loom is transformed into capital.—The object of production—to produce commodities—*does not impart* to the instrument the character of capi-

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[a] G. Campbell, *Modern India: a Sketch of the System of Civil Government*; J. W. B. Money, *Java; or, How to Manage a Colony*; A. Freiherr von Haxthausen, *Die ländliche Verfassung Rußlands*.- [b] of *Capital*

tal. The production of commodities is one of the preconditions for the existence of capital; but so long as the producer sells only *what he himself produces*, he is not a capitalist; he becomes so only from the moment he makes use of his instrument *to exploit the wage labour of others*. This also applies to p. 6. How can you possibly have failed to draw that distinction?

In place of your impossible slave-owner (don't be so *Réache*!), you might say: a feudal lord whose fields are cultivated by tenants subject to labour-rent, and who, moreover, collects tribute from them in the form of eggs, poultry, fruit, cattle, etc., is not a capitalist. He lives on the surplus labour of others, but he does not transform the product of that surplus labour into surplus value; he does not sell, but consumes, spends and dissipates it. But if the said lord, as he so frequently did in the 18th century, rids himself of some of those tenants, if he combines their plots into one big farm and rents it out to one big industrial farmer of the kind so beloved of the Physiocrats; if, in the cultivation of his farm, the said big farmer employs as wage labour those formerly subject to labour-rent, then agriculture is transformed from feudal into capitalist agriculture, and the farmer becomes a capitalist.

p. 6. The *direct* form taken by the circulation of commodities is, of course, its *primitive* form [280]; this clearly has to exist before the 2nd form can come into being. Compared with simple *barter* it is *not* primitive; but the circulation of commodities presupposes the existence of money; barter creates only fortuitous exchanges, not the circulation of commodities.

p. 7. Capitalist production is not some form or other, whether direct or indirect, of the circulation of commodities. Production and circulation are two different things. All capitalist production presupposes the circulation of commodities, this being the element in which it moves, but it is not itself circulation, any more than digestion is the circulation of the blood. You can delete the whole of that sentence, which contributes nothing whatever to the sense.

p. 11. The passage you underline, I find incomprehensible as well as wrong on all counts. Your average capitalist *does sell* and *can sell* for more than 10 frs what is produced at a cost of 10 frs.— Where you go wrong is over 'the *costs of production*'. But the costs of production, in the sense used by economists,[a] include profit; they consist 1) of the amount the product has cost the capitalist and 2) of the

[a] Engels is actually referring to the price of production.

profit; in other words: 1) of the amount which replaces the constant capital spent, 2) of the amount which replaces the wages paid, 3) of the surplus value, either as a whole or in part, created by the surplus labour of the wage earners. You should therefore take Beaulieu's sentence, his definition of value (p. 9, bottom), and compare the two expressions of value one with the other: either the cost price includes the profit, in which case the commodities are paid for 'in accordance with the social labour they contain'. In which case the price (or value) includes a *surplus value* created by living labour, over and above the wages paid, and appropriated by the capital. Or else the cost price does not cover the profit; in which case the value is determined, not by the social labour comprised in the object, but by the wages, whether high or low, paid for that labour—an outworn concept refuted at some length by Ricardo.

pp. 12 and 13. The *whole* value of the machine and of the cotton, *and even that of the waste*, is transmitted to the product; and therein lies the true nub of your argument. If the 115 lbs of cotton yield only 100 lbs of yarn, the price[a] of the 115 lbs of raw cotton is added to the value of those 100 lbs of yarn. Perhaps it is this, the value of the 15 lbs which have disappeared *qua* material but have reappeared *qua* value, that Mr Beaulieu calls *surplus value*?

p. 13. If the capitalist were to *lend* his machinery, etc., to the workman, the product would belong to the latter—which is never the case.

pp. 13 and 14, 'engenders a gain called profit': cf. para. 1, p. 270, where Mr Beaulieu demonstrates that it is not the capitalist but rather the consumer who is the beneficiary of technical progress. He criticises Marx for forgetting competition; yet all through the chapter on manufacture and big industry, Marx demonstrates that machinery merely helps to lower the price of the products, and that it is competition which accentuates that effect[b]; in other words, the gain consists in manufacturing a greater number of products in the same length of time, so that the amount of work involved in each is correspondingly less and the value of each proportionately lower. Mr Beaulieu forgets to tell us in what respect the wage earner benefits from seeing his productivity increase when the product of that increased

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[a] In this context Marx uses 'value', not 'price' (*Capital*, Vol. I, Part III, Ch. VIII, present edition, Vol. 35).-[b] See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part IV, Ch. XV (present edition, Vol. 35).

productivity does not belong to him, and when his wage is not determined by the productivity of the instrument.

pp. 14 and 15. The justification of profit here proffered by Beaulieu contains what is the quintessence of vulgar economics, namely its justification of the exploitation of the working man by the capitalist. The *creator of capital* demands his 'due' return for that creation (that is to say, the 'wages of abstinence' — see Marx [a]), and that return has to be paid by the exploited working man in the form of unpaid labour. This you commend on the grounds that 'profit is the legitimate offspring of living labour'! 'The *managerial salary*' is represented and assessed in terms of the salary paid to a salaried manager, a salary with which no capitalist would rest content. Cf. *Capital*, 3rd German edition, pp. 171 and 172 (the French edition is not to hand), where you will find all these statements refuted in a few words.[b] The insurance premium against '*risk*' is indeed taken out of surplus value, but it is reckoned *over and above* the profit; every year the capitalist sets aside a sum amounting to ... as a reserve for what he calls the '*ducroire*' [c] (from the Italian *del credere*, that is, to cover himself against bad faith or bad debts). Finally, *rewards for greater efficiency*, for inventions not yet generally exploited, occur only in exceptional cases and may then yield an *extra* profit; but here we are concerned with ordinary, average profit such as is common to all industrialists. Come to that, you will find this type of profit discussed in *Capital*, 3rd German edition, pp. 314-17.[d]

By taking these statements of Beaulieu's in earnest, by declaring that profit thereby becomes 'the legitimate offspring of living labour' (*not of the working man*, but *of the labour of the capitalist*!), you endorse, on Marx's behalf and in Marx's name, those doctrines of vulgar economics which he combatted always and everywhere. You must, therefore, completely change your mode of expression so as to exclude even the semblance of such a meaning. Otherwise it will be you who falls into the trap.

Your assertion on p. 16 that 'when the products ... capitalist profit is nil or all but nil', runs completely contrary to the facts. For in that case, where is the exploitation of the workers? What are you complaining about? And what do the capitalists live and grow fat on, or dissipate? Where the deuce did you light on such an idea, never expounded even by vulgar economists and which, furthermore, is not

[a] Ibid., Part VII, Ch. XXIV, Sect. 3. - [b] Ibid., Part III, Ch. VII, Sect. 2. - [c] guarantee - [d] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part IV, Chs. XII-XIV (present edition, Vol. 35).

even to be found in Beaulieu? And you call it a general law! What is true is that, with machines making 100 metres of cloth with the same expenditure of labour as manual labour on its own would require for 1 metre, the capitalist can spread his profit over 100 metres instead of concentrating it on only one; the result being that, while every metre carries only $^1/_{100}$ of the profit, the profit on the sum total of labour expended may stay the same, if not actually increase.

p. 16. Marx would protest against 'the political and social ideal' attributed to him by you. When one is an economist, 'a man of science', one does not have an ideal, one elaborates scientific results, and when one is, to boot, a party man, one struggles to put them into practice. But when one has an ideal, one cannot be a man of science, having, as one then does, preconceived ideas.

In short, the article will have an effect if you eliminate the chief errors I have indicated. But for the purpose of your riposte,[281] which must be of a far more serious nature, I am firmly of the opinion that you must seriously re-read *Capital*, from cover to cover, with Beaulieu's book beside you; and that you should mark all the passages relating to vulgar economics. I say *Capital* rather than Deville's book[a] which would be wholly inadequate because of grave defects in the descriptive section.

Again, you must not forget that these gentry, Beaulieu and others, are far better versed than you are in the ordinary literature of economics, and that this is a field in which you will not be able to combat them on equal terms; it is their business to know such things, not yours. So do not venture too far into that field.

I have spoken frankly and hope you will not take it amiss. It is too serious a matter and, if you were to put a foot wrong, the whole party would suffer as a result.

We are dying of heat here, but are pretty well, nonetheless. Everyone sends a thousand greetings to Laura and yourself. Unfortunately our stock of Pilsener is nearly exhausted and takes two days to be replenished from Brighton! We are right out in the wilds here.

Yours ever,

F. E.

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[a] G. Deville, *Le Capital de Karl Marx* (see also Note 81).

## 107

## ENGELS TO GEORG HEINRICH VON VOLLMAR

IN MUNICH

Worthing, England, 13 August 1884
48 Marine Parade

Dear Comrade,

It was not till yesterday that your esteemed letter was sent on to me from London, hence my delay in replying.

The question you put to me [282] is difficult, or rather only to be answered in the negative. No science is so botched today as economics, and this at every university in the world. Not only is there no one anywhere who expounds the old classical economics along the lines of Ricardo and his school; it would actually be difficult to find any one who expounded common-or-garden free trade, i. e. so-called Manchesterism *à la* Bastiat,[283] in unadulterated form. In England and America, as in France and Germany, the pressure of the proletarian movement caused bourgeois economists, almost without exception, to acquire an armchair-socialist cum philanthropic complexion,[54] while an uncritical, benevolent eclecticism is everywhere in evidence — a soft, elastic, gelatinous substance that can be compressed into any desired shape and, for that very reason, exudes an excellent nutrient fluid for the culture of careerists just as does real gelatine for the culture of bacteria. The effect of this insubstantial, enervating, intellectual pap has made itself felt in Germany, at any rate, as also here and there among German Americans, even within the very confines of our party, while on the periphery it luxuriates unchecked.

Such being the case, I would find it difficult to discover any appreciable difference between the various universities. Independent and thoroughgoing study of classical economics, from the Physiocrats and Smith to Ricardo and his school, as also of the Utopians Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen and, finally, of Marx, combined with the constant use of one's own judgment, would probably yield the best results. I am assuming that your friend would study the actual sources and not let herself be led astray by text-books and other secondary sources. In *Capital* Marx has indicated the most important sources of information on actual economic conditions. How the official statistics of

the various countries should be evaluated, and to what extent they are or are not useful, can best be learnt from an actual study and comparison of them. And in just the same way, one's individual studies, the more advanced they become, provide the best guidance as to the ways and means of learning more, always supposing one has started off with genuinely classical texts and not with the most worthless of all — German economic text-books and/or the lectures of their authors.

That is about all I can say on the subject. And I shall be delighted if Miss Kjellberg finds anything here that can be of use to her.

I look forward, by the way, to the general elections [194] and remain

Very sincerely yours,

F. Engels

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## 108

## ENGELS TO MARYA JANKOWSKA (S. LEONOWICZ) [284]

### IN GENEVA

[Draft]

[Worthing, mid-August 1884]

Yes. The only condition I must impose on you — and this categorically — is that you should publish *nothing* in Polish before the German edition has been completed. The work would be instantly banned in Germany and the least indiscretion or premature allusion could only result in alerting the German police and in hampering the circulation of the original, if not in causing a large part of the edition to be confiscated. Perhaps you would be so kind, then, as to acknowledge receipt

of this letter and to give me your assurance that you will abide by a condition which, unfortunately, cannot be dispensed with.

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## 109

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [1]

### IN ZURICH

(please *omit Brighton* from
the address, makes the post
office here do silly things)

*Worthing, England*, 22 August 1884
48 Marine Parade

Dear Kautsky,

Have just received your letters which were somewhat delayed, as you did not put the number of the house; also the mental faculties of our postal drudges over here are of the very lowest order.

*Poverty*.[118] The manuscript I have here has now been revised. Apart from slight misinterpretations of those niceties of French that can only be properly learnt in France itself, there was not much to alter. For *rapports*[a] I usually put *Verhältnis* rather than '*Beziehungen*' because the latter is too indefinite and also because Marx always rendered the German *Verhältnis* as *rapport* and vice versa. Moreover in *rapport de proportionnalité*, for instance, *rapport*, being *quantitative*, can only be rendered as *Verhältnis*, since *Beziehung* has primarily a qualitative meaning. I must make a few more notes on this subject. I await your next manuscript. The passages relating to Hegel and things Hegelian can only be gone through in London, as I shall need my Hegel for the purpose. I shall do all I can to finish it as quickly as possible. But *Capital*, Book II, ought also to be finished at the same

[a] relations

time and there is a hell of a lot still to be done to it; and in *this* particular clash of interests the latter must, after all, take precedence! However I shall do my utmost. But when must you have the preface? I shall reply twice to Rodbertus, once in the preface to *Capital*, Book II,[a] and again in that to the *Poverty*.[b] There is no other way, since both works will be appearing more or less simultaneously and Rodbertus' accusation was couched in such formal terms.[187] In *Capital* I must assume an air of dignity, whereas in the preface to the *Poverty* I shall be more at liberty to speak my mind.

If you leave Zurich, you would certainly do better to come here rather than go anywhere else, with the possible exception of Paris. Obviously the material aspect enters into it since you, having been duly installed as a married man, can no longer afford to take the risks a bachelor would. Besides, Paris is said to be just as expensive a place to live in as here. And for study the British Museum is, after all, incomparably better; the Paris library cannot hold a candle to it so far as people like us are concerned, partly because of the difficulty of using the place, shortage of catalogues, etc., etc. I trust the matter can be arranged.

As to what you want to do in regard to my pamphlet, you are bound to be a better judge than I; so do what you think appropriate.[285] However I'm prepared to bet that the thing will be banned.

Like Ede, I believe that in regard to Bebel you have allowed yourself to be much too much influenced by first impressions. True, his last letter also evinced a certain lassitude and a desire to rest. If there is no other way he ought to be allowed to do so for a time; but would he be able to, even if he were temporarily to absent himself from the Reichstag? This much is certain: he is irreplaceable in Germany and must be kept going, must, if necessary, spare himself, so as to be fit for action at the crucial moment.

It also seems to me that you are too censorious about the people in Germany—i. e. the masses. Since time immemorial, progress has been damned slow in the case of the new blood; most of them were *à la* Geiser and Viereck. That the Anti-Socialist Law[37] does more harm than good in this case in certainly not in doubt. However so long as so much forbidden literature gets into the country, the ground will be prepared nevertheless and, when the air has cleared again, it should be possible to speed things up in this respect also, and to do so

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 36.- [b] F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'.

more quickly than would have been the case had there been no interruption.

But now I must write to Ede. It is one o'clock and the post goes at two!

Your
F. E.

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## 110

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [1]

### IN ZURICH

[Worthing, 22 August 1884]

[...][a] index for *Capital* would be highly desirable.[286] But why not all at one go when the whole thing is done? That will be next year for sure, provided I don't collapse, of which there is no prospect at present. For your own information, *The History of Theory* has also been largely completed. The ms. of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* of 1860-62 contains, as I think I showed you when you were here, approx. 500 quarto pages on *Theories of Surplus Value*, a great deal of which must, it is true, be deleted because it has since been rewritten, but there will still be enough of it.[171]

In his *Schulze-Bastiat*, Lassalle cited Rodbertus in a connection that might in anyone else's case have earned him intense hostility, i. e. as the authority for and/or discoverer of a trifle. The *Briefe*[b] may, it is true, have contributed to the Rodbertus cult. But what has done so more than anything else is, firstly, the desire among non-communists to set alongside Marx a rival who is himself a non-communist and, secondly, those people's unscientific confusion. To all those who loiter on the state socialist fringes of our party, make sympathetic speeches

[a] The first part of the letter is missing.- [b] The reference is probably to Rodbertus' *Briefe und Socialpolitische Aufsaetze*.

but nevertheless want to avoid the hostility of the police, His Excellency Rodbertus is a godsend.

The move of the *Neue Zeit* to Hamburg may after all be only the prelude to its end.[265] Of course I know nothing about those presently in charge of the Hamburg office.

Last Tuesday[a] we had a revolution here in Worthing. A shop belonging to a Salvation Army fanatic was attacked and broken up; the man fired his revolver, wounding three people. Next day windows were smashed in the lock-up; that same evening 40 dragoons and 50 police moved in (the little place has about 10,000 inhabitants) to clear the streets, whereupon the good citizens, knowing themselves to be innocuous, refused to budge and in several instances received a merciless beating; now all is calm. Really, the tomfoolery one witnesses. *Both sides*, SALVATIONISTS and ANTI-SALVATIONISTS, *are secretly in the pay of the bourgeoisie.*

Your
F. E.

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## 111

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[287]

### IN ZURICH

[Worthing, 30 August 1884]

Letters received. Have ordered G. Adler's little pamphlet: will doubtless be able to get hold of it in London.[288] Thank you for the particulars. The man shall be dealt with. Am busy with the *Poverty*[118] and hope to finish it while still here. A good deal of the philosophical part needs to be translated into the appropriate Hegelian jargon.

There is no hurry about Bachofen's *Antiquarische Briefe*. Meleager

[a] 19 August

has already figured in his *Mutterrecht*; this aspect is of importance to me in the present instance only in conjunction with the view I have put forward.[a]

Over here 4 musicians, with the help of misleading music, are making propaganda for Bismarck by informing the English in a brand of Rhenish-Franconian totally incomprehensible, even to me, that they pledge their souls and bodies to live for thee alone, etc., and that Strasbourg is a city wondrous fair.[b] Regards to Ede.

Your
F. E.

*Send things to London from now on. We go back on Tuesday.*[277]

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## 112

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 13-15 September 1884

Dear Ede,

I have been back here a fortnight (all but).[277] During my absence Eisengarten was supposed to be making a fair copy of that part of the ms. of Part II[c] that was ready. The great heat, however, led him, now to dawdle, now to write so beautifully, if so slowly and so little, that I dare not send what has been done to Meissner because I would not be able to follow it up quickly enough. So that puts paid for the present to early publication; what Meissner will do now, I don't know. In some respects I'm not sorry, for in this way I can be

[a] See present edition, Vol. 26, p. 238.- [b] An allusion to two traditional German airs. - [c] the second volume of *Capital*

all the more certain that nothing will have to be done in too much of a hurry.

What you say about the translation of my pamphlet[a] is all very well. But *how* does Lafargue translate? He consults neither his wife nor the dictionary; he does everything on his own, decrees that such and such a German word is so and so in French, and then, proud of his masterpiece, sends me the ms. I could do it just as well myself. He, of course, wants to set to at once — however, *nous verrons ce que nous verrons*.[b] As for an English version, Aveling has enough on his hands for the time being,[c] and also proposes to translate my *Entwicklung*.[d] But what publisher will pay for it? And in his position he can't do more unpaid work than he already does. Nor is there any particular hurry about this. Our prime concern must be to put *Capital* into English, and that will give us work and to spare.

I was greatly tickled by the way you took Bahr and Fabian, not to mention friend Gumbel, to task over the stock exchange taxes [289] (I always know my Gumbel, whether he's vindicating his respectable toping companions, the Heilbronn philistines, or whatever). In Bahr and Fabian you have two fine examples of German 'erudition', something I am always glad to see harshly taken to task. One aims at Bahr the blow intended for Geiser. What particularly pleased me, however, was the way you struck home, putting emphasis on essential points, and also your verve.

Now I must break off; I can only spend a short time sitting at my desk. I took some cold sea-baths that did me more harm than good. Till tomorrow then.

14 September. I returned the ms. of *Poverty* [118] to you last week, 4 September, by registered post, together with my comments. I presume you received it. When you [and Kautsky] compare my amendments with the original you will find that certain turns of speech had not, in fact, been correctly understood (in some cases I have made comments), but that is inevitable unless one has spent a good deal of time in the country concerned.

I have at last been able to get hold of a copy of my enlarged photograph for the artist[e] — I forget his name and have mislaid his letter —

[a] Clearly *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.- [b] we shall see what we shall see - [c] Aveling was translating into English the first volume of *Capital* (see also Note 56).- [d] *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* - [e] Karl Manz-Schäppi

who wishes to make a colour-print of Marx.[a] I shall send it to you tomorrow or the day after.

Since the present elections will have a major impact[194] we must all make an effort and so I am sending you herewith a money order for *£25* for the election fund.

Sorge has sent me Gronlund's *The Cooperative Commonwealth*; his exposé of theory rather flat after Marx's, but comprehensible to philistines; the main object is, apparently, to present his model of the future as true GERMAN SOCIALISM, but I found it too boring to read. Marx is not quoted, the only reference to him being SUCH *NOBLE JEWS AS MARX AND LASSALLE*! Crikey!

Under Hyndman's direction *To-Day* gets worse and worse. To make it more interesting they accept anything and everything. The editor has written to me saying that the October issue will contain a critique of *Capital*!!,[b] and invites me to reply—which I refused with thanks.[290] Thus a socialist organ has turned into an organ in which the pros and cons of socialism are discussed by every Tom, Dick and Harry.

I am sending you a *Kölnische* from which you may see what methods are used in Africa even by Stanley-Leopold of Belgium's humane, civilising Association Internationale.[291] Then what may we not expect of the Portuguese and French,—not to speak of our flog 'em-and-shoot 'em Prussians—when they get going? Come to that, Bismarck has pulled off a thundering good electoral coup with that colonial racket of his.[292] Not a philistine will be spared, they'll fall for it *en masse*. No doubt he will again succeed in obtaining a double majority of his own choosing—Conservatives[230] + National liberals[243], or should the latter again prove peevish, Conservatives + the Centre.[229] It's all one to us.

If I have the time, I shall enclose a line or two for Karl Kautsky.

Your
F. E.

15 September. No time, K. K. will have to wait a bit.

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[a] See this volume, p. 170.- [b] Ph. H. Wicksteed, '*Das Kapital*. A Criticism', *To-Day*, No. 10, October 1884.

# 113

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [1]

IN ZURICH

London, 20 September 1884

Dear Kautsky,

I return the mss.[293] herewith by registered post.

Your article on Rodbertus was very good in regard to economics; what I would take issue with here again are your apodictic assertions in fields where, as you yourself know, you are not on firm ground, and in which you also lay yourself open to attack by Schramm who has been astute enough to seize on that opportunity.

This applies particularly to 'abstraction' which you undoubtedly come down on far too heavily in a general way. The distinction here is as follows:

Marx reduces the common content shared by things and circumstances to the most general conceptual expression, hence his abstraction merely reproduces in conceptual form the content already inherent in things.

Rodbertus, on the other hand, concocts what is a more or less imperfect conceptual expression and measures things against that concept to which they must conform. He is looking for the true, *eternal* content of things and of social conditions of which, however, the content is essentially transient. Hence *true* capital. This is not capital *as it is today*, which is only an imperfect realisation of the concept. Instead of deducing the concept of capital from capital as it is today — the only sort, after all, that really does exist — he seeks to arrive at true capital from present-day capital by the device of taking an isolated individual, and asking what might figure as capital in that individual's production. Namely, the simple means of production. In this way *true* capital is simply lumped together with the means of production which, depending on circumstances, is or is not capital. In this way all the *bad* properties of capital, namely all the *real* properties, are eliminated therefrom. He can now demand that real capital

should conform to this concept, i. e. merely continue to function as a simple, social means of production, discard everything that makes it capital, and yet remain capital, indeed become true capital precisely as a result of this.

You do the same kind of thing in the case of *value*. Present value is that of the production of commodities, but with the suppression of the production of commodities, value 'changes' or rather, *value as such* remains and merely changes its form. But in fact economic value is a category that appertains to the production of commodities, *disappearing* with it (cf. *Dühring*, pp. 252-62[a]), just as it did not exist before it. The relation of labour to product prior to and after production of commodities no longer expresses itself in the form of *value*.

Fortunately Schramm is also a bit shaky in the matter of philosophy, and lays himself open to attack, as you have perfectly well apprehended and demonstrated.

Further:

1) Schramm recognises material interests that do not derive — either directly or indirectly — from the mode of production. On this, cf. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique*, preface,[b] where the matter is presented concisely and cogently in 20 lines.

2) Long before Rodbertus, the English and French Utopians had criticised existing society just as well as, if not better than, he, as had the post-Ricardian school of socialist economists on the basis of Ricardo's theory of value; Marx cites some of these in the *Poverty*, pp. 49 and 50.[c]

3) The Robinson mentioned by Marx[d] is Daniel Defoe's *genuine*, original Robinson Crusoe, whence the attendant circumstances — the objects salvaged from the shipwreck, etc. — are also taken. Later on he, too, has his Freitag (Friday); he was also a shipwrecked merchant who, unless I am mistaken, likewise engaged from time to time in the slave trade. A proper 'bourgeois', therefore.

4) To talk of the Marxian *school of history* was certainly most premature. I should curtail that part of your reply and refer primarily *to Marx himself*, — the above-mentioned passage from *A Contribution to the Critique*, and also *Capital* itself, in particular primitive accumula-

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[a] F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 286-98.- [b] Ibid., Vol. 29, pp. 263-64.- [c] Ibid., Vol. 6, p. 138.- [d] See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part I, Ch. 1, Sect. 4 (present edition, Vol. 35).

tion,[a] in which Schramm can find out for himself about the chicken and the egg.

In other respects it's really fortunate that all the bourgeois elements should now be rallying to Rodbertus. We could ask for nothing better.

You will have got your *Poverty* ms.[118] As will Ede my letter of last Sunday containing the contribution to the election fund.[b]

Tussy asks that in future the *Sozialdemokrat*, etc., be sent to her at the following address:

Mrs Aveling
55 Great Russell Street, London, W. C.

Your

F. E.

I return Bebel's letter herewith.

So we can expect you here in January or February.

*To-Day* has simply become a 'symposium', i. e. a review in which anybody can write for or against socialism. In the next number there's to be a critique of *Capital*![c] The idea was that I should answer this anonymous piece but I politely refused.[290] Dr Drysdale has also written for the paper, invoking you.[294] There's a reply from Burrows asking about you. I attended to this, but somewhat cautiously, not knowing whether Drysdale mightn't have your book.

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[a] See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VIII (present edition, Vol. 35).- [b] See previous letter.- [c] Ph. H. Wicksteed, '*Das Kapital*. A Criticism', *To-Day*, No. 10, October 1884.

## 114

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER [295]

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

[London, 1 October 1884]

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Proofs[a] received with thanks and returned. I now only âwait clean proofs 8-9. Should they contain no mistakes to speak of, a list of printing errors will not be necessary.

Rodbertus' *Erkenntniss etc.*[b] is advertised by Fock of Leipzig *à* 4.20 marks. I should be glad to buy a copy at this price, if not less.

There does exist a *French* speech by Marx on the subject of free trade[c] but none, so far as I am aware, on protective tariffs. It would hardly be suitable for translation as a book on its own, but if Ede wishes to use it as an appendix to the German *Poverty*,[118] it wouldn't be a bad idea and I could send my copy.

Yours sincerely,
F. E.

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## 115

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER [296]

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

[London,] 3 October 1884

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Everything gratefully received.[a] Just the following misprints:

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[a] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.- [b] J.K. Rodbertus-Jagetzow, *Zur Erkenntniss unsrer staatswirthschaftlichen Zustände*, Berlin, 1885.- [c] K. Marx, 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade'.

p. 134, line 8 from top *Gesellschaft*[a] for *Lesellschaft*
line 9 " " *Lebensbedingungen*[b] for *Gebensbedingungen*
p. 144, line 2 " " *platte*[c] for *glatte*.
You will have had my postcard.[d]
In haste,

Yours ever,
F. E.

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## 116

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL [263]

### IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 11 October 1884

Dear Bebel,

I really must apologise for not having got round to answering your two letters of 8 June and the 3rd inst. until today. But since the beginning of June I have been able to sit at my desk and write only at the cost of some pain and in defiance of doctor's orders. For almost 18 months now, my movements have been hampered by a peculiar ailment which somewhat mystifies the doctors; I have had to abandon completely my old way of life, which entailed much movement, and have, in particular, been prevented from writing. Only for the past 10 days or so have I been enabled by mechanical appliances to move about with a certain amount of freedom and I believe that, once these appliances have been properly adjusted, I shall be more or less my old self again; apart from the discomfort I have suffered, the thing is of no great significance and will, I hope, gradually disappear altogether.

However, if I could not write, I could at least dictate — I dictated the whole of the 2nd book of *Capital* from the ms., and practically got

[a] society - [b] conditions of existence - [c] outright - [d] See previous letter.

it ready for the press, as well as revised the first $^3/_8$ of the English translation[a] and have, besides, perused all kinds of other things, so that I have got through quite a fair amount of work.

At the same time as this, you will be getting a copy of my newly published work[b]; I shall make sure it goes off.

All day my head has been full of electoral agitation.[194] Our great triennial trial is an event of European significance by comparison with which the anxious journeyings of no matter how many emperors[297] are as nothing. I well remember how thunderstruck Europe was in 1875 by our people's electoral victories[298] and how Bakuninist anarchism was banished from the scene in Italy, France, Switzerland and Spain. And just now another such result is urgently required. In Europe, at any rate, those caricatures of anarchists *à la* Most, who have already sunk from the level of a Rinaldo Rinaldini to and below that of a Schinderhannes[c] if not lower, would in their turn — at least so far as Europe was concerned — succumb to a similar knock-out blow, and thus save us a deal of toil and trouble. In America, where sects continue to proliferate, these could then simply be allowed to die off gradually; after all, did not Karl Heinzen manage to remain alive there for 25 years after he was dead and buried in Europe?[d] The French in the provinces, who are forging ahead most manfully, would be considerably encouraged and the Parisian masses be given a further impulse towards emancipating themselves from their position as appendage of the extreme Left. Here in England, where the Reform Bill has given new power to the workers,[299] the impulse would come just in time for the next elections in 1885 and might provide the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION[300] — which merely consists on the one hand of literati, on the other of the remnants of old sects and, thirdly, of a sentimental public — with the opportunity of becoming a *real* party. In America, it only requires an event of this kind to make the English-speaking workers at last realise what power is theirs if they choose to make use of it. And in Italy and Spain it would deal a fresh blow to the doctrinaire anarchist rhetoric which still continues to flourish there. In short, the victories you achieve will take effect, from Siberia to California, and from Sicily to Sweden.

But how will the new 'parliamentary group' turn out? Many of the new prospective candidates are quite unknown to me and what

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[a] of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56) - [b] *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* - [c] Johann Bückler - [d] Cf. this volume, p. 114.

I know of the majority of 'educated' ones is not altogether to their credit. The Anti-Socialist Law[37] makes it all too easy for bourgeois and bourgeois-inspired socialists to satisfy the electorate and to indulge their own urge for self-advancement. Not that it isn't perfectly in order for such men to be put up and elected in comparatively backward constituencies. But they are likewise invading the old constituencies, which deserve better representatives, and in this they are supported by people who ought to know better. I am not at all sure how the new parliamentary group will turn out, and still less what it will do. The division into proletarian and bourgeois camps is becoming ever more pronounced and, once the bourgeois elements have plucked up the courage to outvote the proletarian, a breach might be provoked. This is a possibility which should, I think, be kept in view. If *they* provoke the breach—something that will call for a bit more Dutch courage—it won't be too bad. I am still of the opinion that, so long as the Anti-Socialist Law continues in force, the breach should not be provoked by us; but if it does come, then you should go to with a will, in which case I shall also put my shoulder to the wheel.

I am glad to hear that the colonial racket is not proving attractive.[292] It is the best card Bismarck has played, nicely calculated to appeal to the philistine and replete, not only with illusory hopes but also with horrendously heavy costs, which will be recovered only by degrees. Bismarck and his colonies remind me of the crazy (really idiotic) last Duke of Bernburg[a] who remarked in the early forties: I am going to have a railway, even if it costs me a *thousand talers*. What 1,000 talers are to the cost of a railway, so the colonial budget adumbrated by Bismarck and his fellow-philistines is to the actual costs involved. For in this case I consider Bismarck fool enough to believe that Lüderitz and Woermann would bear the costs.

Apropos Bismarck. At a conference of engineers, a friend of ours met Bismarck's partner in the Varziner Paper Mill (Behrens), and from him learned a good deal about Bismarck's uncouth behaviour. A true Prussian Junker, on rare occasions and by a painful effort capable of good manners at most in the drawing-room, but who otherwise allows his brutality free rein. You know all about that, however. Having asked a factory inspector what his salary was and learned that it was 1,000 talers, he remarked: 'In that case you are dependent on bribes.' But the really interesting thing was Bismarck's telling the afore-mentioned Behrens that the only speaker in the Reichstag

[a] Alexander Karl

worthy of the name, and one to whom everyone always listened, was August Bebel.

The more often you write and tell me about the situation in Germany, and in particular about industrial developments, the better pleased I am. If I do not always reply in detail it is because, in this instance, I am merely your pupil — the more gladly in that the only information I can regard as wholly reliable is that provided by you. On the whole, German industry remains what it has always been: it manufactures those articles which the British consider too insignificant, and the French too common, but does so on a very large scale; German industry still depends for its subsistence on 1) the theft of patterns from abroad and 2) the free gift of ordinary surplus value to the purchasers, whereby it is alone enabled to compete, and the exaction of inordinate surplus value by forcing down wages, which alone enables it to exist. This means, however, that while the struggle between worker and capitalist may stagnate in some places (where abnormal wages have already become the norm), in most it is growing more acute by reason of ever-rising pressure. At all events, 1848 marked the beginning of an industrial revolution in Germany which will yet give the worthy bourgeois pause for thought. Goodbye for now.

Your old friend
F. E.

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## 117

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [287]

### IN ZURICH

[London,] 13 October 1884

In great haste. The sheets have been returned to Dietz after restoration of h, tz and the botched foreign words.[301] Wrote telling

Dietz [39] that both of you[a] had protested and that I had concurred and had made the above-mentioned reinstatements in agreement with you. I would, I said, no more have spelling imposed upon me than I would a woman and hence if the proofs were not corrected in accordance with my demands, I should 1) call for the deletion of all my notes and 2) not provide a preface,[b] as I couldn't possibly have two kinds of spelling for my stuff.

Do you really not wish to put your names on the title page as translators? The title should in any case be so worded that I simply appear as the author of the notes and preface unless you expressly insist on the revision mentioned, though I consider this quite unnecessary.

Another whole day has been wasted thanks to these asininities. Right in the middle of election time,[194] what's more.

Your
F. E.

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## 118

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

### IN GENEVA

London, 15 October 1884

Dear Old Man,

I sent off to you yesterday my little book on the origin of the family, etc.,[c] and have today taken out a money order for five pounds. I trust you will get both very shortly.

I was glad to hear from you that Bebel had visited you during the summer. Your opinion of him is exactly the same as mine. There is no

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[a] Karl Kautsky and Eduard Bernstein - [b] F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'. - [c] *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*

more lucid mind in the whole of the German party, besides which he is utterly dependable and firm of purpose. What is unusual is that his great oratorical talents — all the philistines recognise these and do so readily, while Bismarck told Behrens, a partner in his paper mill, that Bebel was the only orator in the whole of the Reichstag — have not trivialised him in any way.[a] Nothing of the kind has happened since Demosthenes. All other orators have been shallow-pated.

Don't worry about my health; it is a localised and sometimes troublesome complaint but there are no general after-effects whatever and it is not even necessarily incurable; at worst it renders me unfit for active service though I may be able to mount a horse again in a few years' time. Having been incapable of writing for the past 4 months I have dictated instead, and am now pretty well done with the 2nd book of *Capital*; have also gone through the English translation (as far as it has got — about $^3/_8$ths of the whole) of the 1st book.[56] Moreover I have now discovered a device which is helping me to get more or less back on my feet again and I hope to make still further progress before long. Rather, my misfortune is that since we lost Marx I have been supposed to represent him. I have spent a lifetime doing what I was fitted for, namely playing second fiddle, and indeed I believe I acquitted myself reasonably well. And I was happy to have so splendid a first fiddle as Marx. But now that I am suddenly expected to take Marx's place in matters of theory and play first fiddle, there will inevitably be blunders and no one is more aware of that than I. And not until the times get somewhat more turbulent shall we really be aware of what we have lost in Marx. Not one of us possesses the breadth of vision that enabled him, at the very moment when rapid action was called for, invariably to hit upon the right solution and at once get to the heart of the matter. In more peaceful times it could happen that events proved me right and him wrong, but at a revolutionary juncture his judgment was virtually infallible.

Marx's youngest daughter[b] has married a really excellent Irishman, Dr Aveling; they come here every Sunday. The other daughter,[c] whom you know, is also with me just now and sends you her kindest regards. She still talks a lot and fondly about the day she spent with you in Geneva.

I trust your health is still progressing satisfactorily. But if anything should happen to you again, you must let me know at once, on the

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[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 199-200. - [b] Eleanor - [c] Laura Lafargue

last occasion a great deal of time elapsed before I knew the least thing about it and you must not err in that way again.

I shall hunt out your letters, etc.,[126] as soon as I can really get at the papers. Since May I have been physically incapable of doing so and just now there is so much urgent work to be attended to that I can't even consider it. There are over 6 large boxfuls to be sorted out and not even the books are arranged in such a way as to enable me to make full use of them.

Well, take care of your health (there's no need to tell you to keep your chin up) and be assured of the good wishes

Of your old friend
F. Engels

Borkheim sends his regards. He wrote to me a week ago—it's always the same old story with him. No change.

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## 119

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN ZURICH

London, 15 October[a] 1884

Dear Kautsky,

You will have got my postcard.[b] If possible I shall set to work on the preface[c] tomorrow; there are interruptions every day; today, for example, the whole of my time will be spent on correspondence and I'm still not allowed to sit for too long at my desk. Once I settle down to it I shall be done in a day or two.

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[a] August in the original.- [b] See this volume, pp. 200-01.- [c] F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'

So Geiser is the inventor of this marvellous spelling! Another feather in his cap. I must confess that my aversion to this procrustean bed was to some extent responsible for my failing to get a move on with contributions to the *Neue Zeit*. But do tell me whether this splendid system was obligatory in the case of other *books* published by Dietz — in that of Bebel's *Frau*[138] it was not; it is important that I should know this in the event of my replying to Dietz.

Having protested to Dietz[39] about Geiserianism so categorically, I cannot now submit to it in the *Neue Zeit* — nor yet where the printing of the preface is concerned. Elsewhere I have no objections, of course.

For Ede: Wehner writes to say that the person did not *demand* the money on behalf of our people, he having sent it of his own free will; however the said person says that they had *accepted* it. This amounts to the same thing.

I have not read Rodbertus' *Creditnoth*[a] either; however it can only contain what we know already, namely that mortgages are not redeemable, not repayable in capital, but merely intended to establish a claim to 'rent', i. e. regular payments of interest; if these payments are not forthcoming, an order may be made for the sale of the property; the mortgagee has no further claim. This is Rodbertus' 'principle of rent', intended to enable the Junkers to produce, bourgeois-fashion, 5,000 talers per annum and expend, aristo-fashion, 10,000 talers and still not ruin themselves. How it's done remains a mystery. I had to laugh when I saw Schramm trying to find something significant in it.[b]

Marx's photograph went off to Manz today.[c] I understand he wants to know about the colour. You will be able to help him there of course. As swarthy as any southern European might be, not much red about the cheeks (when you saw Marx he was already a very sickly yellow; that wasn't normal), moustache jet black, streaked with white but without a trace of brown; save for grizzled hairs, hair and beard snow white. The picture — a retouched photographic enlargement — is a speaking likeness, and he will get it per the Swiss post office.

Apart from the Polish translation of the *Origin*, Vera Zasulich has applied to do the Russian and Anderfuhren (from Meiringen), a law

[a] [J. K.] Rodbertus-Jagetzow, *Zur Erklärung und Abhülfe der heutigen Creditnoth des Grundbesitzes*.- [b] C. A. S[chramm], 'K. Kautsky und Rodbertus', *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 11, 1884.- [c] See this volume, pp. 191-92.

student in Berne, the Italian.[302] Do you know anything about this man? Dr Cerioli, his teacher, an Italian and socialist, will go over the translation.

I sent copies[a] to you and Ede yesterday. Over 30 have already gone off to all parts of the world. I have sent it to *To-Day* and *Justice* and no doubt you will attend to the other review copies. My sincerest thanks to you and Ede for all the trouble you've taken over the thing.

Your
F. E.

What news of your coming here[b]? I am speaking not of *origo*[c] but of *adventus*.[d]

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## 120

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[287]

### IN ZURICH

[London,] 17 October 1884

Dietz tells me that the spelling has been changed.[301]

'Had Kautsky,' he writes, 'added a brief comment when sending the ms., you and I would have been spared the task of alteration.'

Not a word about the thing being kept quiet until 3 whole sheets had been printed (though this may not have been Dietz's fault).

Is old Bachofen still alive and is he still in Basle? I should like to inscribe a copy to him.

---

[a] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.- [b] The word used is *Herkommen* which can mean either 'coming here' or 'origins'.- [c] origins - [d] arrival

The preface[a] is in course of preparation, i.e. I am first of all ploughing through the whole of *Zur Erkenntniss*[b] again. It will repay the trouble; only by a really close investigation does one properly appreciate the stupendousness of the nonsense preached here, nonsense that literally overwhelms the few flashes of insight which, though admittedly not new, are nevertheless accurate and, for Germany, commendable. *Capital*, Book II, will be *very* illuminating on this point. Regards to Ede.

Your
F. E.

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## 121

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[263]

### IN ZURICH

London, 20 October 1884

Dear Kautsky,

Have sent you by *registered mail* proofs and pp. 49-96 of the *Poverty* ms.[301] I did no more than skim through them, nor was I able to compare them with the ms. Please get this done at once. I am asking Dietz to send the remainder to you and only the proofs of the *preface*[a] to me; I should have begun this today had I not again been robbed of my best working time by the afore-mentioned proof-correcting. But tomorrow I shall get down to it; my preface will, I think, come first, then Marx's article from the old *Social-Demokrat* as locum tenens for *his* preface.[151]

I was on the point of asking you about Nonne, Mme Lafargue being anxious to know something about this neighbour whom they regard-

[a] F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'.- [b] [J. K.] Rodbertus-Jagetzow, *Zur Erkenntniss unsrer staatswirthschaftlichen Zustände.*

ed with suspicion. Then came the 'Execution' in the Paris press.[303] Everyone is astonished that the Prussians should have appointed and paid (?) such a clumsy brute.

Joynes of *To-Day* has just been to see me. They have been wanting for some time to publish an English version of the *Entwicklung*,[a] the rights to translate which I had long since conceded to Aveling.[b] They don't want him, however, he and Hyndman being ± [c] rivals, and tried to insist upon my accepting Shaw, who does not know German and proposes to translate from the French. This I took the liberty of declining and referred him to Aveling whom, in any case, I like better every day. These little literary intrigues make up the greater part of the internal history of the movement in this country. Nor is this their only trouble. A week ago last Tuesday[d] Mme Lafargue attended a meeting of the COUNCIL of the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION [300] during which they were bickering about some trifle or other to such good purpose that the air was buzzing with cries of DAMNED LIAR. Great fun, it seems. The only men in whom I have any confidence are Bax and Aveling, both thoroughly good chaps, intelligent and sincere, but in need of a great deal of help. I don't give much for the others, in so far as I have had the opportunity to judge them.

I have now also got Mr Mommsen just where I want him. In his *Römische Forschungen* he wrote a lot of nonsense about *enuptio gentis*[e]; I went into the matter and have now extracted all the relevant passages.[f] If anyone of the Mommsen school should try to fault me in regard to Roman history (quite possible in regard to *form*, but not substance), I shall be able to oblige.

Hirsch has sent me the *Frankfurter Zeitung* with a feuilleton on Lippert's *Geschichte der Familie*.[g] The book is obviously barefaced plagiarism from Morgan and Bachofen, with a few trimmings from other easily discoverable sources.

Warmest regards to Ede.

Your
F. E.

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[a] F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*.- [b] See this volume, p. 400.- [c] more or less - [d] 14 October - [e] exogamy - [f] See F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 225-28).- [g] H. Kaltenboeck, 'Familie und Ehe', *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*, No. 278, 4 October 1884 (morning edition).

Another thing I haven't yet seen is your feuilleton in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.[a] Have you still got it? I will send it back.

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## 122

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 22 October 1884

Dear Ede,

I am laying aside my preface[b] to inform you:

1. That I am sending you herewith, by registered mail, Marx's 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade'. This irreplaceable copy, acquired with much difficulty at second-hand, must be returned to me after use.

2. That I consider it necessary to print in the form of an appendix at the end of the *Poverty* the passage from *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* concerning *John Gray, the first precursor of Proudhon and Rodbertus*, from p. 61, 'the theory that labour time', etc., up to the end of the section on p. 64.[301] Would you be so kind as to send it to Stuttgart forthwith? I refer to this appendix in the preface. *Between us* we shall have *completely* demolished the whole of this aspect of petty-bourgeois socialism and disposed at the same time of the reply to Rodbertus' Utopia, for I shall use the preface to make good any other deficiencies.

Whether or not you use the '*libre échange*'[c] as an appendix is for you to decide; I can't think where else to put it, and can hardly imagine it would be effective simply as a pamphlet — as to which you are better judges than I.

If Dietz should raise any difficulties regarding the Gray appendix, it might be included after the preface and the article on Proudhon

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[a] K. Kautsky, 'Aus dem Nachlasse von Carl Marx', *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*, No. 263, 19 September 1884 (morning edition).- [b] F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'.- [c] 'free trade'; Engels is referring to Marx's 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade'.

from the *Social-Demokrat* (the old one). But included it must be, as you yourselves will find.

Your
F. E.

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## 123

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 23 October 1884

Dear Ede,

Herewith the preface.[a] If you are going to add the '*libre échange*'[b] to it, include what I have appended on the last page, otherwise alter it.[c]

I have also taken out a money order for £ 1 in your favour, this being Schorlemmer's contribution to the election fund. You are probably already aware that Schorlemmer was charged in Darmstadt. When the arrest was made at Haug's house in Freiburg, they also found a copy of the *Sozialdemokrat* addressed to his brother[d]—ergo domiciliary search, resulting in the discovery of letters from Schorlemmer which contained indifferent jokes about Bismarck — resulting in further inquiries about him at his mother's house and at Höchst where he then happened to be. To spare his mother unpleasantness he took his departure. Caused a great furore in Darmstadt.[304]

At Bebel's suggestion I have sent Schumacher some information about Rittinghausen in 1848.

What has by now, alas, become a very lengthy preface does not see the end of Mr Rodbertus; in the preface to the 2nd book of *Capital*[e] I shall mount another attack on his 'discoveries' about surplus

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[a] F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'.- [b] 'free trade'- [c] See previous letter.- [d] Ludwig Schorlemmer - [e] See present edition, Vol. 36.

value. Odd that Ricardo should be so completely forgotten in Germany! Regards to Karl Kautsky.

Your
F. E.

Should Dietz send the manuscript and proofs of the preface to Zurich, kindly send them on here.

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## 124

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL [305]

### IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 29 October 1884

Dear Bebel,

Your telegram arrived here a minute or two after six and was hailed with cries of delight.[306] I at once sent off postcards to people here and in the provinces to make its contents known and also advised Paris [39] where the first news they hear of anything is invariably garbled and contradictory. Very many thanks for sparing me a thought in the midst of the electoral hurly-burly. I have also informed [39] the Society.[162]

It is more than I expected. I am less concerned just now with the number of seats that will eventually be won; the obligatory fifteen are assured [307] and the main thing is the proof that the movement is marching ahead at a pace that is as rapid as it is sure, that constituency after constituency has been carried away by it and has ceased to be a safe seat for the other parties. But what is also splendid is the way our workers have run the affair, the tenacity, determination and, above all, humour with which they have captured position after position and set at naught all the dodges, threats and bullying on the part of government and bourgeoisie. What Germany could damned well

do with is reinstatement in the world's esteem; Bismarck and Moltke can make her feared; respect, genuine esteem, such as is only accorded to free, self-disciplined men — that respect will only be exacted by our proletarians.

The effect on Europe and America will be enormous. I have hopes that in France it will provide fresh impetus for our party. Over there people are still suffering from the aftermath of the Commune. Great though its influence on Europe may have been, it has also seriously set back the French proletariat. To have been in power for three months — and in Paris at that — and not to have radically altered the world but rather have come to grief through their own incompetence (such being the biassed fashion in which the matter is understood today) — is proof that the party is not viable. That is the specious argument usually advanced by people who fail to realise that, while the Commune was the grave of *early* specifically French socialism, it was, for France, also and at the same time the cradle of a new international communism. And this last will be duly set on its feet by the German victories. Mme Lafargue, who is here and sends you her warm regards, is also of this opinion.

Similarly the news will make a strong impact on the English-speaking proletariat in America.

You will have received my registered letter[39] as also my postcard[111] of the day before yesterday.

My main worry just now is whether you yourself have pulled it off in your doubtful constituencies.[308] In view of the many new elements who are in any case joining the parliamentary group, it is precisely at the beginning that you are so urgently needed, lest you find yourself subsequently presented with *faits accomplis* in which you had no part. I also know you are not in the best of health and you must at all costs conserve yourself for the party and the more critical times that lie ahead of it. But no doubt everything will work out satisfactorily.

I wanted to tell you more about the Rodbertus business, but it's no longer possible this evening. As for Schramm himself, he will already have had an adequate dressing-down from Karl Kautsky.[a] In the preface to the *Poverty*[b] I have already clarified Rodbertus' attitude towards us and this will, I think, suffice until I am able to deal with him more thoroughly in the preface to *Capital*, Book II.[c] Should it prove

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[a] See this volume, pp. 193-95.- [b] F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'.- [c] See present edition, Vol. 36.

necessary to do so in the interim, I can step in again. More about this anon.

Your
F. E.

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## 125

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [263]

### IN ZURICH

London, 8 November 1884

Dear Kautsky,

Between the time your letter arrived and today the elections — i. e. five years — have supervened.[309] So I shall revert to it only briefly.

Herewith Liebknecht's letter — typical. Why you should not be able to edit the *Neue Zeit* just as well from London as from Zurich is inconceivable. Equally so, why your being in London should mean that you'll be lost to the German party. However, this letter provides no proof that Liebknecht — under the influence of different surroundings and a different frame of mind — might not very soon think and write quite differently. The fact that he was only partially successful at Offenbach — we over here don't yet know the results of the second ballot — may have given him reason to pause.[310] The bit about the 'impregnable' position in Stukkert[a] is killing. Like the NCO in the French revolutionary army telling his bare-footed squad about the speech made by the people's representative: *Le représentant a dit: Avec du fer et du pain on va jusqu'en Chine. Il n'a pas parlé de chaussures.*[b] Impregnable — if there were no police!

I am writing to Dietz[39] telling him to send me the proofs of the preface[c] *in galley form* since a number of alterations will be neces-

[a] A reference to the editorial offices of *Die Neue Zeit* in Stuttgart.- [b] The representative said: With iron and bread we can get as far as China. He didn't mention *boots*.- [c] F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'.

sary. With this sort of thing, one cannot be too careful about one's mode of expression if one is not to find oneself pinned down to some ill-chosen or ambiguous word.

The elections will elicit an echo throughout Europe and America. And what a triumphant day it was! The *Kölnische* concedes us $^3/_4$ of a million votes and, in the hope of obtaining their support in the second ballot, is grovelling before the 4,000 who voted for Bebel in Cologne.[311] To me the *Kölnische* is more important than any other paper because the Rhenish bourgeois are still the most advanced bourgeois in Germany and the *Kölnische* is their mirror. And hence this complete volte-face, this sudden respect for a new power, is all the more significant.

But how truly splendid it is! For the first time in history a strong, coherent workers' party exists as a real political power, evolved and come of age amidst the harshest persecution, irresistibly capturing one position after another, free of all philistinism in the most philistine, free of all chauvinism in the most cock-a-hoop country in Europe. A power the existence and rise of which is as incomprehensible and mysterious to governments and the old ruling classes as was the rising tide of Christianity to the authorities of the declining Roman Empire, but which is working its way to the fore as certainly and inexorably as once Christianity—so certainly that the rate at which its velocity will increase, and hence the actual time of its ultimate victory, already permits of mathematical calculation. Helped on its way rather than suppressed by the Anti-Socialist Law,[37] it deigns only to spurn Bismarck's social reform[312] and the last desperate measure to suppress it momentarily—by fomenting a premature coup—would elicit nothing but immortal laughter.

It's strange. The best aid to our progress is precisely the backwardness of Germany's industrial position. In England and France the transition to large-scale industry is pretty well complete. The conditions in which the proletariat now finds itself have already become stable; agricultural districts and industrial districts, large-scale industry and cottage industries have become separated and, as far as is in fact possible in modern industry, firmly established. Even the fluctuations inseparable from the ten-year cycle of crises have become habitual conditions of existence. The political, if not actually socialist, movements that arose during the period of industrial revolution—immature as they were—have failed, leaving behind them discouragement rather than encouragement. Bourgeois capitalist develop-

ment has proved stronger than revolutionary counter-pressure; if there is to be another revolt against capitalist production there must be another, more powerful impulse, such as the ousting of England from the dominant position she has hitherto occupied in the world market, or some special revolutionary opportunity in France.

In Germany, on the other hand, large-scale industry goes back no further than 1848 and is the greatest legacy of that year. The industrial revolution is still going on, and doing so under the most unfavourable conditions. Cottage industries, based on small-, free- or lease-holdings, still continue to struggle against machinery and steam; the foundering smallholder looks to a cottage industry as his last sheet anchor, but no sooner is he industrialised than he is again subjected to pressure from machinery and steam. Subsidiary income from the land, the domestic potato plot, provides the capitalist with the most powerful pretext for depressing wages; he can now present his foreign customers with the entire normal surplus value — the only way he can compete in the world market — the whole of his profits being derived from what he deducts from the normal wages. Alongside this there is the complete subversion of all living conditions in the industrial centres as a result of the enormous strides made by large-scale industry. Thus the whole of Germany, with perhaps the exception of the Junker-dominated North-East, is becoming swept into the social revolution, the smallholder drawn into industry, and patriarchal circles being precipitated into the movement, and thus is far more fundamentally revolutionised than England or France. This social revolution of which the eventual outcome is the expropriation of the smallholder and handicraftsman is, however, taking place at the very time when a German, Marx, was destined to make a theoretical analysis of the results of historical developments, both theoretical and practical, in England and France, to elucidate the whole nature of capitalist production and hence its ultimate historical fate, and thus provide the German proletariat with a programme such as the English and the French, its precursors, have never possessed. A more fundamental revolutionising of society on the one hand, greater lucidity of intellect on the other — that is the secret of the irresistible progress made by the German workers' movement.

I had meant to write to Ede as well, but it has grown too late — moreover Pumps has arrived with her little girl with whom I shall have to play. Aveling and Tussy are arriving at 5 and at 7. Morris

wants to hold a grand consultation with me. So for the time being Ede will have to content himself with my good wishes.

Your
F. E.

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## 126

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

### IN BENEVENTO

London, 8 November 1884
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

On receiving your kind letter of 27th last [313] I sent you a copy of my pamphlet *The Origin etc.*,[a] and I would have sent it sooner had I known for certain that your last address was still valid.

I congratulate you on the splendid progress you have made in your study of the German language. I entrust you with the Italian translation of *The Origin* with pleasure and confidence. I have received in the meantime an earlier and similar offer from another quarter,[b] which I have not yet accepted. In order to reject it definitively, it would be useful for me to know whether you have at your disposal a publisher who will print and publish your translation without delay.[314]

I remain with respect your devoted
F. Engels

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[a] *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.*- [b] See this volume, pp. 204-05

## 127

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 11 November 1884

Dear Ede,

The inquiry in your letter about Marx's article on Proudhon[a] has been dealt with in my preface[b] where I made direct reference to it. You must now let me know how you propose to arrange the whole[301]; I may receive the proofs of the preface any day and shall proceed accordingly in regard to the above article, the excerpt from *A Contribution to the Critique*[c] and possibly the 'Speech'.[d]

You did right to stress in the *Sozialdemokrat*[e] that we are the only serious opponents of the Centre.[229] Only by penetrating the strongholds of the Centre—Munich, Mainz, Cologne, Aachen, Düsseldorf, Essen, etc.—shall we be able to disperse this artificially united omnium-gatherum of opposing views and compel every one of them to show their true colours. And then it will transpire that the *genuinely* Catholic group is simply the Catholic wing of reaction, just as in Belgium and France it constitutes the *whole* of reaction. And no one would suffer more from this dispersal of the Centre than Mr Bismarck, who can darned well do with a hotchpotch of a party like that.

I get little news of how the second ballots are going and then only belatedly.[306] I hope that at this juncture a good many will turn out well, for the more new elements there are in the parliamentary group just now the better. The worst of them (the eddicated) have already been elected; those still to come are most of them working men and they can only improve the company.

Judgment has been passed on the Anti-Socialist Law.[37] State and bourgeoisie have been made to look fearful asses vis-à-vis ourselves. But they are nevertheless going merrily on their way and anyone who thinks that the Law will necessarily receive its quietus as a result of

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[a] K. Marx, 'On Proudhon'.- [b] F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'.- [c] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.- [d] K. Marx, 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade'.- [e] 'Unsere Bilanz', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 45, 6 November 1884 (leader).

this could be badly mistaken. Over here old John Russell carried on as Prime Minister for 20 years after his political demise. To abolish the Law does, after all, require a decision, and they are unlikely to make the necessary effort. At best there would be penal clauses which would cause us heavier casualties than would the Anti-Socialist Law.

We must now put forward positive proposals in regard to legislation.[307] If they are couched emphatically, i. e. without regard for petty-bourgeois prejudices, then they will be very good. But if they are Geisered and Vierecked, then they will be bad. Normal working day (10 hours gradually reducing to perhaps 8), domestic and international factory legislation (in which the domestic could go further than the international), radical revision of the legislation affecting employers' liability, accident, sickness, disabled workmen, etc.— these will provide enough and more to go on with. *Nous verrons.*[a]

The 1884 elections are for us what those of 1866 were for the German philistine. Then, all of a sudden, he became a 'great nation' without having had anything to do with it and, indeed, against his will.[b] Now we have become a 'great party', but by our own hard work and at the cost of heavy sacrifices. *Noblesse oblige.* We cannot bring the mass of the nation over to our side unless that mass undergoes a gradual process of development. Frankfurt, Munich, Königsberg, cannot suddenly become as pronouncedly proletarian as Saxony, Berlin, the industrial Ruhr. Just now the petty-bourgeois elements among the leaders may find here and there among the masses the backing they have hitherto lacked. What has hitherto been a reactionary tendency in the case of individuals may now reproduce itself as a necessary developmental element—localised—in the case of the masses. That would call for a change of tactics if the masses are to be helped on their way without, at the same time, allowing the bad leaders to gain the ascendant. Here again we shall have to wait and see.

Tomorrow I shall attend to the very tricky final editing of Part III of the 2nd book of *Capital.*[c] As soon as I have finished I hope to find time to rewrite the *Peasant War*[213] which this time will appear as a turning-point for the whole of the history of Germany and hence calls for important historical additions both at the beginning and the end. Only the account of the actual war will remain more or less as it stands. I feel that it is more important to print the *Peasant War* first rather than the *Dühring* which I shall alter little, simply adding notes

[a] We shall see.- [b] See this volume, pp. 221-22.- [c] See present edition, Vol. 36.

or appendices. What arrangements do you propose to make about the printing?

Whatever becomes of the Anti-Socialist Law, the paper[a] and the press in Zurich must, in my view, continue to operate. They will never restore freedom to us, even of the pre-1878 variety. Your Geisers and Vierecks will be allowed complete freedom and they in turn will trot out the pretty excuse that they went as far as they could. But in our case, the requisite freedom of the press is only to be had abroad. Come to that, it is even possible that attempts will be made to curtail universal suffrage; cowardliness makes people stupid and the philistine is *capable de tout.*[b] Admittedly we shall receive compliments from left, right and centre and they won't in every case fall on stony ground. For friend Singer might feel inclined to show proof that, despite or because of his paunch, he is no ogre.

Karl Kautsky will have received my letter of yesterday.[c]

Your
F. E.

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## 128

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS[315]

### IN BARMEN

London, 11 November 1884

Dear Hermann,

The sad news of Emil's[d] illness brought to me by your letter of 25 September did not come as a complete surprise. He himself had written to me from time to time about the state of his health and about the necessity he was in of spending the winter in the south; moreover

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[a] *Der Sozialdemokrat* - [b] capable of anything - [c] See this volume, pp. 212-15. - [d] Emil Engels, Frederick Engels' brother

your earlier letters also contained a number of allusions that gave me cause for anxiety. If tubercles have now finally appeared — not exactly common at our age — it is certainly a very bad sign, but I trust he will still be able to remain among us for a time and in a condition that does not make life too much of a burden to him. Nevertheless one pleasure he has still been able to experience, as I saw not long ago in the paper, is the opening of the Aggertal railway [a] to which he devoted so many years of incessant toil. Even though this little branch line may be far from what he had in mind, it is nevertheless better than nothing and will bring quite a different kind of life into the valley and Engelskirchen than has been the case hitherto.

I should have written to you sooner had not Hermann's [b] wedding intervened, at which time I wasn't absolutely sure where you were; since then there have been numerous interruptions and, on top of that, I have been up to my eyes in work. Moreover, for the past 18 months I, in my own person, have been sharply reminded of the frailty of the human body. What was actually wrong I shall probably never discover, but suffice it to say that the thing now seems to be righting itself and developing into some kind of hernial trouble (what is involved is not the prolapse of a piece of gut, but water in the abdomen). Besides, I have found a very efficient bandage-maker who has treated many cases of this kind, which are pretty rare as a rule, and has constructed a highly practical but in no way uncomfortable appliance for it. After lengthy experiments I can now manage it pretty well and am at last able to move about again and, what had hitherto proved a virtual impossibility, work at my desk. If things carry on like this, I shall be content; apart from relaxed muscles and ligaments, which is only natural after one has lain motionless on a sofa for so long, I no longer feel anything and am gradually becoming my old self again.

I trust you are all keeping well otherwise. Rudolf [c] would also seem to be on the mend again. He seems to have inherited father's constitution in many respects, for he too had constant trouble with his stomach until his forties but was then perfectly all right and would doubtless still be alive had not typhoid reft him away.

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[a] See 'Lübeck-Büchenbahn', *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 314, 11 November 1884 (second edition).- [b] Hermann Friedrich Theodor Engels - [c] Rudolf Engels

Please let me know soon how Emil and the rest of you are getting on and what Hedwig[a] is doing. No doubt Hermann will soon be returning from his honeymoon.

Fondest regards to all of you, brothers, sisters, Emma,[b] your children and you yourself.

Your
Friedrich

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## 129

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL [316]

### IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 18 November 1884

Dear Bebel,

I had meant to write to you about the Rodbertus business but, now that my preface to *The Poverty of Philosophy*[c] is to appear in the *Neue Zeit*, you will find the essentials set forth better there than could be done in a letter. The rest will follow later, in the preface to *Capital*, Book II.[d]

There is, however, another point about which I should like to give you my opinion, and which seems to me more urgent.

Such is the respect we have inspired in liberal philistines generally that they all exclaim with one voice: 'All right, only let the Social Democrats place themselves on a *legal* footing and abjure *revolution*—then we shall support the immediate repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law.[37]' Hence there can be no doubt that this insolent proposal will be put to you forthwith in the Reichstag. The reply you make is of importance, not so much to Germany where our stalwart lads have already given it at the polling booths, as to other countries.

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[a] Hedwig Boelling, née Engels - [b] Emma Engels - [c] F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'. - [d] See present edition, Vol. 36.

A *tame* reply would immediately destroy the tremendous impression created by the elections.[306]

As I see it, the case is as follows:

The political situation now obtaining throughout Europe is the result of revolutions. Everywhere the fundamental laws, historical laws, legitimacy, have been infringed a thousand times over, if not actually subverted. It is, however, in the nature of all parties and/or classes that have come to power by revolutionary means to demand that the fundamental laws newly created by the revolution be unconditionally recognised and held sacrosanct. The right to revolution *has* existed — otherwise those who now rule would, after all, not be entitled to do so — but from now on it is to cease to exist.

In Germany the present situation is based on the revolution that began in 1848 and ended in 1866. 1866 saw a complete revolution. Just as Prussia became what it is only by betraying and making war on the German Empire in alliance with other countries (1740, 1756, 1795[317]), so, too, it was only by the forcible subversion of the German Confederation and by civil war that it brought into being the Prusso-German Empire.[318] Its assertion that it was the others who broke the federal treaty in no way alters the fact. The others maintain the contrary. No revolution has ever yet lacked a pretext of legality — vide France in 1830 when King[a] and bourgeoisie each claimed to be in the right. In short, Prussia fomented civil war and, with it, revolution. After its victory, it overthrew *three thrones 'by the grace of God'* and annexed their territories, together with the once free city of Frankfurt.[319] If that was not revolutionary, then I don't know what the word means. Not content with that, it confiscated the private property of the princes it had driven out. That this was not legal, hence revolutionary, it admitted when it induced an assembly — the Reichstag — to approve the deed in retrospect, though the said assembly had no more right than the government to dispose of those funds.[320]

The Prusso-German Empire, as the consummation of the North German Confederation forcibly created by the events of 1867,[b][321] is a wholly revolutionary creation. I am not complaining about that. What I do reproach the chaps for — the ones responsible for it — is for having been no more than pusillanimous revolutionaries, for not hav-

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[a] Louis Philippe - [b] 1866 in the original.

ing gone much further and annexed the whole of Germany to Prussia straight away. But anyone whose instruments are blood and iron, who overthrows monarchies, engulfs entire states and confiscates private property, should not damn other people as revolutionaries. Should the party merely retain the right to be neither more nor less revolutionary than the imperial government has shown itself, it will have obtained all it requires.

Not long since, it was officially stated that the imperial constitution was not a compact between the princes and the people, but only a compact between the princes and the free cities for which a new one could at any time be substituted. Thus, the government organs that expounded this were demanding for the governments the right *to subvert the imperial constitution.* They were not subjected to an emergency law, nor were they prosecuted. Very well — neither do we demand for ourselves, in the most extreme case, more than is demanded for the governments in this one.

The Duke of Cumberland is the rightful, undisputed heir to the throne of Brunswick. The King of Prussia has no more right to reign in Berlin than is claimed by Cumberland in Brunswick. Anything else that is wanted of him can only be laid claim to after Cumberland has taken possession of his rightful, legitimate throne. This the revolutionary German imperial government is forcibly preventing him from doing. Yet another revolutionary act.

And what is the position as regards the parties?

In November 1848 the Conservative Party did not hesitate to infringe the legality constituted in March of that year.[322] In any case, it accords only provisional recognition to the present constitutional state of affairs and would joyfully acclaim any feudal and absolutist coup d'état.

The Liberal Party of all shades participated in the revolution from 1848 to 1866, nor would it today allow anyone to deny it the right to counter the forcible subversion of the constitution with force.

The Centre[229] recognises the Church as the supreme power transcending the state; a power, that is, which might, in certain circumstances, make revolution a *duty.*

And these are the parties which demand of us that *we* and *we alone out of all the rest* should declare that we would *in no circumstances* resort to force, would submit to any pressure, any outrage, not only when these have a veneer of legality — *are* legal in our opponents' view — but also when they are downright illegal.

No party, unless it was lying, has ever denied the right to armed resistance *in certain circumstances.* None has ever been able to renounce that ultimate right.

But once the debate begins to turn on the *circumstances* in which a party may reserve that right, the game is already won. The whole thing becomes progressively more nonsensical. Particularly in the case of a party that has been declared illegal and is thus actually reduced by higher authority to resorting to revolution. And such a declaration of illegality, having been made once already, might recur any day. To demand an unconditional statement of this kind from such a party is utterly preposterous.

Nor, for that matter, have the gentlemen anything to worry about. The military position being what it now is, we shall not go into action so long as we have a military power against us. We can bide our time until that military power ceases *to be a power against us.* Any revolution prior to that, even a victorious one, would bring to power, not *ourselves,* but the most radical elements of the bourgeoisie and/or petty bourgeoisie.

In any case, the elections have shown that we can expect to gain nothing by submissiveness, i. e. concessions to our opponents. It is only defiant resistance that has gained us their respect and turned us into a power. Only power is respected and only so long as we remain a power will your philistine respect us. Anyone who makes concessions and is therefore no longer a power, he will despise. You can let them feel the iron fist in the velvet glove, indeed you must. The German proletariat has become a powerful party — may its representa tives be worthy of it!

Your
F. E.

(Time for the post.)

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# ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

## IN PARIS

London, 23 November 1884

My dear Laura,

Glad you arrived safe and well [268] and Paul liked his cake — but Nim can't get over his insisting to eat cheese along with it. Nim has suffered much from tooth-ache — a sound tooth, but loose. Yesterday she took an old pair of small tongs which she brought from Maitland Park and wrenched it out with it, rewarding her courage with a drop of brandy, and is now quite lively again.

Friday last[a] the Social Democratic Federation [300] had a benefit. Tussy and Edward played in a piece — I did not go, as I do not as yet see my way to sitting three hours consecutively in a stiff chair. Nim says they played very well — the piece was more or less, she says, their own history. Mother Wright read — very well — Bax played the piano — rather long — Morris who was here the other night and quite delighted to find the Old Norse Edda [323] on my table — he is an Icelandic enthusiast — Morris read a piece of his poetry[b] (a '*refonte*'[c] of the Eddaic *Helreid Brynhildar*[d] — the description of Brynhild burning herself with Sigurd's corpse), etc., etc.; it went off very well — their art seems to be rather better than their literature and their poetry better than their prose.

Paul's reply to Block is excellent, not only in style but in subject-matter. [281] People have different ways of learning things, and if he learns political economy by fighting, it's all right so that he does learn it. He was quite right in bearing out the question of the equal price of corn which costs different amounts of labour — that is too complicated and is solved only in Book III, *Kapital*. But what he may return to, when he has an opportunity, is the stupid calumny of Block, page 131, note: that Mohr *insiste surtout sur le capital employé dans le commerce, tant sous la forme argent (espèces) que sous la forme mar-*

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[a] 21 November - [b] W. Morris, *The Story of Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Nibelungs*.- [c] 'variant' - [d] Brynhild's raid into the hell

*chandises.*[a] This is a direct lie or a proof that he does not know what he is writing about. Mohr mentions interest-bearing capital and merchants' capital only as historical *facts*, but expressly *excludes* them from all economical discussion in Book I, where capital is only considered in its simplest form as industrial capital.

A slip of the pen of Paul's p. 285: *la grandeur de la plus-value est en rapport direct avec la longueur de la journée de travail, mais en rapport inverse avec le taux du salaire.*[b]

*Du reste,*[c] you know that my only objection to Paul's replying to Block was the fear that it might 'block' his ultimate reply to Leroy-Beaulieu.[d]— If he has *eingeseift*[e] Molinari to that extent, that he allows Paul to reply anything to anybody, all the better.

The report of the meeting in favour of the Germans in the *Sozialdemokrat* as well as the extracts from *Lyon-Socialiste*[324] given there will have a capital effect in Germany and everywhere. Nothing can strike the philistine and also the workmen of other countries more than this cordiality and working hand in hand of the proletarians of the two '*erbfeindliche Nationen*'[f]. It ought to be *mis en avant*[g] as much and as often as possible.

As to poor Brousse, the man without a programme, being in doubt about the programme on which our people have been elected, the proclamation of Müller in Darmstadt which I was glad Guesde worked up in the *Cri du Peuple* will have answered him. Better still is the Hanoverian programme in this week's *Sozialdemokrat* No. 47.[325] I wish Guesde would make use of that. These two proclamations, and the fact that they were issued in *new* districts — Darmstadt and Hanover, where our people might be expected to coax votes, have given me quite as much pleasure as the elections themselves. They show how thoroughly the revolutionary spirit has been evoked by Bismarck's persecutions. I was almost expecting that the new districts might send 'moderate' men, but no fear of that now. Also Sabor the Jewish schoolmaster from Frankfort belongs to the *Bebel* wing of the party.

Bernstein's letter to Paul about Lassalle[326] finds its explanation in this, that in *Paris*, as in London and New York, the old Lassalle set is still strongly represented among the Germans. They have mostly

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[a] especially insists on commercial capital both in its *money* form (coinage) and in its *commodity* form - [b] The amount of surplus value is in a *direct* ratio to the length of the working day and in an *inverse* ratio to the size of wages.- [c] Besides - [d] P. Lafargue, 'La théorie de la plus-value de Karl Marx et la critique de M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu'.- [e] cheated - [f] 'traditionally hostile nations' - [g] emphasised

emigrated, Germany is too hot for them and won't listen to them. But as they are comparatively harmless abroad, and form a useful international cement, besides finding funds for the Germans at home, *on les ménage un peu.* [a]

Loria takes good care not to send me his expectorations. [b] As a true '*Kathedersocialistischer* [54] *Streber*' [c] he robs us right and left. By the bye, what Paul intends doing if he should reply to him, *donne de côté.* [d] Loria knows that as well as ourselves, *why* capitalists go as well into one branch of industry as another. But the real question is as I stated it, and one which is not so easy, in fact, it broke down classical economy which could not solve it. The *déroute*, as Mohr's manuscript calls it, [e] of the Ricardian school on this very question [f] opened the door to vulgar economy.

My walks with you have done me a deal of good — I extend them every day, and my muscles are hardening again.

Kind regards to Paul. Love from Nim.

Yours affectionately,

F. E.

Poor old Mother Hess!

'*Wir waben, wir waben!*' [g]

Hope she is suited at last.

Now before concluding I want to ask you a favour. Paul has from me: 1) Darwin's *Origin of Species*, 2) Thierry, *Histoire du tiers état*, 3) Paquet, *Institutions provinciales et communales de la France*, 4) Buonarotti, *Conspiracy of Babeuf*. Now, Jenny had from me: 1) *Die 'Edda', poetische und prosaische*, and 2) *Beowulf*, both in Simrock's New High German translation. The latter two books and Darwin I am in especial want of. Could you get them together if they can be found (Thierry and Paquet I also have use for and Buonarroti is not to be had now) and send them in a parcel to me? The agents of the Continental Parcels Express (*agence Continentale*), are

E. d'Odiardi, 18 rue Bergère and

P. Bigeault, 23 rue Dunkerque, opposite the station du Nord.

The carriage *not* to be paid, as the delivery will be all the safer; and

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[a] they are spared a little - [b] A. Loria, 'La théorie de la valeur de Karl Marx', *Journal des Économistes*, No. 10, October 1884. - [c] 'armchair-socialist careerist' - [d] stand aside - [e] disintegration - [f] See present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 258-373. - [g] 'We weave, we weave' (South German dialect); Engels quotes from Heine's *Die schlesischen Weber*.

mind, I am not in such a hurry that you should rush off post haste to Argenteuil to look the books up.

Clemenceau seems to be going down morally while going up politically — this appears unavoidable in French bourgeois politics. His visit to Gladstone and the rubbish he talked there is one symptom, the other is his silence in the chamber with regard to the *Socialistenhetze*[a] and the atrocious judgments of Lyon, Montluçon, etc.

As to Paul's wish to have an Irish paper, there is none that can be recommended. Besides if the *Égalité* writes up every murder, be it ever so stupid, as *une exécution*, Havas' telegrams are quite sufficient. For other things the *Daily News* Irish correspondence will be found sufficient.

If Paul sees that the *Égalité* is regularly forwarded to the *Sozialdemokrat* at Zurich, that paper will be duly sent in return, but I shall write to Bernstein to send it to *your* address, so that *you* get it, and not those that do not understand it.

Kind regards to Paul.

Yours very affectionately,
F. E.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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## 131

## ENGELS TO JOHN LINCOLN MAHON [327]

IN LONDON

[London,] 28 November 1884
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

I received your note only this morning owing to the No. being stated wrong on the address (132 instead of 122).

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[a] persecution of socialists

If you will be good enough to call on me to-morrow Friday night from 7 to 8, I shall be glad to hear what you have to communicate to me.[328]

Yours truly,
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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## 132

## ENGELS TO CHARLOTTE ENGELS

### IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 1 December 1884

Dear Lottchen,

Your telegram arrived this morning shortly before ten. I had been prepared for this news for some time, ever since Hermann wrote to me in some detail about Emil's condition[a] and especially since the week before last when your brother-in-law Colsman visited me. We talked a great deal about Emil, Colsman being fully conversant with the medical circumstances of the case. There was, I gathered, no more hope, the verdict had been given and the consummation could only be a matter of weeks. And yet I had not expected that it would be so quick. It has happened, and we must resign ourselves to it.

It has been a period of your life, dear Lottchen, such as you will never again experience; a line has been drawn through a whole chapter of happiness, now irrevocably brought to an end. I know how bleak and empty the world must seem to you at this moment, and I know that in your heart of hearts you wish that chance may enable you presently to be laid to rest beside your Emil. That is natural and is what anyone who stands beside the bier of a beloved spouse would

[a] See this volume, pp. 218-19.

wish. But remember that my mother had to endure this too. She had 41 years of happiness and then was widowed. And there are few women who loved their husbands more ardently than she my father. And yet with her children and among their children and children's children she acquired a new lease of life and lived among us, at any rate not unhappily, for the next 14 years. And she was older than you are and all her children were grown-up and provided for, whereas you still have several for whom there are duties to fulfil of a kind only a mother can fulfil and which weigh all the more heavily for their now being fatherless.

I always had a particularly intimate relationship with Emil and, however far our views may have diverged, one thing we still had in common was our preoccupation with scientific matters, irrespective of whether or not they had any immediate practical application. One episode I shall never forget. When, after father's death, I had to cope with a most difficult state of affairs while physically so indisposed that I was incapable of making one single urgent decision in a sound frame of mind and with faculties unimpaired, there was Emil, clear of eye, firm of resolve and in full command of the situation, to extricate me and bring the negotiations in Manchester, upon which my whole future depended, to a successful conclusion.[329] If I now live here in London, a man of independent means, this is thanks not least to Emil.

Nor would my uncertain state of health deter me from leaving tonight to pay my dear brother my last respects. But there is the possibility, indeed probability, that my presence would lead to harassment by the police and nothing in the world would induce me to expose you and the others to such a thing at this particular moment. After all, was not a universally renowned chemist,[a] naturalised Englishman and member of the British Royal Society, harassed in Darmstadt, his native city, a few months ago simply because he had attended Marx's funeral, harassed to the extent that he at once departed?[b] What might I not expect? Once again I shall doubtless have to regard myself as a political refugee for the time being.

Well, dear Lottchen, one thing I do know and that is that you women are stronger and pluckier than we men. Whatever you endure, if endure it you must, you do so better than we do. You, yourself, with the marvellous self-control that I have often envied, will be able

[a] Carl Schorlemmer - [b] See this volume, p. 209.

to overcome even this most grievous blow, the grief we all of us share with you and of which you must bear the brunt.

A kiss from me for the children. With all my love.

Your trusty old
Friedrich

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## 133

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [330]

### IN VIENNA

[London, 9 December 1884]

Dear Kautsky,

It goes without saying that you can have your letters addressed to 122 Regent's Park Road as often and for as long as you wish. I hope this will still catch you in Vienna; in my haste I had overlooked your inquiry and for the past week I have had many interruptions.

Why you and the others do not settle the matter of the 'Speech' [a] when you yourselves are certainly better able to decide such matters than I am, is more than I can understand. I am writing to Dietz to tell him to attend to it himself.

Your
F. E.

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[a] K. Marx, 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade'.

# 134

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL[316; 331]

[IN BERLIN]

London, 11-12 December 1884

Dear Bebel,

The point of my last letter[a] was as follows:

Among the newly elected members some were known to me, who, by education and temperament, would throw in their weight with the *right*, bourgeois wing of the parliamentary group. In view of the tremendous blandishments suddenly extended to us after our victories by all the other parties, it seemed to me not impossible that the said gentlemen might fall for the bait and be prepared to make a statement such as that demanded of us by, for instance, the *Kölnische Zeitung* as a condition of the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law[311] — a statement would only have to go a hair's breadth further to the right in surrendering the party's revolutionary character than did, for instance, Geiser's speech during the Anti-Socialist Law debate, which Grillenberger printed alongside yours.[332] The gentlemen of the Liberal Party are soft and would be content with very little; a small concession on our part would have satisfied them, and it was that small concession I feared since it would have discredited us beyond all measure abroad. I knew, of course, that it would not be made by you. But you, i. e. we, might have been outvoted. Indeed, the least sign of a split — in speeches — would have done enormous harm. That is the reason — and the only reason — I thought it my duty to provide you with support against such an occasion by supplying you with a few handy historical arguments which, perhaps, might not be so fresh in your mind as in mine. And so that you might show the letter to others if you thought fit, I omitted all allusions to those for whom it was, ultimately, intended.

Nobody is gladder than I that my fears have proved unfounded and that the power of the movement should have been such as to carry away even the bourgeois elements of the party and that the parliamentary group had kept abreast of the electorate. And I must con-

[a] See this volume, pp. 220-23.

fess that I find Singer, who spent a short while here this Sunday[a] and will be coming to see me again next Sunday, a completely changed man. He is beginning to believe (quite literally) that he might yet experience something in the nature of a social transformation. I trust that it will last and that our 'eddicated' chaps will ultimately resist the temptation of showing the other parties that they're not ogres.

I have never been mistaken about our proletarian masses. The progress of their movement — assured, confident of victory and, for that very reason, cheerful and good-humoured — is exemplary and beyond compare. No European proletariat could have stood the test of the Anti-Socialist Law so splendidly nor, after six years of oppression, have responded by demonstrating how greatly its power had increased and its organisation been consolidated. None could have brought that organisation into being, as was done here, without any pretence at conspiracy. And, now that I have seen the electoral manifestos of Darmstadt and Hanover,[325] I have ceased to worry about the possibility of having to make concessions in the new districts (constituencies). If, in both those towns, they could speak in such revolutionary and proletarian terms, then all is won.

It is greatly to our advantage that in Germany the industrial revolution should not really have got going until now, whereas in France and England it is for the most part complete. In those countries, the division into town and country, industrial districts and agricultural districts, is complete to the extent that such further change as there is will be very gradual. The bulk of the people grow up in the conditions in which they will subsequently have to live; they are so used to them that even fluctuations and crises come to be regarded almost as a matter of course. Added to which is the memory of earlier, unsuccessful movements. In Germany, by contrast, everything is still in a state of flux. What remains of the old, self-sufficient rural industrial production is being superseded by capitalist cottage industries, while elsewhere capitalist cottage industries are in their turn making way for the machine. And it is the very nature of our industry, lagging as it does far behind all the rest, that makes the revolution[b] such a fundamental one. Since large mass-produced articles, for the popular as well as the luxury trades, are already monopolised by the British and French, pretty well all that is left for our export industry is the insignificant stuff which, however, also runs into very large quantities, and is first manufactured by cottage industries, not being machine-made

[a] 7 December - [b] Altered in an unknown hand to 'social revolution'.

until later when it is produced in bulk. In this way cottage industries (capitalist) are introduced into far wider fields and make an even cleaner sweep. If I except the Prussia of the Eastern Elbe area, i. e. East and West Prussia, Pomerania, Posen and the larger part of Brandenburg, as well as Old Bavaria,[a] there are now few districts where the farmer is not being increasingly caught up in cottage industries. The area thus[b] revolutionised will,[c] in Germany, be larger than anywhere else.

Furthermore, the fact that the worker in a cottage industry usually goes in for a bit of agriculture makes it possible to depress wages to an extent unknown elsewhere. What used to be the small man's good fortune — the combination of agriculture and industry — has now become the most effective means of capitalist exploitation. The potato plot, the cow, the little bit of husbandry, makes feasible the sale of labour power below its proper price, indeed *necessitates* this because it binds the worker to the soil which, after all, provides part of his nourishment. Hence, in Germany, industry becomes capable of exporting because the customer, more often than not, is presented with the entire surplus value, while the capitalist's profits derive from deductions made from the normal working wage. This applies to pretty well all rural cottage industries, more so in Germany than anywhere else.

Moreover, our industrial revolution, set in train by the revolution of 1848 and its bourgeois advances (puny though these were), was enormously speeded up 1) by the removal, between 1866 and 1870, of internal obstacles[d] and 2) by the French milliards, destined as these were for capitalist investment.[333] In this way we have achieved an industrial revolution that is more thorough-going and fundamental, more extensive and comprehensive than in any other country; we have done so with a completely fresh, intact proletariat, undemoralised by defeat and, finally — thanks to Marx — with an insight into the causes of economic and political developments and into the prerequisites for the impending revolution such as none of our predecessors possessed. But for that very reason we are *under an obligation* to win.

As regards pure democracy and its future role, I am not of your opinion. That it plays a far more subordinate role in Germany than in countries long since industrialised, goes without saying. But that will not prevent it *qua* extreme *bourgeois* party — which, after all, it

[a] Old Bavaria: Upper and Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate. - [b] 'industrially' inserted in an unknown hand - [c] 'hence,' inserted in an unknown hand - [d] See this volume, pp. 221-22.

had already made itself out to be at Frankfurt — from acquiring, at the moment of revolution, a temporary significance as the last sheet-anchor of the bourgeois and, indeed, feudal economy generally.[334] At such a moment the entire reactionary mass will align itself behind it and swell its ranks, whereupon all erstwhile reactionaries will act as though they were democrats. It was thus that, from March to September 1848, the entire feudal-bureaucratic mass swelled the ranks of the Liberals in order to keep down the revolutionary masses and, having done so, kick out the Liberals as a matter of course. It was thus that in France in 1848, from May until Bonaparte's[a] election in December, the purely Republican party of *Le National*,[335] the very weakest of them all, was able to hold sway thanks only to the forces of reaction, all of which rallied to its defences. It has always been thus in every revolution: The tamest party still capable of governing takes its turn at the helm precisely because the vanquished look to it as their last hope of salvation. Now we cannot expect to have the majority of the electorate, i. e. of the nation, already at our backs when the crucial moment comes. The whole of the middle and the residue of the feudal, land-owning class, and the better part of the petty bourgeoisie as of the rural population, will then rally round the most extreme bourgeois — in word by now the most extreme revolutionary — party which will, I think, most probably be represented in the provisional government, indeed might actually form its majority for a time. How, as a minority, one ought *not* to act in such a case was demonstrated in Paris in 1848 by the Social Democratic minority in the February government.[336] However, for the moment this question remains an academic one.

Now in Germany matters might take a different course, and this for military reasons. As things are at present, an impulse from without would be unlikely to come from anywhere but Russia. Should it fail to come, and the impulse emanate from Germany, the revolution could only emanate from the army. An unarmed population confronted by a modern army is militarily an altogether infinitesimal quantity. In that event — when our reserves of 20- or 25-year-olds, who do not vote, but train, would go into action — pure democracy might be given a miss. But here again the question is, at present, still academic although I, as representative, so to speak, of the party's Great General Staff, am obliged to bear it in mind. At all events, on the crucial day and the day after that, our only adversary will be *collective reaction centred round pure democracy* and this, I think, ought never to be lost from view.

[a] Napoleon III

If you people table motions in the Reichstag, there is one thing you should not forget. State-owned land is for the most part rented out to big farmers, only very little being sold to smallholders whose plots, however, are so diminutive that these new smallholders are reduced to hiring themselves out by the day to the large farms. What should be demanded is the *leasing of large, undivided estates to cooperatives of agricultural workers to be farmed communally.* The Empire possesses no estates and this will presumably provide a pretext for throwing out any such motion. But I believe that this firebrand ought to be cast among the agricultural day labourers, which is quite possible in view of the many debates about state socialism. This and this alone will enable you to rope in the agricultural workers. It is the best way of showing them that they are ultimately destined to run the big estates of those who are now their lords and masters, and to run them for the common weal. And with this friend Bismarck and his demand that you make positive proposals ought to be satisfied for a while.

Warmest regards.

Your
F. E.

12 December 1884

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## 135

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [337]

### IN PARIS

[Excerpt] [London, mid-December 1884]

In Germany there are far too many soldiers and non-commissioned officers belonging to the party for one to be able to preach a riot with the slightest chance of success. They know that it is in the ranks of the

army itself that the *demoralisation* (from the bourgeois point of view) must take place; given modern military conditions (rapid-firing arms, etc.), the revolution is bound to begin in the army. At any rate it will begin there in our country. No one knows better than the government how the number of socialist conscripts is growing year after year. Our universal suffrage does not begin until the age of twenty-five; if the great reserve of the 21- to 25-year-olds does not figure in the voting, it is present in the army.

First published in *Lyon-Socialiste*, No. 15, 21 décembre 1884

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Translated from the French

## 136

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [338]

### IN ZURICH

London, 29 December 1884

Dear Ede,

From Kautsky I learn that you have lost not only your sister but also your father. Let me assure you of my warmest sympathy. It is one of the more sombre aspects of exile which I, too, have come to know. The fatherland as such is something one can easily dispense with, but—

Now for events over here. On Saturday the Social Democratic Federation [300] happily disintegrated. The bubble burst somewhat sooner than I had expected, but it was bound to come.

Hyndman, a political adventurer with aspirations to a *carrière* in Parliament, had long since gained control of the whole business. When, a year ago, Bax launched *To-Day*, there was not enough literary talent to keep the little affair going, let alone a weekly, but a weekly Hyndman must needs have. Hence *Justice* was founded—with money given by two enthusiasts, Morris and Carpenter; it was edited by Hyndman with the aid of a few young literati who were on the look-out for some new movement capable of paying them (Fitzgerald and Champion) and one Joynes, a teacher dismissed from Eton

for agitation conducted in company with Henry George,[a] and hence a socialist, willy-nilly. These men were paid, directly or indirectly — Hyndman is rich but tight-fisted —, the rest had to contribute gratis. All the FEDERATION's papers went to Hyndman, Fitzgerald and Champion, who placed before the Council only what they thought fit, and corresponded off their own bat in the FEDERATION's name; in short, Hyndman treated the Council as Bismarck treats the Reichstag. Loud complaints; they even reached me. I said: 'Give the man his head. He's a petty-minded chap and won't last long, *for he cannot wait.*'[b] And he has come a cropper sooner than I thought he would.

Morris, who was in Scotland a fortnight ago, uncovered there such intrigues on Hyndman's part that he said he could no longer continue to work with the fellow. He had long had his suspicions. An interview with Andreas Scheu in Edinburgh brought matters to a head.[339] Hyndman had defamed Scheu by calling him an anarchist and dynamiter — Scheu was able to provide Morris not only with proof to the contrary, but also of the fact that Hyndman knew this. Similar machinations of Hyndman's in Glasgow, where the branch had received letters from the secretary, Fitzgerald, bearing the FEDERATION's stamp but which had not only not been written at the behest of the Council, but actually in defiance of its resolutions. Furthermore, Hyndman had told several people that a somewhat mysterious letter to the Council in Paris was a forgery concocted by Mme Lafargue and Tussy with a view to laying a trap for him. However, he had withheld the actual letter from the Council. Finally, in addition to having repeatedly stirred up strife between members of the Council, he was shown to have fabricated a provincial branch which did not exist at all.

In short, last Tuesday[c] things came to a head. Hyndman was attacked from every side, Scheu himself was there, documents in hand. Tussy had a letter from her sister about the alleged forgery. There was a row. Meeting adjourned till Saturday. Morris and Aveling came to see me beforehand, when I was able to give them some further advice. Big debate on the Saturday. None of the facts could be denied, either by Hyndman or by the supporters he had drummed up. Motion of censure on Hyndman adopted. Whereupon the majority resigned from the FEDERATION. The grounds for this were, 1) that

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[a] See this volume, pp. 74-75. - [b] Ibid., pp. 165-66. - [c] 23 December

at a congress, Hyndman might fabricate a majority with the aid of his BOGUS branch, while they would be unable to prove the non-existence of that branch, or at any rate not until it was too late, 2) —and this was the main reason—*because the* entire *FEDERATION was, after all, no better than a racket.*[340]

Those who resigned were Aveling, Bax and Morris, the only honest ones amongst the literati, but also three as unpractical men—two poets and a philosopher—as it is possible to find. Also, the cream of the better-known working men. They intend to do the rounds of the London branches in the hope of winning over the majority, whereupon they will let Hyndman and his non-existent provincial branches go whistle. Their organ is to be a little monthly.[a] At last they are going to operate modestly and in accordance with their powers, and not go on pretending that the English proletariat must instantly jump to it the moment the trumpet is sounded by a few literary converts to socialism. (In London, according to Morris' admission, they were 400 strong at the outside and barely 100 in the provinces.) The circulation of *Justice* is about 3,500.

Hyndman is retaining *Justice* and *To-Day*, together with his speculative literati Fitzgerald, Champion, Burrows, Shaw and possibly also Sketchley who, as a former Chartist, presumably considers himself entitled to a pension. Add to that what remains of the old democratic or socialist sects. Whose prize the other remnants of the FEDERATION will be, remains to be seen. But since Hyndman will no longer be getting any money either from Morris or from Carpenter for his unprofitable organs, he will either have to pay up himself, or sell himself, his organs and the remnants of his faction to the CHRISTIAN SOCIALISTS or—to Lord Randolph Churchill and Tory DEMOCRACY. He'll have to look sharp if he wants to stand for Parliament in the elections next autumn.

I have the satisfaction of having seen through the whole racket from the outset, correctly sized up all the people concerned and foretold what the end would be, and similarly that the said racket would eventually do more harm than good.

Your
F. E.

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[a] *The Commonweal*

137

# ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT [341]

[IN BERLIN]

[Excerpt]

[London, 29 December 1884]

Should the parliamentary group not wish to adopt a merely negative attitude, they can, or so it seems to me, *only give their consent* to state aid for the bourgeoisie,[342] from which the workers might *conceivably* derive some indirect advantage (something that still remains to be proved, however) *if the workers are assured of similar state aid.*[a] 'If you give us 4 to 5 millions a year for *workers' cooperatives* (not a loan but a gift, as for the shipowners), then we're prepared to discuss the matter. If you give us guarantees to the effect that in *Prussia state-owned land* will be leased, not to big farmers or to peasants who cannot exist without hiring day labourers, but to *workers' cooperatives*, and that *public works* will be put out to *workers' cooperatives* instead of to capitalists, very well, we'll see what we can do. But not otherwise.'

Provided the parliamentary group makes proposals of this sort for which, of course, the right wording must first be found, no one will be able to reproach the Social Democratic deputies with neglecting the present needs of the workers for the sake of the future.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 241-42

# 138

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 30 December 1884

Dear Bebel,

I hasten to reply to your letter.

Friend Singer would seem to have digested only such of my remarks as accorded with his own views: one soon learns how to do this in business where it may sometimes help, but in politics as in science one should, after all, learn to take an objective view of things.

To begin with, I told Singer that I had not yet by any means given the matter adequate thought (my attention having been drawn to it only the evening before by the *Sozialdemokrat*),[342] and that what I was saying could *by no means* be regarded *as my final verdict.*

Next, I went on to say that, *under certain circumstances and on certain conditions*, it might be *admissible* to vote for it, i. e. if the government were to *undertake* to accord to the workers the same state aid it was now prepared to accord to the bourgeoisie. In particular, that is, the leasing of state-owned land to workers' cooperatives, etc. Since I know very well that the government will not do so, this is another way of saying that those who *would like* to vote for it should be shown how they *can* vote against it with a semblance of decency and without doing violence to themselves.

I further told Singer — and this seemed news to him — that in parliamentary life one may often find oneself in the position of having to vote *against* something which one would privately like to see carried.

Well, yesterday I wrote to Liebknecht about other matters and took the opportunity of giving him what was now, after long reflection, a considered view of the case.[a] In many respects it tallies almost word for word — get him to read you that bit of my letter some time — with what you say, although your letter did not arrive until this morning. Where I diverge from you is, briefly, as follows:

1. You are above all a party versed in economics. You, or some of you, have at various times made a great show of the party's superi-

[a] See previous letter.

ority in this field, yet as soon as you were confronted in practice with your first economic question, you fell out — over protective tariffs.[343] But if the same thing is going to happen each time an economic question crops up, what is the point of having a parliamentary group at all?

2. On principle, you ought to vote against it. I told Liebknecht so plainly enough. But suppose the majority want to vote for it? In that case, the only thing to do is to persuade them to attach such conditions to their vote as will excuse it, at any rate to the extent that no odium attaches to them in the eyes of Europe, as would otherwise inevitably happen. Those conditions, however, are, and can only be, such that the government cannot agree to them, i. e. that the majority of the parliamentary group, should they attach those conditions to their vote, will not be able to vote for it.

Needless to say, I could never have considered an unconditional vote in favour of presenting the bourgeoisie with working men's pennies. But neither, for that matter, could the cardinal question — the disruption of the parliamentary group — have been envisaged in this context.

To my mind, your best way of dealing with all such questions, if you want to take account of the voters' petty-bourgeois prejudices, is to say: 'On principle we're against it. But since you wish us to make positive proposals and since you maintain that these things would also be of benefit to the workers, which we contest in so far as anything more than a microscopic advantage is concerned — well and good. You must place workers and bourgeoisie on an equal footing. For every million you take from the worker's pocket and give to the bourgeoisie, directly or indirectly, you must give the workers a million; the same applies to loans made by the state.' I. e. more or less as follows (only by way of an example and without regard for the particular form it would have to assume for Germany, since I am too little acquainted with the details of existing legislation):

1) The granting of subventions and advances to workers' cooperatives, not for the purpose, or not so much for the purpose, of starting up new businesses (which would be no better than Lassalle's proposal, with all its deficiencies) as, in particular, in order to

a) take on lease and farm cooperatively state-owned land (or other types of landed property);

b) purchase for their own or the government account and operate as cooperatives factories, etc., which, at a time of crisis or, perhaps,

due to bankruptcy, have been shut down by their owners or have otherwise come on the market, and thus pave the way for the gradual transition of all production to cooperative production.

2) Preference to be given to cooperatives over capitalists and the latters' associations in all public contracts, and on the same terms; i. e. as a general principle, contracts for public works to be accorded wherever possible to cooperatives.

3) The removal of all legal obstacles and difficulties that still stand in the way of free cooperatives, i. e. above all the reinstatement of the working class within the common law — pitiful though this may be — by the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law [37] which, after all, is the ruin of all trade associations and cooperatives.

4) Complete freedom for trade associations (TRADE UNIONS) and their recognition as *legal persons* with all the latters' rights.

By demanding this, all you demand is that equal consideration be accorded to workers and bourgeois alike; and if gifts to the bourgeois will allegedly boost industry, will not gifts to the workers boost it far more? *Without* any such quid pro quo, I fail to see how a Social Democratic parliamentary group could vote for anything of the sort. If you confront the people with such demands, the electorate, too, would soon stop pestering you about state aid for industry in the shape of gifts to the bourgeoisie. All these are matters which could be initiated here and now and actually set in train within the year, being obstructed only by the bourgeoisie and the government. And yet, as things now are, these are important measures whose impact upon the workers would be a very different affair from that made by steamship subsidies,[342] protective tariffs, etc. And the French are demanding essentially the same.

But now for something else which has only just come to light. The outcome of the division will, as likely as not, be determined by the Social Democrats. And what utter asses you would look in the eyes of the whole world if this business of donations to the bourgeoisie were to be the work *of your votes*! And without any quid pro quo! I really do not know what, in that case, I should tell the French and the people over here. And what a triumph for the anarchists, who would say exultantly: 'There you are — they're out-and-out philistines!'

I shall go into the other matters another time, since I am anxious that you should not for a moment be in doubt as to my views on this

point. I trust that the change in your business affairs [344] will above all be beneficial to your health. With all good wishes to you and your family for the New Year.

Your
F. E.

That there won't be enough money is clear as day. And another thing I told Singer was that anyone who votes for it must, if he is to be consistent, also vote for colonies. As regards the point about money, see my letter to Liebknecht. [a]

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## 139

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

### IN BENEVENTO

London, 30 December 1884

Dear Sir,

Unfortunately it is not till now that your latest letter dated 18 November has received a reply from me. [345] Please excuse me; I am overwhelmed with work and things to be done.

My *Peasant War* is a pamphlet which is only of interest to Germany. Besides, I must prepare a completely reworked edition, [213] and I cannot begin before February or March. The book would be published around July (I know what to expect from our party press). Finally, what it deals with has nothing to do with the subject of *The Origin etc.* [b]

I think therefore that it will be better to publish the latter separately; as for the way in which it is published, I leave the decision entirely in your hands.

[a] See previous letter. - [b] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.*

As soon as *The Peasant War* is published, I shall be honoured to send you a copy. You can then judge whether it is worth the trouble of translating. I doubt it.

I remain with respect your devoted

F. Engels

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## 140

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [263]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 31 December 1884

Dear Sorge,

I trust that your health has improved, as mine has, although I am not yet quite my old self again,—very nearly, however.

*Capital*, Book II (some 600 pages of print) will go to press in January. The editing will have been completed in about 10 days' time, after which all that will remain to be done is the revision of the fair copy. It's been quite a task—there were 2 complete and 6 partial texts! [17]

Then, as soon as I have attended to a few urgent intermediate jobs, it will be the turn of Book III.[a] There are 2 complete texts and a notebook of calculations[b]; this, too, will run to some 600 or 700 pages.

Finally, Book IV, *Theories of Surplus Value*, from the earliest manuscript of 1856-61. [171] It is still in limbo and cannot be taken in hand until everything else has been completed. There are about 1,000 closely written quarto sheets.

I am completely revising my *Peasant War* [213] and making it the

[a] See this volume, pp. 88-89.- [b] See present edition, Vol. 37 (Engels' Preface).

pivot for my whole history of Germany. It will be some task. But the preliminary studies are as good as finished.

The English translation of *Capital* is coming along slowly, more than half having been finished. Tussy's husband, Aveling, is helping with it, but doesn't do it as thoroughly as Sam Moore, who is doing the main part.[56]

This summer Schorlemmer was subjected to a domiciliary search in Darmstadt for suspected distribution of the *Sozialdemokrat.*[304] Great uproar amongst the philistines has earned us some 500 votes.

On Saturday the DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION here was disrupted.[300] Hyndman, an adventurer who had gained control of the whole affair, was unmasked as a fomenter of strife between the members, a withholder of correspondence intended for the COUNCIL and a founder of BOGUS BRANCHES in the provinces so that meetings and congresses might be packed with his own creatures. Though a vote of censure was passed on him, the majority resigned, mainly on the grounds that the whole organisation was simply a *racket.* And it's true. They haven't got 400 paid-up members, and their readers consist of sentimental bourgeois. They now intend to start a new organisation (Morris, Bax, Aveling, etc.)[346] and leave *Justice* and *To-Day* to Hyndman and his lot (Fitzgerald, Champion, Burrows, etc.), while they themselves, having at last recognised the weakness of their own effectives, will start off with a little MONTHLY.[a] As the capitalists who provided the money have also resigned (they, more than anyone else, were sensible of their exploitation by Hyndman) he, Hyndman, will either have to pay for his own unprofitable papers himself or else sell the entire party, in so far as it adheres to him (this will transpire in a week's time), to the highest bidder. And, being intent on getting into Parliament at the next elections, he will have to hurry.

Petty-bourgeois prejudice of every kind is to be found among the German deputies, as, for instance, the desire of the majority to vote for the steamship subsidies 'in the interests of industry'.[342] Which provides me with correspondence and to spare. Luckily we have Bebel there who invariably gets hold of the right end of the stick, and I therefore hope that the whole thing will go off without our being discredited. Ever since I have conducted the 'official' correspondence with Bebel instead of with Liebknecht, not only does all go smoothly, but something actually comes of it, and my views are presented to the

[a] *The Commonweal*

chaps in their entirety. Bebel is a really splendid fellow and I hope he won't ruin his health which is none too good.

But now here's to a Happy New Year and an improvement in your own health — regards to Adolf.[a]

Your
F. E.

Thank you for the *Volkszeitung* in which the wise man expresses his reservations about the abolition of the state. If I were to try and reply to such doubts, I would simply have to shelve my other work. Apropos, the *Volkszeitung* is no longer sending me its weekly edition.[b] So if there's anything interesting in it, I should be obliged if you could possibly let me have it.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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## 141

## ENGELS TO JOSEPH DIETZGEN[347]

### IN NEW YORK

[Excerpt]

[London, 31 December 1884]

So for the time being I can hold out no prospect of being able to contribute to your paper. But should I happen to take a holiday, and should something then turn up, or if events were to take place which would render my assistance of real use, it goes without saying that I should at once make myself available.

First published in *Der Sozialist*, Nr. 4, New York, 24. Januar 1885

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[a] Adolf Sorge jun. - [b] *Wochenblatt der N. Y. Volkszeitung*

# 1885

## 142

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 1 January 1885

My dear Laura,

In all haste a few lines. Moore and Jollymeyer are off to Tussy's and so I have profited of the occasion to shake off a lot of business letters — a few moments remain before 5.30.

I had paid for your *Justice* up to 31 December, but as I had no proper receipt, could not do much — besides every letter of mine to anybody at that office was followed by an application from them for an article of mine, so that I really could not write to them even on business. However Edward says he pays to the Modern Press and so I have sent the money today for both you and myself for 6 months' *Justice* and *To-Day* and hope you will get it. What we can get of back numbers you shall also have, but there is not much in it worth your notice, the leaning towards the Possibilists is of quite recent date and not at all pronounced, except last No. [with] a letter from Adolphe Smith.[348] Now however it's sure to bloom out.

Last night we were at Pumps', she is uncommonly well but overdoes it a little — the baby all right.

I am sorry the crisis in the Social Democratic Federation[a] could not be retarded a little longer; Hyndman would have got deeper into the mud, and the personal element would have been thrown more into the background. However it could not be helped. The reason why the majority, instead of following up their victory, *resigned*, and starts a new organisation[346] was this chiefly, as Morris said to me:

[a] See this volume, p. 245.

that the old organisation was not *worth having*. The London branches are about 300 strong in all and those they hope mostly to get, and as to the provinces, it's all bosh and bogus.

Well we'll see what they will make. There is this to be said in their favour: that three more unpractical men for a political organisation than Aveling, Bax and Morris are not to be found in all England. But they are sincere.

Again Happy New Year to both of you and to the poor little ones[a] at Argenteuil when you see them, from Nim and myself.

Your
F. E.

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## 143

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 1 January 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

I have received your esteemed note of the 10th as well as Mrs Kelley-Wischnewetzky's ms.[349]: I have advised her of its receipt and told her I hope to be able to revise it next week.

*The Condition of the Working-Class* has not as yet been entirely prised out of Wigand's hands. From what Freytag the lawyer said, the old contract, which envisaged a second edition, was still in force about 10 years ago.[40] Since then I have on several occasions tried to find out from Freytag how I stood with Wigand under Saxon law but have never received an answer. So long as I remain in

[a] the Longuets' children

doubt on this point I shan't know what steps I can take. I have also told Dietz as much[39] but heard nothing further after that; he spoke of bringing out a new edition but I was not told anything definite.

However a new edition would not be possible without various notes by me, which in turn would involve consulting sundry works of reference and, in places, call for study and this I cannot take on at the moment as I have more than enough to do. I might consider it towards the middle of the year. So I think the best thing would be simply to let the matter rest till then.

Now, however, Ede tells me that my *Anti-Dühring* ought to be reprinted.[208] After considerable thought I have decided that it should be brought out *unaltered.* I owe this to my opponent and shall simply provide a new preface,[a] also appendices to some of the chapters, which can go together at the end. Then a new preface. This, too, I shall find time for. So if you want work for the press, I would suggest you start with that. Besides, the thing is not particularly urgent and can therefore be printed at your convenience.

I hope to finish Marx's *Capital*, Book II, in January and then proceed at once to rewrite the *Peasant War.*[213] That will take a good 6 weeks. But I must be quit of it so as to get on with *Capital*, Book III. To begin with, this will be a purely daytime occupation, leaving my evenings to some extent free, when I can attend to the *Condition of the Working-Class* — if, that is, the revision of sundry translations, attending to proofs, etc., leaves me time for it.

So think the matter over and let me know what you have decided. I shall gladly do all I can to help you.

Kindest regards and a Happy New Year to the colony at large.

Yours,
F. Engels

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 8-15.

## 144

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN VIENNA

London, 13 January 1885

Dear Kautsky,

I trust this will still catch you in Vienna.

It was only a day or two ago that I received the 1st number of the *Neue Zeit*. Can you get hold of about 2 or 3 more copies for me? Having promised Rudolf Meyer my critique of Rodbertus,[a] I can hardly send him a copy — the poor conservative social muddle-head is on tenterhooks — without also doing Mme Lafargue and Tussy the same service.

I would also ask you to send me copies of the *Poverty of Philosophy* for the above. The thing is advertised as having 'appeared'.

Groß would appear to be a blockhead, though an honest one. I have nothing against the biography; if you intend to lambast him for his confusion over theory, I don't envy you your task.[350]

Give Frankel my kind regards. No doubt you will tell me what he is in fact up to.

The New Year's card he and the others sent me gave me much pleasure.

Well, that's all until you come over here.

Your
F. E.

With an editor like □[b] you wouldn't have stuck it even for a fortnight. Better to come over here, rather than make yourself yet another deadly enemy in the parliamentary group.[351]

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[a] The first issue of *Die Neue Zeit*, 1885, carried Engels' preface to the first German edition of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy*, entitled 'Marx and Rodbertus'. - [b] Louis Viereck (*Viereck* = square in German)

## 145

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 13 January 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

By all means start with the *Anti-Dühring* as soon as convenient.[208] I have not read the philistine's reply,[a] nor do I wish to do so. Reply he cannot and he's welcome to lay about him with as much insolent verbiage as he wishes.

I have long been searching in vain for the *Rheinische Zeitung Revue.* I only have numbers *3*, *5* and *6*; 1, 2 and 4 are missing.[352] There are virtually no articles in them worth reprinting. Numbers 1-4 contain Marx's history of the French Revolution from 1848 to 1850[b] (comprised in the *18th Brumaire*) and my account of events in May 1849 in the Rhineland and Baden-Palatinate.[c] Then the *Peasant War*[d] (5 and 6) and short critical essays, as also a review of daily events.[e] The right to work is not touched on other than very briefly in, I think, Number I[f]; Marx wasn't much interested in catchphrases.

It would be quite a good idea for you to inquire from Wigand in your own name about a new edition of the *Condition etc.*,[40] but that won't get us very much further. I have got to know how I stand with him in law and shall inquire again from Freytag. N. B. I am assuming that, as soon as the matter is sufficiently advanced, you will come to an understanding with Dietz, as he does in fact have, or might assert, a prior claim.

Regards to Ede.

Yours faithfully,

F. Engels

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[a] E. Dühring, *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Socialismus.* - [b] K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850.* - [c] F. Engels, *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution.* - [d] F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany.* - [e] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Review, January-February 1850'; 'Review, March-April 1850'; 'Review, May to October 1850'. - [f] See K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 55-56).

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# ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 17 January 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

As regards the *Anti-Dühring*, I would further advise you that 1) the old preface is followed by another to the 2nd edition which, however, I can't really do as yet; so doubtless you will, as usual, begin with the actual text and leave preface and title to the last; 2) such additions as there are will appear as an appendix.[a]

I have heard from Bonn[b] that the *Origin of the Family etc.* is not obtainable in the bookshops; according to the booksellers they have had word from Switzerland — from the publisher — that the book has been *banned* and various friends have been bombarding me with inquiries as to where the book may be obtained. Since there has, to my knowledge, been no *public* ban, while a *secret* ban would be nonsensical, and since the assumption that Zurich has been spreading rumours of a ban is even more nonsensical, I find the matter puzzling. Could it be that the government, to spare itself the ridicule that would come of a public ban, has persuaded Schabelitz's agents in Leipzig to spread such things about and thus make sales more difficult? Perhaps you would be good enough to start inquiries over there and let me know the result; I shall also try to find out whether the same tactics are being pursued elsewhere.

What is Ede doing? I have had neither sight nor sound of him.

Yours faithfully,
F. Engels

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 630-42. - [b] in a letter Hagen wrote to Engels

# 147

# ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

## IN BERLIN

London, 19 January 1885

Dear Bebel,

I hope you have had my last registered letter concerning the matter of the Steamship Bill (of 30 or 31 December).[a] Today I must trouble you with an inquiry. Mr Franz Mehring has now written to me for the second time asking me to place at his disposal material for a biography, etc., of Marx and, amongst other things, has the nerve to presume that I send him 'on loan' to Berlin irreplaceable editions of ours which he is unable to procure over there! I shall not reply, but send a message via Hirsch. But if I am to strike the right note, I ought to know something more definite about his past and present and about his attitude towards the party. Generally speaking, all I know is that, some time before 1878, he was pretty roundly taken to task in the *Volksstaat* and the *Vorwärts* for being a reptile [353] and a defector from the party and, from the few writings of his which have fallen into my hands, I have seen that he was making literary use of such intimate knowledge as he had of the movement to dole out liberal portions of 'truth and fiction'[b] about it to your philistine, and to pass himself off as an authority in such matters. If he has done anything especially underhand that might single him out from the rest of the literary rabble, it would be most helpful for me to know it.[354]

Then there's another thing. I am being strongly urged to bring out a new edition of my *Condition of the Working-Class*. I can do absolutely nothing about it before finding out what my legal position is in regard to Wigand, the previous publisher.[40] I have asked Liebknecht about this umpteen times, and on each occasion he has undertaken to obtain the information for me from Freytag, but none has ever been forthcoming. And who was the first to express surprise that nothing had been settled? Why, Liebknecht, of course. Now since it would be

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[a] See this volume, pp. 240-43. - [b] 'Wahrheit und Dichtung' in the original, which is a paraphrase of the title of Goethe's autobiographical book *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 'Dichtung' meaning 'poetry, fiction'.

folly to entrust him with any further errands, I must once again bother you, and ask you to obtain for me from Freytag, or some other *Saxon* advocate, a reply to the enclosed questions. As soon as I have that reply I can, and intend to, proceed.

To return to Germany's industrial position, I readily concede that enormous progress has been made since 1866, and more especially since 1871. But the contrast with other countries still remains, nonetheless. England had had the monopoly of mass-produced articles and France that of the *finer* luxury and fashion goods, and in this respect there has not, after all, been any change worth mentioning. In iron, it is true, Germany is, together with America, second only to England; but she is very far from attaining the level of English mass-production and can only hope to compete by selling *at a loss*. In cotton, Germany manufactures only subsidiary articles for the world market. The massive quantities of yarn and other woven goods (SHIRTINGS and other mass-produced articles) for the Indian and Chinese market are still an English monopoly, and such competition as there may be in this sphere comes, not from Germany but from America. In woollen goods, too, England still dominates the world market, ditto in linen (Ireland). Birmingham is still the centre for hardware for domestic use, etc., as Sheffield is for cutlery, and the greatest threat of competition is still posed by America, not Germany. Machinery (with the exception of locomotives), England and America.

In the matter of fashion goods, France has lost a lot of ground. Here, too, fashion has changed considerably, and this certainly applies to Germany also. Both countries, however, and Germany in particular, produce in the main 2nd, 3rd and 4th class goods and still to a large extent depend on the Paris fashions. Meanwhile it is obvious that, in the case of buyers who consist almost exclusively of parvenus, 2nd and 3rd class articles play a considerable role and can be sold to these boors as 1st class goods.

One thing, however, is certain: the large bulk of German exports is composed of a mass of what, seen individually, are more or less insignificant articles, the manufacture of which, in so far as fashion comes into it, depends largely on the theft of Parisian patterns — e. g. the women's coat trade in Berlin — as is openly admitted in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. Moreover, foreign cloth is largely used for the purpose.

I believe the world market can be more accurately sized up from this country than from over there; but in doing so I have regularly followed the specialised German trade reports and hence see both sides of the picture. I wish I could sometime spare a moment to write something from this standpoint on the subject of protective tariffs in Germany. They are completely cock-eyed. German industry developed and became capable of exporting under a system of free trade more comprehensive than in any other industrial country save England — and it is being restricted by protective tariffs in the very sphere in which it is capable of exporting! That the *exporters* should be demanding protective tariffs is characteristic of Germany — we must have them so as to be able to sell to other countries at a loss and yet show a profit at the end of the year! What we give to other countries must be paid back to us at home, just as we present other countries with the surplus value and make our profits from deductions made on wages!

N. B. That worthy citizen Mehring is the author of the 'leading articles' in the *Demokratische Blätter*, which he sends me as an earnest of his principles.

Your
F. E.

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## 148

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [196;355]

### IN PARIS

[Excerpt]

[London, about 25 January 1885]

You know what efforts the Russian government has been making for years past to wrest from England and France — but from England

in particular — their assent to the extradition of the heroic nihilists.[356] Once these two countries had been won over to such a cause, the rest of Europe was bound to follow suit. There was even reason to hope that America might also be moved to act in similar fashion.

Now, *The Pall Mall Gazette* of 15 January contained an article by Mme Novikov, devil's advocate of tsarism, appealing yet again to England to desist from giving asylum to the Gartmans, the Stepnyaks and all those who 'organise assassination in Russia'.[a] The English, she goes on, are now threatened with similar chemical attacks; the refuge they afford to the Russian dynamiters is likewise afforded by America to the Irish dynamiters. What England is asking of America is precisely what Russia is asking of England.

All this is plain enough. But there is better to come. On the morning of 24 January all the newspapers carried the text of an agreement, concluded through diplomatic channels, between St Petersburg and Berlin whereby the extradition of political offenders was to be extended to Germany and thence to the rest of Europe.[357]

And on the afternoon of that same day, the 24th of January, London was terrorised by a threefold explosion, one in the House of Commons, directed against the legislature, one in Westminster Hall directed against the judiciary, and one in the Tower, directed against the executive. This time it was no longer a matter of blowing up public lavatories or of frightening travellers on the underground railway.[358] Rather it was a concerted attack upon the three great powers of state, symbolised by the buildings in which they assemble.

Is this no more than an act perpetrated by a handful of Fenian hotheads? Might it not rather be the great coup tsarism needed to bring off if it was to compel England to join the ranks of its anti-revolutionary league? If the dynamite was of Russian origin, and handled by Russian agents, could it, I ask, have exploded at a time better calculated to prostrate a terrified and repentant John Bull at the feet of Alexander III?

First published in *Cri du Peuple*, No. 461, Paris, 31 janvier 1885

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

[a] O. Novikova, 'The Russification of England'.

## 149

## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY

### IN HEIDELBERG

London, 4 February 1885
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Madam,

I hope you have received the letter I wrote to you about the time of the New Year.[39]

I now forward to you, *registered*, the ms. you sent to me, and only regret that press of work prevented my returning it earlier.[349] I have looked it over carefully, and entered some corrections and suggestions in pencil, in order to show you how I should like it translated. Here and there you may find that my suggestions, taken together with the rest of the sentence, will not turn out to be correct English; in these cases I left it to you to set that right.

As for the technical terms, if you will be good enough to forward me from time to time a list of them with the pages on which they occur, I shall be glad to give you the English equivalents.

The German preface (as well as the English dedication)[359] I would, in your place, leave out entirely. They contain nothing of interest *now*. The first part of the preface refers to a phase of intellectual development in Germany and elsewhere which is now almost forgotten, and the second part is in our days superfluous.

As to translations of my other writings you will understand as a matter of course that I cannot now take any positive engagements. There are people here who wish to translate one thing or another, and I have consented conditionally, that is to say if they find a publisher and really undertake the work.

The English preface I shall write[360] when things are a little more advanced.

In the meantime I remain

Yours very truly,
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Reproduced from the original

## 150

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG[34]

London, 4 February 1885

Dear Liebknecht,

So you have sent me that literatus after all; I trust it is the last of its kind. Surely you can see for yourself how these impudent rascals are misusing you. The man is quite incorrigible, just like his friend Quarck — they're both *Quark*[a] —, and if they fall into line with you people and you accept them, I shall fall somewhat out of line. Won't you ever get it into your head that this semi-educated pack of literati can only spoil and adulterate the party? From what you say, Viereck ought never to get into the Reichstag either! The petty-bourgeois element in the party is increasingly gaining the upper hand. They want to suppress Marx's name as much as possible. If things go on like this, there will be a split in the party, on that you may depend. You blame it all on their worships the philistines having been affronted. But there are moments when that must be done or else they get above themselves. Is then the subsection on German, or true, socialism[b] to become applicable again 40 years later?

For the rest I am keeping well, though I have a hellish lot to do and cannot write long letters.

Your
F. E.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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Published in English for the first time

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[a] 'Quark' = curd or cottage cheese; fig. rubbish in German. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 510-13).

## 151

## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY

### IN HEIDELBERG

London, 10 February 1885
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Madam,

I herewith return Mr Putnam's letter — of course it would be a splendid success if we could secure publication[a] by that firm — but I am afraid Mr Putnam will stick to his objections, the great strength of which, from a publisher's standpoint, I fully recognise. Perhaps the fact that a new German edition of my work is in actual preparation, may shake him a little. My friends in Germany say that the book is important to them just now because it describes a state of things which is almost exactly reproduced at the present moment in Germany; and, as the development of manufacturing industry, steam and machinery and their social outcrop in the creation of a proletariate, in America corresponds at the present moment as nearly as possible to the English status of 1844 (though your go-ahead people are sure to outstrip the old world in the next 15-20 years altogether) the comparison of industrial England of 1844 with industrial America of 1885 might have its interest too.

Of course in the new preface to the English translation [360] I shall refer as fully as space will permit to the changes in the condition of the British working class which have taken place in the interval; to the improved position of a more or less privileged minority, to the certainly not alleviated misery of the great body, and especially to the impending change for the worse which must necessarily follow from the break-down of the industrial monopoly of England in consequence of the increasing competition in the markets of the world, of Continental Europe and especially of America.

Very sincerely yours,
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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[a] of Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*

## 152

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

### IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 11 February 1885

My dear Sir,

I shall be glad to send you the proof-sheets of Volume II as soon as you let me know whether I shall send them '*sous bande*' (per book-post) or in a closed envelope as a letter.[361] The fact is, that if one gets lost, it will be impossible to replace it until the work is completed. By the time your answer arrives I expect to have two or three for you.

I thank you very much for the offer you made me some time ago to place at my disposal the letters you have from Mr Williams.[a] At present the manuscripts claim all my time and attention, but the moment is sure to come when I shall take advantage of your kind offer.

Have you any news from our mutual friend[b] since the accident which happened to him some time ago?[362]

Be kind enough to address in future as stated at foot.

Yours very sincerely,
P. Rosher[363]

Mrs Rosher
6 Richmond Villas, Messina Avenue,
West Hampstead,
N. W. London

First published, in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 2, St Petersburg, 1908

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

[a] Marx's pseudonym - [b] Hermann Lopatin

## 153

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV [1]

### IN PARIS

London, 12 February 1885

My dear Lavrov,

I hasten to reply to your questions.[364] The item about the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue*, edited by Karl Marx, Hamburg and London, 1850, is absolutely correct. It appeared in *Heft*[a] I-VI and was published by Schuberth in Hamburg. You yourself asked me a few months ago for information about the articles by Marx which appeared in the *Revue* on the subject of the February revolution and the events that followed it.[156] I possess only 3 of the instalments and have tried in vain to get hold of the complete set. The other facts provided by Groß are also correct, if memory serves me aright (Tussy has got my copy, so I can't compare it). Needless to say, I in no way agree with his silly strictures on Marx's theories. He was recommended to me by the Viennese socialists and, in reply to some biographical questions he put to me, I gave him the facts.

The German translation of the *Poverty* contains just a few explanatory notes by me,[118] but also an article written by Marx in 1865 on Proudhon and his speech of 1847 on free trade.

The 2nd volume of *Capital* is now being printed; yesterday I corrected the 4th sheet. The rest of the manuscript goes off from here in a fortnight's time. The 3rd volume will be the most important one, and I shall get to work on it as soon as the 2nd has been well and truly launched.—The English edition is dragging its feet, the two translators[b] being too busy with other matters to work at it with the proper ardour. It will be finished, I hope, come the summer.[56]

I had already heard that you were having trouble with your eyes. Would it not be wise to give up working for a time so as not to tire your eyesight unduly? I find that, at our age, it is always best to tackle morbid symptoms when they first occur. Let's hope that you will be able to let me have better news before too long.

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[a] issue - [b] Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling

In the preface to the 2nd volume of *Capital*, I again revert to Rodbertus in order to show that the objections he raises against Marx result from his quite unbelievable ignorance of classical political economy.[a]

Yours ever,
F. Engels
(Федоръ Федорычъ[b])

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Printed according to the original

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## 154

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN LONDON[365]

[London,] 14 February 1885

Dear Kautsky,

I forgot to remind you day before yesterday that we are, as usual, expecting you and your wife to a meal this Sunday (tomorrow the 15th inst.), i. e. if you have nothing better to do, and you are hereby given a standing invitation to take potluck with me on Sundays.

Your
F. Engels

First published in *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky*, Wien, 1955

Printed according to the book

Published in English for the first time

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 36; see also F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'. - [b] (Russ.) Fyodor Fyodorych

## 155

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 22 February 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

I look forward to seeing the proof-sheets of the *Anti-Dühring*.[208]

In Wigand's case[40] matters stand thus: it had already been noted in Leipzig in 1875 or 1876 that no more copies of the *Condition* were available and I possess the original invoice marked 'last copies'. However no harm can be done if confirmation of this is once again provided by the other party. I have at long last been given a legal opinion from which I gather that the matter is by no means as simple as had appeared at first glance. Now that I know how I stand, I shall take further steps and advise you as soon as I receive a positive reply from Wigand.

I knew Schabelitz even before 1848 when he was here in London and belonged to the Communist Society.[162] Give him my kindest regards when you see him. Your explanation re the alleged 'ban' was just what I wanted[366]; it is quite typical of the German book trade. Obviously nothing can be done about it so long as not one agent can be found who is possessed of pluck. But the bulk of bourgeois readers don't buy our stuff, so in this case pluck is not a particularly paying proposition. It was a different matter when banned books were merely liberal or radical, or even when, prior to 1848, communism was still a cause with which the bourgeoisie flirted.

The last ms. of the 2nd book of *Capital* goes off tomorrow, and day after tomorrow I shall start on the 3rd book. So long as I have it on my conscience, I shall be unable to give serious thought to anything else.

Please tell Ede that I shall write to him as soon as I have a spare moment.

Kindest regards from

Yours,

F. Engels

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## 156

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 8 March 1885

My dear Laura,

Somehow or other I have to-night a few free moments and so sit down to write to you — hoping that nobody will drop in. For evening calls are getting rather frequent of late, more than is desirable sometimes, when there is work to do. And the dictated portions of the *Capital*[a] I am obliged to look over while the thing is fresh in my mind and the original at hand ready to correct mistakes. Moreover, there are still translations to revise (last week part of a Danish one of my *Ursprung*[b] — very fair) and Russian pamphlets to decipher (Vera Zasoulitch has sent me one of Plechanoff, polemical against Lavroff and Tichomiroff,[c] and wants me to give her my opinion,[d] and besides these Russian quarrels are not uninteresting) and such like, so that besides the current small fry I have not had time to read a book for months.

The 3rd book [of] *Capital* is getting grander and grander the deeper I get into it, and I am only (having passed over entirely about 70 pages, more or less superseded by a later manuscript) at page 230 out of 525. It is almost inconceivable how a man who had such tremendous discoveries, such an entire and complete scientific revolution in his head, could keep it there for 20 years. For the ms. I am working at, has been written either before, or at the same time as the *first volume*; and the essential part of it is already in the old manuscript of 1860-1862.[171] The fact is, first the intricacies of the 2nd book (which he wrote last and which alone he touched after 1870) kept him fast, as he of course would have to publish his 3 books in regular order; and then, his Russian and American material for the theory of the rent of land[80] would have required working up into the old manuscript and would probably have nearly doubled its size.

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[a] of the third volume - [b] *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* - [c] [Plekhanov] Г. Плехановъ, *Наши разногласія* (Our Differences). - [d] See this volume, pp. 279-81.

Here the two socialist bodies [346] are so far jogging on alongside each other without collision, but the foreign department will very likely embroil them. You may have seen in No. 9 of the *Sozialdemokrat* a letter from Varenholz, dictated by Hyndman. This rather *schnoddrige*[a] effusion required a reply which we have concocted and which will come, if possible, in next Saturday's *Sozialdemokrat*. This time, of course, Aveling had to speak out, and that strong enough to stop Hyndman's game once for all. [367]

We have Kautsky here [365] whom I think you saw before, with a young Viennese wife, a nice little body.[b] They intend settling down here for the present — and live in Maitland Park; just out of the Crescent. So there is always some connection going on with the old place. [368]

Pumps and Percy are getting on as usual. On Sundays there is here now a great cardplaying company, some play whist if there are 4 to be got for that, the rest 'Mariage' and 'Nap', games introduced by the noble Percy. His firm had a law-suit which they lost but it is nothing serious, only I hope that it will damp poor Percy's ardent faith in English law. The little ones are getting on very well upon the whole; Lily is very amiable and jolly. She has an extremely sharp ear and retentive memory for *des jurons*,[c] and you may be sure, that she finds many an opportunity to catch them.

On Saturday[d] Nim and Tussy as well as Pumps will go to Highgate. [369] I cannot go, I am still very changeable with respect to capacity for movement, and have just had a little bit of notice to keep quiet. Anyhow I shall continue working at the book which will be a monument to him, made by himself, grander than any that other people could set for Mohr. Two years already on Saturday! And yet I can truly say that while I work at this book, I am in living communion with him.

The 2nd book is getting on well. 13 sheets corrected. Will you please ask Paul *to send* me at once the address under which he writes to Danielson. I have had a letter from him and want to send the proof-sheets, [361] but am not certain as to address which may besides have been changed.

How is the Montceau Brenin Thévenin affair going on? [370] And has the *Cri du Peuple* cried his last?

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[a] shabby - [b] Louise Kautsky - [c] swear-words - [d] 14 March

*Amitiés à* Paul.

Yours affectionately,
F. Engels

Nim's love!

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

Reproduced from the original

## 157

## ENGELS TO RICHARD STEGEMANN

### IN TÜBINGEN

[Draft]

[London,] 26 March 1885

Dear Sir,

I hardly imagine that I would be capable of acceding to your request.[371] You might, it is true, be able to produce a fairly clear portrait of Marx the man from all the activities, both literary and political, Marx engaged in; information on these activities is of course freely available to the world at large, with the single exception of Germany, most of the requisite material having appeared abroad. On the other hand, a character sketch by me would necessarily be brief, hence not only inadequate but ±[a] dogmatic and likewise 'belletristic', hence worse than nothing at all. Besides I cannot presume that my assessment should be taken by you for gospel, and so could not tell what would ultimately become of my contribution, even having regard to your indisputable bona fides. If, however, you proceed on the assumption that Marx was the exact opposite of the German philistine in every conceivable respect, you can't go far wrong.

Whether this is now the precise moment for a critique of Marx,

[a] more or less

what with the 2nd book of *Capital* due to appear in a month or two and with work proceeding on the 3rd, is for you to decide. At all events you are right in saying that criticism and so-called 'scholarship' have disclosed nothing hitherto save a 'general lack of judgment', and no one was more amused by that than Marx himself. I can still see him laughing over the despairing sighs of Mr Schäffle who had studied *Capital* for ten years and still hadn't understood it. [a]

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## 158

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER [1]

### IN GENEVA

London, 2 April 1885

Dear Old Man,

So that you shouldn't think you had been forgotten, I have taken out a money order for five pounds for you and trust you will get the money at once. So far I am pretty well, though not, it is true, as yet fit for active service, nor am I likely ever to be able to mount a horse again, but I am still perky enough for peacetime work. $^2/_3$ of the second volume of *Capital* have been printed and the book will be appearing in some 2 months' time, while work on the third volume is well advanced. This last, which contains the final conclusions and, indeed, some quite brilliant stuff, will revolutionise economics once and for all and create a tremendous sensation.

In the meantime things are beginning to liven up again. Ferry's fall [372] opened the proceedings, now it's Gladstone's turn, and Bismarck's will follow as soon as that jackass William[b] kicks the bucket.

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[a] See [A. Schäffle,] *Die Quintessenz des Socialismus*, Gotha, 1875, p. 5; see also Engels' letter to Eduard Bernstein of 12 March 1881 (present edition, Vol. 46, p. 74). -
[b] William I

For us, the most favourable situation will arise when, at the moment of revolution, the most radical elements of the bourgeoisie are everywhere at the helm — Clemenceau in France, Dilke and Chamberlain in this country and Richter in Germany — so that when they have ruined themselves, the revolution will be carried out against them and not for their benefit. It looks as though this might come about, provided no premature action is taken in Paris.

As was inevitable in the circumstances of the Anti-Socialist Law, [37] a number of thoroughgoing philistines have been returned to the Reichstag by our people and are beginning to give themselves airs because they constitute a majority in the parliamentary group. [373] We shall now have to wait and see how far they go; they can be tolerated for a time if in tow, but not when in the lead. They know that they haven't got the masses behind them, but they also know that, at the moment, the hands of the masses are very much tied. Of one thing we may be certain. If they gain the upper hand, I shall continue to cooperate up to a certain point, but beyond that it will be *bon jour, messieurs.* [a] Being overwhelmed with work, I cannot unfortunately go into the attack as I should like to do, but perhaps it is a good thing to allow these gentlemen a little latitude. The matter of the Steamship Subsidies [342] went off pretty smoothly on the whole, after several of them had made real fools of themselves. Now they are out for the blood of the Zurich *Sozialdemokrat,* [374] which is rather more serious. For it's bad enough to be made to look a fool in the eyes of the gentlemen in the Reichstag, but in the eyes of the whole of Europe — that really is a bit thick! If Bebel were in good health, none of this would matter a great deal, but he is nervy and debilitated, on top of which he has to work himself to the bone on his family's account.

But everything will come right when old William pegs out. The Crown Prince[b] is a weak, irresolute fellow, as if destined for decapitation, his wife[c] ambitious, with a clique of her own — in short, there will be all manner of changes that will play havoc with the existing order of things and bemuse and unsettle the civil service, while the bourgeoisie will at last be compelled to clear away some of the old lumber and play a political role — as it damned well ought. Only let the political scene at home come to life again and we shall need nothing more. But the rotten bourgeoisie has so greatly deteriorated that

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[a] good day, gentlemen - [b] Frederick William - [c] Victoria

what it should do voluntarily and in its own interests as a class, it will do only under compulsion — the compulsion of the historical circumstances imposed upon it. And so long as the old jackass lives, it will be under no compulsion to get moving, which is why I hope that he will kick the bucket and do so in the way of nature, thus leaving his successor free to choose what stupidity to indulge in first. And with this pious wish, it being almost time for the post, I shall now conclude. Borkheim was rather less well during the winter, but has now improved again, i. e. he's much as before.

Fraternal greetings,

From your old friend
F. E.

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## 159

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 4 April 1885

Dear Bebel,

Since you happen to be at home now and I, too, am granting myself a bit of a holiday, I shall take advantage of the opportunity to remind you of my existence.

So those gentlemen who form the majority of the parliamentary group are intent on setting themselves up as a 'power' to judge by their statement in today's *Sozialdemokrat*.[374] The endeavour as such is feeble, and is basically an admission of their own ineptitude. 'We are,' they say, 'annoyed by the paper's attitude; it conflicts with ours, we are to be held responsible for an opinion that is the opposite of our own, and we really don't know what to do about it. Are we not to be pitied?' But it is their first step towards the establishment of the petty

bourgeoisie as the dominant, official element in the party, and the relegation of the proletariat to the status of one that is barely tolerated. How far along this road they will dare to travel remains to be seen. If they gain control of the *Sozialdemokrat*, it will no longer be possible for me to vindicate the party abroad through thick and thin as single-mindedly as I have always done. And their committee of inquiry would seem to betray a certain desire to take over the organ. Come to that, their main grievance would seem to lie in having been compelled in the end to vote against the Steamship Bill upon which they had set their hearts.

For the rest, things in general are going very well. The year 1885 has got off to an excellent start. In France, Ferry topples, colonial policy, dictated by stock-market speculators, collapses, [372] new elections in the offing consequent upon new electoral legislation. [375] In Paris, what's more, a state of ferment, provoked by the rapacity and inefficiency of the ruling middle class and exacerbated by the infamies of the police (everything they do, however base, is condoned, provided they keep the masses at bay); we can only hope that things won't come to a head there in the form of attempted coups. If they take a peaceful course, radicalism — i. e. Clemenceau — is bound to come to the helm before very long. Should he come to power peacefully and not as the result of rioting, and thus be compelled to keep his promises and put his radical *panacée* into practice, the Parisian workers will quickly be cured of their belief in radicalism. In addition, there will be the new elections consequent upon the new electoral legislation, and thus stagnation will again give way to activity.

In England, with her thoroughly effete government, [376] there will also be new elections consequent upon the new electoral legislation. [299] And in Germany, a change of monarch that may occur any day now and which, in a country as chockful of traditions as Prussia-Germany, always ushers in a new period of activity; in short, things will begin to liven up everywhere, and this on the economic basis of universal and incurable overproduction, a state of affairs that is gradually leading up to an acute crisis.

Kautsky has just arrived with a long letter from Ede about his conflict with the parliamentary group. I have told Kautsky that in my view it was in fact Ede's duty to let the party at large have their say in the paper, and that the parliamentary group has no right to prevent this. If he adopts this standpoint, the group won't be able to touch

him. Secondly, he mustn't let the group press him into posing the cardinal question; to be rid of him is exactly what the chaps are after, and he could do them no greater service. In the third place, he should not take upon himself responsibility for other people's articles unless he reserves the right to name them. You know whom I mean and who it was that wrote most of the articles about the steamship affair — the ones that so enraged the majority and for which Ede appears to have assumed responsibility. [377] After all, he has long had to do battle with the petty-bourgeois lot; now the struggle has simply assumed a different form, but the cause is still the same and, like you, I think it improbable that these gentlemen will take things to extremes, much though they would like to exploit the position the Anti-Socialist Law [37] affords them, namely immunity to official and genuine opposition or criticism on the part of their voters.

The matter would, in my view, take a smoother course were the *Sozialdemokrat* to discard the *official* character that has been attached to it. Though not undesirable at one time, this no longer serves any purpose. Whether and how such a thing can be done, you will know better than I.

25 sheets (out of 38) of *Capital*, Book II have been printed. Book III is in hand. It is quite extraordinarily brilliant. This complete reversal of all previous economics is truly astounding. Our theory is thereby provided for the first time with an unassailable basis while we ourselves are enabled to hold our own successfully against all comers. Directly it appears, the philistines in the party will again be dealt a blow that will give them something to think about. For it will again bring general economic questions to the forefront of the controversy.

Time for the post. Unless I send this off, it won't leave till Monday[a] and, perhaps, no longer find you at home. My warm regards, then, and mind you keep well and look after yourself; we don't just need a Bebel, but a Bebel sound in wind and limb.

Your
F. E.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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Published in English for the first time

[a] 6 April

## 160

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 11 April 1885
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

I am writing these few lines just to tell you that I have received the translation[a] and am dealing with it. I hope to be able to return it with my comments and suggestions in ten to fifteen days' time. What I have managed to read so far seems very well done.

Thanking you cordially, I remain your devoted

F. Engels

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## 161

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN LONDON

[London,] 16 April 1885

Dear Kautsky,

Lenchen has a touch of bronchitis and has been ordered to bed by the doctor, so our usual Sunday dinner must, alas, be given a miss.

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[a] The Italian translation of Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see also this volume, p. 215).

I trust your wife is at last rid of her headache.
Kind regards.

Your
F. Engels

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## 162

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 16-17 April 1885

My dear Laura,

It has struck me, since I wrote last,[a] that something might be done in the matter of Lawroff's Russian friends, if they are willing to risk some money on preliminary expenses. 1) If the man died in London and the date of his death, locality, etc., is approximately known, these particulars might enable some one to trace the authentic record of the death. 2) Having that, it will be easy to ascertain at the Court of Probate whether there was a will proved, or whether some one, and who, took out letters of administration and appropriated the gold the man is supposed to have left.

These two steps will in any case be the first two steps that have to be taken, and will put the inquiring parties in a position where they can better judge whether it is worth while proceeding any further. I think Percy might be entrusted with this preliminary part of the matter, and I would see that his charges are no more than what is usual. They would depend, of course, upon the amount of trouble he would be put to.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 264-66.

How is poor old Lawroff getting on with his eyesight? It must be terrible for him to be debarred from the use of his books.

Here is another patient: old Harney has been hovering about all parts of England and Scotland ever since July last and everywhere persecuted by articular rheumatism and bad weather — and now at last turned up in London. He has gone through all sorts of semi-quack treatments — Turkish baths, brine-baths, magnetic belts, etc., and all of course no use, and now has put himself again in the hands of an advertising 'specialist' who exploits the uric-acid-gout theory (which in itself is quite correct) in what looks to me an extremely quackish way. However I'll hope the best, and the poor old fellow is much in want of it. He is shaky enough in arms, hands, legs and feet, and of course much reduced by the treatment he has undergone. I saw him this afternoon (he stays somewhere near the Brecknock) and he speaks of nothing but his sufferings, though here and there with a dash of his old dry humour. His treatment has of course cost him an awful lot of money and he seems to dread the necessity of returning to America. From all this you see how much eight months of continuous pains and gradually sinking hopes of relief have brought the old chap down. I hope the spring weather which anyhow must come sometime, will bring him at least some relief.

It's nothing but patients today. Tussy may have informed you that Edward fell ill about 10 days ago and that Donkin says it is a calculus in the kidney — he is at Ventnor at present and rest, we hope, will allay the irritation. Of course, there are a good many people loafing about with such a thing in their kidney but it is not pleasant certainly.

The next patient is not so bad, but it is Nim, she had a severe cold, and as one could not keep her out of the kitchen, it turned into a — so far slight — attack of bronchitis. Anyhow I got her to consult the doctor today who told her the shortest way to get over it at once was to go to bed, so there we got her with a fire in the room and 64 degrees Fahrenheit and hope she will be able to get up about Monday.

So now I have come to an end of my sick-list, it is the longest I have had for some time and a mighty pleasant subject to write about, and more pleasant still for the reader!

Paul's article for Kautsky goes in German into the *Neue Zeit*[a] and in

[a] [P. Lafargue, 'Die Krisis in Frankreich. Der Krieg in Tongking',] *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 5, 1885.

English into next *Commonweal*.[a] I do not know whether you get this regularly. The business arrangements are as usual awfully defective, everything is put upon Edward's shoulders and as he cannot supervise every detail, nobody knows whether the paper is really forwarded to all those people abroad who ought to have it. The whole Socialist League[346] is now in an awful excitement about the Afghan scare — they see not only war, but England defeated, India in revolt and last, revolution at home, Socialism triumphant — hooray! Poor Bax was going to write in this style but Tussy told him he had better see me about it, and I have done my best to cool him down a bit.[378] Whenever an Englishman does get free of Jingoism thoroughly, he seems to get a positive hatred of his own nationality. This is not such a bad quality, only rather misplaced in the case of a war with the Russian Tsar.[b] The Socialist League will not as yet set England in a blaze, but the Russian Nihilists[356] may Russia — with the help of an unsuccessful war.

You will have seen the stupid proclamation of the German deputies in the *Sozialdemokrat*.[374] The petit-bourgeois element has decidedly got the majority among the deputies, as I feared from the beginning. This is owing to the Socialist Law[37] which gives them exceptional facilities in pushing their candidatures. But they will soon find out their mistake, if they have not already done so. I am rather glad they have come out so soon and so stupidly. The separation from this element which has been pushed and cajoled principally by friend Liebknecht — with the usual best intentions, of course — will come, but I do not want to provoke it while the Socialist Law is in force, because that prevents us from fighting it out. It gives these people a certain advantage but that we must put up with for the time being. And I do not think they will push things to a crisis.

Now a word for Paul.[379] No doubt *lex*[c] is derived from *legere*[d] and νόμοʒ[e] from νέμω,[f] and so a certain connection can be established between agricultural and political terms. And this cannot be otherwise. The first social regulations which were put in force, necessarily referred to production and the means of getting the livelihood. That this is confirmed by the development of the language, *rien de plus naturel*.[g] But now to go further, and to work the derivation of *legere* and νέμω into a complete system, cannot lead but to fanciful

[a] P. Lafargue, 'The Tonkin War and Socialism', *The Commonweal*, No. 4, May 1885. - [b] Alexander III - [c] law - [d] to gather - [e] pasture - [f] tending grazing cattle - [g] nothing more natural

results — if only for the reason that we do not know at what time each particular derivate was formed and still less at what time it received the meaning at which it was handed down to us. And moreover, old etymologists like Vico are bad guide, *ilex* has the root *il*, and nothing to do with *lex*. Etymology like physiology and any other -ology must be learned, cannot be invented. And this leads me to the Roshers. You recollect Charley went in for a new railway carriage by which in case of a collision you could get smashed in a new way. Well, that is exploded. But Charley's younger brothers (one 20, the other 18) have invented a new carriage, have patented it, and old Rosher does not seem much disinclined to go in for this thing! What a family of geniuses!

*Sur ce*,[a] I shut up. Kind regards to Paul.— Hope 'better news next time'.

Affectionately yours,

F. E.

17th April. The doctor has been. Nim is better, and can get up in a couple of days.

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## 163

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

[London, after 16 April 1885]

Dear Ede,

Thanks. Letter from August[b]: the parliamentary group, whose authority August contested, resolved *unanimously* after a 3 days' debate

[a] And here - [b] August Bebel

that the *personal* controversy be dropped and the non-personal be postponed until *after* the Reichstag sitting, and with this August concurred.[380] So the news of a defeat was false; we have won all along the line.

Your
F. E.

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## 164

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

### IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 23 April 1885

Dear Sir,

I have received your kind letter of the 9/21 last month and am very much obliged for the very interesting information it contains.[381] That the law of wages being in inverse proportion to the length of working time should also be verified in Russia is a very interesting fact indeed. So also is the rapid disintegration of the міръ[a] by the progress of modern industry and financing, as shown in the increasing number of the безхозяйственные хозяева.[b] All such facts are of the highest importance to me, and I shall feel very much obliged if you will communicate to me, from time to time, what you may know about the economical condition and development of your great country. Unfortunately at present all my time is taken up with the publication of the manuscripts,[c] so much so that I have to interrupt not only independent work but even my studies, and can scarcely find

[a] (Russ.) rural community - [b] (Russ.) farmless peasants - [c] of the third volume of *Capital*

time for correspondence; so you see I cannot take advantage just now of your kind offer to send me original Russian works on economical subjects, I should really not have the time to make use of them. But I hope you will not blame me, if hereafter at the first opportunity I take the liberty of reminding you of your kind promise. In the meantime these inestimable manuscripts are to me a source of the highest scientific *Genuss*,[a] and no doubt so will the proofs be to you.[361] Of these I forwarded to you Nos. 5-9 about 3 weeks ago 27th March and yesterday Nos. 10-14. I shall again forward a set shortly, always *registered*. The whole of No. II will be about 37 sheets and will be out by end of May. I am now busy with No. III which is the concluding and crowning part, and will eclipse even No. I. I dictate from the original, which is positively illegible to any living man except myself, and shall have no rest until it is all transferred to a manuscript which at all events will be legible to others. Then I can take my time with the final redaction, which will be no easy task, seeing the imperfect state of the original. But anyhow, even if I should not be spared to finish that, it would be saved from being utterly lost, and could be published as it is in case of need. This No. III is the most astounding thing I ever read, and it is a thousand pities that the author did not live to work it out and publish it himself and see the effect it is destined to create. After this lucid exposition, no candid opposition is any longer possible. The most difficult points are cleared up and disentangled as if they were a mere child's play, and the whole system acquires a new and simple aspect. I am afraid this No. III will fill two volumes. Besides that I have an old manuscript which treats the history of the theory and will also require a good deal of work.[171] So you see I have my hands full.

Very sincerely yours,

P. W. Rosher[363]

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[a] enjoyment

# 165

## ENGELS TO VERA ZASULICH[316; 382]

IN GENEVA

London, 23 April 1885

Dear Citizen,

I still owe you an answer to your letter of 14 February. Below you will find the reasons for my tardiness, which can certainly not be attributed to idleness on my part.

You ask me to give you my opinion of Plekhanov's book *Наши разногласія.*[a] To do this I should have to have read it. I find little difficulty in reading Russian when I have spent a week devoting myself to it, but six months or more may go by without my having any opportunity to do so; then, having lost the habit of it, I am compelled to learn the language all over again, as it were. And that is what has happened with the *Разногласія.* Marx's manuscripts, which I dictate to a secretary,[b] take up the whole of my day; in the evening people come to call who cannot, after all, simply be shown the door. Also there are proofs to be read, a great deal of correspondence and, finally, translations (into the Italian, Danish, etc.) of my *Origin etc.*,[c] which I am asked to look over and whose revision sometimes turns out to be neither easy nor superfluous. Well, all these interruptions have prevented my progressing further than page 60 of the *Разногласія.* If only I could have three days to myself, the job would be done and, what is more, I should have brushed up my Russian.

However, the little I have read is, I think, enough to put me more or less *au fait* with the dispute[d] in question.

To begin with, let me repeat how proud I am to know that there exists among the younger generation in Russia a party which frankly and unreservedly accepts the great economic and historical theories evolved by Marx, and which has broken for good with all the anarchic and to some extent Slavophil traditions of its predecessors.[383] And Marx himself, had he lived a little longer, would have been no less proud than I. It marks a step forward which will be of the utmost

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[a] See this volume, p. 264. - [b] Oskar Eisengarten - [c] *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*; see also this volume, pp. 264 and 272. - [d] Crossed out in the draft: 'between your group and the Narodnaya Volya members[356]'.

importance to the revolutionary development of Russia. In my eyes, Marx's historical theory is fundamentally essential to revolutionary tactics, if these are to be *consistent* and *logical*; to discover what those tactics ought to be, all one has to do is to apply the theory to economic and political conditions in the country concerned.

But to do so demands familiarity with those conditions, and I, for my part, am too ignorant of the present situation in Russia to suppose myself competent to assess in detail the tactics that might be required at any given moment. Again, the internal and intimate history of the Russian revolutionary party, in particular that of the last few years, is to me a closed book. My friends among the Narodnaya Volya members have never discussed it with me. Yet this is an element which, if one is to form an opinion, cannot be ignored.

What I know, or believe I know, of the situation in Russia leads me to think that that country is nearing its 1789. Revolution is *bound* to break out some time or other; it *may* break out any day. In conditions such as these the country is like a charged mine, all that is needed is to apply the match. Especially after what happened on 13 March.[188] It is one of those special cases where it is possible for a handful of men to *effect* a revolution, that is, to bring about at one stroke the collapse of an entire system whose equilibrium is more than labile (to use Plekhanov's metaphor[a]),[384] and to release, by a single and intrinsically insignificant act, explosive forces which later become uncontrollable. Well, if ever Blanquism, the fantasy of subverting the whole of a society through action by a small group of conspirators, had any rational foundation, it would assuredly be in St Petersburg.[b] Once the match has been applied to the powder, once the forces have been unleashed and the national energy has been converted from potential to kinetic (another of Plekhanov's favourite and, indeed, excellent metaphors)[385] — the men who have sprung the mine will be swept off their feet by an explosion a thousand times more powerful than they themselves, one which will seek whatever outlet it may find in accordance with the prevailing economic forces and resistances.

Suppose that these men imagine they will be able to seize power, what of it? Providing they make the hole which causes the dam to collapse, the resulting torrent of water will soon put paid to their illusions. But what if those illusions succeeded in endowing them with an ex-

[a] The draft had 'pet metaphor'. - [b] Crossed out in the draft: 'I do not say "in Russia" because in the provinces, far from the administrative centre, it [such action] is not necessary.'

ceptional strength of will? Would that be any cause for complaint? Men who have boasted of having *effected* a revolution have always found on the morrow that they didn't know what they were doing; that once *effected*, the revolution has borne no resemblance at all to what they had intended. That is what Hegel calls the irony of history,[386] an irony which few historical дъятели[a] can escape.[b] You have only to look at Bismarck, a revolutionary in spite of himself, and Gladstone, who ended up by falling out with his beloved Tsar.[c]

What, in my view, is important in Russia is that the impulse should be given, that revolution should break out. Whether it is this or that group that gives the signal, whether it be under this flag or that, is of little concern to me. Even if it were[d] a palace plot, its instigators would be swept away on the morrow. In a place where the situation is so tense, where revolutionary elements have accumulated to such a degree, where the economic situation of the vast mass of the people becomes daily more impossible, where every degree of social development is represented, from the primitive commune to modern big industry and high finance, and where all these contradictions are forcibly pent up by an unheard-of despotism — a despotism increasingly unacceptable to a younger generation in which are combined the nation's intelligence and dignity — in such a place 1789, once launched, will before long be followed by 1793.

I say 'good-bye', dear Citizen. It is half past two in the morning. Tomorrow before the departure of the courier I will hardly have time to add anything. If you prefer, do write to me in Russian, but please bear in mind that Russian *handwriting* is something I do not read every day.

Your devoted
F. Engels

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[a] (Russ.) Here: figures. - [b] Crossed out in the draft: 'Maybe the same thing will happen to us all.' - [c] Alexander III - [d] Crossed out in the draft: 'a clique of the nobles or of money-bags — well, all the best ... until'.

# 166

## ENGELS TO RICHARD STEGEMANN

### IN TÜBINGEN

[Draft]

[London,] 5 May 1885

Dear Sir,

Mature reflection has shown that I cannot possibly comply with your request.[387]

Either the work you want must be *short*, in which case it could contain nothing but asseverations on my part, and thus merely be assertive and belletristic.

Or I should have to supply documentary evidence, in which case it would turn into a book, and that would not suit your purpose; moreover, I could not write it in so off-hand and casual a manner, for which my material is far too abundant.

A further consideration is that I should be more or less committing myself to co-editing a work about which I know nothing save the brief account provided by you.

In addition, the thing would — within the limits prescribed — be utterly useless. However vigorous my protestations, they would utterly fail to move the semi-educated vulgarian whose prejudices you wish to combat. People who say that Marx 'died friendless' must, presumably, harbour the belief that I do not exist at all. In which case, what magical effect could asseverations on my part be expected to have?

The old fairy-tales invented by the vulgar democratic emigration of 1850-59, and further elaborated by Bonaparte's paid agent, Karl Vogt,—*il lui a été remis en* 1859[a] 40,000 frs, according to the Tuileries papers,[388] may perhaps be more in vogue in your district than elsewhere because the Swabian People's Party[203] is the direct descendant of that same democratic emigration, certain of its leaders having been on intimate terms with the afore-mentioned Vogt. Since all this was dealt with by Marx in *Herr Vogt*, there would seem to be

[a] in 1859 he was paid

no reason for me to hark back to it at this particular juncture. Vast numbers of lies were told about Marx to which he never saw fit to reply. The time may, perhaps, come when it will behove me to do so on his behalf, but the choice of time, place and modus operandi will be my affair. Which will, of course, only serve to revive my reputation for 'callousness'.

In any case, I haven't got time just now to do anything along these lines that would either be to the purpose or satisfy my own requirements in regard to such a work. My entire time is taken up with editing Marx's manuscripts, and I shall be acting wholly in his spirit if, in view of this obligation, I treat all this philistine carping with contempt.

I remain, Sir, very sincerely

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## 167

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 15 May 1885

Dear Ede,

I think it's about time to drop you a line or two again, otherwise you will grow far too melancholy. You and Kautsky seem to evoke from one another so many doleful laments that a complete concert in the minor key could be produced therefrom; it's like the trombone in Wagner that always sounds forth whenever something dire is going to happen. Each time you get bad news, the pair of you always forget the old adage about a dog's back being worse than its bite.

The general and inescapable impression left by the whole shindy between 'parliamentary group and editors' is that the parliamentary group have made fools of themselves. And should the parliamentary

group insist on doing it again, they ought not to be prevented. Had you immediately published the first written communication,[389] as they demanded, they would have made complete and utter fools of themselves, and a 'storm of indignation' would have broken out on all sides. Not, of course, that this could very well have been asked of you at the start, but there can be no doubt at all that it is not in our interests to prevent the parliamentary group from *showing themselves in their true colours*. As things are, 'parliamentary group and editors' confront each other as equals — in the eyes of the public —, this being the result of the last, lengthy middle-of-the-road statement,[390] and what happens next, we shall have to see.

I had Singer here on Sunday,[a] and cut short all his speechifying. The parliamentary group's first statement, he said, was directed not so much against the articles in the paper,[377] as against the (alleged) attempt to try and arouse a storm of indignation against the parliamentary group. That, I said, was something the public couldn't have known; if you make a public statement, it can only refer to publicly available facts. But if you hit out at the paper on account of things that have never appeared in it, the public may justifiably ask: 'What are these gentlemen after, if not the suppression of free speech?' This he had to admit. Next I said that, to judge by what was to me a very familiar style, most of the objectionable articles had been by Liebknecht.— Singer: 'Quite right, and we gave Liebknecht a proper dressing-down for it in the parliamentary group.' I: 'But to censure the paper in public for printing things that actually emanated from the parliamentary group simply won't do. You ought to have settled the matter amongst yourselves. Instead, you publicly attack the editors for matters that are solely the private concern of the parliamentary group. To whom, then, are the editors to look?' Here again he could raise no objection. 'In short, you have, by your ill-considered action, made fools of yourselves, and if anyone has come off best in the eyes of the public, it is the editors.' This, too, he had to concede indirectly. Since I stuck to the main points and disregarded all his personal tittle-tattle, of which he had ample store, we concluded our business in ten minutes.

That's not the end of the matter, of course. But we now know what the gentlemen's weak side is. If I were editor of the *Sozialdemokrat*, I should, from the editorial point of view, let the parliamentary group

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[a] 10 May

stew in its own juice, i.e. in the Reichstag, entrust any criticism thereof to the members of the party, on the strength of the oft-cited 'free expression of opinion', and tell Liebknecht once and for all that he must himself be answerable to the parliamentary group for his articles, thus putting an end to his double-dealing, in this respect at any rate. Then, provided the paper continues to be edited along the lines already laid down, that is enough for us. It is far more important for us to maintain our theoretical standpoint in the face of the rubbish that is printed in Germany than to criticise the parliamentary group's mode of action. For after all, those who have been elected are themselves doing everything in their power to enlighten the electorate as to the character of the elected. And for that matter, day to day events provide opportunity enough to make clear what our standpoint is, even if we leave it to the parliamentary group and party members to take care of the parliamentary group. It is, however, that very standpoint that vexes them most of all, and it is something they dare not publicly attack.

The Reichstag will soon be going home. In the meantime the gentlemen — although almost all of them are secret protectionists — will have seen what havoc is wrought by a policy of protective tariffs.[391] That is but the first of many disappointments that lie in store for them. Not that it will change their philistine character, but it will probably shake their confidence and cause them to fall out over philistine questions that necessitate their declaring themselves for or against. Only give such types a little rope, and they'll hang themselves.

In short, our policy is, I believe, to temporise. The Anti-Socialist Law[37] is working in their favour and if, while it remains in force, they can only find an opportunity to show themselves in their true colours, that is really all we need for the present. In the meantime we must defend every position to the utmost, particularly in the press, and this will not always call for active resistance. To outflank an enemy is also a defensive manoeuvre but one that has offensive connotations. At the moment we have much against us. Bebel is ill and has, so it seems, lost heart. Nor shall I be able to help as much as I would like until I have finished with Marx's manuscripts. So you and Kautsky must bear the brunt of the battle. But don't forget the old rule — never to allow the actualities of the movement and of the struggle to make you forget the movement's future. And that belongs

to us. The third volume of *Capital* will do in all these chaps at one blow.

Your
F. E.

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## 168

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER [392]

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 15 May 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

As regards the poems [393]:

The *Marseillaise* of the Peasants' War was *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* [394] and, vainglorious though its words and tune may be, it neither should nor need be taken in the same spirit today. Other songs of that time are to be found in anthologies of folk songs, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*,[a] etc. You might perhaps find something there. But even at that time the *Landsknecht*[b] exercised a virtual monopoly over our popular poetry.

Of foreign songs, the only one I know is the beautiful old Danish song about Herr Tidmann, which I translated for the Berlin *Social-Demokrat* in 1865.[c]

There were all kinds of Chartist songs, but they are now no longer to be had. One began:

* Britannia's Sons, though slaves you be,
God your creator made you free;
To all he life and freedom gave,
But never, never made a slave.*

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[a] compiled by L. A. von Arnim and C. Brentano - [b] mercenary soldier - [c] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 34-35.

I don't know how it goes on.

All that stuff has been forgotten and in any case wasn't up to much as poetry.

In 1848 two popular songs were current and were sung to the same tune.

1) Schleswig-Holstein.

2) The Hecker song[395]:

Hecker, may thy name resound
Up and down the German Rhine,
Thy generous heart nay, e'en thy look
Inspired confidence in mind.
Hecker, a German man and free
Who'd give his life for liberty.

That, I think, suffices. Then there's another version:

Hecker, Struve, Blenker, Zitz and Blum
Slay the German princes.

In general, the poetry of past revolutions (always excepting the *Marseillaise*[396]) seldom has much revolutionary impact later on because, if it is to influence the masses, it must reflect the mass prejudices of the day—hence the religious nonsense found even in the Chartists.

Now as to Marx's shorter pieces, this is a matter upon which others beside myself have to decide, while I for my own part must make quite sure that nothing is done that might interfere with the proposed edition of the *Complete Works*. The things appertaining to the International, the *Inaugural Address*, *Civil War*, *Hague Report*,[a] etc., like the *Manifesto*,[b] I do not regard as forming part of these, though I should like to reserve the right to provide a few words of introduction. As regards the articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, you must first find out which were written by Marx. For instance, only one, an outstanding article on the June insurrection was by Marx,[c] while the account of the struggle, etc., was entirely mine.[d] Likewise the anti-Bakunin and anti-Pan-Slavism articles.[e] The things Marx and I wrote at that time are on the whole almost indistinguishable owing to our systematic division of labour.

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[a] K. Marx, *Report of the General Council to the Fifth Annual Congress...* - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - [c] K. Marx, 'The June Revolution'. - [d] F. Engels, 'Details about the 23rd of June'; 'The 23rd of June'; 'The 24th of June'; 'The 25th of June'; 'The June Revolution (The Course of the Paris Uprising)'. - [e] F. Engels, 'Democratic Pan-Slavism'.

As I have said, I shall certainly not place unnecessary obstacles in your way, but I should be glad all the same if you could let me have a rather more detailed idea of your plan before I say anything definite about it. At all events, it would hardly do to publish stuff from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and on the International side by side, i. e. in one volume; there was an interval of some 15 or 20 years in between.—The *Cologne Trial*[a] would run to a goodly volume on its own, and I would write you an introduction to it.[b] But please note that in that case I must know when it is *really needed* and, what with the luckless *Dühring*,[c] you have after all enough to print just now. You will have received the two sheets, 4 and 5.

Apropos, my intention is that the chapter 'Theoretical' from the section *Socialism* should be printed according to the revised text of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. When it has got to that stage I shall send you what is necessary. This is merely to notify you in advance.

For the rest, warm regards from

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 169

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 19 May 1885

My dear Lafargue,

The Lissagaray affair pleased me greatly and I trust he will be chucked out of the *Bataille*.[397] The irony of history is without mercy, even to revolutionary stink-bugs.

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[a] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - [b] F. Engels, 'On the History of the Communist League'. - [c] F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*.

I must repent, must repent me,
Where my sins were most committed[a]

as good king Don Rodrigo said while snakes devoured his vital parts. Brousse at the head of a daily paper would be too comical, he would never last. It would be all he needed to cut his own throat.

The idea that life is simply the normal mode of existence of albuminous bodies and that as a result the protein of the future, if the chemists ever contrive to manufacture it, must display signs of life, appears in my anti-Dühring book where it is developed to some extent on page 60, etc.[b] By assuming responsibility for it Schorlemmer did a bold thing, for if it falls flat, the blame will be his, whereas if it catches on, he will be the first to give me the credit.[398] Moreover your Grimaux must be an imbecile if he really said that

'we have nothing to show us how this initial movement is acquired whereby an albuminoid *is organised into a living cell*'.[c]

So the good man appears to be unaware that there is a whole army of living things which are still very far removed from the organisation of a cell, being no more than '*plasson*', as Haeckel has it,[d] albuminoids that have no trace of organisation, yet are alive—for example protamoebas, siphonales, etc. The poor albuminoid has probably worked for millions of years in order to organise itself into a cell. But your Grimaux doesn't even see the point at issue. Moreover he betrays his ignorance of physiology still further by comparing with a primitive protoplasm, the source of all life on earth, a product as specialised as the egg of a vertebrate.

We have had poor Harney here for the past 10 days. He suffers badly from chronic rheumatoid arthritis of a ±[e] gouty nature. Nim has had her work cut out looking after him. If the weather improves he hopes to set off for Macclesfield on Saturday.[f] On that same Saturday we are expecting Sam Moore with his translation[g]—alas, as yet uncompleted.

The 2nd volume has been printed with the exception of my preface, the proofs of which should arrive any day. The consignments sent to Danielson have so far all arrived and 7 sheets have been translated.[361] I have dictated more than half of the 3rd volume, but two

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[a] Engels quotes in Spanish. - [b] F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 75-77. - [c] É. Grimaux, 'Les substances colloïdales et la coagulation', *Revue scientifique*, No. 16, 18 April 1885, p. 500. - [d] E. Haeckel, *Die Perigenesis der Plastidule...*, Berlin, 1876, pp. 76, 77. - [e] more or less - [f] 23 May; see also this volume, p. 292. - [g] of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56)

sections[399] are going to give me a fine old time. The one on bank capital and credit is in such disorder as to strike terror into the heart of a better man than me, but that is how it is. I am now at land rent. It is quite superbly done. But this will entail even more work, for the manuscript dates from 1865 and I shall have to consult his extracts made between 1870 and 1878 both for the banks and for landed property in America and Russia. And there are not a few of them. This means that the 3rd volume will have to wait another year at least.

The storm in a teacup that has disrupted our ranks in Germany[374] will doubtless calm down for the time being. Now that the Reichstag has been sent about its business, the gents of the 'socialist group' have dispersed. The Social Democrats have won a moral victory over the 'group'. But that is not the end of the matter and there may be a recurrence. Were it not for the Anti-Socialist Law,[37] I should have been in favour of an outright split. But so long as it is in force, it deprives us of all our weapons while enabling the party's petit-bourgeois section to reap all the benefit. And, in any case, it is not our business to provoke it. The thing was inevitable; it was bound to come sooner or later. But it would have come either later or under circumstances more favourable to ourselves had it not been for the incredible stupidities of Liebknecht, who has not only wavered between the two sections and invariably protected the petit bourgeois, but has also been prepared on more than one occasion to sacrifice the proletarian nature of the party for a simulacrum of unity that is credible to no one. It would appear that his own protégés, the representatives of the petit-bourgeois side, have now had enough of his double dealing. Liebknecht always believes what he says when he is saying it, but believes something quite different whenever he speaks to someone else. Over here he is all for revolution, over there all for circumspection. That won't prevent his being on our side on the crucial day and telling us: Didn't I always tell you so! *This is between ourselves.* A kiss for Laura.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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# 170

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI[400]
### IN BENEVENTO

[Draft]

[London, 19 May 1885]

Dear Citizen,

...on the etc. I sent you, by registered mail, the translation[a] with my comments. I am very sorry that my limited practice of Italian has not enabled me to do them better, but I hope they will be intelligible nonetheless. I am amazed that, without having lived in Germany and learned the language there, you have been able to render my thoughts so well. I only found a few abbreviated, idiomatic and proverbial expressions where there was an error; and even these are impossible to understand properly for someone who has not spoken the everyday language and even the dialects of the country — things which are not to be found in grammars and dictionaries. And in several cases when you have understood the meaning well, I think you could be a little freer and more adventurous.

I fear that the note about 'Mark' is not very clear. It is the only note which I think should be printed. The others are for your information only. If therefore you have any doubts about that note, please let me know and I shall try and rewrite it.[401]

Please excuse the long time it has taken me to do the revision. But my days are taken up with dictating Marx's manuscripts, and my evenings are not always free. In addition, I have had a Danish translation[b] to check at the same time, not to mention the English translation of *Capital*.[56]

Thanking you again for the considerable work you have done on my behalf, I remain

Your devoted

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[a] the Italian translation of Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* - [b] of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*

## 171

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 29 May 1885

My dear Laura,

So then at least one thing is settled, and that is poor Paul in his *Kittchen*[a] in Ste Pélagie.[402] Hope it will not be for four months — the four best of the year too! Anyhow, what a consolation it is for him, to be no longer crucified between the *braconnier*[b] on one side and the *vol avec effraction* (*de puanteur*)[c] on the other! And to consider it a hard-fought victory that he can have his old *Kittchen* again in company with a spouting anarchist. Well let us hope Révillon and a few more deputies will make it hot for the Liberal ministry and procure his release.

Harney is gone to Macclesfield yesterday, and arrived safely. He is a good deal better, intrinsically, but of course the pains do not go all at once, and as soon as he is a bit better, he begins stirring about in cabs; he did so for two days before he left, then the journey, and of course arrived worse. I am afraid he will never get quite over it, partly because the complaint is too inveterate and partly on account of his inconsistency and listening to everybody who has a remedy to propose. It has been a hard time for poor Nim, and I am glad for her sake it has come to an end. Sam Moore had to go to Pumps', I think he rather liked it this time as he was bent on exhibitions, picture galleries, Royal Academies and the like, and so he and Pumps have a fine time of it. Today they are gone to see a cricket match at Lords.[d]

I had this morning the last proof-sheet of my preface to Second Volume,[e] so from that you see that the report of its being out is another canard. You may be sure that as soon as it is out and we get copies, you have one sent the same day. The 3rd edition of the *18th Brumaire*[f] is in the press, two sheets printed.

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[a] jail (slang) - [b] poacher - [c] burglar (stinking) - [d] Lords Cricket Ground in London - [e] of *Capital* - [f] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.*

The Italian translation of the *Ursprung* is also in the press. But you will at once see that it will be hardly possible to translate from that into French.[403] If Paul uses it merely to facilitate to him the comprehension of the original, well and good; otherwise it would only enable him to give a very enfeebled *Abklatsch*[a] and poor *rechauffé*,[b] and I have no ambition to appear before the French public in that shape. The man[c] has done his best and some passages are really good. But it is not to be expected from him, who learnt German without assistance in Benevento, that he should put idiomatic German into equally idiomatic Italian. And that defect I could not remedy, as my idiomatic Italian is not Italian but only Milanese, and that, too, nearly forgotten.

I hope there will not be much more of that fighting about red flags, etc., in Paris — the police *want* a few barricades, and if they get them, there will be a jolly massacre — the people have not a ghost of a chance of victory.[404] Even if the government should show hesitation, the reactionary military chiefs will take care to be ready for action and to act.

There is one consolation for Paul — that he will be virtually 'out of Paris' on the day of the French Grand Old Man's[d] funeral.

What with proof-sheet, and writing to Harney[39] and making parcels up for him and writing to a confectioner from Colmar[e][39] who asked my advice as to his finding work in London (answer: certainly not) and one thing and another, it has become 5.20, and so I must close if I want to catch this post. So with hopes that Paul will not be too unhappy, nor too long where he is, and that you will keep up, in spite of all, your state of, in Paris, *abnormal* health, here is the conclusion.

Love from Nim.

Yours affectionately,

F. Engels

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[a] copy - [b] concoction - [c] Pasquale Martignetti - [d] Victor Hugo - [e] Wegmann

172

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[405]

IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 3 June 1885

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 24 [April]/6 May and hope you will have received the sheets 21/26 forwarded to you 13th May.[361] To-day I forward 27/33, the conclusion. In a few days I hope to be able to send you the preface, etc. From that preface you will see that the ms. of Volume III has been written as early as 1864/66, and thus before the period when the author, thanks to your kindness, became so intimately acquainted with the agricultural system of your country: I am at present working at the chapter on the rent of land, and have so far not found any allusion to Russian conditions.[406] As soon as the whole manuscript shall have been transcribed into a legible handwriting, I shall have to work it out by comparison with what other materials have been left by the author, and there are, for the chapter on rent, very voluminous extracts from the various statistical works he owed to you — but whether these will contain any critical notes that can be made use of for this volume, I cannot as yet tell. Whatever there is, shall be used most conscientiously. At all events the mere work of transcription will occupy me far into autumn, and as the manuscript is nearly 600 pages in folio, it may again have to be divided into two volumes.

The analysis of rent is theoretically so complete that you will necessarily find therein a good deal of interest for the special conditions of your country. Still this ms. excludes the treatment of the precapitalistic forms of landed property; they are merely alluded to here and there for the sake of comparison.

Yours very sincerely,

P. W. Rosher[363]

First published, in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 2, St Petersburg, 1908

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## 173

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[407]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 3 June 1885

Dear Sorge,

I was sorry to hear that you have been incapable of writing and trust that the thing has subsided. The Gronlunds and Elys,[a] as also the newspapers, gratefully received. Ely is a well-meaning philistine and does at least take more trouble than his German fellow-sufferers and fellow-blockheads which, after all, deserves recognition. Gronlund, on the other hand, strikes me as being speculative: his boosting of our stuff, in so far as he does or does not understand it, is clearly aimed at palming off his own utopian fiddle-faddle as REAL LIVE GERMAN SOCIALISM. A symptom at any rate.

As regards *To-Days* and *Commonweals*, I am sending you the former from March onwards and the latter from the beginning.[b] However their administrative side is not particularly efficient; should the paper (*The Commonweal*) fail to reach the *Sozialist* regularly, I should be *very grateful* if you would advise me so that I can provide *proof* of inefficiency, this being invariably denied by the secretary, though it undoubtedly exists.

You would do best to ignore Fabian completely; the man feels a need to get himself talked about and there is no necessity to encourage that.[c] His chief grievance against me is that I maliciously defamed $\sqrt{-1}$ in the *Anti-Dühring*, a point on which he complained to Marx by letter.[209]

You have had the same correct presentiment about the Reichstag laddies as I have—the case of the Steamship Subsidies[342] has revealed the immensity of their philistine aspirations. It almost came to a split, which would not be desirable at present, so long as the Anti-Socialist Law[37] remains in force. As soon as we get a bit more ELBOW-ROOM in Germany, the split will doubtless come and can then only do

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[a] L. Gronlund, *The Cooperative Commonwealth in Its Outlines*; R. T. Ely, *French and German Socialism in Modern Times* (see also this volume, p. 192). - [b] See this volume, pp. 298, 312. - [c] Ibid., p. 124.

good. A petty-bourgeois-socialist parliamentary group is inevitable in a country like Germany where philistinism, even more than historical right, 'doesn't have no date'.[408] It will also be useful once it has constituted itself a body separate from the proletarian party. However such a split could only do harm just now if it were provoked by *us*. But if they do in fact renounce the programme, so much the better; we shall then be able to let fly.

You in America also suffer from various great savants of the kind possessed by Germany's philistine socialists in the persons of Geiser, Frohme, Blos, etc. The historical digressions in the *Sozialist* by your Stiebelings, Douais, etc., on the subject of Völkerwanderung[a] amused me greatly, for these people have studied the whole thing far better and far more thoroughly than I have. Douai, in particular, gives himself colossal airs. For instance in No. 13 of the *Sozialist*, apropos the German conquests in Italy, etc., he tells us that the King acquired $^1/_3$ of the land and the officers and soldiers $^2/_3$, of which $^2/_3$ passed in turn to the former slaves, etc. '*This we learn from Jornandes and Cassiodorus.*'[409] When I read that I was completely bowled over. '*Precisely similar accounts,*' he goes on, '*are provided about the Visigoths. Nor was it otherwise* in France.' Well, the whole thing is an invention from start to finish and you *won't find a word of it either in Jornandes or in Cassiodorus or in any other contemporary source.* It reveals at once colossal ignorance and impudence to confront me with such utter rubbish and to say that I am 'demonstrably in the wrong'. The sources, and I know practically all of them, state precisely the opposite. I have let it pass this time, as it was written in America where one can hardly make an issue of that kind of thing. But Monsieur Douai had better watch out in future; I might well lose patience some day.

The 2nd volume of *Capital* will be out shortly; all I am awaiting is the last half proof-sheet of the preface where Rodbertus receives a further broadside. The 3rd book is going ahead merrily, but will take a long time. Not that that matters, as the 2nd volume must be digested first. The 2nd volume will cause great disappointment, being a purely scientific work with little in the way of agitation. By contrast the third volume will again have the effect of a thunderbolt, since the

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[a] G. C. Stiebeling, 'Reform oder Revolution', *Der Sozialist*, No. 7, 14 February 1885; A. Douai, 'Eine Entgegnung auf Dr. Stiebeling's Artikel', *Der Sozialist*, No. 13, 28 March 1885.

whole of capitalist production is dealt with in context for the first time and all official bourgeois economics rejected out of hand. But it will be quite a task. Since the New Year I have dictated more than half of the final version and expect to finish this preliminary work in about 4 months. But after that there will be the actual job of editing, which won't be easy as the most important chapters are in some disorder — so far as form is concerned. However everything will work out all right, though it will take time. As you can imagine, I shall have to leave everything else on one side until I have finished, and hence neglect my correspondence; nor can there be any question of writing articles. But you would oblige me if you would see to it that nothing of what I have said about the 3rd volume gets into the *Sozialist.* That would inevitably give rise to unpleasantnesses in Zurich and elsewhere. Whatever the readers need to know will appear in my preface to the 2nd volume.

All is well with Tussy so far. The two of them [a] are very happy together, though unfortunately they are not always in good health. Lafargue must now do another 4 months on account of the same old fine and costs. [402] The police were intent on fomenting a riot in Paris on 24 May, but nothing came of it and the ministers took fright. [404] So the Victor Hugo business went off quietly after all, and that is just as well. As there is no Garde Nationale, no weapons are to be had and any attempted coup would inevitably be crushed. One just has to adapt one's tactics to the circumstances. Regards to Dietzgen and Adolf. [b]

Your
F. E.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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[a] Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling - [b] Adolf Sorge jun.

## 174

## ENGELS TO JOHN LINCOLN MAHON[410]

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, between 10 and 12 June 1885]

Postage - - 6d.
Stamps enclosed - 3.2

Please *forward me the 2nd copy at once* Nos. 1 to 5,[a] they are for a friend in America.[b]

If the above be not correct please let me know what else there may be to pay.

Yours truly,
F. Engels

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## 175

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

### IN BENEVENTO

London, 13 June 1885

Dear Sir,

Kindly send me *six* copies of your translation.[c] These will be enough.

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[a] of *The Commonweal* - [b] Friedrich Adolph Sorge - [c] the Italian translation of Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*

I hope you have received the letter I sent about ten days after the translation.[a]

Your devoted
F. Engels

I am also sending you a copy of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* of 1847 (by Marx and Engels).[b] Old as it is, I believe it still deserves to be read.

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## 176

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER [263]

### IN GENEVA

London, 15 June 1885

My Dear Old Fellow,

I was delighted to get your letter; it is indeed a damned shame that we should be so far apart. However the time will doubtless come when the likes of us will again be able to travel about untroubled by too great a pressure of work or the harassments of the continental police. Then I shall pack my bags and pay you a visit.

Meanwhile the world goes very gently on its way, though it may well speed up a bit shortly. Old William[c] would long since have kicked the bucket had he not been informed from on high that the angels' drill still left something to be desired and, in particular, that when ordered to goose-step they were still failing to throw their legs in the air as prescribed in the regulations. Accordingly he could not yet be re-

[a] See this volume, p. 291. - [b] written in December 1847-January 1848 - [c] William I

ceived with the appropriate honours. That is why he has now despatched Frederick Charles to carry out an inspection.[411] It is hoped he will be able to report that Field-Marshal Michael Archangel has succeeded in training the heavenly host to the standard of perfection sought by the Prussians, in which case old William will doubtless make haste to take the heavenly guard-mounting parade in person.

You are quite right, radicalism in France is rapidly becoming more and more threadbare. There is only one man left who has yet to become so and that is Clemenceau. If he gets in he'll shed a whole mass of illusions, above all the illusion that nowadays a bourgeois republic can govern in France without thieving and causing others to thieve. It is just possible that he will then go further. But that is not necessary. All that is necessary is that this last sheet-anchor of the bourgeoisie should show what he is capable of—which, given his present point of view, is nothing.

Here in England the cause is progressing pretty well, even if not in the form that is customary at home. Since 1848 the English parliament has unquestionably been the most revolutionary body in the world and the next elections will mark the beginning of a new epoch, even though it may not necessarily manifest itself as quickly as all that.[a] Workers will appear in Parliament in growing numbers, each one worse than the last. But that is necessary over here. All the scoundrels who at the time of the International played at being bourgeois-radical philistines must appear in Parliament for what they are. Whereupon the masses will become socialist here too. Industrial overproduction will do the rest.

The rumpus in the German party came as no surprise to me.[374] In a philistine country like Germany the party must also have a philistine 'educated' right wing[373] which it will shed when the time comes. In Germany philistine socialism dates back to 1844 and was criticised in the *Communist Manifesto*. It is as immortal as your German philistine himself. So long as the Anti-Socialist Law[37] remains in force, I am not in favour of *our* provoking a split, since there is no parity of weapons. Should these gentlemen, however, themselves bring about a split by attempting to suppress the proletarian nature of the party and replace it with a crudely aesthetic form of sentimental philanthropy

[a] See this volume, p. 367.

without guts or substance, then we shall just have to take it as it comes.

I am still engaged in dictating the third volume of *Capital*. It is a magnificent book and as a work of science puts even the first one in the shade. As soon as I have it in a ms. other people can also read, I shall be able to devote some time to sorting the papers. I shall then look out your things.[126] Until that time—round about the autumn—I shall have absolutely no chance to turn my hand to anything else. The second volume has been printed and I shall probably be able to send you a copy in a fortnight or so.

Marx's daughters have been keeping well so far. Mme Lafargue's husband is back in jail for another 4 months (for non-payment of a fine),[402] while Mrs Aveling is working hard at propaganda over here, though it may be some time before there is any great success.

I have taken out another five pound money order for you, of which you have doubtless already been advised. I trust it will prove welcome. Well then, take care of your health so that you can join in the little bit of fun that is bound to come pretty soon. I have been keeping well so far, though the doctors say I'm unlikely to be able to mount a horse again—hence unfit for active service, dammit!

For the rest I remain

Ever your old friend

F. Engels

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## 177

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 16 June 1885

Dear Ede,

Last week I returned to you *by registered mail* Rodbertus' two pamphlets from the archives, which I trust you have received.[a] Yesterday

[a] One of these was apparently Rodbertus' *Briefe und Socialpolitische Aufsaetze* which Engels asked to be sent in a letter to Bernstein of 8 February 1883 (see present edition, Vol. 46, pp. 431-34).

Karl Kautsky received the complete set of *Frankfurter Zeitungs* containing the various statements.[412] Most amusing. But I'm prepared to bet that even so they will let all this fuss die down again, and that the majority in the parliamentary group will reassure themselves by pointing out that there were mistakes on both sides. The whole thing is primarily just another flash in the pan, but that, too, is a symptom.

Today Frederick Charles inspected the heavenly host and grumbled about the slovenliness of their goose-step.[411]

Your
F. E.

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## 178

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 16 June 1885

My dear Laura,

Well, you have the same troubles as I have myself! Visitors, on the whole agreeable in themselves, but damned in the way when you have more work to do than they. Here I have been settling down every evening for the last week to write to you, and either visitors or urgent business correspondence steps in. And even now, at half past one in the morning, I have to snatch a few moments to write to you a few lines which will cut a sorry figure alongside of your amiable and lively letters! Well it cannot be helped and you must put up with my scrimmage.

The particulars about Lawroff's dead man might be found out, I think, without much difficulty. But what am I to do in the matter?

Percy is as good as anybody to find that out, but of course he must be paid for his work at the common London price.[a]

Tussy was not here last Sunday[b] — they[c] went on the river somewhere with a chap who has a boat and a tent and they both want as much fresh air as they can get. The British Museum is a nice place enough but not to live opposite to. So I shall not see them before next Sunday.

Kautsky has received and translated Paul's article about *le coeur du coeur du monde, qui vient de cesser de battre* (*coeur* No. 1 I mean).[d]

Very glad the Germans send some money for the French elections. Though I am sorry that it is the Hamburgers who have done it; because this is intended as a bribe for Liebknecht, to induce him to take *their* side (the *kleinbürgerliche Seite*[e]) in the present storm in a — pot now going on amongst the German parliamentarians.[413] I believe this storm will blow over, for the present at least, but it's a symptom. If the Socialist Law[37] was abolished and we had elbow-room, and if the 3rd book of the *Kapital* was finished I should not care a bit to have it out at once. As it is, I am for a temporising policy. But the split will come some day, and then we shall give the *Spiessbürger*[f] the necessary kick. By the bye I see also from the New York *Sozialist* that there too money has been collected for the French elections.

Poor Paul! I am afraid he will have to pass *la belle saison*[g] in *quod*. Once nailed,[402] I do not see how anything but an *acte de grâce* of old Grévy could get him out. At all events he has now had about one month of it and his elasticity must carry him over the rest.

From Petersburg I hear that the whole of the proof-sheets have arrived and that 18 sheets out of 33 are already translated.[361] This work is almost too quick to be good.

You have no idea how comfortable John Bull feels under his ministerial crisis.[414] Not a bit of excitement. Evening papers, special editions, etc., do not sell at all. The Grand Old Man, as they call Gladstone, disappears from the political foreground quite unnoticed. The ingratitude of this world is shocking indeed. The fact is, Whigs and Radicals have found out, just before the new elections by a revolu-

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[a] See this volume, p. 273. - [b] 14 June - [c] Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling - [d] the heart of hearts of the world which has ceased to beat (the heart...); see P. Lafargue's obituary on the death of Victor Hugo published anonymously in *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 8, 1885. - [e] petty-bourgeois side - [f] philistines - [g] the fine season

tionised constituency,[299] that they cannot get on together any longer.[415] So there is hope that after the autumn elections Tories and Whigs will coalesce.[a] And then we have *all* landed property on one side, *all* industrial capital on the opposite side, and the working class compelled to face them both — the basis of a revolutionary situation.

Today there is a grand review in heaven. Frederick Charles is inspecting the hosts of the Lord of hosts.[411] I am afraid he will find very great fault with their *Parademarsch*,[b] and send word to old William[c] that they are not yet fit to parade before him. If the Archangel Michael could only have been sent to do duty for a few years with the Prussian Guards!

Nim complains of rheumatism and threatened to drop beer but I told her that was rubbish, and I think she will believe me. Pumps and her children are very well. Percy has the usual rows with his parents. The cheque £ 10.- is enclosed. And herewith — *sur ce* — I remain your old affectionate

F. Engels

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## 179

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 16 June 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

1) The two trials at Assizes — that of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and that of the democratic committee — of 1849 both appeared at the time as *Zwei politische Prozesse* and were based on the newspaper report. If you wish to republish one or both, it could be quite effective, and I should write you a foreword to it.[416]

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[a] See this volume, p. 317. - [b] goose-step - [c] William I

2) It might also be a good thing to republish the *Communist Trial*[a]; for one thing, it will once again show the old Lassalleans that something was already afoot in Germany before the great Ferdinand's[b] time and, for another, the proceedings of the Prussians did, in fact, even then set the pattern for what the Anti-Socialist Law[37] has now made the norm. A preface[c] will be available for this as well, the moment printing is actually in progress; unfortunately my time does not permit me to work in advance and ɑn spec. Again, I haven't got a copy of the Leipzig edition with Marx's later notes.[d] It is typical of the way they used then to conduct their affairs that neither Marx nor I should ever have been sent a copy!

Do you have in your archives Stieber and Wermuth, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des 19. Jahrhunderts*[e] (Berlin, Hayn, 1853, 2 parts) — the so-called 'black book'? It contains two addresses from the Central Committee to the League[f] which you might print as an appendix.

3) If I understand you aright, you are thinking of publishing the series of articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on the Paris battle in June 1848.[g][417] It's not a bad idea. I could arrange the relevant passages for you, interspersed with a few notes to provide a context, and also whatever is needed from Marx's article in the *Revue der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung*,[h] etc. Being the *only* contemporary account of the Paris proletariat's battle to take the side of the June fighters, the thing has a certain importance. Nor can the masses be reminded too often of the event. But it's a task that would take at least a week, and I cannot embark on it until the autumn.

4) Various other things from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* might follow, but just now I simply haven't got the time to look them out; if you could make some suggestions, we might be able to see. The same applies to other, lesser works of that period by Marx and myself. As soon as the rough ms. of the 3rd volume of *Capital* has been transposed into a legible one — in the autumn, that is — I shall have to put

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[a] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - [b] Ferdinand Lassalle - [c] F. Engels, 'On the History of the Communist League'. - [d] K. Marx, 'Epilogue to *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*'. - [e] Wermuth/Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*. - [f] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Address of the Central Authority to the League, March 1850'; 'Address of the Central Authority to the League, June 1850'. - [g] 1849 in the original. - [h] K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*.

the papers[a] in order. Only then shall I once more obtain a general idea of what is in fact available and be able to look out some suitable stuff. Up till then I shall be more or less working in the dark. So long as the dictation of *Capital*, Book III remains incomplete, my days will be taken up from 10-5, while in the evenings, apart from visitors, I not only have to deal with an ever-increasing volume of correspondence, but also to read over what I have dictated, in addition to revising the French, Italian, Danish and English translations of our things (including the English one of *Capital*[56]), and how, I should like to know, am I to find time for anything else? Hence—as you must realise—I cannot let myself in for anything, unless it is of the utmost urgency.

Besides the afore-mentioned edition of the *Communist Trial*, I would ask you to send me:

3 copies of Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital*.

6 *Communist Manifestos*, Zurich edition, and charge them up to me. I should also be grateful to have a statement of account so that I may know how we stand. We still have copies of Marx's photograph here in both sizes.

Kindly give the enclosed to Ede.

Most cordially yours,

F. Engels

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## 180

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL[1]

### IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 22-24 June 1885
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Bebel,

I hasten to answer your letter of the 19th, received this morning, so that my reply may reach you before you set off on your long journey.

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[a] Marx's manuscripts

Generally speaking I have been kept informed about recent events, at least so far as public pronouncements are concerned, and have thus been able to read the various effronteries of Geiser and Frohme, as also your short, trenchant replies.[412]

All this mud-slinging is largely attributable to Liebknecht, with his predilection for educated know-alls and for men in bourgeois occupations who can be used to impress your philistine. Nor can he resist a literary or business man who flirts with socialism. But in Germany these are the very people of whom one should most beware, and it is they whom Marx and I have ceaselessly combatted since 1845. Once you've let them into the party, in which they everywhere push themselves to the fore, dissimulation becomes the rule, either because their petty-bourgeois standpoint is in perpetual conflict with that of the proletarian masses, or because they try to vitiate this latter standpoint. Nevertheless, I am convinced that, if things ever really come to a head, Liebknecht will be on our side,—asserting, what's more, that he had never said anything else and that it was we who had stopped him from letting fly any sooner. However, a little object-lesson will have done him no harm.

The split will come as sure as eggs is eggs, but I still maintain that we must not provoke it while the Anti-Socialist Law[37] is in operation. If it is forced upon us, then there'll be nothing for it. But we must be prepared. And that, I think, means hanging on for all we're worth to three positions: 1) the Zurich press and bookshop, 2) the management of the *Sozialdemokrat* and 3) that of the *Neue Zeit*. These are the only positions still in our hands and, notwithstanding the Anti-Socialist Law, they suffice to keep us in touch with the party. All the other positions in the press, though held by philistines, count for very little by comparison with these three. You should be able to foil many of the plots against us. In my opinion, you ought to do everything you can to ensure that, by hook or by crook, these 3 positions remain in our hands. How to set about it you will know better than I. Not surprisingly Ede and Kautsky feel very insecure in their editorial seats and are in need of encouragement. That people are busily intriguing against them is obvious. And they're a couple of competent and really first-rate chaps. In matters of theory, Ede is a very clear-sighted man and, what's more, is witty and has a gift for repartee, but he is still somewhat lacking in self-confidence—nowadays a most unusual trait and, if you consider the megalomania common to even the most insignificant lettered nitwits, a very fortunate one,

relatively speaking. Kautsky has picked up a frightful lot of rubbish at university but is doing his utmost to unlearn it again, and both men are reliable, able to tolerate honest criticism and have a correct grasp of essentials. In view of the appalling new generation of literati that has attached itself to the party, two such people are pearls beyond price.

I entirely agree with what you say about our parliamentary representation generally and about the impossibility — in time of peace, as at present — of creating any really proletarian representation. The necessarily more or less bourgeois parliamentarians are an evil no less unavoidable than the professional agitators foisted upon the party from amongst those workers boycotted by the bourgeoisie and hence unemployed. This was a phenomenon already strongly in evidence among the Chartists during the 1839-48 period, and was apparent to me even at that time. If remuneration for deputies is introduced, these fellows will range themselves alongside the predominantly bourgeois and petty-bourgeois, i. e. the 'educated', representatives. But all this will be overcome. My confidence in our proletariat is as absolute as my mistrust of the utterly abject German philistines is unlimited. And when things liven up a bit, the struggle will similarly become keen enough to be conducted *con amore*,[a] while the irritation caused by the pettiness and philistinism with which you now have to contend *en détail* and with which I am familiar from long experience, will evaporate in the wider dimensions of the struggle and then, too, we shall get the right sort of men in parliament. But it's all very well for me to talk — I'm over here, while you are having to do the dirty work, and that is certainly no joke. Anyhow, I am glad that you are physically fit again. Spare your nerves for better times; we shall need them.

The greater part of *Capital*, Book III, has now been dictated from the manuscripts and set out in a legible hand. This preliminary work will be pretty well complete in 5 or 6 weeks' time. Then there will be the very difficult final editing which will require a considerable amount of work. But the thing's brilliant and will have all the impact of a thunderbolt. I daily await the first copies of Book II,[b] one of which will instantly be forwarded to you.

Your old friend
F. E.

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[a] Here: with enthusiasm. - [b] of *Capital*

23 June. Too late to register this today, so won't go off till tomorrow.

*24 June. Berlin papers received with thanks.*

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## 181

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 1 July 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Herewith the preface to the *Trial*.[a] I have made a note of the other items. It is unlikely that I can do a preface[b] and notes for the *Communist Trial*[c] before the beginning of September. In July I shall not have a moment to spare and in August I must relax at the seaside for a while.

After which I shall also be able to tackle the *June Insurrection*.[417]

I should be *delighted* to see the *Schlesische Milliarde* republished. In addition, you should reprint my biographical note on Wolff from the *Neue Welt* (about 1873 I think), to which I should also do an introduction.[418]

I am still waiting for Volume II of *Capital*. I can't really do anything for you where Meissner is concerned; I have no right to meddle in these matters, and the chap is meticulous.[419]

There are still several hundred portraits of Marx available, in both sizes.

On the whole, everything is going quite well in Germany; our working men will see to it that everything turns out all right.

Yours sincerely,

F. E.

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[a] F. Engels, 'Preface to the Pamphlet *Karl Marx Before the Cologne Jury*'. - [b] F. Engels, 'On the History of the Communist League'. - [c] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*.

Please let me have clean sheets of the *Dühring*[208] so that I can draw up a list of printer's errors. I would also ask that in future you let me have 2 clean proofs, as is customary and, indeed, essential.

If you wish to call the things 'From the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*', Vols. I, II, etc., I am quite agreeable, of course.

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## 182

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 4 July 1885

My dear Laura,

Herewith the cheque £15.- as desired by Paul who I hope does not suffer too much from the heat which ought to be rather trying in Ste Pélagie[402] by this time.

Your adventure with the Russians vividly recalled to me the times when one was never sure that Dupont would not drop in about half past one in the morning with one or two *citoyens*[a] (something in a lightly elevated state) whom he then and there deposited for the night.

*Justice* announces, as you may have seen, that Reeves (a rather impecunious small man of Fleet St.) is going to publish a translation of Deville's extract of the *Capital* in 'numbers'. This is a dodge against our translation.[420] If it comes out I shall have to declare that Deville's extract is anything but faithful or rather too faithful in the second half, giving all the conclusions and leaving out most of the premises and all the qualifications.

Fortin of Beauvais sends me the beginning of his translation of *The 18th Brumaire*.[b] I have not yet had time to look at it.

I have nearly done dictating of the 3rd volume[c]—what can be dictated. Then, after my return from the seaside (end of August)[421] comes first the sorting of the letters, etc. (and also of the books), and

[a] citizens - [b] See this volume, pp. 62-63. - [c] of *Capital*

then the real work with the 3rd volume. Of the 2nd volume no news. If it does not come next week I shall write. These publishers always have some business pretext why a thing should not be brought out at once.

Mohr's trial at Cologne[a] is being reprinted in Zurich.

Of the Russian translation [of] 2nd volume 18 sheets out of 33 are already done.[361]

Now I must go to town on urgent private affairs (cash), so no more today from

Yours ever affectionately,

F. Engels

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## 183

## ENGELS TO GERTRUD GUILLAUME-SCHACK[184]

### IN BEUTHEN

[Draft]

[London, about 5 July 1885]

Dear Madam,

In reply to your inquiry, I can only say that I am not entitled to provide any information ultimately intended for publication with regard to Marx's and my collaboration on those political writings which we were asked to do *in confidence*. Nor can I accept any responsibility, either in my own or Marx's name, for the French programme as a whole[b] the very nature of which meant that[c] we were at most acting in an advisory capacity. I can, however, tell you *in confidence*, that the *Preamble* of the programme of the *Parti ouvrier*, of the *Roanne* trend, originated with Marx.[422]

If the French are less inclined than the Germans to demand the li-

[a] *Karl Marx vor den Kölner Geschwornen. Prozeß gegen den Ausschuß der rheinischen Demokraten...* - [b] 'Programme électoral des travailleurs socialistes', *L'Égalité*, No. 24, 30 June 1880. - [c] Crossed out in the draft: 'we were only represented as advisers'.

mitation of female labour, this is because in French industry, more especially in Paris, female labour plays a comparatively subordinate role. Equal wages for equal work regardless of sex are, so far as I know, demanded by all socialists until such time as wages are totally abolished. That the working woman, because of her particular physiological functions, requires special protection against capitalist exploitation seems clear to me. Those Englishwomen who championed a women's formal right to allow themselves to be as thoroughly exploited by capitalists as men are, have, for the most part, a direct or indirect interest in the capitalist exploitation of both sexes.[a] As for myself, I must confess that I am more interested in the health of the coming generation than in absolute, formal equality between the sexes during the final years of the capitalist mode of production. True equality between men and women can, or so I am convinced, become a reality only when[b] the exploitation of both by capital has been abolished, and private work in the home been transformed into a public industry.

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## 184

## ENGELS TO JOHN LINCOLN MAHON[423]

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, not earlier than 11 July 1885]

6d. stamps enclosed. Will feel obliged if you send the one copy to America as per address herewith:

F. A. Sorge
*Hoboken, N. J.*
U. S. America

*1 copy 'Commonweal' from July 1st.*[c]

Published for the first time

Reproduced from a copy of the draft

[a] This refers to members of the National Society for Women's Suffrage. - [b] Crossed out in the draft: 'capital that has evolved on the basis of male predominance'. - [c] See this volume, p. 298.

# 185

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 23 July 1885

My dear Laura,

Very glad to learn that our prisoner[a] is going soon again to breathe *l'air pur de la libérté (sans égalité et fraternité)*[b] and [...][c]

Of course Deville is quite innocent of the trick of Hyndman and Co.[420] — for it is said that the 'John Broadhouse' who figure-heads as translator, is the immortal Hyndman himself — and I hope the thing may blow over. Perhaps it was merely concocted between Hyndman and Kegan Paul to set us on, for Kegan Paul has not heard from me for a long time, considering that I cannot as yet fix a date when we shall be ready. At all events we cannot have anything about this pretended publication. Of course it would be best if it turned out a mere *Schreckschuss*.[d] But if not, I am bound to declare publicly that the latter half of the résumé does *not* render the original correctly. I told Deville so, before it was printed,[e] and yet it was printed in the old shape, 'because the publisher would not wait'. That could be allowed to pass unnoticed in France, where the French edition is in the market. But it will never do here, so long as there is no English translation out,[56] or so long as it is brought out in competition to that.

The little squabble amongst the German deputies has on the whole had excellent effects. The workingmen have everywhere shown such an energetic front against these ridiculous pretensions that the big men in Parliament are not likely to repeat their attempt at domineering.[374] This our men have done in the most unmistakable way and in spite of all the trammels of the Socialist Law.[37] In the meantime poor Liebknecht is hurrying from one end of Germany to the other preaching concord and telling everybody that there are no differences of principle, that it's all personal squabbles, that both sides have com-

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[a] Paul Lafargue - [b] fresh air of freedom (without equality and brotherhood) - [c] The next two lines in the original are crossed out by an unknown person and cannot be deciphered. - [d] false alarm - [e] See this volume, pp. 61, 63.

mitted faults, etc.— the hen that has hatched ducklings. He has been hatching 'heducated' socialists for the last twenty years and now obstinately refuses to see that the chickens are ducklings, the socialists are philanthropic *Spiessbürger*.[a]

Most happy am I to see that the *scrutin de liste*[375] invented to perpetuate Opportunist government, is likely to smash up Opportunism altogether.[236] If Clemenceau keeps only one half of what he promises, if he merely *initiates* the break-up of the vast French bureaucracy, it will be an immense progress. On the other hand, even supposing him to really intend being sincere and a man of his word, he will find so many real obstacles, he will so soon be brought to a standstill, that to the Paris electors he will always appear as a traitor. It is a delusion to think that in France Anglo-Saxon, especially American local self-government can be introduced without upsetting the whole bourgeois régime. So, very soon he will have to choose: either drop his reforms and remain bourgeois *avec les bourgeois*[b] or go on and revolutionise himself. I think he will remain bourgeois, and then our time may come.

Schorlemmer is here, has as yet no definite projects for Continental tours, but keeps his mind's eye on Paris. He is out at present, may return before I close this.

Here too we shall have a peaceable revolution in November. The new electorate is sure to change the whole basis of old parties.[299] The Whigs have already declared through their great mouthpiece *The Edinburgh Review* that there must be now 'a parting of the waters': the Radicals are to shift for themselves and the Whigs intend joining the Tories who, they find, are not so bad after all.[424] Whether the Tories will accept them, and on what terms, remains to be seen. The fact is that this alliance has been on the tapis for the last 10 years, but always broke down on the question of the division of the spoil. Another progress: we shall very likely get all the rotten 'representative working men' into Parliament. That is just the place where we want them.

Pumps wants us to go Jersey this year; if we do, and Paul is out, will you come and join us there, and then come over to London? Steamers from *St Malo*— or will you wait in Paris till Jollymeier comes and brings you over? You might ruminate that a bit and let me know. We

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[a] philistines - [b] with the bourgeois

cannot leave before 8th or 10th August on account of Percy's business.[421]

Love from Nim and Jollymeier.

Yours affectionately,

F. Engels

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## 186

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL[263]

### IN ZURICH

London, 24 July 1885

Dear Bebel,

I shall try and see whether this letter finds you in Zurich on the 26th, as you lead me to suppose.

So far as I can see from here, the row in the party is taking just the course we wanted. Frohme has got his comrades into as nasty a fix as possible, which cannot but please us, but luckily Liebknecht is there to save their bacon; he has notified the Society over here that *he* will now go to Frankfurt and put everything to rights[425] but that should this fail, Frohme will have to be thrown out. The part being played by Liebknecht in all this business is the entertaining one of the hen that has hatched out ducklings: he had thought he was rearing 'eddicated' socialists and lo! what emerged from the eggs but a clutch of cits and philistines! And now the worthy hen would have us believe that it's chickens after all, and not ducks, swimming about out there in bourgeois waters. Not that there's anything we can do except take him for what he is, illusions and all, but at Offenbach, if one is to believe the newspaper account, he really has gone a bit too far.[426] Well, little will come of the whole affair save the party's awareness that it harbours two tendencies, *one* of which determines the course taken by the masses, the other that taken by the majority of the self-styled

leaders, and that these two courses must increasingly diverge. This will pave the way for an eventual split, and that is no bad thing. Our friends of the Right will think twice before promulgating another ukase.

You have put your finger unerringly on Kautsky's principal weakness. His youthful tendency to make hasty pronouncements has been further reinforced by the lousy methods of teaching history at universities — particularly those in Austria. There, students are systematically taught to produce historical papers with material which they know to be inadequate but are *expected to treat as adequate*, i. e. to write things they themselves must be aware are wrong but yet are supposed to regard as right. Kautsky, of course, began by doing this with considerable brashness. Then came literary life — writing for money, and copiously at that. So that he had absolutely no idea what is meant by really learned work. He thus burnt his fingers badly on a couple of occasions, first with his demographic thing and later with his articles on marriage in primitive times. Indeed in the friendliest possible manner and without mincing my words, I told him as much, nor do I spare him in this regard, mercilessly criticising all his stuff from *that* point of view.[427] Luckily I am able to add by way of consolation that in my callow youth I did exactly the same thing, and that it was only from Marx that I learnt how one ought to work. In fact, it would already seem to have helped quite a lot.

The articles in the Berlin *Zeitung* are undoubtedly by Mehring; I, for one, don't know of anyone else in Berlin who writes so well.[428] The chap has a great deal of talent and a lucid brain, but he's a calculating scoundrel and a born traitor. I hope you will bear this in mind should he return to our midst, as he surely will the moment times have changed.[354]

Walther and his wife came to see me, bringing with them papers with news of the row in the party. They are coming again on Sunday.[a]

I sent off *Capital* II to you in Dresden as soon as it arrived. I have finished dictating the manuscript of III in so far as this was possible, and in the autumn, as soon as I have had a bit of a holiday and attended to all manner of other urgent work, I shall embark on the final editing. However, my mind is at rest, the ms. is now available in a legible hand and can, if the worst comes to the worst, be printed as it stands, even if I were to kick the bucket in the meantime. Until this

[a] 26 July

had been done I was constantly on tenterhooks. Not that the editing of 3 very important parts, i. e. $^2/_3$ of the whole, won't involve a hell of a lot of work. But it will all come right in the end, and I look forward to the hullaballoo it will create when it appears. In the autumn we shall see two peaceful revolutions — the elections in France and over here.

In France, the *scrutin de liste*[375] invented by the out-and-out Republicans and introduced by the Gambettists so as to make sure of remaining perpetually in power by means of the enforced election of lawyers and journalists, especially Parisians, will probably lead to the wholesale ejection of the Gambettists and will almost certainly bring Clemenceau and the Radicals[429] to power, if not immediately, then in the near future. Of the bourgeois parties that now exist, they are the only *remaining possibility*. Clemenceau's panacea is departmental and communal self-government, i. e. decentralisation of the administration and abolition of bureaucracy. The very fact of embarking on this would, in France, be a revolution greater than any that has happened since 1800. But government by the Radicals in France means above all the emancipation of the proletariat from the *old* revolutionary tradition and a direct struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie, i. e. the establishment of an ultimate, unequivocal state of hostilities.

In this country the new suffrage[299] will completely upset the old state of the parties. The alliance between Whigs and Tories[430] to form one big Conservative party, having for its basis landed property *as a single whole* rather than divided into two camps as hitherto, and comprising all the conservative elements of the bourgeoisie — banks, high finance, trade and some of the industries; alongside this, on the other hand, the radical bourgeoisie, i. e. the bulk of large-scale industry, the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat as a tail for the time being, awakening once more to political life — that is a revolutionary starting-point such as England has not seen since 1689.[431]

And on top of all that, old William,[a] now on his last legs. It promises great things. You'll see.

Your
F. E.

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[a] William I

## 187

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

[London, 24 July 1885]

Dear Ede,

Bebel has written to say he will be in Zurich on or about the 26th inst.— the enclosed lines are for him[a]; if he doesn't turn up, you will know how to deal with it.

Schorlemmer sends his regards.

The coming autumn elections in France[b] and England[299] will be the beginning of the end, and I trust we shall also see the end of old William.[c] Now that the Russians seem to have come to a standstill, we shall doubtless have to make a start ourselves. And, if the three great Western nations begin to move, that will also do.

Your
F. E.

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## 188

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[1]

### IN ST PETERSBURG[432]

London, 8 August 1885

Dear Sir,

I have considered your proposal to write a special preface for the Russian edition, but I do not see how I could do so in a satisfactory way.[433]

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[a] This probably refers to the previous letter. - [b] See this volume, pp. 320 and 330. - [c] William I

If you consider that it will be better not to refer to Rodbertus at all, then I would propose that you leave out the whole of the second part of the preface. As an exposition of the author's[a] place in the history of economical science, it is far too incomplete, unless justified by the special circumstances under which it was written, viz. the attacks of the Rodbertus clique. This clique is extremely influential in Germany, makes a deal of noise, and will no doubt soon also be heard of in Russia. It is such a very cheap and convenient way of settling the whole question, to say that our author merely copied Rodbertus,[225] that it is sure to be repeated everywhere where our author is read and discussed. But of all these matters you are the best judge, and so I leave the matter entirely in your own hands, the more so as I have not the remotest idea what your censorship would allow to pass and what not.

There are some favourable rumours spread here about our mutual friend[362]; can you give me any news?

Yours faithfully,

P. W. Rosher[363]

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## 189

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 8 August 1885

My dear Laura,

To my astonishment I find that in all copies[b] I can lay my hands on, the index has been omitted in the binding. I have at once written to Meissner for explanations and shall send you a copy as soon as received.

---

[a] Marx's - [b] of the second volume of *Capital*

It is quite right that you should go to see Mother Vaillant at Villerville but that is no reason why you should not see us. We intend leaving here on Tuesday 11th, and shall be back September 11th at latest.[421] Schorlemmer will leave about same time for Germany and return via Paris about middle of September, and we cannot see any reason why you should not then come over with him. If Paul cannot go to Bordeaux *now*, he may manage to go *then* and so everything would be for the best.[434]

Your letter reminds me that indeed Deville's publisher can stop the translation for *one* year after publication of the original.[435] But that year has passed, as it is now two years since I had the manuscript at Eastbourne,[a] after which time it was brought out almost immediately. The man who is to bring out the translation is William Reeves, 185 Fleet St., but we cannot either procure a copy or hear anything more about it.

Tussy and Edward were to leave yesterday for Deal, but I have not yet had a note from them with their address. They intend staying from 10-14 days. The Kautskys have gone to Eastbourne. The mother Kautsky is a singularly unaffected woman for a German authoress. I have read one of her novels,[b] it is not at all bad. However I advised her to study Balzac and she has taken a few volumes, but will her French be up to that sort of reading?

The *scrutin de liste*[375] is no doubt at first against our people, but that does not matter so long as our people are not more numerous. If they succeed in making a decent show in Paris and some great provincial centres, there will be a necessity for the Radicals next time to make a combined list with them in some places, and then some may get in; besides by that time, they will be a good deal stronger, and a good many of the outside sects, Possibilists,[237] etc., will be broken up. If this next election[c] brings Clemenceau into office, I shall be quite satisfied. He is the last man, as far as I can see, that the bourgeoisie has to put forward. After him *le déluge*.[436] And at the same time the elections here with an entirely new electorate[299] which must be the beginning of the end; and old William[d] on his last legs (he fell upstairs again yesterday at Gastein) — we shall see what we shall see.

After the elections here — which will, I hope, carry all the Potters, Cremers and other *faux frères*[e] into Parliament — the basis for a so-

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[a] See this volume, p. 46. - [b] M. Kautsky, *Stefan vom Grillenhof*. - [c] See this volume, p. 330. - [d] William I - [e] false brothers

cialist movement here will become broader and firmer. And therefore I am glad to see that Hyndmanite movement will not take serious roots anywhere and that the simple, clumsy, wonderfully blundering, but *sincere* movement of the Socialist League [346] is slowly and apparently surely gaining ground. *Justice* is of an increasing vacuousness, and *To-Day* is dying, if not dead.

Good-bye — I have to write a heap of letters yet — love from all of us.

Yours affectionately,
F. Engels

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## 190

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [437]

### IN EASTBOURNE

[Jersey,] Sunday [16 August 1885]

Dear Kautsky,

After sundry vagaries we landed here the day before yesterday morning and, after some difficulty, found accommodation. [421] The little place has not changed much in 10 years and is still quite pleasant when the weather is fine. We had a very good passage, though towards morning Nim, Pumps and Lily were somewhat overcome, or rather only the last two; Nim lay down and felt better. In Guernsey we unloaded some 10 calves and 20 sheep, a pitiful sight, for all of them were sea-sick. A supply of Pilsener beer has been discovered and is being rapidly consumed; there is also very good red wine at 10d. a bottle. I shall now leave the party to its own devices, but if you have anything of interest to tell me I shall be glad to hear about it. Address

2 Royal Crescent, Jersey. Kind regards from us all to you, your wife and your mother.[a]

Your
F. E.

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## 191

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

### IN ST PETERSBURG

Jersey, 25 August 1885
31 Roseville Street

Dear Sir,

I have received your letters 6/18 and 9/21 August to which I shall reply on my return to London.[421] In the meantime herewith the letter for the Editor of the *Сѣверный вѣстникъ*.[438] The reply you have, I suppose. If not, please write as before to London, when on my return in 14 days hence I will send a fresh copy.

Yours truly,
P. W. Rosher[363]

First published, in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 2, St Petersburg, 1908

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Published in English for the first time

## 192

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER[439]

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

Jersey, 26 August 1885
31 Roseville Street

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Sheets 16 and 17[b] arrived in London after I had left — the Kaut-

[a] Louise and Minna Kautsky - [b] of the second edition of Engels' *Anti-Dühring*

skys and Avelings were also away so there was no one there capable of sending on the large quantity of incoming printed matter in some semblance of order. It was not until Monday that Mrs Aveling arrived at my house and posted me the sheets. These went back to you corrected yesterday, Wednesday. A lot of words had been inserted that do not appear in the original and they completely distort the sense. And on sheet 17 in particular the pages are in a complete muddle: 257, 262, 263, 258, 259, 264, etc., which is totally inadmissible in this, the most important chapter of the book, and that is why I have taken the precaution of writing to you.

I shall be staying here for another fortnight.[421] *After Saturday, 3 September* everything had best be sent to London again.—We are literally stifling here during the present spell of fine weather, for the lack of rain has led to a serious water shortage on this pretty little island. I neither see nor hear anything of the party, which, if the latest storm in the parliamentary tea cup[374] is anything to go by, is no calamity. Kindest regards to Ede.

Yours,
F. E.

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## 193

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN LONDON

[Jersey,] 6 September 1885

Dear Kautsky,

We leave here[a] on Thursday[b] and therefore hope to see you both at our house on Sunday as usual. The *Volks-Zeitung* and □[c] received

[a] See this volume, p. 325. - [b] 10 September - [c] This may refer to one of Louis Viereck's articles (Viereck = square in German).

with thanks. The chap wants to ingratiate himself with his papa.[440] The latter, however, has better things to do. Not content with having created a French republic in 1870,[92] he must now do his utmost to create a Spanish one.[441] I hope he succeeds. What jackasses these great men are!

Kindest regards to your wife and yourself from all of us.

Your
F. E.

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## 194

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER[439]

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

Jersey, 9 September 1885

Final *Dühring* proof received yesterday.[208] I shall be going home tomorrow[421] and hence can do nothing with it here, especially as sheet 18 is in London, still to be corrected. The re-direction to this address of stuff sent to London has been handled very badly this year, hence the delay. My first task will be to see to these corrections as well as the preface.[a] The rest has been taken note of and will follow. Please send the Wolff biography from the *Neue Welt* to London straight away; it, too, will then be promptly dealt with.[418] Kindest regards.

Yours,
F. Engels

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[a] F. Engels, 'On the History of the Prussian Peasants. Introduction to Wilhelm Wolff's Pamphlet *The Silesian Milliard*'.

## 195

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN LONDON

[Jersey,] Thursday [10 September 1885]

Dear Kautsky,

We are still here thanks to a violent storm and while it lasts I cannot be responsible for allowing the children to sail. Nor is it likely that we shall be able to leave tomorrow.[421] So that puts paid to the prospect of seeing you both again at my home on Sunday.[a] Kindest regards to your wife.

Your
F. E.

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## 196

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 22 September 1885

My dear Laura,

Yesterday when I was going to write to you, people came in and made one miss the post. So I can only today send you the cheque £ 10. - which is all I can spare until I get some more money in which I hope won't be long. I have not heard from Schorlemmer but sup-

[a] 13 September; see also this volume, p. 323.

pose you must as you expect him, and this being the case I naturally pass a step further and give expression to the expectation that he will bring you over with him which will be some time next week. We are quite ready for you.

While you had a fine row in Paris last Sunday,[442] Tussy and Aveling had one here in the East End, I will forward you *The Daily News* which has the best report and a leading article.[443] They were here this morning, my opinion is that unless they can get the Radicals[415] who are very eager, apparently, on their side, to take the matter up, *le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle.*[a] The Socialists are nowhere, the Radicals are a power. If the question can be made one for which a dozen Radicals will have themselves arrested, the government will give way — if only in view of the elections.[b] If only Socialists are the victims, they will go to prison without any effect.

I like the systematic and theoretically correct way in which the French go about working the *scrutin de liste.*[375] Each party makes a complete list of its own. The consequence will be that everywhere the relatively strongest party will get all their own men in, the rest none. But at the same time each party will count itself and know its strength. And at the next elections, the necessary result will come out: that the parties nearest to each other will combine for a joint list according to their relative strength — unless indeed this is not already done now on the eve of the voting. *Scrutin de liste* compels Radicals[429] and Socialists to have a joint list, as it will gradually compel Opportunists and Monarchists to join in a common list, at least in sundry departments. But it is characteristic of the *génie français*[c] that this can only come out as the result of actual experience. It is this ideological, absolute character which gives to French political history its classical form, as compared to the muddled politics of other nations.

I am overwhelmed with proof-sheets, revisions, prefaces to write, etc., etc., so that I have not had the time yet to look seriously at your translation of the *Manifest.*[444] As soon as the most urgent business is off, end of this week I hope, I shall go at it and then we can discuss the matter here. I am glad you are at last taking the bushel off your light and helping us to get some good things translated into French, our own native Frenchmen being apparently unable to understand Ger-

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[a] The game is not worth the candle. - [b] See this volume, p. 361. - [c] French mind

man. When you are once at it, you will continue by the law of the force of inertia, and gradually begin to like the treadmill.

Now the post-time is up and so good-bye until we see you here when I hope you will bring the rest of your translation.

Nim sends her love.

Yours affectionately,
F. Engels

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## 197

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 23 September 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

I. You will have received all the proofs of the *Dühring*.[208] They were sent off from here on the 13th and 14th. If anything is missing kindly let me know; the type-setting was such that there could be absolutely no question of its being printed unless corrected by me.

The last clean proof to arrive here was No. 14. I await the remainder for the list of printing errors. Enclosed a provisional list which corrects a great deal of nonsense, much of which I myself had doubtless allowed to stand. However I shall go through the whole thing once again.

Herewith also and at long last the preface[a] which caused me much toil and sweat. In the first place there were numerous interruptions. But then again my knowledge of natural science was very rusty and there was much I had to look up.

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[a] Engels' preface to the second edition of *Anti-Dühring*.

II. Please send me if possible (along with the preface) proofs (in duplicate) of *Marx vor den Geschwornen*,[a] or at any rate clean proofs for the list of printing errors. The original edition is not devoid of bad errors; indeed, the worthy compositors sometimes exercise their minds more than the author would wish.

III. 'Preface',[b] etc., to the *Communist Trial*[c] will follow this week provided there are no interruptions.

IV. Immediately after that I shall put Lupus'[d] biography to rights for the *Schlesische Milliarde* as well as anything else appertaining to it.[418] This will follow in a few days.

Please send me clean proofs of everything as well as proofs of my prefaces, etc. Also 12 copies of each of the above.

I am also seeing to Marx's photograph.

Then I shall get on with re-writing the *Peasant War*[213] as soon as I have got the revision of the French[444] and English translations[e] off my back.

Now that I am back home[421] the correction of proofs will be attended to speedily and punctually.

I have had a good few bones to pick with Mr Meissner about the get-up of the 2nd volume of *Capital*. In the preface and text the type is all jumbled up, although I had already gone a long way towards sorting this out in the proofs, so far as it was possible to do so. No excuse for that. Moreover, there are 500 copies with no index at all. I enclose one copy for the archives.[144]

□[f] is incorrigible.[g] His appeal to his papa is touching[440]; the old man will take a stick to him.

With best wishes,

Yours,
F. Engels

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[a] *Karl Marx vor den Kölner Geschwornen* - [b] F. Engels, 'On the History of the Communist League'. - [c] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - [d] Wilhelm Wolff's - [e] of the first volume of *Capital* (see also Note 56) - [f] Louis Viereck (Viereck = square in German) - [g] See this volume, pp. 323-24.

## 198

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 8 October 1885

Dear Ede,

I enclose herewith the introduction[a] to the *Revelations Concerning the Trial in Cologne.*[b] If you want to print it initially as a feuilleton in the *Sozialdemokrat, I* should have no objection. Only you must come to some arrangement with Schlüter, who is probably awaiting it anxiously. Tell him he will be getting the notes and the proofs of Marx's text tomorrow, as also instructions about what to print of the enclosures[c] from Stieber.[d]

Karl Kautsky will be sending you a few *Kölnische Zeitungs* containing the first rational report on events in Bulgaria.[445] The correspondent is in Belgrade and is well-informed, and since as yet Bismarck's interests have not provoked a hushing-up order, the report can, in fact, be regarded as an honest one. So the Russians have fallen into their own trap. They forgot that, as a lieutenant in the Prussian Guards, Alexander Battenberg is rightly relying on his 'comrade' William.[e]

You worry too much about someone 'succeeding' you on the *Sozialdemokrat.* But the best of it is that they couldn't really put anyone in your place; any attempt on the part of those gentry to put one of their milksops would fail because 1) no one of that ilk would voluntarily go into exile, 2) the party would soon put a stop to it, nor would they continue to support such a paper. If you go, the *Sozialdemokrat* goes with you, and this coincidence is all to the good. August[f] is likewise of the opinion that the Zurich establishments[g] should in all circumstances remain in our hands, as indeed they probably will, since they would only be a burden to others. It is up to you, I believe, to ensure that we retain the press and bookshop, in which case the matter of the

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[a] F. Engels, 'On the History of the Communist League'. - [b] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.* - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Address of the Central Authority to the League, March 1850' and 'Address of the Central Authority to the League, June 1850'. - [d] Wermuth/Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.* - [e] William I - [f] Bebel - [g] the editorial board, bookshop and the press of the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat*

*Sozialdemokrat* will resolve itself—if the worst comes to the worst—through the issue of a new paper after the demise of the present one. But you rate these gentlemen's offensive power too high.

The acquittal in Chemnitz is splendid.[446] So it was too much of a good thing even for a Saxon judiciary.

The French elections mark a great advance. As I had previously said,[a] the *scrutin de liste*[375] has eliminated the Opportunists.[447] But that it would eliminate them so thoroughly, that the upper, middle and part of the lower middle classes would take refuge with the Monarchists, and do so *en masse*, was something that could not have been foreseen—not, at any rate, outside France. The Opportunists played at being a 'Directory' and such was their corruption that it far outstripped even that of the Second Empire. But they didn't guarantee your bourgeois the peace and quiet that would be guaranteed him by a monarchy. The relapse into monarchism, here dubbed *Orleanism*, was all the more natural in that the entire *Centre gauche*[b] (Ribot, *Journal des Débats*, etc.) are simply Orleanists disguised as Republicans; so that people prefer genuine Orleanists, and are even content, if there is no other alternative, with Bonapartists and Legitimists. The second ballots may already witness a setback, the bourgeois having taken fright at his own electoral victory, and hence a swing to radicalism. If not there will soon be a set-to.[448]

This much, at any rate, has been won—the ousting of the parties of the Centre, Monarchists versus Radicals, the few Centre Party deputies compelled to choose between joining one or the other. The situation is thus a *revolutionary* one. No one in France seriously believes in the monarchy as such, if only because of the vast number of Pretenders. But there is some possibility of the Orleanists attempting a coup, in which case there would be a show-down. At all events, this is how the question is presented: either *la république en danger*,[c] or the setting up of a 'radical' republic. There would seem to be every probability that the latter will prevail. But then the Radicals[429] will not only have to abide by their promises[a] and replace Napoleon's centralised administration with the kind of self-government exercised by the departments and communes between 1792 and 1798; they will also have to rely on the support of the Socialists. We could wish for no more favourable situation. France remains faithful to her own logico-dialectical course of development. Contradictions are never sup-

[a] Cf. this volume, p. 317. - [b] left centre - [c] Here: endanger the Republic.

pressed for very long, but are constantly being fought out. And we can wish for nothing better.

That the Socialists have so few votes (a source of considerable chagrin to Lafargue) is perfectly natural.[449] The French working man does not chuck away his ballot paper. And since in France there are still *living* parties and not, as in Germany, only dead or dying ones, it is far from politic to vote for a Socialist who has no prospects, if by so doing one puts a Radical in the minority and an Opportunist in the majority. The fact is that there are considerable drawbacks to the practice of nominating candidates as a measure of strength in France, as there may be in some parts of Germany as soon as life returns to the political scene there. When once the course of things in France enables the Socialists to become a political opposition, i. e. when Clemenceau finally comes to the helm, we shall instantly gain millions of votes. But one shouldn't try and insist upon the French developing along *German* lines, although that is what many of our best men in Germany are doing.

A final verdict will not, of course, be possible until the second ballot is over.

Your
F. E.

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## 199

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 9 October 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Yesterday I sent the introduction[a] to the *Cologne Trial*[b] to Ede in case he wished to print it beforehand in the *Sozialdemokrat*, in which

[a] F. Engels, 'On the History of the Communist League'. - [b] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*.

case he would have to arrange matters with you.[a] Herewith now the list of contents to show you how it has been arranged; also printing errors in, and notes on, the Leipzig edition of 1875.[450] I have included only the London Central Authority's two Addresses of March and June[b]; the *Cologne Address* of December 1850[c] offers nothing new in the way of theory, being a detailed account of the party's break-up which today would be of importance only in a *circumstantial* history of the movement of those days.

The thing has got badly behindhand—through no fault of my own. *La bravoure, c'est dans le ventre,*[d] as Marshal Davout once said to his host, Marx's father-in-law,[e] when the latter congratulated him on his appetite. *L'esprit, c'est dans le ventre*[f] is what I say, after discovering to what depths of stupidity and incapacity one can be reduced by catarrh of the stomach. To sweat away for five hours at one page and then furiously consign what one has written to the flames—WELL, it's all over now, not to return for a very long time, or so I hope.

Tomorrow I shall tackle the introduction to the *Schlesische Milliarde.*[418]

As regards the June battle, however, there's nothing doing yet. I have become convinced that the things from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* can't be printed on their own without a *real* history of events.[417] But this would call for specialised studies which can't be done until I have sorted out the piles of Marx's pamphlets, because only then shall I know *what* stuff I have yet to procure for the purpose. And only then could I embark on my studies. So for the time being this will have to be shelved.

With kindest regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

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[a] See this volume, p. 329. - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Address of the Central Authority to the League, March 1850'; 'Address of the Central Authority to the League, June 1850'. - [c] 'Proposal from the London District of the Communist League to the Central Authority in Cologne'. - [d] Bravery begins in the stomach. - [e] Ludwig von Westphalen - [f] Thinking begins in the stomach.

## 200

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE
IN PARIS

London, 13 October 1885

My dear Laura,

I return you by this post the first ten leaflets of the *Manifest*[444] — I was compelled to break off, firstly because it is 5 o'clock and secondly because there is a *lacune* of considerable extent which I cannot fill up. Paul I hope will send me what is wanting at once, and I will return it if possible same day. For I see now that it will not take me long. To tell you the truth, a translation of the *Manifest* always frightens me — it reminds me of weary hours spent in vain on that most untranslatable of documents. But you have hit the nail on the head. There are only two passages where you evidently were interrupted and did not catch the exact meaning. Otherwise the work is excellently done, and for the first time the pamphlet will appear in French in a form that we can be proud of and that will give the reader an idea of what the original is. As you go on towards the end, practice will make you still more perfect, and you will more and more, not translate, but reproduce in the other language. You will therefore take my notes — where the meaning is not in question — as mere suggestions on the value of which you will have to decide. I am so out of practice in speaking and writing French that positively an hour's chat with Johnny[a] acts upon me as a refresher upon a German Counsel, and really revives my capacity of thinking in French more than ever I should have dreamt.

I am glad indeed that you have taken this job in hand; that you would succeed if you once put your shoulder to the wheel, I never doubted, but I am glad to read the *thing done*. Now we have got you in harness and will do our best to keep you in it. It will be of infinite use to the movement in France, for you may be sure the learning of German will not make much progress for some time amongst them, and even those that do learn it, learn it like schoolboys and without perhaps ever speaking to a native. Poor Fortin's translation[b] do give me trouble enough — the German words are mere skeletons to him, no

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[a] Jean Longuet - [b] the French translation of Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*

flesh and blood—how can he reproduce them in French! And Mohr's vigorous German too!

Well here's to your health and success, after the *Manifest* anything you may tackle will appear child's play!

Dinner bell—so good-bye,

Yours ever,
F. E.

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## 201

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN LONDON

[London, 14 October 1885]

The latest act is called:

* 'The Factory and Workshops Act, 1878, 41. Victoria, Chapter 16' *—and is obtainable from

* P. S. King & Son
Canada Building
King St., Westminster. *

Published with commentary in:

* 'The Factory & Workshops Act 1878'—by Alex Redgrave, Her Majesty's Inspector of Factories. 2nd ed., London, Shaw & Sons, Fetter Lane and Crane Court, Law Printers and Publishers. * 1879. 238 pages small octavo. *5 shillings*.

The act itself costs a shilling at most.

Your
F. E.

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# Das Kapital.

## Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.

Von

**Karl Marx.**

Zweiter Band.

**Buch II: Der Cirkulationsprocess des Kapitals.**

**Herausgegeben von Friedrich Engels.**

---

A mon ami P. Lavroff
F. Engels
Londres, 11 juillet 1885.

Das Recht der Uebersetzung ist vorbehalten.

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**Hamburg**
Verlag von Otto Meissner.
1885.

Зак. 674 опр. 701. конгрес Рауба Светогора

Title page of the first edition of Marx's *Capital*, Volume II, with Engels' dedication to Pyotr Lavrov

## 202

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV[451]

IN PARIS

[London,] 20 October 1885

My dear Lavrov,

Greatly to my annoyance I am unable to help you with sources for a history of Chartism.[452] All my papers, books, journals, etc., which date back to that period went astray during the upheavals of 1848-49. The chief source, *The Northern Star*, is nowhere to be found, even in the north of England (Harney, its former editor-in-chief, is seeking in vain to get hold of a set). What the bourgeois have written on the subject is for the most part false; nor have I ever concerned myself with such literature. It's unfortunate, for if Harney doesn't write his memoirs, the history of the first great workers' party will be lost for ever.[453]

Yours ever and with regret,

F. E.

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## 203

## ENGELS TO SALO FAERBER

IN BRESLAU

London, 22 October 1885

Dear Sir,

I have received your esteemed note of the 15th,[454] though the seal was badly damaged; this I enclose herewith to the greater glory of Mr Stephan.[455]

Since 1848 I, too, have frequently maintained that Russian tsardom is the last refuge and chief military reserve of European reaction. However there have been many changes in Russia over the past 20 years. The so-called emancipation of the peasants has created a thoroughly revolutionary situation in that it has placed the peasants in a situation in which they can neither live nor die. The rapid development of large-scale industry and its means of communication, the banks, etc., have merely aggravated this situation. Russia is faced with its own 1789. The Nihilists, [356] on the one hand, and a financial crisis on the other are symptomatic of this situation. Prior to the last loan, things had got to such a pitch that the Russian government was unable to raise money even in Berlin unless the loan was guaranteed by a representative assembly. Even Mendelssohn imposed this condition. At this point, when tsardom was in dire straits, Bismarck stepped in and authorised a loan, admittedly of a paltry 15 million pounds, a drop in the ocean, but enough to provide a few years' respite. [182] By doing so, Bismarck subjugated Russia, which even today cannot get money without him, but by the same token he also put off the Russian revolution and that certainly did not suit his book either. It is the first time Bismarck has done something that has not indirectly and contrary to his will turned out to our advantage and if he carries on in the same way we may no longer have any use for him.

So whether the Russians are to get any more money depends primarily on Bismarck and, if he consents, the financial philistines of Germany will be only too delighted to fall into the trap set for them. The fact that they will lose their money in the process concerns me not at all; on the contrary, it will serve them right, nor will the so-called German national capital suffer much in the process, since the portion we are interested in consists of ironworks, factories and other instruments of production, which can hardly be loaned to the Russians. The so-called money capital that is being lent is to a great extent bogus capital, lines of credit, and this is of little consequence. What would be of far greater consequence would be to make it difficult, if not impossible, for the Russians to obtain credit, but on this score your typical German punter has more faith in Bismarck than in us. At the moment it's quite impossible for me to spend time on an attempt to reduce the question of Russian state credits to the size it deserves; a work of that kind, however timely and worthwhile, would nevertheless call for a study of Russian conditions from Russian sources. As regards the actual financial side, a table showing the Russian

national debt for the past few years together with lists of stock market prices would suffice, but in the case of economic conditions within the country itself a great deal of study would be necessary if one was to form an accurate opinion. One of the main works is a survey carried out by the Russian War Ministry under the title *Военно-статистическій сборникъ IV. Россія*,[a] St Petersburg, 1871.

Also:

А. Скребицкій, *Крестьянское дѣло въ царствованіе Императора Александра II*,[b] Bonn, 1862-68, 4 volumes, about 5,000 pages in all.

Also the сборники статистическихъ свѣдѣній[c] of the individual *gouvernements*,[d] in particular Moscow and Tver, and Янсонъ, *Сравнительная статистика Россіи и западно-европейскихъ государствъ*,[e] St Petersburg, 1880, several volumes.

The Russian budgets aren't worth the paper they are written on. Sheer lies and invention, more so even than those presented in Prussia prior to 1848.

As to an evaluation of the armies now reorganised along Prussian lines, this is a sheer impossibility. We do know, however, that Austria and, to an even greater extent, Russia, lack the large educated class which alone can supply an adequate number of officers suitable for employment in armies of this size, and that, according to the account of their own General Kuropatkin,[f] the Russians' conduct of operations in 1878 in Turkey was inferior to that of the Prussians in 1806.[456]

Liebknecht's letter returned herewith.[457]

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

F. Engels

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[a] *Military Statistical Miscellany IV. Russia* - [b] A. Skrebitsky, *Peasants' Question during the Reign of Emperor Alexander II.* - [c] statistical miscellanies - [d] gubernias - [e] Yanson, *Russia and West European States: Comparative Statistics.* - [f] [Kuropatkin] А. Куропаткинъ, *Ловча, Плевна и Шейново. (Изъ исторіи русско-турецкой войны 1877—1878 гг.)* (Lovech, Pleven and Sheinovo. (From the History of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78)); idem, *Дѣйствія отрядовъ генерала Скобелева въ русско-турецкую войну 1877—1878 годовъ. Ловча и Плевна* (Actions of General Skobelev's Detachments during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. Lovech and Pleven).

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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL [263]

### IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 28 October 1885

Dear Bebel,

Liebknecht's defeat in Saxony makes me feel sorry for him as a man, but in other respects it can do him no harm. He sets far too much store by popularity, to which he is prepared to sacrifice more than is proper, and it will therefore do him good to see for once that no amount of concessions to the Right will be of any avail, particularly when suffrage is qualified by age and property, in which case they won't even earn him the vote of the petty bourgeoisie. [458]

Your news about the independent spirit of the masses gave me much pleasure. However, the gentlemen of the right wing will refuse to credit it until some of them have been made an example of; they live within the orbit of small cliques and what they hear they assume to be the voice of the people. The scales will soon fall from their eyes.

Chronic pressure on all the crucial branches of industry continues without remission, not only in this country, but also in France and America. Particularly in iron and cotton. It is an unprecedented state of affairs, for all that it is the inevitable consequence of the capitalist system: overproduction on such an enormous scale that it can't even manage to produce a crisis! The overproduction of disposable capital seeking investment is so great that the discount rate here actually fluctuates between 1 and $1^1/_2$% per annum, while for money invested in short-term loans which can be paid off or called in any day (MONEY AT CALL) barely $^1/_2$% per annum is obtainable. But the very fact that the financial capitalist prefers to invest his money thus rather than in new industrial enterprises amounts to an admission that the economy is, in his eyes, rotten to the core. And this fear of new investment and any kind of speculation, already a feature of the 1867 crisis, is the main reason for the inability to bring about an acute crisis. But sooner or later it is bound to come and then, with any luck, it will put paid to the old trades unions over here. These cheerfully retain the same old guild character which has attached to them from the start and becomes daily more unbearable. You might suppose that any

worker would be admitted without more ado by the engineers, carpenters, masons, etc., if he practised the relevant trade. Not a bit of it. Anyone seeking admission must have been bound apprentice for a number of years (usually 7) to a workman belonging to the trades union. This was supposed to restrict the number of workers, but served no other purpose, unless to bring in money to the master, in return for which he in fact did nothing at all. This may have been all right up till 1848. But since that time the tremendous growth of industry has created a class of workers as, if not more, numerous than their 'skilled' counterparts in the TRADES UNIONS, and who do as much, if not more, work than they, yet can never be admitted as members. These people have been *virtually brought into being* by the guild regulations of the TRADES UNIONS. But do you suppose the UNIONS have ever thought of doing away with this antiquated rubbish? Not on your life! I cannot remember ever reading about a proposal of that kind at a TRADES UNIONS Congress. The idiots want to reform society in accordance with their own set-up, not their own set-up in accordance with society's process of development. They cleave to their traditional superstitions, which harm only themselves, instead of getting rid of the lumber and thus doubling their numbers and strength to become in fact what they daily resemble less and less, namely anti-capitalist associations of all the workers of a particular trade. This will, I think, help you to understand much in the behaviour of these privileged working men.

What is really essential here is for the official labour leaders to get into Parliament *en masse*. That would speed things up all right; they'd quickly show themselves for what they were. The elections in November should prove a great help since 10 or 12 of them are sure to get in, provided their Liberal friends don't play some trick on them at the last moment.[a] The first elections under a new system[299] are always a kind of lottery and reveal only the least part of the revolution they usher in. But universal suffrage — and its recent introduction here will, in view of Britain's industrial lead and the absence of a peasant class, lend the workers as much power as it did in Germany — is today the best lever a proletarian movement can have, and so it will prove in this country also. That's why it is so important to smash the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION[300] at the earliest opportunity, for its leaders are nothing but adventurers, literati and political careerists.

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[a] See this volume, p. 361.

Hyndman, their boss, is doing all he can to further this end; he can hardly wait for the little bell to strike twelve, as the folk song has it,[a] and makes more of an ass of himself every day, so frantically does he pursue success. He's a wretched caricature of Lassalle.

I don't believe your opinion of the French is altogether fair. The masses in Paris are 'socialist' in the sense of a neutral middle-of-the-road socialism distilled over the course of years from Proudhon, Louis Blanc, Pierre Leroux, etc. The only experience they have had of communism was that of Cabet's utopia, which culminated in a model colony in America, i. e. in flight from France and discord and semi-bankruptcy in America.[459] Anything over and above that they derive from Germany, nor is it surprising that France which, from 1789 to 1850, was in every case the first country, not only to give clear expression to political ideas, but also to put them into practice, should be somewhat reluctant to endorse her own abdication as leader in matters of revolutionary theory; particularly after the glorious Commune and, what is more, vis-à-vis a Germany that was, to all intents and purposes, defeated by the Paris workers in 1870, seeing that the German army did not dare occupy Paris — a case, be it noted, unprecedented in the history of warfare. Then again, you should ask yourself how the French workers are to increase their discernment. Even the French edition of *Capital* is to them a sealed book; and not to them alone, but to a large part of the educated class as well. The only thing they are familiar with is my *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*[460] which, in fact, has proved surprisingly influential. None of the leaders know German, except Vaillant whom I don't count because being a Blanquist, his tactics are totally different from our own. Mme Lafargue is now at last translating the *Manifesto* into good French.[444] Even the leaders' knowledge of theory still leaves something to be desired and, if you knew Paris, you would realise how easy it is to live and agitate, as opposed to doing any serious work there. So whence is discernment to come to the French workers?

And now a further word about the elections. In Germany it is easy to vote for a Social Democrat because we are the only real opposition party and because the Reichstag has no say in things, so that ultimately it doesn't matter whether one votes at all, or for which of the 'dogs that we all are'[461] one does vote. The only other party to have

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[a] Engels refers to the poem *Kurzweil*, published in *Die Volkslieder der Deutschen*, Vol. 4, Mannheim, 1835, pp. 174-75.

a policy of its own is, perhaps, the Centre.[229] But in France, things are altogether different. There, the Chamber is the effective power in the land and there can be no question of chucking away one's ballot paper. Besides which it must be remembered that every time the Gambettists pit themselves against the Monarchists, and the Radicals[429] against the Gambettists, a step forward is made. And indeed practice proves this to be the case. In Germany Junker-style reaction has flourished since 1870 and everything is retrogressing. In France, they have the best schools in the world with compulsory education to match, and whereas Bismarck cannot get rid of the clergy,[462] the French have already ousted them completely from their schools. Our German army, apart from the growing Social Democratic element, is a more infamous tool of reaction than ever before. In France, general conscription has brought the army infinitely closer to the people, and *it is primarily the army* that makes monarchy impossible (cf. 1878).[463] And if the Radicals come to the helm and are compelled to implement their programme, there will be decentralisation of the administration, self-government for departments and communes, as in America and in the France of 1792-98, and separation of Church and State, every man to pay his own parson. We are not yet in a position to direct historical developments either in Germany or in France. This does not mean that those developments are standing still, however, but only that in the German Empire they are temporarily retrogressing, while in France they are for all that advancing. But our turn will not come — such is the slow but sure course of history — until the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, having demonstrated, publicly and in practice, their inability to govern the country, find themselves up a gum tree. (After a French revolution we might, somewhat *anticipando*,[a] come to power in Germany but *only if carried there by a European tidal wave.*) That is why the instinct of the Paris workers in always supporting the most radical party *possible* is right from one point of view. As soon as the Radicals come to the helm, the same instinct will drive the workers into the arms of the Communists, for the Radicals are pledged to their *old*, muddled, socialist (*not* communist) programme and this will be their undoing. And then instinct and reason will coincide; the most radical party possible will then be the party of the proletariat as such, and things will happen fast. But the

[a] before our time

fact is that the English and the French have long since forgotten their pre-revolutionary state of virginity, whereas we Germans, not having had a revolution *of our own*, are still trailing around with this sometimes very awkward encumbrance. Both conditions have their advantages and disadvantages; but it would be most unjust to use the same one-sided standard in assessing the varying attitudes of the workers in those three countries.

Kautsky has given me Adler's very superficial book[a] which is largely based on Stieber.[b] I shall help him write the review.[c]

Won't you come over here some time? Should business take you to the Rhine, you could be here in no time.

Your
F. E.

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## 205

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 7 November 1885

My dear Laura,

I have no objection whatever to write a short introduction to the *Manifesto*. But in order to enable me to do so, I ought to know what passages in the old preface[d] would appear objectionable to the delicate ears of your Parisian public. I confess I cannot find them out, unless it is one about the Commune which was put in by Mohr himself and on which he particularly insisted.[464] Although in my opinion our Paris friends give way by far too much to these susceptibilities, which ought to be put down as much as possible, I am quite willing

[a] G. Adler, *Die Geschichte der ersten sozialpolitischen Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland...* - [b] Wermuth/Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*. - [c] See this volume, p. 362. - [d] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Preface to the 1872 German Edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*'.

*um des lieben Friedens willen*[a] to please them as much as I can, without thereby falsifying history or strengthening the belief that all light necessarily comes from Paris. It is in my opinion utterly impossible for the *Manifesto* to go out in any language without stating how it originated. The conclusion of II, and the whole of III and IV are utterly incomprehensible without that.

'Mr Broadhouse' has actually had the impudence of having Aveling asked — through Reeves, the publisher — whether I would not collaborate with him in the translation of the *Capital*![b] I suppose you have received the last No. of the *Commonweal*? If you will let me know what Nos. you are short of, I'll see that you get them.

Nim is as jolly as ever, we have just had a bottle of Pilsener together. She was last night at the Lyceum with Pumps to see 'Olivia',[465] says it is a regular *Rührstück*,[c] Irving no great shakes, Ellen Terry very good.

Lavigne says he sent his translation of the *18 Brumaire* to Paul but nothing came of it, what was the reason? I have the thing here, but as I am under an engagement with Fortin,[d] dare not look at it, otherwise I might be accused of having made undue use of it, so I cannot form a judgment as to its merits.[466]

Next week the grand political spree begins. On the 10th the French Chambers, on the 19th or thereabouts the German Reichstag, and a week later the elections here.[e] Whatever they may turn out in the shape of a Parliament, two things are certain: the Irish will command the whole by their 80-90 votes, and the Great Liberal Party will come, at last, to an end by the separation of the Whigs from the Radicals and the preparation if not the completion, of the Union between Whigs and Tories.[415]

Kind regards to Paul (11,500 votes)[467] which I hope have not quite crushed him. He'll have better luck next year.

Yours affectionately,

F. Engels

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[a] for the sake of peace - [b] See this volume, p. 313. - [c] melodrama - [d] See this volume, pp. 358-59. - [e] Ibid., p. 361.

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 11 November 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Have received clean sheets of *Dühring* up to 20 incl. [208]; ending and prefaces are still to come. As soon as these arrive you will be sent the list of printing errors.

The introduction to the *Schlesische Milliarde* [418] is in hand and would have been finished long ago but for a series of interruptions of all kinds. It has been lying heavily on my conscience, so you may be sure that it will not be held up for a moment longer than is absolutely necessary.

You will have received the corrected proofs of the *Communist League.* [a] You might be good enough to tell Ede that I had already received via Kautsky the book by a sparrow calling itself 'Adler', [b] and had deliberately not mentioned it because it, too, draws on Stieber[c] as the final authority. The passage about Buttermilch-Born was worded in that way precisely because the book left me in no doubt that Born had surreptitiously poured out some buttermilk [d] for Adler but had refused (see preface) to allow his name to appear. [468] Hence he had to be given a kick or two in the pants.

Dietz has written to Kautsky saying he wants to take over publication of my *Origin* [e] *now* and asking whether I would have any objection. I have told him I have no objection provided he comes to an agreement with you and Schabelitz. So you should act in whatever way you think best. All being well, Dietz promises to place the work in the bookshops, which would of course be most acceptable to us, but then, too, Zurich[f] is also entitled to a say now that it has been circulating for

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[a] F. Engels, 'On the History of the Communist League'. - [b] Adler = eagle in German; this refers to G. Adler, *Die Geschichte der ersten sozialpolitischen Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland...*; see also this volume, p. 344. - [c] Wermuth/Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.* - [d] Born's real name was Buttermilch = buttermilk in German. - [e] *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* - [f] The editorial board and the press of *Der Sozialdemokrat* were located in Zurich, as well as the bookshop (Volksbuchhandlung).

a year without being banned. On the other hand it was his shilly-shallying which caused the printing to drag on for months; it's all very well for him to talk after arriving belatedly on the scene when others have already taken the risks. Moreover I'm not acquainted with the actual details of what was discussed at the time and hence have no alternative but to refer him to you. So please settle the affair in any way you think fit.

I have found another whole mass of printing errors in the *Dühring* — all of which I myself had allowed to stand. I have become so accustomed to correcting *two* proofs — one for the meaning, the other for individual errors — that when there isn't an opportunity of doing so I allow utter nonsense to stand. Hence most of them were in the first 11 sheets which were, moreover, corrected in difficult circumstances.

Kindest regards.

Yours,
F. E.

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## 207

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

### IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 13 November 1885

Dear Sir,

I received your two letters 6/18 and 9/21 August while I was in Jersey[a] and immediately sent you the letter you desired for the *Сѣверный вѣстникъ*.[438] Since then I have been prevented by press of work from replying more fully to these letters as well as that of the 25 August/5 September.

[a] See this volume, p. 322.

I had no doubt that the 2nd volume[a] would afford you the same pleasure as it has done to me. The developments it contains are indeed of such a superior order that the vulgar reader will not take the trouble to fathom them and to follow them out. This is actually the case in Germany where all historical science, including political economy, has fallen so low that it can scarcely fall any lower. Our *Katheder-Sozialisten*[54] have never been much more, theoretically, than slightly philanthropic *Vulgärökonomen*,[b] and now they have sunk to the level of simple apologists of Bismarck's *Staats-Sozialismus*.[c] To them, the 2nd volume will always remain a sealed book. It is a fine piece of what Hegel calls *die Ironie der Weltgeschichte*,[d][386] that German historical science, by the fact of the elevation of Germany to the position of the first European power, should be again reduced to the same vile state to which it was reduced by the deepest political degradation of Germany, after the Thirty Years' War.[469] But such is the fact. And thus, German 'Science' stares at this new volume without being able to understand it; only, a wholesome fear of the consequences prevents them from criticising it in public, and so, official economic literature observes a cautious silence with regard to it. The 3rd volume[e] will however compel them to speak out.

Of that 3rd volume, I have completed the first transcript from the original into a legible manuscript. Three-fourths of it are almost fit for publication as they are; but the last fourth, or perhaps third, will require a great deal of work: the first section (relation of *Mehrwertsrate* to *Profitrate*[f]) and then the subsequent sections on credit and partly also on *Grundrente*[g]; besides certain portions of almost all the other sections. For the last two months I have been compelled to attend to a good deal of other work which had been neglected by my exclusive attention to the 2nd and 3rd volumes.[4] This will continue for some time yet, and then, maybe, the revision of the English translation of Volume I[56] which is nearly completed, will occupy me for a month longer, but then I shall start with the 3rd volume and carry it out to the end. Maybe it will be published in 2 sections, as it will contain about 1,000 pages.

I thank you very much for your extracts from the author's letters from 1879 to 1881.[470] I could not read them without a sorrowful

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[a] of *Capital* - [b] vulgar economists - [c] state socialism - [d] the irony of world history - [e] of *Capital* - [f] rate of surplus value to rate of profit - [g] ground rent (or rent of land)

smile. Alas, we are so used to these excuses for the non-completion of the work! Whenever the state of his health made it impossible for him to go on with it, this impossibility preyed heavily upon his mind, and he was only too glad if he could only find out some theoretical excuse why the work should not then be completed. All these arguments he has at the time made use of vis-à-vis *de moi*[a]; they seemed to ease his conscience.

After completing the 3rd volume and selecting from the other ms. the portions fit for publication, I shall very likely try to collect such of the author's correspondence as is scientifically important, and there his letters to you rank amongst the first. When that time comes, I shall therefore avail myself of your kind offer of placing at my disposal copies of these letters.

I am often in the case of forwarding to you pamphlets, etc.— republications of the author's and my own writings, etc., but do not know whether it would be safe to send them direct to you. I should be much obliged if you would tell me what to do.

I hope our mutual friend's[b] health is improving, notwithstanding the bad prognosis of his doctors. [362] Any news with regard to him will always be welcome.

That crisis of which the author speaks in his letter, was indeed an exceptional one. [471] The fact is it continues still, all Europe and America suffer under it to this day. The absence of the financial crash is one cause of it. But the principal cause is undoubtedly the totally changed state of the *Weltmarkt.*[c] Since 1870, Germany and especially America have become England's rivals in modern industry, while most other European countries have so far developed their own manufactures as to cease to be dependent on England. The consequence has been the spreading of the process of overproduction over a far larger area than when it was mainly confined to England, and has taken — up to now — a chronic instead of an acute character. By thus delaying the thunderstorm which formerly cleared the atmosphere every ten years, this continued chronic depression must prepare a crash of a violence and extent such as we have never known before. And the more so as the agricultural crisis of which the author speaks, has also continued up to now, has been extended to almost all

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[a] myself - [b] Hermann Lopatin's - [c] world market

European countries; and must continue while the virgin черноземъ[a] of the Western American prairies remains unexhausted.

Very faithfully yours,

P. W. Rosher[363]

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## 208

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[472]

### IN PARIS

London, 14 November 1885

My dear Lafargue,

Thanks for the portrait — what a surly face they make me pull in France, a country where they nevertheless laugh from time to time, or so it is said. Perhaps they will laugh at me too. Nim says it makes me look ten years older, out of flattery no doubt.

The insurrections of May 1849 were provoked by the refusal of most of the German governments to accept the constitution for Germany as a whole approved by the National Assembly at Frankfurt.[473] This assembly, which never had any real power and neglected any steps to acquire some, also contrived to lose the last vestige of its moral power just at the moment when it had realised on paper its somewhat romantic 'constitution'. Nevertheless that constitution was then the sole banner under which it was still possible to try to launch a new movement — if they were not to deprive themselves of one after victory had been achieved. In the smaller states, therefore, they sought to compel the governments to recognise it. There followed the insurrections in Dresden (3 May) and, a few days later, in the Bavarian Palatinate and the Grand Duchy of Baden where the Grand Duke[b] took flight, the army having declared itself for the people.

The Dresden insurrection was put down after a heroic resistance — the fighting went on for four days — with the help of Prussian troops.

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[a] (Russ.) black earth - [b] Leopold

(In Prussia reaction had gained the upper hand as a result of the coup d'état of November 1848; Berlin was disarmed and placed under a state of siege.) But to subdue the Palatinate and Baden an army was needed. So in Prussia they made a start by calling the *Landwehr*[474] to arms. At Iserlohn (Westphalia) and Elberfeld (Rhenish Prussia) men refused to march. Troops were sent, who found the towns barricaded and were repulsed. About a fortnight later Iserlohn was taken after two days' resistance. Elberfeld offered relatively few opportunities for defence and so, with troops bearing down on them from every side, the defenders, about a thousand in number, resolved to fight their way through to the states that had risen in the south. They were cut to pieces en route, but a fair number managed to get down there with the help of the population. I was aide-de-camp to Mirbach, the commandant at Elberfeld. Before carrying out his plan he sent me on a mission to Cologne, in other words into the enemy's camp, where I hid in Daniels' house. The truth is that he did not want to have a known communist in his corps for fear of alarming the bourgeoisie of the regions through which he was to pass. He made a rendezvous with me in the Palatinate but failed to turn up, having been taken prisoner (acquitted by the Elberfeld jury a year later). Mirbach had gone through the campaigns in Greece from 1825 to 1829 and Poland from 1830 to 1831; he later again returned to Greece where he died.

Meanwhile the insurrection in the south was gathering strength, but it made the fatal blunder of not attacking. The troops of the small adjacent states were only looking for a pretext to join the insurrection, at that time they were determined not to fight against the people. A pretext was then provided, namely that they should advance on Frankfurt in order to protect the assembly against the Prussian and Austrian soldiers who were surrounding the place. After the suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Marx and I had gone to Mannheim to recommend this move to the leaders. But they produced all manner of excuses — that the army was disorganised by the flight of their former officers, that they were short of everything, etc., etc.

About the beginning of June the Prussians on the one hand and the Bavarians on the other, reinforced by those same troops from the smaller states whom we could have won over with greater daring, but who saw themselves drowned in an ocean of reactionary armies, advanced on the insurgent areas. It took them no more than a week to clear the Palatinate — there were 36,000 Prussians against 8-9,000 insurgents, and the two fortresses of the country were in reactionary

hands. We withdrew to the troops in Baden, some 8,000 men of the line and 12,000 irregulars, themselves beset by 30,000 reactionary troops. There were four general engagements in which numerical superiority and the violation of Württemberg territory, a move that enabled them to outflank us at the decisive moment, gave the reactionaries the advantage. After six weeks of fighting the remains of the rebel army had to cross over into Switzerland.

During this war I was aide-de-camp to Colonel Willich who commanded a corps of irregulars of marked proletarian character. I took part in three minor engagements and also in the last decisive battle of the Murg.

That, I trust, will enable you to sum the whole thing up in a few lines if you absolutely insist on writing a commentary on Citizen Clarus' fine work.

I trust your interesting furuncle will discharge its purulent contents before long. Wash the sore with 2% carbolic acid in 98% water; it's a capital way of killing suppurating cells.

A kiss for Laura.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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## 209

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

London, 17 November 1885

Dear Bebel,

Just another word or two before you take your seat in the Reichstag.[475]

In answer to Schumacher's long letter defending his attitude to the Steamship Subsidies,[476] I have written to him at equal length[39] to say that I adhere to my old standpoint, namely, that if in order to respect the alleged prejudices of certain voters, you do not want to vote *unconditionally* against state aid paid to the bourgeoisie out of the workers' and peasants' pockets, you may, in my view, vote in favour only if a like amount of state aid is directly allocated for the benefit of the workers, both urban and rural — primarily for agricultural workers' cooperatives on state-owned land.

To avoid misunderstandings I have asked him, in the event of his discussing this letter with other comrades, always to show them *the whole letter*.

Liebknecht has certainly come most bravely to the fore all of a sudden. His 'collection' written in jail,[477] his study of the all but forgotten *Capital*, and the prospect, suggested to him by the Right, of falling between two stools, seem to have proved extremely beneficial. I shall be very happy if only it lasts. He will certainly be in the right place when the crucial moment comes, but until then he will cause the rest of us an appalling amount of trouble with that habit he has of hushing things up, which he regards as diplomacy and at which he is, it is true, far more adept than the rest of us.

War in Europe is beginning to pose a serious threat to us. So those miserable remnants of what once were nations, the Serbs, Bulgarians, Greeks and other rapacious riff-raff on whose behalf your liberal philistine enthuses in the interests of Russia, are begrudging one another the very air they breathe and must inevitably slit each other's greedy throats. That would be marvellous and would serve the philistine nationality-mongers right, were it not for the fact that each of these pigmy tribes holds the key to peace or war in Europe. The first shot has been fired at Dragoman,[478] but when and where the last will be fired, no one can say.

Our movement is getting on so splendidly, everywhere and without exception circumstances are turning out so much in our favour and our need for another few years of undisturbed development and consolidation is so great, that the last thing we want is a big political row. It would consign our movement to the background for years on end, after which we should doubtless have to start belatedly all over again, as after 1850.

On the other hand, a war might bring about a revolution in Paris

which in turn would indirectly provide fuel for the movement in the rest of Europe, and in that case the French — no doubt violently chauvinist in the circumstances — would assume the leadership, a role for which their level of theoretical development qualifies them least of all. A few peaceful years of Radical rule [429] would be the very thing for the French who, since 1871, have made very good progress politically thanks to the instinctive, logical consistency that is peculiar to them. For these Radicals have adopted in its entirety the current middle-of-the-road, jumbled-up socialism deriving from Louis Blanc, Proudhon, etc., and it would be of inestimable value to us were they to be given the opportunity to demolish such empty verbiage in practice.

On the other hand, should a major war break out, it will place six million men in the field and cost an unprecedented amount of money. There will be bloodshed, devastation and, finally, a state of prostration such as has never been known before. That's why all these gentlemen are so afraid of it. One may further predict that if this war comes, it will be the last one; it will mark the end of the class state politically, militarily, economically (as also financially) and morally. It could lead to a situation in which the war machine turns rebellious and refuses to engage in prolonged mutual slaughter for the sake of the lousy Balkan nations. The watchword of the class state is *après nous le déluge* [436]; but after the deluge it's we who shall come and only we.

So everything remains as it was: whatever happens, it will ultimately provide a means for bringing our party to power and putting paid to all the old nonsense. But I must say I hope it will happen without this massacre; there's no need for it. If it's got to be, however, I only hope that when the moment arrives my old disability won't prevent me mounting a horse.

Your old friend

F. E.

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## 210

## ENGELS TO MINNA KAUTSKY[479]

### IN VIENNA

London, 26 November 1885

Dear Mrs Kautsky,

(You will, I hope, permit me to use this simple form of address, for why should two people like ourselves continue to stand on ceremony?) First of all, very many thanks for your kind references to myself.[480] I was very sorry not to have been able to spend more time with you while you were here; it gave me infinite pleasure, I do assure you, to meet for once a German authoress who had also remained a simple woman — in this respect it has been my misfortune to meet only affected, 'eddicated'[a] Berlin ladies of the kind one would not urge to take up the kitchen spoon again, if only because they would eventually wreak more havoc with it than with the pen. So I hope that it won't be too long before you cross the Narrow Seas again, when you and I shall be able to ramble gently round London and its purlieus, exchanging light-hearted banter lest our conversation should become altogether too serious.

That London didn't please you, I can readily believe. Some years ago I used to feel much the same. It is difficult to accustom oneself to the gloomy atmosphere and, for the most part, gloomy people, to the reserve, the class distinctions in social life, to living shut up indoors as the climate demands. One has to temper somewhat the animal spirits imported from the Continent and let the barometer of *joie de vivre* fall from, say, 760 to 750 millimetres, until one finally becomes acclimatised. Then one gradually reconciles oneself to the whole thing, discovering that the place has its good points, that people are on the whole more straightforward and reliable than elsewhere, that no city is better suited to the writing of learned works than London, and that the absence of harassment by the police makes up for a great deal. I know and love Paris but, given the choice, I would rather settle permanently in London than there. Paris can only be enjoyed properly if you become a Parisian yourself, with all the prejudices of a Parisian, if

[a] In the original 'jebildete' (Berlin dialect).

you confine your interests primarily to things Parisian and accustom yourself to believing that Paris is the centre of the world, the be-all and end-all. London is uglier yet more grandiose than Paris, and is the true centre of world trade; it also offers a far greater variety. But London also permits one to maintain a completely neutral attitude towards one's surroundings as a whole, as is essential to scientific and, indeed, artistic impartiality. One adores Paris and Vienna, detests Berlin, but towards London one's feelings are those of neutral indifference and objectivity. And that also counts for something.

Apropos Berlin. I am glad to hear that that wretched place is at last succeeding in becoming a metropolis. But as Rahel Varnhagen said as much as 70 years ago: In Berlin everything becomes *shabby*, so that Berlin would seem to be trying to show the rest of the world just how shabby a metropolis can be. Only poison all eddicated Berliners, conjure up at least tolerable surroundings there, and rebuild the whole place from the foundations up, and something decent might be made of it. But not, I think, so long as *that* dialect continues to be spoken there.

I have now also read *Die Alten und die Neuen*,[a] for which many thanks. The descriptions of the life of the salt miners are as masterly as were those of the peasants in *Stefan*.[b] Again, your descriptions of life in Viennese society are also very good on the whole. Vienna is, after all, the only German city that has a society, whereas Berlin has only 'certain circles' and even more uncertain ones, which is why it is productive only of novels about literati, civil servants and actors. Whether the action in this part of your book does not move rather too rapidly in places you are better able to judge than I; much that appears to do so to the likes of us, may seem perfectly natural to you in Vienna because of that city's peculiarly international character with its admixture of southern and east European elements. In both spheres, too, I find your customary clear-cut individualisation; each character is a type but at the same time a definite individual, a 'This One' as old Hegel puts it, and that is how it ought to be. But now, if only for the sake of impartiality, I really must find something to criticise, and this brings me to Arnold. The latter is indeed altogether too well-behaved and, when he is finally killed in a landslide, one can only reconcile it with poetic justice by telling oneself, for instance, that he was too good for this world. It is always a bad thing, however,

---

[a] a novel by Minna Kautsky - [b] M. Kautsky, *Stefan vom Grillenhof*.

for an author to dote on his own hero, and you would seem to me to have erred somewhat in this direction. With Elsa, individualisation is still in evidence, if not altogether devoid of idealisation, but with Arnold the man tends rather to be absorbed into the principle.

The source of this failing, however, may be discovered in the novel itself. In this book you obviously felt impelled to take sides openly, to testify to your convictions before the whole world. Now that you have done so, it is something you can put behind you and have no need to repeat again in the same form. I am not at all opposed to tendentious poetry as such. The father of tragedy, Aeschylus, and the father of comedy, Aristophanes, were both strongly tendentious poets, as were Dante and Cervantes, and the best thing about Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe* is that it was the first politically tendentious drama in Germany. The Russians and Norwegians of today, who are producing first-rate novels, are all tendentious writers. But I believe that the tendency should spring from the situation and action as such, without its being expressly alluded to, nor is there any need for the writer to present the reader with the future historical solution to the social conflicts he describes. Furthermore, in present circumstances, the novel is mainly directed at readers in bourgeois — i. e. not our own immediate — circles and, such being the case, it is my belief that the novel of socialist tendency wholly fulfils its mission if, by providing a faithful account of actual conditions, it destroys the prevailing conventional illusions on the subject, shakes the optimism of the bourgeois world and inexorably calls in question the permanent validity of things as they are, even though it may not proffer a solution or, indeed, in certain circumstances, appear to take sides. Your detailed knowledge and your wonderfully true-to-life descriptions, both of the Austrian peasantry and of Viennese 'society', provide ample material for this, and you have already shown in *Stefan* that you are also capable of handling your protagonists with a nice irony which testifies to the command an author has over his creatures.

But now I must desist, otherwise you'll think me altogether too prolix. Over here everything goes on much as usual; Karl and his wife [a] are learning physiology at Aveling's evening classes and are also busily engaged in other respects; I, too, am up to my eyes in work; Lenchen, Pumps and her husband [b] are going to the theatre tonight to see a melodrama and meanwhile old Europe is beginning to bestir herself

[a] Karl and Louise Kautsky - [b] Percy White Rosher

again, and high time too. I only hope I shall have time to complete the third volume of *Capital* and then the fun can begin.

Assuring you of my cordial feelings and sincere regard, I remain, Madam,

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 211

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAVIGNE [481]

### IN PARIS

[Draft]

[London,] 1 December 1885

Citizen,

When I received your letter of 8 August, [466] together with your manuscript, I was on the point of leaving for Jersey, whence I did not return until 14 September. [421] Since then I have had so much urgent work to deal with that I was unable to revert to the French translation of the *18th Brumaire*. Now, having at last had time to come back to it, I find myself placed between two rival mss. [482]

To begin with, it is impossible for me to set myself up as judge in a dispute when I am unable to make a careful investigation either of its causes or of its substance. All I know is that Fortin had been in correspondence with Marx for a number of years prior to the death of the latter, [483] that he asked me to revise his translation, that I promised him I would do so and that I have already attended to the revision of part of his ms. Accordingly I feel I am committed to him. Such being the position, I do not consider that I have the right to use your work in any way. I shall take good care not to read a single page, for were it to prove better than Fortin's, I should be unable to prevent

myself from introducing some of your turns of speech into his ms. And that would be unfair to you and also, perhaps, to Fortin, since the two of you no longer get on with one another. Much to my regret, the need for me to be impartial prevents my familiarising myself with your work.

I am holding the ms. at your disposal.

The translation of the 2nd volume of *Capital* is an extremely difficult business. Moreover it will be absolutely impossible for me to undertake any revision at all next year. And then there are still many other things to consider. At the moment I cannot commit myself to anyone; that must lie in the future.

Yours sincerely

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## 212

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT [484]

### IN BERLIN

London, 1 December 1885

Dear Liebknecht,

As regards Russia's finances,[485] see Kolb's *Statistik*, 1875 ed.,[a] p. 499 et seq. The last loan shown therein is that of November 1873 for 15 million pounds. After that a further loan of 15 million pounds was raised with great difficulty in 1875, but the Russians were also advised by the bankers that this would be the last time, failing a guarantee by a representative assembly. For after provisional arrangements had been made in 1869 in respect of the funds appropriated for railway purposes, there were further borrowings:

[a] G. Fr. Kolb, *Handbuch der vergleichenden Statistik — der Völkerzustands- und Statenkunde.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1870 | — | 12 million | pounds |
| 1871 | — | 12 " | " |
| 1872 | — | 15 " | " |
| 1873 | — | 15 " | " |
| 1875 | — | 15 " | " |

i. e between 1870 and 1875, six years, *69 million* pounds = *1,380 million* marks. They now had to think up some new dodges. Hence, 1) an *internal* loan. Though this was in fact a forced loan, it proved an almost complete flop. For there was little capital available in the country and the government was therefore compelled to lend its own money (paper money) to itself so as to give the impression that the loan had nevertheless been over-subscribed. 2) The Transcaucasian Railway Loan of £8,904,200. This was raised (1880 or 1881?) abroad on the security of the Poti to Baku line, but most of it had to be expended on the construction of the line itself; hence the financial straits persisted. Throughout this time repeated approaches were made to the bankers, all of them in vain. Finally the Minister for Finance[a] set off for the West in person — Paris, Berlin, Amsterdam; London was omitted from the itinerary as being quite hopeless. Everywhere he met with a rebuff; even Mendelssohn, the court banker in Berlin, is said to have asked for a parliamentary guarantee point-blank; in any case he, too, turned him away. The only remaining question was whether the Russian Duma ought to be convoked a year sooner or a year later; there was no other way out. Giers then visited Friedrichsruh and abased himself, whereupon Bismarck got hold of 15 million pounds for him in Germany, thereby postponing the evil day a little longer.[182]

(One of the conclusions we may draw from the above is that Russia won't be able to start a war without Bismarck's permission, for it can only raise money under his protection and the 15 million have long since been frittered away. So if it starts a war after all, or seriously threatens to do so, Bismarck will be directly responsible.)

I don't read *The Economist*, nor do I know where a run of them is to be found, for the many clubs have been the ruin of nearly all the reading-rooms here. I shall ask Kautsky to try and see if he can lay his hands on the *Economist*, *Statist*, *Bullionist* and *Money Market Review* and make extracts for you.

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[a] Nikolai Bunge

Although your letter of 26 November was posted between 11 and 12 in the morning, it didn't reach me until the morning of 28 November; moreover the gum had been tampered with, as you will see from the envelope which I return herewith. It ought to have arrived here on the evening of 27 November. A bible is surely placed on the altar for the sole purpose of being *opened.* [455]

Your speech at the first budget reading was sent to me by Bebel from Dresden. It was very good; I'm only surprised that you had so few interruptions. After all, you did elicit the obligatory call to order. [486]

Your
F. E.

The seal on this letter is a count's coronet and the monogram JC intertwined.

The elections here are going very nicely. [487] For the first time the Irish in England have voted *en masse* for *one* side, to wit the Tories. In doing so they have shown the Liberals to what extent they can tip the scales, even in England. The 80 or 85 HOME RULERS over here — one of them has actually been elected in Liverpool! — correspond to the Centre [229] in the Reichstag and are capable of rendering any government powerless. Parnell must now show what he is worth.

Incidentally, the *new* 'Manchesterism' is also proving victorious, in other words the theory of retaliatory tariffs, which is, of course, even more senseless in this country than in Germany, but has been taken up by the new generation of manufacturers after eight years of rotten trade. [488] Next there is Gladstone's opportunist weakness and then, too, Chamberlain's inept manner, first aggressive, then ingratiating, which evoked the cry THE CHURCH IN DANGER! [489] Lastly Gladstone's deplorable foreign policy. The Liberals would have us believe that the new COUNTY VOTERS will vote liberal. These are of course an unknown quantity but, if the Liberals are to obtain an absolute majority, they will have to win more than 180 of the 300 seats still to be decided and there's no likelihood of that. Parnell will almost certainly become dictator of Great Britain and Ireland.

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## 213

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[490]

### IN LONDON

[London,] 2 December 1885

Dear Kautsky,

*Ad vocem*[a] Adler:

1) Re the pistol business, don't forget to point out that the NCOs were wearing their *sabres*. They complained of an affront to the NCO caste.[491]

2) Hess. It is not of course possible to confirm — for I never saw him again after May 1848, when he disappeared for good — whether or not he spent a few days in Baden or the Palatinate. But he didn't 'take part'; he was neither orator, nor journalist, nor official, nor soldier, so it's inconceivable that some government or other — Adler certainly ought to have said which one — should have condemned him to death.[492]

*Ad vocem* Liebknecht. Before you post the letter, give me a chance to enclose a word or two of explanation; there was something I forgot to tell him yesterday.[b]

Your
F. E.

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[a] As regards - [b] See previous letter.

# 214

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER [484]

### IN GENEVA

London, 5 December 1885

Dear Old Man,

As it's so long since I heard from you, I am reminding you of my existence by advising you of the despatch of a £5 money order which I hope will arrive at the same time as this letter and perhaps help to lighten the transition from the old year to the new. I trust you are still in the best of health and that you will send me a line or two before long acknowledging receipt.

I have been slogging away hard of late, as no doubt you will learn from the Zurich booksellers' publishing side, and in particular have seized the opportunity of reviving various pieces from the golden days of our youth in 1848-49. [493] This is damned important, for the younger generation, which has forgotten all about it, if indeed it ever knew, is beginning to want to find out what went on at that time and, in view of the many inaccurate sources and accounts, it's important to provide them with as much accurate information as possible. What is absolutely vital is that you should finish your memoirs; years ago the *Neue Welt* published some really charming pieces. [a] You're a wonderfully skilful narrator and on top of that your memory goes back at least 10 or 15 years further than mine and embraces the period 1830-40, which is also very important where later developments are concerned. Some money might also be made out of it, and that's not to be sneezed at.

I still have to revise the *Peasant War* [213] which is badly in need of it and shall then go on to Volume III of *Capital*, this having now been dictated in the rough from the original draft and set down in a legible hand. It will be the devil of a task, but a splendid one. Unfortunately a mass of translations into French, English, Italian and Danish keep intervening, which I have to go over—all too necessary in most

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[a] J. Ph. Becker, 'Abgerissene Bilder aus meinem Leben', *Die Neue Welt*, Nos. 17-20, 23, 24, 26, 28 and 29; 22 and 29 April, 6 and 13 May, 3, 10 and 24 June, 8 and 15 July 1876.

cases.[494] Fortunately my knowledge of Russian, let alone Polish, doesn't extend to this sort of job, otherwise it would never end. But from that you will see how extensive is the international field our communism has now conquered and it is always a pleasure when one can do one's bit towards extending that field still further.

I hope the wretched business in the Balkans[445] will pass off peacefully. We are making such splendid progress everywhere that a world war would be inopportune just now — too late or too early. But ultimately it would also work in our favour by putting an end to militarism once and for all — at the cost of the massacre of $1^1/_5$ million men and the squandering of 1,000 billion francs. After that there could be no more war.

The elections in France have provided the Radicals with the immediate prospect of coming to power and have thus been of considerable help to us, too.[447] The elections over here have temporarily made the Irish masters of England and Scotland; without them neither party can govern.[487] There are still about 100 results to come in, but they'll make little difference to the outcome. Thus the Irish question will at last be settled — if not at once, at any rate in the immediate future and then the decks will be cleared over here as well. Some 8 or 10 working men have likewise been elected — some of them bought by the bourgeoisie, others trade unionists pure and simple — who will doubtless make thorough fools of themselves and be of enormous assistance in the creation of an independent labour party by banishing the inherited self-deceit of the workers. History moves slowly over here, but move it does.

Warm regards.

Your old friend
F. Engels

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# 215

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT [485]

### IN BERLIN

London, 5 December 1885

Dear Liebknecht,

Herewith excerpts from the *Economist* and *Bullionist*.[a]

The amounts shown in my letter of the 1st inst. are those of the Russian loans quoted on the London STOCK EXCHANGE. The 1884 (Bismarck) loan [182] *is not dealt in over here at all* and is *excluded* from the list of securities negotiable on the STOCK EXCHANGE. Likewise the smaller hand-to-mouth loans which have been raised off and on since 1878; most of these were taken up internally and are quoted on the Berlin stock exchange. I have found the following in the latter's list of prices:

| | |
|---|---|
| Orient Loan | 5% I, II and III |
| Loan 1880 | 4% |
| Bonds 1883 | 6% |

as well as other stuff about which I'm not clear. You'll have to get more information on the subject from someone on the Berlin stock exchange. Several also appear in the enclosed excerpts, but only with the net amount the government claims to have received.

The Russian paper rouble, which ought to be worth 39d. at par, is now standing at 23d., i.e. 16d. or 41% below the full value in gold.

If the Russian government is still managing to place its paper at home, this is simply because the colossal slowdown in trade makes it more advantageous for Russian manufacturers to invest their surplus cash in paper yielding 6-7% rather than in such currently ruinous activities as extensions to factories or speculative trading. The interest coupons are circulating as currency, especially for the payment of wages. Thus coupons, which are not payable until 1891-92, are now passing from hand to hand, and these the Russian worker must ac-

[a] See this volume, p. 360.

cept at face value in payment of his wages, though they can only be disposed of for half this amount (much the same thing happened in Germany not long ago). I have this *direct from Russia.*

Your
F. E.

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## 216

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [495]

### IN ZURICH

London, 7 December 1885

Dear Ede,

Here too we've had a storm in our socialist tea-cup. Kautsky will already have written and told you something about it; 2 *Echoes* (Liberal) enclosed herewith. Also some other stuff, and a document (letter from Bland, based on the minutes of the Executive of the Social Democratic Federation, sent you by Aveling), which will give you the substance. [496]

This time Hyndman has given himself the coup de grâce. He took money from the Tories for socialist candidatures in order to filch votes from the Liberals. He has admitted to taking £340, but since the official expenses of the 3 candidatures amounted to about £600, it must have been something in the region of £1,000, if not more.

Taking money from another party may, in certain circumstances and by way of an exception, be admissible if, 1) the money is given unconditionally and 2) the transaction does not do more harm than good. In this instance the very opposite was the case. 1) The condition was that socialist candidates be put up in districts where they could only be made to look ridiculous—as, indeed, happened: Wil-

liams, 27 votes out of 4,722, Fielding, 32 out of 6,374; only Burns got 598 votes out of 11,055 in Nottingham. 2) Hyndman, however, knew that to take money from the Tories would spell nothing less than irreparable moral ruin for the socialists in the eyes of the *one and only* class from which they could draw recruits, namely the great, radical working masses. It's almost a replica of the Stoecker alliance against the Party of Progress once proposed in Berlin.[497]

Well, not content with this heroic deed, Hyndman already saw himself as a second Parnell holding the scales between the two parties, though forgetting that, unlike Parnell, he does not command 80 votes in Parliament and 200,000 Irish votes in the elections in England and Scotland.[487] He got the Executive of the Federation to empower him to go to Birmingham with Champion and call on Chamberlain, the leader of the Radicals.[415] With Tory money in his pocket, he offered the latter his support if he, Chamberlain, would cede him a seat in Birmingham, assure him of Liberal votes and agree to introduce an Eight Hours' Bill. Not being such a mug as the Tories, Chamberlain showed him the door.

In the meantime the affair, arranged on the qt by the Federation's Executive, became known in the branches and caused a great furore. Of which more in Bland's letter; it was written for publication, but you should not mention the fact that it is based on the minutes. A general meeting is to be called and whether the Federation will survive it seems doubtful; not, at any rate, as a viable organisation.

Herewith Hunter Watts' statement in *The Pall Mall Gazette.*[498] It was written with Hyndman's connivance, yet he had to let the expression 'ILL-ADVISED', used of himself, stand. By contrast, Williams' statement in *The Echo*[496] is nothing less than a slap in the face, its attitude being, and not without reason, one of outright hostility to all socialist MIDDLE-CLASS MEN. So that's what Mr Hyndman has brought about with his pushfulness. The man is nothing but a caricature of Lassalle, totally indifferent to the nature of the means even when *not* conducive to the end, provided Hyndman himself gets something out of it; add to that his perpetual craving for instantaneous success, so that he kills the goose that lays the golden egg; and finally, the way he considers himself the centre of the universe, being utterly incapable of seeing the facts in any light other than that which is gratifying to him.

And, for good measure, a political adventurer *comme il faut.*[a] All Lassalle's bad points magnified, and not a single one of his good ones.

What do things look like in your parliamentary tea-cup?

Your
F. E.

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## 217

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[499]

### IN PARIS

London, 7 December 1885

My dear Lafargue,

I shall speak to Tussy about Davitt. She may be able to get you what you want.

In opposition to your Social Studies Group[179] the good Malon and the no less celebrated Élie May have just set up a Republican Social Economy Society with ready-made rules.[500] Let's hope this 'research group' will be confined to Malon who will do his research in May's bosom, and to May who will do his research in Malon's heart. They are petty panjandrums whom you would be well advised to ignore completely; that would infuriate them most of all. It's Karl Blind to the life.

Why are you making such a splash in the *Socialiste* with Williams and the Social Democratic Federation?[501] You ought to know what attitude to take with respect to Hyndman, and this time you have fallen into a fine old trap. In the first place, Hyndman has contrived to make his party a laughing-stock second to none. Williams collected *27* votes out of 10,000, Fielding in North Kensington *32* out of 10,000,

[a] proper

Burns in Nottingham 598 out of 11,000.[a] Whereupon the liberal press kicked up an almighty fuss, alleging that the money needed for these foolish candidatures had been provided by the TORIES, and that the socialists had so lowered themselves as to do that party's dirty work for it. Williams then wrote to *The Echo* on 5 December [496] saying that all this had been arranged while he was in Liverpool, that they had recalled him by telegram without giving details, that he had been treated by the leaders as a mere tool and that he now saw

* 'that we cannot trust the middle class men of our movement any longer. I am not prepared to be made the tool of middle class men. I call upon my fellow wage-slaves to meet me as soon as possible and to say good-bye to the middle class men and to shut them out from what must be a real working men's organisation',* etc.

—in short he has now adopted a stance directly opposed to Hyndman, Champion, etc.

Now for what has been happening in the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION (by the same post you will be getting a lettter via Aveling from Bland, one of its members). Hyndman was given money by the TORIES to put up candidates against the Liberals—£340 has been admitted. But it must have been in the region of £1,000, since the *official* expenses of the 3 candidates amounted to more than £600.—With the exception of Burrows, the Executive Committee sanctioned Hyndman's action. However opposition arose within the main body of the federation. But before this could make itself felt, Hyndman, already seeing himself in the role of political arbitrator *à la* Parnell, left with Champion for Liverpool to offer his services to—*Chamberlain*, the Radical leader [415]! The proposal they made the latter was that they would support the Liberals if Chamberlain was prepared to withdraw a Liberal candidate in Birmingham in favour of Hyndman and thus secure him the Liberal vote. Chamberlain showed them the door.

Opposition within the federation is increasing. At the last Committee meeting, at which many other members of the federation were present, the correspondence relating to the Tory money was read out, despite opposition from Hyndman who wished to suppress it. Great rumpus. Why had the sections not been consulted on so vital a mat-

[a] Cf. the relevant figures in the previous letter.

ter? In short there is to be a general meeting and we shall have to see whether the federation survives it.

Obviously one may accept money from another party if that money is given unconditionally and if it does not do more harm than good. But Hyndman has acted like an idiot. In the first place he ought to have known that his candidatures couldn't help but manifest the ridiculous weakness of socialism in England. Again, he ought to have known that, by accepting money from the TORIES, he has damned himself once and for all in the eyes of the radical working men who form the vast majority and *to whom alone socialism can look for support*. In short, if one does such things, one advertises them, one boasts about them, but one doesn't make a secret of them. Hyndman, however, is a caricature of Lassalle; to him all means are good, even if *not* conducive to an end. He is in such a hurry to play the political panjandrum that he has no time to consider his real position. He combines all the bad qualities of your English PROFESSIONAL POLITICIAN — your ADVENTURER — with a quality common enough in France but rare over here, of seeing facts not as they are but as he would like them to be.

All this has come so soon after his infamous behaviour towards Aveling [502] that he has not yet been forgiven — even within his own party — and he is bound to have a pretty hard time of it if he is to survive the affair. In any case, if the Social Democratic Federation continues, it will no longer have any substance.

A kiss for Laura.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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# 218

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 7 December 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

My best thanks for the 2 copies of *Dühring*.[208] If I can have 20 copies all told, that will do for the time being. Please also send me 4 copies of the *Peasant War*, 3rd edition. I haven't a single copy left and so cannot get to work on the new edition.[213]

I have no connections whatever with Eccarius and neither can nor wish to renew them. I shall see if the address is obtainable through Lessner. But I would at most advise you simply to reprint without alterations, etc.—for, having gone completely to the dogs, Eccarius is in fact unlikely to make any; moreover, in view of his bad conscience, any such addenda would most likely be used by him to introduce extenuating circumstances for the many ill-deeds he has perpetrated since 1873, and thus materially impair the book which was written with much prompting by and help from Marx (towards the end, entire pages were literally written by Marx), if not render it completely useless for our propaganda. I would even advise you to insist on printing it as it stands.[503]

You will have had the bill for the photographs.[a]

In my *Dühring* I continue to suffer at the printer's hands even in the list of misprints where I find hopeless 'error' [Verirrung] for 'confusion' [Verwirrung].

Kind regards.

Yours,
F. E.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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Published in English for the first time

[a] of Marx (see this volume, p. 309)

## 219

## ENGELS TO FERDINAND DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS

### IN THE HAGUE

London, 19 December 1885

Dear Comrade,

I have despatched per PARCELS CONTINENTAL EXPRESS a package addressed to you containing the three Parliamentary Reports for which you asked. As you will see from the enclosed intimation, the first HOUSE OF LORDS report on prostitution is no longer to be had.

You are perfectly right in refraining from any kind of violent rebellion over there. This would only entail unnecessary sacrifice and set the movement back by decades. Next year it will be a hundred years since the Prussians first plundered Holland,[504] and nothing would please Bismarck more than to celebrate the centenary by a repetition of that 'epic deed'. The thirst for annexation, as yet no more than a harmless and impotent desire, might in that case assume more tangible form.

I shall send you by post the second edition of my *Anti-Dühring* which has just come out.[208]

Always at you service in the common cause, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

F. E.

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## 220

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 21 December 1885

Dear Citizen,

I should be very pleased if you would undertake the translation of Marx's work *Wage Labour and Capital*. The information in the *Socialiste*[505] will barely suffice for the biography and I have therefore asked our friends in Zurich to send you a copy of the Brunswick *Kalender*,[a] which contains a more complete biography written by myself.[b]

Yours truly,
F. Engels

I shall of course be happy to carry out the revision, should you so desire.

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## 221

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 21 December 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

20 *Dührings* (in all) and 4 of the *Peasant War* received with thanks.[c]

Kindly tell Mrs Wischnewetzky that, *as agreed*, I shall be prepared to go over the ms. of her translation[349] and write the preface[d] as soon

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[a] See this volume, p. 374. - [b] F. Engels, 'Karl Marx', *Volks-Kalender*, Brunswick, 1878. - [c] See this volume, p. 371. - [d] F. Engels, 'The Labor Movement in America. Preface to the American Edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*'.

as she has made a *firm arrangement* with a publisher. I'm so snowed under with work that it's downright impossible to take on anything else unless it's urgently required.

I shan't be able to turn my mind to a new German edition[a] until I have shed considerable part of my present load of work. In January I have to revise the English translation of *Capital*, negotiate with the publishers, etc. After that there's the *Peasant War*[213] and numerous other incidental jobs. Then comes the very urgent matter of the *Capital*, Volume III. Once I've cleared the decks to that extent, I'll be able to turn my mind to the old book.[a]

I cannot recall the pamphlet mentioned by Bucher.[506] Peel died in 1850. Marx's PAMPHLETS[b] appeared in 1855. Nor is it likely that Palmerston would have given some writer or other 100 guineas and a cask of sherry to provide proof that Palmerston was a Russian agent. It is possible that Tucker, when alluding to the earlier piece, suggested the same title for one of Marx's PAMPHLETS; that would explain everything. Nor were there any woodcuts in Marx's PAMPHLETS.

Kindest regards.

Yours,
F. Engels

Martignetti wants to translate *Wage Labour and Capital*[c] into Italian along with a biography of Marx which he hasn't got, as the few scrappy items in the *Socialiste*[505] are inadequate. Could you send him Bracke's *Volks-Kalender* containing my biography of Marx[d]? I think it's in the 1878 volume, but you'll find it easily enough. The address is

Paolo[e] Martignetti
Benevento, Italia.

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[a] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. - [b] *Lord Palmerston* - [c] by Marx - [d] F. Engels, 'Karl Marx'. - [e] Should be Pasquale; see also this volume, p. 421.

222

# ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 22 December 1885

My dear Laura,

Herewith I hand you the cheque Paul wrote about [507] to which I have added a trifling *étrenne*[a] for yourself. The box with the plum-pudding and cake was forwarded last Saturday[b] but would not leave here before Monday so that you will at best have received it today.

When Jollymeier came from Paris he told me you were sorely in want of dictionaries for your translating work. Among Mohr's books the only one that could have suited you was Mozin's French and German, but it was so dilapidated that it will be no use to any one for regular work; Tussy took it at the time. English and German there were none. So I tried to find out what were the best and ordered Williams and Norgate to have them delivered to you, *bound*. They are

Flügel's English-German and German-English

Mozin-Peschier French-German and German-French.

They will be delivered I expect before Christmas. Now as I had no opportunity to look at them, I want you to examine and report upon them. Flügel is the best to be had, though it might be better; so if it is both English-German and German-English, it will be all right. But about the Mozin-Peschier I am not so sure that it is not an abbreviation of what I intended to send you, namely: *Dictionnaire complet des langues française et allemande*, 2 volumes French-German and 2 volumes German-French. If it should not be the latter work, please let me know and I will have it exchanged, as not being sent to order.

On Saturday night Jollymeier arrived here, his holidays last till 12th January; and this morning who should jump in but the inevitable Meyer, fresh from Winnipeg where his first crop of wheat was frozen to death last August. He left again and will be in Paris tomorrow morning — but, he says, *ich sehe die Lafargue's nicht — warum nicht? — Weil Lafargue einen nie besucht*[c] — which he seems to have

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[a] Christmas gift - [b] 19 December - [c] I don't see the Lafargues.— Why not? — Because Lafargue never comes to see anyone.

taken very much to heart, and which I told him was rather foolish for him to do. I merely state this to you as it was said, so that you may console you in case the illustrious stranger does not call upon you.

I will try and get a copy of *Justice* for Paul, [508] it is not so easy just now, as Tussy and Edward are at Kingston on Thames for a few days and will not be back before Friday. Johnny[a] is with us in the meantime, he has picked up his English again rather quickly, especially since he goes to school. He is a very good boy and reads an awful deal of, to him, unintelligible books.

I hope Paul is all right again, sound at the core and solid at the base, *plus solide que le Pont Neuf*[b] which seems also subject to pimples and boils. [509] By the bye, his last letter does not say a word about the final solution of the Labruyère-Séverine-Lissagaray affair, the last was the assertion of Labruyère that Lissagaray *a menti*.[c] Has it all ended in smoke, as most scandals are apt to do now-a-days?

There is no doubt Hyndman has done for himself this time. If he manages to keep together a show of the Social Democratic Federation, [300] it will be only a shadow. The provincial branches are sure to fall off and here in London his own people have remembered how at the time of the Morris-Aveling separation,[d] he packed the general meeting by showing in a lot of new members, created for the occasion. They have therefore resolved that only those are to vote who were members at the time of the general election and of his exploits. [496]

Nim, Pumps and Jollymeier are gone to the West End, Christmas shopping as they pretend, but in reality for a dinner at the Vienna Beer Hall. As I am still a little under restraint, I have stopped at home and use the time to write to you. But now the dinner bell rings — for me and Johnny — and so good-bye. Health and spirits and a sound foundation for Paul!

Yours affectionately,

F. Engels

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[a] Jean Longuet - [b] stronger than the Pont Neuf - [c] had lied - [d] See this volume, pp. 236-38 and 245.

## 223

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

[IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG[34]]

London, 28 December 1885

Dear Liebknecht,

Borkheim died in Hastings on Wednesday, 16 December, and was buried on the following Monday. An attack of pneumonia on the previous Sunday swiftly brought about his end. He had had tuberculosis for 12 years and during the final ten years, after the whole of his left side had become paralysed, he never left his bed save for a few brief intervals each day. He bore his sufferings with exceptional resilience and indomitable cheerfulness, always kept up with the political and social movement, and was a subscriber to the *Sozialdemokrat* until the very end. Up till a year ago he received a pension, first from two, then from one, of the houses for whom he had previously worked as salesman and/or buyer. Last year we collected amongst his friends here a subscription big enough to ensure that he had what he needed. You might perhaps put a short obituary in the *Sozialdemokrat*[510]; I prefer not to thrust myself to the fore on an occasion like this. There is no objection to your doing it and, besides, you are better acquainted with his activities in Baden.

As regards Russia's finances,[485] herewith a further word on the latest critical turn the affair has taken:

A fortnight ago the Russian government obtained through Bleichröder and the Russian Bank a further loan, but only of 20 million roubles, which was, according to reports, heavily over-subscribed in Berlin. Depending on whether this is taken to mean roubles in specie or in paper, and that's something you can ascertain over there, it represents roughly either 60 million marks or else a mere 40 million. The loan was intended to secure the advances made by the Russian Bank to the government. As usual, the same old hollow excuse. How hollow became evident a few days later! About a week ago it was reported in the English papers that the Russian government had ordered the Russian Bank to sell the Russian aristocracy's (doubtless the Credit Bank's) mortgage bonds for 100 million roubles. The German press,

enlarging on this, stated that in return the Bank was to advance the government 75 million of the proceeds. Thus the government is paying the Bank at best 20 million roubles in gold and is borrowing in return 75 million roubles extra. But since the realisation of 100 million mortgage notes is a highly tedious operation, especially in Russia, this means, in other words, that 75 millions in new paper money are to be created and loaned to the government. Before the holidays the rouble was standing at *23 1/8 d.* (instead of 39d.) over here and is bound to go even lower — as it will also do internally; in their present financial predicament the device they have to use to give some support to their ruined currency (the 20 millions in gold, when the Bank gets it) serves only to bedevil their paper currency even further. 1789 is on its way — even without the Nihilists [356] — expedited by the government itself.

One may further conclude from the above that Bismarck is holding his Russians on a short rein and will not authorise the release of German funds other than on a hand-to-mouth basis lest the Russians should get too uppish and do the dirty on him in the Balkans. [445]

I can only suggest the main points for you to work on, but you will have little difficulty in finding out further details in Berlin.

This Christmas we — the Avelings, the Kautskys, Pumps and her husband,[a] Schorlemmer, Lenchen and I — sat up drinking to our hearts' content and making merry until four in the morning.

A Happy New Year to you.

Your
F. E.

Schorlemmer sends his best wishes.

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[a] Percy White Rosher

## 224

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

### IN GENEVA

London, 28 December 1885

Dear Old Man,

This is to notify you that our friend Borkheim died of pneumonia at Hastings on the 16th of this month after a three days' illness. He had had tuberculosis for twelve years and for the last ten years the whole of his left side had been paralysed. According to the doctor he had enough ailments to kill three other men. All this he bore with indomitable cheerfulness and, so far as he was able, kept up with the movement to the end. I have asked Liebknecht to publish a short obituary in the *Sozialdemokrat.* [510]

At the beginning of this month I sent you a money order which I trust you have received.

For the rest — as the post is about to go and I get little time for writing in what is for me a period of turbulence — I wish you a Happy New Year and continuing good health; our movement is in no particular need of good wishes, since it is forging ahead everywhere — at a pace which varies according to place and people —, but everywhere splendidly, while the dirty business in the Balkans [445] actually seems to be petering out without a world war.

With my very kindest regards,

Your old friend
F. Engels

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# 1886

## 225

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

[IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG[34]]

London, 2 January 1886

Dear Liebknecht,[511]

Borkheim's wife died some 8 years ago. No great loss to him—she drank. His son,[a] aged 19, is a clerk in Dunkirk. To begin with he himself was in business in Liverpool; during the Crimean War a speculative trip to Balaklava with a load of bits and pieces earned him £15,000 all at one go, which, however, he lost because he did the same thing again and peace supervened[512]; became a wine merchant and discovered that his palate for Bordeaux was probably the finest in London; became the agent of a Bordeaux house, built up a clientèle for them, but was insufficiently circumspect and, when he sought a partnership, was given the push—they no longer needed him. No wiser for the experience, he tried to repeat this brilliant performance with another house, the result being the same, hence had to start from the beginning once more. Again promptly discovered two good connexions, lived like a lord as always, while at Badenweiler had an apoplectic fit (about 10 years ago), which completely paralysed his left side, whereupon it transpired that, rather than possessing money, he had been borrowing from his friends in order to support his madly extravagant mode of life. But in spite of it all he was so much liked that people calmly put up with their losses, while the two houses for which he had worked paid him a pension to live on. His housemaid, with whom there had undoubtedly been some highly intimate goings-on, looked after him up till his death—she was able to furnish

[a] F. Borkheim

a boarding-house in Hastings [239] and still do pretty well out of it during the season. A year ago, when the last of his pensions was stopped, we succeeded in persuading his CITY friends, all of whom were owed money by him, to provide a new and adequate pension. Absurdly ostentatious in his conduct while his luck was in, he behaved like a hero when suddenly assailed by the most atrocious ill-fortune. Never a word of complaint, unfailingly cheerful, no sign of his having been affected by this sudden downfall. Rarely have I met such resilience. He spent his time writing his autobiography, first in English, then in German; the latter is probably not quite finished. [248] If you could find a publisher for it as well as some money for the boy, who earns a wage of £70 after an upbringing that might almost suggest his having been born in the purple, you would be doing a good turn. The address is F. Borkheim, *aux soins de*[a] Messieurs Bourdon & Cie, Dunkerque, France.

You are on the wrong track with your suppositions about the secret insinuations concerning you that have come to my ears. The only good friend who might possibly have managed to find some fault with you, the one 'who told you' this, 'who told you' that? — is called Wilhelm Liebknecht[b] and his insinuations have appeared in writing in his letters and in print in the *Sozialdemokrat* and any number of German newspapers. Thanks to this source I have known for years that you have a pleasing and insuperable weakness for all the 'eddicated' elements that hover round the fringes of the party and that you wish to win them over, even though 95 per cent of them can only do us harm. I further understand from this source that last year you only noticed personal differences within the parliamentary group [49] whereas now you are already discovering 'backsliders'. I am also indebted to the above source for the knowledge that this same Wilhelm Liebknecht is on occasion inclined to forget what has been written if, at that moment, it doesn't suit his book and that he hopes others will be good-natured enough to do him a similar favour. Which is not, unfortunately, always possible. But as to your passion for picking up 'eddicated' elements and glossing over all differences, one must put up with such things and does so fairly readily for their being unavoidable. But don't ask that they be overlooked. And their inevitability causes me all the less concern because I know, and shall say as much

[a] care of - [b] See this volume, p. 387.

at every opportunity, that, come the moment of decision between the conflicting elements, you will be on the right side.[513]

And now a Happy New Year.

Your
F. Engels

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## 226

## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[27]

### IN ZURICH

London, 7 January 1886
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

I have received your ms.[349] but have not as yet been able to look at it, so cannot say how long it will take me. Anyhow I shall lose no time, you may be sure.

As to those wise Americans who think their country exempt from the consequences of fully expanded capitalist production, they seem to live in blissful ignorance of the fact that sundry States, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, etc., have such an institution as a Labour Bureau from the reports of which they might learn something to the contrary.[514]

Yours very truly,
F. Engels

First published abridged, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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227

# ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BERLIN

London, 7 January 1886

Dear Liebknecht,

Your conjecture re 'Blos'[a] [515] merely provides me with further proof that the 'nervousness' you complain of is once again entirely of your own making. Still, as you say, NEVER MIND.

Borkheim was born in Glogau in 1825, studied at Greifswald and Berlin, was a three-year artillery volunteer in Glogau in 1848, came under investigation as a result of democratic meetings and bolted; subsequently spent some time in Berlin, fled, I believe, after the storming of the arsenal [516] and went, if I'm not mistaken, to Switzerland, whence he returned with Struve. I don't remember the exact details.

I shall be writing about the biographical note. [517]

Tussy will be given your message on Sunday.[b]

If you and Bebel, both of you, go to America together, you will certainly be able to raise money; should either of you not go or be replaced by someone else, that would make a difference of 25%-30% in the money you would receive. [518] Besides, you yourself will be particularly needed, since at least one of you will, from time to time, have to make a speech in English.

As regards the Baltic Canal I'm all for its being at least 8 metres deep. [519] The size and draught of merchant STEAMERS are constantly increasing (5,500 tons is already quite usual), and new docks are being increasingly taken to a depth of 9 or 10 metres, so that a shallower canal would become obsolete within a few years, just like the Eider Canal now, which became completely so 30 years ago (as to some extent it always had been).

Your trip might be brought forward by a dissolution occasioned by the dissolution of old William[c] which may happen at any moment.

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[a] Bloß in the original. - [b] 10 January - [c] William I

But that would mean we should have the pleasure of seeing you here all the sooner.

Schorlemmer is still with us and sends his best wishes.

Otherwise everything is going well, but not for the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION[300] which Mr Hyndman would seem to have ruined good and proper this time.[a] Though he may win a spurious victory at his PACKED GENERAL MEETING next Sunday, *he's done for in the provinces*, and here all he's left with is a *steadily dwindling number of supporters*.

Kindest regards.

Your old friend
F. E.

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## 228

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 17 January 1886

My dear Laura,

Glad the dictionaries have arrived at last.[b] They were promised to be sent from here more than a week before Christmas.

Yesterday I received a post-card from Dr Max Quarck informing me that as a good extract from the *Capital* is wanted, he intends to translate Deville's[c]:

'*Herr Deville hat mir nun eben auf mein Nachsuchen die alleinige Autorisation zur Übersetzung seines Auszuges ins Deutsche gegeben*'[d];

the great Quarck has offered it to Meissner and desires me to favour him with a preface.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 366-70. - [b] Ibid., p. 375. - [c] G. Deville, *Le Capital de Karl Marx. Résumé...* - [d] '*In reply to my request Mr Deville has just granted me the unreserved right to translate his brief exposition into German.*'

Now if Deville has really done so, I cannot but consider that he has acted very unwisely and moreover contrary to all the international obligations practically existing amongst the lot of us. How in the world could he commit himself with a man of whom he knew nothing? This Quarck is one of half a dozen young literati who hover about the boundary land between our party and the *Katheder-Sozialismus*,[54] take jolly good care to keep clear of all the risks involved by being connected with our party, and yet expect to reap all the benefits that may accrue from such connection. They make a lively propaganda for *das soziale Kaisertum der Hohenzollern*[a] (which Quarck has dithyrambically celebrated), for Rodbertus against Marx (Quarck had the cheek to write to me that he honoured the *Capital* by placing it in his library *neben die Werke des grossen Rodbertus*[b]) and especially for each other. The fellow is so utterly impotent that even Liebknecht who has a certain tenderness for these fellows, has agreed with Kautsky that he is not fit to write in the *Neue Zeit*.[520]

This moment Kautsky enters with Paul's letter,[c] according to that Deville has *not* replied and Quarck lies. I should be very glad if this was so, because then I should have that little scamp completely on the hip.

But now as to the translation itself. First of all, an extract from the *Capital* for our German workmen must be done from the German original, not from the French edition.[59] Secondly Deville's book is too big for the working men, and would in the translation, especially of the second half, be as difficult as the original, as it is composed as much as possible of literal extracts.[81] It does well enough for France where most of the terms are *not Fremdwörter*,[d] and where there is a large public, not exactly working men, who all the same wish to have some knowledge — of easy access — of the subject, without reading the big book. That public, in Germany, ought to read the original book. — Thirdly, and chiefly, if Deville's book appears in German, I do not see how I can consistently with my duty towards Mohr let it pass unchallenged as a faithful résumé. I have held my tongue while it was published only in French, although I had distinctly protested against the whole second half of it, before publication.[e] But if it comes to be put before the German public that is quite a different thing. I cannot allow, in Germany, Mohr to be perverted — in his *very words*. If there

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[a] *the social empire of the Hohenzollerns* - [b] *beside the works of great Rodbertus* - [c] Lafargue's letter to Engels of 10 January 1886 - [d] foreign words - [e] See this volume, pp. 61, 63.

had not been that absurd hurry at the time, if it had been revised as I suggested, there would not be that objection now. All I can say, I reserve my full liberty of action in case the book is published in Germany; and I am the more bound to do so as it has got abroad that I looked it over in the ms.

I cannot this moment ask Kautsky about his intentions as to Deville's book, because all the people for Sunday's dinner have come in, and I must conclude. Kautsky must write himself. As far as I know Kautsky and Bernstein intend making a fresh extract themselves which would be decidedly the best thing to do, and where they may make use of Deville's work and *acknowledge it with thanks.*[137]

Tussy, Edward, the Pumps' and Kautskys, all send their loves, kind regards and kisses and I don't know what more, ditto Johnny[a] and the other little ones.

Yours affectionately but hungry,
F. E.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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## 229

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL[521]

### IN BERLIN

London, 20-23 January 1886

Dear Bebel,

So the great bolt has been fired. Schramm did me the honour of sending me a copy of the magnum opus[b]; but it is, I must say, a very *pauvre*[c] affair and the prompt reference to it in the *Sozialdemokrat*[d] did him too signal an honour. Ede will undoubtedly give him a good

[a] Jean Longuet - [b] C. A. S[chramm], *Rodbertus, Marx, Lassalle. Sozialwissenschaftliche Studie.* - [c] miserable - [d] 'Zur Aufklärung', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 50, 10 December 1885.

dressing-down; I have, through Kautsky, drawn his attention to a number of points — the essentials can safely be left to him.[522]

For Kautsky this controversy with Schramm has been salutory in every way.[523] Schramm, being unable to say anything about the actual matter in hand, is skilful enough to pick on all the errors of form perpetrated by Kautsky, partly out of youthful impetuosity, partly out of the habits acquired at university and in literary practice, and this has been a very salutory lesson to him. In this respect Ede already has a considerable advantage over Kautsky because, though neither a university man nor a professional littérateur, he is, through being on the *Sozialdemokrat*, always in the thick of the fray, besides which he's a business man and, last but not least, a Jew. For after all it's only in war that you learn the art of war.

What you tell me about the parliamentary group's frame of mind is most encouraging. Provided the party remains sound — and here the petty bourgeoisie will surely not gain the upper hand — the blunders of the deputy gentlemen can only serve to give these last a rude lesson. As you yourself say — and this is also my opinion — we shall never get the right kind of people into the Reichstag in time of peace and here the help afforded us by the party through bringing pressure to bear on the deputy gentlemen is absolutely invaluable; it shows that they must avoid any serious conflict, and the knowledge that this is so might, at a crucial moment, be of the utmost importance, since it would enable us to make a resolute stand in the certainty that we should emerge unscathed.

Of late Liebknecht has been positively bombarding me with letters asking for information about this and that. I took the opportunity of telling him, briefly and unequivocally, if in an altogether friendly way, just what I thought of his inconsistent conduct; and when, as usual, he tried to attribute this to some piece of gossip I must have heard, I told him that there was only one person who could harm him in my eyes, and that was Wilhelm Liebknecht who was for ever forgetting what he had said in his letters and published in the press. However that might be, I went on, we should simply have to put up with his foibles, and would do so all the more readily for the knowledge that, when things really came to a head, he would be found in the right place.[a] Whereupon, contrary to his usual customary insistence upon having the last word, he calmed down again.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 381-82.

As he mentioned the matter of the Schleswig-Holstein Canal, I took the opportunity of telling him that it would be stupid to vote for a shallow canal less than 8 or 9 metres deep,[a] allegedly out of opposition to its use by the Fleet. The tonnage of large merchant ships is steadily on the increase, 5,000 or 6,000 tons being already the norm, and ever more ports are being adapted to accommodate vessels of corresponding draught. Those that cannot do so become obsolete and fall into decay, as will also happen in the Baltic. If the Baltic is to have its share of overseas trade, deep water harbours will accordingly have to be built there, and this will happen as surely as it has happened elsewhere. But to build the canal in such a way that, within the next 10 or 20 years, it will become as useless and obsolete as the old Eider Canal is now, would be throwing money down the drain.

As regards my proposal for productive cooperatives on state-owned land,[b] its sole purpose was to show the majority — which was, after all, then *in favour* of the Steamship Subsidies [342] — how they could decently vote against it and thus emerge from the impasse in which they found themselves. But in my view, the principle of the thing was altogether correct. It is perfectly true that, when we propose something positive, our proposals should always be *practicable*. But practicable *as such*, regardless of whether the present government can implement them. I would go even further and say that, if we propose socialist measures conducive to the downfall of capitalist production (as these are), we should restrict them to such as are *essentially feasible*, but could *not* be implemented by *this* government. For this government would tamper with and ruin any such measure, and put it through merely with a view to sabotaging it. This particular proposal, however, would not be implemented by any Junker or bourgeois government. To point the way for the rural proletariat in the Baltic provinces, if not set it upon the path that would enable it to put an end to exploitation by the Junkers and big farmers — to attract into the movement the very people whose servitude and stultification supplies the regiments upon which Prussia entirely depends, in short, to destroy Prussia from within, from the root up, is something that would never occur to them. The measure for which we must press, come what may, so long as big estates continue to exist there, and which we must ourselves put into practice the moment we come to the helm, is as fol-

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[a] See this volume, p. 383. - [b] Ibid., pp. 239, 240.

lows: the transfer — initially on lease — of large estates to autonomous cooperatives under state management and effected in such a way that the State retains ownership of the land. But the great advantage of this measure is that it is perfectly feasible as such, although no party except ours would embark upon it, and thus no party can bedevil it. And it alone would suffice to put paid to Prussia, so that the sooner we popularise it the better for us.

The matter has nothing whatever to do either with Schulze-Delitzsch or with Lassalle. Both supported small cooperatives, in one case with, in the other without, state aid; but in neither were the cooperatives to take possession of the *already extant* means of production; rather they were to introduce new cooperative production *alongside* already extant capitalist production. My proposal envisages the introduction of cooperatives into existing production. *They are to be given land which would otherwise be exploited along capitalist lines*; just as the Paris Commune demanded that the workers should manage cooperatively the factories closed down by the manufacturers.[a] Therein lies the great distinction. Nor have Marx and I ever doubted that, in the course of transition to a wholly communist economy, widespread use would have to be made of cooperative management as an intermediate stage.[b] Only it will mean so organising things that society, i. e. initially the State, retains ownership of the means of production and thus prevents the particular interests of the cooperatives from taking precedence over those of society as a whole. The fact that the Empire is not a land-owner is neither here nor there; you will find some formula, just as you did in the Polish debate, for here again the expulsions were no immediate concern of the Empire's.[524]

Precisely because the government cannot envisage anything of the sort, there would be no harm in demanding the grant I propose as a counterpart to the steamship grant. Had there been any possibility of the government's assenting to it, you would, of course, have been right.

The disintegration of the German Free Thinkers[231] in the sphere of economics tallies exactly with what is happening among the English Radicals.[415] The old Manchester School men *à la* John Bright are dying off and, just like the Berliners, the younger generation is

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[a] See K. Marx, *The Civil War in France* (present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 328-35). - [b] See *Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866*..., 4. Co-operative labour.

dabbling in piecemeal social reform. Save that here the bourgeois wish to help not so much the industrial worker as the agricultural labourer who rendered them such signal service during the late elections[487] and, in true English fashion, are demanding intervention not so much by the State as by the local authorities. For rural workers, allotments and potato patches, for those in the towns, sanitary improvements and the like, such is their programme. It is an excellent sign that the bourgeois should already be having to sacrifice their pet classical economic theory, partly on political grounds and partly because they themselves have lost faith in it as a result of its practical consequences. The same thing is evident in the growth of armchair socialism[54] which, in one form or another, is increasingly supplanting classical economics in academic faculties on both sides of the Channel. The real contradictions engendered by the mode of production have in fact become so glaring that no theory will now serve to conceal them save the hotch-potch of armchair socialism which, however, is not a theory but sheer drivel.

Six weeks ago there were said to be indications that business was looking up here. Now all that is over and done with; poverty is worse than ever before, as is the mood of hopelessness and, on top of that, the winter is an exceptionally severe one. This is already the eighth year in which overproduction has exerted pressure on the markets and, instead of improving, the situation is getting steadily worse, nor can there be any doubt that it is essentially different from what it used to be. Since the appearance of serious rivals to Britain on the world market, the era of crises, in the old sense of the term, has come to an end. If, from being acute, the crises become chronic yet lose nothing of their intensity, what is likely to happen? There is bound to be another, if brief, period of prosperity after the vast stocks of goods have been run down, but I am curious to see what will come of it all. Of two things, however, we may be sure: We have entered a period which poses a far greater threat to the existence of the old state of society than did the period of ten-year crises; and, secondly, prosperity, if it comes, will affect Britain to a much lesser extent than before, when it alone used to skim the cream off the world market. The day when this is clearly realised in this country will be the day when the socialist movement will begin here in real earnest—and not before.

I shall have to leave the composition of the English Liberals to

another time. It is a complex subject because it involves depicting a state of transition.[430]

This morning I received from Dresden the debate on the Polish motion (lst day). No doubt the 2nd day will follow shortly.[a] It is all the more essential for me to be sent these things now that I see only the weekly edition of the *Kölnische Zeitung* which contains only brief excerpts from the debates. How are the short-hand reports sold? I will gladly pay for those of all debates in which our people take a serious part.

Whatever happens, it's essential that you should also go on the American tour.[518] On the one hand, its success greatly depends on your presence. On the other, the party will not be properly represented unless you are there. If you don't go, the first-comer will be sent along with Liebknecht, and who knows what might not happen then. Thirdly, you should not miss the opportunity of seeing with your own eyes the most progressive country in the world. Life in Germany exerts an oppressive and constricting influence on anyone, even the best, as I know from my own experience, and one ought to get out of the place—from time to time at any rate. And in that case we might also see you over here again. Had I been able to get away from my work, I should long since have slipped across to America, as I was always hoping to do with Marx. Anyway, to people abroad, you and Liebknecht represent the party and there is no substitute for either of you. Should you not go, it will mean a loss of anything between 5,000 and 10,000 marks, if not more.

It might, in fact, be a very pleasant experience. For Tussy and Aveling have been corresponding with American free-thinkers about the possibility of a trip to that country, and would like to combine it with yours. They expect to hear within the next 3 or 4 weeks. If it comes off, the four of you would make agreeable travelling companions.

But now, good-bye for the present. Apropos, Ede exceeded my expectations in his first anti-Schramm article.[522] Absolutely splendid.

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[a] *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstags. VI. Legislaturperiode. II. Session 1885/86*, Vol. I. 25th sitting on 15 January 1886, 26th sitting on 16 January 1886.

He has indeed learnt to make war in accordance with the rules of strategy and tactics.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO EDWARD PEASE [525]

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 27 January 1886

Dear Sir,

In answer to your kind note of yesterday I regret to say that my time is so entirely taken up by urgent work on hand, that I cannot possibly for at least a year to come undertake any fresh engagements whatever.

Having said this much, I need not enter upon other considerations which might stand in the way of my writing the article you desire. But I may state at all events that the party to which I belong, has no fixed ready-made proposals to submit. Our views as to the points of difference between a future, non-capitalistic society and that of today, are strict conclusions from existing historical facts and developments, and of no value — theoretical or practical — unless presented in connection with these facts and developments. The economical aspect of these points of difference I have tried to establish and to explain in my book *Herrn E. D. Umwälzung der Wissenschaft* 2nd ed. p. 253 to 271; reprinted in my pamphlet *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus etc.* 3rd ed. p. 28-48. [a] Shorter I cannot possibly do even this partial

[a] The reference is to Engels' *Anti-Dühring* and *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 254-71 and Vol. 24, pp. 306-25).

abstract, where neither political nor non-economic social questions are even touched. To give you a résumé in 600 words is therefore a task utterly beyond my powers.

I am yours faithfully

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## 231

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [521]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 29 January 1886

Dear Sorge,

At last I have some time to spare and hence shall hasten to write to you before anything else comes to claim it.

I hope your Adolf[a] has made a success of his new business. For he understands it and is a hard worker; besides, it's not a particularly speculative business—a great danger, in America as here—so I don't see why all should not be well. I therefore wish him every success.

I should *greatly* like to have Marx's comments re an English translation. [526] At last I have with me, here under my roof, the *complete* ms. of the English translation upon which I shall set to work next week. As soon as I know approximately how long the revision is going to take, and can thus determine the date when printing may begin, I shall make definite arrangements with the publisher. You will have seen (in *To-Day*) how Mr Hyndman, alias Broadhouse, endeavoured to put a spoke in my wheel. [527] This has forced me to get a move-on so as not further to impair my position vis-à-vis the publisher, but otherwise no harm has been done.

An American woman[b] has translated my book on the working

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[a] Adolf Sorge jun. - [b] Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky

class[a] into English, and has also sent me the ms. for revision — parts of which will be very time-consuming. Its publication in America is assured, but what this lady sees in the old thing I cannot imagine.

I further have in hand — to mention only revisions: 1) *The Eighteenth Brumaire*,[b] French — about 1/3 already done. 2) *Wage Labour and Capital* by Marx — Italian. 3) *The Origin of the Family* — Danish. 4) *Manifesto*[c] and *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, etc., Danish; these two already in print but stiff with mistakes. 5) *The Origin of the Family*, French.[403] 6) *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, English.[528] PLENTY MORE LOOMING IN THE DISTANCE. As you can see, I'm turning into a mere schoolmaster correcting exercise-books. It's lucky that my knowledge of languages is not more extensive, for if it were, they'd be piling Russian, Polish, Swedish, etc., stuff on to me as well. But it is work of which one easily tires — in any case all these nice little bits and pieces (at any rate Nos. 2 to 5) will have to give way before Volume III of *Capital* which I have finished dictating from the ms., though the editing of some of the most important chapters will involve a *great* deal of work, these consisting in little more than an assemblage of building blocks. That is the only task to which I look forward.

I have *not* yet had the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*. I shall, if possible, send off *To-Day*, September, by the same post as this. You've no idea how difficult these things are to get hold of here — the slovenliness of the publishers is quite disgraceful.

If you haven't yet seen it, get Dietzgen to give you Hubert Bland's piece on Hyndman's simultaneous machinations with the Tories and Liberals over the elections.[496] It is absolutely true. After this, and provided it doesn't disintegrate, the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION[300] will be morally defunct. Hyndman must be mad to act as he does. You will have read all about his insane attack on Aveling, and will also have seen the relevant documents in *Justice* and *Commonweal*.[502] Unfortunately, none of the other leaders of the FEDERATION are worth much more than he, being literati and political speculators. Indeed, the movement in this country has hitherto been quite bogus, but should it prove possible to educate within the SOCIALIST LEAGUE[346] a nucleus with an understanding of theoretical matters, considerable progress will have been made towards the eruption, which cannot be long in coming, of a genuine mass movement.

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[a] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*. - [b] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

Give my regards to Dietzgen. It's uphill work for him, but he'll manage all right.[529] AFTER ALL, the movement in America has made tremendous strides. True, the Anglo-Americans want to do things their *own* way with a total disregard for reason and science, nor could one expect anything else, yet they are drawing closer and will end up by coming all the way. Over there capitalist centralisation is going ahead like a house on fire—unlike here.

I trust your health is completely restored. I'm pretty well on the whole, otherwise I should never get through my work.

I've been working on Bebel with a view to his visiting the States with Liebknecht.[a] Tussy and Aveling might go too. But that remains to be decided.

My kindest regards to Adolf.

Your
F. Engels

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## 232

## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[530]

### IN ZURICH

London, 3 February 1886

My dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

To-day I forwarded to you, registered, the first portion of the ms. up to your page 70, incl. I am sorry I could not possibly send it sooner. But I had a job on hand which must be finished before I could start with your ms. Now I shall go on swimmingly; as I proceed I find we get better acquainted with each other, you with my peculiar,

[a] See this volume, p. 391.

old-fashioned German, I with your American. And indeed, I learn a good deal at it. Never before did the difference between British and American English strike me so vividly as in this *experimentum in proprio corpore vili.*[a] What a splendid future must there be in store for a language which gets enriched and developed on two sides of an ocean, and which may expect further additions from Australia and India!

I do not know whether this portion of the ms. will arrive in time to reach Miss Foster before her sailing, but I hope you will not be put to any particular inconvenience through my delay which was indeed unavoidable. I cannot be grateful enough to all the friends who wish to translate both Marx's and my writings into the various civilised languages and who show their confidence in me by asking me to look over their translations. And I am willing enough to do it, but for me as well as for others the day has but 24 hours, and so I cannot possibly always arrange to please everybody and to chime in with all arrangements made.

If I am not too often interrupted in the evenings I hope to be able to send you the remainder of the ms. and possibly also the introduction in a fortnight. This latter may be printed either as a preface[b] or as an appendix.[c] As to the length of it, I am utterly incapable of giving you any idea. I shall try to make it as short as possible, especially as it will be useless for me to try to combat arguments of the American press with which I am not even superficially acquainted. Of course if American workingmen will not read their own States' Labour Reports,[514] but trust to politicians' extracts, nobody can help them. But it strikes me that the present chronic depression which seems endless so far, will tell its tale in America as well as in England. America will smash up England's industrial monopoly — whatever there is left of it — but America cannot herself succeed to that monopoly. And unless *one* country has the monopoly of the markets of the world, at least in the decisive branches of trade, the conditions — relatively favourable — which existed here in England from 1848 to 1870, cannot anywhere be reproduced, and even in America the condition of the working class must gradually sink lower and lower. For if there are three countries (say England, America and Germany) competing on comparatively equal terms for the possession of the *Welt-*

[a] experiment upon one's own worthless body - [b] F. Engels, 'The Labor Movement in America. Preface to the American Edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*'. - [c] F. Engels, 'Appendix to the American Edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*'.

*markt*,[a] there is no chance but chronic overproduction, one of the three being capable of supplying the whole quantity required. That is the reason why I am watching the development of the present crisis with greater interest than ever and why I believe it will mark an epoch in the mental and political history of the American and English working classes — the very two whose assistance is as absolutely necessary as it is desirable.

Yours very truly,
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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## 233

## ENGELS TO FERDINAND DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS [531]

## IN THE HAGUE

London, 4 February 1886

Dear Comrade,

I am reading your work *Hoe ons land geregeerd wordt* with great pleasure, firstly because I am relearning a great deal of conversational Dutch therefrom and secondly because I am learning so much about the internal administration of Holland. Along with England and Switzerland, Holland is the only West European country *not* to have had absolute monarchy in the period between the 16th and 18th centuries, and in consequence enjoys a number of advantages, notably a residue of local and provincial self-government and an absence of any real bureaucracy in the French or Prussian sense. This is a great advantage both as regards the development of a national character and as regards the future; for only a few changes will have to be

[a] world market

made to establish here that free self-government by the working [people] [a] which will necessarily be our best tool in the reorganisation of the mode of production. All this is lacking in Germany and France and will have to be built up from scratch. May I congratulate you on your success in producing a popular exposition.

Your translation of my pamphlet [b] places me most deeply in your debt. In this instance it will not be so easy to employ popular language throughout, as in your little opus, but this should present no problem to someone with so good a command of both languages as yourself.

'*Gewanne*' are the strips of land of roughly the same quality into which common agricultural and pasture land is first divided; maybe ten or twenty in all. Then each commoner with full rights is given an equal share of each strip. Thus, if there are ten strips and a hundred commoners, there will be 1,000 parcels of land all told, each commoner getting 10 parcels, one in each strip. Subsequently commoners may often swap parcels so that though they may have fewer individual plots, their holdings are more compact. The same thing was still happening until quite lately in Ireland in the 'RUNDALE' [532] villages, and in the Highlands of Scotland (cf. *Fortnightly Review*, November 1885, an article on VILLAGE COMMUNITIES in Scotland [c]).

G. L. Maurer has written:

1) *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Mark-, Hof-, Dorf- und Städteverfassung in Deutschland.*

2) *Geschichte der Markenverfassung in Deutschland.*

3) *Geschichte der Hofverfassung* " " 4 vols.

4) ditto " *Städteverfassung* " " 2 "

5) ditto " *Dorfverfassung* " " 2 "

Nos. 1 and 2 are the most important, but the others are not without importance either, particularly as regards German history. Repetitiveness, poor style and lack of method make these otherwise excellent books difficult to study. *On n'est pas Allemand pour rien!* [d]

The best works on the great French Revolution are indubitably those of Georges Avenel who died round about 1875. *Lundis révolutionnaires*, a collection of feuilletons which came out in the *République*

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[a] The manuscript is damaged here. - [b] F. Engels, *De ontwikkeling van het socialisme van utopie tot wetenschap.* - [c] J. Rae, 'The Scotch Village Community', *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. CCXXVII, 1 November 1885. - [d] One's not a German for nothing.

*Française*; also, *Anacharsis Cloots*, this last a survey, forming part of the biography, of the course of the Revolution up till Thermidor 1794. It's melodramatically written and, if one is not to lose the thread, one has continually to refer to Mignet[a] or Thiers[b] for the exact dates. But Avenel has made a close study of the archives and also produces a vast amount of new and reliable material. He is indisputably the best source for the period from September 1792 to July 1794. Then there is a very good book by Bougeart[c] on Jean Paul Marat, *L'Ami du peuple*; also another about Marat, said to be good, the name of whose author eludes me—it begins with Ch.[d] Some other good stuff also appeared in the final years of the Empire; the Robespierrites (Hamel, *St.-Just etc.*) not, on the whole, so good—mostly mere rhetoric and quotations from speeches.

Mignet still remains the bourgeois historian of my choice.

The Kautskys, Avelings, and Lenchen send their kindest regards. What is the position about your coming over here in the summer?

With kindest regards from

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 234

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV[533]

### IN PARIS

[London,] 7 February 1886

My dear Lavrov,

Please tell me what meaning you attach to the word '*WORTHIES*'. When uttered by you I should hesitate to assign to it the philistine

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[a] F. A. Mignet, *Histoire de la révolution française, depuis 1789 jusqu'en 1814.* [b] A. Thiers, F. Bodin, *Histoire de la révolution française...*, Vols. 1-2; A. Thiers, *Histoire de la révolution française...*, Vols. 3-10. Bougeard in the original. - [d] F. Chèvremont, *Jean-Paul Marat.*

meaning which is virtually the official meaning over here and which embraces a whole gamut ranging from a Faraday to a Peabody or a Lady Burdett-Coutts. However I shall try and find what you want.

The manuscript of the English translation of Volume I is at last to hand; I shall revise it straight away.[56] After that I shall start final editing of Volume III.[a] This will be hard, but I shall manage it in the end.

Yours ever,

F. E.

Энгельса[b]

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## 235

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

### IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 8 February 1886

My dear Sir,

I have received your kind letters 18/30 November, 19/31 December, 26 [December]/7 January and 8/20 January; also the four copies of the translation[c] one of which has gone to the British Museum, another to the Colonel[d] and a third to a lady well known[e] who has also translated several works of the Author[f] into your language. If you would be good enough to send another copy to Mr Otto Meissner, Hamburg, our German publisher, you would very much oblige me.

I have read your excellent preface[534] with much pleasure, and

[a] of *Capital* - [b] (Russ., gen. case) Engels - [c] into Russian of the second volume of *Capital* - [d] Pyotr Lavrov - [e] Vera Zasulich - [f] Karl Marx

that I have done so attentively, I should like to prove to you by stating that on page X, line 17, the printer seems to have left out a word; should it not read as follows: что и перемънная часть *капитальной* стоимости,[a] etc.? The omission is not of much consequence for any one who is used to the author's terminology, but would perhaps be puzzling to one who is not.

I thank you very much for your observations on the economical condition of your country.[535] Anything of this class is always of the highest interest to me. The last 30 years have shown, all over the world, in how little time the immense productive powers of modern industry can be implanted and take a firm root even in countries hitherto purely agricultural. And the phenomena accompanying this process repeat themselves everywhere. What you tell me about payments in coupons not yet due occurred all over Germany ten or fifteen years ago and may occasionally occur still; but especially before the introduction of the new coinage the complaints about the circulation of such coupons, not yet due, and originally given in payment of wages were universal. The rapid development of German manufactures has now passed beyond that stage, and if it still occurs it will be an exception; but fifteen years ago it was the rule, especially in Saxony and Thuringia. But that your economists should consider this as a proof of a deficiency of circulating medium, and that in the face of a paper currency depreciated by over-issue at least 36%, that is on a level with the views of the American greenbackers[536] who demanded, too, an increased issue of paper money because that paper money was no longer depreciated and therefore evidently under-issued!

I am glad to learn that our friend[b] is recommended a change of climate — I suppose it will be about the same where the doctors sent him to before and which seemed to agree well enough with his state of health. At all events this is proof to me that all danger of a sudden crisis in his malady is now over.[362]

I have now at last the whole manuscript of the English translation of Volume I[c] in my hands and shall go into the revision of it next week, and when I may have an idea how soon I can finish, conclude at once with a publisher.[56] There are two translators, the one a barrister and old friend of ours[d] (you and he are the two men living who know the book most thoroughly) but his professional occupations do

[a] that the variable part of *capital* value, too - [b] Hermann Lopatin - [c] of *Capital* - [d] Samuel Moore

not allow him to do it all in time, so Dr Aveling, the husband of the author's youngest daughter,[a] offered his services; but both the economic theories and the language of the author are rather new to him and I know the portion done by him will give me more work. As soon as that is in a fair way of getting ready for the press, I shall start again with Volume III[b] and do it to the end, not allowing any other work to interrupt it.

Here the industrial crisis gets worse instead of better, and people begin to find out more and more that England's industrial monopoly is at an end. And with America, France, Germany for competitors in the world's market, and high duties excluding foreign goods from the markets of other rising industrial countries, it becomes a simple matter of calculation. If one great monopolist industrial country produced a crisis every ten years, what will four such countries produce? Approximatively a crisis in 10/4 years, that is to say practically a crisis without end. *Uns kann recht sein.*[c]

Very faithfully yours,

P. W. Rosher[363]

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## 236

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[537]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 9 February 1886

Dear Sorge,

You have no doubt received my letter of 30 January,[d] also *To-Day* and the new edition of the *Communist Trial*.[e] Have had *New Yorker*

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[a] Eleanor Marx-Aveling - [b] of *Capital* - [c] It might be helpful to us.
[d] See this volume, pp. 393-95. - [e] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.*

*Volkszeitung*, weekly edition[a] of 23 January, *but nothing else*. You should also have had the September number of *To-Day*.

Yesterday the gentlemen of the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION were yet again responsible for a fearful public gaff—as you will already have heard by telegraph.[538] With any luck they will now be played out.

How is Adolf[b] getting along with his business?

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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## 237

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 9 February 1886

My dear Laura,

Our clever folk of the Social Democratic Federation[300] scorn to rest on their laurels. Yesterday they must needs interfere in a meeting of the unemployed—who count now by hundreds of thousands—in order to preach *La Révolution*—revolution in general, and ask the mass to hold up their hands, those who were ready to follow Mr Champion to—well to what he does not know himself. Hyndman who can only overcome his personal cowardice by deafening himself by his own shouts, went on in the same strain.[538] Of course you know what a meeting at 3 p. m. in Trafalgar Square consists of: numbers of the poor devils of the East End who vegetate in the borderland between working class and lumpen proletariat, and a sufficient admix-

[a] *Wochenblatt der N. Y. Volkszeitung*. [b] Adolf Sorge jun.

ture of roughs and 'Arrys to leaven the whole into a mass ready for any 'lark' up to a wild riot *à propos de rien.*[a] Well just at the time when this element was getting the upper hand (Kautsky who was there [539] says *das eigentliche Meeting war vorbei; die Keilerei ging los und so ging ich weg*[b]) the wiseacres above-named took these roughs in procession through Pall Mall and Piccadilly to Hyde Park for another and a truly revolutionary meeting. But on the road the roughs took matters into their own hands, smashed club windows and shop fronts, plundered first wine-stores and baker's shops, and then some jewellers' shops also, so that in Hyde Park our revolutionary swells had to preach '*le calme et la modération*'[c]! While they were soft-sawdering, the wrecking and plundering went on outside in Audley St. and even as far as Oxford Street where at last the police interfered.

The absence of the police shows that the row was *wanted*, but that Hyndman and Co. *donnaient dans le piège*[d] is impardonable and brands them finally as not only helpless fools but also as scamps. They wanted to wash off the disgrace of their electoral manoeuvres [496] and now they have done an irreparable damage to the movement here. To make a revolution — and that *à propos de rien,*[e] when and where they liked — they thought nothing else was required but the paltry tricks sufficient to 'boss' an agitation for any vile fad, packing meetings, lying in the press, and then, with five and twenty men seemed to back them up, appealing to the masses to 'rise' somehow, as best they might, against nobody in particular and everything in general, and trust to luck for the result. Well I don't know whether they will get over it so easily this time. I should not wonder if they were arrested before the week is out. English law is very definite in this respect: you may spout as long as you like, so long as nothing follows; but as soon as any 'overt acts' of rioting ensue, you are held responsible for them, and many a poor devil of a Chartist, Harney and Jones and others, got two years for less. [540] Besides, *n'est pas Louise Michel qui veut.*[f] [74]

At last I have got nearly the whole of the ms. of the English translation of Volume I[g] in my hands, the small remnant Edward has promised for Sunday.[h] [56] I shall go at it this week — the only thing that keeps me from it is the revision of a translation (English) of my old book on

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[a] over nothing - [b] the meeting proper was over; the fight started, so I went away - [c] calmness and moderation - [d] fell into the trap - [e] for nothing - [f] not everyone who wishes to can be Louise Michel - [g] of *Capital* - [h] 14 February

the English working class[a] by an American lady[b] who has also found a publisher for it in America — strange to say! This I do in the evenings and shall — unless much interrupted — finish this week. As soon as I see my way to fix a date for the printing to begin, I shall go and see Kegan Paul, and if we do not come to terms with him, go somewhere else, we have hints and offers from more than one. Our position in this respect is much improved. After that, — Volume III,[c] and no more interruptions tolerated.

We thought it very strange that Bernstein should have recommended a fellow like Quarck[d] and asked him. Here is his reply which I give you literally so that there can be no mistake:

'Von einer Quarck-Empfehlung bin ich mir gar nichts bewusst, wie sollte ich einen Mann empfehlen *den ich gar nicht kenne*? Es ist möglich dass ich auf eine Anfrage einmal geantwortet, *der Mann sei kein Parteigenosse*, aber es liege nichts gegen ihn vor, aber auch nur möglich... Sollte da nicht eine Verwechslung vorliegen? Ich selbst *kenne Quarck gar nicht*, habe auch noch *nie* mit ihm korrespondiert. Also wie gesagt, ich bestreite nicht absolut, über Quarck einmal Auskunft erteilt zu haben, aber *empfohlen habe ich ihn nicht*.'[e]

Pardon me that I bother you again with this affair, but I wish to have this extract forwarded to Paris in the original German. As to the rest I write to Paul about it. Otherwise I wish Deville every happiness in his new *ménage*[f] and hope it will not interfere too much with his regularity of habits. If once settled down in a new routine, he promises to be the best and happiest of husbands.

The people here go on much as usual. Edward has taken a hall in Tottenham Court Road where he preaches twice every Sunday to an attentive and on the whole reasonably well paying audience — it interferes rather with his after-dinner port, but it's a good thing for him as it defeats Bradlaugh's plan *to ruin him as a public lecturer*; he also goes now and then to provincial towns for 3 lectures on a Sunday! and one the Saturday evening. Bax is something like Paul, writes

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[a] *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* - [b] Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky - [c] of *Capital* - [d] See this volume, pp. 384-85. - [e] 'I am totally in the dark about Quarck's recommendation. How could I give a recommendation to a person *of whom I know nothing at all*? It is possible that I could have answered a query to the effect that *the man is not a party member*, but nothing can be held against him, but this is only a possibility... Hasn't there been a mix-up? I myself *do not know Quarck at all* and have *never* corresponded with him. So, as I've already said, I cannot say for certain that I haven't given some information about Quarck, but *I have never recommended him*.' - [f] marriage

charming articles often enough in *The Commonweal*, but utterly unaccountable when an idea runs away with him. For practical agitation poor Bax is most dangerous, being utterly inexperienced; throws the ideas of the study, quite raw, into the meeting-room; has the feeling that something must be done to set the ball rolling, and does not know what; withal very nice, very intelligent, very industrious, so that we may hope he will outlive his zeal.

Yours affectionately,

F. E.

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Reproduced from the original

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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL [541]

### IN BERLIN

London, 15 February 1886

Dear Bebel,

Your letter could not have arrived at a more opportune moment; I was in any case about to send you some further gladsome news today — of which more below.

Now as to the rumpus on the 8th inst.[a]

Despite publicity to the contrary, the Social Democratic Federation is an exceedingly weak organisation which comprises some good elements but is led by literary and political adventurers who, by a stroke of genius, had brought it to the very verge of dissolution on the occasion of the November elections.[496] At the time, Hyndman (pronounced Heindman), head of the society, had accepted money from the Tories (Conservatives) and used it to put up Social Democratic candidates in two London boroughs. Since they had not a single adherent in either constituency, the consequent débacle might have been foreseen (one of them got 27 and the other 32 votes, each out of

[a] See this volume, pp. 403-04.

a possible 4-5,000!). But hardly had Hyndman touched the Tories' money than his head began to swell inordinately, and he departed forthwith for Birmingham where he called on Chamberlain, now a Minister, and offered him his 'support' (amounting, for the whole of England, to barely 1,000 votes) if he, Chamberlain, would secure him, Hyndman, a constituency in Birmingham with the help of the Liberals, and also introduce an Eight Hours' Bill. Chamberlain, being no fool, showed him the door. Despite all attempts to hush up the matter, there was a great rumpus about it in the Federation, and dissolution was imminent. So something had to be done to get things going again.

In the meantime unemployment was steadily rising. As a result of the collapse of Britain's monopoly of the world market, a state of crisis has persisted uninterruptedly since 1878 and is growing worse rather than better. Poverty, particularly in London's East End, is appalling. The winter which, since January, has been exceptionally severe, combined with the abysmal indifference of the propertied classes, has given rise to great unrest among the mass of the unemployed. As always, political wire-pullers have sought to exploit that unrest for their own ends. The Conservatives, recently deprived of office, [542] blamed unemployment on foreign competition (rightly) and foreign protective tariffs (for the most part wrongly), and advocated 'FAIR TRADE', i. e. retaliatory tariffs. There is also a labour organisation which is predominantly in favour of such tariffs. [543] This last called the meeting of the 8th inst. in Trafalgar Square. [538] Meanwhile the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION had not been idle; having already demonstrated in a minor way, they now sought to take advantage of the aforementioned meeting. Thus two meetings took place, that of the retaliatory tariffs men, round Nelson's Column, the other addressed by the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION men from a street next to the NATIONAL GALLERY, some 25 feet above the north side of the square. Kautsky was present [539]; he left before the rumpus began and told me that practically all the genuine working men attended the other meeting, while Hyndman & Co. had a mixed audience who were out for a lark, and in some cases were already half seas over. If this was evident to Kautsky who has been here barely a year, it must have been even more so to the gentlemen of the Federation. Nevertheless, when things seemed to be already subsiding, they put into practice an idea long cherished by Hyndman, namely a procession of 'unemployed' along Pall Mall, the street of the great political, aristocratic and

ultra-capitalist clubs which are the hubs of political intrigue in Britain. The unemployed who followed them to another meeting in Hyde Park were mostly of the kind who do not wish to work — barrow-boys, idlers, police spies and rogues. Jeered at by the aristocrats from the club windows, they smashed the latter, likewise shop windows, and looted wineshops, the better to set up an impromptu consumers' club in the street so that, once in Hyde Park, Hyndman and Co. had hastily to swallow their bloodthirsty slogans and preach moderation. But by now the thing had gathered momentum. During the procession and this further little meeting as well as after it, most of the lumpen proletariat Hyndman had taken for unemployed poured along several of the grander streets nearby, looting jewellers' and other shops, and using the loaves of bread and legs of mutton thus looted solely for the purpose of smashing windows until eventually they scattered without encountering any resistance. Only a few stragglers were dispersed in Oxford Street by four (sic!) policemen.

Otherwise the police were nowhere to be seen, and so conspicuous were they by their absence that it was not only *we* who believed it to have been intentional. Evidently the chiefs of police are Conservatives and not averse to seeing a bit of a rumpus in these days of Liberal rule. However, the government immediately set up a Committee of Inquiry and this may cost more than one of these gentry his position.

In addition, very half-hearted proceedings have been instituted against Hyndman & Co. which, to all appearances, will be allowed to peter out, although English law provides for very stiff sentences the moment inflammatory speeches give way to overt acts. True, the gentlemen talked a lot of bunkum about social revolution which, having regard to their audience and in the absence of any organised support amongst the masses, was sheer lunacy, but I can hardly believe that the government would be so stupid as to make martyrs of them. These socialist gents are determined to conjure up overnight a movement which, here as elsewhere, necessarily calls for years of work,— though, once it has got going and has been imposed on the masses by historical events, it will admittedly advance far more rapidly here than on the Continent. But men of this type cannot wait — hence these childish pranks such as we are otherwise wont to see only among the anarchists.

The alarm of the philistines lasted four days and has now finally abated. One good thing about it is that the existence of poverty, which the Liberals simply denied and the Conservatives tried to ex-

ploit solely for their own ends, has now come to be recognised, and people see that something has got to be done, if only for appearances' sake. But the subscription fund started by the LORD MAYOR amounted, by Saturday,[a] to barely £ 20,000[544] and, given the number of unemployed, would barely last out 2 days! But of one thing at least we have again received proof: Until something happens to frighten them, the propertied classes are totally indifferent to the destitution of the masses and I'm not at all sure they don't need rather more of a fright.

Now for France. Last week saw an event of an epoch-making kind, namely *the constitution of a workers' party in the Chamber.* It has only three members, and two Radicals besides,[429] but a start has been made and the split is definitive.

Basly (pronounced Bali), a miner and then a landlord (because disciplined) from Anzin, carried out an investigation on the spot of the killing of the infamous pit manager Watrin in Decazeville.[545] On his return, he first communicated his findings to a big meeting held on the 7th in Paris, in the course of which the Radicals from the Chamber came off very badly.[b] On Thursday in the Chamber he made a really splendid speech when he questioned the Ministry.[c] *He was left in the lurch by the whole of the extreme Left.* The only ones to speak in support of him were the two other working men, Boyer (of Marseilles, ex-anarchist) and Camélinat (ex-Proudhonist, Communard refugee), besides which he was applauded by Clovis Hugues and Planteau, while the other extreme Radicals were as if thunderstruck by this first bold, independent move on the part of the French proletariat in the Chamber.

(Between ourselves, Basly is completely under the influence of our men, Lafargue, Guesde, etc., of whose theoretical advice he is greatly in need and which he gladly accepts.)

I am sending you the *Cri du Peuple* with a full account of this historic sitting which I suggest you study. It's well worth the trouble. The importance of the rupture has been confirmed by Longuet who has just been over here and who, as Clemenceau's friend and fellow-editor, spoke with some disapproval of this unparliamentary behaviour on the part of the workers.

[a] 13 February - [b] See E. J. Basly's speech at a meeting in Théâtre du Château d'Eau on 7 February 1886 (*Le Socialiste*, No. 25, 13 February 1886). - [c] See Basly's speech in the Chamber of Deputies on 11 February 1886 (*Le Cri du Peuple*, No. 837, 12 February 1886).

So in Paris, too, we now have our people in parliament, and of this I am glad, not only for the sake of the French to whose progress it will give a tremendous impetus, but also for the sake of our parliamentary group, some of whose members might yet learn much about boldness of approach from the above; for now we also have foreigners whom we can hold up as an example to the faint-hearts and weaklings.

The best part of it is that the Radicals proposed these chaps in the hope of being able to manipulate them, and now their trouble has been for nothing. I, too, felt very doubtful about Camélinat as a former Proudhonist, but a point in his favour was that, when he came here as a refugee, he immediately sought work in Birmingham (he is one of the best engravers) and had nothing to do with refugee politics.

Time for the post.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [546]

### IN PARIS

[Excerpt]

[London,] 16 February 1886

My dear Lafargue,

My congratulations. The sitting of the French Chamber on the 11th was an historical event.[a] The ice — the parliamentary omnipotence of the Radicals [429] — has been broken and it matters little whether those who dared to break it numbered three or thirty. And it was this superstition amongst the Parisian working men — this belief that by going further than the Radicals they would endanger the Republic or

[a] See previous letter.

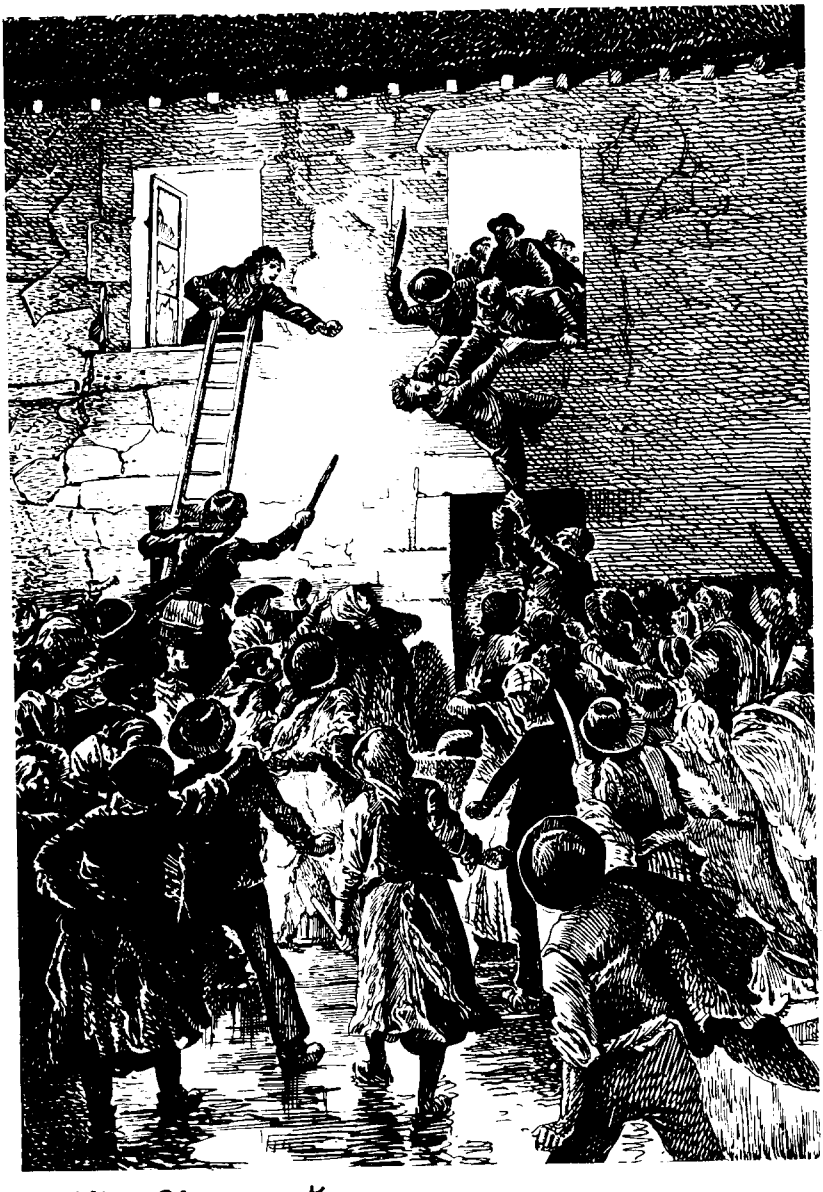

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Miners on strike in Decazeville, January 1886

at least play the Opportunists' game [236] by dividing the 'revolutionary party' — which lent strength to the Radicals.

This is the definitive defeat of utopian socialism in France. For the Radicals were all 'socialists' in the old sense of the term. What survived of Louis Blanc's and Proudhon's theses served them as socialist trappings; they represent French utopian socialism stripped of the utopias and hence reduced to a phrase pure and simple. On 11 February this antiquated French socialism was crushed by the international socialism of today. The Poverty of Philosophy!

So far as your propaganda in Paris and in France generally is concerned, this is an event of prime importance. The effect will be felt very quickly. The Radicals — whether they make a clean break with the workers or whether they temporise by granting them more or less sterile concessions — will lose their influence over the masses and, along with that influence, such little potency as is left in traditional socialism will be lost, and people's minds will become more receptive to a new order of ideas...

Z...[a] has left me in no doubt that Clemenceau and the rest of his gang, embroiled as they are in ministerial intrigues, have caught the parliamentary disease, that they no longer see clearly what is going on outside the Palais Bourbon and the Luxembourg, that it is here that, for them, the pivot of the movement lies and that, in their eyes, extra-parliamentary France is of no more than secondary importance. All this has given me the measure of these gentlemen.

In short I have seen that *flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo*[b] is not to their taste. Their backsides are seated on the same chute as that down which Ranc, Gambetta & Co. once slid. What frightens them is the proletarian Acheron.

I told Z...: So long as the Radicals allow themselves to be frightened, as for example at the inconclusive elections, by the cry 'The Republic is in danger', they will be nothing more than the servants of the Opportunists, will act as their cat's paw. But give each workman a gun and 50 cartridges and the Republic will never again be in danger!

First published in *Le Socialiste*, No. 115, Paris, 24 novembre 1900

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

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[a] Presumably Charles Longuet. - [b] If Heaven be inflexible, Hell shall be unleashed (Virgil, *Aeneid*, VII, 312).

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## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [547]

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

[London, 24 February 1886]

Dear Ede,

Your articles[a] on the subject of C. A. Schramm[b] were very nice and caused us much glee. The man's pretty well done for.

The new turn things have taken in France is most significant. See *Cri du Peuple*. On the 7th, Château d'Eau meeting[c] at which Basly disassociated himself from the Radicals.[429] On the 11th, in the Chamber, Basly's interpellation re Decazeville,[d] seconded by Camélinat and Boyer, applauded by Clovis Hugues and Planteau — separation from the Radicals, *formation of parliamentary workers' party*.[e] Splendid *entrée en scène*. Great chagrin of the Radicals over these highly unparliamentary goings-on. The three working men are to be punished by a vote of no confidence on the part of the bourgeois constituents. Meeting called at Château d'Eau for 21 inst. but cancelled upon the three declaring their intention to attend. Instead a meeting *du commerce*[f] at the Château d'Eau announced, to discuss public works for the benefit of the unemployed, in fact for the purpose of obtaining a vote of censure against the 3. But instead a great victory for the working men, Basly in the chair, the bourgeois walk out, brilliant speech by Guesde. See *Cri du Peuple* of 23rd inst.[g]

The French parliamentary workers' party is a great historic event and a great stroke of luck for Germany. Will make certain persons in

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[a] [E. Bernstein,] 'Ein moralischer Kritiker und seine kritische Moral', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nos. 4-7, 21 and 28 January, 5 and 12 February 1886. - [b] C. A. S[chramm], *Rodbertus, Marx, Lassalle*. - [c] See E. J. Basly's speech at a meeting in Théâtre du Château d'Eau on 7 February 1886 (*Le Socialiste*, No. 25, 13 February 1886). - [d] See Basly's speech in the Chamber of Deputies on 11 February 1886 (*Le Cri du Peuple*, No. 837, 12 February 1886). - [e] See this volume, p. 409. - [f] of business people - [g] J. Guesde's speech at a meeting of business people (*Le Cri du Peuple*, No. 848, 23 February 1886).

Berlin stir their stumps. Moreover, wholly international; chauvinistic heckling fell completely flat.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY [548]

### IN ZURICH

London, 25 February 1886

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

To-day mailed to you, *registered*, the rest of the ms. with my — introduction or postscript [360] — according to where it may suit you to place it. I believe the title had better be a simple translation: The Condition of the Working Class in England *in 1844*, etc.

I am glad that all obstacles to publication have been successfully overcome. Only I am sorry that Miss Foster has applied to the Executive of the Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei in New York, [549] as appears from their report of meeting in *Der Sozialist*, New York, 13th February. Neither Marx nor myself have ever committed the least act which might be interpreted into asking any Working Organisation to do us any personal favour — and this was necessary not only for the sake of our own independence but also on account of the constant bourgeois denunciations of 'demagogues who coax the workmen out of their hard-earned pennies in order to spend them for their own purposes'. I shall therefore be compelled to inform that Executive that this application was made entirely without my knowledge or authority. Miss Foster no doubt acted in what she thought the best way, and this step of hers is in itself no doubt perfectly admissible; still, if I could have foreseen it, I should have been compelled to do everything in my power to prevent it. [550]

The revision of your translation has delayed that of the English translation of *Das Kapital*[56] by three weeks—and at a most critical period of the year too. I shall set about it to-night and it may take me several months. After that, the German 3rd volume must be taken in hand; you see, therefore, that for some time it will be impossible for me to undertake the revision of other translations, unless few and far between and of small volume. I have at this moment waiting here an Italian translation of Marx's *Lohnarbeit und Kapital*[a] which must wait some weeks at least. But if you will translate that into English (it was recently republished at Zurich) and will not be too pressing for time, I shall be glad to revise it, and you cannot have a better popular pamphlet than that. My *Entwicklung*[b] Aveling intends to translate, and as the subject is in part rather difficult, I could not well give it to anyone except he be here on the spot, accessible to verbal explanation.[528] As to my *Anti-Dühring* I hardly think the English speaking public would swallow that controversy and the hostility to religion which pervades the book. However we may discuss that later on, if you are of a different opinion. At present Marx's posthumous manuscripts must be dealt with before anything else.

The semi-Hegelian language of a good many passages of my old book is not only untranslatable but has lost the greater part of its meaning even in German. I have therefore modernised it as much as possible.

Yours very truly,
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Reproduced from the original

[a] *Wage Labour and Capital* - [b] *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*

# 242

# ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

## IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG [34]

London, 25 February 1886

Dear Liebknecht,

It's really quite impossible to do anything about getting your Russian speech [a] [551] published in this country for, as you know, the *big* newspapers are barred to us and the monthly *Commonweal* is too small to take on that sort of thing. You will have to see to the matter yourselves, e. g. by getting in touch with the *Standard* correspondent as Longuet, for instance, did in Paris with Mother Crawford, the *Daily News* correspondent. Knowing that the Reichstag has no real say in anything, the British press very rarely mentions it, save for quite short telegrams. If you had not virtually confined yourself to Faerber's view of the harm suffered by German capitalists,[b] but had introduced the present eastern imbroglio [445] and blamed it on Bismarck as the man who, because of the loan, has the Russians eating out of his hand, your speech could not have been passed over in complete silence. But what you say about the worthlessness of Russian paper is common knowledge even in this country.

Now as regards those charming German literati who infest the neutral border zone between ourselves and the armchair [54] and state socialists, and want to pocket all the advantages to be derived from our party while carefully shielding themselves against any disadvantage arising out of intercourse with us — I've just had another demonstration of what shits the said literati are. An importunate fellow by the name of Max Quarck — *nomen est omen* [c] — wrote to me saying that Deville in Paris had given him *exclusive rights* to translate his abridgment of *Capital*, and asking me to recommend him to Meissner and write a *preface* for him.[d] It was all a lie, a fact of which I have received confirmation from Paris and as he himself informed Kautsky in a letter the *selfsame day*. And now the wretch has the effrontery to suggest

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[a] Liebknecht's speech in the Reichstag on 8 February 1886 (*Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstags. VI. Legislaturperiode. II. Session 1885/86*, Vol. II).- [b] See this volume, p. 338.- [c] the name tells all (Quark = curd or cottage cheese in German; fig. rubbish) - [d] See this volume, pp. 384-85 and 405.

that *I* should beg his pardon for *his* having lied to me! Just let him try that again, the scoundrel.[520]

You people will find you have competitors in France. The three working men, Basly, Boyer and Camélinat, since joined by Clovis Hugues, have set themselves up in the Chamber as a socialist labour group[a] in opposition to the Radicals,[429] and when, at a meeting last Sunday, the Radicals tried to inveigle the constituents into passing a vote of no confidence, they met with a resounding defeat — so much so that at the meeting they themselves had convened, the Radicals did not dare to open their mouths.[b] These three French working men will make more of an impact in Europe than your 25 because they sit in a Chamber which, unlike the Reichstag, is not a debating society, and because they have shaken themselves free of the milk-and-water petty-bourgeois following which hangs like a millstone round your necks. Clemenceau is now faced with a last crucial decision, but we can be almost sure that he will not hesitate to join the bourgeois camp, in which case, though he will indeed become a minister, he will be done for.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

[London,] 3 March 1886

Dear Sir,

Would you kindly send Williams & Norgate, 14 Henrietta St., Covent Garden, London — 1 copy of *Socialism: Utopian etc.* together

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[a] See this volume, pp. 409-10. - [b] Ibid., p. 414.

with bill (incl. postage) in a wrapper — these people applied to me (they are my booksellers and, incidentally, publishers, a big firm) and I wrote and told them that my things are always to be had from the Volksbuchhandlung.[a]

Mrs Wischnewetzky played you a rotten trick with her ms.[349] For upon her insisting it was a matter of life and death, I had to buckle to straight away, and now the English translation of *Capital* has got to be done without delay, competition having cropped up (see *To-Day*) [527] in a menacing form. So if all is not to be lost, I must forge ahead and drop everything else, including the *Peasant War*.[213] The rival translation is, by the way, quite shocking, but so much the worse if it's not elbowed out forthwith.

Kindest regards,

Yours,
F. E.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

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## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY [27]

### IN ZURICH

London, 12 March 1886

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

Deep buried as I am in the English *Capital*,[56] I have only the time to write a few lines in haste. It did not require all your exposition of the circumstances to convince me that you were perfectly innocent of what had been done in America with your translation.[b] The thing is done and can't be helped, though we both are convinced that it was a mistake.[c]

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[a] a Social Democratic bookshop in Zurich - [b] the English translation of Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* - [c] See this volume, pp. 415-16.

I thank you for pointing out to me a passage in the appendix[552] which indeed is far from clear. The gradation from the Polish Jew to the Hamburger, and from the Hamburger again to the Manchester merchant does not at all come out to the front. So I have tried to alter it in a way which may meet both your and my own objection to it and hope I have succeeded.

And now I cannot conclude without expressing to you my most sincere thanks to you for the very great trouble you have taken to revive, in English, a book of mine which is half-forgotten in the original German.

Ever at your service as far as my time and powers allow, believe me, dear Mrs Wischnewetzky

Yours very faithfully,
F. Engels

The dedication to the English working men should be left out.[359] It has no meaning to-day.

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## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

### IN BENEVENTO

London, 12 March 1886

Dear Citizen,

Please excuse the belated reply.

I have received your kind letter of 8 February and the manuscript,[a] which I shall deal with as soon as possible. But at the moment I am

[a] of the Italian translation of Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital*

obliged before anything else to check through the English translation of *Capital*, Volume I, which is most pressing and must be printed without delay [56]; it is no easy task. When I have a free moment I shall devote it to your work.

I have also received, and I thank you for them, the 6 copies of the *Origin etc.* [302]

I am sorry that my error 'Paolo' caused you inconvenience. [553] I shall not repeat it.

I must get hold of the calendar in order to restore the passage that was stuck and illegible [554]; I hope to find it here in London at a friend's house; this is another cause of delay.

I am sorry I cannot do better and more quickly than this, but the English *Capital* must take precedence; in any case I am committed by a deadline to the publisher. [a]

With respect I remain

F. Engels

I hope to spare some time in April on *Wage Labour and Capital*.

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## 246

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 12 March [b] 1886

Dear Mr Schlüter,

If I am to send you a speedy reply, I shall have to be brief.

1) The man with the money has not yet turned up.

2) We have Lexis [c] here. Thanks for the hint.

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[a] William Swan Sonnenschein - [b] May in the original. - [c] W. Lexis, 'Die Marx'sche Kapitaltheorie', *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, Vol. 11, Jena, 1885.

3) *Origin.*[a] This business of the '2nd edition' has its dubious aspects, but when I consider that the two markets are completely different and that the '1st edition' is therefore unlikely to get in the way of the '2nd', it's unlikely to do much harm.[555] Admittedly I should have been happier had Dietz consulted us first. He has behaved very arbitrarily in the past over other matters. This time it was quite unnecessary; he could, e.g., easily have informed me about the matter through Kautsky. But he likes *faits accomplis* and I shall get someone to tell him as much.

4) Reports of the International.[556] I was in Manchester at the time and can't really remember the details. The General Council did, at any rate, send a MESSAGE to all the congresses, but Marx's papers and pamphlets are all of them still in the unsorted state they were in when I lugged them over here and it will take about 6 weeks to put them in order. However I've asked Kautsky to make inquiries from Lessner; I should be very surprised if he hasn't collected everything.

5) Stephens' Speech.[557] Yes, the thing is by Weerth.

As to the introduction, I shall be glad to go through your ms. But here too there are few sources and the bourgeois have been responsible for some serious falsification. Last year Harney scoured the whole of Yorkshire, Lancashire and London for one copy of *The Northern Star*, the paper which he had edited and which had had a circulation of 100,000 copies. In vain. Evanescence—such is the curse that afflicts all proletarian literature not included in official literature. Thus Owen's works are nowhere to be had and the BRITISH MUSEUM would pay a great deal of money for a complete collection. A genuine account will therefore be difficult. The Brentanos and Co. know *nothing.* The Charter[101] was drawn up in 1835, *not* 1838, and O'Connel[b] was also involved if I'm not mistaken. What Brentano says about the petition is utter nonsense[c]; after 10 April the bourgeois of *both* parties stuck together and in such a case lies are always disseminated, it being impossible to refute them either in Parliament or in the press. Even if a House of Commons Committee did scrutinise the petition (which I very much doubt), it would have been quite incapable of distinguishing the genuine from the bogus.[558] But in the spring of 1848, no one was able to take much interest in such dirty

[a] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.* - [b] O'Connell in the original. - [c] L. Brentano, 'Die englische Chartistenbewegung', *Preußische Jahrbücher*, Nos. 5, 6, Berlin, 1874.

goings-on; there were other things to do. Besides, we weren't in England.

With kindest regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 247

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 15-16 March 1886

My dear Laura,

You complain of the weather, and you are in Paris! Look at us here—nothing above freezing-point for the last ten days, a cutting east wind, of which you don't know which is the worst, the north-east or the south-east,—and to-night a fresh *couche de neige*[a] on streets and roofs. Nim is at her second cold, but it's getting better, I had one too, Pumps and Percy are in the same boat too, fortunately the children are well. However there must be an end to this some time, only I wish it would come.

The English *Capital* is at last getting into shape and form.[56] I have the whole ms. here and begun revising. Saving the 1st chapter which will require a severe overhauling, the first 200 pages of the original German are ready to go to press. I saw Kegan Paul last week, declined his proposals of two years ago and submitted mine. They were accepted in principle. This, with a man like Kegan Paul who is on all hands described as extremely slipping, means very little, and I expect there will be a tussle with him yet. But that matters nothing at all, because our position in the market has improved wonderfully and we have at least one other good firm who will be glad to take it on

[a] cover of snow

very favourable terms. As soon as the thing is concluded I will let you know.

The book will be published end of September so as not to come out in the dead season, and this gives me time to do the revising work thoroughly. Practically 300 pages of the original are revised, but the last 500 I have not as yet looked at, and there are some very difficult chapters there. And it would never do to hurry over them.

Broadhouse-Hyndman goes on translating 'from the original German' in *To-Day*.[527] He has in the sixth monthly number just finished Chapter I. But his 'original German' is the *French translation* now, and he insists on proving that with French he can play ducks and drakes quite as much as with German. The thing does so little harm, so far, that Kegan Paul never even mentioned it. But it has done this good that I have got Moore and Edward to finish their work. You have no idea how difficult it is to get hold of this *To-Day*. I have paid in advance but have to dun them almost every month for my copy, moreover it comes out at all times of the *next* month. Tussy last year went and paid for a copy to be sent to you but as far as I have heard it was never sent! However there is nothing whatever in it except—Christian Socialism!

You will have seen from *Justice*—that at least you do receive in exchange for the *Socialiste*—how Hyndman keeps up his alliance with Brousse and even ignores the new proletarian party in the Chamber.[559]

To me, this appearance of a *parti ouvrier*[a] in the Palais Bourbon, is *the* great event of the year. The ice is now broken with which the Radicals[429] had so far succeeded to cover the working masses of France. These Radicals are now forced to come out in their true colours, or else follow the lead of Basly. The latter they will not do for long, nor willingly. Whatever they do, they must alienate the masses and drive them to us, and that quick. Events move rapidly, the Decazeville affair could not come more opportunely than it has done.[545] *C'est coup sur coup*.[b] And a very good thing it is that this takes place not in Paris but in one of the darkest and most reactionary and clerical corners of *la province*. I am exceedingly curious to learn how the affair has terminated to-day in the Chamber.[c] But whatever is done, must turn out to our benefit.

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[a] workers' party - [b] One follows upon another. - [c] See this volume, p. 428.

The reappearance of France on the scene of the proletarian movement '*comme grande puissance*'[a] will have a tremendous effect everywhere, especially in Germany and America; in Germany I have done my best to let them know the full importance of the event, and sent Basly's speech[b] to Bebel; Camélinat[c] will follow as soon as I get it back from Kautsky. How furious Longuet must be that his old friend and as he believed protégé Camélinat has turned his back upon him!

At the same time, our Paris friends have done whatever they could to pave the way so that the event, when it came, found a *terrain préparé*.[d] Their action since the elections has been perfectly correct — their attempt to rally all revolutionary proletarian elements, their forbearance towards the Possibilists,[237] their limiting their attacks to those points and facts which showed Brousse and Co. as simple obstacles to union — all this was just what it should have been. And they are now reaping the fruits: Brousse has been driven into a position where he must find fault with Basly and Co. and thereby sever the last bond which still united him to the movement of the masses. *Savoir attendre*[e] — that is what our friends have learnt at last, and that will carry them through. Paul will be, if he likes, in the Palais Bourbon before Longuet.

A *citoyen* Hermann has applied to me for an addressed adhesion to what I suppose is your meeting on the 18th.[560] I send it[f] to you herewith 1) to be sure that it falls into the proper hands and 2) that you and Paul may look over and mend my rickety French.

Now good night, it's one o'clock and I must look over some papers yet to get them out of the way of to-morrow. Kind regards to Paul.

Yours most affectionately,

F. Engels

16th March. Just seen the *ordre du jour*[g] adopted by the Chamber.[h] It sounds rather different to all previous *ordres du jour* voted under similar circumstances. It is a decided victory for us, and Freycinet too

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[a] 'as a great power'.- [b] E. J. Basly's speech in the Chamber of Deputies on 11 February 1886 (*Le Cri du Peuple*, No. 837, 12 February 1886).- [c] Z. R. Camélinat's speech in the Chamber of Deputies on 11 March 1886 (*Le Cri du Peuple*, No. 866, 13 March 1886).- [d] fertilised soil - [e] To be able to wait - [f] F. Engels, 'On the Anniversary of the Paris Commune'. - [g] Order of the Day - [h] 'Réglement de l'ordre du jour', *Le Cri du Peuple*, No. 867, 14 March 1886.

*pfeift aus einem andern Loch als früher.*[a] *La situation devient sérieuse pour MM. les Radicaux.*[b]

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## 248

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL [521]

### IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 18 March 1886

Dear Bebel,

I am up to my eyes in the revision of the English translation of *Capital,* Volume I, which is at last on the point of coming out,[56] but since the business of Liebknecht's fund is urgent, I shall have to take a moment or two so as to be able to answer your letter quickly. Herewith, then my contribution,—a cheque for £10 on the UNION BANK OF London.[561]

Many thanks for the Anti-Socialist Law and spirits monopoly debates[c] and the *Bürger-Zeitung.*

It is indeed striking how faithfully the Anti-Socialist Law debate reflects the mood of the majority in the parliamentary group. Unable, presumably, to do as they wished they had, willy-nilly, to voice relatively correct opinions, and the impression made by the debate is, on the whole, very good, particularly since Singer was compelled by the Ihring case [562] to speak pretty sharply. In general these people, not excepting even Frohme, are not too bad when they have to come out against the police, either in their own interests or in those of their constituents and hence keep the worthy citizen well out of sight, for one of their besetting sins is this very worthiness which seeks to convince an opponent rather than fight him because 'our cause is, after all, so noble and so just' that any other worthy citizen is bound to come over

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[a] sings another tune than before - [b] The situation is getting grave for Messrs the Radicals. - [c] See *Berliner Volksblatt,* Nos. 42, 43, 54-56; 19 and 20 February and 5-7 March 1886 (Supplement).

to us if only he can be made to understand it aright. This appeal to worthy sentiments, which neither recognises nor wishes to recognise the interests by which those sentiments are unconsciously motivated, is one of the chief characteristics of the philistinism which is peculiar to Germany and would be impossible over here or in France, either in parliament or in literature.

Never have I come across anything so tedious as the spirits debate; even Bamberger's jokes were as bad as ever, if not worse. So what matter if, after that, Schumacher also spoke tediously, proceeding to make what amounted to a naked appeal for '*etatisation*' [*Verstaatlichungs*]. Richter's speech, based on statistics, was quite the best.

I would not venture to pass judgment on Liebknecht's speech as reported in the *Bürger-Zeitung*. So much depends on nuances and the manner in which something is said and, in a summarised report, all that gets lost.[563]

I have not seen the account by Kautsky of which you speak. But as regards Hyndman, his behaviour in Trafalgar Square and Hyde Park on 8 February did far more harm than good.[538] Revolutionary ranting, which in France would be seen as the outmoded rubbish it is and do no harm, is sheer folly over here, where the masses are totally unprepared; it puts off the proletariat, encouraging only the worthless elements and, in this country, lends itself to but one interpretation, namely incitement to looting which in fact ensued, so that we shall be lastingly discredited over here, even in the eyes of the working class. As for its having drawn attention to socialism, you over there cannot know the extent to which, after centuries of freedom of the press and of assembly and its accompanying publicity, the public has become completely impervious to such methods. True, the initial alarm of the middle classes was quite funny, and brought in a subscription of some £40,000 for the unemployed — in all about £70,000 — but that has already been spent, nothing else is forthcoming and poverty is as before. What has been achieved is to equate socialism with looting in the minds of the bourgeois public and, while this may not have made matters much worse, it has certainly got us no further. You might think that Hyndman showed great courage and so it might seem. But Hyndman, as I have learnt from Morris and others, is a coward and has behaved as such on crucial occasions. This doesn't prevent him, having once got himself into a dangerous fix, from drowning his cowardice in his own clamour and giving vent to the most bloodthirsty utterances. But this only makes him all the more of a menace to his

colleagues — for no one, neither he nor they, can tell beforehand what he is going to do. Fortunately the whole business has been pretty well forgotten over here.

I wholly agree with your view that periods of prosperity of over 6 months will cease to recur. The only prospect of a reactivation of trade — directly where iron, at any rate, is concerned and otherwise indirectly — lies in the possible opening up of China to railway construction and hence the destruction of the only remaining closed and self-sufficient civilisation based on a combination of agriculture and handicrafts. But 6 months will be enough to discount that, after which we shall, perhaps, experience yet another *acute* crisis. Apart from destroying Britain's monopoly of the world market, the new methods of communication — the electric telegraph, the railways, the Suez Canal and the supplanting of sail by steam — have gone some way towards breaking down the ten-year industrial cycle. If China is opened up, not only will overproduction risk losing its last safety-valve, but emigration from China will assume such massive proportions that this alone will suffice to revolutionise conditions of production throughout America, Australia and India, even to the extent of affecting Europe — if it lasts itself till then.

Bismarck's folly is indeed becoming excessive. But it has one recurring theme — *more money*! His craziest schemes always and infallibly involve the voting of subsidies, and the National-Liberal gents [243] seem to have a positive passion for providing him with yet more cash.

Another victory in France. Camélinat's question[a] about Decazeville [545] provoked a three-day debate, while on Saturday,[b] 7 motions to proceed to the Order of the Day were thrown out, until finally the government and the Radical gents [429] agreed a resolution[c] unprecedented in French parliamentary history and which was passed on Monday [564]: That this Chamber proceed to the Order of the Day, confident that the Government will move all the necessary amendments to mining legislation and that its conduct in Decazeville will be dictated by the rights of the State and the interests of Labour.

The rights of Labour—it's absolutely unheard-of! And as if that was not enough, a decision unfavourable to the company which is wholly dependent on a *state concession* and now sees the terms of that concession turned against itself. All this, of course, is still on paper,

[a] See Z. R. Camélinat's speech in the Chamber of Deputies on 11 March 1886 (*Le Cri du Peuple*, No. 866, 13 March 1886). - [b] 13 March - [c] 'Réglement de l'ordre du jour', *Le Cri du Peuple*, No. 867, 14 March 1886.

but for a first step it's enough. The whole political situation in France has been revolutionised by the initiative of the three working men. The Radicals, who also call themselves socialists and who are, in fact, the representatives of French national socialism, of what survives of Proudhon and Louis Blanc, but who, as ministerial candidates, must make sure of keeping in with the republican bourgeoisie, are now compelled to show themselves in their true colours. The cool, almost hostile attitude they adopted from the outset towards the labour deputies, has shown the mass of the workers what is what; suddenly the latter see, alongside the 'eddicated' Radicals, *genuine* working-class socialists whom they joyously acclaim. The Radicals, incl. Clemenceau, must either temporarily renounce their ministerial aspirations and follow in Basly's and Camélinat's footsteps, or jeopardise their re-election. All of a sudden the question of capital and labour is included in the agenda, albeit as yet in very elementary form (rates of pay, the right to strike and, possibly, mining on a cooperative basis), but nevertheless it's there and there to stay. Since the workers of France, however, had received such a first-rate grounding from their history and from the altogether outstanding behaviour of our people during the past 2 years, nothing more was required to spark off the explosion but an event such as the Decazeville strike, combined with the stupidity of the Radicals in including 3 working men in their list of candidates. Now things will move fast in France. You'll have seen how afraid the Radicals are from the resolutions taken by the municipal councils of Paris, Lyons, etc., to vote money for the Decazeville strikers.[a] This again is unprecedented.

If that's the state your voice is in, don't go to America.[518] The demands made on the vocal chords by what is universal practice there far exceed anything you can imagine. But anyway we shall look forward to seeing you over here in the autumn.

Time for the post, too late for registration. Please send me a postcard acknowledging receipt of the cheque.

Your
F. E.

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[a] See *Le Socialiste*, Nos. 28 and 29, 6 and 13 March 1886.

## 249

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [196]

### IN PARIS

London, 20 March 1886

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith the cheque for £12. Yesterday I was again disturbed. It always happens when there is an urgent task to be done.

Monday's [a] vote in the Chamber was a great victory.[b] For the first time a French Chamber has sided with labour against capital—greatly against its will! But Basly & Co. have been valiantly supported by the monarchist gents who, after their relative victory at the polls,[447] are in a state of high excitement and evidently believe—notably in their capacity as capitalists, shareholders, etc.—that they can do anything they please. Placed as they are between an ultra-monarchist group and the revolutionary workers, they had to plump for the latter. At least they are Republicans and, after all, low finance, as represented by the Opportunists and Radicals,[429] has no desire to restore the régime of high finance that was toppled with MacMahon and Thiers.[463]

It was what I suspected—this reappearance of Malon's behind the scenes.[565] A parliamentary party embracing every shade of possibilism with Malon for secret leader—what a beautiful dream! The same old Bakuninist tactics which, so far as these intriguers are concerned, are now much more deeply ingrained than the bombastic language of anarchism! A firm stand must be made against these endeavours. If you can ensure that Basly and Camélinat—even on their own—carry on as they have begun and refuse to let themselves be persuaded to join a party *where they would form an impotent minority,* then the game is won. Any negotiations on their part would be the ruin of them and could only further the Radical cause. So long as they go forward with a firm tread and pay no heed to the honeyed words of the moderators

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[a] of 15 March - [b] See previous letter.

and mediators, all this confusion will be swept away, like it or not. It is not good will that activates these gentry; rather it is fear and fear alone that has created such little good will as they have and this, when all is said and done, is the good will to spoil what Basly has begun and nothing else. Moreover such a party is out of the question. Either Basly or Camélinat will turn traitor, which I don't believe, or they will be forced to part company with these gentry as soon as the first important problem arises. It would therefore be better not to enter into an alliance with them.

Your article in the *Revue nouvelle*[a] gave me much pleasure. Obviously one makes some 'ALLOWANCE' for what you are permitted to say in a periodical of that kind. Even so, I was surprised at the number of risqué allusions you were allowed to get away with—but she[b] is a woman, she has a definite standpoint. Had the editor-in-chief been a man, you would have found yourself up against a much more ferocious brand of morality.[566] What with the *Journal des Économistes*, the *Revue philosophique* and Juliette, you are now well launched in literature of a primarily official nature.[567] And since you write better French (because more 16th-century and less Parisian) than others, you ought to succeed.

Juliette amused me much with her high foreign policy.[568] This is Blowitz to the life, though less grotesque in form.

Fortunately the SOCIALIST LEAGUE[346] is dormant for the time being. Our good Bax and Morris, craving to do something (if only they knew what?), are restrained only by the fact that there is absolutely nothing to do. Moreover they have far more truck with the anarchists than is desirable. Their celebrations on the 18th were held in concert with the latter[569] and Kropotkin spoke there—twaddle, or so they tell me. All this will pass, if only because there is absolutely nothing to be done over here just now. But with Hyndman, who is well versed in political imposture and capable of all sorts of folly when his self-advancement is at stake—with the said Hyndman on the one hand and our two political babes in arms on the other, prospects are by no means bright. Yet now we have socialist papers abroad proclaiming at the top of their voices that socialism in England is

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[a] P. Lafargue, 'Le Matriarcat. Étude sur les origines de la famille', *La Nouvelle Revue*, Vol. 39, March-April 1886, pp. 301-36. - [b] Juliette Adam

marching forward with gigantic strides! I am very glad to say that what passes for socialism here in England is not on the march—far from it.

Yours ever,
F. E.

By the way, Bax has published a short history of philosophy that has some very good stuff in it.[a]

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## 250

## ENGELS TO VERA ZASULICH

### IN GENEVA

London, 31 March 1886

Dear Citizen,

Many thanks for sending me the translation of *The Poverty of Philosophy*, which has been safely received.[185]

When opening the parcel I tore the part showing the sender's address. After a good deal of trouble I managed to reassemble the pieces well enough to decipher the address I am using today. But since I don't know whether I have read it correctly, I would ask you to advise me of your address once again, as I should like to send you a copy of the Russian translation of Volume II of *Capital*, which has arrived from St Petersburg.[570]

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[a] E. B. Bax, *A Handbook of the History of Philosophy for the Use of Students*.

Please accept my apologies for the inconvenience caused by my clumsiness.

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

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## 251

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN LEIPZIG

London, 12 April 1886

Dear Bebel,

Thank you for the debate on the Anti-Socialist Law—it pleased me tremendously.[571] Here again we have something that does credit to the movement and this is the impression it gives from beginning to end. Even Liebknecht was quite his old self again; competition from the French seems to have had a good effect on him.[a] I like the spectacle of the whole gang—or pack of dogs rather—crowding round you barking and snapping, only to be beaten off by the lash of a whip. What a mercy that, apart from you and Liebknecht, only Vollmar spoke a word or two, and that Singer, the victim of a concerted attack, was compelled to hit back hard, while the tractable majority held their tongues.

The gentlemen's fears about regicide are too ludicrous. Surely they or their fathers have all of them sung:

Has ever man had such hard luck
As our poor Burgomaster Tschech,
He shot at Fatty two paces away
And yet his bullet went astray.

[a] See this volume, pp. 424-25.

True, the German bourgeoisie still had some vitality in those days; another example of the difference is that 1844 saw the appearance of *Das Lied von Freifrau von Droste-Vischering*,[572] whereas now the *Kulturkampf*[462] is being waged with the most humdrum weapons wielded by the most flaccid hands.

The socialists here have been acquitted.[538] I am sending you today's copy of the highly Conservative *Standard* (also a *Cri du Peuple*) containing an account of the final hearing.[a] You will be able to see from it how a judge goes about his business in England (though admittedly not in *Ireland*!). Translated from legal jargon, what he said was: The law on seditious speeches applies to the accused, but the law is outdated and invalid in practice. Otherwise you would have to convict every radical spokesman and minister. All you have to ask yourselves, therefore, is this: Was it, or was it not, the intention of the accused that there should be looting on 8 February?[b] And Cave is one of England's 16 principal judges.

The verdict is a fine advertisement for Hyndman, but it has come too late. He has contrived to ruin his organisation beyond hope of repair; in London it's fizzling out, while in the provinces the various organisations have adopted a neutral, wait-and-see attitude to the rifts down here. *Summa summarum* the two organisations—FEDERATION and LEAGUE[346]—have a combined paid-up membership of less than 2,000 and their papers[c] a combined readership of less than 5,000—the majority being sympathisers in the persons of bourgeois, priests, literati, etc. As things are now, it is truly fortunate that these immature elements are failing to penetrate the masses. They must first complete the process of fermentation, after which all may be well.

For the rest, one might almost be back in the days of the International. Only this morning a whole stack of German, French, Spanish and Belgian papers arrived and are taking up time I ought to be devoting to the English translation of *Capital*.[56] I only hope there isn't a bust-up before I've managed to finish the 3rd volume—after that it can come, so far as I'm concerned.

Things are going splendidly in Decazeville.[545] You will see from the report *(Cri du Peuple)* of last Sunday's meeting[d] (a week ago yes-

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[a] *Le Cri du Peuple*, No. 888, 4 April 1886. - [b] See this volume, pp. 403-04, 406-08. - [c] *Justice* and *The Commonweal* - [d] *Le Cri du Peuple*, No. 888, 4 April 1886.

terday) which I am sending you today how skilfully those Parisians, who have been decried as revolutionary braggarts, contrive without relinquishing their revolutionary posture to advocate calm and lawfulness during the strike. It is indicative of the progress the French have made, thanks to the revolutionary soil on which they stand, that in their case there is a complete absence of that mass of sophistries and second thoughts which still confuse the minds of so many people in Germany. That one should proceed lawfully or unlawfully, depending on the circumstances, is taken entirely for granted over there and no one sees anything inconsistent in it. As to Paris, it is significant that up till yesterday the *Cri du Peuple* had raised 35,000 frs for Decazeville, but Rochefort's *Intransigeant* less than 11,000.

Bismarck, who appears to have been in a frightful rage, though obviously speaking for the benefit of the Crown Prince,[a] will doubtless get a reply from Laura and Tussy to the ludicrous insinuations he made about Marx.[573] Of the other speeches, Hänel's[b] was the best from a legal viewpoint; he came out with the absurd demand that a citizen should conform to the law not only outwardly but also *inwardly*—that such a thing should be called for, that the mere *intention* and the public expression thereof, could be held punishable by deprivation of rights shows how debased all middle-class concepts of legality have become in Germany—not that they have ever prevailed over there save in the case of the oppositional bourgeoisie; what has, in fact, always prevailed is the illegality of a police state, which in other countries (always excepting Ireland) could only assert itself shamefacedly and in the guise of a *coup de main*.

Must close because registration time (5 o'clock) draws near.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Frederick William - [b] A. Hänel's speech in the Reichstag on 31 March 1886 (*Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstags. VI. Legislaturperiode. II. Session 1885/86*, Vol. III, Berlin, 1886, pp. 1766-1770).

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## ENGELS TO PHILIPP VICTOR PAULI[a]

IN RHEINAU

London, 12 April 1886

Heartiest congratulations on Clara's engagement.

Friedrich Engels

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## 253

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 28 April 1886

My dear Laura,

The English translation of *Capital* is awful work.[56] First they[b] translate. Then I revise and enter suggestions in pencil. Then it goes back to them. Then conference for settlement of doubtful points. Then I have to go through the whole again, to see that everything is made ready for the press, stylistically and technically, and all the quotations, which Tussy has looked up in the English originals, fitted in properly. So far I have finished 300 pages of the German, and shall soon have about 100 more. But then there is another hitch. Edward has missed translating some 50 pages of his share, and these I hope to get by the end of the week. As soon as I have got these, I shall stir up

[a] Written on Engels' visiting card. - [b] Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling

Kegan Paul's drowsiness.[a] The wily Scot who still fancies that we do not know our favourable position in the market, plays a waiting game, but will find himself awfully mistaken one fine morning. It is we that can afford to wait, and we intend to wait until we are quite ready to begin to print, say in a week. And as we have a written offer from another firm, we can stick to our terms.

This must serve as an excuse for my last short letter [39] and the delay that has taken place since. The fact is we must begin to print by middle of May so as to be ready to publish by end of September. And that we can, though it will keep me hard at work till far into June at least.

Your *billet-doux* to Bismarck [573] is making great stir in Germany. Bebel writes[b]:

'Die Erklärung von Laura und Eleanor Marx ist famos, der grösste Teil der deutschen Presse nimmt davon Notiz, hütet sich selbstverständlich sie abzudrucken. Otto wird wütend sein, für dergleichen Angriffe ist er sehr empfindlich.'[c]

The effect of the new departure in France [574] is plainly visible in the debate on the Socialist Law in Berlin.[571] Library[d] would hardly have ventured to come out so strongly again in his best old manner, had it not been that events in Paris and Decazeville [545] had stirred him up again a bit. This competition is invaluable for our people in Germany. The split and dissensions in Paris gave the philistine section amongst them a pretext for looking down, *de haut en bas,* upon the French, as if they, themselves, had not wallowed for years in splits, quarrels and dissensions; and they began to talk as if they, the German *kleinbürgerliche*[e] *section* of the party, were the leaders of the universal movement. That precious bit of chauvinism has now been effectually knocked on the head. Unfortunately the Socialist Law has this one effect that it excludes pretty effectually the circulation of such papers as the *Socialiste* and *Cri du Peuple,* and that the daily, *current* information about France has to be taken from the vile

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[a]See this volume, p. 423. - [b] in his letter to Engels of 23 April 1886 - [c] 'Laura and Eleanor Marx's statement is excellent. The greater part of the German press have published notices about it but understandably take care not to reprint it. Otto [Bismarck] will be furious, for he is sensitive to such attacks.' - [d] Wilhelm Liebknecht's nickname given to him by Marx's daughters. - [e] *petty-bourgeois*

bourgeois papers. I have sent on the *Cris* and *Intransigeants* you sent me, to Bebel and Liebknecht but that does not go much further and may not always reach them.

It strikes me as very curious that I see nothing of the Villefranche judgment being appealed against.[575] As far as I know there is a double appeal 1) on account of the alleged incompetency of the court, 2) against the judgment as such; and then a final *pourvoi en cassation*[a] on both these issues. It seems to me well worth while to go in for that, if only to expose the infamy of the courts and keep the thing before the public.

I scarcely dare hope that Roche will get in next Sunday.[576] Not having read any *Cris* for about a week, I do not know what other candidates besides Gaulier are in the field. But anyhow the poll will show a great progress and be enough to frighten the Radicals[429] still more.

Here all is muddle. Bax and Morris are getting deeper and deeper into the hands of a few anarchist phraseurs, and write nonsense with increasing intensity. The turning of *The Commonweal* into a 'weekly' — absurd in every respect — has given Edward a chance of getting out of his responsibility for this now incalculable organ.[577] Bax *à la recherche*,[b] by means of half-digested Hegelian dialectic, of extreme and paradox propositions, and Morris going head foremost, bull fashion, against 'parliamentarism', will have to learn by experience what sort of people their anarchist friends are. It would be ridiculous to expect the working class to take the slightest notice of these various vagaries of what is by courtesy called English Socialism, and it is very fortunate that it is so: These gentlemen have quite enough to do to set their own brains in order.

Schorlemmer who is here, and Nim have taken little Lily to the Zoo, Pumps is going to Manchester for a few days. In our evening chats we talk a good deal of your promised coming over to London. When is that to be? Schorlemmer says you had mentioned something about Paul coming over at the same time. That would be all the better. Anyhow it is getting time that these good intentions set about developing into more or less tangible plans and projects, the season for execution is not too long in this blessed climate.

Did you see in last *Sozialdemokrat* the affair about Kalle and the *Weibergemeinschaft*[578]? That fellow was nicely caught. He is a great

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[a] appeal - [b] in search

light among the National Liberals[243] and has large chemical (dyestuff) works at Wiesbaden.

Love from Schorlemmer and Nim and yours affectionately,

F. Engels

Paul I hope will excuse if I do not write to him as often as I should like.

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## 254

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[521]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 29 April 1886

Dear Sorge,

Have received your letters of 15 and 28 February and 8 March, and postcard of 21 March.

In most cases the notes contained in the ms. are the same as those Marx made in his copy for the 3rd edition.[526] In the case of those which provide for more insertions from the French, I would not commit myself unequivocally 1) because the work done for the 3rd edition is of much later date and hence, for me, more authoritative, 2) because, in respect of a translation to be made in America, i. e. outside his own orbit, Marx might have preferred some of the passages to be translated correctly from the simplified French version rather than incorrectly from the German — a consideration which no longer applies. Nevertheless, it has provided me with very useful tips which will, in due course, also come in handy for the 4th German edition. As soon as I have finished with it I shall return it to you by registered post.

The *Volkszeitung* and *Sozialist* are now arriving regularly. Over the past fortnight I have sent you *To-Day* and *Commonweal*, March and April. Also yesterday *To-Day*, May, the delay being due solely to the slovenliness of the publishers. Should you require anything else let me know.

Broadhouse (Hyndman)'s translation of *Capital* is a complete farce.[527] The 1st chapter was from the German, full of mistakes to the point of absurdity.[a] Now he's translating from the French, and making the same mistakes. At the rate it's now going, the thing won't be finished before 1900.

Thanks for the *Kalender*. I certainly had no idea that Douai was so grossly neglected a great man.[579] May he take with him to the grave the knowledge of his greatness as of its total neglect, without first seeing it compressed into a sugar mould. But he was the right man for America and, had he remained an ordinary Democrat, I should have wished him the best of luck. As it was, however, he went whoring after false gods.

As for the purist who quibbles about our style and our punctuation he doesn't know either German or English, otherwise he could not discover Anglicisms where there aren't any.[580] The German of which he's so enamoured and which was drummed into us at school, with its frightful periodic structure whereby the verb is put right at the end and is separated from its subject by ten miles of subclauses, is a German which it has taken me thirty years to *un*learn. This bureaucratic, pedagogical German, which completely ignores the fact that Lessing ever existed, is now on its last legs even in Germany. What would this worthy say were he to hear our people speaking in the Reichstag? Having done away with this horrible syntax because forever getting bogged down in it, they expressed themselves in that place like Jews[b]: 'Faced with this dilemma, Bismarck chose to kiss the pope's behind rather than the lips of the revolution', etc. Little Lasker was responsible for this improvement and it's the only good thing he ever did. Were the purist gent to go to Germany with his pedagogical German, he would be told that he spoke American. 'You know how petty your educated German philistine is' — especially so in America, it would seem. German syntax and punctuation, as taught at school 40 or 50

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[a] See this volume, p. 424. - [b] Engels is referring to the more straightforward German syntax frequently employed by Jews, as exemplified in the sentence he then proceeds to quote.

years ago, are fit only for the scrap-heap to which, in Germany, they're being well and truly consigned.

I think I wrote and told you that an American lady[a] married to a Russian[b] has taken it into her head to translate my old book.[c] I have looked over the translation and this entailed a lot of work. But she had written to say that publication was assured and that I must do it at once, so I had to buckle to. It now transpires that she had entrusted the negotiations to a Miss Foster, secretary of a WOMEN'S RIGHTS society, who had been foolish enough to give the thing to the Socialist Labor Party.[550] I told the translator what I thought of this,[d] but the damage had been done. For the rest, I am glad that these folk aren't translating anything of mine — a fine mess they'd make of it. Their German is bad enough, let alone their English!

The *Volkszeitung* people must be pleased with themselves. They have gained complete control over the movement amongst the Germans, and business must be flourishing. That a man like Dietzgen should go to the wall is understandable enough.[529] Playing around with the boycott and minor STRIKES is, of course, far more important than theoretical guidance. But despite all this, the cause is making enormous strides in America. For the first time there is a real mass movement amongst the English-speaking population. That it should still be feeling its way, awkwardly, at random and in ignorance, is inevitable. But all this will right itself; the movement must and will evolve by learning from its own mistakes. Theoretical ignorance is an attribute of all young nations, but so is speedy practical development. In America as in England no amount of exhortation will help until the need is really there. And in America it is there, as is a growing awareness of it. The entry of the indigenous working masses into the movement in America is for me one of the great events of 1886.[581] As for the Germans over there, let the presently prosperous kind gradually assimilate with the Americans — they'll still be a step or two ahead of the latter and a nucleus will nevertheless remain which will still retain a theoretical grasp of the nature and progress of the movement as a whole, will keep the process of fermentation going and, eventually, rise to the top again.

The second great event of 1886 is the formation of a workers' party in the French Chamber by Basly and Camélinat, two working-class deputies who, for appearances' sake, were included in the list and given a leg up by the Radicals,[429] but failed to play the game and, in-

[a] Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky - [b] Lazar Wischnewetzky - [c] *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*; see this volume, pp. 393-94. - [d] See this volume, p. 415.

stead of becoming the servants of the Radical gents, took the floor as working men. The Decazeville STRIKE[545] brought to a head the split between them — they were joined by 5 other deputies — and the Radicals.[a] The latter were thus forced to spell out their policy to the workers and, since it is only thanks to the Radicals that the government exists, this was highly distasteful, for it meant that they were rightly held responsible by the workers for everything done by the government. In short, the Radicals, Clemenceau et al, behaved contemptibly, with a result which no amount of exhortation had hitherto succeeded in bringing about, namely *the defection of the French workers from the Radicals*. And a further result was the uniting of all socialist groups for the purpose of joint action. Only the miserable Possibilists[237] held aloof, in consequence of which they are steadily going to pieces. This NEW DEPARTURE has been tremendously helped along by the government's foolishness, notably its attempt to raise a loan of 900 million frs for which purpose it needed the big financiers, while the latter, being also shareholders in Decazeville, refused their money unless the government broke the STRIKE. Hence the arrest of Duc and Roche[575]; the workers' riposte was to put up Roche in Paris as a candidate (for the Chamber) in next Sunday's elections and Duc (Quercy) as a candidate for the municipal council, where he is certain to get in.[576] In short, France can again boast a splendid movement, and this is making spanking progress but, best of all, our men, Guesde, Lafargue and Deville, are its theoretical leaders.

Nor has it been without repercussions in Germany. The revolutionary language and actions of the French have shown how lacklustre are the jeremiads of your Geisers, Vierecks, Auers & Co., which is why, in the recent Anti-Socialist Law debate, only Bebel and Liebknecht spoke, and very well too.[571] After this debate we can show our faces in decent company again, which is something we can by no means do after all of them. On the whole, it's a good thing that German pre-eminence should not remain altogether unchallenged, especially now that so many philistine elements have been elected (inevitable though this may have been). In Germany, when times are quiet, there is a general tendency to philistinism, and then the spur of French competition is absolutely indispensable. Nor will it be lacking. From being a sect, French socialism has suddenly become a party and

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[a] See this volume, p. 409.

only now and because of this has it become possible for the workers to join *en masse*, for the latter are sick to the teeth of sectarianism, which explains why they adhered to the extreme bourgeois party, the Radicals. Next Sunday's elections should already see a great step forward, although we can hardly expect Roche to get in.

I believe that the printing of the English translation of *Capital*, Volume I, will begin in 2 or 3 weeks' time. I haven't nearly finished revising it, but 300 pages are completely ready for the press, and another 200 very nearly so.

One more thing. Not long ago a Mr J. T. McEnnis interviewed me for the purpose of seeking my advice on labour legislation, ostensibly on behalf of the State of Missouri. I soon smelt a journalistic rat and, indeed, he admitted working for THE LEADING DEMOCRATIC PAPER OF St Louis,[a] but promised on his word of honour that he would first submit the whole thing to me for revision. The fellow was sent to see me by a Russian, Stepnyak. That was nearly a fortnight ago and I am afraid he may not have kept his word. I have forgotten the name of the St Louis paper, but if anything should appear about the interview, I would ask you to insert the following statement[b] in the *Sozialist*, the *Volkszeitung* and anywhere else you think fit. If, however, the fellow comes back after all and abides by his word, I shall naturally let you know at once, and then you can tear up the statement.

Luckily the movement in this country has come to a *complete standstill*. Hyndman & Co. are political careerists who wreck everything and in the SOCIALIST LEAGUE[346] the anarchists are making enormous strides. Morris and Bax — the former as a sentimental socialist, the latter as a searcher after philosophical paradoxes — are presently as clay in their hands and must now find this out *in corpore vili*.[c] From the next *Commonweal* you will see that, thanks largely to Tussy's efforts, Aveling will no longer be responsible for this simulacrum, which is a good thing.[577] And it's these addlepates who propose to

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[a] *Missouri Republican*. - [b] F. Engels, 'A Statement to the Editorial Board of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*'. - [c] in their own persons

lead the British working class! Fortunately the latter refuse to have anything to do with them.

Kindest regards,

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [196]

### IN PARIS

[Excerpt]

[London,] 7 May 1886

I congratulate you on Sunday's victory which has indeed confirmed the severance of the Parisian working man from radicalism.[576] What idiots those Radicals are! But it is the fatal idiocy that seizes hold of any bourgeois party as soon as it finds itself on the threshold of power and thus loses the characteristics of an opposition party. They are impatient to take over the administration, although they know that the moment has not yet come; they play at running a shadow government, but nevertheless become responsible for the follies and faults of the government of the day. At the same time they are confronted by the Workers' Party [201] growing from day to day as a result of the follies of the government the responsibility for which they can only partially disclaim. The Workers' Party will no longer accept fine words and promises; it will call upon them to act and this they cannot do. While wanting to retain it, they are compelled to act against it. Being not, as yet, in power and finding that the masses are deserting them in increasing numbers, *they are reduced to pointing a finger at the monarchist conspirators, to representing them as a real danger, to uttering the cry: Let us unite to save the Republic*, in short, *to becoming Opportunists.*[236]

*Any party is lost if tries to assume power before the time is ripe for the implementation of its own programme.* But the impatience of the bourgeois parties to arrive is such that all founder prematurely on this rock. That gives us even less time in which to develop.

On the other hand our movement in Paris has entered a phase in which even a blunder would do it no great harm. There can be no doubt that the rate of progress in the future will largely depend upon the group leaders. But once the masses are on the move, they will be like a healthy body that is strong enough to eliminate traces of disease and even a modicum of poison.

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Translated from the French

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## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT [521]

[IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG [34]]

London, 12 May 1886

Dear Liebknecht,

The French papers (of which I have sent at least 3 parcels) were simply intended to give you an opportunity of reading at first hand some of the news about the brilliant turn things have taken in France. Since you take the *Cri du Peuple*, I need only send you the *Intransigeant*, etc. Lafargue sends me one now and again, when something happens, and I thought that in this way they could be turned to further account.

As regards Clemenceau, the moment may very well come when you would do better to drop *La Justice*. He is being pushed over onto the conservative, markedly bourgeois, side by, on the one hand, the immediate prospect of a ministerial post, and, on the other, by the to him unexpectedly rapid growth of the Workers' Party. [201] Even from his own point of view he is behaving stupidly. But that's how all these bourgeois are, even the most progressive. Longuet will soon have to choose, if he doesn't want to ruin himself utterly. Gaulier's candidature, supported solely by the press unaided by the *comités radicaux-socialistes*, cost the Radicals [429] 50,000 voters who have come over to

us and are now the loudest in their denunciation of their one-time chiefs.[576] In the absence of colossal blunders — the movement is already strong enough now to absorb minor errors without damage to itself — we shall obtain between $^1/_4$ and $^1/_3$ of the seats at the next elections in Paris. And, now that they have something real to do, our people are behaving in quite exemplary fashion.

But to write for *Justice* without being paid is stupid. The paper is perfectly well able to pay; after all, its chief editors — deputies — are paid by the State.

Bebel has written to say that his voice is apt to give out after several days of exertion, and needless to say I told him that for an American STUMP tour the very first prerequisite was a voice that is proof against anything.[a] Whether he's not making too much of the business, I naturally cannot say, but it would in any case be quite a risk; once you're over there, you yourself will discover soon enough what the Yankees demand in return for their good money. If he doesn't go, you must at any rate make sure that no one of the tame, petty-bourgeois breed is sent with you.[518]

No doubt the Chicago affair[582] will put paid to the anarchist farce in America. The chaps can shout their heads off if they want, but pointless rowdyism is something the Americans refuse to put up with, now they have become an industrial nation.

There's nothing favourable to report of the so-called 'movement' over here. Hyndman loses more ground every day, having completely forfeited the confidence of his own people, and the LEAGUE[346] is increasingly coming under anarchist leadership. Since *The Commonweal* became a weekly — without adequate supplies either of money or talent — Aveling has had to resign his (honorary) editorship in favour of Bax who, like Morris, is strongly influenced by the anarchists.[577] The two gentlemen will have to learn *in corpore vile*[b]; they'll soon be sick of it and it's a real stroke of luck that these teething troubles will have been left behind before the masses join the movement, which at present they obstinately refuse to do. It's just as it was in France; a really big working class cannot be got moving by exhortation, but when things have reached the right stage, the least impulse is enough to precipitate an avalanche. And that's what will happen over here as well, and soon. Most probably it will be the financial collapse of the big TRADES UNIONS under the pressure of chronic

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[a] See this volume, p. 429. - [b] from bitter experience

overproduction that will mark the moment when the eyes of the English are opened to the inadequacy of 'self-help' and of Radicalism.

So [see you] here this autumn!

Your
F. E.

Tomorrow week Mrs Pfänder will be sailing for America to stay with her brother-in-law in New Ulm, Minnesota.

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## 257

## ENGELS TO F. H. NESTLER & MELLE'S VERLAG [583]

### IN HAMBURG

[Draft]

[London,] 13 May 1886

Dear Sirs,

Greatly flattered though I am by the offer you made me in your kind note of the 10th inst., I regret that I must nevertheless decline it on the grounds that I cannot spare the time.

I am responsible for editing the mss. left by Marx and for turning to account all the other papers he left. It is a responsibility that will occupy my time for several years to come and must take precedence over everything else.

In addition, I am responsible for revising the translations of our works into foreign languages — an essential task in the majority of cases. Not only is there the English translation of *Capital*, which I must now finish and which goes to the printers next month, [56] but also a constant influx of mss. of the kind that call for revision, translations of shorter works into French, Italian, Danish, Dutch, etc.,[a] and these take up all that remains of my spare time.

[a] See this volume, p. 394.

But once I have put all this behind me, I shall, assuming I live so long, first have to turn my mind to the completion, once and for all, of my own independent works which have been totally neglected for the past three years.

Among those whose views correspond to my own, my friend Karl Kautsky would no doubt be suitable for such a position, especially as he now lives here, and I should be glad to give him all the help I could. Moreover the relevant English literature, most of it quite unknown, is obtainable nowhere save in the British Museum. Yesterday, therefore, I took the liberty of informing him of your proposal. But his commitments — apart from editing the *Neue Zeit* — are so many and extend so far ahead that he was unable to authorise my suggesting him to you as a candidate.

I am, as you can see, most interested in your scheme and hence am all the sorrier for being unable to participate in its execution. Meanwhile I would thank you for honouring me with your proposal, and remain

Yours faithfully

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## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN [484]

### IN ZURICH

London, 22 May 1886

Dear Ede,

I am sending you the (*Daily News*) report of Thursday's parliamentary debate on the Irish Arms Bill [584]: Restrictions on the right to carry or possess arms, hitherto aimed at the Nationalists in Ireland, are now to be extended to the Protestant braggarts in Ulster; rebellion is

in the offing. Remarkable speech by Lord Randolph Churchill,[a] brother of the Duke of Marlborough, democratising Tory, Secretary for India in the last Tory Cabinet, and as such a life member of the PRIVY COUNCIL. In view of our petty-bourgeois socialists' insipid and pusillanimous protests and assurances to the effect that, whatever the circumstances, they will pursue their objectives by peaceful means, this is surely the moment to point out that English ministers—Althorp, Peel, Morley, and even Gladstone—are advocating the right to revolt as a theory consistent with the Constitution, though admittedly only *for such time as they remain in opposition*, as Gladstone's subsequent vapourings have borne out,[b] though in none of them did he dare deny that right as such—and especially, too, because this emanates from England, the land of legality *par excellence*. Our Vierecks could hardly have had shorter shrift.

I'm glad to see from the *Sozialdemokrat*'s renewed verve that you are in good shape again.

I'm up to my eyes in the English translation of *Capital*. Aveling fixed up everything with the publishers this morning and the contract will be signed in a day or two, after which comes the printing, 5 sheets a week minimum.[56] Unfortunately I haven't finished revising it, but pp. 1-450 of the original are ready for the press; ditto, *almost*, pp. 450-640. But please don't make any announcement yet, as nothing has been signed so far.

Our Frenchmen are doing splendidly. Over here, on the other hand, everyone is playing about like a bunch of amateurs. The anarchist follies in America[582] may prove advantageous; it is undesirable that the American workers, given their present wholly bourgeois level of thinking—high wages and short hours—should win victories *too quickly*. That might unduly reinforce the biassed TRADES UNION spirit.

The most powerful TRADES UNION over here, the AMALGAMATED ENGINEERS, had to allocate from its reserve funds more than £43,000 for its unemployed members, bringing the reserves down from approx. £165,000 to approx. £122,000. Not until this fund is exhausted, and only then, will it be possible to do something with those chaps.

Your

F. E.

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[a] R. Churchill's speech in the House of Commons on 20 May 1886 (*The Daily News*, No. 12515, 21 May 1886). - [b] W. E. Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on 20 May 1886 (*The Daily News*, No. 12515, 21 May 1886).

I am sending this to Schlüter as I don't know the new number of your house.

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## 259

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 23 May 1886

My dear Laura,

I think I can to-day announce to you that the affair about the English edition of the *Kapital* is at last settled. [56] With Kegan Paul and Co. it was impossible to come to a satisfactory conclusion, so we arranged terms with Swan Sonnenschein and Co. I saw Swan Sonnenschein yesterday, with Edward, and there is now only the agreement to be signed formally and then the ms. will go to press at once. Swan Sonnenschein and Co. pay us 10% of gross selling price first 500 copies sold and $12^1/_2$% all following copies. First edition to be a library one, at 32/- in 2 volumes: the type to be clichéd at once but so that alterations for 2nd edition can be made within certain limits; then second edition in one volume say from 7/6 to 10/-, and this plan will suit us much better than Kegan Paul's who would have kept the price up at 28/- and thus excluded the book from general circulation.

As I have 450 pages (of the original German) ready to go to press, and about 200 more that can be got ready in 14 days, and all the rest done in the rough, there is no reason why we should not print 5 sheets a week and have done altogether by middle of August, and the book to be brought out 1st October.

I think Paul does not quite see why they wanted a letter from him on the Paris election for *The Commonweal*. The people here do not want directly to attack *Justice* and moreover their assertion would not go half as far as an authoritative statement from Paris. [585] But it's no

great matter, as the League [346] is in a complete muddle through their having let the anarchists creep in. They will have their conference of delegates on Whit Sunday, [586] and then we shall see what comes of it.

I cannot make out why Decazeville collapsed so suddenly, [587] especially as Paul, like Napoleon after the burning of Moscow, all at once ceased to supply *Cris du Peuple* to me, at the critical moment. Is it so absolutely impossible for the Parisian mind to own to unpleasant things that can't be helped? The victory of Decazeville would have been exceedingly nice, but after all the defeat may be more useful to the movement in the long run. So I do believe, too, that the anarchist follies of Chicago will do much good. [582] If the present American movement — which so far as it is not exclusively German, is still in the Trades Union stage — had got a great victory on the 8 hours question, Trades Unionism would have become a fixed and final dogma. While a *mixed* result will help to show then that it is necessary to go beyond 'high wages and short hours'.

Yours affectionately,

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY [588]

### IN ZURICH

[London,] 3 June 1886
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

I have looked over the proofs and corrected in pencil a few additional mistakes.

That the set-up of the work would be anything but elegant, I foresaw as soon as I knew who had it in charge, and am therefore not much surprised. I am afraid there is no help now, so it's no use grumbling.

Whatever the mistakes and the *Borniertheit*[a] of the leaders of the movement, and partly of the newly-awakening masses too, one thing is certain: the American working class is moving, and no mistake. And after a few false starts, they will get into the right track soon enough. This appearance of the Americans upon the scene I consider one of the greatest events of the year.[581] What the downbreak of Russian Czarism would be for the great military monarchies of Europe — the snapping of their mainstay — that is for the bourgeois of the whole world the breaking out of class war in America. For America after all was the ideal of all bourgeois: a country rich, vast, expanding, with purely bourgeois institutions unleavened by feudal remnants or monarchical traditions, and without a permanent and hereditary proletariat. Here every one could become, if not a capitalist, at all events an independent man, producing or trading, with his own means, for his own account. And because there were not, *as yet*, classes with opposing interests, our — and your — bourgeois thought that America stood *above* class antagonisms and struggles. That delusion has now broken down, the last Bourgeois Paradise on earth is fast changing into a Purgatory, and can only be prevented from becoming, like Europe, an Inferno by the go-ahead pace at which the development of the newly fledged proletariat of America will take place. The way in which they have made their appearance on the scene, is quite extraordinary: six months ago nobody suspected anything, and now they appear all of a sudden in such organised masses as to strike terror into the whole capitalist class. I only wish Marx could have lived to see it!

I am in doubt whether to send this to Zurich or to the address in Paris you give at foot of your letter. But as in case of mistake Zurich is safest, I forward this and the proofs to Mr Schlüter, who no doubt will forward wherever it may be necessary.

Ever sincerely yours,

F. Engels

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[a] stubborn narrowness

# 261

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 3 June 1886

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Mrs Wischnewetzky has sent me some printed sheets [a] which I have got to return; she also gave me a Paris address, which I can't decipher properly, and without telling me whether they should be sent there. For safety's sake I am taking the liberty of posting my reply and corrections to you, with the request that you kindly forward them. You may perhaps know the Paris address, or else you could make inquiries at the Pension Tiefenau—it looks like c/Drexel, Harjes & Co., Paris. [589] I apologise for putting you to this trouble.

Your Chartism's [557] turn will come round as soon as the English translation of *Capital* allows me a free moment. Printing has just begun and, as only the first half is ready for the press, I absolutely must attend to the remainder first. [56] Hence I *cannot* allow anything more to stand in its way just now.

Regards to Ede.

Yours,
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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[a] F. Engels, 'Appendix to the American Edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*'.

## 262

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN LONDON

[Eastbourne,[590]] Friday, 2 July 1886

Many thanks for all the trouble you've taken. Please don't send me, apart from *Nature*, *any* English papers, or the Manchester paper which arrives on Saturdays, or, after Saturday, *any more* papers at all, apart from the *Sozialdemokrat*, or, after Monday, any more letters, for we shall be home again on Wednesday[a] afternoon. The weather continues magnificent — I await with interest the first election results from the larger towns[591] tomorrow morning. Best wishes from my family to yours.

Your
F. E.

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## 263

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN LONDON

[Eastbourne, 4 July 1886]

Dear Kautsky,

I would naturally prefer not to have any more visitors here,[590] as Schorlemmer will in any case probably be arriving tomorrow; however, what has to be has to be. Besides, I shall be back in London on Wednesday[a] and hope that Mrs Guillaume-Schack will find enough

[a] 7 July

to do in town until then.[592] Since yesterday it has been oppressively hot here too, though all the same there has been a bit of a breeze — on Friday it was actually chilly and I couldn't sit outside in the evening without my overcoat. Best wishes to your wife. Pumps, Percy and Moore have taken a boat and gone out to catch fish for supper, provided, that is, *le bon dieu*[a] doesn't object to their breaking the Sabbath and visit sea-serpents upon them. The Pilsener beer is also good here.

Your
F. E.

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## 264

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN LONDON

[London, 8 July 1886]

Safely home[590] — today called to see Guillaume-Schack, but she was out — hence, so far have not had the pleasure of making her acquaintance.[592] Schorlemmer is with us — shall you be coming over here tomorrow evening?

Your
F. E.

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[a] God

## 265

## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

### IN GENEVA

London, 9 July 1886

Dear Old Comrade,

I put off answering your letter for a few days as I wanted to wait and see whether I could find some way of entering into your Paris scheme.[593] I couldn't, alas, if only because

1) I am tied down in England through having to attend to the proof-correction and publication of the English translation of *Capital* which is now printing[56]; nor could I leave this to anyone else even if I were not bound by my contract.

2) For the past 3 months, however, I have again become an invalid, 200 or 300 paces being the most I can manage, and am dependent on all sorts of medical persons; the business is just *gênant*,[a] no more, but at any moment complications might set in if I didn't take things easy, so there can be no question of a long journey. And even if, as I hope, I am more mobile this autumn, I really must do my utmost this time to rid myself for good of this old trouble by which I have been crippled off and on during the past three years, and that means doing nothing that might bring about a relapse. I simply must get to the stage of being able to walk for 2 or 3 hours on end, otherwise I shall be done for and unable to do any sustained work. I had thought that, during the past fortnight, I might get to the stage of being able to register a positive improvement, but it's taking longer than I imagined.

Well, with luck we might be able to make some other arrangement. For once in Paris, you might just as well cross the Channel and spend a little while here. I would gladly bear the cost, and your stay over here wouldn't cost you a penny. In August I am being sent to the seaside to recuperate and in September I shall have visitors from the provinces, from Germany and most likely also the Lafargues from Paris and, since I only have one spare room, putting up all these people will

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[a] inconvenient

be none too easy. But in October it will all be over and I shall be able to let you have the room any time you like, and should be delighted to see you here. Then we could also talk things over and exchange all our news at greater leisure than in Paris where, after all, one is never on one's own.

So make up your mind. By October, too, my *urgent* work will be so far advanced that I shall be able to shelve everything else; I also hope to have made sufficient progress to tipple again. If, by the by, you would rather come here in September, let me know; either way, I'm sure it can be managed. There are all sorts of things that still remain to be discussed and, above all, you have so much information — known, as you say, to no one else — about the historical origins of the movement to pass on to me, that it would be a crying shame if we didn't do our utmost to foregather once again and get all this off our chests.

I haven't yet had a chance to put Marx's papers in order, a job that would take me at least a month. Perhaps I shall get round to it in the autumn, for done it has got to be, and done before the days grow too short.

I am taking out another five pound money order for you which I hope will reach you soon after, or at the same time as, this letter.

So do make up your mind. I look forward immensely to seeing you again and discussing things with you face to face. If I were as steady on my pins as you, I should come to Geneva — but as it is! Well, I expect you to do it in my stead, and come over here.

Your old friend
F. Engels

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## 266

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN DEAL [594]

London, 26 July 1886

Dear Baron,

I have today sent you a *Volkszeitung* and shall tomorrow send off the one that arrived today; also *Deutsche Worte*, wherein the first instalment of an article on Gustav Cohn [595] — so far quite delightful. You really must get hold of the chap [a] for the *Neue Zeit*.

Yesterday we were more or less on our own — Tussy was ill as well so that Aveling had to leave early — it's nothing much, but nevertheless troublesome. On top of that it was raining cats and dogs — I hope you are having better weather down in the south-east where the climate is more continental than anywhere else in England.

So Dilke has providentially gone into political exile — *requiescat in pace!* [b] That's what comes of protestant hypocrisy. None of this business could ever have happened in a Catholic country — either in Vienna or in Rome or in Paris — nor yet in Petersburg; such whited sepulchres are possible only in two centres — London and Berlin. In fact, if Berlin is becoming a metropolis, this is only because London is increasingly deteriorating into a Berlin. What could be more typical of Berlin than gallant Captain Forster escorting his lady-friend to a brothel? [596]

No other news to speak of — Schorlemmer has gone to Germany; I am getting better every day. Nim has just finished reading *Märtyrer der Phantasie* [c] aloud (end has come!!) and is knitting stockings. Kindest regards to you and your wife from us both.

Your
F. E.

If there should be anything you want doing at home, I have once more reached the stage at which I can perfectly well walk as far as

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[a] Julius Platter - [b] may he rest in peace - [c] *The Martyrs of Imagination*

that, and hope this will continue; so if I can do you any service, don't hesitate to let me know.

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## 267

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN DEAL [594]

London, 31 July 1886

Dear Kautsky,

I shall retain the POST OFFICE ORDER here as there would be no point in trying to cash it with the moron in Southampton Road. It will be kept at your disposal and, should you not return before, I shall leave it with Mrs Parker, alias Sarah, in an envelope addressed to you.

Instead, herewith a POST OFFICE ORDER for £4 in your name, *Karl* Kautsky, taken out by me Frederick Engels. If you could do with a few more pounds sterling, I will gladly let you have them.

Weather's improving—with you, too, I hope. So that there may be a chance of this letter's arriving today, I shall close. Kindest regards to your wife and yourself from Nim and

Your
F. E.

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## 268

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN MOUNT DESERT [597]

[London,] 3 August 1886

Interview [598] received with thanks; amused me greatly. Of course the idiot [a] puts into *my* mouth all the silly things *he himself* said. *Commonweal*, 1 May-17 July, will follow in 2 parcels tomorrow. I now get them through Lessner at intervals, but complete. *To-Day* will follow as soon as I have got the *July* no. which is still missing.

Translation of ms. [b] will be finished the day after tomorrow and last part handed over to publishers.[c] 320 pages have been printed, almost the same as 3rd German edition. Hope it will be finished by end of September and published in October. Am also going to the seaside this Saturday,[d] hope it will do us both and also your wife good.

Your
F. E.

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## 269

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN DEAL [594]

London, 6 August 1886

Dear Kautsky,

We leave tomorrow for Eastbourne. [599] Address 4 Cavendish Place, as before.

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[a] John T. McEnnis - [b] the English translation of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56) - [c] William Swan Sonnenschein - [d] 7 August

Have just booked a passage for Liebknecht on the Cunard STEAMER *Servia* and sent him the receipt.[600]

You will find your MONEY ORDER here in an addressed envelope. Also sundry American *Sozialists* for yourself and sundry American *Volkszeitungs* along with the *Missouri Republican* containing the outrageous interview[598] — please keep these *Volkszeitungs* and the *Republican* for me.

Will you please — when you get back — continue to forward my letters, etc., at regular intervals, i. e. *at most* every other day, but as a rule twice a week, just as you did before?

The translation of the ms.[a] was finally completed yesterday; 23 sheets have been set up and the proofs are in hand.

Liebknecht is sailing from Liverpool on 4 September, the Avelings on 31 August.[601] We shall be staying here until 28 August for certain and if possible a week longer; it depends on Liebknecht's arrival and other possible visitors.

You will have read about the sentences in Freiberg[b] — 6 months for Dietz, Heinzel and Müller, 9 for the others.[602] Typically German.

Thank you for your news from Vienna.[603] Otherwise all is tranquil while the world takes a breather, the one exception being the Russians who are surreptitiously intriguing away for all they are worth. Giers evidently intends to wangle something worthwhile out of Bismarck this year, but I don't imagine he will succeed.

Kindest regards to your wife.

Your
F. E.

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[a] the English translation of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56) - [b] Freiburg in the original.

## 270

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN LONDON

Eastbourne, 11 August 1886
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Baron,

I shall gladly do my best as regards your ms.[604] But to promise that it will be seen to by a specific date in the near future is utterly impossible: 1) everything depends upon the pressure of printed sheets,[a] each of which I must read through carefully at least 3 times for proof-correcting and the lst and 2nd revisions; 2) I have accumulated such a pile of urgent correspondence — which has been completely neglected for the past 3 months — that I shall have to dispose of that first; 3) 2 mss. have been lying about here for 7 months awaiting revision; however, I shall set them aside if needs must.[605]

So send me the ms. and *nous verrons.*[b] In any case he[c] only needs the *first* instalment, so *send* me *that.*

Dietz *must not hear a word* about my going through it. I am only too familiar with the way he casts all discretion to the winds as soon as he senses that some commercial benefit may be in the offing. If necessary, therefore, you will have to find another source of information.

Changeable weather since yesterday.

As regards papers, etc., please send me only the French, Spanish and German-American *Socialists,*[d] the *Sozialdemokrat*, the *Volkszeitung*, *Volksfreund* and *Nature*; the others can wait. All company prospectuses and reports can likewise wait.

I shall now get back to the printed sheets. I trust the sea air did you both good, especially your wife. Every night between 9 and 11 we have a hectic game of cards; so far I have been marvel-

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[a] of the English translation of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56) - [b] we shall see - [c] J. H. W. Dietz - [d] *Le Socialiste, El Socialista, Der Sozialist*

lously lucky—as a loser. Nim and the Roshers send their best wishes.

Regards to your wife.

Your
F. E.

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## 271

## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY IN ZURICH

Eastbourne, 13-14 August 1886
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

My reply to your kind letter of the 9th June was delayed for the simple reason that overwork compelled me to suspend *all* my correspondence (such as did not command immediate despatch) until the ms. of the translation of *Das Kapital* was finally ready for the printer.[56] Such is now the case, and I can at last attend to the heap of unanswered letters before me; and you shall have the first chance. Had you told me in the above letter that you had spare time on your hands for party work, I should at once have sent you a short reply; I am sorry if through my fault you were prevented from doing some useful work.

I quite forgot, when proposing to you *Lohnarbeit und Kapital*,[a] that an English translation had already appeared in London. As this is offered for sale in New York it would be useless to translate it over again.

[a] K. Marx, *Wage Labour and Capital.*

Now about *Der Ursprung*.[a] The thing is more difficult to translate than *Die Lage*,[b] and would require comparatively greater attention and more time per page on your part. But if I had time left to me for the looking it over, that would be no obstacle, provided you could devote that time and attention to it, and leave me a larger margin of blank paper to suggest alterations. There is however another matter to consider. If the thing is to come out in English at all, it ought to be published in such a way that the public can get hold of it through the regular book-trade. That will *not* be the case, as far as I can see, with *Die Lage*. Unless the trade arrangements are very different in America from those in Europe, the booksellers will not deal in works published by outside establishments belonging to a working men's party. This is why Chartist and Owenite publications are nowhere preserved and nowhere to be had, *not even in the British Museum*; and why all our German party publications are — and were, long before the Socialist Law[37] — not to be had through the trade, and remained unknown to the public outside the party. That is a state of things which sometimes cannot be avoided, but ought to be avoided wherever possible. And you will not blame me if I wish to avoid it for English translations of my writings having suffered from it in Germany for more than 40 years. The state of things in England is such that publishers can be got — either now or in the near future — for socialist works, and I have no doubt that in the course of next year I can have an English translation published here and the translator paid; and as I have, moreover, long since promised Dr Aveling the translation of the *Entwicklung*[528] and *Ursprung*,[606] if he can make it pay for *himself*, you see that an American edition, brought out outside the regular book-trade, would only spoil the chance of a London edition to be brought out in the way of the regular trade and therefore accessible to the public generally and everywhere.

Moreover I do not think that this book is exactly what is wanted at the present moment by the American working men. *Das Kapital* will be at their service before the year is out, that will serve them for a *pièce de résistance*.[c] For lighter, more popular literature, for real propaganda, my booklet will scarcely serve. In the present undeveloped state of the movement, I think perhaps some of the French po-

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[a] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. - [b] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. - [c] special dish

pularisations would answer best. Deville and Lafargue have published two series of lectures, *Cours d'économie sociale*, about two years ago, Deville taking the economic and Lafargue the more general, historic side of the Marxian theory.[179] No doubt Bernstein can let you look at a copy and get one from Paris, and then you might judge for yourself. Of course I do not mean Deville's larger work, the extract from *Das Kapital*, which in the latter half of it is very misleading.[a]

14th August

To return to the *Ursprung*. I do not mean to say that I have absolutely promised Aveling to let him have it, but I consider myself bound to him in case a translation is to come out in *London*. The final decision, then, would depend very much upon the nature of the publishing arrangements you can make in America. To a repetition of what Miss Foster has done with *Die Lage* I decidedly object.[b] When I see my way to an English edition, brought out by a firm known in the bourgeois trade, and not only of this book, but probably of a collection of various other writings, with the advantage of having the translation done here (which saves to me a deal of time) you will admit that I ought to look twice before sanctioning the bringing out, in America, of this little book alone and thereby spoiling the whole arrangement. And with the present anti-socialist scare in America, I doubt whether you will find regular publishers very willing to associate their names with socialist works.

A very good bit of work would be a series of pamphlets stating, in popular language, the contents of *Das Kapital*. The theory of surplus value No. 1; the history of the various forms of surplus value (cooperation, manufacture, modern industry) No. 2; accumulation and the history of primitive accumulation No. 3; the development of surplus value making in colonies (*last chapter*) No. 4—this would be especially instructive in America, as it would give the economical history of that country, from a land of independent peasants to a centre of modern industry, and might be completed by specially American facts.

In the meantime you may be sure that it will take some time yet

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[a] G. Deville, *Le Capital de Karl Marx. Résumé...* - [b] See this volume, p. 415.

before the *mass* of the American working people will begin to *read* socialist literature. And for those that *do* read and will read, there is matter enough being provided, and least of all will *Der Ursprung* be missed by them. With the Anglo-Saxon mind, and especially with the eminently practical development it has taken in America, theory counts for nothing until imposed by dire necessity, and I count above all things upon the teaching our friends will receive by the consequences of their own blunders, to prepare them for theoretical schooling.

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

I shall be in this place until 27th inst.[599]; after that, in London.

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## 272

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN[607]

### IN ZURICH

Eastbourne, 14 August 1886
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Ede,

A fortnight ago I sent you a *Standard* containing a Bulgarian report on Russian intrigues in the Balkans which was very important.[a]

[a] 'Russia and Bulgaria', *The Standard*, No. 19359, 30 July 1886.

Meanwhile the situation has been getting more and more critical, for Alexander III is in need of a success after his many setbacks and, in view of the multifarious intrigues, it might well happen that matters get beyond the gentlemen's control and war breaks out. In this connection I wanted to pass on to you the story sent in by the *Daily News* correspondent in St Petersburg, which he insists is true despite all disclaimers, that between the 18th and the end of this month six Russian army corps, opposed by six ditto, will be engaged on manoeuvres in the neighbourhood of Vilna, i.e. close to the Prussian border; an assemblage, that is, of 12 army corps (the whole German army has only 18 of them) or, at a very modest estimate, 240,000 men. We may be sure that the vast sum of money involved isn't being chucked down the drain out of sheer bravado. Moreover Alexander III has forbidden *all* foreign officers to attend, even *Werder*, the Prussian. While these 240,000 men are concentrated on the border, Mr Giers will arrive in Germany to negotiate with Bismarck. It is a very bold stratagem, especially having regard to old William,[a] for he is being tackled precisely on this, his most sensitive flank. So things may go wrong and war break out. It may equally well be settled on the quiet, for we may be sure that Giers will not willingly be a party to such outrageous pranks. However I thought it as well to draw your attention to this curious business.

Tell Schlüter that I shall attend to his piece[557] as soon as I get back to London. I may possibly see old Harney before that, in which case I shall be able to glean a good deal of information that will be of interest to him.

Kindest regards. Back in London on the 28th of this month.[599]

Your
F. E.

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[a] William I

# 273

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL [608]

[IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN]

Eastbourne, 18 August 1886
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Bebel,

It is a long time since I sent you word of myself, but on the one hand nothing in particular had happened that seemed to call for an exchange of opinions and, on the other, the ms. of the translation of *Capital* [a] was giving me such an immense amount of work that I had, quite literally and on principle, to let slide all correspondence that did not require immediate attention for about 10 weeks. Now that, too, has been dealt with, so that all that is pursuing me down to the seaside here are the very troublesome proofs and this means that I shall at last be able to make good my omissions, especially since various things have happened that are worth writing about.

First and foremost the Freiberg verdicts. [602] It would seem that your German, and notably Saxon, magistrate still deems himself insufficiently depraved. His case is like that of Eccarius in the days of the International, of whom Pfänder once said: 'You have absolutely no idea what Eccarius is like; he intends to become far worse than he already is.' And the Saxons are no exception. In Germany everything official is corrupt, but a petty state gives rise to a particular brand of corruption. For its semi or wholly hereditary official class is so small and at the same time so jealous of its caste privileges that its judiciary, police, administration and army, all brothers and relatives, come to one another's aid and play into one another's hands, and to such good purpose that the legal norms, indispensable in larger countries, are completely lost to view, and what is utterly impossible becomes possible. I myself have seen what can happen in this way, not only in Germany but also in Luxembourg and, quite recently, in Jersey, not to mention Switzerland in the bad old Bonapartist days. [b] And I am convinced that Bismarck could have achieved the same end in any

[a] the English translation of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56) - [b] The reference is to Engels' stay in Switzerland in 1849-50.

other petty German state as soon as the Court, the chief of the robber band, ceased to oppose him. In the largest of the petty states, in Prussia itself, this mutual aid society is formed by the military and official élite and is capable of any infamy in the real or purported interest of the caste.

Just now the ruling clique has more than enough to do. The death of old William[a] will usher in a period of uncertainty and indecision for them — hence, or so they believe, the need to consolidate their position as much as possible beforehand. Hence, too, the sudden furious hue and cry which is raised to an even higher pitch by their fury over the complete failure of all their previous machinations against us, and their hope of [provoking] minor disturbances which would make it possible to tighten up the law.[b] And that is why you people have got to spend nine months in jug.

I hope you will return from your travels this summer so fortified that those 9 months will not be deleterious to your health. This, your enforced retirement, will prove extremely deleterious to the party; true, the tractable members will at last be made to realise that mildness is no safeguard against imprisonment, yet they are unlikely to change their spots and their endeavour to pass themselves off as the genuine representatives of the party will be facilitated by everything that impedes the organisation, and hence the organised expression of opinion, of our masses. And once they know you're safely under lock and key, they'll really start to give themselves airs. Much will then depend on Liebknecht, but upon what will he depend? He will be coming over here in a fortnight's time and will pass on to me a vast amount of party gossip, or as much of it as he thinks fit. But of one thing you may be sure — my view of the German movement as a whole, of the tactics it should adopt, and of its individual members including Liebknecht himself, will remain what it has always been. Come to that, I am greatly looking forward to seeing him again, although I know from experience that reasoning with him is a complete waste of time — at most he may take some account of my opinion while in America, where Tussy Aveling will be able to give him an occasional nudge and so keep him on the straight and narrow.[600] As regards the fund-raising success of the tour, I have my doubts. Now that the American movement is acquiring reality, it is bound to become an ever less productive source of funds for Germany. This it could only

[a] William I - [b] See this volume, pp. 472-73.

be while still a completely academic proposition. But now that the Anglo-American workers have been roused from their lethargy, it is essential that in speeches and the press they be helped to take their first, still tentative steps, that a truly socialist nucleus be formed in their midst, and this costs money. Nevertheless, this time there may still be some pickings to be had.

The entry of the Americans into the movement and the revival of the French movement by the three labour deputies and by Decazeville[545] — these are the two events of world historic importance this year. In America there's all sorts of tomfoolery going on — here the anarchists, there the KNIGHTS OF LABOR[609] — but no matter; the thing has got going and will make rapid progress. There are still many disappointments in store — the wire-pullers of the old political parties are preparing covertly to take over the leadership of the budding workers' party — and colossal blunders will be made, but nevertheless, things will go faster there than anywhere else.

In France the 108,000 votes obtained by Roche[576] prove that the Radicals' spell[429] is broken and the Paris workers are beginning to disown them, and to do so on a massive scale. To consolidate this victory, this new-won position, our men have managed to transform the temporary organisation set up for Roche's election into a permanent one[610] and in this way have become the theoretical teachers of the working men who are turning away from the Radicals. Though they all describe themselves as socialists, these people are learning from bitter experience that the threadbare remnants they have inherited from Proudhon and Louis Blanc are mere bourgeois and petty-bourgeois dross; hence they are proving quite accessible to Marx's theory. This is a consequence of the Radicals being *partially* at the helm; once wholly so, they will lose their entire working-class following and I maintain that the victory of Radicalism, i. e. of old, threadbare French socialism, in the *Chamber* will spell victory for Marxism, to begin with in the Paris *municipal council*. Oh, had Marx but lived to see his thesis vindicated in France and America,— his thesis that today's democratic republic is no more than the battleground upon which the decisive struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat will be fought out!

For all that,[a] practically nothing is yet happening in this country.

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[a] In the original 'trotz alledem und alledem'—a line from a poem by Ferdinand Freiligrath *Trotz alledem!*

Not even a socialist *sect*, as in Owen's day, can be said to exist. There are as many sects as there are heads. The SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION [300] does at least have a programme and a certain amount of discipline, but no backing whatever from the masses. Its bosses are political adventurers of the most ambitious kind, and their paper, *Justice*, is one long lie about the historic power and importance of the FEDERATION. Even the worthy Ede occasionally forgets this and inopportunely cites the paper, thus doing the *genuine* movement over here more harm than he can make good; from where he is it is difficult for him to assess the way in which *Justice* exploits this. The LEAGUE [346] is going through a crisis. Morris, a sentimental dreamer pure and simple, the personification of good will with so good an opinion of itself that it turns into ill will if ever there's a question of learning anything, has been taken in by the catchword 'Revolution' and fallen victim to the anarchists. Bax is very talented and no fool but, philosopher-fashion, has concocted his own brand of socialism which he regards as true Marxian theory and with which he does a great deal of harm. However, in his case these are merely teething troubles and will soon disappear; only it's a pity the process should have to take place in public. Nor can Aveling learn very much, taken up as he is with working for his livelihood; he is the only one I see regularly. However, the publication of *Capital* in English [56] will clear the air enormously over here.

And with that I must close if I want to finish this letter. It is 6.45, tea is about to be served and the last post goes at 8. So take care of yourself and mind you don't pay my long silence back in kind. And above all, let me assure you that any gossip that might perhaps concern you yourself will make no impression on me whatever.

Your old friend

F. E.

I am sure to be here until the 28th of this month, [599] after which you had better write to London.

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## 274

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[611]

### IN LONDON

Eastbourne, 20 August 1886
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Baron,

I return Dietz's letter herewith.[612] Provided you are given an assurance that Blos will not be allowed to put in anything whatever unless previously sanctioned by you, the mechanics could be left to him. If the worst came to the worst you might slip over to Stuttgart for a day or two and settle the matter. Anyhow that would be preferable to an attempt to spend 6 months there which would end in your being expelled after only 3 weeks, whereupon Mr Blos would have a completely free hand. But one thing you yourself should do is to exercise somewhat stricter censorship throughout that period, so that Blos should have no pretext for introducing anything slipshod.

It goes without saying that you may mention me in the prospectus as a contributor. Similarly, I will gladly let you have the introduction to the English translation of *The Condition of the Working-Class*[a] as soon as I myself have got it. It is not long. I am not at present in a position to promise you anything definite, particularly since the enterprising Schlüter wishes to republish *The Housing Question* which will require revision and an introduction[b]; also Borkheim's *Mordspatrioten*, for which I shall have to write a biographical note on Borkheim.[c] So you see, I need not bother about finding work; others do the bothering for me.

Your plan to settle into a house is a very sensible one, but in the long run you would find that the evening trains to Harrow leave too early and I would advise you to look round somewhere else. But it is more or less the same everywhere.

The sudden spate of prosecutions is clearly due to the impending demise of old William.[d] For the gang now in power it will usher in

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 399-405. - [b] F. Engels, 'Preface to the Second Edition of *The Housing Question*'. - [c] F. Engels, 'Introduction to Sigismund Borkheim's Pamphlet *In Memory of the German Blood-and-Thunder Patriots. 1806-1807*'. - [d] William I

a period of uncertainty, and hence they are anxious in so far as possible to consolidate their position, partly by *faits accomplis* in domestic policy, partly, if they can, by provoking disturbances and thus yet greater alarm amongst the philistines.[a] What wouldn't the gang give for a bit of eel-snatching in Berlin, as in Amsterdam.[613] In addition there is the personal ire of Puttkamer who, like the true Prussian he is, regards every setback to one of his follies as an insult to his own august person.

On Tuesday,[b] Percy, Pumps and Lily went to pay a visit to the old Roshers at Walmer near Deal. They are supposed to return today, but I haven't heard anything. Yesterday was terribly close and humid, but marvellous weather today. Nim is well and sends her kindest regards, as I do mine. I trust your wife is well.

Your
F. E.

Thanks for Sonnenschein; the parcel had been addressed to Regent's Park Road by mistake; it contained something I needed and for which I had already dunned them.[614]

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## 275

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

[Eastbourne,] 20 August 1886

Dear Ede,

I hope you have received a note from me via Mrs Schack.[c] The Russians have eaten humble pie but are quietly going on with their

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[a] See this volume, p. 469. - [b] 17 August - [c] Gertrud Guillaume-Schack; see this volume, pp. 455, 466-67.

intrigues, mainly directed against Britain in Asia—Turkestan and China. That eliminates the risk of war this year. It is now improbable that the *Daily News* correspondent's 240,000 men will march[a]... This for your information. The aspect of things has changed so rapidly that people like us are mostly too late with our news. The poor Baron's[b] in despair at not having heard from you.

Your
F. E.

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## 276

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

Eastbourne, 20 August 1886
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Now it's your turn at last. I had to give up writing letters until the English ms.[c] had been finished.

Firstly, therefore, your letter of 10 March.

1) Funds received at last. Receipt made out in duplicate.[d]

2) Have read Lexis.[e] The man is far from stupid, but he's an out-and-out rascal and knows it.

3) *The Origin*[f]—Dietz's way of going about things gave me fresh proof of how arbitrarily he behaves in business matters and I shall be guided by this in future dealings with him. Apart from that, the out-

[a] See this volume, p. 467.-[b] Karl Kautsky-[c] of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56)-[d] See this volume, pp. 418-19.-[e] W. Lexis, 'Die Marx'sche Kapitaltheorie', *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, Vol. 11, Jena, 1885.-[f] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.*

come has been satisfactory and has enabled the thing to reappear in the bookshops.[555]

4) General Council's Addresses. Whether I have them all I shall only know when my friends give me sufficient time to put Marx's letters, etc., in order. So until then I shan't be able to help you.[615]

5) Chartist ms.[557] will be finished as soon as I get back to London *after the 28th.*[599] I shall probably have a chance to consult our old friend Harney about doubtful points; he is sure to be in London now. The article in the *Rheinische Jahrbücher* is by Weerth and you may name him.[a]

Postcard of 8/6.—You might send me the letters from the late Heß' papers when convenient, though they're unlikely to amount to more than tittle-tattle. After 1848 the good Moses ceased to be connected with any real movement and merely did a bit of Lassalling for a time under Schweitzer.

Letter 16/8.—I shall be glad to look over *The Housing Question*; the thing can be reprinted pretty well as it stands (so far as I am able to judge from memory). A word or two will be necessary by way of introduction.[b]

A re-issue of the *Mordspatrioten* would certainly be a very good idea. The thing is by Borkheim and I would write a short biographical note[c] to go with it. But as I have only one copy, likewise of *The Housing Question*, and as both of them will probably call for notes, I should be grateful if you would send me one copy of each (to London).

Would you kindly give the enclosed line to Ede.

Yours,
F. Engels

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[a] G. W[eerth], 'Joseph Rayner Stephens...', *Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform*, Vol. II, 1846.- [b] F. Engels, 'Preface to the Second Edition of *The Housing Question*'.- [c] F. Engels, 'Introduction to Sigismund Borkheim's Pamphlet *In Memory of the German Blood-and-Thunder Patriots. 1806-1807*'.

## 277

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[616]

IN LONDON

[Eastbourne,] 23 August 1886

As you wrote to tell me you would be forwarding my letters, etc., on Saturday, I simply wanted to inform you that I got nothing either on Saturday or yesterday, nor had anything arrived by 7 p. m. today (Monday); I had at least counted on getting the *Sozialdemokrat*.

Liebknecht has written to say he will probably be here this week. I shall come up for the day to collect him and shall write beforehand.

Regards to your wife from Nim and

Your
F. E.

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## 278

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN LONDON

Eastbourne, 24 August 1886
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Kautsky,

I have been completely crushed, smothered, squashed and stultified by your avalanche of letters this morning. I shall have to see how I can manage to answer them. Very many thanks.

Liebknecht has written to say he may set off for London as early as tomorrow, taking the direct route via Flushing—I am expecting more definite word any day; as soon as I know the day he's arriving,

I shall come up for the day and bring him back here. I shouldn't buy him an *Esel*[617] if I were you, he can write perfectly well on board ship without an *Esel*. Or is he expecting to be seasick all the time? But so far no *Esel* has been able to cope with seasickness.

Old Becker[a] will be arriving from Geneva on the 12th-13th to stay with me in London.

Mother Schack has announced her intention of coming to London in the middle of September along with the Wischnewetzkys.[618]

If Schorlemmer and the Lafargues turn up as well — postcard arrived 16th August from Schorlemmer in Bellaggio, Lake of Como — it will be pretty hectic.

We shall be staying here until 4 September[599] — a week on Saturday.

Nim and the Pumpses send their best wishes to your wife and yourself, as does

Your
F. E.

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## 279

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

Eastbourne, 24 August 1886
4 Cavendish Place

My dear Laura,

This morning I receive your letter of the 20th from London with a perfect avalanche of other letters and papers — I cannot therefore do to-day more than send you the cheque *£15.-*

Old Becker[a] writes that he will be here (in London) with the van Kols' by 12th September.

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[a] Johann Philipp Becker

Countess Guillaume-Schack who was here only a month ago writes she will be here about 15 September with the Wischnewetzkys [618] (male Russian, female Yankee).

Liebknecht writes he may leave for London to-morrow. As soon as he lets me know date of arrival, I shall go to London to see Edward and Tussy before their departure [601] and bring Liebknecht over here for a few days—we return to London 4 September.[599]

Glad to see that Vierzon [619] is exploited again like Decazeville.[a] [545]

The other day a postcard came from Schorlemmer from Bellaggio, Lake of Como.

Love from Nim, the Pumpses and yours affectionately,

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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## 280

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN LONDON

Eastbourne, 25 August 1886
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Baron,

Your letter sent to Offenbach will arrive in plenty of time, as Liebknecht doesn't leave Borsdorf until the evening of the 26th, i. e. will be in Offenbach on the 27th and won't leave Cologne until 1.40 p. m. on the 29th, assuming he is travelling via Flushing as he previously said he would.[600]

So I shall be arriving in London on Sunday evening[b] between 9 and 10 [599] and hope to see you both that same night. I have asked

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[a] See also this volume, p. 489. - [b] 29 August

Liebknecht to take a CAB straight to my house, so what more could he want?

You would greatly oblige me if you would call round on Friday evening to see whether any letters have arrived for me, in particular one from the *UNION BANK OF London*, and if so send them on, as I want to attend to one or two business matters on Saturday if possible.

Kindest regards.

Your
F. E.

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## 281

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN LONDON

Eastbourne, 26 August 1886

Dear Kautsky,

Liebknecht is arriving on Monday[a] at a station to be specified by you — via Flushing; if he hasn't got your letter, then at *Holborn*. So he has no need of advice. If he finds no one at the station, he will take a CAB to my house.

I shall be arriving in London on Saturday afternoon or, at the latest, evening[599] — I hope if possible to get to Regent's Park Road by 4 or 5. Harney will probably visit me on Sunday.[620] More when we meet. Should there be a letter for me from the UNION BANK on Friday and you could send it on *before* 5.30, I should be most grateful; other-

[a] 30 August

wise it can wait until I arrive, just as all the rest can wait; there is time enough.

Kindest regards to your wife.

Your
F. E.

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## 282

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [621]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 6 September 1886

The translation of *Capital* [a] is being published by W. Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co., Paternoster Square, London; 23 sheets have already been printed and the whole ms. is in the hands of the printers. Unfortunately I can't find the relevant article anywhere, otherwise I could doubtless have given you further information.[622] No doubt you will already have seen Liebknecht before receiving this; he sailed day before yesterday on the *Servia*.[600] As soon as I have disposed of the more urgent tasks — that is to say by the end of this week — I shall write you a longer letter.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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[a] the English translation of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56)

## 283

## ENGELS TO F. H. NESTLER & MELLE'S VERLAG

### IN HAMBURG

[Draft]

[London, about 11 September 1886]

Dear Sirs,

I must categorically reject the insinuation in your favour of the 9th inst.[623]

Even had it occurred to Kautsky and, via him, to Dietz, to bring out a similar collection of excerpts simply as a result of the proposal you made me, you could have no cause for complaint, since in your postcard of 15 May you told me:

> 'We must frankly admit that without you we shall not be able to bring our idea to fruition.'

When you withdrew, they were fully entitled to step in. And why I should be considered in any way blameworthy in this matter is utterly incomprehensible to me.

However the above assumption is not even correct. The need for such a collection has long been discussed in socialist circles and preparations to bring one into being have often been all but completed. I know that Dietz, in particular, has had this in mind ever since he started his firm. When I spoke to Kautsky about your proposal, one of the reasons he gave for his refusing was that he was already corresponding with Dietz about a very similar offer and had *committed himself to Dietz to the extent* of being unable to entertain any proposition of a similar nature from elsewhere. I intimated as much when replying to you,[a] *in so far as it was permissible for me to do so*; I was not entitled to say more. In fact the matter had by then progressed so far that, at the time you wrote to me, Kautsky had already been engaged for several weeks in finishing off the first instalments (on Marx)[137] and hence needed no prompting from you.

Moreover, the appearance of Dietz's advertisement at this precise moment is in no way the result of your letter to me, of which Dietz, so

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[a] See this volume, pp. 447-48.

far as I know, is not even aware. It is solely the result of the fact that Dietz, following his conviction in Freiberg,[602] feels impelled to get various schemes of his to a stage at which they can go ahead without his supervision during his six months' detention.

When I was in business I grew accustomed to hearing overhasty criticisms based on insufficient information. It is one of those philistine German customs which make it virtually impossible for Germans to play a really prominent role in the world of business. But I must confess I am somewhat surprised that a firm of your repute could be capable of this sort of thing.

Yours faithfully

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## 284

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 13 September 1886

My dear Laura,

Here we are again in London[599] — it's the same thing over and over again, jobs of all sorts. The last week I had to revise a German extract of the *Kapital* by Kautsky,[137] and it wanted revising very much. Two other mss. are in my desk and have been there for more than six months. Hope to clear them off this week. Fortunately for *me*, proof-sheets[a] have been few and far between, else it would have been but a poor holiday for me. Anyhow I shall now cut this sort of work completely, else I should never get to my chief work.

Tussy and Edward's ship the *City of Chicago* arrived in New York on the 10th, and Liebknecht's, the *Servia*, must be there by this time too, as she sailed 4th September. They will have a severe job to go

[a] of the English translation of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56)

through with travelling and speechifying.[600] Liebknecht was four days with us at Eastbourne, he is quite fat and carries a deal of weight in front of himself, no doubt the Yankees will take some of that out of him. Otherwise he was very jolly and confident as usual: '*alles geht famos*'.[a]

I wrote to you that I had a postcard from Schorlemmer about 18th August from the Lake of Como,[b] since then I have not heard from him. Anyhow he is now soon due in Paris whence he has sworn to bring you, and if possible Paul too, over to London. I sincerely trust that he will succeed, Nim is already busying her mind with the few necessary arrangements which indeed will not require great exertions. Paul's trial will not I hope prevent him from coming over,[624] the old shop where he likes to buy drawers at 1/6d. a pair is still there if that is an inducement. And if he cannot get off, surely you are bound to take a holiday too and see your old friends in London once more. You know what Meyer said: '*wenn sie im Zimmer kommt, ist es als wenn die Sonne aufginge*'[c]—so do let the sun rise once more over London!

Nim has had her photograph taken in Eastbourne, it was very good and is paid for, this is perhaps the reason why the copies are not yet sent.

Please thank Paul for his letter on the wine manufacture—it not only confirmed, but also *completed* what I had heard from other sources. It is very satisfactory to know that in these latter days of capitalist production the phylloxera has smashed up the Château Laffite, Lagrange and other *grands crus*,[d] as we that know how to appreciate them, do not get them, and the Jews and parvenus that get them, do not know [how] to appreciate them. Having thus no longer a mission to fulfil, they may as well go to smash, our successors will soon restore them when they are wanted for grand popular holidays.

What Mohr said in the Circular to the International in 1870,[e] that the annexation of Alsace, etc., had made Russia *l'arbitre de l'Europe*, is now at last becoming evident. Bismarck has had to cave in completely, and the will of Russia has to be done.[625] The dream of the Ger-

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[a] 'everything is going swimmingly'- [b] See this volume, p. 478. -[c] 'when she comes into the room, it is as if the sun rises'-[d] famous vineyards-[e] K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'.

man Empire, the guardian of European peace, without whose leave not a cannon-shot can be fired, is dispelled, and the German philistine finds he is as much the slave of the Czar[a] as when Prussia was '*der fünfte Rad am europäischen Wagen*'.[b] And now he falls foul of Bismarck who after all does only what he is compelled to do. The rage is great in Germany, not only among the philistines, but also in the army. Liebknecht says since 1866 there has not been such an outcry against an act of the government. But there it will not stop. If the Balkan drama enters its second act, a war between Russia and Austria will break out and then *vogue la galère*[c]—all Europe may burst out in flames. I should be rather sorry—no doubt it would be the *last* war, and no doubt this as anything else must turn out ultimately to our advantage. But it may after all delay our victory and the other road is safer. For that however there is scarcely another road than a revolution in Russia, and as long as Alexander[a] follows the lead of the Pan-Slavists, that is a very unlikely event. In fact, the decisive argument of Giers with Bismarck was this: we are between Pan-slavists and Nihilists,[356] if we keep the peace they will unite and the palace revolution will be a *fait accompli*—so we must go on towards Constantinople, and this will be less harmful to you, Bismarck and William,[d] than a Russian revolution. This winter will decide matters, so I am bound to get the 3rd volume[e] ready by next spring.

Had several visits from Bax and one from Morris lately—Bax sees the impasse he has got himself into, and would get out if he could do so without a direct recantation, and no doubt will find some way or other. Morris is a settled sentimental socialist, he would be easily managed if one saw him regularly a couple of times a week, but who has the time to do it, and if you drop him for a month, he is sure to lose himself again. And is he worth all that trouble even if one had the time? In the meantime Hyndman fortifies his position more and more, because he has a definite programme and a definite line of political action, to both of which Morris seems to object, his ideal is a debating club uniting all shades. In all this confusion I expect the principal help from the English *Kapital*.[f] 23 sheets are printed and revised, but there is something wrong with the printer, I do not receive any fresh proofs and cannot get any information as Sonnenschein is away for his holiday and nobody can or will tell where the hitch lies.

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[a] Alexander III - [b] 'the fifth wheel in the European waggon' - [c] come what may - [d] William I - [e] of *Capital* - [f] the first volume

Splendid weather to-day — hope it will last while you come.

Yours affectionately,

F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

[IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN]

London, 13-14 September 1886

Dear Bebel,

What I find odd about this whole Bulgarian and oriental business [445] is the Russians having only just realised that, as a result of the annexation of Alsace, etc., they have become the arbiters of Europe, as indeed was pointed out to the members of the International by Marx as long ago as 1870.[a] The only possible explanation for this is the universal adoption since the war (in Russia in 1874) of the Prussian *Landwehr* system which takes between 10 and 12 years to produce a commensurately powerful army.[474] Russia and France now also possess such an army, hence the fun can now begin. And that is precisely why the Russian army, which supplies the hard core of Pan-Slavism, is now exerting such tremendous pressure on the government that the Tsar[b] is faced with only two possibilities — he must either overcome his old animosity to the French Republic and enter into alliance with it, or he must persuade Bismarck to endorse Russia's oriental policy. For Bismarck and William,[c] the alternatives were, either resistance to Russia and the prospect of a Franco-Russian alliance and world war, or the certainty of a Russian revolution as a result of an alliance between the Pan-Slavs and the Nihi-

[a] K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - [b] Alexander III - [c] William I

lists,[356] or again submission to Russia, i. e. betrayal of Austria. That from their *own* standpoint Bismarck and William could not have acted otherwise, seems obvious to me, and this represents a great leap forward, in that the incompatibility of the Hohenzollerns' interests and those of Germany has now been made plainly and overwhelmingly manifest. The very existence of the German Empire is being imperilled by its Prussian foundations.

Temporarily — until after the winter, that is,— the affair will probably be glossed over, but the Pan-Slavs' appetite grows with eating, and they will never have such a favourable opportunity again. If the Russians succeed in occupying Bulgaria, they will also go on to attack Constantinople, unless insuperable obstacles — say an Austro-German-British alliance — intervene. Hence Bismarck's desperate plea for an actively anti-Russian policy on Britain's part, a plea he now gets *The Standard* to re-echo almost daily in the hope that *Britain* will avert a world war.

At all events, Austrian and Russian rivalry in the Balkan Peninsula is becoming so acute that war is more likely than the preservation of peace. And that will be the end of localised warfare. But what the outcome will be — who will win — we cannot say. The German army is certainly the best and the best-led, but is only one amongst many. The Austrians are an unknown quantity, both numerically and militarily, especially as regards leadership, and have always been dab-hands at getting their best troops beaten. The Russians, as always, are deluding themselves as to their strength which, on paper, is enormous; though exceedingly weak in attack, they are strong in the defence of their own country. Their weakest point, aside from the high command, is a lack of suitable material to officer the vast masses; the country does not produce the required number of educated people. The Turks are the best soldiers, but the high command is invariably execrable, if not suborned. Finally, the French are also short of officers, because too politically advanced to tolerate an institution such as that of one-year volunteers; also because the French bourgeois is (personally) utterly unwarlike. Lastly, the new organisation has never been put to the test anywhere save in Germany. Hence these quantities are very difficult to estimate, either numerically or qualitatively. Of the Italians, it may be said with certainty that, given equal numbers, they would be beaten by any other army. But how these various quantities will group themselves, either with or against each other, in a world war is equally incalculable. Britain's importance —

that of her Navy and that of her vast resources—will grow as the war goes on and, if she withholds her troops at the start, it may, in the end, be a British corps of 60,000 men which finally turns the scales.

All this presupposes that nothing happens inside the countries concerned. But in France a war might well bring revolutionary elements to the helm, while in Germany a defeat or the death of the Old Man [a] might result in a violent change of régime, which in turn might lead to a regrouping of the belligerents. In short, there will be chaos of which the *only* certain outcome will be wholesale slaughter on a hitherto unprecedented scale, the exhaustion of the whole of Europe to a hitherto unprecedented degree and, finally, the complete collapse of the old system.

Immediate victory for ourselves could only be produced by a revolution in France, which would confer on the French the role of liberators of the European proletariat. I do not know whether this would be the best thing for the latter; however it would raise *ideal* French chauvinism to the nth degree. A revolution in Germany following a defeat would be of use only if it led to peace with France. Best of all would be a Russian revolution which, however, can only be expected after severe defeats have been inflicted on the Russian army.

This much is certain: A war would above all retard our movement all over Europe, completely disrupt it in many countries, stir up chauvinism and xenophobia and leave us with the *certain* prospect, amongst many other uncertain ones, of having to begin all over again after the war, albeit on a basis far more favourable even than today.

Whether or not there is war, this much has been gained. Your German philistine has been shocked out of his lethargy and at last finds himself compelled to intervene actively in politics. Since numerous intermediary stages will have to be gone through between today's Prussian Bonapartism with its semi-feudal foundations and the socialist republic which will be our first stage, it can only be to our advantage that your German citizen should at last be forced to resume his political responsibilities and oppose the present régime, if only to

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[a] William I

make it get some sort of move-on. And so I look forward keenly to seeing what happens during the coming session of the Reichstag. Since I do not get any German papers at the moment, I should be greatly obliged if you would send me some from time to time, when they carry reports of important sittings, particularly those concerned with foreign policy.

Liebknecht, too, had a great deal to say about the indignation provoked in Germany by Bismarck's kow-towing to the Russians.[625] He spent several days with me at the seaside in Eastbourne,[599] was in very good spirits and, as always, 'everything was going swimmingly'. Since the gentlemen of the right wing are no longer stirring up any trouble to speak of and have had to knuckle under, Liebknecht could again give vent to quite revolutionary utterances and do his best to pass himself off as the most resolute of men. I intimated pretty plainly that I knew more about these goings-on than he might, perhaps, care for but, since he was completely on the right track, there was absolutely no reason why our intercourse should be other than exceedingly cordial. I am unaware of, and hence not responsible for, anything he may have told you in his letters about the matters he and I discussed.

14 September

Having again been interrupted, I must make sure that I finish this in time for the evening post so that you get this letter by Thursday[a] morning at the latest. The Hungarian parliament will also be convening in the near future when the Bulgarian affair[445] is sure to be brought up. The best thing for us would be for Russia to be peacefully or forcibly repulsed, in which case the stage would be set for revolution there. The Pan-Slavs would join in, only to find next morning that they had been duped. This was a point upon which Marx always expressed himself with the greatest conviction—and I know of no one who understood Russia, both as regards internal and external matters, as well as he. He maintained that, as soon as the old régime had been destroyed in Russia, no matter by whom, and a representative assembly had convened, no matter of what kind, Russia's policy of aggression would cease and domestic questions take precedence over everything else.[b] And the repercussions on Europe, once this last

[a] 16 September - [b] See K. Marx, 'The Question of the Abolition of Serfdom in Russia', present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 51-53.

stronghold of reaction had been destroyed, would, he said, be tremendous; we in Germany would be the first to feel them.

Liebknecht's ship arrived in New York yesterday morning at 3 o'clock, that of the Avelings several days earlier.[600] If it's as hot there as it is here — now, at 4 in the afternoon it's 25 degrees Centigrade[a] here in my room — their tub-thumping is going to make them sweat a bit.

In France the good work still goes on. The method of agitation that was tried out at Decazeville[545] is now being repeated at Vierzon where there is a strike on.[619] Vaillant, whose home it is, is taking a leading part there. In Paris, the Radicals[429] are working for us, as is Bismarck in Germany. They have got themselves into a frightful mess over the bucket-shops, and Clemenceau, though he had no need to do so, has nevertheless become too deeply involved with that crew to be able to keep out of it altogether. Thus the rift between him and the erstwhile radical working men yawns ever wider, and his loss is our gain. Our people are behaving with great address and I am surprised at the amount of discipline shown by the French. It was just what they lacked, and now they are acquiring it, but against a background of a wholly revolutionary tradition which, in France, is taken for granted and is innocent of all those philistine misgivings which are the bane of our Geisers and Vierecks. Next time, even with the *scrutin de liste*,[375] we shall score considerable successes in France. And it is precisely because everything's going so marvellously, both there and in Germany, and because a couple of years of uninterrupted *internal* development, helped along by the events inevitable in the circumstances, would contribute so enormously to our progress — it is precisely because of all this that I wouldn't exactly wish for a world war — but history recks little of that! It pursues its course and we have to take it as it comes.

There's one thing you people should learn from the French. For 50 years all revolutionaries there have subscribed to the rule that the accused should *refuse* to give the examining magistrate *any information whatsoever*. The latter has the right to ask, the accused has the right not to answer, not to incriminate himself and his comrades. This — once it has been generally accepted to the extent that any deviation from it ranks as quasi betrayal — is of enormous advantage in all trials. One is still free to say what one likes at the public proceedings.

[a] 77 degrees Fahrenheit

But at the preliminary investigation all records are so worded as to falsify the statements made by the accused who is browbeaten into signing by all manner of subterfuges. You should see for yourselves sometime.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [608]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 16-17 September 1886

Dear Sorge,

I am forcing myself to take an hour off in order to write to you. For weeks I have been kept so busy with the proofs (in triplicate) of the translation of *Capital*,[a] that I have been unable to do anything else, and now they are coming thick and fast. Allegedly I am to get 6 sheets a week (i. e. 18 sheets a week to be corrected), and the whole thing is supposed to be finished in 4 weeks' time. We shall see. But I'm going to have a lively time of it since, apart from anything else, old Becker[b] is arriving tomorrow from Geneva to stay with me, the following week I shall have Schorlemmer and probably the Lafargues, not to mention other people from Switzerland who are proposing to come over here. So I know that, if I don't get a letter written today, there'll be no chance of doing so later on.

Many thanks for the trouble you have gone to over the interviewer.[c] He shall be the last. Now the chap has broken his word and I shall be justified in sending them packing, unless it's to our advan-

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[a] the English translation of the first volume; see also this volume, pp. 462, 506.- [b] Johann Philipp Becker - [c] John T. McEnnis

tage to impose upon some liar of this ilk. You are right in saying that I haven't, on the whole, any cause for complaint; the man does at least try to be decent from the personal point of view, and not he, but the American bourgeoisie, is to blame for his stupidity.[598]

A fine crew they'd seem to be at the head of the party in New York[549] and as for the *Sozialist*, it's a model of what a paper ought *not* to be. But nor can I congratulate Dietzgen on his article re anarchists[626]; it's an odd way he has of going about things. If, for instance, a person takes a somewhat narrow-minded view of a particular point, Dietzgen is at pains — often undue pains — to stress that there are two sides to every question. But now, because of the New Yorkers' abject behaviour, he suddenly takes the other side and tries to make us all out to be anarchists. This may be excusable as things are now, but even at a crucial juncture he should not, after all, entirely forget his dialectics. However, he has probably long since worked all this out of his system and is certainly back on the right track again, so there's no cause for alarm.

In a country as unsophisticated as America which, though wholly without a feudal past, has evolved along purely bourgeois lines yet has uncritically taken over from England a mass of ideology deriving from feudal times, such as English common law, religion, sectarianism, and where the exigencies of practical work and of the concentration of capital have engendered a general contempt, only now diminishing amongst the most highly educated and learned circles, for all theory — in such a country, the people will have to find out what their own *social* interests are by making one blunder after another. Nor will the workers be spared this experience; the confusion of the TRADES UNIONS, the socialists, the KNIGHTS OF LABOR,[609] etc., will persist for some time yet, until wisdom is born of their own misfortunes. But the main thing is that they are now in motion, that they are actually progressing, and that the spell has been broken; things will move fast, faster than anywhere else, even though the course they take may seem erratic and, from the theoretical standpoint, almost demented.

Your letter arrived too late for me to speak to Aveling about Brooks[627] — I only saw him, Aveling, for a couple of hours on 30 August, and I had left your letter behind in Eastbourne.[599] Anyhow, you will have seen him meanwhile in New York, also Liebknecht.

It would seem that your Adolf[a] has already dissolved his PARTNER-

[a] Adolf Sorge jun.

SHIP with the agent in Rochester; I trust he has not burnt his fingers in the process, as may happen even to the best of men on such occasions.

I shall shortly be sending you the missing numbers of *To-Day*, in so far as I myself receive them, also *Commonweals*. It's not possible to subscribe to them direct. I shall send you some French papers when I myself get any from Paris. A few went off from Eastbourne. You should be able to obtain the *Socialiste* over there; the editorial and administrative offices are at 17 rue du Croissant, Paris, and the paper comes out weekly. *Abonnement étranger*[a] 4 frs a half year, incl. postage. I myself get it very irregularly and often have to write, but I have to keep it for REFERENCE.

I am also sending you some surplus proof-sheets of the *Capital* translation so that you can see how the thing's progressing and what it looks like.

I hope your health is improving; I *seem* robust enough, but for 3 years now my mobility has been restricted, sometimes very considerably and always to a *certain extent* by an internal ailment, so that I am, alas, no longer fit for active service.

The first thing I shall have to do, as soon as the translation is finished, is rid myself of the minor jobs that have been foisted on me — revising other people's work, notably translations — and avoid getting myself saddled *with any more*, so that I can return to the 3rd volume.[b] The whole thing's there, ready dictated, but there's still a good 6 months' hard slogging to be done. This confounded English translation has taken up the better part of a year. But it was absolutely essential and I don't regret it.

17 September

The proof-sheets went off yesterday and the *Commonweals* up to 18 September will follow today. I have got to look out the copies of *To-Day*.

The movement over here is still in the hands, on the one side of adventurers (DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION [300]) and, on the other, of hobby-horse riders and sentimental socialists (SOCIALIST LEAGUE [346]); the masses are still holding aloof, although here too *beginnings* of a movement are perceptible. But it will be some time before the masses are in full spate, which is a good thing because it means that there will be time for proper leaders to emerge.

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[a] Overseas subscription - [b] of *Capital*

In Germany, some kind of movement will, presumably, at last come into being again among the *bourgeoisie*, whose cowardly inertia is becoming harmful to us; on the one hand the now imminent change of monarch[a] will induce a general state of instability, on the other Bismarck's kow-towing to the Tsar[b] is arousing even the most lethargic from their slumbers.[625] In France things are going famously. Our people are learning discipline, in the provinces from the STRIKES, in Paris from their opposition to the Radicals.[429]

Kindest regards,

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

### IN BENEVENTO

[Excerpt]

[London,] 17 September 1886

...May [I th]ank[c] you for being so patient with [me] in the matter of your manuscript.[d] As soon as the English translation of *Capital*[56] has been done — in October, I hope — your ms. will be the first thing

[a] William I - [b] Alexander III - [c] The beginning of the letter is missing, and the manuscript is damaged. - [d] the Italian translation of Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital*

to which I shall turn my attention. I have found the *Kalender* and shall fill in the missing passage.[554]

Yours very sincerely,
F. E.

First published, in the language of the original (German), in *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani. 1848-1895*, Milano, 1964

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 24 September 1886

My dear Laura,

I suppose you are at this moment at the Assize Court watching Paul's trial,[624] I hope it will end in an acquittal. In the meantime I have a bit of agreeable news for you. Meissner sends this morning account for last seasons sales, and the result is a profit of 2,600 marks or about £130 for us, after deducting all expenses of the second volume[a]; so your share will be above £40-. I have told him to remit the money, and as soon as received I shall send you a cheque for your share. There were sold 320 copies of Volume I and 1,260 of Volume II.

The English edition[b] will hardly be out before the New Year.[56] It looks as if Sonnenschein had more pressing things on hand, and in the hands of the same printer, by which our book was pushed back. The thing is proceeding, but rather slowly.

I had a letter from Tussy on her arrival in New York,[601] she had a very pleasant voyage, but was rather disappointed at the live American bourgeois she met on board, it rather dampened her enthusiasm for America, but prepared her for the realities of American

[a] of *Capital* - [b] of the first volume of *Capital*

life.

Old Becker[a] has been with me this last week, he is very jolly but getting rather rickety in body. He will leave for Paris next Tuesday[b] and hopes to see you there.[628] He is a splendid old chap, seventy-eight and still quite abreast of the movement.

No news from Schorlemmer here. How about your journey to London? You will be able to come to a resolution, if that be still necessary, after to-day's verdict. But even if Paul should be sent to Pélagie again,[402] that is not so pressing, surely they will give him a few weeks leave and so you and he might still come over for a bit.

Ever yours affectionately,
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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## ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT

### IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG[34]

London, 25 September 1886
122 Regent's Park Road

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

At Liebknecht's behest, I am sending you herewith an Imperial bank-note for 100 marks, No. 1236179[d], Berlin, 3 September 1883, which he left with me on his departure. He also gave me reason to hope that you might come over in December, to welcome him here at my house. We should all be delighted if this were to happen, in which case I trust you will share our humble board and look upon my house as your own.

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[a] Johann Philipp Becker - [b] 28 September

From what we have heard so far, out friends' tour has been most successful.[600]

With sincere regards to you and the children,

Yours truly,
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 2 October 1886

My dear Laura,

To begin with the beginning, I enclose cheque for £42,13.4, being one-third part of Meissner's remittance of £128.-[a] which I hope you will receive and get cashed all right.

I am sorry you cannot come just now while the weather is fine, but if you feel such a decided home-sickness after London fogs and our beautiful winter, you can be suited too. Nim undertakes to accommodate you at any time, Christmas or otherwise, and if we have other visitors at the same time, she undertakes to accommodate them too. So that is settled, and we shall this time not be disappointed.

I also forward 2 *Volkszeitungen which please return, as they belong to Edward* and he will expect to find them here on his return (his papers, etc., are forwarded to me in his absence).[601] From these you see that *la république cosaque* — Mohr's solution of Napoléon's[b] alternative: *ou république ou cosaque*[629] — flourishes in New York as luxuriantly as

[a] See this volume, p. 494. - [b] Napoleon I's

in Paris. It is lucky for them that the first attempt at intimidation came so soon and was so clumsily executed.

I am afraid Paul exaggerates the significance of the Paris verdict in so far as it is a symptom of the accessibility of the industrial bourgeoisie for socialist ideas.[630] The struggle between usurer and industrial capitalist is one within the bourgeoisie itself, and though no doubt a certain number of petty bourgeois will be driven over to us by the certainty of their impending expropriation *de la part des boursiers*,[a] yet we can never hope to get the mass of them over to our side. Moreover this is not desirable, as they bring their narrow class prejudices along with them. In Germany we have too many of them, and it is they who form the dead weight which trammels the march of the party. It will ever be the lot of the petty bourgeois—as a mass—to float undecidedly between the two great classes, one part to be crushed by the centralisation of capital, the other by the victory of the proletariat. On the decisive day, they will as usual be tottering, wavering and helpless, *se laisseront faire*,[b] and that is all we want. Even if they come round to our views they will say: of course communism is the ultimate solution, but it is far off, maybe 100 years before it can be realised—in other words: we do not mean to work for its realisation neither in our, nor in our children's lifetime. Such is our experience in Germany.

Otherwise the verdict is a grand victory and marks a decided step in advance. The bourgeoisie, from the moment it is faced by a conscious and organised proletariat, becomes entangled in hopeless contradictions between its liberal and democratic general tendencies *here*, and the repressive necessities of its defensive struggle against the proletariat *there*. A cowardly bourgeoisie, like the German and Russian, sacrifices its general class tendencies to the momentary advantages of brutal repression. But a bourgeoisie with a revolutionary history of its own, such as the English and particularly the French, cannot do that so easily. Hence that struggle within the bourgeoisie itself, which in spite of occasional fits of violence and oppression, on the whole drives it forward—see the various electoral reforms of Gladstone in England,[299] and the advance of Radicalism in France.[429] This verdict is a new *étape*. And so the bourgeoisie, in doing its own work, is doing ours.

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[a] on the part of the stock-brokers - [b] letting events follow their own course

But now I must conclude. I want this letter to be registered and have still to write to Tussy by first post.

Yours affectionately,
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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## 291

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL [61]

[IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN]

London, 8 October 1886

Dear Bebel,

I am writing to you today because of the conversations I have had with old Johann Philipp Becker who spent 10 days with me here and is now doubtless back in Geneva, having returned via Paris (where he discovered that his daughter had died suddenly).[628] It was a great pleasure to see the old colossus again; though he has aged physically, he's still as merry and pugnacious as ever. He is one of the characters out of our Rheno-Franconian saga that are personified in the *Nibelungenlied*—Volker the Fiddler to the life.

I had been asking him for years to set down his reminiscences and experiences[a] and he told me that, having also been encouraged by you and others, he himself felt very much inclined to do so and had actually made a start on several occasions, though he had met with little real encouragement when his work was published piecemeal (as in the *Neue Welt* to which he sent some quite splendid stuff[b] years ago, which was, however, considered insufficiently 'novelistic' as Liebknecht informed him via Motteler). A more formidable obstacle, however, was the need to work for his keep and earn 25 frs per week

[a] See this volume, p. 363. - [b] J. Ph. Becker, 'Abgerissene Bilder aus meinem Leben', *Die Neue Welt*, Nos. 17-20, 23, 24, 26, 28 and 29; 22 and 29 April, 6 and 13 May, 3, 10 and 24 June, 8 and 15 July 1876.

as correspondent to a Viennese paper.[631] For that he has to read a vast number of papers and periodicals and, since he has suffered from weak eyesight ever since the explosion during his experiment in Paris,[632] this alone is more than he can cope with. I have now promised him that for a start I shall write to you and Ede.

I feel that in so far as its resources permit — as they now do, according to what I have been told by Liebknecht and have heard from Zurich — the party is under an obligation to admit this old veteran, at least partially, to its pension fund, and not to allow him to ruin his eyes for the sake of 25 frs per week. At present Becker gets 25 frs a month from van Kol, a similar amount from a friend in Basle, while I myself have undertaken to pay him £5 = 125 frs a quarter, making 1,100 frs a year in all. I may have made a mistake about the amounts paid by the other two; it may only be 20 frs, in which case the total would come to 980 frs. The balance to be made up by the party would therefore be of no great significance and could doubtless be raised without difficulty by private subscription, so that in the case of payments the party treasury would simply act as intermediary. As to what the balance should amount to, this would be best determined by Ede with the help of the old man himself.

If this can be arranged, he would have time to write and/or dictate his memoirs which, since they are of the utmost importance as regards the history of the revolutionary movement in Germany, i. e. our party's antecedents, and to some extent the actual history of the party since 1860, would make an extremely valuable and saleable addition to the Volksbuchhandlung's[a] list. I consider this work highly necessary, for otherwise a whole mass of the most valuable material will go down with old Becker to the grave, or at best these things will be preserved and presented exclusively by those wholly or partially opposed to us, vulgar democrats, etc. Besides, the old man played quite an important political and military role. During the 1849 campaign he was the only commander who was a genuine product of the people and he achieved more with the crude, homespun strategy and tactics taught him by the Swiss army than any of the officers from Baden or Prussia, while at the same time he never deviated from the correct political course. Moreover he was a natural commander of a people's army, had remarkable presence of mind and was possessed of rare skill in the handling of young troops.

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[a] a Social Democratic bookshop in Zurich

It was in fact my intention to write to Ede first about the bookselling aspect of the matter, because there would have been much I could have discussed in a more positive vein after receiving his reply, but that damned Freiberg verdict[602] may put paid to my plans at any moment and that is why I am approaching you straight away. If you take a favourable view of the matter, perhaps you would tell me whom I should deal with while you are in retreat, so that I can pursue this further — the old chap is somewhat mistrustful of Liebknecht, nor do I feel he is the right man, though I shall discuss it with him on his return; but the very fact of his being absent means that someone else will now have to deal with the business.

I must now close if this letter is to go off. I shan't forgive the court for depriving me of your visit and you of your trip to Paris. But could you, perhaps, come over here next summer before the elections and accompany me on a visit to the seaside so as to build up your strength for the campaign? Will it be more or less possible to contact you while you're in prison?

Liebknecht and the Avelings have been given a fairly, indeed unexpectedly, decent reception by the Anglo-American press.[600]

Kindest regards.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 9 October 1886

Dear Ede,

Having perused with some perplexity your 3 pages of painstaking argument[633] — perplexity as to what you could actually be driving

at — I couldn't help laughing out loud when I finally got to the nub of the matter and realised that all this was intended to explain your marriage which, after all, calls for no explanation whatsoever. If all proletarians were to be so hesitant, either the proletariat would become extinct or it would reproduce itself only through illegitimate children, a method we are unlikely to resort to *en masse* until the proletariat has ceased to be. So please accept my heartiest congratulations on having at last overcome your grave hesitations and given free rein to the promptings of your heart. You will find that living as a couple, even when times are bad, is better than living alone; I myself put it to the test long enough, sometimes under the most wretched conditions, and never had cause to rue it. So give your fiancée[a] my kindest regards and jump into *thalamus*[b] with a will.

But it is already four o'clock and my letter must go off before 5.30, so now to business.

Old Becker has been here[628] and there was much talk about the necessity of his recording his reminiscences and experiences. It is something I and, he says, others as well, had often proposed to him, but how is he to do it? In order to live, he contributes to Schneeberger's *Korrespondenz* in Vienna[631] in return for 25 frs a week, and for this he must laboriously collect material. The toll on his strength and eyesight is such that he is able to do nothing else.[632] It is therefore essential that he be put in a position which will enable him to live while devoting all his time to the thing. Now van Kol, if I remember aright, gives him 25 frs a month and another friend the same amount. That makes 600 frs a year. I have undertaken to send him £5 = 125 frs a quarter. Total 1,100 frs. In my view, it is up to the party to supply the remainder, provided it has the means which, according to what Liebknecht told me, it does have. In fact, it ought really to provide wholly for the old veteran out of its pension fund. But I don't suppose there would be much difficulty about raising from well-to-do party comrades the few hundred francs still required, and this would mean that the party would merely act as intermediary for the regular payments.

The memoirs as such would be a highly valuable addition to the Volksbuchhandlung's[c] list, a new source on our party's antecedents (the revolutionary movement from 1827 to 1860) and its history

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[a] Regina Schattner - [b] nuptial bed - [c] a Social Democratic bookshop in Zurich

(from the '50s up till the present), a document that no real historiographer could afford to overlook. And, what's more, a magnificently vivid account — genuine popular literature, if the samples published years ago in the *Neue Welt* are anything to go by.[a] And the sooner he gets down to it the better, for when a chap has already totted up a total of 77 years, his verbosity tends to outstrip his ability to assess what is important and what is not — such is the course of nature.

I wrote to August[b] about this yesterday; I had meant to write to you first and find out what you people at the publishing end thought about it, but since he is shortly due to go into jug,[602] there was no time to waste. I myself consider the thing to be of the utmost importance. An account of what happened by an active participant,— indeed *the only survivor from the thirties* whose standpoint is the same as *our own* — is an absolute necessity; it will cast a new light on the whole of the period between 1827 and 1840 and, unless done by Becker, will be lost forever. Or else it will be undertaken by people who are hostile to us — members of the People's Party[203] and other vulgar democrats, and that would serve no good purpose. It is an opportunity such as will never again present itself and to miss it would, I believe, be a crime.

I told August it would be best — once matters have got to that stage — if the details regarding the balance to be paid and the mode of publication were to be arranged personally between yourself and Becker. And in this connection there's another point which I thought it unnecessary to raise with August at this juncture, namely that the balance should be regarded simply as a pension and not as an advance on the fee. This last might be suggested by some of the 'leaders' but would be an exceedingly shabby way to treat the old warrior. Hence my proposal that as much of the balance as possible be raised by private subscription, when any such suggestion would be automatically precluded.

If all this should be settled and you enter into negotiations with Becker re publication, you should take no notice of his ideas about sales, etc., prospectus, and so forth. So far as his ideas about the sale of banned books are concerned, he might still be living in the '40s,

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[a] J. Ph. Becker, 'Abgerissene Bilder aus meinem Leben', *Die Neue Welt*, Nos. 17-20, 23, 24, 26, 28 and 29; 22 and 29 April, 6 and 13 May, 3, 10 and 24 June, 8 and 15 July 1876. - [b] August Bebel; see previous letter.

and he has no inkling of the way this has now changed into a big industry.

So consider the matter and let me know what you think.

So far the Bulgarians have indeed done unexpectedly well and, if they hold out another 8 or 10 days, either they will win through or, should the Russians march against them, it will be only at the risk of a European war.[634] This they owe to the circumstances of having been so long subject to the *Turks*, who were content to preserve what remained of their gentile institutions, while only preventing — through the depredations of the pashas — the rise of the middle classes. The Serbs, on the other hand, who had been free of the Turks for 80 years, wrecked their old gentile institutions by introducing Austrian legislation and an Austrian-trained bureaucracy, hence their inevitable drubbing at the hands of the Bulgarians. Give the Bulgarians 60 years of bourgeois evolution — when they would certainly accomplish nothing — and of bureaucratic rule, and they would go to wrack and ruin just as the Serbs have done. It would have been infinitely better for the Bulgarians as for us had they remained Turkish until the European revolution; their gentile institutions would have provided a first-rate point of departure for their further evolution along communist lines, just as would the Russian *mir*,[a] which is now likewise being destroyed under our very noses.

As things are now I take the view that:

1) The southern Slavs should be supported if, and for as long as, they *oppose Russia*, for then they will go *along with* the European revolutionary movement.

2) If, however, they oppose the *Turks*, i. e. demand the annexation *à tout prix*[b] of the few Turkish Serbs and Bulgarians that still remain, then they will, consciously or unconsciously, be doing Russia's work for it, and we cannot go along with them. This could only be achieved at the risk of a European war, and isn't worth the candle. The chaps will have to wait, just like the Alsatians and the Lorrainers, the Trentini, etc. Moreover, the result of any renewed attack on the Turks could — in present circumstances — only be that the victorious small nationalities — victorious solely thanks to Russia — would come directly under the Russian yoke, or — cf. the linguistic map of the peninsula — become hopelessly embroiled with one another.

3) As soon as revolution breaks out in Russia, however, the chaps

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[a] village commune - [b] whatever the cost

can do as they like. But then, too, they will realise that they are no match for the Turks.

Time for the post.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 22 October 1886

Dear Ede,

This is to inform you that our friend Belfort Bax will probably be visiting you towards the end of this month. He is a thoroughly good sort, very erudite, especially in German philosophy, and speaks German, though in all political matters he's of a childlike innocence that can drive one to despair and is also much in evidence in *The Commonweal*. But among the 'eddicated' here he and Aveling are the only ones who not only are in earnest where the cause is concerned, but also devote some study to it.

Kautsky will have informed you about the legal niceties involved in getting married over here; I hope it can be arranged.

As regards Becker,[a] August writes[635] to say he has asked you to clarify matters with the old man. I trust you have already written to him — the old man —, as it is something he has very much at heart. August says that Becker is already getting an annual allowance of 200 frs from the party — I know I had omitted one item from the amounts I had stated[b]; this was it. I merely raise the point lest the impression

[a] Johann Philipp Becker - [b] See this volume, p. 501.

should have been given that Becker had concealed it from me, which was not the case.

If the stories put about by the Zankovists in Sofia are true[636] Alexander III can safely recall his discredited Kaulbars,[634] for he will then have everything he wants. It will be an improved version of the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi[637] (1839, see Louis Blanc, *Dix ans*,[a] where it is set out in the last volume). The Black Sea will then belong to him and Constantinople will be his for the asking. This would be the result of the appropriation of parts of Turkey, namely Bosnia and Egypt, by Austria and Britain respectively, who thus revealed themselves in Constantinople as Russia's equals when it came to plundering Turkey. That was why the peace-loving Gladstone had to bombard Alexandria and wage war in the Sudan.[638]—However the story is being contested and it is probable that no formal agreement has yet been concluded; but at all events we must watch out for further news of the affair. For even *if* it were true, Austria in particular would try to hush it up lest it be compelled to attack before the Russians *really* showed signs of occupying the Dardanelles, i. e. when it was too late.

Meanwhile Alexander seems to have gone really insane—he is said to have taken one of his aides-de-camp for a Nihilist[356] and shot him—, while old William[b] is going rapidly downhill. The Russian revolution—be it ushered in by a palace revolution—is becoming more necessary than ever and would at once help to clear up the whole wretched business.

Your
F. E.

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[a] L. Blanc, *Histoire de dix ans. 1830-1840*, in 5 volumes. - [b] William I

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 23 October 1886

My dear Laura,

To-day I have a bit of a holiday that is to say no proof-sheets,[a] and the prefaces are as good as done. So I profit of it to write to you. Proofs are now up to sheet 40, or p. 644 of German 3rd edition. But there is a hitch again, otherwise I should be busy to-day at them again. It's awful work, every sheet 3 proofs, and a good many alterations to make in the text; the latter part of the manuscript was anything but *ausgefeilt*,[b] when we had to cede to pressure and hand it in to the printer. Sam Moore, in the polishing of the text, is invaluable to me, he has a capital eye for these things and a very ready hand. But I shall be glad when it's done, as it is I cannot take anything else in hand and there are about 5 jobs awaiting in my desk.

I certainly do hope that you will not again put off your journey till some other time which may be less foggy meteorologically but which after all would leave us both in a fog of fresh uncertainty. As to Schorlemmer he arrived here quite knocked up, had been laid up at home for a week with indigestion (it was the Vaterland I suppose he could not digest) and was in an awfully down-in-the-mouth mood here all the time—since then I have not heard a word from him.

I send you herewith two more letters from our transatlantic travellers,[c] please keep the lot for me until you come over, unless you return them before. They were yesterday in Providence (Rhode Island) and are now on the road from New England to the Great Lakes, stopping half way to-morrow at Albany and Troy (New York State) on the Hudson.[601] The press in the New England manufacturing districts has been almost cordial in its reception, thus showing not only its own dependence upon the working people, but also an evident sympathetic feeling towards socialism on the part of the latter. I am very glad of this and also of the favourable effect they have made on the bourgeois press generally, more particularly on account of their im-

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[a] of the English translation of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56) - [b] polished - [c] Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling

pending arrival in Chicago where the bourgeois, six weeks ago, seemed inclined to get up police rows on their arrival. But they will hardly attempt anything of the kind in the face of the decided change in public opinion down East.

The Vienna anarchist plot is a pure police affair. [639] The best proof is in the self-inflaming bottles the poor fools were told to put in timber yards to set them on fire. A bottle with nitric acid, stopped with cotton impregnated with sulphuric acid. This latter was to percolate and on reaching the nitric acid, was expected to cause an explosion and fire!! Thus the same police which excited the anarchist jackasses to this plot, took damned good care that the fire bottles were perfectly harmless. But the present anti-proletarian jurisprudence will there as everywhere find means to convict them of arson.

Yesterday I had a card from an unknown place in Canada 'Rolandrie, P. O. Whitewood': '*Verehelicht*[a]: Dr R. Meyer, Mathilda Meyer, *geb.*[b] Trautow.' This must be a cousin of his whom he left on his farm last winter to mind it. On the back a few words in French from a Comte Ives de Rossignac or Prossignac that Meyer has had an accident and cannot use his right hand for a short time, and therefore cannot write himself. That is the end of another of your adorers. The grapes being sour, people take to crab-apples.

The successful issue of the Lyons Congress I read in the *Cri*,[c] but nevertheless Paul's comments and details were very welcome to me. [640] Things seem everywhere ripe for us and we have only to gather in the fruit; all old-fashioned forms of socialism are exploded while nothing can touch our theory, and so the working people need only stirring up — whenever they get into movement, no matter how, they are sure to come round to us.

Altogether things are going on bravely in France. Vierzon [619] continues Decazeville, [545] and rightly so. The government must be taught to respect their own laws and to get used to strikes. And on the other hand the discipline of a strike is most useful to the French working men; a movement in which strict legality is the first condition of success, and where all revolutionary brag and explosion necessarily brings on defeat. This discipline is the first condition of successful and lasting organisation, and the thing most feared by the bourgeoisie. And as it has brought on one ministerial crisis, [641] it may bring on more. As matters stand, it looks as if the present Chamber would soon

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[a] married - [b] née - [c] *Cri du Peuple*

become impossible and have to be dissolved. I believe it will be very necessary to prepare for that event, for in the next general election the Socialists ought to force the Radicals [429] to place at least 20 of our people on the list for Paris; and the next Chamber ought to abolish *scrutin de liste*. [375] Paul ought to get into Parliament next time, he has effaced himself a good deal in favour of Guesde, Deville and others, taken the hard anonymous work upon himself and left to the others not only all the pay but also the greater part of the credit. I think the time is approaching when he ought to assert himself a little more. He is decidedly the best writer amongst the lot — now that he has once found his happy vein and sticks to it — and also the most studious. And he is far more than all the rest in constant touch with the international movement. He and Guesde at the very least ought to get in next time and shape for it from now. Guesde may be more flashy as an orator but Paul would be far better in bringing out *facts*.

However by next spring we may have a European war which upsets all our calculations being incalculable in its results. About that I shall write Paul [a] as soon as I find time. Now I must conclude, having just time enough left to send a few words to Tussy by to-day's mail.

Nim is very jolly and sends her love.

Yours affectionately,

F. E.

Liebknecht's wine-revolution is not very formidable, considering that he finds the most horrid wine '*famos*'. [b]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 512-20. - [b] 'fine'

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# ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

[IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN]

London, 23 and 25 October 1886, Saturday

Dear Bebel,

The *Sozialdemokrat* containing your statement[642] arrived just now, at 9.30 p. m., and I am hastening to write to you although my letter cannot go off until 5.30 on Monday, when I shall have it registered. But on Monday, I may again have a whole lot of proofs[a] requiring my immediate attention.

Your statement is so worded that no exception whatever can be taken to it — assuming the necessity of such a step. As to this, I cannot rightly judge but, even in the absence of Freytag's opinion, it would seem to me justified. From the viewpoint both of the cause in general and of the newspaper in particular, it was, to my mind, most fortunate that the verdict enabled you to take this step in a seemly way. To have conferred an official character on the paper in the first place was, in my view, a great mistake, and so, indeed, it has proved to be in the Reichstag and elsewhere; but once it had been done, you could hardly go back on it without appearing to disown the paper and beat a retreat. The verdict gave you an opportunity of going back on it without producing that impression and you did right in making use of it. Nor, as Liebknecht saw it, was there any question of beating a retreat, and the paper will now be able to express the views of the great bulk of the party far more freely and with far less regard for the gentlemen of the right wing.

The *Neue Zeit* has not yet arrived.[643] I too take the view that Bismarck has got far more involved with the Russians than he need have done on France's account, and for this the main reason — besides those adduced by you, and overshadowing them all — is his having been told by the Russians what he knows to be true, namely: 'Either we must have decisive and resounding victories on the road to Constantinople, or else — we shall have *revolution*.' Without making sacrifices, neither Alexander III nor yet the Russian diplomats can exor-

[a] of the English translation of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56)

cise the Pan-Slav and chauvinist spirit they have conjured up, for otherwise Alexander III will be bumped off by the generals and then, whether they like it or not, they'll get a national assembly. And a Russian revolution is what Bismarck fears above all else. The collapse of Russian tsarism would entail that of the Prusso-Bismarckian economy. And hence everything possible must be done to postpone the crash, despite Austria, despite the indignation of the middle classes in Germany, and despite Bismarck's knowledge that, either way, he will eventually undermine his system — which, after all, depends on German hegemony in Europe — and that, on the day old William [a] dies, both Russia and France will rattle their sabres in quite different fashion.

The worst of it is that, given the rascality of those in power, no one can say how, in case of war, the belligerents will assort themselves, who will side *with*, and who *against* whom. That the eventual outcome will be revolution is plain, but at the cost of what sacrifices, of what general prostration — and after who knows how many changes.

In the meanwhile there'll be a respite until the spring, and during that time much can happen. In Russia the fun might begin without more ado, old William might kick the bucket and Germany change its policy, the Turks (having been deprived of Bosnia by Austria and of Egypt by Britain, they will, of course, now regard these their former allies merely as traitors) may again get out of the Russian furrow, etc.

Your opinion of the German bourgeoisie cannot be worse than mine. But it remains to be seen whether historical circumstances won't compel them actively to intervene willy-nilly, just like their French counterparts. The latter's performance is wretched enough and that of our lot would be even worse, but all the same they'd be forced to take a hand in their own history again. At the time, I read Berger's pronouncement with some pleasure, but as you say it's applicable only to Bismarck's lifetime. That it's their *intention* to drop their own 'liberal' slogans for good, I do not for a moment doubt. [644] It remains to be seen whether they can do so once they no longer have a Bismarck to rule for them and find themselves face to face with nothing but imbecile squireens and dim-witted bureaucrats — people of their own moral calibre. For come war or peace, Germany's hegemony has, during the past few months, gone for a burton and she has

[a] William I

again become the humble servant of Russia. And it was only the chauvinist satisfaction of being the arbiter of Europe that held the whole bag of tricks together. Fear of the proletariat will certainly help things along. And if these chaps gain admittance to the government, they will certainly start off by adopting the very attitude you describe, but will soon be forced to change their tune. I would go still further and say that even were the spell to be broken by the Old Man's death and the same people to remain at the helm as now, they would either be forced to resign as a result of renewed clashes — not only with the Court — or have to act in accordance with bourgeois views. Not at once, of course, but very soon. Political stagnation such as now obtains in Germany — a genuine Second Empire — can only be a transitory and exceptional state of affairs; large-scale industry will not allow its laws to be dictated by the cowardice of industrialists. Economic development will give rise to repeated clashes, each more severe than the last, nor will it suffer itself to be governed for any length of time by semi-feudal Junkers with feudal proclivities.

Come to that, there is also the possibility that in the spring they will all gird up their loins for war and, armed to the teeth, confront one another, each fearing to begin, until one of them puts forward a solution involving mutual compromise and the swallowing up of small states, whereupon they'll all grab their share. That Bismarck is presently adumbrating such an expedient seems probable enough.

*25 October*

Your remarks about Liebknecht's speeches presumably relate mainly to what he told the correspondent of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (little Cuno); this shouldn't be taken too literally — since interviewers always distort things. I agree that his other remarks about the *Kulturkampf*[462] are somewhat misguided, but as you know, Liebknecht is very dependent on atmosphere and tends to chance his hand with his audiences (not always successfully), while he never has more than two colours — black and white — on his palette. Not that very much harm will have been done, since it will all have been long since forgotten in America.

Goodbye, then, and mind you keep fit and send us occasional news of yourself during your imprisonment.[602] I hardly imagine that you

will have to stay there for the full term, and in 9 months' time everything may have changed.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [645]

### IN PARIS

London, 25-26 October 1886

My dear Lafargue,

The Eastern affair is rather lengthy, and I shall be obliged to enter into a mass of detail in view of the absurdities which the French press, including the *Cri*,[a] has been disseminating on the subject, under the Russian patriotic influence.

In the winter of 1878[b] Disraeli sent 4 ironclads into the Bosphorus, this being sufficient to halt the Russian advance on Constantinople and to tear up the Treaty of San Stefano.[646] For a time the Treaty of Berlin stabilised the situation in the Orient. Bismarck succeeded in effecting a settlement between the Russians and the Austrians, in accordance with which Austria was tacitly given dominion over Serbia, while Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia were to be left exposed to the predominant influence of Russia. In other words, if the Russians were later permitted to take Constantinople, Austria would get Salonika and Macedonia.

But on top of that, Bosnia was allotted to Austria, just as the greater part of Poland proper had been handed over to the Prussians and Austrians by Russia in 1794, only to be taken back by the latter in 1814.[647] Bosnia represented a constant drain on Austria, a bone of

[a] *Cri du Peuple*.-[b] 1879 in the original

contention between Hungary and Western Austria and, in particular—*proof, where Turkey was concerned, that the fate awaiting it at the hands of Austria no less than at those of Russia, would be that suffered by Poland.* Henceforward there could be no question of mutual trust between Turkey and Austria—a tremendous victory, this, for Russia.

Though Serbia's sympathies were Slavophil and, consequently, Russophil it had, since its emancipation, looked to Austria for all its means of bourgeois development. Its young men went to university in Austria, its bureaucratic system, its statute books, its judicial procedure and its schools all conformed to the Austrian model, as was only natural. But Russia thought it necessary to prevent the same thing happening in Bulgaria and, besides, had no desire to act as Austria's cat's paw there. Thus, from the very outset, Bulgaria was organised along the lines of a Russian satrapy. The administration was Russian, as were the officers and non-commissioned officers in the army, the whole body of government officials and, indeed, the entire system, while Battenberg, imposed upon it as satrap, was a cousin of Alexander III's.

Russian domination, direct at first, then indirect, succeeded in stifling, within less than 4 years, all the sympathy Bulgaria had once felt for Russia, whole-hearted and enthusiastic though that sympathy had been. The people increasingly jibbed at the insolence of their 'liberators', so that even Battenberg, a man of weak character and devoid of political ideas, who asked nothing better than to serve the Tsar on condition that he himself was accorded some measure of respect—even Battenberg was becoming increasingly rebellious.

In the meantime things were taking their course in Russia. The government had succeeded, by draconian measures, in temporarily dispersing and disorganising the Nihilists.[356] But this could not last forever; what was needed was to gain the support of public opinion and to distract people's minds from social and political miseries at home—in other words, a bit of chauvinist phantasmagoria. And just as, under Louis Napoleon, the left bank of the Rhine had served to divert revolutionary fervour to foreign policy matters, so, too, in Russia the image of a Constantinople subdued, of oppressed Turkish Slavs 'liberated' to form part of a great federation under Russian leadership, was conjured up before the eyes of the anxious and restive people. But merely to evoke that phantasmagoria was not enough; something would have to be done to make it enter the domain of reality.

Circumstances were favourable. The annexation of Alsace-

Lorraine had thrown an apple of discord between France and Germany so that those two powers appeared to cancel each other out. Austria on her own was scarcely in a position to fight Russia, since her most effective offensive weapon — an appeal to the Poles — must, thanks to Prussia, remain permanently in the scabbard. And the occupation — or theft — of Bosnia constituted another Alsace between Austria and Turkey. Italy fell to the highest bidder, that is to say Russia, whose stake was the Trentino and Istria, if not also Dalmatia and Tripoli. And England? Gladstone, that peaceable Russophil, had hearkened to Russia's siren call and *had occupied Egypt* in time of peace,[648] thus ensuring not only continual discord between England and France, but also and into the bargain *the impossibility of any alliance between the Turks and the English who had just despoiled them* by appropriating Egypt, a Turkish fief. Moreover, Russia's preparations in Asia were sufficiently advanced to keep the English, in case of war, fully occupied in India. Never had the moment presented so many and such favourable opportunities to the Russians; their diplomacy was proving victorious all along the line.

The revolt of the Bulgarians against Russian domination provided the pretext for instituting a campaign. In the summer of 1885 a carrot was dangled before the Bulgarians of North and South — the possibility of unification, as pledged by the Peace of San Stefano and revoked by the Treaty of Berlin. They were told that, if they again entrusted themselves to the liberating arms of Russia, that country would accomplish her mission by accomplishing the said unification, but the Bulgarians, for their part, must first rid themselves of Battenberg. Duly forewarned, the latter reacted with unwonted promptitude and vigour. Off his own bat and on his own account he effected the unification which the Russians had intended to bring about in his despite. From that moment it was implacable war between him and Russia.

To begin with, that war was conducted covertly and by indirect means. The small Balkan states were reminded of Louis Bonaparte's splendid doctrine which held that, when a nation hitherto disunited — say Italy or Germany — constituted itself a nation, other powers — say France — were entitled to territorial compensation. Serbia swallowed the bait and went to war with Bulgaria. Russia's triumph was the greater in that the war, instigated by her in her own interests, appeared to the rest of the world to be taking place under the auspices of Austria, which had failed to prevent it for fear this should bring the Russian party to power in Serbia. — Russia, for her

part, disrupted the Bulgarian army by recalling all its senior officers, including battalion commanders.

But contrary to all expectations the Bulgarians, deprived of Russian officers and with two men to the enemy's three, inflicted a resounding defeat on the Serbs and won the respect and admiration of an astonished Europe.[478] For those victories there were two reasons. In the first place Alexander Battenberg, though a weak politician, was a good soldier who waged war as he had learned to do in the Prussian school, whereas the Serbs, in both strategy and tactics, turned to Austria for their model. Secondly, the Serbs had lived for 60 years under a bureaucratic Austrian régime which, while failing to give them a strong middle class and an independent peasantry (by now all their property was mortgaged), had succeeded in undermining and disorganising what remained of the *gentile* communism which had lent them strength in their struggles against the Turks. In Bulgaria, on the other hand, these more or less communist institutions had been left intact by the Turks, and this is the explanation for their superior courage.

So Russia was foiled again and had to make a fresh start. And the Slavophil chauvinism which had been encouraged in the hope that it would counterbalance the revolutionary element, continued to grow day by day and had already begun to pose a threat to the government. So the Tsar betook himself to the Crimea[a] where, or so the Russian press maintained, he would achieve great things. He attempted to entice the Sultan[b] there so as to involve him in an alliance by demonstrating that his erstwhile allies—Austria and England—were traitors and robbers and that France was in tow to, and at the mercy of, Russia. But the Sultan did not come and, for the time being, there was no employment for the vast armaments Russia had accumulated in the west and the south.

The Tsar returned (last June) from the Crimea,[c] but in the meantime the tide of chauvinism had continued to rise and the government, far from controlling this upward surge, found itself increasingly carried away by it. So much so that, on the Tsar's return to Moscow, there was no preventing the mayor,[d] in his address,[e] of speaking loud

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[a] on 1 April 1886 - [b] Abdul-Hamid II - [c] Alexander III returned to Gatchina (near St Petersburg) on 30 May 1886 (see *Правительственный вѣстникъ*, No. 108, 20 May (1 June) 1886). - [d] Nikolai Alexeyev - [e] See *Новое время*, No. 3666, 15 (27) May 1886.

and clear about the conquest of Constantinople.[649] Under the influence of the generals, *and under their aegis*, the press openly expressed the expectation that the Tsar would take action against Austria and Germany which were hampering him, nor did the government have the courage to muzzle it. In short, Slavophil chauvinism was stronger than the Tsar. Either the latter must give way or else — the Slavophils would rebel.

All this was compounded by a shortage of cash. No one was willing to lend money to a government which between 1870 and 1875 had borrowed 70 million pounds sterling (1,750 million frs) in London and was posing a threat to the peace of Europe. Only three years before, in Germany, Bismarck had raised a loan of 375 million frs on its behalf, but that had been frittered away long since; and without Bismarck's signature the Germans wouldn't give another farthing. But that signature was no longer to be had save at the cost of humiliating conditions. At home, the government paper-mill had already been producing to excess; the rouble in silver was worth 3 fr. 80, but in paper-money only 2 fr. 20. And armaments were diabolically expensive.

Finally action became imperative. Either a successful move against Constantinople, or revolution. Which is why Giers went to call on Bismarck to explain the situation to him. And Bismarck understood him perfectly. He would have restrained the Russians, first because of their insatiability and secondly out of consideration for Austria. But revolution in Russia *might involve the fall of Bismarck's régime in Germany*. Without the large reserves of the reactionary army, the rule of the cabbage Junkers in Prussia would not last a day. Revolution in Russia would, at a stroke, change the situation in Germany; it would put an end to that blind faith in Bismarck's omnipotence which had rallied to his standard all the propertied classes; it would foment revolution in Germany.

Bismarck, who had no illusions but that the existence of tsarism in Russia was the base upon which the whole of his system rested, understood very well; he hastened to Vienna to tell his Austrian friends that, in the face of such a danger, it would not be opportune either for him or for them to place undue insistence on questions of *amour-propre*; that the Russians must be allowed at least a semblance of victory, and that it was in their own interests that Germany and Austria should bow the knee before the Tsar. Moreover, were his esteemed friends the Austrians to insist on meddling in Bulgarian affairs, he would wash his hands of them and then they'd see what

would happen. Kálnoky finally gave way, Alexander Battenberg was sacrificed, and Bismarck went in person to announce the fact to Giers.

There followed the kidnapping of Battenberg by military conspirators in circumstances which could not but shock any monarchically-minded conservative, in particular those princes *who had armies of their own*. But at this point Bismarck proceeded to the next item on the agenda, glad to have got off at so little cost.

Unfortunately, the Bulgarians gave evidence of a political aptitude and an energy which, in the circumstances, were highly inopportune, not to say intolerable in a Slav nation 'liberated' by Holy Russia. They arrested the conspirators and nominated an efficient government, energetic and — incorruptible (a quality wholly intolerable in a nation as yet barely emancipated!) which reinstated Battenberg. The latter thereupon proceeded to exert all his weakness by taking to his heels. But the Bulgarians proved incorrigible. Battenberg or no Battenberg, they resisted the supreme orders of the Tsar and forced even the heroic Kaulbars to make an ass of himself in the eyes of all Europe. [634]

Imagine the fury of the Tsar! Having curbed Bismarck, having broken the resistance of Austria, to find oneself brought up short by this runt of a nation, weaned only yesterday, which owes its 'independence' to oneself or to one's father [a] and fails to see that the aforesaid independence means nothing more than blind obedience to the 'liberator'! The Greeks and Serbs have not shown themselves wanting in ingratitude, but the Bulgarians exceed all possible bounds. Taking their independence seriously — has such a thing ever been heard of before?

To save himself from revolution, the hapless Tsar was compelled to take another step forward. But with every new step the peril increased, for it brought closer the risk of European war — something Russian diplomacy had always been at pains to avoid. There could be no doubt that, if Russia intervened in Bulgaria, and if such intervention subsequently led to complications, the moment would come when the mutually inimical interests of Russia and Austria would lead to an open clash. And this time there could be no question of localising the affair. There would be general war. And, given the rascals who were at that juncture governing Europe, there was no foreseeing what the

[a] Alexander II

composition of the two camps might be. Bismarck was capable of allying himself with the Russians against Austria if that was the only way of postponing revolution in Russia. What seemed more probable, however, was war between Austria and Russia, and that Germany would come to the help of Austria only in case of need, to prevent her being crushed.

While waiting for the spring—for before April the Russians cannot embark on a major war on the Danube—they did everything they could to lure Turkey into their snare, and Austria and England, by their treachery towards Turkey, furthered this ploy. Their object was to gain the right to occupy the Dardanelles, thus turning the Black Sea into a Russian lake, an unassailable haven for the organisation of powerful fleets which would sail out of it to dominate the French lake, as Napoleon called the Mediterranean. But in this they never succeeded, even though the cat had been let out of the bag by the few adherents they had in Sofia.

Such was the situation. To avoid revolution in Russia, the Tsar must have Constantinople. And Bismarck prevaricated, wishing to find some way of avoiding one or the other eventuality. And what of France?

For those Frenchmen whose thoughts, for 16 years, had centred solely on revenge, it would seem natural enough to seize on what might be a possible opportunity. But for our party it is not so simple, nor yet even for Messrs the chauvinists. War against Germany in alliance with Russia might lead to either revolution or counter-revolution in France. If a revolution were to bring the socialists to power, the alliance with Russia would collapse. In the first place, *the Russians would immediately conclude peace with Bismarck so that they might together fall upon revolutionary France.* And in the second, France would not put the socialists in power so that they might fight to prevent revolution in Russia. But such an eventuality is unlikely to arise. What is far more likely is *a monarchist counter-revolution*, promoted by the Russian alliance. You know how greatly the Tsar desires the restoration of the house of Orleans, and that this alone would enable him to conclude a good, stable alliance with France. Well, the war once embarked upon, good use would be made of the monarchist officers in the army who would help pave the way for the said restoration. For any partial defeat, however slight—and such there would be—they would

blame the Republic, saying that, if victories were to be achieved and the whole-hearted cooperation of their Russian ally secured, there must be a stable, monarchical government—in short, Philippe VII[a]; the monarchist generals would themselves act irresolutely so that their failures could be laid at the door of the republican government—and hey presto, you've got your monarchy! And, Philippe once installed, all those kings and emperors would suddenly be of one mind and, instead of killing each other, share out Europe between them, swallowing up the smaller states. Once the French Republic had been killed there'd be another Congress of Vienna[650] at which France's republican and socialist sins might, perhaps, be made a pretext for refusing her Alsace-Lorraine, whether in whole or in part, and at which the princes would deride the stupidity of the republicans for believing in the possibility of a genuine alliance between tsarism and anarchy.

Is it true, by the bye, that General Boulanger is saying to anyone who chooses to hear *that war is to France a necessity, in that it is the only way to kill social revolution?* If so, let it be a warning to you. The good Boulanger has a swashbuckling air, excusable perhaps in a soldier, but which gives me a low opinion of his political nous. It is not he who will save the Republic. If he had to choose between the socialists and the house of Orleans he would, if needs be, come to terms with the latter, especially if it secured the Russian alliance for him. Whatever the case, *the bourgeois republicans in France are in the same boat as the Tsar in Russia; they see before them the spectre of revolution and can see only one means of salvation: war.*

In France as is Germany things are going so well for us that all we can wish for is the continuation of the *status quo*. And if revolution were to break out in Russia it would create a combination of circumstances which could hardly be more favourable. Whereas if there were to be general war, we should find ourselves back in the realm of uncertainty and of unpredictable events. Revolution in Russia and France would be averted, our party's splendid development in Germany would be violently interrupted, and the monarchy would probably be restored in France. Doubtless all this would eventually redound in our favour, but what a waste of time, what sacrifices, what fresh obstacles to be overcome!

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[a] Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans

The temptation to go to war is everywhere great. In the first place the Prussian military system, universally adopted, takes some 12 to 16 years to complete its development; after that period, all reserve formations are made up of men trained in the handling of weapons. Everywhere the 12-16-year period has elapsed; everywhere there are 12-16 classes which have passed through the army each year. Thus everywhere people are prepared, and the Germans no longer enjoy any particular advantage in that respect. And in the second place, old William[a] is probably about to die; then the system will undergo certain changes. Bismarck will see his position to some extent undermined and *may himself press* for *war as the only means of maintaining it.* For others this would represent a further temptation to attack Germany which would seem to them less strong and less stable at a time when internal affairs were in a state of flux. Indeed, the Stock Exchange everywhere believes there will be war as soon as the Old Man has closed his eyes.

As for myself, I believe we must take for granted the fact that the war, if war there be, will be conducted simply with a view to preventing revolution: in Russia, to forestall common action by all malcontents — Slavophils, Constitutionals, Nihilists[356] and peasants; in Germany to keep Bismarck in power; in France to stem the victorious progress of the socialists and (or so all the big bourgeoisie hopes) to re-establish the monarchy. Hence I am for 'peace at any price', seeing that it is not we who will pay that price.

Yours ever,
F. E.

I return *La France Juive.*[b] What a tiresome book!

26 October, Tuesday, 3.30 p. m.

So this letter will reach you tomorrow morning.

First published in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French

[a] William I - [b] É. Drumont, *La France Juive. Essai d'histoire contemporaine.*

## 297

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 2 November 1886

My dear Laura,

I am sorry you gave yourself the trouble to copy out the Menger balderdash.[651] The fellow is a simple *Streber*[a] who knows that, the thicker he lays it on, the better will be his chance of promotion. We have got the book here and I shall give Kautsky notes enough to enable him to smash the cheeky devil up. The position he takes is so utterly ridiculous that it will nowhere be accepted unless in national-liberal newspapers, and there we must expect to have it served up again and again, but that is of the utmost indifference. The Rodbertus scare was far more serious and that we have already smashed up so completely that it is quite forgotten by this time.[b]

I don't think even Hyndman will venture to make capital out of this, except perhaps in a very small way.

Now I must begin writing my preface,[c] as Swan Sonnenschein and Co. are asking for it, so this looks like coming to a conclusion!

Very affectionately yours,

F. E.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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[a] pusher - [b] See F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'; F. Engels, Preface to the first German edition of Volume II of *Capital*. - [c] Preface to the English edition of Volume I of *Capital*

## 298

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

### IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 9 November 1886

Dear Sir,

All this time I have been busy with the English translation of Volume I [56] which I hope will now be finished in a few weeks as I have read the *first* proof-sheets of the whole and only now have to read 2nd and 3rd corrections of the last 10 sheets. It was very hard work, as after all I shall be held responsible for the text. I have not been able to do anything else during that time, and thus a heap of other little matters have accumulated which I now shall clear off and then return to the 3rd volume. This, as I believe I told you, I have dictated from the original ms. into a legible handwriting, [a] and the greater part of it will not require much revision, but the chapter on the transformation of the rate of surplus value into the rate of profit, and that on banking capital, and to some extent — also that on the rent of land [652] will take a deal of working out yet. I hope to bring the whole out next year, but shall not send anything off to the printer until the whole is completed.

The sale of Volume II up to March 1886 was 1,300 copies. [4]

As soon as the English translation is out, I shall forward you a copy.

The reviews of Volume II in the German press have been exceedingly stupid. One, by a Dr Gross in Vienna, was very decent, [b] but the man is an idiot. Another by Professor Lexis in Breslau [c] is very clever in its way, the man understands the book perfectly, and knows that nothing can be said against it; but he is a '*Streber*' [d] and therefore disguises himself as a *Vulgärökonom*. It is in Hildebrand's *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, XI. Band, 1885, 5tes Heft (5 Dezember 1885).

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[a] See this volume, p. 348. - [b] G. Groß, 'Marx, Karl: *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.* Zweiter Band, Buch II', *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirthschaft im Deutschen Reich*, No. 2, 1886. - [c] W. Lexis, 'Die Marx'sche Kapitaltheorie'. - [d] 'pusher'

I shall be only too glad when I can bring out the 3rd volume for as you say only then will the whole system of the author be completely understood and many stupid objections made at present will fall completely to the ground.

Yours faithfully,
P. W. Rosher [363]

First published, in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 2, St Petersburg, 1908

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

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## ENGELS TO E. T. [653]

### IN LONDON

[London, about 13 November 1886]

In answer to above I have got a translator for the pamphlet in question, [528] and as it is rather difficult to translate, I should certainly not like any translation to be published without my first having revised it.

Yours faithfully,
F. Engels

First published in *The Commonweal*, Vol. 2, No. 44, 13 November 1886

Reproduced from the magazine

## 300

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 23 November 1886

My dear Laura,

I intended to write to you today but had to write to Edward [39] first to catch the steamer, and that has taken me till now 5 p. m. So I must delay till to-morrow.

Prefaces, etc., [654] corrected in 14 proofs, so by end of week *my* share of the work will probably be done. Damned glad, it has worried me more than a little. How soon Swan Sonnenschein & Co. will now bring it out I cannot tell.

In the meantime I enclose the two American letters [655] I have just replied to.

Thanks for 'Fergus' [656] — they do decline then to take his name?

Cyon has orders to start a large French paper (or to buy an existing one) in Paris in the interest of Russia, that was what he went home and brought the money for.

Yours affectionately,
F. E.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 36, Moscow, 1964

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Published in English for the first time

## 301

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 24 November 1886

My dear Laura,

I hope you have received the American letters I sent you yesterday, [655] to-day I can keep my word and write. Our people have in-

deed hit upon a lucky moment for their journey,[601] it coincides with the first formation of a real American working men's party and what was practically an immense success, the Henry George 'boom' in New York.[657] Master George is rather a confused sort of a body and being a Yankee, has a nostrum of his own, and not a very excellent one, but his confusion is a very fair expression of the present stage of development of the Anglo-American working class mind, and we cannot expect even American masses to arrive at theoretical perfection in six or eight months — the age of this movement. And considering that the Germans in America are anything but a fair and adequate sample of the workmen of Germany, but rather of the elements the movement at home has eliminated — Lassalleans, disappointed ambitions, sectarians of all sorts — I for one am not sorry that the Americans start independently of them, or at least of their leadership. As a ferment the Germans can and will act, and at the same time undergo, themselves, a good deal of useful and necessary fermentation. The unavoidable starting point, in America, are the Knights of Labor,[609] who are a real power, and are sure to form the first embodiment of the movement. Their absurd organisation and very slippery leaders — used to the methods of corrupt American partisanship — will very soon provoke a crisis within that body itself, and then a more adequate and more effective organisation can be developed from it. All this I think will not take very long in Yankeeland; the great point gained is that the political action of the working class as an independent party is henceforth established there.

From America to Russia *il n'y a qu'un pas.*[a] Tussy told me last summer that Lawroff had asked her to write something about Lopatine, and to ask me to do the same, as he was to publish something about him. I told her that as far as I knew, Lopatine was still awaiting his trial,[362] and that surely under those circumstances Lawroff would not publish anything to aggravate his position; would she therefore again write to Lawroff to know how this was (for it led me almost to conclude Lawroff must have been informed that Lopatine was dead) and what he desired me to say about him. Since then I have not heard anything more with respect to this matter. I now see in the papers that a fresh Nihilist[356] trial is coming on in Petersburg, and from the way it is worded, it looks likely that this concerns Lopatine too if he be still alive. Would you be good enough to ask Lawroff next time

[a] is but a step

you see him how all this is, and what he wishes me to do with regard to Lopatine as I shall be always ready and willing to contribute my testimony in confirmation and acknowledgment of the great services he has done to the cause, provided I know what is wanted and what is his position at the present moment.

Thanks to the stupidity of all its rivals and opponents, the Social Democratic Federation [300] is beginning to become a power. The government saved them from a *four*[a] by forbidding their procession on Lord Mayor's Day, and prepared them a nominal triumph by allowing them to hold what they called a meeting the same afternoon on Trafalgar Square. And when after that, the Social Democratic Federation called a meeting for last Sunday on Trafalgar Square, [658] the same government made it a real triumph by first announcing that artillery should be brought out to St. James Park in readiness to act, and then countermanding this ridiculous plan. So the meeting — the first where the Social Democratic Federation had announced they would proceed orderly and peaceably — was puffed by the government into a great event, and when it did come off orderly and peaceably, the bourgeois and *Spiessbürger*[b] found that whatever the strength of the Social Democratic Federation itself might be, it had a very powerful tail behind it. The fact is that as the Socialist League [346] is too deeply engaged in discussing its own rules and regulations with its anarchist members, to have a moment to spare for events outside No. 18 Farringdon Road, and as the Radical Clubs of the East End [659] take no initiative whatever with regard to the unemployed, the Social Democratic Federation have no competitor, are alone in the field, and work this question, which springs up afresh as soon as winter comes on, entirely to their own liking. And they have certainly of late been far more sensible in their doings — of late, that is to say for the last fortnight. How long that will last, of course nobody can tell. Hyndman *est capable de tout.*[c]

That Professor Menger who seems to have frightened people all over the continent by his brazen impudence, is a vulgar *Streber*[d] who aspires to the Ministry of Justice. I have given Kautsky the necessary materials and partly worked them out myself as far as necessary, and if we can manage it, *bekommt er sein Fett schon in der ersten Nr. de N. Z. Ja-*

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[a] *failure* - [b] philistines - [c] is capable of anything - [d] pusher

*nuar 87.*[a] Of course the Liberal papers have made an awful fuss about his discoveries, just as they did about Vogt's. Only times have changed and we can hit back now, and with effect. The conspiracy of the bourgeois press in 1859 against us[660] was 1,000 times more effective than Bismarck's contemptible Socialist Law.[37]

You have no idea how glad I am that the book[b] is at last through the press. It was impossible to do anything else while it was going on. The arrangements were of necessity very complicated, proofs being sent to Edward, Moore, and myself, which naturally caused delay and constant pegging on the part of Swan Sonnenschein and Co. Then, as I only lately found out, the book was printed in — *Perth*! And considerable neglect of business in Swan Sonnenschein and Co.'s office through which everything had to pass. Finally, the usual course of things: neglect and delay, on the part of the printers, in summer, then, towards end of September, hurry and worry, just over that part of the ms. which wanted most careful final revisal, and constant attempts to saddle the delay on us.[56] *Grosse Industrie*[c] in the publishing trade is all very well for periodicals, novels and *Tagesliteratur*,[d] but for works like this it won't do, unless your ms. is perfect to the dot on every i; otherwise, woe to the Author!

Well now, and how about your journey to London, you and Paul? Tussy will sail from New York 25 December, X-mas day, which brings her here about 6th January. But that is no reason why you should stay away so long, on the contrary we hope to have you here on Christmas day. And Paul this time has no excuse and I won't take any either, everything in France is nice and quiet, no trials, no prison, no great meetings, no excitement, and perfectly hopeless to get any during *la saison des étrennes.*[e] And you, as you have let the summer and autumn pass, you will have to face the fogs — don't you feel a little home-sick for them? — which fogs by the way so far treat us very well, for we have it clear and bright, while since Monday[f] not only the City but even Kilburn are benighted and murky. So please make your minds and let us be knowing how many days before Christmas you will make your appearance here. Nim is getting very impa-

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[a] he'll get it hot already in the first number of *Die Neue Zeit*, in January 1887 (see Note 651) - [b] the English edition of the first volume of *Capital* - [c] big industry - [d] topical literature - [e] the holidays - [f] 23 November

tient and quite capable of going over to fetch you if there is any further delay. And herewith

Yours affectionately,
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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## 302

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER [661]

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 26 November 1886

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Very many thanks for your communication re J. Ph. Becker. [662] As to his moving to Zurich, that is a matter I would rather leave to you to deal with direct. You say that the need for it is perfectly obvious; to you in Zurich that may seem entirely right, but to me here in London, where I am less able to weigh up the pros and cons, the case looks different. And for that reason I cannot possibly persuade him to move, at the drop of a hat, to Zurich from Geneva to which, after forty years, he has grown accustomed, having become, so to speak, part and parcel of the place. Accordingly I have so far said not a word about the matter.

The English translation [a] is all but done and once I have paid off my most pressing debts in the shape of letters owed to correspondents, I shall at last be able to attend to the items in suspense reposing in my desk. In order of seniority these are as follows:

1) Italian translation of *Wage Labour and Capital*,[b] 10 months old,

2) French ditto of the *18th Brumaire*, [482] 8 months old,

3) your Chartist ms., [557]

4) and 5) my *Housing Question*, etc., and the *Mordspatrioten*.[c] To these you have now added 6) and 7).

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[a] of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56) - [b] by Marx - [c] F. Engels, 'Introduction to Sigismund Borkheim's Pamphlet *In Memory of the German Blood-and-Thunder Patriots. 1806-1807*'.

6) *Theory of Force.*[663] You are welcome to go ahead, but what do you mean by 'correspondingly altered'? The purely positive part amounts to no more than a few pages while the anti-Dühring polemic is itself positive and indispensable both factually and technically. However if you simply mean the deletion of individual passages having no particular relevance to the question of force and merely serving to link together the rest of the text, then I agree. This will amount to about 25 pages and is rather little. In my view the 2 chapters, Morality and Law: *Eternal Truths* and *Equality*, could be similarly revised and added on, since these also revolve round the materialist-economic view of history, in which case the whole could be entitled *On Law and Force in World History* or something of the kind.

7) *On Social Relations in Russia.*[664] If you reprint the little pamphlet as it stands I have no objection; a preface to it would mean my embarking on further Russian studies, for which I have absolutely no time; a preface *without* further studies would provide nothing new and would therefore best be omitted. The articles relating to it in the *Volksstaat* would also best be omitted. No. 3 was an attack on Lavrov who since then has given us no cause to bring up the old business again and, like the beginning of No. 4 (attacking Tkachov),[a] it contains nothing, save for one or two perhaps tolerable jokes, that could be of any interest today, let alone have any effect as propaganda.

If Ede is not wholly engrossed in the Eternal Feminine,[b] kindly tell him that in my view the Social Democratic Federation[300] ought now to be handled somewhat differently. The stupidity of the government, the inaction of the working men's Radical Clubs[659] vis-à-vis the enormous growth in the number of 'unemployed' and, finally, the wisdom of the Socialist League,[346] whose constant preoccupation with its own rules and regulations leaves it time for nothing else, have provided the Social Democratic Federation with so splendid a pitch that not even Hyndman & Co. have yet managed to queer it. The Social Democratic Federation is beginning to be something of a power, since the masses have absolutely no other organisation to which they can rally. The facts should therefore be recorded impartially, in particular the most important fact of all, namely that a genuinely socialist labour movement has come into being over here. But one must be very careful to draw a distinction between the masses and their tem-

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[a] In the original mistakenly articles Nos. 1 and 2. - [b] See this volume, p. 501.

porary leaders and, in particular, make sure you don't identify yourselves with the latter in any way, for it is virtually certain that before very long these political adventurers will, with the impatience that is born of ambition, again commit the most appalling blunders. As soon as the movement has acquired substance, either it will keep these gentlemen in check or they will destroy themselves. Hitherto the irritation felt by the majority has simply taken the form of dull, unconscious dissatisfaction, but it is in this way that the ground has been prepared for sowing.

In America, *apart from New York*, the real movement is running ahead of the Germans. The Americans' real organisation is the KNIGHTS OF LABOR [609] which is as muddle-headed as the masses themselves. But it is from this chaos that the movement will evolve, not from the German sections — the Germans, that is, who, for the past 20 years, have proved incapable of extracting from their theory what America needs. [549] But this is just the moment when the Germans might exert a very enlightening influence — if only they had learnt English!

Kindest regards to everyone.

Yours,
F. Engels

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Published in English in full for the first time

## 303

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN LONDON

London, 29 November 1886

Dear Kautsky,

This morning a letter from Mrs Liebknecht wherein, on her husband's advice, she informs me that she will be arriving day after to-

morrow at Victoria Station via Flushing. As this question cropped up yesterday, I hasten to let you know and leave it to you to decide whether, as the only person acquainted with her, you are under any compulsion to go and meet her at the station in the middle of the night. Far be it from me to put any kind of pressure on you — I merely thought fit to acquaint you with this weighty Victorian fact.

We have got some more beer in, if only I were allowed to drink it! Regards to your wife.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky*, Wien, 1955

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

## 304

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [665]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 29 November 1886

Dear Sorge,

Today I have delivered the last corrected proofs of the Preface [a] to the publishers, thus finally ridding myself of this incubus. I hope to be able to send you a copy of the translation in a fortnight's time. Mrs Liebknecht arrives here the day after tomorrow to await her husband who left New York only the day before yesterday.[600]

The Henry George boom [657] naturally brought a vast amount of dirty business to light, and I'm glad I wasn't there. Nevertheless, it was an epoch-making day. The Germans simply have not realised how they can use their theory as a lever that will set the American masses in motion; they themselves do not for the most part understand the theory and treat it in doctrinaire and dogmatic fashion as something which, having once been learnt by rote, is sufficient as it

[a] F. Engels, Preface to the English edition of Volume I of *Capital*.

stands for any and every need. To them it is a credo, not a guide to action. Besides which, they refuse to learn English on principle. Hence the American masses have had to find a way of their own and would appear to have done so for the time being in the KNIGHTS OF LABOR [609] whose muddle-headed principles and ridiculous organisation would seem to match their own muddle-headedness. From all that I hear, the KNIGHTS OF LABOR are a real power, particularly in New England and the West, and are daily becoming more so as a result of the brutality of the capitalist opposition. It is, I believe, necessary to work in their midst, to form, within this still fairly malleable mass, a nucleus of men who know the movement and its aims and will thus automatically take over the leadership of at least some part of it when, as is inevitable, the present 'Order' disintegrates. The worst aspect of the KNIGHTS OF LABOR is their political neutrality whose only result is the sharp practice of the Powderlys, etc. But this last has had its sting drawn by the response of the masses in the November elections, more especially in New York. In a country that has newly entered the movement, the first really crucial step is the formation by the workers of an independent political party, no matter how, so long as it is distinguishable as a labour party. And this step has been taken far sooner than we might have expected, and that's the main thing. That the first programme of this party should still be muddle-headed and extremely inadequate,[a] that it should have picked Henry George for its figurehead, are unavoidable if merely transitory evils. The masses must have the time and the opportunity to evolve; and they will not get that opportunity until they have a movement of their own — no matter what its form, providing it is *their own* movement — in which they are impelled onwards by their own mistakes and learn by bitter experience.

The movement in America is at the same stage as it was at home before 1848; the really intelligent chaps will at first play the same role over there as did the Communist League before 1848 among the working men's associations.[b] Save that in America things will move infinitely faster; for it is completely unprecedented for a movement to achieve such electoral successes after an existence of barely eight months. And what is still lacking, the bourgeois will make good; nowhere else in the world do they behave so outrageously and tyranically

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[a] See *Der Sozialist*, No. 40, 2 October 1886. - [b] See F. Engels, 'Preface to the 1888 English Edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*'.

as there, and your judges knock Bismarck's imperial pettifoggers into a cocked hat. When the struggle is conducted by the bourgeois with weapons such as these, it will rapidly come quickly to a head and, unless we in Europe bestir ourselves, the Americans will soon steal a march on us. But just now it is doubly necessary to have a few chaps on our side who are thoroughly versed in theory and in well-tried tactics and who can also speak and write English, since the Americans, for good historical reasons, lag far behind in all theoretical matters; true, they did not bring with them from Europe any medieval institutions, but instead a mass of medieval traditions — religion, English common (feudal) law, superstition, spiritualism — in short, every kind of balderdash that was not immediately harmful to business and now comes in very handy for the stultification of the masses. And if people are available whose clear grasp of theory enables them to tell the Americans what the consequences of their mistakes are likely to be, and make them see that any movement which does not constantly bear in mind that the ultimate goal is the destruction of the wage system, must necessarily go astray and come to nothing, then much silliness can be avoided and the process be considerably curtailed. But it must be done in English, the specifically German character must be sloughed off, and this the gentlemen of the *Sozialist* are hardly qualified to do, while those of the *Volkszeitung* may be shrewder, but only in regard to *business*.

The American elections this month made a tremendous impact on Europe. The absence up till now of a labour movement in England, and more especially in America, has been the great trump card of radical Republicans everywhere, notably in France. Now these chaps are utterly dumbfounded — Mr Clemenceau in particular who, on 2 November, witnessed the collapse of all that his policy was based on. 'Just look at America,' he never tired of saying, 'that's a real republic for you — no poverty and no labour movement!' And it's the same with the men of Progress [93] and 'democrats' in Germany and over here — where they are just experiencing an incipient movement of their own. What has completely stunned these people is the fact that the movement is so strongly accentuated as a labour movement, and that it has sprung up so suddenly and with such force.

Over here it was the absence of all competition on the one hand and the stupidity of the government on the other that enabled the gentlemen of the Social Democratic Federation [300] to assume a position to which they would never have ventured to aspire 3 months ago.

The hoo-hah that was created about the plan — never seriously contemplated — to form a procession behind the LORD MAYOR'S[a] Show on 9 November, and the similar hoo-hah later on, about the Trafalgar Square meeting of 21 November[b] when, despite talk of bringing up the artillery, the government eventually had to back down — all this at long last compelled the gents of the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION to hold a quite ordinary meeting on the 21st, without any hollow rhodomontade or pseudo-revolutionary demonstrations with their obbligato plebeian accompaniment,— and all of a sudden the philistines began to feel respect for the men who had stirred up so much dust and yet behaved so reputably.[658] And, since no one except the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION bother about the UNEMPLOYED whose numbers, in these days of chronic stagnation of trade, increase substantially every winter and who suffer extreme want, the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION can hardly fail to win. In this country we now have the beginnings of a labour movement, AND NO MISTAKE, and if the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION is the first to reap the reward, this will be due to the cowardice of the Radicals and the stupidity of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE[346] which is bickering with the anarchists, is unable to shake them off and hence has no time to spare for the real live movement that is taking place there under its very nose. How long, for that matter, Hyndman & Co. will continue to act in this relatively rational way remains to be seen. I anticipate that, being in too much of a hurry, they will before long again perpetrate the most colossal blunders, whereupon they'll discover that, in a serious movement, this simply won't do.

In Germany things are getting nicer and nicer — sentences in Leipzig of up to 4 years' *hard labour* for 'insurrection'![666] They are absolutely determined to provoke a rumpus.

I now have 7 lesser jobs in my desk — Italian and French translations, prefaces, new editions, etc.[c] — and then inexorably on to Volume III.[d]

Your old friend
F. E.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

[a] John Staples - [b] 31 November in the original; see also this volume, p. 526. - [c] See this volume, p. 528. - [d] of *Capital*

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER [667]

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

[London,] 7 December 1886

Please send me a copy of *The Bakuninists at Work* [668]; the only one I've got was in a bundle with other stuff. The thing is badly crumpled and requires close scrutiny. On Sunday[a] afternoon the soldier[b] turned up here, where his wife had already been for several days—he's very satisfied with his success. [600] Yesterday Paul, the Berliner,[c] also turned up. Since I cannot easily apply myself to any really big jobs while they are here, I shall see if I can't get something or other ready for press for you; however, I would prefer to write my prefaces myself.

Kindest regards.

Yours,
F. E.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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## 306

## ENGELS TO HALLIDAY SPARLING

IN LONDON

[London,] 7 December 1886
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

For your *private* information I beg to say that *at present* there is no English translation published of the work alluded to by you.[669]

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[a] 5 December - [b] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [c] Paul Singer

I make this information private as I cannot see the use of having such things published in *The Commonweal*.

Yours truly,
F. Engels

[At the bottom of the letter]

H. H. Sparling Esq.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50, Moscow, 1981

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## 307

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 13 December 1886

My dear Laura,

Well, here we have you at last nailed to a date,[670] and I hope you will make it the 23rd, so as to be able to go a bit about town with Nim before Christmas and look at the Christmas shops. And to cut short any further excuses, I enclose a check for £20.- to enable you to perform your promise.

Also a letter from Tussy, who was yesterday in Williamsport, Pennsylvania, and will have meetings after that in Baltimore, Wilmington and New York — but in New York a whole series from 19th to 23rd, and leave on 25th.[601] Another letter from Edward will be sent tomorrow, I have to make a note or two out of it. Please bring all these letters with you when you come for I have a strong suspicion that they were written with *one* eye to business, for I find that Liebknecht also wrote almost daily his *impressions de voyage* to his wife, not so much

for her sake as for that of forming the material basis of a book already contracted for.

Last Wednesday week[a] Mrs Liebknecht arrived here, an extremely German lady, and before 24 hours had passed, she began to unbosom herself to Nim with an eagerness that was almost too much for Nim. The household seems to be a model German one, *Sentimentalität und häuslicher Zwist*,[b] but considerably more of the latter. Nim will tell you more anon. On Sunday afternoon Liebknecht dropped in, more hungry than usual, fortunately there was a boiled leg of mutton to appease his craving. He is quite the old Liebknecht, only Nim who has got the deepest inside in his household mysteries affirms that he is somewhat more of a Philistine. What Tussy says of him is quite correct, his notion of his own importance, capacities and absolute invincibility is astounding; but at the same time there is an undercurrent of a dim apprehension that after all he is not the stupendous man that he would like the people to believe him to be; which undercurrent drives him to be more in want of other people's admiration than he otherwise would be, and in order to obtain that, to manipulate facts considerably in all his tales about himself. But his wife says with truth that if he was not so immensely satisfied with himself, he would never be able to do the work he does. So we must take him as he is and be satisfied with a quiet laugh at much of what he says; he will create much mischief in a small way by his diplomatising ways *pro aris et focis*,[c] but at the decisive moment he will always take the right side. They left on Friday for Leipzig.

Percy is quite well again, he always has these violent attacks, but if once over the first assault, he is soon right again.

The Kautskys are taking a house beyond the Archway — not the Archway Tavern but the real Archway farther on. That is to say, Scheu takes the house for three years, and takes part of it with his daughter, a rather silly girl of about 18 whom he has got over from Hungary; and the Kautskys take the other part. They are beginning to move into it to-day and hope to have done with it by Saturday.

I had a letter last week from old Harney, he sailed 12th October, much too late for his condition of body, and of course arrived rheumatic and gouty all over. But he could not leave England which he adores while he hates America, and if he lives, he says he will come

[a] 1 December - [b] sentimentality and household quarrels - [c] for our altars and firesides (Cicero, *De natura deorum*, III, 40, 94)

across again next spring and live and die in England! Poor fellow — when the Chartist movement broke down he found himself adrift and the glorious time of free-trade prosperity in England was indeed enough to drive a fellow to despair. Then he went to Boston, only to find there, in an exaggerated form and ruling supreme, those very things and qualities he had hated most in England. And now when a real movement begins on both sides of the Atlantic amongst the English speaking nations, he is too old, too decrepit, too much an outsider, and — too patriotic to follow it. All he has learnt in America is British chauvinism!

Now Nim comes and brings me the out-of-the-way stamps to affix to this uncommon heavy letter, while Anni is getting the dinner things into shape and so I must conclude. Nim sends her love to both of you. As to Paul you will perhaps after all succeed in bringing him with you on the 23rd, what in the name of dickens is he going to mopse in Paris in Christmas week, not even the chambers sitting?

Ever affectionately yours,

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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## 308

## ENGELS TO EMIL ENGELS Jun.

### IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 22 December 1886

Dear Emil,

I was very pleased to hear from you again and through you from your mother[a] and all the others.

As to your request, it occurs to me that it would be considered gross inconsistency on my part if *I* wished to contribute 150 marks to the Protestant Institute in Barmen because the aims it pursued were, as

[a] Charlotte Engels

a rule, generally worthy. I believe your father-in-law[a] would likewise think it inconsistent were he to make a donation to an avowedly Social Democratic workers' fund on account of its generally worthy aims. But where there's a will there's a way and since in any case it always strikes me as somewhat comical whenever I see myself listed in the books as a shareholder of the Protestant Institute, I hereby present *you* with both the shares to do with as you please. I enclose a note for Hermann[b] who will, I trust, attend to the matter.

I am glad to hear that you are all well and especially that your mother's solicitude for her children and grandchildren is giving her a new lease of life. All of you will indeed miss your father[c] for a long time to come, both in the family and in the business. He was every inch a man and such a one will never be replaced in the family and only with difficulty in the business. However it will be a great help to you young people to step into positions of responsibility early on; unfortunately it was rare enough in Germany in my day, yet it is absolutely essential to the formation of the mind and particularly of the character. So let the elderly gentlemen amuse themselves in Barmen and in summer use Engelskirchen more for recuperation than for business. If you can run the firm on your own, so much the better; it will give you self-confidence.

But now I must close; Schorlemmer will be arriving from Manchester in a few minutes and tomorrow I expect more visitors from Paris[d]; we shall therefore have a full house and that will put paid to my work and also to my correspondence. However I was anxious to settle the matter of the shares beforehand and have used my last free moment for this purpose.

So my particularly fond regards to your mother and to your wife,[e] your boy,[f] Hermanns[g] and Moritz[h] and regards to yourself

From your Uncle
Friedrich

And in particular a very Merry Christmas and prosperous New Year to you all.

First published in *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 46, Bd. 3, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1921

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[a] Friedrich Wilhelm Röhrig - [b] Hermann Engels jun. - [c] Emil Engels sen. - [d] Laura and Paul Lafargue - [e] Johanna Klara Engels - [f] Emil Engels - [g] Hermann Engels sen. and his son Hermann - [h] Rudolf Moritz Engels

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## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY

IN NEW YORK

London, 28 December 1886
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

Your letter of November 13th never reached me, of which I am very sorry; it would have suited me much better to write a preface *then*, and moreover would have left me more time.[671]

But let me first congratulate you on the happy family event in which you have been the principal actor and add my best wishes for your own health and that of the little one newly arrived.

Of course the appendix[a] is now a little out-of-date, and as I anticipated something of the kind, proposed that it should be written when the book was ready through the press. Now a preface will be much wanted, and I will write you one; but before, I must await the return of the Avelings[601] to have a full report of the state of things in America; and it seems to me that my preface will not be exactly what you desire.

First you seem to me to treat New York a little as the Paris of America, and to overrate the importance, for the country at large, of the local New York movement with its local features. No doubt it has a great importance, but then the North-West with its background of a numerous farming population and its independent movement will hardly accept blindly the George theory.

Secondly the preface of *this* book is hardly the place for a thoroughgoing criticism of that theory, and offers even not the necessary space for it.

Thirdly I should have to study thoroughly Henry George's various writings and speeches[672] (most of which I have not got) so as to render impossible all replies based on subterfuges and side-issues.

My preface will of course turn entirely on the immense stride made by the American working-men in the last ten months, and naturally

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[a] F. Engels, 'Appendix to the American Edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*'.

also touch Henry George and his land scheme. But it cannot pretend to deal extensively with it. Nor do I think the time for that has come. It is far more important that the movement should spread, proceed harmoniously, take root and embrace as much as possible the whole American proletariat, than that it should start and proceed, from the beginning, on theoretically perfectly correct lines. There is no better road to theoretical clearness of comprehension than to learn by one's own mistakes, '*durch Schaden klug werden*'. And for a whole large class, there is no other road, especially for a nation so eminently practical and so contemptuous of theory as the Americans. The great thing is to get the working-class to move *as a class*; that once obtained, they will soon find the right direction, and all who resist, Henry George or Powderly, will be left out in the cold with small sects of their own. Therefore I think also the Knights of Labor [609] a most important factor in the movement which ought not to be pooh-poohed from without but to be revolutionised from within, and I consider that many of the Germans there have made a grievous mistake when they tried, in the face of a mighty and glorious movement not of their creation, to make of their imported and not always understood theory a kind of *alleinseligmachendes Dogma*,[a] and to keep aloof from any movement which did not accept that dogma. Our theory is not a dogma but the exposition of a process of evolution, and that process involves successive phases. To expect that the Americans will start with the full consciousness of the theory worked out in older industrial countries is to expect the impossible. What the Germans ought to do is to act up to their own theory — if they understand it, as we did in 1845 and 1848, — to go in for any real general working-class movement, accept its *faktische*[b] starting point as such, and work it gradually up to the theoretical level by pointing out how every mistake made, every reverse suffered, was a necessary consequence of mistaken theoretical views in the original programme: they ought, in the words of the *Kommunistischen Manifest*: '*in der Gegenwart der Bewegung die Zukunft der Bewegung zu repräsentieren*'.[c] [673] But above all give the movement time to consolidate, do not make the inevitable confusion of the first start, worse confounded by forcing down people's throats things which, at present, they cannot properly understand, but which they will soon learn. A million or two of working-men's votes next November for

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[a] the only saving dogma - [b] actual - [c] 'in the movement of the present to represent the future of the movement'.

a bona fide working-men's party is worth infinitely more at present than a hundred thousand votes for a doctrinally perfect platform. The very first attempt — soon to be made if the movement progresses — to consolidate the moving masses on a national basis — will bring them all face to face, Georgites, Knights of Labor, Trade-Unionists and all; and if our German friends by that time have learnt enough of the language of the country to go in for a discussion, then will be the time for them to criticise the views of the others and thus, by showing up the inconsistencies of the various standpoints, to bring them gradually to understand their own actual position, the position made for them by the correlation of capital and wage labour. But anything that might delay or prevent that national consolidation of the working-men's party — on no matter what platform — I should consider a great mistake, and therefore I do not think the time has arrived to speak out fully and exhaustively either with regard to Henry George or the Knights of Labor.

I did not wire 'yes' because I could not exactly make out what you might make out that 'yes' to mean.

As to the title: *I* cannot omit the 1844, because the omission would give an entirely false idea of what the reader has to expect. And as I, by the preface and appendix, take a certain responsibility, I cannot consent to its being left out. You may add: 'With preface and appendix by the Author', if you think proper.

The proofs I return corrected by same mail.

Yours very faithfully,

F. Engels

First published abridged, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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## ENGELS TO ELEANOR MARX-AVELING[674]

[IN LONDON]

[London,] 25 March 1886
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Tussy,

You know I would do anything in my forces to please our friend Donkin, but I am afraid I cannot do so in this case.

The work I have had in hand for the last few years is so urgent and of such dimensions[675] that I have had to give up, once for all, attending meetings and societies and taking part in discussions or preparing for such. If I am to accomplish my work, I cannot break through this rule, and the less so, as having given way once, I could not plead the same reason again for refusing in other cases.

Moreover the subject I am asked to discuss, has been lost sights of by me for more than a year,[676] and I should therefore be compelled to read it up again and to look at whatever has been published since with respect to it, which would take me more than a week to be exclusively devoted to that purpose, and that week, I am sorry to say, I cannot spare.

And therefore, highly flattered as I feel by the invitation, I very much regret that circumstances will not allow me to avail myself of it.

Yours affectionately,
F. Engels

Kindest regards to Dr Donkin!

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# APPENDIX

1

## ELEANOR MARX-AVELING TO HORATIO BRYAN DONKIN[677]

IN LONDON

[London,] 8 February 1886
35 Great Russell St., W. C.

My dear Dr Donkin,

I have heard of the Club — and I am much obliged to Mr Pearson for asking me to join it.[678] But I cannot — for these reasons. First, I think many members of the Club would decidedly object to my belonging to it. You see, it is a very different matter to advocate certain things, in theory, and to have the courage to put one's theory into practice. Probably, many of the good ladies in the Club would be much shocked at the idea of my becoming a member of it, and I should only be giving Mr Pearson trouble if I accepted his friendly suggestion. But there is also another reason. I have, as it is, hardly a moment of time for real study, a half the work I *ought* to do I don't do. And apart from this, any time not taken up in trying to earn bread (and it is *so* difficult for a woman to do like that!) I feel I must give to what seems to me the highest and most important work I could do — i. e. the propaganda of Socialism.

It would not be right to join this Club well knowing that I could not undertake to 'wilt progress' for it, or attend its meetings regularly, or even take such an interest in it as a member ought to take. If, however, mere 'visitors' are admitted, and no one objects to me, I shall be very glad to go to any meeting and take part in any discussion on a question of which I know something.[679] — Please thank Mr Pear-

son very much for asking me. I have often wished to meet him, but have always, somehow, missed doing it. If I went to the Club on an evening, I should be glad if it could be when you are there!

Yours very sincerely,

Eleanor Marx-Aveling

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Published in English for the first time

# NOTES
# AND
# INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] This letter was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters on 'Capital'*, New Park Publications, London, 1983.—3, 6, 87, 92, 125, 137, 186, 188, 193, 261, 267, 306, 318

[2] Engels was busy sorting out Marx's library and archives. Apart from extensive economic manuscripts (including the manuscripts of the second and third books of *Capital*; see Note 4), he found a large number of diverse conspectuses, excerpts, letters and documents on the working-class movement (see notes 57, 72, 174). It took Engels until late March 1884 to put the archives in order, whereupon he moved all the manuscripts which had survived and the correspondence to his own house. He was faced with tasks of enormous dimensions, namely preparing for the press Marx's unfinished works, notably volumes II and III of *Capital*.—3, 6, 33

[3] On 31 March 1883 Pyotr Lavrov informed Engels from Paris that he was sending him a postal order which he had received from the students of Technological Institute and Russian women students with the request that it be used to buy a wreath to be laid on Marx's grave. Engels had an announcement printed in *Der Sozialdemokrat* of 3 May 1883 to the effect that the request had been carried out (see F. Engels, 'On the Death of Karl Marx', present edition, Vol. 24, p. 473).—3

[4] Engels is referring to the manuscripts of the second and third books of *Capital*, written by Marx. As he studied Marx's manuscripts, Engels was able to establish within certain limits the time span in which they must have been written (see Engels' prefaces to volumes II and III of *Capital*, present edition, vols 36 and 37). By the spring of 1884 Engels became convinced of the need to change Marx's original plan according to which the second volume of *Capital* was to consist of two books and decided to publish the manuscripts of these books as volumes II and III of *Capital* (see this volume, pp. 121, 122). When preparing Volume II for the press, Engels used the later versions of the drafts (see Note 17) which came to his notice afterwards (see Engels' letters to Johann Philipp Becker of 22 May, to Friedrich Adolph Sorge of 29 June and to Karl Kautsky of 18 September 1883).

The second volume of *Capital*, edited by Engels, appeared in 1885, and the third in 1894.—3, 6, 26, 29, 88, 121, 348, 522

[5] The idea of writing a study of dialectics came to Marx in late 1857 or early 1858 when Ferdinand Freiligrath gave him—most probably after 22 October 1857—an incomplete set of Hegel's *Works*. On 16 January 1858, Marx wrote to Engels: 'If ever the time comes when such work is again possible, I should very much like to write 2 or 3 sheets making accessible to the common reader the *rational* aspect of the method which Hegel not only discovered but also mystified' (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 249). Marx was going to call the study 'Dialectic' (see his letter to Joseph Dietzgen of 9 May 1868, present edition, Vol. 43, p. 31), but this plan failed to materialise.—3

[6] On 24 February 1883 Hermann Lopatin fled from exile in Vologda to Paris, whence he proceeded to London in September 1883.—4

[7] Engels is referring to the sister of Paul Lafargue's mother. It is clear from Laura's letter to Engels of 4 May 1883 that Lafargue's mother lived together with her sister and the latter's children in Bordeaux.—4

[8] The family of Jenny, Marx's eldest daughter who died in January 1883—her husband Charles Longuet and their four children—lived in Argenteuil near Paris.—4

[9] Paul Lafargue, Jules Guesde and Jean Dormoy were tried by a jury in Moulins in late April 1883 for their actions in the province of Montluçon and elsewhere in the autumn of 1882; the charges brought against them were conspiracy and incitement to civil war. The court sentenced each of them to six months' imprisonment as well as imposing fines. Guesde and Lafargue served their sentences in Ste Pélagie prison, Paris, from 21 May to 21 November 1883 (see Note 402).—5, 20, 28, 30, 41, 46, 48, 59, 61, 64, 115

[10] No information is available on the French edition of the *Manifesto* mentioned by Engels. In all probability it never materialised.—5

[11] In his letter of 17 March 1883, Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis, on behalf of the Dutch Socialist Workers' Party, asked Engels to 'pass on our homage and grateful acknowledgement, to the Marx family and to all those who join us in mourning at the grave of the master'. Nieuwenhuis also informed Engels that he planned to translate his work *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* into Dutch, which he actually did in 1886. Nieuwenhuis further enquired about Engels' plan with regard to Volume II of Marx's *Capital*, further study of the English labour movement after 1845 and the reissue of Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*.—6

[12] Engels is referring to the *Social-Democratic Association of the Netherlands* which was formed in 1881 and united in a single party the Social-Democratic associations of Amsterdam, The Hague, Haarlem and Rotterdam. The associations had been formed in 1878-81 with the active involvement of former members of the Dutch section of the First International. Nieuwenhuis was among the founders of the new organisation.—6

[13] The London monthly *The Republican* carried a short obituary entitled 'Karl Marx' in its issue of April 1883 containing a reference to the November issue of 1882 which had published a biography and photo of Marx.—7

[14] In his letter of reply to Engels of 16 April 1883, Eduard Bernstein confirmed that the wood block of Marx's portrait was in the possession of the editorial board of *Der Sozialdemokrat*.— 7

[15] The reference is to the third congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany which was held illegally in Copenhagen from 29 March to 2 April 1883, with 60 delegates taking part. The congress was to work out the *German Social Democrats'* political line on the social reforms being carried out by the bourgeois government, to decide on the party's tactics and the position to be taken by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, its printed organ, given the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany (see Note 37). The congress unanimously called on the party to expose the demagogy of Bismarck's domestic policy, endorsed the stance of the main printed organ and the general line of conduct of the parliamentary group (see Note 49). It further made it incumbent on every party member, including the Social-Democratic representatives in the Reichstag, to observe party discipline and help carry out party decisions (see also Note 16).— 7, 14, 21

[16] Engels is probably referring to the first report on the Copenhagen Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat* of 12 April 1883. ('Kongreß der deutschen Sozialdemokratie. Abgehalten in Kopenhagen vom 29. März bis 2. April 1883'.) Subsequent reports were printed by the newspaper on 19 and 26 April.— 7

[17] Eight of Marx's draft manuscripts for Volume II (Book II, as he originally intended) of *Capital* have survived. The longest of them, consisting of three lengthy chapters, is Manuscript I. It was completed in the spring of 1865, and Engels subsequently turned it into parts of Volume II. Since he did not regard the said manuscript as the final version of Book II, as he was preparing Volume I of *Capital* for the press Marx wrote Manuscript III (in which he gave a conspectus of works apparently intended for quotation in Volume II) and Manuscript IV, which Engels later described as 'an elaboration, ready for the press, of Part I and the first chapters of Part II of Book II' (see present edition, Vol. 36, Preface). In 1868-70 Marx wrote a completely new version of the second book, i. e. Manuscript II. The reason why manuscripts III and IV appeared earlier than Manuscript II is that, when he was numbering the drafts of Volume II in the late seventies, Marx started with the two complete versions and followed them with the outlines of individual parts. In the latter half of the 1870s Marx resumed work on Book II, having realised that it was not complete; although he had examined the simple reproduction of capital in great detail in Manuscript II, he had not analysed its extended reproduction. Manuscripts V, VI and VII appeared between April 1877 and July 1878 and were an attempt to turn the text into a suitable form for printing. The final version of the second book of *Capital* was Manuscript VIII on which Marx seems to have worked between the autumn of 1879 and early 1880. Later it was used in full by Engels when preparing Part III of Volume II.— 8, 14, 18, 26, 33, 43, 53, 58, 88, 154, 160, 244

[18] This letter is the reply to the letter by the editor of *The Nineteenth Century*, Thomas James Knowles, of 7 April 1883 in which the latter requested Engels to send him a short résumé in English of Volume I of Marx's *Capital* for an article his journal was planning to publish on the subject.— 8

[19] This letter was written by Engels in reply to that by Philipp Van Patten of 2 April 1883. In it the latter informed Engels that at a meeting dedicated to Marx's memory Johann Most and his supporters had claimed Most had been on intimate terms with Marx, that he had helped to popularise *Capital* in Germany and his propaganda work had enjoyed Marx's support. Engels' letter and an excerpt from that by Van Patten were published in German in Engels' article 'On the Death of Karl Marx' carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 21 of 17 May 1883 (see present edition, Vol. 24). Engels made several changes in the German text of his letter the most important of which are given in the footnotes.

This letter was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895*, Martin Lawrence, London, 1934, and in full in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895. A Selection*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—9

[20] The reference is to the disruptive activities in the International of Mikhail Bakunin and his supporters. In the autumn of 1868 in Geneva they founded the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy, an organisation with its own programme and rules that contradicted those of the International (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 207-11).

Following the refusal by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association to admit the Alliance to the International, in 1869 Bakunin, in violation of the promise he had given to disband his organisation, secretly introduced the Alliance into the International with the aim of seizing its leadership. Posing as sections of the International, sections of the Alliance publicised their anarchist programme, claiming it was the programme of the International. In November 1871, the Bakuninists' congress in Sonvillier, Switzerland, called for a revision of the International's Rules, notably the articles on the importance of the political struggle by the working class and its party.—10, 108

[21] At the Hague Congress of the First International (2-7 September 1872) a special commission was formed to investigate the secret activities of the Alliance. On the strength of the materials it studied, the commission concluded that the activities of the Alliance were incompatible with membership in the International, as were the activities of the leaders of the former, Bakunin and Guillaume. Having generally accepted the commission's proposals, the Hague Congress decided to publicise the documents at the commission's disposal concerning the Alliance and expelled Bakunin and Guillaume from the International.—10

[22] In his reply of 18 April 1883 to Engels' letter of 17 April (see this volume, pp. 8-9), Thomas James Knowles wrote that he was intending to include in the journal *The Nineteenth Century* the English translation of Engels' *Synopsis of Volume One of 'Capital' by Karl Marx* (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 263-308) complete with the author's name. Knowles intended to publish in the same issue an article about Marx written by Maltman Barry, who had been a member of the International.—12

[23] In mid-November 1850 Engels joined the Manchester branch of the German textiles firm Ermen & Engels. The German side of the enterprise was run by Fr. Engels (Senior) with the assistance of Anthony Ermen. The firm's office was in Barmen. Following the death of his father in 1860, Engels received £ 10,000 from his brothers as compensation for renouncing his rights to the factory in Engelskirchen, which bolstered his financial and legal status in the Manchester firm.

Engels was a co-owner of the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels for five years between June 1864 and June 1869. At the end of this period he left the firm to concentrate on party, academic and journalistic work.— 12

[24] Engels wrote this letter on a postcard. The address, also in his hand, reads: Herrn Ed. Bernstein, 137, alte Landstraße, *Riesbach-Zürich,* Switzerland.— 12, 72

[25] The reference is to Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (see present edition, Vol. 24) which in 1883 was published in three German editions running to a total of 10,000 copies. The work was composed of three revised chapters by Engels from his work *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science* (*Anti-Dühring*) (see present edition, Vol. 25).— 12, 15, 37, 60

[26] The article by Engels which is referred to in this letter was published in *Der Sozialdemokrat,* Nos. 19 and 21, 3 and 17 May 1883, under the heading 'On the Death of Karl Marx' (see present edition, Vol. 24). It was written in reply to the articles about Marx and Engels by Brousse, a Possibilist leader (see Note 237), which had been carried by *Le Prolétaire,* Nos. 234 and 237, 24 March and 14 April 1883.— 12

[27] This letter was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895. A Selection,* International Publishers, New York, 1953.— 13, 382, 419

[28] The *New Yorker Volkszeitung,* No. 68, 20 March 1883 reported that, on 19 March, after a meeting of New York workers in memory of Marx, Engels had been sent the following telegram: 'The proletariat of New York, assembled at the Cooper Institute, honours the memory of its immortal Karl Marx and calls on its brothers: Workers of all countries, unite!' — 14

[29] The trip was planned for the spring of 1884 with the aim of collecting funds from the workers to finance the election campaign for the Reichstag in the autumn of that year. However, Wilhelm Liebknecht was not able to go to the United States until the autumn of 1886, and with a different aim in mind (see Note 600).— 14, 114

[30] Engels attached a great deal of importance to publicising Marx's theoretical and practical revolutionary activity. With this aim in mind, he wrote three biographies of Marx at different times — in 1869, 1877 and 1892 — and for different publications (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 59-64, Vol. 24, pp. 183-95 and Vol. 27, pp. 332-43). The new biography which Engels planned, taking account of the extensive correspondence and other materials which had survived, and to which he refers in this letter, was not written.— 14, 17, 26, 40, 79

[31] On 19 March 1883 Friedrich Adolph Sorge informed Engels that Henry George's propaganda in America was leading the labour movement astray and suggested the publication of the letter Marx had written to him on 20 June 1881 (see present edition, Vol. 46). This letter contained a critique of Henry George's book *Progress and Poverty* which had been published in New York in 1880. However, Engels considered that it would be rather premature to publish Marx's letter in the American press (see this volume, p. 42, and Engels' letter to Sorge of 18 June 1887, present edition, Vol. 48). Engels gave a critical éxposé of George's views of the nationalisation of land in the Preface to the American edition of his book *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 437-39).— 14, 114

[32] When he learned that Engels' pamphlet *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (present edition, Vol. 24; see also Note 25) was about to appear, Sorge wrote on 19 March 1883 that he could request Otto Weydemeyer to translate it into English and have it published in the United States. The publication failed to materialise.— 15

[33] Eduard Bernstein was returning to Switzerland from Copenhagen where he had been a delegate to the congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (see Note 15).— 15

[34] Following the introduction of a local state of siege in Leipzig in 1881 (see Note 67), Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel and other German socialists had been forced to leave the city. They settled in the village of Borsdorf near Leipzig.— 16, 19, 20, 47, 52, 80, 83, 147, 258, 377, 380, 417, 445, 495

[35] Engels was unable to carry out these plans due to the enormous demands made on him by the preparation for the press of volumes I and II of *Capital* and the publication of translations of Marx's and his own works. At the same time, he was working on his book *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see Note 174).— 17

[36] On 17 March 1883, August Bebel informed Engels that at the forthcoming congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany in Copenhagen (see Note 15) he intended to put up for discussion the question of the party erecting a monument to Marx. It seems that the stance taken by Marx's family, about which Engels informed Bebel in this letter, long remained an obstacle to the erection of a monument in Highgate Cemetery where Marx was buried. In 1954 the Marx grave was moved to a better place in the cemetery. Lawrence Bradshaw was commissioned by the Communist Party of Great Britain to sculpt a bronze head of Marx, and the monument which incorporated it was unveiled in 1956 by Harry Pollit, then General Secretary of the British Communist Party.— 17

[37] The *Exceptional Law Against the Socialists* (Gesetz gegen die gemeingefährlichen Bestrebungen der Sozialdemokratie — the Law against the Harmful and Dangerous Aspirations of Social Democracy) was introduced by the Bismarck government, supported by the majority in the Reichstag, on 21 October 1878 to counter the socialist and workers' movement. This law, better known as the Anti-Socialist Law, made the Social-Democratic Party of Germany illegal, banned all party and mass workers' organisations, and the socialist and workers' press; on the basis of this law socialist literature was confiscated and Social Democrats subjected to reprisals. However, during its operation the Social-Democratic Party, assisted by Marx and Engels, uprooted both reformist and anarchist elements and managed to substantially strengthen and widen its influence among the people by skilfully combining illegal and legal methods of work. Under pressure from the mass workers' movement, the Anti-Socialist Law was abrogated on 1 October 1890. For Engels' assessment of this law, see his article 'Bismarck and the German Working Men's Party' (present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 407-09).— 17, 21, 26, 32, 50, 93, 100, 114, 124, 125, 129, 132, 145, 147, 164, 187, 199, 213, 216, 220, 242, 268, 271, 275, 285, 290, 295, 300, 303, 305, 307, 313, 464, 527

[38] The materials used by the prosecution in the trial of Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel and Adolf Hepner for high treason in Leipzig in March 1872 included the

*Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Marx and Engels. It was carried by the book *Leipziger Hochverrathsprozess. Ausführlicher Bericht über die Verhandlungen des Schwurgerichts zu Leipzig in dem Prozeß gegen Liebknecht, Bebel und Hepner wegen Vorbereitung zum Hochverrath vom 11-26. März 1872*, Leipzig, 1872, pp. 97-119.—18

[39] The letter mentioned has not been found.—18, 23, 62, 80, 108, 124, 147, 201, 204, 210, 211, 212, 249, 257, 293, 353, 437, 524

[40] The reference is to Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England. From Personal Observation and Authentic Sources* (see present edition, Vol. 4) which was put out in early 1845 by Otto Wigand's publishing house in Leipzig. In 1872-73 Engels discussed with Liebknecht the plan for a second edition of his book since the latter was planning to publish it in a socio-political literature series with the participation of the editorial board of *Der Volksstaat* (see present edition, Vol. 44, pp. 375, 477). It is clear from the letters which Wilhelm Liebknecht and Adolf Hepner wrote to Engels in early 1873 that they helped to sort out Engels' legal relations with the Leipzig publishing house. However, this matter was not clarified for the next 12 years (see Engels' letter of 19 January 1885 to August Bebel, this volume, p. 253). The second authorised edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* was not published until 1892 by Dietz.—19, 248, 251, 253, 263

[41] A short quote from this letter was first published in English in: R. H. Dominick III, *Wilhelm Liebknecht and the Founding of the German Social Democratic Party*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1982.—20

[42] On 6 June 1879 Wilhelm Bracke wrote to Engels, 'I admire Bebel; he is the only one among us with the skills for life in parliament.'—20

[43] August Bebel failed to obtain election to the Reichstag at the 1881 poll. In April 1883 Social Democrats in Hamburg nominated Bebel as a candidate at the additional elections being held then. On 2 May 1883 Bebel wrote to Engels that, given the relatively poor effect of campaigning and particularly parliamentary work against the background of the Anti-Socialist Law, he had requested the voters in Hamburg not to nominate him as a candidate. However, this letter did not arrive until after he had been elected to the Reichstag on 29 June.—20

[44] The *half-and-halfs*—representatives of the Right wing of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany grouped at that time around Wilhelm Blos and Bruno Geiser. The decision of the Copenhagen Congress (see Note 15) of Social-Democratic candidates nominated for the elections to the Reichstag was directed against them. It stated that the candidates should fully endorse the party programme, observe party discipline and help implement party decisions (see *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 17, 19 April 1883).—21

[45] When the question of the merger of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers) and the Lassallean General Association of German Workers was being discussed in the early 1870s, Marx and Engels considered this step to be premature. They believed that joint political activity 'against the common foe' should precede the establishment of a united party and the elaboration of its programme (see K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, F. Engels to A. Bebel, 18-28 March 1875, present edition, Vol. 24, p. 78). At the Gotha Unity Congress (22-27 May 1875) the Lassallean Wilhelm Hasenclever was elected a co-chairman of the party Executive Committee, and in June 1875 Wilhelm Hasselmann joined the board of the party-

owned national German co-operative printing office in Berlin which had been formed by decision of the Congress.—21

[46] On 2 May 1883, Bebel wrote to Engels that 'Liebknecht, instead of showing the toughness [against Right-wing and the half-and-half members of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany] he ought, is doing his utmost to blur and hush up the conflicts. He has the half-and-halfs for protection.'

On the *half-and-halfs*, see Note 44.—21

[47] The reference is to Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche's and Louis Viereck's journey around the USA from February to May 1881 on an assignment for the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. The purpose of the journey was to engage in propaganda work and collect money for the election campaign to the Reichstag. The elections were due to take place that autumn. On Wilhelm Liebknecht's and August Bebel's trip to the USA planned for 1884, see Note 29.—22, 80

[48] In the latter half of April and early May 1883 the Reichstag discussed a bill on workers' health insurance and one providing for changes in trade regulations; the two bills were part of Bismarck's so-called social reform (see Note 312). On 2 May 1883 Bebel informed Engels that some of the Social-Democratic deputies—including Moritz Rittingshausen and Max Kayser—had intended to vote in favour of these bills. However, they had submitted to party discipline and voted against them along with the remainder of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag on 31 May and 2 June 1883, respectively.—22

[49] The reference is to the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag which in 1880 was officially recognised as the party centre at the illegal congress in Wyden, Switzerland, against the background of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 37). Prior to that the party centre was in fact the Relief Committee for the repressed Social Democrats set up in 1878.—22, 145, 381

[50] Wilhelm Blos was expelled from Hamburg in late 1880 in connection with the introduction of a so-called local state of siege (see Note 67) in some places in Germany. His letter to Engels from Bremen of 4 February 1881 showed that he was disturbed at the reaction which had ensued and was in a liquidationist mood, which was manifested in particular by his proposal to dissolve the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany.—23

[51] On 2 May 1883 Bebel wrote to Engels that symptoms were apparent in various branches of the German economy which suggested the approach of a crisis.—23

[52] This letter by Engels is his reply to the Italian economist Achille Loria whose article 'Karl Marx' had been carried by the journal *Nuova antologia di scienze, lettere ed arti*, ser. 2, Vol. 38, fas. 7, Rome, 1883, pp. 509-42. Engels' letter was published in German by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 21, 17 May 1883 in the article 'On the Death of Karl Marx' (see present edition, Vol. 24).

For a critique of Loria's article, see also Engels' Preface to Volume III of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 37).—24

[53] Engels is referring to Loria's quotation in his article 'Karl Marx' of the expression Alphonse de Lamartine used with regard to Proudhon in his work *Histoire de la révolution de 1848*, Brussels, 1849, Vol. 1, Book VII, Ch. 5.—24

[54] The *armchair socialists* — representatives of a trend in German bourgeois political economy which emerged in the last third of the 19th century in response to the growth of the workers' movement and the spread within it of the ideas of scientific socialism. They preached bourgeois reformism at universities, passing it off as socialism. They alleged that the state, specifically the German Empire, was above all classes and could help achieve improvements in the condition of the working class by way of social reforms.—24, 138, 184, 226, 348, 385, 390, 417

[55] A fragment from this letter was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895*, Martin Lawrence, London, 1934.—25, 98

[56] The idea of translating *Capital* into English occurred to Marx as early as 1865, when he was working on the manuscript (see Marx's letter to Engels of 31 July 1865, present edition, Vol. 42). The British journalist and member of the International's General Council, Peter Fox, was to help Marx find a publisher. However, this matter was not settled due to Fox's death in 1869. The English translation of the first volume of *Capital*, edited by Engels, did not appear until after Marx's death, in January 1887, and was published by Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co., London. The translation was done by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling between mid-1883 and March 1886. Eleanor Marx-Aveling took part in the preparatory work for the edition (see also this volume, pp. 33 and 127-28).—29, 31, 33, 52, 83, 122, 124, 130, 133, 143, 153, 202, 245, 261, 291, 306, 313, 348, 400, 401, 404, 416, 419, 421, 423, 426, 434, 436, 447, 449-50, 453, 456, 460-63, 468, 471, 474, 480, 482, 493-94, 506, 509, 522, 527-28

[57] Engels is referring to the extracts from statistical reports and specialised studies of the various forms of land ownership and the history of the village commune in Russia which Marx wrote down in the 1870s. He intended to use this material for the section on ground rent in Book III of *Capital*. However, this plan did not materialise (see Engels' Preface to Volume III of *Capital*, present edition, Vol. 37).—29, 88

[58] The reference is to Marx's economic manuscripts: 1) *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy (Rough Draft of 1857-58)*, and 2) the Manuscripts of 1861-63, which Marx entitled *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (see present edition, Vols. 28-29 and 30-34).—29

[59] The first volume of *Capital* was translated into French in full by Joseph Roy and appeared in Paris in 1872-75 as individual instalments which were then put together to form a book. Marx gave an assessment of the translation and the work which had been done in connection with it in the Preface and Afterword to the French edition (see present edition, Vol. 35) and also in his letter to Nikolai Danielson of 28 May 1872 (present edition, Vol. 44). The changes and additions which Engels made to the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital* (1883) on the basis of the French edition were pointed out by him in the Preface to the said edition (see present edition, Vol. 35).—29, 33, 41, 42, 385

[60] The reference is to Marx's and Engels' joint work on the manuscript of *The German Ideology* and to Engels' work *The True Socialists* (see present edition, Vol. 5) between 1845 and 1847. Not long before his death Engels dictated to Eduard Bernstein a list

of manuscripts from his own and Marx's literary legacy and of other materials stored in his archives. The list contained the following note, '... manuscript of *The German Ideology*' ('Stirner, 1845/46, Moor and I', 'Feuerbach and Bauer, 1846/47, Moor and I', '*True Socialism*, 1847, Moor and I').—31

[61] An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *On Literature and Art*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.—32, 90, 159, 498

[62] The surviving page of the draft manuscript of chapter two of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* is reproduced in the present edition, Vol. 6, p. 579.—34

[63] On 7 June *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 24 carried a biographical outline of Georg Weerth written by Engels and accompanied by Weerth's poem 'Song of the Apprentices' (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 108-11).

Weerth's poem referred to in this letter, namely 'Die rheinischen Weinbauern', was published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 29, 12 July 1883.—34

[64] Following the assassination of Alexander II by members of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) group on 1 March 1881, liberal reforms were expected in Russia; however, in a manifesto published on 29 April 1881 Alexander III stated that he intended to strengthen autocratic rule.

When King Frederick William IV of Prussia ascended the throne in 1840 the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie had hoped he would carry out the constitutional reforms promised by his father, Frederick William III. However, these hopes proved to be unfounded, and the judicial persecution of liberal bourgeois writers and officials was begun as early as 1841.—34

[65] In the 1870s and 1880s the French government pursued an active colonialist policy: in 1876 Franco-British financial control had been established in Egypt, and interference in the country's internal affairs continued until 1882, in 1881-83 a French protectorate was established in Tunisia. In 1882 came the provocation of an armed conflict in Madagascar and the beginning of a colonial war in North Vietnam (Tongking) which grew to become a war with China and led to the setting up of a French protectorate in Vietnam in June 1884.—34, 57

[66] Here Engels quotes a thesis from the Programme of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany adopted at the Gotha Congress in 1875 (see Note 45). It read, 'The emancipation of labour must be the work of the working class, in relation to which all other classes *are only one reactionary mass*.' For comment of this thesis see Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (present edition, Vol. 24, p. 88).—35

[67] The reference is to the '*local (lesser) state of siege*' envisaged by paragraph 28 of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 37); in certain districts and places, usually centres of the labour movement, a state of siege was introduced, as a rule, for a year. During this period meetings were allowed only with police permission, the distribution of printed material in public places was prohibited and persons considered politically unreliable were expelled from the places concerned. However, the implementation of these measures led to a growth in the influence of the Socialist Workers' Party and increased activity on the part of the workers' and Social-Democratic movement in parts of Germany that were well away from its traditional centres.—35, 81, 98

[68] Engels is referring to the English Revolution in the 17th century and the French Revolution of 1789. Between 1642 and 1646 England witnessed its first civil war

which ended in the defeat of the monarchy and the victory of Parliament relying on the support of the big, middle and petty bourgeoisie and the new nobility.

The years 1789 to 1793 cover the three periods of the French revolution when power was transferred from the hands of the big bourgeoisie and the liberal nobility (Feuillants) to the commercial, industrial and landowning bourgeoisie (Girondists) and finally to the Jacobins who expressed the interests of the revolutionary-democratic petty bourgeoisie that had allied themselves with the peasantry and the lower urban strata.—35

[69] Engels is referring to Volume II of *The German Ideology* (present edition, Vol. 5; see also Note 60).—37, 38

[70] On 12 June 1883 Pasquale Martignetti wrote to tell Engels that he had read his work *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* and intended to publicise it in Italy. With this in mind, Martignetti made an Italian translation from the French one by Paul Lafargue and sent it to Engels for the latter to look through. Apart from minor insertions, Engels made major additions to the text which had not featured in the French version.—37

[71] On 20 June 1883 Laura Lafargue wrote to Engels reminding him that, during her stay with Marx at the Swiss spa town of Vevey in August-September 1882 he had informed her of his plans for future work and promised to give her all the documents and papers she required to write a history of the International Working Men's Association. He further requested her to start work on an English translation of the first volume of *Capital*.—39

[72] As he was sorting through Marx's literary legacy, Engels found a number of works relating to Marx's preoccupation with mathematics. Marx's interest in mathematics had emerged in the early 1850s and had grown as he worked on *Capital* (see Marx's letter to Engels of 11 January 1858, present edition, Vol. 40). The first signs of Marx's mathematical endeavours date back to 1846 and are to be found in his initial notebooks on political economy. In the 1850s and 1860s this work was of an auxiliary nature and connected with his studies of political economy, but in the latter half of the 1870s it became systematic and more independent. Marx's most complete mathematical manuscripts were first published in full in the language of the original (German) with a parallel Russian translation in: К. Маркс, *Математические рукописи*, Nauka, Moscow, 1968 (see Note 79).—39

[73] In his article 'On the Death of Karl Marx' carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat* in May 1883 (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 476) Engels announced that Marx's works would be published by his literary executors, Marx's youngest daughter Eleanor and Engels himself.—39

[74] Louise Michel, a French revolutionary and participant in the Paris Commune, was sentenced in June 1883 to six years' imprisonment and ten years' stringent police surveillance for taking part in a Paris unemployed demonstration in March 1883. She was amnestied in January 1886.—41, 404

[75] The reference is to Marx's surviving personal copy of the first volume of the second German edition of *Capital* (Hamburg, 1872). All the changes and additions which Marx made to the text are given in *Marx/Engels Gesammtausgabe* (MEGA²), Abt. II, Bd. 8, Berlin, 1988.—41, 42

[76] This letter was first published in English with minor abridgements in *Science and Society*, Vol. 2, New York, 1938, No. 2.—42

[77] Engels learned from Adolf Hepner, editor of the *New-Yorker Volkszeitung*, that an English translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was being prepared in the United States. On 7-12 May 1883 Hepner wrote to Engels, 'The Mostians and Schewitsch, i. e. the Marx Memorial Committee, organised an English translation of the *Communist Manifesto* ... naturally, without asking you or showing you the translation... A few days ago I happened to go to the print shop and saw the proofs of the Introduction. They included the words, "It was written by K. Marx, assisted by Fr. Engels...".'—42

[78] The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* appeared twice in Russian in Geneva: in 1869, it was published by the Volnaya russkaya tipografiya publishing house and issued for a second time in 1882. It is not quite certain whether the first translation was by Mikhail Bakunin or Nikolai Lyubavin. The second Russian edition, supplied with a preface specially written by Marx and Engels (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 425-26), was prepared by Georgi Plekhanov and appeared in the Russian Social-Revolutionary Library series.—42, 89

[79] This apparently refers to Marx's mathematical manuscripts which he sent to Engels in 1881 ('Über den Begriff der Abgeleiteten Funktion' and 'Über das Differential') (see Engels' letters to Marx of 18 August 1881 and 21 November 1882, present edition, Vol. 46; see also Note 72).—43

[80] From the late 1860s Marx studied agrarian relations in the United States, Belgium and Russia in the intention of using this material in the third book (Volume II) of *Capital* when examining the emergence of ground rent. It is clear from Marx's correspondence that he obtained some of the materials he used on agrarian relations in the United States from his friends there (see Marx's letters to Sigfrid Meyer of 4 July and 14 September 1868, and to George Julian Harney of 21 January 1871; present edition, Vols. 43 and 44).

On Marx's notes from Russian sources see Note 57.—43, 88, 264

[81] Following the appearance in 1875 of the French edition of Volume I of *Capital* (see Note 59), the French socialist Gabriel Deville considered issuing a short conspectus of this work (see Marx's letter to Deville of 23 January 1877, present edition, Vol. 45). On 2 August 1882 he met Marx in Paris where the latter looked through part of his manuscript. On 10 August 1883 Deville wrote to Engels that Paul Lafargue had told him he (Engels) was willing to read the rest of the work. He sent Engels the manuscript with the request that he make the necessary corrections. Deville's book was published that year under the title *Le Capital de Karl Marx. Résumé et accompagné d'un aperçu sur le socialisme scientifique*. In the Preface the author wrote that he had done the work 'at the courteous request and benevolent encouragement of Karl Marx'. Deville sent Engels a copy with his own dedication. For Engels' assessment of the book see this volume, pp. 61, 76-77.—44, 50, 52, 59, 61, 63, 94, 112, 385

[82] Between 17 August and 14 September 1883 Engels was on holiday in Eastbourne on the south coast of England.—44, 45, 47, 50, 58

[83] Engels is referring to his previous stay in Eastbourne from 5 to 27 August 1879.—46

[84] The reference is to a winning lottery ticket (see this volume, p. 178).—46

[85] In his letter of 10 August 1883 Wilhelm Liebknecht asked Engels to let him have the exact dates of death of Marx's wife and eldest daughter. He further enquired about Heinrich Heine's links with the Paris *Vorwärts!* as well as Marx's cooperation with the same newspaper and the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*. Liebknecht intended to use this information in his article 'Karl Marx' which was later published in *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 10, 1883.—47

[86] It is clear from Heinrich Heine's letter to Marx of 21 September 1844 that on the same day he also sent Marx some of the proofs of his book *Neue Gedichte*. It included the poem 'Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen', which Heine intended to publish as a separate edition. He further requested Marx to write an introduction to this poem to appear in *Vorwärts!* In October 1844 the newspaper started to publish the poem, preceded by an editorial article probably written by Karl Ludwig Bernays.—47

[87] In a letter to Engels of 25 June 1883 Pasquale Martignetti thanked the recipient for endorsing his Italian translation of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (see Note 70). Expressing his regret that he had not been able to translate from the German original, Martignetti asked Engels to advise him of a textbook which might help him to learn German; he also requested Engels to let him know where he might find works by Marx, Engels and other authors which the recipient could recommend as reading material. On 30 July Martignetti informed Engels that, as the latter had requested (see this volume, p. 37), he was sending him copies of the Italian translation of the above-mentioned work by Engels which had just appeared in Benevento.—48

[88] This letter was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—49, 101, 131, 139, 147

[89] In 1872 Johann Philipp Becker was a delegate to the Hague Congress of the International Working Men's Association.—49

[90] Eduard Bernstein recommended Engels the Austrian Social Democrat Emil Kaler-Reinthal as a secretary to prepare Marx's works for publication.—50

[91] The question of a republic in France was raised in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 27, 28 June 1883, which carried an article entitled 'Louise Michel vor Gericht' containing excerpts from her speech for the defence (see Note 74), and in No. 28, 5 July 1883, in an article on the same subject under the title 'Republik oder Monarchie? Zum Jahrestag des Bastillesturmes'.—51

[92] On 4 September 1870 in Paris, following the routing of the French army by Prussian forces at Sedan, a mass revolutionary uprising took place which led to the fall of the Second Empire and the proclamation of the Third Republic headed by a bourgeois government (see K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*, present edition, Vol. 22, p. 307).—51, 324

[93] The *Party of Progress* (*Fortschrittspartei*) — a bourgeois-liberal party formed in Prussia in 1861. It represented the interests of the petty bourgeoisie and the section of the middle bourgeoisie that was involved in foreign trade. The party supported the idea of German unification under Prussian supremacy but demanded the establishment of a parliamentary system. In 1866 its Right wing split away to form the National Liberal Party. In 1884 the men of Progress merged with the Left wing which had broken away from the National Liberals to form the German Party of Free Thinkers (Deutsche Freisinnige Partei).—51, 140, 147, 533

[94] An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in *The Labour Monthly*, London, 1933, Vol. 15, No. 9, IX.—52, 73, 80, 85, 118

[95] In the Preface to Volume II of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 36) Engels described in detail the state of Marx's surviving manuscript and recalled that shortly before his death Marx had told his daughter Eleanor that he (Engels) should 'make something' out of the manuscript.—53

[96] The reference is to the second ballot to the Reichstag held on 29 June 1883 at which Bebel, obtaining 11,711 votes, gained a victory over the candidate from the Party of Progress (see Note 93) who received 11,608 votes. In this way he became the thirteenth Social-Democratic deputy to the Reichstag (see Note 43).—53

[97] A hint at the statement made by Bismarck with reference to his aggressive policy towards France.—53

[98] In January 1883 agreements were signed between Germany and Serbia on trade and the establishment of consular relations. On 12 July 1883 an agreement on trade and shipping was signed between Germany and Spain.

In August 1883 talks were held on Romania's accession to the Triple Alliance (made up of Austria-Hungary, Germany and Italy); the talks ended with the conclusion of a defensive alliance between Romania and Austria-Hungary which reinforced Romania's subordination to the Triple Alliance.—53

[99] *Democratic Federation*—an association of various British workers' and radical-democratic societies formed on 8 June 1881 by a group of radical intellectuals headed by Henry Mayers Hyndman. The Federation's programme was limited to bourgeois-democratic demands like adult suffrage, the nationalisation of land and a parliamentary reform. However, as it was joined by socialist intellectuals (Ernest Belfort Bax, William Morris and others) and advanced workers (Harry Quelch, John Elliot Burns), the leadership of the Federation adopted noticeably more socialist positions.

The Federation's conference in June 1883 adopted a Manifesto drawn up by Hyndman and setting out its fundamental principles. It was soon put out as a separate pamphlet entitled *Socialism Made Plain, being the Social and Political Manifesto of the Democratic Federation.* It contained a demand for 'nationalisation of the means of production and distribution'. In August 1884 the Democratic Federation became the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 300).—54, 106, 114, 118, 123, 165

[100] In 1881 Henry Mayers Hyndman published the pamphlet *England for All* which he intended to serve as a commentary on the programme of the Democratic Federation (see Note 99). In two of its chapters Hyndman gave an interpretation of several sections of Volume I of *Capital*, in many cases failing to correctly express their content and referring neither to the author nor the book itself. Marx expressed his resolute protest at this in a letter to Hyndman of 2 July 1881 (see present edition, Vol. 46).—54, 114

[101] The reference is to the *Chartist movement* in England, the first mass political and revolutionary movement of the English proletariat in the 1830s and 1840s. Its slogan was the struggle for a 'People's Charter'. This document contained six points: universal suffrage (for men of 21 and over), annual Parliaments, vote by ballot, equal electoral districts, abolition of the property qualification for MPs, and payment of

MPs. Petitions urging the adoption of the People's Charter were turned down by Parliament in 1839, 1842 and 1848.—54, 422

102 The reference is to a series of concessions the British bourgeoisie made to the working class in the 1870s. In 1871 the Liberal government under Gladstone adopted the Trade Union Act which improved the judicial status of the unions. Trade unions were thus recognised for the first time, it was no longer possible to proclaim them illegal, they were able to register their rules and determine their internal structure and procedure of their activities without interference from the judiciary. In 1875 Disraeli's Conservative cabinet enacted legislation permitting 'peaceful picketing', thus giving the workers a right to strike.

1867 saw the second electoral reform in England under which the property requirement for voters in the counties was reduced to £12 in rent for tenants, whilst in the towns the right to vote was accorded to homeowners and tenants of flats and houses who had lived in the same place for not less than a year and paid rent of not less than £10. Some of the skilled workers also received the right to vote. However, this law did not extend to Scotland or Ireland.—55

103 A fragment from this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Colonialism*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1959.—55

104 In his letter of 14 September 1883 Karl Kautsky sent Engels a leaflet apparently put out by Bruno Geiser and other adherents of the opportunist wing of the German Social Democrats. Kautsky wrote to Engels that the leaflet was a clear demonstration of how, against the background of the Anti-Socialist Law, petty bourgeois elements in the party were advancing not socialist, but petty bourgeois, slogans (the right to work and demand for a minimum wage); in order to counteract this, Kautsky suggested to Engels that he should without delay write a piece for *Der Sozialdemokrat* explaining that it was impossible to implement the demand for a 'right to work' under capitalist conditions.—55

105 The reference is to a series of articles by Karl Kautsky entitled 'Die Entstehung der Ehe und Familie' and carried by the magazine *Kosmos*, Stuttgart, Vol. XII (October 1882-March 1883). Engels set out his opinion of the initial articles in his letters to Kautsky of 10 February and 2 March 1883 (see present edition, Vol. 46).—56

106 The reference is to the attempt to annex Port Moresby in New Guinea staged by the British colonial authorities in Queensland, Australia, in April 1883; in November 1884 the British government proclaimed a temporary protectorate over the South-Eastern part of New Guinea and the adjacent island.—57

107 The regular trade union congress was held in Nottingham from 10 to 15 September 1883.—57

108 This is an allusion to a series of articles headed 'Die Trades Unions' which Wilhelm Liebknecht published anonymously in *Die Neue Zeit* in early 1883.—57

109 In the first three issues of *Die Neue Zeit* for 1883 the Austrian economist Emanuel Hans Sax (pseudonym Fritz Denhardt) published two reviews and a short article entitled 'Zur sozialen Statistik in Deutschland'.

Replying to Engels, Kautsky wrote on 3 October 1883, 'Other contributors I had been counting on are holding back out of cowardice. I can only ascribe it to

this that Braun and Fritz Denhardt have ceased to deliver material. I am becoming increasingly distrustful of the "educated" socialists who have not broken with the past.'—57

110 Intending to become a factory inspector, Victor Adler took a trip around Germany, Switzerland and Britain in 1883 to familiarise himself with the work of the inspectors there. In Stuttgart he visited Kautsky, who gave him a reference for Engels.—57

111 The postcard referred to has not been found.—59, 211

112 Hermann Lopatin visited Engels on 19 September, several months after fleeing from exile in Vologda (see Note 6). They met for the second time on 23 September. On 20 September 1883 Lopatin wrote to Maria Oshanina, telling her about the substance of his first conversation with Engels (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 591-93).—59

113 The first volume of Marx's *Capital* (third German edition) was issued by the Meissner publishing house in Hamburg and printed on Otto Wigand's press in Leipzig.—60

114 During his prison sentence (see Note 9) Paul Lafargue worked on an article entitled 'Le blé en Amérique...' which was carried by the *Journal des Économistes* in 1884.—63, 71

115 The reference is to the international workers' conference held in Paris on 29 October 1883 by decision of the congress of the French Workers' Social-Revolutionary Party (Possibilists; see Note 237) which took place in late September and early October of that year. The Possibilists regarded its convocation as the first step towards the formation of a new International in which they would have the leadership. With this in mind, invitations to the congress were issued only to the British trade unions and the socialist movements in Italy and Spain. The decision to form an International, like others, did not yield any practical results.

The anti-Broussists were opponents of the Possibilists.—64, 96

116 In early November 1883 Vera Zasulich asked Engels a number of questions with a view to ascertaining his attitude to the plans to publish the second volume of Marx's *Capital* in Russian in St Petersburg. She informed him that, if they were given the opportunity, Russian socialist émigrés were prepared to take on the translation. Together with the letter Zasulich sent Engels the announcement about the publication of the Library of Contemporary Socialism series (see Note 124) and the Russian translation of Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital* which had just appeared in Geneva. She further informed Engels that his work *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, which she had translated into Russian, was in the press. This book appeared in Geneva in 1884 under the title *Развитіе научнаго соціализма*.—65

117 Hermann Lopatin began translating the first volume of Marx's *Capital* into Russian during his stay in London in the summer and autumn of 1870. Before leaving for Russia at the end of the year he translated the second, third and beginning of the fourth chapter of the first German edition of Volume I of *Capital*. The translation in full was done by October 1871 by Nikolai Danielson and Nikolai Lyubavin, Professor of Chemistry at Moscow University. The first Russian edition of Volume I of *Capital* appeared in St Petersburg in 1872.

The second volume of *Capital* was published in Russian in Danielson's translation in January 1886.—65

[118] The reference is to the German translation of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the 'Philosophy of Poverty' by M. Proudhon* which was written in French and appeared in Brussels and Paris in 1847. The translation into German was begun by Eduard Bernstein who was later joined by Karl Kautsky. Engels edited the translation, wrote a special preface for it and a number of notes, using the amendments made by Marx on a copy of the French edition of 1847. The book was published by Dietz in Stuttgart in January 1885.—66, 67, 73, 90, 124, 126, 131, 133, 135, 138, 153, 176, 186, 189, 191, 195, 196, 261

[119] On 10 November 1883 Eduard Bernstein informed Engels that Max Quarck (literary pseudonym Freiwald Thüringer) was the author of a book about the Thuringian cottage industry; the book contained positive comments on the social reforms carried out by the German government.—67

[120] Engels is referring to Georgi Plekhanov's translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels which appeared in 1882 (see Note 78) and also to Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital* which was published in Russian in Geneva in the autumn of 1883 as the fourth book in the Russian Social-Revolutionary Library. The cover carried the note 'translation from the German edition of 1880 (Breslau)'.—67

[121] Engels wrote the essay 'The Mark' between mid-September and the first half of December 1882 as an appendix to the German edition of his work *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (see present edition, Vol. 24). 'The Mark' was published by *Der Sozialdemokrat* in March-April 1883 and as a separate edition in Hottingen-Zurich under the title *Der deutsche Bauer. Was war er? Was ist er? Was könnte er sein?* which was specially prepared by Engels for propaganda work among the peasants.—68

[122] On 10 November 1883 Eduard Bernstein informed Engels of his intention to publish in *Der Sozialdemokrat* Paul Lafargue's pamphlet *Le Droit à la Paresse* which Lafargue had prepared for publication as a separate edition in the summer of 1883, during his imprisonment in Ste-Pelagie (see Note 9). The pamphlet *Le Droit à la Paresse. Refutation du 'Droit au Travail' de 1848* was published for the first time in 1880, in *l'Égalité*; a separate pamphlet appeared the same year in Paris. This was also published in German in *Der Sozialdemokrat* under the heading 'Das Recht auf Faulheit' in December 1883-January 1884.—68, 86

[123] *Wailers* (Heuler)—the name the republican democrats in Germany in 1848-49 applied to the moderate constitutionalists; here Engels uses the label to describe adherents of the Right wing of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany.—68, 125, 140, 145

[124] Engels is quoting from the announcement of the publication of the Library of Contemporary Socialism series issued by Russian Social-Democratic émigrés in Geneva on 25 September 1883. The announcement set out the main aims and tasks of the first Russian Marxist organisation, the Emancipation of Labour group. It read in part, 'In now changing their programme to serve their struggle against absolutism and the organisation of the Russian working class in a separate party with a definite socio-political programme, the former members of the Black Redistribution group hereby form a new group—Emancipation of Labour—and definitively break with the old anarchist tendencies'. The group regarded the following as

its main tasks: 1) the translation into Russian and dissemination of the major works of K. Marx and F. Engels and their followers; 2) a critique of the Narodniks and efforts to deal with current problems of Russian life.—68

125 Karl Kautsky was in London from late November to early December 1883. On 28 November, he attended Engels' birthday party together with Eleanor Marx and Edward Aveling.—68, 80

126 In his letter of 26 November 1883 Johann Philipp Becker asked Engels to remind Laura Lafargue that she had promised, in the presence and with the agreement of Marx, to send him the letters of 1848 and 1849 which Becker had let Marx have for his work on the pamphlet *Herr Vogt*.—69, 98, 152, 203, 301

127 In 1849 Engels and Johann Philipp Becker took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising (see Engels' 'The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution', present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 147-239 and also 'Johann Philipp Becker', present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 418-23).—69

128 Engels wrote the lines below on a postcard which he addressed: 'Karl Kautsky. Esq., Wedde's Hotel, Greek St., Soho, W. C.'—70

129 On 19 December 1883 the Paris newspaper *Le Cri du Peuple* published an article by Paul Lafargue headed 'L'Assassinat d'O'Donnell'. It denounced the hostile position adopted by George Shipton, editor of the English trade union newspaper *The Labour Standard*, to the trial, taking place in London at the time, of Patrick O'Donnell, a member of an Irish secret society. On 6 May 1882 members of this society had killed Lord Frederic Cavendish, Principal Secretary for Irish Affairs, and his deputy T. H. Burke. The main witness for the prosecution, James Carey, himself one of the murderers, had subsequently been killed by O'Donnell. Flying in the face of democratic public opinion, *The Labour Standard* sharply condemned O'Donnell.—72

130 On 2 December 1883 Wilhelm Ludwig Rosenberg, editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, organ of the Socialist Labor Party of the USA, published an article signed 'von der Mark'. It alleged that the state was an abstract concept, a 'union of individuals'. Responding to this, Eduard Bernstein used the pseudonym 'Leo' when publishing in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 52, 20 December 1883 an article entitled 'Der Sozialismus und der Staat' in which he quoted verbatim statements Engels had made in *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* about the historical role of the state and his assessment of Lassalle's term 'free state' (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 320-21). Bernstein also stressed that, in contrast to the anarchists, the Marxists suggested beginning not with the abolition of the state, but with the transfer of power to the proletariat.

On 3 January 1884 Rosenberg continued the polemic by publishing another article in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* with the title 'Herr Leo'. In it he tried to prove that Engels and Bebel were making a concession to the anarchists and alleged the Marxists believed that, following the withering away of the state, there would ensue a situation marked by an absence of authorities.—72, 86, 91

131 Engels is referring to Johann Karl Rodbertus' letter to Rudolf Hermann Meyer of 20 September 1871. It was published in the book *Briefe und socialpolitische Aufsaetze von Dr Rodbertus-Jagetzow*. Published by Dr R. Meyer, Vol. 1, Berlin, [1882], p. 111.—72

[132] In the 'Preface to the 1872 German Edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*' Marx and Engels referred readers to the passage in Marx's work *The Civil War in France* where, on the strength of the experience gathered by the Paris Commune, he concluded that 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery, and wield it for its own purposes' (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 175).—73

[133] By way of a reminder the appendix to the Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, which appeared in Georgi Plekhanov's translation in Geneva in 1882 (see Note 78), contained an excerpt from Marx's *The Civil War in France*. Engels is further referring to the 1883 German edition of the *Manifesto* for which he wrote a special preface (see present edition, Vol. 26); this edition was published without an appendix.—74

[134] On 21 December 1883 *The Times* reported that on 10 December 1883, when Tsar Alexander III had been out hunting, the horses had bolted and upturned the sled in which he was sitting.—74

[135] On 16 December 1883 his chief and secret police inspector Lieutenant-Colonel Georgi Sudeikin was murdered in St Petersburg in the flat of Sergei Degayev (Yablonsky). The terrorist act was carried out on the decision of the Executive Committee of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) party which, on pain of his own death, had forced the exposed provocateur Degayev organise the murder.

*The Standard*, No. 18561, 11 January 1884, reported that the St Petersburg chief of police supposed the murderers were led from Paris by Lavrov and Tikhomirov.—74, 79

[136] On 29 December 1883 Karl Kautsky wrote to Engels that the tsarist government had ordered from his father Johann Kautsky's workshop in Prague the scenery which was to capture various moments from the coronation of Alexander III in May 1883; the scenery was to be put on public display in various Russian cities and to be completed by May 1884.—76

[137] On 29 December 1883 Karl Kautsky informed Engels that he was planning to publish in Germany Gabriel Deville's *Le Capital de Karl Marx. Résumé et accompagné d'un aperçu sur le socialisme scientifique* (see Note 81) which had just appeared in Paris. On Engels' advice, Kautsky decided not simply to publish a translation but wrote a work of his own in accordance with the instructions Engels gave him in this and subsequent letters (see this volume, pp. 101 and 462); Kautsky's work appeared under the title *Karl Marx's Oekonomische Lehren. Gemeinverständlich dargestellt und erläutert von Karl Kautsky*, Stuttgart, 1887.—76, 78, 89, 101, 386, 481, 482

[138] The second, illegal, edition of August Bebel's book *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* was printed in Dietz's works in Stuttgart but appeared under the auspices of the Zurich publisher Schabelitz with the title *Die Frau in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft* in 1883. The first editon was issued in Zurich-Hottingen in 1879.—77, 81, 132, 164, 204

[139] *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 1, 1883 did not appear on Thursday, as usual, but on Monday, 1 January, whilst No. 2 was published the following Thursday, 4 January. The last issue for that year, No. 52, appeared on Thursday, 20 December, whilst on 27 December the newspaper was not published at all. The following issue, No. 1, did not appear until 3 January 1884.—77

140 In a letter to Engels of 7 January 1884 Paul Lafargue wrote about the 'German "goût"' (taste), illustrating it with such examples as pictures for children, toys and artificial flowers. Lafargue continued that German producers were planning to capture part of the French market from the domestic industrialists and, for this purpose, the goods they exported to France were being supplied with German labels, this serving to indicate that they were more competitive.—78

141 In a letter of 31 October 1883 August Bebel asked Engels to find a place in an English family for the daughter of his associé Ferdinand Issleib. But on the very next day Bebel apologised to Engels for the trouble he had caused him and sent him Issleib's urgent request that he return Bebel's letter of 31 October.

Engels' letter to Bebel, written in pencil, has not been found.—80

142 Engels is referring to the propaganda in favour of the introduction of the right to work carried on by the Right wing of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (see also Note 104).—81

143 During trips to England and Ireland in 1882 and 1884 the American economist Henry George gave lectures in which he attempted to prove that the nationalisation of land was a means of settling social contradictions under the capitalist system (see also Note 31).—82

144 The Archives of German Social Democracy were established by a decision of the Conference of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany held in Zurich from 19 to 21 August 1882. They contained manuscripts by figures from the German workers' movement, including Marx and Engels, literature on the history of Germany and the international workers' movement as well as the workers' press. The archives were originally based in Zurich and the initial documents were collected by Eduard Bernstein. From April 1883 the archives were run by Hermann Schlüter. In June 1888, following its move from Switzerland to London, the editorial board of *Der Sozialdemokrat* also transferred the archives of German Social Democracy to the same place. They were moved to Berlin following the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law.—83, 85, 95, 107, 111, 328

145 August Bebel's book *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* appeared in English translation in London in 1885 under the title *Woman in the Past, Present and Future*.—83

146 Engels made a draft of his reply on Charles L. Fitzgerald's letter to him of 25 January in which the latter asked Engels to write for the recently founded newspaper *Justice*. Fitzgerald's letter was written on paper belonging to the editorial board and carrying the address, 'The Editorial Office of *Justice*, Palace Chambers, 9, Bridge Street, Westminster, S. W.'.—84

147 In his letter of 23 January 1884 Ludwik Krzywicki requested Engels' permission to publish the first volume of Marx's *Capital* in Polish translation. The translation was the work of Stanisław Krusiński, Kazimierz Pławinski, Mieczysław Brzeziński, Jósef Siemaszko, Kazimierz Sosnowski, representatives of Polish revolutionary youth, as well as Krzywicki himself, who edited the entire translation. The first instalment appeared in 1884, the second in 1886 and the third in 1889. The book was published in full in 1890 in Leipzig, and one copy of this edition was sent to Engels.—87

148 Russian books from Marx's library were sent to Pyotr Lavrov on 3 March 1884.

On 7 March he acknowledged their receipt from Engels. It is not known what happened to Lavrov's library, including these volumes.—88

149 Engels used the manuscript when preparing the third volume of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 37).—88

150 In his letter of reply, written on 30 January 1884, Pyotr Lavrov recommended Kazimierz Sosnowski to Engels as 'a sincere and devout socialist and an excellent young man'. Lavrov also expressed his doubts 'as to where this pretty poor group will find enough money to publish something as large as the first volume of *Capital* in Polish'. On the translation of the first volume of *Capital* into Polish, see Note 147.—89

151 The reference is to Marx's article 'On Proudhon' which he wrote on 24 January 1865 at the request of the editorial board of *Der Social-Demokrat* (see present edition, Vol. 20). Engels planned to include it in full in the preface to the second French edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy*, which Laura Lafargue was preparing at the time. It appeared in 1896, following Engels' death. The article by Marx was included in the appendix under the title 'Proudhon jugé par Karl Marx'. In the German edition of *The Poverty*, which appeared in Stuttgart in 1885, this article by Marx came after Engels' preface.—91, 102, 107, 206

152 The *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 12, 14 January 1884, carried an article entitled 'Ein paar Muster'. Its author advised the Social Democrats, particularly the French and the German, to follow the example of the Irish and Russian revolutionaries, who, as he put it, observed unity and displayed agreeability.

In *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 6, 7 February 1884, these views were criticised in an article entitled 'Toleranz, aber keine Indifferenz' (Tolerance, but not indifference).—91

153 It is clear from Eduard Bernstein's letter to Engels of 2 February 1884 that the editorial board of *Der Sozialdemokrat* intended to devote one of the March issues to the memory of Marx. The article 'Marx and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49)', which Engels wrote for this issue, was included in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 11, 13 March 1884 (see present edition, Vol. 26).—92

154 Engels is referring to the events in Vienna where Hlubek and Blöch, two secret police agents, were killed in December 1883 and January 1884. The murders were provoked by the government, which attributed them to the anarchists and used this as an excuse to introduce a state of siege in Vienna and its environs as well as adopting legislation against the anarchists which was actually directed against the socialist movement. Workers' organisations were subjected to police persecution, their leaders deported and their press prohibited.—92

155 In his letter of 30 January 1884 Pyotr Lavrov suggested to Engels the idea of publishing the second volume of *Capital* in Russia in instalments parallel to it being prepared for the press in Germany. He drew Engels' attention to the great Russian public interest in this edition. He also wrote that Hermann Lopatin had come to Paris for a few days and, intending to publish a Russian edition of this volume in St Petersburg, had expressed the hope that Engels would send the proofs of the German edition in preparation to Nikolai Danielson (see also Note 168).—93

156 On 30 January 1884 Pyotr Lavrov wrote to Engels about the need to reissue Marx's early works, which had already become a rarity; he further informed Engels that he had been given the chance to publish in *Вѣстникъ Народной Воли* the

translation of Marx's work *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (see present edition, Vol. 10) which had been carried in 1850 by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* under the title 'Von 1848 bis 1849'. Lavrov asked Engels for more detailed information about this work.—93, 261

157 The reference is to the propaganda trip Paul Lafargue, Jules Guesde, Simon Dereure and Jean Dormoy made around the northern districts of France in connection with the forthcoming congress of the French Workers' Party in Roubaix (29 March to 7 April 1884) (see Note 195). On 27 January 1884 Lafargue, Guesde and Dereure addressed a large rally in St Quentin. On 28 January they spoke in St-Pierre-Calais, not having arrived until ten o'clock in the evening since they had been forced to wait $3^1/_2$ hours for a train to Calais. The meeting had nevertheless passed off successfully, as Lafargue informed Engels on 6 February 1884.—94, 96

158 Engels is referring to a series of articles carried on 23 December 1883, 13 January and 3 February 1884 by the London weekly *The National Reformer* published by Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant. The author of the first and third articles, which appeared in the 'Daybreak' column was Annie Besant, whilst the second was unsigned and published in the 'Crowded Table' column.—95

159 From March 1864 to his death Marx lived with his family in North West London, first at 1 Modena Villas (renamed 1 Maitland Park Road in 1868), then in March 1875 they moved to 41 Maitland Park Road.—95, 104, 118, 121

160 Using the pseudonym 'Deux amis de la liberté' (Two friends of freedom), F. M. Kerverseau and G. Clavelin published a work in several volumes entitled *Histoire de la révolution de 1789...* in Paris between 1790 and 1803.—95

161 *Blue Books*—collected documents of the British Parliament and Foreign Office published since the 17th century.—95, 128

162 The reference is probably to the German Workers' Educational Society formed in London in 1840 by Karl Schapper, Johann Moll, Heinrich Bauer, and other members of the League of the Just. Marx and Engels took part in its activities in 1847 and 1849-50. The name of the society was changed in the following years, and from the 1870s it was called Communist Workers' Educational Society (Kommunistischer Arbeiterbildungsverein). Soon after the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 37), a group of extremist-minded members gained the upper hand in the society. They opposed the tactics employed by the German Social Democrats against the background of the Anti-Socialist Law, came out against a combination of legal and illegal methods of struggle, against the Social Democrats working in Parliament and for individual acts of terrorism. In March 1880 a considerable number of members left the society and formed their own organisation retaining the previous name. The refounded society announced that it intended to act in accord with the principles and tactics of the German Social Democrats. The remaining members, including the supporters of Most, continued to adhere to Leftist views and were active under the same name.—95, 119, 210, 263

163 The *Cercle international* of the fifth arrondissement was a workers' association in Paris belonging to the Federation of the Centre (the Paris association of the Possibilists) (see Note 237). The secretary of the association, Henri Leclère, was one of the Possibilist leaders; it included among its members a number of German and Russian émigrés.—96

164 It seems likely that the French journalist Paule Mink (Pauline A. Mękarska) went on a trip to the South of France, where she engaged in propaganda work. It is clear from Paul Lafargue's letter to Engels of 10 April 1884 that she later joined Lafargue and Jules Guesde (see Note 157) and visited a number of northern French cities together with them where Lafargue gave a report on the significance of the International Working Men's Association.—96

165 The reference is to the second French edition of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* which was being prepared at that time by Laura Lafargue (see also Note 169). The preparatory work on this edition was protracted and it did not appear until 1896 (in Paris), after Engels' death.—97, 104, 111, 115, 124, 133

166 This letter was written by Engels in reply to Nonne's letter of 7 February 1884. Heinrich Nonne, an émigré from Hanover who was living in Paris and taught foreign languages, informed Engels of his plan to set up a kind of international centre in Paris with a view to bringing about a rapprochement between socialists in different countries. Nonne asked Engels to send him statistical notes and information about events in other countries. Later, in September 1884, it turned out that Nonne was in the pay of the Prussian police (see Note 303).—97

167 On 5 February 1884 Johann Philipp Becker wrote to Engels saying he believed there was a need to broaden the campaign for universal suffrage in Germany and that the masses there were not learning to act in a collective and coordinated manner. Becker wrote that this campaign was an excellent means of setting the masses in town and country in motion, notably young people between 21 and 25, who were deprived of the right to vote, and also of exposing the bourgeois parties.—98

168 Replying on 9 February to Engels' enquiry about the possibility of publishing a Russian translation of the second volume of *Capital* in Russia (see Note 155), Pyotr Lavrov wrote that the Russian revolutionaries had decided to bring out this translation 'by all means' and that, should it be confiscated, the book would be put out abroad.

The first Russian edition of the second volume of *Capital* appeared in St Petersburg on 11 January 1886 with a preface by Nikolai Danielson and in his translation. The year of publication printed on the title page was 1885.—100

169 Engels did not write a special preface to the second French edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy*. This led Laura Lafargue to include in the edition Engels' preface to the first German edition of the work ('Marx and Rodbertus') which had appeared in Stuttgart in 1885 (see present edition, Vol. 26).—101, 104, 124

170 The reference is to Rudolf Meyer's book *Der Emancipationskampf des vierten Standes*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1874. Engels refers to this book in the preface to the second volume of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 36).—101

171 The reference is to Marx's manuscript *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1861-63). Its central part is called *Theories of Surplus Value* (see present edition, vols 30-34). Marx planned to revise it and then publish as a separate book of *Capital* entitled 'The History of the Theory' (see Marx's preface to the first volume of *Capital*, present edition, Vol. 35). However, neither Marx nor Engels carried out this plan. Engels gave a detailed description of this manuscript in the preface to the second volume of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 36).

Marx gives a critique of Rodbertus' theory of rent in Notebooks X-XI of the *Theories* (present edition, Vol. 31).— 102, 104, 121, 122, 188, 244, 264, 278

172 The reference is to Karl Kautsky's letter to Engels of 2 February 1884 in which, on behalf of the Volksbuchhandlung in Zurich, he asked for the right to publish a new edition of Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*.— 102

173 The 'original cantons' was the name given to Switzerland's mountainous cantons which formed the original core of the Swiss Federation in the 13th and 14th centuries.— 103

174 When sorting through Marx's manuscripts after his death, Engels discovered a detailed conspectus of *Ancient Society or Researches in the Line of Human Progress from Savagery, through Barbarism to Civilization*, London, 1877, written by the American scientist Lewis H. Morgan. The conspectus had been drawn up by Marx in 1880-81 and contained his critical remarks, conclusions of his own and some information from other sources (the conspectus is not included in the present edition). Believing that Marx had intended to write a work specifically devoted to the initial period in the history of human society, basing himself on Morgan as he did so, Engels, who had familiarised himself with Marx's conspectus and Morgan's book, thought it necessary to carry out Marx's plan. *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, on which Engels worked from early April to 26 May 1884, appeared in Zurich at the end of the same year.— 103, 121, 123, 131, 132, 135

175 Engels' critical remarks about Taylor's and Lubbock's works are contained in his preface to the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* which appeared in 1891 (see present edition, Vol. 27).— 103

176 By 'later versions' Engels means the manuscripts of the first (1867) and third (1865) volumes of *Capital*.— 104

177 In his capacity as a representative of the German Social Democrats, Eduard Bernstein visited Lyons and Rouen in February 1884; he gave a speech at the German Workers' Club in Paris. From 25 February to 2 March Bernstein stayed with Engels in London, whereupon he returned to Zurich.— 104, 109

178 This letter by Engels was written in reply to John Darbyshire's letter of 17 February 1884. Reminding Engels of their meeting in 1872, Darbyshire informed him of his efforts to 'start the International again' and continued by saying that in Manchester he had 'at last succeeded in forming a Committee of English, Irish, Welsh and Scotch'. Darbyshire asked Engels to remind him of the names of members of the International so that he might resume correspondence with them and further promised to send him a copy of the 'Principles, Objects and Aims' of the future organisation.— 106

179 The reference is to the cycle of lectures Paul Lafargue and Gabriel Deville gave ('Cours d'économie sociale') on Marx's doctrine which were organised on Sundays from 23 January 1884 by a circle at the Socialist Library of the French Workers' Party. The cycle of lectures given by Lafargue was called 'Le Matérialisme économique de Karl Marx'. He entitled his second lecture 'Le Milieu naturel. Théorie darwinienne'. Deville called his cycle of lectures 'L'Évolution du capital'. There were five in all, entitled 'Genèse du capital', 'Formation du prolétariat', 'Coopération et manufacture', 'Machinisme et grande industrie' and 'Fin du capital'. The lectures were published in the press and also as separate pamphlets in 1884.

Referring to 'bon dieu', Engels means the disproof of the idealist world view as developed by Lafargue in his first lecture 'Idéalisme et matérialisme dans l'histoire'.— 107, 115, 134, 143, 162, 368, 465

180 The reference is to the second congress of the *League of Peace and Freedom* — a bourgeois pacifist organisation formed in Switzerland in 1867 with the active involvement of Victor Hugo, Giuseppe Garibaldi and other democrats. Mikhail Bakunin took part in its work in 1867 and 1868. At the League's second congress, which took place in Berne on 21-25 September 1868, he proposed a resolution proclaiming the need for the economic and social equalisation of classes. Having failed to win the support of the congress, which voted by a majority against his resolution, Bakunin and his supporters left the League.— 108

181 Engels is referring to the declaration of 21 March 1871 ('République Française. Liberté, égalité, fraternité...') which Benoît Malon signed as assistant to the Mayor of the 17th arrondissement in Paris together with the Mayor himself and two other assistants. The document stated that, since the Mayor and his assistants were alienated from power by force, the validity of all acts of the municipality of the 17th arrondissement ceased from that day.

On Malon's activities in this period see also Marx's and Engels' *Fictitious Splits in the International* (present edition, Vol. 23, p. 94).— 108

182 In April 1884 Russia obtained a loan of 300 million marks from Germany.— 109, 112, 148, 338, 360, 365

183 Engels wrote the following on a postcard which he addressed: Monsieur Paul Lavroff, 328 rue St. Jacques, *Paris*, France.— 110

184 This letter was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.— 111, 155, 311

185 In her letter of 2 March 1884, Vera Zasulich, writing on behalf of the Russian revolutionary émigrés in Switzerland, requested permission from Engels to put out a Russian edition of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* (see present edition, Vol. 6). She also asked Engels to send her the text of the preface which he intended to write for the first German edition then in preparation (see Note 118) and expressed the hope that he would look through the proofs of the Russian edition and, if need be, make his remarks. The Russian edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy* appeared in Geneva in 1886 in the fifth issue of the Library of Contemporary Socialism series.— 111, 432

186 The 'reactionary socialists' was the name Engels gave to the armchair socialists (see Note 54) who spread the 'myth about Rodbertus' in their works. For a critique of them see Engels' preface to the second volume of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 36).— 111

187 This false accusation against Marx is contained in Johann Karl Rodbertus' letters to Rudolf Meyer of 29 November 1871 (in *Briefe und socialpolitische Aufsaetze von Dr Rodbertus-Jagetzow*. Published by Dr R. Meyer, Vol. 1, Berlin, [1882], p. 134), and to J. Zeller of 14 March 1875 (in *Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatswissenschaft*, Vol. 35, Tübingen, 1879, p. 219). Engels rebuffed Rodbertus' accusation in the preface to the first German edition of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* ('Marx and Rodbertus', present edition, Vol. 26) and also in the preface to the second volume of Marx's *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 36).— 111, 166, 187

188 After the assassination of Emperor Alexander II on 1 March 1881, Alexander III, his successor, was staying in Gatchina (the Russian tsars' country residence), fearing that new terrorist acts would be staged by the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will).— 112, 280

189 Engels is probably referring to the terrorist activities of the members of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will), a secret revolutionary Narodnik organisation, which continued even after 1 March 1881 (see previous note).— 112

190 Engels is referring to the letter Marx wrote in the autumn of 1877 to the editorial board of the St Petersburg magazine *Otechestvenniye zapiski* (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 196). In an effort to have it published in the Russian press after Marx's death, Engels made three handwritten copies of the letter. The first he gave in September 1883 to Hermann Lopatin, who was in London at the time (see this volume, p. 59), and the second he sent to Vera Zasulich, that being the subject of this letter. He seems to have made the third copy in connection with Nikolai Danielson's unsuccessful attempt in the autumn of 1885 to have Marx's letter published in the journal *Severny vestnik* (see this volume, pp. 322 and 347).

A Russian translation of Marx's letter was first published in Russia in 1885 in the form of a lithograph; the translation was most likely the work of Vera Zasulich. A large part of the edition was confiscated by the police, a fate it shared with another illegal hectographic version of the letter which appeared that December in St Petersburg.

Marx's letter was first published in Russian abroad in Geneva in *Вѣстникъ Народной Воли*, No. 5, 1886. The following year it appeared in German in the American newspaper *New-Yorker Volkszeitung* (3 May) and *Der Sozialdemokrat* (Zurich, 3 June).— 113

191 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in *The Socialist Review*, London, March 1908.— 113

192 In the 1880 general election Henry Mayers Hyndman stood as an independent candidate for Marylebone constituency. However, his extremely moderate programme (he did not support the demand for the nationalisation of land and opposed universal suffrage) lost him votes among the workers and provided Gladstone, who was registered as a voter in the said constituency, with the occasion to denounce him as a Tory. Hyndman's attempt to be elected to Parliament failed.— 114

193 On 10 February 1884 Friedrich Adolph Sorge informed Engels that George Stiebeling was about to criticise Marx's concept of history.— 114

194 The reference is to the regular elections to the German Reichstag which took place on 28 October 1884.— 114, 150, 152, 185, 192, 198, 201

195 The congress of the French Workers' Party met in Roubaix from 29 March to 7 April 1884. It was attended by 26 delegates representing about 60 groups, circles and trade unions. The delegates unanimously endorsed the programme adopted at Le Havre in 1880 (see also Note 201). Also present at the congress were Ernest Belfort Bax and Harry Quelch, representatives of the Democratic Federation (see Note 99). An address was read out from the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, proclaiming solidarity between the workers of all countries. The reply to this address adopted at the congress expressed regret that no German delegation was pre-

sent and stated that no government measures could destroy the solidarity between the French and German proletariat.—115, 118, 123, 125, 129

196 This letter was first published in English in: F. Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 1, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959.—116, 129, 134, 179, 255, 444

197 In his letter to Laura and Paul Lafargue of 21 February 1884 (see this volume, p. 107), Engels asked them to look through his French translation of Marx's 'On Proudhon' (see present edition, Vol. 20). In this letter Engels examines the corrections they sent him to the translation. Marx's article was included in the appendix to the second French edition of his work *The Poverty of Philosophy* (see Note 165).—116

198 The reference is to Proudhon's book *Si les traités de 1815 ont cessé d'exister? Actes du futur congrès*, Paris, 1863, in which he opposed a revision of the decisions on Poland taken by the 1815 Vienna Congress. He also spoke out against support for the Polish national liberation movement by European democrats and, in so doing, actually backed up the foreign policy of Russian tsarism.—117

199 On 16 March 1884 London witnessed a workers' demonstration in connection with the anniversary of Marx's death and in commemoration of the Day of the Paris Commune. A meeting was held at Marx's grave in Highgate Cemetery.—118

200 Engels is referring to the review of the March issue of *To-Day* published in *Justice*, No. 8, 8 March 1884. The author criticised the publication of Edward Aveling's article 'Christianity and Capitalism' and believed that the views it presented on religious and atheist issues were well known. The reviewer also considered Eleanor Marx's article 'Dr Marx and Mr Gladstone's Budget Speech of 1863' to be 'scarcely suited' to appear in the journal. In it, Eleanor Marx disproved the allegations made by the English economist Sedley Taylor who had accused Marx of citing Gladstone's 1864 budget speech in a distorted way. This accusation by Taylor was the continuation of the campaign of slander begun back in 1872 which Engels exposed in 1891 in his work *In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx* (see present edition, Vol. 27).—118

201 Following the adoption of a programme based on Marxist positions at the 1880 Congress of the French Workers' Party in Le Havre (see K. Marx, 'Preamble to the Programme of the French Workers' Party', present edition, Vol. 24), the struggle between the Possibilists (see Note 237) and the Guesdists was aggravated; the latter represented the party's revolutionary wing and favoured the revolutionary transformation of society. The struggle led to a split in the party at its 1882 Congress in St Etienne. The Guesdists, who were in a minority, gathered together their representatives in Roanne and formed their own party, retaining the previous name.—118, 444, 445

202 'Ex-President of Mankind' was the name Marx and Engels gave to Bernhard Becker, who had been President of the General Association of German Workers (Lassalleans). This was an allusion to Marx's article 'The "President of Mankind"' (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 92-96) containing a critique of Becker's activities.—119

203 The *German People's Party* (Deutsche Volkspartei) appeared in Stuttgart in 1868. It consisted of democratic elements from the petty and middle bourgeoisie, mainly

from the South German states, and thus was also called South German and Swabian. Opposing the establishment of Prussian hegemony in Germany and advancing general democratic slogans, the German People's Party at the same time expressed the particularist aspirations of the bourgeoisie in a number of German states. This was manifested in its campaign against the unification of Germany to become a single centralised democratic republic, in favour of a federal German state and a republican form of government. From the late 1870s the party took a negative stance on the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 37). In an effort to gain control of the workers' movement, the party repeatedly came out in favour of joint action with the German Social Democrats during the election campaigns to the Reichstag. The party's permanent leader and the chairman of its parliamentary group from its foundation up to the 1890s was Leopold Sonnemann. The party ceased to exist in 1910 when it merged with the People's Party of Progress (Fortschrittliche Volkspartei).— 119, 282, 502

204 Engels is probably referring to the part of Karl Kautsky's letter of 12 March 1884 dealing with the English socialist William Morris. Kautsky wrote that he had incorrectly understood Eleanor Marx's remark about William Morris and, in one of his articles, had therefore called him a 'Gefühlssozialist' (socialist by feeling). The offended Morris categorically rejected this opinion.— 121

205 Engels is referring to the newspaper *Révolutions de Paris* published by Élisée Loustalot, the newspaper *Feuille Villageoise* and Maurice Alhoy's and Louis Lurine's book *Les prisons de Paris. Histoire, types, moeurs, mystères*, Paris, 1846.— 122

206 The magazine *To-Day*, No. 4, April 1884, carried the articles by M. Davitt, 'The Irish Social Problem' and P. Lafargue, 'Peasant Proprietary in France'.

The newspaper *Justice*, No. 11, 29 March 1884, reported that *To-Day* was about to publish Lafargue's article 'On Peasant Proprietary in France' and described the author as 'perhaps the greatest living authority on the French peasantry'.— 122

207 The letter referred to by Marx was probably written in the spring of 1882 and has not been found. Engels quotes Marx's opinion of Richard Wagner in Chapter II of his work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see present edition, Vol. 26, p. 147).— 124

208 On 7 April 1884 Eduard Bernstein informed Engels that the second and third parts of his work *Anti-Dühring* ('Political Economy' and 'Socialism', see present edition, Vol. 25) were almost sold out and that 300 copies remained of the first part ('Philosophy'). He therefore suggested that a new edition of the work be prepared, but this time as a single volume and not in separate parts. The second German edition of *Anti-Dühring* appeared in Zurich at the beginning of December 1885 with additions made by Engels to the second chapter of the third part. The title page gave the year of publication as 1886.— 124, 126, 130, 131, 142, 249, 251, 263, 310, 324, 327, 346, 371, 372

209 On 11 October 1880 Heinrich Wilhelm Fabian, a German émigré living in the United States, wrote to Marx and Engels asking them to contribute to a weekly journal called *Einheit* which he planned to start publishing in an American city on 1 January 1881. The journal's programme was compiled by Fabian together with Wilhelm Ludwig Rosenberg and sent together with the letter.

On 6 November 1880 Fabian wrote to Marx about $\sqrt{-1}$ (on this, see Ch. XII of the first part of *Anti-Dühring*; present edition, Vol. 25, p. 112).

In April 1884 Fabian published in the *Freidenker* newspaper an article directed against Marx's and Engels' doctrine of the state.— 124, 295

210 On 22 March 1884, during a reception on the occasion of his birthday for a delegation made up of representatives from the Federal Council, the German Reichstag and Prussian Landtag, Emperor William I (nicknamed Lehmann) of Germany expressed his displeasure at the Reichstag's decision at the first reading to reject the prolongation of the Anti-Socialist Law. The Emperor made it plain that he regarded opposition to this law as opposition to him personally.— 124, 147

211 On 7 April 1884 Karl Kautsky informed Engels that on 1 April a legal newspaper called the *Berliner Volksblatt* had begun to appear in the German capital. Its first editor-in-chief, Wilhelm Blos, belonged to the Right wing of the Socialist Workers' Party. The members of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag, including Blos himself, opposed Liebknecht playing any part in the newspaper's publication.— 124

212 Engels is referring to the decision taken at the congress of the French Workers' Party in Roubaix (see Note 195) to call an international congress in London for spring 1885 to discuss factory law. The congress took place in Antwerp in August 1885.— 125

213 The reference is to Engels' plans to revise *The Peasant War in Germany* (see present edition, Vol. 10), which he failed to carry out. For the fragments which have survived and plans of the book see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 554-55.—130, 131, 133, 142, 217, 244, 245, 249, 328, 363, 371, 374, 419

214 Legend has it that Martin Luther, speaking in the Diet of Worms on 18 April 1521, answered the question as to whether he stood by his works or rejected them as heresy by saying: 'Here stand I—I can do no other'.— 132

215 Apparently Ludwig Kugelmann sent Engels Leibniz' correspondence as published in Hanover, first in the journal *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen* for 1881 and 1884 and later as separate offprints from this journal: *Leibnizens Briefwechsel mit dem Minister von Bernstorff und andere Leibniz betreffende Briefe und Aktenstücke aus den Jahren 1705-1716*, Hanover, 1882, and *Briefwechsel zwischen Leibniz und der Herzogin Elisabeth Charlotte v. Orléans in den Jahren 1715 und 1716*, Hanover, 1884.— 133

216 At the elections to the Paris municipal council, which were set for 4 May 1884, the French Workers' Party decided to put up its own candidates only in those constituences where no candidates were standing from the Possibilists (see Note 237) or from other socialist tendencies.— 134

217 Paul Lafargue's letter to Engels of 9 May 1884 gives reason to believe that the reference is to Engels' article on Marx's *Capital* which he (Lafargue) found at home ('Review of Volume One of *Capital* for *The Fortnightly Review*', present edition, Vol. 20). It is clear from Marx's correspondence with Engels that they intended to publish this review in Lafargue's French translation in *Le Courier français*, the newspaper of the Left-wing republicans (see Marx to Engels, 1 February 1868, present edition, Vol. 42, p. 532). However, the article was not published in Marx's and Engels' lifetimes.— 134

[218] Engels' work 'Prussian Schnapps in the German Reichstag' (see present edition, Vol. 24) was written in February 1876. The publication of this work, which exposed the Prussian Junkers, in *Der Volksstaat* and as a separate offprint caused consternation in government quarters.— 136

[219] Here Engels is apparently referring to several representatives of the Right wing in the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany such as Bruno Geiser, editor of the Stuttgart-based *Die Neue Welt*, and to journalists who were close to this trend, like Karl Frohme, Wilhelm Blos, Louis Viereck, etc.— 136, 145, 153, 160, 169

[220] Eugen Richter, one of the leaders of the German Party of Free Thinkers (see Note 231) opposed the schnapps monopoly as lucrative for the Junkers.— 137

[221] In a letter of 29 April 1884 Karl Kautsky suggested to Engels that his work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see present edition, Vol. 26) should be published in Germany at what was, in his opinion, an opportune moment — during the Reichstag discussion on the prolongation of the Anti-Socialist Law. He believed that on the eve of the elections all parties would have to reckon with the voters' opinion and the government would therefore not risk banning *Die Neue Zeit* and the publication of Engels' work.— 137

[222] On 12 May 1884 the Reichstag voted by a majority of 189 to 157 at the third reading to prolong the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 37) until 1886.— 137, 140

[223] The Social-Democratic newspaper *Süddeutsche Post* was banned on 19 May 1884 because of its 'general tendency' and, in particular, for publishing a leader in No. 57 entitled 'Recht auf Arbeit' ('The Right to Work'). Under Paragraph 11 of the Anti-Socialist Law the newspaper was accused of attempting to overthrow the state and social system.— 137

[224] At Engels' request (see this volume, pp. 85 and 95) he was sent the following materials from the Archives of the German Socialist Workers' Party (see Note 144): 1) Rodbertus, *Offener Brief an das Comité des Deutschen Arbeitervereins zu Leipzig*, Leipzig, 1863, and 2) *Der Social-Demokrat*, Nos. 16, 17 and 18 of 1, 3 and 5 February 1865 containing Marx's article 'On Proudhon' (see Note 151).— 138, 139

[225] Engels is referring to the accusation made by Rodbertus-Jagetzow that in *Capital* Marx plagiarised his work *Zur Erkenntniss unsrer staatswirtschaftlichen Zustände*, Neubrandenburg and Friedland, 1842 (see also Note 187 and Engels' Preface to Volume II of *Capital*, present edition, Vol. 36).— 138, 319

[226] Karl Kautsky gave a detailed critical analysis of Rodbertus-Jagetzow's views in 'Das "Capital" von Rodbertus', published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Nos. 8 and 9, August and September 1884 (see also Note 254).— 138

[227] The reference is to a group of persons who took part in publishing Rodbertus-Jagetzow's literary legacy, notably his work *Das Kapital. Vierter socialer Brief an von Kirchmann*, Berlin, 1884. This work was published by Theophil Kozak who also wrote an introduction, a preface was written by the German economist Adolph Wagner.— 138

[228] Given the fact that tighter controls on the Swiss-German border were causing difficulties in transporting the printed edition of *Der Sozialdemokrat* from Zurich to Germany, Eduard Bernstein went to Belgium with a view to organising the rerouting of the newspaper via the Belgian-German border.— 139

229 The *Centre*—a political party of German Catholics formed in June 1870; it expressed the separatist and anti-Prussian tendencies that were widespread in West and South-West Germany (the deputies representing this party had their seats in the centre of the chamber). The Centre Party united different social sections of the Catholic clergy, landowners, bourgeoisie, sections of the peasantry and, as a rule, occupied an intermediate position, manoeuvring between the parties which supported the government and the Left opposition groups in the Reichstag. The Centre was in opposition to the Bismarck government from the mid-1870s to the early 1880s but still voted for the measures it took against the workers' and socialist movement. Engels described the Centre in detail in *The Role of Force in History* and in 'What Now?' (see present edition, Vol. 26).—140, 192, 216, 222, 343, 361

230 The *Conservatives* expressed the interests of the German Junkers, the aristocracy, the generals, the Lutheran clergy and senior officials. In the Reichstag they were represented by the German Conservative Party and the Free Conservative Party.—140, 147, 192

231 The reference is to the *German Party of Free Thinkers* formed in March 1884 through the merger of the Party of Progress with the Left wing of the National Liberal Party (see notes 93 and 243). Reflecting the interests of banking and trading capital, the middle and petty bourgeoisie, in the 1880s it was in opposition to the Bismarck government on a number of domestic policy issues and took a hostile stance towards the Social Democrats. The party fell apart in 1893.—140, 149, 389

232 During the ballot on the prolongation of the Anti-Socialist Law held in the Reichstag on 10 May 1884 (see Note 222) the majority of deputies—including 27 members of the German Party of Free Thinkers and 39 deputies of the Centre (see Note 229)—voted in favour of its prolongation. The total vote in favour was 189, with 157 against. Fearing a possible dissolution of the Reichstag (see Note 244) and the calling of new elections, the leaderships of the German Party of Free Thinkers and the Centre, by supporting Bismarck's domestic policy, weakened the liberal opposition to the government.—140

233 When the bill to prolong the Anti-Socialist Law was being discussed in the Reichstag on 9 May 1884 Bismarck declared that he recognised the 'right to work'. On 17 May, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, the mouthpiece of the government, declared in its evening edition by way of explanation that Bismarck had meant the use of unemployed labour in workhouses (like those in Britain) or in places of detention. It was planned to use the unemployed in Germany to carry out physically arduous work—repairing the roads, breaking up stones, chopping wood, etc.—and to pay them in money or food.—140, 150

234 *Phalanstère*—palaces in which, according to the French utopian socialist, Charles Fourier, members of producer and consumer associations were to live and work in an ideal socialist society.

The ideas which Engels goes on to advocate in this letter were used in an editorial article probably written by Eduard Bernstein and carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 22, 29 May 1884 under the heading 'Reklame und Wirklichkeit'.—141

235 The *national workshops* (*ateliers*) were instituted by the Provisional Government immediately after the February revolution of 1848. By this means the government

sought to discredit Louis Blanc's ideas on 'the organisations of labour' in the eyes of the workers and, at the same time, to utilise those employed in the national workshops, organised on military lines, against the revolutionary proletariat.

For an assessment of the national workshops, see K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (present edition, Vol. 10, p. 63).— 141

236 *Opportunists* was the name given in France to the party of moderate bourgeois republicans after its split in 1881 and the formation of a radical party based on the Left wing and headed by Georges Clemenceau.

The reason for this name, introduced in 1877 by the journalist Henri Rochefort, was the statement by Léon Gambetta, the party's leader, that reforms should be carried out 'at an opportune time'.— 141, 314, 413, 444

237 *Possibilists* — followers of a reformist trend in the French socialist movement between the 1880s and the beginning of the 20th century. It was led by Paul Louis Marie Brousse and Benoît Malon who caused a split in the French Workers' Party in 1882 by forming their own party called the Workers' Social-Revolutionary Party (see Note 201). Its ideological basis was the theory of municipal socialism. The Possibilists proclaimed the 'policy of possibilities' to be their principle; at the beginning of the 20th century they became part of the French Socialist Party.— 141, 320, 425, 442

238 In connection with Wilhelm Liebknecht's trip to Paris in mid-May 1884 German newspapers reported that preparations were underway there for a conference of socialists from several European countries.— 144

239 From 29 May to 4 June 1884 Engels stayed in Hastings with Sigismund Borkheim, a participant in the revolution of 1848-49 in Germany.— 144, 152, 381

240 On 29 May 1884 Kautsky informed Engels of the differences of opinion which had arisen on the editorial board of *Die Neue Zeit* between himself and the publisher Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Dietz. The latter thought it essential to make the journal more up to date by introducing a new column headed 'Politische Rundschau' which, he intended, should be run by Wilhelm Blos in Stuttgart. Then Dietz insisted on Blos being appointed editor of *Die Neue Zeit*. This situation prompted Eduard Bernstein, in a letter to Engels of 29 May 1884, to suggest that for the time being no chapters should appear there from Engels' work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.— 145, 153

241 The reference is to the 'Programm der sozialistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands' adopted at the unification congress in Gotha in May 1875. On this document see K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (present edition, Vol. 24).— 146

242 Engels is referring to the system of provocation, espionage, false evidence and forgeries employed by the Prussian police officer Wilhelm Stieber, who organised the Cologne trial of members of the Communist League in 1852.— 147

243 The reference is to the *National Liberals*, a Prussian, and from 1871 all-German, Right-wing bourgeois party which existed from 1867 to 1918. It was one of the pillars of the Junker-bourgeois bloc. The party's programme called for civil equality and bourgeois-democratic freedoms, but as the workers' movement in Germany strengthened it abandoned these demands and contented itself with Bismarck's half-hearted reforms. Following the unification of Germany it definitively took shape as a party of the big, mainly industrial, bourgeoisie and for all practical purposes disavowed the demands it had made earlier.— 147, 192, 428, 439

[244] On 9 May 1884, during the discussion on the prolongation of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 37) Bismarck read out to the Reichstag a letter written by William I in March 1884 following the assassination of Tsar Alexander II of Russia (see Note 188). The author referred to the need for joint action by the great powers to combat 'the threat of assassination attempts hanging over the whole of Europe'. Bismarck then announced his intention to dissolve the Reichstag immediately in the event of the bill being defeated.— 147

[245] In late February 1884 a major strike began at the coal mines in Anzin, Denain district, department Nord, France. Involving more than 10,000 workers, the strike was in protest at the prohibition of trade unions and lasted until mid-April when the employers reversed their decision to introduce harder working conditions.— 149

[246] Under the English *Act for the Reliefs of the Poor* (43rd Elizabeth) (1601) a special tax was levied in each parish to help the poor. Those residents who were unable to provide for themselves and their families received help from the poor fund.

*An Act for the Amendment and Better Administration of the Laws Relating to the Poor in England and Wales* (1834) provided for only one form of assistance to the poor, namely their accommodation in workhouses, otherwise known as 'bastilles for the poor'. The aim of the act was to force the poor to agree to harder working conditions and, in this way, to provide the industrial bourgeoisie with a more plentiful supply of cheap labour.— 150

[247] The reference is to the Act against the Criminal Use of Explosives. It was introduced in response to the unsuccessful assassination attempt organised by a provocateur in Niederwald on 27-28 September 1883. During the discussion of the bill in May 1884 the Social-Democratic deputies announced their refusal to discuss or vote on it. The act was passed by the Reichstag on 15 May 1884 and subjected to police surveillance the production, use, storage and import of explosive substances. Violations of the act were punished by long terms of imprisonment or even the death sentence.— 150

[248] Sigismund Ludwig Borkheim's autobiography was published posthumously in *Die Neue Zeit*, Nos. 3, 5, 6 and 7 for 1890 under the heading 'Erinnerungen eines deutschen Achtungvierzigers'.— 152, 381

[249] This letter was published in English for the first time in *The Labour Monthly*, London, 1933, Vol. 15, No. 10, X.— 153

[250] In Salzburg Karl Kautsky met some Austrian Social Democrats who told him that the anarchists did not wield any appreciable influence among the masses. He informed Engels about the details of this meeting on 23 June 1884.— 153

[251] A number of explosions occurred in London on 30 May 1884, including one at Scotland Yard when a dynamite charge was set off in a public convenience. Irish nationalists claimed responsibility for the explosions.— 154

[252] An anarchist newspaper called *L'Explosion* began to appear in Carouge near Geneva in April 1884. One of the men behind it was the former Bakuninist Carlo Terzaghi (see also K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*, present edition, Vol. 23).— 154

[253] The reference is to the anarchists who were expelled from Vienna and its surround-

ings due to the introduction of a state of siege there on 30 January 1884 (see Note 154). Some of them emigrated to Britain.— 154

254 On 23 June 1884 Karl Kautsky sent Engels the beginning of his article 'Das "Kapital" von Rodbertus' (see also this volume, p. 138) so that the latter might familiarise himself with its contents. The article was published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Nos. 8 and 9 for 1884. It marked the start of Kautsky's polemic with Carl August Schramm (see Engels to Bebel, 20-23 January 1886, this volume, pp. 386-87).— 155

255 The reference is to the work: J. K. Rodbertus-Jagetzow, *Zur Erkenntniss unsrer staatswirtschaftlichen Zustände*, Neubrandenburg and Friedland, 1842. Rodbertus' treatment of the constituted value as referred to in this letter is examined by Engels in the article 'Marx and Rodbertus' which he wrote by way of a preface to the first German edition of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* (see present edition, Vol. 26).— 156

256 Engels is replying to Evgenia Papritz's letter of 26 June 1884 in which she wrote that, with a view to spreading the ideas of scientific socialism in Russian society, a start had been made in Moscow on publishing the lithographed journal *Социалистическое знаніе*. The journal was to publish translations of works by West European authors and articles on socio-political issues. Informing Engels that she was translating his work *Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy* (see present edition, Vol. 3), Papritz enquired where she could obtain little-known works by Marx and himself for translation and asked where she might find 'the last manifesto to the English workers' as well as Engels' work *Anti-Dühring. Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science* (see present edition, Vol. 25).— 157

257 In the 1880s a number of works by Marx and Engels were published in Russian in Geneva: in 1882, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (see present edition, Vol. 6 and this volume, Note 120), and also the *Provisional Rules of the Association*, written by Marx (Vol. 20); in 1883, Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital* (Vol. 9), and in 1884, Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* (see Note 185) appeared in 1886. The second volume of *Capital* by Marx was published in St Petersburg in 1885 (see Note 155).— 158

258 Marx's work *Wage Labour and Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 9) was first published in 1849 as a series of leading articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The first separate edition of the work appeared in Breslau (Wrocław), Silesia in 1880 without Marx's involvement. The second edition was published in the same place in 1881. In 1884, with Engels' participation and a short Introductory Note written by him on the history of its publication (see present edition, Vol. 26), the work was published in Hottingen-Zurich.— 159

259 In his letter of 20 June 1884 Eduard Bernstein asked Engels to send him a photograph of Marx for a chromolithograph a comrade of his was planning. For the original Bernstein wished to have either the drawing in chalk which he had seen at Engels' home in his study, or else a photograph of Marx.— 159

260 On 20 June 1884 Eduard Bernstein wrote to Engels saying that the Zurich publishing house Die Volksbuchhandlung was planning to publish a collection of socialist poetry. Bernstein enquired in this conjunction about previous editions of verse by Georg Weerth. Engels is probably referring to the collection of Weerth's poems selected from two previous editions, *Jahrbuch für Kunst und Poesie*, Barmen, 1843, and

*Album*. Originalpoesien von Georg Weerth, Borna, 1847. Moreover, Weerth completed another collection of poems in 1848, which was not, however, published in his own lifetime. It was included in Georg Weerth's *Sämtliche Werke* published in Berlin in 1956-57.— 160

261 Hermann Schlüter, the keeper of the Archives of German Social Democracy (see Note 144) asked Bernstein to remind Engels that he had agreed to send him a number of materials for the archives. Bernstein did this in his letter to Engels of 20 June 1884, remarking that Schlüter had 'a real mania for collecting things'.— 160

262 A draft of this letter was written by Engels on the back of Sarah Allen's letter to him of 5 July 1884.— 161

263 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in *The Labour Monthly*, London, 1933, Vol. 15, No. 10, X.— 164, 176, 197, 206, 212, 244, 299, 315, 340

264 Following prolonged and unsuccessful talks with the publisher Dietz on printing Engels' work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* in Stuttgart, Karl Kautsky wrote to Engels on 16 July 1884 that this work could be issued by the Social Democratic publishing house Die Volksbuchhandlung in Hottingen-Zurich where Hermann Schlüter was a member of staff. Of the total edition of 5,000 copies, 1,000 would be passed on to the publisher Jakob Schabelitz for distribution in Germany.— 164, 172

265 In their letters to Engels of 16 July 1884 Karl Kautsky and Eduard Bernstein informed him that the Stuttgart publisher Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Dietz was planning to cease issuing *Die Neue Zeit* because of financial difficulties. However, a month later, on 18 August, Kautsky wrote to tell Engels that he and Dietz had discussed plans for moving the journal's place of publication to Hamburg. This plan was not carried out and *Die Neue Zeit* continued to appear in Stuttgart up to 1923.— 164, 189

266 Nos. 20, 21 and 22 of *Die Neue Welt* for 1884, the editor being Bruno Geiser, published an article by Karl du Prel called 'Der Somnambulismus'.— 165, 170

267 The 'Sozialpolitische Rundschau' column of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 28, 10 July 1884, carried a report about the spread of cholera among the poor in Europe. In a note on the report the author severely criticised 'the scholars from the *Volkszeitung* and other German papers' for using the word 'bacillum'. Among others, this note was directed against Bruno Geiser. *Die Neue Welt*, of which he was the editor, had used the word in its report on the cholera epidemic.— 166

268 Given the fact that a cholera epidemic was expected in Paris in the summer of 1884, Engels and Paul Lafargue agreed to persuade Laura Lafargue to move to England for some time. However, Laura did not arrive at Engels' home until the autumn of 1884.— 167, 171, 224

269 *Le quart d'heure de Rabelais* — the moment of settling accounts, an unpleasant interlude. This expression originates from an episode which allegedly happened to the French author Rabelais and was retold by Voltaire. On his way from Rome to Paris, Rabelais stopped off at a hotel in Lyons and, not having any money to live on, thought up an original way of solving his problem. With the assistance of the son of the hotel's owner, he made some labels on which he wrote 'Poison to kill the

King' and 'Poison to kill the Queen' to be attached to bottles. After that Rabelais, having now eaten his fill for free, was taken to Paris in the company of two policemen.— 167

270 The editorial board of the *Journal des Économistes*, which carried Paul Lafargue's article 'Le blé en Amerique', added an accompanying note to the article expressing regret that Lafargue had not 'devoted his excellent enquiring mind and good style to political economy'.— 168

271 On 16 July 1884 Eduard Bernstein wrote to Engels that the voters' mood did not favour the Social Democrats in the constituencies where August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht were standing at the forthcoming elections (see Note 194) and that the Right-wing Social Democrats Bruno Geiser and Louis Viereck had the better constituencies.— 169

272 Engels is referring to Bruno Geiser's attacks on atheism in his article 'Das Innere der Erde. Eine Auseinandersetzung über den gegenwärtigen Stand einiger Fragen der Wissenschaft' which was published in *Die Neue Welt*, Nos. 14 and 15, 1884.— 170

273 In a letter of 25 July 1884 Paul Lafargue asked Engels to look through his résumé of P. P. Leroy-Beaulieu's book *Le Collectivisme...* in which the author set out to disprove some of the propositions of Marx's economic theory. For Engels' remarks on Lafargue's work 'La théorie de la plus-value de Karl Marx et la critique de M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu' see this volume, pp. 179-83.— 171, 175, 178

274 In Eduard Bernstein's correspondence published by the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, this excerpt from Engels' letter is dated: [Hastings, c. 5 July 1884?] (see *Eduard Bernsteins Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels*, herausgegeben von H. Hirsch, Assen, Van Gorcum, 1970, pp. 282-83). However, since the date and place of writing are doubted by the publishers themselves, the present edition has retained the traditional dating.— 173

275 *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* (Letters of obscure men) — a collection of satirical letters in two parts (Part I—1515, Part II—1517), probably written by members of a humanists' club in Erfurt who supported Reichlin. A major role in the second (and perhaps also the first) part of the *Letters* was played by Ulrich von Hutten. The letters were directed against Cologne-based theologians.— 173

276 This letter was first published in the language of the original (English) in: Friedrich Engels, Paul et Laura Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, 1868-86, Paris, Editions sociales, 1956.— 174

277 Engels vacationed in Worthing on the South coast of England from about 5 August to 1 September 1884.— 174, 176, 178, 190

278 The annual conference of the Democratic Federation (see Note 99) was held in London in early August 1884; the conference resolved to rename the Democratic Federation and call it the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 300).— 177

279 The beginning of the letter has not been found.

In this letter Engels sets out his remarks on the manuscript of Paul Lafargue's résumé of the book *Le Collectivisme. Examen critique du nouveau socialisme* by the French economist and sociologist Paul Leroy-Beaulieu. Part of the book was devoted to a denial of Marx's economic doctrine, particularly his theory of surplus va-

lue. Taking account of Engels' remarks, Lafargue's article was published in the *Journal des Économistes*, No. 9, 1884 under the heading 'La théorie de la plus-value de Karl Marx et la critique de M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu'.— 179

280 Here, the direct form of the circulation of commodities means the form: commodity—money—commodity, and the second form: money—commodity—money.— 180

281 The editor-in-chief of the *Journal des Économistes*, Gustave Molinari, assured Paul Lafargue that he would be given the opportunity to make a reply should Paul Leroy-Beaulieu raise objections to his résumé (see Note 279), whereupon the discussion would be considered finished. However, the one to raise objections was not Beaulieu, but Maurice Block, who published an article in the *Journal des Économistes* entitled 'Le Capital, de Karl Marx, à propos d'une anticritique'. Lafargue replied to him in the *Journal des Économistes*, No. 11, 1884, with an article called 'Le "Capital" de Karl Marx et la critique de M. Block'.— 183, 224

282 In a letter of 6 August 1884 Georg Heinrich von Vollmar asked Engels to advise him of a suitable higher educational establishment for Miss Kjellberg who was planning to embark on a thorough study of the social sciences.— 184

283 *Manchesterism — the Manchester School* — a trend in economic thought which reflected the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. Its supporters, known as Free Traders, advocated freedom of trade and non-interference by government in economic life. The centre of the Free Traders' agitation was Manchester.

Marx dealt in detail with Frédéric Bastiat's views in the *Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58* (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 5-16).— 184

284 On 12 August 1884, Marya Jankowska (pseudonym Stefan Leonowicz), the representative of a Polish Social-Democratic group in Geneva, wrote to Engels requesting permission to publish a Polish edition of his work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. Engels wrote a draft of his reply on the back of the letter from Jankowska.— 185

285 In a letter of 18 August, 1884 Karl Kautsky suggested to Engels that he should advertise the forthcoming publication of his work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* and include its preface in *Die Neue Zeit* with a view to preventing the book being banned in Germany. The September issue of the journal carried an announcement that this work was to appear shortly together with excerpts from Engels' preface (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 129-276).— 187

286 On 18 August 1884 Eduard Bernstein wrote to inform Engels that translation work had been completed on Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* (see Note 118). He also offered to compile an index to *Capital* together with Karl Kautsky.— 188

287 Engels wrote this letter on a postcard. The address it bears is also in his handwriting and reads: 'Herrn K. Kautsky, 38, Berglistr.; Riesbach-Zürich, Switzerland.'— 189, 200, 205

288 In his letter of 26 August 1884 Karl Kautsky drew Engels' attention to the fact that, in his work *Rodbertus, der Begründer des wissenschaftlichen Sozialismus*, Georg Adler described as mistaken Engels' claim that Rodbertus had borrowed his doctrine of crises from Sismondi (see present edition, Vol. 25, p. 273, Engels' footnote).— 189

289 The reference is to a number of polemical articles in *Der Sozialdemokrat*. In No. 36, 3 September 1884 there was a leading article called 'Höheres Blech' directed against an article praising Rodbertus by the Austrian journalist Hermann Bahr which had appeared in the Viennese *Deutsche Wochenschrift* in August.

In the same issue of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Eduard Bernstein, using his pseudonym Leo, published an article ('Ein Ketzerriecher') against Heinrich Wilhelm Fabian, a German socialist living in the United States who had published articles against Marx's and Engels' doctrine of the state in the April issue of *Der Freidenker* and the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*.

*Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 37, 11 September 1884 carried an article called 'Wie stellen wir uns zur Börsensteuer?' evidently written by Abraham Gumbel. The article said that the German Social Democrats should support the bill on the stock exchange tax proposed by Bismarck. Taking up the polemics on this issue, the editorial board of *Der Sozialdemokrat* declared that, in its opinion, the bill accorded merely with the interests of the big landowners' party (see 'In Sachen der Börsensteuer', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 39, 25 September 1884).— 191

290 Engels' reply to the editors of *To-Day* has not been found.— 192, 195

291 The *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 241, 30 August 1884 (first edition) carried an article headed 'Professor Schweifurth über den Congo' on the activities of the Association Internationale Africaine which had been founded in Brussels in 1876 by King Leopold II of Belgium. The organisation was renamed the Comité d'Études du Haut-Congo in 1878. Among those taking part in its work was the famous explorer Henry Morton Stanley. The actual aim of the association was to seize and exploit the Congo basin. The article reported that, alongside their philanthropic and scientific work, the Belgian settlers were buying slaves in the Congo, employing the slave labour of the indigenous population, buying ivory, palm oil and other local commodities for export.— 192

292 German colonial policy became much more active in 1884. The first congress of the German Colonial Union took place on 5 January in Frankfurt-am-Main. The same year saw the organisation of the first German trading station on the South-West coast of Africa, which served as a base for expanding the role played by German capital in Africa.— 192, 199

293 The reference is to the manuscripts of Carl Schramm's and Karl Kautsky's articles. Engels goes on in the letter to examine the latter's article against Schramm. The German Social Democrat and reformist Carl Schramm sent the editors of *Die Neue Zeit* his manuscript 'K. Kautsky und Rodbertus' for publication in which he sharply attacked Kautsky's article 'Das "Kapital" von Rodbertus' which the journal had published previously. Schramm's article and Kautsky's reply, entitled 'Eine Replik', were carried by *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 11, 1884.— 193

294 The neo-Malthusian Charles Robert Drysdale published an article entitled 'The State Remedy for Poverty' in the September issue of *To-Day*. Referring to Karl Kautsky's book *Der Einfluss der Volksvermehrung auf den Fortschritt der Gesellschaft* (Vienna, 1880), he wrote that the 'ardent Socialist' Kautsky 'fully admits the truth of the generalisation of Malthus and Darwin'.— 195

295 This letter was written by Engels on a postcard. On it he wrote the following ad-

dress: 'Herrn H. Schlüter, Volksbuchhandlung, Hottingen-Zürich, Switzerland.'— 196

296 This letter was written by Engels on a postcard. He provided it with the following address: 'Herrn H. Schlüter, Volksbuchhandlung, Kasinostr. Hottingen-Zürich, Switzerland.'— 196

297 On 15-17 September 1884, a meeting took place in Skierniewice, Poland, between the emperors of Germany, Austria and Russia and their foreign ministers. The result was the prolongation for three years of the agreement reached between Russia and Germany in June 1881 on the maintenance of benevolent neutrality should the other country be attacked.— 198

298 Engels seems to be referring to the impression the results of the German Reichstag elections of 10 January 1874 had in Europe, when the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany scored a considerable victory: nine of its candidates (including August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht) were elected and the party won over six per cent of the poll.— 198

299 In 1884 the third parliamentary reform was carried out in England, as a result of which the suffrage was extended to include small farmers and the farm workers who were homeowners or householders. Suffrage was not extended to the poorer rural and urban sections of the population (tenants and domestic servants), nor to women. The first elections under the new electoral law took place in November-December 1885, with the electorate having a numerical strength of two million higher than at the previous poll (see Note 487).— 198, 270, 304, 314, 317, 318, 320, 341, 497

300 *Social Democratic Federation* — an English socialist organisation founded in August 1884 and based on the Democratic Federation (see Note 99); it united different socialist elements, mainly drawn from the intelligentsia and part of the politically active workers. The Federation's programme stated that all the wealth should belong to labour — its only source, it called for the socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange, for the set-up of society of 'complete emancipation of labour'. It was the first socialist programme in England, which was on the main based on Marx's ideas. The leadership of the Federation was in the hands of Henry Mayers Hyndman, who was prone to use authoritarian methods, and his supporters, who denied the need to work in the trade unions. This doomed the organisation to isolation from the working masses. As a counter to Hyndman's line, a group of socialists within the Federation (Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling, Tom Mann, William Morris and others) campaigned for the establishment of close links with the mass workers' movement. The disagreements in the Federation over questions of tactics and international cooperation (attitude to the split in the French Workers' Party; see notes 201 and 348) led in December 1884 to a split and the foundation of an independent organisation called the Socialist League (see Note 346). In 1885-86 the local branches of the Federation took an active part in the unemployed movement, supported the strike campaign and the fight for an eight-hour working day.— 198, 207, 224, 236, 245, 341, 376, 384, 394, 403, 471, 492, 526, 529, 533

301 The reference is to the German edition of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy*, which appeared in Stuttgart in January 1885 (see Note 118). The book included, in place of Marx's preface, his article 'On Proudhon' (see present edition, Vol. 20) and two

appendices: an excerpt from Marx's work *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* on the theory of the English socialist John Gray (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 320-23), and a translation of the 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade' (Vol. 6).

At one time *Die Neue Zeit* was printed in a distinctive orthography proposed by Bruno Geiser.—200, 205, 206, 208, 216

302 The Italian translation of Engels' work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* was done by Pasquale Martignetti and edited by Engels himself (see this volume, p. 215). The Polish edition appeared in Paris in 1885, and the Russian translation was published in St Petersburg in 1894.—205, 421

303 In a note headed 'Exécution d'un agent provocateur' the Paris newspaper *Le Cri du Peuple*, No. 356, 18 October 1884 reported that Heinrich Nonne, a Hanoverian living in Paris, had been exposed as a provocateur and police spy and expelled from the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (see also Note 166).—207

304 When he visited his relatives in Darmstadt in the summer of 1884, Carl Schorlemmer was detained by the authorities on suspicion of bringing illegal literature into Germany. Being a British subject, however, he succeeded in avoiding punishment (see also F. Engels, 'Carl Schorlemmer', present edition, Vol. 27).—209, 245

305 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *On the Paris Commune*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.—210

306 At the Reichstag elections on 28 October 1884—the outcome of which August Bebel telegraphed to Engels—and at the second ballots held in early November, the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany was able to increase its number of seats to 24 as against 13 at the previous elections. It received 549, 990 votes, or 238,029 more than at the 1881 elections.—210, 216, 221

307 The election result meant that the Social-Democratic group was able to initiate legislation for the first time, since the Reichstag's rules accorded this right only to parliamentary groups with 15 or more seats.—210, 217

308 Bebel was elected to the Reichstag in Hamburg I (12,282 votes) and Dresden I (8,620 votes at the first ballot and 11,106 at the second) constituencies. He did not receive the required number of votes in Leipzig and Cologne.—211

309 The Reichstag elections of 28 October 1884 brought fresh success to the German Social Democrats when compared with the 1878 elections held before the Anti-Socialist Law came into force; their vote increased from 493,000 to 549,900.—212

310 Wilhelm Liebknecht failed to obtain the required number of votes at the first ballot in Offenbach-Dieburg, but he was elected at the second ballot with 10,505 votes.—212

311 Following August Bebel's failure at the first ballot in Cologne, representatives of the National Liberals and the Centre stood at the second ballot (see notes 229 and 243).

In its reports headed 'Die Stichwahlen...' (second edition), No. 307, 4 November 1884; 'Die Reichstags-Stichwahl in Köln...' (second edition), No. 309, 6 November 1884 and 'Noch einmal die Kölner Stichwahl...' (second edition), No. 311, 8 November 1884, the *Kölnische Zeitung* called upon the Social-Democratic

electors to vote for the National Liberal candidate and demanded that they publicly disavow revolutionary principles.—213, 231

312 Bismarck's social reform was a distinctive method employed by the ruling classes in their fight against the revolutionary workers' movement during the period when the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 37) was in force in Germany. Having failed to destroy the Social Democrats in the initial years of this law (see notes 307 and 309), in late 1881 Bismarck set out to achieve his objective through a carrot and stick policy. On 17 November, a proclamation was published by the Emperor announcing a number of reforms (social insurance laws in cases of industrial accident, illness, old age and invalidity). Bismarck hoped that their introduction would split the Social Democrats and isolate the working class from the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany.—213

313 In this letter Pasquale Martignetti asked for Engels' permission to translate his work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* into Italian and for his agreement to look through the translation; the book appeared in Benevento in 1885.—215

314 In his reply to Engels of 18 November, Pasquale Martignetti informed him that he had conducted talks with the publisher Gennaro, who had issued the Italian translation of Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, and that the latter had agreed to publish *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.—215

315 On the back of this letter Engels wrote: 'London 11. Novbr. 1884 Friedrich beantw. 13 Novbr. wie immer' (London 11. Novbr. 1884 Friedrich repl. 13 Novbr. as always).—218

316 This letter was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895*, Martin Lawrence, London, 1934.—220, 231, 279

317 As a result of the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48) Frederick II of Prussia seized Silesia from Austria. Frederick II waged the war against Austria in alliance with France and Bavaria and twice during its course betrayed his allies by concluding a separate peace treaty with Austria (1742 and 1745).

Prussia was among the participants in the Seven Years' War from 1756 to 1763.

On 5 April 1795 Prussia concluded the separate Peace of Basle with the French Republic, thus betraying its allies in the first anti-French coalition.—221

318 *German Confederation* (der Deutsche Bund) was an ephemeral union of German states formed by decision of the Congress of Vienna in June 1815 and originally comprising 35 absolutist feudal states and four free cities. The central body of the German Confederation was the Federal Diet, which consisted of representatives of the German states. The Confederation sealed Germany's political and economic fragmentation and retarded her development. After the defeat of the revolution of 1848-49 and the failure of the attempts to establish a more stable political union, the German Confederation was restored in its old decentralised and amorphous form.

The German Confederation finally ceased to exist during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866. This war ended the long-standing rivalry for supremacy in Germany between Austria and Prussia in favour of the latter and marked an important

stage in the unification of Germany from above under the hegemony of Junker-bourgeois Prussia.—221

319 Engels is referring to the annexation and incorporation into Prussia of the Kingdom of Hanover, the Electorate of Hesse-Kassel, the Duchy of Nassau and the free city of Frankfurt-am-Main. This occurred after Prussia's victory in the war with Austria, in which they had supported the latter, and were the subject of legislation adopted on 20 September 1866.—221

320 Engels is apparently referring to the confiscation of the property and lands belonging to George V, the King of Hanover, who had fought on the Austrian side. This decision was adopted by the Prussian government on 2 March 1868.—221

321 The *North German Confederation* (Norddeutscher Bund) — a federative state formed in 1867 after Prussia's victory in the Austro-Prussian war to replace the disintegrated German Confederation (see Note 318). It initially included 19 states and three free cities, which were formally recognised as autonomous. In 1870 Bavaria, Baden and Württemberg joined the Confederation. The establishment of the North German Confederation and its Constitution securing Prussian domination, was a major step towards the national unification of Germany. The Confederation ceased to exist in January 1871, when the German Empire was formed.— 221

322 The reference is to the November coup d'état in Prussia which ended on 5 December 1848 in the dispersal of the Prussian National Assembly and the publication of the so-called imposed constitution (see also present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 66-70).—222

323 *Edda* — a collection of epic poems and songs about the lives of the Scandinavian gods and heroes. It has come down to us in a manuscript dating from the 13th century, discovered in 1643 by the Icelandic bishop Sveinsson — the so-called *Elder Edda* — and in a treatise on the poetry of the scalds compiled in the early 13th century by Snorry Sturluson (*Younger Edda*).—224

324 *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 47, 21 November 1884 reported that the French socialists had held a major rally on 15 November 1884 in solidarity with the German workers. It also published excerpts from an article carried by the *Lyon-Socialiste*, No. 9, 9 November 1884 and welcoming the German Social Democrats' victory in the Reichstag (see Note 306).—225

325 During the second ballot to the Reichstag, Philipp Heinrich Müller, the Social-Democratic candidate in Darmstadt constituency, issued a leaflet in response to one put out by the National Liberals (see Note 243). Müller declared that he and millions more Germans supported the Republic and resolutely defended the Paris Commune. The text of the leaflet was reprinted in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 46, 14 November 1884.

Jules Guesde quoted Müller in the leading article carried by *Le Cri du Peuple*, No. 387, 18 November 1884, which was headed 'Nouvelle victoire'.

What Engels meant by the Hanoverian programme was the election leaflet issued in Hanover stating that the growth in reaction in Germany could be explained by the cowardice of the National Liberals and their grovelling to Bismarck. The text of the leaflet was carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 47, 21 November 1884.—225, 232

326 With regard to the preparations for a meeting of solidarity with the German Social Democrats scheduled to take place in Redoute (France) on 15 November 1884 (see

Note 324) Eduard Bernstein wrote to Paul Lafargue asking him to refrain from sharp criticism of Lassalle. Lafargue informed Engels of the same on 18 November 1884.—225

327 This letter was first published in the language of the original (English) in: Thompson E. P., *William Morris. Romantic to Revolutionary*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1955, p. 861.—227

328 The English worker and socialist John L. Mahon wrote to Engels on 26 November 1884 requesting that he receive him to discuss a number of issues concerning the English workers' movement, in particular, an opportunity of setting up a workers' party.—228

329 The reference is to the events of May 1860; see Engels' letter to Emile Engels of 11 April and Engels' letters to Marx of 7 and 10 May 1860 (present edition, Vol. 41, pp. 120-21, 134 and 137; see also this volume, Note 23).—229

330 Engels wrote this letter on a postcard which he addressed 'Herrn Karl Kautsky, Hungelbrunngasse, 14, Wien IV, Austria'.

In a letter of 2 December 1884, Karl Kautsky, who was preparing to move from Zurich to London and was to stop off in Vienna and Berlin, gave Engels his Vienna address and also asked him to receive his correspondence at his (Engels') London address for a start. Kautsky further inquired whether Engels thought it better to publish Marx's 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade' as a separate pamphlet or as an appendix to the German edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy* (see Note 301) being printed by Dietz's publishing house in Stuttgart at the time.—230

331 The original of this letter contains a number of changes written in an unknown hand, perhaps that of August Bebel. The present edition reproduces Engels' text and gives the changes in footnotes.—231

332 Speaking on 10 May 1884 in the Reichstag debate on the prolongation of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 37), Bruno Geiser stated that the Social Democrats did not seek to use violence to overthrow the existing state and society. He described Bismarck's statement in the Reichstag of 9 May 1884 in which the latter acknowledged the right to work (see Note 233) as evidence of a social revolution in progress.

Speaking in the debate on 12 May 1884, August Bebel declared, in contrast to Geiser, that the law's prolongation would not effect the development and implementation of socialist ideas and that 'sooner or later they will quite certainly come to play the dominant role in state and society'.

Geiser's and Bebel's speeches were published in a pamphlet entitled *Aus den Verhandlungen über die Verlängerung des Sozialistengesetzes* which appeared in Nuremberg in 1884.—231

333 The reference is to the five thousand millions of golden francs which France paid under the peace treaty it concluded with Germany on 10 May 1871 in Frankfurt-am-Main after losing the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71.—233

334 The reference is to the representatives of the radical bourgeoisie in the Prussian National Assembly which met in Frankfurt-am-Main from 1848 to 1849 (see also Note 322).—234

335 The reference is to the party of moderate Republicans headed by Armand Marrast which formed around the newspaper *Le National* in the 1840s; it was supported by

the industrial bourgeoisie and a section of the liberal intellectuals connected with it.—234

336 The interim government formed on 24 February 1848 during the bourgeois-democratic revolution in France was a coalition of three political groupings: the bourgeois republicans, the petty bourgeois democrats and the petty bourgeois socialists. The representatives of the two latter groupings made up the 'Social-Democratic minority'—accounting for four of the 11 members of the government—and were unable to exert any influence in their own right on government decisions.—234

337 This excerpt from the letter was reproduced by Paul Lafargue in the article 'Descendre dans la rue' published in the *Lyon-Socialiste*, No. 15, 21 December 1884. The original has not been found.

The surviving fragment of the letter is published in English for the first time in the present edition, Vol. 26.—235

338 This letter was first published in an abridged form in *The Labour Monthly*, London, 1933, Vol. 15, No. 10, X.—236

339 This evidently refers to the trips to Scotland undertaken by Andreas Scheu (in November 1884) and Henry Mayers Hyndman (in early December 1884). In Edinburgh Scheu took part in the founding of the Scottish Land and Labour League from among the local socialists. In an effort to extend the organisation's influence to other Scottish cities, Scheu contacted socialists in Glasgow and called on them to form a branch of this League. However, a gathering of socialists took place in Glasgow on 1 December at which Hyndman was present and which proclaimed the formation of the Glasgow branch of the Social Democratic Federation. This was reported in *Justice*, No. 47, 6 December 1884.—237

340 At a meeting of the executive of the Social Democratic Federation chaired by H. Quelch on 27 December 1884 a vote of no-confidence in Hyndman was passed by ten to eight and the behaviour of Andreas Scheu was endorsed. Immediately after this, ten members (Eleanor and Edward Aveling, R. Banner, B. Bax, W. J. Clark, J. Cooper, J. Lane, J. L. Mahon, S. Mainwaring and W. Morris) declared that they were leaving the Federation.—238

341 The fragment below from Engels' letter was reproduced by Liebknecht in his article 'Zur Dampfersubvention' published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 2, 8 January 1885. The whereabouts of the original is unknown.—239

342 In late 1884, Bismarck, seeking to step up German colonial policy (see Note 292) demanded that the Reichstag approve annual subsidies for steamship companies to organise regular services to Eastern Asia, Australia and Africa. This demand led to disagreements within the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag. The Left wing headed by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht came out against supporting the government's policy. The Right-wing majority in the group (Dietz, Frohme, Grillenberger, etc.) intended to vote for the subsidies under the pretext that they promoted international links. Under pressure from the majority, the parliamentary group decided to declare the subsidies issue to be of no major importance and give each member the right to vote as they thought fit (see *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 50, 11 December 1884).

The sharp criticism expressed in *Der Sozialdemokrat* and the resolutions adopted by

the party leadership led the majority of the parliamentary group to somewhat modify their attitude to the government's project when it was discussed in the Reichstag in March 1885 and to make their support conditional on the Reichstag accepting a number of the group's proposals. It was not until after the Reichstag declined to endorse the proposals made by the Social-Democratic group that they voted against the subsidies.—239, 240, 242, 245, 268, 295, 388

343 The reference is to the speech made by Max Kayser on 17 May 1879 with the agreement of the entire Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag in support of the government plan to introduce protective customs tariffs. Marx and Engels sharply condemned Kayser's action in defending a proposal put before the Reichstag in the interest of large industrialists and big farmers and to the detriment of the masses. They further criticised the lax attitude shown to Kayser by a number of German Social-Democratic leaders (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 259-61).—241

344 In a letter written on 28 December 1884 Bebel informed Engels that on 31 December he intended to surrender his shares in the workshop producing door and window handles which had been formed in Berka a. W. in 1876.—243

345 In a letter of 18 November 1884 Pasquale Martignetti requested Engels' permission to publish in one volume two works, namely *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* and *The Peasant War in Germany*, the former of which he was translating into Italian at the time.—243

346 The reference is to the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 300) and the Socialist League.

The *Socialist League* was formed in December 1884 by a group of English socialists who had left the Social Democratic Federation. Its organisers included Eleanor Marx, Ernest Belfort Bax, William Morris and others. 'The Manifesto of the Socialist League' (see *The Commonweal*, No. 1, February 1885) proclaimed that its members advocate 'the principles of Revolutionary International Socialism' and '...seek a change in the basis of Society ... which would destroy the distinctions of classes and nationalities'. The League set itself the task of establishing a national workers' party adhering to international stand, assisting the trade union and co-operative movements. In its initial years the League and its officials took an active part in the workers' movement. However, in 1887 the League's leadership split into three factions (anarchist elements, the 'parliamentarians' and the 'antiparliamentarians'); its links with the day-to-day struggles of the English workers were gradually weakened and there was a growth in sectarianism. In 1889-90 the League fell apart.—245, 247, 265, 275, 321, 394, 431, 434, 443, 446, 451, 471, 492, 526, 529, 534

347 The fragment below from Engels' letter to the editor of *Der Sozialist* Joseph Dietzgen was first published in the same, No. 4, 24 January 1885 (New York) in the column 'Sozial-politische Nachrichten der letzten Tage'. An editorial note placed before the fragment read as follows: 'In a communication from London of 31 December 1884, Fred. Engels tells us that Volume II of Marx's *Capital*, so long and eagerly awaited, is now ready to go to press, and likewise gives us the glad tidings that, exceeding all our expectations, the third and fourth volumes are also to be bestowed upon us.'

The whereabouts of the original letter is not known.—246

348 The reference is to the rapprochement between the leadership of the Social Democratic Federation and the French Possibilists (see notes 300 and 237).

On 27 December 1884 the newspaper *Justice*, No. 50 published a letter from Adolphe Smith under the heading 'France and the International Congress'. The author considered it essential that the Social Democratic Federation, having proposed the convocation of an international socialist congress, should recognise the Possibilists as the main organisation of the French socialists and not maintain relations with the French Workers' Party.— 247

349 The reference is to the manuscript of the English translation of Engels' book *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (present edition, Vol. 4) prepared by the American socialist Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky for publication in the United States (see also Note 360).— 248, 257, 373, 382, 419

350 Engels is referring to the review of the pamphlet G. Groß, *Karl Marx*, Leipzig, 1885 being prepared by Karl Kautsky. The review was published in *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 6, 1885.— 250

351 On 9 January 1885 Kautsky wrote to Engels to say that the German Social Democrat Louis Viereck had offered him a temporary or permanent post with one of the newspapers he published.— 250

352 Hermann Schlüter asked Engels to send him a set of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* since he was intending to publish in the Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek series a number of works by Marx and Engels which the said journal had carried in 1850.— 251

353 *Reptiles* (grovellers) is a term which became widespread after Bismarck used it in his speech before the Prussian Chamber of Deputies on 30 January 1869 to describe the government's opponents. The left-wing press took up this expression and began to describe as reptilian the semi-official press which was in the pay of the government, labelling the relevant category of journalists as reptiles.— 253

354 Engels' negative attitude to Franz Mehring which he expresses in this letter had to do with the fact that from the mid-1870s Mehring started to criticise Social-Democratic theory and tactics in the bourgeois-democratic press. His position was summarised in the pamphlet *Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie, ihre Geschichte und ihre Lehre; eine historisch-kritische Darstellung*, three editions of which were issued in 1877, 1878 and 1879, respectively, by the publishing house belonging to the *Weser-Zeitung*, a National-Liberal (see Note 243) newspaper based in Barmen. Captivated by the Kantian philosophy, Mehring believed that the history was made by the 'strong personalities', while the workers' movement and, consequently, Social Democracy were not the natural result of the social development.

In the early 1880s Mehring had been revising his views on the socialist movement. Having joined the Socialist Party of Germany in 1891 he became one of its left-wing leaders. Engels' attitude to Mehring changed accordingly; right up to his death in 1895 Engels repeatedly praised Mehring's journalistic and academic endeavours.— 253, 316

355 This letter, which Paul Lafargue passed on to Jules Guesde, formed the basis for Guesde's leading article in the newspaper *Le Cri du Peuple*, No. 461, 31 January 1885. The excerpt published here was included in the article in full, where it was

stated that a letter written by 'one of the veterans of our great social battles' had been received from London. Engels examined the issue to which he refers in this excerpt in the article 'Real Imperial Russian Privy Dynamiters' carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 5, 29 January 1885 (see present edition, Vol. 26). The whereabouts of the original letter are unknown.—255

356 *Nihilists*—a term used in the 1860s to describe the progressive-minded Russian intellectuals of different social estates. The Nihilists refused to recognise the dominant ideology and morality, rejected religion and demanded freedom of the personality. They advocated equality between the sexes and called for the study of the natural and exact sciences. Towards the end of the 1860s the term almost completely disappeared from polemic writing, although it was used later on occasions by reactionary political commentators as a label for revolutionaries. In West European writing, the term was applied to participants in the Russian revolutionary movement of the 1870s and 1880s, notably the members of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will).—256, 275, 279, 338, 378, 484, 486, 505, 513, 520, 525

357 On 13 (1) January 1885 Russia and Prussia exchanged notes on the extradition of persons accused of criminal offences against the monarchs of the contracting parties or members of their families, as well as of persons found guilty of manufacturing or storing explosives. This was the subject of a report in *The Times*, 24 January 1885 (No. 31352) entitled 'Extradition by Russia and Prussia. Berlin, Jan. 23'.—256

358 The series of explosions which Engels is writing about took place on Saturday, 24 January 1885. The investigation showed that the man responsible for the explosion in the Tower was the same one who had organised the explosion on the underground railway two years previously, when bombs had been placed at Charing Cross and Praed Street stations. He was sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment and hard labour. See also Note 251.—256

359 The reference is to Engels' preface to the first edition of his work *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 302-04) and his dedication of this book 'to the Working-Classes of Great-Britain' (ibid., pp. 297-301). The preface and dedication were not included in the edition of this work which appeared in the United States (see Note 349).—257, 420

360 In February 1886 Engels wrote an article as a preface or epilogue to the American edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (see present edition, Vol. 26). When publication was delayed, Engels considered it essential to write another preface in January 1887 (ibid.). The first article was included as an appendix in the American edition.—257, 259, 415

361 To speed up the Russian translation of the second volume of *Capital* Engels sent Nikolai Danielson the proofs of the German edition as they were printed. The volume appeared in January 1886.—260, 265, 278, 289, 294, 303, 311

362 Hermann Lopatin was arrested in St Petersburg on 6 October 1884 and was under investigation up to May 1887; on 4 June 1887 he was sentenced to death, later commuted to life imprisonment in Schlisselburg fortress. Lopatin was released on 28 October 1905.—260, 319, 349, 401, 525

363 Engels' pseudonym in his correspondence with Nikolai Danielson; Engels used the

name of the husband of his wife's niece — Percy White Rosher.— 260, 278, 294, 319, 322, 350, 402, 523

364 Pyotr Lavrov enquired as to whether the information about Marx contained in Groß' pamphlet was correct (see Note 350) and whether Engels had made any additions or changes to the 1885 German edition of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy*.— 261

365 Karl Kautsky lived in London from early 1885 to June 1888.— 262, 265

366 To Engels' enquiry about the rumours regarding the prohibition in Germany of his work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see this volume, p. 252), Hermann Schlüter replied that, according to his information, the work had not been officially banned, but there had been a case of a large number of copies being confiscated in Leipzig. Although they had all been returned, booksellers refused to stock the book any longer and from that time it was being distributed directly from Zurich on advance order only.— 263

367 In a letter published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 9, 26 February 1885, Karl Varenholz, a member of the Social Democratic Federation, came out in defence of Henry Hyndman's policy and attempted to disprove the reasons for the split in the Social Democratic Federation reported by the same newspaper, No. 3, 15 January 1885; the report reflected Engels' views (see this volume, pp. 236-38). Bernstein's letter to Engels of 15 January gives reason to believe that the report was written by Eleanor Marx-Aveling. Edward Aveling's reply to Varenholz was carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 13, 26 March 1885. Aveling exposed Hyndman's activities in trying to take over the presidency of the Federation, his intrigues against Andreas Scheu and other members of the Federation and the authoritarian practices employed by the editors of *Justice*, which carried material for the most part reflecting the position of Hyndman and his supporters.— 265

368 The reference is to Maitland Park Crescent, which led into Maitland Park Road. In the 1870s, this street, together with Modena Villas, Maitland Park Villas and Maitland Park Road was given the single name Maitland Park Road (see also Note 159).

Eleanor Marx-Aveling lived at 67, Maitland Park Road.— 265

369 Jenny and Karl Marx were buried at Highgate Cemetery in London (see also Note 36). 14 March 1885 was the second anniversary of Marx's death.— 265

370 The reference is to the group of French workers in the Montceau-les-Mines coalfield who were arrested in November 1884 on a charge of organising explosions in the mine and the town. The immediate reason for their arrest was the explosion of 7 November organised by the agent provocateur Claude Brenin, who was in the pay of local police commissar Thévenin. Those arrested included activists in the workers' movement who had no connection with these explosions. The role played by Brenin as a provocateur was exposed by the socialist newspaper *Le Cri du Peuple*, 16 February 1885. At the trial in late May the accused were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.— 265

371 On 21 March 1885 Richard Stegemann asked Engels to let him know where he could obtain personal information about Marx for inclusion in a work he was preparing for the press about the latter's economic doctrine. Stegemann requested

Engels, in the absence of printed sources for a biography of Marx, to send him his own thoughts about Marx as a man.—266

372 The French government under the leader of the moderate Republicans Jules Ferry, who had held the post since 1883, resigned on 30 March 1885 due to an unsuccessful colonial adventure in Indochina.—267, 270

373 Following the elections in 1884 (see Note 306), the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag was made up of a right-wing majority led by Wilhelm Blos, Bruno Geiser, Karl Frohme, Wilhelm Hasenclever and others, and a left-wing minority led by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht.—268, 300

374 The majority of the Social-Democratic group in the German Reichstag, consisting of reformists, tried to dispute the right of the party newspaper—*Der Sozialdemokrat*—to criticise the action of the parliamentary group and its attitude towards the bill envisaging the payment of subsidies to steamship companies (see Note 342). They published a statement to this effect in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 14, 2 April 1885.

However, the majority of the local Social-Democratic organisations resolutely supported the editors. The reformists were virtually forced to renounce their objections and, in a joint statement with the editors of *Der Sozialdemokrat* published on 23 April, they recognised the newspaper's status as the '*organ* of the whole party' (see also notes 380 and 390).—268, 269, 275, 290, 300, 313, 323

375 Until 1885, France was divided into 'small constituencies', each sending one representative to the Chamber of Deputies. In June 1885, on the initiative of the moderate bourgeois republicans, a system of voting by department lists was introduced. Under this system, which operated until 1889, small constituencies were combined to form larger ones each corresponding to a department. Now a voter received a ballot paper with names of candidates from different parties, but he was obliged to vote for the total number of candidates to be elected, with one deputy for every 70,000 people. A deputy was considered elected in the first ballot provided he had received an absolute majority of votes; a relative majority was sufficient in the second ballot.—270, 314, 317, 320, 326, 330, 489, 508

376 Engels is referring to Gladstone's Liberal administration which had formed the government in Britain from 1880 (see Note 414).—270

377 *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nos. 2, 3, 5 and 7 of 8, 15 and 29 January and 12 February 1885 published articles and editorial comments criticising the attitude taken by the majority of the parliamentary group to the bill on subsidies to steamship companies (see Note 342). The first article was signed 'W. L.', the second was without a signature, the third carried the initials 'J. A.' and the fourth, 'H. R.'.—271, 284

378 In March and April 1885 there was a conflict between Britain and Russia caused by their rivalry over the area around the North-West frontier of Afghanistan. Following the annexation of Southern Turkestan by Russia there was a clash between Russian and Afghan forces, the latter supported by Britain, which threatened to escalate into an armed conflict between the two powers. However, the diplomatic isolation of Britain due to the position taken by Germany, forced the Gladstone administration to step down in its dispute with Russia about the division of spheres of influence in Central Asia.

The April issue of the organ of the Socialist League—*The Commonweal*

(No. 3) — carried an article by Ernest Belfort Bax entitled 'At Bay!' in which he set out his views on the foreign policies pursued by Britain and Russia, including those on the Anglo-Russian conflict.—275

379 In his letter to Engels of 27 March 1885 Paul Lafargue asked what the former thought of his hypothesis about the origin of certain legal terms.—275

380 With regard to the conflict between the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag (see Note 49) and the editors of *Der Sozialdemokrat* (see Note 374) August Bebel sent the parliamentary group a note of protest on 5 April 1885 in which he reserved the right to appeal to the party should the parliamentary group continue to suppress the freedom of opinion.

The parliamentary group completed three days of debates on 15 April 1885.—277

381 Nikolai Danielson provided Engels with some figures about the length of the working day and the wages paid to workers in Russia as well as about the extent to which peasants had joined the ranks of the proletariat. He also was ready to send Engels the following books by Russian economists: Н. И. Зибер, *Давид Рикардо и Карл Маркс в их общественно-экономических исследованиях* (2nd edition, St Petersburg, 1885), И. И. Янжул, *Фабричный быт Московской губернии* (Moscow, 1882) and П. А. Песков, *Санитарное исследование фабрик по обработке волокнистых веществ в г. Москве* (Moscow, 1882).—277

382 A draft of this letter in Engels' handwriting has survived. All substantial variations are given in footnotes.—279

383 The reference is to the first Russian Marxist organisation, the Emancipation of Labour group (see Note 124).—279

384 In his book *Наши разногласія* (*Our Differences*), Geneva, 1884, Plekhanov repeatedly used the expression 'unstable balance' to describe relations in the Russian village commune.—280

385 The reference is to the following passage in Plekhanov's letter to Pyotr Lavrov of 22 July 1884, which appeared in place of a preface in Plekhanov's book *Our Differences*: 'I think that the Russian revolution has an enormous, invincible potential energy, and that reaction is raising its head only because we are unable to transform that energy from potential into kinetic.'—280

386 Here, Engels quotes Hegel from the second volume of his work *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie* (see *Werke*, Bd. XIV, Berlin, 1833, S. 62). Explaining the expression 'Socratic irony', Hegel wrote: 'All dialectics regard as valid what should be valid, as if it were valid, have the inner destruction develop of its own accord on this account — general irony of the world.' — 281, 348

387 This letter is Engels' reply to Richard Stegemann's second request (see Note 371) that he write a short personal description of Marx for a work Stegemann was preparing on the latter's economic doctrine. Stegemann justified his request with a need to reply to the efforts being made by bourgeois authors in various countries to distort Marx's personality.—282

388 Tuileries documents is the name Engels gives to the lists of agents in the pay of Napoleon III found in the Tuileries in 1870 and published by the government of the Third Republic in September 1871. Under the letter 'V' was the note 'Vogt —

in August 1859 has been sent a remittance of 40,000 francs.' This bore out Marx's assumption that Karl Vogt was a Bonapartist agent (see K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*; present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 190, 212). Engels wrote about this document in the article 'Once Again "Herr Vogt"' published in May 1871 (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 303).—282

389 On the conflict between the parliamentary group and the editorial board, see Note 374. The original text of the parliamentary group's decision of 20 March 1885 carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat* contained a clause saying that the parliamentary group bore 'moral responsibility' for the newspaper's contents. This met with objections on the part of members of the editorial board, including Eduard Bernstein. The parliamentary group had sent Wilhelm Liebknecht to Zurich, the place of publication, to settle the conflict. The text published by *Der Sozialdemokrat* on 2 April 1885 contained, among other things, the following remark: 'the party organ must under no circumstances become opposed to the parliamentary group, which bears the moral responsibility for the contents of the same', and continued, 'It is not the paper which has to determine the stance of the parliamentary group, but the parliamentary group which has to monitor the stance of the paper.'—284

390 The reference is to the statement by the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag and the editors of the paper carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 17, 23 April 1885, in which it was stated that any attempt to limit criticism in the party would be a violation of party principles and would shake it to the foundations. As for the relations between the parliamentary group and the editorial board, the statement represented a compromise. It pointed out, on the one hand, that *Der Sozialdemokrat* was the organ of the party as a whole but that, on the other hand, the parliamentary group was the party's representative body and had a right to monitor the work of the editorial board. On the parliamentary group's first statement, see Note 374.—284

391 The *protective tariffs system* was introduced by Bismarck in 1879 in the interest of the landowners and large industrialists and remained in force throughout the 1880s (in 1885 and 1887 it was supplemented by further rises in the duties payable on imported agricultural produce). To a certain extent it promoted the growth of German industry, but brought a major deterioration in the situation of the masses. This led to major discontent, not only among the proletariat, but also the middle and petty bourgeoisie.—285

392 This letter was first published in English in an abridged form in *Science and Society*, New York, 1938, Vol. 2, No. 3.—286

393 In a letter of 13 May 1885 Hermann Schlüter asked Engels to help him select revolutionary poems and songs for inclusion in a collection from a series of poems for workers which he was preparing for the press. Among other things, Schlüter was interested in songs and poems originating from the period of peasant uprisings in the 15th and 16th centuries, the revolution of 1848 in Germany and the time of the English Chartists which had been in general circulation. (The collection appeared in Zurich in 1886 under the title *Vorwärts! Eine Sammlung von Gedichten für das arbeitende Volk*.) In the same letter Schlüter informed Engels of his intention to publish a number of minor works and articles by Marx, including some documents from the International, within the framework of the Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek series (see also Note 352).—286

394 Engels is referring to Luther's choral 'Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott' ('God is our firm stronghold'), which Heine, in his *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland*, called the 'Marseillaise of the Reformation' (*Der Salon*, Vol. 2, Hamburg, 1835, p. 80).

In the Introduction to his *Dialectics of Nature* Engels calls this choral the 'Marseillaise of the sixteenth century' (see present edition, Vol. 25, p. 319).—286

395 The reference is to a song written in 1844 by Matthäus Friedrich Chemnitz and beginning with the words 'Schleswig-Holstein, meerumschlungen' (Schleswig-Holstein, surrounded by the sea). It was particularly popular in 1848-50, during the struggle for Schleswig-Holstein's liberation from Danish rule.

The *Heckerlied* is a revolutionary song about the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1848 led, among others, by Friedrich Hecker, a prominent figure among the South German petty bourgeoisie. Engels gave the version of the chorus cited below in his work *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (present edition, Vol. 10, p. 149).—287

396 The *Marseillaise*—a French revolutionary song. The words and music were written in Strasbourg in 1792 by Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle. Its original title was 'Chant du guerre pour l'armée du Rhin' ('War chant for the Rhine army'). Having become widespread in the Republican army, it made its way to Marseilles, thus receiving the name 'Marseilles March' or 'Marseillaise', and later became popular in Paris.—287

397 A conflict arose between Prosper Lissagaray, editor-in-chief of *La Bataille* and its publisher Périnet. With assistance from Paul Brousse and his supporters, Périnet staged an abortive attempt to gain control of the editorship and pocket 10,000 francs donated to the newspaper by Capoul, a former singer.—288

398 The article by Louis-Edouard Grimaux referred to below ('Les substances colloïdales et la coagulation', *Revue scientific*, Vol. XXXV, 1885) contains the following quote from Carl Schorlemmer, 'If chemists ever succeed in artificially obtaining proteins, they will be in the form of living protoplasm.' And later on, 'The enigma of life can only be resolved by protein synthesis.'—289

399 The reference is to sections 5 and 6 of Volume III of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 37).—290

400 An incomplete copy of this letter signed by Engels is to be found at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam. The copy carries the address of the sender and the date of writing ('London, 19 May 1885, 122, Regent's Park Road, N. W.'), the first paragraph of the draft and the following note by Engels: 'The original of this letter was sent to Nitti in Naples on 26.5.92.'—291

401 Engels wrote the note on *Mark* (see present edition, Vol. 26, p. 236) for Chapter VII ('The Gens Among the Celts and Germans') of the Italian translation of his work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.—291

402 On 21 May 1885 Paul Lafargue was sent to Ste Pélagie prison, Paris, for two months for failing to pay a fine of 100 francs imposed on him in April 1883 by a jury in Moulins as punishment for his public speeches (see Note 9). To begin with, Lafargue was kept in the cell reserved for criminals, but later transferred to

the part of the prison where the political detainees were kept.—292, 297, 301, 303, 310, 495

403 Paul Lafargue intended to translate Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* into French, but failed to carry out this plan. The French translation was done by Henri Ravé from the fourth German edition edited by Laura Lafargue and looked through by Engels; it appeared in Paris in 1893.—293, 394

404 On 24 May 1885 a demonstration was organised in Paris in memory of the members of the Paris Commune. Carrying red flags, the demonstrators made their way to the Mur des Fédérés in Père-Lachaise cemetery where 200 members of the Commune had been shot on 27 May 1871. The police attacked the demonstrators on the pretext that it was forbidden to carry red flags on demonstrations in Paris. A clash ensued in which a number of people were killed and injured.

Engels expected that the police would try to organise a similar act of provocation on 1 June during the funeral of Victor Hugo who had died on 22 May 1885.—293, 297

405 This letter was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters on 'Capital'*, New Park Publications, London, 1983.—294

406 Between 1869 and 1873 Marx maintained regular correspondence with Nikolai Danielson, who systematically sent him Russian books and articles in journals dealing with the agrarian question in Russia. In his letter of 24 April (6 May) 1885, Danielson enquired of Engels whether the statistics on the Russian economy had been included in the third volume of *Capital*.

The chapter on ground rent to which Engels refers forms part of Section 6 of Volume III of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 37).—294

407 A fragment from this letter was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895. A Selection*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—295

408 Here, Engels uses an expression from the speech made by the Prussian officer Prince Lichnowski in the Frankfurt Assembly on 31 August 1848. Lichnowski used a double negative ('With regard to historical right there does not exist no date'). See also present edition, Vol. 7, p. 369.—296

409 The reference is to the work *De origine actibusque Getarum* by the Gothic historian Jordanes. It is a short conspectus of *Historia Gothorum* by Cassiodorus, which is not extant, and to which Jordanes added surviving oral pieces, legends of the Germanic tribes and material from other sources.—296

410 This letter has survived in the form of an excerpt (the beginning of the letter and name of the addressee are missing). According to the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, where the original is kept, it was written on the letter which A. N. Davisson sent to Engels on 10 June 1885. The note 'Soc. League' on Engels' letter suggests that the addressee was John Lincoln Mahon, the secretary of the said organisation (see Note 346).—298

411 Frederick Charles, Prince of Prussia and inspector-general of the cavalry, died on 15 June 1885.—300, 302, 304

412 *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 17, 23 April 1885 published a statement adopted by a meeting of Social Democrats in Frankfurt-am-Main and sharply criticising the

position of the majority of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag and its attempts to impose this position on the party as a whole (see Note 374). On 7 May 1885 Karl Frohme, one of the leaders of the parliamentary group, published a letter attacking this statement in response to this in the bourgeois *Frankfurter Journal*. The editorial board of *Der Sozialdemokrat* reprinted Frohme's letter (No. 20, 14 May 1885) and in the next issue, 21 May 1885 published August Bebel's article in reply called 'Auch "ein Protest"' in which he criticised Frohme's position.—302, 307

413 The Hamburg party organisation, which supported the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag in its conflict with the editorial board of *Der Sozialdemokrat* (see Note 374), donated 1,000 francs to the French socialists' election fund.—303

414 Engels is referring to the resignation in June 1885 of the Liberal cabinet under Gladstone due to the refusal of the majority in parliament (Conservatives and Irish members) to vote for the government proposal to increase taxes on spirits. The real reasons for the resignation were the failures in colonial policy—the concessions to Russia when it came to dividing up spheres of influence in Central Asia (see Note 378) and the major defeats inflicted on the British forces by rebels in the Sudan—as well as the government's refusal to grant Irish self-administration in the framework of the British Empire.—303

415 *Tories*—traditional name of the Conservative Party.

The *Whigs* were the right wing of the Liberal Party, and the *Radicals* its left wing. The Whigs expressed the interests of the landed, and in part, financial aristocracy, of the big and medium capitalist farmers, whilst the Radicals were the representatives of large sections of the trading and industrial bourgeoisie, the bourgeois intelligentsia and the rich trade unions. The Liberal Party exerted an influence on the trade unions through the Radicals, who recognised the need for democratic social reforms. The differences between the Whigs and the Radicals became particularly clear during the preparations for the electoral reform of 1884, when the Whigs opposed the extension of the suffrage to Irish peasants and the establishment of constituencies of equal size, thus backing the Conservatives. Most of the Radicals favoured Home Rule and improvements in the agrarian law. However some of them, headed by J. Chamberlain, wanted to keep the Union of 1801 intact. The rivalry between the Whigs and the Radicals became aggravated on the eve of the 1885 general election which the Radicals expected would bring them victory in the party and the country as a whole (see notes 299 and 487). It was at this time that the political outlook of the Radical movement took its final shape, as expressed in 'The Radical Programme with a Preface of J. Chamberlain', London, 1885 (see also Note 430).—304, 326, 345, 367, 369, 389

416 The trials of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and the Rhenish district committee of Democrats took place in Cologne on 7 and 8 February 1849. The accused at the first trial were Karl Marx as editor-in-chief, Frederick Engels as co-editor and Hermann Korff as responsible publisher. Those indicted at the second trial were Marx, Karl Schapper and the lawyer Schneider II. The trials ended with the accused being acquitted. They were reported in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*—the first on 14 February and the second on 19, 25, 27 and 28 February 1849. In October 1885 the report on the trial of the Rhenish district committee of Democrats was published as a separate pamphlet in the Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek series in

Hottingen-Zurich. Entitled *Karl Marx vor den Kölner Geschwornen. Prozeß gegen den Ausschuß der rheinischen Demokraten wegen Aufrufs zum bewaffneten Widerstand*, it included a preface by Engels (see present edition, Vol. 26, p. 304).—304

417 There was no separate collected edition of Marx's and Engels' articles about the June insurrection (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 121, 123-28, 130-64).—305, 309, 332

418 The reference is to a separate edition of Wilhelm Wolff's series of articles on the situation of the Silesian peasants called *Die schlesische Milliarde* and printed in a number of issues of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* between 22 March and 22 April 1849. Engels included a preface in this edition, which came out in 1886. Its first section was a biography of Wolff which he had written back in 1876 (see F. Engels, 'Wilhelm Wolff', present edition, Vol. 24) but in a much abbreviated form, whilst the second section was the article 'On the History of the Prussian Peasants. Introduction to Wilhelm Wolff's pamphlet *The Silesian Milliard*' (Vol. 26) specially for that edition.—309, 324, 328, 332, 346

419 In his letter of 24 June 1885 Hermann Schlüter informed Engels that Meissner, whose publishing house had issued *Capital*, was offering *Der Sozialdemokrat* publishers in Zurich copies of the second volume of *Capital* to distribute on terms he considered unfavourable.—309

420 Engels is referring to the report in *Justice*, No. 73, 6 June 1885 that the publisher William Reeves intended to put out Gabriel Deville's book *Le Capital de Karl Marx. Résumé...* (see Note 81) in an English translation by John Broadhouse (Hyndman's pseudonym). At that time Engels was negotiating with the publishers Kegan Paul and Co. about publishing the English translation of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56). These negotiations ended without success. Marx's work was put out by another publishing house and Deville's book did not appear in English.—310, 313

421 Engels spent his holidays on the island of Jersey from 14 August to 14 September 1885.—310, 315, 321-25, 328, 358

422 The German socialist Gertrud Guillaume-Schack, who was preparing an article on the limitation of female labour, wrote to Engels on 1 July 1885 to ask whether it was true that he and Marx had been involved in drawing up the programme of the French Workers' Party, which contained the demand that equal pay be given for equal work.

Following the establishment of the French Workers' Party at a congress in Marseilles in October 1879, the French socialist Jules Guesde began work on the party programme and, through Paul Lafargue, requested Marx and Engels to help draw up a draft election manifesto for the French Workers' Party. The theoretical introduction was formulated by Marx and dictated to Guesde (see K. Marx, 'Preamble to the Programme of the French Workers' Party', present edition, Vol. 24, p. 340). The practical part of the programme (minimum programme, see Vol. 24, Note 384) was compiled by Guesde and Lafargue. The programme was endorsed at the party congress held in Le Havre in 1880.

On the Rouen tendency, or the Guesdists, see Note 201.—311

423 The whereabouts of the original of this letter are not known. The draft of the letter

was written by Engels on a letter which John Lincoln Mahon had written to him (on paper used by the editorial board of *The Commonweal*) on 11 July 1885.—312

424 Under the heading 'The Parting of the Waters', *The Edinburgh Review*, No. 331, July 1885, contained a summary of the parliamentary debates for 1884-85. It sharply criticised the policies pursued by the Radical wing of the Liberal Party (see Note 415). The author of the summary called on the Whigs to split with the Radical wing, describing this act as a 'watershed'.—314

425 In a letter of 10 July 1885 to the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 162) Wilhelm Liebknecht objected to the Society's proposal that an extraordinary party congress be held due to the conflict between the reformist majority in the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag and the editorial board of *Der Sozialdemokrat*. He supposed that the disagreements, including that between the Frankfurt organisation and Karl Frohme (see Note 412), were not of a major nature and could thus quickly be settled with his mediation.—315

426 On 14 July 1885 Wilhelm Liebknecht spoke to a meeting of Social Democrats in Offenbach and criticised the letter by the group of Frankfurt Social Democrats which had been published in *Der Sozialdemokrat* (see Note 412). His words appeared in the *Berliner Volksblatt*, 18 July 1885. The dissatisfaction his speech created in the Frankfurt Social-Democratic organisation led to Liebknecht publishing a statement in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 32, 6 August 1885, claiming that his criticism only related to the tone of the letter and that he rated highly the fight waged against the Anti-Socialist Law by the Social Democrats in Frankfurt.—315

427 Engels is evidently referring to Karl Kautsky's book *Der Einfluss der Volksvermehrung auf den Fortschritt der Gesellschaft*, Vienna, 1880, which he sharply criticised for its Malthusian errors in a letter to Kautsky of 1 February 1881 (see present edition, Vol. 46) and also to a series of articles about marriage in primitive society with the general heading 'Die Entstehung der Ehe und Familie' published in *Kosmos*, Jg. VI, Stuttgart, 1882-83 (see Engels' letters to Laura Lafargue of 16-17 February and to August Bebel of 7 March 1883; present edition, Vol. 46, and also this volume, p. 56).—316

428 Maybe this refers to Franz Mehring's articles on Rodbertus in *Demokratische Blätter*, Nos. 19, 20 and 21, 13, 20 and 28 May 1885, or his article 'Der soziale Beruf des Adels' in *Volks-Zeitung*, Nos. 155 and 156, 7 and 8 July 1885.—316

429 The *Radicals*—in the 1880s and 1890s a parliamentary group which had split away from the party of moderate republicans in France ('Opportunists', see Note 236). The Radicals had their main base in the petty and, to some extent, the middle bourgeoisie and continued to press for a number of bourgeois-democratic demands: a single-chamber parliamentary system, the separation of the Church from the State, the introduction of a system of progressive income taxes, the limitation of the working day and settlement of a number of other social issues. The leader of the Radicals was Clemenceau. The group formed officially as the Republican Party of Radicals and Radical Socialists (*Parti républicain radical et radical-socialiste*) in 1901.—317, 326, 330, 343, 354, 409-10, 414, 418, 424, 428, 430, 438, 441, 445, 470, 489, 493, 497, 508

430 Engels is referring to the disagreements within the Liberal Party (see Note 415) and the noticeable rapprochement between its right wing—the Whigs—and the

Conservatives. In 1886 this wing, which opposed the granting of Irish self-administration, split off and a Liberal-Unionist bloc headed by Joseph Chamberlain was formed of supporters of the 1801 Union of Ireland with Great Britain; the Liberal-Unionists backed the Conservatives on most issues. They constituted a political expression of a major regrouping among the British ruling classes and signified a shift to the right.—317, 391

431 In 1688-89, as a result of the coup d'état which brought William III (of Orange) to power in England, absolutism was abolished as the form of government and replaced by a constitutional monarchy. Parliament became the supreme organ of state power, carrying out the will of the bourgeoisie and the new nobility.—317

432 The envelope has survived and carries in Engels' handwriting 'N. F. Danielson Esq., Moika 27, *St. Petersburg*, Russia'. The name of the street and of the addressee have been written by an unknown hand in Cyrillic script.—318

433 Engels did not write a special preface for the Russian translation of the second volume of *Capital*. The Russian edition contained an abbreviated version of his preface to the first German edition of the second volume. The second half of the preface, including the criticism of Rodbertus, was omitted.—318

434 Paul Lafargue was planning to visit his mother in Bordeaux.—320

435 In connection with Engels' fears about the planned publication in England of Deville's book *Le Capital de Karl Marx. Résumé...* (see Note 420), Laura Lafargue wrote to Engels on 7 August 1885 saying that the French publisher Henri Oriol had said he could prevent the book being translated into English.—320

436 '*Après moi* (or *nous*) *le déluge!*'—words uttered to Louis XV and attributed to Mme Du Barry or to Mmle Pompadour.—320, 354

437 Engels wrote this letter on a postcard. It carries the following address in his handwriting: 'K. Kautsky Esq., care of Mrs Huggetts' Dew House, Camden Road, Eastbourne.'—321

438 In this letter (see present edition, Vol. 26) written on the advice of Nikolai Danielson, Engels suggested to the editors of *Severny vestnik* that they print Marx's unpublished letter to the editorial board of *Otechestvenniye zapiski* which he had written in response to Nikolai Mikhailovsky's article 'Карлъ Марксъ передъ судомъ г. Ю. Жуковскаго' (see Note 190).—322, 347

439 Engels wrote this letter on a postcard carrying the following address in his handwriting: 'Herrn H. Schlüter, Volksbuchhandlung, Kasinostr. 3, Hottingen-Zürich, Switzerland.'—322, 324

440 A hint that Louis Viereck was the illegitimate son of Emperor William I of Germany. Engels is referring to Viereck's speech on 8 August at a workers' meeting in Munich in which he said that the emperor would give the workers much more if he knew how poorly they lived. The Munich Social Democrats protested at Viereck's speech (see *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 34, 20 August 1885). In his reply, published in the Munich-based *Deutsches Wochenblatt*, No. 30, 30 August and *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 36, 3 September 1885, Viereck, to all intents and purposes, supported Bismarck's social reform (see Note 312).—324, 328

441 Engels is referring to the conflict which emerged between Germany and Spain in August-September 1885 as a result of Germany's attempts to seize the Caroline is-

lands to which Spain laid claim. The German government sent a gunboat to one of the islands, where the German flag was raised. This led to tension in the relations between the two states. Pope Leo XIII, who acted as arbitrator, supported the Spanish claims.—324

442 On 20 September 1885 in Paris, during the funeral of Antoine Jules Arnaud, a member of the Paris Commune, the police used the excuse that processions with red banners were prohibited to attempt to seize the red cover which had been placed over the deceased and attacked those attending the funeral.—326

443 The reference is to the English socialists' free speech struggles against the police suppression of outdoor meetings. Between July and September 1885 the London police on several occasions arrested socialist speakers at meetings in the East End. One of them, John E. Williams, a member of the Social Democratic Federation, was sentenced to a month's hard labour. This prompted the Social Democratic Federation, the Socialist League, the Labour Emancipation League and the London Radical Clubs (see Note 659) to organise a joint meeting on 20 September in the area of Dod Street, which was attended by several thousand people. The police tried to arrest the speakers, but met with resistance. Several people were detained, but released the next day. This was reported in *The Daily News* of 21 and 22 September.—326

444 Laura Lafargue's French translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was published in *Le Socialiste*, Nos. 1-11, from late August to early November 1885. It was published with Engels' changes as an appendix to Mermeix (pseudonym), *La France Socialiste*, Paris, 1886.—326, 328, 333, 342

445 The reference is to the so-called Bulgarian crisis which began in September 1885. In the night of 5-6 September an uprising of Bulgarian patriots occurred in Plovdiv, the capital of Eastern Roumelia (Southern Bulgaria), which, according to the 1878 Treaty of Berlin, was under the control of Turkey (see present edition, Vol. 45, Note 430). The Turkish governor was overthrown. Roumelia was reunited with Bulgaria and Grand Duke (formerly Prince) Alexander Battenberg of Bulgaria proclaimed himself ruler of the united Bulgaria on 8 September. Russia, showing its displeasure at the rapprochement between Battenberg and Austria-Hungary which had begun some time previously, recalled its officers from the Bulgarian army. Reports on this were carried by the *Kölnische Zeitung*, Nos. 276, 277, 278 and 279, 5, 6, 7 and 8 October 1885.

On the subsequent course of the Bulgarian crisis, see Engels' article 'The Political Situation in Europe' (present edition, Vol. 26, and also this volume, pp. 512-20 and notes 478 and 634).—329, 364, 378-79, 417, 485, 488

446 The reference is to the trial of a group of German Social Democrats at the Saxon provincial court in Chemnitz between 28 and 30 September 1885. Auer, Bebel, Dietz, Müller, Ulrich, Viereck, Vollmar, Frohme and Heinzel were charged with belonging to a secret society seeking by illegal means to hinder the implementation of laws and regulations issued by the authorities. The reason for the indictment was their participation in the 1883 congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany in Copenhagen (see Note 15). In the absence of proof of their guilt, the court acquitted them. The government appealed to the imperial court which passed on the case for re-examination at the provincial court in Freiberg, Saxony (see Note 602).—330

447 At the elections held on 4 October 1885 to the French Chamber of Deputies, numerous candidates failed to receive the number of votes required for election, so that a second ballot was scheduled for 18 October. This ballot brought a republican majority, comprising representatives of the party of moderate republicans ('Opportunists') and the party of Radicals (see notes 236 and 429). The Chamber of Deputies was made up of 382 republicans (including 180 Radicals) and 202 monarchists.—330, 364, 430

448 The views about the elections in France which Engels sets out in this letter were reflected in the leading article in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 42, 15 October 1885.—330

449 The results of the first ballot gave rise to particular disappointment among the French socialists. This prompted Engels to explain to Paul Lafargue the essence of the situation in France. An excerpt from his letter was printed in *Le Socialiste* with the title 'The Situation' (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 331-32). The whereabouts of the full text of the letter are not known.—331

450 Apart from the works mentioned in the text, Engels also included in the new edition of Marx's pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* a fourth appendix—'The Communist Trial in Cologne'—to Marx's work *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 305-11) and his afterword to the second German edition of the pamphlet (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 51-54).—332

451 This letter was written on a postcard and carries the following address in Engels' handwriting: 'Monsieur P. Lavroff, 328 rue St. Jacques, *Paris*, France.'—337

452 In a letter of 19 October 1885 Pyotr Lavrov asked Engels to let him know what materials he might use for a work he was planning to write on Chartism.—337

453 Engels attached great importance to publicising the experience of Chartism as the first political movement of the British working class. It is thought that in the 1880s he wrote special notes for inclusion in *Die Chartistenbewegung in England* by the German democrat Sigismund Borkheim, although Engels' text has not yet been found. *Die Chartistenbewegung in England* (Zurich, 1887) by the German socialist Hermann Schlüter was based on a chronology of Chartism compiled in August 1886 by Engels at the request of the author (see present edition, Vol. 26).—337

454 The Social Democrat Salo Faerber from Breslau suggested that Engels write an article on the financial position of Russia in the *Volks-Zeitung*, Berlin, with a view to hindering subscriptions to Russian loan bonds in Germany.—337

455 Here, Engels is alluding to the following statement in the Reichstag by Heinrich von Stephan, head of the postal and telegraph service: 'The secrecy of the mail rests just as firmly on the conscience of the German Empire's postal officials as the Bible does on the altar.'—337, 361

456 The reference is to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 which was caused by a growth in the activities of the national liberation movement in the Balkans and the exacerbation of international conflicts in the Middle East. The war ended in victory for Russia.

In 1806, Prussia joined the fourth anti-French coalition, and its army was soon routed by the Napoleonic forces at the battles of Jena and Auerstedt.—339

457 The reference is to Wilhelm Liebknecht's reply to Salo Faerber's letter requesting him to shed light on the state of Russian finances in his Reichstag speech during

the third reading of the budget. In the letter Liebknecht explained the reasons why he had not made any speech.—339

458 At the elections to the Saxon Provincial Diet on 15 September 1885 Liebknecht, who was standing for the rural district around Leipzig, lost at the hands of a candidate jointly nominated by the Conservatives (see Note 230) and the National Liberals (see Note 243).

The poll was held in line with the electoral qualifications set out in the law of 1868; the vote extended to persons of 25 and over who had paid at least three marks in direct taxes, whilst to stand as a candidate it was necessary to be not less than 30 years of age, to have paid at least 30 marks in direct taxes and have been a Saxon citizen for a minimum of three years.—340

459 The French utopian socialist Étienne Cabet tried to organise a communist colony in North America made up of several hundred of his followers drawn from among the French workers. The colony existed from 1848 to 1856. The last communist community in the United States, which had been formed by adherents of Cabet, ceased to exist in 1895.—342

460 In 1880, at the request of Paul Lafargue, Engels transformed three chapters of his *Anti-Dühring* (Chapter I of the 'Introduction' and Chapters I and II of Part three—see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 16-27 and 244-71) into a popular work in its own right. Entitled *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, it was published under the heading 'Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique' in the French journal *La Revue socialiste*, Nos. 3, 4 and 5, 20 March, 20 April and 5 May 1880, and later that year under the same heading as a separate pamphlet in Paris.—342

461 The words by Reichstag deputy Ludwig Bamberger which became a standard phrase were uttered at one of the 1876 sittings to describe the manner in which Bismarck dealt with the National Liberals.—342

462 Engels is referring to the *Kulturkampf*, a word which has come to describe the measures taken by the Bismarck government in the 1870s against the Catholic Church and the Party of the Centre, which was closely associated with it (see Note 229). Between 1871 and 1875 a number of laws were passed which were designed to weaken the Party of the Centre and the Catholic clergy who supported it. However, the Church refused to submit. In the latter half of the 1870s and the early 1880s, given the growth of the labour movement, Bismarck sought to rally all reactionary forces and steered a course of reconciliation with the Catholic Church, as a result of which most of these laws were repealed.—343, 434, 511

463 The reference is to an attempted coup aimed at restoring the monarchy in France and staged in 1877 by Marshal Mac-Mahon, President of the Third Republic. However, Mac-Mahon failed to gain support not only from large sections of the general public but also from a section of the officers and rank-and-file soldiers, who reflected the republican sentiments among the French peasantry. The parliamentary elections of October 1877 brought victory for the republicans and the formation of a government made up of bourgeois republicans; Mac-Mahon resigned in January 1879.—343, 430

464 The reference is to the following passage contained in the preface to the 1872 German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: '... in view of the practical experience gained ... in the Paris Commune, where the proletariat for the first time held

political power for two whole months, this programme has in some details become antiquated. One thing especially was proved by the Commune, ... that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes"' (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 175).—344

465 *Olivia*, written by the English playwright W. G. Wills, is an adaptation of Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield*.—345

466 In a letter of 8 August 1885 the French socialists Paul Lavigne asked Engels to look through the manuscript of his translation of Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.—345, 358

467 This is the number of votes Paul Lafargue received at the election to the French Chamber of Deputies in October 1885 (see Note 447).—345

468 Engels is referring to the passage in his work *On the History of the Communist League* where he deals with the activities of Stephan Born, a member of the League; at this point he also indicates that Born's real surname was Buttermilch (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 325-26). Born does not figure among the list of names Georg Adler thanks for their assistance in the preface to the said book by Adler.—346

469 The *Thirty Years' War* (1618-48) — a general European war in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the Catholic German princes fought against the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands, and a number of German states. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) sealed political dismemberment of Germany.—348

470 Nikolai Danielson attached to his letter of 25 August 1885 several excerpts from letters which Marx had written to him on 12 December 1872, 15 and 28 November 1878, 10 April 1879, 12 September 1880 and 19 February and 13 December 1881 (see present edition, Vols. 44, 45 and 46).

Danielson believed that these excerpts — which contained a description of the economic, notably the financial and agrarian, crisis in Britain and several other countries, as well as advice on translating the first volume of *Capital* into Russian — might be of use to Engels in his work on the third volume of *Capital* and the preface to the second volume. In his letter of 10 April 1879 Marx also explained why he had not yet completed the second and third volumes of *Capital*.—348

471 The reference is to the economic crisis in Britain and other capitalist countries which Marx dealt with in his letter to Nikolai Danielson of 10 April 1879 (see present edition, Vol. 45).—349

472 This letter is Engels' reply to Paul Lafargue's request (voiced in his letter of 13 November 1885) for information on his involvement in the May 1849 uprising in Dresden and the Rhine Province. Lafargue intended to include the information in a biography of Engels he was preparing for publication between 14 November 1885 and 28 August 1886 in the 'Galerie socialiste internationale' column of *Le Socialiste*. Engels' letter formed the basis for the second part of the biography which appeared unsigned in No. 13 of the newspaper, 21 November 1885. The same issue carried a portrait of Engels by the artist Clarus; Lafargue sent Engels a copy of this portrait together with the letter mentioned.—350

473 Engels gives a detailed analysis of the reasons behind the movement in support of the Imperial Constitution and the course of armed hostilities in Rhenish Prussia,

Baden and the Palatinate in *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (see present edition, Vol. 10).—350

474 *Landwehr*—the army reserve formed in Prussia during the struggle against Napoleon. In the 1840s it consisted of men under forty who had done three years active service and not less than two years in the reserve. In contrast to the regular army, conscription to the army reserve took place in cases of extreme necessity (war, or threat of war).—351, 485

475 The sitting of the Reichstag opened on 19 November 1885.—352

476 The German Social Democrat and Reichstag deputy Georg Schumacher wrote to Engels on 14 August 1885 in an attempt to justify the position taken by those who had voted in favour of state subsidies for steamship companies in the Reichstag (see Note 342). On Engels' attitude to this issue, see this volume, pp. 240-42.—353

477 Wilhelm Liebknecht served a four-week prison sentence in Leipzig beginning on 29 September 1885. It is roughly during this period that *Der Sozialdemokrat* carried a series of his articles headed 'Ueber den Normalarbeitstag' (22 and 29 October, 5, 12 and 19 November 1885).—353

478 The reference is to the first battle of the Serbian-Bulgarian war, which took place on 16 November 1885. The war was caused by the so-called Bulgarian crisis (see notes 445 and 634). Under the influence of Austria-Hungary, Serbia declared war on Bulgaria on 14 November 1885, demanding territorial compensation for the growth in Bulgarian territory. The Bulgarian forces inflicted a crushing defeat on the Serbian army in the very first month and entered Serbia. Bulgaria ceased its advance under pressure from Austria-Hungary and, on 3 March 1886, a peace treaty was concluded in Bucharest under which Serbia recognised the borders of the reunited Bulgaria.—353, 515

479 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Literature and Art*, International Publishers, New York, 1947.—355

480 This letter is the reply to that of 15 October 1885 from Minna Kautsky, Karl Kautsky's mother, who had got to know Engels during her stay in London in the summer of 1885. She described her impressions of London and Berlin to Engels and asked his opinion of her book *Die Alten und die Neuen*.—355

481 It follows from Paul Lafargue's letter to Engels of 4 November 1885 that Engels asked Lafargue for information on Paul Lavigne. Lafargue wrote: 'The question you ask concerning Lavigne is difficult to answer. One fine day he appeared in our midst saying that he had translated Marx's *18th Brumaire* and *The Holy Family*, that Fortin did not know the ABC of German.... Believing him to be a giant refreshed in German we commissioned him to translate the *Manifesto*. But after going over the translation for the first number, we decided it had to be thrown into the waste-paper basket. ...Lavigne seems to me slightly mad....'

Lavigne wrote to Engels on 8 August 1885 saying, among other things, that he intended to translate the second volume of Marx's *Capital*.—358

482 Apart from Paul Lavigne's manuscript, this refers to the translation of Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (present edition, Vol. 11) done by Édouard Fortin (see this volume, p. 345). This translation, edited by Engels, was published

in *Le Socialiste*, January-November 1891 and appeared as a separate volume during the same year in Lille.—358, 528

483 Édouard Fortin repeatedly wrote to Marx in 1881 in connection with his study of the first volume of *Capital* (see K. Marx to Charles Longuet of 4 January 1881; present edition, Vol. 46).—358

484 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.—359, 363, 448

485 Liebknecht wrote to Engels on 26 November 1885 asking his assistance in obtaining material in English on the financial situation of Russia for a speech he was to make in the Reichstag about the granting of a German loan to Russia. Liebknecht made use of Engels' recommendations during his Reichstag speech of 8 February 1886 (see also Note 551).—359, 365, 377

486 The speech by Wilhelm Liebknecht to which Engels refers was made in the Reichstag on 24 November 1885. In it, Liebknecht sharply criticised Bismarck's home and foreign policy, for which he was called to order.—361

487 The British general election took place from 23 November to 19 December 1885. The Liberals obtained 335 seats of which 4 belonged to the 'independents', the Conservatives 249 and the supporters of Irish Home Rule, 86 seats. These were the first elections held after the parliamentary reform of 1884 (see Note 299).—361, 364, 367, 390

488 At the beginning of the 1880s, the English bourgeoisie started to call for protective tariffs due to growing competition on the world market from the United States and Germany, thus departing from the principles of free trade as advocated by the Manchester school (see Note 283).—361

489 The slogan *The Church in danger*! was advanced by the Conservatives during the British election campaign in the autumn of 1885. It was prompted by the fact that the Liberals supported the demand raised by bourgeois-radical elements and Irish Catholics for the separation of the Anglican Church from the state. When the Conservative propaganda attracted a favourable response among a large number of voters, the Liberals to all intents and purposes ceased to support this demand.—361

490 This letter was written in connection with the preparatory work Karl Kautsky was doing—at Engels' initiative and on his instructions (see this volume, p. 344)—on a résumé of *Die Geschichte der ersten Sozialpolitischen Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland* by the German journalist Georg Adler. The book depicted the history of the Communist League and Marx's revolutionary activities in a distorted manner. The résumé was published in *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 2, February 1886.—362

491 In his book Georg Adler wrote that, as editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx had allegedly been constantly subjected to insults and physical attacks which posed a serious threat to his life. In his résumé of the book, Karl Kautsky ridiculed this allegation as instructed by Engels. By way of proof he cited an episode recalled to him by Engels. Two armed non-commissioned officers had appeared at Marx's home demanding retribution for his alleged derision of the title of non-commissioned officer. Marx had greeted them in a dressing gown with the butt of

an unloaded pistol protruding from the pocket. At the sight of this, the NCOs had quickly taken their leave (see present edition, Vol. 38, pp. 192-93).—362

492 Georg Adler claimed in his book (see Note 490) that Moses Hess had taken part in the South German uprising of May 1849, for which he had been sentenced to death. In his résumé, Karl Kautsky refuted this unsubstantiated claim on Engels' instructions.—362

493 The reference is to the works by Marx which were prepared for republication and issued with Engels' prefaces by the German Social-Democratic publishing house in Hottingen-Zurich in 1885-86: 'The Preface to the Pamphlet *Karl Marx Before the Cologne Jury*'; *On the History of the Communist League* (see present edition, Vol. 26), and also Engels' work 'On the History of the Prussian Peasants. The Introduction to Wilhelm Wolff's Pamphlet *The Silesian Milliard*' (see present edition, Vol. 26).—363

494 In the course of 1884 and 1885 Engels edited the German translation of *The Poverty of Philosophy* (present edition, Vol. 5), the English translation of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (Vol. 2), the Italian and Danish translations of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (Vol. 26) as well as the translations of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (Vol. 11) and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (Vol. 6) into French and other languages.—364

495 This letter was first published in English in an abridged form in *The Labour Monthly*, London, 1933, Vol. 15, No. 11, XI.—366

496 Henry Mayers Hyndman and Henry Hyde Champion, the leaders of the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 300) received money from the Conservative Party to put up their candidates at the 1885 general election (see Note 487). The Federation fielded candidates in London constituencies—Hampstead and Kensington—where they had no prospects of winning but could capture a proportion of the Liberal vote to the benefit of the Conservatives. The Federation's leadership attempted to justify their agreement to these conditions by claiming that the election campaign merely served as propaganda for the future revolution. This created displeasure among many of the Federation's members, as a result of which a number of them resigned and several local organisations split from the Federation. *The Echo*, Nos. 5285 and 5287, 5 and 7 December 1885 carried a statement from John Edward Williams, one of the Federation's candidates, claiming he was not aware of the receipt of any money from the Tories, an editorial giving details of how the money had been received and a note by Federation member Charles L. Fitzgerald criticising the leadership. *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 51, 17 December 1885, published an editorial based on this letter by Engels, material from *The Echo* and a letter by Hubert Bland, one of the Federation officials, dealing with the meetings of the Executive Committee on 9 and 12 November at which Hyndman and Champion had been censured for their actions.—366-67, 369, 376, 394, 404, 406

497 The reference is to the attempt made by the leaders of the German Conservative Party (see Note 230) and the Christian-Social Party, Adolph Wagner and Adolf Stoecker, to conclude an electoral alliance with the Social Democrats against the candidates of the Party of Progress (see Note 93) during the Berlin elections of November 1881. They agreed to support Social-Democratic candidates (August Bebel and Wilhelm Hasenclever) in two Berlin constituencies on condition that the

Socialist Workers' Party acknowledged the 'social reforms' being carried out by Bismarck's government and backed the implementation of these 'reforms' with a view to warding off a revolution. On behalf of the party, Bebel and Liebknecht sharply rebuffed these manoeuvres on the part of the reactionaries. Their statement was published in the *Volks-Zeitung*, 19 November 1881.—367

498 In a statement headed 'The Socialists and the General Election' and carried by *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 4 December 1885, John Hunter Watts, the treasurer of the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 300), tried to justify the actions of 'an ill-advised few London Socialists' by claiming that they intended 'to take ammunition from the enemy in order to blaze it in their faces'.—367

499 The substance of this letter formed the basis for the editorial 'Angleterre' published in *Le Socialiste*, No. 16, 12 December 1885.—368

500 The *Republican Social Economy Society* (Société Républicaine d'Économie sociale) was founded on 7 November 1885 at the initiative of the Possibilist (see Note 237) leader Benoît Malon. The society set itself the aim of studying the social question and putting forward plans for imminent reforms.—368

501 In its leading article 'En Angleterre', dealing with the results of the elections to the House of Commons, *Le Socialiste*, No. 15, 5 December 1885 quoted from the election platform put forward by John Edward Williams, a candidate for the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 300), and also mentioned other candidates from this party.—368

502 The reference is to two notes by Henry Mayers Hyndman published in *Justice*, No. 90, 3 October and No. 92, 17 October 1885 where he accuses Edward Aveling of offending against an agreement concluded between various socialist organisations about speeches to be made by socialists at the Dod Street demonstration of 27 September 1885. Hyndman's accusation was refuted in a statement signed by 31 members of socialist organisations. The statement together with both notes from *Justice* was carried by *The Commonweal*, No. 10, November 1885 in an article entitled 'Free Speech and the Police'.—370, 394

503 On 16 November 1885 Hermann Schlüter wrote to Engels asking for the address of Johann Georg Eccarius, the former secretary of the General Council of the First International. He intended to reissue the latter's book *Eines Arbeiters Widerlegung der national-ökonomischen Lehren John Stuart Mill's* in the Social-Democratic publishing house in Zurich; Schlüter believed that Eccarius would revise his book. It appeared in 1888, without any changes on Engels' advice.—371

504 Engels is referring to the Prussian armed intervention of 1787 in the Netherlands, which was aimed at crushing the uprising by the opposition party of 'patriots'. The party had used the defeat of the Dutch in the war with Britain (1784) to seize power and expel Stadtholder William V. The Prussian forces invaded the country and restored him to power.—372

505 The reference is to the short biography of Marx carried by *Le Socialiste*, No. 12, 14 November 1885 and probably written by Paul Lafargue.—373, 374

506 Hermann Schlüter wrote to Engels on 19 December 1885 that Lothar Bucher, in his pamphlet *Der Parlamentarismus wie er ist* claimed a journalist in the pay of Palmerston had written a pamphlet entitled *Palmerston, What Has He Done?* at the latter's

bidding. Schlüter asked Engels whether Bucher was not perhaps alluding to Marx's pamphlet *Lord Palmerston* (present edition, Vol. 12).—374

507 The reference is to Paul Lafargue's letter to Engels of 21 January 1885 in which he asked Engels to send him a cheque for £12 (see F. Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 1, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959, p. 322).—375

508 In his letter of 21 December 1885 Paul Lafargue asked Engels to send him *Justice*, No. 100, 12 December 1885 containing a statement by Henry Mayers Hyndman and other leaders of the Social Democratic Federation in which they sought to refute the accusations levelled at Hyndman for his having received money from the Conservatives to finance the election campaign (see this volume, pp. 366-68).—376

509 Engels is playing on the fact—of which Paul Lafargue informed him—that the oldest of all bridges in Paris, the Pont Neuf, which became proverbial for its strength, was partly destroyed when the Seine burst its banks. It is an allusion to Lafargue's illnesses.—376

510 The obituary to Sigismund Borkheim was carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 3, 15 January 1886 under the heading 'In memoriam!'. It was probably written by Wilhelm Liebknecht. The factual inaccuracies it contained were corrected by the author in the following issue in a note headed 'Sigismund Borkheim' (*Der Sozialdemokrat*, 21 January 1886). The date, year and place of Borkheim's birth were put right, as were the years he attended school and a number of facts associated with the events of 1848.

Engels wrote a short biographical sketch of Borkheim by way of an introduction to S. Borkheim, *Zur Erinnerung für die deutschen Mordspatrioten. 1806-1807*, Hottingen-Zurich, 1888. It was published on Engels' initiative and with his assistance (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 446-51).—377, 379

511 Engels wrote this letter by way of a supplement to his letter of 28 December 1885 to Wilhelm Liebknecht in which he had requested Liebknecht to place the obituary of Borkheim in *Der Sozialdemokrat* (see this volume, p. 377).—380

512 The *Paris Peace Treaty*, which ended the Crimean War of 1853-56, was signed by representatives of Russia, Austria, France, Great Britain, Sardinia, Turkey and Prussia on 18 (30) March 1856.—380

513 The reference is to the clashes of ideas which occurred under the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 37) in the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany between December 1884 and mid-July 1885. The question was whether it was possible for two ideological tendencies—revolutionary-proletarian and opportunist—to coexist within the framework of a single party in the German workers' movement. Differences of principle on a wide range of issues emerged between the representatives of these two tendencies within the Socialist Workers' Party: the strategy and tactics of the workers' movement, inner-party discipline, the significance of parliamentary activity by socialist deputies, the role of the bourgeois state and the social reforms being carried out by the government, etc.

Engels wrote to Bebel setting out his attitude to Liebknecht's position in the conflict as described in this letter (see this volume, p. 387).—382

514 The reference is to the annual reports of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor. From

1869 onwards these bureaus were set up in numerous US states under pressure from workers' organisations.—382, 396

515 An allusion to Wilhelm Blos' speech in the Reichstag on 9 January 1886 during the first reading of the bill on the construction of a Baltic canal (see Note 519).—383

516 The reference is to the attempt of 14 June 1848 by German workers and artisans during the revolution to seize an arsenal in Berlin.—383

517 Engels provided Liebknecht with additional brief biographical details of Borkheim for the obituary (see this volume, pp. 379 and 381).—383

518 The reference is to Bebel's and Liebknecht's planned trip to the United States to raise funds for the German Social Democrats' election campaign (see this volume, pp. 14 and 114). Liebknecht departed alone on the trip, which lasted from September to December 1886, whilst Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling stayed in the United States almost concurrently with him (see Note 600).—383, 391, 429, 446

519 The reference is to the project for the construction of a ship canal in Schleswig-Holstein connecting the harbour of Kiel with the mouth of the River Elbe near Brunsbüttel, subsequently called the Kiel Canal (alternatively, the North Sea-Baltic Canal, Kaiser Wilhelm Canal). The bill providing for its construction was presented to the Reichstag by Bismarck on 12 December 1885 and discussed on 9 January and 20 February 1886. It was enacted at the third reading on 25 February 1886.

On Engels' attitude to the bill, see also this volume, p. 388.—383

520 In 1884 and 1885 *Die Neue Zeit* carried a number of articles by Max Quarck. Engels vehemently protested against Quarck contributing to the journal (see this volume, pp. 164 and 258).—385, 418

521 A fragment from this letter was published in English for the first time in *The Labour Monthly*, London, 1933, Vol. 15, No. 11, XI.—386, 393, 426, 439, 445

522 This letter is Engels' reply to August Bebel's letter of 7 December 1885 in which Bebel insisted on publishing in the press a critique of C. A. Schramm, *Rodbertus, Marx, Lassalle. Sozialwissenschaftliche Studie* and asked Engels to assist Karl Kautsky with the same.

Schramm's book was the continuation of the polemic between Kautsky and himself (see Note 523). In it the author once again tried to play down the significance of Marx's theoretical and practical work. Eduard Bernstein provided a critical analysis of this work in a series of articles headed 'Ein moralischer Kritiker und seine kritische Moral' and published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nos. 4-7, 21, 28 January, 5 and 12 February 1886.—387, 391

523 Kautsky began the polemic with Schramm by publishing a critique of Rodbertus' *Das Kapital von Rodbertus* in *Die Neue Zeit*, Nos. 8 and 9, 1884. This was occasioned by the attempts of the armchair socialists (see Note 54) to set Rodbertus against Marx and depict him as the most outstanding theoretician of political economy. Engels looked through the article (see this volume, pp. 193-94). Schramm defended Rodbertus in the article 'K. Kautsky und Rodbertus' carried by *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 11, 1884. The same issue contained Kautsky's reply, 'Eine Replik'. Following the inclusion under the heading 'Marx und Rodbertus' in the January issue of *Die Neue Zeit* of Engels' preface to the German translation of Marx's *La Misère de la*

*philosophie*, the polemic continued in *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 5, 1885 with the publication of Schramm's 'Antwort an Herrn K. Kautsky' and Kautsky's reply headed 'Das Schlusswort'. That marked its end.—387

524 The reference is to the expulsion of 30,000 Poles who were not German subjects from the Eastern provinces of Prussia. This prompted Dr Ludwig von Jazdzewski to request an explanation on behalf of the Polish faction in the Reichstag on 28 November 1885, a move supported by the Social-Democratic deputies. At the Reichstag sitting of 1 December 1885 Bismarck made use of a message from William I in an attempt to prevent the matter being discussed. He claimed that it came under the jurisdiction of the Prussian government and could not therefore be debated by the Reichstag. However, the Social Democrats successfully insisted on a discussion, which took place on 15-16 January 1886.—389

525 This is Engels' reply to a letter from Edward R. Pease, a member of the Executive Committee of the Fabian Society, who had requested him to write a brief résumé of the most important economic, social and political proposals of the party for a pamphlet called *What Is Socialism?* that was in preparation.

The *Fabian Society*—an organisation founded in 1884 by democratically-minded intellectuals. The society took its name from a Roman general who lived in the third century B. C., viz. Quintus Fabius Maximus, surnamed Cunctator ('the delayer') for his cautious tactics in the war against Hannibal. A leading role in the society was played by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, George Bernard Shaw and others. The branches of the society included among their members workers attracted by the sharp criticism of capitalist relations contained in the Fabians' publications. The Fabians rejected Marx's and Engels' doctrine of class struggle and the revolutionary transformation of bourgeois society, considering it possible to carry out the transition from capitalism to socialism by way of a number of reforms within the framework of what they called municipal socialism.—392

526 Marx's comments on the English translation of Volume I of *Capital* in the margins of the manuscript in 1877 were occasioned by the planned publication of the book in the United States, which failed to materialise. Marx then sent the manuscript to Friedrich Adolph Sorge. Having discovered that Engels was editing the English translation of the first volume, Sorge wrote to him on 3 August 1885 offering to send him the manuscript. Engels received it in early 1886.—393, 439

527 In October 1885 *To-Day* began to publish the English translation of the first volume of *Capital* done by Henry Mayers Hyndman (pseudonym John Broadhouse). Engels criticised the beginning of this translation (of the first and a part of the second sections of Chapter One) carried by *To-Day*, vol. 4, No. 22, in his article 'How Not to Translate Marx' (see present edition, Vol. 26). The translation was published in the journal up to May 1889 inclusive; it covered the first seven chapters and a large part of Chapter Eight of the first volume.—393, 419, 424, 440

528 The English edition of Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* was published in Edward Aveling's translation in London in 1892.—394, 416, 464, 523

529 Engels is referring to Joseph Dietzgen's contributions to the American newspapers *Der Sozialist* and the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, organs of the Socialist Labor Party (see Note 549) in which the Lassalleans held leading positions at the time. Sorge

repeatedly informed Engels that Dietzgen's articles in these newspapers were being altered and distorted.—395, 441

530 This letter is Engels' reply to that from Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky of 10 January 1886 in which she asked him to send her the corrected manuscript of her English translation of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* for dispatch to the United States via R. M. Foster.—395

531 Engels is replying to a number of questions Nieuwenhuis posed in his letter of 28 January 1886 in connection with his work on the Dutch translation of the pamphlet *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*; the pamphlet also included Engels' article 'The Mark' as an appendix (see present edition, Vol. 24).

A fragment of this letter was first published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *On Scientific Communism*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967.—397

532 Under the *rundale* system Irish tenant farmers each paid rent separately for his plot of the land which had formerly belonged to the entire gens but later had been seized by the British invaders. However, they then put all the arable and grazing land together and divided it into strips according to location and quality, with each farmer receiving a share of each lot. For Engels' description of this system, see present edition, Vol. 26, p. 234.—398

533 Engels wrote this letter on a postcard addressed as follows: 'Monsieur P. Lavroff, 328 rue St. Jacques, Paris, France.' It is his reply to Lavrov's request, voiced in a letter of 23 January 1886 for a publication in which he might find a description of the external appearance, habits, etc., of the 'foremost English worthies'.—399

534 The reference is to Nikolai Danielson's preface to the first Russian edition of Volume II of *Capital* (see notes 155 and 168). In his letter to Engels of 31 December 1885 Danielson informed the recipient that he had completed the Russian translation of the second volume of *Capital* and was waiting for the third volume to appear.—400

535 It is probable that Nikolai Danielson's remarks about the economic situation in Russia were contained in his letters of 30 November, 7 January and 20 January whose whereabouts are unknown.—401

536 *Greenbackers*—a political party in the Western American states formed in March 1875 and chiefly composed of farmers. It opposed the removal from circulation of the paper money (bills with a green reverse) issued during the Civil War of 1861-65, a measure carried out due to its devaluation. The Greenbackers wrongly thought that the retention of a large volume of paper money would bring about a rise in the price of agricultural produce. Following the inclusion of a number of working-class demands in the party programme, a considerable number of workers joined the party, which became known as the Greenback Labor Party. The party fell apart after 1884.—401

537 Engels wrote this letter on a postcard addressed: 'F. A. Sorge Esq., Hoboken N. Y., U. S. America.'

On its first publication in English, see Note 27.—402

538 The supporters of protective tariffs, including pro-Conservative trade union officials (S. Peters, T. M. Kelly, W. Kenny and T. Lemon, who were expelled at the Trades Union Congress in Manchester in 1882) held a meeting in Trafalgar Square on 8 February 1886. The Social Democratic Federation (see Note 300) or-

ganised a meeting and unemployed demonstration in opposition to the Conservative campaign for protective tariffs. This demonstration (see this volume, pp. 403-04 and 406-08) was joined by the lumpenproletarian elements, who began to behave in an unruly manner and loot shops. The police subsequently arrested Henry Mayers Hyndman, John Burns, Henry Hyde Champion and John Edward Williams, the leaders of the Federation, on a charge of making 'inciting speeches'. The trial ended on 10 April with their acquittal.—403, 407, 427, 434

539 Karl Kautsky published a report on the events of 8 February 1886 in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 8, 19 February under the heading 'Der anarchistisch-sozialistische Aufruhr in London' and in the Viennese newspaper *Die Deutsche Wochenschrift*, No. 8, 21 February under the heading 'Arbeiterunruhen in London'.—404, 407

540 The reference is to the conviction of E. Jones, J. Fussell, I. Williams, A. Sharpe and T. Vernon, who were arrested in early June 1848 in connection with a Chartist demonstration planned for 12 June in London; they were each sentenced to two years' imprisonment and fined on a charge of incitement to revolt and overthrow the government. Harney was not among those arrested; it was at his initiative that a special fund was set up to assist the convicted and their families.—404

541 On 12 February 1886 Bebel requested Engels to provide him with information on the activities of the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 300) and on the events in London (see Note 538), since the German reactionary press was using them as an excuse in support of the need to prolong the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 37). Bebel intended to take part in the discussion of this matter in the Reichstag.

On the letter's first publication in English, see Note 521.—406

542 The Conservative government of Lord Robert Arthur Salisbury resigned on 26 January 1886; it was replaced in early February by a Liberal government formed by William Ewart Gladstone.—407

543 *Fair Trade*—the name given in 1881 in Great Britain to a movement to protect industry from foreign competition by means of import duties. The movement was organised by certain quarters from the Conservative Party who founded the Fair Trade League that same year. The League was joined by a small group of trade union officials.—407

544 According to *The Annual Register: A Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad, for the year 1886*, New Series, London, 1887, the subscription fund amounted to £ 78,000, or £ 28,000 more than the official estimation of the damage.—409

545 3,500 miners went on strike in *Decazeville* (department of Aveyron) on 26 (27?) January 1886 in response to the ruthless exploitation to which they were exposed by the owners of the Aveyron Association of Coalmines and Foundries. At the beginning of the strike, the miners killed Watrin, the manager of the collieries, who had refused to heed their demands. The government sent troops to Decazeville. The strike continued until mid-June and evoked a broad response in France; the events led to the formation in the Chamber of Deputies of a workers' group which supported the miners' demands. The strike ended in the surrender of the company to the miners; an increased rate was promised, and the obnoxious officials dismissed.—409, 424, 428, 434, 437, 442, 470, 478, 489, 507

546 An excerpt from this letter has survived only as a newspaper publication in *Le Socialiste*, No. 115, 24 November 1900 with the heading 'Engels et les radicaux'.

On the letter's first publication in English, see Note 196.—410

547 This letter was written by Engels on a postcard addressed: 'Herrn E. Bernstein, Asylstr. 43, Hottingen-Zürich, Switzerland.'

It was used in the editorial note 'Aus Frankreich', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 10, 5 March 1886.—414

548 This is Engels' reply to Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky's letter of 22 February in which she wrote about the forthcoming publication in America of the English translation of his *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, the major importance of this publication for the American workers and the need for translations of other works by Engels.—415

549 The *Socialist Labor Party* of the United States (originally called the *Workingmen's Party*) was founded at the unification congress held in Philadelphia on 19-22 June 1876 as a result of the merger between the American sections of the First International, led by Friedrich Adolph Sorge and Otto Weydemeyer, and the Labor Party of Illinois and Social Democratic Party, led by Adolph Strasser, A. Gabriel and Peter J. McGuire. However, the party failed to become a mass organisation throughout the country due to the sectarian policies pursued by the leadership which neglected to form links with the mass organisations of the indigenous American proletariat, and due to the predominance of the Lassallean influence in a number of local organisations.—415, 491, 530

550 On the instructions of Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky, the translator of Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, R. Foster—secretary of the National Women Suffrage Association—sought a publisher to put out the book in the USA. She turned to the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party (see Note 549) for help, and on 8 February 1886 the latter set up a special commission for the purpose of negotiating with publishing houses. However, the negotiations were protracted, and the book was issued in May 1887 without any involvement on the part of the Committee.—415, 441

551 On 8 February 1886 Wilhelm Liebknecht took part in the Reichstag discussion of the imperial budget, which provided for financial assistance to the Russian government. Relying on advice from Engels and the material he had sent him, Liebknecht analysed the state of the Russian Empire's finances and stressed that Bismarck was rendering it financial assistance in order to help government overcome economic difficulties and prevent them growing into a domestic political crisis (see this volume, pp. 360, 365).—417

552 For the appropriate passage in Engels' 'Appendix to the American edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*', see present edition, Vol. 26, p. 400.—420

553 When addressing his letter of 21 December 1885 to Martignetti, Engels mistakenly gave his name as Paolo instead of Pasquale (see this volume, p. 374), which delayed delivery.—421

554 The *Volks-Kalender* published in Brunswick in 1878 contained Engels' work 'Karl Marx' (see present edition, Vol. 24) which Pasquale Martignetti was translating into Italian for publication in one volume together with Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital*. Since two pages were stuck together in Martignetti's copy of the

*Volks-Kalender*, he was not able to translate them in full and asked Engels to fill in the missing text in the manuscript sent to him for editing.—421, 494

555 On 10 March 1886 Schlüter informed Engels that Dietz had received 1,000 copies of his *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* from the Social-Democratic publishing house in Zurich and provided them with a new title page for sale as the second edition in Germany.—422, 475

556 Hermann Schlüter intended to publish as a separate volume the reports of the General Council to the congresses of the International Working Men's Association and therefore enquired of Engels when and where they had been printed. He further informed him that 'a translation into Armenian of Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital* recently appeared in Constantinople'.—422

557 On 10 March 1886 Hermann Schlüter informed Engels that he intended to publish as a separate pamphlet a speech by the Reverend Joseph Stephens, one of the leaders of the Chartist movement, which had been printed in Georg Weerth's article 'Joseph Rayner Stephens, Prediger zu Staleybridge, und die Bewegung der englischen Arbeiter im Jahre 1839' contained in *Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform*, Herausgegeben unter Mitwirkung Webserer von Hermann Püttmann, Vol. II, Belle-Vue, near Constanz, 1846. Schlüter asked Engels to look through the introduction he had written for this publication. He later changed his plans and published the manuscript anonymously after Engels had looked through it under the title *Die Chartistenbewegung in England*, Hottingen-Zürich, 1887 (see also Note 453).—422, 453, 467, 475, 528

558 Engels is replying to Hermann Schlüter's question about when the People's Charter was drawn up.

The purpose of the mass demonstration planned for 10 April 1848 was to present to Parliament the Chartists' third petition supporting the admission of the People's Charter. Unconfirmed reports said the petition was signed by some five million people. However, the demonstration was prohibited by the government and did not take place.—422

559 Engels is probably referring to the article 'French Socialists at the Ballot Box' by A. S. Headingley, carried by *The Justice*, No. 113, 13 March 1886. The article describes the Possibilists (see Note 237) as the main socialist organisation in France but fails to mention the formation of a workers' group in the Chamber of Deputies (see this volume, pp. 409-10).—424

560 On 18 March 1886 two thousand people gathered in Paris to commemorate the fifteenth anniversary of the Paris Commune. The meeting was addressed by Paul Lafargue, Jules Guesde, Louise Michel, Gabriel Deville and Oury. Engels sent a letter of greetings which was published in *Le Socialiste*, No. 31, 27 March 1886 (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 406-07).—425

561 In connection with Wilhelm Liebknecht's forthcoming 60th birthday, on 29 March 1886, a group of Social-Democratic deputies in the Reichstag (Ignaz Auer, August Bebel, Paul Singer and others) proposed setting up a fund to assist him and his family. Bebel attached the group's appeal to his letter to Engels of 9 March and requested him to make his contribution.—426

562 At the sitting of 18 February 1886 in the Reichstag Paul Singer exposed Ferdinand Ihring, an employee of the police criminal investigation department, who had in-

filtrated a workers' society in Berlin under the name of Mahlow and incited the workers to carry out acts of terrorism for the purpose of provocation.—426

563 This probably refers to Wilhelm Liebknecht's speech at the workers' meeting on 8 March 1886 in Berlin. Liebknecht rebuffed the claims by government circles that the Anti-Socialist Law was of an 'educative significance' for the Social Democrats and exposed the attempts to pass off the introduction of a state monopoly on spirits as a 'socialist' measure.—427

564 The Chamber of Deputies passed the resolution on 15 March 1886 by 379 votes to 100.—428

565 On 17 March 1886 Paul Lafargue wrote to Engels that Benoît Malon, one of the Possibilist (see Note 237) leaders, was seeking to set up a parliamentary group made up of socialists of all complexions except those who were 'too red'.—430

566 On 1 March 1886 *La Nouvelle Revue*, whose editor-in-chief was Juliette Adam, published Paul Lafargue's article 'Le Matriarcat...'. On 17 March 1886 he wrote to Engels, 'You will have received the copy of *La Nouvelle Revue* which I sent you yesterday. So as to correspond to the magazine's level of publications I have made the theoretical part much shorter; in the proofs Mme Adam has abridged it even more... However one should not blame her since she has dropped rather serious things which would have shocked brave philistines who subscribe to it. The prudery of the Parisian journals is incredible...'—431

567 In 1884 the *Journal des Économistes. Revue de la science économique et de la statistique* carried the following articles by Lafargue: in Nos. 7 and 8, 'Le blé en Amérique, production et commerce'; in No. 9, 'La théorie de la plus-value de Karl Marx et la critique de M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu'; in No. 11, 'Le "Capital" de Karl Marx et la critique de M. Block'. The *Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger*, Vol. XX, September 1885, published Lafargue's article 'Recherches sur les origines de l'idée du bien et du juste'.—431

568 Each issue of *La Nouvelle Revue* contained a section headed 'Lettres sur la politique extérieure' and signed 'J. Adam'.—431

569 On 18 March 1886 South Place Chapel in London was the venue for a meeting to commemorate the anniversary of the Paris Commune. The meeting was addressed by representatives of the Socialist League (see Note 346) (Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Frank Kitz and others), the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 300) (Tom Mann, Harry Quelch and others), Friedrich Lessner from the German Workers' Educational Society (see Note 162) and also a number of anarchists, including Pyotr Kropotkin.—431

570 In her letter of reply written in April 1886, Vera Zasulich thanked Engels for sending her the Russian translation of the second volume of *Capital* and gave her precise address: 'Madame Beldinsky, Maison Goss-Renevier, Chemin de la Queue d'Arve, Plain palais, Genève.'—432

571 The reference is to the Reichstag repeated debates on the prolongation of the Anti-Socialist Law held on 30 and 31 March and 2 April 1886. Engels is alluding to the bold interventions by the leaders of the German Social Democrats. Speaking on 31 March, for example, August Bebel stated that the government would not require any anti-socialist law if it was in a position to halt the proletarianisation of the

masses but — since it was not in a position to do so — no anti-socialist laws would help it. In his speech of 2 April Wilhelm Liebknecht severely criticised Bismarck's speech in which he had accused Bebel of advocating terror, and compared Bismarck's regime with that of the Second Empire in France.

On 2 April 1886 the Anti-Socialist Law was prolonged for two years at the third reading by 169 votes to 137.— 433, 437, 442

572 Engels is quoting from a popular satirical song dating from 1844-45. *Tschech's Attentat* relates to the unsuccessful attempt on the life of Frederick William IV staged on 26 July 1844 by H. L. Tschech, the mayor of Storkow.

The second song, *Freifrau von Droste-Vischering*, is a parody directed against the Catholic clergy in Trier.— 434

573 In the Reichstag discussion on the prolongation of the Anti-Socialist Law on 31 March 1886, Bismarck turned to August Bebel and said that, although he could not prove that Marx had engaged in 'training murderers', Ferdinand Blind — who had made an attempt on his life on 7 May 1866 — was a pupil of Marx. At Engels' insistence, Laura Lafargue and Eleanor Marx-Aveling made a statement on the matter in which they categorically rejected this false allegation. The statement was published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 16, 15 April 1886 and reprinted in *Le Socialiste*, No. 35, 24 April 1886.— 435, 437

574 Engels is referring to the formation of a workers' group in the French Chamber of Deputies (see this volume, pp. 409-10 and 413).— 437

575 The reference is to the sentence passed by the criminal court in Villefranche on 17 April 1886 on the socialists Ernest Roche and Albert Duc-Quercy. As special correspondents of *L'Intransigeant* and *Le Cri du Peuple* during the strike at Decazeville (see Note 545), they had been arrested there on a charge of inciting acts of violence and the organised downing of tools. Roche and Duc-Quercy were each sentenced to 15 months' imprisonment.— 438, 442

576 The reference is to the by-elections to the Chamber of Deputies held in Paris on 2 May 1886. The socialist parties and groups (with the exception of the Possibilists, see Note 237) put forward Ernest Roche as their candidate, whilst the Radicals nominated Alfred Nicholas Gaulier. Roche received 100,000 votes, and Gaulier 146,000. At the previous elections on 4 October 1885 the socialist vote had been over 35,500.

At the poll to elect part of the Paris municipal council on 31 October 1886 the socialist candidate Duc-Quercy received 901 votes, whilst Faillet collected 988 votes for the Possibilists.— 438, 442, 444, 446, 470

577 In May 1886, *The Commonweal* started to appear weekly instead of monthly. Edward Aveling used this as an occasion to leave the editorial board which was increasingly being influenced by anarchist ideas. Aveling's letter of resignation was made public in the first weekly issue (No. 16) of 1 May 1886. The letter merely said that 'the necessary demands of a weekly on an editor's time can only be met by those in relatively more fortunate positions'. Thereafter Aveling contributed to *The Commonweal* from time to time on a freelance basis.— 438, 443, 446

578 In the article 'Ein Musterbourgeois ist Herr Kalle...' published in the 'Sozialpolitische Rundschau' column, *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 16, 15 April 1886 carried a report on the speech made in the Reichstag on 2 April by manufacturers' association

president Fritz Kalle during the debate on the prolongation of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 571). Kalle claimed that the Social Democrats aspired to the 'communality of wives' (Weibergemeinschaft) and quoted in a distorted manner from the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* to back up his claim. At the same sitting Wilhelm Liebknecht sharply rebuffed Kalle and provided documentary evidence to show that the quotation was not from Marx, but from Pastor Schuster.—438

579 Engels is referring to *Pionier. Illustrirter Volks-Kalender für 1886*, New York, which carried a biographical article entitled 'Aus dem Leben eines alten Sozialdemokraten' about Carl Daniel Adolph Douai, a German socialist who had participated in the 1848 revolution and was living as an émigré in the United States.—440

580 The reference is to the critical remarks about the style of the second volume of *Capital* which Friedrich Adolph Sorge received from a German socialist émigré in the United States and communicated to Engels in his letter of 28 February 1886.—440

581 Engels is referring to the mass campaign for the eight-hour working day which developed in major centres of US industry (Chicago, New York, Pittsburgh, Cincinatti, St Louis, Boston, Baltimore, Milwaukee) in the spring of 1886. The campaign culminated in a general strike and mass demonstrations on 1 May 1886 involving over 350,000 people. Almost 200,000 workers secured a shorter working day as a result.—441, 452

582 In the spring of 1886 the United States witnessed a mass proletarian campaign for the eight-hour working day (see Note 581). Up to 65,000 people went on strike in Chicago in the first days of May. Workers clashed with police at a meeting held on 3 May. During the following day's protest meeting in Haymarket Square an agent provocateur threw a bomb which exploded and killed seven policemen and four workers. The police opened fire on the crowd, as a result of which a number were killed and over 200 wounded. Mass arrests were carried out and the leaders of the Chicago Labor Union brought before the court. Despite the broad campaign in defence of the accused in the United States and a number of European countries, four of them—Albert R. Parsons, August Spies, Adolph Fischer and George Engel—were hanged on 11 November 1887 on the decision of the US Supreme Court.

In memory of the events of 1886 in Chicago, the International Socialists' Congress held in Paris in 1889 resolved to proclaim 1 May International Workers' Day.—446, 449, 451

583 This letter is Engels' reply to that of 10 May 1886 from the Hamburg publishers F. H. Nestler und Melle asking him to edit the 'Handbibliothek der Sozial-Oekonomie' which they were planning to issue. The edition was to be a series of pamphlets containing statements on social issues by prominent academics.

The letter was first published abridged in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *The Communist View on Morality*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1974.—447

584 The debates on the *Irish Arms Bill* to which Engels refers occurred at the second reading in the House of Commons on 20 May 1886. The purpose of the bill was to prolong the ban on the sale, carrying and importation of arms for certain areas of

Ireland which had been instituted with *The Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act* of 1881. In his substantiation of the bill, John Morley, Secretary of State for Ireland, said that it was particularly important in the North of Ulster, where an overt campaign for the organisation of resistance to the introduction of Irish Home Rule was being carried on among the Protestant population (Englishmen). Randolph Churchill set out to show that these steps were legitimate by referring to Lord Althorp and Sir Robert Peel, who in 1833 had spoken of a possible justification for civil war should a threat emerge to the integrity of the British Empire. In his reply, Gladstone accused Churchill of supporting resistance to government measures. The bill was adopted in the House of Commons by 303 votes to 89.

The material which Engels sent and the ideas expressed in his letter formed the basis for the leading article 'Das Recht zur Rebellion' in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 22, 27 May 1886.—448

585 On the eve of the by-elections to the Chamber of Deputies in Paris (see Note 576) *Justice*, No. 120, 1 May 1886 carried an item by A. S. Headingley headed 'The Socialists and the Paris Elections' in support of the position taken by the Possibilists (see Note 237). They had declined to support the candidature of Ernest Roche which had been put forward by the Workers' Party (see Note 201) together with all the other socialist groups and had nominated their own candidate in the shape of a working miner named Soubrié. In response to this, Eleanor Marx-Aveling published a short note in *The Commonweal*, No. 18, 15 May 1886 stating that one of its coming issues would carry an article by Lafargue about the strike in Decazeville (see Note 545) and the Paris elections. Lafargue did, indeed, write such an article, which was carried by *The Commonweal*, No. 22, 12 June 1886 under the heading 'The Decazeville Strike'; the article explained that the Possibilists' position had facilitated the victory of the bourgeois candidate.—450

586 The second annual conference of the Socialist League, held at 13 Farringdon Road on 13 June 1886 with 19 delegates attending, revealed a growth in disagreements between the anarchist-influenced supporters of 'direct action' and the proponents of a struggle by parliamentary means.—451

587 Engels' reference to the collapse of the Decazeville strike (see Note 545) is evidently based on incorrect sources, possibly the report by *Le Socialiste*, No. 38, 15 May 1886 that the strike was nearing its end. In reality the strike did not end until mid-June.—451

588 Engels is replying to Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky's letter of 31 May 1886 in which she informed him that she had sent him the manuscript and proofs of the 'Appendix to the American Edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*', wrote about the quality of the print of Engels' book and the importance for the American reader of its publication.—451

589 Schlüter replied to Engels' letter on 8 June 1886. He wrote out Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky's address on a postcard: 'Drexel, Haryes & Co., Paris'.—453

590 Engels was on holiday in Eastbourne approximately from 25 June to 7 July 1886.—454, 455

591 The British parliament was dissolved on 26 June 1886. The elections to the House of Commons began on 2 July and were not completed before 20 July 1886. They brought defeat for the Liberals, who obtained 191 seats as against 316 for the Con-

servatives, 78 for the Liberal Unionists (see Note 430), and 85 for the supporters of Home Rule in Ireland.—454

592 On 3 July 1886 Kautsky wrote to tell Engels that he had been visited by Mrs Guillaume-Schack who wished to see him in Eastbourne. She obtained Engels' address and wrote the same day asking him to receive her.—455

593 Becker wrote to Engels on 18-22 June 1886 suggesting that they meet in the autumn in Paris where he intended to visit the family of his eldest daughter.—456

594 Karl Kautsky was on holiday in Deal near Dover from the latter half of July to the beginning of August.—458-60

595 The reference is to the unsigned article 'Die Kathederweisheit der "christlich-ethischen" Nationalökonomie', a résumé of Gustav Cohn's book *System der Nationalökonomie*, Vol. 1, Stuttgart, 1885, published in *Deutsche Worte*, Nos. 7, 8 and 9, 1886. Its author was the Zurich economist Julius Platter.—458

596 In August 1885, the British Liberal politician Charles Dilke—Deputy Foreign Secretary in Gladstone's Cabinet—was forced to surrender his seat in Parliament and undertake to refrain from political activity due to his involvement in the divorce proceedings of Donald Crawford, Liberal M. P. for Lanark. A certain Captain H. Forster likewise figured amongst those involved in the proceedings.—458

597 Engels wrote this letter on a postcard addressed: 'F. A. Sorge, Esq. in *Hoboken, N. Y.*, U. S. America.' The address was crossed out by an unknown hand and replaced with 'Mt. Desert, Maine'. It follows from Sorge's letter to Engels of 20 July 1886 that at this time Sorge and his wife were on holiday in Mount Desert (Maine), a small island in the north-east of the United States.—460

598 The reference is to the interview which Engels gave to J. T. McEnnis, a correspondent for *The Missouri Republican* (see this volume, p. 443). Following the publication of the interview, Sorge placed in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 162, 8 July 1886 the statement sent to him by Engels (see present edition, Vol. 26, p. 408).—460-61, 491

599 Engels was on holiday in Eastbourne from 7 August to 4 September 1886.—460, 466-67, 471, 475, 477-79, 482, 488, 491

600 At the invitation of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party (see Note 549) Wilhelm Liebknecht took part in a campaign tour of the United States to raise money for the German Social Democrats' election fund. Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling made a trip around the United States at approximately the same time (see Note 601). Liebknecht stayed in Eastbourne with Engels for four days, left Liverpool on 4 September and arrived in New York on 13 September where he met the Avelings. In New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Washington and other cities he gave talks and lectures on the theory and history of socialism, the state of the workers' movement in Europe and other subjects. This trip, which he completed on 26 November, raised 16,000 marks for the German Social Democrats' election fund. On his way back to Germany, Liebknecht stayed with Engels in London from 5 to 10 December, following which he set off on his way home to Borsdorf near Leipzig.—461, 469, 478, 480, 483, 489, 496, 500, 531, 535

601 Like Wilhelm Liebknecht, Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling toured the

United States giving lectures and talks at the invitation of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party (see Note 549). They left Liverpool on 31 August and arrived in New York on 10 September. Their trip was a great success, ending on 25 December. On 4 January 1887 the Avelings returned to London. In early 1887 they gave numerous lectures and talks on the labour movement in the United States to a working-class audience in London.—461, 478, 494, 496, 506, 525, 536, 540

602 As a re-examination of a sentence passed by a court in Chemnitz (see Note 446), a new trial began on 25 July 1886 in Freiberg (Saxony) of a group of leading figures in the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. On 4 August 1886 the local provincial court sentenced Ignaz Auer, August Bebel, Carl Ulrich, Louis Viereck, Georg Heinrich von Vollmar and Karl Franz Egon Frohme to nine months', as well as Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Dietz, Philipp Heinrich Müller and Stefan Heinzel, to six months' imprisonment on a charge of belonging to a 'secret society'. Bebel served his prison sentence in Zwickau from mid-November 1886 to 14 August 1887.—461, 468, 482, 500, 502, 511

603 On 3 August 1886 Karl Kautsky informed Engels that from that autumn Victor Adler was planning to publish a socialist weekly in Vienna which he wished to put at the party's disposal. Adler published the socialist weekly *Gleichheit* from December 1886 to June 1889.—461

604 This is Engels' reply to the request made by Kautsky in his letter of 9 August 1886 that Engels look through the manuscript of the book *Karl Marx's Oekonomische Lehren* which he was preparing for the press at the time (see also Note 137). Engels read the manuscript in the first half of September and made a number of remarks which the author took into account when publishing the book.—462

605 This evidently refers to the Italian translation of Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital* and Hermann Schlüter's work on the history of the Chartist movement (see Note 557).—462

606 There was no English translation of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* made during Engels' lifetime.—464

607 The substance of this letter by Engels was used in the editorial carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 34, 18 August 1886.—466

608 This letter was first published in English abridged in *The Labour Monthly*, London, 1934, No. 2.—468, 490

609 The *Knights of Labor* (The Noble Order of the Knights of Labour) is the name of an American workers' organisation founded in Philadelphia in 1869 and constituting a secret society until 1881. The bulk of the members of the 'Order' were unskilled workers, including a large number of Blacks. Its aims were to set up cooperatives and organise mutual assistance, and it took part in a considerable number of working-class campaigns. However, the leadership of the 'Order' to all intents and purposes rejected the idea of workers' taking part in political struggle and advocated cooperation between classes. In 1886 the leadership worked against the general strike, forbidding its members to take part. Rank-and-file members of the 'Order' nevertheless did so, and after this the 'Order' began to lose influence among the working masses, falling apart by the end of the 1890s.—470, 491, 525, 530, 532, 541

[610] During the run-up to the elections for the Chamber of Deputies on 2 May 1886 (see Note 576) the socialist organisations and groups who had put forward Ernest Roche set up an election committee. After the elections, the leadership of the Socialist Federation of the department of Seine published an official report on the meeting of 9 May 1886 in *Le Socialiste*, No. 38, 15 May. It was announced in the report that the committee members had decided to maintain the coalition of these organisations and groups and had set up a standing commission including among its members Paul Lafargue from the Paris organisation of the Workers' Party.—470

[611] A fragment of this letter was first published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *On Reactionary Prussianism*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1943.—472

[612] In the letter referred to Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Dietz suggested to Kautsky that, for the duration of the six months' imprisonment to which he had been sentenced by the court in Freiberg (see Note 602), Wilhelm Blos should be entrusted with editing *Die Neue Zeit* in Stuttgart (Kautsky had just done the general editing of the journal from London). Kautsky sent this letter to Engels on 19 August, asking his opinion on the matter and requesting permission to publish his name on the list of the journal's regular contributors in the prospectus for 1887.—472

[613] Engels is referring to the following event: On 25 July 1886 the police in Amsterdam had tried to break up a traditional fete on the grounds that its participants were playing a forbidden game known as 'eel-snatching'. The police action met with considerable resistance, and clashes continued until the following day. Several dozen people were killed and an even greater number injured. Government bodies and the press used these events to launch a provocative campaign against the Socialist Party. Persecution began on a massive scale, a number of socialists were arrested and brought before the court.—473

[614] The reference is to the parcel from Swan Sonnenschein & C° publishers which was addressed to Engels in London and forwarded by Karl Kautsky to the recipient in Eastbourne.—473

[615] Engels is evidently referring to the General Council reports which Schlüter planned to publish as a separate volume (see Note 556).—475

[616] Engels wrote this letter on a postcard addressed: 'K. Kautsky Esq., 50, Maitland Park Road, N.W. London.'—476

[617] On 23 August Karl Kautsky wrote to Engels that Wilhelm Liebknecht had asked him to purchase an easel which he could hang around his neck by means of a belt and on which he could write whether standing or walking. (Play on words: *Esel* meant both 'ass' and 'easel'.)—477

[618] On 16 August 1886 Gertrud Guillaume-Schack informed Engels that she intended to come to London in mid-September in the company of the Wischnewetzkys.—477, 478

[619] The reference is to the strike by the workers at the *Vierzon* (department of Cher) factory of the Société française de construction de matériel agricole which began on 4 August 1886 in response to the dismissal of some of them due to the crisis in the engineering industry. The events in Vierzon were widely reflected in the

French press, as Laura Lafargue wrote in her letter to Engels of 20 August 1886.—478, 489, 507

620 On 25 August 1886 George Julian Harney informed Engels that he had intended to visit him in Eastbourne on 29 August but was no longer able to do so due to changed circumstances. On 26 August, Harney sent two consecutive letters to let Engels know he would visit him in London.—479

621 Engels wrote this letter on a postcard addressed: 'F. A. Sorge Esq., *Hoboken N. Y.*, U. S. America.'—480

622 The *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 200, 21 August 1886 carried an item headed 'Ein Bedürfniß und eine Schmach' expressing surprise at the lack of a complete English translation of Volume I of *Capital*. It stated that the translation being printed by *To-Day* (see Note 527) could not meet with the readers' satisfaction since it was being published in numerous short parts. The author of the item described this situation as disgraceful and suggested that the funds for an English edition of *Capital* might be obtained from some well-to-do Social Democrat.—480

623 In the letter referred to, the Hamburg publishers F. H. Nestler und Melle accused Engels, once he had refused to edit the 'Handbibliothek der Sozial-Oekonomie' (see this volume, p. 448 and Note 583), of having passed on the offer to Karl Kautsky and then *Die Neue Zeit*. Dietz's publishing house was advertising the forthcoming appearance of a series called 'Klassiker der Nationalökonomie und des Sozialismus', whilst Kautsky had also been planning a similar edition for some considerable time.—481

624 Engels is referring to the trial of Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, Etienne Suisini and Louise Michel for the speeches they had made in the Théâtre du Château-d'Eau on 3 June 1886. The trial took place on 12 August 1886, but Guesde, Lafargue and Suisini refused to appear before the court, so that only Louise Michel was present. All four of them were sentenced to terms of imprisonment between four and six months and fined 100 francs. On 24 September 1886 Guesde, Lafargue and Suisini appealed against the court's decision and all four were acquitted.—483, 494

625 Engels analysed Bismarck's relations with Russia in his letter to Paul Lafargue of 25-26 October 1866 (see this volume, pp. 512-18) which was subsequently published as an article entitled 'The Political Situation in Europe' (see present edition, Vol. 26).—483, 488, 493

626 Engels is apparently referring to the article 'Haben wir etwas mit den Anarchisten gemein?' carried by *Vorbote*, the weekly supplement to the *Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung*, on 9 June 1886.—491

627 In his letter of 10-11 August 1886 Sorge informed Engels that the Reverend J. G. Brooks from Brockton near Boston (Massachusetts) had asked for Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling to visit him during their tour of the United States. Brooks promised them the opportunity to address a large working-class audience.—491

628 From 17 to 28 September 1886 Johann Philipp Becker stayed with Engels in London, and from 29 September to 4 October with the Lafargues in Paris.—495, 498, 501

629 An allusion to the following passage in Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bo-*

*naparte*: 'The French bourgeoisie had long ago found the solution to Napoleon's dilemma: "Dans cinquante ans, l'Europe sera républicaine ou cosaque." It had found the solution to it in the "république cosaque"' (the words are taken from the book: Las Cases, *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène, ou journal où se trouve consigné, jour par jour, ce qu'a dit et fait Napoléon durant dix-huit mois*, Paris, 1823-24) (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 182).—496

630 In his letter to Engels of 30 September 1886 Paul Lafargue described the acquittal at his trial (see Note 624) as a manifestation of the fact that 'the bourgeois have ripened to appreciate some part of our theories'.—497

631 At that time Johann Philipp Becker was a contributor to *Deutsch-Italienische Korrespondenz* published by Franz Julius Schneeberger in Vienna.—499, 501

632 As an émigré in Paris, in 1857 Becker engaged in applied chemistry; an explosion occurred during one of his experiments.—499, 501

633 The reference is to Eduard Bernstein's letter to Engels of 17 September 1886.—500

634 The reference is to the political crisis which emerged in Bulgaria in the autumn of 1886 after Prince Alexander Battenberg was toppled from the throne by a group of military conspirators associated with the secret service of the Russian government. The interim government set up on 9 August survived for just a few days and was replaced by a pro-Austrian regency. An attempt to restore Alexander Battenberg to the throne was unsuccessful, meeting with overt Russian resistance. In September 1886, the Russian government sent Major-General Nikolai Kaulbars to Sofia with the mission of preparing the ground for the installation of a Russian candidate on the Bulgarian throne. The mission was unsuccessful, partly due to the position taken by the West European powers, notably Britain. On 5 November Kaulbars was recalled and the government of the Russian Empire broke off diplomatic relations with Bulgaria (see also Note 445).—503, 505, 517

635 The reference is to August Bebel's letter to Engels of 12 October 1886.—504

636 Several newspapers reported that the supporters of Dragan Zankoff, the leader of Bulgaria's liberal party, had spread rumours to the effect that the Russian government had concluded a secret agreement with Turkey. They alleged that the agreement guaranteed the inviolability of the Sultan's possessions and reduced the outstanding war debt to be paid by the Turks in return for the right to set up Russian fortifications in the Dardanelles.—505

637 The *Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi* was signed by Russia and Turkey on 8 July 1833. It provided for mutual aid in the event of war with a third power. A secret article in the treaty freed Turkey from the obligation to give military aid to Russia in return for an undertaking to close the Straits to all foreign men-of-war on Russia's demand.—505

638 The reference is to the bombardment of Alexandria by the British Navy under Admiral Beauchamp Seymour on 11 July 1882. It represented one of the crucial actions carried out by the British in their quest to colonise Egypt. Following the seisure of Alexandria on 2 August, units of the Anglo-Indian army occupied the Suez Canal zone, and on 15 September Cairo was taken. Whilst nominally remaining a part of the Ottoman Empire, Egypt was actually turned into a British colony.

The British colonisers' penetration into the Sudan from the early 1870s met with stiff resistance from the local people; an uprising of national liberation in 1881 drove British forces from almost the entire country. An independent centralised state was formed in the course of the uprising, and the British did not manage to break the Sudanese until 1899.—505

639 It was announced in Vienna in early October 1886 that the police had uncovered an 'anarchist conspiracy', allegedly to organise fires and explosions in various parts of the city with the aim of creating panic among the public. It was also reported that the police had found a number of caches with explosives and side-arms; some 20 people were arrested as a result.—507

640 The first national congress of the French trade unions was held in Lyons from 11 to 17 October 1886, with representatives of more than 700 trade councils (chambres syndicales) taking part. The congress adopted a resolution recognising that the genuine liberation of the proletariat was not to be had by way of cooperation, profit-sharing for workers and similar measures, as proposed by the bourgeoisie, but only through the abolition of private property and its replacement by collective, social property, through the socialisation of the means of production. The congress also adopted a resolution on the need to campaign for an eight-hour working day and on the establishment of a National Federation of Trade Unions (*La Fédération nationale des Syndicats*).

Commenting on the outcome of the congress in his letter to Engels of 22 October 1886, Paul Lafargue wrote that 'the congress in Lyons will be a crucial means for attracting the French workers to communism'.—507

641 The events in Vierzon (see Note 619) and Henry Maret's interpellation about the dispersal of a strikers' demonstration by gendarmes on 5 October and the arrest of demonstrators meant that Internal Affairs Minister Jean Sarrien was forced to resign on 18 October 1886. This coincided with the announcement of Finance Minister Sadi Carnot's resignation and raised the danger of a government crisis. However, President Jules Grévy and Prime Minister Charles de Freycinet were successful in persuading both ministers to withdraw their resignations.—507

642 The reference is to the statement by the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag that *Der Sozialdemokrat* was no longer to be called the party's official printed organ; on 5 November 1886 the newspaper started to appear with the subheading 'Organ der Sozialdemokratie deutscher Zunge' (Organ of Social Democracy in the German tongue).

This decision was occasioned by the confirmation on the part of the criminal chamber of the imperial court of the sentence imposed by the Saxon provincial court in Freiberg against a group of German Social-Democratic leaders on 4 August 1886 (see Note 602). They were accused of belonging to a 'secret society', the grounds behind the accusation including their links with *Der Sozialdemokrat* which carried the subheading 'Zentral-Organ der deutschen Sozialdemokratie' (Central Organ of German Social Democracy).—509

643 Engels is referring to *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 11, 1886, which carried August Bebel's article 'Deutschland, Rußland und die orientalische Frage'.

In his letter of 12 October 1886 Bebel expressed the view that one of the reasons for Bismarck's efforts to achieve a rapprochement with Russia was his fear that a European war might give rise to social upheavals.—509

644 In his speech of 20 May 1886 to the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, the National Liberal Louis Berger stated that he and his friends did not expect the establishment of a liberal cabinet and were prepared to content themselves with a moderate conservative one. August Bebel wrote to Engels on 12 October that, if the liberals came to power, all their 'opposition' to the present regime would come to an end.—510

645 This letter was published slightly abridged and with editorial alterations as an article headed 'Situation politique de l'Europe' in *Le Socialiste*, No. 63, 6 November 1886 (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 410-17).

On its first publication in English, see Note 196.—512

646 The preliminary *Peace Treaty of San Stefano*, which ended the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, was concluded on 3 March (February 19) 1878 at the place of the same name near Constantinople. It provided for the establishment of an autonomous Bulgarian principality with nominal dependence on Turkey; for state independence for Serbia, Montenegro and Romania and their territorial enlargement, etc. The treaty considerably strengthened Russian influence in the Balkans and gave rise to sharp opposition from Britain and Austria-Hungary with the tacit support of Germany. Under diplomatic and military pressure, the Russian government was forced to agree to an international congress to reconsider the treaty, given that it concerned 'general European' issues. The congress was held in Berlin from 13 June to 13 July 1878 and attended by representatives of Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Britain, Italy and Turkey. The outcome was the Treaty of Berlin, which represented a major deterioration in the conditions of the Treaty of San Stefano for Russia and the Slavs of the Balkan Peninsula. The size of self-governing Bulgaria was reduced to less than half that specified in San Stefano; an autonomous province—Eastern Rumelia—was set up under the Sultan's rule in the parts of Bulgaria located south of the Balkans; the size of Montenegro was considerably reduced. The Treaty of Berlin endorsed the return to Russia of that part of Bessarabia which had been cut off from it in 1856 and at the same time sanctioned the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary.—512

647 The suppression of the Polish national insurrection (1794) was followed, in 1795, by the third partition of Poland between Austria, Prussia and Russia, and the final abolition of the Polish state. By a decision of the Vienna Congress (1814-15), the Kingdom of Poland was established as part of the Russian Empire and included a large part of the lands seized by Prussia and Austria in the third partition of Rzecz Pospolita.—512

648 In the 1870s, Britain and France, Egypt's main creditors, used the Egyptian government's financial difficulties, notably its large external debts, to impose their financial control on the country. This led in the 1880s to a growth in the national liberation movement and efforts by the Egyptians to free themselves from dependence on foreign powers. In the summer of 1882, Britain provoked a conflict with Egypt, took military action and seized the country, turning it into a British colony to all intents and purposes (see also Note 638).—514

649 Welcoming Alexander III back from the Crimea at a meeting in Moscow on 25 May 1886, Nikolai Alexeyev, the mayor of the city, stated: 'Our hope gains wings,

and strength is imparted to our belief that the Cross of Christ will shine upon St Sophia' (Alexeyev was referring to St Sophia's Church in Constantinople).—516

650 The *Congress of Vienna* was held by European monarchs and their ministers in September 1814-June 1815. They established the borders and status of the European states after the victory over Napoleonic France and sanctioned, contrary to the national interests and will of the peoples, the reshaping of Europe's political map and the restoration of the 'legitimate' dynasties.—519

651 In *Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag in geschichtlicher Darstellung*, which appeared in 1886, the Austrian sociologist and lawyer Anton Menger set out to prove the 'unoriginality' of Marx's economic theory, claiming he had borrowed some of his conclusions from the English utopian socialists of the Ricardian school (Thompson, etc.). Laura Lafargue wrote to Engels on 30 October 1886, informing him of the book's appearance. Feeling that if he personally was to oppose Menger in public, the latter might use this to boost his image, Engels thought it expedient to rebuff Menger with an editorial in *Die Neue Zeit* or a résumé of the book in the name of Karl Kautsky, the editor of the said journal. Engels originally intended to write the bulk of the article himself, but was unable to continue his work on it due to illness. The article was completed by Kautsky in line with Engels' instructions. It appeared unsigned in *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 2, 1887 and was headed 'Juristen-Sozialismus' (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 597-616).—521, 527

652 The reference is to I, Part I; I, Part V; II, Part VI of the third volume of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 37).—522

653 This letter is Engels' reply to a certain E. T. who had published in *The Commonweal* an item called 'Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique' containing the following: 'Please say if there is an English translation of Engels' "Socialisme Utopique et Socialisme Scientifique". If not, do you know if Engels has given permission to any particular person to translate it; and is there any likelihood in that case of its being issued shortly? Or is it open to any one who wishes to translate it into English, to do so?'—523

654 Engels is probably referring to Marx's prefaces to the first and second editions of Volume I of *Capital*, which were included in the English edition, and also his own preface to this edition.—524

655 This seems to refer to letters by Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling who were on a tour of the United States with Wilhelm Liebknecht at the time (see Note 601).—524

656 Paul Lafargue signed his articles in *La Nouvelle Revue* with the pseudonym 'Fergus'.—524

657 Engels is referring to the election for the mayor of New York which took place on 2 November 1886. Henry George, the candidate from the United Labor Party, received 68,110 votes, or 31 per cent of the poll. Workers' candidates were elected in Chicago, Milwaukee, Stanton and other cities.

The *United Labor Party* was formed in the run-up to the New York municipal elections in the autumn of 1886 to promote joint political action on the part of the working class. The initiative for its foundation was taken by the *Central Labor Union of New York*, an association of the city's trade unions established in March 1882.

Following the New York example, similar parties were set up in other cities, including Baltimore, Milwaukee, Detroit, Chicago, etc.—525, 531

658 A special meeting of the General Council of the Social Democratic Federation on Tuesday (October 5) decided to call on the unemployed of London to follow the Lord Mayor's Show on 9 November 1886. The authorities banned all demonstrations in the vicinity of the procession and deployed a large number of police in the area. The leadership of the Federation nevertheless held a meeting in Trafalgar Square on 9 November without any of the rioting and disorder the authorities did so much to provoke. On 21 November the greatest working-class demonstration ever seen in London was held in Trafalgar Square. The demonstration, with tens of thousands participating, passed off without any incidents and contributed to a certain growth in the authority the Federation enjoyed among working people in London.—526, 534

659 The *Radical Clubs* began to appear in London and other cities during the 1870s. They united bourgeois radicals and workers. The proletarian element was predominant in the poorest areas of the capital, like the East End. The clubs were distinctive for the fact that they criticised Gladstone's policy on Ireland and called for greater democracy (extension of the suffrage and other reforms). Socialist ideas were spread in the Radical Clubs from the early 1880s. In 1885 the Radical Clubs in London merged to form the Metropolitan Radical Federation.—526, 529

660 Engels is referring to the bourgeois press' attacks on Marx which were directly occasioned by the pamphlet: K. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung. Stenographischer Bericht. Dokumente und Erläuterungen.* Published in Geneva in December 1859, it was directed against Marx and his associates in the Communist League. Marx exposed Vogt's attacks in his work *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17).—527

661 A fragment of this letter was first published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *On the United States*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979.—528

662 On 4 November 1886 Schlüter wrote to Engels informing him of the successful conclusion of talks with Johann Philipp Becker on the granting of material assistance in return for his writing his memoirs (see this volume, pp. 498-500). The plan did not materialise as Becker died on 7 December 1886.—528

663 This is Engels' reply to the suggestion made by Schlüter that he revise three chapters from the second part of *Anti-Dühring* for publication as a separate pamphlet under the title *The Theory of Force*. They contain an exposition of the materialist views of the correlation between economics and politics. Engels subsequently changed his plans and decided to add a fourth chapter giving concrete form to the main propositions using the example of the history of Germany from 1848 to 1888 and analysing them from the viewpoint of a critique of Bismarck's policies. The pamphlet was to be called *The Role of Force in History*. Engels worked on the fourth chapter at a later date, between late December 1887 and March 1888, but did not complete it. The unfinished work, as well as various plans and fragments, were not published until after Engels' death (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 452-510, 511, 578-80).—529

664 The reference is to the article 'On Social Relations in Russia' from the Refugee Literature series, published in *Der Volksstaat* from 1874 to 1875 (see present edition,

Vol. 24, pp. 3-50); this article also appeared as a separate pamphlet in late June-early July 1875 in Leipzig. The third and fourth articles of the series to which Engels refers did not have any titles of their own.

Schlüter's plans to publish a pamphlet *Soziales aus Rußland* were not carried out at the time. The first, second and fifth articles in the series, together with an afterword specially written by Engels ('Afterword (1894) to *On Social Relations in Russia*', present edition, Vol. 27) appeared as a collection of articles by Engels published in Berlin in 1894 as *Internationales aus dem 'Volksstaat' (1871-75)*.—529

665 A fragment of this letter was first published in English in *The Socialist Review*, London, 1908, III-VIII, and in full in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—531

666 In late November 1886 a Leipzig jury court sentenced the joiner and Social Democrat Karl Schumann to four years' and several others to various terms of imprisonment on a charge of 'insurrection'. They were accused on the strength of the seeing-off ceremony which Leipzig workers organised for Schumann on 25 September 1886 in connection with his expulsion from the city under the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 37).—534

667 Engels wrote this letter on a postcard addressed: 'Herrn H. Schlüter, Volksbuchhandlung, Casinostraße, Hottingen-Zürich, Switzerland.'—535

668 Schlüter wrote to Engels on 4 December 1886 describing his plans to reissue Engels' pamphlet *The Bakuninists at Work* together with his article 'On Social Relations in Russia' as an issue in the Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek series (see Note 664). Schlüter further wrote about Eduard Bernstein's proposal that this issue be supplied with a preface from the publishers.—535

669 This apparently refers to the English translation of Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* made by Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky (see Note 550).—535

670 On 28 November 1886 Laura Lafargue wrote to Engels saying that she would be arriving in London on 23 or 24 December.—536

671 Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky wrote to Engels on 10 December 1886 asking him to write a preface to the American edition of her translation of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844* (see Note 550). She explained that the afterword Engels had written for this edition in February 1886 had become outdated and asked him to concentrate in the new preface on a critique of Henry George's doctrine, notably his plan for land reform. In the same letter Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky asked Engels whether he was agreeable to omitting 'in 1844' from the title.—540

672 Engels may have meant the following works by Henry George: *Our Land and Land Policy* (1871), *Progress and Poverty* (1880), *The Irish Land Question* (1881), *Social Problems* (1883), *Protection or Free Trade* (1886).—540

673 Engels is referring to the following passage from the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: 'The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement' (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 518).—541

674 This is Engels' reply to the invitation to join Karl Pearson's Club (see Note 678) which Dr Horatio Bryan Donkin passed on to him via Eleanor Marx-Aveling (see Eleanor Marx-Aveling's letter to Horatio Bryan Donkin of 8 February 1886, this volume, pp. 547-48).

The original is kept in the library at University College, London (Pearson Papers, 10/36). It was found by the German scholar Erhard Kiehnbaum and published in German translation in *Die Wahrheit*, 1/2 October 1988. We were kindly presented with a x-copy of the original for publication in Marx's and Engels' *Collected Works*.—543

675 The reference is to Engels' editing of the English translation of Volume I of Marx's *Capital* (see this volume, Note 56).—543

676 Engels is probably referring to the discussions at Pearson's Club of issues relating to the family and the social emancipation of women (see Note 678). He dealt with these questions in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see notes 174, 264 and 555).—543

677 The original of this letter is kept in the library at University College, London (Pearson Papers, 10/37). It was published in German translation by the German scholar Erhard Kiehnbaum in *Die Wahrheit*, 1/2 October 1988. We were kindly presented with a x-copy of the original for publication in Marx's and Engels' *Collected Works*.—547

678 The reference is to the Club established by Karl Pearson, an English biologist and philosopher, to encourage free and unbridled discussions on questions connected in some way or another with relations between men and women. Its members were 15-20 intellectuals, among them Horatio Bryan Donkin, a doctor who had treated Marx, and Olive Schreiner, a friend of Eleanor who had written a book entitled *Woman and Labour*. The discussions centred on Pearson's books *The Woman Question* and *Socialism and Sex*. Pearson, who sympathised with the workers' and socialist movement, wished to recruit Engels and Eleanor Marx-Aveling as members of the Club; in the summer of 1885 the latter had published a review of Bebel's book *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* (see Note 145).—547

679 It is clear from the correspondence between Donkin and Pearson that Eleanor Marx-Aveling intended to visit the Club in April 1886 but never carried out this plan. The Club's minutes contain no record of any contributions made by Engels or Eleanor.—547

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*Aveling, Edward Bibbins* (1851-1898) — English writer and journalist, socialist, a translator of Volume I of *Capital* into English; member of the

Social Democratic Federation from 1884, later a founder of the Socialist League, an organiser of the mass movement of unskilled workers and unemployed in the 1880s-90s, delegate to the international socialist workers' congress of 1889 in Paris; husband of Eleanor Marx.— 7, 74, 78, 94, 119, 122, 127, 129, 143, 155, 161, 165, 167, 168, 172, 177, 191, 202, 207, 214, 224, 237-38, 245, 247, 248, 261, 265, 274, 275, 297, 303, 320, 323, 326, 345, 366, 369, 370, 376, 378, 386, 391, 394, 395, 399, 402, 404, 405, 416, 424, 436, 438, 443, 446, 449, 450, 458, 461, 464, 465, 471, 478, 482, 489, 491, 496, 500, 504, 506, 524, 540

*Aveling* — see *Marx, Eleanor*

*Avenel, Georges* (1828-1876) — French historian and journalist, author of works on history of the French Revolution.— 398-99

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*Bachofen, Johann Jakob* (1815-1887) — Swiss historian of law, author of works on ancient history.— 189, 205, 207

*Bahr, Hermann* (1863-1934) — Austrian journalist, critic, novelist and playwright.— 191

*Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich* (1814-1876) — Russian revolutionary and journalist; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; subsequently an ideologist of Narodism and anarchism; opposed Marxism in the First International; was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress (1872) for his splitting activities.— 10, 108, 198, 430

*Balzac, Honoré de* (1799-1850) — French realist writer.— 71, 320

*Bamberger, Ludwig* (1823-1899) — German democratic journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to France in the 1850s, returned to Germany in 1866, later National Liberal and deputy to the Reichstag (1871-93).— 427

*Baron* — see *Kautsky, Karl Johann*

*Basly, Émile Joseph* (1854-1928) — French miner, socialist, trade unionist, member of the Chamber of Deputies several times.— 409, 414, 418, 424-25, 429-31, 441

*Bastiat, Frédéric* (1801-1850) — French economist and politician.— 184

*Battenberg, Alexander* (1857-1893) — son of Prince Alexander of Hesse; first Prince of Bulgaria (1879-86), pursued pro-Austrian and pro-German policy.— 329, 513-15, 517

*Bax, Ernest Belfort* (1854-1926) — English historian, philosopher and journalist, socialist, an editor of *The Commonweal* from 1884, member of the Social Democratic Federation, a founder of the Socialist League in 1884; was on friendly terms with Engels from 1883.— 74, 105, 114, 122-23, 127-29, 155, 165, 172, 177, 207, 224, 236, 238, 245, 248, 275, 405, 406, 431, 432, 438, 443, 446, 471, 484, 504

*Bebel, Ferdinand August* (1840-1913) — a leading figure in the German and international working-class movement; turner; President of the Union of German Workers' Associations from 1867; member of the First International; deputy to the Reichstag from 1867; a founder (1869) and leader of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany; opposed the Lassalleans; took an internationalist stand during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71; came out in support of the Paris Commune; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.— 14, 20, 22-23, 32, 47, 52-55, 68, 77, 80-83, 99, 114, 146-48, 150, 151, 153, 162, 164, 169, 187, 195, 197-202, 204, 209-13, 220-23, 225, 231, 234, 235, 240-43, 245, 253-55, 268-71, 285, 306-09, 315-17, 329, 340-44, 352-54, 361, 386, 387, 391, 395, 406, 409, 410, 425-29, 433-

35, 437-38, 442, 446, 468-69, 471, 485, 488, 489, 498-500, 502, 504, 509, 511

*Becker, Bernhard* (1826-1891) — German journalist; follower of Lassalle; President of the General Association of German Workers (1864-65); subsequently supported Eisenachers; withdrew from the working-class movement after 1874.— 119

*Becker, Elisabeth* (d. 1884) — wife of Johann Philipp Becker.— 98

*Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886) — German revolutionary, took part in the democratic movement of the 1830s-50s, the international working-class movement and the 1848-49 revolution; after the defeat of the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849) left Germany; prominent figure in the First International and delegate to all its congresses, editor of *Der Vorbote*; active in the Swiss working-class movement; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.— 25-27, 49, 69-70, 98-99, 151, 152, 201-03, 267-69, 299-301, 363-64, 379, 456, 457, 478, 490, 495, 498-502, 504-05, 528

*Behrens* — engineer, Bismarck's partner in the Varzin paper mill.— 199, 202

*Berger, Louis Konstanz* (1829-1891) — German industrialist and politician, member of the Party of Progress, deputy to the Reichstag from 1874.— 510

*Bernstein, Caroline* (1855-1884) — Eduard Bernstein's sister.— 236

*Bernstein, Eduard* (1850-1932) — German Social Democrat, journalist, editor of *Der Sozialdemokrat* (1881-90); later revisionist.— 7, 12, 15, 22, 26, 32, 33, 36-38, 49-50, 63-64, 66-67, 72-74, 77, 85-86, 90-92, 102, 104, 107, 109, 111, 118-20, 123-26, 134-37, 139-42, 144-47, 153, 154, 157, 159-62, 164, 169-70, 173, 174, 176, 177, 187-92, 195, 196, 201, 204-09, 214-16, 218, 225, 227, 236, 237, 251, 252, 263, 270-71, 282-86, 301, 302, 306, 307, 318, 323, 329-31, 346, 366-68, 386, 391, 405, 414, 415, 448-50, 453, 465-67, 471, 473-75, 499-505, 529

*Bernstein, Jakob* (d. 1884) — Eduard Bernstein's father, engine-driver.— 236

*Bernstein, Regina (Gine)* (née *Zadek*, by first marriage *Schattner*) — Eduard Bernstein's wife from 1886.— 501

*Besant, Annie* (1847-1933) — English politician, Radical, member of the Fabian Society and of the Social Democratic Federation.— 94

*Bismarck-Schönhausen, Otto Eduard Leopold, Prince von* (1815-1898) — statesman of Prussia and Germany, diplomat; Envoy to St Petersburg (1859-62) and to Paris (1862); Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-71; 1873-90); Chancellor of the North-German Confederation (1867-71) and of the German Empire (1871-90); carried through the unification of Germany under the aegis of Prussia; one of the authors of the Anti-Socialist Law (1878).— 22, 34, 35, 53, 54, 69, 83, 92, 110, 112, 124, 130, 131, 137-39, 140, 147, 148, 150, 190, 192, 202, 209, 211, 213, 216, 225, 235, 237, 267, 281, 329, 338, 343, 348, 360, 365, 372, 378, 417, 428, 435, 437, 440, 461, 467, 468, 483-84, 486, 489, 493, 510-12, 516-18, 520, 527, 533

*Blanc, Jean Joseph Charles Louis* (1811-1882) — French historian; socialist; member of the Provisional Government and President of the Luxembourg Commission in 1848; a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees in London from August 1848; deputy to the National Assembly in 1871; opposed the Paris Commune.— 71, 342, 354, 413, 429, 470, 505

*Bland, Hubert* (1856-1914) — English journalist; socialist; a founder of the Fabian Society; member of the Social Democratic Federation.— 366, 367, 369, 394

*Bleichröder, Gerson von* (1822-

1893) — German financier, Bismarck's personal banker and his unofficial adviser on financial matters.— 109, 112, 377

*Blenker, Ludwig (Louis)* (1812-1863) — German ex-officer; democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to the USA and fought in the Civil War on the side of the Union.— 287

*Blind, Karl* (1826-1907) — German democratic journalist; took part in the Baden revolutionary movement in 1848-49; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in London in the 1850s-early 1860s; later National Liberal.— 368

*Block, Maurice* (1816-1901) — French statistician and economist.— 224, 225

*Blos, Wilhelm* (1849-1927) — German journalist; member of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany from 1872; an editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1872-74), sided with the reformist wing of German Social Democrats from the 1880s; deputy to the Reichstag (1877-1918).— 21, 23, 34, 150, 173, 296, 383, 472

*Blowitz, Henri Georges Stephan Adolphe Opper de* (1825-1903) — French journalist, Austrian by birth; correspondent of *The Times* in Paris from 1871.— 431

*Blum, Robert* (1807-1848) — German democrat; journalist; leader of the Left wing in the Frankfurt National Assembly; participated in the defence of Vienna in October 1848, court-martialled and executed after the fall of the city.— 287

*Bödiker, Tonio (Anton) Wilhelm Laurenz Karl Maria* (1843-1907) — German government official, adviser of the Imperial Home Ministry from 1881, was engaged in trade and insurance legislation, delivered reports in the Reichstag on behalf of the ministry on these matters, headed the Imperial Insurance Ministry in 1884-97.— 34

*Boelling, Hedwig* (née *Engels*) (1830-1904) — Frederick Engels' sister, wife of Friedrich Boelling.— 220

*Bonaparte* — see *Napoleon III*

*Borde, Frédéric* — French journalist; socialist.— 36

*Borkheim, F.* — Sigismund Ludwig Borkheim's son.— 380, 381

*Borkheim, Sigismund Ludwig* (1825-1885) — German democratic journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, emigrated after its defeat; merchant in London from 1851; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels.— 152, 203, 269, 377, 379, 380, 383, 472, 475

*Born, Stephan* (real name *Buttermilch, Simon*) (1824-1898) — German typesetter; member of the Communist League; leaned towards reformism during the 1848-49 revolution; turned his back on the workers' movement after the revolution.— 346

*Bougeart, Alfred* (1815-1882) — French Left journalist; author of several works on the French Revolution.— 399

*Boulanger, Georges Ernest Jean Marie* (1837-1891) — French general, War Minister (1886-87); strived to establish his own military dictatorship.— 519

*Boyer, Antoine Jean Baptiste (Antide)* (1850-1918) — French potter; member of the Chamber of Deputies several times.— 409, 414, 418

*Bracke, Wilhelm* (1842-1880) — German Social Democrat; publisher of socialist literature in Brunswick; a founder (1869) and leader of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (Eisenachers); member of the Social-Democratic parliamentary group in the Reichstag (1877-79); represented the revolutionary wing of German Social Democracy.— 20, 374

*Bradlaugh, Charles* (1833-1891) — English journalist and politician,

bourgeois Radical; editor of *The National Reformer* from 1860.—94, 115, 405

*Bray, John Francis* (1809-1895)—English economist, utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen; supporter of the theory of labour money.—156

*Brenin, Claude* (b. c. 1851)—French miner, an organiser of the provocative explosions in Montceau-les-Mines in 1884.—265

*Brentano, Clemens* (1778-1842)—German romantic poet.—286

*Brentano, Lujo (Ludwig Joseph)* (1844-1931)—German economist, professor, armchair socialist.—422

*Bright, John* (1811-1889)—English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; M. P. (from 1843); leader of the Left Wing of the Liberal Party from the early 1860s, held several ministerial posts.—389

*Broadhouse, John*—see *Hyndman, Henry Mayers*

*Broadhurst, Henry* (1840-1911)—English bricklayer, a trade union leader, secretary of the parliamentary committee of the Trades Unions Congress (1875-90), Liberal M. P. from 1880, Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department (1886).—57

*Brocher, Gustave* (1850-1931)—teacher, French by birth, lived in Russia in the late 1860s-early 1870s and took part in the Narodnik movement; lived in London in 1874-93, sided with the anarchists; moved to Switzerland in 1893; atheist.—13

*Brooks, J. G.*—American clergyman, advocated socialist views.—491

*Brousse, Paul Louis Marie* (1844-1912)—French socialist, physician; member of the First International (up to 1872); participant in the Paris Commune, after its defeat lived in Spain and Switzerland; sided with the anarchists; returned to France in 1880 and became a member of the French Workers' Party; a Possibilist leader.—68, 107, 123, 225, 289, 425

*Bucher, Lothar* (1817-1892)—Prussian official and journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution emigrated to London, later National Liberal, supporter of Bismarck.—374

*Bückler, Johann* (1780-1803)—German robber nicknamed *Schinderhannes* (Hans the Skin-flint); in a number of literary works depicted as a 'noble robber' and defender of the poor.—198

*Bunge, Nikolai Kristianovich* (1823-1895)—Russian lawyer, economist and politician, professor at Kiev University from 1850, Minister of Finance in 1881-86, Chairman of the Committee of Ministers in 1887-95.—360

*Buonarroti, Filippo Michele* (1761-1837)—Italian revolutionary, utopian communist, a leader of the revolutionary movement in France at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, Babeuf's comrade-in-arms.—226

*Burdett-Coutts, Angela Georgina, Baroness* (1814-1906)—English aristocrat, philanthropist.—400

*Burns, John Elliot* (1858-1943)—English worker, activist of the English working-class movement, a leader of the new trade unions (late 1880s-early 1890s), organiser of the London dock strike (1889), M. P. from 1891, minister in the Liberal cabinets in 1905-14.—366, 368

*Burrows, Herbert* (1845-1922)—English official, a founder of the Social Democratic Federation; helped found trade unions of the unskilled workers.—195, 238, 245, 369

## C

*Cabet, Étienne* (1788-1856)—French journalist, utopian communist, author of

*Voyage en Icarie.*— 117, 342
*Calderón de la Barca, Pedro* (1600-1681) — Spanish dramatist.— 48
*Camélinat, Zéphirin Remy* (1840-1932) — French bronze-worker; a leader of the Paris sections of the First International, took part in the Paris Commune, after its defeat moved to England, returned to France after the 1880 amnesty; active in the socialist movement, member of the Chamber of Deputies in 1885-89; member of the French Communist Party from 1920.— 409-10, 414, 418, 425, 428-31, 441
*Campbell, Sir George* (1824-1892) — British official in India (1843-74), subsequently Liberal M. P. (1875-92), author of works on India.— 179
*Capefigue, Jean Baptiste Honoré Raymond* (1802-1872) — French journalist and historian, monarchist.— 71
*Carpenter, Edward* (1844-1929) — English poet and journalist, took part in the socialist movement in the 1880s.— 236, 238
*Cassiodorus, Flavius Magnus Aurelius* (c. 490-c. 580) — Roman author and monk; politician of the Ostrogothic Kingdom, aristocrat by birth, author of *Historia Gothorum.*— 296
*Cave, Sir Lewis William* (1832-1897) — English lawyer, member of the High Court from 1881.— 434
*Cerioli* — Italian socialist.— 205
*Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de* (1547-1616) — Spanish writer.— 48, 357
*Chamberlain, Joseph* (1836-1914) — British statesman, Liberal, Mayor of Birmingham in 1873-76, M. P. from 1876, member of the Cabinet, Liberal Unionist after 1886.— 268, 361, 367, 369, 407
*Champion, Henry Hyde* (1857-1928) — English publisher and journalist, socialist, member of the Social Democratic Federation up to 1887, later a leader of the Labour Electoral Association in London, publisher and editor of the *Labour Elector*, emigrated to Australia in the 1890s.— 177, 236-38, 245, 367, 369, 403
*Chemnitz, Matthäus Friedrich* (1815-1870) — German lawyer and journalist, author of the song *Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlungen.*— 287
*Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich* (1828-1889) — Russian revolutionary democrat, socialist, materialist philosopher, writer and literary critic, a precursor of Russian Social Democrats.— 158
*Chèvremont, François* — author of *Jean-Paul Marat.*— 399
*Churchill, George Charles Spencer, 8th Duke of Marlborough* (1844-1892) — English aristocrat, elder brother of Randolph Churchill.— 449
*Churchill, Randolph Henry Spencer, Lord* (1849-1895) — English statesman, a Conservative leader, Secretary for India (1885-86), Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons from July to December 1886.— 238, 449
*Clarus* — French artist, contributed to *Le Socialiste.*— 352
*Clemenceau, Georges (Eugéne Benjamin)* (1841-1929) — French politician and journalist, leader of the Radicals from the early 1880s; editor and publisher of *La Justice* from 1880, Prime Minister (1906-09 and 1917-20).— 97, 149, 227, 268, 270, 300, 314, 317, 320, 331, 409, 413, 418, 429, 442, 445, 489, 533
*Cloots, Jean Baptiste du Val-de-Grâce, Baron de (Anacharsis)* (1755-1794) — participant in the French Revolution, Dutch by birth, prior to the Revolution Prussian Baron, close to the Left Jacobins, member of the Convention.— 399
*Cohn, Gustav* (1840-1919) — German economist, professor at polytechnical institute in Riga and, from 1875, in Zurich, professor at Göttingen University from 1884.— 458

*Colsman* — Charlotte Engels' son-in-law.— 228

*Crawford, Emily* (née *Johnson*) (1831-1915) — Irish journalist, correspondent of *The Daily News, Truth* and *New York Tribune* in Paris.— 417

*Cremer, Sir William Randall* (1838-1908) — a founder of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (1860); member of the London Trades Council; member of the Central Council of the International (1864-68) and its General Secretary, Liberal M.P. (1885-95 and 1900-08), active in the pacifist movement.— 321

*Cumberland, Ernst August, Duke of* (1845-1923) — son of the King of Hanover George V, claimant to the Hanoverian (from 1878) and Brunswick (from 1884) thrones, was prevented from becoming the ruler due to the negative attitude of the Bismarck government.— 222

*Cuno, Theodor Friedrich* (1846-1934) — German engineer, socialist, member of the First International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), after the Congress moved to the USA and took part in the American working-class and socialist movement.— 13, 511

*Cyon, Ilya Faddeyevich* (1842-1912) — Russian physiologist, journalist, professor at the St Petersburg University and at the Medical Surgical Academy; under public pressure refused from professorship and moved to Paris in 1875, representative of the Russian Ministry of Finances in Paris in 1875-91.— 524

D

*Daniels, Roland* (1819-1855) — German physician, member of the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League from 1850, one of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852), acquitted by the jury; friend of Marx and Engels, was the first to attempt to apply dialectical materialism to natural sciences.— 351

*Danielson, Nikolai Frantsevich* (pen-name *Nikolai — on*) (1844-1918) — Russian writer on economics, an ideologist of Narodism in the 1880s-90s; correspondent of Marx and Engels, translated into Russian volumes I, II and III of Marx's *Capital* (Volume I jointly with Hermann Lopatin and Nikolai Lyubavin).— 88, 95, 100, 129, 260, 265, 277-78, 289, 294, 318-19, 322, 347-50, 400-02, 522, 523

*Dante Alighieri* (1265-1321) — Italian poet.— 48, 357

*Darbyshire, John* — member of the Manchester section of the First International, later of the Social Democratic Federation.— 106

*Darwin, Charles Robert* (1809-1882) — English naturalist, founder of the theory of natural selection of species.— 103, 226

*Davitt, Michael* (1846-1906) — Irish revolutionary democrat, a leader of the Irish national liberation movement in the 1880s-90s, an organiser (1879) and leader of the Land League, advocate of Home Rule; M.P. (1895-99).— 122, 368

*Davout, Louis Nicolas, duc d'Auerstoedt, prince d'Eckmühl* (1770-1823) — Marshal of France, participated in the wars of Napoleonic France.— 332

*Defoe, Daniel* (c. 1661-1731) — English writer and journalist, author of *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*.— 194

*Demosthenes* (c. 384-322 B.C.) — Greek orator and politician, champion of democracy in the slave-owning society.— 202

*Demuth, Helene (Lenchen)* (1820-1890) — housemaid and devoted friend of the Marx family.— 28, 29, 31, 41, 45, 46, 58, 59, 61, 63, 76, 78, 80, 94-

95, 104-06, 107, 115, 118, 120, 122, 123, 126, 130, 131, 135, 144, 167, 168, 175, 178, 224, 226, 248, 265, 272, 274, 276, 289, 292, 293, 304, 315, 321, 327, 345, 350, 357, 376, 378, 399, 423, 438, 439, 458, 459, 463, 473, 477, 478, 483, 496, 508, 527, 536-38

*Denhardt, Fritz* — see *Sax, Emanuel Hans*

*Dereure, Louis Simon* (1838-1900) — French shoemaker, prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement, Blanquist, member of the Paris section of the First International, member of *La Marsellaise* editorial board; member of the Paris Commune, emigrated to the USA after its suppression, member of the General Council of the International elected by the Hague Congress, member of the French Workers' Party from 1882.— 141

*Deville, Gabriel Pierre* (1854-1940) — French journalist, socialist, member of the French Workers' Party, author of the popular exposition of Volume I of Marx's *Capital* and some other works on philosophy, economy and history; withdrew from the working-class movement in the early 20th century.— 44, 46, 50, 59-63, 76-78, 89, 90, 94, 96, 101, 112, 113, 115, 134, 144, 162, 183, 310, 313, 320, 384-86, 405, 417, 442, 465, 508

*Dietz, Johann Heinrich Wilhelm* (1843-1922) — German Social Democrat, founder of the Social-Democratic publishing house in 1881, deputy to the Reichstag (1881-1918).— 17, 20, 27, 36, 58, 77, 102, 162-64, 200-01, 204-07, 210, 212, 230, 249, 251, 346, 422, 461, 462, 472, 474, 481, 482

*Dietzgen, Joseph* (1828-1888) — German leather-worker, philosopher, Social Democrat, member of the First International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).— 246, 297, 394, 395, 441, 491

*Dilke, Sir Charles Wentworth, Baronet* (1843-1911) — English politician and writer, a leader of the Radical wing of the Liberal Party; M. P.— 268, 458

*Disraeli, Benjamin, 1st Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881) — British statesman and writer; leader of the Conservative Party in the second half of the 19th century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68); Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80).— 512

*Dobrolyubov, Nikolai Alexandrovich* (1836-1861) — Russian revolutionary democrat; literary critic and materialist philosopher; one of the predecessors of Russian Social Democracy.— 158

*Donkin, Horatio Bryan* (1845-1927) — English physician, doctor of the Marx family in 1881-83.— 274, 543

*Dormoy, Jean* (1851-1898) — French metal-worker, socialist, sentenced for a term in prison together with Guesde and Lafargue in 1883.— 115

*Douai, Karl Daniel Adolph* (1819-1888) — German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat, later socialist; French by birth; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA in 1852 and took part in its socialist movement; edited a number of socialist papers including the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (1878-88); contributed to the *Vorwärts!* — 13, 296, 440

*Drumont, Édouard Adolphe* (1844-1917) — French politician and journalist, author of anti-Semitic books and articles.— 520

*Drysdale, Charles Robert* — English physician, supported neo-Malthusianism.— 195

*Duc-Quercy, Albert* (1856-1934) — French journalist, took part in the working-class and socialist movement, a founder of the French Workers' Party (1879), an editor of *Le Cri du Peuple*.— 442

*Dühring, Eugen Karl* (1833-1921) — German philosopher and eco-

nomist; lecturer at Berlin University (1863-77).—251, 289, 529

*Dupont, Eugéne* (c. 1837 (1831?)-1881)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement, musical instrument-maker; took part in the June 1848 insurrection in Paris; lived in London from 1862, member of the General Council of the First International (November 1864 to 1872), participant in all congresses (except the Basle Congress) and conferences of the International; member of the British Federal Council (1872-73); emigrated to the USA in 1874; associate of Marx and Engels.—310

E

*Eccarius, Johann Georg* (1818-1889)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; tailor, journalist; member of the Communist League; member of the First International and of its General Council (1864-72); took part in the British trade union movement.—371, 468

*Ede*—see *Bernstein, Eduard*

*Edward*—see *Aveling, Edward Bibbins*

*Eisengarten, Oskar*—German typesetter, Social Democrat, emigrated to London, secretary of Engels in 1884-85.—153, 160, 170, 177, 190, 279

*Elisabeth I* (1533-1603)—Queen of England and Ireland (1558-1603).—150

*Ely, Richard Theodore* (1854-1943)—American economist, professor of political economy at the Wisconsin University.—295

*Engels, Charlotte* (née *Bredt*) (1833-1912)—wife of Emil Engels, Frederick Engels' brother.—228-30, 538

*Engels, Elisabeth Franziska Maurita* (née *van Haar*) (1797-1873)—Frederick Engels' mother.—229

*Engels, Emil* (1828-1884)—Frederick Engels' brother; a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen.—218, 220, 228, 229, 538

*Engels, Emil* (1858-1907)—Emil Engels' son, nephew of Frederick Engels, employee, and from 1889 a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen.—538-39

*Engels, Emil* (b. 1885)—son of Frederick Engels' nephew, Emil Engels.—539

*Engels, Emma* (née *Croon*) (1834-1916)—Hermann Engels' wife.—220

*Engels, Friedrich* (1796-1860)—Frederick Engels' father.—219, 229

*Engels, Hermann* (1822-1905)—Frederick Engels' brother; manufacturer in Barmen, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen.—218-20, 228, 539

*Engels, Hermann Friedrich Theodor* (1858-1926)—Hermann Engels' son, nephew of Frederick Engels; manufacturer, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen.—219, 220, 539

*Engels, Johanna Klara* (b. 1862)—wife of Emil Engels, Frederick Engels' nephew.—539

*Engels, Rudolf* (1831-1903)—Frederick Engels' brother; manufacturer in Barmen, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen.—219

*Engels, Rudolf Moritz* (1858-1893)—Frederick Engels' nephew, son of Rudolf Engels; employee, and from 1889 a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen.—539

F

*Fabian, Heinrich Wilhelm*—German Social Democrat.—124, 191, 295

*Faerber, Salo*—German Social Democrat, merchant in Breslau.—337-39, 417

*Faraday, Michael* (1791-1867)—English physicist and chemist, founder of the teachings on the electromagnetic field.—400

*Ferry, Jules François Camille* (1832-1893) — French lawyer, journalist, a moderate Republican leader, member of the Government of National Defence and Mayor of Paris (1870-71), Prime Minister (1880-81 and 1883-85).— 109, 267, 270

*Fielding, John* — member of the Social Democratic Federation in England.— 366, 368

*Fitzgerald, Charles L.* — English journalist, deputy-secretary of the Social Democratic Federation and an editor of the *Justice* in 1884-85.— 84, 236-38, 245

*Fleischmann, Adolf* — German big merchant, Counsellor of Justice.— 64

*Flügel, Johann Gottfried* (1788-1855) — German lexicographer, composed English-German and German-English dictionaries.— 375

*Fock* — 196

*Forster, Henri* — English officer, in 1885-86 was engaged in the divorce case which caused retirement of Minister Dilke.— 458

*Fortin, Édouard* — French journalist, socialist, member of the Workers' Party of France.— 62, 310, 333, 345, 358, 359

*Foster, Rachel* — American public figure, secretary of the Women's Rights society.— 396, 415, 441, 465

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837) — French utopian socialist.— 132, 141, 184

*Frankel, Leo (Léo)* (1844-1896) — jeweller, prominent figure in the Hungarian and international working-class movement; member of the Paris Commune and the General Council of the First International (1871-72); a founder of the General Workers' Party of Hungary (1880); associate of Marx and Engels.— 76, 250

*Frederick Charles (Friedrich Karl Nikolaus), Prince* (1828-1885) — Prussian general and field marshal general (1870), commanded the Second Army during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71).— 300, 302, 304

*Frederick William* (1831-1888) — Prussian Crown Prince, general and field marshal general (1870), took part in the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71); after William I's death in 1888, King of Prussia and German Emperor under the name of Frederick III.— 34, 148, 149, 268, 435

*Frederick William III* (1770-1840) — King of Prussia (1797-1840).— 148

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861) — King of Prussia (1840-61).— 34

*Freiligrath, Ferdinand* (1810-1876) — German poet; member of the Communist League; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); withdrew from revolutionary activity in the 1850s.— 34, 52, 470

*Freycinet, Charles Louis de Saulces de* (1828-1923) — French statesman and diplomat, moderate Republican; Prime Minister (1879-80, 1882, 1886, 1890-92).— 425

*Freytag, Otto* — German lawyer, Social Democrat, deputy to the Saxon Landtag (1877-79).— 102, 124, 248, 251, 253-54, 509

*Fritzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1825-1905) — German tobacco-worker; took part in the 1848-49 revolution, a founder and leader of the General Association of German Workers (1863), member of the International, sided with the Eisenachers in 1869; deputy to the North German (1868-71) and the German (1877-81) Reichstag; emigrated to the USA in 1881.— 22, 80

*Frohme, Karl Franz Egon* (1850-1933) — German journalist, a leader of the Right wing of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany; deputy to the

Reichstag (1881-1918).—118, 119, 125, 296, 307, 315, 426

G

*Gambetta, Léon Michel* (1838-1882)—French statesman, bourgeois republican; member of the Government of National Defence (1870-71); founded the paper *Republique Française* in 1871; Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1881-82).—413

*Gartman, Lev Nikolayevich* (1850-1913)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik, took part in the terroristic act of the People's Will organisation against Alexander II after which emigrated to France and later to England, settled in the USA in 1881, withdrew from politics.—13, 256

*Gaulier, Alfred Nicolas* (b. 1829)—French politician and journalist, Radical, member of the Chamber of Deputies (1886-89).—438, 445

*Geiser, Bruno* (1846-1898)—German journalist, edited *Die Neue Welt* (1877-86), deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-87) where he belonged to the Right wing of the Social-Democratic group; expelled from the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany in the late 1880s.—21, 34, 81, 124, 140, 150, 165-66, 173, 187, 204, 218, 231, 296, 307, 442, 489

*Gendre*—see *Nikitina, Varvara Nikolayevna*

*George, Henry* (1839-1897)—American economist and journalist; favoured nationalisation of land by the state.—14, 42, 74, 82, 114, 237, 525, 531-32, 540-42

*Gerville-Réache, Gaston Marie Sidoine Théonile* (b. 1854)—French lawyer and politician, member of the Chamber of Deputies for Guadeloupe.—180

*Giers, Nikolai Karlovich* (1820-1895)—Russian diplomat, envoy to Teheran (from 1863), Berne (from 1869), and Stockholm (from 1872); Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs (1875-82), Minister for Foreign Affairs (1882-95).—461, 467, 484, 516, 517

*Giffen, Sir Robert* (1837-1910)—English economist and statistician, specialist on finances, publisher of the *Journal of the Statistical Society* (1876-91); head of the statistical department at the Board of Trade (1876-97).—5

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, first Tory, later a leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the 19th century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55, 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886 and 1892-94).—109, 227, 267, 281, 303, 361, 449, 497, 505, 514

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—30, 48, 92, 253

*Gray, John* (1798-1850)—English economist, utopian socialist; follower of Robert Owen; an author of the labour money theory.—208

*Grévy, François Paul Jules* (1807-1891)—French statesman, bourgeois republican; President of the Republic (1879-87).—41, 303

*Grillenberger, Karl* (1848-1897)—German worker, later journalist; deputy to the German Reichstag from 1881, where belonged to the Right wing of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany.—231

*Grimaux, Louis Edouard* (1835-1900)—French chemist.—289

*Gronlund, Laurence* (1846-1899)—American journalist, Dutch by birth, a member of the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party from 1887.—192, 295

*Groß, Gustav* (1856-1935)—Austrian politician, economist and journalist, lecturer at Vienna University.—250, 261, 522

*Guesde, Jules* (pen-name for *Mathieu Jules Bazile*) (1845-1922)—prominent figure in the French and international

socialist movement; a founder (1880) and leader of the French Workers' Party up to 1901; for some years on, a leader of the revolutionary wing in the French socialist movement.—28, 30, 41, 61, 64, 74, 94, 115, 141, 225, 409, 414, 442, 508

*Guillaume-Schack, Gertrud* (née *countess Schack*) (1845-1903)—German socialist, took part in the women workers' movement in Germany.—311, 454, 455, 473, 477, 478

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman; Orleanist; Foreign Minister (1840-48); in 1847-48 also Prime Minister; virtually directed France's home and foreign policy from 1840 to the February revolution of 1848; expressed the interests of the big financial bourgeoisie.—95

*Gumbel, Abraham*—German Social Democrat, émigré in France in the early 1880s, bank employee in Paris in 1883.—191

*Gumpert, Eduard* (d. 1893)—German physician in Manchester; friend of Marx and Engels.—62

## H

*Haeckel, Ernst Heinrich* (1834-1919)—German biologist, follower of Darwin, adherent of materialism in natural science, atheist; formulated the biogenetic law of the relationship between phylogenesis and ontogenesis; ideologist of 'social Darwinism'.—289

*Hagen*—correspondent of Engels in Bonn.—252

*Hamel, Ernest* (1826-1898)—French historian and journalist, author of works on history of the French Revolution.—399

*Hänel, Albert* (1833-1918)—German lawyer and politician, a leader of the Party of Progress, member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (1867-88) and deputy to the German Reichstag (1867-93 and 1898-1903).—435

*Harney, George Julian* (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the English labour movement, a Chartist leader (Left wing); editor of *The Northern Star* and other Chartist periodicals; an émigré in the USA in 1863-88; member of the First International, was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels.—274, 289, 292, 293, 337, 404, 422, 467, 475, 479, 537

*Hartmann*—see *Gartman, Lev Nikolayevich*

*Hasenclever, Wilhelm* (1837-1889)—German Social Democrat, edited the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, President of the General Association of German Workers in 1871-75, a chairman of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany from May 1875; edited together with Liebknecht the *Vorwärts!* in 1876-78; deputy to the Reichstag (1874-88).—21

*Hasselmann, Wilhelm* (b. 1844)—one of the leaders of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; editor of the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* in 1871-75; member of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany from 1875; expelled from the Party for his anarchist views in 1880.—21

*Haug*—German Social Democrat.—209

*Haxthausen, August Franz Ludwig Maria, Baron von* (1792-1866)—Prussian official and economist, conservative, author of works on the agrarian system and the peasant commune in Russia.—179

*Hecker, Friedrich Karl Franz* (1811-1881)—German democrat, a leader of the Baden republican uprising in April 1848; after its defeat emigrated to Switzerland and later to the USA, took part in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—287

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—35, 126, 186, 189, 281, 348, 356, 438

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856) — German revolutionary poet.— 33, 47, 78, 167, 226

*Heinzel, Stefan* (1841-1899) — German tailor, Social Democrat, was sentenced to imprisonment (1886) for participation in the illegal party congress in Copenhagen in 1883, after release took part in the Social-Democratic movement.— 461

*Heinzen, Karl Peter* (1809-1880) — German radical journalist; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland, later to England and in the autumn of 1850 to the USA.— 47, 114, 198

*Hepner, Adolf* (1846-1923) — German Social Democrat, an editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1869-73); member of the First International, emigrated to the USA (1882); in 1908 returned to Germany.— 13, 43

*Hermann* — French socialist.— 425

*Hess (Heß), Moses* (1812-1875) — German radical journalist; 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s; member of the Communist League; after the split in the League sided with the sectarian Willich-Schapper group; Lassallean in the 1860s; member of the First International.— 160, 362, 475

*Hess (Heß), Sibylle* (née *Pesch*) (1820-1903) — Moses Hess' wife.— 226

*Hilderbrand, Bruno* (1812-1878) — German economist and statistician, represented historical school in political economy, published *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik* from 1863.— 522

*Hirsch, Carl* (1841-1900) — German Social Democrat, journalist, member of the General Association of German Workers; member of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany from 1869, Paris correspondent of German Social-Democratic newspapers after 1872.— 207, 253

*Höfling, Eugen* (1808-1880) — German poet.— 33

*Hohenzollerns* — dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).— 67, 385

*Howell, George* (1833-1910) — bricklayer; Secretary of the London Trades Council (1861-62); member of the General Council of the International (October 1864 to 1869); Secretary of the Reform League (1864-67) and the Parliamentary Committee of the British Congress of Trade Unions (1871-75); Liberal M. P. (1885-95).— 8

*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885) — French writer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative assemblies during the Second Republic; lived in emigration in 1851-70, from 1876 member of the Senate.— 293, 297, 303

*Hugues, Clovis* (1851-1907) — French poet, journalist and politician, supported the Paris Commune, deputy to the National Assembly from 1881.— 409, 414, 418

*Hutten, Ulrich von* (1488-1523) — German poet, advocate of the Reformation, ideologist of and participant in the knights' uprising in 1522-23.— 173

*Hyndman, Henry Mayers* (1842-1921) — English socialist, founder (1881) and leader of the Democratic Federation which was transformed into Social Democratic Federation in 1884; later a leader of the British Socialist Party, was expelled from it for his support of the imperialist war in 1916.— 54, 74, 85, 105, 114, 118-19, 123, 127-28, 155, 165, 177, 207, 236-38, 245, 247, 265, 313, 342, 345, 366-70, 376, 384, 393-94, 403, 404, 406-08, 424, 427, 431, 434, 440, 443, 446, 484, 521, 526, 529, 534

## I

*Ihring, Ferdinand* — officer of the German political police, agent provocateur in a Berlin workers' society under the name of Mahlow; was exposed in February 1886.— 426

*Irving, Sir Henry (John Henry Brodribb)* (1838-1905) — English producer and actor; engaged in some plays by Shakespeare.— 345

*Issleib* — daughter of Ferdinand Issleib, August Bebel's partner.— 80

## J

*Jagemann, Christian Joseph* (1735-1804) — German philologist, wrote on the Italian literature history, composed an Italian-German dictionary.— 85

*Jankowska, Marya* (née *Zaleska*, pseudonym *Stefan Leonowicz*) (1850-1909) — Polish socialist, journalist, member of the First International; lived in emigration in the 1880s-90s, delegate to the international socialist congresses in Paris (1889), Brussels (1891) and Zurich (1893); took part in the foundation of the Polish Socialist Party in 1892; married Polish socialist Stanisław Mendelson in 1889.— 185-86

*Joffrin, Jules François Alexandre* (1846-1890) — French mechanic, socialist, an organiser of the mechanics' trade union; took part in the Paris Commune, after its defeat an émigré in England (1871-81); member of the French Workers' Party, a leader of the Possibilist wing; member of the town's council of the 18th arrondissement of Paris.— 134, 141-42

*Johny* — see *Longuet, Jean Laurent Frédéric (Johny)*

*Jollymeier* — see *Schorlemmer, Carl*

*Jones, Ernest Charles* (1819-1869) — proletarian poet and journalist, prominent figure in the English working-class movement, Left-wing chartist leader, friend of Marx and Engels.— 404

*Jordanes (Jornandes, Jordanis)* (b. c. 500) — historian, wrote a work on the Goths.— 296

*Jornandes* — see *Jordanes*

*Joynes, James Leigh* (1853-1893) — English journalist and translator, a leader of the Social Democratic Federation, an editor of the *To-Day*, contributed to the *Justice* and *The Commonweal*, translated Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital* into English.— 74, 105, 127, 129, 172, 207, 236

*Juta, Johann Carl (Jaan Carel)* (1824-1886) — Dutch merchant, husband of Karl Marx's sister Louise, bookseller in Capetown (South Africa).— 71

*Juta, Louise* (1821-1893) — Karl Marx's sister, Johann Carl Juta's wife.— 71

## K

*Kaler-Reinthal, Emil* (1850-1897) — Austrian journalist, Social Democrat, withdrew from the workers' movement in the late 1880s, opposed Social Democracy.— 50

*Kalle, Fritz* (1837-1915) — German industrialist, National Liberal, deputy to the Reichstag in 1884-90.— 438, 439

*Kálnoky, Gustav, Count von* (1832-1898) — Austro-Hungarian statesman, ambassador to St Petersburg (1880-81), chairman of the Imperial Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister (1881-95).— 517

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804) — German philosopher.— 114, 122

*Kaulbars, Nikolai Vasilyevich, Baron* (1842-1905) — Russian general, military attaché in Austria (1881-86), was on special diplomatic mission in Bulgaria in 1886.— 505, 517

*Kautsky, Karl Johann* (1854-1938) — German journalist, economist and historian, Social Democrat, edited *Die Neue Zeit* (1883-1917), wrote on

Marxist theory, later an ideologist of centrism in German Social Democracy and the Second International.—17, 27, 55-58, 63-64, 68, 70, 72, 73, 75-78, 80, 81, 85, 86, 89, 90, 101-03, 109-10, 120-21, 123-25, 131-33, 135-39, 144, 147, 153-57, 160, 162-66, 170, 174-77, 186-87, 189-90, 192-95, 201, 203-08, 210, 212, 218, 230, 236, 250, 251, 262, 265, 270, 272, 274, 283, 285, 302, 303, 307, 316, 321-25, 329, 334, 344, 357, 360, 362, 366, 378, 385, 386, 399, 404, 407, 417, 422, 425, 427, 448, 454, 455, 458-59, 460-63, 472-74, 476-79, 481-82, 504, 521, 526, 530, 537

*Kautsky, Louise* (née *Strasser*) (1860-1950)—Austrian socialist, first wife of Karl Kautsky, secretary of Engels from 1890.—262, 265, 273, 320-25, 357, 378, 386, 399, 454, 458, 459, 461, 463, 473, 477, 480, 531, 537

*Kautsky, Minna* (née *Jaich*) (1837-1912)—German writer of social novels; Karl Kautsky's mother.—320, 321, 355-58

*Kayser, Max* (1853-1888)—German journalist, Social Democrat, deputy to the Reichstag (1878-84), sided with the Reformist wing of the Social-Democratic group.—21

*Kelley-Wischnewetzky, Florence* (1859-1932)—American socialist, translated Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* into English; Lazar Wischnewetzky's wife.—248, 256-59, 373, 382, 393, 395-97, 405, 415-16, 419, 420, 441, 451-53, 463-66, 477, 478, 540-42

*Kjellberg, Julia*—daughter of the Swedish industrialist, wife of Georg Heinrich von Vollmar.—185

*Klopfer, Ludwig*—German Social Democrat, an émigré in Switzerland.—25-28

*Knowles, Sir James Thomas* (1831-1908)—English architect, writer and publisher, founded and edited *The Nineteenth Century* (1877-1908).—8, 12

*Kock, Charles Paul de* (1793-1871)—French novelist and dramatist.—170

*Kol, Henri Hubert van* (1852-1925)—a founder and leader of the Dutch Social-Democratic Workers' Party.—477, 499, 501

*Kolb, Georg Friedrich* (1808-1884)—German politician, journalist and statistician; democrat.—359

*Krantz*—see *Lavrov, Pyotr Lavrovich*

*Kravchinsky, Sergei Mikhailovich* (pseudonym *Stepnyak*) (1851-1895)—Russian author and journalist, revolutionary Narodnik in the 1870s; an émigré after he took part in the revolutionary action against the police chief in St Petersburg in 1878; lived in England from 1884.—256, 443

*Kropotkin, Pyotr Alexeyevich, Prince* (1842-1921)—Russian geographer, geologist and revolutionary; theoretician of anarchism, an émigré in 1876-1917.—431

*Krzywicki, Ludwik Joachim Franciszek* (1859-1941)—Polish anthropologist, sociologist, economist and journalist; professor at Warsaw University; took part in the socialist movement in the 1880s, a translator into Polish and editor of the first volume of *Capital*; propagated Marxism in Poland.—87, 89

*Kugelmann, Ludwig* (1828-1902)—German physician, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; member of the First International, Marx's regular correspondent (1862-74), friend of Marx and Engels.—133, 134

*Kuropatkin, Alexei Nikolayevich* (1848-1925)—Russian general, took part in the Russo-Turkish war (1877-78) and campaigns to the Central Asia (1879-83).—339

## L

*Labruyère, Georges de*—French journalist, contributed to *Le Cri du Peuple*.—376

*Lafargue* (b. 1803) — Paul Lafargue's mother.— 4

*Lafargue, Laura* (née *Marx*) (1845-1911) — Karl Marx's second daughter, wife of Paul Lafargue (from 1868); took part in the French working-class movement.— 4-6, 28-32, 39-41, 45, 46, 49, 58-63, 69, 71-72, 78-80, 94-97, 104-06, 111, 117, 118, 121-23, 127-29, 135, 142-44, 162, 166-68, 170-71, 174-75, 178, 183, 191, 202, 206, 207, 211, 224-27, 237, 247, 248, 250, 264-66, 273-76, 288-90, 292-93, 301-04, 310-11, 313, 319-21, 325-27, 333, 334, 342, 344, 345, 352, 370, 375-76, 384, 386, 403, 405, 406, 423-26, 435-37, 450, 451, 456, 477, 478, 482, 483, 490, 494, 496-98, 506-08, 521, 524-27, 526-39

*Lafargue, Paul* (1842-1911) — prominent figure in the international and French working-class movement; member of the General Council of the First International; took part in elaboration of the programme of the French Workers' Party; wrote on history and theory of Marxism, disciple and associate of Marx and Engels, husband of Marx's daughter Laura.— 4, 5, 20, 28, 30, 32, 39, 41, 46, 48, 59-60, 63-64, 68, 71-72, 78-80, 86, 94-96, 104, 105, 107, 115-18, 121-23, 129, 130, 134, 139, 143, 162, 168, 170-71, 175, 179-83, 191, 224-27, 235-36, 255-57, 264-66, 275, 276, 290, 292-93, 297, 301, 310, 313, 314, 326, 331, 333, 345, 350, 352, 368, 370, 375-76, 384, 405, 409, 410, 425, 430-32, 438, 439, 442, 444, 445, 451, 456, 465, 477, 483, 490, 494, 497, 507, 508, 512, 518, 520, 524, 527, 538, 539

*Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louis* (1790-1869) — French poet, historian and politician, a leader of the moderate republicans in the 1840s; Foreign Minister and virtually head of the Provisional Government in 1848.— 24

*Lasker, Eduard* (1829-1884) — German lawyer, politician, a founder and leader of the National Liberal Party, withdrew from it in 1880; deputy to the North German and Imperial Reichstag from 1867.— 440

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864) — German journalist and lawyer; socialist, founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863) and its chairman.— 35, 175, 188, 192, 225, 241, 305, 342, 367, 370, 389

*Lavigne, Paul* — French socialist.— 345, 358, 359

*Lavrov (Lavroff, Lawroff), Pyotr Lavrovich* (1823-1900) — Russian sociologist and journalist, an ideologist of Narodism; an émigré from 1870; member of the First International, took part in the Paris Commune; edited the *Vperyod!* (Forward!) magazine (1873-76) and the newspaper *Vperyod!* (1875-76); friend of Marx and Engels.— 3, 4, 68, 79, 87-89, 92-95, 100, 101, 106, 110, 261, 262, 264, 273, 274, 302, 337, 399, 400, 525, 529

*Leclère, Henri Alfred Albert Adhémar* (1853-1917) — French printer; took part in the socialist movement in the 1870s-80s, Possibilist, contributed to some socialist and radical papers; official of the colonial administration in Cambodia from 1886.— 96, 144

*Leibnitz, Gottfried Wilhelm* (1646-1716) — German philosopher and mathematician.— 133

*Lehmann* — see *William I*

*Lenchen* — see *Demuth, Helene*

*Leopold* (1790-1852) — Grand Duke of Baden (1830-52).— 350

*Leopold II* (1835-1909) — King of the Belgians (1865-1909).— 192

*Leroux, Pierre* (1797-1871) — French writer, utopian socialist, a representative of Christian socialism.— 342

*Leroy-Beaulieu, Pierre Paul* (1843-1916) — French economist, professor at Collège de France.— 171, 174, 175, 178, 179, 181-83, 225

*Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim* (1729-1781) — German writer, critic and

philosopher of the Enlightenment.—440

*Lessner, Friedrich* (1825-1910)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; tailor; member of the Communist League from 1847, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; prosecuted at the Cologne Communist trial in 1852, emigrated to London in 1856, member of the General Council of the First International (November 1864 to 1872), member of the British Federal Council (1872-73); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—139, 371, 422, 460

*Lexis, Wilhelm* (1837-1914)—German economist and statistician, professor of economics at the universities of Strassburg, Dorpat, Freiburg, Breslau and Göttingen (1887-1914).—421, 474, 522

*Liebig, Justus, Baron von* (1803-1873)—German agrochemist.—107

*Liebknecht, Natalie* (née *Reh*) (1835-1909)—Wilhelm Liebknecht's second wife (from 1868).—495-96, 530, 531, 537

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution, member of the Communist League and the First International; deputy to the North German (1867-70) and the German Reichstag from 1874 (with intervals); a founder and leader of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany; editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1869-76) and the *Vorwärts!* (1876-78 and 1890-1900); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—5, 14, 16-22, 26, 27, 32, 35, 36, 38, 47, 48, 54, 55, 57, 80, 83-84, 99, 102, 114, 123, 124, 144, 146, 169, 212, 239-41, 243, 245, 253, 258, 275, 284, 285, 290, 303, 307, 339, 340, 353, 359, 361, 362, 365, 366, 377-82, 385, 387, 391, 395, 417, 418, 426, 427, 433, 438, 442, 445, 446, 461, 469, 476, 478-80, 482, 484, 488, 489, 491, 495, 498-501, 508, 509, 511, 530, 535-38

*Lippert, Julius* (1839-1909)—Austrian historian and ethnographer.—207

*Lissagaray, Hippolyte Prosper Olivier* (1838-1901)—French journalist; took part in the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England; wrote *Histoire de la Commune de 1871*.—288, 376

*Longuet, Charles Félix César* (1839-1903)—journalist, socialist, member of the General Council of the First International (1866-68 and 1871-72), member of the Paris Commune, later emigrated to England; joined the Possibilists in the 1880s, was elected to the Paris Municipal Council; husband of Marx's daughter Jenny.—4, 106, 409, 413, 417, 425, 445

*Longuet, Edgar* (1879-1950)—physician, member of the Socialist Party of France; son of Marx's daughter Jenny and Charles Longuet.—60, 94, 105, 106, 127, 248

*Longuet, Henri (Harry)* (1878-1883)—son of Marx's daughter Jenny and Charles Longuet.—17

*Longuet, Jean Laurent Frédéric (Johny)* (1876-1938)—lawyer, a leader of the Socialist Party of France, son of Marx's daughter Jenny and Charles Longuet.—5, 60, 99, 105, 106, 127, 248, 333, 376, 386

*Longuet, Jenny* (née *Marx*) (1844-1883)—Karl Marx's eldest daughter, wife of Charles Longuet from 1872.—47, 226

*Longuet, Jenny* (1882-1952)—daughter of Jenny and Charles Longuet, granddaughter of Karl Marx.—60, 94, 105, 106, 127, 248

*Longuet, Marcel* (1881-1949)—son of Jenny and Charles Longuet.—60, 94, 105, 106, 127, 248

*Lopatin(e), Hermann Alexandrovich* (1845-1918)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik; member of the General Coun-

cil of the First International (1870), a translator of the first volume of Marx's *Capital* into Russian; friend of Marx and Engels.—4, 59, 60, 65, 93, 100, 129, 260, 319, 349, 401, 525-26

*Loria, Achille* (1857-1943)—Italian sociologist and economist, professor at Siena, Padua and Turin.—24-25, 226

*Louis Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Napoleon*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—221

*Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, comte de Paris* (1838-1894)—Louis Philippe's grandson, pretender to the French throne under the name of Philippe VII.—519

*Loustalot, Élisée* (1762-1790)—French journalist, revolutionary democrat, took part in the French Revolution.—95, 122

*Lowrey*—partner in the firm William Swan Sonnenschein & Co.—480

*Lubbock, Sir John, 1st Baron Avebury* (1834-1913)—English naturalist, follower of Darwin, wrote on zoology and history of the primitive society.—103

*Lüderitz, Franz Adolf Eduard* (1834-1886)—merchant from Bremen, an initiator of German expansionism in Africa.—199

*Luther, Martin* (1483-1546)—prominent figure of the Reformation, founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism).—132

M

*Mably, Gabriel Bonnot de* (1709-1785)—French sociologist, proponent of utopian egalitarian communism.—95

*MacMahon, Marie Edme Patrice Maurice, comte de, duc de Magenta* (1808-1893)—French marshal, senator, Bonapartist, took part in the Crimean, Italian and Franco-Prussian wars; took part in the suppression of the Paris Commune; President of the Third Republic (1873-79).—430

*Mahon, John Lincoln* (1865-1933)—English mechanic; member of the Executive of the Social Democratic Federation (from 1884); member of the Socialist League (from December 1884), and its secretary (from 1885), organised the North of England Socialist Federation (1887).—227-28, 298, 312

*Maine, Sir Henry James Sumner* (1822-1888)—English lawyer and historian.—179

*Malon, Benoît* (1841-1893)—French socialist, member of the First International and of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (1868); member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; after the Commune was suppressed, emigrated to Italy and later to Switzerland where he joined the anarchists; after the 1880 amnesty returned to France; a Possibilist leader.—64, 68, 74, 96, 108, 368, 430

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, author of a theory of population.—77, 95

*Manz-Schäppi, Karl* (1856-1917)—German book-binder, Social Democrat; emigrated to Vienna and later to Zurich after the introduction in 1878 of the Anti-Socialist Law.—170, 204

*Marat, Jean Paul* (1743-1793)—a Jacobin leader in the French Revolution.—399

*Mark, von der*—see *Rosenberg, Wilhelm Ludwig*

*Marlborough*—see *Churchill, George Charles Spencer, 8th Duke of Marlborough*

*Martignetti, Pasquale* (1844-1920)—Italian socialist, translated works by Marx and Engels into Italian.—37, 38, 48, 49, 205, 243, 244,

272, 291-93, 298-99, 373-74, 420-21, 493-94

*Marx, Eleanor (Tussy)* (1855-1898) — Karl Marx's youngest daughter; took part in the British and international working-class movement in the 1880s-90s; wife of Edward Aveling from 1884; member of the Social Democratic Federation, a founder of the Socialist League (1884); was active in foundation of trade unions of unskilled workers in England in the late 1880s.— 3, 5, 6, 14, 31, 39-41, 53, 58-60, 63, 69-71, 74, 76-78, 83, 85, 87-89, 91, 92, 94, 111, 115, 120, 124, 128, 167, 175, 195, 214, 224, 237, 245, 247, 250, 261, 265, 274, 275, 297, 301, 303, 320, 323, 326, 368, 375, 376, 378, 383, 386, 391, 399, 402, 424, 435-37, 443, 458, 461, 469, 478, 482, 489, 494, 498, 500, 506, 508, 524, 525, 527, 537, 540

*Marx, Heinrich* (1777-1838) — Karl Marx's father, lawyer, Counsellor of Justice in Trier.— 29

*Marx, Jenny* (née *von Westphalen*) (1814-1881) — Karl Marx's wife.— 34, 39, 47, 152

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883).— 3, 6-18, 24, 25, 29, 31, 33, 36, 39-44, 47-51, 53-54, 60, 67, 72, 73, 78, 79, 84, 88-94, 100, 103, 111, 114, 117, 122, 124, 128-29, 133, 138, 150, 152, 158-59, 163, 165, 166, 175, 181, 182, 184, 186, 192-94, 202, 204, 206, 214, 224, 226, 229, 233, 251, 258, 260, 262, 265, 266, 279-80, 282, 283, 287-88, 291, 295, 305-07, 309, 311, 316, 319, 328, 329, 332, 333, 344, 351, 358, 371, 373-75, 385, 389, 391, 393-94, 396, 400, 402, 416, 420, 422, 435, 439, 447, 452, 457, 465, 470, 475, 481, 483, 488

*Maurer, Georg Ludwig von* (1790-1872) — German historian, studied the social system of ancient and medieval Germany.— 179, 398

*May, Élie Henri* (1842-1930) — French socialist, Possibilist; a founder of La Société républicaine d'économie sociale, later supported Boulanger.— 368

*Mayall* — photographer in London.— 15, 18

*McEnnis, J. T.* — correspondent of the *Missouri Republican* in Saint Louis (USA).— 443, 460, 490, 491

*Mead, Edward P.* — English workers' poet, contributed to the Chartist newspaper *The Northern Star*.— 92

*Mehring, Franz* (1846-1919) — German philosopher, historian and journalist, took part in the working-class and socialist movements; author of works on history of Germany and of Social Democracy; biographer of Karl Marx, member of the German Social-Democratic Party (from 1891); permanent contributor to *Die Neue Zeit*.— 253, 255, 316

*Meissner, Otto Karl* (1819-1902) — Hamburg publisher, published *Capital* and some other works by Marx and Engels.— 17, 20, 26, 40, 60, 76-78, 89, 92, 96, 101, 121, 122, 190, 309, 319, 328, 384, 400, 417, 494, 496

*Mendelssohn* — bank manager in Berlin.— 338

*Menger, Anton* (1841-1906) — Austrian lawyer and politician, sociologist, professor at Vienna University.— 521, 526

*Meyer, Mathilde* (née *Trautow*) — wife of Rudolf Hermann Meyer.— 507

*Meyer, Rudolf Hermann* (1839-1899) — German economist and journalist, conservative, biographer of Rodbertus.— 54, 79, 101, 138, 250, 375, 483, 507

*Michel, Louise* (pseudonym *Enjolras*) (1830-1905) — French teacher, was active in the Paris Commune; supported Blanquists during the Second Empire, was exiled to New Caledonia after the suppression of the Commune; after the 1880 amnesty took part in the working-class movement in France, Belgium and Holland, sided with the anar-

chists; emigrated to England in 1890 where cooperated with Kropotkin.— 41, 404

*Mignet, François Auguste Marie* (1796-1884) — French historian.— 399

*Mikhailovsky, Nikolai Konstantinovich* (1842-1904) — Russian sociologist, journalist and literary critic, ideologist of liberal Narodism, an editor of the *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* (Fatherland's Notes) and *Russkoye Bogatstvo* (Russian Wealth) magazines.— 112

*Mink, Paule* (pseudonym *Mekarska, Pauline Adèle*) (1839-1901) — French journalist, took part in the Paris Commune; emigrated to Switzerland after the Commune was suppressed; was active in the French socialist movement after the 1880 amnesty.— 96

*Mirbach, Otto von* (born c. 1800) — Prussian retired artillery officer; democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; commandant of Elberfeld during the May 1849 uprising; emigrated from Germany.— 351

*Molinari, Gustave de* (1819-1912) — Belgian economist, professor at Brussels University; Free Trader; edited *Journal des Économistes*.— 225

*Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard, Count von* (1800-1891) — Prussian military leader and writer; general, field marshal general from 1871, Chief of the Prussian (1857-71) and the Imperial (1871-88) General Staff.— 211

*Mommsen, Theodor* (1817-1903) — German historian, professor of ancient history at Berlin University (from 1857), wrote on ancient Rome.— 207

*Money, J. W. B.*— 102, 179

*Moore, Samuel* (1838-1911) — English lawyer; member of the First International, translated into English the first volume of Marx's *Capital* (together with Edward Aveling) and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; friend of Marx and Engels.— 9, 24, 28, 29, 31, 33, 40, 46, 59, 79, 95, 122, 124, 127-29, 143, 245, 247, 261, 289, 292, 401, 402, 424, 436, 455, 506, 527

*Morgan, Lewis Henry* (1818-1881) — American ethnographer, archaeologist and historian of primitive society.— 103, 115, 120, 123, 131-32, 207

*Morley, John, Viscount Morley of Blackburn* (1838-1932) — English statesman, journalist and historian; Liberal; editor-in-chief of the *Fortnightly Review* (1867-82), Secretary of State for Ireland (1886 and 1892-95).— 449

*Morris, William* (1834-1896) — English poet, writer and artist; socialist; a leader of the Socialist League in 1885-89.— 105, 155, 165, 214, 224, 237, 238, 245, 247-48, 376, 427, 431, 438, 443, 446, 471, 484

*Most, Johann Joseph* (1846-1906) — German book-binder; deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-78); emigrated to England after the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law in 1878 where he published *Die Freiheit*, expelled from the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany as anarchist (1880); emigrated to the USA (1882).— 9, 11, 14, 15, 44, 91, 114, 198

*Motteler, Julius* (1838-1907) — German Social Democrat; deputy to the Reichstag (1874-78, 1903-07); at the time of the Anti-Socialist Law, an émigré in Zurich and later in London; was responsible for transportation of *Der Sozialdemokrat* and illegal Social-Democratic literature to Germany.— 77, 498

*Mozin* (c. 1771-1840) — French clergyman, philologist.— 85, 375

*Müller, Philipp Heinrich* — German Social Democrat, convicted at the Freiberg trial in 1886 for his participation in the illegal party congress at Copenhagen (1883).— 225, 461

N

*Napoleon* — see *Napoleon III*
*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821) — Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).— 451, 496
*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoléon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873) — nephew of Napoleon I, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).— 51, 237, 330, 513, 514, 518
*Nelson, Horatio Nelson, Viscount* (1758-1805) — English admiral.— 407
*Nieuwenhuis, Ferdinand Domela* (1846-1919) — a founder of the Dutch Social-Democratic Party (1881), M. P. from 1888, anarchist from the 1890s.— 6, 7, 372, 397-99
*Nikitina, Varvara Nikolayevna* (née *Gendre*) (1842-1884) — Russian journalist, lived in Italy from the late 1860s, later in France; contributed to the *Justice* and *Nouvelle Revue*.— 5
*Nim* — see *Demuth, Helene*
*Nonne, Heinrich* — German agent provocateur, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, lived in Paris from spring 1883, exposed in 1884.— 96-97, 108-09, 206
*Norgate* — bookseller in London.— 375
*Novikova, Olga Alexeyevna* (née *Kireyeva*) (1840-1925) — Russian journalist, for a long time lived in London, favoured an Anglo-Russian alliance.— 256

O

*O'Connell, Daniel* (1775-1847) — Irish lawyer and politician, leader of the liberal wing in the national liberation movement; organiser and leader of the *Repeal Association* (1840).— 422
*Oriol, Henri* — clerk in Lachâtre's publishing house in Paris; owner of a print-shop which put out socialist literature in Paris (1883-86).— 104
*Orléans* — branch in the house of Bourbons in France.— 518, 519
*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858) — English utopian socialist.— 184, 422, 470

P

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount* (1784-1865) — British statesman, Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-65).— 374
*Papritz, Evgenia Eduardovna* (*Lineva* by marriage) (1854-1919) — Russian singer and collector of folk songs; took part in the work of the illegal Moscow Society of Translators and Publishers (1882-84) where some works by Marx and Engels were published in Russian, émigré in 1884-96.— 157, 158
*Paquet, Just.*— 226
*Parker, Sarah* — Frederick Engels' housemaid.— 459
*Parnell, Charles Stewart* (1846-1891) — Irish politician and statesman, Liberal M. P. (from 1875); leader of Home Rule League (1877-90); President of the Irish Land League (from 1880).— 361, 367, 369
*Paul* — see *Lafargue, Paul*
*Paul, Kegan* (1828-1902) — English publisher.— 31, 33, 40, 128, 143, 313, 405, 423, 437, 450
*Pauli, Clara* — Philipp Viktor Pauli's daughter.— 436
*Pauli, Philipp Viktor* (1836-d. after 1916) — German chemist.— 436
*Peabody, George* (1795-1869) — American merchant, financier and philanthropist; headed a bank in London (from 1837).— 400
*Pearson, Karl* (1857-1936) — British mathematician, biologist and philosopher; professor in the University College (London) from 1884.— 543, 548
*Pease, Edward Reynolds* (1857-1955) — English socialist, a founder

and secretary of the Fabian Society.—392, 393

*Peel, Sir Robert* (1788-1850)—British statesman, Tory; Home Secretary (1822-27, 1828-30); Prime Minister (1834-35, 1841-46).—374, 449

*Percy*—see *Rosher, Percy White*

*Peschier, Charles Jaques* (nickname *Adolphe*) (1805-1878)—professor of French literature at Tübingen; a compiler of the French-German dictionary.—85, 375

*Petrarch or Petrarca, Francesco* (1304-1374)—Italian poet of the Renaissance.—48

*Pfänder, Karl* (c. 1819-1876)—German painter, took part in the German and international working-class movement; emigrated to London in 1845; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, of the Communist League and of the General Council of the International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—468

*Pfänder.*—447

*Philippe VII*—see *Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, comte de Paris*

*Planteau, François Edouard* (b. 1838)—French radical politician; member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1885); sided with the socialists (1887-89); follower of Boulanger (from 1889).—409, 414

*Platter, Julius* (1844-1923)—Swiss economist, professor at Zurich University (1879-84).—458

*Plekhanov (Plechanoff), Georgi Valentinovich* (1856-1918)—Russian philosopher, propagated Marxism in Russia; founder of the first Russian Marxist organisation, the Emancipation of Labour group (1883).—67, 264, 279-80

*Potter, George* (1832-1893)—British worker, carpenter; leader of the Amalgamated Union of Building Workers and of the trade union movement; member of the London Trades Council; founder, editor and publisher of *The Bee-Hive Newspaper.*—320

*Powderly, Terence Vincent* (1849-1924)—mechanic, a leader of the working-class movement in the USA (1870s-90s); a leader of the Knights of Labor (1879-93); sided with the Republicans in 1896.—532, 541

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist; founder of anarchism.—102, 105, 117, 156-57, 208, 342, 354, 413, 429, 470

*Pumps*—see *Rosher, Mary Ellen*

*Pushkin, Alexander Sergeyevich* (1799-1837)—Russian poet.—48

*Putnam, George Haven* (1844-1930)—owner of a New York publishing house (from 1872); Liberal.—259

*Puttkamer, Robert Victor von* (1828-1900)—Prussian statesman, Minister of Home Affairs (1881-88).—138, 473

## Q

*Quarck, Max* (pseudonym *Freiwald Thüringer*) (1860-1930)—German lawyer and journalist; Right-wing Social Democrat; deputy to the German Reichstag (1912-18).—64, 67, 138, 164, 258, 384, 385, 405, 417

*Quelch, Harry* (1858-1913)—English worker; a leader of the new trade unions; socialist; delegate to international socialist congresses of 1891 and 1893.—123

## R

*Rackow, Heinrich* (d. 1916)—German Social Democrat; a refugee in London (from 1879); owner of a tobacco shop; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.—118

*Radford, Ernest*—English lawyer.—40

*Rae, John* (1845-1915)—English economist and sociologist; contributed to the

*Contemporary Review* magazine in the 1880s.—398

*Ranc, Arthur* (1831-1908)—French journalist; moderate Republican; member of the Chamber of Deputies, later senator.—413

*Réache*—see *Gerville-Réache, Gaston Marie Sidoine Théonile*

*Redgrave, Alexander*—English inspector of factories.—334

*Reeves, William Dobson* (c. 1827-1907)—English publisher and bookseller.—40, 310, 320, 345

*Retiès, Alexandre* (1852-1894)—French trackwalker, Possibilist.—141

*Reuchlin, Johann* (1455-1522)—German scientist, philologist and lawyer, representative of humanism.—173

*Révillon, Antoine* (1832-1898)—French writer and journalist; Left radical; member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1881).—292

*Ribot, Alexandre Félix Joseph* (1842-1923)—French lawyer and statesman; a leader of the right Republicans; member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1878); Minister of Foreign Affairs (1890-92); Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1893, 1895).—330

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—British classical economist.—82, 126, 163, 166, 181, 184, 194, 210, 226

*Richter, Eugen* (1838-1906)—German politician, leader of the Liberals; a founder of the Party of Progress from March 1884, deputy to the North German (1867) and German Reichstag (1871-1906).—137, 268, 427

*Rittinghausen, Moritz* (1814-1890)—German journalist and politician, democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; contributed to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; member of the First International; member of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (prior to 1884); deputy to the German Reichstag (1877-78, 1881-84).—21, 209

*Robelet, Gustave*—French employee; socialist; candidate of the Workers' Party at the municipal elections (July 1887).—96

*Roche, Ernest Jean* (1850-1917)—French engraver, later journalist; socialist, editor of *L'Intransigeant*, organised strikes in Anzin (1885) and Decazeville (1886); member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1889), follower of Boulanger in the late 1880s, later sided with the Independent Socialists.—438, 442, 443, 470

*Rochefort, Victor Henri, marquis de Rochefort-Luçay* (1830-1913)—French journalist and politician; Left-wing Republican; a member of the Government of National Defence after the revolution of 4 September 1870, was exiled to New Caledonia after the suppression of the Paris Commune; escaped to England; returned to France after the 1880 amnesty, published *L'Intransigeant*; monarchist (from the late 1880s).—435

*Rodbertus-Jagetzow, Johann Karl* (1805-1875)—German economist, leader of the Left Centre in the Prussian National Assembly (1848); subsequently theoretician of 'state socialism'.—72, 101, 102, 111, 124-26, 138-39, 154, 156, 163, 166, 175, 176, 187-89, 193-95, 204, 206, 208, 211, 220, 262, 296, 301, 319, 385, 521

*Röhrig, Friedrich Wilhelm* (b. 1826)—owner of a factory in Barmen.—539

*Rosenberg, Wilhelm Ludwig* (pseudonym *von der Mark*) (b. 1850)—American journalist, socialist; secretary of the National Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of the USA and leader of the Lassallean faction in it; expelled from the party in 1889.—72, 86, 91, 124

*Rosher, Charley*.—276

*Rosher, Emily*.—46

*Rosher, Mary Ellen Catherine* (*Pumps*) (née *Burns*) (born c. 1860)—niece of

Engels' wife, Lydia Burns.—5, 31, 45, 58, 59, 71, 94, 136, 143, 168, 171, 174, 178, 214, 217, 265, 292, 304, 314, 321, 345, 357, 376, 378, 386, 423, 438, 455, 463, 473, 477, 478

*Rosher, Percy White*—English trader, husband of Mary Ellen Burns from 1881.—5, 45, 59, 71, 78, 143, 171, 174, 178, 265, 273, 303, 304, 315, 357

*Russell, John Russell, 1st Earl* (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader; Prime Minister (1846-52, 1865-66); Foreign Secretary (1852-53, 1859-65).—217

S

*Sabor, Adolf* (1841-1907)—German teacher; Social Democrat; deputy to the German Reichstag (1884-90).—225

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—184

*Sax, Emanuel Hans* (pseudonym *Fritz Denhardt*) (1857-1896)—Austrian economist and poet, contributed to *Die Neue Zeit*; professor at the agricultural school in Vienna.—57, 79

*Schabelitz, Jakob* (1827-1899)—Swiss publisher and bookseller.—164, 253, 263, 346

*Schäffle, Albert Eberhard Friedrich* (1831-1903)—German economist and sociologist; armchair socialist.—179, 267

*Schattner, Regina*—see *Bernstein, Regina (Gine)*

*Scheu, Andreas* (1844-1927)—a leader in the Austrian and British socialist movement; member of the First International; emigrated to England (1874); a founder of the Social Democratic Federation; member of the Socialist League.—237, 537

*Schewitsch, Sergei Yegorovich* (1844-1912)—American socialist, Russian by birth; an editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (1870s-80s); editor of *The Leader* (from 1886).—13, 44, 91

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—357

*Schippel, Max* (1859-1928)—German economist and journalist; follower of Rodbertus; Social Democrat (from 1886); sided with the semi-anarchist group of the 'Young', deputy to the German Reichstag (1890-1905).—163, 165

*Schlüter, Friedrich Hermann* (1851-1919)—German Social Democrat; head of the Zurich Social-Democratic publishing house (1880s); a founder of the archive of German Social Democracy; emigrated to the USA in 1889; took an active part in the socialist movement; wrote on the history of the British and US working-class movement.—171, 172, 196, 197, 248-49, 251, 263, 286-88, 304-06, 309-10, 322-24, 327-29, 331, 332, 346, 347, 371, 373, 374, 418, 419, 421, 422, 450, 453, 467, 472, 474, 475, 528

*Schneeberger, Franz Julius* (1827-1892)—Austrian writer and playwright, editor and publisher of the *Deutsch-Italienische Korrespondenz*.—501

*Schorlemmer, Carl (Jollymeier)* (1834-1892)—German organic chemist, dialectical materialist, professor at Owen College in Manchester; member of Royal Society; member of the First International and of the German Socialist Workers' Party; friend of Marx and Engels.—5, 31, 33, 45-48, 55, 61, 62, 71, 74-77, 79, 91, 123, 129, 132, 160, 168, 170-71, 174, 209, 229, 245, 247, 289, 314, 315, 318, 320, 325, 375, 376, 378, 384, 438, 439, 454, 455, 458, 477, 478, 483, 490, 495, 506, 539

*Schorlemmer, Ludwig*—Carl Schorlemmer's brother.—160, 209

*Schramm, Carl (Karl) August* (1830-1905)—German economist; Social Democrat; an editor of the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*; withdrew from the working-class

movement in the 1880s.—193, 194, 204, 211, 386-87, 391, 414

*Schuberth, Julius*—German publisher; published the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* in Hamburg in 1850.—261

*Schulze-Delitzsch, Franz Hermann* (1808-1883)—German economist and politician; advocated unification of Germany under the Prussian supremacy; a founder of the National Association (1859); a leader of the Party of Progress in the 1860s; sought to divert the workers from revolutionary struggle by organising cooperative societies.—389

*Schumacher, Georg Gerber* (1844-1917)—German tanner, later trader; Social Democrat; deputy to the German Reichstag (1884-98); was expelled from the German Socialist Workers' Party (1898) for his adopting liberal stand during the elections to the Reichstag.—209, 352, 427

*Schweichel, Robert* (pseudonym *Rosus*) (1821-1907)—German writer, literary critic and journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated to Switzerland; active in the working-class movement (from the late 1860s); contributed to *Die Neue Zeit* and other socialist press.—164

*Schweitzer, Johann Baptist von* (1833-1875)—German lawyer; a Lassallean leader; edited *Der Social-Demokrat* (1864-67); President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71); expelled from the General Association (1872) for his contacts with the Prussian authorities.—475

*Séverine, Caroline Rémy* (*Guebhard* by marriage) (1855-1929)—French journalist, active participant in the socialist movement (1880s); headed *Le Cri du Peuple* (1886-88); supported Boulanger (from the late 1880s).—376

*Shaw, George Bernard* (1856-1950)—Irish-English playwright and journalist; a founder of the Fabian Society (1884) and its active member.—207, 238

*Shipton, George Ball* (1839-1911)—English trade unionist; secretary of the Amalgamated Society of House Painters and Decorators; editor of *The Labour Standard* (1881-85); secretary of the London Trades Council (1872-96).—72

*Simoneau*—Radical candidate at the Paris municipal elections in May 1884.—141

*Simrock, Karl Joseph* (1802-1876)—German poet and philologist.—226

*Singer, Paul* (1844-1911)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement; member of the German Socialist Workers' Party (from 1878), deputy to the German Reichstag (1884-1911) and head of its Social-Democratic group (from 1885); member of the party Executive (from 1887) and its chairman (from 1890).—140, 218, 232, 240, 243, 284, 426, 433, 535

*Sketchley, John* (b. 1822)—English journalist, Chartist and prominent figure in the English socialist workers' movement; member of the Social Democratic Federation and of the Socialist League.—238

*Skrebitsky, Alexander Ilyich* (1827-1915)—Russian liberal historian.—339

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—Scottish classical economist.—95, 166, 184

*Smith (Smith-Headingley), Adolphe (Adolphus)*—English journalist and socialist; member of the Social Democratic Federation (1880s).—247

*Sonnenschein, William Swan* (1855-1931)—English publisher; put out the first English edition of Volume I of Marx's *Capital* (1887).—421, 449, 450, 460, 473, 480, 484, 494, 521, 524, 527

*Sorge, Adolf* (1855-1907)—son of Fried-

rich Adolph Sorge, mechanical engineer.—43, 116, 246, 297, 393, 395, 491

*Sorge, Friedrich Adolph (Adolf)* (1828-1906)—German teacher, prominent figure in the international and American working-class and socialist movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA in 1852; member of the First International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); member of the General Council in New York and its General Secretary (1872-74); a founder of the Socialist Labor Party (1876); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—10, 13-16, 18, 42, 91, 113-16, 192, 244-46, 295-97, 393-95, 402, 403, 439, 443, 460, 480, 490-93, 531, 534

*Sorge, Katharina*—Friedrich Adolph Sorge's wife.—113, 460

*Sosnowski, Kasimierz* (1857-1930)—Polish engineer, socialist; an organiser of the workers' societies in Warsaw (late 1870s); an émigré in Paris (from 1881); translated Volume I of *Capital* into Polish; later withdrew from the revolutionary movement.—89

*Sparling, H. Halliday*—English journalist; member of the Socialist League (from 1884), an editor of *The Commonweal*.—535-36

*Stanley, Sir Henry Morton* (original name *John Rowlands*) (1841-1904)—English journalist; explorer of Africa; head of the English expedition to the Equatorial Africa (1887-89).—192

*Staples, John*—Lord Mayor of London (1885-86).—534

*Stegemann, Richard*—German economist.—266-67, 282

*Stephan, Heinrich von* (1831-1897)—German statesman; organiser and head of the post and telegraph service in the German Empire.—337

*Stephens, Joseph Rayner* (1805-1879)—English clergyman; took part in the Chartist movement (late 1830s).—422

*Stepnyak*—see *Kravchinsky, Sergei Mikhailovich*

*Stiebeling, George*—American statistician and journalist; member of the Socialist Labor Party; wrote on economical questions.—114, 296

*Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882)—chief of the Prussian political police (1852-60); an organiser of and principal witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); chief of military police and of the German intelligence and counter-intelligence in France during the Austro-Prussian (1866) and the Franco-Prussian (1870-71) wars.—305, 329, 344, 346

*Stoecker, Adolf* (1835-1909)—German clergyman, founder (1878) and leader of the Christian-Social Party; opposed the socialist working-class movement; advocated Anti-Semitism; deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-93 and 1898-1908).—367

*Struve, Gustav von* (1805-1870)—German journalist, democrat; a leader of the Baden uprising (April-September 1848) and of the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849), a leader of the German refugees in England; took part in the US Civil War on the side of the Union, returned to Germany in 1862.—287, 383

*Sudeikin, Georgi Porfiryevich* (1850-1883)—Russian police officer, inspector of the St Petersburg secret police, assassinated by the Narodnaya Volya members.—74

T

*Terry, Ellen Alicia* (1847-1928)—English actress.—345

*Terzaghi, Carlo* (b. 1845)—Italian lawyer and journalist; secretary of the *Federazione operaia* and *L'Emancipazione*

*del proletario* societies in Turin; police agent from 1872.—154

*Thévenin* (d. 1885)—French police commissar; an organiser of the provocative explosions in Montceau-les-Mines (1884).—265

*Thierry, Jacques Nicolas Augustin* (1795-1856)—French historian.—226

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman; Prime Minister (1836, 1840); deputy to the Constituent (1848) and Legislative (1849-51) assemblies; head of the Orleanists after 1848; chief of the executive power (1871); dealt brutally with the Paris Communards (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73).—117, 399, 430

*Thüringer, Freiwald*—see *Quarck, Max*

*Tikhomirov (Tichomiroff), Lev Alexandrovich* (1852-1923)—Russian journalist, member of the Narodnaya Volya party; monarchist from the late 1880s.—264

*Tkachov, Pyotr Nikitich* (1844-1886)—Russian revolutionary journalist, ideologist of Narodism (Populism) in Russia.—529

*Tschech, Heinrich Ludwig* (1789-1844)—Prussian official, democrat; burgomaster of Storkow (1832-41), executed for an attempt on the life of Frederick William IV.—433

*Tucker, E.*—London publisher.—374

*Tussy*—see *Marx, Eleanor*

*Tylor, Sir Edward Burnett* (1832-1917)—English anthropologist, ethnographer and historian of primitive culture, supporter of the evolution doctrine.—103

V

*Vaillant, Édouard Marie* (1840-1915)—French physician and engineer; Blanquist; member of the Paris Commune; member of the General Council of the First International (1871-72); member of the Paris Municipal Council (from 1884); a founder of the Socialist Party of France (1901).—134, 141, 342, 489

*Vaillant, Marie Anne Cécile Ambroisine* (née *Lachouille*)—Édouard Vaillant's mother.—320

*Van Patten, Philipp*—American businessman; took part in the American socialist movement; National Secretary of the Workingmen's Party of North America (from 1876) and Socialist Labor Party (1877-83); later, an official.—9-11, 14

*Varenholz, Karl* (1858-1930)—English socialist, German by birth; member of the Social Democratic Federation in 1884-85.—265

*Varnhagen von Ense, Rahel Antoine Frederike* (née *Levon*) (1771-1833)—wife of Karl August Varnhagen von Ense, well known for her literary salon in Berlin.—356

*Vaulabelle, Achille Tenaille de* (1799-1879)—French historian and politician; bourgeois republican.—71

*Vico, Giambattista* (1668-1744)—Italian philosopher and lawyer.—276

*Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa* (1840-1901)—Queen Victoria's elder daughter; wife (from 1858) of the Prussian Crown Prince Frederick William.—268

*Viereck, Louis* (1851-1921)—German publisher and journalist; illegitimate son of the German Emperor William I; Social Democrat; leader of the Right wing of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (second half of the 1870s); deputy to the Reichstag (1884-87); emigrated to the USA (1890) and withdrew from the socialist movement.—22, 80, 187, 218, 250, 258, 323, 328, 442, 449, 489

*Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro)* (70-19 B. C.)—Roman poet.—413

*Vogt, Karl (Carl)* (1817-1895)—German natural scientist; democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National

Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five imperial regents (June 1849); emigrated to Switzerland in 1849; received subsidies from Napoleon III in the 1850s-60s.—282, 587

*Vollmar, Georg Heinrich von* (1850-1922)—German army officer; Social Democrat; a leader of the Right wing in German Social Democracy; an editor of *Der Sozialdemokrat* (1879-80); deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-87 and 1890-1918).—184, 185, 433

W

*Wagner, Adolph* (1835-1917)—German economist and politician, professor of political economy and finance; a founder of socio-legal school in political economy; armchair socialist.—138

*Wagner, Richard* (1813-1883)—German composer, conductor and musical writer.—124, 174, 283

*Walther*—German physician, acquaintance of the Bebel family.—316

*Watrin* (d. 1886)—French engineer, manager of the mines in Decazeville.—409

*Watts, John Hunter* (1853-1923)—English socialist, a leader of the Social Democratic Federation; later member of the British Socialist Party.—367

*Weerth, Georg* (1822-1856)—German proletarian poet and journalist; member of the Communist League; edited the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49; friend of Marx and Engels.—34, 160, 161, 422, 475

*Wegmann*—German confectioner, relative of A. Wegmann, a member of the First International.—293

*Wehner, J. G.*—German refugee in Manchester; Treasurer of the Schiller Institute in the 1860s; Engels' acquaintance.—204

*Weiler, G. Adam* (1841-1894)—German joiner; refugee in the USA and from 1862 in England; member of the First International (from 1865) and of the British Federal Council (1872-73); member of London Trades Union Council (1872-73) and of the Social Democratic Federation (from 1883).—57

*Werder, Bernhard Franz Wilhelm von* (1823-1907)—Prussian general and diplomat, military attaché in St Petersburg (1869-86), governor of Berlin (1886-88), ambassador to St Petersburg (1892-95).—467

*Wermuth, Karl Georg Ludwig* (1804-1867)—chief of police in Hanover; an organiser of and witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); in collaboration with Stieber wrote the book *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*.—305, 329, 344, 346

*Westphalen, Johann Ludwig von* (1770-1842)—Jenny Marx's father, Privy Councillor in Trier.—332

*Weydemeyer, Otto*—son of Joseph Weydemeyer; took part in the US working-class movement.—14

*Wicksteed, Philip Henry* (b. 1844)—British Unitarian minister, Christian socialist.—192, 195

*William I* (1797-1888)—King of Prussia (1861-88) and Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—34, 81, 124, 130, 140, 147, 268, 299, 304, 317, 318, 320, 324, 328, 329, 383, 467, 469, 473, 484, 486, 487, 493, 505, 510, 520

*Williams, John Edward* (1854-1917)—a founder and leader of the Social Democratic Federation (1881).—366-69, 375

*Willich, August* (1810-1878)—Prussian army officer; member of the Communist League; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; a leader of the sectarian group in the Communist League in 1850; emigrated to the USA in 1853, general in the Northern army during the Civil War.—352

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*Wills, William Gorman* (1828-1891) — Irish dramatist.— 345
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*Wischnewetzky, Lazar* — physician, Polish by birth; emigrated to the USA in 1886, member of the Socialist Labor Party, Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky's husband.— 441, 477, 478
*Woermann, Adolf* (1847-1911) — big German merchant; National Liberal; deputy to the Reichstag (1884-90); active participant in the colonial expansionism in Africa.— 199
*Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus)* (1809-1864) — German teacher, proletarian revolutionary; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League from March 1848; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49, took an active part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to Switzerland and later to England; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.— 309, 324, 328
*Wright* — English socialist, member of the Social Democratic Federation.— 224

Y

*Yanson, Yuli Eduardovich* (1835-1892) — Russian statistician and economist, professor at St Petersburg University (from 1865) and at some other educational institutions, head of the statistical bureau of the Petersburg municipal board (from 1881); wrote fruitfully on the theory and history of statistics.— 339

Z

*Zasulich (Zasoulitch), Vera Ivanovna* (1849-1919) — participant in the Narodnik (from 1868) and later in the Social-Democratic movements in Russia; a founder (1883) and active member of the Emancipation of Labour group.— 63-67, 93, 111-13, 204, 264, 279, 281, 400, 432
*Zhukovsky, Yuli Galaktionovich* (1822-1907) — Russian economist and journalist; manager of the State Bank; author of the article 'Karl Marx and His Book on Capital'.— 112
*Zitz, Franz Heinrich* (1803-1877) — German lawyer, deputy to the Frankfurt Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to the USA.— 287

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and love, wife of god Freyr, her brother; character in the Scandinavian epic the *Elder Edda*.— 173, 174
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*Gesellschaftsspiegel. Organ zur Vertretung der besitzlosen Volksklassen und zur Beleuchtung der gesellschaftlichen Zustände der Gegenwart* — a German monthly, organ of the 'true Socialists', published under the editorship of Moses Hess in Elberfeld in 1845-46, altogether twelve issues appeared; Frederick Engels was one of its founders.— 160

*L'Intransigeant* — a newspaper published in Paris in 1880-1948; its founder and editor-in-chief was Henri Rochefort (1880-1910); in the 1880s it was a mouthpiece of radical republicans.— 435, 437, 445

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*Journal des Économistes. Revue mensuelle d'économie politique et des questions agricoles, manufacturières et commerciales* — a liberal monthly published in Paris from December 1841 to 1943.— 168, 431

*Journal de Roubaix. Politique, industriel et commercial* — a French Republican daily published in Roubaix from 1856.— 129

*Justice* — a weekly of the Social Democratic Federation published in London from January 1881 to December 1933; appeared under this title in 1884-1925 and then as *Social-Democrat Incorporating Justice.*— 84, 85, 105, 106, 108, 122, 142, 165, 166, 205, 236, 238, 245, 247, 310, 321, 376, 394, 424, 434, 450, 471

*La Justice* — a daily of the Radical Party published in Paris from 1880 to 1930. In 1880-96, under the leadership of its founder Georges Clémenceau, the paper was the organ of the Left-wing radicals advocating a programme of democratic and social reforms. In 1880 Charles Longuet became its editor.— 445-46

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*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie* — a daily of the revolutionary proletarian wing of the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; was published in

Cologne under Marx's editorship from 1 June 1848 to 19 May 1849. Engels was among its editors.—26, 36, 52, 92, 287, 288, 304, 305, 310, 332, 351

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*Die Neue Welt. Illustriertes Unterhaltungsblatt für das Volk*—a German socialist fortnightly published in Leipzig from 1876 to 1881, then in Stuttgart and Hamburg till 1919; Wilhelm Liebknecht was its editor in 1876-80.—7, 160, 165, 173, 174, 309, 324, 363, 498, 502

*Die Neue Zeit*—a theoretical journal of the German Social Democrats; published monthly in Stuttgart from 1883 to October 1890 and then weekly till the autumn of 1923; Engels contributed to it from 1885 to 1895.—26, 27, 57, 103, 121, 132, 135, 137, 144, 153, 163, 164, 189, 204, 212, 220, 250, 274, 307, 385, 448, 458, 509, 527

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*The Nineteenth Century. A Monthly Review*—a liberal review published in London from 1877 to 1900.—8

*The Northern Star*—central organ of the Chartists, published weekly from 1837 to 1852, first in Leeds, and, from November 1844, in London. Its founder and editor was Feargus O'Connor. Engels contributed to the paper from 1843 to 1850.—337, 442

*La Nouvelle Revue*—a French republican journal founded by Juliette Adam and published in Paris from 1879.—431

*The Pall Mall Gazette. An Evening Newspaper and Review*—a daily published in London from 1865 to 1920, in the 1860s and 1870s pursued a conservative line; Marx and Engels maintained contacts with it from July 1870 to June 1871.—256, 367

*Pionier. Illustrierter Volks-Kalender*—a German-language annual published by the Socialist Labor Party in New York in 1883-1904.—440

*Progress. A Monthly Magazine*—a monthly on science, politics and literature published in London from 1883 to 1887; Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling contributed to it.—7, 71, 74, 75

*Recht voor Allen*—a Dutch socialist newspaper founded by Ferdinand Nieuwenhuis in Amsterdam in 1879 and published till 1900.—6

*The Republican*—British journal of radical trend published in London under this title between 1880 and 1886 and as *The Radical* from 1886 to 1889.—7

*La République Française*—a radical daily founded by Léon Gambetta and published in Paris from 1871 to 1924.—398-99

*Révolutions de Paris*—a revolutionary-democratic weekly published in Paris from July 1879 to February 1894; till September 1890 the paper was edited by Elisée Loustalot.—95, 122

*Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger*—a monthly journal published in Paris from 1876.—431

*Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform*—a German magazine, organ of the 'true Socialists', published by Hermann Püttmann; the magazine carried Engels' Elberfeld speeches.—475

*Der Social-Demokrat*—an organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers. It was published under this title in Berlin from December 1864 to 1871, then since 1871 renamed *Neuer Social-Demokrat*; was edited by J.B. Schweitzer in 1864-67.—91, 102, 104, 111, 139, 206, 209, 286, 381

*El Socialista*—a weekly of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain, published in Madrid from 1885.—462

*Le Socialiste. Organe du Parti ouvrier*—a French weekly founded by Jules Guesde in Paris in 1885, appeared with intervals till September 1890; press organ of the Workers' Party up to 1902.—368, 373, 374, 424, 437, 462, 492

*Le Soir*—a daily published in Paris from 1867 to 1932.—53

*Der Sozialdemokrat. Organ der Sozialdemokratie deutscher Zunge*—a German-language weekly, central organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, published in Zurich from September 1879 to September 1888 and in London from October 1888 to 27 September 1890. In 1879-80, the paper was edited by Georg von Vollmar, and by Eduard Bernstein from 1881 to 1890.—3, 7, 12, 14, 26, 37, 47, 49-51, 56, 64, 68, 73, 77, 78, 81, 85, 86, 91, 96, 103, 144-46, 160, 169, 177, 195, 209, 216, 225, 227, 240, 245, 265, 268-71, 274, 281, 309, 329-30, 331, 346, 377, 379, 386, 438, 449, 454, 462, 476, 509

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*The Statist. A Journal of Practical Finance and Trade*—a weekly on economic and political questions published in London from 1878.—360

*Süddeutsche Post. Unabhängiges demokratisches Organ für jedermann aus dem Volke*—a German democratic newspaper published three times a week in Munich from 1869 to 1884.—137

*The Times*—a conservative daily founded in London in 1785 under the title *Daily Universal Register*; appears as *The Times* from 1788.—64

*To-Day. The Monthly Magazine of Scientific Socialism*—a socialist monthly published in London from April 1883 to June 1889; was edited first by E. B. Bax and later by H. M. Hyndman (July 1884-1886).—74, 75, 78, 84, 85, 91, 106, 114, 118, 122, 155, 165, 172, 177, 192, 195, 205, 207, 236, 238, 245, 247, 295, 321, 393-94, 402, 403, 419, 424, 440, 460, 492

*Le Travailleur*—a French socialist weekly published in Saint-Pierre-le-Calais (suburb of Calais) and founded by Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue and Gabriel Deville.—91, 94, 115

*Voice of the People*—a weekly of the Socialist Labor Party published in New York from early 1883.—11

*Volksfreund. Organ der Social-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei Oesterreichs* — an Austrian socialist newspaper founded in Brünn in 1881.— 462

*Volks-Kalender* — a Social-Democratic miscellany published in Brunswick from 1875 to 1878; its editor-in-chief and publisher was Wilhelm Bracke.— 373-74, 494

*Der Volksstaat* — central organ of Social-Democratic Workers' Party published in Leipzig from 2 October 1869 to 29 September 1876, first twice a week, and, from 1873, three times a week; a new subtitle *Organ der Sozialistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands* was introduced in 1875.— 253, 529

*Volkszeitung* — see *New Yorker Volkszeitung*

*Volks-Zeitung. Organ für jedermann aus dem Volke* — a liberal daily published in Berlin from 1853 to 1897 (under this title to 1889).— 316, 323

*Vorwärts. Central-Organ der Socialdemokratie Deutschlands* — a newspaper published in Leipzig from October 1876 to October 1878. It appeared as a result of the merger of *Neuer Sozialdemokrat* and the *Volksstaat*. The publication was stopped when the Anti-Socialist Law was introduced.— 253

*Vorwärts! Pariser Deutsche Zeitschrift* — a German-language newspaper published in Paris from January to December 1844 twice a week.— 47

*Vossische Zeitung* — see *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*

*Wochenblatt der N. Y. Volkszeitung. Den Interessen des arbeitenden Volkes gewidmet* — a weekly supplement to the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*.— 114, 246, 402

*Отечественныя записки* (Fatherland's Notes) — a literary and socio-political monthly published in St Petersburg from 1868 to 1884 when it was closed down by the government.— 112

*Сѣверный вѣстникъ* (Northern Herald) — a literary, scientific and political monthly of a liberal Narodnik trend (up to mid-1891) published in St Petersburg from 1885 to 1898.— 322, 347

*Слово* (The Word) — a Russian liberal literary and scientific monthly published in St Petersburg from 1878 to April 1881.— 112

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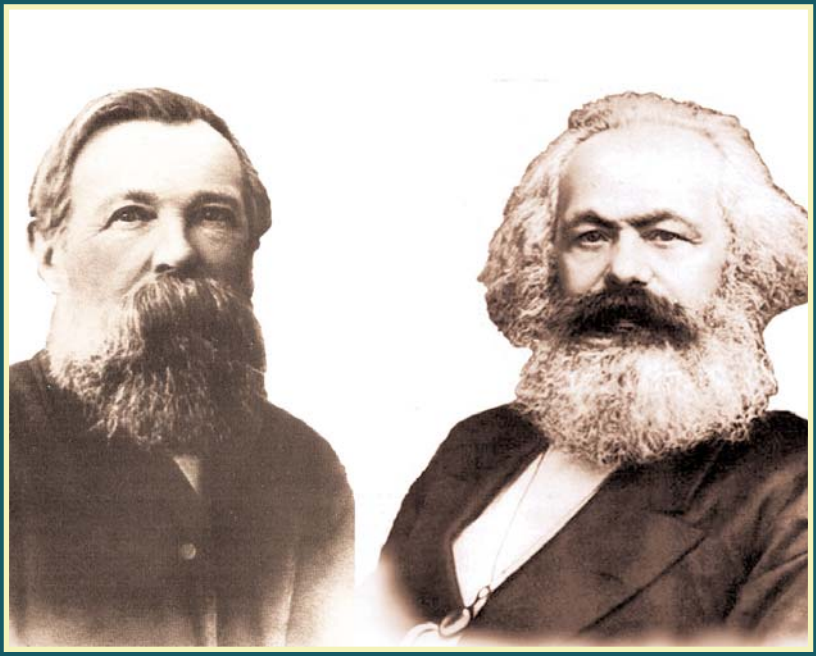

## VOLUME 48

Letters 1887-90

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 48

## Letters 1887-90

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# FREDERICK ENGELS

## LETTERS

January 1887–July 1890

# PREFACE

Volume 48 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains Engels' letters dated from January 1887 to July 1890.

It contains letters to participants in the working-class and socialist movement in many parts of the world, though the main focus is on Britain, France, Germany and the United States. In Germany Engels documents the struggles of the Social Democrats against the Anti-Socialist Law, and their increasing success in the Reichstag elections. He also welcomes to Britain the producers of the *Sozialdemokrat*, exiled from Zurich. In France he urges the Socialists to organise a proper daily paper, to be less fractious in their dealings with the international movement and to make more effort to communicate with other parties. In England he castigates the old-style trade unions and warmly welcomes the development of the new unions – a development in which Eleanor Marx played a major role. He is fairly dismissive of the SDF and Socialist League, seeing the new unionism as likely to produce new leaders for the socialist movement. Many of Engels' letters to the US concern a dispute over money between Edward Aveling and the Socialist Labour Party, in which Engels loyally takes the part of Aveling. Engels takes the view that the official socialist parties in both the US and Britain will be swept aside as the working class develops its own organisations. In summer 1888 Engels visited the US and he writes interestingly of what he observes.

Many letters in this volume concern the two 1889 International Paris Congresses organised by The Workers Party of France and the Possibilists. Engels comments trenchantly on the competing strands within the French and international movement. Following on from the success of the Worker's Party conference, an international celebration of Mayday was organised for the following year in many European countries, which Engels also documents. These events were the beginnings of the Second International.

Other letters contain information about Engels' work in carrying on the editing of Marx's writings, especially *Capital* Volume 2. Engels writes of

the difficulties of reading Marx's writing and hits on the idea of training others to decipher it. Engels also corresponds with his US publishers about his own work, particularly the American edition of the *Condition of the Working Class in Britain*. Other letters concern other publishing, translating and revising projects, of work by both Marx and Engels. On many occasions Engels bemoans the fact that his involvement in the shenanigans and intrigues of the socialist and working class movement keep him from his scholarly work – as do his increasing problems with his eyes.

A recurring theme in the letters is Engels' fear that rivalry between the great European powers will bring war, which will destroy the nascent socialist movement. He also comments on Bismarck's relations with three generations of German emperors – both William I and Frederick III died in 1888, to be succeeded by William II, of whom Engels had a very low opinion. He is critical of both German and French nationalism, and is critical in particular of the Boulangist current in the French workers' movement, which he see as part of the recurring French problem of Bonapartism.

These letters also show the personal side of Engels' life, particularly in his letters to Laura Lafargue. We hear of visits from Eleanor Marx, 'Pumps' Rosher (Engels' niece by marriage) Schorlemmer, and many others, and of holidays and celebrations. His affection for Helen Demuth (Nim) shines through, as does his fondness for all his (largely adopted) family, especially Marx's daughters. Although Engels could be a formidable opponent he was clearly a very good friend.

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This volume was largely edited by Progress Publishers in Russia but, due to the changing fortunes of that company, the work has been finished in the UK by Lawrence and Wishart. This accounts for some of the slight differences in format. We have made every effort – with slightly less resources than the old Progress Publishers – to keep to the high standards of previous volumes, and hope readers will bear with us as we complete the last volumes of the *Collected Works*.

***

The translations for this volume were made by Peter and Betty Ross, Rodney Livingstone, K. M. Cook and Stephen Smith.

# 1887

## 1

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[1]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 11 January 1887

Herewith, registered, the English translation of *Das Kapital*.[a2] Last week I sent you 1 parcel—2 *Commonweals*, 1 *To-Day*, etc. More to follow. Just received the *New York Herald* with the beastly article about the Avelings; this is most valuable for us since the Avelings would otherwise have still been unaware of the pack of lies the bourgeois papers over there are making up about them.[3] The Avelings got back a week ago. both of them very well and cheerful. The Lafargues are also here and send you their kindest regards. *Capital* is going terrifically well here and supplies for America are in hand. That will soon show the Yankees what our standpoint is.

Your

F. E.

A Happy New Year.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

Published in England for the first time

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[a] Volume I

## 2

## ENGELS TO FERDINAND DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS[4]

### IN THE HAGUE

London, 11 January 1887

My dear Friend,

I see from the newspapers that the Court of Appeal has upheld your conviction. So no doubt you will shortly have to make your way to gaol.[5] I cannot let you go without taking my leave of you and assuring you that all my sympathy will go with you when you enter your cell, and that I hope you will return to us from your solitary confinement sound in body and unbroken in spirit to resume your activities. Please let me know whether it will be possible to communicate with you while you are in gaol, either by letter or by sending printed matter, and whether you are allowed books and to engage in literary work.

The Lafargues from Paris have been over here since Christmas, and a week ago the Avelings returned from America, bringing back a great deal of encouraging news.[3] The movement over there is forging ahead in fine style and nothing can stop it. From its inevitably muddled beginnings it has evolved with amazing speed into a political labour party. True, the programme—or rather the various programmes in New York, Chicago, etc.—are still far from clear, as is only to be expected. But the action is all that it should be and that is the main thing. When I consider how long it took the workers in France, Belgium, Spain, etc., to understand that a political organisation of the working class, separate from. and opposed to all other parties, could alone lead them to victory, one must admire the action of the Americans who, six months after the birth of the movement, are operating an organised party, have received 68,000 votes in New York[6] and won important victories in the elections in the West.[7] But once the proletariat of a country has organised itself as a militant party, it will itself be driven onwards by the ups and downs of the battle, knowing as it does the conditions of its emancipation. And particularly for so eminently practical and anti-theoretical a people as the Americans, there is no other way to understanding than by trial and error, by acquiring wisdom from the consequences of their own mistakes. And that is something they will experience and master soon enough.

In other respects, too, the movement is progressing splendidly everywhere and I trust that when you get out of gaol you will find we have made a big step forward. All that can prevent us doing so is a European war, which would set us back enormously for a short while but which, like any other event, would turn out to our advantage in the end.

The English translation of *Das Kapital*[a][2] has just come out, and at precisely the right moment for America.

And now, once again good-bye. The best wishes of us all will accompany you into your solitude. I hope we shall see one another again in London in a year's time.

With kindest regards from the Lafargues, the Avelings and

Your
F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in *Istorik=marksist*, No. 6 (40), 1934

Published in English in full for the first time

Printed according to the original

3

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

### IN BENEVENTO

[Fragment]

London, 18 January 1887

*Caro Cittadino,*[b]

Your letter of the 9th of this month[8] was not altogether unexpected, since I knew that you were a government official and that sooner or later this would make your position untenable. Unfortunately I cannot hold out any favourable prospects for you either here or in America. If you don't speak fluent English, it will be impossible for you to find a *remunerative* occupation in either country unless you become adept in the colloquial use of the language. For educated people the usual, virtually

[a] Volume I – [b] Dear Citizen

the only, calling over here is that of language teacher, and for that very reason it is always overcrowded, even by people who speak and write the language of the country fluently. As to other kinds of teaching, there is such a large [...][a]

First published in the language of the original German, in *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani. 1848-1895*, Milano, 1964

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4

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

### IN BENEVENTO

London, 26 January 1887

Dear Citizen,

I wrote to you on the 18th of this month[b] in reply to your kind letter of the 9th[8] and afterwards I received yours of the 21st.

I can only confirm what I said in my last letter: neither here in England nor in the United States of North America is it possible for someone who does not speak English to earn a living other than by manual work.

The Argentine Republic would perhaps provide more favourable hunting ground; there is a strong Italian colony and you would learn Spanish without much difficulty. But it is a long way away, the voyage would be costly, and it would be difficult to come back. The country is progressing, but that is all I really know. Not being familiar with Argentinian legislation, I do not know under what conditions one can live there from teaching in an elementary school.

As for commerce. I have been out of it for 18 years and I no longer have any relations with commercial firms or factories.[9] What is more, in some cases a reference from me would be worse than none at all (if one could find a firm whose partners still know me) because people know me not so much as a businessman of the past than as an active socialist

[a] The end of the letter in missing – [b] See previous letter

of the present. And then there is the fact that all the big cities are swarming with commercial dealers not suspected of socialism who are looking for work and who are preferred because of their commercial education. I have for long considered whether it might not be possible to find some way out of this from here, but I cannot see one.

I am writing to Vienna (Austria) and Hamburg to try and find something, though without much hope. But we can only try, and I shall let you know the outcome.

You would do well to write to Lafargue too. He was here when your letter of the 9th arrived and was informed of its contents. He said he feared there was no hope of his finding a job for you in Paris; but when he is back among his friends he might get more information and change his mind. I shall write to him at the same time on your behalf.[a]

The great problem is that we socialists are not only politically but also civilly proscribed, and for the entire bourgeoisie it is both a pleasure and a duty to see that we starve. This anathema falls principally upon educated and cultured men, whom they consider to be deserters from their own class that have passed over to the enemy camp. This problem presents itself everywhere; we faced it ourselves in 1844 and 1849. How many times did Marx and I not wish that we knew some manual trade, for even the bourgeois cannot live without the products of manual labour!

Would it not be possible for you to find work with one of the Italian socialist newspapers, in Milan or elsewhere? I do not receive them, and I am therefore not well informed of the present state of the socialist party in your country. In any case it would be preferable if you could remain in Italy.

I repeat that I shall be pleased to do everything in my power to find a way out of the difficulties you are caught up in. I only regret I cannot open better vistas. I shall not forget what you have done to make our ideas and my writings known in Italy, and rest assured that, if something comes up for you somewhere, I shall not let it escape me.

With sincere greetings,

F. Engels

First published in *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani. 1848-1895*, Milano, 1964

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[a] See this volume, p.11.

## 5

## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[10]

### IN NEW YORK

[London,] 27 January 1887
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

Herewith I send you, at last, the Preface.[11,12] No sooner had the Avelings returned[3] when I was seized with a slight conjunctivitis which was however sufficient to prevent all regular work especially as the short time I could each day devote to writing was unavoidably taken up by urgent correspondence. Although my eye is not yet quite free from inflammation, yet I have managed to get through the Preface and hope the delay will not have inconvenienced you too much.

As I have not been able to keep a copy I must request you to return me the MS when done with. I suppose you will be good enongh to see it through the press.

I hope Dr Wischnewetzky has arrived safe after a good passage. I regret that I could not have him all to myself for a couple of hours, but he just dropped in at an evening when, for the time being, the old 'International' was made to undergo a practical revival.

The movement in America, just at this moment, is I believe best seen from across the ocean. On the spot, personal bickering and local disputes must obscure much of the grandeur of it. And the only thing that could really delay its march, would be the consolidation of these differences into established sects. To some extent, that will be unavoidable, but the less of it the better. And the Germans have most to guard against this. Our theory is a theory of evolution, not a dogma to be learnt by heart and to be repeated mechanically. *Je weniger sie den Amerikanern von Aussen eingepaukt wird und je mehr sie sie durch eigne Erfahrung—unter dem Beistand der Deutschen—erproben, desto tiefer geht sie ihnen in Fleisch und Blut Uber.*[a] When we returned to Germany in spring 1848, we joined the Democratic Party as the only possible

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[a] The less it is drummed into the Americans from outside and the more thoroughly they test it—with Germans' assistance—by personal experience, the more deeply will it penetrate their flesh and blood

means of gaining the ear of the working class; we were the most advanced wing of that party, but still a wing of it. When Marx founded the International, he drew up the General Rules[b] in such a way that *all* working-class socialists of that period could join it—Proudhonists, Pierre-Lerouxists, and even the more advanced section of the English Trades Unions; and it was only through this latitude that the International became what it was, the means of gradually dissolving and absorbing all these minor sects, with the exception of the Anarchists whose sudden appearance in various countries was but the effect of the violent bourgeois reaction after the Commune and could therefore safely be left by us to die out of itself, as it did. Had we from 1864–73 insisted on working together only with those who openly adopted our platform—Where should we be to-day? I think all our practice has shown that it is possible to work along with the general movement of the working class at every one of its stages without giving up or hiding our own distinct position and even organization. and I am afraid that if the German Americans choose a different line they will commit a great mistake.

I hope you are by this time perfectly restored to health and that your husband and children are well too. Kind regards to Dr Wischnewetzky.

Very truly yours

F. Engels

First published, in English, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx* u. *A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

Reproduced from the original

[a] K. Marx, *Provisional Rules of the Association*

## 6

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[13]

IN PARIS

London, 28 January 1887

My dear Lafargue,

My eye is at last getting slightly better, but not yet well enough to enable me to shift the mountain of work and correspondence that has accumulated in the meantime. I can only write by daylight and then not all the time, but I am at least able to read for the better part of the evening.

If the Parisians are beginning to feel bellicose just now, they would be better advised to direct their wrath against Russia, which has used them to pull her chestnuts out of the fire and, now that they've burnt their fingers, is abandoning them to their fate. Can they not see that it is Russia which, through the Paris papers in her pay (the most dissolute being, it seems, the *Débats*[a]), has incited their revanchist rodomontade with the sole aim of getting Bismarck to capitulate to the Tsar[b]? And now she has got what she wanted; Bismarck has made his peace with Russia and has sacrificed Austria, while Russia has sacrificed her Parisian dupes to Bismarck.[14] The Russian alliance has its points!

Come to that, I do not believe that Bismarck *wants* a war which, no sooner begun, would become European. Once France and Germany had got to grips—and it would be a hard struggle and rather long—the Tsar would be *compelled*, willy-nilly, to march on the Balkans: Austro–Russian war. From that moment on, Bismarck would be at the mercy of unforeseeable circumstances, and I don't suppose he is so stupid to provoke such a situation in cold blood. But the Russian agency in Paris will continue its activities; it is in the interests of Russia to get France and Germany embroiled in a war; then she would have no one left to fight except Austria and, at most, England which would mean, in the opinion of the Russian chauvinists, who despise both England and Austria, a free hand for Russia in the East. And there lies the danger. If those gentry, Cyon & Co., succeed in pushing France into this war, they

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[a] *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires* –[b] Alexander III

will be cutting each other's throats for the benefit of the Tsar and the perpetuation of despotism in Russia.

As to the elections in Germany, our prospects are first-rate. I think we shall get 700,000 votes in all, maybe even more.[15] But when it comes to the majority in the new Reichstag, you have to reckon with the German philistine, and he's no angel, far from it.

Here it is being said that the *Daily News*' scoop was a scoop for Baring on the Stock Exchange. To Bismarck it must have seemed a most unpleasant manoeuvre, making a hash as it did of his electoral manoeuvres. He has been forced to issue a démenti.[16]

Martignetti has again written to me.[a] It seems that he in at his wits' end and he asks me to find some way out for him, putting forward the most impossible suggestions. I have written to Hamburg and Vienna on his behalf and have also promised him I would write to you. No doubt you will hear from him direct. There's nothing for him either here or in America, since he does not speak a word of English. Might there be some opening for him in France, as a teacher of Italian? As I see it, there is nothing else he could do. Or can you think of something better? He is about to be dismissed from his post. Do try and find some opening for the poor devil, either in Paris or in the provinces.

Pumps is a great deal better and her only serious complaint is intercostal rheumatism. When I saw her this morning she was quite cheerful.

Nothing's going on here among Socialists but inter-clique intrigue. According to Scheu, Champion is sick of Hyndman and would like to topple him, which accounts for his rapprochement with Bax. He ran into Aveling the other day and was as friendly as could be. We shall see how it all ends. In the meantime Aveling is going to hold up before the East End working men the example set by the Americans—that of a labour movement which is independent of the older parties, this being a method of agitation that may well be effective. Last week he spoke at a meeting in Farringdon Street, as did Tussy the day before yesterday, and this they will continue to do both there and elsewhere.

As soon as I have any time to spare I shall write to Laura. Meanwhile Nim would like to know if she has spoken to Longuet yet, and what his answer was.

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[a] See this volume, pp.5-7

*La Justice* has had a copy of *Capital*[a] in English; if Longuet has taken it, it would save us sending him the copy we have reserved for him. Could you find out? As regards the other copies Sonnenschein is supposed to have sent, we know nothing definite as yet. He is digging his heels in.

Yours ever,

F.E.

First published, slightly abridged, in *Le Populaire de Paris*, No. 948, November 29, 1920 and in full in *La Nouvelle Revue Socialiste*, No. 20, September 15, 1927-January 15, 1928

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Translated from the French

Published in English in full for the first time

## 7

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[17]

PARIS

London, 2 February 1887

My dear Laura,

I had finished *Bel Ami*[b] on Monday[c] night and was ruminating over the picture of Parisian journalism exhibited in it, thinking it must be exaggerated when lo—on Tuesday morning your letter and Paul's unroll to me a scene—from life—of Bel Ami, and so I must take off my hat to Guy de Maupassant. Well, this will do. *Faut-il donc être canaille pour avoir un journal quotidien à Paris?*[d,18]

This is now the second time that our friends have made a daily paper—for others. And this time worse than the first. Lissagaray was a free lance. acting on his own hook for his own advancement, and might be left to die his own political death. But here the Possibilists[19] step into the

[a] Volume I – [b] The novel by Guy de Maupassant – [c] 31 January – [d] Must one really be a bastard to publish a daily newspaper in Paris?

bed ready made for them; not only do they get a daily of their own but they get it through a victory over us. And as the *Cri* is bought for the *cancans*, the *scandale* and the *feuilletons* only, and the public which decide on its success or otherwise only take in the leaders because they are not compelled to read then, the high-falutin of Pyat, the dead dullness of Labusquière, the arrant and arrogant ignorance of Marouck will pass muster quite as much as the leaders of Guesde. Guebhard will still be paid in hard cash for his *cornes*[a] and Séverine and Labruyère *auront toujours de quoi se payer de bons déjeuners.*[b]

As to the *Voie du Peuple*—horrible dodging title!—I suppose it will go the way of the *Citoyen* after the coup d'état, and disappear after a few spasmodic efforts.[20] If there was any hope of a man with 100,000 fr., that should have been turned to account in time; now when our people arrive defeated and turned out of doors, I am afraid that individual will be still harder to find.

The lesson to be drawn from this is the same as before, that a weekly organ which belongs to us is worth ten times as much as a daily one which we make for others, to be kicked out when it suits them and to make room for M. Brousse & Co. And this seems now to be the established function of our people in the daily press, and no doubt it will be repeated for a third time and exactly with the same results. Anyhow I hope that our *ex-grands hommes*[c] from the grand journal will now condescend to pay a little more attention to the *Socialiste* which is after all their refuge during the entr'actes of their grand political drama.

I have given Nim your message, she thanks you very much and remains on the tiptoe of expectation, as the penny-a-liner used to say 30 years ago.

Tell Paul that I had already rummaged in my head the advisability of reducing the strength of my eye lotion, and after his letter, have doubled the quantity of water contained in it which seems to answer very well. I shall also use his hot water application and expect that between the two my remnant of conjunctivitis will disappear.

Edward was to lecture again to-night at Farringdon Hall (for the Clerkenwell Branch of the League[21]) on his American tour. He and Tussy have had there two crowded nights on Wednesdays. But he has got a sore throat, and maybe Tussy will have to replace him. He intended to speak out about the Anarchists tonight and expected a crisis.

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[a] horns – [b] will always have the wherewithal to pay for a good dinner – [c] ex-great men

How it will be now I do not know. He has already been invited by one Radical East Club[22] to lecture there.

The *Cri* affair will finally decide Hyndman & Co, if ever they were undecided with regard to the support to give to the Possibilists. Séverine's *blagues*[a] about attempts to kick out all other factions will be explained as the usual intolerance of the Marxists and no doubt the whole will be traced back to 'the hand that broke up the International', by which they mean, taking Eccarius' word for it, your humble servant. That is a thing which cannot be helped and is utterly indifferent to me. But it has been always our fate—and now our Paris friends share it—that the more we show that we are ready to work together with honest and sincere people so long as they stand on a truly working men's platform—no matter how imperfect—the rogues and adventurers whose company we decline denounce us as intolerant, domineering and exclusive. I hope that our Paris friends will have occasion to convince themselves that Brousse is no worse than Hyndman. Both have united round themselves all candidates they could lay hands upon.

Pumps is a deal better but—apart from the special troubles she has gone through—her stomach is much out of order and she suffers from sleeplessness. Nevertheless she is much more cheerful, she was on the sofa yesterday and this morning.

Fortin writes to say that he is quite agreeable to our plan and will send you the 2 last chapters of the *18th Brumaire*.[23] He sends me a resolution they have passed, on the war question. When the style of commercial letter-writing becomes *ampoulé*[b] it is something terrible.

Nim and little Lili who is here for a few hours—the children are with the old Roshers—send their love, and I ditto.

Yours affectionately

F. Engels

The Prussian government papers are awfully riled at the 6,000 Mark handed over to the Election Fund out of the profits of the *Sozialdemokrat*, they say it's a lie: 1) such profits were never made, 2) if they had been made they would have been stolen by the managers of the paper. *E pur si muove*.[c]

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[a] lies – [b] high-faluting – [c] Still it does move

I enclose the cheque for £12.—which Paul writes for.

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## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[10]

### IN NEW YORK

London, 9 February 1887

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

I reply at once to your letter, postmark 28th January. The preface[11] was sent on January 27th, and to your telegram received Sunday, February 6th, I replied immediately per cable: 'Sent registered 27th January'.

As to the distorted passage from my letter which the irrepressible Baton could not refrain from publishing, it is no use for Rosenberg and Co. to saddle Aveling with it. The passage about the 100,000's and the millions occurred in my letter to you[a] and in *no other letter*. So you will know who is responsible for this indiscretion and for putting this nonsense into my mouth. As far as I am concerned, I have no objection to your publishing the whole passage, indeed the whole letter.

Your fear as to my being unduly influenced by Aveling in my view of the American movement, is groundless. As soon as there was a national American working-class movement, independent of the Germans, my standpoint was clearly indicated by the facts of the case. That great national movement, no matter what its first form, is the real starting

[a] See Engels' letter to Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky of 28 December 1886 (present edition, Vol. 47)

point of American working-class development; if the Germans join it in order to help it or to hasten its development in the right direction, they may do a deal of good and play a decisive part in it; if they stand aloof, they will dwindle down into a dogmatic sect, and be brushed aside as people who do not understand their own principles. Mrs Aveling, who has seen her father at work, understood this quite as well from the beginning, and if Aveling saw it too, all the better. And all my letters to America, to Sorge, to yourself, to the Avelings, from the very beginning, have repeated this view over and over again.[a] Still I was glad to see the Avelings before writing my preface, because they gave me some new facts about the inner mysteries of the German party in New York.

You appear to take it for granted that Aveling has behaved in America simply as a swindler; and not only that; you call upon me, upon the strength of the assertions and allusions contained in your letter, to treat him as such and to do all in my power to have him excluded from the literary organs of the party.[24] Now for all these assertions you cannot have any proof because you have not been able to hear any defence. Still you are better off than we here; you have at least heard *one* side, while we do not even know what the distinct charge is!

In the early hole-and-corner stages of the working-class movement, when the working men are still under the influence of traditional prejudices, woe be to the man who, being of bourgeois origin or superior education, goes into the movement and in rash enough to enter into money relations with the working-class element. There is sure to be a dispute upon the cash accounts and this is at once enlarged into an attempt at exploitation. Especially so, if the 'bourgeois' happens to have views on theoretical or tactical points that disagree with those of the majority or even of a minority. This I have constantly seen for more than forty years. The worst of all were the Germans; in Germany, the growth of the movement has long since swept that failing away, but it has not died out with the Germans out of Germany. For that reason Marx and I have always tried to avoid having any money dealings with the party, no matter in what country. And when the Avelings went to America, I had very strong misgivings on that point. Only when it was arranged that the tour should be made together with Liebknecht I felt more at rest,

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[a] See Engels' letters to F. A. Sorge of 29 November 1886 and Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky of 28 December 1886 (present edition, Vol. 47) and also his letter to her of 27 January 1817 (this volume)

because Liebknecht, as an old hand, would know how to deal with such complaints, and because any charges brought against him on that score would merely make the complainants ridiculous in Germany and in Europe generally. Well, the tour was arranged differently afterwards, and here is the result.

From this you will see that I look upon this matter a great deal cooler than what people seem to do in New York. But moreover, I have known Aveling for four years; I know that he has twice sacrificed his social and economical position to his convictions, and might be, had he refrained from doing so, a professor in an English university and a distinguished physiologist instead of an overworked journalist with a very uncertain income. I have had occasion to observe his capacities by working with him, and his character by seeing him pass through rather trying circumstances more than once, and it will take a good deal more than mere assertions and innuendos before I believe what some people tell about him now in New York.

But then. Had he tried to swindle the party, how could he do that during all his tour without his wife being cognisant of it? And in that case the charge includes her too. And then it becomes utterly absurd, in my eyes at least. Her I have known from a child, and for the last seventeen years she has been constantly about me. And more than that, I have inherited from Marx the obligation to stand by his children as he would have done himself, and to see, far as lies in my power, that they are not wronged. And that I shall do, in spite of fifty Executives. The daughter of Marx swindling the working class—too rich indeed!

Then you say: 'No one here imagines that Dr Aveling put the money in his pocket, *or spent it as the bills indicate*. They believe that he merely tried to cover his wife's expenses,'—That is a distinct charge of forgery, and this you give as an extenuating, charitable supposition. What then, if this be the attenuated charge, what is the full charge? And on what ground is this charge made? 'The ridiculous bills which Dr Aveling sent in.' I should like to see a few of these 'ridiculous' bills. For fifteen weeks they were sent every Sunday to the Executive who gave no sign of disapproval. Nor did they budge when the Avelings, December 19th, returned to New York. It was only on the 23rd when they were on the point of leaving, when they could no longer defend themselves against charges, real or trumped-up, that the Executive discovered these bills, to which, *singly*, they had never objected, were ridiculous when *added up*! That is to say they object, not to the bills, but to the rules of addition. Why, then, did the Executive, instead of shortening the tour, try to extend it,

and just at the close of it plan a second visit of the Avelings to Chicago which fortunately did not come off? It strikes me that in all this, it is not the bills which are ridiculous, but the Executive.

Well, at the meeting of December 23rd, the Avelings hear for the first time that their bills are ridiculous, and the Executive lay before them a statement of accounts drawn up by themselves. As soon as his statement is objected to, Aveling at once accepts that of the Executive, according to which—as I have seen myself in Rosenberg's handwriting—a balance is due to him of $176. Then, being again bullied by Walther, he refuses that balance, returns $76 at once, and sends the rest from London. And then you say that 'Dr Aveling returning the $100 has not helped matters at all.' Why what in the name of goodness do those people want then? Is Aveling to be treated as a swindler because the Executive appropriate $176 which, *on their own showing*, belong to him?

Then the mystery with which the Executive envelops this matter, becomes darker and darker. When the article in the *New York Herald*[a] appeared and was cabled across, the Avelings sent the enclosed circular to the sections, and, at the same time, *to the Executive.*[25] That circular—unless I take Aveling to be a liar and a swindler, which I decline doing until further conclusive evidence—is in my eyes conclusive against the Executive, at least until I see their reply. But what do the Executive do? They get infamous attacks into the *Volkszeitung*.[26] They spread rumours and reports behind Aveling's back, they call meetings of the sections and lay *their* version before them, and get them to vote resolutions in a matter which cannot be judged without an impartial audit of the whole accounts and a full defence of the absent accused. And having, as it appears, succeeded in their New York circle to slander Aveling, not as a man who has spent their money extravagantly (for such, rightly or wrongly, might be their honest conviction), but as a swindler and forger of accounts. They rise to the level of the occasion created by their own inventive genius, and promise a circular proclaiming Aveling a swindler and forger to the working-class of the whole world! And all this, mind you, behind the back of, and unknown to, the man whom they charge, and who can not only not defend himself, but not even make out the precise facts on which the charge is based! If this is the way people are to be judged in our party, then give me the Leipzig Reichsgericht[27] and the Chicago jury.[28]

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[a] 'Aveling's Unpaid Labor', *New York Herald*, 30 December 1886

Fortunately we have passed that stage in the older parties in Europe. We have seen Executives rise and fall by the dozen, we know they are as fallible as any pope, and have even known more than one that lived sumptuously on the pence of the working-men, and had swindlers and forgers of accounts in its midst. In their circular, the Executive will not only have to define their charge – which perhaps will thus at last become known to us – but also to prove it. People on this side do not take the word of their own Executives for gospel, much less that of Mr Walter and Mr Rosenberg, be it ever so 'official'.

In my opinion, the Executive have placed themselves in a very uncomfortable position. Had they grumbled at the accounts as merely extravagant, they might have secured a hearing outside their own circle; for that is more or less a matter of opinion. But having never objected to the accounts sent in, they felt they had cut the ground from under their feet, and, as weak people do under circumstances, exaggerated the charge in order to cover themselves. Thus they come to the fresh charge of swindling and forgery which they can never prove and must be content to insinuate. But an infamy insinuated to cover mere weakness, remains neither more nor less an infamy. And having swelled what was originally a mere trifling matter of disputed accounting into a criminal offence, they naturally feel bound to go before the various working-class parties with it. And naturally, they do it in a sneaking underhand way, preventing the accused from even hearing the charge. One mistaken step leads to another, and at last they arrive in a complete mess and are caught in their own net. And all that not out of inborn malice, but sheer weakness.

You will now see that I must most distinctly decline following your advice as to 'giving Kautsky a hint, not to let the letters appear which are advertised in the name of Dr Aveling', because the Executive are going to launch 'an official circular' against Aveling, and 'his name as one of the staff can only injure any organ'. Neither Kautsky nor myself have, I believe, ever given any grounds for anyone to suppose that we would treat thus the friends we have worked with for years, upon the strength of mere assertions and innuendos. And if I was to say anything of the kind to Kautsky, I should simply drive him to the conclusion that I was either falling rapidly into dotage, or that I was no longer to be trusted across the road. Indeed I feel certain you regretted having written this passage as soon as the letter had gone.

I see very well that you wrote your letter in what you considered the interests of the party, and thus were led to represent to me the case of

Aveling as hopeless and judged without appeal. But so far he is judged by nobody but the Executive who are themselves parties, accusers, judges and jury all in one; for the resolution of the New York sections, whatever it may be counts for nothing. What the other sections may say remains to be seen, but even they, if impartial, can only declare themselves incompetent until they have the full facts and until the accused has been heard. And I for one consider it utterly ruinous to the party to introduce into it, and even to outdo, the kind of justice practiced by Bismarck and by the American bourgeois, who do at least respect forms and give the prisoner at the bar a hearing—and for us to act thus at the very moment we protest against these infamous proceedings.

No doubt it may suit the Executive, under the pretence of avoiding public scandal, to shirk publicity. But that will not do. Either they must retract the dishonouring charge, reduce the case to its simple dimensions of a dispute about accounts, and settle that honourably and straightforwardly; or they must come out publicly with the charge and have it fought out. There has already too much of it been allowed to leak out, and it cannot remain where it is; nor is Aveling the man to leave it there. And as I cannot allow the Avelings to be accused of infamies behind their back, it was my duty to communicate your letter to Mrs Aveling (he being too ill at present) and to read to her my reply. And if at any time circumstances should require the publication of this my letter, you are at liberty to publish it *in full*, while I reserve to myself the same right, of course without dragging in your name, unless other people should have done so previously.

I am, dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,
very truly yours
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[29]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 12 February 1887

Dear Sorge,

Got your letter of 30 January yesterday, and the day before yesterday sent off sundry items to you. More to follow in a few days' time. *Capital* in English[a,2] is selling very well; the jackass of a publisher,[b] who had no idea what he had got hold of, is quite astonished.

I trust your health is improving. Abstemiousness is something I, too, am obliged to observe; every day brings some little physical contretemps that cannot be ignored and interferes with one's customary *devil-may-care* way of life. Well, that's something that can't be helped.

When Lafargue was here at Christmas he promised me to send you the *Socialiste* regularly. Not until *after* his return did I get a few extra copies of the article *Situation*, etc.[c] It has opened the eyes of the French to the fact that, for them, war would mean the end of the Republic—unless, of course, circumstances were *quite* exceptionally favourable, so that it might provoke a European revolution, which, however, is wanted neither by the bourgeois, the petty bourgeois nor the peasants. No one had thought of this before and now everyone's saying it. I am now reading the article in Romanian, in *Revista Sociala*, a muddle-headed publication, appearing in Jassy, and learning the language as I go along.

The gentlemen of the Socialist Labor Party's Executive are behaving quite outrageously towards the Avelings.[24] When, thanks to their indiscretion, if not at their instigation, the article appeared in the *Herald*, another quite outrageous article, for which, at the moment, I can only hold Mr Douai responsible, appeared in the *Volkszeitung*.[26] The Avelings' reply to the calumny in the *Herald* was the enclosed circular, which was sent off from here on about 18 January to all sections and also to the Executive.[25] Well, on the 28th January the latter induced someone,[a] whom I may not name for the present and whose identity you

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[a] Volume I – [b] William Swan Sonnenschein – [c] F. Engels, 'The Political Situation in Europe'

must therefore guess, to write me an embarrassed letter in which it is stated as fact, indubitable fact, that Aveling had attempted to swindle them and that—or so their Christian charity led them to suppose—he had fiddled the accounts he submitted in order to cover his wife's hotel expenses (the party *only* paid Tussy's rail fares), nor did the return of the $176 alter the case, for that was in no way the point at issue, etc. Nothing but insinuations and not one solitary fact, not even a *definite accusation.* Then it goes on to say that a resolution had already been obtained from the New York sections and was to be endorsed by the remaining sections after which a circular denouncing Aveling would be issued to all the European parties. And I am requested to warn Kautsky against printing anything else by a blackguard like Aveling, who in to be chucked out of all the party organs!

You can imagine what kind of reply I made to these base assertions.[b] If I can find someone to copy out the letter, I shall send it to you for, having an inflamed eye, I cannot make a third copy. These people haven't the shadow of a pretext. For on 23 December, when Aveling first learnt in a letter from Rosenberg that the Executive proposed to query some of the items in his account, he at once replied to Rosenberg, sending the following letter per special messenger:

'I cannot discuss money matters with the Party, and am ready to accept anything without discussion that the National Executive of the Socialist Labor Party thinks right!'

And that was before he knew what they were going to say and how they would treat him! And then the chaps go and pocket the $176, which, by their own calculation, belongs to the Avelings, and declare, *for that very reason*, that not they, but Aveling, is a swindler!

Well, we shall clear the matter up all right. But unfortunately we over here don't know anyone in New York save for yourself on whom we can rely, now that even the *Volkszeitung* has behaved so egregiously. I should be grateful if you could let us know how Shevich and the others are behaving and whether or not they have already succumbed to the lies of the Executive. Then we should at least know to whom we could turn in New York without having to bother you. But I can't help wondering how it is that those same New Yorkers who fulminate against the Chicago jury[28] should, in this instance, outdo the jury in turpitude, and pass judgment on people without even

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[a] Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky – [b] See previous letter

giving them a hearing or, for that matter, telling them what they are charged with.

Your
F.E.

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## 10

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 16 February 1887

My dear Lafargue,

My congratulations to our friends on the occasion of the *Voie's* resuscitation[18]; let us hope that this time its way[a] will be a triumphal one. Such of the *Cri* as Laura has sent me to look at is deadly dull; not even Bismarck's German reptiles[30] are as capable of sending us to sleep on our feet. Let us hope that the Parisians will refuse to stomach such LEADERS, even when spiced with gossip column and feuilletonist sauce.

I have read Laura's letter about Lavrov to Tussy; she will attend to the matter, although her hands are very full just now.[31] To begin with Aveling has been suffering from QUINSY (which he himself instantly diagnosed as diphtheria) and, as a patient, he is as intractable as Pumps. Furthermore, she has had no sleep for three or four nights and has had to concern herself with the affairs of him, Edward (a Roumanian construction into which my pen has lapsed thanks to my present preoccupation with that language), so that she has not had time to run errands in connexion with Lavrov's books. And, on top of that, something else has happened. First, I got a long letter from *la* Wischnewetzky,[b] from

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[a] *Voie du peuple*, the full name of the paper, means 'the way of the people' –
[b] This refers to her letter to Engels of 28 January 1887

which I gather that the idiots on the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party intend to bring an action of some sort against Aveling, whom they accuse of having tried to defraud the Party over his travelling expenses, that they intend to get the sections to pass resolutions against him and, afterwards, to denounce him as a *swindler* in a circular addressed to the working men's parties of Europe. She even had the cheek to suggest I tell Kautsky that he would be well-advised not to print anything further of Aveling's. And, withal, never the slightest suggestion that the accused might at least have a right to be heard! You can imagine what my reply was![a] Well, what should arrive the day before yesterday but the Executive's first circular, full of ridiculous accusations against Aveling[32] and not very difficult to demolish. But there is no time to be lost; the American sections have got to send their votes to New York on 15 March; and the Executive has delayed sending the circular to this country so long that putting up a defence is virtually impossible. Aveling is in Hastings, whither he was sent by the doctor, and will be home on Friday. In the meantime we are sending out a circular announcing his intention of defending himself and asking that the vote be suspended until then. As soon as he returns we shall set to work on the defence. I enclose Aveling's first circular on this affair which is conclusive enough so far as fundamentals are concerned. It would be useful to know whether the Executive has sent its circular to the *Parti ouvrier*[33] or to the Germans in Paris; in Zurich Kautsky has already taken what steps are necessary. But, with all this going on you will realise how exceedingly busy Tussy is.

I no longer remember whether I wrote and told you that Fortin is satisfied with the arrangement with Laura in regard to his manuscript,[23] so all that remains to be done is to let Lavigne know that his manuscript is with you, and this I would ask you to do since I do not know whether his old address is still the right one and am therefore unable to write to him.

I do not know whether you have seen *Materialismul economical lui Karl Marx de Lafargue*.[b] I have seen a notice of it in the Jassy *Revista Sociala*, of December, in which there is a translation of my *Socialiste* article[c]—pretty crude as it happens. Roumanian is a funny sort of language. Their term for 'to work' is '*lucrare*'—in Latin *to appropriate surplus value*; the working man, on the other hand is '*muncitorul*', a word of Slav

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[a] See this volume, pp.15-20 – [b] The Roumanian translation of Paul Lafargue's book *Le Materialisme économique de Karl Marx*, Cours d'Économie sociale – [c] F. Engels, 'The Political Situation in Europe'

origin of which the literal and etymological equivalent is the Russian *moutchitel*, meaning *martyr*. For rebellion they use the Slav word *rascaole*, that is to say, ecclesiastical schism (Russian *raskolnik*, schismatic, heretic). In fact, for a Latin language it is fairly difficult, since they maltreat Latin and Slav (from which many of their words and sounds are derived) with disarmingly impartial nonchalance. Bulgarian (a Bulgarian Journal has been sent to Kautsky) is much easier for anyone familiar with Russian or Serbian.

Laura will have seen our reply to Professor Menger[34], in the February number of the *Neue Zeit*.

From all that I have seen the French press is adopting an excellent attitude towards Bismarck's foolish provocations.[14] The man's temperament is such that it's impossible to say whether he does or does not want war. But anything that forces upon him the necessity either of staying pacifically at home or of becoming an overt aggressor can only benefit ourselves. He has today reached the same stage with France as he had reached with William[a] in May 1866, after paving the way for the Austrian war[35] which the latter abhorred: 'I have succeeded in leading the old horse to water, but I cannot make him drink.' And if the French stand their ground Bismarck will be in the devil of a mess. He already hopes to attain a majority with the help of the people. The Pope[b] will have ensured his septennium (having voted him the new regiments for three years, they will let him have them for seven)[36] but, if the majority in the Reichstag remains in opposition on all other issues, Bismarck will not get a farthing. In the meantime everyone is agreed that all parties in Germany have reason to fear electoral defeat save for the Socialists, who are certain to have a resounding victory.

Zetkin has asked me to let him have a letter for the meeting of the 19th. I shall send it you tomorrow. I don't know yet what to say.[37]

Give Laura a kiss from me,
Yours ever
F. E.

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[a] William I – [b] Leo XIII

## 11

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[17]

### IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 19 February 1887

Dear Sir,

I was glad to receive your letter of 22/3rd of this month[38] because I saw from it that the publisher[a] instead of sending you a copy of the English *Capital*,[b] had merely forwarded a prospectus. There have been several of these irregularities which cause us all sorts of vexation and uncertainty as to what has been done. However I have at once forwarded to you per post a copy, *registered*, on February 12th, and hope you received it safely. I am glad to say the book sells uncommonly well. The high price for the *first* edition was an unavoidable evil, but as the book is stereotyped, a cheap edition at about one-third of the price of the first will be brought out after some time; at the present moment the high price in no great obstacle *here*, though it is so to a certain extent in America.

I think you will be doing a good work in showing to the public of your country the application of our author's[c] theory to *their* circumstances. But perhaps you had better wait, as you say, until the completion of his work. The chapter on the Rent of Land,[d] although written before he had studied Russian economic conditions, and written without reference thereto, will still be very necessary to you. The 3rd volume will be taken in hand after clearing off some other accumulated work; with the exception of three *Abschnitte*, the greater part is almost ready for press.

I thank you very much for the *Fairy Tales* of Scedrin which I shall take in hand as soon as ever possible; a slight conjunctivitis of the left eye prevents me reading it at present, as the Russian type very much strains my eyesight.

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[a] William Swan Sonnenschein – [b] Volume I of the English edition – [c] Marx's – [d] See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Book Three: 'The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole,' edited by Frederick Engels, Part VI: 'Transformation of Surplus Profit into Ground Rent' (present edition. Vol. 37)

Up to the present no reviews of the English edition have appeared. The professional reviewers evidently do not know what to make of the book, and are afraid to burn their fingers.

Yours sincerely
P. W. Rosher[39]

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## 12

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### IN PARIS

London, 24 February 1887

My dear Laura,

The *Révolution en Allemagne-Prise de Berlin*[a]—does not exactly come off in the way depicted in the *Way of the People*. The *Voie du peuple* on the other side of the Vosges is not exactly along the Boulevards of beautiful Paris. Not to speak of their mistakes about seats lost and gained, etc., the success of our German friends lies in another direction than where they seek it.[41] First of all, we have so far lost seats and not gained any, but that, though a fact, counts for nothing. The decisive fact is that, while we are very slowly losing ground in the Saxon districts of *hand-weaving* (which is dying out) and which were our original strongholds, we are gaining far more rapidly not only in the large towns but in all rural industrial districts. I have the exact figures of 43 districts with one deputy each, including Berlin, Hamburg, Dresden, Munich, Leipzig, Hanover, Magdeburg, Elberfeld, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Nürnberg, Stuttgart, Frankfurt etc, mostly large towns of course.

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[a] Revolution in Germany—Capture of Berlin

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In these we had in all votes | | 408,360 |
| in the same places in 1884 | | 321,876 |
| | Gained | 86,484 |

or 27 per cent on the votes of 1884, in 3 years; and these include 5 districts in which we lost votes. In a day or two I shall have more data to extend my list which comprises all districts the figures of which I know. Berlin has come out splendidly and I begin to have some confidence in that otherwise ridiculous town.

The pressure brought to bear on our people was tremendous. Not even public proclamation of their candidates was allowed. Every one who took a part in the election by distributing *bulletins de vote*[a] etc. was noted—which means expulsion in the numerous towns under state of siege. Wherever possible, the manufacturers conducted them to the poll and saw that they voted for Bismarck unless they wanted immediate discharge from work. And all this will be repeated and increased on the day of ballotage where we expect to secure most of our seats.

Singer is the Lockroy[42]—*le premier élu de l'Allemagne*.[b] He had 32,227 votes which no other member can boast of. Bebel is in for Hamburg, Liebknecht out for Offenbach[c]; had he had 50 more votes, he would have been in the ballot at Bremen and then sure of election. But there are sure to be double elections so that he will not want the place whereon to rest his hind quarters.[43] The exact number of ballots in which we are interested I do not know; 16 at the least. These we shall almost all carry, as far as I can see—and unless we are left in the lurch by the Centre[44] or Progressists,[45] which is quite on the cards.

While ordinarily but 55 to 65% of the voters polled, this time the philistine came up in force; 85 to 90% of the number on the list. And this accounts for many defeats.

I am extremely glad of the Alsatian vote.[46] That will help us to get rid of these non-descripts—neither fish nor flesh nor good red herring—all the easier.

In a day or two you will get a printed circular with Aveling's reply to the charges of the New York Executive.[47] If this circular has not been sent to the German club in Paris, then it has not been sent to Paris at all. It is nothing but the usual complaint of *Knoten*[d] against *Gelehrte*[e] that

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[a] polling cards – [b] the top candidate in Germany – [c] Engels has: Offenburg – [d] louts – [e] the educated

they lived extravagantly on the pence of the working man. Fortunately we have a good reply.

Tell Paul that his discovery about Oriental Circumcision[a] shares the fate of many of my discoveries in natural science viz. that it had been made before. I have read the same thing long ago in German books and should not wonder if it was already in old Creuzer's *Symbolik*[b] which is as old as the battle of Waterloo.

Poor Edward had an awful shock about these ridiculous accusations, so soon after his quinsy. He is not over-endowed with power of resistance to malady, and so this threw him back very much. He has been off and on at Hastings and is going off again to-night.

The last page of the *Voie* to-day[c] looks rather queer, all *Bel Ami*[d] and no advertisements.[48] Rather too much for one dose, I should think.

Half past five—*Postschluss*[e]—and Dinner Bell! So farewell for to-day.

Very affectionately yours
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

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## 13

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[49]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 3 March 1887

Dear Sorge,

I am sending off simultaneously with this a package containing 1 *Commonweal*, 1 *To-Day*, 3 *Gleichheits* and 4 copies in German, 4 copies in English of Aveling's second circular.[47]

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[a] See P. Lafargue, 'Die Beschneidung, ihre soziale und religiöse Bedeutung', *Neue Zeit*, 6. Jhg., 1888, pp.496-505 – [b] F. Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen* – [c] the *Voie du peuple* of 24 February 1887 – [d] the novel of Guy de Maupassant – [e] time for the post

The Executive over there is going to the most amazing lengths to obtain approval for its puerile action against Aveling. You will see from Aveling's circular (no doubt you will also have had a look at that of the Executive) what they tried on with the sections. But since then, and without waiting for the sections' vote, they have handed over the whole business to the Board of Supervisors in the hope that the latter may get them out of the soup. Aveling, of course, is also taking it up with the Board of Supervisors, to which he is now sending all the documents, and we shall see how things turn out.

The Executive is wisely confining itself to the age-old and, to German expatriates, eternally new story of squandering the workers' pence; so presumably the additional charges of attempted embezzlement, etc., are only being disseminated in private. No doubt you will find some opportunity of putting the circulars to use.

We have good reason to be satisfied with the elections in Germany.[15] The increase in the number of votes is marvellous, especially considering how much pressure is being exerted not only by the government but also by the industrialists who, wherever feasible, presented the workers with the choice either of being dismissed or of voting compulsorily for a Bismarckian. I fear this will again be in evidence in the second ballot, the results of which are not yet known over here. The Pope[a] is forbidding Catholics to vote for us, the men of Progress[45] voluntarily prefer a Bismarckian to a Socialist, while the industrialists exercise outright coercion—so if in these circumstances we capture one or two more seats it will be a victory truly won.[50] But it's not the number of seats that matter, only the statistical demonstration of the party's irresistible growth.

You suggest that our people have made fools of themselves in electing such men as Geiser, Frohme, Viereck, etc. There's no alternative. They have to take the candidates as and where they find them. That is a fate shared by all workers' parties in parliaments where there is no remuneration. Nor does it matter. The chaps are under no illusion regarding their representatives; of this the best proof is the total defeat of the 'parliamentary group' in its trial of strength with the *Sozialdemokrat*.[51] And the deputies are well aware of it; the gentlemen of the right wing know that, if they are still tolerated, it is only by reason of the Anti-Socialist Law[52] and that they will instantly be thrown out on the day the party

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[a] Leo XIII

regains its freedom of movement. Even then, all will be by no means well with the representation but I think I'd rather see the party superior to its parliamentary heroes than the other way round.

Nor need you worry about Liebknecht. They realise perfectly well what he's like in Germany. I have seldom known a man about whom the opinions of the most diverse people are so closely agreed as they are about Liebknecht. While he imagines he's got them all eating out of his hand, they are sizing him up quite critically. His incorrigible optimism, particularly about anything in which he himself has a hand, his firm belief that he is the life and soul of the movement, the chap who does everything and manages everything for the best and that it's only the other 'jackasses' who spoil things, his urge to create order everywhere and to cover up all contradictions by resolving them into commonplaces, his yearning for outward and momentary successes, even at the expense of enduring losses—all this is very well known. But our people also know that all these failings are only the obverse of most valuable qualities and that without those foibles he simply could not achieve what he does in fact achieve. So long as he has Bebel at his side he won't perpetrate any serious blunders although he may cause a lot of unnecessary trouble and strife. And when it comes to parting from the philistines, he will defend them up to the very last, but at the crucial moment will be found in the right place.

I hope that your health will improve with the coming of spring.

Your
F. E.

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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## 14

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[53]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 10 March 1887

Dear Sorge,

Postcard of the 22nd and letter of the 25th of February received. You guessed rightly. It would have been useless to send a copy of the long letter, since the wording of the complaints in the Executive's circular is not only milder but differs materially, while everything else up till now has been private tittle-tattle. The way people in Europe view the affair is evident from Singer's reply to the circular sent him by Aveling.[47] 'It's the old story though it's a pity that the Avelings also have to suffer through it.'[a] I sent you 4 copies of this circular in English and 4 in German; no doubt you will have received them, as also my letter of about a week ago.[b]

*La* Wischnewetzky is incapable of translating the *Manifesto*. Only one person can do that, namely Sam Moore, and he is working on it at this moment; I already have the first section in ms.[54] In this connection, however, it should be remembered that the *Manifesto*, like virtually all the shorter items by Marx and myself, is still much too abstruse for America. The workers over there are only now entering the movement; they are still quite raw and, particularly as regards theory, tremendously backward, owing to their generally Anglo-Saxon and particularly American nature and upbringing—hence it is to practice that the lever must be directly applied and for this purpose entirely new literature is required. I have already suggested to *la* Wischnewetzky that she bring out separately a popular digest of the main points in *Capital* in the form of short pamphlets.[c] Once the chaps are more or less on the right path, the *Manifesto* cannot fail to make an impact; just now the impact will only be felt by a few.

Your remarks about *Das Kapital* in English have been passed on to

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[a] P. Singer's letter to Engels of 7 March 1887. – [b] See previous letter. – [c] See Engels' letter to Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky of 13-14 August 1866 (present edition, Vol. 47)

the publisher,[a,55] who came back with a very practical answer to the effect that a favourable article in the *North American Review* would be enough to create a demand for an American edition and, for that reason, he would like to skim the cream off first. As it is, the thing is selling very well in America too; another big bookseller besides Bordollo has been ordering away merrily,[56] while sales over here have been so brisk that all but 50 copies of the first edition have been snapped up and the second—still at the same price—is printing. And this despite very little advertising and before any of the large papers mentioned it. The first serious review appeared in the *Athenaeum* of 5 March—very favourable.[57] The rest will now follow suit and help us sell the second edition, after which the cheap edition can doubtless come out.[58]

Irrespective of what the Socialist Labor Party[3] may purport to be and however much it may take the credit for the successes achieved by the work of its predecessors, it is the only labour organisation in America which by and large stands on our basis, it is distributed in more than 70 sections over the whole of the North and West and as such, and only as such, have I recognised it. I have expressly stated that it is a party only in name.[59] And I'm convinced that the gentlemen of the Executive were very disappointed by my preface[b] and would rather have done without it. After all, they themselves belong to the school of which I have said that it will ruin the party if it gains the upper hand. And they seem to be intent on doing so. In *Justice* here, Rosenberg has attacked the Knights of Labor on account of the longshoremen's strike[60]; though he may not be altogether wrong about individual facts, he shows insufficient awareness of the course the movement is taking, a course that will quickly destroy the party if these chaps remain in control. It is precisely the follies of the place-seeking leaders of the Knights of Labor and their inevitable conflicts with the Central Labor Unions[61] in the big cities of the East that must provoke a crisis within the Knights of Labor and bring it to a head. But the blockhead doesn't see it.

Over here the unemployed agitation by the Social Democratic Federation[62] has also proved to be a complete flop; the church parade in St Paul's was a silly attempt to ape the Chartists and was likewise a flop,[63] in short nothing has happened yet. Next autumn things may get

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[a] William Swan Sonnenschein – [b] Engels' article 'The Labor Movement in America' (see Notes 11 and 12)

better; It would be desirable if, in the meanwhile, the rascals at the head of the *Social Democratic Federation* were to fade away and disappear.

Your
F. E.

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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## 15

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### IN PARIS

London, 10 March 1887

My dear Laura,

Pleasant news. The first edition of *Capital*,[a] 500 copies, is sold with the exception of about 50 copies and the 2nd edition is in preparation. Nearly half the edition, as far as I can calculate, has gone to America[b] and the 2nd edition will still find a good market there unless a piratical edition is brought out which however will not probably be undertaken before the success of the book in America is manifest and moreover it will take some time. As the clichés are there, the 2nd edition will soon be in the market, and on that we shall have 3/9 in every copy instead of 3/– as on the first. It will again be a 30/– edition.[58]

We saw the article in the *Athenaeum*[57] and Tussy will send you a copy. It is very fortunate that the press begins to speak of the book just

[a] the English edition of Vol. I – [b] See previous letter

as the 1st edition is sold out, and the *Athenaeum* article is worth a good deal to us. The gentlemen of the press evidently did not know exactly how to speak of the book, hence the delay, but now the *Athenaeum* has given them the key-note, the others are sure to follow suit.

Between the above and what follows lies a long-winded visit from old Jakins the house agent who took the rent and payment for coals and two glasses of gin and a cigar—a repeated ringing of the dinner-bell to drive the old fellow away—successful at the third repetition—then a rather heavy dinner with Nim's potato-cakes as a wind-up, and so I am wound up, but not for letter-writing. I think you will not be sorry if under these circumstances I make no further attempt, but proceed at once to subscribe myself.

Yours affectionately
F. Engels

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## 16

## ENGELS TO JULIE BEBEL

### IN DRESDEN

London, 12 March 1887
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Mrs Bebel,

I am taking the liberty of writing to you today in the hope that you will be able to give me news of how my friend Bebel is getting on at the charitable institution in Zwickau.[64] I have heard nothing further of Bebel since Singer was over here in December. I know, of course, that detention will have no effect whatever on his intellectual powers, but I should also be very glad to learn that it is not adversely affecting his physical

health. He must have found it very hard to be behind bars with nothing to do during the election campaign, but that is all the more reason why he should have been pleased with the results; they tally exactly with the prediction he gave me months ago: a big gain in votes but a drop in mandates.[15] The latter is not only easily borne—only Liebknecht's absence is a real loss—but in many ways is also an advantage. Indeed this is now being admitted by people of whom one would least expect it; people who themselves took a quiet pleasure in parliamentarism are now loudly proclaiming to all and sundry what a good thing it is that the party and, in particular, the parliamentary group should no longer be in danger of lapsing into parliamentarism! All to the good if grapes are sour now and again. On the other hand, the 225,000 new votes we have gained, despite the most cruel oppression, are a step forward which has made itself felt throughout Europe and America and has even soured the momentary triumph of the gentlemen in power. This very lack of undue haste, this measured but nonetheless inexorable advance, has about it something tremendously impressive which cannot but arouse in the rulers the same sense of dread as was experienced by the prisoners of the state inquisition in that room in Venice where the walls moved inwards an inch each day, so that as time went on they were able to estimate the day on which the walls must squash them.

Throughout the past autumn and winter Russian and Prussian diplomacy has been at pains to engineer a localised war and prevent a European one. The Russians would have liked to crush Austria alone, the Prussians France alone, while the rest were supposed to look on.[14] Unfortunately these well-intentioned endeavours were mutually incompatible in that whoever attacked first would have provoked a world war. That the days of localised wars were over was, of course, obvious to any child, but not to the clever men who govern Europe; only now are the great statesmen finding this out and they really are somewhat afraid of a world conflagration, for its effects would be incalculable and more than even the Prussian and Russian armies could cope with. And so far as I'm concerned herein lies the only remaining guarantee of peace we have.

Would you please be kind enough to tell Bebel when you see him that the first edition of the English translation of *Das Kapital*[a] was sold out in 2 months and that the second is printing. And this before any of the bigger papers had devoted an article to the book!

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[a] Volume I

Trusting you will be so good as to let me have early news of how Bebel is getting on,

I am,
Yours very truly,
F. Engels

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## 17

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[29]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 16 March 1887

Dear Sorge,

Very many thanks for your letters of 28 February and 2 March along with enclosures, and also for all the trouble you have taken. I return herewith the Executive's circular[32] as we have got a copy. Concerning the *Volkszeitung*'s article (so the charming Jonas had suppressed Aveling's answer for a whole month before deciding to print it), we promptly sent Jonas the enclosed reply today. Should he not print it and if you could then put some sort of pressure on him, that would be splendid.[65] But his article does seem to indicate a partial retraction.

The great controversy over the dubious *items* in Aveling's accounts will no doubt have now been resolved by our circular of 26 February.[47] Nevertheless it is strange that people should make a fuss about details such as these which cannot possibly be understood except in context—that these people haven't said to themselves that they ought first to hear what the other side has to say about that context before permitting themselves to pass judgment. Every one of these items would also have appeared in Liebknecht's accounts if he had ever submitted any. But

what he said was this: the party must meet all my expenses and I shan't put down anything at all. And with that they were satisfied. The fact that Aveling subsequently met virtually all the expenses incurred, e.g. in Boston, not only by Liebknecht, but also by his daughter,[a] is not mentioned by the Executive, although these are shown in the accounts and we were decent enough not to put it in the circular. Thus, during the time they were travelling together, Liebknecht ordered all their wine, etc., to be sent up to Aveling's room and hence charged to Aveling's account. The Executive knows all about it and is keeping it dark. But shabbiest of all is their failure to send us their circular, released over there on *7 January*, until *3 February*, so that they had a clear month in which to spread their slanderous stories at their leisure before we so much as discovered what Aveling was actually accused of.

Pending further information, I don't believe that the resolution was accepted by the majority of the sections. If I am to go by what Aveling and Tussy say, the Knights of Labor[60] attitude is directly opposed to the views of all the sections in the West. And if this should nevertheless prove to be the case, the whole 'party' can go to the devil.

It is truly fortunate that you should send me the *Sozialist*. Hitherto I have been able to pass on my second copy, which I get from the Executive, to Kautsky or the Avelings, so that it has been turned to good account. This week no paper has arrived from those charming people, from which I can only conclude that the next Nos will contain more scurrilities about Aveling.

A letter has been sent to Müller in St Paul asking him if he would also publish the 2nd circular of 26 February.[66] While the Executive, covertly, as is its wont, makes the most of every journalistic ploy, it evidently intends to push the responsibilities onto Aveling should he himself be the first to go into print.

To us over here it seemed quite natural that Aveling should not reply to the *New York Herald*. The article was quite abysmally absurd, on top of which they both say that it is not the custom in America to reply seriously to such tomfooleries. From my own knowledge of the *Herald* it is most unlikely that the paper would have accepted it. And when the article was reprinted over here, Aveling replied at once.[25] But even if Aveling had replied to the *Herald* article, *how would that have helped him vis-à-vis the Executive*? It sounds to me like a lame excuse by Shevich. All in all I'm surprised at the utter spinelessness of most of the people in

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[a] Gertrud Liebknecht

New York as revealed by this affair. The Executive spreads whopping lies and everyone believes them—from Jonas to Shevich and the Wischnewetzky's! So the Executive would appear to be a great authority in New York after all.

No more time now, alas, to send you various newspapers today; they will leave tomorrow—post about to go,

Your
F.E.

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1035

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## 18

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER[67]

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

[Extract]

London, 19 March 1887

It is truly fortunate that our people no longer constitute a 'faction' in the Reichstag—for the next few years, at any rate, this will be just as well.[68] I also like the way so many have all of a sudden come to regard 'parliamentarism' as discreditable. Irresistible, gradually accelerating growth in the number of votes—that is the main thing. Our struggle is a form of siege warfare and so long as the approach trenches keep moving forward, all will be well. We are already close to the second parallel, where we shall be able to establish our dismounting batteries and silence the enemy's guns. And, if we get as far without the besieged's gaining temporary respite from a world war, we shall then be able to estimate when it will be possible to establish breaching batteries on the crest of the glacis, make a breach with our guns and mount an

assault. Until then the quiet, unhurried advance of our siege-works is the best safeguard against an overhasty assault and unnecessary casualties. The nicest touch of all is that the besieged say that *we* the besiegers, are in a state of siege!

Kindest regards to you all.
Yours,
Engels

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## 19

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### IN PARIS

London, 21 March 1887

My dear Laura,

I have received Fortin's Ms.[23] which, I am afraid, will have to rest a bit in my drawer, as I must still nurse my eye. Of course the inflammation was merely symptomatic of the real affliction, a weakness brought on by over-exertion of the eye especially at night-time, and that can be cured by nothing but the removal of the cause; in consequence Nim and I pass our evenings now at card-playing and I find it acts, but has to be continued yet a bit. If Paul continues his work at the Bibliothèque etc. in the usual way, I am afraid he will have to suffer for it, though of course his doctor ought to know.

To settle business first: I enclose cheque for £12, and further inform you that nothing has been heard here from Longuet. I sent him a postcard[69] about the copy of *Capital* addressed to *La Justice*, asking if he had got it; no reply either.

The *gifles*[a] between the *Voie* and the *Cri* may amuse the Parisians but I should be very sorry to see our friends there sinking to the level of *saltimbanques at foires*[b] forcing themselves upon the attention of the public by quarrels and fights provoked for that purpose. If that will go down in Paris, it will certainly not anywhere else, and it is certainly not the way to raise our Parisian friends in the esteem of the working class out of France. I can conceive Goullé boxing Labruyère's ears while they had the *Voie* to give their own account of the affair,[c] but the repetition by Goullé and Deville after the paper was dead, and they had to take refuge in the *Radical*, seems to me utterly out of all common sense. The version of the *Cri* reaches all the foreign socialist papers; that of the *Radical* does not, unless forwarded express. And whether or not, this mode of settling disputes after the manner of the German *Knoten*[d] before 1848 will give foreigners a very poor idea of the leaders of French Socialism and makes one almost regret the duelling practices of the Second Empire journalists, as being only ridiculous. The sooner the whole affair is forgotten, the better it will be for our people.[70]

Old William, if not actually dead, seems to be dying—*vide* enclosed cut from the *Weekly Dispatch*.[71] And the dynamite shells of St Petersburg seem after all not to have missed their aim. *Vide* the abject declaration which through Reuter (!!) the Russian government have sent round Europe.[72] The Czar[e] goes on his knees before revolution, and even the Russophile *Daily News*[f] says this abject document can be compared only to the abject telegram of Alexander Battenberg to the Czar.[73] This thing looks indeed like the beginning of the end in Russia, and that would be the beginning of the end in Europe too. What a fool that Czar must be! Not to see that when he ordered the plot to kidnap and, if necessary, to kill that poor ass Alexander Battenberg, he justified the same proceedings against himself, and called upon his own enemies to apply to him his own methods!

Pumps is expected back from Eastbourne to-morrow. Edward lectured yesterday morning—for the first time since his quinsy—in an East-End Radical Club[22]; he is making a very useful and probably

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[a] slaps – [b] clowns at a fair – [c] See 'L'Exécution d'un Mouchard' in *La Voie du Peuple*, No. 35, 17 March, 1881 – [d] louts, here the uneducated section of the working-class movement – [e] Alexander III – [f] 'The Nihilist Conspiracy'. *The Daily News*, 21 March 1887

successful campaign amongst the East-End Radicals to engage them to cut loose from the Great Liberal Party and form a Working Men's party after the American fashion. If he succeeds he will get both Socialist Associations[a] into his wake; for here he gets hold of the real spontaneous working men's organisations and gets at the heart of the working class. So far his prospects are good. Tussy and he are going to move this week into their new place in Chancery Lane but as they must clear out from 38 St George Square to-morrow, they will perhaps have to stay a few days with us.

Love from Nim.
Affectionately yours
F. Engels

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## 20

## ENGELS TO GERSON TRIER[74]

### IN COPENHAGEN

London, 23 March 1887
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Mr Trier.

The three copybooks of your MS. just received with thanks, though I regret that it will not be possible for me to have a look at them before the end of this week. I shall, however, set about it as soon as the slight inflammation of the eyes, from which I am now suffering, permits and

[a] The Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist League

shall be glad if you will come and see me on your return from Copenhagen.

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

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## 21

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[29]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 6 April 1887

Dear Sorge,

Have received postcard together with the Dietzgen cutting, 24 March, and letter of 25 ditto. Hepner could hardly be in a position to judge from those few disconnected facts whether Aveling ought to have been 'more frank'.[75] I myself wouldn't venture to say so; all I know is that Aveling is as unfortunate in money matters as Hepner himself. Both have an enviable talent for getting mixed up in money squabbles through no fault of their own.

Whoever told you that Kautsky had become restive was either lying or had been lied to. I would trust Kautsky as I would trust myself; like most young men he is sometimes apt to be a bit opinionated, but if he harboured any doubts I would be the first to whom he would confide them. Anyway, I shall ask him this evening to what, if anything, the statement can refer.

Wilhelm,[a] having first shrouded himself in silence, can now scarcely

[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht

contain himself. He writes as follows (this between ourselves; please don't pass on the exact wording, but only as much of the contents as you think fit) (25 March):

> 'The New Yorkers will probably toe the line. I had already—weeks ago—written and told them in no uncertain terms that, no matter what the circumstances, I refused to allow myself to be played off against Aveling and Tussy. I have categorically *insisted upon a full apology* and, as I have said, I think they will comply. It's a great pity Aveling didn't write to me immediately after his return.'

(this is an empty excuse, since I had already informed him of the essentials round about 20 January,[76] in so far as they were known to ourselves at the time)

> —'it was from you I first learnt about the whole thing and by then we were in the midst of the electoral hurly-burly which, of course, claimed my whole attention. And so a lot of time was lost. But everything's bound to come out all right. If the New Yorkers dig their heels in, I shall *attack them publicly*. You can tell Aveling and Tussy so.'

On the whole the tide seems to be turning very much against the gentlemen of the Executive. Aveling has received sympathetic letters from several private quarters in New York; the American Rochester section has expressed its continuing confidence in him, the German Cleveland (or Buffalo? I forget) section has come out unanimously in his favour. And as much as a month ago the Executive—without waiting for the sections' votes—submitted all the files to the Board of Supervisors for a decision—i.e. appealed to another tribunal! We, of course, immediately wrote to them as well, sending documents and insisting that they examine certain letters, etc.

You will have had a copy of Aveling's reply to the second and, indeed, even more infamousq article in the *Volkszeitung*.[65]

Our Parisians have again got themselves into a fix. They had lost the *Cri du Peuple*,[18] and now the *Socialiste* has also died for want of funds. The Paris working men have so spoilt their digestions with 50 years of sectarian and phrase-mongering socialism that they cannot at present stomach wholesome fare. *Paris, le centre des lumières, la ville de l'idée, est dégoûté d'idées.*[a]

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[a] Paris, the centre of enlightenment, the city of ideas, is disgusted with ideas

In Russia, on the other hand, a crisis would seem imminent. The recent assassination attempts[77] were just about the last straw, everything's at sixes and sevens and, furthermore—circumstances being what they are in Russia—compulsory military service has ruined the Russian army. This was inevitable. As I myself pointed out as much as ten years ago.[78]

Kindest regards,
Your Engels

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## 22

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[53]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 9 April 1887

Dear Sorge,

I wrote to you on the 6th[a] and have had your letter of 29 March. Many thanks for your efforts re Jonas.[79] I think they will bear fruit.

So the Executive intends to reply. That will mean a further suppression of facts. But the decision to reply is in itself proof of how base and silly it was to try and worm a verdict out of the sections merely on the strength of the Executive's first allegations. First the sections were supposed to decide. Then, even before the expiry of the time limit they had been set, the Executive goes and implores the Board of Supervisors for a verdict. And now the Executive itself admits that further investigations will be necessary before a decision can be reached.

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[a] See previous letter

At all events, the chaps have cut their own throats. And if the Wischnewetzkys who, throughout, have behaved more like Dishragskis,[a] have been forced to describe them as liars, etc., things must have come to a pretty pass. The very fact that Wischnewetzky decided to show you my letter[b] is proof of the quandary these two people are in. As much as a year ago, however, I was 'humane' enough to dismiss the Executive as true German louts.

I'm glad in as much as I can now hope to be relieved of Mrs Wischnewetzky's importunities in the matter of translations. In the first place she translates mechanically, leaving all the real work to me, in the second, having delayed publication[c] in the most deplorable way, she let the thing fall into the hands of the said louts.[80] But we are now no longer in the position of having to hawk around our manuscripts. And now that I've written a preface[d] for her into the bargain, something's evidently amiss just because the said preface is not to the liking of the Executive!

The Avelings have also had sympathetic messages and resolutions from the section in Springfield, Massachusetts; no doubt others will be coming in from the West during the next few days.

The Swiss government would seem—according to conservative English reports—to be preparing to move against the Zurich *Sozialdemokrat*.[81] I have been expecting this ever since the war-like hubbub first arose; endanger his neutrality and your Swiss turns really nasty. However, it may yet blow over.

On the other hand it looks very much as though the 2 latest assassination attempts in Russia[77] have been the last straw. For a long time no one has had any faith in the government, and now they've lost faith in the Tsar as well. The army is full of discontented, conspiring officers. The Pan–Slavs[82] want to place the half-brother[e] of the present Tsar,[f] the eldest son of Alexander II and *la* Dolgoruky on the throne. And the police are powerless against the Nihilists.[83] According to the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 482 officers were sent from Moscow via Odessa to the convict settlement on Sakhalin in the Pacific. I don't believe that it will last out the year, unless war provides a loophole, and even that might come too late. And once the fun begins in Russia, then hurrah!

Aveling's campaign among the Radical Clubs in London's East End is

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[a] An English rendering of 'Waschlapski', the name of a character in Heine's poem *Zwei Ritter* – [b] See this volume, pp.15-20 – [c] Of the American edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England* – [d] F. Engels, 'The Labor Movement in America' – [e] Georgi Alexandrovish Yurievsky – [f] Alexander III

making good progress.[84] The relatively successful results obtained in the recent elections in Chicago and Cincinnati[85] have been of great assistance to him here—John Bull has no wish to see himself outstripped by those fellows. It's the *only* foreign influence that is at all effective in this country. At the big Anti-Coercion meeting in Hyde Park the day after tomorrow, Aveling will be speaking from two and Tussy from one of the fifteen platforms.[86] It promises to be one of those big meetings whereby the London working men make manifest a crisis in English politics. Incidentally, the German elections,[15] too, have not failed to make an impact over here.

Are you moving to Rochester, or where?

Your
F. Engels

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol., XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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## 23

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### IN PARIS

London, 11 April 1887
122 Regent's Park Road. N. W.

My dear Lafargue,

You ask me, as the person charged with the execution of Karl Marx's last wishes in regard to his works, to give you formal authorisation to negotiate the publication of a new edition of *Misère de la philosophie* and his other works written in French.[88] Although this seems hardly neces-

sary as between you and me, it goes without saying that I grant this with pleasure.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (French), in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

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Translated from the French

## 24

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### IN PARIS

London, 13 April 1887

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith the letter for your publisher.[a] I hope you will be successful this time but in any case make sure the copy is returned to you since I have no other to send you.[88] Also negotiate for 20 to 25 free copies for us; we shall be sorely in need of them.

I shall send you the *Daily Telegraph*'s report on the meeting of the day before yesterday, in which there in much talk of Tussy.[86] Schorlemmer was there. It was undoubtedly the biggest meeting we have ever held here.

The New York affair[24] is going very well. The gentlemen of the Executive Committee have done so many silly things that they have already scuppered themselves. It has been a very long business and a very tortuous one, but we no longer have anything to fear from that quarter.

You must have a high opinion of Mr Sonnenschein if you suppose that we have at our disposal copies of the article by Aveling and Tussy. I have only seen the proofs, but I shall ask Tussy to have a copy sent me for you.[89] They'll have to pay for it; Sonnenschein treats his authors as though they were mere clerks.

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[a] See previous letter

The day before yesterday the great anarchist Kropotkin accepted the hospitality of the Social Democratic Federation[62] and was with them and Davitt on their waggonnette. Typically, when someone suggested taking Davitt to see Aveling, Davitt said: I cannot meet him because he is an atheist!

Impossible to press for the appearance of your article in *Time*—Price is in the midst of leaving Swan & Sonnenschein, says it is his partner Lowrey who is running the review—a man we have never set eyes on. If only you knew the confusion and disorder that reign in that *business*, you'd be far more patient.

Put yourself forward as candidate in any case, whether or no you stand a chance.[90] It is something you have got to go through, especially in Paris and especially now that you have managed once again to kill off all your periodicals.[91] There's nothing else you can do, for agitation involves keeping oneself in the public eye. With 10,000 francs you can maintain a weekly paper for a long time, and you ought to be able to raise that sum. Come to that, I hope that revolution in Russia will relieve your difficulties and will set Europe in motion. Three assassination attempts in thirty days[92]—enough, I should have thought, even for a Tsar.[a] According to the English press, even the pro-Russian, everything is topsy-turvy in Russia; faith in the power of the administration has been shattered, the army teems with Nihilists[83]—482 officers exiled to the island of Sakhalin (Pacific)[b]—, while the peasants, crushed by emancipation,[93] taxation and usury, have been dealt a mortal blow in the shape of compulsory military service on the Prussian system.[78] Add to that the permanent financial crisis, the paper ruble worth 2 fr. 8 or 9 centimes instead of 4, American and Indian competition in corn and not a banker in Europe prepared to lend—such a state of affairs cannot last out the year!

Schorlemmer sends his regards.

A kiss to Laura, to whom I shall be writing,

Yours ever,
F.E.

First published in the language of the original (French), in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

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[a] This refers to Alexander III – [b] See this volume, p.46

## 25

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[53]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 23 April 1887

Dear Sorge,

I wrote to you on the 9th inst.[a] Postcard and packages received with thanks. The publication in the *Volkszeitung* of my preface[12] in a translation made over there is doubly scandalous. Firstly because I wish to have nothing to do with the paper so long as it goes on behaving so despicably towards Aveling. Secondly, however, because I cannot approve of my English works being rendered into German by a stranger, especially when the said stranger makes a mass of mistakes and misconstrues the most important passages. The person[b] has had my preface since the beginning of February (posted on 27 January)[c] and in the only letter I have received since then, dated 19 March, postmarked *8 April*, she merely mentions her intention of bringing out a German edition and asks for my assent—she knew I had no copy here. I wrote at once[76] asking her to return me the original so that I could translate it; there are passages in it where every word must be meticulously weighed. And meanwhile she has been conniving with Jonas & Co. behind my back.

I immediately protested. You should ask her to show you my letter.[76]

This is the last straw. It's utterly impossible to work with someone who keeps on playing such tricks.

But there's one more thing she's got coming to her. Her last long letter about the Aveling affair[24] may be summed up in one word: abominable. An attempt by someone who is weak, who is swayed by every puff of wind, to uphold the rightness of a cause she herself knows to be rotten. I shall reply to her next week *con amore*. A person like that mustn't imagine that I can be *bamboozled* like a baby.

Hyndman's letter to *The Standard*[d] is both pitiful and pusillanimous.

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[a] See this volume, pp.45-7 – [b] Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky – [c] See this volume pp.8-9 – [d] H.M. Hyndman, 'England's Democracy', *The Standard*, 9 April 1887

He wants to remain in George's good graces when the latter is becoming ever more embroiled with his hobby-horse, land,[94] and hence must suppress everything of a socialist nature. He is down on his luck again. The sensational effects have vanished into thin air, nor are new ones to be had every day. Without them, however, Hyndman cannot sustain his role. On the other hand the Avelings have begun agitating to considerable effect in the Radical Clubs[22] of the East End and in so doing are laying special emphasis on the example of an independent labour party set by the Americans.[84] And the American example is the only one that has any pull here—along with that of the German elections.[15] The cause is progressing well and may—if things go on in America as they have been doing—cost the Liberals the entire East End of London before the year is out.

In the Socialist League, too, matters are slowly approaching a crisis. At Whitsun the delegates hold their conference when a decision will, I hope, be reached in the struggle with the anarchist elements who have wormed their way in and have Morris as a supporter.[95]

In Germany there are reprisals upon reprisals.[96] It's as though Bismarck wants to get everything ready so that when revolution breaks out in Russia, in what is now probably only a matter of months, the fun can likewise begin in Germany.

Your

F. E.

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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## 26

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 24 April 1887

Dear Sir,

I write these few lines to inform you—in haste—of the safe arrival of the 2 packages registered with letters[a] and your letter of the 7th April old style to advise us of their having been forwarded. There was no hurry in sending them, yet I am thankful to you for having entrusted me with these valuable relics which I shall read with the greatest interest, make use of for ulterior purposes, and always hold at your disposal.

Yours faithfully
P. W. Rosher[39]

First published, in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 2, 1908

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## 27

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

IN PARIS

London, 26 April 1887

My dear Laura,

My congratulations to Paul *le candidat du Jardin des Plantes—et des animaux*.[b] Being, in his quality as a nigger, a degree nearer to the rest of

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[a]This refers to Karl Marx's letters to Danielson – [b] the candidate for the Botanical Gardens—and the animals

the animal kingdom than the rest of us, he is undoubtedly the most appropriate representative of that district.[90] Let us hope the *animaux* will have the best of it in this struggle against the *bêtes*.[a] I am rather surprised at Baslu's holding back, but if a set of men succeeds in being excluded from the press altogether,[91] what can they expect? Fom Mesa's letter in the Spanish *Socialista* I see that the Blanquists too are making volte-face and approaching the Possibilists[19]—another bad sign. A little success—even relative—at the elections would therefore be very welcome when our people are under such a momentary cloud. I know very well that that cloud will pass, that Parisian party life is a continual change of ups and downs, but at the same time I cannot but wish that next time they will cherish their own little weekly paper a little more than those disreputable dailies to which they work hard to give a reputation in order to be kicked out as soon as they have succeeded.

That Stanton of yours seems to be an out-and-out Yankee. But the cutest Yankee in Europe is as often and as much out of his element as the toughest Polish Jew. They misjudge the people they have to deal with.[97]

The New York Executive have launched in their despair another circular against Aveling saying that his statements are lies, yet making very important admissions in our favour.[98] We shall of course reply. But the affair is practically ended, the Executive are themselves accused in New York as swindlers and liars in another affair and on their trial before the New York sections; so that whatever they have said, say, or may say, loses all importance. In the meantime the *Aufsichtsbehörde*[b] of the American party appeals to them (to Edward and Tussy) to let the matter drop, and from very many places they receive very nice letters both from Americans and Germans. So that matter is virtually settled.

Edward and Tussy's agitation in the East End clubs is going on very favourably. The American example has its effects; it at last offers a handle to stir up the English working people.[84]

In the League[21] the Anarchists are on the decline, as everywhere when they are seriously handled instead of being trifled with. Their last proposal yesterday in the Council was, that at the Conference of Delegates[95] all *vérification des mandats* should be suppressed and anybody accepted who said he was a delegate—to allow them to manufacture their usual bogus votes. This however was too much even for Morris; yet a minority of five was found to vote for such nonsense!

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[a] beasts – [b] auditing committee

The Pagny affair[99] is not quite clear to me yet. The gist of the matter lies in Art. 4, No. 1, of the German Penal Code:

'*Pourra être poursuivi selon les lois pénales de l'empire allemand:*

1) *un étranger qui aura commis*, à l'étranger (*en pays étranger*) un acte de haute trahison *contre l'empire allemand ou contre un des états fédérés, ou qui aura fait de la fausse monnaie.*'[a]

To apply this article to anybody but a political refugee not naturalised abroad, must produce a collision with the country of the man prosecuted. No nation in its senses will stand such treatment and if they tried it upon an Englishman, the most peaceable minister would be compelled to send at once the British fleet to the German coast. Therefore this looks as if Bismarck wanted to place France between war or humiliation. For that he was ignorant of the warrant against Schnaebelé is impossible. And yet the state of Europe is such that a war would be, for Bismarck, to play *va banque*. The man must be completely mad to act thus. Perhaps a few days more will give a clue. I really cannot imagine him to be such a consummate ass.

Enclosed the cheque Paul writes for £12.

Nim is well—was at the theatre last night with Pumps—going again this week to the Princess's—with Edward's ticket. Beer is flowing plentiful—I consume fully 2 bottles a day and march three miles, and for the last few Sundays have taken a glass of Port—*voilà, du progrès*![b]

*Bien à vous, je vous embrasse*

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

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[a] 'Liable to prosecution under the penal laws of the German Empire is: 1) a foreigner who has committed, *abroad* (in a foreign country), *an act of high treason* against the German Empire or against any one of the federated States, or who has manufactured forged money.' – [b] there's progress for you

## 28

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[100]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 4 May 1887

Dear Sorge,

I trust you are feeling better and that your fears about becoming quite incapable of writing will not be realised. I too have found writing difficult; since the New Year I have had chronic ophthalmia, which has greatly restricted my reading and particularly my writing. Next week I shall be consulting one of the leading ophthalmologists here.

What you say about the New York louts in your letter of 20 April last[101] is certainly quite right, but you mustn't forget that I can only answer the points you yourself raise, not those about which you say nothing.

The *Manifesto* has been translated, and only these damned eyes of mine are preventing me from going through it. In my desk I have one French, one Italian and one Danish ms. which are also waiting to be gone through![102] Besides, you were Germans 40 years ago, with a German sense of theory, and that was why the *Manifesto* was effective, whereas it had no effect at all on other peoples, although it had been translated into French, English, Flemish, Danish, etc. And for the untheoretical, matter of fact Americans different, plainer fare will, I believe, be more wholesome, since we took part in the events depicted in the *Manifesto* while they did not.

As to my book,[a] the business has been well and truly bungled by *la* Wischnewetzky, who gave Miss Foster *plein pouvoir*,[b] which Miss Foster then gave to the Executive.[80]—I immediately protested, but the thing had been done. Up till now *la* Wischnewetzky has bungled everything she has laid her hands on and I'll never give her anything again; she can do as she pleases and I shall be happy if she accomplishes something, but I've had enough and she must leave me in peace in the future. I replied to her last letter a week ago today.[76]

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[a] The American edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* -
[b] full powers

At Liebknecht's request I have sent him the copy of the circular you sent me, but on condition he returns it. He has promised to send the necessary piece for publication.[98]

Aveling is doing famously with his agitation in the East End of London.[84] The American example is proving a draw there and the Radical Clubs—which the Liberals have to thank for their 12 seats out of 69 in London—have approached him about lectures on the American movement and he and Tussy are hard at work. The immediate intention is to found an English labour party with an independent class programme. This would, if all went well, push both the Social Democratic Federation[62] and the Socialist League[21] into the background, which would be the best way of resolving the impending rows. Hyndman knows that it is a matter of life or death to him, especially as he has made enemies of nearly all his people. He has therefore taken up in *Justice* the Executive's charge against Aveling.[103] This is just as well, as it will put an end to the backbiting, while Aveling will have an opportunity to air the matter in public. At Whitsuntide the attitude of the Socialist League will also be clarified, I hope; the Anarchists must be chucked out, or the whole business will be ruined.[95]

The Avelings arranged to send you *Time* with their articles on America. I imagine you must have got them (March, April, May numbers).[a] Even the Tory *Standard* praises them! At the moment the Avelings are doing more and to much better effect than anyone else over here and yet I'm supposed to reply to Mother Wischnewetzky about her childish misgivings over the grave charge under which Dr Aveling will stand until he has disproved the circular of the Executive! Surrounded as she is by her tongue-wagging German sisters, Madame has evidently lost sight of the fact that it is not for Aveling *to disprove* but rather for the Executive *to prove*.

*Commonweal, Gleichheit* and *To-Day* are going off to you by today's *steamer*. You will be amused by De Paepe's tall stories in *Gleichheit* about the Belgian socialists.[b] The movement over there is doing very well, now that the Flemings and the Ghent people have taken matters out of the hands of the Walloons and the Brussels people respectively, but the little chap can't stop telling tall stories. The funniest thing about it is that, whereas the Brussels people would like to found a new

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[a] Ed. Aveling and El. Marx-Aveling, 'The Labor Movement in America', *Time*, March, April, May 1887 – [b] C. De Paepe, 'Der Kongreß von Charleroi', *Gleichheit*, No. 18, 23 April 1887

International in which *they* would be the General Council, Powderly has suggested that they join the Knights of Labor.[60] So it's Pope Powderly competing against Pope De Paepe!

This comes with my best wishes and my hopes for your speedy recovery. Yesterday the Avelings and I were in America, i.e. in Buffalo Bill's camp[104]—very nice.

Your
F. Engels

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906, and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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## 29

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 5 May 1887

Dear Ede,

You're the most incorrigible Hamlet I have ever come across. You are aware that Kautsky and I keep completely aloof from the local German goings-on here[105] and have to do so if all our time is not to be wasted on piffling tittle-tattle. You are aware that we haven't got a single spokesman in the local association because all these people are involved in embittered feuds of the pettiest kind.[106] So if we do anything at all in this matter, it will cause a stir, the chaps will want to know the whys and wherefores, and the next day it will be the gossip of all the anarchist clubs. If you were to come over here, a visit to the club and a chat there would at once put you in a position to find out all you want within the

space of two or three days, and without causing any stir at all. So in addition to depriving us of a pleasure if you stay away, you would fulfil only half the purpose of your journey. The only person we could bring into play would be old Lessner, and he has grown so rusty that he'd make a *pauvre*[a] diplomat.

There's nothing about the Babeuf affair in Avenel's *Lundis*[b] or *Anarchasis Cloots*.—Yes, there is—pp. 42 and 94.[107]—So I shall send you the *Lundis* by registered post. Please let me have it back soon, i.e. in about a fortnight, since I need the book for reference and can't very well dispense with it. I used to have the main source, namely Buonarroti's *Conspiration de Babeuf*, in an English translation[c] brought out by the Chartists but, like so much else, it has been pinched; I have had another good look for it, but without result.

As regards the Russians, there is a point that ought now to be stressed but of which I have nowhere seen any mention.[108] All over Europe reactionaries are fuming about Nihilist regicide[83] and the use of dynamite in particular, special objects of odium being Russian revolutionaries, whose extradition to Russia they are demanding not without success, even in America. But what is the Russian government up to? In Sofia it gets Alexander Battenberg deposed and, if he wasn't shot in the process, this was thanks solely to his own ineptitude.[109] In Bucharest it instigates assassination attempts on Bulgarian civil governors.[d] And, lastly—some four weeks ago in Sofia—it gets a *dynamite bomb* thrown at the house of Major Popoff,[e] the commandant or whatever he is.[110] So everything the Russian government reproaches the Nihilists with and for which it demands their extradition as common criminals, *it is itself doing* through the medium of its notorious agents in Bulgaria. We must demand that, in respect of these specifically Russian modes of procedure, the same standards should be applied to revolutionaries and government alike. This is already felt fairly generally, but it is important that it be said—and pretty loudly at that.

The Schnaebelé affair[99] was obviously a put-up job to get Boulanger into difficulties. The only person to have got the story right, and this as much as a fortnight ago, was Mother Crawford, the Paris correspondent of the *Daily News* and the *Weekly Dispatch*, as is confirmed by Bismarck's dispatch.

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[a] poor – [b] G. Avenel, *Lundis révolutionnaires, 1871–1874* – [c] Buonarroti, *History of Babeuf's Conspiracy for Equality*, London, 1836 – [d] This refers to an attempt on Mantoff – [e] Panoff in the ms

Whether or not you people in Switzerland are harassed depends solely on how much warlike hubbub there is. If it grows less, the Federal Council will take heart, but if it increases, then woe betide its trousers.

In confidence. Should *la* Schack return to Switzerland, it might be better not to confide in her too much. She is endowed with an excess of energy which is not always channeled in the right direction. On the one hand she seeks out the liberals from amongst her former acquaintances, on the other her chosen companions are the anarchists among the English workers over here. I personally have no objection to her moving in any circle she pleases, and she herself is a very nice, intelligent and amusing person, but the very fact of her choosing just now, on the eve of a clash with the anarchists in the League (at the Whitsun delegates' conference[95]), to consort with the latter—so much so that the others already call her the Anarchist Countess—is something that must be taken into account. Strictly between ourselves, however, I think she is, all in all, pretty innocuous.

Aveling and Tussy are conducting a splendid propaganda campaign in the East End Radical Clubs,[84] which have been galvanised into life by the example of America and are now seriously thinking of forming an independent labour party. The chaps came to Aveling of their own accord and that's an excellent sign. Should we succeed in gaining a firm foothold there, the Social Democratic Federation[62] and the Socialist League[21] will both be pushed into the background, and a start will have been made on the conquest of London. What is immediately at stake in this instance is a dozen parliamentary seats—these clubs have hitherto been a source of strength to the Liberals here. And even Hyndman has seen the red light, which is why he is repeating in *Justice* the calumnies levelled against Aveling by the New York Executive.[103] This is just what we want for the furtherance of our campaign. But you can see how difficult our work over here is being made by the lubberly calumnies of the wretched New York Executive.

Mumma,[a] who is here at the moment, sends her regards.

Your

F. E.

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[a] Louise Kautsky

## 30

## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[10]

### IN NEW YORK

London, 7 May 1887

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

I have received your note of April 25 with thanks *but no preface*; if I receive it per next steamer on Monday I shall send you word at once. In the meantime as I received no copy of the book[a] as yet, will you please see that I get at least something to work upon, a proof-sheet or whatever it is, as the *Volkszeitung* translation[12] cannot pass under any circumstances, I shall work at the translation as fast as my inflamed eye will allow. I am only sorry you did not send the ms. or a proof as soon as the idea of a separate German edition occurred to you.[111]

Sorge writes to me:

> 'Wischnewetzky's bedauern sehr, durch die Verheimlichungen und Unterschlagungen der Executive zur Absendung des bekannten Briefs an Dich veranlasst worden zu sein, und haben sich alle erdankliche Mühe gegebeng, Aveling in der New Yorker Sektion Gerechtigkeit zu verschaffen.'[b,112]

If this, as I must suppose, was written with your consent, then I am perfectly satisfied, and have no desire whatever to return to that subject in a spirit of controversy.

Nobody was more rejoiced than I when I learnt that the book was finally out of the hand of that despicable Executive and of the Socialist Labor Party[80] generally. Forty years' experience have shown me how useless and literally thrown away are all these publications, by small cliques, that by their very mode of publication are excluded from the general book-market, and thereby from literary cognizance. It was the

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[a] The American edition of Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* – [b] 'The Wischnewetzkys regret very much having been induced—by the Executive's suppression of facts and misappropriation of funds—to send you the notorious letter and have been making every effort to secure justice for Aveling in the New York section.'

same thing even with the party publications in Germany up to 1878; and only since the *Sozialistengesetz*[a,52] which forced our people to organize a book trade of their own.[b] in opposition both to the government and to the officially organized Leipzig book-trade, has this been overcome. And I do not see why in America where the movement begins with such gigantic and imposing force, the same mistakes, with the same drawbacks in their wake, should be quite unnecessarily gone through over again. The whole Socialist, and, in England, Chartist literature has thereby been made so extinct that even the British Museum cannot now procure copies at any price!

I remain, dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

very sincerely yours
F. Engels

First published, slightly abridged, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: *Marx and Engels*, Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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## 31

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[29]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 7 May 1887

Dear Sorge,

I wrote to you on the 4th[c] and have received yours of 26 April. Very many thanks for your reports, which I feel sure must have been written while you were suffering from severe physical tribulations. As to the bit

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[a] Anti-Socialist Law – [b] Die Volksbuchhandlung in Zürich (the People's Bookshop in Zurich) – [c] See this volume, p.55

about *la* Wischnewetzky and her sorrow over the denunciatory letter[a] she sent, I can only assume that you wrote it with her consent in order that she be spared an outright *pater peccavi*.[b] I had to write to her today and therefore told her: if that, as I must suppose, was written with her consent, I was perfectly satisfied and had no longer any reason to revert to that subject in a spirit of controversy. So you see, I want to make things as easy as possible for her. However she's not only inept, but a Jonah if ever there was one. She has written to say that she wants to bring out my preface in German.[111] Naturally I have no objection to that. But though aware that I hadn't got a copy, she nevertheless omitted to send me the ms. at the same time so that I could translate it. Nor have I received either the book itself or a proof-sheet of the preface—instead, the preface was handed over to the *Volkszeitung* for translation. This last has proved to be a thoroughly insipid affair and, what's more, the mistakes it contains almost lead me to imagine that she has not even made an accurate copy of my English ms.[12] Well, she now writes to say that the ms. has at last gone off (not a word about the *Volkszeitung* translation)—but there' s still no sign of the ms.!

I'm particularly pleased that Mr Jonas has had to eat humble pie.[113] Considering his jealousy of the Executive in the business sphere, he was the last person one would have expected to bestir himself on their behalf and, precisely because he knew he had burnt his fingers, he has behaved as shabbily as could be throughout the whole episode.

Friend Liebknecht, too, is suddenly proving reluctant 'to break with the Executive'. As to the $8,000 that has been sent, the Executive is trying to use it as a bribe, nor could the Germans possibly stand up to such people! However I have put a pistol to the head of the worthy Liebknecht, who has grown anxious all of a sudden not to fall out with either side, and he'll come round all right. If he hadn't made such fools of us, our reply to Circular II would have long since been ready.[98] But it is not really so urgent and should clinch the matter. We have won, thanks to your support and all you have done; without you we should still be a long way from where we are now. What a good thing that we old chaps can still depend on one another.

Your

F. Engels

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[a] See previous letter – [b] Father, I have sinned

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Joss Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition. Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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## 32

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

### IN BENEVENTO

London, 21 May 1887

Dear Citizen Martignetti,

I'm glad to be able to inform you that my efforts on your behalf have not been entirely unsuccessful.[8] Johannes Wedde, editor of the (soc.) *Bürger-Zeitung* in Hamburg, has written to me as follows:

> 'A businessman here (cotton firm), who is a personal friend of mine and has no political prejudices, may *perhaps* have an opening for Martignetti, though only a modest one to begin with. However he would like Martignetti to send a photograph first. I find this rather odd—as does my friend himself—but it is necessary on practical grounds. It would be a good idea if the photograph were sent to this gentleman by Martignetti in person, together with a letter of recommendation. His name is Johannes Paul, of the firm of Paul & Steinberg, Alterwall 58.'

So if you want to find out whether a post is available there, you would be well-advised to send Mr Paul your photograph. Overleaf is the draft of a letter for you to send him, worded in conformity with German commercial usage. I would remind you not to engage in any overt political activity while in Hamburg, because if you do you will certainly be expelled. The position of socialists in Germany gets worse every day and further coercive legislation is in the offing. On the other hand this may

give you a chance to find an opening in commerce and thus embark on a new career.

My eye seems to be getting better at last. But I can't yet turn my mind to serious work, so your manuscript[a] is still in abeyance.

With kindest regards,

Ever yours,
F. Engels

To Johannes Paul, Hamburg.

I was pleased to learn through Mr Joh. Wedde that there is a prospect of my securing employment with your esteemed firm but that you would like to see my photograph first. I enclose same herewith and would mention that for the past (*il numero degli anni*[b]) . . . years I have been employed in the Royal Notary's Office here. I should be greatly obliged if you would be so good as to furnish me with particulars of the work I should be required to do and of any other conditions. Were the prospect of this post to materialise, I should gladly do all in my power to discharge my new duties in accordance with your wishes. With sincere thanks for your sympathetic interest.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
P. M.

E l'indirizzo *esteriore*[c]
Herrn Johannes Paul
in Firma Paul & Steinberg
Alterwall 58
Hamburg
Germania

First published, in the language of the original (German), in *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani. 1848-1895*, Milano, 1964

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[a] of the Italian translation of Karl Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital* – [b] number of years – [c] Address *envelope*

## 33

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

IN PARIS

London, 21 May 1887

My dear Laura,

A few words in a hurry. There is hope of a place for Martignetti in Hamburg—correspondence about this has kept me busy to-day.[a] You will have seen in *Justice* how Hyndman has tried to bring out Edward's American bother,[103] but has apparently got more than he expected[b]—his retreat in this week's No. is undignified enough.[114] A 3rd Circular on this affair is in the printer's hands.[115] I have had some droll correspondence with Liebknecht about the letter from him it will publish. In New York we are completely victorious and that is the chief point; and our final circular I hope will settle the business.

Paul's success is though externally negative, still quite satisfactory.[90] Only the ballotage seems to have been attempted on rather too Parisian grounds. However it gives him a better standing for the future.

I confess the success of Brousse and Co. is inconceivable to me.[116] It is no use crying after a new '*journal quotidien*'[c] after having been kicked out of ever so many and after having secured so little permanent effect out of it while our friends had it.[91] But all the same the next best thing to a victory of our people is the entry of Brousse and Co. into the City Council—there they will have to show what they are. Cremer, Howell and Co. were never lower in London than now since they are in Parliament.

My congratulations to Paul for having cudgelled one of his electors. *Ça doit avoir produit un effet.*[d]

My eye is considerably better since I have taken to smoke different cigars. There was the determining cause of the whole affair. You may laugh but I shall as soon as I have time explain to Paul medicinally that the thing was entirely caused by applying too much guano to the tobacco-fields of the Vuelta Abajo, Of course I have to be very careful still, limit reading and writing. I am rather curious to see how the Ministerial crisis in France will end[117]—unless it brings in Clémenceau,

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[a] See previous letter – [b] See 'Dr Aveling and the Socialist Labour Party in America', *Justice*, No. 174, 14 May 1887 – [c] daily newspaper – [d] This must have created a stir

it will be the old affair over again, and I doubt whether Clémenceau will go in just now. He is the last resource of the bourgeois republic and would be soft to go in without a dissolution.

Edward and Tussy speak to-day in an open air meeting in Victoria Park, Hackney; the weather was boisterous and wet though, showery up to 4 p.m., now better. Don't know the hour of meeting, but hope it's late in the afternoon. Their agitation in the East End is going on quietly and steadily.[84] Next Sunday Delegate Conference of the League.[95] Will decide its fate. Both League and Federation[62] are in a bad way; Hyndman is in very bad odour again amongst his lot, has fallen out with Champion, and Burns goes about preaching an independent union of the working men of both societies leaving Hyndman, Morris, Aveling and Co. to fight out their quarrels themselves.

So much for to-day – the implacable Nim calls with the dinner-bell.

Affectionately yours
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in, F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II. Paris, 1956

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## 34

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[118]

### IN LONDON

London, Friday 27 May 1887

I shall finish the translation of the preface to the English *Lage*, etc. tomorrow.[111] If you would like to have it and can get a copy done by Tuesday evening, I shall gladly place it at your disposal. A good part of it can be picked up early tomorrow, Saturday, if necessary—Nim will know what to do, should early prove to be all too early.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935, and in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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## 35

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN[119]

### IN ZURICH

London, 28 May 1887

For heaven's sake please *don't* publish Jonas' deplorable translation of my preface[12] in the *Sozialdemokrat*. Have just done one myself, having with much difficulty finally retrieved the ms. of the English original from America. But I've also offered it to the Baron[a]—the Baron has just been here. He will surrender to you my translation of the preface and is getting a copy done with all speed, as my ms. must go off to America at once to oust the Jonasiad. Singer has been over here; told of C. A. Schramm's latest heroic deed in regard to yourself—what next? Tomorrow's conference of the delegates of the Socialist League will decide its fate.[95] I have still not received a single copy of the English *Lage*,[b] while K. Kautsky has been sent 18, so I'll finally get one tomorrow. Fine goings-on! My eye is improving slowly.

Your
F. E.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1924

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[a] Karl Kautsky. See previous letter – [b] Engels means the American edition of his *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*

## 36

## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[120]

### IN NEW YORK

London, 28 May 1887

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

I find both in *Justice* and *Sozialdemokrat* of this week a notice of the English *Lage*,[a] but have myself up to now not received a single copy, nor even seen the book. There seems to be some queer management somewhere, which may want looking into by you.—Just this moment Karl Kautsky comes in and says he has received a box with 18 copies, of which he kindly places a few at my disposal, so that I have at least a chance of a look at the book.

I am informed that the London Agent[b] of Mr Lovell is the firm which specially represents Bismarckism in the London Book Trades. This cannot of course be helped but is an unfortunate circumstance for us. Translation of preface[111] just too late for this Steamer, per next mail certain.

Yours faithfully
F. E.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgeng, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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[a] the American edition of Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. It was advertised in *Justice*, No. 176, 28 May 1887 and *Sozialdemokrat*, No. 22, 27 May 1887. – [b] Trübner

## 37

## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[120]

### IN NEW YORK

London, 31 May 1887

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

I have just mailed to you, *registered*, the translation of the preface.[111] It will also be published in the *Sozialdemokrat*.[a]

To-day I received per post 12 copies of the book[b] which I was very glad of and for which please accept my best thanks. The book looks better than I was led to expect, I have not as yet had time to look at the contents.

Very truly yours—in haste
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Reproduced from the original

## 38

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[121]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 4 June 1887

Dear Sorge,

No movement causes so much fruitless work as one that is still at the sectarian stage. You know that as well as I do. For everything then still revolves round tittle-tattle. As will this letter about English affairs.

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[a] See F. Engels, 'Die Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nos 24 and 25, 10 and 17 June 1887 – [b] the American edition of Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England*

Well, last Sunday the conference of the Socialist League was held.[95] The anarchist elements which had gained admission to it were victorious, being supported by Morris, who has a mortal hatred of all things parliamentary, is generally muddle-headed and, as a poet, considers himself above science. Resolution—in itself quite innocuous as there can after all be no question of parliamentary action *here and now*—adopted by 17 votes to 11 (see *Commonweal*, 4 June[a]). Of these *one* was cast by an ad hoc reconstituted bogus branch (three men, their three wives and—Mrs Schack!) and *three* by London delegates with mandates from the provinces, which, however, involved an obligation to vote *against* any such pro-abstention resolution. Hence three *stolen* votes and one invalid one.

What really clinched the matter was Morris' declaration that he would quit the moment any parliamentary action was accepted in principle. And since Morris makes good the *Commonweal's* deficit to the tune of £4 a week, this was for many the decisive factor.

Our people now intend to get the provinces organised, which they are at present well on the way to doing, and to call an extraordinary conference in about three or four months' time with a view to quashing the above. But it's unlikely to succeed; in the fabrication of voting sections, the anarchists are vastly superior to ourselves and can make eight enfranchised sections out of seven men. But nevertheless the farce is not without its good points and, having regard to the mood of the working men in the League, it was unavoidable. Bax is for us, of course, and, of the working men, Donald, Binning and Mahon amongst others—the best. None of ours stood for election to the Executive Council. The anarchists, by the way, may shortly throw our people out, and that might be all to the good.

The main thing is that, with the emergence of a genuine labour movement in the offing, our people should not be shackled with an organisation which lays claim to the leadership of the whole—à la Executive in New York and the Social Democratic Federation[62] over here. Everywhere in the provinces the workers are organising local associations (socialist) independently of London. They have a tremendous contempt for everything that hails from London.

Now for some further tittle-tattle. Hardly had we finished dealing with the New York Executive[115] than Mother Schack wrote to say she could no longer frequent my house because unable to meet Aveling, against whom there were grave imputations far more serious than the

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[a] 'The Socialist League', *Commonweal*, No. 73, 4 June 1887

charges made in America, etc. On my request that she should specify and provide evidence, she replied with mysterious insinuations worthy of the most inveterate scandalmonger, refused to provide any details or evidence, suggested that I should myself make inquiries in London about Aveling's antecedents and promised her help! I, of course, replied[76] saying that *I* felt neither obliged nor inclined to supply proof of anything *she* might assert; this was up to her and, as she refused to do so, I could only thank her profusely for her decision not to call on me in future.

I am bothering you with this only because *la* Schack will undoubtedly write to her bosom friend, Mrs Wischnewetzky, expatiating on the subject, and people might come pestering you about it. All this tittle-tattle emanates from pious souls enraged by the fact that Aveling, the son of a parson of high repute (Congregationalist)[a,122]—with whom, by the by, he was on the best of terms until his death not long ago—had joined in Bradlaugh's disreputable atheist campaign; and now that Aveling has gone over to socialism, it is being gleefully redisseminated by Bradlaugh & Co. It revolves round two points, first the fact that his first wife lives apart from him and runs him down—she left him for a parson—and, secondly, his being up to his eyes in debt. He contracted those debts 1. through being stupid enough to endorse substantial bills for Bradlaugh's printer out of sheer willingness to oblige, and all unaware that Bradlaugh had sacked the man, thus forcing him into bankruptcy; 2. because, in company with Bradlaugh, he had set up a physiological laboratory and school[b] in Newman St, and the crafty Bradlaugh—a former attorney's clerk—had so arranged matters as to place sole legal responsibility on Aveling. When things went wrong and it came to a split between Aveling and Bradlaugh, it was easy for the latter to encumber Aveling with all the liabilities while himself openly appropriating all the assets. Aveling has now got to go on discharging these debts till he's blue in the face. He is as easy to diddle in money-matters as a three-year-old—only appeal to his sense of honour and he'll do anything you want. And as always, it's those people who are honourable to the point of absurdity when it comes to money, who are reviled as swindlers. All this *la* Schack could have learned from me simply by asking. But that wouldn't have suited her book. It was something quite different she was after.

*La* Schack—in other respects a sociable, amusing person—is intent on cutting a figure, *à tout prix*. Having been pushed into our party as a result

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[a] Thomas Aveling – [b] the Science School

of harassment by the police, with whom she had crossed swords over their control of prostitution, she embarked on a women's campaign in Germany which, under different circumstances, might have had some point but which, because of the Anti-Socialist Law,[52] brought down upon the party, or so Singer tells me, three prosecutions for conspiracy; for no sooner did the women fall out among themselves than they began to gossip about, if not denounce, the activities of the men in the party organisation. Here again the police fortunately put a spoke in her wheel.[a] Thereupon she comes over here, consorts continually with the pious bourgeois women of the Anti-Contagious-Diseases Acts Agitation (against the attempt to introduce state-licensed and state-controlled brothels, and in favour of free trade in whores, a cause for which there is much to be said), from whom she picks up all the tittle-tattle about Aveling etc., also with the anarchist elements in the League[21]—some of whom listen avidly as she retails the self-same tittle-tattle, while others redisseminate it themselves—and throws herself more and more into anarchistic goings-on. When things came to a head in the League,[95] she realised that her regular visits to me must cease, and cast around for a seemly or unseemly pretext for breaking off relations herself before they were broken off for her. Aveling was to serve as scapegoat to this end and hence all this tittle-tattle, which for me has meant nothing but an extra dose of correspondence about cock-and-bull stories and hasn't done my eyes much good.

And with that, goodbye for today. By the same post I am sending off a parcel containing 1 *To-Day*, 2 *Commonweals*, 1 *Gleichheit*, 5 English and 5 German copies of Aveling's circular.[115]

I have now sent Mrs Wischnewetzky the preface in German[111] by registered post (Wednesday's[b] steamer).

Your

F. Engels

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. and F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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[a] See *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 30, 22 July 1887 – [b] 1 June

## 39

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### IN PARIS

London, 7 June 1887

My dear Laura,

Here is a heap of gossip for you—while the movement is still in the sectarian stage it resolves itself all into gossip—and such is the case in England.

Last Sunday was the Delegate Conference of the League.[95] Morris and the Anarchists carried a resolution that the League was to hold to an anti-parliamentary policy—vote 17 to 11.[a] Amongst the 17 one bogus Anarchist section and 3 who voted against their instructions. The real reason was Morris' money which is to continue to pay the £4. weekly deficit of the *Commonweal*; if the resolution fell through, Morris would have resigned.

Our friends are now going to try to organise their sections better in the provinces and to call an extraordinary conference to upset this. I don't believe in it, neither does Tussy, but the attempt is unavoidable on account of the feeling among the working-class element.

One of the prominent (in a small way) members of the above bogus Anarchist section was Mother Schack (who by the bye is exactly your age!) who has lately patronized the Anarchists considerably, this appearing to her the most likely means to *jouer un rôle quelconque ici*.[b] As by this she placed herself in a position where she must either discontinue her visits at my house or expect an unpleasant explication, she took the initiative in breaking off. On 29th the Conference. On 30th she writes me a letter: she cannot continue visiting me because she cannot meet Aveling as he has committed discreditable acts and also is slandering whom?—Tussy! I replied asking for particulars and proofs, and stating that unless I received them, I should communicate her letter to Edward.[76] Reply: she could state no particulars but invited me to inquire into Edward's character and antecedents generally, in which case she would assist me. This I naturally declined and again summoned her to particularise and prove, or take the consequences. Again she declines, warns me that 'the credit of my house'

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[a] See *Commonweal*, No. 73, 14 June 1887 – [b] play some sort of part here

must suffer if I take the responsibility for Edward, etc. Nothing but gossip, insinuations, infamies. The charge of Edward's slandering Tussy reduces itself to an insinuation that he spreads the idea that Tussy is extremely jealous!—Well, I told her in my reply that the credit of my house requiring from the people that met there the courage to stand by what they said about one another, I could only be extremely grateful to her for the resolution she had come to, to break off her visits. Of course I read the whole of the letters to Tussy and Edward who intend calling on her to-morrow and try to force her to some definite statement in the presence of the Kautskys. I don't think it will lead to much but let them try.

I am glad we are happily rid of this madam who has a foot in every camp, religious cranks, Anarchists, etc., and is a thorough *Klatschschwester*.[a] She first got the myths about Edward from her religious friends and had them confirmed by Mother Besant who has every reason to hold her noise but reckons on Edward's melodramatic generosity. And it is merely because he insisted on doing the virtuous hero of melodrama who is slandered right and left and rather glories in it because it belongs to the part and the eternal justice will end in bringing out the truth and show him resplendent in all the glory of his virtue, that all this slander has spread. But we shall stir him up a bit, and I think experience has told on him a little too, so that as soon as we get hold of something tangible, we shall soon put an end to it all.

Yesterday Sam Moore left here, and to-day we find a post-card announcing Schorlemmer for to-night. Pumps and her children are here, the boy is really a splendid fellow, with more irony in him than both his parents together can boast of.

At last I can sit by an open window! That is something.

Sam Moore wishes to know whether Paul has received the Beckmann, *History of Inventions*, he sent him.

Yours affectionately
F. E.

Nim sends her love, she is rather asthmatical after the winter.

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Reproduced from the original

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[a] scandalmonger

## 40

# ENGELS TO JULES GUESDE

IN PARIS

London, 11 June 1887
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen Guesde,

I would gladly lend a hand in getting the *18th Brumaire*[a] published in the resuscitated *Socialiste*,[23] but to this there are two minor obstacles.

In the first place, as you know, it was intended that, at the time of its publication in the *Socialiste*, the *Communist Manifesto*[b] should also appear in book form.[123] For reasons which are not known to me, that edition never appeared, and I should like to be assured that such a thing will not recur.

In the second place—and this is a matter of far greater moment—I am prevented by eye-trouble, which has been dragging on for the past six months, from taking on any literary commitments at the present time. And, since a great deal still remains to be done before the translation is completed, it is ten to one that printing will be held up and that we shall miss the boat altogether.

Hence I would ask you to allow the matter to drop, for the time being at any rate; later on, when I am again fit for work, we might discuss it further.

With best wishes for the success of the *Socialiste*,

Yours very sincerely
F. Engels

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Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

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[a] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* – [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*

## 41

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### IN PARIS

London, 11 June 1887

My dear Laura,

Mother Schack has had her punishment. Yesterday Tussy and Edward went to the Kautskys, with whom she lives. Found her in. She refused to see Edward. Tussy and Mrs Kautsky went in to her bedroom. Interpellated as to what were the facts against Edward and what her proofs, she declined repeatedly to say anything. Tussy, after various severe hits, told her this refusal was a *Gemeinheit.*[a] She: *das lasse ich mir von niemand sagen.*[b]—Tussy: *Dann werden Sie sich es jetzt von mir noch einmal in Gegenwart von Louise Kautsky sagen lassen, dass es eine Gemeinheit ist, wenn Sie solche Anklagen vorbringen und nicht dafür einstehn.*[c] Upon which she bolted out of the room, leaving Tussy in possession of her own bedroom!

She even tried to get old Lessner to fall in with her slanders but got the worst of it. She also says Pumps is sat upon by Percy! All this comes out now at once, but it has had two good effects, it will make Edward see what his treating all that stuff with contempt leads to and will make him speak out about various matters about which he ought to have spoken in his own defence; and secondly it has helped the Kautskys out of their unfortunate position in the house with Scheu. They are going to leave and take a flat for themselves.

I don't know whether I told you she had Mother Besant to tea the other day and said in her presence that *all* our deputies, Bebel, Liebknecht, Singer and all were corrupt. Kautsky jumped up and put his fist under her nose, he was in such a rage. If it had not been for her staying with them, we should have shaken her off long ago.

Schorlemmer is still here, doing business as Vice-President of

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[a] a filthy thing to do – [b] I won't let anyone speak to me like that – [c] In that case, I shall repeat here, in the presence of Louise Kautsky, that to bring such charges against someone and refuse to substantiate them is a filthy thing to do

Chemical Section at British Association meeting, Manchester, next August.[124] He, Nim, and Pumps had a long conversation this morning, planning a trip to Paris in September. *Châteaux en Espagne*[a] so far. He sends his kindest regards to both of you.

Affectionately yours
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

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## 42

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN LONDON

London, 15 June 1887

Dear Kautsky,

On what day did you write to Liebknecht about *la* Schack? I've just had a letter from Mrs Liebknecht from which it appears that she, at any rate, knows nothing at all about the matter. Would like to clear up the mystery.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel, mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935 and in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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Published in English for the first time

[a] Castles in the air

## 43

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[125]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 18 June 1887

Dear Sorge,

I shall send this letter to Rochester or better still, perhaps—to abide strictly by your instructions—to Hoboken.

Postcard received. You guessed aright. The delay was all Wilhelm's[a] fault and I have had to hold a pistol to his head. Meanwhile you will have had the circulars (6 English, 6 German), sent off in my parcel of 4 June.

End of the Schack affair: after I had thanked her heartily for proposing not to visit me any more, Tussy and Aveling went to see her on Friday, 10 June. She received only Tussy, who demanded to know what facts she had to adduce against Aveling, and upon what evidence.—Reply again refused.—Tussy observes:—Mrs Kautsky being present—That's a filthy thing to do.—La Schack: I won't let anyone speak to me like that.—Tussy: In that case, I shall repeat, here in the presence of Louise Kautsky, that to bring charges against someone else and not have the courage to substantiate them is a filthy thing to do.—Thereupon *la* Schack flounced out of her own bedroom, where this was taking place, and that was the last Tussy saw of her. A few days later she left for Germany. She is one of the most vulgar scandalmongers I have ever known, typical Prussian Junker aristo.

I shall for the time being go on sending you the *Commonweal* because of the debate between Bax and Bradlaugh.[126] Bax will hardly get the better of the crafty Bradlaugh—in the eyes of the public at large. He is very talented, studies a lot, but is still deeply immersed in German philosophy, which he will, no doubt, get over in the long run, but has as yet by no means digested.

In the interests of accuracy I should rectify the assertion in my last letter about Aveling's first wife running away with a parson[b]; in fact, they separated by mutual consent, so I shall let the matter of the said parson—although he did play some part in the affair—rest at that.

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[a] Liebknecht – [b] See this volume, p.71

The *Socialiste* has resumed publication. Having had a legacy from his old man, Deville put 12,000 francs at its disposal. I shall write and tell Lafargue to have it sent to you, but whether or not this is done, I shall presumably learn only from yourself. I know how they go about things over there.

Yesterday the Irish Coercion Bill was whipped through the House of Commons, clause by clause, in two minutes.[86] It is a worthy companion-piece to the Anti-Socialist Law.[52] Arbitrary powers for the police, no less. Things regarded as fundamental rights in England are forbidden in Ireland and become crimes. It will be the death-knell of the present Tories, whom I wouldn't have thought so stupid, and of the Unionist Liberals,[127] whom I should hardly have thought so base. What's more, the Bill is to remain in force, not just for a time but for ever. The English Parliament has descended to the level of the German Reichstag. Not that it's likely to last very long.

It will soon be time to publish Marx's letter to you about Henry George.[128] Maybe *after* next November's elections in New York when George is again throwing his weight about there.[129] He should be given enough latitude, either to develop further or to run to seed, the latter course being evidently the one he prefers.

Another parcel will be going off to you. I have not yet had the last *Commonweal*; will follow shortly.

I hope a rest in Rochester will soon put you to rights again. In this marvellous weather the enforced idleness, due to the condition of my eye, suits me very well. Let's hope it goes on like this.

Your
F. E.

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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## 44
## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 20 June 1887

My Dear Friend Martignetti,

Mr Paul's silence is due to the fact that he is on his travels just now,[a] as I learn from Wedde, so it would be no good inquiring at present whether he has received your photograph, but I shall probably have a chance of finding this out shortly and hope that you may meanwhile hear from him direct.

Kindest regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 45
## ENGELS TO JOHN LINCOLN MAHON[130]

IN LONDON

London, 22 June 1887

Dear Mahon,

Enclosed your programme with a few suggestions.[131]—I consider it very good as a spontaneous working-class declaration of principles—requiring but a little more precision of language here and there, and a few additions.

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[a] See this volume, pp.63-4

Sorry I could not send it before but have sore eyes and dare not read or write much and had many interruptions—will write more fully tomorrow.

Yours faithfully
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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## 46

## ENGELS TO JOHN LINCOLN MAHON[130]

### IN LONDON

London, 23 June 1887

Dear Mahon,

I returned you yesterday the programme with some notes which may perhaps be of use at some future time.[132]

What you say about the leaders of the Trades Unions is quite true. We have had to fight them from the beginning of the International. From them have sprung the Macdonalds, Burts, Cremers and Howells, and *their* success in the parliamentary line encourages the minor leaders to imitate their conduct. If you can get the Trades Unionists of the North to consider their Unions as a valuable means of organisation and of obtaining *minor* results, but no longer to regard 'a fair day's wage for a fair day's work' as the ultimate end, then the occupation of the leaders will be gone.

I think your plan of organisation rather premature; the provinces ought first to be aroused thoroughly, and that is as yet far from being the case. And unless there is an overwhelming force from the provinces brought to bear on London, the London squabblers will not be silenced—except by a real movement of the London masses. There has

been in my opinion already too much impatience shown in what is called by courtesy the socialist movement in England; experimentalising with fresh attempts at organisation will be worse than useless until there is really something to organise. And when the masses once begin to move they will soon organise themselves.

As to the League, if it upholds the resolution[a] of the last Conference,[95] I do not see how anyone can remain a member who intends using the present political machinery as a means of propaganda and action.

In the meantime it is necessary, of course, that the propaganda be kept up and I am quite willing to contribute my share. But the means for this must be got together and distributed by some *English* Committee, and as far as they are to come from London, by a *London* Committee. I shall speak to the Avelings about this and give them my contribution.

I do not know any books where you could get information about the Luddite movement[133]; it will be a laborious task to trace out reliable sources from the references in history books and pamphlets of the time.

Yours faithfully
F. Engels

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## 47

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[49]

### IN MOUNT DESERT

London, 30 June 1887

Dear Sorge,

Have received letters, etc., up to 16 June.

I shall write and tell the Wischnewetzkys[76] to word the note thus: 'to

[a] See 'The Socialist League', *The Commonweal*, No. 73, 4 June 1887

repudiate the silly calumnies to which Aveling has been exposed as a result of his American propaganda tour'.[134] If they don't like that either, I shall tell them to refer to you and you may, if necessary, authorise them to *delete the entire note*. For I cannot possibly cite Aveling without saying a word about all *that* nonsense.

Aveling sends the enclosed postcard re *Time*.[135] The copies will have gone to Rochester.

The business of Scribner's advertisement for *Capital* has the appearance of a deliberate piracy.[136] Thanks for the information; I shall pass it on to Sonnenschein. So far as I know, Scribner is *not* Sonnenschein's agent in New York.

That the members of the Executive should have believed they had bought Liebknecht's silence with the electoral funds[a] was predictable and not altogether unjustified. Luckily Liebknecht's first boastful letter had put him wholly in my power[115] and of this, when he tried to withdraw, I made the most determined use.

Over here Hyndman has been continually defaming Aveling,[103] in which he is strongly abetted by Aveling's reticence about such things. If we could catch the fellow out just once, he'd have cause to remember it. However, he is gradually bringing about his own demise. He's so wretchedly envious that he cannot tolerate a rival and is openly or secretly at war with all and sundry. And Aveling is at last eager for the fray and Tussy will see to it that he stays that way.

You mustn't forget what I told you about *la* Schack. The creature wants to come back and is *partout* determined to cut a figure over here. So it's better to know exactly what she's up to. The affair between her and the Wischnewetzkys caused the Kautskys and Avelings much glee; may very well have had something to do with her going over to the Anarchists so as to prove that she had finished with us. Liebknecht writes to say that, in a letter to Dresden, she came out with the shocking news that Aveling already had a previous wife from whom he was not divorced, and that he lived with Tussy without being married to her! So profound a secret is it in this country that any Englishman harbouring doubts on this score and desirous of making the Avelings' acquaintance, is informed of it by them *in writing* so that he cannot claim to have been kept in the dark and received under false pretences.

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[a] See 'The Socialist League', *The Commonweal*, No. 73, 4 June 1887

One day she was sentimentalising away to old Lenchen, saying how very much in love with one another the Avelings seemed to be, if only they always remained so, etc. 'Well, supposing they don't,' Lenchen burst out, 'they'll just part company again, and that will be that.' Which brought Madame Tittle-Tattle up sharp—she hadn't expected Lenchen to take such a practical view of things.

I have written to Lafargue[76] telling him to send the *Socialiste* to you at Rochester, but have had no reply.

I trust the warm weather will put you to rights again. It is doing me a power of good. During these four weeks of drought I have had all my windows wide open and lived so to speak in the open air; I find it as good as a visit to a spa and am also hoping it will make my eyes better again.

I am sick to death of Father McGlynn and George is turning out to be a proper founder of sects. Not that I really expected anything else; considering how recent the movement is, however, this was a transitional stage that could hardly have been avoided. Such people must be given the length of their tether; the masses will learn only from the consequences of their own mistakes.

I wish you a good recovery and good weather in Mount Desert!

Your
F. Engels

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engls, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906, and, in full, in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow 1935

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## 48

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### IN PARIS

London, 15 July 1887

My dear Laura,

Thanks for your letters. I have Schorlemmer still here; a chronic catarrh of the stomach, the great heat, and the absence of a very pressing wish to revisit his dear country keep him here. Besides him, Fritz Beust from Zürich, whom you saw here eight years ago, has arrived too. So I must confine myself to urgent matters.

I was obliged to give a card of introduction (to Paul) to a young Dr Conrad Schmidt of Königsberg, who dabbles in *question sociale*. He is about the greenest youth I ever saw, he was here about 3 months, seems a decent fellow, as decent fellows go nowadays, *frisst keine Schuhnägel und säuft keine Tinte*.[a] If Paul deposits him in rue Richelieu, Bibliothèque nationale, he will not trouble him much. He admires Zola in whom he has discovered the '*materialistische Geschichtsanschauung*'.[b]

The Boulanger fit of paroxysm[137] ought to make our people demand again and again *l'armement du peuple* as the only guarantee against Caesaristic velleities on the part of popular generals. That is the only argument against the outcry of the Royalist press with regard to Boulanger being a danger to—the Republic they say, and the future monarchy they mean.

Saturday week, 23 July, we move to Eastbourne, 4 Cavendish Place,[138] same as last year. If your Jersey trip is realised, let us know. I should not wonder if Tussy and Edward caught the Jersey fever.

Love from Nim, Jollymeier.

Yours affectionately
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

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[a] he eats no bootnails and drinks no ink – [b] materialist conception of history

## 49

## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[139]

### IN NEW YORK

London, 20 July 1887

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

I have returned to you by this mail the whole of the two sets of reviews you sent me, with sincere thanks.[140] They have greatly amused me.—Criticism is almost on the same level everywhere, from Stockholm and London to New York and San Prancisco, and since the rapid rise of a shoddy bourgeoisie in Russia I am afraid that even there the reviews will soon sink to the common level.

Yours sincerely
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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## 50

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN VENTNOR

London, 22 July 1887

Dear Kautsky,

Leaving tomorrow. Address 4 Cavendish Place, Eastbourne.[138] Herewith a package of newspapers.[a] Greetings from us all. You're not too hot I hope!

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[a] *Bürger-Zeitung*

Here super-shirt-sleeve weather.

Your
F. E.

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## 51

## ENGELS TO JOHN LINCOLN MAHON[130]

### IN LONDON

Eastbourne, 26 July 1887
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Mr Mahon,

Your postcard with address was forwarded to me here, hence the delay.

If your letter means anything, it means that you intend, as far as you can, to shove Aveling entirely out of the movement.[141] If you decline to work along with Aveling on *public* grounds, you are bound to come out with them, so as either to enable Aveling to clear himself or to free the movement from a dangerous and false co-operator. If not, then you are bound, in my opinion, to set aside your personal feelings in the interest of the movement.

Of all the various Socialist groups in England, what is now the 'opposition' in the League,[21] was the only one with which so far I could thoroughly sympathise. But if that group is allowed to fall to pieces from mere personal whims and squabbles, or from mutual suspicions and insinuations which are carefully kept away from the light of day, it can only dissolve into a number of small cliques held together by personal motives, and utterly unfit to take any sort of lead in a really national movement. And I do not see on what grounds I should sympathise with

any of these cliques more than with another, or with the Social Democratic Federation[62] or any other body.

I have no right to ask you why you refuse to co-operate with Aveling. But as you have worked with him for years,[142] *he* has, and therefore I consider myself bound to communicate your letter to him.

Yours sincerely
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935*

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## 52

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN VENTNOR

Eastbourne, 1 August 1887

Dear Kautsky,

I return Mandl herewith; signature overleaf.[143] I'm glad you like Ventnor. It is lovely here too, except for the Bank Holiday[144] today, besides which Bax has set up his headquarters here for a week and catechises me for an hour and a half every morning with the conscientiousness of an American interviewer. Schorlemmer was here until last Saturday when he went off to Germany. F. Beust leaves on Thursday.

So far as I remember, when dealing with the iron law of wages neither Mandl nor L. Frankel correctly emphasised its elastic rather than iron character.[145] And, while Lassalle may sometimes formulate the law more or less correctly,[146] he is wont to apply it in practice in such a way as to declare the minimum wage to be the normal wage.

It's very difficult to write here, with four people sitting at one's back, chatting and drinking beer. So good cheer and goodbye.

Warmest regards from us all,

Your
F. E.

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935, and in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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53

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN VENTNOR

Eastbourne, 5 August 1887

A Dr Joseph Maria Baernreither, Austrian judge and member of the House of Deputies, actual author of a book on English benefit societies[147] and future ditto of a ditto on ditto Trades Unions, proposes to visit me. Can you tell me anything about this *Bärenreuter*[a] or *Bärenhäuter*[b]? Many regards.

Your
F. E.

Return *Bürger-Zeitungs* herewith. When do you go home again?

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935 and in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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[a] Literally, bear rider, the word *Reuter* having certain pejorative connotations. e.g. formerly also highwayman – [b] lazy-bones

## 54

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[121]

### IN MOUNT DESERT

Eastbourne, 8 August 1887

Dear Sorge,

All postcards, letters and packages up to 27 July gratefully received, save for a few newspapers which are still in London and awaited daily. We have been here for a fortnight and shall be staying until about the 25th of this month.[138] It's terribly hot, hardly a drop of rain since the 1st of June, in other words an American summer. There's only one remedy for your leg, rest and patience; then, with any luck, it will get well again, but at our age things of this sort always drag on for the devil of a long time.

Let Monsieur Grunzig see what sort of a job he can make of a biography of myself.[148] You were quite right to leave the man to his own resources; who knows what rubbish he might not have written on the strength of your notes, only to cite you as his authority. Kautsky has written a biographical piece about me which is appearing in the *Österreichischer Arbeiter-Kalender*[143] and which I have read over, corrected and added to; hence, so far as the facts are concerned, it can serve for any future eventuality and I shall send it to you. Needless to say, I am not responsible for anything else that may be in it.

I had to do most of the proof-correcting of *Das Kapital* I, 3rd ed., while ill in bed so that various mistakes slipped through. The punctuation was deliberately altered to approximate to the French and English, as is now largely done in Germany. For that matter, the only place where the old pedagogic German of our boyhood days is still taught and written is America.

Aveling has told me that he himself sent you the copy of *Time*.[89] But if only one halfpenny stamp too few is affixed to a parcel of books for abroad it will be withheld by the English post office. I shall make further inquiries on my return.—Aveling and Tussy are having a holiday at Stratford-on-Avon, Shakespeare's birthplace.

The business of the Wischnewetzkys is becoming ever more of a joke.[149] In Germany an Executive such as this would have long since been removed from office. The chaps would seem to think that they can

afford to do anything, and that the party will stand by them through thick and thin in return for their requiring the Americans to place themselves under the command of a German society wherein sheer lubberliness would appear increasingly to be gaining the upper hand. But if your Germans over there make that a condition for their co-operation, the movement will soon outdistance them. Things have at last got going in your part of the world and, unless I am much mistaken in my Americans, they will astonish us all by the magnificence of their movement and also by the immensity of the blunders they will perpetrate, thereby ultimately clarifying their ideas. Pre-eminent when it comes to practice and still in swaddling clothes as regards theory—such is the situation, nor could it be otherwise; but at the same time a country without any traditions (save religious) and with a democratic republic for its point of departure, and a people more abounding in energy than any other. The course of the movement will by no means follow a classic straight line but will zig-zag badly and at times appear to turn back on its tracks, though in America this will matter far less than it would over here. Henry George was an unavoidable evil but will soon be consigned to oblivion, as will Powderly, not to say McGlynn, whose momentary popularity is understandable enough in so pious a country. In the autumn, a great deal will become—I wouldn't say clearer—but rather even more involved, as the crisis looms closer. The annual autumn elections are a real boon in that, over and over again, they impel the masses towards unity.

Mount Desert is undoubtedly very beautiful, but this place isn't to be sneezed at either—long avenues of ancient elms and oaks right next the sea, the chalk cliffs of Beachy Head right next the town, which last has quite a continental air with its tree-lined promenades—if only I could again walk 4 or 5 miles (English ones)!

I shall go on writing to Mount Desert *from here* up till about the 18th or 20th of August, and after that to Rochester unless instructed otherwise.

I am sending you the August number of *To-day* containing some comments, not altogether unfounded, on Aveling's circulars.[150] The lad has brought all this down on his own head through his utter ignorance of the world, of men and of business, and his predilection for poetical dreaming. I, however, have woken him up a bit and Tussy will see to the rest. He's a very talented and serviceable sort of chap and thoroughly honest, but gushing as a flapper. with a perpetual itch to do something silly. Well, I can still recall the time when I was much the same kind of idiot.

In Paris our people are making a very brave stand against the chauvinists and Russophiles and, had it not been for them. *La Justice* wouldn't have dared to attack the Katkov cult.[151] This is particularly important just now when Bismarck is doing everything in his power to chivvy the French into war[152] before old William[a] kicks the bucket.

On the whole I am feeling better, as I hope you are.

Your
F. Engels

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## 55

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

Eastbourne, 9 August 1887
4 Cavendish Place

My dear Laura,

We have now been here more than a fortnight[138] and nothing to complain of but the heat. This is indeed an exceptional summer as the sneaks in *Nature* call it: 'the *Jubilee* Anticyclone'. I have taken some light work with me for a rainy day but the rainy day will not come and the work remains fast asleep in my drawer. Jollymeier was here with us for a week and Fritz Beust a fortnight—he had to begin teaching again the day before yesterday in Zürich—there was considerable and quite undisguised flirtation between Pumps and him and nobody was prouder of it than Percy. *Oh les maris!*[b]

---

[a] William I – [b] Oh, those husbands!

Whoever translated that preface of mine for the *Socialiste*[153] did it exceedingly well. I never was so well done in French. One or two passages make me suspect that it was done from the German, at least in part.

The determined stand our people have made against Russophilism and Katkoffolatrie has evidently had a good effect. I see the *Justice* is coming round, and Kropotkin has tackled Rochfort. Guesde's article in *l'Action* shows that he knows more about the matter of Russia than I dared to hope for.[151]

Otherwise French, like all other, politics are under the influence of the hot weather. *Tout rate, même les duels.*[a] [154]

I hope that great Polish oculist[b] will be the last and finally successful of Paul's panaceas. When he wrote before of operations, I thought they consisted in the opening out of the lachrymal duct, as this is the most common of all slight operations on the external eye. But most old men with watery eyes suffer from that *rétrécissement*,[c] and I am almost certain I have got it myself on one eye at least. But that I can get set right, if need be, in London, and before rushing into the arms and tools of that miraculous Pole, I shall await Paul's final report. There is nothing to give you such mountain-moving faith in individual doctors, as a general scepticism with regard to scientific medicine.

I have had Bax here for a week and was daily interviewed by him with the regularity of a clock and the inquisitiveness of an American journalist. But it gave me an opportunity of quiet talk with him on many subjects, and when he has done with his set questions (which, as with most people here, are meant to save them study) and has exhausted his sudden flashes of original ideas about *le lendemain de la révolution*[d] and so on, he begins to talk sense and more sense than the preliminary conversation led you to expect. Then you find that after all he has a largeness of view that is but too scarce here amongst the sectarians calling themselves Socialists. But as to unacquaintance with the world that is, as to hermit-like simplicity and *Fremdheit*[e] in the midst of the largest town of the world, an English *Stubengelehrter*[f] beats his German compeer hollow.

Paul's article on the *services publics* was very good.[g] It would do good in Germany too, where the Vierecks and Co. are only too eager to use '*Verstaatlichung*'[h] in the same bamboozling way as Brousse and Co. the *services publics*.

---

[a] Everything misfires, even duels – [b] Galezowski – [c] contraction – [d] the morrow of the revolution – [e] estrangement – [f] bookworm – [g] P. Lafargue, 'Les services publics', in *Le Socialiste*, 6 August 1887 – [h] nationalisation

Sunday evening all of a sudden Charley Rosher arrived—after ten. Had tricycled it—the hottest day of the season—from London; got to Haywards Heath (about 40 miles), done up, had to take the train. Next day diarrhoea and general breakdown. And on the following day, scarcely recovered, he had a telegram that his wife was ill and he was to return at once. A subsequent telegram informed us that she had had a 'Miss Carry'.

Nim was at first, while here, suffering from slight muscular rheumatism—pains all over, as poor Lizzie[a] used to say—but she is all right now and very jolly. So is Pumps and her two children. Percy has to spend most of the week in London. I am lazy and give way to it, as being the best thing under the circumstances to do. And here comes the whole brigade ready for dinner and the children want me to make them paper boats, so it's all up with writing and I close in haste.

Yours affectionately
F. Engels

And love from all.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

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## 56

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

Eastbourne, 13 August 1887
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Bebel,

Tomorrow or the day after you will be released from prison[64] and I, for my part, hope to realise a plan which I have had in mind ever since you took up lodgings with the King of Saxony. Namely, to invite you to

[a] Lydia Burns

make a short trip to London at my expense to help you recover from the wear and tear of martyrdom. But you must do me the favour of accepting my proposal in its entirely, especially as regards it's being at my expense, for my conscience would not allow me to impose upon you any sacrifices, however small, in this connection. A holiday of this kind would seem to me absolutely essential to your health; you would at long last be able to breathe the air of liberty again, for over here the air is as free as it ever can be in a capitalist society. An abrupt transition from the narrow confines of Zwickau prison to the wider ones of the prison that is Germany would be altogether too hard. But I can think of nothing that is of more vital concern to the party now than your state of health, and therefore beg you to allow me to make my contribution to the party in the shape that seems to me most fitting.

I shall be here for the next fortnight, i.e. shall return to London on the 27th inst.[138] I imagine it will take you roughly the same amount of time to put various matters in order, and I myself am unable to go back to town before then because my house is being refurbished from attic to cellar and everything is at sixes and sevens. But if you can come over any earlier and spend a few days with us here at the seaside, so much the better and the sooner the better. You can take the night boat from Flushing and travel to Victoria Station in London; the trains for Eastbourne leave from the same station and will get you here in 2 or 2½ hours. Kautsky, who returns to town from Ventnor on Monday (address 35 Lady Somerset Road, Highgate, London, N. W.), will gladly pilot you around London. Liebknecht, who also paid us a visit last year, was enthusiastic about the locality.

So I eagerly await your answer and, provided this is in the affirmative and you are not coming *straight away*, shall send you an advance remittance and thus make even more sure of you.

All other discussions have best be left until we meet. So much has happened which you are better qualified than anyone else to explain to me. On the whole I am satisfied with the course the world has taken since you went into isolation; things are going ahead everywhere.

Now I must close, for down here the post goes at 1.15 p.m. and if I miss it my letter won't leave London until Monday morning. I am addressing it for safety's sake to your wife, to whom, as to your daughter,[a] kindly give my warmest regards.

Your old friend
F. E.

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[a] Julie and Frieda Bebel

In case you should have to look up Kautsky in London, herewith a more detailed address:

35 Lady Somerset Road, Highgate, near Kentish Town Station, Kentish Town Road. No need to put this on letters.

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## 57

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN LONDON

Eastbourne, 17 August 1887
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Kautsky,

Please excuse the belated return of the enclosed, which I have read with thanks.[155] I shall be interested to peruse the clean proofs of the More,[a] though I don't see of what help I can be to you in this.

We shall be coming back on Saturday week, 27 August,[138] by which time my house will presumably be habitable once more.

If you happen to be passing Regent's Park Road I should be greatly obliged if you would drop in there and leave 3 or 4 large (long) envelopes, addressed to me *here*; I had left some there but they would all seem to have been used up. I mean the sort of envelope in which my people will be able to send me 3 or 4 letters at a time.

For the rest, we are as merry as grigs and are expecting Sam Moore this evening. Last night we at last had a storm, but it's fine again now.

Regards from my family to yours. The Avelings are at Stratford-on-Avon, revelling in Shakespeariana at source.

Your
F. E.

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[a] K. Kautsky, *Thomas More und seine Utopie*, Stuttgart, 1888

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935, and in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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## 58

## ENGELS TO BRUNO SCHOENLANK

### IN NUREMBERG

Eastbourne, 29 August 1887

Dear Mr Schoenlank,

Your letter, forwarded to me here by Kautsky, places me in something of a quandary. I read with interest the excerpts, published in the *Neue Zeit*, from your valuable work on the looking-glass industry and would not object on principle to your doing me the honour of dedicating the book to me.[156] But, in the first place, dedications are now rather out of fashion and, in the second, Marx and I have always felt a certain aversion to such more or less uncalled-for-tributes. And at present I happen to be in a frame of mind which makes me think my merits grossly overrated in some quarters. If one is so fortunate as to collaborate for forty years with a greater man and measure oneself against him day by day, one is given the chance of evaluating one's own achievements in accordance with a true standard. And I feel instinctively that to place any undue emphasis on my own activities is unwittingly to detract from what we all of us owe to Marx.

Nor can I agree with you when you dub me the father of descriptive economics. You will find descriptive economics in Petty, Boisguillebert, Vauban, and Adam Smith, to name only a few. Such accounts, notably of proletarian conditions, were written by Frenchmen and Englishmen before I did mine. It was just that I was lucky enough to be precipitated into the heart of modern large-scale industry and to be the first whose eyes were opened to its implications—at any rate the most immediate ones.

So from a *personal* point of view, I would sooner you abandoned your intention, and this *solely* on the grounds outlined above. But should you fail to be convinced by them, I would not venture to dictate what you should do.

Yours very faithfully,
Fr. Engels

First published in *Der Abend*, No. 344, 25 July 1935

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Published in English for the first time

## 59

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

Eastbourne, 30 August 1887

Dear Bebel,

I am tremendously glad that you are so willing to fall in with my little plan.[a] I shall expect to see you in London in the early part of October and only regret that you cannot come straight away and spend a week here in the bracing sea air. My house still being at sixes and sevens, I have had to stay here another week but we shall be going home on Friday, 2 September.[138]

Everything else I shall leave until we meet but, since you are going to Hamburg, just one more word. I have been corresponding with Wedde about a plan they have been hatching there. Unfortunately, however, I could not comply with his wishes since the plan—at any rate so far as I could judge from what Wedde told me—had been worked out in total ignorance of the law in this country and, more especially, of procedure in civil cases.[157] Might I now ask you, when in Hamburg, to get Wedde to explain the whole plan in detail to you again so that we can discuss it

[a] See this volume, pp.94-95

exhaustively over here, for if the thing is at all feasible, I would gladly do all I could, both for the sake of the cause and to oblige Wedde. If the worst comes to the worst and nothing can be done, I hope to convince you that such is really the case, and even this would mean quite a lot to me.

So in about 3 or 4 weeks' time I hope to hear when you will be arriving. In the meantime please remember me most kindly to your wife and daughter.[a] With warmest regards,

Your
F. E.

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## 60

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN LONDON

[London], Saturday [3 September 1887]

Home yesterday evening.[138] But have not, alas, got to the stage of being able to offer you luncheon tomorrow. However, we look forward to seeing you here about 5 o'clock.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935, and in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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[a] Julia and Frieda Bebel

## 61

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV[158]

### IN PARIS

London, 3 September 1887

Danielson in St Petersburg has informed me of H. Lopatin's death.[a] Have you had confirmation? I should like to think there has been some mistake.[159] If by mischance the news should be true, let me know and I shall at once send a tribute[a] to the *S.D.* of Z[b]

Yours ever
F. E.

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## 62

## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY

### IN NEW YORK

London, 15 September 1887
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

I have received your letter of 28 August.

I am glad the pamphlet[c] sells so well. The copies I received I shall

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[a] This sentence was in Russian in the original – [b] *Sozialdemokrat* of Zürich (in the original Engels uses the Russian initials) – [c] F. Engels, *The Labor Movement in America*.

hand over to Aveling who has just returned from the country to be distributed partly amongst the Socialist periodicals, partly at his East End Meetings at his lectures on the American movement.[84] I shall also try through him to get an Agent for its sale and let you know the result.

What I wrote about Trübner[a] has come true stronger than I expected. Yesterday Dr Baernreither, Austrian M.P., told me that he had asked Trübner—with whom he dealt regularly—to procure him a copy of our book.[b] Trübner said *he had none*, and that Dr Baernreither *had better order it through an American Agency whose address he gave to Baernreither* and through which Baernreither ordered the book. Thus Trübner not only boycotts but actually burns the book.

As to the copies sent to Kautsky he could hardly act otherwise than he did.[160] Neither Lovell nor yourself ever wrote him a line of instruction. I myself never heard whether any copies had been sent to the press here and to what papers. We were completely in the dark, and if the book has not got into the hands of the English press and not been noticed, that is entirely the fault of mistakes committed on your side of the water. Had I been informed of what had been done in that respect, or had I been told that that was left to me I could have acted. There is no doubt of a sale for it here, but not while it is in Trübner's hands; and if I was authorised to find an agent here I have no doubt of being able to do so; of course you would have to send a limited number of copies as a consignment.

The repudiation of the Socialists by George[161] is in my opinion an unmerited piece of good luck which will redeem to a great extent the—unavoidable—blunder of placing George at the head of a movement he did not even understand. George as the standard-bearer of the whole working-class movement was a danger; George as the Chief of the Georgeites will soon be a thing of the past, the leader of a sect like the thousands of sects in America.

Your pamphlet on philanthropy[d] has not yet come to hand.

Your translation of Marx's Free Trade speech I shall look over with pleasure and compare it with the French original of which I have perhaps the only copy extant. We will see about the preface later on. The 7th *Bemerkung*[e] from the *Misère de la Philosophie* would fit in very well. As to the chapter on Rent, that seems more doubtful, as there is a good

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[a] See this volume, p.68 – [b] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* – [d] F. Kelley-Wischnewetzky, *The Need of Theoretical Preparation for Philanthropic Work* [New York, 1887] – [e] observation

deal of reference to Proudhon's notions in it, and I doubt whether Mr Tucker's lucubrations deserve any attention.[162]

The reply of the Executive to my footnote is in itself so deprecatory and meaningless that to reply to it would be a work of supererogation.[163] I cannot reply in time for the Congress, and the fact remains that I have openly taken sides against the Executive in this matter. A fresh controversy across the Atlantic can lead to nothing. As to the *Sozialist* and *Volkszeitung* boycotting me, I am sorry for it on account of the sale of the book and pamphlet, otherwise it is a matter of perfect indifference to me. I have got too often over such chicanery by simply waiting and looking on.

Your expulsion I read in the *Volkszeitung* at the time, it was what was to be expected. I hope your pamphlet will come in time for the Congress, it would have been well if it had been out a month ago so as to come into the hands of the sections before they sent delegates. I am curious what the Congress will do but do not hope for too much.

Faithfully yours
F. Engels

Fortunately the movement in America has now got such a start that neither George, nor Powderly nor the German intriguers can spoil or stop it. Only it will take unexpected forms. The real movement always looks different to what it ought to have done in the eyes of those who were tools in preparing it.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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## 63

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[121]

### IN ROCHESTER

London, 16 September 1887

Dear Sorge,

Letter of 1 September received. I hope your leg will gradually improve again; rest and patience, that's the main thing.

This summer has been appallingly disrupted and my house full of visitors from all over the world, as it will continue to be until the middle of October since I am expecting Bebel in a fortnight's time. I shall not be able to look out Marx's letter about George[128] until I can get things in order, i.e. until the new bookcases I have ordered arrive and provide me with more space. Then you shall at once have the translation. There's no hurry. Let George get himself into rather more of a fix. His repudiation of the Socialists[161] is by far the best thing that could have happened to us. His elevation to the status of standard-bearer last November[6] was a mistake that was unavoidable and was bound to have repercussions. For the fact remains that the masses can only be set in motion along a course—usually a circuitous one—appropriate to the country and the circumstances concerned. Everything else is of secondary importance, provided only they are galvanised into life. But on each occasion the penalty has to be paid for the blunders which inevitably ensue. Thus, it might have been feared in this instance that the elevation of the founder of a sect to the status of shield-bearer might have encumbered the movement with sectarian nonsense for years to come. By chucking out the founders of the movement, by constituting his sect a special, orthodox, Georgian sect, and by proclaiming his borné views to be the *bornes*[a] of the movement as a whole, George is saving the latter and ruining himself.

Needless to say, the movement as such still has many unpleasant phases to go through—unpleasant in particular for anyone who lives in the country and has to endure them. But I am absolutely convinced that things are now going ahead over there, and perhaps more rapidly than

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[a] limits

here, despite the fact that, for the time being, the Americans will have to learn almost exclusively from practice, and relatively little from theory.

The New York Executive's reply to my note is deplorable.[163] Nor do I expect very much of their congress.[164]. The chaps in the east—the sections—don't seem to be up to much and yet there seems little likelihood of the Social Democratic Party's centre of gravity shifting to the west.

The Trades Union Congress over here has again gone to show that a revolution is taking place within the old trades unions. It was resolved, *in opposition* to the leaders, notably Broadhurst, and to the other labour members of parliament, to form an Independent Labour Party.[165] An armchair socialist and Austrian parliamentary deputy[a] was quite amazed at the vast changes that had come about since he was last here in 1883.

I haven't heard a word, or seen anyone, from France since Lafargue left for Jersey, where he is spending a week or two.

I shall write to you about Germany as soon as I have discussed things over here with Bebel.

As regards politics generally, everyone is getting ready for old William's[b] death, whereupon the Russians will behave rather more cockily in the East and Bismarck will egg them on in order to maintain his own position. But I hardly suppose it will come to a war. The uncertainty of what a war might entail is so great, the reciprocal intention of cabinets to betray each other so manifest, the certitude that the war would be more violent, bloody, costly and prostrating than any previous war (10 or 12 million soldiers locked in battle) so indubitable, that everyone is uttering threats but no one has the courage to begin. But it's a game that may unleash a war *without* their wanting it, and therein lies the danger.

Five thousand copies of Kautsky's work on Marx's theory[c] have already been sold.

And there I must stop for today—time for the post and for dinner.

Your

F. E.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. and F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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[a] Joseph Maria Baernreither – [b] William I – [c] K. Kautsky, *Karl Marx's oekonomische Lehren*, Stuttgart, 1887

## 64

## ENGELS TO HUGO KOCH[166]

IN LONDON

[London, about 22 September 1887]

Dear Mr Koch,

I have lately wasted so much time replying to anonymous tittle-tattle that I have made it a rule to reply only to such rumours as are substantiated by those who spread them. Before I can reply to your query, therefore, I must ask you to tell me:

1. *To whom* I am alleged to have made the remarks in question,
2. *who* passed them on to you.

Yours faithfully
F. E.

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## 65

## ENGELS TO JOHANNES WEISS[167]

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, about 10 October 1887)

Dear Sir,

Having carefully considered the matter, I regret to say that it is not within my means to do as you ask and advance you a sum that would put you in a position to complete your studies. As you will be able to

imagine without my expressly assuring you of the fact, I have for years been subjected to demands from every possible quarter—and not just Germany and England—in an ever increasing number of cases, these being for the most part cases from which, for private or party considerations, I cannot possibly dissassociate myself. In this way I have contracted such a vast quantity of permanently recurring liabilities that I am myself in some perplexity—particularly at this moment—as to how I am to meet them. So much so, indeed, that were I now to tie up a sum such as you desire for, say, 2 or 3 years, I would patently find myself unable to meet those obligations into which I have already entered. This being so, I am forced to look at your proposal from a wholly businesslike point of view and this, unfortunately, leaves me no alternative but to say again how sorry I am that to comply with your wishes would be quite beyond my means.

Trusting that you will succeed in obtaining the money in question elsewhere, I remain,

Yours faithfully

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## 66

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### IN PARIS

London, 11 October 1887

My dear Laura,

I was glad to hear you received the cheque all right—a miscarriage with that sort of thing may be a very unpleasant matter and so I was rather anxious about news with regard to it.

I hope by this time you have settled down again, and are not too much disturbed by the precious scandals cropping up around you. This Caffarel affair[168] seems to have been brought forward by the Rouvier-Ferry lot, but if so it was a great mistake. It looks very much like the first scandals brought out by Girardin in 1846/47 and which led much farther than *le rusé Emile*[a] expected.[169] The ball is once set rolling; and no doubt a good crop of further scandals will come to daylight. There are plenty of them going on behind the scenes and this single affair having been dragged forth, will frighten a lot of petty dabblers in the same kind of thing; in their anxiety to get out of danger they are sure to compel *madame la justice* to come forward, however reluctantly, and tackle the people who will be denounced by their frightened associates. Even this one affair bodes no good to the ruling lot; if Wilson is implicated, what is old Grévy to do?

It would be a splendid piece of historical irony if the bourgeois republic was doomed to kill itself by the same *révolutiondu mépris*[b] which swept away the bourgeois monarchy in 1848.[170]

The Raon-sur-Plaine affair was simply this: *within* Bismarck's empire this way of treating civilians is quite the rule with the military.[171] They are *trained* to it, and rewarded for it; and the cowardly bourgeois press praises such things if committed upon working men, and excuses them if committed upon bourgeois. And then it is of course impossible to drive into the same soldiers that on the frontier they must act differently, and that a Frenchman, a Russian or an Austrian is to be treated with more consideration. That drunken brute Kauffman will either be acquitted or, if sentenced, for appearances' sake, to a nominal imprisonment, will be treated like *le bon dieu en France*[c] and promoted hereafter.

The *Socialiste* in its new shape is a considerable improvement upon the old one.[172] Paul could not do everything and his own articles look more worked out since he has not the whole burden upon his shoulders. It will do Deville good to contribute an article per week, his journalistic practice wanted developing and his articles are getting less ponderous.

Next week I expect Bebel here[173] and also probably Singer. Their Congress seems to have been a great success, and the right wing of the party have got a direct snub:[174] Geiser and Viereck have been too cowardly to sign the *Aufruf*[d] for the Congress, and have consequently been declared incapable of further occupying *eine Vertrauensstellung in*

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[a] the cunning Emile – [b] revolution of contempt – [c] our merciful Lord in France (i.e. very well) – [d] appeal

*der Partei.*[a] Bax was also there, he has brought his boy to Zürich where he will be more or less under Bernstein's care and go to Beust's school.

Here things are moving slowly but they are moving. The Trades Union Congress was a splendid symptom.[165] The Tories help us here by all sorts of little police chicanery with regard to open-air meetings—what confounded jackasses they are both here and in Ireland! Jackasses—unless they intend opening next parliament with the announcement that they have tried coercion and broken down and that nothing therefore remains but Home-Rule[175]—thus taking the wind out of Gladstone's sails and bringing in a half-and-half Home-Rule Bill of their own shaping. But I cannot think Salisbury has either so much sense or so much boldness.

In the meantime Champion has openly attacked Hyndman[b] in his paper *Common Sense* (rather *Uncommon Nonsense*) and the Fabians[176]—a dilettante lot of egregiously conceited mutual admirers who soar high above such ignorant people as Marx—are trying to concentrate the 'movement' in their hands. Very nice amusements *en attendant que la classe ouvrière se mette en mouvement et balaye tous ces mannequins et femmequines*[c] (Mrs Besant is of them too).

Yours affectionately
F. E.

Nim sends her love, is just remanaging the carpet in my room overhead. I have not yet had Sonnenschein's account. I have reminded him of its being due.

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[a] a position of trust in the party – [b] H. H. Champion, 'The Future of Socialism in England', *Common Sense*, 15 September 1887 – [c] until the working class goes into action and sweeps away all these male and female puppets

## 67

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[177]

### IN ROCHESTER

[London] 29 October 1887

Am sending you by today's post the Austrian calendar (*Österreichischer Arbeiter-Kalender*) with a biographical note,[155] ditto *Commonweal*. Bebel and Bernstein are here in order, amongst other things, to make preparations for next year's international congress.[178] Bebel most satisfied with the St Gall congress and likewise with the state of affairs in Germany.

Faced with spontaneous agitation on the part of the unemployed, *both* parliamentary groups[179] in this country have shown how very much out of touch they are with the masses. *Commonweal*, as you will see, is completely at its wits' end.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx, u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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## 68

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[180]

### IN PARIS

[Extract]

[End October 1887]

... to outwit it, he says, the Republic is always in danger and it always will be in danger so long as every working man does not have in his home a Lebel rifle and fifty ball cartridges. And this is what Clemenceau has not dared to concede—still less propose—and it is what you ought

to din into his ears day in day out. The Republic will always be in danger so long as the soldier has his rifle and the working man has not. But Clemenceau is a bourgeois and, as such, is closer to Ferry than to the Socialists. He might be a staunch Radical, were it not for the revolutionary Socialists. And now that his ideal—republican America where the labour question was unknown—no longer exists, he must be in a curious frame of mind. On top of all that, there's the position he's in, to judge by what you say, and this makes me realise how it is that a Ferry-Clemenceau cabinet might seem to him an acceptable solution ...

F. E.

First published in *Le Populaire de Paris*, No. 948, 29 November 1920

Printed according to a facsimile

Translated from the French

## 69

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### IN PARIS

London, 12 November 1887

My dear Laura,

*Nous voilà en plein 1847!*[a] The parallel is indeed striking; for Teste read: Wilson, for Emile de Girardin read: A. E. Portalis; and if Grévy is not an exact counterpart of Louis Philippe, he is a very well got-up combination of both Louis Philippe and Guizot, uniting the money-greed of the first with the false dignity of the other.[181] I have devoured this morning the papers Paul was good enough to send me, and thought myself forty years younger. Only that the *république bourgeoise* beats the bourgeois monarchy in out-and-out in cheek. Girardin's study was

[a]We are back in 1847!

never broken into nor was his head smashed, and the wholesale suppression of documents seized by police and *parquet*[a,182] has no counterpart in 1847. But all these tricks will be useless, the ball is set a-rolling and roll on it will. What we see now is only the 'exposition' of the drama which seems likely to be as creditable to the innate dramatic genius of French history as any of its predecessors.

The most important feature is that this *commencement de la fin de la république bourgeoise*[b] does not come alone. In Russia, too, the end seems near. The ever-repeated promises of an energetic and successful policy with regard to Bulgaria, followed by ever-renewed checks and moral defeats, seem to have again united the various elements of opposition—it looks as if there might soon be a crisis. Then there is *Unser Fritz*[c] with a now undeniable cancer in his throat—if anything happens to him, the successor to Old William will be a *dummer schnoddriger Junge*,[d] of the Gardelieutenant type, at present an adorer of Bismarck but sure soon to fall out with him because *he* will want to command; a fellow who will soon drive things to extremes and upset the present alliance between feudal nobility and bourgeoisie by sacrificing the latter entirely to the former and who even in army matters is almost sure to fall out with the old experienced generals. And then a crisis is certain. Thus, the critical point is coming nearer everywhere, and I only hope that everywhere people will find as much work cut out for them at home as to prevent them from rushing into war.

*La belle Limouzin alias Scharnet*[183] is indeed a beauty of a peculiar kind to fascinate French officers. But then, she aimed at nothing less than generals, and generals are people of a certain age when tastes begin to be uncertain with some people. It is certainly a very queer new edition of the *Victoires et conquêtes de l'armée française*[e]—the conquest of a hunchbacked, lame, repulsive old hag from Karlsruhe! Anyhow she looks energetic and has roused Thibaudin to a rare enthusiasm.

The stories you tell me about the men of the *agglomération*[f] are characteristic too.[184] The transformation of Paris into a *Luxusstadt*[g] under the Second Empire could not help telling on the working-class too. But any serious movement will shake off a good deal of that. The effect upon the intellect of the masses, I am afraid, will be more lasting.

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[a] public prosecutor – [b] beginning of the end of the bourgeois republic – [c] Our Fritz (Crown Prince Frederick William) – [d] stupid, insolent youth – [e] victories and conquests of the French army – [f] the Paris branch of the French Workers' Party – [g] luxury city

Tomorrow we shall have here a bit of a tussle too. After a deal of hesitation and vacillation the police have at last forbidden all meetings on Trafalgar Square; the Radical Clubs have answered by calling a great meeting thither for to-morrow afternoon.[185] Tussy and Edward are of course bound to go. I do not anticipate a serious collision. But it is just possible that Matthews and his colleagues of the Tory government for once show fight; especially as the daily Liberal press have taken the side of the police, and as there is no general election in sight just now, as was the case at the time of the Dod St affair.[186] If so, there may be a scrimmage and a few arrests. So you better look out for tomorrow evening's papers.

I must shut up now, it's past five and no time to lose if you are to have this letter to-morrow morning. So good-bye. Nim keeps cutting her fingers now with one kitchen tool and then with another. Percy has been to Dresden and Berlin for his buttonhole machines and consumed untold quantities of lager. Pumps and children are well.

Ever yours affectionately
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

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## 70

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 16 November 1887

My dear Lafargue

Dense fog—can't possibly write more than a line or two.

Didn't either of you see Tussy's letter in Monday[a] evening's *Pall Mall*? It ought to have reached you by Tuesday evening. She arrived here

[a] 14 November

about seven o'clock, her coat in tatters, her hat crushed and torn by a blow from a staff, having been arrested by bobbies but released on the orders of an inspector; practically no one was held and Edward got through unscathed, the contingent he was with having done a bunk at the very outset.[185]

The case is to be heard in the courts and it remains to be seen whether the jury endorses Matthews' famous doctrine which holds that any person walking in Trafalgar Square without the Crown's permission is a trespasser. The Liberals, from Gladstone to Labouchere and Bradlaugh, are begging the people to leave the question in abeyance since it is to be settled in court. But so exasperated have the working men been by police brutality that there may well be another clash next Sunday. Then—provided, that is, that nothing unforseen happens—there'll be another rout, Trafalgar Square being the place most favourable to the government. It is easily defended, can be approached from the east only by narrow streets, is far removed from the abode of the working class and is situated at the heart of the shopping centre, with barracks close by and with St James's Park—in which to muster reserves of troops—a stone's throw away from the field of battle. Since your philistine, both of the bourgeois and the working-class variety, is in favour of constitutional action, it is to be expected that the next demonstration will be too half-hearted to attempt anything serious. In which case it would be a shame to see the best elements sacrifice themselves to preserve the honour of the chicken-hearted who are now pulling out.

And in France? If you get Ferry in place of Grévy, not only will you get a thief of a son-in-law in place of a father-in-law who is at worst a fence; you'll get a son-in-law who's a thief of the first water.[168] For what Wilson has stolen throughout a whole lifetime does not amount to anything like the sum stolen by Ferry during the Tunis affair alone. To admit the possibility—even *pro tem*—of such a dénouement seems to me too incompatible with the dramatic genius of French history. Rather than a solution, it would be intrigue at its most extreme and tending towards a crisis. And, from that point of view, Ferry's accession is almost to be wished for—the accession of the head of the firm of Roublard & Co. in place of humble clerk. Grévy, for having merely turned a blind eye to corruption, toppled by Ferry who indulges in it openly and boasts of so doing—that would be fine! But Ferry as President—that would be a call to revolution: the bourgeoisie's '*I don't give a fig for you!*' flung in the face of the people.

As for peace, no one but a fool would try to end it just now. The

Crown Prince's[a] cancer would be enough to restrain any warlike impulses Bismarck might feel; the Central Alliance, with England in reserve, is strong enough to ward off, almost effortlessly, any Franco-Russian attack. On the other hand, an offensive war against France with her newly entrenched positions, and against vast and impoverished Russia, would present more problems than pleasures. The impossibility of a true alliance between the Tsar[b] and the Republic, both of whose governments are manifestly labile, becomes increasingly evident. In Russia, even the Slavophiles[187] are turning against the *internal* system of government. One of their leading men, Lamansky, openly says that the obstacle to the march on Constantinople does not lie in Vienna or in Berlin but in a system of government which prevents the Russians from attaining the same intellectual level as the West and thus becoming worthy of the rôle of leading Slav nation. All things considered, *coups de tête*[c] on the part of both Petersburg and Paris are to be anticipated. It remains to be seen what the Tsar will do at Berliin after the public slap in the face he has just received from Bismarck *via* the Imperial Bank of Germany.[188]

As for your army, the soldiers with 2 or 3 years' service have not yet been used against the people, hence it is impossible to say how they might conduct themselves. But they are no longer the undisciplined troops of the Empire. One would have to know how the regiments are constituted, from what regions they are recruited, and whether there are many Parisians in their ranks.

By the way, has the *Socialiste* again succumbed? My last number is dated *29 October*.

Yours ever,
F. E.

Keep an eye on the *XIX*[e] *Siècle* and send me a copy if it contains documents and fresh news.

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[a] Frederick William's – [b] Alexander III – [c] impulsive actions

## 71

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

IN PARIS

[Extract]

London, 22 November 1887

You will have read in the L ... the speech made by V. in the ... constituency of K. He complains, not without reason, that the Party is getting bourgeois.

It is a misfortune that overtakes all extreme parties as soon as the day for them to become 'possible' draws near. But ours cannot go beyond a certain limit in this respect without betraying its own cause, *and it seems to me that in France as in Germany we have now reached that point. Luckily there is still time to call a halt.*

First published in *Le Socialiste*, No. 115, 24 November 1900

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

## 72

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 23 November 1887

My dear Lafargue,

I haven't a bean and shall have to sell some shares, which I cannot do for another two or three days. As soon as the money comes in I will send you a cheque. Meanwhile, here is Sonnenschein's statement in respect of the English edition of *Capital*—it amounts to very little—only £39.12—From that I shall deduct £20 in order to recoup some of the £80

advanced for the translation and paid to the translators. The balance of £19.12—I shall divide into 5 equal parts, 3 for the heirs and 2 for the translators (as was agreed with Laura and Tussy), which results in the following statement:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| For the Longuet children[a] | | £ 3.18.4 |
| " Laura | | £ 3.18.4 |
| " Tussy | | £ 3.18.4 |
| | | £11.15.- |
| For Sam[b] 3/5 | £4.14.2 | |
| " Edward[c] 2/5 | £3.12.6 | £ 7.17.- |
| | | £19.12.- |

Cheque for Laura enclosed herewith.

Sonnenschein says he has printed 1,000 copies, of which 480 are in stock and 78 have been given gratis either to us or to the press.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 224 copies sold in England | £336. – 10% | £33.12 |
| 200 " " " America | £120. – 5% | £ 6.- |
| | | £39.12.- |
| 18 " thirteenth gratis[189] | | |
| 442 | | |
| 558 | | |
| 1,000 | | |

As to the American 5%, I shall compare this statement with the contract. But I do not believe we can do anything about it. The fellow has clearly sold far more, but is concealing the fact from us in order to have a year in hand.

The Parisian devil-may-care attitude, cited by you as a symptom of demoralisation, is proudly acclaimed by Camille Pelletan in *La Justice*. My £20 were immediately swallowed up by urgent payments and, indeed, I am completely cleaned out just now. Otherwise I should be sending you a cheque today.

Yours ever
F. E.

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## 73

## ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT

### IN KÖNIGSBERG

London, 26 November 1887
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Dr Schmidt,

I was delighted to hear from you again and to learn that you had left behind the fogs of London and the exuberant air of Paris and were back in the atmosphere of 'pure reason'. I had learned from the press about the strange adventures connected with the arrival of your crate of books[190] and imagined I was back again in those long-forgotten days when I myself was in Berlin, an occasional contributor to the *Hartungsche Zeitung*,[a] and when everything was banned save a 'narrow slave mentality'.[191] But no doubt there are even better things in store!

As regards Heine's letter, I cannot throw any definite light on it.[192] Up till 1848 Lassalle cut no sort of political figure at all; he became known only as a result of the Hatzfeldt trial.[193] And in it both parties had recourse to all possible means, no matter what, provided they gave promise of success, and brought into play, whenever and however they thought fit, anyone who might conceivably be of use. On the other hand, the ban placed by the Federal Diet on Heine's books, even future

[a] *Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung*

ones, forced him to use all available methods of advertisement in order to ensure the sales that he would otherwise have automatically enjoyed. In the circumstances, Lassalle could become most useful to Heine; on the other hand, Heine was impressed by his energy, ruthlessness and knowledge of the world—all things rare in the majority of young Germans then as they are today.

So it is more than probable that Lassalle sought to make use of Heine for the benefit of the Countess, and the letter in question almost certainly relates to some aspect of the case—very probably the casket. Whether *la* Meyendorf was in Paris at the beginning of 1846, I cannot say for certain but, from what I remember of the proceedings, I think she was. Either the proceedings in the casket case of 1846, or those in Lassalle's of 1848 should provide a clue (best source *Kölnische Zeitung*). If she was in Paris, it was doubtless for the purpose of making an attempt on the casket. Heine and I never discussed Lassalle, whom neither Marx nor I knew at that time.

Your fellow-townsman Weiss came to see me here; has gone to Berne to complete his studies.[a]

A fortnight ago we had a rumpus of our own over here during which Mrs Aveling became involved in a scuffle with the police without, however, coming to any serious harm.[185] The fact is that our Tory government's stupidity is such as almost to rival Puttkamer's. If old Disraeli were to rise up out of his grave, he would lambast these schoolboys good and proper.

May I thank you in advance for the article you promised to send me.[194]

Recently I was called upon by Herkner, a quite intelligent man when one comes to converse with him, and a good deal more radical than his book.[b] He seemed very anxious to impress upon me that in reality even Brentano is, at heart, less tame than he makes himself out to be in his books. Indeed, if the gentlemen at German universities only had the courage of their convictions, we should at any rate be as far on as we were in 1837 and 1840. But whether, in that case, they would find an audience is questionable to say the least.

Otherwise, everything goes jogging on in the same old way over here, so there's nothing new to report.

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[a] See this volume, p.105 – [b] H. Herkner, *Die oberelsässische Baumwollindustrie und ihre Arbeiter*, Strasbourg, 1887

Do write again some time and, if I can be of any service to you over here, I shall be glad to oblige.

Cordial regards,

Your

F. Engels

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## 74

## ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT

### IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 29 November 1887

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

Thank you and Liebknecht very much indeed for your good wishes on the occasion of my birthday, which we celebrated yesterday. A whole lot of people foregathered; there had first been, in the evening, a rehearsal in a public house of a French play adapted by Aveling, in which he and Tussy both acted and met with great applause, as did the play itself, which has been accepted by a popular actress and hence is now more or less assured of success. Afterwards, the whole company repaired to my house; Lenchen had made some doughnuts and pretzels and Mrs Kautsky a Viennese apple-tart, while midnight ushered in Aveling's birthday, so that we were able to celebrate that as well.

Percy[a] would undoubtedly have come to see you in Leipzig, but he was making only a brief business trip to Dresden and Berlin and had to get back as soon as possible because his buttonholing machine was to figure in an exhibition here which was remaining open only until last Saturday. He arrived in Leipzig in the middle of the night, had to stop there a few

[a] Percy Rosher

hours after missing his connection and left again that same morning for Dresden. Otherwise he would not have failed to pay you his respects.

As far as Mrs Schack is concerned, she has, to my knowledge, declared on three separate occasions that all the German deputies in our party are corrupt and, on two of those occasions, *expressly included the names* of Liebknecht and Bebel.[a] After she had done this, it was impossible for *me* to have any further dealings with her, even if she herself had made the first move, which was certainly not the case. Bebel had an opportunity of seeing her in her new role and seemed in no way edified thereby. Liebknecht likewise had that opportunity at St Gallen,[174] she having had the, to my mind, unbelievable impertinence to go there. What she told him while there I, of course, don't know, but it cannot alter the fact that she spoke about him over here in such a way as, in my eyes, to constitute a complete breach. The creature is absolutely determined to cut a figure and if, after what has happened, Liebknecht should help her in any way, whether direct or indirect, to do so, or if he should allow his behaviour to be governed by the moderate attitude you have described, there would be a danger that his enviers, of whom we all have our fair share, would look for other motives for his actions. Of course, you and Liebknecht must know best what attitude you should adopt towards the woman. I, for my part, am glad to be rid of her.

In her conflict with the powers that be, Tussy came to no harm, unlike her coat and hat which were irretrievably damaged. As a matter of fact she wasn't attacked; rather it was she who did the attacking. Now the rumpus is virtually over and, while some trifling incident may be staged in Trafalgar Square, it will only be for fun. But the government will have something to think about. Were old Disraeli to know what dunderheads his successors were, he'd rise up out of the grave and lambast them good and proper.

I am tolerably well again and so is Lenchen. She and the Roshers, ditto the Kautskys and Avelings, send you and your husband their cordial regards.

Very sincerely yours,
F. Engels

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[a] See this volume, p.76

## 75

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN ROCHESTER

[London, November 1887]

Dear Old Man,

Have received and burned the letter concerned. Had a shrewd idea that the isolation of Rochester wouldn't suit you. In a little hole like that one even misses the irritation of seeing the movement ruined by inept would-be big wigs and business men on the make. But perhaps you'll get used to it. Being in business is, after all, no more boring than teaching music to lazy, recalcitrant pupils. One gets used to counting-house chores; I had to do them for close on thirty years,[9] though I must say I'm glad to be quit of them. Well, let me know *honestly* how you get on.

Your old friend,
F. E.

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## 76

## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[10]

### IN NEW YORK

London, 3 December 1887

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

As I told you in my postcard per last mail,[69] William Reeves, publisher of *To-day* and of the greater portion of London popular

Socialist literature, has undertaken the sale of the book.[a] He writes December 1:

'Regarding our conversation of to-day (Wednesday) in reference to the agency of *The Condition etc.* by Engels we shall be pleased to undertake the same and have copies from you or the publisher in America[b] at the rate of 3s. net bound—the future copies should be sent *unbound.* The sole charge will be the necessary printing of titles and insertion of same which will cost about 10s.'

And further, December 2:

'In answer to your enquiry as to date of making up accounts we beg to say that every six months is the time and payment made a month after. We understand until other arrangements are made we are dealing with *you.*'

This latter proviso I made as otherwise Reeves could have evaded settlement of accounts by saying he did not know whom to pay, Mr Lovell or myself, and then cause delay and procrastination. In future transactions other arrangements can be made. As to these he writes December 1st:

'The rates for other works similar in character could be taken at about the same rate of discounts—it depends a little on the price to be put on for retail price, for instance a 6s.- book is supplied to the trade at a little cheaper rate than a 5s.- one.'

So the fellow will keep a door open for haggling and in future cases it will be well to inform me in time, so as to arrange definitely his discount before you put his name on the title as London agent. These people are all alike.

The above terms are of course for books delivered to him carriage paid and free of all expense on his part. He says the carriage is but trifling and so it may be to the trade and for bales, but I know that for parcels sent to private people they stick it on pretty well; Kautsky had to pay above 10s for the copies sent to him, and the Liverpool agent (Wheatley) made me pay 2s.6d. extra expenses on the parcel containing the 1,000 pamphlets,[c] altho' no carriage whatever was charged to me.

We shall send copies to the Socialist press (except *Justice* which had one from America and said just two lines about it[d]), to the *Athenaeum*,

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[a] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* – [b] John W. Lovell – [c] F. Engels, *The Labor Movement in America* – [d] *Justice*, No. 176, 28 May 1887

*Academy* and *Pall Mall Gazette*; *Weekly Dispatch* and *Reynolds*. The *Commonweal* (I sent a copy to Morris) has begun a series of extracts from the book,[195] the first of which I mailed to you to-day. Altogether the prospects are very good. Only we must not send the copies to the press until after Christmas, otherwise they would be wasted.

As to the pamphlet,[a] as I told you, Reeves had it pirated and will of course sell his own lot first. I shall hand the 1,000 copies to Aveling to do the best he can—either sell at meetings or give to Reeves as he may want them; but I am afraid a good deal of them will have to be given away gratis in the long run at meetings.

Your translation of *Free Trade* shall have attention as soon as ever possible.[196] I shall also write a preface, only I am sure it will not in any case be what you want. It is impossible for me to answer the probable arguments of American protectionists beforehand. I do not know that sort of literature and have no time to go into it. My reasoning in nine cases out of ten would miss the mark, and moreover whatever we may say, they will always find a way out, and have something to say that we cannot foresee. To enter into polemics with them directly, one must be in America. And I have always found that a good book makes its way and has its effect whatever the penny-a-liners of the day may say.

Yours faithfully
F. Engels

First published, slightly abridged, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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[a] F. Engels, *The Labor Movement in America*

## 77

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

### IN PARIS

London, 5 December 1887

My dear Lafargue,

Like you, I cried '*Victory*!' yesterday morning. It is clear that, had it not been for the people of Paris, the Right would not have dreamed of voting for an impossible candidate[a] and would have rallied to Ferry with the opportunists-cum-speculators.[197] In which case—battle and, as likely as not, defeat.

The drama is unfolding in complete accordance with the rules. In 1878 victory of the people and the army over the monarchists alone;[198] in 1887 victory over the monarchists and opportunists[199] *combined*. The next victory must be victory over monarchists, opportunists and radicals[200] combined.

Clemenceau would seem after all to have contributed not a little to that result by dropping Freycinet in favour of Carnot. It was the least he could do after falling headlong into Ferry's trap. But it's better than nothing. And, circumstances being what they are, a *legal* solution of this kind, brought about under the menacing pressure of the Parisian workers, is all we might wish. As in the case of most days during the great revolution, it is a period of ascent.

What attitude did the soldiers adopt—those of the *line*, I mean? Peaceful victories such as this are a capital way of familiarising troops with the supremacy and infallibility of the popular masses. Another day or two of the same sort and the troops will undoubtedly mutiny.

Sadi Carnot won't do much. The presidency is done for after what has happened. The president has been reduced to a puppet, appointing and dismissing ministers at the command of the Chamber.

All the same, I hope the scandals will continue to be relentlessly followed up. Things have gone too far, I think, to be halted now. The bourgeois will cry that enough is enough, that one should display generosity and let bygones be bygones—but let us hope that the

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[a] Felix Gustave Saussier

only way for the radicals to come to power is by prosecuting the thieves.

Yours ever,
F. E.

The Social Democratic Federation was supposed to be meeting in Trafalgar Square yesterday,[a] but there wasn't a word about it in the *Daily News*; we may be sure Hyndman didn't run any risk.[201]

First published, slightly abridged, in *Le Socialiste*, No. 110, 10 December 1887 and in full in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

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## 78

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 7 December 1887

Dear Mr Schlüter,

It would be best if you were to make up a volume of *Shorter Papers, 1871–75* by F. Engels, as follows:

1. Article on Vogt, 1871, No. 38, 10 May[b]
2. *Refugee Literature*[c]
3. Tkachov's letter
4. [On] *Social Relations in Russia*
5. *The Bakuninists at Work*

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[a] 4 December – [b] F. Engels, *Once Again 'Herr Vogt'* – [c] F. Engels, *Refugee Literature, IV*

We shall have to omit the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* article,[a] for in the first place it would today require an additional explanatory section (because of our Russian friends) and, in the second, I intend at some later date to bring out a collection of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* articles by Marx and myself. We might discuss this later on.[202]

Herewith *The Bakuninists at Work* with the paragraphs in Section III correctly numbered in the order in which they should appear. Would you kindly send *this sheet* for me to look at, so that I know what I'm about. The remaining proof reading can be attended to over there.

If you could get hold of one or two copies of the *Revue* of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (complete), I will gladly pay for them. I have only got vols 3, 5 and 6, and should like to have 1, 2 and 4 as well.

You shall have the 'Mordspatrioten'[b] shortly: I am writing the introduction. I shall also try and put the 'Force Theory' to rights.[203]

As regards other matters, 1. *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* articles, see above; 2. *Revue* of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*—nothing that could do without an introduction and wouldn't be time-consuming; 3. I have sold the *Prussian Military Question* to Meissner, with whom I cannot start a row, and much of what I say in it would be very difficult to understand today without a commentary.

After the New Year I shall have to tackle Volume III of *Das Kapital*, for which I must spare my eyes. Aside from what I have already undertaken, therefore, I can at present do absolutely nothing for you; I'm very sorry, but I have no alternative. As soon as this ms. has gone to press, and while correcting the proofs, I shall have time to spare for you, provided my eyes are all right again. But you must remember that I can only really write for a few hours each day and then only by daylight—often not to be had for love or money over here—and withal a vast correspondence!

With kindest regards,

Your

F. Engels

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[a] *F. Engels,* 'Democratic Pan-Slavism' – [b] S. Borkheim, *Zur Erinnerung für die deutschen Mordspatrioten, 1806–1807.* Mit einer Einleitung von Fr. Engels, Hottingen-Zürich, 1888

## 79

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN LONDON

London, 20 December 1887

Dear Kautsky,

I have got to go to Brighton today and shall try and be back by tomorrow evening. But as something might intervene, it might be safer if you were to let us have the pleasure of your company on Thursday[a] evening instead of tomorrow.

Kindest regards,

Your
F. E.

First published in *Aus der Früzheit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935, and in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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## 80
## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

IN PARIS

London, 24 December 1887

My dear Laura,

Nobody is gladder to be in possession of your new address than Nim who was in an awful funk—not so much about the arrival of the pudding

[a] 22 December

than about one of the cakes sent along with it, and which she intends for the children,[a] and as there was no safe and quick way of communicating with you and as she knows Paul capable of eating two cakes in one day, she was very much afraid indeed. She hopes now that this will arrive before that cake has been broken into and that you will be good enough to see it delivered *à qui de droit*.[b]

I enclose cheque £25—the odd five is a little Christmas present for you which no doubt will soon find investment.

Schorlemmer is here and I expect him in every minute, so shall have to close this letter before he comes in.

I was in Brighton last Tuesday[c] to see Gumpert who is there—generally very well outwardly but still very much shaken morally—absolute loss of self-confidence and energy. His poor young wife has to suffer very much in consequence. Perhaps when spring comes on, we may shake him up a bit.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* is getting horribly dull—the paper is either a chronic bore or an acute sensation of chamber of horrors. Stead is out of date—a puritan fanatic who ought to have lived in 1648, quite out of date nowadays. But useful and good in one way—he, though full of it himself, hates respectability and middle-class cant.

Will send you some American comic papers[d] after to-morrow, must show them here first. The parvenu in all his glory—how they are enchanted to see themselves in evening dress! And the vulgarity breaks out all over their skins especially when talking about socialism. One almost gets a prejudice in favour of English 'Society' after that.

Yours affectionately
F. Engels

Jollymeier was very 'bould' last night and lost fivepence to Nim.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

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[a] Jean, Edgar, Marcel and Jenny Longuet – [b] to the proper quarter – [c] 20 December – [d] *The Judge* and *Puck*

## 81

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### IN PARIS

London, 29 December 1887

My dear Lafargue

I held back my reply until today when I should have received more precise information from Kautsky about the worthy Oberwinder. I knew about the business in general terms, but I wanted to be sure.[204]

After 1873 Oberwinder played a fairly important part in the Viennese movement. He was an erstwhile Lassallean, and editor of the *Volkswille*, a weekly paper. At that time, the deputies to the Austrian parliament were elected by the provincial diets, and the Liberals were agitating for direct election by the districts. Oberwinder espoused their cause with a fervour all the more disinterested for his being in the pay of the Liberals—through an intermediary, a Mr Szeps of the *Neue Wiener Tagblatt*. On the pretext that the Liberals' demand was the first step towards universal suffrage, he urged the workers to support them. Scheu opposed this, but in Vienna Oberwinder had a majority and compelled Scheu and his friends to secede; the latter, who had a majority in the provinces, founded *Die Gleichheit* in Wiener Neustadt and used their journal to attack Oberwinder in all kinds of ways, reproaching him for the above-mentioned activities and for other things besides. Oberwinder brought a libel action against Scheu, but the jury found that Scheu had proved his case and acquitted him. In the course of the proceedings it was further established that Oberwinder had expended on his *weekly* paper the sum of 10,000 florins (25,000 francs) subscribed towards the founding of a *daily*, and had done other things of a similar nature. In short, the case ruined Oberwinder's position in Vienna and the Liberals could have no further interest in paying him. He went to Hamburg where he associated with the Breuerist group of Lassalleans—one of those sects in which moribund Lassalleanism was ending its days. Its members were out-and-out petty bourgeois and their sect has been extinct for ten years or more. Next, Oberwinder came to Paris. About a year ago he published a pamphlet[a] in which he called on the German workers to rally to Bismarck's policy and support him so that he, in return, should grant them social reforms.

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[a] H. Oberwinder, *Sozialismus und Sozialpolitik*, Berlin, 1887

As you can see, he's a Lassallean who can say he has never betrayed his own opinions. 1) He believes in the omnipotence of universal suffrage, which is why he supported the Austrian Liberals; 2) Lassalle demanded that, in the struggle between royalty and the bourgeoisie, the workers should side with royalty—and that is why Oberwinder is a partisan of Bismarck's. Seeing that Lassalleanism is extinct in Germany, why should not this erstwhile Lassallean take Bismarck's money just as he had taken it from the Austrian Liberals? Except that, once he had drawn his first Bismarckian penny, he must have realised he was dealing with one more wily than himself and that he was trapped.

The discovery made by our people in Switzerland[a] may be of the utmost importance—the Swiss authorities will do all in their power to compromise Prussia, and the Geneva affair—a nihilist plot—will have repercussions. It is typical of the stupidity of the Prussian police! The said Haupt, caught red-handed by a handful of intrepid workers who, while searching his house—which he allowed them to do!—discovered his correspondence with Krüger—the Haupt is such a *muff* as to admit having been an informer for the past seven years! And that's the man to whom they entrust a mission of this kind! After that, the suborning of Nonne and Oberwinder surely comes as no surprise. But as Heine always used to say: the Prussian informers are the most dangerous because they are not paid but always live in hopes, which makes them active and intelligent; if Prussia were to pay them, they would no longer be good for anything.

I hope that the *Pucks* and *Judges* sent off yesterday have reached Laura.[b]

That your protégé Stead is very useful just now, no one will deny, but it doesn't prevent this man, who defends in Russia what he attacks in Ireland, from living in a century which is not our own. You ought likewise to take the Salvation Army[205] under your wing for, without it, the right to hold processions and discussions in the street would be in a far more parlous state in England than it now is.

Nim, Jollymeier, Pumps and the little ones have gone to the theatre to see *Hans the Boatman*, an American play in which there are lots of children and a large dog.

Laura's paintings won't dry well with the weather we are having.[206]

A thousand good wishes for the New Year.

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[a]See 'Polizeiagenten–Dynamitagenten', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 52, 24 December 1887 – [b] See this volume, p.128

Yours ever,
F. E.

I am sending my card to Mesa, 36 rue du Bac; is that still his address? Isn't the *Socialiste* coming out any longer?

First published, in the language of the original (French), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

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# 1888

## 82

## ENGELS TO ION NADEJDE

IN JASSY

London, 4 January 1888
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen,

My friend Karl Kautsky, editor of the *Neue Zeit*, has sent me several consecutive numbers of *La Revista Sociala* and of *Contemporanul* containing, amongst other things, your translations of some of my works, in particular my *Origin of the Family*, etc.[207] Allow me to proffer my sincere thanks for the trouble you have been so good as to take in making these writings accessible to the Romanian public. In addition to the honour you have thus done me, you have also rendered me, personally, the service of enabling me at long last to learn something of your language. I say at long last because, almost fifty years ago, I tried to do this, if in vain, with the help of the *Grammaire comparée des langues romanes*[a] by Diez. Recently I succeeded in getting hold of Cionca's little grammar but, having no texts to read and no dictionary, I did not get on very well. But with your translation I have been able to make some progress, the original text and the Latin and Slav etymology having taken the place of the dictionary and now, thanks to you, I can say that Romanian is no longer, for me, a completely unknown language. However, if you could tell me of a passable dictionary, whether Romanian–German or Romanian–French or –Italian, you would be doing me another signal service; for it would help me the

[a] *Gramatica comparată a limbelor romanice*

better to understand your original articles and the pamphlets *Ce vor socialiştii romîni?* and *Karl Marx şi economiştii noştri*, which Kautsky likewise sent me.[208]

From these I have, with much pleasure, gained the conviction that the socialists of your country have adopted in their programme[a] the fundamental principles of the theory formulated by my late friend Karl Marx—a theory which has succeeded in welding together into a single fighting force the vast majority of European and American socialists. At the time of that great thinker's death, the social and political situation, and the progress being made by our Party in all civilised countries, enabled him to close his eyes in the conviction that his efforts to unite the proletarians of the two worlds into one big army and under the same flag would ultimately be crowned with success. But if only he had been able to catch a glimpse of the immense strides we have since made in America no less than in Europe!

So great have been those strides that, for the European party at any rate, a common international policy has become imperative. In this regard, I again have the satisfaction of seeing that you agree, in principle, with ourselves and with the large majority of western socialists. Your translation of my article 'The Political Situation in Europe', as also your letter to the Editor of the *Neue Zeit*, are proof enough of this.

Indeed we are all confronted by the same great obstacle that is hampering the free development of all the nations and of each individual nation; in the absence of that development we could not embark upon, still less accomplish, social revolution in the various countries merely by means of mutual cooperation. That obstacle is the old Holy Alliance[209] between the three assassins of Poland, led since 1815 by Russian Tsarism and surviving until today despite occasional domestic squabbles. It was founded in 1815 to combat the revolutionary spirit of the French people; in 1871 it was ratified by the annexation of Alsace, which turned Germany into the slave of Tsarism and the Tsar into the arbiter of Europe; in 1888 it is maintained for the purpose of crushing the revolutionary spirit within the three empires—the national aspirations no less than the political and social movements of the working classes. Since Russia enjoys a virtually impregnable strategic position, Russian Tsarism forms the nub of that alliance, great repository of all European reaction. To topple Tsarism, to destroy that incubus which lies heavy on the

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[a] C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea, *Ce vor socialiştii romîni. Expunerea socialismului ştiinţific şi Programul socialist*

whole of Europe, such, in my eyes, is the first condition for the emancipation of the nationalities of central and eastern Europe. Once Tsarism has been crushed, the nefarious power represented today by Bismarck will in turn crumble.[a] Austria will fall to pieces, having lost its only *raison d'être*, that of preventing by its very existence the annexation by conquering Tsarism of the scattered nations in the Carpathians and the Balkans. Poland will be reborn, Little Russia will be free to choose its political position, the Romanians, the Magyars and the South Slavs will be able to settle their own affairs and their new boundaries amongst themselves, unhampered by any foreign meddling and, finally, the noble nation of Great Russia, no longer engaged in pursuing chimerical conquest for the benefit of Tsarism, will be free to carry out its true civilising mission in Asia and to develop its vast intellectual resources in exchanges with the West, instead of squandering the best of its blood on the scaffold or in the *katorga*.[b]

You in Romania must know what Tsarism is, having had more than enough experience of it through Kiselev's '*réglement organique*', through the intervention of 1848, through the theft—perpetrated not once, but twice—of Bessarabia,[210] through the innumerable invasions of your country, a mere Russian staging-post, no more, on the way to the Bosphorus, and through the sure knowledge that your independent existence will cease on the day the Tsar fulfils his dream—the conquest of Constantinople.[c]

At this moment the alliance appears to have disintegrated and war to be imminent. But even if war does come, it will be merely in order to make recalcitrant Prussia and Austria toe the line. I hope that peace will be maintained: in such a war it would be impossible to sympathise with any of the combatants; rather, were such a thing possible, one would wish that *all* should be beaten. It would be a terrible war—but, come what may, everything will eventually turn to the advantage of the socialist movement and bring nearer the accession of the working class.

Pray excuse these elucidations, but just now I could not well write to a Romanian without expressing an opinion on these burning questions. What it boils down to is this: revolution in Russia at this moment would

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[a] The rough copy further reads: 'and our workingmen's Party will march with giant strides towards revolution' – [b] penal servitude (Russ.) – [c] The last two sentences are missing in the rough copy

save Europe from the horrors of a general war and would usher in universal social revolution.[a]

Since your relations with the German socialists, newspaper exchange, etc., leave something to be desired, I would gladly do for you whatever I can.

With fraternal greetings,
F. Engels

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## 83

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[211]

### IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 5 January 1888

Dear Sir,

I have removed and my new address is: Mrs Rosher, Cottesloe, Burton Road, Kilburn, London N. W. There is no number, Cottesloe being the name of the house.

I have at once ordered from my bookseller here the work of Dr Keussler.[b] Even if the first volumes are based on imperfect materials I have seen enough of the work of your Zemstvos to know that the résumé of them must contain immensely valuable material and, being written in German, prove a perfect revelation to Occidentals.[212] I shall take good care that these materials are made use of.

I am afraid your land-bank for the nobility[213] will have about the

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[a] The rough copy of the manuscript ends here – [b] J. V. Keussler, *Zur Geschichte und Kritik des bäuerlichen Gemeindebesitzes in Russland*

same effect as the Prussian land-banks have had. There the nobility took up loans under pretext of improving their estates, but really spent most of the money in keeping up their habitual style of living, in gambling, trips to Berlin and the provincial *chefs-lieux*[a] etc. For the nobility considered it their first duty *standesgemäss zu leben*,[b] and the first duty of the state seemed to them to enable them to do so. And so, in spite of all banks, of all the enormous direct and indirect money-presents made to them by the state, the Prussian nobles are over head and ears indebted to the Jews, and no raising of the import duties on agricultural produce will save them. And I remember one well-known half-German Russian, attached illegitimately to the Russian nobility, finding these Prussian nobles still too stingy. When, on arriving from one shore to another,[c] he saw them at home he exclaimed: why these people try to save money while with us a man would be considered the meanest of the mean unless he spent half as much again as his income! If this be really the principle of the Russian nobility,[d] then I wish them joy of their banks.

The peasants' bank[214] too seems similar to the Prussian peasants' banks, and it is almost inconceivable how difficult it is for some people to see that all fresh sources of credit opened up to landed proprietors (small or large) must result in enslaving them to the victorious capitalist.

My eyes still require *des ménagements*,[e] but anyhow I hope in a short time, say next month, to be able to resume my work on the 3rd volume[f]; unfortunately I cannot as yet make any promises as to the time of finishing it.

The English translation[g] has sold and is selling very well, indeed surprisingly well for a book of that size and class; the publisher[h] is enchanted with his speculation. The critics are on the other hand very, very much below the average low level. Only one good article in the *Athenaeum*[57]; the rest either merely give extracts from the preface or, if trying to tackle the book itself, are unutterably poor. The fashionable theory just now here is that of Stanley Jevons,[215] according to which value is determined by *utility*, i.e. *Tauschwert-Gebrauchswert*[i] and on

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[a] big cities – [b] to live according to their social status – [c] in Russian in the original letter. An allusion to Alexander Herzen's book *From Another Shore*) – [d] in Russian in the original [e] good care – [f] of *Capital* – [g] of Vol. I of *Capital* – [h] William Swan Sonnenschein – [i] exchange value = use value

the other hand by the limit of supply (i.e. the cost of production), which is merely a confused and circuitous way of saying that value is determined by supply and demand. Vulgar Economy everywhere! The second great literary organ here, the *Academy*, has not yet spoken.

The sale of the German edition of I and II volumes goes on very well. There are a great many articles written about the book and its theories, an extract, or rather independent reproduction in: *Karl Marx's Ökonomische Lehren* von[a] K. Kautsky, not bad, though not always quite correct, I will send it you. Then a miserable apostate Jew Georg Adler, *Privatdozent* in Breslau,[b] has written a big book, the title of which I forget, to prove Marx wrong,[c] but it is simply a scurrilous and ridiculous pamphlet by which the author wants to call attention—the attention of the ministry and bourgeoisie—on himself and his importance. I have asked all my friends *not* to notice it. Indeed if any miserable impotent fellow wants to *faire de la réclame*[d] for himself, he attacks our author.[e]

Friends in Paris have doubted the accuracy of your very sad news about Mr Mutual.[f] Could you give me in some way or other any particulars of this event?'[216]

I enclose a little thing published some years ago.

Yours sincerely,
P. W. Rosher

First published, in Russian, in the magazine *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 2, St Petersburg, 1908

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[a] by – [b] lecturer in Wroclaw – [c] G. Adler, *Die Grundlagen der Karl Karx'schen Kritik der bestehenden Volkswirtschaft. Kritische und ökonomisch-litterarische Studien*, Tübingen, 1887 – [d] gain publicity – [e] Karl Marx – [f] Hermann Lopatin

## 84

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[217]

### IN ROCHESTER

London, 7 January 1888

Dear Sorge

First, let me wish you a Happy New Year and express the hope that you will soon settle down in your new locality[218] and that you have completely recovered from your accidents last summer.

We can only hope that the gathering war clouds will disperse—everything is already going as nicely as we could wish and we can very well dispense with the interruption through a general war and one, moreover, on a vaster scale than ever before, although this too must eventually redound in our favour. Bismarck's policy is driving the working and petty-bourgeois masses over to us in their thousands; the pitiable inadequacy of the social reforms, so pompously proclaimed, and which are a mere pretext for coercive measures against the workers (Puttkamer's anti-strike edict, the proposed re-introduction of employment books, the purloining of trades union and provident funds) is proving enormously effective.[219] The new Anti-Socialist Law will do little harm; *this time*, the expatriation clause is unlikely to go through and, if it does, it's questionable how long it will last.[220] For if—as would be best for us—old William[a] were shortly to kick the bucket and the Crown Prince[b] came to the helm, if only for six months, everything would probably be thrown into confusion. Bismarck has laboured so hard at getting rid of the Crown Prince altogether and bringing about the regency of that insolent guards' subaltern, the *younger* William,[c] that he would, in such an event, probably be got rid of and replaced by a short-lived, head-in-clouds liberal regime. That would be enough to destroy your philistine's confidence in the stability of the Bismarckian system; and if, along with the young whippersnapper, Bismarck were subsequently to return to power, your philistine's faith would nonetheless be gone, the lad being after all no substitute for the old man. For the bogus Bonapartes of today are as naught unless people believe in them

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[a] William I – [b] Frederick William (later Frederick III) – [c] Frederick William's son (William II)

and in their invincibility. And if the boy and his mentor Bismarck were then to grow cocky and produce measures even more insolent than the present ones, things would be all set for a crisis.

On the other hand, a war would set us back by many years. Chauvinism would swamp all else since there would be a struggle for survival. Germany would place some 5 million men under arms, or 10 per cent of the population, the others, say, 4 or 5 per cent, Russia relatively less. But there would be some 10 to 15 million combatants in the field. And how they are to be fed beats me; it would mean devastation like that of the Thirty Years War.[221] And it wouldn't be over quickly, despite the colossal military forces engaged. For France is protected by very extensive fortifications along its frontiers in the northwest and southeast, and the new works at Paris are models of their kind. So it will take a long time, and Russia is not to be reduced by storm either. Even if everything goes in accordance with Bismarck's wishes, therefore, unprecedented demands will be made on the nation and it is quite possible that the postponement of a decisive victory and partial reverses would evoke revolution inside the country. But if the Germans were beaten from the start, or forced permanently onto the defensive, then the fun would surely begin. If the war were fought to a finish without internal disorder, the state of prostration would be unlike anything Europe has experienced in the past 200 years. Then American industry would triumph all along the line and we should all be faced with the alternative either of a complete reversion to agriculture for *domestic consumption* (any other kind being precluded by American grain) or—social transformation. Hence I suspect that they do not intend to go to extremes, to have recourse to anything more than a mock war. But once the first shot has been fired, control will have been lost and the horse can take the bit between its teeth.

So everything is tending inexorably towards a decision, war or peace, and I must hasten to complete the third volume.[a] But events demand that I remain *au courant*[b] and this, particularly as regards the military side, requires a great deal of time, and yet I must still take care of my eyes. If only I could simply withdraw into my study! However, it's got to be done and I shall set to work next month at the latest.

Shorlemmer, who is here, sends his kindest regards.

Our people were immediately responsible for resolving the presidential crisis in Paris.[197] The Blanquists took the lead, Vaillant having carried

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[a] Of *Capital* – [b] informed

the day in the office of the Municipal Council. If the fun begins soon, Vaillant will be the guiding light of the next provisional government. He's lucky—as a Blanquist he has no need to vindicate an economic theory and this enables him to keep out of many a squabble. The Possibilists[19] have discredited themselves completely and utterly; having advocated *total abstention from action*, they unsuccessfully sought, in company with the reactionaries, to bring a vote of censure in the Municipal Council on its office, which had behaved as well as might be expected of Radicals of that ilk.

You have, I trust, been getting *Commonweal*, *Gleichheit* and *To-day* regularly.

Your old friend,
F. E.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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## 85

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 10 January 1888

Dear Liebknecht,

As regards expatriation, things are unlikely to move very rapidly. However contemptible the German bourgeoisie may be, such cowardice calls for a modicum of courage and in my view it will take Bismarck a year to knock that courage into them. But quite a lot can happen in a year. By intriguing against the Crown Prince,[a] Monsieur

[a] Frederick William (later Frederick III)

Bismarck has tripped up badly and if, after the old man[a] has pegged out, the Crown Prince's turn lasts only six months, it will be enough to throw everything into confusion and thoroughly undermine the philistine's confidence in the permanence of the Bismarckian system. After that the insolent lad William[b] is welcome to take his turn; he'll do far more good than he can do harm. So I trust that your visit to America next year will only be a temporary one[222] and that we shall see you here both on the way out and on the way home. You will find plenty of work to do in America for, as you say, the chaps over there have bungled things badly.[223] The Americans themselves are still too new to the movement as a whole and too unfamiliar with it not to perpetrate a series of stupendous blunders. But we can also come to their assistance and in such a case a man like you, who is familiar with the English movement and capable of handling an English audience, would be exceedingly useful.

There's nothing new to report here. The old Communist Society[106] is going steadily downhill, being now in the hands of the rascally Gilles; it is becoming increasingly chummy with the anarchists whose headquarters are now in London. The Trafalgar Square affair[224] is being celebrated afresh with the wholesale sentencing—both in the magistrates' and in the criminal courts—of those who took part in the demonstration. Graham and Burns are to appear shortly. If they too are sentenced, the London juryman will, by his action, have passed a vote of thanks to Warren and the police, which can only further the split between the classes. The workingmen have an enormous hatred of the police and at the next election the stupid Tories will have cause to be aware of it.

I wish you belatedly a Happy New Year and let's hope there will be peace both internally and externally. I have no wish either for war or for attempted coups. Everything is going much too famously for that.

Your

F. Engels

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[a] William I – [b] Frederick William's son (William II)

## 86

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER[225]

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 10 January 1888

Dear Mr Schlüter,

I have no objection to Ede's printing the final part of the introduction to the *Blood-and-Thunder Patriots*.[226]

Kindly tell me when, approximately, you will be able to start printing the *Theory of Force*. For I am working on a fourth chapter to it in which I examine Bismarck's use of force and the reasons for its momentary success. I am writing it now, but shall have to revise it immediately before printing and make additions in accordance with the latest facts. Naturally I shall be happy to place this chapter too at Ede's disposal, once everything has got to that stage.[203]

I shall shortly be putting my books in order and it may be that another copy of the *Holy Family* will turn up; if so, the archives[227] shall have it. Meanwhile please continue to keep an eye open for the *Revue der Neue Rheinischen Zeitung*—isolated articles would be of use only in cases of direct necessity.[228]

Bruhn's distorted account is mentioned in *Herr Vogt*, p. 124. Note—Bangya, having represented himself as the agent of a chap called Eisenmann, or some such name, who was supposedly setting up as a bookseller in Berlin, had promised that the latter would print the ms.[229] This was by Marx and myself and the original is here in my house. However, the actual purchaser of the copy was Stieber, who was silly enough to imagine that the Prussian police would find in a ms. *intended by us for publication* secret revelations and not merely a derisive portrayal of the great men of the emigration, for there was, of course, nothing more to it than that. We were done out of its *publication*, but the people who were really done were the Prussian police, who no doubt also took care never to boast about it and, along with them, Mr Kossuth who, until this episode, had been unaware of the unsavoury nature of his protégé, though subsequently he still sought to support him.

Your kind wishes for the New Year are heartily reciprocated.

Ever yours,
F. E.

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## 87

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

### IN BENEVENTO

London, 10 January 1888

Dear Friend,

I would have written to you long ago, but could only suppose that you were no longer in Benevento, for one of the periodicals you very kindly sent me bore a different address with a domicile I didn't know. So I have been awaiting further word from you.

The ludicrous charge brought against you in connection with the embezzlement of L15,000 is best refuted by the fact that you have been given employment by the government prefect himself. I trust that the whole intrigue will fizzle out before things get to the stage of public proceedings.

I don't know how the Hamburg business passed off; I have heard no further news on the subject from Wedde.[230] But it is just as well that nothing has come of it. The Prussian government has at last managed to bring the government of the Hamburg 'republic' to heel. Our newspaper there[a] has been banned; Wedde, the editor, though a citizen of Hamburg, has been banished from his native city, and some twenty socialists have been sentenced in Altona (the neighbouring Prussian town) and will, on release, be expelled from Hamburg. Under the circumstances you too would have been expelled from there and, as a foreigner, from the German Empire as a whole; and the cost of the double removal complete with family would have been ruinous.

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[a] *Bürgerzeitung*

I am grateful for the trouble you are taking over my biography and shall be happy to go over your translation.[231] But I doubt whether it would be worth your while getting it published as a pamphlet. After all, I'm as good as unknown in Italy and among those who do happen to know me there are many anarchists, by whom I am hated rather than loved. But I leave this to you.

I shall also be able to attend to your manuscript within the next few weeks, after which it will go off to you at once.[232] Unfortunately I still have to spare my eyes.

With sincere regards,

Yours ever,
F. Engels

*Mefistofele I* will be posted this evening.

First published, in the language of the original (German), in *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani. 1848–1895*, Milano, 1964

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## 88

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

[London], 23 January 1888

Dear Mr Schlüter,

You should have the *Theory of Force* by 20 February; you would be getting it even sooner but for the intervention of the English translation of the *Manifesto*[a] which I must polish off quickly with Sam Moore, the translator of *Capital*, who is here with me, otherwise I shall be missing a splendid opportunity.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*

As soon as that is done—by the end of the week—I'll go back to the final part of the *Theory of Force*, which provides a rapid survey of historical events between 1848 and 1888 in so far as they are applicable to the subject. This time I shall annoy Bismarck even more than I did with my *Schnaps*.[233]

Kindest regards.

Yours,
F. E.

The only thing that might possibly intervene would by my eyesight, for which I'm receiving treatment so as to get the wretched business properly over and done with—but in that case I shall write.

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## 89

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 7 February 1888

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith the cheque for L15.

I am overwhelmed with work. The business of the English *Manifesto* has at last been rushed through and I expect to have the proofs in a few days' time.[54] I am counting on Laura for improvements to the translation, my own revision having had to be done in something of a hurry, and this would be of the greatest help to me in the event of a reprint.

Then, I am writing a critique of Bismarck's policy generally. It is to appear as an appendix to the *Anti-Dühring*'s *Theory of Force*, or rather, as its application to current practice. I promised to deliver the ms. on the

20th of this month and, as you can well imagine, the thing has got to be carefully considered and reconsidered. Now, that is something that would have done nicely for the *Socialiste* had you not killed it off just by this time.

The disappearance of the *Socialiste* spells your own disappearance *qua* party from the Paris scene.[234] After all, the Possibilists manage to keep the *Prolétariat* going and, if you cannot do as much, it means you are contracting instead of expanding; it is not the *weekly* organ that is to blame—the other's a weekly too. Meanwhile I refuse to believe that the Paris workingman has embarked irretrievably on a period of decadence. The French are unpredictable and capable of springing all manner of surprises. So I shall wait and see.

As for Bismarck he, no less than the Russian Panslavists[82] and French chauvinists, is playing with fire. The present situation suits him so long as a glimmer of life remains in old Lehmann (nickname for William,[a] as you doubtless know). Bismarck has every reason to make himself indispensable against the day the old man dies. He and young William[b] have hatched something of a plot against the Crown Prince[c] in an attempt to induce him to have a laryngotomy, i.e. to have his throat slit.[d] Since the Crown Prince and his wife[e] are perfectly well aware of this, Bismarck has made himself all but impossible so far as they are concerned. And that's one of the reasons why the new Anti-Socialist Law has failed to get through the Reichstag.[235] A Catholic from Cologne[f] declared in open session that, before 30 September (when the existing law expires) the ministry might well have changed hands.

That debate on the Anti-Socialist Law was, for us, a real masterpiece. It is the first time our men have scored an out-and-out victory in the Reichstag. The law will be extended for two years, probably for the last time. But not all the arguments nor all the facts in the world would have sufficed to bring about the rejection of the government's demands had there been any immediate prospect of young William's succession; he is your true Prussian, insolent and arrogant as the officers in Berlin in 1806, who would use the steps of the French embassy to whet their swords on only, vanquished, to surrender those swords to Napoleon's soldiers two months later.[236]

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[a] William I – [b] William II, son of Frederick William – [c] Frederick William (later Frederick III) – [d] Frederick William had larynx cancer – [e] Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa – [f] Peter Franz Reichensperger (Speech in the Reichstag on 27 January 1888)

The possibility of war led me to embark once again on the study of things military. If there isn't a war, so much the better. But if it does break out—and this depends on all manner of imponderable events—I hope that the Russians will be well and truly trounced and that nothing very decisive will happen on the French border—for then there might be a chance of reconciliation. With five million Germans under arms, called upon to fight for things of no concern to themselves, Bismarck would no longer have the upper hand.

In the meantime I am taking care of my eyesight which is improving under the treatment prescribed by my specialist, although he hasn't yet butchered my tear duct. But I have to spare my eyes.

My love to Laura.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

## 90

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 12 February 1888

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Unfortunately I shall not be able to send the ms.[a] I promised you by the 20th of this month, the reason being interruptions of all kinds, the arrival next week of the proofs of the *Manifesto*,[b] and the special care I am having to take of my eyes just now, while under treatment.

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[a] F. Engels, *The Role of Force in History* – [b] The English edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Marx and Engels

Would you let me know as exactly as possible when printing ought to begin? The 3 chapters of the original *Theory of Force* are ready for the press but the new section is not quite finished yet in the first draft; I am not at all satisfied with the latter and, as usual, it is turning out longer than I had intended. Moreover, the theme is such that it must be dealt with powerfully or not at all.

As soon as you give me a definite date I can let you know whether or not I shall be able to manage it by then. If not, it might be best if you could print something shorter in the meantime, for it will be a question or 3 or 4 weeks at most.

Whether the ms. is suitable for publication in the *Sozialdemokrat* is something that had better be decided on the spot when it arrives.

In any case, having regard to the present critical political situation, a certain amount of delay—to see how things turn out—would seem to me almost mandatory.

With kindest regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 91

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 19 February 1888

Dear Mr Schlüter,

I cannot manage it. So you had better print something else in the meantime and if possible let me know a fortnight or 3 weeks in advance

when you will be ready and can do with the ms.[a] Suddenly I seem to be snowed under. For instance, it will take me almost the whole of this week to deal with the correspondence which, as a matter of principle, I had laid on one side.

As soon as possible I shall send you the English *Manifesto* for the archives.[227]

Kindest regards to you all,

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 92

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[237]

### IN ROCHESTER

London, 22 February 1888

Dear Sorge,

I must in all honesty confess that, from the start, I hardly thought it possible you would be able to stick it out in that small provincial town.[218] I can think of no greater misfortune for a civilised man who has come of age in a big movement than to be relegated to some such remote hole after living for years in a metropolis. Well, I'm glad you have made up your mind. It will make the remaining few months more tolerable for you.

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[a] F. Engels, *The Role of Force in History*

I am undergoing treatment for my eyes—the eye specialist said 'there was nothing the matter with them', but that care would be necessary during treatment. More easily said than done—when I'm being badgered from all sides by dozens of people demanding German, English, Italian, etc., work of me—all of it urgent!—and at the same time urging me to edit Volume III of *Capital*. All very well, but it's the chaps themselves who prevent me from doing so.

At all events, a long-standing wish of yours is to be fulfilled in the next few days: the *Manifesto* is being brought out in English over here by Reeves. Translated by S. Moore,[54] revised by us both, preface by me.[a] Have already read the first proofs. As soon as I get copies I shall let you have two, one of them for the Wischnewetzkys. For Reeves is *paying* S. Moore a royalty for author's rights, and since it was *I* who concluded the contract, I cannot be directly involved in getting it pirated in America. Otherwise Reeves could declare that this constituted a breach of contract, and poor Sam Moore wouldn't get anything. But obviously I neither could nor would prevent its being pirated. After all, did not Reeves pirate my preface to the *Condition of the Working Class*?[12]

Aveling is getting a couple of plays produced and, if all goes well, will extricate himself from his journalistic *misère*.[b] He and Tussy are due here shortly; they are dining with me as Aveling has a meeting not far from here. At Christmas the Lafargues moved to Le Perreux, beyond Vincennes, 20 minutes from Paris by train, and are amusing themselves doing rural tasks. The *Socialiste* has died yet again.[234] The workers of Paris don't want to read a weekly. Vaillant is acquitting himself famously in the Municipal Council; he was much in evidence during the presidential crisis[197] when the menacing attitude of the workers prevented the election of Ferry. He will be the guiding light of the next provisional government provided it's *not too long* in coming.

Bebel and Singer have inflicted a formidable defeat on the Prussians over the Anti-Socialist Law.[235] For the first time the whole of Europe has had to pay attention to our people in the Reichstag. You will have read the text of Bebel's speech in the *Gleichheit*—a masterpiece in which he excelled himself.[c]

I hope it won't come to war, though this would mean that all the military studies which those very rumours of war have forced me to take up again will have been done in vain. The odds are as follows: Thanks to

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[a] F. Engels, 'Preface to the 1888 English Edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*' – [b] misery – [c] *Gleichheit*, No. 6, 11 February 1888

long years of universal military service and education, Germany can mobilise between 2½ and 3 million trained men and provide them with officers and NCOs. France not more than 1¼ to 1½ million. Russia barely 1 million. At worst Germany is a match for them both in terms of defence. Italy can raise and sustain 300,000 men. Austria roughly 1 million. Thus, as far as war on land is concerned, the odds are in favour of Germany, Austria and Italy, while the war at sea will be determined by Britain's attitude. It would be splendid if Bismarck were to be forced to cut away his own stay and support, Russian tsarism!

War or no war, everything is heading for a crisis. The state of affairs in Russia can't go on very much longer. The Hohenzollerns are done for, the Crown Prince[a] is mortally ill, his son,[b] a cripple and insolent young guardee.[c] In France the downfall of the exploiters' bourgeois republic looms ever closer; as in 1847, scandals threaten to bring about a *révolution du mépris*.[238] And in this country the masses are coming increasingly under the sway of an instinctive socialism which still, I am glad to say, resists definite formulation in accordance with the dogma of this or that socialist organisation, and hence will accept it all the more readily when something crucial happens. All that is needed is for the fun to begin somewhere or other, and the bourgeoisie will be dumbfounded by the hitherto latent socialism which will then vent itself and become manifest.

Your old friend,
F. Engels

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx, u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and, in full, in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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[a] Frederick William (later Frederick III) – [b] William, later William II – [c] In the original: *Jardeleutenant* (Berlin dialect)

## 93

## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[239]

### IN NEW YORK

London, 22 February 1888
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

I have duly received your letters [of] 21 December and 8 January and return Lovell's letter with thanks.

I am astonished at Grönlund's proceedings, I was rather glad he did not call on me here. From all I hear he is full of vanity and self-conceit, to a degree unattainable even to a German, to be reached only by a Scandinavian, but also so *naïf* in it as only a Scandinavian can be—in a German it would be offensive. *Es muss auch solche Käuze geben.*[a] In America not less than in England all these self-announced *grands hommes*[b] will find their own level as soon as the masses begin to stir—and will then find themselves shifted to that level of their own with a velocity that will astonish them. We have had all that in Germany and France, and in the International too.

I have since heard from poor old Sorge, in a way that fully confirms all you say. I fully expected from the beginning that he would not be able to live in that solitude and wilderness.[218] I hope his return to Hoboken may prove a success.

I sent you a No. of Bradlaugh's *National Reformer* with an article No. 1 on my book.[c] Copies were sent to: *National Reformer*, *Weekly Dispatch*, *Reynold's Newspaper*, *Club Journal*, *Our Corner* (Mrs Besant), *To-day* (H. Bland), *Christian Socialist*, *Pall Mall Gazette*. I have requested friends to look at these papers and magazines and let me know if anything appears, when you shall have it.

Reeves has also sent for the 1,000 pamphlets,[d] whether that is merely a ruse to keep competition out, remains to be seen. The thing seems to sell exceedingly well.

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[a] There must be such odd characters too – [b] great men – [c] *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* – [d] F. Engels, *The Labor Movement in America*

*Justice* had a copy of the book from you, the *Commonweal* did not require one as I sent one to Morris personally.

*Justice* brought out again the old American translation of the *Communist Manifesto*.[240] This set Reeves inquiring about an *authorised* translation. I had one by S. Moore, and Sam happened to be here. So we revised it and sold it to Reeves; he got the proofs last week and as soon as it is out you shall have a copy. Sam Moore is the best translator I know but not in a position to do work without getting something for it.

I do not quite understand your remark about the book being sold here 1 shilling dearer. $1.25 is equal as far as I know to 5s. and that is the selling price here.

Mrs Campbell has not yet called on me so far.

Your remarks about my books being boycotted by the official German Socialists of New York[241] are quite correct, but I am used to that sort of thing, and so the efforts of these gentry amuse me. Better so than to have to undergo their patronage. With them the movement is a business, and 'business is business'. This kind of thing won't last very long, their efforts to boss the American movement as they have done with the German-American one, must fail miserably. The masses will set all that right when once they move.

Here things go slowly but well. The various little organisations have found their level and are willing to co-operate without bickerings. The police brutalities in Trafalgar Square[185] have done wonders in helping to widen the gap between the working men Radicals and the Middle Class Liberals and Radicals, the latter have behaved cowardly in and out of Parliament. The Law and Liberty League—a body gaining ground every day—is the first organisation in which Socialist delegates, *as such*, sit aside of Radical delegates.[242] The stupidity of the present Tory government is appalling—if old Disraeli was alive, he would box their ears right and left. But this stupidity helps on matters wonderfully. Home Rule[175] for Ireland *and for London* is now the cry here; the latter a thing which the Liberals fear even more than the Tories do. The working-class element is getting more and more exasperated, through the stupid Tory provocations, is getting daily more conscious of its strength at the ballot-box, and more penetrated by the Socialist leaven. The American example has opened their eyes, and if next autumn there was to be a repetition, in any large American town, of the New York election campaign of 1886,[7] the effect here would be instantaneous. The two great Anglo-Saxon nations are sure to set up competition in Socialism, as well as in other matters, and then it will be a race with ever accelerated velocity.

Can you get me the American Customs' Tariff and the list of internal taxes upon American industrial and other products? And if possible some information as to how the latter are balanced by the former with regard to cost of production? That is, for instance, if the inland duty on cigars is 20%, an import duty of 20% would balance it as far as foreign competition is concerned. That is what I should like to have some information about, before I write my preface to the '*Free Trade*'.[a]

Reciprocating your kind wishes I remain

Yours very truly,
F. Engels

First published, slightly abridged, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen, von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and, in full, in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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## 94

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT[243]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 23 February 1888

Dear Liebknecht,

The debate on the Anti-Socialist Law[235] was the biggest triumph we have ever scored in the parliamentary sphere and I'm only sorry that you were unable to be there. However, that's unlikely to go on for much longer, since you will, after all, be taking Hasenclever's place shortly.[43]

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[a] F. Engels, 'Protection and Free Trade. Preface to the Pamphlet: Karl Marx, Speech on the Question of Free Trade'

We also have a Puttkamer over here—Balfour, Secretary for Ireland. Just as Puttkamer is Bismarck's cousin, so Balfour is Salisbury's nephew. An arrogantly obstreperous stuck-up squire, exactly like Puttkamer. He too gets soundly thrashed and last week succumbed to a lambasting at the hands of O'Brien,[244] just as Puttkamer does at those of our own people. Moreover, he's as useful to the Irish as Puttkamer is to us. However, you'll glean *absolutely nothing* from the deplorable *Saturday Review*, supposing you still take it, about what's going on over here; so far as anything of importance is concerned, a *conspiration du silence*[a] prevails.

Bismarck's speech was addressed to Tsar Alexander in person in order that the Gatchina prisoner might at long last learn the truth.[245] Whether it will help is doubtful. The Russians, such is their irresolution, are becoming ever more deeply embroiled and in the end they may not be able to draw back with honour. Therein lies the danger. As a rule they behave like utter jack-asses when they embark on a war. It's a repeat of *Croesus by crossing the Halys will ruin a mighty realm.*[b] They can place barely a million men on the border and haven't enough officers for more. France disposes of 1¼ million *very good* troops, but no longer has sufficient seasoned men and still fewer officers to provide more. With 2½ million seasoned troops and an adequate supply of officers and NCOs, Bismarck has, however, still pitched Germany's strength too low. Nor is it a bad thing that this should be so. Until the revolution gets under way in Russia, Bismarck must not be brought down by an *external* defeat. That would only restore his popularity.

But it is impossible to foretell what will come of the affair if it really gets to the stage of a war. They'll certainly try to turn it into a mock war, but that is not so easy to do. If it is to be done in the way that suits *us* best, and the odds are strongly in favour of it, then let it be a static war with changing fortunes on the French border, an offensive war with the capture of the Polish fortresses on the Russian border, and a revolution in Petersburg which will all at once throw an entirely different light on everything, so far as the gentlemen prosecuting the war are concerned. This much is certain—there will be no rapid decisions, no triumphal marches either on Berlin or on Paris. France is very strong and very cleverly fortified; so far as their disposition is concerned, the works round Paris are a masterly affair.

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[a] conspiracy of silence – [b] This sentence was in Greek in the original

Last Monday, during the meeting held to welcome Cunninghame-Graham (Communist, Marxist, on the above occasion he called for nationalisation of all means of production) and Burns,[246] Mother Schack was running round selling *Freedom*, the most extreme and strident of the local anarchist papers. She inadvertently offered one to Lessner, among others. Her unsatisfied craving for action seems to have driven her quite dotty.

Reuss has instituted proceedings against the *Commonweal* (Morris) for denouncing him as a spy.[247] Obviously the Prussian embassy wishes to regain over here the ground lost in Berlin. It may, however, be making hellish blunder. Mr Reuss has to go into the witness box, and in this country *perjury* is not to be trifled with. There's no Puttkamer over here to help!

The *Manifesto* is coming out in English, edited by myself.[54] I shall send you one as soon as I get some.

Your
F. E.

Apropos, Pfänder's widow is living over here in the most wretched circumstances. I do what I can and have just sent her another couple of £s. The louts' society[106] put on a concert for her and collected about £5. She herself is ill, her daughter paints, and the pair of them do bits of needlework, but all is wretchedness. Might the party not set aside a trifling sum every quarter? The doctor says she'll barely get through the winter. See what you can do. We really ought to set aside pensions for our veterans' widows.

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## 95

## ENGELS TO FERDINAND DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS

### IN THE HAGUE

London, 23 February 1888
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

My dear Nieuwenhuis,

I informed Kautsky of the contents of your letter immediately it arrived and understand that he has since seen to everything you wanted.

The news from here is pretty good on the whole. The various socialist organisations have refrained from forcibly accelerating the natural, normal and hence somewhat slow process of development of the English working class; hence less fuss, less vainglory, but also less disappointment. Moreover they get on amongst themselves. As to setting the masses in motion, that has been taken care of by the incomprehensible stupidity of the government and the imperturbable cowardice of the Liberal opposition. The Trafalgar Square affair[185] did not simply breathe new life into the working men; the deplorable way in which the Liberal leaders behaved then and subsequently is driving more and more radical workers over to the socialists, the more so as the latter behaved very well on that particular occasion and were to be seen everywhere in the front rank. Cunninghame-Graham is a declared Marxist and at the meeting last Monday[246] demanded outright that the nation confiscate *all the means of production.* So here too we are represented in Parliament.

The best proof of how far the workers over here have advanced is provided by the radical working men's clubs[22] in the East End. What impressed them above all was the example set by the New York election campaign in November 1886;[7] for what America does makes a greater impression over here than anything the whole of the continent of Europe may do. The example set by New York made it clear to the chaps that in the end the workers would do best if they formed their own party. When the Avelings returned, they seized on this mood and since then their activities have proved most effective in these clubs[84]—the only political workingmen's organisations of any importance that exist here. Both Aveling and his wife give several lectures a week down there and exert a great deal of influence; there's no doubt that they are now the

most popular speakers with the workers. The main thing, of course, is to wean the clubs from their dependence on the great Liberal Party, prepare the ground for their own labour party and gradually bring the chaps over to conscious socialism. For, as I have said, the cowardice of the Liberal leaders, as also of the majority of London Liberal and Radical Members of Parliament, has been of enormous help to us over here. The people who were elected 3 or 4 years ago as workingmen's representatives, the Cremers, Howells, Potters, etc., are already completely played out. Were a second ballot to be introduced here instead of the matter's being decided, as it now is, by a relative majority at the first ballot, we should be able to organise a labour party within six months; under the present electoral system the creation of a new, third party is made very difficult. But it will come, no question of that, and in the meantime we can content ourselves with the knowledge that we are advancing all along the line.

An English edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, revised by myself, will be coming out in the next week or two; I shall send you one—there's a big demand for it over here, which is also a good sign.

You too will have been delighted at our brilliant victory in the Reichstag in Berlin. Bebel surpassed himself.[235] He came to stay with me last autumn[173] and I only hope that gaol suits you[5] as well as it does him.[64] He says he always feels very much better afterwards (he suffers from nerves and in gaol his nervous excitation dies down).

Shall you be coming over here again next summer?

With kindest regards.

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 96

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 25 February1888

My dear Laura,

I have just half an hour before post-time to give you a sign of life after sending off the last proofs of the *Manifesto*.[a] I hope you have better weather than we here: nothing but East winds, frost, snow showers, varying with a few hours' thaw. Very uncomfortable with the English system of fire-places, but then this winter cannot last for ever.

I have not sent the *Pall Mall Gazette* of late because there is literally nothing in it. It is strictly a London local paper, and consequently deadly dull when nothing is stirring in London.

Bebel and Singer had a glorious victory in the Reichstag, not only at the first but also at the third reading of the bill.[235] It was exactly like O'Brien's victory over Balfour[244] (who is a Scottish Puttkamer all over). Most of our people were at the meeting last Monday to welcome Cunninghame-Graham and Burns[246]; O'Brien spoke there again, and very well. Cunninghame-Graham who already before, at Glasgow, had publicly stated that he stood on the basis of Karl Marx 'absolutely and entirely', here again proclaimed the nationalisation *of all means of production*. So we are represented in the British Parliament too. Hyndman, who had not been asked to speak, had got some of his fellows to call for him, took possession of the platform, but only to attack violently and personally some Radical M.P.s present—invited guests—who by the way had been told before by others, quite sufficiently, about their shortcomings.[b] This attack of Hyndman's however was so uncalled for and out of place that he was hooted down.

You will have heard that Reuss has sued Morris for libel for calling him a spy in the *Commonweal*.[247] Evidently the work of the Bismarckian embassy. Morris was very funky at first, not having any evidence ready at hand, but I think we have since secured enough to

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* – [b] See J. Blackwell, 'The Release of Burns and Graham', *Justice*, No. 215, Vol. V, 25 February

make it a defeat for Puttkamer and Co. if they should persevere, which I doubt. I don't think Reuss will venture going into the witness box, perjury is only allowed to regular British police constables.

Nim wishes me to ask you again to give Longuet a hint that he better begin repaying a little of that money. She seems very sore on that point.

Shall we have war? If so, it will be the most foolish thing on the part of the Czar[a] and the French *chauvins*[b] that they can be guilty of. I have lately studied the military chances. What Bismarck says, that Germany can send out 2½-3 million of drilled and well-officered men, is rather below than above the truth. Russia will never have as many as a million actually on the seat of war, and France can send out 1¼-1½ million of drilled and well-officered men; beyond that, officers and sergeants will be either absent or unfit. Thus Germany alone will be quite capable of resisting, for a time at least, an attack on both sides at once. The great advantage of Germany is in the greater number of drilled men, and especially of sergeants and officers. As to quality, the French will be fully equal to the Germans, as far as the *line* is concerned; beyond that, the German *Landwehr*[248] is far better than the French territorials. The Russians I consider worse than they used to be, they have adopted a system of universal liability to service[78] for which they are not civilised enough and certainly are very short of good officers. And corruption is there as rife as ever—and probably will also play a certain part on the French side, if we are to judge from the Wilsoniades[168] and other scandals.

Jollymeier is very melancholy that you have not written him a line yet with that gold pen. Have you no mercy with him? He will be here again in about 4 weeks for Easter, which this year falls on Bismarck's birthday, alias All fools; day.[c] Very proper too, after people have been foolish enough for 1,800 years to celebrate such a fantastical festival!

Methinks I hear a certain bell calling me to the consumption of—I dare say veal cutlets. Farewell for today, and may the breeches of Paul, with their excessive length, lose also their perfume of sour size—a perfume too well known, alas, to an old Manchesterian!

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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[a] Alexander III – [b] chauvinists – [c] 1 April

## 97

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT[125]

### IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 29 February 1888

Dear Liebknecht,

If you people will allocate 100 marks a quarter to Mrs Pfänder, I shall do the same, in which case she will have £40 a year and that will safeguard her against extreme indigence.

After Pfänder's death she had a little money, opened a lodging house, but was necessarily restricted to a very *second-rate* neighbourhood; she was also unfortunate in other respects (e.g. let rooms to several paederasts who were found out)—in short, it didn't work. Next she took a little shop, whereupon the daughter died who alone understood how to manage a small business of that sort—in short, the money melted away. Pfänder's brother, whom the former had at one time bought out of the army and supported for a long period, and who is in New Ulm, Minnesota, insisted upon her going over there with her other daughter. On arrival they found they were to be treated as 'poor relations' and do domestic service. Mrs Pfänder was not slow to decide; she returned forthwith, having been there barely a fortnight. That ate up what little resources she had left. Since then everything possible has been done for her over here, but I am the only person here who can provide for her in the long run, though not with a sufficiency in view of all the other calls upon me. But, as I say, if your proposal goes through, the worst will be taken care of. In any case, it won't be for very long.

I read the *Daily News* in the morning, the *Evening Standard* and *Pall Mall Gazette* in the evenings and the *Weekly Dispatch* on Sundays. At the moment, that is; I sometimes ring the changes. But if there is anything interesting in them, I send it to Paris for Laura and cannot very well depart from this. However, I shall see what I can send you. Provided you are looking for literary contributions rather than politics, the *Weekly Dispatch* is at all events better than the *Saturday Review*. Belongs to Mrs Ashton Dilke, editor Dr Al. Hunter, M. P. for Aberdeen. It's bigoted, middle class-radical, but comprehensive so far as English news is concerned, has much parliamentary gossip during session time, and first-rate correspondence from Paris (Mrs Crawford of the *Daily News*, who can speak her mind much more freely here). I'll send it to you sometimes.

I have never heard of the Irish tricolour you mention. The Irish flags in Ireland and over here are simply green, with a gold harp, but *no crown* (in the British Empire's coat-of-arms there's a crown above the harp). At the time of the Fenians, 1865-67,[249] many people wore green and orange to show the Orangemen of the North[250] that they didn't want to smash them but to accept them as brothers. But there's no question of that now.

I don't think Bismarck is so stupid as to believe that the Russians would be a party to his crushing France. Constant squabbling between France and Germany is, after all, their chief means of dominating Europe and this implies their holding the scales. That Bismarck desires nothing more ardently than to sink France, if possible, beneath the waves is, of course, undeniable. But it won't be so easy to do. The new French fortifications—the Mass and Moselle Lines, the two groups of fortresses in the north and southeast (Belfort, Besançon, Lyons, Dijon, Langres, Épinal) and, finally, the wonderful new groups of forts round Paris—have taken the wind out of his sails; as things are now, Germany cannot get the better of France or France the better of Germany. And that's a very good thing. If the worst comes to the worst, the frontier will probably be the scene of a static war with changing fortunes, which will instill respect for their opponents into both armies and make possible a reasonable peace. On the other hand, the Russians may suffer a formidable drubbing, and that would be best of all.

It's just begun to snow again—for the past 3 weeks nothing but snow, frost and east wind, with a bit of a thaw in between-whiles. You would also seem to be having really filthy weather where you are.

Many regards.

Your

F. E.

Do you know a workingman called Carl August Nitzer from Lindenau, who was allegedly expelled from Leipzig (after being held for 3 months on remand), but then allegedly spent another 3 months agitating on behalf of Viereck before fleeing (which is why, he says, he cannot produce an expulsion order)? The laddie has come to me two or three times asking for money, but he gives the impression of being a case-hardened layabout and sponger.

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER[49]

### IN HOTTINGEN–ZURICH

London, 17 March 1888

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Once again it's no go with the pamphlet[203] so far as the date you give is concerned. I am very sorry to have played fast and loose with you like this, but it's not my fault. I have to do exactly what my eye specialist tells me if I want to get back into proper shape again; I am not allowed to write for more than 2 hours, i.e. am forced to break off when I'm just getting into my stride, and frequently cannot even make a start because of the pressure of correspondence. So it would be better if I were to take my time over the thing and do it properly. Also, there's a mass of essential material which has only just turned up and requires perusal. In short, it would be best if you were to look to your own convenience and, when I have made enough progress, I shall write and tell you.

Lehmann the Younger[a] writes a hideously affected German. He has every reason to warn people against the dangers of an inadequate education, of which he himself, in his muddled, liberal-conservative Manchesterist proclamation,[251] presents such a terrifying example. However, it's hard to have to play the Emperor when you have one foot in the grave. Anyhow, if he holds out for another 6 months he will introduce a measure of instability and uncertainty into the economic system, and that's all we need. As soon as your philistine has any inkling that the system will not go on as it is for ever but is, on the contrary, tottering, it will be the beginning of the end. The building has lost its keystone, Lehmann I,[b] and it will soon become evident how rickety the whole contraption is. That may mean things will be momentarily better for us but also—in certain circumstances—momentarily worse; alternatively it may mean war. At all events, we are once more in for a lively time.

Kindest regards to Ede and Liebknecht if, as I suppose, he is there.

Yours,
F. E.

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[a] Frederick III – [b] William I

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## 99

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 19 March 1888

My dear Lafargue,

I am sending you a *Weekly Dispatch* which sheds light on the reason why 'friend Fritz' is made to work so hard.[252] Bismarck would give two years of his life to reduce him—Fritz—to a state in which he would be obliged to acknowledge himself unfit to rule. That is why his nose is kept to the grindstone, and that is why Fritz is having to sweat. The intrigue is of long date, its original object being the total elimination of Fritz before the old man's[a] death; this having failed, they are trying to kill him by dint of hard work, state occasions, etc. All this can only lead to an open breach, provided Fritz does not succumb too soon; if he recovers a little in the course of the summer and then brings about a ministerial reshuffle, it will be greatly to our benefit. The main thing is that home affairs should become unstable, that the philistine should lose his faith in the perpetuity of Bismarck's régime and that he should find himself face to face with a situation in which he, the philistine, will have to decide and act instead of leaving it all to the government. Old William was the keystone and, now that it has fallen, the whole building is threatened with collapse. What we need is at least six months of Fritz to undermine it still further, to make philistines and functionaries uncertain of the future, and to conjure up the possibility of a change in home affairs. Fritz is spineless and, even when in good health, he agrees with

[a] William I

his last interlocutor, almost always his wife.[a] The only things that will force his hand are the intrigues of Bismarck and of his own son.[b] Once he has brought about a change of front it matters little how long he lasts or does not last; whatever the case, William II will accede in circumstances that are favourable to ourselves.

On the other hand, if Fritz dies sooner, William II will not be the same as William I and we shall nonetheless experience a sudden volte-face on the part of the bourgeoisie. This young man is bound to perpetrate follies which will not be forgiven him as were the old man's. If the doctors slit his father's throat[c] he, the son, may well suffer a similar fate, but at the hands of others. He is not paralysed, by the way. His arm was fractured at birth, no one noticed this at the time, hence the atrophy of that limb.

In any case the ice has been broken. Continuity in home affairs has been disrupted, and movement will take the place of stagnation. That is all we require.

Boulanger is undoubtedly something of a charlatan, but he's not a cipher for all that. He has given proof of military gumption and his charlatanism may serve him well in the French army; Napoleon had his fair share of it, too. But he seems politically inept, perhaps because of his overweening ambition. There can be no doubt that, if the French want to throw away any chance they have of recovering the lost provinces, they need only ape Boulanger's friends—in particular Rochefort, who seems stupid to the point of folly. All that is needed to reconcile the numbskull Alsatians with Germany is an abortive war of revenge; the peasants are mercenaries who, given the choice, will always serve in the victor's army, while the bourgeois will find their profits assured by the German tariff no less than by that of the French. As for the Russians, they are sure to be defeated; I have just been studying their 1877-78 campaign in Turkey[253]—98 incompetent generals to 2 tolerable ones, an exceedingly ill-organised army with officers beneath all criticism, with brave soldiers inured to the utmost hardship (they waded through fords, *in minus 10 degrees Réaumur*, with water up to their chests), very obedient, but also totally incapable of understanding the only kind of fighting possible today—fighting in extended order. Their strength lay in fighting in close order, a form which no longer exists, and anyone seeking to revive it would be swept by the fire of modern weapons.

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[a] Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa – [b] William (later William II) – [c] Frederick III had larynx cancer

But if Boulanger delivers you from plural lists,[254] we'll vote him a Vendôme column[255] without his having to go and earn it on the field of battle.

Tussy and Edward are leaving on Thursday for their 'castle' at Stratford-on-Avon and the Kautskys are to follow them. What a pleasant prospect—a labourer's cottage, with the cold and the wind and the flurries of snow we're now having! As for the rest of us, we have so far stood the winter very well until, a week ago, we had a brilliant, warm, spring day, followed by frost, nor'-easter and snow. It gave Nim the *mumps*, alias parotitis, and me a 'flu-like cold in the head—difficult things to get rid of in this weather. But nothing particularly irksome.

I enclose cheque for £15.

My love to Laura. What are Longuet and the children[a] doing? Nim always asks me for news of them as soon as a letter arrives from Paris.

Yours ever,
F.E.

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## 100

## ENGELS TO MARGARET HARKNESS[256]

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

London, early April 1888

Dear Miss Harkness,

I thank you very much for sending me through Messrs Vizetelly your *City Girl*. I have read it with the greatest pleasure and avidity. It is indeed, as my friend Eichhoff your translator calls it, *ein kleines*

[a] Jean, Edgar, Marcel and Jenny Longuet

*Kunstwerk*[a]; to which he adds, what will be satisfactory to you, that consequently his translation must be all but literal, as any omission or attempted manipulation could only destroy part of the original's value.

What strikes me most in your tale besides its realistic truth is that it exhibits the courage of the true artist. Not only in the way you treat the Salvation Army,[205] in the teeth of supercilious respectability, which respectability will perhaps learn from your tale, for the first time, *why* the Salvation Army has such a hold on the popular masses. But chiefly in the plain unvarnished manner in which you make the old, old story, the proletarian girl seduced by a middle-class man, the pivot of the whole book. Mediocrity would have felt bound to hide the, to it, commonplace character of the plot under heaps of artificial complications and adornments, and yet would not have got rid of the fate of being found out. You felt you could afford to tell an old story, because you could make it a new one by simply telling it truly.

Your Mr Arthur Grant is a masterpiece.

If I have anything to criticise, it would be that perhaps, after all, the tale is not quite realistic enough. Realism, to my mind, implies, beside truth of detail, the truthful reproduction of typical characters under typical circumstances. Now your characters are typical enough, as far as they go; but the circumstances which surround them and make them act, are not perhaps equally so. In the *City Girl* the working class figures as a passive mass, unable to help itself and not even making any attempt at striving to help itself. All attempts to drag it out of its torpid misery come from without, from above. Now if this was a correct description about 1800 or 1810, in the days of Saint-Simon and Robert Owen, it cannot appear so in 1887 to a man who for nearly fifty years has had the honour of sharing in most of the fights of the militant proletariat. The rebellious reaction of the working class against the oppressive medium which surrounds them, their attempts—convulsive, half-conscious or conscious—at recovering their status as human beings, belong to history and must therefore lay claim to a place in the domain of realism.

I am far from finding fault with your not having written a point-blank socialist novel, a '*Tendenz-roman*' as we Germans call it, to glorify the social and political views of the author. That is not at all what I mean. The more the opinions of the author remain hidden, the better for the work of art. The realism I allude to may crop out even in spite of the author's opinions. Let me refer to an example. Balzac whom I consider a

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[a] a little masterpiece

far greater master of realism than all the Zolas *passées, présents et à venir*,[a] in *La Comédie humaine* gives us a most wonderfully realistic history of French 'Society', especially of *le monde parisien*,[b] describing, chronicle-fashion, almost year by year from 1816 to 1848 the progressive inroads of the rising bourgeosie upon the society of nobles, that reconstituted itself after 1815 and set up again, as far as it could, the standard of *la vieille politesse française*.[c] He describes how the last remnants of this, to him, model society gradually succumbed before the intrusion of the vulgar moneyed upstart, or were corrupted by him; how the *grande dame*, whose conjugal infidelities were but a mode of asserting herself in perfect accordance with the way she had been disposed of in marriage, gave way to the bourgeois, who horned her husband for cash or cashmere; and around this central picture he groups a complete history of French Society from which, even in economical details (for instance the re-arrangement of real and personal property after the Revolution) I have learned more than from all the professed historians, economists and statisticians of the period together. Well, Balzac was politically a Legitimist[257]; his great work is a constant elegy on the irretrievable decay of good society; his sympathies are all with the class doomed to extinction. But for all that his satire is never keener, his irony never bitterer, than when he sets in motion the very men and women with whom he sympathises most deeply—the nobles. And the only men of whom he always speaks with undisguised admiration, are his bitterest political antagonists, the republican heroes of the Cloître[d] Saint-Méry,[258] the men, who at that time (1830-36) were indeed the representatives of the popular masses. That Balzac thus was compelled to go against his own class sympathies and political prejudices, that he *saw* the necessity of the downfall of his favourite nobles, and described them as people deserving no better fate; and that he *saw* the real men of the future where, for the time being, they alone were to be found—that I consider one of the greatest triumphs of Realism, and one of the grandest features in old Balzac.

I must own, in your defence, that nowhere in the civilised world are the working people less actively resistant, more passively submitting to fate, more *hébétés*[e] than in the East End of London. And how do I know whether you have not had very good reasons for contenting yourself, for once, with a picture of the passive side of working-class life, reserving the active side for another work?

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[a] past, present and future – [b] Paris high society – [c] French politeness of old – [d] monastery – [e] dull

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## 101

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 10-11 April 1888

My dear Laura,

Schorlemmer returned to Manchester yesterday and so I can sit down today and write a few lines, that is to say if Edward and Tussy, who are returning from their 'Castle' and will be here about 5, do not drop in too soon.

First of all I must congratulate Paul on his splendid discoveries in etymology, which are truly astonishing.[259] That a great many French words which we used to derive from the Latin *bos* ox, are descended from the Greek *boûs* ox, is already something. But that *bouillon* comes from *boûs* and not from *bullire* to boil, is a great discovery and only pity that Paul did not follow it up a little further. Thus *Bou*-strapa[260] is evidently of the same derivation, and *Buo*-naparte (for *Boû*-naparte) also, and Bonapartism being thus connected with ox, *Bou*-langer must be derived from *boûs*; and then also its English equivalent *Baker*, which throws a completely new light on the adventure of Colonel Baker in the railway-carriage: how could he help rushing on Europa-Robinson, being descended from *boûs* Jupiter?[261] Moreover there can be no doubt that in *mou-tarde* the *m* stands for an original *b*, and that thus its derivation from *boûs* is assured—what a flood of light this throws on the fact that mustard is eaten to beef only and not to mutton!

Another great progress is to treat Sanskrit on the same level as craniology, and to have discovered *des linguistes d'Allemagne et d'Angleterre*[a] who say that *le finnois offre plus d'analogie avec les idiomes aryens que le sanscrit.*[b] I have only heard of some who, ascribing

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[a] the German and English linguists – [b] Finnish shows more analogies to Aryan idioms than Sanskrit

to the Aryan nations a *European* origin instead of an Asiatic one, find themselves placed before the awkward predicament of having to accept a Finnic origin of the Aryan language without being able, so far, to show the least trace of connection between the two. If Paul had tried to derive French from Japanese instead of from Greek, he would have done what he maintains these poor devils of Germans and English have done. They are badly off enough, as it is. They are second-rate and third-rate *epigones*—the Germans that is—some are even Bohemians—who for sensational purposes have started—or rather (by a series of mistakes) been conducted to—a paradox theory which has landed them in face of a dead wall; the Englishmen have taken the thing up as a fashion, as was to be expected from beginners who want to show off as masters—they have ventilated their rubbish at the last British Association[262] Meeting quite *en-famille*—but that which Paul ascribes to them—the discovery of the connection between Aryan and Finnish, a connection closer even than that of the other Aryan languages with Sanskrit their sister-tongue—that they are still panting for, and it is to be hoped they do not read the *Nouvelle Revue* or else they would indeed want to know who is this Fergus who holds the magic wand which transforms Aryan into Finnic and vice versa. But in case they come, Fergus can point to his Irish name in justification of his Irish Bulls or *boûs*.

But joke *à part* the articles are very good, and what does it matter to the Parisians *qui s'en fichent*[a] whether Fergus tells them a few bulls about etymology. It is far more important that they should learn a little about their own language, and that they find here. Only I don't think it is necessary to the amusement of the Parisians that an author should commit himself by such assertions. But then we all of us have the inclination to brag most of what we know least; at all events I know I am.[b]

11th April. Exactly as I expected. The two hungry souls[c] dropped in just as I finished the preceding page, bringing eggs, butter, pork pie, sausages from their truly rural retreat, and two good appetites. Today I had my American mail-day and now try to finish this.

In France things seems to me to go very well. Boulangism is the just and deserved punishment for the cowardice of all parties in the face of that bourgeois chauvinism which thinks it can make the clock of universal history stand still until France has reconquered Alsace. Fortunately

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[a] who do not care a straw – [b] Engels presumably wanted to say: '. . . I know I have it' – [c] Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling

Boulanger proves himself more and more a political ass, more dangerous, in my opinion, to himself than to anybody else. *Un homme qui a son plan comme Trochu kann sich begraben lasssen.*[a]

For the rest, the Opportunists[199] are getting more and more worn out, *verschlissen*,[b] and have to fall back upon the alliance with the Monarchists, that is to say upon political suicide. The great progress in French public opinion is this: that the Republic is recognised as the only possible government, that Monarchy is equivalent to civil war and foreign war. The action of the Opportunists (besides their flagrant corruption) drives public opinion more and more towards the Left, and compels the nomination of more and more radical governments. All this in strict harmony with the regular development since 1875. We can wish for no more than that this should continue, and if Boulanger assists this move unintentionally all the better. The sense which the French have unbeknown to themselves—the necessary logical inheritance of a great, unconsciously logical history—will I hope prove more powerful than all the nonsense they set to work consciously and intentionally.

The German philistine convinces himself more and more that with old William[c] the *clef de voûte*[d] of the present system has gone, and that the whole *voûte*[e] will gradually follow. I only hope Bismarck will not be sent to the right-about merely in order to re-enter in triumph. Otherwise he had better stop.

What a fool that Rochefort is. Quotes Catholic Munich papers to prove that the Germans are only awaiting the French again invading Germany in order to join them, upset Bismarck and restore French domination in Germany! Cannot that idiot see that nothing would more fortify Bismarck than such a French attempt to 'free' Germany, and that we intend to settle our internal concerns ourselves!

Ever yours,
F. Engels
called by Dinner Bell

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[a] A man who harbours plans similar to Trochu's is done for – [b] seedy – [c] William I – [d] keystone – [e] vault

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## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLY-WISCHNEWETZKY[239]

### IN NEW YORK

London, 11 April 1888

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

Your call for the ms.[a] comes upon me very suddenly and I am afraid I shall not be able to oblige you. I am allowed to write two hours a day, no more; have a large correspondence to attend to; find that at the end of the two hours, am only just getting warm in harness, and then, just then, must stop. Under these circumstances I am quite unable to do *articles de saison* to order, especially for a distant market, and do not see my way to having the pamphlet ready in ms. by 15th May, much less have it ready printed in New York by that time. Still I will set about it at once, after clearing off urgent letters, and do my best. I interrupt an important piece of business[b] on purpose, to clear this matter off.

Still in my opinion you need not fear of losing your opportunity. The Free Trade question will not disappear from the American horizon until settled. I am sure that Protection has done its duty for the United States and is now an obstacle, and whatever may be the fate of the Mills bill,[263] the struggle will not end until either Free Trade enables the United States manufacturers to take the leading part in the world market to which they are entitled in many branches of trade, or until both Protectionists and Free Traders are shoved aside by those behind them. Economic facts are stronger than politics, especially if the politics are so much mixed up with corruption as in America. I should not wonder if during the next few years one set of American manufacturers after the other passed over to the Free Traders—if they understand their interests they *must*.

Thanks for the official publications[c]—I think they will be just what I want.

I am glad of your success against the Executive as far as it goes—from *Volkszeitung* weekly 31 March[d] I see they won't give in yet—there you

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[a] F. Engels, 'Protection and Free Trade. Preface to the Pamphlet: Karl Marx, *Speech on the Question of Free Trade*' – [b] work on Vol. III of *Capital* – [c] See this volume, p....v – [d] The item referred to appeared in the column 'Socialistische Arbeiter-Partei National-Executiv-Komite', *Wochenblatt der N. Y. Volkszeitung*, No. 13, 31 March 1888

see what an advantage it is to be on the spot. The non-resisting weakness which went straight against the Avelings because they were absent[3]—that weakness you could work round to your favour because you were not absent; and thus the hostility to you is reduced to mere local *Klatsch*[a] which with perseverance you are sure to overcome and to live down.[264]

I was very much rejoiced to read that the Sorges feel happier again in their old quarters,[218] I hope they will continue so. Old Sorge could no more live in a hole like Rochester than I could in *Krähwinkel*[b] or its Lancashire equivalents, Chowbent or Bullocksmithy.

I return herewith the letters of the Board of Supervision.

In haste

Yours faithfully,
F. Engels

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## 103

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 12 April 1888

Dear Bebel,

Since you wrote on 8 March, I have been taking a bit of a look at events; things now seem to be settling down sufficiently for one to size them up. Your policy of saying that nothing has changed is, when applied to the masses, tactically quite correct; but in my view it by no means does justice to the historical situation.

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[a] gossip – [b] (fig.) a godforsaken hole

Fritz's proclamations[251] show him to be of exceedingly mediocre intellect. Anyone who, after so many years as Crown Prince, can find nothing better to put forward than the elimination of this or that petty tax and, on the military side, the abolition of the third rank, which is quite pointless because long since abolished in a fighting formation, is unlikely to change the face of the world. The plaint about the evils of an inadequate education is apt to be the monopoly of the inadequately educated—as in this instance. So much for his intellect.

In assessing his character one must—because of the state of his health—proceed with the utmost caution. If a man is in constant danger of having his throat slit by his doctors,[a] he may be excused from bestirring himself unduly; this would only be appropriate were his health to improve. Hence it is understandable that in internal affairs Bismarck and Puttkamer should have a freer hand than ever before.

But that is not to imply that nothing has changed. In William[b] the building has lost its keystone and the fact that it is tottering is plainly manifest. Their internal policy betrays how desperately Bismarck and Co. are clinging to their positions. Nor is yours unchanged; it has *deteriorated* precisely because Bismarck wishes to demonstrate that nothing has changed. The ostentatious exclusion of the Social Democrats from the amnesty, the mass scale of house searches and persecution, the desperate efforts to kill off the *Sozialdemokrat* in Switzerland[81]—all this proves that Bismarck & Co. feel the ground quaking under their feet, as do the efforts of the supporters of the Kartell[265] to make Fritz realise what a monarch is.

In true monarchical fashion they give way over all political questions, yet it's a court intrigue which brings the conflict to light. The thing's absolutely farcical—according to Bismarck, the Tsar[c] has the right to forbid Battenberg's marriage, while according to Fritz and Victoria, in their particular case, all the profound and inscrutable political axioms whereby they have been guided throughout their lives are suddenly to be abolished![266]

Being in such a parlous state, Fritz will doubtless be forced to give way here again—unless he gets better and can *really* weather a ministerial crisis. It is not at all in our interests that Bismarck should sulkily withdraw, only to return in triumph 4 weeks later, the idol of your coalitionist philistine. We should be more than satisfied if the said

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[a] Frederick III had larynx cancer – [b] William I – [c] Alexander III

coalitionist philistine were to lose all faith in the stability of Bismarck's regime. Nor will that stability be restored in Fritz's lifetime.

Since absolutely nothing more is being divulged about the nature of the disease—not even Waldeyer's report which, if favourable, would certainly have been made public—there can be no doubt that it's a case of cancer. And here again our men of Progress[45] are showing what stuff they are made of. Virchow who, if only in his capacity as a medical man, and one who has already been consulted, ought now to be on the spot, is digging for antiquities in Egypt! No doubt he wishes to be called in officially!

There can be no empire without an *empereur*, no Bonapartism without a Bonaparte. The system is tailored to the man, stands or falls with him. Like the old Slav idol of Pomerania, Triglav, our Bonaparte had three heads; the middle one has been cut off and, of the other two, Moltke is already past his prime and Bismarck tottering. He won't get the better of Victoria, she having learnt from her mother[a] how to deal with ministers, even all-powerful ones. The old security is gone. The insecurity of the foundations will also become apparent in their policy; blunders abroad, at home recurrent coups de main. And it will become apparent in your philistine's loss of faith in his own idol, in the dwindling energy and zeal of civil servants, their minds bent on the possibility of change and consequently of a changed future for themselves. All this if, as seems probable, Bismarck stays where he is. But should Fritz get better and Bismarck's position become seriously endangered, then, so Lenchen maintains, they'll take a pot shot at Fritz. This might in fact actually happen, should Puttkamer and his Ihrings and Naporras be endangered.

So whatever happens there'll be an interregnum, with Bismarck yearning for the exit of Fritz and the entry of the other William.[b] In that case, however, things won't be at all the same as they used to be. In that case there'll be bedlam. Our Bonapartism has now just about reached its Mexican period. When *that* comes, so will our 1866, followed shortly by 1870; i.e. it will come from within, a *domestic* Sedan.[267] Well, let it!

In France things are taking a perfectly logical course—the right-wing Republicans are being forced into an alliance with the Monarchists and are foundering as a result, and possible governments have to be formed ever further to the left. Boulanger is obviously a political nitwit and will

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[a] Queen Victoria – [b] William II

probably soon come to grief in the Chamber. Your French provincial philistine has but *one* article of faith—the indispensability of the Republic, since Monarchy spells civil war and war abroad.

Shall send receipt for Mrs Pfänder's 100 marks in my next; I forgot to get it from her. Meanwhile many thanks for the donation. I shall do what I can to support the woman, but shall take the liberty of approaching you people again.

Kindest regards to your wife and daughter, and to Singer.

Your
F.E.

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## 104

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 16 April 1888

Dear Liebknecht,

I was on the point of answering your letter of the 4th when your second one arrived with an enclosure for Karl Kautsky and giving me to understand that my answers no less than your questions were already things of the past.

All I want to do now is point out how this is connected with the Social Democratic Federation's circular.[268]

1. The Social Democratic Federation still poses as the *only* socialist organisation in England and the *only* one entitled to act and speak on behalf of the movement over here as a whole. This was why it was necessary, having regard to the preparations for the congress, to emphasise that position, the more so as the Socialist League[21] in its present form will probably fizzle out before long and the Social Democratic

Federation would like to absorb the *disjecta membra*.[a] Fortunately, however, that won't come off, for if it did the same old personal squabbles would at once begin all over again.

2. The Social Democratic Federation is closely in league with the Possibilists in Paris and, since these in their turn are in league with Broadhurst & Co.,[269] the Social Democratic Federation must manoeuvre. This second reason is the crucial one. Hyndman & Co. have become so deeply embroiled with the Possibilists that they can no longer draw back, even if they wanted to.

My opinion of all this congress business? I'm barely capable of expressing one, since I haven't the faintest idea of what has been discussed and anyway views change, kaleidoscope-fashion, even in your own case. By and large I regard all such congresses as exceedingly risky unless one is absolutely sure of success from the outset and, unless something definite and attainable is to be discussed, as somewhat unnecessary. The small fry, in particular the Belgians, have the chief say and, since the foreign department in Belgium is run, not by the Flemings, but by the old Brussels clique—the Brismée family—the same old dish is served up every time. But to want to hold your congress over *here*,[270] one week *after* the Trades Unions have held theirs, would spell utter ruin. Your funds would be used up, your people would run off and you'd be irredeemably delivered up into the arms of London's wirepullers—*ad majorem gloriam Hyndmanni*.[b]

That *Geneva* is the place where the French—never mind what sort—ought to hold a congress to celebrate the French Revolution of 1789 and *à propos* of the Paris Exhibition[c] is something you'll certainly never get them to believe.

So even if your congress doesn't materialise, it will, in my view, be no great disaster. In any case the agenda is needlessly restricted. A congress convoked by our Reichstag group would, after all, be attended exclusively by socialists and anarchists, not by Trade Unionists pure and simple. A social-democratic congress could throw the anarchists out, a general workingmen's congress cannot, and they are capable of being thoroughly obstreperous.

Fritz had better make haste and perk up—from the point of view of his health; otherwise Bismarck will prove too much for him. I hope that

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[a] scattered limbs (Horace, *Satires*, I, 4) – [b] to the greater glory of Hyndman – [c] The international exhibition which was to be held in Paris in 1889

Bismarck goes too far and gets sacked, the dissolution to be followed by fresh elections under some sort of interim administration. That would provide a nice dose of *désillusionnement* for the philistines. But obviously when you may be condemned any day to have your throat slit by the doctors,[a] you're unlikely to have much zest for a serious fight. And on his own showing Bismarck is already defending himself tooth and claw.

Kindest regards.

Your

F.E.

Was the stuff we sent you on Saturday what you wanted? If not, there has been a misunderstanding. The German is by Eccarius.[271]

| | |
|---|---|
| First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow 1940 | Printed according to the original<br>Published in English for the first time |

## 105

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

### IN BENEVENTO

London, 20 April 1888
122 Regent's Park Road

Dear Friend

I'm glad to hear that a fresh prospect appears to be opening up for you and hope you'll manage to prepare for the exam.[272]

I cannot, unfortunately, suggest any books that might assist your studies in this direction. For an Italian examination German books would cover too much ground on the one hand and too little on the other; moreover, I am not familiar with the more recent short

[a] Frederick III had larynx cancer

compendiums. Still less do I know of any Italian books that would suit your purpose; the most I could recommend would be Carlo Botta, *Storia dei Popoli d'Italia* which begins with Constantinus Magnus, circa AD 300. Perhaps also Pietro Colletta, *Storia del Reame di Napoli*, covering the years 1735-1825, a classic. But probably most helpful of all would be the textbooks currently in use in your grammar schools (corresponding to the French *lycées* and *collèges* and our *Gymnasien*), since most of the candidates for archivist's appointments will have attended these establishments and the examiners will therefore have to conform to the syllabus laid down in those schools.

But since it is impossible for you in your present straitened circumstances to purchase these books I deem it my duty to offer you my assistance. I have therefore permitted myself the liberty of taking out the enclosed money order in your name for the sum of four pounds sterling or fr. 10080 *centesimi* and trust you won't be angry with me for sending you this small amount without first obtaining your consent. I only hope that it will be enough, and that you will be able to procure what you need and pass your exam.

You will have read about our Zurich friends' expulsion from Switzerland.[81]

I shall look over and return the translation shortly[231]—as soon as I have finished an important piece for America.[a] Going through a whole lot of numbers at the same time cuts down the work.

With most cordial regards.

Yours

F. Engels

For postal purposes my first name has been given in its *English* form: 'Frederick'.

First published, in the language of the original (German), in *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani. 1848-1895*, Milano, 1964

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[a] 'Protection and Free Trade. Preface to the Pamphlet: Karl Marx, *Speech on the Question of Free Trade*'

## 106

# ENGELS TO GABRIEL DEVILLE

IN PARIS

London, 27 April 1888
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen Deville,

Thank you for your book on Balzac,[a] which I will read with pleasure. After Cervantes Balzac is, or so I think, the greatest novelist of all time, as well as the most faithful recorder of French society between 1815 and 1848. I am fond of Balzac in whatever form.

Your interpretation of Marx's formula is faultless. In manuscript it read: $M - C < {L \atop MP}$ and it was only for his own convenience and delectation that the printer put the symbol <, which has given rise to endless misunderstandings.

Hence the complete formula on p. 18[b]

$$M - C < {L \atop MP} \quad \ldots\ldots P \ldots C' - M' \quad \text{or}$$

$$M - C < {L \atop MP} \quad \ldots\ldots P \ldots (C + c) - (M + m)$$

means:

M, money, converted into C (commodity), which commodity is made up of L (labour power) and of MP (means of production); the said commodity C is subjected to a process of production P, this last resulting in a new commodity C′ (of different quality, but this does not concern us here where we have to do only with values), of greater value than and hence equal to C plus an increment c (C + c); this C′ is once more exchanged for money, that is to say for an amount M′ greater than M, or equal to M plus an increment m (M + m).

The symbol — serves to mark the conclusion of an exchange; the . . . .

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[a] G. Deville, *La Femme et l'Amour.* Paris, 1888 – [b] K. Marx, *Capital. A Critique of Political Economy*, Vol. II, Book II, *The Process of Circulation of Capital*, Part 1, *The Metamorphoses of Capital and Their Circuits*, Ch. 1, Circuit of Money Capital

indicates that the value in question undergoes a change of form which is not an exchange—in this case the process of production.

Should you wish to have anything else explained, I shall always be at your service. This second volume will, I am afraid, prove something of a headache for you, while failing to reward you with brilliant new solutions. It is concerned with transactions between bourgeois and the results are very nice theoretically but do not have any practical application. That is why I am in no hurry to see it translated into French or English; it needs to be complemented by Volume III.

I am Sir, etc.,

Your

F. Engels

First published in: M. Dommanget, *L'Introduction du Marxisme en France*, Lausanne, 1969

Printed according to the original

Translated from the Fench

Published in English for the first time

## 107

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, about 29 April 1888

Dear Liebknecht,

Enclosed received this morning.[273]

It's just as well that Fritz[a] is a bit better. If young William[b] comes to the throne at this particular juncture, he and Bismarck—unless all the indications are deceptive—will compound with Russia so as to secure her permission for a war with France. It would seem that certain contingent agreements have already been concluded. In this way, and only in this way, would Boulanger constitute a danger, to France no less than to Germany. The French would be beaten, but because their fortifications

[a] Frederick III – [b] Frederick III's son (William II)

are so strong, the war would be a protracted one and other people would join in. Probably Austria and Italy *against* Germany, since Russia's permission for something like this could not be obtained without both being sacrificed to the Russians. So that means that Bismarck will help the Russians to take Constantinople, and that means a world war on terms that will *quite certainly* ensure our eventual defeat—in alliance with Russia against the world! I trust this danger will pass.

Your
F.E.

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Published in English for the first time

## 108

## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[10]

### IN NEW YORK

London, 2 May 1888

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

By this mail I send you *registered* the ms.[a] that is to say the copy Mrs Aveling made of it when she found that with your close handwriting and absence of margin it was impossible to insert in pencil legibly the suggested alterations. There were many, arising from the fact that you translated from a German translation and we had the original to work upon. Many alterations have therefore no other purpose than to bring the English text nearer to the French original. In others, I have for the sake of clearness taken more liberties.

The preface[b] is nearly done in the rough, but as you will require a German translation, I shall have to keep it a little longer on that account.

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[a] K. Marx, *Speech on the Question of Free Trade* – [b] F. Engels, 'Protection and Free Trade. Preface to the Pamphlet: Karl Marx, *Speech on the Question of Free Trade*'

Anyhow I will hurry on as much as the two hours a day will allow me to do—my doctor has again last week bound me strictly to that limit.

Will you please tell Sorge that according to present arrangements the *Sozialdemokrat*[81] is going to be removed to London. But it will be well to keep this quiet for the present, when our friends intend this to be talked about and to get into the news-hunting press, they will no doubt arrange that themselves.

I am boycotted here almost as much as you are in New York—the various socialist cliques here are dissatisfied at my absolute neutrality with regard to them, and being all of them agreed as to that point, try to pay me out by not mentioning any of my writings. Neither *Our Corner* (Mrs Beasant) nor *To-day* nor the *Christian Socialist* (of this latter monthly, however, I am not quite certain) have mentioned the *Condition of the Working-Class* though I sent them copies myself. I fully expected this but did not like to say so to you until the proof was there. I don't blame them, because I have seriously offended them by saying that so far there is no real working-class movement here,[a] and that, as soon as that comes, all the great men and women who now make themselves busy as officers of an army without soldiers, will soon find their level, and a rather lower one than they expect. But if they think their needle pinks can pierce my old well-tanned and pachydermatous skin, they are mistaken.

Yours very truly,
F. Engels

First published, slightly abridged, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and, in full, in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

Reproduced from the original

[a] F. Engels, 'England in 1845 and in 1885'

## 109

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[274]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 9 May 1888

My dear Laura,

I have just finished, after many interruptions, a lengthy preface to the English edition of Mohr's discourse on Free Trade (Brussels 1848)[a] which is to come out in New York, and as this is the last piece of work which had to be done within a certain time I make use of my recovered liberty in order to write to you at once. And I have a rather important object too to write about, viz. that we want you here in London. You have planted, as I hear from Schorlemmer, some *Waldmeister*[b] in your garden, and as it will be utterly impossible for us to come over and use it there, there is nothing left but that you should come over and bring it here, when the other ingredients shall be duly and quickly found. The weather is beautiful, on Saturday,[c] Mohr's birthday, Nim and I went to Highgate, and today we have been on Hampstead Heath, I am writing with both windows open, and by the time you come which I hope will be next week we shall have lilacs and laburnums ready to receive you. If you only say by return that you are willing to come, *je me charge du reste*.[d] Moreover you will by this time have brought your country-house and garden to such a state of perfection that you can leave it in charge of Paul who must be by now an accomplished gardener. Nim has been sighing for Löhr for some time past, and surely you ought to be present at Edward's great dramatic triumph on the 5 of June when his dramatisation of N. Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter* is to be brought out at a matinée. And I need not add that I want you here as much as anybody else. There are moreover so many other reasons for your coming that I must refrain from stating them here for fear of missing the post and killing you with ennui. So make up your mind at once, and say you will.

Of Edward's remarkable preliminary successes in the dramatic line you will have heard. He has sold about half a dozen or more pieces which he had quietly manufactured; some have been played in the

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[a] F. Engels, 'Protection and Free Trade' – [b] woodruff – [c] 5 May – [d] I'll attend to the rest

provinces with success, some he has brought here himself with Tussy at small entertainments, and they have taken very much with the people that are most interested in them, viz. with such actors and impresarios as will bring them out. If he has now one marked success in London, he is a made man in this line and will soon be out of all difficulties. And I don't see why he should not, he seems to have a remarkable knack of giving to London what London requires.

Paul's letter in the *Intransigeant*[a] was very good indeed. He managed to hit the Radicals[200] without the slightest concession to Boulangism[137] and with the demand for general armament, put a spoke in both their wheels. It was done with great tact.

Have you heard that Fritz Beust is engaged—to an Italian-Swiss girl from Castasegna, hard on the border of Lombardy. I don't know who she is, we shall soon hear from our Zurich friends,[b] who are expected here in less than a fortnight. Maybe you will see Bernstein in Paris on his journey; he may be there any day. How they are going to manage here with regard to the paper[c] I am curious to see.[81] For many reasons London is not the best place for it, though perhaps the only one now. However we shall see, and generally things do settle down at their natural level.

Paul's 'Victor Hugo' in the *Neue Zeit* is very good. I wonder what they would say in France if they could read it.

The great Stead is off to Petersburg to interview the Czar[d] and to make him tell the truth about peace or war. I sent you his Paris interviews,[e] profound man left Paris exactly as wise as when he came there. The Russians will soft-sawder him to his heart's content, I am afraid he will return from Petersburg a greater ass than what he is now. Perhaps in tonight's paper we may read that he has fathomed Bismarck.

The Romanians are queer people. I wrote to Nadejde in Jassy a letter[f] in which I tried to work them up in the anti-Russian line. Now the Jassy Marxists are quarrelling with the Bucharest Anarchists on account of the peasant revolt[275] stirred up by Russia, and so they translate and print my letter at once![g] This time I am not sorry, but it shows what indiscreet fellows they are.

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[a] P. Lafargue, 'Le Boulangisme et les parlementaires', *L'Intransigeant*, 1 May 1888 – [b] Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Leonhard Tauscher and Hermann Schlüter – [c] *Der Sozialdemokrat* – [d] Alexander III – [e] W. Th. Stead, 'The Life and Adventures of a Lady *Special.* From our Special Commissioner in Paris', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 May 1888 – [f] See this volume, pp.132–5 – [g] See *Contemporanul*, No. 6, 1888

Not only the paper is at an end, but time too—5.20 p.m. and Nim will ring directly, and in ten minutes the post closes. So farewell for today and do say you come!

Affectionately yours,
F. Engels

First published in full, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

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## 110

## ENGELS TO ELEANOR MARX-AVELING[130]

### IN LONDON

London, 10 May 1888

My dear Tussy,

Best thanks, but we can't come. Nim has to do her marketing or else you won't get any dinner on Sunday, and I have to get off ms.[a] by the American mail on Saturday, which is anything but ready (the ms. not the mail).

Tell Mahon that on Sunday I receive my *private friends* and that there is no chance of talking business on Sundays here. If he wants to see me he is welcome any evening in the week and if he wants Edward to be present they might arrange to come together one night—perhaps you would come too?

Love from Nim.

Ever yours,
F.E.

First published in: E. P. Thompson, *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary*, London, 1955

Reproduced from the original

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[a] F. Engels, 'Protection and Free Trade'

## 111

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 10 May 1888

Dear Mr Schlüter,

What's the position as regards your coming over here? All we have heard from Ede[a] is that he is travelling via Paris and will be hanging about there for a bit. He says nothing definite about the others.[81] So here we are, in a state of suspense and unable to do anything.

So would you be good enough to get in touch with the others and let us know when you are all arriving—yourself, Motteler and Tauscher, we presume—and whether we can do anything for you here in the meantime. Let us also know *at which station* you will be arriving and by what route, so that you can be met. Otherwise there could be a glorious muddle, in the course of which quite a lot of money might go down the drain.

With kindest regards to you all

Yours,
F. Engels

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[a] Eduard Bernstein

## 112

## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLY-WISCHNEWETZKY

### IN NEW YORK

London, 16 May 1888

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

Per today's mail the rest of the preface[a] goes registered.

Reeves is willing to take the agency for the pamphlet[b] at the same percentage as before, and wishes to have his name on the title page under that of the New York publisher, viz.

London
William Reeves, 185 Fleet Street, E. C.

This is at least *some* guarantee against piracy on his part, and he is the most dangerous man in this respect. If you will forward the copies intended for him to me I will get them delivered *against receipt*, 300-500 will do to begin with.

The German translation will follow as soon as Mrs Kautsky has done copying it. That may be delayed some days as we expect the *Züricher Ausgewiesener*[c81] here every day and they will keep us rather busy at first.

Yours faithfully,
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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[a] F. Engels, 'Protection and Free Trade' – [b] K. Marx, *Speech on the Question of Free Trade* – [c] Zurich exiles

## 113

## ENGELS TO AMAND GOEGG

### IN BADEN

London, 2 June 1888
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W

Dear Goegg,

The lectures at universities here, in all branches of the natural sciences and literature, are open to ladies too. Fees the same as for men. The only lectures not open to ladies are those given by Ray Lankester. The fees vary—details in the prospectus which has been promised me and which I shall send on to you as soon as it arrives.

If what is wanted are medical lectures, I would recommend the college for ladies in Henrietta Street about which, if you so wish, I can let you have further details.

With kind regards,

Yours,
F.E.

First published in *Friedrich Engels 1820-1970. Referate. Diskussionen. Dokumente*, Hanover, 1971

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Published in English for the first time

## 114

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[276]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 3 June 1888

My dear Laura,

I am very sorry you do not see your way to come just now; the woodruff having failed in your garden would not have mattered, because Nim has got some and we are going to have it tonight; it would be so

nice if you were here to take your share. We have 6 bottles of Moselle to sacrifice tonight.

Our Zurich friends[a] are getting used to London ways a little, and it is time, for their notions of the possibilities of a settlement here were uncommonly *kleinstädtisch*.[b] Next week I hope the principal questions as to locality etc. will be settled and then there will be less difficulties and discussions.

Paul's arguments about Boulanger are rather derogatory to the French character. First he says, *c'est un mouvement populaire*', but not dangerous because Boulanger is an ass. But what to think of a *peuple capable d'un mouvement populaire* in favour of an ass? This he explains thus: *En France on patauge pendant un temps donné dans un semblant de parlementarisme, puis on réclame un sauveur, un gouvernement personnel ... en ce moment on réclame un sauveur et Boulanger se présente*.[c] That is to say: the French are such that their *real wants* require a Bonapartist régime, while their *idealistic illusions* are republican and do not go beyond parliamentarism. Why, if the French see no other issue than *either* personal government, *or* parliamentary government, they may as well give it up. What I want our people to do, is to show that there is a real *third* issue besides this pretended dilemma, which is a dilemma but for the vulgar philistines, and not to take the muddling philistine and *au fond* chauvinistic Boulangist movement for a really popular one.[277] The chauvinistic claim, that all the history of the world is to resolve itself into the recovery of Alsace by France, and that until then nothing shall be allowed to happen—this claim has been far too much bowed to by our friends in France, by every one in fact, and this is the upshot. Because Boulanger incorporates this claim, which has been silently admitted by all parties, he is powerful. His opponents—the Clémenceaux and Co.—do not, dare not contradict that claim but are too cowardly to proclaim it openly, and therefore they are weak. And because the movement is at bottom chauvinistic and nothing else, therefore it plays into Bismarck's hands who would be only too glad to entangle that poor devil Fritz[d] into a war. And all this at a time when even among the German philistines the consciousness is dawning that the sooner they get rid of Alsace the better, and when Bismarck's crazy

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[a] Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Leonard Tauscher and Hermann Schlüter – [b] provincial – [c] In France they dabble for a time in a semblance of parliamentarism and then they clamour for a saviour, personal government ... at the moment they are clamouring for a saviour and Boulanger presents himself – [d] Frederick III

passport regulations[278] are an open confession that Alsace is more French than ever!

The revolution in our household which I have been trying to set about for more than a year has at last been accomplished. Last night Annie left under notice from me, and we have another girl. Nim will at last be able to do no more work than she really likes and to have her sleep out in the morning.

Enclosed the cheque that Paul wrote about. Being Sunday, I must close, before the people come.

Ever yours affectionately,

F. Engels

Keep in mind that you *must* come this summer or autumn at latest!

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956 and, in russian, in *Istorichesky Arkhiv*, No. 2, 1956

Reproduced from the original

## 115

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN LONDON

London, 15 June 1888
122 Regent's Park Road

Dear Schlüter,

Will you and Tauscher do me the pleasure of taking luncheon with me on Sunday afternoon at half past two?

Your
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 37, Moscow, 1965

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Published in English for the first time

## 116

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[279]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 30 June 1888

My dear Lafargue,

Little MacDonnell of the General Council,[a] who is editor of a working-class paper at Paterson, New Jersey,[b] has sent me a young man named R. Block, son of an old New York Socialist—his father is editor of a German bakers' newspaper[c] and secretary of their trades union. As the young man will be spending some days in Paris, I have given him a card addressed to you—his only other introduction in Paris is to Delahaye—also telling him that, since you live in the country, you can be of little use to him, save perhaps as a source of information. He is not involved in politics or socialism, and all he wants is to see Europe 'in the most approved fashion'. If, then, he should find his way to Le Perreux, I would be obliged if you could give him some good advice of the kind one might provide for a traveller desirous of seeing as much as possible in as short a time as possible. He is perfectly aware that you are in no position to show him the sights of Paris.

Aveling is back in London for a play that is to be performed tonight—his fifth, while his sixth will probably be performed next week. There can be no doubt that, by devoting himself to drama, 'He has struck oil', as the Yankees say.

Yours ever,
F.E.

First published, in the language of the original (French), in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

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[a] Of the International Working Men's Association – [b] *Paterson Labor Standard* – [c] *Deutsch-Amerikanische Bäcker-Zeitung*

## 117

# ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

## IN ST GILGEN

London, before 6 July 1888

Dear Baron,

Now that I've smelt you out Stieber-fashion,[a] and having noted from its longitude and latitude that it must be a very lovely district, let me reply briefly re Shelley.[280] I will gladly do the thing but ought, for the sake of the context, to have a copy of Shelley which, however, I have not got, nor do I know where to obtain one in a hurry. E. Aveling, when he was here yesterday, said he would go and fetch his for me, but has left London without keeping his word. If I had the passages, I should be able to get hold of a Shelley all right.

I trust that the *taenia mediocanellata*[b] will by now have been happily reduced *ad absurdum*. Pumps' son has got the measles which so far has taken an altogether favourable course; Lili[c] is therefore staying with us. Mrs Schlüter and Mrs Ede[d] are here and we are still expecting the Aunt[e]—when, we don't know. On Sunday they were all of them here. The muddle has not yet been [. . . ][f] out. E. Aveling has been extraordinarily lucky with his [. . .][f]—unanimously [. . .][f] Louise[g] if, as I hope, she is there.

[. . .][f]

General

[. . .][f] all right again, I hope.

First published in: *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935

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Published in English for the first time

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[a] Engels uses the verb *herausstiebern*, a play on the verb *stöbern* – to hunt or rout out – and *Stieber*, name of the chief of the Prussian political police (1852-60) – [b] tape worm – [c] Lilian Rosher – [d] Regina Bernstein – [e] Emilie Motteler – [f] Ms. damaged – [g] Louise Kautsky

## 118

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 6 July[a] 1888

My dear Laura,

Today I write on business and therefore short and, I hope, sweet.

Jollymeier[b] came last night and leaves next week, probably Wednesday, for Germany. He will not have time to return by way of Paris, but the present plan is that Nim is going with him as far as Coblenz, and then to St Wendel to see her friends, and she does intend to come back by way of Paris provided you and the children[c] are there. Will you therefore be good enough to let us know if possible by a letter written on Sunday, but on Monday at latest, whether 1) you will be at home and 2) whether the children will be in Asnières, about the 26th or 28th July?

It is almost certain that you would have had a visit from Pumps at the same time, as she hoped to go with Jollymeier too, but last Sunday she came with the news that her boy has got the measles and that will keep her here.

Tussy and Edward are still at their 'Castle'[d] and expect to sail sometime in August to America where Edward is to superintend the *mise en scène* of three of his pieces, to be played simultaneously in New York, Chicago and God knows where besides. I don't think they will be away more than 8-10 weeks altogether. If his dramatic success goes on at this rate, maybe he will have to go next year to Australia, at the expense of some theatrical impresario.

Our Zurich friends[e] are not settled yet—but on the way towards it. It is most astonishing, the bother, delay and kicking about of heels that is caused by the London system of monopolist landlords who prescribe their own terms to their leaseholders so that when you want to take a business-place from one of these latter—and that you have to do—you have to wait the great landlord's pleasure in giving you leave to set up the necessary machinery. French or Prussian bureaucratic interference

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[a] In the original: August – [b] Schorlemmer – [c] Jean, Edgar, Marcel and Jenny Longuet – [d] See this volume, p.166 – [e] Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Leonard Tauscher and Hermann Schlüter

are nothing compared to it. And the Londoners have stood this for centuries, and even now scarcely dare rebel against it!

Kind regards to Paul.

Yours affectionately,
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. 11, Paris, 1956

Reproduced from the original

## 119

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[29]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 11 July 1888

Dear Sorge,

In great haste a piece of news which, however, you must keep *absolutely secret*. Don't be surprised to see me suddenly turn up about the middle of August or a few days after that—I may be taking a quick trip across the ocean.[281] Could you please let me know by *return* where you lie, so that I can look you up or, should you happen not to be at home at the time, *where* you are to be found? Also whether the Wischnewetzkys will be in New York at the time. I shall not see anyone else when I come over, for I have no wish to fall into the hands of the worthy German Socialists—which is why the thing has got to be kept secret. If I do come, I shall not come alone but with the Avelings, who have business over there. More anon.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

## 120

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[274]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 15 July 1888

My dear Laura,

You ask why Schorlemmer cannot come too, and you hope to see Pumps over at Le Perreux. Well, I am afraid you will have your wish fulfilled and your question answered with a vengeance.

Pumps' boy having improved extra-rapidly, sudden resolutions were come to last Monday, and on Wednesday the lot—Jollymeier, Nim and Pumps, all three set off for Germany. Pumps to Paulis', Nim to St Wendel. And then, according to what was arranged here, Pumps and Schorlemmer are to take up Nim at St Wendel and all three start for Paris, where they will arrive somewhere about the 29th or 30th July—but they will let you know. Nim and Schorlemmer must be here again on Saturday, 4th August; Pumps talked of going from Paris to St Malo and Jersey where Percy intends taking the children.

How you will manage to quarter the lot of them is more than I know. But Nim thought you would get over that difficulty right enough. Anyhow you will be wanting some little cash for the occasion which I shall not omit sending you in time.

Last night your letter with Longuet's document came to hand—at the same time as Edward who is again brought to London by his dramatic industry. He is going to read two plays today to speculative actors (Alma Murray is one) who intend to invest in a bit of novelty. Of course Longuet is again counting without his host, as Edward and Tussy will be going to America for at least two months and I shall take my holiday as soon as Nim comes back—if he likes to leave Jean with Nim at my place, all right, and Nim would be glad of his company; but is that what Longuet contemplates? Anyhow Tussy will return the *plaidoyer*[a] to you and write, and you and Nim can settle the remainder.

What a nice mess that was which Boulanger and Floquet cooked betwixt the two of them the other day—Boulanger's *coup de théâtre*,

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[a] speech for the defence

pre-arranged in every detail and yet miscarried because he could not keep up his part to the end—Floquet's rage and invective where a cool reply would have been required—the insults, the duel, and *le beau, le brave général* worsted by an *avocat*![282] Decidedly, if the Second Empire was the caricature of the First, the Third Republic is getting a caricature not of the First, but even the Second. Anyhow, let's hope this is the end of Boulanger, for if the popularity of that fool continued, it would drive the Czar[a] into the arms of Bismarck, and we don't want that any more than the Russo-French war of revanche. If the popular masses in France absolutely require a personal god, they had better look out for a different man, this one makes them ridiculous. But moreover it is clear that this desire for a *sauveur de la société*,[b] if really existing in the masses, is but another form of Bonapartism and therefore I really cannot bring myself to believe that it is as deeply rooted and *vraiment populaire*[c] as some people say. That our people fight the Radicals, well and good, that is their proper business, but let them fight them under their own flag. And as a *journée*[d] is only possible—so long as the people are unarmed—with the help of the Radicals[200] as on Carnot's election[197]), our people have only the ballot-box to rely on for the present, and I do not see the advantage of having the voters' minds muddled by this plebiscitary Boulangism.[283] Our business is not to complicate but to simplify and make clear the issues between the Radicals and ourselves. What little good Boulanger *could* do, he has done, and the chief good he did is to bring the Radicals to power. A dissolution would be a good thing—while a Radical government is in, upon whom we can exercise pressure; but Boulanger seems to me the least likely person to bring that dissolution about.

Here, after two fine days, it rains again cats and dogs since this morning. This is really a solution—summer dissolved in rain water—which makes one dissolute and drives one to drink. In fact I shall go and open a bottle of Pilsener and drink your health. *Sur ce, je vous embrasse.*[e]

*Bien à vous,*[f]
F. E.

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[a] Alexander III – [b] saviour of society – [c] truly popular – [d] showdown – [e] Meanwhile the best of love – [f] Ever yours

## 121

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 23 July 1888

My dear Laura,

Tussy returns me Longuet's letter, instead of direct to you, so I send it herewith. She said she would write to him. Edward told me last week they would be here again yesterday, but he has a capacity of neglecting facts, when they are contrary to his wishes, that is worthy of a more juvenile age. So they won't be here before end of week.

Of course Pumps and Nim can sleep in your room and if you can find a bed for Schorlemmer somewhere in Le Perreux, he will be all right. I enclose a cheque for £15—so as to set you at ease with regard to the ways and means.

Our Zurichers[a] are at last in a fair way of settlement. Their wives have arrived, they have got a business-place—that is, the agreement for an empty and not quite finished house—and private houses for themselves, so that in a week or 14 days they will all be *unter Dach und Fach*.[b] The female part of the *Sozialdemokrat* is not over charming. Ede Bernstein's wife seems the pleasantest, a sharp little Jewess, but she squints awfully; Schlüter's is an exceedingly good-natured and retiring little Dresden article, but uncommon soft; and as to the *Tante*,[c] *id est* Mrs Motteler, let Nim give you a description of this dignified juvenile of fifty (so they say), this Swabian *Kleinstädter*[d] affecting the *dame du monde*[e]—I am told she is a very worthy woman after all, but I don't think she feels at home among our undignified lot, and I anticipate some pleasant little sparrings when Tussy and she do meet. But Nim and Pumps will give you a description of her to your heart's content. I had them all here yesterday for supper, as our new girl (I think I told you that I sent Annie away) cooks quite passably and rather prides in cooking for company, and Mrs Motteler lost no time in telling me that the custard was burnt (just as she told Pumps: *Sie sind aber mal fett*![f]

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[a] Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Leonard Tauscher and Hermann Schlüter – [b] settled in – [c] Aunt – [d] small town resident – [e] society woman – [f] You are so fat!

—imagine Pumps's horror!) When they are once settled in their own establishments—all about Junction Road and the Boston—I hope distance will lend enchantment to the view—of considerably reduced visits from the lot—I don't quite intend to have the German element swamping everything at No. 122.[a]

I have got myself photographed before I shall be quite grey—and enclose the one they all say is the best.

Post-time and dinner-time, so here I shut up.

Love from your old
F. Engels

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## 122

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN LONDON

London, Saturday 21 or 28 July 1888

Dear Schlüter,

Grover has been to see me about the house in Kentish Town; I explained the whole matter to him and, unless he changes his mind, the house is yours.

Your
F.E.

Be careful in the meantime *not to call again* at Salto Rex & Co. (unless perhaps *invited* to do so by Grover or S. Rex & Co.; for I don't know of course whether Grover will be letting direct or through the above).

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[a] Engels' home, at 122 Regent's Park Road

## 123

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 30 July 1888

My dear Laura,

Hope by this time you have got the travellers[a] with you.

This morning letter from Schorlemmer. When he arrived at Bonn, his friends advised him to have his wound cured there and so he went to the University *Klinik* from which he was on Saturday discharged cured, but he still suffers from a *Magenkatarrh*[b] or, as his brother[c] who is with him and serves him as amanuensis, more properly spells it, *Magenkater*,[d] and is ordered to keep quiet for some time—he is even afraid that ulterior plans we had about a sea-trip[281] of some duration may fall to the bottom as far as he is concerned. That however we shall see by and by. Anyhow, he intended to go to Darmstadt yesterday and will write again from there.

For Nim's information: yesterday we had roast beef and peas, very well cooked; there were only Edward and Tussy, as Percy and the children dined at Sandhurst Lodge, it being his mother's birthday. After dinner they came over (and Charley,[e] whose wife had called for supper the Sunday before, and I was only sorry she did not drop in then) and later on the four Zurichers[f] with Mrs Bernstein and Mrs Schlüter—the *Tante*[g] was out of sorts fortunately—and we were very jolly. I am getting on right enough with the girl, only her sweets are not what they exactly should be; she makes a beautifully leathery paste and makes up for other defects in her custard by putting in about as much essence of bitter almonds as sugar—that however I have stopped. The girl is right enough, only she wants a bit more breaking-in by Nim; longer than three weeks' more or less independent management she is not yet fit for, as she imports a lot of superior notions from the East End lodging-house where she was attending upon 'Ladyships'. But as these are confined to

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[a] Helene Demuth and Mary Ellen Rosher – [b] stomach cold – [c] Ludwig Schorlemmer – [d] stomach hangover – [e] presumably Charles Roesgen – [f] Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Leonard Tauscher and Herman Schlüter – [g] Aunt (Emilie Motteler)

cooking chiefly, Nim will soon break her of them, and on the whole I have no reason to complain, though sometimes to laugh.

I hope you have better weather. I went to town about 2, it began raining before 3, and is still at it.

Love to all of you.

Ever yours,
F.E.

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## 124

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[29]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 4 August 1888

Dear Sorge,

Your two letters[a] received with thanks. I am most grateful for the hospitality you offer me, but whether I shall be able to take advantage of it is somewhat problematical, as you will see from what follows.

For if all goes well, Schorlemmer will be coming too—he is in Germany and not particularly well but has telegraphed saying he'll be here on Monday. Since we shall have to remain together—Schorlemmer and I, at any rate—Aveling has already booked rooms for all of us at an hotel, which means that I shall have to go there—to begin with, at least. What happens after that remains to be seen. At all events Schorlemmer and I shall stay in town for a few days only and set off as soon as possible on a tour of the country, for at the beginning of October he has got to start lecturing again and we are anxious to see as much as we can.

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[a] of 21 and 23 July 1888

That I shall find little Cuno lying in wait for me is to be expected. But I think I've got a magic formula that will make him tractable. If I go back there just before I leave for home, I suppose I shall have to see one or two of the *Volkszeitung* people; it would be unavoidable and wouldn't do any harm. It's just that I'd rather they left me alone at the start.

We are sailing on the *City of Berlin* on the 8th of this month. Aveling has made a successful début in the field of drama and is to help stage 4 plays (of which 3½ are by him) in 4 cities over there.

Since Monday is a Bank Holiday,[144] when nothing can be done because all the shops are closed, and we have got to leave here on Tuesday,[a] there's a lot of shopping to be done—besides which I have got to be at Charing Cross at 5.40 to meet Lenchen and Pumps (who has been married for 7 years and has 2 children) on their return from Germany resp. Paris, and hence must close. I, too, look forward tremendously to seeing you again. So no more till we meet.

Your

F. E.

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von John. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full, in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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## 125

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 6 August 1888

My dear Laura,

When you receive this letter I shall be floating away on the *City of Berlin*, with Tussy, Edward, and Schorlemmer towards the shores of the New World.[281] The plan has been of pretty long standing, only it was

[a] 7 August

constantly being crossed by all sorts of obstacles, last not least Schorlemmer's misadventure—but he will be here tonight (fresh accidents excepted) and tomorrow we expect to be off, leaving Liverpool landing-stage at five p.m. on Wednesday.[a] The affair had to be kept secret, firstly because indeed of the series of obstacles which threatened to wreck it, and secondly in order to save me as much as possible from the interviewers of the *New York Volkszeitung* and others (among whom, Sorge writes, little Cuno is now one of the most formidable) and from the delicate attention of the German Socialist Executive, etc. of New York,[223] on arrival, as that would spoil all the pleasure of the trip and undo all its purpose. I want to see and not to preach, and principally to have a complete change of air, etc., in order to get finally over the weakness of the eyes, and chronic conjunctivitis which Dr Reeves, Edward's friend, says is due entirely to want of tone and will most likely give way to a long sea voyage, etc. When I proposed the job to Schorlemmer, he fell in at once, but of course must be back by beginning of October, so that his Flushing accident came at a very awkward time. But that seems all right now and he is due tonight.

Edward and Tussy will not come back with us, as far as we can see; they are sure to be kept there at least a fortnight longer.

Our travellers arrived here all right, though half an hour behind time, on Saturday and as our post-card will have informed you, your currants—both raw and in the juice extracted by Helen—I mean Nim—found the fullest and most general appreciation; the enthusiasm as to your garden is almost wild in its manifestations and I think both Pumps and Nim dream of it. In spite of their partly rough passage neither was sick, they were wise enough to lay down at once.

I enclose a cheque for £25—to go on with during my absence. Shall let you hear again on arrival and report on adventures, sea-monsters, icebergs and the other wonders of the sea, unless captured by the Irish fleet which has succeeded in breaking the blockade of the English on Saturday night and is now destroying British commerce, capturing Scotch coast towns, etc.[b]—a capital augury of the real political victory of the Irish over the British philistine which the next general election is sure to bring.

So farewell until then. I was very proud to hear from Nim that you

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[a] 8 August – [b] A joking allusion to the British naval exercises then in progress

look very well and younger than ever. Hope you will keep so till our next merry meeting

Ever yours affectionately
F. Engels

and kindest regards to Paul.

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## 126

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN[284]

### IN LONDON

S.S.*City of Berlin*, between
Liverpool and Queenstown[a]
9 August 1888

Dear Ede,

Never has Berlin seemed to be so beautiful as on board this *City of Berlin*. If the young guard lieutenants[b] knew how good and plentiful the food is here, they'd instantly exchange the Berlin on land (or sand[c]) for that on water. In 2½ hours we should be at Queenstown and thence head for the open sea. Cordial regards to your wife,[d] the Schlüters, the Mottelers and Tauscher.

Your old friend,
*The General*

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[a] Modern name: Cobh – [b] Engels has *Jardeleutnants* (Berlin dialect), an allusion to William II – [c] The margraviate of Brandenburg, of which Berlin was the centre, was called the Sandbox ('*Streusandbüchse*') of the Empire. – [d] Regina Bernstein

## 127

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

### IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

SS *City of Berlin*, between
Liverpool and Queenstown,
9 August 1888

Dear Hermann,

I set sail yesterday on a quick trip to America[281] and just wanted to tell you as much before we leave the last European port. We are a merry party of four—myself, Prof. Schorlemmer of Manchester, Dr Aveling of London and his wife, Marx's youngest daughter. Schorlemmer and I shall be returning towards the end of September and expect to be back in England on 2/3 October. My being able to realise this long-standing plan this summer was most propitious and I had also been strongly advised on medical grounds to make the two longish voyages and get a complete change of air.

Our ship is much more beautiful than the Berlin ashore; she is nearly 6,000 tons and the Avelings came back from New York on her eighteen months ago. They know the captain, purser and crew, which is very nice. We have charming cabins, the fare is excellent and on top of that there is American lager beer, which is by no means bad, a long deck to rove about on and not too many passengers, provided a large number don't join us at Queenstown—in short, it all promises to be very pleasant. I am most eager to see the world on the other side; we shall be staying for 3 or 4 weeks, which is just long enough, I think.

We are nearing Queenstown, so I had better close. Mind you all keep well. I shall write to you again from the other side of the ocean. Regards to your wife and children[a] and all other relatives.

With much love from
Your old Friedrich

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[a] Emma, Hermann Friedrich Theodor and Walter Engels

## 128

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[285]

### IN HOBOKEN

Postmarked Boston,
28 August 1888

Dear Old Man,

Arrived here yesterday morning; your letters[a] reached Schorlemmer and myself this morning—very many thanks. I left my cough behind in Hoboken and Schorlemmer has also got over his trouble. We have just been with Mrs Harney, who says Harney will be coming to London in October, so I shall see him there. I have not yet been able to get hold of my nephew,[b] but expect to see him tomorrow, either here in the hotel or in Roxbury. Boston is an awful sprawl but more human than New York City, and Cambridge is actually very pretty and looks quite European and continental. Warm regards to you and your wife.[c] But for the two of you we should still be ailing. We are staying until Saturday.[d] Letters are sure to find us here till Friday night.

Your
P.E.

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[a] of 27 August 1888 – [b] Willie Burns – [c] Katharine Sorge – [d] 1 September

## 129

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[286]

### IN HOBOKEN

Boston, 31 August 1888

Dear Sorge,

The paper[a] arrived the day before yesterday and your letter[b] today. Thanks. But I'm sorry that your throat should still be troubling you and it would seem that you have actually appropriated my cough. If our staying with you gets us well and makes you ill, that is really rather dreadful.

Were in Concord yesterday, in the Reformatory and the town. Both pleased us greatly. A prison where the prisoners can read novels and scientific works, form clubs, congregate and talk without warders being present, eat meat and fish twice a day with bread ad lib., iced water in every workroom, running water in every cell, the cells decorated with pictures, etc., where the chaps, dressed as ordinary workingmen, look you straight in the eye with none of the hang-dog look of the usual criminal in gaol—this is something you will see nowhere in Europe. The Europeans, as I told the superintendent, are not bold enough for that. To which he replied in true American fashion: well, we try to make it pay, and it does pay. I acquired a great respect for the Americans in that place.

Concord is really beautiful, elegant in a way one wouldn't have expected after New York or even Boston, but a splendid little place in which to be buried, though not alive! four weeks there would either kill me or drive me crazy.

My nephew Willie Burns is a wonderful fellow, bright, energetic and with his heart and soul in the movement. He is doing well, works for the Boston and Providence Railroad (now the Old Colony[c]), gets $12 a week, has a nice wife (whom he brought with him from Manchester) and three children. Nothing would induce him to return to England; he's just the lad for a country like America.

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[a] *New Yorker Volkszeitung* of 28 August 1888 – [b] of 30 August 1888 – [a] the southern part of Massachusetts

Rosenberg's departure and the curious debate on the *Sozialist* in the *Volkszeitung* would seem to be symptoms of collapse.[287]

Such news from Europe as reaches us over here is sparse and infrequent and is supplied exclusively by the *New York World* and the *Herald*.[a]

The last of the jobs Aveling has to do in America will be polished off today and thereafter his time will be his own. It is still uncertain whether we shall go to Chicago. We have ample time for the remainder of the programme.

Warm regards to your wife[b] and yourself from us all, but especially from

Your

F. Engels

First published slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and, in full, in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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## 130

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT[288]

### IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

Boston, 31 August 1888

Dear Liebknecht,

A moment ago, at 9.30 a.m., that is, we saw in the *Boston Herald* that you had been elected in Berlin with an absolute majority of more than 10,000 votes[43] and we—myself, Schorlemmer and both the Avelings—send you our heartiest congratulations.

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[a] *Boston Herald* – [b] Katharina Sorge

We spent a week in New York resp. Hoboken (with Sorge) and have been here since Monday.[a] Tomorrow we go to Niagara and if possible from there to Chicago, otherwise to the Oil Regions, and then, after Toronto, Montreal, Lake Champlain, the Adirondacks and Albandy, down the Hudson back to New York, whence we sail for Liverpool by the *City of New York* on 18/19 September. Very nice trip, have learned a great deal and have been sweating good and proper at last—something that never happened to us back home this summer. Regards to your wife,[b] Bebel and Singer.

Your

F.E.

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## 131

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[289]

### IN HOBOKEN

Niagara Falls, N. Y.,
4 September 1888

Dear Sorge,

We have been here since Sunday[c] morning and are enjoying ourselves greatly. The nature is beautiful here, the air is superb, the food is excellent and the nigger waiters are amusing—what more could one want, given this fine weather. As yet there have been no mosquitoes either, despite all the water. Our tour of the Oil Regions has been abandoned—whether we go to Chicago will be decided today—I think not. If we don't go we shall have adhered rigidly to your itinerary.

The fact that Jonas has found me out is yet another reason for delaying my return to New York for as long as possible. However, even if he

[a] 27 August – [b] Natalie Liebknecht – [c] 2 September

sends me his Cuno *now*, it will be of no consequence. My trip is pretty well over and a half hour's grilling is the most that he'll be able to inflict on me.

Warm regards from us all to your wife[a] and yourself.

Your
F. E.

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## 132

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[289]

### AT LE PERREUX

Niagara Falls, N. Y.,
5 September 1888

My dear Laura,

Here we are since last Sunday[b] morning, after having spent a week in New York and another in Boston. Don't you believe that America is a new country—it is the most old-fashioned place in the world; *vis-à-vis de nous autres Européens c'est tout simplement* la province, *et nous nous sommes tous Parisiens comparés aux Américains.*[c] The American girls on the Steamer already struck me as having all the manners of the *Unschuld vom Lande*,[d] the furniture is in the style of country house furniture of the *ancien régime*,[e] in Boston the cabs are of a shape which I saw last in

[a] Katharina Sorge – [b] 2 September – [c] to other Europeans like us it is exceedingly *provincial*, and we are all Parisians compared to the Americans – [d] unsophisticated country lass – [e] ancient times

London in 1838,[290] and upon this primitive state of things they have grafted a lot of supra-modern novelties many of which are no improvements and none of which are beautiful. They say they are the most go-ahead nation and that is true in this sense, that an American cannot bear the idea of anyone walking in front of him in the street, he must push and brush past him—roughly too, even in Boston which is their Athens—and women as well as men shove you about in that way, and sure when we poor benighted Europeans cannot see the slightest occasion either for the hurry or the rudeness.

But for all that they have very very grand features and the making of a very great nation in them, such as are only to be found in a people which never knew feudalism. They are long-suffering as to grievances of their own making, like all Anglo-Saxons, but when they do a thing they do it thoroughly. The way in which the State of New York bought up all the grounds (on the American side) about the falls,[a] turned out all the touts, hucksters and extortionists, and transformed the whole into a public park where you go about freely and unmolested, not a policeman or park-keeper to be seen, on good footpaths and safe stairs quite up to the edge of the falls—that is a thing you do not find anywhere in such places in Europe. And the simple fact of the Americans having done this compelled the Canadian government to do the same on their side, in order to attract the visitors who ran away from Canadian exploitation.

New York is the grandest site for the capital of Capitalist Production you can see. But everything there, made by man, is horrid—save Bartholdy's Statue of Liberty which is not only fine but in exact proportion—as to size—to the surroundings. We got into New York after dark and I thought I got into a chapter of Dante's Inferno. London is a fool to it as to noise, crowd, pushing—a pavement worse than in the sunkenest European village—elevated railways thundering over your head, tram-cars by the hundred with rattling bells, awful noises on all sides, the most horrible of which are the unearthly fog-horns which give the signals from all the steamers on the river (the whistle is unknown here)—naked electric arc-lights over every ship, not to light you but to attract you as an advertisement, and consequently blinding you and confusing everything before you—in short a town worthy to be inhabited by the most vile-looking crowd in the world, they all look like discharged croupiers from Monte Carlo.

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[a] Niagara Falls

Niagara is very fine. The falls are only the crowning feature. I like the rapids above and below, the beautiful little islands crowded with trees above the falls, and the fine winding gorge below, even better than the 'grand' feature.

We go from here into Canada, down the St Lawrence to Montréal, thence back to the States, via Lake Champlain and Lake George, then per Steamer down the Hudson to New York and sail per *City of New York* any time about 18th, hoping to be back in London about 28 or 29th at latest.

The little Steamer on the photo is the *Maid of the Mist* and goes quite close up to the falls (they lend you waterproof coats and helmets for the occasion) and yesterday we went quite into the mouth of the Horseshoe falls (the one facing you).

We are all very well and jolly, Edward conducts and commands, and we have appointed him General Boulanger of the port, which post he fills most creditably. As to European politics we are quite out of reach of everything. So now I close. Kind regards to Paul.

Ever yours
F. Engels

Postscripts by Engels' companions

My dear Laura, the General leaves the rest of us only room to send our loves. And it's a poor thing too. For what with Niagara Falls and Niagara Beer we are most of us beyond the writing stage. When I pull myself together I'll write.

Yours
Tussy

Dearest Laura, I shall not forget the 26th and send you your birthday letter with best love. C. S.[a]

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[a] Carl Schorlemmer. There is also an illegible note by Edward Aveling

## 133

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[291]

### IN HOBOKEN

Montreal, 10 September 1888

Dear Sorge,

Arrived here yesterday, having had to turn back because of a storm between Toronto and Kingston (it really blew pretty hard) and put into Port Hope. So the two-day trip from Toronto to here turned into *three*. The St Lawrence and the rapids were very fine. Canada is richer in ruined houses than any country save Ireland. We are doing what we can to understand Canadian French; that language beats Yankee English hollow. Tonight we go to Plattsburg and from there to the Adirondacks and if possible the Catskills as well, so we're unlikely to be back in New York before Sunday.[a] As we have to embark on Tuesday evening[b] and there are still various things we must see in New York, and as during these last few days we shall all have to keep together more than would otherwise be necessary, Schorlemmer and I shan't be able to stay with you in Hoboken this time, much though we regret it, but must go to the St Nicholas with the Avelings. However we shall come and see you as soon as we get there. The transition from the States to Canada is a curious one. First of all you imagine yourself back in Europe and then you feel you're in a land that is positively retrogressing and going to rack and ruin. Here you can see how essential the Americans' feverish spirit of speculation is to the rapid development of a new country (given capitalist production as its basis). In ten years this sleepy Canada will be ripe for annexation—by which time the farmers in Manitoba, etc., will be demanding it themselves. In any case this country has already been half annexed from the social point of view—hotels, newspapers, advertisements, etc., all conform to the American pattern. And however much they may struggle and resist, the economic need for an infusion of Yankee blood will assert itself and abolish this ludicrous boundary line—to which, when that time comes, John Bull will say Yea and Amen.

Your

F. E.

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[a] 16 September – [b] 18 September

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

## 134

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[292]

### IN HOBOKEN

Plattsburg, N. Y., Tuesday,
11 September 1888

Dear Sorge,

Arrived here safely. We leave for the Adirondacks at 1 p.m. sharp, shall return tomorrow evening and then cross the lakes to the Hudson. Back in New York by Saturday[a] evening, I hope.

Should any letters have arrived for me, would you please forward them to the Narragansatt Hotel, Albany, but they must get there not later than Friday evening.

I hope you received my letter from Montreal.[b] Is your throat all right again?

Shall we see your son[c] in New York before we leave?

All of us well and cheerful. Kindest regards from us all to you and your wife.[d]

Your
F. Engels

First published in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848-1895*, New York, 1953

Printed according to the original

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[a] 15 September – [b] See previous letter – [c] Adolph Sorge – [d] Katharina Sorge

## 135

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[292]

### IN HOBOKEN

Plattsburg, N. Y., Wednesday
12 September 1888

Dear Sorge,

Got back from Lake Placid this evening; tomorrow we go down Lake Champlain.

I think I forgot to ask you in my last to get us another 150 cigars of the usual brand. We're right cleaned out.

Kindest regards.

Your
F. Engels

First published in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848-1895*, New York, 1953

Printed according to the original

## 136

## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[293]

### IN NEW YORK

18 September 1888

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

We returned on Saturday[a] evening from our trip to Boston, Niagara, the St Lawrence, Adirondacks, Lakes Champlain and George, down the Hudson to New York City, we enjoyed ourselves very much and, all of us, brought home a stock of invigorated health which I hope will see us

[a] 15 September

well through the winter. To-morrow afternoon we are leaving per the *City of New York* and look forward to a little excitement, breakdowns of machinery and such like things, but hope to arrive, in spite of all, in 8-9 days in London. I cannot leave America without again expressing my regret that unfortunate circumstances prevented me from seeing you more than once and but for a few moments. There are so many things that we should have talked over together, but it cannot be helped and I shall have to go on board without taking leave of you personally. Anyhow I do hope that the troubles you have gone through lately[149] will be the last, that your own health and that of Dr Wischnewetzky and the children will be all you can wish for. I shall be glad to hear soon again from you, and all your wishes shall have my best attention.

I have some copies of the pamphlet[a] from Mrs Sorge, it is very creditably got up and so far I have discovered only two misprints. Please let me know how many copies you are sending me to England and how many I may distribute to the press; I believe it ought to be sent to *all* the chief dailies and weeklies in London and some in the provinces, also the monthlies. Of course, unless instructed to the contrary, I shall entrust the sale to Reeves. As he has accepted the agency for your American publication generally, his name might have been put on the title page; he will have to print a new title page and send in a bill for that.

Hoping to see Dr Wischnewetzky in London on his return, I remain, dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

ever yours faithfully
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

Reproduced from the original

[a] K. Marx, *Speech on the Question of Free Trade*

## 137

## ENGELS TO THE EDITOR OF THE *NEW YORKER VOLKSZEITUNG*[294]

[Draft]

Hoboken, 18 September 1888

For your private information
To the Editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung (Der Sozialist)*

At the end of my brief visit to America I intended to call in at your office in person. However, my stay in New York prior to sailing by the *City of New York* has been so short that, to my regret, it has not been possible to do as I had intended. I hope, therefore, that you will be so kind as to excuse me.

Yours faithfully,
F. E.

First published in: Marx and Engels *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 37, Moscow, 1965

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

## 138

## ENGELS TO THE EDITOR OF THE *CHICAGOER ARBEITER-ZEITUNG*

[Draft]

Hoboken, 18 September 1888

For your private information
*Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung*

In the course of a short visit to America it has not, unfortunately, proved possible for me to come to Chicago and call on you in person at your office. I should like to say how much I regret this, and remain

Yours very faithfully

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Published in English for the first time

## 139

## ENGELS TO HERMAN ENGELS

### IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

S.S. *City of New York*
Thursday, 27-28 September 1888

Dear Hermann,

I am writing to you under difficult circumstances as our ship is rolling abominably and half the people on board are still sea-sick. We have had a very agreeable, interesting and instructive trip. After a good crossing—only one really nice storm—we arrived in New York on 17 August, stayed there about 8 days, then spent 7 days in Boston, 5 days at the Niagara Falls, then, via the Lake of Ontario to the St Lawrence River, down which a steamboat took us to Montreal, thence back to the States and Plattsburg, whence we diverted to the Adirondacks, which are very lovely, then on by steamer via Lake Champlain and Lake George (like parts of Lake Como, but smaller and quite untamed) to Albany and, finally, down the Hudson and back to New York by steamboat. As ill-luck would have it, we had booked a passage aboard the new vessel *City of New York*, the largest passenger ship afloat, 10,500 tons and said to be capable of 500 sea miles a day. But this is only her fourth voyage, the engines tend to fail, one is ailing and is operating at barely half power, while the other is put to considerable strain and is constantly having to be tinkered with. Luckily we have reached this spot, latitude 51 degrees north, longitude roughly 21 degrees west of Greenwich, without any particular mishap to the engines, and hope to be at Queenstown[a] tomorrow afternoon, and in London on Saturday[a] evening. The crossing has been pretty rough, two whopping great storms and high seas all the time except for the first two days. No one in our small company has been in the least affected by sea-sickness, we have eaten, drunk and smoked incessantly and I have just this moment—11 o'clock in the morning—been summoned to take my morning Tipple.

The voyage has done me a tremendous amount of good; I feel at least 5 years younger, all my little infirmities have faded into the background,

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[a] Modern name: Cobh – [b] 29 September

even my eyes have improved, and I would advise anyone who is feeling decrepit and under the weather to cross the Atlantic and spend a fortnight or 3 weeks at Niagara and a similar period in the Adirondacks 2,000 feet above sea level. The air there is quite excellent, while the August sunshine of Lombardy is combined with the fresh breeze of our Rhenish October. I already feel an urge to go out there again next year, if I can get someone to go with me. You ought to consider it; you and Rudolf[c] could, I am sure, do with a tonic of this kind. The tour isn't at all fatiguing; everywhere, in the better hotels, the food is first-rate and the German beer, i.e. brewed after the German fashion, quite excellent, only wine being dear, though a good bottle of Rhine wine is to be had anywhere for 1 dollar or 1 dollar and 50 cents, nor is American wine at all bad, though unfortunately not as a rule obtainable in the hotels. We have got 24 bottles on board, which we are drinking with gusto—Ohio wine (Reisling and sparkling wine) and Californian Riesling with a very good flavour but no bouquet.

Much love to Emma[b] and the children,[c] ditto to all our relations.

Your old brother
Friedrich

Friday morning 10 o'clock

Have been off the Irish coast since early morning, due in Queenstown at 12—where I shall post this letter—in Liverpool tomorrow morning and in London that same evening.

Again much love.

First published in *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 46, Bd. III, 1921

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Published in English for the first time

[c] Rudolph Engels – [b] Emma Engels – [c] Hermann and Walter Engels

## 140

## ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT[4]

IN BERLIN

London, 8 October 1888

Dear Dr Schmidt,

I should have answered your letter of 2 February long since had I known where to write to. I had been daily expecting news of your successful *Habilitation*[a] in Switzerland and hence of your removal to Zurich or Berne. Finally I took it with me to America, which I visited last August and September in company with Dr Aveling and his wife and Schorlemmer, but once again did not get round to answering it during the trip and now, on my return, I find a further message from you dated 23 August (on which day I was battling with mosquitoes in New York, much more dangerous adversaries than all your German professors of political economy put together).

Your account of the adventures attending your *Habilitation* bring back vivid recollections of the wretchedness of the German universities. That's what passes as freedom of scholarship. It's the old story of Bruno Bauer in the forties,[295] except that we have come on a bit and now have not only theological and political heretics but economic ones also. Still, I trust that Thucydides[296] is in a humane mood and won't place any serious difficulties in your way in Leipzig.

I was most interested to learn that a 'confessional' university still actually exists in Germany.[297] What odd things the 'reborn' fatherland continues to harbour!

I am very anxious to hear about your work. Apart from yourself, Lexis also tried to solve the problem to which I am obliged to revert in my preface to Volume III of *Capital*.[298] That you should finally have arrived at Marx's viewpoint in the course of your studies doesn't surprise me at all; I believe that this would happen in the case of anyone who tackled the matter painstakingly and with an open mind. After all, many professors nowadays, exploiting Marx as they do, have trouble enough in maintaining a more or less seemly distance between themselves and

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[a] Qualification for lecturing at universities

conclusions that are necessarily bound up with what they have annexed, while others, as the passage you extracted from our Thucydides goes to show,[299] must needs relapse into utter puerility to provide any sort of answer at all!

If, as I hope, my eyesight lasts out—my American jaunt did me a power of good—Volume III[a] will be ready for the press this winter and in a year's time will hit that company like a bombshell. I have broken off or postponed all my other jobs so as finally to be done with it and am exceedingly hard pressed. The greater part is almost ready for the printers, but two or three of the seven sections need a great deal of revision, especially the first, of which there are two versions.

I found America most interesting. It is a place one really must have seen with one's own eyes, this country whose history goes back no further than commodity production and which is the promised land of capitalist production. People's usual conceptions of it are as false as those a German schoolboy has of France. There was also much natural beauty to be enjoyed at Niagara, on the St Lawrence, in the Adirondacks and on the smaller lakes.

I have read Platter's critique of G. Cohn.[b] The beginning is very good and witty, but further on the good Platter runs out of steam.

Over here all is much as it was, save that the four people expelled from Zurich[c] have arrived, and Aveling is now writing plays which have been very well received by the impresarios. He was sent to America to rehearse 3 of his plays over there.

I still have a whole pile of letters to answer and if I miss this post I fear I shall be interrupted, so I had better close straight away. Goodbye and let me have further news of you very soon, by which time I trust you will have been duly installed as a lecturer.

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

First published in *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, Nos. 15 and 16, 1920

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

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[a] Of *Capital* – [b] J. Platter, *Gustav Cohns 'ethische' Nationalökonomie*, Wien, 1886 – [c] Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Leonard Tauscher and Hermann Schlüter

## 141

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[29]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 10 October 1888

Dear Sorge,

We finally got back here last Saturday week[a] and since then I have sent off to you 2 *To-Days* and a pile of *Commonweals* and today a pile of *Gleichheits* as well as 2 more *Commonweals*. One *Gleichheit* is missing. Ede Bernstein took it and I haven't got it back yet.

Little has changed over here; the next No. of the *Sozialdemokrat* will be printed in this country.[81] Otherwise nothing at all seems to have happened.

The *City of New York* is a humbug; in a calm sea she is steady, of course, but once she starts rolling, no one can do anything to stop her. Moreover, her engines are in a deplorable state; one of them was operating at barely half power, while the other threatened to break down at any moment because of the excessive strain. We never did more than 370 sea miles in a day and once it was only 313.

In so far as the political situation makes a survey possible, the estimate we formed of it over there was quite right. Bismarck has gone on for so long spinning silly young William[b] the yarn that he's a greater version of old Fritz[c] that the lad is now taking it seriously and wants to be 'Emperor and Chancellor in one person'. Bismarck is presently letting him have his way in order that he may make a thorough ass of himself, whereupon Bismarck will step into the breach as his guardian angel. Meanwhile he has assigned his Herbert[d] to the insolent lad as spy and custodian. A row between the two will not be long in coming and then the fun will begin.

In France the Radicals[200] in the government are making bigger asses of themselves than one could have hoped for. They have renounced the whole of their old programme vis-à-vis the workers and are behaving like out and out Opportunists[199]; they are pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the Opportunists and doing their dirty work for them. That

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[a] 29 September – [b] William II – [c] Frederick II – [d] Herbert von Bismarck

would be quite splendid but for Boulanger and provided they weren't virtually forcing the masses into his arms.[137] As a person the man is not particularly dangerous but his popularity among the masses is driving the entire army over to the his side and that constitutes a grave danger—the temporary ascendancy of the said adventurer and, by way of an escape from his predicament, war.

So Jonas has wriggled quite cleverly out of it after all and faked an interview I can't very well disclaim.[300]

Mother Wischnewetzky is furious because I 'spent 10 days in New York and didn't find the time to make the two hours easy railway journey to her home. There was really so much she wanted to talk to me about'. All very well if I hadn't caught a cold and been plagued with indigestion and if I had had 10 consecutive days in New York in the first place.

Warm regards to your wife.[a]

Your old friend,
F. Engels

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906, and, in full, in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

Printed according to the original

## 142

## ENGELS TO LOUISE KAUTSKY[301]

### IN VIENNA

[Draft]

London, 11 October 1888

My Dear, Dear Louise,

Immediately after our return, your letter got into Tussy's hands and then went to Schorlemmer, from whom I have only just retrieved it. Hence the lateness of my reply.

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[a] Katharina Sorge

The news, which Ede had already passed on to Nimmie, left us all thunderstruck. But when I read your letter, my mind positively reeled. You must know that, ever since we first met, my regard for you has constantly augmented and you have grown ever dearer to me. But all that is as nothing by comparison with the admiration aroused by your heroic and ineffably magnanimous letter—not only in myself but in all those who have read it—Nim, Tussy and Schorlemmer. Having just been dealt the most terrible blow a woman can possibly receive—at that very moment you muster sufficient aplomb to release the man whose hand was, after all, responsible for dealing the blow. And to relinquish such a noble-minded woman after five years—one's mind reels!

You say there can be no question of guilt on Karl's[a] part. Very well, you are the best judge of that, but it does not entitle the rest of us to do *you* an injustice. You speak of a divorce as the only possible solution, your characters being what they are. But if your characters had really been incompatible, this must needs have been apparent to us too and we should have long anticipated a divorce as something both natural and unavoidable. But let us suppose it to have been a case of true incompatibility. Karl had wooed and won you in defiance of his family and yours, he knew what you had given up for his sake and, so far as we could tell, lived with you happily for five years. That being so, he should not have allowed himself to be flummoxed by what, to use your own expression, was a momentary unpleasantness. And if he was driven to take so extreme a step by a new and sudden onset of passion, he ought not to have taken that step impetuously, and should above all have avoided the remotest semblance of doing so under the influence of those who had objected to his union with you and who, perhaps, have not altogether forgiven you for becoming his wife.

Of Karl you say that, in the absence of love or passion, his personality would go to pieces. If one of the traits of that personality is to require a new love every few years, he would surely be the first to admit that, in present-day circumstances, a personality of this kind has got to be kept in check if it is not to involve him and others in one long series of tragic conflicts.

So much, dear Louise, I feel it behoves me to say. Apart from anything else, our social conditions are such as to make it positively easy for a man to do a woman a gross injustice, and how many men are there

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[a] Karl Kautsky

who can absolve themselves from all guilt in this respect? 'Go! You are not worthy of women!' as one of our greatest men once said, with a knowledge born of experience. And in reading your letter I could only re-echo his words.

We cannot get the business out of our minds. Nim and I constantly revert to it as to something incomprehensible, impossible. One of these mornings, I told her, Karl will wake up as if out of a dream to find that he has committed the greatest folly of his life. And this is what seems to be actually happening if, as he wrote and told Ede, his new love has left him after having, within the first five days, fallen in love with his brother Hans and become engaged to him.

We had all of us so much looked forward to seeing you here again and had been correspondingly cast down when we heard through Percy while in New York that you and Karl would be staying in Vienna for the winter. But neither Nim nor I can really take in the fact that we shall never see your dear face in this house again. Yet who knows what may not happen? Who knows whether, one of these days, you may not be sitting in the same old chair where you have so often sat before? Whatever happens, of one thing I can be sure—your courage will help you to overcome all difficulties and to emerge victorious from every struggle. My own and Nim's most cordial good wishes go with you. What we can do for you, we shall gladly do—we are at your beck and call and, should fate ever bring you here again, you must in all circumstances regard this house as your own.

Yours, from all our hearts

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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Published in English for the first time

## 143

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 13 October 1888

My dear Laura,

At last. The heap of letters which Paul foresaw would meet me here and which was indeed frightful, is mostly brushed away and I can sit down to write to you a few lines.

And to begin with, a bit of gossip. When we arrived, the first news Nim told us, was that Kautsky and his wife were going to be divorced, that Kautsky had fallen in love with a girl in the Salzburg Alps, informed his wife of the fact, and Louise had set him free as far as she was concerned. We were all thunderstruck. However, a letter from Louise to me—a really heroic letter—confirmed the news, and with a generosity beyond all praise even acquitted Kautsky of all blame. We all of us here were very fond of Louise and could not make it out how Kautsky could be such a fool—and such a mean one; except that an intrigue was at the bottom, planned by his mother[a] and sister[b] (who both hated Louise) and that he had fallen into the trap. This seems indeed to have been the case, from all we can learn. The girl is a *Bezirksrichter*'s[c] daughter, longing evidently for a husband and especially for one who will take her to Vienna. Kautsky flirted with her while his wife was in Vienna nursing her sick mother; and one fine morning the discovery was made that neither could live without the other—the sister, of course, working both puppets behind the scenes, while the mother pretended not to see anything. Well, Kautsky came here, told Bernstein, sold his furniture, took his books with him and returned, with his younger brother Hans, to St Gilgen near Salzburg, the scene of the above drama. When the youthful Bella (such is her name) saw the equally youthful Hans, a *flotter strammer Bursch*,[d] she at once discovered that she had, in Karl, really loved Hans alone, and Hans reciprocated with the alacrity becoming to a young Viennese; within five days they were engaged and Karl found himself between two stools of his own setting. Karl in his generosity has

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[a] Minna Kautsky – [b] Minna Kautsky – [c] district judge – [d] jolly smart fellow

forgiven both, but the old mother fumes and threatens to forbid the young woman her house—and this throws a peculiar light, or rather shade, on her pretended innocence of the affair.

Of course, now Kautsky discovers at once that he has lived unhappily with Louise for the last 12 months (that is since his mother and sister were here and spent a month with them at the Isle of Wight) and Ede Bernstein will also have noted some disharmony when he came from Switzerland. This is all the more curious that during this time when he could not agree with her, we all here liked her all the better, the longer we knew her; which proves that she is not only a heroic woman, for that she is undoubtedly (and such are certainly not always the best for domestic use), but a woman with whom reasonable people can get on. Well I think and said to Nim: this is the greatest *Dummheit* Kautsky ever committed in his life and I do not envy him the *moralischen Kater*[a] which will be the upshot (*sans calembourg*![b]) of it all.

The matter is up to the present kept quiet. Here only Ede Bernstein and his wife, Nim, and Schorlemmer know about it, also Tussy and Edward, and probably one or two of Louise's and Tussy's common lady friends. How it will all end, I do not know, but I guess Kautsky wishes it was all a dream.

Now to business. Enclosed account of Capital, for the last 12 months, according to which I owe you £2.8s.9d, and as you must be by this time pretty short of cash I add £15—making the cheque £17.8s.9d in all.

Nim informs me dinner is getting ready and so I stop short, using the rest of the page for the account. Love from Nim and your old General.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Received from S. Sonnenschein and Co. for Royalties July 1887–June 88 | | £12.3.9 |
| 1/5 Longuet's children | £ 2.8.9 | |
| 1/5 Laura Lafargue | £ 2.8.9 | |
| 1/5 Tussy ..... | £ 2.8.9 | |
| | £ 7.6.3 | |
| Remainder 2/5 for the Translators – | £ 4.17.6 | |
| of which Sam Moore 3/5 | £ 2.18.6 | |
| E. Aveling 2/5 | £ 1.19.– | |
| | £ 4. 7.6[c] | |

[a] moral hangover – [b] no pun intended – [c] should be: £4.17.6

Meissner's account I have not yet received.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

Reproduced from the original

## 144

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[211]

### IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 15 October 1888

Dear Sir,

I was prevented from replying to your kind letters of 8/20 January and 3/15 June—as also to a great many other letters—first by a weakness of my eyes which made it impossible for me to write at my desk for more than two hours a day, and thus necessitated an almost complete neglect of work and correspondence, and second by a journey to America during August and September from which I am only just returned. My eyes are better but as I now shall take in hand Volume III[a] and finish it, I must still be careful not to overwork them, and consequently my friends must excuse me if my letters are not too long and not too frequent.

The disquisitions in your first letter on the relation between rate of surplus value and rate of profits are highly interesting and no doubt of great value for grouping statistics; but it is not in this way that our author[b] attacks the problem. You suppose, in your formula, that every manufacturer keeps all the surplus value, which he, in the first hand appropriates. Now upon that supposition, merchant's capital and banker's capital would be impossible, because they would not make any profit. The profit of a manufacturer therefore cannot represent *all* the surplus value he has extracted from his workmen.

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[a] of *Capital* – [b] Karl Marx

On the other hand, your formula *may* serve to calculate, approximately, the composition of different capitals in different industries, under the rule of a common and equal rate of profit. I say *may*, because I have not at this moment materials at hand from which to verify the theoretical formula established by you.

You wonder why in England political economy is in such a pitiful state. It is the same everywhere; even classical economy, nay, even the most vulgar Free Trade *Hausierburschen*[a] are looked upon with contempt by the still more vulgar 'superior' beings who fill the university chairs of economy. That is the fault of our author, to a great extent; he has taught people to see the dangerous consequences of classical economy; they find that *no* science at all, on this field at least, is the safe side of the question. And they have so well succeeded in blinding the ordinary philistine, that there are at the present moment four people in London, calling themselves 'Socialist'[302] who claim to have refuted our author completely by opposing to his theory that of—Stanley Jevons![215]

Paris friends insist upon saying that Mr Mutual[b] is not dead;[216] I have no means of testing their information.

I have read with great interest your physiological observations upon exhaustion by prolonged labour time and the quantity of potential energy in the shape of food required to replace the exhaustion. To the statement of Ranke quoted by you[c] I have to make a slight exception: if the 1,000,000 kgmetres in food merely replaced the amount of heat and mechanical work done, it will still be insufficient, for it does not then replace the wear and tear of muscle and nerve; for that not only heat-producing food is required but albumen and this cannot be measured in kgmetres alone, as the animal body is incapable of building it up from the elements.

I do not know the two books of Ed. Young and Phil. Bevan,[d] but there must be some mistake in the statement that spinners and weavers in the Cotton Industry in America receive $90–120 a year. That represents $2– a week,—8/– sterling, but in reality equals, in purchasing power, less than 5/– in England. From all I have heard, the wages of spinners and weavers in America are nominally higher but in reality only

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[a] peddlers – [b] Hermann Lopatin – [c] J. Ranke, *Grundzüge der Physiologie des Menschen mit Rücksicht auf die Gesundheitspflege und das praktische Bedürfniss des Arztes*, Leipzig, 1868 – [d] Ed. Young, *Labor in Europe and America . . .*, Washington, 1875; G. Ph. Bevan, *The Industrial Classes, and Industrial Statistics*, London, 1876

fully equal to those in England; that would make them about $5-6 a week, corresponding to 12/– to 16/– in England. Remember that spinners and weavers now are all women or boys of 15-18 years. As to Kautsky's statement, he made the mistake of treating dollars as if they were pounds sterling; in order to reduce them to marks, he multiplied by 20 instead of by 5, thus obtaining fourfold the correct amount. The figures from the Census (*Compendium of the 10th census of the United States*, 1880, Washington, 1883;[a] p.1125, specific Cotton Manufacture) are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Operatives and officers | 174,659 |
| Deduct clerks, managers etc. | 2,115 |
| | 172,544 operatives |
| (Men 59,685 (over 16 years) | |
| boys 16,107 (under 16 years) | |
| women 84,539 (over 15 years) | |
| girls 13,213 (under 15 years)) | |

172,544, total wages $42,040,510 or $243.06 per head per annum, which agrees with my estimate given above, as what the men get more will be made up by what girls and boys get less.

To prove to you to what depths of degradation economical science has fallen, Lujo Brentano has published a lecture on *Die Klassische Nationalökonomie* (Leipzig, 1888), in which he proclaims: general or theoretical economy is worth noting, but special or practical economy is everything. Like natural science (!), we must limit ourselves to the *description* of facts; such descriptions are of infinitely higher value than all apriori deductions. 'Like natural science'! That is *impayable* in the century of Darwin, of Mayer, Joule and Clausius, of evolution and the transformation of energy!

Thanks for the No. of *Russkiye Vedomosti* with the interesting article on the interference with the statistical work of the Zemstvos. It is a great pity that this valuable work should be interrupted.

Very sincerely yours
P. W. Rosher[39]

First published, in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 2, 1908

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[a] *Department of the Interior, Census Office Compendium of the Tenth Census* (June 1, 1880), Washington, 1883, pp.1-2

## 145

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN VIENNA

London, 17 October 1888

Dear Kautsky,

In reply to your letter, I can only begin by repeating what I have already written and told Louise,[a] that my mind reels at the thought of what has happened between you two. If there had been any serious discord, this must have been apparent, however slightly, to us over here, particularly when you were at Dodwell with the Avelings. But no one noticed a thing—except Ede.

You yourself say that Louise likewise refused to admit as much and, in view of the remarkable magnanimity of which she has given proof throughout, I can only assume that she feels and believes what she says. However, it could be that you are both right. According to you, your dissatisfaction began over a year ago. That takes you back more or less to your time in Ventnor. Your relations never approved of your marriage. From my experience of my own family I know how difficult and, for a time, impossible, it is for parents to do justice to a daughter- or son-in-law who has come into the family against their wishes. For all that, the parents are conscious of having the best of intentions, the only result of which is, as a rule, to pave the streets of hell for their son- or daughter-in-law and, indirectly, for their own child. Every husband has something to criticise in his wife, and vice versa; that is as it should be. But as a result of well-meaning *Ingerentz*[b] by third parties, this critical attitude may be exacerbated to the point of resentment if not lasting discord. If this is what has happened in your case, you are both of you right: Louise in saying that there is no cause for discord between you, you in saying that your relationship is, in fact, discordant.

But if the discord—no matter what the reason for it—was so grave that you seriously contemplated divorce, what you should have borne in mind above all was, I should say, the differing status of husband and wife in present-day conditions. No social stigma whatever attaches to the

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[a] See this volume, pp.223-5 – [b] intervention

husband as a result of divorce; his position in life remains intact and he simply reverts to bacherlorhood. The wife loses her status altogether; she has got to begin all over again and do so under more difficult circumstances. Hence, if a wife speaks of a divorce, the husband may beg or implore or do anything else he likes without demeaning himself, whereas if the husband so much as hints at a divorce, the wife, if she has any self-respect, is all but compelled to take him instantly at his word. It follows that only in an extreme case, only after mature reflection and when he is absolutely clear in his mind as to its necessity, should the husband take this extreme step, and then only in the most considerate manner possible.

Again, profound discord cannot occur without both parties being aware of it. And you know Louise well enough to realise that in such an event she would have been the first to release both herself and you. If, however, you were intent on making the first move, then surely you owed it to Louise to do so while in full command of your faculties and not in a state of euphoria such as you were in at St Gilgen, and which was destined to evaporate so soon.

Enough. As I have said, the thing's utterly inconceivable to all of us except Ede. While you were becoming dissatisfied with Louise, she was acquiring one friend after another here, and we were growing fonder of her every day, and envying you for being married to her. And I still maintain that this is the silliest thing you have ever done.

You say you think that you'll have to stay in Vienna. Of that you are, of course, the best judge. In your place I should feel impelled to withdraw for the time being into relative solitude, away from all the interested parties, in order to get a clear idea of the nature and implications of what has happened.

And that's enough of that. Your news about the state of the party in Austria is not particularly edifying, although hardly unexpected. Strife between nationalities is still too deeply engrained, even in the mass of the workers, to permit of a general surge forward, and that will take time. Of the 3 groups you mention, the Alpine provinces hardly come into it—except for Vienna, which I do not count. The chaps in Brno have the great advantage of being an international group. Finally, the bickering about leadership only goes to show—just as it does over here—that the masses as a whole are not yet in process of going over to the party, that everything's proceeding too slowly, which is why everyone tries to put the blame on someone else, while hoping that this or that panacea will produce better results.[303] Your only course is to be patient, and I'm glad that I needn't have anything to do with the business.

I must now get down seriously to Volume III.[a] Otherwise I'd do you something for the *Neue Zeit* about my experiences in America[304]; but I am unlikely to find the time—I have already spent more than a fortnight over correspondence, going through what has come in, etc. My sight has temporarily improved, but what it will be like when I have to go back into harness remains to be seen. I shall be seeing the eye specialist again tomorrow.

Your
F.E.

Fist published in: *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935

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## 146

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

London, 25 October 1888

Dear Bebel,

I have sent you through Schlüter *Der Hülferuf der deutschen Jugend* together with its sequel, *Die Junge Generation*, Weitling's periodical of the forties. Schlüter had got the other stuff and has sent it to you; the *Garantien, Das Evangelium des armen Sünders*, etc.[305]

In my view, it would be better to distinguish between the 3 trends in the German movement during the forties. There is very little connection between them, Weitlingian communism[306] in particular having remained aloof until it fizzled out or its members came over to us—a phase which does not figure in the literature on the subject. As regards the history of

[a] of *Capital*

'true socialism'[307] (Hess up to a point, Grün and a number of other belletrists), the material in the archives[227] is far from complete, and use would have to be made besides of Marx's and my old mss.[a] Which, however, I can in no circumstances allow out of my possession. Again, a great deal of what went on behind the scenes—notably the estrangement between Hess and ourselves—and what cannot be dismissed in a couple of lines, would be indispensable here, and this would mean that I myself would have to go through all the old stuff again. Finally, as regards the third trend—our own—the course of its development can be studied nowhere save in the old mss., while its *outward* history was recorded by me in the introduction[b] to the *Communist Trial*.[c] Weitlingian communism, on the other hand, is a subject all on its own and accounts of it are available in print.

Here it occurs to me that you ought also, perhaps, to have Kuhlmann's book—the prophetic religion that succeeded Weitling in Switzerland and to which many of his followers were converted.[308] I completely forgot to give it to Schlüter.

I enclose a letter from Weitling to Hess (from the archives). It was at a meeting of a small band of close associates that the breach between Weitling and ourselves took place. (An account of the said meeting, written by Annenkov, a Russian who was present, also appeared in the *Neue Zeit* a few years ago.)[309] What happened was as follows: Hess had been to Westphalia (Bielefeld, etc.); the chaps there—Lüning, Rempel *et al*—wished, he said, to put up the money for the publication of our writings.[310] Then Weitling came up with the proposal that his disquisitions re his Utopian system be placed with them forthwith, as also his other great works (including a new grammar in which the dative was abolished as the invention of aristocrats)[311]—things we would have had to criticise and combat the moment the plan came off. The letter shows the distorted form in which our arguments were reflected in Weitling's mind. Everywhere he saw nothing but professional jealousy, nothing but an attempt to suppress his genius, to 'come between him and the sources of money'. But in points 5 and 6 of his resumé the fundamental difference between him and ourselves emerges plainly enough, and that's the main thing.[312]

P. 3, lines 10-12: This refers to our intention of bringing out the great

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[a] K. Marx and E. Engels, *The German Ideology* – [b] F. Engels, 'On the History of the Communist League' – [c] *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*

Utopians in German translation *with critical introductions and notes*—as opposed to the piffling accounts by Lorenz Stein, Grün[313] *et al.* In this poor Weitling sees only unfair competition with *his* system.

P. 3, bottom: E. is Ewerbeck in Paris.

N.B. It finally transpired that Moses[a] had omitted to tell us the essentials, namely that all the Westphalians had offered was to *guarantee other publishers* against the *losses* they might make on our stuff. Moses had led us to believe that they, the Westphalians, would *themselves* undertake publication. As soon as we learnt what the position was, we naturally washed our hands of the whole business; to be writers guaranteed by the Westphalians was something that would never have occurred to us.

The affair of the Kautskys has astonished us all. Louise has conducted herself throughout with exceptional heroism. Kautsky was in a state of complete euphoria but was sadly sobered down when jilted within 5 days by his new beloved, who thereupon got engaged to his brother Hans. Now they both intend to wait and see how things go; the strangest part of it is that Louise is now complaining how unfair we are all being to Karl! I have written and told Kautsky that it's the silliest thing he has ever done and, if Louise thinks this too unkind, I suppose I shall have to return my sword to its scabbard.

I am now working on Volume III of *Capital*. I am still supposed to take great care of my eyes and not write for more than 2 hours daily and that only by daylight. So my correspondence will have to be severely curtailed.

Regards to Singer.

Your

F.E.

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[a] Moses Hess

## 147

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[274]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 24 November 1888

My dear Laura,

I was going to write two lines to Paul just when your letter[a] arrived. I have been busy with a very important chapter in Book III[b] which I have had to re-write entirely, the materials left by Mohr being all in the rought, and as it is a mathematical one, it required much attention.[314] And when one has only two daily fragments of 1½ hours each allowed for work by the doctor, a thing which otherwise could be settled in 14 days takes more than 6 weeks—and so I determined to do it all before I allowed myself any interruption for correspondence. Well, the main portion is finished to-day and so I can just send a line to ask Paul to let me know as usual when he wants any money and I will do what I can.

As soon as my chapter is definitely got rid of, I shall write again—I have such a lot of letter-debts!—in the meantime hope to get the *Figaro* to-night, so far it has not come. The position in France seems indeed very curious—our friends have allowed themselves by their hatred of the Radicals[200] to take Boulanger too little *au sérieux* and find now that he is a real danger[137]—anyhow he has the lower ranks of the army on his side and that is a power not to be disdained. And anyhow the way the fellow not only accepts but courts the support of the monarchists makes him more contemptible in my eyes than even the Radicals. Let us hope that the conscious breaches of logic committed by all parties—but then one must not forget that the form of all unconscious development is the *Negation der Negation*,[c] the movement by contrasts, and that this in France means Republicanism (or respectively Socialism) and Bonapartism (or Boulangism). And Boulanger's *avènement*[d] would be a European war—the very thing most to be feared.

Ever yours
F. Engels

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[a] of 5 November 1888 – [b] of *Capital* – [c] negation of the negation – [d] accession to power

Pumps' boy has had to be transformed into a Jew last Wednesday—let Paul pronounce his blessing on his favourite operation![315] He is getting better. Nim had a severe cold, home-bound nearly 3 weeks.

First published in full, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956 and, in Russian, in *Istorichesky arkhiv*, No. 2, 1956

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## 148

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 4 December 1888

My dear Lafargue,

I have just finished editing a very important chapter in Volume III,[a] a chapter Marx left uncompleted—and a mathematical chapter at that,[314] in order to cope with it I have had to set aside all other occupations, notably letter-writing. Hence my silence.

Bernstein has sent your article to Bebel to find out what he thinks of it. As for me, my advice to you would be to withdraw it. The things you say in your historical introduction are common knowledge and we are all of one mind about them. But when you come to the Possibilists,[19] all you do is to say they've sold themselves to the government, and this without the slightest proof or even circumstantial evidence. If you haven't anything else to say about them, it would be better to say nothing at all.[316] Had you given an account of all the dirty tricks they allegedly played on the Municipal Council and on the Bourse du Travail[317] affairs, and had then gone on to provide facts and reasons in support of your assertion of their venality, it might have amounted to

[a] of *Capital*

something. But the bald assertion that they sold themselves cuts no ice whatsoever.

Don't forget that, in reply, these gentry will say that you have sold yourselves to the Boulangists. There is no denying the fact that your attitude to Boulangism has done you tremendous harm in the eyes of Socialists outside France.[277] You have coquetted and flirted with the Boulangists out of hatred of the Radicals[200] when you might easily have attacked both, thus leaving no room for ambiguity regarding the independence of your position vis-à-vis the two parties. Nothing forced you to choose between these two sets of nincompoops. You could have cocked a snook at one no less than at the other. But instead, you made much of the Boulangists, you even mentioned the possibility of sharing an electoral roll with them at the next elections—with people allied to the Bonapartists and Royalists, who are certainly no better than Mr Brousse's Radical allies! If you have been seduced by the attitude of the Blanquists[318] who, idealists though they be, are also circumspect in their dealings with Boulanger because of the money received from Rochefort, you ought to have known 'those idealists', since we used to have some in London too.

You say it is necessary for the people to personify their aspirations—if that were true, the French would be Bonapartists from birth, in which case we might as well shut up shop in Paris. But even if you did so believe, would it be reason enough to take the said Bonapartists under your wing?

Boulanger, you say, doesn't want war. What the poor fellow wants is neither here nor there! He has to do what the situation demands, whether he likes it or not. Once in power, he'll be a slave to his chauvinist programme, the only programme he's got, aside from his accession to power. Within less than six weeks Bismarck will have enmeshed him in a web of complications, provocations and frontier incidents, etc. Then Boulanger will either *have* to declare war or else abdicate; have you any doubt what his choice will be? Boulanger spells war, nothing could be more certain. And what war? France allied to Russia, and hence no possibility of revolution; the least movement in Paris, and the Tsar[a] would so arrange things with Bismarck as to stifle revolutionary ardour for good and all; worse still, once war had been embarked upon, the Tsar would be absolute master of France and would impose on you what

[a] Alexander III

government he chose. Hence to throw yourselves into Boulanger's arms out of hatred for the Radicals is one and the same thing as throwing yourselves, out of hatred for Bismarck, into the arms of the Tsar. Is it really so difficult to make yourself say that they both of them stink, as Queen Blanka says in Heine[a]?

I don't know what Liebknecht may have done about the Possibilists. Whatever the case, I feel sure that our party in Germany could hardly bring itself to attend the Possibilist congress[319] and, if it did, this could only be as the result of grave mistakes on your part. But do not forget that the Possibilists have succeeded in posing as the official representatives of French socialism, that they are recognised as such by the English,[269] the Americans and the Belgians, that they fraternised at the London Congress[320] with the Dutch and the Danes because you, having abdicated, were not represented there. If you do nothing in the way of advertising and preparing for your 1889 congress,[321] everybody will attend that of the Broussists, there being no following for those who abdicate. So advertise your congress, make a bit of to-do in the socialist press of all countries, so that others may realise that the little chap's still alive and kicking. And if your Troyes[322] Congress is successful—and succeed it must, for otherwise your party will be done for—beat the big drum, have a central committee that bestirs itself and to which people may refer and, if possible, have a little weekly paper which will give the world proof of your existence. *And make a clean break with the Boulangists, otherwise no one will come.*

Circumstances permitting, Liebknecht will have his congress—any old congress—provided he himself is there. And if your congress seems to him to offer little chance of success, he'll go to the Possibilist one. I'll do what I can to see that others are informed; Bebel already has been, by Bernstein, who will himself write about the Possibilists in the *Sozialdemokrat*.[b] But he hasn't the power to bind the Party.

Has Liebknecht been in touch with you, and what did you reply? That's what I must know if I am to act in accordance with the facts.

Last Sunday Anseele and Van Beveren came to see me, and who do you think was with them? Adolphe Smith-Headingly! Needless to say, I lost no time in showing him the door. Can you imagine such impudence!

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[a] H. Heine, 'Disputation', *Romanzero* – [b] See E. Bernstein, 'Boulanger's Sieg in Paris', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, 3 February 1889

Percy's affairs are going rather badly here; I shall not be able to see how it will all turn out until the end of the year, but 1889 is likely to be pretty revolutinary so far as my finances are concerned. In the meantime I am sending you a cheque for £15 to keep your heads above water.

My love to Laura. Nim has had a bronchial cold which she has at last shaken off, after three weeks.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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## 149

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[49]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 15 December 1888

In haste: You might tell Speyer that Lessner has found his sister-in-law. His people are still living in the old house and the woman has promised to write to the Speyers straight away. However, I did not wish to delay sending you this information.

Volume III[a] is proving more of a handful than I had imagined. I have had to recast the whole of one chapter from the existing material and there's another, of which only the title exists, which I am having to produce myself.[323] However it's going ahead and will cause much surprise among their worships the political economists. My eyes are better and I still feel five years younger than I did last July. Regards to your wife.[b]

Your
F. E.

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[a] of *Capital* – [b] Katharine Sorge

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and, in full, in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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## 150

## ENGELS TO F. WALTER

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

London, 21 December 1888

Mr F. Walter
47 Marshall Street, Golden Sq., W

Dear Mr Walter,

The first time you wrote to me I knew nothing about you and hence could take no more account of your letter than of the many others on a similar subject which I receive from strangers.

You now refer to Most from which I must conclude that you belong to the anarchists. But as long as the weight of the anarchists' attack is directed at our embattled party in Germany rather than at the common enemy, my resources will be devoted to the victims of persecution at the hands of the German governments, and it cannot be expected of me that I should support people who maintain a hostile stance towards my friends and party comrades in Germany and elsewhere.

In no circumstances would I be capable of getting the broker out of your house.

If, however, I should be mistaken about your political affiliations, you will have no difficulty in establishing your bona fides with my old friend Lessner, 12 Fitzroy St, in which case I shall be happy to do some-

thing for a *genuine* member of the party, although the settlement of a debt such as yours would be far beyond my means.

Yours very truly

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# 1889

## 151

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[324]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 2 January 1889

My dear Laura,

All our best wishes for the New Year to yourself and Paul!

We got into it in a very queer way—we went as usual to Pumps' in a cab, the fog was thickening—in Belsize Road we stuck fast—the man had to lead the horse; by and bye that was not sufficient; a man with a lantern took hold of the horse and led; after a full hour's drive in the dark and cold we arrived at Pumps' where we found Sam Moore, Tussy and the Schlüters (Edward never turned up) and also Tauscher. Dinner of course was an hour late in consequence of our adventure. Well, it got blacker and blacker, and when the New Year came, the air was as thick as pea-soup. No chance of getting away; our cabman, ordered for one o'clock, never arrived, and so the whole lot had to stop where they were. So we went on drinking, singing, card-playing and laughing till half-past five, when Sam and Tussy were escorted by Percy to the station and caught the first train; about seven the others left, and it cleared up a little; Nim slept with Pumps, Schorlemmer and I in the spare bed, Percy in the nursery (it was after seven when we went to sleep) and got up again at out 12 or 1 to return to Pilsener etc.; the sun shone brightly on a beautifully frozen ground. The spree agreed with all of us most amazingly and none of us is any the worse for the bout. The others drank coffee about half past four, but I stuck to claret till seven.

I am glad to hear that the Boulangitis was a personal affection of Paul's though the *Parti ouvrier* pretends that Guesde and Deville have given in to him.[325] What you say about the Possibilists we are perfectly agreed on,[326] but I was bound to place before you and Paul

the excuses which Liebknecht and others—for instance the Belgians—may draw from the tender treatment the Boulangists undoubtedly have had from our side. All I insisted on from the beginning, and all Paul declined to let me have, was a clear and unmistakeable assurance that the Boulangists should be treated as bourgeois enemies quite as much as the Cadettists.[327] For under no circumstances could I encourage our German friends to attend a congress the convokers of which had so far forgotten the old traditional policy of the proletariat as to coquet with a bourgeois party, *et encore un parti tel que les boulangistes.*[a]

Well, the impending Paris election must bring our people to their senses—that was my first thought on Hude's death,[328] and indeed the Troyes Congress has taken at least one step in the right direction by proclaiming the necessity of an independent socialist candidature[329] (I hope Vaillant's who seems to me at present the only one to unite a certain number of suffrages, as our own people appear to be quite out of the race at this moment). But no paper says what the other resolutions of the Congress are; there have been individual anti-Boulangist pronunciamentos (though none of Paul's that I saw) but nothing on the part of the Congress officially except the above resolution.

Now Liebknecht will come to Paris about middle of January[330] and I have to write to Bebel in a few days.[b] Therefore if Paul wishes me to act in the interest of their congress, he must enable me to do so by a clear and unequivocal declaration as to what our people may expect of him and the others with regard to the Boulanger mania. And the sooner the better, there is not much time to lose.

I have never doubted the really anti-chauvinist character of the Marxists, but that was the very reason why I could not conceive how they could think of an alliance open or disguised with a party which lives upon chauvinism almost alone. I never asked more than the open acknowledgment that Cadettists and Boulangists, *dass sie alle beide stinken,*[c] surely such a self-understood thing I ought to have had long ago! Also the Troyes resolutions I ought to have.

If there has been an idea of getting some of our people into the Chamber by having them placed on the Boulangist list, that would be far worse than not getting into the Chamber at all. After all, if the poor old

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[a] and, moreover, a party like the Boulangists – [b] See next letter – [c] that both of them stink (Heine, 'Disputation', *Romanzero*)

*Socialiste* had been kept alive somehow or other, we should be better off, I think.

Cunninghame Graham was here last Sunday week—a nice fellow, but always in want of a manager, otherwise brave to foolhardiness, altogether much of an English Blanquist.

Love from Nim, Schorlemmer and myself.

Ever yours affectionately,
F. Engels

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## 152

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

London, 5 January 1889

Dear Bebel,

First of all let me heartily reciprocate your kind New Year's wishes.

Today, fog permitting, I must write to you by request concerning two delicate matters. Both have to do with the fear that Liebknecht might commit the party to a not altogether desirable course when, as has been announced, he visits London and Paris[330] (if he comes *on his own*, that is), nor, in view of his dependence on passing moods (which again is often due to self-deception), can I altogether disagree with the chaps.

In Paris it is a question of the congress or rather two congresses—the Possibilists' and our own, in other words the international congress decided upon at the Trades Unions Congress in Bordeaux in November[331] and again at the Socialist Congress in Troyes.[329] Lafargue is afraid that Liebknecht has had dealings with the Possibilists and that you might perhaps send delegates to *their* congress. I have written and told Lafargue[a] that in my view you cannot possibly do this. The Possibilists, having joined

in mortal combat with our people, the so-called Marxists, have now set themselves up as the one true church which absolutely prohibits any intercourse, any cooperation with the others—Marxists no less than Blanquists—and have formed an alliance with the one true church over here (the Social Democratic Federation[269]), an alliance not the least of whose aims is to oppose the German Party everywhere so long as it refuses to join this unsavoury league and cease associating with other Frenchmen and Englishmen. Moreover, the Possibilists have sold themselves to the present government, their fares, congress expenses and periodicals are paid for out of secret funds, and all this on the pretext of combating Boulanger and defending the republic, hence also France's Opportunist exploiters, the Ferrys, etc., their present allies.[199] And they defend the present Radical government which, in order to remain in office, must do all the Opportunists' dirty work for them, a government which ordered an assault on the people on the occasion of Eudes' funeral[332] and in Bordeaux and Troyes, just as in Paris, is more rabid in its opposition to the red flag than any government before it. To go along with this gang would be a denial of your entire foreign policy to date. Two years ago in Paris the same lot made common cause with the venal English trades unions against the socialist demands[333] and if they took a different stand over here in November,[320] it was because they had no alternative. Moreover, it is only in Paris that they are strong; in the provinces they're a negligible quantity, proof of this being that they cannot hold a congress in Paris because the provinces would either stay away or prove hostile. Nor are they able to hold one in the provinces. Two years ago they went to a little place tucked away in the Ardennes[334]; this year they expected to find accommodation in Troyes, where several of the labour town councillors, having betrayed their class after the election, had joined them. But they were not re-elected and the *comité*—their own *comité*—extended an invitation to *all* French Socialists. Thereupon, dismay in the Paris camp; an attempt to rescind this—in vain. And so they didn't go to their own congress, which was taken over and brilliantly run by our Marxists. What the provincial trades unions think of them can be seen from the enclosed resolution passed at the Bordeaux Trades Unions Congress in November. On the Paris Municipal Council they have 9 men, whose main purpose it is to oppose, on no matter what pretext, Vaillant's socialist activities, to betray the workers and in return to secure not only grants of money for themselves and their supporters but also sole control of the labour exchanges.[317]

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[a] See this volume, p.239

The Marxists, who control the provinces, are the *only* anti-chauvinist party in France; the stand they have taken on behalf of the German labour movement has made them unpopular in Paris, and to send delegates to a congress there that is hostile to these people would be to cut off your nose to spite your own face. They also know how best to comb at Boulanger,[326] who stands for the general feeling of dissatisfaction in France. When Boulanger wanted to hold a banquet in Montluçon, our people took 300 tickets so as to put to him through Dormoy—a most able little chap—some highly categorical questions about his attitude to the labour movement, etc. When the worthy general learned of this, he cancelled the whole banquet.

The fog precludes any further writing today. More in a day or two.

Your

F. E.

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## 153

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

### IN HANOVER

London, 10 January 1889

Dear Kugelmann,

May I reciprocate with best wishes for a very Happy New Year to yourself, your wife and daughter.[a]

I should be amused to see Soetbeer's piece of sagacity[b] if you would be so good as to send it to me; the post office *here* would be unlikely to take exception to the marginal notes; all it bans is anything in the nature of a letter.

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[a] Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann – [b] H. Soetbeer, *Die Stellung der Sozialisten zur Malthus'schen Bevölkerungslehre*, Göttingen, 1886

As regards the French peasants, the thing should be taken *cum grano salis.*[a] The *cultivation* of parcels of land was the rule in France as it was in Germany and Eastern Europe while, so far as *acreage* is concerned, farming on a large scale with corvée labour was relatively rare. As a result of the Revolution,[335] the peasant *gradually* came into possession of his parcel of land, but he often for some time at least remained a nominal tenant (without as a rule having to pay rent). What happened to state-owned land (much of which Napoleon and the Restoration[336] returned to the aristocracy, the other part of it being purchased after 1826 by the aristocracy with the help of the émigré milliard[337]), and how, by 1830, small peasant landownership had reached its highest degree of development, is to be found in Avenel's *Lundis Révolutionnaires* and Balzac's novel, *Les Paysans*. Taine isn't up to much.[b] I haven't read the Schweichel article.[c]

The third volume[d] is going ahead slowly.

My health was given a tremendous fillip by my American jaunt, but my eyesight is still not all it might be—slight but chronic conjunctivitis and increasing myopia in the left eye due to the displacement of the rear wall of the sclerotic as a result of strain. The first duty of a citizen is rest.[338]

Your
F. Engels

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[a] with a grain of salt – [b] H. Taine, *Les origines de la France contemporaine*, t. 1–4, Paris, 1876–1885 – [c] R. Schweichel, 'La Terre', *Die Neue Zeit*, 7. Jg., 1889, H. 1 – [d] of *Capital*

## 154

## ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT[4]

### IN ZURICH

London, 11 January 1889

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your two letters of 5 November and 28/31 December and have followed with much interest the progress of your experimentation with German universities.[339] The domination of the Junkers in alliance with the bourgeois differs from the pre-'48 domination of the Junkers in alliance with the bureaucrats only in having a broader basis. In those days their treatment of Bruno Bauer[295] stirred up indignation throughout Philistia; today, when similar treatment is being meted out to Dühring,[340] and the doors of all the universities are being slammed in your face, that self-same Philistia considers it perfectly right and proper.

You will, in fact, have no other recourse than to take up writing, and for that purpose there is, of course, no better place in the Empire than Berlin. I am glad that you say no more (in your second letter) about your American plans, for you would have experienced a bitter disappointment over there. I can see that anyone subject to the Anti-Socialist Law[52] might think highly of the American-German socialist press, particularly from the viewpoint of a journalist. In actual fact it isn't up to much, either from the theoretical or from the local, American standpoint. The best paper is the *Philadelphia Tageblatt*; the *St Louis Tageblatt* is well-meaning but feeble; the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* is managed in a proper, businesslike way, but is first and foremost a business; the *Sozialist* (New York), the official organ of the German party, is very poor. Just now there is little place in America for theoretical thinkers. The Germans—at any rate in their official organisation—insist upon remaining a branch of the German metropolitan party, look down with a truly Lassallean arrogance upon the 'ignorant' Americans and expect them to join their German party, i.e. place themselves under German tutelage—in short, they behave with sectarian pettiness and bigotry. Further inland things are better, but the New Yorkers still retain the upper hand. I seldom see the *Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung* (now edited by Christensen). In America, in short, the only possible openings are in the daily press, and you would have to be

over there for at least a year in order to gain the necessary confidence and personal insights; in addition you would have to adapt yourself to the prevailing opinions, which are often all the more parochial for the persistence amongst the Germans there of that loutish mentality which, in Germany, has been eradicated by large-scale industry (one of the curious things about America is that what is most antiquated and out of date continues to vegetate happily alongside what is newest and most revolutionary). Things can and will, no doubt, improve within a year or two, but anyone who wishes to promote the scientific side will find a far better prepared public here in Europe.

Incidentally, you will also find that a career as a writer offers ample scope for worthwhile work. You will presumably have access to Braun's *Archiv*,[a] Conrad's *Jahrbücher etc.*,[b] and to Schmoller's collection of papers.[341] For instance, a work on the system of exploitation by middlemen (sweating system)—at least as prevalent in the Berlin garment trade as in that of London, etc.—would be very useful as providing a parallel to the English Report by the Select Committee of the House of Lords[c]—which I will gladly send you if you'd care to have it. Many other types of economic conditions would similarly reward investigation and description, quite aside from actual theoretical works, which might now and then provide relief from the common run of writing. We can discuss this further once you are in Berlin and have started work.

If your experiences (which might well be worth publishing) recall the time of Frederick William IV, those of Hoch hark back directly to the worst period of demagogue-hunting.[342] It must surely be the first time since 1835 that anyone has been refused matriculation because of his political views.

As regards Volume III,[d] Section I (of seven) is ready for the press, and I am busy with II and III, which I hope to finish shortly. The work is more time-consuming that I had thought, and I have to take great care of my eyes. The stupendous fogs in December caused a temporary setback, but now they are better again. On New Year's night we went to Pumps'—we being Schorlemmer, Sam Moore, Tussy and a few of the *Sozialdemokrat* people.[e] She lives 2 miles away and, because of the fog, it took us over an hour to get there. Then it got so bad that no one could

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[a] *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik* – [b] *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik* – [c] First Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Sweating System . . . – [d] of *Capital* – [e] Hermann and Anna Schlüter and Leonard Tauscher

leave. So *nolens volens*,[a] the whole party of us had to go on tippling until day (or rather a pitch black morning) dawned, which we did with much merriment. Towards five o'clock some of us were able to leave for town by the first train; the rest lay down at seven on hastily improvised beds and slept until the first noon of the New Year. *Voilà la vie de Londres*.[b]

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

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## 155

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[343]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 12 January 1889

Dear Sorge,

A very Happy New Year and my most cordial greetings to you and your wife.[c]

Have got your letter of 29 December. I am sorry to hear that you as well as your wife are beginning to find the work a strain. But I hope this is only a passing phase and that you will gradually get used to it. I am well, but during the ghastly December fogs my eyes got rather worse again. I have pretty well sorted that out by taking more exercise and spending more time out of doors.

The chief characteristic of European socialism just now is contentiousness. In France the Possibilists have sold themselves to the government and are using the secret funds to keep their unsaleable news

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[a] willy-nilly – [b] That's London life for you – [c] Katharina Sorge

papers afloat; at the elections on the 27th they will vote for the bourgeois Jacques, while our people and the Blanquists have put up Boulé,[344] of whom Lafargue believes that he will get no more than 16 to 20 thousand votes, and this they regard as a defeat. In the provinces, on the other hand, things are healthier. The Possibilists had convoked *their* congress at Troyes, but cancelled it when the local organisers issued an invitation to *all* Socialists.[322] So only our lot went, proving there that, if Paris was dominated by the Possibilists, the provinces were theirs. Now there are going to be 2 congresses (international ones) in Paris this year—ours and the Possibilists'. The Germans probably won't go to either.

Here in London the tuck[a] of an army of officers *sans* soldiers still goes on. It's like Robert Blum's column of 1849[345]—one colonel, 11 officers, 1 trumpeter and 1 private. Outwardly and before the public they appear to hit it off all right but the cliquishness behind the scenes is all the greater. Every now and again the bickering comes out into the open. Thus Champion, having been thrown out of the Social Democratic Federation,[62] has founded a paper[b] (of which one No. goes off to you this week) and is now attacking Hyndman, but more especially his ally, Adolphe Smith Headingley, who is half French, swears by the Possibilists and is chief mediator in the Hyndman-Possibilist alliance. In the days after the Commune, the fellow was co-loafer[c] of the London *Branche française*[346] by whom we were abused and misrepresented, then ditto of the pseudo-General Council consisting of Jung, Hales & Co. I have evidence that he is still telling lies about us. This lout-interpreter at the international Trades Congress over here had the effrontery to come to my house one Sunday under the aegis of Anseele and Van Beveren[d]; when Schlüter arrives, he will tell you how I sent the fellow packing.

As soon as the working class, as yet only just stirring, really gets under way here, every one of these gentry will be relegated to his level and station—some inside, some outside the movement. It's now at the tooth-cutting stage.

Contentiousness also prevails in the office of the *Sozialdemokrat*. Schlüter will be able to tell you about it. By the way, he is also to some extent party to it and capable of concealing what doesn't suit his book. When I see how badly mismanaged the paper is here at headquarters, I can only admire our workingmen the more for the way in which they counterbalance and neutralise it all.

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[a] here meaning 'farce' – [b] *The Labour Elector* – [c] In the German text *Mitloafer*, a play on the word *Mitläufer* – a political hanger-on – [d] See this volume, p.239

Mother Wischnewetzky is much offended because, instead of paying her a visit at Long Branch, I stayed with you so as to recuperate from my indisposition and get back into shape for the voyage. She seems to have been pained by the breach of etiquette and the want of gallantry towards ladies. However, I refuse to allow these little madams, who clamour for women's rights, to demand gallantry into the bargain—if they want the same rights as men they should submit to being treated as such. She will probably simmer down however.

We spent New Year's Eve with Pumps and, because of the fog, had to stay the whole night tippling there. Tussy only left at 5 a.m. by the first train. She is now staying in Cornwall for a week or two.

Bismarck has been nicely cuffed over the ears by Geffcken and Morier.[347] If the Supreme Court has not yet gone so far as to accept his undergraduate-bully boy's version of the penal code, this is thanks to the singular contempt with which young William[a] lately favoured those gentlemen at Leipzig.

Diplomatic intrigue is at its height. The Russians have received 20 million pounds,[348] in April the Prussians will get their new 8 mm magazine rifle (the 11 mm one—a new version of the Mauser—was utterly unsuitable for war), the Austrians are boasting like mad, claiming to be *prêts et archiprêts*,[b] which proves that they're ready for another drubbing, and in France Boulanger *might* come to the helm. Bismarck's machinations with Salisbury in East Africa[349] have only one purpose, namely to involve Britain so deeply in a joint operation with Germany that, even under Gladstone, it wouldn't be able to draw back. Thus it was definitely against his will that William staged the Morier affair, but it's he who has to carry the can. In short, the situation is becoming critical and *could* lead to war in the spring.

Your

F.E.

Section I of Vol. III[c] is finished, II and III in hand. Seven sections in all.

First published, abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. and F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and, in full, in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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[a] William II – [b] ready and more than ready – [c] of *Capital*

## 156

## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[10]

### IN NEW YORK

London, 12 January 1889

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

No doubt you feel disappointed at my having left America[281] without coming to see you at your sea-side retreat. But I was really too unwell, while in New York, to attempt an excursion of any kind—as you are aware I arrived with a severe cold which Dr Wischnewetzky declared to be bronchitis. This got worse, instead of better, and moreover I got a severe indigestion which made me feel on shore the sea sickness I had not had on the ocean. Under these circumstances, and with a long journey over unknown ground before me, I felt bound to get cured at once and to subordinate everything else to this consideration—I therefore placed myself under the motherly care of Mrs Sorge, did not leave Hoboken for days together, and at last got right again—about the time when we had to leave New York. Had it not been for this, I should certainly have come to pass a day with you; as it was, I had to choose between perfect rest at Hoboken, and an excursion which was almost sure to have upset me for the whole of the journey and maybe laid me up somewhere far out in the country.

The 500 copies[a] from Lee and Shepard have arrived—but too late to be sent out before the Christmas holidays, when nothing but holiday literature is noticed—I have therefore kept them back until now. On Monday the copies to the press will go out and the rest be handed to Reeves. As the boycott of the London Socialists against Marx and myself (exactly like that of English prehistoric old fogies against Morgan)[350] seems still in force, I am curious what the effect will be.

With best wishes for the New Year.

Yours faithfully
F. Engels

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[a] Karl Marx, 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade'

## 157

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 14 January 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Reply from Liebknecht and Bebel after mutual consultation.[351] It would appear that they never had any intention of going to the Possibilist congress direct and without reference to you. But

1) Since the London congress[320] resolved to convene a congress in Paris and entrusted its organisation to the Possibilists, the latter do have certain rights, notably in regard to the nationalities represented in London who concurred with that resolution. (Why, by the bye, have you abdicated so completely and abandoned the field to the Possibilists?)

2) The Dutch have expressly asked that the Possibilists be invited to the congress, making this a condition for their (the Dutchmen's) attendance.

3) And Liebknecht is right when he says that the Germans cannot expose themselves to attack by French workers in Paris—a hazard, he avers, against which you have been unable to give them any sort of guarantee.

Apparently, then, it has been resolved to convene a preliminary conference at Nancy,[352] one delegate per foreign nationality, and one delegate from each of the three French parties—yourselves, Blanquists, Possibilists; also to move that, at the congress, the right to speak be withdrawn from any speaker alluding to the internal affairs of those three parties and to the differences between them. In this way there would be only one congress, at which everyone would be represented.

I don't see how you can turn this down. If it then be seen that you are prepared to act along with everyone else, and that the Possibilists are trying to exclude you, it would be enough to put the Possibilists in the wrong, even in the eyes of the Dutch and Belgians (the Flemings are all right but, where their foreign policy is concerned, they are under the thumb of those false brethren in Brussels of whom you know); if, on the other hand, they accept, you will only have yourselves to blame should you fail to prove to one and all that it is you, and not they, who represent French Socialism.

Here is the text of what Liebknecht says:

'Ich richtete also am Dienstag 8. Januar nach Besprechung mit Bebel eine formelle Einladung an das Blatt[a] (der Possibilisten).[b] Kommt *kein* Delegierter derselben (zur Konferenz) so haben wir freie Hand. Kommt einer oder kommen mehrere, so werden wir schon mit ihnen fertig werden. Fügen sie sich, dann gut. Fügen sie sich nicht, dann sind sie isoliert und werden von uns tot gemacht' . . . 'In jedem Fall sichert die Konferenz das Gelingen des Kongresses und die Lahmlegung der Broussisten.'[c]

If all this is correct, I cannot see that you have cause for complaint; on the contrary, it would provide an excellent opportunity to force the hand of the Possibilists. Before answering, however, I am anxious to ascertain the facts and to hear what you have to say. After consulting your friends, therefore, and after seeking the advice of the Blanquists, do write and tell me what you think about all this; and do it soon, it's urgent.

Give Laura a kiss from Nim and from myself.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (French), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

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Translated from the French

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[a] *Parti Ouvrier* – [b] Engels gives this sentence in a close rendering rather than word for word – [c] 'On Tuesday, 8 January, after discussing the matter with Bebel, I sent a formal invitation to the (Possibilist) paper. Should the latter not send a delegate (to the conference), we shall have a free hand. Should one or several attend, we shall know how to deal with them. If they toe the line, well and good. If they do not toe the line, they will stand on their own and will be wiped out by us.' . . . 'In either case the meeting will ensure the success of the congress and the hamstringing of the Broussists.'

## 158

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN VIENNA

London, 18 January 1889

The proposed discussion with Tussy and Edward[a] cannot take place as they are both in Cornwall and don't intend to return until next week or later. Meanwhile Tussy has already written to tell your wife what she could about the case in point. But however that may be, we've got to get you both back here and no doubt this can be done somehow or other by the spring. Now I must return to my mss.,[a] which I have had to neglect for the past month—on account of the fog and all manner of correspondences to do with the rumpuses in Paris and London. Warm regards to Louise

from your old friend
The General

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## 159

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[211]

IN VIENNA

London, 28 January 1889

Dear Kautsky,

Today I have a proposal to make to you which has Ede's, Gina's[b] and Tussy's blessing.

I foresee that in the most favourable circumstances I shall have to continue to spare my eyes for a very long time if they are to get right again.

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[a] of Volume 3 of *Capital* – [b] Regina Bernstein

And that rules out the possibility, at least for several years to come, of anyone taking down the ms. of Book IV of *Capital*[553] at my own dictation.

On the other hand, I must see to it that not only this but Marx's other mss. remain usable even in my absence. There is no way of my doing so other than by giving coaching in these hieroglyphics to people who can, if necessary, take my place and in any case help me with the editing in the meantime. And for this purpose you and Ede are the only ones I can employ. So for the time being I propose that that is what the three of us should do.

But then the first thing to be tackled is Book IV, and Ede is too preoccupied with the editing of the *Sozialdemokrat* and with the many hold-ups and intrigues that are part and parcel of the shop here. But I imagine that, after a bit of coaching and practice and with the help of your wife,[a] you would in the course of, say, two years, find sufficient time to turn the 750 pages or so of the original (a good part of which will probably be dropped as having been included in Book III[b]) into a legible ms. Once you were able to read the writing fairly well, you could dictate to your wife and then things would go faster.

Now I have worked it out as follows: if, as hitherto, I could dictate to Eisengarten for 5 hours a day, that would take me a year—allowing for interruptions. In return I would have to pay Eisengarten £2 a week—£100. So that is what it would cost me in any event and, if you are prepared to take the work on for that amount, that is what I shall pay. Spread over two years it would mean a payment of £50 each year; should the work go ahead faster, payment would be forthcoming sooner. We here are of the opinion that in these circumstances you might perhaps have no objection to returning. I would suggest that I pay you in quarterly advances of £12.10, for progress would be slow at first and faster later on, and hence there would be no sense in proposing that payments should be related from the outset to the quantity of work done.

Ede simply cannot wait to be initiated in the hieroglyphics. I have in fact some other mss. for him and shall likewise give him coaching, but I told him, of course, that I could only pay one of you and this he readily accepted.

What I have in mind here is the ultimate publication at some later date—though perhaps this won't be possible during my life time—of collected editions of things by Marx and myself, and it is in regard to this

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[a] Louise Kautsky – [b] of *Capital*

particular matter that I would now like to make the necessary provisions. I have also mentioned it to Tussy and we can expect all possible help from that quarter. Once I have got you both to the stage of reading Marx's handwriting well, a heavy load will have been lifted from my shoulders and I shall then be able to spare my eyes without neglecting an important duty, for by that time there will be two people, at any rate, to whom the mss. are no longer a book with seven seals.

Apart from Lenchen, only Ede and Aveling and their wives know of my plan and, if you are in agreement, no one save the two of you need know anything about the details of the affair. It might also provide Louise with a congenial occupation.

So give the matter some thought and, if you agree to it, come over as soon as you can. You'll be able to secure Schlüter's furniture at little cost and at the same time attractive, if temporary, lodgings. Louise will doubtless want to get her course and exams[354] over first, but how that can be arranged is something of which the two of you are better judges than we over here.

Boulanger's election[344] is bringing the situation in France to a head. The Radicals, in their haste to come to power, have made themselves the servants of opportunism and corruption and by doing so have virtually become a breeding ground for Boulangism.[137] But it bodes ill for Paris that in its rage at these goings-on it has cast itself into the arms of a barely disguised Bonapartism. For the present, the only conclusion I can draw from all this is that Paris is renouncing its traditional revolutionary mission. Fortunately the provinces are better. The worst of it is that the danger of war looms ever larger and that Bismarck can now have a war whenever he wants one. He only needs to provoke another Schnaebelé-type incident[99]—which Boulanger won't be able to swallow as Ferry did.

Best wishes to Louise from Nim and myself,

Your

F. E.

Give my regards to those trusty friends who sent me their New Year's greetings, in particular Frankel. You all seem to be going strong again over there.

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## 160

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN LONDON

[London], 31 January 1889

Dear Schlüter,

I had hoped to see you and your wife[a] here yesterday. Did Mrs Bernstein come with you? If so, I hope to see her and you both at my house one evening—Sunday at the latest.

Kindest regards.

Your

F. Engels

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## 161

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[324]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 4 February 1889

My dear Laura,

The news about the *Egalité* (ominous name, *égalité devant la mort*[b] I hope not!) is good news indeed and I await anxiously the results.[355] That the Blanquists would be brought to their senses, as to the extent of their journalistic capacities, was pretty clear—but that this necessary experience would eat up the necessary funds for a paper, was clearer still.

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[a] Anna Schlüter – [b] equality before death

So it's well that another speculative *bailleur de fonds*[a] has turned up. That our people can make a paper a success they have proved at the *Citoyen* and the *Cri* where in both cases other intruders tried to make capital out of our people's success and came to grief. And the composition of the *comité* is in their favour, the Blanquists secure them the majority on economic questions, and the Hovelacque elements will help holding Blanquist madcap notions in check. But how long will these various elements hold together? Anyhow, let us wait till everything is shipshape.

The Boulanger election[344] I cannot look upon otherwise than as a distinct revival of the Bonapartist element in the Parisian character. In 1798, 1848 and 1889 this revival arose equally from discontent with the bourgeois republic, but it took this especial direction—appeal to a saviour of society—entirely in consequence of a chauvinistic current. And what is worse: in 1798 Napoleon had to make a *coup d'état* to conquer those Parisians he had shot down in Vendémiaire;[356] in 1889 the Parisians themselves elect a butcher of the Commune. To put it mildly, Paris has, at least temporarily, abdicated as a revolutionary city; abdicated, not before a victorious *coup d'état* and in the midst of war, as in 1798; not six months after a crushing defeat, as in December 1848; but in the midst of peace, 18 years after the Commune, and *on the eve of a probable revolution.* And when Bebel says in the Vienna *Gleichheit:*

> 'Die Pariser Arbeiter haben sich in ihrer Mehrheit *einfach erbärmlich* benommen — mitt ihrer sozialistischen und klassenbewussten Gesinnung muss es sehr traurig stehn, wenn nur 17,000 Stimmen auf einen sozialistischen Kandidaten fallen und ein Hanswurst und demagog wie Boulanger 244,000 Stimmen erhält'[b] [357]

— Nobody can say that he is wrong. The effect upon our party everywhere has been that if Floquet has suffered a crushing defeat, *so have we.* Cutting off your nose to spite your face is no doubt also a sort of policy, but what sort?

Well, Boulanger is now sure to be master of France unless he commits some egregious blunder, and the Parisians will have their bellyful of him. If the thing goes off without war being brought on, it will be something gained—but the danger is great. Bismarck has every reason to hurry on

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[a] investor (Jules Roques) – [b] 'The majority of Paris workers behaved *downright despicably* – their socialist and class consciousness must be in a sorry state indeed if a socialist candidate only gets 17,000 votes and a clown and demagogue like Boulanger polls 244,000 votes.'

a row, because William[a] is doing his best to ruin the German army by putting his favourites in the places of the old generals, and if he is allowed to proceed, in five years hence the Germans will be led by nothing but nincompoops and conceited jackasses. And how Boulanger, once in power, can outlive the effects of the universal *désillusionnement* which he must produce, without going to a war—that is more than I can see.

In all this mess it is but a poor consolation that the Possibilists have ruined themselves a little sooner than they would have done otherwise. But such as it is, let us rejoice over it. I send you two *Recht voor Allen* in which you see how they are getting treated by the very mass who insisted on their presence at the Congress.[358] Bernstein has given it them this week in the *Sozialdemokrat*[b] too, and even Hyndman has not the courage to stick up for them in *Justice*. To take his revenge, he writes a letter to Bax (5 Canning Road, Croydon) and asks him what it was that he, Bax, said about this point at the office of the *Sozialdemokrat* and what was repeated to me yesterday by Joos (one of the men there). I should be the more glad of this, as Bax was here yesterday too and never mentioned a word *to me* about it—it came out only after he had left. He can tell Bax that I told him so.

Well, I hope the new paper[c] will come out; we must take the situation as it is and make the best of it. When Paul gets to work at a paper again, he will brace himself up for the fight and no longer say despondingly: *il n'y a pas à aller contre le courant.*[d] Nobody asks of him to *stop* the current, but if we are not to go *against* the popular current of momentary tomfoolery, *what* in the name of the devil *is* our business? The inhabitants of the *Ville lumière*[e] have proved to evidence that they are 2 million 'mostly fools' as Carlyle says, but that is no reason why we should be fools too. Let the Parisians turn reactionists if they cannot be happy otherwise—the social revolution will go on in spite of them, and when it's done they can cry out: *Ah tiens! C'est fait—et sans nous—qui l'aurait imaginé*![f]

With Nim's love

Ever yours
F. E.

Doesn't Paul want any cash?

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[a] William II – [b] E. Bernstein, 'Boulanger's Sieg in Paris,' *Der Sozialdemokrat*, 3 February 1889 – [c] *Egalité* – [d] there is no going against the current – [e] Luminary City – [f] Just look! It's done – and without us – who could have imagined it!

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## 162

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN VIENNA

[London], 7 February 1889

Re the ms., there is *absolutely no hurry*.[a] So just do whatever suits you best. For the time being I shall be fully occupied with III[b] (about 1/3 is now done). *L'Égalité* comes out today in Paris as the successor to the *Cri du Peuple*, a *daily*; on it, besides Vaillant and his faction, are Lafargue, Guesde, Deville, perhaps others. Malon will doubtless have to be brought in as well. More anon as regards any other matters; today I simply wanted to get off a prompt reply to your main question.

Warm regards to Louise—also from Nim.

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p.258 – [b] Volume III of *Capital*

## 163

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 11 February 1889

My dear Laura,

Well this *Egalité* anyhow is quite a relief after the dear dull deadly *Cri du Peuple* (*ennuyeux*[a]). The last few numbers of that defunct paper were really crushing. Poor Vaillant who can write a very good article when a critical point has been reached, but who is the last man in the world to spin out yarns by the yard day after day—you actually saw him perspire over his daily task, and it was a desponding sight. The involutions, evolutions and circumvolutions of Longuet in his attempts to set himself right (and at the same time wrong) with his Radical ex-friends are at least amusing, and artistically done.[359] Paul's [article on] night-work is really good; though he might have *tapé un peu plus dur*[b] on Boulanger. Today I had no *Egalité*—perhaps the snow has delayed it. We are six inches deep in it here.

I read your admonition yesterday to Tussy and she pleads guilty. How far she will mind is beyond my cognizance.

Nim was rather out of sorts last week, some sort of derangement of the bowels, but is all right now.

Of *Capital*, III, vol. I finished section IV yesterday—about 1/3 of the whole cubic foot of ms.

In the *Dispatch* I send you please note A. Smith on page 2[c]—full of lies as usual—but it shows what the Possibilists are after. That the Germans are going to their congress is a barefaced lie, and that the Danes, Dutch etc. are, is probably another. Bax told Tussy that Hyndman had sounded him as to what the Germans intended doing in this respect, and Bax asked him: are you then the representative of the Possibilists in London? to which Hyndman said *he was* and in that capacity wanted the information. Whereupon Bax said: then you better write me a letter which I can submit to Engels and Bernstein. There the matter rests at present. But you see how busy they are.

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[a] boring – [b] hit a bit harder – [c] [Ad. Smith], 'The International Workmen's Congress of 1889'

Is Paul going to the Hague 28th inst. (Conference[360])? Bebel and Liebknecht are going, from here perhaps Bernstein, I am pressing him to go.

As to the cash, herewith cheque £20—which I hope will pacify M. Vautour.

Ever yours
F. E.

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## 164

## ENGELS TO JOHN LINCOLN MAHON[130]

### IN LONDON

[London], 14 February 1889

As far as I know G. J. Harney is still in England. Will let you know positively as soon as I can, will try to write to him and ascertain his whereabouts at once. If I can be of any use to Mr. Atherley Jones,[361] shall be glad to see him, am at home almost every evening.

Have not yet had the time to study your programme[131] sufficiently to give an opinion. I am very much debarred from reading by gas by medical orders.

Yours truly
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

Reproduced from the original

## 165

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[362]

### IN VIENNA

London, 20 February 1889

Dear Kautsky,

I return herewith the *Neue Zeit* articles[a] with brief marginal notes. The chief defect lies in the want of good material—Taine and Tocqueville, those idols of the philistines, are inadequate here.[b] Had you been working *over here*, you would have found material of quite a different order—better *secondary* and masses of *primary* sources. Quite apart from the fact that the best book on the peasants, by Kareyev, is in Russian. But if, over there, you can get hold of:

Moreau de Jounès, *État économique et social de la France depuis Henri IV jusqu'a Louis XIV*, Paris 1867, you could profitably read the same.

Section II, p. 3. Here you could do with a clear exposé showing *how* absolute monarchy comes into being as a natural compromise between aristocracy and bourgeoisie and hence must protect the interests of, and share out favours to, either side. To the—politically superannuated—aristocracy falls the share of plundering the peasants and the Exchequer, and of exercising indirect political influence through the Court, the army, the Church and the upper reaches of the administration; to the bourgeoisie, protection by means of tariffs and monopolies, and a *relatively* well-organised administration and judiciary. If you make that your starting-point, much will be elucidated and simplified.

This paragraph also omits all mention of the judicial aristocracy

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[a] K. Kautsky, 'Die Klassengegensätze von 1789. Zur hundert-jährigen Gedenkfeier der grosen Revolution', *Die Neue Zeit*, 7. Jhg, 1889, Hefte 1-4 – [b] H. A. Taine, *Les origines de la France contemporaine*; A. de Tocqueville, *L'Ancien régime et la Révolution*

(*noblesse de robe*)[a] and of lawyers—*la robe*—in general who, in fact, also constituted a privileged estate and wielded considerable power in the *parlements* where, in their *political* capacity as the champions of institutions curbing the power of the Crown, they took a stand against the latter, i.e. sided with the people but were, in their judicial capacity, the very soul of corruption (cf. *Mémoires de Beaumarchais*[b]). What you say further on about this gang will not suffice.

III, p. 49. Cf. Note I from Kareyev herewith.

P. 50 '*this species* of bourgeois' suddenly becomes '*the*' bourgeois *par excellence*, which gives the lie to the dichotomy of the bourgeois class of which you are speaking. Altogether you generalise far too much and this often makes you absolute where the utmost relativity is called for.

IV, p. 54. Here there ought to be some mention of *how* it was that these plebeians, who were *outside* the system of estates and thus more or less disenfranchised or outlawed, arrived in the course of the revolution only by degrees at what you call '*Sansculottism*' (yet another ism!); likewise some mention of the role they played. That would get you over the difficulties on p. 53, which you seek to cope with by means of casual references and veiled allusions to new modes of production. Then it becomes plain that, here as always, the bourgeois were too cowardly to stand up for their own interests, that, from the time of the Bastille onwards, all their work had to be done for them by the plebs, that without the latter's intervention on 14 July, 5/6 October, and right up to 10 August, 2 September, etc., the bourgeoisie would invariably have been defeated by the *ancien régime* and the revolution have been crushed by the Coalition in alliance with the Court, and hence that it was those plebeians alone who effected the revolution;[363] but that this would not have been possible had the said plebeians not put a construction on the revolutionary demands of the bourgeoisie which these did not possess, had they not pushed equality and fraternity to their furthest logical conclusion, thereby standing the bourgeois meaning of those catchwords completely on its head because, if taken to extremes, that meaning in fact turned into its opposite; that this *plebeian* equality and fraternity must have been sheer moonshine at a time when it was a question of producing *precisely the opposite* and that, as always, this *plebeian*

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[a] People whose patents of nobility derived from administrative or legal posts purchased by themselves or their forebears – [b] *Collection complète des Mémoires de Monsieur de Beaumarchais, avec la suite de sa justification*, t. 1-2

construction placed upon the revolutionary catchwords became, by a quirk of history, the most powerful lever in effecting that opposite—namely *bourgeois* equality—before the law—and fraternity—in exploitation.

I would say a great deal less about the modern mode of production. In every case a yawning gap divides it from the *facts* you adduce and, *thus* out of context, it appears as a *pure abstraction* which, far from throwing light on the subject, renders it still more obscure.

As regards the Terror, it was essentially a *military measure*, so long as it had any point. It enabled the class or faction of the class group which alone could secure the victory of the revolution, not only to remain at the helm (the least of their problems once the rebellions had been subdued), but also to ensure that they had freedom of movement, *elbow-room*, and could concentrate their forces at the crucial point, the frontier. By the end of 1793 this last had been pretty well secured; 1794 began well, with the French armies advancing almost everywhere. The Commune[364] with its extremist tendencies became redundant, its pro-revolutionary propagandism became an embarrassment to Robespierre no less than to Danton, both of whom—if each after his own fashion—wanted peace. In this conflict of three elements Robespierre was the victor, but now *the Terror became for him a means of self-preservation* and therefore absurd: when, at Fleurus on the 26th of June, Jourdan laid the whole of Belgium at the Republic's feet,[365] it became unwarrantable; on 27 July Robespierre fell and the bourgeois orgy began.

'Prosperity for all based on labour' is far too definite a way of expressing the aspirations of the plebeian '*fraternité*' of those days. What they wanted no one could say until, long after the fall of the Commune, Babeuf gave it definite form.[366] If the Commune with its aspirations to fraternity came too soon, Babeuf for his part came too late.

P. 100. Beggars—see Note II from Kareyev.[367]

The section on peasants suffers most from the absence of all but the most common sources.

Ranke's howlers are nice![a] in the case of Sybel[b] you unfortunately failed to make use of the Austrian refutations, from which you could have gleaned a good deal about the second partition of Poland,[368] etc., and which, in so far as they are in the *archives*, are certainly available.

As regards Rudolf,[c] history shows that even in Austria feudal licen-

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[a] L. Ranke, *Über die Epochen der neueren Geschichte* – [b] H. Sybel, *Geschichte der Revolutionszeit von 1789–1795* – [c] Rudolf Franz Karl Joseph – [d] Bernstein

tiousness, whereby the prince and his family honoured their female subjects in bestowing carnal favours upon them, gives way to *bourgeois* licentiousness, whereby the bestower of the favour becomes answerable on the duelling ground or in the DIVORCE COURT to the husband or brother, etc., of the person favoured.

My cordial regards to Louise, likewise Frankel, Alder, etc. What is Bardorf doing? One never hears anything of him nowadays.

Hyndman is endeavouring to entice Ede, via Bax, into an alliance with himself and the Possibilists.[19] The silly ass imagines that we carry on in exactly the same way as the London literary cliques, in which alliances are made and broken at will simply because those concerned have no one behind them.

How do you like the *Égalité*'s novel about Rudolf?

Your
F. E.

Note I. *Fourth Estate*

The conception of a Fourth Estate, alongside I, II and III, arose very early in the Revolution. Dufaurny de Villiers' *Cahiers du 4e ordre, celui des pauvres journalièrs, des infirmes, des indigents, etc., l'ordre des infortunés—25 avril 1789* appeared at the very start. But as a rule the Fourth Estate was regarded as consisting of *peasants*. E.g. Noilliac, *Le plus fort des pamphlets. L'ordre des paysans aux États-généraux. 26 février 1789*, p. 9: '*Prenons de la constitution suédoise les quartre ordres.*'[a]—Vartout, *Lettre d'un paysan à son curé, sur une nouvelle manière de tenir les États-généraux*, Sartrouville, 1789, p. 7: '*J'avons entendu dire que dans un pays qui est au Nord ... on admettait aux États assemblés l'ordre des paysans.*'[b]

A few other versions of the Fourth Estate also occur; one pamphlet suggests a Fourth Estate of *merchants*, another, of *magistrates*, etc.

According to Kareyev, *The Peasants and the Peasant Question in France in the Last Quarter of the 18th Century*, Moscow, 1879, p. 327.

Note II. *Beggars*

'Characteristically, the number of the impoverished (*niscich*; *niscyi* means beggar) was highest in the provinces which were considered the

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[a] 'Let us take the four estates of the Swedish Constitution' – [b] 'I have heard told that in a country up in the North ... the Peasants' Estate was admitted to the States-General.'

most fertile; this was due to the fact that there were very few landowning peasants in these areas.

'But let the figures speak. In Argentré (Brittany), out of the 2,300 inhabitants not living by industry or trade, more than half can barely make ends meet, and over 500 people have been reduced to destitution. In Dainville (Artois), 60 families out of 130 are impoverished. Normandy: in Saint-Patrice 400 out of the 1,500 inhabitants, and in Saint-Laurent three-quarters out of the 500 live on alms (Taine). From the *Cahiers*[369] of the Douai *bailliage* we learn that in one village (Bouvignies parish) half of the 332 families live on alms, in another (Aix parish) 65 families out of the 143 are impoverished, in a third (Landus parish) about one hundred out of the 413 are destitute, and so on and so forth. In the Puy-en-Velay *sénéchaussée*, according to the *Cahiers* of the local clergy, 58,897 of the 120,000 inhabitants are not in a position to pay any taxes at all (*Archives Parlementaires de 1787 à 1860*, Vol. V, p. 467). In the villages of the Carhaix arrondissement the position was as follows: Frerogan: 10 well-to-do families (*dostatochnyi*, possessing enough), 10 poor, and 10 destitute. Motref: 47 well-to-do families, 74 less prosperous ones, 64 poor ones and families of day labourers. Paule: 200 households, most of which fully deserve the description of beggars' homes (*Archives Nationales* $B^A$, IV, 17). The *Cahier* of the Marboeuf parish states that out of the 500 inhabitants nearly 100 are destitute (Boivin-Champeaux, *Notice historique sur la Révolution dans le département de l'Eure*, 1872, p. 83). The peasants of Harville village say as many as one-third of them live in poverty for lack of employment ('Requéte des habitants de la Commune d'Harville', *Archives Nationales*).

'In the cities the position was no better. In Lyons 30,000 workmen were destitute in 1787. Paris, with a population of 650,000 had 118,784 indigents (Taine I, [p.] 507). In Rennes 1/3 of the inhabitants lived on alms and another 1/3 were in constant danger of destitution (Duchatellier, *L'agriculture en Bretagne*, Paris, 1863, p. 178). The Jurassian town of Lons-le-Saunier was so poor that, when the Constituante[370] introduced the electoral qualification, only 728 of the 6,518 inhabitants were qualified as eligible to vote (Sommier, *Histoire de la révolution dans le Jura*, Paris, 1846, p. 33). Small wonder, therefore, that during the revolution those living on charity were counted by the million. For instance, a church pamphlet published in 1791 says there were 6 million paupers (indigents) in France (*Avis aux Pauvres sur la rév olution présente et sur les biens du clergé*, p. 15). This is doubtless a some-

what exaggerated estimate, but that given for the year 1774—1,200,000 paupers—perhaps does not fall below the actual figure (Duval, *Cahiers de la Marche*, Paris, 1873, p. 116).'

(I thought you might like to have a few *genuine* examples.)

*Kareyev*, pp. 211–13.

(Should the tone of my notes appear abrupt, this is due to want of time and the narrowness of your margins. Nor did I have the time to consult my sources and had to do it all from memory—hence much is not as clear-cut as I should like it to be.)[a]

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## 166

## ENGELS TO JOHN LINCOLN MAHON[130]

### IN LONDON

[London], 21 February 1889
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mahon,

I had a letter from Harney.[b] He is still at Macclesfield (58 Bridge St.) suffering from his old complaint, rheumatic gout, so badly that he had to *dictate* his letter. He says in his present condition he is

'in no mood to meet people', and, 'as you see, little fitted to write however briefly. But do not think I can be of any service to Mr Atherley Jones in his laudable object and very proper filial duty, that of collecting his father's writings for re-issue'.

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[a] This paragraph is written in pencil in the original – [b] See this volume, p.265

So I must leave you and Mr A. Jones to make the best of it, as far as Harney is concerned.

I *may* have a few odd numbers of *The People's Paper* but, if so, shall not be able to lay my hands on them until I find time for a re-arrangement of my collection of old papers, pamphlets, etc.

Faithfully yours,
F. Engels

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## 167

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[371]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 23 February 1889

Dear Sorge,

Your postcard of 19 January and letter of 10 February received.[372] I take *The Labor Standard* and shall give Mrs Wischnewetzky's articles to Tussy, who will use them, should the 'Labor Movement' happen to be re-issued. The stuff in them is typical of America. Neglect of fire precautions, etc., on that scale simply would not pay in Europe. But it's the same attitude as you take to railroads and everything else; provided only that they *exist*, no matter how, that is sufficient.

Thank you for the item on Appleton.[373] On being approached, Sonnenschein said he had sold 500 copies of the cheap edition to Appleton.

I didn't see *Der arme Teufel*. It is Motteler's favourite reading and that is something no one will begrudge him. Any remarks it makes about Aveling, no matter what they may be, are downright lies.[374]

I shall write and tell Kautsky what you have said about Rappaport.[375] Lack of material and a desire to be versatile mean that many get in who have no business to be there. Kautsky has been in Vienna since July and won't be returning here before July.

I have sent you *The Holy Family* by registered book packet along with some French stuff. *But you mustn't tell Schlüter that I sent it to you*; I had more or less promised him my spare copy for the archives[227] before my trip to America, but you come first. It will probably arrive in March or April.

In addition to this—all of them by today's post—there's a further parcel of French stuff as well as *Commonweal* and *Gleichheit*. Lafargue's and Deville's lectures[376] are no longer to be had here and I can't get a reply out of the authors. However I keep pegging away at them.

You will have received the copies of the *Égalité*. The Blanquists have had no luck with their *Cri du Peuple*; having bored people to tears, they found themselves compelled to join forces with Guesde, Lafargue, etc. (which Vaillant wanted to do from the beginning but was outvoted). In addition there are a few discontented Radicals. Up till now they have all got on well together—let's hope it will remain so. Some more copies will go off shortly.

During the latest election in Paris the Possibilists thoroughly disgraced themselves and actively supported the Opportunist Jacques.[344] The workers are now beginning to desert them. In the provinces, which are far better than Paris, they have lost all support. Their attempt, with the help of the English Trades Unions and of Hyndman, their trusty ally over here, to arrange an international congress in Paris *without* our Frenchmen but with the Belgians, Danes, Dutch and hence, or so they hoped, the Germans as well, is proving an ignominious failure. The Germans say they will not attend *either* congress if 2 of them are held in Paris. And both parties have been summoned to a conference at The Hague on the 28th of this month[360]; of the Germans, Liebknecht, Bebel and Bernstein will be there, and so will the Dutch and Belgians. Lafargue is going. So they must either eat humble pie or face universal opposition.

In Germany things are getting more and more confused. Now that old William[a] is dead and Bismarck is tottering, the philistines have lost all confidence in the wielders of power. That vain young fool,[b] the new, greater version of Old Fritz[c] (*pour rire*[d]) wants to be Emperor and

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[a] William I – [b] William II – [c] Frederick II (Frederick the Great) – [d] in jest

Chancellor in one; the arch-reactionaries, priests and Junkers at court are doing their utmost to incite him against Bismarck and to bring about a clash—and meanwhile little Willie is pensioning off all the old generals and replacing them with his favourites. Another three years and the commands will all be in the hands of impudent coxcombs and the army will be ripe for another Jena.[377] Bismarck knows this and that is what might induce him to embark on a quick war, especially if that vagabond Boulanger gets to the top. And then we'll have a pretty state of affairs: an alliance between France and Russia which will completely *rule out any revolution* in France, for otherwise Russia will turn against her. But I hope it blows over.

Warm regards to your wife.[a]

Your
F. E.

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## 168

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 12 March 1889

My dear Lafargue,

The Possibilists have behaved just as they should—both as regards themselves and as regards us.[378] I was afraid they would accept—with reservations which, though apparently insignificant, would have been enough to bedevil the whole issue. Fortunately they appear to be too

[a] Katharina Sorge

much committed to the course already embarked upon—the financial exploitation of their position on the Municipal Council. This time they have dealt themselves the *coup de grâce*.

As for the Municipal Council's 50,000 frs, they will probably get them, you cannot prevent it. Let them use the money for their congress—what does it matter? Not all the money in the coffers of the Municipal Council of Paris would suffice to manufacture a socialist congress, except as a joke.[379]

The Germans have made concessions enough and are unlikely to make any more. The Dutch have been subjected to direct attack by the Possibilists, the Swiss and the Danes are following the German lead and the Belgians are divided, for while the Brussels people are, as you say, Possibilists at heart, the Flemings are very much better, and all that is wanted is to extricate them from the Brussels sphere of influence. Up till now they have left their foreign policy entirely in the hands of the Brussels people, but this time we may well see a change.

It is a great misfortune that you should be without a paper at this vital juncture. M. Roques is an idiot and is simply throwing his money down the drain. The present editors will cost him ten times the 35 frs a day on account of which he has let go the only editors who might have made a success of his paper.[380] But that does not alter the fact that this business has happened at the most inopportune moment.

If you have invited the League[21] to the conference without also inviting the Federation,[62] as I can only conclude from your letter,[a] it was a mistake on your part. Either both should have been invited, or both should have been left out. In the first place, the Federation is indubitably more important than the League and, in the second, it gives them an excuse to say that the whole conference has been arranged without their knowledge. Hyndman, face to face with all of you, couldn't have done the least harm—quite the contrary and, although he claims to represent the Possibilists over here in matters connected with the congress, he has not dared of late to stand up for them in his paper,[b] but rather has rapped them over the knuckles, if very gently. And Bernstein, who is aware of all this, would have kept him within decent limits. However, it was the Germans who were to convene the conference and, as always, Liebknecht acted—or refrained from action—in response to some passing whim.

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[a] Lafargue's letter to Engels of 5 March 1889 – [b] This refers to the items 'A Plea for Harmony' in *Justice*, Vol. VI, No. 268, 2 March 1889, and 'The Old Ruinous Game' in *Justice*, Vol. VI, No. 269, 9 March 1889

I am forwarding your letter to Bernstein so that he can use it for the issue of the paper[a] due to appear on Thursday.[381] I must also send a letter to Liebknecht by this post and so will break off. I enclose herewith a cheque for £20, which I hope will relieve you of your difficulties for the time being.

Give Laura a kiss from me. I hope she has got rid of her cold.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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## 169

## ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT

### IN BERLIN

London, 12 March 1889
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Dr Schmidt,

You must excuse me for being unable to reply to your note of the 5th inst. Until today. I have had a family over here from Germany on a visit and there hasn't been a moment to spare.

So your academic adventures have been followed by adventures with the press.[382] It's just like it was between 1842 and 1845[383] and you'll now have some idea of how we fared then. However, we have made a bit of progress since that time and the tricks played by the world of officialdom today, even though they may be quite as beastly as they were then, are no longer so far-reaching.

If you approach Meissner, don't hesitate to refer him straight to me, and if he sends me an inquiry, I shall gladly do whatever I can. But I

[a] *Sozialdemokrat*

know that he usually rejects pamphlets on principle and it wouldn't surprise me if that is the reason he will give.

However, I have yet another suggestion: You should write and ask Karl Kautsky, whom you know, of course, from the time you were both over here—Igelgasse 13/I, Vienna IV—whether he cannot arrange for Dietz in Stuttgart to take the piece. Or again to Dr H. Braun, Munich, to see whether he can suggest a publisher.

If you would like me to send you an introduction to Bebel, Liebknecht or Singer while the Reichstag is in session, you are very welcome to one.

If the thing isn't too long, Kautsky might possibly take it for the *Neue Zeit*.[384]

So you too live in the Dorotheenstrasse—I myself lived there in 1841[191] on the south side, a bit to the east of the Friedrichstrasse—it will all have changed a great deal by now.

I was also glad to get your note of 18 January. I trust the plan you outlined in it to live by your pen will come off. Obviously you will first have to learn the ropes to some extent in this new world and if the gentlemen of the press are of the same breed over there as they are here, you can hardly fail to make a number of unavoidable, if somewhat undesirable, acquaintanceships.

I have taken a look at the Sweating Committee report[a]—there are two fat folio volumes (containing the witnesses' statements) and hardly believe you will feel impelled to work your way through them. However, if you want to take a preliminary look at them, you will find them in the Reichstag library; one or other of the deputies could get hold of them for you, and if you then felt inclined to go into the matter more thoroughly, I should be happy to send them to you.

Meanwhile my sincere regards combined with the request that you send me further news of yourself from time to time.

Yours,
F. Engels

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[a] First report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Sweating System; together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix. Ordered by the House of Commons, to be printed, 11 August 1888, London

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### AT LE PERREUX

[London], 21 March 1889

My dear Lafargue,

You and Bebel are both right and the thing is quite simple.

It was resolved at The Hague[385] that, should the Possibilists not accept the conditions laid down, the Belgians and Swiss *would together take steps* to convene a congress in Paris, and that a *joint declaration* would be made against the Possibilists; the congress would be held by the end of September.

This was resolved—if you were absent—in the presence of Bonnier, who was your interpreter from the German and who should know. The Belgians gave their express consent.

Now, if the Belgians and Swiss take the initiative, *it will be your organisation to which the organisation and all the preparations will be entrusted*, which means that you will be getting everything you have asked for, so do be a little patient.

If your groups prove to be as unreasonable as the Possibilists, it will be their own fault if the whole thing ends up in victory for the latter.

It's a matter of making the Possibilist congress a failure, of which there are good prospects, provided you don't spoil everything by your impatience.

The Possibilists have put themselves in the wrong in the eyes of all the world. Now, mind you don't go and do the same yourselves by appearing to want to lay down the law for the Socialists of other nations.

Either the Belgians must comply or they too will put themselves in the wrong—I would beg you not to provide them with a plausible excuse for extricating themselves from their quandary. Even if the Belgians cannot comply, all will not yet be lost, not in my opinion, at any rate. Always providing you don't spike your own guns by undue precipitation.

That you will not be able to hold your congress on 14 July is beyond doubt, unless you choose to hold it in isolation. I am not arguing about

which date is or is not suitable but, since the matter appears to have been decided at The Hague, there's no changing it, do what you will.

In negotiations one cannot always get one's own way. The Germans for their part have had to concede quite a number of points in order to ensure common action. So accept what is offered you which, in fact, is all you are entitled to ask and which, provided you don't put a foot wrong, will result in international exclusion of the Possibilists and recognition of yourselves as the only French Socialists with whom contact should be maintained.

It was a mistake that you should not have been officially presented with a copy of the relevant resolution taken at The Hague. But, as you are aware, it is not the first case of carelessness at an international conference.

Yours ever,
F. E.

Herewith a copy of *Justice*.

We are preparing a reply in which Possibilists' intrigues[386] will be unmasked to the English. So, as you can see, we are doing everything we possibly can but, if you are as obstinate as the Possibilists, it will be all to no avail.

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Translated from the French

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 23 March 1889

My dear Lafargue,

There is no denying that agreement was reached at The Hague[385] that, should the Possibilists fail to comply, the Belgians and the Swiss, the two neutral nations, should convene the congress; that a *joint declaration*

*against the Possibilists be issued*; and that the congress be convened in Paris for the end of September.

According to what Bernstein tells me, he told you as much, besides which, it seems impossible that something so important could have happened without your knowing anything at all about it. And Bonnier, so Bernstein tells me, was present—even if you were not.

Well, now, if things are to be taken to a successful conclusion, it is absolutely essential that *everyone* abides by what has been resolved.

You can perfectly well leave the initiative of the convocation to the Belgians and Swiss; an international congress can perfectly well meet without its having been convened by the Socialists of the locality where it is to be held. What is certain is that the real business—organisation and preparation—will be in your hands, and this must suffice you. If you ask anything more, you will not have a congress at all and the Possibilists will emerge victorious from the fray. Before the eyes of all Europe they will hold their *own* congress, which will then be *the only international working men's congress of the year.*

If the matter were still open to discussion, I myself would be inclined to share your view that the congress should be held alongside that of the Possibilists, even at the risk of a fight with them. But it was thought fit to hold it in September and resolved accordingly. There is no going back on that and, should you insist, you will hold a congress all on your own, to the glee of Europe and the delight of the Possibilists.

On the other hand, I have written to Bebel telling him he has no right to present you with an ultimatum or to say: if the Belgians go back on their word, we shall be free and will not attend the congress. Also that they, the Germans, are too deeply committed to pull out in such a way, and that a Belgian withdrawal, *should it take place*—and this we cannot tell—would not relieve the others of their mutual obligations. Bebel is a man of great common sense and I have every reason to believe that he will think better of it, provided you do not raise fresh objections and attempt to go back on the resolutions taken once and for all at The Hague.

Things are going admirably and you are the only people who can put a spoke in the wheel.

But even supposing the Belgians were to withdraw—in that event the Swiss would convene the congress on their own and, as they would be acting on behalf of the other nationalities, success would be assured.

But there is only one way in which the Belgians can be relieved of their responsibility or given a pretext for breaking faith and that is for you, the French, to act in contravention of the Hague resolutions and to be the first to do so. If you abide by them, I am pretty sure the Belgians will also assent, in which case the Possibilists will be isolated, which is, after all, the main objective to be kept in view.

Our reply to the attacks in *Justice*[386] (essential, now that the *Sozialdemokrat* has set up in London) has appeared and, at the same time as this, but by book post, I am sending you six copies, of which 1 each for Laura, Longuet and Vaillant. On Monday the thing is going to be disseminated throughout London, handed out at all socialist meetings, and despatched into the provinces. It will, I hope, give the Possibilist gentry and Mr Hyndman something to think about.

You have doubtless seen the attack in *Justice*, which I believe I enclose in my last letter.[a]

Now, let me repeat: Be reasonable, carry out faithfully what has been resolved, do not make it impossible for your best friends to lend you their support, give and take, use the position gained at The Hague for your point of departure, as the first position wrested from the enemy and as a base for future victories. But do not force down the throat of the other nationalities things which they certainly will not swallow. The battle's as good as won, I tell you, and if you were to lose it now, you and you only would be to blame.

Yours ever,
F. E.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1935

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Translated from the French

[a] See this volume, p.279

## 172

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[387]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 25 March 1889

My dear Lafargue,

You speak of a congress in *August*, although you know that the conference[385] resolved to hold it at the *end of September*. I repeat: If you deviate by so much as a fraction of an inch from what was agreed to by everyone at The Hague, you will provide the Belgians with a pretext for withdrawing, and then, as Bebel has told you, everything will be jeopardised. I am quite willing to urge the Germans to put pressure on the Belgians, but I shall do nothing until I know for certain that you, the French, like everyone else, unreservedly assent to the resolutions taken at the conference. Otherwise people will tell me, and with reason: How can you ask us to commit ourselves for the sake of people who do not respect their own commitments?

Either, then, you hold a congress as resolved at The Hague, or you do not hold one at all. And only on the day when I am given the assurance that you Parisians whole-heartedly and unreservedly assent to the resolutions that have been taken, only then shall I feel able to act, and shall act.

It is not a question of deciding which would be better, August or September—that question has already been decided and to raise it again would be to play into the Possibilists' hands.

As for Boulanger, I myself feel pretty sure that you will have to put up with him and that that idiot Rochefort, if he doesn't become a complete scoundrel, may, as a reward for his services, find himself once again in Caledonia.[388] Every now and again the French go through a Bonapartist phase, and the current one is even more shameful than the last. They will pay for the consequences of their own actions—that is the law of history—and the day of reckoning will probably be the centenary of their great revolution.—That is the irony of history. What a fine spectacle it will present to the world at large—France celebrating her revolutionary jubilee by paying homage to an adventurer such as this.

Doubtless he will bleed the big financiers, if only to pay the debts

incurred during his dictatorial campaign and to reward his gang. And the money from the big financiers will not be enough. As Marx said of Boustrapa,[260] he would have to rob France of all her money in order to use that money to bribe the whole of France.[a] And as for you, he will crush you.

As for war, that is, to my mind, the most terrible of eventualities. Otherwise I shouldn't give a fig for the whims of Mme la France. But a war in which there will be 10 to 15 million combatants, unparalleled devastation simply to keep them fed, universal and forcible suppression of our movement, a recrudescence of chauvinism in all countries and, ultimately, enfeeblement ten times worse than after 1815, a period of reaction based on the inanition of all the peoples by then bled white—and, withal, only a slender hope that that bitter war may result in revolution—it fills me with horror. Especially when I think of our movement in Germany, which would be overwhelmed, crushed, brutally stamped out of existence, whereas peace would almost certainly bring us victory.

Nor, during such a war, would France be able to have a revolution for fear of impelling her only ally, Russia, into the arms of Bismarck and finding herself crushed by a coalition. The slightest revolutionary move would be a betrayal of one's country.

How the Russian diplomats would laugh!

Yours ever,
F. E.

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[a] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, present edition, Vol. II, pp.195–96

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 27 March 1889

My dear Lafargue,

You know what Hegel says: Anything that is spoiled is spoiled for the best possible reasons.[a] And your Parisians are going to the greatest pains to prove it.

This is the position:

After the demise of the *Socialiste*[91] your Party disappeared from the international scene. You had abdicated, you were dead so far as the other Socialist Parties abroad were concerned. It was entirely the fault of your workingmen; for they did not choose to read or support one of the best papers the Party had ever had. But, after having killed off your medium of communication with other Socialists, they must inevitably suffer the natural consequences of their behaviour.

The Possibilists, left in sole possession of the battle field, took advantage of the situation you had yourselves created for them. They had friends in Brussels and in London with whose assistance they have presented themselves to the world at large as the sole representatives of the French Socialists. They have succeeded in enticing the Danes, the Dutch and the Flemish to their congress. And you know what trouble we have been to in neutralising the victories they have won.

Now the Germans are offering you an opportunity, not only of re-entering the stage with éclat, but also of seeing yourselves recognised by all the organised parties of Europe as the only French Socialists with whom they wish to fraternise. They are offering you an opportunity of wiping out at one stroke the effect of all the mistakes you have made, and of all the defeats you have suffered, and of rehabilitating yourselves in the position to which your theoretical understanding entitles you, but which has been compromised by your faulty tactics. They are offering you a congress which all the genuine workingmen's parties, *even the Belgian*, will attend, they are offering you a chance of *isolating the*

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*. Theil I. *Die Logik. Werke*, Vol. VI, p.249.

*Possibilists* so that they will have to confine themselves to a *bogus* congress—in other words, they are offering you far more than you had a right to expect, having regard to the position you had placed yourselves in. And then—what do you do? Seize it with both hands? Not a bit of it. You behave like spoilt children, you haggle, you ask for more and, when you have at last been persuaded to assent to what has been agreed by everyone else, you insist on conditions which jeopardise everything that has been gained for you.

So far as you are concerned, what is important is *that there should be a congress* and that it should be in Paris, where you can be acknowledged by all to be the only French Socialist Party to have gained international recognition; also that the Possibilist congress should, for its part, be a *bogus* congress, notwithstanding the éclat deriving from secret funds and the 14th of July.[a] Everything else is of secondary, indeed less than secondary, importance. If you are to be set on your feet again, your congress must be held, no matter if it's a flop in the eyes of the bourgeois public. In order to regain your position in France, what you need above all is international recognition of yourselves and international condemnation of the Possibilists, etc. You are offered it—and all you do is sulk!

As I have already said, I believe your date to be the better one for creating an impact *in France*. But then this should have been explained at The Hague.[385] You can't blame anyone else if, at the critical moment, you went to the next room and everything took place in your absence. And I have conscientiously explained your line of reasoning to Bebel, asking him to give it his serious consideration. However, I felt impelled to add that, in my opinion, the meeting of the congress, on no matter what date, must be assured, and that any move that might jeopardise that meeting would be a false one. You cannot but be aware that, by re-opening the question of the date, we shall all become embroiled in endless discussions and disputes and that we can expect, probably some time towards the end of October, to obtain general assent to the date of 14 July—if, indeed, in the absence of another conference, which will certainly never take place, any new date is agreed at all.

And then, with typically Parisian naiveté, you say: We impatiently await the *fixing of a date for* the international congress! But the date *had been fixed* for the end of September, and it is the same 'we' (who 'await', etc.)—the same 'we' that want to cancel this date and open a

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[a] 14 July 1889 was the centenary anniversary of the capture of the Bastille

fresh debate. 'We' will have to wait until the others have familiarised themselves with the new proposals of these same 'we', have discussed them and have reached an agreement on the matter, if such an agreement is at all possible.

'We also await protests from the Belgians.' But the Belgians will not be the only ones to protest, all are resolved to protest in common. This protest would probably already have been lodged, had you not put everything in question by demanding a change of date. And as long as there is no agreement on this score, nothing will be done.

So accept what is being offered you, it is, in effect, what matters most: *victory over the Possibilists*. Don't jeopardise the holding of the congress. Don't give the Brussels people a pretext for extricating themselves from the business, for tergiversating and intriguing, don't upset afresh what has already been gained for you. You cannot have all you want, but you can have victory. Don't press the Germans, who are doing everything for you, to the point where they might despair of the possibility to co-operate with you. Withdraw your demand for a change of date, act like men, not like spoilt children who want to have their cake and eat it. Without this, I believe, there will be no congress and the Possibilists will jeer at you, and with good reason.

Yours ever,
F. E.

Needless to say, I have written to tell Bebel that you *assent to all the Hague resolutions*, but he will say that, after all this, you are putting everything in question again.

I have not found Bernstein, so shan't be able to send you the addresses of the Swiss before yesterday.

Our pamphlet[386] is beginning to have an effect here.

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[387]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 1 April (St. Bismarck's Day)[389] 1889

My dear Lafargue,

If this business of the congress has done nothing else, it has at least taught me a capital lesson in patience, a virtue in which I can hardly be said to excel. Barely do we succeed in eliminating one difficulty than you conjure up another, and wax wroth about nothing at all. I have again questioned Bernstein, in whose word I have complete faith, and he has again assured me that no resolution of any kind was taken clandestinely in your absence. It is ridiculous to suppose that they were trying to hide something from you. If you did happen to be absent, Bonnier was there and could, besides, understand everything that was said in German. And unless I hear anything to the contrary, I must suppose he was sufficiently in the know to pass the information on to you; if not, what the devil was he doing there? Especially since I have drawn your attention on more than one occasion to the fact that Bonnier was, or ought to have been, exceptionally well-posted, and you have never replied to, let alone contradicted, this.

And what will be the result of this squabbling with the Germans, unless to preclude any sort of congress and to enable Messrs Brousse & Co. to flaunt their victory before the eyes of all the world and his wife.

That the Germans should have no desire to expose themselves to a bout of fistcuffs with Possibilists, aided and abetted as these would be by the police, nor to have their heads broken, as Prussians and Bismarckians, by the Paris riff-raff—valiant as in all big cities when the odds are ten to one—I can readily understand. We know from our experience in Lassallean days how unprofitable hand-to-hand fighting with a rival party can be when that party is in alliance with government and police[390]—and that was on our home ground. You certainly cannot hold it against them if they hesitate to engage in a similar struggle on ground where the mere cry of Prussian, of Bismarck's agent, would be enough to rouse against them an ignorant mob, eager to prove its patriotism at small cost to itself. And although it is my personal belief that the impact of the congress would be far greater in July than at any other time, I have

no right to tell Liebknecht or Bebel that they would not be exposed to such risks, were they to fall in with your plan.

So you can see that in no circumstances is your July congress feasible. The more you insist, the less you will get. You have the majority against you and, if you wish to co-operate with it, you will have to submit. Demand everything and you get nothing, grasp all, lose all. You should remember that, though the Germans, the Dutch and the Danes can get along very well without a congress, *you* cannot. For you, the congress is essential if you are not to disappear for years from the international scene.

If only you had a tiny little paper, as a token of your existence! The most puny party in other countries has its weekly, and you have nothing with which to make your presence felt or to keep you in regular touch with the rest. For you, it was either a daily or nothing at all. Are you going to make the same mistake over the congress?—Either all or nothing? All right, then, it'll be nothing, and no one will ever allude to you again and, six months from now, Boulanger will do the rest and snuff you out, you and the Possibilists as well.

To the best of my knowledge, Antoine[a] never did anything in the Reichstag other than protest. From his own point of view he could do nothing else.

The Radicals are mad. It is the height of stupidity to try and destroy Boulanger by means of a lawsuit[391] and to suppose that the tide of universal suffrage (foolish as this is) will be turned by a political verdict. You will get him all the same, the good Boulanger whom you crave, and the Socialists will be his first victims. For a First Consul has got to be impartial and, for every time he lets the blood of the Stock Exchange, he will place another curb on the proletariat, if only to even things out. If it weren't for war, this new development would be a prize joke, it would soon be over, and then there really would be something to laugh about.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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[a] Jules Dominique Antoine

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## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 4 April 1889

Dear Liebknecht,

Besides your letters to myself, I have before me those to Bonnier and Ede.[392]

From them I see that, as usual, we diverge very considerably as soon as it comes to taking action.

Your 'politeness' *post festum*[a] would now simply make you look ridiculous in the eyes of the English.

Your advice to the French, namely that they might ultimately *arriver à un arrangement quelconque avec les Broussistes*,[b] i.e. deliberately go and present their backsides to be kicked, has, quite understandably, infuriated them. The above advice, and your annoyance at the fact that we—for the pamphlet was embarked upon at my instigation and almost wholly edited by me[386]—should have presented the Possibilists for what they are—recipients of reptile funds[30] of the Opportunists,[199] i.e. *haute finance*[c]—thereby opening the eyes of large numbers of Englishmen to things which had been deliberately withheld from them,—your annoyance, I say, is explicable only if you were intent on keeping a foot in the back door so that—even after being spurned by the Possibilists—you might cook up some little deal for the account and at the risk of the German party. If that's how things are, then I am not at all sorry to have taken some of the wind out of your sails.

This, along with your opinion[393] that Ede should have replied to the *Justice* with an editorial, i.e. in the *Sozialdemokrat*, i.e. in German and thus in a form neither accessible nor comprehensible to the English, shows that you are totally out of touch with conditions both in France and over here, and that your calculations are based on out-of-date information and imaginary situations. Nor is anything else to be expected since you receive none of the relevant journals there and have no regular correspondence with anyone of note (I mean, of course, in the socialist

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[a] after the event – [b] come to an arrangement of some sort with the Broussists – [c] high finance

parties) in England and France. Ede is infinitely better informed than you are about all these matters, and you would do better to turn to him for information rather than haul him over the coals about matters in which he is and must needs be far and away your superior.

That the pamphlet was not only the greatest service we could do you people, but also completely indispensable, is something I trust I shall be able to bring home, if not to you, then at least to Singer, when the two of you come over here.

One thing I do know—you can arrange the next congress yourselves; I shall wash my hands of it.

The Hague resolution was sent to me by Lafargue expressly for publication, as was absolutely essential after the brazen rebuff meted out to you by the Possibilists.[394] So I'll damned well forget about etiquette and just wait and see whether anyone else besides you complains.

As regards the date of the congress, any alteration to what has already been resolved will put fresh difficulties in the way of an understanding, since everybody will propose a different date and it will be the 10th of October before they have agreed upon, let us say, the 10th of August. For us to make proposals to you on this matter will serve no useful purpose and I can only hope that, after all this bother—for the past 4 weeks I haven't been able to do a stroke of work on Volume III[a] because of this damned business—something real will actually come of it.

Cordial regards to your wife and to the others when you see them.

Your
F. E.

I fully understand—and have plainly intimated as much to Lafargue[b] that you should want to avoid a set-to with the Possibilists which, be it noted, would take place with the consent of the powers that be, and with police protection for the Possibilists; in other words, out of gratitude for the favourable attitude you have adopted towards France since 1870, you would be beaten up as *Prussians*[c] by the French.

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[a] of *Capital* – [b] See previous letter – [c] Prussians

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## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 5 April 1889

Dear Liebknecht,

When I wrote to you yesterday I hardly expected that by today I should already be in a position to point the moral of my letter.

Our pamphlet[386]—of which, 2,000 copies were distributed in London and 1,000 in the provinces and, thanks to Tussy, just at the right places—has acted like a bombshell, making a tremendous rent in Hyndman's and Brousse's tissue of intrigue, and this at the most crucial spot. The people over here, suddenly enlightened as to the real state of affairs, have now discovered that Hyndman has shamefully deceived them about the congress, the French socialist parties, the Germans and the Hague affair[385] and has concealed the essentials from them. The rebellious, progressive elements in the Trades Unions,[395] whom Hyndman was just in process of annexing, are now turning to Ede, and all are anxious for further enlightenment. Inside his own camp, the Social Democratic Federation,[62] Hyndman has also encountered opposition, which means that our pamphlet has induced some uncertainty in the ranks of the Social Democratic Federation, the only sure ally the Possibilists had. The consequence, enclosed herewith, was Hyndman's backward-looking and, as compared with his previous insolent language, almost *hang-dog*, reply in *Justice*.[a] Never before has Hyndman beat so ignominious a retreat, and the article will bring us further victories. At one fell swoop

[a] H. Hyndman, 'The International Workers' Congress of Paris of 1889 and the German Social-Democrats', *Justice*, 6 April 1889

the *Sozialdemokrat* has attained in London a position of respect such as would otherwise not have accrued to it for years. And instead of abusing us, they are now all but *begging* us to ensure that there should not, after all, be two congresses.

Well, Ede is going to reply to the effect that he can only speak in his own name, but believes he can say that, should the Possibilists now instantly and unreservedly accept the Hague resolutions, it might not be too late to reach an understanding and he would be glad to do what he could to bring it about.

Now that the Possibilists have also had bad news from Spain, their agent Gély having simply been sent packing in Madrid—where we are in full control—and having no prospects whatever anywhere else if you except a Trades Union in Barcelona, and now that the Belgians also appear to be taking a tougher line than they, the Possibilists, expected, there's every possibility that this final blow, which is causing their chief reserves to waver, will make them more amenable. In order that you may strike while the iron is hot, it might be a good idea for you to copy,—more or less—the enclosed letter to Ede, *preferably just as it stands*, and send it to him *without delay*.[396] I am sending the same letter to Bebel with the same request.[397] *Preferably just as it stands*, however, for one single expression inappropriate to the situation over here would prevent us from using the thing. Then the letters might be published. What we hope to do is to induce Hyndman to influence the Possibilists along the lines *we* want, in which case they'd be bound to submit and we should have salvaged *one* congress.

All this was agreed today between Ede and myself.

And now, having regard to my letter of yesterday,[a] you may again call me the rudest man in Europe.

Your
F. E.

Dear Ede,

I am very glad to hear that the Social Democratic Federation is showing itself more conciliatory. But the rejection of the Hague resolutions by the Possibilists has forced us into the position of proceeding independently and convoking a congress to which all will be admitted and

[a] See previous letter

which will have the last word in its own affairs. Preparations for this are already under way and cannot be broken off.

If the Social Democratic Federation earnestly desires an understanding, it might perhaps still contribute thereto. There may yet be time. Such an understanding might possibly still be reached if the Possibilists were *to accept* the Hague resolutions *purement et simplement*[a]—but without delay, for, having already once been rebuffed, we can no longer allow ourselves to be trifled with.

I cannot speak here in the name of the German Party since the faction is not now in session, and still less in the names of the other groups represented at The Hague. But one thing I will gladly promise: If, by the 20th of April at the latest, the Possibilists can lodge with the Belgian delegates Volders and Anseele written notice of their unconditional acceptance of the Hague resolutions, from which we cannot deviate by a hair's breadth, I shall do all I can to promote an understanding and likewise the attendance of all concerned at the congress convoked by the Possibilists with due regard for the Hague resolutions.

Your
W.L.

The date, 20 April, is important—because of the need to come to a decision *before the Belgian National Congress* on the 21st.[398]

I also enclose something from the *Sozialist*[399]—the Americans are wholly of one mind with Ede as to this.

What has proved more effective than anything else over here has, in fact, been the publication of the Hague resolution[385] concerning which Hyndman had disseminated nothing but lies and which has struck home all the more forcibly for restricting itself to the demand for things that were pretty well axiomatic.

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[a] purely and simply

## 177

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 10 April 1889

My dear Lafargue,

I have just seen Bonnier and we discussed the situation.

As I expected, your request that the date of the congress be changed has spread confusion everywhere. Liebknecht has stated in the Berlin press that, since there is little hope of the congress being held this year in Paris, it would be advisable to hold it next year in Switzerland. The Swiss press has seized on this idea with enthusiasm. Bebel, evidently tiring of all these difficulties, is prepared to leave the whole thing to Liebknecht. And the Belgians will not reply, either to Bebel or to Liebknecht.

Fortunately we know the Belgians' secret. Anseele, who is an honest man, wrote and told Bernstein about it: They intend to submit the Hague resolutions[385] to their national congress at Jolimont on 22 April, and their national council will act only after authorisation by the congress. That is how the good folk of Brussels interpret international action.

The thing's as plain as daylight. It will give the Brussels Possibilists a whole month to compound and intrigue with the Paris Possibilists; at the Jolimont congress they will put forward a proposal made by Brousse & Co., offering a few more or less derisory concessions (depending upon the position at the time), the Belgians will accept and will suggest that the others be satisfied with these great and magnanimous concessions. And, since the masses are always in favour of conciliation, and since the lesser nationalities dote on congresses, the Dutch, the Danes, the Swiss themselves, the Americans and,—who knows?—maybe also Liebknecht, will come out in favour of unity and of a Paris congress in 1889, short of having another tipsy session in Switzerland in 1890. For this much is certain: should the idea gain ground that the 1889 anti-Possibilist congress in Paris has been shelved, the Possibilists will have won the day, and everyone will attend their congress save only, perhaps, for the Germans.

It is what I have been telling you from the very start. You wanted

everything and now you run the risk of getting nothing.

There is still a chance of saving the situation, and this we have resolutely seized upon.

Our pamphlet[386] has created an immense stir here, as I have told you. You have no doubt had a letter from the committee of the rebellious Trades Unionists[395] who have written to Bernstein and to others besides. Although they incline towards the Possibilist congress, they are still in doubt. And in the Social Democratic Federation,[62] too, there are rebellious elements, otherwise Hyndman would not have written last Saturday's article.[a] We have thus undermined the Possibilists' reserves and must now follow up the advantage we have gained.

Bernstein has therefore written to *Justice*[b] saying that, in view of that journal's more conciliatory style, and speaking only for himself, it might not be too late to come to an understanding; that if *Justice* so greatly desires such an understanding, it need only urge the Possibilists to accept the Hague resolutions *unreservedly and forthwith*; that two points—the admission of all on an equal footing, subject to ratification by the congress, and the sovereignty of the congress—are not open to discussion; they must take it or leave it; but that, if the Possibilists were to accept immediately, he would do his best to promote general agreement.

He and Tussy went to see Hyndman on Monday evening to hand him this reply, which is going to be inserted. They took advantage of the occasion to let him know that they were better acquainted than he with the situation abroad and no less well than he with that in England, and that there was no hope of his bamboozling them with his usual tricks. They told him that, if there were two congresses, ours would be attended, not only by the Germans, Dutch, Belgians and Swiss, but also by the Austrians, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Romanians, Americans and by those Russians and Poles living in the West. They made it clear to him that they knew perfectly well the extent to which his personal position over here had been undermined by our disclosure of the lies disseminated by him regarding the situation in France, etc. They gained the impression that his friends the Possibilists had themselves deceived him on several counts, and left, convinced that he would do all he could to make the Possibilists give way.

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[a] See this volume, p.291 – [b] E. Bernstein, 'The Paris Congress. To the Editor of *Justice*,' *Justice*, 13 April 1889

We have also had a letter from Liebknecht in which he undertakes to do what he can to bring about conciliation, on condition that the Hague resolutions are unreservedly accepted by the Possibilists before 20 April. I am also awaiting one from Bebel, whereupon we shall make use of them. It is stated in both that in no circumstances shall we budge an inch on the two main points.

According to Hyndman, the Possibilists were afraid of being chucked out of their own congress, *hinc illae lacrimae*[a]!

In this way we shall foil the Brussels intrigues, by letting it be known from the outset that no compromise is possible. Either the Possibilists accept, in which case our victory over them will be complete; we shall have forced their hand, made them eat HUMBLE PIE, and trampled underfoot for good and all their claim to be the one and only French Socialist Party worthy of recognition; you will have all that you require and the congress will see to the rest if, as Bonnier tells us, you can saturate it with delegates from the provinces. Or else they refuse, and then we shall enjoy the advantage of being seen by everyone concerned to have done our utmost towards conciliation. All the waverers will be for us, and we shall hold a congress in Paris in the autumn whatever Liebknecht may say, for by that time there will not be any one sitting on the fence anywhere.

I am sending you two papers with articles relating to the congress from which you will see how much we are bestirring ourselves.

What could be better, after all, than to destroy the Possibilists through their own congress, supposing it can be managed?

Liebknecht thought he could get the Possibilists to rally round him in opposition to Brousse, in Brousse's despite and over Brousse's head! What an idea—ruling the world with Borsdorf for your capital!

Give Laura a kiss from me. What is she doing? She isn't ill, is she?

Yours ever,
F. E.

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[a] 'Hence those tears', Terentius, *Andria*, II, 99

## 178

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 17 April 1889

Dear Liebknecht,

I never doubted for one moment that you aborigines of Borsdorf were the better men—better, I might almost say, to the point of incorrigibility.

Your conference at The Hague[385] gets funnier and funnier. Lafargue and Bonnier (who is over here) know nothing about one resolution—what was to happen after the Possibilists' refusal—and neither Lafargue, nor Bonnier, nor Ede know anything about the other, the maintenance of secrecy. It must have been a curious sort of presidency and an odd sort of secretariat for something like that to have happened. So what we didn't know about we couldn't have abided by.

That silence should have been observed until the Possibilists had refused goes without saying and this is what in fact happened. But afterwards it was essential to let fly at once. And if, as usual, you yourself were unlucky enough to be prevented by unforeseen circumstances from doing so and if none of the rest of you stepped into the breach and Lafargue sent me the resolution precisely for the purpose of getting it published, it was damned well up to us—especially so, considering the circumstances over here—to take this responsibility upon ourselves and commit this horrendous breach of etiquette.

Your joint protest,[a] you say, would certainly have had an effect altogether different from that of our pamphlet[386]—indeed it would, if it had ever appeared in the first place. Why then hasn't it yet done so? What the devil is stopping you? You know as well as I do that it will never materialise or not at any rate until six months post festum.[b]

Your little scheme for busting up the Possibilists by means of moral exhortations from Borsdorf and coming to an understanding with them over Brousse's head is a childish chimera from the execution of which, come to that, our 'railing' at the Possibilists will not be able to deter you.

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[a] See this volume, pp.292-3 – [b] after the event

After all, you can protest your innocence to the gentlemen for all you are worth. So long as the gentlemen you correspond with sail under Brousse's flag, they too are responsible for his intrigues, and to present these in the right light could not, one might have thought, be other than helpful to you. If everything that Brousse gets them to do is good and apparently they have, after all, absolutely no cause to oppose him.

If Ede, who throughout the pamphlet speaks on his own behalf and adopts a line no different from the one he adopts in the paper[a] itself, has provided the public prosecutors with grist for their mill, the paper itself constitutes a far greater danger to you people than the pamphlet. In which case for heaven's sake write to the chaps over here, telling them to attack rather than defend you, or better still to shut up shop. And if you're on such uncertain ground, you ought above all to avoid meddling in such things as international congresses, etc.

As to the Schlesinger business,[400] we should like to discuss this further by word of mouth. I haven't seen the piece yet, but this really *cannot* go on, a situation in which something of the kind—if only the advertisement—is able to appear under your own aegis and without you yourself protesting. What I myself shall feel it necessary to do about the matter will of course depend on the concoction's contents.

Schorlemmer has been here since Saturday. He and Lenchen send you their regards.

Your

F. E.

Your letter to Ede[b] *will not be used.* It would be far better if you wrote to Lee[c] along the same lines.

In lighter vein: Last Friday Ede was at a socialist soirée for the eddicated socialists here[401] and was told by Mr Sidney Webb, who is professor of political economy at the Working Men's College and has actually refuted Marx's theory of value, that 'we are only 2000 socialists in England but we are doing more than all the 700,000 Socialists in Germany.'

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[a] *Der Sozialdemokrat* – [b] See this volume, pp.292-3 – [c] Henry William

## 179

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN VIENNA

London, 20 April 1889

Dear Kautsky,

As regards Schlesinger, I shall have a word with Liebknecht when he comes over here in about a fortnight. I have already written to him outlining the essential points. But you might be so good as to send me the thing[a]—stuff of this sort is unobtainable over here and I shouldn't like to be in the position of having to accept everything he says at its face value.

As to Schmidt, I have advised him to send you the ms. and see whether you can place it.[b] Schmidt has quietly developed into a Marxian and, as a result, no longer has any prospect of a university career, having been turned down by Halle—that noble university is confessional!—as a dissident and by Leipzig as a socialist,[297] while the Swiss have begged him to spare them his presence. Just now he is trying to get someone to publish the thesis he wrote for his *habilitation*;[c] the academic socialists[402] tell him it is too Marxist and really won't do. So the publishers are none too many. Schmidt came over to us entirely of his own accord, without any prompting and, indeed, despite numerous indirect warnings from myself, simply because he could not set his face against the truth. As things are today that is greatly to his credit and he has, moreover, acted most courageously.

Now the point is that I am the very person who *must* not read and pass an opinion on his ms. He is seeking to reply to the question I raised in the preface to Volume II.[298] But I mustn't come out prematurely with the contents of Volume III, and that is what is preventing me from taking a direct hand in the business. So I can't be of any help to you this time.

He—Schmidt—has thrown himself into journalism in Berlin; how he'll get on I have no idea. At all events he has behaved with more energy and good sense than I credited him with. For a journalist, his style is

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[a] M. Schlesinger, *Die soziale Frage* – [b] See this volume, p.276 – [c] Formal admission of a lecturer into a university faculty

quite exceptionally ponderous, but that, after all, doesn't matter much in Germany.

I hope Louise gets through her last six weeks all right, and that she'll then take a rest.[354] That damned Paris congress is causing me nothing but vexation. What a muddle! Ede helps me and I help him, where possible, and Tussy helps us both, but for the rest all is chaos.

Your lieutenant[a] hasn't been here yet. On the other hand we have Schorlemmer with us. The weather is glorious. Nim and I were in Highgate[b] today—three hours' stroll. But it's now time for a meal and—at 5.30—for the post.

Kindest regards from us all to Louise and yourself.

Your
F. E.

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## 180

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 30 April 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Père Duchêne,[403] I see, is in a filthy temper this morning, describing everyone as ne'er-do-wells even when they have not done anything at all. The worthy fellow would do well to look about him and ask himself what name would be most fitting for those who allowed three *Egalités* and one *Socialiste*[404] to die, thus putting paid to your Party's

---

[a]Fritz Kautsky – [b] The cemetery where Marx, his wife and their daughter Jenny are buried

international existence, for a Party which can neither communicate with the others nor make its presence felt ceases in their eyes to exist.

But enough of that. Can you really not see that what the Belgians have done[405] has restored your freedom of action? That now, since you are so intent on it, you can convene your congress for whatever date you choose, 1 July, 14 July or 1 August? That it's by no means too late to do something about it now, provided you act at once and provided, as seems to be the case, you have at your back a Party prepared to foot part of the bill?

I have written and told Bebel that I shall no longer feel able to advise you not to act and that, since mistakes have been made on all sides, you were right to complain.[406] That was yesterday; today he writes[407] to say that the Dutch intend to follow the example of the Belgians and send delegates to each of the two congresses; that the Germans will not go to the Possibilist congress, despite the votes of Auer and Schippel, who expressed a contrary opinion (Bonnier replied to both)[408]; that he, Bebel, is in favour of sending a delegation to your congress, which he suggests should be held in August; but that, in order to pass a definitive resolution, the deputies would have to meet,[409] which cannot be done until the next session of the Reichstag on 7 May.

Now, having already waited long enough, you cannot wait until 7 May for an uncertain result. I shall therefore write to Bebel saying that you will probably act now, in accordance with your own views, and I shall beg him to prevent over-hasty resolutions, should the date you select not be altogether agreeable to them.

There is very good reason for the Germans' reserve. Within the next day or two there is to be a monster trial of 128 Barmen-Elberfeld Socialists. In the bill of indictment now being drawn up, the public prosecutor has made it known that, after sentence has been passed on the 128 and the Reichstag has adjourned, he intends to accuse all the Party deputies of constituting the central committee of Germany's vast Socialist secret society.[410] It's the most sinister ploy they have ever concocted against us. Included in the evidence is the convocation of the Wyden[411] and St. Gallen congresses. We knew all about this five or six weeks ago and it was fear of providing additional material for the indictment which inhibited Bebel from doing anything.

As for the attitude of the Dutch, it seems a bit dubious to me, considering the way Nieuwenhuis behaved at The Hague.[412]

Bernstein believes that, if the two congresses meet at the same time, this would suffice to create a climate of opinion, especially among the

foreign delegates, that would be strongly in favour of a merger. You will be able to judge whether or not this view holds water; in any case, supposing the above should happen, your congress might very well join the other, *on the invitation of the whole congress and after verification of credentials by each congress individually*. If you freely assent to voting by nationality, the sovereignty of the congress will be saved.

Bernstein also tells me that, as regards propaganda in Germany in support of your congress, the *Sozialdemokrat* will do its utmost, despite the right honourable deputies; he says: 'They have asked me so often to pursue an independent policy that would enable them to disown the *Sozialdemokrat*, supposedly their organ, that I shall oblige them for once. This might, of course, lead the deputies to issue a categorical order, but we haven't nearly got to that stage yet.'

So my advice is that you assemble your committee,[413] convene the congress, settle on the date you think best in the circumstances, and write a convocation circular, which Laura will translate into English and I shall gladly translate into German. All this will take until next week and if, in the meantime, further news arrives involving, perhaps, some minor alteration, there will still be time enough. Your circular should be printed in French by the end of next week and distributed forthwith. I shall send you the addresses you will need. Printing in English and German would be done over here. Your congress once convened for a definite date, the dispute will again revive and we shall help to keep it going.

In your convocation circular you must stress the sovereignty of the congress and the purely provisional character of the rules laid down by you. You would also have to suggest some basis for representation, i.e. one delegate per local group—subject, of course, to confirmation by the congress. This has been kept open by the others in order that they might have three or four delegates per Paris group in the event of your being represented by one delegate per provincial group. By proposing a cut-and-dried basis, you would force the others to lay their cards on the table.

To work then! You have a good two months ahead of you and that should be ample. And see that your convocation circular is conciliatory—the Possibilists are not sparing of soft soap, so the more thickly you apply it, the better things will go. You are perfectly entitled to say that, while yet there was hope, you submitted to all the demands made by the others, but that it has now become your duty to take the initiative. But play down the Belgian betrayal as much as you can—so as not

to give the Possibilists cause for rejoicing. Of one thing, however, we may be sure, and that is that, this time, the Belgians have done for themselves. They won't ever mislead anyone again.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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## 181

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 1 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Since my letter of yesterday,[a] Bernstein has received the following from Liebknecht:

> 'In the present circumstances the congress can be saved only if the French act in such a way as to present a fait accompli; they should therefore convene the congress—seeing that the Belgian resolution[405] has made combined action on the part of members of the Hague conference[385] impossible—and without the assent of the Germans, Austrians, Swiss (Danes, etc.) which, at this late date, cannot be ascertained in advance.
>
> 'It is essential that the congress be convened for precisely the same day as that of the Possibilists (14 July) and strictly in accordance with the procedure laid down at The Hague, while expressly stating that the

[a] See previous letter

date, 14 July, was chosen, not in any spirit of competition with the other congress, but in the firm hope that feelings of solidarity would compel the two congresses to hold their sittings jointly.'

This would be foolish; we, too, anticipate such an outcome, but to say so would be to play into the hands of the Possibilists, who would thereupon dictate their own conditions. You might, perhaps, say that the two congresses, by holding parallel sessions, might themselves resolve all their differences.

'At the same time, of course, a short exposé of the situation should be given, comprising recent events (the congresses at Troyes[329] and Bordeaux,[331] negotiations with a view to achieving a merger, the conference, etc.)—but omitting any kind of anti-Possibilist polemic.

'It should further be said: We would ask working-class and Socialist groups in other countries to indicate their assent to our convocation address by appending their signatures, there having been no time to obtain that assent beforehand.

'If there is no fait accompli, there will be no congress; the Belgian vote has restored freedom of action to our French friends. Once presented with a fait accompli, people will come to the congress.'

There you are—that's Liebknecht all over. He is capable of heroic determination, but only after he himself has so clouded the issue that nothing else will serve.

For that matter, I agree with what he says, with the exception of what I have noted above. In drawing up your Convocation you cannot be too mealy-mouthed, not that this need prevent your saying that the raison-d'être of your congress is the Possibilists' refusal to recognise the full and absolute sovereignty of that congress.

After Liebknecht's letter, you have no reason whatever to hesitate. So do something, hold your national congresses and, if you can, get all the delegates who attend them to go to the international congress that is to result therefrom.

As soon as your circular[414] comes out, we shall begin to agitate, first to promote your congress, and next to ensure that those delegates whom we cannot prevent from attending the Possibilist congress—Belgians, etc.,—be told that they must insist on a merger of the two congresses.

But now that you have a free hand, don't hesitate, do not lose a moment; if your circular reaches us by Monday, or Tuesday morning

even, it will go into the *Sozialdemokrat* and be advertised in the *Labour Elector*. As soon as the date of your congress has been settled, there may be something further to be done over here, although the dishonourable action of the Belgians has done us untold harm.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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## 182

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 2 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Now things are beginning to move. This is what Bebel writes:

> 'Liebknecht and I have agreed that Lafargue and his friends should be urged to convene a congress immediately for 14 July. This we are doing in the conviction that, once the two congresses have met on the same day, it will prove impossible for them to hold separate sessions, and that they will join forces, whether the Possibilists like it or not.
>
> I think you people should now be satisfied. As soon as the convocation circular is published by the French, we shall issue an open appeal to the Germans, asking them to elect delegates to the congress and indicating the procedure by which this may be done' (under German law). 'I have written in the same vein to the Austrians, and the Danes and Swiss will likewise be notified. In this way we shall, I hope, manage to expropriate the Possibilists—or at any rate well and truly thwart their plan.'[415]

4.30 p.m. I am just back from Bernstein's who, however, was not at home. He has had a postcard from Liebknecht in which the latter says that you are at liberty to make use of 'their names' as having assented to your congress. 'Their names' presumably means Bebel and Liebknecht, for they are not as yet *officially* entitled to commit the German Party. I didn't see the card but Bonnier, who dropped in while I was out, told Nim about it.

I hope to get a few lines from you tomorrow morning which would enable me to rekindle Bebel's ardour by telling him that you are now taking action.

Don't forget, by the bye, to return to me, deciphered, the letter from Lyons.[416] I must not keep the workmen there waiting for an answer.

Now that you've got several provincial papers, choose one to be your *Monitor* for the duration of your congress and arrange for it to be sent to the various Parties, along with all your publications.[417] Below you will find some of the addresses. The rest will follow.

Give Laura a kiss from me. I shall write to her as soon as this bally congress ceases to monopolise my right hand.

Yours ever,
F. E.

A. Bebel, Hohestrasse 22, Dresden-Plauen, Germany
W. Liebknecht, Borsdorf-Leipzig, Germany
The Editor, *Socialdemokraten*, Römersgade 22, Copenhagen, Denmark
F. Domela Nieuwenhuis, 96 Malakkastraat, The Hague, Holland
The Editor, *Recht voor Allen*, Roggeveenstraat 54, The Hague
The Editor, *Arbejderen*, Nansensgade 28A, Copenhagen, Denmark
The Editor, *Gleichheit*, Gumpendorferstrasse 79, Vienna VI, Austria
The Editor, *Muncitoriul*, 38 Strada Sarariei, Jassy, Romania
The Editor, *Justice*, 181 Queen Victoria Street, London, E. C.
The Editor, *Labour Elector*, 13 Paternoster Row, London, E. C.
The Editor, *Commonweal*, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E. C.

A. Reichel, Barrister-at-law, Berne, Switzerland
Henri Scherrer, Barrister-at-law, St Gall, Switzerland
} the two Hague delegates[385]

The Editor, *Sozialdemokrat*, 114 Kentish Town Road, London, N. W.
The Editor, *Volkszeitung*, Box 3560, New York City, U.S.A.
The Editor, *Sozialist*, 25 East 4th St., New York City, U.S.A.

(to be continued).

The (German)[3] Americans although pressed by the Possibilists and Hyndman have said that it is you they still favour, and not the Possibilists. If they get your circular in time, I have no doubt they will give their assent, but they will go to *some congress or other.*

*Arbejderen* is the radical opposition paper run by Petersen (who was acquainted with Rouannet and Malon in Paris, but has changed greatly since then) and by Trier, translator of my *Origin of the Family*. For tactical reasons you would be well-advised not to send them anything that is not simultaneously dispatched to the *Socialdemokraten*, organ of the moderate majority.[418]

The address of P. Christensen, delegate to London (a good one)[419] is 9 Römersgade, Copenhagen.

Belgians: *Vooruit* (The Editor), Marché au fil, Ghent. Same address for Anseele (E.). At the Jolimont congress[405] the Ghent people declared that they would not attend the congress of the Possibilists so long as the latter persisted in their claims. The report in the *Prolétariat* is riddled with Possibilist lies.[420]

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## 183

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 7 May 1889

My dear Laura,

I was very glad to receive this morning the Convocation.[414] As you say, there is no time to lose, and Paul who seems boiling over with virtuous indignation had made me expect an interminable series of bureaucratic difficulties and delays. Now, as there has been such quick and determined action, everything is all right. The Convocation is short and

sweet, contains the needful and no more, and all the fault I can find with it is that it would have been better to state *in it*, that the second circular with the signatures of the foreigners, unobtainable on account of want of time, would follow. Moreover I hope that the announcement, that the Socialist League[21] had beforehand adhered to the Hague resolutions,[385] is founded upon fact and not upon a misunderstanding, as a disavowal on their part would be awkard. As to obtaining their signature, we ought to be informed of the contents of Morris' reply to Paul, so as not to be quite in the dark.

Now will you make an English translation and Paul put at the bottom: 'For the English translation, Paul Lafargue'—and will he authorise me to do the same with a German translation to be made by me? We will then get them printed here at once and spread them by the thousand; also forward you copies as you may require them.

The loss of time is entirely due to Liebknecht who considers himself, or would like to figure as, the centre of the international movement, and who, being cocksure of bringing about a union, allowed himself to be led by the nose by the Belgians for six or eight weeks. Even now he is certain that if only *he* shows himself on the scene at Paris, the union will follow. But as it is not too late now, the lost time is not lost in reality. It has rallied round to the date desired by the French the mass of foreigners who at first objected and certainly would have abstained, had the date been settled without these preliminaries and against their wishes. Nobody suffers in reality through Liebknecht's action, but we here, who, having entered upon our campaign with uncommon success, were entirely left to our own resources, as all the letters addressed by the working men here whom we had stirred up against the Possibilist congress, were replied to in the most uncertain and vague way by Danes, Dutch, Belgians and Germans; and nobody could tell them anything about the other congress, in consequence of which they fell into the hands of Smith Headingley and Hyndman. Well, as soon as the English Convocation is out, we must begin afresh and I hope with better success.

But if Paul thinks we can cram down people's throats, here in England, the *fictio juris*[a] that the Possibilists are no socialists, that consequently their congress does not exist at all or does not count, he is strangely mistaken. He says Bonnier's letter to the *Labour Elector*[421] was a *bêtise*[b] because it did not start from that point of view. Now I am

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[a] legal fiction – [b] a blunder

responsible for that *bêtise* as I wrote the letter and Bonnier only signed it. The Possibilists may be all that Paul says, and I believe him, but if he wants us to proclaim that publicly, he ought to have proved it first publicly, and *before* there was any question of a congress. Instead of that, our people made a *conspiration du silence* against themselves, left the whole wide world of publicity to the Possibilists, who anyhow were recognized as socialists by the Belgians, Dutch and Danes and some English last autumn in London[320]; and the decree of excommunication launched by a party which even now has not a paper in Paris in which it can make itself heard, cannot and will not be accepted by the rest of the world without further proof.[422] We must speak to people here a language which they understand and to talk in the way Paul wants us to do, would be to make ourselves ridiculous and to be shown the door at every office of a paper in London. Paul knows too well that the Possibilists are a power in Paris, and though it may be very well for our *Parisian* friends to ignore them, we cannot do the same, nor deny the fact that there will be *two rival* congresses on 14 July. And if we were to tell people here that in our Congress '*ce sont les* ouvriers *et les socialistes de France* sans distinction de parti *qui convoquent le congrès*',[a] that would not only be a *bêtise* but a gross untruth, as Paul knows well enough that the *ouvriers* de Paris, as far as they are socialists at all, are in their majority Possibilists.

Anyhow we shall here continue to work for the Congress *in our own way* and never mind faultfinding. I have not yet done a single act in this affair but it has been found fault with by someone. So I am quite used to that sort of thing and go on acting as I think is right.

The finest thing of it all is that three months after these two congresses Boulanger will be in all probability dictator of France, do away with parliamentarism, epurate the judges under pretext of corruption, have a *gouvernement à poigne*[b] and a *chambre pour rire*,[c] and crush Marxists, Blanquists and Possibilists all together. And then, *ma belle France—tu l'as voulu*![d][423]

Six months after that *we may* have war—that depends entirely on Russia; she is now engaged in vast financial operations to restore her credit and cannot well go in for a fight until these are finished.[424] In that war the neutrality of Belgium and Switzerland will be the first thing that goes to smash, and if the war becomes really serious, our only chance is

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[a] 'it is the *workers* and socialists of France, *without distinction of party*, that convene the congress' – [b] strong government – [c] mock chamber – [d] my beautiful France – that's what you wanted!

that the *Russians* be beaten and then make a revolution. The French cannot make one while allied to the Czar—that would be high treason. But if no revolution interrupts the war, if it is allowed to run its course, then that side will win which is joined by England, if England goes in for the war at all. For that side can then, with the help of England, starve out the other side by cutting off the corn supplies from abroad, which all Western Europe requires nowadays.

To-morrow there will be a deputation to the *Star* to protest against last Saturday's article on the Congress (Bax, Tussy, Edward)[425] which article was smuggled in, probably by Hyndman and Smith Headingly, in Massingham's absence.

Love from Nim and from

Ever yours
F. E.

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## 184
## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[343]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 11 May 1889

Dear Sorge,

There's so much writing and running about to be done in connnection with the damned congress that I hardly have any time left for other matters. It's the devil of a job—nothing but misunderstandings, rows and vexation all round, and in the end there'll be nothing to show for it.

The Hague Conference people[385] allowed the Belgians to make fools of them. Instead of at once proceeding, as had been decided after the Possibilists'[19] refusal, to protest and convoke a rival congress (which

ought to have been done jointly by the Swiss and Belgians), the Belgians did nothing, obstinately refused to answer any letters and ended up by trotting out the lame excuse that they had got to submit the matter to their national congress—21/22 April[405] —! Whereupon the others did nothing whatever (because, through the Swiss, Liebknecht was intriguing with some of the Possibilists since it was he who must succeed in bringing about an understanding), and thus the Possibilists captured all the publicity with their proclamations while our chaps either remained silent or, when asked about the possibility of a rival congress by such Englishmen as were still wavering, returned nothing but non-committal answers. The ultimate outcome of this cunning policy was that even in Germany our people turned rebellious, and Auer and Schippel demanded that delegates be sent to the Possibilist congress.[408] This finally opened Liebknecht's eyes for him and, after I and Ede Bernstein had told the French they were now at liberty to convoke their congress, also on the 14th of July[a] as originally intended, he wrote and told them exactly the same thing. And so the French have got their way, but are rightly cursing Liebknecht's procrastination and general jiggery-pokery, the blame for which they are laying on the Germans as a whole.

In this country, however, it is we who are having to suffer worst from Liebknecht's clever-clever goings-on. Our pamphlet[386] had struck home like a thunderbolt and shown up Hyndman & Co. for the liars and cheats they are; everything was in our favour and, if Liebknecht had been prompt to act vis-à-vis the Belgians, as he damned well ought to have done, or else had let them go hang and *himself negotiated* with the others, either convoking, or getting the French to convoke, the congress at some definite date, we should have won over the masses, and the Social Democratic Federation[62] would have deserted Hyndman. But as it was, we were fobbed off with assurances and told to wait; and, since the chief bone of contention in the Trades Unions here was whether to comply with the leaders' wishes and not send delegates to the congress or whether to defy them and send delegates regardless—the quality of the congress being of secondary importance and their sole concern, entry or non-entry into the international movement—it was clear that the chaps would join forces with those who know their own minds rather than with those who didn't. And thus we lost a splendid position we had only just won, nor, unless some miracle happens, will any Englishman of note attend our congress.

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[a] See this volume, p.301

Bernstein was here just now and has held me up until posting time, so I must close.

Wischnewetzky[a] hasn't been to see me. Don't know what these people are after.

Your
F. E.

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## 185

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 11 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

We have never called you anything but 'the so-called Marxists' and I would not know how else to describe you. Should you have some other, equally succinct name, let us know and we shall duly and gladly apply it to you. But we cannot say 'aggregate',[325] which no one here would understand, or anti-Possibilists, which you would find just as objectionable and which would not be accurate, being too all-embracing.

Tussy must have returned you your letter to the *Star* yesterday. Since Tussy's translation of the Convocation had already been in the hands of the *Star* the day before that, your paraphrase of the said document stood no earthly chance of being inserted.

What we need are letters from Paris, *sent direct to the* Star, bearing the

[a] Lazar Wischnewetzky

Paris postmark and *refuting the Possibilist calumnies which appeared in Saturday's and Tuesday's editions, namely, that Boulé's election campaign was run on Boulangist money, that Vaillant had acted as an ally of the Boulangists, etc.*[426] I should say that you could do this perfectly well without ruffling your newly-found dignity as the one and only Catholic Church in matters connected with French Socialism.

No other daily is so widely read by working men as the *Star*—the only one to which we have a measure of free access. In Paris, Massingham had Adolphe Smith for his guide and interpreter and was steered by him into the arms of Brousse and Co., who took possession of him, refused to let him go, made him tipsy with absinthe and vermouth, and thus succeeded in winning over the *Star* to the cause of *their* congress and making it swallow their lies. If you wish us to be of use to you over here, you must help us regain some influence over the *Star* by demonstrating that the course which it has been led to embark upon is a dangerous one and that, in fact, Brousse and Co. have been feeding it with lies. And here nothing will serve but letters of complaint about such articles, *sent direct from Paris.* Otherwise we shall be told as before that no one in Paris has complained, hence these things must be true.

Aside from the *Star* we have only the *Labour Elector*, a very obscure and distinctly shady paper which depends on money from unavowed sources and is therefore highly suspect. You could most assuredly do with a bit of publicity here in England, so bombard the *Star* with complaints—you, Vaillant, Longuet, Deville, Guesde and *tutti quanti.*[a] But if you leave us in the lurch, you can't complain if your congress is passed over in silence by the press and if the Possibilists are regarded over here as the only French Socialists and yourselves as a worthless clique of intriguers and nincompoops.

For the past three months Tussy and I have done virtually nothing but labour on your behalf; we had won the first battle with Bernstein's pamphlet,[386] when Liebknecht's inertia and irresolution lost us in rapid succession all the positions we had previously gained. Now that we are back on the defensive and threatened with the loss of even those positions we originally held, it is very hard to find ourselves similarly abandoned by the French when a few letters, however short, arriving at the right moment, could prove so very effective. But if you are bent on losing all means of publicity in England at the very time when it could be of greatest moment to you, there's nothing we can do about it; I, for

[a] all the rest

one, will certainly have learnt my lesson; I shall go back to Volume 3,[a] abandoned for the past three months, and shall not be unduly upset if the congress comes to nothing.

To organise lodgings and eating-places for the delegates is an excellent idea—Bebel wrote and told me about it[b] and, since Paris in July will be positively swarming with people, this is of the utmost importance.

We shall have Laura's English translation[414] printed. As for the German translation, one has appeared in the *Sozialdemokrat* of which one sentence towards the end was amended by Bernstein (No. 3 in your invitation) as being too dangerous for the Germans. Send the *French text* of the Convocation which is to be signed by *everyone* to Bebel and Liebknecht so that they can let you know what passages they cannot sign without compromising themselves in the eyes of the law, for otherwise you will run the risk of not getting any German signatures. I shall wait until I have heard from Bebel before printing the German translation here, and shall first submit to you the changes he suggests.

It is some time since Labusquière's name has appeared in the Possibilist press—can he, too, have joined the ranks of the malcontents?[427] The incipient disorganisation of the Possibilists is undoubtedly agreeable to ourselves, but our onslaughts upon them, combined with the congress, may well bring about a return to unity. In any case, the disintegration is not yet so far advanced as to make any impact on the Possibilists' allies abroad.

Herewith cheque for £20.—As for Ferry's coup d'état,[428] it might well fail, for in 1889 the foot-slogger is much more of a Boulangist than he was a Republican when he disrupted MacMahon's coup.[198] The worthy Boulanger would not be so stupid as to evoke a call to arms over the High Court affair, but the same might not apply if there were to be a direct violation of the Constitution. That Ferry will not surrender power, direct or indirect, without a struggle, I can readily believe. But there is a risk.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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[a] of *Capital* – [b] Bebel to Engels, 7 May 1889

## 186

## ENGELS TO ELEANOR MARX-AVELING[40]

### IN LONDON

[London, about 13 May 1889]

As Laura has sent her letter to you in *open* envelope, I enclose this.[429] Shall see you tonight at Sam's.[a]

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## 187

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 14 May 1889

My dear Laura,

Could not your people in Paris, now that things are mending and going on swimmingly, look with a little less morosity upon what we are trying to do in order to help them? Nobody has asked them to enter into polemics with the *Star*, nor write long refutations. But supposing Vaillant wrote to the *Star*: 'In your No.– you assert, on the strength of Possibilist assertions made to you, that I ... (did so and so, *Star*, May 7th).[b] I have not the time nor you the space to refute in detail such rubbish. I merely ask you to allow me to state, in your next issue, that this is an infamous calumny' (or something of the sort).

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[a] Samuel Moore – [b] See this volume, p.313

And supposing the Treasurer, Chairman, or Secretary of Boulé's Committee[344] wrote: 'In your issue etc. you say that Boulé's election was supported by Boulangist money. As Chairman (or whatever he was) of Boulé's Committee, I know where the very small amount of money we could dispose of, has come from—all from working men's subscriptions. I therefore declare the above assertion which was made to you by Possibilists, to be an infamous lie' etc.

And so a few more by different people. That would strengthen our hands with the *Star* very much.

Especially at this moment. This morning's *Star* has *Paul's* invitation[430]—I am afraid, put in in order to give him[a] an excuse not to put in the official Convocation with *all the signatures*. Still, Bernstein shall try him again with that (copy enclosed) in a day or two. And Edward and Bonnier saw him this morning, when he promised to put in a letter of Bonnier's tomorrow[b] and asked Bonnier to dinner for next Monday when Bonnier must try and work him. You see the iron is still a little hot and may be welded if only we could be supported by a few blows from Paris. If we do not strike now, it will be too late soon.

You say the Paris Committee[413] will work by its numerous proclamations and that is better than letters to the Editor. Most certainly; but the letters to the Editor are wanted exactly for the purpose of getting him *to insert the proclamations when they come*. What use will be all the proclamations here when we cannot get them into any paper except the *Labour Elector*, which does perhaps more harm than good if it is the *only* paper to notice them?

As part of the conversation with Massingham was carried on in English, not understood by Bonnier, I do not yet know all that happened. Anyhow I hope you will see that our plan of campaign—to maintain the position we had from the beginning and to keep the *Star* open for communications from our side—was the only one possible, and not quite so absurd as our Paris friends seem to think. *We know* that at the *Star* office great weight is laid upon such bombardments with letters from the outside public, and in this case it is the more important as you know yourself that Possibilists, Smith Headingly and Hyndman *all'unisono* shout into Massingham's ears that the whole affair is a personal affair of the Marx family and nothing else.

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[a] Henry William Massingham, the Editor of the *Star* – [b] Ch. Bonnier, 'The Paris Congress', *The Star*, No. 40, 15 May 1889

I have written to Bebel[431] to write to Danes and Austrians to hurry on with their signatures, and through the Danes, work on the Swedes and Norwegians, and also I have consoled him about his fear of not getting lodgings and meals in Paris at the impending festive time. Bebel never having seen anything bigger than Berlin (for here he was only a few days and under good protection) is a little *kleinstädtisch*[a] in these matters. The sooner the circular with *all* the signatures appears, the better; that will tell best with people here.

I am sure your people in Paris have every reason to be content. They have got what they wanted, and there is plenty of time left for everything. Why then should they be so anxious to take revenge on friend and foe alike, look glum at every proposal made to them, try to find out difficulties where there are none and grumble like John Bulls? Surely *tout le gaîté française ne s'est pas évanouïe*[b]—let them become French again, the road to victory is open before them; it is we here that have suffered defeat but this is not the decisive position and as you see we keep fighting on as well as we can.

Ever yours
F. E.

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## 188

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### AT PERREUX

London, 16 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith my notes on your draft appeal,[432] which I have discussed with Bernstein. If, by the bye, you say that the Troyes[329] congress represented the whole of the French working class you are putting yourselves

[a] provincial – [b] not all French gaiety has vanished

in flagrant contradiction to the facts and laying yourselves open to protests and refusals from abroad—and quite needlessly at that. Your dicta will not cause the Possibilists and their Paris majority to vanish into thin air.

I have sent out the English circular to the weekly papers, tomorrow it will go to the daily press, to the London radical clubs,[22] to Socialist organisations and to such influential people as may be interested.

This will account for perhaps 1,000 copies, Tussy will dispose of 500 others and Keir Hardie of another 500 in Scotland. The addresses and wrappers are ready, and everything will go off tomorrow so that by Saturday evening, when the clubs, Trade Unions, etc., meet, all will have been distributed.

Bonnier's letter is in the *Star*.[433]

Clara Zetkin[a] has written an excellent article in the Berlin *Tribune*—had we had so exact an account of things three months ago, it would have helped us a great deal. Bernstein will make good use of it when he goes to see Massingham tomorrow, as also of the affair of the 13th[427] whose significance was not apparent from the *Egalité* article, but all the details of which she has given to Bernstein.

You are quite right not to locate the National Council in Paris—since your strength lies in the provinces, it is there rather than in Paris that the official leadership belongs. That the provinces should be better than Paris is, moreover, a very good sign.

Tomorrow will see the first performance of another of Aveling's plays.[434] Although he has not taken the public by storm, he is attracting the notice of some critics, even those who have hitherto adhered to the conspiracy of silence.

The miners' strike in my part of Germany (Barmen lies some five or six miles from the edge of the coal-field) is an event of the very greatest significance.[435] Whatever the outcome, it will open up territory hitherto closed to us and, as of now, will earn us 40,000–50,000 more votes in the elections. The government is scared stiff, for any attempt at resolute action or, as they say in Prussia (although the term is an Austrian one), '*schneidiges Handeln*',[b] might precipitate a week of bloodshed, as happened in Paris in 1872. Henceforward the miners will be ours throughout the length and breadth of Germany—and they are a force to be reckoned with.

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[a] [C. Zetkin,] 'Der internationale Arbeiterkongres und die Streitigkeiten unter den französischen Arbeitern', *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*, No. 19, 11 May 1889 –
[b] brisk action

As for Boulanger, I hope you are right and that that mountebank has lost the game.[391] But ...

*POST-TIME*!
Yours ever,
F. E.

I shall write to Danielson[a]

International Socialist Working Men's Congress.
14th to 21st July, 1889.

Workers and Socialists of Europe and America, —

The Bordeaux[331] Working Men's Congress, held by the delegates of upwards of 200 trades unions from all the industrial centres *of France*,[b] and the Troyes[329] Congress, constituted by the delegates of 300 workmen's *and*[c] Socialist groups representing the *French*[d] working class and revolutionary Socialism at large, have resolved to convene an International Congress in Paris, during the Exhibition, that shall be open to the workers of the whole world.

This resolution has been joyfully welcomed by the Socialists of Europe and America, happy to be able to meet and to clearly formulate the demands of the working-class on the subject of international labour legislation, which question will be treated at the Berne Conference, to be held by the representatives of the Governments of Europe in September.

The capitalists invite the rich and mighty to the Universal Exhibition, to contemplate and admire the achievements of the workers doomed to misery in the midst of the most colossal wealth ever possessed by any human society. We, Socialists, whose aim is the emancipation of labour, the abolition of wage-slavery, and the creation of an order of things in which all workers—without distinction of sex or nationality—shall have a right to the riches produced by their common toil; it is the producers whom *we* invite to meet us on the 14th July in Paris.

We call on them to *seal the bond*[e] of fellowship that, by consolidating the efforts of the proletariat of all countries, will hasten the advent of the new world.

'Working men of all countries, unite!'

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[a] See this volume, p.346 – [b] The word 'France' was inserted by Engels with a question mark – [c] Engels underlined this word and put a question mark – [d] Underlined by Engels – [e] Underlined by Engels

—to *seal the bond* may give rise to difficulties. The Germans are forbidden to have any kind of organisation whatever and such as they have in defiance of the law is regarded as a secret society. Hence one must avoid any expression which suggests the idea of formal organisation. Bid them to a fête of solidarity, to a public demonstration of fraternity—anything you please, so long as you do not invite them to form an official organisation or *words to that effect*, as the English jurists say.

It also seems to me that one or two good sentences are needed to make an effective ending.

And you might tell the international Socialists who are going to sign this that the details of place of meeting, etc., will be communicated later by the Paris commission. A little prose after so much rhetoric would not come amiss. It would be more businesslike.

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Translated from the French

## 189

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 17 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith 25 English circulars.[422]

When are you going to send me back the—deciphered—letter from Lyons?[a] I wouldn't like to seem negligent or in any way discourteous towards French working men.

Since the *Sozialdemokrat* and the Berlin *Volksblatt* have published

[a] See this volume, p.306

German translations, there is no further need for a separate edition to be printed over here. In any case, which text ought we to use?

1) French text: The Socialist League of England[21] and the Danish Socialists ... have given their prior assent to the resolutions to be taken.

2) English text: W. Morris of the Socialist League and the Danes, etc., etc.

3) German text in the Berlin translation (probably Liebknecht's): The Socialist League and the Danes have made their excuses, and the Socialist League has given prior assent to the resolutions, etc., (according to this version the Danes *did not assent*).

Since the Possibilists have German friends in Paris and English ones over here, it seems not unlikely that they will get wind of these discrepancies. That would be most undesirable, and we can only hope it won't happen; but you can also see what might result from yet another circular,[432] featuring yourselves as 'the whole of the French working class'—the translations would again vary, for you may be sure that Liebknecht would change that in the German.

A hundred English circulars go off to America tomorrow.

The *Star* hasn't printed the circular yet. Massingham was out when Bernstein called yesterday.

Aveling's play went off better than I had hoped—it's a sketch, very well made, but ends, after the manner of Ibsen, without a solution—something to which English audiences are not accustomed. The piece preceded another—by Baby Rose and someone else[436]—a very free English version of *Conflicto entre dos deberes*[a] by Echegaray. This one, being strongly spiced with sensationalism, went down very well, although ponderous and vulgar and in the English taste.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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Translated from the French

[a] *The Conflict of Two Duties*

## 190

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 20 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

I am sending you two newspapers, 1) *Reynolds*[a] which, at Tussy's request, printed the circular but *without the signatures*. This provides you with a first-rate pretext for writing to them as follows: 'The Commission of Organization is very much obliged to you for publishing in your paper our circular of convocation for the International Working Men and Socialist Congress at Paris to be opened on July 14th, but as you have not given any address will you allow me to state, through your columns, that all communications from abroad are to be sent to the undersigned Foreign Secretary to the Commission. Yours etc. P. Lafargue, Le Perreux, Paris, Banlieue, May—etc.,' or something of that sort.

2) The *Sun*, a new radical *Weekly*, which carries one paragraph, again thanks to Tussy's influence.[437] We shall have to see if there isn't some way in which we can make further use of this newspaper, but the influence of the *Star* might do us a mischief here.

In *Justice*, which I shall send you as soon as I have some copies of it, Hyndman gives vent to a cry of triumph[438] in the belief that, along with the *Star*, he has deprived us of all means of publicity in London. He says that, though you are an amiable and estimable man, you are making a fool of yourself, and Bebel, Liebknecht and Bernstein likewise; and he hopes that we shall at last desist from our futile intrigues, etc.

Have you seen the *Prolétaire* (or *Parti ouvrier*?) in which the Possibilists say they are sure of the Danes?[439] Bernstein has written to Germany to find out what it's all about.

The moment he no longer feels the boulevards under his feet, Rochefort insists on making a fool of himself—in Geneva when he quarrelled with old Becker, here, by drawing his revolver in Regent Street after he had been given a slap in the face. The case is to be heard today in the Police Court[440]; I shall send you the paper.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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[a] *Reynold's Newspaper*

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Translated from the French

## 191

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN VIENNA

London, 21 May 1889

Dear Kautsky,

At last a few minutes in which to write to you. The damned congress and everything connected with it has taken up all my time for the past 3 months; there's the devil of a lot of writing, running about and slaving to do, and nothing comes of it but vexation, trouble and strife. At St Gallen,[174] our worthy Germans imagined, as they have done ever since, that they only had to convoke a congress for it to happen—*jehi ôr, vajehi ôr*[a]! (get Adler to tell you what that means). Having *themselves* got over their internal quarrels, they imagined that love and friendship, peace and harmony, prevailed throughout the socialist world, and it never occurred to them that convoking a congress would mean either submitting to the Brousse-Hyndman alliance or else combating it. Now, however, having had ample experience they still seem to be somewhat in the dark and flatter themselves with dreams of the merger of *both* congresses at the instant of meeting; thus they abjure the only mode of combat capable of bringing this about, namely snarling defiance at Brousse and Hyndman. Anyone who knows anything about these men is aware that they will only cede to force and regard every concession as a sign of weakness. Instead, Liebknecht demands that we treat them considerately, not only handling them with kid gloves but even going so far as to give them a helping hand. Liebknecht has made a mess of the whole business. The

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[a] let there be light: and there was light (Genesis, 1.3)

Hague Conference, described over here as a *caucus*[441] by Hyndman because *he* wasn't invited (which in itself was a stupidity), could, in the absence of the Possibilists, only acquire significance and become something more than a *caucus* if other signatures—those of the Austrians, Scandinavians, etc.—had been secured after the event. That would also have brought pressure to bear on the Belgians. Nothing of the kind, indeed nothing whatsoever, was done; the Hague business, which had been a good start, was also, it seemed, to be the *finish*. Well, after the Possibilists' refusal, the Belgians dragged their feet, refused to reply and eventually said that they wanted to leave the decision to *their* congress on 21 April.[405] Instead of sending somebody to force the Belgians to give a prompt yes or no and then induce the others to act accordingly, they allowed everything to slide. Liebknecht made commemorative speches in Switzerland[442] and, when we let fly over here—at a crucial moment so far as this country was concerned—, he began to fume, alleging that we had infringed the secrecy agreed upon in regard to the Hague resolutions[385] (secrecy it would have been madness to observe *after* the Possibilists' refusal, and of which, moreover, we *knew nothing*), that we had frustrated, etc., his move to bring the Possibilists over to our side over the heads of Brousse, etc. (!). And when, at *our* instigation, the English—discontented Trades Unionists[395] —, sought information from Belgium, Holland, Germany and Denmark about the position as regards *our* congress, they got nothing but vague, noncommittal replies and, needless to say, came down in favour of the men who knew their own minds, the Possibilists. So months were spent dithering and dawdling while the Possibilists swamped the whole world with their circulars, until in the end people lost patience, even in the German camp, and insisted on attendance at the Possibilist congress.[408] This made its mark and, 24 hours after we over here had told the French that the resolutions of the Belgian congress[405] had set them at liberty to do as they pleased, and that they, too, could convoke their congress for the 14th of July,—24 hours later, up comes Liebknecht with this self-same and hitherto so hotly contested proposal. The fact of the matter is that, if he is to be capable of reaching a bold decision, he must first get himself into a complete and utter mess.

But now it is, in many ways, too late. *Over here* the battle has been lost all along the line because we were left in the lurch at the crucial moment. People who sympathised with us could count themselves lucky to be selected—to go to the *other*, Possibilist congress. In Belgium, thanks to those intriguers in Brussels, the Possibilists have all

but gained the upper hand; Anseele, in other respects a good chap, seems anxious to avoid a breach with the Brussels lot. And even the Danes seem to be wavering, and they'll be followed by the Swedes and Norwegians, who admittedly do not yet count for very much, but nevertheless represent 2 nations. When one considers the way in which Liebknecht has so utterly compromised, if not actually in part ruined, the magnificent international position enjoyed by the Germans, it's enough to drive one mad.

Close alliance with the Austrians; the Americans up till now merely a branch of the German party; the Danes, Swedes, Norwegians and Swiss as it were offshoots of the Germans; the Dutch a reliable intermediary for the West; add to that, German colonies everywhere and the non-Possibilist French almost wholly dependent on their alliance with the Germans; likewise the Slav colonies and refugees in the West, who have also been gravitating towards the Germans ever since the fiasco of the anarchists:—what a magnificent position it is! And all this placed in jeopardy by Liebknecht's illusion that he only has to open his mouth for all Europe to dance to his tune, and that, unless he gives the order to advance, the enemy won't do anything either. And, thanks to Bebel's comprehensible but most regrettable ignorance of foreign affairs, Liebknecht has had a pretty free hand. If things go wrong, it will be he who is to blame because of his failure to do anything (save intrigue) and his failure to make a public stand between the time of the Possibilists' refusal early in March and the Belgian congress on 22 April.

However, I think all may yet be well, provided we all of us pull together. If we can win over the Danes, we shall carry the day—but it so happens that it's only from Germany—i.e. through Liebknecht—that influence can be brought to bear on them. Yet it's absolutely maddening that we should have got into this frightful predicament at all, when swift action in March and early April must have secured us the whole of Europe. The Possibilists acted, whereas Liebknecht not only failed to act, but also made it impossible for anyone else to do so—the French might not lift a finger, come to any decision, issue a circular or convoke a congress—until it finally dawned on him that for the past six weeks the Brussels people had been leading him by the nose and that the effect of the Possibilists' activities, in contrast to his own *masterly inactivity*, was to make his own Germans desert him. And on top of all that there was the business of that scoundrel Schlesinger.[400] He, Liebknecht, has appealed to my better feelings, saying that the least public move might

ruin him, load him with debts to the tune of 6,000 marks and force him to emigrate to America. In these circumstances I shall wait—or so I think just now at any rate—until the whole thing has been published, and then see what ought to be done. However, the business is most compromising so far as he's concerned, and if he imagines he can simply get away with allowing his name to be attached to anything so unsavoury, he's in for a surprise. Would you be so kind as to send me the next instalments? The rascal's[a] overweening arrogance is only matched by his crass ignorance. You're perfectly right; if Liebknecht's name didn't feature on it, it would simply be a joke.

What is Louise doing? Is she still busily engaged in helping to multiply the human species? I trust she is well and happy and that she got through her last exam.[354] Nim and I send her our love. Presumably she will now be able to take a bit of a rest.

I have had to give up smoking because of its effect on my nerves and more especially on my heart, which is otherwise very sound. I have also got to cut down my drinking a lot, its effect being more marked when the nerves are disordered. I am taking sulphonal to help me sleep, and spend a lot of time in the open air in Hampstead and Highgate. That, too, is time-consuming. If only the damned congress were over, so that one didn't have to plough through so many newspapers; it prevents me from doing anything else and, when I do at last get round to some sensible reading, my eyes are too tired and I have to turn to some other occupation. The doctor tells me my eyes won't ever be quite right again, though it's nothing serious, only a constant nuisance—i.e. having to restrict the time I spend reading and writing.

Tussy now uses a machine with keys for writing with.

Kindest regards from Nim and

Your

F. E.

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[a] Maximilian Schlesinger

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## ENGELS TO A. F. ROBINSON

### IN LONDON

London, 21 May 1889
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Mr A. F. Robinson
47 Little George St. Hampstead Road

Sir,

As I am informed that you are now in good work and well able to repay gradually the 25sh. I advanced to you, and Mr Lahr your neighbour is out of work, I request you to pay the above money to him in such weekly payments as you may agree amongst yourselves and as are reasonable, and I shall consider their receipt—Mr and Mrs Lahr's—for the money as good as my own.

I am, Sir,
Yours respectfully
F. Engels

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## 193

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 24 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Do for goodness' sake expedite the circular[432] with the foreign signatures! Here as everywhere else it will be of the greatest importance to us.

Never mind the content, however colourless and devoid of rhetorical flourishes—it's the *signatures* that count. If it reaches us within the next eight or ten days, it will mean victory for us here, otherwise we shall lose the battle for the second time, and this time it will be the Parisians' fault. It is really so difficult to write a circular anyone can sign?

Herewith *Justice* with a manifesto[a] of which the fury and bare-faced mendacity betray all too plainly the effect created here by the Convocation,[414] even at this late hour. The Social Democratic Federation,[62] you see,—or rather Hyndman—are well aware that what is at stake is their position over here, and likewise that of the Possibilists in France. We shall, of course, reply. But if we could append to our flysheet the Convocation with the foreign signatures, the effect would be tremendous.

The Convocation has appeared in *Commonweal*,[b] and Morris has come out openly in support of our congress. In the *Labour Elector* W. Parnell, a delegate to the London congress[320] and a very good and capable chap—a worker—says he has got copies of the Convocation for anybody who may want one.[443] A very good acquisition. Tussy has arranged a meeting for tomorrow at which Bernstein (over here we call him Ede, so if I happen to use that name, you will know whom I mean) will meet Burns, Tom Mann and other influential working men. Burns has been nominated for the Possibilist congress by his branch. It will be a very good thing to have men of that stamp at the Possibilist congress, supposing we cannot have them at our own.

The *Star* has not yet printed Okecki's letter,[c] but only Bax's on Vaillant.[d] We shall remind him[e] about the former. As he wishes to promote the sale of his paper in Paris, we shall give him introductions to the radical Socialists of the Municipal Council, Longuet, Daumas, etc. What does Okecki say in his letter? Does he deny *outright* the imputation that Boulé accepted Boulangist money? You cannot conceive the importance—both to ourselves and to you—of this English daily, nor how much it would repay the trouble of getting it out of Hyndman's clutches.

The manifesto in *Justice* claims that Farjat voted for the Possibilist congress (at the London congress). This cannot be true! I am asking him

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[a] 'Manifesto of the Social-Democratic Federation. Plain Truths about the International Congress of Workers in Paris in 1889', *Justice*, No. 280, 25 May 1889 – [b] on 25 May (see Note 414) – [c] See this volume, p.316– [d] *The Star*, 22 May 1889 – [e] Henry William Massingham

by this post to send us a letter we can publish.[444] But no, on second thoughts, I haven't got his address, and the man I had in mind was Fréjac of Commentry and not Farjat. So you would be doing us a great service if you could obtain a letter of this kind for us, and as soon as possible, for over here there's no time to be lost if we are not to lose our public.

I have written to Denmark to find out what is holding things up there[445]—but my correspondent[a] belongs to the radical opposition and not to the moderates who lead the party. We have also written to Bebel, telling him how important it is to secure the Danes who, in turn, will be followed by the Swedes and Norwegians, and have suggested that one of the Germans should go there in person if things don't go well.

And now, my dear Lafargue, make haste with the Convocation, signed by everybody concerned. It is the only effective way of stifling all the calumnies and lies put about by the others. And it is most important for the countries still hesitating that they should get it before they have made up their minds. Liebknecht, with his irresolution and dilatoriness, has cost us many a position; do not follow his example. For of one thing you may be certain—if you cause us to lose another battle by what others can only regard as incomprehensible delays, we over here shall be fully justified in losing patience and leaving you to 'shift for yourselves'. It is impossible to help people unless they are willing to help themselves just a little. So send out a circular of some sort, but not one liable to arouse opposition, to the Parties abroad without further delay, collect the signatures and have the thing printed, or send it to us for that purpose—with an English translation by Laura to save time. The prospects are so good, if only the lot of you would deign to put first things first, setting aside all petty rivalries and matters of detail. Don't ruin your own congress, don't be more German than the Germans.

Love to Laura,
Yours ever,
F. E.

Herewith *Justice* and *Commonweal.*

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Translated from the French

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[a] Gerson Trier

## 194

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 25 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

From a letter written by Guesde to Bonnier I learn that the Convocation with the foreign signatures[432] has gone to the printers. You may add:

K. Cunninghame-Graham, English Member of Parliament, and, unless you hear to the contrary by *telegram* on *Monday*, also

W. Parnell
Tom Mann } delegates to the 1888 London congress.[320]

The latter have not given their *official* assent. Bernstein saw them this morning, as also Graham and Burns, when the latter declared his intention of disassociating himself entirely from the Social Democratic Federation,[62] saying that he is sick and tired of the underhand methods of Hyndman, who has ruined the Federation, that the circulation of *Justice* has dropped from 4,000 to 1,400 etc. Although elected to the Possibilist congress by his branch, he is going to support our line. How he can best set about doing so is still under discussion.

Send a copy of the Convocation as soon as possible.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 27 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

By the same post I am sending you the report on the *Alliance*.[a] Would you also like to have the *Fictitious Splits*[b]?

Send me the article for the Russian review,[446] and I'll send it on to Danielson.

Since Lavrov has turned coy,[447] write to N. Axelrod, Kephir-Anstalt, Hirschengraben, Zurich and ask him to get you, besides his own, the signatures of Vera Zasulich (since you haven't got her address), and those of G. Plekhanov and other Russian Marxists. That will astound our worthy eclectic.

The English Convocation[432] is already at the printers; tomorrow I shall have the proofs, and distribution will begin the day after.

Parnell has refused his signature as a private person, but has given it in his capacity as the *HONORARY SECRETARY* of the *LABOUR ELECTORAL ASSOCIATION*.[448]

Since you must have received this signature, together with those of its other members (Champion, Mann, Bateman), I did not telegraph you, for you would, of course, take the signatures as sent to you direct, and not from my letter.

The reason is that he is being sent by his *TRADES UNION* (cabinet makers) to the Possibilist congress, where he and Burns will support our line. If the Possibilists oppose their proposal for a merger, they might even part company with them and join us. But that is, as yet, the music of the future.[449]

If I seemed insistent, it was because of the contradictory information that was coming in from Paris, and because I didn't know whether or

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[a]K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*. Report and Documents, Published by Decision of the Hague Congress of the International (see present edition, Vol. 23) – [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International* (see present edition, Vol. 23)

not agreement had been reached as to the text of the Convocation. But now things will get going over here as well.—It will be a thunderbolt.

Your tactics are best, more especially since you haven't got a paper and since everyone in France has already taken sides. Here, where not a few are still sitting on the fence and where, in addition, we must try and shake the faith of those who have already gone over to the enemy—and it can be done—we must go into the attack.

Tomorrow I shall at least, I hope, be able to put in a little anti-Hyndman work[450]; today, all my time has been taken up with arrangements for the English Convocation and with running errands.

The letter from Lyons was in the enclosed envelope. I sent it to you so that you might decipher the name and address of the signatory for me.[416] It contained a request for copies of my writings. However, you appear to have received my accompanying letter asking you to enlighten me on the above.

Yours ever,
In haste F. E.

Farjat must let us have a definite yea or nay—perhaps he had left before the vote was taken?[444]

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[371]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 8 June 1829

Dear Sorge,

I am almost sorry that you should have taken the Wischnewetzkys seriously enough to break with them. I was glad to let them have the satisfaction of conveying to me *her* most august displeasure through *his*

failure to call; I can only assume, however, that he forced your hand by the uncouthness of his behaviour vis-à-vis yourself.

The mood re the congress in which you wrote your letter was also mine from mid-March until nearly mid-May. Now, miraculously, all is saved, as you will see from the second circular we sent you containing the convocation with signatures from almost everywhere in Europe (brought up to date in the appendix to Bernstein's No. II,[450] sent off today).

The first pamphlet, signed by Bernstein,[386] was edited by me, like everything else that appeared *in English* on the subject. Such of it as you are able to find fault with was necessary from a local point of view. Particularly the explanations concerning the Possibilists which you see as attacks. But most necessary of all was the publication of the Hague resolutions[394] which, in their wisdom, the chaps at The Hague had decided to keep *secret*, and *ad infinitum* at that. Fortunately no one either here or in Paris knew of this canny decision and we therefore let fly, since the Possibilists and their supporters over here were daily harping on those very resolutions, telling the most whopping lies about them, etc.

Prompt action ought, of course, to have been taken after the Possibilists' refusal. But the Belgians, who were, after all, supposed to be convoking the congress along with the Swiss, didn't lift a finger—they wanted to put the matter off until their congress at Easter in Jolimont,[405] and take refuge behind such resolutions as might be adopted there. And of the Swiss, Scherrer, too, was a wee bit dilatory on the pretext that, with Liebknecht's assent, he would lure the *bulk* of the Possibilists onto our side 'over the heads of Brousse & Co.'!! Liebknecht, however, was making commemorative speeches in Switzerland,[442] and Bebel was insufficiently acquainted with the terrain to go ahead independently in his absence.

The real battlefield was *here*. The impact of Bernstein's pamphlet No. I here was that of a thunderbolt. People realised they had been outrageously hoodwinked by Hyndman & Co. Had our congress been convoked straight away, they would all have rallied to us, and Hyndman and Brousse would have found they were on their own. The discontented elements in the Trades Unions here[395] appealed to us, to the Germans, the Dutch, the Belgians and the Danes. But from no one did they obtain any information about *our* congress—when, where or how it would be held. Their main concern, however, was with opposing Broadhurst, Shipton & Co. by sending delegates to a congress, no matter

which, and they therefore came down in favour of the one that had been *convoked.*

Thus, step by step, we lost ground here, and our foothold in this country's radical press grew distinctly precarious, on top of which came the resolution of the Belgian congress whereby one delegate was to be sent to *each* of the two congresses. And, even in the German party press, Auer and Schippel declared themselves in favour of attending that of the Possibilists,[408] if only to show that the Germans weren't Francophobes and chauvinists. In short, I gave the thing up for lost, at any rate so far as England was concerned.

However, I at once wrote to the French[a] (who from the start had insisted that the congress must be held on 14/21 July, *alongside that of the Possibilists*, if it was to be worth holding at all) and told them that the Belgian resolution had restored their liberty of action and that they should immediately convoke the congress for that time. And Monsieur Liebknecht, galvanised by Auer's and Schippel's articles, tendered the same advice to the French,[b] having suddenly discovered that he had been dragging his feet long enough and rapid action was now called for. The convocation followed—and the impact it made exceeded all edpectations. Letters of adhesion came flooding in and continue to do so. And even over here we have scored more than a *succès d'estime*, while the sensation created by the publication of the signatures has still not died down. Even in this country everything outside the (very down-at-heel) Social Democratic Federation is ours, as is, morally speaking, part of what's still inside it. For John Burns, the socialist London County Councillor,[451] is probably going to resign, along with the entire Battersea Branch,[452] and may already have done so. He and Parnell (who signed our circular) have already been selected as delegates to the Possibilist congress and, while there, will be working *for us*.

With the exception of the Social Democratic Federation, the Possibilists haven't got a single socialist organisation anywhere in Europe. Hence they are falling back on the nonsocialist Trades Unions and would do anything in the world to get hold of even the old Trades Unions, Broadhurst and Co., but the latter had their fill of that last November here in London.[320] From America they'll be getting one Knight of Labor.[60]

The point of all this—and the reason why I've thrown myself into it as I have done—is that what we are now witnessing is the re-enactment

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[a] See this volume, pp.332-3 – [b] See this volume, p.311

of the old rift in the International, the old battle of the Hague.[453] The antagonists are the same, save only that the anarchist flag has been exchanged for the Possibilist—principles sold to the bourgeoisie in return for concessions on minor points, more particularly in return for well-paid positions for the leaders (Municipal Council, Labour Exchange, etc.). And the tactics are identical. The manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation, which has clearly been written by Brousse, is a new version of the Sonvillier circular.[454] And Brousse knows it full well: He still uses the same lies and calumnies in attacking *le Marxisme autoritaire*, and Hyndman apes him—his chief sources of information about the International and Marx's political activities being the malcontents of the General Council here, i.e. Eccarius, Jung and Co.

The alliance between the Possibilists and the Social Democratic Federation was meant to constitute the nucleus of the new International which was to be founded in Paris—with the Germans as the third party in the alliance,[a] provided they toed the line, otherwise in opposition to them. Hence the series of little congresses, each one larger than the last, hence the aloofness towards all other French and English tendencies, which were treated as though nonexistent by the allies, and hence the clique-forming, notably with the small nations, which had also been the mainstay of Bakunin. But these goings-on were rudely interrupted when the Germans naively—and in absolute ignorance of what was happening elsewhere—also entered the congress stakes with their St Gallen resolution.[178] And since the fellows preferred to oppose rather than co-operate with the Germans—whom they regarded as altogether too Marxified—a struggle was inevitable. But you have no idea how naïve the Germans are. I had to go to immense pains to make even Bebel see what was really at stake, although the Possibilists are very well aware of, and constantly proclaim, it. And because of all these mistakes I had little hope that things would turn out well, that the immanent reason, which throughout this affair has gradually been gaining awareness of itself, would triumph so soon. I am all the more glad to receive proof that what happened in 1873 and 1874 is no longer possible today.[455] The intriguers have already been beaten, and the significance of the congress—whether or not it absorbs the other—lies in the fact that the concord of the socialist parties of Europe will be plain for all the world to see, while the handful of intriguers, should they refuse to toe the line, will be left out in the cold.

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[a] An allusion to the phrase 'der dritte im Bunde' in Schiller's poem *Die Bürgschaft*

Otherwise the congress is of no great significance. I, of course, shall not attend it, being unable to throw myself into agitation again for any length of time. But if the chaps are intent on playing at congresses once more, it's better that these shouldn't be directed by Brousse and Hyndman. For it is high time a spoke was put in their wheel.

I am curious to see what effect Bernstein's No. II will have.[450] Let's hope it will be the concluding document in this affair.

In other respects, things here are so-so. I have had to give up smoking because of its effect on my nerves, and this has cost me surprisingly little effort; every 2 or 3 days I smoke about one-third of a cigarette, but next year I think I shall take it up again. Sam Moore is going to Africa as Chief Justice in the Niger territory. Leaves Liverpool next Saturday and will come back for six months after serving a year and a half; will translate Volume III[a] while out there. Kind regards to your wife,

Your
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 11 June 1889

My dear Laura,

At last, I can find a few minutes for a quiet chat with you. And first of all let me thank you for your charming invitation to Le Perreux for the

[a] of *Capital*

Congress. But I am afraid I shall have as yet to delay accepting it. There are two things which I avoid visiting on principle, and only go to on compulsion: congresses and exhibitions. The din and throng of your 'world's fair',[a] to speak the slang of the respectable Britisher, is anything but an attraction for me, and from the Congress I must keep away in any case; that would launch me in a new agitation campaign, and I should come back here with a load of tasks, for the benefit of a variety of nationalities, that would keep me busy for a couple of years. Those things one cannot decline at a congress, and yet I must, if the 3rd volume[b] is to see the light of day. For more than 3 months I have not been able to look at it, and it is too late now to begin before the holidays I intend taking; nor am I sure that my congress troubles are quite over. So if I do not come over to Le Perreux this year, *aufgeschoben ist nicht sufgehoben*,[c] but this summer I shall take a little rest in a quiet seaside place and try to put myself in condition again to be able to smoke a cigar which I have not done for more than two months, about a gramme of tobacco every other day being as much as I can stand—but I sleep again, and a moderate drink does no longer affect me unpleasantly.

Here is a bit of news for Paul; Sam Moore gives us tonight a parting dinner, he sails on Saturday for the Niger, where, at Asâba, in the interior of Africa, he will be Chief Justice of the Territories of the Royal Niger Company, Chartered and Limited, with six months' leave to Europe every other year, good pay, and the expectation of returning in 8 years or so an independent man. It was chiefly in honour of Paul[d] that he consented to become Lord Chief Justice of the Niger Niggers, the very cream of Nigrition[e] Niger Niggerdom. We are all very sorry to lose him, but he has been looking out for some thing of the sort for more than a year and this is an excellent place. He owes his appointment not only to his legal qualifications, but very much, also, to his being an accomplished geologist and botanist and ex-volunteer officer—all qualities very valuable in a new country. He will have a botanical garden, and make a meteorological station; his judicial duties will mainly consist in punishing German smugglers of Bismarck's potato spirit and of arms and ammunition. The climate is far better than its reputation, and his medical examination was highly satisfactory, the doctor telling him he would have a better chance than young men who kill themselves—out of pure

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[a] The Paris Great Fair – [b] of *Capital* – [c] postponed does not mean cancelled – [d] An allusion to Paul Lafargue's black extraction – [e] Former name of West Sudan

ennui—with whisky and black harems. Thus when the 3rd volume comes out, a portion, at least, of it will be translated in Africa as I shall send him the advance sheets.

To return to our beloved congress. I consider these congresses to be unavoidable evils in the movement; people will insist on playing at congresses, and though they have their useful demonstrative side, and do good in bringing people of different countries together, it is doubtful whether *le jeu vaut la chandelle*[a] when there are serious differences. But the persistent efforts of the Possibilists and Hyndmanites to sneak into the leadership of a new International, by means of their congresses, made a struggle unavoidable for us, and here is the only point in which I agree with Brousse: that it is the old split in the International over again, which now drives people into two opposite camps. On one side the disciples of Bakunin, with a different flag but with all the old equipment and tactics, a set of intriguers and humbugs who try to 'boss' the working class movement for their own private ends; on the other side the real working-class movement. And it was this, and this alone that made me take the matter up in such good earnest. Debates about details of legislation do not interest me to such a degree. But the position reconquered upon the Anarchists after 1873[455] was now attacked by their successors, and so I had no choice. Now we have been victorious, we have proved to the world that almost all Socialists in Europe are 'Marxists' (they will be mad they gave us that name!) and they are left alone in the cold with Hyndman to console them. And now I hope my services are no longer required.

As they have nobody to come to them, they fall back upon non-Socialist or half-Socialist Trades Unions and thus *their congress will have a quite distinct character from ours.* That makes the question of fusion a secondary one; two *such* congresses *may* sit side by side, without scandal.

My dear Laura, I was going to write a lot more, but I cannot see hardly, it is so foggy, and thus I had to interrupt for brighter intervals, until now it is post-time. So I can but enclose the cheque £10.—about which Paul writes.

As to money for Congress, the Germans ought to do something—if I can, will write to Paul about that tomorrow.[b]

Ever yours
F. Engels

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[a] the game is worth the candle – [b] See this volume, p.341

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## ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT

### IN BERLIN

London, 12 June 1889
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

A thousand apologies for having been so thoroughly remiss in answering the inquiry in your esteemed letter of 15 April.[456] Contrary to my intentions I have got involved in the debate over the international congress and have thus taken upon myself a great deal of work, correspondence, running about, etc., which unfortunately has meant my neglecting a mass of other things, among them many letters, which remain unanswered.

So as not to keep you waiting a moment longer, I must inform you that I have not seen the pamphlet in question[a] since the time it appeared in Cologne, nor, to my knowledge, is there a copy among Marx's papers. The pamphlet came out shortly before the trial began and I have never heard of a second part. Something of that kind would probably have been advertised in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* but all I can find there is the announcement, which first appeared on 9 July 1848, of this one pamphlet, described as Part I; the proceedings began on 5 August. There are no advertisements for a second part in the intervening numbers and I feel sure it never appeared. *After* his acquittal Lassalle would have had no cause to continue with a critique whose sole purpose had been to secure that acquittal.[193]

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[a] Lassalle [Ferdinand], *Der Criminal-Prozeß wider mich wegen Verleitung zum Cassetten-Diebstahl oder: Die Anklage der moralischen Mitschuld*

I am most anxious to see that piece of yours,[a] which has found a berth at last. I shan't be able to read the article on Kant in the *Vossische* until after the post has gone, so for the present I can do no more than say how very grateful I am to you for sending it.

If you join the *Vossische* and are required to belabour the East, the *Standard* is the only paper I would commend to your attention. Of all the London and, possibly, European, papers (a few in Hungary excepted), none is better informed on the East in so far as *Russia*'s interests are concerned. A day or two ago, for example, it was first with the news of Russia's little scheme, which has now re-emerged into the light of day, for a greater Serbian empire under the Prince of Montenegro—a little scheme whose furtherance has, for the present, been entrusted by the Russian government to the pan-Slav *Comité* so that, depending on circumstances, the former can either itself pursue it, or shelve it again for a while; 2., with the news of the secret agreement between Tsar[b] and Shah[c] whereby Persia would not grant railway, shipping, etc., concessions without Russia's approval and, in case of war, would place Khorassan at the Russians' disposal (i.e. make possible their strategic encirclement of Afghanistan). Months often go by without anything of this kind appearing in the *Standard*, but then the disclosures usually come thick and fast. The *Standard* is supplied with the stuff by Russophobes in the Conservative Party, the army and the Indian Civil Service.

I fear that, once Russia has fixed up the conversion of her debt[424] and acquired thereby a financial status she has never enjoyed before, the pan-Slav party on the one hand and, on the other, the need to provide employment for the army (whose younger, *educated* officers are without exception constitutionalists,[457] hence far in advance of the Prussians), thus keeping its mind off political conspiracies, will precipitate the Russian government into war. What will happen then, no one can tell; the old oracle of Delphi comes to mind: Croesus by crossing the Halys will ruin a mighty realm.

In any event much will be destroyed in the process, including, perhaps, the German army, provided a certain conceited young rascal[d] is given a bit of time to disorganise it.

Meanwhile there has also been the splendid business of the coalminers'

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[a] Conrad Schmidt, *Die Durch Schnittsprofitrate auf Grundlege des Marx'schen werthgesetzes* – [b] Alexander III – [c] Nasr-ed-Dir – [d] William II

strike,[435] which illuminated the whole situation like a flash of lightning. That's three army corps that have come over to us.

So until my next and with best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

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## 199

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 15 June 1889

My dear Lafargue,

I have written and told Bebel[458] that your contributions are coming in rather slowly, and that you are hard put to it to obtain adequate funds for the congress, etc. I explained to him the reasons (your numerical weakness in Paris, the necessity for the provincials to scrape up their funds for their delegations, the habitual sluggishness of the French in paying contributions, etc.) and I suggested that here was an opportunity for the German Party to make a grant *as a good international investment*. You would be well-advised to ginger up Liebknecht with a view to obtaining the said grant since you would be better able than I to put your case to him, at the same time mentioning that you have written to him on the subject at my instance.

I am sending you *Justice*, containing Hyndman's reply.[459] It is an outburst of impotent rage from a man aware that he has been well and truly trounced. What he says about Parnell and Stepniak is an out-and-out lie. I have before me a letter from Stepniak, sent to Tussy yesterday just after he had seen *Justice*, in which he says it is false and that he will be writing to *Justice* without delay.[460] As for Parnell, his name was given

to us *officially* by the LABOUR ELECTORAL ASSOCIATION[448] and, so long as he has not divested himself of his functions as secretary to that Association, he cannot contest the validity of his signature.[a] He had refused to sign *as a private person* and we had respected his scruples on that score.

No one knows who this Field is—the chap who has evinced such ardour in defending our congress.[461]

The Danish paper run by Trier and Petersen[b] has come out publicly in our favour, but they are right not to have gone further than this. Should they propose sending a delegation to our congress, they would impel the official Danish Party into the arms of the Possibilists. We have the satisfaction of knowing that these cryptic-Possibilists will not dare go to the other congress.

Since the nature of the two congresses is now quite distinct—ours consisting of all the Socialists combined, the other of men who stop short at Trades Unionism (it'll get nothing more, except for the Possibilists and the Social Democratic Federation), it is beginning to seem unlikely that there will be a merger, and if there is none there will be no disgrace. For it is a matter of common knowledge that Socialism has, as yet, failed to unite under its banner the whole of Europe's working class—knowledge which the existence of two parallel congresses would merely go to confirm.

On the other hand, our congress being now more progressive than the other, we now have different responsibilities. If the two congresses were both avowedly Socialist, we could avoid a rumpus by making sundry concessions of a formal nature. But now that the forces have been mustered, without intervention by us, in two different camps and under two different banners, it behoves us to safeguard the honour of the Socialist banner, while the merger—if it happens—will be not so much a *merger* as an *alliance*. Hence it is a matter of thoroughly thrashing out the terms of that alliance.

Whatever the case, we must wait and see how things go, and not tie ourselves down beforehand by making irrevocable decisions. The real aim must always be to put one's adversary in the wrong and so to arrange things that, in the event of a breach, it is he who will take the blame.

You may be sure that, after what has happened, neither the Possibilists

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[a] See this volume, p.331 – [b] *Arbeideren*

nor the Social Democrat Federation will be animated by a desperate urge to effect a merger, but rather by an ardent desire to saddle us with the blame for the breach they secretly desire and which alone could give them some semblance of continued existence. To do them the kindness of *provoking* a breach would mean giving them a new lease of life. Only mistakes on our part would enable them to recover from their defeat, and those mistakes are going to be made by us if we let ourselves be swayed by passion or any kind of sentiment. It is a matter of pure calculation, nothing else.

Give Laura a kiss from me and from Nim. This morning Sam Moore left Liverpool for your African homeland.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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Translated from the French

## 200

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 28 June 1889

My dear Laura,

As to your 'free and easy' translation of my *aufgeschoben*[a] etc., I am afraid I can, in this tropical heat, muster no more energy than to entirely leave to you the responsibility of the same and to do so, as lawyers say, 'without prejudice'. All I know is that if this weather lasts, I don't envy you the Congress; the only congress I care for is one with Nim over a bottle of beer from the cool cellar.

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[a] postponed; see this volume, p.337

As to this Congress of yours I see, from your letter to Maggie Harkness, that it is intended to keep the administrative sittings in private. Now I am fully convinced that this question can only be decided by the Congress itself, and after having heard the Germans, Austrians, etc. But as far as the order of the day questions are concerned, I do not see any necessity for insisting upon private meetings at all, and should think the Germans themselves would prefer public sittings all through—unless there is in some quarters a hankering after a restoration of the International in some form or other, and that the Germans would and ought to oppose with might and main. Our people and the Austrians are the only ones that have a real struggle to go through, real sacrifices to make, with always a hundred men or so in prison, and they cannot afford to play at international organisations which are at present as impossible as they are useless.

On the other hand, the Possibilists and Co. will do everything to give *retentissement*[a] to their congress, will probably have no private meetings at all, after the *vérification des pouvoirs*,[b] and perhaps not even for that—and with the odds in their favour in their connection with the bourgeois press in France and here, they will get the pull of us—handicapped heavily as we are—unless we act boldly and have the press admitted as often as ever possible.

From all this, I conclude that it will be best not to have any settled opinion upon this or other questions connected with the Congress, but to wait until the others have been heard and then come to a conclusion. This I would apply also to what Paul writes about making the fusion of both congresses impossible.[462] It strikes me that when that question crops up, there will be so many practical difficulties that, unless the Possibilists give way on every point, nothing is likely to come of it. But the Possibilists won't give way, and as they are sure to make up by Trades Unions what they lack in Socialists, and will have a pretty fair show of French and English (which two nations, as you know, make up, in their own opinion, the whole civilised world) and as they will have one Knight of Labour,[60] representing, on his own statement, at least 500,000, and one American Federationist of Labor,[463] representing 600,000, they will represent, on paper, an immense number of working men and expect us poor Socialists to give in. All I fear is that they may make a sham move to put us in the wrong before the public (a trick they

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[a] publicity – [b] verification of credentials

understand to a T) and that Liebknecht will fall into the trap. In that case I reckon upon you especially, upon Tussy and D. Nieuwenhuis to open Bebel's eyes and to prevent the success of Liebknecht's *Vereinigungswut*.[a]

Tussy has replied to Paul's question about Lavy; I was not there, she knows all about it.[464]

In my opinion the two congresses might sit side by side without any harm—they are essentially different in character, the one of Socialists and the other chiefly of *aspirants* to Socialism, and I do not think Bebel would under these circumstances be prepared to go in for union at any price. He wrote to me that the fusion could only take place on the footing of perfect equality, and that will no doubt be the minimum of his conditions. But he has never lived outside Germany, and is no judge of English or French conditions of life or ideas—and there Liebknecht may become dangerous, especially as he is unfortunately, for want of a better informed man, the foreign minister of the Germans. One point you must press upon Bebel is that the Possibilists and SDF intend using the Congress as a means of restoring the International, a thing the Germans cannot countenance without calling down upon themselves prosecutions innumerable; and that therefore the Germans had better keep away from such a congress.

My congratulations to Paul for his double candidature[465]—at Avignon he is sure to win, *c'est la ville de Laure*![b] he ought to have cards engraved *Paul Lafargue, candidat, successeur (plus heureux) de Pétrarque*.[c] But I suppose you have heard these bad puns long and often enough at Paris without me.

I suppose our people in Paris are preparing a *projet de réglement*[d] for the Congress? That is absolutely necessary to save time, and it should be very short and leave all details to the chairman.

If I have time I shall send Paul a few lines on the question of national armament and suppression of standing armies.

Sam[e] will be about Senegal or Gambia now, we expect to have a few lines from Madeira in a day or two.

Of Schorlemmer not a word. Shall try and stir him up a bit. But perhaps he has written to you, he has said to M. Harkness that he intends to be at the Congress in Paris.

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[a] drive for unification – [b] this is Laura's town – [c] candidate, (happier) successor of Petrarch – [d] draft procedure – [e] Samuel Moore

Parnell has had a letter published in the *Labour Elector* that he *did* sign in his quality of Hon. Sec. of Labour Elector Association – *e ciò basta*.[a] [466]

Love from Nim. Ever yours

F. E.

5 p.m. Just received your letter to, and from, Tussy, she writes the enclosed on the subject of the private meetings which I fully endorse. I shall also write to Bebel tomorrow on the same subject.

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## 201

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[211]

### IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 4 July 1889

My dear Sir,

I communicated to Mr Lafargue and to Mr Kautsky[467] what you were kind enough to say as to their articles published in the *Northern Review*. Mr Lafargue, in consequence of this, has sent me an article on the Evolution of Property[468] which he wishes me to forward to you and to request you to be good enough to offer it to the Editor of the *Northern Review*[b] on the usual terms as to honorarium etc. I forward it to you today by Book Post, *registered*.

The news you are enabled to give us about the state of Mr M[utual]'s[c] health are very cheering, and in full agreement with what we heard from

[a] and that's enough – [b] A. M. Yevreinova – [c] Hermann Lopatin

other sources.[469] A man with such a tremendous constitution is sure to pull through and one fine morning we may hope to see him here again restored to full youthful health.

The third volume[a] has lain fallow for the last three months in consequence of various unavoidable circumstances, and as the summer season is always a very idle time, I am afraid I shall not be able to do much at it before September or October. The section on Banks and Credit offers considerable difficulties. The leading principles are announced clearly enough, but the whole context is such that it presupposes the reader to be well acquainted with the chief works of literature on the subject such as Tooke[b] and Fullerton,[c] and as this is not the case generally, it will require a deal of explanatory notes, etc.

By the way I have a second copy of Fullerton's *Regulation of Currencies*, the chief work on the question; if you have not got the book I shall be most happy if you will allow me to send it to you.

The last section 'on rent of land' will, as far as I recollect, require but formal revision, so that, the Bank and Credit section once finished (it is 1/3 of the whole), the last third (Rent, and the different classes of revenue) will not take long. But as this crowning volume is such a splendid and totally unanswerable work, I consider myself bound to bring it out in a shape in which the whole line of argument stands forth clearly and in bold relief. And with the state of this Ms.—a mere first sketch, often interrupted, and left incomplete—that is not so very easy.

I am trying to make arrangements to have two competent gentlemen[d] to copy out for me the elements of the fourth volume from the Ms. which my eyes will hardly allow me to dictate. If I succeed in this, I shall also have trained them to the deciphering of these manuscripts which at present are a sealed book to everyone except myself who am used to the handwriting and abbreviations, and thus the author's[e] other manuscripts will remain available, quite independent of my life and death. I expect that these arrangements too may be concluded this next autumn.

Yours very faithfully
P. W. Rosher[39]

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[a] of *Capital* – [b] T. Tooke, *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle: the Connection of the Currency with Prices, and the Expediency of a Separation of Issue from Banking* – [c] J. Fullerton, *On the Regulation of Currencies; Being an Examination of the Principles, on which it is Proposed to Restrict, within Certain Fixed Limits, the Future Issues on Credit of the Bank of England, and of the Other Banking Establishments Throughout the Country* – [d] Kautsky and Bernstein – [e] Marx

The English translator of the greater part of Volume I Mr Moore[2] has just left for Africa, having been appointed Chief Justice of the Territories of the Niger Company. Thus the 3rd volume will be translated, in part at least, at the banks of the Niger!

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## 202

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 5 July 1889

My dear Lafargue,

I quite appreciate that a congress consisting of delegates from an association should hold private meetings for the discussion of matters that concern no one but its members and, indeed, this would as a rule be obligatory. But that a congress of working-class and Socialist delegates, convened in order to discuss general questions such as the 8 hours' day, legislation on female and child labour, the abolition of standing armies, etc.,—that such a congress should close its doors to the public and deliberate in camera, strikes me as unjustifiable. The presence or otherwise of the Parisian public is of little moment, although the interest your Party must take in the said congress should certainly suffice to ensure it some sort of audience. But even if the usual nincompoops were to be conspicuous by their absence, the public meetings would, I opine, be none the worse. What we need is some reaction from the press, and for that to happen, publicity is essential. The press can only write about those things to which it is admitted. And the evening meetings devoted to oratory, in which French is obligatory as the only language the public understands, will hold out few charms for delegates who cannot speak it. After a lengthy afternoon or morning session they will want to look round Paris

rather than listen to incomprehensible speeches. Not that this should prevent you from holding one or two evening meetings in a large hall, but to close the doors for fear of it's being said that the hall was half empty is to attach, I should say, an exaggerated importance to the Parisian public. The congress is being held for the benefit of the world at large, a fact which the absence or otherwise of a handful of Parisians does nothing to alter. You, who are for ever saying that the Possibilists carry no weight, and that it is you who represent the French proletariat, now tremble lest they may have a bigger audience than yourselves!

For that matter, Bebel has written[a] saying that, *for them*, there can be no question of closed meetings and that, so far as the Germans are concerned, publicity is the only guarantee against renewed accusations of being a secret society. In the face of that argument, lesser considerations relating to the Parisian public and its possible abstention will probably have to go by the board.

He further says that 60 German delegates will probably be coming. In Germany, enthusiasm seems to be boundless.

The Social Democratic Federation is well and truly in the shit. And who do you think has come to the rescue? Poor H. Jung, who this week declares in a letter[b] that our congress is of no consequence whatsoever, that it's a HAPPY FAMILY of enemies, that Longuet is not a Socialist, that Jaclard is not a Socialist, that Liebknecht voted for Bismarck's colonial policy (which is a lie), etc. Poor fellows, they are at their wits' end.

You doubtless know that Ferdinand D. Nieuwenhuis is going to propose a merger 'in view of the fact that the agenda is the same for both congresses'. Since the agenda is not the same, I cannot see that anyone can vote for this motion. At all events I have written to Bebel,[470] pointing out that things are no longer at the stage they had reached at the Hague[385]; that since that time you have been authorised by them to convene your congress; that this was supported by the whole of Socialist Europe and that, in consequence, you were entitled to lay down new conditions for a possible merger; that the mania for unity may force the unionists to adopt a course ultimately leading to union with their enemies and separation from their friends and allies; and, finally, that there will be a host of minor difficulties. Indeed, in my opinion, there

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[a] Bebel to Engels, 2 July 1889 – [b] H. Jung, 'To the Editor of *Justice*', *Justice*, Vol. VI, No. 286, 6 July 1889

will not be the slightest chance of a useful merger unless detailed conditions are hammered out between committees from both congresses, and are agreed by the latter. Otherwise the union will not last for more than a couple of hours. And if a solution is to be reached, time will be needed, which means that the merger, if it happens at all, could not be effected until things are nearly over.

Your article went off to Russia yesterday, REGISTERED.

What you tell me about the wine-growers of Champagne[471] is extremely interesting—the ruination of the peasant is now gathering speed, thanks to advanced capitalism!

It is most fortunate that Liebknecht should be staying with Vaillant; I have strong suspicions that he will make another attempt to join forces with the 'good elements' among the Possibilists, going 'over Brousse's head', as in March and April.

A kiss to Laura from myself and Nim.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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## 203

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

### IN BENEVENTO

London, 9 July 1889

Dear Friend,

When I read your letter of 7 June I could only conclude that you might, perhaps, no longer be at liberty by the time my answer arrived. Rather than allow my letter to fall into the wrong hands and in the end

cause you further harm, I preferred not to write at all. Your letter of the 6th inst.[472] has reassured me on that score.

The harsh blow that fate has, I'm sure, quite *undeservedly* dealt you has aroused my most heartfelt sympathy. You must allow me, at this moment when the whole of your life lies in ruins, to send you a further small loan in the shape of the enclosed money order for five pounds sterling.

As things are *now*, I certainly believe that your family is right about Buenos Aires and that you ought to put this plan into operation at once.

But circumstances being what they are at present, the slightest, albeit involuntary, indiscretion on my part might prove harmful to you. The post is not to be relied on anywhere, so I would prefer to say nothing more until we can again correspond in complete safety.

With my sincere sympathy

Yours ever,
F. E.

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## 204

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

### IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 15 July 1889

My dear Sir,

Excuse my ridiculous oversight in not giving you the address of Mr Lafargue.

It is

P. Lafargue
60 Avenue des Champs Elysées
*Le Perreux*
Seine—France.

The book—and the other important one on the same question by Tooke,[a] of which too I happen to have a doublette, will be sent to you tomorrow.

Yours very truly
P. W. Rosher[39]

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Published in English for the first time

## 205

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[343]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 17 July 1889

Dear Sorge,

Our congress is in session[473] and proving a brilliant success. By the day before yesterday 358 delegates had arrived and more are on their way. About half are foreigners, 81 of them being Germans from all the larger and smaller states and provinces excepting only Posen. On the first day the first hall was found to be too small, on the second day the second,

[a] T. Tooke, *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle* ... J. Fullerton, *On the Regulation of Currencies* ...

whereupon a search was made for a third. The sessions, despite various objections on the part of the French (they thought that the Possibilists would attract larger audiences in Paris and that it would therefore be preferable to meet in camera), are all being held in public—the only safeguard against *mouchards*[a]—at the unanimous request of the Germans. All Europe is represented. The *Sozialdemokrat* will be informing America of the numbers by the next post. For the first time Scottish and German miners from the colliery districts are foregathering there for joint discussions.[474]

The Possibilists have 80 foreigners (42 British, of whom 15 are from the Social Democratic Federation and 17 from the Trades Unions), 7 Austro-Hungarians (obviously little more than eyewash, this, since the whole of the genuine movement over there is on our side), 7 Spaniards, 7 Italians (3 representing Italian societies *abroad*), 7 Belgians, 4 Americans (2 of whom, Bowen and Georgei from Washington, DC,[b] visited me), 2 Portuguese, 1 Swiss (*nommé par lui-même*[c]), 1 Pole. Almost all of them are Trades Unionists. Besides these there are 477 Frenchmen who, however, represent only 136 *chambres syndicales*[d] and 77 *cercles d'études socialistes*,[e] since each little clique may send 3 delegates, whereas each of our 180 Frenchmen represent *one* particular society.

The eyewash with regards to fusion is, of course, much in evidence at both congresses; the foreigners want fusion, but in both cases the French are holding back. Fusion on rational terms is perfectly all right; the eyewash, however, consists in the clamour for fusion *à tout prix*,[f] which some of our own people are raising.

Have just seen in the *Sozialdemokrat* that Liebknecht's motion in favour of fusion has actually been carried by a large majority. What it consists in and whether it signifies genuine fusion based on private negotiations or merely an abstract desire which might lead up to them is not, unfortunately, apparent from the report. The easy-going nature of the Germans is above such trifles, but the fact that the French have accepted it is sufficient guarantee, so far as I'm concerned, that no disgrace will be incurred vis-à-vis the Possibilists. I shan't know more until after the post has left, probably not until tomorrow.

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[a] police spies – [b] Probably delegates of the German Workers' Club in Washington – [c] nominated by himself – [d] trade union chambers – [e] socialist study groups – [f] at any cost

In any case you'll no doubt hear the essentials as soon as I shall, for the Avelings have made arrangements regarding cabling with the *New York Herald*'s man in Paris. Today I shall send you Saturday's *Reynolds*[a] and Monday's *Star*—which contain everything of any importance to have appeared in the press over here up till now. More on Saturday.

At all events the intrigues resorted to by the Possibilists and the Social Democratic Federation in order that they might worm their way into the leading position in France and England respectively have proved a total failure and their pretensions to the international leadership still more so. If the two congresses, one alongside the other, merely fulfil the purpose of deploying their forces—Possibilists and London intriguers here, European socialists (who, thanks to the former, figure as *Marxists*), there—so that the world may see where the genuine movement is concentrated and where the bogus, that will be enough. Obviously any real fusion, supposing it came, would do nothing whatever to stop the squabbles continuing in England and France—quite the contrary. It would merely mean an imposing demonstration for the benefit of the great bourgeois public, a working men's congress more than 900 strong, ranging from representatives of the most docile Trades Unions to the most revolutionary communists. And it would put an end once and for all to the machinations of the intriguers at subsequent congresses, for they have now seen where the real power lies, they have seen that we are a match for them in France and their superiors throughout the Continent and that their position in England is also very precarious.

I have received Schlüter's letter and shall answer it shortly.[475] I trust his business is doing well and that the American climate suits his wife.

Warm regards to your wife. Schorlemmer arrives this evening. Adler[b] of Vienna is coming over here next week from Paris.

Your

F. E.

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906, and, in full, in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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[a] *Reynolds Newspaper* – [b] Victor Adler

## 206

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[343]

### IN MOUNT DESERT

London, 20 July 1889

Dear Sorge,

In my last letter I forgot to ask you if possible to question Hartmann about the article in the *Evening News and Post*. If you could get him to write a brief note in his own hand to the effect that the story is false and that he has not been to Europe, it would be important for us over here.[476] Because,

1. Bismarck is trying to make the Tsar[a] beholden to him by revealing alleged plots against his (the Tsar's) life.

2. Hitherto these have been going on in Switzerland, but now that the Swiss have expelled all potential plotters, operations must be transferred to London.

3. This end is being served by the *mouchard*[b] Carl Theodor Reuss, who had already, on a previous occasion, used the *Evening News* as a repository for his lying allegations with regard to dynamite.

4. This latest Reussiad was telegraphed *from Berlin* to all German newspapers.

If we can expose this business outright, there'll be a nice rumpus over here.

Yours of the 7th inst. received yesterday evening.[477] I don't demand any particular satisfaction of Wischnewetzky for his failure to visit me.— It didn't grieve me. So if he eats *humble pie* vis-à-vis *yourself*, that will suit me. I did not call on his wife,[c] whereat she took umbrage, which was why *he* failed to visit me, so that makes us quits. If these people view the matter in a similar light, I shall be content. Obviously if they demand *more*, I shan't be able to oblige them. But as I have business matters to settle with his wife, it's always best to be at least *on speaking terms*; I'll be in no hurry to let them revert to anything more intimate, now that I know as much about them as you do. They're a couple of conceited fools.

Pop! The bubble of reconciliation has burst in Paris. How fortunate

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[a] Alexander III – [b] police spy – [c] See this volume, p.223

that the Possibilists and the Social Democratic Federation, having rightly understood their position, should have preferred to deal our people a kick, thereby bringing the silly business to an end. That the thing had been prepared *de longue main*[a] is evident from the whole series of now comprehensible manoeuvres and utterances on the part of these gentry over the past 2 months. It is the old Bakuninist libel against the Hague Congress,[453] etc., to the effect that we had always operated with false credentials.[478] This libel, which Brousse has been raking up off and on ever since 1883, was bound to come to the fore again on the present occasion, once they saw that they had been abandoned by all the socialists and that they could only save themselves with the help of the Trades Unions. The nature of *their* credentials will doubtless be revealed in the course of the furious polemic that is now flaring up. Unfortunately this old rubbish cuts no more ice today than it did back in 1873[455]; but something had to be found to cover up the fact that they have been utterly disgraced. However it's just as well that our sentimental brethren, the advocates of reconciliation, received a savage kick on the backside in return for all their assurances of friendship. That will doubtless cure them for some time to come.

I shan't be able to send you any more papers until the next post (weeklies which Aveling writes for but which won't come out until this evening and tomorrow); I have not had a single letter from Paris since Tuesday.

As regards Lingenau,[479] congratulations on the sum extracted. Liebknecht alone was at fault here; Bebel is methodical and precise in such matters. No doubt Mount Desert will do you good; I too shall make for the water before long.

Warm regards to your wife and the Schlüters.

Your

F. E.

Schorlemmer has been here since the day before yesterday and sends you both his best wishes.

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906, and, in full, in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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[a] well in advance

## 207

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

### IN BENEVENTO

London, 20 July 1889

My dear friend Martignetti,

All I can say in reply to your letter of the 14th inst. is that my funds are only limited and, furthermore, that there are calls on them from a great many quarters. Hence, if your Buenos Aires plan goes ahead, I cannot possibly assume the responsibility of guaranteeing your livelihood until such time as you are able to lay the foundations of a new livelihood yourself. I will tell you quite candidly what more I can do. I can place another five pounds sterling at your disposal and, should something *very important* be at stake, shall try and send you another five, i.e. *ten* pounds *in all*. That, however, would in fact exhaust my funds for a long time to come and render it impossible for me to do anything further for you.

I hope you will be justly treated by the court of appeal and remain

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

First published, in Italian, in *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani. 1848-1895*, Milano, 1964

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## 208

## ENGELS TO VALERIAN SMIRNOV

### IN LONDON

London, 25 July 1889
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Citizen,

I have just received a letter from Brocher[480] enclosing the one you had written him and asking me on your behalf for a loan of £20. As I am not used to reading Russian handwriting, I was not really able to decipher enough of your letter to find out exactly what is involved. But however that may be I have to tell you with infinite regret that it is out of the question for me to advance the sum for which you ask. My expenditure has of late been quite extraordinary as a result of my having to help numerous personal and political friends and then, to compound matters, there has been the congress,[473] which has necessitated my making further advances of all kinds, so that I am now completely cleaned out. Having been asked by Brocher to let you have an immediate reply, I am losing no time in so doing, and am sorry that I am not able to give you a more favourable answer.

Yours very sincerely,
F. E.

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## 209

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[343]

### IN MOUNT DESERT

Eastbourne, 17 August 1889
4, Cavendish Place

Dear Sorge,

Letters of 1 August received.[481] So we are both taking a summer holiday—a summer of which the main feature over here is plenty of nice fresh rain.

I can't send any papers, since these are forwarded to me only at very irregular intervals from London. Just the *Labour Elector*, a paper which is now assuming some importance. It was started by Champion in opposition to Hyndman, but kept afloat with suspect funds (from a Liberal-Unionist quarter[482]), and hence was egregiously pro-Tory and inanely anti-Irish, so that one had to be very wary of it; but because it was suspect and already so notoriously Tory-Socialist[483] people stopped buying the thing. This, however, brought about a revolution. The Tory funds would seem to have run out and thus Champion—*au fond*[a] a no less unreliable bloke than Hyndman—found himself forced to do something he had long resisted, namely accept the terms offered by a committee—Burns, Bateman (typographer), Mann (engineer), Cunninghame-Graham—whereby the said committee became proprietor of the paper and Champion its temporary editor. The names of the committee members are a guarantee that all association with other parties and their funds has been broken off, and the paper, which is clearly on the up and up, is said to be almost paying its way. The Tory and anti-Irish nonsense has ceased, while the paper has done us yeoman service in the matter of the congress.[473]

The plan of Hyndman and Co's gang was to cast doubt on the credentials—which they alleged to be false—of the Marxist congress. Hence their unacceptable terms for fusion. The same old Bakuninist tactics as of yore, but specially adapted for English consumption. That it wouldn't

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[a] at bottom

be much of a catch on the Continent was plain, but all one to them; provided it caught on here in England, their position would, for a time, be secure—and here all the odds were in their favour. But our vigorous offensive brought the business to an abrupt conclusion—Burns' article[a] and mine[b] (on the Austrian credentials) in the *Labour Elector* have, I think, robbed them of all desire to cast doubt on other people's credentials, an activity in which the Possibilists themselves have recently indulged to such good purpose as to leave small scope for anyone else.

There is now some prospect that a viable socialist organisation may be formed here which will gradually undermine the Social Democratic Federation[62] or else absorb it. Nothing can be done with the League;[21] they're just a bunch of anarchists and Morris is their lay figure. The idea is to agitate for an eight hour day among the democratic and radical clubs[22]—our recruiting grounds here—and the Trades Unions, and to organise the May the First 1890 demonstration. Since the latter was decided upon at *our* congress, the Social Democratic Federation must either adhere to it—i.e. submit to *our* resolutions—or oppose it and thus commit suicide. As you can see from the *Labour Elector*, the movement is at last taking hold amongst the Trades Unions[484], and the star of Broadhurst, Shipton and Co. would seem to be rapidly on the wane. By next spring we shall, I believe, have made considerable progress.

Russian jiggery-pokery continues amain. First the Armenian atrocities, followed by others on the Serbian border. Next, for the benefit of the Serbs, magic lantern slides of the Greater Serbian Empire, and hints about the necessity of a Serbian military convention with Russia. And now the Cretan fracas which began, strangely enough, with internecine carnage among the Cretan Christians, until the Russian consul contrived to get them to sink their differences and massacre the Turks. And the stupid Turkish government goes and sends Shakir Pasha to Crete, a man who spent 8 years as Turkish ambassador to Petersburg and, while there, was bought by the Russians! The whole of this Cretan affair was intended, amongst other things, to prevent the British concluding an alliance with the Prussians.[485] That is why it was launched when William came over here[c]—so that Gladstone could return to his hobby of phil-

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[a] J. Burns, 'The Paris International Congress', *The Labour Elector*, 3 August 1889 – [b] F. Engels, 'Possibilist Credentials' – [c] William II stayed in England from 2 to 8 August 1889

hellenism and the liberals wax enthusiastic about the Cretan sheep stealers. Little Willie wanted to be 'one up' on the Russians, wangle Crete for the Greeks as a dowry for his sister[a] and, by the magic of his presence, induce the Sultan[b] to abdicate. But once again the Russians have shown him that, by comparison with them, he is but a babe in arms. If Greece gets Crete, it will be by the grace of *Russia*.

Thanks for the news about Hartmann. I'd very much like to have further details as I want to put paid to this Prussian pack of lies in the *Evening News*.[476]

It's very sensible of your son[c] to want to find a post. I only wish my Rosher nephew[d] could also be persuaded to do so. These young gentlemen imagine the whole world's made of money and that we old folk are simply too stupid to pick the stuff up. By the time they have learnt how things really are it will have cost a fortune.

Warm regards to you and your wife. Schorlemmer left here on Wednesday for Germany.

Your
F. E.

First published, slightly abridged, *in Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906, and, in full, in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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[a] Princess Sophia of Prussia, who was engaged to the Crown Prince of Greece in October 1889 – [b] Abdul Hamid II – [c] Adolf Sorge – [d] Percy Rosher

## 210

# ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

Eastbourne, 17 August 1889
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Liebknecht,

I have put off answering your letter of 19.4 until after the congress because there seemed to be no prospect of agreement beforehand; the fact is that our ways were utterly divergent. And even now I shall make no mention of your attempts to foist your sins of omission on to other people.

You say: 'Your complaint that, even in the matter of the congress, I was "as usual" prevented by "unforeseen circumstances" from carrying out my duty, is more than merely blunt; it is downright insulting.'

You can only make an insult of my words if you distort their meaning, turning something passive—that it is the usual thing for such and such to happen to you,—into something active—that you deliberately make a habit of such and such. You thereby turn a complaint of weakness into a complaint of wilfulness and there you have your insult ready-made.

But you must yourself by now have noticed that you very often happen not to be at home when someone wants to keep you to your word or to make a quite common or garden request. What about the Aveling business in America?[3] At the beginning, while the turpitude of the New York Executive was still fresh in your mind, you wrote:

'The New Yorkers owe Aveling an apology; I shall demand one of them and, if they dig their heels in, shall come out publicly against them.'

But later on, when it came to doing as you had said, it was a different matter: You sent a statement that was neither one thing nor the other, and did Aveling no good and the New Yorkers no harm,—unforeseen circumstances! And it was only gentle pressure from me that induced you to make a statement containing at least part of what you had promised.

Even in your letter of 19.4. you can't help providing fresh proof. Under the aegis of your name as editor, your son-in-law[a] brings out a series of books. You, knowing what he's like, entrust him with the selection, the editing—in short, the entire management of the thing. The

[a] Bruno Geiser

inevitable happens. There appears, *under your name*, a trashy work by a more than dubious scoundrel, a really vile concoction in which the said ignorant scoundrel presumes to improve on Marx.[400] This vile concoction is recommended to German working men as instructive reading along party lines by the appearance on the title page of *your name* as editor. That such a vile concoction should be published somewhere or other is, of course, a matter of complete indifference, nor would it be worthy of mention. But that it should be published by *you*, under *your* sponsorship, as having been sanctioned and recommended *by you* (for what else does the appearance of your name on it signify?)—that is what's intolerable. Of course your son-in-law pulled the wool over your eyes—you'd never have done it deliberately. But now, when it's your bounden duty to rid yourself of the said vile concoction, to declare that you have been scandalously imposed upon and that not so much as one more sheet of it will appear under your name—what happens? You devote an entire page of your letter to the unforeseen circumstances that prevent you from doing so.

Why then the moral indignation over my having for once called this habit of yours by its proper name? Anyhow, I'm not the only person to have remarked on it. And if anyone has been insulted on this occasion it is I rather than you.

If you have taken any further steps in the Schlesinger affair, I for one have heard nothing of it. But one thing I do know: if you put a stop to the publication of Schlesinger's vile concoction, I shall be able to let the matter rest at that. But should a sequel or conclusion appear *under your name* I shall owe it to Marx to make a public protest. I trust you will not let things go as far as that, for I feel sure that this changeling that has been foisted onto you is altogether more than you can stomach. And as, no doubt, you yourself realise, Mr Geiser cannot be allowed to sell for a mess of potage the position you have attained in the party, the fruit of forty years' labour.

I have been here a fortnight and shall probably stay on through the first week in September—in the same house I was in when you left for America.[486]

Warm regards,

Your

F. E.

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## 211

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN[487]

### IN LONDON

Eastbourne, 22 August 1889
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Ede,

Who is Paul Fischer? He wishes to translate my old article in *Progress*[488] for the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*. Since I should have to do some notes for it and thus appear as an actual contributor to the *Volks-Tribüne*, I have my reservations which, having sent a non committal answer, I shall keep in abeyance until my return.

In your next number[a] you ought to deal with the dock labourers' strike.[489] The matter is one of crucial importance so far as this country is concerned. Hitherto the East End had been in a state of poverty-stricken stagnation, its hallmark being the apathy of men whose spirit had been broken by hunger, and who had abandoned all hope. Anyone who found himself there was lost, physically and morally. Then, last year, there came the victorious strike of the match-girls.[490] And now, this gigantic strike of the most demoralised elements of the lot, the dock labourers, not the regular, strong, experienced, relatively well-paid men in steady employment, but those who have happened to land up in dock-land, the Jonahs who have suffered shipwreck in all other spheres, starvelings by trade, a welter of broken lives heading straight for utter ruin and for whom Dante's words, '*lasciate ogni speranza, voi che' entrate*'[b] might be written up on the dock gates!

And this dully despairing mass of humanity who, every morning when the dock gates are opened, literally fight pitched battles to be first to reach the chap who signs them on—literal battles in the competitive struggle of the redundant workers amongst themselves—that mass, haphazardly thrown together and changing every day, has successfully combined to form a band 40,000 strong, maintain discipline and inspire fear in the powerful dock companies. It is something I am glad that I have lived to see. For *this* stratum to be capable of organisation is a fact

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[a] of *Der Sozialdemokrat* – [b] 'Abandon hope, all ye who enter here.' Dante, *Inferno*, III, 9

of great significance. Whatever the outcome of the strike may be—and I'm never sanguine about such matters before the event—it means that, with the dockers, the lowest stratum of East End working men has entered the movement and that the higher strata are bound to follow suit. The East End has a greater number of ordinary labourers, those whose work requires little or no skill, than anywhere else in England. The organisation of these strata of the London proletariat, hitherto treated with contempt by the Trades Unions of skilled working men, will set an example for the provinces.

And there's more to it than that. Because of the lack of organisation and the passively vegetable existence of the real East End workers, the lumpen proletariat has hitherto had last say there, purporting, and indeed being *held*, to be the prototype and representative of the million starvelings in the East End. That will now cease. The hawker and his ilk will be pushed into the background, the East End working men will be able to develop a prototype of their own and so organise themselves as to assert it, and this will be of enormous value to the movement. Scenes such as took place during Hyndman's procession along Pall Mall and Piccadilly[491] will no longer be possible; a ne'er-do-well who tried to go on the rampage would simply be put down.

In short, it is an event. And just look how even the abject *Daily News* is covering the affair![a] That alone shows what a tremendous impact it has made. It's just like the miners' strike at home[435]—a new stratum is coming into the movement, a new army corps. And your bourgeois who, only 5 years ago, would have been cursing and fuming, now finds himself forced to applaud half-heartedly just when, and precisely because, his bowels have turned to water. Hurrah!

What you said about parliamentarianism and its decline in your article on the anarchists[b] is absolutely right. I was delighted.

Here it's so-so—changeable weather—am again somewhat lame as a result of too much walking, and hence *teetotal*, whatever Julius[c] may say—but I'm not allowed tea in the evenings because of my nerves, and therefore I *do* take a glass of beer instead—on *teetotal* grounds!

Regards to your wife and children and all our friends.

Your

F. E.

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[a] *Daily News*, 20 August 1889 – [b] E. Bernstein, 'Anarchistische Phraseologie', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 34, 24 August 1889 – [c] Probably Julius Motteler

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## 212

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

### IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

Eastbourne, 22 August 1889
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Hermann,

The statement of account received with thanks; no doubt it will be correct.

Would you be so kind as to forward the enclosed note to young or now, I suppose, old Caspar[a]—I don't know whether he lives in Krefeld or Barmen. As I learn from R. Blank, whom I ran into here a week ago, things aren't going too well with those chaps; if so, I am sorry.

I have been here a fortnight but am, alas, having more rain than I can do with. Ever since the English have begun holding their naval manoeuvres in August, the weather during that month has been truly atrocious and yesterday the words of the old song came true here:

> On *21 August*, just gone by,
> *In storm and rain* there came a spy,
> Who tidings to the prince did give, etc.[492]

In consequence of which three big warships sailed past this morning, but we still await the famous naval battle which is to take place in the Channel, before our very eyes.

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[a] Caspar Engels

I shall probably be staying here another fortnight or three weeks, if the rain isn't too bad, for

'Back to my home I cannot go',

the place being full of whitewashers, paperers, painters and other workmen, who make three-quarters of the rooms uninhabitable and, once they're in the house, you never know when you'll be rid of them again. This is because in England large-scale industry has ruined the crafts but has not been able to find anything else to put in their place. For a long time now the Germans have not had the sole prerogative of providing shoddy wares in return for good money; the Londoners have a positively stunning aptitude for this. In America, however, it's altogether different. So far as ordinary, everyday business dealings are concerned, in which no speculation is involved, America is, I believe, the most reliable country in the world—the only one in which you will still find 'good workmanship'.

I trust you are all well. Much love to Emma[a] and to the children and grandchildren, as well as to the rest of the Engels-kirchen, from

Your old
Friedrich

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## 213

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[493]

### AT LE PERREUX

Eastbourne, 27 August 1889
4 Cavendish Place

My dear Laura,

That letter-writing at the sea-side is well nigh an impossibility, I thought you knew long since. And if, as in my case, a lot of people

[a] Emma Engels

whom I never saw seem to have conspired to overwhelm me with letters, visits, inquiries, requests of all sorts, the impossibility becomes a complete fact. Austrian student-clubs, a Viennese inquirer after 'truth' who wishes to know had he not better devour Hegel (better not, I replied), a Romanian socialist *in propria persona*, an unknown man from Berlin now in London, etc, etc., all have come down at once upon me and all expect to be attended to at once. So, with six people around me in the room whither they are but too often driven by rain, nothing remains for me but to retire from time to time to my bedroom and to turn that into my 'office'.

You had your adventures with Séraphine, Nim had hers with Ellen. Which Ellen having been long suspected by the knowing ones was one morning reported by the doctor to be six months gone in the way all flesh comes into the world and had consequently to leave—about a month before we came here. When we return there will be fresh engagement of someone—perhaps worse.

I am glad Paul is off on his election trip[465] and moreover with funds from his Mamma.[a] Of the three put up for Marseilles, one, perhaps two, may get in; I hope Paul may be one. But anyhow it is a distinct step in advance to have once been put up as candidate for the party, and facilitates further moves; especially with a rising party as ours at this moment undoubtedly is in France, once a candidate generally means always a candidate.

I do hope Boulangism will come to grief next elections. Nothing worse could happen to us than even a *succès d'estime* of that humbug which might prolong, at least, the apparent dilemma: either Boulanger or Ferry—a dilemma which alone gives vitality to either scoundrel. If Boulanger got well thrashed, and his following reduced, more or less, to the Bonapartists, it would prove that this Bonapartist vein in the French character—explicable by the inheritance from the great Revolution—is gradually dying out. And with the elimination of this incident the regular development of French republican evolution would *reprendre son cours*;[b] the Radicals[200] would, in their new incarnation Millerand, gradually discredit themselves as much as in the incarnation Clémenceau, and the better elements among them pass over to us; the Opportunists[199] would lose their last pretext for political existence, that of being at least defenders of the republic against pretenders; the liberties conquered by

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[a]Anna Virginia Armaignac – [b] resume its course

the Socialists would not only be maintained but gradually extended, so that our party would be in a better position for fighting its way than anywhere else on the Continent; and the greatest danger in war would be removed. To believe as the Boulangeo-Blanquists[494] do that by sustaining Boulanger they can get a few seats in Parliament is worthy of these ignorant *purs*[a] who would burn down a village in order to fry a cotelette. It is to be hoped that this experience will do Vaillant good. He knows perfectly what sort of fellows the mass of those Blanquists are, and his delusions as to the work to be got out of such materials must have received a severe shock.

Hyndman's campaign with regard to the discredit to be thrown on the Marxist credentials[478] seems to have utterly broken down. Burns' disclosures[b] were a ready blow, and our further revelations, especially about the Austrian Possibilist credentials,[c] did the rest. These people never know what a glass-house they are living in themselves. And as in France the Possibilists seem to have kept quiet with regard to that point (these fellows are far cleverer than Hyndman and Co—in their small way) there will be no further necessity to follow up the victory unless fresh attempts are made. The whole trick was calculated for the British market, and there it has failed—*cela suffit*.[d] Then there is the resolution about the 1st of May demonstration. That is the best thing our Congress did. That will tell immensely here in England, and the Hyndman lot *dare not oppose it*; if they do, they ruin themselves; if they don't, they must follow in our wake; let them choose.

Another great fact is the Dock Labourers strike.[489] They are as you know the most miserable of all the *misérables*[495] of the East End, the broken down ones of all trades, the lowest stratum above the *Lumpenproletariat*. That these poor famished broken-down creatures who bodily fight amongst each other every morning for admission to work, should organise for resistance, turn out 40-50,000 strong, draw after them into the strike all and every trade of the East End in any way connected with shipping, hold out above a week, and terrify the wealthy and powerful Dock Companies—that is a revival I am proud *erlebt zu haben*.[e] And they have even bourgeois opinion on their side: the merchants, who suffer severely from this interruption of traffic, do not

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[a] fanatics – [b] J. Burns, 'The Paris International Congress', *The Labour Elector*, 3 August 1889 – [c] F. Engels, 'Possibilist Credentials' – [d] that's enough – [e] to have lived to see

blame the workmen, but the obstinate Dock Companies. So that if they hold out another week they are almost sure of victory.

And all this strike is worked and led by *our* people, by Burns and Mann, and the Hyndmanites are nowhere in it.

My dear Laura, I am almost sure you are in want of some cash and I should have sent a cheque with this if I was not myself hard up. My balance at the bank is at the lowest ebb; a dividend of some £33, due generally about 18th August, has not yet been paid and Edward has borrowed £15 till end of month, as he was quite fast. So I have hardly room to turn round in, but as soon as I receive a supply I shall remit; at latest next Monday, I hope before.

Domela[a] becomes quite incomprehensible. Is he perhaps after all not Jesus Christ, but Jan van Leiden? *la prophète de Meyerbeer*? Vegetarianism and solitary confinement seem apt to produce queer results in the long run.

Edward and Tussy will be going to Dundee to report Trades Union Congress and then we shall get the boys[b] here in the meantime.

Ever yours
F. Engels

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Reproduced from the original

## 214

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[493]

### AT LE PERREUX

[Eastbourne], 1 September 1889
Sunday

My dear Laura,

Yesterday evening late I had news from my bank that the long expected dividend of £36 has been paid in and so I hasten to send you

[a] Nieuwenhuis – [b] Edgar and Jean Longuet

cheque for £30, ten of which are the second half of the money I promised Paul for his electioneering expenses and for which he applied in a letter, to hand here last Friday, from Cette. His prospects in the town seem good but then Cette is but small and the country votes will decide—hope I shall hear more from him in a few days. Let's hope for the best.

Cannot write much being Sunday and our people always in and out, moreover have to write to Tussy about the strike[489] which was in an important crisis yesterday. As the dock directors kept stubborn, our people were led to a very foolish resolution. They had outstripped their means of relief and had to announce that on Saturday no relief could be dealt out to strikers. In order to make this go down—that is the way at least I take it—they declared that if the dock directors had not caved in by Saturday noon, on Monday there would be a general strike—reckoning chiefly on the supposition that the Gas works for want of coal or of workmen or both would come to a stand and London be in darkness—and this threat was to terrify all into submission to the demands of the men.

Now this was playing *va banque*, staking £1000 to win, possibly, £10; it was threatening more than they could carry out; it was creating millions of hungry mouths for no reason but because they had some tens of thousands on hand which they could not feed; it was casting away wilfully all the sympathies of the shopkeepers and even of the great mass of the bourgeoisie who all hated the dock monopolists, but who now would at once turn against the workmen; in fact it was such a declaration of despair and such a desperate game that I wrote to Tussy at once:[406] if this is persisted in, the Dock Companies have only to hold out till Wednesday and they will be victorious.

Fortunately they have thought better of it. Not only has the threat been 'provisionally' withdrawn, but they have even acceded to the demands of the wharfingers (in some respect competitors of the docks), have reduced their demands for an increase of wages, and *this has again been rejected* by the Dock Companies. This I think will secure them the victory. The threat with the general strike will now have a salutary effect, and the generosity of the workmen, both in withdrawing it and in acceding to a compromise, will secure them fresh sympathy and help.

On Friday[a] we shall return to London. Shorlemmer has left about a fortnight ago for Germany, where he is now, what he is doing and what his intentions are, I don't know.

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[a] on 6 September

As to Boulanger his weakness is shown in his electoral proceedings: he takes Paris and leaves to the monarchists all the provinces. That ought to disabuse his most obstinate adherents if they pretend to be Republicans. Paul writes to me that a Marseilles Boulangist has owned to him that Boulanger has had from the Russian government 15 millions. That explains the whole dodge. The Russian dynasty, now allied by Denmark to the Orléans,[496] wishes for an Orléans *restauration* and *one brought about by Russia*; for then the Orléans would be its slaves. And only with a monarchical France can the Czar[a] have a sincere alliance, such as he requires for a long war with dubious chances. To bring this about, Boulanger is put forward as the tool. If he is successful as a stepping stone to monarchy, he will, at the proper time, be bought off or in case of need put out of the way, for the Russian government will not have in that case the scruples which our Socialists have; '*denn die abzumurksen ist uns Wurscht*'[b] is their motto. As to Millerand I believe you are right. In his paper[c] there is, for all its attempted radicalism, a tone of weakness, half-despondency, and above all so much of the milk of human kindness[d] (stale as it is, it has not the stuff in it to turn sour) that compared even with *La Justice* as I have once known that paper, it inspires pity mingled with a drop of contempt. And these be the successors of the old French Republicans, *les fils des héros de la rue Saint-Méry*!

Ever yours
F. E.

Love from Nim and all the lot here.

First published in *Labour Monthly*, No. 8, 1955

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[a] Alexander III – [b] 'polishing one off makes no difference to us' – [c] *La Voix* – [d] Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, Act I, Scene V

## 215

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 9 September 1889

My dear Laura,

Today I have the pleasant task of remitting you cheque for £14.6.8, one-third share of Meissner's Remittance of £43,—the account is to follow. A fourth edition of Vol. I[a] [497] is impending, maybe before New Year we shall begin printing it.

Tussy was here yesterday with Liebknecht, his son and daughter Gertrud, Singer, Bernstein, Fischer, etc. etc. She is still over head and ears in the strike.[489] The Lord Mayor's,[b] Cardinal Manning's and Bishop of London's[c] proposals were ridiculously in favour of the Dock Companies and had never a chance of acceptance. This is the busiest time; from Christmas to April nearly no work is done at the docks, so that the real purport of delaying the advance to January would have been to delay it till April.

You will have Liebknecht in Paris in about a week, that is if you are there still. And also his wife and one or two more of the family.

Domela[d] and his Dutchmen seem to stick to their new line. Another proof that the little nations can play but a secondary part in Socialist development, while they expect to be allowed to lead. The Belgians will never give up the idea that their central situation and neutrality give them the manifest destiny of being the central seat of the future International. The Swiss are and always were philistines and *petits bourgeois*, the Danes had become the same and it remains to be seen whether Trier, Petersen and Co. can move them on out of this their present stagnation. And now the Dutch begin the same way. None of them can forget and will forget that at Paris the Germans and French led the way, and that they were not allowed to occupy the Congress with their pettifogging troubles. Never mind, there is a greater hope now of French, Germans and English pulling together, and if the little babies get obstreperous, *nous en ferons cadeaux aux possibilistes.*[e]

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[a] of *Capital* – [b] Henry Aaron Isaacs – [c] John Lubbock – [d] Nieuwenhuis – [e] we shall make a present of them to the Possibilists

Liebknecht now is awfully anti-possibilistic, says they have turned out rogues and traitors and it's impossible to act with them. Whereupon I told him we knew that six months ago and told them—him and his party—so but they knew better. He pocketed that in silence. He is not at all as cock-sure of his infallibility as he used to be—at least if otherwise, he does not show it. Otherwise he is personally the opposite of what he is in correspondence—he is the old jovial hail-fellow-well-met Liebknecht.

But I must conclude. I have got the two boys[a] here who were enchanted at little Marcel's[b] letter. They have been to the Zoo and want to write to their *cher papa* and I must clear out from the desk.

Success to Paul in the Cher—I fully expected his fate at Cette, the town being too small not to be outvoted by the 74 hamlets making up the *circonscription*.[c]

Nim's love.

Affectionately yours
F. E.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[211]

### IN VIENNA

London, 15 September 1889
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Kautsky,

I am taking advantage of its being Sunday morning to write you a letter, which I should have done long since—but for interruptions! First

[a] Jean and Edgar Longuet – [b] Marcel Longuet – [c] constituency

the congress[473] and all it entailed, then Eastbourne,[498] whither the aftermath of the congress in the shape of letters of all kinds still pursued me and, on top of that, six persons in one room—reflection or repose impossible. Then back home, only to find Paul[a] and the soldier,[b] not to mention 2 children,[c] here, then the *dock strike*,[489] etc. Today at last a brief respite. Longuet's two sons,[d] who have come to stay, do not disturb me.

We are all of us, Nim, Tussy, Edward and myself, tremendously sorry that your relations with Louise should have ended in so negative a fashion. But there's no help for it. You two alone are competent to judge, and whatever you think is right, the rest of us must accept. But what I don't understand—if I can be said to understand anything at all of this business—is your continual use of the word 'compassion'—that all you now feel for Louise is 'compassion'. Louise has conducted herself throughout with such heroism and such womanliness that we cannot admire her enough. If anyone is to be pitied in this affair, it certainly isn't Louise. And I still maintain you have perpetrated a folly which you will yet live to regret.

As I have already told Adler, this turn in your relations does nothing to alter the proposal I made you in regard to the ms. of Volume IV.[e] The work has got to be done and you and Ede are the only people to whom I can entrust it. The business of the archives[227] has, Paul tells me, likewise now been settled which means, no doubt, that you will be coming over here again this winter, when we can discuss and make a start on what is to be done. Because of the damned congress I've been able to do no work at all on Volume III since February, and even now I am kept from it by the necessity of bringing out a fourth edition of Volume I, which I must attend to first. It's no great task but when one is not allowed to spend more than three hours a day at one's desk, it tends to be rather long-drawn-out. And then we have got two months of perpetual fog and darkness ahead of us.

A correspondent in St Petersburg has informed me that the *Revue du Nord* has published a translation of your *Klassengegensätze in Frankreich* and that this has caused a furore in Russia. When you come over here I shall give you a hint or two as to how you might, perhaps, extract money from Russia for your articles.

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[a] Paul Singer – [b] Wilhelm Liebknecht – [c] Gertrud and Theodor Liebknecht – [d] Jean and Edgar Longuet – [e] of *Capital*. See this volume, p.257

Your articles on the miners in Thuringia[a] are the best you have done so far—a genuine study that deals exhaustively with the main issues and, moreover, aims simply at investigating the facts and not, as in your paper on population[b] or that on the primaeval family,[c] at confirming a preconceived opinion. That is why you have succeeded in producing something substantial. The work throws light on an important part of German history and, though there may be a few minor gaps in the argument, this is of no real moment. Reading it, I realised clearly for the first time (what I had only dimly and vaguely perceived in Soetbeer[d]) the extent to which gold and silver production in Germany (and Hungary, whence precious metals were distributed throughout the West via Germany) provided the final impulse which, between 1470 and 1530, put Germany in the lead economically in Europe, thereby making her the focal point of the first bourgeois revolution, in the religious guise of the so-called Reformation. The *final* impulse in the sense that the guild crafts and the commission trade reached a relatively advanced stage of development, thus turning the scales in Germany's favour rather than in that of Italy, France or England.

Liebknecht has *now* come to see that there's nothing to be done with the Possibilists[19]; when you're talking to him he's not nearly so cocksure as he otherwise tends to be, particularly when he writes. How lucky it was that the Possibilists refused, since a union of the two congresses would have led to fighting and general loss of life and we should have been hugely discredited. The campaign launched by the Possibilists and the Social Democratic Federation with a view to casting doubts on our people's credentials has failed miserably.[478] Not only were Adler's revelations about the possibilist Austrians[e] (in the *Labour Elector* here) quite devastating, but in this country—and this made an even greater impact over here—the idiots had admitted Burns to the credentials committee, whereupon he mercilessly demolished the credentials of the Social Democratic Federation in the columns of the *Labour Elector*.[f] Hyndman represented 28 people! The entire Federation, alleged to be but 1,925 strong, consists, in fact, of less than half that number!

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[a] 'Die Bergarbeiter und der Bauernkrieg, vornehmlich in Thüringen' – [b] *Der Einfluss der Volksvermehrung auf den Fortschritt der Gesellschaft* ... – [c] *Die Entstehung der Ehe und Familie* ... – [d] A. Soetbeer, *Edelmetall-Produktion und Werthverhältniss zwischen Gold und Silber seit der Entdeckung Amerika's bis zur Gegenwart* – [e] F. Engels, 'Possibilist Credentials – [f] J. Burns, 'The Paris International Congress'

The Trades Union Congress[499] was Broadhurst's swan song. Burns, Mann and Bateman, the only people to know the details of the charges against Broadhurst, were tied down here by the Dock Strike, and Broadhurst benefited from it; but the congress was rigged, everything having been done to ensure that only Trades Unionists of the old type attended, as was still feasible on this occasion. Nevertheless, there is every sign that the old is in the process of disintegration.

In Denmark the old party leadership have put their foot in it badly over the matter of the congress, and the opposition, Trier, Petersen, etc., are gaining ground.[418] You ought to engage Trier as correspondent for the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*—Gerson Trier, Ahlefeltsgade 16, Copenhagen.

The Dock Strike has been won. It's the greatest event to have taken place in England since the last Reform Bills[500] and marks the beginning of a complete revolution in the East End. The reason for the universal sympathy shown by the press, and even by the philistines, is, 1. Hatred of the monopolistic Dock Companies who, instead of writing off the non existent capital they have squandered, fleece the shipowners, businessmen and workers so as to be able to declare dividends on it; 2. The knowledge *that the Dockers are voters* and need to be cajoled if the 16 to 18 East End M.P.s of Liberal and Conservative complexion wish to be re-elected (which they won't be; this time there'll be Labour M.P.s). What decided the victory was the £14,000 from Australia, whereby the Australian workers will prevent themselves from suddenly being landed with a mass influx of English workers. Burns, Champion, Mann and Tillett have earned their laurels, while the *Social Democratic Federation was nowhere.* The strike is to England what the coalminers' strike[435] was to Germany—it means that a new system, a vast army, has entered the labour movement. If we can now get by without a war, the fun may soon begin.

Guesde is standing for parliament in Marseilles, Lafargue in Saint Amand (Cher).

Kindest regards to Adler.

Your

F. Engels

As I don't know whether you still have your hedgehog's apartment.[a] I am sending this to Adler, whose address is a safe one. Have received

[a] Engels has 'Igelwohnung', a pun on 'Igelgasse', literally 'Hedgehog Alley', the name of the street where Kautsky lived in Vienna

only Nos 1 and 4 of the *Arbeiter-zeitung*. Is it still in the land of the living? Are you still getting the *Labour Elector*? I'm sending you a copy.

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[343]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London], 26 September 1889

Thanks for the *Volkszeitung*, etc. I was much tickled by the revolution in a tea-cup you have had over there.[501] May possibly be a turn for the better. The progress of Nemesis is slow but sure and, by a quirk of history, it's the very people who have always relied on the support of the New Yorkers against the bulk of the party, especially that in the West, who are now being overthrown by the New Yorkers.

Haven't heard a word from the Russian.[a] Will return his postcard in my next.[476]

If I'm writing no more than a postcard it's because there's so much work to do. Awaiting me on my return from Eastbourne was the news that a fourth edition of *Capital*, Vol. I, was wanted. Though only a few alterations and additional notes will be needed, they will have to be selected and worked out all the more carefully, and the printed text will require a minute scrutiny in order that no distortion of the sense slips through. Again, the references to Book III will now have to be made more precise.

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[a] Hartmann

The dock strike[489] was magnificent. Tussy was involved and worked like a Trojan and the envy aroused by the position she thus gained is already becoming apparent in sundry quarters. I am sending you Harney's article which was quoted in the *Labour Elector*.[502] The old chap's laid up 12 miles away from here; in August he almost gave up the ghost, but is now better. Lenchen thanks you for the *Kalender*[a] and sends her regards. In France Guesde has a chance of getting in on the second ballot. Unfortunately I have no precise news about the elections. Kindest regards to your wife and to the Schlüters.

Your

F. E.

The *Nationalzeitung* of Boston (Nos 1-5) received with thanks. They're the local '*Fabians*'.[503]

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx, u. A. an F.A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906, and, in full, in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[504]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 3 October 1889

My dear Lafargue,

So after all ours is the only Party able to register an increase in strength at the elections. Altogether, though our information is by no means complete, we can reckon on 60,000 votes for our candidates, i.e.

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[a] *Pionier. Illustrirter Volks-Kalender*

those put forward by the groups represented at our congress[473] and, in addition, 19,000 which may be accounted ours (the candidates being neither Possibilists nor 'Radical Socialists'), but to which we would not venture to lay claim in the absence of further advice.

But how comes it that we over here have been left without any statistical information regarding the elections except for that contained in the bourgeois press, from which we cannot possibly deduce the position of all those unknown candidates? How are we to know how many votes are ours when the papers fail to classify the candidates save in the vaguest possible manner? Yet I should say that it would be very much worth your while to keep German and English Socialists informed about your doings, seeing that you no longer possess a paper through which this might be done. And, as you know, we over here are all of us ready to work in the interests of your Party as, indeed, we have always done to the very best of our ability; but if you French gentlemen will not deign to keep us *au fait* with *las cosas de Francia*,[a] we shall be powerless, and more than one of our number will tire of a task so little appreciated by those for whom it is performed.

So as soon as possible after the poll send us a complete list of Socialist candidates belonging to the groups represented at our congress, as also of other Socialists (if any) who are neither Possibilists nor Radical Socialists, with the number of votes cast for each in both the first and the second ballots. We cannot here run the risk of having our facts contested by men like Hyndman, etc., as is bound to happen if we are again thrown back on our own sources of information.

At the congress you set up a National Council[505] which passed certain resolutions. Not one of you deemed it necessary to breathe a word to us about it; and if I hadn't come upon the thing by chance in the Madrid *Socialista*, it would not have appeared either in the German *Sozialdemokrat* or in the *Labour Elector*—and, what is more, two months after the event.

You yourselves must realise that, by carrying on in this way, you are playing into the hands of the Possibilists and of their friends in this country.

I have written and asked Bebel[506] to send some money for Guesde's election campaign, of the importance of which I am very well aware. I hope it will be voted, but it must be remembered that the Germans have already contributed 500 fr. towards the congress, 1,000 for Saint-

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[a] French affairs

Etienne,[507] 900 for the congress report (the first instalment of which hardly redounds to the credit of those who compiled it and who seem to have gone to undue pains to garble the names),[a] 2,500 for the Swiss paper[b] for which, furthermore, they are holding more than 3,500 fr. in reserve. In all, 8,400 fr. voted for international purposes, and this on the eve of their own general election! And, after all these sacrifices, M. Jaclard goes and gratuitously insults them in the *Voix* by calling them machines who vote to order.[508] As if it was the Germans' fault that the workmen of Paris are Possibilists or Radicadets[327] or Boulangists or nothing at all! It would seem that, in Jaclard's eyes, the Germans' ability to accept a majority vote and to act in concert of itself constitutes an insult to the Parisian gents, and that, if Paris marks time, the rest are forbidden to march on.

But if memory serves me aright, M. Jaclard is a Blanquist for whom Paris is therefore a holy city, Rome and Jerusalem at the same time.

To come back to the elections. If it is true that Guesde and Thivrier stand a chance, and if they are successful, we shall be vastly better placed in the Chamber than the Possibilists.—Baudin appears to be a certainty, then there's Cluseret, Boyer and Baslu,[509] one or the other of whom will succeed and, with four or five such, Guesde could form a group which would not only impress the Chamber and the public, but would also place the Possibilists in a rum sort of position. It was the co-existence in the Reichstag of our deputies and those of the Lassalleans which, more than any other circumstance, brought about a merger between the two groups, i.e. the capitulation of the Lassalleans.[510] In this case, too, our group would be the stronger and would end up by forcing the Dumays and the Joffrins to enter its orbit, so that the Possibilist leaders would have to choose between capitulation and abdication.

For the time being, however, all this is the music of the future.[449] But of one thing you may be sure, and that is that Boulangism is *in extremis*.[c] And to my mind that is something of the utmost significance. This has been the third attack of Bonapartist fever; the first, involving a genuine and great Bonaparte, the second a bogus ditto,[d] the third a man who isn't even a bogus Bonaparte, but simply a bogus hero, bogus general, bogus everything, whose chief attribute has been his black charger. And, even with this charlatan-cum-adventurer, it was a dangerous business—as you

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[a] *Congrès international ouvrier socialiste de Paris (Du 14 Juillet au 21 Juillet 1889)*, Paris, 1889 – [b] *Arbeitstag: Der Achtstündige Arbeitstag* – [c] on its last legs – [d] Louis-Napoleon, subsequently Emperor Napoleon III

know better than I. But the acute stage of the attack, the crisis, is over, and we may hope that the French people will now cease to suffer from such Caesarean fevers—proof that its constitution has grown much more robust than it was in 1848. But the Chamber was elected to combat Boulangism and is suffering the consequences in the shape of an inherently negative character, which leads me to doubt whether it will be capable of reaching its natural term. Unless the majority becomes convinced of the necessity for constitutional revision, it will soon have to be replaced by a new Chamber with a revisionist but anti-Boulangist majority. You, being better acquainted with the elements that make up the new majority, will be able to tell me if I am wrong. But I believe that, had it not been for the Boulangist episode, there would by now already have been a revisionist republican majority, or at any rate a healthy minority.

All this if there is no war. The Portland Place HUMBUG's[a] defeat will at least postpone that but, on the other hand, the amassing of armaments by all the powers will have the reverse effect. And if war does come, then goodbye to the Socialist movement for some time. Everywhere we shall be crushed, disorganised, deprived of elbow-room. France, bound to Russia's chariot wheel, will be unable to move and will have to renounce all revolutionary pretensions for fear of seeing her ally go over to the other camp. With the forces of the two sides pretty well equal, England will be in a position to tip the scales in favour of whichever side she may take. This will hold good for two or three years to come but, if war does break out later, I am willing to wager that the Germans will be beaten hollow for, within three or four years, young William[b] will have replaced all the good generals with his favourites—imbeciles or fake geniuses, like those who commanded the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz,[511] and each with a prescription for military miracles in his pocket. And just now Berlin is swarming with that breed, which has every chance of success since young William belongs to it himself.

Give Laura a kiss from Nim and me. I shall be writing to her soon.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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Translated from the French

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[a] Boulanger, who had lived in Portland Place in London – [b] William II

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## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

[Draft]

[London,] 3 October 1889

Dear Liebknecht,

On hearing for certain that Guesde was in the second ballot, i.e. a week ago yesterday, I at once sent a most urgent letter to Bebel. What was decided I don't know.[512]

As regards your letter from Paris, I stick as firmly to my opinion concerning your conduct apropos the congress[473] in March and April as you do to yours. So it's useless to bicker over what is past.

As to the Schlesingeriad, I should be *very* happy were you to succeed in ridding yourself of it. Meanwhile you have seen that the affair cannot really be hushed up in that way and have been forced to issue a statement, which pleases me greatly.[513] Had you issued it at once, the two of us would have been spared this unpleasant correspondence. I know as well as you do, and you as well as I, that it was by no means just Kautsky and I who considered it a scandal that your name should have served to shelter a piece such as this by so worthless a fellow.

At all events your statement relieves me of the need to criticise the concoction myself. But the thing will inevitably be singled out, precisely *because* your name has unfortunately found its way onto it and not, what's more, simply as publisher, but as *editor*.

I too regard Guesde's election as highly important. So far as the number of votes is concerned, the elections have turned out very well for us. I estimate that 60,000 votes were certainly cast in favour of ourselves (of those represented at our congress) and a further 18,000 *probably* so. Against this some 43,000 throughout France for the Possibilists. Baudin seems a certainty, also Boyer, Cluseret and Ferroul and besides these there are a few others whose prospects look bright. If Guesde gets in as well, he's the sort of man round whom they would all rally. In which case the Possibilists, Joffrin and Dumay, will be in the same situation as the Lassalleans were in the Reichstag in 1874 and *then*, but *only* then, can there be any question of our having dealings with them, just as we had dealings with the Lassalleans in Germany;[510] and it is a condition of our

success that until that time they should be treated as enemies and belaboured as such, that they should learn to respect the *might* of our people.

At all events Boulangism[137] is done for and will presumably be dealt further blows at the second ballots, unless the fatuous annulment of the poll in Montmartre[514] brings it new supporters, at least in Paris. If the Russians' cash then fails to appear, *le brave général* will have to move from Portland Place to Soho,[a] or rent a couple of rooms from Lessner.

Regards to your wife and Theodor.[b]

Your F. E.

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[274]

London, 8 October 1889

My dear Laura,

What a melancholy set our French friends are! Because Paul and Guesde have not succeeded, they seem to despair of everything and Paul thinks the less said about these elections, the better! Why, I consider the result of the elections not a *déroute*[c] but a relative success worth registering both in England and Germany. At the first ballots we had between 60 and 80,000 votes, which is quite enough to show that we are nearly twice as strong as the Possibilists, and while they got but two men[d] (of whom one moribund[e]) elected, we have Baudin, Thivrier, Lachize, and

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[a] then a poor district, where many émigrés lived – [b] Liebknecht's son – [c] defeat – [d] J. B. Dumay and J. F. A. Joffrin – [e] Joffrin

then Cluseret and Ferroul who are bound to cast in their lot with the first three; that makes five to two, and will be sufficient, with proper management, to put the two Possibilists in a very impossible position. But both in England and Germany, the effect will be made, not by the number of seats secured but by the number of *votes given*. So let me ask you to see to it that we get, as soon as possible, say *not later* than Monday morning next, but if possible before, the list of votes cast for our candidates at 1st and 2nd ballots, for the *Labour Elector* and the *Sozialdemokrat*. Surely Paul will not push the *droit à la paresse*[a][515] far enough to refuse us that little bit of work.

Of course Guesde's defeat is a misfortune, but then while I thought it necessary to do everything to prevent it, I never believed much in his success, after the 1,445 votes *au premier tour*.[b] What cannot be helped we must put up with. It is a far greater advantage for us to have got rid of Boulanger. Boulanger in France and the Irish question in England are the two great obstacles in our way, the two side-issues which prevent the formation of an independent working men's party. Now Boulanger is smashed up, the road is cleared in France. And at the same time, the monarchist attack on the Republic has failed. That means the gradual passage of monarchism from the ground of practical to that of sentimental, politics, the transfer of Monarchists to Opportunism,[199] the formation of a new Conservative party out of both, and the struggle of that Conservative-Bourgeois-party with the *petits bourgeois* and peasants (Radicals[200]) and the working class; a struggle in which the working-class Socialists will soon get the upper hand of the Radicals, especially after the way they have discredited themselves. I do not expect that everything will pass off in this simple, classical form, but the innate logic of French development is sure to overcome all side-issues and obstacles, especially as both forms of antiquated (not simply bourgeois) reaction—Boulangism and monarchism—have been so well beaten. And all we can ask for is that all these side-issues be removed and that the field be clear for the struggle of the three great sections of the French society: *bourgeois, petits bourgeois et paysans, ouvriers*.[c] And that I think we shall get.

Then Ferry is got rid of and I think Mother Crawford is right when she considers him an obstacle to even his own party.[516] Colonial adventures will no longer bar the way; nor will the formation of the new

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[a] right to idleness – [b] in the first ballot – [c] and peasants, workers

bourgeois party be trammelled by the necessity of respecting the traditions of Ferryism.

Thus I do not despair at all, on the contrary; I see a distinct advance in the result of the elections, *eine sehr bestimmte Klärung der Lage*.[a] Of course you will get Conservative government to begin with; but not what you had, the government of a *distinct set* of the bourgeoisie only. The Opportunists were as much a mere section of the French bourgeoisie as were the *satisfaits*[517] of Louis-Philippe and Guizot: these were the *haute finance*,[b] the others are the set which strives to become the *haute finance*. Now, for the first time, you will get a real government of the *entire* bourgeoisie. In 1849-51, the Rue de Poitiers[518] under Thiers, too, formed a government of the whole bourgeois class, but that was by the truce between the two opposing monarchical parties, and by its very nature *passager*.[c] Now you will get one based upon the despair to upset the republic, upon its recognition as an unavoidable *pis-aller*[d] and therefore a bourgeois government which has the stuff to last until its final smash-up.

It was the splitting-up of the French bourgeoisie into so many sections, fractions and factions which has so often deceived the people. You upset one section, say the *haute finance*, and thought you had upset the whole bourgeoisie; but you merely brought into power another section. There are 1/ the legitimist or generally monarchist landed proprietors, 2/ the old *haute finance* of Louis-Philippe's time, 3/ the second set of *haute finance* of the Second Empire, 4/ the Opportunists[199] who to a great extent have still their fortunes to make, 5/ the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie chiefly of the provinces, who are generally hangers-on, practically, to whatever section happens to be in power, being themselves scattered and without their common centre. Now these all will now have to unite as 'Moderates' and 'Conservatives', will have to drop their old shibboleths and party-cries which divided them, and for the first time act as a bourgeoisie *une et indivisible*.[e] And this *concentration bourgeoise* will be the real meaning of all the *concentrations républicaines et autres*[f] so much talked about of late, and it will be a great progress, leading gradually to a scattering of Radicals and a real concentration of Socialists.

Ouf! Now that's enough on this blessed subject. Tonight I expect

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[a] a very definite clarification of the position – [b] high finance – [c] short-lived – [d] evil – [e] one and indivisible – [f] republican and others

Longuet here and shall cull wisdom from his lips. I am sorry he is beaten as it was a very important personal issue with him.

Of Sam Moore no news since he passed Sierra Leone. Tussy has tried to see his brother, but cannot find him at home. So we don't know whether his family have heard of him.

Nim has raved all the summer about your garden and the vegetables and fruit therein, and I have her special orders to say that she anxiously awaits what she calls her share of the pears, grapes and other good things now about due.

Will you give Paul the enclosed cheque for £20.

Ever your old
F. Engels

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## 221

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[519]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 12 October 1889

Herewith as usual the *Labour Elector* and *Commonweal*. The *International Review* is said to have already met its end, thus quickly has Hyndman ruined it by his mismanagement. Bax, however, is in negotiation over another revue[a]; if he acquires it, Aveling will probably be his assistant editor. The revolution in New York[501] gets funnier and funnier; the attempts by Rosenberg & Co. to remain on top *à tout prix*,[b] while amusing, are fortunately doomed to failure. Your exchanges with the nationalists[c] in the *Workmen's Advocate*[520] have gladdened me, firstly

[a] *Time* – [b] at all costs – [c] De Leon and others

because one can recognise old Sorge from 10 miles off and, secondly, because they have once more provided me with *public* proof of your existence.

I don't know whether I wrote and told you that Sam Moore left for Asaba on the Niger (Africa) in June as Chief Justice for the territories of the English Niger Company. I received the first letter from there yesterday; he finds the climate very good and apparently salubrious; the heat is not very great—75° F in the mornings and 81°-83°[a] in the afternoons. Cool, therefore, by comparison with New York. Thus the 3rd volume of *Capital* will probably be translated into English in Africa. I am working on the 4th edition of the 1st volume; the quotations are all having to be revised to conform to the English edition, but it can't be helped. After that I shall buckle down to the 3rd.

Longuet arrived yesterday to fetch his two elder boys,[b] who have been staying with Tussy. As a result of the Opportunists'[199] abstention he polled 800 votes fewer than his opponent. Of our people about 6 were elected, but not, alas, Guesde.[c]

Your
F. E.

First published in: *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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[a] 23.5° and 27-28°C – [b] Jean and Edgar Longuet – [c] See this volume, pp.384-7

## 222

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 17 October 1889

My dear Laura,

Many thanks from Nim and myself for the splendid box of pears which arrived in capital condition and into which we have already eaten a considerable hole. I stick to my American habit[a] of eating fruit every morning before breakfast and so you may imagine that the rate of disappearance of the produce of your garden is anything but slow. Tussy and Pumps, too, will claim their shares—in fact they are already set apart.

Since the Dock Strike[489] Tussy has become quite an East-Ender, organising Trades Unions and supporting strikes—last Sunday we did not see her at all, as she had to speechify both morning and night. These new Trades Unions of unskilled men and women are totally different from the old organisations of the working-class aristocracy and cannot fall into the same conservative ways; they are too poor, too shaky, too much composed of unstable elements, for anyone of these unskilled people may change his trade any day. And they are organised under quite different circumstances—all the leading men and women are Socialists and Socialist agitators too. In them I see the *real* beginning of the movement here.

The Federation[62] is for the moment played out—the violent attacks of *Justice* on Champion, Burns, etc., have suddenly ceased, there is instead a sort of hidden, *verschämtes*[b] sighing for some sort of universal brotherhood—the last report of the French elections[521] for instance gives *our* results too, and without any nasty allusions or remarks; it looks as if the rank and file had become rebellious. If our lot here—I mean Champion especially—don't make mistakes, they will soon have it all their own way. But I confess I cannot get myself to have full confidence in that man—he is too dodgy. He used to go to Church congresses and preach

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[a] An allusion to Engels' sojourn in America in August and September 1888 – [b] shamefaced

Socialism there, and now he has formed a Committee for organising the East End women with a lot of middle class philanthropists who held a meeting with the bishop of Bedford in the chair—and of course from this business they took good care to exclude Tussy! Now I don't like that, and if they go on that way I shall soon leave them alone. Burns is too fond of popularity to be able to resist such things and goes in with Champion—if I once see him alone, I shall speak to him.

Longuet told us you had said you were coming over at Christmas. We shall be very glad to see you here and have everything comfortable for you, unless you prefer coming in the better season, as you said to Nim you would do next time. But then what *is* the better season here? After the exceptionally fine summer we had (and are having, for it is a regular *rheinischer Altweibersommer*[a] now) perhaps we are in for a whole year's rain!

Sam Moore has arrived at Asaba and has sentenced, as soon as he put his foot ashore in Africa, a Nigger Captain of a Steamer to 9 months hard labour for attempted rape. He says the climate is very fine, 23°C in the morning, 26-29° at 3 in the afternoon (in July and August!) and to all appearance healthy. Fuller news we are promised, but alas, between Akassa and Asaba (both on the Niger) there seems to be no regular mail, and the post-mark of Akassa is the stamp of the Niger Co. with the date filled in in ink!

Love from Nim.

Ever yours
F. E.

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[a] Rhenish Indian summer

## 223

## ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT

### IN BERLIN

London, 17 October 1889
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Schmidt,

Your work,[a] which you kindly sent me and for which I am most grateful, has brought us so much closer together that I no longer can bring myself to address you in the ceremonious style required by custom and, if you would like to oblige me, perhaps you would treat me similarly.

Even though I cannot actually say that you have solved the problem under discussion,[298] your own line of reasoning coincides with that of Volume III of *Capital* at many, and indeed, at important, points, and does so in such a way that the reading of Volume III will give you quite exceptional pleasure. For obvious reasons I am barred from making a detailed criticism of your work just at present; this will be done in the preface to Volume III[b], when it will give me particular satisfaction to accord your work the full recognition that is its due. So until then, perhaps you will be patient. This much however is now quite certain—that your work has secured you a place in economic literature that must be the envy of all the worthy professors.

The work has been a source of particular pleasure to me personally in one further respect, namely by showing that we now have someone else who can think theoretically. Among the younger generation in Germany there are remarkably few who are capable of doing so. Bebel, who has a fine theoretical brain, is prevented by his practical party work from exercising this, the best of his attributes, other than in the application of theory to practical cases. Consequently there have hitherto been only Bernstein and Kautsky, though in Bernstein's case far too much of his time is taken up by practical activities for him to be able to participate in, and further his knowledge of, the theoretical side as much as he would no doubt like and be capable of doing. And there is, after all, so

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[a]Schmidt, *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marx'schen Werthgesetzes* – [b] See present edition, Vol. 37

much still to be done here in the way of theory, especially in the field of economic history and its links with political history, as with the history of law, religion, literature and civilisation generally where the only sure guide through the labyrinth of facts is a clear theoretical insight. So you can imagine how I patted myself on the back for finding a new collaborator.

It's a very good thing that you should be re-editing Knapp's *Bauernbefreiung* for the *Neue Zeit*. Excellent material for this task is provided by Wolff's *Schlesische Milliarde* from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of 1849, reprinted as No. VI of Volume I of the *Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek*. I shall send it to you in separate sheets enclosed in English newspapers, which would seem to be a pretty safe way. Kautsky will also be glad to have found another capable contributor—he has to accept quite enough trash.

I haven't been able to do a stroke of work on Volume III since February. That damned Paris congress[473] saddled me with such a mess of correspondence to all parts of the globe that everything else had to be pushed into the background. The chaps had everywhere lost their international contacts and as a result hatched up the most incredible schemes—sheer good will and a lack of knowledge of one another, as of things and circumstances, would have given rise to some fine old set-tos and everywhere the chaps would have made enemies of their friends, yet failed to appease their enemies. But luckily that's all over now and I've just had news that a 4th edition of Volume I is needed. And since the English edition[2] has appeared in the meantime and a comparison by Mrs Aveling of each quotation with its original revealed occasional *formal* discrepancies but an even greater number of copyists' and printers' errors in the relevant passages, I cannot possibly allow the 4th edition to appear unless I put these right. All this will take time, after which I shall have the proofs to correct, but in a fortnight or so I shall get back to Volume III and thereafter allow nothing whatever to get in my way. I think I'm past the most difficult bits.

Kindest regards from

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

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## 224

## ENGELS TO MAX HILDEBRAND[522]

### IN BERLIN

London, 22 October 1889
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your note of the 19th,[523] I made Stirner's acquaintance around the beginning of 1842 in Berlin[191] when he was hobnobbing with E. Meyen, Buhl, Edgar and subsequently Bruno Bauer, etc. It is true that his name was Schmidt; he owed the nickname of Stirner[a] to his remarkably high forehead. He cannot have been hobnobbing with this circle for very long, since he didn't know Marx, who had left Berlin, if my memory is correct, less than a year previously[524] and was much respected by the others. He was, I think, no longer a grammar school master or at any rate ceased to be one shortly afterwards. Apart from the above named, others who used to meet together at that time were a certain von Leitner, an Austrian, K. F. Köppen, who taught at a grammar school and was a special friend of Marx's, Mussak, his colleague, Cornelius, the bookseller who appears in Fritz Reuter's *Festungstid*, Mügge, Dr J. Klein, the dramatist and dramaturgist, a certain Wachenhusen, Dr Zabel, subsequently editor of the *National-Zeitung*, Rutenberg who, however, left for Cologne shortly afterwards to join the first *Rheinische Zeitung*, a certain Waldeck[b] (not the jurist and high court counsellor[c]) and others whose names escape me; there were in fact several groups which would meet and mingle depending on the time and the opportunity. Jungnitz, Szeliga and Faucher did not arrive until after November 1842, the month in which I completed my year of military service and left Berlin. We would meet at Stehely's and, in the evenings, at this or that Bavarian ale-house in Friedrichsstadt[d] or, if we were in funds, at a wineshop in the Poststrasse, which was Köppen's favourite haunt. I knew Stirner well and we were on *Du*[e] terms; he was a good sort, not nearly as bad as he makes himself out to be in his *Einzige*;[f] and

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[a] *Stirn* – forehead in German – [b] Julius Waldeck – [c] Benedikt Waldeck – [d] district in old Berlin – [e] *Du* or thou, the intimate form of address – [f] M. Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum*

with a slight suggestion of pedantry that had clung to him since his teaching days. We discussed Hegelian philosophy a great deal; at that time he had made the discovery that Hegel's logic begins with an error. *Being*, which proves to be *Nothing* and thus becomes the antithesis of itself, cannot be the beginning; the beginning must consist in something which is itself already the immediate, spontaneously evolved unity of Being and Nothing and from which alone that antithesis arises. And this, according to Stirner, was 'It' (*it* snows, *it* rains), something which is and which, at the same time, is Nothing. Later on he seems to have come round to the realisation that there was, after all, nothing in It, any more than in Being and Nothing.

I saw less of Stirner during the latter part of my time in Berlin; no doubt he was even then pursuing the lines of reasoning that resulted in his magnum opus. By the time it came out, our views had already diverged a great deal; the two years I had spent in Manchester had left their mark on me.[525] When, later on in Brussels,[526] Marx and I felt it necessary to join issue with the offshoots of the Hegelian school, we criticised Stirner amongst others—the critique is as bulky as the book itself. The ms.,[a] which has never been published, is still here in my house in so far as it hasn't been eaten by mice.

Stirner enjoyed a revival thanks to Bakunin who, by the way, was also in Berlin at the time and, during Werder's course of lectures on logic (1841-42), sat on the bench in front of me along with four or five other Russians. Proudhon's harmless, purely etymological anarchy (i.e. absence of government) would never have resulted in the present anarchist doctrines had not Bakunin laced it with a good measure of Stirnerian 'rebellion'.[527] As a result the anarchists have themselves become nothing but a collection of '*Unique Ones*', so much so that no two of them can abide one another's company.

For the rest I know nothing about Stirner; I never found out what subsequently befell him, except that Marx told me he had almost literally starved to death; where he got this from, I don't know.

I saw his wife[b] in this country on one occasion; while here she took up with – *ah que j'aime le militaire*![c] – ex-Lieutenant Techow and, if I'm not mistaken, accompanied him to Australia.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology* – [b] Marie Stirner-Schmidt – [c] Ooh, I do love soldiers!

If I have time later on I might well write a sketch of that period, which was most interesting in its way.[528]

Yours most respectfully,
F. Engels

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## 225

## ENGELS TO O. A. ELLISSEN

### IN EINBECK

London, 22 October 1889
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your circular[529] I regret to inform you that as the papers in my possession have not been sorted for the past 20 years, I cannot possibly search out F. A. Lange's letters—there are only a few—from the pile until I have 3 or 4 weeks' spare time in which to put the whole lot in order. As soon as I have finished the final editing of Volume III of Marx's *Capital*—some time early next year—I must address myself to this task, for it admits of no further delay, whereupon I shall be glad to place the aforementioned letters at your disposal.

You may, of course, publish my letters to Lange in full or in part depending on the circumstances, but in the latter case I would ask you to be good enough to *ensure* that the passages concerned *appear in their full context*.

Yours faithfully,
Fr. Engels

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## 226

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[274]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 29 October 1889

My dear Laura,

A solemn vote of thanks I have to transmit to you for the fresh batch of pears sent by Edward and consumed, in great part, last Sunday with the port wine. They were splendid, and what was left will be mellow by next Sunday.

The Christmas trip legend[a] was also explained by Edward—that it was little Marcel[b] who caused the misunderstanding in Longuet's brain. Anyhow, whenever you are ready to come, we shall be ready to receive you.

I must have expressed myself rather badly about the impending rule of the French bourgeoisie as a class.[c] I meant that *zunächst*[d] the rank and file of the Royalists and Bonapartists will pass over—gradually—into the ranks of the Moderate Republicans, and forsake, as in 1851, when the mass of the Republicans and Royalists passed over to Bonaparte, such of their leaders as will stick to their old-fashioned party shibboleths. That will mean a strengthening of the Moderate Republicans (though not necessarily of the Ferryist or the Léon Sayist cliques of speculators) but at the same time a cessation, once for all, of the power of the old cry: *La république en danger*.[e] [530] Then, and only then, the Radicals[200] can come to the fore as 'Her Majesty's, the Republic's, most faithful opposition', and then you have the real conditions of the rule of the whole bourgeois class, of parliamentarism in full blossom: two parties struggling for the majority and taking in turns the parts of Ins and Outs, of Government and opposition. Here, in England, you have the rule of the whole bourgeois class; but that does not mean that Conservatives and Radicals coalesce; on the contrary, they relieve each other. If things were to take their slow, classical course, then the rise of the Proletarian party *would* no doubt finally force them to coalesce against this new and unparliamentary opposition. But that is not likely to come off; there will be violent accelerations of the development.

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[a] See this volume, p.390 – [b] Marcel Longuet – [c] See this volume, pp.384-7 – [d] to begin with – [e] The Republic is in danger

The progress consists, to my mind in the proof that to fight against the Republic has become hopeless; in the consequent gradual dying out of all anti-Republican parties, which means the participation of all sections of the bourgeoisie in the government—as Ins, or as Outs; the Ins to be, for the present, the reinforced Moderates, and the Outs the Radicals. One election cannot do everything at once, let us be satisfied that this one has cleared the ground.

About the defeat of the Socialists we agree perfectly. Only that I expected it—and a far worse one—and that our Paris friends have expected miracles which of course did not come off. I am perfectly satisfied with the result—under the circumstances. That we got six or seven men in against either the Cadettists[327] or the Boulangists, and something like 120,000 votes, is more than I expected.

As to the policy with regard to the fellows that came in under Boulanger's flag, I am rather of the opinion of Vaillant and Guesde than of Paul. If you admit the Boulangists, you must admit the Cadettists too—Joffrin and Dumay. But moreover, after the infamous way in which the Boulangeo-Blanquists[494] behaved to Vaillant in his *circonscription*[a] and brought him to fall, we ought I believe not to have anything to do with them. Moreover, we have no interest to reconstitute the dissolving Blanquist faction *as such*. We know what peculiarly 'pure' elements it always contained. Granger is an imbecile *chauvin*, to have got rid of whom appears to me a blessing. As to Jourde (who seems to me the one after whom Paul really longs), perhaps he can be made to slip in later on, if he *vaut la peine, ce que j'ignore*,[b] and if he breaks off point blank with the Boulangists. But there is no mistake, Paul's whilom Boulangist sympathies have done us an immense deal of harm and are now being used by Liebknecht who throws them into my face.

As it is, the new socialist faction will be hard to manage, and the less its numbers are swelled by doubtful (still more doubtful) elements, the better it will be. Especially as Guesde is not elected. If the thing is found to work well, then fresh additions of the above sort might be less harmful and could be taken into consideration; and then, the novices ought to do public penance, unless the French party is to stand out as corrupt before the Germans, Swiss, Dutch and even Belgians. What a triumph would it be for the Possibilists[19] if they could point to declared Boulangists in our ranks! And how difficult then for me to make the Germans understand the doings of our French party!

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[a] constituency – [b] deserves it, which I do not know

Now another subject. Percy is completely smashed up. In order to avoid getting execution into their house, they have locked it up and are all here. There are negotiations going on with his father and brothers, to avoid an open bankruptcy, but how that may end nobody can tell; and unless it comes to something, he will have to declare himself bankrupt before the week is out. Old Rosher is half idiotic, has muddled his affairs irretrievably, has handed his business over to the two younger boys, and says he is himself without cash or credit (the latter he *has* managed to ruin almost deliberately). I had an interview with his mother the other day—it's a precious mess altogether. However it may end, it's sure to cost me a lot of money.

Kautsky is not here yet.

Great lamentations by all here when they heard that Diane was lost or stolen.

Love from Nim and yours affectionately
F. Engels

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## 227

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 29 October 1889

Dear Liebknecht,

I can tell you very little about the Prophet Gottschalk, having long since forgotten the creature. Moses Hess brought him into the League[531] prior to 1848 and made him out to be a veritable prodigy. In Cologne

early in March 1848 he posed as a working men's leader.[532] For the conditions as they *then* were, he was the perfect demagogue who flattered the masses at the very moment of their awakening and pandered to all their traditional prejudices—but apart from that he was a complete numskull, as befits a prophet, and for that reason actually regarded himself as a prophet. Moreover, as a genuine prophet he was above all scruples and thus capable of every kind of dirty trick. Whether he ever uttered the words you cite[533] seems to me doubtful; he would systematically invent legends about himself. In short, he played a certain role in Cologne at the beginning of March and had quite crazy schemes, the details of which I have forgotten, that were supposed to work miracles overnight. All this was before our time. When we arrived in Cologne in April his star was very much on the wane and, when we foregathered there again, having finally decided to publish the paper,[a] it had all but set. The paper and our Workers' Association[534] placed him in a quandary; either he went along with us or he opposed us. Luckily for him, he and Anneke were arrested at the beginning of July—on account of speeches of some sort, I believe. They were acquitted at the end of 1848 or the beginning of 1849 (I have been vainly searching through the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* for the date, etc., and shall have to discontinue the search if this letter is to go off). Thereupon the Prophet Gottschalk went into voluntary exile in Paris in the expectation of being recalled by gigantic demonstrations. But no one lifted a finger. After our departure Gottschalk returned to Cologne (it might even have been just before we left) and, having gained his former popularity on the strength of his medical practice in the poorer districts, went back into harness with a will at the outbreak of the cholera epidemic, treated his proletarian patients free of charge, contracted cholera himself, and died.

That is all I know.

In Paris things would seem to have settled down again. Lafargue is by no means as bad as you make him out to be—Jourde is no Boulangist; rather, he masqueraded as a Boulangist in Bordeaux with the consent of the local party comrades, which I, of course, definitely disapprove of. The man has blundered and will have to pay for it, at any rate for the time being. If, however, he is all right in other respects, and that is something I don't know, he may be restored to grace later on.

I'm very sorry that the *Volks-Bibliothek*[535] should have involved you

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[a] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

in such losses. But in view of your lack of business experience it was only to be expected that Geiser would land you in the cart. After all, the rotten stuff he published was made no better by having your name on it, while the Schlesingeriad must inevitably have proved the last straw. That, I think, explains it all quite naturally, without your needing to seek the reason in the ill-will of others. You surely can't expect the party to enthuse over *this Volks-Bibliothek*.

I too am having a bad time. Percy has gone bankrupt and the whole family is living here so as to avoid execution at their house; nothing has been decided yet. Negotiations are going on with the old man[a] but he maintains that he himself is in a mess—and he's really a bit cracked. In short Augustine is in a mess—O my darling Augustine, everything's gone.[b] How it will all end I don't know.

Warm regards from Lenchen and

Your
F. E.

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## 228

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI[536]

### IN BENEVENTO

London, 9 November 1889

Dear Friend,

Difficult as your situation is I can proffer no definite advice; for that, I should have to be on the spot, it being impossible to give an expert opinion from a distance.

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[a] Percy Rosher's father – [b] An allusion to the song *O du lieber Augustin*.

Only one thing can be said with certainty, and that is that neither here not anywhere else in Europe would it be possible to find anything for you. Your proximity to Italy would mean that, wherever you were, they would demand your extradition, and not for a moment would you be safe.

To find you even temporary employment in this country would be *utterly impossible*. Neither I nor my friends could procure this for you—your having been sentenced could not be kept secret. It would be impossible to accommodate you on the *Sozialdemokrat*. And in any case, the demand for your extradition would soon catch up with you. On the other side of the Atlantic things might be different.

So there only remains the choice between prison and Buenos Aires. If you are finally convicted by the court of appeal and go to prison, it seems unlikely that, on the day of your release, you will have any other alternative but to go to Buenos Aires, for you would surely not be able to find work in Europe. In my opinion, therefore, the only question is whether you want to go now, or after having spent three or four years in gaol.

Should you decide to go now, I can put 200 francs at your disposal as a contribution towards your travelling expenses. *But this is the last help I shall be able to give you*. At the moment I am having to maintain *two families* who are related to me, which means that I am myself sometimes at a loss to know where to turn for the necessary cash.

I am sorry that I cannot do more for you. But the funds I have available are limited, and I am powerless against the Italian judiciary. I know full well how desperate your plight is and assure you of my sincere sympathy but it is not in my power to help you beyond the extent indicated above.

Very sincerely yours,
F. Engels

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## 229

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 15 November 1889

Dear Bebel,

I got your letter of 17 October when I was up to my eyes in work on the 4th edition of *Capital*[a]—no small task, as it meant comparing yet again all the quotations Tussy had checked for the English edition and correcting the numerous copyist's and printer's errors. Hardly had that been done than I had to set to work again on Volume III, which has now got to be brought out quickly, for in Berlin little Schmidt has published a work on the average rate of profit[b] which shows that the laddie has—greatly to his credit—puzzled out more than one could wish. So you can see that my hands are already completely full; add to that the necessity of keeping up with the international party press and referring back to the economic literature relevant to Volume III, some of which has to be read cover to cover—and you will see that I'm pretty well bogged down and hence you must forgive me if I don't communicate with you as often as I should like.

As for the French,[537] if you were to spend longer in their midst and become more closely acquainted with the sort of effect produced by their curious modes of procedure, you would probably take a more lenient view. The Party[33] there found itself in what was, for France, the unprecedented, if *in the long run* favourable, position of being strong in the provinces and weak in Paris. Thus what was needed was a victory of the steady-going provinces over arrogant, domineering, supercilious and partially corrupt Paris (the corruption being evident in 1. The dominance there of the corrupt Possibilist leaders, 2. The fact that successful opposition to that domination could, in Paris, *only take the form of Boulangism).* On top of that, there were two executives in the provinces—one in Bordeaux for the Trades Unions and one in Troyes[538] for the socialist groups, these being organised *as such*. So they lacked not only the customary executive in Paris (or any possibility thereof) but

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[a] Volume I – [b] Conrad Schmidt, *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marxschen Werthgesetzes*

also a unified provincial executive resp. the intellectual aptitude for such and the general recognition it would call for.

That the position during this interregnum should seem to you people exceedingly confused and unsatisfactory I can quite understand. It is but temporary, however, but it was typical of the French that, despite *such* a disorganisation of their own party, and despite having made one mistake after another, they should nevertheless have convoked a congress in Paris[473] where all this must be plain for Europe to see. They rightly considered that any discredit incurred would be far outweighed by the fact of Europe's being represented at *their* congress and no more than a few sects at that of the Possibilists.[478]

That the creation of an immediate impact on the public should be to them a consideration of greater moment than it is to you and me and the bulk of the German party is a failing that is not confined to France. Here and in America the case is just the same. It comes from the greater freedom of their political life and their long familiarity with it. Besides, Liebknecht is acting in just the same way in Germany (one of the chief reasons for our perpetual rows), and, if you were to abolish the Anti-Socialist Law[52] tomorrow, you'd soon see how quickly the deplorable consideration mentioned above would come to the fore.

Again, I think you would be deceiving yourself were you to conclude from what you experienced at the Paris congress that the working men were being thrust into the background by, say, the literary men. Such may appear to be the case at a congress in Paris, the more so as the impossibility of communicating in foreign languages thrusts the working men into the background. In actual fact the French workers set far greater store than those of any other country by complete and, in particular, formal, equality with men of letters and bourgeois, and, had you read the reports I received regarding Guesde's, Lafargue's, etc., agitation during the last elections,[539] you would probably take a different view.

It was only on account of Protot (see enclosed proclamation) that Guesde wasn't elected at Marseilles.[540] In France (because the number of candidates is not restricted in the second ballot, while the *relative* majority is decisive) it is the general rule that where there are 2 candidates of the same party, the one who polled fewer votes at the first ballot must stand down. Protot was in that position, but he remained a candidate and disseminated the most infamous calumnies about Guesde. Neither was known locally in Marseilles but, as an old member of the Commune, Protot was supported by the followers of that braggart Pyat, the former deputy for Marseilles. Hence it was understand-

able that he should obtain the 900 votes that would have put Guesde in the Chamber. The best constituency in Marseilles had been chosen by Boyer who had, indeed, previously been returned there, and it was he who got in.

So now we have 7 men—by no means the best possible ones. They have chosen Guesde for their secretary and he is to concoct their speeches for them. On the Municipal Council, Vaillant, Longuet and others likewise constitute a separate group. The two groups will enlist the co-operation of Lafargue, Deville, etc., and afterwards form a central committee of the united (or federated) Blanquists and Marxists.[541] In this way an organisation will gradually take shape.

Besides the above, 3 socialists were elected as Boulangists and 2 as Possibilists but these will, of course, be excluded and allowed to fend for themselves.

I am very sorry that Auer should be in such poor case[542]—but no doubt you'll be getting better news anon. I can only deplore the relative weakness—and this also applies in the field of theory—of the younger generation. But now we have got little Schmidt; he was here for a year and I should never have guessed how much he had in him. If he retains his former modesty—megalomania being today the most insidious and commonest of diseases—he may do excellently.

Over here everything is going swimmingly, but not along the same simple, straightforward lines as in Germany. That calls for people with a natural aptitude for theory. In this country we shall have blunders and to spare. But never mind; the masses *are* now in motion and every new blunder will bring its own lesson with it. So *man tau*,[a] as the Lower Saxons say.

What are your wife and the future wife of the doctor of medicine[b] doing?

Your

F. E.

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[a] let 'em do – [b] Julia and Frieda Bebel

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## ENGELS TO J. H. JOHNSON, J. JOHNSON AND G. B. ELLIS

### IN LONDON

[London, 15 November 1889]

[Draft]

Dear Sirs,

I have received and considered your letter of the 7th inst.[543] It strikes me as rather peculiar that you expect me to treat your enquiries as 'confidential', but never offer to extend the same treatment to my reply. Of course I cannot undertake such one-sided engagements.

If I understand you rightly, I am to report to you and eventually name the author of any reports I may have heard on board, from passengers, officers, or sailors, as far as they may have been disrespectful towards the circulating pumps of the *City of New York*. Such communications, if any, could only be made to me in the expectation that I would treat them after the manner of gentlemen, and not bring their authors into difficulties even supposed they had used an unguarded word or two. To act otherwise, would in my opinion be to turn common informer. Unless I misinterpret what seems to me the clear meaning of your proposal, that is what it amounts to; and in that case it is of a *naiveté* equalled only by its refreshing coolness.

Anyhow, to set your minds at rest, I will tell you that I don't recollect that anybody in my presence, cast the slightest slur upon the immaculate circulating pumps which you have the honour to represent and that I neither know nor care who made them.

I will not condescend to ask you to treat this letter as confidential. A perusal of this correspondence by a Continental or American lawyer or man of business might lead to some valuable hints as to the manner of conducting similar enquiries.

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## 231

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[274]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 16 November, 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Let us say no more about your proclivity for Boulangism, now happily a thing of the past, and why re-read, at this late date, your letters of yesteryear? In any case the gallant general has ruined himself, not only by his failure to remain on the field of battle, but—and this was infinitely worse—by his royalist and Bonapartist alliances; this he now sees and would like to recover his Republican virginity but, as in the case of the fair Eugénie:

> Should he this night find a maidenhead,
> (Bonaparte, on his wedding-night)
> It'll mean the fair lady had two.

No one is in any doubt that the discontent underlying Boulangism[137] is justified, but it is precisely the *form* assumed by that discontent which goes to show that the majority of Parisian working men are as little aware of their situation as in 1848 and 1851. Then, too, their discontent was justified; the form it assumed, Bonapartism, cost us eighteen years of Empire—and what an Empire! And at that time a fair number of the Parisian working men were still fighting against it; but in 1889 they thought fit to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of 1789 by grovelling at the feet of a mere scallywag. That being so, you can hardly expect other people to defer to the Parisians with the same respect they so readily accorded their forebears.

I am much relieved to hear that the Boulangists—genuine or otherwise—have been kept at arm's length by the Party, and the Possibilists[19] likewise. Had they been admitted such as they are I should have been at a loss what to say to the English, Danes, Germans, etc. For the past twenty years we have been advocating the formation of a Party that was distinct from and opposed to all bourgeois parties—and the inclusion of men elected under Boulanger's banner, a banner whose protection, in those same elections, was extended to the Monarchists and repudiated by them—would have spelt our French Party's ruin vis-à-vis other

national parties. And how exultant would the Hyndmans and Smiths have been then!

You say that the attacks on Boulé achieved nothing save to gain him access to the *Intransigeant* and to get him nominated as a municipal candidate—in other words, publicly profess himself a Boulangist, fall into line with that crew and receive the due reward of his treachery.[544] Thank you!

Your plan is very good if it is practicable—if, that is to say, the provinces are prepared to assume the leadership of this committee.[a]

You keep talking about your provincial papers, but you hardly ever send me any.[545] A few used to be forwarded to me by Bonnier, but now I seldom see one. Everything you send me, or get others to send me, will bear fruit in that it will help me keep Bebel posted, and Bebel is ten times more important than Liebknecht; if, moreover, I know what is going on, I can get to work on Ede and the *Sozialdemokrat*.

It would be a good idea if all your newspapers were to arrange exchanges with the *Sozialdemokrat* and the *Labour Elector*, 13 Paternoster Row, E. C. In all other countries this is done as a matter of course; but the French gentlemen wait to be begged—and sometimes begged in vain—to put us in a position to work in their interest. Should this kind of behaviour exceed certain limits, we for our part might begin to tire. Is it really too much to expect some small modicum of order and organisation?

But enough of that. I stand up for you so often and with such ardour vis-à-vis other people that, by way of return, it is only fair that I should give you a thorough dressing-down. At the moment I have no means of checking M. de Paepe's intimations[546] and the Vienna *Arbeiterzeitung* has received confirmation of his death[b] from St. Petersburg; in view of the Russian government's mendacity and the myths about Russian revolutionaries, there's no knowing what is true and what is false.

Now for Laura.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p.402-3 – [b] The death of Nikolai Gavrilovich Chernyshevsky

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 16 November 1889

My dear Laura,

After I finished the enclosed to Paul, I went in the kitchen and had some Pilsener with Nim and Pumps, partly for the sake of the Pilsener and partly because I am ordered to write with interruptions only. Having been, before, to the bank to pay in Sonnenschein's cheque, because I cannot afford to run the risk of keeping it, it will not astonish you to learn that it is now close upon four p.m. and as I dare not write by the gas-light you see I am rather pinched for time.

Anyhow you have done a marvellous thing in the *Senator*[547], about the most difficult thing on earth to be put into English. Not only that you have done it with all the proper impropriety, but even with a near approach to the lightness of the original. And that while both subject and metre are rebellious to translation, the Senator of Empire No. 1[a] being an unknown quantity over here. If you were a boy I should say: *Molodétz*, but I am not versed enough in Russian to know whether that epithet (equal about to the English: you're a brick!) can be feminised into: *Molodtzà*!

The reflex of Thivrier's blouse has fallen upon, and lighted up for a moment, even the English press.[548] If he tears a hole into it, the whole respectability of great Britain will cry out about the bad manners of these Frenchmen. Barring old Mother Crawford, who is Irish and with all her crotchets immensely superior to the other lot—because she *does* move on—the rest of the British journalists in Paris beat your French ditto into fits as far as imbecility goes.

The wise men of Cette appear to be quite up to our *Krähwinkler* and *Schildbürger*.[b] If Sénégas has retired, Paul would be deputy.[465] If they had not put up Sénégas—they inside or outside the town—Sénégas (who seems to be a worthy descendant of Seneca) would never have been in a position not to retire.

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[a] of Napoleon I – [b] Equivalent to 'wise men of Gotham'

Glad to learn that the barometer is rising again with our French friends—it is sure to rise more than it ought, but that we are used to and cannot be avoided; how else could the proper average be restored.

Kautsky is in London and has been in possession of Paul's letter, etc., for about a fortnight, I will tell him tomorrow that Paul expects news from him.

Your pears are gradually being eaten up, but we keep them religiously until at their best, and then I get most of them for my breakfast. Nim has just discovered that the long-shaped ones are sold here at 5d a piece today. Nim has what my poor wife[a] called 'a gammy leg', rheumatism (articular) wandering from knee to hip and back. That of course is a most variable quantity though not, unfortunately, *une quantité négligeable*.[b] The asthma will become less whenever the weather allows me to take her out a bit to Hampstead. Gumpert told her hill-climbing would mend it and so it does.

Pumps and Co are still here—if a settlement is come to today, they will go back to Kilburn on Monday. The family of Percy has been forced to fork out a bit, but the job will cost me some 60 pounds at least, and then fully half their keep. Percy works for his brother Charlie who has some inventions that seem just now to suit the British philistines, but the pay is but trifling, and the whole thing uncertain.

The 4th edition Vol. 1[c] is in the press and I am back to my Vol. III. No easy job, but mun be done as they say in Lancashire.

Tussy is hard at work—tomorrow she won't be here at all, having two speeches afternoon and evening, so she won't get her cheque before Monday. Yours is enclosed, also the account—your share unfortunately but £1.17.6, but then in francs it looks much bigger.

We have got hold of another Mother Schack in Miss Harkness. But this time we have nailed her, and she will find out whom she has to deal with.

Ever yours
F. E.

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[a] Lizzy Burns – [b] a negligible quantity – [c] of *Capital*

## 233

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 18 November 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith cheque for £20.

If the editors of your newspapers do not understand foreign languages, it would be sensible for them to send out *their* papers, without the others (the foreigners) having to reciprocate with what is, for the French, incomprehensible gibberish. But I can't see that this would be any reason for the French not to send their papers to people who can read them and who are more than willing to make use of them in the interests of the French Party.

The Pumpses are still here and it is hoped that things will be settled today.

Last night I read Laura's translation of the *Sénateur*[a] to some friends. Everyone was delighted. That ought to be printed, Aveling said—But where? I asked—in the *Pall Mall Gazette*?—whereupon Aveling's face assumed almost unlimited vertical dimensions.

Suppose Laura was to set about translating some of Heine's stuff—next time she comes over here she could go to the British Museum, compare the translations that have already appeared, and choose some different piece—it might be possible to do something with it over here. Heine is fashionable at the moment and the translations are so British!

Give Laura a kiss from Nim and myself—Nim is pretty fit.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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[a] Beranger, *La Sénateur* (see this volume, p.408)

## 234

## ENGELS TO JULES GUESDE

### IN PARIS

London, 20 November 1889,
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen Guesde,

I have just had a letter from Mrs Aveling who asks me to write to you if I should happen to have your address. Luckily it had been given me by Bonnier and hence I am doing so without delay. The case is as follows:

In Silvertown, a London suburb, Mrs Aveling is conducting a strike[549] in Messrs Silver's works where rubber goods, etc., are produced. The strike, in which three thousand working men and women are involved, has been going on for ten weeks and has every prospect of success. That it should succeed is important, for its failure would mean the interruption of the long series of successes scored by the workers since the dock strike,[489] and would spell victory for the English employers whose rapidly dwindling confidence would thus be restored.

A few days ago, the Silver company received very urgent orders they would not possibly be able to carry out with 3,000 out of their 3,500 work people on strike. Furthermore, there was an order for a considerable quantity of submarine cables, which was to be shared out between four factories, among them Silver's. They will miss their chance, if the strike continues. They made tempting offers to some of the strikers, but to no avail. They then played their last card.

Messrs Silver (a joint stock company which operates under that name) owns a similar establishment at Beaumont-Persan near Paris, where Frenchmen work under English foremen. Some of them were brought over to England. It is known for certain that 70 working men and women from Beaumont have arrived at the docks, but whether they have been introduced into the Silvertown factory is not yet known. It is now imperative that a stop be put to this. They were probably induced to come over under false pretences, without having been told that it was because of a strike.

Mrs Aveling at once telegraphed to Lafargue and Vaillant but, the matter being urgent, we are also addressing ourselves to you, with the

request that you do everything in your power to prevent the French workers from coming to replace the Silvertown strikers, and that you make known the true situation, thus calling upon the class feeling of your workers. It would be frightful were the strikers' resistance to be broken by the arrival of a number of French *Blacklegs*. There would be a revival of old national animosities and no means of suppressing them. For the past four months the workers of London's East End have not only given themselves to the movement body and soul; they have also provided, for their comrades in all other countries, an example of discipline, self-sacrifice, courage and perseverance equalled only by the Parisians when under siege from the Prussians.[550] Just imagine what the effect would be if now, in the midst of the struggle, they were to find French workers fighting under the standard of the English bourgeoisie! No, that is unthinkable! Only let the true situation be known in France and it will, on the contrary, be thanks to the action of the French proletariat that the English strikers will achieve victory.

When, during the dock strike, we sent Anseele a telegram informing him that the employers were bringing in Belgian workmen, he immediately took the necessary action and his letters and telegrams went a long way towards reviving the sometimes flagging spirits of the combatants.

If you feel able to offer similar encouragement to the people of Silvertown, you should write direct to Mrs Aveling, 65 Chancery Lane, London, W. C., which would create an excellent impression.

I hear from Bonnier that your health has greatly improved and that the Marseilles campaign[551] has strengthened your constitution instead of weakening it. I am delighted, for we need every ounce of your energy. It is good news that your slogan 'Neither Ferry nor Boulanger' should have excluded the renegades and traitors of *both these camps* from the Socialist Workers' Party[552] in the Chamber.

With cordial and fraternal greetings,

F. Engels

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## 235

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 30 November 1889

Dear Friend,

This is just to let you know in great haste that, immediately after the receipt of your letter, I wrote to Lafargue about Labriola.[553] I have today heard from Lafargue, who tells me that he had already written to Labriola about your case, asking him to do all he could for you, and that there was hence no need for me to write to him as well.

Trusting that these steps will meet with success, I remain

Very sincerely yours,
F. Engels

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## 236

## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER[554]

IN VIENNA

London, 4 December 1889

Dear Adler,

I suggest that you undertake a *revision* of Avenel's *Cloots*[a] for the following reasons:

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[a] G. Avenel, *Anacharsis Cloots: d'orateur du genre humaine*

In my view (and Marx's) the book contains the first accurate account, based on a study of the records, to deal specifically with the *critical epoch of the French Revolution*, namely the time between 10 August and 9 Thermidor.[555]

The Paris Commune[364] and Cloots were in favour of a propaganda war as the only possible expedient, whereas the *Comité de salut public*[556] went in for *politics*, was afraid of the European coalition and sought peace by *dividing* the members of that coalition. Danton wished for peace with England, in other words with Fox and the opposition party, which hoped to come to the helm at the elections. Robespierre was conducting intrigues in Basle with Austria and Prussia and wished to compound with *those* powers. Both joined forces against the Commune, primarily with the intention of overthrowing the men who wished for a propaganda war—the republicanisation of Europe. They succeeded and the Commune (Hébert, Cloots, etc.) had their heads cut off. From then on, however, no peace was possible between those who wanted to conclude peace only with Britain and those who wanted to conclude peace only with the German powers. The English elections turned out in favour of Pitt, which meant Fox's exclusion from power for years to come; as a result Danton's position was ruined, Robespierre emerged victorious and cut off Danton's head. But—and this was a point upon which Avenel didn't lay enough stress—whereas the reign of terror was now intensified beyond all reason, because indispensable if Robespierre was to remain at the helm in the conditions then obtaining in France, it was rendered wholly superfluous by the Fleurus victory of 26 June 1794,[365] which not only liberated the frontiers but delivered up to France both Belgium and, indirectly, the left bank of the Rhine, whereby Robespierre was also rendered superfluous and fell on 28 July.

The whole of the French Revolution is dominated by the war with the coalition, a war upon which its every pulsation depends.—Let the coalition army advance into France, and the vagus takes over, the heart pounds, there's a revolutionary crisis. Let it be pushed back—and the sympathetic ganglion takes over, the heart slows down, reactionary elements again push themselves to the fore, the plebeians—the forerunners of the later proletariat, thanks to whose energy alone the Revolution was saved—are restored to reason and order.

The tragic thing about it was that the party of war *à outrance*,[a] of war for the liberation of the peoples, eventually turned out to be right, and

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[a] to the knife

that the Republic successfully tackled the whole of Europe, but not until after that party had itself long since been decapitated, while instead of the propaganda war, there ensued the Peace of Basle[557] and the bourgeois orgy of the Directory.[558]

The book must be completely revised and abridged—the bombast must be excised, and the facts, having been supplemented from ordinary history books, made to stand out clearly. In the process Cloots can be completely relegated to the background; the most important things from the *Lundis révolutionnaires* can be interpolated[a]—and in this way it can be made into a work on the Revolution such as has never existed before.

The account of how the Battle of Fleurus precipitated the collapse of the reign of terror appeared in 1842 in the (first) *Rheinische Zeitung*, in an excellent review by C. F. Köppen of H. Leo's *Geschichte der französischen Revolution*.[559]

Many regards to your wife and to Louise Kautsky.

Your
F. E.

First published in: *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe, Heft 1, Vienna,* 1922

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## 237

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[560]

### IN ST. PETERSBURG

London, 5 December 1889
11 Burton Road Kilburn, N. W.

Dear Sir,

Immediately on receipt of your letter of the 14/26 November[561] I informed Mr Lafargue of its contents. He replies that he has written to you at once, saying that he never received any letters from the Lady

[a] G. Avenel, *Lundis revolutionnaires 1871-1874*

Editor of the *Northern Review*,[a] that he places at her disposal 5 articles or any of them; as to the cutting out of certain passages of the article now in hand he says nothing *to me*, but if he should have omitted replying on that point, it seems to me clear that such must be left to her discretion. His address is

P. Lafargue,
60, Avenue des Champs Elysées
Le Perreux
Seine, France

I now forward to you *registered* a copy of Th. Tooke, on the Currency Principle,[b] London, 1844. This is a copy I bought second hand, it contains some pencil notes by the former owner, mostly confused stuff; also two old newspaper cuttings, one referring to the crisis of 1847 and rather interesting.

In the meantime I have got ready the 4th edition of Volume I[c] now in the press, there are two or three fresh additions from the French edition; the quotations have been looked over with the help of the English edition, and I have added a few notes of my own, especially one about Bimetallism.[562] As soon as ready I shall forward you a copy.

Yours sincerely yours
P. W. Rosher[39]

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[a] A. M. Yevreinova – [b] T. Tooke, *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle*, etc. – [c] of *Capital*

## 238

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[563]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 7 December 1889

Dear Sorge,

Letters of 8 and 29 October received with thanks.[564]

That the 'Socialist Labor Party'[3] might go into liquidation is too much to hope. Apart from Shevich, Rosenberg has other heirs in plenty, and the conceited, doctrinaire Germans out there will certainly not be anxious to give up their position as self-appointed tutors to the 'immature' Americans. Otherwise they'd be complete nonentities.

Here, too, we have seen that it's not so easy to educate a great nation in doctrinaire and dogmatic fashion, even if one is in possession of the best of theories deriving from that nation's own mode of existence, and has relatively better educators than those of the Socialist Labor Party. Now the movement *has* at last got going—as I believe for good. But it isn't actually socialist and those Englishmen who have understood our theory best remain outside it—Hyndman because he's an incorrigible intriguer and dog-in-the-manger, Bax because he's too much of an academic. In form, the movement is first and foremost a trades union movement, but totally different from the movement of the old Trades Unions, that of the skilled labourers or working men's aristocracy. The way the chaps are tackling the job now is altogether different; they are leading vastly greater masses into the fray, are convulsing society far more profoundly and making much more extensive demands—8-hour day, the universal federation of all organisations, complete solidarity. Thanks to Tussy, the Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union[565] has, for the first time, got women's branches. Moreover, the chaps consider their present demands to be merely provisional, although they themselves don't yet know what their ultimate goal will be. But this obscure presentiment is deep-seated enough for them to choose *only* avowed socialists for their leaders. Like everyone else, they will have to learn by experience and from the consequences of their own mistakes. But it won't take them long since, unlike the old Trades Unions, they greet with derision any reference to an identity of interests between capital and labour. I hope there won't be any general elections for the next three years, 1. so

that Russia's minion, Gladstone, should not be at the helm at the time when the threat of war is greatest, this being alone sufficient to make the Tsar[a] precipitate a war: 2. so that the anti-Conservative majority grows big enough to ensure genuine Home Rule for Ireland,[175] for otherwise Gladstone will again play a dirty trick on the Irish and this obstacle—the Irish question—won't have been removed: 3. but also so that the labour movement can develop still further and, perhaps, mature more quickly as a result of the bad trading conditions that will surely come as a backlash of the present boom. Then the next parliament might boast between 20 and 40 labour M.P.s, and they of a quite different calibre to your Potters, Cremers & Co.

What is most repellent here is the workers' deeply ingrained sense of middle-class '*respectability*'. The division of society into innumerable, incontestably recognised grades, each having its own pride but also an innate respect for its '*betters*' and '*superiors*', is so old and so firmly established that it's still pretty easy for the middle classes to practise their allurements. I am by no means sure that John Burns, for one, isn't secretly prouder of his popularity with Cardinal Manning, with the Lord Mayor[b] and with the middle classes generally than he is of his popularity with his own class. And Champion—an ex-subaltern—has always indulged in intrigue with middle-class, and notably Conservative, elements, preached socialism at the priest-ridden Church Congress, etc. And even Tom Mann, who to my mind is the best of the lot, likes to say that he's going to lunch with the Lord Mayor. You only have to compare them with the French to see what the benefits of a revolution are. Incidentally, it won't greatly profit the middle classes if they do succeed in luring a few of the leaders into their web. By then the movement will be strong enough to cope with things of that kind.

The 4th edition[c] has been finished and is printing.

Rappaport has been sent to Kautsky.[566] Anyone with such an appalling name must be capable of every kind of nonsense.

Little Hepner[567] is such a clever and, in his own eyes, such an impartial, and at the same time such an impractical, little chap (what the Jews call *Schlemihl*—a born Jonah) that I'm surprised he hasn't long ago *come to grief* out there. It's a pity about the little fellow, but there's nothing we can do.

*Time* has now been bought by Bax, who has also, I believe, arranged

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[a] Alexander III – [b] Henry Aaron Isaacs – [c] of the first volume of *Capital*

everything with the Avelings. But it depends on what Bax makes of it. For all his talent and good intentions, Bax is an unknown factor—an impractical academic who has plunged himself into journalism and been somewhat thrown off balance as a result. Add to that his peculiar notion that nowadays it is men who are downtrodden by women.

Your catalogue of the *Tribune* articles by Marx[568] is doubtless buried under a mountain of unsorted letters. I have got the *Tribune* articles pasted in somewhere, but whether they are complete I can't say just now. I only came upon them again this autumn.

*Strictly between you and me*, I have only just heard that, before leaving here, Schlüter's wife apparently alleged that Kautsky had elbowed Schlüter out of his post. If she should say anything of the sort *out there*, there is no truth whatever in it. Schlüter *resigned of his own accord* and his resignation was accepted by the parliamentary group in Germany.[409] He had a personal quarrel with Motteler, with whom no one can get on, but who is of great value to the party leadership because of his absolute and universally acknowledged reliability in money matters. If on this occasion Schlüter didn't get from Ede Bernstein all the support he might have expected, the blame rested partly with Ede but also partly with *Schlüter himself*. Our thoughts only turned to Kautsky as a replacement for Schlüter in the post of archivist[227] *after Schlüter's resignation*. I would not have bothered you with this tittle-tattle, but now feel obliged to do so.

A fortnight ago a long letter arrived from Sam Moore. He finds the district salubrious, the situation very fine, and the company tolerable, subscribes to a whole lot of periodicals, but nevertheless would already appear to be looking forward to 1891 and his 6 months' leave in Europe.

In Germany things are going swimmingly; little Willie[a] is an even more proficient agitator than Bismarck, the miners of the Ruhr are certainly ours, those of the Saar soon will be, and the Elberfeld trial, with its revelations about *mouchards*[b] is also doing its bit.[569] In France our parliamentary group now numbers 8 men, amongst whom 5 of the delegates to the Marxist congress in Paris[473], Guesde is their secretary and prepares their speeches for them. There is once more some prospect of a daily paper. The group is going to put forward as a motion the resolutions taken by the congress. Everywhere work is under way for May Day 1890.—In Austria things are also going very well, Adler[c] has managed splendidly and the anarchists there are done for.

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[a] William II – [b] police spies – [c] Victor Adler

I, too, am well, my eyes have improved and if this goes on until the end of January, through the period of fog and shorter days, I shall be able to work at a brisker pace again. Tussy is busy with the Silvertown strike,[549] which would have been over long ago had it not been neglected by Burns & Co.

Cordial regards to your wife,

Your
F. E.

First published, slightly abridged, in: *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. and F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and, in full, in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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## 239

## ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT[570]

### IN BERLIN

London, 9 December 1889

Dear Schmidt,

Best thanks for your letter of 10 November. I am glad to hear that you are getting along so well in your journalistic career, only you should make sure you are properly paid, otherwise it's only half the battle. Journalism is a very useful training ground, particularly for us Germans since we all of us tend to be a bit clumsy (which is why the Jews are so 'superior' to us in this sphere too); it makes one more flexible in every way, one gets to know and assess one's own abilities better and, above all, one learns to do a given piece of work in a given length of time. On the other hand, it can also lead to superficiality because shortage of time

accustoms one to dashing off things one knows one has not yet fully mastered. But someone like you with a scientific bent will nevertheless be able to preserve his powers of discrimination and not be tempted to place a dazzling tour de force, calculated for immediate effect and drawn exclusively from the handiest sources, on a par with a scientific work painstakingly produced if outwardly, perhaps, not so brilliant; although here too the cash forthcoming tends to be in inverse proportion to the actual value.

Once you have made a position for yourself in journalism you ought to try and establish contacts that would enable you to return to London for a year or two. It's pretty well the only place that is any good for the study of political economy. Despite the great advances happily made by German industry during the past 25 years, we still lag behind others—in the customary manner—in this respect too. England has anticipated us in heavy goods, and France in fashion goods; for the export trade, as I once said in an article for the Paris *Égalité*, our industry could have recourse only to goods that '*étaient trop mesquins pour les Anglais ou trop vilains pour les Français*'.[a] Hence, too, the remarkable phenomenon in Germany that the most notable feature of the present industrial boom is a *drop* in exports because, with the rise in internal consumption and thanks to protective tariffs, the manufacturers can sell more goods at home at monopolistic prices and are therefore having to sell fewer abroad at give-away prices. Hence all the economic phenomena there are manifested, firstly in a derivative form and, secondly, in a form vitiated by the protective tariff system, and are therefore always special instances nor, save as exceptions and after having been thoroughly purged of irrelevancies, can they be used to demonstrate the general laws and phases of development of capitalist production. Today, more than ever before, free trade has made England the classical field for the study of those laws and this all the more in that England, though in absolute terms still increasing its production, is, in relative terms, definitely declining by comparison with other countries and rapidly becoming a Holland-type nation. However, the decline of British industry is, in my view, coincidental with the collapse of capitalist production generally. And whereas there can be little doubt that Germany will be the ground on which the struggle will be fought out, it may well be in England that the issue is decided.

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[a] 'were too mean for the English and too ugly for the French' (F. Engels, 'The Socialism of Mr. Bismarck', see present edition, Vol. 24, p.275)

Which is why it's so splendid that here too, and at this particular juncture, the movement should have got under way in real earnest and, as I think, for good and all. The strata of working men who are now buckling to are infinitely more numerous, energetic and aware than the old Trades Unions, which represented only the aristocracy of the working class. They have far more drive. Whereas the old men still continue to believe in 'harmony', the young deride anyone who mentions an identity of interests between capital and labour. And whereas the old reject all socialists, the young refuse to have anyone at all except avowed socialists for their leaders. Here I have a splendid informant in the person of Tussy, who is deeply involved in the said movement.

As I have already said, do try and come back here. You could risk it if you were to work as correspondent and do various other jobs for the *Neue Zeit*, Braun's *Archiv* and one or two other magazines. We should all—and I especially—be delighted to see you here again.

Sam Moore is in Africa, in Asaba on the Niger, as Chief Justice to the territories of the Royal Niger Company. He left in the middle of June and writes very contentedly; he finds the region salubrious and the company tolerable. Sleeps sweetly, I hope, in a negress' arms.

Otherwise everything here is much as it was. Aveling seems to be doing well with his dramatic endeavours—his last piece, a fortnight ago, was much liked. The Swiss expellees[81] are gradually settling down. *Time*, a monthly controlled by Bax, will be appearing as from 1 January.[b]

With kindest regards

Yours
F. Engels

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## 240

## ENGELS TO GERSON TRIER[571]

### IN COPENHAGEN

London, 18 December 1889

[Draft]

Dear Mr Trier,

Many thanks for your interesting communication of the 8th.[572]

Since you ask my opinion about the recent dramatic events in Copenhagen[418] to which you fell victim, let me begin with one point upon which I am *not* of one mind with you.

You reject on principle any kind of collaboration, however transient, with other parties. I am revolutionary enough not to deprive myself even of this recourse in circumstances in which it would be more to our advantage or at any rate do us least harm.

That the proletariat cannot seize political power, which alone will open the doors to the new society, without violent revolution is something upon which we are both agreed. If the proletariat is to be strong enough to win on the crucial day, it is essential—and Marx and I have been advocating this ever since 1847—for it to constitute a party in its own right, distinct from and opposed to all the rest, one that is conscious of itself as a class party.

This does not mean, however, that the said party cannot occasionally make use of other parties for its own ends. Nor does it mean that it cannot temporarily support other parties in promoting measures which are either of immediate advantage to the proletariat or spell progress in the direction of economic development or political freedom. I would support anyone in Germany who genuinely fought for the abolition of primogeniture[573] and other feudal relics, of bureaucracy, protective tariffs, and Anti-Socialist Law[52] and restrictions on the right of assembly and of association. If our German Party of Progress[45] or your Danish Venstre[418] were genuine radical-bourgeois parties and not just a miserable bunch of windbags who creep into their holes at the first threat uttered by Bismarck or Estrup, I would by no means *unreservedly* reject any kind of temporary collaboration with them having a specific end in view. When our deputies vote for a motion tabled by a different party—as they all too often have to do—even this could be described as a form

of collaboration. But I would be in favour of it only if its immediate advantage to ourselves or to the country's historical progress towards economic and political revolution was instantly apparent and worth the effort. And provided the proletarian class character of the party were not jeopardised thereby. Thus far and no further I am prepared to go. You will find this policy propounded as early as 1847 in the *Communist Manifesto*[a]; we pursued it in 1848 in the International, everywhere.

Disregarding the question of morality—a point I am not concerned with here and shall therefore not discuss—I would, as a revolutionary, countenance any means, the most violent but also what may seem the most moderate, that were conducive to the ends.

Such a policy demands insight and strength of character, but what policy does not? It exposes us to the dangers of corruption, or so say the anarchists and friend Morris. Very well, if the working class is an assortment of blockheads and weaklings and downright venal blackguards, then we might as well pack up at once, for in that case neither the proletariat nor any of the rest of us would have any business to be in the political arena at all. Like all other parties, the proletariat will be best taught by its own mistakes, and from those mistakes no one can wholly save it.

In my opinion, therefore, you are wrong when you elevate what is primarily a question of tactics to the level of a question of principle. And so far as I'm concerned, the only question that confronts us at the start is a tactical one. A tactical error, however, may in certain circumstances, lead to an infringement of principle.

And here, so far as I can judge, you are right in criticising the tactics of the *Hovedbestyrelsen*.[b] For years the Danish Left[c] has been acting out an undignified comedy of opposition, nor does it ever tire of demonstrating its own impotence to the world at large. It has long since missed the opportunity—if ever it had one—of avenging the infringement of the Constitution[574] by force or arms; indeed, an ever increasing proportion of the Left would seem to be yearning for reconciliation with Estrup. A genuinely proletarian party could not, or so it seems to me, collaborate with a party of that kind without in the long run forfeiting its class character as a working men's party. Hence, in so far as you stress the class character of the movement as arguing against this policy, I can only agree with you.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp.477-520 – [b] Central Executive – [c] the Venstre Party

Now as regards the methods adopted towards you and your friends by the *Hovedbestyrelsen*, such summary expulsion of an opposition from the party certainly occurred in the secret societies of 1840-51; the very secrecy of the organisation made this inevitable. It also occurred—not infrequently—among the English *Physical Force* Chartists[575] under the dictatorship of O'Connor. But the Chartists, being a party specifically organised for the use of force as their very name implies, were subject to dictatorship, and expulsion was an act of military discipline. On the other hand I have heard of no such high handed procedure in time of peace save in the case of the Lassalleans in J. B. von Schweitzer's 'rigid organisation'; von Schweitzer had to make use of it because of his suspect dealings with the Berlin police, and in doing so only precipitated the disorganisation of the General German Workers' Association.[576] It would be most unlikely to occur to any of the socialist labour parties presently in existence—now that Mr Rosenberg has happily made himself scarce in America [501]—to treat along Danish lines an opposition it had nurtured in its own bosom. No party can live and prosper unless moderate and extreme tendencies grow up and even combat one another within its ranks, and one which expels the more extreme tendencies out of hand will merely promote their growth. The labour movement depends on mercilessly criticising existing society, criticism is the breath of life to it, so how can it itself avoid being criticised or try and forbid discussion? Are we then asking that others concede us the right of free speech merely so that we may abolish it again within our own ranks?

If you should wish to publish the *whole* of this letter, I should have no objection.

Yours sincerely

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## 241

## ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT

### IN LEIPZIG

London, 24 December 1889

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

First of all my most sincere thanks for the greetings you and your son[a] so kindly sent me on my last birthday, which was a most merry occasion. We all had to sit up until midnight so as to kill two birds with one stone, for the next day was Aveling's birthday and this we proceeded to celebrate together.

We were glad to hear that you are all in the best of health. We, too, are getting on pretty well; Nimmi has had some bad colds and all of us have had attacks of rheumatism—not that it can be wholly avoided in this climate, but so long as it doesn't get too bad, no one complains about it.

All is also well with the Roshers, except that last Sunday Papa Percy caught a bad cold which very nearly developed into pneumonia. However he's improving though it will, of course, put paid to any Christmas jollifications so far as he is concerned and he won't be allowed to leave the house tomorrow. At the moment Pumps is without a maid; the last one upped and left a fortnight ago while she and the children were out, and when Pumps returned she found the house deserted and locked and, since she had no key, the company had to come round to me and await Percy's arrival; until then they were unable to get in. So here too, you see, all kinds of *petits misères*[b] keep cropping up.

There will be a big party here tomorrow evening if Pumps and her children are able to come; besides them, the Mottelers, Fischers and Bernsteins will be coming, as will the Avelings, of course, and then there'll be Schorlemmer, who has been here since yesterday. The number coming corresponds exactly to the number we can, at a pinch, find place for. Nimmi is busy cooking and baking—the plum puddings were made a week ago. It's an awful chore, with no purpose other than to bring on attacks of indigestion! But such is required by custom, and one has to conform. Nevertheless we'll make merry, even if we're sorry for it on Boxing Day.

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[a] Theodor Liebknecht – [b] little calamities

Ever since the dock strike,[489] when she worked day and night on the committee—the real executive work was done by 3 women—Tussy has been deeply involved in the strike movement. While the dock strike was on, a small strike broke out in Silvertown[549] on the furthest outskirts of the East End, some 3,000 people. She was in the thick of it, organised a branch of the union for the girls and had to make her way there every morning—after 12 weeks, however, the strike ended in defeat. She is presently taking part in the gas strike in South London[577] and on Sunday morning spoke in Hyde Park, but it isn't so exhausting, of course, and gives her more free time. She and Aveling will be taking on the assistant editorship of a monthly[a] which has been acquired by E. B. Bax with effect from 1 January and that will be work enough in itself. Besides this she is secretary to two women's trade societies.

I also got a letter from Liebknecht yesterday[578] and would ask you to be good enough to thank him for it on my behalf. He will doubtless be with you tomorrow. We over here are anxiously awaiting the verdict at the Elberfeld trial.[569] I have long since lost all faith in the Prussian judiciary and only trust that Bebel won't be convicted along with others.

The people in Paris are, it seems, to have a daily paper again—but my hopes on this score have so often been dashed that I won't really believe it until I see it. Our French parliamentary group of eight men has not done at all badly up till now and has shown remarkable discipline when one considers that they have come together from all parts of France and are, to a great extent, strangers to one another.

And now, dear Mrs Liebknecht, I should like to send my best wishes for a merry Christmas and a thoroughly enjoyable New Year to you, Liebknecht, Theodor and all the other children, not forgetting Mrs Geiser. I heard from the Schlüters yesterday; they seem to be getting on pretty well.

With warm regards from Nimmi, the Roshers and myself

Yours very sincerely
F. Engels

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[a] *Time*

## 242

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

### IN HANOVER

[London,] 30 December 1889

Dear Kugelmann,

A Happy New Year to you.

Thank you for the prescription for my eyes, which, however, is not nearly concentrated enough for me. Last year and up till August I used cocaine and, as this grew less effective (on account of habituation), went on to $ZnCl^2$, which works very well. If I weather the present short days successfully—the last daylight we saw was on 28 December—since yesterday morning it has been perpetual night—I shall have put the worst behind me.

Kindest regards.

Your

F. E.

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# 1890

## 243

## ENGELS TO MRS ZADEK

### IN LONDON

[London, beginning of January, 1890]

[Draft]

Dear Mrs Zadek,

We were both, Lenchen and I, as surprised as we were delighted when we received the beautiful pieces of handwork you so kindly sent us. It was surely too much for you to have sat down, your eyes being as troublesome as they are (and I know what that means from my own experience), and made such complicated things. And for that reason they will be all the more treasured. Lenchen is in absolute raptures over her fine warm skirt and, even though you may have flattered me a shade too much in regard to the smallness of my feet, I'm perfectly sure that the slippers and I will, on longer acquaintance, become most intimate friends. We both of us thank you from the bottom of our hearts.

I hope your health permitted you to spend a happy 70th birthday surrounded by your dear ones; may we please send you our belated congratulations? This distinction still lies ahead of Lenchen and myself—in my case it actually falls this year. It is a peculiar decade in which to enter it.

With my kindest regards to you and Dr Zadek.

Very respectfully, Yours,
F. E.

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## 244

## ENGELS TO SERGEY STEPNIAK

[London,] 3 January 1890[a]

My dear Stepniak,

As I have no Geneva address, I must send you my article. Please have the German original returned to me as soon as possible so that I can then write the second article.[579]

How often will your Review be published?

Happy New Year to you, Mrs Stepniak and all friends.

Ever yours
F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in the collection *Gruppa 'Osvobozhdeniye Truda'*, No. 1, Moscow, 1924

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## 245

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 8 January 1890

My dear Laura,

*Prosit Neujahr avant tout! Et puis après*,[b] as I cannot bear the idea that you should translate Walther von der Vogelweide from a modernisation, I send you a copy of the original.[580] You are quite right, the metre and rhyme of the original ought to be preserved in every translation of poetry, or else go the whole hog like the French and turn it at once into prose.

Hope you got over your influenza by this. We have it here too and pretty thick, although of our nearer circle none has as yet been caught.

---

[a] The original erroneously has: '89' – [b] First of all, a Happy New Year to you! Then, next,

Percy is better, but Pumps is laid up with bronchitis and congested lungs, will however be up soon. Charley R.[a] is the only one I know who can boast of having the influenza.

Old Harney is laid up at Enfield with chronic bronchitis; I shall have to go some day this week and see him. Poor fellow, but he feels happy in one thing: *being out of America*! It is most amusing to see how America makes all Englishmen patriotic, even Edward was not without a touch. And all on account of a quarrel about 'manners' and 'breeding'! The Yankees, too, have a rather provoking way of asking you how you like the country, what you think of it, and expect of course an outburst of admiration. And so poor old Harney has got so disgusted with the 'Land of the free' that his only wish is to be well back to the 'effete monarchy' and never to return to Yankeeland. I am afraid he will have his wish; *bodily* he is aging very much, no wonder after the eight years' torture with rheumatic gout he has had. But in spirit he is the old inveterate punster and full of humour.

I was glad, on receiving Paul's letter about the new paper,[581] that I had written to Bonnier my opinion that they ought formally to *engage you* on the *rédaction* for the German part. So he will see that I had no idea of the situation and at the same time considered it as self-understood that everybody got paid. He has not written again to me but to Tussy, saying the paper will come out 11th January, and wanting them to write and to get Burns, etc. to do the same.

I really think you are about the only person who can keep his or her head above water and clear in Paris; that place seems to make people cracked. Here is Bonnier who was sensible enough as long as he was here and now all at once he is as mad as Guesde can be over this impossible paper. A daily paper with unpaid *rédaction*, unpaid correspondents, unpaid everything—why it is ruination to begin with, and being kicked out of the paper you have made as soon as you demand the payment due for your work! He might well write to me *que la partie internationale doit être écrasante*[b]—when the *partie parisienne* is as good as non-existent from the beginning! And to expect people here to write *à jour fixe*[c] regular letters, so that the fact may be announced *la veille*![d] for that he actually expected all of us, Burns and God knows whom besides, to do here, and all for the honour of having the honour of being allowed to speak to the inhabitants *de la ville lumière qui se fichent pas mal de nous tous*![e]

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[a] Either Charles Roesgen or Charles Rosher – [b] that the international side must be an overwhelming burden! – [c] on fixed days – [d] the day before – [e] of the City of Light which doesn't give a damn for any of us

It strikes me this affair will end in all sorts of muddles, if not in quarrels amongst our own people at the moment when everything seemed to promise well.

Anyhow I shall feel obliged and it will be useful to all of us if you or Paul will keep us well posted up with regard to this matter; for we shall surely be bombarded with all sorts of demands when once the paper is out, and experience shows that 'in the interest of the cause' one half of the facts are kept from us. Of course we shall be very shy in engaging ourselves, but at the same time it will be better if we have not in every case first to inquire from you how the matter really stands.

I don't understand how Guesde can act in that way upon his own hook and let his meridional imagination run away without the consent of Paul, Deville and others. Bonnier's letters sound as if these people thought the whole world was idle, had more time on their hands than they knew to employ, and was anxiously waiting for the chance of a French paper coming out to which they might contribute gratis! Such things would not be suffered in the German or any other party—that one man engages the responsibility of all without a special mandate; that he acts upon delusions, as to the chances of his getting foreign contributors, which you and Paul would have at once destroyed, or if you had a chance of refuting them, acts in spite of your better experience. Really if our friends will be guided by their delusion and fancies alone, nobody can prevent them from coming to grief.

I am called away suddenly and must conclude.

Ever yours
F. Engels

| | *Richtig wäre*: |
|---|---|
| Under der linden | |
| an der heiden | |
| dâ unser zweier bette was, | |
| dâ *mugent* ir vinden | muget |
| schône beide | |
| gebrochen bluomen unde gras | |
| vor dem walde in einem tal | |
| tandaradei | |
| schône sanc diu nahtegal. | |
| | |
| Ich kam gegangen | |
| zuo der ouve: | |
| dô was mîn *friedel* komen ê. | vriedel |
| dô wart ich *empfangen* | emphangen |

| | |
|---|---|
| hêre *frouwe*, | vrouwe |
| daz ich bin saelic iemer mê. | |
| *kuster* mich? wol tûsentstunt: | kuste er |
| tandaradei | |
| sêht wie rôt *ist mir* der munt. | Mir ist |
| | |
| Dô *het* er gemachet | hete |
| alsô rîche | |
| von bluomen eine bettestat: | |
| des wirt noch gelachet | |
| innecliche, | |
| kumt iemen an daz selbe *pfat*. | phat |
| bî den rosen er wol mac | |
| tandaradei | |
| merken wâ mirz houbet lac. | |
| Da zer bî mir *gelaege*, | laege |
| wessez iemen | |
| (nu enwelle* got!) sô *schamt* ich mich. | schamte |
| was er mit mir *pflaege*, | phlaege |
| niemer nîemen | |
| bevinde daz, wan er unt ich, | |
| unt ein kleinez vogellon - | |
| tandaradei | |
| daz mac wol getriuwe sîn | |

*enwelle = wolle nicht.

*Pronunciation*:
ie, iu, uo, the accent on first vowel: íe, íu, úo.
ei = ei in Portuguese, Italian, Danish, Russian etc. e+i, not a+i as in Neuhochdeutsch
sch = s+ch same as in Dutch & Greek.
H at end of syllable or before consonant = Swiss ch, nahtegal, schr. nachtegal, lacht.
Z = ts, zz = ss.
Vowels with circumflex long, *all others short*: tal, not tâl, schamt, not schâmt.
Dipthongs of course long.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

Reproduced from the original

## 246

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

### IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 9 January 1890

Dear Hermann,

Many thanks for your good wishes which, and this goes for you all, I heartily reciprocate. I'm glad to hear that you're all getting on so well and I, too, cannot complain. I put on weight again last year and am now back to 168 English lbs, which is about as heavy as I've ever been, though all of it is firm muscular flesh without any loose adipose tissue. My eyes are also improving; as a rule the foggy season, when the days are shortest, used to be the critical time during which they invariably got worse, but I've come through the present season in better shape than I've known for years and so there's a fair prospect of my being able to return to full-time work before long. Even the doctors won't believe me when I tell them I'm in my seventieth year; they say I look ten or fifteen years younger. Of course all this is simply on the surface and even in my own case may prove deceptive, for all kinds of minor ailments may be lurking underneath and over a period these many little things can add up to quite a lot, but all in all I can't complain and when I see how so many people make their lives an utter misery for nothing and less than nothing and to no purpose whatsoever, I can count myself lucky that I have retained my *joie de vivre* unimpaired and can laugh at such idiotic behaviour.

But by now you will doubtless have heard enough about my esteemed person to last you for a long time and I too believe that it's high time I stopped.

I duly got your circular about the boys and at once drank a hearty toast all on my own to the health of the new partners.[582] It is very wise of you to have brought the boys into the partnership; after all, most of the work fell to them, as did most of the responsibility whenever the two of you were away from Engelskirchen, and it will give them quite a different incentive if their status in the firm corresponds to the work they do. I now advise you and Rudolf[a] to devote as much as possible of your well-earned leisure to open air pursuits and, in summer, to travelling (you won't, I imagine, forget to go shooting in the autumn). Just you see how that sets you up.

---

[a] Rudolf Engels

I was notified by circular of Fritz Boelling's death (I was about to say *August* Boelling) and I think I heard about Fritz Osterroth in the same way. August Boelling may have been a pretty frail little chap, but he still managed to live to eighty, though no doubt he was careful not to overdo things towards the end. People like that can get away with it, while we, who enjoy better health, take on more and more work as we grow older, catch some beastly ailment and crack up as a result. That, however, is not altogether a bad thing, and also has its advantages. You at any rate will, in 2 or 3 years' time, reap the benefit of having reared your own doctor,[a] to whose care you can consign your body, thereby relieving yourself of any further responsibility in that respect also.

I trust Emma[b] enjoyed the New Year's cake as much as I have the numerous German dainties I have been consuming during the past three weeks over and above the obligatory plum pudding, mince pies, etc. For we now have a gas stove, as our range has ceased to draw and the landlord hasn't installed a new one. This transition from difficult to easy cooking has put my old housekeeper[c] into a real culinary frenzy and I must now eat my way through the fruits thereof.

Influenza, so-called, which, however, is said to be actually quite different from our old, familiar grippe, has also begun to take hold over here and a number of my acquaintances have already got it. An Englishman who came here for a meal last Sunday is in a state of such trepidation that he always keeps a bottle of ammoniated quinine in his pocket to drink from at table. May it do him good, but I'd rather have influenza than guzzle the bitter, evil-smelling stuff between meat and vegetables and spoil my good wine!

So I trust that all of you will remain in good health and good spirits.

My love to Emma, the children, Rudolf and family and yourself.

Ever yours,
Friedrich

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[a] Walter Engels – [b] Emma Engels – [c] Helene Demuth

## 247

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER[583]

### IN NEW YORK

London, 11 January 1890

Dear Schlüter,

Warmest thanks for your and your wife's good wishes, most cordially reciprocated by all of us over here. I also received your letter of 1 July,[584] shortly after that date, likewise the *Commonwealth* with Marx as a gigantic tree and, all round it, the inhabitants of the new communist Jerusalem. Also the article about G. Weerth, but unfortunate only No. 1 and not the final part.

Now as for Reid, I have sent your letter to Tussy and asked her to make inquiries from Champion (*Labour Elector*), but haven't so far had an answer.[585] The chaps over here are frightfully dilatory about anything with which they are not immediately concerned and are, besides, exceedingly busy; Tussy may have something to tell me tomorrow, in which case I'll let you know by the next post.

As regards the matter of John Burns' trip to America, this would seem to me highly problematical; he cannot really leave this country without making way for his rivals and he also has to be present on the County Council,[451] since he is the only labour representative there.

The movement's headlong progress last summer has slackened off a bit. And, best of all, the bourgeois rabble's mindless sympathy for the labour movement as manifested during the dockers' strike has also abated and is starting to give way to a far more natural feeling of mistrust and anxiety. During the gas strike in South London,[577] which the Gas Company forcibly imposed on the workers, the latter have again been left completely in the lurch by the philistines. This is excellent, and I only hope that some day Burns will himself meet with a similar experience in a strike led by him, for in this respect he is subject to all manner of illusions.

On top of that there is, as was only to be expected, all manner of friction, e.g. between gas workers and dockers. But despite all this the masses are in spate and there's no restraining them. The longer the tide is dammed back, the more violent the irruption will be when it comes. And these unskilled men are a very different proposition from the stick-

lers of the old Trades Unions; not a trace of the old formalist spirit, of the narrow guild outlook of, say, the engineers;[586] on the contrary, a general call for the organisation of all Trades Unions into one brotherhood and for an outright struggle with capital. During the dockers' strike, for instance, there were three engineers at the commercial docks who kept the steam-engine going. Burns and Mann—both are engineers themselves and Burns is on the Executive of the Amalgamated Engineers Trades Union—were asked to induce the men to leave, for in that case the cranes would be unable to work and the Dock Co. be forced to give way. The three engineers refused, nor did the engineers' Executive intervene—hence the long duration of the strike! Again, at the Silvertown Rubber Works—12 weeks' strike[549]—the strike failed because of the engineers, who didn't join in, even doing labourers' work in contravention of their own union's rules! And why? In order to 'limit the supply of workers', these idiots have a rule whereby only those who have served a proper apprenticeship are admitted to their *UNION*. In this way they have created a host of competitors known as black-legs, who are no less skilled than themselves and who would like to join the union but are forced to remain black-legs because kept out by this pedantic regulation, which today has become quite meaningless. And because they knew that, both in the commercial docks and in Silvertown, they would immediately have been replaced by the said black-legs, they remained where they were, thus themselves becoming black-legs vis-à-vis the strikers. Therein you may see the difference: The new unions stick together—during the present gas strike, the sailors and (steamers') firemen, lightermen, coal carters, etc., are all standing shoulder to shoulder, but here again not the engineers, needless to say; they just carry on working!

However, the old Trades Unions, the big self-opinionated ones, will soon be cut down to size; their mainstay, the London Trades Council,[587] is gradually being worsted by the new unions and, in 2 or 3 years at the most, the Trades Union Congress[269] will itself have been revolutionised. Even at the next one your Broadhursts are going to get the shock of their lives.

The main thing about your revolution in the American socialist teacup is that you have killed off Rosenberg & Co.[501] *As such*, the German party over there has got to go; it is proving the worst obstacle. The American workers will come along all right but, just like the English, they will go their own way. You can't drum theory into them before the event, but they will soon light upon it as a result of their

own experience, their own blunders and the undesirable consequences thereof—and then it'll be *all right*. Independent peoples go their own way and the English and their offshoots are the most independent of all. Their insular, stubborn inflexibility may often be irritating but it also ensures that, once they have got going, they will finish what they have begun.

I am pretty well and my eyesight has improved at last, but I'm not allowed to write for more than 3 hours a day (by daylight). Nim is also well. In the Rosher household, first Percy and then Pumps have fallen ill. Aveling has got influenza. In Kentish Town[a] things are going on much as usual to the inevitable accompaniment of tirades from Germany.—The Edes have settled down very well. So have the Fischers.

Tell Sorge he'll be getting a letter one of these days but, having waited for so long, you were first on the list. Cordial regards to your wife and self from Nim and

Your
F. Engels

First published, slightly abridged, in: *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and, in full, in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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[a] The seat of the *Sozialdemokrat* editorial office in London

## 248

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI[588]

### IN BENEVENTO

London, 13 January 1890

Dear Friend,

I have been deliberating the matter of the letter of introduction for Buenos Aires.[a] I cannot conceal what has happened from the comrades out there. In so far as I enjoy the workers' trust, this rests upon the assumption that what I tell them is the whole truth and nothing but the truth, no matter what the circumstances.

If I were you, I would prefer not to have any such letter of recommendation. The moment one person out there gets wind of your conviction, a hundred others will get wind of it too, and notably those who would neither read nor give a rap for my testimonial. And then you would be no better off there than you were at home; your conviction would pursue you everywhere. Better a new life under a new name. You are young and, to judge by your photograph, strong—just take courage!

But in order to take care of all eventualities, I enclose a document in which I say in your favour whatever can and may be said with a clear conscience. However, I would again advise you not to make use of it. This may render the struggle more arduous in the early days. But in the long run a complete break with the past cannot but make it easier.

Well, you must be the best judge of what you ought to do. But I hope that none of this will be necessary and that the Court of Appeal will pronounce you innocent.

Very sincerely yours,
F. Engels

Addresses

*Vorwärts*, Editorial Department; Calle Reconquista 650 nuevo (the streets have *old* and *new* numbers) Verein Vorwärts,[589] Calle Commercio 880.

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[a] See this volume, p.351

Mr Pasquale Martignetti of Benevento (Italy) has corresponded with me regularly for some six years past. Under the most difficult circumstances and with great perseverance he has learned German so as to make German scientific socialism available to his compatriots in translation. He then proceeded to translate, first my *Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopia zur Wissenschaft*[a] and later my *Ursprung der Familie*,[b] etc., into Italian and to publish the translations after they had been looked over by me. Unfavourable circumstances[232] prevented the publication of his translation of Marx's *Kapital und Lohnarbeit*.[c]

Mr Martignetti was employed as clerk in the Royal Notary's Office—a legal agency—in Benevento. There he was accused of embezzlement and this, or so it seems to me, simply by way of retaliation for his activities as a socialist writer; and Mr Martignetti was eventually sentenced to imprisonment by the Italian stipendiary magistrates of two courts. I have read neither the documents of the case nor the reports of the proceedings, but only the accused man's defence. However, I believe that he was wrongly convicted, and this for the following reasons:

1. Because he was accused only as an accomplice of the chief defendant; the said chief defendant, however, was acquitted whereas Mr Martignetti, who was allegedly only his abettor, was convicted.

2. Because the sums alleged to have been embezzled were first stated to be over 10,000 francs but dwindled as the trial went on until finally only 500 fr. were said to have been embezzled.

3. Because the Prefect of Benevento, a highly placed civil servant, was so convinced of his innocence that he employed him in his office after his dismissal from the Notary's Office and even while the trial was in progress.

4. Again, because he was simply a clerk, no court funds passed through his hands, so that he could not very well have embezzled any.

Whatever the outcome of his trial may be, Mr Martignetti will probably choose to leave Italy and seek out a new home for himself. If such be the case, I hereby authorise him to make use of this, my testimonial, in any way he thinks fit. Should he anywhere encounter German comrades to whom my opinion is not a matter of complete indifference, I would ask them to rest assured that the above is strictly in accordance

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[a] *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* – [b] *Origin of the Family* – [c] *Wage Labour and Capital*. In the draft the ensuing sentence reads: 'By engaging in these activities, Mr Martignetti has done signal service to the labour movement, notably in furthering mutual understanding between Italian and German socialists.'

with the truth and that I have withheld nothing whatsoever. Should they be able to help him find a post in which he could earn an honest living and upon which he could found a new existence, they would be doing a kindness to a man who, in my opinion, has been prosecuted only because of his activities on behalf of the international labour movement.

122, Regent's Park Road, London, N. W.
13 January 1890

Friedrich Engels

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## 249

## ENGELS TO ELEANOR MARX-AVELING

### IN LONDON

[London, 14 January 1890]

Just received Tuesday 9.30 p.m. – I send it to you – do not think it requires a long reply, at all events I have not time to write one. Please return.[590]

Hope Edward is better. What does the doctor say?

Yours
F. E.

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## 250

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER[591]

### IN NEW YORK

[London,] 15 January 1890

Burns has sent us word that he does not know the man concerned,[a] so the firm is at any rate an obscure one.[b]

A great deal of flu around – so far we've been spared. Otherwise nothing new.

Your
F. E.

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## 251

## ENGELS TO CHARLES ROSHER

### IN LONDON

[London, before 19 January 1890]

[Draft]

Dear Charles,

Within two months of your engaging Percy you wrote to me asking for a loan, and in terms which hardly could leave any doubt of your intention to terminate that engagement unless I acceded to your wish.

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[a] George W. Reid – [b] See this volume, p.436

And as soon as I had replied in the negative, you did terminate it. You can hardly deny, that if you intended to convey the idea that the engagement was a mere preliminary to the loan, you could not have done it better. But you now say there was no connection whatever between the two, and of course I am bound to believe you.

Yours sincerely
F. E.

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## 252

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL[592]

### IN BERLIN

London, 23 January 1890

Dear Bebel,

Congratulations on the Elberfeld acquittal[569] and no less on your brilliant handling of the case, which emerged quite clearly despite the bad reporting. It was no small thing to steer your way through it as you did, with a train of 90 accused, including a Röllinghof[593] and, no doubt, a number of other worthless elements: but I don't suppose that Mr Pinoff will ever want to see you confronting him from the dock again. So that chap is the ultimate of which the Prusso-German Public Prosecutor's Office is capable. He interprets the law just as Bismarck does the Constitution, i.e. as an undergraduate in a pub interprets the students' beer drinking ritual—the greater the uproar the better. It's enough to make a French—not to mention English—lawyer's hair stand on end.

Today, no doubt, the Anti-Socialist Law will again be debated in Berlin.[594] I think you are right when you say (in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*[595])

that, if Bismarck doesn't cop it from this Reichstag, he'll cop it from the next one; the ever-mounting tide of our votes will break the back of any and every bourgeois opposition. In this I do not see eye to eye with Ede. He and Kautsky—they both have something of a bent for 'higher politics'—believe that what we should aim for in the next elections is a majority hostile to the government. As though anything of the sort still existed among the bourgeois parties in Germany! The men of Progress[45] will disappear with the suspension of the Anti-Socialist Law; the bourgeois elements among them will go over to the National Liberals,[596] and the petty bourgeois and working men to us. That is why they will cry off every time it looks as though the Anti-Socialist Law might be thrown out. And in other respects also Bismarck will always obtain a majority; even though they may still show some tendency to bridle and jib in the first year, he'll talk them round in the second and they are, after all, safe from their constituents for the next 5 years! But if Bismarck goes off the rails or otherwise disqualifies himself, it doesn't really matter what sort of people (bourgeois, I mean, not Junkers) there are in the Reichstag; let the wind but shift and they are all equally capable of reviling their idols of yesterday. On this occasion, therefore, I can see absolutely no reason for *not* repaying the Progress people in kind for their infamous behaviour in 1887[597] and bringing it home to them that if they exist at all, it is only by courtesy of ourselves. It was Parnell's decision in 1886 to get the Irish in England to vote everywhere against the Liberals and for the Tories, i.e. to abandon the role of a tame Liberal electorate for the first time since 1880, which, in the space of 6 weeks, turned Gladstone and the Liberal leaders into Home Rulers.[598] And *if* ever something is to be made of the men of Progress, this can only be done by showing them *ad oculos*[a]—in the second ballot—that they are dependent upon ourselves.

I am looking forward enormously to the actual elections.[595] For then our German working men will again show the world what finely tempered steel they are made of. It's possible that you'll have a new element in the Reichstag—labour representatives who are not as yet socialists. The movement amongst the miners[435] will have given you an idea of the way in which the movement is progressing *over here*—a hitherto indifferent stratum of the working class, largely proof against agitation, is being galvanised out of its lethargy by having to fight for its immediate interests and is virtually impelled into the movement by the

[a] plainly

bourgeoisie and the government, which, in present circumstances and provided we don't insist on precipitating matters, means that they are impelled into our arms. It is much the same here, save that they have behind them, not a powerful socialist party, but only small cliques, at variance amongst themselves and for the most part led by ambitious men of letters or poetic dreamers. But here, too, things are proceeding inexorably and it is precisely these people, now coming over to us *en masse*, who will soon make short work of the cliques and create the unity that is needed.—In our case this new element lends added interest to the elections.

I have just received your Hamburg speech[600] but shall not be able to read it till after luncheon.

The French are making a collection for your election fund, though I doubt that very much will come of it; the point is that it's an international gesture.

Unless something unforeseen happens, peace would seem assured so far as this year is concerned—thanks to the tremendous advances in technology whereby every new gun, every new type of gunpowder, etc., is already obsolete even before it can be introduced into so much as *one* army, and thanks to the universal fear of unleashing these vast masses of men and powers of destruction, of which no one can say what their effect would be in practice. Thanks also to the French and the way they have dropped Boulanger, who was in the pay of Russia (they'd put 15 million francs at his disposal), thereby eliminating all prospects of a restoration of the monarchy (that being the only purpose Boulanger was supposed to serve). But neither the Tsar[a] nor Russia's diplomats care to embark on anything they are not sure of attaining; an alliance with the Republic is to them too dubious—the Orléans would better suit their book.[601] Nor does the anti-Turkish campaign launched by Gladstone for the benefit of his Russian friends[602] cut any ice here and, since Gladstone is not yet in office and the Tory government is decidedly pro-German, pro-Austrian and anti-Russian, the Little Father will have to bide his time. But we are indeed sitting upon a live mine and a spark would be enough to set it off.

Our people's Paris daily, already advertised by Liebknecht in German newspapers,[603] has not yet been born—the birth pangs still continue. The matter will probably be decided within the next 2 or 3 weeks. At all

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[a] Alexander III

events, now that we have a group in the Chamber, the outlook is far more promising and in due course the Possibilists and Boulangists will again be vanquished in Paris. In the provinces, we alone of all the socialists reign supreme.

You people will be unlikely to get much money from America too. *Au fond*,[a] not a bad thing. A *genuinely* American party is of far greater use to you and the world generally than the few pence you used to get, precisely *because* the so-called party over there was not a party but a sect, and a purely German sect at that, a branch on foreign soil of the German party and of its specifically Lassallean and outmoded elements in particular. But now the Rosenberg clique has been thrown out[501] and, with it, the greatest obstacle to the development and rise of a genuinely American party.

Cordial regards to yourself and your wife,

Your
F. E.

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## 253

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[604]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 8 February 1890

Dear Sorge,

Have got your letter of the 14th and 2 postcards re H. Schlüter.

What we shall lose as a result of the official socialists in America going

[a] Basically

over to the Nationalists[503] is, to my mind, scarcely worth considering. If it meant the disintegration of the entire *German* Socialist Labor Party,[3] it would be a gain, but we're unlikely to be so fortunate. For, after all, the really useful elements will eventually come together again, doing so all the sooner for the rapid self-separation of the dross, and will be sufficient, by reason of their superior theoretical insight and experience, to assume the leading role the moment events themselves set the American proletariat in motion. And then you will find that all your years of toil have not been in vain.

The movement over there, just like the one in this country and now, too, in the mining districts of Germany, cannot be produced by exhortation alone. It's the facts themselves that will have to bring all this home to the chaps, after which, however, things will move fast—fastest, of course, where an organised and theoretically educated section of the proletariat already exists, as in Germany. Today the coal miners belong to us, potentially and of necessity; in the Ruhr, the process is well under way, the Aachen and Saar Basins will follow, then Saxony, then Lower Silesia and, finally, the Wasserpolaken of Upper Silesia.[605] Considering our party's position in Germany, all that was needed to call forth an irresistible movement was the impulse arising out of the miners' own living conditions.

Over here the same thing is happening. The movement, which I now regard as irrepressible, arose out of the dock strike,[489] out of the sheer necessity of their standing up for themselves. But here again the ground had been so well prepared by the various propaganda campaigns of the past eight years that the men, though not themselves socialists, refused to have any but socialists for their leaders. Now, without themselves being aware of it, they are adopting a theoretically correct course, *they drift into it*, and the movement is so vigorous that I believe it will survive, without undue damage, the inevitable blunders and the friction between the various trades unions and the leaders resulting therefrom. More about this below.

And that, I think, is what will also happen in America. For now we know that it's not lectures that will convert the Schlewswig-Holsteiners and their successors in England and America;[606] that stubborn and presumptuous breed have got to learn by bitter experience. They are doing so increasingly from year to year; but they are ultra-conservative precisely *because* America is so utterly bourgeois, has absolutely no feudal past and is therefore proud of its purely bourgeois system—and that is why only practice can ride them of their old, traditional, ragbag

of ideas. So if it's to be a mass movement it will have to begin with trades unions, etc., and each successive step will have to be forced on them by defeat. But once the first step beyond the bourgeois outlook has been made, then things will go ahead rapidly like everything else in America, where the natural momentum of the movement, as it gathers speed, will startle the Schleswig-Holstein Anglo-Saxons, normally so sluggish, into a semblance of life whereupon, by reason of its greater mobility, the foreign element in the nation will also prove its worth. The decay of the specifically German party, with its absurdly muddled theoretical notions, its corresponding arrogance and its Lassalleanism is, to my mind, a real blessing. Only when these separatist conspirators have been got out of the way can the fruits of your labours again become manifest. The Anti-Socialist Law[52] was a misfortune, not for Germany, but for America, whither it sent the last of the louts. While in that country, I was often surprised at encountering so many genuine examples of your lout, who flourishes out there but is extinct in Germany.

Here we are having yet another storm in a tea cup. You will have seen the outcry in the *Labour Elector* on the subject of Parke,[607] the assistant editor of the *Star*, who, in a local paper, and à propos the buggery scandals among the aristocracy here, actually accused Lord Euston of paederasty. It was a scurrilous article, but only in a personal sense, the matter being hardly a political one. But it caused a great scandal, the *Star* took it up and challenged Burns outright and Burns, instead of consulting the committee, disavowed Champion outright in the *Star*. There was a great rumpus on the committee of the *Labour Elector*, all of whose members were opposed to Champion but each of whom wishes to get into parliament and must look to his own particular interests; nothing, therefore, was decided, which may also have been because they had no power (last autumn Champion told Tussy that the paper belonged to the committee, he being merely a temporary editor, but I doubt whether that was really the entire truth)—in short, Burns and Bateman resigned from the committee on account of this affair (Burns also on account of the chauvinistic article on the Portuguese rumpus),[608] and this week the entire committee absented itself from the paper. Tussy, too, has now written off Champion, whom she used to provide with international items on France, Germany, Belgium, Holland and Scandinavia—(the crazy stuff about Spain, Portugal, Mexico, etc., is by Cunninghame-Graham, a very honest, very brave but very muddle-headed *ex-ranchman*).

All that the case has proved, so far as I'm concerned, is that Champion did in fact accept Tory money and then, with the opening of

Parliament, found himself under an obligation to do something for the value received. The actual author of the articles is alleged to be our sometime friend of The Hague, Maltman Barry, who is regarded over here as a Tory agent and of whom Jung, Hyndman, etc., tell marvellous if untrue stories of a cock-and-bull nature. But all these gentlemen are behaving stupidly, for Champion has utterly ruined himself in the process and, at a meeting of his own Labour Electoral Association,[448] was shouted down and had to leave the platform under the protection of 2 policemen. Wonderful grist to Hyndman's mill, of course, but I believe both these gentlemen are finished for good. What happens next remains to be seen. But it will no more wreck the movement than did the defeat of the gas stokers in South London.[577] The chaps were too cocky, everything had been made too easy for them, and at this juncture a few checks will do no harm.

In Paris our people are still trying to bring a daily into being. The Possibilist *Parti Ouvrier*, a daily financed by the government, has perished; *on n'a plus besoin de ces messieurs.*[a]

Bax's *Time* is quite an ordinary, middle-class affair and he's terrified of making it socialist. Well, it can't carry on just as it is, but there is still no room here for a *purely* socialist monthly, especially at 1/- a copy. As soon as there's anything interesting in it, I shall send it to you.

Here too we have our Nationalists, the Fabians,[176] a well-meaning gang of eddicated middle-class folk who have refuted Marx with Jevons' worthless vulgar economics[215]—so vulgar that you can make anything of it, including socialism. As in America, its chief object is to convert your *bourgeois* to socialism and so introduce the thing *peacefully* and *constitutionally*. They have brought out a bulky tome on the subject, written by 7 authors.[b]

I trust you are keeping well and the work is becoming easier as you grow accustomed to it.

I am having the same trouble with Percy Rosher as you are with your Adolph,[c] only more so. The laddie has got into such a hole with his mania for speculation that his family and I have had to compromise with his creditors, and now all he can do is try and find some position or other for himself. But it would be better not to mention this to the Schlüters, lest word of it gets back here.

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[a] They no longer have any need of those gentry – [b] *Fabian Essays in Socialism*, London, 1889 – [c] Adolph Sorge Junior

My eyes seem to be improving and I have put on 10 pounds; on the other hand, I have virtually had to give up smoking on account of insomnia, and now find that alcohol sometimes has a similarly disagreeable effect. What bitter irony it would be if I had to become a teetotaller in my old age!

Cordial regards to your wife.[a]

Your

F. E.

Schorlemmer isn't allowed to drink either.

First published, slightly abridged, in: *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and, in full, in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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## 254

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 17 February 1890

Dear Bebel,

Karl Kautsky says you are proposing to telegraph to me on the evening of the 20th such results as are known to you, and it occurred to me that I had better let you have some information about the night delivery service here so that you might not err through ignorance and we not get the telegram until the following morning after all. Ede, Fischer and Kautsky all take the view that it would be best to telegraph *me*, as they will all be here on Thursday evening and, I hope, also Julius.[b]

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[a] Katarina Sorge – [b] Julius Motteler

Details below, as I am still awaiting the information.

For the rest I cannot congratulate your people enough. Yourself, first of all, on the perspicacity with which, in your last-but-one Viennese letter, you smelt out William the Younger's edicts before they had been promulgated,[609] and the whole lot of you not only on the splendid situation in which you have been placed by our opponents—never have things been so favourable on the eve of an election—but also on the new situation which is apparently about to arise in Germany.

From the start I have thought that, because of his thirst for action *qua* efficient new broom, and because of his imperiousness that was bound sooner or later to clash with Bismarck's, William the Younger[a] was better suited to the task of undermining the ostensibly stable system in Germany, destroying the philistines' faith in the government and stability and causing a general state of confusion and uncertainty, than was even the 'noble' Frederick[b] (of whom, by the way, I have here seen a photograph in which he has exactly the same shifty, hereditary, Hohenzollern expression as his half-uncle Willich, son of Prince August, Frederick William II's brother). But I couldn't have expected that he would attend to this with such promptitude and brilliance as he has done. The man is worth more than his weight in gold to us; he need fear no attempts on his life, for shooting him would not only be a crime but a colossal blunder. If the worst comes to the worst, we ought to provide him with a bodyguard against anarchist assininities.

As I see it, the position is as follows: The Christian Social Conservatives have got the whip hand with young William and, since Bismarck can do nothing to prevent this, he is giving the laddie a free rein in the hope that he will get himself into a thorough fix, at which time he, Bismarck, will step into the breach as guardian angel and thereafter be safe from any relapse. Hence Bismarck hopes for the *worst possible* Reichstag, which would soon be ripe for dissolution, thus enabling him once again to invoke the philistines' fear of the threat posed by the labour movement.

But here there is one thing Bismarck has forgotten, namely that, from the moment the philistine becomes aware of the discord between old Bismarck and young William, the aforesaid philistine will become an unknown quantity so far as Bismarck is concerned. The philistine will still be afraid, more so even than now, if only because he won't know

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[a] William II – [b] Frederick III

whom to look to for support. For now their own fear will drive the cowardly herd, not *together*, but *apart*. *Confidence will have been lost*, never to return in the *same* form as before.

From now on all Bismarck's expedients will avail him less and less. He wants to avenge himself on the National Liberals for having thrown out his expulsion clause.[610] In so doing he will kick away his last, feeble prop. He wants to bring the Centre[44] over onto his side, and in so doing will dissolve the Centre. The Catholic Junkers ardently desire to ally themselves with the Prussian Junkers, but the day that alliance is sealed the Catholic peasants and workers (on the Rhine the bourgeoisie is predominantly Protestant) will cease to be of any use. This breakup of the Centre will benefit no one so much as ourselves; for Germany it is, on a small scale, what the agreement over nationalities was for Austria on a large one—the elimination of the last party structure not resting upon a purely economic basis, in other words, an important factor in the process of clarification, a setting free of labour elements hitherto ideologically enslaved.

The philistine can no longer put his faith in little Willie because he is doing things which the philistine necessarily regards as foolish pranks; he can no longer put his faith in Bismarck because he sees that it's all up with his (B's) omnipotence.

What will come of this confusion, seeing how craven our bourgeoisie is, we cannot possibly say. At all events the old order has been smashed for good and can no more be resuscitated than an extinct species. Things are livening up again, and that's all we require. At first you will be better off, but it's worth considering whether Puttkamer's prediction of a *greater* state of emergency[611] might not eventually be realised. That too would be a step forward—the last, the very last panacea—pretty frightful for you while it lasted, but beyond all doubt heralding our victory. Before then, however, a great deal of water will have flowed down the Rhine.

Since conditions for the elections are favourable to a degree we could never have hoped for, my only fear is that we shall obtain *too many* seats. Every other party in the Reichstag can have as many jackasses and allow them to perpetrate as many blunders as it can afford to pay for, and nobody gives a damn, whereas we, if we are not to be held cheap, must have nothing but heroes and men of genius. Well, the fact is that we are becoming a great party and must learn to take the consequences.

In Paris the Boulangists have scored yet another victory.[137] It's all to the good. Paris has been greatly spoiled by the sybaritism of the many

novices in this sphere and by a chauvinism (not only the general French variety, but the specifically Parisian) that is based on the city's great past; the workers are either Possibilists[19] or Boulangists or Radicals—and the more the provinces thrive, as they are doing by comparison with Paris, the better we shall progress. The provinces have spoiled many a movement set in train by Paris; Paris will never spoil a movement emanating from the provinces.

Well, as regards telegraphing, I shall write to the head office here to say that, *this week*, telegrams should be delivered to me at *any* hour of the night. But if your telegrams are to be of any use, they must arrive here before 1 o'clock in the morning. So if, on Thursday night, you telegraph before 11.30, that will leave 2¼ hours for transmission, allowing for the time difference; but not any later, as it wouldn't be much use. So 11.30 p.m. on Thursday *at the latest*. Ede is going to arrange for telegrams to be sent to us direct from Berlin, Hamburg, and Elberfeld.

But if you have no results to telegraph before 11.30 on Thursday, then it would be better to wait until about midday or 1 o'clock on Friday, when you are bound to know something, and perhaps *again* on Friday night at about 10 or 11; the latter would be desirable whatever happens.

Further, only the *names* of towns where we have won or got into the second ballot. Where there are several constituencies in one town, I suggest the following: For *Hamburg* write Hbg, all 3 seats; for Hamburg one two, write Hbg I and II constituency. Again: All victories first, then all second ballots that we are in; e.g. thus,—victory Berlin four, five, six, Hamburg, Breslau one, Chemnitz, Leipzig Province, etc., second ballot Berlin three, Breslau two, Dresden one, Leipzig city, etc. If that's too long, then: Fifteen victories, seventeen second ballots, etc. And in the *second* telegram: So many victories *all told* and so, etc. second ballots.

This will save money and time.

Cordial regards and 1,200,000 votes.

Your

F. E.

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 26 February 1890

My dear Laura,

Since last Thursday evening when the telegrams announcing victory came raining in here thick and fast, we are in a constant intoxication of triumph, brought, provisionally at least, to a climax this morning by the news that we had obtained 1,341,500 votes, 587,000 more than 3 years ago. And yet—next Saturday[612] the orgy may begin again, for the stupefaction of all Germany at our success is so enormous, the hatred against the Kartell[265] swindlers so intense, and the time for consideration so short that fresh successes, as unexpected as those of last Thursday, are quite possible, though I for one do not expect many of them.

The 20th February 1890 is the opening day of the German revolution. It may be a couple of years yet until we see a decisive crisis, and it is not impossible that we have to pass through a temporary and severe defeat. But the old stability is gone for ever. That stability rested on the superstition that the triumvirate Bismarck, Moltke, William, was invincible and all-wise. Now William is gone and replaced by a conceited *Gardelieutenant*,[a] Moltke is pensioned off, and Bismarck is very shaky in his saddle. At the very eve of this election, he and young William had a squabble over the latter's itching to play the working men's friend; Bismarck had to give way and took care to let the philistine know he had done so; he himself evidently wished for 'bad' elections, in order to give his master a lesson. Well, he has got more than he bargained for, and the two have made it up again for once. But that cannot last. The 'Second old Fritz[b] only greater', cannot and will not stand leading by the chancellor's hand, '*in Preussen muss der König regieren*'[c]—this he takes *au sérieux*,[d] and the more critical the time, the more divergent will be the views of these two rivals. One thing is certain to the philistine: the man he can trust is losing his power, and the man who holds the power, he cannot trust. Confidence is gone even among the bourgeoisie.

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[a] The Berlin dialect in the original. This refers to William II – [b] William II – [c] the King must rule in Prussia – [d] in earnest

Now look at the state of parties. The Kartell[265] has lost a million votes, has had 2½ milliions for, 4½ against itself. That ministry of Bismarck's parliamentary power has gone to smash, and all the King's horses and all the King's men cannot put Humpty Dumpty together again. To form a government majority, there are but two parties: the Catholics (centre[44]) and the Freisinnigen.[613] The latter, although already burning with the desire to form a fresh cartel, cannot do so—as yet at least—with the Conservatives, but only with the National Liberals,[596] and that gives no majority. The Centre? Bismarck reckons upon it, and the Catholic Junkers of that party are eager enough to unite with the old Prussian Junkers. But the sole *raison d'être* of the Centre is *hatred of Prussia*, and just you try and make a Prussian government party out of that! As soon as the Centre becomes anything like that, the Catholic peasantry—its force—break loose, while the 100,000 votes the Centre had less (against 1887) have been taken away by us in the Catholic towns, see Munich, Cologne, Mainz, etc.

So this Reichstag is unmanageable. But Bismarck's last resource, a dissolution, will hardly help him. The confidence in the stability of things being gone, the supreme factor now is the discontent with the oppressive taxes and increasing dearness of living. That is the direct consequence of the fiscal and economic policy of the last 11 years, and by this Bismarck has driven the people right away into our arms. And Michel is rising against that policy. So the next Reichstag might even be worse.

Unless—Bismarck and his master—on this point they will always agree—provoke riot and fighting and crush us before we are too strong, and then alter the constitution. That is evidently what we are drifting to, and the chief danger to be avoided. Our people, you have seen, keep excellent, wonderful discipline; but we may be forced to fight before we are fully prepared—and there is the danger. But when that comes on, there will be other chances in our favour.

Nim's dinner bell—so good-bye for to-day—more about your dogs in more peaceable times—also about Paul's articles.

*En attendant, vive la révolution allemande*![a]

Ever yours
F. E.

First published in: *Einheit*, No. 11, 1955

Reproduced from the original

[a] In the meantime, long live the German revolution!

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 7 March, 1890

My dear Lafargue,

Election time[a] is over at last. Impossible to do anything amidst such a commotion, such comings and goings and perpetual running of errands. But never mind, for once it's all been worth while. Our working men have made the German Emperor[b] *travailler pour le roi de Prusse*[c] and have sent the *Gaulois* reporter out to Le Perreux.[614]

The worthy William is first and foremost an emperor. One cannot, as you seem to suppose, send a Bismarck packing as simply as all that. Only give the quarrel time to come to a head. William can no more part company so abruptly from the man who compelled the younger man's grandfather[d] to turn himself into a panjandrum, than can Bismarck from the same William whom he, Bismarck, has accustomed to seeing himself as a Frederick II[2]. But there is one thing, and one thing only, upon which both will be agreed, and that is to open fire on the Socialists at the earliest opportunity. On all other matters, divergence, and later on, an open breach.

The 20th February marks the beginning of the revolution in Germany,[e] and that is why it is our duty not to let ourselves be prematurely crushed. As yet only one soldier out of four or five is ours—on a war footing, maybe one in three. We are making headway in rural areas, witness the elections in Schleswig-Holstein and, more especially, in Mecklenburg, not to mention the eastern provinces of Prussia.[615] In three or four years' time we shall have won over the farm labourers and hired hands, in other words the staunchest supporters of the status quo, and then Prussia will cease to exist. That is why we must, for the time being, advocate lawful action, and not respond to the provocations they will lavish upon us. For short of a blood-letting, and a pretty rigorous one at that, there will be no saving either for William or Bismarck.

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[a] to the Reichstag – [b] William II – [c] to work for the King of Prussia, i.e. for nothing – [d] William I – [e] See this volume, p.454

These two stalwarts, it is said, are in a blue funk and have no settled plan, while Bismarck is kept pretty busy combatting the innumerable court intrigues of which he is the object.

The petit bourgeois parties will muster on common ground, namely fear of Socialists. But they are no longer the parties they were. The ice is cracking and will soon begin to break up.

As for Russia, she will yet need many millions from France before she is fit to go to war. Her army is equipped with weapons that are completely out of date, and there is still some doubt as to whether Russian soldiers should or should not be issued with repeating rifles; the Russians are extremely steady when fighting in massed formations—which, however, is no longer done; as sharp-shooters they are useless and totally lacking in personal initiative. Besides, where find the officers for all these men in a country without a bourgeoisie?

The April and May numbers of *Die Neue Zeit* and *Time* will carry articles of mine on Russian foreign policy.[a] We over here are trying to wean the English Liberals from Gladstone's Russophilia; the time is ripe, for the unheard-of cruelties perpetrated on political prisoners in Siberia[616] have made it almost impossible for the Liberals to continue in this strain. Aren't they talking of it in France? But your bourgeoisie has grown almost as stupid and rotten as in Germany.

As for *Time*, it is not a Socialist review, quite the contrary; Bax quails at the very thought of the word 'socialism' appearing in its pages. By not replying to his 'reply paid' telegram you have drawn down upon youself his sovereign displeasure. But it would be a mistake for you to take offence as he has done. *Time* could not carry an article signed Lafargue too often. Nor could it possibly take one that had appeared in the *Nouvelle Revue*,[b] just as Mme Adam would not take it if it had already appeared in *Time*. And as for an arrangement that would ensure simultaneous publication, would Mme Adam really lend herself to that? Do try and be reasonable. The article has been placed with her and in her company it will make a world tour.

Aveling and Tussy intend to publish *one* article a month by a foreigner. The English public would stomach no more and, since you had had an article in the February number,[c] this gave Bax an excuse to reject a second one, the more so since, a few months from now, nobody

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[a] F. Engels, 'The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom.' – [b] P. Lafargue, 'Rousseau et l'Égalité, réponse au professuer Huxley', *La Nouvelle Revue*, t. 63, 15 mars, 1890 – [c] P. Lafargue, 'Darwinism on the French stage', *Time*, February 1890

will be talking about Huxley's attack on Rousseau. And all this, just because you failed to send the 'reply paid'! It's piffling, but that's Bax all over!

Poor Laura! Let's hope she has no further dealings with Castelar. He's a man I find as repellent as I did the handsome Simon von Trier in 1848 whose conversation was wholly made up of SCRAPS taken from Schiller and of whom the Frankfurt Jewesses, young and old, were all enamoured. Thank you for Iglesias's letter which I shall return in my next. The man Back is a German Russian from the Baltic provinces who, some ten years ago in Geneva, used to bring out a Baltic review[a] (in German) and whom old Becker, for want of anyone better, attempted to convert to Socialism. He has also sent an article to Kautsky on the Spanish party he himself invented, but Kautsky gave me the MS without having printed it. What cheek—a Balto-pseudo-Russian, putting himself at the head of a Spanish party consisting of three officers and no men!

I had wanted to add something about Laura's dogs, but it's already five o'clock and the new GONG (a present from Aveling) is summoning us to dinner. Between Laura and Nim, duty pulls in two directions, but my stomach joins in the fray and settles the matter. Nim might scold me, and Laura is far away.

Good wishes to you both,
F. E.

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[a] *Baltische föderalist*

## 257

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN DRESDEN

London, 9 March 1890

Dear Liebknecht,

My congratulations on the 42,000 votes that have made you the *premier élu de l'Allemagne*.[a] [617] When, in future, you are interrupted by a Kar-, Hell- or any other Junkerdorf[b], your retort can be: 'It would take a dozen of the likes of you to muster as many constituents as I've got. So draw in your horns—if you can!'[c]

After the prolonged intoxication of victory, we over here are sobering down by degrees, but without any unpleasant after-effects. I had hoped for 1,200,000 votes and everyone said I was unduly sanguine; now we see that my figure was too modest.[618] Our lads have behaved quite magnificently, but it's no more than a beginning and they've got a hard fight ahead of them. Our successes in Schleswig-Holstein, Mecklenburg and Pomerania[d] mean that we shall now be making tremendous headway amongst the agricultural labourers of the East. Now that the towns are ours and word of our victories has penetrated to the remotest baronial estates, we shall be able to kindle, in rural areas, a blaze of quite a different order from the flash in the pan of 12 years ago. In three years the agricultural labourers will be ours and with them the crack regiments of the Prussian army. Nor can this be prevented save by one means, the ruthless application of which is now the only point upon which little Willie[e] and Bismarck are still agreed, namely a hail of shot to the inevitable accompaniment of an acute reign of terror. To this end, they will seize upon any pretext and, once Puttkamer's 'cannons'[611] have sprayed the streets of a few big towns with shrapnel, there will be a state of siege throughout Germany, the philistine will return to his right mind again and vote blindly as directed, and we shall be crippled for years to come.

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[a] the first among the elected in Germany – [b] A play on words in the original. Engels made up this word by analogy with the names of two Reichstag deputies – [c] A literal rendering of this German expression would be: 'Withdraw into your foreskin, if you've got one.' – [d] See this volume, p.456 – [e] William II

This is something we must prevent. We must not, in our triumphal progress, allow ourselves to be diverted from our purpose, we must not spoil our own game or prevent our enemies from doing our work for us. So I agree with you to the extent of saying that, *for the present*, we should conduct ourselves as peacefully and constitutionally as possible and avoid every pretext for a clash. True, your philippics against the use of force in any form and under any circumstances seem to me inopportune, firstly because none of your opponents would believe you, they are not as stupid as all that, and secondly because your theory would make anarchists even of Marx and myself, since we were never inclined, like good Quakers, to turn the other cheek. This time you have definitely overshot the mark somewhat.

Nieuwenhuis is, to my mind, more or less innocent of the article to which you are replying;[619] according to what we have heard over here, Croll is the crib-biter who refuses to leave you in peace—he's said to be a trouble-maker par excellence. These people from little countries are our bane in the international field—they are excessively demanding, expect always to be handled with kid gloves while themselves being as rude as they please, and constantly feel themselves slighted because they cannot always play first fiddle; all the trouble and strife at the last congress, both before and during it, was caused by them alone—first the Swiss with their deluded idea that they could get the Possibilists to defect, then the Brussels people, and after them the Dutch. Well, no doubt our German victory will put them more or less on the right track and enable us to be magnanimous.

Will you please let me know in advance when you intend to cross the Channel. We've only got one spare room, and in the spring it is often occupied—as at Easter, for instance, by Schorlemmer, while the Lafargues or Louise Kautsky might also be coming; so a bit of management may be necessary to keep it free for you.

Since you specifically give a Dresden address, I can only take it as an indication that I should write to you there.

*The Nineteenth Century* is, after *The Contemporary Review*, the most highly thought-of journal in this country—but since I am always confusing the two, I shall not be able to provide details until later today when the Avelings have arrived. Meanwhile, I would simply say: 1. Get them to pay you *well*, 2. Under English law the article *belongs* to the journal and the editor can make what alterations he likes unless you have a prior agreement to the contrary. In such a case I stipulate, 1. *that the copyright remains vested in me*, 2. *that no alterations are made without my express consent.*

Evening. *The Nineteenth Century* belongs to Mr Knowles: Gladstone sometimes writes for it and for the *Contemporary*, which belongs to Percy Bunting, whom you were taken to see by la Schack. Otherwise I have nothing to add to the above. Knowles is every inch a businessman, so beware.

Regards from Nim, the Avelings, the Edes, Dr Zadek and Mrs Romm-Zadek, likewise Pumps and Percy, all of whom are here.

Your
F. E.

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## 258

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 14 March[a] 1890

My dear Laura,

Last night Bernstein called. We think it best you should write to Bebel asking him for some information. He has the *Parliamentsalmanach* which we have not and a Secretary who might copy out a few extracts. You might say Bernstein and I had suggested this to you.

If you like you might write also direct to
Carl Grillenberger, Weizenstrasse 14, Nürnberg
G. von Vollmar, Schwabing bei München,
J. H. W. Dietz, Furthbachstrasse 12, Stuttgart,
F. Kunert, Red. Der 'Breslauer Nachrichten', Breslau[b] and ask them

[a] In the MS 'February' – a mistake – [b] Wraclaw

for personal details which no doubt they would be glad to give you. Other addresses we have not got.

I will ask Tussy about that niece of Mohr's Paul has written about. I have not heard anything about her. Would be curious if you should turn out to be connected with little Abraham, vulgo Alexander, Weill!

Things are getting serious in Germany. The *Kreuz-Zeitung*, ultra-conservative, declares the Socialist law useless and bad! Well, we shall probably get rid of it, but Puttkamer's word will then become true: we shall have the major state of siège instead of the minor one, and cannons instead of expulsions.[611] Things go so well for us, we never dared to hope half so much, but, but, it will be stirring times and everything depends upon our men not allowing themselves to be provoked into riots. In three years we may have the agricultural labourer, the mainstay of Prussia, and *then*—feu[a]!

Ever yours
F. E.

We went to-day up to Highgate. Tussy had been already in the morning, planted Mohr's and your Mama's grave with crocus, primroses, hyacinths, etc. very beautifully. If Mohr had lived to see this!

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[a] fire

## 259

## ENGELS TO ANTONIO LABRIOLA

### IN ROME

[Draft]

London, 30 March 1890. Labriola. Dear Professor,—Please accept my thanks for the pamphlets you were so very good as to send me. I read the first, *Del socialismo*, with much interest and next week, when I hope to have some leisure, shall go carefully through the second one, that on the philosophy of history.[a] This is a subject in which Marx and I had long taken a special interest. A new contribution from Vico's mother country and from a scholar conversant with our German philosophers calls for my fullest attention. I should like to take the liberty of sending you in return my little piece of Feuerbach.[b]

I am also indebted to you for your kind endeavours on behalf of P. Martignetti, which have, I am glad to say, met with their first big success. I have been in correspondence with Mr Martignetti since 1884 and am morally convinced that he is innocent of the actions imputed to him and has fallen victim to a shabby intrigue. Perhaps, when you have occasion, you would convey to Mr Avv.[c] Lollini my most sincere thanks for his willing, able and successful defence of Martignetti. I trust that this magnanimous intervention on the part of you both will succeed in protecting him from undeserved vilification and ruin.

You must forgive me for writing to you in German. Over the last few years, however, my Italian, such as it is, has, alas, grown exceedingly rusty and I dare not mangle the Italian language in front of a master of that beautiful tongue.

Very respectfully yours,
F. E.

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[a] *I problemi della filosofia della storia ...* – [b] *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* – [c] Advocate

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## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

### IN BENEVENTO[620]

London, 30 March 1890

Dear Friend,

Herewith the letter to Labriola you asked for.[a]

As to his *terra libera*,[621] it is in fact altogether too much to expect of the present Italian government that it will allocate property in the colonies to small farmers for themselves to cultivate and not to monopolists, whether companies or individuals. Small-scale farming is the natural and best system for the colonies presently being founded by bourgeois governments, on which point cf Marx, *Capital*, Volume I, last chapter, 'The Modern Theory of Colonisation'.[b] So we socialists can, with a good conscience, support the introduction of the system of small farms into colonies that have already been founded. But whether this will be done is another question. All governments today are so much the creatures and hirelings of financiers and the stock exchange that there's nothing to stop the speculators themselves from gaining control of the colonies in order to exploit them, and no doubt that will also apply in Eritrea. But one can, after all, hit back, even if it's in the shape of a demand that the government should give the emigrant Italian farmers an assurance that they will enjoy the same advantages there as they seek and generally find in Buenos Aires.

I can't discover from the *Messaggero's* article[622] whether Labriola combines his demand with still further requirements, namely government loans for emigrants to Eritrea, co-operatively run settlements, etc.

Unfortunately I have absolutely no time to spare for revising the translation of *Wage Labour and Capital*.[232] I have had some urgent jobs to do, and must now get back at once to Volume III of *Capital* before events in Germany take a revolutionary turn, as is very possible.

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

First published in Italian in: *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani. 1848-1895*, Milano, 1964

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[a] See previous letter – [b] See present edition, Vol. 35, pp.751-64

## 261

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

London, 1 April 1890

Dear Kautsky,

I have just received the Russian *Sotsial-Demokrat* and have compared my article[a] with the *Neue Zeit*.[623] I now find that Mr Dietz has had the impudence to alter without reference to ourselves various passages *which he had not even scored in red*. Not one of these passages infringes the penal code or contravenes the Anti-Socialist Law;[52] they were, however, too strong for philistine tastes.

Yet I have behaved as decently as possible and have done all I could to make the elimination of harmful matter easier for him. But censorship of this kind, carried out behind my back, is something I won't stand for from any publisher. I shall therefore write to Dietz *expressly forbidding him* to print the remainder of the article in any form other than that in which it appears in the proof corrected by me, and by that I mean *word for word*. What else I shall do remains to be seen. At all events, Mr Dietz has made it impossible for me to send further contributions to a periodical in which one is exposed to this kind of treatment.

Your
F. Engels

First published in: *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*. Prag, 1935

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[a] Engels, F. 'The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom' (present edition, Vol. 27).

## 262

# ENGELS TO JOHANN HEINRICH WILHELM DIETZ

IN STUTTGART

London, 1 April 1890

To
Mr J. H. W. Dietz, Stuttgart.

I have just noticed that you have taken the liberty of making various alterations to my article on Russian policy[a] without the consent of myself or of the editors,[b] alterations which are wholly uncalled for, whether from the viewpoint of the penal code or of the Anti-Socialist Law.

I have behaved as decently as possible towards you over this matter. I asked Kautsky to get you to score any passages that struck you as objectionable when you read the proofs. I in turn altered many of the scored passages and sent a request that if you felt further alterations to be advisable, you should write to us, stating your reasons. Since no more objections were forthcoming, I could only assume that the article would appear unaltered.

Instead of that you have altered passages which you had not even scored.

As it is not my habit to put up with this sort of thing from publishers, *I hereby forbid you to print the remainder of the article unless it agrees word for word with the proofs corrected by myself* and I reserve the right to take any other steps I think fit.

I need hardly say that in future I shall be careful not to write again for a periodical in which one is exposed to things of this nature.

Yours very faithfully,
F. Engels

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[a] See previous letter – [b] of the *Neue Zeit*

## 263

## ENGELS TO VERA ZASULICH

### IN MORNEX (FRANCE)

London, 3 April 1890

My dear Citizen,

As soon as I got your letter,[624] I let Stepniak have the rest of the article (in proof) and, since part of it was slightly damaged, I added the corresponding MS for you to use as a check. I hope that by now it will already have reached you.

Stepniak also gave me a copy of the *Review*, for which I thank you; I look forward keenly to reading your article and those of Plekhanov.[625]

You are perfectly right; in a publication of this kind all the articles in any given number should be complete in themselves and quite independent of any sequel in the ensuing number. Indeed, I should have acted on that principle had I not been pressed for time.

That it is imperative to combat Narodism[a], no matter where—whether German, French, English or Russian—I entirely agree. Nevertheless, I believe it would have been more fitting if what I felt impelled to say had been said by a Russian. Admittedly, the partition of Poland, for example, necessarily looks very different when seen from the Russian rather than the Polish standpoint, which last has become that of the West. But I must, after all, take equal account of Polish sentiment. If the Poles lay claim to territory which most Russians regard as inalienably theirs and as being Russian by nationality, it is not for me to decide between them. All I can say is that—or so it seems to me—it is for the populations concerned to decide their fate themselves, just as the Alsatians will have to choose for themselves between Germany and France. Unfortunately, in writing about Russian foreign policy and its effect on Europe, I found it impossible not to mention things which the present generation in Russia regards as 'internal affairs'[a] and the impropriety, or apparent impropriety, consists in its being a foreigner rather than a Russian who was thus holding forth. But that was unavoidable.

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[a] These words are in Russian in the original

If you think it might be of help to write a short note along these lines and to put my name to it, I should be glad if you would insert it wherever you think fit.

I hope that the publication of my article in English will make some impact. The faith of the Liberals in the Czar's[a] liberating zeal has been severely shaken just now by the news from Siberia, by Kennan's book[616] and by the recent unrest at Russian universities.[626] That is why I hastened into print, so as to strike while the iron was hot. The diplomats in St. Petersburg were counting on the advent of Gladstone, Czarophil and admirer of the 'DIVINE FIGURE OF THE NORTH', as he called Alexander III, to enable them to embark on their next campaign in the East. After the Cretans and Armenians had been unleashed, a diversion in Macedonia might have followed; with France in thrall to the Czar and a benevolent England, they might perhaps have risked yet another step forward, and even the seizure of Czaregrad,[b] without Germany's hazarding a war in such unfavourable circumstances. And, Czaregrad once captured, there would be hope of a long spell of chauvinist intoxication of the kind we experienced in Germany after 1866 and 1870.[267] That is why the resurgence of anti-Czarist sentiment among the English Liberals seems to me so important to our cause; it is most fortunate that Stepniak should be here and thus able to fan the flames.[627]

Now that a revolutionary movement is under way actually inside Russia, her foreign policy, once invincible, is suffering one setback after another. And that is highly desirable, for the said foreign policy is our most dangerous enemy, and not only ours, but yours. It is the only force to have remained unshaken up till now in Russia where the Czar is losing his hold even over the army, as evidenced by the numerous arrests of officers which prove that Russian officers in the matter of general intelligence and character, are infinitely superior to the Prussians. And as soon as you have partisans and loyal agents in the ranks of the foreign service—you or, come to that, the Constitutionals[457]—will have won hands down.

Kind regards to Plekhanov,

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

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[a] Alexander III – [b] Constantinople

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## 264

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[1]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 4 April 1890

In great haste. Am sending you *Time* containing my article. *Beware* of the *German version* in the *Neue Zeit*, which has been shamefully mangled. Will reappear in its *correct* form in the May issue.[a] Kindly inform Schlüter so as to ensure that the mangled version is not made use of over there in the *Volkszeitung*, say, or elsewhere. In Germany things are going ahead merrily; the *débâcle* has begun and little Willie[b] will doubtless make certain that it doesn't come to a standstill again. Schorlemmer is here and sends cordial greetings to you and your wife, as do I.

First published slightly abridged in: *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos., Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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[a] See Engels' letters to Dietz (this volume, p.466) and to Kautsky (this volume, p465) – [b] William II

## 265

## ENGELS TO FERDINAND DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS

### IN THE HAGUE

London, 9 April 1890

Dear Comrade,

I fear that there is no chance of your son being taken on as an apprentice in an engineering workshop over here. Thirty or forty years ago, engineering firms used to engage apprentices of this kind and my brother[a] worked as such in Bury near Manchester for a year. He had to pay a premium of one hundred pounds sterling, was enrolled as an apprentice in the Engineers' Trades Union and in due course received 15 shillings a week. But now that the continentals and especially the Germans are competing with the British in the engineering field, they have ceased by and large to accept any more foreigners as apprentices. I shall make further inquiries in Manchester and, if anything more hopeful comes to light, shall get in touch with you straight away.

I'm glad to hear that things are also moving ahead briskly where you are; after the excitements of last summer a certain torpor has set in over here, while at the same time the personal, local and other forms of friction inevitable in England are proliferating again to a greater extent than is desirable. However a practical people like the English and, for that very reason, one that is very *terre à terre*[b] in its way of going about things, must eventually learn from its own mistakes; it's the only way here, and then again the movement has already penetrated far too wide sections of the working class for it to be held up more than temporarily by all these squabbles.

The third volume of *Capital* weighs heavily on my conscience; certain parts are in such a state that they won't be fit for publication until they have been carefully revised and to some extent rearranged and, as you may imagine when so imposing a work is at stake, I shan't do anything of the kind without the most mature reflection. Once the 5th section is polished off, the two that follow will involve less work; the first four have to be read over, but apart from that are ready for the press. If I could spend a year right away from the day-to-day affairs of

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[a] Emil Engels – [b] matter of fact

the international movement, a year without newspapers to read, without letters to write, without involvement in anything else, I should polish it off easily.

With kind regards.

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 266

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN VIENNA

London, 11 April 1890

Dear Kautsky,

A line or two in great haste before the post goes. First of all my heartiest congratulations on your engagement. You have been through a difficult time and to me this news is a sign that you've got over it, that you've put it behind you. May you find the happiness you expect.

Schorlemmer and Nim also send you their sincerest congratulations.

Thank you for your letter from Stuckart;[a] yesterday I also got one from Dietz, which I answered straight away, saying that I was entirely satisfied and also confirming that, as I had previously told you, I agree to a new edition of the *Origin*, etc.,[b] as part of the *Internationale Bibliothek* and shall make some additions.

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[a] Stuttgart – [b] Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*

Now as to Dietz's plan to bring you to Stuckart, that is really a matter you must settle between the two of you. Schorlemmer and I were in Kentish Town[628] today, but Ede was out and so I doubt whether I shall be able to consult with him before Sunday. As for myself, all I can say is that I should much prefer to have you here, but if your presence in Stuttgart[629] is really necessary and you are nevertheless able to visit this country for a month or two each year, I must, for better or for worse, content myself with that. The *Neue Zeit* has become a stronghold which is worth defending to the utmost. And having an influence over Dietz's publishing business generally, which henceforth will be a more important lever in party life than was the case during the period of oppression, is also *à considération*.[a] To some extent, naturalisation and a secure berth in Germany can cut both ways, since it means that you would be liable to be thrown out of Austria. And you are also familiar with dear Stuckart and its delights. I shall give the matter further thought to see whether there may not be some other, not immediately apparent, snags and talk it over with Ede on Sunday.

However I wanted to get this line off to you straight away and it's now 5.25, *ergo* time for the post.

Your
F. E.

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[a] worthy of consideration

## 267

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 12 April 1890

Dear Sorge,

Letter of 3-6 March received with thanks. The business of Miquel's letters[630] is not without considerable snags. 'Wilhelm'[a] would also like to have them, only to spring them on the world just at the wrong moment and thus deprive us for good of the hold we have over Miquel. For once the scandal had blown over, Miquel wouldn't give a fig for us. To me it seems far more important to keep some control over the chap by this means than to raise an unnecessary clamour as a result of which he would elude us and, what's more, have the pleasure of getting away unscathed. In any case everyone knows he was a member of the League.[531]

Again, my experience of the American press[300] has been altogether too startling for me to fall for the bait. If someone on the *Volkszeitung* were to get wind of the fact that the afore mentioned letters were in America, none of those sensation-mongers would have a moment's rest or repose until they had got hold of them—nor would I willingly subject anyone to such torment and temptation. Besides, how am I to know how long Schlüter will remain with the *Volkszeitung* and whether they mightn't make the publication of the said letters a condition of his remaining?

In short, I cannot possibly agree to this deal.

In Germany everything's going better than we could have hoped in our wildest dreams. Young William[b] is positively *mad*—as if cut out, that is, for the task of thoroughly disrupting the old order, shattering what little confidence remains among the propertied classes as a whole—whether Junkers or bourgeois—and preparing the ground for us in a way even the liberal Frederick III could not have done. His sudden urge to be amiable to the workers—purely Bonapartist and demagogic but adulterated with muddled dreams of a divinely inspired princely

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[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht – [b] William II

mission—makes no impression whatsoever on our chaps, something for which we have the Anti-Socialist Law to thank.[52] Even in 1878 it might still have served *some* purpose, have created some confusion in our ranks; it could not possibly do so now. Our people have been all too keenly aware of the iron hand of Prussia. A few weaklings—as, for example, Mr Blos and, perhaps, some of the 700,000 who have come to us as new recruits during the past three years—might waver a bit in this respect, but they'll quickly be voted down and, before the year is out, we shall see William wondrously disappointed as regards his power over the workers, whereupon love will turn to rage, and cajolery to persecution. Hence our policy should be to avoid creating any disturbance until the expiry of the Anti-Socialist Law on 30 September; for by then the Reichstag will have dispersed completely, and to declare another state of emergency would scarcely be feasible. But once we have regained our ordinary rights as citizens, you should witness renewed expansion on a scale such as will put in the shade even that which took place on 20 February.[599]

Since Little Willie's amiability towards the workers has as its counterpart an urge for military dictatorship (this shows how the present gang of princes are all turning Bonapartist, nolens volens) and he is all set to shoot people down at the first sign of resistance, it's up to us to see that he doesn't get the chance. As we found during the elections, we have made truly enormous headway in the country, particularly where, besides the big estates, there were, at most, *big* farmers, i.e. in the East. Three second ballots in Mecklenburg, 2 in Pomerania! The 85,000 votes that accrued between the first official count (1,342,000) and the second (1,427,000) all came from country districts where we were not expected to get any at all. Thus there is a prospect of our soon being able to capture the rural proletariat of the eastern provinces and, with it,—the soldiers of the 'crack' Prussian regiments. That will bring down the old order with a vengeance, and we shall govern. But the Prussian generals would have to be greater fools than I suppose for them not to be just as much aware of this as we are, and so they *must* be dying to stage a ceremonial massacre and thus put us out of harm's way for a while. That, therefore, is our second reason for proceeding in an ostensibly peaceable manner.

A third reason is that the electoral victory has gone to the heads of the masses—particularly in the case of new recruits—and they now believe themselves able to take *everything* by storm. Unless something is done to check this, all sorts of silly things will happen. And the bourgeois—vide the colliery owners—are doing all they can to encourage and provoke such silliness. For this they not only have their former reasons,

but also the additional one of hoping they may thus put paid to little Willie's 'amiability towards the workers'.

I would ask you *not* to let Schlüter see the passages side-lined above. He tends to act impulsively and then, I know my *Volkszeitung* people—as journalists they ruthlessly seize upon anything that may be of use. But these matters must *not* get into the press, either out there or here, at least not into the German papers, and least of all as emanating from myself.

If, in the immediate future, therefore, our party in Germany should seem a trifle placatory—even as regards May Day—you will know the reason why. We are aware that the generals would gladly take advantage of May Day to do some shooting. In Vienna and Paris there is a similar intention.

In the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), Bebel's contributions from Germany are of particular importance. I never make up my mind about any point relating to German party tactics before having read Bebel's views on the subject, either in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* or in one of his letters. He is wonderfully perspicacious. It's a pity that only Germany is known to him from his own observation. This week's article, 'Deutschland ohne Bismarck', is also by him.

You will have had *Time* (sent a week ago today)[a] containing my first article on Russian policy.[b]

My nerves are settling down a bit now that I have turned almost *teetotal*; in fact, I shall have to go on restricting myself until the autumn. Schorlemmer is still a total abstainer. He and I send our cordial regards to you and your wife. He is staying here over Easter and will go back to Manchester on Monday. Sam Moore is getting on well in Africa;[c] in a year's time he will be coming home on 6 months' leave.

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p.469 – [b] The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom (see this volume, p.469) – [c] See this volume, p.336-9

## 268

## ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT

### IN BERLIN

London, 12 April 1890

Dear Schmidt,

I am precluded today by lack of time from replying save very briefly to your letters of 25.2 and 1.4, but as the second requires an early answer,[631] I must get on with it today.

I realised as much as a year ago that I should require help with Marx's mss. I therefore proposed that Ede—i.e. Bernstein—and Kautsky should assist me with these, needless to say not without remuneration, and both accepted. Well, so far I have had from Kautsky a copy of part of the ms. of Book IV, mentioned in the preface to Volume II[632]; he has got quite adept at reading the handwriting and still devotes some of his spare time to this. Now there is, in fact, a possibility that he will be leaving London for good, i.e. at any rate for a few years, but in that case, as has already been agreed, his place will probably be taken by Ede, particularly in view of the fact that, though his position might change should the Anti-Socialist Law[52] expire and not be renewed, he might still not be able to return to Germany there and then. As things stand *at present*, therefore, I could not offer you any real prospect of work in this sphere; but in six months things can change a lot, and I shall be all the happier to bear your kind offer in mind in that I am anxious to familiarise as many properly qualified people as possible with Marx's handwriting—something that can't be done without teachers, of whom I am the only one. For if I were to kick the bucket, as might happen any day, these mss. would otherwise be a book sealed with seven seals and would be subject to guesswork rather than a correct reading. So if a situation should arise in which I lost my present collaborators or otherwise obtained a free hand in this respect, I should at once apply to you and can only hope that you would then still feel inclined to accept; perhaps you will succeed in coming over here notwithstanding and, once you were in this country, much might easily be arranged which, from a distance, appears difficult.

Our electoral victory[a] was indeed astonishing and the success it

scored in the outside world was no less glorious. Bismarck's victories may have earned us—i.e. the Germans generally—respect as soldiers, but have tended rather to diminish the respect for our personal characters *qua* Germans; the boot-licking of the bourgeois has seen to the rest: Germans fight well if well commanded, but commanded they must be—never any question of independence, of character, of ability to resist tyranny. Since the elections this has changed. People have seen that the German bourgeoisie and the Junkers do not constitute the German nation; the brilliant victory of the workers after 10 years of oppression, and *while subject to* that oppression, has impressed people more than Königgrätz and Sedan.[633] The world knows that it was we who overthrew Bismarck, and the socialists of all countries are now aware that, like it or not, the movement's centre of gravity has shifted to Germany. Nor, after all I have experienced, am I at all afraid that our workers will not show themselves equal to this new position. The more recently recruited elements may not yet be sufficiently versed in the correct tactics, but that is something they will soon learn and, whatever is left undone by their older comrades-in-arms, the government will, in its wisdom, surely make good. The attitude adopted by the whole of our press towards the famous edicts[609] shows how much spade-work the Anti-Socialist Law had done in this particular. Once bitten twice shy—and something which, in 1878, might for a time have had a somewhat disruptive effect, now cuts absolutely no ice whatever. I know that there are people, even within the new group,[b] who would gladly go half way to meet the amiability manifested towards the workers from on high, but they would be voted down as soon as they opened their mouths. Puttkamer was quite right—the Anti-Socialist Law has had an enormous 'educative effect', but not in the way he supposed.

Have you seen a review of your book by Achille Loria of Siena,[c] in Conrad's *Jahrbücher*? It was sent me from Italy—maybe indirectly by Loria himself. I know the said Loria; he was over here and he also corresponded with Marx. He speaks German and writes it as in his article—that is to say, badly—and he is the most consummate careerist I have ever met. At one time he believed that world redemption lay in small-scale peasant landownership, but whether he still does, I cannot say. He

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[a] to the Reichstag in Germany – [b] Social-democratic parliamentary group – [c] A. Loria, *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marx'schen Wertgesetzes*

writes one book after another and plagiarises with an effrontery that would not be possible outside Italy—even in Germany. For instance, a few years ago he wrote a little book[a] in which he proclaimed Marx's materialist conception of history as *his* most recent discovery, and sent the thing to *me*! When Marx died, he wrote and sent me an article[b] in which he maintained that, 1. Marx had based his theory of value on a sophism which he himself had recognised as such (*un sofisma consaputo*[c]) and 2. Marx had never written Book III of *Capital*, nor had he ever intended to write it, but had merely referred to it in order to pull everyone's legs, and knowing full well that the solutions he had promised were quite impossible! Despite all rebuffs and incivilities[d] I can never be quite sure that he will not again pester me with letters or packages; the chap's impertinence knows no bounds.

Kind regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

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[a] A. Loria, *La teoria economica della Constituzione Politica* – [b] A. Loria, *Karl Marx: Nuova antologia di scienze, lettere ed arti*, Serie II, Bd. 38, vom. 1. April 1883 – [c] A known sophism – [d] Engels to Loria, end of April 1883 (see present edition, Vol. 47, pp.24-5)

## 269

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 16 April 1890

My dear Laura,

At last! a free hour to write a line to you. I am pestered almost to death with letters, verbal and other applications of all sorts, and wish I could shut myself off for a month or so—for I find it impossible to reply to all my letters, much less to do any serious work.

Many thanks for the kind wishes in your poem but I am afraid the Lord on high and the lord below will settle my hash for me some day and find me a place somewhere. But that need not trouble us now.

And now a little business:

1) Will you give me Longuet's address?

2) Will Paul procure me the title, publisher's name, etc. of a pocket edition (cheap) of the Code Napoléon[634] as at present in force, for Sam Moore? (*les cinq codes suffiront, civil, procédure civile, pénal, procédure criminelle, de commerce*[a]) and price.

3) Enclosed a bill found in last lot of French newspapers.

The Parisian workmen are acting indeed as if they had but one purpose to live for, and that is to prove how utterly undeserved was their revolutionary reputation. It's all very well for Paul to repeat over and over again that they are Boulangists out of pure opposition against the bourgeoisie—but so were those who voted for Louis Bonaparte, and what would our Parisians say if the German workmen, to spite Bismarck and the bourgeoisie, threw themselves blindfold in the arms of young William? It is plainly cutting off your nose to spite your face, and the Parisians have still so much left of their former *esprit* that they can still back up the worst of all possible causes by the best of all possible reasons.

No, the cause of this surfeit of Boulangism lies deeper. It is Chauvinism. The French Chauvins, after 1871, resolved that history should stand still until Alsace was reconquered. Everything was made subordinate to that. And our friends never had the courage to stand up

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[a] five statutes will suffice: civil, civil and penal procedure, criminal procedure and commerce

against this absurdity. There were fellows at the *Citoyen* and *Cri*[a] who howled with the masses against everything German, no matter what, and our friends submitted to that. The consequences are there. The *only* excuse for Boulangism is *la revanche*, Alsace reconquered. What not one party in Paris ever dared to oppose, is it a wonder that the Parisian workmen now cling to as a gospel?

But in spite of French patriots, history did not stand still—only France did, after the fall of McMahon.[198] And the necessary consequence of this French patriotic aberration is that the French workmen are now the allies of the Czar[b] against not only Germany, but against the Russian workmen and revolutionists too! In order to preserve to Paris the position of revolutionary centre, the revolution must be crushed in Russia, for how to reconquer, without the help of the Czar, the leading position belonging to Paris by right?

If the desertion en masse to Boulanger of the French or rather Parisian workmen should cause socialists abroad to consider them as completely *déchus*,[c] there would be no cause to be astonished. What else can they expect?

Of course, I should not be so hasty in my judgment. This momentary aberration should not lead me to such a conclusion. But it is the third time that such an aberration recurs since 1789—the first time Napoleon No. I, the second time Napoleon No. 3 was carried to the top by that wave of aberration, and now it's a worse creature than either—but fortunately the force of the wave, too, is broken. Anyhow, we must apparently come to the conclusion that the negative side of the Parisian revolutionary character—chauvinistic Bonapartism—is as essential to it as the positive side, and that after every great revolutionary effort, we may have a recrudescence of Bonapartism, of an appeal to a saviour who is to destroy the vile bourgeois *qui ont escamoté la révolution et la république*[d] and in whose traps the *naifs ouvriers*[e] have fallen—because, being Parisians, they know everything from birth and by birth, and need not learn like vulgar mortals.

So I shall welcome any revolutionary spurt the Parisians may favour us with, but shall expect them to be again *volés*[f] afterwards and then fly to a miracle-performing saviour. For *action* I hope and trust the Parisians to be as fit as ever, but if they claim to lead with regard to *ideas*, I shall say thank you.

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[a] *Cri du Peuple* (see also Engels to Lafargue, 30 October 1882, present edition, Vol. 46) – [b] Alexander III – [c] degraded – [d] Who have done away with the revolution and the Republic – [e] Simple working men – [f] cheated

By the bye Boulanger is so deep down now that the other day Frank Rosher who was in Jersey on business—a boy of 22, and the most conceited snob in London—called on him and was received courteously and both assured each other of their mutual *bienveillance et protection*[a]!

I hope the 1st of May will not disappoint the expectations of our French friends. If it turns out a success in Paris, it will be a heavy blow to the Possibilists and may mark the beginning of an awakening from Boulangism. The 1st May resolution was the best our congress took.[473] It proves our power all over the world, is a better revival of the International than all formal attempts at reorganization, and shows again

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By the bye Boulanger is so deep down now that the other day Frank Rosher who was in Jersey on business—a boy of 22, and the most conceited snob in London—called on him and was received courteously and both assured each other of their mutual *bienveillance et protection*[a]!

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I am afraid I shall not be able to take one of your two dogs. The one is a bitch and Nim objects firmly to have again to do the massacre of the innocents, and the other is a pointer, *id est* a sporting dog, and there are most absurd laws here with regard to them—I could not take him out to Hampstead without being stopped by the police as a potential poacher; that is the reason why pointers, fox-hounds, setters, etc. are kept only for real sporting purposes and never, as with us on the continent, for private amusement. *Voilà ce que c'est que de vivre dans un pays aristocratique*.[b]

In Germany we shall have to keep the 1st May as quiet as possible. The military has strict orders to interfere at once and not to wait for requisition from the civil authorities, and the secret police—on the point of being discharged—are straining every nerve to provoke a collision. In fact if the telegrams just to hand by Reuter are worth anything, they are beginning already and have found a few anarchists to provoke some 'outrages'.

Nim says she can't come, her gardening days are over. She has rheumatism in the hip-joint—not much, but there it sticks.

By the bye our Paris friends seem to go all to pieces. There is the *Parti socialiste*—a paper to work the Municipal elections, that I can conceive as a rational purpose. But then there is Okecki's *Autonomie*, and then a daily paper, the *Combat* in Boyer's hands, and now Guesde wants to organize a lithographic correspondence—why this looks like an attempt at *gaspillage*[c]—they all cry after a daily paper and now they have one they don't seem to use it—or are they all at sixes and sevens? I cannot make it out.

Ever yours,
F. Engels

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[a] Goodwill and protection – [b] That's what comes of living in an aristocratic country – [c] squandering

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## ENGELS TO VERA ZASULICH[635]

### IN MORNEX (FRANCE)

London, 17 April 1890
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Citizen,

When I read Beck's article, I had a feeling it might anger you and your friends, and I told Bernstein that, in his place, I would not have published such twaddle. To this, his answer was that he felt he had no right to suppress an article which did, after all, express the views of a fair number of young Russians, people who had no other organ in which to reply, for the benefit of *Sozialdemokrat* readers, to the article which had preceded it, and that what he had chiefly in mind was to give you an opportunity to answer those criticisms; he added that he would naturally, and with the greatest pleasure, print any reply you cared to send him.[636]

The position of the *Sozialdemokrat* vis-à-vis the Russians in the West is somewhat delicate. Needless to say, the paper looks upon you as the allies and particular friends of the German movement, but other socialist groups can also lay claim to some measure of consideration. If they are to communicate with German working men, they are more or less obliged to write to the *Sozialdemokrat*; should that paper refuse them its hospitality? To do so would be to meddle in the internal affairs of the Russians—something to be avoided at all costs. Consider the internal struggles of the French and Danish Socialists; for as long as it was able, i.e. so long as it was not itself called in question, the

*Sozialdemokrat* maintained its neutrality vis-à-vis the Possibilitsts,[19] as it has continued to do vis-à-vis the two Danish parties, although its sympathies lie entirely with the 'revolutionary' side.[418] And the same thing applies to the Russians; Bernstein has never harboured any ill-will whatsoever towards you, of that you may be assured, but he has an exaggerated sense of justice and equity; and rather than perpetrate *one* injustice against an enemy or a man he finds uncongenial, he will sooner perpetrate *ten* against his friends and allies; all his friends criticise him for an impartiality so excessive that it ends up as bias against his allies. This is why he always tends to give the enemy the benefit of the doubt.

Add to that the fact that we are all very much in the dark as regards the various, and far from immutable, groupings which occur among the Russians in the West, so that we are liable at any given moment to drop a brick. Bernstein is much better informed than I am, having had at least some first-hand experience of this kind of thing in Zurich, whereas I, on the contrary, did not know so much as the names, or even suspect the existence of the journals you cite.[637] Bernstein tells me that, in Beck's letter, he detects the accents of Lavrov's followers—whether rightly or wrongly, I do not know—but this was one of the reasons which induced him to publish the letter.

He also told me that he had arranged for a translation of Plekhanov's preface to be sent him from Paris so that he might print it in its entirety; it had arrived, he said, and would appear as soon as possible. He arranged this as soon as he got Beck's letter, which can only mean that he intended to take advantage of its publication to give Plekhanov another say. I would now suggest that you write a reply to Beck—in French, if you so wish—and send it to me or else direct to the *Sozialdemokrat* (address 4 Corinne Road, Tufnell Park, London N.). While you, for your part, may know the said Mr Beck who, outside Russian circles, is quite unknown, and while you may regard entering into debate with him as a somewhat demeaning occupation, this is, after all, the sort of unpleasantness to which one is all too often compelled to submit, as I am only too well aware.

I know from experience what an upheaval is like when it takes place, as now, in the bosom of a small community of the Russians in the West. Everyone knows everyone else, having had with them personal relations of a friendly or hostile nature and, as a result, any development—accompanied as it inevitably is by divisions, schisms and controversies—will assume a wholly personal character. Such things are inherent in any

political emigration, and we had our fill of them between 1849 and 1860. But what I also learned is that the first party to have the moral fibre to rise above that atmosphere of personalities, to refuse to let itself be dominated by the influence of such squabbles, will find itself in consequence at a considerable advantage as compared with the rest. The less vulnerable you are to pinpricks of this kind, the better will you be able to preserve your strength and husband your time for the great struggle. Come to that, what harm can it do you if an article by Beck or by someone else appears in the *Sozialdemokrat*, provided you can be sure of being able to reply to it fairly and squarely? It would, after all, be impossible to close the columns of the entire Socialist press in the West to your Russian adversaries; and it would surely be to the advantage of the Russian movement itself if it ran its course somewhat more openly before the wider public in the West, rather than covertly, in small, isolated circles which, for that very reason, become hotbeds of intrigue and conspiracy. To inveigle his adversaries out into the open, into the light of day, and to attack them in full view of the public, was one of Marx's most powerful and most frequently used ploys when confronted by clandestine intrigue.

If you wish to rob your enemies of all desire to swagger in front of the German Socialists, your best way would be to contribute regularly to the *Sozialdemokrat* and the *Neue Zeit*. Once the identity of your views with those of the Germans has been thoroughly established and recognised, let the others say what they will—no one will heed them. I am sure that contributions from you would be welcomed with open arms, and was delighted to hear that Plekhanov's article on Chernyshevsky was to appear in the *Neue Zeit*.

My cordial regards to Plekhanov, as also to yourself.

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

Bernstein is an excellent chap as regards both intelligence and character, but it is typical of him that the measure of the esteem in which he holds you should be the number of attacks he permits others to make upon you in the *Sozialdemokrat*; the greater his respect for you, the more anxious he is to appear impartial where you are concerned.

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[237]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 19 April 1890

Dear Sorge,

I get the *Nationalist* regularly but unfortunately there's not much in it. Just feeble reflections of our Fabians[176] over here. Dreary and shallow as *Dismal Swamp*,[638] but pleased as Punch about the magnanimous magnanimity with which they, *eddicated* middle-class folk, condescend to emancipate the workers who, however, are expected in return to be sweetly submissive and kowtow obediently to the eddicated *cranks* and their *isms*. Let them enjoy their little pleasure while they may; one fine day the movement will efface all this. Indeed, we continentals are at an advantage in that this sort of thing would not be possible in our case because of the very different effect the French Revolution has had on us.

Today I am also sending you *The People's Press*, which, so far as reports on the new Trades Unions are concerned, has now taken the place of the *Labour Elector*. The latter, as you will have seen, no longer carries any factual news because the workers flatly refuse to have anything further to do with it. Not that this prevents Burns, Mann and others (particularly some of the dockers) from consorting a great deal with Champion on the sly and allowing themselves to be influenced by him. *The People's Press* is edited by a very youthful Fabian named Dell, the second in command being the parson Morris; both, from what I have heard so far, are decent people and most obliging to the gas workers. The

(secret) leader of the gas workers is Tussy and the union is, to all appearances at any rate, far and away the best of the lot.[565] The dockers have been spoiled by the philistines' subventions and are anxious not to blot their copybook with the bourgeois public. Moreover, their secretary, Tillett, is the mortal enemy of the gas workers, whose secretary he vainly strove to become. The dockers and gas workers, large numbers of whom are dockers in the summer and gas workers in winter, really belong together; hence the latter proposed an agreement whereby anyone who was a member of one of the two Unions should not, on changing his job, be forced to join the other. So far this has been rejected by the dockers, who demand that a gas worker who turns docker in the spring should pay his joining fee and membership dues. Hence a lot of unpleasantness. Altogether the dockers are putting up with the hell of a lot from their Executive. The Gas Workers and General Labourers take in all the unskilled workers, and in Ireland the agricultural day labourers are also flocking to join it—to the annoyance of Davitt, who has progressed no further than Henry George and considers, though quite without reason, his domestic Irish policy to be threatened.[639] Here in London, the gas workers south of the Thames have been thoroughly trounced by the South Metropolitan Gas Co.,[577] that was all to the good, as they were getting altogether much too cocky and thought they could carry everything before them; in Manchester they suffered a like fate and now they are calming down and starting to consolidate the organisation and fill its coffers. In the Union Tussy represents the girls and women of Silvertown (India Rubber, etc., Works) whose strike she led,[549] and will probably soon take her seat on the London Trades Council.[587]

In a country such as this, with an old political and labour movement, there will always be a vast accumulation of traditionally received *rubbish* to be gradually got rid of. There are the prejudices, all of which need to be broken down, of the skilled Unions—Engineers, Bricklayers, Carpenters, Joiners, Type Compositors, etc., the petty jealousies between individual trades which, fomented in word and deed by the leaders, are surreptitiously exacerbated to the point of outright enmity and strife; there are the incompatible ambitions and the intrigues of the leaders—this one wants to get into Parliament, so does that, the other wants to get on to the County Council[451] or the School Board, yet another to establish the universal centralisation of all workers, and another still to found a newspaper, a club, etc., etc.,—in short, there are endless causes of friction; and, in the midst of it all, the Socialist League,[21] contemptuous of everything that is not downright revolution-

ary (which means here in England as with you in America, everything that's not confined to spouting hot air to the exclusion of everything else), and the Federation,[62] which continues to behave as if, except for itself, there were nothing but fools and bunglers, even though the modicum of support *it* is regaining is due solely to the vigour of the new movement. In short, anyone who merely considered the surface of things would say that all was confusion and personal quarrels. But *beneath* the surface the movement continues, spreading to ever wider strata, for the most part precisely those *at the very* base of the hitherto inert masses, nor is the day far off when those masses will suddenly discover their identity, when it will dawn on them that it is they who are these vast dynamic masses and, on that day, short work will be made of all the shabby tricks and petty quarrels.

Needless to say, the above details as to persons and momentary differences are solely for your own information and must not on any account be allowed to get into the *Volkszeitung*. *Let this be understood once and for all*—for when Schlüter was over here, he more than once demonstrated a tendency to take this sort of thing rather too lightly.

I much look forward to the First of May. In Germany the group in the Reichstag was duty-bound to restrain any excess of zeal. The bourgeois, the political police, whose 'bread and butter' is at stake, the worthy officers—all are itching for mayhem and slaughter and are seeking any pretext to persuade young William[a] that it's never too soon to shoot. But this would completely ruin our game. First we have to get rid of the Anti-Socialist Law,[52] i.e. survive the 30th of September. And after that our prospects in Germany will be much too brilliant for us to wreck them merely for the sake of blowing our own trumpet. Come to that, the parliamentary group's proclamation[640] is bad; it stems from Liebknecht and the nonsense about a 'general strike' was wholly unnecessary. But either way, our people have been so elated by the 20th of February[599] that a certain amount of restraint is necessary if blunders are to be avoided.

In France the First of May *might* be a turning-point, for Paris at any rate, provided it helps to restore to their right minds the large numbers of working men who have gone over to Boulangism there. For this, our people have only themselves to blame. They have never had the courage to oppose the outcry against the Germans, *qua* Germans, and now in Paris they are falling victim to chauvinism. Luckily the position is better in the provinces. But abroad people look only to Paris.

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[a] William II

If the French sent me their stuff, I would send it on to you. But I think they themselves are ashamed of the things. *Well, it's in the French nature*—defeat is more than they can stomach. The moment they again have a taste of success, all will suddenly change.

Cordial regards to your wife[a] and yourself.

Likewise to the Schlüters.

Schorlemmer returned to Manchester last Monday. We are both of necessity strict abstainers. *Quelle horreur*![b]

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN[641]

London, 30 April 1890

Dear Sorge

If, next Sunday, a gigantic demonstration for the eight hour day takes place here in London, this will be thanks only to Tussy and Aveling. Tussy represents her Silvertown working women on the council of the Gasworkers' and General Labourers' Union and enjoys so much popularity on that Council that no one calls her anything but our mother. The gas workers—the best of the new Unions—were greatly in favour of the 8 hours demonstration for, besides having fought for and secured an 8 hour day for themselves, they had also learnt how insecure in practice is such an achievement, liable as it is to being reversed by the capitalists

[a]Katharina Sorge – [b] How awful!

at the first opportunity; for the gas workers as for the Miners, the main thing is that it should be *legally* established.

Thus it was the gasworkers and the Bloomsbury Socialist Society[642] (the best section, which seceded from the Socialist League 2 years ago and of which Lessner, Tussy and Aveling are members) who initiated the thing, and obtained a strong following among the smaller Trades Unions and the Radical Clubs,[22] which are increasingly splitting up into socialist working men's clubs and middle-class Gladstonian clubs. In all sincerity, they approached the London Trades Council[587] and suggested they take part in the proposed demonstration in Hyde Park. That body (next year it, too, will be in our hands), consisting mainly of representatives of the old skilled Trades Unions, realised that there was no avoiding the thing and attempted to gain control of it by a *coup de main*.

In collusion with the Social Democratic Federation[62] (Hyndman), they applied to the Commissioner of Works and reserved Hyde Park for the 4th of May, something the others had as yet failed to do. For whenever a large meeting is to be held in the park, prior notice must be given to the Commissioner of Works, who then stipulates how many platforms may be erected, etc. Since the regulations also prohibit the holding of *any other meeting* at the same time on the same day, these gentlemen imagined they now had the upper hand and, having monopolised the park, would be able to order the original committee about.[643] They had applied for 7 platforms, intending to allow the Social Democratic Federation to have two of them—thus, or so they thought, preserving a *semblance* of impartiality towards the socialists while at the same time gaining a socialist ally.

Hence they decided that *only* Trades Societies, *not* political associations (thus excluding the clubs), were to parade with banners and provide speakers. They edited the resolution, omitting all mention of the legal 8 hours day and referring only to the 8 hours to be striven for by means of Trades Union action. Not till they had arranged the procession, the routes to be taken, etc., did they call a meeting of delegates—of Trades Societies only. When this took place, 1. Tussy was not admitted on the grounds that she was not herself employed in the calling she represented! (and yet Mr Shipton, the secretary of the Trades Council, hasn't done a hand's turn in his trade for 15 or 16 years!!) 2. An amendment calling for the re-introduction of the legal 8 hours day into the resolution was not allowed to be put to the vote or debated—*this matter having already been settled*! 3. The delegates were given plainly to understand that the Trades Council was the man in possession, that the

Park was his for the 4th of May, and if they did not like it they could leave it alone.

Much wrath and consternation among the delegates of the original committee. The following day the tables were turned, however. Aveling went to the commissioner of Works and told him that, unless the original committee were *simultaneously* awarded a sufficient number of platforms, there would be a set-to; luckily the Tories are in power (the Liberals would have prevaricated and conceded nothing) and cannot afford to make any more enemies amongst the workers—Aveling was awarded seven platforms, and now it was the turn of the gentlemen on the Trades Council to eat humble pie, for a clash *at this juncture* would really have shown how weak they were.

Our committee then buckled to, settling the details of its plans and of the routes to be taken by the procession—these it published forthwith—and thus was first to be ready. Yesterday Aveling and Shipton met and so arranged matters as to preclude all possibility of a clash, which means that Sunday's meeting will be one of the biggest there has ever been.

You may get this published in the *Volkszeitung* and also in the Workmen's Advocate; I should be only too pleased if it were to come back to the gentlemen in *English* from America.

I am now sending you a few *Stars*, which will be comprehensible to you in the light of the above (NB each article as a rule contains news emanating both from our side and from the other lot, in addition to that obtained by the reporters themselves, all of it lumped together indiscriminately).

Further, the May number of *Time*. Also a bundle of *Combats* (belongs to us, Guesde editor-in-chief) and with them the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. The object of the threats of expulsion in Bebel's article[644] is Schippel—one of the chief intriguers and a great adept in sharp practice, whom Liebknecht discovered several years ago and introduced into the party but now mortally detests. Luckily Schippel is a *coward*, like Hyndman.

This is *our first major victory in London* and it shows that *we* now have the masses behind us in this country too. Four strong branches of the Social Democratic Federation, which is to have two platforms of its own, will be marching with us and are represented on our committee. The same applies to many of the skilled trades—the old, traditional leaders side with Shipton and the Trades Council—the majority with us. The whole of the East End is on our side. The masses over here, though not yet socialist, are well on the way there and have already got to the stage

of wanting to have only socialist leaders. The Trades Council is the only labour organisation of note to be still anti-socialist but already includes a socialist minority and, the moment the gas workers—who so far have been kept at arm's length by all manner of little ruses—get into it, things will begin to move fast. I feel convinced that, after the 4th of May, the movement here will take on an altogether different character, and then you will hear more about Tussy's public activities. We have shown the intriguers of the Trades Council and the Social Democratic Federation that we are a match for their wiles and ruses and, much though the chaps hate us, they cannot deny the facts. The English proletariat would now at long last appear to be entering the movement en masse and, should this be the case, all the petty intrigues, swindlers and would-be bigwigs will, by this time next year, either have been relegated to the modest position that is their due or else swept away.

Another edition of the *Manifesto*[a] is now printing; we want to bombard Germany with another 5,000 copies before the demise of the Anti-Socialist Law.[52]

A superb spring day. In a week's time the gilliflowers, white and pink may, laburnum and apple blossom will be out—the cherry trees have already been in flower for 5 days.

I trust you and your wife will keep well—cordial regards to you both.

Your
F. E.

Did you know that the *Labour Elector* had gone bust? It sold 23,000 copies during the *dockers' strike*,[489] but was spoilt by Tory money.[b]

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* – [b] See this volume, pp.446-50

## 273

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 9 May 1890

Dear Bebel,

Thank you for your news from Zurich—I am glad that we should have arrived at the same opinion in regard to this point too.[645] *Your* corroboration was of particular importance to me, the likes of us being so dependent in matters of this sort upon conclusions that are inadequately founded as to feel reluctant to use those unreliable conclusions as a basis for further inferences, let alone actions, without corroboration from an authoritative quarter.

My hearty congratulations to you and your wife on your daughter's engagement.[a] The fact that it will eventually mean her emigrating to America is certainly most unpleasant for you, though for me it might have the agreeable consequence of our some day making a trip together across the Atlantic. What do you feel about it? I am firmly convinced that you would get over your sea-sickness within 2 or 3 days and quite possibly for good and all. And a sea voyage of that kind is an invaluable antidote to wear and tear—even now, almost two years later, I can still feel the beneficial effects of my jaunt. Moreover, Zadek claims to have discovered a sure remedy for sea-sickness (anti-pyrin is said to be excellent) and, according to medical opinion, only 2 or 3 per cent of all human beings are unable to get used to the motion within 2 or 3 days. So consider the matter.

If you find my article[b] wanting in logic, the fault lies probably more with me than with Blos. To compress such a lengthy and complex matter into less than 2 printed sheets is a difficult feat and I am aware that there are all too many passages in which the thread gets lost and the reasoning is inadequate. In the event of my going into the subject—which is of the greatest importance to us—in rather more detail, some critical notes from you would be very welcome indeed just brief indications as to *where* you lost the thread and *how* you think it got snarled up.

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[a] Frieda Bebel – [b] F. Engels, *The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom*

Well, no doubt the bourgeoisie will everywhere have had time enough to sweat out the fear inspired in them by the First of May and to wash the linen they dirtied in consequence. The *Daily News* correspondent in Berlin, one of the most vociferous Jeremiahs, complained on the First of May that the workers had made April fools of all and sundry, nor, until 4 days later, did the truth dawn on him that, despite the workers having insistently declared beforehand that all they wanted was a *peaceable* demonstration, no one had believed them.

You did perfectly right in so arranging things as to preclude the possibility of clashes. After 20 February[599] there is no longer any need for the German workers merely to kick up a row. Under the circumstances Germany was *bound* to make a more modest showing on the First of May than the others did, and no one thought the worse of you for that, either here or in France. But there is, I think, *one* lesson to be drawn from the Schippel business,[646] namely the need to ensure that, next time there's an interregnum between the general elections and the convocation of the Reichstag, the leadership of the parliamentary group is either empowered to continue functioning as before, or is expressly reinstated in office by the newly elected representatives for the period of the interregnum. It could then confidently intervene and also act, if necessary, while the gentlemen in Berlin, who would like to behave Paris-fashion, as though they were *natural* party leaders, would not be given the opportunity of throwing their weight about prematurely. Always providing that, after 1 October,[52] the organisation stays as it is.

Over here the demonstration on 4 May[647] was quite *overwhelming*, as the entire bourgeois press actually had to admit. I was on platform 4 (a heavy goods waggon) and could only see part—a fifth, say, or an eighth—of the crowd, but it was one vast sea of faces, as far as the eye could reach. Between 250,000 and 300,000 people, about 3/4 of them demonstrating workers. Aveling, Lafargue and Stepniak spoke from my platform—I was just an onlooker. Lafargue, with his mixture of southern vivacity and excellent English—if spoken with a strong French accent—elicited a storm of applause. So did Stepniak, while Ede, who was on the same platform as Tussy, was accorded a stunning reception. Each of the 7 platforms was 150 metres away from the next, the last ones being 150 metres from the edge of the park,[a] so that *our* meeting (the one in favour of international legal enforcement of an 8 hours working day)

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[a] Hyde Park

occupied an area more than 1,200 metres in length and at least 400-500 metres in breadth, the whole being absolutely jam-packed, while beyond it were the 6 platforms of the Trades Council[587] and the 2 of the Social Democratic Federation,[62] but with audiences barely half the size of ours. All in all, the biggest meeting that has ever been held here.

And, what's more, a stunning victory, particularly for *us*. You will have read the details in Ede's report in the *Volksblatt*.[648] The Trades Council and the Social Democratic Federation had, or so they thought, done us out of the park for that day, but they were bilked. Aveling persuaded the Commissioner of Public Works to allow us to have 7 platforms in the park as well, though this was, in effect, contrary to regulations. But luckily the Tories were in power and he succeeded in intimidating them by saying that our people would otherwise storm the other lot's platforms. And our meeting was the biggest, the best organised and the most enthusiastic. The vast majority here are already in favour of an eight hours law. Aveling and, even more so, Tussy organised the whole thing, and their position in the movement is now altogether different from what it was. The Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers[565]—by far the best of the new trade societies—supported them manfully nor, without them, would the thing have been possible. Now it behoves us to keep together the committee that organised our meeting—delegates of Trades Unions, and of radical and socialist clubs—and to make it the centre of the movement over here.[643] The first moves towards this end will probably be made tonight. Of one thing we may be certain: the workers, the bourgeoisie, the heads of the old, rotten Trades Unions and of the many political and social sects and sub-sects, and the careerists, place-seekers and men of letters intent on exploiting the movement, are well aware that the *real socialist mass movement began on the fourth of May*. Now the masses are at last on the move and, after a few battles and a certain amount of wavering to and fro, will, just as it happened in Germany, put an end to the personal ambitions and attempts at exploitation of the careerists and to the rivalries of the sects, and will relegate every man to his proper place. And since an international mentality will evolve very strongly in the process, you will soon discover what stuff your new allies are made of. All that the English do in the way of action, agitation or organisation shows that they are much more akin to us than the French, and once everything has got going along the right lines here and the internal friction, unavoidable at the start, has been overcome, you will be able to march alongside these people in truly fine style. What wouldn't I give for Marx to have

witnessed this awakening, he who, on this self-same English soil, was alive to the minutest symptom! You people can have no conception of the pleasure I have experienced during the past fortnight. And things are coming thick and fast. First Germany in February, then the First of May there and in America, and now this Sunday when, for the first time in 40 years, the voice of the English proletariat rang out once again. I carried my head a couple of inches higher as I climbed down from the old goods waggon.

Regards to your wife[a] and Singer,

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[649]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 10 May 1890

My dear Laura,

Only a few lines this busy Saturday—I am awfully behindhand with my correspondence—to thank you for your card and to enclose the £20 cheque I promised Paul. I also send you the *People's Press* with report of Sunday last.[650] It was tremendous. England at last *is* stirring, and no mistake. And it was a great victory for *us* specially, for Tussy and Aveling

[a] Julie Bebel

THAN ONCE TO PUBLISH THE ARTICLE OF MR LAFARGUE BUT IN VAIN; OUR CENSORS ARE TOO SEVERE ... EXCUSE ME THAT I SEND YOU PER NEXT POST THE MS.; I DO NOT SEND IT DIRECT TO THE AUTHOR SINCE I AM NOT SURE THAT HE RECEIVES MY LETTERS. I HAVE WRITTEN TO HIM TWICE, IN MARCH AND IN APRIL, IN ANSWER TO HIS KIND SENDING.'[652]

Have you had his letters? I shall send you the MS as soon as I get it. You would be well-advised to let him have another, non-suspect, address in Paris where he could send his letters for you, and also not to put your name to your own letters. That is what I do myself, and our correspondence has never been interrupted by such mishaps.

It's good that your Eight Hours Committee should continue to function—we are doing the same thing here, the Legal Eight Hour Day League is in process of formation, the Committee,[643] in particular, will continue to function, and new societies (among them branches of the DOCKERS Union) are affiliating themselves. Since the question is a completely practical and straightforward one, it might, perhaps, bring back those of your adherents who defected to Boulanger's camp two years ago. By a strange quirk of history the Parisians, after having upset their digestions with grandiloquent phrases dubbed ideas, have now been reduced to a diet of 'DR RIDGE'S FOOD FOR INFANTS', the eight hour day, and suchlike easily digested stuff.

The end of the Boulange[a] is comic indeed. Having been given a kick by universal suffrage, the gallant general passes it on to his 'committee'[653] so that there may be no intermediary between himself and universal suffrage!

Rumour has it that Frank Rosher's visit gave him the coup de grâce.[b] After that, he could sink no lower.

Is Laura making preparations to come over here? The month is nearly over.

Give her a kiss from Nim and myself.

Yours,
F. E.

*Martignetti has been acquitted.*

First published in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959

Reproduced from the original

Translated from the French

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[a] Bread-making, here meaning General Boulanger – [b] See this volume, p.481

## 276

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

### IN BENEVENTO

[London,] 24 May 1890

[Dear friend,]

[Many] congratulations on your [acquit] tal!

What joy for you and your [family, who] must have suffered no less [than yo]u did yourself! I immediately wrote a [note o]f thanks to A.L [abriola] and also asked him to thank Lollini.

Now you will be embarking on a new existence, and doing so better and more hopefully than you would have been able to do on the other side of the Atlantic.

Yours sincerely yours,
F. E.

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## 277

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[655]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 29 May 1890

Dear Sorge,

Have received letters of 30 April and 15 May, likewise *Volkszeitung* containing passage from my letter.[a] Your statement will be appearing in the *Sozialdemokrat*[656] but, when I arrived at the office with your

[a] See this volume, p.488-91

statement yesterday, I found that they *already had it there, in print in the Berliner Volksblatt*. So Schlüter had sent it off before. That's what I call Schlüter's excess of zeal and what tends to be a bit embarrassing to a chap like me when he turns up at a newspaper office with an allegedly brand new ms. only to find the thing has already appeared in another paper. Not that I've had any other indiscretions to complain of since he's been in America, but I know him from days of yore.

I must now burden you with another piece of gossip about Schlüter which I would not otherwise have thought worth mentioning. But Motteler, a mortal enemy of Schlüter's, who was also responsible for Schlüter's leaving here, has recounted *his* version of the affair to Jonas and so it is necessary for you, at any rate, to know the true story.

Motteler is a crib-biter of the first water and is very difficult to get on with; he's a *faux bonhomme*,[a] a Swabian and an unrecognised genius who feels he has been downgraded because, though he was at one time *solely* responsible for managing the *Sozialdemokrat* and for party affairs abroad, others had to be appointed alongside himself, things having expanded. Not only is he absolutely reliable in money matters, however, but, more important still, he is generally recognised to be so by the whole of the party, and no one would venture to doubt him. In the post of party treasurer abroad, therefore, he is a most valuable man, and the others can only be glad to have been relieved of that responsibility for so long. Well, should anyone he dislikes happen to join the business, the results will be perpetual squabbling and never-ending persecution. That's what happened, first with Derossi and then with Schlüter, both of whom were hounded out by him. He now brings two charges against Schlüter—first, that he embezzled money. There is absolutely no proof of this save that, in accounts that were over a year old at the time and had *already been passed by the auditors*, Motteler discovered a sum of 150 marks in respect of which Schlüter had failed to provide either proof of payment or a signed receipt. No one in Germany or over here, save for Motteler, cares a rap about this, for the sums paid out by Motteler himself are said frequently to have been certified only by the entries he made, and the way the chaps run the business, while egregiously pedantic like everything Motteler does, is far from businesslike and accurate. That Schlüter was careless and guilty of small oversights—which he

[a] speciously benevolent

glossed over in such a way as not *himself* to be the loser—may well be. But nothing more could be alleged against him.—Again, Schlüter is much given to the pursuit of the Eternal Feminine, and likes variety at that, and it would seem to be a fact that he had flirtations with one or two of the book-binding girls they employed in Zurich and even seduced them. But since there aren't any girls in the business over here, that no longer applied and the only grounds for quarrelling with Schlüter was Motteler's ineradicable dislike of him. That's the whole story and, if Schlüter had only stood up to Motteler a bit more, things might have gradually settled down. We others didn't make anything of it because the affair of the girls had long been a thing of the past, because Motteler himself had refused to have the matter out with Schlüter in the presence of the party's auditors, and because the same thing could not have recurred *over here*.

So if Jonas should start spreading gossip, you will be in possession of the true facts.

Jonas did indeed come to see me, somewhat embarrassed, but found Tussy and Edward Aveling here (it was just after the Hyde Park meeting)[647] who gave him a very cool reception (on applying to the Central Committee[643] for a journalist's pass for the meeting, Jonas had already been told by Aveling that he hoped the *Volkszeitung* would be more truthful in its report than heretofore)[3]. So he very soon went away again when the Bernsteins had to leave on account of their children. The more elegantly the man tries to dress, the commoner he looks.

One more thing. For the new edition of the Origin etc.[a] I have got to have Morgan's last work,[b] but cannot go to the British Museum early enough in the morning to compete for a seat in the Reading Room with the novel-readers. I am therefore sending you the enclosed letter for the department concerned, and two copies of the book. The question now is how these things—the letter and 1 copy—should be conveyed, whether direct to the department or through an intermediary who would vouch for me? Aveling believes that Ely in Baltimore would be glad to oblige. You are better acquainted with the chap, and I shall therefore leave it to you to decide what the best procedure would be. In case you should decide on an intermediary, I have included a second copy for him. I also include a note for Ely in case you think fit to use him as an intermediary.

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[a] Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see present edition, Vol. 26) – [b] L. H. Morgan, *Houses and houselife of the American aborigines*

I am very glad that the *Volkszeitung* and the *Workman's Advocate* put in the piece about the preliminaries to the Hyde Park meeting; through doing so they have made possible a rapprochement between the Avelings and the Americans. Even Mr Jonas cannot fail to have realised while here what a blunder he had made when he contented himself with simply parroting the Executive's accusations against Aveling.

The meeting, by the by, did not mark the end of the matter over here. You will have seen from the last *People's Press* that the Central Committee is remaining in existence and is founding a Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League.[657] The constitution has been drafted and will be submitted on 22 June to a delegates' meeting to which *all* London labour organisations, radical clubs, etc., have been invited. The constitution demands 1. the implementation of the resolutions of the Paris Congress[473] in so far as these are not yet law in England, 2. such further measures for bringing about the full emancipation of the workers as may be decided upon by the Association, 3. the founding of an independent labour party with its own candidates for all constituencies in which they would stand some chance of getting in. You may publish this.

In the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (by the next post) there is a longish article of mine[a] about the happenings over here.

Cordial regards to your wife,[b]

Your
F. Engels

First published slightly abridged in: *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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[a] 'May 4 in London' – [b] Katharina Sorge

## 278

## ENGELS TO PAUL ERNST[658]

### IN BERLIN

[Draft]

London, 5 June 1890

Dear Sir,

Unfortunately I cannot do as you ask and write a letter to you for use against Mr Bahr.[659] This would involve me in a public polemic with the same, and for that I should literally have to rob myself of my own time. What I am writing to say, therefore, is solely for your private information.

Moreover, what you describe as the northern women's movement is totally unknown to me; all I know is a few of Ibsen's plays, nor could I possibly say whether, or how far, Ibsen can be held responsible for the more or less hysterical lucubrations of middle class and lower middle class female careerists.

Again, the field which we have accustomed ourselves to describe as the woman question is so extensive that nothing of an exhaustive or even moderately satisfactory kind can be said about it within the confines of a letter. But of one thing you may be sure—Marx could never have 'made such a fuss' as Bahr asserts he did. He was not as crazy as that.

As regards your attempt to handle the matter in a materialist way, I should say first of all that the materialist method turns into its opposite if, in an historical study, it is used not as a guide but rather as a ready-made pattern in accordance with which one tailors the historical facts. And if Mr Bahr believes he has caught you out in this respect, it seems to me that he may not be altogether unjustified.

You subsume the whole of Norway and everything that happens there under one category, philistinism, and then unhesitatingly and erroneously apply to that Norwegian philistinism your opinion of German philistinism. But here there are two facts which present an insuperable obstacle.

Firstly: When, throughout Europe, the victory over Napoleon turned out to be the victory of reaction over the Revolution, the fear inspired by the latter sufficing only in its cradle, France, to wrest a bourgeois-liberal constitution[660] from the returning legitimists, Norway took occa-

sion to give itself a constitution[661] that was far more democratic than any of its coevals in Europe.

And, secondly, Norway has, during the past 20 years, experienced a literary revival unparallelled in any other country during that period save Russia. Philistine or not, this people has been far more creative than all the rest and is, indeed, putting its stamp on other literature, not least the German.

These facts, in my view, render it necessary to examine Norwegian philistinism in the light of its particular characteristics.

And in so doing you will probably find that a very important distinction emerges. In Germany philistinism was born of a failed revolution, a development that was interrupted and repressed. Its idiosyncratic, abnormally pronounced character made up of cowardice, bigotry, ineptitude, and a total lack of initiative, resulted from the Thirty Years War[221] and the period that ensued—the very time in which practically all the other great nations were experiencing a rapid rise. That character persisted, even after Germany had again been gripped by the historical movement, and was strong enough to imprint itself, more or less as a generalised German type, on all the other social classes in Germany until such time as our working class broke out of these narrow confines. If the German workers are flagrantly 'unpatriotic',[662] it is precisely because they have completely shaken off German philistine bigotry.

Hence German philistinism is not a normal historical phase but a caricature taken to extremes, a form of degeneration, just as your Polish Jew is a caricature of the Jews. The English, French, etc., lower middle class is not at all on the same level as your German lower middle class.

In Norway, on the other hand, the class of small peasants and the lower middle class with a slight admixture of middle class elements—as it existed, say, in England and France in the 17th century—have, for several centuries, constituted the normal state of society. Here there is no question of an archaic state of affairs having been forcibly imposed upon them by the failure of a great movement or by a Thirty Years War. The country has been retarded by its isolation and by its natural circumstances, but its state was commensurate with the conditions of its production, and hence normal. It is only quite recently that large-scale industry has, sporadically and on a very small scale, begun to come into the country, where, however, there is no place for the most powerful lever for the concentration of capital—the stock exchange; and even the tremendous expansion of maritime trade has proved to be a conservative factor. For whereas everywhere else steam is superseding sail, Norway is

enormously increasing the number of its sailing vessels and possesses, if not the largest, then certainly the second largest, fleet of windjammers in the world, most of them owned by small and medium-sized shipping firms, as in England in, say, 1720. But nevertheless this has brought some animation into the old, sluggish existence—animation which finds expression in, among other things, the literary revival.

The Norwegian peasant was *never a serf*, so that the whole process takes place against an entirely different background as in Castile. The lower middle class Norwegian is the son of a free peasant and, such being the case, is a *man* compared with the degenerate German philistine. And in the same way the Norwegian lower middle class woman is infinitely superior to the German lower middle class wife. And whatever the failings of, for example, Ibsen's plays, these reflect a world which is, it is true, lower middle and middle class, but utterly different from the German world—a world in which people still have character and initiative and act independently if, by the standards of other countries, often eccentrically. Personally, I would prefer to get to know all I could about things of this sort before passing judgment.

But in return to the above-mentioned sheep, namely Mr Bahr, I can only marvel at the fact that people in Germany take each other so terribly seriously. Wit and humour seem to be more than ever taboo there, and boredom to be a civic duty. Otherwise you would surely have taken a closer look at Mr Bahr's 'woman' from whom all that is 'historically evolved' has been removed. Her skin is historically evolved, for it must perforce be either white or black, yellow, brown or red—hence she cannot have a human skin. Her hair, whether crinkled or woolly, whether straight or curly, whether black, red or blond, is historically evolved. Hence human hair is forbidden her. What, then, remains after you have removed what is historically evolved along with skin and hair, and 'the woman as such appears'? What is revealed? Simply a female ape, anthropopitheca, and may Mr Bahr take her to bed with him, 'purely tangible and perceptible', together with her 'natural instincts'.

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## 279

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON (NICOLAI-ON)[592]

### IN ST. PETERSBURG

London, 10 June 1890

My dear sir,

I am in possession of your kind letters of 18th December, 22 January, 24th February and 17th May, as also of Mr. Lafargue's article returned which was sent back to him. I wrote to him[a] that you had written to him twice in March and April but have not had any positive reply as to whether he received these two letters. His wife who is here at present, cannot from memory tell positively. She regrets very much the change of ownership in the *Northern Review* and desires me to convey to you her and her husband's thanks for your kind efforts in their interest.

Of the 4th edition *Capital* I am now reading proof-sheets 39-42, there will be less than 50 in all, as the print, though larger, is closer. As soon as out, it will be forwarded to you.

I have had the letters of our author[b] you kindly lent me, copied by typewriter (the author's youngest daughter[c] did them) and shall now return them to you in a registered letter, unless you instruct me to the contrary.

I thank you very much for your continued and interesting information respecting the economic condition of your great country. Under the smooth surface of political quietude there is as great and as important an economical change going on as in any other European country, to watch which is of the highest interest. The consequences of this economic change must sooner or later develop themselves in other directions too.

We had heard here of the death of N.G.C.[d], and with much sorrow and sympathy. But perhaps it is better so.

Many thanks for your congratulations of 24th February—they have rejoiced more than one.[663]

I have been so exceedingly busy, and my eyes, though improving, are still so much affected by reading Russian printing, that I have not as yet been able to read the article in the *Statistical Yearbook*[e] but

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[a] See this volume, p.497 – [b] Marx – [c] Eleanor Marx-Aveling – [d] N. G. Chernyshevsky. The initials are written in Russian letters in the original – [e] This word is written in Russian in the original

shall do so as soon as I find a free moment.[664] The misuse of economic terms, you point out, is a very usual defect of all literatures. Here in England, Rent is applied as well to the payment of the English capitalist farmer to his landlord, as to that of the Irish pauper farmer, who pays a complete tribute composed chiefly of a deduction from his fund of maintenance, earned by his own labour, and only in the smallest consisting of true rent. So the English in India transformed the land-tax paid by the ryot (peasant) to the State into 'rent', and consequently have, in Bengal at least, actually transformed the zamindar (tax-gatherer of the former Indian prince) into a landlord holding a nominal feudal tenure from the Crown exactly as in England, where the Crown is nominal proprietor of all the land, and the great nobles, the real owners, are by juridical fiction supposed to be feudal tenants of the Crown. Similarly when in the beginning of the 17th century the North of Ireland was subjected to direct English dominion, and the English lawyer Sir John Davies found there a rural community with common possession of the land, which was periodically divided amongst the members of the clan who paid a tribute to the chief, Davies declared that tribute at once to be 'rent'.[a] Thus the Scotch lairds—chiefs of clans—profited, since the insurrection of 1745, of this juridical confusion, of the tribute paid to them by the clansmen, with a '*rent*' for the lands held by them, in order to transform the whole of the clan-land, the common property of the clan, into their, the lairds', private property; for—said the lawyers, if they were not the landlords, how could they receive *rent* for that land? And thus this confusion of tribute and rent was the basis of the confiscation of all the lands of the Scottish Highlands for the benefit of a few chiefs of clan who very soon after drove out the old clansmen and replaced them by sheep as described in *Capital*, chapter 24, 2 (p. 754, 3rd edition).[b]

With kind regards

Yours very faithfully
P. W. Rosher.[39]

First published in Russian in *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 2, 1908

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[a] Davies, J. *Historical tracts* – [b] K. Marx, *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, Erster Band, Buch I. Der Produktions-process des Kapitals. Dritte vermehrte Auflage. Hamburg. Verlag von Otto Meisner, 1883

## 280

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN NEW YORK

London, 14 June 1890

Dear Schlüter,

This is to advise you in much haste that you are welcome to reprint Marx's biography—but I have no time to finish it.[666] You will find material in, inter alia, Marx's obituary in the *Sozialdemokrat* of March 1883.[a]

Congratulations on becoming 'chief'.

So far everything is going well over here, as also in Germany, where little Willie[b] is threatening to abolish universal suffrage—what better could befall us! In any case we're heading quite fast enough either for a world war or for a world revolution—or both.

Kind regards to your wife—I'm glad to hear she's in better health than she was over here.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Frederick Engels, *Karl Marx's Funeral* – [b] William II

## 281

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN BERLIN

London, 19 June 1890

Dear Liebknecht,

Hardly a minute goes by without a *changement de décoration.*[a] Schorlemmer has asked me to join him on a cruise in July—a variety of plans have been submitted for my kind consideration. My doctor tells me I must get away as soon as possible and devote this summer to the betterment of my health so as to be up to the mark again when winter comes. I myself have noticed that my bad nights have also been conducive to bad work and that I shall have to break off as soon as possible. So I can't very well reject the plan out of hand.

On the other hand Laura is pressing Lenchen to accompany her on a fortnight's trip to Paris, which would be perfectly feasible during my absence and would do the old lady a power of good.

A further consideration is that your Reichstag is still in session and there's no knowing a fortnight in advance when or whether it will adjourn.

So it could be that in about 10 days' time I shall take myself off for 3 weeks. I shall in any case be back here by 25-26 July and Lenchen probably a few days before that. So if you could arrange your trip in such a way as to arrive *after*, say, 21 or 22 July, you would find everything ready for you, and a few days later I myself should also be back.

All this is, of course, provisional for the moment, and I shan't be able to tell you anything more definite for a day or two, but I thought it as well to inform you immediately of this circumstance; *that* I shall go is pretty certain, but there's still some doubt about the details. All that is certain is that I shall be back in London *before* the end of July and Lenchen *before* me. None of these plans would keep me away later than the 26th.

So Heligoland is to become German.[667] I really look forward to the outcry of the good Heligolanders, who will fight tooth and nail to prevent their incorporation into the vast barracks of the fatherland. And

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[a] change of plan

they have every reason to do so; no sooner has it been annexed than their island will be converted into a large fortress commanding the anchorage to the north-east, and they, poor devils, will be subject to *eviction*, as though they were so many Irish tenant farmers or, perhaps, Scottish sheep who must make room for deer.

O nay, O nay, enlarge his fatherland they say,[a] yet not one German from without, therein would make his way. A sea-girt Alsace à la Schleswig-Holstein! That was the only prop still lacking in the German imperial force.

Your
F. E.

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## 282

## ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT

### IN BERLIN

London, 19 June 1890

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

If I made a reference to your remarks about your being isolated and virtually ostracised in Leipzig, this was perfectly natural. From what you said I was bound to conclude that you found Leipzig insufferable and am glad to learn that such was by no means the case.

As to any other comparison between the merits of Leipzig and the drawbacks of Berlin, this is something I am really unable to discuss, as I don't know the former at all, while the latter are no more than a distant memory and since those days Berlin is said to have improved quite miraculously, or so the Berliners maintain. However I'm perfectly willing

[a] E. M. Arndt, *Des Deutschen Vaterland*

to believe you when you say that, from the point of view of family life, Leipzig has immeasurably more to offer than the metropolis of the Brandenburgian Sahara.[668]

All these, I have written to tell Singer and Liebknecht, are matters which everybody must thrash out with himself, his family and the party and in which we outsiders must acquiesce. However I can only say that I am also firmly of the opinion that Liebknecht's place is in Berlin if the party leadership and the party organ are transferred there. *Whether* or not that happens is not for me to say; I can only express an unauthoritative opinion. But *should* it happen and Liebknecht remain in Leipzig, he would, by so doing, lower himself to the status of a second-class party leader, pension himself off, so to speak, and find himself in a situation in which he could be neither consulted nor heard when an important problem arose—in short, it would be the first step towards resignation and you wouldn't want that.

People like us are tossed around by politics in a quite singular way. When in 1858 Lassalle wanted to bring out a paper with Marx and myself in Berlin, we couldn't actually say no and were prepared to move to the sandy metropolis—fortunately negotiations broke down.[669] And for me that would have meant terminating my contracts with the firm[a] and for us both a removal with much more far-reaching consequences than those of a transition from Leipzig to Berlin. If, therefore, circumstances arise which make your removal to the imperial sand-box unavoidable, you can certainly draw comfort, not only from the belated discovery that life there is bearable after all, but also from the certain knowledge that Liebknecht is thereby assuming the position in the party that is his by right and that he has come to the place where he can do full justice to his position.

At all events this business will be decided before very long and it is my hope that, whatever that decision may be, you will in the long run become reconciled to it.

Kindest regards from Nim, Mme Lafargue, the Roshers and

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

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[a] Ermen and Engels

## 283

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

### IN HANOVER

[London,] 30 June 1890

Thank you very much for the many and various items you sent me; I tried to get hold of the no. of the *Daily Telegraph*[670] but did not succeed, having been unable to tell the chaps on which day the article had appeared; they also said the number had probably been sold out. You never get any information out of clerks over here when it's a question of a transaction to the value of one penny!

Your
F. E.

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## 284

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT[671]

### IN BERLIN

[London,] 30 June 1890

A reply in your own name[672] issued by me would only provoke Mr Hyndman into retorting: it's not Mr Engels' opinion we want, but Liebknecht's own testimony—and, besides, that sort of approach is quite contrary to local custom. As you know, Mr F. Gilles seized on the

affair so as to make capital out of it. If you don't wish to write direct to *Justice*, you should send your reply to *The People's Press* (editor Robert[a] Dell), 1 Hare Place, Fleet Street, London, E.C.; I am sending you its latest number.

Searching for lodgings in Berlin must certainly be a pleasant occupation!

Your
F. E.

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## 285

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

[Odde], Friday, 4 July 1890

My dear Laura,

I hope you got as safe to Paris as we did to Norway. We had a very quiet passage, though lots of people sick, sighted the coast of Norway yesterday afternoon, and by 6 were between the islands and rocks. Went up the Harvanger Fiord which leads right into the heart of the country, and are now at the farthest point, Odde, where we remain until tomorrow. Had a drive up the valley this morning and only just back; it rained a little, but not enough to spoil the scenery which is grand. The sun set yesterday at 10 and there was no real night, only a rather deep dusk, and red sky in the north. The people are very primitive, but a sound strong handsome race; they understand my Danish but I cannot make much of their Norwegian. Here at this place the invaders coming by this one ship have cleared the place of Norwegian money in change for English, and the post-office of postage stamps.

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[a] Richard in the ms

We sail from here to-morrow and shall on Monday be at Trondheim, a good way farther up north. If the scenery does not get worse than what we saw to-day, I shall be quite satisfied. It is in some respects like Switzerland, in others very different. So far the beer is not what one might expect, but I shall reserve judgment until I have seen the towns. This Odde is about twenty houses, including church, hotel, post-office and skolehus.[a] Everything built of timber, although they have about 1.000.000 times more stone than wood.

Well, I hope Nim is well; enjoying herself, and you and Paul are the same. If Mémé[b] was here, she would have plenty to say about my *nase*,[c] the sun has burnt it so that it cracks at every corner.

So now love to the lot of you and enjoy yourselves.

Ever yours
F. Engels

First published in English in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

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## 286

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

### IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

Trondheim, 8 July 1890

We're about to sail for North Cape and I don't want to miss sending you a line from Trondheim. Have just eaten the best lobster I've had in my life and there was some very passable beer to go with it; have also seen a big waterfall. We sail at 9 o'clock, calling first at Tromsö and then at North Cape, after which we return via various Norwegian fjords and arrive back in the Thames on the 26th of this month. The weather has

[a] a school-house – [b] Jenny Longuet – [c] nose

been pretty good up till now, though yesterday was wet, but it's fine again today. I like the people pretty well; the girls wear a kerchief on their heads just as at home, and one feels one must have already run into them at some time or another in the Siebengebirge or the Eifel. But my pen is atrocious and it is only with difficulty that I have scrawled my way as far as this.

Much love to Emma and your children, Rudolf, Mathilde, Hedwig, etc.[a]

Your
Friedrich

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## 287

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

Steam Yacht *Ceylon*
Bergen Roads, 22 July 1890

Dear Liebknecht,

Having safely returned to civilised latitudes after our trip to North Cape—Schorlemmer and I left London in the above vessel on the 1st of this month—I hasten to inform you that we shall be back in London on Saturday the 26th inst. And look forward to seeing you as soon as may be. Come straight away if that suits you, since we shall probably be setting off for the seaside shortly afterwards and intend to inveigle you into joining us;[673] that will still leave you some time to do what you have to do in London.

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[a] Emma Engels, Rudolf Engels, Mathilde Engels, Hedwig Engels

The first news to reach us from the outside world is today pinned up in our vessel and reads: *The German Social Democracy will reorganize on October 1st and is preparing a plan of organization to be discussed and adopted at a congress in October.*[674] Otherwise nothing of any importance—but it's enjoyable to be promptly presented with *that* news.

As young William[a] was favouring Norway with his presence at the same time,[675] I kept as quiet as possible about my itinerary, lest there should be any police chicanery. On our way home we met the fleet in Molde; '*young Hopeful*', however, was not present, having gone off gallivanting in a torpedo boat; he sneaked past us in the Geiranger Fjord, much to the annoyance of the middle-class English gang on board our ship, who would have liked to give three cheers for a real *live emperor*.

While the sailors in the fleet were splendid chaps, the junior officers and midshipmen differed little from the ensigns of the Prussian guards, their every turn of phrase being of the kind we've known from time immemorial; the senior officers we met in the hotel dressed in mufti were quite different and were in no way distinguishable from ordinary civilians. The predominant accents were those of old Prussia. We nearly died of laughter at the sight of two fat admirals sitting squashed together in a minute Norwegian cab (there was barely room in it for one) as they went to pay their calls (Primrose Hill would accommodate the whole of Molde twice over); all one could see from behind were apaulettes and tricorns.

It was a very pleasant and very interesting trip and I liked the Norwegians a great deal. Up in Tromsö we visited the Lapps and their reindeer and in Hammerfest saw piles of dried cod—at first I took it to be firewood—and, at North Cape, the famous midnight sun. But there's nothing one gets sick of more quickly than perpetual daylight when for a solid week there's literally no night at all and it's always quite light when one goes to bed.

We sampled the beer conscientiously right up to 71 degrees of latitude; it was good but not so good as the German stuff, and invariably bottled. Only in Trondheim could one actually get draught beer. Here too, by the way, the legislators are much concerned with temperance and it would seem that sales of Bismarck's spirits have been steadily dropping. We shall probably carry out a reconnaissance today to see whether there is a beer hall in Bergen where draught ale may be had.

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[a] William II

The train from Gossevangen to Bergen covers 108 kilometres in 4 1/2 hours—24 kilometres per hour! But it passes through rock of all kinds out of which pretty well the whole line had to be blasted.

Up north on the Svartisen, which is one enormous ice field, we walked on a glacier separated from the sea only by the low moraine, i.e. it drops to approximately 100 feet above sea level.

But now it's time for breakfast and I shall close so as to be able to hand this letter in for posting immediately it is over.

Warm regards to your wife and children and to yourself from Schorlemmer and

Your
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN MOUNT DESERT[676]

[London], 30 July 1890

Schorlemmer and I are home again after our very delightful and very interesting trip to North Cape and Norway generally and, as from Sunday, I shall be able to start sending stuff to you again and make up for arrears. Morgan[a] received with many thanks, the more so as Ely's intervention was avoided. It is always disagreeable to be beholden to an intermediary. The relevant letters[b] have likewise come back and been destroyed.

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[a] L. H. Morgan, *Houses and houselife of the American aborigines* – [b] See this volume, pp.499-500

The *People's Press* is also likely to go under in a fortnight's time. It was an attempt by the Fabians[176] to insinuate themselves into the leadership of the movement—at the same time there was much good will but to an even greater extent a lack of journalistic and business experience on the part of the 2 men actually running it,[a] with the result that the whole thing has got into a muddle. There'll be an unpleasant hiatus but it will, I trust, lead to the founding of an organ representative of the new *unions*.

Those two battles in Leeds were magnificent.[677] It was splendid news to be greeted with on our return.

There is also a social democratic organisation in Bergen, but we had neither the time nor the occasion to look it up; I merely saw in the newspapers that it had its own premises and had applied for a licence to sell beer.

Our trip has done us a power of good. Tussy and Edward are themselves off to Norway next week. Regards from Schorlemmer and

Your
F. E.

Also and especially to your wife.

First published in: *Briefe und Auszüger aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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[a] Robert Dell and William Morris

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

### AT *LE PERREUX*

London, 30 July 1890

My dear Laura,

Here we are again from the icy regions of the North—temperature mostly 10° in cloudy weather, very hot when the sun shone, two flannels and a topcoat not too much on an average! The journey has done us both a world of good, and with a *Nachkur*[a] at the seaside I hope to be completely set up again. I found Nim quite enthusiastic about her stay in Paris, she never enjoyed herself so much, and if I am not mistaken and you do not take care, you will have her an annual customer.

We met the German fleet at Molde but young William[b] was not there—he sneaked past our steamer later on in the Sunelvsfjord in a torpedo boat—so that with the impossibility of getting papers we were out altogether of *la grande politique*. Fortunately nothing happened worth knowing—the first news at Bergen were about the reorganisation of the German Party after Oct. 1st,[52] and on arriving here, the splendid news about the two fights in Leeds[677] where young Will Thorne proved himself a leader in battle of both courage and ability. This mode of *lawful* resistance is very much to be approved of, especially here in England—and it succeeded.

Enclosed I found on my return and opened, but it is for Mémé.

Cannot anyone in Paris give us any information about that de Lavigerie who here gives as references Baudin, Ferroul, Guesde, the whole of the party in the Chamber and those in the *Conseil Municipal*? Of course, if none of all these gentlemen will either disavow or acknowledge this man, or give any information about him, what must the people here do? So long as none of his references repudiate him, the people here cannot but take him for genuine. And if afterwards he turns out a black sheep, or does harm to our French friends (for to the people here he can do none), they must blame themselves.

Now I must conclude. You will not want telling that I found an immense heap of correspondence, papers, etc. here and that I have my

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[a] after-cure – [b] William II

hands full for some days—so excuse this short note. Have you seen Paul's Portrait in the *Neue Welt Kalender*—it is very good, so are the other Frenchmen.

Love from Nim, Schorlemmer,
and Yours ever
F. Engels

First published in English in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

Reproduced from the original

# Appendix

## 1

## PAUL LAFARGUE TO NIKOLAION (DANIELSON)

### IN ST. PETERSBURG

Le Perreux, 14 December 1889

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter and for the news it contains about my articles: I have still not received anything from the directress of the *Review*.[a]

Engels' eyes are still ailing: however I think that, thanks to the precautions he is taking, they are better rather than worse. Engels does not like to talk about himself; it is only from third parties that I learn about his state of health which, fortunately, is satisfactory.

He is working at the moment on the 3rd volume;[b] Kautsky is helping him.[678] You are familiar with Williams'[c] cramped handwriting; on the manuscripts it is even worse; since they contain abbreviations which have to be guessed at, crossings-out and innumerable corrections which have to be deciphered; it is as difficult to read as a Greek palimpsest with ligatures. Kautsky reads the manuscript through and makes a copy which Engels then verifies with the other manuscripts. In one of his recent letters, Engels wrote that he was satisfied with this way of working, and that Kautsky was very good at making out Williams' writing.

Engels has just passed his sixty-ninth birthday and, as he wrote to me, even if one turns the figures upside down, they still read 69; I replied that he had only to wait until he was 99 to become 66 by inversion. It is extraordinary that he is able to work on the publication of Williams' works, and keep up his vast correspondence with almost all the countries of Europe and America. I do not know if he writes to you in Russian, which he reads fluently, but he insists on corresponding in the language of the

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[a] A. M. Yevreinova – [b] of *Capital* – [c] Marx's pen-name

person he is writing to. He is a veritable polyglot and knows not only literary languages, but even dialects such as Icelandic, and ancient languages such as Provençal and Catalan. His knowledge of these languages is not superficial; in Spain and Portugal I read letters to friends there who found that they were written in perfect Spanish and Portuguese, and I know that he writes in Italian. There is nothing more difficult than to write in these three sister-languages full of similarities, and not become confused. Engels, however, is a marvellous man, I have never come across such a mind, so young and alert and an erudition so encyclopedic. When one thinks that for more than 20 years he worked as a legal consultant with a Manchester trading establishment, one wonders when he found the time to amass all the knowledge contained inside a head which, be it said, is not very large, in spite of the fact that he is very tall.

I shall pass on to Kautsky what you say about him, and he will be happy, as I am, to learn that his work is appreciated in Russia as it is in Germany and France.

My articles will contain tables to illustrate, it is impossible to engage in comparative and philosophical statistics without illustration. I am sending you one of the tables. If the *Review* so wishes, I can send the cliches for the tables; but I would prefer it if they had them remade, since I shall extend my research up to 1888, and not 1886. I shall have the engravings made, it will not be very expensive; because they will be reproduced using the photo-engraving method, as was the one which I am sending you.

My best regards
P. Farguale[a]

First published in Russian in: *Letopisi marksizma*, book II, 1926

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] A secret pseudonym of Paul Lafargue which he used in his correspondence.

# Notes

1. Engels wrote this letter on a postcard. The address, written by him on the back, reads: F. A. Sorge Esq., Hoboken N.J., U.S. America.
2. Marx first thought of the need for an English translation of *Das Kapital* while working on the manuscript in 1865 (see his letter to Engels of 31 July 1865; present edition, Vol. 42, p172). The English journalist Peter Fox, a member of the General Council of the International, was to look for a publisher. However he died, in 1869, and the matter remained unsettled. The English version of Volume I, edited by Engels, was published by Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co. in January 1887, after Marx's death. The translation was done by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, between mid-1883 and March 1886. Eleanor Marx-Aveling helped prepare the edition. The translation was based on the third German edition of *Das Kapital*, due account being taken of the French edition and Marx's directions for the English translation, which failed to materialise, planned for late 1877.
3. Between September and December 1886 Wilhelm Liebknecht, Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling toured the United States at the invitation of Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of North America. They gave talks and lectures in a number of cities on the theory and history of socialism, on the working-class movement in Europe and on other themes. After the tour the Executive, which had financed it, accused Aveling of over-expenditure. This charge was taken up by the bourgeois press and used for anti-socialist agitation. The conflict between Aveling and the Executive lasted for several months. Engels took part in settling it. The Socialist Labor Party of the United States (originally called the Workingmen's Party) was set up at the Philadelphia union congress, 19-22 June 1876, through the merger of the US sections of the First International, led by F. A. Sorge and Otto Weydemeyer, with the Lassallean-type Labor Party of Illinois and the Social Democratic Party, led by A. Strasser, A. Gabriel and Peter J. McGuire. It was the first Marxist party in America. However, it failed to win a mass following because of the sectarian policy of its leaders, who wanted no links with the mass organisations of the indigenous US workers, and because of the Lassalleans' prevalence in a number of local branches.
4. An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On the United States*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1979.
5. In June 1886, a Hague court sentenced F. D. Nieuwenhuis to one year in

prison and a fine of 50 guldens on charges of 'lese majeste' and 'denigration of officials' in the press. Early in January 1887 the conviction was upheld by the Netherlands Supreme Court. The charges were based on two articles by Nieuwenhuis published anonymously in the newspaper *Recht voor Allen*. He was released from prison on 1 September 1887.

6. In the Mayoral election in New York on 2 November 1886 Henry George, the candidate of the United Labor Party, got 68,110 votes, 31 per cent of the total cast. During the preparation for the municipal election in New York in August 1886, the United Labor Party was founded to rally the workers for joint political action. The initiative came from the New York Central Workers' Union, an association of New York trade unions formed in 1882. Similar parties were set up in many other cities.
7. In November 1886 elections were held to the US Congress and the State legislatures. Led by its parties, the working class achieved substantial success in the elections in New York (see note 6), Chicago and Milwaukee. In Chicago, ten Labor Party candidates were elected to the State Legislative Assembly (one to the Senate and nine to the Lower Chamber). The party's candidate to the US Congress was short of only 64 votes. In Milwaukee, the Labor Party candidate was elected Mayor, one of its men got into the State Senate, six into the Lower Chamber, and one into the US Congress.
8. In his letter of 9 January 1887 Martignetti informed Engels that he was being persecuted for his socialist views and was, as an official of the government notary archives, in danger of dismissal. He asked Engels to help him find employment outside Italy.
9. From November 1850 Engels supervised the Manchester branch of the Ermen and Engels German textile firm. The German side of the enterprise was run by Fr. Engels Sr., with the assistance of Anthony Ermen. The firm's office was in Barmen. In 1860, after his father's death, Engels received £10,000 from his brothers in compensation for his share in the family concern in Engelskirchen, which consolidated his financial and legal standing in the Manchester firm. From June 1864 to June 1869 Engels was a co-owner of the Ermen and Engels firm. After five years in this capacity he withdrew from the firm and devoted himself entirely to party work, scholarship and journalism.
10. This letter was first published abridged, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszuge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx, u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906, and in full in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895. A Selection*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.
11. In a letter dated 10 December 1886 Kelley-Wischnewetzky asked Engels to write a preface to the American edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, which she had translated into English. She argued

that Engels' Afterword, written for this edition in February 1886, was out of date (see present edition, Vol. 26), and suggested that the new preface should, above all, contain a critique of Henry George and that the words 'in 1844' should be omitted from the title. In reply to her request Engels wrote the article 'The Labor Movement in America', which was to open the book.

12. Engels' article 'The Labor Movement in America' opened the American edition of his *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, published in New York in 1887. That same year the article appeared, in Engels' German translation, under the heading 'Die Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika', in the *Sozialdemokrat* (10 and 17 June). In July separate prints, in German and English, were distributed in New York. The article was also published as a pamphlet in London (see present edition, Vol. 26) and, in French, in *Le Socialiste* (9, 16 and 23 July). Even before the publication of the book the article was, without Engels' knowledge, translated into German by Alexander Jonas, editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, and published in this paper in April 1887. Engels, displeased with the quality of the translation, lodged an official protest.
13. This letter was first published in English, abridged, in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence. 1887-1890*,Vol. 2, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960.
14. Russo-German rapprochement appeared to be on the cards in early 1887. In the course of negotiations between the two countries, the Russian ambassador, P. Shuvalov, proposed to Bismarck that the 'alliance of three emperors', which was expiring in the summer of 1887, should be resumed, but without Austrian participation. Shuvalov's proposal also envisaged Russia's neutrality in the event of another Franco-German war and a free hand for Russia in the Balkans. Addressing the Reichstag on 11 January 1887, Bismarck urged the need for friendly relations with Russia. An anti-French press campaign, the mobilisation of reservists and other steps on the part of the German government gave rise to fears of an imminent military clash with France (the 'war alarm' in January 1887). However, the Russian government refused to back up Shuvalov's proposals and Bismarck's actions.
15. On 14 January 1887, Bismarck dissolved the Reichstag in view of its refusal to endorse the proposed seven-year military budget (the bill on the septennate). The elections to the new Reichstag, held on 21 February, were attended by a brutal campaign of terror, directed above all against the Socialist Party. Nevertheless, the Social Democrats polled 763,128 votes (10.1 per cent of the total), 213,038 more than in the 1884 elections. However, owing to the undemocratic additional ballots law the number of Social Democratic deputies declined to 11, as against 24 in the previous Reichstag.

16. In January 1887 the *Daily News* reported that the Bismarck government intended to demand that the French government explain the concentration of French troops on the German border. On 25 January the semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine zeitung* emphatically denied this report.
17. An excerpt from this letter was first published, in the language of the original (English), in K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Literature and Art*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.
18. On 1 February 1887 Laura Lafargue informed Engels of the conflict that had arisen between Caroline-Rémy Séverine-Guebhard, publisher of the newspaper *Le Cri du Peuple*, on the one hand, and the associate editors of this paper – Jules Guesde, Gabriel Deville, Albert Goullé – on the other. The latter emphatically objected to Séverine's public pronouncements in defence of the anarchist Duval, convicted on charges of burglary, and to the publication in the paper, as a leader, of an anti-German article by one Bienvenu. They also demanded the dismissal of the journalist Georges de Labruyère, notorious for his Boulangist views (see note 137). As a result of the conflict, almost all leading members of the editorial board withdrew from the *Cri du Peuple*. They started a new paper, the *Voie du peuple*, the first issue of which appeared on 2 February 1887. The paper lasted only a few weeks, the last issue appearing on 17 March.
19. The Possibilists (Broussists) were a reformist trend in the French socialist movement between the 1880s and the early 20th century. Its leaders – Paul Brousse and Benoit Malon -caused a split in the French Workers' Party (see note 33) in 1882 and formed the Federation of Socialist Workers. Its ideological basis was the theory of municipal socialism. The Possibilists pursued a 'policy of the possible' ('la politique des possibilites'). At the beginning of the 20th century the Possibilists merged with the French Socialist Party.
20. Presumably Engels means the newspaper *Le Citoyen*, of which Jules Guesde was a co-founder. It appeared from 1 October 1881 to 8 March 1884. In October 1882 it merged with the newspaper *La Bataille*, edited by Prosper-Olivier Lissagaray. As a result, the French Workers' Party (see note 33) lost its influence on the paper.
21. The Socialist League was founded in December 1884 by a group of English socialists who had withdrawn from the Social Democratic Federation (see note 62). The League's organisers included Eleanor Marx Aveling, Ernest Belfort Bax and William Morris. 'The Manifesto of the Socialist League' (see *The Commonweal* No.1, February 1885) stated that its members advocated 'the principles of Revolutionary International Socialism' and sought 'a change in the basis of Society ... which would destroy the distinctions of classes and nationalities'. The tasks of the League included the formation of a national socialist party, the conquest of political power through the election of socialists to local government bodies, and the promotion of the trade union and co-operative movement. In the League's early years its leaders

took an active part in the working-class movement. However, in 1887 the League split into three factions (Anarchist elements, 'parliamentarists and 'anti-parliamentarists'). With sectarian tendencies growing stronger, the League gradually distanced itself from the day-to-day struggle of the British workers and finally disintegrated in 1889-90.

22. Radical Clubs began to emerge in London and other cities in the 1870s. They consisted of bourgeois radicals and workers. In the Clubs of London's poorer areas, such as the East End, the workers predominated. The Clubs criticised the Irish policy of Gladstone's Liberal government and urged an extension of the suffrage and other democratic reforms. From the early 1880s they engaged in socialist propaganda. In 1885 London's Radical Clubs united in the Metropolitan Radical Federation.
23. Two French translations of Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* were made, almost simultaneously, by the French socialists Paul Lavigne and Edouard Fortin. Fortin's translation, sent to Engels somewhat earlier (see Engels' letter to Paul Lavigne of 1 December 1885 in Vol. 47 of the present edition) and edited by Engels at Fortin's request, was published first in *Le Socialiste*, the newspaper of the French Workers' Party, in January-November 1891 and appeared in book form in Lille the same year.
24. This concerns the charges the levelled at Aveling by the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of North America (see note 3). This letter was the first of the many Engels wrote to American and German working-class leaders in defence of Aveling.
25. On 30 December 1886 *The New York Herald* published an article headlined 'Aveling's Unpaid Labor', containing accusations against Aveling (see note 3). Cabled to London, it was reprinted, abridged, in *The Daily Telegraph* (1 January 1887) and *The Evening Standard* (13 January 1887). After the publication of the article in England, Aveling cabled a denial to America, which appeared in *The New York Herald* on 10 January 1887. An official denial by the Avelings addressed to the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party was published in the *Herald* on 15 January 1887.
26. This refers to the article 'Aveling und die Sozialisten' in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 10, 12 January 1887, which was the first public statement of the charges levelled at Aveling (see note 3). The article was reprinted in the *Wochenblatt* (weekly supplement) of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* on 22 January. As can be seen from F.A. Sorge's letter to Engels of 28 February 1887 the article was written by Alexander Jonas, the chief editor of the paper.
27. At the end of November 1886 a court in Leipzig sentenced the Social Democratic worker K. Schumann to four years in prison and another eleven people to various prison terms on charges of 'rebellion'. The pretext for the prosecution was the farewell party given to Schumann by Leipzig workers on 21 September 1886 in connection with his expulsion from the city under

the Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52).

28. On 11 November 1887 the US Supreme Court sentenced four leaders of the Chicago Labor Union – Albert K. Parsons, August Spies, Adolph Fischer and George Engel – to be hanged. In the spring of 1886 a mass working-class movement for the eight-hour day developed in America's leading industrial centres (Chicago, New York, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St Louis, Boston, Baltimore and Milwaukee). In Chicago, up to 65,000 struck in the early days of May. On 3 May, workers clashed with police at a rally. At another rally, held in Haymarket Square on the following day, an agent provocateur threw a bomb, killing seven policemen and four workers. The police opened fire. Several people were killed and over 200 injured. Many people were arrested, including the leaders of the Chicago Labor Union. Despite the broad campaign in the US and Europe in defence of the four convicted men, they were executed. In commemoration of the Chicago events of 1886, the 1889 International Socialist Congress in Paris proclaimed the 1st of May international workers' solidarity day.
29. This letter was first published in English in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895. A Selection*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.
30. 'Reptiles' and 'the reptile press' were designations used by left-wing writers for the venal reactionary pro-government press. The 'reptile fund' referred to Bismarck's special fund for bribing periodicals and individual journalists.
31. In her letter of 7 February 1887 Laura Lafargue asked Engels to remind Eleanor of Pyotr Lavrov's copy of the *Historical Review* and to send her (Laura) the January issue.
32. This refers to the Circular containing accusations against Aveling (see note 3) which was directed by the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party to the party's branches on 7 January 1887. It was signed by Wilhelm Ludwig Rosenberg, Hermann Walther and others.
33. Engels means the French Workers' Party (*Parti ouvrier francais*), formed at the 1880 Le Havre congress, when a party programme drawn up with Marx's participation was adopted (see his 'Preamble to the Programme of the French Workers' Party', present edition, Vol. 24). The adoption of the programme led to an aggravation of the inner-party struggle between the Possibilists (see note 19) and the Guesdists (the revolutionary wing), and to a split at the 1882 St Etienne congress. The Guesdists retained the name of the Workers' Party. They relied for support on the workers of France's largest industrial centres, in particular those of some big plants in Paris. The struggle to win broad support among the workers was one of the party's top priorities.
34. On 30 October 1886 Laura Lafargue informed Engels of the publication of the book *Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag in geschichtlicher Darstellung* by the Austrian sociologist and lawyer Anton Menger. The

author alleged that Marx's economic theory was 'not original'. Some of Marx's conclusions, he maintained, were borrowings from William Thompson and other English Ricardian Utopian Socialists. Engels believed that by attacking Menger directly he would provide him a welcome opportunity for self-advertising. He therefore decided to answer him either in an editorial in *Die Neue Zeit* or in a review signed by the journal's editor, Karl Kautsky. Poor health prevented Engels from writing the bulk of the text as intended. The article was completed, with his help, by Kautsky. It appeared unsigned, under the title *'Juristen-Sozialismus'*, in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 2, 1887 (see present edition, Vol. 2).

35. Engels means diplomatic preparations for the 1866 Austro-Prussian war. Early in March of that year he had secured, through Robert Goltz, the Russian Ambassador to Paris, an undertaking by Napoleon III that France would maintain positive neutrality towards Russia in the event of an Austro-Prussian war. At about the same time, Bismarck conducted talks with the Italian general Giuseppe Govone in Berlin on forming a Prusso-Italian coalition against Austria. On 8 April 1866 Prussia and Italy signed a treaty establishing a defensive and offensive alliance. It provided for the transfer of Veneto to Italy in the event of victory over Austria.
36. On 14 January 1887 the German Reichstag, by 186 votes to 154, adopted a bill limiting the army contingent to 441,000 persons, with a three-year term of service (the government had insisted on 468,000 for seven years). As a result, the Reichstag was disbanded and new elections held (see note 15). On 11 March 1887 the new Reichstag passed the bill on the septennate despite opposition from the Social Democratic group.
37. This refers to the festival of international brotherhood which was to be held in Paris on 19 February 1887 on the initiative of a number of socialist émigré organisations. German, Scandinavian, Polish and Russian socialists took part. The festival was to protest against the arms drive and war preparations in Europe. At the request of one of the organisers, the Russian socialist émigré Ossip Zetkin, Engels addressed a message to the Organising committee of the festival (see present edition, Vol. 26). It was read out at the festive meeting and published in *Le Socialiste* on 26 February and, in German translation, in the *Sozialdemocrat* on 11 March and the New York *Sozialist* on 19 March.
38. Danielson's letter to Engels was dated 22 January (3 February new style) 1887.
39. This is the pseudonym Engels used in his correspondence with Nikolai Danielson. Percy White Rosher was the name of the husband of the niece of Engels's wife.
40. This letter was first published, in the language of the original (English), in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. 2 (1887-1890), Paris, Ed. sociales, 1956.

41. On 24 February 1887 the *Voie du peuple*, under the general headline 'La Revolution en Allemagne. Prise de Berlin', carried an editorial entitled 'Victoire!' devoted to the German Reichstag election of 21 February (see note 15).
42. Engels compares Paul Singer's success at the Reichstag election to that of the French Radical Edouard Lockroy, who obtained 272,680 votes, more than any other candidate, at the 1885 parliamentary election and was called 'le premier elu de la France' (France's first choice). As can be seen from Singer's letter of 7 March 1887, Engels congratulated him on the great success.
43. After failing to poll the requisite number of votes at the Reichstag election of 21 February 1887,Wilhelm Liebknecht succeeded in winning a seat in the run-off in Berlin's Fourth constituency on 30 August 1888 in lieu of Wilhelm Hasenclever, who had dropped out for health reasons.
44. The Centre was a political party of German Catholics formed in June 1870. It expressed the separatist and anti-Prussian sentiments current in West and Southwest Germany. (The seats of its Reichstag deputies were in the centre of the hall, hence the name of the party.) The Centre's following consisted of socially disparate sections of Catholic clergy, landowners, bourgeois and peasants. Its deputies usually took a noncommittal attitude, manoeuvring between the pro-government parties and the Left opposition groups. Although it opposed the Bismarck government in the mid-1870s and early 1880s, the Centre voted for its measures against the working-class and socialist movement. Engels gave a detailed characterisation of the Centre in his work *The Role of Force in History* (see present edition, Vol. 26) and in his article 'What Now?' (see Vol. 27).
45. The Party of Progress, founded in June 1861, advocated the unification of Germany under the aegis of Prussia, the convocation of an all-German parliament, and a liberal Ministry responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. Fearing a popular revolution, it did not support the basic democratic demands - universal suffrage and the freedom of the press, association and assembly. In 1866 the Party of Progress split. Its right wing founded the National Liberal Party, which capitulated to the Bismarck government. After the final unification of Germany in 1871, the Progressists continued to describe themselves as an opposition party, but their opposition was purely declaratory. In March 1884 they merged with the left wing of the National Liberals to form the German Free-Thinking Party (*Die Deutsche Freisinnige Partei*).
46. Despite Bismarck's anti-French press campaign in Alsace Lorraine, which was supported by the clergy, candidates opposing his militarist ambitions were put up in the Reichstag elections. All the fifteen nominees elected were members of the Elsasser (Alsatian) party.
47. This refers to Aveling's letter of 26 February 1887 which was circulated, in printed form, to the sections of the Socialist Labor Party of North America

and other socialist organisations. It was a detailed answer to the accusations levelled at Aveling by the party's Executive on 7 January 1887 (see note 32).

48. On 8 February 1887 the *Voie du peuple* began serialising Guy de Maupassant's novel *Bel Ami.*
49. A passage from this letter was first published in English in *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels Letters to Americans. 1848-1895.A selection*, New York, International Publishers, 1953.
50. The second ballot, in eighteen constituencies, brought the Social Democrats another five seats in the Reichstag (Breslau-West, Elberfeld, Frankfurt am Main, Hanover and Solingen).
51. At the end of 1884, Bismarck, seeking to activate Germany's colonial policy, demanded that the Reichstag should vote an annual subsidy to shipping companies to enable them to operate regular lines to East Asia, Australia and Africa. The left wing of the Social Democratic parliamentary group, led by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, came out against the government scheme. The right wing, which made up the majority (Dietz, Frohme, Grillenberger and others), intended to vote for the subsidy, on the pretext that it would help promote international communications. Under pressure from the majority the group decided that the issue was of a non-fundamental nature and every deputy should be free to vote as he chose (see *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 50, 11 December 1884). The sharp critique of the proposed subsidies in *Der Sozialdemokrat* and in resolutions of the party leadership forced the majority of the Social Democratic group to somewhat modify its stand during the discussion of the matter in the Reichstag in March 1855. The group made its support for the subsidies conditional on the adoption of a number of its own proposals. Since the Reichstag rejected these, all Social Democratic deputies voted against the subsidies.
52. The Anti-Socialist law (*Gesetz gegen die gemeingefahrlichen Bestrebungen der Sozialdemokratie*) was introduced by the Bismarck government, with the support of the majority of the Reichstag, on 21 October 1878, as a means of combating the socialist and working-class movement. It imposed a ban on all Social Democratic and working-class organisations and on the socialist and workers' press; socialist literature was subject to confiscation, and Social Democrats to reprisals. However, under the Constitution, the Social Democratic Party retained its group in parliament. By combining underground activities with the use of legal possibilities, in particular by working to overcome reformist and anarchist tendencies in its own ranks, the party was able to consolidate and expand its influence among the masses. Marx and Engels gave the party leaders considerable help. Under the pressure of the mass working-class movement the Anti-Socialist Law was repealed (1 October 1890). For Engels' characterisation of the law see his article 'Bismarck and the German Workers Party' (present edition, Vol. 24, pp407-09).

53. This letter was first published in English, abridged, in *The Labour Monthly*, No. 2, London, 1934 and, in full, in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895. A selection,* International Publishers, New York, 1953.
54. In his letter of 20 February 1887 Sorge suggested to Engels that Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky should be asked to translate the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* into English for publication in the USA. This project did not materialise. An English edition of the *Manifesto*, in Sam Moore's translation and edited by Engels, appeared in London in 1888.
55. On 20 February 1887 Sorge informed Engels that the English edition of Volume I of *Capital* was not selling well in the USA, and suggested sending copies of the book to the editors of leading American journals for reviewing.
56. Part of the English edition of Volume I of *Capital* was bought by the American firm Scribner & Welford, which gave the book a new title page, reading *Capital. A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production*; from the German by S. Moore and E. Aveling, and edited by Frederick Engels, N.Y., Scribner & Welford, 1887, 2 v.
57. An unsigned review of the English edition of Volume I of *Capital* appeared in the London literary and critical journal *Athenaeum*, No. 3097, 5 March 1887.
58. The third, cheap English edition (10s 6d) of Volume I of Capital appeared in London in 1888. Copies of the first two editions (both 1887) were sold at 30s.
59. Engels means the following passage, referring to the socialist Labor Party of North America, in his work 'The labor movement in America'. 'This section is a party but in name, for nowhere in America has it up to now, been able actually to take its stand as a political party' (see present edition, Vol. 26).
60. *Justice,* No. 164, 5 March 1887, carried an item by Wilhelm Ludwig Rosenberg, secretary of the Socialist Labor Party of North America, headlined 'Letter from America - The Great Strike', which characterised the longshoremen's strike in New Jersey as an unmitigated defeat for the workers, incurred through the fault of the Knights of Labor leaders. The party, Rosenberg stressed, must not support this organisation. The Knights of Labor (The Noble Order of the Knights of Labor) was an American workers' organisation founded in Philadelphia in 1869. Originally a secret society (up to 1878), it included mostly unskilled workers, among them black workers. The Knights' aim was the promotion of co-operatives and mutual aid societies. They took part in a number of working-class actions, but the organisation's leadership opposed workers' participation in political struggle. It forbade members of the organisation to take part in the 1886 general strike; however the rank and file ignored the ban. After the strike the Knights' influence among the workers began to shrink. Towards the end of

the 1890s the organisation disintegrated.

61. The Central Labor Unions were mass trade union centres of US and foreign workers, both white and black, in a number of American cities in the 1880s. The first was formed in New York in 1882. Many of these centres joined the American Federation of Labor (AFL), set up in December 1886.
62. The Social Democratic Federation was a British socialist organisation, the successor of the Democratic Federation, reformed in August 1884. It consisted of heterogeneous socialist elements, mostly intellectuals, but also politically active workers. The programme of the Federation provided for the collectivisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange. Its leader, Henry Hyndman, was dictatorial and arbitrary, and his supporters among the Federation's leaders denied the need to work among the trade unions. In contrast to Hyndman, the Federation members grouped round Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling, William Morris and Tom Mann sought close ties with the mass working-class movement. In December 1884, differences on questions of tactics and international co-operation led to a split in the Federation and the establishment of the independent socialist league (see note 21). In 1885-86 the Federation's branches were active in the movement of the unemployed, in strike struggles and in the campaign for the eight-hour day.
63. In 1886 and 1887 the Social Democratic Federation conducted a broad campaign of agitation among London's unemployed. The church parades were a form of this agitation, practised in early 1887. It was an attempt to address the unemployed from the pulpit. One parade, on 27 February 1887, took place in front of St Paul's Cathedral. During the sermon, parade participants proclaimed socialist slogans. After the service the Social Democratic Federation held three meetings in the streets, the speakers including John Burns, George Bateman and Fielding. However, this form of agitation failed to produce tangible results and was abandoned.
64. From mid-November 1886 to 14 August 1887 August Bebel was in prison in Zwickau. He was one of a group of German Social Democrats (others included Ignaz Auer, Johann Dietz, Georg Vollmar, Karl Frohme) condemned on trumped up charges of belonging to a 'secret union' whose purpose it was to obstruct by illegal means the enforcement of laws and government regulations. The indictment was based on the defendants' participation in the 1883 Copenhagen Social Democratic Party Congress. The court brought in a verdict of not guilty. However, the government appealed to the Imperial Court, which sent the case for re-examination to the Saxony State Court in Freiberg. On 4 August 1886 the latter sentenced the defendants to various prison terms. In the subsequent two and a half years another 55 trials of socialists were staged, resulting in the conviction of 236 people.
65. This refers to Aveling's answer to the article in the *New Yorker*

*Volkszeitung*, No. 10, 12 January 1887 (see note 26). The answer was published by the paper on 2 March, Issue 52, 1887, alongside another attack on Aveling, an editorial headlined 'Affaire Aveling noch einmal'. To this second article Aveling answered by a letter dated 16 March 1887, mentioned here, which, as the rough copy shows, had been written by Engels. It was published on 30 March, in Issue 76.

66. In a letter dated 28 February 1887 Sorge informed Engels that a long statement in support of Aveling, signed by K.H. Muller, had appeared in the Chicago *Arbeiterzeitung*. Sorge sent Engels a clipping from the paper. On Aveling's second Circular see note 47.
67. This extract is the last page of Engels's letter to Hermann Schluter of 19 March 1887. The whereabouts of the letter are unknown. The text is reproduced from a facsimile of a publication in *Pionier. Illustrierter Volks-Kalender fur 1902*, New York, 1901.
68. At the Reichstag elections of 21 February 1887 (see note 15) the Social Democrats obtained 11 seats. Under the existing regulations, 15 mandates were needed to form a faction.
69. No information is available concerning this postcard.
70. Rumours published in the last issue of the *Voie du peuple* (17 March 1887) caused a quarrel and even an exchange of seconds between Albert Goulle, who contributed to this newspaper, and Georges de Labruyere, a contributor to the *Cri du peuple*. The two then accused each other of trying to evade the duel. In publishing its version of the incident, the *Cri du peuple*, while careful to avoid referring to the *Voie du peuple* by name, suggested that its demise had been due to the lack of readers. On 20 March 1887, *Le Radical* published Albert Goulle's and Gabriel Deville's answer to the *Cri du peuple*.
71. This presumably refers to an item published in the 'Topics of the Day' column of the *Weekly Dispatch* on 20 March 1887 denying the rumours about the death of William I.
72. On 13 (1) March 1887 a group of members of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will), led by Alexander Ulyanov, Lenin's elder brother, made an attempt on the life of Alexander III in St Petersburg. The police arrested and handed over for trial thirteen people, five of whom, including Alexander Ulyanov, were executed, while the rest were given long prison terms. The official declaration of the tsarist government referred to by Engels maintained that 'some foreign newspapers' were exaggerating the role of the constitutional party and that 'the most influential classes in Russia do not consider that ... the time is ripe for the introduction of constitutional government.' It also declared that the Russian government was 'carefully studying state socialism, which is being successfully implemented in Germany by Prince Bismarck', and expressed the Tsar's hypocritical regret at 'the need for costly precautions to safeguard his personal security'.

73. Engels refers to the political crisis in Bulgaria brought about by the overthrow, on 9 August 1886, of Prince Alexander Battenberg by a group of Russophile military conspirators (see note 109). In an attempt to regain the throne, Battenberg sent an obsequious message to Alexander III promising every support to the Tsar's 'noble intention to bring Bulgaria out of the grave crisis'. The closing sentence read: 'Since it was Russia that gave me my Crown, I am prepared to return it into the hands of her sovereign.'
74. Engels is replying to Trier's letter of 22 March 1887 in which Trier informed him that he was sending the manuscript of his Danish translation of Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, and asked for Engels' opinion. The translation, revised by Engels, appeared in Copenhagen in 1838.
75. On 25 March 1887 Sorge informed Engels that Hepner had openly protested against the accusations levelled at Aveling (see note 3), describing them as 'insidious and mean', but saying that the whole thing could have been avoided had Aveling been 'more frank'. Sorge also said that according to his information Kautsky did not know what to make of the matter and Liebknecht kept silent.
76. The whereabouts of this letter is unknown.
77. This refers to the attempt on the life of Alexander III which took place on 13 March 1887 (see note 72) and to the widespread rumours that preparations for another attempt, to be staged in Gatchina, had been uncovered on 1 April.
78. Engels means the replacement of recruitment in Russia by conscription. Under the introduction of compulsory military service of 1 January 1874, the entire male population aged 21 to 43, with the exception of natives of Central Asia and Kazakhstan and men belonging to certain peoples of the Caucasus, Siberia, the Volga area and the Arctic regions, were liable for military service in the regular army, the reserve or the militia. The call up was conducted by casting lots. This system was to turn the Russian army into a mass army. However, under the existing autocratic and landlord system, the implementation of universal military service was hampered by the numerous privileges of the propertied classes and the unequal conditions of army service for members of different social strata. As early as 9 January 1877, during the Russo-Turkish war, Engels pointed out that conscription was contributing to the 'disorganisation' of the Russian army (see present edition, Vol. 45).
79. At Engels' request Sorge sent a message to Alexander Jonas, Editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, on 29 March 1877, asking why he was not publishing Edward Aveling's letter of 16 March 1887 (see note 65).
80. On behalf of Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky, the translator of Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, Rachel Foster, Secretary of the National Woman Suffrage Association, was trying to find a publisher for

the book in America. On 8 February 1886 the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party, which she had approached for support, set up a special committee to deal with publishers, but the negotiations dragged, and the book was published in May 1887, independently of the Executive.

81. At the insistence of the German authorities the Swiss Federal Council on 18 April 1888 expelled several associate editors of and contributors to the *Sozialdemokrat* (Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Hermann Schluter and Leonard Tauscher) from the country. Until 22 September the paper continued to appear in Switzerland, edited by the Swiss Social Democrat Conrad Consett. From 1 October 1888 to 27 September 1890 the paper was published in London.
82. Pan-Slavism was a social and political movement predicated on the notion that the Slavonic peoples ought to oppose themselves to other peoples and merge in a single state with tsarist Russia. In Russia itself, Pan-Slavism assumed a reactionary character in the 1830s. The Russian historian Mikhail Pogodin, drawing on official populism, asserted that the Slavs were superior to other nations and that Russia was destined for hegemony in the Slavonic world. The same ideas, with various modifications, were propounded by the Slavophiles in the 1850s and 1860s (see note 187).
83. Nihilists were the extreme wing of the radical movement in Russia in the 1860s, intellectuals who believed in the destruction of existing society and culture. The Nihilists rejected the dominant ideology and morality and fought against religious prejudices. They demanded freedom of the individual and equality for women, and favoured the study of the natural and exact sciences. Towards the end of the 1860s the term practically ceased to be used in polemic literature, but in later years reactionary journalists occasionally applied it to revolutionaries. In West European literature the term was used to denote Russian revolutionaries, including the members of the *Narodnaya Volya* (People's Will), in the 1870s and 1880s.
84. After their return from the USA (see note 3) Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling launched a large-scale socialist propaganda campaign in London's Radical Clubs (see note 22). Their purpose was, among other things, to familiarise the British workers with the experience of the US labour movement.
85. At the April 1887 municipal elections in the USA, workers' organisations put up candidates in about 60 cities and succeeded in having them elected in twenty. In Cincinnati (Ohio), Milwaukee and Chicago their candidates failed by a few hundred votes.
86. In the first half of April 1887 the British House of Commons discussed a Crimes Bill for Ireland which was to introduce a simplified judicial procedure for quelling the growing peasant unrest. The executive authorities were to be allowed to outlaw various societies, and members of the judiciary to pass sentence on charges of plotting, illegal assembly, disobedience to the

authorities and the like without a jury. On 11 April 1887 several mass meetings to protest against the Bill were held in Hyde Park, with 100 to 150 thousand people attending. The meetings, held separately by different organisations, were addressed by speakers for the Liberal Party (William Gladstone), the Social Democratic Federation (George Bateman, John Burns, Michael Davitt, John Williams and others), the socialist League (Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling and others) and other organisations. A report headlined 'Irish Crimes Bill, Great Demonstration in Hyde Park, Processions and Speeches', in *The Daily Telegraph* of 12 April 1887, said that Eleanor Marx-Aveling's speech was warmly greeted and heard with great interest. Despite the protests the two chambers of parliament passed the bill in July 1837. Beginning 23 July, a state of emergency was introduced on the strength of it, initially in four and ultimately in about 30 counties of Ireland.

87. This letter was first published in English in *Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue. Correspondence. 1887-1890*, Vol. 2, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960.
88. This refers to Marx's *Misere de la philosophie*. In 1884 Laura Lafargue failed to reach an agreement on a second French edition of the book. In 1887 Paul Lafargue again conducted negotiations on the matter. However, it was not until 1896, after Engels's death, that the project materialised (in Paris).
89. This presumably refers to the Avelings' series of articles, 'The Labour movement in America', published between March and May 1887 in the journal *Time*, which appeared in Swan Sonnenschein's publishing house in London.
90. Engels means the municipal elections in Paris held on 8 May 1887. Lafargue stood for election in the Fifth arrondissement (Jardin des Plantes). In the first ballot he received 568 votes and was third. In the second, on 15 May, he got 685 votes and was second.
91. After Jules Guesde, Gabriel Deville and other members of the French Workers' Party had resigned from the editorial board of the *Cri du peuple* and after the *Voie du peuple*, the paper they had started, also ceased publication (see note 18), the Party's weekly *La Socialiste* likewise closed down (the last issue appeared on 26 March 1887). The Party's paper resumed publication on 11 June 1887.
92. On 11 April 1887 the European press reported that another conspiracy to assassinate Alexander III had been uncovered. It was to take place during the Tsar's inspection of a Guards cavalry regiment. These reports were not confirmed (see also notes 72 and 77).
93. This refers to the Peasant Reform of 19 February 1861 ('Regulations concerning Peasants Emerging from Serf Dependence'). It put an end to serfdom in Russia and brought freedom to about 22.5 million peasants. However, even after the abolition of serfdom some of the former serfs (the

so called temporarily liable peasants) were obliged to do corvee work or pay quit-rent for the use of land. It was not until 28 December 1881 that a law was passed stipulating the obligatory redemption of the peasant plots as of 1 January 1883. Corvee and quit-rent in their open form were abolished, but continued to exist in the shape of the redemption system until the first decade of the 20th century.

94. The American economist Henry George favoured a uniform progressive state tax on land values as an alternative to nationalisation of the land, thus 'resolving' all the contradictions of the capitalist system. George's theory enjoyed wide currency in the USA, England, Ireland and Australia. Engels gave his assessment of George's agrarian views in 'The Labour Movement in America' (present edition, Vol. 26).
95. On 29 May 1887 the third annual conference of the Socialist league (see note 21) was held in London. Delegates from 24 sections attended. The anarchists gained the upper hand; a resolution was adopted saying: 'This conference endorses the policy of abstention from parliamentary action, hitherto pursued by the League, and sees no sufficient reason for altering it.
96. This refers to the fresh wave of government reprisals against Social Democrats and the trade unions that swept Germany in 1886, after the third promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law (See Note 52). On 11 April 1886 the Prussian minister of the Interior Puttkamer issued a circular on strikes, spearheaded against the trade unions. In the spring of that year the authorities expelled from Berlin the leaders of the city's stonemasons and disbanded their union with a view to paralysing the building workers' movement. This was also the lot of three women's unions and all the district workers' unions. Workers' mutual aid funds were being closed down and their assets, like the trade unions', confiscated by the state. From the beginning of 1878, public meetings in Berlin could only be held with police permission. As a result, 47 meetings, including 33 trade union ones, were banned that month. Similar measures were taken in the provinces. In the early years of the Anti-Socialist Law a number of trumped-up trials of Social Democrats were staged, resulting in the imprisonment of prominent working-class leaders (see notes 27, 64 and 81). During the Reichstag elections (see note 15) the workers' party was made the object of terrorist attacks.
97. In her letter of 24 April 1887 Laura Lafargue told Engels that she was contributing to the magazine *European Correspondent* co-owned by the American journalist Theodore Stanton and was being paid extremely irregularly.
98. Engels received the second circular letter of the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of North America, dated 30 March 1887, from Friedrich Adolph Sorge on 18 April. On Aveling's statements see notes 47 and 65. Wilhelm Liebknecht issued a statement in defence of Aveling on 16 May.

99. This refers to the 'Schnaebelé case', a conflict between France and Germany engineered by the Bismarck government. On 20 April 1887 Police Commissioner Schnaebelé, a French border official in Pagny-sur-Moselle, was invited onto German territory, ostensibly for negotiations, and arrested on charges of organising espionage and encouraging young people in Alsace-Lorraine to emigrate from Germany. At the same time, the German ruling quarters launched a virulent anti-French press campaign. This was taken advantage of by French revanchist circles for stepping up anti-German propaganda. However, the governments of Russia, Great Britain and Austria-Hungary refused to support Bismarck. Germany was forced to beat a retreat. On 30 April Schnaebelé was released and the conflict thus settled.
100. This letter was first published in English, abridged, in *Labour Monthly*, No. 2, London, 1934, and, without the first paragraph, in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895. A Selection,* International Publishers, New York, 1953.
101. In the letter in question Sorge, replying to remarks contained in Engels' letter of 10 March 1887, pointed out that the leaders of the Socialist Labor Party of North America had, by their mistaken tactics, to a considerable extent nullified the successes achieved in the US labour movement by Marx's adherents at the time of the First International.
102. This refers to the English translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* made by Samuel Moore (published in 1888). The three manuscripts mentioned are those of a French translation of Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see note 23), an Italian translation of Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital* and a Danish translation of Engels's *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see note 74).
103. An item headlined 'A Costly Apostle', published in *Justice* No. 172, 30 April 1887, reproduced the contents of the circulars of the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of North America attacking Edward Aveling (see notes 32 and 98). Aveling answered in a Letter to the Editor, published in *Justice*, No. 174. 14 May 1887.
104. An American exhibition opened in London in May 1887, the programme including the show Buffalo Bill's Wild West.
105. In his letter of 29 April 1887 Eduard Bernstein asked Engels and Kautsky to find out, confidentially, whether the Austrian anarchist Joseph Peukert, resident in London, was not, as he, Bernstein, assumed, a police agent. In late 1887 Peukert was exposed.
106. This refers to the London German Workers' Educational Society. It was founded by members of the League of the Just Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and Heinrich Bauer in London in 1840. In 1847 and in 1849-50 Marx and Engels took part in its activities. The Society changed its name in subsequent years. From the 1870s it was called the Communist Workers'

Educational society. Soon after the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany (see note 52), the Society was overruled by the faction that rejected the tactics adopted by German Social Democracy for the period of operation of the Law. It opposed combining legal and illegal methods of struggle, objected to the Social Democrats' use of the Reichstag platform and favoured individual terrorism. In March 1880 a considerable part of the Society's members formed an independent organisation of their own, retaining the Society's name. This new Society declared that it would be guided by the principles and tactics of German Social Democracy. The remainder of the members, in particular the followers of Johann Most, stuck to their extreme Left views. They operated under the same name.

107. This refers to data on the state of affairs in the French republic at the time of the conspiracy of the Equals, which Bernstein needed for his Afterword to Gabriel Deville's book *Gracchus Babeuf und die Verschworung der Gleichen*. Translated by Bernstein into German, the book was published, with his Afterword, in the series *Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek*, in Hottingen-Zurich in 1887. The Conspiracy of the Equals, organised by Babeuf and his followers, aimed at provoking an armed uprising of the plebeian masses against the bourgeois regime of the Directory and establishing a revolutionary dictatorship as a transitional stage on the way to 'pure democracy' and 'egalitarian communism'. The conspiracy was exposed in May 1796. At the end of May 1797 its leaders were executed. Buonarroti's *Conspiration de Babeuf*, which Engels mentions later in his letter, was translated into English and published by William O'Brien, a prominent Chartist.

108. Engels's remarks contained in this paragraph were used in the column 'Sozialpolitische Rundschau' of *Der Sozialdemocrat*, No. 20, 13 May 1887.

109. Engels means the political crisis in Bulgaria in the summer of 1886 created by the overthrow of Prince Alexander Battenberg by a group of military conspirators linked with agents of the Russian Government. The provisional government formed on 9 August was replaced, a few days later, by a pro-Austrian regency. An attempt to re-enthrone Alexander Battenberg failed in the face of open opposition from Russia. In September, the Russian Government dispatched Major General N. V. Kaulbars to Sofia with the task to prepare the ground for the election of a Russian candidate to the Bulgarian throne. However, his mission failed, owing in particular to the stance taken by the West European powers, notably Britain. On 5 November Russia recalled Kaulbars and broke off diplomatic relations with Bulgaria.

110. On 31 March 1887 two Bulgarian émigrés staged an attempt on the life of Mantoff, prefect of the Bulgarian city of Ruschtschuk, in Bucharest for negotiations with the Russian ambassador. Mantoff was seriously injured. On the night of 23 April a bomb was set off in the house of Major Popoff, chief of the Sofia garrison. The attack had been organised by members of

the pro-Russian Liberal Party. The Russophile officer Olimpi Panoff was shot in Bulgaria in February 1887.

111. Kelley-Wischnewetzky had suggested that Engels's article, 'Die Arbeiterbewegung in America' ('The Labour Movement in America'), written as a preface to the US edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, should be issued in the form of separate German and English pamphlets. This was also suggested by Sorge in his letter of 26 April 1887. Engels translated the preface into German himself. The pamphlets appeared in New York in July 1887. Engels's German translation was also published in the *Sozialdemokrat*, Nos 24 and 25; 10 and 17 June 1887.
112. Engels is quoting from Sorge's letter of 26 April 1887. Enclosed in it was a clipping from the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* of 25 April with a report on a sitting of the New York Section that had concerned itself with the Aveling case.
113. In his letter of 26 April 1887 Sorge informed Engels that Alexander Jonas, editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, had stayed away from the meeting of the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party which discussed the Aveling case (see note 3). Sorge also noted that the Executive had dealt itself a mortal blow by its second circular on the matter (see note 98).
114. On 21 May 1887, *Justice*, No. 175, carried an editorial note in the 'Tell Tale Straws' column which gave the following resume of Aveling's latest Letter to the Editor (see *Justice*, No. 174, 14 May 1887): 'The gist of it is that the Board of Supervisors in America exonerate him from all blame, and that Mr. Friedrich Engels, Mr. F. A. Sorge, and Mr. Wilhelm Liebknecht (who writes a letter to that effect) are ready to answer for Dr. Aveling's correct behaviour in the matter of his expenditure on his American trip'.
115. Aveling's answer to the second circular of the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party (see note 98) was printed in the form of a pamphlet, containing Aveling's statement of 27 May 1887 (a detailed reply to the charges levelled at him); a statement by Eleanor Marx-Aveling of 24 May, confirming her husband's arguments and adding certain details; a statement by Wilhelm Liebknecht in defence of Aveling of 16 May.
116. Six Possibilists (see note 19), including Paul Brousse, were elected to the Paris Municipal Council in a second ballot on 15 May 1887.
117. On 17 May 1887, in a debate at the French Chamber of Deputies, the budget committee opposed the draft budget for 1888 submitted by Rene Goblet's Radical Cabinet (see note 200). The majority of deputies supported the committee, thus forcing the Cabinet to resign. The government crisis lasted for 13 days. On 30 May 1887 Maurice Rouvier formed a Cabinet composed mostly of Rightists.
118. Engels wrote this letter on a postcard. The address, written by him on the back, reads K. Kautsky Esq., 54 Langdon Park Road, Highgate, No 661. The text of the letter is slightly damaged.

119. Engels wrote this letter on a postcard. The address, written by him on the back, reads. Herr E. Bernstein, Florstr. 10, *Riesbach-Zurich*, Switzerland.
120. Engels wrote this letter on a postcard. The address, written by him on the back, reads Mrs. F. Kelly-Wischnewetzky, 110, East 76th St., New York, U.S. America. For data on the first publication of the letter in English see note 139.
121. An excerpt from this letter was published in English in *The Labour Monthly*, London, 1934, No. 2.
122. Congregationalists (Independents) – adherents of one of the Protestant trends in England. In the 1580s and 1590s they formed the Left wing of the Puritans. Consisting of members of the commercial and fledgling industrial bourgeoisie and the 'new' bourgeois nobility, they constituted a radical opposition to absolutism and the Church of England. During the English revolution of the seventeenth century the Congregationalists formed an independent political party, which came to power under Oliver Cromwell at the end of 1648. The Congregationalists rejected every kind of Church deriving from the State. They favoured complete autonomy for every congregation of believers and did not tolerate any coercion in matters of faith.
123. Laura Lafargue's French translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, revised by Engels, was printed in *Le Socialiste* from 29 August to 7 November 1885. No separate French edition of the *Manifesto* appeared in Engels's lifetime.
124. The British Association for the Advancement of Science, founded in 1831, still exists. The proceedings of its annual conference are published. The Association issues *The Advancement of Science*, a quarterly journal.
125. An excerpt from this letter was published in English in: Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.
126. The *Commonweal* weekly, Nos 71, 72, 74, 76, 79 and 80; 21 and 28 May, 11 and 25 June, and 16 and 23 July 1887, carried a polemic between Ernest Belfort Bax and Charles Bradlaugh on the subject, 'Will Socialism Benefit the English People?'. Each author contributed three articles. Bax advocated socialism, Bradlaugh opposed it.
127. Engels means the differences within the Liberal Party and the incipient rapprochement of its Right wing (the Whigs) with the Conservatives. The Right-wing Liberals opposed Home Rule for Ireland. In 1886 they broke away from the Liberal Party and formed the Liberal-Unionist bloc led by Joseph Chamberlain. It favoured retaining the 1801 Union of Ireland with Great Britain and supported the Conservatives on most issues. Unionist Liberals reflected the regrouping of Britain's ruling classes and their shift to the Right.
128. On 19 March 1883 Sorge had informed Engels that Henry George's propaganda in America was leading the working-class movement astray and

suggested publishing Marx's letter to him, Sorge, of 20 June 1881 (see present edition, Vol. 46). The letter contained a critique of George's book, *Progress and Poverty*, published in New York in 1880. However, at the time, Engels held that a publication of Marx's letter in the US would be premature. Engels gave a critique of George's views on land nationalisation in his Preface to the American edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (see present edition, Vol. 26).

129. On 8 November 1887 elections to the State legislatures were held in twelve US Federal States. Henry George, who stood for election to the post of Secretary of State in New York State on behalf of the United Labor Party (see note 6), failed.
130. This letter was first published, in the language of the original (English), in Edward Thompson's book, *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1955.
131. Engels means *A Labour Programme*, the statement of principles of the North of England Socialist Federation, established by Socialist League (see note 21) member John Mahon and other socialist workers in Northumberland on 30 April 1887. On 14 June Engels received a copy of the programme from Mahon with the request to comment on it. Engels sent his suggestions concerning the introductory part of the programme (see present edition, Vol. 26). They were not put into effect since the Federation only lasted a few months.
132. This letter, like the previous one, is Engels' reply to Mahon. In his covering letter to the programme of the North of England Socialist Federation (see note 131) Mahon set forth a plan for creating a socialist organisation for England and Scotland. This was to be achieved by uniting the various extant socialist societies. The constituent congress which was to discuss the programme, was to be preceded by broad socialist propaganda within the trade unions. Mahon intended to start a special fund for preparing the congress and asked Engels for material assistance.
133. Mahon, who intended to write an essay on the Luddite movement, had asked Engels to recommend him relevant material. The Luddites came out against the introduction of machinery as ruinous to craftsmen. The Luddites were active in the late 18th and early 19th century. They owed their name to Ned Ludd, the legendary journeyman supposed to have been the first to wreck his knitting machine in protest against his master's arbitrariness.
134. The separate edition of Engels's article *The Labor Movement in America* (see note 12) contains a brief footnote (see present edition, Vol. 26) in which Engels refers to the relevant articles by Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling (see note 89). In this connection Engels states his attitude to the anti-Aveling campaign launched by the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party (see note 3). The passage to this effect which Engels gives in his letter

is worded in the footnote as follows: 'I am all the more pleased to refer to these excellent articles since this offers me an opportunity simultaneously to reject the wretched slanders concerning the Avelings which the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party has had the impudence to circulate'. The footnote was not reproduced in the separate American edition of this work, but it was included in the separate German edition put out in New York in 1887.

135. Sorge had informed Engels that he had not received the three issues of *Time* containing the Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling's series of articles on their tour of America, which they had sent him.
136. In a letter of 16 June 1887 Sorge informed Engels that an advertisement for the forthcoming publication by Scribner & Welford (New York) of two volumes of Marx's *Capital*, translated by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, had appeared in the journal *Jahrbucher fur Nationalokonomie und Statistik*, 1887, Vol. 14, p477.
137. After his resignation from the post of War Minister, General Boulanger continued to whip up a revanchist campaign with the support of the chauvinist elements of different parties, from the radicals to the monarchists. On 8 July 1887, when Boulanger was leaving for Clermont-Ferrand to assume command of the 13th Corps, his supporters staged a chauvinist demonstration at the Lyons railway station. Boulangism was a reactionary movement in France in the mid-1880s, led by ex-War Minister General Boulanger. It urged a revanchist war against Germany to win back Alsace, annexed by Germany in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. In alliance with the monarchists, the Boulangists sought to capitalise on the masses' discontent with the government's policy. Their large-scale demagogic propaganda was especially effective among the lower ranks of the army. France was under the threat of a monarchist coup. Measures taken by the republican government, with the support of the progressive forces led to the collapse of the Boulangist movement. Its leaders fled from France.
138. Engels holidayed in Eastbourne from 23 July to 2 September.
139. This letter was first published, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszuge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A Sorge und Anders*, Stuttgart, 1906.
140. Kelley-Wischnewetzky had sent Engels clippings from the US (New York and provincial) press with reviews of the American edition of the Condition of the Working Class in England.
141. On 21 July 1887 Mahon wrote to tell Engels that he no longer trusted Aveling and considered it impossible further to co-operate with him. He did not give any reasons.
142. Aveling and Mahon, along with some other members of the Socialist League, opposed the anarchist policies of its leaders (see note 95).
143. In a letter of 30 July 1887 Kautsky asked Engels to send his signature, a

facsimile of which he wanted to give under Engels' portrait in the annual *Osterreichischer Arbeiter-Kalender* for 1888, where Kautsky's article, 'Friedrich Engels' was to appear. The article was published, with some addenda and amendments, after Engels' death, in 1895, in *Vorwarts* (Berlin), under the title 'Friedrich Engels, sein Leben, sein Wirken, seine Schriften'.

144. Bank Holidays – in 1871 additional holidays were legally introduced for all English banks: Easter and Whit Monday, the first Monday of August and 26 December.

*145.* The Austrian Social Democrat Heinrich Mandl questioned the 'iron law of wages' in his article 'Ist das eherne Lohngesetz richtig?' (*Gleichheit*, No 21, 14 May 1887). Leo Frankel answered him in an article headlined 'Zur Kritik des "ehernen" Lohngesetzes' (*Gleichheit*, Nos 28-30; 2, 9 and 16 July 1887).

146. The 'iron law of wages' was formulated by Ferdinand Lassalle, in the pamphlet *Offnes Antwortschreiben an das Central-Comité zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitercongresses zu Leipzig*, Zurich, 1863, pp15-16.

147. Engels means J.M. Baernreither's book *Die englischen Arbeiterverbande und ihr Recht. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der sozialen Bewegung in der Gegenwart*, Bd 1 Tubingen, 1886. The second volume, which was to deal with the English trade unions, was not published.

148. On 27 July 1887 Sorge wrote to tell Engels that Julius Grunzig, associate editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, had asked him for biographical data on Engels, since he intended to write an article on him for the Pionier calendar, published by that newspaper.

149. On 16 July 1887 Florence Kelley-Wischnewetsky and her husband, Lazar Wischnewetzky were expelled from the New York section of the Socialist Labor Party of North America for defending Edward Aveling at a section sitting (see note 3).

150. The August 1887 issue of *To-Day* (Vol. 8, No. 45) contained a note by its editor, Hubert Bland, setting forth the contents of Edward Aveling's circulars on the charges levelled at him by the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of North America (see note 3). Bland dealt with the charges favourably to Aveling, pointing out that at the bottom of it all was a difference of policy, as Aveling had advocated a line of action which the Executive Committee had disliked.

151. In connection with the death, on 1 August 1887, of the Russian political writer M.N. Katkov, who advocated an anti-German alliance of Russia with French chauvinistic circles, the French bourgeois press published a series of articles eulogising Katkov as a 'great friend of France'. On the other hand, the socialist press exposed Katkov as a reactionary and champion of the autocracy. In particular, Jules Guesde, in an article headlined 'Republicains et cosaques' (*l'Action*, 4 August), pointed out that Katkov was responsible for the Tsarist government's reprisals against Polish patriots and that revo-

lutionary France must side with the Russian people, fighting for freedom, rather than with official Russia.

152. The elections held in Germany on 21 February 1887 were won by the pro-Bismarck 'cartel' – the conservatives of both trends and the National-Liberals (see note 265). The newly formed Reichstag endorsed the septennate demanded by Bismarck (see note 36). It again increased the peacetime complement of the army (by more than 40,000) and sharply raised the import duties on corn, which made it possible to inflate the military budget beyond the special allocations provided by the Reichstag. It was at this time that Bismarck coined one of his most bellicose dictums: 'We Germans fear God and no one else'. The Schnaebelé case, provoked by Bismarck (see note 99), further exacerbated the chauvinistic and militaristic passions. A real threat of a military conflict arose.

153. J Guesde's translation of Engels' article *The Labor Movement in America*, written as a preface to the American edition of Engels book *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, appeared in the newspaper *Le Socialiste*, Nos 88, 89 and 90, of 9, 16 and 23 July 1887.

154. Speaking at Epinal on 24 July 1887, the former French prime minister Jules Ferry called Boulanger a 'général de café-concert'. Boulanger challenged Ferry to a duel, which, however, did not take place, for the seconds could not agree on the terms. On 22 July 1887, the newspaper *La France* (edited by Francis Laur, a Boulanger supporter) carried an article intended to prove that at the time of the 'Schnaebelé Affaire' (see note 99) a group of French monarchist generals incited Boulanger to stage a coup d'état. Replying in the newspaper *L'Autorité* on 24 July 1887, one of the Bonapartist leaders, Paul de Cassagnac, described this report as a lie. Laur challenged him to a duel, which also failed to come off.

155. Apparently this refers to the biography of Engels, written by Karl Kautsky for the *Osterreichischer Arbeiter-Kalender* of 1888.

156. In his letter of 20 August 1887, Bruno Schönlank, a German Social Democrat, told Engels about his intention to dedicate to him, Engels, the book being prepared for the press *Die Fürther Quecksilber-Spiegelbelegen und ihre Arbeiter*, of which excerpts had been printed in *Neue Zeit*, Nos 4, 5 and 6, 1887. The book came off the press in Stuttgart in 1888.

157. Joannes Wedde, the editor of the Hamburg newspaper *Bürger-Zeitung*, with whom Engels was in correspondence, applied to him with the request to help the *FreundschaftsClubs der Zigarren-Sortierer* deposit the money, saved up by this alliance (10,000 Reichs marks), in the English bank, so as to protect this sum against a possible confiscation by the authorities. Wedde asked Engels either to deposit this money to his name or help find a man who might mediate in this transaction.

158. Engels wrote this letter on a post card. He indicated the address on the reverse side: Monsieur P. Lavroff, 32 rue S. Jacques, Paris, France.

159. The report about G. Lopatin's death proved wrong.
160. In a letter of 28 August 1887, Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky voiced her regret over the fact that Kautsky, to whom the American editor of the Engels-written book *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, John Lovell, had sent a considerable number of copies, did not take the trouble to send it to London newspapers and magazines for reviewing.
161. Characterising the resolution of the conference of the United Labor Party of the State of New York, held on 17-19 August 1887, in Syracuse, N.Y. (see note 6) on the expulsion of the Socialists from this party, ostensibly in conformity with its Rules, Henry George declared in his paper *The Standard* that this decision largely furthered the success of his efforts to enlist representatives of the petty bourgeoisie and even big capitalists; as he explained, these social groups would have certainly refused to back the new independent political movement had it involved the Socialists with their 'doctrine of the class struggle'.
162. The American edition of Marx's speech on free trade, which he made in Brussels on 9 January 1848 (See present edition, Vol. 6, pp450-65), appeared in Boston in September 1888, in Kelley-Wischnewetzky's translation. Engels wrote a special preface to this edition – first published in the author's translation into the German by the magazine *Neue Zeit* No 7, July 1888, under the title 'Schutzzoll und Freihandel' and then in the English original, in the latter half of August 1888, in *The Labor Standard* of New York. Appended as an addendum was the slightly abridged version of the 'Seventh and Last Observation' from Chapter II ('The Metaphysics of Political Economy') of Marx's work *The Poverty of Philosophy* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp174-78). Kelley-Wischnewetzky suggested that the fourth part of this chapter, 'Property of Rent' (*ibid.*, pp197-206) be likewise included in the addendum; she argued that the American anarchists, Benjamin Tucker in particular, raised a noisy publicity campaign in connection with the publication of Proudhon's works they had undertaken. However, Engels did not find it necessary to include this part.
163. In connection with Engels' note to a separate edition of his article 'The Labor Movement in America' (see note 134), the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party issued a statement published in the newspaper *Sozialist*, No. 35, on 27 August 1887. It expressed surprise that a comrade in such an exposed position as Engels could not expect such ... accusation against a whole number of persons who ... have taken their stand under the circumstances...' and also claimed that allegedly none of the sections of the party 'has come out against the National Executive Committee concerning the financial aspect of the matter'.
164. Apparently the reference is to the convention of the Socialist Labor Party of North America (see note 3) held on 17-20 September 1887, in Buffalo, NY.

165. The annual 20th Trades Unions Congress, held at Swansea from the 5th to the 12th September 1887, passed a decision to set up an independent labour organisation. A meeting convened for the purpose outlined a programme of this National Labour Association which was to act as a Labour Electoral Committee. Likewise, the Congress adopted a decision on convening, in November 1888, an international labour congress in London. For the first time ever, the Congress adopted resolutions on nationalisation of landed property, and on holding a plebiscite among the trade union members concerning the struggle for an eight-hour working day, along with other resolutions.
166. This letter is a reply to the letter from the editorial secretary of the socialist newspaper Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung, Hugo Koch, of 21 September 1887; Koch had asked Engels whether the rumour of his negative pronouncements about the newspaper was correct.
167. Engels wrote this letter on the letter from Johannes Weiß, written on 9 October 1887, requesting a long-term loan for the completion of his education.
168. On 6 October 1887, Deputy Chief of the French General Staff General Louis Charles Caffarel was dismissed from his post and arrested on a charge of selling Légion d'honneur Orders. The investigation revealed that MP Daniel Wilson, son-in-law of the President of the Republic, Jules Grévy, was one of the chief accomplices of General Caffarel. As a result, General Caffarel was demoted, stripped of his decorations and discharged with disgrace; Grévy had to retire.
169. Engels means the pronouncements made by Emile de Girardin, a French bourgeois journalist and editor of the newspaper *La Presse*, in 1846 and 1847. E. Girardin accused some of the figures of the July Monarchy and the Guizot Ministry of corruption (selling peer titles, bribery of the press, etc). His exposures had a role to play in exacerbating the domestic political crisis on the eve of the Revolution of 1848. For more details, see Engels' article 'The Decline and Approaching Fall of Guizot – Position of the French Bourgeoisie' (present edition, Vol. 6, pp213-219).
170. *Révolution du mépris* – a phrase in use during the February Revolution of 1848 in France, when the bourgeois-republican quarters presaged a *révolution du mépris* ('revolution of contempt) for the corrupt regime of the July Monarchy.
171. On 24 September 1887 a group of Frenchmen on a hunting party near the Franco-German border at Raon-sur-Plaine (Vexaincourt), was shot at by a German soldier, R. Kaufmann, from German territory; one of the Frenchmen was killed, and another wounded. Kaufmann said he had taken them for poachers. The German government expressed its regret over the incident and pledged to pay an indemnity to the families of the victims.
172. On 11 June 1887, the newspaper *Le Socialiste* (2 Serie) resumed its publication following a break from March 26; its format was considerably enlarged.

173. Bebel visited Engels as guest in the latter half of October 1887.
174. The Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany was in session from the 2nd to the 6th October 1887, at St. Gallen (Switzerland). It was attended by 79 delegates. The congress discussed the following questions: a report of the Reichstag faction of the party, the activity of Social Democratic deputies in the Reichstag and the Landtags, the party's attitude to the issue of taxes and customs duties in connection with the steps taken by the government in the social sphere, the party's policy at the last election and at the election to come, the convocation of an international socialist congress, and the attitude to the anarchists. It was stressed in the congress resolutions that in its parliamentary activities, the party was to concentrate on the critique of the government and on the agitation for the principles of Social Democracy; Bismarck's social policies, it was said, had nothing in common with the genuine concern for working people's needs. It was also pointed out that anarchist views were incompatible with the socialist programme. The congress passed a decision to convene an international labour congress in 1888 to consider labour legislation. Most of the delegates upheld the party's revolutionary wing, led by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht. The leaders of the opportunist wing found themselves in relative isolation.
175. Home Rule – this refers to the struggle for Irish self government from the 1870s to the beginning of the 20th century. Although Home Rule provided for an Irish parliament and national bodies of administration, it envisaged supreme power being vested with the British cabinet which retained the administration of foreign, military and customs affairs.
176. The British Fabian Society was founded by democratic minded intellectuals in 1884. This society was named after the Roman general Quintus Fabius Maximus (3rd century B.C.), who was named *Cunctator* ('the delayer') from his cautious tactics in the war against Hannibal. Playing the leading part in it were Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Bernard Shaw and others. Local organisations of the Fabian society sometimes included working-class members. Rejecting notions of militant class struggle and the revolution, the Fabians believed it was possible to move from capitalism to socialism by means of reforms implemented within the framework of a municipal socialism.
177. Engels wrote this letter on a post card. He indicated the address on the back – F. A. Sorge Esq., Rochester N.Y., U.S. America.
178. The German Social Democrat Congress held at St. Gallen adopted a decision (along with other resolutions (see note 174)) on convening an international labour congress to consider the issue of labour legislation. Almost simultaneously, a similar decision was passed by the British Trades Unions Congress (see note 165). The trade unions convened their congress in London in November 1888; the German Social Democrats abandoned their

plan and took part in the convening and holding of an international socialist labour congress in Paris on 14-20 July 1889, first suggested by the French Workers' Party (see note 33); it stood at the beginnings of the Second International (see note 473).

*179.* The reference is to the Social Democratic Federation (See note 62) and the Socialist League (see note 21).

*180.* The full text of this letter is not available. For first publication in English, see note 87.

181. Here the reference is to the Caffarel-Wilson case (see note 168) in which connection Engels recalls the exposures made by the French journalist Emile de Girardin in 1846-47 (see note 169). The journalist Albert Eduard Portalis, referred to in the letter, was the publisher of the newspaper *Le XIXe Siécle* which was taking a particularly vigorous stand against Wilson, and which published a number of materials compromising him. During the court trial the dossier, entitled *Los antécédents financiers des membres du cabinet Rouvier*, was stolen from Portalis, and an attack was made on Portalis himself.

182. In response to the inquiry of the editorial board of *Le XIXe Siécle* to the Paris procurator's office with the demand to give back the documents seized during the search *le prefet de police* offered copies of the documents but retained the originals on a formal pretext.

183. Mme Limouzin (née Scharnet), a favourite of the former War Minister General Jean Thibaudin, was arrested in connection with the Caffarel case as his intermediary in selling Légion d'honneur Orders.

184. Early in November 1887, Laura Lafargue wrote to Engels about squabbles among some of the members of the Paris branch (agglomération parisienne) of the French Workers' Party.

185. In view of the frequent meetings of the unemployed from the autumn of 1886 to the spring of 1887, the Chief Constable of London, Charles Warren, banned demonstrations and meetings in Trafalgar Square by his fiat of 8 November, 1887. In reply the Metropolitan Radical Federation (see note 22) appointed Sunday, 13 November 1887, as the day of a rally. On that day Trafalgar Square was cordoned off by the police and soldiers, and nearly all the demonstrators, about a hundred thousand strong, were dispersed with exceptional cruelty on their way to the square. Hundreds of workers sustained injuries in clashes with the police (with three workers receiving deadly wounds); numerous arrests were made. Also taking part in the demonstration was Eleanor Marx-Aveling, who described the events of that day in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the 14th of November 1887. 13 November 1887 went down in the history of the British working class movement as 'Bloody Sunday'.

186. The reference is to the joint meeting of the Social Democratic Federation, the Socialist League, the Labour Emancipation League and the London

Radical Clubs in London on 20 September 1885, in protest against the arrest of Socialist speakers who had addressed rallies in the East End in July-September 1885 when the British Socialists were fighting for freedom of speech ('the free speech struggles against the police suppression of outdoor meetings'). The September 20 rally brought together several thousand who offered resistance to the police trying to arrest the speakers. Several people were detained nonetheless, but they were set free the next day. September 27 saw an even larger demonstration and a rally that adopted a resolution protesting the police actions. Thereupon the authorities ceased their attempts to silence Socialist speakers.

187. Slavophiles (e.g. A. Khomyakov, the brothers Aksakov, I. Kireevsky, Yu. Samarin and others) were a trend in nineteenth-century Russian social and philosophical thought. In the late 1830s-1850s they advanced a theory of Russia's unique path of historical development which, in their opinion, differed from that of Western Europe. Among the characteristic features of their theory were monarchism, a negative attitude to revolution and a leaning towards religious-philosophical conceptions. The Slavophiles met mostly in the literary salons of Moscow.

188. On 10 November 1887, die Deutsche Reichsbank announced, on Bismarck's orders, that it would no longer accept Russian securities as deposits.

189. It was common practice in the book trade for a publishing house to grant a discount to bookstores on wholesale purchases depending on the quantity ordered; for example it might offer about 12 copies, a thirteenth part of the total print, free of charge. Referring to '18 copies – a thirteenth part – free of charge', Engels meant 224 copies of the book sold in Britain.

190. As Conrad Schmidt told Engels in his letter of 22 November 1887, his relatives in Königsberg had been searched on having received a box with books which he, Schmidt, had sent them from Paris during his trip abroad. The police tried to prosecute Schmidt on the grounds that the parcel had contained several numbers of the newspaper *Sozialdemokrat* which was banned in Germany. He managed to avoid arrest.

191. From the latter half of September 1841, to about 10 October 1842, Engels stayed in Berlin for his tour of duty in an artillery brigade. In his spare time he attended lectures at Berlin University and forged close contacts with left-wing Hegelians, progressive writers and scholars. It was at that time that Engels maintained close ties with East Prussian liberals (Eduard Plottwell and Johann Jacoby). Through them he might have contacted the bourgeois newspaper *Königl. Preuß. Staats-Kriegs-und-Friedenszeitung* (a progressive paper in the 1840s); however, we have no evidence that Engels really co-operated with the newspaper. 'The restricted intelligence of loyal subjects' ('beschränkter Untertanenverstand') was a phrase coined by the Prussian Minister of the Interior von Rochow; it gained wide currency in Germany.

192. On behalf of Ernst Elsters, preparing a new edition of Heine's works for publication, C. Schmidt appealed to Engels on 22 November 1887, with the request to clarify some 'mysterious innuendoes' made in Heine's letter to Lassalle on 7 March 1846, which was to be included in that edition. This letter appeared in the second volume of *Heine-Briefwechsels*, München-Berlin, 1917, published by Friedrich Hirth.
193. As a lawyer, Lassalle conducted Countess Sophie Hatzfeldt's divorce proceedings in 1846-54. In February 1848, he was arrested on a charge of abetting the theft of a casket with documents with intent to present them to the court. Lassalle was held in custody till 11 August 1848, when acquitted by the jury.
194. On 22 November 1887, Conrad Schmidt wrote to Engels that he had read with much interest Volume II of *Das Kapital*; he said if some economic newspaper could accept his article on the Marxian system, he would like to send it to Engels. It must have been Schmidt's work *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marx'schen Werthgesetzes*, Stuttgart, 1889.
195. On 3 December 1887, *The Commonweal* (No. 99) carried an article by Henry Ambrose Barker, 'The Condition of the Working Classes. I', which was a précis of the first chapters of Engels' book *The Condition of the Working Class in England*; this abstract contained extensive quotations from those chapters. There was no continuation of the article.
196. Engels means Kelley-Wischnewetzky's translation into English of Marx's speech on free trade (see note 162). Asking Engels to write a preface to the American edition of the Marxian speech, Kelley-Wischnewetzky, in her letter of 24 October 1887, wished the preface to contain a critical evaluation of pronouncements made by the American protectionists.
197. The reference is to the resolution of a presidential crisis in France over the exposure of speculatory machinations committed by Daniel Wilson, son-in-law of President Jules Grévy (see note 168). Under public pressure J. P. Grévy had to tender his resignation on 1 December 1887. Nominated as candidates for the presidency were the moderate republicans M. F. Sadi Carnot, Jules F.C. Ferry, Charles Louis de Freycinet, among others; the ultra Right nominated Félix Gustave Saussier. Ferry's candidacy elicited sharp protests from left-wing organisations and Paris workers. The Blanquists, headed by Emile Eudes, a former general of the Paris Commune, and Edouard Vaillant, a member of the municipal council, joined hands with the Guesdists (see note 33) and organised several meetings and demonstrations against Ferry's candidature. After the first round of the election Ferry and Freycinet withdrew their candidacies in Marie François Carnot's favour, who was then elected president.
198. Pertaining to the coup attempt of 1877 by Marshall Macmahon, President of the Republic, with the aim of restoring a monarchy in France. Yet

Macmahon found no support among the broad popular masses or in the army (among the soldiers and the greater part of commissioned officers), which reflected the republican sentiments of the French peasantry. The parliamentary election of October 1877 brought victory to the republicans, with a bourgeois republican government being formed; in January 1879 Macmahon resigned.

199. Opportunists was the name given in France to the party of moderate bourgeois republicans upon its split in 1881 and the formation of a left-wing party of radicals under Georges Clemenceau. The name was first used in 1877 by Henri Rochefort, a journalist, after the leader of the party, L. Gambetta, had said that reforms were to be implemented at 'an opportune time' ('un temps opportun').

200. The Radicals were a parliamentary group in France in the 1880s and 1890s that emerged from the party of moderate republicans ('Opportunists', see note 199). The Radicals relied chiefly on the petty bourgeoisie and to some extent on the middle bourgeoisie; they upheld the bourgeois-democratic demands: a unicameral system of parliament, separation of the church from the state, a progressive income tax, limitation of the workday, among other social issues. The Radicals were led by George Clemenceau. This group transformed itself into the Republican Party of Radicals and Radical-Socialists (*parti républicain radical et radical-socialiste*) in 1901.

201. On 4 December 1887, London was the scene of several meetings of the unemployed, organised by the Social Democratic Federation (see note 62). Although significant police reinforcements were moved in, no clashes were reported. For an account of the meetings, see *Justice* Vol. IV, No. 204, 10 December 1887: *The Unemployed Agitation*.

202. Such a collection was not published at the time; in 1894 the Social Democratic Publishers *Vorwärts* released a collection of Engels' works under the title *Internationales aus dem 'Volksstaat'* (1871-75) which comprised all the articles mentioned in the letter with the exception of *Refugee Literature IV*. Friedrich Hermann Schlüter also suggested that Engels include in the collection some of his articles from *Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, *Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-Ökonomische Revue*, as well as excerpts from his pamphlet *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*.

203. Engels replies to F. Schlüter's suggestion to revise three chapters from the second part of *Anti-Dühring* and have them published as a separate pamphlet. These chapters, under the single title *The Theory of Force* contained an explanation of materialist views on economics and politics. Engels subsequently changed his plan and decided also to add a fourth chapter on Germany history from 1848 to 1888 and a critique of Bismarck. The proposed title of the pamphlet was *The Role of Force in History*. Engels wrote this (fourth) chapter somewhat later, at the close of 1887 and in the

first three months of 1888. Having interrupted his work in March 1888, Engels must have never resumed it. This unfinished work of his, an outline of the preface to the pamphlet, the plan of the fourth chapter, as well as the plan of the concluding part of this chapter (this plan delineated the contents of the unfinished part of the work) are published in the present edition, Vol. 26.

204. Engels replies to Paul Lafargue's inquiry in the letter of 25 December 1887, concerning Heinrich Oberwinder, formerly active in the First International, and exposed as an agent of the Prussian police. The exposure was made by Swiss socialists in the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* on 24 December 1887; they had found one of the German émigrés, Christian Haupt, to be Bismarck's agent. Subsequently they uncovered other spies as well, including Heinrich Nonne and Heinrich Oberwinder.
205. The Salvation Army was a religious-philanthropic organisation founded by William Booth of the Church of England in 1865. Subsequently it extended its activities to other countries as well (it adopted the present name in 1878 upon being reorganised after a military model).
206. On 25 December 1887, Paul Lafargue told Engels in jest about Laura's 'new-found talent' as an artist.
207. The following works of Engels were translated into Romanian: *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (the journal *Contemporanul* Nos. 17-21, 1885, and Nos. 22-24, 1886) (present edition, Vol. 26) and the article *The Political Situation in Europe* (the journal *Revista Socialista* No. 2, December 1886) (present edition, Vol. 26, pp410-17).
208. The author of both pamphlets, published anonymously, was Constantin Dobrogenau-Gherea.
209. The Holy Alliance was an association of European monarchs founded on 26 September 1815, on the initiative of the Russian Tsar Alexander I and the Austrian Chancellor Metternich, to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries.
210. *Règlement organique* (1831-32) constitutional acts laying down the socio-political system of the Danubian Principalities (Wallachia and Moldavia) after the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29. The *Règlement*, based on a draft framed by P.D. Kiselev, head of the Russian administration, was adopted by an assembly of boyars and clergymen. Legislative power in each of the Principalities was vested in an assembly elected by the big landowners. Executive power was wielded by *hospodars*, the titled rulers elected for life by representative of the landowners, the clergy and the towns. The *Règlement* envisaged a number of bourgeois reforms: abolition of internal customs duties, introduction of free trade, and the right of peasants to move from one owner to another. However, in view of the preservation of serfdom and concentration of political power in the hands of the big landowners and boyars, the progressive forces in the Principalities regarded the

*Règlement* as a symbol of feudal stagnation. Reimposed in 1849 during the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia by Russia and Turkey, the *Règlement* became invalid with the setting up of an independent Romanian state in the 1860s.

To suppress the revolutionary movement in Wallachia and Moldavia, Russia and Turkey sent in their troops in the summer of 1848. By the Balta-Liman Treaty of 19 April (1 May) 1849, the occupationist regime was to be in force till after the revolutionary threat had been eliminated in full (the foreign troops were withdrawn only in 1851); as a provisional measure, the *hospodars* were to be appointed by the Turkish Sultan with the consent of the Russian Tsar. Also, Turkey and Russia were to take steps, not excluding another military intervention, in case of repeated revolutionary unrest. In keeping with the Bucharest Peace Treaty of 12 May 1812, virtually all of Bessarabia up to the River Pruth was ceded to Russia. By the Paris Treaty of 1856 Turkey annexed a portion of this territory. However, in accordance with the Berlin treaty of 1878, this part of Bessarabia was ceded back to Russia.

211. An excerpt of this letter was first published in the language of the original (English) in the book: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Letters on 'Capital'*, London, 1983.

212. In his letter of 11 (23) December 1887, Nikolai Danielson told Engels that Volume IV of Johannes v. Keussler's work *Zur Geschichte und Kritik des bäuerlichen Gemeinbesitzes in Rußland* had come off the press. These four volumes, he pointed out, were the only reliable source of data based on the relevant statistical and economic studies of the Russian *zemstvos*. Danielson regretted that Keussler undertook his work after only 20 volumes of the total 100-volume edition of the extensive statistical study of the *zemstvos* had seen print.

213. In the same letter Danielson wrote to Engels about the institution of a State Land Bank for the Nobility in Russia. The State Land Bank for the Nobility was set up in 1885 with the aim of helping the Russian landed proprietors from among the nobility in the maintenance of their estates. The landowners could get loans from this bank on fairly easy terms by mortgaging their land. The tsarist government provided substantial financial assistance to this bank. Loans were issued on a long-term basis and at a lower interest rate than in other Russian banks.

214. The Peasant Land Bank was a state mortgage bank instituted in Russia in 1882 for providing long-term loans to peasant farmers for land purchases. Catering to the interests of the big landowners, the bank charged high interest rates. Its activity resulted in soaring land prices. The land of insolvent real estate owners who failed to pay off the loans on time was auctioned off by the bank or sequestered into its land pool. The Peasant Land Bank was operating in close contact with the State Land Bank for the Nobility set up

in 1885 (see note 213) and became a vehicle of the reactionary agrarian policies pursued by the tsarist government. As a consequence, a significant part of the land found itself in the hands of the rich gentry and the rural bourgeoisie. One sequel to this process was the further stratification of the peasantry.

215. The reference is to 'marginal utility theory', the counter of vulgar political economics to the labour theory of value, whereby the value of commodities is deduced from the calculation of their utility and value. The marginal utility theory evolved into a major theoretical system in the 1870s. Its main advocates in the late 19th and early 20th century were Karl Menger, Eugen Böhm-Bawerk (of the Austrian School), William Stanley Jevons, and others. See also Engels' Preface to Volume III of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 37).
216. In August 1887, Nikolai Danielson informed Engels of Lopatin's death in the Schlüsselburg Fortress. Engels immediately applied to Lavrov with the request to verify this report. It proved to be wrong.
217. An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in the book: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Correspondence*, 1846-1895, London, Lawrence 1934.
218. From September 1887 to March 1888, Friedrich A. Sorge lived in Rochester, N.Y., i.e., where his son did.
219. The Bismarck government followed a dual policy with regard to the workers: along with the continued repression (see note 96) it tabled, on 17 November 1881, a new programme of social legislation to be considered in the Reichstag. Although adopted by the Reichstag, this programme was implemented very slowly and inconsistently. In 1883 the Reichstag passed a law on a mandatory sickness insurance, in 1884 a law on old age and disability insurance. The entrepreneurs contributed only a 1/3 to the social insurance fund, with the other 2/3 being drawn from the employees. The issue of a shorter workday and of restrictions on female and child labour was not considered.
220. In view of the expiration of the Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52), the Bismarck government tabled a motion (November 1887) to prolong it for another five years and supplement it with some new clauses with stiffer penalties for the promulgation of socialist literature and for membership in Social Democratic unions, to the extent of banishment and deprivation of citizenship (expatriation).
221. The Thirty Years War (1618-1648) was a European war in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the Catholic German princes rallied under the banner of Catholicism and fought the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands and a number of Protestant German states. The rulers of Catholic France – rivals of the Habsburgs – supported the Protestant camp. Germany was the main battle arena or the object of plunder and territorial claims. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) sealed the political dismemberment of Germany.

222. Probably Wilhelm Liebknecht wrote in his letter to Engels that in case of a prolongation of the Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52) he and his family would have to emigrate to America. One of the additional clauses to the law envisaged banishment and deprivation of citizenship (expatriation) for Social Democratic activities (see also note 220).
223. Engels means the leaders of the Socialist Labour Party of North America (see note 3).
224. An allusion to the events of 'Bloody Sunday' in London's Trafalgar Square on 13 November 1887 (see note 185). Among those arrested were the prominent figures in the socialist and trade union movement Robert Cunninghame-Graham and John Burns. On 18 January 1888, the two men were sentenced to 6 weeks' imprisonment. However, they were soon set free under public pressure (see note 246).
225. An excerpt from this letter was first published in the preface to *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe*. Dritte Abteilung, Bd. 1, 1929.
226. On 30 December 1887, Hermann Schlüter told Engels about Eduard Bernstein's request to allow *Der Sozialdemokrat* to publish the final part of the Engels-written introduction to S. Borkheim's pamphlet *Zur Erinnerung für die deutschen Mordspatrioten 1806-1807* pending the publication of the pamphlet itself. On 15 January 1888, *Der Sozialdemokrat* carried the second part of the Engels introduction under the title *Was Europa bevorsteht*. The booklet was printed in June 1888.
227. The German Social Democratic archives were set up at the Zurich Conference of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany held on 19-21 August 1882. Their purpose was to preserve the manuscripts of prominent figures in the German labour movement (including the works of Marx and Engels), and documents pertaining to the history of Germany and the international working-class movement, and the labour press. The initial site of the archives was Zurich. The first materials were collected by Eduard Bernstein. From April 1883 the archives were in the custody of Hermann Schlüter. In June 1888, following the expulsion of some members of the *Sozialdemokrat* editorial staff and co-workers from Switzerland (see note 81), the archives were moved to London and, after the abrogation of the Anti-Socialist law (see note 52), to Berlin.
228. In his letter of 30 December 1887, Schlüter wrote to Engels that the book dealers had cut the journal *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* into separate pieces and sold these articles separately as independent works. Meanwhile, longer works of Marx and Engels were printed in instalments in different numbers of the journal.
229. The reference is to the manuscript of *The Great Men of the Exile* written by Marx and Engels (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp227-326). At the end of June 1852, Marx passed on the manuscript to the Hungarian émigré, Kossuth's emissary abroad Janos Bangya, who offered to have it published

in Germany. Later, it turned out that Bangya was a police spy who had handed over the manuscript to the Prussian police. The actions of Bangya, who managed to win Marx's confidence for a time, were unmasked by Marx in his article 'Hirsch's Confessions' written in April 1853 and published in American newspapers (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp40-43). The reference is to the following part of the pamphlet *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp219-20): Karl Bruhn made slanderous accusations against Marx and Engels by claiming they had allegedly sold the MS of the pamphlet to the Prussian police (see present edition, Vol. 42, pp117-118).

230. Early in 1887 Pasquale Martignetti, an Italian socialist, approached Engels with the request to help him find work outside Italy as he was being persecuted for his views (see note 8). Engels, through the mediation of Johannes Wedde, editor of the Hamburg-based Social Democratic newspaper *Bürger-Zeitung*, tried to find a job for Martignetti, but failed in his attempt.

231. Martignetti's letter to Engels (dated 3 January 1888) was accompanied by the issue of the journal *Mefistofele*, carrying the first instalment of the Italian translation of Engels' biography written by Karl Kautsky. Martignetti intended to continue the publication in this journal of excerpts from Kautsky's work and then have it published in full as a separate pamphlet. For this reason he asked Engels to look through the translations in the *Mefistofele* and send him comments on the translation. The Engels biography was published in the journal between 1 January and 30 November 1888.

232. In February 1886 P. Martignetti sent his Italian translation of *Marx's Wage Labour and Capital* for Engels to peruse. However, because of his work on the English edition of Volume I of *Capital*, and his eye disease, Engels was unable to read the Italian translation immediately. It was published in Milan only in 1893.

233. The reference is to Engels' article *Prussian Schnapps in the German Reichstag* (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp109-27). The publication of this work, exposing the Prussian Junkers, in the newspaper *Volksstaat* and in the form of a reprint, caused exasperation in government quarters. Therefore the promulgation of Engels' works in Germany was banned.

234. In his letter of 5 February 1888, Paul Lafargue informed Engels about the cessation of the publication of the newspaper *Socialiste*, an organ of the French Workers Party (Guesdists), on 4 February of the same year (see note 33).

235. The debates in the Reichstag about the motion to prolong the Anti-Socialist law (see note 52) in January-February 1888 ended in a defeat for the government. This outcome was largely predetermined by the speeches of August Bebel (30 January and 17 February) and Paul Singer (27 January and 17 February) during the first and the third reading of the draft bill, respectively. Both speakers exposed the provocative activities of the government

which was planting spies in the labour unions. On 17 February 1888, the Reichstag prolonged the law for the last time, but not for a term of five years, as the government had suggested – the action of the law was extended for two years only (until 30 September 1890). The new clauses suggested by the government for the law were not adopted (see note 220).

236. An allusion to the entry of Napoleon's troops into Berlin in 1806 following the defeat of the Prussian forces, at Jena and Auerstedt.
237. An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in the journal *The Socialist Review*, London 1908, III-VIII.
238. The reference is to a scandal over the criminal actions of Louis Charles Caffarel and Daniel Wilson (see note 168). In 1847, just before the Revolution of 1848, there were many scandalous exposures of cases of corruption involving French statesmen (see note 169). For *Révolution du mépris* (a revolution of contempt) see note 170.
239. An excerpt from this letter was first published in the language of the original (English) in the book *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*. Stuttgart, 1906.
240. The first American edition of *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* (reprint of the English translation from the *Red Republican*) under the title *Manifesto of the German Communist Party* (without the names of the authors being mentioned) was published by *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, New York, 30 December 1871.
241. As Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky wrote to Engels, the attitude of the German socialists in New York to his book *The Condition of the Working Class in England* was tantamount to a boycott. Engels described the Executive of the Socialist Labour Party of North America, with Lassalle's supporters in it, as 'the official German socialists of New York'. (See note 3).
242. *The Law and Liberty League* was set up on 18 November 1887, after the Trafalgar Square demonstration (see note 185). The League united representatives of labour radical clubs, socialist organisations, trade unions affiliated with the Fabian Society, etc. Active in the League were: Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling, William Morris, John Burns, Sidney Webb, and others. The League championed freedom of speech and assembly, and came out for independent representation of working men in Parliament. The League ceased its activities in February 1888 because of the differences among its members.
243. An excerpt from this letter was first published in the language of the original by the journal *Die Kommunistische Internationale* No. 24, 1931; in Russian it appeared in the journal *Kommunisticheski Internatsional*, Nos. 19-20, 1931.
244. An allusion to William O'Brien's speech in the House of Commons on 16 February 1888, with scathing criticism of the policy of Arthur Balfour,

Secretary of State for Ireland and nephew of the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Salisbury.

245. Speaking in the Reichstag on 6 February 1888, in debates on a draft bill providing for reorganisation of the German armed forces, Bismarck lauded the pro-German policies of Alexander III in contrast to the anti-German pronouncements of some organs of the Russian press. Still, he spoke in favour of a stronger military might for the German Reich in view of a possible anti-German alliance between France and Russia. By calling Alexander III a 'Gatchina prisoner', Engels referred to the fact that, ascending the throne after the assassination of Tsar Alexander II by members of the radical organisation *Narodnaya Volya* ('People's will') on 1 March 1881, Alexander III feared revolutionary action and fresh acts of terrorism, so used to seclude himself in his palace at Gatchina.

246. On 19 February 1888, a big rally was held in London on the occasion of liberation of the socialists Robert Cunninghame-Graham and John Burns, convicted for taking part in the Trafalgar Square demonstration of 13 November 1887 (see note 185).

247. *The Commonweal*, the organ of the Socialist League, reprinted a list of police agents promulgated in *Der Sozialdemokrat* under the heading *Polizeiagent – Dynamitagenten* with 12 police agents in it (see note 204). The newspaper augmented this list without giving cogent proof of the culpability of the persons mentioned, including Theodor Reuß.

248. Landwehr was the army second reserve formed in Prussia during the struggle against Napoleon. In the 1840s it consisted of men under forty who had done three years of active service and had been in the reserve not less than two years. In contrast to the regular army, the Landwehr was called up only in case of extreme necessity (war, or threat of war).

249. The Fenians were Irish revolutionaries who named themselves after the 'Féne', a name for the ancient population of Ireland. Their first organisations appeared in the 1850s in the USA among the Irish immigrants and later in Ireland itself. The secret Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, as the organisation was known in the early 1860s, aimed at establishing an independent Irish republic by means of an armed uprising. The Fenians, who expressed the interests of the Irish peasantry, came chiefly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals, and believed in conspiracy tactics. The British Government attempted to suppress the Fenian movement by severe police reprisals.

250. The Orange Order, named after William III, Prince of Orange, was an organisation set up in Ireland in 1795. The English authorities, the landlords and the Protestant clergy used this organisation to fight the Irish national liberation movement. The Order united English and Irish elements from all strata of society and systematically incited the Protestants against the Irish Catholics. The Orangemen had a particularly great influence in Northern Ireland, where the majority of the population were Protestants.

251. The reference is to the manifesto of Frederick III on the occasion of his ascension to the throne on 12 March 1888. This proclamation – *An mein Volk* (To my people) – was marked by the same date as his message to Chancellor Bismarck.
252. On 18 March 1888, the newspaper *Weekly Dispatch* published the manifestos of Frederick III ('Letter to Prince Bismarck', 'Proclamation of the Emperor') (see note 251).
253. Engels alludes to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.
254. In his letter to Engels of 18 March 1888, Paul Lafargue expressed his conviction that the only chance of preventing General Boulanger from being elected to the Chamber of Deputies would be to abrogate the balloting procedure 'according to the lists', introduced in June 1885 instead of the former procedure providing for voting 'in small arrondissements'. The new system of balloting, effected in keeping with departmental lists, envisaged integration of small constituencies into larger ones, each corresponding to a department in size. A voter would be offered a list of candidates from various parties, and was supposed to cast his ballot for the overall number of candidates due to be elected as deputies in a given department (proceeding from the ratio: 1 deputy to 700,000 of the population). An absolute majority of votes was needed in the first round for a candidate to be elected, but he could do with a relative majority in the runoff.
255. The *Vendôme Column* was erected in Parts between 1806 and 1810 in tribute to the military victories of Napoleon I. It was made of bronze from captured enemy guns and crowned by a statue of Napoleon; the statue was removed during the Restoration but re-erected in 1833. In the spring of 1871, by order of the Paris Commune, the *Vendôme Column* was destroyed as a symbol of militarism.
256. An abridged version of this letter was first published in English (in facsimile) in the book *Literary Heritage* 1932, No.2; and in full it was published in: Marx K., Engels F. *Literature and Art,* New York, Intern. Publ., 1947.
257. Legitimists were the party who supported the French Bourbon dynasty (overthrown in 1792); they represented the interests of the big landed aristocracy and the top clergy; they took shape as a party and assumed this name in 1830, after the second overthrow of the Bourbon dynasty. During the Second Republic, the Legitimists, together with the other monarchist parties, formed the Party of Order. Failing to win support from the people under the Second Empire, they confined themselves to marking time and issuing critical pamphlets and were galvanised into action only in 1871, when they joined the general counter-revolutionary onslaught against the Paris Commune.
258. Engels refers to the uprising in Paris of 5-6 June 1832, prepared by the Left Wing of the Republican Party and secret revolutionary societies. The immediate cause of this uprising was the funeral of General Lamarque, who had

been in opposition to the government of Louis Philippe. The revolutionary workmen raised barricades and fought back with great courage and tenacity. One of the barricades, put up in rue Saint-Martin (formerly the site of the Saint-Méri cloister) was among the last to fall. In his novel *Illusions perdues* and story *Les secrets de la Princesse de Cardignan*, Balzac depicted a republican Michel Chrestien who 'died at the walls of the cloister Saint-Méri ('mourut au cloître Saint-Mérri'). Balzac called him a 'great statesman who could have changed the face of the world' (*'ce grand homme d'Etat, qui peut être eût changé la face du monde'*).

259. The reference is to Paul Lafargue's article 'La langue francaise avant et après la Révolution' published in the journal *Nouvelle Revue*, t. 51, 1888, under the nom de plume Fergus. As is apparent from Lafargue's letter to Engels on 27 November 1887, this article was conceived as part of a larger work in which he intended to look into changes that had occurred in matters of property, philosophy, art, etc., after the French Revolution.

260. *Boustrapa* – nickname of Louis Bonaparte, composed of the first syllables of the names of the places where he and his supporters staged Bonapartist *putsches*, or coups: Boulogne (August 1840), Strasbourg (October 1846) and Paris (coup d'état of 2 December 1851).

261. An allusion to a scandalous incident involving the British colonel Valentine Baker who had seduced a young girl in a railway carriage and was brought to trial. Engels compared this incident in jest to the rape of Europa when Jupiter, in love with the young Phoenician princess Europa, assumed the form of a white bull to carry her off.

262. For British Association for the Advancement of Science see note 124; for the materials of the discussion mentioned by Engels, see *Report of the Fifty-Seventh Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science held at Manchester in August and September 1887*, London, 1888, pp885-95. Engels usually familiarised himself with the materials of the Association's annual meetings by means of publications in the journal *Nature*.

263. The reference is to a bill tabled by Roger Quarles Mills at US Congress in April 1888 on rescinding taxes on raw materials used in industry and on reducing duties on many import items. The bill was not adopted.

264. Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky and her husband, Dr Lazar Wischnewetzky, both expelled from the New York section of the Socialist Labour Party of North America in July 1887 (see note 149), did not agree with the decision of the Executive and pressed for reinstatement of their membership in the party. On 31 March 1888, the newspaper *Wochenblatt der N.Y. Volkszeitung* carried a report on the Executive sittings of 2, 9 and 16 March 1888, which decided first to study the additional evidence before discussing the Wischnewetzkys' appeal.

265. The Kartell was a coalition of conservative parties – die Deutsch-

Konservative Partei, die Deutsche Reichspartei (Freikonservative) und die Nationalliberale Partei – which was formed after Bismarck had dissolved the Reichstag in January 1887 (see note 15). Supporting the Bismarck government, Kartell won the election of February 1887 by obtaining the largest number of seats in the Reichstag (220). Assisted by the coalition, Bismarck was able to secure the passage of reactionary laws in the interests of the Junkers and the big bourgeoisie (imposition of protectionist tariffs, higher taxes, etc.) (see note 152). However, he could not get the Reichstag to prolong the Anti-Socialist Law. The exacerbation of differences among the parties affiliated with the Kartell and the electoral defeat of 1890, with only 135 seats secured in the Reichstag, resulted in the disintegration of the coalition.

266. A reference to the intended marriage of Victoria, the daughter of Frederick III, to Prince Alexander Battenberg of Bulgaria, who occupied the Bulgarian throne in 1879-86 and steered a policy hostile to Russia. Fearing a worsening of Russo-German relations, Bismarck opposed the marriage.

267. Believing that the Bismarck regime was in for a political crisis, Engels considers, by way of comparison, the landmark stages of the political crisis of the Second Empire in France: *The Mexican period of Bonapartism* – the abortive armed intervention of France in Mexico (1862-67) with the aim of suppressing the Mexican revolution. The military expedition incurred huge expenses and caused grave damage to the empire of Napoleon III. 1866 – the defeat of Austria in her war against Prussia deprived Napoleon III of an essential ally in the confrontation with Prussia. 1870 – the routing, on 1-2 September, of French troops at Sedan during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. The Sedan debacle speeded up the collapse of the Second Empire and led to the proclamation of a republic in France on 4 September 1870.

268. Engels means *Die Erklärung der Sozialdemokratischen Föderation Englands in Sachen des nach London einberufenen internationalen Gewerkschaftskongresses* which was published by the newspaper *Sozialdemokrat* on 14 April 1888. The Declaration came in view of the intended convocation by the British trade unions of an international congress of labour unions in November 1888 (see note 165). The Declaration was a response to the protest of the German Social Democrats against the decision of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Unions Congress of Great Britain (see note 269) on conditions for representation at the Congress: only delegates officially elected by trade unions were to attend. Thereby the German Social Democrats were unable to take part on account of the enforcement of the Anti-Socialist law in Germany. In its Declaration the Social Democratic Federation voiced its discontent at the protest of the German Social Democrats.

269. The reference is to the rapprochement of the leadership of the Social Democratic Federation (see note 62) and the Possibilists (see note 19). Starting in 1884, the Federation, acting through its organ *Justice*, conducted

a broad campaign in support of the Possibilists; it recognised them as the principal organisation of French Socialists and maintained no relations with the French Workers' Party (see note 33). The Social Democratic Federation was the only socialist organisation to support the Possibilist International Congress in Paris in 1889 (see note 478). An allusion to the Parliamentary Committee, an executive body of The Trades Union Congress of Great Britain formed in 1868 and uniting the British trade unions. As of 1871 the Parliamentary Committee was annually elected by Trades Union Congresses as a steering body of the trade unions in between the congresses. It was designed to nominate trade union MPs, support draft bills tabled in the interests of the trade unions, and prepare regular union congresses. Henry Broadhurst was the parliamentary Committee's Secretary from 1875 to 1890. In 1921 the Parliamentary Committee was replaced with the Trades Union Congress General Council.

270. The Congress of the German Social Democratic Party at St Gallen (see note 174) passed a decision to convene an international labour congress in 1888. However, the party's Executive stated its readiness to refrain from the convocation of that congress and to participate in a congress being convened in London by the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Unions (see note 165). Following its unsuccessful negotiations with the Parliamentary Committee which had stipulated unacceptable conditions for representation of German Social Democracy at the London congress, the party's Executive reverted to the resolution of its congress.

271. Probably the reference is to the work of Johann Georg Eccarius *Eines Arbeiters Widerlegung der national-ökonomischen Lehren John Stuart Mill's* republished by the Social Democratic Publishers of Zurich in 1888. Originally written in English for the journal *The Commonweal* (10.11.1866, 27.3.1867), it first appeared in German in 1869 as a pamphlet in Eccarius' translation.

272. In this letter to Engels on 11 April 1888, P. Martignetti said he was offered a job in the archives of the Italian town of Benevento, but had to pass competitive examination to be able to qualify.

273. Engels sent Lafargue's letter on 27 April 1888, addressed to Wilhelm Liebknecht, pertaining to the preparation of an international labour congress. P. Lafargue believed that in this way his letter would reach the addressee the sooner.

274. A brief excerpt from this letter was first published in French by the journal *La Pensée*, No. 61, 1955. For the first publication of this letter in English, see note 40.

275. In March-April 1888 a peasant uprising broke out in Romania's central districts. The rebels burned landlords' estates, destroyed promissory notes, and divided bread, cattle and land amongst themselves. The revolts were crushed brutally by the government.

276. This letter was first published in English by the journal *Istoricheskv Arkhiv* (*Historical Archives*), No. 2, 1956 (the facsimile of the first page) and in full in: F. Engels, P. and L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, T. 2 (1887-1890), Paris, 1956.
277. The French Socialists differed in their attitude to Boulangism (see note 137). Some of them, including P. Lafargue, at first erroneously qualified Boulangism as a 'popular movement' with little regard for the aims of this movement and Boulanger's personality. The Workers' Party majority with Jules Guesde at the head and the greater part of the Blanquists led by M.E. Vaillant adhered to a policy of non-interference with respect to Boulangism by regarding this movement only as a bourgeois party; they said they were loath to intervene in partisan strife among the bourgeois parties. Yet the sectarian stance of non-interference isolated the party from the popular masses and gravely prejudiced its influence in the home country.
278. The decree adopted by the German Ministry of the Interior on 22 May 1888, prohibited free passage of the French into Alsace and Lorraine. All foreigners crossing into Germany from France were supposed to have passports with a visa from the German embassy in Paris.
279. This letter was first published in English in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3 (1891-95), Supplement Letters, Moscow, 1963.
280. Engels, at the request or Karl Kautsky, and Eleanor and Edward Aveling, was translating poems by Shelley into German for the Avelings's article 'Shelley als Sozialist', published in the December issue of *Neue Zeit* in 1888.
281. Refers to the voyage of Engels, Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling and their friend Carl Schorlemmer to the United States where they spent over a month – from 17 August to 19 September 1888. They journeyed from New York to Boston and nearby towns, then on to the Niagara Falls and across Lake Ontario to Canada. Engels made this tour incognito, without meeting German Socialists or representatives of the press.
282. On 12 June 1888, Georges Boulanger addressed the Chamber of Deputies demanding its dissolution and a revision of the Constitution. The head of the government, Charles Floquet, proposed that Boulanger's demand be turned down and pointed out to the general's unseemly activities. Accusing Floquet of slander, Boulanger presented the Chairman of the Chamber with a waiver, framed in advance, whereby he relinquished his mandate as a deputy; the matter culminated in a duel in which Boulanger was wounded.
283. Plebiscitary Boulangism was a description that Engels gave to Boulanger's attempt to obtain a deputy's mandate from many departments of France. Making use of the voting 'according to the lists' (see note 254), Boulanger nominated his candidacy in any department where a deputy's seat happened to be vacant. As soon as a new vacancy was open, Boulanger relinquished his mandate so as to run for Parliament in another department. Boulanger

hoped that with the aid of such tricks he would appear an elected representative of the entire nation. Boulanger's victory at the election of 1889 compelled the French government as early as 31 January 1889 to table a draft bill on restoring the old system of balloting in electoral constituencies. This bill was approved and came into effect on 13 February. On 17 July 1889 Parliament passed yet another law whereby no one could be elected deputy other than in one constituency only.

284. Engels wrote this letter on a post card. On the back was the address: E. Bernstein Esq. , 4, Corinne Road, Tufnell Park, N. London.
285. Engels wrote this letter on a post card. He indicated the address on the back: F. A. Sorge, Hoboken, New Jersey. For the first publication of the letter in English see note 29.
286. This letter was first published in English in *Science and Society*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1938. It was written on hotel notepaper with the address: Adams House, No. 553, Washington Street, Boston.
287. The reference is to the dissent in the Socialist Labour Party of North America (see note 3). Speaking of the resignation of the Executive Secretary Wilhelm Rosenberg, Engels proceeded from a report made by Friedrich Sorge in his letter of 30 August 1888. The official decision on Rosenberg's resignation was adopted in September 1889 (see note 501).
288. The letter was written on hotel notepaper with the address: Adams House, No.553. Washington Street, Boston.
289. The letter was written on hotel notepaper with a picture of the Niagara Falls and the address: Spencer House, Niagara Falls, N.Y.
290. Engels stayed in London in July-August 1838 when he accompanied his father on a business trip to Britain. That was the first trip of the young Frederick Engels abroad (see present edition, Vol. 2, pp99-100)
291. This letter was written on hotel notepaper with the address: Richelieu Hotel, Montreal. For the first English publication, see note 286.
292. This letter was written on a hotel notepaper with the address: Paul Smith's Fouquet House, Phelps Smith, Manager, Plattsburgh, N.Y. About the first English publication of the letter, see note 29.
293. This letter was written on hotel notepaper with the address: Broadway, opposite Bond Street, Julius A. Robinson Prop'r, New York. For the first English publication of the letter, see note 29.
294. The available rough copy of this and the next letter was written on a single sheet.
295. In the autumn of 1841 Bruno Bauer, one of the leaders of the Young Hegelians, was suspended from teaching at Bonn University by Eichhorn, the Prussian Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine. In March 1842, he was dismissed from his post as lecturer in theology on account of his atheistic views and opposition speeches. Bauer's dismissal evoked sharp protests from radical and liberal intellectuals.

296. Telling Engels about his intention to obtain the post of senior lecturer at Leipzig University, Conrad Schmidt wrote: 'Whether I will succeed in getting a position in Leipzig is doubtful to me in view of the personal attitude of Mr "Thucydides" Roscher to Marx'. Speaking ironically, Marx and Engels called Professor Roscher by the name of the great historian of the ancient Greece, Thucydides, for, as Marx wrote, Herr Professor Roscher had modestly declared himself a Thucydides of political economy (see present edition, Vol. 32, p570). See Roscher's preface to the first edition of his work *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie* 1854.
297. On 23 August 1888 Conrad Schmidt wrote to Engels that he was not eligible as lecturer at Halle University on account of his atheist views.
298. In his preface to Volume II of *Capital* that appeared in 1885 Engels suggested that economists clarify the question 'in which way an equal average rate of profit can and must come about, not only without a violation of the law of value, but on the basis of it' (see present edition, Vol. 36). Marx had offered a solution to this problem in Volume III of *Capital* on which Engels was working at the time. Having taken an interest in the problem raised by Engels, C. Schmidt was working on the book *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marx'schen Werthgesetzes* which came out in 1889. In the review of Volume II of *Capital* – *Die Marx'sche Kapitaltheorie* – published by the journal *Jahrbücher fur Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, new series, Vol. XI, 1885, Wilhelm Lexis likewise raised this problem, though he could offer no solution. Engels made a circumstantial appraisal of these works in his preface to Volume III of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 37).
299. W. Roscher, *Geschichte der National-Ökonomie in Deutschland* München, 1874, S. 1021-1022. In it Roscher gave an evaluation of the Marxian economic theory.
300. On 20 September 1888 the newspaper *New-Yorker Volkszeitung* carried Engels' interview with Theodor Cuno (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp626-27), formerly a member of the First International. Acting on the assignment of the editor-in-chief Alexander Jonas who had learned about Engels' sojourn in New York (see note 281), Cuno had the interview published without prior consultations with Engels. In October 1888 this interview was reprinted by *Der Sozialdemokrat*.
301. A fragment of this latter was first published in English in K Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *The Communist View on Morality*, Moscow, Novosti Publishers, 1974.
302. Engels probably meant the leaders of the Fabian Society – Sidney and Beatrice Webb, George Bernard Shaw, Edward Pease (see note 176).
303. Following their abortive attempts in the 1870s to form a party of their own, the Austrian Socialists remained split into several groups for many years. There were also anarchist and moderate radical groups besides the adherents of scientific socialism among them. The above groups were divided on

such issues as the significance and nature of workers' political activity (specifically, the parliamentary struggle), the makeup of the party, ethnic problems, and so on. A reunification attempt was undertaken in Vienna in the first half of 1887. Of much significance in this respect was a party congress of the Czechoslovak Socialists late in 1887 which passed a decision on forming a single Social Democratic Party. The Austrian Social Democrats held their unity congress from 31 December 1888 to 1 January 1889 at Hainfeld. They put an end to the party's division into organisations representing separate lands and separate ethnic groups. The party programme adopted by the congress relied on Marxist postulates.

304. Engels intended to write travel notes of his tour of the United states, as shown by an excerpt from *Notes on My Journey Through America and Canada* (see present edition Vol. 26), as well as by rough notes which Engels wrote in the latter half of September 1888, evidently, aboard the steamship *City of New York*. In them Engels planned to give his assessment of the country's social and political life. This intention was not realised.

305. August Bebel intended to write a large work on Wilhelm Weitling in which he also wanted to take up the subject of 'the social movement of the 1840s'. He applied to Engels with the request to help in the collection of material.

306. Weitlingian communists held to a doctrine of egalitarian utopian communism that gained wide currency among German artisans, especially among tailors in Paris. Being a progressive movement in the early 1840s, before the development of modern Socialist ideas, the Weitling doctrine (with its negation of the need for an active political struggle of the proletariat and its emphasis on sectarian, conspiratorial methods of struggle) became to some extent a hindrance to the growing class consciousness of the German workers The reactionary characteristics of the Weitling doctrine, gradually taking on a religious-Christian colouring, became increasingly manifest. Weitling's supporters, always suspicious of 'scholars' (i.e. revolutionary intellectuals), would in their practical activities confine themselves to projects involving communes, partially borrowed from Fourier and his followers, and to small-scale experiments like establishing collective canteens, etc. In May 1846 Marx and Engels, with their adherents, broke from Weitling. Engels, living in Paris in 1846-47, had regular and stubborn discussions with workers to explain the backward nature of Weitling's views.

307. The reference is to German, or 'true socialism' which became widespread in Germany in the 1840s, mostly among intellectuals. The 'true socialists' – Karl Grün, Moses Hess and Hermann Kriege – substituted the sentimental preaching of love and brotherhood for the ideas of socialism and denied the need for a bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany. Marx and Engels criticised this trend in the following works: *The German Ideology* (see present edition, Vol. 5), *Circular Against Kriege*, *German Socialism in Verse and Prose* and *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (Vol. 6).

308. A reference to Georg Kuhlmann's book *Die Neue Welt oder das Reich des Geistes auf Erden Verkündigung*, Geft, 1845. For a critique of this book, see present edition, Vol. 5.
309. This refers to Weitling's letter to Moses Hess on 31 March 1846, in which he describes the sitting of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee held on 30 March 1846, culminating in its breaking of relations with Marx and Engels. The controversy flared up over the best way of carrying on propaganda in Germany. Marx wanted to prove that calling on the workers to rise up without a proper programme was to deceive them and could result in dire consequences for the entire movement. Pavel Annenkov's reminiscences of this meeting were originally published in Russian. An excerpt from these reminiscences (one about Annenkov's meetings with Marx) was reproduced by the journal *Neue Zeit*, No. 5, 1883, under the heading 'Eine russische Stimme über Karl Marx'.
310. A reference to the two volumes of a quarterly journal the publication of which was negotiated in 1845 and 1846 by a number of Westphalian socialists, the publishers Julius Meyer and Rudolph Rempel among others. Marx and Engels intended to publish in it their criticism of the German ideology which they started to write in the autumn of 1845. It was also planned to publish a number of polemical works to their colleagues, in the first place those containing criticism of German philosophical literature and the works of the 'true socialists'. In November 1845 Moses Hess reached agreement with Meyer and Rempel on financing the publication of two volumes of the quarterly. Further negotiations were conducted by Weydemeyer, who visited the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee. In a letter to the Committee of 30 April 1846 from Schildesche (Westphalia) he wrote that no headway was being made and proposed that Meyer should form a joint-stock company in Limburg (Holland), as manuscripts of less than 20 printed sheets were subject to preliminary censorship in Germany. He also recommended that Marx should sign a contract with the Brussels publisher and bookseller C.G. Vogler for the distribution of the quarterly and other publications. The contract was not drawn because Vogler could not assume even part of the expenses. Weydemeyer continued his efforts, but succeeded in getting from Meyer only a guarantee for the publication of one volume. However as early as July 1846 Meyer and Rempel refused their promised assistance on the pretext of financial difficulties, the actual reason being differences in principle between Marx and Engels, on the one hand and the champions of 'true socialism', on the other, whose views both publishers shared. Marx and Engels did not abandon their hopes of publishing the works, if only by instalments, but their attempts failed. The only chapter of *The German Ideology* known to be published during their lifetime was Chapter IV of Volume II, which appeared in the journal *Das Westphälische Dampfboot* in August and September 1847 (publisher of this journal was O.

Lüning). The rest of the existing *German Ideology* was first published in the Soviet Union in 1932.

311. Engels means Weitling's non-extant work *Allgemeine Denk-und Sprachlehre nebst Grundzügen einer Universalsprache der Menschheit* which was written in the first half of the 1840s.
312. The fifth and sixth points at the résumé in Weitling's letter were as follows: '5. It is necessary to combat "artisan communism" and "philosophical communism" and to criticise the idea that everything is a fantasy. There should be no propaganda by word, no secret propaganda. The very word propaganda should no longer be used. The realisation of communism is now out of the question. First the bourgeoisie must take the helm'.
313. A reference to L. Stein, *Der Socialismus and Communismus des heutigen Frankreichs*, Leipzig, 1842; K. Grün, *Die soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien*, Darmstadt, 1845. Marx and Engels made a critique of like publications in *The German Ideology* (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp484-530). At the beginning of 1845 Engels and Marx had formed the plan to publish in Germany a 'Library of the Best Foreign Socialist Writers' with a general introduction and commentaries to each issue (see Engels' letters to Marx of 22-26 February, 7 and 17 March 1845). The draft plan of this publication, drawn up by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 4, p667), shows that it was conceived as a representative series of works of French and English authors. The plan was not carried out because of publishing difficulties, apart from the translation of a few chapters of Fourier's *Des trois unités externes* (see present edition Vol. 4, pp613-44).
314. Engels was working on Chapter III of Volume III of *Capital* at the time. For more detail, see Engels' preface to Volume III of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 37).
315. An allusion to P. Lafargue's article 'Die Beschneidung, ihre soziale und religiöse Bedeutung', published by the journal *Neue Zeit*, No. 11, 1888.
316. A reference to P. Lafargue's article intended for the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* and containing a critique of the views of the Possibilists (see note 19). On Engels' advice Lafargue abandoned his plan to have it published.
317. Bourses du travail, Labour Exchanges – institutions set up in France largely as local government bodies in major cities, consisting of representatives of various trade unions. Originally they were assisted by state bodies in a bid to divert the workers from the class struggle – not infrequently, in the form of financial aid. The labour exchanges provided jobs for the unemployed and led to the founding of new trade unions.
318. There was a marked trend in the late 1880s toward a rapprochement between part of the Blanquists and the Boulangists. Victor Henri Rochefort, a prominent figure in the Boulangist movement, described Blanquists as 'our friends' in pronouncements made for his newspaper *Intransigeant*;

they were nominated with the Boulangists in common electoral lists. A group led by Ernest Roche and Ernest Granger separated itself from the rest of the Blanquists and gave open and vigorous support to General Boulanger.

319. The reference is to the proposed calling of an International Working Men's Congress in Paris in 1889. The Possibilists (see note 19) received powers to organise this congress from the 1886-held Paris International Conference which they had sponsored and which involved representatives of the British trade unions, delegates from German Social Democracy, and the workers' parties of Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Sweden and Australia (about this conference, see note 333).

320. The reference is to the London International Congress of Trades Unions held on 6-10 November 1888 at the initiative of the British trade unions. The congress involved trade union representatives of Britain, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Italy as well as French syndicates aligned with the Possibilists. Stipulating that delegates to this congress should be officially elected by respective trade unions, its organisers thereby deprived the German and Austrian. Social Democrats, as well as representatives of the French Workers' Party (the Guesdists), see note 33, of an opportunity to attend. Yet the leaders of the British trade unions failed in their attempts to foist reformist decisions on the congress and isolate it from the Socialists. The congress adopted a number of positive decisions. Thus, the workers were not to confine themselves to forming purely professional organisations – they were to unite into an independent political party as well. One of the resolutions stressed the need to press for legislative regulation of the working day and working conditions. In its most significant decision, the congress resolved to convene an International Working Men's Congress in Paris in 1889; organisation of this congress was entrusted to the Possibilists.

321. The National Congress of French Labour Unions (syndicates) held on 23 October – 4 November 1888 (see note 331) adopted a decision on convening an International Working Men's Congress in Paris in 1889.

322. Troyes was the proposed venue of a convention of the Workers' Party of French Socialist-Revolutionaries (the Possibilists) (see note 19). The organisers of the congress – local party functionaries – invited representatives of the Guesdists to attend as well. However the Paris Possibilists, fearing that the Guesdists might be in a majority, refused to take part (see also note 329).

323. The reference is to Chapters III and IV of Volume III of *Capital*, (see present edition, Vol. 37).

324. Excerpts from this letter were first published in French in the journal *La Pensée*, No. 61, 1955. Concerning the first publication of this letter in the language of the original (English), (see note 40).

325. The newspaper *Parti Ouvrier*, the mouthpiece of the Possibilists (see note

19), on 28 December 1888 carried an article 'L'Agglomération parisienne' that accused the Guesdists of lending support to the Boulangist movement (see note 277) so as to have Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue and Gabriel Deville in Parliament. The Paris Amalgamation (*Agglomération*) was the name of the Paris branch of the French Worker's Party.

326. In her letter to Engels of 27 December 1888 Laura Lafargue wrote that the anti-Boulangism of the Possibilists was similar to their other deception. They used to good advantage the pronouncements of the Guesdists in support of the international and, specifically, the German working-class movement and, as a result, the latter lost its popularity in Paris. For the Guesdists' attitude to Boulangism see note 277.
327. Cadettists was the name by which members of the *Société des Droits de L'Homme et du Citoyen* were known. The Society was set up on 25 May 1888 by bourgeois radicals and moderate republicans for combating Boulangism. The Possibilists became affiliated with this organisation. Its name came from Rue Cadet, where it was located.
328. In view of the death, on 23 December 1888, of the deputy to the Chamber from Seine-Department, Antoine Auguste Hude, the Prime Minister Floquet fixed a by-election on 27 January 1889.
329. The convention of the French Workers' Party held in Troyes in December 1888 (see note 322) passed a decision on nominating a socialist as an independent candidacy for the by-election of 27 January 1889. The candidature of Boulé, a labourer and stonemason, was nominated accordingly. This convention also decided to hold an International Socialist Working Men's Congress in Paris in 1889, thus confirming the decision of the National Congress of the French trade unions (see note 331).
330. On 29 December 1888 Wilhelm Liebknecht told Engels he intended to visit Paris and London to hold preliminary negotiations with local socialists about the forthcoming International Socialist Congress in Paris.
331. The National Congress of the French Trade Unions took place on 23 October-4 November 1888. It represented 272 labour unions – the workers' syndical chambers and industrial groups. Most of the delegates belonged to the revolutionary wing of the French workers' movement. The congress had been opened in Bordeaux, but its sessions had to be transferred to Le Bouscat after the police declared the congress disbanded because of a red banner over its rostrum. The congress passed a decision to convene an International Socialist Working Men's Congress in Paris in 1889 to commemorate the centennial of the French Revolution Also discussed was a general strike, considered to be the only revolutionary way.
332. The funeral of the Paris Commune general Émiles Eudes on 8 August 1888, developed into a mammoth demonstration of the Paris proletariat; its participants carried red flags and posters urging a new commune. This demonstration was dispersed by the police.

333. Engels refers to the Paris International Conference convened by the French Possibilists in 1886 (see note 319). The conference discussed issues related to international labour legislation. Its resolutions denied the need for working-class political struggle.
334. Engels alludes to the Ninth Congress of the Party of the Possibilists at Charleville on 2-8 October 1887. The main issue on the agenda was participation in electoral campaigns.
335. An allusion to the French Revolution of 1789-99.
336. The reference is to the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty in France, first in May 1814 and then in July 1815. After the defeat of Napoleonic France in the war against the sixth coalition, Napoleon had to abdicate in April 1814, and the Bourbons were restored to power. Louis XVIII became King of France. In March 1815, Napoleon regained power, but his rule did not last long ('The Hundred Days'). Following his defeat at Waterloo by British and Prussian troops, he again abdicated on 22 June 1815 and Louis XVIII was again restored to the throne (8 July) with the help of the foreign armies.
337. The reference is to the sum assigned by the King in 1825 as compensation for aristocrats whose property had been confiscated during the French Revolution.
338. 'Tranquillity is the first duty of the citizen' is a dictum coined by the Prussian minister Schulenburg-Kehnert in his address to the population of Berlin on 17 October 1806 following the defeat at Jena (*Le Moniteur universel*, No. 304, 31 October, 1806, 'Prusse', Berlin, du 18 octobre).
339. In these letters Conrad Schmidt told Engels that his own attempts to obtain a position of senior lecturer at Leipzig University failed because of his socialist views.
340. As assistant professor at Berlin University, Eugen Dühring, beginning in 1872, criticised the university professors, Hermann Helmholtz in particular, and the University customs in general. Such criticism riled the reactionary faculty which started hounding Dühring. In July 1877 he was deprived of the right to teach at the University. His dismissal sparked vigorous protests from his supporters and was condemned by the public.
341. The reference is to the monographs on the history of Germany's national economy under the heading *Staats- und socialwissenschaftliche Forschungen* edited by Gustav Schmoller in 1878-1916, and in co-operation with Max Sering as of 1903. Containing a wealth of factual and historical evidence, these publications offered no theoretical analysis at all. This series mirrored the views of the 'young historical school' in Germany's political economy, a trend led by Schmoller. Its followers thought the chief task of political economy was to collect factual material on the history of the national economy, with theoretical analysis being left to the generations to come.
342. 'Demagogues' was the name given to participants in the students' opposition movement in Germany after the country's liberation from Napoleonic

rule. The name gained currency after the Karlsbad Conference of Ministers of the German States in August 1819, which adopted a special decision on the persecution of the Demagogues.

343. This letter was first published, abridged in English by the journal *Labour Monthly*, London, 1934, No. 3.

344. In the by-election scheduled for 27 January 1889 in Paris (see notes 328, 329), the following candidacies were nominated: Georges Boulanger – from the Right-wing groups, Edouard Jacques – from the Republican Party (this candidature received support from the Possibilists as well), and the labourer Boulé – from the Workers Party (see note 33) and the Blanquists. In a bitter electoral struggle, General Boulanger received about 250,000 votes, Boulé 7,000 votes.

345. This refers to the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849 in Germany. For greater detail, see Engels' *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution*, present edition, Vol. 10, pp147-239.

346. The French Section of 1871 (branche francaise) was formed in London in September of that year by French refugees. The leaders of the Section established close contacts with Bakunin's followers in Switzerland. The Rules of the French Section of 1871, published in *Qui Vive!*, its official organ, were submitted to the General Council at its extraordinary meeting on 16 October 1871 and referred to a special committee. At the General Council meeting of 17 October, Marx tabled a resolution on behalf of the committee (present edition, Vol. 23, pp24-27), recommending the Section to bring several paragraphs of its Rules into line with the Rules of the International. In its letter of 31 October, signed by A. Avrial, the Section rejected the General Council resolution. This reply was discussed in the commission and at the General Council sitting of 7 November 1871. Auguste Serraillier, Corresponding Secretary for France, submitted a resolution written by Marx, which was unanimously adopted by the Council (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp37-42). In December 1871, the French Section split up into several groups. The 'pseudo-General Council' applies to a group within the British Federal Council; this group, led by John Hales, Hermann Jung and others, refused to act on the decisions of the Hague Congress and was expelled from the International on 30 May 1873.

347. In September 1888 the German Professor Friedrich Heinrich Geffcken had the journal *Deutsche Rundschau* publish excerpts from the diary of the German Emperor Frederick III, a close friend of his. These excerpts, dating back to the time of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, showed Bismarck's role in the building or the German Empire in an unfavourable light. Bismarck had criminal proceedings initiated against the professor who was charged with high treason. The Reichsgericht acquitted Professor Geffcken on 4 January 1889; on the following day he was released from custody. At about the same time Herbert von Bismarck, the Reichskanzler's older son,

accused the British diplomat Morier of mediation between Frederick, then the crown prince, and France. Morier countered by publishing his correspondence with Marshal Bazaine of France, through whom he had ostensibly been passing information on the German army. These materials showed up the slanderous nature of the charges. The progressive press viewed the acquittals of Geffcken and Morier as major defeats for Bismarck.

348. In December 1888 a Russian loan with a 4 per cent interest rate was issued in Paris to a sum of 125 million roubles, or about 20 million pound sterling.
349. In connection with an apparent rapprochement between France and Russia, Bismarck initiated negotiations on a defensive alliance with Great Britain in January 1889; these negotiations involved colonial issues as well. Britain and Germany were supporting each other in East Africa in putting down popular uprisings in Uganda and Zanzibar. The British and German navies, acting together, imposed a blockade on the eastern coast of Africa. At a later date, on 1 July 1890, Britain and Germany concluded a treaty which defined a boundary between their possessions in East Africa. In addition, Britain agreed to cede to Germany the strategic island of Heligoland in the North Sea. However this rapprochement did not result in a solid alliance and imperialist rivalry subsequently led to a sharp deterioration in Anglo-German relations.
350. Lewis Morgan's book *Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery, through Barbarism to Civilization* appeared in London in 1877. Marx and Engels thought highly of this work; in 1884 Engels wrote his *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, In the Light of the Researches of Lewis H. Morgan* (see present edition, Vol. 26). Meanwhile, Morgan's works did not win due recognition among British scholars and were ignored for a long time.
351. At Paul Lafargue's request Engels approached the leaders of the German Social Democratic Party to learn their opinion concerning the forthcoming International Socialist Working Men's Congress. In this letter he informed Lafargue about the replies of August Bebel of 8 January 1889 and Wilhelm Liebknecht of 11 January 1889.
352. A preliminary conference, scheduled for 18 January 1889 at Nancy and suggested by representatives of German Social Democracy, did not take place.
353. Engels refers to the manuscript of *Theories of Surplus Value*, written by Marx in 1862-63 and being the only outline of the concluding, historical-critical part of *Capital*. Engels could not prepare book IV of *Capital* in his lifetime: Marx's MS of *Theories of Surplus Values* was first published by Karl Kautsky in 1905-10, i.e., after Engels' death (see present edition, Vol. 38 for a revised version).
354. Louise Kautsky was attending obstetrics classes.
355. Laura Lafargue informed Engels about the termination of the publication of

the Blanquist newspaper *Le Cri du Peuple* and about the foundation of a new organ, the newspaper *Égalité*. Its editorial committee comprised representatives of the revolutionary wing (the Guesdists) – Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, Gabriel Deville; the Blanquists were represented by Edouard Vaillant, Ernest Granger and Place; the Possibilists – by Benoît Malon; and the Independent Radicals – by the municipal councillors Alexandre Abel Hovelacque and Boulé. Its first number came out on 8 February 1889. At first *Égalité* carried articles by Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue and other Marxists. But as early as 3 March of the same year the Guesdists and the Blanquists, collaborating on the editorial staff, broke with Jules Roques, an entrepreneur financing the paper (see note 380). From that time on *Égalité* ceased to be an organ of the Socialists.

356. Engels means the coup d'état of 18 Brumaire (9 November 1799) when Napoleon Bonaparte imposed a military dictatorship; also, the election, on 10 December 1848, of Louis Bonaparte to the presidency in France. On 12-13 Vendémiaire (4-5 October) 1795, the government troops under General Bonaparte crushed a royalist uprising in Paris.
357. August Bebel's report, carried in the feature 'Deutschland' and marked 'Aus Norddeutschland, 29, Jänner', was published anonymously by the newspaper *Gleichheit* No. 5, on 1 February 1889.
358. The reference is to the editorial article 'Boulanger en Bourgeois Republiek', carried by the Hague-based newspaper *Recht voor Allen* and to the report filed by Souvarines in *Parijsche Brieven*, XV and published on 1 February 1889.
359. An allusion to the article 'Que faire?' ('What is to be done?') written by Charles Longuet and published by the newspaper *Égalité* on 10 February 1889. In it he attacked the Radicals (see note 200) for their alliance with the Opportunists (see note 199).
360. A reference to the International Socialist Conference in the Hague convened on 28 February 1889 (see note 385).
361. Atherley Jones was the son of Ernest Jones, one of the leaders of the Chartist revolutionary wing, approached Engels through John Lincoln Mahon and asked for help in publishing his father's works.
362. The abridged text of this letter was first published in English in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1956.
363. 14 July 1789 – the day of the storming of the Bastille by the popular masses of Paris and the beginning of the French Revolution. On 5-6 October 1789, the popular masses, who had come to Versailles from Paris made King Louis XVI return to the capital from which he had fled. The monarchy in France was toppled on 10 August 1792 as a result of a popular uprising. There was mass unrest in Paris on 2-5 September 1792, caused by an onslaught of foreign interventionist troops. Parisians seized prisons and staged impromptu trials of the inmates: many were executed.

364. A reference to the Commune of Paris in 1789-94. Formally being no more than a body of municipal self-government, the Commune from 1792 actually guided the struggle of the people of Paris in the revolution. The Commune played an active part in the overthrow of the monarchy, in the imposition of a Jacobin dictatorship, in the introduction of a price maximum, in the adoption of a 'law against suspects' (i.e. against the counter revolutionaries), etc. Following the overthrow of 9 Thermidor (27 July 1794) most of the Commune members, supporters of Robespierre and his adherents, were executed. The Commune was thereafter abolished.
365. At Fleurus (Belgium) on 26 June 1794, French troops defeated the Austrian army under the Duke of Coburg. This victory enabled the French revolutionary army to enter and occupy Belgium.
366. Francois Noel (Gracchus) Babeuf was a French revolutionary and advocate of utopian egalitarian communism based on the ideas of natural law.
367. Preparing his notes on Kautsky's article, Engels translated excerpts from Nikolai Kareyev's article., 'Peasants and the Peasant Problem in France', expressly for the author; Engels gave the full names of the sources which Kareyev had indicated in an abbreviated form.
368. By the Second Partition of Poland (12 /23/ January 1793) Russia gained eastern Byelorussia and the Ukraine on the right bank of the Dnieper; Prussia acquired Gdansk, Torún, part of Great Poland, Mazovia and of the Kraków province.
369. This refers to the mandates and complaints (cahiers de doléances) sent to deputies of the General States at the time of the French Revolution by representatives of the French 'third estate' who were reduced to penury. The General States (États généraux) were the highest body of estate representation in France in a period from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century.
370. *Constituante* – the Constituent Assembly (Assemblée nationale constituante) of France which was in session from 9 July 1789 to 30 September 1791.
371. A fragment of this letter was first published in English by *Labour Monthly*, London, 1934, No. 3, and in full in Marx K., Engels F., *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895*, A Selection, International Publishers, New York 1953, I.E. Mins (trans).
372. Engels might have made a mistake by indicating the date, 19 January. He meant the post card of 29 January and the letter of 10 February, sent by Friedrich Sorge, who called Engels' attention to F. Kelley-Wischnewetzky's article on child labour, carried by the newspaper *The Labour Standard* on 19 and 26 January 1889.
373. On 29 January 1889, F. Sorge sent a cutting from the New York newspaper *Standard* to Engels with an advertisement announcing a sale of the English edition of Volume I of *Capital* by the American book dealers Appleton and Co.

374. In his letter of 10 February 1889, F. Sorge called Engels' attention to a report carried by the newspaper *Der arme Teufel*, Nos. 9 and 10, 26 January and 2 February 1889, entitled 'Korrespondenz des A.T. aus London, England', containing disparaging comments about Edward Aveling.
375. A reference to Philipp Rappaport's article 'Über die Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika' published in the journal *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 2, 1889. In his letter of 10 February 1889 F. Sorge pointed to the poor quality of the article and said it would be better to publish excerpts from Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling, *The Labour Movement in America* (see note 89).
376. The reference is to a series of lectures by Paul Lafargue and Gabriel Deville (*Cours d'Économie Sociale*) on Marx; these lectures were arranged by a circle at the Socialist Library of the French Workers' Party on Sundays as of 23 January 1884. Lafargue's series of lectures was called *Le Matérialisme economique de Karl Marx*. To his second lecture Paul Lafargue gave the following title: *Le Milieu naturel. Théorie darwinienne*. Gabriel Deville entitled his course of lectures *L'Évolution du capital*. There were five lectures in all: *Genèse du capital, Formation du proletariat, Coopération et manufacture, Machinisme et grande industrie* and *Fin du capital*. The lectures were published in the press and in separate editions in 1884.
377. Engels refers to the defeat of the Prussians and Saxons at the hands of Napoleon at Jena (14 October 1806).
378. Engels refers to the refusal of the Possibilists to take part in the International Hague Conference (see note 360).
379. An allusion to the request of a group of Possibilists to the Municipal Council of Paris to grant them 50,000 francs for the organisation of an International Working Men's Congress.
380. Jules Roques, the publisher of the newspaper *Égalité*, fired a group of printing-shop workers who had been paid at rates fixed by the printers' union and had then replaced by non-unionised workmen. The indignant members of the editorial board, the Guesdists and the Blanquists, declared on 3 March 1889 they would leave the editorial board (see also note 355).
381. The materials of P. Lafargue's letter of 5 March 1889 were indeed used in the report *Aus Frankreich*, Paris, 9 March, 1889 in the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 12, 23 March, 1889, S.2-3.
382. On 5 March 1889, Conrad Schmidt asked Engels to help him come to terms with Otto Meissner with the publication of his monograph *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marx'schen Werthgesetzes*; this work appeared somewhat later at Stuttgart published by Dietz. Schmidt also wrote about his failure to obtain the position of senior lecturer at Leipzig University because of his socialist views.
383. This refers to the setbacks of Marx and Engels in connection with the publication of their works in those years, specifically, *The German Ideology* (present edition, Vol. 5).

384. C. Schmidt's article 'Das Wertgesetz und Profitrate' was published in the journal *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 10, 7 Jhrg. 1889.
385. The International Socialist Conference was held in the Hague on 28 February 1889. It was attended by representatives of the socialist movement of Germany, France, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland. The conference was convened at the suggestion of the Social Democratic faction in the German Reichstag with the aim of framing the conditions for the calling of an International Socialist Working Men's Congress in Paris. The Possibilists refused to attend the conference despite the invitation and did not recognise its decisions. The conference defined the powers of the forthcoming congress, its date and agenda. The International Working Men's Congress took place on 14 July 1889.
386. A reference to the pamphlet *The International Working Men's Congress of 1889. A Reply to 'Justice'*, London 1889. Its original version was written by Eduard Bernstein at Engels' suggestion in reply to the editorial comment entitled *The German 'Official' Social Democrats and the International Congress in Paris* and carried by the newspaper *Justice* on 16 March 1889, No. 270. Having been edited by Engels, the pamphlet appeared in English in London, and then it was published by the German newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* and signed: E. Bernstein.
387. An excerpt from this letter was first published in the journal *La Pensée*, No. 61, 1955. About the first English publication of the letter, see note 77.
388. In the latter half of the 1860s the government of the Second Empire exiled Henri Rochefort to New Caledonia for his virulent attacks against Napoleon III. In the 1880s, being an active supporter of General Boulanger and one of the editors of the newspaper *L'Intransigeant*, he placed it at the disposal of the Boulangists.
389. April 1 – Bismarck's birthday. Engels refers to April's Fool Day (1 April).
390. A hint at the ties with the Prussian police and the Bismarck government, incriminating for Johann Baptist von Schweitzer, President of the General Association of German Workers.
391. The French government, alarmed at General Boulanger's popularity, decided to put him on trial on the pretext of his conspiring in a plot threatening the security of the republic. On 1 April 1889, Boulanger and some of his supporters fled abroad. On 8 April Boulanger was deprived of his parliamentary immunity; and on 14 August 1889, the Supreme Court sentenced him, together with Dillon and Rochefort, who had fled in company with Boulanger, *in absentia*, to banishment.
392. The reference is to Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to Charles Bonnier of 26 March 1889, about the need to change the date of an International Socialist Congress or, as an alternative, reaching agreement with the Possibilists. Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to Eduard Bernstein has not been found.
393. A reference to Wilhelm Liebknecht's letters to F. Engels of 20 and 28 March

dealing with the forthcoming International Congress, in particular, when it was called, and British representation in it.

394. The resolution of the Hague Conference (see note 385) was published in the pamphlet *The International Working Men's Congress of 1889. A Reply to 'Justice'*, (see note 386).

395. Engels means the Trade Union Committee of Protest Against the Parliamentary Committee's Actions With Regard To the Paris International Working Men's Congress. The Parliamentary Committee (see note 269) refused to take part on the pretext of British workers having a shorter working day and higher wages than the workers of other European countries and thus not needing any protection of their interests. The newly established Protest Committee of representatives of many trade unions organised protest meetings and entered into correspondence with socialist parties abroad concerning the preparation of the Congress.

396. Wilhelm Liebknecht's letters of this period are not available. However, Engels' letter to P. Lafargue of 10 April 1889 suggests that Liebknecht must have written to Bernstein.

397. The whereabouts of this letter of Engels is not known but it is apparent from A. Bebel's letter to Engels of 14 April 1889 that he had received the Engels letter.

398. The Workers' Party of Belgium had its congress at Jolimont on 22 April 1889 (see note 405).

399. The newspaper *Der Sozialist*, the organ of the Socialist Labor Party of North America, carried the article 'Zum Internationalen Kongres in Paris' in its issue of 16 March 1889.

400. In the book series Volks-Bibliothek, with Wilhelm Liebknecht as one of the editors, his son-in-law, Bruno Geiser, published Maximilian Schlesinger's pamphlet *Die soziale Frage*, Breslau 1889. In it Schlesinger attempted to 'make a critical revision' of Marxian ideas. Liebknecht did not come forward with an open protest against this work. Subsequently Liebknecht dissociated himself from the book, a fact that made Engels indignant.

401. Living in London, E. Bernstein made regular visits to the Fabian Society meetings at which problems of socialism were being discussed – The Fabian Society, see note 176.

402. The academic socialists (*die Kathedersozialisten* – literally 'lectern socialists') were representatives of a trend in German political economy in the latter third of the 19th century, a response to the growing working-class movement and the propagation of the ideas of socialism. They used university lecterns (*Katheder*) to preach bourgeois reformism under the flag of socialism and claimed that the state, the German Reich in particular, was above class, and that with its help the working class would be able to improve its position through social reforms.

403. *Le Père Duchêsne* was a newspaper published at the time of the French

Revolution by the Jacobins (1790-94), as the mouthpiece of genuinely popular interests. The paper got its name from the French folk hero, le père Duchêne, allegedly a real person, who had been defending the oppressed and destitute. The same name was given to newspapers during the revolutions of 1848-49 and 1871. By calling Paul Lafargue 'le père Duchêne' ('Father Duchêne), Engels questioned Lafargue's confidence that he could speak out on behalf of all the French Socialists.

404. Engels refers to Guesdists' blunders that led to the closure of the newspapers *Égalité* and *Socialiste*. By 'three *Égalités*', Engels means a socialist weekly founded by Jules Guesde in 1877 and published on and off in five series until 1883. In 1886 an attempt was made to resume its publication; but only one issue came out, and the publication of the second *Égalité* was discontinued. By a 'third *Égalité*', Engels refers to a newspaper appearing in 1889 (see note 355). About *Socialiste*, see note 234.
405. This refers to a congress of the Workers' Party of Belgium on 22 April 1889 at Jolimont, which decided to send delegates both to the International Working Men's Congress convened by Marxists in Paris and to the congress convened by the Possibilists, contrary to the opinion of the Ghent delegation that opposed the convocation.
406. The whereabouts of this letter is unknown.
407. Apparently Engels means August Bebel's letter of 28 April 1889, about the preparation of the International Socialist Working Men's Congress in Paris and the stand of the German and Dutch Social Democrats with respect to the congress contemplated by the Possibilists.
408. The reference is to the appeal of the German Social Democrats Ignaz Auer and Max Schippel in the German Party press for participation in the Possibilist-sponsored congress. The newspaper *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*, where Schippel was one of the editors, carried the article 'Zum Pariser Arbeiterkongres' in its issue of 27 April 1889. *The Berliner Volksblatt* came forward with the article 'Der internationale Arbeiter-kongres', No. 94, 21 April 1889, pp1-2. Speaking of Charles Bonnier's reply to these articles, Engels has in mind his article 'In Sachen des internationalen Arbeiterkongresses' published by the newspaper *Berliner Volksblatt*, No. 97, 26 April 1889 in its feature *Politische Übersicht*.
409. Under the conditions of the Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52), the Social Democratic faction in the Reichstag exercised the functions of the party's Executive Board. On 18 May 1889, it issued an appeal to Germany's workmen and urged them to elect their representatives to the International Socialist Workingmen's Congress in Paris, convened by the Marxists. This appeal was published in the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 21, 25 May 1889, p2, (*Die sozialdemokratische Fraktion des deutschen Reichstages*).
410. The court prosecution of most of the defendants was discontinued due to numerous protests from the workers, and the court proceedings adjourned.

The Elberfeld trial took place in November-December 1889 (see note 569).

411. Wyden (Switzerland) was the venue of the first illegal congress of the German Social Democrats after the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52). This congress, held on 20-23 August 1880, denounced the activities of the anarchist group that denied any use of legal methods of struggle and staked all on individual terror. The anarchists embarked on an open struggle against the party leadership. The congress expelled the anarchist leaders Johann Most and Wilhelm Hasselmann from the party ranks. The congress decided in a unanimous voice to amend the second clause of the party's Programme adopted at Gotha in 1875 – a clause stipulating that the party was to prosecute its aims 'by all legal means' – and strike out the word 'legal'. The newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* was endorsed as the party's official organ. About the St Gallen Congress, see note 174.
412. At the Hague Conference (see note 385) some of the delegates, Ferdinand Nieuwenhuis among them, displayed a conciliatory attitude towards the Possibilists.
413. A reference to the Organising Committee for the Convocation of an International Working Men's Congress. Set up in Paris on the eve of 1889, it included representatives of the Syndicates Federation (Boulé, Besset, Féline, Monceau, Roussel), of a group of socialists – members of the Paris Municipal Council (Longuet, Vaillant, etc.) and of a socialist group from the Chamber of Deputies (Ferroul, Planteau). Paul Lafargue and Besset became its secretaries.
414. The circular was written with P. Lafargue's active participation so as to inform the working-class and socialist organisations of all countries about the decision of the Hague Socialist Conference (February 1889) (see note 385) and about the International Working Men's Congress due on 6 May 1889. Lafargue sent the text of the circular to Engels who approved it and translated it into German. Engels also saw about it being published in English. In German the circular was published, in the Engels translation, by the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* on 11 May and, in Wilhelm Liebknecht's translation, by the newspaper *Berliner Volksblatt* on 10 May; in English, the text of the circular came cut in the form of a leaflet, published by the newspapers *Labour Elector* on 18 May and by *Reynold's Newspaper* on 19 May under the heading 'International Workmen's Congress', as well as by *The Commonweal* on 25 May.
415. Engels cites an excerpt from August Bebel's letter of 30 April 1889.
416. Engels had received a letter from the workmen of Lyon, but, since the signatures and the address were illegible, he asked Lafargue to transcribe them.
417. The International Working Men's Congress must have used the weekly *Socialiste* as its official organ. This newspaper came out from 20 April to 14 July 1889 as an organ of the Workers' Party. It carried reports relating to the preparation of the Congress.

418. Engels is referring to the expulsion of two Leftwing members (one of whom was Trier) of the Executive Committee of the Danish Socialist Party, because they were opposed to the Socialist Party forming a bloc with *Venstre*, the Danish liberals, who expressed the interests of major landed proprietors and factory owners.
419. The reference is to the International Trade Union Congress in London (see note 320).
420. On 27 April 1889 the newspaper *Le Proletariat* published an article entitled 'Au congrès belge' which subscribed to the Possibilist point of view concerning the preparation of the International socialist Workingmen's Congress.
421. 'A Letter to the Editors' of the newspaper *Labour Elector*, Vol. I, No. 18, published on 4 May 1689 and signed by Bonnier, was written by Engels and sent in at his suggestion. Bonnier was staying in London at the time and taking an active part in the preparation for the International Working Men's Congress.
422. A reference to an appeal by the Paris Chamber of Labour, urging participation in the Possibilist Congress due in the latter half of July 1889. The authors of this appeal said they were speaking on behalf of 78 trade unions of France that had allegedly agreed to take part. Bonnier's letter of 4 May 1889 to the editorial board of the newspaper *Labour Elector* said the authors of the appeal had abrogated the right to speak on behalf of the entire working class of France. Engels, the real author of the letter, urged the French socialists not to confine themselves to declarative statements but prove their case by deed and convince the masses by irrefutable facts.
423. A paraphrase of 'Vous l'avez voulu, George Dandin, vous l'avez voulu' from Molière's *George Dandin*.
424. In March 1889 a new external Russian loan was issued to a sum of 175 million gold roubles for the conversion of the older 5 per cent bonds.
425. On 3 May 1889, the newspaper *The Star*, No. 400, published an article entitled *The Paris International Congress*.
426. The reference is to the issues of the newspaper *The Star* of 4 and 7 May 1889. On 7 May the newspaper carried the article 'The Workingmen's Party – A Chat with Some Practical Socialists at the Hôtel de Ville', which contained the attacks on Edouard Vaillant mentioned in the text of the letter.
427. Several Possibilist organisations, dissatisfied with the behaviour of their leaders during the election to the chamber of Deputies on 27 January 1889, and in the course of the preparation for the International Working Men's Congress, levelled strong criticism at them. In its turn, the leadership of the Possibilist Party on 16 April expelled the group of the 14th arrondissement of Paris from its ranks; late in April 1889 the key organisations of the 13th arrondissement left the Federation of the Possibilists. For more detail, see

the pamphlet *The International Working Men's Congress of 1889, II, A Reply to the 'Manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation'* (see note 444).

428. After General Boulanger's flight abroad (see note 391), which actually amounted to his departure from the political arena of France, Jules Ferry, one of the leaders of the moderate bourgeois republicans, developed vigorous political activity with the aim of forming a government of his own. On 6 May 1889, he made a speech at Saint-Dié in defence of the republic. Engels here uses an expression from one of P. Lafargue's letters unknown to us.
429. The text of this letter was written on the last page of Laura Lafargue's letter to Engels of 12 May 1889. L. Lafargue said in her letter she had been unable yet to persuade Vaillant and others to send letters to the newspaper *The Star*; she expressed her doubts about the expedience of such a mode of procedure. Engels replied on 14 May (see the next letter).
430. On 14 May 1889, the newspaper *The Star*, in the section *The People's Post Box* carried *An Invitation*, signed by P. Lafargue, and containing a précis of the circular in connection with the convocation of an International Working Men's Congress in Paris (see note 414).
431. The whereabouts of this letter of Engels is not known.
432. The circular about the convocation of an International Working Men's Congress, written by P. Lafargue and J. Guesde, was sent by the authors to Engels on 14 May, 1889. In June 1889 it was printed in the form of a leaflet in French in Paris and in English in London, and also published in German by the newspapers *Der Sozialdemokrat* on 1 June and *Berliner Volksblatt* on 2 June. The newspaper *The Star* had also printed it on 14 May 1889 in the Feature *The People's Post Box* (in English); the circular likewise appeared in the weekly *Commonweal* on 8 June and also as an appendix to the pamphlet *The International Working Men's Congress of 1889, II, A Reply to the 'Manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation'* (see note 444).
433. The reference is to Bonnier's letter published by *The Star* on 15 May 1889, under the heading *The Paris Congress*; it exposed the collusion of the Possibilists with the reactionary wing in the Paris Municipal Council.
434. Engels is referring to E. Aveling's play *Dregs*, staged by the Vaudeville Theatre on 16 May 1889.
435. The German coal miners' strike in the Ruhr was a major event in the German working-class movement of the late 19th century. It began on 3 May 1889 in the Essen and on 4 May in the Helsenkirch coal mining districts; then it spread to the entire Dortmund area. At its height the strike action involved as many as eighty thousand miners. The main demands were: higher wages, an eight-hour working day and recognition of the worker committees. Frightened by the scope of the strike action, government bodies had the entrepreneurs make a promise to fulfil some of the miners' demands. As a result, some of the miners resumed their work in mid May. However, the mine-owners broke their promises, and a meeting of

coal miners' delegates on 24 May decided to continue the strike action. The threat of reprisals and the new promises made by mine-owners resulted in the termination of the strike in the beginning of June.

436. Engels refers to the piece *Her Father* with the subtitle *Time of Trial*, written by Edward Rose and I. Douglas.
437. An allusion to two notes by Alec Rubie, published by *The Sun*, No. 5, Vol. I, 19 May 1889 in the feature *Political Men and Matters.* Both dealt with the convocation of an International Working Men's Congress in Paris.
438. The reference is to Henry Hyndman's note 'Much Ado About Nothing' published anonymously by the newspaper *Justice*, No. 279, Vol. VI, on 18 May 1889, in the feature *Critical Chronicle.* While paying tribute to Paul Lafargue's literary talent, eloquence and charisma, the author attacked the French and German socialists for their ostensibly deliberate action in not inviting the Possibilists to the Hague Conference.
439. In reference to a brief note, bearing no title, carried by the newspaper *Prolétariat*, No. 268, 18 May 1889, p1, col. 5, which opened with the following words: 'Les irlando-guesdo-blanquistes assurent dans leur circulaire a l'étranger que le Danemark leur a donné son adhésion'.
440. In Regent Street on the evening of 18 May 1889 Rochefort met Pilotell, a well-known caricaturist of the Commune days, who boxed his ears. Rochefort drew his revolver, but was disarmed. The matter ended in the English Courts.
441. Henry Hyndman called the Hague Conference (see note 385) a 'caucus' in his editorial note 'Much Ado About Nothing' (see note 438).
442. In mid March 1889 Wilhelm Liebknecht spent about two weeks in Switzerland as a representative of German Social Democracy; on 17 March 1889, he attended the unveiling of a monument to Johann Becker at the St Georges cemetery near Geneva.
443. The appeal was published by *Labour Elector* on 18 May 1889; yet the paper had nothing to say about William Parnell and about copies of this appeal which he allegedly had.
444. According to *The Manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation*, the International Congress of Trade Unions in London (see note 320) voted unanimously to authorise the Possibilists to convene an International Workingmen's Congress in Paris. The manifesto also claimed that Gabriel Farjat, described as a representative of the 'French soidisant Marxists, or Guesdists', voted for this resolution. E. Bernstein, in his pamphlet *The International Working Men's Congress of 1889, II, A Reply to the Manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation* rebutted these fabrications by proving that as a representative of the French trade unions, not Socialists, Farjat could not vote for this resolution. Subsequently one of the publications released by the Organising Committee for the Convocation of an International Working Men's Congress in Paris had a special postscript with

Farjat's statement to the effect that, far from voting for the resolution entrusting the convocation of an International Congress to the Possibilists, he could not do it for the simple reason that the resolution was never put to the vote.

445. Pertaining to the collection of signatures to the circular for the convocation of an International Working Men's Congress in Paris. Representatives of the Danish Social Democratic Party, who had not attended the Hague Conference (see note 385) but had announced in advance that they agreed with all of its decisions, unexpectedly refused to send delegates to both congresses. Concerning the two trends in the Danish socialist movement, see note 418.

446. P. Lafargue asked Engels to write to Nikolai Danielson (see Lafargue P., F. Engels, 14 May 1889, *Correspondence*, Vol. 2, Moscow 1960) and request him to get in touch with the publishers of the *Northern Review*. In 1889, in its issue No. 4, this journal published the Russian translation of Lafargue's article 'The Machine as a Factor of Progress' (see note 468), the final chapter of his major work *Das Proletariat der Handarbeit und Kopfarbeit* published by *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 3, 1888.

447. The reference is to the difficulties in getting the signatures of Russian Socialists to the circular about the convocation of the Paris Congress (see note 432). Lafargue had approached Pyotr Lavrov, with whom he was acquainted, on the matter. Lavrov declined at first by saying that, not being a representative of any particular revolutionary organisation in Russia, he was not entitled to sign. Subsequently he was authorised to do this. However, by that time Sergei Stepniak-Kravchinsky, Vera Zasulich, Pavel Axelrod and Georgy Plekhanov had given their consent.

448. *The National Labour Electoral Association* – a trade union organisation that succeeded, in 1887, to the Labour Electoral Committee; its aim was to have workmen being elected to Parliament and municipal councils.

449. The expression 'music of the future' gained popularity with the publication, in 1861, of Richard Wagner's letter to Frédéric Villot, the custodian of French museums, under the title: 'Zukunftsmusik. An einen französischen Freund' ('Music of the Future. To a French Friend').

450. A reference to the pamphlet *The International Working Men's Congress of 1889, II, A Reply to the 'Manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation'*, London 1889. Its original version was written by Eduard Bernstein on Engels' initiative in connection with the campaign waged by the leadership of the Social Democratic Federation (see note 62) in support of a Congress convened by the Possibilists in Paris, with the aim of preventing the success of an International Socialist Workingmen's Congress which the Marxists were to hold. This work was edited by Engels and published as a pamphlet in English.

451. The reference is to the elected council of the London County in charge of taxes, local budget, etc. All persons entitled to take part in parliamentary

elections were eligible to elect county councillors as well as women 30 years of age and older. This reform of local government was implemented in August 1888.

452. The section of the Social Democratic Federation in Battersea; affiliated with the Trade Union Protest Committee (see note 395).

453. The Hague Congress (2-7 September 1872) of the International was the most representative forum of the International Working Men's Association; taking part were 65 delegates from 15 countries. The Congress reviewed the results of the struggle against the Bakunin anarchists within the International and outlined a programme of action under new conditions obtaining after the Paris Commune. The main decision of the Congress was the endorsement of Resolution IX of the London Conference of 1871 on the political action of the working class, summed up as Article 7a of the General Rules of the International. The Congress also adopted a number of resolutions designed to strengthen the organisational structure of the Workingmen's Association. The anarchist leaders, Mikhail Bakunin and James Guillaume, were expelled from the International Working Men's Association. After the Congress, Bakunin and his supporters openly opposed its resolutions, a move that resulted in an actual split of the International.

454. A reference to the congress of the Bakuninist Jura Federation in Sonvillier on 12 November 1871, which adopted the *Circulaire à toutes les fédérations de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*.

The Sonvillier circular countered the decisions of the London Conference of the International with anarchist dogmas on political indifferentism and complete autonomy of sections; it also calumniated the General Council of the International. The Bakuninists suggested that all federations should demand an immediate congress to revise the General Rules of the International and to condemn the General Council's actions. About the *Manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation*, see note 444.

455. Engels alludes to the split within the International Working Men's Association following the Hague Congress of the First International (see note 453). In 1873 the anarchists convened their congress in Geneva which set the stage for an international association of anarchists – an organisation which they would describe as a genuine International Working Men's Association.

456. Pertaining to C. Schmidt's letter to F. Engels of 15 April 1889. Seeking a publisher for his work *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate* auf Grundlage des Marx'schen Werthgesetzes; C. Schmidt asked to send him F. Lassalle's book *Der Criminal-Prozeß wider mich wegen* Verleitung zum Cassetten-Diebstahl oder: Die Anklage der moralischen Mitschuld, Koln, 1848. Schmidt thanked Engels who had offered him to give letters of recommendation to A. Bebel and W. Liebknecht.

457. Engels must have meant representatives of the bourgeois opposition of the latter half of the 19th century and the early 20th century, particularly, the Russian liberal gentry who were playing a significant part in the *zemstvos*. These liberals exhibited much moderation, lack of will and loyalty toward the tsarist autocracy, and sought to come to terms with tsarism through petty reforms. *Zemstvos* were bodies of restricted local self-government introduced in Russia in 1864.
458. On 16 June 1889, August Bebel notified Engels about the receipt of his letter. The whereabouts of the Engels letter is unknown.
459. In his article 'The International Workers' Congress and the Marxist Clique', Henry Hyndman claimed that the signatures of W. Parnell and S.M. Stepniak were appended without their consent.
460. The letter of Stepniak (S.M. Kravchinsky) was published in the newspaper *Justice*, No. 284, on 22 June 1889.
461. A reference to an article by Arthur Field, an English journalist, in the *Kent Times and Tribune* on the occasion of the International Socialist Congress (see P. Lafargue's letter to F. Engels of 2 June 1889).
462. Apparently, pertaining to P. Lafargue's letter to F. Engels of 18 June, 1889, in a reply to F. Engels' letter of 15 June.
463. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) was a federation of labour unions of the United States and Canada, founded in December 1886. The AFL comprised skilled workers by and large, unionised in keeping with the shop principle. In the initial stage of its activity, the AFL had a positive role to play in rallying American workingmen and in the struggle for a law on an eight-hour workday.
464. P. Lafargue asked Engels how true it was that Jean Lavy, a Possibilist delegate elected by school teachers to the London Congress of Trade Unions in November 1888, had not been admitted on account of his being a manual worker.
465. In September 1889 an election to the chamber of Deputies was to be held in France. P. Lafargue suggested nominating his candidacy in the 5th arrondissement of Paris and at Avignon; however, a tentative enquiry showed he would be blackballed. Therefore Lafargue tried to nominate his candidature in the provinces: in Marseilles, Cette and elsewhere, but he suffered a defeat by polling only 6.26 per cent of the votes.
466. W. Parnell's letter was published in the *Labour Elector*, Vol. 1, No. 25, on 22 June 1889 (about the *National Labour Electoral Association*, see note 448).
467. The whereabouts of these letters of Engels is not known.
468. Nikolai Danielson must have referred to articles by P. Lafargue and K. Kautsky published in 1889 in the Russian journal *Northern Review*.
469. On 27 March (8 April) 1889, Nikolai Danielson informed Engels that Hermann Lopatin, gravely ill a few months before, had made a recovery and was in good health at the moment.

470. The whereabouts of the letter is not known.
471. Writing to F. Engels on 2 July 1889, P. Lafargue told him he met at Epernay, in the champagne-producing district, a large number of revolutionary socialist winegrowers, small growers completely ruined by the big champagne manufactures.
472 In these letters P. Martignetti told F. Engels about the outcome of the court trial and about the persecutions he had been subjected to from 1885 for the translation and circulation of F. Engels' works in Italy. Martignetti said he would leave for Buenos Aires if the sentence was endorsed (see note 230).
473. *The International (Socialist) Working Men's Congress* was in session in Paris on 14-20 July 1889, on the centennial of the storming of the Bastille. In fact, it became a constituent Congress of the Second International. Taking part were 393 delegates, representing the worker and socialist parties of 20 countries of Europe and America.

The Congress heard the reports of representatives of the socialist parties on the situation in the labour movement in their countries; it outlined the principles of international labour legislation in respective countries by supporting demands for a legislative enactment of an 8-hour working day, prohibition of child labour and steps toward the protection of the work of women and adolescents. The Congress stressed the need of political organisation of the proletariat and of a struggle for implementation of democratic demands of the working class; it spoke out for a disbandment of regular armies and their replacement by armed detachments of the people. It resolved to hold, on 1 May 1890, demonstrations and meetings in support of an 8-hour working day and labour legislation.
474. The International Conference of Miners was held on 18-19 July 1889; it was attended by delegates to both international working men's congresses which were in session at the time in Paris (see note 473). The Conference discussed reports on the situation of miners' trade unions and decided to set up an international association of miners' unions, which was formed in 1890.
475. Engels must have been referring to F. Schlüter's letter of 1 July 1889 about the labour and trade union movement in North America and about his futile attempts to get a job in American labour newspapers.
476. At that time many German newspapers carried reports about a conversation allegedly held by a correspondent of the London newspaper *Evening News and Post* with Lev Hartman, who said he had been staying for six months in Germany, Austria, France and Switzerland under an assumed name with the aim of organising there an 'overthrow party' and that this party was getting ready for big events. At Engels' request, Sorge turned to Hartman for explanations; the latter refuted such inventions – he said he had not left the United States at the time. Sorge informed Engels about this in his letter of 7 August.

477. In this letter Sorge notified Engels about the sending of the newspaper *Nationalist*, as well as about attempts of Mr and Mrs Wischnewetzky to establish contacts with him.
478. A reference to a campaign by the Possibilists in France, and their supporters from the Social Democratic Federation (see note 62), to discredit the International Working Men's Congress held by the Socialists (see note 473).

Only a few foreign delegates attended the Possibilists Congress held in Paris at the same time as the International Working Men's Congress; the representation of most of its delegates was of a purely fictitious nature.

479. On 18 March 1876, Ferdinand Lingenau, a German socialist who had emigrated to the United States, bequeathed about $7,000 to the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, naming August Bebel, Johann Philipp Becker, Wilhelm Bracke, August Geib, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Karl Marx as executors. Upon Lingenau's death in the United States on 4 August 1877, his executors tried to act on his will and have the above sum placed at the party's disposal. Bismarck succeeded in preventing this.
480. Gustave Brocher appealed to Engels and asked for material assistance for V. Smirnov.
481. The reference is to two letters from Sorge in which he confirmed the receipt of the newspapers sent to him by Engels. They reported on a denial, sent to Schlüter, of the assertion of the newspaper *New-Yorker Volkszeitung* about the alleged presence of Engels at the Paris Congress, as well as a denial of the report carried by *The Evening News and Post* on Lev Hartman's trip to Europe (see note 476).
482. The Liberal-Unionists were a J. Chamberlain-led group which in July 1886 broke away from the Liberal Party, because of differences over the draft of Home Rule legislation (April 1886) tabled by the Liberal government for Ireland which provided for a restoration of the autonomous bicameral parliament, with the British government continuing its control over the Irish economy. The Liberal-Unionists came out for the preservation of the Anglo-Irish union which had been in existence from 1801. They made common cause with the Conservative Party and officially joined it several years later.
483. By 'Tory-Socialists' Engels meant the left wing of the Conservative Party; this faction comprised mainly representatives of the big industrial bourgeoisie and intellectuals (men-of-letters, lawyers, etc).
484. In August 1889 the *Labour Elector* published material on the forthcoming Trades Union Congress at Dundee; its agenda included issues of labour legislation, specifically, a law on an 8-hour working day.
485. Engels referred to events of the 1880s, in particular the arbitrary actions of the Turkish authorities with regard to the Armenian population. A special government commission (Commission of Inquiry) which was dispatched there suggested that victims of the reprisals should go to Constantinople

(Istanbul) to have the conflict settled. However, the Turkish courts failed to settle the conflict. In July 1889 the population of several rural communities in Crete rose in rebellion against the Turkish authorities. This revolt escalated into bloody clashes between the Muslim and Christian populations of the island. The Russian government sent a message to Turkey in which it demanded action on her commitments with respect to the ethnic groups and nationalities inhabiting that country To restore order, the Turkish government sent Shakir Pasha, a former Turkish ambassador to Russia, as a new ruler of Crete. The bloodshed between the Muslim and Christian communities on the island continued till December 1889. About the Anglo-Prussian union, see note 349.

486. An allusion to Wilhelm Liebknecht's trip to the United States for agitation purposes, which he undertook with Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling in September-December 1886 (see note 3).
487. A fragment of this letter was first published in English in the collection *Marx K., Engels F. On Britain*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953, pp520-21. An excerpt from this letter was first published by the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* on 31 August 1889, as a leading article entitled "Der Streik der 'Unqualifizierten'".
488. A reference to P. Fischer's letters to F. Engels of 21 and 31 August in which he asked Engels' permission to translate into German – for the weekly *Berliner Volk-Tribune* – the article 'Book of Revelation' (see present edition, Vol. 26) which Engels had written for the journal *Progress*; Fischer also asked to mention the collection in *Mannheimer Abendzeitung* which had published Marx's article 'Comments on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction' (see present edition, Vol. 1).
489. The strike of the London dockers from 12 August to 14 September 1889 was a major event in the chronicle of the British labour movement of the late 19th century. It involved thirty thousand dockers and over thirty thousand – largely unskilled – workers of other trades not affiliated with the trade unions. Displaying tenacity and organisation, the strikers succeeded in their demands for higher wages and better working conditions. The strike contributed to stronger proletarian solidarity (with about £50,000 being donated to the strike fund) and promoted working-class solidarity. It gave rise to the dockers' union and other trade union organisations uniting a large number of general and unskilled workmen; the 'new trade unions' emerged as a result. The text of the excerpts from this letter coincides with some passages from a series of articles by E. Bernstein in the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* (No. 35, 31 August, No. 36, 7 September and No. 37, 14 September 1889) on the London dockers' strike; these articles were written on F. Engels' advice.
490. As a result of their strike action (July 1889), the working women of London's match-making factories won their demands for higher wages.

491. On 8 February 1886, supporters of the protectionist tariffs held a rally in Trafalgar Square. Taking part were also trade union activists of pro-Conservative leanings (S. Peters, T.M. Kelley, W. Kenny and T. Lemon, who were expelled at the Trades Union Congress at Manchester in 1882). The Social Democratic Federation (see note 62) organised a protest meeting and a demonstration of unemployed against the agitation of the Conservatives for protectionist tariffs. The demonstration was joined by lumpen-proletarian elements who started sacking and looting the surrounding shops. Subsequently the police arrested the federation leaders Henry Hyndman, John Burns, Henry Champion and John Williams on charges of inciting riot in their speeches. The court acquitted all the men on 10 April.
492. Engels cites words from the German folk song *Prinz Eugen, der adle Ritter*.
493. An excerpt from this letter was first published in French by the journal *La Pensée*, No. 61, 1955. In English the text of this letter was first published in full by *Labour Monthly*, London, 1955, No. 8.
494. Engels refers to the group of Blanquists led by E. Roche and E. Granget that gave open support to General Boulanger.
495. Engels cites the name of V. Hugo's novel *Les misérables*.
496. The Russian Empress Maria Fyodorovna (wife of emperor Alexander III and mother of the last Russian tsar Nicholas II) was a daughter of the Danish King Christian IX. Her brother Waldemar was married to Louis Philippe's granddaughter, Maria, the Princess of Orléans.
497. A reference to the fourth German-language edition of Volume I of *Capital* (Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. Von Karl Marx. Erster Band. Buch I: Der Produktionsprocess des Kapitals. Vierte durchgesehene Auflage. Herausgegeben von Friedrich Engels. Hamburg, Verlag von Otto Meissner. Druck von Hesse & Becker in Leipzig, 1890), prepared for the press by F. Engels. The book came out late in 1890. In a preface to this edition and also in his letter to Nikolai Danielson of 5 December 1889, Engels pointed to the amendments made in the text of the third edition (two or three new additions from the French edition, a few notes of his own – one on bimetallism in particular; the quotations were collated with the English edition).
498. Engels alludes to his vacation at Eastbourne from 8 August to 6 September 1889.
499. Another regular Trades Union Congress took place in Dundee (Scotland) at the beginning of September 1889. Both the preparatory stage and the very course of the Congress mirrored the struggle between the old Conservative leadership with Henry Broadhurst at the head (see note 269) and representatives of the new trade unions with broad masses of general and unskilled workers as members. One of the main issues discussed at the Congress related to a legislative enactment of an eight-hour working day. However, the absence of some of the leaders or the new trade unions, because of the

dockers' strike in London (see note 489), had a negative effect on the overall results. The demand for a law on an 8-hour working day was turned down by 88 votes against 63. Broadhurst and the old leadership managed to retain their position. Yet ultimately Engels' prediction concerning a victory of the protagonists of the law proved correct: at its next session in Liverpool in September 1890, the Trades Union Congress adopted a resolution in favour of an enactment of an eight-hour working day.

500. Pertaining to the electoral reforms of 1867 and 1884 in England. According to the reform of 1867, in towns the right to vote was granted to house owners and house leaseholders, as well as to tenants with a residence record of not less than a year and paying the rent of not less than £10. In counties the property qualification was reduced to £12 rent per annum, which enabled some of the industrial workers to obtain voting rights. The electoral reform of 1884 extended the provisions of the 1867 reform to rural districts. Consequently, part of the rural population became eligible. Both reforms notwithstanding, the number of voters was only 13 per cent of the entire population. Suffrage was denied to non property owners and women.

501. The reference is to the changes within the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of North America (note 3) that had occurred as of September 1889; these changes reflected the factional struggle in the party ranks. National Secretary W. Rosenberg and several members of the Executive were removed from the leadership. A sequel to the ensuing split was the holding of two separate conventions in Chicago. The convention of 12 October 1889, held by a group of party members who had rallied around the newspaper *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, adopted a new party programme that reflected the views of its progressive wing.

502. George J. Harney's article 'The Revolt of the East End' was published by the newspaper *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* on 26 September 1889. Excerpts from this article were published by the newspaper *Labour Elector*, Vol. II, No. 38, on 28 September 1889, p203, in an editorial note 'A Voice from the Past'.

503. Engels compares the Fabians (see note 176) to the 'Nationalists', representatives of a social movement that emerged in the United States late in the 1880s. 'Nationalist clubs' sprung up with the appearance of Edward Bellamy's utopia *Looking Backward*. The first such club was set up in Boston in 1881; in 1891, the total number exceeded 160. Representatives of the urban middle class constituted the bulk of the membership in these propagandistic clubs. The 'Nationalists' set the aim of ridding society of the worst evils of capitalism through nationalisation of production and distribution; they advocated a peaceful development of capitalism into socialism. The nationalist movement had some impact on the further course of socialist thought in the United states.

504. An excerpt from this letter was first published in French by the journal *La*

*Pensée*, No. 61, 1955. About the full text of the English publication, see note 87.

505. During the International Socialist Working Men's Congress in Paris (see note 473) 206 French delegates held two separate conferences; this led to the formation of the National Council of the French Workers' Party (see note 33). Elected to the Council were Camescasse, Crépin, Dereure, Deville, Guesde, Lafargue and Laine for the practical guidance of the party. The next party congress, convened by the National Council in Lille on 11-12 October 1890, finalised the set-up and the functions of the Council. The report on the setting up of the National Council, referred to by Engels, was published in the *Labour Elector*, No. 38, on 28 September 1889, under the headline 'Foreign Notes: France', p198.
506. The whereabouts of this letter is unknown. It must have been written on 24 September 1889. On 27 September A. Bebel wrote the following in reply: 'At the moment the proposal is put to the vote whether we should give money for the French election or not. It is also my opinion that the 'money should certainly be assigned for Guesde's election if the proposal is endorsed. I have clearly stated that'. It was said in P. Lafargue's letter to F. Engels of 7 October 1889, that A. Bebel, on a commission from the party leadership, had sent 500 francs for Guesde, and 610 francs for Lafargue.
507. During the International Socialist Working Men's Congress in July 1889 the German delegates passed 1000 francs to the French delegates as relief for the families of disaster victims at one of the mines of Saint-Etienne.
508. This article by Charles Jaclard – which he wrote for his weekly feature in the newspaper *La Voix* and which he entitled 'Lundis socialistes' – was published on 30 September 1889.
509. A reference to the forthcoming second round of the general and parliamentary election of 1889. The candidates mentioned by Engels gained a majority of votes in the first round and thus were eligible to run in the second.
510. Refers to the unification at Gotha in 1875 of the Social Democratic Workers' Party set up in 1869 (the Eisenach party) and of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers founded in 1863. The party programme, adopted by the Gotha congress, incorporated as its essential part some of the ideas of the Lassallean agitation concept, a fact that elicited sharp criticism from Marx and Engels.
511. The battle of Austerlitz (Moravia) on 2 December 1805, between the Russo-Austrian and French armies, was won by Napoleon I.
512. W. Liebknecht, while in Paris in September 1889, asked Engels to write to A. Bebel and ask him about monetary aid to the French Workers' Party in connection with the forthcoming parliamentary elections. W. Liebknecht received the necessary information from P. Lafargue in his letter of 10 August 1889. On 28 September the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* (no. 39) in its editorial on the French elections carried reports from Paris calling on

the German Socialists to display internationalist solidarity and help the French Socialists in securing Guesde's election to the Chamber of Deputies.

513. W. Liebknecht's statement concerning the publication of M. Schlesinger's book *Die soziale Frage* in the Volksbibliothek series (see note 400) was prompted by the article 'Ein sozialdemokratischer Antimarxist' published by the newspaper *Die Kreuz-zeitung* on 18 September 1889 (no. 435). In his statement of 27 September, Liebknecht wrote that the Volksbibliothek had no connection 'with the Social Democratic Party and its Reichstag faction' and that the printing of Schlesinger's book was undertaken without his consent. Liebknecht's statement was published in the newspapers *Berliner Volksblatt* on 29 September and *Der Sozialdemokrat* on 5 October 1889. Carried simultaneously with this statement was one made by A. Bebel on 19 September 1889, refuting the assertion of *Die Kreuz-Zeitung* about the connections of the Volksbibliothek with the Social Democratic faction in the Reichstag and about Schlesinger's membership in the Social Democratic Party.

514. At the general election of 22 September 1889, Georges Boulanger was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in the Montmartre constituency of Paris. Yet his election, as well as that of his close associates, Victor Rochefort and Dillon, was overruled by the Minister of the Interior E. Constant on the grounds of all the men having been convicted, *in absentia*, by the Supreme Court and sentenced to banishment (see note 391). The Possibilist Jules Joffrin therefore became deputy in Boulanger's place – Joffrin polled the second largest number of votes, 5,500, in the Montmartre constituency (after Boulanger).

515. An allusion to P. Lafargue's pamphlet of the same name, published by *Égalite* in 1880 and appearing in a separate edition in 1833; *Le droit à la paresse. Réfutation du Droit au Travail de 1848*, Paris.

516. The bourgeois republican Jules Ferry, nominated from the department of Vosges, suffered an electoral defeat. Engels mentions an article in *The Daily News* of 8 October 1889, published under the title 'The French Elections. Composition of the New Chamber'.

517. 'The Satisfied' ('Les satisfaits') – the reactionary majority of the French Chamber of Deputies that backed the Guizot government on the eve of the 1848 Revolution. They were called this after saying they were 'satisfied' with the government explanations of corruption among the ruling quarters. This issue was discussed at the Chamber of Deputies in February 1848.

518. Engels referred to the Rue Poitiers Committee, the steering body of a 'Party of Order' which was formed in 1848 as a coalition of two monarchist groups: the Legitimists (adherents of the Bourbon dynasty) and the Orléanists (adherents of the Orléans dynasty). Representing the interests of the big conservative bourgeoisie, this party held a dominating position in the legislative assembly of the Second Republic from 1849 down to the coup d'état of 2 December 1851.

519. Engels wrote these lines on a post card. On the back was the address: F.A. Sorge, Esq., Hoboken N J, US America. About the English publication, see note 343.
520. A reference to a polemic between Friedrich Sorge and Daniel de Leon who shared the views of the 'Nationalists' at the time (see note 503).
521. A reference to the unsigned article in the newspaper *Justice*, no. 300 of 12 October 1889, published under the title 'Socialists and the French Elections', p3, col. III-IV.
522. A fragment from this letter was first published in English in the collection Marx K., Engels F., Lenin V. I., *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism*, Int. Publ., New York, 1972, p179.
523. On 19 October 1889, Max Hildebrand wrote to Engels that he had, for more than 15 years, been interested in Europe's democratic movement. Accordingly, he had studied a number of works, among which of particular interest to him was Max Stirner's book *Der Einzige und Sein Eigenthum*. Hildebrand asked Engels for some information on Stirner's life and suggested that he, Engels, write historical biographies of thinkers representing different ideological trends, provided no such biographies had been written before.
524. As a student of Berlin University, Marx lived in Berlin from the latter half of October 1836 to mid April 1841.
525. Engels refers to his stay in Manchester in 1842-44 where he was studying commercial business at the cotton mill belonging to the firm Ermen & Engels (see note 9).
526. Marx lived in Brussels from February 1845 to the beginning of March 1848 when he was expelled by the Belgian authorities. Engels lived in Brussels, on and off, from early April 1845 to the latter half of March 1848.
527. A critique of Stirner's views was made in Volume I of *The German Ideology*, in Chapter III entitled 'Saint Max' (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp117-451).
528. Engels replies to Hildebrand's suggestion to write the history of the period preceding the Revolution of 1848-49 in Germany. As Hildebrand observed in his letter, Engels was perhaps the only person capable of tackling such a work (see this volume, note 523).
529. O.A. Ellissen, who intended to write a book about Friedrich Lange, had found Engels' letters in his personal archives. He therefore asked Engels to give him Lange's letters (addressed to Engels) and allow him to use their correspondence in his book. Engels made the following marginal notes on Ellissen's letter, 'The letters are out of order and cannot be made available before the completion, next spring, of Vol. III; then they will be at your disposal. They may be reproduced in full or in part – in the latter case I beg you to give the respective excerpts in *their total context*'. Einbeck, Okt. 89. Dr O. A. *Ellissen wegen* Langes Briefe.

530. The reference is to the slogan 'Fatherland in Danger' ('La patrie en danger') proclaimed by the French Legislative Assembly on 11 July 1792, i.e., during the French Revolution of the late 18th century. The Assembly issued an appeal to the army and the French people in which it called on everybody to rise in the struggle for liberty and Constitution.
531. The Communist League was the first German and international organisation of the proletariat, and was formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847, as a result of the reorganisation of the League of the Just (a secret association of workers and artisans that appeared in the 1830s and had communities in Germany, France, Switzerland and England). The League's members took an active part in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany in 1848-49. In 1849 and 1850, after the defeat or the revolution, the League was reorganised and thus continued its activities. In the summer of 1850 disagreements arose between the supporters of Marx and Engels and the sectarian Willich-Schapper group, which resulted in a split within the league. Owing to police persecutions and arrests of League members in May 1851, the Communist League as an organisation actually ceased its activities in Germany. On 17 November 1852, on a motion from Marx, the London District announced the dissolution of the League.
532. On 3 March 1848, a mass demonstration took place in Cologne, called by the local representatives of the Communist League. On behalf of all those taking part, Andreas Gottschalk handed a petition to the town magistrate with demands for democratic freedom and for protection of working men's rights. The police dispersed this demonstration; A. Gottschalk, Willich and F. Anneke were arrested and brought to trial. However, under a royal pardon, the three men were released from custody on 21 March 1848.
533. On 26 October 1889, W. Liebknecht wrote to Engels and asked if he knew when A. Gottschalk could have made the following statement: 'I am here on behalf of 20,000 proletarians who do not care at all whether we have a republic or a monarchy'.
534. The Cologne Workers' Association was a workers' organisation founded by Andreas Gottschalk on 13 April 1848. The Association was led by the President and the committee, which consisted of representatives of various trades. After Gottschalk's arrest Moll was elected President. He held this post till a state of siege was proclaimed in Cologne in September 1848, when he had to emigrate under threat of arrest. On 16 October Marx agreed to assume this post temporarily at the request of Association members. In November Röser became acting President and on 28 February 1849, Schapper was elected President and remained at this post until the end of May 1849. The majority of the leading members (Gottschalk, Anneke, Schapper, Moll, Lessner, Jansen, Röser, Nothjung, Bedorf) were members of the Communist League. During the initial period of its existence, the

Workers' Association was influenced by Gottschalk who, sharing many of the views of the 'true socialists', ignored the historical tasks of the proletariat in the democratic revolution, carried on the sectarian tactics of boycotting indirect elections to the Federal and Prussian National Assemblies, and came out against supporting democratic candidates in elections. He combined ultra-left phrases with very legalistic methods of struggle (workers' petitions to the Government and the City Council, etc.) and supported the demands of the workers affected by craft prejudices, etc. From the very beginning, Gottschalk's tactics were resisted by the supporters of Marx and Engels. Under their influence, at the end of June a change occurred in the activities of the Workers' Association, which became a centre of revolutionary agitation from the autumn of 1848 onwards, also among the peasants. Members of the Association organised democratic and workers' associations near Cologne, disseminated revolutionary literature, including the 'Demands of the Communist Party in Germany', and studied Marx's writings. The Association maintained close contacts with other workers' and democratic organisations. When, in the spring of 1849, Marx and Engels took steps to organise the advanced workers on a national scale and actually started preparing for the creation of a proletarian party, they relied to a considerable extent on the Cologne Workers' Association.

535. On 26 October 1889, W. Liebknecht informed Engels that he had declined to take part in the publication of the Volksbibliothek (see note 400), a move that incurred significant material losses.

536. This is in reply to P. Martignetti's letter of 30 October 1889, in which he wrote about the sentence passed on him by the Naples court for alleged forgery and destruction of documents, as well as for alleged misappropriation of a sum which, at various stages of the court proceedings, ranged from 15 thousand to 500 liras. Martignetti, sentenced to a prison term of 3 years and 9 months, asked Engels for help in job finding and for advice on what to do under the circumstances – either emigrate and part with his family, or serve his prison term.

537. In his letter of 17 October 1889, A. Bebel criticised the French Socialists for their poor propaganda and organisational work.

538. A reference to the National Council in Bordeaux and the Executive Commission in Troyes, set up in 1888 at a labour unions congress in Bordeaux and at a Workers' Party Congress in Troyes, respectively (see notes 329; 331).

539. During the election campaign of September 1889 the French Workers' Party and the Central Revolutionary Committee of the Blanquists (see note 33) issued a joined manifesto, signed by Guesde, Lafargue and Vaillant and circulated in more than 100 towns.

540. On the eve of the parliamentary election of 1889, E. Protot mounted a campaign of slander against J. Guesde in Marseilles with the aim of prevent-

ing him from being elected to the Chamber of Deputies. Protot accused Guesde of espionage for the German Government: he claimed that in 1879, as editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Égalité*, Guesde had received 4 thousand francs from Höhberg, allegedly the chief of the German police. Sued by Guesde for libel, Protot was sentenced to a fine. Under the court decision, Marseilles and Paris newspapers carried a report about the sentence.

541. P. Lafargue wrote to Engels in his letter of 4 November 1889, about the plan to set up Socialist factions in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Municipal Council; this initiative came from J. Guesde, E. Vaillant, G. Deville and P. Lafargue. He said that if this plan came off, the parliamentary faction should issue a declaration, stating its independent and socialist stand and setting the objective of inducing the Chamber of Deputies to give a legal seal to the decisions of the International Working Men's Congress of 1889. The unification of the Guesdists and the Blanquists into the Socialist Party of France took body and form at the Rheims Congress of September 1903.
542. In his letter of 17 October 1889, A. Bebel told Engels about I. Auer's nervous disease and his stay at Zurich for treatment. The newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* (19 October, No. 42) reported Auer's plans to move south after treatment. In Switzerland Auer had been collecting documents on the subject 'The Law on the Socialists in Ten Years' Time'.
543. The reference is to the letter of J.H. Johnson and G.B. Ellis to F. Engels of 7 November 1889, in which they requested him for the opinions of the passengers aboard the steamship *The City of New York* about the performance of the ship's circulating pumps.
544. Mr Boulé, representing the French *syndicats*, was running as a Socialist candidate at the by election in Paris in January 1889; thereupon, at a municipal election in the department of Haute Marne, he nominated his candidacy as a Boulanger supporter. As a result, he forfeited his post of Secretary of the Federation of Syndical Chambers in Paris in the autumn of 1889. The newspaper *Le Parti ouvrier* exposed Boulé in J. Vidal's article 'Exécution d'un traître' published on 26 October. The newspaper *Intransigeant* on 29 October carried E. Roche's article in Boulé's defence and, on 2, 3 and 5 November it featured a series of Boulé's articles on the port workers' strike at Bourget.
545. Probably a reference to *Le Cri du Travailleur* (Lisle), *Le Salariat* (Rouen) and *L'Action sociale* (Lyon).
546. Engels had received from Lafargue an article by C. de Paepe; published by the Belgian press, it contained a report on Nikolai Chernyshevsky's death.
547. Laura Lafargue made a translation of Béranger's poem *Le Sénateur*. Laura added a postscript to Paul Lafargue's letter to Engels of 4 November 1889 in which she asked for his opinion about the quality of the translation.
548. In her letter of 14 November 1889, Laura Lafargue told Engels about the reaction of the French bourgeois press to Christophe Thivrier, a coal miner,

appearing in the Chamber of Deputies in working clothes among the other Socialists.

549. In September-December 1889, there was a strike in Silvertown, a district in London's East End, by workers engaged in the production of underwater cables and rubber articles. The strikers, about three thousand strong, demanded higher pay rates (both hourly and piecework rates), higher pay for overtime and on holidays, as well as higher wages for women and children. Eleanor Marx-Aveling was actively involved in the organisation of this strike, during which she helped form the Women's Branch of the Gas Union. The strike, which continued for nearly three months, ended in failure: the Silvertown workers were supported by other unions, notably the Gas Workers and the Dockers unions.

550. A reference to the siege of Paris by the Prussian army during the Prusso-French War of 1870-71. The siege was on from 19 September 1870 to the signing of an armistice between France and Germany on 28 January 1871.

551. An allusion to the electoral campaign of September-October 1889 in France. Jules Guesde was running for the Chamber of Deputies as a candidate from one of the constituencies in Marseilles but failed to be elected (see also note 465).

552. Engels cites a call to the voters at the end of the Manifesto of the French Workers' Party (see note 33) and the Central Revolutionary Committee of the Blanquists (see note 539).

553. In his letter of 23 October 1889, P. Martignetti asked Engels to recommend him, through P. Lafargue's mediation, to Antonio Labriola. Engels' letter to P. Lafargue is not available now.

554. An abridged text of the letter was first published in English in Marx K. and Engels F., *Correspondence, 1846-1895*, Lawrence, London 1934, pp457-58. The English version of this letter was published in full in Marx K. and Engels F., *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow 1955, pp405-407.

555. 9th Thermidor (27-28 July 1794) was the date of a counterrevolutionary coup which brought the big bourgeoisie to power. About the events of 10 August 1792, see note 363.

556. *Le Comité de salut public* (Committee of Public Safety) was established by the Convention on 6 April 1793; during the Jacobin dictatorship (2 June 1793-27 July 1794) it was the leading body of the revolutionary government in France.

557. The Peace of Basle was concluded on 5 April 1795 between France and Prussia, the latter being a member of the first anti-French coalition. This treaty came as a consequence of the French victories as well as of the differences among the members of the coalition, in particular between Prussia and Austria.

558. The Directory was the regime established in France as a result of the over-

throw of the Jacobin government on 27 July (9 Thermidor) 1794, and the introduction, on 4 November 1795, by the Thermidor Convention, of a new anti-democratic constitution. Supreme executive power was concentrated in the hands of five Directors. The Directory, whose rule was marked by unrestrained profiteering and speculation, continued until the coup d'état of 9 November (18 Brumaire) 1799 leading to the personal rule of General Napoleon Bonaparte.

559. K.F. Keppen's article 'Leo's Geschichte der Revolution' was published in *Die Rheinische Zeitung* (Nos. 139, 141 and 142) on 21 and 22 May 1842.
560. The whereabouts of this letter is not known.
561. Engels received N. Danielson's letter of 26 November in which N. Danielson summed up the gist of the letter sent by the editors of the Russian journal *Northern Review* to P. Lafargue concerning the intended publication in it of P. Lafargue's article about the evolution of property.
562. Karl Marx *Capital* Part I, Ch. III, 'Money, Or the Circulation of commodities', Section 3, Universal Money.
563. The English translation of a fragment of this letter was first published in Marx K. and Engels F., *Correspondence 1846-1895*, London, 1934, pp460-62.
564. In these letters F. Sorge aired his views about the split within the Socialist Labor Party of North America.
565. The Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union was the first trade union of general and unskilled workers in the history of the British working-class movement; it was formed late in March – early in April 1889 against the background of the growing strike movement of the 1880s and 1890s. Eleanor Marx-Aveling and E. Aveling did much for the organisation of this union and for its guidance. The Union put forward a demand for a legislative enactment of an eight-hour working day. Within a brief space of time, it gained considerable influence – as many as 100,000 gas workers joined it within a year. It took an active part in organising the London dockers' strike of 1889 (see note 489).
566. A reference to P. Rappaport's article in the newspaper *Indiana Tribune*, sent to Engels by F. Sorge.
567. Hepner participated in the work of the conventions held by two conflicting groups within the Socialist Labor Party of North America in Chicago (see note 3). Sorge remarked in this connection in his letter to Engels of 18 October 1889, that 'Hepner wanted to play a non-partisan's part and went to Chicago to attend both conventions so-called'.
568. Writing to Engels on 29 October 1889, Sorge asked if he knew about the fate of a list of Marx's articles in the *New York Daily Tribune* which he, Sorge, had given to Marx in 1872, as well as of the clippings from the corresponding numbers of the paper. The list of Marx's articles for the *Tribune* had been compiled by Hermann Meier; Sorge had handed it to Marx during their meeting at the Hague Congress of the First International.

569. The Elberfeld trial of members of the German Social Democratic Party took place from 18 November to 30 December 1889. Brought to trial were 87 party members, among them A. Bebel (Reichstag deputy), F. Harm, G. Schumacher, K. Grillenberger and E. Röllinghoff. The aim of this put-up trial – which the Social Democratic press described as a *Monster trial* and compared to the Cologne trial of the Communist League of 1853, staged by the Prussian police – was to prove the existence of a 'secret alliance' led by the Social Democratic faction of the Reichstag with a far-flung network throughout Germany. About 500 witnesses were summoned to testify. However, the government failed in its attempt to have all the defendants convicted. Forty-three, A. Bebel among them, were acquitted, while the others received prison terms ranging from 14 days to 6 months.
570. The English translation of a fragment of this letter was first published in Marx K., Engels F., *On Literature and Art*, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1984.
571. A fragment of this letter in English was first published in the collection Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages, Publishing House, Moscow 1956, pp491-92.
572. Trier, writing to Engels on 8 December 1889, told him about the differences within the Danish Social Democratic Party over the issue of a possible bloc with the bourgeois Left-Radical parties at the forthcoming election to the Riksdag; he also wrote about a controversy between the party leadership and the opposition, involving party members who did not agree with the leaders' policies.
573. The primogeniture principle was the right of the eldest son in the family or kin to inherit his father's estate. This was instituted by the feudal law of England, France, Germany and other West European countries in the 11th-13th centuries with the aim of keeping landed estates intact and preventing their fragmentation among many heirs. Only the eldest son was eligible to inherit.
574. A reference to a constitutional conflict in Denmark which began in 1875 and which manifested itself in a struggle between the government and the liberal opposition in Parliament, pressing for constitutional limits to the King's powers. Financial issues sparked off an acute controversy between the government and the parliamentary majority. Proceeding from Article 49 of the Constitution, according to which no tax could be levied in the absence or a parliamentary decision, the *Folketing* (lower house) would every now and then, beginning with 1877, reject budget bills tabled by the government. The government responded by introducing a provisional budget – it gave a loose interpretation of Article 25 of the Constitution which empowered the King, if need be, to issue provisional legislative enactments. The conflict continued until 1894 when the government and the liberal opposition came to some sort of settlement.

575. 'Physical force' was the name given to one of the two trends in the Chartist movement. In contrast to the other trend, the 'moral force' Chartists, it opted for revolutionary methods, for the independence of the Chartist movement and against its subordination to the bourgeois radicals.
576. The General Association of German Workers was set up on 23 May 1863 at a meeting of worker societies in Leipzig. The founding of this political organisation, which included some of the members of the former Communist League (see note 531), contributed to the subsequent progress of the German labour movement and its emancipation from the ideological sway of the liberal bourgeoisie. Lassalle and his followers were agitating for universal suffrage which, as they deemed, could help the working people take on power in the state. A new democratic body politic, as Lassalle and his supporters saw it, was to provide a credit for setting up workers' production associations (see also note 508).
577. The Gas Workers Strike in South London took place in December 1889, February 1890. It was touched off by the failure of the company owners to honour the earlier agreement on an eight-hour working day, higher wages, and employment priority for unionised workers, members of the Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union (see note 565). Among other things, the strikers demanded that three activists of the Union, dismissed from their job, be reinstated. The strike action did not succeed in the absence of vigorous support from other unions, the dockers' union in particular.
578. An allusion to W. Liebknecht's letter of 20 December about the Elberfeld trial and his own difficult conditions.
579. Herewith Engels sent to S.M. Kravchinsky (Stepniak) the first chapter of his work *The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom* (see present edition, Vol. 27) so as to have it published in the Russian literary and political journal *Social Democrat* run by the 'Emancipation of Labour' group; among its editors were V.I. Zasulich, G.V. Plekhanov and P.V. Axelrod (see also note 623).
580. In her letter of 31 December 1889, Laura Lafargue complained that for her translation of Walther von der Vogelweide's poem *Unter der Linden*, she had only an updated edition of the text.
581. Writing to Engels on 24 December 1889, P. Lafargue told him about the French Workers' Party (see note 33) planning to start a new daily. In keeping with the terms of an entrepreneur who had agreed to finance the newspaper, the editorial staff was supposed to work without remuneration, with the exception of J. Guesde and Quercy. It was somewhat later that this daily was launched. Engels' letter to C. Bonnier is not available.
582. A reference to the proceedings to have Engels' nephews – Hermann, Moritz and Emil – made co-owners of the firm Ermen & Engels at Engelskirchen.
583. A fragment of this letter was first published in English in: Marx K. and Engels F., *Correspondence, 1846-1895*, Lawrence, London, 1934, pp463-64.

584. F. Schlüter, in his letter to F. Engels of 12 December 1889, wrote this: 'Last week I sent you a number of the *Commonweal* with the image of a tree that had been baptised after our Marx'.
585. In his letter to Engels on 20 December 1889, F. Schlüter asked him to make inquiries about a George Reid, who had come to New York City from London and who was agitating among stevedores and seamen. In Schlüter's opinion, Reid was acting in the spirit of Hyndman's sectarian policies: 'For about three months there has been a certain George G. Reid here who says that he has been sent from London to organise longshoremen and seamen employed in the port ... The longshoremen are beginning to mistrust him. No attempt has been made to learn more about him.'
586. A reference to the Amalgamated Engineers' Society, founded by W. Newton and W. Allen in 1851 and known as the first trade union of a 'new type'.
587. The London Trades Council was elected at a conference of trade union delegates held in London in May 1860. The Council headed the London trade unions, numbering many thousands and was fairly influential among the British workers. In the first half of the 1860s it led the British workers' campaign against intervention in the Civil War in the United States, in defence of Poland and Italy, and later for the legislation of the trade unions. The leaders of the large trade unions played a major role in the Council.
588. Appended to this was a letter of recommendation from Engels; the rough draft of this letter is extant.
589. Refers to the socialist club *Vorwärts*, founded in Buenos Aires in January 1882 by German socialist émigrés – H. Lalman, A. Kuhn and F. Weber. In 1886 this club launched the newspaper *Vorwärts* which advocated socialist ideas and called for strike action to secure better working and living conditions.
590. Engels sent the present note to Eleanor Marx-Aveling., together with Bonnier's letter to Engels of 14 January 1890. Engels sent this letter to Eleanor Aveling at Bonnier's request. It was a continuation of Bonnier's talk with Engels about the French Workers' Party preparing to start a newspaper of its own (see also note 33). This plan only materialised in September 1890, as the party resumed the publication of its weekly newspaper *Le Socialiste*, which became its central organ. In his letter Bonnier asked Eleanor Marx-Aveling for her comments on the Gas Workers' strike (see note 577) for the French newspaper *Le Cri du travailleur*.
591. These lines were on a post card, with the following address at the back: H. Schlüter Esq., 73, First Avenue, New York City, US America.
592. The English version of a fragment from this letter was published in the collection Marx K., Engels F., *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1971.
593. Engels hints at acute differences – which came into the open during the

Elberfeld trial of 1889 – between A. Bebel, the state prosecutor and the defence, as testified by Bebel's speech of 27 December, published in the *Freie Presse* (Nos. 302 and 303) on 28 and 29 December.

594. Refers to the discussion in the German Reichstag of a draft bill for amending the then effective Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52). The suggested amendments aimed above all at converting the provisional legislation against the Socialists into a permanent law; they provided for more rigorous regulations with respect to periodicals, etc. The draft law also envisaged banishing, for up to a year, all those whose activity might pose 'a threat to public tranquillity and order'. The draft law, discussed at Reichstag sessions on 5 and 6 November 1889, and then again on 22, 23 and 25 January 1890, was turned down by 169 votes versus 98.
595. A reference to A. Bebel's report carried by *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung* (No. 3) on 17 January 1890, in the feature 'Ausland, Deutschland'; this report was marked: Berlin, 14 January.
596. The National-Liberal Party, the party of the German and, above all, the Prussian bourgeoisie, formed in the autumn of 1866 as a result of the split of the Party of Progress. The policies of the National-Liberals reflected the capitulation of a significant part of the liberal bourgeoisie to Bismarck's Junker government, after Prussia's victory in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and its subsequent pre-eminence in Germany.
597. During the second balloting of February 1887 at the Reichstag election the supporters of the Party of Progress voted for candidates of the 'Kartell' (see note 265) and thus promoted the victory of a bloc backing the Bismarck government.
598. In April 1886 the Liberal government of W. Gladstone tabled a draft Home Rule Bill in the Commons (see note 175) providing for reinstitution of the bicameral Irish parliament after the late 18th century model; the British government was to retain its control over the country's economy and have a free hand in exercising all foreign policy, military and police functions.
599. Another regular election to the German Reichstag was scheduled for 20 February 1890 (see note 612). Eventually the Social Democratic candidates polled 1,427,298 votes or nearly 20 per cent of the total ballots cast. The Social Democrats could thus claim 35 seats in the Reichstag, which meant an astounding victory for the party.
600. On 20 January 1890 the Socialist leader August Bebel addressed an election rally, many thousand strong. Concluding his speech, he called on all those present to execute their duty on 20 February by electing representatives of the Social Democratic Party to the Reichstag. Bebel's speech was published by the newspaper *Hamburger Echo* (No.18) on 22 January under the headline 'Reichstagsabgeordneter August Bebel vor seinen Wählern'.
601. The Franco-Russian alliance – a military and political alliance between France and Russia; it took shape against a background of the growing might

of the German Reich and dramatic exacerbation of the Franco-German and Russo-German contradictions. As a first step, France and Russia signed a political agreement on 15 August 1891. The two countries concluded a secret military convention on 15 August 1892.

602. Engels must have meant Gladstone's speech at a Liberal meeting in Chester on 22 January 1890; in it the British statesman censured the actions of the Turkish government in Crete and Armenia (see *The Times*, 23 January, No. 32, 916, p10, 'Mr Gladstone at Chester').

603. W. Liebknecht's communication was published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 1, 4 January 1890, in the regular feature 'Aus Frankreich'. In his letter to Engels of 24 December 1889, P. Lafargue laid down a detailed plan for launching the newspaper.

604. A fragment of this letter was first published in English by *The Communist*, N-Y 1929, Vol. VIII, No. 5, May, pp263-64.

605. Water-Polacks (Wasserpolacken) – original name of ferrymen on the Oder who were mainly natives of Upper Silesia. Subsequently it became widespread in Germany as a nickname for Silesian Poles.

606. Speaking of the Schleswig-Holsteiners, Engels means the tribes of Angles, Jutes and Saxons who, in the early centuries A.D., used to populate the southern part of Jutland, a peninsula which, since the l4th century, has come to be known as Schleswig-Holstein.

607. Engels refers to the editorial comments in *The Labour Elector* (Vol. III, No. 57, 1 February 1890 and Vol. III, No. 56, 25 January 1890), which condemned E. Parke's attacks on Lord Euston. The 1 February issue carried protests from T. Mann, G. Bateman and others. The editors do not have at their disposal the numbers of *The Star* with the below mentioned materials.

608. In April 1889 a conflict flared up between Portugal and Britain over the latter's influence in some of the East African territories which Portugal regarded as a sphere of its interests. In November 1890 and in May 1891 both countries signed agreements on settling the border disputes. Portugal allowed free passage and ship navigation for the British in their African possessions. *The Labour Elector* (Vol. III, No. 56, 25 January 1890, p51) carried an article entitled 'True Patriots All'; it justified the policy of the British government.

609. Engels means A. Bebel's report which *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung* (No. 6) of 7 February 1890, carried in its regular feature 'Ausland: Deutschland'. The report was marked: Berlin, 4 February. The two edicts, promulgated by Emperor William II on 4 February 1890, on the eve of an election to the German Reichstag, actually amounted to a government pre-election programme.

In his first edict, the Emperor instructed the Reichskanzler to appeal to the governments of a number of European countries with the proposal to convene an international conference on a unified labour legislation. (Such a

conference was indeed held in Berlin in March 1890.) In his second edict, addressed to the Ministers of Public Works, Trade and Industry, William II expressed the desire to revise the existing labour legislation with the aim of improving the condition of workers employed at government-run and private enterprises.

610. As the new draft legislation against the Socialists was put to a vote in the Reichstag (see note 52), the deputies from the National Liberal Party voted against the additional clause providing for the banishment from Germany of 'undesirable persons' involved in the revolutionary movement.

611. The reference is to R. Puttkamer's election speech at Stolpe on 31 January 1890, against a repeal of the Anti-Socialist law (see note 52). In it he expressed the hope that the army and the Civil Service, loyal to the government, would be guarantors of order (Ordnung) in Germany. However Puttkamer did not rule out the government having to impose a major state of siege (instead of a 'minor' one). The minor state of 'siege' was envisaged by Clause 28 of the Anti-Socialist Law; the governments of German states, with the consent of the Federal Council, could impose a stage of siege for one year in certain districts and localities. In this case no meeting or assembly could take place without permission of the police; it was forbidden to circulate printed matter in public places; politically unreliable persons were to be deported from a given locality; the right to have or hold arms, their import and sale were prohibited or restricted.

612. 1 March 1890 was the date of the second round of an election to the German Reichstag; the first round was held on 20 February 1890. As many as 20 socialist deputies were elected in the first round, and 15 in the runoff (see also note 599).

613. The reference is to the German Party of Free Thinkers (Freisinnigen) formed in 1884 with the unification of the Party of Progress and the left-wing National-Liberals (see note 45). One of the leaders of the party thus formed was Richter, a Reichstag deputy. Reflecting the interests of the middle and petty bourgeoisie, this party was in opposition to the Bismarck government. The National-Liberals – a right-wing bourgeois political party between 1867 and 1918, first on the Prussian scale and, as of 1871, as an all-German party; one of the bulwarks of the bloc of the Junkers and the bourgeoisie.

614. Engels means the interview by a correspondent of the newspaper *Gaulois* with P. Lafargue and P. Roche about the attitude of the Socialists to the proposal made by Emperor William II to convene an international conference on unified labour legislation (see note 609). This interview was published on 3 March 1890, in the regular feature 'En Allemagne'.

615. In the course of the election to the German Reichstag, the Social Democrats gained votes in 6 constituencies of Brandenburg, Pomerania (Stettin) and East Prussia; in 3 constituencies of Mecklenburg, and in 4 constituencies of Schleswig-Holstein.

616. The horrible conditions of political exiles in Siberia were described by George Kennan, an American journalist, in his series of articles 'Siberia and the Exile System', which he wrote after his journey thither in 1885-86 and which were published by the New York-based journal *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* (Vol. XXXVII, November 1888, No. 1; Vol. XXXIX, April 1890, No. 6, London). In 1889-91 this work vas published in separate editions in English, German and Russian.
617. At the election of 20 February 1890, W. Liebknecht polled 42, 274 votes in the 6th constituency, while the 'Free Thinkers' (see note 613) got 14,195 votes as representatives of the cartel (see note 265) 10,836.
618. At the 20 February election the Social Democratic Party received 664,170 votes more than in 1887.
619. This refers to an article in the Dutch socialist newspaper *Recht voor Allen*.
620. The main part of this letter, which P. Martignetti had sent to the editorial board of the journal *Cuore e critica*, was published in Italian in No. 7 of this journal on 16 April 1890, under the heading 'L'opinione di F. Engels'. This publication was prefaced with the following editorial text: 'Professor Labriola's proposal concerning the settlement of the colony of Eritrea is also finding support abroad. After reading the letters of Professors Labriola and Loria in *Il Messaggero*, Frederick Engels wrote from London on 30 March to our regular contributor P. Martignetti'.
621. A reference to the project to use free land (terra libera) in the Italian colonies, as suggested by Antonio Labriola in his letter to Baccarini. Part of this letter was published on 15 March 1890 by the journal *Il Messaggero* under the heading 'La terra a chi la lavora'. Martignetti sent this number of the journal to Engels.
622. Refers to Antonio Labriola's letter to Achille Loria published by the journal *Il Messaggero* on 15 March 1890 under the title 'La terra a chi la lavora – La colonia Eritrea e la questione sociale'. A. Labriola sent this publication to P. Martignetti who, in his turn, forwarded it to F. Engels.
623. The present work was prompted by a proposal for co-operation which Vera Zasulich, on behalf of the editors of the Russian journal *Social Democrat*, then being prepared for publication in London, addressed to F. Engels (see also V. Zasulich's letter to F. Engels of 30 January 1890). Complying with this request Engels sent his article to the editorial board for publication in Russian translation; he likewise decided to have it published in other socialist periodicals (see Engels' letter to V. Zasulich of 3 April 1890 this volume, pp467-69). The first part of this work appeared in February 1890 under the title 'The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom'. The latter part of the article was published only in August 1890. Meanwhile, the first two parts appeared in the language of the original, German, in the April number of the journal *Die Neue Zeit*; the editors amended the text without Engels' knowledge. Thus they softened somewhat the characterisation of the ruling heads of

Russia and Prussia, representatives of the Hohenzollern dynasty, among other things. Engels discovered this editorial tampering as he compared the Russian translation with the German text (see also his letter to J. Dietz of 1 April 1890). The May issue of *Die Neue Zeit* carried these two parts without amendments, together with the third part. Indicated at the end of this publication was the date Engels had completed the article: London, end of February 1890.

624. In her letter to Engels late in March 1890, Vera Zasulich asked him for the text of the last, third, chapter of the article 'The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom' (present edition, Vol. 26) so as to have it published together with the second chapter in Book II of the *Social Democrat*.
625. The February issue of *Social Democrat* (1890), which S.M. Stepniak-Kravchinsky passed to Engels, carried V. Zasulich's article 'Revolutionaries from the Bourgeois Midst' and G. Plekhanov's article 'N.G. Chernyshevsky'; the second part appeared in the August number of the journal.
626. There was considerable unrest among Moscow University students in November 1867 over the activity of inspectors in conformity with the new university regulations of 1884 (which abolished the university self-rule introduced by the 1863 regulations as well as authorised the Education Minister to appoint or dismiss at his discretion professors and other members of the teaching staff, fix scholarships, grants and other allowances for students, decide on curricula, etc.). At the beginning of December 1887 the student unrest spread to the universities and colleges of Kharkov, Odessa, Kazan and St Petersburg. Police and army units were thrown against the students. Many were expelled from college or university and exiled, and the most active were drafted into penal battalions.
627. Thanks to the active engagement of S.M. Kravchinsky-Stepniak, a 'Russian Freedom Friends' Society' was organised in Britain in 1890; its aim was to enlist support for the Russian revolutionary movement. Between 1891-1900 the Society published the newspaper *Free Russia*.
628. The district in London where the editorial board of the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* had its office.
629. Stuttgart – the seat of the Dietz Publishers in charge of the journal *Die Neue Zeit*.
630. In his letter dated 3-6 March 1890, F. Sorge communicated F. Schlüter's request to Engels to send – for publication in *Die New Yorker Volkszeitung* – the letters from the National-Liberal J. Miquel, a Reichstag deputy, which he had written to Engels during his membership in the Communist League (see note 531).
631. Engels must have made a mistake by dating C. Schmidt's letter 25 February. Actually, C. Schmidt wrote to Engels on 26 February and 1 April; in these letters he told him about his possible visit to London and about his plans for

literary work. Schmidt also offered his assistance in the work on Marx's manuscripts.

632. Engels refers to his Preface to volume II of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 36). About the publication of Volume IV of *Capital* – Theories of Surplus Value – see note 353.

633. On 3 July 1866 a decisive battle in the Austro-Prussian War was fought at Köninggrätz (Hradec-Kralove), near Sadova. The Austrian troops were defeated. About the battle of Sedan, see note 267.

634. The Napoleonic Code – the code of French civil law, promulgated in 1804, exerted a great influence on legislation in many European and a number of Latin American European countries.

635. The present letter is in reply to V. Zasulich's letter written around 10 April 1890.

636. Grigori Beck's article 'Erwiderung' ran a sharp critique of G. Plekhanov for his preface to the pamphlet *Pytr Alexeyev's Speech*; in it Plekhanov cautioned workers against 'the false friends' from among the liberal intelligentsia. Published by *Der Sozialdemokrat* (No.14, 5 April 1890), this article was written in reply to the report 'Aus der russischen Bewegung', carried by the same newspaper (No. 12) on 22 March and signed ZKW. On 26 April 1890, *Der* Sozialdemokrat (No. 17) published a letter to the editors from *Ossipowitch* (probably, V. Zasulich's pseudonym) with a prefatory editor's note 'Über die Propaganda unter den russischen Arbeitern'.

637. In her letter Vera Zasulich listed a number of Russian newspapers and magazines published in Switzerland in 1888-89: *Svoboda* (Freedom), *Borba* ( Struggle), *Samoupravlenie* (Self-Government) and *Svobodnaya Rossia*.

638. Dismal Swamp – boggy terrain in Virginia, USA.

639. Michael Davitt – an eminent activist in the Irish national movement and a champion of a union between the working classes of Ireland and England. He supported the struggle of the new trade unions (see note 489) for a law on an eight-hour working day. However, he also suggested setting up independent unions of English and Irish workers at every enterprise; this applied, in particular, to the Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union in London and Ulster (see note 565).

640. The appeal of the Social Democratic parliamentary group in the Reichstag 'An die Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen Deutschland!' was adopted at its meeting in Halle on 13 April 1890 and published in the newspaper *Berliner Volksblatt* on 15 April 1890. The appeal contained the party leadership's reply to the demand by the opposition of 'Die Jungen' ('The Young', see note 646) to stage a general strike on May 1. The appeal pointed to the danger of such a demand under the conditions of the still operating Anti-Socialist law, after the Reichstag election of 20 February 1890, when all kinds of provocations were possible on the part of the ruling quarters. It appealed instead to German workers to give no support to the idea of a

general strike and to resort to work stoppages only whenever a serious conflict could be avoided; otherwise it advised the workers not to go beyond holding demonstration and rallies. The May 1 strikes held in some German towns involved about ten per cent of the labour force.

641. Part of this letter, in the language of the original, was first published in *Die New Yorker Volksezeitung* on 10 May 1890. A fragment of the letter was published in English for the first time in *Labour Monthly*, 1934, No. 5, pp309-11.

642. The Bloomsbury Socialist Society, which had the local branch of the Socialist League (see note 21) as a nucleus, took form as an independent organisation in August 1888, after breaking with the Socialist League where anarchist elements had gained the upper hand. The Society was led by E. Marx-Aveling and E. Aveling; one of its members was F. Lessner, a friend and associate of Marx and Engels. In subsequent years the Bloomsbury Socialist Society carried on active propaganda and agitation work in London's East End. It was one of the organisers of the May Day demonstration of 1890. Its representatives were among the Central Committee that organised a meeting in London's Hyde Park on 4 May 1890 (see note 643).

643. The reference is to the 'Central Committee of representatives of ' new trade unions' and of radical and socialist clubs (about the radical clubs, see note 22) set up for organising the 4 May demonstration in London. The Committee continued its activities in subsequent months in pursuit of the struggle for a law on a eight-hour working day and for implementing the decisions of the socialist International Working Men's Congress of 1889; it came out for setting up a workingmen's party. The leader of the Central Committee was E. Aveling, who maintained close contacts with Engels. In July 1890 the Committee gave rise to an organisation which came to be known as 'The Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League'.

644. A. Bebel's report was published in *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 17, on 25 April 1890 in the regular feature: 'Ausland. Deutschland' and marked: 'Berlin 22 April'.

645. Replying to Engels on 9 April 1890 Bebel said he subscribed to Engels' opinion about the psychological condition of Emperor William II.

646. Late in March 1890 a group of Berlin Social Democrats, Max Schippel among them, promulgated an appeal under the heading 'Was soll am 1 Mai geschehen?' in which it urged workmen to stage a general strike on that day. This appeal epitomised the position of the 'Young' – petty bourgeois, semi-anarchist oppositional group within German Social Democracy that took shape in 1890. This group was led by college students and raw litterati (hence the name of the opposition, the 'Young') who would arrogate to themselves the role of the party's theoreticians and leaders – such men as Paul Ernst, Paul Kampfmeyer, Hans Müller, Prune Wille among others. Ignoring the changed situation for the party's activity after the repeal of the

Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52), the 'Young' denied the legal forms of struggle and opposed Social Democrats taking part in the Reichstag elections and making use of the Reichstag as a political tribune; they would demagogically accuse the party and its Executive of promoting the interests of the petty bourgeoisie and of opportunism, of violating democracy within the party ranks. In October 1891 the Erfurt Congress of the Social Democratic Party of Germany expelled some of the opposition leaders from the party.

647. A reference to the first May Day demonstration of London workers held on Sunday, 4 May 1890. Despite the attempts of reformist trade union leaders and Henry Hyndman, a Socialist with opportunist leanings, to foist class collaborationist slogans on the demonstration, it showed the readiness of the broadest masses of London workers to wage a struggle for socialist demands. The bulk of the demonstrators – about 200,000 strong – supported the slogans of the British supporters of Marx. Playing the chief role in the demonstration were Gas Workers and the London Dockers, who were the first to launch a struggle in the 1880s for 'new' mass trade unions to be set up (see note 489) and for legal eight hours. The demonstration culminated in a huge rally in London's Hyde Park. For more detail about the first May Day celebration and the demonstration of May 4 in London, see Engels' article 'May 4 in London' (present edition, Vol. 27).
648. E. Bernstein's report carried in *Berliner Volksblatt*, No. 103, on 6 May 1890 and marked: London, 4 May.
649. The English text of the present letter was first published in *The Labour Monthly*, No. 8, 1955.
650. *The People's Press* of 10 May 1890, devoted nearly 8 pages to the Hyde Park rally on 4 May (see note 647).
651. The present letter was first published in English in: Engels F., Lafargue P. and L. Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, 1891-1895, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow 1963, pp71.
652. Engels cites from Nikolai Danielson's letter to him, 17 May 1890. The reference is to P. Lafargue's article about the evolution of property; this article was not published in the *Northern Review*.
653. This refers to the dissolution of General Boulanger's National Republican Committee after a major defeat of his supporters at the municipal election in Paris on 27 April, 4 May 1890.
654. The present letter was written on a post card; the corner of the leaf with a postage stamp is off. The reconstituted parts of the text are enclosed in the brackets.
655. A fragment of this letter in English was first published in *Labour Monthly*, London 1934, No. 6, p380.
656. A reference to an open letter of F. Sorge and F. Schlüter to A. Sartorius von Waltershausen with a protest against the characterisation of Marx in the

book *Der moderne Sozialismus in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*, Berlin, 1890. This letter was published by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 22.

657. A reference to 'The Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League' founded in 1890 by a group of British Socialists with E. Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling at the head and with Engels' participation. The League sprang from the Central Committee that organised the first May Day demonstration in Britain in 1890.
658. In view of the publication by the newspaper *Volksstimme* on 16 September 1890 of P. Ernst's article distorting Engels' pronouncements and claiming him to have made common cause with the 'Young' (see note 646), Engels wrote an article entitled 'Reply to Mr Paul Ernst (see present edition, Vol. 27) where he inserted part of the present letter. A fragment from this letter was first published in English in Ibsen, *A Marxist Analysis*, Angel Flores (ed), Critics Group, New York 1937, pp21-24.
659. Engels replies to P. Ernst's letter of 31 May 1890, in which the latter asked for help in his polemics with G. Bahr who had the journal *Die Freie Bühne für modernes Leben*, Heft 17, 28 Mai 1890, publish the article 'Zur Frauenfrage. Die Epigonen des Marxismus' which criticised Ernst's article 'Die Frauenfrage und soziale Frage' published by *Die Freie Bühne*, Heft 15, 14 Mai 1890.
660. A reference to *La Charte octroyée* promulgated in 1814 by the French King Louis XVIII and granting a constitutional monarchy. In keeping with this charter, the top of the commercial and financial bourgeoisie were allowed to share power with the nobility.
661. Engels means a Constitution endorsed by the Norwegian Representative Assembly at Eidsvoll in 1814 after the model of the French Constitution of 1791.
662. 'Vaterlandslosen Gesellen' ('Fellows without Fatherland') – a description that Emperor William II gave to the Social Democrats.
663. Danielson congratulated F. Engels on the victory of the German Social Democratic party at the election to the Reichstag on 20 February 1890 (see note 599).
664. On 22 January 1890, N. Danielson sent the *Statistical Yearbook for the Moscow Gubernia for 1889* to Engels and recommended that he read N. Chernenkov's articles in it, 'The Peasant Credit in the Moscow Gubernia in the Light of Correspondents' Reports' and 'Some Data on Peasant Public Loans in the Moscow Gubernia (According to Studies Carried out in 1876-78)'.
665. The reference is to the revolt of 1745-46 staged by supporters of the royal Stuart dynasty who demanded that the 'Young Pretender', Charles Edward Stuart, ascend to the throne. Regular government troops crushed the rebellion. This set in rapid process the disintegration of the clan system in the Highlands, with land seizure assuming ever broader proportions.

666. Engels replies to F. Schlüter's letter of 3 June 1890 in which he said he had been appointed editor of the annual *Pionier, Illustrierter Volks-Kalender* published by the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*. Schlüter asked Engels for permission to publish in it the Marx biography which Engels wrote in 1877 (see present edition, Vol. 24) and to supplement this biography by describing the last years of Marx's life.
667. On 1 July 1890, an agreement was signed providing for the transfer of the administration of the Island of Heligoland in the North Sea from Britain to Germany in exchange for Zanzibar and other German colonies in Africa.
668. Die Streusandbüchse (the sandbox) of the German Reich was the name given to the Brandenburger Mark with Berlin as the capital city.
669. A reference to F. Lassalle's proposal to Marx in January 1861 to publish a joint newspaper in Berlin; the preconditions made by Lassalle ruled out Marx's and Engels' participation in the project. About the reasons for the refusal of Marx and Engels to co-operate, see present edition Vol. 41 (Marx to Engels, 29 January 1861, Marx to Engels, 14 February 1861, Marx to Engels, 7 May 1861).
670. In his letter of 13 June 1890, L. Kugelmann asked Engels to send him a *Daily Telegraph* with Kingstone's article on his meeting with Bismarck.
671. Engels wrote these lines on a post card. Indicated on the reverse side was the address: Herrn Reichstagsabg. W. Liebknecht, Fürbringerstr.17, II, Berlin, Germany.
672. Probably W. Liebknecht requested Engels to write a refutation to the newspaper *Justice* over the publication in it, 21 June 1890, No. 336, Vol. VII, of a commentary under the heading 'Make a Note of This!'. In it, with reference to one of the Possibilist leaders, Paul Brousse, as a source, Liebknecht was reported to have made the following statement on behalf of the German Social Democratic Party: 'We are not revolutionaries', and he allegedly said that the German Social Democrats were pinning all hopes on propaganda, not on revolutionary actions. On 28 June 1890, *Justice*, No. 337, Vol. VII, carried F. Gilles' letter to the editorial board 'German Social Democrats still Revolutionists'. Gilles made it clear that even though Liebknecht might have uttered the statement ascribed to him, he could in no way speak on behalf of the party which, at all its congresses, reasserted its loyalty to revolutionary principles. On 2 August 1890, *The People's Press* published explanations from Liebknecht concerning the assertions of *Justice*.
673. In mid August 1890 Engels spent 4 weeks at Folkestone, a small resort near Dover.
674. The first Congress of the German Social Democratic Party after the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52) took place at Halle on 12-18 October 1890. It was attended by 413 delegates. The congress endorsed the party rules and, at Liebknecht's suggestion, passed a decision on drafting a new Programme to be submitted at the next party congress at Erfurt and on

having this Draft Programme published three months before the congress for discussion at local party organisations and in the press. The Halle Congress likewise considered the issue of the party press and the party's attitude to strikes and boycotts.

675. Engels means the annual tour of northern countries by Emperor William II; in 1890 it took place between 27 June and 28 July (see also F. Engels' letter to K. Kautsky of 18 September 1890, present edition, Vol. 49).

676. Engels wrote this letter on a post card. He put down the following address on the back: F.A. Sorge Esq., Hoboken N.Y., US America which someone corrected to: Hoboken N.Y., US America in Mt. Desert, Maine.

677. The owners of the gas enterprises of Leeds demanded that workers be hired for a term of 4 months without a right to participate in strike action during this period. The volume of work done in an 8-hour day was supposed to be 25 per cent higher than what had been performed before, that is, when the working day had been longer. These entrepreneurial conditions, amounting to an actual annihilation of the Gas Workers and General Labourers' Union and of the hard-won legal working hours, caused anger and counter-action amongst the working men. Early in July 1890 it came to clashes between strikers and blacklegs, the latter being supported by the police. The stubborn resistance of the striking workers made the strike-breakers and troops retreat. The employers had to withdraw their demands. The exploit of one of the heroes or the Leeds strike, Will Thorne, received high praise from Engels who presented him with a copy of the English edition of Volume I of *Capital* bearing the following dedication: 'To Will Thorne, the victor of the Leeds with fraternal greetings from Frederick Engels'.

678. K. Kautsky took part in the work on the MS of volume IV of *Capital*, 'Theories of Surplus Value' (see note 353).

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*Adler, Georg* (1863-1908) – German economist and journalist, professor at Berlin university from 1900; author of several works on social and political problems: 137
*Adler, Victor* (1852-1918) – a leader of Austrian Social Democrats; editor of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*; delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889, 1891 and 1893: 323, 354, 375, 376, 413-5, 419
*Alexander II* (1818-1881) – Emperor of Russia (1855-81): 46, 133
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*Anneke, Friedrich* (1818-1872) – Prussian artillery officer, member of the Communist League; one of the founders and secretary of the Cologne Workers' Association in 1848; editor of the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung*; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany and the Civil War in the USA (1861-65): 399
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*Anseele, Eduard* (1856-1938) – Belgian socialist, a founder and leader of the *Parti ouvrier Belge* (1885); was active in the co-operative movement; journalist; a Vice-President of the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889: 239, 252, 293, 294, 307, 325, 412
*Antoine, Jules Dominique* (1845-1917) – a French politician, fought in the Franco-Prussian War, deputy to the German Reichstag from Alsace-Lorraine (1881-89); actively supported return of Alsace-Lorraine to France; following General Boulanger's flight, renounced his deputy mandate and moved to France: 288
*Auer, Ignaz* (1846-1907) – German Social Democrat, saddlemaker; a leader of the Social Democratic Party; was repeatedly elected (from 1877) to the Reichstag: 301, 311, 334, 404
*Aveling, Edward Bibbins* (1851-1898) – English journalist, socialist; a translator of Volume I of *Capital* into English; member of the Social Democratic Federation from 1884, later a founder of the Socialist League (December 1884); an organiser of the mass movement of the unskilled workers and the unemployed in the late 1880s-early 1890s; delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889; Eleanor Marx's husband: 3, 4, 8, 11, 13, 15-20, 21-2, 23, 24, 28, 29, 30, 32, 37-9, 41-2, 43-4, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50-1, 53, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 65, 66, 70-2, 73, 74, 76, 78, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88,91, 92, 96, 101, 112, 113, 116, 119, 123, 150, 157, 158,170, 173, 184-5, 186, 192,

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*Aveling, Eleanor* – see *Marx-Aveling, Eleanor*

*Avenel, Georges* (1828-1876) – French historian and democratic journalist; author of works on the history of the French Revolution: 58, 248, 413, 414

*Axelrod, Pavel Borisovich* (1850-1928) – Russian Social Democrat, member of the Emancipation of Labour group from 1883: 331

*Babeuf, François Noël (Gracchus)* (1760-1797) – French revolutionary, advocate of utopian egalitarian communism, organiser of the conspiracy of equals: 58, 268

*Back* – Russian émigre in Switzerland, a Baltic German by birth; published a German-language journal in Geneva in the 1880s: 458

*Baernreither, Joseph Maria* (1845-1925) – Austrian politician, lawyer and journalist, member of the Bohemian Landtag and Austrian Reichstag (from 1885): 89, 101, 104

*Bahr*, Hermann (1863-1934) – Austrian writer: 503, 505

*Baker, Valentine (Baker Pasha)* (1827-1887) – English army officer: 169

*Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich* (1814-1874) – Russian democratic, journalist; participant in the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany; an ideologist of Narodism (Populism) and anarchism; opposed Marxism in the First International; expelled from the International at the Hague Congress of 1872: 335, 338, 394

*Balfour, Arthur James, 1st Earl of* (1848-1930) – British statesman, MP (1874-1922), Chief Secretary for Ireland (1887-91), leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons (1891-1902, with intervals), Prime Minister (1902-05): 155, 159

*Balzac, Honoré de* (1799-1850): 167-8, 180, 248

*Bangya, János* (1817-1868) – Hungarian journalist and officer, participant in the 1848-49 Revolution in Hungary; after its defeat, Kossuth's emissary abroad and at the same time agent-provocateur; later served in the Turkish army under the name of Mehemed Bey, acting as a Turkish agent in the Caucasus: 142

*Bardorf, Josef* (1847-1922) – Austrian Social Democrat, a leader of the 'moderates', a leader of the United Social Democratic Party from 1876, editor of the *Wahrheit*: 269

*Baron* – see *Kautsky, Karl*

*Barry, Maltman* (1842-1909) – English journalist, member of the First International, supporter of Marx and Engels at the Hague Congress (1872), member of the General Council (1871-72) and the British Federal Council (1872-74), contributed to a number of newspapers, *The Standard* among them: 449

*Baslu, Émile Joseph* (1854-1928) – French socialist, active trade union member, miner, repeatedly elected to the Chamber of Deputies: 53, 381

*Bateman, George* – English socialist, printer, member of the Social Democratic Federation: 331, 359, 377, 448

*Battenberg, Alexander Joseph* (1857-1893) – son of the Prince of Hesse, Prince Alexander I of Bulgaria (1879-86), pursued a pro-Austrian and pro-German policy: 41, 58, 174

*Baudin, Eugène* (1853-1918) – French socialist, Blanquist, worker at a porcelain factory, member of the

First International, a Communard; after the suppression of the Commune lived in England (1871-81); returned to France after amnesty; elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1889 and 1893: 381, 383, 384

*Bauer, Bruno* (1809-1882) – German idealist philosopher, Young Hegelian; author of the works on the history of Christianity, Radical, National Liberal after 1866: 220, 249, 393

*Bauer, Edgar* (1820-1886) – German journalist, philosopher, Young Hegelian; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 Revolution; an official in Prussia after the 1861 amnesty; Bruno Bauer's brother: 393

*Bax, Ernest Belfort* (1854-1926) – British socialist, historian, philosopher and journalist; one of the first exponents of Marxism in England; active left-wing member of the Social Democratic Federation; a founder of the Socialist League; a publisher of *The Commonweal* (from 1884): 11, 70, 78, 88, 93, 108, 262, 264, 269, 310, 328, 387, 417, 418-9, 422, 427, 449, 457, 458

*Bebel, Ferdinand August* (1840-1913) – prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; turner; member of the First International, deputy to the North German (1867-70) and to the German Reichstag (1871-81 and from 1883); a founder and leader of German Social Democracy and the Second International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels: 31, 35-7, 76, 94-5, 98-9, 103, 104, 107, 109, 120, 150, 158, 159, 173-6, 233-5, 237, 239, 244, 245-7, 255, 256, 261, 265, 273, 277, 278, 280, 285, 286, 288, 292, 294, 296, 301, 305, 314, 317, 322, 325, 329, 333, 335, 341, 345, 346, 349, 356, 380, 383, 391, 402, 407, 427, 443, 450-3, 474, 490, 492-5, 509-10

*Bebel, Johanna Caroline Julie* (1843-1910): 35-7

*Beck, Grigori* – member of People's freedom circles in Russia and abroad in mid-1880s; lived in emigration from 1886: 482, 483, 484

*Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886) – prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; brush-maker; took part in the revolutionary democratic movement in Germany and Switzerland in the 1830s-40s and the 1848-49 revolution, active member of the First International, delegate to the London Conference (1865) and all the congresses of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels: 322, 458

*Beckmann, Johann B.* (1739-1811) – German scientist, author of works on agriculture, economy and technology: 74

*Bernstein, Eduard* (1850-1932) – German Social Democrat; journalist, editor of *Der Sozialdemokrat* (1881-90), a leader of the German Social Democrats; produced a 'reformist' revision of Marxism in the latter half of the 1890s: 57-9. 67, 108, 109, 179, 185, 187, 190, 194, 198, 200, 204, 221, 222, 224, 225, 226, 227, 231, 232, 237,239, 257, 258, 259, 261, 264, 265, 269, 273, 275, 276, 280, 286, 287, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 297, 298, 300, 301-2, 303, 311, 312, 313, 314, 316, 317, 318, 321, 322, 325, 328, 330, 333, 336, 364-5, 373, 375, 391, 407, 419, 426, 438, 444, 450-3, 453, 461, 472, 476, 482, 483, 484, 493, 494, 501,

*Bernstein, Regina* (*Schattner* by first marriage): 193, 198, 200, 257, 259, 260, 426, 438

*Besant, Annie* (1847-1933) – British radical, theosophist; participated in

socialist movement for some time; member of the Fabian Society and the Social Democratic Federation in the 1880s; took part in organising the trade union movement of unskilled workers: 74, 76, 108, 152, 183

*Beust, Friedrich von* (1817-1899) – Prussian army officer, took part in 1848-49 Revolution in Germany; after its defeat, emigrated to Switzerland and then to the USA; member of the Zurich local section of the International; professor of pedagogics: 85, 88, 108, 185

*Bevan, George Phillips* (d. 1889) – British economist and statistician:

*Binning, Thomas* – prominent figure in the English working-class movement; compositor; member of the Socialist League; an organiser of the North of England Socialist Federation (1887): 70

*Bismarck* (or *Bismarck-Schönhausen*), *Otto Eduard Leopold, Prince von* (1815-1898) – Statesman of Prussia and Germany, Ambassador to St Petersburg (1859-62) and to Paris (1862); Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-71) and Chancellor of the German Empire (1871-90); carried through the unification of Germany, introduced the Anti-Socialist Law in 1878: 10, 11, 20, 23, 25, 51, 54, 58, 92, 104,107, 111, 114, 129, 130, 135, 138, 139, 140-1, 142, 145-7, 151, 155, 160, 162, 165, 171, 174-5, 177-8, 181-2, 185, 190-1, 222, 238, 239, 253, 259, 261-2, 273-4, 283, 287, 337, 349, 355, 419, 423, 443, 444, 451, 452, 454, 455, 456, 457, 459, 475, 477, 479

*Bland, Hubert* (1856-1914) – British socialist, journalist, a founder of the Fabian Society, its treasurer and member of the Executive Committee up to 1911; member of the Social Democratic Federation: 152

*Block* – German-born American socialist, Secretary of the German bakers' trade union and editor of its newspaper: 192

*Block, R.* – son of the above: 192

*Blos,* Wilhelm (1849-1927) – German politician and historian; member of Social Demccrats from 1872; editor of *Der Volksstaat* and deputy to the Reichstag: 474, 492

*Blum, Robert* (1807-1848) – German democrat, journalist; leader of the Left in the Frankfurt National Assembly; took part in the defence of Vienna against counter-revolutionary forces in October 1848; shot after the fall of the city: 252

*Bonaparte, Napoleon* (1769-1821) – Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815): 146, 165, 175, 248, 261, 503

*Bonnier, Charles* (b. 1863) – French socialist, journalist, active member of the Workers' Party; lived in England for a long time, contributed to the socialist press, took part in preparations for the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889 and 1891: 278, 280, 287, 289, 294, 296, 297, 301, 306, 308, 309, 316, 318, 331, 407, 412, 431, 432

*Botta, Carlo Giuseppe Guglielmo* (1766-1837) – Italian historian, poet and politician: 179

*Boulanger, Georges Ernest Jean Marie* (1837-1891) – French general, War Minister (1886-87); strove to establish military dictatorship in France: 58, 85, 165, 166, 170-1, 175-6, 181, 190, 196-7, 212, 223, 236, 237, 246, 247, 253, 259, 261-2, 264, 274, 282, 288, 309, 314, 319, 368, 372, 382, 385, 397, 406, 412, 445, 481, 498

*Boulé* – French socialist and active trade union member, Blanquist; stonecutter; socialist candidate at the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in January 1889, delegate to the International Socialist

Workers' Congress of 1889: 313, 316, 328, 407
*Bowen, Paul T.* – prominent figure in the American trade union movement, delegate of the Washington trade union organisations to the Possibilist Congress in Paris (1889): 353
*Boyer, Antoine Jean Baptiste (Antide)* (1850-1918) – French socialist; potter, later office worker; repeatedly elected to the Chamber of Deputies, an organiser of the parliamentary workers' party: 383, 404, 481
*Bradlaugh, Charles* (1833-1891) – English journalist and politician, Radical, atheist, editor of *The National Reformer* (from 1860): 71, 78, 113, 152
*Braun, Heinrich* (1854-1927) – German Social Democrat, a founder of *Die Neue Zeit* (1883), editor of the *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik* and several other press organs: 250, 277, 422
*Brentano, Lujo (Ludwig Joseph)* (1844-1931) – German economist: 230
*Brismée, Désiré* (1823-1888) – prominent figure in the Belgian democratic and working-class movement; printer; Proudhonist, member of the First International, delegate to its Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) and the Hague (1872) congresses, sided with the Bakunists, later abandoned anarchism; member of the Executive Committee of the Belgian Workers' Party: 177
*Broadhurst, Henry* (1840-1911) – British politician, a trade union leader; stonemason, later trade union official; Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress (1875-90), Liberal MP (from 1880), Under-Secretary of State for the Home Office: 104, 177, 333, 334, 360, 377, 437
*Brocher, Gustave* (1850-1931) – member of the international revolutionary movement, active exponent of atheism; teacher, French by birth; lived in Russia in the late 1860s-early 1870s, associated with the Narodniks (Populists); lived in London in 1874-93 where he met Marx and Engels; sided with anarchists for some time: 358
*Brousse, Paul Louis Marie* (1840-1912) – French politician; socialist, physician; member of the First International (till 1872); a Communard; after the suppression of the Commune lived in emigration in Spain and Switzerland, sided with the anarchists; after his return to France in 1880 joined the French Workers' Party, later a leader of the Possibilists: 13, 14, 65, 93, 238, 287, 291, 294, 296, 297, 298, 313, 323, 324, 333, 335, 336, 338, 350, 356
*Bruhn, Karl von* (b. 1803) – German journalist, member of the Communist League, expelled in 1850; supporter of the Willich-Schapper group; editor of the Lassallean *Nordstern* in Hamburg (1861-66): 142
*Buhl, Ludwig Heinrich Franz* (1814-c. 1882) – German journalist, a Young Hegelian, author of pamphlets in the *Patriot* series: 393
*Bunting, Sir Percy William* (1836-1911) – British journalist, publisher of *The Contemporary Review* (1882-1911), Liberal: 461
*Buonarroti, Filippo Michele* (1761-1837) – Italian revolutionary, utopian communist, prominent figure in the revolutionary movement in France at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries; François Babeuf's associate: 58
*Burns, John* (1858-1943) – prominent figure in the English working-class movement, a leader of the New

Trade Unions in the 1880s, leader of the London dockers' strike (1889); adopted a liberal trade union stand in the 1890s: 66, 141, 156, 330, 331, 334, 359, 360, 369, 370, 376, 377, 389, 390, 418, 420, 431, 436, 437, 442, 448, 485

*Burns, William (Willie)* – nephew of Lydia Burns (Engels' second wife): 206, 207

*Burt, Thomas* (1837-1922) – English miner, secretary of the Northumberland Miners' Association, MP (1874-1918), supporter of the Liberal Party: 81

*Caffarel, Louis Charles* (1829-1907) – French general, deputy chief of the General Staff in 1887, was compelled to resign because of involvement in speculation with orders (1887): 107

*Campbell, Ellen* – American, friend of Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky: 153

*Caraccioli, Louis Antoine, Marquis* (1721-1803) – French writer and journalist: 269

*Carnot, Marie François Sadi* (1837-1894) – French statesman, republican, repeatedly held ministerial posts; President of the Republic (1887-94): 123, 197

*Castelar y Ripoll, Emilio* (1832-1899) – Spanish politician, historian and writer; leader of the right-wing Republicans; President of the Republic (September 1873 –January 1874); deputy to the Cortes after the restoration of monarchy in 1874: 458

*Cervantes de Saavedra, Migel* (1547-1616): 180

*Champion, Henry Hyde* (1859-1928) – English socialist, publisher and journalist; member of the Social Democratic Federation till 1887, later a leader of the trade unionist Labour Electoral Association in London; edited and published the *Labour Elector*; emigrated in the 1890s to Australia where he took an active part in the working-class movement: 11, 66, 108, 252, 331, 359, 377, 389, 390, 418, 436, 448, 449, 485

*Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich* (1828-1889) – Russian revolutionary democrat, philosopher, writer and literary critic, predecessor of Russian Social Democrats: 484, 506

*Christensen, P.* – Danish Social Democrat: 307

*Clemenceau, Georges (Eugène Benjamin)* (1841-1929) – French politician and journalist, Radical leader from the 1880s, editor and publisher of *La Justice*: 65-6, 109-10, 124, 190, 368

*Cloots, Jean Baptiste Baron de (Anacharsis)* (1755-1794) – prominent figure in the French Revolution, Dutchman by birth; close to the left-wing Jacobins, member of the Convention: 413, 414, 415

*Cluseret, Gustave Paul* (1823-1900) – French politician, member of the First International, sided with the Bakuninists; took part in the revolutionary uprisings in Lyons and Marseilles (1879); a Communard; after its suppression emigrated to Belgium and later to the USA; returned to France after amnesty; member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1888, sided with socialists; delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889: 383, 385

*Cohn, Gustav* (1840-1919) – German economist, professor in Zurich from 1875, and at Göttingen university from 1884: 221

*Colletta, Pietro* (1775-1831) – Italian politician and historian: 179

*Conrad, Johannes Ernst* (1839-1915) – German economist, professor,

publisher of the *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik* and other reference publications containing economic and statistical information: 250, 477

*Cornelius, Wilhelm* – German journalist; one of Marx's friends; refugee in London in the 1850s; businessman: 393

*Crawford, Emily* (1831-1915) – Irish journalist, Paris correspondent of the *Daily News, Truth* and *New York Tribune*: 58,m161, 385, 408

*Cremer, Sir William Randall* (1838-1903) – active participant in the British trade union and pacifist movement, member of the General Council of the First International and its General Secretary (1864-66); Liberal MP (from 1885): 65, 81, 158, 418

*Creuzer, Georg Freidrich* (1771-1858) – German philologist, author of several works on mythology, art and literature of antiquity: 29

*Croll, Cornelius* (1857-1895) – Dutch Social Democrat, journalist: 460

*Cunninghame Graham, Robert Bontine* (1852-1936) – Scottish writer and politician; came from an aristocratic family; took part in the working-class and socialist movement in the 1880s-90s; MP (1886-92), delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889; later prominent in the Scottish national movement: 156, 157, 159, 245, 330, 359, 448

*Cuno, Theodor Friedrich* (1846-1934) – prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; engineer; Socialist; fought against anarchists in Italy; organiser of the Milan section of the First International, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); emigrated to the USA where he took part in the International's activity; a leader of the American labour organisation, The Knights of Labor: 202, 203, 210

*Danielson, Nikolai Frantsevich* (pen-name *Nikolai-on*) (1844-1918) – Russian economist, journalist; a theoretician of Narodism (Populism) in the 1880s-90s; corresponded with Marx and Engels for several years; translated into Russian (together with Hermann Lopatin and Nikolai Lybavin) volumes I II and III of Marx's *Capital*: 26-7, 52, 100, 135-7, 228-30, 319, 331, 346-7, 351-2, 415-6, 497, 506-7, 520

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*Danton, Georges Jacques* (1759-1794) – prominent figure in the French Revolution of the late 18th century, leader of the right-wing Jacobins: 268, 414

*Darwin, Charles Robert* (1809-1882) – English naturalist, founder of the theory of natural selection and evolution: 230

*Daumas, Augustin Honoré* (b. 1826) – French politician; mechanic; elected to the Chamber of Deputies in the 1870s-80s, the Senate in the late 1880s; member of the Paris City Council in 1889, sided with the socialist group; delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889: 328

*Davies, Sir John* (1569-1626) – British statesman, lawyer and poet; attorney-general for Ireland (from 1606); author of several works on the history of Ireland:

*Davitt, Michael* (1846-1906) – Irish revolutionary democrat, an organiser (1879) and leader of the Land League, champion of the Home Rule in Ireland; MP (1895-99); took part in the English working-class movement: 49, 486

*Delahaye, Pierre Louis* (b. 1820) – French mechanic, Proudhonist;

member of the First International from 1865; a Communard; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to England; member of the General Council of the International and of the British Federal Council (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871); returned to France in 1879: 192

*Dell, Robert Edward* (1865-1940) – British journalist, Fabian, editor of *The People's Press*: 485, 513, 518

*Demuth, Helen (Lenchen, Nim)* (1820-1890) – housekeeper and devoted friend of the Marx family: 11, 13, 35, 41, 54, 66, 77, 84, 94, 160, 166, 175, 184, 186, 189, 191, 194, 196, 198, 200, 201, 202, 203, 224, 225, 226, 227, 237, 240, 243, 259, 264, 300, 306, 343, 379, 387, 390, 408, 409, 410, 426, 435, 438, 458, 481, 509, 519

*De Paepe, César* (1841-1890) – Belgian socialist; compositor, subsequently physician; one of the founders of the Belgian section of the First International (1865), member of the Belgian Federal Council, delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) Congresses and London Conference (1871) of the First International and the Ghent International Socialist Congress (1877); a founder of the Belgian Workers' Party (1885): 56, 57, 407

*Deville, Gabriel Pierre* (1854-1940) – French socialist, exponent of Marxism, member of the French Workers' Party, journalist, author of a popular exposition of the first volume of Marx's *Capital*; delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889: 41, 79, 107, 180-1, 243, 263, 273, 313, 404, 432

*Derossi, Karl* (1844-1910) – German Social Democrat, Lassallean; emigrated to Switzerland in 1879 and later to the USA: 500

*Dietz, Johann Heinrich Wilhelm* (1843-1922) – German publisher, Social Democrat, founded the Social Democratic publishing house (1881), deputy to the Reichstag (from 1881): 277, 461, 465, 466, 471, 472,

*Dietzgen, Joseph* (1828-1888) – prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; tanner; philosopher who independently arrived at dialectical materialism, champion of Marxism; member of the First International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; emigrated to the USA in 1884: 43

*Diez, Friedrich Christian* (1794-1876) – German linguist, a founder of comparative historical linguistics, author of *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*: 132

*Dilke, Margaret Mary* (b. 1857) – widow of the British politician and journalist Ashton Wentworth Dilke, owner of the *Weekly Dispatch*: 161

*Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield* from 1876 (1804-1881) – British politician and author, leader of the Conservative Party, Prime Minister (1868) and 1874-80): 118, 120, 153

*Douai, Karl Daniel Adolph* (1819-1888) – French-born German journalist; democrat, later socialist; took part in the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA in 1852; participated in the American socialist movement; editor of several socialist newspapers, the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* among them (1878-88): 21

*Dufourny de Villiers, Louis Pierre* (1739-1796) – politician of the French Revolution, pamphleteer: 269

*Dühring, Eugen Karl* (1833-1921) – German philosopher, economist, lawyer; socialist; lecturer at Berlin university (1863-77): 249

*Dumay, Jean Baptiste* (1841-1926) – French mechanic; leader of the Greusot Commune in 1871; sentenced to exile, fled to Switzerland; returned to Franch after amnesty, member of the Paris City Council from 1887, member of the Chamber of Deputies (1889-93), Possibilist: 381, 383

*Eccarius, Johann Georg* (1818-1889) – German tailor and journalist, prominent figure in the international and German working-class movement, member of the Communist League, member of the General Council of the First International (1864-72), the Council's General Secretary (1867-71); delegate to all the International's congresses and conferences; supported Marx and Engels up to the Hague Congress of 1872; member of the English trade union movement in the 1870s-80s: 14, 178, 335

*Echegaray y Eizaguirre, José* (1833-1916) – Spanish playwright, mathematician, engineer and politician, member of the Royal Academy of Sciences from 1866, elected to the Cortes in 1868; Minister of Trade, Finances and Education (1868-74): 321

*Eichhoff, Karl Wilhelm* (1833-1895) – German socialist and journalist, refugee in London in 1861-66; member of the First International from 1868, one of its first historians; member of the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Germany from 1869, editor of several legal workers' papers in the 1880s: 166-7

*Ellen* – servant of Engels: 368

*Ellis, George Billow* – representative of an American industrial firm in London: 405

*Ellissen, O. Adolph* – gymnasium teacher at Einbeck: 395

*Ely, Richard Theodore* (1854-1943) – American economist, professor of politicial economy at university of Wisconsin, author: 501, 517

*Engels, Hermann* (1822-1905) Frederick Engels' brother, manufacturer in Barmen; a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen: 204, 218, 366-7, 434-5, 514-5

*Engels, Hermann Friedrich Theodor* (1858-1926) – Hermann Engels' son, manufacturer, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm:

*Estrup, Jacob Brönnum Scavenius* (1825-1913) – Danish statesman, Minister of the Interior (1865-69), Finance Minister and Prime Minister (1875-94), Conservative: 423, 424

*Eudes, Emile François Désiré* (1843-1888) – French revolutionary, Blanquist, general of the National Guard, a Communard; after the suppression of the Commune, emigrated to Switzerland and then to England; on his return to France after amnesty of 1880 an organiser of the Central Revolutionary Committee of Blanquists: 246

*Evreinoff*, 497

*Farjat, Gabriel* (1857-1930) – French socialist, weaver; a founder of the French Workers' Party (1880); General Secretary of the National Trade Union Federation of France (1886), delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889 and 1891: 328-9, 332

*Faucher, Julius (Jules)* (1820-1878) – German journalist, economist, a young Hegelian; a founder of the German party for free trade, emigrant in England in 1850-61, contributed to the *Morning Star* from 1856; returned to Germany in 1861; member of the Party of Progress, National Liberal from 1866: 393

*Ferroul, Joseph Antoine Jean Frédéric Ernest* (1853-1921) – French politician, journalist, physician, socialist, member of the French Workers' Party; member of the Chamber of Deputies (1888-93 and 1899-1902); delegate to the international Socialist workers' congresses of 1889 and 1891: 383, 385

*Ferry, Jules François Camille* (1832-1893) – French lawyer, journalist and politician; a leader of moderate republicans; member of the Government of National Defence, Mayor of Paris (1870-71), Prime Minister (1880-81 and 1883-85): 107, 110, 113, 124, 150, 246, 259, 314, 368, 385, 412

*Feuerbach, Ludwig* (1804-1872) – German philosopher: 463

*Field, Arthur* (b. 1869) – English socialist, member of the Social Democratic Federation, journalist: 342

*Fischer, Paul* – German Social Democrat, contributed to the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*: 364

*Fischer, Richard* (1855-1926) – German Social Democrat, journalist; compositor; Secretary of the Party's Executive Committee (1890-93), member of the Reichstag (1893-1926), a publisher of *Vorwärts*: 373, 426, 438, 450

*Floquet, Charles Thomas* (1828-1896) – French statesman, Radical; member of the Chamber of Deputies (1871-93), repeatedly elected its chairman, Prime Minister (1888-89); was compelled to withdraw from active political work after the exposure in 1892 of his implication in the Panama Canal swindle: 196-7, 261

*Fortin, Edouard* – French socialist, journalist, member of the French Workers' Party: 14, 24, 40

*Foster, Rachel* – American public figure; Secretary of the National Society of Struggle for Women's Franchise: 55

*Fox, Charles James* (1749-1806) – English statesman, orator, a Whig leader, Foreign Secretary (1782, 1783, 1806): 424

*Frankel, Leo* (1844-1896) – prominent figure in the Hungarian and international working-class movement, jeweller; a Communard; member of the General Council of the First International (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International, a founder of the General Workers' Party of Hungary; associate of Marx and Engels: 88

*Frederick II* (1712-1786) – King of Prussia (1740-86): 273, 456

*Frederick III* (1831-1888) – King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany (March-June 1888): 111, 114, 138, 140-1, 146, 151, 163, 164-5, 174-5, 177-8, 181, 190, 222, 451, 473

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861) – King of Prussia (1840-61): 250

*Fréjac (Fréjac de Commentary), Raoul* (b. 1849) – French socialist, member of the French Workers' Party, delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889: 329

*Freycinet, Charles Louis de Saulces de* (1828-1932) – French statesman and diplomat, moderate republican, repeatedly held ministerial posts, Prime Minister (1879-80, 1882, 1886, 1890-92): 124

*Frohme, Karl Franz Egon* (1850-1933) – German journalist, Social Democrat, Lassallean in the 1870s, later a leader of reformist wing in the German Social Democratic Party, deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-1918), delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889 in Paris: 30

*Fullerton, John* (1780-1849) – British economist, author of works on money circulation and credit, oppo-

nent of the quantitative theory of money: 347

*Geffcken, Friedrich Heinrich* (1830-1896) – German diplomat and lawyer, author of several works on the history of international law: 253
*Geiser, Bruno* (1846-1896) – German Social Democrat, journalist, editor of *Die Neue Welt*; deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-87) where he belonged to the right wing of the Social Democratic group, expelled from the Social Democratic Party in the late 1880s; Wilhelm Liebknecht's son-in-law: 30, 107, 363, 400
*Gély, André* – French socialist, Possibilist: 292
*George, Henry* (1839-1897) – American journalist, economist: 51, 79, 84, 91, 101, 102, 103, 486
*Georgei, Max* – American delegate of the German Workers' Club in Washington to the Possibilists' Congress in Paris (1889): 353
*Gilles, Ferdinand* (born c. 1856) – German journalist, Social Democrat; moved to London in 1886, contributed to the *Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung*; took part in the work of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; exposed as a police agent in 1891: 141, 512-3
*Girardin, Émile de* (1806-1881) – French journalist and politician, editor of *La Presse* and *La Liberté*; moderate republican during the 1848-49 Revolution, later Bonapartist: 107, 110-1
*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898) – British statesman, Tory, later a leader of the Liberal Party; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55 and 1859-66), Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886 and 1892-94): 108, 113, 253, 360-1, 418, 444, 445, 461, 468
*Goegg, Amand* (1820-1897) – German journalist, democrat, member of the Baden Provisional Government in 1849; emigrated after the revolution; member of the First International; joined the German Social Democrats in the 1870s: 189
*Gottschalk, Andreas* (1815-1849) – German physician, member of the Communist League's community in Cologne; President of the Cologne Workers' Association in April-June 1848; exponent of 'Left' tendencies in the German working-class movement: 398-9
*Goullé, Albert Frédéric* (1844-1918) – French socialist, member of the First International, journalist, Blanquist, contributed to *Le Cri du Peuple* from 22 February to 23 May 1871 and to the renewed *Cri du Peuple* from October 1883, also to *La Voie du Peuple* in February-March 1887; emigrant in London: 41
*Granger, Ernest Henri* (b. 1844) – French socialist, Blanquist, journalist; a Communard; after the suppression of the Commune, emigrated to England; returned to France after amnesty, joined the Boulangist movement, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1889: 397
*Grévy, François Paul Jules* (1807-1891) – French statesman, moderate republican, President of the Republic (1879-87): 107, 110, 113
*Grillenberger, Karl* (1848-1897) – German Social Democrat, worker, later journalist, publisher of several Social Democratic newspapers; deputy to the German Reichstag from 1881; belonged to the right wing of the Social Democratic Party of Germany: 461
*Gronlund, Laurence* (1846-1899) – Danish-born American socialist, journalist; member of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor

Party of North America from 1887: 152, 465
*Grün, Karl Theodor Ferdinand* (pen-name *Ernst von der Heide*) (1817-1887) – German journalist, 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s, democrat during the 1848-49 Revolution; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (left wing); emigrant in Brussels (1850-61); professor in Frankfurt am Main (1862-65) and Vienna (from 1870): 234, 235
*Grunzig, Julius* (b. 1855) – German Social Democrat, banished from Berlin during the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law; emigrated to the USA in the 1880s; contributed to the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*: 90
*Guebhard* – French physician, owner of *Le Cri du Peuple*, Caroline Rémy Séverine's husband: 13
*Guesde, Jules* (real name *Mathieu Jules Basile*) (1845-1922) – prominent figure in the French and international working-class and socialist movement; initially republican, sided with the anarchists in the first half of the 1870s; founder (1877) and editor of *L'Egalité*; a founder of the French Workers' Party (1880); leader of the revolutionary wing in the French socialist movement for a number of years: 13, 75, 93, 243, 263, 273, 313, 330, 377, 379, 380, 381, 383, 384, 385, 388, 397, 403, 411-2, 419, 431, 432, 481, 490, 496
*Guillaume-Schack, Gertrud* (née *Countess Schack*) (1845-1905) – German socialist, prominent figure in the women's working-class movement in Germany: 58, 70-2, 73, 76, 77, 78, 83, 84, 120, 156, 409, 461
*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874) – French historian and statesman, Orleanist; Foreign Minister (1840-48), in 1847 also Prime Minister: 110, 386
*Gumpert, Eduard* (d. 1893) – German physician resident in Manchester, friend of Marx and Engels: 128, 409

*Hales, John* (b. 1839) – British trade unionist, weaver; member of the General Council of the First International (1866-72) and its Secretary (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); headed the reformist wing of the British Federal Council in 1872; expelled from the International in May 1873: 252
*Hardie, James Keir* (1856-1915) – prominent figure in the English working-class movement; miner, later journalist; founder and leader of the Scottish Labour Party (from 1888): 318
*Harkness, Margaret Elise* (pseudonym *John Law*) – British author, socialist, member of the Social Democratic Federation, contributed to the *Justice*, wrote stories about workers' life: 166-8, 344, 345, 409
*Harney, George Julian* (1817-1897) – prominent figure in the English working-class movement, a Chartist leader (left wing); editor of several Chartist papers; lived in the USA from 1863 to 1888 (with intervals); members of the First International; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels: 208-9, 379, 431
*Harney, Mary*: 208, 265, 271
*Hartmann, Lev Nikolayevich* (1850-1913) – Russian revolutionary, Narodnik (Populist), took part in acts of terrorism with the Narodnaya Volya organisation against Alexander II in 1879, after which emigrated to France, later to England and to the USA in 1881: 355, 361, 378
*Hasenclever, Wilhelm* (1837-1889) – German Social Democrat, journalist, Lassallean; President of the General

Association of German Workers (1871-75); one of the two chairmen of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (1875-76); together with Wilhelm Liebknecht edited *Vorwärts* (1876-78); deputy to the North German and the German Reichstag (1869-71, 1874-78 and 1879-88): 154

*Haupt, Christian* – foundryman; German police agent in Geneva from 1880, exposed in 1887: 130

*Hawthorne, Nathaniel* (1804-1864) – American author: 184

*Hébert, Jacques René (1757-1794)* – prominent figure in the French Revolution, leader of the Left-wing Jacobins: 414

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831) – German philosopher: 117-8, 130, 239, 410

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856) – German revolutionary poet: 117-8, 130, 239, 410

*Hepner, Adolf* (1846-1923) – German Social Democrat, an editor of *Der Volksstaat*, delegate to the Hague Congress of the First International (1872); member of the Social Democratic Workers' Party, later emigrated to the USA: 418

*Herkner, Heinrich* (1863-1932) – German economist: 118

*Hess, Moses* (1812-1875) – German radical writer, 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s, member of the Communist League; after its split joined the Willich-Schapper group; member of the General Association of German workers; member of the First International, delegate to its Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses: 234, 235, 398

*Hildebrand, Max* – schoolteacher in Berlin, adherent of Max Stirner, collected biographical material about the latter: 393-5

*Hoch, Gustav* (1862-1942) – German Social Democrat, writer and journalist: 250

*Hovelacque, Alexandre Abel* (1843-1896) – French linguist, anthropologist and politician, socialist radical, Chairman of the Paris City Council (1889-94), member of the Chamber of Deputies: 261

*Howell, George* (1833-1910) – British mason, a reformist leader of the British trade unions; former Chartist; member of the General Council of the First International (October 1864 to 1869); Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress, Liberal MP (1885-95): 65, 81, 158

*Hunter, William Alexander* (1844-1898) – British politician, lawyer, MP (1885-96), liberal, editor of the *Weekly Dispatch*: 161

*Huxley, Thomas Henry* (1825-1895) – English natural scientist, associate of Charles Darwin: 458

*Hyndman, Henry Mayers* (pseudonym *John Broadhouse*) (1842-1921) – British socialist; founder (1881) and leader of the Democratic Federation, transformed into the Social Democratic Federation in 1884, later a leader of the British Socialist Party: 11, 14, 40, 51, 59, 65, 66, 83, 108, 159, 177, 252, 264, 269, 273, 275, 281, 291, 292, 293, 295, 296, 306, 308, 310, 311, 316, 323, 324, 328, 330, 332, 333, 335, 336, 338, 341, 359, 365, 369, 376, 380, 387, 407, 417, 449, 489, 490, 496

*Ibsen, Henrik* (1828-1906) – Norwegian playwright: 321, 503, 505

*Iglesias, Posse Pablo* (1850-1925) – prominent figure in the Spanish working-class movement; printer, journalist; member of the Spanish Federal Council of the First International (1871-72), fought against anarchists; a founder of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain

(1879), later a leader of its reformist wing; delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889: 458

*Ihring, Ferdinand* – employee of the German political police; as an agent provocateur in one of the Berlin workers' societies, assumed the name of Malov in 1885; was exposed in February 1886: 175

*Isaacs, Henry Aaron* – Lord Mayor of London (1889-90): 418

*Jaclard, Charles Victor* (1843-1903) – French socialist, Blanquist, journalist, member of the First International, a Communard; after the suppression of the Commune, emigrated; returned to France after the 1880 amnesty, continued to take part in the socialist movement: 349, 381

*Jacques, Edouard Louis Auguste* (b. 1828) – French politician, businessman, moderate republican; member of the Paris City Council from 1871; Chairman of the General Council of the Seine Department from 1887; candidate of the united republicans at the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in January 1889: 252, 273

*Jevons, William Louis Alexandre* (1846-1890) – French socialist, mechanic, a Communard; after suppression of the Commune emigrated to England (1871-81); member of the French Workers' Party, a leader of its Possibilist wing; member of the Paris City Council from 1882, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1889: 136, 229

*Joffrin, Jules Louis Alexandre* – 381, 383

*Johnson, James* – representative of an American industrial firm in London: 405, 449

*Johnson, John Henry* – representative of the American industrial firm J.H. Johnson & Son & Ellis in London: 405

*Jollymeier* – see *Schorlemmer, Carl*

*Jonas, Alexander* (d. 1912) – German-born American socialist, journalist, editor-in-chief of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* from 1878: 37, 39, 45, 50, 62, 67, 209, 223, 500, 501, 502, 512

*Jones, Atherley* – Ernest Charles Jones' son: 265, 271-2

*Joos, Joseph* – German Social Democrat, emigrant in Zurich and later in London, contributed to *Der Sozialdemokrat*: 262

*Joule, James Prescott* (1818-1889) – English physicist, studied electromagnetism and heat, established mechanical equivalent of heat: 230

*Jourdan, Jean Baptiste* (1762-1833) – French general, Marshal of France from 1804; fought in the war of the French Republic against the first European coalition: 268

*Jourde, Antoine* (1848-1923) – French tradesman, close to socialists, later joined the Boulangist movement; delegate to several congresses of the French Workers' Party; member of the Chamber of Deputies (1889-1910): 397, 399

*Jung, Hermann* (1830-1901) – prominent figure in the international and Swiss working-class movement; watchmaker; took part in the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany, refugee in London; member of the General Council of the First International; sided with the reformist wing of the British Federal Council in 1872; withdrew from the working-class movement after 1877: 252, 335, 349, 449

*Jungnitz, Ernst* (d. 1848) – German journalist, Left Hegelian, contributed to the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*: 393

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804) – German philosopher: 340

*Kareyev, Nikolai Ivanovich* (1850-1931) – Russian historian and journalist, liberal, professor at Warsaw and St Petersburg universities (1879-84): 266, 267-8, 269-71
*Katkov, Mikhail Nikiforovich* (1818-1887) – Russian journalist, editor of *Moskovskiye Vedomosti* (1850-55, 1863-87), noted as a leader of the Pan-Slavists: 92, 93
*Kauf(f)mann, R.* – German soldier: 107
*Kautsky, Johann (Hans)* (b. 1864) – scene painter, Karl Kautsky's brother: 225, 226,235
*Kautsky, Karl* (1854-1930) – German Social Democrat, journalist, economist and historian, editor of *Die Neue Zeit* 1883-1917), author of several theoretical works on Marxism, a leader of the German Social Democrats and the Second International: 19, 22, 24, 38, 43, 57, 67, 68, 76, 77, 86-7, 88-9, 90, 95, 96, 97, 99, 101, 104, 122, 127, 129, 132, 133, 137, 157, 166, 188, 193, 202-3, 226-7, 230, 231-3, 235, 257-9, 263, 266-271, 273, 277, 299-300, 323-6, 346, 374-8, 383, 391, 392, 398, 409, 418, 419, 444, 450-3, 458, 466, 471-2, 476520-1
*Kautsky, Louise* (née *Strasser*) (1860-1950) – Austrian socialist, Karl Kautsky's first wife, Frederick Engels' secretary from 1890: 59, 76, 78, 119, 166, 188, 193, 223-5, 226-7, 231-2, 235, 258, 259, 301, 326, 375, 460
*Kautsky, Minna* (née *Jaich*) (1837-1912) – German author, Karl Kautsky's mother: 226, 227
*Kautsky, Minna* (b. 1856) – Karl Kautsky's sister: 226
*Kelley-Wischnewetzky, Florence* (1859-1932) – American socialist, translated into English Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England*; married to socialist Lazar Wischnewetzky, emigrant from Russia: 8-9, 15-20, 23, 32, 39, 46, 55, 56, 60-1, 62, 68, 69, 71, 72, 82, 83, 86, 90, 100-2, 121-3, 150, 151-4, 172-3, 182-3, 195, 215-6, 223, 253, 254, 272, 332, 355
*Kennan, George* (1845-1924) – American journalist, explorer and lecturer: 468
*Keussler, Ivan Avgustovich* (1843-1896) – Russian economist: 135, 132
*Kiselev, Pavel Dmitriyevich* (1788-1872) – Russian statesman and diplomat, general, chief of the Russian administration in Moldavia and Wallachia (1829-34), permanent member of all secret committees on peasant problems (from 1835), Minister of the Imperial Domains (from 1837); supported moderate reforms: 134
*Klein, Julius Leopold* (1804-1876) – German playwright and theatre critic, Young Hegelian: 393
*Knapp, George Friedrich* (1842-1926) – German economist and statistician: 132
*Knowles, James Thomas* (1831-1908) – British man of letters, publisher and architect, founder and editor (1877-1908) of the magazine *Nineteenth Century*: 461
*Koch, Hugo* – German Social Democrat, refugee in London, secretary to the editorial board of the *Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung*: 105
*Köppen, Karl Friedrich* (1808-1863) – German radical journalist and historian, Young Hegelian; later specialised in the history of Buddhism; Marx's friend: 393, 415
*Kossuth, Lajos (Louis)* (1802-1894) – Hungarian politician, leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement; headed the bourgeois-democratic elements in the 1848-49 Revolution and later the Hungarian revolutionary government; after the defeat of the revolution, left Hungary; sought

support among the Bonapartists in the 1850s; opposed formation of the dual monarchy in 1867: 142, 430

*Kravchinsky, Sergei Mikhailovich* (pseudonym *Stepniak*) (1851-1895) – Russian writer and journalist, revolutionary Narodnik in the 1870s, emigrated after committing a terrorist act against the chief of gendarmes in St Petersburg in 1878; lived in England from 1884: 341, 467, 468, 493

*Kropotkin, Pyotr Alexeyevich, Prince* (1842-1921) – Russian revolutionary, an ideologist of anarchism, sociologist, geographer and geologist; lived in emigration in 1876-1917: 49, 93

*Krüger, Adolf Hermann* (born c. 1836) – German police official (1866-90); a chief of the German political police in the 1880s: 130

*Kugelmann, Ludwig* (1828-1902) – German physician, took part in the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany, member of the First International, delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; regular correspondent of Marx and Engels (1862-74): 247-8, 428, 512

*Kuhlmann, Georg* (b. 1812) – *agent provocateur* of the Austrian government; preached 'true socialism' among the German Weitlingian artisans in Switzerland in the 1840s, using religious terminology: 234

*Kunert, Fritz* (1850-1932) – German Social Democrat, journalist; edited several Social Democratic newspapers in the 1880s-90s; repeatedly elected deputy to the Reichstag (from 1890): 461

*Labouchère, Henry du Pré* (1831-1912) – French-born British politician, diplomat and journalist, Liberal; MP (from 1865); one of the owners of *The Daily News*: 113

*Labriola, Antonio* (1843-1904) – Italian philosopher and journalist, one of the first exponents of Marxism in Italy: 413, 463, 464, 499

*Labruyère, Georges de* – French journalist, contributor to *Le Cri du Peuple*; Boulangist in the late 1880s: 13, 41

*Labusquière, John Delille* (1852-1939) – French journalist, member of the First International, took part in the socialist movement in the 1880s-90s: 13, 314

*Lachize, Jean Benoît (Félix)* (b. 1859) – French socialist, member of the French Workers' Party, Blanquist; weaver; member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1889): 384

*Lafargue, Laura* (née *Marx*) (1845-1911) – prominent figure in the French working-class movement, Karl Marx's second daughter, married Paul Lafargue in 1868: 4, 11, 23, 25, 27-9, 34-5, 40-2, 52-4, 65-6, 73-4, 76-7, 84, 85, 92-4, 106-8, 110-2, 116, 127-8, 130, 145, 147, 150, 159-60, 161, 169-71, 184-6, 189-91, 192, 194-5, 196-7, 198-9, 200-1, 202-4, 210-2. 226-7, 236-7, 243-5, 260-3, 264-5, 281, 302, 307-10, 314, 315-7, 329, 336-9, 343-6, 367-70, 370-4, 374, 384-7, 389-90, 396-8, 408-9, 410, 430-33, 454-5, 458, 460, 461-2, 479-81, 495-7, 498, 506, 509, 513-4, 519-20

*Lafargue, Paul* (1842-1911) – prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; journalist, author of several works on the theory of Marxism; member of the General Council of the First International (from 1866), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); a founder of the French Workers' Party (1880): 4, 7, 10-12, 13, 21, 23-5, 29, 40, 47-9, 52, 65, 74, 79, 85, 93, 104, 107, 109-10, 115-7, 124-5, 128, 129-131, 145-7, 150, 160, 164-6, 169-

70, 184, 185, 210-2, 226-7, 236-7, 243-5, 260-3, 264-5, 281, 302, 307, 308, 309, 312-4, 317-323, 327-332, 337, 338, 341-3, 344, 345, 346, 348-50, 351-2, 368, 371, 375, 377, 379-82, 384, 385, 387, 397, 399, 403, 404, 406-7, 408, 409, 410, 411, 413, 415, 431, 432, 456-7, 460, 462, 479, 493, 495, 496, 506, 509, 513-4, 519-20

*Lahr, Johanna* – German-born British socialist, member of the Socialist League: 327

*Lamansky, Vladimir Ivanovich* (1833-1914) – Russian Slavonic scholar, professor at St Petersburg University: 114

*Lange, Friedrich Albert* (1828-1875) – German sociologist, philosopher, democrat; member of the Standing Committee of the Union of German Workers' Associations (1864-66); member of the First International; professor at Marburg University from 1872: 395

*Lankester, Sir Edwin Ray* (1847-1929) – English biologist, professor of zoology and comparative anatomy 1874): 189

*Lasalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864) – German journalist, lawyer; participated in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder and first President of the General Association of German workers (1863-64); initiator of the Lassallean trend within the German working-class movement: 88, 117-8, 339, 511

*Lavigne, Paul* – French socialist: 24

*Lavrov, Pyotr Lavrovich* (1823-1900) – Russian sociologist, philosopher, revolutionary journalist, an ideologist of Narodism; lived in emigration from 1870; member of the First International, a Communard; editor of the journal *Vperyod!* (1873-76) and the newspaper *Vperyod* (1875-76); friend of Marx and Engels: 23, 100, 331

*Lavy, Jean Baptiste Aimé* (1850-1921) – French socialist, journalist, member of the Paris City Council (from 1887) and of the Chamber of Deputies (1890-98): 345

*Lee* – American publisher of Marx's '*Speech on the Question of Free Trade*': 254

*Leitner* – member of the Young Hegelian circle 'The Free' in Berlin in the 1840s: 393

*Leo, Heinrich* (1799-1878) – German historian and journalist, champion of conservative political and religious views: 415

*Leroux, Pierre* (1797-1871) – French writer, utopian socialist, representative of Christian socialism: 9

*Lessner, Friedrich* (1825-1910) – prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; tailor; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; refugee in London from 1856, member of the Educational Society of the German Workers in London, of the General Council of the First International (1864-72) and of the British Federal Council; delegate to all the International's congresses; took part in the socialist movement in England in the 1880s-90s; friend and associate of Marx and Engels: 58, 76, 156, 240, 241, 384, 489

*Lexis, Wilhelm* (1837-1914) – German economist and statistician, professor at Göttingen University (from 1887): 220

*Liebknecht, Gertrud* (b. 1864) – Wilhelm Liebknecht's daughter: 38, 373, 375

*Liebknecht, Natalie* (née *Reh*) (1835-1909) – Wilhelm Liebknecht's second wife (from 1868): 119-20, 426-7, 510-11

*Liebknecht, Theodor Karl* (1870-1948) – Wilhelm Liebknecht's son; lawyer;

member of the German Social Democratic Party: 373, 375

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900) – prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; took part in the 1848-49 Revolution; member of the Communist League and of the First International; deputy to the North German (1867-70) and to the German Reichstag (from 1874); a founder and leader of the German Social Democratic Party; editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1869-76) and *Vorwärts* (176-78 and 1890-1900); delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889, 1891 and 1893; friend and associate of Marx and Engels: 16-17, 28, 31, 37-8, 43-4, 56, 62, 65, 76, 77, 78, 83, 95, 119, 120, 140-1, 154-6, 161-2, 176-8, 181-2, 209, 239, 244, 245, 255, 256, 265, 273, 275, 276, 277, 288, 289-92, 294, 296, 297-8, 299, 303, 304, 305, 306, 308, 311, 313, 314, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325-6, 329, 333, 334, 341, 345, 349, 350, 353, 356, 362-3, 373, 374, 375, 376, 383-4, 397, 398-400, 407, 427, 445, 459-61, 473, 487, 490, 511, 512-3, 515-7

*Limouzin, Adelaide Elise* (née *Scharnet*) (b. 1846) – French adventurer; was imprisoned for speculation with orders (1888): 111

*Lingenau, Johann Karl Ferdinand* (c. 1814-1877) – German-born American socialist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA, bequeathed his money to the German Social Democratic Party: 356

*Lissagaray, Hippolyte Prosper Olivier* (1838-1901) – French journalist and historian; left republican; took part in the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to Belgium and later to England; author of the *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (1876): 12

*Lockroy, Edouard Étienne Antoine Simon* (1838-1913) – French statesman and journalist, radical; held several ministerial posts in the 1880s-90s: 28

*Lollini, Vittorio* – Italian socialist; lawyer: 463, 499

*Longuet, Charles Félix César* (1839-1903) – journalist, socialist; member of the General Council of the First International (1866-67 and 1871-72); member of the Paris Commune; later emigrated to England; joined the Possibilists in the 1880s; member of the Paris City Council in the 1880s-90s; husband of Marx's daughter Jenny: 11, 12, 40, 160, 164, 196, 198, 227, 264, 281, 313, 328, 349, 387, 388, 390, 396, 404, 479

*Longuet, Edgar* (1879-1950) – prominent figure in the French working-class movement; physician; member of the Socialist Party; son of Jenny and Charles Longuet, Marx's grandson: 196, 370, 375, 388

*Longuet, Jean Laurent Frédéric (Johnny)* (1876-1938) – prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; lawyer; later a leader of the French Socialist Party; son of Jenny and Charles Longuet, Marx's grandson: 196, 370, 375, 388

*Longuet, Marcel* (1881-1949) – son of Jenny and Charles Longuet, Marx's grandson: 374, 396

*Lopatin, Hermann Alexandrovich* (1845-1918) – Russian revolutionary, Narodnik, member of the General Council of the First International (1870); one of the translators into Russian of the first volume of Marx's *Capital*; friend of Marx and Engels: 100, 137, 229, 346

*Loria, Achille*, 477

*Louis Philippe* (1773-1850) – Duke of

Orleans, King of the French (1830-48): 110, 386
*Lovell, John W.* – American publisher, printed Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1887): 68, 101, 122, 152
*Lowrey* – partner in William Swan Sonnenschein & Co: 49
*Lüning, Otto* (1818-1868) – German physician and journalist; 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s; editor of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*; later National Liberal: 234

*Macdonald, Alexander* (1821-1881) – an English trade union leader, President of the National Miners' Union (from 1863), MP (from 1874), supporter of a Liberal policy: 81, 192
*MacMahon, Marie Edme Patrice Maurice, comte de, duc de Magenta* (1808-1893) – French marshal, senator, Bonapartist; fought in the wars of the Second Empire; a butcher of the Paris Commune; President of the third Republic (1873-79): 314, 480
*McGlynn, Edward* (1837-1900) – American Catholic priest, supporter of Henry George in 1886-87 and a leader of the United Labor Party, excommunicated for this; later broke off with Henry George and was the only leader of that party in 1888-89: 84, 91
*Mahon, John Lincoln* (1865-1933) – active member of the English working-class movement; mechanic; member of the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Federation (1884), member of the Socialist League from December 1884 and its secretary in 1885, an organiser of the North of England Socialist Federation (1887): 70, 80-1, 82-3, 87-8, 186, 265, 271-2
*Malon, Benoît* (1841-1893) – French socialist, member of the First International, delegate to the Geneva Congress (1866); member of the Central Commitee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Italy and then to Switzerland, sided with the Bakunists; returned to France after the amnesty of 1880; a leader of the reformist trend in the French Workers' Party and of the Possibilists' Party (from 1882): 263, 307
*Mandl, Heinrich* – Austrian merchant, Social Democrat in the 1880s, contributed to *Die Neue Zeit*: 88
*Mann, Tom* (1856-1941) – prominent figure in the English working-class movement; mechanical engineer; belonged to the left wing of the Social Democratic Federation (from 1885) and to the Independent Labour Party (from 1893); took an active part in the organisation of a mass movement of unskilled workers and in the formation of their trade unions in the late 1880s; leader of several strikes: 328, 330, 331, 359, 370, 377, 418, 437, 485
*Manning, Henry Edward* (1808-1892) – British clergyman, archbishop of Westminster from 1868, cardinal from 1875: 418
*Marouck, Victor* – French journalist, socialist, contributed to *L'Égalité*; joined the Possibilists in the early 1880s: 13
*Martignetti, Pasquale* (1844-1920) – Italian socialist, translator of Marx's and Engels' works into Italian: 5-7, 11, 63-4, 65, 80, 126, 133, 142, 143-4, 178-0, 400-1, 413, 439-41, 463, 464, 498, 499
*Marx, Jenny* (née *von Westphalen*) (1814-1881) – Karl Marx's wife: 462
*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883): 7, 32, 79, 97, 103, 104, 108, 118, 137, 159, 180, 184, 220, 228-9, 237, 254, 258, 259, 283, 298, 335, 339, 347, 350-1, 357,

363, 393, 394, 414, 419, 423, 436, 449, 462, 463, 476, 477-8, 484, 494, 506, 508, 511, 520-1

*Marx-Aveling, Eleanor (Tussy)* (1855-1898) – prominent figure in the English and international working-class movement, journalist, Karl Marx's youngest daughter, married Edward Aveling in 1884: 3, 4, 8, 11, 13, 15-20, 21-2, 23, 24, 28, 30, 37-9, 41-2, 43-4, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 57, 59, 66, 73, 74, 76, 78, 82, 83, 84, 85, 90, 96, 112-3, 116, 118, 119, 120, 157, 158, 170, 173, 182, 185, 186, 194, 195, 196, 198, 200, 202, 203, 205, 208, 212, 213, 220, 223, 224, 227, 231, 243, 250, 253, 257, 259, 264, 272, 291, 295, 300, 310, 312, 313, 315, 318, 322, 326, 328, 341, 345, 346, 354, 370, 371, 373, 379, 387, 388, 389, 390,392, 402, 409, 411, 412, 417, 419, 420, 422, 426, 427, 431, 436, 441, 448, 457, 460, 462, 486, 488-9, 491, 493, 494, 495, 496, 501, 502, 506,

*Massingham, Henry William* (1860-1924) – English journalist, editor of *The Star* (1890): 310, 313, 316, 318, 321

*Matthews, Henry, 1st Viscount Llandaff* (1826-1913) – British lawyer and politician, Conservative, MP; Home Secretary (1886-92): 112, 113

*Maupassant, Henri René Albert Guy de* (1850-1893) – French writer: 12

*Mayer, Julius Robert* (1814-1878) – German naturalist, one of the first discoverers of the law of conservation and transformation of energy: 230

*Meissner, Otto Karl* (1819-1902) – publisher in Hamburg, printed *Capital* and other works by Marx and Engels: 126, 228, 276, 373

*Menger, Anton* (1841-1906) – Austrian politician, lawyer, professor at Vienna University: 25

*Mesa y Leompart, José* (1840-1904) – prominent figure in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement; printer; an organiser of the First International's sections in Spain; active opponent of anarchists; one of the first exponents of Marxism in Spain and a founder of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (1879); translator into Spanish of several works by Marx and Engels: 53

*Meyen, Eduard* (1812-1870) – German journalist, democrat, Young Hegelian, emigrant in London, later National Liberal 393

*Meyendorf, Baroness von* – involved in the Hatzfeldts' divorce case in the 1840s, friend of Count Edmund von Hatzfeldt: 118

*Millerand, Étienne Alexandre* (1859-1943) – French politician and statesman, lawyer and journalist, petty-bourgeois radical in the 1880s, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1885; headed opportunist trend in the French socialist movement in the 1890s: 368, 372

*Mills, Roger Quarles* (1832-1911) – American statesman, lawyer, Democrat; member of the House of Representatives (1873-92), Senator (1892-99) from Texas: 172

*Miquel, Johannes von* (1828-1901) – German lawyer, politician and banker; member of the Communist League up to 1852, chief burgomaster of Osnabrück (1865-70, 1876-80); a leader of the right-wing National Liberals from 1867; deputy to the North German and the German Reichstag: 473

*Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard, Count von* (1800-1891) – Prussian military leader and writer; general, field marshal (from 1871); Chief of the Prussian (1857-71) and the Imperial (1871-88) General Staff: 454

*Moore, Samuel* (c. 1838-1911) – English

lawyer, member of the First International; translated into English the first volume of Marx's *Capital* (in collaboration with Edward Aveling) and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; friend of Marx and Engels: 32, 74, 96, 144, 150, 153, 227, 243, 250, 315, 336, 337, 343, 345, 348, 387, 388, 390, 419, 422, 475, 479

*Moreau de Jounès, Alexandre* (1778-1870) – French economist and statistician; author of several works of statistical research: 266

*Morgan, Lewis Henry* (1818-1881) – American ethnographer, archaeologist and historian of primitive society: 254, 501, 517

*Morier, Robert Burnett David* (1826-1893) – English diplomat; ambassador to St Petersburg (1884-93): 253

*Morris, William* (1834-1896 – English poet, writer and artist; participant in the working-class and socialist movement in the 1880s, a leader of the Socialist League (1884-89): 51, 53, 66, 70, 73, 123, 153, 156, 159, 308, 321, 328, 360, 424, 485, 518

*Most, Johann Joseph* (1846-1906) – participant in the German working-class movement, anarchist; bookbinder; deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-78); emigrated to London (1878) where he published *Die Freiheit*; expelled from the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany as anarchist (1880); emigrated to the USA in 1882: 241

*Motteler, Emilie*: 193, 198, 200, 426

*Motteler, Julius* (1838-1907) – German Social Democrat; member of the Reichstag (1874-78); émigré in Zurich and then in London during the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law; supervised the delivery of *Der Sozialdemokrat* and illegal Social Democratic literature to Germany: 179, 185, 187, 190, 194, 198, 200, 221, 272, 365, 419, 426, 450, 500-1

*Mügge, Theodor* (1806-1861) – German writer and journalist, Young Hegelian: 393

*Müller, K.H.* – German Social Democrat, emigrant in the USA, contributed to the Chicago *Arbeiter-Zeitung*: 38

*Murray, Alma* – English actress: 196

*Mussak* – teacher in Berlin in the 1840s, Young Hegelian: 393

*Nadejde, Ioan* (1854-1928) – Romanian journalist, Social Democrat, translator of Engels' works into Romanian later National Liberal: 132-5, 185

*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873) – Napoleon I's nephew, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70): 283, 396, 479

*Naporra, Rudolph* – employee of the German political police, *agent provocateur* among the Polish émigrés in Berlin; exposed in 1888: 175

*Nasr-ed-Din* (1831-1896) – Shah of Persia (1848-96): 340

*Nieuwenhuis, Ferdinand Domela* (1846-1919) – prominent figure in the Dutch working-class movement; a founder of the Dutch Social Democratic Party (1881): 157-8, 301, 306, 345, 349, 370, 373, 460, 470-1,

*Nonne, Heinrich* – German *agent provocateur*, personally acquainted with Engels, member of the Educational Society of German Workers in London, lived in Paris from the spring of 1883, exposed in 1884: 130

*Oberwinder, Heinrich* (1846-1914) – participant in the Austrian working-class movement, journalist, Lassallean in the early 1860s, then sided with the Eisenachers, delegate

to the Basle Congress of the First International (1869); editor of the *Volksstimme* and *Volkswille*; left working-class movement in the late 1870s; exposed as a German police spy in the late 1880s: 129-30
*O'Brien, William* (1852-1928) – Irish politician and journalist, nationalist; publisher of the *United Ireland* from 1881; MP from 1883: 155, 159
*O'Connor, Feargus Edward* (1794-1855) – Irish politician and lawyer, a leader of the left-wing Chartists, MP (1832), founder and editor of *The Northern Star*: 425
*Okecki, Alexandre* – French politician, close to socialists, editor and publisher of the socialist weekly *L'Autonomie*: 328, 481
*Osteroth, Friedrich* (d. 1889) – Frederick Engels' distant relative: 435
*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858) – British utopian socialist: 167

*Parke, Ernst* (b. 1860) – British journalist, editor-in-chief of *The Star* (from 1888): 448
*Parnell, William* – British trade union figure, joiner, leader of the Cabinet-makers' Union; delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1891: 328, 330, 331, 334, 341-2, 346, 444
*Paul, Johannes* – German cotton merchant in Hamburg, representative of the Paul und Steinberg firm: 63, 64, 80
*Pauli, Ida*: 196
*Pelletan, Charles Camille* (1846-1915) – French politician, journalist, editor-in-chief of *La Justice* from 1880, sided with the left-wing Radicals; member of the Chamber of Deputies (1881-1912): 116
*Petersen, Niels Lorenz* (1814-1894) – prominent figure in the international working-class movement, Weitlingean, then member of the Communist League, contributed to *Das Volk* from 1859; member of the German section of the First International in Paris; a leader of the left wing of the Social Democratic Party of Denmark; delegate to the International Socialist Workers Congress of 1889: 307, 342, 373, 377
*Pfänder, Karl* (c. 1819-1876) – prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; artist; refugee in London from 1845; member of the Communist League and of the General Council of the First International (1864-67 and 1870-72); friend and associate of Marx and Engels: 161
*Pfänder, Mrs* – 156, 161
*Pinoff* – Prussian public prosecutor at the Elberfeld trial of the German Social Democrats (1889): 443
*Pitt, William (the Younger)* (1759-1806) – British statesman, Tory; Prime Minister (1783-1801 and 1804-06): 414
*Platter, Julius* (1844-1923) – Swiss economist and journalist: 221
*Plekhanov, Georgi Valentinovich* (1856-1918) – prominent figure in the Russian and international working-class movement; philosopher and exponent of Marxism in Russia, founder of the first Russian Marxist organisation – the Emancipation of Labour group (1883); delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889 and to several other congresses of the Second International; fought against Narodism (Populism) in the 1880s-90s: 331, 467, 468, 483, 484
*Popoff* – Bulgarian army officer, garrison commander in Sofia in 1887: 58
*Portalis, Albert Edouard* (1845-1918) – French journalist, owner of *Le XIXe Siècle* from 1886; supported Boulangists in 1886-88: 110

*Potter, George* (1832-1893) – British worker, carpenter; leader of the Amalgamated Union of Building Workers and of the trade union movement, member of the London Trades Council; founder, editor and publisher of *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*: 158, 418
*Powderly, Terence Vincent* (1849-1924) – American labour leader in the 1870s-80s; mechanic; leader of the Knights of Labor (1879-93); sided with the Republican Party in 1896: 57, 91, 102
*Price* – employee in the firm William Swan Sonnenschein & Co: 49
*Protot, Louis Charles Eugène* (1839-1921) – French lawyer, physician and journalist; Blanquist, a Communard; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to Switzerland and then to England; returned to France after the amnesty of 1880; opposed the International and Marxists: 403
*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865) – French journalist, economist and sociologist, a founder of anarchism: 102, 394
*Puttkamer, Robert Victor von* (1828-1900) – Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1881-88), was a prosecutor of Social Democrats during the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law: 118, 138, 155, 156, 159, 160, 170, 175, 451, 459, 462, 477
*Pyat, Aimé Félix* (1810-1889) – French journalist, playwright and politician, democrat, participant in the 1848 revolution, led a slander campaign against Marx and The First International for several years, deputy to the National Assembly (1871), a Communard; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to England; returned to France after the amnesty of 1880; published the newspaper *Commune* in September-November 1880: 13, 403

*Ranke, Johannes* (1836-1916) – German physiologist and anthropologist, professor at Munich University, Conservative from 1889: 268
*Ranke, Leopold von* (1795-1886) – German historian, professor at Berlin University, ideologist of Prussian Junkers: 229
*Rappaport, Philipp* – American socialist, contributed to *Die Neue Zeit* in the late 1880s and 1890s: 273, 418
*Reeves, William Dobson* (c. 1827-1907) – British publisher and bookseller: 121, 122, 123, 150, 152, 188, 216, 254
*Reichel, Alexander* (1853-1921) – Swiss Social Democrat, lawyer: 306
*Reid, George W.*: 436, 442
*Rempel, Rudolf* (1815-1868) – German businessman, 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s: 234
*Reuss, Carl Theodor* – German journalist, agent of the German political police in London in the 1880s, exposed in December 1887: 156, 159-60, 355
*Reuter, Heinrich Ludwig Christian Fritz* (1810-1874) – German humourist writer and novelist, made Plattdeutsch (Low German) a literary language; for taking part in the students' movement was sentenced to capital punishment in 1833 which was commuted to a thirty years' imprisonment, amnestied in 1840: 393
*Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de* (1758-1794) – prominent figure in the French Revolution, leader of the Jacobins, head of the revolutionary government (1793-94): 268, 414
*Robinson, A.F.* – British socialist, member of the Socialist League: 327
*Rochefort, Victor Henri, marquis de Rochefort-Luçay* (1830-1913) –

French journalist, writer and politician; left-wing Republican; member of the Government of National Defence; after the suppression of the Paris Commune was exiled to New Caledonia, fled to England; returned to France after the amnesty of 1880, published *L'Intransigeant*; monarchist from the late 1880s: 93, 165, 171, 238, 282, 322

*Röllinghoff, Ewald* – one of the accused at the Elberfeld trial of the German Social Democrats (1889), was exposed as a police agent and sentenced to five months' imprisonment: 443

*Roques, Jules* – editor and publisher of *L'Égalité* (1889-91): 275

*Rose, Edward (Baby)* (1849-1904) – English playwright: 321

*Rosenberg, Wilhelm Ludwig* (pseudonm *von der Mark*) (born c. 1860) – German-born American socialist, journalist; Secretary of the National Executive Commitee of the Socialist Labor Party of North America in the 1880s, leader of the Lassallean wing of the party; expelled from the party together with other Lassalleans in 1889: 15, 19, 22, 33, 208, 387, 417, 425, 437, 446

*Rosher, Charles* – Percy White Rosher's brother: 94, 409, 442

*Rosher, Charles H.* – Percy White Rosher's father: 200, 240

*Rosher, Frank – Percy White Rosher's brother*: 481, 498

*Rosher, Mary Ellen Catherine (Pumps)* (née *Burns*) (born c. 1860) – niece of Frederick Engels' wife: 11, 14, 23, 41, 54, 74, 76, 77, 92, 94, 112, 193, 194, 196, 198, 199, 202, 203, 237, 243, 250, 253, 389, 408, 409, 420, 426, 431, 438,

*Rosher, Percy White* – English merchant, married Mary Ellen Burns in 1881: 76, 92, 94, 112, 119, 196, 200, 225, 243, 361, 398, 400, 409, 426, 431, 438, 449

*Rouanet, Armand Gustave* (1855-1927) – French socialist, Possibilist, journalist, editor and publisher of *La Revue Socialiste* (from 1885), member of the Paris City Council (1890-93) and of the Chamber of Deputies from 1893: 307

*Rousseau, Jean Jacques* (1712-1778) – French philosopher of the Enlightenment: 458

*Rouvier, Pierre Maurice* (1842-1911) – French statesman, moderate republican; repeatedly held posts of Minister and Premier; when his involvement in the Panama swindle was exposed in 1892, he had to retire and abandon political activity for a time: 107

*Rudolf, Franz Karl Joseph* (1858-1889) – Austro-Hungarian archduke and crown prince, committed suicide because of a love intrigue with Vetsera, a twenty-year Romanian baroness: 268-9

*Rutenberg, Adofl* (1808-1869) – German journalist, Young Hegelian; editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in 1842 and of the *National-Zeitung* in 1848; National Liberal after 1866: 393

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825) – French utopian socialist: 167

*Salisbury, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, 3rd Marquis of* (1830-1903) – British statesman, leader of the Conservatives (from 1881), Secretary of State for India (1866-67 and 1874-78), Foreign Secretary (1878-80), Prime Minister (1885-86, 1886-92 and 1895-1902): 108, 155, 253

*Scherrer, Heinrich* (1847-1919) – Swiss lawyer, Social Democrat: 306, 333

*Scheu, Andreas* (1844-1927) – a prominent figure in the Austrian and English socialist movement, editor

of *Die Gleichheit* (1870-74); member of the First International; emigrated to England in 1874; a founder of the Social Democratic Federation: 11, 76
*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805) – German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher: 458
*Schippel, Max* (1859-1928) – German economist and journalist, initially supporter of Rodbertus, Social Democrat from 1886, was close to the Jungen opposition group, deputy to the German Reichstag (1890-1905): 301, 311, 334, 490, 493
*Schlesinger, Maximilian* (1855-1902) – German journalist, Social Democrat, Lassallean; contributed to a number of newspapers and journals: 298, 299, 325, 363, 383
*Schlüter, Anna*: 193, 198, 200, 243, 250, 260, 419, 427, 449
*Schlüter, Friedrich Hermann* (1851-1919) – German Social Democrat, manager of a Social Democratic publishing house in Zurich in the 1880s, a founder of the archives of German Social Democracy, emigrated to the USA in 1889, took part in the socialist movement there; author of several works on the history of English and American working-class movement: 39-49, 125-6, 142, 144-5, 147-9, 163, 179, 185, 187, 190, 191, 194, 198, 199, 200, 221, 233, 234, 243, 249-501, 250, 252, 260, 273, 354, 419, 427, 436-8, 442, 446, 449, 469, 473, 474, 487, 500-1, 508
*Schmidt, Conrad* (1863-1932) – German economist and philosopher, Social Democrat, was close to Marxism in the 1880s-90s, later became a Neo-Kantian: 85, 117-9, 220-1, 249-51, 276-7, 299-300, 339-41, 391-2, 402, 404, 420-2, 476-8
*Schnaebelé, Guillaume* (1831-1900) – French police commissar, was arrested on the Franco-German border by the German authorities on the charge of espionage (April 1887), soon released: 54, 58, 259
*Schoenlank, Bruno* (1859-1901) – German Social Democrat, journalist; deputy to the German Reichstag (from 1893); contributed to the *Vorwärts* in the 1890s: 978
*Schorlemmer, Carl* (1834-1892) (Jollymeier) – German organic chemist, professor at Manchester; member of the First International and of the Social Democratic Party; friend of Marx and Engels: 48, 74, 85, 88, 128, 139, 160, 184, 194, 196, 198, 200, 201, 205, 206, 208, 212, 213, 220, 223, 224, 227, 243, 250, 298, 300, 345, 361, 371, 426, 460, 469, 472, 475, 488, 509, 515, 517
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*Schramm, Carl August* (1830-1905) – German Social Democrat, economist; criticised Marxism; withdrew from the Party in the 1880s: 67, 76-7
*Schweichel, Robert* (pen-name *Rosus*) (1821-1907) – German writer, literary critic and journalist; participant in the 1848-49 revolution; took an active part in the working-class movement in the late 1860s; contributed to the socialist press, *Die Neue Zeit* in particular: 248
*Schweitzer, Johann Baptist von* (1833-1875) – German lawyer; a Lassallean leader; editor of *Der Social demokrat* (1864-67); President of the General Association of the German Workers (1867-71); supported Bismarck's policy of unifying Germany 'from above' under Prussia's supremacy; hindered German workers' affiliation to the First International; fought against the Social Democratic Workers' Party; expelled from the General Association for his contacts with the Prussian authorities (1872): 425

*Senegas, Martial* – French socialist; printer and lithographer, member of the Chamber of Deputies from the French Workers' Party (from 1889): 408
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*Shipton, George Ball* (1839-1911) – trade union leader, founder and secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Housepainters and Decorators; editor of *The Labour Standard* (1881-85); Secretary of the London Trades Council (1872-96): 333, 360, 489, 490
*Singer, Paul* (1844-1911) – prominent figure in the German working-class movement, a leader of the German Social Democrats; member of the Social Democratic Workers' Party (from 1878); deputy to the German Reichstag (1884-1911); member (from 1887) and Chairman (from 1890) of the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Germany: 28, 32, 35, 67, 72, 76, 107, 150, 159, 277, 290, 373, 511
*Smirnov, Valerian Nikolayevich* (pseudonym *Doctor Noel*) (1848-1900) – Russian revolutionary, Narodnik (Populist); physician; in the early 1870s emigrated to Zurich and later to London, Paris and Bern; member of the First International; an editor of the newspaper and journal *Vperyod!*: 358
*Smith (Smith Headingley), Adolphe (Adolphus)* (1846-1924) – British socialist, journalist; member of the Social Democratic Federation from the 1880s, close to the French Possibilists, opposed Marx and his associates: 239, 252, 264, 308, 310, 313, 316, 407
*Soetbeer, George Adolf* (1814-1892) – German economist and statistician: 247, 376
*Sonnenschein, William Swan* (1855-1931) – English publisher who printed the first English edition of Volume One of Marx's *Capital* (1887): 12, 48, 49, 83, 108, 115-6, 227, 272, 408
*Sorge, Adolphe* (1855-1907) – Friedrich Adolph Sorge's son; mechanical engineer: 449
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*Stanton, Theodore* (1851-1925) – American journalist, represented several American newspaper publishing houses in Europe in the early 1880s; published *European Correspondent* in Paris (1886-87): 53
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*Stein, Lorenz von* (1815-1890) – German economist and sociologist, lawyer, professor in Vienna (1855-85): 235
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*Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882) – Prussian police official; chief of the Prussian political police (1850-60); an organiser of and principal witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); during the Austro-Prussian (1866) and the Franco-Prussian (1870-71) war was chief of the military police and of the German intelligence and counter-intelligence in France: 142, 193
*Stirner-Schmidt, Marie Wilhelmine* (née *Dähnhardt* (1818-1902) – Max Stirner's wife (1843-47): 394
*Stirner, Max* (real name *Schmidt, Johann Caspar*) (1806-1856) – German philosopher, Young Hegelian, an ideologist of individualism and anarchism: 393-4
*Sybel, Heinrich von* (1817-1895) – German historian and politician; National Liberal (from 1867); member of the Erfurt Parliament (1850) and of the North German Reichstag (1867); representative of the 'Prussian school' of German historians; an ideologist of unifying Germany 'from above' under Prussia's supremacy; director of the Prussian state archives (1875-95): 268
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*Szeps, Moriz* (1834-1902) – Austrian journalist, Liberal, editor and publisher of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* from 1867: 129

*Taine, Hippolyte Adolphe* (1828-1893) – French historian, philosopher, art critic and literary specialist, representative of the 'cultural and historical school': 248, 266
*Tauscher, Leonhard* (1840-1914) – German Social Democrat, compositor; during the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law took part in bringing out *Der Sozialdemokrat* in Zurich and then in London; later an editor of Social Democratic periodicals in Stuttgart: 179, 185, 187, 190, 194, 198,200, 221, 243, 250
*Teste, Jean Baptiste* (1780-1852) – French lawyer and statesman, Orleanist, Minister of Trade, Justice and Public Works during the July monarchy; tried for bribery and malpractices: 110
*Thibaudin, Jean* (1822-1905) – French politician, general, War Minister in 1883; charged with speculation with orders (1887), and was forced to retire (1888): 111
*Thiers, Adolph* (1797-1877) – French

historian and statesman: 386
*Thivier, Christophe* (1841-1895) – prominent figure in the English working-class movement, member of the Social Democratic Fedration; an organiser of the mass movement of the unskilled workers in the late 1880s and early 1890s; General Secretary of the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland: 381, 384, 408
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*Tillet, Benjamin (Ben)* (1860-1943) – British politician, socialist, an organiser and leader of the new trade unions, later one of the founders of the Labour Party; General Secretary of the Dock, Whaft, Riverside and General Labourers' Union of Great Britain and Ireland: 377, 486
*Tocqueville, Alexis Charles Henri Maurice Clérel de* (1805-1859) – French liberal historian and statesman, legitimist and supporter of constitutional monarchy: 266
*Tooke, Thomas* (1774-1858) – English classical political economist: 347, 352, 416
*Trier, Gerson Georg* (1851-1918) – Danish Social Democrat, a leader of the left wing in the Social Democratic Party of Denmark; teacher; fought against the reformist policy of the Party's opportunist wing; translator of Engels' works into Danish: 42-3, 307, 342, 373, 377, 423-5
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*Tucker, Benjamin Ricketson* (1854-1939) – American journalist, anarchist, founder and editor of a number of anarchist publications: 102

*Vaillant, Marie Édouard* (1840-1915) – French engineer, naturalist and physician; Blanquist; member of the Paris Commune, of the National Guard's Central Commitee, of the General Council of the First International (1871-72) and of the Paris City Council (from 1884): 139-40, 150, 244, 246, 262, 264, 273, 281, 313, 315, 328, 350, 369, 397, 404, 411
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*Vico, Giambattista* (1668-1744) – Italian sociologist, philosopher, lawyer, professor of rhetoric at Naples University; court historiographer: 463
*Victoria* (full name *Alexandrina Victoria*) (1819-1901) – Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901): 175
*Victoria Adelaide Marie Louise* (1840-1901) – eldest daughter of Queen Victoria of Great Britain, wife (from 1858) of Frederick III, Prussian King and German Emperor; Empress (1888); after her husband's death (1888) bore the name Frederic: 165, 174, 175
*Viereck, Louis* (1851-1921) – German Social Democrat; publisher and journalist; a leader of the reformist wing in the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany in the latter half of the 1870s; member of the German Reichstag (1884-87); dismissed from all responsible Party posts by decision of the St Gallen Congress (1887); withdrew from the socialist movement after 1888; emigrated to America in 1890: 30, 93, 107, 162
*Virchow, Rudolf* (1821-1902) – German naturalist, archaeologist and politician; founder of modern pathological anatomy and cellular pathology; a founder and leader of the Party of Progress (1861-84): 175
*Vizetelly, Henry* (1820-1894) – British writer, translator and book publisher: 166
*Volders, Jean* (1855-1896) – Belgian socialist, journalist, a founder of the

*Parti ouvrier Belge*, delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889, 1891 and 1893: 293
*Vollmar, Georg Heinrich von* (1850-1922) – German Social Democrat, a leader of the reformist wing of the German Social Democrats; editor of *Der Sozialdemokrat* (1879-80); deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-87 and 1890-1918) and to the Bavarian Landtag: 461

*Wachenhusen, Hans* (1823-1898) – German journalist and writer: 393
*Waldeck, Julius* – German physician, belonged to 'The Free', a Young Hegelian circle in Berlin in the 1840s: 393
*Waldeyer, Wilhelm* (1836-1921) – German anatomist: 173
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*Warren, Sir Charles* (1840-1927) – British military engineer and colonial official, chief of the London police (1886-88), one of those who organised the massacre of the workers' demonstration in London on 13 November 1887: 141
*Webb, Sidney James, 1st Baron Passfield* (1859-1947) – British politician and public figure; lawyer, sociologist and economist; worked in various ministries concerned with economy and law (1878-91); a founder of the Fabian Society (1884); together with his wife Beatrice Webb wrote several works on the history and theory of the working-class movement in Britain: 298
*Wedde, Friedrich Christoph Johannes* (1843-1890) – German journalist and writer, democrat, editor of the *Bürger-Zeitung* (1881-87): 63, 80, 98-9, 143
*Weerth, Georg* (1822-1856) – German poet and journalist, member of the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49; friend of Marx and Engels: 436
*Weill, Alexandre (Abraham)* (1811-1899) – German writer and journalist, democrat; emigrated to Paris in the 1840s; contributed to German and French newspapers: 462
*Weiss, Johannes* – German medical student, a friend of Conrad Schmidt, later emigrated to South America: 106-7, 118
*Weitling, Wilhelm Christian* (1808-1871) – German tailor, one of the first leaders of the working-class movement in Germany; theoretician of utopian egalitarian communism; emigrated to the USA in 1849: 233, 234, 235
*Werder, Karl Friedrich* (1806-1893) – German philosopher, Hegelian, poet: 394
*William I* (1797-1888) – Prince of Prussia, King of Prussia (1861-88), Emperor of Germany (1871-88): 25, 41, 92, 104, 111, 138, 141, 146, 163, 164, 171, 174, 175, 273-4, 454
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*Wischnewetzky, Lazar* – physician, Pole by birth, emigrated to the USA in 1886, member of the Socialist Labor Party of North America, husband of Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky: 8, 9, 39, 46, 82, 83, 90, 150, 195, 216, 254, 312, 332-3, 355
*Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus)* (1809-1864) – German proletarian revolutionary, teacher; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League (from March 1848), an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly; emigrated to Switzerland, later to England; friend and associate of Marx and Engels: 392
*Young, Edward* – American statistician, chief of the Statistical Bureau in Washington, author of works on the condition of the working class: 229

*Zabel, Friedrich* (1802-1875) – German journalist, editor of the Berlin *National-Zeitung* (1848-75): 393
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*Zetkin, Clara* (née *Eissner*) (1857-1933) – prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (from 1881); contributed to *Der Sozialdemokrat*: 318
*Zetkin, Ossip* (1852-1889) – Russian revolutionary, banished from Russia for revolutionary activity in 1874; later prominent figure in the German and French working-class movement; journalist; Clara Zetkin's husband: 25
*Zola, Émile* (1840-1902) – French writer: 85, 168
*Zychlinsky, Franz Zychlin von* (1816-1900) – Prussian army officer, Young Hegelian, contributed to Bruno Bauer's periodicals under the name of Szeliga: 393
*Zasulich, Vera Ivanovna* (1849-1919) – participant in the Narodniks (from 1868) and later in the Social Democratic movement in Russia; a founder (1883) and active member of the Emancipation of Labour group: 331, 467-8, 482-5

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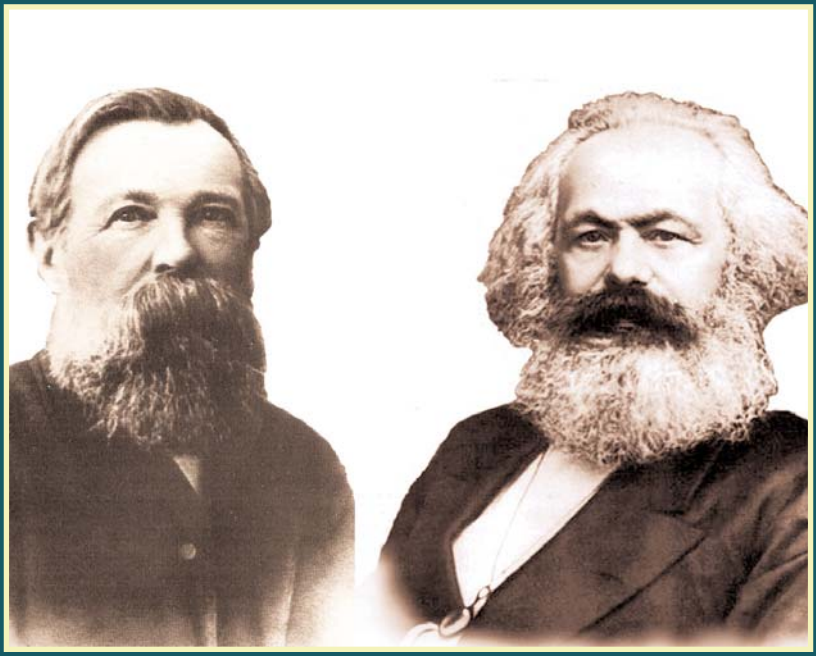

## VOLUME 49

Letters 1890-92

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 49

## Letters 1890-92

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Wer deutsche Geschichte auf stolz heraus, abgesehen
nicht nur von Saint-Simon, Owen und Fourier sondern
auch von Kant, Fichte und Hegel die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung
ist die Erbin der deutschen klassischen Philosophie

London 4. Januar 1891. Friedrich Engels

# Preface

Volume 49 of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels contains Engels' letters from August 1890 to September 1892.

As is clear from a number of events, including the May Day demonstrations that swept over nearly the whole of Europe, the successes of the German Social-Democrats in the elections to the Reichstag and the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law, and the foundation of new trades unions in England, the working-class and socialist movement gained considerable ground in these years. The letters in this volume give a vivid picture of the still unflagging scholarly and political activity of Engels, seventy years of age on 28 November 1890, during this period. They reflect the many problems facing the working-class movement in the early 1890s after the foundation and consolidation of the socialist parties and the formation of a new international association, the Second International. They also reflect the complications facing the spread and confirmation of Marxist ideas.

Of particular importance during the 1890s were the propagation of Marxism, the explanation of its fundamental theoretical propositions, and the safeguarding of those propositions from oversimplification and contemporary misinterpretation.

Engels gave much of his time to preparing new editions for the press and editing translations of Marx's works and of his own writings, including those that had become virtually unobtainable by that time. Engels bore in mind the theoretical significance and poten-

tial import of the work being republished and, in editing the translations, the peculiarities of the respective country. All these publications were brought out with his direct participation: he worked on the texts, wrote notes when necessary and read the proofs. As a rule, Engels wrote special introductions for them which were, in effect small-scale studies in their own right. The editions prepared by Engels influenced the views and practical activities of the Marxists and the development of the working-class parties.

During these years, Engels still regarded it as his 'urgent duty' (see this volume, p. 396) to prepare for publication Marx's economic manuscripts, above all those comprising Volume III of *Capital* (see pp. 329, 331, 334, 379, 385, 390, 440, 450, etc.). Because of the many tasks in hand and his state of health, however, Engels was not able to begin this work until November 1891. He wrote to Karl Kautsky on 3 December 1891: 'I have just got to the most difficult part, i. e. the last chapters (six to eight or thereabouts) on money capital, banks, credit, etc., and, once having started, I shall have to keep at it without a break and work through the relevant literature again, in short make myself completely *au fait*, if only so that I may — as is probable — eventually leave most of it as it stands, yet at the same time feel quite sure that I have committed no blunders either in the positive or the negative sense' (pp. 314-15). At the beginning of 1892, he was again compelled to break off work on Volume III and was not able to resume it until September.

Of considerable interest are Engels' letters dealing with theoretical problems and the development and deepening of certain propositions of Marxist theory that had become particularly important in the early 1890s. As the ideas of Marx and Engels spread further, they were taken up by representatives of the most diverse ideological trends. Many propositions of the theory were being digested by the members of the working-class movement in a one-sided and oversimplified manner as various slogans, and were sometimes grossly distorted. Certain members of the socialist movement, as Engels noted in his letter to Conrad Schmidt of 12 April 1890, tended to impose their own personal conjectures on the works of Marx and Engels instead of reading what they actually contained (see present edition, Vol. 48).

Particularly widespread in the early 1890s was a perverse interpretation of the materialist understanding of history in the spirit of 'eco-

nomic materialism', according to which economics was the sole active factor in the historical process. These views were especially typical of a number of young socialists in Germany. Some of them asked Engels directly to explain certain points about the materialist interpretation of history.

In this respect, Engels' famous letters to Conrad Schmidt of 5 August and 27 October and to Joseph Bloch of 21-22 September 1890 deserve attention. They give not only a compressed exposition of the Marxist analysis of the historical process, but take an important step forward in elaborating certain vital problems of the materialist interpretation of history (see also Engels' letters to Paul Ernst of 5 June 1890, to Franz Mehring of 14 July 1893, and to W. Borgius of 25 January 1894—present edition, vols 48 and 50).

In his letters to Schmidt and Bloch, Engels examines the interaction of basis and superstructure, economics and politics, the dialectics of the objective and the subjective factors of social development, and the role of the conscious activity of the masses. In his letter to Schmidt of 5 August 1890, Engels used the term 'historical materialism' for the first time (p. 8). In doing so, he wanted to indicate that the economic factor, definitive in the final analysis, is itself subject to feedback from the superstructure (pp. 34-35 and 59-63).

Worried about the prospects for revolution and the nature of the future society, many socialists turned to Engels for clarification. Engels considered that the level of socio-economic development in the main European capitalist countries was creating the conditions for revolutionary transformations in the relatively near future. Consciously avoiding detailed predictions about the future society, he confined himself to the most general terms.

In his letters to Conrad Schmidt of 5 August and 1 July 1890, Otto Boenigk of 21 August 1890, and Max Oppenheim of 24 March 1891, Engels expressed himself decisively against the idea of the communist society as something 'fixed for all time' (p. 8) and emphasised that, like any other social structure, the new society would not arise straightaway, but only by a process of gradual formation; it would develop uninterruptedly by 'constant change and transformation' (p. 18). He described the decisive feature of the new society as 'the organisation of production on the basis of common ownership, initially by the nation, of all means of production' (ibid.). In his letter to Otto Boenigk, he expressed the idea of the definite sequence of transformation of private property into public, and marked out ways for the

transformation of agriculture on collective principles (pp. 18-19). An important condition for the organisation of life in the new society was the attraction of specialists in engineering, agriculture, medicine and also lawyers, teachers, etc. (pp. 19, 272).

In his letter to Schmidt of 5 August 1890, Engels gave his view on distribution in communist society. The 'method of distribution depends almost entirely upon *how much* there is to distribute ... since this is likely to change as advances are made in production and social organisation' (p. 8).

At the same time, Engels repeatedly stressed the impossibility of determining in full detail how precisely the communist transformation of society was going to develop. This 'must depend on local conditions at the time, nor can anything of a general nature be said about them beforehand,' he wrote to Max Oppenheim on 24 March 1891 (p. 153). The problem of stages in the development of the communist society and the specific measures which the workers must take when they have taken over state power is 'the most difficult subject on earth' (p. 212).

The letters in this volume show the many-sidedness of Engels' activity in co-ordinating the international working-class and socialist movement. Correspondence was an important source of information for him about the state of the working-class movement in various countries, and it was also his principal means of passing on revolutionary experience and of exerting an ideological influence on the activities of the members of the socialist parties and organisations.

The organisation of the working-class movement, the efforts of the socialist parties to consolidate their ranks and opposition to dogmatism and sectarian trends have an important place in Engels' letters. Since they were not intended for publication, his assessments of reformist and 'left-wing' sectarian elements in the working-class movement were often very harsh. He emphasised that the 'class-conscious continental proletariat has no intention of placing itself under the leadership of people who regard the wage system as an eternal and immutable universal institution' (p. 524). On the other hand, those who, 'more or less, have the correct theory *as to the dogmatic side of it*, become a mere sect because they cannot conceive that living theory of action, of working with the working class at every possible stage of its development, otherwise than as a collection of dogmas to be learnt by

heart and recited like a conjurer's formula or a Catholic prayer' (p. 186). Advocating independence from the bourgeois influences of the class policy of the workers' parties and considering that unity of views and party discipline should be based on the high awareness and activity of its members and on the participation of each one in working out party policy and tactics, Engels nevertheless admitted: 'That ...doesn't preclude our failure to agree on many points. But these again are points where in course of time agreement is automatically reached as a result of discussion or of new events' (p. 158). Engels considered the development of broad party democracy and the free exchange of opinions as an indispensable condition, with the reminder that 'discipline in a big party cannot be anything like as strict as it is in a small sect' (p. 182), but that the criticism must be made within the framework of the programme and with the strict observance of party ethics. Engels drew attention to the inalienable right of the rank-and-file members to influence the activity of their leaders and prevent them from breaking away from the grass roots of the party. In his letter to Karl Kautsky on 11 February 1891 Engels wrote: 'It is also imperative that the chaps should at long last throw off the habit of handling the party officials — their servants — with kid gloves and kow-towing to them as infallible bureaucrats, instead of confronting them critically' (p. 131).

It can be seen from the letters how much Engels did to widen and strengthen international ties, including personal contacts between socialists of various countries, to arrange for the exchange of information between the socialist parties about their activities and to encourage co-operation in the press. Engels considered it highly important for the information to be comprehensive and fully objective.

From Engels' letters, and also from those of Eleanor Marx-Aveling printed in the Appendices to this volume, it is clear that he himself initiated a number of international meetings between the socialists. He used his seventieth birthday celebrations for the organisation of a meeting of socialists from the leading European countries and for the discussion of problems in common (see pp. 76-77). It was also at Engels' suggestion that an international conference of socialists was held during the Congress of German Social-Democrats at Halle in the autumn of 1890 to prepare the Congress of the Second International in Brussels in 1891 (see pp. 24, 29 and 42).

Engels devoted much attention to the recently formed new international socialist association — the Second International. The letters

published in the present volume make it possible to reconstruct the entire course of preparations for the Second and Third congresses of the Second International and Engels' own part in their convocation. He endeavoured to widen as much as possible the number of the congresses' participants, especially such mass working-class organisations as the British trades unions (pp. 24, 28, 29, 42-43, 46, 74, 229, 238, 520-21, 523-24, 533-34, 545-46, 548).

A number of letters contain fundamental ideas on the stand the socialists took because of the threat, intensified in the early 1890s, of an all-European war. Engels continued developing the idea, expressed many times in the preceding years, of the profound interest of the working class in the preservation of peace, stressing this as one of the most important conditions for the future success of the workers' movement. From his letters to Sorge, Bebel and others, it is clear that the rapidly growing influence of Social-Democracy, especially in Germany, had given him hope that the proletariat might gain political power in that country in a relatively short historical period. Engels wrote to Bebel on 24-26 October 1891: 'I ... hope and pray that this splendid, unerring progress of ours, evolving with the impassivity and inexorability of a natural process, will continue along its appointed course' (p. 272).

Should war break out (at that time, this meant the possibility of France, in alliance with Tsarist Russia, waging war on Germany), the socialist parties should proceed from the interests of the workers' struggle for emancipation. But since a victory by Russian Tsarism in such a war would mean not only a threat to Germany's national unity, but the total destruction of German Social-Democracy, at that time the vanguard of the European working-class movement, Engels considered that the German socialists must endeavour to fight the war by 'revolutionary means' (p. 271). These ideas of Engels were stated in great detail in his letters to Bebel and Sorge (pp. 242-46, 258, 266-67, 270-72, 327) and were finally formulated in his article 'Socialism in Germany' (present edition, Vol. 27).

Of particular importance in Engels' correspondence during these, as in the preceding years, are the letters to the leaders of German Social-Democrats — August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Karl Kautsky, Franz Mehring and others. Many problems associated with the German working-class movement were also reflected in Engels' letters to

other active members of the international working-class movement, particularly to Friedrich Adolph Sorge and to Paul and Laura Lafargue.

The early 1890s in the German working-class movement were conspicuous for many important events associated above all with the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law. The party, which at that time was 'the paramount party in Europe' (p. 47), now had considerably wider scope for all its activities. It was now essential for its tactics and organisation to be changed and for a new programme to be drawn up. Engels followed very closely the sharp struggle that developed in the party in the summer of 1890 during preparations for the Halle Congress. Much of his correspondence is concerned with the opposition group of the Jungen (Young Ones), which attacked legal forms of struggle, deplored the parliamentary activities of the party and, exploiting the opportunist blunders of some leaders, demagogically accused the entire leadership of renouncing its revolutionary goals, violating party democracy, and of corruption. The Jungen harshly criticised the draft of the new Party Rules, published at the beginning of August 1890.

Engels supported the Marxist section of the party leadership, although this did not prevent him, in a number of letters, from talking about the validity of certain criticisms directed at it.

He considered, not without justification, that the pseudo-revolutionary jargon of the Jungen could easily influence those party members who did not yet have sufficient theoretical training and experience of practical struggle, and find in them definite support. 'Herein lies a danger which should not be underestimated,' he warned Wilhelm Liebknecht (p. 14). At the same time, in his letters to the leaders of German Social-Democracy, Engels cautioned them against hasty organisational measures against the Jungen, advising flexibility in the controversy with them and tolerance about the different opinions within the party. He wrote to Liebknecht on 10 August 1890: 'Do not make martyrs unnecessarily, show that there is freedom of criticism, and *if* you have to throw anyone out, do so in cases where the *facts* — overt acts of turpitude and betrayal — are quite blatant and completely demonstrable!' (pp. 14-17).

Particularly interesting and valuable for an understanding of Engels' attitude to the Jungen are his letters to Friedrich Adolph Sorge, in which he gave a frank assessment of the party leadership, noting in particular the excessive harshness and irritation which Bebel and

Liebknecht permitted themselves in the struggle with the opposition. 'The biggest party in the empire,' Engels wrote to Sorge on 9 August 1890, 'cannot remain in existence unless every shade of opinion is allowed complete freedom of expression, while even the *semblance* of dictatorship ... must be avoided...' (p. 11).

Engels did a great deal to help the leaders of the German Social-Democrats in their restructuring of the organisation after the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law. He analysed the completely new conditions that had come into being and under which the party must act in future. In his letter to Liebknecht of 10 August 1890, he critically examined the draft Party Rules, which had to be discussed at the next congress, and noted the points violating, in his opinion, democratic principles. He considered it most unacceptable that, according to the draft, the Social-Democratic group of the Reichstag was virtually being placed over the Party Executive elected by the Congress. Engels also criticised the points on the election to the Congress of an equal number of representatives from all the electoral districts irrespective of the number of party members in them, and also the allocation to the Executive of more responsible functions than those carried out by the Congress (p. 14). In the Rules' final version, as accepted by the Halle Congress, these points were removed.

Many of Engels' letters are concerned with preparations for the party congress in Erfurt, which accepted a new programme of the German Social-Democratic Party. Much attention is given in them to the publication, early in 1891, of Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* written back in 1875 (see present edition, Vol. 24). With this publication, Engels endeavoured not to allow a repetition in the new programme of the erroneous propositions of the Gotha Programme and to inflict a blow on the Lassalle cult, widespread amongst the German Social-Democrats. '...It was *my duty* to publish the thing the moment the programme came up for discussion,' he wrote to Kautsky (p. 134). His letters to Kautsky of 7 and 15 January, 3, 11 and 23 February 1891, to Bebel of 1-2 May 1891, to Paul and Laura Lafargue of 1-2 May 1891, and to Sorge of 24 October 1891, show what a principled significance Engels attributed to the publication of this document, and with what patience and tact Engels prevailed over the opposition of certain party leaders to the publication of Marx's critical comments.

Engels had faith in the ideological strength and maturity of the party itself. 'And I knew that the party was amply strong enough to

stand it and I reckoned that today it would even *tolerate* the forthright language used 15 years ago,' wrote Engels to Kautsky on 23 February 1891 (p. 133). In the same letter, he gave a general appreciation of the personality and activities of Ferdinand Lassalle, stressing the duality of his role in the German working-class movement (pp. 134-35).

That the publication of *Critique of the Gotha Programme* had been well timed was confirmed when, in the summer of 1891, the Opportunists, represented by Vollmar, leader of the Bavarian party organisation, spoke out on pragmatic grounds for co-operation with the Junker-bourgeois monarchist state. Observing with satisfaction Vollmar's defeat at the Erfurt Congress (pp. 266, 273, 282), Engels gave Bebel practical advice on the tactics in the struggle with opportunism (p. 480).

In Engels' letters, mainly those to Paul and Laura Lafargue, much space is given to the problems of the working-class movement in France. Analysing France's internal situation, he noted the increasing political reaction, the existence of revanchist moods and the deepening of a political crisis.

Observing the growth of political activity among the French workers, the struggle for the right to strike and the development of the trade union movement, Engels repeatedly spoke of the need for unity of action in the Workers' Party and other socialist groups and the winning of the broad working masses over to its own side. He considered that the main task of the French socialists was to overcome the split in the country's working-class movement. Unity, however, must be achieved by meticulous daily work. Observing, on the one hand, the strengthening of the Workers' Party and, on the other, the crisis of the Possibilists, who had split into two factions in the autumn of 1890, Engels warned against the forcing of events, drawing an analogy with the unification of the two trends in the German working-class movement in 1875 (p. 97). He thought that the tactics of the French Workers' Party should be the conclusion of an agreement on practical co-operation with other socialist groups and the rejection of any attempt at unification at that time (p. 117).

Engels attributed great importance to the parliamentary activities of the French socialists. He paid special attention to the election campaign in the autumn of 1891. Informing Bebel that Lafargue had

been elected at the second ballot to the Chamber of Deputies, he wrote that it would have a considerable influence on France, since 'on this occasion literally *all* the socialist parliamentary groups, including the Possibilists ... pulled together' (p. 291). He looked with great hope on the prospects for the development of the socialist movement in France and stated with satisfaction that the Workers' Party was not 'a riotous force liable to act on the spur of the moment, but ... a regular, organised, *political* force' (p. 424).

The letters in this volume show how Engels, as a witness of the development of the working-class and socialist movement in Great Britain, noted entirely new factors in this process. He took a keen interest in the spectacular rise of the working-class movement during those years — the appearance of new trades unions, the impressive May Day demonstrations in 1890 and 1891, and the successful strikes testifying to the entry into the struggle of new and, until recently, oppressed and disorganised strata of the proletariat.

With great sympathy, Engels followed the struggle of the new trades unions, with many of whose leaders — William Thorne, Benjamin Tillet, John Burns, Tom Mann and others — he kept in personal contact. He welcomed the results of the Liverpool Trades Union Congress of 1890, at which, for the first time, the representatives of the new trades unions achieved the passing of a resolution on the struggle for the legal eight-hour working day. He considered that 'with its acceptance came the collapse of the empire of the old, conservative labour movement...' (p. 26), which had previously been opposing any kind of state regulation of relations between workers and capitalists.

Engels' letters also contain a description of the British socialist organisations. He thought that, in spite of definite progress, they were still 'far removed from the genuine English movement' (p. 167). The sectarianism of the Social Democratic Federation was revealed, he thought, by the fact that, although its platform was in the main theoretically right, it did not take the real demands of the people into consideration (ibid.). 'It has ossified Marxism into a hard and fast dogma and, by repudiating *any* labour movement that isn't orthodox Marxist (and, what's more, Marxist in a very wrong-headed way) ... has put itself in such a position that it can never become anything other than a sect' (pp. 493-94).

At the same time, Engels noted that the participants of the new trades union movement, members of the Social Democratic Federation among them, showed interest in socialism (p. 167).

Engels wrote with satisfaction that Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling had authority in the left wing of the Social Democratic Federation and among the members of the new trades unions (ibid.). Particularly creditable, he thought, was their organisation of the May Day demonstrations carried out under the leadership of the Legal Eight Hours and Internationl Labour League, which was formed in the summer of 1890 out of the Central Committee for the preparations for the May Day demonstration of 1890 and played a considerable part in the socialist propaganda and formation of the Independent Labour Party in 1893. Describing, in a letter to Laura Lafargue, the May Day demonstration of 1891, Engels stressed that 'it has been almost exclusively Edward's and Tussy's work and they had to fight it through from beginning to end' (p. 185).

Some of Engels' letters contain his evaluation of another socialist organisation, the Fabian Society, which represented the democratic intellectuals and part of the workers. He disapproved of the Fabian thesis on the transition from capitalism to socialism through the education of the working class (p. 75). He criticised the Fabian Society because 'it preached and practised *the affiliation of the workers to the Liberals*' (p. 515). The grounds for this criticism were, in part, a letter from George Bernard Shaw to Bebel of 29 May 1892, which the latter forwarded to Engels. Outlining the pre-election tactics of the Fabians, Shaw wrote: '...Our only chance where the workers are not completely organized is to force the Liberals to accept our men as their party candidates' (see p. 563). Engels wrote about this to Kautsky: 'As regards our tactics we have one firm rule for all modern countries and for all times and that is to prevail upon the workers to form their own independent party in opposition to all bourgeois parties' (p. 515).

In a number of letters, Engels reacted to the problems of the working-class movement in the USA. His chief correspondents during those years were Sorge and Schlüter. The latter, having emigrated to the USA in 1889, ran the *New Yorker Volkszeiting*, a German-language newspaper of the Socialist Labor Party. It was from their

letters that Engels drew much of his information about the condition of the working-class movement.

Engels could see the complexity and contradictoriness of the working-class and socialist movement in the USA. On the one hand, a fairly powerful trade union movement represented by the American Federation of Labor, an organisation of the skilled workers, mainly native-born Americans; on the other hand, contingents of immigrant workers, some of whom were outside the ranks of the organised working-class movement. The largest of these contingents consisted of emigrants from Germany who had brought their own traditions to the American working-class movement and were the core of the Socialist Labor Party. Its isolation in the working-class movement and its consequent failure to become a mass party resulted from its underestimation of work in the mass organisations, especially those representing the trades, and from its lack of contact with the native-born American and the Black working men who were beginning to join in the struggle.

Engels did not approve of the standpoint taken by the Socialist Labor Party at the end of 1890 and the beginning of 1891, when its leaders refused to work in the biggest American workers' organisation, the American Federation of Labor, rejecting the terms, as proposed by Gompers, for entry to the organisation in individual order. In his letter to Schlüter of 29 January 1891, Engels put the question directly: 'Where do you propose to find a recruiting-ground if not amongst the trades unions?' (p. 114).

In answer to Sorge on 24 October 1891, Engels agreed with him that an 'ebb-tide had begun' in the working-class movement in the USA, considering this to be a characteristic sign of the movement, which was developing spasmodically. He thought that one of the causes of such ebbs was that 'the standard of living of the native American working-man is notably higher even than that of his English counterpart and this alone is enough to put him out of the running for some time to come' (p. 265).

At the same time, Engels hoped that 'when the time comes over there, things will move with tremendous speed and dynamism, but that may not be for some while yet. Miracles never happen' (ibid.).

In the early 1890s, Engels continued to take a lively interest in the state of affairs in Russia. He kept in personal contact with young Rus-

sian Marxists, revolutionary Narodniks (Populists) and progressive scholars. His main Russian correspondent during those years was the economist Nikolai Danielson, the translator of Marx's *Capital* into Russian. Danielson's letters, devoted chiefly to economic problems and the position of the Russian peasantry, like the Russian books which he sent regularly, were an important source of information for Engels about the situation in the country and about the views of the Narodnik-oriented section of the Russian intelligentsia, who still had hopes of the non-capitalist way of development for Russia. Engels disputed these views in his replies, stating and substantiating his own viewpoint on Russia's present and on its immediate future.

As is very clear from these letters, Engels was definitively convinced that Russia had decisively taken the road of capitalist development, and that the peasant commune, despite of isolated indications of its relative vitality, was unable 'to resist the incessant blows dealt to it ... by rampant capitalism' (p. 443). This idea was expressed with precision in his letter of 15 March 1892. Recalling what Marx had said at the end of the 1870s to the effect that the development of capitalism in Russia would inevitably lead the peasant commune to its destruction, Engels wrote: 'That seems to me to be in course of fulfilment just now.... I am afraid we shall have to treat the община [commune] as a dream of the past, and reckon, in future, with a capitalist Russia' (p. 384). Objecting to Danielson, who affirmed that capitalism in Russia was developing artificially, and solely because of the government's protectionist policy, Engels proved the historical inevitability of capitalist production in Russia with all its consequences. He wrote on 22 September 1892: '...If Russia required after the Crimean war a *grande industrie* of her own, she could have it in one form only: the *capitalistic form*' (p. 536). Engels also convinced his correspondent that whatever might or might not be the forms of this process, its essence and the contradictions inherent in it were, on the whole, the same as those in other countries.

In connection with the terrible famine that swept Russia in 1891 and which, Engels supposed, could lead to an acute internal political crisis, he analysed, in a letter to Bebel of 29 September-1 October 1891, the correlation of the class forces in the country that were capable of taking charge of a coup. 'In Russia three classes suffer — the landowning aristocracy, the peasantry, the emergent proletariat. The latter is still, and the first is already, too weak for revolution, while all the peasantry could achieve would be local insurrections which

would be fruitless unless given the necessary cohesion and moral support by a successful insurrection in urban centres,' i. e. unless the workers were strong enough to play the leading role in overthrowing the autocracy. The bourgeoisie, which owed its position exclusively to the state, would hardly be able to head the struggle against Tsarism, although objectively it was the bourgeoisie alone that could assume power in the event of a coup (p. 243).

* * *

Volume 49 contains 276 letters by Engels, of which 173 are published in English for the first time, and 103 were published in this language earlier, 40 of them in part only. The details of the earlier English publications are given in the notes.

Obvious slips of the pen have been silently corrected. Proper and place names, and separate words abbreviated by the author are given in full. Defects in the manuscript are indicated in the footnotes, while passages of lost or illegible texts are indicated by omission points. Where restoration seems possible, it is given in square brackets. Passages deleted by the author are reproduced in footnotes only where they substantially affect the meaning.

Foreign words and expressions are retained in the form in which they were used by the author with a translation where necessary in the footnotes, and are italicised (if underlined by the author, they are given in spaced italics). English words and expressions used by Engels in text written in German and French are printed in small caps. Longer passages written in English in the original are placed in asterisks.

The number of notes relating to the same facts and events given in the texts of different letters, are duplicated.

The texts of the letters and notes were prepared by Alexander Vatutin (letters from August 1890 to October 1891) and by Yuri Vasin (letters from November 1891 to September 1892). The preface was written by Alexander Vatutin and Yuri Vasin. The volume was edited by Boris Tartakovsky. The name index and the indexes of quoted and mentioned literature and periodicals were prepared by Alexander Panfilov (Russian Independent Institute of Social and National Problems).

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# FREDERICK ENGELS

## LETTERS

August 1890-September 1892

# 1890

## 1

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT [1]

### IN LEIPZIG

[London, 1 August 1890]

Dear Liebknecht,

Unfortunately I shan't be able to remain here until 15 August—we are probably going to the seaside at the end of next week; I shall write and let you know where as soon as this has been settled to the satisfaction of all concerned. Your statement has appeared in *The People's Press*,[a] but it won't put a stop to the sniping in *Justice*.[2] Those chaps are incorrigible; they want to force you people and myself to knuckle under to them and the Possibilists,[3] but in that case they have a long wait ahead of them. They now possess an ally in the great Gilles—congratulations!

Your
F. E.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

[a] W. Liebknecht, 'To the Editor of *The People's Press*', *The People's Press*, No. 22, 2 August 1890.

2

## ENGELS TO JOHANN HEINRICH WILHELM DIETZ

IN STUTTGART

London, 5 August 1890

Dear Mr Dietz,

Fischer has raised further objections to the *immediate* re-issue of the *Origin.*[a] *Au fond*[b] this is quite acceptable to me, since I still have to go to the seaside where there can be no question of work, nor do I yet find work in any way conducive to my well-being. So I shall wait until the whole business has been settled to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Will you kindly take a look at the enclosed note for K. Kautsky[c] before sending it on and, if necessary, do what is required.

Kindest regards.

Yours,
F. E.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

[a] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.* - [b] Lit.: at bottom - [c] See next letter.

3

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 5 August 1890

Dear Kautsky,

Your letter of 3 July lay here neglected while Schorlemmer and I were away gallivanting in Norway—much to the benefit of our health, be it said.

Since I don't know where to write to, I am sending this to Dietz without sealing it, so that the prospectus for the *Neue Zeit*,[4] which Ede[a] showed me on Sunday,[b] can be altered accordingly, should it be thought desirable.

You may promise yourself an article by me entitled *Von den letzten Dingen* and I in turn promise that you shall have it. I also intend to keep my promise—indeed I have partially done so already, since a good half of the article is finished. As to when it will be completely finished, however, that could be either very soon or not for a long time to come, depending on circumstances—let's say in time for the first of next year's issues.[5]

If Bebel's review of the week is as well done as his articles to date in Victor's[c] *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, you may certainly congratulate yourselves. Here, of course, I am thinking first and foremost of *Germany*.

Sorge's address is: F. A. Sorge, Hoboken, N.J. (i. e. New Jersey), U. S. America. He's the best man for you people. I shall also write to him about it.[d] Obviously you must pay him *exceptionally well*—otherwise he'd prefer to give music lessons. He is also unlikely to submit *regular* reports and indeed it is better that he should not. Sometimes months may go by without anything of real importance happening, sometimes he may send you a crucial piece of news every week.

During our voyage of discovery we pressed on as far as North Cape where we ate COD caught by ourselves. For five days on end there was no night, or rather only dusk; to make up for it we saw all kinds of Laplanders, funny little chaps, obviously of very mixed RACE, with brown, black or even very fair hair—features Mongoloid on the

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[a] Eduard Bernstein - [b] 3 August - [c] Victor Adler - [d] See this volume, p. 20.

whole but with variations ranging from the American Indian (except that it would take six of them to make one Indian) to the Teuton. These little chaps, who are still three-quarters in the Stone Age, are most interesting.

Many regards.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

4

## ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT [6]

### IN BERLIN

London, 5 August 1890

Dear Schmidt,

Your letter travelled with me in my pocket up to North Cape and in and out of half a dozen Norwegian fjords; I had intended to answer it during the journey, but the writing facilities aboard the ship in which Schorlemmer and I made the whole trip were too frightful. So I am making up for it now.

Many thanks for the news about your doings which are always of great interest to me. You should really try and do the article on Knapp,[a] the subject being one of such importance. What we are concerned with is the destruction of Prussian tradition in one of its strongholds and with showing up the old braggadocio for the humbug it really is.[7]

Summarising the English Blue Books [8] for the 'archives' [b] could hardly be done by anyone not resident in London and therefore not *himself* in a position to assess the theoretical or practical importance

[a] The reference is to G. F. Knapp, *Die Bauern-Befreiung und der Ursprung der Landarbeiter in den älteren Theilen Preußens*. - [b] *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik*

of the various publications. The number of parliamentary publications is so great as to require a separate monthly catalogue — and thus you might find yourself in the position of having to search for a needle in a haystack, only to lay your hands on an occasional pin. If, however, you would nevertheless care to do some work in this field from time to time — as a rule it's a terrible sweat if one wants to produce anything worthwhile — I shall be glad to let you have any information you may require. If, incidentally, Braun wants a regular man for it, he could do no better than to ask E. Bernstein, 4 Corinne Road, Tufnell Park, N. For it so happens that Ede Bernstein *wishes* to study conditions in England as soon as he can get away from the *Sozialdemokrat* and so this would suit him very well. But he leaves for a few weeks at the seaside either today or tomorrow, so I shall not be able to put the matter to him, it having only just occurred to me.

I saw a notice of Paul Barth's book[a] in the Vienna *Deutsche Worte* written by that bird of ill-omen Moritz Wirth[b] and *this* review made an unfavourable impression on me which also extended to the book itself. I shall take a look at it, but if little Moritz is right when he quotes Barth as saying that, in all Marx's writings, he can find only one example of the dependence of philosophy, etc., upon the material conditions of existence and that Descartes declares animals to be machines, I can only say I feel sorry for a man capable of writing such things. And if that man has not yet found out that, if the material mode of existence is the *primum agens*,[c] this does not preclude the ideal fields from in turn exerting a reciprocal but secondary influence upon it, then he cannot possibly have understood the subject he is writing about. But as I have said, this is all at second hand and little Moritz is a friend one can well do without. Nor, today, has the materialist view of history any lack of such friends to whom it serves as a pretext for *not* studying history. As Marx said of the French Marxists in the late seventies: '*Tout ce que je sais, c'est que je ne suis pas Marxiste.*'[d][9]

There has also been a discussion in the *Volks-Tribüne*[e] about the distribution of products in the society of the future — whether this should be made in accordance with the amount of work performed or in some other way.[10] A very 'materialist' view was taken of the matter, in opposition to certain idealist jargon about justice. But oddly

[a] P. Barth, *Die Geschichtsphilosophie Hegel's und der Hegelianer bis auf Marx und Hartmann. Ein kritischer Versuch.* - [b] M. Wirth, 'Hegelunfug und Hegelaustreibung im modernen Deutschland', *Deutsche Worte*, No. 5, 1890. - [c] prime mover - [d] 'All I know is that I'm not a Marxist.' - [e] *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*

enough it occurred to no one that the method of distribution depends almost entirely upon *how much* there is to distribute and that, since this is likely to change as advances are made in production and social organisation, similar changes might also take place in the method of distribution. But in every case the participants in the debate saw 'socialist society', not as something that is constantly changing and progressing, but as something stable and fixed for all time and which must therefore also have a method of distribution that is fixed for all time. Yet surely, if one is to be rational, all one can do is 1. discover what method of distribution should be used *to start off with*, 2. find *what the general trend* of future developments is likely to be. But not a word of that have I found in the whole of the debate.

In general the word 'materialist' is used by many of the younger writers in Germany as a mere cliché with which to label anything and everything without bothering to study it any further; in other words, having once attached the label, they imagine they have sorted things out. Our view of history, however, is first and foremost a guide to study, not a tool for constructing objects after the Hegelian model. The whole of history must be studied anew, and the existential conditions of the various social formations individually investigated before an attempt is made to deduce therefrom the political, legal, aesthetic, philosophical, religious, etc., standpoints that correspond to them. Little has been done along these lines hitherto because very few people have seriously set their minds to it. Here we could do with any amount of help; it is a truly immense field and anyone who is prepared to apply himself to it seriously could achieve much and make a name for himself. Instead, the only use to which the cliché (*anything* can be turned into a cliché) of historical materialism has been put by all too many younger Germans is hastily to run up a jerry-built system out of their own relatively inadequate historical knowledge — for economic history is as yet in its infancy — thus becoming great prodigies in their own eyes. And then a Barth can come along and attack the thing itself which has, of course, been debased to a mere cliché in his own milieu.

However, all this will presumably sort itself out. We are now strong enough in Germany to withstand a great deal. One of the great services the Anti-Socialist Law [11] has done us is to rid us of the importunities of German academics of vaguely socialist complexion. We are now strong enough to be able to digest even your German academic who has once again started to give himself great airs. You, who have

really achieved something, must yourself have noticed how few of the young men of letters who attach themselves to the party take the trouble to go in for political economy, the history of political economy, the history of trade, of industry, of agriculture, of social formations. How many know anything about Maurer except his name? A journalist's competence must suffice for everything, and the result is what you might expect. Sometimes it seems these gentry think anything is good enough for the worker. If only these gentry knew how Marx used to regard even his best stuff as not nearly good enough for the workers, how he thought it a crime to offer the workers anything less than the very best!

After the way they have so brilliantly stood the test since 1878, I have implicit faith in our workers and in them alone. They, like every big party, will make mistakes over particular aspects of their development, perhaps big mistakes. For it is only from the consequences of their own mistakes and by experiments on their own persons that the masses will learn. But all that will be overcome, and far more easily in Germany than anywhere else because the soundness of our lads is proof against anything, and again because Berlin, which is unlikely at an early date to shake off its specifically Berlin-like character is, for us, a centre only in the formal sense, like London is, not as Paris is for France. The French and English workers — despite my being able to see the reasons for their blunders — have often given me cause for vexation, but never, since 1870, the Germans, save perhaps for certain individuals who spoke in their name — but never the masses who have always brought things back onto the right lines again. And I wouldn't mind betting that they never will give me cause for vexation.

Yours,
F. Engels

I am addressing this to the *Volks-Tribüne*, not knowing whether 'Pankow'[a] still holds good.

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[a] Part of Berlin where Conrad Schmidt lived.

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN MOUNT DESERT

London, 9 August 1890

Dear Sorge,

A week ago on Wednesday I sent you a postcard[a] gratefully acknowledging receipt of Morgan.[b] Today, a few lines in so far as time allows before the post goes.

The trip to North Cape did us both[c] a great deal of good and, after another 3 or 4 weeks of extra recuperation at the seaside, whither we shall be going next week (I have been held up here by sundry domestic business), I think I shall be absolutely fit again. On the face of it I look very well. Aboard our ship (a steam yacht of 2,200 tons), upon which we spent all our time going in and out of all the Norwegian fjords, there were 3 doctors who refused to believe that I'm going to be 70 this year. In fact, I am able to sleep without sulphonal, but how long will it last?

Tussy and Aveling likewise went to Norway on Wednesday. Considering what Ibsen enthusiasts they are, I'm surprised they should have waited so long before seeing the new promised land. I wonder if they are in for another disappointment, as in America? At any rate, Norway is by nature, just as America is socially, a pillar of what the philistines call 'individualism'. At intervals of 2 or 3 miles there are pockets of light soil among the rocks upon which a family *might* just be able to subsist — and, sure enough, it does, cut off from all the rest of the world. The people are handsome, strong, honest, bigoted and — fanatically religious, i. e. in the country. The towns are just like those on the Dutch or German coast. In Bergen there is a Social Democratic association which, to the horror of the reigning teetotallers, is de-

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[a] See Engels' letter to Sorge of 30 July 1890 (present edition, Vol. 48).- [b] L. H. Morgan, *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines*.- [c] Engels and Carl Schorlemmer

manding the right to serve beer in its club. I read an indignant article about it in the *Bergensposten*.

In Germany there's a minor row in store for the congress.[12] Mr Schippel—a protégé of Liebknecht's—and other men of letters propose to attack the party leadership and form an opposition.[13] Well, after the abolition of the Anti-Socialist Law,[11] there would be no real objection to that. The party is so big that complete freedom of discussion within its ranks is imperative. Otherwise the many new elements who have joined it during the past 3 years and who are in some cases still exceedingly green and unpolished, could not be assimilated and trained. An accretion of 700,000 in 3 years (only counting the voters) isn't like a bunch of schoolboys into whom you can drum things; discussion and a certain amount of dissension is necessary and will help them over the first hurdle. There's not the slightest danger of a split; the press, now 12 years old, will take care of that. But these insolent literary men, bent on satisfying their colossal vanity, are intriguing and forming cliques for all they are worth, thereby arousing far more wrath than they warrant among the party leaders for whom they create a great deal of unaccustomed trouble and vexation. Hence the latter's conduct of the battle has been anything but skilful; Liebknecht is constantly on the warpath with his 'expulsions' and even Bebel, usually so tactful, has been stung by anger into publishing a somewhat foolish letter.[14] Which is why our literary gents are now screaming about the silencing of the free expression of opinion, etc. The chief organs of the new opposition are the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne* (Schippel), *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Dresden) and the Magdeburg *Volksstimme*. They have gained a certain following in Berlin, Magdeburg, etc., particularly among the new recruits who are still susceptible to the lure of stock-phrases. I shall probably be seeing Bebel and Liebknecht over here before the congress, and shall do my utmost to convince them of the imprudence of any expulsion that rests not on convincing proof of *activities* harmful to the party, but solely on charges of opposition-mongering. The biggest party in the empire cannot remain in existence unless every shade of opinion is allowed complete freedom of expression, while even the *semblance* of dictatorship *à la* Schweitzer must be avoided. I shall have no difficulty so far as Bebel is concerned, but Liebknecht is so subject to the mood of the

moment that he is capable of breaking all his promises and doing so, as always, for the best of reasons.

Here the peace of summer reigns save that, in his answer in *Justice* to my May article in the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*,[a] Hyndman has again sent me to kingdom come as the 'grand lama of Regent's Park Road'.[15]

Lafargue writes [16] to say that in France all the generals in the government, the Senate and the Chamber are definitely opposed to any war. And rightly so. For if there were war, it would be 3 to 1 against that Russia and Prussia would fight a couple of battles and then make it up at the expense of Austria and France, so that each of the latter would lose an ally.

Lafargue's article on the French movement[b] in the *Neue Zeit* is very good and is charmingly written, but I wish Ede Bernstein had translated it instead of Kautsky, who is too heavy-handed.

I have just received copies of the new German edition of the *Manifesto*[c] and enclose one herewith.

Many regards from myself and Schorlemmer to your wife and yourself and also to the Schlüters,

Your
F. Engels

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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[a] F. Engels, 'May 4 in London.' - [b] P. Lafargue, 'Die sozialistische Bewegung in Frankreich von 1876-1890', *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 8, August 1890. - [c] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, 4th authorised German edition.

## 6

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 10 August 1890

Dear Liebknecht,

I am still held up here because my house is in the process of changing owners. So far as I can see, we shall not be leaving until Thursday, when we shall probably go to Folkestone. I shall leave our address at the OFFICE[a] here in Kentish Town and shall also send it to you in Leipzig. I hope that, as soon as you arrive, you will come and join us at the seaside. As you write and say that you cannot come *before* the 15th of this month, I would venture to suppose that you won't be able to get away immediately *after* the 15th either — to judge by recent delays, at any rate. So if you were to come on about 1 September or soon after, you would still be able to spend some time with us, and then return to London *in our company* (about 11 September), where you would be assured of a place to stay with us.

During our absence the house is being decorated; this year the carpets have got to be taken up, and there is also the papering and whitewashing to be done. Moreover, owing to some unfortunate experiences *in puncto*[b] of expenditure, I shall be obliged while we're away to put the housemaid on BOARD WAGES, i. e. give her so much a week in return for which she has to keep herself — an arrangement that is awkward, in that it precludes, not only hospitality, but also to some extent the very possibility of my spending a night in the house during that particular period. So if you were to arrive earlier, it would probably mean your accepting Motteler's invitation. However, I dare say you will be able to fall in with the above suggestions.

At all events I hope to see you before the congress. Your draft [17] has its weaker sides, the weakest, and one which to my mind provides quite unnecessary occasion for perpetual recrimination, being the proposal that the Executive should *itself* — albeit with the consent of the parliamentary group — determine its own rates of pay. I have today received the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* in which the literary gents

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[a] editorial office of the *Sozialdemokrat* - [b] in the matter

criticise the draft. Much of their criticism is utterly puerile, but they have instinctively smelt out isolated weaknesses. For instance, that *every* constituency may send up to 3 representatives. Any old Bahlmann or Höchberg, provided he is prepared to stake his money on it, could thus send 3 representatives from a constituency in which we had polled barely a thousand votes. Needless to say, money as regulator of the number of delegates sent will, generally speaking, play only an *indirect* role. However, I think it unwise that the proportion of delegates to the number of party comrades they represent should be made to depend on that alone.

Again, according to § 2 — *to go by the wording* — any three nonentities may combine to expel *you* from the party until such time as you are rehabilitated by the party Executive. The party conference, on the other hand, may not expel anyone but only act as a court of appeal.

In *any* active party having parliamentary representatives, the parliamentary group is a power of great importance. It has that power, whether or not it is expressly recognised in the rules. It may therefore be asked whether it is wise that the rules should accord it the additional status whereby it has absolute authority over the Executive, as is done in §§ 15-18. Supervision of the Executive, ALL RIGHT, but maybe it would be preferable for an indictment to come up before an independent committee which would be responsible for the verdict.

During the past 3 years your party has seen a massive increase of one million. The existence of the Anti-Socialist Law [11] has meant that these new recruits have not had sufficient opportunity for reading or for agitation to place them on a par with the older party members. Many of them have only the good will and good intentions with which the road to hell is notoriously paved. It would be a miracle if they were not burning with zeal like all neophytes. Thus they constitute material that positively invites appropriation and exploitation by the thrustful literati and academics who oppose you. As, indeed, has transpired in, for instance, Magdeburg. Herein lies a danger which should not be underestimated. Obviously at *this* congress, you will easily be able to cope with it. But you must take care that no seeds of *future* difficulties are sown. Do not make martyrs unnecessarily, show

Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek.

XXXIII.

# Das Kommunistische Manifest.

Vierte autorisirte deutsche Ausgabe.

Mit einem neuen Vorwort von Friedrich Engels.

Meine Laura Lafargue
F. Engels
London 9/8/90.

London.
German Cooperative Publishing Co.
114 Kentish Town Road NW
1890.

Title page of the fourth German edition
of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*
with Engels' dedication to Laura Lafargue

that there is freedom of criticism, and *if* you have to throw anyone out, do so in cases where the *facts* — OVERT ACTS of turpitude and betrayal — are quite blatant and completely demonstrable. That is what I think. More when we meet.

Your
F. E.

Many regards to your wife and to Theodor.[a]

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7

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT [1]

IN LEIPZIG

Folkestone, 15 August 1890

Dear Liebknecht,

We are temporarily installed here in the Bellevue Hotel, St John's Road, Folkestone and are awaiting word from you or, better still, you yourself.

We shall probably find more suitable lodgings within the next week or fortnight at the most. In any case we shall be here until next Thursday, the 21st, and, as soon as I'm certain of another address, I shall write to you. Should you arrive in the meantime, the people in Kentish Town[b] are kept constantly informed of my WHEREABOUTS.

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[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht's son -[b] at the editorial office of the *Sozialdemokrat*

So let's hope we see you soon. Warm regards to you and your wife from Nim, Pumps and

Your
F. E.

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## 8

## ENGELS TO OTTO VON BOENIGK [18]

### IN BRESLAU [a]

Folkestone near Dover, 21 August 1890

Otto von Boenigk, Esq.,
Breslau

Dear Sir,

I can only reply to your inquiries [19] briefly and in general terms, for otherwise I should have to write a dissertation on the first one.

*Ad* I. So-called 'socialist society' is not, in my view, to be regarded as something that remains crystallised for all time, but rather as being in process of constant change and transformation like all other social conditions. The crucial difference between that society and conditions today consists, of course, in the organisation of production on the basis of common ownership, initially by the nation, of all means of production. I see absolutely no difficulty in carrying out this revolution over a period, i. e. gradually. The fact that our working men are up to it is borne out by their many productive and distributive associations which, wherever they have not been deliberately wrecked by

[a] Wrocław

the police, are managed no worse and far more honestly than the joint-stock companies of the middle classes. I fail to see how you can talk of inadequate education among the masses in Germany, now that our workers have given such striking proof of political maturity in their victorious struggle against the Anti-Socialist Law.[11] The arrogant, pontifical presumption of our so-called educated men seems to me a far greater obstacle. Admittedly we are still short of technicians, agronomists, engineers, chemists, architects, etc., but if the worst comes to the worst we can buy them, just as the capitalists do, and if a stern example is made of a traitor or two — of whom there will assuredly be some in such company —, they will find it in their interest to cease robbing us. But apart from specialists like these, among whom I also count school-teachers, we shall manage very well without the rest of the 'educated' men; e. g. the present heavy influx of literati and students into the party will be attended by all manner of mischief unless those gentry are kept within bounds.

With proper technical management there would be no difficulty in leasing the large Junker estates east of the Elbe to the present day labourers and/or farm servants for communal cultivation. If there are excesses, it will be the Junkers' own fault, since it was they who, heedless of all existing educational legislation, were the cause of the people's becoming so brutalised.

The biggest obstacle is presented by the small farmers and the importunate, educated smart-Alecks whose superior knowledge of a subject is always in inverse proportion to their understanding of it.

Assuming, therefore, that we have an adequate number of supporters among the masses, the socialisation of large-scale industry and of the farms on the big estates can be carried out very quickly, once we have gained political supremacy. The rest will soon follow at a faster or slower pace. And when the large sources of production are ours, we shall be masters of the situation.

You speak of the absence of a uniform opinion. This does exist — but it is to be found among the educated men who come from aristocratic and bourgeois circles and who have absolutely no idea of how much they still have to learn from the working man.

*Ad* II. Mrs Marx was the daughter of Regierungsrat von Westpha-

len of Trier and the younger sister of the von Westphalen who was minister of reaction in Manteuffel's government.

Yours faithfully,
F. Engels

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## 9

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

Folkestone, 27 August 1890

Have received postcards of 9 and 13 August. There was so much to be seen to at the time of our departure [a] that a great deal had to be shoved to one side. Moreover I had to keep pretty quiet about my destination, since young William [b] was also over there and I didn't want my pleasure marred by police chicanery.

Who is the present editor-in-chief of the *Volkszeitung* [c]? Tussy ran into Schewitsch at a meeting in London and he told her he had heard in New York that I had spoken about him in very spiteful terms. That, however, is absolutely untrue. Might it have originated from A. Jonas?

The little students' revolt in Germany [13] was quickly broken up by Bebel. One *very good* thing about it was that it showed what we have to expect from literati and Berliners.

Your
F. E.

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[a] to Norway - [b] William II - [c] *New Yorker Volkszeitung*

The *Neue Zeit* will be asking you to report on America and will pay well.[a]

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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## 10

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [20]

### AT LE PERREUX

Bellevue Hotel, Folkestone, 27 August 1890

My dear Lafargue,

Yes, we're at the SEASIDE and what's more, until your letter of the 4th inst. reached me, no one had suggested my going to Le Perreux, which, by the way, I should have done with much pleasure had it not been for the perfectly good reasons which I mentioned to Laura and which she evidently found acceptable at the time. We have been here for the past fortnight in a small PUBLIC HOUSE; the landlady, a most handsome woman, looks after us very well, but the place is a long way from the sea and not FIRST CLASS. We have our fourth bed in the parlour.

As I am somewhat uncertain about my balance at the bank, being unable to compare my books, I can only send you a cheque for *ten pounds*, which I enclose.

There has been a students' revolt in the German party.[13] During 2 or 3 years a crowd of students, literati and other young déclassé bourgeois invaded the party, arriving just in time to take most of the editorial posts in the new papers that were then proliferating. In their usual fashion they regarded their bourgeois universities as socialist Saint-Cyrs [21] entitling them to enter the party in the rank of officer, if

[a] See this volume, p. 5.

not of general. These gentry all dabble in Marxism, albeit of the kind you were acquainted with in France ten years ago and of which Marx said: 'All I know is that I'm not a Marxist.' [9] And he would doubtless say of these gentry what Heine said of his imitators: 'I sowed dragons and I reaped fleas.'

These worthies, whose impotence is equalled only by their arrogance, found support in the new recruits to the party in Berlin — a peculiar Berlinism, combining impudence, cowardice, rodomontade and GIFT OF THE GAB, would seem to have temporarily come to the surface. The young university gents now had a chorus.

They attacked the deputies [a] for no reason at all and no one could explain this sudden recrudescence. The truth is that the deputies, or most of them, didn't take sufficient notice of the little wretches. Admittedly Liebknecht conducted the polemic on behalf of the deputies and the Central Committee with a rare lack of finesse. But then along came Bebel, their main target, who, at two meetings in Dresden and Magdeburg, proceeded to demolish two of their newspapers.[b] The Berlin meeting was guarded by the police who surreptitiously egged on the opposition or else got others to do so.[22] But it's all over nevertheless and the congress [12] is unlikely to have to concern itself further with the matter. This little stunt has done us good inasmuch as it has demonstrated the impossibility of allotting a LEADERS' role to the Berliners. All very well, perhaps, if they'd been Parisians — but we have had enough and more of your Parisians.

The revelations about Boulanger in *Figaro* [23] must be astounding. Could you let me have them? It is sad for the 247,000 or, rather 274,000 nincompoops, who in January 1889 allowed themselves to be taken in by that bogus panjandrum.[24]

In Kovalevsky's book [c] there is an important bit in which he assigns a place between the matriarchate and the mark (or *mir* [d]) community to the patriarchal family group of the kind that existed in France (Franche-Comté and Nivernais) up till 1789 and still exists today amongst the Serbs and Bulgars under the name of *Zádruga*. He tells me that in Russia this is the generally accepted view. If the thing were to be confirmed, it would clear up a number of difficulties in Tacitus et al., while at the same time raising others. The chief fault of Kova-

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[a] of the Social-Democratic group in the German Reichstag - [b] *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* and *Volksstimme* - [c] M. Kovalevsky, *Tableau des origines et de l'évolution de la famille et de la propriété*. - [d] rural community in Russia ('міръ')

levsky's book lies in the *illusion of legality*. I shall be discussing this in the new edition of my book.[a] Another fault (not uncommon amongst Russians who dabble in science) is an exaggerated faith in *recognised authorities*.

Nim and Pumps send their love.

Give Laura and Mémé a kiss from me.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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## 11

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [25]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 15 September 1890

My dear Lafargue,

In great haste.

Bonnier has written to me about the 1891 congress and the convocation drawn up by the Belgians.[26] I have replied in a letter[b] which I asked him to send on to Guesde so that he can discuss it with you, Deville, etc., as well as with our Blanquist allies, and then inform me of everyone's views.

What has happened is that the Belgians have played a trick on us which places our entire congress in jeopardy. They have invited the Liverpool TRADES UNIONS [27] and the latter have accepted with alacrity. Needless to say, we weren't there to invite them ourselves! Why are we always conspicuous by our absence whenever there is something vital to be done! Why have we been so stupid as to leave the arrangements for the next congress to the Belgians and Swiss!

Tussy and Aveling tell me that the English will undoubtedly at-

[a] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. - [b] F. Engels, *The International Workers' Congress of 1891*.

tend the Belgian, i. e. the Possibilist,[3] congress and that there isn't the remotest chance of getting it into their heads that there will be another and much better congress! I myself obviously share that opinion. The English will proceed *en masse,* with the enthusiasm of neophytes, to the first international congress they have been invited to.

There is only one way in which we can parry this, namely by proposing a merger. If it is to take place, the essential conditions must be: basis of complete equality, convocation by the mandatories of *both* 1889 congresses, the 1891 congress to have *complete* sovereignty in regard to its actions; method of representation to be determined jointly in advance — assuming these are met, we shall easily gain the upper hand. If it does not take place, the Possibilists will be to blame. We shall have shown the working-class world that they alone are the cause of splits and then there might be a chance of our successfully reopening the campaign here in England.

If the French approve this in principle, I propose that we take advantage of the Halle Congress of 12 October [12] to settle the preliminaries. One or two Frenchmen will be going, D. Nieuwenhuis, Adler[a] from Vienna, probably a Swiss, perhaps a Belgian. Tussy would attend so as to explain how things stand in England. It would be quite a conference! [28] A plan of action could very well be roughed out and matters put in train.

The point is that here we have an outstanding chance, probably the last for the next five to ten years, of forming an alliance of Frenchmen, Germans and Englishmen. If we let it slip, don't be surprised if the movement over here sinks completely into the rut now occupied by the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC Federation [29] and the Possibilists.

Our rivals are active and astute. They have always been our superiors in this respect. We, in our international dealings, have abused the right to be lazy.[b] That must stop. Let's get up and bestir ourselves!

As soon as I hear that you all approve, I shall write to the Germans.

I believe I did a stupid thing in writing to Bonnier, who is at Templeuve, instead of to you directly. But it was his letter which per-

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[a] Victor Adler - [b] An allusion to Paul Lafargue's pamphlet *Le Droit à la Paresse. Réfutation du 'Droit au Travail' de 1848.*

suaded me to attend to this matter and, as I sat pen in hand, the subject simply expanded.

Give Laura a kiss.

Yours ever,
F. E.

First published in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

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Translated from the French

## 12

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

London, 18 September 1890

Dear Kautsky,

I have had your letters of 22 August and 8 September. I should really have answered the first from Folkestone where I spent a month. But I overlooked the bit about your leaving for Stuckart[a] on 25 August and so didn't know where to write to.

The little rumpus among the students[13] soon collapsed. C. Schmidt was able to keep out of it and Bebel writes to say he is ALL RIGHT. Apart from that I know no more about the silly business than you do.

The editor in you was certainly well to the fore when you tried to involve me in your critique of the programme.[30] But you know yourself that I have no time. *Ničego*[b]!

In view of the many plans that are of necessity being made in Germany these days, only to be replaced by others, no purpose would be served by my seeking to comment on the plans you told me about in your last other than to say that *I* know of nobody here whom I could recommend for the *Neue Zeit* and the *Schwäbische Tagwacht*. Schmidt would be unlikely to want to leave Berlin. Cannot Bebel get hold of anyone for you?[31]

A telling blow has been struck in Liverpool.[27] And by a quirk of history the noble Brentano happened to be present on the platform to

[a] Stuttgart - [b] Absolutely none (Russ.)

witness the collapse of his contention, which he had been disseminating with such tenacity and passion, that the English TRADES UNIONS were the best defence against socialism.[a]

The struggle is now in full swing. An eight hours' legal working-day — that was the critical turning point and with its acceptance came the collapse of the empire of the old, conservative labour movement that was based on capitalist relations of production. The socialisation of land, mines and transport was universally conceded, while that of the other means of production had the support of a large minority. In short, things are now moving and the events between 1 and 4 May have greatly contributed to this. The 4th of May was the *pronunziamento*,[b] the Liverpool congress the first skirmish.

The Belgians have taken advantage of the congress to invite the English to an international congress in Belgium, a most perfidious manoeuvre. In Liverpool the delegates from the new unions, which of late have been making impassioned calls for international action, accepted with alacrity. Since the Belgians have hitherto been able to do *nothing* off their own bat save issue an invitation to the Possibilist congress in Belgium, the above manoeuvre is intended to force our hand. *This time* the English are seriously committed, thanks to the idiotic nature of our resolutions in Paris concerning the place and the convocation of the next congress,[26] which condemn *us* to inactivity while the others act.

Something has got to be done about it. Having discussed the matter with the others over here, I wrote to France[c] and as soon as there is anything definite in the wind, you will doubtless hear from Ede or me. For the present, *absolute discretion* is called for, as well as a cautious approach to the Belgians' action (in the meantime it would be best simply to *record* it in the press), lest any unnecessary obstacles should arise. Will you be going to Halle on 12 October?[12]

There'll be an article by me[d] in the final No. of the *Sozialdemokrat* which will cause a good deal of annoyance over there. But I can't pitch into the literary gang without also taking a sideswipe at the philistine element in our party, which provided the former with a pretext for a row. Indirectly, of course — a valedictory number is not the place for attacks. For that reason I was glad that the

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[a] An allusion to L. Brentano's *Die Arbeitergilden der Gegenwart*. - [b] See Engels' letters to August Bebel of 9 May and to Laura Lafargue of 10 May 1890 (present edition, Vol. 48). - [c] See previous letter. - [d] 'Farewell Letter to the Readers of the *Sozialdemokrat*'

literati forced me to square accounts with them *beforehand.*[a]

I continue to get good news from Sam Moore in Africa. Every 6 or 8 weeks he goes down with fever for 2 or 3 days, but the attacks are very mild and leave no after-effects.

Schorlemmer is back here, having arrived from Manchester yesterday evening. Since his return from the Norwegian trip he has been suffering from deafness and buzzing in the ears—a stubborn aural catarrh; though it is improving somewhat, it has undone the good effects of his 6 weeks' holiday.

According to the English, young William[b] went to Norway simply because he could play at sailors there without getting seasick. Indeed you can sail from Skudenes in the south right up to North Cape without ever leaving perfectly calm water, and only in 2 or 3 places are you likely to suffer 2 or 3 hours of seasickness. And as for the fjords! They're so calm that the smallest lake in the Alps is a storm-tossed ocean by comparison. A landlubber of an admiral can feel as safe there as on a drive from Charlottenburg[c] to Potsdam. It so happened that the young man sneaked past us in a torpedo boat while entering the Sunelv Fjord from the Geiranger Fjord. When we landed in Molde, Schorlemmer and I climbed the Moldehaj, a vantage point approximately 1,300 feet above sea level (the same as the one that appears in Ibsen's *Fruen fra Havet* (*The Lady from the Sea*) which is set in Molde). At the top we found half a dozen young lieutenants from the fleet below, dressed in civilian clothes. I thought I was back in Potsdam. The same old haw-haw voices of the Prussian guards,[d] the same old ensigns' jokes, the same old subalterns' swagger. By contrast we later ran into a bunch of engineers who seemed quite nice, decent fellows. And the sailors, who were to be seen all over the place, really *were* splendid lads. But as for the admirals—what obesity!

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[a] 'Reply to the Editors of the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*' - [b] William II - [c] a suburb of Berlin - [d] In the original: *janz die alte Jardesprache* (Berlin dialect).

13

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 19 September 1890

My dear Lafargue,

Thank you for your good news.[32] If that's how things are, it would be truly idiotic of us not to do everything in our power to attend a congress where the very fact of our presence would give us the upper hand.

So far as we are concerned, the following conditions are vital:

1) Convocation of the joint congress by the mandatories, and on the strength of the mandates, of the two 1889 congresses.[26] The Belgians and the Swiss would either sign one convocation only, or else the Belgians and the Swiss would convene on the strength of our mandate, and only the Belgians on the strength of the other mandate. This ought to be laid down in advance, as also the text of the convocation.

2) The absolute sovereignty of the congress, for which no preceding congress would have force of law.—Nor would it be bound in any respect whatever by any committee, whether nominated by one of the earlier congresses, or as the result of negotiations over a merger. It will establish its own rules and agenda and will alone determine the manner in which the verification of credentials is to be carried out.

3) The manner and the proportions in which the various associations are to be represented at the congress to be laid down in advance.

4) An international committee, appointed as soon as a merger has been decided upon, will prepare draft rules and agenda on which the congress will pronounce.

*Ad* 2): The complete freedom of the congress is vital to ourselves because, once in a position to haggle over the agenda, rules, etc., the Possibilists and the Belgians would diddle us; our negotiators have always been more naïve than theirs and the consequence would be an unending discussion of which everyone would lose the thread, thus

making it impossible for us to lay the blame on the Possibilists. To the objection that the congress will be wasting valuable time, our rejoinder will be that it behoves us first to *create* a joint congress which of itself would be of vastly greater significance than any resolutions it might pass; that we do not have a mandate to constrain the future congress; that, once assembled, the congress may do away with restrictions previously imposed upon it, etc. And, eventually providing the conditions laid down are satisfactory, we might after all make some concessions to the Belgians on that score.

Now, if you Frenchmen would amend, complete and fill out the details of the above draft, you would be doing a worthwhile job.

This was the gist of my letter to Bonnier,[a] though I can assure you that I never try to settle anything with him. My chief aim in writing to him was to make the idea of a merger acceptable to you all; now I have had your letter the whole discussion has become otiose.

I therefore wrote at once to Bebel, suggesting that the question be discussed at an informal international gathering at Halle.[33] If, together with the official representatives of some of the smaller nationalities, we should then succeed in laying the foundations of a merger, it might be possible to approach the Belgians about it.[28] In fact, I asked Bebel to arrange, if possible, for a Belgian — preferably from Ghent — to be present.

Meanwhile I await your news on the opinion of Guesde, Deville, etc., and also the Blanquists.

The *Idée nouvelle* has sent me a list of subscriptions — what shall I do?

A Monsieur Ch. Caron, 8 rue du Croissant (thus evidently from the *Idée nouvelle*), has sent me a prospectus for the republication of socialist brochures and asks me for permission to publish my writings as well as those of Marx. Judging by these efforts, one might say that the French and particularly the Parisians are on the point of performing a miracle. But has this gentleman the wherewithal to publish even a single brochure? Please let me know, for I must reply within 4-5 days.[b]

Sonnenschein has sent me his account: £5.4 — of which 1/5 for Laura = £1.-.9, 1/5 for the children,[c] 1/5 for Tussy and 2/5 for the translators.[d] Here is the cheque for Laura. Meissner's account will

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[a] F. Engels, 'The International Workers' Congress of 1891'. - [b] See next letter. - [c] Longuet's children - [d] Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling

probably arrive soon, but if the expenses of the 4th edition[a] are already included in it, which I do not know, there will be little or nothing.

The Boulangist revelations could not be more edifying. Congratulate yourself on having been able to resist when the Boulangists tempted you. But what idea does that give you of the political capacity of the Parisian public! To have been duped, what am I saying, frenetically egged on by this simple ne'er-do-well who gives his word as a soldier to the royalists provided that they pay him the expenses of his good fortunes! Pfui Teufel![b] Fortunately the province is there to make amends for Parisian foolishness. It's incredible![34]

Hyndman celebrates the immortal Joffrin in *Justice,* and says that it is him and the Possibilists who have crushed Boulanger and saved the republic.[35] He ought to know that the case of the Possibilists is too desperate in Paris to come and lie so impudently.

Give Laura a kiss from Nim, myself and Schorlemmer who arrived the day before yesterday.

Yours ever,
F. E.

Will send you the last number of the *Sozialdemokrat* in a day or two. Ede Bernstein is staying here to send reports on England, particularly to the *Neue Zeit.* Fischer is going to Berlin to join the *Vorwärts,*[c] and will get a seat in the Reichstag as soon as occasion arises. Tauscher is going to Stuttgart. As for the great Julius Motteler, no one yet knows what is to be done with him. He is the party's greatest incubus—in his own eyes an unrecognised genius, in those of everybody else ineptitude personified.

See if you can arrange for Guesde and Vaillant to go to Halle[d]; Guesde will have to take Bonnier as interpreter.

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[a] of the first volume of *Capital* - [b] Hang it all! - [c] *Berliner Volksblatt* - [d] to the congress of the German Social-Democratic Party

## 14

## ENGELS TO CHARLES CARON

### IN PARIS

[Draft]

[London, 20 September 1890]

Dear Citizen,

In reply to your letter of the 17th,[36] I cannot give you the authorisation you ask for until I receive clarification on a number of points.[a]

In the first place it seems to me that, if any pamphlets are to be reissued, they should appear as complete and separate pamphlets and not in the form of a revue, each number of which would contain a mixed assortment of disconnected fragments of works that would, as often as not, contradict one another. Hence I should like, first of all, to be in a position to weigh up the reasons that have led you to prefer this latter form.

Again, is it not the intention of the Workers' Party to republish a large part of these same works in its *Bibliothèque socialiste*? If so, the party undertaking ought to take precedence over the private undertaking.

Lastly, you have yourself a pretty expensive task. It would take you from 4 to 6 months merely to complete the publication of the six pamphlets advertised[b] as commencing in your first number. Were the revue to cease appearing for want of funds midway through the publication of a work I had authorised you to reprint, a heavy responsibility would fall on my shoulders.

So have you the necessary funds?

There are, in addition, further points to be considered.

So as to settle the matter I would ask you to get in touch with Citizen Lafargue, to whom I have sent a copy of this letter.

I should be obliged if you would refer to me in future before using

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[a] See previous letter. - [b] Engels has in mind the advertisement of *L'Œuvre Socialiste. Revue politique et littéraire*, enclosed in Charles Caron's letter of 17 September 1890.

my name in public; indeed, as to the present instance, I reserve the right to have recourse, if I think fit, to measures of an equally public nature.

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## 15

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 20 September 1890

My dear Lafargue,

Thank you for the information about Caron.[37] Herewith my reply[a] to this amiable fellow who 'is in no doubt that my reply will be in the affirmative'. Don't talk to me of 'London Assurance' or Yankee journalists' cheek. The Germans and French outdo them by far and, what's more, with an elegant effrontery that suits them to a T. However I'm not sure that it isn't my own dear countrymen who don't carry off first prize.

Nothing new to report here. Aveling must have written to you about Lavigerie.[b] However it's very curious that this individual should have in his possession a document (copy) signed by Lafargue, Guesde, Deville, etc., announcing Guesde's impending arrival in London and a letter from Coulombeau inviting Aveling and Tussy to the Lille Congress[38] on behalf of the National Committee of the Workers' Party.[39] The originals of all the documents he purports to

[a] See previous letter. - [b] See Engels' letter to Laura Lafargue of 30 July 1890 (present edition, Vol. 48).

have must have been seen by Aveling last Monday — but I've heard nothing since Sunday.[a]

Herewith cheque for £20.

Yours ever,

F. E.

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## 16

## ENGELS TO JOSEPH BLOCH [40]

### IN KÖNIGSBERG

London, 21[-22] September 1890

Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 3rd of this month was forwarded to me in Folkestone; but since I did not have the book in question[b] with me I was not able to reply to it. After arriving home on the 12th, I found such an accumulation of urgent work awaiting me that I have been unable until today to get round to writing you a line or two. This, merely by way of explanation for the delay which I trust you will be good enough to excuse.[41]

*Ad* I. First, on p. 19 of the *Origin* you will see that the process of growth of the punaluan family is shown as taking place so gradually that even in this century there have been marriages between brothers and sisters (*born of one mother*) in the Hawaiian royal family. And throughout antiquity we find examples of intermarriage between siblings, e. g. amongst the Ptolemaeans. Here, however,— secondly — we must distinguish between siblings *by the same mother* and siblings merely *by the same father*; 'αδελφός, 'αδελφή [c] derive from δελφύς uterus, and hence originally denoted only siblings *by the same mother*. And

[a] 15 September - [b] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see present edition, Vol. 26). - [c] brother, sister

a feeling has long persisted from the period of mother right that the children of one mother, even if by different fathers, are more closely related than the children of one father but by different mothers. The punaluan form of family precludes marriage only between the former, but not at all between the latter who, according to the above conception, *are not related at all* (since mother right is in force). Now, so far as I know, cases of sibling marriage in Greek antiquity are confined to those in which the pair either have different mothers or at any rate to those in which this is not known and is therefore not ruled out; hence it is by no means inconsistent with punaluan custom. What you have overlooked is the fact that, between the punaluan period and Greek monogamy, the change-over from matriarchy to patriarchy took place, which puts quite a different complexion on the matter.

According to Wachsmuth's *Hellenische Alterthümer*,[a] there is, among the Greeks of the Heroic Period,

> 'no trace of reservations regarding unduly close kinship between married partners, aside from relations between parent and child' (III, p. 157). 'In Crete, marriage to a full sister was not considered an offence' (ibid., p. 170).

This last from Strabo, Book X[b]; however, I cannot find the passage at this moment because of the absence of proper chapter divisions.— *Full* sisters — failing proof to the contrary — I assume to be sisters by the same father.

*Ad* II. I would qualify the first of your main propositions as follows: According to the materialist view of history, the determining factor in history is, *in the final analysis*, the production and reproduction of actual life. More than that was never maintained either by Marx or myself. Now if someone distorts this by declaring the economic moment to be the *only* determining factor, he changes that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, ridiculous piece of jargon. The economic situation is the basis, but the various factors of the superstructure — political forms of the class struggle and its consequences, namely constitutions set up by the ruling class after a victorious battle, etc., forms of law and, the reflections of all these real struggles in the minds of the participants, i. e. political, philosophical and legal theories, religious views and the expansion of the same into dogmatic systems — all these factors also have a bearing on the course of the historical struggles of

[a] W. Wachsmuth, *Hellenische Alterthumskunde aus dem Geschichtspunkte des Staates*.-
[b] Strabo, *Geographica*.

which, in many cases, they largely determine the *form*. It is in the interaction of all these factors and amidst an unending multitude of fortuities (i. e. of things and events whose intrinsic interconnections are so remote or so incapable of proof that we can regard them as non-existent and ignore them) that the economic trend ultimately asserts itself as something inevitable. Otherwise the application of the theory to any particular period of history would, after all, be easier than solving a simple equation of the first degree.

We make our history ourselves but, in the first place, under very definite premises and conditions. Of these, the economic are ultimately decisive. But the political, etc., and even the traditions still lingering in people's minds, play some, if not a decisive, role. The Prussian state itself owes its origin and development to historical and, in the final analysis, economic circumstances. It could, however, hardly be maintained without pedantry that what caused Brandenburg, of all the many small principalities of North Germany, to become a great power, the embodiment of the economic, linguistic and — since the Reformation — also the religious, differences between North and South, was economic necessity irrespective of any other factors (above all its involvement, through its possession of Prussia, in Poland and hence in international political relations — which likewise played a decisive role in the formation of the Austrian dynasty). Without making oneself a laughing-stock, it would scarcely be possible to provide an economic explanation for the existence of every small German principality, past and present, or for the origin of the High German sound shift whereby the geographical partition formed by the mountains from the Sudetes to the Taunus became a veritable rift running right across Germany.

In the second place, however, history is made in such a way that the ultimate result is invariably produced by the clash of many individual wills of which each in turn has been made what it is by a wide variety of living conditions; there are thus innumerable conflicting forces, an infinite number of parallelograms of forces, productive of one result — the historical event which itself may be seen as the product of a power operating *unconsciously* and involuntarily as a whole. For what each individual wants is obstructed by every other individual and the outcome is something that no one wanted. Thus, the course of history up till now has been like a natural process and has, indeed, been subject to much the same laws of motion. But the fact that individual wills — each of which wants what it is driv-

en to want by bodily constitution and extrinsic and, in the final analysis, economic (whether personal or general social) circumstances — do not attain what they want but merge into an overall mean, a common resultant — does not justify the conclusion that they are nonentities. On the contrary, each one contributes to the resultant and is, to that extent, part and parcel of it.

Another thing I would ask you to do is to study this theory in the original source books and not at second-hand; it is really far easier. While Marx wrote hardly anything in which it did not play some role, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* is a quite outstanding example of its application. There are also many allusions to the theory in *Capital.* I might further draw your attention to my works, *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science* and *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* in which the account I give of historical materialism is, so far as I know, the most exhaustive in existence.

If some younger writers attribute more importance to the economic aspect than is its due, Marx and I are to some extent to blame. We had to stress this leading principle in the face of opponents who denied it, and we did not always have the time, space or opportunity to do justice to the other factors that interacted upon each other. But it was a different matter when it came to depicting a section of history, i. e. to applying the theory in practice, and here there was no possibility of error. Unfortunately people all too frequently believe they have mastered a new theory and can do just what they like with it as soon as they have grasped — not always correctly — its main propositions. Nor can I exempt from this reproach many of the more recent 'Marxists' who have, indeed, been responsible for some pretty peculiar stuff.

*Ad* I, I yesterday discovered (I am writing this on 22 September) in Schoemann's *Griechische Alterthümer,* Berlin, 1855, I, p. 52, the following vital passage which fully substantiates what I have said above. It runs:

'It is known, however, that marriage between half-brothers and sisters born of *different mothers* was not subsequently regarded as incest in Greece.'

Trusting that you will not be too much put off by the appalling convolutions to which my pen has, for brevity's sake, succumbed, I remain

Yours faithfully,
F. Engels

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17

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

[London,] 22 September 1890

Dear Hermann,

When your letter of 28 May arrived I was just expecting a visit from my Dublin wine merchant and so I decided to wait and discuss the matter with him in person. As it happened, however, the man didn't come until the end of June when I was wholly taken up with my impending departure[a] and so forgot about your sherry until reminded a few days ago by another look at your letter and again today by your second one. Not that you will have suffered as a result, since travelling during the hot weather would have done the wine no good and it will at any rate now travel more safely. I shall write to Dublin at once and see what can be done. Brett will certainly supply you with good wine; I have laid down another 50 or 60 dozen claret and port of the recent good years; I don't use much sherry, but in this respect, too, the chap is reliable. So more news very shortly. I have just

[a] to Norway

spent 4 weeks beside the Channel, at Folkestone, and feel extremely well and cheerful. Let's hope it lasts! Love to you and yours,

From your old
Friedrich

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## 18

## ENGELS TO JAKINS

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, 23 September 1890]

In pursuance of the conversation I had with you, I now beg to say that I am willing to take the house 122 Regent's Park Road on a three years agreement (similar to the one I previously had with the late Marquis de Rothwell) and at the rent of £60 a year on the condition that the landlord does for me what he would be required to do for a new tenant.

Besides smaller repairs, such as papering, etc., which might be necessary by next spring, there are two points which in my opinion come under that class, viz.

1) a new efficient kitchen range to replace the present one which is 20 years old and quite worn out;

2) efficient arrangements for a hot and cold water bath, the present bath having only cold water to turn on.

I hope these demands will not be found unreasonable and remain

Dear Sir

etc.

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## 19

## ENGELS TO STRUTT AND PARKER

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 23 September 1890

Dear Sirs,

In pursuance of a conversation I had yesterday with Mr Jakins, I wrote to him a letter stating what repairs and alterations I should expect to be made in the house occupied by me before signing a new three years agreement. This letter he promised to lay before you.

As this question cannot well be settled before the impending quarterday Mr Jakins found it quite natural that I should give you notice to quit, so as to protect myself. This notice I beg to enclose. It is however perfectly understood that I am willing to withdraw such notice again as soon as we shall have satisfactorily settled the conditions and terms of the new agreement.

Trusting that this will not be a matter of difficulty

I remain, etc.

Gentlemen,

I hereby give you notice that on the 25th day of March next (1891) I shall quit and deliver up possession of the house and premises I now hold on the Estate of the late Richard R. Rothwell Esq. and situated

at 122 Regent's Park Road, N. W. in the Parish of St Pancras. Dated this 23rd day of September 1890.

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## 20

## ENGELS TO JULES GUESDE

### IN PARIS

London, 25 September[a] 1890

My dear Guesde,

Thank you for your correction — I was indeed wrong concerning the congress resolution on the convocation.[42] But the resolution as it was adopted was enough to condemn us to inaction, while others would have acted.

I have written to Bebel about the Swiss. I suggested to him, since he agrees with us on the conference in Halle,[28] that everyone should be invited, included the English, so as to avoid the complaints which were produced after The Hague in 1889.[43] The Germans have the habit of dispensing with formalities, which in international affairs always leads to misunderstandings if not quarrels, and I have reminded them of this.[44]

If Vaillant could go with you to Halle, that would be very useful, particularly after what Bonnier writes to me, i. e., that he has to return to England immediately and probably will not be able to accompany you.

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[a] The original has: June.

I hope that either the two Avelings, or at least Mrs Aveling, will be able to go.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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21

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 25 September 1890

My dear Laura,

Today being your birthday will be duly celebrated with a good bottle of wine and your health drunk with musical honors — and *such* musical honors! Nim, Schorlemmer and myself, three splendid musicians!

Many thanks for the pears which Nim is expecting with the utmost anxiety. That 'brown fellow' of yours shall be settled before he knows where he is; as for the rest, Nim will certainly take care that their

*Lebenslauf*
*ist angefangen und beschlossen in*
*Der Santa Casa heiligen Registern.*[a]

Today, the last number of the *Sozialdemokrat* is published. I shall miss that paper almost as much as the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Ede is going to remain here, Tauscher left yesterday for Stuttgart; Fischer, the best of the lot after Ede, will settle in Berlin; the unspeakable muddler Motteler and his elegantly-bred missus nobody knows what

[a] births and deaths are registered in the annals of the Holy Inquisition.

to do with, so I suppose they will stay here for some time longer, though we could miss them very well — only unfortunately everybody else seems to be in that same position.

Bebel and Liebknecht have now both removed to Berlin. In case urgent communication with them might become necessary, I give you Bebel's address, the only one I have: A. B. Grossgörschenstraße, 22a, Berlin.

Fine scoundrels in Berlin amongst the nobility — one shot himself while quarreling with a *rat du ballet*,[a] another for debt and swindling, a third in prison for everlasting rows and delirium tremens, a chief officer — Major — of the Unteroffiziersschule[b] at Potsdam shot himself and even the *Kreuzzeitung*[c] telling the nobility that they are close upon the deluge which they expect only '*après nous*'![45] Could not be better!

Ever yours
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

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## 22

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[25]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 25 September 1890

My dear Lafargue,

Bebel has written to say that he is in agreement with us as regards Belgium.[d] I have now suggested that he send out invitations to a preliminary congress 'to discuss means of preventing a repetition in 1891 of what happened in 1889, namely two rival and independent working men's congresses'; to invite everyone, Belgians, Swiss, the two Danish parties,[46] Swedes, Italians (have you any addresses?), Span-

[a] ballet dancer - [b] subalterns' school - [c] *Neue Preussische Zeitung* - [d] See this volume, pp. 28-29.

iards and English (the PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE,[47] the EIGHT HOURS LEAGUE,[48] the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC Federation [29] and the SOCIALIST LEAGUE [49]).

As to your resolution to insist on the sovereignty of the congress in respect of only 3 questions, to wit verification of mandates, drawing up of the agenda, and method of voting, it seems to me that you are treading on distinctly dangerous ground. It means that, so far as all other questions are concerned, you accept the resolutions passed by former Possibilist congresses and that, when each case crops up, you call for a fresh debate in order to get rid of these obstacles. It means that you recognise the series of Belgian-Possibilist congresses, including the London caricature of 1888,[50] as the working men's only genuine means of international representation and that you debase ours of 1889 [51] to the status of an act of rebellion as groundless as it was fruitless.

So consider what you would be doing. You intend to propose, with no reservations other than those cited above, that there should be one man, one vote. And at the last Possibilist congress,[52] *three* delegates from each association were admitted. True, those three were allowed only one vote, but unless all the congress's time is to be wasted on roll-calls, how can this be verified? Whoever is going to stop the Belgians' sending three delegates from each of their little associations and lording it over the congress by courtesy of your own proposal? And how many times will you be able to extract a roll-call from a vociferously impatient congress?

It seems to me that you have been carried away by the Possibilist debacle.[53] Don't forget that from now until September 1891, when the congress will probably be held, many things can happen. Why abandon the important positions we hold today? Between now and then we may be in dire need of them. Remember that there are Possibilists pretty well everywhere, not least in Belgium.

I haven't had your paper.[a] Has it in fact come out?

Regards,

F. E.

First published in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

[a] *Le Socialiste*

## 23

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 26 September 1890

My dear Löhr,

Yesterday we celebrated your impending birthday by a bottle of good claret, and to-day we shall drink, in honour of the real event, a bottle of champaign and wish you many happy returns of the day, hoping that you have only arrived

*nel mezzo del cammin della tua vita.*[a]

As a birthday present herewith your share in Meissner's remittance of £45, just to hand, in shape of a cheque for £15; it comes very appropriate!

The last No. of the *Sozialdemokrat* is creating a stir here — Edward yesterday had a long extract in *The Daily Chronicle*, and is to interview E. Bernstein for Monday's *Star* (with photograph).[54]

Meissner has not yet sent the account, only the remittance, so further particulars must be delayed.

Love from Nim, Schorlemmer and yours ever

F. Engels

Next time you come here you will be able to have a hot bath in the house. The old Marquis[b] died some time ago and the estate has gone into the hands of other agents, so I *posais la question du cabinet*[c] and gave notice unless a new kitchen range and a new bath with hot water arrangements was put in. To-day the people have been here to look at the premises and I am informed that these demands of mine will be complied with. Of course there may be some little difficulty yet, but from what I hear I believe that I have carried my point.

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[a] in the middle of the journey of your life (Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, 'Inferno', I, paraphrased). - [b] de Rothwell - [c] raised the question of bathroom

The box of pears has not arrived yet, up to 3 p. m. to-day, but very likely it will be here before dinner.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

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## 24

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 27 September 1890

Dear Sorge,

Both your letters of the 10th of this month have arrived.

Today I am enclosing some copies of the last issue of the *Sozialdemokrat* with the usual newspapers. You might care to have some extra copies of this historic issue.

Your information about Schewitsch is probably correct.[a] When he passed through London, he ran into Tussy at a meeting and told her he had heard that I had expressed myself in very malicious terms about him, which was why he preferred not to call on me. I lay this at the door of the noble Jonas — though it may also have been due to the prickings of an uneasy conscience. It's the same old story as with so many Russians — *une jeunesse orageuse et une vieillesse blasée*,[b] as one of them has put it.

Grunzig is a belletrist. And the rebellious little undergraduates in Germany are also belletrists (more *triste* than *belle*[c]) who are out to revolutionise the whole of literature. This explains the whole business of the *Volkszeitung* article,[55] for the MUTUAL ASSURANCE Co. run by these gents also comprises Grunzig. Come to that, if a chap's called Grunzig or Greulich[d] he'd do best to vanish without trace.

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[a] In two letters of 10 September 1890 Sorge informed Engels that Schewitsch had moved to Riga after the pardon by the Tsar. - [b] a stormy youth and a blasé old age - [c] more *sad* than *beautiful* - [d] Grunzig resembles *grunzen* (grunt), Greulich — greuel (horrid, dreadful).

I spent half of August and September in Folkestone near Dover, and this extra recuperation after the trip to North Cape has done me a power of good. I am refreshed and once more game for anything and, indeed, have an enormous amount to do — everybody looks to me now.

Much will now be clarified by the congresses — Lille, 9 October, French *parti ouvrier*[a] [38] (ours); Calais, 13 October, ditto trades unions [56]; Halle, 12 October will be the most important.[12] I shall now tell you what is going on (*for your own information* — nothing whatever must get into the press about it):

The Brussels chaps, entrusted by the Possibilists with the convocation of *their* congress in Belgium,[26] invited the Liverpool TRADES UNION congress,[27] who accepted with alacrity. In this way the English are committed and we have been placed in something of a predicament. After consulting the people over here, therefore, I asked first the French and then the Germans[b] to pave the way for the amalgamation of both the 1891 congresses, always supposing it is possible to obtain acceptable terms, namely, sovereign powers for the congress — which the Possibilists refused to concede to us last time —, the convocation to be the responsibility of *both* mandatories of *both* the 1889 congresses, the procedure for the sending of delegates to be determined beforehand, and a few other details. The French and Germans have agreed. Since a number of representatives of foreign parties will in any case be going to Halle, I proposed that a preparatory conference be held there with a view to settling the preliminaries.[28] This, too, is well in hand. Well, I suppose that every kind of asininity will nevertheless be perpetrated there; Tussy will probably be present and put a stop to some of them but the chaps are SO GUSHING in international affairs, just when this attitude is least called for, that things may take a different course from the one I have set them on. At any rate I don't rule that out. But nevertheless I think it will turn out all right.

For a start, by holding our own congress in 1889,[51] we showed the smaller nations (the Belgians, Dutch, etc.) that we were not prepared to let them have it all their own way, and next time they'll mind their p's and q's.

Secondly, the Possibilists would appear to be in a state of complete disintegration.[53] Brousse, who controls the clique of Possibilist mu-

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[a] Workers' Party - [b] See this volume, pp. 28 - 29 and 40.

nicipal councillors and, through them, the Labour Exchanges,[57] is openly at war with Allemane who controls the Paris trades unions and, more significantly still, is for peace with our people. Allemane wants to get into the Chamber in place of Joffrin, now defunct; Brousse wants Lavy or Gély to get in. They are so much at daggers drawn that Brousse did not dare to appear at Joffrin's funeral where Allemane acted as master of ceremonies. They have also had a row with their few supporters in the provinces. And finally their coming out in opposition to the May Day demonstration[58] did them enormous harm in the eyes of the Belgians and Dutch. Brousse and Allemane are also warring quite publicly in their papers.[a]

So favourable are the circumstances—aside from the enormous moral invigoration derived by the Germans from their electoral victory[b] and its consequences, namely the overthrow of Bismarck and of the Anti-Socialist Law,[11] and which is directly responsible for making them the paramount party in Europe — that even with faulty tactics we can hope for victory. Either we shall succeed in obtaining fusion on a rational basis, in which case the congress will be dominated by the German and French Marxists, or the Possibilists and the few who support them will be so manifestly put in the wrong that the English (the new TRADES UNIONS) will desert them; for *in that case* we should again be able to conduct in this country a campaign as in the spring of 1889, and with even better success.

I am very glad that you intend to write for the *Neue Zeit*. If you find the conditions of payment unsatisfactory — needless to say, you must be paid at American rates — don't hesitate to tell them what you want, and refer the chaps to me. The *Neue Zeit* could become an organ of great importance. Bernstein will write from this country, Lafargue from Paris, and Bebel will do the weekly survey on Germany; that he can make a brilliant job of it has already been demonstrated in the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. I never formed a definite opinion about events in Germany until I read Bebel's articles on them. The lucid, objective way in which he presented the facts without allowing himself to be swayed by his own preferences was unsurpassed.

The *Sozialdemokrat* leaves a very big gap. However, before two years are out we shall be quarrelling openly with little Willie[c] and then we may see some fun.

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[a] *Le Prolétariat* and *Le Parti ouvrier*. [b] to the German Reichstag on 20 February 1890. [c] William II

Regards from Schorlemmer who is here, and from myself to you and your wife.

Your
F. E.

I expect to get the 4th edition of *Capital*, Vol. I shortly, whereupon you shall instantly have a copy. The preface[a] might provide matter for the *Volkszeitung*.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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## 25

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 4 October 1890

In my last letter I forgot to mention the circumstance that I had given the Romm couple a letter of introduction to you, and you may have thought this improper.[b] It was sheer forgetfulness on my part. The Romms — I do not know him personally — frequented the best party circles in Berlin where they enjoyed everyone's confidence, and will in any case be able to tell you a great deal that is of interest about conditions there. As I have said, she is the sister-in-law of Ede Bernstein who, as editor of the *Sozialdemokrat*, has proved to be one of the best of the younger generation, and her literary work in introducing progressive Russian literature to the Germans deserves great praise.— They will have told you all about the personal side — the hows, whys and wherefores of their coming to America.

[a] F. Engels, 'Preface to the 4th German Edition of *Capital*, Vol. I'. - [b] The letter of introduction has not been found.

The *Socialiste* is appearing again — I wrote and told Lafargue to send it to you.

The matter of the congress is going swimmingly. Complete unanimity between Germans and French. Guesde, Nieuwenhuis, Tussy, a Belgian and a Swiss will be going to Halle [28] on the 12th and will doubtless settle everything. The Possibilists are quarrelling openly — next week they will probably have a show-down.[53]

Nim thanks you for the *Kalender*.[a] She, Schorlemmer and I send our kindest regards to you both.

Your
F. E.

We over here know nothing about blows received by Tussy — WHAT DOES IT MEAN? [59]

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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## 26

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

[London,] 5 October 1890

Dear Kautsky,

Would you kindly arrange for me to be sent another copy of the *Neue Zeit*[b]? It's for our friend Sam[c]

'On the banks of the distant Niger
Where he hunts the lion and tiger'

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[a] *Pionier. Illustrirter Volks-Kalender* - [b] *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 1. Bd., Nr. 1. - [c] Samuel Moore

and if I get No. 1 *immediately* I shall be able to send it off next Friday.

Dietz can deduct it from my fee.

Many regards—also from Jollymeier.[a]

Your
F. E.

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935

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## 27

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN BERLIN

L[ondon,] 7 October 1890

Dear Liebknecht,

*Volksblatt*[b] 1-4, and 7 copies of 5,[c] received with thanks, also your letter.

I would gladly contribute to the *Volksblatt* if time permits and opportunity arises. But just now I shall have to desist from all journalistic activity for a while until I have at last completed the third volume.[d]

As in the case of the *Neue Zeit* and other papers, I have to lay down two conditions: 1. that in articles signed by me, nothing be altered without my consent, 2. that fees, IF ANY, are paid into the party funds as my contribution.

The first thing to be eliminated from the *Volksblatt* is the deadly boring tone which has now pervaded it. The *Hamburger Echo* is a cosmopolitan paper by comparison, though the leading articles may be dry; otherwise its tone is urbane and smacks of a big city. The *Volksblatt*, on the other hand, is largely written as though in

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[a] Schorlemmer's jocular name- [b] *Berliner Volksblatt* - [c] with Engels' article 'Reply to Mr Paul Ernst' - [d] of *Capital*

a dream and Lenchen maintains that the *Sankt Johann-Saarbrücker Zeitung* is more interesting. This impression of somnolence is what has always struck us about the paper. Them Berliners prides themselves on their wit, does they? Cor lummy!! So put a bit of life into the thing, otherwise our Political Advertiser will be competing altogether too unfairly against its Prusso-German counterpart[a] — and we can't after all take that for our model.

Besides the papers in question, I am sending you a *Daily Chronicle* containing the true story of the recent GAS SCARES when one or two officious generals wanted to send 700 troops to Becton (east of the EAST END, on the Thames).[60] This will show you what kind of paper it is.

I am glad that you should both be settling down so quickly in Berlin.

Tussy and Guesde will probably be coming from Lille to join you.

Your
F. E.

Warm regards to your wife and children.

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## 28

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 18 October 1890

Dear Sorge,

The *Kalender*[b] has arrived — Lenchen sends her thanks!

Have today sent you a whole parcel of odds and ends — relating to the congresses. The Possibilists are done for; Allemane, Clément, Faillet, etc., and the majority of the Paris workers have expelled

[a] *Deutscher Reichs-Anzeiger und Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger* - [b] *Pionier. Illustrirter Volks-Kalender*

Brousse from the party and he, in turn, has expelled *them*. Hence a split.[53] All that remains to Brousse are the leaders who are dependent on him (because of documents about the dirty tricks perpetrated by each of them), i. e. the municipal councillors and the paid officials of the *bourse du travail*,[a] and — Mr Hyndman who, to my intense glee, declared his solidarity with Brousse in the last number of *Justice*.[b] At all events, *both* factions are now ruined and in process of total disintegration, a process we must hope will not be disturbed by intervention from our people. Our congresses, on the other hand, went off splendidly. First Lille — the French 'Marxists' as a party,[38] then Calais — the TRADES UNIONS, under their direction[56]; then Halle, the crowning of the whole.[12] Tussy was at Lille and Halle, Aveling at Lille and Calais. I have not yet heard how the international negotiations went at Halle.[28] At all events, throughout this week we have been *second to none* in the eyes of the world's press.

Best wishes

Your
F. E.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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## 29

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[61]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 19 October 1890

My dear Löhr,

At last! This week I have been, if not busy, at all events 'occupied' and 'engaged' over head and ears. I have sorted about 4 cubic feet of old letters of Mohr's (that is to say addressed mostly to him) of the

[a] Labour Exchange - [b] 'The Split in France', *Justice*, No. 353, 18 October 1890.

period 1836-64. All higgledy-piggledy in a big basket, which perhaps you may remember. Dusting, straightening, sorting — it took more than a week to put them into rough order. During all that time my room upset, covered with paperasses[a] in various degrees of order and disorder, so that I could neither go out nor do any other kind of work. That was No. 1. Then came the congresses[62] with — not work, but loss of time for me by callers, etc. And finally, Nim has been quite out of sorts all this week, went to bed on her own accord on Thursday morning and actually sent for the Doctor,— who however told her there was no reason for her to stick in bed, she might sit up at least a few hours which she does. He cannot as yet exactly make out what it is, there are symptoms (jaundice) of liver complaint, she has no appetite and is weak. However since last night she is better and in better spirits, and I hope will be well in a few days.

I hope Paul has got rid of his intimate friend inside. If he has not, it's his own fault, a dose of felix mas or cousso will soon put an end to that nuisance. It will poison the brute and do him no harm.

Our congresses have come off gloriously and when we compare them with the Possibilists,[53] they come out in still bolder relief. *That* nuisance now will soon put a stop to itself. Only I hope that our friends will give them every inch of rope they may require and not interfere in the least by approaches or otherwise. *Il faut qu'ils cuisent dans leur propre jus.*[b] Any attempt on our side to meddle with them would only arrest for a time the process of disintegration and *pourriture.*[c] The masses are sure to come round to us by and by. And the longer we allow the leaders to kill each other, the less of them shall we have to take over on the day of reunion. If Liebknecht had not been in such a hurry with regard to the Lassalleans coming over to us, he would not have had to take over Hasselmann and others who had to be kicked out six months afterwards.[63] And now in France, as then in Germany, the whole lot of the leaders are rotten to the core.

To my great surprise and relief in last *Justice* Hyndman declares for Brousse[d]! What a piece of good luck. I was beginning to be afraid I might get into a position where Hyndman would have to be taken on again as at least passively a friend, whereas I like him 10,000 times better as an enemy.

[a] wretched scraps of paper - [b] Let them stew in their own juice. - [c] decay - [d] 'The Split in France', *Justice*, No. 353, 18 October 1890.

Paul now *may* be right: the Possibilists *may* abstain again from their own Congress.[64] The date and place appear to have been fixed at Halle[28]: Brussels, 16 August 1891. This is all I know. To-morrow I shall hear it all from Tussy who left Halle yesterday, her return ticket to Cologne expiring on that day.[65]

I am glad Fischer has been put on the *Parteivorstand.*[a] You have seen him here. He is very intelligent, very active, revolutionary, *absolutely anti-philistine*, and more international in his ways and manners than most Germans. Tussy writes that after the Lille Congress,[38] the German Reichstag men, a great portion of them, at least, made a rather philistine impression upon her. I fully expected that. As our M. P. s are not paid, we cannot get always the best men, but must accept from those in a relatively bourgeois position the *least bad.* Therefore our masses are far better than the *fraction.* The latter may congratulate themselves that they had such asses and shady fellows (many of them probably *mouchards*[b]) for an opposition.[66] If they should rebel against Bebel, Singer and Fischer, they will have to be acted against—but I am sure Bebel will always be strong enough to cow them.

Paul *est bien naîf avec ses questions sur Bebel et le 'Gil Blas'. Il connaît Bebel et il connaît le 'Gil Blas'; est-ce qu'il ne se connaîtrait plus soi-même?*[c] At any rate I shall send the *'Gil Blas' fortement souligné*[d] to Bebel and tell him to disown. Such impudent lying exceeds all measure, even for *Gil Blas.*[67]

Tussy is quite in love with the Lille delegates, and indeed they seem to have been a regular élite, and shown the very qualities which it has been the fashion of late in France to cry down because the Germans showed them to a higher degree, though up to 1870 it had been the regular thing to claim discipline, *esprit d'organisation et action combinée* as *des qualités tout ce qu'il y a de plus françaises.*[e] I was very much interested in Paul's account of these delegates[68] and shall take care that it gets into the English and German Press. The great advantage of the French is that they are bred and born in a revolutionary medium. Both English and Germans lack that advantage and are moreover brought up in the religion of the bourgeoisie—protestantism. That

[a] Party Executive - [b] police spies - [c] Paul is very naive with his questions about Bebel and *Gil Blas.* He knows Bebel and also *Gil Blas*; is it that he does not know himself better? - [d] specially underlined - [e] this spirit of organisation and collective action as the qualities which are French to the extreme

gives to their habits, manners and customs a *spiessbürgerlichen Anstrich*[a] which they have to shake off by going abroad, especially to France. Look at the redaction of the Lille and the Halle resolutions!

That is the great progress: we cannot now do without any one of the three. Only the Belgians and the Swiss we could very well spare.

Love from Nim and yours affectionately

F. E.

As Paul has said so much in the *Neue Zeit*[b] about the fleets constructed by Mohr for you girls when you were children, I enclose him the, probably, last specimen extant of Mohr's naval architecture.

First published, in German, in *Einheit*, Nr. 11, Berlin, 1955

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## 30

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN[c]

### IN LONDON

[London,] 20 October [1890]

Tussy arrived home yesterday morning. Adler[d] had told her that Louise Kautsky had come back from Berchtesgaden in the best of spirits, was looking 10 years younger and proving a tremendous success. Tussy was very full of the congress[12]; the masses, she said, were first-rate but the parliamentary group for the most part still philistine — Bebel had been greatly alarmed upon hearing of the electoral victories of certain of their number and had at once written to say that, while the damage had already been done, it must not be allowed to

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[a] philistine tinge. - [b] P. Lafargue, 'Karl Marx. Persönliche Erinnerungen', *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 1. Bd., Nr. 1-2. - [c] This letter is a postscript to Eleanor Marx-Aveling's letter to Engels of 16 October 1890 from Halle, which he sent to Bernstein. - [d] Victor Adler

happen again. Provided this gang follows Bebel's lead, things will still be all right.

Your
F. E.

I am sending what remains of the reports, amongst them a Hamburg paper, as I don't know whether you have already got the Berlin report about the 14th of October.[a]

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## 31

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT [69]

### IN BERLIN

L[ondon,] 25 October 1890

I am sending you, addressed to your office, today's *Justice* containing an article by A. S. Headingley (alias Adolphe Smith), in which the lot of you, and yourself in particular, are branded Possibilists.[b] The writer is an Englishman born in Paris, *literatus vulgarissimus*, who was in Paris at the time of the Commune and afterwards came to this country with a MOVING PANORAMA of Paris and the Commune; as a speculation this was a total flop, something for which he never forgave us, for he had believed that the General Council of the International would drum up a nightly audience for him. He therefore became an intimate of the *branche française* [70] in which all the *mouchards*[c] and scoundrels—Vésinier, Caria, etc.,—foregathered to hatch plots and, with the help of French *fonds secrets*, published newspapers in which to attack the General Council—*des calomnies ordurières*.[d] For the past eight years or so he has been Brousse's principal agent here and the intermediary between him, the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC Federation

[a] 'Der Partei-Kongreß', *Berliner Volksblatt*, No. 239, 14 October 1890.- [b] A. S. Headingley, 'French and German Possibilists', *Justice*, No. 354, 25 October 1890.- [c] police spies- [d] filthy calumnies

here,[29] and sundry Belgians (he is resident interpreter at the Possibilists' and miners' international congresses). The evil intent will be obvious to you, as will the stupidity — these chaps have utterly failed to understand the Halle resolution [28] and believe that the Possibilists, who are killing themselves off in France, can be salvaged in Germany. POOR FELLOWS!

Your
F. E.

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## 32

## ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT [71]

### IN BERLIN

London, 27 October 1890

Dear Schmidt,

I am taking advantage of this, the first free time I have had, to answer you letter. I think you would be very well advised to accept the post in Zurich.[72] At any rate you'll be able to learn a good deal about economics there, especially if you bear in mind that Zurich is, after all, only a third-rate financial and speculative market and hence that the impressions to be gained there will be dulled, if not deliberately distorted, these being but reflections seen at second or third remove. But you will learn how the machinery works in practice and will be obliged to follow at first hand the stock market reports from London, New York, Paris, Berlin and Vienna, and thus the world market — in its reflection as a money and stock market — will be revealed to you. Economics, politics, etc., are reflected as objects are in the human eye — they pass through a converging lens and are therefore seen the wrong way up, standing on their heads. Except that there is no nervous apparatus to set them on their feet again for the benefit of the

imagination. Your money market man sees the trend of industry and of the world market merely in the inverted reflection of the money and stock markets and thus for him effect becomes cause. I observed this back in the 40s in Manchester [73]; as a guide to industrial progress and its periodical peaks and troughs, the London stock market reports were absolutely useless, since the gentlemen sought to explain everything in terms of money market crises, though these were themselves for the most part little more than symptoms. At that time they were concerned to explain away industrial crises by attributing them to temporary overproduction and thus the thing also had a tendentious aspect which invited distortion. This is a point which has now ceased to apply — once and for all, at any rate so far as we are concerned, and it is, moreover, a fact that the money market may also have its own crises in which actual industrial disturbances play only a subordinate role, if any at all, and in this sphere there is much to be ascertained and investigated, particularly in regard to the history of the last 20 years.

Where there is division of labour on a social scale, the various sections become mutually independent. Production is, in the final analysis, the decisive factor. But as soon as trade in products becomes independent of actual production, the former follows a trend of its own which is, by and large, undoubtedly dictated by production but, in specific cases and within the framework of that general dependence, does in turn obey laws of its own, laws inherent in the nature of this new factor; it is a trend having its own phases and reacting in turn on the trend of production. The discovery of America was due to the gold famine which had already drived the Portuguese to Africa (cf. Soetbeer's *Edelmetall-Produktion*), because the vast expansion of European industry and the corresponding growth in trade in the 14th and 15th centuries called for more means of exchange than Germany — the main source of silver from 1450 to 1550 — was able to provide. The conquest of India by the Portuguese, Dutch and British between 1500 and 1800 had as its aim *import from* India and no one thought of sending *exports* there. And yet how tremendous were the repercussions upon industry of these discoveries and conquests carried out solely in the interests of trade — it was only the need to *export to* those countries which created and developed large-scale industry.

It is the same with the money market. Once trade in money becomes divorced from trade in commodities, it will — under certain circumstances determined by production and by the trade in commodi-

ties and within those limits — develop in its own way subject to the special laws and distinctive phases determined by its own nature. If, in addition and in the course of this further development, the trade in money expands to comprise trade in securities, the said securities being not simply government paper, but also the shares of industrial and commercial concerns, i. e. if the trade in money gains direct control of a section of the production by which it is largely dominated, then the reaction of the trade in money on production will be even stronger and more complex. The traders in money own railways, mines, foundries, etc. These means of production assume a twofold aspect: They must be run, now in accordance with the immediate interests of production, now in accordance with the needs of the shareholders in so far as these are traders in money. The most striking example of this is the North American railroads, the running of which is entirely dependent on the day-to-day stock market operations of a Jay Gould, Vanderbilt, etc., which have nothing whatever to do with any particular railroad or its interests *qua*[a] means of transport. And even here in England the railway companies have for decades been fighting over the boundary areas separating this concern or that — struggles in which a vast amount of money has been squandered, not in the interests of production and transport, but solely out of a rivalry which for the most part had but one purpose, namely to facilitate the stock market operations of the traders in money who held the shares.

With these few remarks about my view of the relationship of production to the trade in commodities and of both to the trade in money, I have already dealt in the main with your questions about historical materialism generally.[74] The subject is best approached from the standpoint of the division of labour. Society engenders certain common functions which it cannot do without. Those nominated for this purpose form a new branch of the division of labour *within society*. They thereby acquire interests of their own vis-à-vis, amongst others, their mandatories and become independent of them — and so you have the state. From then on the process is much the same as in the trade in commodities and, later, the trade in money — while the new independent power must, it is true, generally follow the trend of production, it will also, by virtue of its inherent independence, i. e. a relative independence formerly conferred upon it and which it has

[a] as

gradually enlarged, react in turn upon the conditions and the course of production. It is the interaction of two unequal forces, of the economic trend on the one hand and the new political power which is striving for the greatest possible independence and which, having once been installed, assumes a trend of its own, on the other. By and large, the economic trend will predominate but it must also be reacted upon by the political trend which it has itself induced and which has been endowed with relative independence — the trend of, on the one hand, state power and, on the other, of the simultaneously engendered opposition. Just as the trend of the industrial market is largely reflected in the money market, given the provisos set out above, but, of course, the *wrong way up*, the struggle between the already extant and warring classes is reflected in the struggle between government and opposition, and again the wrong way up; it is no longer reflected directly but indirectly, not as a class struggle but as a struggle over political principles, and in so distorted a form that it has taken us a thousand years to sort it out again.

The government may react to economic developments in three ways: it can take the same direction, in which case things go faster; it may take a contrary one, in which case, as conditions are today and in any of the larger nations, it will eventually come to grief, or it may block certain lines of economic development and lay down others — which will ultimately amount to the same as one of the two foregoing instances. But it is obvious that, in instances 2 and 3, political power can wreak havoc with economic development and cause energy and materials to be squandered on a vast scale.

Then again there is the instance of the seizure and brutal destruction of economic resources which, in earlier days and in certain circumstances, could ruin economic development both locally and nationally. Today, this would mostly have the opposite effect, at least where the larger nations are concerned. In the long run the vanquished may have more to gain economically, politically and morally than, on occasion, the victor.

It is much the same in the case of the law: As soon as the new division of labour becomes necessary and creates professional lawyers, yet another new, independent field is opened up which, for all its general dependence on production and trade, is nevertheless capable of reacting in its own way to those spheres. In a modern state not only must the law correspond to the general economic situation and be its expression, it must *of itself* constitute a *coherent* expression that does not,

by reason of internal contradictions, give itself the lie. And to achieve this, the fidelity with which economic conditions are reflected is increasingly thrown to the winds. All the more so for the rarity with which a statute book is the harsh, unmitigated, unadulterated expression of the domination of one class: this of itself would be contrary to the 'concept of law'. The pure, logical concept of law of the revolutionary bourgeoisie of 1792-96 had already been adulterated in many respects even in the Code Napoléon [75] and, in so far as it was embodied therein, has had to be constantly subjected to all manner of modifications as a result of the growing power of the proletariat. Not that this has prevented the Code Napoléon from being the statute book on which all new codifications in every part of the world are based. Thus the course of the 'law's development' has largely consisted simply in this: Firstly, the attempt to eliminate the contradictions arising from the direct translation of economic conditions into legal principles and to establish an harmonious legal system and, secondly, the fact that the influence and pressure of further economic developments repeatedly disrupt that system, involving it in fresh contradictions (at this stage I am speaking only of civil law).

The reflection of economic conditions as legal principles is likewise necessarily one that presents the image the wrong way up; it does so without the beholder being aware of it; the lawyer imagines he is dealing in a priori principles whereas they are, in fact, no more than economic reflections — and thus the whole thing is the wrong way up. And it seems to me self-evident that this inversion which, in as much as it is not recognised, constitutes what we call an *ideological view*, reacts in its turn on the economic base and may, within certain limits, modify the same. The basis of the law of inheritance, assuming the family to have attained the same stage of development, is an economic one. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to prove that, for instance, absolute testamentary freedom in England and the strict limits imposed thereon in France are in every respect of economic origin. But both, in a very significant way, react on the economy in that they influence the distribution of wealth.

Now as regards the more rarefied ideological fields such as religion, philosophy, etc.; these have a prehistorical fund of what today would be termed rubbish which was taken over lock, stock and barrel by the historical period. In so far as these various false conceptions of nature, of the nature of man, of spirits, magic forces, etc., are economically based, it is only in a negative sense; false conceptions of nature are the

corollary of the low level of economic development in the prehistorical period, but also on occasion its precondition if not its actual cause. And even if economic necessity may have provided the main incentive for progress in natural science and done so to an increasing extent, it would be pedantic to seek economic causes for all this primitive rubbish. The history of science is the history of the gradual elimination of that rubbish and/or its replacement by new, if progressively less ridiculous, rubbish. The people responsible for this in turn belong to special spheres of the division of labour and see themselves as working in an independent field. And to the extent that they constitute an independent group within the social division of labour, what they produce, including their errors, exerts a reciprocal influence on social development as a whole and even on economic development. But for all that, they are themselves in their turn subject to the dominant influence of economic development. In philosophy, for example, this is most easily demonstrated in respect of the bourgeois period. Hobbes was the first modern materialist (in the 18th-century sense), but an absolutist at a time when, throughout Europe, absolute monarchy was in its heyday and, in England, was embarking on a struggle with the populace. In religion as in politics, Locke was the product of the class compromise of 1688.[76] The English deists [77] and their more logical successors, the French materialists, were the true philosophers of the bourgeoisie — and, in the case of the French, even of the bourgeois revolution. German philosophy, from Kant to Hegel, is permeated by the German philistine — now in a positive, now in a negative, sense. But in every epoch philosophy, as a definite sphere of the division of labour, presupposes a definite fund of ideas inherited from its predecessors and from which it takes its departure. And that is why economically backward countries can nevertheless play first fiddle where philosophy is concerned — France in the 18th century as compared with England, upon whose philosophy the French based themselves and, later on, Germany as compared with both. But in France as in Germany, philosophy, like the general flowering of literature at that time, was also the result of growing economic prosperity. I am in no doubt about the ultimate supremacy of economic development over these fields also, but it will come about within the terms laid down by each individual field; in philosophy, for instance, by the operation of economic influences (which again for the most part operate

only in their political, etc., guise) on extant philosophical material handed down by predecessors. Here, political economy creates nothing *a novo*,[a] but determines the way in which the existing fund of ideas changes and develops, and this too is done for the most part indirectly, since it is its political, legal and moral reflections which exert the greatest immediate influence on philosophy.

As for religion, I have said all that is necessary in the last chapter of Feuerbach.[b]

So if Barth opines that we deny that the political, etc., reflections of the economic trend have any effect whatsoever on that trend itself, he is simply tilting at windmills. After all, he only has to look at Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire*[c] which is devoted almost exclusively to the *particular* role played by political struggles and events — needless to say within the framework of their *general* dependence on economic conditions. Or again at *Capital*, e.g. the section on the working day where legislation, which is, after all, a political act, appears in such an uncompromising light. Or at the section on the history of the bourgeoisie (Chapter 24).[78] Otherwise why should we be fighting for the political dictatorship of the proletariat if political power is economically powerless? Might (i.e. state power) is also an economic force!

But I have no time at present to criticise the book.[d] The third volume[e] has got to come out first and in any case I believe that e.g. Bernstein is also perfectly capable of attending to it.

What all these gentlemen lack is dialectics. All they ever see is cause on the one hand and effect on the other. But what they fail to see is that this is an empty abstraction, that in the real world such metaphysically polar opposites exist only in a crisis, that instead the whole great process takes place solely and entirely in the form of interplay — if of very unequal forces of which the economic trend is by far the strongest, the oldest and the most vital — and that here nothing is absolute and everything relative. So far as they are concerned, Hegel might never have existed.

As regards the rumpus in the party, I was forcibly dragged into it by the gentlemen of the opposition and thus had no choice. Mr Ernst's conduct vis-à-vis myself is quite indescribable unless I call it that of a schoolboy.[79] I am sorry if he's a sick man and forced to write for his

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[a] from scratch - [b] F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*. - [c] *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* - [d] P. Barth, *Die Geschichtsphilosophie Hegel's und der Hegelianer bis auf Marx und Hartmann. Ein kritischer Versuch.* - [e] of *Capital*

living. But if someone has an imagination so vivid that he can't read a line without inferring the opposite of what it says, he should apply his imagination to spheres other than socialism which is no figment. He should write novels, plays, art criticism and the like, when all he will harm is bourgeois culture, benefiting us in the process. He might then acquire sufficient maturity to be able to achieve something in our field also. Never before have I seen such a rigmarole of half-baked material and utter rubbish as has been dished out by the said opposition. And these callow lads, who are blind to everything but their own boundless egotism, propose to dictate party tactics. I have learnt more from a single one of Bebel's articles in the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*[a] than from all the rigmarole these chaps have produced. And they imagine they are worth more than that clear-sighted man who has such an admirably correct grasp of circumstances and depicts them so graphically and succinctly. They are all of them failed belletrists, and even a successful belletrist is a pretty obnoxious animal.

I should be sorry were the *Volks-Tribüne* to succumb. Under your editorship it has shown that something might well be achieved by a weekly which devotes more space to theory than to news—and I am well aware what sort of contributors you have! But I must say that, now that the *Neue Zeit* has become a weekly, it's somewhat doubtful whether yours can be kept going. At all events, you will be glad to cast off the joys and sorrows of editorship and have time for something other than purely journalistic tasks. And even in Berlin the immediate future will be dominated by all the various reverberations of the late rumpus, and there'll be nothing to gain for anyone by being mixed up in it.

Your printing the passage from my letter did no harm,[80] but that sort of thing is best avoided. In a letter, one writes from memory and at speed, without looking anything up, etc., and is thus always liable to let slip some expression which may well be seized on by one of those people we Rhinelanders describe as a *Korinthenscheisser*,[b] and God knows what rubbish might not come of it.

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[a] [A. Bebel,] 'Berlin, 7. Oktober. Der 30. September bezeichnete den glorreichen Abschluß einer geschichtlichen Epoche...', *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 41, 10 October 1890.-
[b] i. e. someone who trivialises everything

Many thanks for your anticipatory congratulations on my 70th birthday which is still a month ahead. So far I am still very well except that I still have to spare my eyes and am not allowed to write by gaslight. Let's hope I remain so.

Now I must close.

With warm regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 33

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [25]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 2 November 1890

My dear Lafargue,

Poor Nim is very ill. For some time past it would seem that there has been a recurrence of menstruation, and three weeks ago she suffered an appreciable loss of blood. Dr Read, whom we consulted, thought her complexion very sallow, although he found no trace of bile in her urine — which led him to suspect the possibility of an uterine tumour, but he didn't examine her manually. She then began to feel pains in the left groin when her faeces passed through the colon towards the sigmoid flexure — these subsided again and I thought she was on the road to recovery until she began to suffer intense pain in her left foot. During all this time a total lack of appetite, severe thirst (she has been living on milk and beef-tea, no solid food). The pain in the left foot culminated in a thrombosis in a vein of the calf. It appeared to be taking its natural course, the pain diminished and this morning she woke up after a good night, somewhat refreshed in appearance, if not actually cheerful. However between 11 and midday

a change came over her and Read found she had a temperature of 104°F. = 40°C., although the thermometer had been in her mouth for only a minute and a half. She has fallen, as it were, half asleep, her mental faculties are impaired and her pulse is rapid and feverish, consistent with her temperature. In fact Read suspects that, given the cachectic state of her blood (more or less indicated by the previous symptoms), the coagulated blood is decomposing and poisoning the live blood. He hopes to return here this afternoon with Heath of the Gower Street Hospital for a consultation.

That's all I can tell you just now. If Heath turns up, I shall let you know the result.

Give Laura a kiss from me.

Yours ever,
F. E.

Consultation with a Mr Packard, the only man who could be found. He thinks there has been a diffuse suppuration in the foot causing septicaemia. The method of fomentation has been changed and 4 grains = 4/15 gramme of quinine administered. The uterus was examined after a fashion, but at this stage nothing has been discovered save for a small slightly suspect spot by the orifice, to which, however, no importance is attached 'SO FAR'. Naturally there is always the possibility of an embolism and with it the possibility of further complications, pulmonary and otherwise. But the chap takes a more 'HOPEFUL' view of the case than Read does.

If there is any change I shall write again tomorrow.

First published in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

## 34

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [81]

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 5 November 1890

Today I have some sad news to pass on to you. My good, dear, loyal Lenchen fell peacefully asleep yesterday afternoon after a short and for the most part painless illness. We had spent seven happy years together in this house. We were the only two left of the old guard of the days before 1848. Now here I am, once again on my own. If Marx was able to work in peace over a period of many years as I have during the past seven, it was largely thanks to her. How I shall manage now I do not know. Another thing I shall sorely miss is her marvellously tactful advice in party matters. Cordial regards to your wife; would you please pass on this news to the Schlüters.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere,* Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

## 35

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

[London,] 5 November 1890

Our dear, good Nimmy fell peacefully asleep yesterday afternoon at half past two. She had been ill for only a short time and suffered little pain — none towards the end.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935

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Published in English for the first time

## 36

## ENGELS TO LOUISE KAUTSKY [82]

IN VIENNA

[London, 9 November 1890]

...What I have been through these many days, how terribly bleak and desolate life has seemed and still seems to me, I need not tell you. And then came the question — what now? Whereupon, my dear Louise, an image, alive and comforting, appeared before my eyes, to remain there night and day, and that image was you. Then, like Nimmy, I said: 'Oh, if only I could have Louise here!' But I didn't dare to think that it might come true. ...No matter what happens, I should not have had a moment's peace had I not put this question to you first of all and straight away... Whoever keeps house for me will have to conform to local customs whereby a lady may not undertake any MANUAL SERVICES. This might even be forced upon me, and

I should most certainly be compelled to have recourse to someone who was not a member of our party... So all you would have to do is supervise things, and the rest of the time you'd be free to do anything you liked...

In that case we could talk over the whole matter here and either remain together as good friends or part company as good friends. Well, it's for you to decide. Think the matter over, discuss it with Adler.[a] If, as I fear, this day-dream of mine cannot be realised, or if you should think that the drawbacks and vexations would, so far as you are concerned, outweigh the advantages and pleasures, then let me know without beating about the bush. I am far too fond of you to want you to make sacrifices for my sake... And for that very reason I would beg you not to make any such sacrifice and would request Adler through you to advise you against so doing. You are young and have a splendid future in store. In three weeks' time I shall be seventy and have only a short while left to live. A young and hopeful existence ought not to be sacrificed to those few remaining years. For after all, I am still strong enough to make shift for myself...

With undying love

First published in: G. Mayer, *Friedrich Engels. Eine Biographie*, Bd. 2, Haag, 1934

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37

## ENGELS TO ADOLF RIEFER [83]

### IN SAARBURG, LORRAINE

London, 12 November 1890
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

To Mr Adolf Riefer in Saarburg, Lorraine

I write today to inform you of the sad news that your aunt, Miss Helene Demuth, my friend of many years who had lived in my house for the last seven, passed away peacefully and without pain on the 4th

[a] Victor Adler

of this month after a short illness. We had been friends since 1845 and when, after the death of my friend Karl Marx, she did me the honour and pleasure of taking charge of my household, it marked for me the beginning of many years of calm and contentment, indeed, of domestic happiness such as had not been vouchsafed me since the death of my wife in 1878. But all that has now gone and gone for ever. We laid her to rest on Friday, 7 November in the same grave as that in which Marx and Mrs Marx are buried. Together with myself and Marx's daughters, thousands of friends from every nation mourn her loss, in the prairies of America as in the political prisons of Siberia and in all the countries of Europe.

The deceased made a will in which she named as her sole heir Frederick Lewis, the son of a deceased friend, whom she had adopted when he was still quite small and whom she gradually brought up to be a good and industrious mechanic. The latter, out of gratitude and with her permission, assumed the name Demuth a long time ago and he is also so named in the will. This is in the hands of the solicitor who attended to the legal formalities and who has, in addition, declared it to be fully valid, so that towards the end of this week it will be my duty to hand over the entire estate to the heir. After deduction of all expenses it will amount in money to about forty pounds sterling, on top of which there are clothes etc. of comparatively little value. Should you or any other relatives wish to have a small memento, perhaps you would be so good as to inform me, whereupon I shall lose no time in attending to the matter.

Enclosed in translation is a copy of the will.

Yours very truly,

Fr. Engels

Copy of the will

*I Helen Demuth of 122 Regent's Park Road declare this to be my last will. I leave all my monies, effects and other property to Frederick Lewis Demuth of 25 Gransden Avenue, London Lane, Hackney, E., and being too weak bodily to affix my name have affixed hereto my mark in the presence of the undersigned witnesses. At 122

Regent's Park Road this fourth day of November 1890, the above having been read to me and perfectly understood by me

Helen Demuth

In the presence of Frederick Engels of 122 Regent's Park Road
Eleanor Marx Aveling, 65 Chancery Lane
Edward Aveling, 65 Chancery Lane * [a]

First published in *Wuppertaler Rundschau*, 8. November 1984

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## 38

## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

### IN VIENNA

London, 15 November 1890
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Adler,

Many thanks for your letter. The Avelings have just arrived with a telegram — 'SEND MONEY' — from Louise who was proposing to leave Vienna today.[b] Aveling at once sent her a cheque for ten pounds. But since I fear that it won't be paid before it has been referred back, which takes time, I thought it safer to take out a money order for ten pounds over here, and to do this *in your name*, since Louise may already have left by the time it arrives; over here it has been taken out in the name of Edward Aveling. According to what the Post Office says, we are to retain the order itself over here, as the money will be paid to you at your home address which was the one we gave.

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[a] In the original this is followed by the German translation of the will. - [b] See this volume, pp. 68 - 69.

Should Louise have already left, please keep the money at our disposal until further notice.

Your
F. Engels

Aveling has just come back—it's altogether too late, since orders are not issued after 4 o'clock on Saturdays!!

So we shall send it on Monday.

First published in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*. Erstes Heft: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels*, Wien, 1922

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Published in English for the first time

## 39

## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

### IN VIENNA

London, 17 November 1890

Dear Adler,

You will have had my letter written on Saturday.[a] Meanwhile the Avelings have had a telegram from Louise (last night at about 11 o'clock): 'THUSDAY MORNING VICTORIA.' Well, this might mean THURSDAY, but also TUESDAY. That is the least of our problems however. We know nothing whatever about the latest routes for through express trains from Vienna, but only that it's possible to come via Calais, Ostend or Flushing. On the journey via Calais or Ostend the trains arrive at about 5 a. m., and via Flushing at about 8 a. m. I therefore telegraphed you (being uncertain whether or not Louise had already left) shortly before four o'clock: 'Is Louise travelling via Flushing, Ostend or Calais, reply paid (12 words).' This is to explain what has happened, which might otherwise strike you as puzzling and odd.

Since Louise has now definitely announced her arrival here, no

[a] See previous letter.

purpose would be served by sending another ten pounds per money order and this has consequently not been done.

Your
F. Engels

First published in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*. Erstes Heft: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels*, Wien, 1922

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Published in English for the first time

## 40

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 26 November 1890

Dear Sorge,

Since the time I informed you of the death of my good Lenchen,[a] Louise Kautsky — the one who's divorced, not No. II — has come to live with me for a time and, with her, a little sunshine has returned. She is a quite marvellous woman and Kautsky must have been out of his senses when he divorced her.

Good wishes for my 70th birthday the day after tomorrow are already coming in and now Singer, Bebel and Liebknecht have announced their intention of visiting me. I wish the business was all over; I'm far from being in a birthday mood, and on top of that there's all the unnecessary FUSS which I cannot abide even at the best of times. And after all, I am, to a large extent, simply the chap who is reaping what Marx has sown in the way of fame.

The Halle Congress [12] went off brilliantly. Tussy was there and was quite delighted with the delegates but not so much with the parliamentary group,[b] which includes a fair number of philistines. But steps have been taken to ensure that this shouldn't happen again at the next elections. Meanwhile the chaps in the Reichstag are observ-

[a] See this volume, p. 67. - [b] the Social-Democratic group in the German Reichstag

ing better discipline than might have been hoped, and are keeping their mouths shut, otherwise they'd have been bound to make fools of themselves.

Our campaign for a joint congress in 1891 was wholly successful. You will have read about the resolutions passed at the international conference at Halle[28]—a congress to be held in Brussels, on the understanding that the congress has full sovereignty. That is all we wanted, and the Belgian Anseele himself proposed that the Swiss *and* the Belgians, the mandatories of *both* the 1889 congresses,[26] should jointly send out the convocation. Since, moreover, the Possibilists are hopelessly divided amongst themselves and openly engaged in internecine strife,[53] and since the collapse of Parisian Boulangism will mean that the socialist elements by whom it was previously favoured will accrue to *us* and not to the Possibilists, we shall, so to speak, WALK OVER THE COURSE. Hyndman has had the abysmal stupidity to join forces with the noble Brousse against Allemane,[a] which again will do him an enormous amount of harm.

The Germans would certainly be glad to get in touch with the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR[84]; I shall talk to the chaps over here and bring influence to bear on Fischer who's a member of the Party Executive. Fischer is one of our best men, highly intelligent, can read French and English, and is acquainted with the movement in both countries. He will counterbalance the one-sided influence exerted by Liebknecht in international affairs.

You have made an excellent début in the *Neue Zeit*[85]; just carry on as you are and you will soon get into the way of writing again. The fee is about twice what is paid to contributors over here (5 marks a page); once you've got back into your stride and are able to work faster, it won't seem so small to you. I'd like to see further evidence in support of what Schlüter told you. That I and others are paid 5 marks a page by the *Neue Zeit*, and that this is the customary fee in Germany, is a fact. I have myself written and told Kautsky[b] that you must be offered more. Schlüter is apt to trot out remarks without really thinking what he's saying. By American standards, of course, $2 a page isn't much and, if you think you ought to be paid American rates, you are quite right to ask for them. But Kautsky, who is certainly doing all he can for you, is also obliged to consider Dietz, who is paymaster,

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[a] Engels has in mind the editorial 'The Split in France' in *Justice*, No. 353, 18 October 1890. - [b] See this volume, p. 5.

and I wouldn't like it if such considerations were to be responsible for one of the *Volkszeitung* or *Sozialist* people gaining admission to the *Neue Zeit*. Think the matter over again and, if you are intent on getting a rise, write and tell me and I'll approach Kautsky about it; that would leave all doors open.

Rosenberg & Co. had already pronounced a boycott against me and if the Nationalists now do the same,[86] it only serves me right. Why can't I give up the class struggle? In this country Marx and I are suffering just the same fate at the hands of the Fabians[87] who also wish to see the emancipation of the workers brought about by the 'heddicated'.[a]

I shall save up the articles about George in the *Labor Standard*[b] and read them at my leisure, of which I have so far had none.[88] You have no idea of the mass of papers, pamphlets, etc., that people send me.

Volume One of *Capital* has been brought out in Polish by Kasprowicz of Leipzig and has been sent me from Warsaw.[c]

Your
F. Engels

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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[a] In the original: *jebildeten* (Berlin dialect). - [b] *Paterson Labor Standard* - [c] *Kapital. Krytyka ekonomii politycznej*. Tom I.

41

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 1 December 1890

My dear Laura,

*Enfin!*[a] I have got that 70th birthday behind me. On Thursday Bebel, Liebknecht, and Singer arrived. On Friday letters and telegrams *en masse,* the latter from Berlin (3), Vienna (3), Paris (Roumanian students and Frankel), Berne (*Russische Sozialdemokraten*), Leipzig *Stadt und Land,*[b] Bochum (*Klassenbewusste Bergleute*[c]—miners), Stuttgart (*Sozialdemokraten,* Württemberg's), Fürth, Höchst (Paulis), London (*Arbeiterverein*[d]),[89] Hamburg. The fraction[e] sent me a splendid album with their 35 portraits, Dietz a book of photos of some excellent Munich pictures, the Solingers a knife with inscription, etc., etc. *Enfin j'étais écrasé.*[f] Well, in the evening we had the whole lot here, embellished by and bye by little Oswald and four delegates from the *Arbeiterverein* (one of whom speechless drunk) and we kept it up till half past three in the morning and drank, besides claret, 16 bottles of champaign—the morning we had had 12 dozen oysters. So you see I did my best to show that I was still alive and kicking.

But it's a good job. One can celebrate one's 70th birthday only once. It will take me a devil of a time to reply to all those letters—even those I *must* reply to personally. That is the prose following upon the poetry of life, and to break my fall I begin by writing the only one I can write with true pleasure—this one to you.

Louise Kautsky came on the Tuesday after you left and has since then made me extremely comfortable. As to the future, we have not yet talked about it. I want her to see how things will settle down before asking her to come to a definite resolution. We are getting on very well with Pumps; my lecture and a few hints, repeated later on, that her position in my house depends very much upon her own behaviour, seem to have had some effect. We'll hope it may last.

Bebel looks rather delicate and a deal older than when I last saw him. Singer too is getting gray, and of course Liebknecht too, though

[a] At last! - [b] town and country - [c] class-conscious miners - [d] workers' society - [e] the Social-Democratic group in the German Reichstag - [f] In a word, I was overwhelmed.

he looks fat and *content de lui-même*[a]; he complains awfully about the few capacities among the younger generation, and the impossibility consequently of getting good men for his paper,[b] but otherwise he is very well satisfied with things in general and the Berliners in particular. To-morrow the Reichstag opens, and we had the greatest trouble to keep Singer and Bebel here to meet Burns, Cunninghame-Graham, Thorne and others at Tussy's. And now we *have* kept them here, a damnable fog is setting in (2 p. m.) which even prevents me from writing and may, if not dispersed in time, nullify the whole intended international conference.[90]

Interrupted by fog — forbidden to write by the gaslight — *donc*,[c] conclusion.

Ever yours,

F. Engels

*Dites à Mémé que mon nase se porte parfaitement à l'extérieur mais qu'à l'intérieur il y a un rhume de cerveau.*[d]

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

Reproduced from the original

## 42

## ENGELS TO FERDINAND DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS[91]

### IN THE HAGUE

London, 3 December 1890

Dear Comrade,

My warmest thanks for the good wishes you sent me on my seventieth birthday, now happily surmounted. I welcome these as tendered both in your own name and in that of the Dutch Labour Party[92] and wish the latter the best possible progress and you yourself the health and strength that will enable you to fulfil the important role that has fallen to you. And I would request you to act as interpreter

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[a] pleased with himself - [b] *Berliner Volksblatt* - [c] therefore - [d] Tell Mémé that outwardly my nose looks perfect, but there's a cold inside.

in conveying these my thanks and good wishes to the comrades over there.[a]

As regards your query about buying your son out of military service there would, I think, be nothing improper about this in principle. It is—generally speaking—just as permissible for us to make use of the advantages conceded by the present-day state to the privileged members of society, as it is for us to make use of the products[b] of others, to live indirectly on the exploitation of others, as indeed we *must* in so far as we are not ourselves economically productive. If the labour party benefits as a result, I would even regard it as a duty. Moreover, the class from which *remplaçants*[c] are recruited is not, as a rule, the working class proper, but that stratum which already overlaps to a large extent with the lumpenproletariat. And if one of the latter sells himself into the army for a few years, it does at least mean that an unemployed man has found himself a berth.

What calls for particular consideration, however, is the impression such a course of action on your part might make on your party comrades and, further, on the vast mass of workers who still remain outside the party—whether the matter would be one of indifference to working-class opinion or whether it would stir it up against Social-Democracy. That is a point that can only be determined on the spot by someone with a thorough knowledge of the circumstances, and I shall therefore refrain from voicing an opinion on it.

I am equally unfamiliar with the situation of the common soldier in the Dutch army, and upon that a great deal depends. In Germany it is our chaps who go to make the best soldiers.

Cordial regards from

Yours,
F. Engels

After your Bielefeld experience, you will not, I suppose, be in any particular hurry to return to the Holy German Empire of the Prussian Nation![d]

First published, in Russian, in *Istorik-marksist*, No. 6 (40), Moscow, 1934

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

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[a] This paragraph is missing from the draft.-[b] The draft contains the words 'of the labour'.-[c] replacements -[d] This sentence is missing from the draft.

Helene Demuth

Nr. 1.

Herr Friedrich Engels

wird von den Unterzeichneten eingeladen, dem

# Parteitag

der

## ungarländischen Sozialdemokratie

als **Gast** beizuwohnen.

Zeit: 7. und 8. Dezember 1890.

Ort: Budapest, alte bürgerl. Schiessstätte, VII. Schiessstätte-Platz.

Budapest, 24. November 1890.

Die Redaktion der „Arbeiter-Wochenchronik," Budapest.
Die Redaktion der „Népszava", Budapest.

To the Congress of the Hungarian Social-Democrats.
Invitation sent to Engels.[93]

43

## ENGELS TO AMAND GOEGG

IN RENCHEN (BADEN)

London, 4 December 1890

Dear Goegg,

Many thanks for your kind good wishes. We old ones are beginning to be thin on the ground, a fact of which I have again been painfully reminded by the death of my beloved Lenchen. Well, I suppose there's bit of time left and I hope to make proper use of it.

Your old friend
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 37, Moscow, 1965

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

44

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER

IN DARMSTADT

London, 4 December 1890

Dear Mr Schorlemmer,

Not till today have I been able to get round to sending you my best thanks for your good wishes. My health is still pretty fair, if only my eyes permitted me to work at my desk; it's a wearisome and tedious business, but one has got to accept it. Again, smoking is something

I can seldom permit myself, and your beautiful pipes stand on the chimney piece and

> seem to say as they look at me:
> 'What, old chap, have they done to thee?'

Warmest regards to your mother, your brothers and sisters and their families, and to all party comrades from

Your old friend
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

## 45

## ENGELS TO ÉDOUARD VAILLANT [25]

IN PARIS

London, 5 December 1890
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen Vaillant,

Very many thanks for your letter of the 28th ult. and your good wishes. On that day I was overwhelmed with honours by socialists of all countries. Fate has decreed that, in my capacity as survivor, I should glean the honours due to the works of my deceased contemporaries, above all those of Marx. Believe me, I harbour no illusions whatever about that, or about the tiny portion of all this homage that falls to me by right.

I am also grateful for the sympathy you express concerning the death of dear Helene, thanks to whose care I was able to work in peace for seven years. For me it is a very sad loss. But we are still right in the midst of the struggle and, with the enemy before us, looking back too

often is forbidden. If I'm not mistaken the battle is approaching a crisis. In your country the collapse of Boulangism has, on the one hand, rid the opportunist government,[94] corrupted and corrupting, of all those enemies who might be immediately dangerous, and has reopened the market in which France is sold to the sharks of the Stock Exchange. On the other, however, that collapse has released elements of the revolutionary opposition who had gone astray and who, having regrouped—after the removal of the chief traitors—, should again take the field reunited in one way or another with the mass of revolutionaries who have remained faithful to their traditions. After the farce, the tragedy.

In Germany the rapid advance of the Socialist Party should quickly dispel young William's[a] illusions about the power of attraction he fondly imagines he exercises on the working class. That, too, should lead to a crisis; and the longer it is delayed, the more severe it will be.

Accordingly, in four or five years time at the most, we shall have the crisis which will, I trust, lead to victory. And I hope I shall live to see that *fin de siècle*[b]!

Please remember me kindly to Mrs Vaillant and your mother.

Yours affectionately,
F. Engels

First published in: F. Engles, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

[a] William II's - [b] end of the century

## 46

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV[95]

IN PARIS

London, 5 December 1890
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear friend Lavrov,

Many, many thanks for your kind letter of 27 November and your congratulations, as also those of your socialist compatriots on whose behalf you speak. But it's always the same. The lion's share of the honours that were showered upon me last Friday doesn't fall to me by right and no one knows that better than I do. So permit me to place on Marx's grave the lion's share of the flattering things you were good enough to say to me and which I accept, but only as his continuator. And as for the small portion which, without being presumptuous, I accept on my own account, I shall do my best to prove worthy of it.

After all, we are not so very old, you and I. And we have hopes of living and seeing. We have seen Bismarck's rise, heyday and decline, so why should we not also see, after its heyday, the decline (already in progress) and ultimate fall of Russian Tsarism, the great enemy of us all?

Yours affectionately,
F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in *Bolshevik*, No. 14, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

47

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BERLIN

London, 8 December 1890

Dear Liebknecht,

There is more trouble in store for Brentano than he expects—just you wait and see! Thanks for the note about Gladstone, but I should point out that *I require the issues of the 'Deutsches Wochenblatt' containing the text of what Brentano and Gladstone actually said*—the short note would only mislead me, and I mustn't allow that to happen. If you haven't got time to obtain them for me, ask Fischer who will certainly do so at once.

Leave Brentano to me. You won't be disappointed. But without this *new* material I can't finish the thing off.[96]

Your
F. E.

Since Gladstone's letters were dated 22 and 28 November, there can be no doubt about *which* issues of the *Wochenblatt*[a] the stuff is in.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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[a] 'Mittheilung', signed: O. A., *Deutsches Wochenblatt*, No. 49, 4 December 1890.

48

## ENGELS TO MOHRHENN

IN BARMEN

London, 9 December 1890
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Comrade Mohrhenn,

I really must thank you most warmly for the trouble you have taken over the photographs of my childhood home in the Bruch. They have given me enormous pleasure and have recalled many a youthful prank connected with the front doorstep and this or that room or window. Old Miss Demuth is right — the house in the Bruch, which in my time was No. 800, is the right one; behind it was our garden, between it and the Engels-Gang lay the bleachery and opposite that the houses belonging to my grandfather Caspar and his brother Benjamin Engels in which my uncles, Caspar and August, subsequently lived. I believe I can just remember Miss Demuth; I must have seen her once or twice at my cousin Caspar's house when we were both young. No doubt she can tell you about our original family home where my grandfather was born. It was up at the top of the Engels-Gang, where it joins the Bruch, opposite the path which leads up to the Böken and which was then nameless. It was a typical lower middle class, two-storied house; when I was young the ground floor was used for storage, while the upper floor was occupied by two of my grandparents' former maids, by then pensioned off, who were known as Drütschen and Mineken. They would often treat us children to spiced apples and bread. The house was demolished when the railway came.

Even in those days we used to say that the Bruch wasn't anything like as god-fearing as it used to be and not so many years ago my brother Rudolf was quite outspoken on the subject.[97] Pointing at the house opposite, where a man called Ottenbruch had once lived and which bore an inn sign, he said: 'See that place? Nowadays it's a favourite haunt for Social-Democrats!' Social-Democrats in the Bruch — that was, to be sure, a tremendous revolution as compared with 50 years before.

It would certainly be a far greater one, however, if our old house

were to become a Social-Democratic press. But you would have to go about it very artfully. Unless it's been resold, the house now belongs to my brother Hermann, and he wouldn't be likely to sell it if he knew what purpose you meant to put it to. Well, I don't suppose anything will come of that just yet—it would be altogether too good to be true.

Well, good-bye. Soom day Ah'll coom to Barmen agean, an' then Ah'll coom an' see thi, an' then tha can tell me baht t'mucky tricks they played on thi wi' you Anti-Socialist Law o' theirn.[a]

Kindest regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

First published in *Vorwärts* (Abend-Ausgabe), Berlin, 24. November 1920

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

## 49

## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

### IN VIENNA

London, 12 December 1890

Dear Adler,

I was on the point of writing to thank you and your wife for the telegram when I got your letter of the 9th with Aveling's dishonoured CHEQUE.[b] In its place I am sending you the enclosed cheque on the local branch of the same bank for £10 4/- to include expenses, and this CHEQUE will not be dishonoured.

It's the slapdash literary Bohemian in Aveling that leads to this kind of thing, especially when the said Bohemian insists on having a bank account. 'So young and already a Bohemian' might also be said of him. Incidentally the pair of them will soon be arriving to lunch with me, when I shall be able to give him a thorough dressing-down for this piece of carelessness and her for the frightful adulation

[a] This phrase is in the Rhenish dialect in the original. - [b] See this volume, p. 71.

she expended on me in the *Sozialdemokratische Monatsschrift*.[a] She's right in only one respect, namely my beard's being curiously lopsided—there are, incidentally, perfectly good reasons for this which, however, I shall spare you.

Many thanks for your hints about Louise. It is also my wish that she should remain with me and if this should fall through, I shall find it very hard to part with her. But I should have a constant feeling of uneasiness if I thought she had sacrificed other duties and other prospects on my account. Well, the matter will probably be decided in a week or two. If she stays, she will have to return to Vienna at least once this winter so as to get everything straightened out there.

As regards the danger of overwork, this was, I should say, very real in Vienna. Here, on the other hand, it is hardly likely to arise. She is not to do any actual house-work, indeed could not do so—if only on account of the maids who would not in that case regard her as a proper LADY. All she has to do is to direct and supervise. She is, besides, acting as my secretary; I dictate to her or give her things to copy out so that I can spare my eyes, and then there are various subjects I shall be studying with her—chemistry to begin with, then French; she also wants to do Latin and that presents no difficulty. After luncheon we sleep, and at night, to give my eyes a rest from reading, we play cards from 11 to 12; I also sleep better if my mind is empty. I know, by the way, what an urge she feels to sacrifice herself for others and it is *this*, in particular, that is preventing me from urging her to stay here. On the evening of the day before yesterday we discussed the matter at length when the chief obstacle seemed to be her mother to whom she only wrote yesterday about her intention to remain here. The answer to this will, of course, be of crucial importance. But imagine the state I'd be in if I had to tell myself that I had reft Louise away from a new, congenial and promising career, only to place her in a position in which she could not rid herself of the feeling of having done her mother an injury?

So, far from taking any kind of umbrage at your remarks on this subject, I am on the contrary most grateful for what you have said. For the only occasion on which Louise will depart from her instinctive candour is when she is intent on concealing her selflessness. And so it behoves us all to keep a close watch on her.

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[a] E. Marx - Aveling, 'Friedrich Engels', *Die Sozialdemokratische Monatsschrift*, No. 10-11, 30 November 1890.

Warm regards to your wife and children about whom Louise tells me many amusing stories, and likewise to yourself from Louise and

Your
F. Engels

First published in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*. Erstes Heft: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels*, Wien, 1922

Printed according to the book

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## 50

## ENGELS TO JOHANN HEINRICH WILHELM DIETZ

IN STUTTGART

London, 13 December 1890

Dear Mr Dietz,

I have yet to tender you my warmest thanks for the magnificent birthday present you sent me. I was particularly delighted with Reinicke's pictures; it's the first time I have seen German genre paintings depicting life in a big city that are altogether free of the stiffness and affectation which otherwise so obstinately dog German painters of genre and historical pieces. But here we have no poses—here we have life as it is lived.

That we tippled our way merrily through my 70th birthday you will have heard from the three Magi on their return to the Orient.[a] And that things are proceeding at a brisk pace in Germany I see and hear daily, and that is best of all.

With cordial regards

Yours,
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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[a] Bebel, Liebknecht and Singer who came to celebrate Engels' 70th birthday.

## 51

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [98]

### IN STUTTGART

London, 13 December 1890

Dear Kautsky,

Very many thanks for your two letters [99] and for the article devoted to me [a] which was, alas, all too flattering. I got through my birthday all right and, even though the outside air was clear of fog, my head wasn't when I went to bed at half past three in the morning. I fared almost as you did at my birthday in 1883, when the tippling took place round my sick-bed.

I enclose herewith a preliminary piece about Brentano and would be obliged if you could contrive to get it into the next number of the *Neue Zeit*, should this be feasible. I'll give the man something to remember me by. He'd like to keep Gladstone's letters up his sleeve until I have answered, but we'll soon put a stop to that.[96]

You will also shortly be getting a contribution from Marx's unpublished work, something quite new and extremely topical and to the point.[b] It has already been copied out but I shall have to look it over first and possibly write a few lines by way of an introduction. But please tell no one else about it yet; my hands are completely full, what with correspondence and replying to the many letters I get, and I can't say exactly *when*.

I cannot possibly entrust the remaining fascicles of Marx's Volume IV [100] to the post or any other intermediary. So when you've had the 2nd fascicle you won't be getting any more for a while. This is also because, in the later fascicles, there are all sorts of divagations and long deleted passages which may not have to be copied out and, since this will entail constant discussion, the work could only be done over here. Later on, if you come back to this country again, and I have been able to familiarise myself a bit more with the ms., we shall see what

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[a] [K. Kautsky,] 'Friedrich Engels. Zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag', *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 1. Bd., Nr. 8. - [b] *Critique of the Gotha Programme*

can be done. Needless to say, you are to finish what you have already got.

I should be obliged if you would send me another 6 copies of the 8th issue[a]; that will, I think, suffice.

Now, however, I must close; herewith a note to Dietz, which kindly pass on to him.

Your old friend
F. Engels

First published in full in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus, Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

## 52

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 17 December 1890

My dear Laura,

Two pieces of good news.

First. Your usual box of puddings, cake and sweets, for Mémé and brothers, has been sent off yesterday as usual and hope will reach by Friday[b] at latest. Otherwise please apply to the Bureau des Expéditions Grande Vitesse, Gare du Nord, or at 23 Rue Dunkerque, P. Bigeault or 18 Rue Bergère, *chez* E. D'Odiardi.

Second. Louise Kautsky remains here for good. So my troubles are settled. She seems to like it better after all than setting other people's children into this world.[c] And we get on capitally. She superintends the house and does my secretary's work which saves my eyes and enables me to make it worth her while to give up her profession, at least for the present. She wishes me to send you her kindest regards.

Padlewski deserves a monument and a life pension. Not so much

[a] of *Die Neue Zeit* containing Engels' *Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy* - [b] 19 December - [c] Louise Kautsky studied obstetrics in Vienna.

for polishing off that vile brute Seliverstov than for delivering Paris from the Russian incubus.[101] The change in the Paris press since that execution is indeed wonderful and if a *voyou*[a] like Labruyère finds it to pay him to get Padlewski out of the way, the revulsion of feeling generally must be very great indeed. Even the Boulangists and the *Intransigeant* have to follow suit.

But it's genuine Parisian. Argument and reason is no use against this chauvinistic enthusiasm for the Czar's[b] alliance. All at once a fact occurs, which lightens up the mental darkness like a flash of lightning. Now they see that they are making themselves accomplices of this Russian official infamy, and that, if they themselves have not the courage to get out of it, a Pole has, and can they assist in sending that Pole over to bourgeois 'justice'? The enthusiasm for the Czar is at once transferred to the Poles and Nihilists, and the Czar is in for it, for his trouble and his money spent.

All the same, the effect would hardly have been so great if our people had not so constantly and determinedly attacked the Czar.

Anyhow, *je m'en réjouis.*[c]

Pumps has all at once come round. Louise and I coaxed her a bit. After the talking to I had given her, Percy gave her another, and now she is friendliness all over, not only with Louise, but also Annie. Well, I hope it will last, and if it does not, it will be her own fault and then I shall be in a clear position and act accordingly. This time I *can* be master and I shall.

How is Paul's affair with Levraut getting on?[102]

Fortin writes to say that he and Paul wished to publish the *18 Brumaire* in the *Socialiste* but required my consent. That of course I gave him with pleasure.—He also said the *Revue Socialiste* wanted the same and also the *Misère de la philosophie* for republication. I said as to that, Marx would never forgive me if I entrusted any ms. of his to the hands of such people who were capable of making all sorts of changes in it; as to the *Misère*, after all the disappointments I had with that,[103] I should consent to its republication *in book-form only*, and only after having full guarantees for the execution of the promise.

What Paul writes about the part of the Rothschilds in the Krach[d] Baring seems not without foundation.[104] The Barings are rich enough to pay all losses and have plenty left. So that the guarantors will be perfectly safe. But the Barings cannot remain a first rate firm

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[a] guttersnipe, hooligan - [b] Alexander III's - [c] I am glad. - [d] row

and cannot therefore continue to be financial agents of the Argentine Government. There the Rothschilds will naturally step into the Barings' shoes. And in order to squeeze the Argentine Government into compliance, the French and German Argentine committees must resist the very sensible (in the interest of *all parties*) proposals of the London Committee, and insist upon cash payment of the coupons which the Londoners are willing to suspend for 3 years and have the amount transformed into a new debt. And the *gobemouches*[a] of the Paris press, *payés comptant*,[b] work hard in the interest of the Rothschilds.

I am afraid this will be the last long letter you will have for some time. I am so overworked that correspondence will have to be confined to the necessary minimum. I have an urgent quarrel with Brentano on my hands (preface, 4th edition of *Capital*[96]) and those sort of things I cannot dictate.

Love to Mémé.

Ever yours,
F. Engels

*Bien des choses à Paul.*[c]

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

Reproduced from the original

## 53

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN BERLIN

London, 18 December 1890

Dear Liebknecht,

You guessed the names aright.

I fail to see what point there would be in publishing this muddled correspondence, the Hegelian language of which would today be in-

[a] simpletons - [b] paid in cash - [c] Best regards to Paul.

comprehensible.[105] Either you intend to publish everything bearing Marx's name or — might this be the beginning of the *Collected Works* in pamphlet and/or serial form planned by you and Paul Ernst?

Against this I would protest here and now as, indeed, I shall continue to do.

I would gladly agree to the publication in pamphlet form of such individual pieces by Marx as are comprehensible today without notes or a commentary, but to *their publication only, without notes or a commentary of any description.* Should the plan you propose here be put into effect, however, I shall intervene forthwith.

I cannot write a preface. The most I could say about the correspondence is that Marx told me more than once that his part of it had been tinkered with by Ruge who had inserted all manner of nonsense.

If only you people would leave off pestering me so that I had time to finish the 3rd volume,[a] I could myself do something worthwhile along those lines. I have already told you that the time is past when I can do work to order for you. I shall take on absolutely nothing further, even though it may amount to no more than 3 lines, until I have dealt with the mountain of stuff I have already undertaken to do.

When a chap can only write by daylight and, what's more, at most 3, and quite often only 2, hours a day and with constant interruptions into the bargain, you will understand that every superfluous letter robs him of his most precious time. Besides which, there has been virtually no daylight for the past 12 days.

So will you at long last be kind enough to let me work in peace?

Despite a lengthy search I cannot immediately put my finger on the passage in Sybel.[b] It is so cunningly concealed that leafing through the book is no good. However, it would do you no harm, in view of your preoccupation with Bismarck, to go through this important source yourself, in which case you would yourself find the passage in the 4th or 5th volume.[106]

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[a] of *Capital* - [b] H. von Sybel, *Die Begründung des Deutschen Reiches durch Wilhelm I*, vols I - V.

Kindest regards from my household to yours, and a happy holiday to you.

Your
F. E.

Today I have had another reminder from Dietz about the new edition of the *Origin*.[a] How can I possibly manage if I don't get a moment's peace?

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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Published in English for the first time

## 54

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 20 December 1890

Dear Sorge,

Have had your letters up to the 9th of this month. Use my letters as you think fit.[107] I am glad that you consulted Schlüter about the question of the fee[b] and that all is now settled. As things go in *Germany*, what they offer is *very* respectable. Schoenlank, by the way, who wrote and told you this, is a most depraved fellow who in fact does not hesitate to seize on any and every opportunity to extort money from the party. Of this he again gave proof at the Halle Congress.[12]

I am greatly overworked, hence just a postcard today. I have taken on Mr Brentano who must now be disabled 'good and proper'.[96]

Louise Kautsky has decided to stay with me *for good*. I am, of course, absolutely delighted and deeply grateful to the sweet child. She is giving up a great deal for my sake, but luckily I am in a position to offer her in return much that would not be available to her in Vienna. Besides keeping house for me, she does a fair amount of secre-

[a] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. - [b] See this volume, p. 74.

tarial work—just what I needed. So as you will see, I cannot for the present accept your kind invitation to move to Hoboken [108]; I am engaged in renewing my lease for another three years.[a]

I hope that, by the time this arrives, your wife will have completely recovered. Schorlemmer will again be unable to visit us this Christmas because of his persistent aural catarrh; otherwise he might go deaf. So more anon. A Happy Christmas to you.

Your old friend,
F. E.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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## 55

## ENGELS TO LEO FRANKEL [109]

### IN PARIS

London, 25 December 1890

Dear Frankel,

Having just got a minute or two to spare—by no means usual during the daytime (the only time in which I am allowed to write)—I shall reply to you straight away.

Many thanks for your telegram and retrospective good wishes. You must excuse me for not having acknowledged receipt of the former. I have been swamped, in the truest sense of the word, with correspondence.

Well, let's have done with the formalities and get on to the main point of your letter. I was already aware of your attitude to the ructions in France [110]—an entirely understandable one in view of your

[a] See this volume, p. 5.

long absence from the movement there—as a result of reading your article in the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*[a] which had been sent to me from Berlin. The ructions are just as regrettable and just as inevitable as were those in the past between the Lassalleans and the Eisenachers for the simple reason that in both cases cunning business men placed themselves at the head of one of the two parties and exploited that party for their own business interests for as long as the party would tolerate it; accordingly it is no more possible to co-operate with Brousse & Co., than with Schweitzer, Hasselmann and partners. If, like me, you had been engaged in the struggle from the beginning and in its every detail, you would see as clearly as I do that in this case unification would above all mean capitulating to a gang of schemers and place-seekers who are betraying to the ruling bourgeoisie the party's true basic principles and its well-tried fighting method ... the better to secure positions for themselves and small, insignificant advantages for the working men who support them. Unification would thus amount to the same thing as capitulating to these gentlemen outright, a point further borne out by the discussions at the Paris Congress of 1889.[51]

Unification will come, just as in Germany, but it can only last if the fight is fought to a finish, the contradictions are resolved and the rascals hounded out by their own supporters. When the Germans were drawing close to union, Liebknecht came out for union at all costs. We were against it on the grounds that, since the Lassalleans were near to collapse, we should await the completion of that process, when unification would come about of its own accord. Marx wrote a long critique of the so-called unification programme, which was distributed in manuscript form.[b]

They didn't listen to us, with the result that we had to bring Hasselmann into our ranks and rehabilitate him in the eyes of the world, only to chuck him out as a blackguard six months later.[111] And we had to incorporate Lassallean inanities into our programme, thereby destroying the programme for good. It was a double fiasco which, given a little more patience, could have been avoided.[63]

In France the Possibilists are going through just the same process of disintegration as did the Lassalleans in 1875. The leaders of *both* the

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[a] L. F[rankel,] 'Zur französischen Arbeiterbewegung', *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Nos. 170 and 178, 3 and 12 December 1890. - [b] K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*.

persuasions that emerged from the split[53] are, in my view, worthless. This process, in which the leaders devour one another and which nevertheless brings over to us the intrinsically sound majority of members, can, in my view, be interrupted or checked—if not actually brought to a complete halt—by only *one* error on our part—that is to say if we make a premature attempt at unification.

On the other hand we have already taken a decisive step which will in any case hasten the advent of unification and may, perhaps, achieve it straight away. For at my suggestion—after Tussy had discussed it with Aveling, Bernstein and Fischer (presently of the party leadership[28])—first the French (*our* Marxists) and then the Germans at Halle,[12] where they also had the support of the Swiss, Danes, Swedes and Austrians, resolved unanimously that, instead of holding a separate congress in 1891, they should attend the congress in Brussels convoked by the Possibilists in view of the fact that the Belgians had accepted the conditions laid down by us in 1889, conditions which, axiomatic though they were, were nevertheless rejected by the Possibilists. You will admit that this was a major concession on our part, since the overwhelming majority of the European parties were behind us. Yet we acted *as we did* because we knew we had to fight the Possibilists with like weapons and on like terms if the supremacy of Brousse on the one hand and of Allemane on the other was to be brought swiftly to an end. Not until the bulk of the Possibilist working men see that they are isolated in Europe, that they have no sure allies save Messrs Hyndman & Co. (who are in the same boat vis-à-vis their supporters as was Brousse) and that all the braggadocio has been solely for the benefit of the leaders, will the fuss die down. And that will clear the way for the congress.

So just be patient for another six months. Any attempt on our part to achieve a settlement sooner would be interpreted by Brousse as well as by Allemane as a sign of weakness and would hinder rather than help us. But when the time comes, and in my view, it is not far off, the Possibilist working men will join us just as the Lassalleans did and, what's more, without our having to offer leading positions to the schemers, traitors and ne'er-do-wells among them.

No one is more anxious than I am to see a strong socialist party in France. However I have to pay due regard to the facts as they are and I am anxious that it should come about only on a basis which holds

out a promise of permanence, which is *real* and which won't result in a HUMBUG movement *à la* Brousse.

With warm regards.

Your old friend
F. Engels

Thank you also for the *Bataille* article.[112] Louise Kautsky, who is here and will be staying here, sends you her warm regards.

First published, in Hungarian, in *Népszava*, No. 130, Budapest, 3 June 1906

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Translated from the Hungarian

Published in English for the first time

## 56

## ENGELS TO G. BLUME[113]

### IN HAMBURG

London, 27 December 1890

Dear Comrade,

Mr Stinzleih has passed on to me the kind greetings conveyed by you on behalf of the delegates to the Congress, the representatives of 596,000 German working men. There is no need for me to tell you in so many words how glad I was to be remembered at that Congress. Unfortunately I am unable to thank those concerned, who will by now have dispersed to all parts of Germany, and can do no more than express my sincere thanks to you, Mr Chairman, while giving you my firm assurance that, so long as it remains in my power, I shall persevere in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class.

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

First published as a supplement to *Begründung der Beschlüsse des vom 8. bis 11. 12. in Berlin abgehaltenen Hilfskassenkongresses*, Hamburg, 1891

Printed according to the photocopy of the supplement

Published in English for the first time

## 57

## ENGELS TO GEORG SCHUMACHER [114]

### IN SOLINGEN

[London, December 1890]

My dear Schumacher,

Since you will now be at home, I am taking the opportunity of asking you to convey my warmest thanks to my friends in Solingen for the beautiful present they gave me on my 70th birthday. But at the same time, I wish to thank you, too, for your contribution to the parliamentary group's[a] magnificent present.

As a boy, whenever I saw a knife like this, I would gaze at it admiringly and envy the owner of a tool so suited to all manner of uses. Now, in my old age, one such has come into my possession, and in such a fashion to boot, and with so honourable an inscription.

As you know, since 1849 my attachment to Solingen has been of a very special kind, since the time, that is, when I, along with the Solingen volunteers, marched to Elberfeld where, confronted by a reactionary civic militia, unorganised Elberfelders and a highly reactionary security committee, I could not have remained unscathed for three days if it had not been for the Solingeners who, almost alone amongst those taking part, represented the revolutionary element.[115] And, since I am anxious that those ties attaching me to Solingen should not be allowed to slacken or break, it is a very special pleasure to note that in Solingen I, too, am still remembered.

With warm regards to you and to all the members of the party from your old friend,

F. Engels

First published in *Rheinische Zeitung*, Nr. 47, Köln, 24. Februar 1906

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[a] the Social - Democratic group in the German Reichstag

# 1891

## 58

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 3 January 1891 [a]

Dear Sorge,

*Avant tout* [b] a Happy New Year to you and your wife.[c]

Unfortunately I didn't make a note of the date of my last postcard in which I replied to the more urgent points in your letter.[116]

Many thanks for the excellent photograph of you and your wife. I should like to send you one of myself but the constant fog and snow we have had since 25 November have made it impossible to obtain either a photograph or a print from the negative plate. As soon as the light is suitable, I shall have my photograph taken again so as to see what I look like at the age of 70, and your requirements will then be promptly attended to.

Louise Kautsky is staying with me. I'm very very grateful to the good child for the sacrifice she is thereby making on my behalf. Once again I am able to work in tranquillity, indeed better than ever, as she will also be my secretary. I have enough for her to do but not for a man brought in from outside. So everything is proving unexpectedly pleasant and snug and there is sunshine in my house once more, even though the fog is as thick as ever outside.

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[a] 1890 in the original. - [b] First of all - [c] Katharina Sorge

I think I have already told you that you may use my letters in any way you think fit. But after all it's *you* who are supposed to keep *us* informed about America!

Your complaint was promptly forwarded to Paris.[117] But will it do any good? BUSINESS IS NOT THEIR FORCE!

According to latest reports Sam Moore, Chief Justice at Asaba on the Niger, is in poor health. Having stood the climate so well, he has now been afflicted all of a sudden with diarrhoea, fever, and congestion of the spleen and liver—I am anxiously awaiting the next post the day after tomorrow. He will be back here in April on 6 months' furlough.

In Europe the most important event of the last 3 months has been the slaying of Seliverstov by Padlewski[101] and—which is what the government *wanted*—the latter's escape. Evidence that Paris was the headquarters of Russia's *mouchards*[a] abroad, that the French Republic was to carry out espionage and render ignoble services for the Tsar as the prior condition of an alliance with Russia and, finally, Padlewski's bold deed which evoked a powerful and sympathetic response from every fibre of the French tradition—all this proved the last straw. The Franco-Russian alliance was dead before it had reached its term and been born (Louise Kautsky is a midwife, hence the simile) and this, not only because the bourgeois Republicans would not have liked it, even today, but also because the people in Petersburg have realised that it would misfire at the crucial moment and hence isn't worth a damn. As far as world peace is concerned, that is a tremendous gain.

Fog, darkness—must stop.

Many regards to your wife and you yourself.

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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[a] police spies

59

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[98]

IN STUTTGART

London, 7 January 1891

Dear Kautsky,

Yesterday I sent to you by *registered* post Marx's ms. which will have given you much pleasure.[118] I doubt whether it will be able to appear in the Holy German Empire *as it stands*. Take a look at it and delete the objectionable bits wherever feasible, replacing them with dots. Where the context does not permit of this, however, kindly mark the passages for me in the proofs and, if possible, inform me in a couple of lines of the *reasons* for the objection and I shall then do what I can. I should then place the amended bits in brackets and point out in my introductory note that these are *amended* passages. So let me have your corrections on the galleys, please.

But there may well be other people, apart from the bigwigs in the police, who will be displeased when it appears. Should you feel it necessary to take this into account, I would ask you to send the ms. *registered* to Adler. In Vienna it will doubtless be possible to print it (with the exception, alas, of the splendid passage on religious needs) in its entirety *and printed it will be, whatever happens*. I should imagine, however, that this *very positive* intention of mine, of which I herewith notify you, will afford you complete protection against whatever lamentations may arise. For after all, since none of you can stop its being printed, it would be far better for it to appear in Germany itself and in the *Neue Zeit*, the party organ founded expressly for such purposes.

I have stopped work on the *Brentano*[96] so as to get this thing ready for you; for I want to make good use of the passages it contains on the iron law of wages[119] and it would have been pointless not to have got this thing ready for the press at the same time. I had intended to polish off *Brentano* this week but once again so many disturbances and so much correspondence have intervened that it will be virtually impossible to do so.

So if you come up against any snags, be so good as to let me know.

Over here it's still freezing hard. Poor Schorlemmer has a cold and is temporarily deaf; he was unable to come for Christmas. Sam Moore is seriously ill in Asaba and I am anxiously awaiting further news.

Your
F. Engels

Regards to Tauscher.

First published in full in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935

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## 60

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

### IN BENEVENTO

London, 9 January 1891

Dear Friend,

Your sister's misfortune has aroused my heartfelt sympathy. And I can imagine what an indescribable state of agitation it has put you into. But don't lose your head. What good would it do your sister if you were to kill the dirty dog? He would bear with him to the grave the satisfaction of having ruined not one family but two. I know that in societies such as those of southern Italy, where a good many memories from the time of the gens still live on, a brother is regarded as the natural protector and avenger of his sister. But this brother is also married, he has a wife and children, he has obligations towards them, and in today's society those obligations take precedence over everything else. In my view, therefore, you owe it to your family to refrain from any action that would inevitably condemn you to lifelong separation from them.

So far as I am concerned, your sister is still as pure and as deserving of respect as she always was.

But if you believe you must take your revenge, there is, after all, yet another way in which you can brand the seducer in the eyes of the public with the mark of disgrace.

Over here the brother would give the scoundrel a public thrashing.

In France or Germany a publicly administered box on the ears would suffice.

In Austrian Poland (Leopol[a]) a journalist had sold himself to the Russians. Some young Poles laid hold of him on the public promenade, placed him over a bench and gave him 25 of the best.

You in Italy will also have ways of publicly branding a scoundrel like this and of exposing him to universal scorn without taking his life or causing him permanent physical damage.

As I have said, far be it from me to advise you about this matter. But if you are firmly convinced that some sort of vengeance must be done, then it had best be vengeance affecting the seducer's *honour* rather than any other kind.

With warm regards,

Yours,

F. Engels

Very many thanks for your good wishes on my 70th birthday.

First published, in the language of the original (German), in *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani. 1848-1895*, Milano, 1964

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[a] Lvov

61

## ENGELS TO STANISŁAW MENDELSON

IN LONDON

[London,] Tuesday, 13 January 1891
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen Mendelson,

Last Sunday,[a] when we discussed the day and time at which it would be convenient for you to do me the pleasure of dining here, we were in such a hurry that, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, I had better repeat what I meant to say to you.

I take it that I may expect you, that is to say you, Mrs Mendelson and Citizen Jodko on Thursday, the day after tomorrow, at six o'clock. It is possible that I didn't express myself clearly enough in regard to the last named. If so, I would ask you to be so good as to request him again on my behalf to do me the honour of coming.[b]

My compliments, as also those of Mrs Kautsky, to Mrs Mendelson.

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

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[a] 11 January - [b] See this volume, p. 108.

## 62

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[98]

IN STUTTGART

London, 15 January 1891

Dear Baron,

You will see from the accompanying corrected proofs[a] that I am not inhuman and have even gone so far as to inject some soothing morphine and bromide into the introduction,[b] which no doubt will have a sufficiently anodyne effect on the melancholy mood of our friend Dietz. I shall only write to Bebel today.[120] I didn't mention the matter to him before since I had no desire to place him in a false position vis-à-vis Liebknecht. He would have been *honour bound* to speak to the latter about it and Liebknecht, who has made extracts from the ms., as is evident from his speech on the programme at Halle,[121] would have raised heaven and earth to prevent its being published.

If the passage 'to attend to his religious *as well as his bodily* [needs]'[c] cannot very well stand, delete the five words underlined and insert dots. The allusion will then gain in subtlety and still be sufficiently comprehensible. In which case it will not, I trust, give rise to misgivings.

For the rest I have obliged you and Dietz by doing everything you wanted and *more*, as you will see.

The Mendelsons have arrived here from Paris. On his release the magistrate *forbade* him to leave France. The Minister, *Constans*, on the other hand, *enjoined* him to leave voluntarily, failing which he would be expelled.[122] Constans entrusted Labruyère, who is notoriously hand in glove with the police, with the task of spiriting Padlewski away. Had Padlewski appeared before a jury, the intrigues with the

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[a] K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. - [b] Preface to Karl Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. - [c] While preparing the ms. for the press Engels for reasons of censorship replaced the word *Notdurft* used by Marx by the word *Bedürfnisse* and put it in the square brackets (cf. present edition, Vol. 24, p. 98).

Russians would have come to a head. The activities of the Russian *mouchards*[a] in Paris could not have been concealed from the court and Padlewski might have been *acquitted*! Consequently he was an enormous embarrassment to the government and had to go. Ask Lafargue to write an article for you on the disruption by Padlewski of the Russo-French alliance.[b] [101] Liebknecht has got hold of completely the wrong end of the stick, as he always does where foreign affairs are concerned.

The Mendelsons arrived here without any addresses and fell into the hands of Smith Headingley and Hyndman who took them to a meeting,[123] etc. Finally they came to my house and I gave them Ede's address; on my paying them a formal return visit for diplomatic reasons, who should come in at the door but Mr Smith Headingley. This gave me an opportunity to treat him with icy disdain in front of the Poles, which seemed to have the desired effect. They were here on Sunday,[c] and today they, the Edes and Avelings are coming to dine at my house. This will doubtless frustrate the intrigues set in train in the interests of Brousse, Hyndman & Co. Pity you won't be there. We start off with oysters.

Your
F. E.

First published in full in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935

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[a] police spies - [b] See this volume, pp. 123, 129. - [c] 11 January

63

# ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 17 January 1891

Dear Sorge,

Herewith the 4th edition of *Capital*[a] (registered) and a parcel of newspapers. As Sam Moore is doubtless already on his way back to Europe from the Niger—6 months' furlough every 2 years—various things he has been getting hitherto will now become available for you, viz. the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne,* which was set on a pretty good course by little Conrad Schmidt and has not as yet been ruined by Paul Ernst, and the *Cri du Travailleur* which reprints the main items from *Le Socialiste.* Also a *Vorwärts*[124] with our revelations about Mr Reuß.

Constant snow and ice since 25 November. The water pipes under the street have been frozen for the past 5 days and we're having no end of trouble over our water. No. 17 of the *Neue Zeit* will contain a bombshell, to wit Marx's critique of the draft programme of 1875.[b] You'll be delighted, but it will cause rage and indignation among a good many people in Germany.

Regards to your wife[c] and to the Schlüters and Romms when you see them.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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[a] the fourth German edition of the first volume of *Capital*. - [b] K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme.* It was published in *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 18 and not No. 17 as had been planned. - [c] Katharina Sorge

## 64

## ENGELS TO STANISŁAW MENDELSON

IN LONDON

[London,] Sunday, 18 January 1891

Dear Citizen Mendelson,

After my conversation with Mrs Mendelson yesterday evening I discovered an article in the Paris *Socialiste*[125] on the strength of which you could, I believe, write a letter to the English press regarding the matter Mrs Mendelson and Citizen Jodko spoke to me about.

I have discussed the matter with Aveling and his wife.[a] They will be dropping in on you tomorrow morning. If you and Aveling would then care to fix a time for the two of you to do me the pleasure of calling here, we could compose a letter and arrange for it to appear in the press.[126]

My compliments to Mrs Mendelson and Citizen Jodko.

Yours very sincerely,

F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] Eleanor Marx-Aveling

## 65

## ENGELS TO CARL SCHORLEMMER [128]

### IN MANCHESTER

London, 27 January 1891

Dear Jollymeier,

In my dictionary of modern Greek I find:

λουμπάρδα, ἡ *bombarde, canon*
λουμπαρδάρης, *bombardier*
λουμπαρδάρω, *bombarder*, etc.

The heavy gun reached the Byzantines from Italy and the earliest generic name for a gun of this kind is *bombarda*. Since the modern Greek ß = the Italian v, b is denoted by μπ (μπάγκα, *banc pour s'asseoir*,[a] μπαζάρι, *bazar, marché public*[b]). So as to avoid having this dreadful combination twice, the first b appears here as β.

According to the above, therefore, the fact that λουμπάρδος means bronze used for cannon cannot present any difficulties.

I trust you received Louise's letter and are feeling better. Something to cheer you up will be going off per book post. Regards from Louise and

Your
F. E.

First published in *Einheit*, Nr. 7, Berlin, 1958

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

[a] bench - [b] market

## 66

## ENGELS TO HEINRICH SCHEU

### IN LONDON

[London,] 27 January 1891
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mr Scheu,

Please forgive me for having kept you waiting so long for a reply to your kind note of the 10th.[129] But in the first place I have had an extremely urgent job to do, secondly, owing to appointments with doctors, the timing of which did not depend on me, I have virtually never been master of my own time and, thirdly, the weather has not, until quite recently, been propitious for photography.

I shall, I think, now be at your disposal—at any rate as from the day after tomorrow, especially if you are able to give me 12 or 24-hours' NOTICE. I thought I might again go to Debenham quite close by, but would go to anyone else you like (save for Mayall, who refused to take money from Marx, which makes it *gênant*[a]) and I should be very glad if you were also to attend and yourself explain to the man what you want and how you want it.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

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Published in English for the first time

[a] embarrassing

## 67

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER [130]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 29 January 1891

Dear Schlüter,

At last I can get round to answering your letter of 19 November. Many thanks for your and your wife's[a] kind wishes.[b] I wish you had been there. We tippled until half past three in the morning and, besides claret, downed 16 bottles of sparkling wine.

Unfortunately I cannot take advantage of Sorge's invitation.[108] I have put down so many roots here in Europe and have such a vast amount to do that I could never consider withdrawing to America unless absolutely compelled to do so. Moreover, now that Louise Kautsky is here, my domestic affairs are again in perfect order.

Many thanks for the *Kalender*.[131]

Some of the articles in the *Cyclopaedia*[c] are by Marx and some by me, all, or nearly all, being devoted to military subjects — biographies of military commanders, articles on ARTILLERY, CAVALRY, FORTIFICATION, etc. Pure hack-work, no more; may be safely consigned to oblivion.[132]

That the Socialist Labor Party[133] over there is going to rack and ruin I can see plainly enough from its fraternisation with the Nationalists[86] compared with whom our native Fabians[87] — likewise middle-class — are positively radical. I should have thought it scarcely possible that, by mating with the *Nationalist*, the *Sozialist* could have engendered further tedium. Sorge sends me the *Nationalist* but, try as I may, I cannot find anyone who is prepared to read it.

Another thing I don't understand is the row with Gompers.[134] So far as I know, his Federation[84] is an association of TRADES UNIONS and nothing but TRADES UNIONS. Thus the chaps are *formally entitled* to turn away anyone who comes as representative of a working men's association that is *not* a TRADES UNION, or to turn away the delegates of a society to which such associations are admitted. Whether it was advisable from the point of view of *propaganda* to court a rebuff of this kind,

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[a] Anna Schlüter's - [b] on Engels' 70th birthday - [c] *The New American Cyclopaedia* (for articles by Marx and Engels see present edition, Vol. 18)

is, of course, impossible for me to judge from where I am. But that it was bound to happen was, after all, beyond doubt and I, for one, cannot hold Gompers responsible.

However, bearing in mind next international congress in Brussels,[135] I should have thought it might have been a good thing to keep in with Gompers who has at least got more working men behind him than the Socialist Labor Party, and thus ensure as large a representation as possible — including *his* people — from America. For while there the chaps would, after all, see much that would shake their faith in their blinkered TRADES UNION standpoint — and, quite apart from that, where do you propose to find a RECRUITING-GROUND if not amongst the TRADES UNIONS?

Many thanks for the stuff about silver.[136] If you can find me anything containing notes on *current silver production* in the UNITED STATES, I should be grateful. The bimetal currency[137] idiots in Europe are nothing but the DUPES of the American silver producers and are perfectly prepared to pull the latter's chestnuts out of the fire for them. Vainly, alas,— nothing will come of this shady affair. See my note on precious metals in the 4th edition of *Capital*.[138]

Do please let me have further details about the speech by Marx on protective tariffs which you mention.[139] All I can remember is that, when the discussion began to flag at the German Workers' Society in Brussels,[140] Marx and I arranged between ourselves to conduct a mock debate in which he advocated free trade and I protective tariffs; I can still see the chaps' astonished expressions when they suddenly saw us go at it hammer and tongs. The speech might have been printed in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*. I cannot remember any other.

It's unlikely that you will be able to return to Germany within the next few years. True, Tauscher has been released, but only because nothing could be proved against him. On the other hand, it transpired on the same occasion that hitherto the statute of limitations has been regularly suspended so far as you people are concerned.

Cordial regards to yourself and your wife from Louise Kautsky and

Your
F. Engels

Motteler is still here, winding up the business at 114 Kentish Town Road[a]; how he will manage when the house is vacated on 25 March and he can only carry on with this job at home, I do not know. But he absolutely refuses to go back to Switzerland although we know it to be perfectly feasible. Ede is doing well; he works like a Trojan and is writing some very good stuff for the *Neue Zeit*.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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## 68

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [141]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 31 January[b] 1891

My dear Lafargue,

Like nine-tenths of the news published in Paris about Germany, the item that has alarmed you [142] is nothing more than a canard.

The leading committee of the German party has not budged in regard to 1 May. The parliamentary *faction* (the socialist members of the Reichstag) has resolved (with one dissenting vote) that *in Germany* (but not elsewhere) it would be desirable to hold the celebrations on Sunday 3 May and not on 1 May.[143] That is all. Since the Party Rules do not confer any official function on the 'faction', it is simply the expression of a desire which, however, will probably meet with general approval.

As to the idea of suggesting to other nationalities that they make a similar change in the date of the demonstration, our newspapers say

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[a] the premises of the *Sozialdemokrat* editorial office in 1888-90 - [b] 30 January in the original

not a word. However there is the possibility that *individually* one or other of the deputies might have thought of it. As Bebel is in Zurich for his daughter's[a] wedding, I shall write to Fischer[144] so that a stop can be put to this nonsense if, that is, anybody is entertaining it.

You and Bonnier, whose long letter on the subject I have in my pocket,[145] may say whatever you like. The English will probably do the same as the Germans and hold their celebrations on Sunday. As regards the Germans, they are virtually bound to act in this way. Last year you thought their conduct 'weak'. Well now, in Hamburg, the city where we are best organised and in greater strength relative to the rest of the population, and where we have the strongest finances (both party and trades unions) — in Hamburg they generally celebrate 1 May under the noses of the employers. But business being pretty bad, the latter took advantage of the one day's cessation to close their workshops and declare that they would reopen only to those workmen who left their unions and promised not to unionise in future. The struggle continued throughout the summer and into the autumn. Eventually the employers abandoned their demands; however our trades union organisation in Hamburg has been badly shaken, the coffers have been emptied, as indeed elsewhere, as a result of funds disbursed for the LOCKOUTS, and nobody has the slightest desire to repeat the performance this spring, conditions in industry having worsened still further.

It's all very well for you to talk of irresolution and weakness. You are in a republic and the bourgeois republicans, in order to defeat the royalists, have been obliged to accord you the political rights that we are far from possessing in Germany. Moreover, divided as you have been hitherto, with the Broussists in the tow of the government,[146] you are not particularly dangerous; on the contrary, Constans likes to see you 'demonstrate' and put the wind up the radicals.[147] In Germany our people are a real force, between one and a half and two million electors, the only disciplined and growing party. If the government wants the socialists to hold demonstrations, that is because it wants to get them involved in a riot when it would crush them and have done with them for the next ten years. For the German socialists their best form of demonstration is their very existence and their slow, steady, ineluctable advance. We are still a long way from being able to sustain an open struggle and it is our duty vis-à-vis the whole of

[a] Frieda Bebel

Europe and America not to suffer defeat but rather, when the time comes, to emerge victorious from the first great battle. It is to this consideration that I subordinate all others.

Needless to say, it would be very nice to see all socialist workmen in both worlds abstain from work on the same day, 1 May. But it would not be a simultaneous, uniform abstention. You in Paris would abstain from, say, 8 in the morning to 8 in the evening; when the New Yorkers began at 8, it would be 1 in the afternoon in Paris, while the Californians would begin 3 hours later. Last year the demonstration lost nothing by being spread over 2 days and this year it would lose even less. The Austrians are in an altogether different situation; regular agitation and organisation have been made so difficult that a 1 day cessation is their sole means of demonstrating, a procedure admirably developed by Adler.[148]

So console yourselves. The movement won't suffer as a result of this lack of 'unity'; and such purely formal unity is not worth the price we should have to pay for it in Germany and also perhaps in England.

Your behaviour towards the anti-Broussists[53] strikes me as unexceptional. Making a compact of practical co-operation, setting aside for the moment any attempt at a merger, trusting to the passage of time and, ultimately, to the International Congress — there could be no better way of exploiting the situation in which you find yourselves. It is what Marx suggested to Liebknecht at the time of the merger with the Lassalleans,[63] but our friend was in too much of a hurry.

Guesde has played a nice trick on him in his articles for the *Vorwärts*.[149] Liebknecht has always championed the bourgeois republic in order to annoy the Prussians; in his view Constans, Rouvier, etc., were virtually faultless. And along comes Guesde to shatter that illusion! Delightful and also good for Germany.

Give Laura a kiss from me. My congratulations to Doctor Z. on the article on the Toulon affair.[150] Louise is particularly grateful for it. She has happy memories of you and Laura.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[98]

IN STUTTGART

London, 3 February 1891

Dear Kautsky,

You'd have thought that we over here would have been bombarded with letters about Marx's article[a]—on the contrary; not a sign nor a word have we had.

When the *Neue Zeit* failed to arrive on Saturday,[b] I thought something had gone wrong again. On Sunday Ede arrived and showed me your letter, whereupon I believed that the attempt at suppression had been successful. The issue finally arrived on Monday and, not long after, I found the piece had been reprinted in the *Vorwärts*.[151]

The disciplinary action *à la* Anti-Socialist Law having failed,[152] this daring move was the best thing the chaps could have done. But it was also good in another way, namely in going a fair way towards repairing the almost unbridgeable gulf alluded to by August[c] in the first moment of alarm. Not that that alarm was in any way unjustified, arising as it did out of concern for what their opponents might make of the thing. By printing it in the official organ, they forestalled hostile exploitation and put themselves in the position of being able to say: 'See how we criticise ourselves—we are the only party that can afford to do so; just you try and do the same!' This was, in fact, the correct attitude and one the chaps should have adopted from the start.

Another consequence is that it will be difficult to initiate disciplinary action against yourself. My request that the thing might be sent to Adler[d] was intended on the one hand to put pressure on Dietz and, on the other, to relieve you of responsibility by presenting you with Hobson's choice. I also wrote and told August that I was prepared to take full responsibility.[153]

If anyone else is to be held responsible, that person is Dietz. As he is

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[a] *Critique of the Gotha Programme* - [b] 31 January - [c] August Bebel - [d] See this volume, p. 103.

aware, I have, where he is concerned, always shown myself very *coulant*[a] over such matters. I have not only complied with, but actually exceeded, every request he has made to tone things down. Had he side-lined anything else, that too would have received consideration. But if a thing met with no objection from Dietz, why should it not be passed by me?

Come to that, having once got over their initial alarm, almost everyone save Liebknecht will be grateful to me for having published the thing. It will eliminate all possibility of prevarication and phrase-mongering in the next programme and will provide irrefutable arguments such as the majority of them would hardly have had the courage to advance on their own initiative. Their failure to change a bad programme while the Anti-Socialist Law was in force because unable to do so is no cause for reproach. And they have after all now voluntarily relinquished that programme. Nor need they hesitate to admit today that, 15 years ago, they behaved like boobies over the matter of unification [63] and allowed themselves to be done in the eye by Hasselmann, etc. At all events, the programme's 3 ingredients — 1. specific Lassalleanism, 2. vulgar democracy *à la* People's Party [154] and 3. balderdash, have not improved as a result of 15 years' pickling qua official party programme, and if this can't be openly said today, when if ever can it be?

If you hear anything new, please let us know. Many regards,

Your
F. E.

First published in full in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935

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[a] co-operative

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# ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 5 February 1891

My dear Laura,

Louise and I are going up to Highgate to take a copy of the inscription on the grave so as to be able to propose an additional one for Nimmy.[a] In the meantime will you please sign the enclosed, as *you and Tussy* are the joint owners registered and will both have to sign. We shall then let you know what we propose doing.

The socialists of Northampton have proposed to Edward[b] to stand in place of Bradlaugh deceased![c] Edward and Tussy went over to reconnoitre on Wednesday[d] but I have not heard since. I advised him to accept only in case all expenses were forthcoming. Today they say they want £100 to £150 before they can nominate him, and nomination is on Monday next[e] already!

Love from Louise and your

F. E.

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Reproduced from the original

[a] Helene Demuth, see also this volume, pp. 219-20. - [b] Aveling - [c] See this volume, pp. 123-24 and 126-27. - [d] 4 February - [e] 9 February

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [141]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 6 February 1891

My dear Lafargue,

This from a letter I have had from Fischer on the subject of the alleged intervention of the Germans in favour of 3 May:

'You are perfectly right. None of us here would be so insane as to seek to impose anything at all on the parties of other countries. The parliamentary faction's resolution was addressed *exclusively* to the German working man. It arose simply out of recognition of the fact that in the present situation, and given the severe political and economic tension now prevailing, any celebration on Friday 1 May would be a sheer impossibility. Unfortunately there are only too many who, despite themselves, will abstain from work on 1 May. Our capitalists are furious over the turn of political events in Germany.* They would like nothing better than to find occasion to mount a general attack on us. The crisis that has recently gripped the iron, textile and building industries has presented them with that opportunity, thereby placing them in a position to deliver a general onslaught which at this moment we should be unable to fend off. Consider the case of the Hamburg cigar workers. That will show you who holds the trump cards today.** They represent our *corps d'élite*, not a BLACKLEG amongst them, and yet the battle was lost weeks ago. Ultimately it is the small manufacturers who will have to foot part of the bill. But it is costing our working men a hundred thousand marks from their own funds — not counting the contributions from other towns which are sending money to support the strike. Accordingly 1 May is out of the question, financially speaking.'

That, I think, ought to satisfy you. Nor should you be surprised if, as I have already pointed out to you, the English follow the Germans' example. Tussy believes it highly probable. You Frenchmen have a passion for uniformity, which is all very well, provided the cost is not too high. But to preserve uniformity by ruining our prospects in

* Fall of Bismarck, state socialism, fear that the prohibitive entry duties [155] introduced in 1878 may be abolished, etc., etc.

** LOCKOUT of workpeople as a means of compelling them to resign from their union.

Germany and putting paid to any real success in England would be pedantic indeed.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [141]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 10 February 1891

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith the cheque for £20. I hope it arrives before you leave for Allier. My mind was elsewhere when I wrote it, otherwise I should have made it out to Laura's order so as to facilitate its endorsement should you be away.

As to what has transpired at the congress on the subject of 1 May, I know nothing. You may say what you will,[156] but at this juncture it would be sheer madness for the Germans to persist in holding their celebrations on the 1st and not on Sunday the 3rd. For that matter the divergence of opinion is quite natural; it is the antagonism between north and south. You southerners sacrifice everything to form, whereas the northerners tend to underrate it, concentrating rather on the substance. You like a theatrical effect; they, perhaps, pay too little heed to it. But for them 1 May means a repetition throughout the country of last year's LOCKOUTS [a] in Hamburg and in much less favourable circumstances; it means an outlay of between 200,000 and 300,000 marks, the exhaustion of all the funds for which the party is directly or indirectly responsible, the disorganisation of all our trades unions and, as a result, general discouragement. You must admit

[a] See this volume, p. 116.

that if this is the price to be paid for the theatrical effect of a simultaneous demonstration, it is distinctly on the steep side.

The success of the *Socialiste* gives me much pleasure. It goes to show that your working men are beginning to read again and to acquire a taste for other things besides sensational and pornographic newspapers. You may be proud of this success; it augurs very well. Here, for the first time in many years, is a weekly that covers its expenses.[157] It is also very well produced. Do you send it to Sorge?

Marx's article[a] has aroused great wrath in the party's Central Committee and many encomiums in the party itself. They tried to suppress the whole edition of the *Neue Zeit* but it was too late, whereupon they put a good face on it and boldly reprinted the article in the official organ.[b] When they have calmed down, they will thank me for having prevented them from entrusting the preparation of yet another equally shameful programme to Liebknecht, who fathered the thing.[63] In the meanwhile I have heard nothing from them directly; they are boycotting me to some extent.

Your article on the Russian alliance is very good[c]; it will rectify Liebknecht's repeated assurances that no one in France has dreamt of a Russian alliance, that it is all pure invention on Bismarck's part, etc. The fellow believes it his duty to heap praise on whatever goes on in France (or to conceal discreditable facts) because it's *a Republic*!

I haven't yet been able to read your article on feudal property.[158]

In Northampton it was the *local section of the Social Democratic Federation*[29] which invited Aveling to stand[d] and duly notified Hyndman, who tried to prevent them from putting him up. However they *insisted*, with the result that, last Saturday,[e] Hyndman had to rally the faithful here in London in order to pass a resolution that they had had nothing to do with Aveling's candidature. Since no one was suggesting that they had, this was tantamount to a public admission of insubordination within the bosom of the *Federation*. Hyndman's star is on the wane, even in the eyes of his supporters. The impetus given to the movement 18 months ago brought the FEDERATION a significant number of recruits and it is now stronger than ever before. But the said recruits are totally ignorant of the scabrous antecedents of this

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[a] *Critique of the Gotha Programme* - [b] *Vorwärts* - [c] P. Lafargue, 'Der Schuß Padlewsky's', *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 1. Bd., Nr. 19 (see this volume, p. 108). - [d] See this volume, pp. 120 and 126-27. - [e] 7 February

gang and haven't the slightest intention of accepting responsibility for any of them. They leave the FEDERATION'S foreign policy to Hyndman & Co. because it is quite above their heads. But if Hyndman tried to revive old personal squabbles, or if he were forced to do so, he would no longer, as previously, have a submissive band of supporters to back him up. A fair number of GASWORKERS also belong to the Federation and, so far as they are concerned, any interference with Aveling and Tussy would spell war.

Moreover Aveling's candidature must be all the more galling to Hyndman in that Aveling, who did not possess the £100 *DEPOSIT* for the expenses of the *POLL*, roundly refused a *TORY*'s offer to make him a present of it. At which loud panegyrics in the liberal press (see *The Daily News* which I shall send you).[a] In similar circumstances Hyndman and Champion *accepted* money from the *TORIES*, as you know.[159]

All it amounts to is a postponement. There can be no doubt that, come the General Election, the Northampton workmen will have the necessary money. They would have had it this time had they had a week in which to raise it. And they were counting on between 900 and 1,000 votes.

You have no maid. As for us, Annie gave notice yesterday as from 21 November; she is to marry her *BLOKE* at last.

What curious people the Roshers are! Percy's little boy has had to be circumcised because of some infantile disorder—and now his brother Howard's son is in similar case! Old Rosher is completely at a loss: is it divine vengeance for the 19 children (INCLUDING MISCARRIAGES) he has engendered? I myself submit that it is religious atavism. Hereditarily speaking they are so very Christian! Now, since Christianity is Judaism's natural child, what we have here is a reversion to the ORIGINAL ANCESTRAL TYPE, a foreskin so extravagant that it calls for an operation instituted as a sign of the bond between Jehovah and his chosen people.

Kovalevsky has published his Oxford lectures.[b] Prehistorical part, weak, historical, on Russia, interesting.

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[a] 'Election News. Nomination at Northampton. Enthusiastic Liberal Meeting', *The Daily News*, 10 February 1891.- [b] M. Kovalevsky, *Modern Customs and Ancient Laws of Russia being the Ilchester Lectures for 1889-90.*

We are drafting an inscription for Helene's[a] grave to be submitted to Laura. Give her a kiss from me.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[160]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 11 February 1891

Dear Sorge,

Letter of 16 January received.

I am *delighted* to hear that you propose to do away with the *Nationalist*. Over here I can find no one, not a solitary soul, who is prepared to read it, and I myself have not got the time to scrutinise the sagacious lucubrations of all the various RESPECTABLE panjandrums. I would have suggested such a course long since had I not thought that, if a chap like you sent me the thing, there was bound to be something in it *some time*.

The photograph is in the offing. Heinrich Scheu wishes to do a wood-cut of me, for which reason I recently had to position myself before the lens again.[b] Of the seven pictures, one will presumably turn out well.

I trust your wife[c] will have completely recovered by the time you get this; also you yourself.

I cannot tell you anything about the AMERICAN EDITION OF *Capital*, since I have never seen it and do not know what it contains. That the people over there *can* pirate our stuff, we are aware. That they *do* so

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[a] Helene Demuth's, see also this volume, pp. 219-20. - [b] See this volume, p. 112. - [c] Katharina Sorge

proves that it's a good speculation and is gratifying, although detrimental to the heirs. But it was something we had to reckon with the moment sales assumed significant proportions over there.

By now you will presumably have had the fourth ed.[a]

You will have read Marx's article[b] in the *Neue Zeit*. To begin with it aroused great wrath in the socialist powers-that-be in Germany but now they appear to be simmering down a bit. In the party itself, on the other hand, there was great rejoicing, except among the old Lassalleans. The Berlin correspondent of the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, which you will get by the *next* post, actually thanks me for the service I have rendered the party [161] (I believe it's Adolf Braun, Victor Adler's brother-in-law and Liebknecht's deputy editor on the *Vorwärts*). Liebknecht, of course, is furious, since all the criticism was aimed specifically at him and he was the progenitor, together with that bugger Hasselmann, of the rotten programme.[63] I can comprehend the initial dismay felt by the chaps, who have hitherto insisted that 'comrades' should approach them only with the utmost delicacy, on finding themselves being handled thus *sans façon*,[c] and their programme unmasked as pure rubbish. According to what I hear from K. Kautsky who has behaved very courageously throughout this affair, the parliamentary group intends to issue an edict [162] to the effect that publication took place without their knowledge and is deplored by them. They're welcome to that gratification. However, it may come to nothing if the party increasingly voices its assent and the fuss about 'placing a weapon against ourselves in the hands of our foes' is found to be without substance.

In the meantime I am being boycotted by the gentlemen, which suits me very well as it saves me quite a deal of time. Not that it's likely to last for long.

After Bradlaugh's death, Aveling was invited to stand in Northampton and by none other than the local BRANCH OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION,[29] i. e. nominally Hyndman's people. Because of the leap forward made by the movement generally in the past 18 months, the FEDERATION has acquired a large following. These people are glad to leave foreign policy (plotting with the Possibilists,[3] etc.), which is quite outside their ken, to Hyndman & Co., but are completely unaware of the said gentry's previous plotting and intriguing at home, and would certainly deny all responsibility for the same; — IN FACT, it

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[a] of the first volume of *Capital* - [b] *Critique of the Gotha Programme* - [c] rudely

is only because Hyndman & Co. have, since that time, pretty well eluded attack at home that they have acquired the afore-mentioned following. Hence the move made by the Northampton people which seriously alarmed Hyndman, the more so since the BRANCH immediately informed the Executive Council of what they had done. A certain amount of plotting ensued, but to no avail. Aveling went down and was given a brilliant reception, but it was only 4 days until nomination day, and a £100 deposit had to be raised for election expenses. Twenty working men undertook to put up £5 each, and a man turned up who offered to provide the money against that undertaking. But upon closer investigation this man proved to be one of the Conservatives' principal agents, whereupon Aveling refused the money with a proper display of righteous indignation and withdrew. This must have been doubly vexatious for Hyndman in as much as, 5 years ago, he and Champion accepted £250 or £350 from the TORIES for electoral purposes.[159] At all events, Aveling is now the workers' nominee for Northampton and stands a good chance of obtaining an increasing number of votes. On this occasion he would have received between nine hundred and a thousand.

The young man I recommended to you[a] will already have come to see you. The Romms, by the by, know him personally, something of which I was unaware at the time.

The French are very angry because this year the Germans intend to celebrate May Day on the 3rd of May, and not the 1st. It's all nonsense; by celebrating on 1 May last year, the Hamburg chaps involved themselves in a LOCKOUT[b] (for which, having no contracts, the manufacturers yearn); it cost the workers there 100,000 marks — not counting outside contributions — broke the backs of their TRADES UNIONS, which were the best organised, and crippled them for a long time to come. In Germany today there is chronic overproduction in all branches of industry and, since a general celebration throughout Germany could not be held on 1 May without breach of contract and would thus bring about a general LOCKOUT, use up all our funds, disrupt all our TRADES UNIONS and engender discouragement rather than enthusiasm, it would be madness. However, at the Paris Congress, our people evinced such enthusiasm for the 1st of May,[51] that this now looks like a retreat. And again the parliamentary group's proclamation is a deplorably feeble affair.[163]

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[a] Stanisław Padlewski - [b] See this volume, pp. 116 and 122-23.

Here in England the day is to be decided next Sunday. Realising what a mistake they had made last year, Hyndman and Co. are intent on somehow pushing themselves to the fore on this occasion, and 1 May will find many supporters. But since the capitalists in this country are ever eager to seize on any pretext for disrupting the two best hated TRADES UNIONS—the DOCKERS and more particularly that BOSSED by Tussy, the GASWORKERS AND GENERAL LABOURERS,[164] Tussy is going to do all she can to avoid providing them with the pretext of breach of contract and will propose 3 May as being a Sunday. The GASWORKERS are now the most powerful organisation in Ireland and, in the next elections, are going to put up their own candidates regardless of Parnell or M'Carthy. Parnell's demonstrative friendliness towards working men is the result of a meeting he had with these selfsame GASWORKERS who didn't hesitate to give him a piece of their mind. Even Michael Davitt, who used to call for independent Irish TRADES UNIONS, now knows better: The constitution they have got allows them HOME-RULE with no strings attached. It is to them that credit is due for having, for the first time, got the labour movement in Ireland going. Many of their BRANCHES consist of AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

Kindest regards to your wife,

Your

F. E.

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [98]

### IN STUTTGART

London, 11 February 1891

Dear Kautsky,

Many thanks for your two letters.[165] I return herewith those of Bebel and Schippel.

The boycott imposed upon me by the Berliners has not yet been lifted; there's been no sign of a letter and it's obvious they haven't yet made up their minds. By contrast, the *Hamburger Echo* published a leading article that was very fair,[166] considering that the chaps are still strongly tainted with Lassalleanism and actually swear by the system of acquired rights.[167] From this, and from the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, I also gathered that the onslaught of the opposition press was already at its height, if not actually abating. Once they have survived that—and so far as I could see, it has so far been very mild—the chaps will recover from their initial alarm. By contrast, Adler's Berlin correspondent (A. Braun?) has actually thanked me for publishing the thing.[161] A few more such voices and the opposition will languish.

It became evident to me that the document had been deliberately suppressed and concealed from Bebel in May/June 1875 the moment he informed me that the date of his release from prison had been 1 April; indeed, I have written to him [153] saying that he was *bound* to have seen it unless 'something untoward' had happened. In due course I shall, if necessary, request him to reply to this point. For a long time the document was held by Liebknecht from whose clutches Bracke had some difficulty in retrieving it; Liebknecht wished to keep it entirely to himself in order to use it for the final version of the programme. How, needs no saying.

Send me Lafargue's article [168] by registered book post as a ms.; I'll smooth things out all right. Come to that, his article on Padlewski [a] was quite good and very useful, considering the way the *Vorwärts* misrepresents French politics. All in all, Wilhelm [b] would seem to be out of luck in this respect. *He* is always praising the French Republic to

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[a] P. Lafargue, 'Der Schuß Padlewsky's', *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 1. Bd., Nr. 19 (see also this volume, pp. 108, 123). - [b] Wilhelm Liebknecht

the skies while Guesde, the correspondent whom he himself appointed, is for ever tearing it to pieces.[149]

The parliamentary group's pronouncement,[162] heralded by Schippel, is a matter of complete indifference to me. Should they wish, I am prepared to confirm that I am not in the habit of asking their permission. Whether or not they approve of the fact of publication is all one to me. Nor do I begrudge them the right to express their disapproval of this and that. Unless the affair turns out in such a way as absolutely to compel me to take it up, it would not occur to me to reply. So we shall wait and see.

I shall not write to Bebel about it, for in the first place he himself must first let me know what view of the matter he has finally arrived at and, in the second, every resolution is signed by everybody in the parliamentary group whether or not they voted for it. By the way, Bebel is wrong in thinking I would allow myself to become embroiled in acrimonious dispute. For that to happen, they would first have to provoke me with falsehoods, etc., which I could not overlook. On the contrary, I am positively steeped in a spirit of conciliation, having after all no cause for anger, and am only too anxious to build that bridge—pontoon bridge, trestle bridge, iron, stone or even golden bridge—across the potential abyss or gulf which Bebel thought he saw yawning in the distance.

Odd! Schippel now writes of the many old Lassalleans who pride themselves on their Lassalleanism—yet when they were over here,[169] it was unanimously agreed that there were no Lassalleans left in Germany! Indeed, this was the main reason for my abandoning many of my reservations. And then Bebel also chimes in, saying that a large number of the best comrades are seriously offended. If [so],[a] they ought to have [described][a] things to me as they really were.

Come to that, if you cannot now, 15 years later, speak your mind about Lassalle's theoretical balderdash and his prophetic mission, when if ever will you be able to?

However, the party as such, the Executive, the parliamentary group and *tutti quanti*[b] are exempted by the Anti-Socialist Law[11] from all blame save that of having accepted such a programme (and there is no getting round this). So long as that law was in force there could be no question of any revision; no sooner was it suspended than revision was included in the agenda. So what more do they want?

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[a] Manuscript damaged. - [b] all the rest

It is also imperative that the chaps should at long last throw off the habit of handling the party officials—their servants—with kid gloves and kow-towing to them as infallible bureaucrats, instead of confronting them critically.

Your
F. E.

You will no doubt have heard that Aveling is standing for Northampton in place of Bradlaugh.[a] The invitation came from the local BRANCHES OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION[29] and from the GASWORKERS. He went down there and his tub-thumping met with great applause. He was assured of 900-1,000 votes. But he hadn't got the deposit for the election expenses and, when offered this by a TORY agent, indignantly refused it. Thus he was not nominated, but from now on will stand as labour candidate for Northampton.

First published in full in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935

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Published in English for the first time

## 75

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

London, 21 February 1891

Dear Kautsky,

First of all my heartiest congratulations on the arrival of your infant.[b] I trust it keeps tippling away and that the confinement went off normally and easily. My heartiest congratulations to your wife[c] also. May the lad give you much joy.

Bebel's letter returned herewith.[170] Today I had to correct the proof

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[a] See this volume, pp. 120, 123-24 and 126-27. - [b] Felix Kautsky - [c] Luise Kautsky, née Ronsperger

of sheet 1 of the *Anti-Brentano*,[a] [96] otherwise I should have finished my letter to you. You'll therefore have to wait.

So my best wishes until tomorrow or the day after.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935

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## 76

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 23 February 1891

*Confidential*

Dear Kautsky,

Seeing that you have sent me Bebel's letter and that one good turn deserves another, I have worded the enclosed letter[b] in such a way that you can send it to Bebel *should you also consider it desirable in the interests of peace*. This I leave entirely to you.

Your notes on the *Vorwärts* article are *very* good.[171] Likewise your proposal to remind Bebel of the indifference with which Schramm's attacks on Marx were allowed to pass.

In great haste—the post goes in 5 minutes.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Die Gesellschaft*, Nr. 5, Berlin, 1932

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[a] F. Engels, *In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx*. - [b] See next letter.

77

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [172]

IN STUTTGART

London, 23 February 1891

Dear Kautsky,

You will have got my hasty congratulations of the day before yesterday.[a] So let us now return to the matter in hand, namely Marx's letter.[b]

The fear that it would place a weapon in the hands of our opponents was unfounded. Malicious insinuations are, of course, made about anything and everything, but by and large the impression gained by our opponents was nevertheless one of utter stupefaction at this ruthless self-criticism, stupefaction combined with the feeling that a party must be possessed of great inner strength if it could treat itself to that sort of thing. This much is apparent from the opposition newspapers I have been getting from you (very many thanks) and elsewhere. And I frankly admit that this was what I had in mind when I published the document. That it was bound at first to give grave offence in certain quarters I was aware, but it couldn't be helped and in my view this consideration was more than outweighed by its factual content. And I knew that the party was amply strong enough to stand it and I reckoned that today it would even *tolerate* the forthright language used 15 years ago, that it would point with justifiable pride to this test of its strength and say: Show us another party that would dare do the same. In the meantime this has been left to the Saxon and the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and the *Züricher Post*.[173]

To have assumed, in No. 21 of the *Neue Zeit*, responsibility for its publication is most courageous of you,[171] but don't forget that it was I, after all, who first instigated the thing and, in addition, presented you, as it were, with Hobson's choice. Accordingly I consider the main responsibility to be mine. As to details, one can of course always

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[a] See this volume, pp. 131-32. - [b] K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*.

hold differing views about such things. I deleted or altered everything that you and Dietz took exception to and, even if Dietz had made more deletions, I should still have been *coulant*[a] wherever possible; at no time have I failed to give the two of you proof of this. As to the main issue, however, it was *my duty* to publish the thing the moment the programme came up for discussion. And especially after Liebknecht's speech at Halle,[121] in which he coolly quotes parts of it as though they were his own, while contesting others without naming their source, Marx would unquestionably have confronted this version with the original and in place of him I was duty bound to do the same. Unfortunately the document was not immediately to hand and I only found it much later after a long search.

You mention that Bebel has written to you saying that Marx's treatment of Lassalle has caused bad blood amongst the old Lassalleans. That may be. Those people don't, of course, know the true story and nobody seems to have done anything to enlighten them on the subject. If they don't know that Lassalle's reputation as a great man is solely attributable to the fact that for years Marx allowed him to flaunt as his own the fruits of Marx's research and, what's more, to distort them because of his inadequate grounding in political economy, that is no fault of mine. But I am Marx's literary executor and as such I also have my obligations.

For the past 26 years Lassalle has been part of history. If, while the Exceptional Law[11] was in force, he has been exempt from historical criticism, it is now high time that such criticism came into its own and that light be thrown on Lassalle's position in regard to Marx. The legend which veils the true image of Lassalle and deifies him cannot, after all, become an article of faith for the party. However highly one may rate Lassalle's services on behalf of the movement, his historical role inside it remains an equivocal one. Everywhere Lassalle the socialist goes hand in hand with Lassalle the demagogue. In Lassalle the agitator and organiser, the Lassalle who conducted the Hatzfeldt lawsuit[174] is everywhere apparent: the same cynicism in the choice of methods, the same predilection for consorting with corrupt and shady people who may be used simply as tools and then be discarded. Up till 1862 a specifically Prussian vulgar democrat in practice with marked Bonapartist tendencies (I have just been looking through his letters to Marx), he made a sudden volte-face for purely personal rea-

[a] compliant

sons and began to engage in agitation. And before 2 years had gone by he was demanding that the workers side with the monarchy against the bourgeoisie and had begun intriguing with his kindred spirit Bismarck in a manner that could only have led to the actual betrayal of the movement had he not, luckily for him, been shot in the nick of time. In his propagandist writings the correct arguments he borrowed from Marx are so interwoven with his own invariably false ones that it is virtually impossible to separate the two. Such workers as have been offended by Marx's judgment know nothing of Lassalle save for his 2 years of agitation and, furthermore, see the latter only through rose-tinted spectacles. But historical criticism cannot forever remain standing hat in hand before such prejudices. It was my duty to settle accounts once and for all between Marx and Lassalle. That has been done. With this I can content myself for the time being. Besides, I have other things to do. And the publication of Marx's ruthless judgment of Lassalle will undoubtedly prove effective on its own and put heart into others. But if I were forced to do so, there'd be no alternative: I should have to dispose of the Lassallean legend once and for all.

That voices should have been raised in the parliamentary group demanding that the *Neue Zeit* be subject to censorship is truly delectable. Is the spectre of the parliamentary group's dictatorship at the time of the Anti-Socialist Law (a dictatorship that was, of course, essential and excellently managed) still at large or is it a harking back to the sometime close-knit organisation of von Schweitzer? After the liberation of German socialist science from Bismarck's Anti-Socialist Law, what more brilliant idea than to subject it to a new Anti-Socialist Law to be thought up and implemented by the officials of the Social-Democratic Party. However, we've taken care that they don't get too big for their boots.

I have lost no sleep over the *Vorwärts* article.[162] I shall await Liebknecht's account of the affair and then reply to both in as amicable tones as possible. There are only a few inaccuracies to put right in the *Vorwärts* article (e.g. that we hadn't wanted unification, that events had given Marx the lie, etc.) and some obvious points to confirm. I intend that this reply should conclude the debate so far as I am concerned, provided I am not compelled to resume it as a result of fresh attacks or inaccurate statements.

Tell Dietz that I am revising the *Origin.*[a] However I have today also heard from Fischer who writes to say that he wants three new prefaces! [175]

Your
F. E.

First published, in Russian, in *Bolshevik*, No. 22, Moscow, 1931

Printed according to the original

## 78

## ENGELS TO ANTONIO LABRIOLA [176]

### IN ROME

[Copy]

London, 27 February 1891

... Unfortunately I cannot place the old ms. on Stirner at Mr Mackay's disposal. If it is published it will be by me or my assigns. But to hand over to a third party for such use as he may think fit an unpublished ms. in which Marx had a hand is something I have no right to do, nor would I do so if I had. I have had some *highly* peculiar experiences in this respect. Never again shall I part with *unica*,[b] whatever the circumstances. And besides, the ms. is a tome which in print would be as thick as Stirner's *Einziger*[c] itself—it's very tattered and fragmentary—and is still in need of rearrangement...

(Frederick Engels)

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 38, Moscow, 1965

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[a] the fourth German edition of Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* - [b] original texts - [c] M. Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum.*

## 79

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [177]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 4 March 1891

Dear Sorge,

Your letter of 19 February received. In the meantime you will doubtless have heard various things about the great indignation of the Social-Democratic parliamentary group at the publication in the *Neue Zeit* of Marx's article on the programme.[a] The matter is still taking its course. For the present I shall let the chaps make fools of themselves, an end towards which Liebknecht has materially contributed in the *Vorwärts*.[162] Obviously I shall reply in due course though without needless acrimony; without some gentle irony, however, I hardly think it can be done. All those who count for anything in the field of theory are, of course, on my side — I must except only Bebel who was, in fact, not altogether unjustified in feeling offended by my action — but that was inevitable. Owing to an excess of work I have not been able to look at the *Volkszeitung*[b] for the last 4 weeks, so I don't know whether any answering sparks have been struck in America — after all you have plenty of Lassallean left-overs where you are, and in Europe these people are beside themselves with rage.

I now have three pamphlets to finish. The re-issue of 1. *The Civil War in France* — the General Council's address with regard to the Commune. I am arranging for this to be reprinted in a *revised* version[c] together with the 2 addresses of the General Council on the Franco-Prussian War which are more topical today than ever before. Also an introduction by me. — 2. *Wage Labour and Capital*[d] by Marx which I must bring up to the standard of *Capital*, for otherwise it will cause confusion in working-class circles — on account of the then still im-

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[a] *Critique of the Gotha Programme* - [b] *New Yorker Volkszeitung* - [c] the third German edition of Marx's *The Civil War in France* - [d] the separate German edition of 1891

perfect terminology (e. g. sale of labour instead of labour *power*, etc.) for which reason an introduction is also needed.— 3. My *Entwicklung des Sozialismus*[a]; this will be popularised if possible, but no more.

The party is publishing them, each in an edition of 10,000. This will ensure I get a bit of peace in *that* quarter. But I had to take the thing on because it was essential to counter the never-ending flow of rubbishy Lassallean reprints. Luckily a *new* edition of Lassalle with notes, etc. is to appear under *Bernstein*'s aegis [178] (*this between ourselves*).

In order that the person I recommended[b] should not lie fallow, I enclose herewith a CHEQUE for £ 10 out of which you can make him payments as you think fit, either with a view to his removal to one of the larger cities in the interior, which may be the best thing if he is to get on, or to enable him to keep his head above water where he is.

Hyndman is again inveighing against me [179]; it happens every 6 months, but he can talk till he's blue in the face and shout from every rooftop in London without eliciting a reply from me. He has also resumed his attacks upon Aveling and is again bringing up the American business. Now that Rosenberg has been chucked out,[180] do you think it might be possible to get a satisfactory statement from the party over there? All I want is your opinion; I'm not authorised to request that any sort of steps be taken.

The French are furious because the Germans and English will be celebrating on Sunday the 3rd instead of Friday the 1st of May. But there was no alternative. Last year the 1st of May celebrations in Hamburg involved the party in a strike (or rather LOCKOUT) which cost the chaps in Hamburg 100,000 marks — and now that trade is more wretched than ever, the bourgeois are longing for a pretext to shut down. And over here the DOCKERS are gradually being brought to heel, nor dare they grumble, for otherwise their TRADES UNION would be completely disrupted — admittedly a partial consequence of their own blunders —, and only by dint of the utmost caution will the GAS-WORKERS be capable of saving themselves from a STRIKE which would disrupt them too.[164] At the outset the transformation of GAS WORKS into municipal undertakings will still mean an attempt by your philistine to extract as much profit as possible so as to bring down the rates in his municipality; the point of view that the municipality should

[a] the fourth German edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* - [b] Stanisław Padlewski

insist on the gasworkers' being well paid, precisely *because* they are workers, has yet to penetrate. The disruption of the GASWORKERS and DOCKERS, however, would bring with it the complete disruption of the new TRADES UNIONS which were introduced over here 2 years ago and the old conservative TRADES UNIONS, the ones that are *rich* and for that very reason cowardly, would then have the field to themselves.

The French are not wholly in the wrong. At the congress everyone enthusiastically supported the 1st of May.[51] But why should the French of all people, whose mighty words have so often been followed by insignificant deeds, now insist all of a sudden that no one else may pitch things a bit too high from time to time. The point is that, so far as we are concerned, the situation in France is remarkably favourable, especially now, as a result of the collapse of the Possibilists[53] and if, on this occasion, the 1st of May were to be celebrated successfully and simultaneously throughout the world it might well destroy the Possibilists completely. But that will happen either way.

So until my next.— My kind regards to your wife.[a] I hope she is now quite better.

Your
F. E.

Louise Kautsky sends you both her best wishes.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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[a] Katharina Sorge

## 80

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [141]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 6 March 1891

My dear Lafargue,

Old Mother Victoria has behaved like a perfect idiot.[181] She ought to have known that in France, where people have fought for the Republic for the past hundred years, her royal person would cut no ice and that in Paris they don't give a fig for her. But these personages cannot get it out of their heads that merely to appear in one place or another is to do it an honour for which all and sundry are obliged to render thanks.

Like the Broussists [3] in your country, the Social Democratic Federation [29] over here has had to give way over the May demonstration. They sent 3 delegates to the Eight Hours Committee, of which Aveling is chairman. This evening he will submit the *Justice* articles [179] to the delegates of that committee and thus force their hand. He wrote a letter to *Justice* in which he challenged Hyndman to confront him at a public meeting and the latter has refused, not only to publish the letter, but to respond to the challenge: he would invite comparison with Aveling the moment he began to canvass the working man's vote.

Meanwhile you have scored a great victory by forcing the Broussists to stick to 1 May.[182] To PUT IN THE THIN EDGE OF THE WEDGE you must treat those delegates as nicely and as obsequiously as you can. Just wait and see, the demonstration will lose little, if anything at all, by being spread over two days rather than one. Perhaps you were right to complain that the Germans in Paris were wholeheartedly in favour of the 1st [51] and that they now seem to be having second thoughts,[a] but apart from that (and Tussy says that in effect no one who saw them in Paris would have guessed at their attitude today) — apart from that, no one will persuade the Germanic nations to sacrifice or even endanger the whole future of their movement for the sake of a demonstration.

Now for something else. Kautsky wrote to me a few weeks ago to

[a] See this volume, pp. 123-24.

say that he had had an article from you on Marx and the bourgeois economists,[168] which he thought was not entirely suited to the German public. However he hesitated to return it to you. What was he to do? I asked him to send me the article, which he did. I read it and indeed I, too, share Kautsky's opinion that the article cannot be published in German and for the following reasons:

First of all, not one German economist has ever accused Marx of advancing theories that were not connected with those of Smith and Ricardo. On the contrary, what they do is reproach Smith and Ricardo with having produced Marx who, in their view, has merely drawn inferences from the theory, propounded by the aforesaid predecessors, of value, profit, rent and, lastly, the division of the product of labour. That is why they have become *vulgar* economists who don't give a damn for the classicals. You cite Brentano whose reply to you would be that all your shots are wide of the mark.

Next, everything and more you say about and quote from these two economists and other authors has been said and quoted by us in Germany:

1. Theory of value: In his *Critique of Political Economy*, 1859, Marx concludes each chapter with an outline of the history of the theory therein developed. After the theory of value you will find on p. 29 'historical notes on the analysis of commodities' in which, after Petty and Boisguillebert, Franklin and Steuart, the Physiocrats and Galiani and their ideas on value, he discusses A. Smith on p. 37 and Ricardo on pp. 38-39[183] — hence all of it familiar stuff to the Germans. I would mention further that the passage you quote from Smith is not one of his best; there are others in which he gets much closer to the truth. In your passage he fixes the value of a product in accordance, not with the labour *it contains*, but with what can be *bought* with that product. A definition which embraces the whole contradiction of the old system.

2. Surplus value. Everything you say about this subject has been said by me in my preface to Vol. II of *Capital* in the passages indicated to Laura who will translate them for you if you ask her nicely.

3. The man *Say* is no longer of any significance in Germany. What's more you rehabilitate him by discerning beneath the vulgarity a strain of classicism, which is more than he deserves.

The post is about to go — I am holding the article here at your disposal.

Yours ever,
F. E.

First published in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

## 81

## ENGELS TO HENRI RAVÉ [184]

### IN POITIERS

[Notes]

[London,] 6 March [1891]

To send proof-sheet or two of his translation of Bebel.[a] Has he a publisher? No promise. Might indicate him the chapters[b] which will not be changed or not much so that he might begin. *No promise.*

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 38, Moscow, 1965

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

## 82

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI [185]

### IN BENEVENTO

London, 6 March 1891

Many thanks for *Critica Sociale*.[186] Sig. Avv.[c] Turati had already sent it to me direct and promises to send it regularly. Trust that your

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[a] A. Bebel, *Die Frau in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft* and *La Femme dans le passé, le présent & l'avenir*. - [b] of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* - [c] advocate

prospects are brighter. I am anxious to see the translation of the *Communist Manifesto.*

Warm regards from
Your
F. E.

First published in the language of the original (German), in *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani. 1848-1895*, Milano, 1964

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Published in English for the first time

## 83

## ENGELS TO FILIPPO TURATI

### IN MILAN

London, 7 March 1891
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

Very many thanks for your kind letter of 23 February,[187] the 3 numbers of the *Critica Sociale* and your offer to send it to me regularly in future. As former Secretary for Italy on the General Council of the International I naturally take a great interest in the progress of the socialist movement in your country and particularly in Lombardy where, as a young man, I spent three months,[188] of which I still retain happy memories.

I should like to thank you equally for the good wishes you were kind enough to send me on the occasion of the publication of the article by Marx[a] in the *Neue Zeit.* In publishing it I was merely carrying out my duty to the memory of Marx on the one hand and to the German party on the other.

You are quite right when you wonder whether I shall have time to contribute either to your revue or to the socialist library you are about to publish. Indeed the preparation of new editions of Marx's

[a] *Critique of the Gotha Programme*

works and of my own pamphlets will barely leave my time to finish the manuscript of Volume III of Marx's *Capital*. Just now I have *four* pamphlets[a] to revise, complete and furnish with new introductions, so how can I possibly find time for any other work? Nevertheless I wish you every success and shall be interested to see a good Italian translation of our 1847 *Manifesto*[b] and, were you to find that one or other of my articles might be of interest to the Italian public, I should be delighted to re-read my work in your *bella e ricchissima lingua*.[c]

*E con distinta stima La saluto,*[d]

F. Engels

*Il di Lei amico Stepniak viaggia in questo momento nell'America.*[e]

First published, in Italian, in *Critica Sociale*, No. 6, Milano, 10 March 1891

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

## 84

## ENGELS TO HENRI RAVÉ [189]

### IN POITIERS

[Notes]

[London, mid-March 1891]

1. Translate pp. 121-25 and 140-45 as a sample.[190]
2. Ten copies of the translation, otherwise no conditions.
3. Lafargue to send him *Socialisme: utopique et scientifique*.[f]

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 38, Moscow, 1965

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

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[a] See this volume, pp. 136, 137, 145. - [b] K. Marx, F. Engels, 'Il Manifesto del Partito Comunista (1848)', *Lotta di Classe*, Nos. 8, 10, 12, 13, 15-17, 19-22; 17-18 September, 1-2, 15-16, 22-23 October, 5-6, 12-13, 19-20 November, 3-4, 10-11, 17-18, 24-25 December 1892. - [c] rich and beautiful language - [d] With my best compliments and greetings - [e] Your friend Stepniak is at present on his way to America. - [f] the French edition of Engels' book

## 85

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [191]

### IN STUTTGART

London, 17 March 1891

Dear Kautsky,

Thank you for your letter of the 9th.— The 6 Dahn fascicles [a] went off to you yesterday by parcel post. I should have been hard at work on the *Origin* [b] if Fischer hadn't come up with a demand for a new edition *of 10,000 copies* of 1. *The Civil War in France,* [c] 2. Marx, *Wage Labour and Capital,* [d] 3. *Entwicklung des Sozialismus,* etc.[e] So I had to write an introduction to the *Civil War,* which went off on Saturday,[f] and at the same time thoroughly revise the thing and append thereto the General Council's 2 addresses on the Franco-Prussian War; fortunately Louise undertook to translate the latter. Nevertheless it has consumed a great deal of time. For *Wage Labour and Capital* was written in pre-surplus value terminology which cannot possibly be allowed to stand today in a propaganda piece running to 10,000 copies. So I shall have to translate it into present-day language and preface it with an apology. Finally, the *Socialism* also needs to be revised and, if possible, a little more popularised — 10,000 copies is no trifling matter —, so how can I find time for anything else? And of all times I ought not to withdraw from the field, leaving it free for Lassallean pamphlets. But as soon as I have rid myself of this task, I shall tackle the *Origin.* I have pretty well completed the preliminary studies. And now along comes a Frenchman, H. Ravé, who wishes to translate the thing — he has translated Bebel's *Frau* [g] — not all that marvellously — and wants me if possible to send him revises or clean proofsheets. But the matter has not yet been agreed.

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[a] F. Dahn, *Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker,* vols 1-4. - [b] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.* - [c] the third German edition - [d] the separate German edition of 1891 - [e] the fourth German edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* - [f] 14 March - [g] A. Bebel, *Die Frau in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft* and *La Femme dans le passé, le présent & l'avenir.*

I congratulate Peschel on his translator.[192] Hope I shan't suffer the same fate.

The Anti-Brentano[a96] is being [pub]lished[b] by Meissner, $4^1/_2$ sheets — I am getting him to print *all* documents, including Sedley Taylor and my preface to the 4th edition.[c] Printing almost complete.

Apropos, has the *Neue Zeit* had a review copy of the (*Capital*) 4th edition? If not, *write and let me know at once* (postcard) — I had made *a particular point of this*. If it has I should be glad if you would publish a brief notice in which, in connection with my preface,[d] you might also make a discreet allusion to Brentano.

For want of time I have not been able to have my introduction to the *Civil War* — about 9 or 10 pages of the *Neue Zeit* — copied out for you; this house is a hive of activity; Annie is getting married and Louise is having to see about a new girl, etc., added to which there have been the promptings of the Berliners. But I have asked Fischer to send me 3 clean proof-sheets; alternatively, if the revise turns out well I shall send it to you so that you may use it beforehand should you wish. If, for one reason or another, it doesn't suit you, nothing will have been lost.

Not a word from August[e] — there's no hurry. Sorge thinks I should take no notice of the mighty *Vorwärts* article.[193] What do you think? I am beginning to incline towards his view.

The bit in my letter to you about responsibility[f] was *solely for August's consumption*; if I had thought it would hurt your feelings in any way, I would have omitted it — such a thing had never even crossed my mind. And I *certainly wasn't* thinking of your note[171] on the parliamentary group's ukase.[162] I simply regarded it as my duty, in the event of your forwarding the letter to the Berliners, to relieve you of as much responsibility as possible in their eyes and to take it upon myself. *Voilà tout.*[g]

Thank you for the *Volkszeitung*[h] and *Critica Sociale*. The first was sent me by Sorge, the second by Turati (at the behest of that braggart Loria); he now sends it regularly. Since then a still more forceful article, inspired by Sorge, and written by Schlüter, has appeared in the *Volkszeitung*.[194]

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[a] F. Engels, *In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx*. - [b] Manuscript damaged. - [c] of the first volume of *Capital* - [d] to the first volume of *Capital* - [e] August Bebel - [f] See this volume, p. 133. - [g] That's all. - [h] *New Yorker Volkszeitung*

I too am coming increasingly to believe that the affair has aroused no indignation whatever in the party as such and that, for one reason or another, it has only hurt the feelings of the gentry in Berlin. And even the latter seem to have realised that the provocations in the *Vorwärts* proved abortive as soon as they were uttered and produced no effect at all—*tombés à plat*,[a] as the French say. Otherwise I should have certainly had word from them.

Your complaints about *the Vorwärts* (since when has the thing acquired the masculine gender?) find a sympathetic echo over here. Never has such a paper been seen before. I can only wonder how long people will stand for it.

Percy and his family are shortly going to Ryde, Isle of Wight, where Percy is to set up and manage an agency for his brothers.

Kindest regards from

Your

F. E.

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## 86

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 21 March 1891

Dear Sorge,

Have shown your letter re Miss Anna[b] to our friends and promptly complied with your instructions. Enclosed you will find a brief note to the same in which she is hauled over the coals and notified that the letters she has written hitherto, with their repeated requests for money, have fallen on stony ground. I have been asked to tell you

[a] fell flat - [b] Stanisław Padlewski

that people in this country are of the opinion that enough has now been done for her both over here and out there, that she must now arrange for her own advancement and that this could best be achieved out in the country, doing agricultural work such as she is used to. To this I replied that that sort of thing would be possible only in a district where she could get along without any English, but that since such districts did exist out there, the thing was not impossible. At all events, New York and sea-ports generally would not appear to be at all the right terrain for a female of her ilk and if she is to achieve anything, she must go so far away as to make it very difficult for her to come back again.

In the meantime you will also have had my letter[a] with a money order for ten pounds and will, under the circumstances, have been able to put it to good use. Between ourselves, I believe that, should need arise, I could again raise a like amount, but that would probably be that. I have also been asked to request you people to be *strict* in regard to money matters so that the person concerned may finally realise that this idling can't go on for ever.

Besides the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung* I am also sending you today a *Volks-Tribüne* and *Figaro* (Paris MEETING), and an Italian translation of the *Manifesto*.[b] The *People's Press* and *Commonweal* have both gone phut.

I do not yet know whether or not I shall reply to the *Vorwärts* article,[162] but I am beginning to incline towards your view.[193] There are a few points I really *ought to* touch on; however, it might be possible to do so in some other way.

I am having to arrange for new editions and/or new introductions to 1. *The Civil War in France*,[c] 2. Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital*[d] and 3. *Entwicklung des Sozialismus*[e]; the German party is to bring them out in editions of 10,000 copies.

My reply to Brentano[f][96] will be published by Meissner in about 8 or 10 days' time. You shall have it straight away.

Then I have a new edition of *The Origin of the Family, etc.*[g] to see to

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[a] See this volume, pp. 137-39. - [b] *Il Manifesto del Partito Comunista 1847*, Milan, 1891. - [c] the third German edition - [d] the first separate German edition - [e] the fourth German edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* - [f] F. Engels, *In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx*. - [g] the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*

(5,000 sold!), after which, however, I shall apply myself inexorably and unremittingly to Volume III.[a]

Sam Moore arrived in Liverpool the day before yesterday and will probably be here in about a week's time. At Christmas he caught some horrible disease from which, however, he has completely recovered.

I trust your wife[b] is her old self once more. Warmest regards to her and to you.

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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## 87

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 21 March 1891

Dear Schlüter,

Your letter of the 10th arrived day before yesterday.[c] Many thanks for the information about conditions out there,[195] which is all the more welcome in that, journalistic methods being what they are in America, one knows that one cannot believe the papers and is, as a result, completely at sea.

Likewise many thanks for the books on silver and MINERAL RESOURCES. The one on silver and gold for 1890 will also be of interest to me when it appears. But more important to me than anything else, following last year's census, would be the *Compendium of the (eleventh) Census*

[a] of *Capital* - [b] Katharina Sorge - [c] 19 March

*1890* when this comes out; I inherited from Marx the COMPENDIUM of the 10th CENSUS 1880 in 2 volumes, but it wasn't published until 1883[a]; not that that matters — this time it's unlikely to take so long.

I have no recollection at all of Marx's second speech, nor can I imagine what it might be.[139] If the few pages seem worth bothering about, it might be best if you were to print them in the *Volkszeitung*[b] and let me have a few copies.

You are quite right; Marx's critique of the programme[c] will achieve its object all right, and it was with this in mind that I published it. It seems, however, that the rage it has aroused in 'influential circles' in the party is terrible to behold; save for Fischer, who was pleased about the thing, no one has written to me — something, I'm glad to say, I can quite well put up with.

If your wife[d] should come to Europe, we shall, I trust, have a chance to see her here in London, when she may convince herself that we are still going strong.

The Roshers are shortly moving to the Isle of Wight where Percy is to manage an agency for his brothers. They left their house the day before yesterday and for the time being are staying with his parents, a few doors away from me.

You would oblige me by forwarding the enclosed to Sorge straight away.

Predictably, Julius[e] has not yet completed the removal from 114 Kentish Town Road[f] (due on the 25th); they have taken it on for another six weeks. Ede is busy writing for the *Vorwärts* and the *Neue Zeit* and is coming on tremendously. The Avelings are doing well; now that *The People's Press* has gone phut, you ought to read *The Daily Chronicle*; though the paper is UNIONIST LIBERAL and as such an ally of the TORIES, it provides the best news concerning the labour movement over here, and is prepared to accept all reports. The Eight Hours movement is going splendidly (cf. Ede's articles in the *Vorwärts*[g] and ditto in the *Neue Zeit*).[h] The TRADES COUNCIL[196] has given way; this time the demonstration is going to be enormous and, what's more, *of*

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[a] Engels has in mind two censuses: *Department of the Interior, Census Office. Compendium of the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)...*, Parts I-II, Washington, 1883 and *Department of the Interior, Census Office. Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890*, Parts I-III, Washington, D. C., 1892-1897. - [b] *New Yorker Volkszeitung* - [c] K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. - [d] Anna Schlüter - [e] Julius Motteler - [f] the premises of the *Sozialdemokrat* office - [g] E. Bernstein, 'Arbeiterschutz - Gesetz - Reformen in England', *Vorwärts*, Nos. 56, 64 and 67; 7, 17 and 20 March 1891. - [h] E. Bernstein, 'Briefe aus England', *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 2. Bd., Nr. 25.

*one mind.* For the English, the LEGAL 8 HOURS AGITATION is the gateway to the socialist movement; once they have swallowed the 8 hours BILL for *everyone*, including men (and they are well on the way to doing so), they will stick at nothing — they'll have broken with the old middle-class FREE-TRADE viewpoint.

Warm regards to your wife and yourself from Louise and

Your
F. E.

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## 88

## ENGELS TO MAX OPPENHEIM [197]

### IN DRESDEN

London, 24 March 1891
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Mr Oppenheim,

First of all I must crave your forgiveness for not having answered your esteemed letter of 26 November until now — almost four months later to the day! But if you knew what an unending mass of work and correspondence of all kinds I have had during that time and that, moreover, I am not allowed to wield my pen for more than 3 hours daily because of my weak eyes — and by daylight at that! — you would, I am sure, excuse me.

My heartfelt thanks then for your kind good wishes which would appear to be coming true in as much as I am on the whole very well, all things considered, and everyone alleges that I do not look my age. Let us hope that I so continue.

You further touch on a few difficult themes which cannot be dealt with anything like exhaustively in a short letter. Certainly, it would spell progress if workers' unions could negotiate wage settlements

with the entrepreneurs direct and on everyone's behalf. Indeed, here in England this has been the aim for the past 50 years, though the capitalists know too well where their interests lie to swallow the bait save under duress. That aim was achieved in the big DOCK STRIKE of 1889 [198] as it has been sporadically both before and since; but at the first opportunity the masters emancipate themselves from this, the unions' 'intolerable tyranny', and declare it inadmissible for such third parties, interlopers, to meddle in the patriarchal relations between them and their working men. It's the old story — when business is good, demand compels the masters to be accommodating, when it is bad, they exploit the excessive supply of labour to contest all these concessions again. On the whole, however, the resistance of the workers increases as they become better organised, — so much so, in fact, that the general situation — on average — improves slightly and no crisis can lastingly drag the workers *down to* or *below* zero, the *nadir* of the previous crisis. But it would be difficult to say what would happen if at any time we were to experience a prolonged, chronic, *general* industrial crisis of 5 or 6 years' duration.

The employment of surplus workers by the state or the municipalities and the nationalisation of the trade in foodstuffs are matters which, in my view, need to be seen in a wider context than occurs in your letter. It is not the *trade* alone, but also the *production of* all foodstuffs a country can itself supply, that must be taken into account here. For how else do you propose to employ the surplus workers? If they are surplus, it is precisely because there is no market for their products. This, however, brings us to the expropriation of the landowners, i. e. considerably further than the present German or Austrian state would be prepared to go. Nor, for that matter, is it the kind of task we could entrust to either of them. How it would be done and what the result would be if Junkers were ordered to expropriate Junkers may be seen here in England where, despite all the medieval trappings, the general run of political life is far more modern than on either side of the Erzgebirge. Therein precisely lies the rub; for, so long as the propertied classes remain at the helm, nationalisation never abolishes exploitation but merely changes its form — in the French, American or Swiss republics no less than in monarchist Central, and despotic Eastern, Europe. And to dislodge the propertied classes from the helm we first need a revolution in the minds of the working masses — as, indeed, is now taking place, if relatively slowly; and in order to bring this about, we need an even more rapid revolu-

tion in production methods, more machinery, more displacement of labour, the ruin of more peasants and petty bourgeois, more tangible evidence on a vaster scale of the inevitable results of modern large-scale industry.

The more quickly and irrevocably this economic revolution takes place, the more imperative will measures impose themselves which, apparently intended to cure evils that have suddenly assumed vast and intolerable proportions, will eventually result in undermining the foundations of the existing mode of production; and the more rapidly, too, will the working masses obtain a hearing thanks to universal suffrage. *What* those initial measures will be must depend on local conditions at the time, nor can anything of a general nature be said about them beforehand. But as I see it, steps of a truly liberating nature will not be possible until the economic revolution has made the great majority of the workers alive to their situation and thus paved the way for their political rule. The other classes can only patch up or palliate. And this process of clarifying the workers' minds is daily gaining momentum and in 5 or 10 years' time the various parliaments will look very different from what they do today.

Work on Volume III[a] will begin as soon as the confounded little ancillary jobs and the endless correspondence with people here, there and everywhere leave time enough. Then, however, I shall rebel, shut up shop and refuse to be disturbed. I hope to get it finished this year; I am itching to do it and have *got* to get it over and done with.

Shall you be visiting England again? Tussy is very well and cheerful, very happily married and has grown quite plump.

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

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[a] of *Capital*

## 89

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 30 March 1891

My dear Laura,

Very many thanks for your kind offer to revise Ravé [199] *qui en sera ravi*[a] — but I am afraid *you* will not be *ravie.*[b] I have made him do me a sample — two passages from the last chapter, pp. 121 and 140, [190] — which I have looked over and now submit to you with my notes and suggested alterations. Please look it over and then decide for yourself, whether you will undertake the job. Like all professional translators he is the slave of his original and forgets that a phrase to be done from French into German and vice versa, has to be turned topsy-turvy. Moreover he does not understand the synonymic *nuance* expressed by many German words; he knows what genus it belongs to, but not what species, much less what variety. But that, I am afraid, most translators will fail in.

I shall write to Ravé that I have sent the manuscript to Monsieur Lafargue (whom he suggests as revisor) and that I cannot give him a definite answer until I hear from him. As he mentioned Paul, I thought it best not to mix *you* up with the matter at the present stage.

Jollymeier is coming to-night at last. At Christmas he had a cold and seems to have kept it until now. He intended coming last Thursday[c] but his cold got worse, and as the weather was bad, delayed from day to day. Yesterday it was nice and warm, but he did not turn up, today at last he writes announcing his arrival to-night *aber sicher.*[d] His deafness seems to bother him awfully.

Sam arrived at Liverpool last Thursday week, and is with his parents at Bumford, will be here about end of this or beginning of next week. Had himself thoroughly examined on arrival by Gumpert who reports him perfectly sound, with only a small enlargement of the spleen, which is expected to be soon curable.

Pumps and Percy are now staying at the old Roshers', they have given up their house and stored the furniture until their removal to

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[a] who will be delighted - [b] delighted - [c] 26 March - [d] for sure

Ryde, Isle of Wight, whither Percy will go this week with his brothers to make the commercial arrangements for the new agency for Roshers' cement, artificial stone, and builders' and gardeners' materials generally. After that, he will take Pumps to select a house and then the transfer will take place. I do hope Percy will at last learn how to earn his own living, it's a pretty penny they have cost me and the worst of it is there is no return in the shape of benefit to the party. Of course I shall have to go on subsidising for a year or two until the new business can be expected to begin paying.

Annie has left us and is going to be married this week. We have taken two girls as I want Louise to help me in my work and not waste her time in the kitchen. The devil's trouble it was to get girls but I believe we have been lucky — so far — that is the first week — we are satisfied. They are two girls who have been together and prefer to be again at one and the same place.

The May demonstration will be a severe letting down to the Social Democratic Federation [29] and Hyndman. Their over-cleverness, in trying to play off the Trades Council [196] against the Legal Eight Hours League, [200] has landed them between two stools. They quite forgot that this year the Trades Council has a quite different majority to that of last year. They wanted again two platforms for themselves, but will not get them, as they are represented neither on the Trades Council nor on the Legal 8 Hours Committee (they sent three delegates but these soon stayed away and their names were consequently struck off the roll). Moreover, Edward, in return for the slanderous attacks of Hyndman, [179] now takes the offensive and will have the matter brought before the East End branch of the Social Democratic Federation. Indeed, Hyndman seems already to show the white feather.

Bernstein says he saw in *La Justice* that on the 1 May Committee in Paris the Broussists [3] applied for admission, that the Blanquists and Allemanists [53] were against, but that on Guesde's motion they were admitted by a majority of 5. Can you give me any details? as contradiction or confirmation? [201] I hear nothing at all about Brousse and Co. now, are they merely lying in wait, or are they so completely down that they dare not stir? I should like to be well *au courant* of these matters, as the Brussels Congress [135] will very likely bring about a change in the relations of the Social Democratic Federation and the Possibilists with the Germans. If these two sets of intriguers go to Brussels and thereby publicly renounce their pretensions of being the

only to be acknowledged parties in England and France, then the Germans will not be able to refuse entering into communication with them. And from Liebknecht's way of acting at present, I should not wonder if he were to try to play the Possibilists off against you, and the Social Democratic Federation against us here, as a means of making you and us more pliant towards himself. I do not know if you read the *Vorwärts*, but here we are all disgusted with it. Never had a large party such a miserable organ. Anyhow, to be able to guard against possibilities, I have a particular interest just now in the doings, sayings and position of Brousse and Co.

Kind regards from Louise.

Ever yours,
F. E.

Will Paul hop over the water while at Calais?

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## 90

## ENGELS TO STANISŁAW MENDELSON

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 31 March 1891

Dear Citizen Mendelson,

I have just received the letter a copy of which is enclosed herewith. [202] I have absolutely no knowledge of how things stand between you and Wróblewski. It is a matter that does not concern me in the slightest. [a] But in view of the delicate situation in which this letter has placed me, I have no choice — and I think you will agree with me

[a] In the ms., the first, deleted version of this sentence reads: 'I have neither the intention nor the slightest desire to meddle in private matters or things which concern no one but the Poles amongst themselves.'

here — other than to inform you of the above and to advise Wróblewski of your address. Please, therefore, come to an understanding with him direct.

I trust you have almost finished moving house. I know only too well how disagreeable these things are. Mrs Mendelson, to whom kindly remember me, must have had quite enough of it.

Yours ever,
F. E.

Mrs Kautsky sends her regards both to you and to Mrs Mendelson.

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91

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

[Draft]

[London, beginning of April 1891]

Dear Bebel,

I shall not get round today to answering your letter of the 30th — that will be done shortly[a] as soon as the present mass of work allows me a free moment; instead I wish to send you and your wife[b] my heartiest congratulations on your silver wedding. I trust that the two of you will still be there to celebrate your golden wedding on 6 April 1916 and, come that day, will drain a glass in memory of the old boy now writing these words, who by then will have long since gone up in smoke and ashes.

One thing I can tell you: there are few people alive today whom I could congratulate with the same sincerity and warmth on the occa-

[a] See this volume, pp. 175-84. - [b] Julie Bebel

sion of such an anniversary. Ever since we started corresponding and subsequently struck up a personal acquaintanceship,[203] I have noticed time and again how our lines and mode of thought have coincided to an extent that is literally miraculous between people whose processes of development have been so different. That—I'm glad to say—doesn't preclude our failure to agree on many points. But these again are points where in course of time agreement is automatically reached as a result of discussion or of new events, or else where such agreement eventually ceases to signify. And so I hope it will always remain. I don't believe that a case will ever again arise in which one of us had to take a step immediately affecting the other without first having consulted him.[a][204] And I, for one, still bless the day when you entered into regular correspondence with me.

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## 92

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

London, 2 April 1891

Dear Kautsky,

In great haste on the most urgent matters. At last a letter from Bebel, quite amiable, though with sundry reservations, but the tone is as warm as ever and he expresses the wish to let bygones be bygones.[205]

I have written Meissner a most peremptory letter about the 4th edition[b] and again asked him to send it to you. Also about the clean proofs for you of my concoction on Brentano[c][96]—if I don't get them

[a] In the ms., the first, deleted version of this sentence reads: 'I don't believe that I shall ever again find myself in the position of taking a step immediately affecting the German party without first having consulted you.' - [b] of the first volume of *Capital* - [c] F. Engels, *In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx*.

soon I shall send you — *enfin*,[a] I'd better do it straight away — I shall send you the master proof corrected by me so that you'll at least be able to see what the thing is like in the raw.

No doubt you will have got the introduction to the *Civil War*; it went off a few days ago. Perhaps you would be so good as to write the introductory note.[206]

Everything has been straightened out with Lafargue. I pointed out to him[b] that his arguments from Ricardo and A. Smith had been anticipated long before in the *Critique*[c] and my preface to the 2nd volume,[d] whereupon he seems to have promptly calmed down.[168]

Schorlemmer is here and sends you his best wishes. It's now time for our meal and Aveling is coming — he is a grass widower, as Tussy is in Norwich drumming up support — so *adieu*.

Your
F. E.

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## 93

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

### IN BENEVENTO

London, 2 April 1891

Dear Friend,

It will be perfectly acceptable to me if Fantuzzi publishes the *Socialismo utopistico*,[e] though I shall write and tell him[f] not to inflict on me prefaces by unknown quantities *à la* Gori.[207] The biographical sketch from *Lo Sviluppo* can also be used.[208] I have just had my

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[a] in short - [b] See this volume, pp. 140-42. - [c] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - [d] of *Capital* - [e] the Italian edition of Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* - [f] See next letter.

photograph taken again and shall send you one as soon as I myself receive the prints.

So as to assist you in your English studies I have sent you the English edition of the *Communist Manifesto*[a] and shall get hold of a copy of the English edition of *Capital*[b] for you. Just now there is no English socialist periodical worth reading. From time to time, however, I shall send you a copy of a — if possible interesting — bourgeois newspaper for you to study. With an English grammar and a dictionary you will then make good progress. Admittedly you won't learn the pronunciation unless you have a good teacher. However the language is very easy, since it has virtually no grammar.

If you would like to have a copy of the *Manifesto* in *German*, let me know by postcard.

With most cordial regards,

Yours,

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (German), in *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani. 1848-1895*, Milano, 1964

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## 94

## ENGELS TO ROMUALDO FANTUZZI[209]

### IN MILAN

[Draft]

[London,] 2 April [1891]

I shall be glad to give you permission to reprint and republish the Italian translation (by P. Martignetti) of my *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* provided that it is published not later than 3 months from to-

[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Authorized English translation. Edited and annotated by Frederick Engels. London, 1888.- [b] K. Marx, *Capital: a critical analysis of capitalist production*. Translated from the third German edition by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling and edited by Frederick Engels, Vol. I, London, 1887.

day and that no one whosoever is allowed to write a preface to it or make alterations, still less alterations made without my express and written consent.

(May reprint the biography from[a] *Origine della famiglia.*[b])

As to the reprinting of the latter pamphlet, it is a question of knowing when the new edition can appear; if this could be managed in the course of the year, we should be able to come to an understanding.

It goes without saying that I shall expect you to send me 12 *free* copies of each of my works you publish.

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95

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [141]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 3 April 1891

My dear Lafargue,

Thank you for your letter, which is of great interest,[210] firstly because we must be *au courant* with things of this kind if we are to be adequately armed vis-à-vis Hyndman; next because the tactics you have adopted are precisely those recommended by Marx to the Germans in 1875 vis-à-vis the Lassalleans[63] and I shall be able to make good use of this, should need arise, to show that in 1875 the Germans could have pursued a line of conduct different from the one they then followed; and thirdly for the reason given to Laura.[c] But this last you have misunderstood. If you care to re-read my letter, you will see that I only discuss the prospects for an acceptable future *after* the Brussels Congress.[135] Never mind the letters Liebknecht is writing to you just now; you ought to know him well enough to realise that he can face

[a] The beginning of the sentence is in German.-[b] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.*-[c] See this volume, pp. 155-56.

one way and then another in the twinkling of an eye. For the past twenty years his policy abroad has been to maintain connections independent of those that Marx and I were able to secure for him. Abroad, as at home, he likes to form his own personal party of people whom he has placed under an obligation. Nor is he overparticular. Cast your mind back to the Buffenoir affair. [211] He will behave no differently the moment new connections become available to him. And since, at Brussels, his last remaining reasons for keeping aloof from the Possibilists [3] and Hyndman will doubtless disappear, it should come as no surprise to you if he approaches those gentlemen in order to use one lot as a counterweight to yourselves and the other to hold the scales against us over here. Were that to happen, it could well be of vital importance that I should intervene at an appropriate moment and for that I should have to be prepared in advance. If it doesn't happen, so much the better.

The £50 from the Calais net-makers have made a deep impression but, as you know, the English are a *MATTER OF FACT* people and if international cordiality is to be maintained, it would be better not to restrict the generosity of the French working man to the foregoing. What would create an excellent impression over here would be if a sum of money were to be sent by a French trades union which *has yet to receive a contribution from England.* That would be an example of French initiative which would be much appreciated here.

Sam Moore has arrived in good health; he has had himself examined by Gumpert who declared him *PERFECTLY SOUND* apart from a slight swelling of the spleen, which he hopes to cure before long. Unfortunately Sam arrived at his parents' place in the Derbyshire Peak District just in time for the snow, which is none too good for a man arriving from the tropics. He will be here next week.

The assassination in Sofia [212] was undoubtedly a Russian exploit, but, since they missed Stambulov, who was the real target, it probably won't lead to anything much. Otherwise we might have seen a bit of *EXCITEMENT* and I'm very glad that that hasn't happened. For I have grave doubts about the Paris public's powers of resistance to a chauvinist outcry at a time of crisis, just as I have doubts about my Berliners in similar circumstances. Neither Bismarck nor Boulanger are so dead as to be incapable of resuscitation by the virtual inevitability of war.

Your tactics towards the two Possibilist sections are the best you can adopt in the circumstances. Since you are in a minority in Paris,

you must set one lot off against the other and gradually attract the masses. Besides, there are divergencies of principle which entitle you to refuse a merger pure and simple.

Where on earth in the *Socialiste* is the letter from Rouen of which you speak? I have searched through every number from 11 February to 1 April and found nothing.[213]

Louise and Schorlemmer send their best wishes to you and Laura, as does

Yours,
F. E.

Schorlemmer has nearly recovered from his cold, though he looks somewhat tired.

We expect you next week so that Sam can retail to you all manner of things about your Negro relations.

First published in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959

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Translated from the French

96

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 7 April 1891

Dear Kautsky,

Your letter has just arrived. Pity you weren't able to induce Schmidt[214] to join you there; he'd have been just the man for you. Meissner writes to say that he has *only now* sent off the review copies of the 4th edition[a] *along with* the *Anti-Brentano*[b][96] and that both have gone to the *Neue Zeit*. So you can begin *forthwith*; at all events you should have both of them before your article is printed.[215] If not, write to O. Meissner, *citing me* and this communication.

An Alsatian, Henri Ravé, presently in jug, who translated Bebel's

[a] of the first volume of *Capital*. [b] F. Engels, *In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx*.

*Frau*[a] and is now translating my *Origin*[b] under Laura Lafargue's supervision, wants to know whether your *Thomas Morus*[c] is worth translating. I have recommended the book to him but at the same time written to say that I would ask you to send him a copy so he can make up his own mind about it. Address: H. Ravé, *détenu à la prison*,[d] Poitiers (Vienne, France).

Just now the French are fully occupied with their own affairs, namely May Day and the attendant negotiations with the Possibilists of both Allemanist [53] and Broussist [3] persuasion — in which our own chaps are acting as arbitrators!! — etc., and also with their *Socialiste*, which explains why Paul Lafargue has done no work for the *Neue Zeit*. [216] Odd that the French should be adopting exactly the same policy towards the crumbling ranks of the Possibilists as that recommended by Marx in his accompanying letter of 1875 for adoption towards the Lassalleans. [63] And, indeed, they have done so successfully up till now — a success that will doubtless be sealed by the Brussels Congress. [135]

Many regards.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935

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[a] A. Bebel, *Die Frau in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft* and *La Femme dans le passé, le présent & l'avenir*. Traduction française par Henri Ravé. Paris, 1891. - [b] F. Engels, *L'Origine de la famille, de la propriété privée et de l'état*. Traduction française par Henri Ravé. Paris, 1893. - [c] K. Kautsky, *Thomas More und seine Utopie*. - [d] kept in prison

## 97

## ENGELS TO HENRI RAVÉ [217]

### AT POITIERS

[Draft]

[London,] 7 April [1891]

If you were to set to work about the 15th of this month, you would be able to send Lafargue the first chapter about the beginning of May and so on, chapter by chapter, as and when you complete them.[a] You will have finished the whole lot by about the end of June and in July you should, I hope, have the proofs of the new edition [b]; but that does not depend upon me alone. Thus we should probably be able to bring it out in September.[c]

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## 98

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [218]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 8 April 1891

Dear Sorge,

Today I am able to send you at long last a few new photographs; 2 small ones are enclosed herewith and a larger one (a so-called PANEL) is going off registered as a BOOK PACKET. They were taken this February and hence give a pretty accurate picture of the present state of affairs.

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[a] See this volume, p. 154. - [b] the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* - [c] See previous letter.

As to your course of Banting, gout is a perfectly normal consequence of an increased consumption of meat, eggs and other nitrogenous foodstuffs. In fact the sole function of these is to renew muscular flesh and other nitrogenous parts of the body (fibrin, in short all albuminous substances) and replace what has been wasted. If, however, you take more than is necessary for this purpose, they will be burned up in the body as normal nourishment for the replacement of body heat; the residue from the burning process consists largely of so-called uric acid which may appear in the body in greater quantities than can be excreted through the kidneys. In which case the surplus either lingers in the muscles or else forms crystals in the joints, and this is what is termed rheumatism and gout. You must either get more exercise or else change your diet and eat more bread, etc., and less meat and eggs. Beer you should certainly shun.

Thank you for your answer concerning the Avelings. The affair was at one time tentatively brought up over here, I no longer know by whom, and, lest anything precipitate should be done, I took it upon myself to consult you about it.[a]

Singer and Bebel have written to me in most affable terms.[219] Your German can never get accustomed to the fact that someone in office cannot lay claim to being handled more gently than anyone else. That, at bottom, is the main reason why offence was taken. Since I failed to respond to Liebknecht's pompous drivel[162] and took no notice whatever of any provocations, Liebknecht may imagine that he has won a great victory over me. He is welcome to that pleasure. In any case he will edit the *Vorwärts* out of existence for them soon enough and everyone is grumbling about it. Liebknecht is incorrigible and will remain so, to judge by the way he still seems to be conniving with Rosenberg in America. The decisive role in the party is devolving more and more upon Bebel and that is an excellent thing. Bebel is a calm, clear-headed thinker, and as a theoretician, too, he is in a quite different class from Liebknecht. But one can't just cast Liebknecht aside; moreover he still wields a good deal of influence, thanks to his expenditure of hot air and the vehemence of his tone at popular meetings, hence all these compromises.

Things are going well over here. Hyndman's attacks on Aveling may cost him very dear. Hyndman is incapable of assessing accurately his powers relative to what he aims to achieve. He thought he'd

[a] See this volume, p. 138.

be able to do Aveling down and now he himself has landed in the cart. As a result of the last TRADES UNION Congress in Liverpool [27] the majority of the London TRADES COUNCIL [196] has come round in favour of the *LEGAL* 8 HOURS DAY. Hyndman sought to play it off against the LEGAL 8 HOURS LEAGUE [200] but his plan miscarried; his Federation was represented on the LEGAL 8 HOURS COMMITTEE but he withdrew his delegates and wrote to the TRADES COUNCIL demanding 2 separate speakers' platforms for the Federation at the demonstration in the PARK.[a] But the TRADES COUNCIL will probably turn this down flat, as has already been done by the 8 HOURS COMMITTEE, in which case Hyndman will find himself between two stools.[b] Aveling is being accorded votes of confidence from all the associations he works with, since Hyndman refuses to voice his accusations in public debate and will, after May Day, doubtless have to change his tactics. Over here he is the only troublemaker who stands in the way. He has shown how useless a programme is — however right it may be theoretically — if it fails to relate to the real needs of the people. Though in this instance such people are Englishmen, they are almost as far removed from the genuine English movement as is the Socialist Labor Party in America.[133] The movement over here has come into its own by virtue of the new TRADES UNIONS, especially the GASWORKERS,[164] and of the agitation in support of a LEGAL 8 HOURS (Eight Hours Bill), the Avelings being in the forefront of both. There are, in both these spheres of agitation, many people who also belong to the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC Federation. But they are the very ones who are wriggling out of Hyndman's clutches and who regard the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC Federation as a negligible quantity. And, if Hyndman oversteps the mark in his squabble with Aveling, these are the very people he may have to reckon with.

In France, thanks to the split among the Possibilists,[3] our people also have the whip-hand in Paris just now. First the Allemanists [53] (according to Lafargue they're in the majority in Paris, but I doubt it) and then, eventually, also the Broussists, sent delegates to the May Day demonstration committee — i. e. they deigned to comply with a Marxist resolution. And, since the Allemanists want to chuck out the Broussists, our people find themselves in the position of acting as advocates of equal rights for the Broussists!! Best of all, our Frenchmen are employing exactly the same tactics vis-à-vis the Possibilists as

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[a] Hyde Park - [b] See this volume, pp. 185-86.

those recommended by Marx to the Eisenachers for use vis-à-vis the Lassalleans [63]! And so far with success.

The Paris miners' congress all but broke down over the Belgians' tomfoolery with regard to a GENERAL STRIKE.[220] So as to avoid this the English called for a vote on the basis of the number of working men represented. That would have given the English all but an absolute majority and here the others rebelled. I almost hoped that the Walloon colliers, who on this occasion were at the bottom of all the nonsense about a GENERAL STRIKE, might succeed in bringing about a GENERAL STRIKE in Belgium in favour of universal suffrage; they would be hopelessly trounced and that would put an end to the nonsense. But the others in Germany and France would have to take the consequences.

Schorlemmer was here for a week; he has grown very susceptible to changes in the weather, is contending with bouts of deafness brought on by a cold, and ought sometime to spend a winter in a warm climate. Sam is in Derbyshire and I expect him any day. But I doubt if he'll do any work while over here, as he must recoup his strength for another eighteen months on the Niger. Apparently he finds the climate out there very pleasant and grumbles about ours.

Warm regards to your wife.[a]

Your
F. E.

The *duplicate* portrait is for Schlüter, to whom please convey my regards.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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[a] Katharina Sorge

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# ENGELS TO WALERY WRÓBLEWSKI

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 9 April 1891

My dear Wróblewski,

You must forgive me if I ask you not to insist on my carrying out the commission entrusted to me in your letter of the 5th. I have no right to meddle either in the Polish party's internal affairs, of which I have virtually no knowledge, or in the private affairs of Citizen Mendelson.[a] In the circumstances it seems to me that further intervention on my part could only be detrimental to the effect you hope to achieve. In your own interest it would, I believe, be preferable for you to come to an understanding with Mendelson direct. You can do so without the slightest fear that letters addressed to 1 Hyde Park Mansions, N.W. will fail to reach him, for I know that he is now installed there.

Hoping that you will be successful and that you will soon be able to let me have better news,

I remain,
Yours sincerely

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[a] See this volume, pp. 156-57.

## 100

## ENGELS TO HEINRICH SCHEU

### IN LONDON

London, 10 April 1891
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mr Scheu,

Thanks to the diligence of Mrs Kautsky who over the past weeks has sorted out a whole pile of Marx's letters, I am today able to send you 2 signatures of Marx's.[221]

The one at the foot of the English draft of the letter is the clearest. On the other hand you might perhaps consider reproducing the four lines in the German draft from 'I need, etc.' to 'available' including all deletions and alterations so as to give an example of his handwriting (and at the same time of the way in which he worked). At any rate I can't supply you with anything better, that is to say without corrections and, as it were, tailored to your requirements. This I leave to you, as also to whether you include the words 'Yours very truly' and 'Dear Sir' and/or the date.

I should be grateful if you would return the letters.

It will always be a pleasure to see you here. In any case I should like to see you again before you start on my new portrait, for a peculiar snag has cropped up as regards the photographs by Debenham, and this in the quite literal sense.

With best wishes from Mrs Kautsky and

Yours respectfully,
F. Engels

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## 101

## ENGELS TO LEO FRANKEL

### IN PARIS

London, 24 April 1891

Dear Frankel,

I owe you a reply to your letters of 27 December and the 16th of this month. As regards the first I am well aware of the disagreeable feeling that comes over one on returning to a country after many years of absence to find what was formerly a group of good friends locked together in violent fratricidal strife. Still — *à la guerre comme à la guerre.*[a] That is a necessary condition of progress and there's nothing one can do about it.[b] The moment will come when you will be able to intervene in the interests of them all, but I don't believe that that time has yet come. Brussels will throw light on many matters, if indeed Brussels ever takes place,[135] since it is threatened by the Belgians' ill-considered general strike.[220]

What has recently been happening among the various factions in connection with the 1st of May has, in my view, demonstrated once and for all that, so far as we are concerned, the first commandment must be self-restraint. Self-restraint is what I too must impose upon myself in regard to your request concerning the May Day number of the *Bataille*,[222] even if there were no other reasons for my doing so. In the first place I have not seen a single copy of the *Bataille* since June 1889 and all I know about it, and this purely from hearsay, is that it sided with the Rue Cadet[223] in the anti-Boulangist struggle; secondly, I have for the past two months been so snowed under with requests of a similar nature that I have had to make up my mind once and for all to turn these down — one such letter is going off to Vienna today.

It's high time Volume III of *Capital* came out. Before I set to work on it I have got to get some new editions[c] ready and *this I cannot possibly refuse to do.* But so long as Volume III remains unfinished I shall

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[a] war is war - [b] See this volume, pp. 96-97. - [c] Ibid., pp. 148-49.

take nothing on and, what's more, shall actually have to cut down on much of my correspondence.

With best wishes from myself and also from Louise Kautsky.

Your
F. Engels

First published, in Hungarian, in *Népszava*, No. 130, Budapest, 3 June 1906

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## 102

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

London, 30 April 1891

Dear Baron,

I have before me your letters of the 5th and 25th. *Ad vocem*[a] *Brentano*[b] [96]—Herkner, to whom I sent a copy, has replied to the effect that, while the allegation of deliberate falsification could not be substantiated, Marx had nevertheless, if no doubt unintentionally, used quotations in *Capital* of such a kind that no clear idea could be obtained of Gladstone's real views, etc.—on the whole, everything you'd expect of so 'ardent' a disciple of Brentano's.

You will have got my postcard about Ravé.[c] Laura Lafargue is going to read over and correct his translation of the *Origin*,[d] otherwise I could hardly have entrusted him with the thing. He will probably take some time over your *Morus*[e] which he wishes to translate; he spoke of having to do 'more rewarding, i. e. better paid' work.

I cannot begrudge Schmidt the lectureship—something he and his parents have dreamed of for years. And in present-day Switzerland

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[a] As regards - [b] F. Engels, *In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx*. - [c] See this volume, pp. 163-64. - [d] F. Engels, *L'Origine de la famille, de la propriété privée et de l'état*. Traduction française par Henri Ravé. - [e] K. Kautsky, *Thomas More und seine Utopie*.

even a Marxian stands some chance. True, you have thereby lost a most reliable — if not most tractable — fellow editor; however, someone will doubtless turn up to whom you can entrust much of the mechanical stuff, at any rate.

If Liebknecht were to leave Berlin for Leipzig many people besides yourself would be *instantly* overjoyed. But I don't believe it will happen. It would mean his abdicating. In Leipzig — what historical irony! — he would be the Social-Democratic Bismarck of Friedrichsruh[a] which would eventually lead to a rumpus. Whether things will go on much longer without there being one is in any case questionable.

The Peruvian affair interests me very much; I should be glad if you could send me the *Ausland* articles.[224] But tell me *when* you have got to have them back, and I can regulate my reading accordingly.

I wrote to Ravé about your *Morus* as follows[225]:

*'Le "Thomas Morus" de Kautsky contient un aperçu généralement juste, et sous beaucoup d'aspects original, de la période de la renaissance dans les pays de réforme protestante, et surtout l'Angleterre. C'est de cet aperçu général des conditions historiques de la période que se dégage la personnalité de T. More, comme enfant de son temps. La renaissance italienne et française, par conséquent, ne figurent dans le livre qu'à l'arrière-plan. J'écrirai à Kautsky un de ces jours, et je le prierai de vous envoyer son livre, je crois que vous trouverez, qu'il vaut bien la peine d'être traduit.'*[b]

I have no recollection whatever of Marx's Geneva memorandum.[226] We are now engaged in sorting out the old letters and newspapers and I shall see if I can find it. But just now I haven't got much time to look, let alone do notes, etc., on it. I have got to make sure of getting back to Volume III[c] and have firmly resolved to be ruthless about refusing *any more work* — were it only 3 lines — unless of the *utmost urgency*, and likewise to restrict my correspondence to *bare essentials*, until I have done with Volume III. First, of course, there's the *Origin*[d] which I shall, I think, get round to next week. Meanwhile Louise will search for the Geneva document. However, it may take

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[a] Bismarck's estate where he lived after his resignation. - [b] 'Kautsky's *Thomas Morus* contains a survey, by and large correct and in many respects original, of the Renaissance period in the countries of the Protestant Reformation, notably England. It is from that general survey of the historical conditions of the period that T. More's personality emerges as the child of his times. In this book, therefore, the Italian and French Renaissance figures only in the background. One of these days I shall write to Kautsky and ask him to send you his book. I believe you will find it well worth translating.' - [c] of *Capital* - [d] the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*

some time; the quantity of stuff is tremendous and the disorder even more so.

As you will have seen, the *Vorwärts* has altered course somewhat [227] in regard to the miners' strike.[228] Liebknecht is hopeless in such matters. The man has only two colours on his palette, black and white, with no nuances in between, so what can one do? Our chaps in Berlin see everything solely from their *own* standpoint. Thus they sometimes forget that, unlike the party *veterans*, the miners cannot be expected to have the kind of discipline that would have been drilled into them by the Anti-Socialist Law [11]; they also forget *that every* new group of workers *accrues to us* as the result of injudicious and necessarily unsuccessful wild-cat strikes which, however, are inevitable in the circumstances. I shall write to Bebel about this. [a] You can't just enjoy what is pleasing in a movement; you also have to put up with its momentary unpleasantnesses. Come to that, the strict discipline of a *sect* cannot be maintained in the case of a *big party*, nor is this altogether a bad thing.

As for Lafargue, don't let yourself be confused. Lafargue is a bit of an *enfant gâte* [b] and is enamoured of his prehistoric theories which do not by any means always hold water. Hence his Adam and Eve [c] are dear to his heart and seem to him far more important than Zola, for whom he's just the right sort of chap.[229] And the delay over the paradisal Platonists — who only learnt what's what when chucked out by old Jahweh — coming as it does so hard on the heels of the affair of his other, economic, article,[168] is to him a personal affront. Now, all of a sudden, he expects the *Neue Zeit* to carry nothing but Adam and Eve articles, as though it had been in the habit of doing so before. Now he looks for a contrast, which is non-existent, between the old and the new *Neue Zeit*, and behaves as though the paper had never before contained any *articles d'actualité*.[d] I find the *Neue Zeit* far better than it used to be — no one, surely, can expect me to read the serials; it has at last succeeded in getting Schippel to write really good articles that are a pleasure to read. That a weekly must give *more* space than a monthly to *actualités* goes without saying. If you could find a niche for Adam and Eve before too long, then all would be well.

The American militia system is *in practice* nothing but a kind of *na-*

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[a] See this volume, pp. 182-83. - [b] spoilt child - [c] P. Lafargue, 'Der Mythus von Adam und Eva. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Mythologie', *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 2. Bd., Nr. 34, 35. - [d] topical articles

*tional guard* of middle-class volunteers, and as much as 10 years ago Hyndman wrote to Marx from America saying that the middle classes there did a vast amount of drill so as to protect themselves against the workers. Proof of how utterly useless this is against an *external* enemy may be found in all the wars the United States has ever fought using newly formed regiments of volunteers (enlisted men) — on the largest scale of all in the Civil War when the militia melted away completely. Even when I was in America I heard of the militia regiments' ARMORIES which were said to be veritable fortresses in the heart of New York. Until such time as every working man has a rifle and a hundred live rounds at home, the whole thing will remain an absurdity.[230]

Your old friend
F. E.

As you know, Mother Besant has now joined Grandmother Blovatsky's (Blamatsky's?)[a] Theosophists. Now, writ large in gold on her garden gate at 19 Avenue Road, is the legend: THEOSOPHICAL HEADQUARTERS. Such is the result of Herbert Burrows' love.

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## 103

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL[231]

### IN BERLIN

London, 1 May 1891

Dear Bebel,

Today I shall reply to your two letters of 30 March and 25 April.[232] I was delighted to hear that your silver wedding went off so well and has whetted your appetite for the next, your golden one. I sincerely hope that you will both live to see it. We shall need you

[a] Helena Blavatsky

long after the devil has come for me — as the old man of Dessau[a] used to say.

I must — I hope for the last time — revert to Marx's critique of the programme.[b] That '*no one* would have raised any objection to its publication' I feel bound to contest. Liebknecht would *never* have willingly consented and would have done everything in his power to prevent it. So greatly has the critique rankled since 1875 that he recalls it the moment the word 'programme' is mentioned. The whole of his Halle speech turns upon it.[121] His pompous *Vorwärts* article[162] is, throughout, nothing but an expression of his bad conscience in regard to this self-same critique. And it was, in fact, primarily aimed at him. We regarded, and I still regard him, as the progenitor of the unification programme[63] or the *shoddier* aspects thereof. And it was this point that led me to act off my own bat. Had I been able to discuss the thing with you alone and then send it straight on to K. Kautsky for publication, a couple of hours would have sufficed for us to agree. But as it was, I considered you were under an obligation — both from the personal and the party viewpoint — to consult Liebknecht as well. And I knew what the result would be if I went ahead regardless. Either suppression or an open row — a temporary one at any rate — even with yourself. That I wasn't wrong is evident from what follows: Now, since you came out of quod on 1 April [1875], and the document is dated 5 May, it is obvious — until some other explanation is forthcoming — that the thing was *deliberately withheld* from you and that this could, in fact, *only* have been done *by Liebknecht*. But just for the sake of peace and quiet you have allowed him to disseminate the lie that, because you were under lock and key, you had not been able to see the thing.[233] Hence I take it that, even before publication, you could have spared his feelings in order to avoid a rumpus in the Executive. Indeed I find this explicable, as I trust you will likewise find my having allowed for the fact that this, in all probability, was how you acted.

I have just taken another look at the thing. It's possible that some of it could have been left out without impairing the whole. But certainly not *very much*. What was the position? We knew as well as you did and, for instance, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of 9 March 1875,[c] which

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[a] Leopold, Prince of Anhalt-Dessau - [b] K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. - [c] 'Frankfurt, 8. März', *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*, No. 68, morning edition, 9 March 1875.

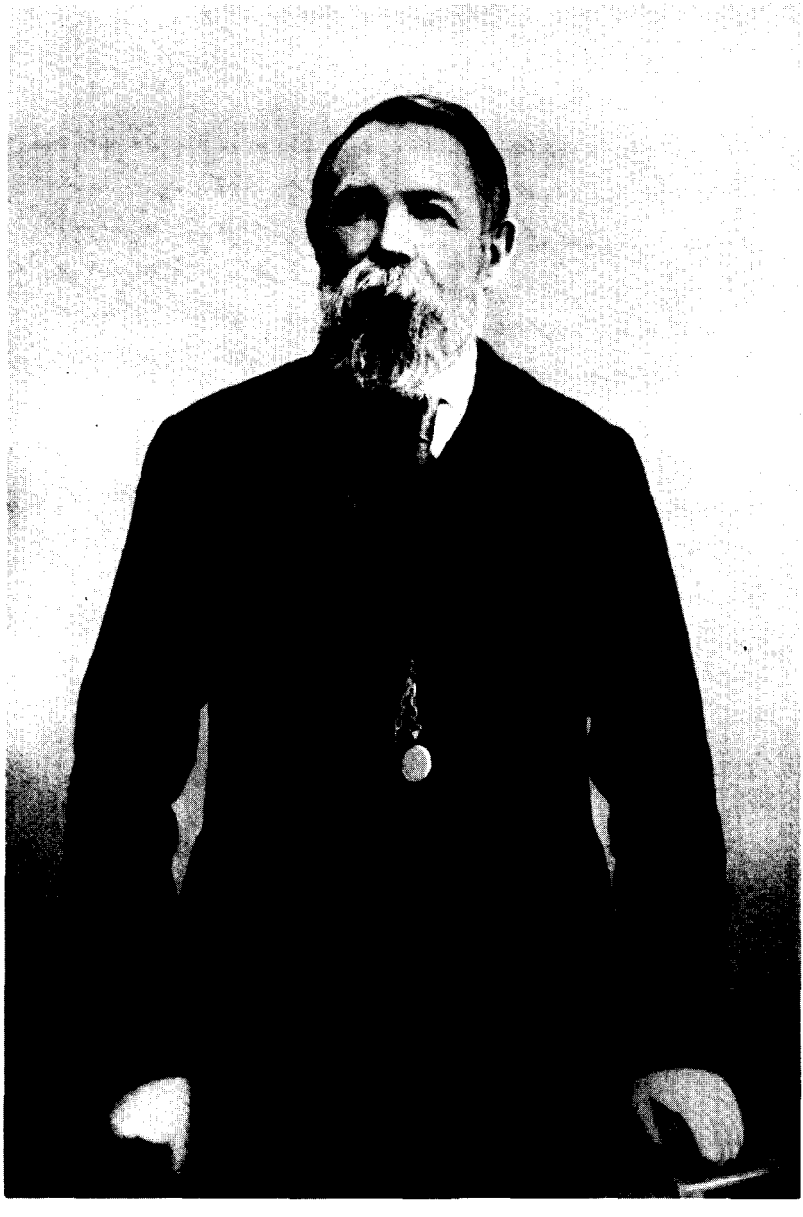

Frederick Engels. 1891.

London 1/5 1891

Lieber Bebel

Ich antworte heute auf Ihren beiden Briefe vom 28/3 & 18/4. Das fremde Schriftstück gehört zu jenen [illegible] Schriften, die wir [illegible] auf die künftige Zeit gemacht haben, [illegible] Sie es in Ihrem Besitze. Wir brauchen es auch [illegible] nicht wieder zurück [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Was [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

I found, that the *matter was decided* when your accredited representatives accepted the draft. Hence Marx wrote the thing merely to salve his conscience, as is testified by the words he appended — *dixi et salvavi animam meam*[a] — and not with any hope of success. Hence Liebknecht's big talk about the 'categorical no'[234] is mere braggadocio and he knows it. Well, if you blundered in choosing your representatives and were then forced to swallow the programme lest the whole business of unification came to naught, you surely cannot object to the publication, *fifteen years later*, of the warning that was sent you before you finally made up your minds. It does not brand you either fools or traitors unless, of course, you lay claim to infallibility so far as your official actions are concerned.

You, however, did not see that warning. Indeed this fact has been made public and you are thus in an exceptionally favourable position as compared with the others who, though they had seen it, nevertheless fell in with the draft.

I consider the accompanying letter to be most important.[63] For it propounds what would have been the only correct policy. Parallel action for a trial period — that was the one thing that could have saved you from trafficking in principles. But, come what may, Liebknecht was determined not to forego the glory of having effected unification and, in the circumstances, it is a miracle that he didn't make even more concessions than he did. From bourgeois democracy he brought with him and has retained ever since a positive mania for unification.

The fact that the Lassalleans came over because they *had to*, because their entire party was disintegrating and because their leaders were scoundrels or jackasses whom the masses would no longer follow, is something that can be said today in tastefully moderate form. Their 'tightly knit organisation' naturally ended in total dissolution. Hence it is absurd when Liebknecht excuses the wholesale acceptance of the Lassallean articles of faith on the grounds that the Lassalleans had sacrificed their tightly knit organisation — there was nothing left of it to sacrifice!

You wonder about the provenance of the muddle-headed and convoluted clichés in the programme. But all these are surely quintessential Liebknecht; they have been a bone of contention between us for years and the chap's besotted with them. Theoretically he has always been muddle-headed and our clear-cut style is still an abomination to

[a] I have spoken and saved my soul.

him today. As a sometime member of the People's Party [154] he, on the other hand, still loves resounding phrases which leave one free to think what one will or, for that matter, not think at all. The mere fact that, long ago and out of ignorance, some muddle-headed Frenchman, Englishman or American spoke of the 'emancipation of labour' rather than of the working *class*, and that, even in the documents of the International one sometimes had to use the language of the people one was addressing, was, to Liebknecht, reason enough for forcibly making the phraseology of the German party conform to this same outmoded point of view. Nor can he possibly be said to have done this 'despite his knowing better' for he really didn't know better and I am not sure whether this is not still the case today. At all events, he is still as susceptible as he ever was to the old, woolly phraseology which, rhetorically, is certainly easier to use. And since he undoubtedly attached at least as much importance to basic democratic demands, which he thought he understood, as to economic principles, of which he had no clear understanding, he was undoubtedly sincere in believing he had pulled off a splendid deal in bartering democratic staples for Lassallean dogmas.

So far as the attacks on Lassalle are concerned, these seemed to me, as I have already said, more important than anything else. By accepting *all* the essential Lassallean economic catchwords and demands, the Eisenachers had *in fact turned into Lassalleans*—at least if the programme is anything to go by.[63] The Lassalleans had sacrificed nothing, nothing whatever that was capable of preservation. And so as to make the latter's victory more complete you people adopted for your party anthem the rhymed, moralising prose in which Mr Audorf celebrates Lassalle.[a] [235] During the 13 years in which the Anti-Socialist Law was in force [11] there was, of course, no possibility of combatting the Lassalle cult within the party. This had got to be quashed and I set about doing so. I shall no longer permit Lassalle's bogus reputation to be maintained and revived *at Marx's expense.* Those who knew and revered Lassalle personally are thin on the ground; in the case of all the rest, the Lassallean cult is *purely factitious*, the result of our having tacitly tolerated it against our better judgment; hence it has not even the justification of personal attachment. We showed ample consideration for the feelings of inexperienced and new recruits by publishing the thing in the *Neue Zeit.* But

[a] J. Audorf, *Lied der deutschen Arbeiter.*

I am in no way prepared to concede that in such circumstances historical truth — after 15 years of meek forbearance — should give way to expediency and the fear of causing offence within the party. That deserving people should have their feelings hurt on such occasions is unavoidable and their grumbling after the event no less so. And if they then proceed to say that Marx was envious of Lassalle, and the German press, including even (!!) the Chicago *Vorbote* (which writes for more self-confessed Lassalleans — in Chicago — than exist in the whole of Germany) chimes in, it affects me no more than a flea-bite. We have had far worse things cast in our teeth and none the less carried on with the business in hand. The example has been set; Marx has laid rough hands on the sacrosanct Ferdinand Lassalle and that for the time being is enough.

And now just one more thing. In view of the attempt made by you people forcibly to prevent publication of the article, and your warnings to the *Neue Zeit* that, in the event of a recurrence, it, too, might be taken over and subjected to censorship by the party, the latter's appropriation of your entire press cannot but appear to me in a singular light. In what respect do you differ from Puttkamer if you introduce an Anti-Socialist Law into your own ranks? So far as I myself am concerned, it doesn't signify; no party in any country can impose silence upon me once I have made up my mind to speak. But all the same I would suggest you consider whether you would not do well to show yourselves slightly less touchy and, in your actions, slightly less — Prussian. You — the party — *need* socialist science and this cannot exist without freedom to develop. Hence one has to put up with the unpleasantnesses and to do so for preference with good grace and without flinching. Tension, however slight, let alone a rift, between the German party and German socialist science would be an unprecedented misfortune and disgrace. That the Executive and/or you yourself still have and must retain considerable *moral* sway over the *Neue Zeit* and everything else that is published, goes without saying. But with that you must and can rest content. Inalienable freedom of discussion is constantly being vaunted in the *Vorwärts* but is not greatly in evidence. You have absolutely no idea how odd an impression this proclivity for forcible measures makes upon one who lives abroad and is accustomed to see the most venerable party leaders being well and truly taken to task within their own party (e. g. the Tory government by Lord Randolph Churchill). And again, you should not forget that discipline in a big party cannot be anything like as

strict as it is in a small sect, and that the Anti-Socialist Law, which forged the Eisenachers and Lassalleans into a single whole (though Liebknecht avers this was the work of his magnificent programme) and necessitated such close cohesion, no longer exists.

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Ouf! So much for that old affair, and now for something else. There would seem to be some high jinks going on in the upper regions over there.[236] But it's all to the good. That the state machine should be thrown out of gear in this way suits us very well. Always providing peace is maintained by the universal fear of what the outcome of a war might be! For Moltke's death has removed the last obstacle to the disorganisation of the army by the arbitrary appointment of new commanders, and every year must contribute towards making victory more uncertain and defeat more probable. And little though I would wish for another Sedan, I am no more anxious to see the Russians and their allies victorious, even if they are republicans and otherwise have cause for complaint about the Peace of Frankfurt.[237]

The trouble you expended on the revision of trade regulations has not been in vain. Better propaganda would be difficult to imagine. We over here followed the business with considerable interest and were delighted by the pertinence of the speeches.[238] In this connection I recalled the words of old Fritz: 'For the rest, our soldiers' genius lies in the attack, as is, indeed, right and proper.'[a] And what party, given the same number of deputies, could boast so many confident and forceful speakers? Bravo me lads!

No doubt you deplore the pit strike in the Ruhr,[228] but what can you do? After all, it is usually via the unpremeditated wild-cat strike that we acquire large new categories of workers. In my view, insufficient account was taken of *this* fact in discussing the matter in the *Vorwärts*.[227] Liebknecht ignores all nuances; to him everything is either black or white and if he feels it incumbent on him to prove to the world that our party did not stir up this strike but actually poured oil on troubled waters, then God help the poor strikers; they're getting

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[a] Friedrich II, 'Instruktion für die General-Majors von der Cavallerie (14. August 1748)'. In: Friedrich der Große, *Militärische Schriften erläutert und mit Anmerkungen versehen durch v. Taysen, Oberstlieutenant und Abtheilungschef im Neben-Etat des Großen Generalstabes.*

less consideration than they ought if they are to come over to us in the near future. But come they will in any case. By the way, what's wrong with the *Vorwärts*? Not a cheep out of my Liebknecht for 2 days; no doubt he's on his travels. Today, 2 May, he is back again, live and kicking.

*2 May*. Come to that, the pit strike will doubtless soon fizzle out; it would seem to be only a very partial one and in no way to accord with the assertions and assurances at the delegates' meeting. It's all to the good. Not for one moment do I doubt that there's a powerful urge to resort to the sword and the musket.

The *first* [of May] went off very well. Vienna again takes pride of place. In Paris it fell more or less flat thanks to the bickering which is as yet by no means a thing of the past. Mistakes have been made there on every side. Our people in Lille and Calais had committed themselves to a specific type of demonstration — the sending of delegates to the Chamber.[239] The Blanquists were not asked. The Allemanists [53] did not join the demonstration *comité* until later. This suited neither the Blanquists nor the Allemanists; in the Chamber, the Blanquists had apostates who had been elected under Boulanger's aegis, the Allemanists had a Broussist opponent [3] there, and neither party wanted to appear as petitioners before these men. The same applied to the deputations which our chaps suggested sending to the 20 Paris *mairies* [a] to which it was also proposed to summon the municipal councillors so that they might there hear 'the will of the people'. Thus a split ensued, our chaps withdrew and the demonstration split up into 3 or 4 partial demonstrations. Lafargue sent me word yesterday afternoon; under the circumstances he is fairly satisfied with what happened, but maintains that Paris will come off badly by comparison with the provinces. Of one thing we may be certain; the countries which chose the 3rd [of May] — Germany and England — will muster the most impressive crowds, providing the weather's not too bad. It's wretched here today, heavy, drenching showers, a strong wind and only an occasional ray of sunshine.

Fischer will have received what he wanted for *Wage Labour and Capital*.[b] *Entwicklung* [c] will follow in a few days' time. But then there

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[a] town halls - [b] F. Engels, 'Introduction to Karl Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital* (1891 Edition)'. - [c] F. Engels, 'Preface to the Fourth Edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*'.

must be no more requests. I have been promising a new edition of the *Origin*[a] for a year now, and that has got to go off, after which I shall undertake *nothing further whatsoever* until the 3rd volume of *Capital* is ready in ms. That has *got* to be completed. So if over there you hear rumours of fresh demands to be made on my time, I would beg you to back me up. I shall also reduce my correspondence to a minimum, with only one exception, namely yourself. It is through you that I can most easily remain in touch with the German party and again, to be honest, I enjoy this correspondence far more than any other. Once Volume III is in print I can get cracking again, starting with the revision of the *Peasant War*.[b] And if I have nothing else to do, I shall probably complete Volume III this year.

Well, kindest regards to your wife,[c] Paul,[d] Fischer, Liebknecht and *tutti quanti*[e] from

Your
F. E.

[From Louise Kautsky]

Dear August,

Many thanks for your kind letter; I shall answer it as soon as possible and let you have the information you ask for. Did you know that we, i. e. the United International Social-Democrats, namely: Tussy (representing France, England), Ede[f] (Ireland), Ede[g] (Berlin), Gine[h] (Posen[i]) and I, Austria and Italy, proposed to move a vote of no confidence when *The Daily News* praised you so exceedingly? Fie upon you, August! You are the last person I should have expected this from. Warm regards to you and your wife.

Your
Mummy

More anon.

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[a] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. - [b] F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*. - [c] Julie Bebel - [d] Paul Singer - [e] all the rest - [f] Edward Aveling - [g] Eduard Bernstein - [h] Regina Bernstein - [i] Polish name: Poznan

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 4 May 1891

My dear Löhr,

Yesterday was glorious, both as to weather and demonstration. Louise, Sam Moore and I went there at 2,[240] the platforms extended in an immense arc across the Park,[a] the procession began to march in at 2.30 and had not done by 4.15, indeed fresh processions came in up to 5 o'clock. I was on Edward's platform with Sam, Louise on Tussy's. The crowd was immense, about the same or more even than last year.

Now a little gossip about the history of the affair. It has been almost exclusively Edward's and Tussy's work, and they had to fight it through from beginning to end. There was of course a deal of friction, but the Trades' Congress last September at Liverpool[27] and the changed majority (in favour of *legal* 8 hours) had considerably smoothed the way. Shipton was awfully polite to Edward, but obstructive in many small matters, and threatened to throw up everything if his right (divine?) to be Marshal in command of the procession should be ever questioned. Well, they let him, it will probably be the last time he will appear *hoch zu Ross*.[b]

The principal thing was that the resolution was passed in the form proposed by our people, and that they carried in the joint committee (5 from the Trades Council,[196] 5 from the Demonstration Committee).

Now for the fun — the Social Democratic Federation.[29] At first they sent 3 delegates to the Demonstration Committee where Edward was Chairman. But after a few meetings they remained absent, and were struck off the rolls. Then the Social Democratic Federation applied to the Trades Council for 2 platforms for themselves, as they had last year. But Shipton himself suggested to the Joint Committee that this would never do, and it was rejected, as in the same way every Trades Union might have asked for 2 platforms. Then the Social Democratic Federation announced in their Moniteur[c] that they

[a] Hyde Park - [b] on horseback - [c] official newspaper

would hold a meeting of their own with four platforms and red flags.[a] Unfortunately they had to join our procession from the Embankment in order to get into the Park in an orderly and showy manner, and once there, marched off about 100 yards and held there their promised meetings — without proper platforms, we had big carts, they only chairs. They were just near enough to reckon upon some stragglers from our overflow, and just far enough to show how few of them they were able to attract.

The decisive thing had been, for them, the resolution of the Demonstration Committee: that every association affiliated to them should pay 5/- *for every branch* towards general expenses. Thus, the Social Democratic Federation would have had either to pay 5/- for the many bogus branches they exhibit in their Moniteur, or else own they were bogus. And that decided their final retreat.

They have been made to feel their real position, and that is: the same position which the Germans of the Socialistic Labor Party in America [133] hold there, that of a *sect*. And that is their position, though they are real live Englishmen. It is very characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race and their peculiar mode of development, that both here and in America the people who, more or less, have the correct theory *as to the dogmatic side of it*, become a mere sect because they cannot conceive that living theory of action, of working with the working class at every possible stage of its development, otherwise than as a collection of dogmas to be learnt by heart and recited like a conjurer's formula or a Catholic prayer. Thus the real movement is going on outside the sect, and leaving it more and more. The Canning Town Branch of the Federation sticks to Edward and Tussy in spite of Hyndman and marches with our people, and that is their strongest branch. Since the Dockstrike [198] the Social Democratic Federation had for a time profited by the general socialist revival, but that is over now, they are fast for cash for their new Hall in the Strand, and the decline has set in again. And as their friends and allies the Possibilists [3] are eating each other up as fast as they can, they cannot even brag with their grand foreign connexions.

Sam Moore was very much struck with the immense progress made here during the 2 years of his absence. He, by the bye, is very well, likes the climate and easy life amazingly and will, I am almost sure, be homesick for Africa after a while.

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[a] 'Eight Hours' Demonstration, Sunday May 3rd, 1891', *Justice*, No. 381, 2 May 1891.

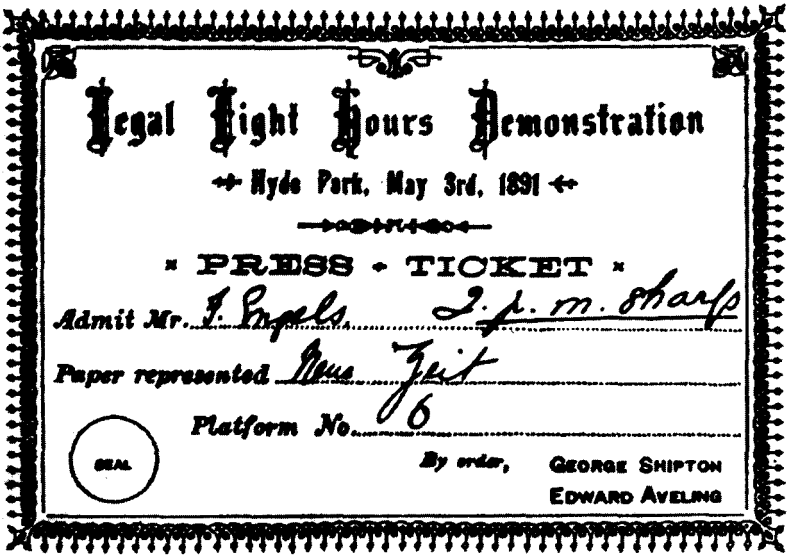

Legal Eight Hours Demonstration

Hyde Park, May 3rd, 1891

PRESS TICKET

Admit Mr. F. Engels 2. p. m. sharp

Paper represented Neue Zeit

Platform No. 6

SEAL

By order, GEORGE SHIPTON
EDWARD AVELING

Engels' press ticket to the platform in Hyde Park
during the demonstration on 3 May 1891

I saw Cunninghame Graham on our platform (No. 6, Edward's, see *Chronicle*[a]) but he could not tell me much more about Paris than was said in Paul's letter Friday afternoon.[b] After all I hope the Committee's demonstration in the evening was *not* a failure, as, Graham says, was that of the Broussists. If we cannot work together, we have all an interest in having as much of a demonstration as possible.

It's no use crying over spilt milk, but I cannot help thinking that our friends made a slight mistake, thanks to the usual French inclination of miscalculating the strength of the relative forces. A very heroic disposition sometimes, '*mais ce n'est pas la guerre*'.[c][241] After all we intended to work as usual with the Blanquists, and *they* were not bound by the resolutions of Calais and Lille.[239] These resolutions could only bind our people; the Blanquists too might have passed resolutions as to the 1st of May and then said they were bound by them. Why then determine beforehand by our own selves and without our only allies, how the demonstration was to be arranged *in Paris* where we are in an, at present, decided minority? Why thus *froisser*[d] our only allies? *Froisser* them still more by the plan of delegations to the *mairies*[e] and summonses to all the *élus*[f] to meet the delegates there? a plan which on the face of it they were sure to repudiate? I am not at all astonished that they fell into the arms of the Allemanists[53] after this. At least that is the view I came to from the information I possess, there may be another side to the case but I do not know it.

We have very little news from Germany to-day. Hamburg had a splendid procession, 80,000 according to *Daily Telegraph*. From Berlin very little news; the Havas of Berlin, Wolff, has orders from Government to suppress everything, and the London correspondents are all under the influence of the Freisinnigen,[242] and do exactly the same.

When we came home last night, we wound up with a *Maibowle*[g] the *Maikraut*[h] of which Percy had sent us from Ryde. We put in 4 bottles Moselle, 2 claret, 1 Champagne, and finished it — we, Bernsteins and the Tussy's.[i] Late in the evening Cunninghame Graham came in and actually had two or three glasses of it — he seems to have left his teetotalism at Tangiers. There is a slight but rather agreeable Kater,[j] kept in proper bounds this morning by a bottle of Pilsener.

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[a] 'Eight Hours Day.—Demonstration in Hyde Park.—Enormous Gathering', *The Daily Chronicle*, No. 9092, 4 May 1891. - [b] 1 May - [c] but this is not war - [d] offend - [e] town halls - [f] municipal councillors - [g] punch - [h] woodruff (a plant used for making punch) - [i] Eleanor and Edward Aveling - [j] hangover

Why did not Paul turn up? Graham says he was too tired—his name figures as a speaker on platform 8, with Jack Burns.[a]

*Viele Grüsse von Louise.*

*Dein alter*[b]
F. E.

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Reproduced from the original

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [141]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 19 May 1891

My dear Lafargue,

First of all I did not suggest what tactics you should adopt; I merely said the following: if, at your congresses, you, the Workers' Party, decide in advance how you intend to celebrate 1 May *in Paris* without regard for the convenience or the wishes of your allies the Blanquists, you must not be surprised if you find them deserting you.[c] If your hand was forced by the provincial gentry, the blame is theirs. In either case you have miscalculated the respective forces at work *in Paris* and you have been forced out of the committee created by yourselves. That's not what you would call a victory and neither would I.

It remains to be seen what becomes of the Blanquists and, in particular, the Allemanists,[53] to whom you have given the opportunity of once again setting themselves up as the true representatives of the Paris proletariat and at the same time of acquiring *A NEW LEASE OF LIFE*. And you complain that the English are too slow for you, although they have forced our own Possibilists,[3] the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION [29] to exclude themselves from the great demonstration, and you also say that over there it spread like wildfire.

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[a] John Burns - [b] Best regards from Louise. Your old friend - [c] See this volume, p. 189.

Maybe, but it is Possibilist fire and will eventually flare up in your faces.

There have been demonstrations in the provinces over here, but as I haven't kept the newspapers, I haven't got a list of them.

If you seriously believe Reuters' reports with their estimate of 60,000 people in the Park, do you want us to do likewise with regard to the Havas reports in which your demonstration hardly figures at all? What would you say to that? There were at least 500,000 in Hyde Park.

I see in the German papers that at Fourmies, when the command was given to open fire,[243] the only soldiers to do so were those of the 145th, whereas the detachment of the 84th remained with their arms at the order. And that is why neither the Government nor the Chamber will consent to an inquiry that would establish the fact *officially*. If this is true, it is a good sign. The Prussian system requires that soldiers be allotted to regiments garrisoned in the region from which the whole of the army corps draws its recruits. Accordingly in the event of mobilisation it is no longer possible, without creating enormous difficulties, to despatch Gascons to the north and Flemings, Walloons and natives of Picardy to the south. This is yet another danger of the system and one that will make itself felt earlier in France than in Germany.

You are right to protest against the ultra-foolish follies attributed to you.[244] That is the danger with countries possessing a revolutionary past, inasmuch as any new region invaded by socialism is tempted to have its revolution within 24 hours. There is no need whatsoever to urge them on; on the contrary they should be reined back. All that the Walloons, in particular, comprehend is rioting and in this they are nearly always the losers. Consider the struggles of the Belgian miners[245]; organisation nil or virtually nil, irrepressibly impatient, hence doomed to defeat.

Clemenceau has had what he wanted: his day of brilliant opposition,[246] a reminder of the good old times when he made and unmade ministries. On the morrow he remembered that he was now a nobody and that it was Constans who, after all, was the paragon in the eyes of the bourgeoisie. *He out-ferries Ferry.*

Tussy and Aveling are in Dublin for a congress of the Gasworkers and General Labourers.[247] Bernstein's entire family is ill with influenza, Percy and Pumps are disporting themselves in the Isle of Wight, seeing that Percy hasn't yet very much to do because the price list he will

have to use is still at the printers. It is snowing here and when it isn't snowing it's raining and feels as chilly as November and we have had fires. For the past week our BASEMENT has been in utter disorder as a result of repairs to the DRAINS, which stink horribly; we shall have at least another week of it. Old Harney is in Richmond and very ill; he suffers from chronic bronchitis and is afraid, or so he tells me in his letter today, that he will get pleurisy on top of it. Weak as he is, that could be very serious at 75.

Tomorrow I shall at last be able to turn my attention to my *Origin of the Family*[a] — if nothing crops up!

After Cunninghame-Graham's expulsion and with your Constans in a temper ugly enough to match that of any Père Duchesne, what foreign socialist could feel safe in France [248]? And supposing that, in retaliation against the Japanese attempt on the life of the Tsarevitch [249] (who had committed improprieties and caused scuffles in a TEA-GARDEN, to wit a brothel, whereupon the police arrived) a number of minor outrages or coups d'état were to be inflicted upon the Russians in France?

Here comes another squall and it's raining cats and dogs. Dinner in ten minutes. So I shall close this *olla podrida*[b] of an epistle or, as the Milanese have it, *arlecchino*.

I believe you get the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. This week it has a letter from Louise on the MEETING in Hyde Park.[c]

I spend my evenings studying Louise's books on the physiology of birth and related matters. It's really wonderful — since the *process* is such an *excessively* ugly one. I am discovering things of the utmost importance from the philosophical viewpoint.

Give Laura a kiss from me. Regards from Louise.

Yours ever,

F. E.

*Herewith Ravé*[d] and cheque for £20.

First published in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

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[a] the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* - [b] hotch-potch - [c] L. K[autsky], 'London den 4. Mai. Die Arbeit von zwölf langen Monaten fand gestern eine Belohnung...', *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 20, 15 May 1891. - [d] Ravé's letter to Lafargue

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [141]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 29 May 1891

My dear Lafargue,

Thank you for the information contained in your letter of the 21st.[250] I have passed it on to Aveling for submission to the London press.

Whatever you may say, the fact remains that the Possibilists [3] have ousted you from your own committee and that Vaillant and Allemane and Dumay acted in concert and spoke at the Mur des Fédérés, whereas not a word is said about speeches made by you or Guesde.[251] In the provinces you are in a majority, but it is now openly asserted that in Paris you are, for the time being, IN A HOPELESS MINORITY. And that is an assertion for which you yourselves are accountable.

Now for another matter. To help me in the preparation of the new edition [a] of the *Origin of the Family* I have had in front of me *Les Origines du mariage et de la famille* by Giraud Teulon, Paris and Geneva, 1884. It is a new, entirely revised edition of his work, *Les Origines de la famille*, 1874 (Geneva). In his later work, dated 1884, he advances some claim to having anticipated, in the edition of 1874, the discoveries made by Morgan. Unfortunately the 1874 edition is out of print. But Lavrov or Létourneau will be bound to possess one. As it is essential for me to clear up this point, could you not procure me one of these copies *for a few days only* and send it to me 'REGISTERED' (the 1874 book, the *Origines de la famille*)? If, by chance, neither of them has it, could you get a copy for me from a second-hand bookseller? And if that will take too much time (for the thing has brought me up short), would you be good enough to make a few inquiries at the Bibliothèque nationale (I would do this here at the British Museum but 1. I haven't a ticket, 2. Louise doesn't know enough

[a] the fourth German edition

French, 3. Tussy isn't sufficiently up in such matters). The problem is this.

McLennan is, as you know, the proponent of *exogamous tribes* who are obliged to obtain their wives from outside either by abduction or by purchase.[a] In *Ancient Society*,[b] as you also know, Morgan (who in his *Systems of Consanguinity*[c] still describes the exogamous *gens* as 'tribe') has proved that the exogamous tribe does not exist, that exogamy is an attribute of one *fraction* or subdivision of the tribe, i. e. of the *gens*, and that within the tribe there are no restrictions on marriage provided it takes place outside of the *gens*.

Now here is what Giraud Teulon has to say on p. 104, footnote:

'Morgan, in his later works, while recognising the necessity of not confusing *tribe* with *clan*' (in Giraud Teulon *clan* is the equivalent of Morgan's *gens*), 'has abandoned his definition of tribe without, however, seeking to provide a new one.'

And he then proceeds to give a description of the tribe divided into *clans* (*gentes*) exactly as Morgan does, but as though this had been arrived at quite independently of Morgan and was attributable to him, Giraud Teulon.

The manner in which he presents his claims is so equivocal that it doesn't inspire me with much confidence. But since this concerns a discovery that has entirely revolutionised the science of prehistory, perhaps you would be good enough (should occasion arise) to compare the 1874 edition and tell me

1. What alternative he suggests to McLennan's *exogamous tribe*.
2. If in 1874 he has already discovered that the tribe was subdivided into *exogamous clans* equivalent to Morgan's *gentes*.
3. (Briefly, names only), if he really did discover this, what examples does he cite? Does he acknowledge that his *clan* is identical with the Greek or Roman *gens*?

As to 1. and 2., the relevant passages in his own words if that is possible.

Old Harney is pretty ill; he is suffering from chronic bronchitis — at 75! He intends to move from Richmond to Ventnor. I trust he arrives there safe and sound and that it will do him good.

Your article on Adam and Eve[d] is very witty. There is evidently

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[a] J. F. McLennan, *Primitive Marriage. An Inquiry into the Origin of the Form of Capture in Marriage Ceremonies.* - [b] L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery, through Barbarism to Civilisation.* - [c] L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family.* - [d] P. Lafargue, 'Der Mythus von Adam und Eva. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Mythologie', *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 2. Bd., Nr. 34, 35.

some truth in it, but perhaps you go too far in your interpretation, especially in your catalogue of Noah's ancestors. Although in the case of Noah's descendants there can be no doubt whatever that they constitute a catalogue of tribes.

*Elōăh* = the Arabic *Allah* both etymologically and lexically. The 'ă' (*patách furtivum*) [a] is obligatory in Hebrew if the end of the word has an 'o' or 'u' before 'h' or 'ch' (*rūăch Elohîm*, the Spirit of Elohim in the 2nd verse of the 1st chapter of Genesis). In the plural *Elôhîm* the 'ă' disappears.

I am sending you *The Workman's Times*, a *non-political* working-class paper which calls for the formation of *a working men's party*!! The best of the working men's or so-called working men's papers over here. As regards facts it is admirable. The paper was founded by Yorkshire and Lancashire workmen and originally appeared in Huddersfield before being transplanted to London.

Give Laura a kiss from me. LOUISE SENDS HER KINDEST REGARDS.

Yours ever,
F. E.

First published in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

## 107

## ENGELS TO FRANZ MEHRING [b]

### IN BERLIN

London, 5 June 1891

*Kapital und Presse* [c] received with thanks. I wish it every success. I didn't know your address, hence belated reply.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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Published in English for the first time

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[a] The original has '*furtirena*'. - [b] Engels wrote this note on his visiting card. - [c] F. Mehring, *Kapital und Presse. Ein Nachspiel zum Falle Lindau.*

## 108

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[252]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 10 June 1891

Dear Sorge,

I am up to the eyes in the new edition of the *Origin of the Family, etc.*[a]; it has been necessary to go through all the relevant literature of the past 8 years and its quintessence must now be worked into the book, which is no joke, especially in view of the many interruptions. However the worst is behind me and I shall at last be able to get back to Volume III.[b] I have had to cut down on the whole of my correspondence, otherwise I should make no progress at all.

In Berlin — *strictly between ourselves*, for Schlüter must not know that it is *I* who have given you the information; he cannot always keep his mouth shut and if you tell him, he's sure to know that it comes from me — in Berlin, then, the chaps have finally come round to the view that Liebknecht is a windbag and nothing more. Earlier on the position was such that they *had* to give him the post of editor of the *Vorwärts* and at the same time make him an honorary member of the Executive. I had long been aware that this was bound to bring matters to a head; it was inevitable. They now find that he is editing the paper out of existence, for in the first place he does nothing himself and, in the second, he is standing in the way of others who *could* do something. So it's scandalous that he should allow his son-in-law Geiser to write botched leading articles for it, articles of such dreary arrogance and tedious ineffectiveness as to be beyond the capabilities of anyone save their author — and this is the Geiser who, morally speaking, was chucked out of the party at St Gallen.[253] For the moment there's no telling how the affair will end. They have offered Liebknecht another position in which he would act both as a popular

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[a] the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.* - [b] of *Capital*

speaker and in his earlier capacity of journalistic franc-tireur, but this he construes as a dismissal. Now they don't know how to set about pensioning him off in a decent manner, and to do so in such a way that he will accept — for that is what it really boils down to. The oddest part of all is that while the Anti-Socialist Law [11] was in force, precluding the outbreak of this conflict, Liebknecht hardly changed at all, or at most continued along a course upon which he had long since embarked, and that the chaps now find that, upon his transfer to Berlin from his Borsdorf retreat, he no longer bears the slightest resemblance to the Liebknecht of old — in other words Liebknecht as *they* had imagined him. The real point is that the *others* have progressed and now suddenly notice the difference; they imagine that it is *they* who have remained as they were, which is by no means the case.

Now for something else. Stanisław [a] writes to tell me that Anna [b] has approached Paris for money and has actually got some, or will be doing so; these attempts at extortion are really a bit thick, he says, and suggests we write to America lest there should be further useless expenditure over there on the young madame's behalf. Accordingly he has already written to you and asks me to do the same. He describes her, Anna's, way of going about things as downright blackmail.

Today we have at last had a semblance of summer; the vegetation is a whole month behind and in that respect the spring is not yet properly over, though otherwise we've seen no sign of it.

Thank you for the pirated American edition. Schlüter has told me some curious things about it.[254] Please thank him for his very detailed letter which I cannot unfortunately reply to just now.

Over here the movement is making fine progress. The UNION of GASWORKERS and GENERAL LABOURERS [164] is gradually coming to the fore, thanks above all to Tussy. The movement is advancing English-fashion, systematically, slowly but surely, and it is an odd, if highly significant phenomenon that both here and in America the people who make themselves out to be orthodox Marxists and have changed the concept of our movement into a rigid dogma to be learned by rote — that these people should figure both here and over there as a *mere sect*. But what is even more significant is the fact that whereas in Amer-

[a] Stanisław Mendelson - [b] Stanisław Padlewski

ica these people are foreigners, i. e. Germans, over here they're Englishmen born and bred, i. e. Hyndman & Co. Tussy has just arrived so I'll close.

Regard from her, Louise and your old friend to you, your wife[a] and Schlüter,

F. E.

Tussy has just told me that at Whitsuntide — when she was on the point of leaving for the GASWORKERS' congress in Dublin [247] — she too received a letter from Anna similar to the one sent to the Paris people. NO NOTICE TAKEN, of course.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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## 109

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [255]

### IN STUTTGART

London, 13 June 1891

Dear Kautsky,

Article on Peru [224] received with thanks. Perhaps you would allow me to keep it here until I have completed the new edition[b] of the *Origin*. In another article on Negro customs in East Africa[c] I came across a note to the effect that out there a woman's clitoris is cut off before marriage; Sam Moore wrote and told me that this peculiar custom is observed along the River Niger for a distance of more than a hundred miles, though not in *his* locality where he has satisfied himself as to the presence of the said organ.

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[a] Katharina Sorge - [b] the fourth German edition - [c] A. Fleischmann, 'Rechtszustände in Ost-Afrika', *Das Ausland*, Nos. 42, 43; 20 and 27 October 1890.

The introduction[a] to the new edition of the *Origin* is ready and I shall send it off to you next week in case you might wish to use it beforehand for the *Neue Zeit*. If so, please let me have the proofs — in fact, three lots —, the third will go to Ravé for the French translation which is finished so far as the old edition goes. Incidentally, Ravé doesn't know enough German, Strasbourger though he may be. He has made atrocious howlers, thereby involving Laura Lafargue in a colossal amount of work. I'm only surprised that she took it on at all.[b]

So you can inform Dietz that he won't have to wait much longer. But he might let me know the *number* of the new edition. The chaps have gone ahead so fast with the 5,000 copies printed in Zurich that I no longer have the slightest idea where I am. Is this the 2nd, 3rd, 4th or which edition?

The fee for Marx's article[c] received with thanks and already distributed. With regard to the payment for the new edition of the *Poverty of Philosophy* (and similarly for the *first edition as well* — for which we asked nothing at the time), perhaps you would be so good as to make provisional arrangements with Dietz. If, having done so, you then tell me what percentage of the *total fee* for the *new* edition ought to be allocated to *yourselves*, i. e. to you and Ede, and what percentage to *Marx's heirs*, I shall be able to form a better opinion. But the pair of you mustn't lose by it.

A stop ought to be put to Grillenberger's machinations, or at any rate he should be made to pay the fees. If he publishes Marx's speech on free trade[d] in your joint translation, you and Ede, not to mention Clara Zetkin, must protest and I should then do the same on behalf of the heirs — as a matter of principle.

As regards the *Origin*, I have been much delayed through having had to consult all the relevant literature. There is no bigger mutual assurance society than the specialists in prehistory. They're a bunch of scoundrels who indulge in camaraderie and cliquish boycotting on an international scale made possible by their relatively small numbers. Now, however, a new element has entered upon the scene in the

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[a] The reference is to the preface to the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* published in *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 2. Bd., Nr. 41 under the title 'Zur Urgeschichte der Familie (Bachofen, McLennan, Morgan)' before the publication of the book. See also this volume, pp. 201, 204, 215-16, 232-33. - [b] See this volume, pp. 141, 144. - [c] *Critique of the Gotha Programme* - [d] K. Marx, 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade' (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 450-65).

shape of comparative jurisprudence and, while it has its bad aspects, it may well break up the old ring.

Yesterday Ede showed me Bebel's letter to you. You gave Simon his deserts.[256] Things never turn out particularly well if one aims at 'moderation'; a punch, however, hits home. Odd the way this chap behaves as though 100% of medical men were on his side instead of perhaps 1%.

Your 'Emancipation of the 4th Volume[a]' is nothing by comparison with the 'liberation from feudal *seats*[b]' they inflicted on me in the Berlin edition of the *Entwicklung des Sozialismus*.[c] Imagine what the evolution of socialism would look like had it happened[d] in Berlin!

Just let the chaps get on with their programme.[257] Bebel will make sure all right that none of the old Liebknechtian vulgar democratic and vulgar socialist catchwords find their way into it. It's quite a good thing that the people in Berlin should first discuss the subject amongst themselves; what they suggest can only be an improvement on the old programme and will still be open to discussion. The disenchantment of our friends who, after a 13 years' interval, are now obliged to meet Liebknecht face to face again and work with him, is really too comical. While the Anti-Socialist Law[11] was in force, he remained ensconced in Borsdorf, concerning himself with nothing save his correspondence. Now, 13 years later, the chaps find him completely changed. On the contrary, *he* has remained as he was; it is *they* who have progressed and are now aware that a great chasm exists. Now nothing happens without there being a rumpus, now they find that Liebknecht is editing the paper[e] out of existence. He did no better by the *Volksstaat*, etc., but then he was helped by the others to keep the paper afloat; now they have other things to do and now they have a Liebknechtian paper *tout pur*,[f] i. e. Liebknecht and *family*!

Lafargue's interpretation of the Bible is very pretty—callow but original, marking the final break with the now outmoded, German-rationalist philological method. As a beginning it's all one could ask for.[g]

The OMNIBUS STRIKE has been won![258] At any rate on the main issue. London without omnibuses was and is an odd sort of place. Ede

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[a] *Band* (volume); misprint for *Stand* (estate). - [b] *Sessel* (seat); misprint for *Fessel* (bonds or shackles). - [c] *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* - [d] In the original: *vorjefallen* (Berlin dialect). - [e] *Vorwärts* - [f] pure and simple - [g] P. Lafargue, 'Der Mythus von Adam und Eva. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Mythologie', *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 2. Bd., Nr. 34, 35.

ought to send you a description of it for the feuilleton; I shall tell him so tomorrow. He is enduring his grass widowhood with manly resignation, assisted by us.

Kindest regards.

Your
F. E.

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## 110

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 13 June 1891

My dear Laura,

I am sure I do not know how to thank you for the trouble you have taken with Ravé's blundering work. [199] I was rather surprised at your heroism in tackling it altogether; I sent you his specimen of Bebel,[a] and my notes, showing exactly the same class of mistakes and slovenly renderings — though not in such perfection — as in your anthology. May '*la génération infâme*' pursue him like the Erinnyes pursued Orestes!

Anyhow, I have just finished the introduction to the new edition which I shall send to Kautsky for the *Neue Zeit* if he likes to have it.[b] But before sending it off there is one point on which I should like to be sure. I state Bachofen's new discoveries to be these: 1) *hétairisme* as he calls it, 2) *Mutterrecht*,[c] as its necessary corollary, 3) women consequently held in high esteem in ancient times, and 4) that the transition to monogamy, where the woman belonged exclusively to *one* man, involved the violation of the ancient traditional right of the

[a] A. Bebel, *Die Frau in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft* and *La Femme dans le passé, le présent & l'avenir*. Traduction française par Henri Ravé. - [b] See this volume, pp. 199, 204. - [c] mother right

other men to the same woman, a violation which had to be atoned for, or the toleration of which had to be purchased, by surrendering the woman for a limited period of time.[a]

Now as to this *point No. 4* I am not quite certain. You have no idea what thieves these prehistoric bookmakers are, and therefore all I recollect that *somewhere* I have found Bachofen quoted as the discoverer of this fact, and I believe even a reference to *Mutterrecht*,[b] preface p. XIX. But I cannot find it again. Now as you have my copy of Bachofen with you, would you mind (unless you remember it without looking) referring and letting me know whether I am, *generally speaking*, justified in attributing this discovery to Bachofen? It is so long since I have looked at the book, and as in defence of Morgan's claims I have to be rather severe on a lot of his exploiters, I should not like them to catch me in the wrong box. As soon as I have your answer, the ms. can go off and then Ravé can have a proof-sheet to go on with.

I had to read the whole literature on the subject (which *entre nous*[c] I had *not* done when I wrote the book — with a cheek worthy of my younger days) and to my great astonishment I find that I had *guessed* the contents of all these unread books pretty correctly — a good deal better luck than I had deserved. My contempt against the whole set — Bachofen and Morgan excepted — has considerably increased. There is no science where cliqueism and camaraderie are more dominant, and as the set is small, it can be carried on internationally and with success. Giraud Teulon[d] is as bad and as great an appropriator of other people's ideas as any Englishman amongst them. The only amusing fellow is Létourneau.[e] What a charming specimen of the Parisian philistine! And with what splendid self-complacency he proves to his own most intense satisfaction, that not only all the prehistoric tribes and present savages, in spite of all their '*excès' génétiques*'[f] as he calls it, are Parisian philistines at least, but so are, too, even the animals of the brute creation! The whole animated world one immense 'Marais'[g] and boulevard du Temple, peopled by either contributors or readers of what the *Siècle* used to be under Louis Philippe, and the greatest authority on *les origines du mariage et de la famille* — Paul de Kock!

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[a] The text of Point 4) is in German in the original. - [b] J. J. Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht. Eine Untersuchung über die Gynaikokratie der alten Welt nach ihrer religiösen und rechtlichen Natur*. - [c] between ourselves - [d] See this volume, p. 193. - [e] Ch. Létourneau, *L'évolution du mariage et de la famille*. In: *Bibliothèque anthropologique*, Vol.VI. - [f] sexual excesses - [g] aristocratic district in Paris

De[a] Létourneau (evidently of the breed of *le petit étourneau d'Amérique — icterus pecoris — qui change de femelle au jour le jour,*[b] p. 33) to Ravé *il n'y a guère un pas.*[c] Ravé has a publisher, Carré, rue St André des Arts, could not that man be got to publish the new edition of the *Misère de la philosophie*? To hear Ravé, he seems very enterprising in our line.

I send you *The Workman's Times* regularly. It is the only working-class paper *belonging to working people.* It was started by the Northern Factory hands etc. and originally published at Huddersfield; now its headquarters are in London. It is a *non-political* paper, that is to say *it goes in for the formation of an independent working men's party* and Labour representation in all elective bodies. It is over-crowded with detail information, but giving *facts.* There is a regular crop of 'Labour' papers: *The Trade Unionist,* by Tom Mann — soft like Mann himself, who, for a Mann,[d] has one n too much in English and one too little in German; nice sincere fellow as he otherwise is, as far as a man without backbone can be so. Then *The Worker's Cry,* by Frank Smith, late Social Wing, Salvation Army.[259] — Then *The Labour World,* founded and abandoned by Michael Davitt and brought to speedy grief and extinction by Massingham, once of *The Star.* I shall send you specimens of these if they live.

Longuet's behaviour seems indeed worse than incomprehensible. At all events it is a good job for poor Mémé[e] that she is with you again. For the rest you leave us in the dark. *Si Longuet s'est refait une jeunesse auprès de Marie, Marie a-t-elle réussi à se refaire une virginité en même temps?*[f] And how are the boys[g] getting on? What's to become of them while he is gallivanting at Caen? How about the Conseil de Famille? etc., etc.

Louise keeps rummaging up all the papers, pamphlets, newspaper cuttings, etc., etc., brought over here from Maitland Park.[h] The letters *are* in tolerable order. Lassalle's will be published in Germany[260]; Bernstein is now using them for an introduction to Lassalle's works[178] to be published by the party. The Lassalleans will not like it, but since Liebknecht has taken Lassalle's party so much in the *Vor-*

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[a] From - [b] little American starlings—*icterus pecoris*—who change females every day. - [c] there's only one step - [d] A pun in the original: Engels compares the English 'man' with the German 'Mann'. - [e] Jenny Longuet, daughter of Jenny and Charles Longuet - [f] If Longuet has recaptured his youth next to Marie, has Marie managed to recapture her virginity at the same time? - [g] Jean, Edgar and Marcel Longuet - [h] Marx's last residence

*wärts*, I am determined to have it out, and to use their own Lassalle-veneration as the peg whereupon to hang a criticism of the man.

Sam Moore suffers off and on from African fever here — has gone into the country. Very little news from Jollymeier. *Salut à* Paul.

Grüsse von Louise.

Dein alter[a]
F. E.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959

Reproduced from the original

## 111

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

London, 16 June 1891

Dear Baron,

Herewith the ms.— I leave it entirely to you whether you print the *whole* of it or start on p. 2 below the line where the essay proper begins. For title one could put: *On the Early History of the Family: Bachofen, McLennan, Morgan.* By F. E., or something of the sort, followed by the note: introduction to the x-th edition of the *Origin*, etc.[b]

As the ms. ended up by being highly illegible, thanks to numerous interruptions, I do *beg* you to send me a proof — and, as already mentioned, an extra copy for Ravé who is all agog to get it.

The revision of the book itself is going ahead as quickly as my other correspondence permits. I'm itching to get on with it.

I almost wish that the Berliners would turn down Ede's introduction to the Lassalle[c] so that he can deal with the matter more thoroughly and with greater freedom in the *Neue Zeit*. How little is known in Germany of the *real* Lassalle is apparent from the case of Ede himself. Lassalle's letters to Marx, however innocuous they may

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[a] Regards from Louise, Your old friend - [b] See this volume, pp. 199, 201, 215-16, 232-33. - [c] See previous letter.

seem to many people, as also the need to contemplate the man in the round, have thrown quite a new light on him so far as he, Ede, is concerned. But what the Berliners want more than anything else is *peace* in the party and that is hardly compatible with freedom to criticise. This is doubly disagreeable for them as they are at loggerheads with the Soldier[a] and as yet can see no way out of it. But in that case they ought to dispense with new editions of Lassalle. *Enfin*,[b] everything will doubtless get back on an even keel again.

Your
F. E.

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## 112

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

### IN BERGAMO

London, 19 June 1891

Dear Friend,

Today I am sending you

1. registered, your manuscript of the translation of *Wage Labour and Capital*,[c]
2. corrected proofs of the new edition[d] separately by book post,
3. Labriola's letter enclosed herewith.

I'm busy revising the new edition of the *Origin of the Family, etc.*[e] which will have numerous additions.

A new, complete edition of *Wage Labour and Capital* will follow as

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[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht - [b] Still - [c] K. Marx, *Capitale e salario colla biografia dell'autore e con una introduzione di F. Engels*. Prima traduzione italiana di P. Martignetti. - [d] K. Marx, *Lohnarbeit und Kapital*. Separat - Abdruck aus der *Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung* vom Jahre 1849. Mit einer Einleitung von Friedrich Engels. - [e] the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.

soon as I have got one. The principal additions are marked in pencil on the proofs.

I trust you are getting on all right in Bergamo; *l'e una bella città, la conossi—l'ha appresi di parlà 'l Meneghin, lu?*[a]

*Saludi*
F. Engels

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## 113

## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER [261]

### IN VIENNA

[Draft]

[London, 26 June 1891]

Dear Adler,

I would request you to pass on to the conveners of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party's Second Congress my sincere thanks for their kind invitation to this your party congress and to convey to them my regrets at being unable to attend in person as also my best wishes for a successful outcome to the proceedings.

Since Hainfeld, when the Austrian Workers' Party came into its own again, you have made immense progress. That is the best guarantee that your Second Party Congress will be the point of departure for even more significant triumphs.

How invincible is our party's inner strength is evident not only from the rapid succession of external victories, not only from the fact that last year in Germany, just as this year in Austria, it overcame the state of emergency. [262] This, its strength, is even more evident in the party's ability in every country to surmount obstacles and accomplish things in the face of which the other parties, who are recruited from

[a] It's a beautiful town, I know it—have you learnt how to talk like the Milanese?

the propertied classes, are helplessly halted in their tracks. While the propertied classes in France are engaged in an implacable struggle with the propertied classes in Germany, French and German Social-Democrats work hand in hand in full accord. And while in Austria the propertied classes in the various Crown Lands are forfeiting, in the mindless squabble over nationalities, the last vestige of their competence to rule, your Second Party Congress will project a picture of an Austria in which the squabble over nationalities is a thing of the past, of the Austria — of the working people. [263]

First published, with alterations, in *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Nr. 27, Wien, 3. Juli 1891

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Published in English for the first time

## 114

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

Ryde, 28 June 1891

My dear Lafargue,

I have been staying here with Pumps for the past two days and shall remain until Thursday 2 July when I return to London. [264] Meanwhile Louise has sent me your letter of the 25th. [265] Fortunately I have a blank cheque which I can send you herewith made out for £20. Good luck! The preparations you have made for your defence strike me as excellent and I trust you will secure a seat in the Chamber without being sentenced.

Now for something else. Enclosed you will find a letter from *Field* (*Star*, 23 June) together with Burrows' reply, [266] evidently written by Hyndman. Is it true that, as Field maintains, *you authorised* him to do the idiotic thing he has done? We cannot believe it. But in any case you will see what a letter from you to this Field has given rise to, a letter that in itself may well be perfectly innocent. This Field, a good lad, but bursting to play a part of some sort — even at the cost of doing a disservice to the cause he wishes to serve — purports to be acting

for *your* Party and, consequently, for ours. As an 'authorised' agent he makes appeals to the TRADES UNIONS, etc., and, *if he is known* at all, it is as a former collaborator of *Champion* who is now more despised than ever, thanks to his exploits in Australia!

The ground had therefore been too well prepared not to be exploited by Mr Hyndman. Witness his reply. Every idiotic utterance of Field's, every weak point in his letter is adroitly seized upon and all Field has done is to boost the Possibilists. [3]

Nobody here can take up the gauntlet. In the first place we don't know what transpired between you and Field. And then *The Star*, if they did accept a reply from us (which is doubtful, indeed more than doubtful), would close the correspondence after they had given Burrows another say. And Field has placed us in such an idiotic situation that we have no choice but to hope that the correspondence in *The Star* will be forgotten as quickly as possible.

In any case, if you want us to go on working *successfully* over here on behalf of the congress, you must *forbid* Field immediately and *categorically* to publish anything whatsoever that purports *to be authorised by the foreign secretary of the Workers' Party.* [a] And don't give anyone here a pretext to publish anything whatsoever authorised by you without having first consulted us. Otherwise we should do better to beat a retreat and leave everything to chance. To be placed under Champion's protection — that would be the last straw!

All was going well over here. We were working away quietly, if unremittingly, and a to-do in the press (we *have no newspaper*, remember) is the last thing we want if we are to succeed. However we have a right to expect that our own friends won't put a spoke in our wheel. We got all we wanted at Brussels, not without some difficulty, but we got it and we put it to good use. And that ought to be enough for you without the French Marxist party's affecting to play the part of convenor of the congress and arrogating to themselves a role to which they are not entitled. Anyhow, let us know what you wrote to Field so that we can try, if only by word of mouth, to mitigate the unfortunate effect of Field's stupidity.

Tussy still has Laura's letter about Longuet. I shall get it back on my return. Our thanks to Laura for this important information. At all events, the matter is about to be taken in hand although, having read the clauses in the Code, we doubt whether the Conseil de Fa-

[a] Paul Lafargue

mille can do very much other than appoint a guardian. Tussy must have written to Laura.

We have old Harney here. He has spent a month in Ventnor where he got rid of his chronic bronchitis but had a recurrence of rheumatic gout. We brought him here yesterday in a cab. He is full of aches and woes, poor devil, but perks up whenever the aches subside. He will be returning to Richmond in a day or so.

Pumps has a small but pretty house with a garden FRONT AND BACK, heaps of fruit of every kind, vegetables, even potatoes; greenhouse with vines laden with grapes, etc. It is splendid for the children, but will Percy manage to do any business? His brothers don't appear to be in any hurry to back him up with the necessary materials. Anyway we shall see.

Pumps, Percy and Harney send their best wishes to you and Laura as do I.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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Translated from the French

## 115

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [267]

IN STUTTGART

[Ryde, 29 June 1891]

Dear Kautsky,

I have come down here to take refuge with Pumps for a few days [264] having been inundated with an intolerable amount of work. No sooner had I become happily engrossed in group marriage [268] than I was landed with the party programme, which *had* to be attended to. [269] I meant at first to try rewriting the preamble in rather more succinct form but want of time prevented my doing so, besides which I thought it more important to point out the shortcomings,

some avoidable, others not, of the political part, as this would provide me with an opportunity to lash out at the conciliatory opportunism of the *Vorwärts* and the clean-devout-joyous-free[a] 'ingrowing' of the old canker 'into socialist society'. I have since heard of your proposal that there should be a new preamble; so much the better.

The party is going to print Lassalle's letters to Marx and myself, annotated by me[260] (thus precluding all censorship by the party). I can attend to this in the autumn, alongside Volume III.[b] (This *between ourselves.*)

I have taken refuge here in order to finish off part of my correspondence; on Thursday[c] I go home, when work on group marriage will be resumed. I was getting along so nicely — confound these interruptions!

*Poverty of Philosophy* — the position is that Dietz is to buy himself out for 450 marks, whereupon negotiations will be restricted to the four of us, so all is well and we shall be able to sort things out all right. But there can be no question of you two refusing to take *any* remuneration for the 2nd edition.

Dietz's plan for a volume of Marx's minor works won't do. Long ago Liebknecht cherished a pet project of this sort; it was to be put into effect by his latest protégé, Paul Ernst, who was also to publish other things of Marx's and, IN FACT, to be sent to me for a few months so that I could help him in this. The idea was for the thing to be published by the Berlin bookseller under the party's imprint — i. e. an edition of Marx alongside an edition of Lassalle. I turned this down categorically, which means that I can do no less where Dietz is concerned. I have *permitted* the party to publish a few minor things of Marx's in pamphlet form and as individual items, without notes or preface. Nor can I go any further than that. I cannot allow them to steal a march on me by bringing out in this piecemeal fashion the complete edition to whose ultimate publication *I* am committed.

Nor, for that matter, can I now contemplate a new edition of the *Condition, etc.*,[d] not, at any rate, until Volume III is completed. I am perfectly prepared to negotiate this with Dietz in due course, but the chaps have simply got to realise that I can take on absolutely nothing more until Volume III has gone to press. While it is in printing, arrangements can be made for something else. But until then I shall resist *all incitements* and pet projects, whether they emanate from

[a] A catchword used by German gymnasts. - [b] of *Capital* - [c] 2 July - [d] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England.*

Dietz or anyone else. After all, the chaps ought to have sense enough to exempt me till then from this sort of thing since it could only involve me in useless, time-consuming correspondence. As soon as I have finished revising the *Origin* I shall set to work on Volume III and then, come rain or shine, I'll carry on regardless.

Vollmar's speech [270] with its quite unnecessary concessions to the present Establishment and its still more unnecessary, and, what's more, unauthorised assurances that Social-Democrats would play their part if the Fatherland were attacked — i. e. would *help defend* the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine — has caused unmitigated glee amongst our opponents over here and in France. If it is allowed to pass, our chaps will have to pay very dearly for it in Brussels. [135] The Possibilists [3] and the Hyndmen are quarrying it for notes, after their usual fashion, nor can we over here do anything about it in the absence of an authentic statement denying Vollmar the right to speak in the name of the party. [271] Now, as Hyndman's man of straw, Bax has recently written on the subject in *Justice*; I haven't seen it yet. [272]

The meeting of women in labour in Hyde Park [273] has caused considerable merriment here and in London — the English version even more than the German because of the play on words in DEMANDING A REDUCTION OF THE HOURS OF LABOUR which, more specifically, can mean travail: A WOMAN IN LABOUR.

Ravé's address is Faubourg Rochereuil, Poitiers, France.

Pumps now lives down here; Percy has taken on an agency for his brothers. Their little house, The Firs, is in Brading Road, exactly one English mile outside the town. It's small but pretty and has a garden [with] [a] vegetables and fruit. Old Harney spent four weeks at Ventnor where he had a recurrence of gout and rheumatism. We fetched him over here on Saturday; he will probably travel back with me on Thursday and return to his headquarters in Richmond. He is terribly lame and out of sorts.

Schorlemmer will probably soon be with us. As you know, he's a very uncommunicative correspondent. While over here, Sam Moore has suffered from African malarial fever but is now better again. In August or September he will be returning to the Niger. In his heart of hearts, I believe, he yearns after the beautiful climate — despite the bouts of fever which recur with menstrual regularity.

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[a] Manuscript damaged.

How could you possibly imagine I cared a rap about whether or not I'm given pride of place in the *Neue Zeit*? Simply suit yourself.

Many regards from everyone here.

Your
F. E.

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## 116

## ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT [267]

### IN ZURICH

Ryde, Isle of Wight, 1 July 1891

Dear Schmidt,

I have taken refuge here for a few days. [264] Pumps is now living in this place where her husband has taken on an agency and, since my work had become altogether too much for me, I have come to stay with her for a few days if only to get a breath of fresh air and to deal with the most pressing correspondence. Tomorrow I go back to London again.

I have before me your two letters of 5 March and 18 June. You would be well-advised not to finish your work on the credit system and the money market until Volume III [a] comes out; in it you will find much that is new on these topics and still more that yet remains to be explored — new solutions, that is, and new tasks. As soon as my summer holiday is over, I shall set to work unremittingly on Volume III.— Your second project — the transitional stages on the way to a communist society — is worth thinking about, but my advice to you is *nonum prematur in annum* [b]; it's the most difficult subject on earth because conditions are constantly changing. For instance, every new

[a] of *Capital*- [b] Let it be kept quiet till the ninth year (Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 388).

trust causes them to change while the vantage points never remain the same from one decade to the next.

Your latest academic adventures in Zurich are exceedingly funny.[274] These gentlemen are everywhere alike. Well, I hope you will eventually succeed, to the mortification of the whole of that clique, and thus at long last be left in peace.

I found Barth's book[a] a great disappointment, having expected something a bit less superficial and makeshift. A man who assesses every philosopher, not in accordance with what is enduring and progressive in his work, but in accordance with what is of necessity transitory and reactionary, in accordance with the *system*, would have done better to hold his peace. For according to him the history of philosophy is nothing but a 'heap of rubble', the detritus of exploded systems. Old Hegel stands head and shoulders above this, his supposed critic! And then he believes himself to be criticising Hegel if here and there he succeeds in detecting one of the false starts which Hegel, like any other systematic philosopher, is bound to make in hammering out a system for himself! What a colossal discovery — that Hegel occasionally rolls into one what are contrary and contradictory opposites! I could put him on the track of some far better wheezes if only I could be bothered. The man's what we in the Rhineland call a *Korinthenscheisser*[b]; he reduces everything to insignificance and until he gets out of that habit he will, to use Hegel's words, 'come to nothing, from nothing, through nothing'.[c]

His critique of Marx is truly comical! First he concocts a materialistic theory of history such as, in his opinion, Marx *ought* to have had, only to discover that Marx's writings say something quite different. From this, however, he does not deduce that he, Barth, has put a wrong construction upon Marx — far from it; but that, on the contrary, Marx contradicts himself and is incapable of applying his own theory! 'Oh, if only these people could *read*!' as Marx used to exclaim when confronted by criticism of this kind.

I have not got the book here; if I had time I could point out to you hundreds more absurdities of the same nature. It is a pity, for one can see that the man might be capable of something if he were not in such a hurry to pass judgment. Let us hope he will soon write something

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[a] P. Barth, *Die Geschichtsphilosophie Hegel's und der Hegelianer bis auf Marx und Hartmann*. -[b] i. e. someone who trivialises everything -[c] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, Th. I, Abt. 2. In: *Werke*, Bd. IV, Berlin, 1841, S. 15, 75, 146.

upon which more attacks will be launched; a really sound drubbing would do him good.

As for me, I am very well — better than this time last year and shall, I think, be quite fit again after a bit of a holiday. If only one could work with fewer interruptions! 2 or 3 months ago I set to work on the new edition of the *Origin of the Family, etc.*[a] and should have finished it in a fortnight had it not been for the arrival of the new draft programme which they wanted me to criticise,[269] on top of which all sorts of little ineptitudes were perpetrated on the Continent, thus making it more difficult for us here in England — where the material is good but needs careful handling — to pave the way for the Brussels Congress,[135] etc. All this tends to throw me off course again and to distract me, and yet the thing must not only be almost entirely revised and brought up to date, but must also be *finished* if I am to get down to Volume III. WELL, since it's got to be managed somehow, managed it will be.

You'd almost think yourself in Prussia here. On Sunday[b] we encountered 4 or 5 sailors from the *Stosch*, splendid fellows, very well able to stand comparison with the English MAN-OF-WAR'S MEN; this morning, constant rumbling of guns and explosions of shells from the gunnery practice at the Portsmouth forts.

Many kind regards from Pumps, Percy and

Your old friend

F. Engels

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[a] the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.
[b] 28 June

## 117

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

[London,] 7 July 1891

My dear Laura,

That's bad for poor Paul, at least it looks bad at present.[275] Anyhow, he is not in prison yet. There is *cassation*, though that is one chance out of ten only in his favour. There *must* be some row in the *Chambre* about this infamous verdict, and I hope Millerand and Co. will not fail to make that row. I think it admirable policy of Paul to at once assume the offensive, revisit the battlefield of the North, and make himself as formidable to the government as he can. That is what the French always see better and clearer than our Germans, that, in order to make up for a reverse, you must attack at another point, but always attack, never show the white feather, never give way.

At all events his seat in the *Chambre* seems now pretty safe, and that would bring him out of prison if the election took place while he was in. *Le Nord nous appartient maintenant.*[a] What fools these governments are! To think they can put such a movement as ours down by repression. But with all his insolence M. Constans shows vacillation; the 'bus strike [276] showed him in quite a different light; there is no telling what he may not do, if he finds the effect of the verdict to be contrary to his expectations.

*Ravé est à ravir.*[b] I pity anyone who has to correct that man. What a work of Sisyphus it must have been for you! [199] Anyhow it may give you an opening for translations with his publisher, and then your labour may bear fruit.

By the bye, the correct French expression for '*Schutzergebung*'—the technical, juridical word, is *commendation.*

I am finishing the revision of the *Ursprung* for the 4th edition. There will be considerable and important additions; especially a new introduction[c] (proof sent to Ravé, the text probably in the next *Neue Zeit*)

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[a] North belongs to us now.- [b] Ravé is splendid.- [c] The reference is to the preface to the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, published in *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 2. Bd., Nr. 41 under the title 'Zur Urgeschichte der Familie (Bachofen, McLennan, Morgan)'. See also this volume, pp. 199, 201, 204, 232-33.

and then in the chapter on the family. I think you will like them, my inspiring genius to a great extent has been Louise who is full of clear, transparent and original views on the subject. She wishes to be most kindly remembered to you and Paul.

Ever yours,
F. Engels

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Reproduced from the original

## 118

## ENGELS TO JOHANN GUSTAV VOGT

IN LEIPZIG

[Draft]

London, 8 July 1891
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

If I have not replied until today to your esteemed letters of 20 June and 5 July,[277] this is due solely to the fact that I am still vainly awaiting a line from Liebknecht whom you gave as a reference and to whom, through Richard Fischer, his colleague on the Party Executive, I also sent a special request for information; this is the more necessary in that Bebel has only just made your acquaintance, whereas Liebknecht has known you for some time past.

Compliance with your request does not depend on me alone. It is Marx's heirs, for whom I merely act as agent, and also the publisher of *Capital*,[a] who must have the casting vote. As regards the latter I can, I believe, tell you straight away that he would in no circumstances give his consent to such a scheme. Nor would you be likely to fare better at the hands of Marx's heirs. Neither of his two surviving daughters[b] would agree to their father's writings being translated

[a] Otto Meissner - [b] Laura and Eleanor

from his own German into that of another author. Indeed, upon inquiry I have already been told as much.

I myself could not, with a good conscience, endorse your proposal. You have been kind enough to send us your writings — a new system of natural history. Since it is only in my spare time that I can turn my attention to the natural sciences, it will be some little while before I can venture to give an independent opinion on your mode of thought. As soon as time permits, I shall peruse your work and am most grateful to you for sending it to me. Even though it may not convince me, I shall certainly be able to learn something from it. But of that thorough command of political economy which must be the first prerequisite for your proposed task, there is no suggestion whatever in your writings.

Hence, aside from all other doubts and difficulties, I could give my consent solely on condition that the work be revised by me. In this way, however, it would become more or less *my* work and that would not suit you or, for that matter, myself since there are already far too many demands on my time.

So I can see absolutely no possibility of your attaining your goal with the consent of all concerned, nor can I conceal from you my opinion that Marx is best able to speak to Germans in his own German. Even the working men come to understand it in due course. They are far more intelligent and, indeed, more cultivated, than is generally supposed.

Yours faithfully

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## 119

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 12 July 1891

My dear Laura,

Paul sends me from Lille the enclosed.[278] As I do not know where he may be now, I return and reply to you.

First I have absolutely no time to do *un vrai travail*[a] for Duc-Quercy, in order that he may make out of it *un article à sensation.* I am finishing the *Origin,*[b] and then I shall go and recover a bit of nervous tension, as I do feel rather unstrung. And after that—the 3rd volume[c] and nothing else. That is settled long since and cannot and shall not be unsettled.

If I was to write on such a ticklish question and for such a ticklish public as the French, I should certainly do it myself under my name; but never allow a journalist to turn my letter into an interview and put into my mouth, French fashion, not what I did say but what in his opinion I ought to have said.

But finally I am not capable of writing on the 3 questions proposed in a style to please the French bourgeois and readers of the *Figaro.* I should have to remind them of the fact that by their submission, for 20 years, to the adventurer Louis Bonaparte they laid the foundation for all the wars that have come over us since 1850, including the Franco-German war; that that war originated, *en dernier lieu,*[d] in their claim to interfere in German internal affairs, a claim which they even now think they have a right to; that if they lost Alsace etc. *c'était la fortune de la guerre*[e] and that I do most distinctly object to the whole fate of Europe and of the working class being made subordinate to the question as to who is to have that miserable bit of country. All this might be very useful to tell them, but would they even listen to it without accusing me of having stolen a *pendule?*

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[a] a great amount of work - [b] the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* - [c] of *Capital* - [d] eventually - [e] it was the fortune of war

However that may be, I have no time and cannot submit to Duc-Quercy's manipulations. These are the two decisive points.

What Paul has written to me about Renard and his intended declaration, that *he* said the words attributed to Paul, he will have let you know even before me. I hope these things will help to smash up the verdict.[279]

Edward[a] is at St Margaret's Bay, he suffers from the kidneys again; so we shall have only Tussy and Sam Moore here. Wednesday[b] Louise intends going to Vienna, I expect Schorlemmer and then we will see what we may do. I have no fixed plans yet for the summer, but various nebulous projects are colliding in my brain.

Another thing. I should not like just now to speak about matters connected with the Vollmar affair[270] while the thing is being thrashed out in Germany. Anything I said in France might be used, misused and abused against them in Germany, and render their position more difficult. And it is well known to them all that I have refused to do any work for anybody until after the conclusion of Volume III.[c]

I believe I sent you the second batch of Field-Burrows letters in *The Star*.[280] Anyhow the matter has blown over—thanks to the accident of the Belgian Circular of 18th June.[281] This complete submission of the Belgians to the Halle Resolutions so upset all Hyndman's calculations that he is now in a towering rage against them, threatens them with his vengeance, but still holds back. In the meantime he ruins his last hopes in the East End by attacking the Gas Workers[164] (most of the leaders of whom are in the Social Democratic Federation[29]) and Tussy whom he calls Miss Marx. That's the degree of lowness he has come to.

Kind regards from Louise.

Ever yours,
F. E.

Tussy and I have just been talking over Nimmy's inscription. After various proposals of various epithets, to all of which objections may

[a] Aveling - [b] 15 July - [c] of *Capital*

be made, I incline to Tussy's proposal to put nothing but the name. Then the inscription would run

In memory of
*Jenny Marx*
and of
*Karl Marx*
and of
*Harry Longuet*
also of
*Helen Demuth*
Born January 1st 1823, Died November 4th 1890

What do you think?

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## 120

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 20 July 1891

My dear Laura,

The Culine business is very bad indeed—worthy of the fellow's name [282]—but what's to be done? With such a weapon in Constans' hands, we can only hold our tongues.

Louise went on Wednesday[a] and Jollymeier came on Saturday, but he is getting more and more Tristymeier, you have to work very hard to get a smile out of him now. Anyhow I'll try my best.

Paul asks me to send you a cheque, so enclosed £20; please let me know the receipt. I send it off quick because Jollymeier is still out at

[a] 15 July

his walk, so if I close this letter all of a sudden, you will know the reason why.

We are preparing a tour at sea, but have not made up our plans yet, and I have not yet finished my ms.[a]—but am at the last addition as far as I can see. Hope to have done by Wednesday[b] at latest.

Paul thinks Tussy is troubling herself more than necessary about Brussels [135]—I don't think so. Everything *may* go well, and probably *will* go well if everybody comes up to the scratch, but I have too much experience of such congresses, not to know how easily everything can go wrong. The Belgians have convoked for the *18th* August [281] *Tuesday*, instead of *Sunday 16th*—if our people come on the 18th and the (Possibilists) Broussists and Hyndmanites on the 16th, they can play ducks and drakes with everything. Tussy has written yesterday to Volders but these fellows never even reply! As to what the English will do, that's mere toss-up; from Germany almost certainly Vollmar will come and intrigue; what the small countries are you know: not to be trusted across the road. And one mistake on our part, one neglected opportunity, may cause us unnecessary but unavoidable work for years to come.

And then there is that irrepressible Bonnier who point-blank informed me that Guesde and he were going to go in for a restoration of the old International with a Central Council. I told him point-blank that that was putting everything in the hands of the Belgians (the only possible Central Council) knowing what sort of people they were; it was ruining every chance of the movement here in England for a couple of years by a foolish attempt to precipitate matters not ripe for action; and in fact the best means of setting French, English and Germans at loggerheads one with the other. He seemed abashed, but who can guess what he and Guesde may do in their enthusiasm?

*Viele Grüsse von Jollymeier und*

*Deinem alten*[c]

F. E.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959

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[a] the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.
[b] 22 July.
[c] Best greetings from Jollymeier and your old friend

121

# ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

IN VIENNA

London, 22 July 1891

Dear Adler,

In order to give the Austrians more than an academic token of my sympathy, I have told Dietz to credit you—to use an Austrian expression[a]—with half the fees for the new edition[b] of the *Origin of the Family, etc.* for your party funds. Let us hope no drastic diarrhetic will be required to bring this about. When you will get it and how much you will get at a time (it may be paid by instalments), I cannot say. For every 1,000 copies printed he pays 50 marks, of which you will get 25.

When you enter this on your printed receipts, I should like you to put 'from F. E. in London, such and such a sum', without any further particulars.

Just one more thing: Louise has agreed, should you be able to procure her a mandate, which should surely not be difficult, to accompany you to the general mounting of the guard in Brussels.[155] But this was on the tacit understanding that she would bring you and Bebel or you, at any rate, back to London with her for a few days. And I hope she will succeed in doing so. I shall have returned here by then and shall eagerly await your advent. For in that case, who knows what you mightn't be able to persuade me to do next year? So not too much head-scratching—and bring your wife[c] with you!

Your old friend
F. Engels

First published in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe.* Erstes Heft: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels*, Wien, 1922

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Published in English for the first time

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[a] Engels uses the word '*abführen*' which can also mean 'purge' - [b] the fourth German edition - [c] Emma Adler

## 122

## ENGELS TO EMMA ADLER

### IN VIENNA

London, 22 July 1891

Dear Mrs Adler,

This year, alas, nothing is likely to come of the trip to the Continent which I should dearly like to make, if only to come and see you at Lunz and convince you that I can indeed eat Austrian food, and with very good appetite, as Louise can testify; she never dresses a salad for me save after the Viennese fashion. But if I don't come and see you, there is, after all, another alternative. Perhaps you will accompany Victor to Brussels,[135] in which case we could make one another's acquaintance just as well here in London. Brussels is but a stone's throw from here, so what do you think? If, however, you should not go to Brussels, could you not authorise your husband to spend a few days over here to recuperate from the wear and tear of the world congress? That sort of thing is a tremendous strain, and spending a few days in London after it would greatly benefit his health.

The African Chief Justice, Sam Moore, has just arrived, and I must stop—do please come. Louise is sure to coax you into it—but if *you* cannot, then send your deputy.

Kisses to your dear children about whom Louise has told me so much.

Very sincerely yours,
F. Engels

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## 123

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [160]

### IN MOUNT DESERT

Ryde, Isle of Wight, 9 August 1891

Dear Sorge,

Your two letters of 14 and 20 July have been forwarded to me here. I and Schorlemmer have been spending the past two weeks here with Pumps [264] whose husband is the agent here for his brothers. Shall be going home in about a week.

Am very grateful for the information *re* the *Journal of the Knights of Labor*—I have such a mass of newspapers to go through that, without such advice, I should often find it very difficult to get my bearings. Also *re* Gompers and Sanial [283]—most important, this, since I might run into them in London.

Anna [a] will have to look to her own future; this nonsense is really too much.

The Possibilist-Hyndmanian racket will probably take a hard knock at the Brussels Congress.[135] The split in the ranks of the Paris Possibilists [3] has completely cut the ground from under Brousse's feet. In the provinces they count for nothing while in Paris the majority support Allemane *against Brousse.*[53] This has resulted in the Possibilists of *both* complexions losing control of their last great vantage point, the *bourse du travail.*[57] Or so the *Socialiste* of 24 July says.[284] The Brussels chaps who are, in their heart of hearts, themselves Possibilists and have stood by the latter as long as they could, have made a complete *volte-face* [281]; they aim at becoming the General Council of a new International and are paying court to the all-transcendent 'Marxists'; hence the comical lamentations of the 'friends' they have left in the lurch in Paris and London. I fear, I fear that Mr Hyndman will cease to be our official 'enemy' and will try and make out that he

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[a] Stanisław Padlewski

is our 'friend'. That would be a bad thing; we haven't got the time to keep a constant eye on a schemer like him.

Tussy, Aveling, Thorne and other members of the GASWORKERS,[164] Sanders (John Burns' secretary) and sundry others of our English supporters are going to Brussels. How things stand as regards the *old* TRADES UNIONS, I do not know.

The DOCKERS are going to pot. Though the success of their STRIKE was due solely and entirely to the £30,000, contributed in a fit of misguided enthusiasm by Australia, they imagine it was their own doing.[198] Hence they are making one mistake after another, the most recent being to close their lists and refuse to accept any more members, i. e. breed their own SCABS. Then they rejected a merger with the GASWORKERS. Many are DOCKERS in summer and GASWORKERS in winter. Having regard to these alternating occupations, the GASWORKERS proposed that a member's TICKET for *one* UNION should be valid for both—nothing doing! So far the GASWORKERS have nevertheless continued to honour the DOCKERS' TICKET—but how long they will do so is hard to say. Again, the DOCKERS are protesting vociferously against the immigration of FOREIGN PAUPERS (Russian Jews). Of their leaders, Tom Mann is a good chap but unbelievably weak, while his nomination as a member of the ROYAL COMMISSION ON LABOUR has all but turned his head; Ben Tillett is an ambitious intriguer, no funds are available, membership is rapidly dwindling, discipline gone by the board.

A week ago someone wrote to me from St Petersburg saying: 'WE ARE ON THE EVE OF A FAMINE.'[a] This was substantiated yesterday by the banning of the export of grain from Russia. In the first place, this will ensure us a year's peace; with famine in the land, the Tsar may well rattle his sabre, but he won't unsheathe it. But **if**, as seems probable, Gladstone comes to power here next year, an attempt will be made to persuade England and France to consent to the closing of the Dardanelles to *all* fleets, even in time of war, i. e. prevent the Sultan from obtaining assistance against Russia. So that's the next item on the oriental agenda.

In the second place, however, the Russian ban on the export of grain means *extending the famine to rye-eating Germany*; only Russia can make good Germany's colossal deficit in rye. But this would mean the complete collapse of Germany's grain tariff policy, which in turn would mean a whole series of political convulsions. For instance, the landed

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[a] See this volume, p. 230.

aristocracy cannot forego its protective tariffs without also undermining the industrial tariffs of the middle classes. The protectionist parties will lose credit and the whole situation be totally altered. And *our party will grow tremendously*—the failure of this harvest will put us five years ahead of schedule, quite apart from the fact that it will prevent a war which would claim a hundred times more lives.

These two aspects will, in my opinion, temporarily dominate European politics, and if Schlüter would care to draw attention to this in the *Volkszeitung*,[a] it would be very useful. As soon as the Congress [135] is over, I shall also bring it up in the European press. Only I cannot, of course, be responsible for what others in Germany will make of the information I have supplied.

I am glad that Mount Desert is, as always, doing you good. I, too, am feeling the benefit of the sea air—only here in Europe the weather is so uncertain that one can't really plan anything. Schorlemmer sends his regards. I won't finish this letter off yet as there may be something more to tell you tomorrow.

11 August. The ban on the export of grain from Russia is not yet official but is almost a certainty; we may expect an official proclamation.

In East Prussia there have been 2 parliamentary elections—we gained an *enormous* number of votes. So we have at last opened up the rural areas—*cela marche*[b]! [285] With the help of the price rise we may well see something happen there by 1900, unless we kick the bucket first.

Louise Kautsky is in Vienna, will be going to Brussels with a Viennese mandate, and will bring Adler back to London with her and also perhaps Bebel; I have written to him in Switzerland but have not yet had a reply.

Tussy's report to the Brussels Congress on behalf of the GASWORKERS and others is very good [286]; I shall send it you. Tussy is going to Brussels with a mandate from the Dublin Congress [247] of the GASWORKERS and GENERAL LABOURERS and will thus be representing 100,000 men.

[a] *New Yorker Volkszeitung*. [b] Things have got going.

Aveling also has 3 or 4 mandates. It would seem that the *old* TRADES UNIONS will be poorly represented—all to the good on this occasion!

Regards from Schorlemmer and myself to your wife.[a]

Your old friend

F. E.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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## 124

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

Ryde, 17 August 1891
The Firs, Brading Road

My dear Laura,

We are still here, Schorlemmer and I, awaiting fine weather which is very slow to come; now and then we have had a fine day and could venture on an excursion but on the whole we had our enterprising spirits damped by the glorious uncertainty which is common to the law and the climate of England; not a few times, too, damped and even wetted by but too certain rain. Anyhow we may thank our stars that our plan[s] of circumnavigating this island (not Wight, which we have twice sailed round but Great Britain) were nipped in the bud, for we should have caught it and well too. So we are here admiring the British Fleet which is moored opposite us and awaiting the French which is to come up the day after tomorrow.

So poor Paul has entered upon his term of Ste Pélagie [287]—I hope he'll keep his spirits up! It's a long bout of enforced rest, but then France *c'est l'imprévu*[b] and nobody knows what will turn up within

[a] Katharina Sorge - [b] is unpredictable

a twelvemonth. I am afraid you will find Le Perreux about as solitary as he will Ste Pélagie, well we must have you over here in London off and on, which may be done I hope without very great difficulties, for surely you will not be bound by your family of pigeons, hens, etc., etc. So I hope you will arrange to come by and bye after you have made Paul as comfortable as circumstances will permit.

Our Russian friend[a] wrote to me about 3 weeks ago: 'We are on the eve of a famine', and indeed that prophecy has been but too soon fulfilled. While the French Chauvins and Russian pan-Slavists fraternise and hurrah at each other,[288] this fact nullifies all their demonstrations. With a famine at home, the Czar cannot fight. The utmost he will do is to use the present mood of the French bourgeois for his own ends, by blustering and threatening, but he will not strike a blow, and if the French bourgeois should go too far, he will leave them to shift for themselves. What the Russian government aims at, at present, is the closing of the Dardanelles *in time of war to all navies*. That he will get the French to subscribe to, and then, when Gladstone comes in here, as is hoped, at next general election, the grand old Russophile is to be coaxed into agreeing to it too. With the two great naval powers bound hand and foot by such an agreement, the Czar is master of Constantinople which he can surprise any day, and the Sultan is but the Czar's care-taker on the Bosporus. That is the plan, to which the bourgeois republic at Paris is to act the part of cat's-paw, and when it has done its duty as such, it may go to the devil for aught the Czar cares. That is the reason why the Czar submitted to listen to the *Marseillaise* and to humour the representatives of a Republic.

Anyhow, peace is assured — unless some people turn crazy — for this and the greater part of next year. That is the principal effect of the famine in Russia.

But there are others. There will be internal commotions in Russia, and they *may* lead to a change; it is even likely they will cause *some* change, bring about some movement in that pool of stagnation; but it may be, that this is not only *le commencement de la fin mais la fin elle-même*.[b]

In Germany the failure of the crop seems certain too, and there the present and still rising famine prices will bring about the breakdown

[a] N. F. Danielson, see this volume, p. 230. - [b] the beginning of the end, but the end itself

of the Bismarckian fiscal policy and the protective duties. There, too, the old system will be shaken to its very foundations and nobody can tell how far that may go. Anyhow it will again swell our ranks amazingly, and help us to conquer the country districts where we are gaining ground wonderfully. There have been two by-elections in East Prussia on the borders of Russia, in thorough country districts, where two years ago we had about 400-500 votes together, this year we had about 3,000 [285]! And if we get the rural districts of the six eastern provinces of Prussia (where large landed property and large farming predominate) *the German army is ours.*

According to *The Standard* of to-day,[289] neither Hyndman nor Brousse had turned up, and Allemane was to take charge of the Possibilists.[3] So as far as *that* class of opposition is concerned, it looks like a walk-over for our people. That question once disposed of, there will remain but little real work for the Congress; unless the various velleities of a restoration of the 'International' venture to come out.[a] I hope they will not, for that would cause new splits and throw us back, here in England at least, for years to come. The thing is an absurdity in every respect, especially so long as neither in France nor in England there is one strong and united party. If that were the case, and both united heart and soul with the Germans, then the end would be obtained without any formal union, the moral effect of the three great western nations acting together would suffice. But so long as that cannot be, all attempts at restoring an International would bring one of the petty nations, probably the Belgians, into an undeserved prominency and end in quarrels. The fact is, the movement is too great, too vast to be confined by such hampering bonds. Still, there is a hankering after this restoration and Bonnier was full of it last time I saw him. Certainly he looked rather perplexed when I told him my objections and had not a word to say — but will that stop him and his friends in Brussels?

On Thursday[b] I expect to be back in London; Adler will come from Brussels for a few days, perhaps also Bebel. As soon as I am informed about the Brussels proceedings I shall send you a letter for Paul, in the meantime kind regards to both of you from Schorlemmer, the Pumpses and

Yours ever,

F. Engels

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[a] See this volume, p. 221. - [b] 20 August

Had letter from Tussy from Brussels, but written before Sunday's meeting.[135] Shall not know anything of what happened by the time this has to be posted. 18th August, 11 in the morning.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959

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## 125

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

### IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 2 September 1891

My dear Sir,

Today I return to you six more letters which include everything to end of 1878—remainder will follow.[290]

Your prophecy about the famine has but too soon been verified, and we here in England, too, will have to suffer severely. The crop seemed excellent on the whole, when about 10 days ago terrible weather set in—just as corn cutting began in the South of England—and played terrible havoc with both cut and uncut corn, 20 to 30 per cent of the crop are said to be severely damaged if not ruined. There is but one advantage connected with this calamity: it will render a war impossible for some 20 months to come, and that, in the present state of universal armament and mutual distrust, is a blessing.

Allow me to return, on another occasion, to your very interesting communication of 1 May.[291] Today I am on the eve of a journey and my principal object is to request you in future to address all your letters to

Mrs Kautsky, 122 Regent's Park Road, N. W. London.

The letters will be handed to me *unopened*, so there is no necessity for a second cover (*enveloppe*). The fact is I shall be so often absent from London[264] that I am afraid letters addressed in the usual way might

miscarry; I should have to trust to the intelligence and punctuality of servants.

My health is on the whole excellent; but I require once a year a holiday of about eight weeks and a considerable change of air. A sea voyage is always the best remedy for me. If I keep as well as I expect to be in a month, I shall set at once about the 3rd volume,[a] it *must* be finished. But I better not make any promises as to time.

Very truly yours,
P. W. Rosher[b]

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## 126

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[160]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 2 September 1891

Dear Sorge,

I have shown your letter about Mrs Schlüter[c] to Louise Kautsky who may be relied on implicitly and is acquainted with the circumstances. She takes the view that Mrs Schlüter has simply fired a warning shot and that she'll come back to him all right, providing Schlüter refuses to be intimidated. Nor does she believe that a third party would be required to nudge her into a decision of this kind. She did the same thing several times in Zurich — or something like it. Admittedly Schlüter's repeated infidelities have given her cause to rebel, but she regularly forgives him and the only people to suffer are those who take her wrath and her fulminations seriously. Louise is the last person to side with Schlüter in this affair or even excuse him — she and all of us know exactly what to expect of him in this respect — his

[a] of *Capital* - [b] Engels' conspiratorial pseudonym - [c] Anna Schlüter

cock regularly runs away with him. But, though his wife invariably threatens to leave him, she nevertheless falls into his arms again when it comes to the point—and thus there's nothing left for a third party to do.

The Bernsteins return from Eastbourne today. Sanial and Mac Vey are here and will be calling on me tomorrow. I was in Ryde[264] for a month staying with Pumps and accompanied by Schorlemmer who, however, is now back in Manchester. Every time he has a cold he goes extremely deaf and is no good for anything; otherwise there's nothing wrong with him. I am keeping well but shall have to get out and about a bit more if I am to bring myself fully up to the mark again. Adler from Vienna and also Bebel were here for 3 days, very cheerful and satisfied with the Congress.[135]

I have sent you a pile of documents as well as the *Weekly Dispatch* containing the interview Mother Crawford had with Liebknecht in Paris.[292] That interview will cause a rumpus; at any rate Liebknecht talked a great deal of nonsence. From all I hear he has grown quite thin! He looks rotten and is apparently at loggerheads with everyone; in Brussels he kept himself quite apart from the Germans and Austrians. Again, the best of our chaps are amazed at the disagreement that exists between him and the vast majority of the party on virtually every point. His editing of the *Vorwärts* has been quite deplorable, he has done nothing himself, has got Geiser to write leading articles for it, and has propounded the most peculiar views, in short there's the making of a catastrophe here and it may come all the sooner as a result of that interview.

The old dispute with the Broussists,[3] etc., has fizzled out; the Broussists were not represented at all in Brussels, nor did Hyndman dare go, while the people he did send squabbled and made asses of themselves; he now seeks a prop in Nieuwenhuis who has gone off his head, but that won't get him anywhere. In matters of principle as of tactics the Marxists have been victorious all along the line; the intriguing will still go on behind the scenes and their attacks on me, the Avelings, etc., in *Justice* will, I trust, continue as before, but there is no longer any public opposition to us as a whole.

The *Volks-Tribüne*'s account of the Congress is the most detailed.[a]

I have already read 6 proof-sheets of the new edition of the *Origin of*

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[a] 'Internationaler sozialistischer Arbeiter-Kongreß', *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*, supplements, Nos. 34, 35; 22 and 29 August 1891.

*the Family, etc.*[a] Besides the new introduction, there will be many additions in Chapter 2[b] ('Family') and also a few later on.

The Brussels Congress[135] has again ratified the Hague resolutions[293] in that it too has thrown out the anarchists. That ought to be emphasised in the press over there. On the other hand it has left the door wide open to the English TRADES UNIONS and no doubt the better ones among them will walk in through it before long. These are the two most important resolutions. It's delicious that the English should now be the most reactionary of all, and that for their sake things have to be toned down! But we can afford to do so, for it is now merely a question of months, or at most a year or two, before they come round. True, the next TRADES UNIONS Congress will try to overturn the LEGAL EIGHT HOURS resolution passed at Liverpool[27] but even if this succeeds — with the help of the textile workers who swear by 10 hours — it will only add more fuel to the flames. Things are moving — there's nothing more for us to do.

Kind regards to your wife.[c]

Your
F. E.

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[a] the fourth German edition. See also this volume, pp. 199, 201, 204, 215-16. - [b] Chapter 3 in the manuscript - [c] Katharina Sorge

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [294]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 2 September 1891

My dear Lafargue,

So you are back once more 'neath Madame Pélagie's[a] hallowed and sacrosanct vaults—in *la citta dolente fra le perduta gente*[b] but it won't last long, I trust, and before your 'year' is up we may have Constans there in your place. At all events it's a great pity that you weren't able to go to Brussels before you got nabbed; the effect would have been magnificent. But no matter; I am very happy about the congress [135] none the less. In the first place the total COLLAPSE of the Brousso-Hyndmanian opposition; it was as though it had never existed, as though the Possibilist congress of 1889 [52] had simply been a phantasmagoria. Heaven forbid that these gentlemen should become our 'friends'—if they did, they would become a pest; as enemies they would be a source of amusement, as in the past.

Next, the exclusion of the anarchists. The new International has resumed at the point where the old one broke off. Here, 19 years later, we have out-and-out confirmation of the resolutions at The Hague.[293]

Lastly, the door has been thrown wide open for the English TRADES UNIONS—a move which shows how well the situation has been understood. And the utterances committing the TRADES UNIONS to *the class struggle* and *the abolition of wage labour* mean that this did not even require our making any concessions.

Hence we have every reason to be pleased. The Nieuwenhuis incident has shown that the working men of Europe have at last progressed beyond an era dominated by high-falutin verbiage and that they are aware of the responsibilities incumbent on them: it is a class constituted as a *militant* party, a party which reckons with *facts*.[295] And the facts are taking an increasingly revolutionary turn.

In Russia there is already famine; in Germany there will be famine in a few months' time; the other countries will suffer less, this is why:

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[a] Ste Pélagie—a prison in Paris.—[b] the city of woe, 'midst the lost ones below (Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, 'Inferno', III).

it is estimated that the 1891 harvest will be in deficit to the tune of 4 million QUARTERS ($11^1/_2$ million hectolitres) of wheat and 30-35 million QUARTERS (between 87 and $101^1/_2$ million hectolitres) of *rye*; in the latter case this enormous deficit mainly affects the two rye consuming countries, Russia and Germany.

That will give us a guarantee of peace until the spring of 1892. Russia won't make a move before then. Thus, assuming the absence of some inconceivable blunder on the part of Berlin or Paris, there won't be a war.

On the other hand, will Tsarism come through this crisis? I doubt it. There are so many rebellious elements in the big cities, especially in Petersburg, that they are bound to seize the opportunity, now to hand, of deposing that drunkard Alexander III, or of placing him under the control of a national assembly — perhaps it will be he himself who takes the initiative in convening it. Russia (i. e. the government and the young bourgeoisie) had done an enormous amount of work towards the creation of big industry on a national scale (see Plekhanov in the *Neue Zeit*[a]) and that industry will be stopped in its tracks because its only market — the domestic one — will be denied it on account of the famine. The Tsar will see what comes of having made Russia a SELF-SUFFICIENT COUNTRY independent of abroad; he will have an industrial crisis on top of an agricultural crisis.

In Germany the government will reach a decision, too late as always, to abolish or suspend the duty on corn. That will break the protectionist majority in the Reichstag. The big landowners, the *squirearchy*, will no longer want to support the duties on *industrial* products; they will want to buy IN THE CHEAPEST MARKET. Thus we shall probably see a repetition of what happened at the time of the vote on the Anti-Socialist Law[11]: a protectionist majority, itself divided by divergent interests arising out of the new situation, which finds it impossible to reach agreement on the details of a protectionist system, all the possible proposals being only minority ones; there will be either a reversion to the free trade system, which is just as impossible or — dissolution, displacement of the former parties and of the former majority, a new free trade majority opposed to the present government. That will mean the real and definitive end of the Bismarckian period and of stagnation in home affairs (I am not speaking here of our own party but of parties which might 'possibly' govern); there will be strife

[a] G. Plechanow, 'Die sozialpolitischen Zustände Rußlands im Jahre 1890', *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 2. Bd., Nr. 47-51.

between the landed nobility and the bourgeoisie, and between the protectionist bourgeoisie (one section of the industrialists) and the bourgeoisie favouring free trade (the other section of the industrialists and the merchants); the stability of the ministries and of the country's domestic policy will be shattered, in other words there will be movement, struggle, vitality, and it is our party that will reap the whole benefit. If things take this turn, our party will be able to come to power round about 1898 (Bebel puts it as early as 1895).

There. I haven't discussed other countries because they are not so directly affected by the agricultural crisis. But suppose this agricultural crisis were to unleash, here in England, the acute industrial crisis we have been awaiting for the past 25 years, what then?

In a quarter of an hour we shall be leaving for Highgate to plant an ivy cutting on Marx's grave. Motteler brought it back three years ago from Ulrich von Hutten's grave (Island of Ufenau, Lake of Zurich) and it has grown marvellously on my balcony.

I have had Bebel and Adler from Vienna with me here for the past few days; they are very pleased about the congress.

Enjoy yourself and make good use of the opportunity you have been offered of 'concentrating' on work, as the Berlin journalist said when thrown into jug in 1841.

With best wishes,

Yours,

F. E.

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## 128

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [267]

### IN HOBOKEN

Helensburgh, Scotland, 14 September 1891

Dear Sorge,

I'm up here on a lightning tour [264] with Pumps and Louise Kautsky; the past week has been spent either in the Highlands or on the water and it has done me a power of good. We shall be home a week from now.

There's nothing one can do about the Schlüters. He can't help chasing after this petticoat or that and she [a] can't help burying the hatchet and forgiving him the moment she feels she has taken things as far as she dares. But if this time she nevertheless remains in Germany—which I'm inclined to doubt—, it will be because people there have talked her into it.

Mr Ferdinand Gilles, a scoundrelly man of letters, who was made to come over to us from the Party of Progress,[296] though we in Germany didn't want him, has joined forces in London with Hyndman & Co. and actually has a party all of his own in the Communist Society.[89] The man has been denounced to us as a police spy by a reliable source whose identity, however, cannot be divulged, which also explains his otherwise inexplicable source of funds (he contributes £6 a year to a school founded over here by Louise Michel). At the Brussels Congress [135] the fellow tried to gain currency among the Germans for the lies about Aveling being disseminated on the sly by Hyndman, Mother Besant, her lover Herbert Burrows and others to the effect that when Aveling married Tussy he had abandoned a wife and three children in a state of utter destitution and that his father-in-law was intent on beating his brains out. (Well, Aveling and his wife parted by mutual consent 8 years ago, she took back her fortune which brings her in over £500 a year, there were never any children and her father had died long before.) Since this fell flat, he sought to find a receptacle for these lies among the correspondents of the bourgeois newspapers and *that, of course, proved successful.* The entire press

[a] Anna Schlüter

was full of it. In Brussels Aveling could do nothing for fear of giving the Belgian police an excuse to disrupt the Congress. But when he returned to London and placed the whole matter before us, we unanimously fell in with his view that Gilles must be given a thrashing. After an attempt to do so in the German Society had been frustrated, Aveling, accompanied by Louise Kautsky as witness (lest he should falsely maintain that he had been floored by two *men*), proceeded to his house last Tuesday, the 8th, and gave him two hearty punches in the face. No doubt that will have a somewhat more salutary effect. Whether anything further came of the business I don't know, as we left the same day and have been unable to receive any news.

Aveling at once advised Liebknecht of the facts of the case for publication in the *Vorwärts*[a] [297] and so the affair will no doubt also be discussed in America.

Of the American delegates, those I saw were Mac Vey and Abraham Cahan, the apostle of the Jews; both of them pleased me much.

The Congress has proved a brilliant success for us AFTER ALL — the Broussists [3] stayed right away while Hyndman's chaps withdrew their opposition. And, best of all, the anarchists have been shown the door, just as they were at the Hague Congress.[293] The new, incomparably larger and avowedly Marxist International is beginning again at the precise spot where its predecessor left off.

The TRADES UNION Congress in Newcastle has also been a great victory.[298] The *old* UNIONS with the textile workers at their head, together with the entire reactionary party that exists among the workers, had mustered all their forces in order to overturn the eight hours resolution of 1890. They failed, having secured no more than one insignificant, fleeting concession. That is crucial. There is still much confusion, but there's no stopping things now and the bourgeois papers fully recognise the defeat of the *bourgeois labour party*, recognise it with dismay and a wailing and gnashing of teeth. The Scottish liberals in particular, the most intelligent and most classical bourgeois in

[a] E. Aveling, 'In der *Rheinisch-Westfälischen Zeitung* vom 22. Aug. findet sich ein Artikel...' and 'Der Urheber der über mich in der Deutschen Presse...', *Vorwärts*, Nos. 211 and 212; 10 and 11 September 1891; see also this volume, pp. 248, 251, 252-53.

the Empire, are unanimous in their lamentations over this great misfortune and the incorrigible perversity of the working man.

Warm regards to you and your wife.[a]

Your
F. E.

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## 129

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

London, 28 September 1891

Dear Kautsky,

I was on the point of writing to you about the programme when your letter arrived.

Your draft programme is *far better* than the official one and I note with pleasure that Bebel will propose it be accepted. I shall back him up there. You have avoided the only fault of your first draft—length—and have outdone the official one in brevity. However I should like to make the following suggestions[299]:

Section 1, pp. 785/86 of the *Neue Zeit*, para. 2, line 3: Growth of the *product* of human labour rather than yield. Marx has pointed out how ambiguous is the word '*yield*' which can mean not only the product itself but also its value, or even the total price that happens to be *realised.*

Further: Private ownership of *the* means of production throughout. What is meant, of course, are the social means of production in their

[a] Katharina Sorge

entirety or again those of one distinct working individual, peasant or artisan — in all these cases they are quite distinct and hence require the article. Omission of the article leaves one in doubt about the meaning, or so it seems to me, at any rate.

Section 2, *Neue Zeit*, p. 788, para. 1 has been edited somewhat inadequately. 'Which suffers under today's conditions' is much too weak. It would have been better to say that the ruling classes are also being intellectually and morally crippled by the class contradiction, more so indeed than the class that is oppressed. You could edit it into shape, provided you agree. The concluding sentence to the effect that the proletariat is the only class *whose interests, etc., ... are pressing* is also weak. I should prefer 'whose liberation is impossible without the socialisation of the means of production', or something of the sort.

Para. 2. ...'Without political rights they cannot embark on their economic struggles' — or establish *their organisation as a militant class* (what they need for their economic struggles and their organisation as a militant class is a measure of political freedom and equal rights that will grow with their successes?) — the remainder as in text.

Unfortunately I have no time for more than these brief suggestions as I'm inundated with jobs of every description.

I haven't yet managed to read Ede's article.[299]

In your first article you, too, dabble a bit in 'Utopia'. When and in what country did the things happen which you describe between p. 726 ('this metamorphosis was coincident with another') and p. 730? It seems to me that for the sake of convenience you dished up a grand pot-pourri of the times and places of various schools of thought. But there's nothing wrong in that; the great majority of your readers won't notice and each can take from it whatever suits his own particular book.

Thank you for the newspapers. It's a good thing that the party is strong enough to allow Liebknecht's speeches to pass, yet suffer no harm; as regards the paper,[a] which is more important, there will of course be a change before long. I must confess that the old man amazes me by the extent to which he has lagged behind. However we are now a power and as such are perfectly well able to lug along with us an heirloom of this kind and accord him the satisfaction of believing he has settled everything the moment he invents a formula that sets his mind at rest over whatever matter has happened to crop up.

[a] *Vorwärts*

Mr J. Wolf has also sent me concoction.[a] I have consigned it to my bookcase unread and there it will have to remain until I reach the preface to Volume III.[b] The letter you posted in Neumünster has now reached me. It reads:

'Zurich, 20 September 1891. Dear Sir, In the latest number of Conrad's *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik,* a Jew from Brno by the name of Wolf, who teaches at the Polytechnic here, has the cheek to accuse you of having misconstrued Marx's theory of value and hence of intending to suppress Volume III. Shall you give him a box on the ears? An Admirer.'

Hardly that, but I shall have to take a look at the rubbish nevertheless.

I wrote at once telling Schmidt that, while his solution was *not* the Marxian one, the book[c] contains such excellent stuff in other respects that I thought it the most important thing to have been done in the field of political economy since Marx's death.[300] Now, however, as soon as I have attended to current business, I shall apply myself relentlessly to Volume III and everything else will be cast aside.

C. Schmidt was in Berlin and, during the holidays, made a very good job of editing the *Vorwärts*; no doubt he will now take up the lectureship in Zurich secured for him by Stössel in defiance of the professors.

You are right to go to the Congress.[301] The chaps will have a great deal of fault to find with the *Neue Zeit*, but that can't be helped. You should listen to everything, be as sparing as possible with your answers and afterwards go your own way. So long as Bebel is in charge there's no doubt that everything will get back onto an even keel again.

We over here will put the Gillesiad[d] to thoroughly good use. Hyndman & Co., who have seen the whole of their ambitious international intrigue with the Possibilists[3] come to grief in so lamentable a fashion, are furious, of course, and are at the back of the whole affair. Obviously we could want nothing better than that they should identify themselves with Gilles, though unfortunately they are already turn-

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[a] J. Wolf, 'Das Rätsel der Durchschnittsprofitrate bei Marx'. *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, 2. Bd., 3. Folge. - [b] of *Capital* - [c] C. Schmidt, *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marx'schen Werthgesetzes.* - [d] See this volume, pp. 237-38.

ing away. Courage is not the strong point of some of these gentlemen, as you know, nor is a box or two on the ears something they relish.

Regards from Louise.

Your
F. E.

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## 130

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL [267]

IN BERLIN

London, 29 September 1891

Dear August,

We all of us very much liked your Russian article in the *Vorwärts* [302]; it should prove very effective. A point on which you and I are agreed is that there is an imminent threat of war, and this specifically from Russia; also that, if it materialises, everything possible should be done, especially by us and in our own interests, to crush Russia. Where we differ is in contending, you that the Russians want war, and I that all they want is to threaten without any definite intention of attacking, while at the same time being fully aware that things might nevertheless eventually get to that stage.

I have for years studied the methods and habits of Russian diplomats past and present and know that war, inasmuch as it is invariably unsolicited by the aforesaid diplomats, invariably spells a diplomatic defeat. For in the first place, victories obtained by diplomatic intimidation are cheaper and safer and, in the second, every new war merely goes to prove how relatively weak the Russian army is when it comes to conquest. So enormously do the military in Russia overrate their preparedness for war that, even after discounting 30% of their claims, the diplomats still pitch the army's efficiency too high. Of all

the factors they must take into account, their own army is the most incalculable. Only in cases where others have to fight their battles for them (1813-14) do Russian diplomats willingly go to war.

If Gladstone comes to the helm over here, the Russian diplomats will be in a position more favourable than they could hope to achieve for decades to come. France an active ally, England a benevolent neutral — that's plenty to be going on with. That the Russians will make war-like gestures, I am in no doubt. But if they go to war it will not be intentionally.

There is no doubt whatever that the loan is a potential war loan. But that is merely a sign that the gentlemen are preparing themselves for *any* eventuality. As I see it, all the other signs you adduce — the ban on the export of rye, landing exercises in the Black Sea, etc.,— only go to prove the same thing. I would hazard a guess that, when it comes to the point, Europe, and the Triple Alliance in particular,[303] will be more afraid of a war than unassailable Russia will have need of one; whereupon Russia will be one up in the East while the French chauvinists will be the dupes.

You suggest that Russia is *bound* to attack because of difficulties at home. I do not think so — not, at any rate, in the sense in which you presumably understand it. In Russia three classes suffer — the landowning aristocracy, the peasantry, the emergent proletariat. The latter is still, and the first is already, too weak for revolution, while all the peasantry could achieve would be local insurrections which would be fruitless unless given the necessary cohesion and moral support by a successful insurrection in urban centres. The new bourgeoisie, on the other hand, is flourishing as nowhere else; it is gradually moving towards the point at which it will inevitably clash with bureaucracy, but this may not be reached for years. The Russian bourgeoisie originated from farmers connected with vodka production and from army contractors plundering the state and is what it is because of the state — protective tariffs, subsidies, robbing of the state, licence and state protection for the most oppressive exploitation of labour. So things would have to get pretty bad before these people, whose turpitude far exceeds that of our own bourgeoisie, would undermine the rule of the Tsar.

*If* consideration for *this* particular bourgeoisie is conducive to war, it is only because it has translated pan-Slavism into materialist terms or, rather, has discovered the latter's material basis — the expansion of the home market by means of annexation. Hence the Slavophil fa-

naticism, hence the unbridled Germanophobia — up till 20 years ago, after all, Russia's trade and industry was almost exclusively in German hands — and hence the anti-Semitism. This really vile and ignorant bourgeoisie, unable to see beyond the end of its own nose, does indeed want war and is clamouring for it in the press. But *nowadays* no Tsar need go to war for fear of revolution at home. This may have been the case in the 70s when the decaying aristocracy in the *zemstvos*[a] was becoming aware and resentful of the situation to which it had everywhere been reduced. Today that same aristocracy is very much on its uppers, is being bought out of its landed property by the bourgeoisie and is altogether in the latter's financial clutches, while the bourgeoisie is Tsarism's new bulwark, particularly in the big cities which alone might present a threat. And nowadays a palace revolution or successful assassination attempt could only bring the bourgeoisie to power, no matter who had instigated the coup. Yet this selfsame bourgeoisie would be even more likely than the Tsar to precipitate a war.

But that's beside the point. We both of us recognise the danger of war and, despite the famine in Russia, which you decidedly underrate, the reins may slip from the hands of the rulers, an eventuality for which we too must be prepared. I shall see what can be done in France; while it may be necessary to draw our people's attention to certain points, this should be done by the *French themselves*. Our people have got to realise that a war against Germany in alliance with Russia would first and foremost be a war against the strongest and most efficient socialist party in Europe, and that we should have no option but to fight with all our might against any assailant who went to Russia's aid. For either we should succumb, and that would put paid to the socialist movement in Europe for the next 20 years, or we should ourselves come to the helm and then the words of the *Marseillaise*,

> '*Quoi, ces cohortes étrangères feraient la loi dans nos foyers?*'[b]

would apply to the *French*.

In neither case would the present regime in Germany survive a war; its defence would require too strenuous an effort and means that were too revolutionary.

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[a] provincial assemblies - [b] What, shall these foreign cohorts lay down the law in our own homes?

You are right; if war comes we must call for the general arming of the population. But in co-ordination with the organisation already in existence and/or prepared for war. That would mean the embodiment of *hitherto untrained men* in the *Ersatzreserve*[304] and *Landsturm*[305] and, above all, the *immediate introduction of a rough-and-ready training programme* in addition to the arming of the population and its embodiment into permanent cadres.

The address to the French would have to assume a somewhat different form.[306] The Russian diplomats are not so stupid as to provoke war before the whole of Europe. On the contrary, things will be so arranged as to make either France or one of the Triple Alliance countries appear to be the offending party. The Russians always have dozens of such *casus belli* up their sleeves; what the exact answer to this should be depends on the pretext adduced for war. Whatever the case, we shall have to declare that since 1871 we have always been ready to come to a peaceable understanding with France, that as soon as our party comes to power it will not be able to exercise that power unless Alsace-Lorraine is free to decide its own future but that, should war be forced upon us, notably a war in alliance with *Russia*, we should regard it as an attack upon our existence and should have to defend ourselves with all available means and make use of all available positions—i. e. including Metz and Strasbourg.

As for the actual conduct of the war, there are two aspects which are of prime importance: Russia is weak in attack but enormously strong in defence, a thrust into the heartland is impossible. France is strong in attack but, after one or two defeats, is rendered impotent and incapable of attacking. Since I have no great opinion of Austrians as generals or of Italians as soldiers, our army will have to lead and sustain the main thrust. Containment of the Russians, defeat of the French, such must be the opening gambits in a war. Once the French offensive has been scotched, but hardly any sooner, a start can be made on the conquest of Poland up to the Dvina and the Dnieper. This must be effected by *revolutionary* means and, if necessary, by conceding to Poland, as ultimately constituted, part of Prussian Poland and the whole of Galicia. If all goes well, a *volte-face* may be expected in France. This should be our cue for insisting that Metz and Lorraine at any rate be accorded the French as a peace-offering.

But things probably won't go as smoothly as all that. The French won't simply let themselves be defeated. Their army is *very good* and better armed than ours nor, considering the kind of performance our

generals put up, does it look to me as though very much is to be expected from that quarter. The French have shown this summer that they have learnt how to mobilise. Likewise that they have enough officers for the *first field army*, which is stronger than ours. Not until more troops move into the line will our numerical superiority in officers make itself felt. Moreover, the direct route between Berlin and Paris is heavily defended on both sides by fortifications. In short, and taking the most favourable view, it will probably turn out to be a campaign of changing fortunes in which both sides will continually bring in new reinforcements until one side is exhausted—or England actively intervenes, being able in the circumstances then obtaining to *starve out* the side, whether France or Germany, which it decides to oppose, and to compel it to sue for peace simply by cutting off its supply of corn. What happens meanwhile on the Russian border will depend largely on how the Austrians conduct the war, and is therefore unpredictable.

This much is, I believe, certain—if we are beaten, chauvinism and retaliatory warfare will flourish unchecked in Europe for years to come. If we are victorious, our party will take the helm. The victory of Germany, therefore, will be the victory of the revolution and, if war comes, we must not only desire that victory but promote it with all available means.

Ede's article[307] was intended as a reply to *Vollmar*[270] and, as such, would have been altogether appropriate. Instead, our good Ede dilly-dallied for so long that it appeared as a reply to the *Kronstadt fraternisation*[288] for which, of course, it was totally unsuitable, since the emphasis should have been laid on wholly different aspects. What certainly ought to have been said was that if France, as opposed to Germany, is the *formal* representative of revolution, Germany, by reason of its workers' party, is the *material* leader of revolution and that this would necessarily emerge in a war in which we—and with us the revolution—would either be suppressed or else come to the helm.

Apropos, I hear that you intend to put forward K. Kautsky's declaration of principles as your programme at the party congress. I too regard it in its present version (*Neue Zeit*, No. 51) as a great improvement on our draft. My only recommendation was that he should make a few alterations in the passage on p. 788.[a] He has obviously given the thing a great deal of thought and to good purpose. I have not

[a] See previous letter.

yet been able to read Ede's article concerning individual demands.[299] About Leibfried-Cuno[308] anon, in my next.

Regards from Louise and

Your
F. E.

*1 October*

I had meant to send off the above today, when your letter of the 29th turned up. I trust you read in the *original* the article by me which appeared in the *Socialiste*, for the rendering in the *Vorwärts* is atrocious and in places sheer nonsense.[a] Where the devil does Liebknecht unearth such appalling translators? — It is clear that the time is at hand when we shall be in the majority in Germany, or at any rate the only party strong enough to take the helm — *provided peace continues*. And for that very reason I would be reluctant to see this process of development interrupted by a crisis which might, it is true, curtail it by 2 or 3 years but which might equally well prolong it by 10 or even 20.

As regards my remarks concerning the undue consideration shown by you for your opponents' opinions, you alone are to blame; in your letter[b] you say of Ede's note[309]: '*For our opponents attack the work simply for being couched in tendentiously anti-Lassallean terms.*' This regularly reiterated argument about your opponents cannot but end by inviting the interpretation that those opponents can play ducks and drakes with us. Come to that, Marx and I used to say as long ago as 1848: 'What blunder of ours can have earned us our opponents' *praise*?' i. e. just as you do.

Whatever happens, you must keep Geiser away from the *Vorwärts*. After all, at St Gallen the man was the object of a formal vote of no confidence[253] so surely *he* cannot be allowed to take part in the editing! Blos, too, is an alarmist and, what's more, a bore. — As regards the sixth leading article Liebknecht is to write, there's no need to worry your heads about it[310]; I'll wager that in 3 weeks' time he'll

[a] F. Engels, 'Le congrès de Bruxelles. La situation de l'Europe', *Le Socialiste*, No. 51, 12 September 1891 and 'Über den Brüsseler Kongreß und die Lage in Europa. (Aus einem Brief an Paul Lafargue)', *Vorwärts*, No. 216, 16 September 1891 (see this volume, pp. 234-36 and also present edition, Vol. 27.) - [b] of 12 September 1891

have lost all enthusiasm for leading articles and will say, as he did in Leipzig in 1866, that anyone who supposes this to be the right time for writing leading articles cannot have a proper understanding of the times.

The Vienna *Arbeiterinnenblatt*[a] will doubtless be a thorn in the flesh of your women's paper ladies. The latter are all still very much 'beschacked'[b] and would like to have something specifically women's movementish and not confined to one feminine aspect of the labour movement. However, the latter standpoint is put forward with tremendous vigour in the Vienna journal and, if the women at home are as promising as you say, all this separate women's rights business — bourgeois trifling, no more, — will soon be pushed into the background. If the present spokeswomen are elbowed out by members of their own sex, no matter; but the Vienna paper must be given the credit for being the first of all women's papers to adopt and advocate this standpoint.

In failing to accept Aveling's anti-Gilles statement you have again proved that inside every German there lurks a bureaucrat who pops out the moment he holds some petty official post. Aveling considered it incompatible with his honour for Gilles' claim that he had likewise given him, Aveling, a licking, to go unchallenged in the German press. Aveling got Louise to attest the facts and they both of them put their names to the document. In any other country the reaction would have been: 'This is a matter in which those concerned must themselves know what they ought to do; I, the editor, though I may disapprove of their conduct, am bound to recognise their right to plead their own cause as they think fit.' With you, however, the editorial department sets itself up as censor, lays claim to complete infallibility, and forbids them to conduct their own case. The editorial department has a right to believe that *it* has finished and done with Gilles and need not *for its part* allude to him again, but if Aveling and Louise come forward in their own names, it ought not to use *this* view as a pretext for muzzling a *friend*. Incidentally, I do not in the least share your reservations — indeed it was I who drafted Louise's statement.[c]

Gilles at once proceeded to publish the enclosed leaflet. You will be getting Aveling's reply in a day or two. The business with Bradlaugh

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[a] *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung* (see also this volume, p. 252). - [b] derived from the name of Gertrud Guillaume-Schack - [c] See this volume, pp. 237-38, 251, 252.

was a stupendous blunder of Aveling's, but he was the innocent party. At the time Aveling was, so far as money matters and political negotiations were concerned, a thoroughly naïve, inexperienced and incredibly foolish young poet. Bradlaugh was aware of this and exploited him most outrageously; they started a Natural Science School and laboratory, the business side of which was managed by Bradlaugh while Aveling had to bear not only the brunt of the work but, towards the end, also the financial responsibility. When Aveling became a socialist and married Tussy, Bradlaugh falsely accused him of having engaged in dubious money transactions—Aveling was monstrously hoodwinked but altogether innocent—just unbelievably stupid. And when Bradlaugh published his circular letter, Aveling was stupid enough to keep silent and even by degrees repay Bradlaugh, by whom, for good measure, he had been cheated, something in the region of £200. It is now an old story, Bradlaugh is dead and, since he took care not to formulate any definite charges, there is nothing for it but for Aveling to make the circumstances known whenever the opportunity arises. As will happen the moment Mr Hyndman, who was originally responsible for raking up this tittle-tattle again, accepts Aveling's challenge to confront him in public.—The story of the Chicago telegram is also pure moonshine and again emanates from Hyndman. Our aim is to catch out the *latter*, for Gilles is simply his mouthpiece.

Many regards from Louise and myself to your wife[a] and yourself.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Julie Bebel

## 131

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [160]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 30 September 1891

Dear Sorge,

I spent a fortnight in Scotland and Ireland with Pumps and Louise Kautsky [264] after which I attended to the proofs of the new edition [a] of the *Origin of the Family*; now I am dealing with arrears of correspondence, and shall then finish off Volume III.[b]

Meanwhile I enclose a business communication for Mother Wischnewetzky which you will, I trust, be able to pass on to her. Except by way of business I don't, of course, want to have anything to do with her.

I am sorry to see from your letter of the 15th that you are plagued with the gout. That being so, it's certainly a good thing that you should be eating less nitrogenous food and taking more physical exercise.

The Brussels Congress [135] did in fact go off better than you suppose. The only one of the Germans to behave boorishly was Liebknecht, but he had been most grossly provoked by Nieuwenhuis in the rudest, clerico-jesuitical way. Louise, who represented the working women of Vienna, says that Nieuwenhuis' base attacks and insinuations were utterly outrageous.

The Trades Union Congress was also a success.[298] The 'old' unions did everything in their power to get the Liverpudlian [27] eight hours resolution overturned and their failure to do more than whittle away a small fragment of it is of itself a defeat for them and their middle-class allies. You ought to have seen the liberal papers, in particular the Scottish ones, and the way they wrung their hands over the aberrations of the English working man and his lapse into socialism.

*The People* is quite impossible. It's ages since I have seen such a silly hotchpotch of a paper. Who has translated my *Entwicklung*[c]? [311] Jonas?

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[a] the fourth German edition - [b] of *Capital* - [c] F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*.

I'll send the necessary to the *Socialiste* and report back to you later.

Lafargue has been put up as candidate in Lille and is thus entitled to spend the 5 weeks of the *période électorale* out of prison and to engage in propaganda. He is unlikely to get in but, come the general election, he is sure of being returned in the Département du Nord.[312]

Abetted by Hyndman, Gilles continues his attempts to besmear Aveling—not a bad thing on the whole, firstly because he's such a colossal blackguard and secondly because we shall succeed increasingly in getting Hyndman out into the open.[a] More news of all sorts by the next post.

Warm regards to your wife[b] and yourself.

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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## 132

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 2 October 1891

My dear Laura,

Today I sent to you and to Ravé the sheets 7 to 12 (end) of *Ursprung*[c] with the alterations marked in red. I hope this will be the end of your trouble[199] for which I do not know how to thank you. May the effect be such as to reward you to some extent for your work.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 237-38, 248-49, 252.-[b] Katharina Sorge-[c] the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*

I hope Paul is out by this time, the furlough will be very useful to him and to the cause, 'le Nord' is hot and ought to be forged while it is so.[312]

Boulanger was *so* dead that he evidently could no longer bear life. He died as he lived—*en homme entretenu.*[a] The loss of his beloved M-me de Bonnemain he might have borne, but the loss of her fortune (which the English papers say was *not* left to him)—*ah, c'était autre chose*[b]!

Nobody will be more glad of this comical event than Rochefort, *le brav' général* had gradually become a veritable nightmare for him.

Now, my dear Laura, what in the name of all that used to be sacred am I to write to that *Almanach*[c] where, if the advertisements speak true, there is to be more than a *Sammelsurium*[d] of men, principles and things? The progress of socialism in Germany, why that's a book! And other interesting subjects? the most interesting and most important are such that in the mouth of a *foreigner* they would appear an insult to French readers. Besides you leave me in ignorance of when the thing is wanted, and how much space it is expected to occupy.[313] However I am fully occupied with work, urgent work so far and could not have written a scratch. So there is no time lost.

Last Monday[e] Percy brought the children over and since then we have had the whole family here. Lily has had a fall and hurt her back a little, so she is going to have a support made as a matter of precaution, and that will last a few days yet. Percy is leaving today.

Louise's Hyaena-paper[314] will not appear before 15th instant, your, Tussy's and Louise's articles will create a sensation among the women's rights women in Germany and Austria, as the real question has never been put and answered so plainly as you three do it. And both Louise and Tussy tell me they have *heiligen Schrecken vor den deutschen (Berliner) Frauenrechtsweibern.*[f] But the reign of these is not to last much longer. Bebel writes quite enthusiastically about the ardour with which the working women in Germany now rush into the movement, and if that is the case, the antiquated semi-bourgeois women's rights *ânesses*[g] will soon be ordered to the rear.

Gilles continues issuing flysheets against Edward. More in a day or two. We are trying to bring the slanders home to Hyndman who is us-

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[a] souteneur - [b] that's another matter - [c] *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier* - [d] conglomeration - [e] 28 September - [f] sacred awe of the German (Berlin) women's rights women - [g] asses

ing Gilles as his tool—and who we hope will not be able to wash off the dirt which the dirty Gilles has spattered involuntarily on the man who uses such a tool.[a]

Love from Pumps and Louise and the children.

Ever yours,
F. E.

[From Louise Kautsky, in German]

My dear Laura,

Sincere thanks for your letter. As the General[b] has told you, our 'epoch-making' paper will not be coming out until 15/X, probably due to Victor's Bohemian court proceedings. When will I get some more? since I assume that you, dear Laura, having begun with A, will also say B. Anything will be welcome to us. With warm greetings to yourself and the M. P. for Lille.[c]

Yours,
Louise

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## 133

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

London, 6 October 1891

Dear August,

Herewith what you need in regard to the Cuno-Leibfried case.[308]

But now I think you would be well-advised to stop bombarding poor Ede with letters about Lassalle[178]; he is becoming tremendously irritable because of them and so confused over what *you people*, on the one hand, are demanding and what *he*, on the other, considers to be his duty, that this sort of thing can only make matters worse and he'll end up by producing nothing but contradictory material. You are *as much to blame as Ede* for the fact that the note[309] is *in it at all*, and to

[a] See this volume, pp. 237-38, 248-49, 251. - [b] Engels' jocular name. - [c] Paul Lafargue

condemn this excellent work in its entirety because of one wretched note is surely not right. I told him not to let this deflect him from his purpose, but to continue wearing the velvet glove over the iron fist and I also said that you would be grateful to him in the long run for having criticised Lassalle in this way. For it's clear to me that were you to re-read Lassalle's stuff *now*, you yourselves would be surprised at what it contains and at the faith in the false hero which, out of courtesy, you forced yourselves to profess when consorting with the Lassalleans at the time of the Anti-Socialist Law.[11] I'm positive that you, as also a whole lot of chaps who still cling to the Lassallean tradition, no longer have any knowledge whatever of what the man said and wrote (indeed, said and wrote for the most part against his better judgment). And hence the new edition of Lassalle will have a thoroughly beneficial effect on you people as well, provided only that you read the works of the prophet's critic.

Lafargue is not yet out of prison, but if the government *doesn't* release him during election time, he will probably be elected in Lille.[312] The prospects are rosy; Delory would have got in all right at the last election had not the by now routed Boulangists collared a whole mass of working men's votes.

In Paris there could easily be a government crisis. Rouvier is a shady individual, more so than is tolerable and, now that Boulanger has met his end, Constans is no longer needed and is detested by Carnot because he wants to step into the latter's shoes. Freycinet & Co. also want to get rid of Rouvier and Constans and so it may easily come to a split when the Chamber assembles on the 15th.

I'm glad to see that Dietz has paid you my fee.

Louise asks me to tell you that the photographs have arrived; very many thanks from us all; she has taken one of the two identical ones and I the profile.

Warm regards to your wife[a] and yourself from Louise and

Your
F. E.

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Published in English for the first time

[a] Julie Bebel

## 134

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [141]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 13 October 1891

My dear Lafargue,

Why didn't you ask me for the cheque as soon as you needed it? Why expose Laura to such humiliations when you know that one word from you — or from her — would be enough to put a stop to them?

That dear man Constans would seem to be intent on making you deputy for Lille whatever the cost — so much the better, let's hope he pulls it off. If all you have for opponent is an Opportunist, you should have every chance of success. It is of the utmost importance that we should have you in the Chamber — the other socialist deputies don't seem to be UP TO SNUFF, they're feeble, feeble, feeble!

Constans will undoubtedly do his best to upset your plans — but in that case he will be working for you, just as Bismarck in Germany worked for us. For in my country it's not the socialists who work for the King of Prussia [a]; rather it's the King of Prussia [b] who works for the socialists. And it may well be that the fury aroused in Constans' breast by the boos and catcalls at Marseilles [315] will prove a powerful level in getting you elected. 'Above all, don't be too zealous,' [316] Mr Constans!!

I have a long letter to write to Bebel [c] today on the subject of the Erfurt Congress [301]; there are several very important questions to discuss. That's why I must cut this letter short. Keep smiling, try always to poke fun at your opponents, PUT YOUR TRUST IN THE HISTORICAL LUCK OF THE PARTY, AND KEEP YOUR POWDER DRY.

F. E.

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[a] i. e. for nothing - [b] William II - [c] See next letter.

Likewise from Pumps and the children who are still here. The little girl[a] needs a steel brace for her back (she is growing too fast) and the man who is making it keeps dragging his feet from one day to the next.

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## 135

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

London, 13 October 1891

Dear August,

All I have time for today is to send you a reply about the Russians and in fact this is the only item of importance; the other business is over and done with.[317]

As to the likelihood of war breaking out early next year, there are in Russia three important currents. First you have the diplomats. Of the latter I have said all along that they look for victories without the expense or risk of war, but for that very reason see to it that *everything is placed on a warlike footing* in order that Russia's enormously favourable defensive position may be exploited to the full. This happens every time. They can then put forward outrageous demands and stick to them up to the last minute and then, without a shot being fired, extract the maximum profit from the enemy — who has more to lose — by playing upon his fear of war. Alongside the diplomats, however, you have the soldiers who, despite their numerous mishaps on the field of battle, are exceedingly cock-a-hoop and full of bluster — more so than anywhere else. They want to let fly. And, thirdly, you

[a] Lilian Rosher

have the new bourgeoisie to whom, as to the American bourgeoisie of the 40s, the expansion of the market appears as MANIFEST DESTINY, as Russia's historic mission, namely the liberation of the Slavs and Greeks and the domination of the eastern continent. All three must be taken into account; under Alexander III the diplomats have hitherto been consistently victorious. Now there is famine to be reckoned with and in the east and south-east this is very severe. East of the line Odessa-Nizhni Novgorod and Vyatka there is acute famine everywhere; to the west of this line the harvest showed a gradual improvement and in the west itself the wheat harvest was passable in places though the rye harvest was consistently poor. In Russia potatoes are *not* a staple food. The extremely acute form assumed by the famine in the Volga basin shows how wretched Russia's communications still are. For that reason it seems plain to me that you would expose yourself unnecessarily should you seek to place credence in the assurances of those presenting the German military estimates when they tell you that war may certainly be expected next spring. It is just as much the job of Russia's diplomats to prepare for war with an assiduity that is all the greater for their reluctance to embark on it, as it is the duty of the General Staff to talk you people in the Reichstag into believing that war will definitely break out in April '92. You are perfectly right to pay careful attention to these statements and I shall be very grateful for any authentic information in this connection; however the chaps also have their ulterior motives.

This point is not as academic as it seems. For it will assume the utmost importance the moment the government estimates are presented to the Reichstag. If we are positive that there'll be a bust up early next year, we can hardly be opposed to these estimates *in principle.* And that would be a pretty disastrous state of affairs so far as we are concerned. For the arse-crawling parties would all be overjoyed that they should have been proved right and that we should now have to spurn our policy of the past twenty years. And so impromptu a change of course would also cause enormous friction within the party. And internationally as well.

On the other hand there *may* nevertheless be a war in the spring. What then should our attitude to the estimates be?

In my view there can only be one attitude: 1. There's no longer time in which to change our weapons. If peace prevails until new cannon and a rifle of even smaller calibre are introduced, peace will in any case presumably continue to prevail. So these objections don't

hold water. 2. The same applies, if to an even greater extent, to new cadres for the standing army—I mean to the demand for new *regiments*. In view of the gigantic armies of today, the few new formations which may now be demanded are of no account and, if they are to serve as *training* cadres enabling more men to be recruited and trained, they can only do so during an extended period of peace and thus would be useless so far as a war next spring is concerned.—On the other hand we can, however, 3. vote estimates where the intention is to bring today's army closer to the concept of a whole people under arms, to strengthen the *defensive* side alone, to train and arm bodies of men of *any* age between 17 and 60 who have not yet been conscripted and to incorporate them into permanent cadres without a proliferation of pettifogging regulations. While the threat of war persists we cannot demand that the existing organisation of the army be revolutionised, but if we seek to prepare the vast mass of untrained but able-bodied men as best as we can and organise them in cadres—for actual battle, not for show or pettifoggery—that will bring us closer to our concept of a people's militia which alone is acceptable to us.

Should the threat of war increase, we can then tell the government that we should be prepared, if enabled to do so by decent treatment, to support them against a foreign enemy, provided they prosecuted the war ruthlessly and with all available means, including revolutionary ones. Should Germany be attacked from the east and west, all means of defence would be justified. It is a question not only of the nation's existence but also, in our own case, of asserting the position and the future prospects for which we have fought. The more revolutionary the prosecution of the war, the more it will be waged in accordance with our ideas. And it might happen that, in contrast to the cowardice of the bourgeoisie and Junkers, who want to save their property, *we* should turn out to be the only truly vigorous war party. Of course it might also happen that we should have to take the helm and do a 1794 in order to chuck out the Russians and their allies.

I must close so as to get this letter registered (cannot be done after 5 o'clock). From past experience I felt pretty sure that the first field army would be surreptitiously receiving substantial reinforcements but we are glad to have authentic confirmation of this

point. So far as the Austrians are concerned, the men are *absolutely first-rate*, the junior officers possess pluck but vary greatly in the matter of battle-training, while the senior ranks are utterly unpredictable. A man can rise to the top there on the strength of his services as pimp to Francis Joseph.

I shall get something done for the French on the question of the war,[313] but it will be damned difficult not to do more harm than good; the chaps are so touchy.

Constans is doing all he can to promote Lafargue's candidature[312] by resorting to some typical Prussian chicanery; that is no good in France.

But how will things work out with the present war policy and with Liebknecht at the Foreign Office? His foreign policy—Parnell, Garibaldi festival in Nice, etc.—is beneath contempt.[318] What with his adoration of the 'Republic', there's the prospect of a nice old rumpus before long.

If you are so certain that war will break out in the spring, it seems to me that you ought at least to discuss the matter behind the scenes when you hold your party congress.[301]

Regards from Louise and

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 13 October 1891

My dear Laura,

Herewith the cheque £20 — to turn your landlady out of your domicile.

Now as to your *Almanach*.[a] I am writing you an article[313] but as it will have a practical turn toward the end of it, I can hardly send it off, or give it its final shape, until a short time before publication. Therefore I *must* know when your *Almanach* is to appear. Otherwise the thing may turn stale, or even be completely upset by events. It won't be more than 2 or 3 pages, 4 at outside, so there will be no necessity to send it early — as far as *technical* matters are in question. But you will see that it is impossible to write *un article d'actualité* unless it be printed and published at once. So please let me know and I shall gladly do my best to oblige *nos amis de là-bas*.[b]

Thanks for the papers. That *Action de Lyon*[c] seems a splendid specimen of the present state of fusion and confusion amongst the French socialists, out of the midst of which arises, erect, unavoidable, *zudringlich, unausstehlich*,[d] the everlasting Adrien Veber, basking in his own conceit, in which he is hardly second to his worthy master Benoît Malon.[319] How does this new harmony of all the disharmonies work? I see in the *Secrétariat du travail*[320] there are all sorts, Possibilists A[53] and B,[3] aside of our people and a lot of others, and so far they seem to have respected each other's carcasses without coming to blows. I cannot imagine how it is done and what may be the upshot of it.

How much was the fine inflicted on Paul?[275] I cannot find it in the *Socialiste* and have not any other paper ready at hand — and what chances have you to evade it?

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[a] *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier* - [b] our friends over there - [c] *L'Action* - [d] impertinent, intolerable

Love from Louise, Pumps, the children and your old ever thirsty (going to have a bear with Pumps)

F. Engels

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## 137

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [321]

### IN STUTTGART

London, 14 October 1891

Dear Kautsky,

On reading your draft as published in the *Vorwärts*,[322] I find to my great surprise 'one reactionary mass' cropping up all of a sudden. I am writing to you about it immediately though I very much fear that this will come too late. By striking a shrill, discordant note, this propagandist phrase utterly destroys the harmony of the concise, rigorously formulated scientific propositions. For it is a propagandist phrase and an excessively biassed one at that and hence—in its apodictically absolute form where alone it sounds effective—utterly false.

False because it presents an in itself correct *historical tendency* as a *fait accompli*. The moment the socialist revolution comes, all the other parties will *appear* as a reactionary mass by comparison with ourselves. Maybe that is what thay *are* already, being no longer capable of progressive action of any kind, although this is not necessarily the case. But *at this moment* we cannot say as much, not with the assurance with which we put forward the other propositions in our programme. Even in Germany circumstances may arise in which the parties of the Left, deplorable though they are, will be *compelled* to clear up part of the vast quantity of anti-bourgeois, bureaucratic and feudal rubbish that still remains there. In which case they could hardly be described as one reactionary mass.

Until we are strong enough to seize power ourselves and put our principles into practice there cannot, strictly speaking, be any question of *one* reactionary mass *by comparison with ourselves*. Otherwise the entire nation would be divided into a reactionary majority and an impotent minority.

Take the chaps who dismantled the system of small states in Germany, who provided the bourgeoisie with elbow-room in which to carry out its industrial revolution, who introduced a unified transport system — both for things and for persons —, thereby inevitably according greater freedom of movement to ourselves — were their actions those of a 'reactionary mass'?

Take the French bourgeois Republicans who between 1871 and '78 put paid once and for all to the monarchy and the rule of the clergy, who secured freedom of the press, of association and of assembly to an extent hitherto unknown in France in non-revolutionary times, who introduced compulsory schooling and standardised education, raising it to a level that might well serve as an example to us in Germany — were their measures those of a reactionary mass?

Take the Englishmen of the two official parties who have vastly extended the suffrage and brought about a fivefold increase in the number of voters, who have evened out the size of constituencies and introduced compulsory and improved schooling, who at every session still vote not only for bourgeois reforms but also for one concession after another in favour of the working man — their progress may be slow and sluggish but nobody can condemn them out of hand as '*one* reactionary mass'.

In short we have no right to present a tendency in gradual process of realisation as an already accomplished fact, the less so in that in England, for example, such a tendency will *never* quite get to the point of becoming a fact. Come the revolution over here, the bourgeoisie would still be prepared to introduce all sorts of minor reforms, though by then it would be quite pointless to insist on minor reforms in a system that was in the process of being overthrown.

*Under certain circumstances* the use in propaganda of Lassalle's phrase is justified, though in our case it has in fact been misused to an enormous extent, e.g. in the *Vorwärts* ever since 1 October 1890. But it *should not be included in the programme* where it would be utterly false and misleading. It would look like Bethmann the banker's wife on the balcony someone proposed to build onto his house for him. 'If you

build me a balcony,' he said, 'my wife will go and sit there and muck up me whole façade!'

I can't comment on any other alterations in the *Vorwärts* version as I've mislaid the paper and this letter must go off.

The party congress[301] began on an illustrious date. The 14th of October is the anniversary of the battles of Jena and Auerstedt when the old, pre-revolutionary Prussia collapsed. Let's hope that the 14th of October 1891 will usher in for Prussianised Germany the '*domestic Jena*' predicted by Marx![323]

Your
F. Engels

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## 138

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 22 October 1891

My dear Laura,

Herewith my article.[313] Please look it over and say what you think of it. If you think that it won't do, or not without essential alterations, please say so. If you think it will do, let it be judged by others, *quant au fond. Le fond*[a] once agreed upon, please tell me where that particular lady *la langue française* wants alterations. I could not, in a matter of this sort, where I should be held answerable for every word published, allow the Frenchies to make changes without seeing them myself first. If only formal changes are required, will you send me the

[a] as far as the substance is concerned. The substance

manuscript back with your proposed changes and then we can settle.

Kind regards to our prisoner.[a]

In great haste—*Postschluss*![b]

Love from Louise and yours

ever

F. E.

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## 139

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[267]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 24 October 1891

Dear Sorge,

I have in front of me your letters of 15 September and 2 and 9 October.

As regards Barondess' decamping (presumably with the funds?), perhaps you could send me some further details just in case the little man turns up here.

For heaven's sake do me a kindness and stop supplying me regularly with *any* American monthlies. I am dying to be able to read a *book* again; despite the fact that I can only take a proper look at $^1/_3$ of the newspapers that arrive here, they swallow up all my time—but the movement is now so huge and one must, after all, remain *au courant*[c]! On the other hand, please send me...[d]

That the movement is again in the doldrums over there I can readily believe. With you people it's one long succession of great UPS AND DOWNS. But with each UP you ultimately gain ground so that in the end it represents an advance. Thus the tremendous onward surge achieved by the KNIGHTS OF LABOR[324] and by the wave of STRIKES between

[a] Paul Lafargue - [b] time for the post - [c] informed - [d] Engels did not finish this sentence. See this volume, p. 277.

1886 and 1888 did on the whole, and despite all setbacks, spell advancement for us. For, after all, the masses are stirring in a way they have never done before. Next time even more ground will be gained. But none the less the standard of living of the NATIVE AMERICAN WORKINGMAN is notably higher even than that of his English counterpart and this alone is enough to put him out of the running for some time to come. Again, there is the competition from immigrants and other factors besides. *When* the time comes over there, things will move with tremendous speed and dynamism, but that may not be for some while yet. Miracles never happen. And, in addition, there's the unfortunate business of your supercilious Germans who, wishing to double the role of schoolmaster with that of commanding officer, discourage the natives from learning even the best they have to offer.

I shall send the money to the *Socialiste* as soon as I know who it's for; Lafargue is in jug, as you know; I have not yet had an answer.

The *Entwicklung des Sozialismus*,[a] translated by Aveling and edited by me, is to appear over here in English (in Sonnenschein's Social Series); this authorised translation will pretty well neutralise the pirated American edition [311] which has been done into quite execrable English. And the thing isn't even complete—what they found too difficult they simply left out.

Needless to say, Mother Wischnewetzky gladly consented to Sonnenschein's publishing the *Condition, etc.*[b] in her translation. The fee, however, is to go to Mrs Foster-Amery. *Cela m'est bien égal.*[c] For the rest, she seems really pleased to have been able to establish contact again and tells me what a rotten time they are having, etc., etc.

I should like to have Bakunin's biography [325]; from it one could get some idea of how present-day anarchist tradition depicts that Messiah.

Letter of the 12th of this month now also received. Thanks.

In Erfurt everything went off very well.[301] I shall send you the official record as soon as it comes out; Bebel says that the reports of the speeches are very garbled. The insolent Berliners of the opposition, instead of acting as prosecutors, immediately became the accused, behaved with abysmal cowardice and will now have to get along *outside* the party if they propose to do anything. There are quite undeniably

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[a] F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific.* - [b] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844.* Translated by Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky. London: Swan Sonnenschein and C°, 1892. - [c] It's all the same to me.

*police elements* in their midst, while some are also *covert anarchists* who are out to surreptitiously convert our chaps; along with these are the jackasses, swollen-headed students and failed candidates, would-be bigwigs of all descriptions. Barely 200 of them all told.— Mr Vollmar likewise had to eat humble pie; the latter is far more dangerous than the former, being more cunning and tenacious as well as vain to the point of folly, and intent at all costs on playing a role. Bebel put up an excellent performance, as did Singer, Auer and Fischer (used to be on the *Sozialdemokrat* here, a really sterling chap, aside from being the bluntest of blunt Bavarians). To Liebknecht fell the bitter task of having to recommend Kautsky's draft programme which, with Bebel's and my support,[a] was accepted as the *basis* of the new programme's theoretical section. We have had the satisfaction of seeing Marx's critique[b] win all along the line. Even the last traces of Lassalleanism have been eliminated. With the exception of a few poorly written bits (though it's only the way they're put that is feeble and commonplace), there is nothing to complain of in the programme or not, at any rate, after a *first* reading.

You will have seen that Lafargue is standing in Lille, and will hear the result of tomorrow's election[c] long before you get this letter. If he isn't elected, he will be sure of a seat in the Département du Nord at the coming general election.[326]

The threat of war looms larger despite the famine in Russia. The Russians want to make prompt and thorough use of the diplomatic possibilities presented by the new French alliance[288] and, although I am convinced that the Russian diplomats do not want war and that the famine would make it seem an absurdity, the military and pan-Slav currents of opinion (the latter being now supported by the *very powerful* industrial bourgeoisie with an eye to expanding markets) may nevertheless prevail, while in Vienna, Berlin or Paris there might also be blunders which would lead to a war. Bebel and I have been corresponding about this and are of the opinion that if the Russians start a war against us, German socialists should lash out *à outrance*[d] at the Russians and their allies, whoever they may be.[e] If Germany is crushed, so shall we be, while at best the struggle will be so intense that only revolutionary means will enable Germany to hold its own, and hence there is every likelihood that we may be forced to take the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 239 and 246-47. - [b] K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. - [c] See this volume, p. 269. - [d] with all their strength - [e] See this volume, pp. 242-47 and 256-59.

helm and play at 1793. Bebel made a speech to that effect in Berlin which attracted a great deal of attention in the French press.[327] I shall try and make all this clear to the French in their own language,[313] which won't be easy. But though I should regard it as a great misfortune if there were to be a war and it were to bring us to power prematurely, we have got to be prepared for that eventuality and I am glad that in this I have Bebel on my side, for he is by far the most efficient of our chaps.

Next week I start on Volume III.[a]

Warm regards to your wife[b] and to you yourself.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL[267]

### IN BERLIN

London, 24 October 1891

Dear Bebel,

Many thanks for the postcards and packages without which it would have been difficult for us to follow the course of events in Erfurt.[301] Things really went off quite capitally—you, Auer, Singer and Fischer covered yourselves with glory, and the wretchedness of the opposition was the only thing you had to complain of, it being no pleasure to do battle with such small fry. At all events the gentlemen will now have to show what they are capable of outside the party,

[a] of *Capital* - [b] Katharina Sorge

where they are innocuous, and the better elements amongst the youthful rowdies will now be accorded time for reflection. The fact that Mr von Vollmar has seen fit to reject the new course in the arms of Caprivi, if without 'personal spite',[328] may provide temporary alleviation, but you are very far from being quit of the chap, and the more tense the situation becomes, the closer a watch you will have to keep upon him. However, every big party has *one* intriguer-in-chief and if you were to get rid of this one, another would take his place.

We were pleased that there should have been so much merriment on your side, and it made us laugh a lot—the sorry opposition and the worthy Vollmar are almost enough to send one to sleep.

On the *first* reading the programme makes an excellent impression, with the exception of a few weak spots to which I had already drawn K. Kautsky's attention earlier on.[a] It must have been a bitter pill for Liebknecht to swallow when *he* had to give an account of the new programme from which the last traces, not only of Lassalleanism, but also of his much-beloved People's Party[154] slogans had been eliminated. Indeed the speech—which, if the account in the *Vorwärts* is to be believed, he himself drafted—provides painful evidence of this. And then he suffered a further blow in the shape of Kunert's motion[329] on his son-in-law.[b] I hope Liebknecht may find a gently inclined plane down which he may slowly glide into retirement—he is remarkably outmoded in the party.

Monday, 26 October.—In the meantime another letter arrived from you this morning.[330] That Fischer had made enemies I am ready to believe, for it's something I know from my own experience. In my younger days I was just as inclined to be uppish at the wrong time and in the wrong place as he is, and in the same way I seldom detect a failing in the younger generation which I myself did not possess to a greater or lesser degree. It gradually wears off, provided one occasionally gets a slap in the eye which one has to admit is deserved.

I don't know whether you will in future be able to avoid settling such matters in public. I think it's better that you *should*, despite minor disadvantages and much personal unpleasantness. But there's no doubt that, unless your central organ[c] changes, you would be well-advised to hand it over entirely to the Berlin party and to acquire

[a] See this volume, pp. 239-41. - [b] Bruno Geiser - [c] *Vorwärts*

a national weekly advertiser which, however, should and would have to be properly edited.

It was most sensible to expend the 400 marks on Lafargue's election. This will come in *very handy* for the second ballot. Since unions and party are distinct in your case, it is perfectly all right if French and other STRIKES receive support *direct from the trades unions* in Germany, leaving the party funds free for political purposes. This being so, however, you should see to it that the unions do something for the glassworkers.[331] Quite a lot has been done for them from over here.

Lafargue is in a good position. He obtained 5,005 votes, the Opportunist and government candidate Depasse 2,928, the second Opportunist Bere (Beer or Bear, as you choose) 1,246, and the Radical Roche 2,272. *The latter is stepping down in favour of Lafargue.* That means that Depasse, his real competitor in the second ballot, could only get in if all Roche's voters were to abstain and if he were to poll, say, another 1,000 votes amongst the reserve of abstainers in the monarchist camp, or if 3,000 or more votes from that reserve were to more than outweigh the 5,005 + 2,272. I don't know how many registered electors there are and therefore am unable to judge; at all events the position is better than we had dared to hope.

Gilles is doing well for himself. The fellow must be living in clover at police expense. He has *bought* nearly everyone in the Communist Society[89] by lending them money and they *durst* not chuck him out. Since the fellow claims that, *as a member of that society*, he is *ipse facto* a *member of the German party*, it may be asked whether you people are prepared to put up with this particular 'comrade'. The funds available to him for his loans and his circulars — that sort of thing costs a pretty penny over here — can only emanate from the Embassy.

I have not yet seen anything about the Magdeburg meeting[332] either in the *Vorwärts* or in the *Echo*.[a] That the *Vorwärts* should suppress the opposition meeting in Berlin[333] was only to be expected in view of its previous practice. But it's abysmally stupid.

I am sending you an article by the great Paul Brousse from which you will see how that chief of all quarrel-pickers, mischief-mongers and authoritarians, now that he's been thoroughly trounced and reduced to a cipher, is holding forth to *you people*, whom he has combatted for years as his arch-enemies on the Continent, about peace and federation.

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[a] *Hamburger Echo*

Herewith a few cuttings about the Russian famine which is spreading even farther west than I thought. Such things are to be found daily in the British press. The position is indeed a serious one and still more troops, or so Mendelson assured me yesterday, are being sent to the west simply in order that they may be fed. It would be madness for the Russians to go to war, but militarist parties always are mad and the Russian bourgeoisie is blinkered, stupid, ignorant, chauvinist and grasping in the extreme. If war there *must* be, then the sooner the better, for in that case the Russians would be treated to a rude awakening.

Since I thought it necessary to let the French know exactly what our position would be in case of war — a damned difficult task, mind you — I have written an article in French and sent it to Laura.[313] Today she writes to say that both she and Paul are absolutely delighted with the article and that it was exactly what was wanted for the French, etc. If Guesde is also of that opinion — he is still at Lille where he is doing duty for Lafargue with the electors — the article will be published. It was originally intended for the French socialist almanac [a] but may (I think will) be too strong for that paper's motley crew, in which case it will probably appear in the *Socialiste* which I trust you see. What I tell the chaps is this: We are virtually certain of coming to the helm within 10 years; we can neither seize power nor retain it without making good the wrongs done to other nationalities by our predecessors by 1. openly paving the way for the restoration of Poland and 2. putting the people of northern Silesia and Alsace-Lorraine in a position to decide freely where their allegiance lies. Between a socialist France and a socialist Germany, I go on, there is no such thing as an Alsace-Lorraine question. Hence there could be no grounds whatever for going to war over Alsace-Lorraine. But if the French bourgeois should begin such a war notwithstanding, and if to that end they should place themselves in the service of the Russian Tsar who, indeed, is the enemy of the *middle classes* throughout western Europe, this would represent a repudiation of France's revolutionary mission. We German socialists, on the other hand, who would come to power in 10 years' time provided peace is preserved, would be duty bound to assert the position acquired by us in the vanguard of the labour movement, not only against the internal, but also against the external, foe. If Russia were to win, we should be

[a] *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier*

crushed. So, have at 'em, if Russia goes to war, have at the Russians and their allies, *whoever they may be*. We should then have to ensure that the war be prosecuted with all available revolutionary means and that the existence of any government refusing to use those means be made impossible; alternatively that we ourselves take the lead at the crucial moment. We have not yet forgotten the glorious example set by the French in 1793 and, if our hand is forced, we might in fact celebrate the centenary of 1793 by showing that the German working men of 1893 are not unworthy of their predecessors the Sansculottes, in which case, should French soldiers cross our frontier, they will be welcomed with the cry:

*Quoi ces cohortes étrangères*
*Feraient la loi dans nos foyers?*[a] (*Marseillaise*)

That is the gist of the thing. As soon as the text has been finally decided on (I naturally anticipate that one or two minor amendments will be suggested) and printing has begun, I shall translate the article into German and we shall see what can be done with it. I'm not sure whether the conditions governing your press are such as to permit its publication in Germany; maybe if you qualified it a bit it might do — it'll be managed somehow. *My* articles are not in any case binding on the *party*, which is a great piece of luck for both of us, although Liebknecht supposes I regard it as a personal misfortune though this would never have occurred to me.

The reports quote you as saying that I had prognosticated the collapse of bourgeois society in 1898. There must have been a little mistake somewhere. All I said was that by '98 we might possibly have come to the helm. Should this *not* happen, bourgeois society might continue to potter along as it is for a bit, until such time as an impulse from without causes the whole rotten structure to come crashing down. In still air a dilapidated old wreck of that sort can survive for a couple of decades even when it is to all intents and purposes defunct. So I should have been exceedingly careful about making predictions of this nature. On the other hand, the possibility of our coming to power is merely a calculation of probability in accordance with mathematical laws.

Nevertheless, I hope that peace will prevail. Our position is such that we have no need to take a gamble — and war would compel us

[a] What, shall these foreign cohorts lay down the law in our own homes?

to do so. And again, ten years from now we shall be far better prepared. *Voici pourquoi.*[a]

If we are to take over and operate the means of production, we need people who are technically trained and plenty of them. These we have not got, and have even been pretty glad hitherto to have been largely spared the company of the 'educated'. Now things have changed. Now we are strong enough to absorb and digest any quantity of educated riff-raff and I would predict that in the next 8 or 10 years we shall recruit enough young technicians, doctors, jurists and schoolmasters for the factories and large estates to be managed for the nation by party members. In which case our accession to power will take place quite naturally and will run a — relatively — smooth course. If, on the other hand, we come to the helm prematurely and as a result of war, the technicians will be our principal opponents and will deceive and betray us at every turn; we should have to inaugurate a reign of terror against them and would lose out all the same. This is what *always* happened to the French revolutionaries, if on a smaller scale; even in everyday administration they had to leave the subordinate, really operative, posts to their former reactionary incumbents — men who hampered and paralysed everything. I therefore hope and pray that this splendid, unerring progress of ours, evolving with the impassivity and inexorability of a natural process, will continue along its appointed course.

Warm regards to your wife[b] and yourself.

Your
F. E.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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[a] That is why. - [b] Julie Bebel

## 141

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 25 October 1891

Dear K. K.,

My congratulations on the acceptance of your draft programme at Erfurt and on the deletion of 'one reactionary mass'.[a] I have not yet had time to compare your draft in detail with the programme as finally accepted.

I have proposed to Dietz that the fee for the 2nd edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy* be divided equally between all 5 concerned — 240 M for the 3 heirs and 160 M for the 2 translators, assuming 400 M to be the total, or pro rata if not. I hope you will agree to this so that we can get the business settled once and for all. The heirs are not entitled to the *whole* fee for this edition.

I have also asked Dietz to hand you on my behalf a copy of the new edition[b] of the *Origin, etc.*, a bound copy, that is.

Everything went off really splendidly at Erfurt.[301] Auer's and Fischer's speeches in particular caused us a great deal of merriment. But those two thoroughly deserved a chance to vent their wrath on the 'opposition'. Pit a Bavarian against a Berliner and there'll be damned little left of the Berliner at the finish. But the behaviour of these gentry, like that of Vollmar, shows how greatly that little crew had overestimated their own power. Retreats such as these are quite unheard of. But it could not fail to make an impact abroad, and over *here* it has meant a resounding defeat for Hyndman who first took Gilles publicly under his wing and obviously believed his boasts about the collapse of the German party — he would now like to disassociate himself from the scoundrel if he could. Incidentally, Gilles has been elevated in *Figaro* to the status of great man!

You may, if you wish, put an announcement in the *Neue Zeit* to the effect that the following will be coming out in Swan Sonnenschein's & Co.'s SOCIAL SERIES: 1. my *Condition of the Working-Class*[c] in *la* Wisch-

[a] See this volume, pp. 261-62. - [b] the fourth German edition - [c] *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*

newetzky's translation, 2. my *Entwicklung des Sozialismus*[a] translated by Aveling. 3. Ede's introduction to Lassalle translated by Tussy.[334]

Louise has suggested to me that it might be in the interest of the *Neue Zeit* to send a copy regularly to the editor of *The Review of Reviews*, W. T. Stead, Mowbray House, Norfolk Street, Strand, London, W. C. The thing has a sale of over 100,000 copies and prints extracts from reviews from all over the world together with the contents (titles of articles) of all of them, no less than 23 of these are from Germany, including the *Deutsche Revue, Ueber Land und Meer, Gartenlaube, Nord und Süd, Preußische Jahrbücher*, etc., etc. From the *Economic Journal* our draft programme's demands. Since Stead is a thoroughly mad sort of chap, albeit a brilliant businessman, it may well be of benefit to us and, on occasion, prove enormously effective if you were to send him copies — for whenever there's a chance of creating a sensation, he ruthlessly seizes on it, irrespective of the source. The thing would also be enormously useful to you people, costs only 6d. a month and contains a tremendous amount. It would save your reading *any other* English revue.

Now I must go out for a spot o' fresh air; the Avelings and Edes[b] will be arriving for luncheon shortly.

Your
F. E.

Monday.[c] I am sending you a copy of *The Review of Reviews* in which Stead butters up Mother Besant with the intention of instructing her in Christianity.[d] He obviously wants to win fame as the man who led her back to Jesus. There's one way to do that. For Mother Besant invariably shares the religion of the man who *downs* her.— Ede and Tussy agree to my proposal about the distribution of the fee.

Lafargue obtained 5,005 votes in Lille, the two Opportunists 4,174 together and the Radical, Roche, 2,272; the latter stepped down in favour of Lafargue. Hence, if an Opportunist is to get in, 3,000 ab-

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[a] *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* - [b] Eduard and Regina Bernstein - [c] 26 October - [d] 'Character Sketch: Mrs Annie Besant: — Portraits of the Leading Officials of the Theosophical Society', *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. IV, No. 22, October 1891.

staining Monarchists will have to *support* him in the second ballot. A most satisfactory position, therefore.[326]

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935

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## 142

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 27 October 1891

*Mein liebes*[a] Löhr,

*Das ist ja ein ganz famoses Resultat*,[b] Paul heading the Poll — pretty Poll — you see enthusiasm makes me half mad and drives me into Pantomime puns, but when I came to 'pretty Poll' and remembered your name was Kakadou, that brought me to a dead stop, I might be accused of blasphemy and what not! *Au, au, sagt der Jud' in Berlin, wenn der christliche Germane auch einmal versucht einen Witz zu machen.*[c]

Well, if I only knew *le nombre des électeurs inscrits*,[d] I should make a shrewd guess. The *Défense* de Lille bragged with 6,000 monarchist and clerical votes, that I doubt very much, and so think Paul almost safe. We drank success to him last Sunday in 1868 Port, and I am sure at least the 5 votes over the 5,000 are due to our efforts. Never mind, next Sunday week we'll try another and more successful sort and that is sure to smash up all his opponents. What a fine country France is to be locked up! You attack the government, the government makes you M. P. (Pélagie) but Pélagie makes you M. P. (Parliament).[335] In Germany it's the other way about. You get elected into Parliament and then you may well write behind you name M. P. because that means Member of *Plötzensee* — the new monster prison near Berlin.

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[a] My dear - [b] The result is absolutely splendid. - [c] Oh, oh, says the Jew in Berlin, if the German Christian ventures as much as once to make a joke. - [d] the number of registered electors

But *trêve de bêtises*[a]! I am very glad indeed you and Paul like my article.[313] But will the *Kuddelmuddel*[b] people of the *Almanac*[c] be of the same mind? *Never* mind (another Pantomime effort, I shall soon be M. P. (Pantomime)), it can then go in the *Socialiste*.

Old Sorge who does not want to have the *Socialiste* without paying for it asks me to send 10s. for his subscription. I send a postal order, they sell readily in Vienna, as Louise tells me, so no doubt they will be legal tender in Paris.

*Post mark*:

I.
525, 490, 10/- Regent's Park Road
38 24 September 91

Things in Erfurt went very well.[301] The execution of the insolent young student and *commis-voyageur* lot was very necessary. They will soon disappear now, and the next lot of the same sort will be less cheeky.

But now it's post-time and dinner-time too. Give Paul a hearty cheer in our name when you come into Pélagie, and take a hearty embrace yourself from Louise and

Your old incorrigible
General

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959

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[a] enough of stupidities - [b] mixed up - [c] *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier*

## 143

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 29 October 1891

I was interrupted when on the point of asking you in my letter of Saturday 24 October[a] if you would from time to time send me a *women's paper* or magazine — from the bourgeois female's movement, needless to say. For the good of the *working women's* movement in Germany, Austria and over here, Louise is obliged to pay some slight heed to this stuff, too, and hence would very much like to take an *occasional* look at what these little ladies are up to in America.— Lafargue's prospects are rosy: 5,005 votes. Depasse, Opportunist, 2,928; Bère (read Beer), also Opportunist, 1,246; Roche, Radical, 2,272. The latter stepped down in favour of Lafargue who has the support of the extreme Radicals in the Chamber.[336] — In Germany the party congress takes pride of place over everything.[301] The few intriguers who were chucked out will attract no one save a number of stuck-up little students — GOOD RIDDANCE!

Regards to your wife.[b]

Your
F. E.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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[a] See this volume, p. 264. - [b] Katharina Sorge

## 144

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[337]

IN ST PETERSBURG

[London,] 29-31 October 1891

Dear Sir,

When your letter of 21 September arrived I was travelling in Scotland and Ireland[264]; only today I find time and leisure to reply to it.

Your letter of 20 January was indeed lost, which I regret doubly, first because the interesting information it contained was kept from me for so long, and second because it put you to the trouble of working it out again for me. Many thanks!

The '*Züchtung von Millionären*',[a] as Bismarck puts it, seems indeed to go on in your country with giant steps. Such profits as your official statistics show, are unheard of nowadays in English, French or German textile manufactories. 10, 15, at the outside 20%, average profits, and 25-30% in very very exceptional years of prosperity, are considered *good*. I was only in the childhood of modern industry that establishments with the very latest and best machinery, producing their goods with considerably less labour than was at the time socially necessary, were able to secure such rates of profit. At present, such profits are made only on lucky speculative undertakings with new inventions, that is to say on one undertaking out of a hundred, the rest mostly being dead failures.

The only country where similar, or approximatively similar profits are nowadays possible in staple industries, is the United States, America. There the protective tariff after the civil war, and now the Mackinley tariff,[338] have had similar results, and the profits must be, and are, enormous. The fact that this state of things depends entirely on tariff legislation, which may be altered from one day to another, is sufficient to prevent any large investment of *foreign* capital (large, in proportion to the quantity of domestic capital invested) in these industries, and thus to keep out the principal source of competition and lowering of profits.

Your description of the changes produced by this extension of mod-

[a] rearing of millionaires

ern industry in the life of the mass of the people, of the ruin of their home industry for the *direct consumption of the producers*, and by and by also of the home industry carried on for the capitalist purchaser, reminds me vividly of the chapter of our author on the *Herstellung des innern Markts,*[a] [339] and of what took place in most places of Central and Western Europe from 1820 to 1840. This change, of course, with you has different effects to some extent. The French and German peasant proprietor dies hard, he lingers for two or three generations in the hands of the usurer before he is perfectly ripe for being sold out of his land and house; at least in the districts where modern industry has not penetrated. In Germany the peasantry are kept above water by all sorts of domestic industries — pipes, toys, baskets, etc. — carried on for account of capitalists; their spare time being of no value to them after they have tilled their little fields, they consider every kopek they receive for extra work as so much gain; hence the ruinously low wages and the inconceivable cheapness of such industrial products in Germany.

With you, there is the resistance of the *община*[b] to be overcome (although I should say that that must be giving way considerably in the constant struggle with modern Capitalism), there is the resource of farming land from the large proprietors which you describe in your letter of May l'st [291] — a means of securing surplus value to the proprietor but also of continuing a lingering existence to the peasant *as a peasant*; and the *kulaki*,[c] too, as far as I can see, on the whole prefer keeping the peasant in their clutches as a *sujet à exploitation*,[d] to ruining him once for all and getting his land transferred to them. So that it strikes me, the Russian peasant, where he is not wanted as a workman for the factory or the town, will also die hard, will take a deal of killing before he does die.

The enormous profits secured by the youthful bourgeoisie in Russia, and the dependence of these profits on a good crop (harvest) so well exposed by you, explain many things otherwise obscure. Thus what should I make out of this morning's statement in the Odessa correspondence of a London paper: the Russian commercial classes seem to be possessed of the one idea, that war is the only real panacea for the ever increasing depression and distrust from which all Russian industries are now suffering — what should I make of it and how explain it but for this coplete dependence of a tariff-made industry on

[a] creation of domestic market - [b] commune (Russ.) - [c] rich peasants in Russia - [d] object of exploitation

the home market and on the harvest of the agricultural districts on which depends the purchasing power of its only customers! And if this market fails, what seems more natural to naive people than its extension by a successful war?

Very interesting are your notes on the apparent contradiction that, with you, a good harvest does *not* necessarily mean a lowering of the price of corn. When we study the real economical relations in various countries and at various stages of civilization, how singularly erroneous and deficient appear the rationalistic generalizations of the 18th century—good old Adam Smith who took the conditions of Edinburgh and the Lothians as the normal ones of the universe! Well, Pushkin already knew that

и почему
Не нужно золота ему,
Когда простой продуктъ имѣетъ.
Отецъ понять его не могъ
И земли отдавалъ въ залогъ.[a]

Yours very sincerely,
P. W. Rosher[b]

Next Monday I begin again with Volume III[c]—and hope not to discontinue until complete.

This letter has been delayed until today 31 October in consequence of interruption.

First published, in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 2, St Petersburg, 1908

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[a] and why/it needs no gold if a supply/of *simple product* supplements it./His father failed to understand/and took a mortgage on his land. (A. Pushkin, *Eugene Onegin*, Ch. I.) - [b] Engels' conspiratorial pseudonym - [c] of *Capital*

## 145

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 31 October 1891

My dear Lafargue,

Louise and I send you our hearty congratulations on the result of last Sunday's[a] vote. 'It's magnificent' and it is 'war'.[340] True there may have been some 4,400 abstentions and missing voters, but more than 3,100 of those who abstained would have been needed to rally round your opponent if Dépasse was to surpass you by passing you (a pun, alas, passing through like an attack of diarrhoea, let's hope it will pass!). And no such thing has ever been known. And you yourself have won an intoxicating victory. So a week tomorrow we shall drink to your definitive victory[341] — though we shan't forget you tomorrow either.

I see from the newspapers sent me by you and Laura that the press, both governmental and of radical tendency, has at last been compelled to take notice of your election. The nonsense talked by *Le Temps*[b] cannot but be of use to you. Once the ice has been broken, anything these gentlemen may say will work in your favour. Even the worthy Pelletan of *La Justice* has had to come down on your side.

Should you be elected, that would be a further embarrassment to the Chamber: whether to vote or whether not to vote for your release.

What on earth is this new split that is about to happen amongst the Chamber's radicals, between Millerand, Hovelacque and Moreau, on the one hand, and the bulk of the Clemencists on the other? You speak of the possibility of joining forces with the former.[342] But up to what point are they keeping in step with you? To the best of my knowledge the nominally 'socialist' radicals in the Chamber have hitherto been merely the detritus of Proudhonism and, as such, the avowed opponents of the socialisation of the means of production. And in my view it would be impossible for us to effect a merger, form a *group*, with people who don't subscribe to that, at any rate in principle. Alternatively I believe we might enter into a more or less tempo-

[a] 25 October - [b] Presumably Engels has in mind the leader 'Il y avait trois élections hier...', *Le Temps*, No. 11118, 27 October 1891.

rary alliance with them, but not a merger. However there has evidently been some new development I don't know about and I shall await further word from you before forming an opinion. How truly splendid it would be if the radicals in the Chamber began to come over to our side—symptomatic indeed!

I'm delighted that you and Laura should have found my article [313] both good and topical—but what will the others—Argyriades & Co. of the *Almanach*[a]—say? In all my experience I have never had the good fortune to comply with the wishes of those gentlemen, those friends of all the world, having found that, whenever I have done an article at their request, it has always been quite different from the article they requested. Alongside the solemn lucubrations of Mr Bénoit Malon and other choragi of Parisian socialism, that would be well-nigh impossible. Besides it's all one to me. I warned Laura in advance that the situation would compel me to write things that many people would find distasteful. Well, she asked for it and I obliged. I know very well that the *Socialiste* won't hesitate, but as for the *Almanac*, that's another matter. Anyway we shall publish the thing one way or another and it will probably cause a rumpus.

At Erfurt everything went off very well.[301] The jackasses of the opposition left the representatives of the whole party in no doubt that they were indeed jackasses and poltroons undeserving of sympathy. They are either fools or covert anarchists or policemen. Last night there were meetings in Berlin at which delegates had to submit their reports, thereby probably demolishing the gentlemen of the opposition.[343] Vollmar, on the other hand, has had to recant, not only at Erfurt, but also, and more specifically, at Munich [344] before his own constituents. They rejected a resolution proposed by him in which he sought, without unduly infringing the resolutions passed against him at Erfurt, to introduce various passages acknowledging the point of view he had espoused in his reactionary speeches. Vollmar himself was forced to propose a fresh resolution, viz. outright submission to the Erfurt resolutions, and this was passed unanimously. As Bebel points out in a letter to me, whoever leaves the party or is shown the door by the party is, in political terms, dead.[345] Mr Vollmar is well aware of this and has taken good care not to do something that would place him in such a position. But that won't prevent him from being the most dangerous intriguer in our party.

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[a] *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier*

Londres le 31. Oct. 91.

Mon cher Lafargue

Lorsque vous vous occupiez des préliminaires à propos du résultat du vote de dimanche dernier, „c'est magnifique", et c'est la guerre". Il y a bien 1400 abstentions et bulletins égarés, mais il faudrait que plus de 2100 de ces abstentionnistes se réunissent en votre concurrent pour que l'épreuve en vous dépassant passe sur le calembourg, ça passe comme 52 qui avait une étape de diarrhée, espérons que ça passera!). Et cela ne s'est jamais vu. Et remercie pour vous le suffrage qui arrive. Donc, demain en huit nous boirons à votre succès définitif — sans bulletins ou non. Mercredi demain.

Je vois des journaux que Laure gronde vous ne êtes encore que la presse gouvernementale et radicaillante doit enfin s'occuper de votre élection. Les bêtises du Temps ne peuvent que vous être utiles. Une fois la place conquise, tout ce que ces messieurs pourront dire, après que votre force, même et travailleur de la justice a dû se déclarer pour vous.

Si vous êtes élu, cela va un nouvel embarras pour la Chambre: vous la rendra belle, ou vous rendra belle pas votre mise en liberté?

First page of Engels' letter to Paul Lafargue
of 31 October 1891

Anyway things are going ahead in Germany and before long the same thing will happen in France. We shall, perhaps, avoid a war and, since we are slow and methodical, that may give the French a chance to overtake us again by pulling off some mighty coup. It augurs well for the '*fin de siècle*' and could put 1793 in the shade.

What idiots your bourgeois and the Russians are! In a war, England with her fleet and her command of the sea would hold the balance—which is why those gentry are impelling her into the arms of the Germans by teasing her on the subject of Egypt[346]!

Love to Laura—the Viennese women's paper[a] hasn't appeared yet—for want of money, no doubt.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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## 146

## ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT[267]

### IN ZURICH

London, 1 November 1891

Dear Schmidt,

First of all, my congratulations on your engagement and, I hope, very imminent marriage. Let me know what the fateful day is to be so that we may drink to the health of yourself and your young bride, as we shall meanwhile be doing at lunchtime today with a glass of port.

May I also congratulate you on the agreement with Guttentag; it's a worthwhile undertaking but you will have to devote a good deal of time to it.[347] Next week I shall be tackling Volume III[b] (which part-

[a] *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung* - [b] of *Capital*

ly explains this expeditious reply since all my correspondence must be polished off first), and won't, I think, have to stop till whole thing's polished off. Thus you will also be able to include this essential final section.

You cannot, of course, do without Hegel and he's another chap whom it will take you time to digest. The short paper on logic in the *Encyklopädie* would be quite good to start off with, but the edition you should have is that in Volume 6 of the *Werke* — not Rosenkranz's separate edition (1845) — since the former contains far more explanatory notes from the lectures, even if that idiot Henning himself frequently fails to understand the latter.

In the introduction, in §26, etc., you have first the critique of Wolf's version of Leibniz (metaphysics in the *historical* sense), then that of the English and French empiricists in §37, etc., then that of Kant, §40 et seqq. and, finally, that of Jacobi's mysticism, §61. — In the first section (Being), you ought not to linger too long over being and nothing — the last paragraphs on quality followed by quantity and measure are much nicer, but the theory of essence constitutes the main section: the dissolution of abstract opposites into their insubstantiality when, as soon as one tries to grasp one aspect alone, it changes imperceptibly into the other, etc. At the same time you can always clarify things by means of concrete examples. E. g. you, as a fiancé, and your affianced yourselves present an outstanding example of the indivisibility of identity and difference. It is quite impossible to ascertain whether sexual love is the pleasure derived from identity in difference or that derived from difference in identity. Remove the difference (in this case of sex) or the identity (the humanity of both), and what remains? I remember how tormented I used to be at first by this indivisibility of identity and difference, though we cannot take one step without stumbling over it.

On no account, however, should you read Hegel as Mr Barth has read him, namely so as to discover the paralogisms and shabby expedients that served him as tools for constructing his system. That is a schoolroom exercise, nothing more. What is far more important is to discover the truth and the genius beneath the falsity of the form and the factitious context. For instance, the transitions from one category or opposite to another are almost always arbitrary — and are often achieved by means of a joke, as in §120, when positive and nega-

tive 'fall to the ground' so that Hegel may proceed to the category 'ground'. To rack one's brains over this is a waste of time.

Since, in Hegel, each category represents a stage in the history of philosophy (as, indeed, he usually indicates), you would be well-advised to read the *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Philosophie* — one of his most brilliant works — by way of comparison. For recreation I would commend the *Ästhetik*. Once you have gained some familiarity with it you will be amazed.

The inversion of Hegel's dialectics is based on the assumption that it is the 'self-development of the idea' of which, therefore, the dialectic of facts is only the image, while the dialectic in our minds is but the reflection of the actual development taking place in the natural world and human history in obedience to dialectical forms.

You should try comparing the Marxian progression from commodity to capital with the Hegelian from being to essence; this would give you quite a good parallel — on the one hand, the concrete development which follows from the facts, on the other, the abstract construction, in which extremely brilliant ideas and, in certain cases, very just transformations such as that of quality into quantity and vice versa, are elaborated to produce what appears to be the self-development of one notion out of another, of which, indeed, it would be possible to concoct a dozen of the same kind.

The noble Wolf has sent me his opus[a] in the form of an off-print. But, although asked by an anonymous 'admirer'[b] whether I intend to 'box the fellow's ears', I haven't looked at it yet. An academic of that sort can wait.

The party congress went off very well.[301] The amount of attention devoted to the 'opposition' did no harm; though it may have amused the philistines it undoubtedly had a very salutary effect upon the party.

Bebel and Adler spent a few days over here after the Brussels Congress,[135] when we were all very jolly. Bernstein's excellent introduction to Lassalle is coming out in English.[334]

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[a] J. Wolf, 'Das Rätsel der Durchschnittsprofitrate bei Marx', *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, 2. Bd., 3. Folge. - [b] See this volume, p. 241.

Well, I hope that a whole lot of students, both male and female, will attend your first course of lectures.

Kindest regards.

Yours,
F. Engels

Mrs Kautsky sends you and likewise your fiancée her most sincere congratulations.

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## 147

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 9 November 1891

My dear Laura,

*Victoire!* Though hidden in one of its most desolate corners, amongst the paragraphs that help to make up columns, *The Daily News did* inform us that Paul had beaten Depasse (who now would do well to change the *a* of his name, source of so many calembours, into *i*) by 1,400 or thereabouts.[a] So the two toasts, in Port and Claret, offered up yesterday by us, were not without effect. Well, that's so much gained. And what is worth more than the victory itself almost, is the way in which it was won and which turns a common by-election into a great political action, a cause of incalculable effects. Paul may well back his Constans against the *roi de Prusse*[b] as an involuntary promoter of Socialism; but the real likeness lies between Constans and Bismarck, as it laid between Bismarck and Louis Bonaparte—they all partake of that short-sighted cleverness and *Dummschlauheit*[c] of the ordinary merchant and speculator who aims at one

[a] See this volume, p. 269. - [b] William I - [c] low cunning

thing, and by miscalculating causes and effects, arrives at effecting the very opposite.

Anyhow Constans' stupidity has resulted not only in Paul's election, which gives a tremendous *élan* to Socialism all over France, but also in loosening the coalition for the maintenance of the ministry which was formed against Boulangism at the Rue Cadet.[223] I don't think the mass of the *Clémencist* Radicals will as yet fall away from the ministry, they are held too tightly. But the old feeling of security does no longer exist since the *Roche*-debate.[348] And some, the more consistent elements like Millerand, can hardly keep within the ministerial alliance. That, and the personal ambitions and intrigues *within* the ministry will be sufficient to bring on a change—and every change loosens the bonds between the Czar[a] and French Chauvinists, and thus is in favour of peace. By the bye, what an irony of history that the Russian government, after having spent millions on Boulanger, must now spend fresh millions on the very people who upset Boulanger!

It was a nice exciting time and I have to thank you very much for enabling me to follow all the *péripéties* of it in the Paris press. What a miserable helpless political ass that Ranc has become. *Il doit être en train de s'enrichir, celui-là!*[b]

I have sent a few lines of humorous congratulations to Paul direct, so that *M. le directeur de la prison* might have the perusal of them.[153] If he should confiscate them I will send you a copy. But I hope and trust there will be more respect shown to *M. le député.*

I am anxious to see what Constans and the Chambre will do now. If they try to keep Paul in Ste-Pélagie, it will be all the worse for them.

It strikes me Mother Crawford is not far wrong in saying the strength of the present ministry is its having brought about outward signs of the French and Russian *entente*; and that this makes the Radicals[147] fear a dissolution.[c] But if, as is probable, *internal* dissensions break up the ministry, taking advantage of another such doubtful victory as that on Saturday week,[d] then everything changes. First, the Russian *entente* becomes very vapoury as soon as the instability of governments is evidenced again, and secondly, if the Cabinet splits up,

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[a] Alexander III.—[b] He must be getting rich now, that man.—[c] Engels has in mind E. Crawford's 'The French Ministry' in *The Daily News*, 9 November 1891.—[d] 31 October

either fragment will claim the merit of that *entente*. And thirdly, after a split nobody can tell either what the reconstruction may turn out to be, or how long it may last.

I have looked at the *Justice* of Clemenceau lately again more often, and it strikes me that at the bottom of the antiboulangist Alliance must have been the idea that there was only one way of taking the wind out of the sails of any present or future Boulanger, and that is: to close with Russia at any price and *then hasten on the guerre de revanche*.[a] That is the only conclusion I can draw from the tone of the *Justice: soyons plus patriotes que Boulanger!*[b] And no doubt that plan would suit them all: settle the account with Germany, raise France again to a position of supremacy (which Russia might allow them to show of, provided France gave her the reality) and then, but not before, settle our internal republican party quarrels. Unless that is the fact, I cannot make out either the language or the action of the Radicals. They may be fools, but there is a limit to all folly, outside the madhouse at least.

Louise is going to write a few lines, so I close with love

Ever yours,
F. E.

My dear Laura,

I am very proud that my definition of the letters M. P.[335] turned out right at last though you have been right before and are right as long as the things last. The notice about M. P. (in your sense) election was underneath a paragraph 'The murder of a wealthy widow'; General found it out, as I did not know, that the election of a Socialist ranges itself under the impression of a bourgeois...[c]

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959

Reproduced from the original

[a] retaliatory war - [b] let us be greater patriots than Boulanger! - [c] The end is missing.

## 148

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

London, 9 November 1891

Dear August,

Thank you for your letter of 29 October and the many other things you have sent me, including the postcard of 30 October.[349]

So Lafargue has won a victory.[330] It's quite an event, firstly because of the immediate impact on France, which will be very great, secondly, because on his occasion literally *all* the socialist parliamentary groups, including the Possibilists [3] — if sometimes wryly —, pulled together, and thirdly because, with a low cunning and brutality worthy of a Bismarck, M. Constans succeeded in turning what was merely a second ballot into a gripping political drama.

The government had two main vantage grounds: 1. Victory over the common threat, Boulanger. 2. The apparently deliberate display of an intimate relationship with Russia. Add to which a 3rd, namely the display, successful at any rate so far as the plebs were concerned, of France's newly restored military might during the big September manoeuvres. These 3 points enabled the government to compel the extreme Left to support it; the combined 'Republicans' constituted a majority vis-à-vis the combined Monarchists, Boulangists and to some extent also socialists. Then, contrary to the practice of 1869, Constans did not set Lafargue free to enable him to stand as candidate. In this the Radicals could not go along with him. Hence the big debate on the 31st October, following Roche's interpellation,[348] hence the government's Pyrrhic victory — 240 for the government, 160 against, but — 170 *monarchist abstentions.* In reality, therefore, anti-government majority of 90. Defection of Radicals [147] therefore = fall of the Cabinet the moment the Monarchists desire it and vote with the Radicals. After the division, needless to say, the alarm of the Radicals was as great as that of the government, especially since the latter threatened to dissolve parliament while giving the Radicals to understand that they would find the electorate far more pro-government than the present Chamber, as seems more than likely. In short, Constans' behaviour has shown the 'one Republican' mass

that, after the disappearance of the only opponent capable of uniting them, there are internal questions which hopelessly divide them; the rift exists, cannot be patched up and, now that Constans is flouting all the republican conventions by his continued detention of Lafargue in Ste-Pélagie, things will liven up still more. Not that I anticipate the early demise of the government as a result of the Radicals' defection—on the contrary, there are likely to be a number of occasions on which the latter, having scored a victory despite themselves, will have to eat humble pie and beg the government's pardon; but within the government itself there is open warfare between Freycinet and Ribot on the one hand and Constans and Rouvier on the other, warfare which another doubtful division might bring to a head, thus inducing a split and, with it, a change of ministers, renewed instability in the Cabinet, i.e. a cooling off of Russia's ardour since what the Tsar needs is *stable* government in France; and finally—fresh elections under different circumstances and with different results.

While Liebknecht goes into ecstasies in the *Vorwärts* about the non-existence of chauvinism in France, the Paris press—which I have been able to study exhaustively during the period of the elections—and notably Clemenceau's *Justice* which Liebknecht, I believe, also sees every day, has convinced me that the secret behind the 'Republicans" (Opportunists, Radicals, Possibilists[3]) anti-Boulanger pact was the government's determination to outbid Boulanger in patriotism, to engineer the Russian alliance, to present the army to the world as ready for battle, to rattle its sabre and, should a retaliatory war ensue, to conduct it with might and main—in other words, to head as straight as maybe for a retaliatory war, the dearest wish of every French bourgeois. Just as the republic of 1849 and 1871 was the form most calculated to unite the Monarchists, so now retaliatory war is the issue that will most surely bring *all* Republicans, i.e. all *middle-class* ones—for the workers count only as election fodder—into the same fold, indeed the only issue that could bring this about once the republic had been attained and consolidated. Retaliation was the secret of the Boulangists' success—let us preach retaliation! The reacquisition of Alsace-Lorraine! If you compare *La Justice* of pre-Boulangist and Boulangist days with that of today, you would find it hard to draw any other conclusion. But that is against Liebknecht's principles. In France, a strong chauvinist tendency cannot be *allowed* to exist, it would fly in the face of the eternal principles and hence it is denied. If things go on like this, you people may have to pay dear-

ly for the policy pursued by the *Vorwärts*, and come to rue the fact that the man who directs your foreign policy is colour-blind. I don't know what ideas Hirsch may have on the subject; at one time he, too, used sometimes to harbour curious views in regard to France. But no doubt he will be open to discussion.

10 November. So Lafargue has been set free. For the period of the session — and even Meyer Opper von Blowitz doubts whether he will have to go back to Ste-Pélagie once it's over. That represents another defeat for Constans. At first he and his Opportunists wanted to keep Lafargue in gaol — but the conviction that, if they did, the Radicals and Monarchists would form an *anti*-government majority and set him at liberty, compelled the gentlemen to give way. So the extreme Left has twice been compelled to disassociate itself from the government.— The politics of the French Chamber, by the by, are completely incomprehensible to anyone who fails to bear constantly in mind that the government and the Opportunists are exploiting their term of office for their personal enrichment in the most outrageous manner and that the vast majority of Radicals are not only implicated but have an *interest* in these goings-on, and are only waiting for the time when *they* are strong enough to seize power themselves and skim off the cream which is now the prerogative of the Opportunists.

Now for an example of the vicious stupidity of the French government: a few days before the second ballot at Lille a levy was made in *Fourmies* as a result of which 30 young men were drafted into the battalion of the 145th Regiment garrisoned at Maubeuge, the regiment *which*, on *May Day in Fourmies*, had opened fire on these same men [243] — and among those 30 was the *brother of Marie Blondeau*, the girl killed on May Day by this self-same battalion. You'd think you were in Prussia. The *Vorwärts* chooses to ignore all this!

There was much rejoicing here over your victories in Berlin [349] and Vollmar's most resounding and, for him, unpleasant defeat in Munich.[344] It will, I imagine, be some time before you have any more trouble with defections and/or expulsions, and in the meantime the party will grow to such an extent that *this particular* method of opposition might very well disappear altogether. But whether it will be pleasanter for you when the cabalist crew remains within the bounds of legality is another question.

The Zurich business [350] has shown you yet again how much of

a drag on you the foreign associations are. Could you not seize on the opportunity and sort things out once and for all with that gang? The *Vorwärts* dealt admirably with Hans Müller, but that doesn't prevent these foreign idiots from presuming to subject you to a vote of no confidence. In this country the same thing applies to the Society[89] and Gilles.[a] Unless you counter Gilles' statement by *publicly* declaring how the said Society stands vis-à-vis the party, no amount of protests in private letters will be of any avail. That you people are responsible for the stupidities of this gang is simply taken for granted over *here*—and with justice, in view of the Society's past history, so long as you people remain silent.

We were very pleased about Stolp-Lauenburg and your article on the subject in the *Vorwärts*, which fully accords with my views.[351] The bulk of rural day labourers east of the Elbe (as also in England) are in fact still too much in thrall for our propaganda to have any real effect until they have been through the dame school of Progress.[296] It is the task of the men of Progress to pave the way for us there, and this they will surely do. So if in Berlin their inertia is such that, as opposed to ourselves, the men of Progress must be accounted part of the reactionary mass, in the rural areas their position is decidedly different at any rate as things are now. Admittedly this won't go on for long.

Though the term of the Reichstag has been extended to 5 years,[352] it is likely to be interrupted. Provided the pressure is kept up, the majority will disintegrate and the government will *have* to resign because it will have no alternative. Particularly in case of war. This very winter you may witness some ludicrous goings-on.

I am glad to hear that so much sympathy is already felt for us in technologically educated circles.[353] But from what I experienced in 1848 and 1870/71 of the French Republicans, who were after all themselves bourgeois, I know only too well just how far one gets with such silent hangers-on and sympathisers—in time of danger—and how horribly one can put one's foot in it, not to wish for a couple of years' respite in which to take a closer look at these gentlemen's qualifications and character, particularly in relation to so important a business as the socialisation of large-scale industry and large-scale agriculture. Not only would this save friction; it might also, at a moment of crisis, avert an otherwise inevitable and decisive defeat. There will

[a] See this volume, p. 269.

in any case be stupendous blunders, and plenty of them — that is inevitable. As you yourself have said, there are, among the postulants, plenty whose ambitions exceed their talents and knowledge, nor have I forgotten what Singer once said to me, *à propos* of Nonne, about students being driven into the arms of Social-Democracy by their fear of examinations. However, the very fact *of their coming* is a portent of what lies ahead.

In Russia the famine is assuming fearsome proportions. At Simbirsk, rebellious starvelings are given 500 lashes, i. e. flogged to death. The winter wheat in the south either could not be sown because of drought or else has been killed by an early frost. So there'll be more distress next year. It would seem to me that the Russians are bent on appeasement (Giers' trip to Milan), having also put a bit of a damper on the overhasty overtures of the French, and it was *precisely because of this* that the Tsar felt he could afford to travel across young William's domains without paying him a visit which is, after all, a flagrant case of *lèse-majesté.*[354] Only wait till the French Ministry begins to totter, and then you'll see how peace-loving the Tsar becomes — needless to say without desisting from his encroachments in the East and in Central Asia.

Yesterday Salisbury told the jackasses and speculators in the City that not one little cloud troubles the peaceful horizon. That would be a bad sign, for in 1870, a fortnight before the outbreak of war, the same thing was said by Granville, the Foreign Secretary.

The French September manoeuvres with 4 army corps were a fearful sham. Sir Charles Dilke, Parnell's colleague in adultery — albeit on a different basis — described them in enthusiastic Francophil terms, yet his article shows that there was much that was exceedingly rotten and much that had remained unchanged since 1870. Notably the inefficiency of the officers. Once the chaps begin to mobilise on a large scale, even more inadequacies will come to light.

Regards from Louise.

Your
F. Engels

The Russian loan[302] weighs heavily on the Paris bankers. Has dropped 4% below the issue price, and crowds of people *in this country*

are busily disposing of other funds and shares so as to be able to make a fresh payment to the Russians on the 20th of this month in Paris.[a]

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## 149

## ENGELS TO OSCAR HEIDFELD[355]

### IN LIVERPOOL

[Draft]

[London,] 12 November 1891

Dear Sir,

...I still hold the documents mentioned in your letter[356] but they are of no value whatever now, the policy having lapsed long since through Mr Dronke's failing to pay the premiums as he ought to have done. The very first premium due in November 1877 I did pay expecting to be repaid by him, but when I applied for the money he never replied, nor have I been able ever since to make out his address, though my Manchester solicitors took every trouble to find him out. Under these circumstances, and in view of the almost certainty that the gradual payment with interest on the same and on the original loan would eat up more than any possible return for the policy, there was nothing left to me but to let the policy drop.

From what you tell me I must conclude that the same result would have been arrived at had he not pledged the policy.[b]

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[a] The postscript was written by Engels in the margin. - [b] The beginning and end of the letter are missing.

## 150

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 14 November 1891

Dear Sorge,

A line or two in great haste before the last post goes. You will have heard by cablegram about Lafargue's victory.[330] It was brought about by M. Constans, who is as stupidly cunning and doltish as Bismarck, if not more so. 1. In a scandalously biassed trial he blamed Lafargue for the government's fusillade at Fourmies [243] and got him sentenced to a year's imprisonment. 2. Having thus made Lafargue enormously popular in the Département du Nord, and after the latter had been put up for the first seat to become vacant at Lille, Constans kept him in prison, contrary to the *precedent established* 22 years earlier *by the Empire itself*, instead of releasing him for the period of the election; 3. when, in the first ballot, Lafargue polled 5.005 votes, i. e. only 780 fewer than were needed for an absolute majority, Constans still did not release him, despite being severely rapped over the knuckles by the Chamber. Since the Radical candidate,[147] Roche, who had polled 2,274 votes, then proceeded to step down in favour of Lafargue, Lafargue's victory was assured.

But the best thing about it is that that idiot Constans further succeeded in making Lafargue's election into an *événement*,[a] thereby seriously endangering his own position. For on 31 October, when a demand for Lafargue's release was made in the Chamber by Millerand, the proposal to go over to the order of the day was carried by 240 votes against the Radicals' 160. *But only because 170 Monarchists did not vote.* This was the *first time the Radicals had voted against the government since the Boulangiade*, thus demonstrating that the government can be toppled at any moment by the combined votes of the Radicals and Mon-

[a] event

archists. And when, *after Lafargue's election*, a motion for his release was again tabled on 9 November, it was only the prospect of those combined votes that forced the government to abandon its intention of opposing the motion.

But now that the Cabinet is torn by dissension and Freycinet would rather obtain his majority *through* the Radicals, whereas Constans would rather do so through the Monarchists and *against the Radicals*, now that Constans has incurred the odium of the workers by his actions since May Day and his friend Rouvier is the most notorious and corrupt man in the Ministry, while Carnot, for his part, finds Constans intolerable because the latter is trying to succeed him, Carnot, as President of the Republic, all these parliamentary fluctuations assume significance. For the recurrence of ministerial instability in France is another guarantee of peace, since the Tsar would be chary of going to war arm-in-arm with a French government that is liable to topple any day.

Again, these symptoms are significant so far as France's domestic situation is concerned. A large number of Radicals — Millerand, Hovelacque, Moreau, etc. — realise that they simply can't do without the workers and that the government's duplicity in introducing into the Chamber bills ostensibly favourable to labour while ensuring that these are thrown out by the Senate, is something that just won't do. But if Lafargue should now get in and the small 7 or 8 strong socialist group — all of them small fry and incapable of any initiative — thus obtain a leader, things might soon begin to change. Only on condition, however, that Paul himself doesn't allow his eighth or twelfth part of negro blood to run away with him.

In Germany everything is going swimmingly. In Munich [344] itself Vollmar suffered an even more decisive defeat than at Erfurt.[301] The opposition [13] is virtually non-existent, and will soon be completely under the wing of the police. Any newspaper reports to the contrary, particularly such as are cabled to you, are false — I have seen some prime examples of this.

What will happen about the *Vorwärts* I cannot say. It has im-

proved, but Hirsch isn't going to join it. Not that I really regard this as a misfortune.

Regards to your wife.[a]

Your
F. E.

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## 151

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[357]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 21 November 1891

Dear Sorge,

Have had your letter of 6 and postcard of 8 November.

When Adler and Bebel came over here from Brussels, the former promised me that he would send you the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung* regularly, and the Viennese stand by their word. Now that the Austrian movement is growing in importance, I am having to keep copies of the paper myself.

*Der arme Teufel* caused much merriment over here. Adler took the first Adolfinade with him and I sent the second to Bebel.

It goes without saying that you should publish Marx's letters to yourself if you want to, without asking me or anyone else. As soon as your articles on the American labour movement are complete, you ought to bring them out — booklet form[358] — in Dietz's Internationale Bibliothek, say — so that they can be kept permanently together.

[a] Katharina Sorge

If you like, I could do what is necessary to set the ball rolling with Dietz. He will, of course, have to pay for the things again.

Bakunin's biography [325] received with thanks—haven't looked at it yet.

In one of my letters [a] I asked you *not* to send me any middle-class American reviews—I can get all the *good* ones over here (from Mudie's) if there's anything in them—and Tussy keeps her eyes open. On the other hand I was about to add a request when I was interrupted and thus sent off the letter *as it stood*; namely, that you send me from time to time individual numbers of some women's rights organ—any old one. Louise looks at such stuff from time to time in order to keep herself—and hence also me—more or less informed about that racket.

In Berlin and other cities more victories in the municipal elections—in Berlin the number of votes has *trebled.* [359]

The *Jungen* [301] have formed an association [333] and are bringing out a rag, *Der Sozialist*—impertinent and silly. Nothing but tittle-tattle and lies. True, they would be easier to combat if Liebknecht didn't make so many blunders and edit the *Vorwärts* so deplorably.

So Mrs Schlüter intends to come back after all! Just as we thought.

In this country, too, we have scored sundry little victories in the municipal elections; in West Ham (it's called WEST BECAUSE EAST OF THE EAST END), Will Thorne, secretary of the Gasworkers Union [164] and a really splendid chap, was elected, etc., etc.

Warm regards to your wife [b] and yourself from

Your
F. Engels

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[a] See this volume, p. 264. - [b] Katharina Sorge

## 152

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

London, 25 November 1891

Dear Bebel,

I had been trying to find time, in the intervals of work on Volume III[a] now proceeding at a good, brisk pace, to answer your letter of the 15th, when some news arrived which compels me to write forthwith. At a meeting at Bordeaux on the 22nd[360] Lafargue is alleged to have said that in 1870 he had *servi le pays à sa manière en communiquant à M. Ranc des plans qui, si l'on en avait tenu compte, pouvaient complètement changer la face des choses. Ces plans lui étaient communiqués par des frères de l'Internationale en Allemagne, parmi lesquels se trouvaient plusieurs officiers de l'armée allemande.*[b] Now Lafargue *cannot* have said this, but I can't for the life of me think what he *did* say. However, the thing is so patently silly and the accusation so monstrous that you people probably ought to reply to it before you hear *what* Lafargue actually said. In order to ascertain the facts, I at once wrote yesterday, and again today, to Laura and to Lafargue himself,[153] to whom I also said that you would probably have to take immediate countermeasures and that if you showed a total lack of consideration for him, he would have to lump it. Not that he really deserves any; but all the same I would beg you not to act in anger which, as so often in my own case, always leads one to do something stupid; rather you should do all you can to ensure the continuance of concerted, or at any rate parallel, action with the French workers. You will, of course, repudiate any suggestion that the above preposterous assertion could apply to yourselves —that goes without saying. You did not yourselves, directly or in-

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[a] of *Capital*-[b] served his country in his own fashion by communicating to M. Ranc plans which, had they been taken into account, might have completely changed the face of things. These plans had been passed on to him by *his brothers of the International in Germany, amongst whom were several German army officers.*

directly, send the French government in Bordeaux either military information or plans from German officers, having, so far as I know, had no connections of any kind with officers at that time. So the more vigorously you repudiate this truly insane accusation the better, though I would suggest that it would nevertheless be advisable, and also less conducive to eventual complications, for you to repudiate *only the report* as such, without as yet holding Lafargue responsible for it. After all, this would not preclude a further statement as soon as the text is known; I shall let you have this the moment I get it.

What Lafargue can have said and what he had in mind, I simply cannot conceive. For neither did we, the General Council of the International in this country, have any connections of any kind with German officers, and thus were never in a position to send him 'plans' of that description from gentlemen of that ilk. And even if he had been able to establish connections elsewhere in France upon his revisiting that country—I believe in 1868, after his marriage (or in 1869—I couldn't exactly say at the moment)—he concealed the fact from us so carefully that nothing whatever transpired before his return to France in 1880, nor, for that matter, has it done so since.

At all events, he has committed a quite unpardonable blunder—whether he told lies or tales out of school is something he himself must decide—and placed you people in a position such as might very well rob you of all desire for international intercourse. While I foresee the nature of the deluge that is about to engulf you, I cannot yet see how it is to be stemmed. I can only suppose that it's the eighth or sixteenth part of negro blood which flows in Lafargue's veins and occasionally gains the upper hand that has led him into this quite inexplicable folly—it is, to put it mildly, a quite inconceivable piece of stupidity.

In view of the large number of German officers who settled abroad in 1848/49 and after, there is always the possibility that something of the kind came into his hands, but to make the *frères d'Allemagne*[a] responsible really does take the cake.

Should you so wish, I shall at all times be prepared to testify that on no occasion during the war was the General Council of the International in a position to pass on to France information of any kind deriving from you, other than what was to be found in your own newspapers; indeed I should be prepared to make any statement that

[a] brothers in Germany

might help to clear you of the slightest suspicion of conniving at such foolishness. For if anything of the kind *did* happen, you people were as innocent of it as the unborn babe.

Nevertheless, these confounded vexations gave way to joy last night upon our learning from *The Evening Standard* of the victory in the Halle elections.[361] This does after all go to show that, despite all the blunders made by individuals, we as a mass continue to advance.

Apropos, what I wrote on the postcard [153]—I thought somebody over there would be able to read it—was Russian: *Da zdrávstvuyet Berlin!* Long live Berlin!

But now, luckily, it's time for the post—registered, which is safer, so I shall deal with the contents of your letter in my next. The Russians would appear to be drawing in their horns; the bankers in Paris have had difficulty moving the loan and the Russian government has had to take back a third or more as unplaceable [302]—on this occasion the unpatriotic character of capital again appears in a favourable light.

Writing to your wife[a] is another pleasure I shall have to keep in store. She will have had a letter from Louise.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Julie Bebel

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 27 November 1891

My dear Laura,

You need not be afraid that it ever entered my mind to think Paul capable of a wilfully mean and dishonorable action. That is entirely out of the question. But the man may be the very soul of honour, and yet commit an *étourderie*,[a] the consequences of which may be incalculable. And my letters contain no charge against Paul except the expression of the possibility that he *may* have been led into such an *étourderie*, and, besides, the attempt, supposing that to be the case, to help him out of it as much as lay in my power. To do which, it was absolutely necessary to make clear to him the full *portée*[b] of the words put into his mouth.

Now you yourself admit that it is just possible he *may* have been led to commit such a blunder.

To recall the facts. On Monday evening[c] *The Evening Standard* contains the *Reuter*[360] which showed to me the necessity of immediate action, 1) to obtain authentic information, 2) to prevent further blunders, in case one had been committed. Hence my letter to you[153] which I hope you will, on re-reading, find less unjustifiable than when you had read it first. Well, the same night, or next morning at latest, I receive from you 1) the enclosed cutting from a paper not named — from which report *Reuter* had evidently abridged, 2) an *Intransigeant* 25. Novembre where under the heading: 'Le cit. Lafargue à Bordeaux', it is equally stated that on 22 November Paul, *before a meeting of cinq ou six cents personnes ... dans la salle des Chats*, said *qu'à différentes reprises il avait (en 1870) remis à M. Ranc, alors directeur de la Sûreté générale, divers plans et documents importants sur la situation des armées allemandes qui lui avaient été communiqués par des socialistes allemands et qui auraient pu changer la face des choses*[d] etc. etc.

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[a] error - [b] meaning - [c] 23 November - [d] *...five or six hundred people in the Chats hall*, said that he (in 1870) provided M. Ranc, the then chief of the Secret Police, with different plans and important documents pertaining to *dislocations of the German armies*

From that I was forced to conclude that *you knew* the contents of these two reports, and that the very fact of your sending them to me *without a word of comment*, implied a tacit acknowledgement that they were in substance correct. On that conclusion, and moreover remembering certain expressions in the Lille speech, equally sent by you, and which expressions I considered *at least* uncalled for, I could not act otherwise than write to Paul my letter of Wednesday 25th.[153]

Now of course I see that you had never read a report of Paul's speech, and that my letters to you and to Paul gave you the first intimation of what had been put into his mouth. But now you will also see that this is a matter which must be attended to; that the statement about the action of some German socialists during the war of 1870/71—whether substantially true or substantially false—ought never under any circumstances to have been made, *if it was made*, and ought to be clearly and unmistakably disavowed, *at once*, if it was not made; that so long as this report is not completely and absolutely disposed of, it will be absurd to expect our German friends to place any confidence in our French friends; and that the government and bourgeois in Germany will at once exploit this report against our German party in a way which is absolutely incalculable; if it leads to nothing more than a renewal of the old Socialist law,[11] *it will be lucky!*

So if Paul has been slandered, if he is prepared to declare publicly that he never said a word implying in any way the assertion that German socialists, *either in or out of Germany*, provided him with military statements, plans, news or anything of the kind for the use of the French government during the war 1870/71—then let him send me that declaration *at once* and in a registered letter. But it must be plain, without reservation or qualification of any kind, or it will be useless and *may* turn out worse than useless.

If that plain declaration cannot, for one reason or another, be made, then I see no other way out of the mess but that you and Paul come over here at once and discuss by word of mouth such matters as will evidently be fitted for that mode of settlement alone. Your presence will be almost as necessary as his, to moderate our hot heads and to give us the views of your cool head on the situation in France; and also to help us in finding 'the way out' by your feminine sagacity and *souplesse*,[a] in cases where we male clumsy stick-in-the-muds are left in

which he received *from the German socialists* and which could have changed the course of events.

[a] pliancy

the dark. You see I am anxious as anxious can be, to keep Paul out of the difficulty if he has got himself into one; but the very first thing is to prevent the commission of fresh mistakes in case *one* has already been committed. Tomorrow his election [330] will be settled, on Monday at latest I shall have the first reports from Germany on the effect of this thunderbolt from a clear sky, so if you come on Sunday, to be here in the evening, we might succeed in dispersing at least the worst of the clouds on Monday. A telegram 'Coming to-night' would be agreeable, as we receive no letters on Sunday. And under all and any circumstances I do hope Paul will not take any public steps in a matter deeply concerning other people without first consulting these people, the slightest blunder might be fatal to himself, and he will see, I hope too, that this is no joking matter and must be got out of the world as soon as possible.

Ever yours affectionately,

F. E.

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## 154

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

London, 1 December 1891

Dear August,

At last, after three exuberant days, my birthday mood may perhaps have subsided sufficiently for me to write a moderately rational letter again. First, then, the Lafargue affair has been settled. I have today heard from Laura—Lafargue has gone to Lyons,[362] having only been in Paris for a couple of hours on Saturday to attend to his scrutiny—who says:

'Paul authorises me to say, 1. that he confirms his letter to you' (see below); 2. 'that the meeting at which he spoke in Bordeaux was *private*',—a closed meeting for members of the Workers' Party—'that no reporters had been admitted and no official re-

cord exists; 3. *the incriminating statements are the invention of a reporter brodant sur le texte d'un article publié par Ranc*' (embroidering on the text of an article by Ranc); 4. 'the words used by Paul were as follows: "If I insisted upon the war being continued, this was because the information at my disposal led me to believe that Germany was not in a position to hold out for very much longer."'

She adds:

'*There was no question of plans obtained by Germans or through their agency*; in general Paul *declares* that, *throughout the war, he received no communications of any kind from Germany.* And Paul also says that he *subscribes to your demands*, and not only subscribes to them but *challenges any refutation of his above statement.*'

(Le Perreux, 28 November; only reached me today.) [363]

In his letter to me (Lyons, 26 November), Lafargue says that the purport of his speech had been such and such, that in 1870 the International in all countries had considered it its duty to prevent the crushing of the French Republic by Bismarck's troops, and that while the other Internationals had fought under Garibaldi, the Germans had protested against the continuation of the war and the rape of Alsace-Lorraine.

My demands to which he subscribes were for the repudiation, without reservation or qualification, of the statements ascribed to him and of their purport. These you now have and may *use as you think fit.*

So that's *one* weight off my mind, I'm glad to say. Thanks to the colossal stupidity of our enemies, they have lost this opportunity for a scandal, and now it is gone for ever. Should anything be brought up now, you will be forearmed and your assailants will look foolish in the extreme. But while the uncertainty lasted we over here were in a muck sweat, I can tell you, for fear that some reptile [364] or other should get his fangs into the thing before we knew what answer to make and *how* to give him the lie. But what idiots they are! As Tussy said only last Sunday, if *we* had got hold of some information like that about our enemies, what wouldn't we have done with it!

I missed the incident at Potsdam involving William II; what was it [365]? The affair would certainly seem to be assuming a growing pace, and every such straw in the wind is of interest. According to the papers over here, your Emperor intends to relinquish all the honorary colonelships he holds in the Russian army because of the impolite way in which Alexander travelled across his domains.[354] I should say that the Russians are trying to inveigle him into untimely escapades so that *he* may appear to be a disturber of the peace whilst *they*, who are pretty well unassailable, can afford to play for the highest stakes and allow him to purchase peace at the price of further conces-

sions. That they really intend war seems to me impossible. The failure of the French loan [302]—instead of £20 million a bare £12; famine of unprecedented dimensions and intensity; the winter crops virtually destroyed by lack of seed and unfavourable weather; the wholesale death or slaughter of cattle and horses in the most fertile regions for lack of fodder, so that agriculture will be paralysed for years to come—all these are things which, in a semi-barbarous country like Russia, will deprive the army of any prospect of successful action. But despite all this, the Russians are not deterred from behaving politically as though they were deliberately heading for war; this they can permit themselves because of their strategic position and their expertise in betraying their friends. Of course, their little plan may always go awry—hence mobilisation and troop concentrations on a massive scale which, if things go off peacefully, can also serve as an instrument of diplomatic pressure.

Wonderful. France and Russia are confronting the Triple Alliance,[303] based 'on the existing status quo', with a Dual Alliance [288] which has 'a far loftier principle, namely the maintenance of the treaties!' Or so the papers say. Thus France, wishing to *break* the Treaty of Frankfurt, declares itself desirous of supporting it with the help of Russia, while Russia, which customarily breaks all treaties, enters into alliance with this self-same France because of the latter's steadfast demeanour. How stupid men such as *these* must consider the public to whom they address themselves.

Your budget speech was brilliant [366]—to judge by the *Vorwärts*. Do let us have the stenographic report. The allusion to *our* soldiers could not have been more apt. Why keep one's mouth shut about things our enemies know as well as we do?

The fact that Carl Hirsch isn't coming is not, to my mind, a disaster.[a] I didn't like to say anything once matters had been settled, but over here I at once remarked that it wouldn't work out. Hirsch is not only pig-headed but also embittered without reason, believing as he does that he was unfairly excluded from the editorship of the *Sozialdemokrat*; in fact, I believe that his resentment was directed more against Marx and myself than against you people.[367] For, as you will remember, what he wanted was that *we* should *press* him to accept, which had never ever crossed our minds. At all events he thereupon ceased to play any active role and has since accumulated such a mass

[a] See this volume, p. 299.

of grievances and crotchets that, if for no other reason, it might, I think, be better were he to void his costiveness elsewhere, after which he will gradually return to a more normal frame of mind and thus again become capable of doing something worthwhile. But I feel sure that Liebknecht and he would not have endured six weeks of each other's company without falling out. Schoenlank, too, has certain bees in his bonnet; so far as I can judge he hasn't nearly enough guts to put up the necessary resistance and will soon chalk up so many sins of omission as to make his chief editor his chief *in real earnest*. Well, we shall have to wait and see how things go — they can't get very much worse.

You are always comparing the situation in Germany with that of 1787-88; it is far more like that of 1847 in France and the scandals which brought about the downfall of Louis Philippe: Teste, the venal minister, the duc de Praslin, who murdered his wife, an equerry to the king who was caught cheating at cards in the Tuileries, or Fould who paid bribes in high places to get into the Légion D'Honneur, etc., etc. What's odd is the way people in Germany carry on about a bank crisis; for the few tin-pot firms that have gone to the wall are quite outside international trade as such — money brokers to civil servants, officers, landed aristocracy, petty bourgeoisie — to everyone in fact except wholesalers. If Anhalt & Wagener, Diskonto-Kommandit, Deutsche Bank, etc., were to put up their shutters, then it might be permissible to speak of a bank crisis. But even so, things aren't so dusty and, if the cloak falls, the Duke will soon come tumbling after.[a]

What you tell me about the kind of 'comrades' who are now presenting themselves is most interesting and also significant so far as the situation is concerned.[368] They have noticed that we are, to use a reptilian expression, becoming a 'factor' in the state and, since the Jews have more intelligence than the other bourgeois, they are the first to notice this — especially under the impulsion of anti-Semitism — and the first to come over to us. We can only be glad of the fact but, precisely *because* these chaps are brighter and have, as it were, been thrown back on and schooled in careerism by centuries of oppression, one has to be rather more on the qui vive.

Please will you convey my best thanks to the parliamentary group for their kind telegram of the 28th.[369] As soon as I get the photo-

[a] Paraphrased from Schiller's *Die Verschwörung des Fiesco zu Genua*.

graphs I shall endeavour to pay back in kind all the testimonies of friendship I have received.

Ede tells me you had suggested that he should spend more time at the Society.[89] I am firmly convinced that every minute he spends there would not only be completely wasted but would also discredit the party. He would have to consort with Gilles there and that is completely out of the question. But what he ought to do is frequent the English, get to know the chaps personally and enlighten them about things in Germany by conversing with them; as it is, he sits at home and forms an opinion of local affairs from the accounts he reads in *one* or at most *two* newspapers, there being no coffee houses or reading-rooms in his district.

Finally, let me assure you — as expressly requested — that Louise has executed her commission with a dignity worthy of a president of the Reichstag — at the very least; she had no opportunity for making bad jokes since I invariably forestalled her with some of my own. In other respects we were, however, exceedingly merry during the time in question, not least on account of your ostensible admirer[370] who, on the last page, revealed himself to be a 'Junger'[301] desirous of placing you on the shelf. The fellow is really priceless, with his ultra-High German.

Warm regards to Mrs Julie[a] and yourself from Louise and

Your
F. E.

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[a] Julie Bebel

## 155

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 1 December 1891

My dear Laura,

Your letter of the 28th, postmark Le Perreux 30th, arrived today and took an awful weight off my mind.[a] I have at once sent a translation to Bebel and authorized him to use it whenever necessary.[b]

Fortunately the stupidity of our enemies in Germany has been so colossal that they have, so far at least, seemingly overlooked the whole affair. What I was most afraid of, was that they should raise a storm in Germany before we had been able to ascertain the facts and to be armed with the materials for a crushing reply. Hesitation on the part of the German leaders, or random assertions that might be contradicted, would have been equally dangerous. Now the first danger is over, and although it is quite on the cards that the German Embassy in Paris may have sent reports which in consequence of the usual bureaucratic delays get into the press a week too late, we have a strong position and can meet the charge if it should come.

Still for that purpose it would be important to have Ranc's article. If it was possible to *broder*[c] such stuff upon it, it must form a peculiar canvas, and not only the false report of Paul's speech,[360] but also Ranc's words may be quoted; and we ought to know what they are. Paul merely wrote, Ranc had written in his favour with regard to Bordeaux 1870. Could you procure us the number, and if not, at least say what paper it appeared in, that we may try to hunt it up here?

Now as to other matters.

1) Some time ago I sent you 10s. for account of Sorge for the *Socialiste*; please say whether you have received it, you know how particular old Sorge is.

2) Have you received the copy of 4th edition *Ursprung der Familie*[d] I sent rather more than 3 weeks ago? I sent a lot of copies to the Continent and not one has been acknowledged. As the English Post sim-

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[a] See this volume, pp. 306-07. - [b] Ibid., p. 307. - [c] embroider - [d] *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*

ply confiscates book-post matter for abroad if a half-penny is short on the postage, I begin to feel rather anxious.

3) Tussy is bothered to death by Greenwood, the secretary of the glass-workers who has sent a lot of money for the French glass-workers on strike and cannot get a single acknowledgment of receipt. He says in a letter to Tussy November 28th that he has sent to Paul same day £49 for that purpose—will you please do your best to get Paul to acknowledge all sums sent through him and also to get Pierre Morrier of Lyons who has had several sums, to do the same? The Castleford Glass Bottle Makers have behaved very well to their French comrades, and the least these latter can do is to acknowledge receipt, so as to enable the senders to *account* for the money to their constituents. Unless this simple act is complied with, it will be doubtful whether the English Trades Unions will not get tired of supporting Continental strikes, and certainly nobody could blame them.

Bebel's speech on the budget was very good.[366] As soon as I get a pretty full report I shall send it you.

Last night a letter from Sam Moore; had arrived at Lagos in the Niger delta, and would be back in the arms of his black wife in about a week or ten days.

Yours ever,

F. Engels

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## 156

## ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT[371]

IN BERLIN

London, 2 December 1891

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

Please accept my sincere thanks for your kind good wishes on yet another birthday[372]; they have, for the present at any rate, been

pretty well granted, as I'm in the happy state of being physically fit and mentally alert and I trust this will so continue. We spent an exceedingly cheerful day and good wishes poured in from all sides; even Mr and Mrs Motteler paid us a visit while we were sitting down to our morning glass of beer. In the evening, however, we went to Tussy's where the Bernsteins were also present, and by doing so we frustrated a serenade which had been planned for me by the choir of the Workers' Society.[89] As I did not hear about this until Saturday morning, I was unfortunately not able to warn the gentlemen sooner.[373] All in all I was not sorry that it turned out as it did; I have a deep-rooted aversion to such demonstrations which are impossible to get out of if one's occupation is that of agitator, popular speaker or member of parliament. However I have been lucky enough to avoid them up till now and intend to do so in future.

Otherwise there's nothing particularly new to report; Tussy enjoys the not wholly unjustified reputation of being in charge of the Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers[164] and the week before last she was away for eight days on a propaganda trip to Northern Ireland. But they are in fact quite splendid chaps, these gasworkers, and their union is far more progressive than any of the others. Moreover they're so conversant with agitation 'in conformity with the law' that eighteen months ago in Leeds they fought and won two regular battles, first with the police and then with the police and dragoons, and forced the city council, the owners of the gasworks, to capitulate.[374] As an old soldier I'll say this for Will Thorne, General Secretary of the union, who was in command during these battles — I could not find the slightest fault either in his strategic or in his tactical dispositions.

For the rest, we are leading a somewhat quieter life than at the time when the *Sozialdemokrat* was functioning. Apart from the Avelings and Bernsteins, we see only few people; the Mottelers seldom go out, the Mendelsons are busy with their Polish club on Sunday evenings and, since March of this year, Pumps and her family have been living in Ryde on the Isle of Wight where her husband runs an agency business. I go down to see them occasionally and in July spent a month there, accompanied by Schorlemmer[264] just at the time when the French fleet was in. So far as one can judge from their external appearance, their ironclads, which are of the latest design, are far superior to those of the British. Pumps leads a delightful existence in a little house some 20 minutes' walk from the town and right out in

the country, which is obviously an enormous advantage so far as the children are concerned. She is very fond of the life down there and if, as we hope, her husband does well, they will all benefit from having exchanged the air of London for that of the sea. The Isle of Wight is very pretty, indeed beautiful in parts; you can sail right round it in a steamer in seven hours, a very nice trip during which the tyro runs the risk of being seasick for about $2^1/_2$ hours.

Will you please give Liebknecht the enclosed notes and convey to him, as well as to your son,[a] my sincere thanks for their good wishes.

I trust that Berlin will continue to please you and that your health will permit you to enjoy the amenities of the 'imperial capital' in all its aspects. Meanwhile perhaps you will remember kindly

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

Louise also sends her best wishes to you, Liebknecht and family.

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## 157

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [177]

### IN STUTTGART

London, 3 December 1891

Dear Kautsky,

Your letter of 30 October has long been awaiting an answer; the blame for this must be placed upon Volume III [b] which I am once again sweating away at. I have just got to the most difficult part, i. e. the last chapters (six to eight or thereabouts) on money capital, banks, credit, etc., and, once having started, I shall have to keep at it

[a] Theodor Liebknecht - [b] of *Capital*

without a break and work through the relevant literature again, in short make myself completely *au fait*, if only so that I may — as is probable — eventually leave most of it as it stands, yet at the same time feel quite sure that I have committed no blunders either in the positive or the negative sense.

Very many thanks for the reports on Erfurt [301]; they were of value to me in many respects, the discussions of the programme committee being of particular interest. You describe the Executive's draft as *his*, Liebknecht's. Bebel sent me all the material relative to the genesis of this draft [269] from which it is evident that at each stage a fair portion of Liebknecht's initial work had been dropped and replaced with Bebel's propositions until in the end little or nothing remained. What did remain, however, was a lack of coherence, of rigour in the co-ordination of individual propositions, both being attributable to the consideration paid to Liebknecht's work. That was what gave your draft [299] the advantage, as everyone was bound to acknowledge at first glance, and it was that, too, along with Bebel's public admission of the fact, which immediately convinced the others.

The recent investigations, which have rendered obsolete Marx's chapter on the historical trend of capitalist accumulation,[375] are in any case the work of Geiser who is of course regarded in Breslau [a] as a genuine scientific authority. However it is also possible that in his embarrassment Liebknecht said (for he was obviously unaware that these propositions had been taken from *Capital*) the first 'bit of nonsense', as he would put it, that came into his head.

At any rate the theoretical part of the programme is now perfectly presentable; the main thing is that it should contain nothing that is theoretically controversial and in the main this aim has been achieved. The practical demands contain all kinds of snags; many of them seem philistine — if applied to conditions today — but now that we occupy a position of power we can reply quite rightly that they will certainly not be implemented until we come to the helm and that they will then assume quite a different character. As, for instance, free legal advice. A six hours' working day up till the age of 18 obviously ought to have gone in — as also the banning of night work for women and of any sort of work at the very least one month before and 6 weeks after a confinement.

I'm sorry for Liebknecht. For he had to sing the praises of the new

[a] Wrocław

programme although it was perfectly plain to everyone that he had had no part in it whatever. But he took on the job of his own accord, so what can one do about it?

What you say about Tölcke's speech is new to me and most interesting.[376] Ede's work[178] goaded the Old Lassalleans into a state of great activity at a time when Marx's letter[a] had already roused them from the complacency induced by the obligatory deification of Lassalle. Even Jacob Audorf, the discoverer of the path of boldness along which we were led by Baron Izzy[377] (as Marx used to call the chap), has been letting forth indignant battle cries amidst the Sunday chit-chat of the *Hamburger Echo*.[b] But they no longer count for anything. Incidentally, Ede got much more upset than he needed to over Bebel's, etc., criticism. Bebel was most reasonable, merely demanding that, so far as the *form* was concerned, his procedure should be such as not, at the very outset, to frighten off those readers with a tradition of Lassalle worship or to give the Old Lassalleans any justified grounds for complaint. To this was added the unfortunate circumstance that Ede had inserted a note that was admittedly quite uncalled for (because he turned it into a piece of tittle-tattle by using 'probably') about syphilis[309] and the worthy censors in Berlin *did not spot this note* until it was too late. The fact that *they* had made a hash of the business caused them, of course, to fly momentarily into a mighty Achillean rage whereupon Ede, of course, had to atone, not only for *his own* lapse but even more for *theirs*, by receiving a number of indignant letters. Naturally I have backed him up as best as I could throughout the whole affair.

The opposition press *lives* on the antithesis of the *national* Lassalle and the *unpatriotic* Social-Democrats. So they'll take care not to lay their hands on a book in which the legend of the nationalist Lassalle is so thoroughly demolished.

Ede's work is really very good and gave me great pleasure; it will elicit the major response it deserves in Germany—in the course of time—and, on completion of this edition, ought to be printed separately and/or expanded by Ede and divested of its special purpose. By then things will have progressed far enough for this to be perfectly feasible. In this country, too, it will have a good effect, for over here your socialistically inclined bourgeois is also seeking to oppose Marx by making a legend out of Lassalle.

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[a] K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. - [b] [J. Audorf,] 'Zum Parteikongresse', *Hamburger Echo*, No. 245, lst Supplement, 18 October 1891.

I shall take another look at the letter Labriola wrote to Tussy. My impression is that it would be better *not* to print it. Labriola is very dissatisfied with the way things are going in Italy and I'm not sure that it may not have something to do with his disappointment over the fact that *his* joining the movement did not immediately revive and revolutionise it. So far as I recall, the letter was of the kind that might have elicited dozens of replies. Some strange things are certainly going on there.

You will regret Lafargue's translation from Pélagie[a] to the Chamber. It will deprive you of many a nice article.

*Addio.*

Your
F. E.

Plekhanov's articles are excellent.[b]

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## 158

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [141]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 3 December 1891

My dear Lafargue,

After your formal repudiation of all those passages in the Bordeaux report[c] of which I had a right to complain, it only remains for me to take back all the wounding words I may have used about you and outright to ask your forgiveness.

As my only excuse I shall describe for your benefit the situation in

[a] See this volume, pp. 297-98. - [b] G. W. Plechanow, 'Zu Hegel's sechzigstem Todestag', *Die Neue Zeit*, 10. Jg. 1891/92, 1. Bd., Nr. 7-9. - [c] See this volume, pp. 306-07.

which I found myself. One evening[a] *The Evening Standard* arrived with the Reuters report you know about[360]; the next evening a bundle of newspapers from Laura, amongst them the *Intransigeant* with the report in question; then a cutting from yet another paper with the same report. All three versions were in agreement on the main point. So what conclusion could I have come to other than that Laura had read those reports and that, if she had sent them to me without a word of comment, they were to all intents and purposes accurate. Hence Paul must have said something of the sort.

Again, it contained things—whether true or not—which could only have been said by you or by Ranc. If said by Ranc, you would certainly not have hesitated to advise me of a fact that could have the gravest repercussions on the situation of the German socialists—well then?

Just so. For our friends in Germany it would mean at best the reintroduction of the Anti-Socialist Law,[11] frenziedly acclaimed by all the Chauvins in our ruling classes, the suppression of our newspapers and meetings, of all our literature and, in the event of war, the arrest of all the LEADERS at the very time when we would have most need of them to take advantage of the impending revolutionary moment. It would also mean the implantation of an element of discord, of mistrust, between French and German working men at the very moment when unity was more necessary than ever.

Thanks to the stupidity of our enemies, these accounts have not yet been cited in the German press. But the Embassy will undoubtedly have made use of them in its reports. And although your disavowal, which was at once passed on to Berlin,[b] has lifted a terrible weight from my mind, there is always the danger that the German government will keep this accusation up its sleeve so as to imprison our best men at the outbreak of war and annihilate them with an accusation that would be doubly appalling at a time when chauvinist passions were running riot. So your disavowal would go only half way towards protecting them and this is why.

You say that the reporter embroidered the article by Ranc. But that embroidery, such as it is, would not have been possible had not Ranc at least *sketched out* the design on the canvas. I haven't set eyes on that canvas. So please be so kind as to send me either the article itself or at least a copy of the relevant passages; or else let me know the

[a] 23 November - [b] See this volume, pp. 301 - 02.

name of the paper and the date of the number in which it appeared so that I can seek it out here. Then we shall at least know what the attacks will be which we shall have to parry.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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## 159

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 19 December 1891

My dear Laura,

Today I have just the time to inform you that the box with the usual pudding, cake, etc., has been safely forwarded by the usual instrumentality yesterday and hope will reach you safely and in time.

20th December. You see I had *not* 'just the time' yesterday, for the dinner-bell called me off, it being 5.20 and only ten minutes to spare before closing of mail — so I thought it better to wait till today.

Schorlemmer cannot come this Christmas, and Pumps and family, whom I saw at Ryde for a few days last week, are in the same position. So then it struck me; would it not be a bit of a change and rest for you and Paul to come over and take possession of the top front bedroom for a week or so? Surely you must want some interruption of that restless sort of life which Paul's election [330] and its consequences have thrown you both into. And the bright skies of Paris must make you long for a good old-fashioned London fog such as is now overhanging me. So I do hope you will make up your minds, and if Paul should have engagements up to Christmas, you might come first, and he follow next week to spend at least the passage from '91 to '92 with us.

In the meantime I must not forget 'the compliments of the season' and the old-established form in which I ought to present them to you, namely the enclosed bit of pink paper which I hope you will do me the kindness to accept.

Schorlemmer is still suffering from deafness but hopes to be cured, if he can keep free from colds this winter. So I have not the heart to press him, especially as his ear-doctor says he always comes back from London worse than he went.

I am glad Paul has deposed a motion on the separation of Church and State. In his first speech, it appears to me as if the violent interruptions from all sides had prevented him from developing clearly and unmistakably what he intended to say, and that the Dumays and Radicals [147] and even Floquet tried to use that as a peg to hang on their cheap criticisms. This motion will re-establish clearness.[378]

My dear Laura, the fog is getting so perfect that I must give up writing in order not to ruin my eyes — writing by gas-light being still strictly prohibited. So in the hope of soon learning that you are getting ready for the road, and with kind regards from Louise, I remain

ever yours,
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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## 160

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN LONDON

[London,] Wednesday, 23 December 1891

Dear Ede,

Idiot that I am, it never crossed my mind yesterday that you might need some money after your mishap on Sunday[a] and, even though I believe there is some justification for my assuming that you would not have felt shy about mentioning the matter despite such gross remissness on my part, I shall, now that I see the whole thing clearly, hasten to make amends by offering you the unrestricted use of my balance at the bank and my CASH ON HAND. I still have about £5 here at home and tomorrow morning I shall draw some more — FOG PERMITTING.

Warm regards to you all.

Your
F. E.

Käte[b] could spend Friday night with us if you think that would be preferable. Won't be any bother.

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[a] See this volume, p. 324. - [b] Käte Schattner

## 161

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [177]

IN STUTTGART

London, 27 December 1891

Dear Baron,

A line or two in haste. I have fallen very far behind with everything as a result of a five-day fog which (abetted by tippling) has again affected my eyes somewhat and, on top of that, the following extras:

1. Proof correction of the English *Condition of the Working-Class*,[a] of which so far 6 sheets remain unread.

2. Revision of Aveling's translation of *Entwicklung des Sozialismus*,[b] which has got to be done *properly*; since I live in the place of publication I shall ineluctably be held responsible for every slip.

3. The colossal amount of correspondence, swollen by the festive season.

Not to mention a working day greatly curtailed by having to spare my eyes.

You will understand that, since work on Volume III[c] must be resumed as soon as possible and thereafter continued *without interruption* until finished, I shall only be able to run through your ms.[379] very cursorily, but what can be done I shall gladly do.

The new things about exchange value and value in the third edition of *Capital*[d] derive from handwritten addenda of Marx's, of which unfortunately there are very few, while such as there are were elaborated in the very difficult circumstances of illness. Marx spent a long time searching for the *mot juste* and made a lot of corrections.

So far as Fireman[380] is concerned, it is certainly quite plausible that, if $\frac{V}{C} = {}^1/_2 = {}^1/_3 = {}^1/_4 = {}^1/_5$, etc., occurs in practice, then *one* fraction or another should correspond to the proportion whereby profit and surplus value coincide (crudely speaking, for it is also subject to all manner of reservations). However, the chap is nevertheless to be commend-

[a] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*. - [b] F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. - [c] of *Capital* - [d] K. Marx, *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*. Erster Band. Buch I: Der Produktionsprocess des Kapitals. Dritte vermehrte Auflage, Hamburg, 1883.

ed for having lighted on this idea. If he is agreeable, please send me his paper. It will, indeed, have to remain closeted in my desk until such time as I write the preface to Volume III,[a] at which point, *provided it is really worth the trouble*, I shall be able to accord it a place alongside other attempted solutions. I can do no more and with that Schmidt, too, was content.[381] If he doesn't like it, let him publish his paper and see what happens.

That poor R. Meyer should be reduced to taking refuge with us is almost tragic. POOR DEVIL, in addition to bad luck and diabetes, he has found out just what his conservative friends, wherever they may be, are like.[382]

Having boxed Gilles' ears, Aveling is in even less of a position to reply to his flysheets. Gilles doesn't of course publish that kind of filth in the press over here, and no one could expect Aveling to sue him for LIBEL and spend several hundred pounds on bringing a law-suit only to see Gilles vanish into thin air on the eve of the proceedings. Labouchère, when accused of LIBEL, was asked by defending counsel: 'HAVE YOU EVER BROUGHT AN ACTION FOR LIBEL?' 'No,' came the reply, 'I NEVER WAS SUCH A FOOL.' Whereat judge and lawyers alike pronounced him one of the leading authorities ON THE LAW OF LIBEL.

The Berliners, or Liebknecht at any rate, have made fools of us over the compositors' strike.[383] Mr Döblin, who came over here on behalf of the compositors, bearing letters of introduction from Liebknecht to everyone you can think of *save Ede and myself*, has not only ignored the German party over here, but has treated it *de haut en bas*[b] and denigrated it, at any rate in a *negative* sense. At Burns' he said the party had done *nothing whatever* for them, whereas it had in fact donated 20,000 marks. And when Sanders who was there asked him whether the entire party press hadn't backed them up, he was forced to admit that it had. And then Liebknecht writes[153] asking me to do everything I can for the compositors, but omitting to tell me what he and the party have done and not so much as mentioning the fact that one of the chaps' representatives is over here. In the circumstances I could not, of course, do anything — after all, it was only through the *English* press that I learnt what was afoot and I wasn't a fool as to impose myself on a man who had carefully shunned the party and dealt with the TRADES COUNCIL[196] direct. This, as you can imagine, was grist to the Hyndman-Gilles mill — 'Now you can see,' they say,

[a] In the ms: of the third edition - [b] with contempt

'that there's nothing whatever behind the much vaunted German party. Even the workers don't want to have anything to do with it and say it's no good.' And only this week we see the fruits thereof in the *Justice* in which Gilles publicly sides with the Independents.[a] [333] A piece of good luck, as it happens, for it means that Hyndman will compromise himself and put his foot in it just as he did of yore with Brousse & Co.

The German bosses will be fools if they don't now introduce linotype machines which are increasingly being used by all the big newspapers both here and in New York.

Burns was horrified to learn that the compositors are given 21 M a week strike pay whereas here it's never more than 10 or 15sh. at the outside.

When the compositors sent someone over here, our Berlin chaps should either have *insisted* that he act in concert with Ede, the German party's representative here, or else have refused to co-operate. The party is no longer under any compulsion to throw itself at the heads of these aristocrats of the working class.

Last Sunday[b] Ede was burgled and lost £10, as you may already have heard. His nerves are in a very bad state and he needs rest and fresh air.

Thanks for your good wishes. Our entire household, including Tidlums, wish you and your wife[c] and your son[d] the best of health and happiness in the coming year. Tidlums has grown into a large, majestic tomcat, the sultan of all the female cats in Regent's Park Road and the terror of all competitors and rivals.

Your
F. Engels

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935

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[a] F. Gilles, 'The Independent Socialists in Germany', *Justice*, No. 415, 26 December 1891.-[b] 20 December-[c] Luise Kautsky, née Ronsperger-[d] Felix Kautsky

## 162

## ENGELS TO ANNA AND HERMANN SCHLÜTER [384]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 30 December 1891

A Happy New Year!

Louise
General

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50, Moscow, 1981

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# 1892

## 163

## ENGELS TO THE LIEBKNECHT FAMILY [385]

IN BERLIN

[London, 1 January 1892]

A Happy New Year. *F. Engels, L. Kautsky, Gine Bernstein, Eug. Oswald, Tussy, Edward,*[a] *Ede.*

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## 164

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [386]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 6 January 1892

Dear Sorge,

I hope you received our New Year's greetings card. Today I shall reply to your letters of 20 and 23 November and 9 December.

I have happily survived my 71st birthday and am, all in all, healthier and stronger than 5 or 6 years since. If I go on till 1900—though I don't know whether this would be a blessing or the reverse—I shall, I hope, still witness all manner of things. In America

[a] Aveling

you've got a movement which progresses by UPS AND DOWNS, frequently disappoints, and is therefore readily conducive to a mood of pessimism. If I incline to the opposite extreme, it is through having here, before my very eyes, a European movement which is on the whole making gigantic strides and has at its core the German movement, steadily forging ahead with the inexorability of a natural force. I have written something on the subject[a] for the French almanac and shall send it you as soon as I get another copy.

War with Russia has fortunately been delayed by another 3 or 4 years, provided nothing idiotic is done anywhere. Since a peaceful course of development in Germany promises victory for us under the *most favourable* circumstances — somewhat later perhaps, but all the more surely for that — there is no reason for us to stake our all on a gamble, as we would have to do should there be such a war.

I do not believe there is as yet room for a *third* party in America. In that vast area the disparity of interests, even in the *same* section of one class, is so great that completely different sections and interests are represented according to locality in each of the two big parties and that, to a very great extent, virtually every separate stratum of the propertied class has its representatives in each of the two parties, although *nowadays* big industrialists constitute the bulk of the Republicans as do the big Southern landowners that of the Democrats. The apparent fortuitousness of this amalgam is a first-rate breeding-ground for corruption and the exploitation of the state which thrive so wonderfully over there. Only when the land — the public lands — is entirely in the hands of speculators, i. e. when settlement has become increasingly difficult and/or subject to fraud, only then, or so it seems to me, will the time have come for a third party, provided, that is, things develop *peacefully*. Speculation is based on the *land* and the mania as also opportunity for speculation in America are the chief means whereby the native-born workers are kept in thrall to the bourgeoisie. Only when there is a race of native-born workers with *nothing more* to expect from speculation, shall we have firm ground beneath our feet in America. But then, who can expect things to develop *peacefully* in America? There you have sudden economic advances like the political ones in France — where they admittedly also have the same momentary set-backs.

[a] F. Engels, 'Le Socialisme en Allemagne', *Almanach du Parti ouvrier pour 1892*, Lille, 1892.

It seems improbable that the small farmers and the lower middle classes, consisting as these do of all-too rapidly changing elements, will ever succeed in forming a strong party; furthermore the farmer is often a migrant who cultivates 2, 3 or 4 farms in succession in various states and territories [387]; in both cases immigration and bankruptcy promote a steady turn-over of individuals, while economic dependence on creditors is yet another impediment to independence. On the other hand, however, they provide a first-rate element for politicians who make capital out of their discontent and then proceed to sell them to one of the big parties.

The 'doggedness' of the YANKEES who are actually resurrecting GREENBACK HUMBUG again [388] is a consequence of their theoretical backwardness and their Anglo-Saxon contempt for all theory. By way of retribution they are inflicted with a superstitious belief in any kind of philosophical and economic nonsense, and indulge in religious sectarianism and economically idiotic experiments, the benefit of which, however, is reaped by sundry bourgeois cliques.

Louise asks that you should send her *nothing but* the *Woman's Journal* (*Boston*) and this *only up till 31 March* unless otherwise advised by us. She needs it for the Vienna *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung* (of which she, Laura and Tussy are the mainstays) and says it wouldn't occur to her to impose the foolish chit-chat of the American SWELL MOB LADIES on her working women. Thanks to your kindness in sending her the things, she is once more *au courant* and able to see that the said ladies are still as snotty and narrow-minded as ever they were and only wants to give this one paper a month or two's trial. In the meantime she thanks you most sincerely for your good offices.

At his first appearance in the Chamber Lafargue allowed himself to be somewhat flummoxed by the interjections and general uproar.[378] But he'll soon make up for it. The French always improve when engaged in hand-to-hand fighting.

The position as regards Gompers *is this*. He wrote, sending me detailed PAPERS concerning his association.[389] I was away a great deal at the time—during the summer [264]—besides being tremendously busy, nor had I any clear idea of what was afoot and supposed that *Iliacos extra peccatur muros et intra.*[a] Then I heard that Gompers was going to Brussels and might come here, so I thought things could be settled by word of mouth. Later, when he *didn't* turn up, I put off do-

[a] Sins were committed within as without the walls of Troy (Horace, *Epistles*, I, 2, 16).

ing anything. But I shall look out the papers and then reply to him; I thanked him for the list.

The other day I wrote to K. Kautsky [153] asking him to inquire from Dietz about the publication of your articles in book form [358] and am still awaiting a reply. More haste less speed, as they say in Germany, especially in Stuckert [a] on the Neckar's banks.

Blatchford has left *The Workman's Times*, which is a great relief. For that matter the paper evinces the defects that will always be inseparable from any such *private* undertaking in this country so long as it isn't backed by a party strong enough to control it.

I have now got to 1. read the proofs of the new edition of the *Condition of the Working-Class in England 1844*, 2. go over Aveling's translation of the *Entwicklung des Sozialismus*,[b] 3. attend to a few other oddments [390] and then 4. get down to Volume III [c] again, having now the most difficult chapters ahead of me. However, I think I shall manage if I vigorously exclude everything extraneous. What will then remain to be done will not, I believe, present any but formal difficulties.

Warm regards to your wife [d] and yourself from L. Kautsky and

Your
F. Engels

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

Printed according to the original

[a] Stuttgart - [b] F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. - [c] of *Capital* - [d] Katharina Sorge

165

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 6 January 1892

My dear Laura,

The pears have arrived in very good condition, the few that were urgently in want of being devoured, have been at once attended to, and the rest is being gradually, thankfully and pleasurably consumed. That the old Fry's Cocoa box should return to us with such agreeable contents, and as they say of expired directors in joint-stock companies, 'offer itself for re-election' next Christmas, was a pleasant surprise indeed.

Paul wants to know about the constitution of the Board of Health.[391] I will try to find it out, but am afraid I shall have to ask Tussy or Edward to hunt it up at the British Museum. If I only knew the year when the Board of Health was instituted, I might get the original Act of Parliament — if Sam was here, we should have it in a jiffy.

Your intermittent husband seems to be indeed seized with the fever of the wandering Jew — perhaps he wants to supersede him by the wandering Nigger[392]? Anyhow the proposition about separation of Church and State in the sense of the Commune[378] was the best thing he could do, it stops their mouths at once. Especially now when the French Clergy begin to face the eventuality and try to make it out that they ought to be, in that case, disestablished as the Church of Ireland was,[393] that is to say not only keep all their property, but have the salaries capitalised and bought off in a lump sum — *les milliards de l'Eglise! après ceux de M. Bismarck!*[a][394] The priests are too much in a hurry for to pronounce this is to make it impossible. If the thing was kept quiet, and sprung upon the people all at once in the shape of a government proposition, the surprise might pass, and the Radicals[147] would only be too glad to swallow it — but to have it discussed in public beforehand, is to ensure its failure. The French Republic, with its revolutionary principles of civil law, cannot *buy off*

[a] the thousands of millions of the Church! After those of Mr Bismarck!

the Church in the way the English semi-feudal monarchy did. Here the system developed by Lassalle in Vol. 1st of his *System der erworbenen Rechte*[166] is alone applicable, as it was exclusively applied by the Great Revolution. See Bernstein's Introduction to Lassalle's *Works*,[178] if you have not got it I'll try to get it. It is Lassalle's *only* juridical *Leistung*,[a] and not a great one, but quite correct *juridically*. *We* ought to start it in France, and *then* set Longuet to work the Radicals in that sense.

I have to interrupt again. Old Harney is laid up with bronchitis in Richmond — same complaint which last spring brought him to the grave's edge. I must go and see him, but hope to be back in time to finish that letter. I am crushed with work, there are 1) proof-sheets and new preface of new English edition of *Lage der arbeitenden Klassen in England*,[b] 2) revision of Edward's translation of *Entwicklung des Socialismus* — with another new preface, 3) German translation of my article[c] in the *Almanach before* anybody else seizes upon it, 4) a lot of letters to answer. And then *possibly* I may return to Vol. III[d] where just the very difficultest chapters of all await me.

4.30 p. m. Just returned from Richmond where I found old Harney much better — hope it will last.

I suppose you have got Louise's *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung* with the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung* direct from Vienna. Your article reads uncommonly well, Tussy's article will be in next number,[314] and as the paper is by its nature insatiable, I can only say that all further contributions will be thankfully received, in the meantime I send you Louise's thanks which like all thanks are double-edged, viz. 1) thanks for favours received, 2) 'a sense of favours to come', as the bourgeois said.

Poor Adler is sadly overworked, and moreover, the momentary rest he gets, he only gets as the nurse of his wife[e] who is seriously ill — they are at Salò, Lago di Garda, for the present. And as Victor is responsible for the filling of the paper, you do an indirect kindness to him and the Austrian party by helping to fill the women's paper with *good* matter; the *bourgeoises émancipées* would only be too glad of an opportunity of deposing their crotchets and nostrums in the working women's organ.

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[a] achievement - [b] *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* - [c] F. Engels, 'Der Sozialismus in Deutschland'. - [d] of *Capital* - [e] Emma Adler

Pumps has been out of sorts a bit, so that she could not come during the holidays, but we shall have her and the children here in the course of this month.

What in the world made Vaillant fight that fool Gégout—*égout*[a]?

Love from Louise and myself to both of you. And do keep in mind the obligation you are under to come over here with Paul before long. It will do some of our working men good to see a live French *député socialiste*.

*A vous de coeur*[b]

F. E.

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166

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 20 January 1892

My dear Laura,

Last night I had a letter from Paul from Bordeaux in which he writes me to send you a cheque to pay the *propriétaire*.[c] Now I should only be too glad to help you over this *mauvais quart d'heure*,[d] but the fact is, January and February are my worst months in the year, Christmas pumps one out almost completely, and I have next to nothing to come in before 1-5th March. In fact I do not yet see my way how to get over this awkward time myself, as besides the usual Christmas expenses, I had some considerable extra advances to make. Old Harney I had to lend money when he was ill, and Tussy and Edward have mortgaged with me the proceeds of four agreements with Sonnenschein, on which I advanced them a pretty round sum which comes in from Sonnenschein only gradually and at rather uncertain

[a] bastard - [b] Yours sincerely - [c] landlady - [d] bad spell

times—certainly not now when I want it most. In fact I am hard up myself. But if you can manage to find some one who, on my giving him my cheque for the amount, *dated say March 5th*, so that it cannot be presented before that date, will advance you the needful, then you can have my cheque with pleasure. I should think Deville might do that, as my cheque is absolutely safe. In that case please let me know what the amount is, for Paul merely speaks of '*un chèque*'.

My article[a] in the *Almanach* is appearing in Italian in the *Critica Sociale* and yesterday I was at last able to send to Bebel the German text of it — with a rather lengthy postscriptum on the Russian famine, which insures peace for a time and deprives my article of its most actual *actualité*.

The fight with Hyndman & Co. goes on here — at present the Kommunistischer Arbeiterverein[89] is the chief theatre, and there is a chance of Gilles being beaten and kicked out, and then Hyndman will have made with his German speculation (backing Gilles) even a worse *four*[b] than in his French speculation on Brousse.[395]

Hyndman you know is candidate for Parliament in Chelsea. When his meetings in Sloane Square were stopped by the police he was fined 1s. and paid it, and gave up Sloane Square. Now he makes the Federation[29] fight for a far worse place in Chelsea called *the World's End* (the name is enough to show it's no place for public meetings). Well they have had some 15-18 men summoned and sentenced, and now they tried to get the *other bodies* out to fight their battle, under the name of 'the right of public meeting in danger'. For Hyndman said, if he could keep this going on till the dissolution, *his seat was safe*. But it won't come off. The Gas Workers said they would send speakers to be arrested and tried, *if Hyndman on that occasion took the chair*[396]; and at a meeting last week where Burns, Edward and Tussy were, Hyndman was terribly taunted with his cowardice, and finally the whole attempt to rescue Hyndman by the intervention of the other Societies and Trades Unions was practically dropped. Croesel, one of our best Germans here, told Hyndman to his face he was a liar, in public delegate meeting, and he pocketed it.

Now I must go and see Ede Bernstein who has had the influenza, so good-bye. Louise says as Paul is always away you might use your spare time to write something for the *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung* — you see she is awfully ambitious to make the Viennese paper beat the Stuttgart

[a] F. Engels, 'Le Socialisme en Allemagne. - [b] blunder

one[a] which however won't be difficult — that was first edited by Frau Ihrer, and damned badly, and now poor Clara Zetkin has it, and the first two Nos are certainly very poor and very slow. So if you have something to tell about *ces charmantes françaises*[b] and their movements, all the better.

I hope your animal family is going on all right — we have the influenza all round us, but so far our two servants here have only got a touch of it, Louise suffers from what my poor wife[c] used to call 'pains all over' (general muscular rheumatism) and I am not yet caught.

Ever yours,
F. Engels

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167

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 26 January 1892

Dear Baron,

Proofs of the article[d] promptly returned yesterday. I cannot attend to those of the *Anti-Proudhon*[e] as I have got to tackle Volume III[f] without delay and look over the English translation of the *Entwicklung*[g], which I cannot refuse to do since it is I, after all, who will be held responsible for anything of that kind that appears in *London*; so I can take on *absolutely nothing else whatever*.

If the Berliners should object to anything in my article, I would ask you to substitute *dots*. There can be no question of toning things down

---

[a] *Die Gleichheit* - [b] these charming French ladies - [c] Lizzy Burns - [d] F. Engels, 'Der Sozialismus in Deutschland'. - [e] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the 'Philosophy of Poverty' by M. Proudhon.* - [f] of *Capital* - [g] F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific.*

because the French original is generally accessible and I might be accused of *falsifying* the text.

I should be grateful if you would send me the proofs of the *Poverty* — for I've got to take another look at the preface[a] in any case.

I have written and told Dietz,[153] by whom I've been saddled with a draft for an address to Bebel on the 25th anniversary of his entry into Parliament,[153] that in future *all* my fees are to be sent to Adler. As it is, the Berliners get the lion's share, since I can't deprive them of those accruing from what is published by the *Vorwärts* publishers. So it's only fair.

Well, the happy result of Julius'[b] underground activities was to get Gilles evicted from the Society[89] by 48 votes to 21, at 3 o'clock on Sunday morning.[c] He (Julius) conducted the campaign most ably and called in here on Sunday evening; he was full of beans and gave us a delightfully humorous account of his negotiations with the Society members whom he conjured up to the life. It was the same old story. At first the dullards thought they were only 7 strong, a figure which, on further investigation, turned out to be more like 50 — good men, if sluggardly—but once they'd been got together and galvanised into action, Gilles was done for. It's a matter of some significance because, in the eyes of the English, it has knocked the ground from under his feet; Hyndman is the only one who now has him hanging at his coat-tails, nor will he be able to shake him off.

Hyndman has also suffered some severe defeats. See the account in last week's *Workman's Times* of the delegates' negotiations at the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION[29] HALL, Strand, concerning the FREE SPEECH MEETING at the World's End, Chelsea. On that occasion he was hard pressed by Shaw, Burns and Tussy. Burns said that, if it came to the point, he hoped it would not be necessary to go and look for speakers in the LAVATORIES (as for Hyndman in Trafalgar Square[397]), etc. Hyndman, he went on, could have saved the day if, instead of the untenable World's End (300 men constitute an OBSTRUCTION OF TRAFFIC, whereupon the police have *got* to intervene), he had stuck to Sloane Square which he had relinquished on being fined one SHILLING. The GASWORKERS said they would attend if there was any prospect of a fight, and would provide speakers if Hyndman would preside.[396] In short, his cowardice was at long last brought home to him. On Sunday he

[a] F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus. Preface to the First German Edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy* by Karl Marx'. - [b] Julius Motteler - [c] 24 January

fared even worse at the delegates' meeting about the same subject. A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION man said that the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION was too weak to carry the thing off on its own and since it apparently was on its own, ought to drop it; someone else said that it wouldn't do for Hyndman to be arrested since the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION was solely dependent on subsidies from MIDDLE-CLASS PEOPLE, ESPECIALLY Hyndman and Hunter Watts. The jackass has got so involved in his own intrigues that things may go badly for him. The real nub of the matter, as he himself had privately said, was this: if the squabbling over the World's End RIGHT OF MEETING could be kept going until the dissolution of Parliament, *it would ensure his being returned in Chelsea* (for which he is standing).

Many regards and my congratulations on the birth of your second son.[a] But surely it is now time you slowed down the tempo a bit? We are glad to hear that mother[b] and child are doing well. Over here influenza is still on the rampage; Percy had it, and pneumonia immediately afterwards; I anxiously await news of Pumps. Louise also had a touch of it, likewise Aveling.

Well, once again warm regards from Louise and

Your
General

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## 168

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 28 January 1892

Dear Baron,

Your omission of Bebel and Liebknecht ALL RIGHT.[398] It makes no difference at all to the thing.

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[a] Karl - [b] Luise Kautsky (née Ronsperger)

*Six Centuries, etc.*[399] would probably be worth translating, more so at any rate than the same author's *Economic Interpretation of History*, most of which he undoubtedly cribbed from *Capital*; it is somewhat pedantically written although it does contain individual insights. In *Six Centuries* there is much that is unknown in Germany—genuine material but a number of false interpretations, as is inevitable with a bourgeois. But I should have thought you'd have found writing works of your own pleasanter and more necessary than translating.

Kindest regards from

Your
General

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935

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Published in English for the first time

## 169

## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY

### IN NEW YORK

London, 28 January [18]92

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

1) The following is an abstract of my agreement with Swan Sonnenschein and Co.

a) we (that is I in yours and Mrs Aveling's name) transfer to them the *English* copyright of the *Condition*[a] etc.;

b) that they produce it in one volume in their Social Science Series;

c) that they pay us (i. e. you through me) $12^1/_2\%$ on full price (2s. 6d. per copy), 13 copies to be reckoned for 12;

d) the same for stereotype plates and copies sold for colonies;

[a] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844.*

e) the same on proceeds of copies sold by auction, or at reduced prices;

f) that we do not suffer from bad debts contracted by them;

g) that accounts be made up as on 30th June each year and settled within 3 months;

h) that we get 12 free copies.

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2) The book is now printed, out of the appendix.[a] I have made a new preface for the British reader.[b] I have suppressed the preface of the American edition. On reading the proofs I have changed a few expressions, chiefly technical terms and evident misprints or slips of the press. As soon as I get our copies I shall send you six of them.

I had another tussle with Sonnenschein, but again had the best of him. On reading proof of title page, I found that he had struck out your name on the front and put it on the back in small print! Of course I at once protested, and asked Dr Aveling to see him about this, as I could not submit to have the translator, and the party *whose simple agent I was in this matter*, thus insulted. Of course the man gave in, but it seems impossible to do business with him without having to fight such little tricks. And all this on account of that unpronounceable Russian name which he fears might injure the sale of the book, as its bearer surely cannot be expected to know English!

3) I shall account and remit proceeds to you as soon as received every year.

4) Of course this arrangement with Swan Sonnenschein and Co. puts an end to the agency, for this book, of Reeves. I have, through the kindness of Dr Aveling who lives close to Reeves' shop, after a deal of trouble managed to get an account out of him, it amounts to about £5, and also part of the money; there are £4 to be paid yet, but the fellow has caught the influenza just in time to excuse delay, so that I do not expect to get it before next week — *if then*, for it is easier to get the truth out of a statesman than a farthing of cash

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[a] F. Engels, *Appendix* [to *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* (1887)].

[b] F. Engels, 'Preface to the 1892 English Edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*'.

out of Reeves. This settlement therefore must be delayed til my next.

5) Sonnenschein asked me, would it be right for him to *send copies to America*? I replied certainly not, for the American edition was still on sale, and then I doubted whether you *could* give him a valid permission to do so even if you liked. But I said I would submit the matter to you, and of course in the meantime he does not send any copies.

So, this is I believe the whole budget of news I have to send you today, and as I am obliged to write about half a dozen long letters today, I must conclude.

Yours faithfully,
F. Engels

First published in: D. R. Blumberg, *Florence Kelly*, New York, 1966

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN BARMEN

London, 28 January 1892

Dear Hermann,

I think it's high time I let you have some news of myself again, the more so because gently impelled thereto by business. For in your last statement you credited me with 79.40 marks, being a reimbursement by F. Engels & Co. This is presumably the cost of the power of attorney, certified by notary and consul at Rudolf's request. Otherwise everything seems to tally.

Then I should also like you to tell me how much the Schaaffhausens you are holding for me are actually worth today, i. e. the price and nominal value of my shares. The holding was reduced at one time and so I no longer know exactly how many I've got; there is a possibility I might prefer to get rid of the lot.

For the rest, I can't complain. My health is pretty good; my eye

trouble has more or less cleared up and can be disregarded apart from the fact of my not writing by lamplight which admittedly is awkward in wintertime. I still enjoy eating and drinking, can still walk pretty briskly and am generally considered to be one of the youngest old men in London. On the other hand I have to restrict my smoking very considerably because, like good wine and, alas, Pilsener beer also, it tends to upset the cardiac nerves which, in turn, makes me sleep badly. But this only lasts from the New Year to the spring, during which time I take sulphonal once a week, and that sees me through the bad months as well—the sulphonal all comes from Bayers in Elberfeld—and, as soon as the weather is good and I can get out into the open air, things begin to look up again, and then comes the summer with holidays beside or on the sea, when I shall once again be on top of my form. Last summer I spent 4 weeks in the Isle of Wight followed by a fortnight in Scotland and Ireland,[264] mostly afloat; this is what always suits me best, now that riding is out of the question. If I could go riding here in winter and spend the summer at sea, then I should certainly be on top of my form again. But since this can't be done, I shall have to content myself with climbing London's Chimborazo, namely Hampstead Heath, which is about the same height above sea level as your house in Barmen, that is 150 metres. Fortunately this suffices at a pinch to keep one's spirits up.

So far I have fortunately missed having influenza which, however, is a veritable scourge over here; people in my street are going down like flies, though they most of them eventually recover; but it seems to be a wretched affliction, and makes everyone so terribly depressed that it quite takes one's appetite away.

But now it is your turn to tell me how things are with you, what you and Emma are doing and all the children and grandchildren, Rudolf, Hedwig and their not inconsiderable appurtenances, the Blanks, the Engelskirchen lot—indeed, all the innumerable hordes of whom one simply can't keep track over here. Since Rudolf Blank left this country I no longer get any news, particularly since marriages and christenings seem to have become fewer and further between; these used to provide as it were milestones which enabled one to keep tabs on what you were all of you up to.

With love to Emma and all your family, the Rudolfs, Hedwig & Co. & Co.

Your old
Friedrich

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN BARMEN

London, 29 January 1892

Dear Hermann,

It is often said of women that what they really have to say never goes into the letter but into the postscript. But we old buffers are in even worse case—for hardly was yesterday's letter[a] in the post when I remembered the most important thing of all. Namely that, in strange contrast to the surplus of cash on the London money market, I am suffering from a slight shortage of that article and, since I can only expect small dividends up till 1 March, I should be grateful if, some time soon, you could send me some £30 of the balance you hold on my behalf. Then I shall make out quite well; between March and June money will again be coming in at a brisk pace.

Love from

Your
Friedrich

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[a] See previous letter.

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 1 February 1892

Dear Baron,

Herewith Labriola's letter to Tussy; I don't believe that you could pull off publishing it without creating bad blood amongst divers persons in Italy, and in the end it would be the German party that would have to suffer for it, in as much as the *latter* would be held responsible for taking sides with or against those people who felt affronted by the article. For in Italy things are in such a mess that all kinds of people are sure to feel affronted, whether rightly or wrongly, as indeed I have written and told Labriola.[153] And those people would then be driven into the arms of the Possibilists,[3] Hyndmanists, Fabians[87] and God knows what other dogs-in-the-manger.

I have written and told Labriola that I thought it better not to publish but would leave the matter entirely in your hands and that you two should sort it out between you. At all events, *Tussy wants to have the letter back.*

It recently occurred to me that an account of *Luther* based on his actions and writings is urgently called for. In the first place a rectification not only of the Protestant legend, but also of the blinkered Catholic attack upon it by Janssen (who is now doing so well in Germany) would certainly not come amiss just now, and there is a distinct need for a demonstration, from *our* standpoint, of the extent to which the Reformation was a *bourgeois* movement. Also of particular importance would be a parallel between Luther *before* and Luther *after* Karlstad, the Anabaptists and the Peasant War,[400] on the one hand and, on the other, the bourgeoisie *before* 1848 and *after* that year. Likewise a detailed demonstration of how this transformation came about in Luther's case. There's still something to be accomplished in this field, and without any need for undue study; also it's something for which you are particularly fitted as a result of your

*Thomas Morus*.[a] And again you have in Stuckert[b] a library on Protestantism that is second to none. Surely that would be better than translating Rogers[399] whom any child could translate.

Greetings from one family to the other.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

London, 2 February 1892

Dear August,

Am glad you liked the article.[c] I fully approve of the omission of the two names on the second occasion.[398] So far as France was concerned the repetition was necessary; in Germany it might do some harm and is in any case wholly superfluous.

Why, you ask, are the Russians still acting in a warlike manner and concentrating troops in the West? Nothing could be simpler. In my very first letter,[d] in which I maintained that the famine would put paid to Russia's desire for war, I told you that their sabre-rattling, far from ceasing, would tend to grow louder. It's what they always do. But only for the benefit of the public at home and abroad; foreign diplomats are not expected to *believe* but merely to *acquiesce* in it. The public is intended to see Russia's retreat as the retreat of the others before Russia.—But this time another factor is involved. The south-east

[a] K. Kautsky, *Thomas More und seine Utopie*.—[b] Stuttgart—[c] F. Engels, 'Der Sozialismus in Deutschland'.—[d] See this volume, pp. 242-46.

and the east are in a state of famine and cannot provision an army. The area where the harvest has failed is roughly bounded by the line which runs through Odessa, Moscow, Vyatka and Perm up to the Urals, then along this range to the northern extremity of the Caspian, from there to the eastern extremity of the Sea of Azov and back again to Odessa. Proof that only east[a] of the Odessa-Moscow line can large numbers of troops be provisioned; anywhere further north will itself need to be constantly supplied with corn. Besides, the Russians are now disseminating information about the movements of troops to the west that is downright *false.*

A comment in Sunday's[b] *Vorwärts* in no way tallies with what you say about your correspondence with Frenchmen regarding Alsace-Lorraine [401] and would seem to have been made without reference to you. However you would do well to keep a weather eye on *Figaro* which is a thoroughly blackguardly paper.

Your conversation with Köller [402] tickled us greatly. That's a typical Prussian for you. Herkner[c] had already dinned into the chaps how short-sighted it was to suck up to the Frenchified and rabidly French notables while antagonising the workers who don't even understand French and who by nature and language are still consummate Germans, thereby driving them into the arms of the Francophils. It would have been a splendid opportunity to practise demagogy from above and with enormous success. The mere imposition of German factory legislation and laws on association, etc., and a tolerant attitude towards the workers would have won them over within 10 years when, along with the Protestants and the wine and tobacco growers, they would have more than counterbalanced the Frenchified middle and lower middle classes and aristocracy. But how could that have been countenanced by the self-same people who were responsible for the Anti-Socialist Law [11] in Germany and who fought the workers at every turn? The German middle classes, you see, always arrive too late, and not even the Prussian government, which enjoys so much more elbow-room than they, would dare hazard *that* sort of Bonapartist policy. And as you say, your Prussian bureaucrat, soldier or Junker cannot, by his very nature, voluntarily surrender any position of power, however useless or, indeed, damaging to himself it may be—for would not the policy of petty oppression which is his be-all and end-all suffer in consequence?

[a] Should be: west. - [b] Should be: Saturday's. - [c] H. Herkner, *Die oberelsässische Baumwollindustrie und ihre Arbeiter...*

As you know, Gilles has at last been well and truly kicked out. But it was silly of the *Vorwärts* to have suppressed the name in *this* of all cases.[403] One ought not, after all, to take the shine off one's own achievements by playing them down in a report. And after all the Society[89] and those who induced it to act did at least deserve that an accurate account of what they had done for the party should appear in the official party organ. However, I realise that you can't do anything for the present, but it almost seems to me as though someone was intent on stirring up trouble.

My advising Julius[a] to be less verbose would be about as effective as your advising Liebknecht not to write indiscreet letters. I shall certainly not meddle in Julius' affairs unless absolutely *forced* to do so. Nor have I any alternative, considering the way the couple has deliberately cut itself off from us. His aunt[b] demands that visit be returned for visit, formal philistine etiquette, but among us communist bohemians that sort of thing is, first, simply not done and, second, simply impossible. Such philistine intercourse — known here as the SOCIAL TREADMILL — is admissible only for people with too much time on their hands; no one who wishes to work either can or does indulge in that sort of thing. I never conformed, even amongst the bourgeois in Manchester, and it is more than ever out of the question for me to do so now. Anyone wanting something of someone else goes and sees him, and that's that. But the fact that such is the case is what lies at the bottom of all the trouble in Hugo Road.[c]

I had suspected that Geiser was back at the *Vorwärts* from the unsurpassed dreariness, tedium and vacuity, for which he alone can be responsible, of certain articles. In other respects the *Vorwärts* has on occasion been noticeably better during the session of the Dresden Landtag.

Ah yes — the *Condition of the Working-Class*[d]! This is the umpteenth time the worthy Dietz has got someone to dun me, only to receive the same answer he has already had from me in writing, namely, that I'll be glad to oblige the moment Volume III of *Capital* is finished, but can take on absolutely nothing else before then. There are a lot of snags to your proposal that I should authorise him to negotiate with Wigand; hitherto I have always found that in such cases unnecessary and often irreparable mistakes tend to be made. Above all, I have got

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[a] Julius Motteler - [b] Emilie Motteler - [c] Street in London where the Mottelers lived. - [d] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England.*

to know what my legal position is vis-à-vis Wigand. I enclose a résumé of the facts; if, as once before, you could obtain some legal advice as to this, we might resume negotiations. Your previous advice made it perfectly clear to me that, thanks to the lousy Saxon legislation whereby the publisher is protected at the author's expense, I was still very much in Wigand's hands; but what it failed to make clear, since the case did not then arise as now it might, was what my position would be, should Wigand refuse to bring out a new edition on the old terms. If it transpires that I should be as much in his clutches as ever, we shall *then* certainly have to see what can be done.[404]

The printers are reaping what they themselves have sown.[383] If it means they are driven to join the party, so much the better.

Yesterday, when I read Prince George of Saxony's Order of the Day,[405] I almost jumped onto the table for joy. How it will enrage the high and mighty! A thing like that, getting into the impious Social-Democratic press! Can it really be that those fellows are already in such close touch with 'my glorious army'? A telegram a column long has already appeared in today's *Daily News* about it—it will cause the dickens of a sensation all over the world. And they imagine that that kind of treatment will induce the troops to 'shoot down everything in sight', above all their own parents, brothers, etc.! *Sont-ils bêtes, ces Prussiens!*[a]

I am prepared to maintain, *envers et contre tous*[b] and despite anything that may be said to the contrary, that Louise is a very good housewife and, moreover, an excellent cook. I'm not quite sure that this housewifeliness isn't due in part to the fact of our not being married and, should this prove to be the case, it would be lucky for me because of the circumstance that the difference in our ages precludes marital no less than extra-marital relations, so that nothing remains but that self-same housewifeliness.

Warm regards to your wife and yourself from Louise and

Your
F. E.

*Postscript.* Louise is indignant because you reply to the letters she writes with six-page letters to me. I told her to write and tell you so herself, to which she replied that she was far too indignant to do any such thing.

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[a] How stupid these Prussians are! - [b] against all comers

Herewith Gilles' latest masterpiece. The Society over here is distributing it by the hundred in the hope that it will prove his own undoing.

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 3 February 1892

My dear Laura,

Can you get me from the *Intransigeant* the London address of *Rochefort?* Wróblewski all of a sudden sends me a letter for that distinguished foreigner and supposes I know his address, but I will be hanged if I know anybody who can procure it me here — everybody advises me to write to Paris as the shortest and safest way to get it — so I suppose I must follow their advice and submit the case to you, especially as I have a slight suspicion that the poor devil of Wróblewski applies to Rochefort for cash, and would not have it said for the world that I was the cause of delaying even for one hour the — undoubtedly negative — answer he is sure (if any) to get from *le grand boulevardier*.

Here we have suffered from influenza right and left — I have been spared so far, but Louise and my servant have had a touch. Percy has had a pretty severe attack followed by pneumonia and is not yet on his legs again, Bernstein has been down, and E. Aveling is not quite himself. Our street and neighbourhood has suffered severely, cases right and left.

The latest scandal: all over London goes the rumour that the Duke of Clarence on his death had called his mother [a] and told her that 'May' [b] was in the family way by him. If true it is the only action

[a] Princess Alexandra - [b] Princess Victoria - Mary von Teck

for which I respect the boy. They say he was after her for a good time past, but the old queen[a] did not approve of the match at first. And if they did take the law into their own hands, it's more than I should have expected from 'Cuffs and Collars' and show that after all he was good for something.

Paul's migrations are very interesting,[392] but won't he soon get tired of it? It's very useful and very good work, but if he carries it on till May 1st, he will lose a deal of weight and come back, may be, to his parliamentary duties with the 'lean and hungry look', which, as a Cassius,[406] might become him in the eyes of the *épicier*.[b] At all events he has silenced the Brousses[3] and other *Neidhämmel*[c] who came down upon him for a slip of the tongue or two in his first speech.[378] The statistics about *Notre Dame de la fabrique* etc. are the best reply.

My article[d] from the *Almanach* has come out in Italian in the *Critica Sociale* di Milano and will appear in German in the *Neue Zeit* next No. with additions. Bebel has sent me some Alsatian papers with reports of his speech in Mülhausen,[407] one in French, I want to send it to you if I can find it (*Louise says she forwarded it to you*),[e] to show you what horrid French these 'patriots' of the *Industriel Alsacien* do perpetrate.

An awful row will be caused by the publication of the order of Prince George of Saxony to the 12th German (Saxon) Army Corps in yesterday's *Vorwärts*.[405] That shows how far our connexions in the army reach, and William[f] will be awfully vexed. It is sure to cause a deal of sensation in France, and if you can forward me Paris papers with comments on it, to be forwarded to Bebel and to be used in the Reichstag, it will be very very useful.

In great haste — kind regards from Louise and

ever yours,
F. E.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959

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[a] Victoria - [b] grocer - [c] grudger - [d] F. Engels, 'Le Socialisme en Allemagne'. - [e] The words in brackets were inserted by Engels later. - [f] William II

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# ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT[267]

IN ZURICH

London, 4 February 1892

Dear Schmidt,

On the strength of your letter of 12 December we drank a toast on the 19th of the same month to you and your young wife and on the following day, Sunday, after we had had a meal with the Avelings, this was solemnly affirmed by us all in a fine 1868 port. I trust you are now comfortably settled in Zurich and have found that living with another is preferable to living alone.

Very many thanks for your anti-Wolf article.[408] However it also compelled me to read Wolf's opus[a] which I had quietly laid aside in my bookcase against a rainy day. Since the chap takes the view that the sole purpose of the German language is to conceal the emptiness of his mind, the perusal of this rubbish has been something of a job, though one soon discovers the void that lies behind it. You have stated the main points quite correctly and lucidly and were perfectly right to ignore the unessentials, all of which were put in, of course, simply for the purpose of getting the reader so snarled up that he overlooks the chief flaw. That the man has an aptitude for economic folly amounting to genius I already knew, having read an article of his in the *Neue Freie Presse* in which he seeks to put the Viennese bourgeois into an even worse state of confusion that they are in already. But this time he has exceeded even my expectations.

Let us reduce his argument to mathematical terms: $C_1$, $C_2$, two aggregate capitals whose respective variable components $= v_1$, $v_2$, and whose respective *quantities* of surplus value $= s_1$ and $s_2$. Given an equal rate of profit for both (profit and surplus value being provisionally taken to be equal), it may therefore be said that

$$C_1 : C_2 = s_1 : s_2, \quad \text{therefore} \quad \frac{C_1}{s_1} = \frac{C_2}{s_2}.$$

On this assumption we must now establish the necessary rate of

[a] J. Wolf, *Das Rätsel der Durchschnittsprofitrate bei Marx.*

surplus value, i.e. we multiply one side of the equation by $\frac{v_1}{v_1} = 1$ and the other by $\frac{v_2}{v_2} = 1$; thus

$$\frac{C_1 v_1}{s_1 v_1} = \frac{C_2 v_2}{s_2 v_2} = \frac{C_1}{v_1} \times \frac{v_1}{s_1} = \frac{C_2}{v_2} \times \frac{v_2}{s_2}.$$

If we bring the respective factors over to the other side of the equation, thereby inverting the fraction, we have

$$\frac{C_1}{v_1} \times \frac{s_2}{v_2} = \frac{C_2}{v_2} \times \frac{s_1}{v_1} \quad \text{or} \quad \frac{C_1}{v_1} : \frac{C_2}{v_2} = \frac{s_1}{v_1} : \frac{s_2}{v_2},$$

or, in order to produce Wolf's equal rate of profit, the rates of surplus value must be in proportion to the respective aggregate capitals divided by their respective variable components. If they are not, Wolf's equal rate of profit falls to the ground. But that they 1. *can* be and 2. *always must* be—this was the economic fact that it was up to Mr Wolf to prove. Instead he gives us a deduction in which the point to be proved *appears as an assumption.* For the equation of the rate of surplus value as set forth is simply another form of the equation of the equal rate of profit.

Example: $C_1 = 100, \quad v_1 = 40, \quad s_1 = 10$
$C_2 = 100, \quad v_2 = 10, \quad s_2$[a] $= 10$

$$\frac{C_1}{v_1} : \frac{C_2}{v_2} = \frac{s_1}{v_1} : \frac{s_2}{v_2}$$

$$\frac{100}{40} : \frac{100}{10} = \frac{10}{40} : \frac{10}{10} \quad \text{which is correct.}$$

Now it really seems to me that you go a bit too far when you claim absolute uniformity of rates of surplus value for large-scale production as a whole. The economic levers which impose uniformity upon the rate of profit are, I think, much stronger and more rapid in their

[a] $s_1$ in the ms.

effect than those whose pressure equalises the rates of surplus value. However the *tendency* is there and the differences are negligible in practice. All economic laws are, in the end, merely the expression of mutually incompatible tendencies which gradually assert themselves.

Mr. J. Wolf is in for a pleasant surprise when the turn of the preface to Volume III[a] comes round.

I'm extraordinarily glad that you have made such an encouraging start as a lecturer and trust it will so continue. It will give particular pleasure to Mr Wolf—serve him right.

It's certainly a very good thing that some of those student gentlemen of yours who have looked askance at the transactions of the party should now be resuming their studies. The more they learn, the more tolerant they will be towards people who hold really responsible positions and try to fill them conscientiously, and in time they will also probably realise that, if an important goal is to be attained and the immense army necessary to its attainment kept together, they must concentrate on the main issue and not allow themselves to be led astray by irrelevant squabbles. They may also discover that the 'education', by which they set so much store vis-à-vis the working man, still leaves a great deal to be desired and that the working man already possesses instinctively, 'immediately' *à la* Hegel, what they could only din into themselves at the cost of much toil. But the shameful business of 'Jungen' at Erfurt was truly deplorable [301] and their newspaper,[b] from what I have seen of it, is no more than a feeble imitation of the anarchist autonomy over here.

If you become 'bogged down' in Hegel, do not be discouraged; six months later you will discover firm stepping-stones in that self-same bog and be able to get across it without trouble. In Hegel the coherent sequence of stages in the development of a notion is part of the *system*, of what is transient, and I consider that this is where he is at his weakest—if also at his wittiest for at every difficult point he has recourse to a witticism: positive and negative fall to the *ground* and hence lead on to the category '*ground*'[c] (*Encyklopädie*[d]). Obviously this would require a different rendering for each language. Try trans-

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[a] of *Capital*.- [b] *Der Sozialist*.- [c] A pun in the original: *zu Grunde gehen*—to perish; *Grund*—ground.- [d] G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*, Theil I: *Die Logik*, § 120.

lating the sequence in the *Lehre vom Wesen* into another language and you'll find the transitions for the most part impossible.

Many regards from

Yours,
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN BARMEN

London, 4 February 1892

Dear Hermann,

On 1-2 February I received prompt payment of £ 30 ON DEMAND from Pferdmenges & Co., for which very many thanks; the money certainly came in most handy, for after the Christmas expenditure January and February are always a lean time for me and I have to economise. I take it the firm doesn't require an official receipt?

Many thanks too for your information about the Schaaffhausens.[a] I don't intend to get rid of them for the time being, but there is always the possibility that other companies over here might make me an allotment of shares at par which would give me a higher return and I wanted to know how to set about things should that happen.

I was very glad to hear all the news from home and to know that on the whole everyone is getting on so well. I am delighted to learn that Hedwig[b] intends to write to me again some time. When you next see her please tell her that I have chalked that up on my slate and shall hold her to her word.

And now I must say how very grateful I am for the pictures. You all certainly look pretty sprightly still, especially Emma,[c] nor have

[a] See this volume, p. 339. - [b] Hedwig Boelling - [c] Emma Engels

you yourself become more saturnine than you were years ago. Heaven knows, you and I always look so terribly serious in our photographs. I am getting my own back by enclosing two of myself which admittedly were taken a year ago (February 1891) but I don't think I have changed much since then — if the others want any they are very welcome to them, provided they reciprocate.

I don't know whether your procedure regarding the declaration of income-for-taxation-purposes[a] (a 13-syllable word!) varies very much from ours, but over here it is what we have been used to for the past 40 years or more and, between ourselves, I have yet to come across a case in which a firm makes a true declaration of income; as a rule it is understated by 30%, 40%, 50% and more. All this is allowed to pass, for immediately the authorities start making trouble with a *firm* on account of underdeclaration and demand that it produce its books — which they are entitled to do — there is a general outcry from the mercantile world at such inquisitorial goings-on and the entire press is up in arms. The only thing the authorities can do *in practice* is increase the assessment at their own discretion. If the firm concerned then refuses to accept it, it must produce its books. As often as not that is allowed to pass, but should the authorities adopt this stratagem with the wrong firm, namely a firm whose earnings for the current year have, for once, actually been at a rate no higher than that declared in previous years — then the uproar breaks out again. Traders, therefore, have a measure of protection, but we poor rentiers are made to bleed, for 1. tax on our dividends, mortgage interest, etc., is actually deducted before we receive the money and 2.woe betide us if we have any other sources of income and do not voluntarily notify the taxation authorities of them, if, indeed, we don't literally ram this notification down their throats. The £18 or £24 which must be expressly notified each year in respect of my income over there cause me more trouble than all the rest put together — so far as tax is concerned. So I should be most grateful if you would send me my statement as early as possible. We get the forms on 1 May and have to return them completed on the 20th and, in the event of my being messed

[a] *Einkommensteuerdeklarationsverfahren* in the original.

about, I shall have to produce that particular statement as evidence, so it has got to tally.

With love to you all in Upper and Lower Barmen.

Your old
Friedrich

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## 177

## ENGELS TO FILIPPO TURATI

IN MILAN

London, 6 February 1892
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

*Se io lo conosco*,[a] the illustrious Bovio?[409] *Ma dopo molti anni, dopo la vecchia Internazionale*,[b] when I encountered his articles at every turn in Italian socialist literature. At the time, I used to read them, and the more I read the less clear they became — *ho capi nagott*.[c] To use his own words, *non ricordo tempo più confusionario*.[d] To make things worse, in the end I did not know which of the two of us, he or I, was the *confusionario*.[e] However, on the whole, he is a good fellow, a pedant, it is true, but a generous and amiable one (which is never the case with our German pedants) and, as you say, a Victor Hugo type, a grandiose character, a man of broad views, who reconciles you with his personality, even if you fight the party which he supports. I quite understand that he should be idolised by your youth. If I were young,

[a] Do I know him - [b] I do, I have known him for many years, ever since the old International - [c] indeed, I couldn't make tail or head of them - [d] I cannot remember a time more muddleheaded. - [e] muddleheaded

I would be mad about him, I would worship him, but unfortunately I am 71, not 17.

This is my answer. Naturally it is slightly touched with irony — without which I would be unable to communicate with him — but, I hope, it is a civil answer. Would you be so kind as to translate it into Italian?

*Sempre suo*[a]
F. Engels

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## 178

## ENGELS TO STANISŁAW MENDELSON

### IN LONDON

11 February 1892
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen Mendelson,

Herewith the preface.[b] It isn't very much but unfortunately it's all I can let you have at the moment. By the time the new edition of the *Manifesto* is published, I hope to know enough of your language to have no difficulty in keeping up with the Polish working men's movement and shall then be able to speak more knowledgeably about it.

I am sending you by the same post two American papers[c] relating to S. Padlewski's suicide.

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[a] Ever yours - [b] F. Engels, 'Preface to the Polish Edition (1892) of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*'. - [c] *New Yorker Volkszeitung* and *The Sun*

Kindly convey my compliments, as also those of Mrs Kautsky, to your wife.[a]

Yours sincerely,
F. E.

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## 179

## ENGELS TO FILIPPO TURATI [410]

IN MILAN

London, 13 February 1892

Splendid! Many thanks.[409]

*Cheerio.*
F. E.

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[a] Maria Mendelson

## 180

## ENGELS TO EDWARD AVELING

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, first half of February 1892]

My dear Edward,

It was a perfectly understood thing that I was to revise your translation[a] in the ms. and that, having done so, I should give it the character of an authorized translation by writing a new preface to it.[b]

After the action taken by Messrs Swan Sonnenschein & Co. without consultation with either of us, and in direct contravention to the above understanding, I am bound to reconsider my position.

Your translation being made with the knowledge that I would revise it, is necessarily but a rough draft; moreover, you, as translator, would feel bound to stick to the letter of the original, when I, as the author, might deviate more or less from it and thus make the book read not as a translation but as an original work. To revise not the ms. but paged proofs in this spirit, would imply, more or less, the upsetting of the paging.

Now, as far as I can see at present, there are but two courses open to me:

Either I revise the proofs in full liberty, exactly as I would have revised your ms., regardless of the expense this may occasion. In that case our original understanding holds good, the translation is authorized by me, and I write a preface. In that case we must have four more copies of proofs at least, and revise afterwards.

Or, I am to respect the proof-sheets, as far as the paging is concerned, and merely to make verbal changes within the limits of each page. In that case I will do my best to make the translation as good as I can, but I must decline being in any way connected with it before the public, and reserve to me the right of publicly declining any responsibility for it if such would be imputed to me.

As a matter of course, the expense caused in either case would have

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[a] of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. See also this volume, p. 359. - [b] F. Engels, 'Introduction to the English Edition (1892) of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*'.

to be borne by Messrs Swan Sonnenschein & Co. who alone have brought it about.[a]

And on all these points I must ask for their decision in writing before I stir in the matter.

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## 181

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

### IN BARMEN

[London,] 17 February 1892

Dear Hermann,

It will be perfectly all right if you send me the statement *before* 30 April, in which case perhaps you would be good enough to notify me *by postcard* when the relevant dividends have been paid in and how much they amount to. That is the best way of dealing with it.

Since yesterday we have been having glorious German winter weather, cold and snowy. I was in Richmond today, visiting an old friend[b] who is ill, and then in town. The weather has really toned up my nerves and the Pschorrbräu I drank afterwards tasted marvellous. Love to Emma[c] and all the others.

Your
Friedrich

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[a] See this volume, p. 359. - [b] George Julian Harney - [c] Emma Engels

## 182

## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

IN VIENNA

London, 19 February 1892

Dear Victor,

I was on the point of replying the other day to the letter you wrote me from Salo, when I was badly balked. Owing to the publisher's[a] malice, stupidity, or both, Aveling's translation of my *Entwicklung des Sozialismus*,[b] which I was supposed to revise while still in manuscript form, had already been set up and came to me in complete, made-up, paginated proof. In view of the law in this country which delivers up the author to the publisher bound hand and foot, I ran the risk of the thing coming before the public as it stood and thus of incurring discredit, for the ms. was only a rough draft. So everything else had to be left undone until the thing had been revised and the publisher persuaded by devious means to reconcile himself to the expenses for which he himself was to blame. Well, the worst is now over, and the first person to be sent a reply will be you.

We were overjoyed to learn that your wife[c] is better and that her recovery may be confidently anticipated. You have enough work, trials and tribulations as it is, and the Austrian movement is in far too great need of every ounce of your strength for us not to have given a sigh of relief on hearing that the worst of your worries was over, in this respect at any rate. But you will, I hope, permit us to rejoice, not only as party members but also as your personal friends, at the prospect that, having made a complete recovery, your wife will shortly be restored to you and that so fine a woman as your Emma is not to suffer the terrible fate which for a moment seemed to hang over her.

But if in the circumstances you succumbed to a mood which you yourself describe as dejected, it is only too understandable. Meanwhile circumstances have, it seems, helped you Austrians out of the deadlock which you had feared, and with good reason. The proposed haphazard reconstruction of Greater Vienna provided you with an opportunity upon which you, with your habitual flair, instantly seized and duly exploited in accordance with the model originally

[a] Swan Sonnenschein - [b] *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* - [c] Emma Adler

placed before the Paris Municipal Council by Vaillant and our chaps.[411] (The Possibilists[3] did no more than hasten its passage through the Municipal Council by *selling themselves* to the bourgeois Radicals[147] in return for services rendered in other spheres thus, in their low cunning, doing *us* a service and, what's more, paving the way for their *own* destruction.) So in what direction I am supposed to give you the 'fillip' requested, if not actually demanded, of me in a letter to Louise, I fail to see. The French have a peculiar knack of giving the right political form to demands of this kind, and that is what happened in this case. In this country, too, some of the French demands have been adopted by the London GOUNTY COUNCIL, while others figure in the electoral manifestos of every Labour candidate.[412] See *The Workman's Times* of the past three weeks. Since the elections to the COUNTY COUNCIL are to take place on 5 March, these manifestos are playing an important role just now, and *The Workman's Times*, which I hope you get regularly, will thus provide you with propaganda material of all kinds. And the business ought to be exploited to the utmost, first in the interests of agitation generally and of potential individual victories, and secondly and more particularly in order to eliminate the otherwise inevitable hostility between the workers of Vienna and the starveling coolie and sweated labour imported from abroad. This is a point you brought out particularly well.

You will eventually get your daily paper, but it must in the main be *your own creation*. Considering the nature of your press laws, the step from weekly to daily would seem to me a very big one for which long, robust legs are required, and one which would also make you more vulnerable than ever to a government intent on ruining you by means of fines and legal costs. This is fresh proof of your government's cunning—always greater *in small matters*. The Prussians are too stupid for that sort of thing, relying as they do on brute force, while your politicians are stupid only when it comes to doing anything big. Personally, I rather doubt whether, in view of the fines you would incur, you would be able to keep a daily going for as much as six months and, were it to collapse, the defeat would be hard to get over.

But in order to do my bit for the Austrians, and since all my fees from stuff issued by the Vorwärts Publishers find their way willy-nilly into *German* party funds, I have decided that *all* fees from the stuff published by Dietz should go to you people and *have instructed him accordingly*.[153]

I feel sorry for Rudolf Meyer; to judge by your account and the news since received about his staying in Moravia instead of Palermo, he must be in a very poor way with his diabetes. For all his astonishing and often comical megalomania, he is the only Conservative to have risked anything for his social demagogic schemes and socialist sympathies and to have gone into exile because of them. And while in exile he has discovered that, though the Austrian and French aristocrats might be far more gentlemanly in social intercourse than the rotten Prussian Junkers, they are no less tenacious in the pursuit of their rents, ambitions, etc. Things have come to such a pass that he, the only remaining genuine Conservative, is now vainly searching for men with whom he might found a genuine Conservative party.

For the rest, affairs are taking a critical turn. In the German Reichstag a considerable crisis is brewing. Little Willie,[a] it seems, wishes for once to put his *regis voluntas*[413] to the test and is actually driving the deplorable members of the National Liberal Party[414] into the arms of the opposition; already there are signs of conflict. In addition, there is a ministerial crisis in France which is of great importance to us because Constans is rabidly anti-working class and his fall will bring about a number of changes in domestic affairs; also because the recurrence of instability in French government circles is very unwelcome to the Russian alliance which is in any case on its last legs.

The enclosed appeared in the *Critica Sociale*.[b]

Louise sends you the enclosed. She has spent the whole day disengaging oxygen — on paper; she is studying chemistry under circumstances aggravated by the English textbooks and the absence of experiments...[c]

First published, in part, in *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Nr. 327, Wien, 28. November 1920 and in full in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*. Erstes Heft: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels*, Wien, 1922

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[a] William II - [b] F. Engels, 'Reply to the Honourable Giovanni Bovio'. - [c] The end of the letter is missing.

## 183

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL[415]

IN BERLIN

London, 19 February 1892

Dear August,

First of all, my heartfelt congratulations on your birthday and MANY HAPPY RETURNS OF THE DAY, as they say over here; likewise on your 25th anniversary in Parliament and/or your silver wedding with parliamentarianism, which falls due very shortly.[416] Well, you could hardly have chosen a better time to show the chaps what an asset you are to them, and it gave us over here a great deal of pleasure.

Things are really coming to a head in Germany, indeed must have gone pretty far if the National Liberals[414] repeatedly evince strong oppositional tendencies and Richter can dream of a German 'great Liberal Party'.[417] A capitalist society which has not yet subordinated the state to itself formally which has left real government in the hands of an hereditary, monarchical-bureaucratic-Junker caste and must rest content if, by and large, its own interests nevertheless ultimately prevail—such a society, as situated in Germany, fluctuates between two tendencies—firstly the alliance of all official and propertied social classes against the proletariat; this tendency ultimately leads to the formation of the 'one reactionary mass'[322] and, if things go *smoothly*, will ultimately retain the upper hand. Secondly there is a tendency which is for ever reviving the old conflict, cravenly left unresolved, between the monarchy with its absolutist throw-backs, the landed aristocracy and the bureaucracy, which deems itself above all party, and, in opposition to all these, the industrial bourgeoisie whose material interests are impinged upon daily and hourly by the above outmoded elements. Which of these two tendencies will momentarily prevail will be determined by personal, local, etc., contingencies. Just now in Germany, the second would seem to be gaining the ascendancy, in which case the industrial magnates *à la* Stumm and the shareholders of industrial concerns will, of course, mainly side with outmoded reaction. However, this pale reflection of the old conflict of 1848, now resuscitated for the umpteenth time, can become serious only if the government and the landed aristocracy, presuming on

their past successes, do something quite crazy. Not that I regard this as out of the question, since the curious personal aspirations up on high are lent support by the growing conviction of the Junkers that industry will *not* long be *capable of sustaining* the tariffs on raw materials and foodstuffs. But the lengths to which this conflict will be taken depends, as I have said, on personal contingencies.

One of its characteristic features is the time-honoured practice of belabouring the load in place of (or rather along with) the donkey. They belabour Social-Democracy but at the same time bring down a shower of blows on the bourgeoisie, politically at first, by attacking the liberal principles it has ostentatiously flaunted for the past 60 years and its *direct* if negligeable share in the administration; and later, if all goes well, also economically, by sacrificing its interests to those of landed property.

So a strong swing to the Right would now appear to be in progress, having for pretext the necessity of keeping back *our* advance. In what way can it affect *us*?

1. Anti-Socialist Law [11]? We overcame that and to do so now, when we are morally 100% and materially at least 50% stronger than on 1 October 1890,[a] would be child's play. Nor would it be very likely to secure a majority.

2. Reactionary amendments to the laws against the press, association and assembly? Would be unacceptable to the Centre [418] and impossible without it. To form a majority with 93 Conservatives of both factions [419] and 42 National Liberals would require 66 men of the Centre. If they went over, that would be the end of the Centre — a not unsatisfactory result. That and the colossal fury such retrograde measures would evoke in the people would more than compensate for the coercion we should have to endure.

3. Restriction of the suffrage and of the secret ballot? Completely out of the question so far as the Centre is concerned; the Clericals aren't so stupid as to cut their own throats. And without the Centre they would again be short of some 60 or 70 votes.

4. Coups d'état? No good because of the princes. Any infringement of the Constitution would threaten the Empire with dissolution, and release individual princes from all obligations thereto. And even if they could all be won over in such a case (which would *never* happen), the assent of their immediate heirs — most of them minors! — would

[a] The Anti-Socialist Law was valid until 1 October 1890.

be necessary to ensure the stability of the Empire. Out of the question, therefore.

5. Thus the only remaining possibility would seem to lie in increasingly rigorous administrative, police and legal measures, as foreshadowed in the outrageous sentence passed on Peus.[420] But we shall survive them and will soon learn to organise ourselves accordingly. They might even go one better and declare an ordinary state of emergency, but this would constitute a hazard only in the first few weeks; later on it would automatically fall into desuetude, quite apart from the fact that it could only be proclaimed for this or that part of the Empire; moreover the bourgeois would also tire of it, and thus perhaps be driven still further into opposition.

So unless our Prussian masters hit on other inventions of quite a new and brilliant kind — as it were intellectual and moral machine guns and Maxims — they may be able to harass us, but will always do us more good than harm. A bit of undisguised Junker rule would do no harm! But I'm rather afraid our chaps may not have enough backbone; ambitions and to spare but insufficient staying-power, for the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak. The sad thing about Germany is that both sides, Junkers no less than bourgeoisie, are so deplorably supine.

Last night I read with real delight the anti-Stumm speech you made on Friday 12 February[421]; it was a splendid piece of improvisation and one can see how successful it was. I also look forward immensely to reading the military speech which came today.[422]

We were very pleased by your announcement that you would be here round about the 10th or 11th of April — everything is ready for you and, should Schorlemmer turn up, we can accommodate him as well; that has been seen to. You are pretty sure to be given lobster mayonnaise again after the letter Louise got from you today; I had already hatched a little plan of my own to that end, though this will presumably no longer be needed. But *I* shall assume responsibility for the oysters and likewise for the choice of drinks. Luckily Louise revels in these two delicacies just as much as you and I do and, on such a basis, agreement can always be reached. That she is a witch she is herself aware and is not a little proud of the fact for, or so she says, in Vienna all witches are attractive. And, between you and me, I don't believe that, were she not a witch, you and I would get on so well with her.

Now as regards Otto Wigand, I can only repeat that, until the

completion of Volume III of *Capital*, I cannot take on *anything that might involve me in work*. As it is, I am held back quite enough by the letters that daily come pouring in from all over the world and by other current business, so I do beg you to let me get this load off my shoulders at long last, thereby regaining some liberty of action. And I have just got to a section which, if I am to finish it, demands that I have a few months completely free of interruptions. If Dietz cares to discuss the matter personally with Wigand,[a] *without in any way committing me*, then let him, if he thinks anything is to be gained thereby. He can say he has reason to believe that I think he, Dietz, has better sales facilities for a new edition than Wigand, and that I am inclined to entrust publication to him, Dietz, provided he can come to an agreement with Wigand. Only I cannot 1. declare myself committed in advance by anything Dietz may say to Wigand, nor can 1, 2. send him to Wigand as my representative. Semi-officially but not officially! He should sound him out and, if the terms suit *him* (and are such as to leave me, i. e. for party purposes, a fee commensurate with the circumstances), should go ahead, in which case I should certainly not leave him in the lurch. But I don't want to find myself between two stools — i. e. an *unwilling* Wigand and a *hamstrung* Dietz!

It's a real joy to know that things are livening up again. Who can tell whether, with passions running so high, your Reichstag and the French Chamber won't both be dissolved? And what could be better for us? What I fail to understand, however, is that now, when really decisive battles are being fought in the Reichstag, Liebknecht should remain squatting in his Dresden froggery.[b] I myself would be willing to sacrifice ten Saxon mandates for the right to say a word in the Reichstag just now.

Anyway, who can tell whether we aren't both being accused in more timorous party circles of having spoken out of turn and conjured up the threat of reactionary measures? That my article in the *Neue Zeit*[c] found its mark is evident from the obstinate silence of the bourgeois and ministerial press which otherwise is so ready to attack anything like that. It has since appeared in Italian, Polish and Romanian and in Italy has involved me in a polemic with that benign old jackass Bovio.[d]

Unfortunately I shall not be able to reply to Mrs Julie's[e] kind letter

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[a] See this volume, pp. 345-46. - [b] in the Saxon Landtag - [c] F. Engels, 'Socialism in Germany'. - [d] See this volume, p. 354. - [e] Bebel

today, having spent the whole of this morning in conference with Aveling, sorting out his translation of *Entwicklung des Sozialismus*[a] and, if this letter is to reach you on Monday, it will have to be sent off today, Saturday. However, I shall make good the omission at the first opportunity and in the meantime can only repeat how much we regret we shan't be seeing her here also. Well, it's something we can still look forward to.

Warm regards,

Your
F. E.

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## 184

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 5 March 1892

My dear Laura,

Today I can do no more than fulfil my promise to Paul and send you the enclosed cheque for the rent—£15—made out in your name, so that Paul's absence need not cause any delay. I have received your letter and shall reply in a few days—I am overwhelmed with work—Sonnenschein has by some blunder sent the rough draft of Edward's translation of my *Entwicklung des Sozialismus*[a] *to press* and now all the work of revising that rough draft falls upon me, and of course has to be done quick.—Then Percy was here all week, left yesterday, then other interferences with work—today Tussy has

[a] F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*.

gone on *Union*[164] work to Plymouth and Edward will be all day with us, so I must get this letter closed and off before he comes.

I am glad of the news about the 'Daily'[a] and this time it may turn out a success, if our friends take the proper precautions not to be turned out again the very moment the paper begins to pay.[423] But things are better now, there is a power behind them now and that makes a difference — only they ought to take care to secure their position in the paper for all that.

I should be glad if Paul would let me know something of the position of the various socialist and '*Auch-Sozialisten*'[b] groups in the Chamber — the Blanquists, Possibilists,[3] Millerand lot,[336] and the ex-Boulangists. I see in yesterday's *Intransigeant* that Paul and Ferroul attended a meeting composed chiefly of the *Blanquist Boulangists*, and, if he works together with them, it's 100 to 1 that Hyndman will attack them in *Justice*, and anyhow the subject is sure to be discussed here and interpellations to come to me — so I ought to be prepared!

In my next you will also very probably receive a dunning letter from Louise for more contributions to the *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung*.

Love to all your numerous family

Ever yours,
F. E.

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## 185

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

London, 5 March 1892

Dear Baron,

Your ms.[379] goes off by *registered* mail today. I have only been able to read the first 16 pages. If I were you I should omit the better part

[a] *Le Socialiste* - [b] 'partly socialist'

of this introduction. The reasons why a programme should have a commentary, etc., etc., in short, all those reflections of yours about *why* the pamphlet was written, only serve to weaken the impact and deter the reader from persevering. You must plunge straight into it — you could have no better justification. I cannot give an opinion of the way the rest, the major part, is arranged. So overwhelmed am I by work of all kinds that I don't know whether I'm coming or going. Nothing but trifles, but quite scandalously time-consuming. I long to have time for Volume III [a] and every day am invariably robbed of it. Well, we shall get round to it some time or other.

Ten copies of *Neue Zeit* containing my article [b] received with thanks.

Simply amend the name Hodgskin and the figure 1824 in the next edition, and include a note saying that in the original these read such and such, *obviously a slip of the pen or printer's error.*[424]

Menger is a jackass and will so remain. His critique of bourgeois law [c] is throughout nothing but a vindication of the 'police state' as opposed to the 'constitutional state'. True, the law, especially bourgeois law, is stricter and more rigorous than police despotism which may sometimes appear humane precisely because it is despotic. If I had the time, I should soon put paid to this empty talk which is possible only in backward countries such as Germany and Austria.

I am glad you are agreeable to the Luther idea.[d] There's no rush.

Cunow's letter returned with thanks. I look forward to seeing the ideas he has worked out about class.[425] He has made some very nice discoveries about the Peruvian gens. He had sent me the stuff and I thanked him for it.

You will also be getting the Peruvian community system [224] — I have just looked at it.

I don't think you are in any danger for the time being. So changeable and multifarious are the cravings in Berlin that none could really be satisfied; now all at once it's the liberal bourgeois who's the *bête noire*. Liberalism is at the root of all socialism, so if one is to act *radically* one has got to smash liberalism, whereupon socialism will automatically wither away. For the present we may observe this exceptionally cunning manoeuvre with quiet amusement. Once the liberal philistines have been driven wild — and they are, it seems, really being whipped into a fury willy-nilly — then there'll be no more false

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[a] of *Capital* - [b] 'Der Sozialismus in Deutschland' - [c] A. Menger, *Das bürgerliche Recht und die besitzlosen Volksklassen.* - [d] See this volume, pp. 342-43.

alarms so far as we are concerned. Apart from the fact that in Germany there are also rulers to whom this wind from Berlin provides the not unwelcome opportunity of currying favour at little expense and thus extracting capital for particularism and reserved rights.[426] When the street rioting began in Berlin[427] I was somewhat concerned lest it result in the ardently desired fusillade, but when the rowdies cheered young William,[a] thereby placating him, I knew that all was well — but just let the *Kölner Zeitung* be locked up[428] along with Peus,[420] and we may well see some fun.

So in my view, in so far as there is any danger, it is primarily confined to Prussia, and the greater it becomes there, the better off you people in the small states will be.

Now I have got to write to Sorge[b] — the American mail goes today — so FAREWELL. Aveling, who has just come in, sends his best wishes. Regards from one household to the other.

Your
F. E.

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## 186

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[357]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 5 March 1892

Dear Sorge,

Have received your letters of 15, 22 and 29 January and postcards of 2, 4 and 13 February. Also the newspapers re Anna.[c] The latter has evidently succumbed to that fashionable complaint, megalomania. It's strange; these sort of people, the Hartmanns *et al*, are fit for *one*

[a] William II - [b] See next letter. - [c] Stanisław Padlewski

deed — GOOD, BAD OR INDIFFERENT — and, once that's done, are good for nowt else,[a] as Schorlemmer would say.

Though I haven't alas had time to read your last article in the *Neue Zeit*,[b] I must get round to doing so since it's only with your help that I can follow developments in America without going astray.

I am terribly overburdened with all kinds of tasks and tiresome odds and ends. You ought to see the mass of German, French, Italian, Spanish, Polish, Russian, Danish, American, English and, now and again, Romanian newspapers I get and must at any rate glance at if I am to keep *au courant* with the movement. Not to mention genuine tasks which swallow up the rest of my time. And the correspondence! I've got backlog enough to last me a week. And then I'm supposed to complete Volume III.[c] It's appalling. But it will be managed somehow. Only you people must be patient if I sometimes allow my correspondence to lapse.

In France things are going very well. Lafargue is using his expense allowance and his free railway pass to travel all over the place, from Lille to Toulouse, agitating and this with brilliant success. All the other socialist factions have been pushed into the background by ours and even in Paris the Possibilists[3] are continuing to beat a retreat, thanks to their internal squabbles and to vigorous action on the part of our own people. They again have in mind a daily journal as party organ, and this would now stand a better chance.[423] It's capital that Constans should have been sacked from the Ministry of the Interior; the chap was determined to provoke fusillades, by violence, and we can do without them. Since our May Day demonstration coincides with the municipal elections throughout France,[429] shooting is a luxury no minister could permit himself unless, like Constans, he was banking on a nine days' wonder.

Here the bickering continues as before, but nevertheless the cause is making headway in true Anglo-Saxon fashion, slowly but surely. Everything always subsides into small individual battles which cannot be assessed until actually resolved. At the moment these concern the May Day celebrations. On the one side our people, on the other, in opposition to us, the TRADES COUNCIL[196] (the stuffier TRADES UNIONS) and the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION[29]; the two enemies of yesteryear have been forced to club together against us, which is in itself a vic-

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[a] In the original: *nix mehr ze wolle* (South-German dialect) - [b] F. A. Sorge, 'Das Programm der Geldreformer in den Vereinigten Staaten'. - [c] of *Capital*

tory. *We* are in possession of Hyde Park and POSSESSION IS NINE POINTS OF THE LAW. How things will turn out remains to be seen. On our side we shall probably have the GASWORKERS,[164] a number of the smaller unions and the RADICAL CLUBS[430] (almost wholly working class) — what happens next must remain to be seen.

And now for Germany. Things are going so swimmingly there that we couldn't wish for anything better, although we shall no doubt experience some pretty hard knocks in the near future. From the outset Little Willie[a] has been a prime example of a 'last of the line' with a singular aptitude for ruining the dynasty and monarchy. But now his madness has taken on an acute form and his megalomania is such that he can neither sleep nor hold his tongue. As luck would have it, the *regis voluntas* which, at the drop of a hat, would become *suprema lex*,[413] is directed against us one day and the Liberals the next, and now he has actually discovered that it's the Liberals, whose progeny we are, that are the source of all evil — he's been taught as much by his clerical friends. And now he's prosecuting the *Kölnische Zeitung* for lèse-majesté[428] and will not rest content until he has hounded your tame German philistine into the opposition. What more could we ask? A month ago, when Stumm's speech was heard in the Reichstag,[421] it was still possible to envisage the re-introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law but that is no longer the case, for William is more incensed by the opposition of the bourgeoisie to his bill for the clericalisation of primary schools[431] than by all the Social-Democrats put together, and would sooner leave us alone than make any concessions to the other fellows. In both chambers it is, in fact, from the bourgeois parties that he encounters most opposition, not from our 35 members in the Reichstag; in the Prussian chamber we have no seats at all. Nevertheless, we, too, may run into some heavy weather — yet what could be better than for the Crown to place itself in an impossible position vis-à-vis the middle classes and the workers at one and the same time? The ministers are all second-rate or third-rate men, Caprivi is a staunch lout but unequal to his task, nor does Miquel grow any the wiser for his perpetual cheese-paring. In short, at this rate a crisis may be in the offing. In Prussia and in the Prusso-German Empire people cannot as in Bavaria afford to go on for years putting up with a demented monarch[b] and I shouldn't be surprised if, some time soon, they didn't erect a special madhouse for Little Willie. And then there'd be a Regency, which is exactly what we've been needing.

[a] William II - [b] Ludwig II

As regards Russia and *la haute politique*,[a] I have nothing to add to my article[b] in the *Neue Zeit*.

Warm regards from Aveling, who happens to be here just now—Tussy is off agitating in Plymouth. Louise will enclose a short note. Warm regards to your wife,[c] and look after yourselves.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL[432]

### IN BERLIN

London, 8 March 1892

Dear August,

We were all very glad to hear that your parliamentary anniversary was such a jolly occasion.[416] So far as the address is concerned, I did, as requested, certainly send off a draft[153] which—since I had to take account of the wishes, specific but unknown to me, of a parliamentary group most of whose 35 members were likewise personally unknown to me—seemed to me distinctly flat nor, till that moment, had I heard anything about either it or its fate. The French wrote one for you, published in today's *Socialiste*, in which they could let themselves go a bit more.[433]

So Liebknecht has been chucked out of the Dresden froggery.[434] Considering how petty those philistines are, little else was to be ex-

[a] high politics - [b] 'Der Sozialismus in Deutschland' - [c] Katharina Sorge

pected. Pretexts are never wanting and, while the affair may have accorded their vindictiveness some small personal satisfaction, the jackasses have derived no advantage whatever therefrom. The *Vorwärts*, by the by, has shown a marked improvement of late.

I am glad that the rumpuses in Berlin are over and that our people have held themselves so strictly aloof.[427] There might very well have been a bit of shooting and that would have sufficed to make things awkward for us in all kinds of ways. Had there been shooting in Berlin, the National Liberals[414] would have been quite capable of enthusiastically supporting the Elementary School Bill[431] while the hitherto indeterminate anger of certain people would finally have been directed against ourselves. The one reactionary mass,[322] which is looming larger every day, is not much use to us as yet; so long as *we* cannot actively make history ourselves, our interests demand that historical developments should not stand still, and to that end it is necessary that the bourgeois parties remain at loggerheads. And here the present regime is invaluable in that it provides that very situation for us. But if the shooting starts *too soon*, i. e. before the old parties have become more closely locked in combat, it might drive them to seek a reconciliation with each other and to form a united front against us. It will happen some time, as surely as eggs is eggs and, if it happens when we are, say, twice as strong as at present, it will no longer matter very much. Though even were it to happen now, the exercise of personal power would undoubtedly see to it that the opponents fell out with each other again. But it's better to be on the safe side. Things are going so famously now that we can only hope they'll be allowed to proceed without interruption.

However, unemployment might well get worse next year. For protectionism has had exactly the same effect as free trade — the flooding of individual national markets and this almost everywhere, though it's not so bad over here as where you are. But in this country where we have come through two or three insidious little crises since 1867, we would at last seem to be heading for another acute one. The enormous cotton crops of the past 2 or 3 years (up to 9 million or more bales a year) have depressed prices to the same extent as in the worst days of the 1846 crisis, and are thus exerting tremendous pressure on production which means that the manufacturers here are having to overproduce because of overproduction by the American planters! At the same time they are steadily losing money because the falling price of raw materials invariably means that their product,

spun from expensive cotton, has already fallen in value by the time it reaches the market. *Indeed, that is the reason for the cries of distress emanating from the German and Alsatian cotton spinners*, though no one has said anything about this in the Reichstag. Nor are other branches of industry faring much better over here. For the past 15 months there has been a marked decline in railway revenues and in the export of industrial goods so that in this country, too, the outlook for next winter is pretty bleak. No improvement can really be looked for in continental countries that have protective tariffs and, even though trade agreements might bring momentary relief, this will be offset before the year is out. And if next winter the same rumpus, but on a larger scale, recurs in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome and Madrid and finds an echo in London and New York, a still more serious situation might arise. On the other hand, it's a blessing that Paris and London, at any rate, have municipal councils that are *all too aware* of their dependence on the Labour vote, and are the less inclined to put up any serious resistance to demands, realisable even today, such as employment on public works, shorter working hours, wages in accordance with trades union demands, etc., etc., in that these represent the best means of safeguarding the masses against worse socialist—*genuinely* socialist—heresies. It remains to be seen whether the municipal councillors of Berlin and Vienna, who owe their election to a suffrage that is based on class and property, are forced *nolentes volentes*,[a] to flounder along in their wake.

Yesterday's *Standard* carried a telegram from *St Petersburg* according to which, after William's[b] speech in the Brandenburg Landtag, one of the gentlemen pointed out that the 'glory' to which he had alluded was opposed by, inter alia, Russia. Whereat William replied: 'I SHALL PULVERIZE RUSSIA', or words to that effect. Shuvalov, it seems, got to hear of this and, having assured himself of the authenticity of the report, passed it on to *his* Emperor. Whereupon Alexander promptly sought occasion to reprimand Schweinitz, instructing him to tell his Emperor that 'should he again feel the urge to pulverise Russia, I shall have the pleasure of sending half a million soldiers across his borders'.

On Saturday[c] Russia won a victory here in London which, however, will no longer be of any use to it. In the County Council elections (in London what is known elsewhere as a municipal council is called County Council) the Liberals scored a resounding victory and

[a] willy-nilly - [b] William II - [c] 5 March

there is no longer any doubt — if indeed there ever was — that, after the next parliamentary elections, Gladstone will come to power. But Gladstone is fanatically pro-Russian, anti-Turk and anti-Austrian, and his accession would provide Alexander with a further incentive for war since it would mean England's benevolent neutrality, not to mention English pressure on Italy to keep her neutral as well. The famine and the internal conflicts which we may hope it will evoke in Russia will redress the balance — provided, that is, nothing silly is done on either side of the Russian border, a possibility which can never entirely be excluded.

For the rest, and so far as this country is concerned, the Liberal victory is not a bad thing. The Conservatives aren't up to much unless they have at their head a chap like Disraeli capable of leading the whole party by the nose and getting it to do the opposite of what it actually intended. The present leaders are nothing but fools and coxcombs who allow the local party leaders, i. e. the stupidest men on earth, to dictate what their programme should be. Moreover 6 years in office have exhausted and staled them. So there has got to be a change and that is what the whole of this farce ultimately boils down to.

Ede tells me he has had a letter from Mehring saying that neither the *Neue Zeit* nor the *Vorwärts* nor any other party newspaper has taken the slightest notice of his *anti-Richter*[a]; he considers this inexcusable, feels inclined to give up politics altogether, etc. I can see that, to an author accustomed to literary pretentiousness — this is not to imply any blame, for in the bourgeois press, even at its most literary, that sort of thing is not only the rule but a *sine qua non* — I can see, then, that to a man like this, who has grown up in the non-Social-Democratic press, these Social-Democratic customs could be highly objectionable. But then we should all of us have to raise our voices in complaint, for the same thing is done to you and me and all the rest. None the less, and however unpleasant it may sometimes be for the individual, I consider this haughty indifference on the part of our press to be one of its greatest merits. Mehring's stuff will be bought and read even if the *Vorwärts* doesn't puff and it is better not to boost anything than to boost the masses of party trash which, worse luck, are also launched upon the world. And if any one thing were

[a] F. Mehring, *Herr Eugen Richters Bilder aus der Gegenwart. Eine Entgegnung von Franz Mehring.*

to be singled out, 'equal rights for all' would be demanded for everything else, in accordance with time-honoured democratic custom. That being so, I would rather put up with the equal right of being passed over in silence.

But there is one thing your chaps might do — come to an equitable arrangement with Mehring's publisher as regards regular and frequent advertising. That, however, is another example of the total lack of business sense which is congenital to our newspapermen.

I recently got hold of a copy of the 3rd edition of Mehring's *Deutsche Socialdemokratie* and took a look at the historical part. I should say that, in *Kapital und Presse*, he skates rather lightly over this incident.[435] But it's all one to *us* and *we've* got nothing to reproach him with; whether he's got anything to reproach himself with is his own affair and no concern of ours. In his place *I* should have admitted my change of heart quite openly, since there's nothing whatever for him to be ashamed of and it would have saved him a great deal of time, vexation and strife. It would, by the by, be absurd for him seriously to consider withdrawing from politics since he would thereby only be doing the ruling powers and the bourgeoisie a service; his leaders in the *Neue Zeit* are indeed really first-rate and we eagerly await the appearance of each one. Such verve should not be allowed to wither away or be wasted on rotten belletrists.

We all liked Siegel very much. He is yet another of those German working men whom one would be proud to be seen with in any company. The fact that he left in order to escape quite exceptionally rigorous and systematic persecution is in no way reprehensible. It's just *because* they are only now entering the movement that the miners are being persecuted with especial rigour, nor can the victims in any way rely on the support of their fellow workers — and for the same reason solidarity has not yet gained general recognition. Cunninghame-Graham and Keir Hardie have procured work for him in Scotland and his family is following him there. The company he is working for are advancing him the money and deducting it from his wages. Now, it's not going to be easy for him to repay this. I have given him five pounds for the journey to Scotland and to help him settle in, but cannot well do more. Would it not be appropriate for you people to grant him a subsidy of, say, 100 or 150 marks? I have read the letters Schröder wrote him and there seems small likelihood of his getting anything from that quarter.[436] Think the matter over.

From the enclosed chit from the Witch's kitchen you will see that

your lobster mayonnaise will, 'by virtue of the true elapse' of time (to use Arnold Ruge's words) put in an appearance only to disappear a moment later. Let us hope this dialectical process will then be crowned by a smoothly functioning negation of the negation.

Cordial regards.

Your
F. E.

The 10th of April is Palm Sunday. You should leave no later than the 8th, in which case you would be here by the evening of Saturday the 9th at the latest. That would be the best and most convenient arrangement. You won't be needed for the Queen's Speech. So we shall expect you here on the 9th.

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## ENGELS TO JULIE BEBEL [231]

IN BERLIN

London, 8 March 1892

Dear Mrs Bebel,

Unfortunately I have only today got round to answering your kind letter of 18 February, though at the same time I am sad to note that you have definitely decided to give your daughter[a] at St Gallen rather than us the pleasure of your company. Well, we can't blame you for preferring to visit Mrs Simon and console ourselves with the hope and the firm expectation that we shall be all the more certain of seeing you here in the spring (or summer?) of 1893. For in summer our fireplaces are screened off, plum puddings strictly forbidden, fogs only occur very rarely and so you'll see England looking her best,

[a] Frieda Simon

even though a malicious Frenchman once said that the English summer amounts to nothing more than three very hot days and a thunderstorm, after which it is all over. Next year I trust you will give us an opportunity to prove that this is a wilful exaggeration. You will also find that you can get on perfectly well over here, even though you speak no English.

But whether I come to Germany, as you surmise, will depend on all kinds of things over which, in view of these critical and changeable times, I have no control. Gone are the good old days of the new course's [437] calf love for anyone who aroused Bismarck's wrath, and there is no knowing what may not happen between now and the summer. So for the time being I shall leave everything in the lap of the gods and wait and see where fate may lead me this summer, whether to Germany, to Norway, to the Canary Islands, where they would also like to see me, or somewhere else. My one regret, should there be no real prospect of my making a pleasant summer visit to Germany, would be to miss yet another chance of making your personal acquaintance. I do so long to set eyes once again on a real, honest to goodness German proletarian woman, which is how people have always described you to me. My wife [a] was also of genuine Irish proletarian blood and her passionate feeling for her class, a feeling that was inborn, was of immeasurably greater value to me and has been a greater standby at all critical junctures than anything of which the priggishness and sophistry of the 'heddicated' and 'sensitive' [b] daughters of the bourgeois might have been capable. But my wife has now been dead for twelve years and more, while August is fortunate enough to have you still at his side; that is the difference.

Louise has just written another quite outrageous letter to August. You have absolutely no conception of how cocky the little woman has become now that she is once again standing on her own feet. You ought to be here sometime when we take our morning glass of Pilsener beer, and listen to our laughter and the kind of nonsense we talk. I'm happy that I can still join in such youthful tomfoolery; after all, one ages in so many ways that it is a real joy to find one has not yet lost the ability to laugh. And I really cannot thank Louise enough for all she is doing to ensure that my old Rhinelander's *joie de vivre* doesn't

[a] Lizzy Burns - [b] In the original: *jebildeten* and *jefühlsvollen* (Berlin dialect).

wither and die. And now once again my warm regards and the sincere hope that you will continue in good health.

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 14 March 1892

My dear Laura,

I have a whole heap of your letters before me, such a heap that I hardly dare look at it without being ashamed of myself—but you have no idea how I have been worked, interrupted, *tracassé, embêté*[a] etc. etc. by all sorts of people. My best working time—January to April—has been frittered away and I have not had a moment to even look at the 3rd volume[b] which I was determined to advance a good bit—and over the critical point—by Easter. All vanity of vanities. Now, my time up to a week after Easter is already engaged (by 10 April I shall have Bebel here for a fortnight or so, before that time I must go to Ryde to see Pumps who has had a sore time of it, Percy had 1) influenza, 2) pneumonia and 3) and last is now laid up with pleurisy) and it will cost a damned effort of energy and a determination to reply to no letters whatever and do no work for no matter whom if I want to use May and June for the 3rd volume.

But damn all this, you don't want to hear my grumbling. I am glad there are prospects of a daily paper for Paris,[4 2 3] that will make up for many a mishap in other parts of the world. Though mishaps to our party are getting few and far between, unless we provoke them ourselves. We have such capital allies. Young William[c] brags about his

[a] harassed, annoyed - [b] of *Capital* - [c] William II

ally God who so arranged all things from the creat[ion of the][a] world, that they must turn out to the grea[test] glory of the Prussian monarchy in general and young William in particular. But the poor boy does not see that all the time he is a better ally *to us* than God ever was or will be to him; and even if he was to see it, he could not help it, it's the nature of the beast!

My article[b] of the *Almanach*[c] and *Neue Zeit* has now been translated into Italian (*Critica Sociale*—got me into a row with that *confusionario l'illustre*[d] Bovio[e]), Roumanian (*Revista Socială*[438]) Polish (*Przedświt*) and English (New York *People*).

We have just come back (3.30 p. m.) from Highgate, the cemetery is in a disgusting state of soft clay, we had half a hundredweight sticking to each foot. On the gr[ave] Tussy (I suppose) had planted a small cypress, and one of the old crocus bulbs has come out in flower. The sprig of ivy which Motteler had brought from Ulrich von Hutten's grave on Ufnau Island in the Lake of Zürich, and which we planted after poor Nimmy's burial, having trained it on our balcony, had already been robbed of its best part last summer, but what is left, now grows well and is rooted deeply in the soil, so that no further desecration is possible.

Here we are also busy about the 1st of May. It is a beautiful play of intrigues woven and cut to pieces and woven afresh, Penelopean fashion. The 8 Hours Committee[200] (Edward, Tussy and their friends) tried to be first in the field but the Trades Council,[196] that reactionary rel[ict of the] Old Trades Unions, was o[ut befor]e them. Now the Trades Council and the S. D. F.[29] are for the [nonce] friends, as against all the rest; at present they do not compete one with the other, and have common interests in putting down all 'outsiders'. So when the 8 Hours Committee proposed to act with the Trades Council, in the same way as last year, they got a complete rebuff. But then the 8 Hours Committee *secured the Park*[f] *for themselves*, before the Trades Council had thought of it, and then again offered co-operation with the Trades Council which was again haughtily declined. Then *both* bodies addressed the Metropolitan Radical Federation (of Radical clubs[430]) to co-operate with them; and the M. R. F. decided to *mediate*, but under all circumstances *to act with the 8 Hours Committee* to whom the whole movement from the origin was due. So that the

[a] Manuscript damaged.-[b] 'Socialism in Germany'-[c] *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier*-[d] notorious muddlehead-[e] See this volume, p. 354.-[f] Hyde Park (see also this volume, pp. 370-71.)

Trades Council and the Social-Democratic Federation, as usual overestimating their strength, have put themselves in an awkward position: either they must knuckle under, or have a separate demonstration, and bear the responsibility of the split. At all events *our* demonstration is now an assured success, whatever the others may do.

Hyndman gets more foolish every day. His blind hatred of the Germans makes him support the Berlin '*Unabhängige*'[a] [333] and keep as his German chief of staff that outrageous scamp Gilles who is evidently in the pay of the German Embassy and has been, with a lot of malcontents, turned out of the German Communist Club here (our old '*Verein*'[b] [89]). So that he has now lost even the little foreign support he had; in Germany they used to have some little regard to his position as leader of at least a *section* of English socialists, but he has forfeited that; in France his friends Brousse and Co. are so down, that even Hyndman himself had to protest against their 'hygienic' programme for their next congress.[439] One does long for a good strong breath of revolutionary air to sweep away all these pettifogging *Jammerkerle*[c] — but it is coming, slowly, slowly as everything does come among these '*verdammten*[d] Schleswig-Holsteiners' (as Marx called the English) but when it comes it is *safe*.

I intended to enclose a line to Pau[l. I ha]d a letter from him from Marseilles — but it's getting dinner-time, and I am afraid of being stopped in the midst of it. I am afraid their new alliance with Granger and Co. will not turn out to their satisfaction. First of all, these men have shown that they are absolutely un[reliable] when they passed over to Boulanger, and we can only expect being betrayed by them on the first occasion. Secondly, Paul says we must reap where Boulanger has sown. Exactly so, but *reap the masses* and *discard the leaders*, as the plan was with the Possibilists [3]; but these leaders have no masses behind them, and are themselves highly undesirable bedfellows. Thirdly, they have crept into the Chambre *under false pretences* and are sure to be kicked out next election, so that it seems to me our friends are leaning upon an already broken reed. And as to *foreign policy*, fourthly, these men are *pledged Chauvinists* — otherwise they could not have got elected — and if Paul and friends form a party with them, they may be outvoted, kicked out, or driven to a split on the first occasion. I hope I may be wrong, but I am afraid I am not. The passage to Boulanger of these fellows was an unpardonable trea-

[a] Independents - [b] Society - [c] miserable people - [d] damned

son, and I'd rather have Vaillant than the whole lot of them — indeed I thought it a blessing that they had made themselves impossible.

Louise will write to you as soon as possible. She has been rather out of sorts for the last 8 days and is only just coming round again. Tomorrow I must go to see old Harney at Richmond where he is ill with the windpipe and his rheumatic gout. And then you want me to say something to the Parisians about the 18 March.[440] I'll be hanged if I know what! *Mais nous verrons!*[a] Ever yours affectionately,

F. E.

[Ki]nd regards from Louise.

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## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[441]

### IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 15 March 1892

Dear Sir,

I am almost ashamed to reply to your kind and interesting letters of the 12 and 21 November last. But I have been so overwhelmed with work, and I find that writing by gaslight is still so hurtful to my eyes (which otherwise keep quite serviceable) that this extra work and the shortness of daylight during our winter must be my excuse.

You are passing indeed through a momentous period for your country, the full importance of which can hardly be overestimated. From your letters it seems to me that you look upon the present неурожай[b] not as an accident, but as the necessary result, as one of the unavoidable concomitants of the economic development entered upon by Russia since 1861.[442] And that is my opinion too, as far as one can judge from a distance. With the year 1861 Russia entered

[a] But we shall see! - [b] crop failure (Russ.)

upon the development, on a scale worthy of a great nation, of Modern Industry. The conviction ripened that now-a-days no country can take a befitting rank among civilised nations without possessing steam-driven industrial machinery and providing, to a great extent at least, for its own wants of manufactured goods. And upon that conviction Russia has acted, and acted with great energy. That she surrounded herself with a rampart of protective duties, was but too natural, English competition forced that policy upon almost every great country, even Germany, where *une grande industrie* had successfully developed under *almost absolute free trade*, joined the chorus and turned protectionist, merely to accelerate the process of what Bismarck called *die Züchtung von Millionären.*[a] And if Germany entered upon this course even without any necessity, who can blame Russia for doing what to her *was* a necessity, as soon as the new industrial course was once determined upon?

To some extent your present situation appears to me to find a parallel in that of France under Louis XIV. There, too, manufactures were placed in a condition of vitality by Colbert's protective system; and within 20 or 30 years, it was found out that a national manufacturing industry, under the circumstances then existing, can be created only at the expense of the peasantry. The *Naturalwirtschaft*[b] of the peasants was broken up and supplanted by the *Geldwirtschaft*,[c] the home market was created and, at the same time, nearly destroyed again, at least for the time, by this process and the unprecedented violence with which economic necessity enforced itself, and by the increased taxation in money and in men, necessitated, then, by the introduction of standing armies by conscription, as it is now-a-days necessitated by the introduction of the Prussian military system of universal army service. And when at last a crop or two failed, then arose that universal state of discomfort all over the country which we find depicted in Boisguillebert and Marshal Vauban.[d]

But there is one immense difference: The difference between old '*Manufaktur*' and modern '*grande industrie*' which (in the action upon the peasant, the agricultural producer on a small scale and with his own means of production) is as the difference between the old smooth-bore flint-musket of 1680 and the modern repeating rifle, ca-

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[a] raising of millionaires - [b] subsistence economy - [c] money economy - [d] [P.] Boisguillebert, *Le détail de la France* and S. Vauban, *Projet d'une dîme royale.* In: *Économistes financiers du XVIII-e siècle.*

libre 7.50 millimetres, of 1892. And moreover, whereas in 1680 agriculture on a small scale was still the normal mode of production, and large estate-farming could only be a *rising* exception, but always an exception, large farming with machinery is now the rule and becomes more and more the only possible mode of agricultural production. So that the peasant today appears to be doomed.

You remember what our author said in the letter on Joukowsky[a] — that if the line entered upon in 1861 was persevered in, the peasants' *obščina*[b] must go to ruin. That seems to me to be in course of fulfilment just now. The moment seems getting near, at least in some districts, where the whole of the old social institutions of Russian peasant life not only lose their value to the individual peasant but become a fetter, exactly as they have done in former times in Western Europe. I am afraid we shall have to treat the община[b] as a dream of the past, and reckon, in future, with a capitalist Russia. No doubt a great chance is thus being lost, but against economic facts there is no help. The only curious thing is that the very men in Russia who never tire of defending the invaluable superiority of Russian primitive institutions as compared with those of the rotten Occident, are doing their very best to destroy those primitive institutions and to replace them by those of the rotten Occident!

But if the Russian peasant is doomed to be transformed into a proletarian, industrial or agricultural, the помѣщикъ[c] does appear to be doomed too. From what I gather, this class is even more in debt than the peasants, and has to sell out gradually. And between the two seem to step in a new class of landowners, village кулаки or town-bourgeois — the fathers of, perhaps, a future Russian landed aristocracy??

The failure of last year's crop has brought all this out into glaring daylight. And I am quite of your opinion that the causes are entirely social. As to deforestation, that is as essentially, as is the ruin of the peasants, a vital condition of bourgeois society. No European 'civilised' country but has felt it, and America,* and no doubt Russia, too, feels it at this moment. Thus deforestation, in my eyes, is essentially

* In America I have seen it myself 4 years ago.[443] There great efforts are made to counteract its effects and redress the mistake.

[a] K. Marx, 'Letter to *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*'. - [b] commune (Russ.) - [c] landowner (Russ.)

a social factor as well as a social result. But it is also a very common pretext for interested parties, to devolve the blame for economic mishaps upon a cause which apparently nobody can be made responsible for.

The failure of the crop, in my opinion, has only made *patent*, what was there already *latent*. But it has terribly accelerated the velocity of the process going on. The peasant, at seed-time this spring, will be infinitely weaker than he was at seed-time last autumn. And he will be called upon to recover strength under far more unfavourable circumstances. A pauper, over head and ears in debt, no cattle, what can he do — even in the places where he has got through the winter without having to leave his land? It therefore seems to me that it will take years before this calamity is completely overcome, and that when that point is reached, Russia will be a very different country from what she was even on 1 January 1891. And we will have to console ourselves with the idea that all this in the end must serve the cause of human progress.

I sent you last autumn a little book: *Ursprung der Familie*,[a] 4th edition, it was registered and my address outside on the wrapper, as it did not come back I hope you have received it.

I thank you very much for the many papers and reviews sent — the one of Mendelejeff's[b] was especially interesting. But I regret I cannot just now give to them all the attention they deserve, owing to hard work. How fast I was with extra work, you will conceive when I tell you that from New Year to now — generally my quietest time — I have not been able to give one minute to 3rd volume.[c]

Your congratulations were duly forwarded to Paris.[444]

With kind regards ever yours

P. W. Rosher[d]

No news from our mutual[e]?

First published, in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 2, St Petersburg, 1908

Reproduced from the original

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[a] *The Origin of the Family...* - [b] Д. И. Менделѣевъ, *Толковый тарифъ или изслѣдованіе о развитіи промышленности Россіи въ связи съ ея общимъ таможеннымъ тарифомъ 1891 года.* - [c] of *Capital* - [d] Engels' conspiratorial pseudonym - [e] Hermann Lopatin

## 191

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN BERLIN

London, 16 March 1892

Dear August,

Today I have a request, namely that you send me the stenographic report of the session at which our chaps spoke about Alsace-Lorraine and Singer apparently made a statement on the same subject on behalf of the parliamentary group.[445] I'm sure to be questioned about it and should therefore like to be in possession of the *precise* facts.

Over here the usual struggle[a] has begun again in regard to May Day, but so far the outlook is favourable. What I am about to tell you *must not appear in the 'Vorwärts'*, for Gilles will interpret and manipulate it in his own way for Hyndman's benefit—i.e. in order to sing the praises of the Independents[333] and malign the parliamentary group and, since the struggle has still to be decided, anything that might be published could be used *against* us.

Well, the original 'Legal 8 Hours Committee',[200] presided over by Aveling, and the Trades Council[196] under Shipton (presently allied with Hyndman and the Social Democratic Federation[29]) tackled the matter almost simultaneously. The 8 Hours Committee invited the Trades Council to act in concert with them, as happened last year, but was rejected with contumely. At the same time it approached the Metropolitan Radical Federation (comprising more than 50 radically 'labour' and partly socialist clubs),[430] whereupon the latter was approached by the Trades Council. In the meantime Aveling had played the same trick on the Trades Council as they had played on him 2 years before[446] and secured first right to the Park.[b] Having assured itself of the Park, the 8 Hours Committee actually made a further approach to the Trades Council but was again rejected with contumely. Immediately afterwards, however, the Metropolitan Radical Federation, which on several occasions had also been treated by the Trades Council in a high-handed way (last year the Trades Council admitted only Trades Union people, not club speakers, to the plat-

[a] See this volume, pp. 370-71 and 380-81.-[b] Hyde Park

forms they had been allotted) resolved that, whatever happened, it should join forces with the 8 HOURS COMMITTEE, but that there should be one more attempt at reconciliation with the TRADES COUNCIL. The 8 HOURS COMMITTEE met on Sunday[a] when it was agreed with the METROPOLITAN RADICAL FEDERATION that the latter should make this attempt, after which a decision would be taken on further action. That is how matters stand. Up till now the 8 HOURS COMMITTEE has been in a vastly superior position. It has the Park, the GASWORKERS, a whole number of small EAST END UNIONS and the Radical Clubs — in short, a number at least twice as large as that which supports the TRADES COUNCIL and Hyndman's FEDERATION. For the moment the latter is keeping as quiet as a mouse and letting the TRADES COUNCIL do its work for it. Provided there are no blunders or indiscretions, the TRADES COUNCIL will either have to back down or, as was the case 2 years ago, play second fiddle at the demonstration, and an ill-tempered fiddle at that.

I have now read Mehring's 'Lessing-Legende' in the *Neue Zeit* and derived much pleasure from it. It is a really excellent work. There is much that I should have accounted for differently or toned down a bit, but all in all he has hit the nail on the head. It is truly a pleasure to see that the materialist view of history, which for the past 20 years has — as a rule — had to pay the price of being used as vainglorious rhetoric in the writings of our younger party members, is at last beginning to be put to the use for which it was originally intended, i. e. as a guide for the student of history. Kautsky and Ede have produced some very nice stuff in this line but Mehring has made a much closer study of his special subject, namely Prussia's small segment of German history, and generally takes a less blinkered view; above all he expresses himself more positively and precisely. I hope the work will be published on its own as soon as it has finished appearing in the *Neue Zeit*. Never, to my knowledge, has the citadel of the Prussian legend been besieged so well and so forthrightly: for Lessing read old Fritz.[b] And it is vitally necessary to demolish the Prussian legend before Prussia is able to vanish into Germany. As regards the *preconditions* for Prussia east of the Elbe in German as well as in European and world history, I should sometimes have expressed myself differently but these are things which in fact Mehring merely touched upon.

But now I must go and eat so that the Witch can get on with her

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[a] 13 March - [b] Frederick II

Witch's Latin. As to the EAST END business,[447] you mustn't let it worry you too much; I don't think that anything dangerous is being planned.

Warm regards to Mrs Julie[a] and yourself.

Your
F. E.

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## 192

## ENGELS TO FILIPPO TURATI

### IN MILAN

[London,] 18 March 1892

Dear Citizen Turati,

Thank you for the two copies of the *illustrious one's*[448] reply which you were kind enough to send me. Needless to say, I have no intention of letting him have an answer, for if he didn't mean to discuss and didn't discuss the German Socialists, what were his reasons for quoting my article[b] and appending his comments to his quotations? It's more incoherent than ever, but to be charitable, one must suppose that he had totally forgotten what he had written in the *Tribuna*.[449]

Kind regards,
F. E.

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[a] Julie Bebel - [b] 'L'imminente trionfo del socialismo in Germania'

## 193

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[177]

IN STUTTGART

London, 30 March 1892

Dear Baron,

Yesterday evening I sent back to you the preface duly corrected and I also added a couple of lines to the 2nd edition.[450] I think that should do. The old preface will still serve the purpose of preventing the resurrection of the Rodbertus nonsense which, like any article of fashion, has a tendency to keep recurring. It certainly acted remarkably quickly, though it is no credit to me if the great men pitted against us are the sort of chaps who can be done to death in two prefaces. Besides, the economic arguments set out therein will still do the Germans some good; the awkwardness of many of our people when engaged in economic polemics is curious though hardly edifying.

Congratulations on the birth after a difficult confinement of your pamphlet on the programme.[379] The child will get on in the world all right. A new popular digest is always most useful; people's speeches frequently make one realise how necessary such refresher courses are; and a fat tome is the last thing they are either willing or able to read.

Rather than complain about the carelessness of German writers, you should adopt the principle of marking with coloured ink such articles as you intend to accept and returning them to the authors for correction; then they would soon mend their ways. Obviously if the editors are so obliging as to place their own style at the author's disposal, he will become more and more slovenly.

I can understand your complaining about your correspondence, for you speak to a fellow sufferer. But then you are also an editor, which I am not, and are entitled to confine yourself exclusively to business matters — after all, anything more you do is for your own personal pleasure — and that is precisely what is denied me.

Apropos, I did *not* read Marx's article on Proudhon from the Berlin *Social-Demokrat*[451] in proof; I had no time.

As regards Adler,[452] you learned rather more from Dietz than

I did. I therefore passed on your comments to Louise and asked her to prepare a memorandum on the affair for your own use — this I enclose. From her discretion towards me I gather, as no doubt you will, too, that this is a case which calls for the utmost discretion on the part of us all and where any incautious revelation could have the most dire consequences. Unfortunately, in a case like this, there are so many people who sympathise that out of sheer sympathy they are incapable of keeping their mouths shut. It's already quite bad enough that the affair should have been bandied about so freely in Berlin.

*The Condition of the Working-Class*[a] has at last come out over here. Unfortunately I have no copies to send you but have arranged for the *Neue Zeit* to be recommended to S. Sonnenschein & Co. *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* is also finished, as far as it goes, but since the little book has turned out to be much too meagre for its price of 2s. 6d. (though the jackass of a publisher knew this from the beginning!), I am to swell it out with a long preface.[b] Well, we shall see. That, however, will be the last of my own jobs, after which I shall then get on with Volume III.[c] I have had word from Petersburg (this is *between ourselves*) that the *Origin of the Family* will probably be appearing in Russian shortly. The article on 'socialism in Germany' has now come out in Italian, Romanian (*Critica Sociala*), English (*The People*, New York) and Polish (*Przedświt*, here), the last two having been taken from the *Neue Zeit*.

Kindest regards from one household to the other.

Your

General

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935

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[a] *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844* (1892) - [b] 'Introduction to the English Edition (1892) of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*' - [c] of *Capital*

194

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 30 March 1892

Dear Friend,

I can no longer lay my hands on the issue of *Lotta*[a] you mentioned in your postcard of the 26th, but in any case it would in my view be a mistake and an offence against the best interests of the party were a socialist to give the first subaltern who came along the opportunity of killing him.[453] By employing what for them would be the perfectly safe method of duelling with a socialist, it would be an easy matter for young officers to gain not only a great reputation for dash, but also rapid promotion, and, what's more, make away with our best people. We ought not to let ourselves in for that kind of thing.

Circumstances might arise in which even our own people might find that a duel was unavoidable; a French or Italian deputy might be forced to engage in a political duel should the refusal of a challenge be more injurious to the party than its acceptance, especially if it was our own deputy who was responsible for the affront. But to agree to a duel or even provoke one except in cases of dire necessity is, to my mind, absurd.

I am sending you the English translation of my *Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England* which has just come out. I trust it will be of use to you in your English studies.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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[a] *Lotta di classe*

## 195

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER [267]

### IN NEW YORK

London, 30 March 1892

Dear Schlüter,

First of all I must thank you for the letter you sent me last year,[454] which provided me with so much valuable information. Unfortunately I cannot repay you in the same coin. By and large enough can be learned about the general political situation in Europe from a carefully selected reading of the newspapers and in order to allow time for my work it behoves me to keep myself out of the internal affairs of individual socialist parties as much as possible, otherwise I should never get anything done. I cannot therefore give you any information about the sequence of events inside the parties in the various countries in so far as these take the form of squabbles amongst the leaders, as is usually the case, for even the little that I do know about it has as often as not been told me only on condition that I keep my mouth shut.

Had I known that the *Figaro* article[455] would have interested you people over there, I should have let you have it, for I was sent one by Lafargue. It has long since gone astray, departed into limbo, so I shall write to Paris but hardly imagine I shall be able to unearth another copy or get any real information out of Lafargue who has doubtless long since forgotten about it. Since his election he has been travelling indefatigably all over France on his free ticket, agitating and propagating (I don't mean the race) evidently with great success. May Day — since it coincides with the municipal elections[429] to be held throughout France except Paris — will on this occassion be a highly critical day for the French; they are spurred on by the ambition to emulate the Germans.

It seems to me that in America your great stumbling-block consists in the exceptional position of the native-born working man. Before 1848 one cannot speak of an established, native-born working class except by way of an exception; the few who constituted its beginnings in the cities of the east could always hope to become farmers or bour-

geois. Such a class has now come into being and has also largely organised itself along TRADES UNION lines. But it still adopts an aristocratic attitude and whenever possible leaves the ordinary, ill-paid occupations to immigrants of whom only a small proportion enter the aristocratic TRADES. These immigrants, however, are split up into nationalities which understand neither each other nor, for the most part, the language of the country. And over there your bourgeoisie is far more adept than the Austrian government at playing off one nationality against another—Jews, Italians, Bohemians, etc., against Germans and Irishmen, and each against the other so that in New York the workers' living standards vary, or so I understand, to an extent unheard of elsewhere. And on top of that you have the complete indifference of a society, which has grown up without any of the easy-going background of feudalism and upon a purely capitalist basis, towards human beings who have fallen victim to the competitive struggle; THERE WILL BE PLENTY MORE, AND MORE THAN WE WANT, OF THESE DAMNED DUTCHMEN,[a] IRISHMEN, ITALIANS, JEWS AND HUNGARIANS—and in addition, standing in the background, you have JOHN CHINAMAN who far outdoes them all in his ability to live on next to nothing.

In such a country repeated endeavours followed by no less certain set-backs are inevitable. Except that the endeavours grow more and more strenuous and the repulses less and less crippling, so that on the whole the cause nevertheless advances. But one thing I regard as certain, namely that the purely bourgeois basis without any pre-bourgeois humbug behind it, and the correspondingly colossal vigour of a development which manifests itself despite the insane lengths to which the present system of protective tariffs has been taken,[338] will one day bring about a change that will astonish the whole world. Once the Americans get going it will be with a vigour and ferocity that will make us in Europe look like babes in arms by comparison.

With kindest regards.

Your

F. Engels

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[a] This is how Germans were called in the USA.

[From Louise Kautsky]

Dear Schlüter,

A woman does not usually lift a finger and hence only becomes affable when she wants something. What I should now like to have is some authentic information on the bourgeois women's movement in America, i.e. their relative privileges and voting rights in the various states as regards not only school or municipal elections but also political suffrage, etc. I, or rather the General on my behalf, gets through Sorge the 2 most prominent women's rights papers, *Woman's Journal* and *Woman's Tribune*. But I need more, I need a brief, concise but historically complete account of the struggle to attain women's civil rights, not the dreadful, dreary catchphrases of the female pioneers of women's civil rights. The book which you...[a]

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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## 196

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 4 April 1892

My dear Laura,

Today but two words to ask you to look after the *Éclair*.—On Friday[b] morning all of a sudden Émile Massard came down upon me with a demand for an interview for that iridescent paper. As he promised to submit the ms. to my correction, and as I thought to be thereby able to put a flea in the ear of the Parisian *gogo*,[c] I consented. Yesterday I looked over the ms. and *almost entirely recast it*. Would you be good enough to send me about 4-6 copies of the paper as soon as it appears? If correct I shall want them for various regions, if incorrect, I shall at once protest against the breach of faith.[456]

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[a] The end of the letter is missing. - [b] 1 April - [c] juggins

Anyhow this new experience with the eternal interviewing nuisance will help me to refuse in future, as I always have to do the real work (from 11 to 3 yesterday, instead of being out this warm weather) and even then it's not what I want and does not bring out my ideas. Damn the lot of them.

I was in Ryde for a week,[457] has done me good. Pumps and the children are well, Percy has had influenza, pneumonia, pleurisy, inflamed throat, etc., one after the other and is only just recovering.

I am busy with an infernal preface[a] for the never-to-be-satisfied Swan Sonnenschein and Co. and that, as it will be long, will take me all week. As soon as finished you get a long letter.

*Salut* to the travelling parlamentarian[b] who is not only a peripatetic grass widower but also a grasshopper, and love from Louise and yours

everlasting old
General

Next week we expect Bebel here unless stopped by ill health—he seems a deal out of sorts by overwork and overexcitement.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959

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[a] F. Engels, 'Introduction to the English Edition (1892) of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*'. - [b] Paul Lafargue

## 197

## ENGELS TO HENRI BRISSAC

### IN PARIS

[Draft]

[London, after 7 April 1892]

Dear Citizen,

I have just received your letter of the 7th inst. (postmarked yesterday). I am still awaiting the pamphlet[a] you were good enough to send me. I shall read it with interest. But I greatly regret that it will be impossible for me to render you the service you ask of me.[458] In the first place, if I were to write *on your behalf* a criticism of your work for publication, courtesy might, perhaps, preclude my speaking freely. Moreover, whatever I might do for you I should also be obliged to do for every other *bona fide* socialist, be he French, German, English, Italian, Spanish, Danish, etc., etc., and what would that lead to? I shouldn't have a single moment to call my own. And more important than any other consideration is the fact that I have before me a very difficult task which has been weighing on my conscience for years, namely the editing of Volume III of Marx's *Capital*. Several months ago I made a resolution not to take on any additional work whatsoever until I had discharged this urgent duty.

Yours sincerely

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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[a] H. Brissac, *La Société collectiviste*.

198

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN ST GALLEN

London, 16 April 1892

Dear August,

I must say it was a damnable disappointment when your telegram arrived. Well, illness is something that can't be helped, and I only hope you had so far recovered as to manage the journey all right and that you are now enjoying the benefits of the mountain air. On the other hand you're now duty-bound to bring Mrs Julie[a] with you in May — something towards which I have done my bit in the enclosed note which I beg you to endorse in the strongest terms.

As regards the Parisians, two men turned up here before your letter had arrived. I arranged for them to come again the next day, Wednesday,[b] for I felt sure your letter would have arrived by then. When it came, I went to see Julius[c] and Louise went to see one of the men — somewhere at the back of beyond — but found no one and left a written message. At last, on Thursday evening, one of them turned up (the other having already departed on Wednesday morning), told me that, because of certain circumstances, the matter had been postponed, and said they hoped to manage without the assistance of you people to whom they would have recourse only in case of extreme need. We'll discuss it further when you come over. It isn't urgent.[459]

Why, on leaving St Gallen, you should first want to return to the imperial sand box,[d] we cannot understand. Once there, you'll resume your drudgery, day after day will go by and your health will begin to suffer again, whereupon the doctor will come and you'll be unceremoniously bundled off to Karlsbad[e] after all. I'm a passionate advocate of Karlsbad — for other people that is, not for myself — because I saw how it put Marx to rights again[460]; had he been able to take advantage of it eight years earlier, he might still be alive today. It is wonderfully effective for all disorders of the stomach and liver and I would strongly advise you to take these capital waters (capital because it yields physiological surplus value for you and economic sur-

[a] Julie Bebel - [b] 13 April - [c] Motteler - [d] Berlin - [e] Karlový Vary

plus value for the landlords of Karlsbad) for 4 or 6 weeks in June, when Dr Fleckles, Marx's and Tussy's friend — she will tell you about him — will provide what other entertainment you need; he is one of the wittiest men in Europe.

I should have written to you before, but in order to avoid odious slander, I have had to write a most odious foreword.[a] It's a typical English affair. Aveling translates my *Entwicklung des Sozialismus* for a SOCIAL SERIES of which each volume costs 2.50 marks. I say it's a swindle to sell the little thing at that price. No, says Aveling; the chap — the publisher — is quite aware of what he's doing — one booklet is too fat, the other too slim, and it ultimately averages out (particularly for anyone who happens to find nothing of interest except in the slim volumes). Moreover, the publisher, having seen the German original, knows all about it. Well and good. The thing's completed and, by dint of tremendous leading of type, they have managed to make some 117 pages of it. Now the publisher — he's called Sonnenschein[b] but at times seems unable to see, however bright the sunshine may be — discovers that it's insufficient after all and asks me to write a good, long foreword. Well, it's not as straightforward as all that. For the first time I have got, as it were, to put myself on show before the heddicated[c] British public, and it requires some thought. Anyway, what emerged was a long dissertation about this, that and t'other, through which ran a consistent leitmotif — scathing mockery of the British bourgeoisie. I look forward to seeing what the British philistine will have to say about it. I shall let the *Neue Zeit* have it in German [461] and hope it will amuse you all.

Well, to avoid missing the post, Louise and I would ask you to give our regards to Frieda[d] and Simon — perhaps they too will come to London some time? — while remaining

Yours, etc., or not etc., as the case may be,

F. E.

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[a] An untranslatable pun, *Nachrede*—slander and *Vorrede*—foreword. - [b] Sunshine - [c] In the original: *jebildeten* (Berlin dialect). - [d] Bebel's daughter, married to Ferdinand B. Simon.

## 199

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

[London,] 19 April 1892

My dear Laura,

At last — *ouf, je respire*[a]! When Sonnenschein saw that Edward's translation of *Socialisme Utopique etc.* after all possible leading of type did look awfully meagre for a 2/6 book (what I told him from the beginning) he insisted on my writing a lengthy preface. And as I *had* promised to write a preface, and had various matters on my mind which I felt a liking to explain to the British philistine, I set to work, and at last, it is done. It's I dare say about half as long as the whole book, and had to be done carefully, for the British philistine hates being made fun of by foreigners, yet I could not help it.

By the bye, have you heard anything of Ravé and his translation?[462] the thing ought to be out by this time.

Now to your last letter. I think that these two things ought to be kept separated: 1) our relations to the Blanquists' old school, and 2) those to the Boulanger-Blanquists.

First. I cannot help thinking that our differences with Vaillant began last April,[b] and that our people are not quite blameless. At that time Vaillant and we pulled together, the Allemanists[53] being third party, and wanting a full recognition by us. Then, our people, without consulting the Blanquists, started the plan of processions to the *Mairies* and Palais Bourbon[c] with deputations to interview the *élus*.[d] To that the Blanquists naturally objected as they would not meet their t r a î t r e s.[e] But our people insisted, and thus, as far as I can see, *drove* the Blanquists into the alliance with the Allemanists. It strikes me our people in that case did a bit of rather sharp practice which after all availed them nothing, for the whole plan fell through.

What happened since, I know very little of, but no doubt, this final

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[a] I can breathe. - [b] See this volume, pp. 183, 189 and 190. - [c] the premises of the Chamber of Deputies - [d] deputies - [e] traitors

cause of mistrust between the Blanquists and our people once established, it would be easy for the tag-rag and bobtail of the Blanquists, the Allemanists helping, to widen the breach and to fortify the alliance between Blanquists and Allemanists, which again set us down in a hopeless minority in Paris. Now that would be no great misfortune provided we conquered in the provinces, and for that purpose Paul and Guesde have worked splendidly and we may expect, I hope, great successes on 1st May,[429] and let Blanquists and Allemanists *cuire dans leur jus*.[a]

But then comes this alliance with the ex-Boulangists of the Chamber. As I said before,[b] when the masses have been led into such a glaring mistake as that was with Boulanger, the break-up of the delusion makes them all the fitter for listening to sense, and coming round to us. *That* inheritance of Boulangism we were entitled to. But it appears to me, that it is a very different thing to accept, at the same time, the leaders of that movement, and not as private individuals, but at their own valuation and with the rank they held in the Boulangist crew. I cannot help holding in considerable contempt the men that allowed themselves to fall into that trap — on no matter what pretext. There is nothing that has damaged the reputation of the French, abroad, so much as this infatuation for a new saviour of society, and such a one! And had it been the bourgeois alone — but the great mass of the working class too went down on their knees before this windbag! What reliance can anyone in his senses place on the men that cast in their lot with this *jouisseur*[c] who intrigued with extreme Republicans, Clericals, Monarchists all at once and must have been quite as much of a 'constitutional liar' as S. Sonnenschein said to Bax he, Sonnenschein, was! These men must be either deficient in character or in intellect or both, and certainly not worth having. What possible good can they be to us?

1) We cannot rely on them for a day.

2) If we form a party with them in the Chamber, they *outnumber us* and can pass the most absurd resolutions over our heads which we must either be bound by, or else secede again from them — which leaves us in a worse position than before. If I am to knuckle under a majority, after all I'd rather do so to one commanded by Vaillant, than to one led by Granger and Co.

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[a] stew in their own juice - [b] See this volume, pp. 381-82. - [c] bon viveur

3) As all these men got into Parliament on false pretences, they are almost sure to be kicked out next election — so was it worth while for us to identify ourselves with them?

And if Argyriades raves against the Germans, how about Rochefort and his paper[a] which evidently receives Russian money (at least some of the *rédacteurs*) and Russian articles?

The breach with the Blanquists' old school may have been unavoidable, and may be swallowed; but I do fail to see the slightest real advantage that can accrue to us from an alliance with the ex-Boulangist Radicals in the Chamber. Have we not, for the mere show of a group of some 25 men in Parliament, sacrificed very serious future chances?

However the thing is done and cannot be helped. I only hope our friends will not place too much confidence in their new allies. And I believe our party in France is now strong enough to bear without serious damage the consequences of a mistake or two.

That our new allies do not bring us any real strength in Paris, is shown by the fact that Paul and Guesde both go to the North on May 1st, which seems tantamount to our leaving the 1st of May in Paris entirely to the Blanquists and Possibilists.[3] As I said before, there would be no great harm in that, if we can beat them in the provinces; but if our new allies are not strong in Paris, where in the name of dickens *are* they strong?

Your article on the religious interference in factories seems to have been too much for the Austrian press law practice. Your last one on night-work[b] has appeared — Louise requests you not to blame her for one or two blunders they have put in in Vienna.

We expected Bebel here for Easter, but he fell ill (catarrh of the stomach and intestine) and was stopped by the doctor. He expects to come about middle of May. This is the third attack within a year and he has received a serious warning from the doctor — a specialist. He wants him to go to Karlsbad,[c] which I think would set him up again.

John Bull showed himself yesterday again in all his brutality at Hampstead Heath station, about 5 o'clock, rain threatening, a crowd rushed down the steps, and crushed eight people to death, mostly

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[a] *L'Intransigeant*. - [b] L. Lafargue, 'Nachtarbeit für die Frauen in Frankreich', *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung*, No. 8, 15 April 1892. - [c] Karlový Vary

women and children, injuring a dozen more. Imagine a French crowd being guilty of that!

Ever yours,
F. Engels

Love from Louise.

How about a delegate or two to May 1st here? *The Possibilists will have two men here* (see *Chronicle* we sent you with Adolph Smith's letter to Shipton [463]). Edward wrote to you about it, if you cannot send a man, try to delegate Bonnier from the *Conseil National* of the Party and to send a letter. Don't allow the Possibilists to walk over the course as the representatives of France. But let it be done *officially*.[464]

First published, in Russian, in *Istorichesky arkhiv*, No. 2, Moscow, 1956

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## 200

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

London, 20 April 1892

Dear Baron,

Needless to say you will be getting the introduction to the English version of *Sozialismus*[a] *etc.*— in German of course; it's got to come out and where else could I get anything as long as this published except in the *Neue Zeit*? It went off yesterday and so, until the proofs arrive, I shall be *hors de combat*. It's so infernally long because I've made it the vehicle for all sorts of old grudges against the English bourgeoisie and look forward to seeing what the British philistine has to say about it.

We over here are at last clear about what is to happen on May Day — or rather the reverse of clear. The Trades Council [196] and the Social Democratic Federation [29] have done their utmost to ensure

[a] F. Engels, 'Introduction to the English Edition (1892) of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*'.

that on this occasion matters should be placed completely in their hands and, above all, that the Eight Hours League[200] be totally excluded. For just now the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION is working hand in glove with the most reactionary elements — Shipton, etc.— in the TRADES COUNCIL, to which body it is wholly subordinating itself so far as the May Day demonstration is concerned; the TRADES COUNCIL is to conduct the campaign against the independent elements in the EAST END, while the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION hopes to reap the fruits thereof. Those elements they sought to get rid of have, of course, found a rallying point in the Avelings, the latter's mainstay being 1. the GASWORKERS UNION,[164] 2. the METROPOLITAN RADICAL FEDERATION,[430] 3. a number of the smaller unions who would rather make their mark in the EIGHT HOURS LEAGUE that be forced to play second fiddle to the OLD, petty-bourgeois-minded UNIONS in the TRADES COUNCIL. There was a great deal of manoeuvring on both sides and, at a meeting of delegates from London's labour organisations — in which, of course, the majority was rigged —, the TRADES COUNCIL succeeded in assuming control of the demonstration. Nevertheless, although it had previously decided *not* to enter into any negotiations with the Eight Hours League, it had to climb down and admit into the Executive Committee first 1 and then 2 delegates from the Eight Hours League, besides placing two platforms in the Park[a] at the latter's disposal. In addition the METROPOLITAN RADICAL FEDERATION likewise has a couple, which are also ours, whereas the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION only has two.

Now the eight-hour day advocated by the majority on the TRADES COUNCIL merely implies payment of the ordinary wage for 8 hours, any work over and above this being payable as overtime at one and a half times or twice the ordinary rate; *thus the eight hour day advocated by these people is quite different from our own,* which means that in the course of this year, after May Day, the conflict will flare up in real earnest and be fought out anew. Such is the issue that will at long last receive an airing over here. So don't allow yourself to be hoodwinked by anything anyone from the *Vorwärts*, etc., may say about May Day here; from our point of view the whole thing's a swindle; it's an eight hour day IN A PICKWICKIAN SENSE, as is bound to come out in the long run, whereupon the equivocal situation from which both the SOCIAL

[a] Hyde Park

DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION and the FABIANS[87] are profiting will cease to exist.

You should make use of *The Workman's Times only* for its factual material. The editor[a] is a provincial who is relapsing into belletrism, is anxious to keep in with everyone and both talks and accepts a great deal of bosh. But the *reports* are all done by working men, STUPID though the 'ERRAND BOY' and his mother, the 'MARXIAN' (an out-and-out duffer), and the 'PROLETARIAN', etc., may be.*

Mother Wischnewetzky has had to suffer all manner of rough treatment at her husband's hands, has got divorced, calls herself Mrs Kelley again and lives in Chicago with her 3 children of whom she is the legal custodian.

I wonder very much what results our Frenchmen will obtain in the municipal elections on 1 May.[429] It will be the first time they have been really put to the test.

Regards from one household to the other.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935

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## 201

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

### IN BENEVENTO

London, 21 April 1892

Dear Friend,

I am sorry that I cannot send you a German copy of the *Condition of the Working Class*.[b] The book has not been in the book-

* *The Workman's Times* has amalgamated with the former *Trade Unionist* and Nash, of whom you know, has become one of its editors. Thus the influence of Toynbee Hall,[465] of which you also know, has gained a footing there.

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[a] Joseph Burgess - [b] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*.

shops for the past 16 years and even old, second-hand copies are offered only very rarely in dealers' catalogues and are extremely dear (30-40 marks!). I intend to bring out a new edition as soon as I have completed Volume III of Marx's *Capital*.

I am pleased to see from your translation of the English preface in the *Critica Sociale*[466] that your English has progressed by leaps and bounds. However, I wouldn't advise you to translate the book from the English text; the translation is very clumsy and full of Americanisms, not all of which I have been able to eliminate.

Once you have got to the stage of being able to translate English rapidly and without a dictionary, let's hope that Labriola, Turati or some other friend will succeed in finding literary work for you so that you may at last get away from the poverty and isolation of Benevento. If only you could leave it and go to Rome or Milan, you would undoubtedly find something fairly quickly.

My preface was not at all easy to translate, containing as it did a number of expressions for which no definition, at any rate in the sense used by me, is to be found in the dictionary.

I cannot thank you enough for the assiduity with which you translate my works, thereby rendering a great service, not only to myself, but also to international relations between Italian and German socialists. You will shortly be getting something else from me, namely the English edition of *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus*[a] with a long new introduction which is to appear in German in the *Neue Zeit*.[461]

From the outset Fantuzzi seemed a sham to me. You would, I think, be well-advised to ask him to return the mss and corrected proofs,[467] for who knows whether he has any intention of printing anything else.

Very sincerely yours,
F. Engels

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[a] F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*.

## 202

## ENGELS TO JOHANN HEINRICH WILHELM DIETZ[468]

IN STUTTGART

London, 23 April 1892

Dear Mr Dietz,

Herewith a brief note in case you should wish to place the same before O. Wigand.[a]

Once the preliminaries have been settled, printing could begin, providing you agree that the book should appear, not only unaltered, but also without any addition save for a new preface and at most an occasional note. In that case you could send me the proofs in galley form and I should insert the annotations (footnotes) that were required.

Since the English edition has just come out, I have been able to satisfy myself that nothing more than this is required. A series of notes or an appendix such as would bring the book up to date would double its size, demand a year's study (which I cannot afford) and thus delay publication indefinitely. Moreover, *Capital*, Volume I, does the job perfectly adequately. Today the book is an historical document describing a certain stage of development and that is enough, the more so since in Germany we have reached much the same sort of stage today. Anything that needs to be said about this will be said in the preface.

Have you got a copy from which it can be printed?

The English edition (i. e. the one newly published over here, a reprint of the American edition) has now come out.

Awaiting your esteemed reply, I remain, yours most cordially

F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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[a] See next letter.

203

## ENGELS TO JOHANN HEINRICH WILHELM DIETZ

IN STUTTGART

London, 23 April 1892
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mr Dietz,

I beg to acknowledge your esteemed favour of the 20th inst. I also agree that you should, with Mr Otto Wigand's consent, arrange for the publication of the *Condition of the Working-Class in England* in your Internationale Bibliothek[469] on terms which remain to be settled in detail between ourselves.

I therefore look forward to seeing your proposals on the same and remain

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

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## 204

## ENGELS TO JOHANN HEINRICH WILHELM DIETZ[470]

IN STUTTGART

London, 27 April[a] 1892

Dear Mr Dietz,

I agree to the terms proposed in your esteemed favour of yesterday's date and shall later be sending you instructions regarding the amount of the fee.

If I understand you aright, we are also agreed that, while the book is to be published as it stands, I am to write 1. a new preface and 2. a brief footnote here and there as required to make the book *intelligible*, not bring it up to date.

This does not require express confirmation, provided my assumption is correct.

I have kept a reserve copy for printing purposes and am sending you this by registered book post.

With cordial regards,

Yours faithfully,
F. Engels

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## 205

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI PETERSEN

[IN COPENHAGEN]

[London, 3 May 1892]

Dear Mr Petersen,

I understand that it is possible even in prison for you to receive letters, and so I could not refrain from expressing to you my genuine

[a] 26 April in the ms.

sympathy on your conviction and imprisonment. Things are now much the same in Denmark as in other countries: where others are acquitted, a socialist is found guilty, and where others are given a month in prison, a socialist gets a year or several years, and hard labour into the bargain. This is proof that they fear us more and more, but it makes it no less unfortunate for those who are the victims of reaction.

Many thanks also for sending me *Arbejderen*. As I only rarely see *Social-Demokraten*, your paper has been my sole source of information as far as the situation in Denmark is concerned, and that has made it even more welcome to me.

The May Day festival went off well. I wish that you had been able to see the 600,000 people who were in Hyde Park the day before yesterday.[471] Every year the May Day parade becomes more impressive, showing that the time is fast approaching when we shall be strong enough to let things come to a decisive battle.

And now farewell. I hope that you are no worse off than German comrades usually are on similar occasions, so that it is at least bearable. It can scarcely be as bad as in England and America, or as good as in Paris in Sainte Pélagie. In any case we all hope that you will leave prison with your health unimpaired and that you will be fit enough to be with us on the next May Day.

With best wishes from Mrs Kautsky and me myself,

Yours, as ever,
F. Engels

First published, in Danish, in *Arbejderen*, No. 28, Copenhagen, 1892

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the Danish

Published in English for the first time

## 206

## ENGELS TO JOHANN HEINRICH WILHELM DIETZ

IN STUTTGART

London, 5 May 1892

Dear Mr Dietz,

In response to your favour of 28 April an unbound copy of the *Condition of the Working-Class in England* went off to you on the 2nd inst. *by registered mail*, done up in a strong wrapper; I trust you have received it.

From what you say, it is not clear *how much* of a free hand Wigand has given you as regards publication in the Internationale Bibliothek [469] — whether for one edition of a stipulated size or for as many, over as long a period, as you and I may agree. To judge by your afore-mentioned letter, the latter would appear to be the case. I would be much obliged if you could let me have further details; in matters of business it is important for me to know what my position is.

Cordial regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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207

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 5 May 1892

My dear Laura,

A few lines in a hurry. What was intended as a defeat for us here, has ended in a veritable triumph.[471] We had only two platforms on Sunday,[a] but they were the only ones that drew, both public and press. You will have seen our involuntary caricatures in the *Daily Graphic* I sent you.[472] Platform No. 14, the international platform, was the great success of the day. By a conspicuous piece of good luck, Roussel of the *Bourse du travail*[b] [57] was, it seems, sent out of the way of Prudent Dervillers and Argyriades by them and Adolphe Smith and came on our platform, so that we had *two* Frenchmen,[c] two Russians,[d] a German, Bernstein, an Austrian, Louise, a Pole, Mendelson and a Jew,[e] besides *la Española* Mrs C. Graham and the Britishers.[f]

The demonstration itself was immense, even compared with the two previous ones, and showed that things *are* moving here, though they move in that peculiar roundabout way in which the English delight.

In the evening we had the Mendelsons, Bernsteins, Tussy and Edward of course, and Bonnier brought Roussel, we were very jolly, had a Maibowle, and fat Roussel was effusively delighted, while Argyriades and Co. owned next morning to him, they had been bored to death in the company where they had, or rather had been, moved (*sans calembour*[g]!)

I am very anxiously awaiting the *Socialiste* to learn something about our electoral successes on May 1st in France,[429] the papers you sent me do not contain anything to go by, and surely if we had not secured majorities, we must have got in at least some minorities.

Anyhow I am glad the thing passed off quietly everywhere. The

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[a] 1 May - [b] Labour Stock-Exchange - [c] Paul Lafargue and Ferdinand Roussel - [d] Felix Volkhovsky and Sergei Stepnyak-Kravchinsky - [e] Shajer - [f] Edward Aveling, Eleanor Marx-Aveling, William Morris, Thomas Mann, Peter Curran and others - [g] this is not a pun

idea that the 1st of May is to be a day of rows and riots is a mere trap set by the bourgeois and we have no interest whatever to fall into that trap. We want to show our strength, that's all, as to when we are to use that strength, that's our business, not that of our opponents, if we can help it.

Thanks for the papers—Dinner Bell! I have Pumps, Percy and family here, so cannot write much, must take them out to see some of the sights they have missed so long in the Isle of Wight. They send their kindest regards to you and Paul. Ditto from Louise.

Ever yours,
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. and L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris 1959

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## 208

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

London, 7 May 1892

Dear August,

So we can expect to see you here on Saturday,[a] a week today.[473] Let's hope you instil so much confidence into Paulus[b] while afloat that he will regard the crossing via Ostend as a trial trip for the crossing to Chicago.[474] For if he plucks up enough courage, he could go straight on to Chicago by water *all the way*—from Liverpool to Montreal on the St Lawrence and thence through the Great Lakes, after which he would for ever be immune; for on the big, inland lakes even the most seasoned old salts are sea-sick and, when the four of us survived a storm on Lake Erie without being affected in that way,[443] we were regarded as prodigies by the entire company.

But if you imagine I now intend to reply to your three letters in detail and in writing, you are mistaken. Louise has just come back from

[a] 14 May - [b] Paul Singer

town bringing with her a tremendous thirst, so that we have ventured on a second mid-morning glass of beer and are in exceedingly merry mood. For it is very warm outdoors and hence we must, to use a Prussian expression, bring about a change.

You will be meeting Mendelson and his wife[a] who were here last Sunday and will also be able to go and converse with them at their house.

The fact that we had good weather for May Day and you did not, serves you right. You should have been over here and then you'd have been able to see what it looks like when 600,000 people foregather in one place[471]; it was really tremendous; and an impression like that leaves one in no state to sustain even such criticism as is called for by the deplorable scheming and squabbling before the event, and yet sustain it one must.

When you come over here, your doctor's orders will safeguard you against any sort of public speechifying, always assuming that you yourself abide by the said orders. You know how it is — anyone who lets himself be talked round on just *one* occasion, is lost for good and all.

Laura Lafargue writes to say that, while our chaps have so far been victorious in the French municipal elections[429] at a number of places, the real results, because of the second ballot, won't be known until next week. So far I haven't seen much about it in the press.

Well, mind you bring with you a pair of good horny hands; we have already written to the Board of Works, instructing them to put at our disposal sufficient ancient trees in the parks of London to enable you to uproot at least one a day for your breakfast.[475]

Cordial regards from Louise.

Your
F. E.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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[a] Maria Mendelson

## 209

## ENGELS TO JOHANN HEINRICH WILHELM DIETZ

IN STUTTGART

London, 12 May 1892

Dear Mr Dietz,

I am in complete agreement with your proposal of the 9th inst.[476] I for my part concede you the right, in so far as it is within my competence, to print 10,000 copies, in return for which you are to pay me the following fees:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| for | 2,500 | copies | M. 500 | in the autumn of 1892, after printing; |
| " | 2,500 | " " | 500 | in the New Year of 1893; |
| " | 5,000 | " " | 1,000 | after printing this second half, but *not later than 6 months* after printing has *begun*. |

In view of your agreement with Wigand which is, after all, still very vague, I think you have chosen the right procedure. Whether you now stipulate *one* edition or decide to do several is your own affair. I of course am much more concerned with placing the work before the public again than with the kudos of having numerous editions.

With cordial regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 210

## ENGELS TO STANISŁAW MENDELSON

### IN LONDON

[London,] 14 May 1892
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen Mendelson,

Sorge has written from New York to say that, of the ten pounds (five of them from you) we sent him for Anna,[a] he still has 19 dollars 64 cents left; he has returned me this sum, namely £ *4. 8s.*, by postal order. I am therefore sending you herewith a cheque for £ *2. 4s.* for your half.

Our friends Bebel and Singer arrive tomorrow and Bebel in particular has expressed a desire to see you — you and Mrs Mendelson. Perhaps you might care to do us the pleasure of having supper with us here on Sunday evening. If, by chance, you are engaged for Sunday, would you be so good as to fix a day and time when we could come and see you at your house.

With many good wishes from both Mrs Kautsky and me to Mrs Mendelson and yourself.

F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 38, Moscow, 1965

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] Stanisław Padlewski

## 211

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 17 May 1892

Dear Kautsky,

You will have got the postcard about Werner-Weiler.[477] Meyer told me directly after the Edinburgh Congress[478] that he had spotted Weiler there.

To apply that epithet to me was really very silly.[479] You would be doing a kindness to me and certainly to others as well, if you pointed out to him, at any rate for his future guidance, that he must accustom himself to our less grandiose terminology, failing which you will have to correct his stuff accordingly.

Hirsch is in Frankfurt all right and Meyer is in his debt since at Meyer's request he used to shout out at appropriate moments the admonition: 'Mr Meyer, you ought not to drink so much.' It was the funniest bosom friendship between a Jew — and what an archetypal Jew! — and an anti-Semite I have ever known. It still makes me laugh, just writing about it.

Now as to the business of Louise, I should, if I were you, let the matter rest.[480] That she bears your name is the result of your own voluntary action. That you are no longer together is likewise the result of your own initiative. That there is a possibility of mistaken identity is again entirely your own doing. She is now using the only name she is entitled to bear under Austrian law and I can see absolutely no reason why she should evade that necessity.

Let me be perfectly frank with you. All of us here, not least myself, have grown very fond of Louise, as was already the case when you were over here together. When the business of the divorce began, she behaved from beginning to end with a magnanimity we could not admire too greatly and, since arriving in this country, she has become so dear to me that I regard her just as I do Pumps, Tussy or Laura, just as though she were my own child. When you were here, she showed you that she bore you no grudge whatsoever. But enough is enough.

Nobody can expect her to bear whatever unpleasant consequences may arise from *your* actions. Were you to put to her what you told me in your letter and were she to come and ask my advice, my answer would be an uncompromising 'No!'

Mistaken identity has also occurred on the other side, but she merely laughed about it. And supposing she did oblige you, what would be the result? L*ou*ise Kautsky and L*u*ise Kautsky would be joined on the stage by yet a third Louise Strasser-Kautsky whereupon the comedy of errors would degenerate into pure farce. It would be of no help to *you*, while *she* would have to go into long explanations with all and sundry about the how, the who, the when and the wherefore.

So as I have said, let sleeping dogs lie. Your having parted is really quite a good thing and Louise is perfectly content with this state of affairs. But no one will ever be able to undo what you have done and it is you, after all, who must bear the consequences. And *this* particular consequence is really not so trying as to warrant any sort of fuss being made about it.

Tussy is of the same opinion and August, to whom I have shown both your letter and the foregoing,[473] is fully in agreement with it.

So don't worry, the whole thing will automatically right itself.

Your old friend,
F. Engels

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935

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## 212

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER

### IN DARMSTADT

London, 17 May 1892

Dear Mr Schorlemmer,

Not long ago I received the same curious letter from Carl [a] as you did, whereupon I approached his physician, Dr Gumpert, an old friend of Marx's and mine. He said that over a period there had been considerable changes in Carl's physical condition — as we had all noticed, added to which he had had a bout of influenza in the spring followed by all kinds of unpleasant after-effects. What struck him most of all was the very considerable time his system was taking to recoup the strength it had lost. It was not yet possible, he said, to diagnose any specific illness, but something appeared to be wrong and he would write again as soon as he had something more definite to tell me. Meanwhile there was no necessity for me to come to Manchester, as I had offered to do, nor did he himself wish it.

I haven't seen Carl since last summer; he was unable to come for Christmas on account of tinnitus which bothers him a great deal during lectures and examinations and is, he says, always aggravated by a trip to London. At Easter he went down with influenza and once again everything fell through. Dr Gumpert now says that, as soon as his condition permits, he will send him away from the smoke of Manchester. We may perhaps go somewhere together where the air is better, although I can't say anything about that yet.

I believe it would be best if you didn't let Carl know that we correspond about his health, for he seems to be very touchy. It would, I think, be best if you were again to write to him every now and then, giving him news from home and asking for news of himself. I shall be hearing from Gumpert from time to time, as promised, and shall then pass the information on to you with or without prompting.

August is over here and is staying with us. Paul the Stout [b] is also here, staying with the Bernsteins.[473] August is not available at this

[a] Carl Schorlemmer - [b] Paul Singer

moment, otherwise he would certainly have sent you his greetings; Mrs Kautsky warmly reciprocates your good wishes and I, too, should like to send you mine and would ask you to pass on my kindest regards to the rest of your family.

Yours,
F. Engels

My niece Mrs Rosher, known as Pumps, is also here and sends her best wishes to you all.

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## 213

## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

### IN VIENNA

London, 19 May 1892

Dear Victor,

I have reached an understanding with Dietz and he with Wigand in regard to a new edition of the *Condition of the Working-Class in England*, the initial benefit of which will be a fee of 1,000 marks. Dietz promises to pay $^1/_2$ in the autumn and $^1/_2$ in the New Year of 1893 but August, who is over here, believes we can get at least part of it out of him even sooner. Also an additional fee of some sort for *Neue Zeit* articles. Now I should like to pass this on to you Austrians but would take the liberty of making a few stipulations regarding its use; these I have discussed with August who agrees to them.

For even though I may be unfamiliar with the details, I know well enough for practical purposes that your activities on behalf of the Austrian party are being continually hampered by the inability of that self-same party to secure for you the material position that would permit you to devote all your time and energy to the cause. I also know

that the misfortunes you have met with of late have involved you in expenditure and that the party is unable to offer you the means with which to meet it. So I regard it as one of the prime conditions for the continued growth of the Austrian movement that you should be given an opportunity firstly to weather the present period of exceptional expenditure and, secondly, to secure for yourself, if possible, the necessary increase in pay which cannot yet be provided over there. The former is the more essential, but the latter is bound up with it. I should now like to put a suggestion to you, namely that the above fees should be placed at your disposal for either the former or the latter purpose or both — how they are to be used will then depend entirely on circumstances which you alone will be competent to judge. I need hardly add that there would then be no grounds for acknowledging in public, say, receipt of these sums.

I trust you will do me the pleasure of accepting my proposal. I know from my own experience, even though that was long ago, how greatly one's ability to work, will to work and time for work is restricted by the economic struggle for existence and we three[a] here are all of the opinion that you can do the Austrian party no greater service than to fall in with this little scheme.

Your May Day celebrations made a very good impression over here, the more so since Paris did not in fact participate this year as a result of the squabbles going on there. However Lafargue writes to say that in 22 places (the biggest being Roubaix and Marseilles where we got *everyone* home) we gained a majority on the city council — four hundred seats in the first ballot and a further 200 in the second.[429] The effect this has had can be gathered from the Orleanist *Soleil* which I am sending you.

Many regards, then, from

Your
F. Engels

First published in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*. Erstes Heft: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels*, Wien, 1922

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Published in English for the first time

[a] Frederick Engels, August Bebel and Paul Singer

Nr. 10.

Herr Friedrich Engels
in London

wird von den Unterzeichneten eingeladen, dem

# Sozialdemokratischen Parteikongreß

als Gast

beizuwohnen, welcher am 5., 6., 7. und 8., eventuell auch 9. Juni 1892 im Saale „Zu den drei Engeln", Wien, IV. Große Neugasse 36, tagen wird.

Die Zusammenkunft ist auf Grund des § 2 des Versammlungsgesetzes einberufen und ist darum der Zutritt nur gegen Vorweisung dieser Karte gestattet. Uebertragung derselben ist unstatthaft.

Im Mai 1892.

Die Einberufer: **Eduard Rieger**, Brünn; **Johann Resel**, Graz;
**Heinrich Englisch**, Krakau; **Anton Mankofsky**, Lemberg;
**Ferdinand Leitner**, Wien; **Johann Dolezsk**, Wien.

To the Congress of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party.
Invitation sent to Engels. 1892

## 214

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [141]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 19 May 1892

My dear Lafargue,

What a rottenly organised statistical service you have over there! In Germany we should have had the results 3-4 days after the 2nd ballot, whereas such information as is to be found in the *Socialiste* of the 15th is barely accurate and largely incomplete.[481] But that will come in time. You'll discover that nothing fires the imagination of the masses more than a splendid, well set out array of figures announcing electoral victories. In particular this is of prime importance when it comes to making workmen realise the extent to which universal suffrage lends strength to their arm. Don't forget to complete your statistics for 1 May 1892 — for comparison with the figures for the '93 parliamentary elections when they come out. If things improve, and of that I am convinced, you will see how effective it can be when friends and enemies alike are able to ascertain what advances have been made, how much ground has been won, in a year.

After all, the winning of 22 councils and 600 seats is not to be sneezed at![429] And the *Soleil* which you sent me and which, now that Bebel has finished with it here, is on its way to Adler in Vienna,[a] confirms as much in distinctly peevish terms. Bravo!

Now what have the others gained, the Broussists,[3] Allemanists,[53] Blanquists? The first must have had some success or lack of it at Chatellerault etc. etc., the second in the Ardennes, the Blanquists in Le Cher. Or did you include them in your list?

I congratulate you most of all on the fact that in France, too, Lassalle's 'single, compact, reactionary mass',[322] the all-party coalition opposed to the Socialists, is beginning to take shape. In Germany we have had this for years and in the big industrial centres the anti-Socialist mass is already mustering its forces for the 1st ballot so as to bar our way. The whole of Germany's official history, if we disregard the influence of young William's[b] entourage, a most heterogeneous

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[a] See this volume, p. 420.- [b] William II

camarilla which leads him a pretty dance, is shaped, on the one hand, by Socialist influence which is causing the bourgeois parties to combine into one large party of straightforward resistance and, on the other, by the interplay of divergent interests amongst those parties, which draws them apart from one another. The Reichstag's legislation is simply the product, the result, of the conflict between these two opposing currents, the second of which, the disintegrative current, is gradually dwindling to a trickle.

Well, the same old game is beginning in France. There is no better sign of progress, for it shows that they fear you, not as a riotous force liable to act on the spur of the moment, but as a regular, organised, *political* force.

I have had misgivings similar to those you express about the inexperience of the new councillors. After the wholesale replacement of an administration there is a period of between 6 and 10 months when the seats of power are occupied by the council's permanent employees who are quite prepared to let their new masters burn their fingers in experiments of a more or less dangerous nature. This is particularly the case where the new incumbents are Socialists. They should be advised to bide their time until they feel they can stand on their own feet in their new surroundings. Otherwise the old reactionary officials will wreck everything, and the blame will fall on our people.

As for the daily newspaper,[423] a fresh start must be made. I hope you will succeed better *NEXT TIME*. In any case, you will be able to set up your editorial headquarters. Are you going to have a 'political editor' — Guesde?

Have you really formed a group in the Chamber or is the matter still up in the air?

A thousand greetings from Louise and Bebel[473] to Laura and you. Give her a hug in my behalf and tell her that as soon as the telephone has been properly installed, I will use it to have a cask of Pilsner sent to her.

Yours,
F. E.

Singer too is here, he is staying with the Bernsteins.

LOUISE SAYS SHE WISHES LAURA WOULD TELEPHONE HER AN ARTICLE FOR VIENNA.

I have just received a letter from Gumpert on Schorlemmer. You will know that the latter has been physically and mentally sick for

4 years now. In the last two years he has been unable to come here either for Christmas or for Easter. Last year, when we were to go on a sea voyage round the British Isles, he was put out of action within the first 24 hours. Recently he wrote his brother[a] and me to tell us not to write him since he was unable to answer. In reply to my enquiry Gumpert informed me that he found Schorlemmer extremely feeble after what was a rather light case of influenza. Today he has written to tell me that this feebleness, physical and intellectual, is growing worse daily, that it is, in fact, senility pure and simple, that he had made him draw up his will, that he fears that within a very short time Schorlemmer's mental powers will be gone, and that the end is approaching. Poor devil! A talent of the first order fading away. You would not have recognised him had you seen him during these last few years—all his vivacity and good spirits are gone, he no longer takes an interest in anything. I am writing to his brother—he will be desperate. Imagine Schorlemmer dying of senility while his mother lives on in good health!

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Translated from the French

## 215

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER

IN DARMSTADT

London, 19 May 1892
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mr Schorlemmer,

I have just had a letter from Dr Gumpert who says that Carl's[b] condition has unfortunately changed for the worse. He tells me that Carl has become weaker and also less mentally alert, while the symptoms of paralysis in the left arm have grown steadily more marked over the past week. He very much doubts whether he will improve

[a] Ludwig Schorlemmer - [b] Carl Schorlemmer

sufficiently to be able to get away from Manchester to some place where he could build up his strength and breathe fresh air. Moreover his mental condition indicated so great a deterioration of his faculties that he (Gumpert) felt it essential to obtain from him the particulars required for a will; this was to have been drawn up by a solicitor yesterday and signed by Carl today. Apparently Carl is exceedingly apathetic and listless and expresses no desire whatever to receive any of his friends and Dr Gumpert has explicitly told me that, if I write to a member of his family in Germany, I am simply to say 'that no purpose would be served by any of the family's coming over'.

I hasten to inform you of this by the first post. I shall also write to Gumpert asking for further reports and, each time I get one, shall at once tell you what it says. Unfortunately the outlook is now very depressing and, since Gumpert is a highly skilled and, especially in diagnosis, highly experienced doctor, I fear we must be prepared for the worst. What will your poor old mother say, now that yet another of her sons is mortally ill? [482]

With warm regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 216

## ENGELS TO PAUL AND LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 27 May 1892

My dear Lafargue,

I congratulate you on your success. With your daily now under way [423] (unless you get thrown out again, which would be *your* fault

entirely this time), and with the provinces TO BACK YOU, you will conquer Paris under the noses of the Possibilo-Blanquists.

Bebel and Singer are here.[473] This morning I had a talk with Bebel on the subject of a German correspondent. If *you haven't yet written to Berlin about this matter*, we would ask you not to do so for the moment, but in the meantime to let us know what kind of information you require—reports on the situation in general and on that of the Party in particular?

As for me, I can only say that if you could get Bebel to act as your correspondent you would have reports of the utmost value. At the time of the Anti-Socialist Law [11] Bebel wrote a weekly report for Adler's *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in Vienna. Those reports were such that, before forming a definite opinion on an important fact or an important matter affecting Germany at that time, I would always try to read what Bebel had to say in his articles. It was clear, concise, TO THE POINT and always accurate.

Bebel would write in German and Laura would, I trust, translate. You would have *facts*, whereas all you would get out of Liebknecht would be hot air. And Liebknecht would pride himself on writing to you in French. You would correct his style and he would tell you that you had mangled his facts and ideas.

I shall write to Ravé as soon as I have received and read Roy's translation. It's a ticklish matter and I shouldn't like Laura's work to be wasted. What I have read of it is decidedly better than Roy's translation.[483] And then there's the question of a publisher! Has he got one? As for Ravé's promises, which he hasn't kept, he excuses himself on the grounds that he has been held up by the additions to the fourth edition. Anyway it's a pretty unpleasant business, which I can't really fathom at this moment. However we shall see.

*Now my dear Löhr a few words with you. In that new daily paper you are an absolutely necessary factor. If the thing is to be superior to the usual run of Parisian dailies, there must be somebody who follows closely from day to day, and reports on, from time to time, the English and German movement. And you are the only person in *toute la belle France*[a] who can do this. I have no doubt that you are perfectly ready to undertake this work, which fortunately can be done

[a] the whole fair country of France

very comfortably at Le Perreux, as it will not matter a bit whether *these* news, generally, are published a day sooner or a day later. But what I want to drive into you, poking your ribs with both my forefingers, is that you must be a regular member of the *rédaction*[a] and paid accordingly. Paul is too much of an hidalgo to think of, or to press, such matters, but '*it mun be done*' as they say in Lancashire, and I think it is my duty to call your and Paul's attention to it. The subject is too important to be neglected, and it will not be properly treated unless you are *rédactrice du Socialiste quotidien*[b] and charged with that special branch.

Bebel and Louise send their kindest regards.

Ever yours,*
F. E.

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Translated from the French

## 217

## ENGELS TO AUGUST SIEGEL

### IN MUIRKIRK

London, 28 May 1892
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Comrade,

Mrs Aveling got back safe and sound on Saturday when we were glad to hear that the business had been settled so quickly and satisfactorily. Naturally it was not your fault that the colliery MANAGER should have duped you, but let that serve as a warning never to reach a final settlement with the colliery management without having first consulted the Scottish miners and us down here. In this country the Ger-

[a] editorial staff - [b] editress of the daily *Socialiste*

mans are now reputed, not without some justification, to depress wages and provide blackleg labour more than any other nation and that is why Messrs Burt, Fenwick, etc., were determined not to find you work over here. Were the Germans in Muirkirk now to do anything at all that might serve to support this old anti-German prejudice, it would represent a most serious threat to international relations between Germans and Englishmen generally, and this applies not merely to the miners, but to the workers in all branches of industry. So if you wish to continue operating in the spirit of the labour cause, you must do your best to learn enough English to enable you to talk things over with the Scots without risk of misunderstandings and to keep in daily, and if possible hourly, touch with the Scottish workers. You will find the Scottish workers very honest, very stalwart and, provided only that you can talk things over properly with them, very reliable, so it behoves you to get on really friendly terms with them. The colliery managements, on the other hand, are much more artful and mendacious than in Germany and thrice as experienced when it comes to exploitation. But until you feel really confident about your English it would definitely be advisable for you to write *in German* to Mrs Aveling, 65 Chancery Lane, London, W. C. whenever you are in doubt about anything. She will be glad to place her experience of labour relations over here at your disposal.

It was fortunate that we had two Reichstag deputies and members of the Party Executive over here at that particular moment,[473] as they were able to intervence at once and advance the necessary funds. Otherwise the affair might have ended unpleasantly and brought great discredit on German workers throughout this country.

Mrs Aveling will also have told you that people in Germany are saying Schröder induced you to leave by citing all kinds of inaccurate reports and that as a result you threw away an excellent position, although the danger was not nearly so great as people would have you believe. I must say that I had suspected as much all along and should be very happy were a man like you not to be entirely lost to the German miners' movement. After all, you would be pretty sure of a Reichstag mandate and if, in course of time, you were to return and then, after a month or two in jug, do your best to keep the German miners on the right lines, it could only be to our advantage.

You will be getting some newspapers shortly.

Warm regards from Mrs Kautsky and myself to your wife, about whom Mrs Aveling has told us a great many nice things, and to you yourself.

Yours,
F. Engels

I don't mean, of course, that you should return to Germany this very instant; on the contrary it will be extremely useful if you acquire an intimate knowledge of labour relations over here and then, drawing on your own experience, point out to the Germans how much better off they would be, even in a capitalist economy, if only they stood up for themselves.

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## 218

## ENGELS TO SIR HENRY ENFIELD ROSCOE

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 28 May [1892]

Dear Sir Henry,

Many thanks for your note of yesterday.[484] Gumpert has in fact given me a full report of the consultation with Dreschfeld, whom already 3 or 4 weeks ago he had proposed to Schorlemmer to call in, but Schorlemmer would not hear of it. As both medical men agree perfectly in their diagnosis, I am afraid there is but little hope left to us.

I have my friend Bebel of the German Reichstag here staying with me until middle of next week,[473] and intend driving over to Manchester about Thursday[485] unless called before by Gumpert.

If I do not reciprocate the style of address employed in your note,[486] it is simply because that note is in the handwriting of a third party, and therefore an unintentional mistake not quite excluded.

Yours truly

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## 219

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER

### IN DARMSTADT

London, 28 May 1892

Dear Mr Schorlemmer,

I am not, alas, in a position to give you any better news today. Not only has Carl's [a] debility, both physical and mental, not diminished; it has actually increased, for which reason Gumpert has called in another physician, Dr Julius Dreschfeld of Mannheim, who is professor of medicine at Owens College [487] and is a great personal friend of Carl's. Unfortunately the opinion of this distinguished medical man is exactly the same as Gumpert's, namely that Carl's strength is gradually failing and that there is probably very little hope of his recovery. Since last Saturday Gumpert has kept him wholly confined to bed and has engaged a hospital nurse for him with whose work he declares himself completely satisfied. I myself propose, unless called before by Gumpert, to travel down to Manchester next Wednesday or Thursday [485] when, having seen for myself how things are, I should have more to tell you. But if Gumpert sends for me before then, I shall, of course, go down at once.

Bebel is still here and will be returning home with Singer in the middle of next week.[473] While here he has rallied very well, as was indeed essential for he was in fact very much run down. However, the doctor has forbidden him to speak in public for the next few months.

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[a] Carl Schorlemmer

And Bebel's strength has got to be spared—he's such a splendid chap and we shall never get another like him.

In about three weeks' time our chaps in Paris will have a big daily that will be able to bear comparison with the best newspapers; it is to be under the control of Guesde and Lafargue.[423]

Mrs Kautsky joins me in sending kind regards to your mother and to the rest of the family.

Yours,
F. Engels

Carl has made his will in which he leaves everything to his mother. Should you receive inquiries from England regarding Carl's manuscripts, I would most strongly advise you to make no promises of any kind before finding out what is involved from Dr Gumpert, myself or someone else whom you know well.

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## 220

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER

### IN DARMSTADT

London, 5 June 1892

Dear Mr Schorlemmer,

I arrived back from Manchester yesterday evening[485] and am sorry to say that I cannot give you any better news of Carl.[a] He is in bed and very apathetic, wants peace and quiet, but otherwise suffers no pain at all; he is not quite clear in the head and his memory often fails him, besides which he frequently misunderstands what is being said to him. I visited him six times, never for longer than five or ten minutes which is about as much as he can stand.

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[a] Carl Schorlemmer

I can now tell you something I have withheld from you hitherto, namely that in the past week or so he has been found beyond doubt to have developed a carcinogenic tumour of the right lung extending pretty much over the whole of the upper third of the organ. In consequence of the pressure of this tumour on the nerve ends and the larger blood vessels, the activity of the brain is impaired and the right arm paralysed and swollen. The existence of this tumour explains the earlier symptoms the intense debility following his influenza and the failure to overcome that debility. But unhappily the discovery of the cause deprives us of all hope that he may recover and now all we can wish is that the painless condition he is now in persists until the end. Gumpert says this could come at any moment, though again Carl might, in the absence of any complications, continue in his present state but growing steadily weaker for several more weeks and possibly even longer.

I have made sure that he is well looked after. The hospital nurse obtained for him by Gumpert appears to know her business properly and to be taking great care of him, quite unlike the London nurses, my experience of whom has not been exactly happy. Also the owners of the house where he has been living for the past fourteen years are doing everything that lies within their power. The landlord showed me his fairly voluminous mss and promised me faithfully that he would hand them over to Carl's executors[a] and to no one else. I spoke to one of these two executors, a chemist and an old friend of ours,[b] and told him what I thought should be done first—at the very outset to safeguard the manuscripts and the interests of the heirs thereto; he was in full accord with me, so that in that respect my mind is at rest. Since there are people about who would not be averse to pluming themselves with Carl's feathers and have, indeed, already made some attempt in that direction, I thought I ought to do all I could to frustrate them. More about this anon.

Should you or any other member of your family wish to set your minds at rest by coming over here and seeing with your own eyes how Carl is faring, Dr Gumpert would gladly do anything to make matters easier for you in Manchester, as I would here.

We have discovered that a niece of yours from Bordeaux is here in London, but have been unable to get her address out of Carl; would

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[a] Philipp Klepsch and Ludwig Siebold - [b] Ludwig Siebold

you be so good as to let us have it? We might be able to be of some use to the young lady.

I would also ask you to be so kind as to write at once (in German) to Dr Gumpert, whose address I give below, to say whether a telegram addressed to Ludwig Schorlemmer, Darmstadt, would reach you or whether a more detailed address is necessary and, if so, what it is.

With kind regards to your mother and to your whole family, I remain,

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

Dr Gumpert,
203 High Street, Oxford Road,
Manchester, England

Bebel and Singer went back to Germany on Wednesday.[a]

Mrs Kautsky likewise sends her most cordial regards.

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## 221

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 9 June 1892

My dear Löhr,

Your silence and Paul's is ominous—no news of any agreement signed on June 1 st—are your intelligent capitalists after all recalcitrant? In the meantime Bax who is editor of *Justice* for 2 months, heard of your paper[423] at Mottelers, where he met Bebel, Singer and our

[a] 1 June

lot, and in spite of our precautions, cautions and remonstrances, has blabbed it out in last No.[488]

Well, I am likely to wait until I get news from you, fortunately the weather is so hot, that waiting is not so very difficult, and rather less so than any more active proceeding—in the meantime I am in the agreeable position to hand you a little cash viz. £2.18.4, one third of £8.15.- proceeds of 180 Marks sent by Dietz as share of honorarium, for Marx's heirs, of the German edition of the *Misère de la Philosophie*. The translators[a] have all at once come to the consciousness that, for the first edition of that work, Mohr's heirs were not paid anything, so I was called upon to say what they were to have for both editions now on the coming out of the 2nd edition. After some correspondence we agreed that of the 300 Marks paid for the second, the two translators were to have 2/5 = 120 M. and the heirs 180 Marks = 3/5, which I believe is fair enough.[b] So herewith your cheque.

Tussy is in Plymouth for Gas Workers Annual Conference,[489] and Edward goes from there to Aberdeen, on an invitation to preach.[490]

I was in Manchester last week.[485] Poor Schorlemmer is dying. You know how changed he has been since that fall on boards the Flushing steamer which prevented his coming to Paris with Nimmy and Pumps. For the last two Christmases he could not come here. Even Easter he stopped at home and at last sent a letter: don't write, as I cannot reply! Then I wrote to Gumpert and learnt that he was getting weaker and that percussion brought out a dullness over the upper third of the right lung which, all other possibilities being excluded by the other symptoms, indicated the formation of a tumour. This diagnosis has turned out only too correct. Partial paralysis, oedema and low temperature of the right arm have set in in consequence of the pressure of the tumour on the *vena cava* and the *plexus brachialis*, while the left arm is relatively and the lower extremities perfectly free from these symptoms. His brain, too, is not quite clear, and sometimes very confused. At the same time he suffers no pain, hardly any uneasiness, and is gradually getting weaker. Gumpert thinks he may last some weeks yet, but may go off quite suddenly if any complication arises. It was impossible to converse with him more than 5-8 minutes, he wants rest, peace and quietness, and does not

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[a] Eduard Bernstein and Karl Kautsky - [b] See this volume, pp. 199 and 273.

take any interest in anything. I hope he will be spared any sufferings. His mother is still alive, she is 81 years old.

Well, my dear girl, do give us news, even if they are not exactly what you would like them to be, we want to know what is going on.

Vaillant called here on Monday morning, but evaded all further invitations or occasions for meeting me, I whall try to find out what brought him here.

We had Bebel and Singer here for a fortnight, and were very jolly.[473] You will have received the *Pall Mall* interview we sent you.[491]

We also send you the *Elend der Philosophie*,[a] 2nd edition.

Love from Louise, who would be thankful for an article,

and yours affectionately

F. Engels

Ditto to *M. le député*.[b]

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## 222

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 11 June 1892

Dear Baron,

I would have written to you about Schorlemmer before now had I not wished to go and see for myself first. This I did only last week[485], after August and Paul had left for home on Wednesday,[c] I went down to Manchester that same day. I had already heard from Gumpert, who is treating him, that he was confined to bed, was quite apathetic and was probably suffering from a carcinogenic tumour of

[a] *Poverty of Philosophy* - [b] Paul Lafargue - [c] 1 June

the right[a] lung. And so I found him, unresponsive, totally incurious, but entirely free from pain; at the same time his faculties were clouded and he often supposed himself to be somewhere else. More than 5 to 10 minutes' conversation (when for the most part he mechanically repeated what the other person said) was too much for him and rest was what he needed most. The tumour of the lung continuing to develop, there was a marked dullness on percussion, while pressure on the large blood vessels and on the plexus also produced, on the one hand, impaired activity of the brain and, on the other, paralysis and oedema of the right arm. While there is no oedema of the legs, they are exceedingly weak, the muscles being relaxed and wasted. He might last out for a few weeks in this condition, but again might be carried off any day by some complication or other. There is, of course, no hope. I have told his family as much as they need to know, and have made provisions for the safeguarding of his fairly extensive mss; this may give rise to some interesting arguments. Gumpert got him to make his will before it was too late.

So that's another of our best chaps on the way out. He had not been his old self for four years or more, and had increasingly lost interest in anything not immediately connected with his work, the mere pursuit of which cost him considerable labour. Moreover, he was often testy because of increasing deafness and a susceptibility to the draughts and chills by which that deafness was instantly aggravated. Last year I made one more attempt to induce him to take a sea trip to Scotland and Ireland, but before twenty-four hours were out he was laid low by relatively minor adversities and we had to abandon the project. The tumour of the lung, now plainly distinguishable, explains much of this, and likewise his debility after the bout of influenza last March, which marked the beginning of his final illness.

My translation of the introduction to the English version of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* is now finished; as soon as the book comes out (and why it isn't already out I cannot think), I shall send you the introduction for the *Neue Zeit*.[462] In the meantime I am sending you the Italian translation of the same book in the second edition published in Milan.

This country is swarming with congresses. On Thursday[b] Tussy and Aveling returned from the Gasworkers' Congress in Plymouth[489] where they couldn't have set a better example to the TRADE

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[a] 'left' in the ms. - [b] 9 June

UNIONISTS of the old stamp. A *Liberal* candidate, having given £10 towards a gasworkers' strike, or rather towards that of one of their factory workers' sections, asked to be admitted to the congress as an unofficial guest, a request ordinarily granted as a matter of course. The gasworkers, however, said *quod non*,[a] they wanted no truck with middle-class candidates, and the man had no *locus standi*[b] at their congress.

We've also got the miners over here.[492] The day before yesterday the Germans, including a *český towaryš*,[c] came to call on me. It was particularly unfortunate that Tussy shouldn't have been here to interpret and advise; I need tell you no more than that the chaps had fallen into the clutches of Julius,[d], who failed to understand anything that went on either in English or in French and, though unacquainted with conditions and people over here, had to pretend he understood everything and was acquainted with everyone, thus isolating the chaps almost completely. On top of that, they had with them an Anglicised German who cannot speak either language and is hand in glove with the old TRADES UNIONS. Fortunately the Avelings were present on the last and most important day. The ignominy of the English is plain for all to see: The Continentals are demanding 8 hours for *everyone* employed in the mines, the English ask it only for those working underground! That has now been established and the vainglory of the English about their superior TRADES UNION ORGANISATION has been punctured by themselves.

Kindest regards from

Your
General

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[a] no - [b] place - [c] Czech comrade - [d] Julius Motteler

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## ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER

### IN DARMSTADT

London, 16 June 1892

Dear Mr Schorlemmer,

I have received your letter of the 7th this month and have also heard from Gumpert who tells me he has had a line or two from you. Of Carl[a] he further says:

> 'As before, he suffers no pain at all, takes enough nourishment and sleeps well on the whole. During the past few days his faculties have been very clouded and he often forgets what has just happened.'

Otherwise there was no change. Not having heard from Gumpert since, I cannot be sure whether or not there has been any material change, but thought I would allay your anxiety by passing on the above note.

With cordial regards, in which I am joined by Mrs Kautsky, to you and all your family.

Yours,
F. Engels

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[a] Carl Schorlemmer

## 224

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[493]

### IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 18 June 1892

My dear Sir,

I have to thank you for your very interesting letters of 24 March, 30 April and 18 May,[494] and to ask your pardon for not replying to them sooner. But I have been extremely busy, so much so that I have not been able to devote one moment to III volume[a]—next week however I hope to return to it.

I believe that in reality we both agree perfectly as to the facts, and the bearing of these facts, which constitute the present economic condition of your country. Only you seem to have taken sundry *ironical* expressions of my last letter[b] as if they were seriously meant—especially what I said about sundry things serving in the end the cause of human progress. There is in reality no fact within history which does not serve human progress in one way or another, but it is after all an awfully round-about way. And so it may be with the present economic transformation of your country.

The fact I especially wanted to lay stress upon, is that the неурожай,[c] to use the official expression, of last year, is not an isolated and accidental occurrence, but a necessary consequence of the whole development since the close of the Crimean War, that it is a result of the passage from communal agriculture and domestic patriarchal industry to modern industry; and that it seems to me that this transformation must in the long run endanger the existence of the agricultural община[d] and introduce the capitalist system in agriculture too.

I conclude from your letters that, as to these facts themselves, you are agreed with me; as to the question whether we like them or not, that is another thing, and whether we do like them or not, the facts will continue to exist all the same. The more we leave our likings and dislikings out of the question, the better we shall be able to judge of the facts themselves and of their consequences.

There can be no doubt, but that the present sudden growth of modern '*grosse Industrie*'[e] in Russia has been caused by artificial

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[a] of *Capital*.- [b] See this volume, pp. 382-85.- [c] crop failure (Russ.).- [d] commune (Russ.).- [e] big industry

means, prohibitive duties, state subventions etc. The same has taken place in France, where the prohibitive system has existed ever since Colbert, in Spain, in Italy and, since 1878, even in Germany; although that country had almost completed its industrial transformation when, in 1878, the protective duties were introduced in order to enable the capitalists to compel their inland customers to pay them such high prices as would enable them to sell, abroad, for less than cost price. And America has done exactly the same, in order to shorten the period during which American manufacturers would not be in a position to compete on equal terms with England. That America, France, Germany and even Austria will be enabled to arrive at conditions where they can successfully fight English competition in the open market of the world at least in a number of important articles, of that I have no doubt. Already now France, America and Germany have broken the industrial monopoly of England to a certain extent, which is felt here very much. Will Russia be able to attain the same position? Of that I have my doubts, as Russia, like Italy, suffers from the absence of coal in industrially favourable localities, and moreover, as you develop so well in yours of 12 (24) March, has quite different historical conditions to contend with. But then we have the other question to answer: Could Russia, in the year 1890, have existed and held its own in the world, as a purely agricultural country, living upon the export of her corn and buying foreign industrial products with it? And there I believe we can safely reply: *no*. A nation of 100 millions that plays an important part in the history of the world, could not, under the present economic and industrial conditions, continue in the state in which Russia was up to the Crimean War. The introduction of steam engines and working machinery, the attempt to manufacture textile and metal products by modern means of production, at least for home consumption, *must* have been made sooner or later, but at all events at *some* period between 1856 and 1880. Had it not been made, your domestic patriarchal industry would have been destroyed all the same by English machine competition, and the end would have been—India, a country economically subject to the great central workshop, England. And even India has reacted by protective duties against English cotton goods; and all the rest of the British colonies, no sooner had they obtained self-government, than they protected their home manufactures against the overwhelming competition of the mother country. English interested writers cannot

make it out, that their own free-trade example should be repudiated everywhere, and protective duties set up in return. Of course, they *dare* not see, that this, now almost universal, protective system is a—more or less intelligent and in some cases absolutely stupid—means of self-defence against this very English Free Trade, which brought the English manufacturing monopoly to its greatest height. (Stupid for instance in the case of Germany which had become a great industrial country under Free Trade and where protection is extended to agricultural produce and raw materials, thus raising cost of industrial production!) I do not consider this universal recurrence to protection as a mere accident, but as a reaction against the unbearable industrial monopoly of England; the *form* of this reaction, as I said, may be inadequate and even worse, but the historical necessity of such a reaction seems to me clear and evident.

All governments, be they ever so absolute, are *en dernier lieu*[a] but the executors of the economic necessities of the national situation. They may do this in various ways, good, bad and indifferent; they may accelerate or retard the economic development and its political and juridical consequences, but in the long run they must follow it. Whether the means by which the industrial revolution has been carried out in Russia, have been the best for the purpose, is a question by itself which it would lead too far to discuss. For my purpose it is sufficient if I can prove that this industrial revolution, in itself, was unavoidable.

What you say about the necessary accompaniments of such tremendous economic changes, is quite correct, but it applies more or less to all countries that have gone or are going through the same process. Exhaustion of the soil—*vide* America; deforestation—*vide* England, France, and at the present moment Germany and America; change of climate, drying-up of rivers is probably greater in Russia than anywhere else on account of the level nature of the country that supplies these enormous rivers with water, and the absence of an Alpine snow-reservoir such as feeds the Rhine, Danube, Rhône and Po. The destruction of the old conditions of agriculture, the gradual transition to capitalistic farming on large farms, are processes which are completed in England and East Germany and now proceeding everywhere else. And it seems to me evident that *la grande industrie en Russie tuera la commune agricole*,[b] unless other great changes occur

[a] in the end - [b] Russian big industry will do away with the agricultural commune

which may preserve the община.[a] The question is, will there be time for such a change in public opinion in Russia, as will make it possible, to graft modern industry and modern agriculture upon the община and at the same time to modify the latter in such a way that it may become a fit and proper instrument for the organization of this modern production and for the transformation of such production from a capitalistic to a socialised form? You will admit that to even think of carrying out such a change, a tremendous progress has first to be made by the public opinion of your country. Will there be time to effect this, before capitalistic production, aided by the effects of the present crisis, undermines the община too deeply? I have no doubt whatever that in a good many districts the община has recovered from the blow it received in 1861 (as described by V. V.[495]). But will it be able to resist the incessant blows dealt to it by the industrial transformation, by rampant capitalism, by the destruction of domestic industry, by the absence of communal rights of pasture and woods, by the transformation of the peasants' *Naturalwirtschaft*[b] into *Geldwirtschaft*,[c] by the growing wealth and power of кулаки[d] and мироеды[e]?

I have to thank you too for the books you were kind enough to send me, especially Kablukov and Karyshev.[f] At the present moment I am so overworked that I have not been able, for 6 months, to read through one single book in any language; I keep your books for my time of rest in August. What you say about Kablukov seems to me perfectly correct,[496] as far as I can follow it without reading the book itself. The agricultural labourer who has no land of his own, no hired land, finds employment for only a portion of the year, and if he is paid *for this work only*, must starve the whole unemployed time, unless he has other kinds of work to do during that time, but modern capitalist production takes every chance of such work from him. This difficulty is got over, as far as possible, in the following way in Western and Central Europe: 1) the farming capitalist or landowner keeps a portion of the labourers, all the year round, on his farm and feeds them as much as possible with its products, so as to spend but little actual money. This is done to a great extent in North East Germany, in a lesser degree here in England, where however the climate admits of

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[a] commune (Russ.) - [b] subsistence economy - [c] money economy - [d] kulaks (Russ.) - [e] bloodsuckers (Russ.) - [f] Н. [А.] Каблуковъ, *Вопросъ о рабочихъ въ сельскомъ хозяйствѣ*; Н. [А.] Карышевъ, *Крестьянскія внѣнадѣльныя аренды*.

a good deal of agricultural work being carried on in winter. Moreover, *in capitalist farming*, there is a good deal of work to be done on a farm even in winter.—2) Whatever is still required to keep the agricultural labourers alive, and only just alive, during winter, is often enough procured by the work of the women and children in a fresh kind of domestic industry (see *Capital*, I vol., ch. 13, 8, d[a]). This is the case in the South and West of England, and for the small peasantry, in Ireland and Germany.—Of course, while the transformation is proceeding, the disastrous effects of the separation of agriculture from domestic patriarchal manufacture are most striking, and that is the case with you just now.

This letter is already getting too long for me to enter into the details of yours of 18th May, but it seems to me that there too your facts prove the ruin of the peasantry and with that, also, at least for a time, the exhaustion of the soil. I quite agree with you that both these things are now proceeding with increasing rapidity. If the present system continues the end must be the ruin of both помещики[b] and мужики,[c] and the rise of a new class of bourgeois landed proprietors. But there is another side to the question which I am afraid *Вестникъ Финансовъ*[d] does not engross upon. That is the state of the public finances. The last loan in Paris (1891) was to bring 20 millions £ st. They were oversubscribed several times, but the report goes here that in reality only 12 millions were paid up, and 8 millions never reached the Petersburg exchequer.[302] If that happened in France after Cronstadt,[288] what is to happen when the next loan has to be negotiated? And can that new loan be long delayed after the tremendous sacrifices that were forced on the treasury by the неурожай[e]? *Vyshnegradsky serait-il Calonne, et y aurait-il un Necker après lui?*[f]

Very sincerely yours,

P. W. Rosher[g]

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 35. - [b] landowners (Russ.) - [c] peasants - [d] *Financial Courier* - [e] crop failure (Russ.) - [f] Will Vyshnegradsky prove to be Calonne, and will there be a Necker after him? - [g] Engels' conspiratorial pseudonym

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London, 18 June 1892

Dear Sorge,

I don't know whether I have already acknowledged receipt of your letter with money order postmarked 28 April and your card of 3 May; what with so much correspondence and other unforeseen events, I am somewhat at sea. The money arrived all right and I have repaid Mendelson the half that was due to him.[497]

During the second half of May we had Bebel here, likewise Singer who stayed with the Bernsteins.[474] We had a very jolly time and discussed everything there was to discuss relevant to the German movement. I am in complete accord with Bebel; we see eye to eye about almost everything and, if not, are quickly agreed, as indeed has been the case for years with this clear-sighted man who not only sees things as they really are but has also acquired a remarkable grasp of theory. Nor has he ever been any trouble to me. Singer possesses considerable practical vision and dexterity in his own sphere but if he departs from it, he's apt to blunder; however, in this respect he is perfectly willing to be guided by Bebel whose superiority he freely acknowledges. Both men have not only realised, but have learnt from practical experience, that Liebknecht is only fit for the scrapheap and has become a positive impediment to the party. He has been marking time for years, whereas the party has made tremendous strides — also in the field of theory, as all its literature (even the smaller newspapers, somewhat to my surprise) goes to show. This had been known to me for a long time, but what could I do? Upon the abolition of the Anti-Socialist Law,[11] Liebknecht *was*, quite ineluctably, editor of the *Vorwärts* which he now edits atrociously, and the worst of it is that they can't get rid of him without wreaking more havoc than he is doing already. I have advised them to pension him off as decently as they can but, aside from any other difficulties, he will dig his heels in. Well, we shall just have to let things take their course; luckily the party is now

robust enough to withstand a good deal of stress, and in the end things will resolve themselves one way or the other.

The above is, of course, written *in the strictest confidence and solely for your own consumption.* You will realise to what lengths things have gone when I tell you that Liebknecht considers all the members of the Party Executive to be enemies who are intriguing against him — save, perhaps, for Singer who, however, sees just as plainly as anyone else what the position is. I feel sorry for Liebknecht, but I have seen this coming for years and he has only his own pig-headedness to blame. Any of our people would gladly make him a bridge of gold and we can only hope that he will eventually realise this.

The German and Austrian miners' delegates to the international congress here [492] have been to see me a couple of times — two Westphalians, a Rhinelander from the Saar, a Saxon and a Czech. For the most part good, sound men just as Siegel, who is now working in Scotland, was a good, sound chap. The miners make a splendid addition to our ranks — all sturdy chaps and most of them ex-soldiers and enfranchised. The only snag lies in the many Wasserpolacken [498] and other Poles (Dortmund district 22,000, Essen district 16-18,000), Ultramontanes to a man and stupid as they come, but it's only a transitory ill; in the long run they too will become involved and will then constitute a disaffected element in Upper Silesia, Posen [a] and West Prussia.

I look forward to hearing more about the gerrymandering in your presidential elections.[499] Never before have I had such an opportunity to observe the *modus operandi* [b] and this time I shall be on the qui vive. Having once thoroughly investigated the thing, one would know what was happening on subsequent occasions.

I have not yet written to Dietz about your business, firstly because your articles [500] are not yet ready, secondly because I have been having to correspond with him about his new edition, now shortly due, of the *Condition of the Working-Class in England* [c] and didn't want to get the two things mixed up, thirdly because Bebel told me that he, Dietz, had not done very well out of republishing stuff from the *Neue Zeit*, and fourthly because I may very possibly be going to Stuttgart with Bebel in August, when I should see Dietz in person.[d] However, I feel sure that someone will be glad to publish your work, particular-

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[a] Polish name: Poznań - [b] method of operation - [c] F. Engels, *Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England*, Stuttgart, 1892. - [d] See this volume, pp. 489-92.

ly if you include some new material and thus make it a third or half as long again. Should I fail to arrange things with Dietz (though I'm sure I won't), the *Vorwärts* book publishers in Berlin would take it. In my view, the additional bits should primarily aim at supplementing the factual material, while in the *book* you would be able to express yourself more freely about the follies of the German Socialist Labor Party [133] than you might have deemed advisable in the *Neue Zeit*.

I am glad that your wife [a] is getting better. Here too the winter has taken a heavy toll, notably as a result of influenza. Our friend Schorlemmer never recovered from his attack and now has cancer of the lung so that he's unlikely ever to get up again. A fortnight ago when I visited him,[485] the poor chap's physical and mental powers were failing him and he was confined to bed, but luckily he feels no pain and we can only hope that this will last up till the end which, alas, cannot be far off.

Warm regards to you and your wife from Louise and

Your
F. Engels

I have several times heard from Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky.

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[a] Katharina Sorge

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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL[501]

### IN BERLIN

London, 20 June 1892

Dear August,

Herewith the *Judenflinten*[502] under sealed cover, for if sent by book post they might well be confiscated.

Schorlemmer is still so-so. I found him weak, apathetic, his faculties slightly clouded, but not otherwise in pain. Gumpert writes to say that the lung tumour is growing slowly but surely, with (due to pressure on the big arteries which should carry back the blood from the upper part of the body to the heart) a concomitant disturbance of cerebral activity; also apathy and loss of memory. He is still taking sufficient nourishment, however, so that, barring accidents, things might go on as they are for some little while.

The fact that Warken is still holding his own in the *Saar* ought not to surprise you in view of the fact that Schröder is able to hold his own in the *Ruhr*. I wrote a line or two to Siegel telling him what Bunte had said to you about his flight.[a] Siegel sent that letter to Schröder along with a wholly guileless letter of his own saying that Bunte had been caught embezzling money, and Schröder gave me both of them — Siegel's and my own — to read. Whether it's true about Bunte I don't know. At all events you can see that Schröder is still firmly in the saddle. In the case of so young a movement as that of the miners, one ought always to consider carefully whether it wouldn't be better to give untried johnnies like Schröder and Warken enough rope to hang themselves, or at any rate enough to provide us with definite, tangible evidence against them. And there's really nothing new in that, for wherever the movement arises anew the first leaders to push their way to the fore are more often than not place-seekers and blackguards.

Bax is now editor of *Justice* and will remain so until the end of July; and it is now a decent paper; yesterday it gave a decent mention to Aveling's speeches in Aberdeen,[490] while internecine strife (i. e. indirectly Hyndman himself) was condemned.[503] Indeed, yesterday Bax

[a] See this volume, p. 429.

came hurrying round here in order to get his pat on the back, as the Witch, with her keen nose for such things, had prophesied the moment she set eyes on the paper. What Hyndman actually has in view is not yet very clear to me. Most likely he realises that he's been compromised by his previous policy and that a change of front is called for. His paper is running at a loss, his SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION [29] isn't getting anything like its share in the general growth of the movement over here — a share which would entitle it to take over the leadership; nor is it succeeding in its rivalry with the FABIANS [87] — on the contrary, it has been left in the lurch, and will continue to be so left, by its foreign allies Brousse and Gilles. In short, he might well deem it advisable to turn elsewhere and seek a rapprochement with us. That would be very far from pleasant for, as I have told anybody who was prepared to listen, I would far sooner have Hyndman for an enemy (when he is virtually powerless) than for a friend (when one has to keep a constant and very time-consuming watch on him). Another thing that may have impelled him to adopt this course is the total loss of any electoral prospects in Chelsea from which he proposed to oust Sir Charles Dilke but where Quelch, the test candidate put forward by Hyndman in the COUNTY COUNCIL elections,[412] polled only 153 votes, since which time he has abandoned all hope. At all events Hyndman will find it difficult in August to resume the old attitude so publicly disavowed by Bax in the self-same paper, nor could or should he do so if he wishes to compete successfully with the FABIANS. Well, we shall see.

Over here we are already in the thick of the electoral fray [504] and the TORIES and Liberal Unionists [505] are proferring an abundance of money so as to provide Labour candidates with cash and thereby enable them to steal votes from the Liberals. Champion, one of the TORIES' chief agents in this respect, offered Aveling the means to contest Labouchère's seat in Northampton but needless to say Aveling refused. These financial blandishments have put the Labour leaders into a state of tremendous excitation and such of the good fellows as think they can get something out of it are tussling with their consciences in an attempt to convince the latter that there is after all some honest way of accepting TORY money without blushing, though admittedly the blushing is mainly due to the fear of eventually doing themselves more harm than good. Knowing the extent to which all political life over here is riddled with parliamentary corruption, one can only wonder that the chaps should feel even this modicum of shame.

True, the Horlacherliesl[a] is closely related to the Witch; nevertheless, I still prefer the latter. Greatly though Anzengruber may on occasion idealise his Austrian peasant, and uncommonly restricted though the background may be against which his excellent dramas take place, nevertheless one is painfully aware of the separation of that splendid race from the rest of Germany and of the necessity for reunification which, however, only we are capable of bringing about.

Well, I wish I could drop Mrs Julie,[b] honorary bookkeeper,[506] a couple of lines to thank her for her last letters which have, alas, not yet had an answer, but I am up to my eyes in work. I have two more long and somewhat ticklish letters to write after which I intend at long last to get down to Volume III.[c] Hence I have got to put on one side all the correspondence that merely gives me pleasure and devote myself solely to business matters. So be my advocate with your wife and don't let her be too angry with me. I shall make up for it, if possible before I come to Berlin, but otherwise when I get there; I look forward so much to meeting her and know in advance that we shall get on very well. So warm regards to her and yourself from both of us.

Your old
General

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[a] A personage from Ludwig Anzengruber's comedy *G'wissenswurm*. - [b] Julie Bebel - [c] of *Capital*

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 25 June 1892

Dear Baron,

As regards the business of the name,[480] you misunderstand me if you imagine that I looked upon Louise's acceptance of your proposal as a sacrifice she would be making on your behalf. What I wished to imply was that in my view a request of that kind ought not in the circumstances to have emanated from *you*. So far as you are concerned, Louise has unquestionably done more than anybody could have asked of her, on top of which she received you over here in a way that evidently came as a surprise to you yourself, and re-established you both on a footing that made social intercourse possible without embarrassment or constraint, both between the two of you and between us and yourselves. So why go and drag up the old business again for the sake of something so trivial? A divorced woman's social position is quite bad enough in any case, for if she is to rehabilitate herself, she must, in accordance with present-day ideas, show proof to all and sundry that *she* is not the 'guilty party'. And don't you see that a divorced woman must feel deeply hurt if the man from whom she is divorced demands that she bear in public, not her lawful name, but another which, furthermore, he presents to her cut and dried?

I know nothing about the practice of divorced women to which you refer. All I know is that Johanna, née Mockel, later wife of Matthieux (whom she divorced), and subsequently of Kinkel, used no other name than J. Matthieux from the time of her divorce up till her marriage to Kinkel and that all her published songs, etc., appeared under that name.

As to *la* Schack, she simply made use of the aristocratic privilege conferred on her by the Prussian Civil code. Part II, Title I, § 740 reads:

> 'If she (the divorced woman) has not been held to be the guilty party, she may revert to *the higher rank* she bore before her marriage.'

And § 741:

'In general the woman may choose, *especially in the case of § 740*, whether she wishes to reassume her former maiden name or her deceased husband's name.'

Even should *la* Schack have become or remained a Swiss, she could assert this right in Prussia and invoke it outside Prussia.

*La* Wischnewetzky *never* dropped the name of Kelley; if she has now dropped the Wischnewetzky, she was able to do so because in America they base themselves on English common law, according to which A MAN'S NAME IS WHAT HE IS KNOWN BY, as Sam Moore would say, and may be changed at will.

So none of this applies to Louise who, as it happens, is committed to the Austrian police state which will not permit her to bear any name other than your own.

But why on earth should Louise now be expected to oblige you by bearing in public a name other than her lawful one? Does that mean that every female Kautsky who appears in public must necessarily be your wife? And since the world is in any case unfamiliar with your present wife's Christian name,[a] ought not your mother[b] also to individualise herself by using a different name to indicate that she is not your wife? The world is divided into two parts — those who know your wife and those who don't. The former *know* that the London Louise Kautsky, the Louise Kautsky of the *Arbeiter-* and the *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung*, is *not* your wife, while the latter will be in no way enlightened as to this by the proposed change of name, since they cannot know what your wife was 'née'.

I have informed Louise that you have told me the matter is dead and buried so far as you are concerned. I fear that so far as she is concerned that is not the case. I fear that by dragging up this business you have awakened so many memories that it will not be so easy to bury them again. By demanding what you did you have wounded Louise deeply, so deeply, I fear, that you will be unable to make amends. She has constantly nursed that wound and now intends to write to you herself.

Sonnenschein doesn't want to do anything about the English *Entwicklung*[c] until *after* the election.[504] But then comes the silly season over here, so nothing can really materialise until the end of September. I shall therefore again write to Sonnenschein asking for *definite* information and shall then send you the ms.[461] which you can have

[a] Luise - [b] Minna Kautsky - [c] F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*.

set provisionally but *not publish* before the date of which I shall also then inform you.

I have heard nothing further about poor Schorlemmer; whatever has happened, there has been no significant change.

Very many thanks for your information *re* Sorge-Dietz.[500] It was important to me because Sorge has not yet reported on the progress of the negotiations being conducted through you and I had to know about this before I myself could do anything. Dietz is much too preoccupied with selling in bulk. If he wishes to be the publisher of the *scientific* socialists, he must set up a section where there is also room for books which sell more slowly, otherwise we must find someone else. Genuinely scientific literature cannot reach sales in the tens of thousands and the *publisher* must arrange things accordingly.

Much confusion still prevails in the elections here. Nevertheless the Liberals are being taught their *first* lesson by Labour.

Your
General

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## 228

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

[London,] 27 June 1892

Our good Schorlemmer died peacefully this morning. I'm going down tomorrow.[507]

There will be an obituary in the *Vorwärts*.[a]

Your
F. E.

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## 229

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER

IN DARMSTADT

Manchester, 30 June 1892
203 High Street, Oxford Road

Dear Mr Schorlemmer,

The first news of Carl's death on the 27th of this month will already have reached you from Gumpert. I got here yesterday[507] and learnt that a post-mortem had been carried out at the request of the doctors and that the earlier diagnosis — cancer of the right lung — had been fully confirmed by the findings. In accordance with the wishes of the faculty who, along with the students, would like to attend but would be prevented from so doing by an important examination on Thursday, the funeral will not take place until Friday[b] at 11.30 a. m. Gumpert has already seen to the wreath you ordered by telegram and its

[a] F. Engels, 'Carl Schorlemmer', *Vorwärts*, No. 153, 3 July 1892. - [b] 1 July

ribbon will bear the words: 'To their dear Carl — his mother, brothers and sisters.'

I myself shall be laying a wreath on behalf of the Executive of the German Social-Democratic Party.

This afternoon I put his papers into some sort of order, in so far as they have to do with business matters, so that I shall be able to discuss the more important points with the executors.[a] I have also put his manuscripts in order so far as I could; there is a fair number of them, but I dare say a good many are already in print.

I did not see Carl again. By the time I got there this morning the coffin had already been screwed down.

There is one matter upon which you may all set your minds completely at rest — nowhere could he have received better care than the care that was given to him and no one could possibly have had a more painless illness or a more peaceful end. It only remains for us to keep his memory alive in our hearts and in the world at large. Tomorrow I shall send an obituary to the *Vorwärts*.[b] The excellent obituary in the *Manchester Guardian* which Gumpert sent you was by Dr Schuster, a former student of his and more recently a colleague as lecturer in physics.

So good-bye for today. You will be with us in spirit on Friday and I shall certainly be thinking of his mother, brothers and sisters. It is a grievous and bitter loss to us all, but was a foregone conclusion months ago. With that we must console ourselves.

With warm regards to your mother and all his brothers and sisters.

Yours,
F. Engels

I shall write again after the funeral.[c]

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[a] Philipp Klepsch and Ludwig Siebold - [b] F. Engels, 'Carl Schorlemmer', *Vorwärts*, No. 153, 3 July 1892. - [c] See next letter.

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## ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER

IN DARMSTADT

[Manchester,] 1 July 1892
203 High Street, Oxford Road

Dear Mr Schorlemmer,

I am writing to you directly after Carl's[a] funeral which took place this morning. It was an imposing procession, first the carriages with personal friends, including the executors,[b] Dr Gumpert and Carl's landlord, then the faculty of Owens College,[487] virtually all of whom were represented, also Roscoe, then a large number of his students past and present. The executors had asked Mr Steinthal, a Unitarian (akin to our Free Congregations[508]) minister to conduct the burial service and say a few words at the graveside, which in fact he did most impressively — he was a good friend of Carl's. If the address doesn't appear in tomorrow's papers, Gumpert will send you a copy of it. Numerous very beautiful wreaths had been sent; apart from those from the family and the Party Executive in Berlin there was one huge and most beautiful wreath bearing the inscription: 'From the Germans in Manchester to their Illustrious Compatriot'; also one from his former students, one from the students of his last course, from his colleagues, etc.

I was asked on arrival whether I had any objections to the proposed arrangements for a funeral of this kind, maintaining as it did at least a semblance of Church practice. They felt that this was how they could best conform to the wishes of the family. I cannot say that I was particularly delighted with the plan, but circumstances being what they are here in Manchester, I had no alternative but to reply that it was up to the executors to decide and that if the ceremony was to be performed in a conventional setting, then Steinthal was undoubtedly by far the best man for it and he did, in fact, acquit himself quite admirably. Had I protested I might perhaps have been respon-

[a] Carl Schorlemmer - [b] Philipp Klepsch and Ludwig Siebold

sible for a wholly unecclesiastical funeral. But in the first place I did not know whether this would have been acceptable to *all* the members of your family. Secondly, the entire responsibility would in that case have devolved upon myself; *I* alone would have had to speak and the emphasis would not have been on Schorlemmer the chemist but on Schorlemmer the *Social-Democrat* and in the circumstances it was certainly preferable to play down the Social-Democrat in order that the chemist might be given his full due. The entire English bourgeois press would have said that I had exploited Carl's death for the purpose of a pointless and useless socialist demonstration in front of an audience that felt cool if not actually hostile towards *me* and towards socialism, yet was compelled to keep silent out of respect for the open grave. And since I dislike all demonstrations, however unavoidable, it would have been utterly repugnant to me to allow the funeral of a dear friend to degenerate into an intrusive demonstration. It would of course have been different had Carl himself made stipulations in his will. However the scarlet bows bearing the inscription 'From the Executive of the German Social-Democratic Party' were eloquent enough; they stood out in garish contrast to the white flowers and bows of the other wreaths and were in any case grossly at variance with British custom.

I have today shown Mr Philipp Klepsch, one of the executors (both are German), all the papers. We settled one or two further matters and discussed the more important points, which means that I can return to London tomorrow.

The will must now be registered at the Court of Probate and estate duty will have to be paid. Not until then can anything further be done.

I have arranged with Mr Klepsch that family letters should be returned to you. If you have any wishes regarding other mementoes, perhaps you would write to him,

Ph. Klepsch,

c/o Stadelbauer & Co., Manchester.

In case you might want them, I also suggested that he should keep for you the various writings Marx and I inscribed and presented to him.

As regards the manuscripts and publishers' contracts, more anon. Warm regards to your mother and the whole family.

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 231

## ENGELS TO STANISŁAW MENDELSON

### IN LONDON

[London,] 4 July 1892
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen,

I have this minute received a letter from Bebel with a communication for you, which I am sending on at once.[509] I trust you will receive the money through the Deutsche Bank (which has, I believe, a branch here in London) and that you will be able to decipher Bebel's writing. If not, perhaps you might care to return me the letter so that I can transcribe it into characters of a more international nature.

My compliments, as also those of Mrs Kautsky, to Mrs Mendelson.[a]

Yours ever,
F. Engels

Bebel was not immediately able to lay his hands on your address, which is why he sent the bank's statement of sale to me.

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[a] Maria Mendelson

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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL [501]

IN BERLIN

London, 5 July 1892

Dear August,

You forbid me to write to you,[510] i. e. I am to give up the only correspondence I always find enjoyable and, instead, hammer away at the letters which bore me. But I'm not going to do it simply to oblige you.

And even if I were so docile, the *Vorwärts*' colossal howlers [511] about the elections over here [504] would make me fly off the handle. To say nothing about it would be really too deplorable. For the *Vorwärts* has now actually succeeded in transforming South Paddington into a *rural district* of London — South Paddington which is situated right in the middle of the town, slightly to the north of Hyde Park and west of Regent's Park, and in which the only rural districts are a couple of green SQUARES — about as rural as the Dönhoffplatz [a]!

The England of the *Vorwärts* exists only in the imagination of the writer. The view that the TORIES of today are more favourable to the workers than are the Liberals is the reverse of the truth. On the contrary, all the Manchesterian prejudices [512] of the Liberals of 1850 are today articles of faith only to the TORIES, while the Liberals know very well that if they are to survive as a party they must capture the Labour vote. Because they are jackasses, the TORIES can, from time to time, be induced by an outstanding man such as Disraeli to carry out a bold coup of which the Liberals would not be capable; but in the absence of an outstanding man it's the jackasses among them who rule the roost, as at present. The TORIES are no longer simply the tail of the big landowners, as they were up till 1850, for between 1855 and 1870 the sons of the Cobdens, Brights, etc., of the upper middle classes and the Anti-Corn LAW men,[513] have one and all gone over to the TORY camp, and the strength of the Liberals now lies in the dis-

[a] a square in the centre of Berlin

senting middle and lower middle classes. And, since Gladstone's HOME RULE BILL of 1886,[514] the last remnants of the Whigs and the *old* Liberals (middle-class and university men) have gone over to the Tory camp (as dissident or UNIONIST LIBERALS[505]).

Hence the need the Liberals face of making apparent or real concessions — primarily the former — to the workers. And nevertheless they are too stupid to know *where* to begin, many of them being, after all, still too hidebound by their antecedents.

So far the elections have proceeded as if in response to our orders. The Liberals are obtaining a slender majority and in many places are actually losing votes by comparison with the last election; thus there has so far been no sign of the great Liberal wave that was to sweep across England. Today is a very important day and the results will probably be decisive; should the Liberals score a brilliant victory today, the vacillating philistine — by no means a rare animal — will be driven over onto their side and that will give them the upper hand. What we need is a moderate Liberal majority (including the Irish) so that Gladstone is dependent on the Irish over here — otherwise, if able to exist without them, he is sure to do the dirty on them.

But it's capital that Keir Hardie, the Labour candidate in West Ham in the East End of London, — one of the few who did not take any money from the Liberals and did not therefore place himself under an obligation to them — should so far be the only one to have turned a Conservative majority of over 300 in the last election into an anti-Conservative majority of 1,200. Excellent, too, that elsewhere — in Aberdeen, etc. — the Labour candidates who stood *against* Liberals and Conservatives should have obtained anything up to a thousand votes. The Independent Labour Party is casting its shadow before it.[515]

There are three kinds of Labour candidate here:

1. Those who were paid by the TORIES to filch Liberal votes. Nearly all of these will fail and know it.

2. Those who take Liberal money and are bound to serve the Liberals. These are mostly put up in places where there is no prospect of their getting in, and amongst their number there are also men who, like the miners' candidates, are Liberals by nature.

3. The genuine Labour candidates, who are acting off their own bat and do not ask themselves whether they are standing against Liberals or TORIES. Of these, the Liberals accept the ones they *have*

*to* (Keir Hardie and Burns) and try to undermine the others. In Scotland there are *many* such candidates, though it's difficult to say what their chances are. Goodbye and warm regards to your wife.[a]

Your old friend,
F. E.

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## 233

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

London, 5 July 1892

Dear Baron,

I got back from Manchester on Saturday,[b] [507] Schorlemmer having been buried on Friday. Should you want an obituary for the *Neue Zeit*, the man to look out for would be a chemist who would be able to give a comprehensible account of his discoveries and his importance to science. This would certainly be excellent, but in addition the man would have to be familiar with the history of organic chemisry in the fifties and sixties.

I agree that I owe you an explanation as to how Louise found out about your intended proposal.[480] After getting your letter of 13 May, and although from the first I had taken the view that there was no reason why Louise should fall in with your idea, I nevertheless thought fit to sound her out. I asked her, as though, mind you, it was *my* idea, whether it mightn't be a good thing, so as to avoid confusion, to add her maiden name to her married one, as is often done in Western Germany and Switzerland, even by married persons of both sexes. She looked at me inquiringly before replying: 'You needn't

[a] Julie Bebel - [b] 2 July

bother; I know who's behind this — it's Karl and he's been egged on by his mother.' Nor could I persuade her otherwise. On the contrary, a little while later she told this to Gine[a] as an established fact, whereupon Gine told her quite innocently and naturally, as almost anyone would have done under the circumstances, that you had likewise written to Ede[b] about it, whereupon the two of them discussed the matter.

When Louise later remonstrated with me about this, I had really no alternative but to read out to her the relevant passage in your letter of 13 May which did at least put an end to any further conjectures and speculations and to that extent could only have a soothing effect. Besides, that particular passage looked to me as though it had been expressly written in such a way that it could, if necessary, be shown to Louise.

Such was the course of events. Not that I am in any way dissatisfied with it. For once you had suggested I consult Tussy and had at the same time written to Ede on the subject, one thing was plain, namely that if four people who, as it were, consorted daily with Louise were in the know, not many months would elapse before one of them let the cat out of the bag in her presence and that would have made matters ten times worse, for then she would have said: 'So that's how you people settle my affairs behind my back — affairs which concern only myself, etc.'

To be sure, Louise read me the letter she wrote you, or rather the draft thereof after it had gone off. It has shown me yet again that a third party should never intervene in the private affairs of married or erstwhile married couples since he can never know enough about the antecedents. For instance, it was only from this I learnt that, when your divorce was first mooted, you two had already discussed and decided upon the name to be used by Louise. If this is true, and I have no reason to suppose anything else, then I am sorry not to have known about it before. For in that case I should have immediately, and without reference to anyone else, have urged you at all costs to let sleeping dogs lie.

So as you see, Louise alone was responsible for her letter, as your familiarity with her independence of mind would be enough to tell you without specific assurances on my part. As for giving you my opin-

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[a] Regina Bernstein - [b] Eduard Bernstein

ion of that letter, I do not regard myself as either called upon or competent to do so, this being a private matter between two divorced people. All I can say is that what has happened affects neither my relations with Louise nor those with you.

I am today sending you the introduction in German [461] by REGISTERED book post. Sonnenschein doesn't want the book to come out before September, so please don't put the thing in the *Neue Zeit before 1 September*; after that date it will be all one to me — the fool has kept me waiting long enough. Unfortunately the German is a pale reflection; the English is far livelier and you will like it better.

Many thanks for the information *re* Sorge.[500] I shall attend to this as soon as I have a moment to spare.

So far the elections over here have gone off capitally.[504] The Liberals are winning, but if things go on as they are today, they'll get only a *slender* majority, i. e. they will remain dependent on the Irish, which is a good thing, otherwise Gladstone would do the dirty on them again and the Irish question be perpetuated. While yesterday's polls showed a swing in favour of the Liberals, there was no trace of the powerful, all-engulfing Liberal wave that the Gladstonians were counting on. Indeed, the incipient LABOUR PARTY [515] is already proving a thorn in the flesh of the Liberals. The *only* candidate to have achieved a striking swing in the latter's favour is Keir Hardie in South West Ham, one of the few Labour candidates not to have taken *any* money from the Liberals or to have submitted to Liberal discipline. On the other hand Labour candidates in other places, in so far as they were competing with Liberals, deprived the latter of a great many votes and likewise gave them a portent of things to come. This will, I hope, be the last election contested by the two official parties *only*; next time the workers will play a very different sort of role.

Your
General

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234

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN BERLIN

London, 6 July 1892

Dear August,

Here be I again,[a] as you can see. With my obituary of Schorlemmer,[b] I enclosed a note to the *Vorwärts* asking them to send me 12 copies of that edition — i. e. only the page the thing was in, not all the supplements and such. I need these copies for people in Manchester and for leading chemists over here who ought to know where, outside of chemistry, Schorlemmer's allegiance lay. Needless to say, I have not had *a single copy*. Would you tell the chaps — the note may have been completely overlooked — that important party interests are at stake, and that they should send me what I asked before it is too late and the public over here has turned its attention elsewhere.

The elections here [504] have proved a disappointment for the Liberals. So far they have gained 9 votes, i. e. the government's majority has been reduced from 68 to 50 (68 − 9 = 59 TORIES; 0 + 9 Liberals = 9; 59 − 9 = 50 at the poll). Yesterday's elections didn't bring them a single gain, but with 25 more votes, the 50 − 25 would be cancelled out by the + 25, and it would be simply splendid if neither the Right nor the Left were to end up with a proper majority. However, the Liberals are likely to obtain a small majority and even that wouldn't be too bad.

Your Bismarck rumpus gets nicer every day [516] — the fellow must be quite mad. According to today's telegram he's absolutely intent on getting Caprivi's scalp. Well, we may see some fun. If only our papers weren't always pointing out that it's really a case for the courts! Must we really play the bureaucrat, policeman and public prosecutor like our opponents? Couldn't we, just for once, allow that old, broken-winded jackass Bismarck to make a fool of himself to his heart's content? And wouldn't three days in jug turn him into a martyr? It is almost beyond belief how ultra-Prussian the chaps are!

The *Vorwärts* has gone quite insane. Today it says that England,

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[a] In the original: *mir sein* (Saxon dialect). - [b] F. Engels, 'Carl Schorlemmer', *Vorwärts*, No. 153, 3 July 1892.

Wales, Scotland, Ireland, the colonies and India are all of them called Great Britain [517]! But that name comprises only England, Wales and Scotland — *not even Ireland*, let alone anything else (the official title is THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN *AND IRELAND*). Are the fellows absolutely intent on making a universal laughing-stock of themselves and of us?

Downstairs the Witch is contemplating a baby belonging to our former housemaid, and so deeply has she been engrossed for the past two hours in this act of worship that I can't winkle her out to send you her greetings. So unless she turns up at the last minute before the post goes, I shall have to send you and Mrs Julie [a] my warmest regards all on my own.

Your old friend,
F. E.

[From Louise Kautsky]

The General is only testifying to his own inadequacy for if, as he maintains, the baby-worship went on for two hours, he must have spent a full two hours writing the letter; an interpretation more flattering to me would be that, even though it was you he was writing to, the time seemed so long to him. However that may be, the child has gone, as you see, so that I can myself send my love to Mrs Julie who, of you three, is certainly best able to understand the attraction exerted by children. Same to you.

*The Witch*

[From Engels]

How fanciful of the Witch to say (as she does) that I have spent two hours writing this letter. I was doing a very difficult legal task for Schorlemmer's executors [b] on the subject of his literary estate, while she was giving the baby her fingers to suck. So it must have sucked away all her wits!

[From Louise Kautsky]

I've never heard the likes of it — the baby's sucking from my finger the wisdom which enabled the General to write his legal piece — blessed is he who believes.

[From Engels]

She has to have the last word.

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[a] Julie Bebel - [b] Philipp Klepsch and Ludwig Siebold

[From Louise Kautsky]

Written word.

[From Engels]

*Nichevo.*[a]

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## 235

## ENGELS TO JOHN BURNS

### AT BATTERSEA[b]

[Telegram][518]

London, 6 July 1892
122, Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Wish you success and victory
Engels
Kautsky
Burns 108 Lavender Hill Battersea

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[a] Engels gives the Russian word 'ничего' ('not bad') in Latin letters.- [b] district of London

## 236

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

London, 7 July 1892

Dear August,

This is what comes of your forbidding me to write to you![510] Yet another letter. The obituary numbers of the *Vorwärts* turned up this morning,[a] so all is well in that quarter.

The elections are going swimmingly.[504]

1. The Liberal victories are such minor ones and so much offset by counter-victories and other unmistakable symptoms (diminished majorities, often to the extent of being virtually non-existent, etc.) that the next parliament is likely to show at most a *narrow* majority for Gladstone, and maybe none at all (i. e. practically none at all) either for him or for the Tories. That would mean early dissolution and another election, but also *preparations* for the latter in the shape of legislation which would ensure extra votes for the Liberals, and those could only be new Labour votes. In fact even were the Tories to remain at the helm — which hardly seems likely — they would have to try and strengthen their position by acquiring additional votes and these again they could only get from the workers. So there's a prospect of 1. a cessation of the harassment which has hitherto made it difficult for individual workers to assert their right to the universal suffrage they have been conceded[519] and 2. social measures favourable to the workers.

The Liberals have won 16 of their opponents' seats: the last government majority was 68. If you take away the 16 seats lost and also the above 16 won from their opponents, you get 32. That still leaves a Tory majority of 36. So if another 18 seats are won, the parties will be all square. I believe that a few more will be won; the so-called country boroughs are those in which opposition to the feudal pressure exerted by the big country landowners is strongest and where the lower middle classes do not therefore, as here in London and in other large towns, vote Conservative out of opposition to the now enfran-

[a] F. Engels, 'Carl Schorlemmer', *Vorwärts*. No. 153, 3 July 1892. See also this volume, p. 464.

chised workers and out of philistine habit. Gladstone might quite likely obtain a majority of 20, including, of course, the Irish, and he won't be able to govern with that. The Irish are bound to demand HOME RULE and a majority of 20 won't enable him to put that through in the teeth of the Upper House. And that will mean a rumpus.

2. The only startling victories are those of the *new Labour Party*. Keir Hardie has turned what was, in the last elections, a TORY majority of 300 into a majority of 1,200 for himself. John Burns — whose Liberal predecessor had a majority of 186 — has got one of 1,560. And in Middlesbrough (the iron-working district of Yorkshire) Wilson, Secretary of the UNION of Seamen and Coal Trimmers — a careerist but pledged neck and crop to the new unionism,[520] obtained 4,691 votes, thus beating the Liberals (4,062) *and* the TORY (3,333). The measly Liberal majorities look pitiful by comparison.

3. In three places where a Labour candidature, etc., was both apposite and had been properly prepared for in advance, the Labour candidates were in fact beaten, but they *also caused the downfall of the Liberals*.

In Salford, Hall, Labour, obtained 553 votes but the Liberal was beaten by *only 37*.

In Glasgow (Camlachie) Cunninghame-Graham was beaten (906 votes), but so was the Liberal who needed 371 votes to obtain a majority.

In Glasgow (Tradeston) the Labour candidate Burleigh (in other respects a ne'er-do-weel) got 783 votes while the Liberal got 169 fewer than the TORY.

What's more, in a number of other places (Aberdeen, Glasgow — College —, Bradford), though the Liberals did in fact win, they nevertheless forfeited anything from 990 to 2,749 votes to Labour candidates standing against *both* parties, which means that next time Labour will constitute a direct threat.

In short, the Labour Party has proclaimed itself clearly and unmistakably and that means that next time both the old parties will have to make it offers of alliance. The TORIES may be ruled out so long as they are led by the present jackasses. But the Liberals are bound to make an approach. And likewise the Irish. When Parnell was sent to Coventry over the absurd affair of the divorce,[521] he suddenly turned pro-Labour, and so will the Irish gents in Parliament when they realise it is only Labour that can procure them HOME RULE. Then the compromising will begin, and then, too, the FABIANS[87] — in these

elections conspicuous by their absence — will again put in an appearance, but over here that sort of thing just can't be avoided. However, we're making progress, as you can see, and that's the main thing.

By a splendid quirk of history, *both* of the two old parties have now got to appeal to Labour and make concessions to Labour if they want to retain or take the helm, and at the same time each of them senses that by so doing they are giving a leg up to their own successors. And yet they can't help it! What is our little jest compared with the colossal jest now emerging from the turn history is taking?

Many regards from Louise and myself to Mrs Julie[a] and yourself.

Your
F. E.

If you write to Shaw you might recommend Conrad Schmidt's article in the *Neue Zeit*[b] as a refutation of their 'AUSTRIAN THEORY OF VALUE'.[522]

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## 237

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 7 July 1892

My dear Laura,

I went at once to Manchester[507] on the telegram of Schorlemmer's death, on Friday last week 1st July we buried him and on Saturday I returned. The last weeks of his life he remained in the same half-conscious and very oblivious, but absolutely painless state in which I had found him when there in the beginning of June,[485] and on Monday morning 27th June[c] he expired quietly and without any

[a] Julie Bebel - [b] C. Schmidt, 'Die psychologische Richtung in der neueren National-Oekonomie', *Die Neue Zeit*, 10 Jg. 1891/92, 2. Bd., Nr. 40, 41. - [c] In the original '29 June', which is a slip of the pen.

struggle. A *post mortem* entirely confirmed the diagnosis of Gumpert: a carcinomatous tumour in the right lung, of the size of a small orange, sufficient, by its pressure on the vena cava and the plexus brachialis to account for the deficient action of the brain and the partial paralysis and oedema of the right arm. The large vein of that arm contained a considerable thrombus, there were distinct though small carcinomatous places in the brain, and the heart was beginning to show fatty degeneration. Under these circumstances we may congratulate ourselves that he was spared longer and perhaps acute sufferings.

Gumpert had got him in May already to make a will, he left everything to his mother. The manuscripts he left may cause some trouble. The most interesting one is on the history of chemistry, 1) Ancients, 2) Alchemy, 3) Jatrochemistry,[523] up to the 17th century; a fragment of the 3rd part not completed, but still full of new views and discoveries. Then a lot of work on organic chemistry. But as he has *two* works in the press at the same time: 1) his own organic chemistry, 2) his and Roscoe's big book[a]; — it will be pretty hard to distinguish which belongs to which. One of his executors is a chemist (Siebold) but hardly knows enough about the theory of the science to distinguish. And Roscoe's red-hot after the ms., as he knows too well that *he* cannot finish the book. I have told the executors in my opinion they might let Roscoe have what belongs to the Roscoe-Schorlemmer book on binding himself to let the heirs participate in the profits of the pending volume (German and English) in the same way as Schorlemmer himself would have done. As Roscoe was elected yesterday for Manchester, he will no doubt pounce upon the executors at once, so I wrote them yesterday giving a full account of what I considered ought to be done in the matter.

A short notice I wrote in the *Vorwärts*[b] I send you today.

Here we are in the midst of the elections.[504] They go remarkably well for us — under the circumstances. First, the immense Liberal Wave which was to carry Gladstone triumphantly to power, is all bosh. He will probably get a small majority, and it is not even certain whether there will be a majority for anybody. This will make *both* official parties dependent, for the next election, which may come *very* soon, upon the working men. Secondly the *new* working-class move-

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[a] C. Schorlemmer, *The Rise and Development of Organic Chemistry*; H. E. Roscoe and C. Schorlemmer, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Chemie*, Bd. I-V; H. E. Roscoe and C. Schorlemmer, *A Treatise on Chemistry*. - [b] F. Engels, 'Carl Schorlemmer', *Vorwärts*, No. 153, 3 July 1892.

ment enters Parliament triumphantly. On Monday[a] Keir Hardie was elected with 1,200 majority in the East-End (West Ham) — last member a Tory[b] with 300 majority! Yesterday John Burns at Battersea with 1,600 majority — last member a bourgeois Liberal[c] with only 186 majority. And then at Middlesborough in Yorkshire J. H. Wilson, secretary of the Sailors and Firemen's Union (a *Streber*[d] but deeply engaged and mortgaged to *new* Unionism[520]) beat *both* a Liberal *and* a Tory! These are the only éclatant victories in the whole election and all gained by working men: in two cases the Liberals *dared* not oppose one of their own, and in the third when they did, they were *battus à plate couture.*[e] And third: wherever a working man's candidature had been well selected and prepared, it either considerably diminished the Liberal majority, so as to warn them to be more careful and not to risk losing the seat next time, or it *made* the Liberals lose the seat. Thus in 2 divisions of Glasgow, Cunninghame-Graham was beaten, *but so was his Liberal competitor.* Thus in Salford, Hall, an S. D.F.[29] man, but said to be good, had only 554 votes, but these deprived the Liberal of his seat. And thus, 3 Liberal seats lost merely because they would thrust bourgeois members upon working-class constituencies.

The election has done already what I maintained was all we had a right to expect from it: give fair and unmistakable warning to the Liberals that the *Independent Working Men's Party*[515] was approaching, that it cast its shadow before it, and that this was to be the last general election carried on between two parties only, the Ins and the Outs. And therefore I am quite satisfied, especially so, as we shall get a parliament with which no stable government is possible.

From your silence I conclude that Bonnier is right when he writes to Tussy [:] *le journal pend toujours à un fil.*[f][423] Let us hope the *fil*[g] will not snap but on the contrary grow into a rope and even a hawser.

Love from Louise. Prosperity and eloquence to M. *le député.*[h]

Ever yours
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959

Reproduced from the original

[a] 4 July - [b] Georges Banes - [c] O. W. Morgan - [d] careerist - [e] beaten hollow - [f] The paper is in a perilous state. - [g] thread - [h] Paul Lafargue

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## ENGELS TO PANAYOTTIS ARGYRIADES

### IN PARIS

[Draft]

[London, beginning of July 1892]

Dear Citizen,

I have received the *Almanach de la Question Sociale* for 1891 and '92, for which I send you my thanks.

You hope to be able to number me amongst your contributors for 1893. However I see that, without my knowledge, you have already named me as a contributor for 1892.[524] If there is to be a contribution from me to the 1893 *Almanach*, it will, I fear, be an involuntary contribution as before. A month ago, when our friends in Austria asked me for an article for their yearbook,[a] I had to tell them

1. that I was unable to undertake any further work, whether large or small, until I had seen to the publication of Vol. III of Marx's *Capital*, which is now ten years overdue;

2. that a contribution to this or that Socialist yearbook would, in the interests of impartiality, necessitate my contributing to most of the remainder and that accordingly my time would no longer be my own.

True, I made an exception last year in the case of the French *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier*.[525] But on that occasion it would have been dangerous to hold back. That was the time when at Kronstadt [288] the official French republic kow-towed to the Tsar,[b] the hereditary leader of European reaction. War was imminent and in my view was prevented only by the famine in Russia. At that critical juncture it was up to me to do all in my power to remove any possibility of a mis-

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[a] *Österreichischer Arbeiter-Kalender*. - [b] Alexander III

understanding between French and German working men.[a] I took advantage of the occasion and spoke up; that is all.

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

### IN BARMEN

London, 12 July 1892

Dear Hermann,

Thank you very much for your letter of 23 June. The Schaafhausen dividend has been debited to you—many thanks.[b] I hope you enjoy your Italian trip; I shall probably go there myself some time.

TodayI am just writing to ask which of you is going to be in Engelskirchen on or about the 10th or 12th August, and whether you could do with me there for a couple of days round about that time. I shall probably be paying another visit to the Continent then and, although unlikely to take in Barmen, should like for once to get another breath of Engelskirchen air. I'd be glad if you wouldn't mention this unless you have to or else certain people might expect me to go to Barmen as well, and that might not fit in with my other plans.

For the rest, all is well with me but I too am beginning to feel the need for relaxation. That's the trouble with London; in July it becomes sultry and unbearable and one longs to get right away from it.

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[a] In the original there follows a phrase 'I spoke to the French proletariat', which is crossed out. - [b] See this volume, pp. 339 and 352.

But I still have heaps of urgent jobs to do.

Love to Emma[a] and your children and grandchildren.

Your
Friedrich

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## 240

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 14 July 1892

Dear Ede,

Your and Gine's postcard of 24 June 1892 (I reproduce the postmark for want of any other date) and letter of 2 July have reached me safely. I feel sure that the prospects for your harvest have in the meantime improved to such an extent that you are now worth, not 50 raps but 1 franc, and, since the value of money—whether paid or not—does after all represent ±[b] physical labour, I am equally sure that your health can only benefit from your haymaking. But why you sweat physically in the heat of the afternoon and mentally in the cool of the morning is not very clear unless it's a slimming cure you are after and of that, after all, you have no need. However, you are now in Zurich, so that all these comments will arrive after the event and your haymaking will presumably have given way to *nutrimentum spiritus*[c] (to stick to old Fritz's[d] Latin) in the museum or the Tonhalle or whatever the places are called there. But you should take *spriritus* in the form *vini aut cerevisiae*[e] rather than in that of more abstract spiritous material, otherwise it won't be a real summer holiday. As for what's happening in the English elections,[504] the *Vorwärts* is in any case far better informed than the two of us put together.[f]

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[a] Emma Engels - [b] more or less - [c] spiritual nourishment - [d] Frederick II - [e] of wine or beer - [f] See this volume, pp. 459-60 and 464.

Bax's editorship of *Justice* would seem to be over. After the one number,[503] in which he radically changed the paper's tone,[a] there was a hitch; the tone reverted — at any rate in the negative sense of ignoring the movement in France, Germany, etc. — to what it had been, even though the earlier onslaughts were not resumed. But the last number is again Hyndman ALL OVER; Keir Hardie is attacked, Burns ignored and all the leading articles are supplied by Hyndman. Over here it is said that Bax's attack on Stanley of Africa[526] (who suddenly turned up in North Lambeth[b] to oppose the Gladstonians as UNIONIST candidate) has brought about a breach between him and Hyndman and that Hyndman has led the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION[29] in a fervent pro-Stanley campaign in the latter's constituency. I am passing this on to you as related to me. No doubt you will be seeing Bax in Zurich in about a fortnight's time but whether, having resigned from the editorship of *Justice*, he will pay me a call before then, I cannot say.

Typical characteristics of the elections are: 1. A complete lack of enthusiasm for HOME RULE in England.

2. The granting of suffrage to working men has driven vast numbers of petty bourgeois into the Conservative camp, at any rate in the larger cities. Your petty bourgeois is beginning to be afraid of the workers, or at any rate does not want to be mistaken for one of them; CONSERVATIVE IS RESPECTABLE and hence he votes against Gladstone.

3. The strength of the Liberal Party lies in the middle and lower middle classes of the smaller towns and COUNTIES where the pressure exerted by the semi-feudal landowners and the High Church[527] clergy is still a force to be reckoned with. In the larger cities even the DISSENTERS, traditional mainstay of the Liberal Party, are beginning to vacillate — cf. for instance Birmingham.

4. Now that the two bourgeois parties are on an almost exactly equal footing (today of 3,300,000 votes cast, the opposition's majority over the government amounts *in all* to no more than about 76,000), it is Labour which is beginning to call the tune. And only in the election of Labour candidates — Keir Hardie, Burns, Wilson and others — was there any show of enthusiasm. Even before the elections[c] I had said that these would be the last to be fought out between the two official parties, but that they would give the Liberals a foretaste of

[a] See this volume, pp. 448-49. [b] district of London. [c] See this volume, p. 463.

things to come. As has happened in full measure. Even at the next elections the Labour Party will put up quite a different show. The current elections *must* have filled it with confidence in its own strength.

5. The new Parliament is a provisional one. Gladstone will not get a majority without the support of the Irish and Labour members, which means an early dissolution. So much the better.

Apropos. Tussy intends to send the *Neue Zeit* an article on the elections[a] in which, however, only such internal matters will be discussed as could be known to someone *over here*, and then not to *all and sundry*. So don't let it deter you from writing in the *Neue Zeit* about the general results as you see them. Her information, on the other hand, consists of specific facts relating to the skulduggery of the various parties, something quite different to what you will be writing.

Warm regards from Louise and myself to both of you.

Your
F. E.

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## 241

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [141]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 22 July 1892

My dear Lafargue,

Let's hope that this time the Battle of *Eylau* will not, like its predecessor, be a DRAWN BATTLE [528] and that whatever Mr *Weinschenk* decants for you will be wine of a respectable sort.[b] I begin to understand

[a] E. Aveling and E. Marx-Aveling, 'Die Wahlen in Großbritannien', *Die Neue Zeit*, 10. Jg. 1891/92, 2. Bd., Nr. 45. - [b] A pun in the original: *verser* means 'to decant' and 'to invest capital', Weinschenk is a surname and also means 'vintner'.

French anti-Semitism when I see how these Jews of Polish origin with German names are insinuating themselves everywhere, claiming everything as their own, pushing themselves forward even to the extent of shaping public opinion in the City of Light,[a] a city of which your Parisian simpleton is so proud that he believes it to be the supreme power in the universe.

At all events, it's not a symptom to be overlooked if these gentlemen are now of the opinion that a socialist newspaper is a sound investment. We're quoted on the Stock Exchange! That really is a sign of progress.

I believe Millerand is right in advising you to deposit 25 or, better still, 50 thousand fr. in your name at a good bank. That is the only guarantee, but take care that the bank places it to your credit *without any conditions*. They should send you a formal letter, stating that the sum of ... has been placed to your credit and that you are at liberty to dispose of it whenever you wish. Moreover, in the contract with you and Guesde, Weinschenk should authorise you to withdraw this sum *in the event of his breaking the contract*. For otherwise the private contract between him and the two of you would not be binding on the company to be floated — unless the latter had expressly accepted it. But these are legal niceties and Millerand will doubtless advise you properly.

As regards the cholera, it is virtually certain to arrive here. Meanwhile it is completing the work of peace begun in 1891 by the famine in Russia.[b] What is beyond my comprehension is the stupidity of your French bourgeois who evidently believes that Russia is a power capable of doing anything whatever for France. If he had only a modicum of common sense he would see that at this moment the alliance with France is absolutely indispensible to Russia and that whatever France wanted, Russia would have to concede. But in all western countries the attitude of our official politicians to Russia is stupid beyond belief. France, in the shape of her army, has all the safeguards she needs. I have been reading an article by an English officer, not one of your generals of the old school, who owe their promotion to their ignorance, but a colonel who knows his business and who speaks of the French army with an envy that is genuinely felt — he is envious because he knows that the advantages it enjoys are impracticable in England by reason of the fundamental difference between the two mil-

[a] Paris - [b] See this volume, pp. 242, 343-44 and 374-75.

itary institutions. But he says that the French army is truly democratic — in the regiments, namely its vital organisation —, that officers and men respect one another and work together towards the same end, that all ranks know their trade, that even the territorials[529] have made better soldiers than might have been expected, that *real* discipline is excellent and based on the good will of all, that military training is confined to things which are really necessary in war, but that within those limits such training is perfectly adequate, and that all superfluous parades are rigidly eschewed. In short, if you except the better training received by the French, *it is a description of the Prussian army as reorganised after 1807* under Scharnhorst and that's the greatest compliment one could pay the French army. I'm beginning to believe that battalion for battalion it's just as good as the German army, if not better. The Germans' superiority lies in the large number of officers on the reserve, the superiority of the French in the good relationship between the men and their officers. In our case the men are shamefully ill treated.

You are right. Next week I am off to Ryde.[530] Louise departs next Sunday for Vienna and I shall probably depart on Wednesday.[a] So if you write after Tuesday, the address is: The Firs, Brading Road, Ryde.

I trust Laura is well; we haven't heard a word from her.[531] Since distance precludes my giving her a kiss, give her a kiss on my behalf.

My regards, Mr Wandering Jew,[392]

F. E.

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[a] 27 July

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# ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN BERLIN

London, 23 July 1892

Dear August,

With your usual perspicacity you rightly guessed that I would be sending you this letter via the Witch. So to begin with let me thank you for the Imperial and Royal Railway Timetable and assure you that I shall set my 'new course' by the above right royal document. I have already fathomed a few of the mysterious signs and wonders to be found therein and within the next fortnight hope to get to the bottom of them all, thereby ensuring that I don't find myself stuck anywhere.

Well, my plans are as follows: Next Wednesday[a] I go to Pumps in Ryde [530] whither all letters will be forwarded. Shall stay there until about 10-15 August, depending on circumstances, for I am awaiting a letter from Barmen,[b] the contents of which will determine the day of departure. I shan't go to Barmen, as I have so many nephews and nieces there that duty visits alone would take more than a fortnight. But I want to spend a few days in Engelskirchen where my brothers go in turn for the summer holidays. Thence, on or about the 18th or 19th, to Zurich where I must pay a visit I have been promising for years to my cousin Mrs Beust and family. I shall let you know as soon as I arrive and shall then go on to St Gallen on the 24th or 25th. If you fetch me, so much the better. We would then set out for Stuckert[c] on the Neckar's banks, pick up Uncle Georg and carry on to Munich and — via the Alps if possible — to Vienna, etc. She will be able to tell you the rest by word of mouth (I don't mean Mrs Beust who is the grammatical subject but the Witch who is in any case a most ungrammatical one).

According to Tussy, the elections [504] here in the East End of London have aroused wild enthusiasm. The workers have at last realised that they are capable of something if only they have the will. The Liberal spell has been broken and, what's more, correspondents from

[a] 27 July - [b] See this volume, p. 473. - [c] Stuttgart

far and wide have been proclaiming in the *Workman's Times* that an INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY is all that is needed. Facts and facts alone are what impress hard-headed John Bull and these cannot fail to do so.

The Vollmariad provides further proof that the man has completely lost touch with the Party.[532] A break with him is bound to come, probably this year or next; he seems intent on ramming state socialist inanities down the Party's throat. But since he is an artful intriguer and since I have had wide experience of campaigning against people of this sort — Marx and I often made tactical blunders when confronted by this kind and had to pay dearly for it — I shall now take the liberty of offering you a few tips.

What these people are mainly after is to put us *formally* in the wrong and that we must prevent. Otherwise they'll keep harping on this side-issue in order to obscure the main issue of whose weakness they are aware. So be careful what you say both in public and in private. You will have noticed how cleverly the fellow made use of your remark about Liebknecht[533] so as to foment trouble between him (Liebknecht) and yourself — after all he is perfectly well aware of your attitude to one another! — and thus place you in a quandary.

Secondly, since it is important to them to obscure the main issue, you must avoid giving them any cause to do so; any side-issue *they* may raise should be dealt with as briefly and conclusively as possible so that it is disposed of once and for all. As for *yourself*, however, you must if at all possible ignore all side-issues or red herrings that may arise, whatever the temptations. Otherwise the debate will range ever wider and the original bone of contention will gradually disappear from view. In which case there will no longer be any chance of a decisive victory. So far as the intriguers are concerned, that might be success enough, but for us, at any rate, it would be a moral defeat.

Thirdly, it follows from 1. and 2. that, when confronted by such people, *purely defensive tactics* are best until such time as they land themselves in a real predicament — then you open up with short, devastating artillery bombardment before going in with the bayonet for the coup de grâce. Here, as nowhere else, it is a matter of husbanding one's ammunition and reserves until the last moment.

Every time we departed from these rules when fighting the Bakuninists, Proudhonists, German academics and other such riff-raff, we

had to suffer for it and that is why I now submit them to you again for your consideration.

Well, warm regards to yourself and Mrs Julie[a] from

Your
General

Siegel's last letter is enclosed at his request.

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## 243

## ENGELS TO REGINA BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

London, 25 July 1892

Dear Gine,

We were delighted to get your and Ede's letter and showed it to Tussy yesterday. From the picture the château[b] has the appearance of a really splendid little castle; a garden restaurant for some 500 people and, next to a couple of giant poplars, a few mysterious trees that look like unassuming palms; on the slope below the vines whence comes the sour wine.[c] Still, one gets used to that too and in any case it's better than London ALE, while the air up there must be a lot better than in Highgate. I'm glad it's doing Ede good and that you can hope to bring him back with his nerves functioning in such a way that he is no longer conscious of them.

Here too the summer holidays have started. Louise left for Cologne yesterday afternoon and by now — 5 p.m. — will doubtless be very close to Berlin. The day after tomorrow I set off for a fortnight's stay with Pumps,[530] after which I shall pay another visit to the dear fatherland about the time you will be preparing to leave; indeed it is not

[a] Julie Bebel - [b] In the original: *Schlössli* (Swiss dialect). - [c] In the original: *sure Wi chömmt* (Swiss dialect).

impossible that I may venture as far as Zurich shortly after you have gone — that, however, is entirely between ourselves. But why did you buy those confounded return tickets? They are the main obstacle that prevents us from sauntering along the lake together. I'm glad to hear that your mama is still such a doughty mountaineer. If I really do get to Berlin — alas, the dream is far too beautiful for one to believe it might come true — I shall in any case see her there.

Tell Ede that Louise was so overwhelmed on hearing that he had said *Massel* and *Broche*[a] three times on her behalf that I had to administer a potent draught of cognac before she set off on her journey to help her recover from the shock.

What follows next is for Ede. Namely, in the first place, Tussy's and Edward's article[b] was ready by Sunday (a week ago yesterday) and was sent off to Stuckert.[c]

Secondly, our successes in the elections[504] have now been generally acknowledged over here. The present situation is that, in view of the marked preponderance of the *Radical* wing in his party, Gladstone must largely rejuvenate his cabinet if it is to survive;

further, that his HOME RULE BILL will at once be thrown out by the Upper House;

but that to be able to dissolve with any certainty of success, he must at the same time introduce ONE MAN ONE VOTE by drawing up a sensible electoral register which will ensure the workers do in fact get what was promised them on paper in general terms in 1867 and 1884 but was subsequently retracted in matters of detail,[519] i.e. a 1-1½ million increase in the Labour electorate — and perhaps a SECOND BALLOT;

and that not until *this* has gone through will he dissolve.

So it is a splendid situation so far as we are concerned.

Many regards to Ede and you yourself,

Yours
General

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[a] good fortune and blessings - [b] E. Aveling and E. Marx-Aveling, 'Die Wahlen in Großbritannien', *Die Neue Zeit*, 10. Jg. 1891/92, 2. Bd., Nr. 45. - [c] Stuttgart

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## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 25 July 1892

Dear Friend,

I have not replied to your letter of 13 May sooner because I wished to include with my reply a material token of my sympathy. At the time, however, I myself was short of funds and it is only now that I find myself in a position to send you the enclosed money-order for three pounds sterling. I know only too well that your troubles all derive from the struggle for existence and I'm only sorry that I cannot do more to make that struggle easier for you.

Meanwhile I'm glad to learn from your letter of 1 July that your health is improving and that there is no longer any fear of the neurasthenia that was threatening to take hold. I hope the improvement will continue, so that you will soon be able to look round for remunerative employment again.

I shall ask Aveling tomorrow about the *Students' Marx*; he is unlikely to raise any objections.[534]

You will have heard that in the elections[504] here we scored positive triumphs *over* both the old parties and that even where we lost we gave the Liberals a taste of our power. The movement is gaining more and more ground, thanks in particular to the resolution regarding eight hours demonstrations adopted by the Paris Congress.[51] The First of May has '*fait merveille*',[a] immeasurably more so than did the *Chassepots* at Mentana,[535] which have long since been consigned to the scrapheap.

With sincere regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

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[a] worked marvels

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## ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER

IN DARMSTADT

London, 25 July 1892

My dear Schorlemmer,

Do please let us drop the ceremonious 'Mr' in future. I'm glad you were satisfied with the obituary in the *Vorwärts*.[a] I had to write it in great haste and without any external aids on the afternoon before the funeral. Had I been able to wait until I got back to London I could have gone into greater detail. But in cases like these one must work exactly like a journalist, i. e. quickly, making do with the material to hand.

*Justice*, the English Socialist paper, also published an excerpt from the obituary.[536] This paper is the organ of Mr Hyndman who is in personal control of the Social Democratic Federation,[29] a society that is Marxist in principle and anti-Marxist in practice. Hyndman is a petty-minded intriguer who looks down on the German party with indescribable envy because his little society is incapable of achieving what our own people can pull off without a second thought and who therefore allies himself with anyone who opposes the German party—over here with the noble *Gilles*, for example, with the French Possibilists of Broussian persuasion,[3] etc. Two months ago, however, he stepped down as editor in favour of Bax who is a talented and in other respects decent fellow with a complete mastery of German, and who often visits me and the Avelings. Hyndman hoped that he would thereby get him into his clutches, but apparently Bax has decided that there is nothing doing in that quarter so far as he is concerned—at all events it was he who published the notice in the last number he edited; he knew Carl[b] very well and often used to meet him at my house and elsewhere.—Shall try and send you the number.

But now I had better speak to you about one or two business mat-

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[a] F. Engels, 'Carl Schorlemmer', *Vorwärts*, No. 153, 3 July 1892. - [b] Carl Schorlemmer

ters connected with the estate, as will probably be some time before you hear from Manchester.

In accordance with the law over here, every will must be deposited with the Court of Probate where anyone may inspect it on payment of one shilling = 1 M. But before it gets as far as that, it must be approved by the Court of Probate and estate duty must be deducted and paid, the amount in your case being 1% or 3% — I cannot say exactly which — of the gross assets. The executors must swear to the value of the estate they have declared, and all in all this is the kind of case that requires the attention of a solicitor from start to finish if one is not to be atrociously rooked. So you will doubtless have to be patient a little longer and will also have to reckon on expenses that are very high by German standards. That, however, is inevitable.

The books, etc, he left will fetch little when sold. The chief items in the estate consist in cash on deposit at the bank and the copyrights.

The former will amount to about £1,800 from which must be deducted the cost of the funeral, current petty debts, estate duty, court and solicitor's expenses, etc., which may amount in all to between £200 and £250; I am unable to assess it from here, but it's nevertheless my opinion that you can reckon on a net sum of at least £1,500 = 30,000 marks.

So far as works on chemistry are concerned, the value of the book rights is only of very limited duration. Science is making such rapid strides that things become outdated in a year or two unless they are constantly revised. And then again the death of an important chemist always provides younger men of varying quality with an opportunity to take upon themselves the preparation of new editions, which also means that they receive most of the profit. The same thing will happen here. The executors are consulting me in the course of their negotiations, likewise Gumpert, so we may be sure that nothing precipitate will be done. Moreover I have backed them up in their view that nothing final should be decided in this respect without the consent of the family. That is not only their duty but also an excellent way of bringing pressure to bear on the opposing side. The latter, publishers no less than collaborators such as Roscoe, is in a hurry to bring mat-

ters to a conclusion, while the executors, on the other hand, have plenty of time and can therefore wait for these people to approach them and contribute towards a quick settlement by making this or that further concession. So here too it would be in your own interest not to press for a quick settlement.

I hear from Gumpert that you have written and told him your mother is unwell and has taken to her bed. I hope for the best but she is very old and Carl's death will have hit her very very hard. But I hope that despite everything you will be able to send me better news before long.

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

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## 246

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AL LE PERREUX

London, 26 July 1892

My dear Laura,

I receive this minute, 9.45 evening—Sonnenschein's account which results in £5.9.2., 3/5-ths of which go to Mohr's heirs, that is £ 1.1.10 each, of which cheque enclosed.

I hear from Tussy that you are very much out of sorts just now, hope you will mend soon!

To-morrow I am off to Ryde for a fortnight,[530] address:

F. E.
The Firs, Brading Road, Ryde

Louise left on Sunday[a] for Austria.

Ever yours,
F. Engels

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## 247

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER

### IN DARMSTADT

Ryde, Isle of Wight, 28 July 1892
The Firs, Brading Road

My dear Schorlemmer,

I had hardly expected that my forebodings about your mother would be realised so soon. But the blow she suffered from Carl's[b] death must nevertheless have been too much for the old lady, ailing and debilitated as she was; on the other hand she was certainly still too mentally alert for the news to have been concealed from her. So one family misfortune has been followed by another and we can only hope that this will be the last. I can sympathise only too well with you in your loss, for eighteen years ago I too lost my mother,[c] who was then 77, and I know what a peculiar bond is formed among the members of a large family by the maternal home and how irreplaceable this is, however united the children may be. The maternal home keeps the whole of that same younger generation together as one

[a] 24 July - [b] Carl Schorlemmer - [c] Elisabeth Franziska Engels

large family. Once the mother dies, each of these younger families feels much more independent and involuntarily tends to draw apart from the others. That is in the natural course of things but it is a drastic change none the less and when, in my case as in yours, the mother outlives the father by many years, this makes the added loss of the mother doubly distressing.

Please convey my sincere condolences to your brothers and their families.

To you yourself I send my wishes for your daughter's speedy and complete recovery.

I arrived here yesterday to spend ten days or so with my niece.[530] She also knew your mother and would like to add a line or two.

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

[From Mary Ellen Rosher]

I cannot let this letter from my uncle go off without sending to you and all your family my condolences on the death of your dear mother. With warm regards to you all from

Yours,
Ellen Rosher

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN BARMEN

Ryde, Isle of Wight, 28 July 1892
The Firs, Brading Road

Dear Hermann,

Very many thanks for your letters. I'm sorry that my plans should have clashed to some extent with yours, but because of other arrangements I was more or less tied to a fixed date and could not very well upset these so long as there was no positive word from you. Everything is now in order and, unless I advise you to the contrary, I shall arrive on the 12th (probably by the first train from Cologne) and shall in any case telegraph from there.

I have been here since yesterday and intend to stay until the 9th, or at any rate the 8th, of August.[530] The weather is magnificent, cloudless sky, temperature 16-17 Réaumur, a fresh easterly wind, flowers and beautiful trees outside my window, wonderful air, barely a kilometre from the sea though nearly 200 ft above it, and with hills and coppices all around.

So here's to our meeting. Meanwhile my love to Emma[a] and the children.

Your old
Friedrich

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[a] Hermann Engels' wife

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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN BERLIN

Ryde, England, 8 August 1892
The Firs, Brading Road

Dear August,

Your card received this morning. My dear fellow, the whole thing has fallen through and I am the odd man out! My old trouble, which obliges me to wear a complicated bandage and about which I have told you various details, has reared its head again after five years of inactivity and all at once completely crippled me. I had already suspected something of the kind during your visit,[474] but it was so insignificant that I paid no attention to it, thinking that, as it had often done on previous occasions, it would finally clear up of its own accord here in the sea air. On Saturday[a] I walked about $1\,^3/_4$ kilometres, rested for half an hour or so and then came back — a mere $3\,^1/_2$ km in all — and by the evening realised that the crisis was upon me and that instead of going to Germany I should have to spend a month here, resting and abstaining from alcohol, if I was to get myself up to the mark again. At this moment I should merely have to walk a thousand paces to be banished to a sofa for 8 or 10 days. Thus do the best laid plans come to nothing!

As to the cause, all I can say is that since last August I have been addressing myself to the bottle more liberally than for many years and that the accumulated effect eventually brought about this result. Anyhow, I can find no other explanation for the thing, especially since it is a condition of the cure that one must abstain from alcohol during such time as symptoms of localised inflammation are noticeable. How delighted your son-in-law[b] will be! — though the conclusion he'll doubtless draw will not be shared by me.

At any rate I am totally incapable of making the projected trip in this condition. At most I might get as far as my brothers in Engelskirchen, but certainly not Zurich and so, despite this rotten bit of luck, I cannot but congratulate myself that the attack did not happen on

[a] 6 August - [b] Ferdinand Simon

my travels, leaving me completely *hors de combat* in a foreign land. Now I can at least doctor myself here at Pumps' and in a month's time I shall, I imagine, be fairly mobile again. The thing is of no consequence, save for the tedium; I have weathered it three or four times already and am familiar with the treatment, the more so through having devised it myself as a result of my own experience, since the good doctors were, with one exception, and he is dead, all of them utterly mystified by the case.

I at once wrote to Louise yesterday, telling her that she should make no changes whatever in her plans and on no account hasten her return even by so much as a day.[153] However it is highly probable that you, like her, will now prefer to make other arrangements, in which case you will have to resume your correspondence about it.

Tell your wife and daughter[a] that I am doubly sorry that, as a result of what has happened, I shall be deprived of the pleasure of making their personal acquaintance as also that of your son-in-law. But to postpone is not to put off for ever, and the bitter experience of the present year will make me a wiser man in the next when, I trust, I shall still be alive and once again nimble on my pins. And then we shall make the same trip, if not an even better one.

My address up till the end of August will be as on the letterhead. Rosher's name is not necessary, but letters will be delayed unless addressed to The Firs, Brading Road.

So my warm regards to you all, and do please drink to my recovery. Since I am now abstaining in his stead, Dr Simon might even permit himself a sip for once!

Your old friend
F. Engels

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[a] Julie Bebel and Frieda Simon

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

### IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

Ryde, 8 August 1892
The Firs, Brading Road

Dear Hermann,

After all the preparations and letter writing, my trip has finally fallen through. The old trouble with my groin, which originally began when I came down with my horse while out fox hunting and which became bothersome ten years ago but lay dormant during the latter five, has suddenly sprung to life again. The bandages are no longer of any use and after walking about 2 English miles = 3 kilometres last Saturday[a] I was pretty well incapable of going any further. I know what to do. For the next month I must take a complete rest and abstain from beer and wine, after which all will be well, but travelling is out of the question. I wrote yesterday to Rudolf[b] in Barmen,[153] but am sending this note to Engelskrichen today in case you are still there.

I'm terribly sorry that things should have turned out in this way. But it can't be helped and I must resign myself. So I shall be staying here (address overleaf) until the end of August.[530]

Time for the post. Much love to you all. In haste.

Your
Friedrich

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[a] 6 August - [b] Engels

## 251

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[501]

IN STUTTGART

Ryde, 12 August 1892
The Firs, Brading Road

Dear Baron,

Herewith the proofs, returned with thanks.[537]

August will already have told you that my trip to Germany has fallen through. The after-effects of the old trouble, which laid me up 9 years ago when you came to visit me on my birthday, have once more asserted themselves and at just the wrong time so that I have got to lie here on the sofa instead of tippling with you. Luckily I can breathe good sea air here — the house is right out in the country, high up, with a view of the sea — and this, together with rest and abstinence from alcohol will no doubt set me on my legs again within 3 or 4 weeks. But it's a pity it should have happened just now. Well, to postpone isn't to put off indefinitely.

Thank you for your book[a] — unfortunately I have so far been prevented from reading it by the upsets of the past few days.

A pity that the bits in Tussy's article about the Social Democratic Federation[29] and the Fabians,[87] and also about Taylor's candidature,[b] didn't go in.[538] I saw these in ms. after the event and they are *virtually indispensable* if you are to have a complete picture of the elections. The total collapse of the Social Democratic Federation the moment it was really put to the test was significant in view of the boasting which that 'one and only' Social-Democratic organisation and One True Church has for years indulged in. I don't know whether you saw Bax in Zurich, but he's a very indifferent authority on the Social Democratic Federation. He edited *Justice* for 6 weeks and got rid of all its many vulgarisms but was wholly incapable (for otherwise he would surely have done so) of giving the paper a character that was anything but sectarian. For the Social Democratic Federation is in fact a sect pure and simple. It has ossified Marxism into a hard and fast dogma and, by repudiating *any* labour movement that isn't

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[a] K. Kautsky, *Das Erfurter Programm in seinem grundsätzlichen Theil erläutert.* - [b] See this volume, pp. 497 and 515.

orthodox Marxist (and, what's more, Marxist in a very wrong-headed way) — i. e. pursuing a policy exactly the reverse of that recommended by the *Manifesto*,[a] has put itself in such a position that it can never become anything other than a sect. There were many reasons why Bax should have got into touch with these people again, but if they go on as they are it won't be long before he discovers that they are trying to exploit him politically and financially and that he is unable to assume any responsibility for them. But that's something he will have to learn from personal experience; for the time being he has so far compromised himself as to be obliged in some measure to be their advocate. Come to that, Bax is *completely out of touch with the workers as such.*

The Fabians have become a real stumbling-block, tailing along behind the big Liberal Party on the pretext, so they say, of imposing their candidates upon it. They may pull this off for a time in the case of the County Council,[412] where they can dabble in Possibilist programmes of municipal reform,[539] but even there the pious sham will pass muster only until such time as it is rumbled by the middle classes. In the case of parliamentary elections none of this applies, for here the Liberals will give the Fabians, like all other self-styled Labour candidates, only such constituencies as are *hopeless*. If one wants to impose Labour candidates upon the Liberals, it must be done after the manner of Burns and Keir Hardie, by holding a pistol to their heads, and not after the manner of the Fabians, by sucking up to them under false pretences. Fortunately the call for an Independent Labour Party is now already so loud and so general that even the bland inducements of Fabian cajolery and Fabian cash will eventually be overcome.

Burgess, the *Workman's Times* man, now proposes to found an Independent Labour Party himself — yet another competitor for the other two[b]! Burgess is a vain, ambitious johnny, hitherto most unreliable. Whether and to what extent he will make out remains to be seen. At all events his present action is a straw in the wind.

A very good bit of news: So proud were the factory workers of the North of their old Ten Hours Bill that it was largely they who opposed the eight hour day (cf. Newcastle Trades Union Congress[298]). This is now changing; the masses are gradually being converted to 8 hours while the leaders with their 10 hours are beginning to find themselves

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[a] *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* - [b] the Social Democratic Federation and the Fabian Society

out on a limb. This will no doubt be more or less in evidence at this year's TRADES UNION congress.[540]

The Avelings have gone to Norway. Just before they left, Tussy got a letter from Greulich in which the latter requested her on behalf of the Zurich International Congress Committee [541] to oblige them with an English draft of the invitation to the English TRADES UNION Congress, and to translate all their other stuff into English. So Mr Seidel's machinations, aimed at getting the confounded Marxists cold-shouldered on that occasion (which could only have led to the installation of Mr Adolphe Smith Headingley), would seem to have been happily nipped in the bud.

Pumps and Percy send their kindest regards.

Your
F. E.

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## 252

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

Ryde, 14 August 1892
The Firs, Brading Road

Dear August,

I share your hope that by the beginning of September I shall have so far recovered as to be able to travel at least as far as Berlin. *Should* this be the case, I shall without fail pay a flying visit to Berlin — my sole destination in fact, for by then the Engelskirchen folk will have dispersed to the four winds.

The only question is whether it is going to be possible. And of that I cannot as yet give you any idea. I know from experience that in

such cases 3 or 4 weeks' rest is absolutely essential if I am to recover my mobility, and any premature exertion or excessive exercise, however slight, will set me back by a week or a fortnight. But unfortunately one cannot tell until it's too late whether the exertion is premature or the exercise excessive.

On top of that I am, after all, 5 or 6 years older than I was at the time of the last bout, and have undeniably allowed more alcohol to pass through the inner man this year than I normally do in three. So I shall have to resign myself to a somewhat longer cure, even if the inflammatory symptoms have not resulted in any organic changes in the shape of adhesions or lesions or scarring.

At all events it will not be until very late in the day that I shall be able to tell from observations what the position is. You must keep me properly informed of the addresses at which my letters and, if needs be, telegrams, can reach you, especially in the case of Vienna, and how long you propose to stay there, so that Louise doesn't leave for London at the same time as I for Berlin.

Last Monday[a] and Tuesday I was in London where I saw the Avelings and put my house in order. Thus the cure was interrupted until Wednesday. Now I am lying absolutely still and, of course, feel correspondingly better. I hope in a week's time to be able with impunity to allow myself at least a *modicum* of exercise. I shall let you have a bulletin as soon as there is anything to report.

Needless to say, I shall now have to observe 'sobriety and moderation' in regard to alcohol. I had indeed been surprised at my continued ability to tolerate the stuff so well, and had grown overconfident as a result. Well, we must hope that the consequences do not persist too long. I must revert to my former principle of abstaining for a fortnight or a month every so often. Not that I regard abstaining from drink as any more of a hardship than refraining from smoking, provided there is good reason for it.

I have not had an answer from Louise to the letter I wrote to her a week ago today.[153] The Sunday postal arrangements over here are abominable.

One good piece of news: Mr Seidel's intrigues, aimed at preventing the accursed Marxists from having any say in the preparations for the Zurich Congress,[541] would seem definitely to have misfired.

Greulich wrote to Tussy on behalf of the Zurich Committee re-

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[a] 8 August

questing her to draft a letter of invitation to the English TRADES UNION Congress [540] and also to do their English translations. The letter arrived when the Avelings were on the point of leaving for Norway and Tussy, of course, immediately drafted the invitation, and generally placed herself at the committee's disposal; she sent me Greulich's letter when she was actually on board the steamer.

And now for another: a period of slack trade and the manufacturers' threats to knock 10 per cent off wages has suddenly cured the Lancashire cotton operatives of their enthusiasm for 10 hours and opened their eyes to the advantages of the 8 hour day. Even the leaders are already said to have switched horses. Thus the 8 hour day has triumphed in England. The resistance of those factory hands who enjoyed the protection of the 10 hour day was the principal weapon in the bourgeois arsenal. They'll lose it, come the September congress.[540]

K. Kautsky did not make use of the enclosed passages from the Avelings' article in the Neue Zeit.[538] When he wrote, he said this had had to be done for *technical* reasons; may be, but again it may have had something to do with Ede's comical respect for the FABIANS [87] and Bax's (he's in Zurich) interest in the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION.[29] At all events, you'll find the passages interesting and they form an essential part of the overall picture.

You might get the *Vorwärts* to print the following questions:

1. Is it true that the 'Independents' in London, i. e. those who were thrown out of the Communist Workers' Educational Society,[89] have founded a club and rented Grafton Hall, a large building in Fitzroy Square, for the purpose?

2. That to help raise the considerable sum required for this, Mr Baginski, who earns at most £3 a week, made a contribution of £500 sterling = 10,000 marks?

3. That Mr Hochgürtel, likewise a working man, contributed another £500 and that, to the question as to where he had got the money, he returned the strange reply that he had divorced his wife, and thus obtained *her* money?

4. That the brewer who supplies beer to the club advanced another £1,200?

5. If all this be true, where did this money come from and who provided the brewer with the collateral without which no one would be so stupid as to advance so large a sum?

Warm regards to your wife[a] and children,

Your
F. E.

The Roshers send their kindest regards.

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## 253

## ENGELS TO REGINA BERNSTEIN

### IN ZURICH

The Firs, Brading Road,
Ryde, England (that suffices)
15 August 1892

Dear Gine,

I and all the rest of us here are very sorry that your summer holiday should have been so sadly disrupted, but we all of us hope that all danger is now past, for otherwise I should certainly have heard from you. Unfortunately, my projected trip has also been completely ruined; just when I was about to get ready, I detected the unmistakable symptoms of an old disorder which I thought I had got the better of five years ago and which precluded all exercise for at least a fortnight if not a month. So I have got to remain stuck here in Ryde,[530] but first I had to spend a couple of days in London to put all my affairs in order there, and this, together with the many letters arising out of the 'catastrophe ordained by God', has so flummoxed me that I have not been able to write to you until today.

I can well believe that Ernst[b] is very down as a result of typhoid.

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[a] Julie Bebel - [b] Ernst Schattner

Do give him time to recover completely before letting him go back to the exertions of school. But you have so many doctors on both sides of the family that I really ought to keep my mouth shut.

Since I have been here, we have been having marvellous weather and I am able to spend nearly all day, usually until 6 or 7 o'clock, sitting out in the garden in an armchair; there have been only 2 wet days in almost three weeks. Let us hope it lasts, since fresh air, along with rest, is my best medicine.

I am glad to hear that Ede is to make, or is already making, one more excursion into the Alps. He undoubtedly needs it, although it was with great pleasure that I saw from the *Neue Zeit* that he was his old self again.[542] His critique of Proudhon is *very nice indeed*, and his sense of humour is also returning. But it's better to be safe than sorry, i. e. to get properly well while he's got the chance, and thoroughly shake off his vexation over the Lassalle business[a] which was, after all, at the root of the whole thing. And you, too, ought to have a spell in which to recover from the difficult days and nights which have wrought such havoc with the peace and quiet of your holiday.

In other respects all is well here — that is, Pumps is as well as 'circumstances' allow, the event being expected in October. The children are far healthier than they used to be in London. This is a very large family: 2 dogs, 3 cats, a canary, a rabbit, two guinea pigs, a cock and 14 hens.

Many regards from the Roshers and especially from myself to you and Ede and Ernst.

Your old friend,

The General

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[a] See this volume, pp. 253-54, 316.

## 254

## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER [543]

IN LUNZ

Ryde, England, 19 August 1892
The Firs, Brading Road

Dear Victor,

That's what comes of exuberance. Instead of gallivanting round with you and yours in Lunz or Vienna, I have got to stay here in Ryde, miserably cossetting what Heine called 'my not altogether healthy body'; though walking and drinking are forbidden, boredom evidently is not. I had so very much looked forward to seeing Vienna at last, to being with you and all the others and, in particular, to becoming personally acquainted with your wife [a] and children, and now this confounded business crops up. Besides, I had also intended to obtain the opinion of a Viennese or — possibly *also* — a Berlin doctor on this somewhat obscure case and to ask you, after acquainting you with the facts, which specialist you would recommend. For over here there are as many medical faculties as there are hospitals, and the only men whom family doctors recommend are those from the hospital where they themselves did their training; this is not altogether a bad thing because they are the men they know best, but it narrows down the field of possible consultants very considerably and reduces the medical world of London to the dimensions of a small German university town. Accordingly, this sudden relapse is, in addition, positively detrimental to me.

Well, if there's one consolation — it is that to postpone is not to defer indefinitely, and what has misfired one year may perhaps come off the next. At all events this has taught me a lesson which I shall not soon forget. To be completely done out of my summer trip — and what a trip! — is bad enough and I shall have cause enough to rue it this winter, for I know all too well that the slight change of air from London to Ryde [530] does not have anything like the same effect on my old carcase as a trip to the Continent and to the Alps in particular. My health will not be as good this year as it was after the trips I made, first to America, [441] then to Norway [544] and, last year, to

[a] Emma Adler

Scotland and Ireland.[264] But I hope we'll get over it, in which case we shall definitely fix things up next year. For I have got to go to Vienna and, if possible, also to the Austrian Alps; the Swiss Alps harbour too many Swiss and have already been turned into too much of a showplace, so I really would prefer Anzengruber's peasants. And, by then, or so I hope, I should find you and your wife in perfect health, while I myself would again be in case to go climbing about in the mountains. Until next year, then!

While here I've been dabbling in early Christianity and am reading Renan[a] and the Bible.[545] Though shockingly superficial, Renan is a man of the world and as such his outlook is wider than that of the German scholastic theologians. Otherwise his book is a novel and what he said of Philostratus is equally applicable to himself, namely that it could be used as an historical source in the same way as, say, the novels of Alexandre Dumas *père* could be used as a source on the period of the Fronde.[546] In matters of detail I have caught him making the most shocking howlers. Moreover, he plagiarises the Germans with unparalleled effrontery.

Louise will have passed on to you the information I sent her the day before yesterday about the cotton operatives in Lancashire and their sudden conversion to the eight hour day.[b][153] The same sort of thing is happening daily. Yesterday meetings of delegates representing entire districts again voted unanimously in favour of the 48 hour week, while in other districts the motion was carried in *all* cases with a majority, usually of two thirds. This has finally broken the back of the opposition *in the working class*.

The Russians are unfortunate. First they have a famine which will recur again this year, if in more chronic form, and then the cholera. And now, when their friend Gladstone has come to the helm here, he has to appoint Rosebery, who refuses to have any truck with Gladstone's Russophilia, as his Foreign Secretary.

August wants me to go to Berlin if at all possible. Well, I should like to, but can it be done? For the past ten days I have hardly set foot outside the garden gate and don't yet know whether I am really on the mend. For the fact is that, if I bestir myself just a little too soon or a little too much, I may find myself back where I started. And I have got to make up my mind in ten days or a fortnight at the latest — well, we shall see.

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[a] E. Renan, *Histoire des origines du christianisme*. - [b] See this volume, pp. 497, 503-04.

So give my regards to all our friends and above all to your wife and children, and tell them how sorry I am not to have been able to come over this year. But next year I hope to make up for it. And warm regards to yourself from your crippled old

F. E.

I shall be staying here at least until the 31st of this month. [530]

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## 255

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN ST GALLEN

Ryde, 20 August 1892

Dear August,

Your letter of the 17th arrived this morning. I am replying at once because, tomorrow being Sunday and this being England, there would otherwise be no certainty of my note reaching you while you are still in St. Gallen. For I wanted to ask you to observe caution vis-à-vis K. Kautsky in regard to Ede. The latter is definitely on the mend, as his article in the *Neue Zeit* goes to show, [542] and we must do nothing that might interfere with this. Where his friendship with Ede is concerned, K. Kautsky isn't exactly the soul of discretion and should his letters suggest to Ede that we were secretly conspiring to counteract his enthusiasm for Fabianism, [87] it might bring about a serious relapse. Neurasthenics are mistrustful, and in my view his vexation over the Lassalle business [a] was not only the first symptom of his illness but also quite definitely the cause of its onset. So we must see that there isn't a recurrence. I also suspect that his unduly high opi-

[a] See this volume, pp. 253-54, 316.

nion of the FABIANS is partly attributable to his illness and that this will subside provided we don't keep harping on the subject.

Yesterday at long last a letter arrived from the Witch in which she grumbles about my not coming. But how could I help it? And what would she have said if I had been stricken down in Engelskirchen or Zurich, as I surely would have been had I set out? And far worse stricken than here, where I could deal with the thing in good time. She also tells me that, whatever happens, she will accompany you to Berlin.

I am *very* glad that I need not embark on the journey, if it comes off, before 7 September. That gives me a whole month's rest, by which time I hope I'll be fit to travel again. Since yesterday I have at last noted signs of improvement — very slight, but something at any rate. So we shall have to see.

Apropos — have we still got lawyers in Cologne who are members of the party? I still don't quite trust my Prussians and if I had the address of one such I should be armed against all eventualities.

I was very distressed by what you wrote and told me about Victor.[547] Let's hope you'll be able to find some solution. His wife's health also depends on this — worry about the future is said to have been largely responsible for her illness. I had no idea that things were so bad. But the Austrians are like the French and Irish, none of whom are capable of collecting contributions *regularly*. What is asserting itself here is the Celtic blood of their forebears, the Norici,[548] who were first Romanised and then Germanised. If you want to get an idea of how the General Council of the International fared with the French and their contributions, you should read Paul's two Epistles — especially the second — to the Corinthians,[a] throughout which he complains that *les cotisations ne rentrent pas*.[b]

Couldn't you vote the Austrian party a regular subsidy on condition that it goes to Victor? He would, after all, soon be kicked out of Germany since, unlike K. Kautsky, he'd be obliged to work, not on a learned journal[c] but on a propagandist paper.

The Lancashire cotton operatives are almost literally falling over each other to vote for the 8-hour day (48-hour week). Today the delegates are meeting in Manchester. Yesterday in Preston, there were 3,600 for and 600 against. But this is a question that Lancashire will

[a] 2 Corinthians, Ch. 7-9 - [b] the contributions are not coming in - [c] *Die Neue Zeit*

decide for the rest of England because last year it was still the seat of concerted opposition.

It was Mrs Croesel (she's even better than her husband) who told Tussy the stories about the London Independents' Club.[a] But no harm will be done if we save the thing up until we are all back in London again. As regards the source of the money, there might still be some interest left over from the Guelph funds,[236] and the stupidity of the police is beyond all bounds. At all events, Gilles had and may *still* have a great deal of money at his disposal. The other chaps are his men of straw.

Today comes the pleasing news that William[b] refuses to have any truck with the proposal for a two-year period of military service.[549] But since this carrot *has* already been dangled before the noses of the philistines, even the National Liberals[414] will find it hard to relinquish it. And this means better chances for a dissolution of the Reichstag.

What pitiful creatures these German bourgeois are! With the government's financial requirements increasing year by year, they could no be better placed to purchase a concession of political power in return for each grant of supply, as the English have been doing in a small way from time immemorial. But they don't *want* to; they leave all the power in the hands of the government and are content to haggle over a few paltry pence.

Cordial regards to Mrs Julie[c] and to Mrs Frieda and husband.[d]

Your old friend,

F. E.

The Roshers send their kindest regards.

I shall be staying here at any rate until the 31st.[530]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 497-98. - [b] William II - [c] Julie Bebel - [d] Frieda and Ferdinand Simon

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

Ryde, 22 August 1892
The Firs, Brading Road

My dear Laura,

I had hoped to hear from you how the preparations for the great event are progressing, as the day of October 1 is drawing near [550]; and especially would it interest me to learn that the fr. 25,000 — the guarantee-fund that business is meant — have been paid in to the Crédit Lyonnais. [551] But perhaps I shall now hear in a few days, the sacramental date of the 20 *Août*[a] with its 250,000 *en espèces et tout l'outillage*,[b] having passed. [552]

I have had an attack of my old complaint which from 1883 to 1887 laid me up lame from time to time, and had left me pretty well undisturbed for five years. Unfortunately at the wrong time it returned. I was to have left about 10 days ago, gone to Zürich to see the Beusts, thence with Bebel who is at St Gallen, to Stuttgart, Munich, Vienna, where we were to take up Louise and go to Berlin, and thence return to London. All this *ist ins Wasser gefallen.*[c] Bebel will have to do the Vienna trip alone, but wants me to come at least to Berlin if possible. Now as I am gradually mending, it is not quite impossible that I should be in a condition to undertake that bit of a journey. But so far I cannot tell, I want at the very least another fortnight's rest. Fortunately the fine weather allows me to spend all my lame time in the garden, and the splendid air here does me a deal of good.

Tussy, just before she was off for Norway, had a letter from Greulich, in the name of the Zürich Congress Committee, [541] asking her to send them a draft invitation, for the International Congress, to the Glasgow Trades Union Congress, [540] and to do all their English translation work. I suppose you know that some months ago Seidel intrigued to have this job given to one who was not connected with the damned Marxists. Louise in Berlin on her road to Vienna told Bebel, and Bebel at once wrote to Zürich, and this is the result.

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[a] August - [b] in cash and all the equipment - [c] failed to come off

I have to shut up. It's dinner-time, and the cloth must be laid where I write. Immediately after dinner the mail-boxes are cleared (3 p. m.). So *gehab dich wohl*![a] When shall we see you again here in England? I hope this autumn even if you cannot bring the *député-directeur politique*[b] with you.

Pumps, Percy and the little ones send their love.

Ever yours,
F. Engels

Hope you had my last with Louise Kautsky's Vienna address.[153]

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959

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## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI[553]

### IN BENEVENTO

Ryde, 22 August 1892

...I imagine there must be some error in regard to the Duchess,[c] *nata*[d] Leffler. I have never heard Mrs E. Marx-Aveling mention that lady. At this moment Mrs Aveling is in Norway; on her return I shall ask her and then send you further news.

Yours,
F. Engels

(London address still holds good.)

First published, in the language of the original (German), in *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani. 1848-1895.* Milano, 1964

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[a] keep well and healthy - [b] Paul Lafargue - [c] di Caianiello - [d] née

## 258

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [357]

### IN HOBOKEN

Ryde, Isle of Wight, 23 August 1892

Dear Sorge,

If I have not yet begun negotiations with Dietz regarding your book, [500] it is because I was prevented by the following circumstances:

I had arranged with L. Kautsky, who is in Vienna, and with Bebel, who is staying with his son-in-law [a] in St Gallen, that at the end of this month Bebel and I should go to Stuttgart together and thence to Berlin via Vienna, where we were to collect Louise Kautsky and take her with us. While in Stuttgart I had intended to settle the matter *verbally* with Dietz.

Now during my stay here in Ryde with Pumps, [530] the old trouble in my groin, which had ceased to bother me for five years past, has suddenly made itself felt again — and to such good purpose that for the past twelve days or so I have been crippled and unable to move. This put paid to my journey and now, although I am visibly better, I don't know whether I shall be in good enough shape to undertake a shorter tour. In any case I should not take in Stuttgart and hence shall shortly begin negotiations with Dietz by letter — as soon, that is, as I know that he hasn't gone off on a lightning tour with Bebel. The matter as such is already settled; all we are concerned with are the details, so you can go ahead with your addenda and the more comprehensive you make them the better. Notably, should you propose to do a more detailed account of the post-1870 period, you might well include the vicissitudes of the *professedly* socialist (German) party [133] and the blunders it has made. For you should remember that you are writing for a public that knows nothing whatever about transatlantic matters and has got to be told what's what. And even if this elicits a snarl from the worthy leaders in New York and Cincinnati, it needn't worry you, for after all you have long been used to that sort of thing.

Here is a piece of news which you must keep secret, above all from

[a] Ferdinand Simon

the gentlemen of the press, until I write and tell you more. Guesde and Lafargue have signed a contract with some capitalists whereby they are to bring out a daily in the grand manner and be its *directeurs politiques*. 500 000 fr. are to be expended on it and it is to appear on 1 October.[423] But being always somewhat sceptical in such matters and not having heard from Paris lately, I feel that something may yet intervene and that's why *nothing whatever must get into the papers*.

As you will have seen from the municipal elections in May[428] and the departmental elections in July,[554] the French are increasingly following in the footsteps of the Germans and learning to make use of universal suffrage instead of inveighing against it. And the cause is proving a great draw. At the Marseilles Congress[555] the 'Marxists' will acquire a standing such as they have never had before.

Add to which the splendid progress made here in England. The elections were a great success.[504] You will have noticed how different the tone of the *Workman's Times* has been since the beginning of July, and how Mr Burgess (Autolycus) is already attempting to found a separate 'INDEPENDENT LABOUR RARTY' under *his own* leadership, alongside the one which the SOCIALIST DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION[29] claims to lead. You will have gleaned the essentials from Louise Kautsky's[556] and Tussy's[538] articles in the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and the *Neue Zeit* and will find a certain amount more in the preface to the new edition of the *Condition of the Working Class in England*[a] which I shall be sending you as soon as I get back to London. The TRADES UNION Congress to be held in Glasgow in a fortnight's time[540] will mark a great step forward: 1. because of the impact of the elections which has been all the greater in that the PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE[557] elected last year in Newcastle,[298] and consisting oddly enough entirely of former *OLD UNIONISTS*, has treated with disdain all the political resolutions of the self-same Congress, and has implemented none of them; and 2. because of the conversion of the textile workers who, last year, went to make up the bulk of the opposition to the 8-hour day but have now, because of the poor state of trade, suddenly and en masse declared themselves *in favour of 8 hours*. Last week the whole of Lancashire voted in *all* districts for 8 hours instead of 10, usually by a very big

[a] F. Engels, 'Preface to the Second German Edition (1892) of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*'.

majority. In short, here too the cause is going ahead quite famously and next year, not only Austria and France, but also England, will be marching behind Germany, which in turn cannot fail to have the desired effect on your Anglo-Americans, particularly if your militia does a bit more shooting, by finally purging the chaps of some of their republican and GREAT COUNTRY arrogance.

In Germany everything is going splendidly; if you follow the party news in the *Vorwärts* you will see that we are making tremendous headway amongst the rural population — *even in the east* where it is most necessary.

And now you want me to tell you whether I shall be coming over next year. It's not out of the question, though it certainly won't be in the heat of July and August — one August in New York was quite enough for me. [441] Bebel is thinking of visiting America after the Zurich Congress, [541] i. e. in September or October. If he does, I might accompany him. But these are castles in the air. For, as you can see, even the plan I made for this year fell through a fortnight after it had been definitely decided upon, so how can I be expected to make plans a whole year in advance?

I realised long ago that some time you'd find it necessary to break with that madman Hepner. The man's got a mass of bees in his bonnet and either learns nothing or else gets it all wrong.

Cordial regards to your wife. [a]

Your
F. E.

My regards to Schlüter also.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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[a] Katharina Sorge

## 259

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN LUNZ

Ryde, 25 August 1892

Dear August,

Your letter dated 23, St Gallen, arrived this morning. I know perfectly well that the Prussians cannot do me any serious harm, but better safe than sorry and one never knows what chicanery those gents may not get up to. Some bright busybody of a policeman might at any time take it into his head to make things awkward for me under some bogus pretext or other and, perhaps, improve the shining hour by getting hold of certain letters from Miquel to Marx.[a] And, as you know, the Prussians make it a rule not to humiliate in public any official who commits a blunder, but at most quietly to haul him over the coals after having publicly whitewashed what he has done.

By the by, my projected journey is once more very much in the air. During the last day or two I have once or twice ambled along to the nearest post office some three hundred paces from the house and this trial of strength has again resulted in a total if temporary inability to walk more than a few steps, extraordinary sensitivity to pressure from the bandage in the inguinal region, etc.—which means that I'm laid up again. Today there is some improvement as a result of my having rested, but whether, in the 13 days between now and the 7th, things will have improved enough for me to be able to undertake the trip is, I think, very questionable. Well, we shall see.

No further news from Louise. On the other hand, I was delighted to hear from Dietz that, at your request, he had paid the second instalment of the fee for the *Condition*,[b] namely 500 M., to Victor.[c] At the beginning of September there is going to be something else of mine in the *Neue Zeit*,[d] the fee for which will be paid to Victor, and I have like-

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[a] See Marx's letter to E. S. Beesly of 12 June 1871 (present edition, Vol. 44). - [b] second German edition (1892) of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* - [c] Adler - [d] F. Engels, 'Introduction to the English Edition (1892) of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*'.

wise instructed Dietz to pay him *all* balances accruing to me with his firm. I have *got* to finish the third volume of *Capital* this winter and then, having rid myself of that burden, I shall be able to earn some more money again.

You are perfectly right about it's being sheer madness for the government to make the military estimates an occasion for dissolving the Reichstag, should the two year period of military service be turned down.[a] Nevertheless we cannot exclude the possibility that something of the kind may happen — considering the nature of the 'determining' factors in the German Empire today.

That Russia cannot go to war in Europe is evident from her activities in Central Asia — the other horn of her dilemma.[558] And there she is being very foolish. It will not intimidate the British but arouse their wrath and make it impossible for Mr Gladstone to give free rein to his Russophilia. While Gladstone might be prepared to sacrifice Constantinople, he could in no circumstances tolerate a threat to India; that would never do.

To me, the Isle of Wight seems intolerably boring when I think of you setting out alone on the journey on which I should have accompanied you. And then Louise goes and imagines I'm only shamming sick! Instead of sending this letter to Lunz, I should a thousand times rather have come in person. Today is the 15th day I have been confined to this little house and garden as to a prison, having in the last four days only made three excursions of three hundred paces down the road — with the result that I am again under the most stringent house and garden arrest. Today there is a flower show on the pier and tomorrow a regatta, and all the Pumpses will be going, while I shall have to stick at home — what a thrill! The only thing I am really glad about is that this trouble didn't come upon me while I was on my travels — that really would have been a pretty kettle of fish.

Well, give my regards to Victor and to his wife[b] and children; likewise to the Witch who will, I presume, have written to me in the meantime, and tell them all how very sorry I am not to be able to

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[a] See this volume, p. 504. - [b] Emma Adler

come out and join you. But next year, if I am still alive, I shall assuredly come.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

IN LUNZ

Ryde, 30 August 1892

Dear Victor,

I was unable to reply yesterday to all the points in your letter, partly because there was no room on the page, partly because I had no time — our mid-day meal is at 2 and the post goes at 3. But now that sweet, impatient Oberdöbling[a] has sent me a postcard pestering me for a letter, I can write to you today about the rest.

What you say about tactics is only too true.[559] But there are all too many who, for convenience sake and to save themselves the trouble of racking their brains, would like to carry on indefinitely employing tactics that are appropriate only to the moment. We don't fashion our tactics out of nothing, but out of changing circumstances. In our present situation we must all too often allow our opponents to dictate them to us.

You are also right about the Independents.[560] I still recall the years — at the time I was still corresponding officially with Liebknecht — when I had to engage in a ceaseless struggle against the all-pervading, typically German petty bourgeois mentality. By and large we are safely over that in Imperial Germany, but as for the petty bourgeois in the parliamentary group, what a crew! — and more and

[a] Louise Kautsky (Oberdöbling forms part of Vienna).

more keep on arriving. In circumstances such as these a workers' party has no choice other than between the working man who is promptly made to suffer for it, in which case he readily deteriorates into a party pensioner, and the petty bourgeois who, though self-supporting, brings discredit on the party. And by comparison with them your Independent is a pearl beyond price.

What you say about the rapid industrial advance of Austria and Hungary has pleased me immensely. That is the only solid basis for the advancement of our movement. And it is also the only good aspect of protectionism — at any rate in the case of most of the continental countries and of America. Large-scale industry, big capitalists and large masses of the proletarians are being artificially nurtured, the centralisation of capital is being speeded up and the middle classes destroyed. In Germany protective tariffs were, in fact, unnecessary, having been introduced at the precise moment when Germany was establishing herself in the world market and it is *that* process which they have disrupted, though to make up for it they have filled a number of gaps in German industry which would otherwise have long remained unfilled and, were Germany to be compelled to sacrifice her protective tariffs to her position in the world market, she would be far better able to compete than hitherto. Both in Germany and in America protective tariffs are now simply a hindrance because they hinder those countries from taking their proper place in the world market. In America, therefore, they are bound to be abandoned before long and Germany is bound to follow suit.

By promoting your industry, however, you will be doing England a service; the more quickly her domination of the world market is utterly destroyed, the sooner will the workers over here come to power. Continental and American competition (and likewise Indian) has finally precipitated a crisis in Lancashire, the first of its consequences being the prompt conversion of the workers to the eight-hour day.[a]

Cooperation with the Czechs is necessary also from the political viewpoint. These people live in the middle of Germany, we are linked to them as they are to us, and it is in the interests of us all not to let them turn into a young Czech-cum-Russian-cum-pan-Slav preserve. True, there are means of coping even with that in the long run, but it is better to be safe than sorry. And since these people can get anything out of us they may need or want *quoad*[b] national autonomy *on*

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[a] See this volume, pp. 503-04 and 508-09. - [b] in regard to

*Czech territory*, there is in fact no danger. (As you see, in none of this do I take any account of their temporary political separation from Germany.)

I return to London next week; although I'm better today, it is nevertheless unlikely that anything will come of my trip to Berlin.

Many regards to everyone on the editorial staff.[a]

Your
F. E.

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## 261

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[439]

IN STUTTGART

Ryde, 4 September 1892

Dear Baron,

Ede wants to know when I shall be back in London, but instead of giving me his address he merely states that he has left Kilchberg and is en route to Zurich; moreover, all the times he gives are so vague as to make it quite impossible to correspond with him at this range. As I imagine that you are better informed than I am, perhaps you would tell him that I return to London the day after tomorrow, the 6th.[530]

My lameness still rules out any possibility of my travelling further than that. In London I shall probably have to spend another two weeks lying on the sofa, but otherwise the thing is of no significance.

Sorge's article on Homestead naturally takes precedence. Come to that, I am in no great hurry provided the German text appears at the same time as the English one or a *little* later.[561] Needless to say I have heard nothing about the latter for the past two months.

Had you been here during the last election,[504] you would have

[a] of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*

spoken differently about the FABIANS.[87] As regards our tactics we have one firm rule for all modern countries and for all times and that is to prevail upon the workers to form their own independent party in opposition to all bourgeois parties. At the last election the English workers, impelled by the course of events, took, if still only instinctively, their first decisive step in this direction; that step proved surprisingly successful and contributed more towards the development of the workers' minds than any other event of the past 20 years. And what did the FABIANS do — not this or that individual but the FABIAN SOCIETY as a whole? It preached and practised *the affiliation of the workers to the Liberals*, the result being what one might expect. The Liberals assigned them four seats, none of which could possibly have been won and the Fabian candidates met with a resounding defeat. That paradoxical man of letters, Shaw — extremely talented and witty as a writer but utterly useless as an economist and politician, though an honourable man nevertheless and no careerist — wrote to Bebel saying that if they didn't pursue this policy of imposing their candidates upon the Liberals, they would reap nothing but DEFEAT AND DISGRACE (as though defeat was not often more honourable than victory) — and now, having pursued this policy, they have reaped both.

That is the crux of the whole matter. Now that, for the first time, the workers are taking an independent stand, the FABIAN SOCIETY is urging them to remain an appendage of the Liberals. And this must be made abundantly clear to the continental Socialists; to hush it up would be to connive at it. And that is why I am sorry that the Avelings' postscript should have failed to appear.[538] It was not written *post festum*,[a] not as an afterthought, but was overlooked in the hurry to get the article off. The article is incomplete without the description of the attitude of the two Socialist organisations[b] in regard to the elections — and the readers of the *Neue Zeit* have a right to hear about this.

I believe that I myself told you in my last letter that both in the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION[29] and in the FABIAN SOCIETY the provincial members are better than the central body. But that won't do any good so long as the attitude of the central body determines that of the Society. As to the rest of those sterling fellows, I know none of them apart from Banner. Since joining the FABIAN SOCIETY Banner has not, oddly enough, put in an appearance at my house. I imagine he was

[a] after the event - [b] The Fabian Society and the Social Democratic Federation

impelled by disgust at the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION and the need for some kind of organisation — perhaps also by a few illusions. But this particular swallow doesn't make a summer.

You feel that there is something half-baked about the FABIAN SOCIETY. On the contrary, the chaps are only *too well* done, a clique of middle class 'socialists' of varying calibre from the careerist to the sentimental socialist and the philanthropist, who are united only in their fear of impending Labour rule and are moving heaven and earth to avert this threat by consolidating their *own* leadership — the leadership of the 'heddicated'.[a] If they then admit a working man or two to their central executive, thereby enabling the latter to perform an Albert *ouvrier*[b] of 1848 act in the shape of a constantly outvoted minority, that ought to deceive nobody.

The means employed by the FABIAN SOCIETY are indistinguishable from those employed in corrupt parliamentary politics: money, intrigue, careerism, i. e. after the English fashion where it is taken for granted that every political party (save only, it seems, in the case of Labour!) should pay its agents in one way or another or reward them with posts. These chaps are up to their eyes in the intrigues of the Liberal party and hold office in it, one such being Sydney Webb who is altogether a typical British POLITICIAN. There is nothing one can tell the workers to beware of that these chaps are not already practising.

This is not to suggest, of course, that you should treat these people as enemies. But in my view they should no more be shielded from criticism than anyone else. And that is what the omission from the Avelings' article of the passage relating to them certainly looked like. But if you would like the Avelings to supply you with an article on the history and attitude of the various socialist organisations in England, you have only to say so and I shall suggest it to them.

I was very taken with your article on Vollmar[c]; it will do him more harm than any amount of wrangling in the *Vorwärts*.[532] Moreover, the endless threats of expulsion ought no longer to remain uncensured. Today they are wholly uncalled for reminders of the dictatorial period of the Anti-Socialist Law.[11] One must now give the rotten elements time to become so rotten that they defect virtually of their own accord. The discipline of a party numbered in millions is quite differ-

[a] The Berlin dialect in the original. - [b] Albert the working man - [c] K. Kautsky, 'Vollmar und der Staatssozialismus', *Die Neue Zeit*, 10. Jg. 1891/92, 2. Bd., Nr. 49.

ent from that of a sect numbered in hundreds. What you might have gone into a bit further is the way in which 'state socialism as such' *necessarily* turns in practice into fiscality, and this in the only land where it is practicable, namely Prussia (which you expound very nicely).

Ede's critique of Proudhon [542] was also very nice. I was especially glad to see that he is his old self again.

Your
F. E.

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## 262

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

[Ryde, 5 September 1892]

Dear Baron,

I forgot to reply to you about Bonnier the day before yesterday.[562] If you look at the reports on England and Germany over the signature 'B' or Bernard in the *Socialiste*, it will enable you to judge to what extent you can make use of him. Bonnier is a sterling fellow, but his German studies have somewhat spoiled the Frenchman in him, something I have observed more than once in his fellow countrymen. He lives in a world of books and will find it difficult accurately to weigh the facts of the living movement one against the other. Moreover he resides at Oxford, far removed from all the activity, besides which he has an unshakeable faith in Guesde. Guesde's illusions and optimism are in many respects of great value within the movement itself, in much the same way as are Liebknecht's; neither is prone to despair. But these qualities are hardly suited to the reporting of current activities. However Bonnier, with his native intelligence, is bound

gradually to gain in refinement — not that I have seen much of him of late. If the others on the daily [423] are finding more than enough to do, you really haven't much alternative — provided that Bonnier, too, is not fully occupied in that quarter.

Regards from Pumps and Percy.

Your
F. E.

I return to London tomorrow.[530]

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## 263

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

### IN AHLBECK

Ryde, 5 September 1892

Dear Kugelmann,

There will be no trip to Germany for me this year. I have gone lame and must take it easy for the next fortnight at least before I can so much as begin to move about again. Meanwhile I shall be returning to London tomorrow.[530] However I still intend to make another tour of inspection of my native land next year, but whether I shall also manage to take in Hanover is impossible to say so far in advance, the more so as I have seen this summer how quickly all such plans can come to nothing, for this year I have been cheated out of a long and delightful trip and who can tell whether we shall still be alive next year. But you may rest assured that I shall leave the 'Pomeranian grandees' [563] to others. The last of them I saw was an alleged Baron Grumbkow, a seedy looking individual who in the role of professional

beggar tried to touch me for a loan some six months ago but was thrown out. *Cela me suffit.*[a] With many regards.

Your
F. Engels

Please let Singer have the enclosed.

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## 264

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 11 September 1892

My dear Laura,

I am here again since last Tuesday,[b] still house-bound, but mending. Louise I expect back on Wednesday, Bebel fetched her from Vienna to Berlin and there she is now.

Thanks for the news about the paper.[423] Then Luce being out of it, I take it that the old agreement has lost its binding power over the other signatories too, unless expressly renewed by them. With Luce, too, his friend Vignaud has, I suppose, also gone out (the man is unknown to me). Anyhow it looks as if a new combination was being tried—let us hope it will be successful and the last of its race.

Here we have had a very important event which will occupy *all* the Socialist parties of the Continent. As you will see from enclosed report, the Trades Union Congress[540] deliberately rejected the invitation to the Zurich Congress[541] and resolved to call together '*immediately*' an Eight Hours Congress of its own—and an international

[a] That was enough for me.—[b] 6 September

one too! This requires action on our part, and if possible, *concerted action of the whole Continent.*

The English workmen are so deeply infected with the Parliamentary spirit of compromise that they cannot do a step in advance without at the same time taking $^3/_4$ or $^7/_8$ of a step backwards. Thus the sudden awakening of the Eight Hours' enthusiasm (3 years ago considered an impossibility, you know, by the very people who now clamour loudest after it) has almost succeeded in giving a reactionary character to that cry. It is to be the universal panacea, the one thing to be thought of. In their exultation at having secured so soon such a large and unexpected majority, the mass of the 8 hours' men now sacrifice everything that goes further, to the newly-converted 'Old' Unionists. This massacre of the Socialist Innocents is submitted to all the easier as the 'New' elements [520] are divided, without general organisation, personally unknown to each other, and have not as yet had the time to develop men enjoying the confidence of all; as you know, this can only be obtained here in Britain by what Ruge called *die Kraft der wiederholten Erscheinung*,[a] the effect of hawking your own person constantly for years before the public, *teste* Shipton, Cremer, Howell, etc.

Anyhow the fact is there. The T. U. C. by a deliberate vote of 189 to 97, nearly 2 to 1, has placed itself outside the universal working men's movement and resolved to march apart. With every possible insult our invitation has been flung back in our faces. Not even an order to the Parliamentary Committee [557] to reply politely. Not even a formal motion based on the invitation; a counter-motion is brought in, and then the invitation has to slip in as an amendment, otherwise it would not have been noticed at all. You will see from the full report I shall send you what a trouble Will Thorne had *to get it even brought before the Congress*! In fact the insult is complete.

Now what's to be done? This has to be considered seriously, and first of all by the French as their Marseille Congress [555] is before the Berlin one (16 October [564]). If we reply to the insult in the way it deserves, the Possibilists [3] and Blanquists, *who are sure to go to the Trades Union Congress*, will make capital out of it. On the other hand, if the Possibilists and Blanquists go, and are *alone* of all Continental Socialists, then all the better for us. Therefore I consider it of the highest importance that our French friends *at once agree upon a common line of*

[a] the impact of repeated appearance

*action with Bebel and the German Executive.* If Germany and France act together, Spain, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, probably Belgium, will follow, and Domela[a] may go if he likes.

At present — I have not yet had Edward's personal report on the affair (he was there) — my opinion is this:

1) France and Germany ought at Marseille and Berlin to proclaim their intention to ignore this pseudo-Congress altogether.

2) They ought to do this in a resolution of firm, but quiet and not hostile language, which, if possible, should be identical for both and a model for the other nationalities; leaving the door open to future T. U. Congresses, and to single Trades Unions even at present, to return to the fold. This they are sure to do, I am sure many will regret their vote before many days are over.

3) If *mild* counsels should prevail, and it should be resolved to be present at this British Congress, for the sake of peace, then *one* delegate from each country ought to go and no more. And he must, *as a matter of form*, be elected and *mandaté* by the *Trades Union Congress*, or *Executive thereof* and be a *bona fide* workman or *he will not be admitted.* And this one delegate should depose a distinct protest.

I shall write to Bebel tomorrow on this matter.[b] In the meantime please let me know *where* your people are and what can be done to come to an understanding with the Germans.

I enclose you a specimen of the French correspondence the *Vorwärts* is now printing and Liebknecht will excuse it, no doubt, saying that if our people will not send reports he must take them where he can get them.

If I hear anything more from Edward before this letter goes, I shall put it in.

Ever yours,
F. E.

In a day or two I send you 2 books of mine.[c]
The Scotch paper goes by the same post as this.

First published in *Labour Monthly*, No. 10, London, 1955

Reproduced from the original

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[a] Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis - [b] See next letter. - [c] *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, London, New York, 1892, and *Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England*, Stuttgart, 1892.

## 265

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN BERLIN

London, 11 September 1892

Dear August,

So you intend to keep the Witch with you for one more day. No doubt in order to instruct her how best to manage the General in regard to his drinking and other sins; meanwhile you carry on urging me to keep an eye on her — but you mustn't imagine that I don't see through you. You want to stir up trouble between us, though what your perfidious motives may be, heaven knows, but you wait, my lad, it isn't as simple as all that. By way of revenge I shall bombard you with more work than you want and shall start straight away.

The TRADES Congress in Glasgow [540] has declared war on us Continentals. Malice on the part of the leaders of the old unions and, on the part of the new,[520] stupidity combined with a want of confidence either in themselves or each other — hence, too, of organisation *as a party* at the Congress where for decades the old unions have constituted a tightly knit group. When the chaps realise what they have done, most of them will regret it.

Well, the Zurich Committee had sent to the Parliamentary Committee [557] a letter addressed *to the Congress* containing an invitation to Zurich in 1893 [541]; this had been composed by Tussy.[a] The Parliamentary Committee attempted to suppress the letter. Will Thorne vainly pressed for news of it and demanded that it be read out, but met with repeated refusals on the grounds that the Congress must leave it to the Parliamentary Committee to decide which documents it should produce!! In the end Matkin (Liverpool) moved that the TRADES UNION Congress should convene an *international congress* for 1 May 1893 to adopt resolutions and pave the way for an international legal eight hour day.— Parnell, who had been in Paris,[b] was against it. They should, he said, send delegates to the Zurich Congress and settle the matter there. A big debate ensued in the course of

[a] See this volume, pp. 495 and 496-97. - [b] at the 1889 International Socialist Congress

which the 'old' unionists kept asking what point there was in going to Zurich, whether it was desirable to identify oneself with the continental socialists' WILD schemes, etc.—There was a further demand that the Zurich letter be read out and at last it was resolved that this should be done. And so, to save appearances, the Zurich letter was finally read out, whereupon a vote was taken and Matkin's resolution regarding the congress (which, however, is to be held *IMMEDIATELY* instead of on 1 May 1893) was adopted by 189 to 97. Thus, with hardly a second thought, the Zurich invitation was not so much rejected as consigned to the waste paper basket. In return, however, the 'ill-organised' continental proletariat was most graciously permitted to attend a congress in England, there to be lectured, indoctrinated and organised by the true leaders of the 8 hours movement—by those who only the day before had been engaging them in mortal combat. You will see from the detailed report in a Scottish paper, which I shall send you as soon as I get it, that the old unionists have insulted us for all they were worth while the young ones have acted like schoolboys.

Meanwhile I enclose the only report I have to hand.

However one must not take it too hard. The new unions are so delighted with the old unions' conversion to the legal 8 hours that they have allowed themselves to be caught napping over this issue. Most of them are undoubtedly regretting it already, as will they all as soon as they realise what they have done. In my view it is up to the Continentals to bring this home to them, and provided the former act together, the affair will end badly for the 'old' unions.

1. France and Germany must act together. All the rest will then follow suit. Accordingly I am today proposing to the French through Laura that they should get in touch with you people in order that the aforesaid resolution should be followed by resolution couched, *if possible in identical terms*,[a] at your congresses in Marseilles[555] and Berlin.[564] So far as I can judge at this moment (I haven't yet seen Aveling who was present at Glasgow, nor have I consulted anyone else), your best plan would be to point out in firm but calm and not unfriendly language that you *utterly reject* the newly-fledged eight hours congress, while, at the same time, renewing your invitation to the individual TRADES UNIONS to send delegates to the Zurich Congress.

[a] See this volume, p. 521.

(The Zurich Committee would also have to do the same, that is to say in a circular — Tussy will be writing to them about it but a push from you people would also be a help.)

2. If, however, one wants to go further and heap coals of fire on the heads of infants who don't know what they are about, then it would be up to the French and Germans to send *one man each* to explain the position and register a protest against the Glasgow resolution. They will have to be delegated by the Central *Trades Union* Committee and be, or have been, *bona fide working men, otherwise they won't be admitted.*

If Marseilles and Berlin are at one, Austria, Spain and Italy will follow. Switzerland is a certainty, for she was the immediate recipient of the affront; Belgium will probably follow and likewise the Scandinavians. In which case Mr Nieuwenhuis, the Possibilists [3] and the Blanquists are welcome to go and visit the TRADES UNIONS, whereupon they really will find themselves outside the great European movement.

That, provisionally, is my opinion just now. As soon as I hear anything further I shall write again. Meanwhile you people might think the matter over. At all events the arrogance of the 'old' unions and the spinelessness of the new afford you a splendid opportunity to explain your point of view to the English and to show them that the class-conscious continental proletariat has no intention of placing itself under the leadership of people who regard the wage system as an eternal and immutable universal institution.

It is a real blessing that the blinkered, biassed, *exclusively* trades union movement should now have exposed its reactionary nature in so merciless a light.

One more vignette: as a result of a formal resolution at the last conference of the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION,[565] Mr Hyndman was requested (unanimously so it is said) to keep himself more in the background and to discontinue his activities at the head of the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION.

The main concern of us all is that Marseilles and Berlin should act resolutely and in concert. All else is of secondary importance. If both of them pass identical resolutions, these will be adopted throughout Europe and that's the kind of thing that finds its way into all the papers over here. Your trades union congresses ought also to protest.

The Scottish paper with report is going off to you by *this* post. Warm regards to Mrs Julie,[a] the Witch, you yourself and all my friends.

Yours
F. E.

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## 266

## ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT[177]

### IN ZURICH

London, 12 September 1892

Dear Schmidt,

A few days ago I came back from Ryde where I had been paying an involuntary six-week visit to Pumps.[530] A tiresome but otherwise insignificant complaint ruined both my holiday and a continental tour in the course of which you might otherwise have very possibly seen me in Zurich.

I look forward to seeing your other papers on the rate of profit. Fireman didn't send me his article[b] — can one get hold of that particular number? If so, I shall order it, provided you can tell me exactly which number it was, and also the title of the article. To print the section on the rate of profit separately and in advance is quite out of the question, for you should know that in Marx everything is so interrelated that nothing can be torn out of context. In any case — always provided my health holds out and *I am left in peace* — I shall be done with Volume III[c] this winter (but please don't breathe a word about this; I know how often something has intervened),

[a] Julie Bebel - [b] P. Fireman, 'Kritik der Marx'schen Werttheorie', *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, 3. Folge, Bd. 3, Jena, 1892. - [c] of *Capital*

whereupon the poor professorial soul will be set at rest upon that count, only to be plunged instantly into an even worse state of agitation.

As regards Marx's view of history, you will find an article of mine about it in the next number of the *Neue Zeit* — it has already appeared over here in English.[462]

The Germans are utterly useless on the subject of money and credit. Many years ago Marx himself mercilessly ridiculed Knies.[566] The most useful things in English are Tooke's *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle*, 1844 and Fullarton's *On the Regulation of Currencies*, 2nd ed., 1845, both of which are only to be had second-hand. Everything there is to be said about money *qua* money may be found in the first volume of *Capital*. In the third there will, of course, be a great deal about credit and credit money; it is that particular section that is giving me most trouble.

Roger's *Economic Interpretation of History* is in many respects a very instructive book, if exceedingly superficial theoretically speaking. There is, of course, no question of an interpretation à la Marx.

Your essay in the *Neue Zeit*[a] gave me great pleasure. It's as if cut out for this country, since the Fabian Society[87] positively pullulates with Jevons-Mengerians[522] who look down with infinite contempt on a Marx they have long since outdistanced. If there were a review over here that would take it, I would, with your permission, get Aveling to translate it under my supervision. But *just now* nothing is likely to come of this, there being no such review.

As regards the worthy Independents,[333] their fate is of their own making. For years the party has endured their yapping with truly angelic patience and even at Erfurt[301] it gave them ample opportunity to substantiate their mendacious tittle-tattle, but a million people cannot go on forever putting up with the obstructionism of fifty young whippersnappers who reserve the right to cast aspersions without having to substantiate them. Now that they've been chucked out, now that they have the chance of showing what they are capable of, all we get is endless lies and vituperation. And what, may I ask, has been achieved by those who showed some promise — the Kampff-

[a] C. Schmidt, 'Die psychologische Richtung in der neueren National-Oekonomie', *Die Neue Zeit*, 10. Jg. 1891/92, 2. Bd., Nr. 40, 41.

meyers, Ernsts, Müllers et al.— now that they are no longer under the thumb of the party leadership? Their paper[a] is utterly without substance and apart from that they produce nothing. If these gentlemen believe they are capable of something, why don't they do it? Nor is the case in any way altered by the fact that, in polemicising against them, as in so much else, the *Vorwärts* is sometimes clumsy and all too often overshoots the mark. Did not these gentlemen, even *before* the split, treat the parliamentary group and the party leadership to language no less intemperate than that used by the *Vorwärts* against themselves? In addition they are by and large *completely harmless.* In Germany they are as moribund as anyone else who detaches himself from the big movement. Now that the movement has grown strong actually inside Germany and is directed from within that country, the societies abroad are the only favourable breeding-ground for the kind of wrangles I have had to endure for 45 years in the society over here.[89] Up till 1860 the best chaps were, as a rule, abroad; now the position is reversed. The societies abroad consist of very impermanent elements who very seldom attain the average level of those at home, stand outside the movement in Germany to which they are merely extraneous appendages, and, since they rarely have any genuine occupation, are bored and hence far more susceptible to petty squabbling.

I am aware that you have many childhood and university friends amongst the Jungen, but it's something you must come to terms with. Indeed it's perfectly possible to remain good friends despite political differences. But we've all had to go through the same thing, in my case, in my own pious ultra-reactionary family. And then there is always the possibility of exerting a beneficial influence on your old friends by guiding their footsteps towards study rather than rodomontade. If the gentlemen would only go on with their studies, the more serviceable amongst them would soon come to their senses. But I'm afraid that the chronic megalomania so rampant among these people will prevent them from so doing. And as for provocation and embitterment, these are things that are unavoidable in the circumstances. 'I came not to send peace but a sword.'[b]

[a] *Der Sozialist* - [b] Matthew 10:34

In the next few days I shall let you have the *Condition of the Working-Class*.[a]

With kind regards

Your
F. Engels

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## 267

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 16 September 1892

Dear Baron,

Ede has asked me to send you a copy of a passage from the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*.[567] He gives only the opening words, but doesn't say *how much* is wanted, so you will find herewith a copy of the thing up to the end of the letter and you'll have to see how much of it is usable.

Kovalevsky, who is over here, says he would probably be prepared to let you have an article for the *Neue Zeit* on Lavrov's great Russian work *Zadači istoriji mysli, The Functions of the History of Thought*; but he would have to write it in French. If you would like to have the article, please let me know.[568]

There was high old confusion at the TRADES UNION Congress[540] in Glasgow.[b] The 'old' unions did everything in their power to achieve victory and, being organised and known to one another and of old repute, they were largely successful vis-à-vis the 'new' ones,[520] which didn't yet know the ropes, fell foul of the rules of procedure, were known neither to one another nor to many of the more honest elements amongst the 'old' unions, and hence possessed few personalities

[a] F. Engels, *Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England*, Stuttgart, 1892. - [b] See this volume, pp. 519-20 and 522-24.

who, aside from their particular standing in the party, were personally respected by all concerned.* So it came about that the majority of those elected to the PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE [557] consisted of 'old' unionists, while Fenwick was re-elected secretary. The fact that the old unionists had given up as hopeless their opposition to the 8 hour day and continued to oppose the *legal* 8 hour day only *pro forma*, for the sake of appearances, quite delighted the majority of new unionists who, in their glee over the victory of the LEGAL 8 HOURS, were prepared to surrender everything else. So it came about that they not only demanded steps be taken to combat the immigration of 'PAUPERS', but turned down with contumely, and in a manner directly insulting to us, the invitation to the Zurich Congress [541] (amongst other things, because that Congress had not been convoked by the English TRADES UNION Congress!!); and at the same time resolved that an international eight hours congress be convoked immediately. What happened during this debate you will see from the Scottish paper Tussy has sent you.

It is now evident that our Continentals must take up the cudgels against this. It's a good opportunity for them to show the snooty TRADES UNIONS what their standpoint is. A start will doubtless be made by the French at Marseilles.[555]

Unfortunately I shall not be able to send you the *Workman's Times* for some little while, at any rate. For a time Burgess sent copies to Bebel and sundry other Continentals, but has suddenly ceased to do so — since the jackass doesn't want to have any truck with Continentals who 'do not even possess a TRADES ORGANISATION'. Now I shall have to send Bebel the copy which in the past has been available for you, since the Executive has *got* to have one and I can't very well alter before November the number of copies on order; I have trouble enough as it is in getting the right number of copies ordered. In November I shall be renewing my subscription, on which occasion I shall be able to make other arrangements.

At the last conference of the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION [565] Hyndman was requested — unanimously, it is said — to resign from the leadership of the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION and to confine his activities to writing. We shall see whether it lasts. But it's hard on him.

* Neither Hardie nor Tom Mann enjoy popularity in *broader* circles. Burns, who might have handled many things differently, wasn't there.

It's a pity that Ede should also have missed the TRADES UNION Congress, but it couldn't be helped. So far as he himself is concerned, it's all to the good that his holiday should have been prolonged.

Though still housebound, I am slowly improving.

Your
F. E.

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## 268

## ENGELS TO REGINA AND EDUARD BERNSTEIN [357]

IN ZURICH

London, 17 September 1892

Dear Gine,

From Louise, who came back here on Wednesday,[a] I have learned that you are still in Zurich and that Käte[b] is already in this country, and yesterday the letter from you and Ede at last enabled me to connect up the broken telegraph wires again. We are most sorry that you should still be so unwell but that is something that will eventually pass, and in the meantime Ede can continue to recuperate in the open air for a while longer, which will be most beneficial for him and do the party no harm, now that he has in any case missed the TRADES UNION Congress.[540] The latter was the scene of considerable confusion. The most interesting session from our point of view was the one on Thursday[c] on the question of the Congress.[d] If we had known your address, we'd have sent Ede a Scottish paper containing an account of it, but as it is, the few copies we had have been sent elsewhere.

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[a] 14 September - [b] Käte Schattner - [c] 8 September - [d] See this volume, pp. 519-20, 522-24 and 528-29.

When, despite continuous prodding from Thorne, the letter of invitation from Zurich 'to the TRADE UNION CONGRESS' in Glasgow had obstinately been withheld for 4 whole days, Matkin tabled a motion, clearly concocted in conjunction with the 'old' unionists with a view to preventing attendance at Zurich, in which he called for the convocation of an international 8 hours congress of their own. Parnell, on the other hand, proposed an AMENDMENT to the effect that it would be better to go to Zurich. According to Ed. Aveling, Parnell and Quelch spoke very well. At that, all the old unionists went mad. The continental workers, they said, were weak and badly organised, but if the English took them under their wing all might go well; in any case the Zurich Congress had not been convoked by the English TRADES UNIONS. Besides, who would want to associate himself with all the WILD THEORIES and the kind of SOCIALISM that throve on the Continent, etc.? (This latter anxiety, in particular, being voiced in rasping tones by a Lancashire weaver,[a] one of the new converts to the 8 hour day.)

In short, in their delight that there should now be almost no opposition to the 8 HOURS DAY, and by way of a sop to the weak in spirit — the Lancashire cotton operatives — they unceremoniously consigned the Continentals' invitation to the waste paper basket, and by 189 votes to 97, no less!

Now this, although most of them were probably unaware of what they were doing, was in fact a disgusting insult and a slap in the face for the entire continental Labour movement. We instantly broadcast the news here, there and everywhere and no doubt the first riposte will come from the French in a few days' time at Marseilles.[555] It's a heaven-sent opportunity — without making too much of the matter — for putting a damper on the self-conceit of the *old* TRADES unionists who are proving ever more reactionary.

Herewith a *Pall-Mall* containing an article of Aveling's about the Hamburg socialists and the cholera.[b]

In the *Daily Chronicle* there was a long review, which no doubt you will have seen, of SOCIALISM UTOPIAN, etc.[c] What a canny lot they are!

The French daily has not yet emerged from the embryonic

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[a] David Holmes - [b] E. Aveling, 'The Cholera and the Hamburg Socialists', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 8577, 16 September 1892. - [c] the English edition (1892) of F. Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*

stage; negotiations are still proceeding but this is better than if the chaps were again to rush headlong into some short-lived venture.[423]

Louise came back in a very cheerful mood, having found her mother and Ignaz very hale and hearty. She sends her warm regards.

Now for a note to Ede, so farewell for today.

With warm regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

Dear Ede,

The relevant passage went off to K. Kautsky[a] yesterday—indeed the *entire* letter from the point at which you began to quote; I told K. Kautsky that *he* would know how much to use, whether the whole thing or only a part, and which part.

At the last conference of the Social Democratic Federation[565] (Bank Holiday,[569] the first Monday in August), Taylor, the unsuccessful candidate for Hackney,[b] proposed that Hyndman be thrown out. This met with great acclaim, particularly among the provincial delegates; however, Taylor was persuaded to tone down his motion in order that as large a majority as possible might be obtained. And thus it was resolved (unanimously, according to Taylor) that Hyndman be requested to resign from the leadership of the Social Democratic Federation and devote himself to written propaganda. How long this will continue remains to be seen. At all events it is a bitter blow for the megalomaniac. Cahan of New York, who called on him without knowing about this, found him in a very despondent, chastened frame of mind and remarkably conciliatory towards all those he had hitherto torn to shreds.

The *Workman's Times*, i.e. Burgess, now also wishes to become party leader. You will have seen that the £400, which he placed at the disposal of Burns, Keir Hardie, Taylor and Ben Ellis during the elections, emanated from Champion (or rather, through him, from Hudson's Soap).

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[a] See this volume, p. 528. - [b] district of London

In short, there have been a good many changes here during your absence and you will find the chaps engaged in a variety of interesting pursuits.

Many regards,

Your
F. E.

I haven't yet seen Käte.

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## 269

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [141]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 17 September 1892

My dear Lafargue,

Your opinion that we should take advantage of the opportunity of teaching the old English TRADES UNIONS a lesson is also shared by Bebel. If Liebknecht goes to Marseilles,[555] you will have a good chance of coming to an understanding with him. At the same time you might ask him why the *Vorwärts* is packed with news about the doings and sayings of the Broussists,[3] Allemanists[53] and Blanquists, yet is virtually silent on the subject of our own people. However they are saying in Berlin that the cholera is rampant in Marseilles and that might put a stop to his trip.

Since the English TRADES UNIONS recognise only *bona fide* WORKING MEN and then only those who are organised in trade unions, it is of the utmost importance that not only the Workers' Party Congress, but also, and in particular, the French trade unions,[570] who will be holding their congress a few days before ours, should take a firm stand on the presumption of the English in seeking to ignore the *existing* movement on the Continent so as to start another one under their own leadership and based on their own views. French trade unionists will as-

suredly protest against what was said in Glasgow[540] about themselves and other continental working men.

(Woods M. P.)

'that the organisations on the Continent OF EUROPE WERE VERY INEFFECTIVE, BUT HE FELT SURE THAT IF THE POWERFUL ORGANISATION IN ENGLAND WOULD *ONLY EXTEND THE HAND OF FELLOWSHIP AND SYMPATHY* AND BROTHERHOOD' (what, nothing more?!) 'TO THEIR FRIENDS ON THE CONTINENT, THEY COULD MINIMISE THE DIFFICULTIES' ETC.!

Foster OF Durham, MINER:

'HE WAS STRUCK WITH THE REMARKS OF MR. WOODS, THAT THEIR EFFORTS IN THIS COUNTRY WERE TO A CERTAIN EXTENT NEUTRALISED BY THEIR FELLOW-WORKMEN IN OTHER COUNTRIES WHO WERE NOT ORGANISED SO WELL AS THOSE IN THIS COUNTRY; *THEIR SOCIAL POSITION WAS NOT EQUAL TO OURS*' (!!!) ...'IF THEY COULD GET THEIR FELLOW-WORKMEN ON THE CONTINENT *TO SHOW THE SAME CONSENSUS OF OPINION AS THOSE IN THIS COUNTRY* WHEN THEY MADE UP THEIR MIND TO A PARTICULAR ACTION

(he is referring to the 8 Hours and you know how strongly the English opposed it when the Continent was already unanimous — those selfsame Englishmen who, one after another, are now giving tongue!)

'THEY WOULD THEN KNOW THAT THE POWER OF LABOUR COULD ACHIEVE THE OBJECT' ETC.

Holmes, Burnley (cotton weaver, newly converted to the 8 Hours and anxious to prove that this change of front hasn't turned him into a socialist cannibal):

'WERE THERE SOME ADVANCED, OR AS THEY CALLED THEM, SOCIALIST MOVEMENTS ON THE CONTINENT, THAT THEY WANTED TO DRAG THEM INTO (at Zurich).[541] HE ASKED THOSE GENTLEMEN IF THEY WANTED TO GO TO THAT CONGRESS IN THE NAME OF THIS BODY TO ADVOCATE MANY OF THE WILD SCHEMES WHICH THEY KNEW WERE GOING ON ON THE CONTINENT?'

Conner, London:

'THOUGH THERE WERE TWO INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES ALREADY ARRANGED FOR (ZURICH AND CHICAGO[571]) NEITHER OF THEM *WERE ARRANGED BY, OR UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF, THE TRADES CONGRESS* (!!)'

There. That ought to be enough in the way of insults to quicken the pulse of your French trade unionists.

I repeat: *So far as the moral effect it would create here in England is concerned*, a *Trades Union Congress* resolution rejecting the divisive tendency inherent in the Glasgow resolution would be far more important than one emanating from the *Socialist Congress*. So do the best you can. Tussy has sent a newspaper report to Delecluze.

Give the French comrades my kind regards and keep up the good work, as at Lille.[38] Tussy says that the Working Men's Congress there was the most BUSINESS LIKE one she has ever attended.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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Translated from the French

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## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[267]

### IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 22 September 1892

My dear Sir,

So far, then, we agree upon this one point, that Russia, in 1892, could not exist as a purely agricultural country, that her agricultural production must be complemented by industrial production.

Now I maintain, that industrial production nowadays, means *grande industrie*, steam, electricity, selfacting-mules, power-looms, finally machines that produce machinery. From the day Russia introduced railways, the introduction of these modern means of production was a foregone conclusion. You *must* be able to repair your own locomotives, waggons, railways, and that can only be done cheaply if you are able to *construct* those things at home, that you intend to repair. From the moment, warfare became a branch of *grande industrie* (ironclad ships, rifled artillery, quickfiring and repeating cannon, repeating rifles, steelcovered bullets, smokeless powder etc.) *la grande industrie* without which all these things cannot be made became a political necessity. All these things cannot be had without a highly developed metal manufacture. And that manufacture cannot be had without a corresponding development in all other branches of manufacture, especially textile.

I quite agree with you in fixing the beginning of the new industrial

era of your country about 1861. It was the hopeless struggle of a nation, with primitive forms of production, against nations with modern production, which characterized the Crimean war. The Russian people understood this perfectly; hence their transition to modern forms, a transition rendered irrevocable by the emancipation act of 1861.[441]

This necessity of the transition from the primitive methods of production that prevailed in 1854, to the modern methods that are now beginning to prevail — this necessity once conceded, it becomes a secondary question whether the hot-house-process of fostering the industrial revolution by protective and prohibitive duties was advantageous or even necessary, or otherwise.

This industrial hot-house-atmosphere renders the process acute, which otherwise might have retained a more chronic form. It crams into twenty years a development, which otherwise might have taken sixty or more years. But it does not affect the nature of the process itself, which, as you say, dates from 1861.

One thing is certain: if Russia really required, and was determined to have, a *grande industrie* of her own, she could not have it at all, except under *some* degree of protection and this you admit. From this point of view too, then, the question of protection is one of *degree* only, not of principle; the principle was unavoidable.

Another thing is certain: if Russia required after the Crimean war a *grande industrie* of her own, she could have it in one form only: the *capitalistic form*. And along with that form, she was obliged to take over all the consequences which accompany capitalistic *grande industrie* in all other countries.

Now I cannot see that the results of the industrial revolution which is taking place in Russia under our eyes, are in any way different from what they are, or have been, in England, Germany, America. In America the conditions of agriculture and landed property are different, and this *does* make some difference.

You complain of the slow increase of hands employed in textile industry, when compared with the increase of quantity of product.— The same is taking place everywhere else. Otherwise, whence our redundant 'industrial reserve'? (*Capital*, c. 23, sect. 3 and 4[a]).

You prove the gradual replacing of men's work by that of women and children — *Capital*, c. 13 (sect. 3, a).[b]

[a] *Capital*, Part VII, Ch. XXV, Sections 3, 4 (present edition, Vol. 35). - [b] *Ibid.*, Part IV, Ch. XXV, Section 3 (present edition, Vol. 35).

You complain that the machine-made goods supersede the products of domestic industry and thus destroy a supplementary production, without which the peasant cannot live. But we have here an absolutely necessary consequence of capitalistic *grande industrie*: the creation of the home-market (*Capital*, c. 24, sect. 5[a]) and which has taken place in Germany during my lifetime and under my eyes. Even what you say, that the introduction of cotton-goods destroys not only the domestic spinning and weaving of the peasants, but also their *flax culture* has been seen in Germany between 1820 and now. And as far as this side of the question: the destruction of home-industry and the branches of agriculture subservient to it — as far as this is concerned, the real question for you seems to me this: that the Russians had to decide whether *their own grande industrie* was to destroy their domestic manufacture, or whether *the import of English goods* was to accomplish this. *With* protection, the *Russians* effected it, *without* protection, the *English*. That seems to me perfectly evident.

Your calculation that the sum of the textile products of *grande industrie* and of domestic industry does not increase, but remains the same and even diminishes, is not only quite correct, but would not be correct if it came to another result. So long as Russian manufacture is confined to the home market, its product can only cover home consumption. And that can only slowly increase, and, as it seems to me, ought even to decrease under present Russian conditions.

For it is one of the necessary corollaries of *grande industrie*, that it *destroys* its own home market by the very process by which it *creates* it. It creates it by destroying the basis of the domestic industry of the peasantry. But without domestic industry the peasantry cannot live. They are ruined, *as peasants*; their purchasing power is reduced to a minimum; and until they, as *proletarians*, have settled down into new conditions of existence, they will furnish a very poor market for the newly-arisen factories.

Capitalist production being a transitory economical phase, is full of internal contradictions which develop and become evident in proportion as it develops. This tendency to destroy its own market at the same time it creates it, is one of them. Another is the безвыходное положение[b] to which it leads, and which is developed sooner in a country *without* a foreign market, like Russia, than in countries which more or less are capable of competing on the open world-market. This sit-

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[a] *Ibid.*, Part VIII, Ch. XXX (present edition, Vol. 35). - [b] desperate position (Russ.)

uation without an apparent issue finds its issue, for the latter countries, in commercial revulsions, in the forcible opening of new markets. But even then the cul-de-sac stares one in the face. Look at England. The last new market which could bring on a temporary revival of prosperity by its being thrown open to English commerce, is China. Therefore English capital insists upon constructing Chinese railways. But Chinese railways mean the destruction of the whole basis of Chinese small agriculture and domestic industry, and, as there will not even be the counterpoise of a Chinese *grande industrie*, hundreds of millions of people will be placed in the impossibility of living. The consequence will be a wholesale emigration such as the world has not yet seen, a flooding of America, Asia and Europe by the hated Chinaman, a competition for work with the American, Australian and European workman on the basis of the Chinese standard of life, the lowest of all — and if the system of production has not been changed in Europe before that time, it wil have to be changed then.

Capitalistic production works its own ruin, and you may be sure it will do so in Russia too. It may, and if it lasts long enough, it will surely produce a fundamental agrarian revolution — I mean a revolution in the condition of landed property, which will ruin both the помещикъ [a] and the мужикъ,[b] and replace them by a new class of large landed proprietors drawn from the кулаки [c] of the villages and the bourgeois speculators of the towns. At all events, I am sure the conservative people who have introduced capitalism into Russia, will be one day terribly astonished at the consequences of their own doings.

Yours very truly,

P. W. Rosher [d]

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[a] landlord (Russ.) - [b] peasant - [c] kulaks - [d] Engels' conspiratorial pseudonym

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## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

IN VIENNA

London, 25 September 1892

Dear Victor,

Your business with Stepnyak [572] has been settled, as indeed it had been before your telegram and two letters got here. For Stepnyak * sent me your letter of the 15th with the comment that he had now obtained Sonnenschein's formal consent and would be coming tomorrow (i. e. last Thursday, the 22nd) to exchange this document for the £15 sterling credited to me. Although not previously advised by you, I am far too good a business man not to honour the signature of so reputable a firm as V. Adler, even if not as yet actually in receipt of a formal advice. For you had held a pistol, not only to Stepnyak's head, but also in some measure to my own; otherwise had there been any other way out, I should for *your* sake have tried to avoid making any payment just now. And this merely on the grounds that you have now paid Stepnyak *all* that *he* is entitled to; but, as it is, his interest in seeing your translation published will no longer be of a pecuniary but merely of a literary nature and, if I know my Russians, that is not, I should say, the right way to get the stuff for the second volume out of him. However, there was nothing further I could do. I might have asked him to give me a written undertaking to the effect that he would deliver the goods within a given period, but it would have been worse than useless since you already have enough from him in writing in any case, and another scrap of paper would not have induced him to work any faster.

So I must content myself with his promise, made in Louise's presence, to let you have the goods in question within 2 weeks at the outside (*va-t-en voir s'ils viennent,*[a] *Jean*) and with having paid him, against the enclosed note and Sonnenschein's perfectly adequate declaration, the £15 sterling you had promised him and told him to claim from me. You wrote:

* after Louise, at your behest, had requested him to attend to the matter

[a] go and see if they are coming

'YOU CAN ALSO HAND THE FORMAL PAPER TO MR ENGELS, AND YOU *WILL RECEIVE IMMEDIATELY FROM HIM* THE SUM OF 15 POUNDS.'

So you see, the categorical wording left me no other alternative.*

I also took occasion to explain to Stepnyak that, by dawdling as he has done, he had cheated himself and that, had he behaved rationally, S. Sonnenschein & Co. might well have been content with £5 STERLING *if not less*, which would have meant more for him, Stepnyak, to pocket. (Aveling maintains that S. Sonnenschein & Co. would in fact have given their permission *gratis*, the translation being in any case a good advertisement for the book.) None of this had occurred to him and he will no doubt take note of it. But it's you who have come off worst.

*Summa summarum*: should such a case arise in future, you would do well to inform me beforehand, in which case I could either give you my humble opinion or else I could at once enter into negotiations over here on your behalf, whether direct or through Louise or the Avelings. In the literary business 'local knowledge' is absolutely essential if you don't want to get stung.

We are glad to hear how much better your wife[a] is and hope the improvement will continue. Our thoughts are always with you.

We have seen nothing of Andreas Scheu for years, heard nothing of him for months and had no converse about him here for ages and ages. We know absolutely nothing about him. There's no need for you to worry about Uncle Julius and Aunt[b]—now that they systematically cut themselves off from us we scarcely ever see them, let alone tell them anything.

The story about Hyndman ought not to have been printed.[573] It was uncorroborated, confidential information and may, *formally speaking*, contain inaccuracies. *In essence* it is correct; Hyndman has been deposed, though in as considerate a fashion as possible. The mere *threat* of such a motion supported by a majority of the delegates may have sufficed. The worst of it is that we can't reply to the démenti without placing him in a more favourable position. Indeed

* You are wrong in saying that you had demanded the surrender of *his* stuff 'prior to payment'. I wish the wording had been such as to allow me to make that demand. But you made payment, and 'IMMEDIATELY' at that, solely dependent on Sonnenschein's FORMAL PAPER.

[a] Emma Adler - [b] Julius Motteler and his wife Emilie

there's something of his in *Justice* expressing the expectation that the *Vorwärts* won't publish his letter.[574] Now he has made an ass of himself.

You will be getting two copies of *Soziales aus Rußland.*[a] Of *The Bakuninists at Work* I have so far been able to find only *one* copy (bound up with other stuff), namely my handwritten one. I have perforce had to desist from lending things for propaganda purposes, and would advise you to do the same. Never again shall I allow the tools of my trade to leave the house.

My health 'continues slowly to improve'. Louise says you had asked how long this business had been going on — it manifested itself some ten years ago as a result of over-indulgence. The trouble originated some 25 years since when I came down with my horse while riding to hounds. For your further information only a few years after the thing had declared itself, I was forced by disagreeable sensations in the inguinal canal to wear a bandage with hernial pads and there would also seem to be a slight *varice*[b] in that region, on the left hand side. During the past few days I believe I have taken a distinct turn for the better although there is still some sensitivity to pressure, particularly after any time spent standing or walking; at all events I shall have to be patient and go on resting for a while longer. Louise said you were going to do me the kindness of inquiring about a specialist over here; I should be most grateful, the more so since every...[c]

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[a] F. Engels, *Refugee Literature. V. On Social Relations in Russia.* - [b] varicose veins - [c] The end of the letter is missing.

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 26 September 1892

Dear Baron,

Herewith what I consider to be indispensable amendments[a] to the two passages.[575]

I. As regards the adoption on the last day of a resolution to attend the Zurich Congress[541] after all, I have neither read anything to that effect, nor have I heard anything from Aveling who was present. Something of the kind is said to have appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* but this cannot be ascertained today. Aveling, who was intending to come here, has *not* so far, 4.40, turned up, so I am unable to ask him. The report in the *Daily News* says nothing of the kind. Nor does that in the *Workman's Times*. Bebel may have seen something of the sort in the *Frankfurter*.[b] Consequently, I think it might be safest to qualify the passage as you have done.

II. It is true that a meeting of people describing themselves as the Independent Labour Party took place in Glasgow under the chairmanship of Keir Hardie. It is, however, the Independent Labour Party which Burgess (Autolycus) of the *Workman's Times* is attempting to constitute off his own bat, and in no sense a genuine, recognised party like, say, our own in Germany or Austria; rather it is a sect like the Social Democratic Federation[29] with which it is in competition. Bebel was probably misled by Keir Hardie's name into taking the thing more seriously than it deserved. But Keir Hardie is a Scot and his diplomacy is too canny by half; moreover he has an urge to make the most of his new position as M. P. (thereby occasionally making a fool of himself) but will probably turn out well once he's had a chance to sow his wild oats. To my mind he is better than he *seems* to be just now.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 545-46. - [b] *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*

I shall write to Bebel[a] about this, in fact shall do so now. More anon. Ede should be back tomorrow or on Wednesday. Your commissions shall be carried out.

Your
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

London, 26 September 1892

Dear August,

Louise will already have told you something about Kugelmann. At first, during the 60s, he was on very friendly terms with Marx and did a great deal towards breaking the newspapers' conspiracy of silence over *Capital, Volume I.* It was also he who persuaded Marx to go to Karlsbad,[b] which did him a lot of good,[460] but after they had been there for a while there was a final parting of the ways. Since Marx's death he has written to me several times, but I have tried to keep my distance, not being convinced of his reliability. At all events he has more than one foot in more than one camp.

As regards the copies of *Herr Vogt*, I have written and told him [153] that he must first let me know how many he has got. There are all sorts of people wanting it. I believe that not even Tussy or Laura have got a copy. You, too, will be given preference if at all possible.

Arndt is a student who used to be in Geneva, and then went to Spain where he frequented our people in Madrid before coming to this country. While here he was taken under Julius'[c] wing and he

[a] See this volume, pp. 543-47. - [b] Karlový Vary - [c] Julius Motteler

would occasionaly come and see us. Then he suddenly went to Paris. He never said a word to us about his intention to write for the *Vorwärts* — presumably this was arranged by Julius. I gave him a card for Laura but have never heard whether he presented himself; I shall ask her. Laura would have referred him to Vaillant and, since the latter was in Paris and Lafargue was nearly always away, this would account for the consideration currently being shown to the Blanquists and their allies, the Allemanists.[53] Can you get hold of Arndt's address for me? After the Congress,[555] and particularly when the daily[423] comes out, Lafargue will be spending more time in Paris and the man will have to be referred to him and Guesde direct.

I rather think I remember seeing Meyer[a] in St Louis, but there are so many people of that name. I trust that Kugelmann, who is forever bragging about his connections, will be able to find something out.

Pieper was at one time tutor to the Rothschilds in this country and is now a grammar school teacher in Hanover. Marx once — in 1867, I think — ran into him in the street, by which time he had become a bloated philistine.

I completely agree that you should go on with the *annual* party conference. If only for constitutional reasons you, as an Executive, should adhere to it, otherwise what a fine pretext it would provide for malcontents. And it's also important that once a year the party itself should be able to express itself as a body; this is generally applicable but doubly so just now — vis-à-vis both the 'Independents'[333] and Vollmar.

It is a great pity that you people should have been in such a hurry to put what I told you about Hyndman[b] into the paper.[573] Let me therefore expressly point out once and for all that in future anything I pass on to you in private letters is intended solely for your information and, where necessary — subject to the usual reservations — for the correction and prevention of inaccuracies or misconceptions in the *Vorwärts*; not for *immediate publication*, however, except when this is *expressly stated*. Otherwise I should have to keep my mouth shut about everything I could not actually substantiate, or else, in most cases, run the risk of having to betray my sources, thus causing these to dry up for the future.

Basically the information as such is quite *definitely correct*, as every number of *Justice* goes to show; gone are the attacks on individuals in

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[a] Hermann Meyer - [b] See this volume, pp. 524, 529, 532 and 540-41.

this country or on the Continent, nor is anything left of the Hyndmanian spirit. But it's very possible that my information may have contained *formal* errors and that the mere *threat* of a resolution was enough to make Hyndman resign, etc. The only cause for regret is first, that this business will mean this and other sources on the doings of the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION [29] will be closed to us, secondly, that Hyndman's position has been improved thereby and, thirdly, that any further attempt to put a stop to this can only improve it still more.

In *Justice* there's a piece by Hyndman expressing the expectation that you people would *not* print his letter, and to that extent he has made an ass of himself.[574] I shall try and get hold of a copy for you.

I have written and told Kugelmann that, so far as *I* was competent to say, you were authorised to read the letters from Marx to him.[153] Also that he would be getting *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness.*[a]

I have today received proofs of your article from K. Kautsky with queries about two passages.[575]

I. There was nothing in the *Daily News* about the adoption in Glasgow of a resolution that delegates should after all be sent to Zurich, nor had Aveling heard anything of the kind, otherwise he's have said so. He was intending to come here today but hasn't turned up. Louise say that on her way here she had seen something of that nature in the *Daily Telegraph.* In the circumstances I advised K. Kautsky to insert the words: *if the relevant newspaper report is true.* That covers you completely.

II. 'The Independent Labour Party now coming into being—whose supporters assembled for the first time after the end of the Glasgow Congress to constitute themselves—', etc., etc.

I advised K. Kautsky at all costs to delete the words between dashes: '—whose ... constitute themselves—'. The Independent Labour Party now coming into being over here is still very far from constituting itself, nor is it desirable that it should yet attempt to do so. It is not yet mature enough. The INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY, whose adherents more or less constituted themselves a party in Glasgow under Keir Hardie's chairmanship, is the sect founded by Autolycus (Joseph Burgess) of the *Workman's Times*, a sect which so far boasts 2,000 members and competes with the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION in re-

[a] K. Marx, *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness.*

cruiting socialistically minded workers. At present it is no more *the* Independent Labour Party than is the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION, nor is it either better or worse than the latter. What will come of it remains to be seen, but on no account should *we* proclaim it as a matter of course to be *the* one and only genuine Independent Labour Party, otherwise we might burn our fingers badly.

Since his election Keir Hardie has been pushing himself to the fore and putting on airs in a way that is both ludicrous and discreditable. Success has gone to his head and he will have to sow his wild oats for a while. He is evidently intent on pushing Burns into the background; the latter is behaving with great fortitude and restraint (he asked leave to call on me in order to consult me about the attitude he should adopt). I think it will all even itself out in the end — Keir Hardie is better than he makes himself out to be, but you should by no means conclude as a matter of course that someting is commendable because *he* happens to be taking part in it.

Otherwise I find your article quite unexceptionable — composed, dignified and emphatic.

At Marseilles the TRADES UNIONS Congress (*Congrès des syndicats*) [570] passed a resolution which I had put to Lafargue,[a] namely *that they should not take part in the international congress convoked by the* TRADES UNIONS *but should invite the latter to attend the Zurich Congress.*[541] This isn't the exact wording which I have yet to receive. Liebknecht will probably send it you as he had just turned up when Lafargue was in the act of writing. The Congress of the Workers' Party [555] will adopt a similar resolution. I drew Lafargue's attention to the fact that the TRADES UNIONS do not recognise the validity of Labour Party congresses and resolutions while according respect of a very different order to those of the trades unions. If you in Germany could get the trades unions to adopt resolutions along the same lines, this could not fail to make an impact over here; it's something that should certainly not be neglected.

You might send about 12 copies of your article to *us* for distribution to the papers over here. For their people very seldom understand foreign languages, and whether they would so much as look at it is a complete toss-up. To get anything into the press over here one must employ different methods. If, for instance, Aveling were to take *the finished article* to the *Pall Mall*,[b] he would probably get it in [576];

[a] See this volume, pp. 533-35. - [b] *The Pall Mall Gazette*

that same evening we should send copies to the other papers so that they would *all* be served at the same time and there might still be a possibility of its getting a mention in one paper or another. But once *one* paper has discussed any such subject, none of the others will subsequently take it up—such is the rule over here. That is why we, who are here on the spot, must be able to determine the moment of distribution. On the other hand you could certainly send copies, specially designated *as coming from you*, to the French press; it might possibly have some pull over there, particularly since in France we haven't got a single daily in which we are able to publish anything. You could send it to *L'Éclair* (the paper most likely to take it), *Le Figaro, Le Temps, Le Matin, La Justice, L'Intransigeant, Le Parti Ouvrier* (Possibilist) and *Le Parti Socialiste* (49, rue de Rivoli, Blanquist—weekly).

Please let me know whether or not the *Workman's Times* is still being sent you by the editorial department. Here it is being said that all complimentary copies for countries abroad have been cancelled. If this is true, I shall send it to you instead of to Fischer who can read it at your house or after you have done with it.

Well, I should have liked to write a word or two to your wife,[a] but it is already past 9 p. m. and, contrary to doctor's orders, I have already spent over-long writing by lamplight. I have also had to write to Victor[b] and to Karl Kautsky which has taken me all day,[c] so please ask her to excuse me. But she will be getting a letter all to herself from me. Till then, please give her my warm regards.

Your
*General*

I have just heard from Louise that you have not been getting an official copy of the *Workman's Times* for some while past. So that is one thing settled.

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[a] Julie Bebel - [b] Victor Adler - [c] See this volume, pp. 539-41 and 542-43.

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# ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

IN VIENNA

London, 27 September 1892

Dear Victor,

Barely had my (registered) letter gone off yesterday[a] than a messenger arrived from the Crédit Lyonnais [551] and handed me the £15 in question in settlement of my loan. Receipt of this is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

The Marseilles Trades Unions (*syndicats*) Congress,[570] which *preceded* the one held by the Workers' Party,[555] resolved *not* to send delegates to the Eight Hours[b] Congress in Glasgow [540] convoked by the TRADES UNIONS, but instead to invite the TRADES UNIONS to Zurich. Lafargue writes to say that the party congress will pass a similar resolution. Were your trades unions to make a pronouncement along the same lines, it would create an impression over here. In the eyes of the bumptious gentlemen of the *old* TRADES UNIONS, resolutions adopted by *political* working men's congresses don't count!

Regards from Louise to your wife[c] and children and yourself, and likewise from

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 539-41. - [b] See this volume, pp. 519-20, 522-24, 528-29, 530-31 and 533-35. - [c] Emma Adler

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## ENGELS TO FRANZ MEHRING

### IN BERLIN[577]

London, 28 September 1892

Dear Mr Mehring,

Kautsky has sent me part of one of your letters with an inquiry addressed to me.[578] If you feel somewhat hesitant about writing to me because of my failure many years ago to answer two of your letters, I have no right to complain. At the time we were, of course, in different camps and the Anti-Socialist Law[11] was in force, imposing upon us the rule that 'he who is not for us is against us'. Moreover, if I remember rightly you yourself said in one of the letters that you could hardly venture to expect a reply.[579] However that was a long time ago and since then we have found ourselves in the same camp. You have also done excellent work for the *Neue Zeit*, a subject on which I have been far from parsimonious in my tributes when writing to e. g. Bebel.[a] Accordingly I shall be glad to take this opportunity of replying to you direct.

The claim that the discovery of the materialist view of history should be ascribed to the Prussian Romantics of the historical school is certainly new to me. I myself have Marwitz's *Nachlass* and I read the book a few years ago but found nothing in it other than some splendid stuff about cavalry and an unshakeable belief in the magic powers of five cuts of the whip when administered to the plebs by the nobility. Otherwise I have been a complete stranger to such literature since 1841-42 — I only applied myself to it very superficially — and am certainly in no way indebted to it so far as the present discussion is concerned. Marx became acquainted during his Bonn and Berlin days[580] with Adam Müller and Mr von Haller's *Restauration*, etc., and was always somewhat scornful of that vapid, cliché-ridden caricature of the French Romantics, Joseph de Maistre and Cardinal Bonald. But even had he come upon passages such as the one you cite from Lavergne-Peguilhen,[581] they could at that time have made absolutely no impression on him, always assuming he understood what the chaps were trying to say in the first place. Marx was then a He-

[a] See this volume, pp. 375-76 and 387.

gelian to whom that passage would have been downright heresy; he knew absolutely nothing about political economy and thus could not have made anything at all of a term such as 'economic system'. Hence the passage in question, even *if* he had known of it, would have gone in at one ear and out of the other without leaving any noticeable trace in his memory. But I very much doubt whether any such allusions were to be found in the historico-Romantic works read by Marx between 1837 and 1842.

It is indeed a highly remarkable passage and I should like to see the quotation verified. I am not familiar with the book, though the author is, of course, known to me as an adherent of the 'historical school'. The passage diverges from the modern view on two counts, 1. in that it derives production and distribution of production from the economic system instead of vice-versa, i. e. the economic system from production, and, 2. in the role it assigns to the 'proper administration' of the economic system, this being open to any number of interpretations, so long as one is unable oneself to see from the book what the author means.

But the strangest thing of all is that the correct concept of history *in abstracto* should be found among the very people who have most abused history *in concreto* — both theoretically and practically. In the case of feudalism the chaps may have seen that *here* the political system evolved out of the economic system because here it is, so to speak, plain as a pikestaff. I say *may* because apart from the abovementioned unverified passage — you told me yourself that someone *gave* it to you — all I have ever been able to discover about it is that the theoreticians of feudalism are, needless to say, less abstract than the bourgeois liberals. So if, from this concept of the connection between the political system and the spread of civilisation on the one hand and the economic system within feudal society on the other, one of them proceeds to the generalisation that this applies to *all* economic and political systems, how then explain the total myopia of this self-same Romantic, the moment he is faced with *other* economic systems, with the bourgeois economic system and the political systems corresponding to its various stages of development — medieval craft fraternities, absolute monarchy, constitutional monarchy, republic? That is certainly difficult to fathom. And the same chap who regards the economic system as the basis of social and political organisation as a whole, also adheres to the school to whom the absolute monarchy of the 17th and 18th centuries already signifies the fall of man and a be-

trayal of true political doctrine!

Admittedly he also says that the political system emanates from the economic system and its *proper administration* as inevitably as does a child from the coupling of man and woman. Having regard to the widely known teaching of the author's school, I can only explain this as follows: The true economic system is the feudal one. But since human malice conspires against that system, it must be properly administered in such a way that its existence is protected against these attacks and perpetuated, and that the political system, etc., continues to correspond to it, i. e. is kept, so far as possible, as it was in the 13th and 14th centuries. Then the best of all possible worlds and the finest of historical theories would each be realised, while the Lavergne-Peguilhenian generalisation to the effect that feudal society engenders a feudal polity would be reduced to its true essentials.[582]

For the time being I can only assume that Lavergne-Peguilhen didn't know what he was saying. According to the proverb, certain animals occasionally discover pearls and among the Prussian Romantics such creatures are strongly represented. Incidentally, it might nevertheless be advisable to compare them with their French prototypes — to see whether this has not also been borrowed.

I can only say how grateful I am to you for drawing my attention to this point which I cannot unfortunately pursue further at this moment.

Yours very sincerely,

F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 29 September 1892

Dear Baron,

Ede and Gine are the most surprising people I have ever met. This morning a postcard dated Berne 27.9.92 with a view of the Schänzli arrived from them and at 1.30 this afternoon they burst in on me in person; both looked very well, especially Gine, despite the fact that she is still receiving treatment for her throat and, most important of all, Ede gives the impression of having got over his neurasthenia. Considering that they have of late been so extraordinarily efficient in the matter of supplying addresses, I shall steal a march on them by informing you that for the time being they are living at 23 Compton Terrace, Highbury, N., quite close to Highbury and Islington Station, NORTH LONDON RAILWAY.

Mehring's letter, which I return herewith, made it necessary for me to reply to him direct if I did not wish to give offence, which would, of course, never occur to me. I did so on the enclosed sheet, which kindly forward to him.[a]

I told Kovalevsky on Friday that he should send you the article.[b]

We see the *Centralblatt*[c] here at home and also at the Avelings. Evidently the Brauns of the male sex cannot help keeping one foot in the armchair socialist camp. RESPECTABILITY!

Since you have written to me about the article on the history of socialist organisations in England, I would commend Tussy to you, she being the only person capable of doing the thing with E. Aveling. The relevant literature is all very inadequate albeit voluminous, nor does it contain anything about what has actually happened and concerning which the public was supposed to be kept in ignorance. No one who was not a participant *can* express an opinion about it, i. e. be knowledgeable about individual events and record them objectively. Ede, for example, would have to go through all the numbers of *Justice, To-Day, Labour Elector, Commonweal*, etc. which appeared before his arrival in London, and even so he would have to ask Tussy to ex-

[a] See this volume, pp. 549-51. - [b] See this volume, p. 528. - [c] *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt*

plain to him the significance of what had happened and in that case the whole thing would, after all, be at second hand. However it will be a ticklish job explaining this to Ede who has only just got over his neurasthenia and, since the matter is not urgent, I shall let it rest for the time being. You have seen more of Ede than I have and if you believe that the business would not upset him unduly, it might perhaps be best if the suggestion were to come from you. At all events I leave it in your hands.

Bebel's article,[a] on which I made the necessary comments in yesterday's letter,[b] is very good.

I fully agree that my article[c] should not have appeared until now. I don't even know whether the book has come out yet. Mendelson tells me he ordered it but received the reply that it was not yet available. There was a curious FABIAN review in the *Daily Chronicle*, mostly excerpts, running to $2\frac{1}{2}$ columns.

From what C. Schmidt tells me, he has not succeeded in solving the puzzle. Nevertheless I shall wait and see what he says in the article.[d] His article on the Menger-Jevonsiad[e] was very nice. Unfortunately there's nobody one can place it with over here.[f]

Mehring's contributions, both the leaders[583] and the Lessing, strike me as quite excellent and I derive much enjoyment from them.

Your
F. E.

First published in full in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935

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[a] A. Bebel, 'Ein internationaler Kongreß für den Achtstundentag', *Die Neue Zeit*, 11. Jg. 1892/93, 1. Bd., Nr. 2. - [b] See this volume, 542-43. - [c] 'Introduction to the English Edition (1892) of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*'. - [d] C. Schmidt, 'Die Durchschnittsprofitrate und das Marx'sche Werthgesetz', *Die Neue Zeit*, 11. Jg. 1892/93, 1. Bd., Nr. 3, 4. - [e] C. Schmidt, 'Die psychologische Richtung in der neueren National-Oekonomie', *Die Neue Zeit*, 10. Jg. 1891/92, 2. Bd., Nr. 40, 41. - [f] See this volume, p. 526.

# APPENDICES

1

# WILLIAM THORNE AND ELEANOR MARX-AVELING TO SAMUEL GOMPERS [584]

IN NEW YORK

National-union of
Gasworkers and General Labourers
of Great Britain and Ireland.

Registered Office—144, Barking Road, E.

*W. Watkinson*, President
*W. Byford*, Treasurer
*W. Thorne*, General Secretary
*W. H. Ward*, Assistant Secretary

[London,] 25 January 1891

Mr Samuel Gompers
for the American Federation of Labour [84]

Dear Comrade,

During the recent visit of Comrades Bebel, Liebknecht and Singer on the occasion of Frederick Engels' 70th birthday, they met representatives of the Gas Workers and General Labourers Union [164] (comprising about 100,000 men and women belonging to over seventy trades) and of several other Unions and Organisations, besides John Burns, Cunninghame Graham, M. P., and others. At this meeting the feeling was very strong that the time had come to bring about a close and organised relation between the labour parties of the different countries. The most immediate question is that of preventing the introduction from one country to another of unfair labour, i. e. of workers who not knowing the conditions of the labour-struggle in a particular country, are imported into that country by the Capi-

talists, in order to reduce wages, or lengthen the hours of labour, or both. The most practical way of carrying this out appears to be the appointing in each country of an International Secretary, who shall be in communication with all the other International Secretaries. Thus, the moment any difficulty between capitalists and labourers occurs in any country, the International Labour Secretaries of all the other countries should be at once communicated with, and will make it their business to try to prevent the exportation from their particular country of any labourers to take the place on unfair terms, of those locked-out or on strike in the country where the difficulty has occured. Whilst this is the most immediate and most obvious matter to be dealt with, it is hoped that an arrangement of the kind proposed, will in every way facilitate the interchange of ideas on all questions between the workers of every nation that is becoming every day and every hour the most pressing necessity of the working-class movement.

If your organisation [84] agrees with the views of the Gasworkers and General Labourers Union, will you at once communicate with us, and give us the name of the Secretary appointed by it to take part in this important movement?

Yours fraternally,
W. Thorne
(General Secretary)
Eleanor Marx-Aveling
(On the behalf of the Executive Committee)

First published in: Ivonne Kapp, *Eleanor Marx*, Volume II, *The Crowded Years*, London, 1976

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2

## LOUISE KAUTSKY TO AUGUST ENDERS

IN ERFURT

London, 15 December [1891]
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Comrade,

When your letter arrived yesterday, Engels was on the point of leaving. However he read your letter and asked me to reply. In the first place your letter arrived much too late for the circular to be translated and put into the papers. In this instance the bourgeois papers were sooner and better advised of the Germans' intentions than were the comrades over here. To the best of my knowledge Mr Döblin, the German delegate, has not yet seen any of the more prominent comrades, besides which the London TRADES COUNCIL [196] has taken charge of the affair. According to today's papers there was a meeting yesterday at which not one German spoke English well enough to be able to translate. A letter from Mr Liebknecht was read out. At this stage we should only make ourselves look silly were we to tag along behind the rest in the name of the German Party and hence we might as well save ourselves the trouble. So far as I can see from the papers, the meeting went well for the compositors. The English trades unions will do everything they can. If in future you have anything of this kind, will you please send it to Bernstein first. Over here we say, as do the Avelings everywhere, that it is he who represents the German Party and in my view Döblin ought to have gone to Bernstein. Please don't regard this letter as an answer from Engels. He merely agreed that the things should not be published.

With Social-Democratic Greetings,
Louise Kautsky

Mrs Aveling, who is as familiar as anyone with English affairs, is in full agreement with what I have written.

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## ELEANOR MARX-AVELING TO PAUL LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

[London,] 15 April 1892
65 Chancery Lane, W. C.

My dear Paul,

We sent you some days ago a copy of the *Chronicle*[a] containing a statement with regard to Adolphe Smith and the representation of the French Workers at the forthcoming demonstration in Hyde Park.[463] In the *Workman's Times* of this week—I send you a second copy tho' I believe you get one regularly—you will see some notes referring to this under the heading of (I think) 'London notes', and in any case over the signature of Autolycus—i. e. Burgess, Editor of the *Workman's Times*. Now the result of this paragraph has been much greater and much more unpleasant than you can probably imagine, and unless very disagreeable complications are to follow, you *must absolutely* write to the *Chronicle* and the *Workman's Times* on the subject. That is, of course, if the organisations for which M. Adolphe is the mouthpiece are, as we surmise, simply the Possibilist ones.

You know that 2 years ago, when in the face of violent opposition we managed to *force* a demonstration,[585] you came and spoke from the platforms of the Demonstration Committee. You know that last year your Party was again invited by us, and your letter, stating the reasons why you could not send a delegate was publicly read at the Demonstration. During all this time the London Trades Council[196] working then as now with Mr Hyndman and the English Possibilists, refused to have anything to do with the 'foreigners'. And do not forget the very important fact that the Legal Eight Hours Day demanded by Shipton and Co. is not *our* Legal Eight Hours Day. *They* only want the 8 hours day legalised *in order that over-time may be more highly paid.*

Now seeing all this our Committee[200] who have held steadfastly to the whole Paris programme,[586] and specially the strongest body not only on our Committee, but the strongest of the New Unions[164]—that of the 'Gas Workers and General Labourers'[520]—are deeply

[a] *Daily Chronicle*

hurt and surprised at the insult offered them in the *Chronicle*. Thorne came up here on Wednesday and said that he thought it doubly strange as his Union, long before the International Secretariats were thought about, had entered into correspondence with the French Parti Ouvrier,[146] and he wanted to know why they were now to be insulted. This is only one case out of many. I can't tell you the disastrous effect this will have if you don't reply.

Yesterday I had a long talk with the General on the subject (Edward is very ill with a bad throat)—and we both agreed, that you, as foreign Secretary of the 'Parti', *must* send a line to the *Chronicle*. The delay you can easily explain by the fact that you have been visiting your constituents and Fourmies. You should write—if that is the fact—that M. A. Smith speaks only for the Possibilists [3] who are the reactionary party and represent—you know what. That the Parti Ouvrier attended the 1st demonstration of the Legal Eight Hours Committee, that although it could send no delegate, it was at one with that Committee last year, and (this we *all* hope) that your Party will be represented on our platforms this year. The Possibilists are sending *2* delegates. Surely you could send one. Could not Delecluze come? It would cost *very* little to come from Calais? And you could also nominate Bonnier. Those 2 (I know you *can't* come) would counterbalance the others.

In any case, my dear Paul, you *must* write a line to the *Chronicle* (or better still let Laura write it!) and copy that and send it, with *further details if need be*, to the *Workman's Times*. But this must be done *at once*.

Yours,
Tussy

Why *don't* you get your *Verriers*[a] to join the International Bottlemakers' Society? Their not doing so is a great pity—and 'tis only 4d. (8 sous!) *per annum* per member!!

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[a] glassworkers

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## ELEANOR MARX-AVELING TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

[London,] 22 April 1892

My dear Laura,

Enclosed a reply from the sweat Adolphe[a] to Paul's very excellent letter. I am writing to you from the General's, as I wished to ask his opinion before writing to you on the matter. He agrees with me that some answer should go, if you can induce Paul to send it. I know, of course, he is busy, but you may be sure that a reply *is* necessary here. It need not be long.

But *who* sends Lavy? Is it the *Broussists*,[3] or is it, as Smith [463] writes, the *joint Committee*? That makes all the difference. But a few facts as to the real strength of the Parti Ouvrier would have a good effect here, and anyhow I hope the elections of May 1st [429] will show our real strength.

Get Paul to write, or rather, as I said before, do *you* write. (We all recognised your 'Roman hand' in the *Chronicle* article.)

Just time to catch the post. Love from the General and Louise and

Yours,
Tussy

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[a] Adolphe Smith

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## GEORGE BERNARD SHAW TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN BERLIN

29 May 1892

Our aims are as advanced as those of any other body of Social Democrats in England or in Germany, and our methods are as like the German party methods as is possible in view of the facts that we have no second ballot in England as you have in Germany, whilst on the other hand our House of Commons has command of the army, so that when we capture that we capture everything. The result is that whereas you can always run your S. D. candidate against both Liberal & Tory (as we should call them) with the certainty of winning at the 2nd ballot *if you have a majority as against the Tory, we in England would be defeated at the 1st ballot by the division of the labour vote between the Liberal and the S. D., both being beaten by the Tory. Therefore*, our only chance where the workers are not completely organized is to force the Liberals to accept our men as their party candidates. At the last *City Council* election the S. D. F.[29] ran independent candidates and they were all badly beaten, the Fabian Society[87] ran 6 of its members as 'Progressives' and they were all triumphantly successful. Meanwhile we are agitating for the introduction of the 2nd ballot here and urging the workers to organize themselves independently and break loose from the Liberals. If you and Paul Singer were to take the command of the Fabian Society, you would find yourselves compelled to take the same course and if you make a careful study of the work that has been done for some years past in spreading the S. D. idea in this country, I am sure that you will find that the Fabians who are a small and a *poor body* of men, have done as much as any other body in forwarding that work. You will readily understand that those enthusiastic socialists who have had no experience of practical political work accuse us of compromising our principles and intriguing with the Liberal party. I have already explained to you how we find ourselves as *Possibilists*, compelled for the present either to force our candidates on the Liberals or to suffer defeat *and disgrace* at every election.

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# NOTES
# AND
# INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] The letter is written on a postcard. The address is on the back: Herrn W. Liebknecht, Südplatz 11, Leipzig, Germany.—3, 17

[2] Presumably Liebknecht had asked Engels (see Engels' letter to him of 30 June 1890; present edition, Vol. 48) to write a refutation to *Justice* in connection with an item headlined 'Make a Note of This!' published in its issue 336 on 21 June 1890. Citing Paul Brousse, a Possibilist leader, as his source, the author had attributed to Liebknecht the statement 'We are no revolutionists', which, he alleged, had been made on behalf of the German Social-Democratic Party. Social-Democracy in Germany, the *Justice* writer claimed, was pinning its hopes on propaganda rather than revolutionary action. The next issue of *Justice* (No. 337, 28 June) carried a letter to the Editor from Ferdinand Gilles headlined 'German Social-Democrats Still Revolutionists'. It declared that if Liebknecht had in fact made this statement, he was not speaking for the whole party, which at its every congress had confirmed its loyalty to revolutionary principles.

Liebknecht's reply to these items was published in *People's Press*, No. 22, 2 August 1890.—3

[3] The *Possibilists* (or Broussists) were a trend in the French socialist movement. Their leaders—Paul Brousse, Benoît Malon and others—advocated the gradual transformation of the capitalist system into a socialist one by means of reform, through a 'policy of pursuing the possible'. In 1882 they caused a split in the French Workers' Party (see Note 146) and formed a new party named Fédéracion des Travailleurs socialistes. In the 1890s the Possibilists lost a great deal of their influence; in 1902 the majority of them joined the reformist French Socialist Party, founded by Jean Léon Jaurès.—3, 24, 126, 140, 155, 162, 164, 167, 183, 186, 190, 193, 208, 211, 224, 229, 238, 241, 260, 291, 292, 342, 348, 360, 367, 370, 381, 401, 423, 484, 520, 524, 533, 561, 562

[4] This refers to preparations to make the journal *Neue Zeit* a weekly. It began appearing on a weekly basis in October 1890.—5

[5] In a letter of 3 July 1890 Karl Kautsky, discussing his plans for *Neue Zeit*, had asked Engels to write something for the journal: 'Of course I should very much like to promise something by you, indeed to begin with a contribution from you straight away.' Engels fulfilled his promise much later. His work *On the History of Early Christianity* was completed in July 1894 and published in *Die Neue Zeit*, 13. Jg., 1894/95, 1. Bd., Nr. 1, 2 (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 445-69). In the same letter Kautsky asked Engels to send him the address of Friedrich Adolph Sorge, whom he wanted to contribute to the journal.—5

[6] An extract from this letter was published in *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*, No. 39, 27 September 1890. Part of the letter first appeared in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. *Correspondence. 1846-1895*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1934, pp. 472-74.—6

[7] This refers to Conrad Schmidt's letter to Engels of 25 June 1890, in which Schmidt spoke of his literary plans. He mentioned in particular having promised to Kautsky a review of G. F. Knapp's book *Die Bauern-Befreiung und der Ursprung der Landarbeiter in den älteren Theilen Preußens*, published in Leipzig in 1887. However, the review never materialised. Schmidt also described his impressions of P. Barth's book *Die Geschichtsphilosophie Hegel's und der Hegelianer bis auf Marx und Hartmann*, Leipzig, 1890.—6

[8] *Blue Books* (so called after the traditional blue cover) is the general title of the collections of proceedings of the British Parliament and documents of the Foreign Office. They have been published since the 17th century and are the main official source on Great Britain's economic and diplomatic history. Marx used the Blue Books in particular for his work on *Capital*.—6

[9] Engels obviously means his letter to Eduard Bernstein of 2-3 November 1882 (see present edition, Vol. 46) in which he mentions a conversation Marx had with Paul Lafargue. In discussing the state of scientific socialist thought in France, Marx told Lafargue ironically: 'If anything is certain it is that I myself am not a Marxist.'—7, 22

[10] Between 14 June and 12 July 1890 *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*, in a discussion series headlined 'Jedem der volle Ertrag seiner Arbeit', published articles by Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis, Paul Ernst, Paul Fischer, and also an article signed *Von einem Arbeiter*. On 12 July the paper summed up the discussion in an item headlined 'Schlußwort zur Debatte'.—7

[11] The *Anti-Socialist Law*, initiated by the Bismarck government and passed by the Reichstag on 21 October 1878, was directed against the socialist and working-class movement. The Social-Democratic Party of Germany was virtually driven into the underground. All party and mass working-class organisations and their press were banned, socialist literature was subject to confiscation, Social-Democrats made the object of reprisals. However, with the active help of Marx and Engels, the Social-Democratic Party succeeded in overcoming both the opportunist (Eduard Bernstein et al.) and 'ultra-Left' (J. Most et al.) tendencies within its ranks and was able, by combining underground activities with an efficient utilisation of legal means, to use the period of the operation of the law for considerably strengthening and expanding its influence among the masses. Prolonged in 1881, 1884, 1886 and 1888, the Anti-Socialist Law was repealed on 1 October 1890. For Engels' assessment of it

see his article 'Bismarck and the German Working Men's Party' (present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 407-09).—8, 11, 14, 19, 47, 130, 134, 174, 180, 197, 200, 235, 254, 305, 318, 344, 363, 427, 516, 549

[12] The first *Congress of German Social-Democracy* to be held after the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law met in Halle between 12 and 18 October 1890. It was attended by 413 delegates and 17 guests. The congress endorsed the new party Rules adapted to the task of turning the party, under the conditions of legality, into a mass working-class organisation. It abandoned the party's hitherto operative, Lassallean programme and, on Liebknecht's proposal, decided to have a new programme drafted for the next party congress, which was to be held in Erfurt, and published three months before the congress for discussion by local party organisations and in the press. The congress also discussed the party press (*Berliner Volksblatt* was made the central organ) and the party's stance on strikes and boycotts. The party adopted the name *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (Social-Democratic Party of Germany).—11, 22, 24, 26, 46, 52, 55, 73, 95, 98

[13] In late March 1890 the Jungen, a group of Berlin Social-Democrats, including Max Schippel, published an appeal under the title 'Was soll am 1. Mai geschehen?', urging the workers to hold a strike on the 1st of May. The appeal reflected the specific attitude of the Jungen, crystallised in 1890, as a petty-bourgeois semi-anarchist opposition group within the German Social-Democracy. The hard core of the group was made up of students and young literati (hence the group's name) who claimed the role of the party's theoreticians and leaders. Paul Ernst, Paul Kampffmeyer, Hans Müller, Bruno Wille and others were the group's ideologues. The Jungen ignored the change in the conditions for the party's activity after the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law. They denied the need for using legal forms of struggle, opposed participation in parliamentary elections and the use of the parliamentary platform by the Social-Democrats and demagogically accused the party and its Executive of opportunism, violation of party democracy and promotion of the interests of the petty bourgeoisie. In October 1891 the Erfurt Congress expelled some of the opposition leaders from the party.

A reply to the above-mentioned appeal of the Jungen was given on the party's behalf by the Social-Democratic parliamentary group in a statement entitled, 'An die Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen Deutschlands!' (adopted in Halle on 13 April 1890).—11, 20, 21, 25

[14] Engels refers to Bebel's 'Erklärung' in *Berliner Volksblatt*, No. 173, 29 July 1890, in which Bebel took issue with the article 'Der 1. Oktober' published in *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 88, 23 July 1890. In his statement Bebel pointed out: '...if you are sure that you have grounds for accusations, you must give the names and the facts you challenge so that those concerned may answer you. This is the mode of operation of honorable men. Any other mode of operation is sheer insolence.'—11

[15] This refers to the item 'Tell Tale Straws' in *Justice*, No. 337, 28 June 1890.—12

[16] A letter from Paul Lafargue of 4 August 1890.—12

[17] The draft Rules of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, framed by the Social-Democratic parliamentary group, was published for discussion in August 1890. The party congress in Halle (see Note 12) adopted them with a number of amendments.

These concerned, in particular, the provisions which had been criticised by Engels — on the procedure for fixing salaries for members of the Executive, on the representation of the party branches at congresses, and on the functions of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag.— 13

[18] The fragment of this letter was published earlier in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968, pp. 690-91 and in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, International Publishers, N. Y., 1968, pp. 690-91.— 18

[19] In a letter dated 16 August 1890 Otto von Boenigk, who was planning to give a lecture on socialism, asked for Engels' view on the expediency and possibility of socialist reform given the existing distinctions in the level of education, political awareness, etc., of the different social classes. Von Boenigk's other question concerned the family of Jenny Marx.— 18

[20] This letter was first published in English in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 2, 1887-1890, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960. A passage from this letter was first published in French in: *Le Socialiste*, No. 115, 24 November 1900.— 21

[21] The *École spéciale militaire*, founded in Fontainbleau in 1803 and transferred to Saint-Cyr near Versailles in 1808, trained infantry and cavalry officers. The whole course of studies took two years — a circumstance Engels was probably hinting at to show the graduates' inadequate knowledge.— 21

[22] The Social-Democratic meetings mentioned by Engels were held respectively: the one in Dresden on 10 August 1890, that in Magdeburg on 13 August and that in Berlin — scheduled for 20 August — on 25 August. All three fully endorsed the policy of Bebel and the Reichstag Social-Democratic group, led by him.— 22

[23] On 20 August 1890 *Le Figaro* launched a series of articles under the title 'Les Coulisses du boulangisme', signed x. The author was the ex-Boulangist journalist Mermeix.— 22

[24] The second ballot in Paris on 27 January 1889 was contested by Georges Boulanger for the Rightists, Jacques for the Republican Party, and Boulés, a navvy, for the Workers' Party and the Blanquists. The Possibilists backed Jacques. The campaign was marked by high tension. Boulanger scored a major victory with a vote of about 250,000. Boulés polled 17,000 votes.— 22

[25] This letter was first published in English in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 2, 1887-1890, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960.— 23, 42, 65, 82

[26] In the autumn of 1890 the General Council of the Belgian Workers' Party, acting on a mandate from the Possibilist congress (see Note 53), sent out invitations for an international workers' congress to be held in Brussels in 1891. Since the executive committee of Swiss socialists set up on the instructions of the 1889 Paris International Socialist Workers' Congress (see Note 51) for the purpose of convoking another congress had failed to take any action until September 1890, the danger arose of two international congresses being held simultaneously in 1891.— 23, 26, 28, 46, 74

[27] The Congress of the British Trades Unions in Liverpool met from 1 to 6 September 1890. It was attended by 460 delegates representing more than 1.4 million organised workers. A considerable number of delegates represented new trades unions, in which a certain influence was wielded by the British socialists.

Despite resistance from the leaders of the old trades unions the congress adopted a resolution urging the legal introduction of the eight-hour working day and recognised as desirable the participation of trades unions in international workers' associations. It also decided to send delegates to the International Socialist Workers' Congress which was due to meet in Brussels (see Note 135).—23, 25, 46, 167, 185, 233, 250

[28] The *International Socialist Conference in Halle* was held on 16 and 17 October 1890, while the Congress of German Social-Democracy was meeting there (see Note 12). The conference was attended by German Social-Democrats and the representatives of nine socialist parties who took part in the congress as guests. In keeping with Engels' recommendation, the conference decided to hold a united socialist congress in Brussels in 1891 (see Note 135) which was to be attended, among others, by the Possibilists and their supporters. The Possibilists' participation was made contingent on their recognising the complete sovereignty of the congress—none of the decisions of the earlier congresses, the 1889 Possibilist congress included, was to be binding on it. For details see Engels' article 'The International Workers' Congress of 1891' (present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 72-75).—24, 29, 40, 46, 49, 52, 54, 57, 74, 98

[29] The *Social Democratic Federation*, set up in August 1884, consisted of English socialists of different orientations, mostly intellectuals. For a long time the leadership of the Federation was in the hands of reformists led by Hyndman, an opportunist sectarian. In opposition to them, the revolutionary Marxists within the Federation (Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling, Tom Mann and others) worked for close ties with the revolutionary labour movement. In the autumn of 1884—following a split and the establishment by the Left wing of an independent organisation, the Socialist League (see Note 49)—the opportunists' influence in the Federation increased. However, revolutionary elements, discontented with the opportunist leadership, continued to form within the Federation, under the impact of the masses.—24, 43, 57, 123, 126, 131, 140, 155, 185, 190, 219, 333, 335, 370, 380, 386, 402, 449, 471, 475, 484, 493, 497, 508, 515, 542, 545, 563

[30] In his letter to Engels of 8 September 1890 Karl Kautsky said he intended, after the Halle party congress (see Note 12), to publish in *Neue Zeit* a series of articles criticising the party programme adopted at the Gotha congress in 1875. The prospective authors included Engels, Bebel, Auer, Bernstein and others.—25

[31] In his letter of 8 September Kautsky told Engels that he was looking for a deputy editor to work simultaneously for *Neue Zeit* and *Schwäbische Tagwacht*, and asked Engels to help him in this matter. He mentioned Conrad Schmidt as a possible candidate.—25

[32] In a letter of 16 September 1890 Paul Lafargue told Engels the French socialists considered it possible to hold an international socialist congress in Brussels in 1891

since the Possibilists had lost all influence among the Belgians and Dutch and there were no grounds to fear for the success of the congress.—28

[33] Engels' letter to Bebel has not been found. In his reply, dated 23 October, Bebel wrote: 'Holding a sort of conference in Halle would be a good thing and easy to arrange because apart from the French and Nieuwenhuis there would be three or four Austrians there.'—29

[34] Engels evidently means the position of non-interference adopted by the Workers' Party during the Boulangist crisis and the press reports concerning Boulanger's receiving financial aid from the royalists. He may also be referring to the Boulangists' defeat at the municipal elections held between 27 April and 4 May 1890.—30

[35] This refers to the leading article, 'The Death of a Hero', in *Justice*, No. 349, 20 September 1890.—30

[36] In a letter of 17 September Charles Caron asked Engels' permission to publish translations of works by Marx and Engels in *L'Oeuvre socialiste. Revue politique et littéraire.*—31

[37] In a letter dated 19 September 1890 Paul Lafargue warned Engels against allowing Charles Caron to publish Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy*. Caron, he wrote, was a private publisher and had long since drifted away from the labour movement.—32

[38] The *Eighth Congress of the French Workers' Party* met in Lille on 11 and 12 October 1890. It was attended by about 70 delegates, representing more than 200 party groups and trades unions from 97 towns and localities. The congress revised the party Rules and finally determined the composition and functions of the National Council. The following persons were elected to the Council for the period 1890-91: Jules Guesde, Louis Simon Dereure, Leon Camescasse, Quesnel, Georges Edouard Crépin, Paul Lafargue and Joseph Ferroul. *Le Socialiste* was made the party's official organ. The congress called for a peaceful demonstration to be held on 1 May 1891. It rejected the proposal for a general strike put forward by the 1888 Bordeaux trade union congress and pronounced for an international strike of miners as the vanguard of the working class capable of representing the interests of all workers. On the Workers' Party see Note 146.—32, 46, 52, 54, 459

[39] During the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Paris in July 1889 the French delegates, numbering 206, twice met separately from the congress. They established the National Council of the French Workers' Party, composed of Jules Guesde, Gabriel Deville, Louis Simon Dereure, Leon Camescasse, Georges Edouard Crépin, Paul Lafargue and Lenoel. The Council was to give practical leadership to the party and call its next congress.—32

[40] This letter was first published in English in full in: S. Hook, *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx. A Revolutionary Interpretation.* The John Day Company, New York, 1933.—33

[41] In his letter of 3 September 1890 Joseph Bloch put two questions to Engels. The first concerned the interpretation of Roman historian Cornelius Nepos' statements on consanguine marriage in Ancient Greece. The second was formulated thus: 'Are

economic relations the *only* determining moment or do they merely form, in a certain sense, a solid basis for all other relations, which can then become factors in their own right?' — 33

[42] In a letter to Engels of 19 September 1890 Jules Guesde pointed out an inaccuracy in Engels' letter of 2 September to the leaders of the French Workers' Party (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 233-34) concerning the resolution of the 1889 Paris International Socialist Workers' Congress on the procedure for the convocation of the next congress. Engels considered that authorisation to call it had been given to both the Swiss and the Belgian socialists. Formally it was the executive committee, to be set up by the Swiss socialists, that had to decide where to call the congress, in Switzerland or in Belgium. In essence, however, Engels was right since the executive could not function without agreeing its steps with the Belgians (see also Note 26).— 40

[43] This refers to the *International Socialist Conference* held in The Hague on 28 February 1889. Attended by representatives of the socialist movement in Germany, France, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland, it had been called, on Engels' initiative, by the Social-Democratic group in the German Reichstag with a view to formulating the terms for the convocation of the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Paris. The Possibilists stayed away from the conference and refused to recognise its decisions. The conference determined the powers, the date and the agenda of the congress.— 40

[44] This letter of Engels has not been found. On 29 September 1890 August Bebel wrote to him: 'Today we discussed matters relating to the international conference. We could not make up our minds to send out further invitations, if only to avoid creating the impression that we wanted to give our congress a special air of spectacularity through international representation. We are also definitely short of time.

'So besides the Austrians, the French and the Dutch we shall have one Belgian and one Swiss committee member. The latter decided last week to declare in favour of Belgium so as to preclude a breach. I trust with these representatives it will be possible to reach agreement on all questions in our sense. I believe things similar to those that happened last year in Paris are ruled out.' — 40

[45] This article, 'Ein ernstes Wort', was published in *Neue Preußische Zeitung* (evening issue) on 22 September 1890 and reprinted in the Viennese *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 39, 26 September 1890, in the column *Ausland. Deutschland*, under the heading 'Berlin, den 23. September'.— 42

[46] The Danish Social-Democratic Party, formed in 1876, had a reformist and a revolutionary wing. The latter, led by Gerson Trier and Nikolai Petersen, was grouped round the newspaper *Arbejderen*. In 1889 the revolutionary minority was expelled from the party and formed an organisation of its own. However, due to the sectarian mistakes of its leaders, it failed to develop into a mass proletarian party.— 42

[47] The *Parliamentary Committee* was the Executive of the British Trades Union Congress (formed in 1868). From 1871, the Committee was elected annually by the Trades Union Congresses and acted as the unions' centre between congresses. It nominated union candidates for Parliament, organised support for pro-union bills and prepared the regular congresses. The Committee was dominated by reformists devoted to the old, conservative trade unionism and drawing their support from the

working-class aristocracy. From 1875 to 1890 the secretaryship of the Committee was held by Broadhurst. In 1921 the Parliamentary Committee was replaced by the General Council of the TUC.—43

48 This refers to the *Central Committee* of representatives of radical and socialist clubs and 'new' trades unions which was set up in the spring of 1890 to organise a demonstration in London on 4 May. In the subsequent months the Committee continued its activity, its aim now being to organise the struggle for a legal eight-hour working day, the implementation of the resolutions of the 1889 International Socialist Workers' Congress and the establishment of a workers' party. In the summer of 1890 the Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League (see Note 200) was formed on its basis.—43

49 The *Socialist League* was an organisation set up in December 1884 by a group of English socialists who had withdrawn from the Social Democratic Federation on account of its leaders' opportunist policies. The founders of the League included Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling, Ernest Belfort Bax, William Morris and others. In its early years the League took an active part in the labour movement. However, anarchist elements soon gained the upper hand in the League, forcing many of its organisers, among them the Avelings, to resign. In the early nineties the League disintegrated.—43

50 Engels means the *London International Trades Union Congress* held in November 1888. Representatives of Belgian, British, Danish, Dutch, Italian and pro-Possibilist French trades unions attended. The organisers of the congress had made participation conditional on the official election of delegates by trades unions and thereby denied access to the German and Austrian Social-Democrats and French Marxists. However, the reformist leaders of the British Trades Unions failed to impose their line. Despite their resistance, the congress appealed to the working people to fight for labour protection legislation and a legal eight-hour working day. The congress decided to call an international workers' congress in Paris in 1889, entrusting the Possibilists with its organisation.—43

51 The *International Socialist Workers' Congress* in Paris—virtually the inaugural congress of the Second International—opened on 14 July 1889, the centenary of the capture of the Bastille. Some 400 delegates from 20 countries of Europe and America attended. The congress heard the reports of the representatives of socialist parties on the state of the labour movement in their respective countries and worked out the fundamentals of international labour legislation, demanding a legal eight-hour day, the outlawing of child labour, and measures to protect working women and juveniles. It stressed the need for the political organisation of the proletariat and a struggle to ensure satisfaction of the workers' democratic demands. It also spoke out for the disbandment of standing armies and the universal arming of the people. The congress's most important resolution was the decision to hold demonstrations and meetings in all countries on 1 May 1890 to back up demands for an eight-hour working day and labour legislation. The anarchists opposed the congress resolutions but were overwhelmingly outvoted.—43, 46, 97, 127, 139, 140, 483

52 This refers to the campaign launched by the Possibilists in France and their supporters within the Social Democratic Federation (see notes 3 and 29) to discredit the International Socialist Workers' Congress (see Note 51). Another congress, called on the Possibilists' initiative, was being held in Paris at the time. It was only attend-

ed by 13 foreign delegations, most of them representing fictitious organisations. The attempt to bring the two congresses together failed because the Possibilist congress made merger conditional on a revision of the credentials of the delegates attending the Marxist congress. The Possibilist congress declared for the restoration of the International. It decided to hold the next congress in Brussels in 1891 and instructed the Belgian Workers' Party to convoke it.—43, 234

[53] Engels means the signs of a forthcoming dissociation within the Possibilist Workers' Party (see Note 3). At their congress in Châtellerault, 9 to 15 October 1890, the Possibilists split into two groups—the Broussists and the Allemanists. The latter formed an organisation of their own, the *Socialist Revolutionary Workers' Party*. The Allemanists retained the Possibilists' ideological and tactical principles but, in contrast to them, attached great importance to propaganda within the trades unions, which they regarded as the workers' principal form of organisation. The Allemanists' ultimate weapon was the call for a general strike. Like the Possibilists, they denied the need for a united, centralised party and advocated autonomy and the struggle to win seats on the municipal councils.—43, 46, 49, 52, 53, 74, 98, 117, 139, 155, 164, 167, 183, 189, 190, 224, 260, 399, 430, 533, 544

[54] This probably refers to Edward Aveling's article 'The New Era in German Socialism' in *The Daily Chronicle and Clerkenwell News*, No. 8903, 25 September 1890, which contained excerpts from Engels' article 'What Now?', published in the last issue of the *Sozialdemokrat* (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 7-10).

Aveling's interview with Eduard Bernstein was published in *The Star*, No. 832, 29 September 1890, under the heading 'Germany Flooded with Papers from Kentish Town.—A Talk with the Editor'.—44

[55] A reference to an article by Julius Grunzig headlined 'Die Vorgänge im Lager der deutschen Socialdemokratie', in *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 217, 10 September 1890. It stated views in the spirit of the Jungen.—45

[56] The *National Congress of Trade Unions*, meeting in Calais from 13 to 18 October 1890, supported the resolutions of the Lille Congress (see Note 38) calling for a demonstration on 1 May and a miners' strike.—46, 52

[57] The *labour exchanges* in France, manned by representatives of various trades unions, were mostly operated by the municipalities in large cities. The government gave them support and, not infrequently, financial aid, seeking to exploit them for diverting the workers from the class struggle. The labour exchanges created jobs for the unemployed, founded trades unions, trained union activists and organised strikes.—47, 224, 411

[58] The Possibilists refused to take part in the demonstration on 1 May 1890 on the grounds that Boulangist and other agents of the reaction were going to participate and that the demonstration might harm the cause of the working class.—47

[59] The passage that had puzzled Engels in Sorge's letter of 23 September was explained to him in Sorge's letter of 14 October. Sorge had meant that Eleanor Marx-Aveling, delegated to the Liverpool Trades Union Congress by the Gas Workers and General Labourers Union, had been deprived of the right to vote on the far-fetched pretext of not being a wage labourer herself. Sorge probably drew this information from *People's Press* of 13 September, which carried Eleanor Marx-

Aveling's letter 'To the Editor of the *People's Press*', demonstrating the injustice of the refusal to recognise her credentials.—49

[60] Fearing a strike at their enterprises, the owners of the Gas Light and Coke Company in Becton intended to call out troops to intimidate the workers. An army unit stationed at Chatham was put on the alert on 3 October 1890, but there followed no orders to leave the barracks. The government's readiness to make troops available for action against strikers was sharply condemned at many workers' meetings in different areas of London.—51

[61] This letter was first published in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956.—52

[62] Engels means the congresses in Lille, Calais and Halle (see notes 12, 38 and 56).—53

[63] This refers to the merger of two trends in the German working-class movement—the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (the Eisenach group), led by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, and the Lassallean General Association of German Workers, led by Wilhelm Hasselmann, Wilhelm Hasenclever and others—which took place at a congress in Gotha, 22-27 May 1875. The party thus formed adopted the name of Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. Thus the split within the German working class was overcome. However, the draft programme of the united party (formulated basically by Wilhelm Liebknecht, whose main concern was reconciliation) contained serious mistakes and fundamental concessions to the Lassalleans. Marx, in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 75-99) and in his letter to Wilhelm Bracke of 5 May 1875 (ibid., Vol. 45, pp. 69-73) and Engels, in his letter to Bebel of 18-28 March 1875 (ibid., Vol. 45, pp. 60-66), approved the establishment of a united socialist party in Germany, but warned the Eisenach leaders against precipitate action and ideological compromises with the Lassalleans. They criticised the erroneous propositions in the draft programme, but the congress adopted it, with only minor amendments.—53, 97, 117, 119, 123, 126, 161, 164, 168, 176, 179, 180

[64] This refers to the refusal of the Possibilists (see Note 3) to participate in the socialist congress in Troyes (23-30 December 1888), which originally had been called as a congress of the Possibilist party. The refusal was due to the fact that the convocation of the congress had been entrusted to the Troyes socialist organisations, consisting mostly of supporters of the Workers' Party (Guesdists), so that both parties had been invited.—54

[65] Eleanor Marx-Aveling had attended the congresses of the French Workers' Party in Lille (see Note 38) and of the German Social-Democrats in Halle (see Note 12).—54

[66] This refers to the opposition group of the Jungen (see Note 13).—54

[67] On 17 October 1890 the newspaper *Gil Blas* carried an interview allegedly granted to its correspondent by August Bebel. Engels sent a copy of the text and a letter (which has not been found) to Bebel. The latter replied that he had granted no such interview and the *Gil Blas* text was a hoax from beginning to end. Seeing that this was the case, Paul Lafargue disavowed the interview in a note headlined 'Le Gil Blas interviewer' (*Le Socialiste*, No. 6, 26 October 1890).—54

[68] In a letter to Engels of 16 October 1890 Lafargue said that almost all the delegates to the Lille Congress (see Note 38) had been victimised by the bourgeoisie: they had lost their living and were forced to engage in petty trade and the like. He also stressed that many of them held elective positions on municipal councils and similar bodies, which was proof of the growing influence of the French Workers' Party.—54

[69] This letter is written on a postcard. The address—Mr. W. Liebknecht, Kanstraße 160, Charlottenburg-Berlin, Germany—is on the back.—56

[70] This refers to the *French section of 1871* formed by French refugees in London in September 1871. Its leaders maintained close ties with the Bakuninists in Switzerland and joined in their attacks on the organisational principles of the International. When the General Council suggested that the section should bring its Rules into conformity with those of the International, the section came out against the Council, questioning its powers. In the spring of 1872, part of the section's following, jointly with English bourgeois republicans (including Adolphe Smith Headingley) and Lassalleans expelled from the International for their splitting activities, formed the so-called Universal Federalist Council, which claimed the role of leader of the International.—56

[71] The greater part of this letter was first published, in German, in the supplement to *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, No. 250, 26 September 1895. The first, abridged, English publication was in: S. Hook, *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx. A Revolutionary Interpretation*. The John Day Company, New York, 1933.—57

[72] In a letter of 20 October 1890 Conrad Schmidt advised Engels that he, Schmidt, had been offered the position of stock exchange editor of *Züricher Post*. Somewhat later he began working for the newspaper, but in a different capacity—as its foreign news editor. On 18 June 1891 he informed Engels that he had relinquished his post.—57

[73] Engels has in mind his sojourn in Manchester, 1842 to 1844, as a business apprentice at the Ermen & Engels cotton mill.—58

[74] In his letter of 20 October Conrad Schmidt gave a high appraisal of P. Barth's book *Die Geschichtsphilosophie Hegel's und der Hegelianer bis auf Marx und Hartmann. Ein Kritischer Versuch*, Leipzig, 1890. He pointed to the author's convincing attempts to prove, with historical data, the effect of extraeconomic factors on the economic basis, and suggested that, unless it could be shown that these factors, above all the political ones, were conditioned economically, 'it would be difficult to uphold Marx's conception of history in its *strictest sense*'. This conclusion of Schmidt's worried Engels, hence his detailed reply.—59

[75] *Code Napoléon*—system of bourgeois law adopted under Napoleon I between 1804 and 1810. It comprises five codes: civil, civil-procedural, commercial, criminal and criminal-procedural.—61

[76] This refers to the *1688 coup d'état* in Britain which deposed the Stuart dynasty and established a constitutional monarchy with William of Orange on the throne (from 1689). The new system was based on a compromise between the landed aristocracy and the big bourgeoisie. British bourgeois historiographers call this coup the Glorious Revolution.—62

[77] The *deists* recognise God as the impersonal rational primal cause of the world, but

see him as refraining from any intervention in the life of Nature and society. In contrast to feudal and church ideology, deism tends to take a rationalistic attitude, criticising the medieval theological world-outlook. At the same time, it compromises with institutionalised religion, holding that it should be retained for the masses in a rationalistic form.—62

[78] See *Capital*, Volume I, Chapter 10, 'The Working Day', and the whole of Part VIII, 'The So-Called Primitive Accumulation' (present edition, Vol. 35).—63

[79] On 16 September 1890 the *Volksstimme* carried an article by Paul Ernst distorting Engels' statements and alleging that he was in solidarity with the Jungen (see Note 13). In this connection Engels published his 'Reply to Mr. Paul Ernst' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 80-85), in which he quoted part of his letter to Ernst of 5 June 1890 (see Vol. 48).—63

[80] Conrad Schmidt had published an extract from Engels' letter to him of 5 August 1890 in the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*, No. 39, 27 September 1890 (see this volume, pp. 6-9).—64

[81] This letter was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895. A Selection*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—67

[82] This letter has only reached us in the form of extracts published in Gustav Mayer's book *Friedrich Engels. Eine Biographie*, Vol. 2, The Hague, 1934. Part of the letter is given in Mayer's rendering. Engels wrote the letter under the immediate impact of the death and funeral of Helene Demuth, in reply to Louise Kautsky's telegram of condolences. In his letter Engels expressed his hope that Louise would move to London in order to keep house for him and be his secretary. However, not wanting to force her hand, he suggested that Louise should come to London for a short stay and make her decision there.—68

[83] Engels wrote this letter in his capacity as executor of Helene Demuth.—69

[84] The *American Federation of Labor*—leading US trade-union centre, formed in December 1886. Composed mostly of skilled workers, it initially played a positive part as a rallying point for the American working class, particularly in the struggle for the eight hours day. Its programme bore an imprint of socialist ideas.—74, 113, 557, 558

[85] Sorge's first contribution to *Neue Zeit* (No. 8, 1890) was the article 'Briefe aus Nordamerika'.—74

[86] The *Nationalists* were members of a social movement in the USA which sought to relieve society of the worst evils of capitalism through the nationalisation of production and distribution and a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. The first Nationalist club was set up in Boston in 1888, under the impact of Edward Bellamy's Utopian novel *Looking Backward 2000-1887*. By 1891 there were more than 160 such clubs all over the country. The clubs, consisting mostly of members of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, were vehicles for the propagation of Nationalist views. In 1889, the newspaper *Nationalist* began to appear. The Nationalist movement exerted a certain influence on America's socialists. For instance, the newspaper *Sozialist*, organ of the Socialist Labor Party of North America (see Note 133), echoed its propaganda, and Daniel de Leon, one of the party's leaders, held Nationalist views. Engels compared the Nationalists to the Fabians (see Note 87).

That the *Nationalists* boycotted Engels' works, ignoring them or declaring them harmful, was told to Engels by Sorge in a letter of 14 October 1890.—75, 113

87 The *Fabian Society* was a British reformist organisation set up by a group of intellectuals in 1884 and led by Sidney and Beatrice Webb. The Society's name derives from Fabius Maximus, a Roman general of the 3rd century B. C. nicknamed Cunctator (Delayer) for his tactic of evading a set battle in the war against Hannibal.—75, 113, 342, 404, 449, 468, 493, 497, 502, 515, 526, 563

88 This presumably refers to an article in *Paterson Labor Standard* of 11 October 1890 mentioned by Sorge in his letter to Engels of 14 October.—75

89 Engels means the *German Workers' Educational Society* in London, which was founded by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll, Heinrich Bauer and other members of the League of the Just in 1840. After the establishment of the Communist League, its local branches played the leading role in the Society. In 1847 and 1849-50, Marx and Engels took an active part in its work. On 17 September 1850, they and a number of their followers retired from the Society because most of its members had sided with the adventurist sectarian minority (the Willich-Schapper faction) which was challenging the Marx- and Engels-led majority in the Central Authority of the Communist League. Marx and Engels resumed their work in the Society in the late 1850s. When the First International Working Men's Association was founded, the Society — then led, among others, by Friedrich Lessner — became its member. The London Educational Society was closed by the British government in 1918.—76, 237, 269, 294, 310, 313, 333, 335, 345, 381, 497, 527

90 The meeting took place at Edward and Eleanor Avelings' house in London on 1 December 1890. It was attended by German Social-Democratic leaders Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel and Paul Singer and British socialist and labour leaders Robert Cunninghame-Graham, John Burns, Bill Thorne, Ben Cooper, Maxwell and Morrison Davidson, as well as by Engels and the Avelings. Cunninghame-Graham published an account of the meeting, 'Eight Hours "Blokes" in Council', in *People's Press*, No. 40, saying that 'the object of our meeting was to combine the attack against surplus value, to endeavour to bring about friendly relations between the sweated of all nations, and to push on the general eight hours day by legislative action...'.—77

91 A draft of this letter, roughly similar in content, also exists. The different readings are indicated in footnotes.—77

92 By the Dutch Labour Party Engels means the *Social-Democratic Union of the Netherlands*, founded in 1882, which united all Dutch socialists. In the late 1880s the anarchists and reformists succeeded in building up their influence within the Union. Government reprisals and the sectarian policy of the Union's leaders, in particular Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis, led to a split in the Union and the establishment, in 1894, of the Social-Democratic Labour Party, joined by the remainder of the Social-Democratic Union in 1900.—77

93 *The Congress of Hungarian Workers' Organisations* met in Budapest on 7 and 8 December 1890. It was attended by 121 delegates (87 for Budapest and 34 for the provinces). The congress discussed the state of the working-class movement in Hungary, the political condition and rights of the workers, their attitude to social reform, the condition of the agricultural labourers, the role of trade unions and other questions. It

formed a workers' party, which was to be called the Social-Democratic Party of Hungary, and adopted a declaration of principle (the party programme).

Engels did not attend the congress. In reply to the invitation, he sent a message of greetings to the newspapers *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik* and *Népszava* (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 89-90).—79

[94] *Opportunists*—the name given in the early 1880s to the party of moderate republicans in France, which reflected the interests of the big bourgeoisie.—83

[95] This letter was first published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *The Communist View on Morality*, Novosti, Moscow, 1974.—84

[96] In his preface to the fourth German edition of Volume I of *Capital* in June 1890 (see present edition, Vol. 35) Engels described in detail Marx's 1872 polemic with the German economist Lujo Brentano, who had accused Marx of misquoting a passage from Gladstone's parliamentary speech of 16 April 1863 in reproducing it in the *Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association* and in Volume I of *Capital*. Brentano's reaction to Engels' presentation of the case was the pamphlet *Meine Polemik mit Karl Marx*, Berlin, 1890, the introduction to which was published in *Deutsches Wochenblatt*, No. 45, 6 November 1890. On 4 December this journal carried a note containing two passages from Gladstone's letters to Brentano of 22 and 28 November 1890 in which Gladstone asserted that Brentano was right.

Engels replied in a brief article, 'In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx' (*Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg., 1890/91, 1. Bd., Nr. 13) and, at greater length, in a pamphlet of the same title, published in April 1891, which contained a large number of documents, including the above-mentioned article (see present edition, Vol. 27).—85, 90, 93, 95, 103, 132, 146, 148, 158, 163, 172

[97] Engels presumably means his stay with his family in connection with his mother's death in the autumn of 1873.—86

[98] Part of this letter was first published in the journal *Die Gesellschaft*, No. 5, 1932.—90, 103, 107, 118, 129

[99] In all likelihood, this refers to Karl Kautsky's letters of 7 and 25 November 1890. The letter of 7 November has not been found. That of 25 November concerned Kautsky's help in the work on Volume IV of *Capital*.—90

[100] Engels means the manuscript *Theories of Surplus-Value*, the only rough draft, made by Marx in 1862-63, of the concluding—historical and critical—part of *Capital*. In the last few years of his life Engels, realising that he would have no time to prepare it for publication, enlisted the help of Eduard Bernstein and Karl Kautsky. *Theories of Surplus-Value*, virtually the fourth book of *Capital*, was first published by Kautsky in 1905-10.—90

[101] General Seliverstov, chief of the Tsarist secret police in Paris, was killed by the Polish socialist S. Padlewski on 18 November 1890.—92, 102, 108

[102] Paul Lafargue was in negotiation with the chairman of the Paris municipal council's education board on the organisation of a course in the history of labour. The idea of such a course was first mooted by Marie Édouard Vaillant.—92

[103] Laura Lafargue began preparing the second French edition of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the 'Philosophy of Poverty' by M. Proudhon* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 105-212) in 1884, but things got stalled. In 1887 Paul Lafargue re-

sumed the negotiations on this edition, however it did not materialise until 1896.—92

[104] Lafargue gave his version of the Rothschilds' role in the bankruptcy of the Bering Bank in his letter to Engels of 19 November 1890. See F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956, pp. 440-41.—92

[105] Wilhelm Liebknecht intended to reprint—under the title 'Ein Briefwechsel von 1843'—Marx's correspondence with Arnold Ruge published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* in Paris in 1844 (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 133-45).—94

[106] Wilhelm Liebknecht quotes from Vol. 4 of Heinrich von Sybel's *Die Begründung des deutschen Reiches durch Wilhelm I*, pp. 411-14, where Sybel suggests that Bismarck might be willing to compensate France territorially—a willingness expressed in his pamphlet *Die Emser Depesche oder: Wie Kriege gemacht werden.*—94

[107] In a letter of 2 December 1890, Sorge asked Engels' permission to make use of his letters in articles for *Neue Zeit.*—95

[108] After the death of Helene Demuth, Sorge invited Engels to move to his place in Hoboken.—96, 113

[109] This letter, written in German, has not been found.—96

[110] In a letter of 23 December 1890, Frankel asked Engels to describe the position in the French working-class movement brought about by the split in the Workers' Party between the revolutionary, Marxist wing, led by Jules Guesde, and the Possibilists (see Note 3).—96

[111] Engels is mistaken here. Wilhelm Hasselmann was expelled from the Socialist Workers' Party with Johann Most at the Wyden Congress in 1880 for adopting an anarchist stance.—97

[112] This presumably refers to Frankel's article devoted to Engels' 70th birthday.—99

[113] This is Engels' reply to the greetings conveyed to him on the occasion of his 70th birthday by the congress of mutual aid funds held in Berlin on 8 to 11 December 1890.—99

[114] This letter to the Social-Democratic Reichstag deputy Georg Schumacher has reached us in the form of a publication in *Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 47, 24 February 1906, headlined 'Ein Brief von Friedrich Engels'. It is introduced by the following editorial note:

'A copy of a letter from Frederick Engels has been made available to us by the addressee, Comrade Georg Schumacher in Solingen. It is our great fighter's reply to the gift presented to him on the occasion of his 70th birthday. The gift was a knife, a real work of art, made by Comrade Fritz Studer of Solingen.'

The Social-Democratic group in the German Reichstag sent Engels an album with the photos of 35 of its members.—100

[115] On these events see Engels' article 'Elberfeld', present edition, Vol. 9, pp. 447-49.—100

[116] Engels means his postcard of 20 December 1890 (see this volume, pp. 94-96), which was his reply to Sorge's letter of 9 December.—101

[117] In his letter of 2 December 1890 Sorge complained that the Paris newspaper *Le Socialiste* was being sent to him irregularly and asked Engels to pass this on to the French socialist leaders.— 102

[118] This refers to Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 75-99), prepared by Engels for publication in the journal *Neue Zeit*. By publishing this programme document of scientific socialism, a model of uncompromising struggle against opportunism, Engels sought to deal a blow at the increasingly active reformist elements in German Social-Democracy. It was especially important to do this in view of the forthcoming Erfurt party congress (see Note 301), which was to adopt a new programme to replace the Gotha one. In having the *Critique* published Engels had to overcome some opposition from the leaders of German Social-Democracy. The publication was deplored by the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag and the editorial board of *Vorwärts*. At the same time, as Engels had foreseen, Marx's work was welcomed both within the German party itself and by socialists in other countries, who regarded it as a programme document for the entire international socialist movement. The *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, along with Marx's letter to Wilhelm Bracke of 5 May 1875 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 75-99) and Engels' preface, was printed in *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg., 1890/91, 1. Bd., Nr. 18.— 103

[119] See present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 91-92.— 103

[120] This letter to August Bebel (presumably of 15 January 1891) has not been found. As can be seen from Bebel's reply (21 January 1891), Engels had informed him of the forthcoming publication of *Critique of the Gotha Programme* and asked whether he knew of any objections by Marx to the compromise Gotha programme. Bebel answered that he had heard nothing to this effect during his imprisonment (up to 1 April 1875) or thereafter, but had written to Wilhelm Liebknecht from prison saying that the programme would not stand up to criticism and suggesting amendments.— 107

[121] This refers to Wilhelm Liebknecht's report on the programme of German Social-Democracy at the Halle party congress, which met 12 to 18 October 1890 (see Note 12). In discussing the Gotha programme Liebknecht made use of some propositions from Marx's manuscript devoted to it, without mentioning his name.— 107, 134, 176

[122] Stanisław Mendelson was arrested on charges of complicity in Padlewski's case (see Note 101). After an enquiry of several weeks the French authorities, threatening expulsion, compelled Mendelson and his wife to leave France.— 107

[123] Engels means Mendelson's and his wife's presence at a meeting of one of the branches of the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 29), which was reported in *Justice*, No. 364, 3 January 1891 ('Mendelson in London').— 108

[124] On 14 January 1891 *Vorwärts* carried a report by the Berlin correspondent of *The Daily Chronicle* exposing Theodor Reuß as a former police agent. The correspondent referred to an article on Reuß's spying activities published by *Sozialdemokrat* as early as December 1887. There had been another article on the same subject, 'Wie John Neve der preußischen Polizei in die Hände geliefert wurde', in *Sozialdemokrat*, No. 20, 13 May 1887.— 109

[125] This presumably refers to Jules Guesde's article 'Une interpellation nécessaire', published in *Le Socialiste*, No. 17, 14 January 1891. It said that the Russian secret police had set up a central office in Paris, which was despatching agents to other European cities too.— 110

[126] A letter headlined 'A Warning' appeared over the signature of Stanisław Mendelson in *Justice* No. 367 on 24 January 1891. It urged English socialists to be on the look-out for possible provocations by agents of the Tsarist secret police in London.— 110

[127] 'We German Socialists are proud of the fact that we are descended not only from Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen, but also from Kant, Fichte and Hegel. The German working-class movement is the heir of German classical philosophy. London, 4 January 1891. Frederick Engels.'

Engels presumably made this inscription at the request of Heinrich Scheu, who was working on his portrait in 1891. The first sentence is from the preface to the German edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 457-59), the second concludes Engels' *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 353-98).

The portrait and inscription were first published in the Sunday supplement to *Arbeiter-Zeitung* of 18 August 1895, in connection with Engels' death.— 110-11

[128] This letter was found among the leaves of Schorlemmer's unfinished manuscript *Geschichte der Chemie*, on which he had worked in the last few years of his life. Written in German and comprising 650 pages, the manuscript is preserved in the library of Manchester University.— 111

[129] In his letter of 10 January 1891 Heinrich Scheu informed Engels that, as well as making a woodcarving of Marx, he intended to portray Engels. For this purpose he requested Engels to send him a photograph.— 112

[130] This letter was first published in English in *Science and Society*, New York, 1948, Vol. 2, No. 3.— 113

[131] This refers to *Pionier. Illustrierter Volks-Kalender für 1891*, New York. The calendar, an annual one, was published by *New Yorker Volkszeitung*. Hermann Schlüter was its editor, F. A. Sorge one of the contributors. As can be seen from Schlüter's letters to Engels of 3 June and 19 November 1890, the calendar for 1891 was to include, with Engels' permission, Marx's biography written by Engels in 1878 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 183-95), with addenda by Schlüter.— 113

[132] In his letter of 19 November 1890 Hermann Schlüter informed Engels that he had the possibility to buy a set of *The New American Cyclopedia* and asked whether Engels too needed one and whether Marx's articles in the *Cyclopedia* were of a theoretical nature.— 113

[133] The *Socialist Labor Party of North America* was formed at the union congress in Philadelphia in 1876 through the merger of the American sections of the First International and other US socialist organisations. The majority of the party members were immigrants (mostly Germans) who had only loose ties with America's native-born workers. Within the party a struggle was going on between the reformist leadership, consisting mostly of Lassalleans, and the Marxist wing, led by

Friedrich Adolph Sorge, an associate of Marx and Engels. The party's proclaimed goal was socialism. However, owing to the sectarian policy of its leaders, who ignored America's mass workers' organisations, above all the trade unions, it failed to become a truly revolutionary mass Marxist party.—113, 167, 186, 447, 507

134 This refers to the conflict between the Socialist Labor Party of North America (see Note 133) and the American Federation of Labor (see Note 84), of which Engels had been informed by Sorge in his letters of 9 December 1890 and 16 January 1891 and by Samuel Gompers in a letter of 9 January of the same year. The Socialist Party demanded for itself official representation in the trade unions. Gompers declared on behalf of the Federation's leadership that the Socialist Party, as a political organisation, could not be part of the Federation and proposed that party members should participate in the work of the trade unions as individuals. The Socialist leaders' rejection of the Federation's proposal and their attempts to counterpose the party to what was then the largest US workers' organisation were seen by Engels as a manifestation of sectarianism which objectively strengthened the reformists' influence in the working-class movement.—113

135 The *International Socialist Workers' Congress* met in Brussels, 16-22 August 1891. The 337 delegates represented the socialist parties and organisations and numerous trades unions in many European countries and the USA. By a majority vote the congress debarred the anarchists from taking part in its deliberations. Representatives of British trades unions attended. The American delegates included trades unionists, as well as socialists.

The congress discussed labour legislation, strike action and boycott, militarism and the celebration of May Day.

The resolution on the first question called on workers the world over to join forces for the fight against capitalist rule and, where workers possessed political rights, to use these to free themselves from wage slavery. The resolution on strikes and boycott recommended the workers to make use of these methods of struggle and stressed that trades unions were absolutely essential to the workers.

The attitude of the working class to militarism was in the centre of the congress deliberations. Wilhelm Liebknecht's and Edouard Vaillant's reports on this issue and the draft resolution tabled by Liebknecht pointed out that militarism was an inevitable product of the capitalist system, that socialist society alone could put an end to it and bring about international peace and that the socialists were the true party of peace.

The leader of the Dutch Social-Democrats, Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis, who took a semi-anarchist stand, tabled an alternative resolution, under which socialists in all countries should, in the event of war, call on their respective people to proclaim a general strike. The vast majority of the delegates voted for the resolution tabled by Liebknecht.

Referring to the resolutions of the Brussels Congress, Engels pointed out that 'in matters of principle as of tactics the Marxists have been victorious all along the line' (Engels to F. A. Sorge, 2 September 1891).—114, 155, 161, 164, 171, 211, 214, 221-24, 226, 230, 232-34, 237, 250, 287

[136] In his letters of 3 June and 19 November 1890 Schlüter said he had sent Engels material on the debasement of the silver coinage in the USA.— 114

[137] *Bimetallism* or *dual currency*, is a monetary system using both gold and silver as the standard of value.— 114

[138] Engels means the fourth German edition of Volume I of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 35).— 114

[139] In his letter to Engels of 19 November 1890 Schlüter said he had recently read the German translation of Marx's speech, 'The Protectionists, the Free Traders and the Working Class', made in 1846 by Joseph Weydemeyer, a friend and associate of Marx and Engels. The speech was first published in the Belgian newspaper *Atelier démocratique* on 29 September 1847.

In reply to Engels' questions, Schlüter wrote, on 10 March 1891, that Weydemeyer's translation had appeared, alongside that of Marx's 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade' (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 450-65) in Hamm in 1848, as a pamphlet entitled *Zwei Reden über die Freihandels- und Schutzzollfrage von Karl Marx*. Schlüter also gave a detailed description of the pamphlet.— 114, 150

[140] The *German Workers' Society* in Brussels was founded by Marx and Engels at the end of August 1847, its aim being to provide a political education for German workers living in Belgium and to spread the ideas of scientific socialism among them. Led by Marx, Engels and their followers, the Society became a legal centre rallying German revolutionary proletarian forces in Belgium and maintaining direct contact with Flemish and Walloon workers' clubs. Its most active members belonged to the Brussels community of the Communist League. The Society played an important part in founding the Brussels Democratic Association. Its activities ceased soon after the February 1848 revolution in France, when its members were arrested and deported by the Belgian police.— 144

[141] This letter was first published in English in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*. Vol. 3. 1891-1895, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963.— 115, 121, 122, 140, 161, 190, 193, 255, 317, 423, 476, 533

[142] On 30 January 1891 Paul Lafargue wrote to tell Engels that a report in the Paris press said the executive of the German Social-Democratic Party had decided to call on the socialist parties in other countries to put off the celebration of May Day to Sunday, 3 May 1891. Lafargue objected to the postponement and asked Engels to state his opinion of the German socialists' attitude on the matter.— 115

[143] A report in Supplement I to *Vorwärts*, No. 24, 29 January 1891, said that on 28 January 1891 the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag had decided to recommend that the May Day celebration in Germany should be held on the first Sunday in May. The motives for this were to be explained in a special address of the group (see Note 163).— 115

[144] Engels' letter to Richard Fischer mentioned here is not extant. Fischer's answer, written on 4 February 1891, is quoted by Engels in his letter to Paul Lafargue of 6 February (see this volume, pp. 120-22).— 116

[145] This refers to Charles Bonnier's letter to Engels of 18 January 1891 stating that the French socialists intended to celebrate May Day on 1 May.—116

[146] Engels refers to the various trends within the socialist movement in France.

The *Marxist trend*, headed by Jules Guesde (hence its other name, Guesdists) and Paul Lafargue, was represented by the Workers' Party, founded in 1879. From the outset this trend was torn by a sharp ideological struggle, as a result of which the party, at its St.-Étienne Congress in 1882, split up into two groups—the Guesdists and the Possibilists (or Broussists). The Guesdists retained the name of Workers' Party. Its programme, adopted at the Havre Congress in 1880, was drawn up with the participation of Marx. The Guesdists' strongholds were France's industrial centres. More specifically, they relied on individual groups of workers at the large plants of Paris. The party saw one of its principal tasks in winning the backing of the working masses. In the 1880s and 90s it achieved a measure of success in propagating Marxist ideas among France's workers. An important role in this was played by *Le Socialiste*, the party's newspaper. Marxists were active in the trades unions and led the workers' strike struggle. The party mounted a large-scale campaign in support of Paul Lafargue, whose election to the Chamber of Deputies in 1891 was a major success for the French socialists. The party also did a great deal to promote international socialist ties and expose the aggressive nature of the foreign policy of the French bourgeois republic, in particular of the 1891-93 Franco-Prussian alliance.

But the party's leaders did not always pursue a consistently Marxist policy and made opportunistic mistakes, particularly on the peasant question in the 1890s. Marx and Engels criticised them on various issues, helping them to work out a correct line for the working-class movement.

For the *Possibilists* (or Broussists)—see Note 3.—116

[147] The *radicals* were a parliamentary group in France in the 1880s and 90s which had split away from the bourgeois party of moderate republicans (the 'opportunists' or 'Gambettists'). They continued to uphold a number of bourgeois-democratic demands virtually dropped by the republicans: abolition of the Senate, separation of the Church from the State, introduction of a progressive income tax, and others. They also demanded a limitation of the working day, pensions for the disabled, and other socio-economic measures. In 1901 the radicals set up a party of their own. It spoke, above all, for the middle and petty bourgeoisie.—116, 289, 291, 297, 320, 330, 360

[148] Presumably an allusion to the leading article, 'Zum 1. Mai 1891', published in *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 2, 9 January 1891.—117

[149] In his 'Briefe aus Frankreich' ('Letters from France'), published in *Vorwärts*, Nos 23 and 25 on 28 and 30 January 1891, Jules Guesde exposed the policy of the moderate bourgeois republicans (the 'opportunists') led by Jean Antoine Constans, Pierre Maurice Rouvier and others. He showed that it aimed at suppressing the working-class movement in the country and compromised the republic.—117, 130

[150] Engels means the article 'L'Avortement' (from the series 'Hygiène capitaliste') published by Paul Lafargue under the pen-name *Dr. Z.* in *Le Socialiste*, No. 17, 14 January 1891. Lafargue exposes the hypocrisy of the bourgeois judiciary, using as an illustration the trial of Fouroux, the Mayor of Toulon, and V. Jonquières, his

mistress, whom Fouroux had compelled to have an abortion, then banned by law.— 117

151 Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* was reprinted, without Engels' preface, in supplements to the newspaper *Vorwärts*, Nos 27 and 28, 1 and 3 February 1891 from *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg., 1890/91, 1. Bd., Nr. 18.— 118

152 This refers to the attempt by Wilhelm Liebknecht and other leaders of German Social-Democracy to prevent the distribution of No. 18 of *Die Neue Zeit*, which contained Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (see this volume, pp. 126 and 181).
For the *Anti-Socialist Law* see Note 11.— 118

153 The Editors are not in possession of the original of this letter.— 118, 129, 171, 289, 301, 303, 304, 305, 323, 329, 335, 342, 360, 372, 491, 492, 496, 501, 506, 543, 544

154 The *People's Party* in Germany was formed in 1865. It consisted of petty bourgeois and bourgeois-democratic elements and was predominantly active in the South German states of Württemberg, Baden and Bavaria. The party put forward general democratic demands and opposed Prussian hegemony in Germany. Expressing the particularist attitude of certain German states, it advocated a German federation and rejected unity in the form of a centralised democratic republic.— 119, 180, 268

155 In the autumn of 1878 the German Reichstag discussed a bill on import duties. In July 1879, new customs tariffs imposing considerably higher duties on industrial and agricultural imports were introduced.— 121

156 In his letter to Engels of 7 February 1891 Paul Lafargue spoke of the German socialists' inconsistency in the matter of the 1891 May Day celebration: at the 1889 Paris International Socialist Workers' Congress (see Note 51) they had unanimously voted for having the May Day celebrations generally on May 1st, even though the Anti-Socialist Law was still in force then; now, after its repeal, they intended to have the celebration on May 3rd.— 122

157 Paul Lafargue had told Engels (in his letter of 7 February 1891) that *Le Socialiste*, the organ of the Workers' Party, was rapidly increasing its readership.— 123

158 In his letter of 7 February 1891 Lafargue had asked for Engels' opinion of his article, 'La propriété féodale', published under the pen-name Fergus in *La Nouvelle Revue* of 1 February 1891.— 123

159 During the November 1885 parliamentary elections Hyndman and Champion accepted money from the leadership of the Conservative Party to finance the campaign of the Social Democratic Federation.— 124, 127

160 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in *The Labour Monthly*, No. 6, 1934.— 125, 224, 231, 250

161 On 6 February 1891, the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 6, reported from Berlin, in the column 'Deutschland', that a document of great theoretical and practical importance, Marx's critique of the programme adopted by the German party at its 1875 Gotha Congress, had been published by Engels in Germany. Speaking of the service rendered by Engels, the author of the report, Adolf Braun, pointed out: 'The time has come to formulate the theoretical foundations of our party with full

clarity and uncompromisingly, so the present publication is very timely indeed.'—126, 129

[162] On 13 February 1891 *Vorwärts* (No. 37) carried a leading article, 'Der Marx'sche Programm-Brief', written by Wilhelm Liebknecht, in which the Reichstag Social-Democratic group expressed disagreement with the assessment of the Gotha programme and Lassalle's role given in Marx's *Critique*.—126, 130, 135, 137, 146, 148, 166, 176

[163] The proclamation 'Parteigenossen!', issued by the Reichstag Social-Democratic group, was published in *Vorwärts*, No. 31, on 6 February 1891. The group urged the German workers to observe May Day on May 3rd rather than May 1st and, to substantiate its stand, cited the relevant resolution of the Paris International Socialist Workers' Congress (see Note 51) which said that 'workers in different countries will have to organise the celebration in a form suitable to the local conditions'. Engels criticised the proclamation for the tendency, manifest in it, to fix the first Sunday of May as the official day for the workers' May Day celebrations for all time.—127

[164] The *Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers*, Britain's first trades union of unskilled workers, was set up in late March-early April 1889, against the background of the rising strike movement of the 1880s and 90s. Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling played an important role in organising and leading the union. It put forward the demand for an eight-hour working day and within a short time became very influential among large sections of the working class. About 100,000 gas workers joined it during the first year. The union gave great help in organising the famous London dock strike in 1889 (see Note 198). The strike and the Gas Union's activities gave rise to the Dockers' Union, another large organisation of unskilled workers, which in its turn contributed significantly to the establishment of more mass trades unions, to the fight for the eight-hour day and to the organisation of May Day demonstrations of British workers in the 1890s.

The gas workers readily responded to socialist and internationalist ideas, preached to them above all by Eleanor Marx-Aveling, and exerted an important influence on the labour movement in Ireland, where they initiated mass trades unions embracing, among others, farm labourers. The National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland (the union's full name) maintained links with workers' organisations in other countries. Eleanor Marx-Aveling and William Thorne represented it as delegates at the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Brussels (see Note 135).—128, 138, 167, 197, 219, 225, 300, 313, 367, 371, 403, 557, 560

[165] This refers to Kautsky's letters of 6 and 9 February 1891, in which he informed Engels of reactions in Social-Democratic circles to the publication of *Critique of the Gotha Programme* in *Neue Zeit* and of Bebel and Liebknecht's attempt to prevent the publication.—129

[166] The article in question, headlined 'Zur Kritik des sozialdemokratischen Programms' (*Hamburger Echo*, No. 33, 8 February 1891), noted the importance of Marx's programmatic letter, published by Engels, for the working out of German Social-Democracy's new programme.—129, 331

[167] Engels' mention of the *system of acquired rights* is an allusion to Lassalle's work of the

same title, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte. Eine Versöhnung des positiven Rechts und der Rechtsphilosophie.* In zwei Theilen. Leipzig, 1861. For an assessment of this work see present edition, Vol. 41, pp. 330-31.— 129

168 This article by Paul Lafargue, intended for *Neue Zeit*, did not appear in it. In his letter to Engels of 6 February Kautsky characterised it as slipshod and containing serious mistakes, and asked what he should do with it. The article was published later in *La Revue socialiste*, t. XVI, No. 93, 1892, under the title 'La théorie de la valeur et de la plus-value de Marx et les économistes bourgeois'. For Engels' assessment of it see this volume, pp. 140-42.— 129, 141, 159, 174

169 This refers to August Bebel's, Wilhelm Liebknecht's and Paul Singer's stay in London, from 27 November to early December 1890, as Engels' guests on the occasion of his seventieth birthday (see also Note 90).— 130

170 This refers to a letter from Bebel to Kautsky, which the latter had enclosed with his letter to Engels of 18 February. As can be seen from Kautsky's comments, Bebel said in his letter that the publication of *Critique of the Gotha Programme* had evoked a negative reaction in the party.— 131

171 *Die Neue Zeit* (9. Jg., 1890/91, 1. Bd., Nr. 21) reprinted the leading article from *Vorwärts*, No. 37, 13 February 1891 (see Note 162), adding a brief introduction and the following note: 'It is a fact that we of course did not feel obliged to submit Marx's letter for approval to the party leadership or the parliamentary group..., but it is also a fact that we made no secret of our intention to publish it. The responsibility for the publication is ours entirely.'— 132, 133, 146

172 This letter was first published in English in: K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1933.— 133

173 For the reaction of the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung* see Note 161.

The *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* reprinted Marx's work in its Nos 30, 31, 33 and 35; 6, 7, 10 and 12 February 1891, with an editorial introductory note emphasising the special significance of this programmatic letter for German Social-Democracy.

*Züricher Post*, No. 34, 10 February 1891, carried an editorial (written by Franz Mehring) headlined 'Hängen und Würgen', which stressed that the publication of Marx's work testified to the strength and fighting spirit of German Social-Democracy which, with the objectivity and self-criticism characteristic of it, sought to clarify for itself the goals of its struggle.— 133

174 This refers to Countess Sophie Hatzfeldt's divorce suit, conducted by Lassalle from 1846 to 1854.— 134

175 In a letter of 20 February 1891 Richard Fischer informed Engels of the party Executive's decision to bring out new editions of Marx's *The Civil War in France* and *Wage Labour and Capital* and Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* and asked Engels to write prefaces to these works.— 136

176 This is an excerpt from Engels' reply — which has not survived — to Antonio Labriola's letter of 21 February 1891 conveying the request by the anarchist German poet John Henry Mackay, a devotee of the German Young Hegelian philosopher Max Stirner and collector of his works, to be allowed to familiarise himself with Marx and Engels' unpublished manuscript on Stirner, i. e. with *The German Ideology*.

The bulk of it is made up of the section 'Saint Max', which is a critique of Stirner's work *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum*, published in 1844.

*The German Ideology* was first published, in German, in *MEGA*, Erste Abteilung, Band 5, Moscow-Leningrad, 1933 (present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 19-539).—136

177 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters on 'Capital'*, New Park, London, 1983.—137, 314, 322, 389, 525

178 In 1891 the Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany decided to publish the collected works of Ferdinand Lassalle. They appeared under the title *Reden und Schriften. Neue Gesammt-Ausgabe. Mit einer biographischen Einleitung herausgegeben von Ed. Bernstein, London*, vols I-III, Berlin, 1892-93. In his introduction, entitled 'Ferdinand Lassalle und seine Bedeutung in der Geschichte der Sozialdemokratie', Bernstein gave a by and large correct assessment of Lassalle's role in the German working-class movement and provided a critical analysis of his theoretical views and political line. In his later edition of Lassalle's works Bernstein changed his views.—138, 203, 253, 316, 331

179 Engels means the slander campaign against him launched by Hyndman in connection with the publication of *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. In February 1891 Hyndman published several items in the newspaper *Justice* describing Engels as the leader of 'the Marxist clique' engaged in plotting and intrigues fraught with the danger of a split. Hyndman supported the stand taken by the Reichstag Social-Democratic group and the editorial board of *Vorwärts* in regard of the publication of Marx's work (see Note 162).

To prevent Edward Aveling's nomination in Northampton (see this volume, pp. 120, 123-24, 126-27) Hyndman publicised in *Justice* the slanderous accusations levelled at Aveling by the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party of North America ('The Northampton Election', 'Dr Aveling?', 'Dr Aveling Again') (see Note 133). The Committee, which had financed a US lecture tour by Edward Aveling, Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Wilhelm Liebknecht in September-December 1886, had charged Aveling with excessive expenditure and the forging of bills.—138, 140, 155

180 Wilhelm Rosenberg and his followers pursued a sectarian policy underestimating the party's work in America's mass labour organisations, above all in the trades unions. In September 1889 they were removed from the leadership of the Socialist Labor Party of North America.—138

181 In February 1891 Victoria, the widow of the German Emperor Frederick III, paid an unofficial visit to Paris. Nominally private, the visit pursued a specific political purpose—to bring about a rapprochement between Germany and France predicated on the latter's recognition of the results of the Franco-Prussian war, i. e. its giving up Alsace-Lorraine. The very fact of Victoria's sudden appearance in Paris (the visit had not been agreed with the French government), her demonstrative pilgrimages to sites associated with German military victories, hurt the national feelings of the French and provoked anti-German demonstrations. The visit caused a serious Franco-German diplomatic conflict.—140

182 Engels was informed of the Broussists' (see Note 3) adhesion to the committee set up by the Marxists to organise a joint demonstration in Paris on 1 May 1891 by

Paul Lafargue (letter of 5 March 1891) and Charles Bonnier (letter of 4 March).— 140

183 See present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 292-302.— 141

184 This is Engels' summary of his answer to French journalist Henri Ravé's letter of 3 March 1891, jotted down by Engels on this letter. In his message, written at Paul Lafargue's advice, Ravé informed Engels that he had completed a translation into French of August Bebel's work *Die Frau in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft*, and asked Engels' permission to translate into French *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. To form an idea of Ravé as a translator, Engels requested him to send some proofs of the French version of Bebel's work.

Engels' letter proper is not extant.— 142

185 This text was written by Engels on a postcard. The part of it which bore the stamp is missing, some of the words are damaged.— 142

186 Along with his letter of 26 August 1891 the Italian socialist Pasquale Martignetti sent Engels a copy of the journal *Critica Sociale*, No. 3, 20 February 1891, containing a notice on the forthcoming issue, by Fantuzzi Publishers, Milan, of a new Italian translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.— 142

187 In his letter of 23 February 1891 Filippo Turati asked Engels' permission to translate and publish in Italian a number of works by Marx and Engels. He also approved, on the whole, of the publication of Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* in *Neue Zeit*.— 143

188 Engels was corresponding secretary for Italy on the General Council of the International in 1871-72 and the General Council's provisional representative for Italy in 1873. He visited Lombardy between May and mid-September 1841, on a tour of North Italy. He described his impressions in the essay 'Wanderings in Lombardy', published in the journal *Athenäum*, Nos 48 and 49, 4 and 11 December 1841 (see present edition, Vol. 2, pp. 170-80).— 143

189 The following notes are Engels' summary of his reply to a letter from Ravé of 8 March 1891, jotted down by Engels on this letter. In his letter, Ravé acknowledged receipt of Engels' letter of 6 March 1891. He wrote that he was enclosing with his letter two proof sheets of his translation of August Bebel's *Die Frau in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft*, which Engels had requested, and asked about Engels' terms regarding the proposed translation into French of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. In his answer Engels suggested that Ravé should make a trial translation of several pages from Chapter IX of this work.

Engels' letter itself is not extant.— 144

190 The passages indicated by Engels will be found on pp. 256, 272 and 273 of Vol. 26 of the present edition.— 144, 154

191 An excerpt from this letter was first published in German in the journal *Die Gesellschaft*, No. 5, 1932; the first — partial — English publication was in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters on 'Capital'*, New Park, London, 1983.— 145

192 In his letter to Engels of 9 January 1891 Karl Kautsky related a curious episode: the translator of Oscar Peschel's book, *Völkerkunde* (*The Races of Man, and their Geographical Distribution*, New York, 1876), had rendered the phrase 'blüthenlose

Pflanzen' (cryptogams) as 'organisms, devoid of blood such as plants' (the translator confused the German word 'Blüthen' [blossoms] with 'Blut' [blood]).— 146

193 In his letter to Engels of 2 March 1891 Sorge condemned the mistaken stand taken by the Social-Democratic group in the German Reichstag and by the editorial board of *Vorwärts* in regard of the publication of *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (see notes 118 and 162) but added: 'Only do not get involved in any further debates with these lads, you have more important things to do.'— 146, 148

194 This presumably refers to the article, 'Marx' Kritik des Parteiprogramms', published in *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 51, 28 February 1891. It condemned the attitude taken by *Vorwärts* on the publication of Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (see Note 162) and emphasised the vast importance of this work.— 146

195 In his letter of 10 March 1891 Hermann Schlüter, describing the position in the Socialist Labor Party of North America (see Note 133), noted the weakness of its links with the mass working-class organisations. This, he said, had a negative effect on the strike struggle, in particular that of the building workers.— 149

196 The *London Trades Council* (the Council of all London Trades Unions) was formed in May 1860 at a conference of various London trades unions. The Council was composed of the leaders of the biggest ones. In the earlier half of the 1860s it headed the workers' campaigns against British intervention in the USA and in support of Poland and Italy. Later it fought for the legalisation of the unions. In the early 1890s the Council, which embraced mostly old-established unions, opposed the movement for the formation of new ones and for the eight-hour working day, but popular pressure compelled it to take part in the May Day demonstrations.— 150, 155, 167, 185, 323, 370, 380, 386, 402, 559, 560

197 Part of this letter was first published in German in: Friedrich Engels, *Politisches Vermächtnis. Aus unveröffentlichten Briefen*, Berlin, 1920; an excerpt first appeared in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters on 'Capital'*, New Park, London, 1983.— 151

198 The *London dock strike*, 12 August to 14 September 1889, was a landmark in the British working-class movement of the late 19th century. It involved 30,000 dockers and over 30,000 workers of other trades; the majority of the strikers were unskilled labourers not belonging to any trades union. Thanks to their fortitude and good organisation, the strikers secured satisfaction of their demands for higher wages and better working conditions. The action promoted working-class solidarity (about £50,000 was raised for the strike fund) and organisation; a dockers' union and several large unskilled workers' unions were set up; in 1890 the overall number of trades unions more than doubled (see Note 164).— 152, 186, 225

199 Laura Lafargue undertook to edit the French translation of Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, made by the French socialist Henri Ravé. She invested a great deal of effort to improve Ravé's translation. Engels looked through the edited translation and admired her work. The French edition came out in 1893.— 154, 201, 215, 251

200 The *Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League* was founded in 1890, with Engels' participation, by a group of British socialists led by Edward and Eleanor Aveling. Based on the committee which had organised the first May Day demonstration in England (1890), the League saw its task in obtaining the eight-hour

working day and other legislative measures tending towards the ultimate emancipation of the working classes and in implementing the resolutions of the Paris Congress of the Second International (see Note 51). It organised the British workers' May Day demonstrations in 1891 and 1892, which were also held under the slogan of the eight-hour day. League representatives took part in organising (1893) the Independent Labour Party of Britain (see Note 515).— 155, 167, 380, 386, 403

201 Paul Lafargue acknowledged receipt of this information in his letter to Engels of 30 March 1891. Paul and Laura Lafargue gave Engels detailed information on the preparations for the May Day demonstration in France in their letters of 5 and 30 March and 9 and 18 April 1891.— 155

202 Engels was sending Mendelson a copy of the letter from J. Wierzejski of 28 March 1891, written from Nice on the instructions of the sick Walery Wróblewski. The writer informed Engels of the gravity of Wróblewski's material conditions and asked Engels to remind Mendelson to return the money he owed Wróblewski.— 156

203 Bebel had corresponded with Engels from May 1873. He first met Marx and Engels in December 1880, when he visited London with Eduard Bernstein and Paul Singer to discuss questions relating to the editing of *Sozialdemokrat* with them.— 158

204 An allusion to the fact that Engels had published Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* without having advised Bebel in advance.— 158

205 In his letter to Engels of 30 March 1891 Bebel said that he was prepared to forget the conflict that had developed between the two over the publication of *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (see also Note 232).— 158

206 Engels' Introduction appeared in *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg., 1890/91, 2. Bd., Nr. 28, under the heading 'Ueber den Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich', with this editorial note: 'Following is the Introduction to the third edition — due to be put out shortly by the publishing house of our central organ — of the *Address of the General Council of the International on "the Civil War in France"*. The Address was written by Karl Marx. Thanks to Engels' kindness we are in a position to print his Introduction in *Neue Zeit*.'— 159

207 In his letter of 11 March 1891 Pasquale Martignetti asked Engels' permission to bring out a new Italian edition, in Fantuzzi's publishing house in Milan, of Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* and *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* in the series The Socialist's Popular Library. In sending Engels a copy of the Italian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* published by Fantuzzi, Martignetti drew his attention to the preface, the author of which, the anarchist Gori, had interpreted the work of Marx and Engels in the spirit of his own views.— 159

208 The 1883 Italian edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* contains no sketch of Engels' life. Engels probably means the biography published in the 1885 Italian edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see also this volume, p. 161).— 159

209 This letter has reached us in the form of a rough draft written by Engels on Fantuzzi's letter of 18 March 1891. Fantuzzi was asking Engels' permission to reprint *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* in Italian and requested him to send a sketch of his life, which was to open the planned edition. The work in question appeared in

Martignetti's translation in Milan in 1892. Engels' letter proper is not extant.—160

210 In his letter of 30 March 1891 Paul Lafargue informed Engels of the Allemanists' (see Note 53) reluctance to admit the Broussists (see Note 3) to the Marxists' committee in charge of May Day preparations.—161

211 The French political writer Hippolite Buffenoir had been invited to contribute to *Vorwärts*, organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, and did so from October to December 1877. In a letter to Johann Philipp Becker of 11 January 1878 Engels described Buffenoir as a shady character playing no role whatever among the Paris workers (see present edition, Vol. 45).—162

212 This refers to the attempt, staged in Sofia on 27 March 1891, on the life of Stephan Stambulov, head of the Bulgarian government, in which Minister of Finance Belchev, who was accompanying him, was killed. Stambulov oriented his foreign policy on Austria-Hungary and opposed Russian interference in Bulgarian affairs. The assassination was widely commented upon in the democratic press, which traced it to Russian diplomatic intrigues and the increased danger of war.—162

213 In his letter of 30 March 1891 Lafargue informed Engels that the Allemanists (see Note 53) had tried to oppose the Guesdists (Marxists) in a number of places in the provinces. Members of the Workers' Party in Rouen published a letter protesting against the Allemanists' line. The letter appeared in *Le Parti Ouvrier* of 10 and 11 March 1891, not in *Le Socialiste*, as Lafargue had mistakenly told Engels.—163

214 In his letter to Engels of 5 April 1891 Kautsky wrote to say that Conrad Schmidt had declined an invitation to join the editorial board of *Neue Zeit*.—163

215 Engels means the article by Karl Kautsky and Wilhelm Eichhoff, 'Wie Brentano Marx vernichtet', published in *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg., 1890/91, 2. Bd., Nr. 32. It was a review of the fourth German edition of Volume I of *Capital* and of Engels' work *In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx* (see present edition, Vol. 27).—163

216 In his letter to Engels of 5 April 1891 Kautsky said he was afraid Lafargue had not written for *Neue Zeit* for a long time because the journal had failed to publish his article on pre-Marxian theories of value (see Note 168).—164

217 This letter has reached us in the form of a rough draft written by Engels on Henri Ravé's letter to him of 1 April 1891. Engels' letter proper is not extant.—165

218 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in *The Socialist Review*, London, March-August, 1908.—165

219 In a letter of 2 April 1891, Paul Singer, chairman of the Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, advised Engels of August Bebel's forthcoming silver wedding (6 April 1891) and asked Engels to send his congratulations.

For Bebel's letter mentioned here (written on 30 March), see Note 232.—166

220 The *International Miners' Congress*, held in Paris from 31 March to 4 April 1891, was attended by 99 delegates from 5 countries, representing about 900,000 (according to other sources, 600,000) workers. It resolved to set up an international association of miners and elected a commission to draw up its Rules. There was a heated debate over the proposal of the Belgian delegation that a general miners' strike should be called internationally to press the demand for an eight-hour working

day. There was strong opposition to this, particularly from the British delegation, which insisted that the vote on this issue should be based on the number of workers represented by each delegation. The congress voted for a general strike in principle, but contrary to the Belgians' proposal refused to call one immediately.— 168, 171

221 In his letter of 8 April 1891 Heinrich Scheu had asked Engels to send him a sample of Marx's signature, which he intended to reproduce under the portrait of Marx he was working on at the time.— 170

222 Leo Frankel had requested Engels (letter of 16 April 1891) to write an article for the May Day issue of *Bataille*, a Left radical newspaper published by the French historian Prosper Olivier Lissagaray.— 171

223 An allusion to the *Society of the Rights of Man and Citizen*, whose offices were in the Rue Cadet, Paris. It was founded by the radicals (see Note 147) and moderate republicans on 25 May 1888 to combat the common danger, Boulangism. Eventually the Possibilists (see Note 3) joined it, too.— 171, 289

224 The reference is to Heinrich Cunow's article 'Die altperuanischen Dorf- und Markgenossenschaften', published in the journal *Das Ausland*, Nos 42-44, 20 and 27 October and 3 November 1890, of which Kautsky had informed Engels in his letter of 5 April 1891. Engels made use of Cunow's article in preparing the fourth edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.— 173, 198, 368

225 What follows is, presumably, an excerpt from Engels' letter to Henri Ravé of 7 April 1891, which is not extant in full (see this volume, p. 165).— 173

226 This refers to the *Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions* (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 185-94) drawn up by Marx for the delegates to the Geneva Congress of the First International (3 to 8 September 1866). In connection with the discussion on the programme of German Social-Democracy, Kautsky offered to publish the *Instructions* in *Neue Zeit*, along with the programme of the French Workers' Party, the theoretical introduction to which had been written by Karl Marx (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 340 and 638). In his letter of 25 April Kautsky suggested that Engels might write the commentary and notes to the projected publication.— 174

227 Engels probably has in mind the leading article on the miners' strike (see Note 228), headlined 'Sie haben's erreicht!', and the article 'Der Streik der Bergarbeiter', published in *Vorwärts*, respectively No. 96, 26 April, and No. 97, 28 April 1891.— 174, 182

228 The miners' strike in question started spontaneously in the Ruhr on 16 April 1891, spreading eventually to almost the whole of the Rhine-Westphalia coal region. The strikers' main demands were for higher wages and an eight-hour working day. The strike ended in defeat for the workers at the beginning of May. In his letter of 25 April Kautsky criticised the stand taken by *Vorwärts*, which was demoralising the strikers by predicting their defeat.— 174, 182

229 In his letter of 25 April 1891 Kautsky told Engels that, writing to him, Paul Lafargue had remarked critically on *Neue Zeit* after it had become a weekly, pointing

out that it was carrying few serious and independent articles. Kautsky also said he intended to order Lafargue an article on Émile Zola.— 174

230 In his letter of 25 April Kautsky asked for Engels' opinion of the US militia system and expressed the view that the Social-Democrats must favour conscription and the universal arming of the people.— 175

231 Part of this letter was first published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *The Communist View on Morality*, Novosti, Moscow, 1974.— 175, 377

232 In his letter of 30 March 1891 Bebel, explaining his long silence, said that he had been reluctant to write immediately after the publication of Marx's letter to Bracke of 5 May 1875 concerning the party programme because he had been put out by the manner of publication, and later he had been kept busy by Reichstag matters. Bebel considered the publication ill-advised because, in his opinion, Marx's letter concerned not the programme but the party leadership. Its publication, he said, had provided a weapon to the enemies of socialism, and the sharp criticism of Lassalle was incomprehensible to young party members and offensive to former Lassalleans now belonging to the party.

In his letter of 25 April Bebel informed Engels about the state of the working-class movement in Germany, in particular, about the strike of the Rhine-Westphalian miners (see Note 228). He considered the strike ill-timed because under the obtaining economic crisis it was being exploited by the mine owners to prevent a decline in the price of coal.— 175

233 This assertion was contained in a report published in the column 'Politische Uebersicht', *Vorwärts*, No. 48, 26 February 1891.— 176

234 A leading article in *Vorwärts*, No. 37, 13 February 1891 (see Note 162) maintained that the addressees of Marx's letter on the Gotha Programme had replied to his recommendations with a 'categorical no'.— 179

235 Engels means the refrain of Jacob Audorf's *Lied der deutschen Arbeiter* (Arbeiter-Marseillaise), written in 1864: 'Nicht zählen wir den Feind, nicht die Gefahren all! Der kühnen Bahn nur folgen wir, die uns geführt Lassalle!' ('We do not count the foes, the dangers — not at all! We boldly forge ahead along the path shown by Lassalle!').— 180

236 This refers to the revelations concerning the *Guelphic Fund*, which had far-reaching repercussions in Germany and caused a scandal in government circles.

The Fund, set up by the former Hanover royal court and, at the time in question, managed by Bismarck, was used to bribe the press. In March 1891 it became known that State Secretary Bötticher had received 360,000 marks out of it to pay the debts of his father-in-law, Bismarck. In this connection *Vorwärts* published a number of articles exposing corruption within the ruling classes (Nos 70, 71 and 74; 24, 25 and 29 March 1891).— 182, 504

237 At *Sedan*, one of the major battles of the Franco-Prussian war was fought on 1 and 2 September 1870. It ended in the rout of the French forces. Under the peace treaty signed in Frankfurt am Main on 10 May 1871 France ceded Alsace and East Lorraine to Germany and undertook to pay an indemnity of 5,000 million francs. The Alsace-Lorraine question was a permanent cause of Franco-German friction and international tension in the 1880s and 90s.— 182

[238] Engels means the speeches made by the Social-Democratic deputies, above all August Bebel, Paul Singer and Wilhelm Liebknecht, in the Reichstag in February and April 1891 in the course of the debate on a bill to amend the trades regulations. The bill was part of the Prussian government's 'labour protection legislation'. The Social-Democratic group voted against the bill in its third reading. Bebel criticised the bill and analysed the Social-Democrats' counterproposals in an article headlined 'Die Gewerbeordnungs-Novelle', published in *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg., 1890/91, 2. Bd., Nr. 37-39.— 182

[239] This form of May Day demonstration had been decided upon by the congress of the French Workers' Party in Lille, 11-12 October 1890 (see Note 38) and endorsed by the congress of French trade unions in Calais, 13-18 October 1890 (see Note 56).— 183, 189

[240] During the 1891 May Day demonstration and meeting in London, held on May 3, Engels was on Platform 6, as reporter for *Neue Zeit*. Evidence of this is his press ticket, reproduced in this volume on p. 187.— 185

[241] Engels quotes the dictum 'c'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre' ('magnificent, but this is not war'), which is attributed to the French general (subsequently marshal) Pierre Bosquet. He is supposed to have used it to characterise the reckless, self-destructive bravery of the British cavalry in the famous charge of the light brigade at Balaklava in the Crimean War.— 189

[242] This refers to the German *Freisinnige* (Freethinkers') Party, formed in 1884 as a result of the merger of the Party of Progress (see Note 296) with the Left wing of the National Liberals (see Note 414). The *Freisinnige* spoke for the middle and petty bourgeoisie and opposed the ruling quarters on certain matters.— 189

[243] During the 1891 May Day demonstration in the town of Fourmies, Département du Nord, France, arrests were made among the marchers. As a result, another demonstration, demanding the release of the detainees gathered in front of the Town Hall. Troops opened fire on the demonstration without warning, injuring 30 and killing 10 people, including women and children.

On the subsequent persecution of socialists see Note 275.— 191, 293, 297

[244] On 18 May 1891 Paul Lafargue informed Engels that he had sent a letter of protest to *Le Temps*, which on 14 May had reprinted (from the provincial newspaper *Observateur d'Avesnes*) distorted excerpts from speeches he and Hippolyte Culine had made in the course of the pre-May Day agitation in Fourmies. *Le Temps* did not publish the letter, it appeared in *Le Socialiste*, No. 36, 27 May 1891.— 191

[245] Engels presumably means the miners' general strike in Charleroi, Liège, Mons, Borinage and other industrial centers of Belgium started in early May 1891. The strikers' principal demands were universal suffrage, the eight-hour working day and higher wages. The strike, involving about 100,000 miners and a large number of steel workers, lasted for several weeks. In some areas strikers clashed with government troops. Although supported by miners abroad, the walkout failed. However, the struggle for universal suffrage continued. It was introduced in Belgium on 12 April 1893.— 191

[246] Speaking in the Chamber of Deputies on 8 May 1891, Georges Benjamin Clemen-

ceau demagogically demanded an amnesty for the May Day demonstrators (see Note 243).— 191

247 *The Second Congress of the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland* (see Note 164) met in Dublin on 17 May 1891. Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling played an important part in preparing and holding it. The Congress decided that the Union should take part in the forthcoming International Socialist Workers' Congress in Brussels (see Note 135), and elected Eleanor Marx-Aveling and William Thorne as delegates.— 191, 198, 226

248 Robert Cunninghame-Graham was expelled from France for having taken part in the May Day demonstration and in meetings of protest against the Fourmies massacre (see Note 243).

Père Duchesne is an imaginary character who was very popular with French revolutionary journalists in the late 18th and throughout the 19th century. *Le Père Duchesne* was the name of several political and satirical newspapers, published at different times, distinguished by their popular style and, sometimes, rude treatment of political opponents.— 192

249 On 11 May 1891 a Japanese police officer made an attempt on the life of the heir to the Russian throne, the future Tsar Nicholas II, during his visit to the town of Obsu, near Kioto.— 192

250 The letter contained detailed information on the massacre of the May Day demonstration in Fourmies (see Note 243).— 193

251 On Sunday, 24 May, the traditional procession to the Mur des Fédérés (the Confederates' Wall in the Père Lachaise cemetery) took place. The speakers were Dumay, Vaillant and Allemane.— 193

252 An excerpt from this letter was first published in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895. A Selection*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.— 193

253 The St Gallen (Switzerland) Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (2-6 October 1887) discussed the conduct of a group of Social-Democratic Reichstag deputies who had refused to sign the appeal for the convocation of the congress for fear of reprisals. The congress unanimously passed a resolution censuring those deputies who had had no valid grounds for behaving in this manner and expressed the hope that no responsible party posts would be given them in the future. Bruno Geiser was among those censured.— 196, 247

254 In sending a copy of the US edition of Volume I of *Capital* published without Engels' knowledge in New York in 1890, Hermann Schlüter wrote to tell Engels on 11 May 1891 that the book had been sold out quickly since the publisher had advertised it as being about 'how to accumulate capital'.— 197

255 A quotation from this letter, in English translation, is contained in R. H. Dominick's book, *Wilhelm Liebknecht and the Founding of the German Social-Democratic Party*, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1982.— 198

256 This concerns the polemic, in the columns of *Neue Zeit* in 1891, between Karl Kautsky and the German physician Ferdinand Simon (son-in-law of August Bebel) on the need to combat alcoholism. Simon advocated total abstinence for workers.— 200

[257] Engels means the new programme of German Social-Democracy being drawn up by the party Executive in accordance with a decision of the Halle party congress (see Note 12). Kautsky, in his letter to Engels of 4 June 1891, doubted the Executive's ability to work out a satisfactory programme.—200

[258] A strike of omnibus and tram drivers and conductors, caused by bad working conditions, took place from 7 to 13 June 1891. It was almost general in character, involving as it did 3,000 workers. Their principal demands were a reduction of working hours and higher wages. The walkout ended in a victory for the strikers—the working day was reduced to 12 hours.—200

[259] The *Salvation Army*—a religious philanthropic organisation founded by the preacher William Booth in England in 1865. In later years it spread its activities abroad, adopting its present name in 1878, after its reorganisation along military lines. It carries on large-scale religious propaganda and maintains a network of charity institutions in many countries.—203

[260] An edition of Lassalle's letters to Marx and Engels, which Engels intended to prepare, annotated and provided with a preface, did not materialise in his lifetime. The letters were brought out by Franz Mehring in 1902 under the title, *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle.* Vierter Band: *Briefe von Ferdinand Lassalle an Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels. 1849 bis 1862*, Stuttgart, 1902.—203, 210

[261] This letter, extant in the form of a rough draft, was first published, with minor alterations, as a message of greetings to the Second Congress of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Austria (see present edition, Vol. 27, p. 215).

The congress met in Vienna from 28 to 30 June 1891, with 193 delegates attending. The issues discussed included the party's condition and activities, the movement for universal, equal and direct suffrage, the celebration of May Day, the party's participation in the 1891 Brussels International Socialist Workers' Congress, trades union matters and social reform in Austria. A leading article headlined 'Unser Parteitag zu Wien' in *Arbeiter-Zeitung* of 3 July 1891 pointed out that Austria's Social-Democracy could be pleased with its congress as it had brought out the party's internationalist character, clarity of vision and unity on questions of tactics.

The *Unity Congress in Hainfeld*, held from 30 December 1888 to 1 January 1889 and attended by 73 delegates representing the socialists of almost every province of the Empire, was a milestone in the development of the socialist movement in Austria. It founded the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Austria and adopted as its programme a *Prinzipienerklärung* (Declaration of Principle), based largely on the *Communist Manifesto*.—206

[262] Engels means the repeal of the anti-socialist laws introduced by the reactionary governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary to fight the socialist and working-class movement.

For the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany see Note 11. In Austria a law of this kind, called *Anarchistengesetz*, was adopted in 1884. It sanctioned the police persecution and prohibition of socialist and trades union newspapers and organisations and the expulsion of their leaders. In June 1891 the rising strike movement and the

workers' mass May Day action forced Count von Taaffe's government to repeal it.—206

263 Note in Engels' hand on the draft: 'To Adler. Re 2nd Austr. Party Congress'.—207

264 In the summer and autumn of 1891 Engels repeatedly interrupted his work and left London owing to overstrain. From 26 June to 24 August (with intervals) he rested with Carl Schorlemmer and George Julian Harney in Ryde (Isle of Wight) at the home of Mary Ellen Rosher (Pumps), the niece of his wife, and roughly between 8 and 23 September he toured Ireland and Scotland with Mary Ellen Rosher and Louise Kautsky.—207, 209, 212, 224, 230, 232, 237, 250, 278, 313, 328, 340, 501

265 In his letter to Engels of 25 June 1891 Paul Lafargue suggested that the forthcoming trial in connection with the events in Fourmies (see Note 275) might arouse public opinion and facilitate his election to the Chamber of Deputies.—207

266 On 23 June 1891 *The Star* carried an article by Arthur Field headlined 'International Labour Congress'. The author declared that the secretary of the French Workers' Party for international relations had empowered him to elucidate all the details of the preparations for the Brussels Congress to the British labour organisations.

On 25 June there appeared in *The Star*, under the same heading, Herbert Burrows' reply stating that a secretary of the French Workers' Party had no business to concern himself with the problems of a congress convened by the Possibilists (see Note 3).—207

267 Part of this letter was first published in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1934.—209, 212, 237, 242, 264, 267, 285, 349, 392, 535

268 At the time, Engels was working on Chapter II, 'The Family', of the fourth edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 129-276).—209

269 As can be seen from the letters of August Bebel and Richard Fischer of 18 June 1891, the following items relating to the drafting of a new programme of German Social-Democracy to be adopted by the party congress in Erfurt had been sent to Engels for consideration: the draft programme compiled by Wilhelm Liebknecht; a copy of it with amendments in Bebel's hand, Liebknecht's second draft, taking into account Bebel's amendments; and the draft proper as endorsed by the party Executive. At the Executive's decision, copies of the draft were sent to Engels and other working-class and socialist leaders and also to the Social-Democratic Reichstag deputies.

Engels gave a detailed analysis of the document in 'A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 217-34). For a long time the copy of the draft sent to Engels had been considered lost. It was first published in the journal *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung* (Berlin), 1968, Sonderheft, pp. 173-74. In the present edition it will be found in Volume 27, Note 184. The extent to which Engels' criticisms on the version of the draft programme sent him were taken into account can be seen from the draft programme published by the party Executive in *Vorwärts* on 4 July 1891, soon after the receipt of Engels' comments (see present edition, Vol. 27, Note 184), and from Be-

bel's letter of 12 July 1891. Another draft programme, written by Karl Kautsky, was put forward by the editorial board of *Neue Zeit*. These documents show that account had been taken of Engels' criticism pertaining to the general theoretical propositions and to the section stating the economic demands. No changes of substance were made in the political demands section. The draft contained no mention of the conquest of political power by the proletariat, of the democratic republic, of remodelling Germany's political system or of the need to combat the survivals of feudalism and absolutism.—209, 214, 315

270 Addressing a public Social-Democratic meeting at the Eldorado hall in Munich on 1 June 1891, Georg von Vollmar, leader of the Bavarian Social-Democrats, delivered a speech 'On the Immediate Tasks of German Social-Democracy' in the context of the 'new course' of the Caprivi government. He advocated an opportunistic tactics of co-operation with the ruling classes in home and foreign policy, in particular in the event of war with Russia. This tactics was supposed to result in a gradual reform of society. The speech, applauded by the bourgeois press, was criticized at party meetings, in most party periodicals and, later, at the Erfurt Congress, especially in the addresses of August Bebel and Paul Singer (see Note 301).—211, 219, 246

271 On 1 July 1891 *Vorwärts* published an official statement of the party Executive of 30 June 1891 denying Georg von Vollmar the right to speak on behalf of the party.—211

272 On 27 June 1891 *Justice* (No. 389) carried an article by Ernest Bax, 'The German Party—Its Misfortunes and Its Faults', which, referring to Vollmar's speech, accused all German Social-Democracy of chauvinism and revenge-mongering.—211

273 Engels plays on a misprint in the report on a meeting of London workwomen in Hyde Park quoted by Clara Zetkin in her first article of the series, 'Die Frage des Arbeitsschutzes für Frauen', published in the *Arbeiterin* on 6 June 1891. The report read: 'The women in childbed (*Wöchnerinnen*) demanded a reduction of the hours of labour.' The word that ought to have been used is *Wäscherinnen*—washerwomen. The issue of *Arbeiterin* in question had been sent to Engels by Karl Kautsky.—211

274 Conrad Schmidt had applied for a lectureship at the Zurich University. Julius Wolf, a professor of political economy, raised serious objections to his admission on the grounds that Schmidt was an editor of the Social-Democratic newspaper *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*.—213

275 Following the massacre of the May Day demonstration in Fourmies (see Note 243) the French government, anxious to absolve itself from the responsibility, clamped down on the socialists, accusing them of fomenting demonstrations and murder. Paul Lafargue was put on trial charged with having, in his speech in Wignehies on 14 April 1891, called on the workers to fight their masters arms in hand. Hippolyte Culine, the secretary of the Fourmies socialist organisation, was arrested too. On 4 July 1891 a jury in Douai (Département du Nord) pronounced Lafargue guilty. He was sentenced to one year in prison and a fine of 100 francs. Culine was condemned to six years' imprisonment.

In July Lafargue and Guesde toured Northern France (Wignehies, Fourmies, Lille, Roubaix and other cities) and gave a series of talks on the subject 'Modern

Socialism. Answer to the Indictment'. Resolutions condemning the sentences and demanding that they be quashed were adopted at various meetings.—215, 260

276 The strike of omnibus and tram drivers and conductors in Paris, 25 to 27 May 1891, involved about 7,000 people. The strikers demanded shorter hours, higher wages and the reinstatement of workers dismissed for taking part in the May Day demonstration. The strike failed owing to the indecision of the trade union leaders, intimidated by Minister of the Interior Constans' threat to withdraw the *Companie omnibus générale*'s transportation monopoly if the strike continued.—215

277 In a letter of 20 June 1891 the German philosopher Johann Gustav Vogt asked Engels' permission to publish a rendering of *Capital* under the title *Karl Marx's 'Capital', According to the Exact Text of the Original, Popularly Presented by J. G. Vogt.*—216

278 This refers to a letter from the French socialist journalist Albert Duc-Quercy, enclosed by Lafargue with his letter to Engels of 10 July 1891. Presumably, Albert Duc-Quercy had asked Engels, via Lafargue, to state his views on certain aspects of France's foreign policy; these pronouncements were to be published in the form of an interview in *Le Figaro*.—218

279 In a letter to Engels of 10 July 1891 Paul Lafargue wrote: 'I have been sentenced for *direct incitement* to murder; for direct incitement to be the case, the persons to be killed must be specifically named; and the indictment charges me only with having said that one must get rid of the employers as of vermin with an insecticide.

'But there is another point. This phrase, the only one where the word kill is used, was in the first instance attributed to Hippolyte Culine by an official newspaper; the indictment puts it down to me; and on Monday, when I arrived at Fourmies station, I met Renard, who had spoken at that meeting on April 11th and he showed me a letter which he was sending to the Minister of Justice in which he stated that it was he who had spoken these words and that he accepted all the consequences.' For the trial of Lafargue see Note 275.—219

280 Engels must have sent Laura Lafargue a copy of *The Star* of 27 June 1891 containing another letter of Arthur Field on the Brussels Congress, headlined 'The International Labour Congress', and a copy of the same paper of 2 July 1891, carrying, under the same headline, Burrows' answer (see Note 266).—219

281 This refers to the circular of the Belgian Workers' Party of 17 June 1891, headlined 'Congrès international ouvrier socialiste de 1891' and signed by Jean Volders. The circular, published in *Vorwärts* on 26 June 1891 and in *Le Socialiste*, No. 41, 1 July 1891, contained an invitation to the International Socialist Congress due to meet in Brussels on 18 August 1891. It signified the virtual recognition by the Belgian socialists, who formerly supported the Possibilists, of the decisions adopted at the international conference in Halle (see Note 28).—219, 221, 224

282 Hippolyte Culine, condemned with Paul Lafargue at the trial in Douai (see Note 275), had appealed for pardon to Minister of the Interior Constans, thus complicating for himself and Lafargue the campaign for the quashing of the unwarranted sentence.

In referring to Culine's name Engels hints at its similarity to the French verb 'culer', which means 'to retreat'.—220

283 In his letters of 14 and 20 July 1891, Sorge, referring to the forthcoming Interna-

tional Socialist Congress in Brussels, said the Socialist Labor Party of North America (see Note 133) would probably be represented by Lucien Sanial, and the American Federation of Labor (see Note 84) by Samuel Gompers. In this connection Sorge expressed his fear that the two, being ideological opponents, might use the congress as an additional platform for their controversy.—224

284 Engels obviously means the item headlined 'Enfin!' in *Le Socialiste*, No. 45, 29 July 1891, which said that 'from a stronghold of the Possibilists, which it has been so far, the Labour Exchange has become what it is called upon to be — the *common house* of all workers without distinction of doctrine or grouping'.—224

285 On 27 July 1891 Reichstag elections were held in Tilsit (Gumbinn, First Constituency) and Memel-Heydekrug (Königsberg, First Constituency). In Tilsit, the Social-Democrats polled 925 votes as against 119 on 20 February 1890. In Memel, the Social-Democratic candidate, Lorenz, got 1,571 votes.—226, 229

286 This refers to the *Report from Great Britain and Ireland to the Delegates of the Brussels International Congress, 1891*, published as a pamphlet in London in 1891. Compiled by Eleanor Marx-Aveling on behalf of the Gas Workers and General Labourers Union (see Note 164), the Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League (see Note 200), the Bloomsbury Socialist Society and the Battersea Labour League, it gave a detailed review of the working-class movement in Britain from the 1889 International Socialist Workers' Congress (see Note 51) and a characterisation of various socialist and labour organisations. The report emphasised the importance of the new trades unions, which were introducing the workers to socialism and thus contributing to the formation of a workers' socialist party in Britain.—226

287 Paul Lafargue was kept at Ste Pélagie prison in Paris from late July to 10 November 1891 (see Note 275). He was released in connection with his election to the Chamber of Deputies (see Note 326).—227

288 A French naval squadron visiting Kronstadt in July and early August 1891 was accorded an elaborately solemn welcome — a demonstration of a rapprochement between Tsarist Russia and France. At the same time, diplomatic negotiations were in progress which culminated in the signing, in August 1892, of a treaty under which France and Russia undertook to consult each other on international matters and co-operate in the event of a threat of an attack on either of them. This agreement was a landmark on the way to the final formalisation, in 1893, of the Franco-Russian alliance, set up in opposition to the Triple Alliance (see Note 303).—228, 246, 266, 308, 444, 472

289 *The Standard* of 17 August 1891 carried a Reuters report, 'Socialist Congress in Brussels', on the Brussels International Socialist Workers' Congress (see Note 135).—229

290 This refers to Marx' letters to Danielson which the latter had sent to Engels for copying (see present edition, Vol. 48).—230

291 In his letter of 1 May 1891 Danielson sent Engels statistics on the development of capitalism in Russia.—230, 279

292 Subsequently Engels learnt, from a letter from Laura Lafargue written on 3 September 1891, that the so-called Liebknecht interview published in the radical

*Weekly Dispatch* of 30 August 1891 was a concoction by the paper's Paris correspondent, Emily Crawford. Liebknecht disavowed the interview, declaring in *Vorwärts*, No. 206, 4 September 1891, that he had not met any correspondents or granted any interviews during his latest visit to Paris.—232

293 This refers to the *Hague Congress of the International Working Men's Association*, held 2-7 September 1872. It marked the culmination of the struggle Marx, Engels and their comrades-in-arms had waged for many years against every kind of petty-bourgeois sectarianism in the working-class movement. The congress condemned the Anarchists' splitting activities and expelled their leaders from the International.—233, 234, 238

294 This letter was first published abridged and with editorial changes in *Le Socialiste*, No. 51, 12 September 1891, in the form of an article headlined 'Le congrès de Bruxelles', which was reprinted in German translation in *Vorwärts*, No. 216, 16 September 1891,—in the column 'Politische Uebersicht'—under the headline 'Über den Brüsseler Kongreß und die Lage in Europa (Aus einem Brief an Paul Lafargue)' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 233-34). In English an excerpt from this letter was first published in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, 1891-1895, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963.—234

295 Addressing the Brussels Congress (see Note 135) in the course of a debate on the proletariat's attitude to militarism on 21 August 1891, Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis, the leader of the Dutch socialists, tabled a resolution urging socialists in all countries to call a nation-wide general strike in the event of a declaration of war. The congress turned down the resolution.—234

296 The Party of Progress, founded in June 1861, advocated German unity under Prussia's aegis, the convocation of an all-German parliament, and a strong liberal ministry responsible to a chamber of deputies. In 1866, the party's Right wing, capitulating to Bismarck, split away and formed the National Liberal Party (see Note 414). In contrast to it the Progressists continued to describe themselves as an opposition party even after Germany's unification (1871). This attitude, however, was a merely notional one. In 1884 the Progressists merged with the split-away Left-wing National Liberals, forming the Freisinnige Party (see Note 242).—237, 294

297 On 10 September 1891 *Vorwärts* (No. 211) carried a long statement by Edward Aveling rejecting Ferdinand Gilles' slanders. On the following day, the paper published a note by Aveling on the thrashing he had given Gilles.—238

298 This refers to the twenty-fourth annual Congress of British Trades Unions, held in Newcastle from 7 to 12 September 1891. It was attended by 552 delegates, representing about 1,300,000 (according to other sources, about 2,000,000) organised workers. The majority of the delegates came from new unions.

The delegates speaking for the old, conservative unions made an attempt to secure the cancellation of the resolution on the eight-hour working day adopted by the previous, Liverpool Congress (see Note 27), but were defeated by 232 votes against 163. The congress voted for the unions' participation in the forthcoming parliamentary elections.—238, 250, 494, 508

299 The Editorial Board of *Neue Zeit*, in Nos 49-52 of the journal (1891), published four articles giving a detailed critique of the draft programme of the Social-Democratic

Party of Germany published by the party Executive on 4 July 1891 (see Note 269). The first three articles, dealing with the theoretical section of the programme, were by Kautsky, the fourth, analysing the practical demands, was by Bernstein. The various criticisms were summarised in the form of a new draft programme, given in the concluding part of the fourth article (see also Note 322).—239, 240, 247, 315

300 Presumably Engels means his letter to Conrad Schmidt of 17 October 1889 (see present edition, Vol. 48).—241

301 The Erfurt Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany met from 14 to 21 October 1891. It was attended by 258 delegates.

The congress was preceded by a sharp ideological struggle between the party's revolutionary hard core and the Right- and Left-wing opportunists, who had stepped up their activities and created the atmosphere of a party crisis in German Social-Democracy.

There had been sharp debates at meetings and in the press on the party's programme and tactics, set off by the public pronouncements of Georg von Vollmar, leader of the Bavarian Social-Democrats, who sought to impose an opportunist reformist tactics and lead the party away from class proletarian positions (see Note 270).

Vollmar's campaign provided a pretext for fresh attacks on the party (summer and autumn 1891) by the Jungen, a petty-bourgeois semi-anarchist opposition group within German Social-Democracy formed in 1890. Their stronghold being the Social-Democratic organisation of Berlin, they were also known as the Berlin opposition. The group's specific character was determined by students and young literati claiming the role of the party's theoreticians and leaders. Foremost among them were Paul Ernst, Hans Müller, Paul Kampffmeyer, Bruno Wille, Karl Wilderberger and Wilhelm Werner. The Jungen ignored the fact that the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law had changed the conditions the party was operating in. They denied the need to employ legal forms of struggle, opposed Social-Democracy's participation in parliamentary elections and use of the parliamentary platform and demagogically accused the party and its Executive of protecting the interests of the petty bourgeoisie, of opportunism and of violating party democracy. The leaders of the Berlin opposition levelled especially fierce attacks at the party's leaders—Bebel and Liebknecht. The sectarian anarchist activities of the Jungen held a grave danger to the party's unity. The paramount task facing the Erfurt Congress was to overcome the crisis in the party and consolidate its ranks.

The congress discussed the report of the party Executive, the activities of Social-Democratic deputies in the Reichstag, the party's tactics, the draft of its new programme, and various organisational questions.

The ideological struggle continued at the congress too, especially over party tactics. A report on this issue was presented by Bebel. He—in his report and speeches—as well as other speakers (above all Singer, Liebknecht and Fischer) gave a resolute rebuff both to the Left and to the Right opportunist elements. By a majority vote the congress endorsed Bebel's draft resolution on tactics. It pointed out that the main objective of the working-class movement was the conquest of political power by the proletariat and that this end would be attained not through a chance concatenation of circumstances but through persevering work with the masses and skillful employment of every form and method of proletarian class struggle. The resolution emphasised that the German Social-Democratic Party

was a fighting party employing the traditional revolutionary tactics. Vollmar and his supporters, finding themselves in isolation, were forced to retreat. The congress expelled two leaders of the Jungen — Werner and Wilderberger — from the party for their splitting activities and slander; a number of other Jungen leaders announced their resignation from the party and walked out of the congress.

The main achievement of the congress was the adoption of a new programme for German Social-Democracy. A report on it was presented by Liebknecht.

The Erfurt Programme being essentially Marxist, was an important step forward compared with the Gotha Programme. The Lassallean reformist dogmas had been dropped. The new programme scientifically substantiated the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism and its replacement with socialism, and pointed out that, in order to be able to restructure society along socialist lines, the proletariat must win political power.

At the same time, the programme had serious shortcomings, the principal one being its failure to state that the dictatorship of the proletariat was the instrument of the socialist transformation of society. Also missing were propositions concerning the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a democratic republic, the remoulding of Germany's political system and other important matters. In this respect, the criticisms made by Engels in *A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891* (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 217-34) also apply to the version of the programme adopted in Erfurt.

The resolutions of the Erfurt congress showed that Marxism had firmly taken root in Germany's working-class movement.— 241, 255, 259, 263, 265, 267, 273, 276, 277, 282, 287, 298, 310, 315, 351, 526

302 In this letter — written in reply to Bebel's letter of 12 September 1891 — Engels analyses Bebel's article 'Die russische Anleihe' published in *Vorwärts*, No. 226, 27 September. The article dealt with Russia's 3 per cent loan in France, agreement on which had been reached in September 1891. Bebel characterised it as a military loan. The sum stipulated was 500 million francs (125 million gold roubles). Initially a great success, the loan was only realised to the amount of about 96 million roubles owing to the sharp decline of Russian securities at the European stock exchanges caused by the aggravation of Russia's economic situation in connection with the 1891 famine.— 242, 295, 303, 308, 444

303 The *Triple Alliance*, embracing Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy, was a military-political bloc directed against France and Russia. It finally took shape in 1882 when Italy joined the Austro-German military alliance, formed in 1879. The Triple Alliance treaty, concluded for five years, was renewed in 1887 and 1891 and automatically extended in 1902 and 1912. The establishment of the Triple Alliance marked the first step towards the division of Europe into two large military camps and ultimately led to the first imperialist world war (1914-18). Italy withdrew from the Alliance at the outbreak of the war and in 1915 joined the powers fighting against Germany and Austria-Hungary.— 243, 308

304 The *Ersatzreserve* (replacement reserve) — set up under the law of 2 May 1874 (*Reichs-Militärgesetz*) — was the part of the Prussian army reserve consisting of men of call-up age who, for various reasons, were granted deferment of military service in peacetime. The *Ersatzreserve* was to supply personnel for the army during call-ups.— 245

305 The *Landsturm* was a militia started in Prussia in 1813-14. Under a law of 1867 it was to be formed of men liable for call-up, aged 17 to 42, who had not served in either army or navy. It was only to be called up given the danger of a foreign invasion.—245

306 In his letter to Engels of 12 September 1891 Bebel put forward a number of considerations on the Social-Democrats' tactics in the event of Germany waging war against Russia and France: the Reichstag Social-Democratic group would have to demand the general arming of the people; the purpose of the war would have to be to facilitate the overthrow of Tsarism; simultaneously there should be an appeal to the French to renounce the alliance with Russia. The appeal should point out the negative consequences of a Russian victory for the whole of Europe and argue that France's failure to renounce the alliance would result in support for the war against France, since the very national existence of Germany would be at stake.—245

307 The reference is to Eduard Bernstein's article of 29 August, 'Briefe aus England', published in *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg., 1890/91, 2. Bd., Nr. 50. The article attacked the Triple Alliance (see Note 303) and Germany's stance in it. Bebel, in a letter to Engels of 12 September, criticised Bernstein, suggesting that he underestimated the danger the future war would hold to Germany's national existence.—246

308 This refers to the inheritance lawsuit involving Alphonse Cuno and the notary Leibfried in Luxembourg.—247, 253

309 An allusion to the fact that in his preface to Lassalle's works (see Note 178) Eduard Bernstein, speaking of Lassalle's chronic disease, appended a footnote reading, 'presumably syphilis'.—247, 253, 316

310 In his letter of 29 September 1891 August Bebel advised Engels that a decision had been taken under which the six leading articles published in *Vorwärts* every week were to be written by August Bebel, Ignaz Auer, Gustav Keßler and Wilhelm Liebknecht (one each) and Bruno Schoenlank (two). This implied that there were to be no further contributions by Bruno Geiser and Wilhelm Blos.—247

311 Engels means the English translation of his *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, commissioned without his knowledge by the Socialist Labor Party of North America (see Note 133) and published in *The People* in 1891. As can be seen from Sorge's letters to Engels of 9 and 12 October 1891, the translation was made by Daniel De Leon and H. Vogt (presumably from the German edition of 1883) and printed also as a pamphlet.—250, 265

312 In a letter of 23 September 1891 Laura Lafargue told Engels that the French Workers' Party had put up Paul Lafargue as its candidate for the Chamber of Deputies in a by-election in Lille to replace the deceased deputy Werquin. This enabled Lafargue to get out of prison and conduct the election campaign in North France. He was elected to the Chamber on 8 November 1891 and did not have to go back to prison.—251, 252, 254, 259

313 On 23 September 1891 Laura Lafargue, on behalf of the French Workers' Party, requested Engels to write an article for the *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier pour 1892*. As a theme, she said, Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue had suggested 'Socialism in Germany'. Engels replied positively. The article he wrote, 'Le Socialisme en Allemagne', appeared in *Almanach* in early December 1891. Somewhat later Engels

translated it into German for *Neue Zeit*, adding a brief introduction and a concluding section. The article was published in *Die Neue Zeit*, 10. Jg. 1891/92, 1. Bd., Nr. 19 under the heading 'Der Sozialismus in Deutschland' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 235-50).—252, 259, 260, 263, 267, 270, 276, 282

314 This refers to the Viennese *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung*. Engels' phrase 'Hyaena-paper' is based on Schiller's *Song of the Bell*, which compares women revolutionaries to hyaenas.

The first issue of the newspaper, which appeared on 1 January 1892, carried contributions by Laura Lafargue, 'Ein Gruß aus Frankreich', and Louise Kautsky, 'Aus England'. On 5 February an article by Eleanor Marx-Aveling, 'Wie sollen wir organisieren?', was published.—252, 331

315 On 8 October 1891 Marseilles' democratic forces staged a mass demonstration against Constans, who had arrived with other ministers for the start of city services improvement works. Despite numerous arrests and attempts to disperse the crowds with military force the demonstration was resumed. Throughout their route the ministers were met with boos and calls of 'Down with Constans!' and 'Down with the Fourmies murderers!' Incensed by the hostile reception, Constans demanded that the Mayor should take the most drastic measures against the demonstrators.—255

316 This is a paraphrase of Talleyrand's saying, 'Surtout, Messieurs. Point de zèle' (Above all, sirs, not too much zeal).—255

317 In his letter of 9 October 1891, which Engels is answering, Bebel noted the increasing threat of war and suggested that, in all probability, the hostilities would be unleashed by Russia, with France to join in next.—256

318 In his letter of 12 September 1891 Bebel informed Engels of forthcoming changes on the editorial board of *Vorwärts*. He wrote: 'Hirsch will become, with our support, Editor-in-Chief proper, while Liebknecht will retire to his reserved property and get the Foreign Ministry...'—259

319 The newspaper *L'Action* of 11 October 1891 carried an article by Adrien Veber, 'Le socialisme intégral', which was a review of the book of the same title by the Possibilist Benoît Malon. Veber praised it beyond measure, calling the author 'the most significant mind of modern socialism'.—260

320 The *Secrétariat du travail* was set up in France in early October 1891 in conformity with the decision of the Brussels International Socialist Workers' Congress (see Note 135) decreeing the establishment of such bodies in every country. The secretariats were to study the workers' living and working conditions, gather and publicise data on these matters, mediate in industrial disputes, etc.

The French Secretariat of Labour, composed of representatives of conflicting groups and parties, failed to produce positive results and was disbanded in 1896.—260

321 This letter was published in English for the first time in *The Labour Monthly*, London, 1939, Vol. 21, No. 2, II.—261

322 In connection with the forthcoming Erfurt Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party its Executive reprinted—in Supplement I to *Vorwärts*, No. 233, 6 October 1891—its own draft of the party programme and that put forward by

the Editorial Board of *Neue Zeit* (see Note 299), and published, in the same supplement, a number of other drafts and proposals submitted by party organisations and individuals in the course of the debate on the programme.

The proposition concerning 'one reactionary mass', criticised here by Engels, figured in the programme of German Social-Democracy adopted at the union congress in Gotha in 1875 (see Note 63). It was not included into the programme adopted in Erfurt.—261, 362, 373, 423

323 Engels presumably means the closing words of Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 457).

The *battles of Jena* and *Auerstedt*, both fought on 14 October 1806 and often referred to collectively as the battle of Jena, ended in defeat for the Prussian forces. As a result, Prussia, a member of the Fourth Coalition, surrendered to Napoleonic France. The Jena defeat brought out the whole rottenness of the socio-political system of the Hohenzollern feudal monarchy.—263

324 The *Noble Order of the Knights of Labor*, an organisation of US workers, was founded in Philadelphia in 1869 and was a secret society until 1878. The Order consisted mostly of unskilled workers and included many Afro-Americans and women. It organised co-operatives and mutual aid societies and took part in many campaigns of the working class, in particular, the strike movement of 1886-88. Despite a ban imposed by its leadership, the Order's rank and file participated in the 1886 national strike. The leaders of the Order pursued a policy of class collaboration and, to all practical purposes, rejected workers' participation in political struggle. Its influence on the working masses declining, the Order disintegrated in the late 1890s. Its significance lies in the fact that it sought to bring the US working class together in a single national organisation.—264

325 This refers to the series of articles headlined 'Zur Biographie Bakunins' which appeared in the anarchist newspaper *Freiheit*, Nos 1-10 and 12-16; 3, 10, 17, 24 and 31 January, 7, 14, 21 and 28 February, 7, 21 and 28 March and 4, 11 and 18 April 1891. Sorge advised Engels of the publication of the series in his letter of 9 October 1891 and later, at Engels' request, sent him all the relevant issues of *Freiheit*. The Bakunin biography was published under the sign **. In Sorge's opinion, the author was a Russian anarchist.—265, 300

326 In the second round of the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in Lille, on 8 November 1891, Paul Lafargue defeated the government-backed candidate, Lucien-Hector Depassi, by 6, 470 votes against 5,175. In view of Lafargue's election to the Chamber, the government was forced to release him from prison on 9 November.—266, 275

327 Engels means the speech 'Die europäische Lage und der Sozialismus', which Bebel made at a meeting in Berlin's Constituency No. 4 on 5 October 1891. A report on the speech appeared in *Vorwärts*, No. 235, 8 October. Surveying the foreign policy of European states from the Franco-Prussian war onwards Bebel noted that his views on the matter, in particular on the policy of Russia, coincided with those of Marx and Engels. This remark was omitted in the newspaper report. In his letter to Engels of 9 October Bebel deplored the omission.—267

328 Engels ironically quotes a phrase used by Georg von Vollmar at the Erfurt Congress (see Note 301). Discussing Bebel's draft resolution on the party's tactics the

delegate Carl Oertel proposed adding to it a special paragraph stating that the party did not share von Vollmar's view on the tasks and tactics of German Social-Democracy and considered them dangerous to its further development. Von Vollmar characterised Oertel's amendment as motivated by 'personal spite' and declared that he supported the resolution, but without the amendment.—268

329 At the Erfurt Congress (see Note 301) the delegate Fritz Kunert proposed rescinding the resolution on Bruno Geiser (Liebknecht's son-in-law) adopted at the St Gallen party congress (see Note 253). After a debate, the motion was rejected.—268

330 In his letter of 24 October 1891 Bebel informed Engels about the results of the Erfurt Congress. He also advised him of the party Executive's decision, adopted at his, Bebel's, proposal, to make available 400 marks for Lafargue's election campaign.—268, 291, 297, 306, 319

331 In January 1891, glassworkers in the Rhone department struck for uniform rates and shorter hours. By the autumn the strike had spread throughout France, involving nearly 6,000 workers.—269

332 A Social-Democratic meeting was held in Magdeburg on 21 October 1891. It heard a report on the Erfurt Congress and endorsed its decisions, including the one on the expulsion of the leaders of the Jungen (see Note 301).—269

333 On 20 October 1891 Karl Wilderberger and Wilhelm Werner—leaders of the Jungen expelled from the party at the Erfurt Congress (see Note 301)—called a meeting in Berlin. Since the Berlin party leaders refusing to co-operate with this opposition group were at the congress, the two considered this an opportune moment for an attempt to win the support of the Berlin party organisation and have it condemn the decision of the congress. When news of their activities reached Erfurt (a telegram had been sent from Berlin and read out at the congress), the Berlin delegates sent a letter to Berlin protesting against the decisions of the congress being discussed before its conclusion. The letter, signed by Theodor Metzner, was published under the heading 'An die Parteigenossen Berlins!' in *Vorwärts*, No. 246, 21 October 1891.

On 8 November the Berlin opposition called another meeting at which it constituted itself the Union of Independent Socialists (1891-94). Its organ was *Der Sozialist*, which appeared from 1891 to 1899. In the summer of 1893 the newspaper was taken over by the anarchists.—269, 300, 324, 381, 386, 526, 544

334 An announcement on the forthcoming publication of Engels' works here mentioned appeared in *Die Neue Zeit*, 10. Jg., 1891/92, 2. Bd., Nr. 9, S. 283.

An English edition of Bernstein's preface to the works of Lassalle (see Note 178) appeared in Eleanor Marx-Aveling's translation in 1893 under the title 'Ferdinand Lassalle as a Social Reformer'.—274, 287

335 In connection with Paul Lafargue's nomination as a candidate for the French Chamber of Deputies Louise Kautsky called him M. P. In her letter to Engels of 16 October 1891 Laura Lafargue jokingly remarked in this context that in France M. P. meant 'membre de Pélagie'—an allusion to the fact that Paul Lafargue was serving a sentence at Ste Pélagie prison. Engels plays on this joke.—275, 290

336 Engels means the 'Independent Socialists' in the Chamber of Deputies. Led by Étienne-Alexandre Millerand, the group consisted mostly of bourgeois radicals

(see note 147) who had joined the socialist movement following the events in Fourmies (see Note 243) and formed the opportunist wing of the socialist faction in parliament. The 'Independent Socialists' supported Lafargue's candidature and demanded his release from prison (see this volume, pp. 269 and 274-75).—277, 367

337 This letter was first published in the language of the original (English) in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Ausgewählte Briefe*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1953.—278

338 Mackinley was one of the leaders of the US Republican Party. The protectionist tariff initiated by him was introduced in 1890. An instrument of the monopolies, it sharply raised the import duties on manufactures, the results being a rise in the price of consumer goods and a deterioration of the condition of the working class. Engels discussed the Mackinley tariff in his article 'The American Presidential Election' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 329-31).—278, 393

339 This refers to Part VIII, Chapter XXX, 'Reaction of the Agricultural Revolution on Industry. Creation of the Home-Market for Industrial Capital', Vol. I of Marx's *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 35).—279

340 Engels paraphrases a saying attributed to the French general Bosquet (see Note 241).—281

341 Engels means the runoff election, which was due on 8 November 1891.—281

342 In his letter of 24 October 1891 Lafargue told Engels that, if elected to the Chamber of Deputies, he intended to form a single group of 60 to 80 M. P.s, consisting of socialists and those radicals who had supported him at the elections (see Note 336).—281

343 Five large Social-Democratic meetings were held in Berlin on 30 October 1891, with delegates to the Erfurt Congress speaking. The speakers included, among others, August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Paul Singer and Ignaz Auer. The main topic discussed was the congress decision on the opposition of the Jungen (see Note 301). The vast majority of the audience supported the Erfurt resolutions.—282

344 Reporting on the Erfurt Congress at a Social-Democratic meeting in Munich on 26 October 1891, Vollmar regretted the expulsion by the congress of some of the leaders of the Jungen from the party (see Note 301). The meeting rejected Vollmar's draft resolution on party tactics. In its unanimously adopted resolution on the report, submitted by Carl Oertel, it declared itself in agreement with the congress decision on tactics and recommended all party members to take it as a guide.—282, 293, 298

345 The reference is to Bebel's letter of 29 October 1891.—282

346 Engels means the presence of British troops in Egypt, which was part of the Ottoman Empire. France and Russia were trying to make Turkey demand their withdrawal.—285

347 In his letter of 25 October 1891 Conrad Schmidt informed Engels of his intention to write a book entitled *Karl Marx, seine Lehre und seine Stellung in der Wissenschaft*, which was to be put out by Guttentag in Berlin. 'In particular,' Schmidt wrote, 'I want to make an exact study of the method applied in *Capital*, to prove that it is the only correct one, and to examine the influence Hegel's dialectics exerted on it.' Obviously the work did not materialise.—285

348 On 31 October 1891 the Chamber of Deputies discussed an interpellation by Ernest Roche, who had demanded that the government state its motives for keeping Lafargue in prison and thus denying him the possibility to campaign in the election. The government's conduct was criticised by Étienne Alexandre Millerand and Georges Benjamin Clemenceau. The Radicals voted against the government's proposal to proceed to other business. The Monarchists abstained. As a result, the government's proposal was passed with only a small majority.—289, 291

349 In his letters of 29 and 30 October 1891 Bebel informed Engels that Social-Democratic meetings held in Berlin and other cities had approved the decisions of the Erfurt party congress directed against the opposition (see Note 301).—291, 293

350 On 31 October 1891 an open meeting of German Social-Democratic émigrés in Zurich adopted a resolution, tabled by Hans Müller, expressing disagreement with the expulsion of leaders of the Jungen by the Erfurt party congress (see Note 301) and urging the next congress to rescind this decision. In its report on the meeting, *Vorwärts*, No. 259, 5 November, pointed out that the Erfurt Congress had been attended by people more competent in party matters than Hans Müller.—293

351 On 28 October 1891 a Reichstag by-election was held in the Stolp-Lauenburg constituency in Pomerania. Bebel analysed its outcome in an article headlined 'Die Reichstagswahl in Stolp-Lauenburg', printed in *Vorwärts*, No. 256, 1 November. He interpreted the victory of the candidate of the Freisinnige Party (see Note 242) in a constituency which had consistently elected conservatives from 1867 onwards, as important evidence of the weakening of the reactionary forces in rural constituencies.—294

352 In February 1888 the term of the German Reichstag was extended from three to five years. Attempts by the Bismarck government to win such an extension in 1881 and 1885 had ended in failure. A longer term for the Reichstag meant a restriction of the voters' rights.—294

353 In his letter to Engels of 26 October 1891 Bebel wrote that revolutionary views were taking hold on people's minds, so that the intellectuals would, in his opinion, side with the Social-Democrats when the time was ripe. Scientists, teachers, officials and technicians, he said, bitterly resented the government pressure.—294

354 In the course of a diplomatic tour of Europe in the autumn of 1891, the Russian Foreign Minister N. K. Giers visited Milan, where he had talks with King Umberto I and Prime Minister Rudini on 12 and 13 October. In the opinion of the European press, he tried to persuade Italy to quit the Triple Alliance (see Note 303).

On his way back from Denmark in late October 1891 Tsar Alexander III visited the German port of Danzig and Berlin, but evaded a meeting with William II. The pointed omission of a visit to the German Emperor (though a meeting had already been announced in the press) was interpreted by European newspapers, in particular English ones, as evidence of tension between Russia and Germany.—295, 307

355 The whereabouts of Engels' letter to Oscar Heidfeld are unknown. Engels' copy reproduced here only contains excerpts from it.—296

356 In his letter of 11 November 1891 Oscar Heidfeld advised Engels of Ernst Dronke's

death and of the financial documents left among his papers (see also present edition, Vol. 45).—296

357 This letter was published in English for the first time in *The Labour Monthly*, London, 1934, No. 10, pp. 629-32.—299, 507, 530

358 Between 1890 and 1895 Sorge published a series of articles on the US working-class movement over the period 1830-94 in *Neue Zeit*. They were to be put out in book form. This edition never materialised.—299, 329

359 On 17 November 1891 elections to the City Assembly were held in Berlin. In the first round the Social-Democrats retained their three seats and won another three. In the runoff, on 15 December, they gained a seventh seat.—300

360 Engels means the slanted account of Paul Lafargue's speech in Bordeaux on 22 November 1891 published in *The Evening Standard* of 23 November under the heading 'The Lille Election' (see also this volume, pp. 306-07).—301, 304, 311, 318

361 On 24 November 1891 *The Evening Standard* mistakenly reported that the Reichstag by-election in the 11th Constituency (Halle, Oehrungen, Warisberg, Backnaug) had been won by the Social-Democrat Hartmann. Hartmann had in fact been elected, but he was not a Social-Democrat.—303

362 In Lyons, the ninth congress of the French Workers' Party was held from 26 to 28 November 1891. It adopted a municipal programme and determined the party's tactics for the municipal elections due on 1 May 1892. It also endorsed the composition of the Secretariat of Labour formed in October 1891 (see Note 320).—306

363 Laura Lafargue's letter to Engels of 28 November 1891 is not extant.—307

364 The reference is to the 'reptile press', the press dependent on the Bismarck government. The name derives from the 'Reptile Fund', the assets provided to the Elector of Hesse, ex-King George V of Hanover, in compensation for the incorporation of Hanover (an ally of Austria) into Prussia after the Austro-Prussian war. The fund was sequestered after it had become known that the Hesse Elector engaged in anti-Prussian activities in France. In his speech to the Prussian Landtag on 30 January 1869 Bismarck maintained that the fund would be used to combat the intrigues of the former Hanover King and his agents, whom he called 'reptiles'. Actually, a considerable part of the means was used by Bismarck to bribe certain periodicals and individual journalists. The words 'reptile' and 'reptile press' became synonyms of a government-bribed press.—307

365 In his letter of 7 December 1891 Bebel told Engels that on one occasion William II arrived without notice at a cavalry barracks in Potsdam, secretly removed the guards and had them arrested, with the exception of the bugler. He then ordered the alarm to be sounded and watched with satisfaction the confusion of the officers at not finding the guards at their posts. These practical jokes of the young emperor, shrugged off by the generals, were causing discontent among the officers and ranks.—307

366 Engels means Bebel's speech on the military budget delivered at the Reichstag on 28 November 1891. The speech was reported in Supplement I to *Vorwärts*, No. 280, 29 November. Taking issue with those deputies who advocated a more numerous army and larger military appropriations on the plea that internal riots

were to be feared in view of the grown influence of the Social-Democrats in the army, Bebel said: 'Things are developing to our advantage of themselves, and if you have to raise millions of men, up to the *Landsturm* (home reserve) of the second call, needless to say there will be hundreds of thousands of Social-Democrats among them.'—308, 312

367 See K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and Others' (present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 253-69).—308

368 In his letter of 15 November 1891 Bebel named some intellectuals and bourgeois who had declared themselves members of the Social-Democratic Party.—309

369 On 28 November 1891, on the occasion of Engels' birthday, the Reichstag Social-Democratic deputies sent Engels the following message: 'The Social-Democratic group of the German Reichstag wishes its staunch and indefatigable champion many happy returns of the day.'—309

370 An allusion to an anonymous anti-Socialist pamphlet, *August Bebel der Arbeiter-Bismarck. Von einem Socialisten*, Berlin, 1890.—310

371 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, put out simultaneously, in 1971, by Progress Publishers, Moscow, and International Publishers, New York.—312

372 In a message of birthday greetings on 26 November 1891 Natalie Liebknecht wished Engels many happy returns on her own behalf and that of Wilhelm Liebknecht and their son, Theodor.—312

373 See also F. Engels, 'To the Choir Club of the Communist German Workers' Educational Society. Tottenham Street' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 254-55).—313

374 The owners of the Leeds gas works stipulated that workers should initially be employed for four months, during which period they were not allowed to take part in strikes. The workers were also required, within a shift of eight hours, to perform 25 per cent more work than they had previously, when the working day was longer. These terms, practically meaning the abolition of the gas workers' union in Leeds and the cancellation of the eight-hour day won by the workers, aroused the latter's anger and resistance. Early in July 1890 strikers fought pitched battles against strikebreakers and troops, and ultimately carried the day. The employers were forced to withdraw their terms.—313

375 This refers to Chapter XXV, 'The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation', of Volume I of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 35).—315

376 In his speech at the Erfurt Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (see Note 301) the Dortmund delegate Karl Wilhelm Tölcke attacked Eduard Bernstein for his critique of Ferdinand Lassalle (see Note 178). He also tried to present Lassalle's views on universal suffrage, the tactics of the working-class movement and other matters.—316

377 Here Engels paraphrases the refrain of Jacob Audorf's *Lied der deutschen Arbeiter (Arbeiter-Marseillaise)* (see Note 235).—316

378 On 17 December 1891 Paul Lafargue, on behalf of the French Workers' Party, submitted to the Chamber of Deputies a bill on the separation of the Church from

the State, which was, by and large, based on the decree of the Paris Commune of 2 April 1871. It envisaged the cancellation of the cults budget, the confiscation of Church property, with the means thus obtained to be used for popular education and social security, and a ban on the building of churches and the involvement of workers in religious societies. The bill was published in *Le Socialiste*, No. 66, 26 December 1891.

Lafargue's maiden speech in the Chamber of Deputies (8 December 1891) was a substantiation of his bill on a full amnesty for persons charged with political offences. The speech was repeatedly interrupted by noise and heckling from bourgeois deputies. It was published verbatim in *Le Socialiste*, No. 65, 19 December 1891.—320, 328, 330, 348

379 This refers to Kautsky's brochure, *Das Erfurter Programm in seinem grundsätzlichen Theil erläutert*, published in Stuttgart in 1892.—322, 367, 389

380 Peter Fireman had sent Kautsky the manuscript of his article 'Kritik der Marx'schen Werttheorie'. In his letter of 7 December 1891 Kautsky informed Engels of its contents. The article was published in *Jahrbücher der Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, Dritte Folge, 3. Bd., 1892. Engels analysed it in the Preface to Vol. III of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 37).—322

381 This refers to Conrad Schmidt's work *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marx'schen Werthgesetzes* (Stuttgart, 1889), which Engels analyses in his preface to Volume III ot *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 37).—323

382 In his letter to Engels of 3 December 1891 Kautsky said in its next issue *Neue Zeit* would carry an article by Rudolf Meyer ('Anbaupolitik und Nahrungsmittel', *Die Neue Zeit*, 10. Jg., 1891/92, 1. Bd., Nr. 11, 12. He also wrote that Meyer was ill and being boycotted by the conservative press.—323

383 The *compositors' strike* in Germany began on 8 November 1891 and involved 10,000 printers. The strikers demanded a 12.5 per cent pay rise and a nine-hour working day. The strike continued until 14 January 1892 but, despite support from workers of other industries in Germany and abroad, ended in failure.—323, 346

384 This message of greetings was written by Louise Kautsky on a postcard. The address is in Engels' hand: Mr. und Mrs. Schlüter 382 Washington St. *Hoboken N. Y. U. S. America*.—325

385 This message of greetings was written by Engels on a postcard. The address—Familie Liebknecht, 160 Kantstr., Charlottenburg, Berlin, Germany—is also in his hand.—326

386 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in *The Labour Monthly*, London, 1934, No. 10. The letter appeared in English in full for the first time in *Science and Society*, New York, 1938, Vol. 2, No. 3.—326

387 *Territories* was the designation of newly developed areas in the USA, mostly in the West, which did not form part of any of the states and were governed by the President or the Senate. As a rule, they were admitted to the Union as states upon attaining a certain population number.—328

388 An allusion to the *Greenback Party*. Formed in the West of the USA in 1874, it consisted mostly of farmers. The party opposed the withdrawal of the paper money (popularly called greenbacks) emitted during the 1861-65 Civil War and, being

devalued, no longer convertible into gold. The Greenbackers laboured under the illusion that keeping a large amount of paper money in circulation would lead to a rise in the price of farming produce. The party obtained over a million votes at the 1878 elections. It virtually disintegrated following a defeat at the polls in 1884.—328

389 On 9 January 1891 Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor (see Note 84), wrote to Engels asking him what he thought of the conflict between the Federation and the Socialist Labor Party of North America (see Note 133). Engels' reply to Gompers is not extant.—328

390 Presumably Engels means the editing and translation into German of his article 'Socialism in Germany' (see present edition, Vol. 27) and his work on 'Preface to the 1892 English Edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 257-69).—329

391 The *Boards of Health* were municipal bodies in Britain concerned with health, sanitation and social security. In his letter of 31 December 1891 Paul Lafargue asked Engels to tell him about the Board of Health in London because he intended to submit to the Chamber of Deputies a proposal for the establishment of similar bodies in France.—330

392 Between December 1891 and early February 1892 Paul Lafargue made several canvassing tours in France, addressing rallies and workers' meetings in Lille, Lyons, Boulogne, Bordeaux, Nantes, Toulouse and other cities. As he told Engels in his letter of 26 December, these tours were, above all, part of the campaign for the municipal elections due on 1 May 1892.

Referring to the tours in a letter to Engels on 28 December, Laura Lafargue jokingly called her husband the wandering Jew. Engels, in his reply, alludes to Lafargue's black origin.—330, 348, 478

393 The bill on the disestablishment of the Church in Ireland (1869) applied solely to the Church of England, which had an insignificant following in Ireland. The bill put an end to the privileges of the Anglican Church and placed it, legally and financially, on an equal footing with the Catholic and the Presbyterian Church. It abolished tithes and various ecclesiastical offices. The Church of England also had to relinquish a small part of its land holdings, whose revenue was now to be used for charity and assistance to Ireland's other Churches and also to raise the salaries of the remaining Anglican priests. The bill on the disestablishment of the Church in Ireland was passed by the Gladstone government, alongside other measures, to pacify the Irish national movement.—330

394 This refers to the 5,000 million francs which France paid in indemnities to Germany under the peace treaty after the 1870-71 Franco-Prussian war.—330

395 Henry Mayers Hyndman supported Paul Brousse when the French Possibilists split up in October 1890. See *Broussists* (Note 3) and *Allemanists* (Note 53).—333

396 At a joint session of the freedom of speech committee and representatives of socialist and workers' organisations on 24 January 1890, the delegates of the Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers (see Note 164) declared that they were not going officially to participate in meetings at the World's End.—333, 335

397 On 13 November 1887 the British socialists organised a demonstration in London.

About 10,000 workers marched to Trafalgar Square, where a rally was to be held. Arriving there, they found the square occupied by 4,000 police. In the ensuing clashes several hundred demonstrators were injured (three fatally), some of the organisers of the rally were arrested. These events went down in the history of the British labour movement as Bloody Sunday.—335

398 In reprinting, in German, Engels' article 'Socialism in Germany' in *Die Neue Zeit*, 10. Jg., 1891/92, 1. Bd., Nr. 19 (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 235-50), the Editors omitted the names of Bebel and Liebknecht in the following passage: 'More than once entire groups of Lassalleans went over en masse, drums beating and banners flying, to Bebel's and Liebknecht's new party, called the Eisenach party.'—336, 343

399 On 26 January 1892 Kautsky informed Engels that J. H. W. Dietz had requested him to translate James E. Thorold Rogers' *Six Centuries of Work and Wages. The History of English Labour* (London, 1886). In this connection Kautsky asked for Engels' opinion of the book.—337, 343

400 Engels means the evolution of Martin Luther's views. In his early, radical period Luther formulated his teaching, in which the masses of the people saw a reflection of their revolutionary sentiments. In late 1521 the Reformation led by Luther began to distance itself from the plebeian and peasant elements, with Luther himself gravitating to the side of the German princes who supported the Reformation.

This split in the Reformation camp was reflected, among other things, in Luther's critique, in December 1521, of the radical Church reforms carried out by the theologian Andreas Rudolf Karlstadt in Wittenberg, the centre of the Reformation.

During the *Peasant War* in Germany (1524-26) Luther openly sided with the enemies of the insurgent peasants, his attitude reflecting that of the majority of German burghers, who had gone over to the side of the feudal lords for fear of revolutionary action by the masses.—342

401 In the second half of January 1892 several French newspapers, including *Figaro*, asked Bebel to state the terms that would make possible a Franco-German agreement on Alsace and Lorraine, both annexed by Germany in 1871. In a letter to Engels of 27 January Bebel summarised his reply to *Figaro* as follows: 'The public, I said, knew what I and our party thought about the annexation; it also knew that we favoured a reconciliation with France, and certainly also that we considered one possible; but our party still lacked the strength to bring about a decision, and outside the party there might be individuals who likewise wanted a reconciliation, but none of these were people of influence; hence any real action promising success was out of the question.'

A note headlined 'Ueber den Rückkauf Elsaß-Lothringes' published in the 'Parteinachrichten' column of the supplement to *Vorwärts*, No. 25, 30 January 1892, said Bebel had declared that the Social-Democratic Party would accept a Franco-German agreement on Alsace and Lorraine on any terms.—344

402 In his letter of 27 January 1892 Bebel told Engels about a conversation he had just had with Ernst Matthias von Köller, deputy state secretary for Alsace-Lorraine at the Prussian Ministry of the Interior, on the position in that province. Köller said Bebel had only him to thank for having been able to address a meeting in Mul-

house on 6 January (see Note 407). In the course of the conversation Bebel sharply criticised the German government's police reprisals.—344

403 A report headlined 'Aus London', in *Vorwärts*, No. 25, 30 January 1892, said elements hostile to German Social-Democracy had been expelled from the German Workers' Educational Society (see this volume, pp. 333 and 335). It did not say, however, that the person expelled was Ferdinand Gilles.—345

404 This refers to a legal statement, sent by Bebel to Engels on 7 February 1885, concerning the possibility of bringing out another printing of Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, published by Otto Wigand in Leipzig in 1845. This possibility was first discussed by Engels in his letters to Liebknecht of 15-22 May 1872 and 12 February 1873 (see present edition, Vol. 44, pp. 373-77 and 477-78). Under statement, a second edition could only be issued by a publishing house in a country which had no copyright convention with Germany.

However, Wigand ceded his rights in regard of Engels' book to Dietz of his own accord (see this volume, pp. 406, 410, 414 and Notes 468, 470 and 476).—346

405 This Order of the Day by Prince George of Saxony, commander-in-chief of the Saxon army, dated 8 June 1891, was published in *Vorwärts*, No. 26, 31 January 1892, under the title 'Zu den bevorstehenden Reichstags-Verhandlungen über den Militär-Etat'. It summed up the findings of a court martial investigation into complaints about the brutal treatment of soldiers.—346, 348

406 An allusion to a passage in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, Act I, Scene 2: 'Yond' Cassius has a lean and hungry look; He thinks too much: such men are dangerous!'—348

407 On 6 January 1892 Bebel addressed a workers' meeting in the Alsatian town of Mulhouse. He spoke mostly about the economic condition of Alsace. His attempts to proceed to political questions were cut short by the police commissioner, who threatened to close the meeting. A report on the meeting was published in *Vorwärts* on 9 January 1892.—348

408 Engels means Conrad Schmidt's article 'Noch einmal das Rätsel der Durchschnittsprofitrate' in *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, 3. Folge, 2. Bd., Jena 1891. Schmidt had enclosed a copy of the article in his letter to Engels of 12 December 1891.

Engels gives a critical analysis of Julius Wolf's article in his preface to Vol. III of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 37, Part I).—349

409 On 2 February 1892 Filippo Turati sent Engels an article by the Italian philosopher and political leader Giovanni Bovio published in *La Tribuna*. The article contained a critique of the first instalment of Engels' 'Socialism in Germany' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 235-50) as printed by Turati in the socialist journal *Critica Sociale*, No. 2, 16 January 1892. Turati, editor of the journal, reproduced Engels' work in translation from its French version published in *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier*. Turati requested Engels to reply to Bovio's article. Engels wrote his counterblast in French (see 'Reply to the Honourable Giovanni Bovio', present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 270-72) and sent it with a covering letter to Turati. Turati's Italian translation of Engels' reply, endorsed by the latter in a letter to Turati of 13 February (see this volume, p. 356), was published in *Critica Sociale*, No. 4, 16 February 1892 under

the title 'Federico Engels — Giovanni Bovio' and was reprinted by several Italian newspapers.—354, 356

410 Engels wrote these words on a postcard which bears — in his hand — the address: Sigr. avvo, Filippo Turati, Portici, Galleria V. E., Milano, Italy.—356

411 In connection with the Greater Vienna reconstruction project *Arbeiter-Zeitung* campaigned in January and February 1892 for due consideration to be given to the interests of the city's working people, and exposed the demagogy and machinations of the building companies and the authorities. For instance, Victor Adler, in an article headlined 'Die Verkehrsanlagen von Groß-Wien und die Wiener Arbeiter', published in *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 2, 8 January, proposed setting up a trade-union association to protect the interests of the building workers.

In November 1888 Marie-Édouard Vaillant submitted to the Paris municipality a building project to improve the sanitation facilities in working-class neighbourhoods.—360

412 During the campaign to elect the London County Council, working-class candidates demanded in their manifesto that the Council be turned into a municipal body which would really protect the workers' interests. In particular, they insisted on the municipalisation of the gas, water and power supply and of the city transport (the omnibus and tram service), then in private hands. They also urged measures to improve the health service and working and living conditions. The funds to finance these measures were to be obtained through heavier taxation of the landowners.

The London County Council collected taxes and disposed of the local budget. All persons eligible to vote for Parliament and all women over 30 years of age were entitled to vote for it.—360, 449, 494

413 During a visit to the Munich City Hall, in the autumn of 1891 Emperor William II made the following entry in the Book of Honour: 'Regis *voluntas* — *suprema lex*' (The King's will is the supreme law).—361, 371

414 The *National Liberal Party* — originally Prussian and later (from 1871) all-German — existed from 1866 to 1918. It was based on the Right wing of the Party of Progress (see Note 296), which split off in the autumn of 1866. The National Liberals were a pillar of the Junker-bourgeois bloc. One of the party's major objectives was the union of the German states under the aegis of Prussia. Soon after this was achieved, the party finally took shape as the spokesman of the big bourgeoisie, above all the industrial magnates. Its programme called for equality and bourgeois-democratic liberties but, faced with the mounting working-class movement, the party gave up the struggle for these demands and contented itself with Bismarck's half-hearted reforms.—361, 373, 504

415 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in *Marx and Engels on Reactionary Prussianism*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1943.—362

416 The twenty-fifth anniversary of Bebel's parliamentary activity was observed in Berlin on 22 February 1892. The celebration was attended by almost the entire Reichstag Social-Democratic group, the staff of the Editorial Board and the printshop of *Vorwärts* and by representatives of the Berlin party branch.—362, 372

417 On 22 January 1891, in the course of a Reichstag debate on a commercial treaty

with Switzerland, Bennigsen, the leader of the National Liberals (see Note 414), expressed the hope that the treaty could help form close ties between the German liberal parties. On 23 January Eugen Richter, leader of the Freisinnige Party (see Note 242), supported Bennigsen's idea in his speech. The Social-Democratic deputy Max Schippel, speaking on the same day (the speech was published in *Vorwärts* on 24 January), ridiculed these hopes, pointing out that there was no basis for them in view of the contradictions dividing the various sections of the German bourgeoisie.—362

418 The *Centre* (1870-1933) was a bourgeois political party in Germany formed through the merger of the Catholic factions in the Prussian Landtag and the German Reichstag (these factions had their seats in the centre of the respective assembly halls) on the eve of Germany's unification. The Centre united, under the banner of Catholicism, different social strata: clergymen, landowners, bourgeois and part of the peasantry, predominantly of the small and medium-sized states in west and southwest Germany, whose particularist tendencies it supported. The Centre was in opposition to the government, but voted for its measures directed against the working-class and socialist movement. The late 1870s brought a certain rapprochement between the ruling quarters and the Centre. With the country's industrial progress big industrialists came to play a more important part in the party's leadership. Engels characterises the Centre in detail in *The Role of Force in History* (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 453-510) and in the article 'What Now?' (see present edition, Vol. 27).—363

419 The *Conservative Party* expressed the interests of the Prussian Junkerdom, the military, the upper echelons of the bureaucracy and the Lutheran clergy. It traced its origin from the extreme Right monarchist faction in the Prussian National Assembly of 1848 and was initially called the party of *Kreuz-Zeitung*. After the establishment of the North German Confederation and in the early years of the German Empire it attacked the Bismarck government from the Right, opposing bourgeois reform and the expansion of the competence of the Imperial authorities, since it considered Prussia's hegemony in the Empire insufficiently consolidated. However, as early as 1866 there was a split in the party, resulting in the secession of the Free Conservative Party, which spoke for the big landowners and a section of the industrial community and unreservedly backed Bismarck.

In 1876 the Conservatives united with other Right-wing groups to form the all-German Conservative Party (1876-1918), which inherited the Conservatives' home and foreign policy.—363

420 On 15 February 1892 the Social-Democrat Wilhelm Peus was sentenced to 26 months' imprisonment and 5 years of suspension of civil rights for *lèse-majesté*. Speaking in Magdeburg on 26 October 1891, he had declared that the monarchy served no useful purpose and its abolition was no crime.—364, 369

421 On 12 February 1892 Karl Ferdinand von Stumm-Halberg, an important German industrialist and Conservative deputy, sharply attacked the Social-Democratic Party in the Reichstag, accusing it, among other things, of preparing the forcible overthrow of the monarchy, violation of the oath, and preaching free love. In his reply Bebel exposed Stumm's speech as a provocation designed to prepare the ground for a new anti-Socialist law, and clarified the policy of German Social-Democracy.—364, 371

422 On 15 February 1892 Bebel spoke in the Reichstag debate on the military budget. He concentrated on the appropriations for the military legal department and on the cruel treatment of soldiers in the German army. An extract from the speech was published in *Vorwärts* on 16 February.—364

423 This concerns the plan for turning *Le Socialiste*, the weekly newspaper of the French Workers' Party (see Note 146), into a daily. Engels had asked Laura and Paul Lafargue to keep him informed of the progress of the negotiations. The plan failed to materialise.—367, 370, 379, 424, 426, 432, 434, 471, 518, 519, 532, 544

424 This refers to the correction of inaccuracies in the first French edition of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* (1847) and reproduced in the 1885 German edition. The corrections in question were mentioned by Engels in his 'Preface to the Second German Edition of Karl Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy*' (see present edition, Vol. 27) in 1892. These inaccuracies were used by the Austrian bourgeois sociologist and lawyer Anton Menger, in his book *Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag in geschichtlicher Darstellung* (1886), to cast aspersions on Marx's and Engels' scholarship and integrity. Menger's insinuations were exposed in 'Lawyers' Socialism', a polemic written jointly by Engels and Kautsky (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 597-616).—368

425 In his letter of 19 February 1892 Kautsky told Engels that Heinrich Cunow was going to write a work on the 'class organisation' of the Australoids. It appeared under the title *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation der Australneger* (1894).—368

426 This refers to the special rights (independent administration of the postal service, telegraphy and railways, a degree of autonomy in military matters, and other rights) of the south German states, mainly Bavaria, Württemberg and Saxony, incorporated in their treaties of accession to the North German Confederation (November 1870) and in the Constitution of the German Empire (April 1871). Representatives of Bavaria, Württemberg and Saxony on the Council of the Confederation formed a special foreign policy committee vested with the right of veto.—369

427 Demonstrations and rallies of unemployed took place in central Berlin, particularly in front of the royal palace, on 25, 26 and 27 February 1892. Accompanied by serious lumpen-proletarian violence, they were broken up by the police. The German Social-Democratic Party emphatically condemned the outrages and urged the workers to stay away from these demonstrations.—369, 373

428 On 2 March 1892, it was announced in Berlin that proceedings had been instituted against *Kölnische Zeitung* on charges of *lèse-majesté*. An article published in the newspaper contained critical remarks in regard of William II's speech at the annual banquet of the Brandenburg Landtag on 24 February 1892, in which the emperor sharply attacked the 'criticasters' and opponents of the government policy. The prosecution of *Kölnische Zeitung*, followed by charges against and the confiscation of other newspapers, was seen by the German and European public as marking the imperial authorities' transition to a policy of open police reprisals.—369, 371

429 At the municipal elections held in France between 1 and 8 May 1892 the Workers' Party scored a considerable success, polling over 100,000 votes and getting 635 socialists elected. In 26 towns the socialists obtained more seats than any other party

and in Roubaix, Marseille, Narbonne and Toulon they headed the municipal councils.—370, 392, 400, 404, 411, 413, 420, 423

430 The *radical clubs* were democratic associations in Britain in the second half of the nineteenth century. They consisted mostly of workers and were formally connected with the Liberal Party. The clubs exerted a certain influence on the British working class. In the late 1880s, in connection with the rise of the labour movement in the country, their number increased and socialist ideas won wide currency among their members. In 1885, the Metropolitan Radical Federation was set up, which united the Radical Clubs of London.—371, 380, 386, 403

431 At the end of January 1892 the Prussian government submitted a bill on the primary schools to the Landtag. All primary schools providing general education were to be turned into religious schools, all newly opened schools were to be religious ones, and the entire system of primary education was to be supervised by the clergy. The bill, reflecting the interests of the Centre (see Note 418), encountered strong criticism from the Liberals which, in March 1892, forced the Prussian Cabinet to resign. The new Cabinet withdrew the bill.—371, 373

432 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965.—372

433 The message of greetings of the French Workers' Party (see Note 146), and the Editorial Board of *Le Socialiste* on the occasion of Bebel's twenty-fifth anniversary in parliament was published in *Le Socialiste*, No. 76, 6 March 1892. It noted Bebel's outstanding contribution to the struggle for the triumph of socialist ideas and pointed out that his activities did honour not only to the German Social-Democratic Party, but the whole international socialist movement.—372

434 On 2 March 1892 the Saxon Landtag deprived Liebknecht of his seat on the grounds that he permanently lived in Berlin and not in Saxony.—372

435 In *Kapital und Presse. Ein Nachspiel zum Fall Lindau*, Berlin, 1891, Franz Mehring explained why he had gone over to anti-Social-Democratic positions after 1876. His change of heart was especially evident in the third, revised edition (1879) of his *Die Deutsche Socialdemokratie. Ihre Geschichte und ihre Lehre.*—376

436 In his letter of 20 March 1892 August Siegel told Engels that the Executive of the German Miners' Association had provided 120 marks to his wife to cover travelling expenses. In addition, he had received £16 from the British miners.—376

437 The *new course* in Germany's foreign and home policy, proclaimed by Emperor William II in March 1890 after the resignation of Bismarck, was associated with Chancellor Leo von Caprivi (1890-94). In regard of the working-class movement it brought a policy of reform, notably in labour legislation (the introduction of free Sundays and holidays in industry, a ban on work by children under thirteen, and other measures). However, this did not mean a total renunciation of reprisals against workers' organisations.

In Germany's foreign policy the new course brought imperialist tendencies.—378

438 This is an inaccuracy. The *Revista Socială* appeared from 1884 to 1887. Engels' article was published in the Romanian Social-Democratic journal *Critica Socială*, Nos 2 and 3, 1892, under the headline 'Socialismul in Germania'.—380

[439] Engels means the congress of the Possibilists (see Note 3) which was to meet in Paris in July 1892. It was to deal mostly with municipal organisation and social hygiene.—381

[440] For 18 March 1892 Engels wrote 'Greetings to the French Workers on the Occasion of the 21st Anniversary of the Paris Commune' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 275-76), published in *Le Socialiste*, No. 79, 26 March 1892.—382

[441] This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—382

[442] Engels means the Peasant Reform of 19 February 1861 (*Statute on Peasants Emerging from Serfhood*), which abolished serfdom in Russia. As a result of the reform about 22.5 million peasants were liberated, part of whom, however, were obliged to do corvée service or pay quit-rent for the use of land (so-called temporarily liable peasants). It was not until 28 December 1881 that a law decreeing the obligatory redemption by the peasants (as of 1 January 1881) of the plots they used was promulgated. Corvée and quit-rent were formally abolished but in effect continued to exist in the form of the labour service system until the 1900s.—382

[443] Engels toured the United States and Canada with Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling and Carl Schorlemmer in August-September 1888. For Engels' impressions of the journey see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 581-86.—384, 412

[444] In his letter of 12 (24) November 1891 Danielson requested Engels to congratulate Paul Lafargue on his election to the Chamber of Deputies.—385

[445] During the Reichstag debate on a bill concerning martial law in Alsace-Lorraine on 3 March 1892, the Conservative deputy Karl Alwin Hartmann alleged that there existed differences on the Alsace-Lorraine issue within the German Social-Democratic Party between Wilhelm Liebknecht and Georg von Vollmar. In his reply Paul Singer, speaking on behalf of the Social-Democratic deputies rejected this assertion and declared that, as far as the Social-Democratic Party was concerned, the Alsace-Lorraine issue did not exist at all. The charge that Liebknecht advocated the return of Alsace and Lorraine to France, he said, was a lie.—386

[446] The London Trades Council and Social-Democratic Federation (see notes 196 and 29) had attempted to bar the Marxist-led working-class organisations from participation in the 1890 May Day demonstration in London. For details see Engels' article 'May 4 in London' (present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 61-66).—386

[447] Bebel was to address a workers' meeting in the East End at Eleanor Marx-Aveling's request during his planned visit to London (see Note 473).—388

[448] On 4 March 1892 Turati sent Engels two copies of the journal *Critica Sociale* of 1 March, which contained Giovanni Bovio's answer to Engels' article 'Reply to the Honourable Giovanni Bovio' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 270-72).—388

[449] The Roman newspaper *La Tribuna* of 2 February 1892 carried a critical article by Giovanni Bovio about Engels' work 'Socialism in Germany' (see Note 409). Engels quotes from the article in his 'Reply to the Honourable Giovanni Bovio' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 270-72).—388

[450] This refers to Engels' work 'Marx and Rodbertus. Preface to the First German Edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy* by Karl Marx' (see present edition, Vol. 26),

which was included in the second German edition of Marx's book (1892), and to Engels' special 'Preface to the Second German Edition of Karl Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy*' (see present edition, Vol. 27, p. 277 and this volume, Note 424).—389

451 Marx's article 'On Proudhon' (see present edition, Vol. 20) was published in the Berlin *Social-Demokrat*, organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers, on 1, 3 and 5 February 1865, Nos 16-18. It was reprinted in the first and second German editions—both prepared by Engels—of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy*, which appeared in 1885 and 1892.—389

452 On 27 March 1892 Kautsky wrote to tell Engels that Victor Adler was in financial straits, and his wife, Emma, was seriously ill.—389

453 In a postcard of 26 March 1892 Martignetti asked Engels to state his views on duelling in connection with a report in the *Lotto di classe* that a young Italian socialist, Arturo Zambianchi, had challenged an officer for an affront.—391

454 Engels probably means Schlüter's letter of 11 May 1891, which contained a great deal of information on the US working-class movement and Schlüter's own activities.—392

455 The Paris *Figaro* had published an article by Paul Lafargue containing a definition of socialism. In his letter of 14 March 1892 Schlüter asked Engels to send him a copy of the issue in question.—392

456 Engels granted the interview to Émile Massard on 1 April 1892 (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 533-38). On 3 April he almost completely rewrote Massard's manuscript. The interview appeared in *Éclair* on 6 April. Judging by the fact that it was reprinted, even if abridged, in *Le Socialiste* (No. 82, 16 April), the newspaper of the French Workers' Party, it may be assumed that Engels regarded the *Éclair* text as satisfactory.—394

457 Engels holidayed in Ryde (Isle of Wight) from 20 to 26 March 1892.—395

458 On 7 April 1892 Henri Brissac asked Engels to review his pamphlet *La Société collectiviste* (Paris, 1892), which was a collection of his articles published in *Revue Socialiste*.—396

459 This refers to a plan for the merger of two groups of Russian revolutionary émigrés—the *Emancipation of Labour Group* and the *Circle of People's Will Veterans*. The plan had the support of the German Social-Democratic Party, which was willing to provide the necessary funds. The talks between the two groups were to take place in London in the spring of 1892, with Frederick Engels, August Bebel and Georgi Plekhanov participating. The plan failed to materialise.—397

460 Marx went for treatment to the Karlsbad (now Karlovy Vary) spa in August-September 1874, August-September 1875 and August-September 1876.—397, 543

461 Engels wrote the 'Introduction to the English Edition (1892) of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 278-302) in April 1892. In June he translated it into German and in July sent it to *Neue Zeit*, which reprinted it, slightly abridged, under the heading 'Ueber historischen Materialismus', 1. Bd., Nr. 1, 2, 1892-1893.—398, 405, 452, 463

462 This refers to the French edition of Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see also Note 199).—399

463 In his letter to George Shipton, published in *Daily Chronicle* of 11 April 1892 in the column 'The Eight Hour Demonstration', Adolph Smith wrote about his talks with the leaders of the Possibilists (see Note 3) in Paris on sending delegates to the May Day demonstrations being organised by the London Trades Council (see Note 196). The idea was to give the demonstration an international character and deal a blow to the prestige of the Marxist-led Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League (see Note 200).—402, 562

464 Paul Lafargue took part in the May Day demonstration in London in 1892 as a representative of the French Workers' Party (see also this volume, pp. 410-11).—402

465 *Toynbee Hall*, in London's East End, was named after Arnold Toynbee, the English social reformer and economist, who died in 1883. The hall was used as a meeting place by his followers, Christian philanthropists, who sought to win over students and intellectuals for the propagation of Christian socialism among workers.—404

466 Extracts from Engels' 'Preface to the 1892 English Edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 257-59) were published in Martignetti's Italian translation in *Critica Sociale*, No. 8, 16 April 1892, under the heading 'A proposito della lotta di classe'.—405

467 This refers to the second Italian edition of Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* in Martignetti's translation (the first edition appeared in 1883). The issue of a second edition had been proposed by Romualdo Fantuzzi and Martignetti in March 1891, to which Engels gave his consent (see this volume, pp. 159 and 160). In the summer of 1891 the type was set, and the proofs read by Pasquale Martignetti and Antonio Labriola. But then the publisher delayed the printing without any explanation, which made Engels contemplate abrogating his contract with Fantuzzi. Despite the delay, the brochure did appear in 1892.—405

468 In his letter of 20 April 1892 J. H. W. Dietz informed Engels of his intention to bring out a second edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (see Note 404) and of Otto Wigand's willingness to cede the copyright to him. Dietz asked Engels to advise him of his consent by a special letter. Engels agreed to Dietz's proposal. The latter's letter bears Engels' inscription: '*Yes*, reprint with the most essential notes and a new preface. Begin at once. Corrections to be made in the proofs so that I can insert the notes.'—406

469 The *Internationale Bibliothek* (International Library) was published by J. H. W. Dietz, in Stuttgart and later in Berlin, from 1887 to 1923. A total of 67 instalments appeared, including the most important works of Marx, Engels, Bebel, Bernstein, Kautsky, Mehring, Aveling, Plekhanov, Lissagaray and other socialists.

The 14th instalment, published in 1892, contained the second edition of Engels' *Condition of the Working-Class in England*.—407, 410

470 In his letter of 26 April 1892 Dietz informed Engels that the matter with Otto Wigand had been settled (see this volume, pp. 406-07) and the printing of the second edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* could be proceeded with

at once. The letter bears Engels' note: '*Accepted.* Unless the answer is *No*, I shall write 1. the preface, 2. brief notes.'—408

471 The powerful May Day demonstration of 1892, in which Engels took part, had been staged jointly by London's working-class and socialist organisations. The festival lasted for two and a half hours and was attended by workers' and socialist representatives from several European countries.—409, 411, 413

472 The *Daily Graphic* of 2 May 1892 carried a drawing representing platform 14 at the 1892 May Day demonstration in London's Hyde Park.—411

473 August Bebel and Paul Singer visited Engels in London approximately between 14 May and 1 June 1892.—412, 417, 418, 424, 427, 429, 430, 436, 490

474 Paul Singer intended to visit Chicago as a member of a Berlin deputation in the summer of 1893.—412

475 In his letter of 5 May 1892 Bebel told Engels that he was well again and could, if necessary, 'uproot a few oaks'.—413

476 Answering Engels' question of 5 May 1892 (see this volume, p. 410) Dietz, in his letter of 9 May, wrote that Wigand had conceded him the right to publish *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* without any limitation of the number of copies. Dietz also informed Engels that he was going to print 10,000 copies and stated the terms concerning the fees, which Engels accepts in the present letter. Written on Dietz's letter in Engels' hand is the following note:

'Accepted.
'1/4 of the fee by autumn '92, after printing
'1/4 " " 1 Jan. 93
'1/2 " after printing the second 5,000, but not later than 6 months after printing has begun.'—414

477 Rudolf Hermann Meyer, in his article 'Der große Generalstab und die nörgelnden Zeitungsschreiber' intended for *Neue Zeit* (see Note 479), mentioned a carpenter by the name of Werner as one of the German representatives at the 1879 Edinburgh Congress of the British Trades Unions (see Note 478). According to Meyer, Werner set forth Marx's ideas at the congress. In his letter to Engels of 13 May 1892 Kautsky suggested that in reality it may have been Adam Weiler and asked Engels whether this was so.

The Editors do not have Engels' postcard mentioned here at their disposal.—416

478 The *Edinburgh Congress* of British Trades Unions (14-20 September 1879) concerned itself mostly with workers' participation in parliamentary elections. Its resolutions demanded longer voting time, a redistribution of constituencies and the abolition of distinctions between rural and urban constituencies. The congress also pronounced itself in favour of putting up working-class candidates at parliamentary elections.—416

479 In his letter of 13 May 1892 Kautsky wrote that Rudolf Meyer had described Engels as the 'oldest and greatest of the living political economists' in his article (see Note 477). Despite Engels' objections, the phrase was kept. The article appeared in *Die Neue Zeit*, 10. Jg., 1891/92, 2. Bd., Nr. 35, 36.—416

480 In his letter of 13 May 1892 Karl Kautsky expressed the desire that Louise Kaut-

sky, his former wife, should use the double name Strasser-Kautsky (Strasser was her maiden name) in her public activities.—416, 451, 461

481 On 15 May 1892, *Le Socialiste* (No. 86), the newspaper of the French Workers' Party, published an official report of the Party's National Council on the showing of the party's candidates in the first round of the municipal elections held on 1 May 1892 (see Note 429).—423

482 The scientist Friedrich Schorlemmer, elder brother of Carl and Ludwig Schorlemmer, died young.—426

483 This refers to the French edition of Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see Note 199). Joseph Roy's French translation of the book was not published in full. Part of it—Chapter IX, 'Barbarism and Civilisation', and Chapter V, 'The Emergence of the Athenian State'—appeared in the July and August issues of *L'Ère Nouvelle* in 1893. In the same year Chapter IX was published by *L'Ère Nouvelle* as a separate edition.—427

484 On 27 May 1892 Henry Enfield Roscoe informed Engels of the doctors' pessimistic assessment of Carl Schorlemmer's condition and expressed his regret at being unable to go to Manchester.—430

485 Engels visited Manchester on 2 to 4 June 1892 (see also this volume, pp. 435 and 436-37).—430, 432, 435, 436, 447, 469

486 In his note of 27 May 1892 H. E. Roscoe uses the phrase 'Dear Engels'.—431

487 *Owens College* was founded in 1851 with money bequeathed for the purpose by the Manchester merchant John Owens. It is part of Manchester's Victoria University, founded in 1880.—431, 456

488 On 4 June 1892, *Justice* (No. 438), reported that a socialist daily was due to be published in France under the editorship of Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue.—435

489 The annual congress of the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland (see Note 164) was held in Plymouth at the beginning of June 1892. It decided that the Union should put up independent working-class candidates at parliamentary and municipal elections and take part in the 1893 International Socialist Workers' Congress in Zurich. The congress also discussed the Union's structure and finances.—435, 437

490 According to *Justice* of 18 June 1892 ('Socialism in Aberdeen'), Edward Aveling addressed socialist meetings in Aberdeen on 10 and 12 June.—435, 448

491 On 28 May 1892 the *Pall Mall Gazette* (No. 8482) carried an interview with August Bebel and Paul Singer headlined 'The Prospects of Socialism'. In the interview, granted during their stay in London earlier in May (see Note 473), Bebel and Singer briefly characterised the working-class movement in Germany and emphasised the significance of the success scored by the French Workers' Party at the May 1892 municipal elections (see Note 429).—436

492 Engels means the third International Miners' Congress, held in London from 7 to 10 June 1892. Attended by representatives of over 900,000 British, German, Austrian, Belgian and French workers, the congress discussed, above all, the establishment of an international miners' association and the struggle for an eight-hour working day for all miners.—438, 446

493 Part of this letter was first published, in the language of the original (English), in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Ausgewählte Briefe*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1953.—440

494 In these letters Danielson continues his discussion of the paths of Russia's economic development (see this volume, pp. 278-80 and 382-85) and gives his opinion of two books he sent Engels on 30 April and 18 May 1892: N. Kablukov, *Vopros o rabochikh v selskom khoziaistve* (Concerning Agricultural Labourers), Moscow, 1884, and N. Karyshev, *Krestianskie vnenadelniye arendy* (Rent of Land by Peasants Holding Communal Plots), Derpt, 1892.—440

495 Engels means the book *Krestianskaya obshchina*, Moscow, 1892, by the Russian Narodist economist V. V. (V. P. Vorontsov), a copy of which Danielson sent him in March 1892.—443

496 In his letter to Engels of 30 April 1892 Danielson pointed out that N. Kablukov, in his book *Vopros o rabochikh v selskom khoziaistve* (Concerning Agricultural Labourers) failed to take into account that the agricultural labourers were, in effect, day labourers employed only at periods when the big landowners needed labour and that their work did not provide them the necessary means of subsistence.—443

497 In March 1891 Engels, on his own behalf and Mendelson's, sent Sorge some money for Stanisław Padlewski. After Padlewski's suicide the remainder of this money was returned to Engels and Mendelson (see also this volume, p. 415).—445

498 *Wasserpolacken* (Water-Polacks) was a name (used from the 17th century) for Poles native to Upper Silesia who floated timber down the Oder. Subsequently, all the Poles of Upper Silesia, who had lived under Prussian rule for centuries, were called by this nickname.—446

499 Engels means the US presidential election which was due on 8 November 1892. At the polls, the Republican Benjamin Harrison lost the Presidency to the Democrat Grover Cleveland. Engels displayed a great interest in the contest and in November 1892 wrote the article 'The American Presidential Election' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 329-31).—446

500 This refers to the projected publication of a collection of Sorge's articles on the US labour movement which had appeared in *Neue Zeit* from October 1890 (see Note 358). On 20 June Kautsky informed Engels about his negotiations with J. H. W. Dietz on this matter. He said Dietz objected in principle to the separate edition of articles from *Neue Zeit* because of their bad sales. Dietz was, however, prepared to consider Sorge's proposal, provided that the articles were revised and expanded. The project did not materialise.—446, 453, 463, 507

501 Part of this letter was first published in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *On Britain*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953.—448, 459, 493

502 This refers to the anti-Semitic pamphlet by Hermann Ahlwardt, *Neue Enthüllungen. Judenflinten*, Dresden, 1892, an 'exposé' of underhand dealings allegedly engaged in by the Isidor Löwe firm in supplying arms to the German army. The pamphlet was confiscated under a court ruling. Bebel had sent a copy of the pamphlet to Engels.—448

503 Engels refers to Bax's editorial, 'Internecine Divisions in the Socialist Party', published in *Justice*, No. 440, 18 June 1892. It urged co-operation between Britain's different socialist groups.—448, 475

504 The summer 1892 parliamentary election in Britain was won by the Liberals. The campaign brought success to the workers' and socialist organisations, which had put up a considerable number of independent candidates. Three of them—James Keir Hardie, John Burns and John Havelock Wilson—were elected.—449, 459, 463, 464, 467, 470, 474, 479, 482, 483, 508, 514

505 The *Liberal Unionists* were a group of anti-Home Rule Liberals led by Joseph Chamberlain who in 1886 broke away from the Liberal Party because of differences over Ireland. They virtually merged with the Conservative Party, formalising their accession a few years later.—449, 460

506 Bebel had called his wife 'honorary bookkeeper' in his letter to Engels of 4 June 1892. Julia Bebel helped her husband in the performance of his duties as treasurer of the Executive of the German Social-Democratic Party.—450

507 Engels visited Manchester for Carl Schorlemmer's funeral between 29 June and 2 July 1892.—454, 461, 469

508 *Unitarianism* is a system of Christian thought and religious observance deriving its name from its doctrine of the single personality of God the Father, in contrast with Trinitarianism or the concept of one God in three persons. Modern Unitarianism is an outgrowth of Humanism and of the Reformation. Unitarianism made its way to England and America in the seventeenth century. Nineteenth-century Unitarianism laid special emphasis on the moral aspect of religion and opposed every preoccupation with the external, ritualistic aspect.

The *Free Congregations* (Freie Gemeinden) were communities that had separated from the official Protestant Church in 1846-47 under the influence of the *Friends of Light*, a religious trend, formed in 1841, that questioned the pietism, with its extreme mysticism and hypocrisy, dominating the Protestant Church. On 30 March 1847 Free Congregations were granted the right to independent worship.—456

509 In his letter of 1 July 1892 Bebel asked Engels to forward to Stanisław Mendelson a letter containing the receipt for a sum of money the German Social-Democratic Party had provided by way of material aid to a Polish student who carried on revolutionary work among Poles in Germany.—458

510 Writing to Engels on 29 June 1892 Bebel, presumably in reply to Engels' letter of 20 June concerning the pressure of work (see this volume, p. 450), remarked that he did not expect an answer to his letter.—459, 467

511 Engels means the note headlined 'Die englischen Wahlen' in *Vorwärts*, No. 152, 2 July 1892. For the 1892 elections in Britain see Note 504.—459

512 This refers to the *Manchester School*—a trend in political economy reflecting the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. It favoured Free Trade and non-interference by the State in the economy. The Free Traders' stronghold was Manchester, where the movement was led by Richard Cobden and John Bright, two textile manufacturers who founded the Anti-Corn Law League in 1838. In the 1840s and 1850s the Free Traders were an independent political group which later formed the Left wing of the Liberal Party.—459

513 The *Corn Laws* imposed high import duties on agricultural produce in the interests of the landowners, in order to maintain high prices for their products on the home

market. In 1838 the Manchester factory owners Richard Cobden and John Bright founded the Anti-Corn Law League, which demanded the lifting of the corn tariffs and urged unlimited freedom of trade for the purpose of weakening the economic and political power of the landed aristocracy and reducing workers' wages. The struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the Corn Laws ended in 1846 with their repeal.—459

514 Under the *Home Rule Bill*, submitted by the Gladstone government in April 1886 with a view to winning the support of the Irish M. P.s and putting an end to the Irish national liberation movement, Ireland was to be turned into a self-governing colony with its own parliament and government, the latter to be accountable to the British Cabinet, which was to retain control of foreign, military and customs matters. The Bill was opposed by the Right-wing Liberals, known as the Liberal Unionists (see Note 505), and caused a split in the Liberal Party. On 7 June 1886, Parliament rejected Home Rule by the votes of the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists.—460

515 The *Independent Labour Party* was founded by the leaders of the New Trades Unions (see Note 520) in 1893 against the background of spreading strikes and a growing movement for an independent policy of the British working class vis-à-vis the bourgeois parties. Led by James Keir Hardie, the party included members of new and old trades unions and Fabian-influenced intellectuals and petty bourgeois. Its programme called for collective ownership of all means of production, distribution and exchange, an eight-hour working day, a ban on child labour, introduction of social insurance and unemployment benefits, and other measures. Engels greeted the establishment of the Independent Labour Party, hoping that it would avoid repeating the sectarian mistakes of the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 29) and become a genuinely mass working-class party. But the Independent Labour leaders took a bourgeois reformist stand from the very beginning, placing the emphasis on parliamentary forms of struggle and readily compromising with the Liberal Party. In 1900 the Independent Labour Party joined the Labour Party.—460, 463, 471

516 In June 1892 Bismarck, in Vienna for his son's wedding, criticised the policy of his successor, Chancellor Leo von Caprivi (see Note 437). He did so in public speeches and in an interview for the Viennese *Neue Freie Presse*, published on 24 June.—464

517 Engels means the note 'Die englischen Wahlen', published in *Vörwarts*, No. 154, 5 July 1892.—465

518 This telegram was sent in connection with Burns' election to Parliament from Battersea on 6 July 1892.—466

519 This refers to the second and third electoral reforms in Britain.

Under the *reform of 1867* the suffrage in urban areas was granted to all house-owners and house tenants, and also to apartment tenants who had resided at the place in question for no less than a year and paid no less than £10 rent. The property qualification for voters in the counties was reduced to £12 rent a year. As a result of the reform a section of the industrial workers obtained the vote. In 1872 balloting was introduced. The *1884* reform extended the provisions of the 1867 reform to the rural constituencies, thus making part of the rural population eligible to vote. However, even after these reforms the voters made up only 13 per cent of the

country's population. The urban and rural poor and all women still had no access to the ballot box.—467, 482

520 This refers to the New Trades Unions, which were called into being by the rise of the British working-class movement in the late 1880s and early 1890s. One of the biggest among them was the Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers, founded in 1889 (see Note 164). In contrast to the 'old' unions which, as a rule, consisted of workers of only one trade, the new ones were based on the production principle (workers of different trades in one industry could belong to the same union). The new unions opened their doors to unskilled workers, who hitherto had remained outside the union movement. An important part in the formation of the new unions was played by British socialists, who had the direct assistance of Engels. He characterised the New Trades Unions in his article 'May 4 in London' and in his 'Preface to the 1892 English Edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844* (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 257-69).—468, 471, 520, 522, 528

521 In December 1889 Charles Stewart Parnell was put on trial on charges of 'cohabitation' with Mrs O'Shea, with whom he had lived in factual wedlock from 1881. Supporters of the Liberal Party took advantage of this to achieve their political ends. Gladstone demanded Parnell's resignation as leader of the Home Rule Party. Some Home Rulers joined Gladstone. This led to a split in the Irish Parliamentary group, with 45 members demanding Parnell's resignation from the leadership. The split among the Home Rulers and Parnell's death (6 October 1891) temporarily weakened the Irish national movement.—468

522 This refers to the *theory of marginal utility*, a school of thought in vulgar political economy which rejected the labour theory of value in favour of the view that the value of commodities is determined by their utility, which is assessed subjectively. The theory of maximum utility took shape in the 1870s. In the last third of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th, its leading proponents included Karl Menger and Eugen Böhm-Bawerk of the 'Austrian school', William Stanley Jevons and others.

See also Engels' Preface to Volume III of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 37).—469, 562

523 *Jatrochemistry* (iatrochemistry) was a school in natural science and medicine which saw the main cause of diseases in the obstruction of chemical processes in the organism and looked for chemical means of treatment. Its rise (16th century) and development are associated with the names of Paracelsus, J. B. van Helmont and F. de la Boë Sylvius.

The Jatrochemists studied many processes in the human organism and discovered and introduced into medical practice a large number of chemical compounds. Jatrochemistry played an important part in overcoming the dogmas of medieval medicine. It ceased to exist as an independent medical school in the second half of the 18th century.—470

524 In its issue for 1892 *Almanach de la Question Sociale*, published by Panayottis Argyriades, listed Engels on the title page as one of its principal contributors. Printed in French in that issue, without Engels' knowledge and considerably abridged, was his 'Introduction to Karl Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital* (1891 Edition)' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 194-201).—472

525 Engels means the publication in the *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier pour 1892* of the most important section of his work 'Socialism in Germany', written in October 1891 (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 235-50).—472

526 Two editorial notes in *Justice*, No. 443, 9 July 1892—'Stanley Goes Under' and 'Stanley Must Be Kept Under'—urged voters to oppose Henry Morton Stanley as a reactionary and colonialist.—475

527 The *High Church*—a group in the Anglican Church (mostly members of the aristocracy) that emphasised the doctrine of apostolic succession and attached great importance to ritual and symbols.—475

528 A pun on the geographic name Eylau and the name of a financier with whom the French socialists were negotiating over the establishment of a daily newspaper.

The *battle of Eylau*, in Eastern Prussia, 7-8 February 1807, between the French and Russian troops was one of the bloodiest in the war of the fourth coalition against France. Despite heavy losses Napoleon's army failed to achieve a decisive victory.—476

529 The *territorial army* came into being during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. From 1872 it was a component of France's armed forces formed for rear, garrison and guard service in wartime. Men were enlisted in the territorial army for six (until 1892 nine) years, after active service and seven years in the reserve. Upon expiry of this period, they were transferred for another nine years to the territorial army reserve.—478

530 Engels came to Ryde for a holiday on 27 July 1892. Illness made him stay on until 6 September.—478, 481, 487, 488, 489, 492, 498, 500, 502, 504, 507, 514, 518, 525

531 Engels' letter bears this addition in Laura Lafargue's hand: 'I replied to Engels this evening. The ear is getting better. L. L. I have received the money.'—478

532 Engels means the polemic between *Vorwärts* and Georg von Vollmar provoked by his article 'Le socialisme de M. Bismarck et le socialisme de l'empereur Guillaume', published in the June 1892 issue of the French *Revue bleu. Revue politique et littéraire*. Vollmar maintained in this article that some propositions of the Erfurt programme approximated to the state socialism of Bismarck and William II. The article caused a broad polemic in the Social-Democratic press. *Vorwärts* rebuffed Vollmar in a series of editorials, headlined 'Staatssozialismus', in its Nos 155, 160, 168 and 169; 6, 12, 21 and 22 July 1892.—480, 516

533 To disprove Vollmar's assertions that Bebel was interfering in the affairs of *Vorwärts*, Bebel stated in a private letter to Vollmar that he had not seen Liebknecht, the editor of *Vorwärts*, for a whole fortnight. However, Vollmar, in his article 'In eigener Sache' published in *Münchener Post*, No. 161, on 19 July 1892, distorted this in a way suggesting that Bebel was accusing Liebknecht of neglecting his duties. Bebel denied Vollmar's allegations in *Vorwärts*, No. 168, on 21 July 1892.—480

534 This refers to Edward Aveling's book, *The Students' Marx. An Introduction to the Study of Karl Marx' 'Capital'* (London, 1892), a popular summary of Volume I of *Capital*. In his letter to Engels of 1 July 1892 Martignetti said he intended to translate the book into Italian, and asked for a copy. At Engels' request one was sent him in August.—483

535 At Mentana, on 3 November 1867, French troops in co-operation with the Pope's

mercenary guards defeated Garibaldi's forces, which were on their second march on Rome to reunite the papal domain with Italy.

Engels ironically quotes General Pierre Louis Charles de Failly, the French commander, who, referring to the efficacy of his soldiers' Chassepots (guns of a new system), reported: 'Nos fusils Chassepots ont fait merveille' ('Our Chassepots have worked a miracle').—483

536 Excerpts from the obituary 'Carl Schorlemmer' by Engels were published under the heading 'A Socialist F.R.S.' in *Justice*, No. 445, on 23 July 1892.—484

537 This refers to the proofs of the German translation of Engels' 'Introduction to the English Edition (1892) of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 278-302), which was being published in *Neue Zeit* (see also Note 461). Kautsky had sent the proofs to Engels on 8 August 1892.—493

538 Engels means the article 'Die Wahlen in Großbritannien' by Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling, published in *Die Neue Zeit*, 10. Jg., 1891/92, 2. Bd., Nr. 45. In editing it, Karl Kautsky had omitted the passages in which the authors criticised the sectarianism and opportunism of the Social Democratic Federation and the Fabian Society (see this volume, pp. 497 and 515).

On 8 August 1892 Kautsky wrote to tell Engels that the article had remained unread for some time owing to his absence, with the result that publication had been delayed by a week and the article had had to be abridged for lack of space.—493, 497, 508, 515

539 Engels refers to one of the basic propositions of the Possibilists (see Note 3)—the gradual solution of the social problem through the take-over of the municipalities by workers' representatives. The Possibilists' municipal programme was worked out at their regional congress in Paris in 1885. It provided, among other things, for public works to end unemployment, and special municipal controlled shops. The national Possibilist congress held in Paris in July 1892 also discussed the municipalities' tasks in public health and the provisioning of workers.—494

540 The 1892 annual Trades Union Congress, held in Glasgow from 5 to 10 September, discussed labour representation in Parliament, co-operation, factory inspection and other questions and pronounced itself in favour of introducing the eight-hour working day. At the same time it turned down an invitation to the third International Socialist Workers' Congress in Zurich (1893) received from its preparatory committee, and decided to call another international congress—on the eight-hour day issue. This could interfere with the congress of the Second International being prepared by the Marxists and split the international working-class movement.

Engels emphatically opposed these actions of the British union leaders. He sent letters to Germany, Austria, Spain and France recommending the socialist parties to publicly condemn them (see present edition, Vol. 27, and this volume, pp. 522-24, 528-29, 530-31, 533-35).—495, 497, 505, 508, 519, 522, 528, 530, 534, 548

541 This refers to the third International Socialist Workers' Congress, held in Zurich, 6 to 12 August 1893.—495, 496, 505, 509, 519, 522, 529, 534, 542, 546

542 In 1892, after a long interval caused by Eduard Bernstein's nervous disease, *Neue Zeit* resumed the publication of a series of articles of his entitled *Die soziale Doktrin des Anarchismus*. The third instalment of the series, headlined 'Proudhon und der

Mutualismus', appeared between late July and the first half of August in *Die Neue Zeit*, 10. Jg., 1891/92, 2. Bd., Nr. 45-47.—499, 502, 517

543 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *On Literature and Art*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.—500

544 Engels made a trip to Norway with Carl Schorlemmer in July 1890.—500

545 Engels summarised the results of his many years' research into the origin and essence of Christianity in 1894 in his work *On the History of Early Christianity* (see present edition, Vol. 27). It was published in *Die Neue Zeit*, 13. Jg., 1894/95, 1. Bd., Nr. 1-2.—501

546 The *Fronde* (1648-53) was an anti-absolutist movement in France involving different social sections—from radical peasant and plebeian elements to aristocrats—which in many cases pursued opposite aims. The defeat of the Fronde resulted in the consolidation of the absolutist regime.—501

547 In his letter of 17 August 1892 Bebel told Engels that Victor Adler and his family were in grave financial straits.—503

548 The *Norici* were inhabitants of Noricum, an area south of the Danube corresponding to part of Austria (Styria, Carinthia, Salzburg) and Germany (Bavaria). The Norici were of Illyrian origin and later were dominated by various Celtic tribes. In 15 B. C. Noricum was conquered by the Romans and made a Roman province.—503

549 In a speech before the senior officers of the German army on 18 August 1892 William II condemned the government's plan for reducing the term of active military service in the infantry to two years. The emperor's speech caused a political crisis in Germany and gave rise to rumours about the imminent resignation of Chancellor Leo von Caprivi, who advocated a shorter term of service. Nevertheless, the proposed two-year term was retained in the draft of the new military law, which was passed on 15 July 1893 by the new Reichstag, elected in June 1893 (after the dissolution of the old Reichstag, which had rejected the draft in May 1893).—504

550 On 1 October 1892 the first issue of *Le Socialiste*, the daily newspaper of the French Workers' Party (see Note 423) was due to appear.—505

551 *Crédit Lyonnais*—one of France's biggest depositary banks (founded 1863).—505, 548

552 By 20 August 1892, the financiers with whose money the daily newspaper of the French Workers' Party was being founded were to make available part of their contributions—fr. 250,000—and deliver the equipment for the printing-house.—505

553 This letter is written on a postcard part of which, including the stamp, is torn off. The beginning of the letter is not extant.—506

554 Departmental elections were held in France on 31 July and 7 August 1892. The Workers' Party (see Note 146) polled more than 100,000 votes on election day and in the runoffs and won 27 seats on the district councils and the general councils of the departments.—508

555 The tenth congress of the French Workers' Party was held in Marseilles from 24 to 28 September 1892. It discussed the party's position and activities, in particular its

work in the countryside, the celebration of May Day, the party's participation in the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Zurich in 1893 (see Note 541) and in the forthcoming parliamentary elections, and other matters. The congress adopted an agrarian programme which contained a number of specific demands reflecting the interests of the farm labourers and small peasants. The congress decided against the party's participation in the international congress called by the British trades unions to discuss the eight-hour working day (see Note 540) and for inviting British trade unionists to the Zurich Congress.—508, 520, 523, 529, 531, 533, 544, 548

556 Louise Kautsky's article on the parliamentary election in Britain was published untitled in *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 32, 5 August 1892.—508

557 The *Parliamentary Committee* was the executive body of the 1868-formed Trades Union Congress of Great Britain. From 1871 it was elected by the annual trades union congresses, and was regarded as the unions' guiding centre in the intervals between congresses. Its functions included the nomination of trades union candidates for Parliament, the backing of Bills submitted in the interests of the trades unions, and the preparation of the annual congresses. In 1921 the Parliamentary Committee was replaced by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress.—508, 520, 522, 529

558 In the summer of 1891 and 1892 small Russian army detachments, commanded by Colonel Ionov, undertook two expeditions to the Pamir. Under the 1872-73 Anglo-Russian agreements, this region, highly important strategically, had been recognised as lying within Russia's sphere of influence. The two expeditions were to consolidate Russia's hold on the region. They caused diplomatic friction between Russia and Britain, which was apprehensive of Russia's advance towards India. Negotiations in the subsequent years and the delineation of borders resulted in the Russo-British agreement of 27 February (11 March) 1895, which recognised the greater part of Pamir to be the possession of Russia.—511

559 In his letter of 25 August 1892, to which Engels is replying, Adler said that he intended to write a pamphlet on party tactics in which he would take issue with Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis and Georg von Vollmar. In this connection he pointed out that the critics of Social-Democracy's tactics regarded them as immutable, while actually they should change depending on the circumstances.—512

560 In his letter of 25 August 1892 Adler wrote, referring to the 'Independent' Socialists in Austria (for the 'Independents' in Germany see Note 333), that philistinism held the 'greatest danger' to them and therefore 'if there were no Left opposition, it would have to be invented'.—512

561 In his letter to Engels of 31 August 1892 Kautsky wrote that in the next issue of *Neue Zeit* he intended to start printing F. A. Sorge's article 'Homestead und Coeur d'Alêne', which dealt with the steel workers' strike in Homestead (USA). He was therefore postponing the printing of Engels' 'Introduction to the English Edition (1892) of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*' (see Note 461). Sorge's article appeared in *Die Neue Zeit*, 10. Jg., 1891/92, 2. Bd., Nr. 50, 51.

The workers of the Carnegie Steel Company in Homestead went on strike at the end of June 1892 in protest against the lockout announced by the administration to force the workers to disband their trade union and accept lower pay rates.

Armed strikebreakers and troops were brought in against the strikers, who had the backing of workers at neighbouring plants and of other trade unions. After a series of clashes involving many casualties on both sides, government troops took over the plants and legal proceedings were instituted against the strike leaders. The strike ended in late November. The workers were compelled to accept the company's terms after the administration had succeeded in starting production with the help of strikebreakers.

At the time of the Homestead strike, the silver and lead miners of the Coeur d'Alêne area staged a walkout in protest against wage cuts. In July 1892 clashes occurred between the strikers and armed strikebreakers, with the former carrying the day. Eventually the strike was crushed with the help of government troops. Its leaders were arrested and the miners' union prosecuted.—514

562 In his letter of 31 August 1892 Kautsky asked what Engels thought of inviting Bonnier to write reviews of current events in France for *Neue Zeit*.—517

563 *Pomeranian grandees* was the phrase Ludwig Kugelmann, then at the Baltic resort of Ahlbeck, in Pomerania, used in his letter to Engels of 21 August 1892 to refer to the Prussian Junkers.—518

564 The Berlin Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party (14-21 November 1892) discussed the reports of the party's Executive and the Reichstag group, the preparations for and celebration of May Day in 1893, the forthcoming International Socialist Workers' Congress in Zurich (1893), the use of boycott, and the Social-Democrats' attitude to so-called state socialism. After a long debate the congress pronounced against state socialism. It turned down the invitation to send delegates to the international congress called by the Trades Union Congress in Glasgow (see Note 540) and resolved to take part in the Zurich Congress. It also urged the German working class to fight against militarism and the build-up of armaments, which it described in its resolution as the main threat to international peace.—520, 523

565 This refers to the twelfth annual conference of the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 29), held in London on 1 August 1892. It heard the reports on the Federation's activities and finances and discussed addenda to its programme, the Federation's attitude to the Independent Labour Party, then being formed (see Note 515), its participation in the 1893 International Socialist Workers' Congress in Zurich (see Note 541) and other matters.—524, 529, 532

566 Marx commented on Carl Knies' book, *Geld und Credit. Erste Abtheilung. Das Geld. Darlegung der Grundlehren von dem Gelde* (Berlin, 1873), in his letter to Engels of 25 July 1877 (see present edition, Vol. 45, pp. 250-53).—526

567 Bernstein requested Engels to send Kautsky the following excerpt from Marx's letter to Arnold Ruge written in September 1843: 'In that case we do not confront the world in a doctrinaire way with a new principle: Here is the truth, kneel down before it! We develop new principles for the world out of the world's own principles. We do not say to the world: Cease your struggles, they are foolish; we will give you the true slogan of struggle. We merely show the world what it is really fighting for, and consciousness is something that it *has to* acquire, even if it does not want to' (see present edition, Vol. 3, p. 144). The letter had been published in the only issue of *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* to have appeared, in the section 'Ein Briefwechsel

von 1843'. Kautsky made use of the excerpt in the editorial 'Zum zehnjährigen Bestand der "Neuen Zeit"', published in his journal, Vol. I, No. 1, 1892-1893.—528

568 On 19 September 1892 Kautsky accepted Engels' proposal. However, Kovalevsky's article did not appear in *Neue Zeit*.—528

569 *Bank holidays*, in the United Kingdom, are those days which by the Bank Holidays Act, 1871, and the Holidays Extension Act, 1875, are kept as close holidays in all banks in England, Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland, respectively.—532

570 The fifth congress of the National Federation of Trade Unions, held in Marseilles, 19-23 September 1892, discussed, among other matters (the questions of the general strike, of May Day celebrations, of women's and child labour in industry), the decision of the Glasgow Congress of British Trades Unions (see Note 540). The congress resolved to stay away from the international congress on the eight-hour working day called by the British trades unions and instead invite their representatives to the 1893 International Socialist Workers' Congress in Zurich (see Note 541).—533, 546, 548

571 This refers to the Congress of the American Federation of Labor (see Note 84) then being prepared. Held in Chicago in December 1893, it decided to submit for discussion to the trade unions a programme containing a number of socialist principles, and also the question of the workers' independent political activity. On the basis of this discussion, a final decision was to be taken at a congress in Denver in December 1894. The programme called for the nationalisation of the railways, the means of communication and mines, for obligatory schooling, for a legal eight-hour working day for all categories of workers, for home and factory sanitary inspection, for the transfer of all the instruments and means of production and distribution to the collective ownership of the people, and for other measures.—534

572 The reference is to Adler's German translation of Volume I of S. M. Kravchinsky's (Stepnyak's) book, *The Russian Peasantry. Their Agrarian Condition, Social Life and Religion*, published by Swan Sonnenschein & Co. in London in 1888. In a letter of 22 September 1892 Adler asked Engels to obtain through Stepnyak Sonnenschein's formal permission to the publication of the German translation and pay the author and publisher the fees due to them. Stepnyak read Adler's translation and wrote a brief preface to the German edition. The book appeared under the title *Der russische Bauer* at the Dietz publishing house in Stuttgart in 1893.—539

573 An article headlined 'Aus England' in *Vorwärts*, No. 216, 15 September 1892, cited a report to the effect that the twelfth conference of the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 565) had resolved to remove Henry Mayers Hyndman from the Federation's leadership. See also this volume, pp. 524, 529, 532.—540, 544

574 This refers to Hyndman's protest against the report published in *Vorwärts* (see Note 573). The protest appeared in *Vorwärts*, No. 220, 20 September 1892. Hyndman's letter in *Justice* was published in its No. 454, on 24 September 1892.—541, 545

575 In his letter of 24 September 1892 Kautsky asked Engels to elucidate several passages in an article on the Glasgow Trades Union Congress (see Note 540), written by Bebel for *Neue Zeit*. The article was published under the headline 'Ein internationa-

ler Kongreß für den Achtstundentag' in *Die Neue Zeit*, 11. Jg., 1892/93, 1. Bd., Nr. 2. Engels' remarks had been taken into account.— 542, 545

576 Edward Aveling quoted a considerable part of Bebel's article in his article 'Discord in "The International". Continental Opinion on the British Trades Unionists', published in *Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 8598, 11 October 1892.— 546

577 Part of this letter was first published by Mehring, with Engels' permission (see Engels' letter to him of 11 April 1893; present edition, Vol. 50), in Mehring's essay 'Ueber den historischen Materialismus'. The essay was appended to the first separate edition of his book *Die Lessing-Legende* (Stuttgart, 1893).

For the first English publication of the letter see Note 441.— 549

578 Mehring, who was working on an essay about historical materialism (see Note 577), had directed a relevant question to Engels via Kautsky. The latter forwarded it to Engels on 24 September 1892.— 549

579 Engels means Mehring's letters to him of 3 June 1884 and 16 January 1885, in which Mehring asked for material for a biography of Marx. These letters opened the Mehring-Engels correspondence.— 549

580 This refers to Marx's years of study at Bonn (October 1835-October 1836) and Berlin (October 1836-March 1841) universities.— 549

581 Engels refers to the book by the German historian Moritz von Lavergne-Peguilhen, *Grundzüge der Gesellschaftswissenschaft. Erster Theil. Die Bewegungs- und Productionsgesetze*, Königsberg, 1838. It contains a passage, on p. 225, about the effect of the form of economy on the form of the state.

This passage, referred to by Engels, is quoted in Mehring's essay 'Ueber den historischen Materialismus', appended to the separate edition of his *Lessing-Legende*.— 549

582 In his letter to Mehring of 11 April 1893 (see present edition, Vol. 50) Engels asked him to alter this passage, when quoting it in the appendix to the *Lessing-Legende* (see Note 577), as follows: '... while the Lavergne-Peguilhenian generalisation would be reduced to its true content, namely that feudal society engenders a feudal world order'.— 551

583 From 1 June 1891 Franz Mehring had contributed weekly editorials to *Neue Zeit*, providing a Marxist analysis of current political events. These articles formed an important stage in Mehring's development as a Marxist historian and journalist.— 553

584 This letter was addressed to the leaders of the American Federation of Labor (see Note 84). Similar letters were sent to other countries. The proposal they contained for appointing in each country a secretary for international ties met with a broad response. In her letter to Samuel Gompers of 26 March 1891 Eleanor Marx-Aveling listed the names of the secretaries appointed in ten countries.— 557

585 This refers to the 1890 May Day demonstration in London, which Engels described in his article 'May 4 in London' (see present edition, Vol. 27).— 560

586 Eleanor Marx-Aveling means the demands for international labour legislation put forward by the 1889 Paris International Socialist Workers' Congress (see Note 51).— 560

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*Allemane, Jean* (1843-1935) — French socialist; printer; member of the Paris Commune, served a penal sentence after its suppression, was granted an amnesty in 1880; Possibilist in the 1880s, leader (1890) of the semi-anarchist syndicalist Parti ouvrier socialiste révolutionnaire, which separated from the Possibilists.— 47, 51, 74, 98, 193, 224, 229

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*Anzengruber, Ludwig* (1839-1889) Austrian playwright and man of letters.—450, 501

*Argyriades, Panayottis (Paul)* (1849-1901)—French socialist, Blanquist, lawyer and journalist, native of Macedonia; publisher of the annual *Almanach de la Question Sociale*, delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1891 and 1893.—282, 401, 411, 472-73

*Arndt, Paul*—German journalist, Paris correspondent of the *Vorwärts* newspaper in the 1890s, member of the Blanquist Comité Révolutionnaire Central.—544

*Audorf, Jacob* (1835-1898)—German Social-Democrat, Lassallean, mechanic, later journalist and poet; a founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863), author of the *Lied der deutschen Arbeiter* (so-called *Arbeiter-Marseillaise*) (1864) which extolled Lassalle; an editor of the *Hamburger Echo* in 1887-98.—180, 316

*Auer, Ignaz* (1846-1907)—German Social-Democrat, saddlemaker, a leader of the Social-Democratic Party, was repeatedly elected to the Reichstag.—266, 267, 273

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*Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich* (1814-1876)—Russian democrat, journalist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; an ideologist of Narodism (Populism) and anarchism in later years, opposed Marxism in the First International, was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress of 1872 for his splitting activities.—265, 300

*Banes, G.*—English Conservative M. P.

(1886-92), candidate at the parliamentary elections of 1892.—471

*Banner, Robert*—Scottish socialist, member of the Fabian Society, founder of the Edinburgh branch of the Social Democratic Federation (1882).—515

*Banting, William* (1797-1878)—English entrepreneur, the author of *A Letter on Corpulence, Addressed to the Public*, which was first published in 1863 and then went through several editions; system of diet recommended in it is known as 'banting'.—166

*Baring Brothers and C°*—an English banking-house.—92-93

*Barondess, Joseph* (1867-1928)—American Jewish labour organiser and Zionist leader.—264

*Barth, Ernst Emil Paul* (1858-1922)—German philosopher, sociologist and pedagogue, taught at Leipzig University from 1890.—7, 8, 63, 213, 286

*Bax, Ernest Belfort* (1854-1926)—English socialist, historian, philosopher and journalist; was among the first to disseminate Marxism in England; Left-wing activist of the Social Democratic Federation, a founder of the Socialist League; was on friendly terms with Engels from 1883.—211, 434, 448, 449, 475, 484, 493, 494, 497

*Bebel, Ferdinand August* (1840-1913)—a leading figure in the German and international working-class movement, turner; President of the Union of German Workers' Associations from 1867; member of the First International, deputy to the Reichstag from 1867, a founder (1869) and leader of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, opposed the Lassalleans, took an internationalist stand during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, came out in support of the Paris Commune, friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—5, 11, 20, 22, 25, 29, 40, 42, 47, 54-56, 64, 73, 76, 77, 89, 107, 116, 118, 129-32, 134, 142, 145, 146, 157-58, 164, 166, 174, 175-84, 200, 201, 216, 220, 226, 229, 232, 236, 239, 242-49, 252-59, 265-72, 282, 287, 291-96, 299, 301-03, 306-12, 315, 316, 333, 335, 336, 343-47, 348, 362-66, 372-77, 386-88, 395, 397-98, 401, 412-13, 415, 420, 423, 427-28, 430-32, 434, 436, 445-50, 458-61, 464-65, 467-69, 479-81, 490-91, 495-98, 502-04, 505, 507, 509-12, 515, 519, 521-25, 529, 533, 542-47, 549, 553, 557, 563

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*Beesly, Edward Spencer* (1831-1915)—British historian and politician, Radical, positivist philosopher, professor at London University, supported the International and the Paris Commune in 1870-71.—510

*Bère*—French politician, moderate republican.—269, 277

*Bernstein, Eduard* (1850-1932)—German Social-Democrat, journalist, editor of the *Sozialdemokrat* (1881-90), contributor to *Die Neue Zeit* (the 1890s), after Engels' death came out with the reformist revision of Marxism (second half of the 1890s).—5, 7, 12, 26, 30, 41, 44, 47, 48, 55, 63, 98, 108, 115, 118, 138, 150, 155, 184, 189, 191, 199-201, 203-05, 232, 240, 246, 247, 253, 274, 287, 310, 313, 316, 321, 324, 326, 331, 333, 347, 375, 411, 418, 424, 435, 445, 462, 474-76, 481-82, 497, 499, 502, 514, 517, 528, 530-33, 543, 552, 553, 559

*Bernstein, Regina (Gine)* (née *Zadek; Schattner* by her first husband)—Eduard Bernstein's wife.—184, 189, 232, 274,

313, 326, 411, 418, 424, 445, 462, 476, 481-82, 498-99, 530-33, 552

*Besant, Annie* (1847-1933) — English bourgeois-radical politician; member of the Fabian Society and the Social Democratic Federation in the 1880s, withdrew from the socialist movement in the 1890s, headed the London Theosophical Society from 1891.— 175, 237, 274

*Bethmann* — banker in Frankfurt-am-Main.— 262

*Beust, Anna von* (née *Lipka*) (1827-1900) — Frederick Engels' cousin, Friedrich von Beust's wife.— 479, 505

*Beust, Friedrich von* (1817-1899) — Prussian army officer, took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, emigrated to Switzerland, member of the local Zurich section of the International, professor of pedagogics.— 479, 505

*Bigeault, P.* — 91

*Bismarck-Schönhausen, Otto, Prince von* (1815-1898) — statesman of Prussia and Germany, diplomat, Ambassador to St Petersburg (1859-62) and Paris (1862), Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-72, 1873-90), Chancellor of the North German Confederation (1867-71) and of the German Empire (1871-90), carried through the unification of Germany, introduced the Anti-Socialist Law in 1878.— 47, 84, 94, 121, 123, 135, 162, 173, 255, 278, 297, 307, 330, 378, 383, 464

*Blank, Rudolf* — Frederick Engels' relative.— 340

*Blanqui, Louis Auguste* (1805-1881) — French revolutionary, utopian communist; organised several secret societies and plots, sided with the extreme Left of the democratic and workers' movement during the 1848 revolution, sentenced to imprisonment several times.— 520, 524, 533, 544, 547

*Blatchford, Robert Peel Glanville* (1851-1943) — English socialist, journalist; an editor of the *Workman's Times*, *The Clarion* and other workers' newspapers, a founder and leader of the Independent Labour Party (1893).— 329

*Blavatsky, Helena Petrovna* (née *Hahn*) (pen-name *Radda Baj*) (1831-1891) — Russian authoress, lived in New York from 1873, founded theosophical societies in various countries.— 175

*Bloch, Joseph* (1871-1936) — student at Berlin University in the early 1890s, journalist, publisher and editor of the *Sozialistische Monatshefte* (from 1897).— 33-37

*Blondeau* — French soldier, Marie Blondeau's brother.— 293

*Blondeau, Marie* (1873(4?)-1891) — French working girl shot dead by the government troops during the May Day demonstration at Fourmies. — 293

*Blos, Wilhelm* (1849-1927) — German Social-Democrat, journalist and historian; an editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1872-74), deputy to the Reichstag (1877-78, 1881-87, 1890-1907), belonged to the Right wing of its Social-Democratic group, an editor of the *Vorwärts* in the 1890s.— 247

*Blowitz, Henri Georges Stephan Adolphe Opper de* (1825-1903) — French journalist, Austrian by birth; Paris correspondent of *The Times* from 1871.— 293

*Blume, G.* — German Social-Democrat, Chairman of the Congress of the Free Registered Mutual Aid Banks held in Berlin on 8-11 December 1890.— 99

*Boelling* — see *Engels, Hedwig*

*Boenigk, Otto, Baron von* — German public figure.— 18-20

*Boisguillebert, Pierre le Pesant, sieur de* (1646-1714) — French economist, predecessor of the Physiocrats, founder of classical bourgeois political economy in France.— 141, 383

*Bonald, Louis Gabriel Ambroise, vicomte de* (1754-1840) — French politician and writer, monarchist, an ideologist of aristocratic and clerical reaction during the Restoration.— 549

*Bonaparte* — see *Napoleon I*

*Bonnemains, Marguerite de* (née *Rouget*) (d. 1891) — Boulanger's sweetheart.— 252

*Bonnier, Charles* (b. 1863) — French socialist, journalist, active member of the Workers' Party; lived in England for a long time, contributed to the socialist press, took part in preparations for the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889 and 1891, delegate to the congresses of 1891 and 1893.— 23, 24, 29, 30, 40, 116, 221, 229, 402, 411, 471, 517, 518, 561

*Boulanger, Georges Ernest Jean Marie* (1837-1891) — French general, War Minister (1886-87), strove to establish military dictatorship in France.— 22, 30, 162, 183, 252, 254, 289-92, 381, 400

*Bovio, Giovanni* (1841-1903) — Italian idealist philosopher and politician, republican and anti-clerical, M. P. from 1876, professor at Naples University.— 354, 361, 365, 380, 388

*Bracke, Wilhelm* (1842-1880) — German Social-Democrat, journalist, publisher of socialist literature in Brunswick; a founder (1869) and leader of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers), deputy to the Reichstag (1877-79).— 129

*Bradlaugh, Charles* (1833-1891) — English journalist and politician, radical; editor of *The National Reformer* weekly.— 120, 126, 131, 248, 249

*Braun, Adolf* (1862-1929) — German Social-Democrat, journalist, took part in the working-class movement in Germany and Austria-Hungary, an editor of the *Vorwärts* and other German and Austrian Social-Democratic newspapers in the 1890s, author of several works on the trade union movement.— 126, 129

*Braun, Heinrich* (1854-1927) — German Social-Democrat, journalist, a founder of *Die Neue Zeit*, editor of the *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik* and other publications.— 7, 552

*Brentano, Lujo (Ludwig Joseph)* (1844-1931) — German economist; one of the major representatives of armchair socialism.— 25-26, 85, 90, 93, 95, 103, 141, 146, 148, 158, 163, 172

*Brett* — English wine merchant.— 37

*Bright, John* (1811-1889) — English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; M. P. (from 1843), leader of the Left wing of the Liberal Party from the early 1860s, held several ministerial posts.— 459

*Brissac, Henri* (1826-1906) — French socialist, journalist, member of the Paris Commune, was exiled to New Caledonia after its defeat, returned to France after amnesty in 1879, member of the French Workers' Party.— 396

*Brousse, Paul Louis Marie* (1844-1912) — French socialist; physician; took part in the Paris Commune, sided with the anarchists, member of the French Workers' Party from 1879, a leader of the Possibilists.— 46-47, 52, 53, 56, 74, 97-99, 108, 155-56, 224, 229, 269, 324, 333, 381, 449

*Buffenoir, Hippolyte François Philibert* (1847-1928) — French journalist and

writer, contributed to the *Vorwärts* in the 1870s.— 162

*Bunte, Friedrich* — German Social-Democrat, a leader of the Ruhr miners' strike in 1889.— 448

*Burgess, Joseph* (pseudonym *Autolycus*) (b. 1853) — prominent figure in the English working-class movement, knitter; an editor of *The Workman's Times* newspaper in 1891-94, a founder of the Independent Labour Party (1893).— 404, 494, 508, 529, 532, 542, 545, 560

*Burleigh* — workers' candidate for Glasgow at the parliamentary elections in 1892.— 468

*Burns, John Elliott* (1858-1943) — prominent figure in the English working-class movement, a leader of the New Trade Unions in the 1880s, leader of the London dockers' strike (1889), adopted the liberal trade union stand in the 1890s, M. P. from 1892, held ministerial posts in Liberal cabinets. — 77, 190, 225, 323, 333, 335, 461, 466, 468, 471, 475, 494, 529, 532, 546, 557

*Burns, Lydia* (*Lizzy, Lizzie*) (1827-1878) — Irish working woman, Frederick Engels' second wife.— 334, 378

*Burrows, Herbert* (1845-1922) — English official, radical, a founder of the Social Democratic Federation, organised the trade union movement of the unskilled workers in the 1880s-1890s.— 175, 207, 208, 219, 237

*Burt, Thomas* (1837-1922) — English miner, prominent figure in the English trade union movement, secretary of the Northumberland Miners' Association, delegate to international miners' congresses, M. P. (1874-1918), secretary of the Board of Trade.— 429

*Byford, William* — treasurer of the National Gas Workers and General Labourers Union of Great Britain and Ireland.— 557

C

*Cahan, Abraham* (1860-1951) — American socialist, Russian émigré, edited the New York Jewish workers' newspaper, delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1891, wrote several books on the life of Jewish immigrants in the USA.— 238, 532

*Calonne, Charles Alexandre de* (1734-1802) — French statesman, Controller-General of Finance (1783-87), retired after abortive attempts to reduce the deficit of the national budget.— 444

*Caprivi, Leo, count of* (1831-1899) — German statesman, military figure, general, Chancellor of the German Empire (1890-94).— 268, 371, 464

*Caria, Gustave* (pseudonym *Léopold*) (b. 1841) — French adventurer, took part in the Paris Commune, was involved in robberies, emigrated to England after the defeat of the Commune, member of the French section of 1871 in London, slandered the participants of the Commune, was expelled for this from the Société des Réfugiés in 1872.— 56

*Carnot, Marie François Sadi* (1837-1894) — French statesman, moderate republican, held ministerial posts several times, President of the Republic (1887-94).— 254, 298

*Caron, Charles* — French publisher.— 29, 31-32

*Carré* — owner of a publishing house in Paris.— 203

*Champion, Henry Hyde* (1859-1928) — English socialist, publisher and journalist; member of the Social Democratic Federation till 1887, later a leader of the Labour Electoral Association in London, edited and pub-

lished the newspaper *Labour Elector*, emigrated to Australia in the 1890s.— 124, 127, 208, 449, 532

*Chassepot, Antoine Alphonse* (1833-1905) — French military inventor.— 483

*Churchill, Lord Randolph Henry Spencer* (1849-1895) — English statesman, a Conservative leader, Secretary of State for India (1885-86), Chancellor of the Exchequer (1886), favoured active colonial policy, opposed Home Rule for Ireland and official party leadership.— 181

*Clarens, Duke of* — see *Albert Victor Christian Edward, Duke of Clarence and Avondale and Earl of Athlone*

*Clemenceau, Georges Benjamin* (1841-1929) — French politician and journalist, Radical leader from the 1880s, founded *La Justice*, premier (1906-09, 1917-20).— 191, 281, 290, 292

*Clément, Jean Baptiste* (1836-1903) — French socialist, Blanquist, poet; member of the Paris Commune, later émigré in England and Belgium, returned to France after the amnesty, Possibilist, turned Allemanist after the split in the party.— 51

*Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865) — English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League, M. P.— 459

*Colbert, Jean Baptiste* (1619-1683) — French statesman, Controller-General of Finance (1665-83), virtually directed France's home and foreign policy.— 383, 441

*Conner* — delegate to the Trades Union Congress in Glasgow (1892).— 534

*Conrad, Johannes Ernst* (1839-1915) — German economist, professor, publisher of the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaft* (1889-94), *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik* and other publications containing economic and statistical information.— 241

*Constans, Jean Antoine Ernest* (1833-1913) — French statesman, moderate republican, Home Minister (1880-81, 1889-92).— 107, 116, 117, 191-92, 215, 220, 234, 254, 255, 259, 288-89, 291-93, 297, 298, 361, 391

*Coulombeau* — French socialist, member of the French Workers' Party.— 32

*Crawford, Emily* (née *Johnson*) (1831-1915) — Irish journalist, Paris correspondent of several English newspapers.— 232, 289

*Cremer, Sir William Randal* (1838-1908) — active participant in the British trade union and pacifist movement, reformist, member of the General Council of the International (1864-66) and its General Secretary, opposed revolutionary tactics, Liberal M. P. (1885-95 and 1900-08).— 520

*Croesel* — German refugee in London, took part in the English socialist movement.— 333, 504

*Croesel* — Croesel's wife.— 504

*Culine, Hippolyte* (b. 1849) — French socialist, secretary of the socialist organisation in Fourmies, sentenced to 6-year imprisonment in 1891, released in 1892, later anarchist.— 220

*Cunninghame-Graham, Gabrielle (Gabriela) Marie* (née *de la Balmondière*) (1859-1906) — Robert Bontine Cunninghame-Graham's wife.— 411

*Cunninghame-Graham, Robert Bontine* (1852-1936) — English aristocrat, writer, took part in the working-class and socialist movement in the 1880s-90s, M. P., delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889, later active in the Scottish national movement.— 77, 189, 190, 192, 376, 468, 471, 557

*Cuno, Alphonse*.— 247, 253

*Cunow, Heinrich Wilhelm Karl* (1862-1936) — German Social-Democrat, historian, sociologist and ethnographer.— 368

*Curran, Peter (Pete) Francis* (1860-1910) — prominent figure in the English working-class movement, a leader of new trade unions, took part in the foundation of the Independent Labour Party (1893).— 411

D

*Dahn, Julius Sophus Felix* (1834-1912) — German historian of law, writer, author of works on the history of the early Middle Ages.— 145

*Danielson, Nikolai Frantsevich* (pseudonym *Nikolai — on*) (1844-1918) — Russian economist and writer, an ideologist of Narodism (Populism) in the 1880s-90s, translated into Russian volumes I (together with Hermann Lopatin and Nikolai Lubavin), II and III of Marx's *Capital*, corresponded with Marx and Engels for several years.— 228, 230-31, 278-80, 382-85, 440-44, 535-38

*Dante Alighieri* (1265-1321) — Italian poet.— 44, 234

*Davitt, Michael* (1846-1906) — Irish revolutionary democrat, a founder (1879) and leader of the Land League of Ireland, championed Home Rule for Ireland, M. P. (1895-99), founded and edited *The Labour World* newspaper (1890-91), member of the Independent Labour Party.— 128, 203

*Debenham* — photographer in London.— 112, 170

*Delecluze, Mark Louis Alfred* (1857-1923) — French socialist, founded an organisation of the French Workers' Party in Calais (1882), delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889, 1891 and 1896, later joined the Fédération des socialistes indépendants.— 534, 561

*Delory, Gustave Emile* (1857-1925) — French socialist, member of the Workers' Party, textile-worker, took active part in the socialist and trade union movement in the department of Nord.— 254

*Demuth.*— 86

*Demuth, Frederick Henry Lewis* (1851-1929) — English mechanic, Helene Demuth's son, close friend of Eleanor Marx-Aveling, took an active part in the English working-class movement.— 70

*Demuth, Helene (Lenchen, Nim)* (1820-1890) — housemaid and devoted friend of the Marx family; after Marx's death lived in the Engels family.— 18, 23, 30, 41, 44, 49, 51-53, 55, 65, 67-71, 73, 81, 82, 120, 125, 219-20, 380, 435

*Depasse, Lucien Hector* (1843-1911) — French journalist and writer, moderate republican, member of the Paris City Council (1881, 1884 and 1887).— 269, 277, 287, 288

*Dervillers, Prudent* (1849-1896) — French socialist, Possibilist, tailor; member of the Paris City Council (1889), member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1893).— 411

*Descartes (Cartesius), René* (1596-1650) — French philosopher, mathematician and naturalist.— 7

*Deville, Gabriel Pierre* (1854-1940) — French socialist, member of the French Workers' Party, journalist, author of the popular synopsis of the first volume of *Capital* and of other works on philosophy, economics and history, withdrew from the working-class movement in the early 1900s.— 23, 29, 32, 333

*Dietz, Johann Heinrich Wilhelm* (1843-1922) — German book-publisher, So-

cial-Democrat, founded the Social-Democratic publishing house, deputy to the Reichstag from 1881.—4-5, 50, 74, 76, 89, 91, 95, 107, 118, 119, 134, 136, 199, 210, 220, 254, 273, 299-300, 329, 335, 345, 360, 365, 389, 406-08, 410, 414, 419, 435, 446-47, 453, 507, 511

*Dilke, Sir Charles Wentworth* (1843-1911)—English politician and writer, republican, a leader of the radical wing of the Liberal Party, M. P., Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (1880-82), President of the Local Government Board (1882-85).—295, 449

*Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and author, a Tory leader, Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68) and Prime Minister (1868 and 1874-80).—375, 459

*Döblin, Emil* (1853-1918)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement, a leader of the compositors' strike in Berlin (1891) and President of the Union of German Book-binders (1888-1918).—323, 559

*D'Odiardi, E.*—91

*Dreschfeld, Julius*—German physician, lived in England from 1883, professor of medicine at Owens College in Manchester.—430, 431

*Dronke, Ernst* (1822-1891)—German journalist and writer, 'true socialist', later member of the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49), emigrated to Switzerland after the revolution of 1848-49, and later to England, subsequently withdrew from politics.—296

*Duc-Quercy, Albert* (1856-1934)—journalist, prominent figure in the French working-class and socialist movement, a founder of the French Workers' Party (1879), took an active part in major strikes (1885, 1886, 1892).—219

*Dühring, Eugen Karl* (1833-1921)—German petty-bourgeois socialist, vulgar economist and philosopher whose views were a mixture of idealism, vulgar materialism, positivism and metaphysics; also concerned himself with the problems of natural science and literature, a lecturer at Berlin University (1863-77).—36

*Dumas, Alexandre* (Dumas *père*) (1802-1870)—French writer.—501

*Dumay, Jean Baptiste* (1841-1926)—French mechanic, leader of the Creusot Commune in 1871; sentenced to exile, moved to Switzerland; returned to France after amnesty; member of the Paris City Council from 1887, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1889, Possibilist.—193, 320

E

*Ede*—see *Bernstein, Eduard*

*Edward*—see *Aveling, Edward*

*Ellis, Benjamin*—English socialist, candidate at the parliamentary elections of 1892.—532

*Enders, August* (d. 1914)—German Social-Democrat, compositor, manager of the Leipzig party printing house (1888-90), later editor of several Social-Democratic newspapers.—559

*Engels, August* (1797-1874)—Frederick Engels' uncle, co-owner of the firm Caspar Engels and Sons in Barmen.—86

*Engels, Benjamin* (1751-1820)—brother of Johann Caspar Engels (Frederick Engels' grandfather).—86

*Engels, Caspar* (1792-1863)—Frederick Engels' uncle, manufacturer in Barmen.—86

*Engels, Caspar* (1816-1889) — Frederick Engels' cousin, manufacturer in Barmen.— 86

*Engels, Elisabeth Franziska Mauritia* (née *van Haar*) (1797-1873) — Frederick Engels' mother.— 487-88

*Engels, Emma* (née *Croon*) (1834-1916) — Hermann Engels' wife, Frederick Engels' sister-in-law.— 340, 341, 352, 358, 474, 489

*Engels, Friedrich* (1796-1860) — Frederick Engels' father.— 488

*Engels, Hedwig* (in marriage: *Boelling*) (1830-1904) — Frederick Engels' sister.— 340-41, 352

*Engels, Hermann* (1822-1905) — Frederick Engels' brother, manufacturer in Barmen, a partner in the firm Ermen & Engels in Engelskirchen.— 37-38, 87, 339-41, 352-54, 358, 473-74, 489, 492

*Engels, Johann Caspar* (1753-1821) — Frederick Engels' grandfather, manufacturer in Barmen.— 86

*Engels, Luise Friederike* (née *Noot*) (1762-1822) — Frederick Engels' grandmother.— 86

*Engels, Rudolf* (1831-1903) — Frederick Engels' brother, manufacturer in Barmen, a partner in the firm Ermen & Engels in Engelskirchen.— 86, 339, 340, 492

*Ernst* — see *Schattner, Ernst*

*Ernst, Paul* (1866-1933) — German journalist, critic, writer and playwright; sided with the Social-Democrats in the late 1880s, a leader of the Jungen in the early 1890s, editor of the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne* (mid-December 1890 to mid-November 1891); withdrew from the Social-Democratic Party in 1891; later he took Rightist, anti-Marxist stand.— 63, 94, 109, 210, 527

F

*Faillet, Marius Eugène* (pseudonym *Dumont*) (1840-1912) — prominent figure in the French working-class movement, took part in the Paris Commune, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872), subsequently member of the French Workers' Party.— 51

*Fantuzzi, Romualdo* — brother of Flaminio Fantuzzi (Italian publisher).— 159-61, 405

*Fenwick, Charles* (1850-1918) — miner, prominent figure in the English working-class movement, a leader of the Miners' National Union, M. P. (from 1885), secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress (1890-94), championed liberal labour policy.— 429, 529

*Fergus* — see *Lafargue, Paul*

*Ferroul, Joseph Antoine Jean Frédéric Ernest* (pseudonym *Léon Stern*) (1853-1921) — French physician, socialist, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1888, delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889 and 1891.— 367

*Ferry, Jules François Camille* (1832-1893) — French lawyer, journalist and politician, a leader of moderate republicans, member of the Government of National Defence, Mayor of Paris (1870-71), premier (1880-81 and 1883-85), pursued a policy of colonial expansion.— 214

*Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas von* (1804-1872) — German materialist philosopher.— 36, 63

*Field, Arthur* (b. 1869) — English journalist, socialist, member of the Social

Democratic Federation.—207, 208, 219

*Fireman, Peter* (b. 1863)—Russian-born American chemist, lived in Germany.—322, 525

*Fischer, Richard* (1855-1926)—German compositor, Social-Democrat, journalist, Secretary of the Party Executive (1890-93), deputy to the Reichstag (1893-1926).—4, 30, 41, 54, 74, 85, 98, 116, 121, 136, 145, 146, 150, 184, 216, 266, 267, 268, 273, 547

*Fleckles, Ferdinand* (died c. 1894)—German physician in Karlsbad, Marx's acquaintance.—398

*Fleischmann, Adolf*.—198

*Floquet, Charles Thomas* (1828-1896)—French statesman, radical; member of the Chamber of Deputies (1871-93), was repeatedly elected its chairman, premier (1888-89); was compelled to withdraw from active political activities after his implication in the Panama scandal was exposed in 1892.—320

*Fortin, Édouard*—French socialist, journalist, member of the French Workers' Party.—92

*Foster*—English miner, delegate to the Trades Union Congress in Glasgow (1892).—534

*Foster-Amery, Rachel*—American public figure, secretary of the National Women's Suffrage Association.—265

*Fould, Achille* (1800-1867)—French banker and politician, Orleanist, later Bonapartist, repeatedly Finance Minister between 1849 and 1867, Minister of State and Minister of the Imperial Court (1852-60).—309

*Francis Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-1916), King of Hungary (1848-49, 1849-1916).—259

*Frankel, Leo (Léo)* (1844-1896)—prominent figure in the Hungarian and international working-class movement, jeweller; member of the Paris Commune and the General Council of the International (1871-72), a founder of the General Workers' Party of Hungary (1876-78), delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1891, associate of Marx and Engels.—76, 96-99, 171-72

*Franklin, Benjamin* (1706-1790)—American politician and diplomat, took part in the War of Independence, scientist, physicist and economist.—141

*Frederick II (the Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—182, 387, 474

*Freycinet, Charles Louis de Saulces de* (1828-1923)—French statesman and diplomat, moderate republican; repeatedly held ministerial posts, premier (1879-80, 1882, 1886, 1890-92), had to withdraw from active political activities for a time after exposure in 1892 of his involvement in the Panama affair.—254, 292, 298

*Fullarton, John* (1780-1849)—British economist, author of works on money circulation and credit.—526

G

*Galiani, Ferdinando* (1728-1787)—Italian economist, criticised Physiocrats.—141

*Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat, led the struggle of the Italian people for national liberation and the unification of the country in the 1850s and the 1860s, and the revolutionary march to Southern Italy in 1860.—259, 307

*Gégout, Ernest* (c. 1854-1936)—French anarchist, fought duel with Vaillant in late 1891.—332

*Geiser, Bruno* (1846-1898) — German Social-Democrat, journalist, editor of the *Neue Welt*, deputy to the Reichstag in 1881-87 where he belonged to the Right wing of the Social-Democratic group; Wilhelm Liebknecht's son-in-law.— 196, 232, 247, 268, 315, 345

*Gély, André* — French socialist, Possibilist.— 47

*Gene* — see *Bernstein, Regina*

*Georg(e)* (1832-1904) — Prince of Saxony, German field marshal-general, took part in the Franco-Prussian War, King of Saxony (1902-04).— 346, 348

*George, Henry* (1839-1897) — American journalist and economist.— 75

*Giers, Nikolai Karlovich* (1820-1895) — Russian diplomat, envoy to Teheran (from 1863), Berne (from 1869), Stockholm (from 1872); Deputy Foreign Minister (1875-82); Foreign Minister (1882-95).— 295

*Gilles, Ferdinand* (born c. 1856) — German journalist, Social-Democrat, moved to London in 1886, contributed to the *Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung*, took part in the work of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; exposed as a police agent in the 1890s.— 3, 237-38, 241, 248-49, 251-53, 269, 273, 294, 310, 323, 324, 333, 335, 345, 347, 381, 386, 449, 484, 504

*Giraud-Teulon, Alexis* (b. 1839) — professor of history at Geneva, wrote several works on the history of the primitive society.— 193, 194, 202

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898) — British statesman, Tory, a leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the 19th century, Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55 and 1856-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886 and 1892-94).— 85, 90, 172, 225, 228, 243, 375, 460, 463, 467, 468, 470, 475-76, 482, 501, 511

*Goegg, Amand* (1820-1897) — German journalist, democrat, member of the Baden Provisional Government in 1849, emigrated after the Revolution; later member of the First International; joined the German Social-Democrats in the 1870s.— 81

*Gompers, Samuel* (1850-1924) — prominent figure in the trade union movement, a founder and president (from 1886) of the American Federation of Labor, pursued a policy of collaboration with bourgeoisie.— 113, 114, 224, 328, 557-58

*Gori, Pietro* (1867-1911) — Italian lawyer and poet, anarchist; translated the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* into Italian (1891) and wrote the Preface to its first edition in that language.— 159

*Gould, Jay* (1836-1892) — American millionaire, railway industrialist and financier.— 59

*Graham* — see *Cunninghame-Graham, Robert Bontine*

*Granger, Ernest Henri* (1844-1914) — French socialist, Blanquist, journalist, took part in the Paris Commune, later émigré in England, returned to France after amnesty where he sided with the Boulangists, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1889.— 381, 400

*Granville, George Leveson-Gower, Earl of* (1815-1891) — British statesman, Whig and later Liberal Party leader, Foreign Secretary (1851-52, 1870-74, 1880-85), President of the Council (1852-54, 1855-58, 1859-65), Secretary of State for the Colonies (1868-70, 1886).— 295

*Greenwood, A.* — prominent figure in the English working-class movement, secretary of the Glass Workers' Union (1891), delegate to the International

Socialist Workers' Congress of 1893.—312

*Greulich, Hermann* (1842-1925)—German book-binder, member of the Swiss section of the International from 1867, founder and editor of the newspaper *Tagwacht* (1869-80), a founder of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party (1888), leader of its Right wing.—45, 495-97, 505

*Grillenberger, Karl* (1848-1897)—German worker, later journalist, Social-Democrat; deputy to the Reichstag from 1881, belonged to the opportunist wing of the German Social-Democratic Party.—199

*Grunzig, Julius* (b. 1855)—German Social-Democrat, emigrated to the USA during the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law, contributed to the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*.—45

*Guesde, Jules* (real name *Mathieu, Jules Bazile*) (1845-1922)—prominent figure in the French and the international working-class and socialist movement, initially republican, sided with the anarchists in the first half of the 1870s, later a founder of the French Workers' Party (1879); for a number of years a leader of the revolutionary wing in the French socialist movement.—23, 29, 30, 32, 40-41, 49, 51, 117, 130, 155, 193, 221, 270, 400, 401, 424, 432, 477, 508, 517, 544

*Guillaume-Schack, Gertrud* (née *Countess of Schack*) (1845-1903)—German socialist, prominent figure in the German women's movement.—248, 451-52

*Gumpert, Eduard* (d. 1893)—German physician, resident in Manchester, a friend of Marx and Engels.—154, 162, 418, 424-26, 430-39, 448, 454-56, 470, 485, 486

*Guttentag*—book publisher in Berlin.—285

## H

*Hall, Leonard* (b. 1866)—English socialist, worker, later journalist, member of the Social Democratic Federation, subsequently of the Independent Labour Party.—468, 471

*Haller, Karl Ludwig von* (1768-1854)—Swiss lawyer and historian, absolutist.—549

*Hardie, James Keir* (1856-1915)—miner, prominent figure in the English working-class movement, journalist, founder and leader of the Scottish Labour Party (from 1888) and of the Independent Labour Party (from 1893), first workers' independent candidate elected to Parliament (1892).—376, 460, 461, 463, 468, 471, 475, 494, 529, 532, 542, 545-46

*Harney, George Julian* (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the English labour movement, a leader of the Chartist Left wing, edited *The Northern Star, Democratic Review, Red Republican* and *Friend of the People*, lived in the USA from 1862 to 1888 with intervals, member of the First International; associate of Marx and Engels.—192, 194, 209, 211, 331-32, 358, 382

*Hartmann, Lev Nikolayevich* (1850-1913)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik, took part in a terroristic act of the Narodnaya Volya organisation against Alexander II in 1879, after which emigrated to France, later to England and to the USA in 1881.—369

*Hasselmann, Wilhelm* (b. 1844)—a leader of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; editor of the *Neuer Social Demokrat* in 1871-75,

member of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany from 1875, expelled from the party as anarchist in 1880.—53, 97, 119, 126

*Hatzfeld(t), Sophie, Countess of* (1805-1881)—friend and supporter of Ferdinand Lassalle.—134

*Havas, Auguste* (1814-1889)—a proprietor of the *Agence Havas*.—189, 191

*Headingley*—see *Smith* (*Smith Headingley*), *Adolphe* (*Adolphus*)

*Heath, Christopher* (1835-1905)—English surgeon.—66

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—62, 63, 213, 286, 287, 351

*Heidfield, Oscar*—German merchant in Liverpool.—296

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German poet.—22, 500

*Henning, Leopold von* (1791-1866)—German philosopher, professor at Berlin University, Hegel's pupil.—286

*Hepner, Adolf* (1846-1923)—German Social-Democrat, an editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1869-73), delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872), emigrated to the USA (1882), returned to Germany in 1908.—509

*Herkner, Heinrich* (1863-1932)—German vulgar economist, a representative of the armchair socialism.—172, 344

*Hirsch, Carl* (1841-1900)—German Social-Democrat, journalist, edited several Social-Democratic newspapers.—293, 299, 308, 309, 416

*Hobbes, Thomas* (1588-1679)—English philosopher.—62

*Höchberg, Karl* (pseudonym *Dr Ludwig Richter*) (1853-1885)—German socialist, reformist; founded and financed a number of Social-Democratic newspapers and journals.—14

*Hochgürtel*—German worker, émigré in London.—497

*Hodgskin, Thomas* (1787-1869)—English economist and journalist, utopian socialist, drew socialist conclusions from the Ricardian theory.—368

*Holmes, David* (1843-1906)—prominent figure in the English working-class movement, delegate to the Trades Union Congress in Glasgow (1892).—531, 534

*Horace* (*Quintus Horatius Flaccus*) (65-8 B. C.)—Roman poet.—212

*Hovelacque, Abel Alexandre* (1843-1896)—French linguist, anthropologist and politician, radical socialist, Chairman of the Paris City Council, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1889.—281, 298

*Howell, George* (1833-1910)—British mason, a reformist leader of the British trade unions, former Chartist, Secretary of the London Trades Council (1861-62), member of the General Council of the International (October 1864 to 1869), Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress (1871-75), M. P. (1885-95).—520

*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885)—French writer and poet.—354

*Hutten, Ulrich von* (1488-1523)—German poet, supporter of the Reformation, participant in and ideological leader of the knights' uprising of 1522-23.—236, 380

*Hyndman, Henry Mayers* (1842-1921)—English socialist, founder (1881) and leader of the London Democratic Federation transformed into the Social Democratic Federation in 1884, later a leader of the British Socialist Party, was expelled from it for propaganda of the imperialist war (1916).—12, 30, 52, 53, 74, 98, 108, 124, 126-28, 138, 140, 155, 161-62,

166, 167, 175, 186, 198, 207-08, 211, 219, 221, 224, 229, 232, 237, 238, 241, 249, 251, 252, 273, 323, 333, 356-57, 367, 381, 386, 448, 449, 475, 484, 524, 529, 532, 540, 544, 545, 560

I

*Ibsen, Henrik* (1828-1906) — Norwegian playwright.— 10, 27

*Ihrer, Emma* (1857-1911) — prominent figure in the German women's and trade union movement, founded the *Arbeiterin* journal (1891), delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889 and 1891.— 334

*Itzig* — see *Lassalle, Ferdinand*

J

*Jacobi, Friedrich Heinrich* (1743-1819) — German fideist philosopher.— 286

*Jakins* — houseowner in London.— 38-39

*Janssen, Johannes* (1829-1891) — German historian and theologian, author of works on German history.— 342

*Jean* — see *Longuet, Jean Laurent Frédéric*

*Jevons, William Stanley* (1835-1882) — English economist and philosopher.— 526, 553

*Jodko-Narkiewicz, Tomasz Witold (Rabin)* (1864-1924) — Polish journalist, a founder of the Polish Socialist Party and leader of its revolutionary wing, member of the Proletariat Party in the 1880s, contributor to the magazine *Przedświt* in the 1890s, its editor in 1893-1906.— 106, 110

*Joffrin, Jules Louis Alexandre* (1846-1890) — French mechanic, socialist; member of the Paris Commune; later émigré in England, on his return to France a Possibilist leader, member of the Paris City Council from 1882, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1889.— 30, 47

*Jollymeier* — see *Schorlemmer, Carl*

*Jonas, Alexander* (c. 1839-1912) — German-born American journalist, socialist, editor-in-chief of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* from 1878.— 20, 45, 250

K

*Kablukov, Nikolai Alexeyevich* (1849-1919) — Russian economist and statistician, Narodnik, professor at Moscow University, author of several works on economy and statistics.— 443

*Kampffmeyer, Paul* (1864-1945) — German journalist, Social-Democrat from the late 1880s, a leader of the Jungen group and the Union of Independent Socialists in the early 1890s; later revisionist.— 526

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804) — German philosopher.— 62, 286

*Karlstadt, Andreas Rudolf* (real name *Bodenstein*) (1480-1541) — German theologian, Reformer.— 342

*Karyshev, Nikolai Alexandrovich* (1855-1905) — Russian economist, statistician and public figure, professor at Yuriev (Tartu) University (1891-93) and Moscow Agricultural Institute (1895-1904), wrote several works on economy and statistics which propagated views of Liberal Narodniks.— 443

*Kasprowicz, E. Ł.* — publisher of the first volume of *Capital* in Polish.— 75

*Käte* — see *Schattner, Käte*

*Kautsky, Felix* (1891-1953) — Karl Kautsky's son by his second wife.— 131, 324

*Kautsky, Karl* (1854-1938) — German Social-Democrat, journalist, editor of *Die Neue Zeit* (1883-1917), adhered to

Marxism in the 1880s, author of several works on Marxist theory which, despite certain mistakes, played an important role in dissemination of Marxism, later went over to opportunists and became an ideologist of Centrism in German Social-Democracy and the Second International, strongly opposed revolution in Russia.—4-6, 12, 25-27, 49-50, 68, 73-75, 90-91, 103-04, 107-08, 118-19, 126, 129-36, 140-41, 145-47, 158-59, 163-64, 172-75, 198-201, 204-05, 209-12, 239-42, 246, 261-63, 266, 268, 273-75, 314-17, 322-24, 329, 334-37, 342-43, 367-69, 387, 389-90, 402-04, 416-17, 435, 436-38, 451-54, 461-63, 493-95, 497, 502, 503, 514-17, 528-30, 532, 542-43, 545, 547, 549, 552-53

*Kautsky, Karl* (b. 1892)—Karl Kautsky's son by his second wife.—336

*Kautsky, Louise* (née *Strasser*, by second marriage *Freyberger*) (1860-1950)—Austrian socialist, Engels' secretary from 1890, member of the editorial board of the *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung*, delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1891 and 1893, Karl Kautsky's first wife.—55, 68-69, 71, 72, 73, 76, 88-89, 91, 92, 95, 99, 101, 102, 106, 111, 113, 114, 117, 120, 139, 145, 146, 151, 155-57, 163, 170, 172, 173, 184, 185, 190, 192-95, 198, 203, 204, 207, 216, 219-20, 222-23, 226, 230, 231, 237, 238, 242, 247-50, 252-55, 259, 261, 264, 274, 276, 277, 281, 288, 290, 295, 300, 303, 310, 314, 320, 325, 326, 328, 329, 332, 333-34, 336, 346-48, 356, 360, 361, 364, 367, 372, 376, 378, 382, 387, 390, 394, 395, 397, 398, 401, 402, 409, 412-13, 415-17, 419, 424, 428, 430, 432, 434, 436, 439, 451-52, 458, 461-63, 465-66, 469, 471, 476, 479, 481-82, 487, 491, 496, 501, 503, 505-08, 510-11, 519, 522, 525, 530, 532, 539-41, 545, 547, 548, 559, 562

*Kautsky, Luise* (née *Ronsperger*) (1864-1944)—Austrian socialist, Karl Kautsky's second wife (from 1890).—73, 131, 324, 336, 417, 452

*Kautsky, Minna* (née *Jaich*) (1837-1912)—German authoress of several novels on social themes, Karl Kautsky's mother.—452, 462

*Kelley-Wischnewetzky, Florence* (1859-1932)—American socialist, translated Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* into English.—250, 265, 273-74, 337-39, 404, 447, 452

*Kinkel, Gottfried* (1815-1882)—German poet and journalist, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, sentenced to life imprisonment by a Prussian court, escaped from the prison and emigrated to England (1850); a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees in London; opposed Marx and Engels.—451

*Kinkel, Johanna* (née *Mockel*, by first marriage *Matthieux*) (1810-1858)—German writer, Gottfried Kinkel's wife.—451

*Klepsch, Philipp*—one of Carl Schorlemmer's executors.—433, 455-57, 465, 485

*Knapp, Georg Friedrich* (1842-1926)—German economist and statistician.—6

*Knies, Karl* (1821-1898)—German vulgar economist, opposed classical bourgeois political economy.—526

*Kock, Charles Paul de* (1793-1871)—French novelist and dramatist.—202

*Köller, Ernst Matthias von* (1841-1928)—German Conservative statesman, deputy to the Reichstag (1881-88), Prussian Home Minister (1894-95).—344

*Kovalevsky, Maxim Maximovich* (1851-1916)—Russian sociologist, historian,

ethnographer and lawyer, author of a number of works on history of the primitive society.—22-23, 124, 528, 552

*Kravchinsky, Sergei Mikhailovich* (pen-name *Stepnyak*) (1851-1895)—Russian writer and journalist, prominent figure in the revolutionary Narodnik movement of the 1870s; emigrated after committing a terrorist act against the chief of gendarmes in St Petersburg in 1878; lived in England from 1884.—144, 411, 539, 540

*Kugelmann, Ludwig* (1828-1902)—German physician; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, member of the First International, Marx's regular correspondent (1862-74).—518-19, 543-45

*Kunert, Fritz* (1850-1931)—German Social-Democrat, journalist, edited several Social-Democratic newspapers in the 1880s-90s, an editor of the *Vorwärts* (1894-1917), repeatedly elected deputy to the Reichstag (from 1890), delegate to the Erfurt Party Congress of 1891.—268

L

*Labouchère, Henry de Pré* (1831-1912)—French-born English politician, diplomat and journalist, Liberal M. P., one of the owners of *The Daily News* (from the late 1860s).—323, 449

*Labriola, Antonio* (1843-1904)—Italian philosopher and journalist, one of the first to disseminate Marxism in Italy.—136, 205, 317, 342, 405

*Labruyère, Georges de*—French journalist, contributor to *Le Cri du Peuple*; Boulangist in the late 1880s.—92, 107

*Lafargue, Laura* (*Löhr*) (1845-1911)—Karl Marx's second daughter, Paul Lafargue's wife from 1868, participant in the French working-class movement.—21, 23, 25, 29, 30, 41-42, 44-45, 52-55, 66, 70, 76-77, 91-93, 117, 120, 125, 141, 154-56, 161-63, 172, 185-90, 192, 195, 199, 201-04, 208, 209, 215-16, 227-30, 251-53, 260-61, 263-64, 270, 275-76, 281, 282, 288-90, 301, 304-06, 311-12, 318-20, 328-34, 347-48, 366-67, 379-82, 394-95, 399-402, 411-12, 413, 416, 424, 426-28, 434-36, 469-71, 478, 486-87, 505-06, 519-21, 523, 543, 544, 561-62

*Lafargue, Paul* (1842-1911)—prominent figure in the international and French working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International, Corresponding Secretary for Spain (1866-69); a founder of the Workers' Party in France; disciple and associate of Marx and Engels; husband of Marx's daughter Laura.—12, 21-25, 28-33, 42-43, 47, 49, 53-55, 65-66, 92, 93, 108, 115-17, 121-25, 129, 140-42, 144, 154, 156, 159, 161-63, 164, 165, 167, 174, 183, 189-95, 200, 204, 207-09, 215, 216, 218, 219-21, 227, 229, 234-36, 251, 252, 253-55, 259, 260, 264, 265, 266, 269, 270, 274-77, 281-85, 288-89, 291-93, 297, 298, 301-07, 311-12, 317-20, 328, 330-33, 348, 366-67, 370, 381, 392, 395, 400, 401, 412, 420-28, 432, 434, 436, 471, 476-78, 506, 508, 533-35, 544, 546, 548, 560-62

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German journalist and lawyer, socialist; took part in the democratic movement of the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863-64) and its president.—130, 134-35, 138, 145, 180, 181, 203-05, 210, 247, 253, 274, 287, 316, 331, 423, 499, 502

*Laura*—see *Lafargue, Laura*

*Lavergne-Peguilhen, Moritz von* (1801-1870)—German historian and economist, belonged to the so-called Romantic School.—549, 551

*Lavigerie, de.*— 32

*Lavrov, Pyotr Lavrovich* (1823-1900) — Russian philosopher, sociologist and journalist; an ideologist of revolutionary Narodism (Populism); emigrated in 1870; member of the First International; took part in the Paris Commune; editor of the journal *Vperyod!* (Forward!) (1873-76) and the newspaper *Vperyod!* (1875-76); associate of Marx and Engels.— 84, 193

*Lavy, Jean Baptiste Aimé* (1850-1921) — French journalist, socialist, Possibilist; member of the Paris City Council (from 1887) and of the Chamber of Deputies (1890-98).— 47, 562

*Leffler-Edgren, Anne Charlotte, Countess of Cajanello* (1849-1892) — Swedish authoress.— 506

*Leibfried, W.*— notary in Luxemburg, Social-Democrat.— 247, 253

*Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, Baron von* (1646-1716) — German philosopher and mathematician.— 286

*Lenchen* — see *Demuth, Helene*

*Leopold, Prince of Anhalt-Dessau* (1676-1747) — Prussian field marshal.— 176

*Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim* (1729-1781) — German writer, critic and philosopher of the Enlightenment.— 387, 553

*Létourneau, Charles Jean Marie* (1831-1902) — French sociologist and ethnographer.— 193, 202, 203

*Levraut* — member of the Paris City Council, Chairman of the Education Commission (1890).— 92

*Liebknecht, Natalie* (1835-1909) — Wilhelm Liebknecht's wife from 1868.— 17, 18, 51, 312-14

*Liebknecht, Theodor Karl* (1870-1948) — Wilhelm Liebknecht's son, lawyer.— 17, 51, 314

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900) — prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, participant in the 1848-49 revolution, member of the Communist League and of the International, fought against Lassalleanism for the principles of the International in the German working-class movement; deputy to the Reichstag from 1867, a founder and leader of the German Social-Democratic Party, editor of the *Volksstaat* (1869-76) and *Vorwärts* (1876-78 and 1890-1900); delegate to the international socialist congresses of 1889, 1891 and 1893, friend and associate of Marx and Engels.— 3, 11-18, 22, 42, 50-51, 53, 56-57, 73-76, 85, 89, 93-95, 97, 107, 108, 117, 119, 123, 126, 129, 130, 134, 135, 137, 156, 161, 166, 173, 174, 176, 179, 180, 182-84, 196, 200, 203, 205, 210, 216, 232, 238, 240, 247, 250, 259, 266, 268, 271, 292, 300, 309, 314-15, 323, 326, 336, 345, 365, 372, 427, 446, 480, 512, 517, 521, 533, 546, 557, 559

*Locke, John* (1632-1704) — English philosopher and economist.— 62

*Löhr* — see *Lafargue, Laura*

*Longuet, Charles* (1839-1903) — journalist, socialist, member of the General Council of the International (1866-67 and 1871-72); member of the Paris Commune, later emigrated to England; subsequently joined the Possibilists, a member of the Paris City Council in the 1880s-90s, husband of Marx's daughter Jenny.— 203, 208, 331

*Longuet, Edgar* (1879-1950) — Karl Marx's grandson; son of Jenny and Charles Longuet.— 29, 91, 203

*Longuet, Henri (Harry)* (1878-1883) — Karl Marx's grandson, son of Jenny and Charles Longuet.— 220

*Longuet, Jean Laurent Frédéric (Johnny)* (1876-1938) — Karl Marx's grandson,

son of Jenny and Charles Longuet.—29, 91, 203

*Longuet, Jenny (Mémé)* (1882-1952)—Karl Marx's granddaughter, daughter of Jenny and Charles Longuet.—23, 29, 77, 91, 93, 203

*Longuet, Marcel* (1881-1949)—Karl Marx's grandson, son of Jenny and Charles Longuet.—29, 91, 203

*Lopatin, Hermann Alexandrovich* (1845-1918)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik; member of the General Council of the International (1870); translated into Russian a sizable part of Volume I of *Capital*, friend of Marx and Engels.—385

*Loria, Achille* (1857-1943)—Italian sociologist and economist.—146

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—383

*Louis Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—202, 309

*Louise*—see *Kautsky, Louise*

*Luce*—French capitalist with whom financing of the daily of the French Workers' Party was discussed in 1892.—519

*Ludwig II* (1845-1886)—King of Bavaria (1864-86); deposed as mentally unsound.—371

*Luther, Martin* (1483-1546)—leader of the Reformation, founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany.—342, 368

M

*MacCarthy, Justin* (1830-1912)—Irish writer and politician, Liberal M.P. (1879-1900), Vice-Chairman of the Irish Home Rule Party in the House of Commons.—128

*Mackay, John Henry* (1864-1933)—English-born German poet and writer, adherent to the Young Hegelians' philosophy, anarchist.—136

*Mac Vey*—American socialist, delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1891.—232, 238

*Maistre, Joseph Marie, comte de* (1753-1821)—French writer, monarchist, an ideologist of aristocratic and clerical reaction.—549

*Malon, Benoît* (1841-1893)—French socialist, member of the International and of the Paris Commune; emigrated to Italy, then to Switzerland where he sided with anarchists; returned to France after the amnesty of 1880; later a leader of the opportunist trend of the Possibilists.—260, 282

*Mann, Thomas (Tom)* (1856-1941)—prominent figure in the British working-class movement, mechanic; belonged to the Left wing of the Social Democratic Federation (from 1885) and to the Independent Labour Party (from 1893); took an active part in the organisation of a mass movement of unskilled workers and in the formation of their trade unions in the late 1880s-early 1890s; leader of several strikes.—203, 225, 411, 529

*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von* (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman, Minister of Interior (1848-50), Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1850-58).—20

*Martignetti, Pasquale* (1844-1920)—Italian socialist, translator of Marx's and Engels' works into Italian.—104-05, 142-43, 159-60, 205-06, 391, 404-05, 483, 506

*Marwitz, Friedrich August Ludwig von der* (1777-1837)—Prussian general and politician, author of war memoirs.—549

*Marx, Jenny Caroline* (née *von Westpha-*

*len*) (1814-1881) — Karl Marx's wife.— 19, 70, 220

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883) (biographical data).— 52, 55, 67, 90, 97, 109, 112-14, 117, 123, 126, 132-37, 141, 143-44, 145, 161, 164, 168, 179, 181, 213, 216-17, 220, 236, 239, 247, 263, 287, 308, 315, 322, 381, 544

*Marx-Aveling, Eleanor* (*Tussy*) (1855-1898) — Karl Marx's youngest daughter, prominent figure in the British and international working-class movement; married Edward Aveling in 1884; took an active part in the organisation of a mass movement of unskilled workers, a leader of the dockers' strike in London (1889); delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889 and 1891.— 10, 20, 23-24, 29, 32, 41, 45, 46, 49, 51-52, 54-55, 70, 71, 73, 77, 98, 108, 110, 120-21, 124, 128, 140, 150, 153, 159, 166, 167, 184-86, 189, 191, 194, 197, 198, 209, 216, 219-21, 225, 226, 230, 237, 249, 252, 274, 300, 307, 312-13, 317, 326, 328, 330, 331-33, 335, 337, 342, 366, 372, 380, 398, 403, 411, 416, 417, 428-29, 435, 437, 438, 462, 471, 476, 479, 481-82, 484, 486, 493, 495-97, 504-06, 508, 515, 516, 522, 524, 529, 534, 540, 543, 552, 557-58, 559, 560-62

*Massard, Nicolas Émile* (1857-1932) — French journalist, London correspondent of the newspaper *L'Éclair* (1892).— 394

*Massingham, Henry William* (1860-1924) — English journalist, publisher and editor of *The Star* (1890) and *The Labour World* (1891).— 203

*Matkin, William* — prominent figure in the English trade union movement, leader of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.— 522-23, 531

*Matthieux* — Johanna Kinkel's first husband.— 451

*Maurer, Georg Ludwig* (1790-1872) — German historian, studied the social system of ancient and medieval Germany.— 9

*Mayall* — photographer in London.— 112

*McKinley, William* (1843-1901) — American statesman, a leader of the Republican Party; since 1877, repeatedly elected to Congress; author of the general tariff bill in the interests of the monopolists (1890); President of the USA (1897-1901).— 278

*McLennan, John Ferguson* (1827-1881) — Scottish lawyer and historian, author of a number of works on the history of marriage and family.— 194, 204

*Mehring, Franz* (1846-1919) — prominent figure in the German socialist and working-class movement; historian and journalist; became Marxist in the 1880s; author of a number of books on the history of Germany, German Social-Democracy, and Karl Marx's biography; an editor of the journal *Die Neue Zeit*; a leader and theoretician of the German Social-Democrats (Left wing); one of the founders of the Communist Party of Germany.— 195, 375, 376, 387, 549-53

*Meissner, Otto Karl* (1819-1902) — publisher in Hamburg; printed *Capital* and other works by Marx and Engels.— 29, 44, 146, 148, 158, 163, 216

*Mémé* — see *Longuet, Jenny*

*Mendeleyev, Dmitry Ivanovich* (1834-1907) — Russian chemist; discovered the periodic law in 1869.— 385

*Mendelson, Marya* (née *Zaleska*, by first marriage *Jankowska*) (1850-1909) — Polish socialist, active figure among the Polish revolutionary émigrés, delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889, 1891 and 1893; Stanisław Mendelson's wife.

—106, 110, 157, 313, 356, 411, 413, 415, 458

*Mendelson, Stanisław* (1858-1913) —Polish socialist, journalist, one of the founders of the Polish Socialist Party (1892); publisher and editor of the journal *Przedświt*, delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889, 1891 and 1893; abandoned working-class movement in the mid-1890s.—106-07, 110, 156-57, 169, 197, 270, 313, 355, 411, 413, 415, 445, 458, 553

*Menger, Anton* (1841-1906) —Austrian lawyer, professor at Vienna University.—368, 526, 553

*Meyer, Hermann* (1821-1875) —German merchant, socialist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA in 1852; an organiser of Section No. 1 of the International in St Louis; Joseph Weydemeyer's friend.—544

*Meyer, Rudolf Hermann* (1839-1899) —German economist and journalist, Conservative; contributed to *Die Neue Zeit* in the 1890s.—323, 361, 416

*Michel, Louise* (pseudonym *Enjolras*) (1830-1905) —French teacher, revolutionary; was close to the Blanquists during the Second Empire; took part in the Paris Commune (1871); exiled to New Caledonia; back from exile after the amnesty of 1880, participated in the working-class movement in France, Belgium and Holland; sided with anarchists; emigrated to England (1890).—237

*Millerand, Étienne Alexandre* (1859-1943) —French politician and statesman, lawyer and journalist; petty-bourgeois radical in the 1880s, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1885, headed opportunist trend in the French socialist movement in the 1890s, held a number of high posts in the state.—215, 281, 289, 297, 298, 367, 477

*Miquel, Johannes* (1828-1901) —German lawyer, politician and banker; member of the Communist League up to 1852, later a National-Liberal; Finance Minister of Prussia in the 1890s.—371, 510

*Mockel, Johanna* —see *Kinkel, Johanna*

*Mohrhenn* —German socialist, participant in the working-class movement in Wuppertal.—86-87

*Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard, Count von* (1800-1891) —Prussian military leader and writer; general from 1871, field marshal; Chief of the Prussian (1857-71) and the Imperial (1871-88) General Staff.—182

*Moore, Samuel* (1838-1911) —English lawyer, member of the International; translated into English Volume I of Karl Marx's *Capital* (in collaboration with Edward Aveling) and *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*; friend of Marx and Engels.—27, 29, 49, 102, 104, 109, 149, 154, 162, 168, 185, 186, 198, 204, 211, 219, 223, 312, 330, 452

*More (Morus), Sir Thomas* (1478-1535) —English politician, Lord Chancellor (1529-32), humanist writer, an early representative of utopian communism, author of *Utopia*.—164, 172, 343

*Moreau, Émile André* (1837-1903) —French politician, radical, anti-Boulangist, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1889.—281, 298

*Morgan, Lewis Henry* (1818-1881) —American ethnographer, archaeologist and historian of primitive society.—10, 193, 194, 202, 204

*Morgan, O. W.*—British Liberal, M.P. (1885-92).—471

*Morrier, Pierre* —prominent figure in the

French trade union movement, representative of the Glass Workers' Trade Union in Lyons (1891).—312

*Morris, William* (1834-1896)—English poet, writer and artist; participant in the working-class and socialist movement in the 1880s-90s, a leader of the Socialist League (1884-89); shared anarchist views (from the late 1880s).—411

*Motteler, Emilie*—Julius Motteler's wife.—41, 150, 313, 345, 434, 540

*Motteler, Julius* (1838-1907)—German Social-Democrat; member of the Reichstag (1874-79), émigré in Zurich and then in London during the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law; supervised the delivery of *Der Sozialdemokrat* and illegal Social-Democratic literature to Germany.—13, 30, 41, 115, 150, 236, 313, 335, 345, 380, 397, 434, 438, 540, 543-44

*Mudie, Charles Edward* (1818-1890)—English publisher and founder of Mudie's lending library (1842).—300

*Müller, Adam Heinrich, von Nitterdorf* (1779-1829)—German journalist and economist, representative of the so-called Romantic School.—549

*Müller, Hans* (1867-1950)—German journalist and writer, studied in Zurich in the late 1880s and sided with the German Social-Democrats, a leader of the Jungen in the early 1890s, contributed to a number of Social-Democratic papers.—294, 527

N

*Napoleon I (Bonaparte)* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—61

*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—Napoleon I's nephew, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—218, 288

*Nash*—English Christian socialist, member of *The Workman's Times* editorial board from 1892.—404

*Necker, Jacques* (1732-1804)—French banker and politician, several times Controller-General of Finance in the 1770s and 1780s, attempted to carry out reforms.—444

*Nicholas Alexandrovich* (1868-1918)—heir to the Russian throne, then Emperor Nicholas II (1894-1917).—192

*Nieuwenhuis*—Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis's son.—78

*Nieuwenhuis, Ferdinand Domela* (1846-1919)—prominent figure in the Dutch working-class movement; a founder of the Dutch Social-Democratic Party; became an anarchist in the 1890s.—24, 49, 77-78, 232, 234, 250, 521, 524

*Nim, Nimmy*—see *Demuth, Helene*

*Nonne, Heinrich*—German student, resident in Paris; was exposed as a Prussian agent provocateur in 1884.—295

O

*Oppenheim, Max*—Ludwig Kugelmann's brother-in-law.—151-53

*Oswald, Eugen* (1826-1912)—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Baden; emigrated to England after its defeat.—76, 326

*Ottenbruch*—houseowner, neighbour of the Engels family in Bruch.—86

*Owens, John* (1790-1846)—English merchant, founder of the Owens College in Manchester.—431, 456

P

*Packard*—English physician.—66

*Padlewski, Stanisław* (1856-1891)—Polish socialist, assassinated in Paris Nikolai Seliverstov, Russian general and chief of the gendarmes, in 1890; emigrated to London and then to the USA where committed suicide.—91-92, 102, 107, 127, 129, 138, 147, 197, 198, 224, 355, 369, 415

*Parnell, Charles Stewart* (1846-1891)—Irish politician and statesman, Liberal; M. P. from 1875; leader of the Home Rule Party from 1877.—128, 259, 295, 468

*Parnell, William*—English trade union figure, joiner, leader of the Cabinet-Makers' Union, delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1891.—522, 531

*Paul*—see *Lafargue, Paul*

*Pauli, Ida*—Philipp Victor Pauli's wife.—76

*Pauli, Philipp Victor* (1836-d. after 1916)—German chemist, Carl Schorlemmer's friend.—76

*Pelletan, Charles Camille* (1846-1915)—French politician, journalist, editor-in-chief of *La Justice* (from 1880), belonged to the Left wing of the Radical Party.—281

*Percy*—see *Rosher, Percy White*

*Peschel, Oskar* (1826-1875)—German geographer and historian, professor at Leipzig University.—146

*Petersen, Nikolai* (1854-c. 1916)—a prominent figure in the Danish working-class movement; a leader of the Left wing of the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark, delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889.—408-09

*Petty, Sir William* (1623-1687)—English economist and statistician, founder of English classical political economy.—141

*Peus, Heinrich Wilhelm* (1862-1937)—German writer, Social-Democrat (from 1890), later revisionist, was condemned for *lèse-majesté* (1892).—364, 369

*Philostratus* (c. 170-245)—Greek rhetorician, sophist philosopher and writer.—501

*Pieper, Wilhelm* (born c. 1826-1899)—German philologist and journalist, member of the Communist League; emigrated to London; was close to Marx and Engels in 1850-53.—544

*Plekhanov, Georgi Valentinovich* (1856-1918)—prominent figure in the Russian and international working-class movement, philosopher and propagandist of Marxism in Russia, founder of the first Russian Marxist organisation—Emancipation of Labour group (1883), delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889 and to a number of other congresses of the Second International.—235, 317

*Praslin, Altarice Rosalba Fanny* (née *Sèbastiani*) (1807-1847)—wife of Charles Praslin, Duke of Choiseul.—309

*Praslin, Charles Laure Hugues Théobald, duc de Choiseul* (1805-1847)—French aristocrat; Peer of France; was accused of murdering his wife (1847); committed suicide.—309

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist, a founder of anarchism.—389, 499, 517

*Ptolemy*—name of the Macedonian Kings who ruled Egypt for three hundred years (305-30 B. C.).—33

*Pumps*—see *Rosher, Mary Ellen*

*Pushkin, Alexander Sergeyevich* (1799-1837)—Russian poet.—280

*Puttkamer, Robert Victor von* (1828-1900) — Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1881-88), an organiser of the persecution of Social-Democrats during the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law.— 181

Q

*Quelch, Harry* (1858-1913) — prominent figure in the British working-class movement, a leader of new trade unions, delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1891 and 1893.— 449, 531

R

*Ranc, Arthur* (1831-1908) — French politician and journalist; moderate republican; played a significant role in the republican press in the 1880s-90s; a member of the Chamber of Deputies, later Senator.— 289, 301, 304, 307, 311, 318

*Ravé, Henri* — French journalist, translator of Engels' works into French.— 142, 144, 145, 154, 164, 165, 173, 192, 199, 201-04, 211, 215, 251

*Read* — English physician.— 65-66

*Réaumur, René Antoine Ferchault de* (1683-1757) — French naturalist, inventor of a spirit thermometer.— 489

*Reeves, William Dobson* (c. 1827-1907) — English publisher and bookseller.— 338-39

*Reinicke, Paul René* (1860-1926) — German artist.— 89

*Renan, Joseph-Ernest* (1823-1892) — French philologist and historian of Christianity, idealist philosopher.— 501

*Renard, Victor Charles* (1864-1914) — prominent figure in the French working-class movement, shoemaker, founded an organisation of the French Workers' Party in Lyons, delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889.— 219

*Reuß, Karl Theodor* — German journalist, agent of the German political police in the 1880s, exposed in December 1887.— 109

*Ribot, Alexandre Félix Joseph* (1842-1923) — French statesman, lawyer; a leader of the Right Republicans, member of the Chamber of Deputies, opposed Boulangism; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1890-93), premier (1893-95).— 292

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823) — English economist.— 141, 159

*Richter, Eugen* (1838-1906) — German politician, leader of the Party of Free Thinkers, deputy to the Reichstag.— 362, 375

*Riefer, Adolf* (born after 1852) — Helene Demuth's nephew, son of her sister Katharina and Peter Riefer.— 69-71

*Roche, Ernest Jean* (1850-1917) — French socialist, engraver, then journalist; as an editor of *L'Intransigeant* took part in organising a number of strikes; member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1889; was close to the Boulangists and the Fédération des socialistes indépendants in the late 1880s.— 289, 291

*Roche, Eugène* — French lawyer, radical.— 269, 274, 277, 297

*Rochefort, Victor Henri, marquis de Rochefort-Luçay* (c. 1831-1913) — French journalist, writer and politician; Left-wing republican; member of the Government of National Defence; after the suppression of the Commune was exiled to New Caledonia; fled to England; returned to France after the amnesty (1880), published *L'Intransigeant*; monarchist from the late 1880s; for participation in the Boulangist movement

was condemned to imprisonment (1889) and, to avoid it, lived in London till 1895.—252, 347, 401

*Rodbertus-Jagetzow, Johann Karl* (1805-1875)—German economist, theoretician of 'state socialism'.—389

*Rogers, James Edwin Thorold* (1823-1890)—English economist, author of several works on the national economy of England.—337, 343, 526

*Romm, Julie* (née *Zadek*) (d. 1920)—German socialist, contributed to *Die Neue Zeit*, later emigrated to the USA, worked in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*; Maxim Romm's wife.—48, 109, 127

*Romm, Maxim* (d. 1921)—physician, Russian by birth, studied in Zurich, then emigrated to the USA.—48, 109, 127

*Roscoe, Sir Henry Enfield* (1833-1915)—English chemist.—430-31, 456, 470, 485

*Rosebery, Archibald Philip Primrose, 5th Earl of* (1847-1929)—English statesman, a leader of the Liberal Party in the late 1880s-early 1890s; Foreign Secretary (1886 and 1892-94), Prime Minister (1894-95).—501

*Rosenberg, Wilhelm Ludwig* (pseudonym *von der Mark*) (b. 1850)—German-born American socialist, journalist, secretary of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party in the 1880s, leader of the Lassallean group in the party; expelled from the party together with other Lassalleans in 1889.—75, 138, 166

*Rosenkranz, Johann Karl Friedrich* (1805-1879)—German Hegelian philosopher and literary historian.—286

*Rosher*—Percy White Rosher's mother.—124, 150, 154

*Rosher, Charles H.*—Percy White Rosher's father.—124, 150, 154

*Rosher, Howard*—Percy White Rosher's brother.—124

*Rosher, Mary Ellen Catherine* (*Pumps*) (née *Burns*) (born c. 1860)—niece of Frederick Engels' wife.—18, 23, 76, 92, 150, 154-55, 191, 207, 209, 211, 212, 214, 224, 229, 232, 237, 250, 253, 256, 261, 313, 319, 332, 336, 379, 395, 412, 416, 419, 435, 479, 481, 488, 491, 495, 498, 499, 504, 506-07, 511, 518, 525

*Rosher, Mary Lilian Georgiana* (*Lili, Lily*) (b. 1882)—daughter of Mary Ellen and Percy White Rosher.—252, 256

*Rosher, Percy White*—English merchant, Mary Ellen Burns' husband from 1881.—92, 124, 147, 150, 154-55, 189, 191, 209, 211, 212, 214, 224, 252, 313, 336, 347, 366, 379, 395, 412, 495, 498, 499, 504, 506, 518

*Rothschilds*—family of bankers with branches in many European countries.—92-93, 544

*Rothwell, Richard R., Marquis de* (d. 1890)—owner of the house in London, where Frederick Engels lived from 1870 to 1894.—38, 39, 44

*Roussel, Ferdinand François* (1839-1914)—French socialist and trade union leader, secretary of the Paris Labour Stock Exchange in the early 1890s.—411

*Rouvier, Pierre Maurice* (1842-1911)—French statesman, moderate republican; repeatedly held posts of minister and premier; after his involvement in the Panama swindle had been exposed in 1892, he was forced to retire and abandon political activity for a time.—117, 254, 292, 298

*Roy, Joseph*—translator of Volume I of Marx's *Capital* and Feuerbach's works into French.—427

*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German

radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; a leader of German petty-bourgeois refugees in England in the 1850s; became a National-Liberal after 1866.—94, 377, 520

S

*Salisbury, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, Marquis de* (1830-1903)—British statesman, leader of the Conservatives; Secretary of State for India (1866-67 and 1874-78), Foreign Secretary (1878-80), Prime Minister (1885-86, 1886-92, 1895-1902).—295

*Sam*—see *Moore, Samuel*

*Sanders, William Stephen* (b. 1871)—English socialist, a leader of the Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League, member of the Fabian Society; delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1891.—225, 323

*Sanial, Lucien Delabarre* (1835-d. after 1925)—American socialist, member of the Socialist Labor Party, editor and publisher of several socialist papers, delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1891 and 1893.—224, 232

*Say, Jean Baptiste* (1767-1832)—French economist, representative of vulgar political economy.—141

*Schack*—see *Guillaume-Schack, Gertrud*

*Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von* (1755-1813)—Prussian general and politician; after the defeat of the Prussian army by Napoleon I in 1806, head of the commission for a reform of the army; War Minister (1807-10) and Chief of Staff (1810-13); took an active part in the liberation war of the German people against Napoleonic rule.—478

*Schattner, Ernst* (born c. 1879)—Regina Bernstein's son by first husband.—498, 499

*Schattner, Käte* (born c. 1881)—Regina Bernstein's daughter by first husband.—321, 530

*Scheu, Andreas* (1844-1927)—a leader of the Austrian and British socialist movement, editor of the newspaper *Gleichheit* (1870-74); member of the International; emigrated to England in 1874; a founder of the Social Democratic Federation.—540

*Scheu, Heinrich* (1845-1926)—Austrian Social-Democrat, member of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), emigrated to England in 1873, artist, delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1891, Andreas Scheu's brother.—112, 125, 170

*Schewitsch, Serge von*—Russian-born American socialist; member of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* editorial board in the 1870s-80s; editor of *The Leader* from 1886.—20, 45

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet.—309

*Schippel, Max* (1859-1928)—German economist and journalist, Social-Democrat from 1886, was close to the Jungen opposition group; delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1893.—11, 129, 130, 174

*Schlüter, Anna*—Hermann Schlüter's wife.—12, 67, 109, 113-15, 150, 151, 231, 237, 300, 325

*Schlüter, Hermann* (1851-1919)—German Social-Democrat, leader of the Social-Democratic publishing house in Zurich in the 1880s, a founder of the archives of German Social-Democracy; in 1889 emigrat-

ed to the USA where he joined socialist movement; author of several works on the history of the working-class movement in Great Britain and America.—12, 67, 74, 95, 109, 113-15, 146, 149-51, 168, 196-98, 226, 231, 237, 325, 392-94, 509

*Schmidt*—Conrad Schmidt's wife.—285, 288, 349

*Schmidt, Conrad* (1863-1932)—German economist and philosopher, Social-Democrat, was close to Marxism in the 1880s-90s, later became a Neo-Kantian and a revisionist.—6-9, 25, 57-65, 109, 163, 172, 212-14, 241, 285-88, 323, 349-52, 469, 525-28, 553

*Schoemann, Georg Friedrich* (1793-1879)—German philologist and historian, author of several works on the history of Ancient Greece.—36

*Schönlank, Bruno* (1859-1901)—German Social-Democrat, journalist; deputy to the Reichstag (1893); contributed to the *Vorwärts* in the 1890s.—95, 309

*Schorlemmer*—Carl and Ludwig Schorlemmer's mother.—425, 426, 432, 434, 436, 455, 458, 470, 486, 487

*Schorlemmer, Carl* (*Jollymeier*) (1834-1892)—German organic chemist, professor in Manchester; member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party; friend of Marx and Engels.—5, 6, 10, 12, 27, 30, 41, 44, 48-50, 96, 104, 111, 154, 159, 163, 168, 204, 211, 219, 220, 221, 224, 226, 227, 229, 232, 313, 319-20, 364, 370, 418, 425, 426, 430-33, 435, 436, 439, 447, 448, 453-58, 461, 464-65, 469, 470, 484-87

*Schorlemmer, Johanna*—Ludwig Schorlemmer's daughter.—488

*Schorlemmer, Ludwig*—Carl Schorlemmer's brother.—81-82, 418-19, 425-26, 431-34, 439, 454-58, 484-88

*Schramm, Carl August* (1830-1905)—German Social-Democrat, economist, criticised Marxism, withdrew from the party in the 1880s.—132

*Schröder, Ludwig* (1849-1914)—German Social-Democrat, one of the organisers and leaders of the miners' movement in the Ruhr area.—376, 429, 448

*Schumacher, Georg Gerber* (1844-1917)—German Social-Democrat, tanner, later businessman; deputy to the Reichstag from 1884, adhered to the party's opportunist wing, delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1891; expelled from the Social-Democratic Party in 1898.—100

*Schuster*—professor of physics in Manchester, Carl Schorlemmer's student.—455

*Schweinitz, Hans Lothar* (1822-1901)—German general, diplomat and military writer, Ambassador to Vienna (1869-76) and St Petersburg (1876-92); advocated rapprochement between Germany and Russia.—374

*Schweitzer, Johann Baptist von* (1833-1875)—German lawyer; a Lassallean leader; editor of *Der Social-Demokrat* (1864-67), President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71), supported unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy; fought against the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; expelled from the General Association for his contacts with the Prussian authorities (1872).—11, 97

*Seidel, Robert* (1850-1933)—Swiss Social-Democrat, teacher, editor of the *Arbeiterstimme* in the 1890s, delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1893.—495, 496, 505

*Seliverstov, Nikolai Dmitrievich* (1830-1890)—Russian general, chief of gendarmes, murdered in Paris by the Polish socialist Stanisław Padlewski.—92, 102

*Shajer* — representative of Jewish workers, emigrants from Russia, at the May Day demonstration in London (1892).— 411

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616) — English poet and dramatist.— 348

*Shaw, George Bernard* (1856-1950) — English dramatist and writer, a leader of the Fabian Society from 1884. — 335, 469, 515, 563

*Shipton, George* (1839-1911) — trade union leader; founder and secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Housepainters and Decorators; secretary of the London Trades Council (1872-96).— 185, 386, 402, 403, 520, 560

*Shuvalov, Pavel Andreyevich* (1830-1908) — Russian military figure and diplomat; Ambassador to Berlin (1885-94), advocate of rapprochement between Germany and Russia.— 374

*Siebold, Ludwig (Louis)* — German chemist, lived and worked in Manchester in the 1890s, Carl Schorlemmer's executor.— 433, 455, 456, 457, 465, 470, 485

*Siegel* — August Siegel's wife.— 430

*Siegel, August* (1856-1936) — German Social-Democrat, miner; active in the trade union movement of the 1880s, one of the organisers of the Union of German Miners; because of the persecution he was forced to emigrate to England (1891) where he lived more than twenty years and took part in the strike movement of the Scottish miners.— 376, 428-30, 446, 448, 481

*Simon, Ferdinand B.* (1862-1912) — German physician, August Bebel's son-in-law.— 200, 398, 490, 491, 504, 507

*Simon, Frieda* (1869-1948) — August Bebel's daughter, Ferdinand Simon's wife.— 116, 377, 398, 491, 504

*Singer, Paul* (1844-1911) — prominent figure in the German working-class movement; member (from 1887) and president (from 1890) of the Executive Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany; deputy to the Reichstag from 1884, President of its Social-Democratic group from 1885; fought opportunism and revisionism.— 54, 73, 76, 77, 89, 166, 184, 266, 267, 295, 386, 412, 415, 418, 420, 424, 427, 431, 432, 434, 436, 445-46, 519, 557, 563

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790) — Scottish economist.— 141, 159, 280

*Smith (Smith Headingley), Adolphe (Adolphus)* (1846-1924) — British journalist; was born in Paris; member of the Social Democratic Federation; adhered to the French Possibilists; wrote articles slandering Marx and his supporters.— 56, 108, 402, 411, 495, 560-62

*Smith, Frank* (1854-d. after 1930) — English socialist, editor of *The Worker's Cry* (1891), member of the Independent Labour Party (from 1893).— 203

*Soetbeer, Georg Adolf* (1814-1892) — German economist and statistician.— 58

*Sonnenschein, William Swan* (1855-1931) — English publisher, who printed the first English edition of Volume One of Marx's *Capital* (1887).— 29, 265, 273, 332, 337-39, 357-59, 366, 390, 395, 398-400, 452, 463, 486, 539-40

*Sorge, Friedrich Adolph* (1828-1906) — prominent figure in the international and American working-class and socialist movement, German teacher; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; in 1852 emigrated to the USA; founder of the American

sections of the First International; Secretary of the Federal Council; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); member of the General Council in New York and its General Secretary (1872-74), a founder of the Socialist Labor Party (1876); propagandist of Marxism; a friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—5, 10-12, 20-21, 45-48, 51-52, 67, 73-75, 95-96, 101-02, 109, 113, 123, 125-28, 137-39, 146-50, 165-68, 196-98, 224-27, 231-33, 237-39, 250-51, 264-67, 277, 297-300, 311, 326-29, 369-72, 394, 415, 445-47, 453, 463, 507-09, 514

*Sorge, Katharina*—Friedrich Adolph Sorge's wife.—12, 48, 49, 67, 75, 96, 101, 103, 109, 125, 128, 139, 149, 168, 198, 227, 233, 239, 251, 267, 277, 299, 300, 329, 372, 447, 509

*Stambulov, Stefan* (1854-1895)—Bulgarian statesman; deputy (from 1880) and Chairman of the National Assembly (1884-86), head of government (1887-94), advocate of the anti-Russian foreign policy.—162

*Stanley, Sir Henry Morton* (real name *John Rowlands*) (1841-1904)—one of the explorers of Africa; leader of the English expedition to the Equatorial Africa (1887-89); M. P. (1895-1900).—475

*Stead, William Thomas* (1849-1912)—English journalist and writer; Liberal; editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* (1883-89); editor of the *Review of Reviews* in the 1890s.—274

*Steinthal*—Unitarian clergyman in Manchester, Engels' acquaintance.—456

*Stepnyak*—see *Kravchinsky, Sergei Mikhailovich*

*Steuart, Sir James* (afterwards *Denham*) (1712-1780)—British economist, one of the last Mercantilists.—141

*Stinzleih*.—99

*Stirner, Max* (real name *Johann Caspar Schmidt*) (1806-1856)—German philosopher, Young Hegelian, an ideologist of individualism and anarchism.—136

*Stößel*—Swiss government official in Zurich.—241

*Strabo* (63 B.C.-A.D. c. 20)—Greek geographer and historian.—34

*Strasser*—Louise Kautsky's mother.—88, 532

*Stumm-Halberg, Karl Ferdinand, Baron von* (1836-1901)—German manufacturer and conservative politician.—362, 364, 371

*Sybel, Heinrich von* (1817-1895)—German historian and politician, National-Liberal from 1867.—94

## T

*Tacitus, Publius Cornelius* (c. 55-c. 120)—Roman historian and orator.—22

*Tauscher, Leonhard* (1840-1914)—German Social-Democrat, compositor; during the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law took part in printing *Der Sozialdemokrat* in Zurich, then in London; later an editor of Social-Democratic periodicals in Stuttgart.—30, 41, 104, 114

*Taylor, H. R.*—member of the London Trades Union Council and of the Social Democratic Federation, delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1891, candidate at the parliamentary elections of 1892.—493, 532

*Taylor, Sedley* (latter half of the 19th cent.-early 20th cent.)—British economist, armchair socialist; took part in the co-operative movement in England, advocated workers' sharing in the capitalists' profits; in the 1880s

tried to continue slanderous campaign against Marx, begun by Brentano in the 1870s. He accused Marx of the deliberate falsification of the sources quoted.— 146

*Teck, Victoria Mary von* (1867-1953) — English Princess, later Queen Mary of England (from 1910).— 347

*Teste, Jean Baptiste* (1780-1852) — French lawyer and statesman, Orleanist, Minister of Trade, Justice and Public Works during the July monarchy, tried for bribery and malpractices.— 309

*Thorne, William James* (1857-1946) — prominent figure in the British working-class movement, member of the Social Democratic Federation, one of the organisers of the mass movement of the unskilled workers in the late 1880s-early 1890s, General Secretary of the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland.— 77, 225, 300, 313, 520, 522, 531, 557-58, 561

*Tillet, Benjamin (Ben)* (1860-1943) — British socialist, an organiser and a leader of the new trade unions in the 1880s-90s, later one of the founders of the Labour Party; General Secretary of the Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Labourers' Union of Great Britain and Ireland (1887-1922).— 225

*Tölcke, Karl Wilhelm* (1817-1893) — German Social-Democrat, a leader of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers.— 316

*Tooke, Thomas* (1774-1858) — English classical political economist.— 526

*Turati, Filippo* (1857-1932) — prominent figure in the Italian working-class movement, journalist, one of the founders (1892) and leaders of the Italian Socialist Party.— 142-44, 146, 354-55, 388, 405

*Tussy* — see *Marx-Aveling, Eleanor*

V

*Vaillant* — Édouard Vaillant's wife.— 83

*Vaillant, Marie Anne Cécile Ambroisine* (née *Lachenille*) — Édouard Vaillant's mother.— 83

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*Vésinier, Pierre* (1824-1902) — French journalist, anti-Bonapartist; an organiser of the French branch of the International in London; was expelled from the Central Council of the International for conducting a slanderous campaign against it in 1866 and from the International in 1868; member of the Paris Commune; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to England.— 56

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*Warken, Nikolaus* — prominent figure in the German working-class movement, President of the Rechtsschutzverein der Saar-Bergleute; delegate to the Miners' International Congress in London (1892).— 448

*Watkinson, Will* — prominent figure in the British working-class movement, President of the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland (1891).— 557

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*Weiler, G. Adam* (1841-1894) — German refugee in the USA and from 1862 in England, cabinet-maker, member of the International (from 1865), member of the British Federal Council (1872-73); supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against reformist leaders of the British trade unions; later a member of the London Trades Union Council and the Social Democratic Federation.— 416

*Weinschenk* — French capitalist with whom French socialists discussed the financing of the planned daily newspaper.— 476-77

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statesman, Minister of the Interior (1850-58), stepbrother of Karl Marx's wife, Jenny.—20

*Westphalen, Johann Ludwig von* (1770-1842)—Privy Councillor in Trier, Jenny Marx's father.—19-20

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*Wilson, Joseph Havelock* (1858-1929)—prominent figure in the British trade union movement, organiser and president (from 1887) of the National Amalgamated Sailors' and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland; repeatedly elected M.P. (from 1892).—468, 471, 475

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*Wróblewski, Walery* (1836-1908)—prominent figure in the Polish and international working-class movement, revolutionary democrat, a leader of the Polish uprising (1863-64); general of the Paris Commune, member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1871-72); after the amnesty of 1880 returned to France.—156-57, 169, 347

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*Zetkin, Clara* (1857-1933)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; member of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (from 1881), contributed to the *Sozialdemokrat*; editor of *Die Gleichheit* (1892-1916); fought opportunism.—199, 334

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*Paul* (Bib.)—one of Christ's twelve apostles.—503

*Penelope*—in Homer's *Odyssey* the hero's wife and the personification of conjugal fidelity. She waited more than twenty years for her husband's return from the Trojan war and kept her importunate suitors at bay for three years by weaving a shroud for her father-in-law, but unravelling it secretly every night so that it was never finished.—380

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*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a daily newspaper of the German revolutionary proletarian democrats during the German revolution of 1848-49; it was published in Cologne under Marx's editorship from 1 June 1848 to 19 May 1849, with an interval between 27 September and 12 October 1848; Engels was also one of the editors.—41

*Die Neue Zeit*—a theoretical journal of the German Social-Democrats; published in Stuttgart monthly from 1883 to October 1890 and then weekly till autumn 1923. It was edited by Karl Kautsky from 1883 to October 1917 and by Heinrich Cunow from October 1917 to autumn 1923.—5, 12, 21, 25, 30, 47, 49, 50, 55, 64, 74, 75, 90, 91,

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*New Yorker Volkszeitung*—an American German-language socialist daily published from 1878 to 1932.—20, 45, 48, 75, 137, 146, 149, 150, 226, 355

*Nord und Süd*—a German popular science monthly, published from 1877 to 1930, first in Berlin, then in Breslau and Berlin; it was edited by Paul Lindau.—274

*La Nouvelle Revue*—a bourgeois-republican magazine founded by Juliette Adam and published in Paris from 1879.—123

*Österreichischer Arbeiter-Kalender*—a socialist yearly, published in Wiener Neustadt, Vienna and Brün from 1874 to 1930.—472

*The Pall Mall Gazette. An Evening Newspaper and Review*—a conservative daily published in London from 1865 to 1920.—436, 531, 546

*Le Parti Ouvrier*—a daily newspaper of the Possibilists, founded in Paris in March 1888.—547

*Le Parti socialiste. Organe du comité révolutionnaire central*—a Blanquist weekly published in Paris in 1890-98.—547

*Paterson Labor Standard*—an American weekly published under this title in Paterson from 1878 to 1898.—75

*The People*—a weekly of the Socialist Labor Party of North America, published in New York in 1891-93.—250, 380, 390

*The People's Press*—a British workers' weekly, an organ of the new trade unions, published in London from March 1890 to February 1891.—3, 148, 150

*Pioneer. Illustrierter Volks-Kalender*—an American German-language socialist yearly published by the editors of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* in New York from 1883 to 1904.—49, 51, 140

*Preußische Jahrbücher*—a German conservative monthly published in Berlin from 1858 to 1935.—274

*Le Prolétariat*—a French weekly, an official organ of the Possibilist Socialist Workers' Federation of France; published under this title in Paris from 5 April 1884 to 25 October 1890.—47

*Przedświt*—a Polish socialist magazine, published in 1880-1914 (from 1891 in London, as a weekly).—380, 390

*The Review of Reviews*—a monthly carrying short reviews of the current press; published in London from 1890 to 1936; in the 1890s its editor-in-chief was William Thomas Stead.—274

*Revista Socială*—a Romanian magazine published in Jassy in 1884-87 under the editorship of the socialist Joann Nădejde.—380

*La Revue Socialiste*—a French monthly founded by Benoît Malon, a socialist, who later became a Possibilist; initially a republican socialist and then syndicalist and co-operative organ; published in Lyons and Paris in 1880, and in Paris from 1885 to 1914.—92

*Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*—a German Social-Democratic daily; organ of the 'Jungen' oppositional group in the summer and the early autumn of 1890; published in Dresden from 1890 to 1908.—11, 13, 22, 27, 97, 133

*Schwäbische Tagwacht. Organ der Sozialdemokraten Württembergs*—a German daily published in Stuttgart from 1881.—25

*Le Siècle*—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939; mouthpiece of the opposition demanding moderate constitutional reforms in the 1840s; moderate republican in the 1850s-60s.—202

*Der Social-Demokrat*—a newspaper of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; published under this title in Berlin from 15 December 1864 to 1871; edited by Johann Baptist von Schweitzer in 1864-67.—389

*Social-Demokraten*—central organ of the Danish Social-Democratic Party; published daily under this title in Copenhagen from 1872 to 1959.—409

*Le Socialiste*—a weekly, founded by Jules Guesde in Paris in 1885; published with intervals till September 1890; organ of the Workers' Party till 1902.—43, 49, 92, 109, 110, 123, 163, 164, 224, 247, 251, 260, 265, 270, 276, 282, 311, 367, 370, 372, 379, 411, 423, 424, 426, 428, 432, 434, 505, 517-18, 519, 532

*Le Soleil*—an Orleanist daily published in Paris in 1873-1914.—420, 423

*Der Sozialdemokrat*—a weekly central organ of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany; during the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law it was published in Zurich (September 1879 to September 1888) and in London (October 1888 to 27 September 1890). It was edited dy Georg Vollmar (1879-80) and Eduard Bernstein (1881-90).—7, 13, 17, 26, 30, 41, 44, 45, 47, 48, 115, 266, 313

*Die Sozialdemokratische Monatsschrift*—an Austrian magazine published in Vienna in 1889-90.—88

*Der Sozialist*—a German-language weekly of the Socialist Labor Party of North America published in New York in 1885-92.—75, 113

*Der Sozialist*—a weekly of the Union of Independent Socialists, published in Berlin in 1891-99.—300, 351, 527

*Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt*—a Social-Democratic weekly, published under this title in Berlin in 1892-95; its editor was Heinrich Braun.—552

*The Standard*—a conservative daily, founded in London in 1827.—229, 374

*St. Johann-Saarbrücker Volkszeitung*—a daily published from 1876 to 1902 in Saarbrücken (1881) and St Johann.—51

*The Star*—a daily of the Liberal Party, published in London from 1888; initially it was close to the Social Democratic Federation.—44, 203, 207, 208, 219

*The Sun*—a daily published in New York from 1833.—355

*Le Temps* — a conservative daily published in Paris from 1861 to 1943.— 281, 547

*To-Day* — a socialist monthly published in London from April 1883 to June 1889; from July 1884 to 1886 it was edited by Henry Mayers Hyndman.— 552

*The Trade Unionist* — a workers' weekly published in London under this title from April to August 1891, and as *The Trade Unionist and Trades Council Record* from late October 1891 to March 1892. Its editor was Tom Mann. In 1892 the newspaper merged with *The Workman's Times*.— 203, 404

*La Tribuna* — a liberal daily published in Rome from 1883 to 1943.— 388

*Ueber Land und Meer* — a German illustrated weekly published in Stuttgart from 1858 to 1923.— 274

[*Vestnik Finansov*] *Вѣстникъ Финансовъ, Промышленности и Торговли* — a Russian weekly, organ of the Ministry of Finance, published under this title in St Petersburg from 1885 to 1917.— 444

*Volksblatt* — see *Berliner Volksblatt*

*Der Volksstaat* — central organ of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers) published in Leipzig from 2 October 1869 to 29 September 1876 (twice a week until July 1873, then three times a week). General direction was in the hands of Wilhelm Liebknecht. An important part was played by August Bebel, who was in charge of the *Volksstaat* Publishing House.— 200

*Volksstimme* — a German Social-Democratic daily, published in Magdeburg from 1890 to 1933; in the early 1890s it supported the 'Jungen' oppositional group.— 11, 22

*Volks-Tribüne* — see *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*

*Volkszeitung* — see *New Yorker Volkszeitung*

*Vorbote* — an American German-language weekly, published in Chicago in 1874-76; in 1876 it became a supplement to the socialist *Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung*.— 181

*Vorwärts. Berliner Volksblatt* — a German Social-Democratic daily, founded in 1884. It appeared under this title from 1891, when by decision of the Party Congress in Halle (1890) it was made the central organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. Its editor-in-chief in the 1890s was Wilhelm Liebknecht.— 30, 50, 56, 76, 109, 117, 118, 123, 126, 129, 132, 135, 137, 146, 148, 150, 156, 166, 174, 176, 181-83, 196, 200, 203-04, 210, 232, 238, 240-41, 242, 247, 261, 262, 268-69, 292-94, 298, 300, 308, 335, 344-45, 348, 373, 375, 386, 403, 445, 454, 455, 459, 464, 467, 470, 474, 484, 497, 509, 516, 521, 527, 533, 541, 544

*The Weekly Dispatch* — a London newspaper published under this title from 1801 to 1928, a mouthpiece of the radicals in the 1880s-90s.— 232

*The Woman's Journal* — an American feminist weekly published in Boston and Chicago from 1870 to 1917.— 328, 394

*Woman's Tribune* — an American feminist newspaper, published from 1883 to 1909, first in Washington, then in Portland (Oregon).— 394

*The Worker's Cry*—a workers' newspaper published under this title in London in 1891. Its editor was Frank Smith.—203

*The Workman's Times*—a British workers' weekly, published in Huddersfield from August 1890 to September 1894, then in London and Manchester. Its editor was Joseph Burgess. In 1892 it merged with *The Trade Unionist*.—195, 203, 329, 335, 360, 404, 480, 494, 508, 529, 532, 542, 545, 547, 560, 561

*Züricher Post*—a Swiss democratic daily, published from 1879 to 1936.—57, 133

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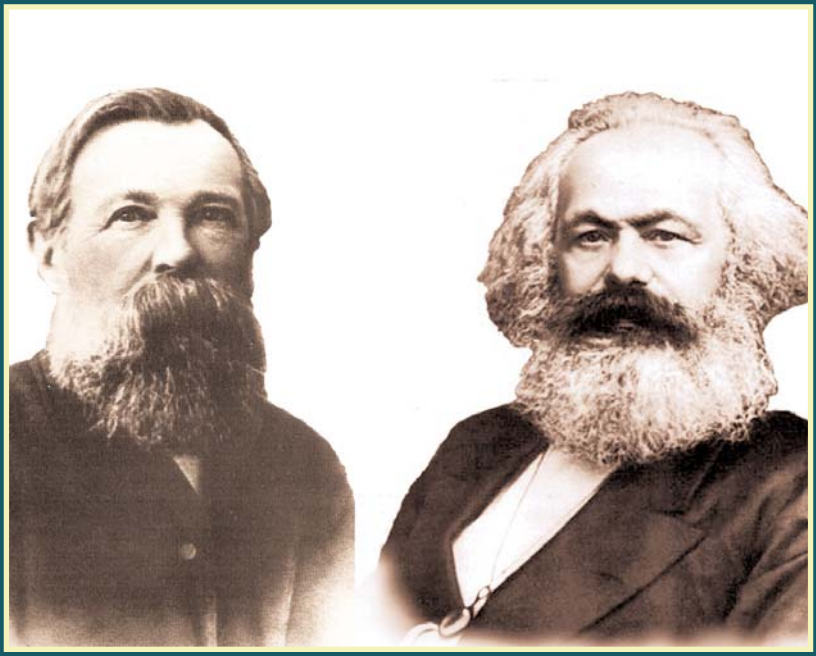

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Letters 1892-95

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 50

## Letters 1892-1895

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# PREFACE

The fiftieth and concluding volume of the English edition of the works of Marx and Engels contains letters written by Engels between October 1892 and July 1895.

In the last years of his life, Engels witnessed amazing changes in the politics and economics of contemporary society. Processes which began in the capitalist world in the 1870s had led, by the early 1890s, to major changes affecting every aspect of life, thereby exerting a direct impact on the working-class movement. The emergence of parliamentary government, the expansion of voting rights, the complete legalisation of trade unions and other worker organisations had created favourable conditions in which to campaign for a real improvement in the position of working people, for an increase of the influence of socialist parties and for the strengthening of their role in political life. There had also been changes in certain aspects of capitalist production, although these were not yet so obvious. As one might expect, Engels increasingly directed his thoughts to the prospects for and future of the struggle for working-class emancipation and to the ways and means of achieving its short-term and long-term goals; this is reflected in his numerous letters. His ideas on these issues were neither the result of abstract argument, nor were they the merely theoretical calculations of an academic isolated from the real world. To the end of his life, Engels maintained close contacts with the leaders of socialist parties in various European countries, with followers of Marx, with young scholars who showed an interest in his theoretical works and in Marxism, willingly sharing with them his views and ideas. A determined opponent of dogmatising, Engels revised many former concepts regarding forms and methods of proletarian struggle for workers' rights and a radical reformation of society in the light of history and the major changes taking place in his own day. Himself an eye-witness of the first steps taken by an independent working-class movement, and an active participant in this movement for almost fifty years, he was well

positioned to appreciate the undoubted successes achieved by it. He saw their successes as visible proof of the validity of the Marxist theory on the historical role of the working class.

The early 1890s were, in this respect, a sign of things to come. By this time socialist parties had been set up in most European countries. They were winning ever-wider support, and held seats in the parliaments of a number of states. As a rule, their programmes were based on Marxist theory. The most powerful of these parties, the German Social-Democratic Party, whose success had led to the annulment of the Anti-Socialist law, was securing a growing number of votes at each successive election, and there seemed to be every reason to believe that it might soon become a decisive power in the Reichstag. When the English trade-union congress decided to include in its programme the demand for the nationalisation of the means of production, when the trade union representatives were sent to international socialist congresses, and the Independent Labour Party was set up in 1892, Engels began to anticipate the emergence in the near future of a mass political party of the English working class. The viability of the new International, which had emerged in the wake of the 1889 International Congress in Paris, had been proved by the enthusiastic response to its appeal for May Day demonstrations to campaign for an 8-hour working day. Hundreds of thousands of people were now taking part in these demonstrations every year.

All these events inspired Engels with optimism. If the working-class movement in the major countries of Europe continued to develop at this rate and along these same lines, then he believed this might accelerate the crisis of the capitalist system. 'The growth of the proletarian movement in all countries', he wrote to Bebel in October 1893, 'is about to precipitate a crisis ... which may not be upon us for some five or six years yet.' This optimism was further strengthened, as letters published in this volume (pp. 172-189) reveal, by his trip to Europe in the summer of 1893, in the course of which he visited Vienna, Berlin and Prague, and attended the final session of the International Socialist Congress in Zurich.

Engels's belief that the capitalist system—at least in Europe, to which his statements on this subject are invariably restricted—would collapse in the relatively near future was based not only on the success of the proletarian movement, but also on his theoretical analysis of new phenomena and trends in capitalist economics. In 1891, in his critique of the draft of the new programme of the German Social-Democratic Party, Engels

noted that the creation of large joint-stock companies and trusts meant 'an end not only to *private production* but also to *planlessness* (present edition, Vol. 27, p. 224). Further on he writes that 'the material and cultural conditions' for the transformation of capitalist production into socialist production 'on behalf of society as a whole and according to a preconceived plan' are being created by capitalist society itself (ibid.).

Subsequent events confirmed that Engels had correctly identified the trends appearing in the development of capitalist production. He believed, however, that these trends were leading, moreover in a relatively short historical period of time, to the collapse of the capitalist system. While appreciating that 'those economic consequences of the capitalist system, which must bring it up to the critical point, are only just now developing', he nonetheless considered it quite possible that this crisis in the capitalist system would occur quite soon as a result of events taking place in the major states of Europe (see this volume, pp. 59, 75-6, 273). In articles, and particularly in letters, Engels identified individual cases of corruption involving a number of prominent politicians in France, Italy and elsewhere as symptoms revealing the general inability of the bourgeois state to discharge its functions, as indications that the existing social order was on the verge of collapse. '... there is nothing stable about France ... a crisis of the first water in Italy...—he wrote to F. A. Sorge on January 16, 1895, 'in short, things are growing critical throughout the whole of Europe' (p. 424).

This crisis of bourgeois society, a crisis which Engels believed to be imminent, would also be the result, in his opinion, of the intensifying economic conflict among the major capitalist countries, caused in part by the emergence of the USA onto the world market. Developing this idea in a letter to N. F. Danielson, dated 24 February 1893, Engels wrote that economic rivalry between the USA on the one hand, and England, France and Germany on the other, could only mean that 'the crisis must come, *tout ce qu' il y a de plus fin de siècle'* (p. 111). Clearly Engels supposed that this rivalry would provoke an acute economic crisis which would spread to the political and social spheres, and that this might well create the prerequisite conditions for the collapse of the capitalist system, a collapse which, so he believed, would occur not automatically, but as a result of the energetic actions of the working class. In December 1894, he wrote to P. Lavrov, '... the whole of Europe is warming up, crises are brewing everywhere, particularly in Russia' (p. 389). Three months later, in a let-

ter to Vaillant, he wrote: 'The end of the century is taking a decidedly revolutionary turn' (p. 455).

Pondering the various possible forms of that revolutionary crisis which might, in his view, create favourable conditions in which the proletariat could win political power in the countries of Europe, Engels's hopes turned in particular to Germany, which had the strongest socialist workers' movement and was suffering from acute internal conflicts. On 5 December 1892, he wrote to Laura Lafargue 'the next revolution ... is preparing in Germany with a consistency and steadiness unequalled anywhere else' (p. 59). He believed that the revolution, having begun in Germany or France, or possibly in some other country, for example in Austria or Russia, would inevitably spread to other countries. 'If France', he wrote to Lafargue on 27 June 1893, *'perhaps,* gives the signal, it will be in Germany—the country most profoundly influenced by socialism, and where the theory has the most deeply penetrated the masses—where the fight will be settled' (p. 157). At the same time he believed it very likely that 'if it does not bring the final victory, it will nevertheless make that victory a foregone conclusion' (p. 175).

As we now know, these prognostications were not fulfilled. However, this does not mean that they had no real basis. That his arguments were not groundless, and that he had accurately noted the trends is shown by the major events which marked the first decades of the 20th century. On 8 February 1895, Engels wrote to G. V. Plekhanov: And when the devil of the revolution has someone at his collar, then he has Nicholas II ' (p. 440). Indeed, ten years later, a popular revolution developed in the Russian Empire, and if it was not then victorious, it nonetheless shook the foundations of the autocracy and made a profound impact on other countries, particularly in the East. Engels often expressed the idea that the approaching war would be pan-European, and twenty years later that war broke out. However, his main prognosis concerning the imminent collapse of capitalism proved invalid, and not only as regards the timing. Having recognised that his and Marx's hopes that the proletariat would be victorious as early as the mid-19th century (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 533) were mistaken, Engels nonetheless remained captive to such illusions, believing that capitalism had already exhausted its potential by the end of the century, and that conditions were ripe for the emergence of new social relations. His postulates that the latest economic crisis would bring with it the collapse of bourgeois society, that capitalism had outlived

itself and was at the time failing to stimulate the development of productive forces were proved mistaken by the subsequent course of history.

However, those same facts upon which Engels based himself when assessing the objective pre-conditions necessary for the victory of the new social order, for a socialist revolution, facts which, so it seemed to him, confirmed the inevitability of the emergence in the near future of the possibility of a radical reformation of society, were also the facts which prompted him to reassess concepts formulated in the wake of the revolutions of the 19th century as regards the ways and means by which the proletariat could achieve political power, a factor which he considered of major importance and a necessary prerequisite of any transition to new social relations

The letters published in this volume reveal the development of Engels' thoughts on the strategy and tactics of the emancipation struggle. He realised that the methods used in those revolutions in which he himself had been actively involved were no longer applicable: 'The era of barricades and street fighting has gone for good; *if the military fight,* resistance becomes madness. Hence the necessity to find new revolutionary tactics, (see this volume, p. 21) he wrote to Lafargue in November 1892. At the same time—and most importantly—by the 1890s the working class in the majority of European countries had much greater opportunity to use legal methods thanks to the emergence, albeit in differing forms, of parliamentary government. Here Engels attributed the main role to parliamentary activity by the socialists, and to universal suffrage. He did so basing himself on the experience of the German Social-Democratic Party, whose practical activity deeply influenced his thinking. A number of Engels's letters (to Victor Adler on 11 October, to August Bebel on 12 October, and on 18 October 1893) contain ideas which received their final formulation in Engels's last work, *Introduction to Karl Marx's 'The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850'.* Emphasising the importance of the campaign for universal suffrage then being mounted in Belgium and Austria, he wrote to August Bebel: 'The suffrage movement won its first victory in Belgium, and now Austria is about to follow suit. At the outset this will ensure the *survival* of universal suffrage, but also encourage us to make further demands—in Germany no less than in France and Italy' (p. 206). In another letter to Bebel he again emphasises the importance of legal methods of proletarian struggle, arguing that 'governments are again coming under the control of a living political movement among the

people ... it is *we who* determine it', its 'conquests in the libertarian sense, greater political power for the working man, the extension of his freedom of movement' (p. 219).

The letters published in this volume provide manifest evidence of the pleasure which Engels felt at the successes of the socialists and their increasing influence. This is clearly seen in a letter from Engels to Julia, Bebel's wife, about a meeting between Bebel, Lafargue and Burns at his flat: 'That such a meeting should be possible, a meeting at which the three leading parliaments of Europe, the three dominant nations of Europe, will be represented by three Socialist Party leaders, is in itself proof of what enormous advances we have made' (p. 131). A year later he expressed his confident belief that 'before long there will be no European parliament without labour representatives (ibid., p. 283). 'Today', he wrote to E. Vandervelde in October 1894, 'the socialist movement everywhere is more powerful than the so-called public force' (p. 357). These successes, achieved by using exclusively 'legal' methods, strengthened his view that universal suffrage and other legal methods now made it possible for the working class to win political power by peaceful means. He anticipated, however, preventive actions by reactionary forces. Such counter-measures must, in his opinion, inevitably involve the violation of constitutional rights and the open use of force. This, in its turn, might compel the masses to offer direct resistance, that is, to attempt to seize power by force, by the use of arms. In other words, Engels did not exclude the possibility of using such methods, but only in response to coercive action by the ruling circles. 'Where there is no reactionary power to be overthrown', he wrote to Bebel on 7 October 1892, 'there can be no question whatever of revolutionary power (p. 8). He developed this same idea further in a letter to Lafargue a month later: 'It's even ten to one that universal suffrage, intelligently used by the workers, will drive the rulers to overthrow legality, that is, to put us in the most favourable position to make the revolution' (p. 29). Nonetheless he continues to see any attempt at armed uprising as foredoomed if the ruling circles still command the armed forces. He did not, it is true, exclude the possibility that in Germany, the army might become ' $^{1}/_{3}$ — $^{2}/_{5}$ socialist' (p. 225) as a result of the growing influence of the Social-Democratic Party in the countryside, which provided the bulk of army recruits. However, as many of his letters show, he hoped in the main that the current situation would enable the socialists to become the parliamentary majority, and thus implement their immediate goals.

Such an outcome, however, in Engels' view, could only be achieved by expanding socialist influence to ever broader sections of working people, and above all, the working class. 'A revolution in the minds' of workers, he wrote, ' ... is a guarantee of a far mightier and more comprehensive revolution in the world'. (p. 296). He attached particular significance to socialist propaganda among the peasantry, 'without which we cannot expect to be victorious'.

In his letters, Engels devotes considerable space to his thoughts on specific events in the European proletarian movement, moreover not only in Germany, France and England, as in previous years, but also in Austria, Belgium and Italy, where this movement was rapidly gaining strength. An increasing number of letters pass between Engels and Victor Adler, Filippo Turati, Antonio Labriola (most of the letters addressed to Labriola have still not been found). New names also appeared, such as E. Vandervelde, leader of the Belgian socialists. Engels's attention was drawn in particular to facts demonstrating the success of the socialists and their practical activity, the struggle of the popular masses to extend democratic freedoms, strikes and other worker demonstrations in support of their economic demands. These letters illustrate Engels's deep interest in internal party issues, and especially in the larger and more influential parties. In Germany these issues concerned relations between the Marxist core of the party leadership and reformist elements, particularly in matters relating to the party programme, and also to parliamentary tactics; in France the main issues were solidarity among socialist forces, ways and means of creating a single socialist party, and the role and tactics of 'the workers' movement in this process; in England the issues were the creation of a mass independent party of the working class, the role of existing socialist organisations in this process, their mutual relations, and also the need to support the trade unions in their desire to take an active part in the international socialist workers' movement; in Italy the main issue was that of strengthening, both organisationally and ideologically, the young socialist party, etc.

In a number of letters Engels expressed his views on the state of and prospects for the socialist movement in the USA. He saw the sources of its weakness as lying not so much in the sectarian line being pursued by the Socialist workers' Party, the bulk of whose membership was made up of German immigrants, as in objective circumstances, which created 'considerable and peculiar difficulties to the *steady* growth of a labour party' (p. 236).

While criticising the reformist tendency which existed in some socialist parties, Engels nonetheless considered that such differences of opinion should be solved primarily by internal party debate, but that 'to do away with every question involving genuine controversy', was impermissible (p. 376). Furthermore, as regards the various views among socialists on the ways and means of achieving their immediate goal—the political power of the proletariat—he wrote: 'Once we are agreed on that, differences of opinion ... as to the ways and means of struggle are unlikely to give rise to a dispute over principles' (p. 119).

Engels's letters offer striking evidence of his desire to give every possible encouragement to contacts among leaders of socialist parties in different countries, and to inform his colleagues about the experience acquired in the course of the liberation struggle, about major events in the working-class movement, and about the state of affairs in socialist organisations. He informs the Lafargues in detail about the electoral successes of the German Social-Democrats (p. 154), about the state of affairs in English socialist organisations (pp. 342-44). He informs Bebel about the English miners' strike (pp. 204-5), with Sorge he shares his views on the activities of the French Workers' Party (p. 249), on the political situation in England (pp. 81, 229), and on the battle among various trends within the German Social-Democratic Party (pp. 141-42). Almost every event of any significance in the European workers' movement between 1893 and 1895 is reflected to some degree or other in his letters of this period.

The material published in this volume shows that Engels continued his contacts with Russian socialists, revealing a lively interest in the situation in Russia. Having analysed the situation in the country, he posited that it might soon become the arena of revolutionary events. How well Engels knew the situation in Russia is revealed by his letter to N. F. Danielson, who translated *Das Kapitalmto* Russian and with whom he corresponded for many years, up to the end of his life. In a letter written on 24 February 1893, Engels noted the acute social contradictions, in this country with a huge peasant population, where, as a result of the rapid if belated, development of capitalism, the crisis might prove ... more powerful and acute than anywhere else (p. 112).

Together with an analysis of the current state of affairs in the proletarian liberation struggle in various countries and its future prospects, Engels's letters also contain his assessment of and ideas on the consolidation and development of international proletarian links, the activities of

the new International, and relations among the socialist parties. In many cases where misunderstandings clouded these relations, Engels acted as an arbiter, seeking to mitigate the discord and to assist in finding a compromise solution. The position he adopted helped, for example, in resolving the conflict between the German Social-Democratic Party and socialists in a number of other countries over whether May 1 should be marked by ceasing work, or should be limited to demonstrations held in the evening (see volume 49, p. 115). On this issue Engels argued that every party must adhere to the international commitments it had assumed or, if that were not possible, reach agreement on its actions with the other parties to such commitments. Engels believed that complete equality and independence in resolving problems constituted the essential basis of relations among socialist parties, a belief he set out most clearly in a letter to Lafargue dated 3 January 1894: 'A certain manner of proceeding may be excellent for one country, and utterly impossible or even disastrous in another' (p. 254).

Engels supported the widest possible participation in international socialist congresses by working-class organisations, including those which did not pursue socialist aims. 'These groups', he wrote to Turati on 16 August 1894, 'by the very fact of attending our congresses, are unconsciously drawn into the socialist lap' (p. 341).

Not believing himself to have the right to interfere in the activities of socialist parties, Engels limited himself to advice and recommendations, and even these he sent only to those closest to him, to whom he was able to say unpalatable things with perfect frankness. To Bebel, Liebknecht, Kautsky, Paul and Laura Lafargue, Adler, Sorge and others with whom he regularly corresponded, he gave his evaluations and expressed his criticisms, occasionally in quite sharp, and in some cases perhaps not altogether objective terms. However, this was not intended for the eyes of others, nor, of course, was it seen by either writer or reader as some infallible truth. Indeed, many optimistic prognostications and hopes were not intended for publication at all, were often coloured with emotion, and in many cases cannot be viewed as the result of any precise or detailed analysis.

The case is very different when it comes to letters written to people with whom Engels was little acquainted, often in reply to direct theoretical questions, or containing theoretical criticism of a particular economic, philosophical or historical work, or outspoken polemics with

their authors. Here Engels is always precise, his evaluations restrained, his conclusions argued and less categorical. Such, for example, are his letters to Franz Mehring (14 July 1893) and to Borgius (25 January 1894). which are de voted to clarifying a number of fundamental questions relating to the materialist concept of history, and which conclude, as it were, a cycle of letters dealing with this subject and published in Volume 49 of the present edition. Here he returns yet again to a criticism of the vulgar interpretation of historical materialism, which denies that ideological or other non-economic factors have any influence whatsoever on the historical process. 'An historical moment, once it is ushered into the world by other, ultimately economic, causes,' he wrote to Mehring, 'will react in its turn, and may exert a reciprocal influence on its environment, and even upon its own causes' (p. 165).

These letters may be grouped together with a number of others also devoted to theoretical and historical questions: to Robert Meyer, 19 July 1893; to W. Sombart, 11 March, and to Conrad Schmidt, 12 March 1895; and also to Hirsch, 19 March, to Paul Lafargue, 3 April, to Karl Kautsky, 21 May 1895, and a few others. Of particular interest here are comments of a methodological nature, still pertinent today. Engels once again warns against a dogmatic approach to Marxism. 'But Marx's whole way of thinking', he wrote to Sombart, 'is not so much a doctrine as a method. It provides not so much ready-made dogmas as aids to further investigation, and the method for such investigation' (p. 461). His thoughts on the objective nature of the historical process are very profound: 'As Marx sees it, the whole of past history, so far as major events are concerned, is an unconscious process, i.e., those events and the consequences thereof are not deliberate; either the supernumeraries of history have wanted something that was the diametrical opposite of what was achieved, or else that achievement entailed consequences quite other than those that had been foreseen' (ibid). Engels sets out his understanding of the dialectics of the necessary and the fortuitous, the concept and the phenomenon (p. 466), ideologies (p. 164), the role of the individual in history (p. 266), and also some ideas on the history of the Peasant War in Germany in the 16th century (p. ???), the communal form of ownership (pp. 214, 488) and other questions.

As in previous years, questions of foreign policy were often touched upon in Engels' correspondence, primarily in terms of ascertaining the position of the socialist parties with respect to the threat of war. Engels

was more certain than ever that 'the next war, if it comes at all, will not permit of being localised in any way', that 'given the enormous armies of today and the appalling consequences for the vanquished, a localised war is no longer possible' (p. 100). He repeated again and again that the socialist workers' movement had no interest whatsoever in war. 'At the moment a war would be utterly useless to us; we have a sure means of making progress which a war could only disrupt', he wrote to Sorge, on 18 January 1893 (p. 84). In his letters there is a reference to a series of articles entitled 'Can Europe Disarm?', written with the aim of helping the German Social-Democratic Party determine its position on the draft new military law (p. 107). He also used these articles when the French socialists turned to him for advice during the drafting of a law to replace a standing army with a militia system (p. 253).

Right up to the end of 1894, Engels' letters reveal the enormous work he had to undertake in order to prepare for the press the manuscripts of the third volume of *Das Kapital.* Having returned to this work in the autumn of 1892, he continued it, with only brief interruptions, up to the publication of the book at the beginning of December 1894. Almost every letter during these years contains at least one brief reference to his work on the manuscript, and then on the proofs. 'I have been compelled to decline all outside work, though ever so tempting, unless absolutely necessary', he wrote in March 1893 (p. 123). More than a year later, having sent the last part of the manuscript to the printers, he summed up the situation in a letter to Nikolai Danielson: 'Everything not absolutely necessary had to be put back in order to finish Vol. 3rd' (p. 309).

Following the publication of the book, Engels immediately began to carry through his own plans. On 17 December 1894 he described to Laura Lafargue a detailed plan for re-editions and new works, a plan amazing in its scope. 'That is my position', he wrote, '74 years, which I am beginning to feel, and work enough for two men of 40 ... But as it is, all I can do is to work on with what is before me and get through it as far and as well as I can' (p. 387). He did not abandon the idea of new editions of the earlier works of Marx, which had become virtually unobtainable, and, as he wrote to R. Fischer on 15 April 1895, 'I have a scheme for again presenting Marx's and my lesser writings to the public in a complete edition' (p. 497). However he succeeded in carrying through only a small part of this project.

The contents of this volume reveal the attention which Engels gave,

regardless of his occupation with other affairs, to new editions of Marx's works and of his own, and their translation into other languages. He wrote the introductions for new editions, edited or read through translations. He willingly assisted followers of Marx who published articles popularising Marx's theory and seeking to apply the materialist concept of history to the study of specific facts and events.

The volume contains a wealth of material revealing Engels's character, his responsiveness and willingness to reply to any question, provide any assistance not only to those close to him, but on occasion even to people he barely knew or did not know at all. His rigorous adherence to principle combined with a desire to listen to, understand and seek to convince his opponent, his readiness to engage in any discussion, but his intolerance of pretence and deliberate falsehood. Many of his letters are full of concern for Marx's daughters, his friends and supporters, in whose affairs he always took an active interest.

Special mention must be made of those of Engels's letters which speak about his trip to the continent in August-September 1893. In them he describes his impressions of what he saw and the changes that had taken place in Europe over the previous two decades, the state of affairs in the workers' movement in Germany and Austria, and his assessment of the International Socialist Congress in Zurich. Everything in these letters is of interest: the details of daily life noted by his sharp eye, his stories, full of humour and good will, about people he met, and his optimistic impressions of meetings with workers—members of the Social-Democratic Party.

Some of the letters contain references to the writing and publication of Engels' last works—*The Peasant Question in France and Germany* (pp. 367-68), and *Introduction to Karl Marx's 'The Class Struggles in France,* 1848 to 1850 (pp. 444; 457-58, 489-90), and to the polemics they provoked.

***

Volume 50 contains 320 of Engels's letters, of which 229 are here published in English for the first time. Of the 89 letters already published, 38 were previously printed in abridged form. Previous publications are indicated in the notes. This volume also includes the first publication in English of Engels's will and the supplements to it, and also five letters by Marx and Engels written between 1842 and 1859 but not included in the corresponding volumes of their correspondence.

Obvious slips of the pen in the texts of the letters have been corrected without indication. Abbreviated proper names, geographical names and individual words are given in full. Defects in the manuscript are indicated in footnotes, while lost or illegible passages of the text are indicated by omission points. If occasional reconstruction is possible it is given in square brackets. Any passages deleted by the author are reproduced at the bottom of the page in cases where there is a significant discrepancy. Rough drafts of letters or fragments reproduced in some other documents, etc., are indicated either in the text itself, or in the notes.

Foreign words and expressions in the text of the letters are left as given by the author, with a translation where necessary; Russian (cyrillic) words are noted but printed in English. English words and expressions used by Engels in text written in German and French are printed in small caps; (large caps if capitalized in original).

In the case of references to one and the same fact or event in the texts of different letters, the endnote number is duplicated.

The texts of the letters and notes were prepared by Oksana Matkovskaya (letters from October 1892 to August 1893), Yevgeniya Dakhina (letters from September 1893 to December 1894), and Natalia Kalennikova (letters from 1895 onwards and supplements). The Preface was written by Boris Tartakovsky. The volume was edited by Irina Shikanyan, Valerija Kunina and Boris Tartakovsky. The Name Index and the Index of Periodicals were prepared Vera Popova; index of quoted and mentioned literature by Alexander Panfilov (Russian Independent Institute of Social and National Problems).

This volume, including the Subject Index, was prepared for the press by International Publishers, New York, from the manuscript materials available.

To The Reader

Volume 50 completes the first and, as yet, the only edition of the works and correspondence of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in English known as the *Collected Works.*

This edition of the works of Marx and Engels was undertaken on the request of Marxist scholars in England and the USA by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (now the Russian Independent Institute of Social and National Problems, and is published jointly by Lawrence and Wishart (Great Britain), International Publishers (USA) and ‘Progress’

(now Progress Publishing Group Corporation), Moscow. The idea of publishing this unique English-language edition of the *Collected Works* of the founders of Marxism was supported by scholars not only in English-speaking countries, but also in a number of other countries in Europe and Asia. The high level of scholarship and the quality of the publication have repeatedly won commendation in the international press. The present edition is the most complete of all those issued to date. It offers the reader a comprehensive review of the written legacy of Marx and Engels, reveals the development of Marx's theory from the moment of its inception, and sets the works in their historical context.

This edition comprises 1,968 works, including those which remained unfinished, or which were not published during the lifetime of their authors, as well as other documents written by them. Approximately half of these (805) are here published in English for the first time. Thirteen volumes (volumes 38-50) are devoted to the enormous epistolary output of Marx and Engels—3,957 letters—of which most (2,283) have hitherto never been published in English.

This edition also offers English-speaking readers their first opportunity to acquaint themselves with a newly comprehensive way of publishing Marx's economic works, including the three volumes of *Capital* and two preparatory manuscripts (volumes 30-37).

Great changes have taken place since Marx and Engels wrote their works, changes which could not be anticipated in their day, and many postulates in their theory now inevitably require critical reassessment. One thing, however, remains indisputable, and that is the enormous contribution they made to the development of socialist thought. The unbiased reader can appreciate the scale of their intellectual influence.

There can be no doubt that the publication of the theoretical and epistolary work of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels has enriched man's scientific and cultural legacy.

The editors wish to express their thanks to subscribers and readers for their co-operation over a period of some 29 years (the first volume was published in 1975), during which they have expressed both criticism and unwavering interest, and also commendable patience in awaiting publication of the final volumes.

# FREDERICK ENGELS

## LETTERS

## October 1892—July 1895

Frederick Engels, 1893

# 1892

## 1

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN IN HANOVER

London, 4 October 1892

Dear Kugelmann,

Very many thanks for the little bit of Leibnitz. [1]

As regards *Herr Vogt,* please send one copy to Bebel and two to me, but if you yourself don't possess another, it goes without saying that you should keep one and send only one to me. [2]

As regards *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness* and *Palmerston, What Has He Done,* I have unearthed one more copy of each and these are enclosed herewith.

On the other hand I have only one copy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* but no loose issues, and only a few volumes of the *Revue*[c]*;* if I want a complete set I have to borrow it. You had better get Miquel to return you yours. After all *he* is the only one who might now be endangered by its possession and he'll be grateful to you for taking it off his hands. However Volume I as well as other individual volumes occasionally crop up in second-hand booksellers' catalogues.

For the rest, I am keeping tolerably well. But if you are expecting an exhaustive pathological discourse on my somewhat complicated and no doubt also somewhat obscure case, I'm afraid I cannot oblige you. I am in correspondence with many doctors in 5 or 6 countries and all of them

[a] K. Marx, *Herr Vogt.* — [b] K. Marx, *Der Ritter vom edelmütigen Bewusstsein.* - [c] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung Politische-ökonomische Revue.*

want the same sort of information. This would involve me in a medical correspondence more time consuming than my political correspondence, and that is absolutely out of the question. As it is, my work on Volume IP is being hampered by the business matters I have to attend to, of which there are more than enough. So do please excuse me. The whole thing is not at all serious, but merely an occasional nuisance. With my best compliments to your wife and daughter. [15]

Your
F. Engels

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Published in English for the first time

## 2

## ENGELS TO HUGO LINDEMANN AND CARL STEGMANN [3]

IN LONDON

122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.,
London, 6 October 1892

Dear Sirs,

In reply to your favour of 2.X, I have in the past frequently complied with requests of a similar nature from gentlemen who were quite unknown to me, but my experience in these cases has been such that unfortunately I have had to make up my mind to discontinue the practice. [4]

As a result of an indisposition, moreover, I expect to be tied to my sofa for a considerable time to come and hence am in no condition to go searching in my library for old, seldom used periodicals.

[a] of *Capital* - [b] Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann

In the circumstances I regret that I cannot oblige you in the way you wish and remain,

Yours very truly, F.
Engels

First published in:
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Second Russian Edition,
Vol. 38, Moscow, 1965

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3

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

London, 7 October 1892

Dear August,

First to business.

Lafargue sent me a *France with* the enclosed notice of an interpellation by Millevoye, [5] a Boulangist. [6] He intends to make use of this opportunity to remind the Chamber of everything done by the German Socialists in 1871 and thereafter to maintain or restore good relations between France and Germany, and of what they have had to endure as a result. He would like to have:

*les dates des protestations des socialistes allemands, les paroles prononcées au Reichstag et ailleurs, et les condamnations subies* [a] .

Now since the things I have here are incomplete or only to be extracted with untold labour from collections of periodicals buried in numerous packing-cases, during which process I might easily overlook what is most important, you would greatly oblige me and the French if you would take out the most cogent items and send them to me together with dates and references (from the official stenographic report). That is,

[a] The dates of the protests by the German Socialists, the speeches made in the Reichstag and elsewhere, and the sentences served.

1. The statements which led to the incarceration of the Brunswick Executive in 1870 in Lötzen, along with date and period of detention.[7]

2. Your protest in the Reichstag against the annexation[8] and perhaps also one or two cogent passages from the *Volksstaat* attacking the war and the annexation;

3. A few trenchant excerpts from later Reichstag speeches by you and Liebknecht, along with dates and particulars of the subject of the debate in which they were made;

4. Anything else that seems to you important.

Not a great deal is needed. You will know roughly how much is needed for a speech and if you then add 1 or 2 spare quotations, that will do. I should be glad if you would also quote some of *your own* statements, lest the French should imagine that Liebknecht did it all himself or even say that Liebknecht was an exception and that the others thought differently.

Yesterday we sent you in the *Workman's Times* 2 French newspapers with reports on Liebknecht's speeches and also a piece by Guesde which will have pleased you. a

Lafargue will be drumming up support in Carmaux and other towns in the South until his return on the 16th or 17th of this month, That is when the Chamber reassembles, and he must have the material by then.[9]

He writes to say that the patriotic press, all of which, and particularly *La France,* is in the pay of Russia, has launched furious attacks on Liebknecht. The Russian embassy now pays the newspapers by the job—so much for each individual article accepted. Which is also a sign that the Russians are short of funds. There is no doubt that Liebknecht has raised a furore. I don't begrudge the old man his popularity and, in two respects, can only hope, 1. that it won't make him even more obstinate with regard to the editorship of the *Vorwärts* and, 2. that in the Reichstag the malicious sniping of the *German* patriots and accusations of high treason, etc., don't suddenly provoke him into maintaining the opposite, thereby landing not just himself in the cart but us as well. A reporter on the *Gaulois* quotes him as saying: 'Were Germany to declare a war of aggression on France, the German Socialists would declare war on their own government, et moi-même je prendrais un fusil pour

[a] J. Guesde, "Vive l'Internationale!" *Le Socialiste,* 16 October 1892.

défendre *l'intégrité du territoire française'*[a] When he corrects this obviously exaggerated report, it is not impossible that he will go to the opposite extreme, should the Junkers and bourgeois in the Reichstag work him up into a real passion.

Lafargue says that Loubet and the Minister for Public Works, Viette, would go to considerable lengths to bring about an acceptable settlement of the strike at Carmaux [10] and compel the company to climb down, but that Freycinet is against it. The latter has designs on the presidency of the Republic and therefore wants to keep in with the voters of the Right and the Centre.

Otherwise, Lafargue is very satisfied with the Congress. [11]

The 12 copies of the *Neue Zeit* [12] arrived here and were passed on to Tussy. The chaps ought to have sent them to *her* instead of to me, but as it was a day was lost. Unfortunately there has recently been a change of ownership at the *Pall Mall Gazette* and we don't yet know what prospects the paper will now hold out for us.

Your account of the movement among the miners tallies with our experience in this country; here, too, the chaps keep themselves very much apart from the other branches of labour and are progressing more slowly than the rest. But in our case, the fact that there is already a strong workers' party behind them will eventually see us through; the chaps are *bound* to join us, once the movement has taken a hold on them. On the other hand there are, both here and in Germany, bad and unreliable leaders who cannot be induced to trust the workers in other branches. In this country, moreover, the petty jealousies existing between the men of one coal-field and another have so far not even permitted the creation of a united guild comprising all mine workers.

I shall do my utmost to stop the French from dispensing with your contributions. It is vitally important that occasionally, at any rate, accurate reports on the German movement should appear in Paris and particularly that the public should be made aware of the general political situation in which you people have to carry on the fight. You alone can do that, nor is there any need at all for you to come into conflict with Liebknecht as a result, provided he doesn't regard contributions to the French paper[b] as his monopoly. That wouldn't do at all.

[a] and I myself would take up a musket in order to defend *the integrity of French territory.* [b] *Le Socialiste*

You need have no fear that Burns is keeping too much in the background. The man's vanity is on a par with Lassalle's. But compared with the precipitate way in which K. Hardie thrusted himself to the fore to secure pride of place by resorting to little dodges, he was unquestionably right in adopting a non-committal attitude.

At the moment I am reading Hans Müller[a] and have not yet finished. It is all stale stuff and long familiar to us. The few bad speeches he quotes are not even skilfully chosen. Had I wanted to make out a case against the petty-bourgeois goings-on in the party or parliamentary group, I should have provided quite different material. The Steamship Subvention alone provides eight times as much as he does and of better quality. [13] He takes a speech made by Liebknecht in 1881 [14] during the period of general confusion that followed the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law [15] instead of later ones when the political situation makes the pacific, philistine overtones seem far less excusable, and then goes so far as to assert that power is in all circumstances revolutionary and never reactionary. The jackass fails to notice that where there is no reactionary power to be overthrown there can be no question whatever of revolutionary power. After all, you cannot start a revolution against something that can be removed without the least effort.

If there is one thing that sends the self-opinionated students, the men of letters and the would-be literati of the working class into a state of impotent rage, it is the sight of our party calmly continuing along its victorious course without needing the help from these petty panjandrums. If mistakes are made, the party is strong enough to deal with them itself. Witness the undeniably tame philistinism of the majority of the parliamentary group at the time of the Steamship Subvention, wit-ness the traditional tendency of the Party Executive, a tendency which continued to manifest itself for a short while *after* the Anti-Socialist Law had been repealed, to intervene in a dictatorial manner (and which, moreover, had its counterpart in an *identical* tendency among the executives of the previous Berlin organisation), etc., etc. Our Party is now so strong that it could, without risk of degeneration, digest not only a goodly number of petty bourgeois but also the "heddicated" and even the worthy Independents, [16] had not the latter given themselves their marching orders.

[a] H. Müller, *Der Klassenkampf in der deutschen Sozial Demokratie*

Time for the post. Regards to your wife[a] and yourself from Louise[b] and

Your
F.E.

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4

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN [17]

### IN HANOVER

London, 10 October 1892

Dear Kugelmann,

*Vogt* received with thanks. [2]

If you send for second-hand booksellers' catalogues on jurisprudence, political science and modern German history, especially for the period round 1848, you will light on individual copies of the *Revue*[c] from time to time. I myself have acquired one or two copies in this way.

Have just finished Chapter 27 of the third volumed; 29-34 present the main difficulty.

Kindest regards to your wife and daughter. [e]

Your
F.E.

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[a] Julie Bebel - [b] Kautsky - [c] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* - [d] of *Capital*- [e] Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann

5

# ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

## AT LE PERREUX

London, 14 October 1892

My dear Lohr,

Thanks from Louise and myself for your letters this morning. Had one from Paul from Bordeaux last night. Business first. Enclosed you find

1. Manifest des sozial demokratischen Ausschusses (Executive) Braunschweig 5. September 1870[a] with a letter from Mohr and myself [18] but which Paul better quote as from *Mohr,* who, I believe, signed it. *This is referred to in the MS. extracts under No. II I* (on page 2).

2. First and Second Addresses of the General Council of the International on the War, July 23rd 1870 and Sept. 9th 1870.[b] With French translation *made, I believe, in Geneva;* it very likely requires revision both as to correctness and style.

3. A series of MS. extracts received from Bebel who with his wife[c] set to work at once to supply us with what we wanted.

I think this will be sufficient for Paul's speech, though I don't envy you the task of translating all these things, especially the rather lax style of our Reichstag orators.

Anyhow, now Paul is armed and need not depend upon Liebknecht's promises which are sooner made than kept, as a rule.

I am glad Paul is going to take part again in the debates of the Chambre,[d] and if he is wise, he will attend the Palais Bourbon [6] assiduously during this last session of the present Parliament. I have some notion that electors want to see and hear something of the parliamentary activity of their deputy, and if they do not, there may be a risk not only of losing his seat, but also of not so easily securing another. After all, as things are now, both in France and Germany, electoral success in many places at least, depends on the votes of a number of *hangers-on* of the party, men

[a] Manifesto of the Brunswick (Executive) Committee of September 5, 1870. -[b] See present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 3-8, 263-70.-[c] Julie Bebel-[d] Chamber-[e]The Bourbon Palace (housing the French Chamber of Deputies)

that are influenced by petty considerations, and whose simple abstention may lose the seat. Then, too, Paul's first speech [19] showed evident signs of *embarras,* caused by his not being used to the new atmosphere where he had to live, move and have his being; and the sooner and the more he gets used to that and to the parliamentary forms, standing orders, and business habits of the Chambre, the better. This time he will have to show them that their howlings and interruptions will not intimidate him, and if he only tries, I am sure he can do it. I don't know French Chambers, but it seems to me, in a similar case I should take no notice of interruptions, reply to none of them, and in the last extremity call upon the president to ensure to me my right of being heard. (Capital advice on the part of one who notoriously cannot keep his own temper!)

Arndt you describe quite correctly. I see from Liebknecht's report on his journey[a] that he gives Arndt a mild slap but a slap anyhow, and probably he will have been told, at Marseille, of the proceedings of Blanquists [20] and Allemanists. [21] Liebknecht seems quite intoxicated with his triumph and, for the moment, *plus français que les français eux-mêmes!*[b] Unfortunately he always deals in extremes, and I can only hope that he will not be goaded, by patriotic bullies in the Reichstag, into tumbling head over heels into the opposite extreme. So far, his attitude in his speeches in Mannheim [22] etc. has been all that could be desired.

I understand your news about Roubaix to this effect that the people there will ask Paul to stand for the *Chamber next* autumn. That would be very good, Roubaix would be a pretty safe seat, while Lille seems rather shaky, to be carried at a period of extra local excitement, but very uncertain, so far, at ordinary periods.

Anyhow, *ca marche en France*[c] (everything but the *Journal quotidien!)*[d] and Carmaux [10] shows not only the progress of our ideas among the working-class, but also the fact of the bourgeois and the government *knowing,* it. The self-contained attitude of the people there—*et encore des méridiouaux, des Gascons gasconnants!*[e]—and the quiet but determined way in which the socialist town-councils proceed without any possibil-ist weakness or concessions, show an immense progress. The more the French are coming to the front, the more I shall be glad. The Continental movement, to be victorious, must be neither all French nor all German,

[a] W. Liebknecht, 'Agitations bericht. Nach Marseille und zurück,' *Vorwärts,* 12 October 1892. - [b] more French than the French themselves —[c] everything is on the move - [d] daily paper - [e] And Southerners into the Bargain, bragging braggarts!

but franco-allemand. If the Germans taught the French how to use the suffrage and how to organise strongly, the French will have to penetrate the Germans with that revolutionary spirit which the history of a century has made traditional with them. The time has passed for ever where one nation can claim to lead all the rest.

The *Socialiste* does not contain, in its report, the resolution of the Congrès *syndical* of Marseille [23] with regard to the *Glasgow* affair, [24] nor any allusion to it. How is it that this business is enveloped in such mystery?

Aveling's article, of *The Pall Mall Gazette,*[a] is also published in the *Workman's Times. Do you still receive that paper?*

Love from Louise and Yours affectionately,

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance,* t. II I, 1891-1895, Paris, 1959

Reproduced from the original

## 6

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

### IN BENEVENTO

London, 18 October 1892

Dear Friend,

The business of the duchess[b] has been cleared up. I only knew the lady by her married name of Mrs Edgren and was unaware that her maiden name was Miss Leffler.

Unfortunately Mrs Aveling had lost the *duchessas* address and had some difficulty in getting hold of it. That too has now been sorted out. Mrs Aveling has written to her about you warmly recommending you, so

[a] E. Aveling, 'Discord in The International. Continental Opinion on the British Trades Unionists.' *The Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 8598, 11 October 1892 -[b] of Caianiello

all you have to do is hand over the enclosed note.[25] I wish you success!

I presume that it is you that I again have to thank for the translation of the last part of my German preface to the *Lage, etc.* [a]

I am working on Volume II I of Marx's *Capital,* and have to devote every available moment to it—hence must be brief while remaining

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 7

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER

### IN DARMSTADT

London, 18 October 1892

My dear Schorlemmer,

I have your letters of 31 July and the 9th inst. It was my fault that Pumps forgot her *Schmollis.*[b] After so long an interval she no longer trusted herself to write in German off her own bat, and so I did it for her. Naturally I knew nothing of her tippling exploits in Darmstadt and put *"Sie".* Her husband[c] is not to blame, for he knows no German. Pumps is expecting a child any day, her fourth. Her second, a boy, unfortunately died, while her youngest, also a boy and really a very nice humorous little chap, is very delicate and at this moment far from well.

Because of what you said about Anschütz[26] I delayed writing this

*a* F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England.* -[b] A little ceremony in which the participants drink to the adoption *of Du* (thou), the intimate mode of address, *Sie* (you) being the formal term./Trans./ - [c] Percy Rosher

letter for several days in the hope of hearing from him. But up till now there has been nothing. The position is that I must know first of all how exhaustive the biography is to be, whether it is intended for a periodical and if so which, etc., etc. If the man proposes to deal with our Carl[a] merely *qua* chemist, all he needs are a few particulars that could serve as a framework. If, however, he intends to depict the *man* as he was, the question arises as to whether he is the most suitable candidate and whether one ought, without further inquiry, to place at his disposal the letters to and from Carl. Again, a chemist living in Germany would necessarily be unfamiliar with the circumstances of a man who had lived in England for 30 years and more, and this would involve me in work of a much more comprehensive nature. That would not deter me. I should gladly devote as much time to it as I could spare, once I had seen the back of Volume II I of *Capital to* which I have now returned. But who will provide me with a guarantee that my information is used in the spirit in which it was given? When in our presence, and in fact he spent all his vacations here in London except when he went to Germany in the summer, Carl was first and foremost a Social Democrat and up till now Social Democrats have been somewhat thinly represented in the ranks of the chemists. It certainly wouldn't do if, in his biography, the biographer were, so to speak, to beg his readers' pardon because the man whose life he was depicting had had the misfortune to be a Social Democrat!

Anschutz was, if I'm not mistaken, for a time a pupil of Carl's in Manchester. As already mentioned; I shall be glad to be of service—in so far as I have the time—but first of all I must know what is required and what kind of biography it is to be.

The executors in Manchester[b] are right in wanting to wind up whatever can be wound up without going into the settlement of the copyright questions. That will take time if only because the publishers stand to gain from a certain delay and are therefore in no hurry. I have heard nothing from Roscoe either; doubtless he won't make a move until he can put forward and accept or reject specific proposals.

I hope your daughter continues to improve and that she has been able to leave her bed in the meantime.

Why the old man[c] didn't come to Darmstadt I don't know. Does his

[a] Carl Schorlemmer - [b] Philipp Klepsch and Ludwig Siebold -[c] Wilhelm Liebknecht

wife[a] still perhaps have relations there whom he would rather not see too often, while feeling reluctant actually to steer clear of them? As to the business of Müller's[b] adultery and whether he committed it or whether he didn't, not a word has so far penetrated to London. Best compliments from Mrs Kautsky.

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 8

## ENGELS TO CHARLES BONNIER

### IN OXFORD

*[Draft]*

London, mid-October 1892

My dear Bonnier,

I have received Protot[c]—thank you. First of all, however, a correction. You say:

> 'whereas the French socialists are protesting against the Russian alliance and do not wish to hear about a war with Germany, Bebel in particular and you yourself are quite willing to accept the idea of a defensive war against France and Russia in which the German socialists would take part', and that 'these accusations, which are well received in France, irritate Guesde'.

If the French socialists are not expressly discussing the case of a defensive war in which they would be willing to repel an attack by the Emperor William,d this is because it is well known, recognised and accepted that

[a] Natalie Liebknecht [b] Hans Müller - [c] E. Protot, *Chauvins et réacteurs.* - [d] William II

there is no need to talk about it. There is not a single socialist in Germany who doubts that in such a case the French socialists would only be doing their duty in defending their national independence; there is not one who would hold it against them; on the contrary, they would applaud them, That is precisely the point of view in my article[a]. If I were not proceeding from the view that, should there be a foreign attack, the French socialists would take up arms to defend their homes, the whole of my article would be absurd. What I am requesting is the benefit of the same principle for the German socialists in the case of a Russian attack, even if it is supported by official France. The same holds true for Bebel's speeches. The people in France who use this as a basis for accusations against us belong to that kind who say: *quod licet Jovi gallici non licet bovi Germanici*[b]*;* to make them see reason is, it seems to me, the task of the French socialists, and presents no great difficulty.[c]

I would also warn you that what M. Protot cites from my article is nothing but gross falsehood.

You say that the brochure is well done. I find it very weak; the end, where this joker poses as an economist is more than grotesque. If he has a strong point, it is the royal disdain which he pours out on his readers. Indeed, one must assume that one's readers are incurable idiots in order to dare to offer them such a collection of palpable falsehoods (in which you see only snippets) and lies contradicting one another. Is it then sufficient to put on a masque of Déroulède in order to persuade those who create public opinion in Paris to swallow anything one wishes. Has Boulangism [6] survived Boulanger to the point of being more powerful than during Boulanger's lifetime?

Such a collection of lies and falsehoods is, in fact, irrefutable. It would require 3,200 pages to reassert the truth against these 32 pages. There is not a single quotation of any significance which is not shamelessly distorted; it was only after comparing several texts that I had the measure of M. Protot's affrontery.

As for the literary style, I find it lamentable, in striking contrast to the assiduity with which he has collected his material. Clearly another

[a] F. Engels, *Socialism in Germany.* — [b] what is acceptable for the French is not acceptable for the German - [c] The following phrases are crossed out in the draft letter: 'That such chauvinist stupidities irritate Guesde I can well believe, but that is not my fault, nor that of Bebel. As for the rest, when I sent my article to Paris, I warned my friends of the danger, expressing my fears due to national susceptibilities; but I was told that, on the contrary, this was just what was needed'.

hand was at work here. Certainly not Protot.

Nor is it, as *Vorwärts* believes, one of the *Unabhängiger.*[a] [16] Their manifesto (Hans Midler's *Klassenkampf)*[b] is characterised by the lack of care he has taken in selecting his supporting texts.

Nor is it the French police; one senses that they have had a hand in it, but they are not the ones who have so interested themselves in the foreign policy of the Romanian socialists.

If M. Protot accuses the latter of being the enemies of Holy Rus, if he twice quotes the Bucharest *Munca* (Labour), and divulges that Nadejde de Jassi is 'Zingaro',[c] it is because he is acting in the interests of the Russian embassy, which must have supplied this information, and probably also the information on the German socialists, collected in Berlin by some attaché there.

Thus Protot's lampoon is not only in the interests of the police, but also in the interests of Russia; it is part and parcel of those frantic efforts that Russia is making to ensure a French alliance. It is Russia, in fact, which needs France. She is so completely exhausted by the social disorganisation caused by the economic transformation that she has been experiencing since 1861, by the ravages of deforestation, by the ruination of agriculture and the cottage industry, by famine and cholera, that she could not wage a war through to the end. Her finances and her credit are in a state of collapse reminiscent of France in 1788; if the western public continues to keep its purse closed, there remain only three alternatives: 1) bankruptcy, 2) the convening of a national assembly to sanction a new loan, which then might succeed in the west; 3) war as a measure of desperation—*and in that last case France is necessary:* once war were declared, the French army engaged, ten against one, the Tsar[d] would reach an agreement with William[e] and Francis Joseph,[f] who would hasten to meet him, and la belle France would pay the expenses of the banquet of reconciliation.

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[a] the Independents - [b] H. Müller, *Der Klassenkampf in der deutschen Sozialdemokratie.* — [c] a gipsy - [d] Alexander II I - [e] William II - [f] Francis Joseph I

9

# ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

## IN VIENNA

London, 23 October 1892

Dear Victor,

There is no need for you to worry about the Trades Unions' International Congress. [24] In the first place the whole business was probably only a device for getting the anti-Zurich resolution [27] accepted and might well not even be raised by the Parliamentary Committee. [28] Secondly, the attendance of individual Continentals is neither here nor there, seeing that even the Paris *bourse du travail* [29]—still, if no longer altogether, dominated by the Possibilists [30]—resolved that the Trades Unions be asked to abandon their plan. So who else might one expect to go? Maybe Mr Gilles, as representative of the German Independents [16]?!

It would be a *great* help if the Austrian Trades Unions [31] were to send their resolution to the Parliamentary Committee. I shall ask Aveling for the address which I cannot find.

Yesterday I walked up Primrose Hill for the first time and, provided I'm careful, think I shall have made some slight progress by the end of the week. I shall make a note of MacEwen. He is at any rate a CONSULTING SURGEON which means that he can only advise *other doctors* and not the public direct. But I shall find that out. You have no idea of the extent to which everything here, including medicine, is governed by etiquette and how one breach of that etiquette is infinitely more frowned upon than ten of the sexual code. I recall a dictum of the Mancunian Medico-Ethical Society which sat in judgement over my friend Gumpert in Manchester. While paying a visit of condolence (this was around 1866-67) to a family who were *not* his patients, he had expressed slight misgivings about their family doctor's having permitted other children to approach the bodies of two children who had died of scarlet fever. The other doctor lodged a complaint and the verdict was: THAT DR GUMPERT HAD COMMITTED A BREACH OF MEDICAL ETIQUETTE, THOUGH HE WAS MORALLY RIGHT! Well, again my best thanks—I shall follow your advice.

Tomorrow I shall again write to Stepniak about his work [32]. If you haven't had anything by the end of the fortnight, by 7 or 8 November say,

please write to me again, then I'll send him a reminder. It's the only way you can get anything out of a Russian.

I am now on Volume II I of *Capital.* If, just once during the past four years, I had been able to see three clear months ahead of me, it would have been finished long ago. But I never had any such luck. On this occasion I am making time for it by forcibly suppressing and by totally neglecting all my correspondence and other concerns. I found that I had made very good headway with the most difficult passage the last time I tackled it and up till now it's been going pretty smoothly, though admittedly I have now come up against the chief obstacle which has long been standing in my way. [33] But I work with a will and, so far, with undiminished vigour and doubtless something will come of it this time.

Herewith a document typical of anarchists of Czech nationality. The gentlemen are beginning to bludgeon one another with the principle that voting is a revolutionary act. I am prepared to excuse its deficiencies on the grounds that, not being Germans, the louts were not altogether aware of the full impact their rhetorical flourishes would have on a German.

We were all absolutely delighted by the good news about your wife.[a] We hope the improvement will continue and that before long you will be able to send us further glad tidings.

Warm regards from Louise.[b] to you, your wife and your children, and the same also from

Your

F. Engels

Add. of the Parliamentary Committee, C. Fenwick, Esq., M.P., 12, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C.

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[a] Emma Adler - [b] Kautsky

10

# ENGELS TO CHARLES BONNIER

## IN OXFORD

[Draft]

London, 24 October 1892

My dear Bonnier,

In *Le Figaro* Guesde says:

> 'Just as Liebknecht stated that, in the case of aggression by France, he would be obliged to remember that he is German, we would remind the workers' party, in the case of German aggression, that we are French'.

Thus Guesde and myself are in perfect agreement, and it is with him that you should settle matters.

You speak of an *unfortunate* phrase by Bebel—which one? You reproach him with so many! If it is the one in *Figaro* that he would fire at Guesde, it belongs to M. Huret; Bebel writes that it existed only in this gentleman's fantasy.

You talk of preventing war, and you boast of having voted for Domela [34]—with his plan you would crush all the socialist parties in Europe.

It is all very fine to speak of preventing a war, from whichever side it might come. But why allow yourself to believe in illusions. Do the French socialists have some means of preventing the young William[a] from declaring war in a moment of madness? Can the German socialists forbid Carnot or some patriotic ministry to commit a similar folly? Furthermore, if it were William or the street-corner revanchists who were the real danger; it is the Russian government which is pulling the strings of these puppets, these by hopes, those by fears. So now prevent it from inciting war!

If war breaks out, *those who are defeated will* have the opportunity and the duty to bring about a revolution—and that's that.

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[a] William II

11

# ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [35]

## AT LE PERREUX

London, 3 November 1892

My dear Lafargue,

I am plunged up to the eyes in the 3rd Volume of *Capital* which must be completed once and for all. I am working on the least edited and most difficult part: banks, credit, etc. [33] I cannot interrupt the work for anything whatsoever, otherwise I should have to start from the beginning all over again. Hence all my correspondence is interrupted and I can write you only a few words.

It is most unfortunate that you believed in Millevoye's promises, who flouted you like a good politician [36]— in future you will know that in politics such people pass for GENTLEMEN. I get letter after letter from Germany in which they complain about your absence at the critical moment and I warn you that it will be difficult to have our people undertake work for debates from which the principal speaker for whom the work is done absents himself. Publication in pamphlet form [9] will not have a hundredth part of the effect of a parliamentary speech; that's a matter on which our Berlin people are well qualified by experience to pronounce.

The least you might do would be to send a delegate to Berlin on the 14th, [37] that would enable you to have it out with our people over there. So do try to send someone; it's an expedition that will pay.

You will have seen the reports in the papers of the ghastly effects, in Dahomey, of the new projectiles. [38] A young Viennese doctor[a] who has just arrived here (ex-assistant to Nothnagel) saw the wounds made by the Austrian projectiles in the Nurmitz strike, and he tells us the same thing. There's no doubt that people in danger of being shot to bits in this manner will want to know why. It's a capital thing for maintaining peace, but also for curbing the so-called revolutionary inclinations, on whose outbursts our governments count. The era of barricades and street fighting has gone for good; *if the military fight,* resistance becomes madness.

[a] Ludwig Freiberger

Hence the necessity to find new revolutionary tactics. I have pondered over this for some time and am not yet settled in my mind.

I am beginning to go out again a bit. I had nearly three months as a prisoner at home; now I am starting to walk, but little and slowly; but at least I realise that it will soon be over. And about time, as I feel that the lack of exercise in the open air must come to an end. And when I am completely restored, we can, I hope, arrange things so that you and Laura give us the pleasure of spending a few weeks with us. We have so many things to discuss, and it is time Laura saw London again.

Love from Mme Kautsky.

Ever yours,
F. Engels

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## 12

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 4 November 1892

My dear Löhr,

This morning Meissner sends a remittance for £38—one-third of which *£12.13.4d.,* covers your share and is settled by enclosed cheque which please acknowledge. There are about 400 copies left of Vol. IP and the second edition is in preparation. Fourth edition of Vol. P is out, and 460 copies sold, which wipe off the greater part of the printing etc. cost; only 886 Marks remain to be covered and all the receipts beyond that will be profits to be divided with Meissner.

Third Volumea well in hand and will not leave off until finished. This can-

[a] of Marx's *Capital*

not be done unless I neglect correspondence, so you must excuse my brevity

Now you ought to take seriously into consideration your impending visit to London; we have talked so much about it that at last it ought to be put into execution. We all should be so glad to see you here again once more.

I am in daily expectation of news that Pumps has had another baby. It's fully due if not overdue, she herself expected it a month ago, but she is always out of her reckoning.

I wonder whether Jack Burns did say the nonsense about the foreign working men, Huret puts into his mouth in the *Figaro?* [39]

Now then, to work again! The day I finish that section on Banks and Credit, [33] which has been my stumbling block for 4-5 Years (because under 3 months of *absolutely free* time it can't be done and these 3 months I could not get)—the day I finish that, there will be some consumption of alcohol—you bet!

Love from Louise.

Ever yours,
F. Engels

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## 13

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [40]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 5 November 1892

Dear Sorge,

You must forgive my laziness about writing; I have got to finish Volume II P this winter; it *must* be completed and this won't be possible unless I

[a] of *Capital*

set *all my* correspondence aside. I have been at it for 3 weeks and can only tell you that the work is going more smoothly than I could have hoped; the last time I had to break off, I had made good headway and now it's paying dividends. But there still remains a mass of work to do, though I am far enough advanced to be able to see the end of it. And nobody is more glad of that than I; this piece of work has been a burden on my conscience. I have forced myself to make time for it since it couldn't be done in less than 4 months of complete freedom from all other jobs; I know that, unless I do it now, it will never be done, for we are entering a period of rebellion and war. But like everyone else you will have to suffer for it pro tem—so please forgive me!

Your F.E.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos, Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere,* Stuttgart, 1906

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## 14

## ENGELS TO SERGEI KRAVCHINSKY (STEPNIAK)

### IN LONDON

London, 5 November 1892 122 Regent's Park Road, N.W. My dear Stepniak

Thanks for your letter of the 25th October.[41] I find that Adler's letter to you was left here and has not yet been returned to you, so I enclose it now. Kind regards to Mrs. Stepniak from Mrs. Kautsky and

Yours faithfully F.
Engels

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## 15

# ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

## IN BERLIN

London, 6 November 1892

Dear August,

All this time I have been slaving away dutifully at Volume II P and not, I'm glad to say, without success. Today I may already be said to be fairly past the main obstacle, the credit system—upon which nothing remains to be done but the technical editing—which, however, is of a complex and time-consuming nature. [33] I have greatly enjoyed the work, firstly because I have discovered so many brilliant new sides to it—ask Louise,[b] to whom I have read quite a lot of it out loud—and secondly because it has also shown me that, when all's said and done, my old noddle is still up to the mark, even where relatively difficult things are concerned. The worst havoc the years have wrought is in the sphere of memory whose doors are no longer so easy to find or to open, which means a general slowing down. This is something I can very well put up with, however.

But though I may have broken the back of the work, it's very far from finished. Besides this section there still remain the two last ones (rather less than 1/3 of the whole) which I haven't so much as looked at yet, and then comes the final, technical editing of the whole which, while not difficult, is all the more tedious and wearisome for that. It will probably take me the whole of the winter—and then there'll be the proofs—coinciding with those of the 2nd ed., Vol. II .[a]

I have made time for it by forcibly suppressing in all my correspon-

[a] of *Capital* - [b] Kautsky

dence in so far as it wasn't absolutely vital. Not my correspondence with you, however, although I cannot reply so promptly or in as much detail as I should like. Well, you won't, I suppose, have any objection if it means that the Witch[a] takes up her pen rather more often instead of me.

Lafargue has still to learn that, amongst bourgeois politicians, promises are made only to be broken. [36] In any case his intentions would have been frustrated by Standing Orders which preclude debate on such questions. He is still rather too much of a tyro on the floor of the Chamber; however he has promised to frequent it more regularly in future. They now want to publish the documents in pamphlet form. [9]

I expressed myself badly in speaking of Hans Müller.[b] I didn't mean that you, as the Party Executive, should take any notice of his concoction and still less that you should do so in the manner suggested by me. But *if a* polemic against the angry young man was embarked upon under your aegis, *then,* etc. it seems to me absolutely essential that the party should criticise its own antecedents on such occasions and thereby learn to do better. True, the blunders committed at the time of the Steamship Subvention, [13] etc., are over and done with, but the same people are still around and some, at least, are capable of acting as before. It all the blunders perpetrated by the parliamentary group and by some of its members are to be concealed under a mantle of love, this would, in my opinion, be tantamount to breeding Independents. [16] Messrs Frohme, Blos, etc., should acquire a thicker skin. Am I wrong in attributing certain motions redolent of 'Independence', tabled at the Party Congress by the Solingen people, to the latter's opposition to Schumacher's bourgeoisification and philistinisation? [42] A touch of retrospective veracity in the *Neue Zeit* would do no harm and you, with your tact and expertise, would be the right man for the job—but whether, of course, your position on the Executive doesn't make this inadvisable is another matter. One way or the other, however, such criticism must eventually be expressed.

It was with pleasure that I read the report of your Executive last night.[c] Very good. Calm, objective, adhering to the facts which are allowed to speak for themselves and only at the end a few necessary brief words denoting proud self-confidence. We shall have to see if Aveling can't get some extracts from it into the press. But over here you are virtually boy-

[a] Jocular name for Louise Kautsky - [b] See this volume, p. 8 - [c] 'Bericht des Partei-Vorstandes an den Parteitag, zu Berlin 1892', *Vorwärts,* No. 259, 4 November 1892.

cotted out of *sheer English chauvinism.* The existence in Germany of a labour movement with procedures so different from those of the British movement and which, though contemptuous of the TRADES UNION and politico-parliamentary rules here considered sacrosanct, nevertheless goes on from strength to strength, is exceedingly galling to people in this country. And I don't mean the middle classes. The old Trades Unions regard each of your victories as a defeat for themselves and their own methods. The Fabians [43] are riled at your forging ahead *despite* your having declared war upon all bourgeois radicals. The leaders of the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION [44] detest you for refusing either to have secret dealings with them or to join the mutual admiration society which *Justice* has long been trying to make you accept, now by dangling a carrot, now by cracking a whip. Because of the vast ignorance of the English masses in regard to foreign affairs and their hereditary arrogance which leads them to look on a foreigner as a second-rate human being and everything occurring abroad as of little account, a conspiracy of silence is easily imposed. The *Chronicle*[a] is in the hands of the Fabians where labour matters are concerned, *Justice* has been led by Hyndman to espouse the cause of that rotter Gilles, the *Workman's Times* likewise believes that nothing's any good unless based on a big English-style TRADES UNION organisation—so where are we to get the thing published? Only in the bourgeois press, as a news item of general interest. If, for the space of no more than a year, we could find a paper willing to open its pages to straightforward accounts of the German movement, the whole business would come to an end. For there is enough latent internationalism, if nurtured, to put paid to the stupid arrogance of the British, at least in the majority of cases. But as it is...!

The *Workman's Times* is threatening to close down. There's more to this than meets the eye and we're trying to find out what. Nothing like that happens over here without jiggery-pokery of some sort.

Now *ad vocem*[b] Vollmar. As I see it, the man was attacked most ineptly. The pitfall in this case was the phrase state socialism. That phrase does not express any clear-cut concept but, like 'social question', etc., is simply journalese, a mere cliché from which anything or nothing may be interred. To contest the true meaning of such a word is sheer waste of time;

[a] *Daily Chronicle* — [b] as regards

for its true meaning consists precisely in its not having any. It would have been difficult to avoid examining this supposed concept in the *Neue Zeit* and what K. Kautsky has to say about it is, in fact, very good (except that he too supposes that the thing has absolutely got to have a *true meaning).* [45] But it is doing Vollmar an immense and quite unnecessary favour to contend with him in political debate about *what* state socialism is or is not—there's no end to such pointless political palaver. As I see it, what ought to be said at the Party Congress is this: 'My dear Vollmar, what you imagine state socialism to be is all one to us, but on various occasions you have said such and such about the government and our attitude towards it, and that's where we have got you; what you have said runs just as much counter to the tactics of the party as do the pronouncements of the Independents, and *it is for this you have got to answer!* Only on the score of his unashamed arse-crawling to William[a] and Caprivi is he vulnerable, indeed very much so, and it was to this particular point I wished to draw your attention before the Party Congress.

Enclosure from the Witch.[b]

Cordial regards to your wife and yourself. We are glad to hear that there's an early prospect of your visiting us. Could be *MOST BENEFICIAL* politically over here; we shall do the necessary spadework. We *quite agree with you* about a weekly. [46] It would be tremendously effective abroad where we still very much feel the loss of the *Sozialdemokrat;* a good weekly survey of party events would be invaluable abroad.

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[a] William II - [b] Louise Kautsky

16

# ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [35]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 12 November 1892

My dear Lafargue,

You do not tell me where I should address my reply, and so I am sending it to Le Perreux.

Herewith I append a cheque for £20 which you have asked, but I must warn you that in the future it will be *absolutely impossible* for me to make good the shortages of funds, let alone the peculations that might occur within the French party. Each national party ought to see to its own expenses, and one should not hear—in France, above all—this constant complaint that 'the fees are not remitted'. Such kind of things would never take place if there is just a bit of order; a cashier ought to be subject to some kind of control, and when he falls ill, he is to be replaced, and he is accountable for receipts and expenditures. If some inevitable misfortune assailed you—all right, let it be; but paying for such negligence of *responsible agents* of the party, that's tough indeed!

But, after all, the fat is in the fire—so much for that!

I have explained to Bebel the entire affair of Millevoye's[a]; it seems as if they are calming down on this account; your success at Carmaux and elsewhere must have contributed to that. The fruits of your peregrinations through France begin to ripen, and all of us are pleased to see the progress made in France. Do you realise now what a splendid weapon you in France have had in your hands for forty years in universal suffrage; if only people had known how to use it! It's slower and more boring than the call to revolution, but it's ten times more sure, and what is even better, it indicates with the most perfect accuracy the day when a call to armed revolution has to be made; it's even ten to one that universal suffrage, intelligently used by the workers, will drive the rulers to overthrow legality, that is, to put us in the most favourable position to make the revolution. We should reach a new stage in the 1893 elections, and then there will

[a] See this volume, p. 5

be that union between Socialists of different shades of opinions of which Liebknecht never stops talking. That union will come about as soon as there is a score of Socialists in the Chamber; if our people have—as I hope—a majority, they will be able to dictate terms. In the meantime, go on with your 'victories and conquests', and you will find that it is the Germans who will applaud you the most warmly.

Have you received the report of the German Executive Committee to the Berlin Congress[a]? It's magnificent—and it's war.[47]

The paper—oh the paper![48] If the French bourgeoisie makes the same amount of difficulty before it lends money to the Russian tsar, that would, at least to some extent, make up for the cheated hopes this journal has aroused in us.

Kiss Laura,

*Kind regards from Mrs Kautsky.*

Ever yours,
F. Engels

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## 17

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

London, 15 November 1892

Dear August,

Now you see how my work gets interrupted! These absurd *Tribune* articles *have forced me* to intervene. Could you please ensure that the article

[a] 'Bericht des Partei-Vorstandes an den Parteitag zu Berlin 1892', *Vorwärts,* No. 259, 4 November 1892.

appears in the next number of the *Tribüne*—it's already too late for this week's. [49]

Can you send me *another copy of those collected articles on Bakunin?* Since *my* copy is regularly sent to Sorge, I no longer have them here, but it might be necessary for me to refer to them. Instead of working, I have had to look out the old stuff, but it was out of the question to let this tissue of lies go unchallenged. Can you find out who its author was?

Regards to Victor.[a] Louise will today be sending an account of Trafalgar Square to Vienna. [50]

Cordial regards to Mrs Julie,

Your F. E.

*[Postscript from Louise Kautsky]*

Warm regards to Julie, Victor, Popp and the proper hunter before the Lord.[b] Have received the *Sozialist.* Many thanks. Good luck with your work.

Love
Louise

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[a] Adler - [b] August Bebel

## 18

## ENGELS TO SERGEI KRAVCHINSKY (STEPNIAK)

### IN LONDON

London, 15 November 1892 122
Regent's Park Road, N.W.

My dear Stepniak,

Suppose you and Mrs Stepniak, Volkhovsky and his little girl all come on *Thursday*[a] and have dinner with us. If you come about 3.30 to 4, we can talk matters over and have dinner at 5. You know it is a long way from your place to this, and unless we arrange as above, you might easily miss your own dinner at home.

Kind regards to Mrs Stepniak from Mrs Kautsky and

Yours faithfully,
F. Engels

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## 19

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

London, 19 November 1892

Dear August,

This time your Party Congress [51] didn't go off as brilliantly as it did on the last occasion. The debate on the question of salary leaves a very

[a] 17 November

nasty taste in one's mouth—not that I think the English or French would have done any better in *that* respect—though Louise refuses to admit as much. As I know from long experience, what we are up against here is one of the limitations imposed upon the outlook of working men by the conditions under which they have lived hitherto. The same people who think it perfectly natural for their idol Lassalle to have a private income and live the life of a consummate sybarite are denouncing Liebknecht for wanting, as their paid editor, barely one-third of that sum, although the paper yields them five or six times as much. [52] To be dependent, even on a labour party, is a hard lot. And, quite aside from the question of money, it's a most otiose position for anyone with any initiative to be editor of a paper belonging to the party. Marx and I were always agreed that we would *never* accept such a position and that the only paper we could have was one that was not financially dependent even on the party itself.

If taken too far, your 'nationalisation' of the press [53] would have very material drawbacks. It's absolutely *essential* for you to have a press in the party which is not *directly* dependent on the Executive or even the Party Congress, i.e. which is in a position unreservedly to oppose individual party measures *within* the programme and accepted tactics, and freely to criticise that programme and those tactics, within the limits of party decorum. As the Party Executive, you people ought to encourage a press of this nature—indeed initiate it, for you would then exert far more moral sway over it than if it were to come into being partly *against* your will. The party is outstripping the strict discipline of earlier days; with 2 or 3 millions and an influx of 'heddicated' elements, more latitude is needed than what has hitherto not only sufficed but actually proved a useful restraint. The sooner you people adapt yourselves and the party to this changed situation the better. And the first step is a *formally* independent party press. It is bound to come about but it would be better if you were to allow it to come about in such a way that it remains under your moral sway from the outset and does not arise in opposition to yourselves.

You people blundered badly—not in Berlin but at Brussels [54]— over the question of the May Day celebrations. You must have known at the time what you could promise and perform, and yet you went and promised more than you are now able to perform. I consider your own speech on the subject no whit inferior to Victor's and readily believe that a stoppage of work in Germany would demand sacrifices out of all proportion to victories and gains. [55] But when the strongest party in the world suddenly

sounds a retreat in this way, the general impression this produces is *very bad. Noblesse oblige.* You are the fighting force, the *corps de bataille* of the modern labour movement and, what you promised in Brussels, you were morally bound to do. Now, while it is undoubtedly better not to follow up one stupidity with another, far greater one—granted the crucial importance just now is not to interrupt the German party's victorious progress—you should nevertheless consider what kind of impression this Berlin resolution is going to make on the world at large. The affair would also seem to have aroused indignation in France and the chaps there will doubtless be giving you a piece of their mind. You cannot afford to inflict such moral injury upon yourselves again—so *in Zurich* you must have the courage of your convictions and declare outright that you cannot commit yourselves to a stoppage of work; then, though people may be angry with you, they will not be able to reproach you with breaking your word and beating a retreat. [56] It is nonsensical to try and organise the movement uniformly in each individual country. The Austrians, to whom a stoppage of work on May Day is necessary, and who are accordingly prepared to make those very sacrifices which you rightly repudiated in your particular circumstances, are as justified in acting as they do as you were; now, however, they can make reproaches to which you can offer no answer. For by *their* very conduct they have proved that the *impossibility* clause laid down at Brussels does not apply.

We over here have not yet had the state socialism debate.

I must congratulate you on your resolutions. They are really first-rate and I know of only one person who could have improved on them, namely Marx. The resolution on state socialism, like that on anti-Semitism, hits the nail on the head. And it is precisely resolutions of this kind that have in the past been the Achilles' heel of the German movement; they have been sloppy, indeterminate, nebulous and cliché-ridden—in short, for the most part a disgrace. Fortunately they are so untranslatable that anyone translating them into a foreign language is compelled to read into them a meaning which they themselves do not possess.

Below is a theatre drawn by Louise or Aveling. For the past week the page thus embellished has been repeatedly placed amongst my writing paper, which is why it now has the honour of finding its way to you. [57]

Enclosed you will find[a] the twaddle talked by the seven Swabians [58]

[a] The enclosed text is missing.

of London—the Fabians [43] of the *Chronicle*[a]—about the Party Congress. The poor souls are in a mess. The great Shaw, having in May urged upon you the necessity of collusion with the Liberals and demonstrated that, failing such a policy, nothing could result but defeat and disgrace [59], now admits in a speech to the Democratic Club that they have been scandalously done in the eye by the Liberals and that all they had reaped on the occasion of the elections was—defeat and disgrace; also that the Liberals, together with the Tories, are now out to do the workers in the eye! And these are the people who propose to teach you 'practical politics'! In fact he now actually says that the two old parties have but *one and the same policy* and that, barring them, there is nothing but—Social Democracy! This will, I think, have the effect of a cold douche on our good Ede.[b] Cordial regards to your wife and all the friends.

Your

F. E. (in the stage box)

*[Postscript from Louise Kautsky]*

Love from the Witch herself; my enthusiasm for May Day isn't quite so extreme.

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## 20

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGLUE [35]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 22 November 1892

My dear Lafargue,

Thanks for the papers. The Panama business, [60] circumstances aiding and abetting, could well become for the bourgeois republic the Pandora's

[a] *Daily Chronicle* — [b] Eduard Bernstein

box that Emile de Girardin's file of dossiers, from which issued 'a scandal a day', was for the July Monarchy. [61] As long as this goes on, I think your place is in Paris, in the Chamber, at the centre of the news, to put yourself, and keep yourself, in touch with what is happening and in particular with what emerges from one day to the next. Every fresh piece of scandal which is brought to light will be a weapon for us. It's time I was done with the 3rd volume[a] the close of the century is more and more charged with electricity. I'm glad to say it's going passably well (I mean the work on the 3rd volume) and I hope to finish it during the winter. The greatest difficulty has been overcome.

Sam Moore has just left us. He is going to spend the greater part of his leave in the country with his parents and will be back in January. We shall see him again next Sunday.[b]

If I am not mistaken I have already told you that Pumps had a little girl on the 13th—both are doing well.

For the last few days I have been well enough again to go out for a quarter of an hour; I hope this will help to restore me altogether.

The Germans have committed a fine blunder over May Day; not in Berlin, but in Brussels. [34] They ought to have reserved the right, at the International Congress, to celebrate the day in *their own way* and according to circumstances. Their withdrawal creates a deplorable impression and should you give them a good wigging, you'll be doing no more than your duty. Any other party could have allowed itself this retrogressive move; they, in their position as the main body of the European army, could not make it without great prejudice to the movement as a whole. I entirely approve the reasons which decided them in Berlin: the harm, to them, of a stoppage of work would have been out of all proportion to the advantages *to them;* but that should have been foreseen, and they should have had the courage at Brussels *not to vote for a stoppage.*

And what of Laura? When do we see her here? Kiss her for me.

Kindest regards from Louise.

Ever yours,
F.E.

Please keep me posted about the Panama affair with newspapers, it's

[a] of Marx's *Capital* -[b] 27 November

so important. We shall find that Wilson was only a tiny bit of a swindler compared with Reinach & Co.

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F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue,
*Correspondance,* t. II I, 1891-1895,
Paris, 1959

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## 21

## ENGELS TO JULIE BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

London, 29 November 1892

Dear Mrs Bebel,

Of all the letters I got on my birthday, yours is the first I feel impelled to answer. My most sincere thanks. I spent the day 'in the best of health', for, even though I am not in full control of my movements and cannot walk as much as I should like to, I nevertheless feel quite robust and everyone says I look very well. This time we turned my birthday into an English May Day celebration, i.e. we brought it forward from the Monday to the previous Sunday.[a] Louise felt that, as I couldn't fail to tipple somewhat on an occasion like this, one day would be enough and two days too many. We had a real houseful, our African, Sam Moore, also Bax, the Avelings, Bernsteins, Mottelers, the Russian Volkhovsky, and two working men from the Society [62] ; that, I think, was all. No. I nearly forgot little Inka[b] who has really filled out on the food she gets in Berlin and whose plumpness suits her very well—now I have tangible proof that people have learned how to eat their fill in Berlin and let no one speak to me in future about starving Berlin!

We still had a small supply of dried woodruff and so Louise and I concocted a May cup with the aid of Moselle, red wine and champagne—at this foggy time of year it would hardly be possible to imagine, let alone

[a] 27 November - [b] Inka Fischer

brew, anything better. Since one and all had laid a good foundation in the shape of a cold meal, the said cup was valiantly attacked, not least by Your Humble Servant, the Narrator and, strictly between ourselves, several of the gentlemen, among them—I was about to say it but shall stop before it's too late—became somewhat the worse for wear. Julius[a] was in great form; he sang various songs and told funny stories though, with his customary obstinacy, indulged in nothing but water or coffee. In short, we were all very jolly until past midnight, which is saying a great deal, considering the distances here in London and the fact that all railway and omnibus services close down after 11 o'clock on Sunday night. And so I was able to retire to bed secure in the knowledge that I had entered my 73rd year in a worthy fashion. However I hope that my health will allow me to do even better next year. Then my birthday falls on a Tuesday, and so we shall again be able to make a start on Sunday, though in that case I should like to carry on carousing until Tuesday night.

I should like to have attended that beanfeast in Berlin. Inka tells me that she could not get through to you and Bebel because of the crush so there must have been an enormous number present. [63] Still, I don't doubt that I'll witness something of that kind again, if not this year then the next, provided that is, you come over and fetch us. The little Fischer girl *sees* in you so great a mental affinity with my dear good Lenchen that I can be doubly confident in placing myself in your charge.

As August left only *one* measly page for your use, I shall reverse the position and he will get only one from me.

With warm regards

Yours,
F. Engels

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[a] Motteler

# 22

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

London, 29 November 1892

Dear August,

Many thanks for your good wishes—I stood the whole thing very well and without any evil after-effects whatever, nor should I be in any way averse to celebrating yet another birthday tomorrow—but so strict a watch is kept on me that I should never be allowed to indulge in such excesses! Your Prussian police are as nothing by comparison with a medical Witch[a] like this. But I always keep wondering what good it will do and what are the sins that have earned me such conscientious surveillance. Being unable to rid myself of a silly superstitious belief in 'equalising justice', I am drinking mineral water and lemonade and doing penance for the aforesaid sins without knowing whether I have actually committed them. More about politics in my next—in a day or two[b]—but I must see to it that I finish Volume II I.[C] In France things look remarkably tempestuous; *c'est le commencement de la fin*[d]! The time will again come when the French will have an opportunity to show their *good* qualities.

Warm regards.

Your F. E.

Thank you so much for the fine gluepot; it will be pressed into service straight away for Volume II I.

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[a] Louise Kautsky - [b] See this volume, p. 48 end [c] of *Capital* — [d] it is the beginning of the

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## ENGELS TO AN UNKNOWN CORRESPONDENT [64]

London, 29 November 1892 122
Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Charlie,

Thank you very much for your nice letter and good wishes which I hope may all be fulfilled and as you have done me the honour of being born on the same day as myself, please accept my best congratulations on *your* birthday and the wish that you may live to be twice as old as I am now. Then you are sure to see something very grand and, worth seeing, and then perhaps you will now and then think of me as one who tried his best to bring about such a change.

With kind regards to your parents and brothers and sisters

Yours faithfully,
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY SECRETARIAT [65]

IN BERLIN

London, 29 November 1892

Dear Party Secretariat,

This comes with my sincere thanks for your kind good wishes. [66]

My request to you, my dear Fischer, is that you also convey these thanks to your people.

While you, my dear Auer, must submit to my insisting that you now adopt in the personal sense the *Du* with which you, as the first half of the Secretariat, have hitherto been addressing me solely in a collective sense, it being understood that next year we shall make up for our failure to celebrate the solemn rite of *Schmollis.*

As the Hyena has also been brought into this affair, I shall give her the floor.

Your
F. Engels

*[Postscript from Louise Kautsky]*

It will be difficult, generally speaking, to give Bamberger the floor in London. Press Hyena's note. [67]

*[Postscript from Engels]*

Yes, but who in fact is the Hyena?

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## 25

## ENGELS TO PAUL STUMPF

### IN MAINZ

London, 30 November 1892

My dear old Stumpf,

You could have given me no greater pleasure on my seventy-second birthday than by sending me the Ultramontanist [68] confirmation of our victory in the Mainz elections. [69] You Mainz people sometimes tend to be

gas-bags—born wine salesmen—but when it comes to the point you can also buckle to and move mountains, and it will always be remembered in your favour that Mainz was the only German city to play an honourable role during the great revolution. [70] Nature gave you the gift of the gab which is just what is wanted when it comes to working on the peasants, the more so in that you have in the wine growers round about you a great quantity of material to work on. If you address yourself energetically to the task, you will be able to achieve something and show the Cologne people how it's done. From Mainz to Cologne and down to Cleve there's still many a poor soul to be snatched away from the priests and still many a constituency to be won, and this is precisely the moment when the gentlemen of the Centre [71] are on the point either of thoroughly compromising themselves over the military question or of leading the entire Centre up the garden path.

Apart from that, I should like to send you my best thanks and to say how glad I am that you had been keeping well and have been feeling even 'better' since. I too am keeping well. We had the whole Brimstone Gang [72] here on Sunday and a few more besides, all of whom vigorously addressed themselves to the wine cup.[a]

If we have a few more of these scandals in Paris [60], we may soon be able to re-enact the old comedy of autumn '47 in Brussels; the world is beginning to look shaky.

Your old
F. Engels

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[a] See this volume, pp. 37-38

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# ENGELS TO NATALIE AND WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

## IN BERLIN

London, 1 December 1892

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

My best thanks for your kind note and good wishes for my seventy-second birthday which we celebrated last Sunday amidst the usual circle of friends[a] all of whom remained until the 28th had actually dawned! Winter seems to have set in really early over there if you have already been blessed with snow and a temperature of 10 degrees R. We don't have such extremes, but rather content ourselves with a pleasing alternation of rain and fog, getting more of both than we should like.

Unfortunately it was not possible to send off this letter in time to give your Willy[b] my greetings on his birthday. I trust you will be so good as to accept these belated wishes. I thought it probable that your Theodor[c] to whom, as also to Karl,[d] please convey my sincere thanks for the good wishes, would be able to take a break from his tedious week in Mittenwald by spending a Sunday with you, and I'm glad to see that this was in fact so. The best of luck to your Karl with his exams. [73] I, who never passed an exam in my life, can nevertheless well imagine how a young man must feel three months before such an event.

The Stadthagen affair has shown that they are still perfectly capable of persecuting us even without the Anti-Socialist Law. [15] That the debate on salary at the Party Congress [52] has caused your family great annoyance I can well believe, but that kind of thing is inevitable in public life. Not everyone is as eager as the German Reichstag to vote grants; in other countries even ministers and, on occasion, crowned heads no less, must expose themselves to unpleasantnesses of this kind. It is a case of everyone trying to prove that 'where money begins, benevolence ends'. [74] On the other hand, Liebknecht enjoyed a well-earned triumph with the Ems Despatch, [75] which makes up for a good deal, and then again his trip to Marseilles was an ovation from start to finish. [5]

[a] See this volume, pp. 37-38 - [b] Wilhelm Liebknecht jun. - [c] Theodor K. Liebknecht - [d] Karl Liebknecht

Pumps felt impelled to show the world that, despite her prematurely grey hair, she is still a young woman and therefore presented her husband with a baby girl a little more than a fortnight ago. Both are doing very well under the circumstances. I too am keeping pretty well on the whole but am still not yet mobile enough. However when one looks out of the window at the persistent downpour, one is less inclined to make a fuss about it.

Take good care of yourself; with best wishes to you and all your family.

Yours,
F. Engels

Dear Liebknecht,

You will have to wait a little while for the sequel to this, as Volume II P admits of no delay. In France it almost seems as though we are back in '47, and Panama [60] could well put paid to all the bourgeois *cochonnerie.*[b] The scandals of 1847 and of the Second Empire are trivial by comparison. Do write and tell your Paris correspondents to keep you informed about it and to send you the *material* in newspapers—these are matters you must pursue *in person.*

Your old F. E.

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[a] of Capital - [b] beastliness

# 27

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER

### IN DARMSTADT

London, 1 December 1892

My dear Schorlemmer,

My sincere thanks for your kind good wishes for a day that was happily spent.[a] Though I may not actually be fit for active service in the 'glorious army' as I enter on another year of my life, I am nevertheless in good health and, on the whole, robust and I think you are right in saying that for the time being I shall continue to pull my weight.

To go by your latest information on Anschutz, it would certainly be best if we were to hear no more of him. Old Pflüger—a nephew of mine used to work in his laboratory—is, so far as I can judge, a real philistine and if, on top of that, Anschütz's father was a Prussian officer, that makes matters even worse, The fact is that it will be difficult to find the right man for Carl's[b] biography, one who is not only a chemist but also a Social Democrat, and not only a Social Democrat but also a chemist and, what's more, a chemist who has made a close study of the history of his discipline since Liebig's day. Presumably we shall have to wait and see whether we can find that man or whether we must content ourselves with the two aspects of Carl being treated separately. I myself must above all else finally complete Volume II I of *Capital and* cannot see how I could break off just now—and on top of that there are also the proofs of the 2nd edition of Volume II !

And then, too, we live in very turbulent times, what with the military affair, [76] the impending crisis in Germany, the Panama scandals [60] and the crisis that has already set in in France as well as the crisis over Ireland that will almost certainly occur over here next spring. [77] In times like these my correspondence increases twofold and threefold and if, on top of everything else, one is forbidden on account of one's eyes to wield a pen by lamplight, how can one possibly manage? And as for daylight here in London in winter! We're glad if we get four or five hours of it and often there's none at all—gaslight all day because of the fog.

[a] See this volume, pp. 37-38 - [b] Carl Schorlemmer; see also this volume, p. 14

But it can't be helped and so long as things keep moving ahead in the outside world, one mustn't complain.

With my best compliments to your family,

Yours,
F. Engels

Best wishes from Mrs Kautsky.

I almost forgot to tell you that Pumps gave birth to a baby girl a fortnight ago last Sunday; both are doing well.

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## 28

## ENGELS TO CHARLES BONNIER [78]

### IN OXFORD

[Draft]

[London, 3 December 1892]

My dear Bonnier,

*Es wird nichts so heiss gegessen, wie es gekocht wird.*[a] You have the admirable habit of serving warm, very warm, but would I not sometimes risk burning my lips? The newspaper, as you know, is not yet being published. [48]

You ask me to convey to the Germans a kind of ultimatum from the French. If I undertake to do so, will you guarantee that, in reply to a direct query by Berlin to Paris, Paris without disavowing me entirely would not say that I had exaggerated.

[a] If you don't cool it, you'll not be able to drink it.

As to the core of your ultimatum:

1) let us first see what will happen here between now and 1st May, and what will happen this 1st May.

2) Between May and August a number of things might happen before Zurich [56] which cannot today be anticipated,

3) and, all the more so, between August 1893 and May 1894.

With the military question in Germany, [76] with Panama [60] in France, with the Irish complication in England [77]—three acute imminent political crises—with an industrial crisis everywhere, it seems to me that we could put our time to better use than quarrelling over how to mark 1st May, 1894, a day on which, perhaps, we will have better things to do than 'demonstrate'!

As for your perennial Protot, I couldn't care less about him, any more than about his fellows, the agents-provocateurs of the German police. When will you adopt a similar attitude?

In any case, it seems to me rather odd that you are prepared to allow the English to disregard the resolutions of Brussels [54] but them alone. [79] What will French logic say to that?[a]

As for the rest I know only one party which has the right to reproach the Berlin Congress. [51] That is the Austrian party. [81] Until now 1st May in Berlin has been worth far more than those in Paris.

I am writing today to Bebel.[b] I will tell him of your ultimatum, but for the moment only as your personal opinion.

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[a] The following sentence is crossed out in the draft: 'The article by Bebel [80] has probably gone to press already, if in Paris they wanted to prevent it.' - [b] See next letter.

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# ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

## IN BERLIN

London, 3 December 1892

Dear August,

I was delighted by what you said in your letter of the 22nd about the disinclination you people feel for any further 'nationalisation' of the party press. [82] So there's no need to waste any more words on the subject.

As regards the May Day celebrations, I concede that you were perfectly right so far as the *Berlin* resolution was concerned. But the fact remains that the general impression you produced in Brussels was that in future you too would celebrate on 1 May and not invoke the permission not to do so that was granted *purely by way of an exception.*^ So you shouldn't be surprised by the hullabaloo to which the Berlin resolution has given rise. But your intention of getting Congress to settle on Sunday as the day on which celebrations should be held in future is likely to hit on some snags. Except for the English everyone will be against it, many of the smaller parties out of sheer bravado. It would be a sorry retreat and *the last people to join in its* official *proclamation* would be those who secretly reserve the right *to do likewise,* whether it was proclaimed or not.

Well, yesterday evening I got a rabid letter from Bonnier (he never writes any other kind) in which, having read your article in the *Neue Zeit,* [83] he declares in the name of the French that, if the first Sunday in May were to be adopted, they would drop the whole business of May Day. '*Jamais,'* he writes, *'notre parti n'acceptera (le dimanche) et nous sommes bien décidés à tenir ferme.'*[a] And he believes you people are playing with fire.

I wrote and told him[b] 1. that things are never as black as he paints them, 2. asking who had authorised him to speak in the name of the French party, 3. that before May 1893, and between then and August '93 in Zurich [56] and between then and *May '94* much might happen

[a] Our party would never agree (to the Sunday) and we are fully determined to stand firm. - [b] See this volume, Letter 28

that we didn't expect and that, with 3 acute political crises in the offing (Army in Germany, [76] Panama in France [60] Ireland in England [77]) and a general industrial crisis, we probably had better things to do than bicker about how best to demonstrate on 1 May '94, when we might have work of a very different nature to do; 4. how his proposal to allow the *English,* and *them only,* to celebrate on the Sunday chimed in with French logic; 5. that I knew of only one party—the Austrian [81]—which had any right to reproach the Germans, that the May Day celebrations in Berlin more than made amends for those in Paris and 6. that I had passed on his ultimatum to you, but purely *as his own private opinion.*

The man is consumed by an irrepressible urge to be up and doing but, such being the case, he shouldn't have gone to Oxford where he is all on his own with red Wolff[a] who is completely out of everything. It's a priceless idea, wanting to direct the European labour movement from Oxford—the last genuine remnant of the Middle Ages still to be found in Europe—but for us it makes an infuriating amount of unnecessary work and I shall protest in no mean terms to Paris about this go-between. The really unfortunate thing is that he's the only person who understands German save for Laura, and she lives out of town.

For the rest, the Party Congress went off quite well, but subscribing to the resolution [84] despite the sundry rubbish it contains, must have been a bitter pill for Vollmar to swallow.

Ede came to see me, bringing with him a whole bunch of letters from K. Kautsky—who had also written to me—all of them concerned with the *Neue Zeit,* and wanting me to add my mite. My opinion is that, if you accept the change proposed by Dietz, you should think it out and prepare for it properly, and not go ahead till January, otherwise it will be altogether premature. [85] But speaking generally, I should say that, since becoming a weekly, the *Neue Zeit* has to some extent relinquished its *old* character in favour of a new one which it has not been completely successful in assuming. The paper is now being written for two sets of readers and cannot do full justice to either.

If it is to become a popular, part-political, part-literary and artistic and part-learned journal, *à la Nation, then it will have to move to Berlin.* The political section of a weekly must be written at the hub of things, *on the eve of publication,* otherwise it will always be lagging behind. And,

[a] Ferdinand Wolff

save for the correspondents, those working on the political section must always be *in the same place.* The idea of editing a review in Berlin and London and publishing it in Stuckert [a] doesn't seem feasible to me. In any case there would be a 20 or 30 per cent difference in subscriptions between a Berlin and a Stuttgart weekly. I am regarding this simply from a bookselling point of view, having no more than a nodding acquaintance with the other aspects that need to be considered and about which you out there will be better informed than I.

But if the *Neue Zeit* undergoes these changes, it will appeal to only one *section* of its former public and will have to be organised *solely* for their benefit. It would then no longer be open to those articles from which it has hitherto derived its greatest and most enduring value—the longer, learned papers which run on through 3 to 6 numbers. Hence, alongside the *Neue Zeit there* would have to be a predominantly learned monthly— if necessary even quarterly—journal with a correspondingly restricted circle of subscribers, and this would have to be offset by *raising the price* if the paper was to be kept going.

Indeed, it seems to me altogether necessary, if the party publishers wish increasingly to secure a monopoly of party publications, including learned ones, that they should not aim at bulk sales for everything, whether suitable for that purpose or not. An original paper on political economy is bound to be primarily a detailed treatise, nor can it be expected to sell in bulk. Similarly, a genuine historical work, the outcome of independent research, does not lend itself to publication by installments. In short, I think there should be two separate departments, one for bulk sales, the other for ordinary, slower-moving sales through booksellers, in smaller quantities and at a correspondingly higher price.

What happens when an attempt is made to boost sales beyond the limits called for by the nature of the case is something I have learned from my own experience. Though written as popularly as possible, my *Anti-Dühring* is by no means a book to suit *every* working man. But along comes Dietz, takes over part of the Zurich edition and then tries to boost sales by remaindering the thing at a reduced price with 11 assorted booksellers. This is not at all to my liking and next time I shall be on my guard. It is the only longer work I have written since 1845 and, whichever

[a] Stuttgart

way one looks at it, it is degrading to see it treated in that way. By the by, there's no need to say anything to Dietz about this—the thing is over and done with and cannot be altered, nor would I have mentioned it to you had it not provided an apt illustration of what I mean by the wrong way of selling books.

For the rest, times are growing critical. Every morning when I read the *Daily News* and such French papers as have arrived, it takes me right back to '47. At that time, too, one expected some further scandalous revelations each morning and one was seldom disappointed. The Panama affair [60] beats everything that went on in the way of corruption under Louis-Philippe and under Bonaparte II I. The initial outlay, including bonifications to the press and Parliament, amounted to *83 million francs.* This will be the ruin of the bourgeois republic, for the Radicals [86] are as deeply implicated as the Opportunists. [87] On every side attempts are being made to hush things up, of course, but the more they are hushed up the worse they get. Once the revelations were under way and a few people had become irretrievably implicated in the scandal, these had perforce to cover themselves by betraying their accomplices and showing that they had only been swimming with the stream. Already the committee is in possession of such enormously compromising statements that there's no holding back; *a few* may slip through the net, but large numbers have already been named and, of course, the fewer the *names* that are compromised the greater the odium that attaches to the bourgeois republic. Though much may still happen in the meantime, this is nevertheless the beginning of the end. Fortunately all the monarchist parties are completely done for, nor will it be at all easy to find another Boulanger. [6]

Herewith an extract from Lafargue's letter for the *Vorwärts*—but do ensure that the paper *gives no indication whatsoever that the letter emanated from a deputy.* [88]

What Liebknecht entirely overlooked in the matter of Bismarck's Ems forgery was that that's the sort of thing diplomats *do* in secret but never boast about. [75] But if one of them does happen to boast about it, the breach of etiquette is such *as to render him persona non grata.* After this it will never again be possible to appoint Mr Bismarck Imperial Chancellor, otherwise any foreign government could refuse to enter into negotiations with a man who not only is not above using such methods, but actually boasts of having used them. The Imperial Government would risk incur-

ring a general international boycott were Bismarck to become Chancellor again. I believe it would do a lot of good if this were said on the floor of the Reichstag.

Many regards to your wife.[a]

Your F.E.

*[Postscript from Louise Kautsky]*

Dear August,

It seems to be my fate that my space should be rationed because I once over-stepped the mark and wrote a leader, so rather than look at your last letter, I shall look instead at the pretty inkstand that invites kind, happy thoughts and was inaugurated with the proofs of the second volume of *Capital.* Thank you very much for it—how good you both are; now that I'm equipped, I am, it seems, likely to run on and to be rapped over the knuckles for so doing. Well, that isn't what I was intending to write about—all I meant to say was that not once this week have I been able to get round to writing, there having been, alas, so much to prevent me—glass-workers, transport workers, Reumann, Victor,[b] meeting of the unemployed and, last but not least, the Jews. They are not getting the *Vorwärts,* August, so could you please make inquiries? Then, some time ago, I asked if you could let me have another copy of the *Vorwärts' report* on the Congress, but you probably forgot—I'd like two if at all possible, otherwise one; it's the report on the Party Conference I want, not the one made by you people at the Conference. Victor enjoyed the time he spent with you and wrote saying that to him it seemed as though the poor Austrians were standing guard in the wet and the cold, whereas you people were sitting snug in your encampment, despite the struggle and the fighting. Then there's another thing—I still have two English reports on the International Glassworkers' Congress [89] to spare. Would you like one? It's very interesting, but you would have to write a few lines about it by way of justification and send a sample copy, and would you please ask Fischer if he might perhaps write something for a Bavarian paper, in which case I would send him the other copy. I would, of course, send them without any strings attached but I feel responsible because it's the English who have to pay for the whole thing, so I'd be grateful if you'd let me know. I must close, so more anon; it's time for the post and I must close.

With loving kisses to you and Julie,

the Witch

*[Postscript from Engels]*

Please convey my most sincere thanks to the parliamentary group for their kind telegram last Sunday. [90]

[a] Julie Bebel - [b] Adler

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## 30

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

London, 4 December 1892

Dear Baron,

My best thanks for your good wishes in respect of a day that was spent very happily. Alas, tippling still does not agree with me and I shall have to atone for it by abstaining for the next few weeks.

Thank you, too, for sending the prospectus for the new journal—do you know the chaps [91] ? I have never heard of any of them.

I haven't yet been able so much as to look at Schmidt's latest on the rate of profita since, until Volume II I[b] is finished, I shall have to fend off everything that might entail extra work—there being far too many interruptions as it is.

As for the *Neue Zeit,* 85 Ede[c] and I have discussed it at length, and yesterday I wrote a long letter[d] to August on the subject.

It is my opinion that if, as proposed by Dietz and August, the *Neue Zeit* is to be given a lighter, more popular tone and made 'more interesting' from a literary point of view, it will have to *move to Berlin.* For only there can a political review covering all events up *to the eve of publication* be catered for on the spot and only there can a wealth of artistic and literary work, which would otherwise come a week too late, be produced

[a] C. Schmidt, 'Die Durchschnittsprofitrate und das Marx'sche Wertgesetz,' *Die Neue Zeit,* 1892/93, Vol. I, Nos. 3 and 4. - [b] of *Capital* -[c] Eduard Bernstein - [d] See this volume, Letter 29

with speed and 'immediacy'. This and other circumstances would mean that a Berlin edition would have 20 or 30 per cent more subscribers than a Stuttgart one.

But in that case the *Neue Zeit* would have to sacrifice the better part of its contents—and the latter would call for a monthly or quarterly of a more rigorously learned nature than hitherto and which, because intended for a smaller public, would have to be sold at a *higher price.*

But what if neither is feasible? In that case—and this has only just occurred to me—it might perhaps be better to turn the *Neue Zeit* back into a monthly but with the same capacity as at present, i.e. 104 sheets a year and 8-9 a month. The longer articles could then appear in one, or at most 2, numbers and would, in the second case, have to be subdivided into I, II or I, II , II I, IV installments which would be conducive to their general intelligibility. With 2 sheets a month it's *impossible* to break off longer articles at the point the sense requires, since this would almost invariably be precluded by considerations of space and diversity. But in this way you could train your contributors to divide up their things *themselves* into 2 installments. And then there could be 'something for everyone' in every number. But here again, you would have to reckon on a reduced circulation, and hence be obliged to raise the price—or so at least it seems to me.

At all events, before making any experiments you should consider the matter carefully. Once made, a false step is difficult to reverse.

If the weekly *Neue Zeit* were to move to Berlin it would, in many respects, replace the weekly central organ which might otherwise hold out for another year. Between now and then a great deal may happen. Things are livening up. It looks as though the Panama scandal [60] might mark a turning-point so far as the development of France is concerned. You should pester Lafargue about collecting material for a longish essay on the subject, or supplying you with articles as each particular phase of the scandal reaches its climax. With that sort of material the *Neue Zeit* would be able to outstrip the dailies even in the matter of factual news.

As for the *Vorwärts*—the less said the better!

Your

F. Engels

Herewith a trifle for the *Neue Zeit*. If you think Sternberg's report is too long, condense it; having once got going I translated the whole thing. [92]

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## 31

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [35]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 5 December 1892

My dear Lafargue,

Your remarks concerning Bebel compel me to refer back to your letter from Lille. [93] What you say about him is unfair in the extreme. Far from Liebknecht correcting Bebel on any matter whatsoever (an amusing idea to anyone who understands the situation), it's precisely the contrary that is taking place. It is Liebknecht who is promising wonders, and if the whole thing doesn't collapse and dissolve, it's thanks to the work Bebel is doing. If Liebknecht said only agreeable things to you at Marseilles, don't forget that this is how he behaves with everyone; [5] that he always acts on the impulse of the moment and that consequently he says white here today, but tomorrow somewhere else he will say black, and he will maintain in all good faith that he has not contradicted himself. You complain about the Berlin resolution concerning May 1st, [54] well and good, according to our German press, Liebknecht is reported to have said that at Marseilles he explained the position to you, including the impossibility for the Germans to stop work on May 1st; and that 'the French' had fully acknowledged the force of his arguments. If that is true, by what right do you complain of the Berlin resolution? If Liebknecht has erred (for he believes what he says), what have

you to say of the man who, according to you, 'corrects' Bebel?

I fear that behind all this lies the dissatisfaction of our Oxford hermit.[a] If his impulsive nature makes him unjust to Bebel, who is an ironic and *business-like* character, the heat he is generating during his compulsory activity in the heart of the only city in the world where the Middle Ages continue in full swing, will drive this aversion to the point of hatred. As it is, I never get a letter from him which does not teem with abuse of Bebel. I grant all that, I give full recognition to the hermit's good faith and goodwill, but firstly an enthusiast of that kind is a dangerous guide in matters of practical life, particularly when he lives in the isolation of Oxford, consumed by the desire to do something for the movement. And it's not just something to do that he needs, but positively something important and decisive. You know how he pestered us over the paper. [48] The day before yesterday he sent me a veritable ultimatum in the name of the French Party (he always speaks in its collective name) addressed to the German Party: if the Germans at Zurich propose the postponing of the May celebrations to the first Sunday, the French will withdraw from the demonstration altogether, and there will be, if not war, at least something like the breaking off of diplomatic relations—and goodness knows what else. Anyhow he warns the Germans 'that they are playing with fire'. However, his French logic allows him to add that if the English insist on demonstrating on the Sunday, the French would see no harm in it!

I answered him fairly ironically that I would communicate his ultimatum to Bebel, but only as his personal opinion.[b]

Naturally I don't take Bonnier's explosions for the attitude of the French Party; on the contrary, even if you authorised him I should not do so; I know him to be quite incapable—with the best will in the world—of expressing other people's ideas and words without putting in his own. He can't help it; like Liebknecht, he only knows two shades, black and white; he either loves or hates; and as he cannot love Bebel, he needs must hate him. But you would be monstrously wrong to form your view of the German movement according to his. Laura being in the country cannot gainsay all the gossip about the Germans, and it's a great pity that he is the only one of you all who understands German.

[a] Charles Bonnier - [b] See this volume, pp.46-47

Have you seen his 'Moment'? There are poems in it (Heine's *Poesiemusik,*[a] *die Instrumental- und Vokalpoesie die keine Musik ist*[b]*),* poems on Germany; that 'unfathomable' and extremely chaotic Germany which has never existed outside Victor Hugo's imagination. The Germany which was supposed to be preoccupied only with music, dreams and clouds, and which left the care of matters here below to the French bourgeois and journalists. This good fellow would but speak of oaks, of forests, of students with scars on the face, of Gretchen and other playthings—and this after having lived in a country which is today the most prosaic and workaday in the world. Do read all that, and if then you believe a single word of what he has to say about Germany, it will be your fault.

Besides, you may remember that recently, as you needed documents with respect to Liebknecht, it was Bebel who immediately set himself to work for you, while Liebknecht—though it concerned him closely—would but confine himself to sending several newspapers to you.

Enough of that. Had it not been to destroy the false judgements about the most perspicacious, the most sensible and the most energetic man in the German party, I would not have written to you at such length. I wanted to write about Panama, [60] but here is the bottom of the 4th page—and so I shall write about that to Laura.[c]

Ever yours,
F. Engels

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Translated from the French

[a] poetry-music - [b] instrumental and vocal poetry which is not music - [c] See next letter.

## 32

# ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 5 December 1892

My dear Löhr,

It's a long time yet till April, but if it cannot be managed otherwise, well then we must submit and only consider the matter finally settled, *affaire bâclée,* that you celebrate, both of you, your silver wedding here. And maybe you may manage a few days with us in the meantime, at all events we will consider that an open question still.

If you do not receive this week the *Arbeiterinnenzeitung* please let us know; Louise will write again. The paper having been handed over to the women altogether has probably caused some irregularities which will soon be set right.

Ah le Panama! [60] I can tell you I am 45 years younger again, and living through a second '47. Then *La Presse* (Girardin's) brought every day a fresh revelation about some scandal. [61] or some other paper brought a reply to some charge of his; and this went on till it killed Louis Philippe. But those scandals, and even those of the Second Empire dwindle into nothingness compared with this Grand National Steeplechase of Scandals. Louis Bonaparte took jolly good care, when he coaxed the peasants' money out of their buried hoards, to do so for the benefit of his State loans, which were safe; but here the savings of the small tradesman, the peasant, the domestic servant and above all of the *petit rentier,*[a] the loudest howler of all, have gone into irretrievable ruin, and the miracle has been performed of transforming a canal which has *not* been dug out, into an unfathomable abyss. 1,500 million francs, 60 million pounds sterling, all gone, gone for ever, except what has found its way into the pockets of swindlers, politicians and journalists; and the money got together by swindles and corrupt dodges unequalled even in America. What a base of operations for a Socialistic campaign!

The thing has evidently been based upon its own immensity.

[a] small rentier

Everybody considered himself safe because everybody else was as deeply in it. But that is just what now makes hushing up impossible; partial disclosures having set in, the innumerable receivers of 'boodle' (for here American is the only possible language) are by their very numbers debarred from common and concerted action, everybody fights on his own hook and as best he can, and no talking and preaching can prevent a general *sauve qui peut.*[a] That the *police* have placed themselves at the disposal of the Committee after the strike of the courts of law, shows that confidence in the stability of swindle is broken, and that it is considered safe to keep well with the 'financial purity' side.

To my mind *c'est le commencement de la fin.*[b] The bourgeois republic and its politicians can hardly outlive this unparalleled exposure. There are but three possibilities: an attempt at monarchy, another Boulanger, [6] or socialism. The first and the second, if attempted, could only lead to the third, and thus we may be called upon, long before we in consequence of our own action had a right to expect it, to enter upon a career of immense responsibility. I should be glad of it, if it does not come too soon and too suddenly. It will do our Germans good to see that the French have not lost their historical initiative. A country cannot pass through 200 years like what 1648-1848 were for Germany without leaving a small impression of the philistine even on the working class. Our revolution of 48/49 was too short and too incomplete to wipe that out altogether. Of course, the next revolution which is preparing in Germany with a consistency and steadiness unequalled anywhere else, would come of itself in time, say 1898-1904; but revolutionary times, preparing a thoroughgoing crisis, in France, would hasten that process, and moreover, if the thing breaks out in France first, say 1894, then Germany follows suit at once and then the Franco-German Proletarian Alliance forces the hands of England and smashes up in one blow both the triple and the Franco-Russian conspiracies; then we have a revolutionary war against Russia—if not even a revolutionary echo from Russia—*vogue la Galère!*[c]

Love from Louise who is at a meeting of actors and dramatists for the foundation of a freie Bühne or *théâtre libre*[d] or what not. [94]

[a] panic - [b] this is the beginning of the end - [c] be that as it may - [d] free stage or free theatre

My respectful salutes as well of those of our tom-cat Felix to your animals.

Ever yours,
F.E.

Mendelsons were here last night, spoke a good deal of their visit to Le Perreux.

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## 33

## ENGELS TO MRS STEPNIAK (KRAVCHINSKY)

IN LONDON

London, 6 December 1892 122
Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Mrs Stepniak,

Mrs Kautsky showed me your note in which you are kind enough to ask me to spend next Saturday evening with you. I should do so with the greatest pleasure, but unfortunately my locomotive capabilities are still too limited to enable me to undertake such distant expeditions.

I am at present practically confined to the neighbourhood of Primrose Hill, and Mrs Kautsky will be able to tell you that I have been obliged to decline invitations besides yours.

Kind regards to Stepniak from

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

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34

# ENGELS TO WILHELM ELLENBOGEN [95]

IN VIENNA

London, 7 December 1892
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Esteemed Comrade,

Many thanks for kindly sending your *Geschichte des Arbeiter-Bildungsvereins.a* I regard the publication of studies on the history of the Austrian labour movement as a highly rewarding task, the more so since in our fast-moving time some moments, important in themselves, are lost to posterity as they only live on in the memory of the participants and have never been recorded in writing. I, for my part, am again working diligently on Volume 3,[b] a bit of news which will probably compensate you for my not answering your kind letter in person.

Yours faithfully[c]
F. Engels

*[From Louise Kautsky]*

Dear Comrade,

I enjoyed reading your correction in the latest issue of the *Arbeiterzeitung.* For that devilish misprint had accused you of bigamy too, something you had completely overlooked in your eagerness to exculpate yourself in the eyes of the female comrades. Also going off today will be the report of the International Glass-Workers Congress, [89] which will surely be of great interest to you. Many

[a]by Wilhelm Ellenbogen - [b] of Marx's *Capital* —[c] in Engels' handwriting

thanks for sending your pamphlet. With warm greetings,

Your

Louise Kautsky

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## 35

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV [96]

### IN PARIS

London, 14 December 1892

My dear Lavrov,

I do not see why I would oppose the publication of the letter from Lopatin about a conversation that he had with me. [97] Therefore do as you like.

I was pleased to learn from Mendelson that you are well. As for me, I have no reason to complain—quite the contrary. For three months now I have been working on the 3rd volume of *Capital,* and although there is still a great deal to do, this time I have grounds to hope that I will finish it.

As for the Berlin resolution, I am of the opinion that the Germans committed at *Brussels* the mistake of promising—although indirectly— more than they can fulfil. [54] The 1st May 1890 and '91 has shown that in Germany a strike is impractical; the sacrifices were not worth the possible gains. At Hamburg alone the attempt cost more than 100,000 marks. [98] The coincidence that 1st May 1892 was a Sunday led them to forget in Brussels that real world to which the crisis—more acute this time in Germany than elsewhere—has sharply returned them.

The strike on 1st May '93 could cost us too dear—in Germany, and, by reaction, elsewhere. A strike in Germany would dry up both funds and

financial credit of the party for more than a year. And that at a time of military crisis and the possible dissolution of the Reichstag, [76] with elections in May or June.

It is the law of the development of parties that a party which has achieved a certain degree of power finds that the very demonstrations which it could not do without in its early days have become impractical.

For the rest, as for the forms, one could have shown a little more regard for the susceptibilities of others. However, what will you—these are the *grobe Deutscht* who do not know how to sugar the pill.

As regards the rest, it seems to me that Panama [60] is more important than 1st May, given the times. Panama puts me in mind of 1847, when every day one could expect some new scandal. [61] 1847 dug the grave of the July Monarchy, and what will 1892 bring?

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 36

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 20 December 1892

My dear Löhr,

Yesterday we forwarded by Van Oppen and Co's Express (they have an office in Paris too, but I did unfortunately not note the address) the box with pudding and cake, and hope it will arrive safe (directed to you, Le

[a] unpolished Germans

Perreux). The pudding is not quite boiled out, our copper would not heat last Saturday and so, instead of twelve hours' boiling, the unfortunate pudding only got about nine or ten, But if you give it two to three hours' boiling before serving, it will be all right.

Before crossing the Channel, the Oxford sage[a] gave us a call here. I hope I quietened his anxiety about the first of May[b] to some extent, The attempt, in 1890, to *chômer*[c] at Hamburg alone cost the party above 100,000 marks [98], and in my opinion it would never do to allow the bourgeois to bleed the German party's cash and credit '*à blanc* just at the moment when a dissolution of the Reichstag [76] is in the air, and when every farthing would be wanted.

Panama is delightful, [60] The papers you so kindly send me, and old Mother Crawford's letters—though awfully cut down by the respectable people of the *Daily News*—form already a pretty comprehensive dossier which I intend to complete up to the—I hope—*bitter* end. Respectability here, of course, triumphs.

*Wenn sich das französische Laster erbricht, setzt sich die englische Tugend zu Tisch*[d]—and I'll be damned if I do not prefer a thousand times that plain open outright French vice to this hypocritical British virtue. Here corruption has been brought into a system and has been endowed with a complete code of étiquette which you have only to keep within, in order to be perfectly bullet-proof against all charges of *undue* corruption. In France no man would stand a chance in a popular constituency, a town especially, who openly wanted to get into Parliament for the purpose of furthering his own interests; here, anybody who wanted to get in for any other purpose would be considered a fool and a Don Quixote. The English Panama is called Building Society and has more than one head— the savings of the small people have been eaten up in these societies by wholesale, and no great fuss about it.[e] One M.P. is in here too, Spencer Balfour—he will take the Chiltern Hundreds and retire into private life—while lots of M.P.'s make money by selling their names as directors of all sorts of swindling companies, which is considered perfectly fair so long as it is not pushed to excess.

On Friday[f] we expect Pumps and her family here, as we have not room

[a] Charles Bonnier - [b] See this volume, pp. 46-47 - [c] strike - [d] When French vice fails, British virtue sits down to a meal - [e] See this volume, p. 75 - [f] 23 December

enough in the house we have taken lodgings next door but one—the old Marquis's house is now a lodging house! I think I wrote to you that on November 13th Pumps had a little girl.

Shall write to Paul after the first rush of the holidays is over.

Ever yours,
F. Engels

*[Postscript from Louise Kautsky]*[a]

My dear Laura,

Should I do penance, in sackcloth and ashes? But I'd rather not for I regret all my misdeeds as it is. Because of my not writing I suffer more than you do. After my return the General[b] was no longer his old self and I had hardly any time of my own, but when I did have time I was in no mood for writing. Yet now and again everything turned out very well. I look forward to the spring when we'll be able to talk to our hearts content. My best regards to the M.P.[C]

With love and kisses

Your

Louisa

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[a] written in German - [b] Engels' nickname - [c] Paul Lafargue

37

# ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

## IN BERLIN

London, 22 December 1892

Dear August,

We recently had the pleasure of seeing Cato Censorius Bonnier here while in transit from Oxford to Paris. I think I made some impression on him by pointing out that 1. his manner of giving ultimatums[a] is hardly calculated to promote mutual understanding and 2. that it really might be better if the German party were to preserve its funds and its credit for the eventuality of a dissolution and future elections rather than dissipate both on a stoppage of work on May Day. It's unfortunate for both French and Germans that this chap should be an indispensable middleman between the two, since Guesde seems reluctant to make use of any one else. But thwarted as it is by the isolation and inactivity of Oxford, his enthusiasm plus his intense urge to be up and doing serves to evoke discord rather than collaboration. And in the present state of Europe what is called for above all else is precisely the harmonious collaboration of Germans and French.

Many thanks for the Reichstag stenographic reports. I shall not be able to read your big speech about the Army until tonight, but I was delighted by what you said about Heinze's law.[99] So long as prostitution cannot be wholly eradicated, our first bid ought, I think, to be the girls' total exemption from any kind of extraordinary legislation. Here in England this is more or less the case; there are no 'morality police', and no controls or medical examinations, but the police still have tremendous power because it is a punishable offence to keep *a disorderly house,* and every house in which a girl lives and receives visitors can be treated as such. But although this law is enforced only on rare occasions, the girls are none the less exposed to frightful extortion on the part of policemen. This relative freedom from degrading police restrictions enables the girls to preserve an independent and self-respecting character in a way that

[a] See this volume, pp. *46-47*

would hardly be possible on the Continent. They look upon their situation as an unavoidable evil to which, since it has befallen them, they must resign themselves, but which otherwise need in no way affect their character or self-esteem and, given the chance to get out of their profession, they seize upon it, as a rule, successfully. In Manchester there were whole colonies of young men—bourgeois or clerks—who lived with girls of this kind, being in many cases legally married to them and treating them at least as well as a bourgeois would a woman of his own class. The fact that now and then one of these girls might take to the bottle in no way distinguished them from their middle-class counterparts over here, themselves no strangers to the habit. Indeed, some of these married girls, having moved to another town where there was no fear of their running into 'old acquaintances', have been introduced into respectable middle-class society and even into the squirarchy—squires being the English equivalent of country Junkers—without anyone's noticing anything in the least objectionable about them.

It is my belief that, in dealing with this matter, we should above all consider the interests of the girls themselves as victims of the present social order, and protect them as far as possible against ending up in the gutter—or at least not actually force them into the gutter by means of legislation and police skulduggery as happens throughout the Continent. In this country the same thing was attempted in a number of garrison towns where controls and medical examinations were introduced, but it didn't last long; the only good thing the *social purity* people have done has been to agitate against this.

Medical examinations are absolutely worthless. Wherever they were introduced here, syphilis and gonorrhoea increased. I am convinced that a police surgeon's instruments are exceedingly effective in transmitting venereal disease, since he would be unlikely to spend time or trouble on disinfecting them. Free courses on venereal disease should be made available to the girls, then most of them would probably take precautions themselves. Blaschko has sent us an article on medical controlsa in which he is forced to admit that these are absolutely useless; if he were to draw the logical conclusion from his own assumptions, he would be bound to conclude that prostitution must be freed from all restrictions and the girls be protected

[a] A. Blaschko, 'Die moderne Prostitution', *Die Neue Zeit,* Stuttgart, 1891-1892, Vol. II , Nos. 27, 32.

against exploitation, but in Germany that would seem utterly Utopian.

I hope that Kneipp treatment is doing Dietz good; at all events Naso[a] maintains that the crack-brained parson made him astoundingly healthy. By completely changing the habits of people the routine of whose urban professional lives has made them a bit rigid and set in their ways, and by forcing them to take exercise in the open air, the said cure may, from what I have heard, do them a certain amount of good or, indeed, harm—according to the nature of the case—just as does the 'water cure' when it is not as a rule the mineral water that does the trick, but rather the change of routine and the strict diet. But otherwise you are right; amongst our people there is many a one who deems it his duty fervently to embrace any and every new 'ism' and, likewise, any disgruntled bourgeois or bureaucratic malcontent, any obscure literary or artistic genius. He may equally well set himself up as the protector of all victims of persecution and injustice, and discover in every ism a theory of world redemption hitherto suppressed by the wicked capitalist world order. It is an excellent way of turning to account and putting on display the very things one has *not* learnt. One has only to look at what the late-lamented *Volksstaat* achieved in that sphere!

The Panama business [60] gets nicer every day. As so often in France the affair is taking a quite dramatically exaggerated course. At any moment, or so it seems, the efforts to thrust it out of sight are going to succeed, and then up it springs again where least expected and more vigorously than ever before. Now the situation is such that no hushing up will avail. First the affair was to be hushed up in the courts, whereupon fresh revelations necessitated the setting up of a committee of inquiry; then it was the latter that was to be hamstrung, an attempt that was only partially successful and only to the extent that further legal proceedings of a more serious nature were instituted. And now there's a spate of fresh revelations and prosecutions of deputies and senators. The ball has been set rolling and is very far from coming to a stop. Standing in the wings are 1. Constans, who knows that he is played out and is anxious to avenge himself, 2. Rochefort and the Boulangists, [6] who also know a great deal, 3. the Orléans family, who would like to make use of all this farcical business to attempt a restoration. All these people know a great deal and can to a large extent prove it. And if the worst comes to the worst, Ch.

[a] Leonhard Tauscher

de Lesseps and Rouvier will avenge themselves by compromising as many people as possible and involving them in their fall. Rothschild summed up the situation in the words:

> 'I need the monarchy and shall buy it once and for all; the Republic costs me too much, since every few years I have to buy yet another ravenous crew.'

What wouldn't that jackass Boulanger give for that now if he hadn't shot himself! He'd be in clover; indeed, I shouldn't be surprised if an attempt were made to find another Boulanger. Fortunately this would not be at all easy. The monarchy, too, is down on its luck—the Right voted as one man for the Panama lottery [100] and, what is worse, made propaganda for it in the rural areas, thus landing philistines and peasants in the cart. The 1,700 million francs that were swallowed up consisted to a very large extent of *the savings of little men* (over 800,000 are said to be involved!), hence the wave of indignation, while the Right (Clerical Monarchists) who at first rejoiced over the Panama scandal, are now turning coy.

How it will all end is obvious—ultimately in *our* favour. But in a country as incalculable as France it is difficult to predict what intermediate stages there will be. Several, at any rate, before our people really take possession of the stage. Only if there were to be revolution in Paris would the Socialists come to power; for in Paris—cf. the Commune—*every* revolution is automatically socialist. But Paris is less turbulent than the provinces and that is a good thing, Paris is blasé, not least because the workers, disunited, confused and patriotic (in so far as they sense that Paris is—wrongly, or so they feel—*no longer the political hub of the world),* can see no way out. Should the scandals continue, there might be a presidential crisis—Carnot has at least *connived* at a lot of dirty work—and whatever happens there will be parliamentary elections next year. Also a good many municipal elections in Paris. All this will provide more than enough legal loopholes. On the other hand, uncertainty as to the reliability of the army (which is new to general military service and not so hardened to it as Prussia) is a safeguard against coups d' état, as is the unarmed state of the masses (who this time could not, as always before, turn to the National Guard for guns and ammunition) against attempted uprisings. It therefore seems very probable that the crisis will take a peaceful course. It's just what we need, however, if we are to have time to reap the benefits of Panama—no violent upheavals and time for the ferment to take effect throughout the country. In the provinces the Marxists have virtually no rivals; in Paris it is, for the time being, quite

a good thing if Blanquists, [20] Allemanists [21] and Broussists [30] should wear each other out.

At all events, *internal* developments in France have again become of paramount importance and we shall soon see to what extent the chaps are equal to the tasks by which they are confronted. I must say that, where major crises such as this one are concerned, I have considerable confidence in them. Not in their ability to win instant and striking victories—there may yet be short-lived episodes of a horribly reactionary nature—but in their ability eventually to emerge with honour. Nor, from our point of view, should things happen too quickly. We too require time for growth.

Quite between ourselves, I am over the worst so far as Volume II P is concerned. The difficulties in the most difficult section have been surmounted. [33] But until I have been through the last two sections I can say nothing definite about the date of completion. There may still turn out to be individual difficulties that will take some time. But I have sighted land and the worse and most time-consuming part is behind me; this time I shall finish. When you come over here I shall show it to you.

You would in any case do better to come via Calais; it's hardly any further from Stuttgart and maybe even somewhat nearer than via Ostend.—Cordial regards to you, your wife[b] and your children and a Happy Christmas to you.

*A uf Wiedersehen*,

Your F.E.

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[a] of *Capital*- [b] Julie Bebel

38

# ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [101]

IN STUTTGART

London, 24 December 1892

Dear Baron,

I have been trying to persuade August to cross the Channel this winter, if only for a few days, and am not without hope of his concurring. Should he do so, and since he will in any case have to travel via Stuckert,[a] Ishould be obliged if you could give him Marx's old Ms., together with such parts of the Ms. as you may have already completed. [102] The rest we shall settle at some future date. For now that there is every prospect of Volume Ill's long gestation period at last drawing to its close, it's important that I should have the material for Volume IV at my disposal.

You shall have a more detailed reply to your letter shortly—in the meantime a Happy Christmas and cordial regards from

Your
F. Engels

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*Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky,*
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[a] Stuttgart

39

# ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

## IN BERLIN

London, 28 December 1892

Dear Liebknecht,

A Happy New Year to you, your wife[a] and your children.

As regards the French, I pointed out to Lafargue more than a week ago that now's the time.[b] However, it's quite possible that the chaps don't want to expend their powder too soon. To begin with, the Panama affair [60] is still in its early stages, the more important revelations won't come till after the New Year, and so far nothing serious has been *proven,* legally speaking, against any living parliamentarian; in January, both Radicals [86] and Monarchists may find themselves well and truly in the soup and then it will be possible to speak up far more effectually. Secondly, there are, in the Chamber, not only Marxists but also Blanquists, [20] Allemanists [21] and free lances *à la* Cluseret—not to mention complete reprobates such as Lachize and Thivrier who have latched on to our coat-tails—and, with the socialist groups in Parliament differing as they do, it would be easy for the others to give them as good as they got, so to speak. Now an attempt is being made to find a common basis for action. If this succeeds, as seems probable, it will be easier to get something done.

I tender this merely as a possible explanation for the chaps' silence.

In this country we have long had to contend with Bonnier's enthusiasm. He fairly peppered us with shot over the May Day business. [54] I drew his attention to your statement in the *Vorwärts* in which you said that at Marseilles you had given the chaps advance notice of what the Germans' attitude would be on 1 May '93, and that they had declared themselves satisfied.[c]

So they have no right to complain. I then went on to tell him that, what with Panama in Paris, the military business in Berlin [76] and a general industrial crisis into the bargain, there might be something better for us

[a] Natalie Liebknecht -[b] See this volume, pp. 58-59 -[c] W. Liebknecht, 'Agitationsbericht Nach Marseille und zurück', *Vorwärts,* No. 239, 12 October 1892.

to do on 1 May than demonstrate.[3] Indeed, in Paris he would subsequently seem to have realised as much. The man has the best of intentions, but anyone wanting to have a finger in the pie of the labour movement of three countries has no business to live in Oxford. Cordial regards to you all,

Your F. E.

*[Postscript from Louise Kautsky]*

Dear Mrs Natalie,

May I associate myself with the General's[b] letter and his good wishes. Having myself answered the question in the affirmative, I wish you, your dear husband, and your children a very Happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,
Louise Kautsky

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Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels,* The Hague, 1963

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## 40

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[103]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 31 December 1892

Dear Sorge,

Just a line or two before the year ends. Your letters of 18 November and 16 December received—many thanks. Did you get the parcel of books I posted to you in September, containing the *Condition of the Working*

[a] See this volume, p. 47 - [b] F. Engels' nickname

*Class,* new edition, and *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific,*[a] translated by Aveling with an introduction by me? If not I shall send you another parcel by registered mail.

Here, in old Europe, things are proceeding at a somewhat livelier pace than in your 'youthful' country which still can't quite extricate itself from the hobbledehoy stage. It is remarkable, though perfectly natural, that in so young a country, which has never known feudalism and has from the outset grown up upon a bourgeois basis, bourgeois prejudices should be so firmly entrenched even in the working class. Indeed it is precisely his opposition to a mother country still garbed in feudalism that leads the American working man to suppose the traditional bourgeois economic system he has inherited to be by its nature something immutably superior and progressive, a *non plus ultra.* Just as in New England, where puritanism, precisely because it is the *raison d'être* of the whole colony, has become a traditional heirloom and all but indistinguishable from local patriotism. However much the Americans may twist and turn, they cannot simply discount, as if it were a bill, what is beyond doubt a tremendous future, but will have to wait until it falls due; and precisely *because* that future is so great, their present must be largely taken up with preparations for it, a task which, as in any young country, is chiefly of a material nature and calls for a degree of conservative thinking, a clinging to traditions connected with the founding of the new nationality. The Anglo-Saxon race—those damned Schleswig-Holsteiners as Marx always called them—is in any case slow in the uptake, a trait its history both in Europe and in America (economic success and, on the whole, peaceful political evolution) has tended to foster. Here momentous events alone can be of any avail and if, in addition to the transfer—now almost complete—of state-owned lands into private hands, industry were to expand under a somewhat less hare-brained tariff policy and foreign markets be conquered, things might also go well for you people. In this country, too, the class struggles were more violent during the *period of growth* of large-scale industry and petered out precisely at the time of Britain's undisputed industrial domination in the world; similarly in Germany the growth of large-scale industry since 1850 has coincided with the rise of the socialist movement, and in America things are not likely to turn out any differently. It is the revolutionising of all time-honoured conditions

[a] Both works were written by F. Engels. See vols. 4 and 25 of this edition.

by the *growth* of industry which likewise revolutionises men's minds.

Furthermore, the Americans have long provided the European world with proof of the fact that the bourgeois republic is the republic of capitalist businessmen in which politics is merely a business transaction like any other—something which the ruling bourgeois politicians in France have long known and practiced on the quiet, and whose truth is at last being brought home to the French on a national scale by the Panama scandal. [60] Not that the constitutional monarchies can preen themselves on their virtue, for each has its own little Panama; England, the *building society scandals* of which one, 'the Liberator', has conscientiously 'liberated' vast numbers of small depositors of savings amounting to some £8 million [104] ; Germany, the Baare scandals and Lowe's "Jewish rifles' [105] (which prove that the Prussian officer is, now as always, a thief, but in a very, very small way—the one thing that is modest about him); Italy, the Banca Romana, already an approximation of Panama, which has bought some 150 deputies and senators [106] and concerning which, so I am told, documents are shortly to be published in Switzerland; Schlüter should keep an eye out for anything about the Banca Romana that appears in the press. And in Holy Russia the Russian Prince Meshchersky waxes indignant over the indifference with which the Panama revelations are received in Russia, the only explanation for this being, he says, that Russian virtue has been corrupted by the example of the French, and that 'we ourselves have more than one Panama here at home'.

However, the Panama affair is the beginning of the end of the bourgeois republic and may soon place us in some very responsible positions. The *whole* of the opportunist [87] and the better part of the Radical gang [86] are compromised up to the hilt; the government is seeking to hush things up but that is no longer possible, for documentary evidence is in the hands of people who *wish* to overturn those now in power: 1. The Orleans, 2. the former minister Constans, now out of the running because of revelations about his scandalous past, 3. Rochefort and the Boulangists, [6] 4. Cornelius Herz who, being himself deeply involved in all manner of frauds, has plainly taken refuge in London merely in order to buy his way out by compromising his fellows. All these people have more than enough evidence against this thieving crew, but are holding back, firstly and more generally, so as not to expend all their powder at one go and, secondly, in order to give the government and the *courts of law* time to become hopelessly compromised. This is all grist to our mill; enough information gradually leaks out not only to keep the pot on the boil and

run the *dirigeants*[a] increasingly onto the rocks, but also to allow time for the scandal and the revelations to do their work in the remotest parts of the country before the inevitable dissolution of the Chamber and the general elections which, however, ought *not* to come *too soon.*

That things have very nearly got to the point at which our chaps in France will be the only possible rulers of the state is evident. But it mustn't happen too quickly, our people in France being by no means ripe for leadership. As things are now, it is absolutely impossible to say what intermediate stages there will be in the meantime. The old Republican parties are compromised down to the last man, while the Royalists and Clericals, having sold Panama lottery tickets [100] on a vast scale, have identified themselves with that affair—if that idiot Boulanger hadn't shot himself, he would now be cock of the walk. I should be curious to know whether the old unconscious logic of French history will again assert itself on this occasion. There are going to be a great many surprises. If only during the interval in which the air is being cleared, some general or other doesn't seize power and foment a war; that is the only danger.

In Germany the party's undeviating, irresistible advance proceeds at a steady pace. Everywhere small successes provide proof of progress. If the Army Bill [76] is adopted more or less as it stands, there'll be a new floodtide of malcontents coming to join our ranks. If the bill is thrown out, there'll be a dissolution, a general election, and we shall get at least fifty seats in the Reichstag which, in a conflict, might often give us the deciding vote. At all events the struggle, while it may, perhaps, also break out in France, can only be fought to a finish in Germany. But it's a good thing that Volume II I[b] is now at last to be completed—not that I can say when that will be. Times are growing unsettled and the wind is rising.

A very Happy New Year from myself and Mrs Kautsky to you and your wife,[c]

Your

F. Engels

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[a] leaders -[b] of *Capital* —[c] Katharina Sorge

41

## ENGELS TO KARL HENCKELL [107]

IN ZURICH

[London, end of 1892]

The Song of Steam, typical of an early, if past, phase of the Labour movement and one which Germany has also experienced.

First published in: *Buch der Freiheit. Gesammelt und herausgegeben von Karl Henckell,* Berlin, 1893

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# 1893

## 42

## ENGELS TO FILIPPO TURATI

IN MILAN

[London,] 7 January 1893

Dear citizen Turati,

I was very pleased to see the translation of the *Manifesto* in the *Lotta di classe* but I am so overloaded with work that I have not been able to compare it with the original. In a few days I will send you a copy of the most recent German edition (London), with the complete prefaces, for your pamphlet edition.

As for my writing a preface, here is my position. Another Italian friend, whom you no doubt know, is preparing a translation, and perhaps a lengthier work on this writing.[a] As he told me of his intention before the publication of the first issue of *Lotta di* classe I feel I must consult him before giving you a definitive answer. [108] Moreover, I am beginning to find these prefaces an embarrassment. Only recently I had to write one for a Polish translation. I really have nothing new left to say.

Best wishes to yourself and Mme Kulisbov from Mme Kautsky, from Bebel, who is with us at the moment, [109] and from myself, *insieme coi nostri auguri il nuovo anno.*[b]

Sempre vostro[c] F.
Engels

[a] A. Labriola, *In memoria del Manifesto dei comunisti* - [b] accept also our Happy New Year greetings and best wishes - [c] Ever yours

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K. Marx, P. Engels, *Scritti italiani,*
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## 43

## ENGELS TO MARIA MENDELSON [110]

### IN LONDON

[London,] 10 January 1893

Dear Mme Mendelson

Thank you for your letter. I immediately wrote a short article on the arrests in Paris which left for Berlin that same evening—you will probably see it in *Vorwärts* in a few days. [111]

Ever yours,

F. E. Bebel has left this afternoon. Greetings from Mme Kautsky.

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## 44

## ENGELS TO PHILIPP PAULI

### IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 11 January 1893

Dear Pauli,

I entirely agree that we should each of us send a contribution to Perkin for the Schorlemmer LABORATORY [112] as you suggest; but not by any

means that I should decide upon the sum without any prior agreement or knowledge of the actual circumstances. What we should offer depends on altogether too many circumstances of which I am completely ignorant. The *comité* in Manchester will surely be sending, or have sent out, some sort of appeal indicating roughly the amount to be raised, and an initial list of the first subscriptions, etc., etc. After all, one has got to know all this if one is to have any idea how high or low one should, or alternately should not, go.

Would you therefore be so good as to inquire from Perkin what has been done in this respect and, if you think fit, ask him to inform me of it so that we have some kind of yardstick to go by.

It's a disgrace that these university chaps should be such jackasses! I even had to put pressure on Roscoe to get him to write the article for *Nature.*[a] And the Germans—how proud they could be of Schorlemmer! But he didn't belong to the you-scratch-my-back-I-scratch-yours clique and that's why, now he's dead, he has to suffer for the fact that he was no Panamite of academic learning. Panama left, right and centre, nothing but Panama, [60] even in academic chemistry!

Cordial regards to your wife and children, and likewise to yourself, from

Your old friend, F.
Engels

Pumps and her family came to stay over Christmas and the New Year; the new baby is a very delicate little thing yet, despite the cold, they all got back safe and sound to Ryde.

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G. Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*
*Eine Biographie,* Bd. II ,
The Hague, 1934 and in full in:
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H. E. Roscoe, 'Carl Schorlemmer', *Nature,* Vol. XLVI, 25 August 1892.

## 45

## ENGELS TO MARIA MENDELSON

### IN LONDON

[London,] 16 January 1893

Dear Mme Mendelson,

The article in *Vorwärts* of which you speak was written in Paris.[a] It seems that the author was told that the 5 arrested Poles belonged to the same socialist school as, among the Russians, Plekhanov and his friends; and the correspondent has thus committed the *quid pro quo* that we have all sadly read.

The article which I sent to *Vorwärts* is in the following issue (No. II , 13th January). [111]

Let us congratulate ourselves nonetheless that this latest base action by the French government has only led to an expulsion.

Mme Kautsky joins her greetings to those of your devoted

F. Engels

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## 46

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [113]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 18 January 1893

Dear Sorge,

Today I am sending you two old numbers of the defunct *Berliner Volks-Tribüne,* the others having got mislaid in the turmoil of Christmas; if I

[a] 'Russische Polizei-Allmacht in Frankreich', *Vorwärts,* No. 10, 12 January 1893 (in the running headline 'Politische Uebersicht').

find them I shall send them on to you. The reason for my failure to put them in the post was the Bakunin article which in the end I felt bound to answer, and that meant keeping the numbers here in case of possible controversy. In the last (13th)[a] article, which has unfortunately been mislaid—we have just realised that it has meanwhile been sent to you by Mrs Kautsky[b]—there is yet another batch of rubbishy anarchist lies. The author, who gives his name—one Héritier (a young Genevese, nurtured in the bosom of old J. Ph. Becker) tries to justify himself even after my answer—mendaciously. Since he has written to me, I shall reply,[c] notifying him that, if be does the same sort of thing in his proposed opus, I shall rap him severely over the knuckles for it. [49]

Over here the Independent Labour Party, [114] about which you will have read in the *Workman's Times,* has held a conference in Bradford. Owing to their sectarian attitude the Social Democratic Federation, [44] on the one hand, and the Fabians, [43] on the other, have been unable to absorb the socialist accretions in the provinces, so that the setting up of a third party was no bad thing. But now, such is the extent of those accretions—especially in the industrial districts of the North—that even at this, the first congress, the new party was more strongly represented than either the Social Democratic Federation or the Fabians, if not more strongly than both put together. And since the *bulk* of its members are undoubtedly first class, since its centre of gravity lies in the provinces rather than in that hive of intrigue, London, and its programme is substantially the same as our own, Aveling did right in joining it and in accepting a position on the Executive. If the petty private ambitions and intrigues of the London panjandrums can be kept under some control, and its tactics are not *too* misguided, the Independent Labour Party may succeed in enticing away the masses, not only from the Social Democratic Federation but, in the provinces, also from the Fabians, and thus enforcing unity.

The Social Democratic Federation has pushed Hyndman completely into the background. It did so badly as a result of his policy of intrigue that—thanks to the provincial delegates—Hyndman has been utterly discredited in the *eyes* of his own people. An attempt to regain his popularity on the Unemployed Committee—on which other people sat too—by means of revolutionary ranting (his personal cowardice being

[a] 12th in the Ms. — [b] Engels inserted this afterwards, in the margin. — [c] See this volume, pp. 85-86

a byword among his best friends), merely resulted in an increase of the influence wielded by Tussy and Aveling on that Committee. The only thing the Social Democratic Federation insists upon is its seniority as the *oldest* socialist organisation over here but in other respects it has grown far more tolerant of others, has ceased to inveigh against them and is on the whole appreciably more aware of being what it is, namely far smaller than it made itself out to be.

Here in London the Fabians are a bunch of careerists who have sense enough to recognise the inevitability of a social upheaval but are quite incapable of entrusting this gigantic task solely to the untutored proletariat and are therefore accustomed to take the lead; fear of revolution is their guiding principle. They are the 'heddicated' par excellence. Their socialism is municipal socialism; it is the *commune* not the nation, which, at any rate to start off with, is to be the owner of the means of production. They then proceed to propound this, their socialism, as the extreme but inevitable consequence of bourgeois liberalism—hence their tactics of not directly confronting the Liberals as opponents but of inducing them to draw socialist conclusions, *ergo* they cheat them in order to *PERMEATE* LIBERALISM WITH SOCIALISM and do not put up socialist candidates against the Liberals, but rather foist the former on them by force if not by false pretences. That in so doing they are either betraying and hoodwinking themselves, or else are hoodwinking socialism, they do not, of course, realise.

With great assiduity they have produced, along with all manner of trash, a number of good propaganda pieces—the best of this kind, in fact, the English have produced. But the moment they come to their own brand of tactics and gloss over the class struggle, the rot sets in. Hence, too, their fanatical hatred of Marx and all the rest of us—because of the class struggle.

Needless to say, the chaps have a big middle-class following and therefore funds and, in the provinces, they have many dependable working men who refuse to have anything to do with the Social Democratic Federation. But 5/6 of their provincial members see more or less eye to eye with us and, when it comes to the point, they will definitely desert. In Bradford—where they are represented—they have several times voiced unqualified opposition to the Fabians' London Executive.

As you see, it is a critical juncture so far as the movement over here is concerned, and something may come of the new organisation. For a short while it looked as though it might come under the wing of

Champion who, whether consciously or unconsciously, is working for the Tories just as are the Fabians for the Liberals—under the wing of Champion, then, and of his ally Maltman Barry, whom you will remember from The Hague [115] (Barry is now by his own admission *an agent* in the regular pay of the Tories and MANAGER OF THE SOCIALISTIC WING OF THE CONSERVATIVES!) [116]—see *Workman's Times* of November and December—but in the end Champion thought it best to resume his editorship of the *Labour Elector* and has thus taken up the cudgels against the *Workman's Times and* the new party.

It was a shrewd stroke on Keir Hardie's part to place himself at the head of this new party and yet another blunder on the part of John Burns to remain aloof on this occasion as well, having already done himself a great deal of harm by his total inertia outside of his own constituency. I am afraid be may land himself in an impossible situation.

It goes without saying that, in this instance too, personal ambition is causing men like Keir Hardie, Shaw Maxwell and others to pursue sundry ulterior aims. But the danger inherent in this diminishes in proportion as the party itself grows in strength and numbers, and has, indeed, already receded because of the necessity of not leaving any loopholes for competing sects. In recent years socialism has made enormous headway among the masses in the industrial districts, and I look to those masses to keep the leaders properly in order. Of course there will be blunders and to spare, and also jiggery-pokery of every description; let us only hope we are able to keep them within proper bounds!

At worst the setting up of a new organisation may be regarded as an advantage in that it is easier to achieve unity when there are *three* competing sects than when there are two which are diametrically opposed to one another.

As regards what you wrote about Poland on 23 December, since the time of Kronstadt the Prussians have been prepared to go to war with Russia and are therefore *pro* -Polish (indeed have provided proof of this). [117] The said Poles will have sought to exploit this *to provoke a war whereby they hope to be liberated with Germany's help.* But that is *not at all* what Berlin wants and, should they pull off their coup, Caprivi will undoubtedly leave them in the lurch. At the moment a war would be utterly useless to *us;* we have a sure means of making progress which a war could only disrupt.

Warm regards to your wife and yourself. Mrs Kautsky, who wrote to

you on Saturday, though unfortunately too late to catch the post, also sends her regards.

Your F.E.

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## 47

## ENGELS TO LOUIS HÉRITIER

### IN GENEVA

[Draft]

[London,] 20 January 1893

Dear citizen,

It is with sincere satisfaction that I see from your letter of 25 December that the passage taken from your article on Becker[a] was distorted in translation. [49] Indeed, I was amazed when I saw your name at the end of the article. I had heard you spoken of with truly paternal affection, and the expressions used in your article on Becker constituted a far too painful contrast. Unfortunately, you still let the public believe them to be yours, as the rest of the article also.

As for what you have to say in the *Volks-Tribüne* concerning my observations, this in no way changes my opinion. You must know that MM. the anarchists invented the slander about the conference held in Marx's house [118] with the sole purpose of proving that Marx wished to secure his own preponderance by any means, fair or foul. You say that this is his domination over the delegates. For you this alleged fact is worth being

[a] Johann Philipp Becker

told. However, when I prove that it is false, you say that is a mere detail of no importance whatsoever.

I have proved the falsehood of your assertion. You said that the London conference placed the Jurassians *under the command of the Geneva Federal Council.* I find that to be the opposite of the truth. You reply: 'What I said seems to me today *to be the absolute truth.* 'You remind me of good manners, though I do not know in what respect: do you wish me to remind you of sincerity?

Your No. XII [a] proves once again that you know almost nothing about what happened outside the anarchist milieu. Judging by your observations concerning the Geneva internationals, it would seem to me impossible that you have seen a complete collection of the *Egalité de Genève.* If the Geneva internationals were *to some extent* infected by petty-bourgeois ideas, they shared this defect with their adversaries, the anarchists, whom you prefer, yet who offer only the reverse of the petty-bourgeois coin, and with almost all the French and Belgian internationals—Proudhonists with few exceptions. Of all the groups of the Romance languages, only those among the Spanish supporters of the General Council were Social-Democrats in the present sense of that term. As for the rest, have those of Geneva proved today that they are worth more than their predecessors?

In the same No. XII ,[a] you reproduce a large number of anarchist errors and lies, and you accord them a faith which, after my warning, should have lost some of its original naivety. You promise a second work on this same topic. I hope that, before engaging upon the matter, you will obtain some documents which shed light on the assertions and machinations of the anarchists, and which will certainly enable you to judge impartially. Otherwise you will oblige me to reply again. It is of little importance what the bourgeois newspapers have to say about the old International, but when its history is distorted even in party organs this is quite a different matter. All that I ask of you is that you should not write about a subject without having studied both sides, the documents on this side and on that. Our worker public has to snatch from its meals and its sleep the few hours that it can devote to reading: it therefore has the right to ask that everything we present should be the result of conscientious work, and not lead to futile controversies that it is impossible to follow.

[a] A mistake in the original. Should read 'XII I'. The reference is to article XII I.

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48

# ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL [119]

IN BERLIN

London, 24 January 1893

Dear August,

I continue. Aveling's verbal accounts have reinforced a suspicion previously entertained by me, namely that Keir Hardie nurtures the secret wish to lead the new party [114] in the same dictatorial fashion as Parnell led the Irish, and that his sympathies incline more towards the Conservative than towards the Liberal opposition party. He has said openly that, come the next elections, there should be a repetition of Parnell's experiment whereby he forced Gladstone to toe the line and that where no Labour candidate can be put up, people should vote Conservative by way of giving the Liberals a taste of their power. [120] Now this is a policy which, in certain circumstances, I myself have demanded of the English, but to proclaim something of this sort in advance, not as a possible tactical measure, but as tactics to be pursued *no matter what the circumstances* smacks strongly of Champion. Especially when, at the same time, Keir Hardie refers disparagingly to the extension of the suffrage and other reforms, which alone might be expected to give reality to working-class suffrage over here, as purely *political* matters which must take second place after social demands—eight hours, industrial safety, etc. Though, renouncing as he does their *enforcementhy* Labour M.P.s, he fails to explain how these social demands are to be implemented unless by grace of the middle classes, or else by means of indirect pressure exerted by Labour's casting vote in the elections. I draw your attention to this knotty point in order that you may be informed should occasion arise. For the time being I do not attach any particular importance to the matter since at the very

worst Keir Hardie is likely to err gravely in his estimate of the workers in the industrial districts of the North of England, who are not a flock of sheep, and since he will, in any case, encounter opposition enough in the Executive. But a tendency of this kind ought not to be completely ignored.

I look forward very much to seeing the stenographic report of Singer's speech about the Stock Exchange; in the *Vorwärts* it read quite excellently.[a] But in dealing with this subject there is one point which all our chaps tend to overlook. The Stock Exchange is an institution in which the bourgeois exploit, not the workers, but *one another;* the surplus value that changes hands on the Stock Exchange is already *extant* surplus value, the product of past exploitation of labour. Only when that process is complete can it serve the hanky-panky on the Stock Exchange. To begin with, the Stock Exchange is merely of indirect interest to us, in the same way as its influence and its repercussions on the capitalist exploitation of labour are merely indirect and exerted in a devious way. To suggest that the workers should take a direct interest in, and wax indignant over, the fleecing on the 'Change of the Junkers, manufacturers and petty bourgeois is to suggest that the workers should resort to arms to protect the possession by their own immediate exploiters of the surplus value they have filched from those self-same workers. What an idea! But as the finest fruit of bourgeois society, as the breeding ground of extreme corruption, as the forcing house of the Panama [60] and other scandals—and hence, too, as a first-class means for the concentration of capitals, for the disintegration and dissolution of the last remnants of natural cohesion in bourgeois society and, at the same time, for the destruction of all obligatory moral concepts and their inversion into their opposite—as an incomparable element of destruction, as the most powerful accelerator of impending revolution—in this historical sense the Stock Exchange is indeed of immediate interest to us.

I see the Centre [71] has moved that there be a stay of prescription for the period in which the Reichstag suspends prosecutions. Since the Centre is the dominant party the motion seems likely to be carried. [121] *Should this* happen, it would seem to me inappropriate to make the government a gratuitous present of the above limitation of *parliamentary* rights without any *quid pro quo.* The *quid pro quo* should consist in the express acknowl-

[a] *Vorwärts,* No. 17, 20 January 1893

edgement that the Reichstag's right of suspension is also applicable to penal *detention.* Otherwise the Reichstag would again be beating a retreat—whatever legal plausibility the measure might seem to possess.

The bogey of war has again raised its head. Herewith Dalziel's despatch from today's *Daily Chronicle*—as a youthful competitor of Reuter, Wolff and Havas, Dalziel is more readily open to such reptilian manoeuvres. [122] The affair as such is absurd. The Russians are simply not prepared for war and would have to be quite off their heads to embark on one now. There is, of course, a possibility that, after the failure of the last Parisian loan, [123] they would only be able to obtain money in Paris if war were really imminent or had already broken out—but that would be a counsel of despair. What cannot be completely ruled out is the possibility that the Opportunists [87] and Radicals [86] in France will *seek* to save themselves from Panama by means of a war or at any rate have this at the back of their minds as a last recourse. But where could they find the pretext that would justify them in the eyes of the world? As I have said before, in the next war England will play a dominant role on account of its naval supremacy. [124] And as it happens, England has just played a nasty trick on the French in Egypt. [125] To gain England's support, in the present state of tension between the two governments, there would have to be a *casus belli* which, even to *your* philistine, would seem a gross provocation, and this Caprivi will not provide.

The more information I gather on this point, the more I am struck by the fact that Bismarck formed the Austrian *resp.* Triple Alliance. [126] simply in order that he might, on the eve of the now inevitable war, give Austria to Russia in exchange for France: Leave me France and I'll leave you Austria and Turkey and, what's more, unleash Italy against Austria via Trieste and Trient.[a] And he clearly imagined he would pull it off. Reflect for a while on the course of history since 1878 [127] and you will, I believe, come round to my view.

To me Tutzauer's hire-purchase speech in the Reichstag Report *(Vorwärts)* of the 21st is quite incomprehensible. He wasn't speaking as a *Social Democrat but* as a furniture salesman. [128] How could this have happened? The Young [129] will be overjoyed.

Last night there was a concert and ball for the benefit of the Society. [62] I stayed until 11 o'clock and shall now presumably be exempted for a while

[a] Modern name: Trento.

from such obligations; Louise[a] had to stay at home because of neuralgia in her side. She is a bit better, but still suffers a lot of pain which, Freyberger says, will persist for another day or two. Otherwise her cold is on the mend and her voice and general condition have also improved. She sends you and your wife her warmest regards, as does

Your

F.E.

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## ENGELS TO MARIA MENDELSON

### IN LONDON

[London,] 24 January 1893

122 Regent's Park Road, N. W. Dear Mme Mendelson,

Would you be so kind as to send me another half-dozen copies of the circular in reply to the one issued by Free Russia? I would like to send it to my friends in Germany and elsewhere; perhaps you would be so good as to tell me if it has been sent to Bebel and *Vorwärts*.

Is there a printing error on page 1, line 4? Is Dragomanov recommending the *P*olonisation of Lithuania, or its colonisation (by Russian colonists)?

Friendly greetings from myself and Mme Kautsky.

Sincerely yours,

F. Engels Mme Kautsky is suffering from a cold and an attack of neuralgia, oth-

[a] Kautsky

erwise she would already have called to see you.

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## 50

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

London, 26 January 1893

Dear Baron,

Gine has just told me that you are awaiting an answer from me about Marx's biography. [130] It had in fact escaped my mind that this was urgent. Please accept my apologies.

I wouldn't know what to add to the material you mentioned—unless perhaps one or two bits from the sketch[a] in the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* that was sent to you. Elster—a cousin of Conrad Schmidt's who referred him to me—asked me to write something for him, which I did, wholly from our own standpoint, all unsuspecting that be would print it—after he had deleted a few excessively unbourgeois passages. Well, it's all one to me.

The matter of the *Neue Zeit* has, of course, been shelved for the time being on account of Dietz's treatment, apart from the fact of your having spoken to August.[b] He says it is impossible to revert to a monthly. In which case the *external* arrangements will doubtless remain pretty well unaltered—and it is up to the editors to make the paper more meaty and more amusing for its readers. At all events it seems to me that any drastic change will have to be put off until Dietz is fit for work again. And you yourself will in any case be swamped with a superfluity of good and well-

[a] F. Engels, *Marx, Heinrich Karl.* - [b] See this volume, pp 49-50, 53-54

meaning advice regarding your own department, so I shall spare you that.

Tussy is tremendously busy agitating; she has been in the Midlands, Edinburgh and Aberdeen and is supposed to be coming here today. When I see her, I shall ask her for some personal reminiscences about Moor. [131]

I gave Ede the Brazilian paper, [132] though I told him that the importance of these South American parties is always in inverse proportion to the grandiosity of their programmes.

Ede is gradually recovering from his neurasthenia; he has likewise regained his old sprightliness, as is evident from his personal behaviour and also from his article on Wolf to whom he does *too much* honour.[a] I believe that what he now needs most of all is something to liven and cheer him up in order that his soundness of judgement may once more gain complete control over his still somewhat excessive aspirations after justice.

Nothing fresh to report otherwise.—Also and, belatedly, a Happy New Year to you.

Your F.E.

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## 51

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

### IN BARMEN

London, 26 January 1893

Dear Hermann,

What the deuce is going on? Yesterday there was first of all a telegram from Vienna, then one from Dresden, then, at five o'clock this morning, one from New York and, at 11 this morning, your own—all inquiring

-[a] E. Bernstein, 'Der neueste Vernichter des Sozialismus', *Die Neue Zeit,* Vol. I, Nos. 16, 17, Stuttgart, 1892/93.

after my health. Well, I haven't felt better for a long time, I can again walk an English mile, I over- rather than under-indulged in good things at Christmastime, am game for anything and perfectly fit for work and now all of a sudden I'm supposed to be seriously ill!

I telegraphed back to you immediately. [133] saying I was perfectly hale and hearty, and this I hereby confirm. Next summer I hope I shall be able to give all of you visual proof of the fact.

My love to all the relatives, also to Emma[a] and your children and grandchildren and, finally, to you yourself from

Your old
Friedrich

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## 52

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN BERLIN

London, 29 January 1893

Dear Liebknecht,

Herewith a small token of my 'serious loss of strength' on the evidence of which you will, I trust, 'hourly await my demise'.[b] Where did this nonsense originate? I should like to discover who the scoundrel is!

I have so arranged the article[c] as to enable you to publish it either in three numbers[d] or in a supplement; the latter might perhaps be best. I haven't signed it, for otherwise I should inevitably put the chaps in Rome onto the track of my Italian source. [6] The man has been insufficiently cautious in his conduct of the correspondence which has evidently been

[a] Emma Engels - [b] See this volume, p. 107 -[c] F. Engels, 'Vom italienischen Panama - [d] of the *Vorwärts* — [e] Antonio Labriola

subject to rigorous surveillance. Moreover I still don't know whether the relevant documents are in a safe place abroad and so it is essential to avoid doing anything that might deliver them up into the hands of the Italian government.

I have mentioned names only where the facts relating to them have already appeared in the Italian press and could therefore be produced as supporting evidence. The only exceptions are the *two* names *Arbib* and *Martini* on p. 3; I could provide no supporting evidence for these, so if you have misgivings delete them.

The bearer of the revered name is Menotti Garibaldi, a lad who has already been hard at work for *years past* founding all sorts of things. [134]

Not long ago the *Vorwärts* alluded to Bonghi the *Republican*[a]—the man is an arch-reactionary and an ex-minister of the *Right.* All in all, the *Vorwärts* has been notable for such mistakes regarding foreign countries, *not least England!*

Give my regards to your wife and children.

Your F.E.

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## 53

## ENGELS TO FILIPPO TURATI [135]

IN MILAN

London, 30 January 1893

Dear citizen Turati,

You will have a few words of introduction tomorrow, if possible.[b] However, I would ask you not to attach to the 1848 Manifesto the 1884

[a] 'Das italienische Panama', *Vorwärts,* No. 22, 25 January 1893. - [b] F. Engels, 'To the Italian Reader'.

programme of the English Socialist League. [136] The Manifesto is a historic document, *sui generis.*[a] and if you attach to it a document dated forty years later, you will give the latter a special character. [108] Moreover, I cannot at the moment find the English original for comparison, because I have not seen it since it first appeared, and I know nothing about the programmes and other publications of the Socialist League, a society which has rapidly become anarchist, so that all those members who did not want to take part in this change of front (the Avelings, Bax, etc.) have withdrawn. As a result the League that has been dead for some time is now only referred to here as an *anarchist* society. You can imagine, therefore, to what *quid pro quo* a reprint of the original programme together with the 1848 Manifesto might lead.

Greetings to Mme Kulishov and yourself from Mme Kautsky and yours truly,

F. Engels

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## 54

## ENGELS TO FILIPPO TURATI

### IN MILAN

[London, 1 February 1893]

Dear citizen Turati,

Here is the preface.[b]

You are going too quickly for me in Italy. Your Panamino, [106] which threatens to become a Panamone, is undergoing evolutions and vicissitudes at such a rate that we here in London cannot keep up with events in Rome. Therefore I have refrained from speaking about them, for fear

[a] unique of its kind - [b] F. Engels, 'To the Italian Reader', see also Note 108.

of being outdated the very next day. This should explain why what I have written is not particularly topical.

But where on earth were the socialist, deputies during these decisive days? Ours in Germany would never be forgiven if they had not been present at the Colajanni meeting—it would have cost them their mandates!

Yours,

F.E.

First published, in the language of the original (French), in: *Filippo Turati attraverso le lettere di corrispondenti (1880-1925),* Bari, 1947

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## 55

## ENGELS TO MARIA MENDELSON

### LONDON

[London,] 7 February 1893
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Madame Mendelson,

A thousand thanks for the trouble you have taken to translate the two articles for me. [137] As for the *warning—ostrzezenie*—I had already deciphered it with the help of a Polish dictionary that I inherited from Marx. And the *Gazeta Robotnicza* has really been of unexpected assistance in my Polish studies—you say that the Polish in this newssheet is too German. Then it is like the Russian of Lavrov, and that explains why the Russian of the one and the Polish of the other present me with so few difficulties. I am indeed making progress, and if I had time to apply myself seriously to it for three months, I would venture to garble in Polish.

I will try to make use of your manuscripts—in the meantime I would ask you to let me know if I may publish the facts contained in your letter on the Moscow students and Russian officers—without, of course, revealing the source of my information. [138]

Kind regards from Mme Kautsky.

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 56

## ENGELS TO VLADIMIR SHMUILOV [40]

### IN DRESDEN

[Copy]

London, 7 February 1893
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W. Dear Comrade,

My best thanks for your kind hope that I should attain my nineties. If I remained as I am now, I should have no objection but were I, like so many, to degenerate physically and mentally as well, I would really rather not. Were that the case, I should prefer to be counted out.

As to your requests regarding Marx's biography, [140] I am afraid that there is little I can do to meet them. Moreover I lack the time, being engaged on the 3rd volume of *Capital* and unable to take time off from it.

*Ad*[a] I. There is nothing I can recommend over and above the biographical material already in your possession. Nothing reliable, at any rate.

*Ad* II . Marx's practical activities between 1844 and 1849 were in part devoted to the working men's associations, especially the Brussels association between 1846 and 1848, and to the League. [141] It is only on these last that you will find anything in print, namely in our prefaces to the *Manifesto (LATEST Berlin* edition, 1892) and in the *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial* along with my introduction[a] thereto, Zurich edition,

[a] as to

1885.—As regards the International, Eichhoff *ALONE* is reliable,[b] for he worked from Marx's notes; all the rest from Fribourg,[c] to Laveleye[d] and Zacher,[e] are a source of nothing but *LIES AND MYTHS.* Here it would be more a case of writing a fat book to set matters right than of sending material for a third party to work on. I can, however, send you two publications issued by the General Council *(Prétendues Scissions* and *L'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste)*[f] for the decisive struggle with Bakunin.—Héritier's offering in the *Berliner Volks- Tribüne on* the subject of *the Jura Federation and M. Bakunin* [49] betrays unexampled naïveté in its blind faith in the anarchists' inventions and, from what Héritier writes and tells me, his translator has vitiated it still further in the anarchist sense. (In which case, by the way, the Russian censor will, with his excisions, guard you against a good many mistakes.)

*Ad* II I. You will have to get hold of *The Holy Family* by fair means or foul. In no circumstances will I let my own copy out of my hands and to supply particulars of the contents is an impossible task. Nor would it do any good to write out for you the main passages. You must be familiar with the *whole.* It surely ought to be possible to pick one up in Berlin.

As to the *genesis* of historical materialism, you will, in my opinion, find everything you want in my *Feuerbach (Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy)*—the appendix by Marx *is,* of course, itself the genesis! Also in the prefaces to the *Manifesto* (new Berlin edition, 1892) and to the *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial.*

Marx quietly elaborated the theory of surplus value in the fifties, all on his own, and resolutely refused to publish anything on the subject until he was in absolutely no doubt about each of his conclusions. Hence the non-appearance of the 2nd and subsequent instalments of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.* [142]

I am sending you the *Splits* and *Alliance* by post and hope these will suffice. Unfortunately that is all I can do for you.

Kindest regards to Gnardnauer and all the comrades over there.

[a] F. Engels, *On the History of the Communist League.* — [b] W. Eichhoff, *Die Internationale Arbeiterassociation. Ihre Gründung, Organization, politisch-sociale Thätigkeit und Aus breitung.* —[c] E. E. Fribourg, *LAssociation internationale des travailleurs.* — [d] E. de Laveleye, *Le Socialisme contemporain.* - [e] [J.] Zacher, Die Rothe Internationale. - [f] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International'*and *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association.*

Ever yours,
F. Engels

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## 57

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

London, 9 February 1893

Dear August,

First of all my congratulations on your magnificent speech of 3 February which had already given us enormous pleasure in the *Vorwärts*[a] excerpt but came out even better in the stenographic report. It is a masterpiece, in no way impaired by one or two minor theoretical inaccuracies, these being inevitable in verbal delivery. You are quite right to arrange for copies of the speech to be distributed in their hundreds of thousands,[b] notwithstanding and in addition to the distribution of the whole debate in pamphlet form.[c]

This debate, in which the worthy bourgeois sought to dispel the tedium of sittings that had grown arid—thanks to their intrigues behind the scenes—and also, whenever chance offered, to lead us nicely up the garden path, has turned out to be a truly colossal victory for us. And that they themselves sense this is borne out by the fact that after Liebknecht 's speech they had had enough and indicated as much—through Stoecker! [143] So now at last the gentlemen have realised that if a parliament devotes it-

[a] No. 30 of 4 February 1893 — [b] A. Bebel, *Zukunftsstaat und Sozialdemokratie. Eine Rede des Reichstagsabgeordneten August Bebel in der Sitzung des deutschen Reichstags vom 3. Februar 1893.* — [c] *'Der sozialdemokratische 'Zukunftsstaat'. Verhandlungen des deutschen Reichstags am 31. Januar, 3., 4., 6. und 7. Februar 1893, veröffentlicht nach dem offiziellen stenographischen Bericht.*

self for five days on end to social reorganisation in our own sense of the term and if, on top of that, the said parliament is the German Reichstag, this is a milestone symbolising yet another victory for the workers' party. This latter circumstance has given proof to the whole world, friend and foe alike, of the triumphant position won by the German party. If things go on like this, we shall soon be able to exist at no cost of effort to ourselves, on the stupidity of our opponents alone.

It was obvious that you would have to bear the brunt of the debate. So far as I can judge, Frohme's speech did indeed provide some pretext for the victorious hullabaloo from Richter and Bachern and Hitze, and the business of Thomas Aquinas and Aristotle ought to be carefully investigated. If what Hitze asserted is correct, Frohme lacked the competence to quote from them, but if not, he ought to have made a personal statement in self-vindication. [144] Otherwise everything went off beautifully and Liebknecht 's concluding speech, though indifferent in content, was nevertheless 'trenchant' and good polemically. In short, it has been a triumph. The Witch[a] was so overjoyed that yesterday she called me Agnes Pinchpenny, whereupon I drew her attention to the fact that she was a proper Fidgety Ann, as anyone who knows her will confirm. She is even worse than the latter, for its not so much her legs that are fidgety but her brain. [145]

There is much to be said for your suggestions as to what the best plan for the Russians would be in case of war. [146] But don't forget that if the overthrow of France would be intolerable to Russia, the suppression of Germany would be no less so to Italy and England. *Every localised war* is more or less subject to control by the neutrals. The next war, if it comes at all, will not permit of being localised in any way. They—the Continentals at any rate—would all be drawn in during the first months, it would automatically begin in the Balkans and England at most might be able to remain neutral for a time. Your Russian plan, however, presupposes a localised war and that, given the enormous armies of today and the appalling consequences for the vanquished, I no longer regard as possible.

In Egypt it is simply a case of the Russians (the French are mere puppets on strings) making things difficult for the English, and thereby tying up their troops and fleet as much as possible. If war broke out, Russia would then have something to offer the English in return for an alliance

[a] jocular name for Louise Kautsky

or at least their neutrality and at such a juncture the French would be delighted to exchange Egypt for Alsace. Meanwhile the Russians are up to the same game in Central Asia on the Indian border where it will be years before they are strong enough to mount serious attacks and where the ground is very far from being prepared for this purpose. Incidentally, in connection with Egypt, Turkey should also fall to Russia.

(Have just had another Russian visitor who has held me up for over an hour, the result being that it is now 4 o'clock and in consequence this will have to be a shorter letter.)

I see that on your Military Committee you also have a Major Wachs. If he is the same man as a cousin of Dr Gumpert's of Manchester, I met him there some 25 years ago, At that time he had joined the Prussians as a former lieutenant in the service of Hesse-Cassel and was much disappointed to find amongst his victors of 1866 the same preoccupation with spit and polish as had, or so he thought, been the cause of Hesse-Cassel's defeat. [147] I gave him some encouragement, saying that if he would only go ahead and stick it out with the Prussians, he would probably discover that the army also had its good sides. Later on, at Spichern, [148] when in command of a company, he greatly distinguished himself by occupying on his own initiative a railway tunnel *in defiance of his major.* In the General Staff's history[a] he is mentioned in most glowing terms—one of the very few lieutenants of whom it makes any mention at all. Since then I have read various strategic-political essays of his—most of them on the East—in which there are some very good things along with others (political) with which I don't agree. At all events he is an efficient officer—if it's the same man.

By the way, a compromise seems more probable than ever. Even the Free Thinkers [149] and the Centre [71] are prepared to supply 28,000 men, while Bennigsen is offering 40,000. No doubt so many will fall by the wayside that the government will get 50,000 rather than the 60,000 it wanted (perhaps also just a few more, provided it doesn't waver) [76] and the bourgeois fatherland will once again be saved from dissolution and conflict.

The 'ball' was thought up by our charming Witch's fidgety brain. The 'Society' [62] gave a concert which was followed by a ball. At 11 o'clock the *first* part of the concert ended, whereupon I obediently took my leave,

[a] *Der deutsch-französische Krieg 1870-71.* Redigirt von der Kriegsgeschichtlichen Abteilung des Großen Generalstabes. Part 1, Vol. 1, p. 341, Berlin, 1874.

so the dancing cannot have started before 1 o'clock. She herself always speaks of dancing with a condescension more appropriate to someone many years her senior, and if she is to dance a waltz you yourself will doubtless have to lead her onto the floor. In which case I'm by no means so certain that her Viennese blood might not reassert its rights.

In the next (February) No., now at the printers, the Polish *Przedswit,* which comes out here, will contain the following item: [150] At Grajewo, on the East Prussian border, there is a junior Russian official by the name of Spatzek, a Bohemian by birth, who is employed on translating way-bills. Despite his wretched wage he makes long journeys, some of them as far as Constantinople, leads a fast life, frequently enters Prussian territory on the pretext of hunting and is very friendly with Landrat von der Gröbben of Lyck who provides him with a vast quantity of hunting and other travel permits. When the frontier was closed on account of cholera, nobody was allowed across, but Mr Spatzek along with his wife and H-n, another Russian official suspected of spying, were able to travel to Königsberg without hindrance. In the opinion of people on the far side of the border this gadding about on German territory is purely and simply for the purpose of spying out the outer forts sited between the East Prussian lakes, on which occasions our overwise Prussian Landrat is only too pleased to be made use of by his Russo-Bohemian friend. The arrogant Prussian bureaucrats are everywhere easily taken in.

Moreover the Russian troops on the border were not long ago the recipients of a whole load of literature, to wit numerous copies of a pamphlet by Alexandrov, a lieutenant in the artillery in Tashkent, *On the causes and necessity of the impending war.*[a] One copy has been issued to each company in order that the officers may duly enlighten their men.

Perhaps you might be able to make use of this information in your private conversations with the people on the Military Committee.

Over here Keir Hardie has moved an amendment on the subject of unemployment [151] to the Address (Reply to the Speech from the Throne[b]) in Parliament. In itself this was quite a good thing. But Keir Hardie committed two colossal blunders. 1. The amendment was formulated quite unnecessarily as *a direct vote of censure* on the government, so that its acceptance would have forced the government to resign and thus the whole thing was tantamount to a Tory manoeuvre, 2. he chose to be seconded by

[a] A. H. Aleksandrov, [original text in Russian]. - [b] by Queen Victoria

the Tory Howard Vincent, a Protectionist, rather than by a Labour member, thereby completing the picture of a Tory manoeuvre and of *himself as* a Tory puppet. Moreover 102 Tories voted in his favour and only 2 Liberal-Radicals, [152] not one Labour member. Burns was agitating in Yorkshire. As I have already written you,[a] his manoeuvrings and pronouncements since Bradford [153] have more than once been suggestive of Champion's influence; this has now become more than a suspicion. The source of his means of subsistence is unknown, and over the past two years he has spent a great deal of money on travelling. Where does it come from? The English working man demands of his parliamentary representatives and other leaders that they devote all their time to the movement. But if he won't pay them, he himself is to blame if they accept money from other parties as a means of support and for electoral purposes. So long as this goes on, there will always be Panamites [154] amongst the labour leaders over here.

Incidentally, if Mr Keir Hardie continues to be allowed to behave in this way, he will soon be laid low. The working men of Lancashire and Yorkshire are not the sort of people to attach themselves to conservative leading-strings or to pluck the Tories' chestnuts out of the fire for them. Just give K. Hardie enough time and the consequences of his policy will rebound on him personally and become evident to all.

Burns has gone to Halifax to agitate in connection with the elections and consequently did not vote on Keir Hardie's motion.

For it is by-election time in Huddersfield and Halifax, two manufacturing towns in Yorkshire, each of more than 100,000 inhabitants. The Independent Labour Party has put up a candidate[b] in Halifax, as have the other two parties. Then it made the following offer to the Liberals: If you withdraw your candidate in Halifax[c] so that we only have the Tory[d] to contend with, we'll vote for you in Huddersfield. The Liberals refused. Whereupon the LIBERAL WAS DEFEATED LAST TUESDAY IN HUDDERSFIELD[e] by the Tory[f]—as a result of the Independent Labour Party's abstention, Again, at another by-election in Burnley, Lancashire, not far from Halifax, the Liberals polled 750 fewer votes than in the previous election—also as a result of our abstention. The poll in Halifax is being held today and the Tory will probably be elected. That would bring Gladstone's majority, now 36, down to 34. Events such as these are

- [a] See this volume, p. 87 - [b] John Lister -[c] William Rawson Shaw - [d] Alfred Arnold - [e] Joseph Woodhead — [f] Joseph Crosland

making things hotter each day for the Liberals. Up till now progress has been splendid and Gladstone will have to capitulate to the workers. Most important of all are the political measures, namely the extension of the franchise for working men by implementing what is presently on paper and which would increase the Labour vote by 50 per cent, the curtailment of the duration of Parliament (now seven years!) and the payment of electoral expenses and M.P.'s salaries out of public funds.

Meanwhile these fresh successes scored by an independent policy are bound to increase the working man's self-esteem and tell him that virtually everywhere the fate of the elections, and hence of each government, lies in his hands. That is the most important part: self-confidence and self-reliance on the part of the class. It will also tide them over all the miserable little intrigues which are simply the result of the masses' lack of confidence in themselves. Once we have a body of working men that really moves en masse, the crafty manoeuvrings of those worthies the leaders will cease, for they will do them more harm than good.

Louise's letter went off at 5.30 p.m. by the night boat. This is going off at 9 p.m., i.e. by the first day boat. Perhaps you would tell us at what time each of them arrives so that we know which post is the best.

Once again warm regards to your wife and yourself from Louise and

Your F.E.

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58

# ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

## AT LE PERREUX

London, 12 February 1893

My dear Löhr,

Glad indeed I was to see your handwriting otherwise than outside an *Intransigeant ox* a *Figaro,* and I reply at once, as today Sunday I have a few minutes free and tomorrow I shall have to rush off again into the jungle of Banks, Credit, moneyed capital, rate of interest, in order to finish off *Das Kapital,* book II I, chapters 30-36. It is—this section V—as good as finished as far as real difficulties are concerned, but it wants a good deal of 'finishing' in the literary sense: arranging, weeding out repetitions etc. [33] This I hope to settle in 8-10 days, then come Sections VI and VII , and then—the end. My correspondence in the meantime is suspended and my rack is full, cram-full of unanswered letters from all quarters, reaching from Rome to New York and from Petersburg to Texas; so if I snatch a moment to write to you, it's only because *it's you* and no one else.

Louise[a] sent you a letter of *seven pages* rather more than a week ago—have you really never received that? Please inquire, we will do the same here.

Yes, the *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitungyou* will like. It has a healthy proletarian character in it—including the literary imperfections—which contrasts very agreeably with all the rest of the women's papers. And you may well be proud of it, for you too are one of its Mamas!

I am sorry to hear about Paul's continued unsatisfactory health—has he not yet got rid ofthat infernal taenia? Surely there is plenty of *Filix Mas* or *Kousso*[h] to be had in Paris to drive it out, even without a regular siege. Of course as long as he nurses it, he will not get well, the beast will eat him up. And why in the name of goodness *does* he *travel thus?* Nobody out of France can make it out that he and others allow this splendid opportunity to slip out of their hands. [155] I can very well understand that the harum-scarum lot of so-called Socialist deputies does not want him to speak, they all pull in different directions and play each his own game, and they know that Paul, once in the tribune, would be unaccountable and incon-

[a] Kautsky - [b] medicinal herbs

trollable by them, but from our point of view that is the very reason why he *should* speak. Are the Socialists, just before the elections. [156] by their silence to create the suspicion that they are no better than the Panamitards and have reasons of their own to screen them and to hush the whole thing up? In Italy that is the case, the couple of men elected in the Romagna (as Socialists) are in the hands of the government through the *subventions paid by the latter to the so-called cooperative societies directed by the former,* and which subventions as likely as not come out of the coffers of the Banca Romana. That accounts for their silence. [106] But in France!?! I can assure you, this unaccountable silence has not raised the respect in which the French Socialists are held abroad. Of course, Brousse and Co. have had their share out of the secret funds furnished by Panama—but is not that a *reason more* for our people to speak out? Formerly *à la guerre comme à la guerre was* a *French* proverb, is it still so?

According to Mother Crawford, the severe sentences on the Lesseps and Co. are mere dust thrown into the eyes of the *gogos*[a]—the Court of Cassation will quench them, [157] on the ground that the Prinet instruction did not interrupt prescription, and that therefore the *délits en question sont prescrits.*[b] If that turns out to be the case, then it means that the 'knowing ones', *ceux qui ont touché*[c] are bold enough to tell all France that she is a *gogo* all over. That would be *se moquer du mondé* with a vengeance.

Well, I hope the popular wrath *will be roused* at last, and vengeance taken. It's getting time.

Bebel shall send you his speech of the 3rd February in the Stenogramm. It is really splendid, and you may find it very useful for the *Socialiste.* [158] Our people have had the Reichstag all to themselves for a fortnight. First the *Notstandsdebatte,*[e] *3 days,* and all parties, from the government downwards, imploring our men to use their power to smooth matters down with the striking colliers, etc. [159] Then the colossal blunder of the bourgeois to provoke our people to a debate on the future organisation of society—this lasted *five* days! [143] —the first time the subject as been discussed in *any* parliament. And only three speakers on our side at all—Bebel spoke twice, Frohme and Liebknecht—and the bourgeois had to leave us the *last word and* give it up in despair (for we could stop the *clôture*[f] by a simple count out, there never being the quorum of 201 present).

[a] simpletons -[b] misdemeanours in question are prescribed -[c] those who made something out of it - [d] to cock a snock at public opinion - [e] emergency debate - [f] closure

While you were flooded I was 'dying'—according to the papers. Last Tuesday week[a] a telegram from Vienna: was I actually off? Then one from Dresden; at 5 in the morning, knock up, one from New York. This went on for a couple of days more until we found out that almost all Berlin papers had a paragraph, I was *in einem so hochgradigen Kräfteverlust, dass mein Ableben stündlich erwartet wurde.*[b] Who invented this rubbish I can't make out. Anyhow, he be damned.

Love from Louise, and from

Ever yours,
F. Engels

To Paul: *Exeat taenia*[c]*!*

Sam Moore left again for the Niger 28th January.

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## 59

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

[London,] 24 February 1893

Dear August,

You will have received the document I sent off by registered mail yesterday. A word or two more on the subject.

I had envisaged its being published in 8 articles in 8 successive numbers of the *Vorwärts.* But some other method may seem better to you, in which case feel free.

I do not much like the title *Can Europe Disarm? And* yet I cannot think

[a] See this volume, pp. 92-93 - [b] in such an extreme state of failing strength that my demise was hourly awaited — [c] Out taenia go!

of anything better. [160] You couldn't very well call it a *Social-Democratic Military Bill,* though this might do at a pinch if you were to adopt the proposal *en bloc.*

I sent the thing to you rather than to Liebknecht because you are a member of the Military Committee and asked me for a 'lecture'. That will exonerate me so far as he is concerned. Also because I would sooner entrust you than him with such alterations as may be demanded by the Press Laws, and, in general, because the article is the concern not merely of the *Vorwärts,* but of you all, and you might have your own individual opinions as to the best method and time of publication—at any rate *before* the matter is again debated in plenary session.

As you will have seen from the *Workman's Times,* the English working man is, thanks to the Avelings, now kept better informed about party affairs on the Continent, [158] especially those in Germany. [161]

After what happened in the last elections, the Liberal government has had to stir its stumps a bit. True, the measures are 'Liberal' but at any rate better than might have been expected. The new Bill re electoral registers, [162] if it should go through, will 1. strengthen the Labour vote by at least 20 to 30 per cent and give the workers an absolute majority in another 40 or 50 constituencies, and 2. save the candidates a considerable outlay every year; the latter have *themselves* been responsible for getting their voters placed on the register, and that's a very expensive business over here. This can pass muster.—Salaries for M.P.s are very much on the cards and should materialise, if not in this session, then almost certainly in the next one. Gladstone has accepted them *in principle.* Again, it's a great advantage that there should be only *one* electoral register, i.e. only *one* suffrage, for all public elections, and the importance of this is enhanced by the fact that there is another Bill in sight for the setting up of Parish (over here rural parishes) Councils [163] which will eliminate the last traces of what has hitherto been a semi-feudal system in country districts. If all this goes through and becomes law during this session, the political position of the working class will be materially improved, which is in itself an added incentive for the chaps to make the most of that new position. However many intrigues and blunders there may be over here, and these will be legion, there can be no doubt that tremendous progress is being made, and in a few years' time you may already find cause for surprise in the English.

I don't see why you shouldn't give a straight account of the Spatzek

business. Come to that, it has been published in Polish in the February issue of *Przedswit.*[a]

If Wachs is *tall,* he's not the right chap. He was, so far as I can remember, about the same size as yourself, with brown hair. But where all these waxen majors come from, I cannot conceive.[b]

The Witch[c] has just finished, so I must fall in and await orders—warm regards to your wife and yourself,

Your F. E.

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## 60

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON [164]

### IN ST. PETERSBURG

London, 24 February 1893

My dear Sir,

Pardon my long silence. It was not voluntary, I have to make an effort—a supreme effort—to finish Vol. II I[d] this winter and spring. In order to attain that, I have to forbid myself all extra-work and even all correspondence that is not absolutely necessary. Otherwise nothing would have detained me from continuing with you the discussion of our highly interesting and important problem. [165]

I have now finished—all but a few formal matters—the *rédaction*[e] of Section V (Banks and Credit), the most difficult of all, both from the state of the subject and *from the state of the* manuscript. Now remain but two sections—1/3 of the whole—of these the one—rent of land—is

[a] See this volume, p. 102 - [b] A play of words in the original: the name Wachs is derived from the word 'wächsern' meaning 'waxen'. See this volume, p. 101 - [c] jocular name for Louise Kautsky - [a] of Marx's *Capital* -[c] editing

upon a very difficult subject too, but as far as I recollect the Ms.[a] is far more finished than that of Section V. So that I still hope to be able to complete my task in the allotted time. The great difficulty was, to get 3-5 months absolute freedom from all interruption, so as to devote the whole time to Section V, and that is now fortunately done. In working, I have often thought of the immense pleasure this volume will give to you when it appears. I shall send you advance-sheets as I did for Vol. II .

*Maintenant revenons à nos moutons.*[b]

We seem to be agreed upon all points except one, which you tackle in both your letters of 3d October and 27 January, though in each from a different point of view.

In the first you ask: was the economic change, which after 1854 had become unavoidable, [166] of such a nature that it must, instead of developing the historical institutions of Russia, on the contrary attack them in their root? In other words, could not the rural commune be taken for the basis of the new economic development?

And, January 27th, you express the same idea in this form: the *grande industrie*[c] had become a necessity for Russia, but was it unavoidable that it was developed in a capitalistic form?

Well, in, or about, 1854 Russia started with the commune on the one hand, and the necessity of the *grande industrie on* the other. Now, if you take the whole state of your country into account, as it was at that date, do you see any possibility of the *grande industrie* being grafted on the peasants' commune in a form which would, on the one hand, make the development ofthat *grande industrie* possible, and on the other hand raise the primitive commune to the rank of a social institution superior to anything the world has yet seen? And that while the whole Occident[d] was still living under the capitalist *régime?*. It strikes me that such an evolution, which would have surpassed anything known in history, required other economical, political and intellectual conditions than were present at that time in Russia.

No doubt the commune and to a certain extent the artel, contained germs which under certain conditions might have developed and saved Russia the necessity of passing through the torments of the capitalistic *ré-*

[a] of Section VI (see present edition, Vol. 37) - [b] Literally: let's return to our muttons; an expression from the French medieval farce, meaning: let's return to the subject of our conversation. - [c] large-scale industry - [d] West

*gime.* I fully subscribe to our author's letter about Zhukovsky.[a] But in his, as well as in my opinion, the first condition required to bring this about, was the *impulse from without,* the change of economic system in the Occident of Europe, the destruction of the capitalist system in the countries where it had originated. Our author said in a certain preface to a certain old manifesto, in January 1882, replying to the question whether the Russian commune might not be the starting-point of a higher social development[b]: if the change of economic system in Russia coincides with a change of economic system in the West—so that the two complement each other, the present Russian common ownership of land may serve as the starting-point for communist development.[c]

If we in the West had been quicker in our own economic development, if we had been able to upset the capitalistic regime some ten or twenty years ago, there might have been time yet for Russia to cut short the tendency of her own evolution towards capitalism. Unfortunately we are too slow, and those economic consequences of the capitalistic system which must bring it up to the critical point, are only just now developing in the various countries about us: while England is fast losing her industrial monopoly, France and Germany are approaching the industrial level of England, and America bids fair to drive them all out of the world's market both for industrial and for agricultural produce. The introduction of an, at least relative, free trade policy in America is sure to complete the ruin of England's industrial monopoly, and to destroy, at the same time, the industrial export trade of Germany and France; then the crisis must come, *tout ce qu'il y a de plus fin de siècle.*[d] But in the meantime, with you, the commune fades away, and we can only hope that the change to a better system, with us, may come soon enough to save, at least in some of the remoter portions of your country, institutions which may, under these circumstances, be called upon to fulfil a great future, But facts are facts, and we must not forget that these chances are getting less and less every year.

For the rest I grant you that the circumstance of Russia being the *last* country seized upon by the *grande* capitalist *grande industrie,* and at the

[a] The reference is to the letter Marx wrote to the editors of the *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 196-201). - [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Preface to the Second Russian Edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 426). - [c] Phrase in Russian in the original. - [a] which signifies better than anything else *the end of the world*

same time the country *with by far the largest peasant population, are* such as must render the *bouleversement* [3] caused by this economic change, more acute than it has been anywhere else. The process of replacing some 500,000 landowners,[b] and some 80 million peasants by a new class of *bourgeois* landed proprietors cannot be carried out but under fearful sufferings and convulsions. But history is about the most cruel of all goddesses,[b] and she leads her triumphal car over heaps of corpses, not only in war, but also in 'peaceful' economic development. And we men and women are unfortunately so stupid that we never can pluck up courage to a real progress unless urged to it by sufferings that seem almost out of proportion.

Always yours
P. W. R.[167]

Address *Mrs Kautsky,* please, not Mrs Roscher.

First published in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody,* No. 2, St. Petersburg, 1908

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## 61

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [35]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 25 February 1893

My dear Lafargue,

How time passes! Old Harney reminds me this morning that yesterday was the anniversary of the February revolution. 'Long Live the Republic!' Lord, we have so many other anniversaries to celebrate now that one forgets these semi-bourgeois occasions. And to think that in five years it will be a half century since that one took place. At the time we were all en-

[a] overthrow - [b] word in Russian in original

thusiasm for the republic—with a small r; since it has been written with a capital R, it seems worthless, save as an almost obsolete historical stage.

Your speech was very good and I regret only one thing: that it was not delivered two months ago. [168] But better late than never.[a] It doesn't surprise me that the Chamber and the press found it ill-timed; if we were to wait upon their *placet*[b] we should never open our mouths. As for the Millerand & Co. Radical Socialists, it is absolutely essential that the alliance with them should be based on the fact that our Party is a separate Party, and that they recognise that. [169] Which in no way rules out joint action in the forthcoming elections, provided that the distribution of seats to be jointly contested is made in accordance with the actual state of the respective forces; those gentlemen are in the habit of claiming the lion's share.

Do not let the fact that your speeches in the Chamber do not create as much stir as formerly discourage you. Look at our people in Germany: they were booed for years on end, and now the 36 dominate the Reichstag. Bebel writes saying: if we were eighty or a hundred (out of 400 members), the Reichstag would become an impossibility. There is not a debate, no matter what the subject, in which we do not intervene and we are listened to by all the parties. The debate on the socialist organisation of the future lasted five days, [143] and Bebel's speech[c] was wanted in *three and a half million copies.* Now they are having the whole debate published in pamphlets' [1] at five sous, and the effect, already tremendous, will be doubled!

You are absolutely right to prepare for the elections. We ought to conquer at least 20 seats. You have the immense advantage of knowing, from the municipal elections, the *minimum* extent of your strength in each locality; for I am sure that, since last May, you have appreciably increased it. [170] That will help you greatly in distributing candidatures between yourselves and the Radical Socialists. But possibly you would prefer to put up your candidates wherever you stand a chance, with the proviso to withdraw them, if necessary, in favour of the Radicals, for the second ballot, in the event of the latter having polled more votes.

The most important thing in the elections is to establish once and for

[a] See this volume, pp.105-06 - [b] invitation - [c] A. Bebel, *Zukunftsstaad und Sozialdemokratie. Eine Rede des Reichstagsabgeordneten August Bebel in der Sitzung des deutschen Reichstags vom 3. Februar, 1893.* - [d] *Der sozialdemokratische 'Zukunftsstaat' Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags am 31. Januar, 3., 4., 6. und 7. Februar 1893 Veröffentlicht nach dem offiziellen stenographischen bericht.*

all that it is our Party which represents socialism in France, and that all the other more or less socialist fractions—Broussists, [30] Allemanists, [21] and pure or impure Blanquists [20]—have been able to play a part beside us only by virtue of the dissensions incidental to the more or less infantile phase of the proletarian movement; but that now the stage of *infantile* disorders is over, and the French proletariat has reached full consciousness of its historic position. Should we win 20 seats, all the others combined will not have as many, since they are more likely to lose some than to gain any. In which case things will go forward. In the meantime, *nurse your re-election:* I have a feeling that your absences from the Chamber have not contributed any too much to ensure it.

Panama [60] is not finished, not by a long chalk. And it is a disgrace that the trouble and honour of making disclosures should be left to the Royalists and their dubious allies. They could not have a better battle cry than: Down with the robbers, and if the great mass of the *stupid* countryside takes their part against the Republicans, it is to the cowardice of the *Radical* Republicans [86] that they will owe this triumph. You say that the republic is not in danger, that the deputies have returned from the recess with this certainty; well, then, they should strike for all they are worth and not let themselves be confused with the robbers by their silence. You are quite right: the political ineptitude of the whole bourgeoisie defies the imagination.

The only country where the bourgeoisie still has a little common sense is England. Here the formation of the Independent Labour Party [114](though still in embryo) and its conduct in the Lancashire and Yorkshire elections[a] have put a match to the government's backside; it is stirring itself, doing things unheard-of for a Liberal Government. The Registration Bill [162] unifies the suffrage for all parliamentary, municipal, etc., elections, 2) adds at least 20 to 30 per cent to the working-class vote, 3) removes the cost of election expenses from the candidates' shoulders and places it on those of the government. The payment of an honorarium to M.P.s is promised for the next session; and there are also a whole number of juridical and economic measures for the benefit of workers. In short, the Liberals recognise that, to make sure of governing at the present time, they can do nothing but increase the political power of the working class who will naturally kick them out afterwards.

[a] See this volume, pp.82-3, 87

The Tories, on the other hand, are behaving at the moment with unbounded stupidity. But once Home Rule [171] is on the Statute Book, they will realise that there is nothing for it but to enter the lists to gain power, and to that end there remains but one means: to win the working-class vote by political or economic concessions; thus Liberals and Conservatives cannot help extending the power of the working class, and hastening the time which will eliminate both the one and the other.

Amongst the workers here, things are going well. They begin to realise their strength more and more, and that there is only one way of using it, namely, by forming an independent party.

At the same time international feeling gains ground. In short, things are going well everywhere.

In Germany the dissolution of the Reichstag is always a possibility [76] ; however, it lacks probability; everyone, apart from us, is afraid of it. We should win 50 to 60 seats.

On March 26th there will be an international conference at Brussels for the Zurich Congress. [172] Shall you go to it?

GOOD RIDDANCE TO YOUR TAENIA, and look after your bowels; I was going to make AN IRISH BULL by saying: they are the sinews of war!

Ever Yours,
F. Engels

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## 62

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE [173]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 25 February 1893

My dear Laura,

You know the saying that the most important part of a woman's letter always is the postscript. But it's an infernal calumny, and I am going to

prove it. In my last letter I not only did not put the principal subject in the body of the letter, but not even in the postscript, and have now to send it in a separate note.

And this is, about your silver wedding here on the 2nd of April. You know you have promised, and I keep you to your word. Now as it is as likely as not, or rather more likely, that Paul will have to go to the Brussels Conference, March 26th, [172] would it not be the best if you came direct from Paris about the same time he goes to Brussels and left him to come over from thence? Unless you prefer going with him and having a look at your native place which I am told has much improved in order to show itself worthy of the honour you conferred on it.

Anyhow it seems to me that it is getting time to make some preparations for the happy event, and so, not being able, or rather having forgotten to add this postscript to my last letter to you, I now tack it to the letter for Paul and hope you will take it into your most serious consideration and let us know your pleasure as soon as may be convenient.

Love from Louise and

Your ancient admirer F.
Engels

First published in
*Cahiers internationaux,*
No. 78, Paris, 1956

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## 63

## ENGELS TO THOMAS COOK AND SON [174]

### IN LONDON

[Eastbourne], after 3 March 1893

Dear Sirs,

Your letter of the 3rd has been forwarded to me here. [175] The gentleman in question[a] is a young physician and member of the University of Vienna, Austria, where he graduated and practised with distinction.

[a] Ludwig Freyberger

He has been highly recommended to me by a prominent member of the Austrian Parliament[a] and I have no doubt that you will find him a very desirable customer.

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Reproduced from the original Published in English for the first time

## 64

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN CHARLOTTENBURG—BERLIN

Eastbourne, 7 March 1893
28 Marine Parade

Would you send 6 or, if possible, *12 copies* of the article [15] to me in *London.* I have been in Eastbourne for the past few days so as to get a breath of fresh air; [175] peculiar climate—sometimes you can sit out very comfortably in the open and then it turns cold and windy again; so far, luckily, it hasn't rained much. Kind regards to your family,

Your F.E.

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[a] Engelbert Pernerstorfer - [b] F. Engels, 'Can Europe Disarm?

65

## ENGELS TO FILIPPO TURATI [177]

IN MILAN

[Eastbourne,] 12 March 1893

Dear Citizen Turati,

I am sending you the proofs, though I have not been able to examine them in depth in the little time you gave me. [178] I am staying at the sea coast for a few days, [175] and the packet was sent to me here, which was a further loss of time.

You are free to add the programme of the International—that is, the Statutes and Preamble,[a] or the Inaugural Address of 1864,[b] as I do not have here a copy of the Russian edition of the Manifesto. I do not know exactly what it is you are talking of.

Thank you for the two brochures, which I shall read with great interest.

Mme Kulishov has probably received a letter from Mme Kautsky by now.

Greetings to Mme Kulishov and to yourself from Mme Kautsky and yours truly,

F.E.

First published, in the language of the original (French), in: *Annali,* an. I. Milano, 1958

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] K. Marx, 'General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association'. - [b] K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'.

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# ENGELS TO F. WIESEN [179]

## IN BAIRD (TEXAS)

London, [180] 14 March 1893
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W. Dear Comrade,

An accumulation of work has prevented me from replying any sooner to your note of 29 January.

I don't see why it should necessarily represent an infringement of the Social-Democratic principle if *a man* puts up candidates for some political office for which election is required and if *he* votes for those candidates, even *if he* is engaged in an attempt to abolish that office.

One might consider that the best way to abolish the Presidency and the Senate in America would be to elect to those posts men who had pledged themselves to bring about their abolition; it would then be logical for one to act accordingly. Others might consider this method to be inexpedient; it's a debatable point. There could be circumstances in which such a mode of action might also involve a denial of the revolutionary principle; why it should always and invariably be so, I entirely fail to see.

For the first objective of the labour movement is the conquest of political power for and by the working class. Once we are agreed on that, differences of opinion between upright men, in full command of their wits, as to the ways and means of struggle are unlikely to give rise to a dispute over principles.

In my view the best tactics in any given country are those which lead most quickly and surely to the goal. But in America in particular that goal is still a very long way off, and I believe I would not be wrong in attributing to this very circumstance the importance which is still sometimes attached to such academic issues over there.

I authorise you to publish these lines—unabridged.

Very sincerely yours,

F. Engels

First published, slightly abridged, in: *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere,* Stuttgart, 1906 and in full (in English) in *Science and Society,* Vol. 11, No. 3, New York, 1938
Printed according to the original

67

# ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE [173]

## AT LE PERREUX

Eastbourne, [175] 14th March 1893
28 Marine Parade

My dear Laura,

Well, that was a pleasant letter of yours. So we expect you as early as possible[a] in the course of next week, and once here, we shall not let you cross the Channel again under, *at least,* a fortnight or three weeks; even if the 'honourable member'[b] could not be spared from his agitating tour for so long.

We shall return on Friday[c] to London. On Saturday Louise and I have both promised to speak at the joint Commune Celebration of the Verein [62] and Bloomsbury Society [181]—a *joint* festival, though I'd rather have a good butcher's joint. The Sunday following is the Brussels Conference [172]—that is to say the *second Sunday* following, viz. the 26th; you do not say whether Paul will be there though it would be *very* important, on account of certain intrigues carried on by the old clique Hyndman-Brousse-Allemane, supported, for the time being, by Seidel, the secretary of the Zurich Committee [182] ; evidently a last attempt is going to be made by this bro-kendown lot to prepare for themselves a more favourable position at the Congress. From Brussels, Bebel [183] is almost certain to come to London for a few days and maybe Liebknecht too.

Now I should be uncommonly glad to have Paul and Bebel here together for a few days in order to do away once for all with certain French prejudices against Bebel who is by far the best man we have in Germany, in spite of what the French may consider his Teutonic rudeness. So you see I have a special interest of a political character, besides the personal one, in your showing up here early in the week.

I do not at all object to a *tour de France* made by Paul in an organised electoral campaign; on the contrary I consider it a capital move. But a

[a] See this volume, p. 116 - [b] Paul Lafargue - [c] 17 March - [d] journey in France -

deputy after all has certain duties in the Chamber, especially in this Panama [60] time, and as every election depends, after all, on the votes of a goodly number of *plus ou moins indifferent* philistines, it struck me that his re-election might be put in jeopardy by his neglect of his parliamentary functions. Indeed I have heard something to that effect hinted at. And when I saw his continued absence during some very important moments of the Panama crisis, I could not help thinking that he was losing some very important chances, and that all this could be brought up against him. *Apres tout,*[b] it would be too much generosity on his part to prepare seats for others and lose his own. If you were as strong in France as our people in Germany, where above twenty seats belong to us almost *et par droit de conquête et par droit de naissance,*[c] then it would be different, but then such violent campaigns would not be required either.

To-day is Mohr's dying day, and just the tenth anniversary. Well, in strict confidence I can tell you, that the 3rd volume[d] is as good as ready. The most difficult section, Banks and Credit, [33] is finished; only two more sections remain, of which only one (Rent of Land)[e] may offer *some formal* difficulties. But all that remains to be done is mere child's play to what I had to do. Now I need no longer fear interruptions. What I had not been able to get before this last winter, was 4-5 months clear of such interruptions; now I've had them and the thing is as good as done. Only don't tell anyone, as I cannot yet fix the time, within a couple of months, when the Manuscript can go to the printer's.

As to what you say of Jaurès, that fills me with terror. *Normalien et ami, sinon protégé, de Malon*[f]—which of the two is worse? And yet, neither of them is a qualification equal to the superiority of a man who can write in Latin on the origin of German Socialism.[g]

Now then I must close. The sooner we hear from you in London about the day of your arrival and the earlier you fix that date, the better. *Ainsi donc, au revoir,*[h] from Louise and

your old

F. Engels

[a] more or less apathetic - [b] after all - [c] both by right of conquest and by birthright - [d] of *Capital*- [e] Section VI (see present edition, Vol. 37) - [f] Malon's fellow-student and friend, if not protégé - [g] J. Jaurès, *De primis socialismi germanici lineamentis apud Lutherum, Kant, Fichte et Hegel.* — [h] Thus, till we meet.

Of course I shall send you a bit of a compromising document—a trifle of a ... chèque, saving your presence! I have not got any here with me, else it would follow herewith.

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No. 78, Paris, 1956

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## 68

## ENGELS TO MARIA MENDELSON

### IN LONDON

Eastbourne, [175] 15 March 1893
28 Marine Parade

My dear Mme Mendelson,

I could not describe the joy with which Mme Kautsky and I received this morning the news that St.[a] is once more out of danger—we talked of him yesterday evening with some anxiety. All's well that ends well, and I cannot wait to see him again on Saturday[b] evening—in any case, we hope to have the pleasure of seeing both of you on Sunday at our place.

We have been here for a fortnight, and we are returning to London the day after tomorrow. The weather is wonderful, and the sea breezes have done us a great deal of good.

*Au revoir.'Very* best wishes from Mme Kautsky.

Your devoted friend,
F. Engels

We are expecting Bebel on Monday or Tuesday, [183] and M. and Mme Lafargue a few days later.

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[a] Stanislaw Mendelson - [b] 18 March

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# ENGELS TO HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD [184]

## IN CHICAGO

[Draft]

Eastbourne, middle of March 1893

Dear Sir,

I have duly received your two favors of 3/2 and 9/3 with enclosures. I very much regret that I shall not be able either to assist personally at your Congresses [185] or to supply the papers you ask me for. I should send them to you with the greatest pleasure, were it not that all my time is at present taken up with the manuscript of the third book of my late friend Karl Marx's great work on Capital, which I am preparing for publication. This third book ought to have been out years ago; but never until now could I secure that continued freedom from interruption which alone will enable me to finish my task. I have been compelled to decline all outside work, though ever so tempting, unless absolutely necessary. By the time your congress meets, the MS ought to go to press, but this could not be, were I to accede to your request. For the work you ask me to do ought not to be journalistic commonplace; it ought to be the very best I can furnish, it would require mature study and thought; and that means a considerable amount of time, which for the reasons given, I am not in a position to sacrifice.

I have, however, forwarded you per bookpost a copy of the English edition of the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848 (by K. Marx and myself) and another of my *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*[a] published a few months ago, as a small tribute which I hope may prove of interest to some members of your Labor Congress.

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Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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[a] translated by E. Aveling and published in London in 1892

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [186]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 18 March 1893

Dear Sorge,

We have just spent a fortnight by the sea at Eastbourne [175] where we had magnificent weather and whence we have returned greatly refreshed. Now we can get down to work again. But in fact the visiting season is once more upon us—next Sunday (tomorrow week) there's the Brussels Conference on the Zurich Congress, [172] when Bebel will nip over here for a few days [183] the Lafargues will be coming at the same time and I am glad to have again inveigled the young man over here so that he and I can discuss French affairs at some length. All the same I ought still to have enough time left to finish off Volume II P since I am now over the worst.

The matter of the *Socialiste* has now been settled.

It would seem that a crash is the only solution to the silver business in America. [187] For Cleveland does not, it seems, have either the strength or the courage to smash this vicious circle of corruption. And it really would be a good thing if there were to be a crisis. A nation—a *young* nation—so proud of its 'practice' and at the same time so frightfully bone-headed in the matter of theory as America can only eradicate so ingrained an idée fixe at the cost of damage to itself. The plausible idea that, if one has no money when one needs it, this is because there is not enough money in the world at large, is a childish notion common both to the PAPER CURRENCY nonsense à la Kellogg and to the silver nonsense, and the surest cure for it is experimentation and bankruptcy which last might also prove quite beneficial to ourselves in other respects. Provided only some sort of tariff reform is achieved this autumn, there will be no need for you to repine, for the rest will surely follow. The main thing is that American industry is becoming capable of competing on the world market.

Over here things are going *very well.* The masses are undoubtedly on the move, and of this you will find details in Aveling's admittedly somewhat long-winded reports in the *Volkszeitung.* The best evidence of this

[a] of *Capital*

is the fact that the old sects are losing ground and having to fall into line, The *Social Democratic Federation* [44] has actually deposed Mr Hyndman; every so often he is allowed to do a little grumbling and grousing about international politics in *Justice,* but he is finished, HIS OWN PEOPLE HAVE FOUND HIM OUT. For the space of ten years the man lost no opportunity of provoking me personally and politically, and I never did him the honour of replying, in the conviction that he himself was man enough to effect his own ruin; eventually I was proved right. After a whole decade of carping they recently invited Tussy to write reports on the international movement for *Justice,* an invitation she naturally declined pending the public retraction of the infamous calumnies of herself and Aveling which *Justice* has for years been the vehicle.

The same thing is happening where the Fabians [43] are concerned. As in the case of the Social Democratic Federation, their own branches in the provinces have outgrown them; in this, as in the Chartist movement, Lancashire and Yorkshire are again taking the lead. Men like Sidney Webb, Bernard Shaw, etc., who WANTED TO PERMEATE THE LIBERALS WITH SOCIALISM, must now submit to being permeated BY THE SPIRIT OF THE WORKINGMEN MEMBERS OF THEIR OWN SOCIETY. They fret and fume but IT'S NO USE—either they remain on their own, officers without soldiers, or they conform. The first seems more likely and is also more desirable.

The Independent Labour Party [114]—as the latest arrival—has brought with it fewer ingrained prejudices, contains good elements, the working men of the North being the arbiters, and to that extent is the most genuine expression of the present movement, True, there are amongst the leaders all kinds of odd individuals and even many of the best, as in America where you are, have acquired the parliamentary system's deplorable habit of cliquism, but they have the support of the masses who will either teach them how to behave or throw them overboard. They still make blunders and plenty of them, but the worst perils are over and I now look for rapid progress which will not be without its repercussions in America.

In Germany the situation has almost reached crisis point. According to the last reports on the sessions of the Military Committee a compromise would hardly seem possible. [76] The government is making it impossible for the gentlemen of the Centre [71] and the Free Thinkers [149] to change sides,[a] and a majority cannot be obtained without 40 or 50 of their number. So

[a] See this volume, p. 101

there'll be a dissolution and new elections. *If all goes well,* I reckon that we shall get 2 1/2 million votes, for our numbers have grown like mad. Bebel's estimate is 50 or 60 seats, for the geography of the constituencies is not in our favour and all the others band together against us so that, in the second ballot, we cannot convert even substantial minorities into majorities. I would rather that things carried on as they are until 1895 when we should be able to make an impact of a very different order, but no matter what happens everything, from Richter to Little Willy,[a] must needs help us on our way.

A young man from Texas, F. Wiesen of Baird, wanted me to make a statement deploring the nomination of candidates 'for President' as a denial of the revolutionary principle, since the intention was to abolish the Presidency, I sent him the enclosed answer.[b] Should a *garbled* Version be made public, be so good as to get the *Volkszeitung to* print this.

I trust you and your wife are now enjoying better health. Warm regards to you both from Mrs Kautsky and

Your

F. Engels

We have sent you the debate on the future organization of society. [143] Newspapers may have been somewhat irregular while we were away, but should be complete.

First published, slightly abridged, in: *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere,* Stuttgart, 1906 and, in full, in English, in *Science and Society,* Vol. II , No. 3, New York, 1938

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[a] William II - [b] See this volume, p. 119

# 71

# ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

## IN STUTTGART

London, 20 March 1893

Dear Baron,

Lessner's article[a] reads very well though it certainly cost Ede a vast amount of work to lick it into some sort of literary shape. As to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung's* review, I once remarked—the notion suddenly came into my head—that it would be by no means a bad idea if the whole thing were to be reprinted *en bloc* and that this might be suggested to Dietz. On further consideration I realised, of course, that there were sundry snags and that it would saddle me with more work than I could properly take on until Volume II P was finished, so I thought no more about it. But Lessner seems to throw himself into literature with the same impetuosity as once he did into painting.

As a matter of principle I have ceased to read anything further on the rate of profit, not having read either little Schmidt's second article[c] or that by Lande.[d] These must wait until I get to the preface to Vol. II I. In the meantime your irrepressible private adversary, Stiebeling, has again sent me his latest opus,[e] hoping—though probably in vain—that I shall accord it a kindly notice.

As to the source of the nonsensical report about my illness, I am completely in the dark, but there was not the least occasion for it. Nor can I discover where it first appeared or in what paper, so I have no clue whatever to go by. Still, we have cracked divers bottles in honour of my serious loss of strength and my hourly awaited demise.[f]

Five of the seven sections of Vol. II I have been finished but for the—formal—final editing; the main difficulty, the section on credit,[33] has

[a] F. Leßner, 'Erinnerungen eines Arbeiters an Karl Marx. Zu dessen zehnjährigem Todestage, 14. März 1893', *Die Neue Zeit,* No, 24, Stuttgart, 1892/93. - [b] of *Capital* - [c] C. Schmidt, 'Die Durchschnittsprofitrate und das Marx'sche Werthgesetz', *Die Neue Zeit,* Nos. 3, 4, Stuttgart, 1892/93. - [d] H. Lande, 'Mehrwerth und Profit. Ein ökonomischer Versuch', *Die Neue Zeit,* Nos. 19, 20, Stuttgart, 1892/93. -[e] G. Stiebeling, *Das Problem der Durchschnitts=Profitrate. Kritik einer Kritik mit einem Nachtrag.* — [f] See this volume, pp. 92-93, 107

been overcome. I am now on rent[a] which may take up yet more time, so I still can't say *when.* This is *between ourselves.*

Had I known that you were still prepared to continue working on the *Theories of Surplus Valued,* [102] I should have let you keep it, but having heard nothing for years and as I need the Ms. occasionally for purposes of comparison in connection with Vol. II I, I wrote asking you for it. In view of your other activities there would, after all, have probably been considerable uncertainty about when you might be done with this and subsequent instalments.[b] We shall settle this account shortly.

The manifold plans regarding the *Neue Zeit* would seem to have been consigned to oblivion—let us hope it will carry on, even without such violent revolutions, But it still seems to me that the fundamental shortcoming lies in the fact that the contents are aimed at *one* kind of reader, while the price is based on *another.*[c]

Over here the movement is making excellent progress. The danger of sectarianism—presented both by the Social Democratic Federation [44] and by the Fabians [43]—has been largely averted; the Independent Labour Party [114] will either absorb them or spur them on and get rid of their useless leaders. The masses, especially in the North, in the industrial areas, are finally and indubitably on the move. Blunders and dirty tricks there will still be in plenty, but that can be dealt with. The day before yesterday Aveling was in Manchester where the Executive of the Independent Labour Party were holding their first meeting. The resolutions were quite satisfactory. Aveling was chosen to represent it in Brussels [172] and later also in Zurich, [56] along with Keir Hardie and Shaw Maxwell. No doubt you will be hearing more from Ede. (This is in confidence, of course; I don't know what the chaps intend to publish.)

Kindest regards.

Your F.E.

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*Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautskys,*
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[a] Section VI, *Capital,* Vol. II I (see present edition, Vol. 37) - [b] See Engels, letter to K. Kautsky of 24 December 1892 (present edition, Vol. 49) and this volume, p. 71 - [c] See this volume, p. 50

# 72

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 21 March 1893 My dear Löhr,

I hope you had my letter from Eastbourne. [175] We returned here on Friday all the better for our holiday.[a]

Today I have a letter from that eternal bore Argyriades *{zu deutsch Silbermannssohn,*[b] and quite as depreciated as the metal he takes his name from) asking me for an 'article' *{rien que ça!)*[c] for his *numéro unique*[d] of his May Journal; and that in the name of the *Commission d'organisation de la Manifestation du 1-r mai—cet Argyriades argenté n'est pas l'homme aux trois cheveux comme Cadet Rousselle, mais bien l'homme aux trois adressese*[e]*:* 1) Question Sociale, 5 Boulevard S. Michel, in a red flag over the left; 2) Commission d'organisation, 108 rue du Temple, in a timber over the right, and 3) P. Argyriades himself, 49 rue de Rivoli over the leaf at the bottom.

Well, as I am quite in the dark about the ins and outs, the *amitiés, inimitiés et neutralités*[f] the various sets in Paris, I don't know what to reply and should be glad if you would kindly tell me how our friends are placed with regard to the *Commission d'organisation* in general and the silvery Grec and his Blanquist friends in particular and what I had better do? As to an article, that is out of the question, at the very outside I should send him what the Yankees call a 'sentiment'.

And perhaps you can tell us at the same time when we may expect you here? which question reminds me of something else, namely of the necessity of not forgetting to enclose the cheque for ten pounds with which I remain, with love from Louise

Yours affectionately,
F. Engels

[a] See this volume, pp. 117-123 - [b] in German Silbermannssohn (Silvermanson) - [c] nothing less — [d] unique number - [e] Organising Commission of the May Day Demonstration—this silvery Argyriades is not like Cadet Rousselle, a man with three hairs, but a man with three addresses. - [f] friendships, enmities and neutralities

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# ENGELS TO AUGUST RADIMSKY

## IN VIENNA

London, 21 March 1893

Dear Comrade Radimsky,

In reply to your esteemed note of the 18th inst., I can only tell you how glad I am that the *Communist Manifesto* will be appearing in Czech translation as well. [188] It goes without saying that, so far as I am concerned, there is absolutely no objection at all; on the contrary, it will give not only me but also Marx's daughters the utmost pleasure.

But if Adler told you that I have a 'command' of the Czech language, he was, so far as I am concerned, pitching it a bit high. I am happy if, with much toil and the help of a dictionary, I can understand one column in a newspaper. Nevertheless I much look forward to the numbers of the *Délnické Listy you* have been so kind as to promise me. They'll help me to keep my hand in rather better.

With cordial regards to the Czech comrades and to you yourself.

Yours truly, F.
Engels

First published, slightly abridged, in: *Karel Marx a Bedrich Engels,* Komunisticky manifest, Vidén, 1893 and, in full, in the book: *Victor Adlers Aufsätze Reden und Briefe.* Erstes Heft: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels,* Wien, 1922 Printed according to the text of the book

Published in English the first time

# 74

## ENGELS TO JULIE BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

London, 31 March 1893

Dear Mrs Bebel,

August's presence [183] has made me conscious of the shameful fact that I have long owed you an answer to your kind letter, so I have at once taken up my pen lest you should continue to have cause to resent my tardiness. August, I can assure you, is exceptionally well and takes his raw eggs in brandy with admirable punctuality. The fact that his stomach is in excellent fettle was proved conclusively last evening at the Mendelsons and still more so later on at home, for after that good but truly enormous supper he slept more soundly than any of us.

We are expecting Burns here today and thus, for the first time in history, three Socialist members of parliament from Germany, France[a] and England will come together. That such a meeting should be possible, a meeting of the three deputies of the three leading parliaments of Europe—three Socialist Party leaders representing the three dominant nations of Europe—is in itself proof of what enormous advances we have made. I only wish that Marx were alive to witness it.

Well, now it is also time to remind you of your promise to visit us here in the summer and take me back with you to Germany. [189] True, August is afraid that a possible dissolution of the Reichstag might upset everything, but that is something I cannot see, for if there is in fact a dissolution, it will happen this month, i.e. in April (which will be upon us tomorrow), while the elections will be held in June at the latest, [76] in which case a holiday will be more necessary than ever—for August as well as for yourself—and if you were to see the fine weather we have here and all the greenness of spring which also brings with it a mass of flowers that lasts until the end of June, you would assuredly come, dissolutions and fresh elections or not. So, as always, I shall count on your keeping your word and shall also accompany you to Berlin, for since last autumn our respective trips have been indissolubly linked.

[a] Paul Lafargue

And now for yet another matter. August had taken it into his head to return on Monday.[a] But over the past ten years or so Easter Monday has become a proper holiday over here—one of the four so-called Bank Holidays. [190] It is a real popular festival. That being the case, all the railways are busy with extra trains and excursion parties, all the stations are filled to overflowing and all the regular trains are neglected by the management, since what matters is the extra profit. These Bank Holidays are the only days in the year when it is somewhat dangerous to travel on English trains, and consequently no one travels on those days unless he has to. We therefore implored August to abandon his plan and not leave until Tuesday, which he has promised to do. I am positive you will agree that he shouldn't travel on a day when arrivals and departures are never punctual and when all the accidents that didn't occur during the previous three months have a habit of occurring all on one day.

And now I shall take a hearty swig in honour of your coming visit—for we are at this moment enjoying our morning glass of ale.

With warm regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 75

## ENGELS TO M. R. COTAR [191]

IN PARIS

[Draft]

[London,] 8 April 1893[b]

Dear Comrade,

I have kept your letter of 21/3 on one side for some time. Lafargue and Mrs Lafargue were on the point of coming over here and I therefore

[a] 3 April - [b] 1892 in the Ms.

wished to take the opportunity of consulting *both* Marx's daughters personally about your inquiry.

You are totally unknown not only to me but also to the Lafargues, and you will understand that it wouldn't do to entrust a total stranger with a matter as important and as difficult as the French translation of Volume II of *Capital.*

Apart from a thorough knowledge of the German language, it also calls for an equally thorough grounding in economics, and this, unfortunately, is to be found only very rarely amongst young socialists. That is something that would also have to be discussed beforehand.

Next, you seek my collaboration—and on this score all I can say to you is that for years to come my time will be fully occupied with projects that are of at least equal importance.

Most important of all, however, and this alone might give actuality to your inquiry, is that there should be a publisher for the translation. If you have one, that and nothing else would repay the trouble involved in taking the other questions into consideration.

Yours very truly

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## 76

## ENGELS TO GEORGE WILLIAM LAMPLUGH [192]

### IN PORT ERIN (ISLE OF MAN)

London, 11th April 1893
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W. My dear Lamplugh,

Thank you for dropping the formalities. I, as you see, do the same. We should have been very glad to see you and your wife and children here, but I know what London is to a man who visits it with his complete family and so we'll excuse you this time, but this is the last time we do excuse you.

I am glad your life as a surveyor suits you so very well. It must be a great relief to you after the boring work in the office and in the corn exchange of East Riding. I would like it for a short time too, but only for a short time. In the long run, I couldn't live without the hum of a big town. I have always lived in big cities. Nature is wonderful. I have always liked going back to her as a change from the movement of history, but History, after all, seems even more wonderful than Nature to me. It took Nature millions of years to produce conscious beings and now it takes these conscious beings thousands of years to act together consciously; conscious not only of their actions as individuals, but also of their actions as a mass; acting together, and effecting in common a common purpose, willed by them in advance. That end we are now on the point of attaining. And to watch this process, this approaching accomplishment of a thing never before attained in the history of our earth, seems to me a spectacle worth looking at, and for the whole of my past life I have been unable to turn my eyes away from it. However, it is tiring, especially if you believe you are called upon to co-operate in the process; and then the study of Nature comes in as a grand relief and remedy. For after all, Nature and History are the two components in which we live, move and have our being.

Kind remembrance from all friends here.

Ever yours F.
Engels

First published in
*Letopisi marksizma,* Book I,
Moscow-Leningrad, 1926

Reproduced from the original

First written in English

## 77

## ENGELS TO FRANZ MEHRING [193]

IN BERLIN

London, 11 April 1893

Dear Mr Mehring,

Naturally I have not the slightest objection to your printing the passage from my letter of 28 September you copied out and sent me. All I would ask is that you make one change in the final sentence:

'while the Lavergne-Peguilhenian generalisation would be reduced to its true content, namely that feudal society engenders a feudal world order'. [194]

The original wording is really too slipshod.

I look forward to seeing the *Lessing-Legende* published on its own. That kind of thing is greatly impaired if brought out piecemeal. It was very meritorious of you to work your way through the tangled mass of Prussian history and to establish the correct correlations therein. The Prussia of today makes this absolutely essential, however disagreeable the work as such may be. There are various points, especially in this or that passage where you retrace the links with the preceding period, on which I do not entirely see eye to eye with you, but that does not prevent me from saying that yours is by far the best work that exists on this period of German history.

Yours very truly, F.
Engels

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## 78

## ENGELS TO JULES GUESDE

### IN PARIS

[London], 14 April 1893

My dear Guesde,

I am sending you my short piece[a] for your May number.[b] Lafargue has told me that you are ill. I wish you a rapid and total recovery.

We indeed have need of you as our Roubaix deputy. This time we must

[a] F. Engels - [b] *Le Socialiste*

succeed in getting a small, compact column [156] into the Palais Bourbon which will establish once and for all, and without any possibility of misunderstanding, the nature of French socialism, so that all the disparate elements are obliged to rally around it.

Only then will the French socialists be able to recover throughout the world the standing that is theirs by right, and the important position that they must occupy in the general interest.

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

First published in:
A. Zévaès, *De l'introduction du marxisme en France,* Paris, 1947

Printed according to the book

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

## 79

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 25 April 1893

My dear Laura,

As for the last few days we have neither heard from you nor seen any papers with your handwriting on them, we are beginning to be anxious about your health, and the enclosed letter from Rave with the influenza atmosphere it breathes, is not encouraging either. It is this letter which puts the pen into my hands to-day. I don't know anything about any of the points he mentions. [195] At all events, I do not want to write to him anything which may interfere with what you have been good enough to do in the matter. Therefore

1. Herewith a portrait—but could they not secure the cliché[a] of the one which appeared in the *Illustration* [196] (believe) about last May? that would be cheaper.

[a] negative

2. The title I have no objection to, not knowing what you may have proposed or might prefer. I leave that, like the rest, entirely in your hands.

3. The proof-sheets are no use to me. I write to him [25] that I sent his letter to you, to settle all points, and that I shall be quite satisfied if he sends the proofs to you.

I returned last night from Manchester, where I assisted at the funeral of poor Gumpert (he was cremated). He fell ill, as you heard while here, last December of angina pectoris, which, brought on embolism of the brain with partial paralysis, and succumbed last Thursday[a] to a fresh attack, after fearful sufferings.

May Day here is as confused as in Paris. The Eight Hours Committee and the Trades Council [197] are sure to have a separate demonstration each. And in this critical period Aveling falls ill, the Hull Dock Strike [198] intervenes and may lead to a general Dock and Shipping Strike all over the kingdom, giving Tussy more to do than she can manage—so that nobody knows how matters will go.

I hope you received Louise's[b] letter sent on Saturday,[c] and I hope moreover soon to learn that you have got over your fit of influenza.

*Salut au citoyen Représentant,*[d] if he is about.

Love from Louise and from

Yours affectionately F.
Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance,* t. II I, 1891-1895, Paris, 1959

Reproduced from the original

[a] 20 April - [b] Kautsky - [c] 22 April - [d] Greetings to the citizen deputy (Paul Lafargue)

# 80

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER

### IN DARMSTADT

London, 29 April 1893

My dear Schorlemmer,

I got your letter of 22 March and then the notification of your daughter's death. Please accept my heartfelt condolences. Your earlier letters had already prepared me for it and from what you had said it was hardly to be expected that she would survive the spring. And if, as in your case, one is constantly a witness to the suffering caused by illness, while knowing that no remedy exists, one is bound in the end to resign oneself more readily to the final deliverance. Mrs Kautsky also asks me to convey to you her sincere condolences.

Death has also claimed its victims over here. Last December Dr Gumpert suddenly went down with an incurable heart complaint and on the 20th of this month he died of it. Last Monday[a] I attended the burial, or rather cremation, in Manchester. Unfortunately I had to get back the same day and thus missed the chance of looking up Siebold or Klepsch and could not therefore glean any further information on the subject of the estate. This is another matter that will be adversely affected by Gumpert's death. He was an energetic man who, especially in the case of the ailing Siebold, managed successfully to hurry things on, and, in view of the friendly relations we had enjoyed for many years, was glad to be of help. I have heard absolutely nothing more about the manuscripts and publisher's contracts. If you are unable to tell me anything about this, I shall write to Siebold again shortly. [199]

I recall having seen Dr Spiegel on one occasion over here years ago. I think he will make a thoroughly good job of Carl's career and attainments as a chemist. [200] Unfortunately it wouldn't do to publish anything more than that in a scientific journal.

Your hopes for a dissolution of the Reichstag [76] will in all likelihood be fulfilled within the next week or fortnight. Caprivi has got himself into such a fix that he probably cannot concede as much as the gentle-

[a] 24 April

men of the Centre [71] and the Free Thinkers [149]—who are bent on compromise—could consent to without imperilling the existence of their parties. I would rather that the dissolution were postponed until 1895; by that time we shall occupy a very different position and may become the crucial party in the Reichstag. One way or the other, we're bound to benefit by it.

At Easter, or rather on Good Friday,[a] a German member of the Reichstag—Bebel—a French deputy—Lafargue—and an English member of parliament—Burns—Socialists all three—met for the first time at my house. A historical milestone too.

With sincere regards from Mrs Kautsky and myself

Yours,

F. Engels

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## 81

## ENGELS TO PABLO IGLESIAS

### IN MADRID

[Draft]

London, April 1893

Dear friend Iglesias,

I cannot answer your letter without first complaining of your addressing me formally with *usted.* I don't think I have deserved this. We are old members of the International and have been fighting side by side, for over twenty years in the same battles. When I was your Secretary for Spain, your people did me the honour of addressing me informally with *tu,*[b] and so I ask you to go on in the same way.

Enclosed herewith are a few lines[c] for your May issue,[d] I have written

[a] 31 March -[b] an equivalent of French vous and tu -[c] F. Engels, 'To the Spanish Workers —on the First of May 1893'. -[d] *El Socialism*

to Eleanor Marx-Aveling and to Bebel, asking them to contribute their share.

Regards and revolution,
Yours

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## 82

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [186]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 17 May 1893

Dear Sorge,

The Lincoln affair happened while I was still in Manchester—at the end of 1864—but I have no more than a hazy recollection of it, nor, amongst Marx's and my papers, have I ever set eyes on Lincoln's reply. [201] Maybe I shall come upon it tucked away somewhere, if ever I get round to sorting out and classifying the chaotic mass of stuff, but of that there can be no question unless I have three or four weeks to devote to it. All I can find is in Eichhoff's pamphlet on the International, Berlin, 1868 (based on notes and material of Marx's); p. 53 reads:

> 'Lincoln's re-election on 8 November 1864 was an occasion for the General Council to send him an address with its best wishes. At the same time, it called mass meetings in support of the Union's cause. That was why Lincoln, in his message of reply, expressly acknowledged the services of the International Working Men's Association for the good cause.'[a]

In short, all I can say is that such material as I have on the International

[a] W. Eichhoff, *Die Internationale Arbeiterassociation...* (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 361-62).

Working Men's Association *before 1870* is very incomplete—some of the General Council's minutes, Marx's and Lessner's, and also partly Becker's[a] collections of newspaper cuttings and, finally, Marx's letters to myself. I haven't even got a complete set of the General Council's official documents, proclamations, etc., let alone the correspondence of the secretaries who retained virtually all of it. There are no official Congress minutes at all. Nevertheless, it's far better than anything anyone else has got, and I shall classify it as soon as I can. But when?

Volume II I[b] is progressing steadily. I have reached the two final *sec*-tions[c] and here too, I think, the worst is now behind me. But there's still several weeks' work to be done on them, after which I shall proceed to the final editing. I should like to send part of it to press before the summer holidays but don't know whether I shall manage this. The final editing can be done while printing is actually in progress. And the matter is becoming urgent, for it looks as though we in Germany are about to enter a period of great turmoil and struggle which means that the thing has got to be finished before then.

What my views are concerning German affairs you can see from the interview in *Le Figaro*[d] which I am sending you by the same post as this. As in all interviews, the text has in parts become somewhat insipid and the thread sometimes gets lost, but otherwise it has been correctly reported. The morale of our people in Germany is altogether excellent; so far as they are concerned, the election campaign is a real boon and they revel in it, despite all the trouble and effort it costs them. Bebel, who spent a week here at Eastertime [183]—after the Brussels Conference [172]—is a new man and writes to say that; in addition to Hamburg, he has been asked to stand for Strasbourg in Alsace where in 1890 we had 4,800 votes as against 8,200, and where a lot of the Francophils will vote for him. There are between a hundred and a hundred and ten constituencies in which we shall be kicking off with more than one third of the total poll (to go by the 1890 results) and in some eighty of the constituencies we shall, I think, either get in straight away or else in the second ballot. How many will fall by the wayside in the latter depends on the opposition candidate. Against Conservatives [202] or National Liberals [203] our chances are very good, less so against Freisinnige [149] and still less so against the Centre

[a] Johann Philipp Becker - [b] of *Capital*- [c] Sections VI and VII (see present edition, Vol. 37) - [d] Interview of Frederick Engels to the correspondent of *Le Figaro* on 11 May 1893

supposing our opponents' candidate sticks to his guns over the military question. [76] Bebel hopes for 50 or 60 seats in all. [204]

The atmosphere in Germany has changed a lot and, though the bourgeois press may still vociferate as loudly as ever, the respect our people now command in the Reichstag has gained for them a position very different from before. Nor is it possible for anyone to turn a blind eye to the ever-growing might of the party. If, at the next elections, we again show a marked increase, respect may grow on the one hand but so, on the other, will fear. And the latter will drive the worthy philistines of one accord into the government camp.

The May Day celebrations over here were very nice, but although they only happen once a year, they are already becoming almost a routine affair; they have lost their first bloom. Once again the narrow outlook of the Trades Council [197] and of the socialist sects—Fabians [43] and Social Democratic Federation [44]—has led to our having two demonstrations. But everything went according to plan and we—the Eight Hour Day Committee—drew a far bigger crowd than the combined opposition. Our international platform, [205] in particular, was very well attended. I would estimate that there were in all 240,000 people in the park, of whom we had 140,000 and the opposition 100,000 at the outside.

Champion, with his TORY and LIBERAL UNIONIST funds [206] (allegedly £100 for each of the 100 working-class candidates agreeing to stand in hopeless constituencies merely in order to deprive the Liberals of votes), has been made a thorough fool of by our old friend Maltman Barry. This blockhead, if Scottish speculator, has joined the Tories of whom, by his own admission,[a] he is the paid agent, and would seem to have been planted alongside Champion, whom the fund-dispensing Tories do not altogether trust, as a sleeping partner and watchdog—what the Jesuits call a *socius.* Thus, during Champion's illness, he was sole editor of the *Labour Elector,* and told such improbable tales *out of school* that he quite spoiled his own little game, thus temporarily saving the Independent Labour Party [114] from becoming the pawn of the aforesaid gentry. Unfortunately Aveling has been seriously ill for a month now; in view of the constant caballing that goes on here, he cannot well be spared. He has gone to Hastings [207] to recuperate for a while.

If we should poll a considerably larger number of votes in Germany, this

[a] See this Volume, p. 84

will have a favourable effect on the elections this autumn in France.[208] If our people there get a dozen men into the Chamber (they are counting on getting four seats in the Département du Nord alone), it will mean they'll have a nucleus there that will be strong enough to compel the Blanquists [20] and Allemanists [21] to join forces with them.

I am glad that your wife and you are better again. Warm regards to her and to yourself from L. Kautsky and

Your

F. Engels

First published in: *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Job. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A, an F. A. Sorge und Andere,* Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

## 83

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN PARIS

London, 21 May 1893

My dear Lavrov,

The day before yesterday I sent you by post a book by N. F. Danielsont: *Ocherki Nashego Poreformennogo Khozyaistva.*[a]

He also informed me that the parents of our friend H. Lopatin have had news of him, and that he is well.[209]

You promised to send me a copy of the brochure in which you were going to publish a letter of Lopatin in which I am mentioned—I still have not received it.[97] As I have been told that it has appeared, the packet must have gone astray in the post. Could you send me another copy?

[a] The title of the book, *Outlines of Our Post-Reform Economy,* is written by Engels in Russian.

I hope you are keeping well—just as I am, with no reason to complain.

Yours truly, F.
Engels

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## 84

## ENGELS TO ISAAC A. HOURWICH [184]

### IN CHICAGO

London, 27 May 1893
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dr. Isaac A. Hourwich
Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your interesting study on the Economics of the Russian Village,[a] which I read, I hope, not without profit.

As to the burning questions of the Russian revolutionary movement, the part which the peasantry may be effected to take in it, these are subjects on which I could not conscientiously state an opinion for publication without previously studying over again the whole subject and completing my very imperfect knowledge of the facts of the case by bringing it up to date. [210] But for that I am sorry to say I have not at present the time. And then, I have every reason to doubt whether such a public statement by me would have the effect you expect of it. I know from my own experience of 1849-52 how unavoidably a political emigration splits itself up into a number of divergent factions, so long as the mother-country remains quiet. The burning desire to act, face to face with the impossibility of

[a] I. A. Hourwich, *The Economics of the Russian Village.*

doing anything effective, causes in many intelligent and energetic heads an over-active mental speculation, an attempt at discovering or inventing new and almost miraculous means of action. The word of an outsider would have but a trifling, and at best a passing effect. If you have followed the Russian emigration literature of the last decade, you will yourself know how, for instance, passages from Marx's writings and correspondence have been interpreted in the most contradictory ways, exactly as if they had been texts from the Classics or from the New Testament, by various sections of Russian emigrants. Whatever I might say on the subject you mention, would probably share the same fate, if any attention was paid to it. And so from all these various reasons, I think it best for all whom it may concern, including myself, to abstain.

Yours very truly F.
Engels

First published, abridged, in:
G. Mayer, *Friedrich Engels. Eine Biographieg,* Bd. II , Haag, 1934,
and in full in:
Marx and Engels, *Works,*
First Russian Edition,
Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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## 85

## ENGELS TO HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD

IN CHICAGO

London, 27 May 1893
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W. Dear Sir,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your book *A Strike of Millionaires against Miners,* 2nd ed., for which please accept my best thanks. [211] I shall read it with great interest. Here in England modern capitalism, during the century and a half of its full development, has lost much of its

original brutal energy and moves onwards with a moderated step; even in France and Germany, this is to a certain degree the case also; it is only in industrially young countries like America and Russia, that capital gives full fling to the recklessness of its greed. The consolation, however, lies in this: that by this very recklessness it hurries on the development of the immense resources of these young countries, and thereby prepares the period when a better system of production will be able to take the place of the old.

In America, at least, I am strongly inclined to believe that the fatal hour of capitalism will have struck as soon as a native American working class will have replaced a working class composed in its majority by foreign immigrants.

Yours very faithfully
Fred. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: Henry Demarest Lloyd, *A Biography by Caro Lloyd,* Volume One, New York and London, 1912

Reproduced from the original

## 86

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [193]

### IN STUTTGART

London, 1 June 1893

Dear Baron,

Many thanks for drawing my attention to Brentano. [212] The man has evidently not forgiven me for having once again nailed him down with regard to the old *Concordia* business, No doubt he wishes to participate in A. Mulberger's life-long hostility to me. [213] Not that I greatly care. But all the same, I should like to make the gentleman's acquaintance in this new sphere. He seems to me very much the sort of person who would make a splendid ass of himself in prehistory. However, I'm not quite sure whether you mean Vol. 1 or Vol. 3 of the journal; please let me know by

postcard and also whether it is to be had *separately,* in which case I should order it. The very fact of his defending Westermarck[a] is enough; the latter is a duffer par excellence, exceedingly diligent but no less superficial and muddle-headed for all that.

I have just read Elie Reclus' PRIMITIVE FOLK—what it is called in French I don't know.[b] Here again, unparalleled muddleheadedness and pragmatism; moreover, his material is appallingly jumbled up so that one is often at a loss to know what tribes and peoples he is talking about; such material as might be of value is absolutely useless in the absence of an accurate comparison with sources. Add to that the anti-theological prejudice of an anarchist who, on top of that, is a son of a Protestant clergyman. There is an occasional good, cynical observation. Valuable to Englishmen in so far as it flies in the face of their respectable preconceived ideas.

The elections brought joy only to ourselves and to Caprivi. It's too funny for words to see how the Centre [71] and the Free Thinkers, [149] the two parties most anxious to avoid a dissolution [76] because they were most afraid of the electorate, should now, *after* dissolution, be on the whole more afraid of the government and the possibility of conflict than they are of the electorate—so afraid, in fact, that, even before the elections, they have split into two sides of which one has come out squarely in favour of the government while the other still continues to vacillate. I must say, I had never imagined that progress towards the 'one reactionary mass' [214] would be so rapid. The resistance put up by the Richters and Liebers is, in fact, a very half-hearted and ineffectual affair and, should we gain the victories—in numbers of votes polled, seats being of lesser importance—which this disarray seems to promise, that resistance might collapse altogether. In which case we shall be the only opposition party, and then the fun can begin.

It is strange how circumscribed all these 'heddicated classes' are by their social milieu. Such gasbags of the Centre and the Free Thinker Party as still remain in opposition represent farmers and lower middle-class, if not actually working-class people of whose fury at the ever-increasing burden of taxation and the impressment of recruits there can be little doubt. Yet that popular fury is transmitted to their honourable deputies through heddicated organs, lawyers, merchants, parsons, schoolmasters, doctors, etc., men who, because of their more general education, see a little bit further than the party masses and who have learnt enough to know that,

[a] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage.* — [b] É. Reclus, *Les primitifs....*

in a major conflict, they would be crushed between the government and ourselves. Hence they seek to avoid such a conflict and transmit the fury of the populace in muted form to the men in the Reichstag—let there only be compromise! Needless to say, they fail to see that *this* method of postponing the conflict propels the masses on to *our side,* i.e. gives us the strength, when the conflict comes, to fight it out to the finish. I expect to see a significant advance on the occasion of these elections—24 million votes, maybe more[204]—but *many more still the* next time!

Caprivi's joy, by the way, will be short-lived. If, as seems probable, his demand goes through, the masses will be driven over to us from the other side. And for a couple of years Germany will doubtless be able to stand the strain of additional taxation, but this demand will not be the last. In a couple of years Russia may give the *appearance* of having recovered a little, whereupon the more will have to be demanded again and in that case even the one reactionary mass may be driven to seek another dissolution. All over Europe we are again coming into the revolutionary mainstream—*vive la fin de siècle*[a]*!*

Bax's sketches [215] are certain to cause you trouble. Though they have their moments, these are becoming increasingly rare and the style as a whole is tailored to a local and, what's more, pretty narrow readership consisting of Fabian [43] and other intellectuals.

Your Berlin correspondent[b] has a pronounced subjective streak, but he can write, and has a good command of the materialist view of historical—though not, perhaps, always of current-events. His *Lessing-Legende* was quite excellent, although there are one or two points on which I would place a different interpretation.

You can manage the Zurich Congress on your own. [56] My plans are not yet settled, but I shall most certainly go to Zurich in the middle of August and hope to meet you there. [189] For the rest, I hope you will keep fit and well.

Your F. E.

First at published in:
*Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels-Briefwechsel mit Kautsky,*
Prague, 1935

Printed according to the original

[a] Long live the end of the century! -[b] Franz Mehring

## 87

## ENGELS TO HERMANN BAHR

### IN LONDON

*[Draft]*

[London, beginning of June 1893]

Dear Sir,

I regret that I am unable to comply with your request. [216]

In the first place, it so happens that my party comrades in Germany are conducting an election campaign against, among others, anti-Semitic candidates, [217] which means that at this juncture party interests preclude my expressing an impartial opinion about anti-Semitism.

In the second place, I believe that my party comrades in Vienna and in Austria generally would never forgive me were I to allow myself to be interviewed for the *Deutsche Zeitung*.

I remain, Sir, etc.

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## 88

## ENGELS TO FILIPPO TURATI

### IN MILAN

London, 6 June 1893

Dear citizen Turati,

Thank you very much for the information you were good enough to send me on the subject of the Domanico project. [218] I would very much like to reply to him as a young girl in Bellagio [219] replied to me more than fifty years ago when I said to her: *'Bella tosa, damm un*

*basi'—'domani!'*[a] Unfortunately that is impossible. He knows perfectly well that I am legally impotent in his case; he is not asking me for any authorisation, but simply suggesting that I associate myself in some way with his quite disinterested undertaking. As it is quite impossible for me to take on the revision of the translation (even if Domanico was willing to do it), I have no means of exerting pressure on him; I thought it was better for the moment to gain time and ask him for information; you will find at the end of this letter a copy of my reply to him.[b]

Is the edition of *Capital* in the Economist's Library in Turin to which you refer an Italian edition? I would be very interested in it, since that is something of which I have been unaware up till now; would you be so kind as to let me have the full title? and the name of the translator and the editor? so that I can get hold of a copy of this translation in order to say a few words about it in a new German edition or in the preface to the 3rd volume.

As for Deville's resume, I have reviewed the first part, but not the second half, the editor was too rushed. That is why Deville has sometimes presented as *absolute* theses of Marx which he had posited only as *relative,* as valid on certain conditions or with certain restrictions. However, that is the only fault I can find. [220]

The second edition of the 2nd volume of *Capital will* soon appear. I am reading the proofs of the last part, and it will not be long before it is published. There are only the printing errors to be corrected, but in a book of this kind that is always important.

Thank you for the translation of the *Manifesto.* [108]

Best regards to Mme Kulishov and to yourself from Mme Kautsky and yours truly,

F. Engels

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[a] 'Kiss me, my sweetheart'—'tomorrow'. A play on words: 'domani' means 'tomorrow' and Domanico is a surname. - [b] See next letter.

# 89

## ENGELS TO GIOVANNI DOMANICO

IN PRATO (TOSCANA)

[Draft]

[London,] 7 June 1893

Dear citizen,[a]

In reply to your kind letter of the 2nd of this month, I wish to thank you for letting me know of your intention to publish an Italian edition of Marx's *Capital.*[218]

But before answering your various questions, I have to know who is going to make translation and how, as this work is very difficult and demands of the translator both a profound knowledge of the German and of political economy.

The translation from the French edition alone wouldn't be perfect as the Italian suits more the philosophic style of the author.

I believe that the necessary means will be found to complete the work of such great importance and to publish a new edition that would be up to the contents of the book.

Sincerely

Yours,
F. E.

Copy to Turati 6/6/93

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

Translated from the Italian Published in English for the first time

[a] In Engels' draft this phrase is missing. He inserted it in the copy of this letter intended for Turati (see previous letter).

## 90

# ENGELS TO STOJAN NOKOFF [221]

IN GENEVA

London, 9 June 1893
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear citizen Nokoff,

A thousand thanks for the trouble you have taken in being the intermediary between the editorial board and myself, and dispatching No. 2 of the Bulgarian *Social-Demokrat.* I, for my part, dare to count on your good will in asking you to forward the lines enclosed to his address.[a] If it is not too much to ask, I would be grateful if you would let me know, merely by postcard, whether I am mistaken in identifying Sevlievo[b] as the town otherwise known as Philippopolis? I do not have a Bulgarian dictionary, my Serbian dictionary offers no clarification, but I have the vague impression of having read somewhere that this was the Bulgarian name of this town. [222] If I am correct, you need not reply.

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

First published in:
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Book I, Moscow, 1926

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] F. Engels, 'To the Editorial Board of the Bulgarian *Social-Demokrat*'. - [b] Sevlievo is written by Engels in Bulgarian.

## 91

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN PARIS

London, 13 June 1893

Dear Lavrov,

Tomorrow will be your seventieth birthday. I hope you will permit us to tender you our most sincere congratulations on this occasion. May you live to see the day when the Russian social-revolutionary movement, to which you have selflessly dedicated the whole of your life, will triumphantly plant its flag on the ruins of Tsarism.

Your sincere friends
Friedrich Engels

Louise Kautsky Eleanor Marx-Aveling Edward Aveling

First published in *Istoriya SSSR,* No. 5, Moscow, 1965

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## 92

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 20 June 1893

My dear Löhr,

I was glad to conclude from your letter that there was still time to insert, in your *Rave amendé et corrigé,*[a] such of my suggested alterations

[a] amended and corrected

as you approve of. [195] That was one of the reasons why I did not lay great weight on having the proofs here: once the matter *mise en page,*[a] it is difficult to insert alterations which necessitate either the cutting out, or the putting in, of a line or a few lines; at least in Germany I have had many a hard fight about the extra expence arising therefrom, and Mister Sonnenschein is careful to insert, in the agreement, a precise limit of what such alterations may cost extra. As to your two objects: to have a faithful translation, and one that should read as an original work, you have certainly attained them both and I am longing to read myself—without keeping one eye constantly on misprints and formal matters—again in your French: when I read it I said to Louise there is only one man in and about Paris that knows French, and that one is neither French nor a man but Laura.

As to the Alsatian Rave I'll forgive him his Alsatianism in consideration of his working-class countrymen; the 12,000 Muhausen[b] votes for Bueb, the 6,200 Strasburg ones for Bebel (who is almost sure to get in there) and the 3,200 Metz ones for Liebknecht, besides odds and ends all over the country. Bebel who has been there several times lately is quite in love with the Alsatian working men and with the country altogether, although at Strasburg last Sunday fortnight they nearly smothered him bodily with their enthusiasm in Hammerle's beer-garden.

Our elections went off glorious. [204] In 1890—20 seats, now 24 carried at the first assault; in 1890—about 60 ballottages, this time 85. Of seats we lost two and gained six new ones; of the 85 ballots, there are 38 in which, in 1890, we did not get into the ballot (only the two candidates with the highest number of votes are admitted to ballot); and of the 85, there are also 38 in which we have chances (in the remaining 47 we are in a hopeless minority, unless miracles happen) and out of these 38 we may reasonably expect 25 successful elections. But the gap caused by the complete break-up of the Radical (Freisinnige) Partei [223] has created such a state of confusion that we must be prepared for a series of surprises; amongst the Radicals, party discipline has ceased to exist and the people in each locality will just act as they think fit. By bringing up our full strength at second ballot by the assistance of the bourgeois democrats in South Germany and of the mutual jealousies and bickerings of the other parties, we shall be able to come up again to the old complement of 36,

[a] is set up - [b] French name: Mulhouse

so that only for an increase above that number we shall be dependent on the active assistance of Radicals, Anti-Semites [217] and Catholics, [71] that is to say upon the strong anti-military current which pervades the peasantry and petty-bourgeois class.

But the number of seats is a very secondary consideration. The principal one is the increase of votes, and that is sure to be considerable. Only we shall not know it until the full official returns are placed before the Reichstag; the most important part of that increase will consist in the— relatively small— number of votes cast in entirely *new,* remote country places, showing the hold we are beginning to take of those rural districts which were hitherto inaccessible to us and without which we cannot expect to be victorious. When they are all counted up, I still believe we shall have something like 2 1/4 million votes, more than has ever been cast for any other party in Germany.

Altogether, the effect has been stunning upon the whole of the German and English bourgeois press. And well it may be. Such a steady, unbroken, resistless progress of a party has never been seen in any country. And the best of it is that our increase of 1893 involves—by the extent and variety of the newly broken ground it shows—the certain promise of a far greater increase at the next general election.

The new departure of the *parti ouvrier*[a] with regard to 'patriotism' is very rational in itself [1]'; international union can exist only between *nations,* whose existence, autonomy and independence as to internal matters is therefore included in the very term of internationality. And the pressure of the pseudo-patriots, sooner or later, was certain to provoke an utterance of this kind, even without the alliance with Millerand and Jaurès [169] who no doubt have also urged the necessity of such an act. Guesde's interview in the *Figaro* [224] is excellent, not a word to be said against it. The address of the Conseil— here I am interrupted. I shall have to go to the railway station. Mrs. Gumpert (you know Dr. Gumpert died a short time ago) is going to Germany and on the way going to stay a few days with us, and I must fetch her from the train. So I must say good-bye for a day or two, my observations on the address being of no great importance and no hurry whatever about them. Good luck to the everlasting traveller.[c] What a change has come over poor Clemenceau that even a Déroulède

[a] workers' party; reference to the French Workers' Party - [b] See next letter — [c] Paul Lafargue

can bull-bait him! [225] *Sic transit gloria mundi.*[a] The anti-Semite patriotic bullies seem to have it all their own way both in France and Germany as far as the bourgeois are concerned! Love from Louise and your old

General[b]

First published, in the language (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance,* t. II I, 1891-1895, Paris, 1959

Reproduced from of the original

93

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [35]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 27 June 1893

My dear Lafargue,

You were absolutely right to protest against the imbecilities of the anarchists and Boulangeo-Jingoes; [226] even though Millerand and Jaurès (who certainly preceded you in this matter) contributed to this that does not matter. Particularly on the eve of a general election [156] it is impossible to leave the field wide open to slander. So we are agreed on this point; the Germans have done as much on more than one occasion, to the great distress of Bonnier who moves in an idealistic anti-patriotic sphere (though mainly anti-patriotic for others, since no one wishes more than he that 'France should take the lead in the movement'). And here is the National Council uncompromisingly declaring itself patriotic—and at the very moment when the elections in Germany [204] quite as uncompromisingly prove that it is not France which is taking the lead at present—poor Bonnier, he was here on Sunday, and looked quite abashed.

Your declaration will have its effect in France, I hope, and I hope with

[a] A phrase from the ceremonial speech during the election of the Pope - [b] jocular name for Engels

equal fervour that it will go unnoticed in Germany. This is why: they are not grave matters, but I believe I should draw your attention to them to make sure you avoid them next time.

I don't want to speak of your use of the word patriot, of what you define as the only 'true' patriots.

That word has a limited meaning-or else such a vague one, depending on circumstances-that for my part I should never dare to apply that title to myself. I have spoken to non-Germans as a German, in the same way as I speak to Germans as a pure Internationalist; I think you could have achieved a greater effect if you had simply called yourself French—which is a statement *of fact,* a fact including the logical consequences which flow from it. But no matter, it's a question of style.

You are again perfectly right in extolling France's revolutionary past, and to believe that its revolutionary past will find response in its socialist future. But it seems to me that, having reached that point, you incline a little too far towards Blanquism, i.e., towards the theory that France is destined to play the same role in the proletarian revolution (not merely that of *initiator* but also that of *leader)* as it played in the bourgeois revolution of 1789-98. This is contrary to the economic and political facts of today. The industrial development of France has lagged behind that of England; at this juncture it is behind that of Germany which has made giant strides since 1860; the working-class movement in France today cannot be compared to that of Germany. But it is not the French, nor the Germans, nor the British who, by themselves, will win the glory of having crushed capitalism; if France—*PERHAPS*—gives the signal, it will be in Germany, the country most profoundly influenced by socialism and where the theory has the most deeply penetrated the masses—where the fight will be settled, and even then neither France nor Germany will ensure final victory so long as England remains in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian emancipation can be only an international deed; if you try to turn it into a purely French deed you are making it impossible. The exclusively French leadership of the bourgeois revolution—albeit inevitable, thanks to the stupidity and cowardice of the other nations—led to—do you know what?—to Napoleon, to conquest, to the invasion of the Holy Alliance. To try and assign the same role to France in the future is to distort the international proletarian movement, as, indeed, the Blanquists do, and make France look ridiculous, for beyond your frontiers such pretensions are made fun of.

And look where this leads you. You speak of

> France, at ITS immortal Paris Congress in 1889,[227] raised the banner, etc., etc.

How you in Paris would laugh if the Belgians spoke of Belgium at ITS immortal Brussels Congress of 1891,[228] or Switzerland at ITS immortal Zurich Congress![229] Furthermore, the actions of these congresses are actions neither French, Belgian nor yet Swiss, but international.

Then you say:

> the French Workers' Party[11] is at one with German Social-Democracy against the German Empire, with the Belgian Workers' Party[230] against the Cobourg monarchy, with the Italians against the Savoy monarchy, etc., etc.

There would be nothing against all that if you had added: *and all these parties are at one with us against the bourgeois Republic which oppresses us, Panamises us and ties us to the Russian tsar.* After all, your Republic was made by old William[a] and Bismarck; it is quite as bourgeois as any of our monarchist governments, and you mustn't suppose that with the cry of 'Long live the Republic' on the day after Panama,[60] you will find a single supporter in the whole of Europe. The republican form is no more than the simple negation of monarchy—and the overthrow of the monarchy will be accomplished simply as a corollary to revolution; in Germany the bourgeois parties are so bankrupt that we shall pass at once from monarchy to the *social* republic. Hence you cannot go on opposing your bourgeois republic to the monarchies as something to which other nations should aspire. Your republic and our monarchies are all one in relation to the proletariat[b]; if you help us against *our* monarchist bourgeois, we shall help you against your republican bourgeois. *It's a case of reciprocity and by no means the deliverance of the downtrodden Monarchists by the great-hearted French Republicans;* this doesn't tally with the international outlook and even less with the historical situation which has brought your republic to the feet of the tsar. Don't forget that, if France makes war on Germany in the interests and with the help of the tsar, it is Germany which will be the revolutionary centre.

But there is another very regrettable affair. You are

> 'at one with German Social-Democracy against the German Empire'.

[a] William I — [b] The following phrase is crossed out in the manuscript: 'and if one is to speak about alliance and international unity, it is necessary for this...'

This has been translated in the bourgeois press as *gegen das deutsche Reich'*.[a] And that is what everybody will see in it. For Empire means 'Reich' as well as 'Kaisertum' (imperial regime); but in 'Reich' the emphasis is laid on the central power as representing *national unity,* and for this, the political condition of their existence, the German Socialists would fight to the end. *Never* would we wish to reduce Germany to the pre-1866 state of division and impotence. Had you said against the emperor, or against the imperial regime, no one could have said much, although poor William[b] is hardly of a stature to deserve being honoured in this way; it is the owning class, landlords and capitalists, which is the enemy; and that is so clearly understood in Germany that our workmen will not understand the meaning of your offer to help them to defeat the crackpot of Berlin.

So I have asked Liebknecht not to mention your declaration insofar as the bourgeois papers do not do so; but if, based upon this unfortunate expression, there were attacks on our people as traitors, it would give rise to a rather painful argument.

To sum up: a little more reciprocity could do no harm—equality between nations is as necessary as that between individuals.

On the other hand, your manner of speaking of the republic as a desirable thing in itself for the proletariat, and of France as the chosen people, prevents you mentioning the—unpleasant but undeniable—fact of the Russian alliance, or rather the Russian vassalage.

Well, that's enough, I think. I hope I have convinced you that in the first flush of your renascent patriotism you have overshot the mark a little. Not that it is very important and I hope the thing will go by without raising a dust, but should it recur it might lead to unpleasant controversies. Your published documents, though intended for France, must also PASS MUSTER abroad. If it comes to that, our worthy Germans have not always been correct either, in all their expressions.

As for the German elections, I am prouder of the defeats than of the successes. We have lost Stuttgart by a minority of 128 votes out of 31,000 electors, Lübeck by 154 out of 20,000, and so on. On this occasion all the parties formed a coalition against us; even the democrats of the South, who left us in the lurch at Stuttgart, at Mannheim, at Pforzheim, at Speyer and voted for us only in Frankfurt. What we won we owe—for the first time—entirely to our own strength. Consequently the 44 seats are worth ten times

[a] against the German Reich - [b] William II

more than 100 won with the help of the liberals and democrats.

Liberalism has completely abdicated in Germany. There is no real opposition outside our Party. William will have his soldiers, his taxes and—his Socialists in the army and outside the army, in ever-growing numbers. The final figure of the socialist votes will not be known for 10-15 days; Bebel thinks it will not be above 2 million; the season was against us, many workers are scattered in the countryside during the summer and omitted from the register, he estimates the resulting deficit for us at more than 100,000 votes.

The Amiens, *amende honorable* is splendid! There's no one like the French for these strokes of genius against obsolete laws. [231]

Love to Laura and to you from Louise. Kiss Laura for me.

Ever yours,
F. E.

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Translated from the French

## 94

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE [35]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 29 June 1893

My dear Lafargue,

I am writing to Bebel and explaining the situation to him; [25] there are certainly many reasons in favour of a postponement of the Congress to a later date. [232] But

1. November is out of the question, nobody goes to Zurich in winter when it is raining and cold. Further, your Chamber, the Reichstag and the British Parliament will be in session then. So give up that date. Another can be settled later.

2. It would be regrettable if the French *Marxists and* the Germans, and they alone, proposed an adjournment. But it would be quite another mat-

ter if *all the French socialist fractions* unanimously made this request. See what can be done in this regard, but *do it quickly,* for

3. The Swiss will have to submit your request to the others and take their advice—at any rate they will plead that necessity, seeing that Seidel, the secretary of the committee, [27] is a fanatical anti-Marxist and intrigues with all our opponents here and in France.

You will have some difficulty in persuading the Blanquists [20] and the two kinds of Possibilists [30] to support your motion, but it is very important. If the others are satisfied with the dates 6-12 August, you are hardly likely to succeed on your own.

Ever yours, in haste,
F. Engels

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## 95

## ENGELS TO FILIPPO TURATI

### IN MILAN

London, 12 July 1893

Dear citizen Turati,

On Saturday[a] sent back to you, by registered mail, the Italian *Capital.*[b] Thank you. I have compared some passages, particularly in the 1st and penultimate chapters (general tendency of capitalist accumulation). As you say, it is translated entirely from the French text, which continues to be more popular than the German. The passages I compared were translated fairly accurately, which is not very difficult given that the two languages are so closely related, and the greater freedom of movement offered by Italian in comparison to French.

[a] 8 July -[b] See this volume, pp. 149-151

I noticed that the reverse of the title page carries the legend: *proprietà letteraria,*[a] which will prevent Domanico from using this translation as it stands. [218] I still have not received any reply from him, perhaps he is beginning to realise the difficulties involved in his undertaking.

The 'last part' of which I spoke in my letter[b] is, of course, from the 2nd volume, 2nd edition, which will appear closer to September. The 3rd volume is still giving me trouble, but happily the end is in sight. However, I have not achieved my goal of finishing this work before my summer holidays. And that may cause a further delay of several months.

As for the French edition of the 2nd and 3rd volumes, it would be rather difficult to find the translator they require. It's a job which a few people would be willing and capable and persevering to bring to completion. The 2nd has 500 pages, and the 3rd will have 1,100-1,200.

Poor Martignetti! Is there no way of rescuing him from this *benedetto*[c] hole of Benevento, and finding him some occupation in a place where he could also learn the literary language of his country? He displays extraordinary assiduity and willingness. He translates for me with a fanaticism worthy of a better cause; but it seems he has little success in business affairs, and an unlucky star has followed him everywhere.

Will we see each other in Zurich? [189] Good Lord, if all goes well I might be able to be in Zurich at least for the last day of the Congress; that is my plan; however, as it does not entirely depend on me but on a combination of more or less fortuitous circumstances, it is very uncertain, and we would both probably do well not to speak of it. If there is something which frightens me, it is your threat to speak to me *en Meneghino.*[d] In 1841 I spoke it passably well, and understood it perfectly. [219] However, when, about thirty years later, I found myself at Como [233] for a day or two, I did not understand a single word; my ear had completely lost the habit. Thus I can say in all truth that I still speak a few words of your so very expressive dialect, but I understand nothing at all. As for your French, it is still better than mine, and in any case nothing prevents you from writing to me in Italian.

Do you read English? If you do, I could send you a newspaper from time to time.

*Salut cordial*[e]

Yours,

F. Engels

[a] copyright -[b] See this volume, p. 151 -[c] damn -[d] Milan dialect -[e] Heartfelt greetings

Greetings to Mme Kulishov from Mme Kautsky and myself.

First published abridged,
in the language of the original
language (French), in:
*Filippo Turati attraverso le
lettere di corrispondenti (1880-1925),*
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## 96

## ENGELS TO FRANZ MEHRING [234]

### IN BERLIN

London, 14 July 1893

Dear Mr Mehring,

It has taken me until today to get round to thank you for the *Lessing-Legende you* were so kind as to send me. I did not wish merely to send you a formal note acknowledging receipt of the book, but also and at the same time to say something about it—its contents. Hence the delay.

Let me begin at the end—with the appendix, 'II ber den historischen Materialismus'[a] in which you have brilliantly collated the essentials in a manner that must convince any impartial reader. If I have any criticism to make, it is that you accord me more merit than I deserve, even if one takes account of what I may, perhaps, have found out for myself—in course of time—but which Marx, with his swifter *coup d'oeil*[b] and greater discernment, discovered much more quickly. If one has been fortunate enough to spend forty years collaborating with a man like Marx, one tends, during one's lifetime, to receive less recognition than one feels is due to one; when the greater man dies, however, the lesser may easily come to be overrated—and that is exactly what seems to have happened in my case; all this will eventually be put right by history, and by then one will be safely out of the way and know nothing at all about it.

[a] 'On Historical Materialism' - [b] insight

Otherwise only one point has been omitted, a point which, however, was never given sufficient weight by Marx and myself in our work, and in regard to which we are all equally at fault. For we all of us began, as *we were bound to do,* by placing the main emphasis on the *derivation* of political, legal and other ideological conceptions, as of the actions induced by those conceptions, from economic fundamentals. In so doing we neglected the formal in favour of the substantial aspect, i.e. the manner in which the said conceptions, etc., arise. This provided our opponents with a welcome pretext for misinterpretation, not to say distortion, Paul Barth being a notable case in point.[a]

Ideology is a process which is, it is true, carried out consciously by what we call a thinker, but with a consciousness that is spurious. The actual motives by which he is impelled remain hidden from him, for otherwise it would not be an ideological process. Hence the motives he supposes himself to have are either spurious or illusory. Because it is a mental process, he sees both its substance and its form as deriving solely from thought—either his own or that of his predecessors. He works solely with conceptual material which he automatically assumes to have been engendered by thought without inquiring whether it might not have some more remote origin unconnected therewith; indeed, he takes this for granted since, to him, all action is *induced* by thought, and therefore appears in the final analysis, to be *motivated,* by thought.

The historical ideologist (here historical is used as an omnibus term for political, legal, philosophical, theological, in short, for all spheres appertaining to *society* and not merely to nature)—the historical ideologist, then, possesses in every sphere of science a material which has originated independently in the thought of previous generations and has undergone an independent course of development of its own in the brains of these successive generations. True, external facts appertaining to one sphere or another may also have helped to determine that development but according to what has been tacitly assumed, those facts, themselves are merely the fruits of a mental process, and thus we still find ourselves in the realm of pure thought which would appear to have succeeded in assimilating even the most recalcitrant facts.

What has above all deluded the majority of people is this semblance of

[a] P. Barth, *Die Geschichtsphilosphie Hegel's und der Hegelianer bis auf Marx und Hartmann.* Ein Kritischer Versuch.

an independent history of political constitutions, legal systems and ideological conceptions in each individual sphere. When Luther and Calvin 'overcome' the official Catholic faith, when Hegel 'overcomes' Fichte and Kant, or when, with his republican *Contrat social,* Rousseau indirectly 'overcomes' the constitutionalist Montesquieu, the process is one which remains within the confines of theology, philosophy and political science, which represents a stage in the history of these spheres of thought and never emerges from the sphere of thought. And since the advent of the bourgeois illusion of the eternity and ultimacy of capitalist production, even the overcoming of the Mercantilists by the Physiocrats and Adam Smith has come to be regarded merely as a victory of the concept, not as the conceptual reflection of changed economic facts, but as the correct perception, now at last achieved, of actual conditions as they have always and everywhere existed. If Richard Coeur-de-Lion and Philip Augustus had introduced free trade instead of becoming involved in the Crusades, we should have been spared five hundred years of misery and folly.

We have all, I believe, neglected this aspect of the matter, which I can only touch on here, to a greater extent than it deserves. It's the same old story—initially, form is always neglected in favour of substance. As I have said, I, too, have done this, never realising my mistake until after the event. Far be it from me, therefore, to reproach you on that score—as the senior culprit I am in no way entitled to do so, quite the contrary—but rather I would draw your attention to this point with a view to future occasions.

Hand in hand with this goes the ideologists' fatuous conception that, because we deny independent historical development to the various ideological spheres which play a role in history, we also deny them any *historical efßcacy.* Underlying this is the ordinary, undialectical conception of cause and effect as rigidly opposite poles, quite regardless of any interaction. The gentlemen forget, often almost deliberately, that an historical element, once it is ushered into the world by other, ultimately economic, causes, will react in its turn, and may exert a reciprocal influence on its environment and even upon its own causes. Cf. Barth, for example, on the priestly caste and religion, your p. 475. 1 was delighted by the way you dismissed this quite incredibly superficial Johnnie. And they go and make the chap professor of history at Leipzig! Old Wachsmuth used also to be there; he too was not a little shallow-pated but he had a tremendous feeling for facts—a very different sort of chap.

For the rest I can only remark of this book what I said more than once about the articles when they appeared in the *Neue Zeit,* namely that it is by far the best account of the genesis of the Prussian state that exists, indeed I might even say the only good one, being in most cases an accurate and minutely detailed exposition of correlations. One can only regret that, while you were about it, you did not feel able to include the whole course of events up till Bismarck; nor can one help hoping that you may some day do so and present the whole picture, from the Elector Frederick William to old William,[a] in context. You have, after all, already done the preliminary studies which you have all but completed at any rate so far as the essentials are concerned. And, after all, it has got to be done some time, before the rickety contraption collapses. The exploding of the monarchist-patriotic myths, if not exactly a necessary prerequisite for the elimination of that bulwark of class rule, the monarchy (a *purely* bourgeois republic in Germany having already become an anachronism before it has ever existed) is nevertheless one of the most effective means to that end.

You would then also be better off as regards space and opportunity when you come to depict local Prussian history as part of the whole German *misère.* This is a matter upon which my views differ here and there from your own, notably as regards the conditions responsible for the dismemberment of Germany and the failure of the German bourgeois revolution in the 16th century. If I get round to revising the introduction to my *Peasant War,* as I hope to do next winter, I shall be able to enlarge on the points in question. [235] Not that I consider those you adduce to be incorrect, but I should include some others and marshal them rather differently.

I have always found, when studying German history—which is one long, continuous *misère*—that a true perspective can only be obtained by comparing it with the same periods in France, because what happens there is the exact opposite of what happens in Germany. There we have the establishment of the national state from the *disjecta* of the feudal state at the very time of our worst decline. There, a rare kind of objective logic permeates the whole course of events; in our case, a barren and ever more barren haphazardness. There, the English conqueror of the Middle Ages, who intervenes in favour of the Provençal nationality as opposed to North French nationality, represents foreign intervention; the English wars are, as it were, the equivalent of the Thirty Years' War

[a] William I - [b] scattered members

which, however, ended with the ejection of foreign intervention and the subjection of the South by the North. Next comes the struggle between the central power and its Burgundian vassal,[a] supported by his foreign possessions and playing the part of Brandenburg-Prussia, a struggle which, however, ends in victory for the central power and puts the seal on the establishment of the national state. [236] And at the selfsame time in Germany, the national state (in so far as the 'German Kingdom' within the Holy Roman Empire can be called a national state) collapses completely, and the wholesale plundering of German territory begins. It is a comparison that is exceedingly humiliating to Germans, but all the more instructive for that, and now that our working men have again placed Germany in the van of the historical movement, it may be somewhat easier for us to swallow the ignominy of the past.

But what is of particular significance so far as developments in Germany are concerned is the fact that the two member states, which eventually partitioned the whole of the country between them, were neither of them purely German but were colonies on captured Slav territory—Austria a Bavarian, and Brandenburg a Saxon, colony; also the fact that they acquired power *in* Germany only with the support of foreign, non-German possessions—Austria with that of Hungary (not to mention Bohemia), Brandenburg with that of Prussia. Nothing of the kind happened on the western frontier, more at risk than anywhere else; on the northern frontier it was left to the Danes to protect Germany against the Danes, while in the South there was so little to protect that the frontier guards, the Swiss, were actually able to detach themselves from Germany!

But I am divagating—my loquacity can, at any rate, serve you as proof of the extent to which your book has stimulated me.

Once again, many thanks and warm regards from

Yours,
F. Engels

First published abridged in: F. Mehring, *Geschichte der Deutschen Sozialdemokratie,* Bd. II I, Th. II , Stuttgart, 1898 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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Charles the Bold

97

# ENGELS TO RUDOLPH MEYER [237]

## IN PRUHONICE NEAR PRAGUE [139]

London, 19 July 1893

Dear Mr Meyer,

It is, I agree, quite interesting that those worthies the Conservatives should believe (desire) that Caprivi might destroy Social-Democracy. [238] Just let him try. A new Anti-Socialist Law [15] can only strengthen the party in proportion to the individual existences it destroys. Anyone who has got the better of Bismarck need have no fear of his successor. Any attempt to abolish or tamper with universal suffrage will revive the old oracle: 'If you cross the Halys, Croesus, you will destroy a great empire.' If Caprivi does away with universal suffrage he will destroy a great empire, namely that of the Hohenzollerns.

So you have found violations of the theory and practice of agriculture in Bebel's *Frau*[a]*?* Well, it is scarcely possible to provide a critique of today's wasteful and generally uneconomic management of agriculture and industry, along with tips as to how, given the social order that automatically arises out of economic conditions, this could be done differently and better, and at the same time as to how, given shorter working-hours for each individual, production could be significantly increased—all this, I say, is scarcely possible without exposing oneself to attack by people with a practical knowledge of one branch or another. Hence Bebel is obviously either expressing himself badly or has failed to understand his authority when he says that the yield of a cornfield can be increased threefold or more by fully exploiting the protein content of gluten. There can be no question of that. I could point to a dozen or more minor inaccuracies of a like nature, but they don't affect the main issue.

Similarly in the case of the transport of meat from regions overseas. Hitherto enough has been available for shipment in one form or another to Europe. But with growing demand and a growing tendency to change over from pasture-land to arable—in those regions too—this is *bound to*

[a] A . Bebel, *Die Frau und der Sozialismus,* Chapter 22.

reach a peak before long and then decline. Whether it comes about a few decades sooner or later is largely immaterial.

However, the main objection you raise is that work on the land cannot be done by industrial labour and that in agriculture the reduction of the working-day to a uniform period throughout the year is impossible. Here you have misunderstood Bebel the turner.

So far as hours of work are concerned, there is nothing to prevent us from taking on at seed or harvest time, or whenever a quick supply of extra labour is needed, as many workers as may be required. Assuming an eight-hour day, we can put on two, even three, shifts a day, Even if each man were to work only two hours a day—in this special employment—eight, nine or ten shifts could be put on in succession, once we had a sufficiency of people trained in the work. And that and nothing else is what Bebel is saying. Similarly, in industry one wouldn't be so thick-headed, assuming a two-hour shift engaged, say, in spinning, as to keep increasing the number of spindles until each spindle produced what was required of it when run for two hours. Rather, one would keep the spindles running for between ten and twelve hours, while the operatives would only work for two, a new shift being put on every two hours.

Now as to your objection about the poor town dwellers who are spoiled for agricultural work for life, you may very well be right. I readily admit my inability to plough, sow, reap, or even lift potatoes, but luckily we have in Germany so huge a rural population that by intelligent management we could without more ado drastically reduce each man's working hours and still retain supernumeraries. Supposing we turned the whole of Germany over to farms of between 2,000 and 3,000 morgens[a]—more or less, depending upon natural conditions—and introduced machinery and every modern improvement, would we not then have more than enough skilled labour amongst the agricultural population? But obviously there is not enough work on the land to keep that population busy throughout the year. Large numbers would idle away much of their time if we didn't employ them in industry, just as Our industrial workers would waste away physically if they were denied the opportunity of working in the open air and particularly on the land. I agree that the present grown-up generation may not be up to it. But we can train young people to that end. If, for several successive years, the lads and lasses were to go into the

[a] 0,25 ha

country in summer when there is something for them to do, how many terms would they have to spend cramming before being awarded their doctorates in ploughing, harvesting, etc.? You are surely not suggesting that a man should spend his whole life doing nothing else, that, like our peasants, he should work himself silly before he acquires some useful knowledge of agriculture? And that and that alone is what I infer from Bebel's book when he says

> that production itself, as also a person's training, both physical and mental, can be brought to its highest level only when the old division of labour between town and country, between agriculture and industry, has been done away with.

Now as to the question of the profitability of the large estate as against that of the small farm, this can, in my view, be simply explained by the fact that in the long run the large estate engenders the small farm just as much and just as inevitably as the latter, in its turn, engenders the former. In precisely the same way as cut-throat competition gives rise to a monopoly and vice versa. This cycle is, however, inextricably bound up with crises, with acute as well as chronic distress, with the periodically recurring ruin of whole sections of the population, and likewise with the vast dissipation both of the means of production and of what is produced. And since we have now fortunately reached a stage at which we can dispense with these worthies the big landowners no less than with the landed peasants, and agriculture, no less than industry, has likewise now reached a stage of development which, in our view, not only admits of, but demands, its appropriation *en bloc* by society, it is up to us to break the *circulus vitiosus.*[a] To that end the big farms and large manorial estates provide us with a much better opportunity than the small farms, just as in industry large factories are more readily suited to that purpose than small workshops. And this is reflected in the political sphere in that the rural proletarians on the big estates become Social-Democrats, just like the urban proletarians, once the latter are able to exert pressure on them, whereas the unsuccessful farmer and urban artisan arrive at Social-Democracy only by the devious route of anti-Semitism.[217]

To say that the owner of a manorial estate—LORD or SQUIRE—who has emerged from feudalism, will ever learn to run his affairs as would a bourgeois and, like the latter, be capable of regarding it as his first duty, come what may, to capitalise each year a proportion of the surplus value

[a] vicious circle

secured—such a statement runs counter to all experience in all previously feudal countries. When you say that these gentlemen are compelled by necessity to stint themselves of much that goes with the way of life appropriate to their station, I quite believe you. But that they can ever learn TO LIVE WITHIN THEIR INCOMES AND LAY BEYOND SOMETHING FOR A RAINY DAY is quite outside my experience. It has never yet happened, or at most by way of an exception, and certainly not in the case of the class as such. After all, these people have existed for the past two hundred years thanks solely to the assistance of the state which has seen them through every crisis...

Yours,
Friedrich Engels

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## 98

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 20 July 1893

My dear Löhr,

*D'abord*[a] thanks for translation of the *Chronicle* Interview—though it was hardly worth while.[239] And then an inquiry.

Some time ago Bonnier sent me a letter from a Diamandy (Roumanian) asking me to write for a new Review[b] of his and announcing me that they had anticipated my permission and translated for the 1st No., *which they would send,* the chapter on Barbarism and Civilisation.[240] I waited but received nothing. Then, a few days ago, I wrote, saying that I had not had the review[25] but anyhow had no time to write for him.

[a] First of all - [b] L'Ere nouvelle

After that they send *to me* a *Separatabdruck*[a] of that chapter stating on the cover that they intended publishing the whole first in the review and then in book-shape. But the review they did not send to me, but to *Tussy.* From her I got it this afternoon and see that I am quoted as a regular contributor along with Kautsky, Paul, and others who perhaps were not asked any more than myself—that however articles by Guesde and Paul are promised and Paul's essay on Mohr's Materialism[b] is reprinted in part.—The translation of my chapter seems to be Roy's. Now, all that, along with Léo Frankel as administrateur, opens out before my bewildered eyes such a vista of possibilities and impossibilities that before taking another step in the matter I must seek information and advice at your door. Paris is *unberechenbar,*[c] but Paris *doublé de* Bucarest becomes a mystery in the third power, and I give it up.

What funny people the French government and Parliament are! Panama [60] passes off with a fizz instead of an explosion, the *coup d'état* against the *bourse du travail*[d] leaves the workpeople *blasés* and passes off quietly, but the Siamese humbug sends the very same parliamentary patriots off in a blaze of enthusiasm for Colonial Conquest—the same men who a few years ago almost killed Ferry 'the Tonkinois' because he tried to engage them on the same line! [241] Verily the bourgeoisie has outlived itself everywhere.

To-morrow Louise and I are going, for a week, to Eastbourne (address as before, 28 Marine Parade), as I feel the want of a little recruiting of strength before undertaking my trip to Germany. [189] Last year's disappointment has made me careful; I don't want to be laid up again lame in an armchair for six weeks. We leave Eastbourne Friday 28th July and London for Continent 1st August—meet Bebel and wife in Cologne and go via Strasburg to Switzerland where I shall meet my brother[e] and expect to be in Zürich for close of Congress 12th or 13th August. Thence with Bebel to Vienna and Berlin.

Will Paul and you be in Zürich? The Swiss got letters from other Parisian organisations, that the elections very likely would *not* be in August, in spite of all newspaper reports, but only in September; [156] that and the English objections decided against the application for adjournment. [232]

Post-time—9 o'clock, though perhaps this will not reach you till Saturday morning!

[a] off-print - [b] Lafargue, *Le matérialisme économique de Karl Marx.* - [c] unpredictable - [d] Labour Exchange [29] - [e] Hermann Engels

Love from Louise and your
ever thankful 'Translated-one'.

F. Engels

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## 99

## ENGELS TO FILIPPO TURATI [242]

### IN MILAN

London, 20 July 1893

Dear citizen Turati,

I hasten to reply to your letter of 17th, which I received yesterday evening.

Mme Marx-Aveling is executor under Marx's will; as for the literary part of the inheritance, I am responsible. Neither of us has ever heard talk of any Unione tipografica-editrice of Turin, and even less have we ever sold to this society 'property rights for the works of Marx' which (fortunately) belong to us entirely to this day. Not a single soldo of money from this Union has ever touched our hands. [243]

As regards the 1st volume of *Capital,* these property rights include the German and French editions. In accord with the relevant international treaties, everyone is now free to do any translations; we cannot oppose this. If anyone asks for our authorisation, this is a purely voluntary act on their part.

It is not altogether impossible that the Union has entered into some kind of contract with the editor of the French edition, M. Lachâtre, but it is highly unlikely. I know nothing of it. However, even if this is the case, M. Lachâtre could only. sell that which is his property, and at the very most that was the French edition. Thus the Union could do no more than oppose an Italian translation from the French.

However, now the book by Deville has been published and is freely circulating in France. If *in France* no one has attempted to bring a charge

of infringement of copyright against this book, then there is even less chance of anyone trying something of the kind.

Thus it is ridiculous, unless the legislation in Italy is wholly out of line. However, as the Code Napoléon has served as the basis for civil legislation in almost the whole of Western Europe, I do not think I am mistaken to see the case from this point of view.

What is amusing is the affrontery of these gentlemen: 'we purchased from the heirs to this property, etc' Clearly they have succeeded in this on other occasions.

As for Zurich, the situation is still as it was when I last wrote to you[a]; let us all hope for the best!

Greetings to Mme Anna and yourself from Mme Kautsky and from yours truly,

F. Engels

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Translated from the French

## 100

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BERLIN

Eastbourne, 27 July 1893

Dear Liebknecht,

The day after tomorrow, i.e. the 30th of this month, is your and your wife's Silver Wedding and so I am writing to send you my very best wishes on this joyous occasion. May it find you both in excellent shape and be a day of unalloyed pleasure and may you be granted a life of health and happiness for the 25 years that remain until your Golden Wedding.

Whenever a festive occasion of this kind comes the way of one of us old

[a] See this volume, p. 162

comrades in arms, it takes our thoughts back to the old days, to the old battles and assaults, to the defeats at the beginning and the eventual victories we have experienced together, and we rejoice that in our advancing years we have not been destined to remain in the self-same breach—after all, we have long since gone over from the defence to a general attack— but rather to advance together in the same line of battle. Yes, old man, many are the assaults we have been in together and I hope we'll be in more of them to come including, if all goes well, the one which, if it does not bring the final victory, will nevertheless make that victory a foregone conclusion. Fortunately both of us can keep our spirit up and both of us are spry for our age, so why shouldn't we manage to do so?

Bebel will be giving you and your wife on our behalf—Louise Kautsky's and mine—a small memento of your celebration, which I trust you will kindly accept and remember us by.

With cordial regards and good wishes from

Your

F. Engels

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Published in English for the first time

## 101

## ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT

### IN BERLIN

Eastbourne, 27 July 1893

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

I was delighted to receive the picture of the house in Bruch where I was born and spent my childhood. [244] The photograph is a very good one and shows every detail with which so many of my memories are associated. It was very nice of Liebknecht to have it taken, and I would ask you to thank him most kindly on my behalf.

Provided there are no upsets I shall be visiting Berlin in September for a couple of days when I shall have the pleasure of greeting all of you again. In order to fortify myself somewhat for the long journey, [189] have been spending a few days here by the sea, [245] greatly to the benefit of Mrs Kautsky and myself. We return tomorrow.

It is typical of the Prussians to persecute your Karl in this way; the bureaucrats are incapable of forgiving him his father. [246]

And now once again my hearty congratulations on your Silver Wedding and warm regards to you and your sons.[a]

Yours ever, F.
Engels

*[Postscript from Louise Kautsky]*

In company with the Avelings and other friends we shall drink a toast to you both with a '68 port next Sunday.[b] Your very good health!!

From your
Louise Kautsky

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[a] Karl and Theodor -[b] 23 July

## 102

## ENGELS TO NICOLAS PETERSEN

### IN COPENHAGEN

London, 31 July 1893
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W. Dear Mr Petersen,

I am prevented from answering your letter of the 3rd inst. in detail since I will be leaving for the Continent tomorrow. [189] After my return I will try and go into the questions you raise. Meanwhile thank you for sending those very interesting statistics. Warmest greetings,

Your
F. Engels

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## 103

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER

### IN DARMSTADT

London, 31 July 1893

My dear Schorlemmer,

I do not wish to set off on my trip to the Continent, [189] which begins tomorrow, without replying to your letter of the 27th.

Unfortunately there will not be time to see you in Darmstadt, as I shall be traveling straight through to Switzerland and Austria.

Nothing definite from Siebold. He too has been sent to Switzerland for the Alpine climate and won't be back for some time. Nothing can be done about the matter until I return. [199]

That is all. I must close, for there were visitors between 10 and 4 and I didn't have a minute to myself.

Many regards to you and your family.

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 104

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

### IN THUSIS (GRAUBII NDEN)

6 Merkurstrasse, Hottingen-Zürich 16 August 1893 Dear Hermann,

I have been staying with Anna Beust since yesterday and am at last sufficiently far removed from the turmoil to be able to write to you. [189] I had quite a nice journey. There were some highly diverting dust storms to begin with, followed by just enough rain to make the dust stick to one's clothing. In Zürich they took me to the Hotel Baur en ville where I was very well accommodated but never felt at home. Then, finally on Saturday evening, with the most difficult part accomplished, a moderate carousal gradually got under way (I say moderate advisedly; only *half* litres were served) combined with excursions on the lake. Tell Elsbeth[a] that people here have already discovered how talented I am at growling. The other day Bebel remarked in a postcard that I had done nothing the whole evening but growl with contentment.

Zurich has come on a great deal and outdoes even Barmen. There ev-

[a] Elsbeth Engels

ery third house used to be an 'inn'; here, however, there are three inns to every two houses. The Beusts live in very pleasing style with a wonderful view from a gigantic balcony big enough to hold a ball on. Anna Beust is very well preserved and one of the most beautiful old women in existence, besides being witty and vivacious, clever, energetic and resolute; it is a pleasure to be with her. Her son Fritz is in charge of the school, while the other, Adolf, has a very good medical practice; both have nice wives and two noisy, lively boys apiece. Adolf lives at home and Fritz close by in a house he has built.

Next week I shall probably go into the mountains for a while with Bebel. However I shall be back in about a week or so, and round about the 3rd, 4th or 5th of September we are leaving for Munich and Vienna.

At the Congress [56] there were three or four Russian women with really lovely eyes, somewhat reminiscent of your sister-in-law Berta's[a] when I saw her in Altenahr years ago. But my real sweetheart was a truly delightful Viennese factory girl,[b] charming of countenance and engaging of manner, such as one rarely comes across. I shall never forgive Bismarck for having excluded Austria from Germany, if only because of the Viennese women.

From what they tell me here, the Hotel Bellevue is not one of the best. I hope it nevertheless suited you all right. Let me know sometime how you got on. With much love to Emma,[c] Elsbeth, Walter[d] and you yourself from your old 'weed that never dies'.

Friedrich

By the way, you might also pay a call on Anna Beust. She has not set eyes on or heard from you for ages.

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[a] Berta Croon - [b] Adelheid Dworak -[c] Emma Engels - [d] Walter Engels

## 105

# ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

## AT LE PERREUX

Merkurstr. 6, Zürich-Höttingen
21 August 1893

My dear Löhr,

I have been in Switzerland for some weeks. [189] Louise, Dr. Freyberger and I left August 1st via Hook of Holland, met Bebel and his wife at Cologne, passed one night at Mainz, the next at Strasburg, the third at Zürich. Thence I went to Thusis in Graubünden where I met my brother [11]and family and stayed a week, returned to Zürich just in time for the closing of the congress and am now staying with my cousin Mrs. Beust.

As to the elections of yesterday, [208] we are in complete uncertainty and shall be so until this afternoon—no papers being published in Zürich on Monday mornings. So anything to be said on that subject must be delayed until end of this letter.

I found Germany completely metamorphosed. Steam chimneys all over the country, but where I passed, not numerous enough over a small district, to create a nuisance by their smoke. Cologne and Mainz are transformed. The old town is there still where it was, but around or aside of it has arisen a larger and newer town with splendid buildings disposed according to a well-arranged plan, and with large industrial establishments occupying distinct quarters so as not to interfere with the aspect or the comfort of the rest. Cologne has made most progress, having nearly trebled its inhabitants—the Ring is a splendid street, there is nothing equal to it in all England. Mainz is growing, but at a slower rate. In Strasburg you see too distinctly the separation between the old town and the new district formed by university and government buildings, an external addition, not a natural growth.

Paul naturally will be most curious to hear about Alsace. Well, the French may rest satisfied. In Strasburg, to my astonishment, I heard nothing but German spoken. Only once, two girls, Jewesses, who passed me,

[a] Hermann Engels

spoke French. But this is very deceptive. A very intelligent young Socialist, who lives there, told me that as soon as you go outside the city gates, the people speak, and purposely, nothing but French. In Mülhausen [3] too, he said, 4/5ths of the population, working men and all, speak French. Now this was not the case before the annexation. [247] Since the railways were opened, the French language began to spread in the country districts, but even now the French they speak is to a great extent of their own manufacture. But anyhow it is French, and shows what the people want. When the annexation took place, I once said to Mohr: the consequence of all these attempts at regermanisation will be that more French will be spoken in Alsace than ever before. And so it has turned out. The peasant and workman stuck to their German dialect as long as they were Frenchmen; now they do their utmost to shake it off and speak French instead.

Such arrant fools as these Prussians you never saw. They flattered the nobility and bourgeois who, they ought to have known, were hopelessly frenchified, and bullied the peasants and workmen, who, at least in language, had retained some remnant of German nationality. The country is under the thumb of maires,** gendarmes, tax-gatherers, appointed by the central government and mostly imported from abroad, who do as they like and live among themselves, separated from and detested by the people.

All the old oppressive laws of the French Second Empire [248] are scrupulously maintained and enforced, and sometimes even improved upon by old ordinances dating from the ancien régime and unearthed by learned functionaries who have discovered that the revolution has forgotten to state expressly that they are repealed! Moreover, all the chicanery innate to Prussian officials, is imported and improved upon. The consequences are natural. When I asked my friend: then, evidently, if the French by some chance or other were to return, nine-tenths of the people would receive them with open arms, he said that was so.

In Strasburg the old bourgeoisie keep quite to themselves and do not mix in any way with the intruders. With the rest of the people, Bebel is very popular, wherever he was recognised, they came to the shop doors and saluted him. You may be sure he will bring the state of things in Alsace before the Reichstag in a fashion different from that of those asses of protestataires who seem to rejoice in every fresh measure of oppression,

[a] Modern name: Mulhouse. ** Chief executives, Mayors

for fear the people *might* get reconciled with the new régime, and who consequently have lost the best part of their hold on the population. In this case as in every other, it will turn out that our party is the only one that can and will do what is really wanted.

(This moment a telegram from Roubaix to Greulich's house that Guesde is elected. Hurrah! Hope to hear this afternoon about Paul's victory.[249]

As to the Congress[229] it was a pity that our people had not at least 5-6 men here.[250] The one effect has been obtained: Blanquists[20] and Allemanists[21] have made themselves eternally ridiculous and contemptible *devant le monde socialiste.*[a] But now *this falls on French socialism generally;* now the others speak simply of 'the French', and that is very unlucky indeed. Had there been even a small minority of Marxists, that would not be the case. But if you find in English and continental socialist papers the French Socialists treated as a set of chaps who do not know their own minds for two minutes together, and who will vote by acclamation the greatest piece of nonsense if thereby they think they can aggravate *'les allemands',*[b] You need not be astonished. I have heard Swiss Socialists (and the *German* Swiss have very strong *French* sympathies) declare that now it was evident that chauvinism was ineradicable in the French mind, and I had to tell them what things—gall and wormwood to every *chauvin*[c]- had been able to say in French in your Almanac,[d] without any bad results anywhere. So you see the fiasco of these spouters falls upon all France, our people included. And Jaclard with his peevish articles in *Justice* makes it worse still. Well, I hope the elections will put us in a position to show to all Europe that Jaclard and Allemane *ne sont pas la France.*[e] And yet I believe Jaclard voted in very many cases with Bonnier and the small vanishing minority.

The women were splendidly represented. Besides Louise, Austria sent little Dworzak, a charming little girl in every respect; I fell quite in love with her and whenever Labriola[f] gave me a chance, eloped with her from the entanglements of his ponderous conversation. These *Viennoises sont des Parisiennesnées, mais des Parisiennes d'il y a cinquante ans.*[g] Regular grisettes. Then the Russian women, there were four or five with wonderfully beautiful *leuchtende Augend* and there were besides Vera Zasulich and Anna Kulischoff. Then Clara Zetkin with her enormous capacity for

[a] in the eyes of the socialist world - [b] the Germans -[c] chauvinist - [d] F. Engels, 'Socialism in Germany'. - [e] are not France - [f] Antonio Labriola — [g] Viennese women are born Parisians, but the Parisians of 50 years ago - [h] shining eyes

work and her slightly hysterical enthusiasm, but I like her very much. She has ascended the Glärnisch, a mountain full of glaciers, a very severe effort for a woman of her constitution. Altogether I had the happy lot to fall from the arms of one into those of the next and so on; Bebel got quite jealous—he, the man of the 'Frau',[a] thought he alone was entitled to their kisses!

Now I leave a bit of room for this afternoon's news. The Beust boys wish to be remembered. Louise is in Austria, Bebel and Bernstein are still here. By 4th September Bebel and I are off to Vienna, up to then the above address holds good.

Good luck to Paul!

Ever your old
General[b]

4 p.m. News that Paul is *en ballottage*[c]—please say how the chances stand—and that Ferroul is beaten, and Jourde in ballot. A few lines on the results generally will be gladly received as bourgeois papers are not to be trusted.

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## 106

## ENGELS TO EMMA ENGELS [251]

### IN ST. MORITZ

Alpnachstadt, 23 August 1893

Dear Emma,

I am here today and will be in the Bernese Alps tomorrow. A week from now I will be back in Zurich. [189] hope the Engadin is doing all of you

[a] 'Woman'; an allusion to A. Bebel's work *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* —[b] jocular name for Engels - [c] is to stand second ballot

good. Greetings to everybody from

Your
Friedrich

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## 107

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

Zürich, 31 August 1893

My dear Löhr,

Thanks for your letter and the papers which came to hand yesterday. I had been for 6 days in the Berner Oberland with August and St. Mendelson—fine weather and splendid scenery. [189] The Jungfrau had put on an extra clean white night-dress for us. Jungfrau, Mont Blanc and Monte Rosa are the three finest *massifs* of the whole Alps.

Yesterday we were on the Uetliberg, a hill close to Zurich, with a fine though rather distant view of the snowy chain. When, after 1870, old Thiers was here with his lot, he at once explained the whole to them; pointing at the Glärnisch (due South-East of the Uetli) he said that was the Mont Blanc. The landlord of the hôtel at the top, a perfect connoisseur of the whole range, ventured to suggest that this was the Glärnisch, and that the Mont Blanc was in a nearly opposite direction, and invisible from that point—but the little man replied: *Monsieur, je suis Adolphe Thiers, et je dois savoir cela! C'est bien là le Mont Blanc!*[a]

I am glad you consider the result of the elections of the 20th a victory. Let us hope this will be confirmed next Sunday by the return of Paul and Delcluze besides some others. Otherwise I am afraid our party will not be able to play the part in the Palais Bourbon [156] which I and many others wish it to play. If

[a] Sir, I am Adolphe Thiers and I should know this! I can assure you that is Mont Blanc!

we have 8-10 men there, they will form a nucleus strong enough to force the Blanquists, [20] Possibilists [30] and Independent Socialists to group themselves around it and thus to prepare a united party. But if we are only 3 or 4, the other fractions will each be about as strong, and unification will not only be more difficult, but also have more of the character of a compromise. Therefore I hope we may enter the Palais Bourbon in full force.

I hope the *Socialiste* will not bring Guesde's letter to his electors.[a] Whatever may be thought of it in France, outside the border it would sound simply grotesque. To declare his election a revolution, by which socialism *fait son entrée au Palais Bourbon,*[b] and from which a new era dates for the world in general, is coming it rather too strong for ordinary mortals.

I enclose a German five mark note, to enable you to telegraph to us the result of the poll next Sunday. [208] August and I are leaving here on Monday morning[c] for Munich and shall stay there over Tuesday. Now by Monday evening or Tuesday morning at latest we suppose you will have all the results as far as they interest us. As soon as you can, but not later than Tuesday afternoon, *please telegraph the names of our men and the places for which they have been returned,* and if the money goes so far, any further information of interest. The telegram to be addressed in German:

*Bebel, Hotel Deutscher Kaisert Munich:* but the rest had perhaps better be in French, so as to secure correct sending off.

On Tuesday evening or Wednesday we shall go on to Salzburg, thence to Vienna where we stay for a few days, and then to Berlin. If you will be good enough to send some further information by letter to Vienna (where it can be used for the *Arbeiterzeitung)* please address to Frau L. Kautsky, Hirschengasse 46, Oberöbling, Vienna, Austria. (An inner cover is unnecessary as she will know it is for me.)

And now good luck to all our candidates and to Paul especially! I put little trust in the promises of opportunists, [87] but I hope that in *his* case they may turn out true for once . [252]

What benefit has the Millerand-Jaurès alliance [169] brought to us in this campaign? I am utterly unable here to form a judgment.

Love from yours ever,

F.E.

[a] J. Guesde, Letter to the Electors of the 7th Electoral District, *Le Socialiste,* 26 August 1893. -[b] makes its entry into the Palais Bourbon -[c] 4 September

First published in French,
Abridged in *Cahiers du communisme,*
No. 11, Paris, 1955 and in full, in the
language of the original (English), in:
F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue,
*Correspondance,* t. II I, 1891-1895,
Paris, 1959

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## 108

# ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE [253]

AT LE PERREUX

Berlin W., den 18 September 1893
Grossgörschen- Strasse 22 a.

My dear Lohr,

Enfin![a] Arrived here Saturday night, after 6 days in Vienna and 1 in Prague [189] (where we met your old adorer Rudolf Meyer). Vienna is an extremely beautiful town, with glorious boulevards (Ringstrasse), and the immense square between Rathhaus and—vis-à-vis—new Burgtheater, with Parliament to the right and University to the left, is unequalled in the world. But Vienna is too big for its people, they are only beginning to *learn* the use of these boulevards; in about 10 years everything will be ten times finer, because 10 times more alive with people.

Altogether the Continent has undergone a complete revolution since I last saw it. [254] Everywhere life, activity, development, compared to which England appears stationary. Of Berlin I have not seen much (not a square foot as yet of the Berlin I left in 1842, [255] as what I have seen so far, is all new addition) but it is indeed externally splendid, though, I fear, internally full of discomfort. Bebel (where Louise and I are staying) has a very pretty and comfortable floor, but Library[b] where we spent last evening lives in a set of apartments so awfully arranged by the builder that it horrified me. Here in Berlin they have invented the 'Berliner Zimmer', a room with hardly a trace of a window, and that is where the Berliners

[a] At last! - [b] jocular name for W. Liebknecht given to him by Marx's daughters

spend almost all their time, To the front is the dining-room (best, reserved for swell occasions) and the salon (even more select and reserved), then the 'Berliner' *Spelunke*[a]*;* next a dark corridor, a few bedrooms *donnant sur la cour,*[b] and a kitchen. A sprawling unhomely arrangement, specifically Berlinerisch (that is *bourgeois-berlinerisch):* show and even splendour in front, darkness, discomfort and bad arrangement behind, the front for show only, the discomfort to be lived in. At all events that is my impression *at present;* let us hope it may get mended.

Yesterday we were in the Freie Volksbühne [256]—the Lessing Theater, one of the nicest and best of Berlin had been hired for the occasion. The seats are drawn for as in a lottery by the subscribers and you see working men and girls in the stalls and boxes, while bourgeois may be relegated to the gods. The public is of an attention, a devotion, I might say, an enthusiasm *sans égale.*[c] Not a sign of applause until the curtain falls—then a veritable storm. But in pathetic scenes—torrents of tears. No wonder the actors prefer this public to any other. The piece was rather good and the acting far superior to what I had expected. The *Kleinburgerei*[d] of old has disappeared from the German stage, both in the acting and in the character of the pieces. I will send you a short review of the latter.

In Vienna I had to appear twice before the 'party'. [257] I am quite enchanted with them. As lively and as sanguine as the French, but slightly more solid. The women especially are charming and enthusiastic; they work very hard, thanks, to a very great extent, to Louise. Adler has done wonders; the tact, the constant vigilance and activity, with which he holds the party together (not an easy thing with such lively people as the Viennese), are beyond praise, and if you consider moreover the difficulties of his private position—a wife ill with nervous ailments, three children and interminable pecuniary difficulties arising therefrom—it is almost inconceivable how he can keep his head above water. And these Austrians—a mixture of all races, Celtic, Teutonic, Slavonic—are far less manageable than our North Germans.

Library looks very well, collecting the elements of a paunch; his wife made a Bowie for us with wine and fruit; there was a rather numerous company. He lives *au quatrième* and outside Berlin proper, in Charlottenburg, but his apartment costs him some 1,800 Marks = 2,250 fr.

[a] squalid hole - [b] overlooking the courtyard - [c] without its equal - [d] provincialism - [e] on the fourth floor

As to your elections I hope Paul's hopes may be verified. [252] As most of the men elected are utterly unknown to me, I have no means to form a judgment. Vaillant 's letter in the *Petite République Française*[a] looks promising, let us hope that circumstances may tend to keep him in the right direction. If *our 12 men* are really *ours* and not like Thivrier and Lachizeq then a good nucleus may be formed.

When we came to Prague, there was the little *état de siege*[0] in force there. *Nobody in our hotel ever thought of asking for our names! Voilà ce que c'est que l'Autriche: Despotismus gemildert durch Schlamperei.*[c]

*Amitiés à*[d] Paul. Ever yours,

F. Engels

Louise, Bebel *und Frau grüssen euch beide herzlichst.*[e] Your copy of Paul's article and Paul's letter we gave to Adler who used them for his very good article in the *Arbeiter Zeitung.* [259]

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## 109

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

Berlin, 25 September 1893

Dear Baron,

I cannot *possibly* allow the letter in question to be launched upon the world without an introduction. [260] Our opponents would at once gleefully

[a] E. Vaillant, Unité socialiste' in *La Petite République Française,* 10 September 1893. - [b] state of siege — [c] That's Austria all over: despotism mitigated by slovenliness. — [d] Regards to - [e] and his wife send you both warmest greetings

set about both writer[a] and recipient[b] and it's going to cause enough of a scandal as it is. But not having the letter here, I cannot write an introduction. You people ought to have seen to this beforehand; I shall not be able to do anything about it before the 30th or the 1st of October. Regards,

Your F.E.

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky,* Prague, 1935

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## 110

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 30 September 1893

My dear Löhr,

We arrived here all right yesterday morning [189] and my first and agreeable duty is to remit to you one third of Meissner's remittance for 1892/93 of £60. = 20.—and one fifth of Sonnenschein' s ditto of £5.10.5. ($^2/_5$ go to the translator and $^3/_5$ to the heirs [261]) —

thus ..... £1.2.1

£21.2.1 for

which the cheque is enclosed. Please inform me of its safe receipt.

You may have seen in the papers how I was drawn out of my reserve—first at Zurich, then at Vienna [257] and finally at Berlin. [262] I fought as hard as I could but it was no use, they must have me out. Well it will be the last time, I have informed them I will not go there again except under a written engagement that I shall be allowed to travel as a private individual. Anyhow they everywhere received me more than splendidly, far more so than I did, or had a right to, expect.

[a] Heinrich Heine - [b] Karl Marx

As to the movement in Austria and Germany, it has exceeded my most extravagant expectations. Our French friends will have to bestir themselves if they will not be left behind. There is a power there, and both our men and their opponents know it.

At Vienna I was at a meeting of some 6,000, and at the Konimers in Berlin they honoured me with, there were 4,000 present—only the representative men and women of the party—and I can assure you it was a pleasure to see and hear this people. When you come from England with this distracted and disunited working class we have here, when you have heard for years nothing but bickering and squabbles from France, from Italy, from America, and then go amongst these people—the German-speaking ones—and see the unity of purpose, the splendid organisation, the enthusiasm, the *unverwüstliche Humor, der aus der Siegesgewissheit quillt,'a*you cannot help being carried away and saying: this is the centre of gravity of the working class movement. And if our French friends do not care, the Austrians may take the wind out of their sails. They are a mixed race—Germans grafted upon a Celtic (Noric) [263] stock and getting strongly mixed with a Slavonic element—thus combining the three chief European races in their blood. Their temper is very much like the French—more lively and sanguine than the less mixed Germans, and more capable of initiative by impulse. Unless Paris minds its p s and q's, Vienna may give the signal of the next revolution. I like the people very much, and the Viennese women remind me very much of the French working women of 40 years ago; of course they are oversanguine of success just like the French, but I think they are a deal clearer headed than those Parisians who fell in love with Boulanger—must close—company arriving.

Kind regards to Paul

Ever yours
General[b]

Louise *grüsst herzlich.*[c]

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[a] inexhaustible humour arising from the confidence in victory - [b] jocular name for Engels - [c] cordial regards from Louise

# 111

## ENGELS TO JULIE BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

London, 3 October 1893

Dear Julie,

You and August will have got our postcard of Friday's date. [264] I found a colossal pile of work waiting for me and, with the help of Louise who is still up to her eyes in printed matter, have now toiled and moiled my way through what was the most urgent, and am thus able to drop you a couple of lines.

Well, after our departure on Thursday. [189] we saw Adolf Braun for a moment at the Zoologischer Garten Station and then continued on our way. In our compartment there were two shabby looking johnnies who turned out to be something of a nuisance; luckily one of them, an Englishman, was completely drunk by ten o'clock, after which they spent the rest of the day in the corridor.

In Hanover we had a meal consisting of soup and meat during the course of which we were joined by good old Kugelmann and his daughter [1], who is far nicer than he is. He again treated me to a whole catalogue of medical precepts for the governance of my life, but also to a little basket containing meat sandwiches, apples and half a bottle of wine. The sight of it sent us into transports—red wine! But alas, it was so-called 'red port', a sweetish concoction which we bestowed upon the ticket collector in return for his kindness.

Soon after this there arose a lively debate between the ticket collector and some of the passengers on the question of whether those bound for the Hook of Holland ought not to change at Löhne and travel via Rheine-Salzbergen. We stuck firmly to Oberhausen, since Louise's ticket did not leave us any other alternative. At Minden, however, the train was already half an hour late and, since we had only 17 minutes at Oberhausen in which to make the connection, there was every prospect that we should miss it. It was here that the time-table August had given me in the morning really came in handy. We took the old Cologne-Minden railway

[a] Franziska Kugelmann

which I knew to be one of the most soundly built in Germany. As we passed these stretches, we could see that we were making up for quite a bit of lost time, and in this way we arrived punctually at Oberhausen.

The mining district between Hamm and Oberhausen is just like a piece of the English black country. The atmosphere and the towns just as smoky and black as in England, and the houses, because mostly painted in light colour, even more unpleasantly blackened than the bare English brick.

In Holland we again heard passengers and ticket collectors drop all kinds of dark hints about missed connections, but nevertheless we arrived at Rotterdam at 8.42 Dutch, i.e. 9.42 German time. That hour's difference had made everything all right (it hadn't been quite clear to us from August's time-table exactly where the change of time became operative and hence we had been in a state of *uncertainty).*

And though in Rotterdam we had to walk from one station to the other—about 10 minutes away—we still had some time in hand and arrived there before those who had travelled via Löhne-Rheine-Salzbergen.

Aside from a little of Kugelmann's fare, Louise had taken only one bowl of soup at Arnheim and another at Rotterdam, whereas I had subsisted on Kugelmann's fare and beer. It was blowing quite nicely when we left. I soon turned in and was quite pleasantly rocked to sleep, but didn't suspect there was anything amiss until I woke up in broad daylight after 8 hours, when we should long since have been in Harwich! I got up—I had the cabin all to myself—no one on board was stirring. I went up on deck to find it completely empty—everywhere wet decks and signs of its having been a rough night. At last a young German came along and confided to me that we had been through a frightful storm. Soon after, a few damsels appeared, and then Louise; the poor thing had been closeted in a small cabin with five others and had heroically survived the worst, despite her hysterical and sea-sick entourage. Eventually, however, when the big rollers were succeeded by a choppy sea, she too momentarily succumbed to the importunities of old Neptune.

We arrived two hours late in London—the Avelings were at the station—found everything in excellent order and attacked our work with the recklessness customary in those who have heroically weathered a slight storm. Nothing much would seem to have happened here, and it is only by degrees that we shall be able to find out about the little comings and goings of the local movement.

Apropos, Ede Bernstein maintains that Paul Singer has totally mis-

understood his article.[a] He never said that one should compromise, according to circumstances, with Conservatives, [202] National Liberals, [203] Ultramontanes, [68] etc.; *all he had in mind was the Freethinking People's Party.* [223] I told him that I for one could not have deduced that from his article; at all events, the latter possibility is one he has also left open.

But now, dear Julie, I must thank you and August once again for all the kindness and friendship you showed me, not only in Berlin but also in Zurich—and which August showed me throughout our trip; I can but remind you of your promise to pay us a visit here in the spring so that we for our part can show you London. Cordial regards to you both and to all our friends,

Your
F. Engels

[Postscript from Louise Kautsky]

Dearest Julie,

I really am more than up to my eyes in work and as yet can see no way out of it, not even for writing letters. The General[b] who is settling down to his writing, has told you how we fared on the journey, but forgotten to say that he monopolised the sandwiches you gave us. All went very well with him on the trip, he was always cheerful and in good spirits, always worried about missing our connections, and full of beans. On Sunday I myself at once fell back into my former, housekeeping role. But our guests treated me indulgently. Please tell August that I have not yet been able to find out anything definite about the second English edition; [265] I wish to see the book myself and shall get someone to buy it for me, but Reeves certainly wouldn't sell it to me direct.

I add my warmest thanks to those of the General. I have not had time to reflect upon all that I have experienced, and am living as if in a dream, a dream interspersed with work. And you, poor tormented souls, how are you? Love and kisses to you and August from

Your
Louise

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[a] E. Bernstein, 'Die preussischen Landtagswahlen und die Sozial-demokratie. Ein Vorschlag zur Diskussion'. In: *Die Neue Zeit.* No. 52, 1892-93, Vol. IL - [b] jocular name for Engels

# 112

## ENGELS TO HERMANN BLOCHER

### IN BASLE

London, 3 October 1893
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

Not until today, immediately after my return to this country, [189] have I been able to reply to your letter of 11 August. [266]

There are several copies of *The Holy Family* [1] in Berlin, while in Switzerland Dr Conrad Schmidt, lecturer at Zurich University, Klus-Hegibachstrasse, Hirslanden, might be able to help you get hold of one.

As regards Bruno Bauer's career up till 1843, his fortunes and opinions, you might find some information in Ruge's *Hallische,* subsequently *Deutsche Jahrbücher;* likewise in Bruno's own writings. Also, in regard to the years 1844-46, in his works and his *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung.* After 1843 both Marx and I completely lost touch with the Bauers who didn't come to London until some time towards the end of the 50s— Edgar for a prolonged stay, Bruno for a visit, at which time Marx saw them again. However, so far as I know, Bruno never had anything to do with either the materialist view of history or scientific socialism, but if he ever had, this could only be discovered from Bruno's later writings, those of the '50s and '60s. It could hardly be denied that Marx's views exerted a certain amount of influence upon Bruno's subsequent works on early Christianity, but on the whole Bruno's conception of historical causation remained primarily idealistic.

It is my opinion that no one could successfully write a book about Bruno without spending a long time in Berlin where all the material has accumulated.

Very sincerely yours,
F. Engels

[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Company.*

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## 113

## ENGELS TO JOHN B. SHIPLEY

### IN LONDON

*[Draft]*

[London], 3 October 1893

Dear Sir,

On my return from abroad [189] I find your letter of Aug. 10th. I am afraid I cannot be of any use to you in your dispute with your family. Even were your *legal* right to the money a good deal clearer to me than it is, I could only say that you, as a poor man, would hardly have the ghost of a chance, in English law courts, against wealthy people who moreover could fight you with your own money. But supposing you had the money to fight, my advice would still be: keep it rather than waste it on law.

As to a lawyer such as you describe and who would be willing to undertake your lawsuit, you will not be astonished if I tell you I do not know such a one.

Regretting I cannot give you a more comforting reply

I remain etc.

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# ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [184]

## IN HOBOKEN

London, 7 October 1893

Dear Sorge,

We returned here on Friday 29 September and soon afterwards received your letter of the 22nd. I have been away for two months. [189] Louise Kautsky and I travelled to Cologne where we met Bebel and his wife and from there we all went on together via Mainz and Strasburg to Zurich, whence I slipped off for a week to Graubünden where I met one of my brothers.[a] But I had had to promise to be back for the end of the Congress on which occasion they induced me, *malgré moi,*[b] to join in the finale about which you will have read. [267] But that set the tone for the entire trip and completely put the lid on my intention of travelling purely as a private individual. I stayed another fortnight in Switzerland, after which Bebel and I travelled via Munich and Salzburg to Vienna. There the whole business of placing myself on display began all over again. First I had to attend a beano at which, however, there was room for only about 600, and the others also wanted to see me; so on the last evening there was another mass meeting at which I had to say a word or two. [257] Thence via Prague to Berlin where, having protested vehemently against a mass meeting they had planned, I got away with a beano at which 3,000 or 4,000 people gathered. [262] The chaps meant all this very kindly, but it isn't my cup of tea and I'm glad that it is over; next time I shall demand a written agreement to the effect that I shall not have to display myself before the public but shall be travelling as a private individual on private business. I was, and still am, astounded at the magnificence of the reception I was given, but I would sooner leave such things to members of parliament and public speakers; for *them* it's all part of the job, but has little to do with my kind of work.

But in other respects, after 17 years of absence, [254] I found Germany completely revolutionised—industry enormously advanced as compared with before, agriculture—large- and small-scale—*very much* improved,

[a] Hermann Engels senior — [b] willy-nilly

and hence our movement making capital progress. Such little freedom as our people possess, they have had to win for themselves—wresting it more especially from the police and the *Landräte after* the relevant laws had already been promulgated in writing. And hence you find an assured, confident demeanour such as has never been evinced by the German bourgeoisie. Needless to say, they are also open to criticism on a number of individual counts—for instance, the party press, notably in Berlin, is not abreast of the party—but the masses are first-rate and better as a rule than the leaders, or at any rate than many who have come to occupy leading roles. With such chaps, nothing is impossible—they are really happy only in the midst of the struggle, they live for the struggle alone and are bored if their opponents do *not* provide them with work to do. It is an actual fact that another Anti-Socialist Law [15] would be greeted by most of them with sardonic laughter if not with positive glee—it would, after all, again give them something new to do each day!

But alongside the Germans of Germany we should not forget the Austrians. By and large, they are not as advanced as these Germans, but they are more vivacious, more French, more easily carried away into performing great deeds, but also into perpetrating blunders. Seen individually, I prefer the average Austrian to the average German, the average Viennese working man to his fellow in Berlin and, so far as the women are concerned, I infinitely prefer the Viennese working woman; she possesses a naïve spontaneity beside which the studied precocity of her Berlin counterpart appears insufferable. If *messieurs les Français* don't look out and make haste to resume their erstwhile tradition of revolutionary initiative, then it might happen that the Austrians will take the wind out of their sails and seize on the first opportunity to get things going.

Incidentally, Berlin and Vienna, together with Paris, are now the most beautiful cities in the world, London and New York being filthy holes by comparison, especially London which has seemed quite strange to us since our return.

In November *messieurs les Français* will have to show what they are capable of. [268] Twelve Marxists and four Blanquists, [20] five Allemanists [21] and two Broussists, [30] along with a few Independents and some twenty-four *socialistes radicaux86 à la* Millerand in the Chamber constitute a goodish lump of leaven and should produce a nice state of fermentation *provided* they stick together. But will they? The 12 Marxists are, by and large, completely unknown quantities; Lafargue is missing, while Guesde, who

*is a member,* is an infinitely more capable speaker but also an infinitely more gullible optimist. I am racked with curiosity. Even before the election our Marxists had already concluded a sort of pact with Millerand & Co. [169] which the Blanquists, and in particular Vaillant, would appear to have associated themselves with by contributing to Millerand's *Petite République française.* Again, the Blanquists are taking a very firm stand against the Russian alliance just now. But I have received no direct news about the present state of the various parties, probably because they are not yet clear about it themselves.

I trust you and your wife are in good health. Cordial regards to you both from

Your
F. Engels

I met De Leon and Sanial in Zurich. Was not impressed.

*[Postscript from Louise Kautsky]*

Dear Mr Sorge,

May I pester you again by asking whether it would be possible for you to send me two copies of the *Woman's Journal,* or do you think I should do better to order it direct on behalf of a woman friend of mine in Vienna? If so, what is the best way of paying the Americans and to whom do I address myself? But that's not all. Please could I have a three cent Columbus stamp, if this isn't asking too much of you. I am besieged by so many stamp collectors who want it. Many thanks in advance and my most cordial regards to you and your wife,

Yours,
L. Kautsky

First published, abridged,
in the book: *Briefe und Auszttge aus Briefen von J oh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Eggels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere,* Stuttgart, 1906

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# 115

## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

### IN VIENNA

London, 11 October 1893

Dear Victor,

We arrived back here on 29 September [189] with mounting recklessness, attacked the pile of work we found waiting for us.

Though I was unable to discover Comrade Höger's 'whole series of boulevards' in Berlin, there can be no doubt that, so far as appearances go, it is a very fine city; even in working-class districts all one sees are palatial façades. But what lies behind those façades is better passed over in silence. The poverty of working-class districts is, of course, universal, but what I found particularly overwhelming was the 'Berlin living-room',[a] a place unimaginable anywhere else in the world, a refuge of darkness and stale air as also of your Berlin philistine who feels perfectly at home there. Golly! There was nothing of the kind in August's apartment, which was the only one I liked, but in any of the others I'd go off my head.

However in writing this letter it was not my object to send you the above *cri de cœur,* but rather to congratulate you and the Viennese.

First, your Schwender speech [269] which shows once again how sure is your grasp of the difficult and complex conditions in Austria, and how firm a hold you keep on the clue in the labyrinth. And at this particular juncture that is of the utmost importance.

In the second place I must especially congratulate you and the Austrians generally on the resounding victory won as a result of your agitation for suffrage, namely Taaffe's Electoral Reform Bill. [270] And here I must enlarge somewhat.

Having taken a look at your country, people and government I have come to realise ever more clearly that really outstanding victories are within our grasp there. An industry that is growing rapidly but which, because of years of high protective tariffs, still largely continues to operate

[a] See this volume, p. 187

with outmoded productive forces (the equipment I saw in the Bohemian factories proved as much); the industrialists themselves. I mean the bigger ones—the majority of whom are as closely involved in the Stock Exchange as in industry proper; in the towns, philistines who are more or less indifferent to politics, have abandoned themselves to sybaritism, [271] and desire above all to be left to pursue their pleasures in peace; in the country, either a rapid slide into debt or the swallowing up of small properties; the real ruling classes are the big landowners who, however, are quite content with their political position whereby they are assured of a rather indirect domination; also the upper middle class and a scattering of haute finance[a] closely linked with the big industrialists whose political power is *much less immediately* in evidence but who are also quite content with this state of affairs; among the propertied classes, i.e. the grandees, there is no desire to turn indirect into direct, constitutional rule, while among the small fry no serious effort is made toward true participation in political power; the result is indifference and stagnation, punctuated only by the feuding over nationalities between various members of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie, and by the events arising out of the union with Hungary.

Above all this there hovers a government whose absolutist proclivities are subject to few formal, and these for the most part only fictive, restraints; nor, in practice, does it encounter many obstacles. For it is by its nature conservative and so, too, is your aristocrat, your bourgeois and your philistine bon vivant. The peasant, however, in his rural isolation, cannot achieve any organised opposition. What is wanted of the government is that it should *live and let live,* and this is something at which the Austrian government has always been adept. Hence the fabrication—explicable also on other grounds—of laws and regulations that exist only on paper, hence, too, the extremes to which that process is taken, its elevation into a principle and the astonishing administrative slippiness which, I must say, exceeded anything I could have imagined.

Well then, in a stagnant political situation such as this, one in which the government, despite its extraordinarily advantageous position vis-à-vis the individual *classes,* is nevertheless perpetually getting into hot water: 1. because those classes are split up into umpteen nationalities and hence, contrary to all the rules of strategy, march united (against the workers) but fight divided (i.e., against one another), 2. because of

[a] high financiers

perpetual money troubles, 3. because of Hungary, 4. because of involvements abroad—in short in a situation like this, I told myself, a worker's party with its own programme and tactics, which knows what it wants and how to get it, has sufficient will-power to do so, and is, moreover, thanks to a happy miscegenation of Celts, Slavs and Germans, in which the latter element predominates, possessed of a gay, mercurial temperament—that party need only develop its capabilities enough to score quite outstanding successes. With none of the other parties knowing what they want and a government which likewise does not know what it wants, but lives from hand to mouth, a party which knows what it wants and wants it with tenacity and singleness of purpose, is bound to win in the end. And all the more so in that everything the Austrian Workers' Party [272] wants and *could want* is no more than is also demanded by the country's progressive economic development.

Here, therefore, we have a situation more propitious to rapid success than in any other country, even in Germany where, though development has been more rapid and the party is stronger, yet resistance is far more determined. Add to that the fact that Austria, a great power in decline, still feels ill at ease in Europe, a feeling that has always been foreign to Prussia, a small power in the ascendant. And, having joined the ranks of the 'modern' states in 1866, Austria also feels ashamed of *internal weaknesses*—which it need not have done when still an avowedly reactionary state. Indeed, the less a country wants to be a genuinely modern state, the greater will be its desire to be regarded as such, and the more strongly reaction rears its head in Prussia—where it is under far greater restraint than in Austria—the more liberal will be the attitude adopted by Austria out of malicious glee.

Now, the situation in Europe—I mean the *internal* situation of the individual states—is approximating ever more closely to that of 1845. The proletariat is increasingly coming to hold the same position as the bourgeoisie did then. At that time it was Switzerland and Italy who set things off; Switzerland with her internal strife between democratic and Catholic cantons which came to a head in the Sonderbund War; [273] Italy with Pio Nono's [274] liberal endeavours and the liberal-nationalist changes in Tuscany, the small duchies, Piedmont, Naples and Sicily. The Sonderbund War and the bombardment of Palermo [275] were, as everyone knows, the immediate precursors of the February revolution of 1848 in Paris.

Today, when the crisis might come to a head only five or six years hence, Belgium would seem to be taking over the role of Switzerland,

Austria that of Italy, and Germany that of France. The struggle for suffrage began in Belgium [276] and is being taken up on an impressive scale in Austria. And there can be no question of a settlement being reached on the basis of some sort of half-baked electoral reform. Once the ball is rolling, the impulsion will communicate itself to all around it, and thus one country will immediately affect its neighbour, So besides the possibility of your scoring great victories there is the opportunity, i.e. hence also the likelihood, of your doing so.

Such, more or less, is the tenor of what I expounded to Louise yesterday afternoon as my view of Austria's immediate mission. And at 8 p.m. the *Evening Standard* brought the news—still in rather indefinite terms—of Taaffe's capitulation,[a] while today we are given the Bill, at any rate in very general outline. Well, now the ball really *has* got rolling, and you people will see to it that it doesn't stop. I don't want to say anything about the Bill until I am rather better informed, but of one thing I feel sure, namely that Taaffe would like, *à la* Bismarck, to split the now undivided urban Liberal vote and play off the workers against the bourgeoisie. Not that we have any objection; the Liberal and other bourgeois parties will try and restrict enfranchisement still further, and you might thus find yourselves in the pleasant position of supporting the worthy Taaffe against his parliament. At all events, it's a bonus that is not to be sneezed at and, before I come back, you will doubtless be duly installed as a deputy in the Diet. The *Daily Chronicle*'is already talking of 20 *safe seats* for Labour. With 20, or even less than 20, the Diet will be a very different kind of body from what it has been hitherto, and the gentlemen will be amazed at the life that this will inject into the ramshackle old place. And if a few Czechs should happen to get in alongside our German chaps, it will put something of a damper on the squabbling over nationalities, and enable Young Czechs and Old Czechs [277] and German Nationals to see each other in an altogether new light. And here one might say that the entry of the first social-Democrats into the Diet, will mark the beginning of a new era in Austria.

And it is you people who have brought this about and, because of the dawning of this new era, we all of us rejoice that we shall have in the Diet a man with so incisive an intellect as yourself.

Warm regards from Louise and

Your

[a] 10 October 1893

F. Engels Regards from Louise
to yourself and also from me to Popp, Reumann, Adelheid, Ulbing and tutti quanti.

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## 116

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

### IN BERLIN

London, 12 October 1893

Dear August,

We are sending you Reeves's edition of *Woman.* [265] In my view the *legal* position (upon which the whole thing turns when you're dealing with a chap like Reeves) is as follows:

1. So far as the translator is concerned, international copyright provides protection for three years from the publication of the original, but only if during the *first* year the *first* part of a translation authorised by the author has actually appeared in print. Accordingly you would have absolutely no claim unless Walther's[a] translation had appeared within one year of the publication of a new German edition containing *substantial* alterations and additions not contained in the earlier one; this was hardly the case.

2. There remains Mrs Adams Walther's claim. Whether she has any depends on whether, upon the publication of the first English edition, she reserved the Copyright or whether she expressly or tacitly assigned it to the publishers, the Modern Press. This should be ascertained. If she did not expressly reserve it then, legislation over here being what it is, it is ten

[a] Adams Walther

to one that it was tacitly assigned to the publisher and that consequently she too no longer has any claim.

3. So far as I know, the latter, one Foulger, had long since had to wind up his business and was no doubt glad to come to any sort of agreement with Reeves.

Accordingly it is almost certain that you cannot do anything in the legal line, nor is it at all likely that Mrs Adams Walther can do anything either, but this should be ascertained. If you could procure me a copy of the agreement between Mrs Walther and the Modern Press I could, if necessary, consult a lawyer. But unless everything is *absolutely cut-and-dried* there's nothing to be done with a laddie like Reeves; in his speculative enterprises he is as unscrupulous as they come, and getting money out of him is a virtual impossibility; I, too, have unfortunately had dealings with him, and not even the threat of a lawsuit is of any real avail. In cases such as these, laddies of his stamp generally make over everything to their wives or concoct a BILL OF SALE (assigning their stock, etc., to a fictitious or genuine creditor).

Yesterday we got two splendid bits of news.

First, the beginning of the end of the pit strike. After the lock-out of the workers, engineered by the *big* colliery owners on 28 July: 1. in order to raise prices and curtail production, 2. so that ruinous contracts, carelessly entered into, for a year's supply of coal to gasworks and other municipal undertakings *could be broken with impunity* because, in all such contracts, *strikes provide indemnity against breach of contract,* 3. to depress wages and 4. to ruin the small mining companies and buy them up at knock-down prices—this is coming increasingly to be the permanent motive behind all big LOCK-OUTS—well then, after the said lock-out had been going on for over two months and public opinion among the middle classes, who had been hit by the coal shortage, had also begun to turn—against the mine owners, things came to a head. During the first week of October the agreement expired whereby the mine owners had undertaken, on pain of a £1,000 fine, to re-open their pits, but only if wages were reduced by a full 25 per cent (of the former wage plus the 40 per cent increase gained after 1889, i.e. at the 1889 wage plus 15 per cent), and on condition of the strike's being called off by the miners' committee. A number of the smaller collieries immediately defected and resumed work at the *pre-July* wage (i.e. at the 1889 wage, plus the 40 per cent increase). The mayors of the larger towns in the Yorkshire and Midlands mining districts then

foregathered and proposed a settlement which, in fact, boiled down to a 10 per cent reduction in wages. Had the masters accepted, this could have been dangerous as it might have placed the workers on the horns of a dilemma—either they, too, accepted or they risked turning against themselves a public opinion that is always fickle and ready to applaud any kind of compromise. But luckily the MASTERS—the big ones in the lead—were deluded enough to refuse forthwith, and within twenty-four hours the collapse of their ring was manifest to all. As from yesterday some thirty or forty thousand miners have returned to work at the *pre-July* wage, which means that the masters have totally renounced their demands and the hash of the colliery-owners' ring has been well and truly settled. This is the first instance in which a big strike, set on foot by the masters themselves at a time of their own choosing, has gone so completely awry, and therein lies its significance. It will be some time before they try the same thing again, but the workers have themselves suffered so much and endured such poverty that they, too, are unlikely to have much stomach left for a 'general strike'.

(Have just got yours and Julie's letter.)

The second piece of news was about the new Austrian Electoral Reform Bill. [270] It is a resounding victory for our people and I hastened to congratulate Victor upon it.[a] The *Daily News* thinks that the number of voters in Vienna will rise from 80,000 to 350,000, while the *Chronicle* estimates the number for Austria as a whole at three million—these estimates come, of course, from Viennese sources. At all events it's a bonus that is not to be sneezed at. The bourgeois in Vienna are already thinking in terms of twenty Social Democrat deputies.

It's more than probable that Taaffe is counting on his Bill being changed for the worse by Parliament, but it's a long shot and our chaps will see that he doesn't get away with it. What a delicious quirk of history if it should so turn out that our chaps have to protect the Prime Minister against his Parliament and against his own secret self! The main thing is that the ball has at last started rolling and in Austria our movement is powerful enough to prevent its being brought to a halt. And Taaffe cannot very well suppress demonstrations *in support* of his Bill.

From my general impression of Austria, I should say that that country will give us much cause for rejoicing in the immediate future. What with

[a] See previous letter.

the general prostration of all the parties, the general perplexity, the feuding over nationalities, what with a government that never knows what it wants and lives only from hand to mouth, what with laws that exist for the most part only on paper and the general sloppiness of the administration—of which I have, from my own observation, only recently got any real idea—what with all these things, a party which knows what it wants and how to get it, which genuinely wants it and is possessed of the required tenacity, is bound in the long run to prove invincible especially when, as in this instance, all its demands follow the same trend as the economic development of the country as such and are no more than the political expression of that development. Our party in Austria [272] is the only living force in the field of politics; otherwise there is nothing but passive resistance or new ventures that never come to anything, and this places us in an exceptionally favourable position in Austria. Furthermore, the changes that occur in the grouping of the bourgeois parties sometimes make it impossible for the government to be Conservative and, when it ceases to be Conservative, it simply becomes unpredictable, if only by reason of the fact that the party groupings of which it has to take account are likewise unpredictable. And again, the Austrian government is that of a great power which, though in decline, is nevertheless still a great power and, as compared with Prussia, a small power in the ascendant, is still capable of remarkable initiatives at such times as conservatism, sheer clinging to the status quo, ceases to be possible. That is my explanation for Mr Taaffe's 'leap in the dark'.

Another fact to be considered is that the growth of the proletarian movement in all countries is about to precipitate a crisis and that in consequence any successes *one* country may achieve will react powerfully upon all the others. The suffrage movement won its first victory in Belgium [276] and now Austria is about to follow suit. At the outset this will ensure the *survival* of universal suffrage, but also encourage us to make further demands—in Germany no less than in France and Italy. The way was paved for the February Revolution[a] by Switzerland's internal struggles and the constitutional upheavals in Italy. Again, the Sonderbund War [273] and the bombardment of Messina[b] by the Neapolitans [275] (Feb. 1848) were the immediate signal for the outbreak of revolution in Paris. Maybe the crisis will not be upon us for some five or six years yet, but I should say that the

[a] of 1848 in France - [b] a slip of the pen in the original; it should read Palermo

preparatory role will this time fall to Belgium and, in particular, Austria, while the dénouement will take place in Germany.

There is no fear that the cause will ever again be dropped in Austria; our people in that country will see to that. The Austrian Diet is an infinitely more stagnant froggery than the German Reichstag or even the Saxon or the Bavarian Chamber. The presence of a dozen Socialist deputies will have a far more galvanic effect there than it would in our case, and we are exceptionally lucky in having in Victor a chap who has so clear a conception of the complexities of conditions in Austria and is able to subject them to so incisive an analysis. His speech in the last *Arbeiter-Zeitung is* a real tour de force.[a]

Ede and Gina were here this morning. He isn't yet at all as he should be, has a mania for splitting hairs and increasingly recalls the sagacity of his *Volks-Zeitung uncle;* I often get the impression that old Aaron[b] in person is standing before me. It was he who spoilt things for himself in Switzerland. Having been told in Berne that one of them but not both at once would be admitted, he should have realised that the best policy would be to give precedence to Julius, as an invalid and, banking on this, to return six months later, *when they* could hardly refuse him admittance, at least for any length of time. But this his impatience would not brook. The best of it is that he now sometimes avers *he* would prefer to stay here and that it's Gina who wants to go to Switzerland. His dream is, as it always will be, to go back to Berlin. He really imagines this to be possible and is always consulting lawyers about it. Remains to be seen!

If Schlüter has any sense he will do himself and his wife the kindness of starting divorce proceedings. A suit of this kind against an *absent wife* for deliberate desertion has few disadvantages for either party, and after all he too must wish for complete freedom. This is not, of course, to say that he hasn't in any case been accustomed to enjoying that freedom whenever opportunity arose. It is always satisfactory, by the way, to hear that a woman one knows is plucking up the courage to make herself independent. The decision to part from her Hermann for good may have cost her many a mental struggle and she may thus at one time have given the impression of being by nature irresolute. What an expenditure of energy bourgeois marriage demands—first until one has got to that stage, then for so long as the nonsense lasts and then until one is finally done with it.

[a] fine specimen - [b] Aaron Bernstein

We have just come back from a walk in the park—glorious autumn weather, a pretty sunset in a cloudless sky and beautifully coloured foliage. Downstairs the table is being laid; we are having Welsh mutton dressed as venison, accompanied by good old noodles. So I must hurry up and finish this. Louise and I thank Julie for her kind letters and are saving up our answers for next time. Warm regards from us both to both of you, likewise to Singer and his sister, to the Liebknechts and all our dear friends whose names I cannot list if the joint is not to grow cold.

Yours,
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[35]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 13 October 1893

My dear Lafargue,

Is the Paris letter in today's *Vorwärts* from you? This is why I am asking.

When I was in Berlin,[189] Liebknecht said he was arranging to take you on as correspondent for *Vorwärts,* but that the money had still to be voted by the Party Committee; in the meantime he asked me to tell you that it was a matter of regular work, of letters to be sent at stated intervals, once a week or a fortnight, for example, something which so far he had not been able to get from his French correspondents. I promised I would write to you about it as soon as he let me know that the matter had been clinched between you two.

I used the opportunity to reproach him for setting such store by any

anti-Russian article of Vaillant's,[a] which he always faithfully reprints, whereas far more robust anti-Russian articles, published by *Le Socialiste* over a long period, have been passed over almost unnoticed by him. He apologised and promised to do better.

But he has not written a word about the matter of your correspondence, and he goes on translating and making much of Blanquist statements, even translating the *Chauviere.*[b]

He has, moreover, reprinted an article by young *Arndt,*[c] although this chap voted all the time with Argyriadès & Co. against the Germans at Zurich. [250] And Arndt is on the Blanquist revolutionary Central Committee.

So as you see Liebknecht leans very strongly towards the Blanquists. I'm not looking for reasons, I simply state the fact. Hence it is important that you should do everything, in despite of him, to maintain the position you have always held in relation to the German party: that of its main allies in France, who have first claim to be taken into consideration in relations between the German party and the French Socialists in general. And, to this end, you must be represented on *Vorwärts,* so that the Paris correspondence should be, at least to some extent, in your hands.

Of course the decision does not rest solely with the editorial board. The Executive Committee has something to say. And I am convinced that you will find support there, if it is needed. It goes without saying that I shall do my utmost to ensure the continuation of a close alliance between the German party and your party in France (which will not commit you to taking their money, that can always go to the Blanquists, if you don't want any more of it, [278] as you say; they will be delighted to take it). So let me know how far you have got with Liebknecht concerning your appointment as regular *Vorwärts* correspondent; and without delay, for, if there are difficulties, I must be able to take steps *before* the Cologne Congress on the 22nd of the month. [279]

Going by *Le Socialiste,* I counted on our having twelve deputies. It is true that, knowing no more than half of them even by name, I had my doubts about their reliability. But, according to your letter, you do not seem to know so far as half of them are concerned whether they are our people or not. Very unfortunate. With 12 sound chaps, led by Guesde, we

[a] Vaillant, "Zarismus und Republikanismus", *Vorwärts,* No. 222, 21 September 1893 — [b] E. Chauvière, Die französische Russenseuche", *Vorwärts,* No. 238, 10 October 1893. - [c] P. Arndt [Letter], *Vorwärts,* No. 221, 20 September 1893.

should soon have been able to compel the Blanquists, [20] Allemanists, [21] etc. to fall in with us. But if we can look to only half-a-dozen reliable people, we shall have to treat with these gentlemen on a more or less equal footing, in which case the old divisions may continue, or else, if there is unity, it will be achieved at the price of sacrifices in matters of principle.

Certainly Vaillant seems very much more sensible since his election than he was six months ago, but will he always be sure of a majority on his Central Committee? Or else, to make sure of it, may he not have to sacrifice his personal opinion on matters of substance to the prejudices of those silly conspirators?

It is sad that you were beaten at Lille. [252] You sacrificed yourself for the party: instead of nursing your constituents by assiduous parliamentary activity, you travelled about and collected votes *for others.* But the fact remains we need you in the Chamber too; and I hope you will get the first vacant seat.

The new paper will not—like the last one—be advertised 'to appear in October', I hope? [280] Will not *La Petite République Française* bar the way? This is another outcome of the Millerand-Goblet alliance; [169] you gave them far more help than they gave you in return. It's one thing for Millerand, but Goblet! an ex-Minister and candidate for the premiership!

Tomorrow I shall write a few words to Laura *on business*—I cannot manage it today, I have been interrupted all the afternoon and it is now past 5 o'clock. In the meantime, kiss her for me.

Greetings from Louise.

Ever yours,
F.E.

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# 118

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 14 October 1893

My dear Löhr,

I have received 3 copies of the French *Origine de la famille* etc. To my surprise the words '*entièrement revue par M-me Laura Lafargue'*'[a] which were on the proof of the title, do not appear there now. Is this, as I suppose, a little treachery of Rave? If so I shall protest.

Voilà Fortin of Beauvais who informs me that he intends translating.

1. The *Kritik der Hegclsehen Rechtsphilosophie* in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* (by Mohr, 1844) and

2. the 3 Chapters *Gewaltstheorie*[b] of my *Anti-Dühring.*

I have absolutely no time to revise his work—and No. 1 is immensely difficult. And rather than revise Fortin's work (which you know from experience) maybe you'd rather do the whole thing yourself. The first—Mohrs epigrammatic style—I consider him uncommonly unfit to render. Nobody but you could do that.

He intends publishing them in the *Ere Nouvelle.*

What do you think I had better say to him?

Glorious victory in Austria. Taaffe proposes an electoral law [270] which is tantamount to universal suffrage at least in towns and industrial districts—so says Adler. Taaffe's policy is to break the power of the German Liberal Party (representing the German and Jewish bourgeoisie) and probably, too, to let as many Socialists replace Liberal Bourgeois as may be necessary to drive the other parties to a closer union and thus to give to him a working majority. The Lower House in Austria is composed of 85 representatives of the large landed proprietors, 21 of the Chamber of Commerce (these 106 are not affected by the new bill), 97 of the towns and 150 of the country districts (both of these will be elected according to the new bill).

For the present the country districts will send about the same Catholic

[a] 'completely revised by Mme Laura Lafargue' - [b] Theory of Force.

and Conservative members as hitherto, and the exclusion of analphabètes will here considerably restrict the suffrage; but in the industrial centres of the West and North (Vorarlberg, Austria proper, Bohemia, Moravia, perhaps Steiermark) the new bill will practically establish a very near approach to universal suffrage. It is calculated by bourgeois papers that the number of voters will be 5,200,000 instead of 1,770,000, and the number of socialist seats are estimated at from 20 to 60! Give us 20 to 24 (this is the number of signatures required for a motion to be discussed) and we shall upset the whole of this old-fashioned assembly. It is a complete revolution, our people in Vienna are jubilant, although', of course they insist upon *full* universal suffrage, direct elections, and abolition of the 106 privileged members.

Kind regards from Louise.

Ever yours RE.

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Reproduced from the original

## 119

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON [281]

IN ST. PETERSBURG

London, 17 October 1893

My dear Sir,

When I received your letter of July 26th announcing your return home, I was on the point myself of going abroad for two months and am only just returned. [189] This is the reason of my long silence.

Many thanks for the copies of the *Outline*[a] three of which I have for-

[a] Outlines of Our Post-Reform Economy (1893). [Written in Russian in original.]

warded to appreciative friends. The book, I am glad to see, has caused considerable stir and indeed sensation, as it well merited. Among the Russians I have met, it was the chief subject of conversation. Only yesterday one of them[a] writes:

> 'we in Russia are arguing over the 'fate of capitalism here'.[b]

In the Berlin *Sozialpolitische Centralblatt* [1] a Mr. P. v. Struve has a long article on your book.[c] I must agree with him in this one point, that for me, too, the present capitalistic phase of development in Russia appears an unavoidable consequence of the historical conditions as created by the Crimean War, the way in which the change of 1861 in agrarian conditions was accomplished, and the political stagnation in Europe generally. Where he is decidedly wrong, is in comparing the present state of Russia with that of the United States, in order to refute what he calls your pessimistic views of the future. He says, the evil consequences of modern capitalism in Russia will be as easily overcome as they are in the United States. There he quite forgets that the United States are modern, bourgeois, from the very origin; that they were founded by petits bourgeois and peasants who ran away from European feudalism in order to establish a purely bourgeois society. Whereas in Russia, we have a groundwork of a primitive communistic character, a pre-civilisation *Gentilgesellsehaft,*[d] crumbling to ruins, it is true, but still serving as the groundwork, the material upon *which* the capitalistic revolution (for it is a real social revolution) acts and operates. In America, *Geldwirthschaff* has been fully established for more than a century, in Russia, *Naturalwirtschaft was* all but exclusively the rule. Therefore it stands to reason that the change, in Russia, must be far more violent, far more incisive, and accompanied by immensely greater sufferings than it can be in America.

But for all that it still seems to me that you take a gloomier view of the case than the facts justify. No doubt, the passage from primitive agrarian communism to capitalistic industrialism cannot take place without terrible dislocation of society, without the disappearance of whole classes and their transformation into other classes; and what enormous suffering, and waste of human lives and productive forces that necessarily implies,

[a] Josif Goldenberg - [b] [phrase in Russian], II I. Jobrgang, No. 1, Oct. 2, 1893. [Note by Engels, in the original, Oct. 1, which is a misprint.] - [c] P. Struve, 'Zur Beurtheilung der Kapitalistischen Entwickelung Russlands', *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt,* No. 1, 2 October, 1893. - [d] gentile society - [e] money economy - [f] natural economy

we have seen—on a smaller scale—in Western Europe. But from that to the complete ruin of a great and highly I gifted nation there is still a long way. The rapid increase of population to which you have been accustomed, may be checked; the reckless deforestation combined with the expropriation of the old landlords[a] as well as the peasants, may cause a colossal waste of productive forces; but after all, a population of more than a hundred million will finally furnish a very considerable home market for a very respectable *grande industrie,* and with you, as elsewhere, things will end by finding their own level—if capitalism lasts long enough in Western Europe.

You yourself admit that

> 'the social conditions in Russia after the Crimean War were not favorable to the development of the form of production inherited by us from our past history'.

I would go further, and say, that no more in Russia than anywhere else would it have been possible to develop a higher social form out of primitive agrarian communism unless that higher form was *already in existence* in another country, so as to serve as a model. That higher form being, wherever it is historically possible, the necessary consequence of the capitalistic form of production and of the social dualistic antagonism created by it, it could not be developed directly out of the agrarian commune, unless in imitation of an example already in existence somewhere else. Had the West of Europe been ripe, 1860-70, for such a transformation, had that transformation then been taken in hand in England, France etc., then the Russians would have been called upon to show what could have been made out of their Commune, which was then more or less intact. But the West remained stagnant, no such transformation was attempted, and capitalism was more and more rapidly developed. And as Russia had no choice but this: either to develop the Commune into a form of Production, from which it was separated by a number of historical stages, and for which not even in the West the conditions were then ripe—evidently an impossible task—or else to develop into Capitalism, what remained to her but the latter chance?

As to the Commune, it is only possible so long as the differences of wealth among its members are but trifling. As soon as these differences become great, as soon as some of its members become the debt-slaves of the richer members, it can no longer live. The big peasants and village exploiters'[3]

[a] [In Russian] — [b] [In Russian]

of Athens, before Solon, have destroyed the Athenian *gens* with the same implacability with which those of your country destroy the Commune. I am afraid that institution is doomed. But on the other hand, Capitalism opens out new views and new hopes. Look at what it has done and is doing in the West. A great nation like yours outlives every crisis. There is no great historical evil without a compensating historical progress. Only the *modus operandi* is changed. *Que les destinées s'accomplissent!*[a]

Yours ever

When Vol. II I[b] in the press, will take care to send you advance sheets.

First published, in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody,* No. 2, St. Petersburg, 1908

Reproduced from the original

## 120

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 18 October 1893

My dear Löhr,

Liebknecht informs me that the honorarium for Paul's letters having to be voted by the *Parteivorstand*,[c] he is as yet not in a position to reply. This is excusable. When we left Berlin, the *Parteivorstand*[c] was overwhelmed with very important business; then Liebknecht and Bebel had to leave for agitating tournées in Saxony where to-morrow the elections for the Saxon Landtag take place. Immediately upon that follows the Cologne Parteitag,[279] again taking the members of the *Vorstand* away from their regular activity.

[a] May destiny take its course! - [b] of *Capital* -[c] Party Executive Committee

Talking of the *Parteitag,*[a] at Cologne, Bonnier writes to say *il est possible que nous n'irons pas à Cologne, n'ayant pas reçu d'adresse du parti allemand}'* The address is everyday in the *Vorwärts: 'Das Zentral-Empfangsbureau befindet sich: Hotel Durst (nomen est omen!), früher Gasthof zur Post. Marzellenstr. 5, in der Nähe des Zentralbahnhofs und des Dornst'.*[c] The address of the paper *Rheinische Zeitung is* Grosser Griechenmarkt 115.

To Fortin I write[25] saying that he has to keep his hands off *Dühring,* and that the article of Mohr's is almost impossible to be translated, and moreover that I cannot undertake to revise his work.[d] I told him you were 'in possession' of *Dühring* and that you had revised Rave! I further told him you did not know the article of Mohr, perhaps he might let you have his copy to look it over; but nothing more; no hopes that you would or *might* do the work of revision for him.

I am very sorry you deleted your name from that title-page.[f] It would be a capital handle to work in connection with getting publishers, and *paying ones,* for your other translations. You have no business to be ashamed of your own good work, or to allow Rave to adorn himself with other bird's feathers. There is no reason whatever for you to 'keep in the background'. And this kind of work nowadays ought to bring in money to you—surely *Rave is* paid, and paid handsomely for his bad work which has to be licked into decent shape by you—and I do not see why you should not reap where you have sown.

Love from Louise Ever
yours
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance,* t. III, 1891-1895, Paris, 1959

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[a] Party Congress — [b] we may not go to Cologne, not having received the address of the German Party - [c] The Central Reception Office is at: Hotel Durst (thirst—the name is an omen!)—formerly Gasthof zur Post, Marzellenstrasse 5, near the central railway station and the Cathedral. - [d] See this volume, p. 221 -[e] F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring-*[f]See this volume, p. 211

# 121

# ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

# IN COLOGNE

London, 18 October 1393

Dear August,

I have just received notification from the publishers of the *Vorwärts,* etc., that they 'plan' to re-issue the *Anti-Dühring* and that all they require of me is to append a few brief remarks to the new edition. What I myself might perhaps 'plan' no one bothered to ask.

Now you will recall that during our trip [189] we agreed to give the *Anti-Dühring* to Dietz and, in lieu thereof, the shorter, more popular stuff to the *Vorwärts.* I shall therefore provisionally acquaint the gentlemen in Berlin of that fact, lest they should delude themselves further. I am sending this straight to Cologne, as I understand from Louise that you will be going from there to Stuttgart and will thus be able to discuss the matter with Dietz. The following are my terms for an edition of a size he can determine himself but of which he must also notify me:

1. A fee of 15% of the retail price, i.e. 15 Pfg. per mark. That is what we get here in England for *translations* of my stuff. Since the book does not, after all, lend itself to bulk sales except in a limited degree, he can fix the price accordingly.

2. The fee to be paid to Dr Victor Adler of Vienna. [282]

3. Dietz to undertake not to reduce the price either of the whole or of part without my written consent. This is to prevent the book from being used, as has happened before, to help shift certain slow-moving stock.

That is all.

As you know, Liebknecht (on that Sunday in Grunewald) tackled me with a view to my reminding Lafargue about regular work as a correspondent. This I promised to do as soon as he let me know that the Executive had approved Lafargue's fee. A report of the Paris Marxist Congress [283] from a Paris correspondent then appeared in the *Vorwärts.* I inquired of Lafargue[a] (having heard nothing from Liebknecht) whether it was by

[a] See this volume, pp. 208-09

him, to which he replied in the *negative.* Whereupon I asked Liebknecht[25] how the matter stood and have now received the following answer:

> 'Before leaving for Saxony, whence I have just returned, I wrote to August asking him to settle the matter with Lafargue. I am dependent on the Executive in all questions involving extraordinary expenditure.'

So it seems that you are once again to be held responsible for the omissions of others. Now admittedly the Executive has of late been absolutely overwhelmed with work, but I would venture to point out that the engagement of a newspaper correspondent could be attended to in a matter of minutes. It almost seems to me as though Liebknecht, with his growing predilection for Vaillant, had no particular desire to fix things up with Lafargue, otherwise he would no doubt have settled the matter *before* the Paris Congress and in that case would also have received the *authentic* report of it (the French did not admit reporters or members of the public).

Over here all is bustle. The day before yesterday we had Lehmann and Mrs Adams Walther and today we have Shmuilov, who proposes to marry here. I asked Mrs. Adams Walther about her arrangements with Foulger. She knew nothing definite, but will make inquiries from the friend who saw to the matter and will let me know the result. From what she was able to say, it seems highly probable that the copyright has been tacitly assigned to Foulger, and in that case absolutely no action whatever can be taken against Reeves other than by inserting an announcement in the papers to the effect that the said text has long been out of date.[265]

I intended to send you the 20 marks I borrowed on the last day but have not got round to going into town and collecting German notes. You shall have it next time. Should there be a further amount owing to you, as is quite possible, perhaps you would remind me in your next.

Tussy has got Lassalle's letters and will copy them out on her typewriter.[284] She will charge you the usual rate and I shall pay her. But what are you giving the heirs in the way of a fee? The handwriting is such that I still can't tell how much it will be.

21 Oct. Yesterday this letter was laid aside yet again, as I had to take Shmuilov to the registry office and help him deal with the preliminary formalities, he being unfamiliar with English and I being unable to find anyone else. It will be a month before the actual joining together in matrimony can take place.

In Austria the cause is doing splendidly. The general disorientation of

the parties, the Emperor's[a] vacillation and the virtual certainty of a dissolution and new elections will provide occasion for the most splendid agitation on the part of our chaps and for creating a thorough commotion in the old morass. The various aristocratic and bourgeois parties are scuttling about in all directions like ants in the ruins of an antheap. The old order, shaky as it was, has now gone for good and all we have to do is see to it that things don't calm down again. And that won't be difficult.

Obviously there will be repercussions in Germany. Just as in 1848 when Vienna kicked off on 13 March, thereby compelling Berlin to follow suit on the 18th. Brussels [276] Vienna [270]—Berlin—is now the natural 'alphabetical order'. Prussian and other forms of local suffrage, the Constitution of Hamburg, etc., will doubtless each in turn have to swallow it. The period of stagnation and reaction in the legislative field that began in 1870 is over. Governments are again coming under the control of a living political movement among the people and it is we who are at the back of that movement, it is *we* who determine it, now negatively, now positively. We are now what the Liberals were before 1848, and our victories in the Belgian and Austrian elections have shown that the ferment we provide is strong enough to complete the process of fermentation now begun. But the process will be neither smooth nor rapid until we have also won direct or indirect victories in Germany—conquests in the libertarian sense, greater political power for the working man, the extension of his freedom of movement. And that too will come.

If you make use of the passages from Miquel's letters, don't expend all your powder at one go. Remember that hardly have the things *come out* than the effect is lost and cannot be repeated—unless, that is, we still have some ammunition in reserve.

There was a *very real* risk of a general strike in Austria and one cannot yet rule out the possibility of its being set in train *for the benefit of* Taaffe's ministry and his electoral reforms, [270] which would certainly be the height of historical irony. When the English miners were locked out,[b] it was clear how bemusing such a muddle-headed notion could be. The basic idea is to force the hand of the bourgeoisie by means of a general shortage of coal. This has its points if the workers take the offensive, i.e. do so when business is good. When business is depressed, on the other hand, industrialists find themselves with excessive stocks and collieries

Francis Joseph I — [b] See this volume, p. 204

with more coal than they can sell. It is then that the capitalists seize the initiative, the aim being to cut down production by means of lock-outs, and to depress wages at the same time—in such a case a general strike is grist to the capitalists' mill, since it is in *their* interest that the production of coal be curtailed. What the English ought to have done was to advise the Continental miners *not* to strike on any account, so that if possible coal might be brought from the Continent to England. But everywhere people's heads were turned by the catchword 'general strike', the lockout in England was followed by the Belgian and French strikes [285] and such effect as these had in England could only have been of benefit to the capitalists.

Whereas the big colliery owners are still putting up a fight, more and more of the smaller ones are knuckling under. Some 80,000 men are back at work but about 200,000 are still out. The big ones are threatening the workers with the ultimate sanction, namely eviction from colliery-owned dwellings. If there were strike breakers ready and willing to move into these houses, the collieries would unquestionably see to it that this was done and would receive military aid to that end. Such, however, is not the case, and for the sake of a purely arbitrary act, the sole purpose of which would be to deposit the workers without shelter outside houses that would *remain empty,* the government will be unlikely to expose itself once again to the unpopularity it would attract as a result of a fusillade, as recently at Featherstone. [286] If it happens nevertheless, much blood will be spilt. This is an ultimate sanction the workers won't submit to.

The Avelings will be coming shortly, having just announced themselves for a meal. This house is like a dovecote. So good-bye and my regards to everyone, including Dietz and K. Kautsky and wife[a] when you get to Stuttgart.

Yours,
F.E.

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Published in English for the first time

[a] Luise Kautsky

# 122

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 27 October 1893

My dear Löhr,

Though Fortin is a business-man, yet with the help of a Roumanian (with business habits partly of a Polish Jew, partly of a spendthrift boyar) he succeeds in creating a very fair muddle.

I wrote to Fortin [25] that you did not know the *Kritik der Rechtsphilosophie*[a] but if he thought proper, he *might send you his copy* of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* so that you might read it and form an idea as to the advisability—both an to contents and to form—of its being submitted to the French working people. Diamandy, in his eagerness to get stuff for his review,[b] rushes at you and transforms, moreover, the one article into *plusieurs*[c] (business principles of the Polish Jew, to ask much so as to be able to rebate) as for instance:

— *Was kostet die Elle von dem Stoff?*

— *Fünfzehn Groschen.*

— *Fünfzehn sagt er, zwölfeinenhalben meint er, zehn wird er nehmen, sieben und einen halben ist die Sache werth, fünf macht ich ihm geben, werd' ich ihm bieten zwei und einen halben Groschen!*[d]

*Voilà ce que c'est.*[e] Let Fortin first send you his copy and then you will see what you will see.

As to the *Gewalttheorie*[f] not a line in Fortin's letter led me to conclude that the thing had *been* already *done* and I don't believe it either. To make you believe that you are *en face d'un fait accompli,* is another of these Oriental tricks which they consider perfectly justifiable in the service of the

[a] See this volume, p. 211 — [b] *L'Ere nouvelle*— [c] several

- [d] 'How much is a yard of that stuff?'
'Fifteen pence.'
'He says fifteen, he means twelve-and-a-half, he would take ten, the thing's worth seven-and-a-half, I'd be prepared to give him five, so I'll offer him tuppence ha' penny!'

- [e] This is the thing. - [f] 'Theory of Force' (see F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring,* present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 146-71).

cause. You will never arrive at the facts, much less at any practical conclusion, until you have eliminated Diamandy and deal direct with Fortin.

Diamandy served me exactly the same with regard to the translation of the *Ursprung* for the *Ère Nouvelle.*

I had a few lines from Bebel to-day about Paul's affair.[b] The delay was caused by 1. the Saxon elections; 2. the Cologne Congress [279] which prevented full meetings of the Executives, and overwhelmed them with business. As soon as both Bebel and Liebknecht shall have returned to Berlins, the matter will be settled. But Bebel says at the same time, there is a great distrust of Paris correspondents of French nationality, as hitherto everyone of them has ceased to write reports at the very moment when French affairs became highly interesting—they then looked after their own business and left the *Vorwärts* to shift for themselves. I shall do my best to persuade them that now Paul has no longer a free pass an the railways, this will cease as far as *he* is concerned, but I do hope that our Paris friends will at last learn to treat business as business and engagements as things to be fulfilled—at least *as a rule.*

Kind regards from Louise.

Ever yours,
F. Engels

First published, it the language of the original (English): in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance,* t. II I, 1891-1895, Paris, 1959

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## 123

## ENGELS TO FERDINAND WOLFF[287]

IN OXFORD

*[Draft]*

[London,] end of October 1893

You write to say that 'I have disclosed...'. I do not know what hoary piece of gossip you are referring to and indeed this is a matter of the

[a] *Origin,* see this volume, pp. 211 - [b] See this volume, pp. 208-9, 215

utmost indifference to me. But when you start talking pompously about your 'silence', it evidently implies the threat that you might now break that silence. In which case you have met your match. If it really is your intention to threaten me, I have only one answer and that is: 'do your worst'. I don't care two hoots whether you speak or hold your tongue.

But what I cannot understand at all in how you came to write me such an inane letter.

I can find me explanation for it other than the state of nervous tension you are in. Otherwise you would realise that such conduct would debar me absolutely from having any further contact with you until you have rehabilitated yourself in my eyes.[a]

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## 124

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 3 November 1893

Dear Baron,

1. Howell. His book *Conflicts,* etc., is a fat compendium of 536 pages and would in my opinion find few buyers in Germany, especially since all the earlier history and some of the later stuff is cribbed from Brentano.[b] Howell's *Trades Unionism New and Old,* 235 pp., is a shorter excerpt which appeared it 1891 and is also a year more up to date in regard to facts. If it was checked, provided with notes and translated in abbreviated form, it might possibly find buyers.

But Dietz must not allow himself to be cheated again as he was by

[a] See this volume, p. 243 — [b] L. Brentano, *Die Arbeitergilden den Gegenwart.* Bd. 1-2, Leipzig, 1871-72.

Sonnenschein through Stepniak [288] over the £25, which was just money thrown down the drain and which, besides, gives English publishers a false impression of their German colleagues business acumen. One ought not to make oneself an object of derision to such people. The only way to impress Englishmen is to insist on one's rights.

Well then, if one is to protect one's translation rights, the first part of the translation must, in accordance with international law, be published one year after the appearance of the original. In that case one is protected for three years in the country and language concerned, Otherwise not. According to this, neither Howell nor his publisher[a] have a claim to anything, legally speaking. Only considerations of decency could come into it. If Dietz is willing to conduct negotiations with Howell via Aveling (who is well acquainted with such matters) on a verbal basis and authorise him to offer, say, £2.10 = 50 marks, if pushed. Howell would probably consent to the translation *absolutely gratis.* I don't see why one should needlessly stuff money down the throats of the supercilious English so that they can brag to us Continentals about the commercial value of their books not only here but over there, while we poor devils are expected to be grateful when they do us the honour of translating us, even though we haven't been asked. And that blackguard Howell, to boot!

2. I can understand that you should wish to go to Vienna. [289] Austria is now the most important country in Europe, at any rate for the moment. It is here that the initiative lies, which in a year or two will have its repercussions in Germany and other countries. The good Taafe has set the ball rolling and it won't come to a halt so very soon. [270] Such being the case, it is only natural that every Austrian should wish to co-operate, for there's going to be enough to do. I was delighted with the Viennese; they are splendid fellows if sanguine, sanguine to a degree, no Frenchman could do better, and that means that they should not be spurred on but rather reined in, lest the fruits of long years of work be dissipated in a single day. Last night Ede read out to me what you had written to him about an article on the strike as a political weapon. I firmly advised *him* against writing the article. [290] To my mind the affair of the three-class electorate [291] has already earned him quite enough of a reputation as a man who has lost touch with the masses and who, from without, from his writing-desk, discourses in doctrinaire fashion on questions of immediate practical

[a] Frederick Orridge Macmillan

moment.[a] But I am also generally of the opinion that the effect of such an article could not be other than extremely harmful at this particular juncture. However cautious it might be, and however impartial and considered the language in which it was couched, the Vienna *Volkstribüne* would pick out the passages that *suited* its own book, reprint them in bold type and use them to scare off those who have enough trouble as it is in restraining the Viennese from embarking on hare-brained escapades. You say yourself that barricades are out of date (though they might come in handy again as soon as a third or two-fifths of the army had turned socialist and it was imperative that they be given an opportunity of changing sides), but a political strike must either score an immediate victory—simply by means of a threat (as in Belgium [276] where the army was *very shaky)*—or else end in a colossal fiasco or, finally, *lead direct to barricades*. And this in Vienna where you could be shot down without more ado by Czechs, Croats, Ruthenians, [292] etc. Once this business in Vienna has been settled one way or the other, either with or without a political general strike, the question will still be topical enough for the Neue Zeit. But just now a public discussion of the general theoretical pros and cons of this weapon could only be grist to the mill of the FIREBRANDS in Vienna. I know how difficult it is for Victor to counteract the magic power exerted on the Viennese masses by the catchword 'general strike' and how happy he will be if only he can put off the day of reckoning. That being so we ought, in my opinion, to take the utmost care not to do or say anything that might encourage the impetuous elements.

The Viennese working men should wait until the suffrage has given them the means to *take stock* of themselves and of their friends in the provinces; they will then be appraised of their strength and of how it compares with that of their opponents.

Incidentally, things might get to the stage when a general strike would be carried out under the aegis and more or less for the benefit of Electoral Reform Minister Taaffe. That would be the height of irony.

3. Once again my thanks for the *Parlamentärismus*[b] which you presented to me personally in Zurich.

4. As regards Heine's letter, [260] Tussy tells me she will give you her per-

[a] E. Bernstein, 'Die preussischen Landtagswahlen und die Sozial-demokratie. Ein Vorschlag zur Diskussion', *Die Neue Zeit,* No. 52, 1892-93. - [b] K. Kautsky, *Der Parlamentarismus, die Volksgesetzgebung und die Sozialdemokratie,* Stuttgart, 1893.

mission provided that Laura also agrees. I have hardly seen anything of Tussy lately—since I got back [189]—and then only for an odd moment or so. Both of them are tremendously busy and, because of meetings, they hardly ever put in an appearance on Sundays. However I should like to take another look at the letter before I say anything definite. The matter is open to considerable misinterpretation and must be given *much* thought.

5. Volume II I.[a] Fair sheets. When the time comes I shall see to it that these sheets are placed at your or Ede's disposal *section by section,* pro vided, that is, I can get them out of Meissner. For I already need another copy for the Russian translation and Meissner is growing old and is no longer so accommodating as in the past. However I shall do my best. There are six sections in all, each of which I shall send you separately after it has come off the press.

Since returning I haven't done a stroke of work on the above but next week I hope finally to buckle to again.

6. The thing by Guillaumin and V. Pareto has just been sent to me by Lafargue—extracts were made by Lafargue; the introduction was evi dently written by a bogus vulgar economist. [293]

To come back to the general strike, you ought not to forget that nobody was more delighted than the Belgian leaders that the affair should have turned out so well. They have had an anxious enough time and might have been forced to implement their threat; they themselves knew only too well how little they could accomplish. And this in a primarily *industrial* country with a thoroughly shaky and ill-disciplined militia-style army. But if, in such a country, there was nevertheless a chance of achieving something with this weapon, [276] what hope could there be in Austria where the peasant predominates, industry is sparse and relatively weak, the big towns are few and far between, the nationalities have been set at odds with one another and the socialists make up less than ten per cent of the total population (of adult males, naturally)! So for heaven's sake let us avoid taking any step that might tempt the working men, who are in any case impatient and thirsting for action, to stake their all on one card—and, what's more, at a time when the government wants this and could use provocation to bring it about.

The *Vorwärts* will always remain the same old *Vorwärts.* Of that I was left in no doubt while in Berlin. So I'm glad that the weekly[b] is to come

[a] of *Capital*- [b] *Der Sozialdemokrat*

out, for it will give the party an opportunity of appearing, at least in foreign eyes, in a form it need not be ashamed of. The *Vorwärts* comes out in Berlin, is read almost exclusively in Berlin (nine-tenths of sales) and, as a product of Berlin, is always viewed with indulgence. The weekly will also act as a counterweight to the *Vorwärts* influence on the rest of the party press. How things will work out as regards the mutual relationship of the two organs remains to be seen. I don't imagine that they will come to blows. The *Vorwärts' subsidiary* title of 'Central Organ' is of no importance whatever. They are welcome to the catchword.

At any rate, all kinds of changes are taking place in our party press, I am curious to know what will become of the *Neue Zeit;* [85] its reversion to a monthly was at all events a bold move. I don't believe that *in the long run* the weekly will prove a serious competitor.

So the best of luck when you visit Vienna. When you get there you might pay my respects to the Lowenbräu next to the Burgtheater; it used to be our midday headquarters.

With regards from household to household.

Your, F.E.

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## 125

## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

### IN VIENNA

London, 10 November 1893

Dear Victor,

I am sending you herewith part of a letter from August. I do not share his misgivings, for it seems to me that such possibilities are too remote

and by now may to some extent be excluded. Make sure that the letter is destroyed as requested.

My letter of 11 October[a] crossed with yours of the same date. You will have seen that we are fully in agreement as regards our general view of the situation in Austria, a situation that seems to me rather more favourable now than it was then. Electoral reform, taking Taaffe's Bill as the minimum, will no longer be relegated to the background in Vienna. The Emperor[b] has approved it and the Emperor cannot back down. He, however, is far more representative of Austria than the Diet. It would seem that the new-born coalition goverment is already expiring, but even if this is not the case, it will come to grief at the first sign of positive action. Even if, as August supposes, it were to marshall the forces of Baernreitherism, [294] that would be no more than a very temporary expedient and would not prevent a collapse, should the question of action arise in some other quarter. This much is certain; Austria is now in the van of the European political movement, while we others limp along behind—even those countries that already have universal suffrage will not be able to elude the impulse provided by Austria. At Ronacher they *wanteds* set-to. [295] If you succeed it keeping the chaps on a tight rein, you can't go wrong. The one thing that might bring Windischgrätz, Plener and Jaworski together would be a set-to in Vienna and a victory combined with a fusillade.

Over here we're doing very nicely, In matters of serious reform the Liberal government is proving an abject failure. Even the Fabian society [43] has foresworn its allegiance and disavowed its whole policy of permeation. See the article by Autolycus (Burgess) on page one of the *Workman's Times*[c] on the Fabian manifesto which appeared in the *Fortnightly Review.*[d] If the Liberals can't do any better, there'll be a mass of Labour candidates come the next elections, and between thirty and forty will probably get in. In the municipal elections on 1 November the working men of the North began to take stock of themselves and scored a good many successes.

Regards from Louise and yours,

F. E.

[a] 10 Oct. in the original, which is a misprint, see this volume, p. 199 - [b] Francis Joseph I -[c] [J. Burgess] Autolycus, 'In a White Sheet', *Workman's Times,* 11 November 1893. - [d] 'To Your Tents, oh Israel!', *The Fortnightly Review,* No. 323, New Series, 1 November 1893.

First published in the book: *Victor Adlers Aufadtze, Reden und Briefe. Erstes Heft: Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels,* Wien, 1922

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## 126

# ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[43]

IN HOBOKEN

London, November 11, 1893

Dear Sorge,

Herewith a letter to Mrs Kelley (ex-Wischnewetzky) which I would ask you kindly to forward to her.[a] As soon as you know her present *correct* address, perhaps you would also be so good as to forward her the enclosed cheque for *£l.12.11* of the Union Bank of London.

You should read the article by Autolycus[b] (Burgess) [43] on page 1 of today's *Workman's Times* on the Fabians' manifesto.[c] These gentlemen, who for years have declared that the emancipation of the working class can only be accomplished through the Great Liberal Party, who have loudly proclaimed that during elections any independent action by the workers vis-à-vis other candidates, Liberals included, is covert Toryism, who have let it be known that the permeation of the liberal party by socialist principles is the sole object in life for a Socialist, [59] now declare that the Liberals are traitors, that it is impossible to deal with them and that in the next elections the workers should, without regard for Liberals or Tories, put up their own candidates with the help of £30,000 which are meanwhile to be found by the Trades Unions—assuming that the latter do the Fabians this favour, which they assuredly won't. It is an outright *paterpeccati*[d] by these supercilious bourgeois who would graciously condescend to liberate the proletariat from above, provided only that the latter were sensible enough to realise that such a raw, uneducated mass could

[a] See this volume, p. 230 - [b] [J. Burgess] Autolycus, 'In a White Sheet', *Workman's Times,* 11 November 1893. -[c] 'To Your Tents, oh Israel!', The *Fortnightly Review,* No. 323, New Series, 1 November 1893. - [d] confession of guilt

not liberate itself and would come to nothing save by the grace of these canny advocates, literati and sentimental old women. And now the first attempt by these gentlemen, an attempt heralded by drums and trumpets as a worldshaking event, has gone so splendidly awry that they themselves must admit as much. That is what's so funny about the affair.

Warm regards to you and your wife. I hope you will both get through this winter better than the last. Over here it is already starting to turn wintry.

Yours,
F.E.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Job. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere,* Stuttgart, 1906 and in full, in Russian, in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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## 127

## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY [296]

### IN CHICAGO

London 11 November 1893
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mrs Kelley,

I have received from Swan Sonnenschein a/c Sales[a] for July 92—June 93 as follows:

Regular Sales 50 (plus 4—13 Copies) 3/6. — £8.15.
Special Sales 51 (one copy to America!) *4.8.9*
*£13.3.93*
121/2% of which = *£1.12.11* As I am not certain whether your last address (Hull House, 335 s. Halsted St. Chicago) still holds good, I think it safer to send the cheque

[a] of the 2nd English edition of Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England*

to our friend Mr Sorge of Hoboken who will forward it to you as soon as you let him know that you have received this note.

We now and then see short reports of your activity in the papers, among others your speech in the Labor Congress, and are glad to find that you have found congenial work. With kind regards from Mrs Kautsky and myself

I remain Yours very truly

F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50, Moscow, 1981

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## 128

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 19 November 1893

My dear Lafargue,

Liebknecht will have written telling you that they want to take you on as correspondent for *Vorwärts* and the Hamburg *Echo,* one letter a week, identical and sent simultaneously to the two journals, but they want it in German and suggest that Laura should translate it.

Herein the reason why they want it in German, and it is a very important one. The two papers could publish the identical report *on the same day,* so that it would be an original article in each of them. If publication is not simultaneous, if one of the two papers prints it a day later, it will be suspected of having taken the article from the previous day's issue of the other, like so many other news items taken from that issue.

Now there might be someone in Hamburg who would translate you—don't ask me how!—but in Berlin! There Liebknecht has established the custom of all translations being done by Mme Liebknecht or by one of his sons. The manuscript goes to Charlottenburg and into Liebknecht 's house and God alone knows when the translation reaches the newspaper

office. So there would be perpetual delays and, what is worse, delays of unpredictable length.

Therefore, the possibility of using your letters for the two papers and paying you a correspondent' salary depends entirely on your letters being sent in German. Furthermore this would safeguard you against editorial criticism; Bonnier tells me that Liebknecht rather overdid it with Guesde, which is what finally sickened him. The Hamburg editorial board, being entirely independent and, what is more, not knowing what goes on in Berlin and vice versa, your articles would be printed without being cut either in the one or the other paper, or, which is most likely, in both.

The question now is, will Laura be willing to do the translation? I hope so; that would enable you to clinch the matter at once. I am sure that with a little practice she would write as well in German as in English and French.

But, if this fails, would there be no way of having the translation done? Is there nobody who, in consideration of a small share of your fees, would do this job for you? Let us say 10 francs a letter for the translation and two copies, which would leave you 40 francs a letter, and would still provide an incentive to the translator. What about Frankel? But perhaps he himself is a *Vorwärts* correspondent (I have no idea at all who provides the Paris letters which I see in it from time to time). Anyway, think about it and try to arrange something. You realise that our Berlin people are doing their utmost, try to facilitate the business for them. And don't forget that this will enable you to speak to 60,000-70,000 subscribers, i.e., at least 250,000 readers without counting the readers of other papers who borrow their articles from these two organs, the most important ones that our Party in Germany has.

In any case, make a start with *Vorwärts* and leave the arrangements for the *Echo* and the translation for later. But it would be wise not to lose time over it. And further: Bebel as well as Liebknecht insist upon a *regular* contribution which will give them the outstanding events and your reflections and reports on the general situation. One letter a week, and on a fixed day, determined by yourself (I do not think they will lay down the day for you).

My love to Laura from whom I am still awaiting adamant[a] and other news.

[a] A play on words: *adamantin*—adamant, *diamanti*—a diamond, Diamandy—a surname (see this volume, pp. 221-22)

Greetings from Louise.

Ever yours,
F.E.

First published in:
F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue,
*Correspondance,* t. II I, Paris, 1959

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Translated from the French

## 129

## ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT[297]

IN BERLIN

London, 1 December 1893
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

Thank you very much for your letter and kind good wishes for my 73rd birthday which I passed in the best of health and spirits. The Avelings and Bernsteins spent the evening with us, and empty bottles bore testimony to our good humour and general sense of well-being. If things go on like this there will, so far as I am concerned, be no reason why I should not repeat my visit to Berlin, [189] in which case we could again take coffee in the Zoological Gardens and comment upon the four-legged and two-legged, winged and wingless, roaring and talking zoological specimens on display, whether in captivity or at large.

Poor Gizycki! He's unable to walk as it is, and now they are also trying to prevent him from talking, and this, because he illicitly consorts with Social Democrats. Prussia is indeed not only a civilised state, but also a state of illuminati!

I am very sorry that your Karl should have acquired fibrositis while on His Majesty's service but let us hope he will soon get over it. At all events the best thing to do, once one finds oneself in those circumstances, is to carry out one's duties properly. I can readily imagine that *messieurs les officiers* will take care not to compromise themselves in the eyes of your sons,[a] those two sappers being uncomfortably close to the portals of the

[a] Karl and Theodor Liebknecht

Reichstag, for they are reluctant to figure personally in the debates there, no matter what the Minister of War[a] may say. And if in addition your sons, as used to be demanded of us volunteers [255] by my erstwhile captain, set 'an example to the company' then, their father notwithstanding, they cannot fail to gain promotion to non-commissioned rank. And that would be only right and proper. If Bebel is the son of an N.C.O., why should not Liebknecht be the father of one or more N.C.O.s? You've no idea how much nicer a uniform looks, with lace on, and, it would seem, that in Berlin the fair sex is far more susceptible to Moloch thus adorned. Nor is that by any means all, for as Heine says:

> But still more charming than all else Are
> Caesar's golden epaulettes[b]

However, we are unlikely to rise to such heights as that.

Well, the year of mourning in uniform will soon be over and then Karl will go to Hamm [298] which is also a very nice spot—or used to be; it was my mother's birthplace and I often used to go there as a child, but now everything has changed and it's a smoky, industrial sort of hole, though quite tolerable to live in.

Well, goodbye now, and please give my warm regards to Liebknecht and your children. We shall hold Liebknecht to his promise of coming here after the New Year. Mrs Kautsky also sends you all her warmest regards.

Ever yours,
F. Engels

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[a] Walter Bronsart von Schellendorff - [b] Heinrich Heine, *Himmelsbräute* (from 'Romanzero')

## 130

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [184]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 2 December 1893
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sorge,

Many thanks to you and your wife for your good wishes and for your letter of 19 November.

I am very sorry to hear that you are suffering from gout and hope that it will recede as time goes on; it's an insidious complaint.

The repeal of the silver purchase law [187] has saved America from a serious financial crisis and will help to promote an industrial recovery. But I am not sure whether it might not have been better had there really been a crash. The phrase 'cheap money' seems to be deeply engraved in the minds of your Western farmers. In the first place, when they suppose that, if there be ample means of circulation in a country, the rate of interest must fall, they are confusing means of circulation with disposable money capital, a matter upon which considerable light will be shed in Volume II I.[a] And, secondly, all debtors find it convenient to incur debts in good currency and subsequently pay them off in depreciated currency. Hence every indebted Prussian Junker clamours for bimetallism [299] that would rid him of his debts in disguised, Solonic fashion. [300] Had it been possible to postpone silver reform in the United States until there had been time for the consequences of this foolishness to redound on the farmers also, it would have dinned some sense into many a thick skull.

Tariff reform, [301] however slowly it may be put into operation, would already seem to have given rise to a kind of panic among the manufacturers of New England. I have learnt—both from private sources and the newspapers—that large numbers of workers are being laid off. But all this will die down the moment the Bill goes through and puts an end to the uncertainty. I am convinced that, in all the larger branches of industry, America can boldly go into competition with England.

As regards the German Socialists in America, things are pretty dire.

[a] K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. II I, Chapters XXIX-XXXIV.

The chaps you get from Germany are not as a rule the best—these stay over here—and are not in any case a fair sample of the German party. And, like everywhere else, every new arrival at once feels impelled to destroy and refashion everything that already exists so that a new era may be seen as having started with him. Moreover, the majority of these greenhorns remain stuck in New York for a long time if not for life, they are constantly being reinforced by new importations and are thus relieved of the necessity of learning the language of the country or acquiring a proper knowledge of American conditions. All this does a great deal of harm no doubt, but on the other hand there is no denying that conditions in America present considerable and peculiar difficulties to the *steady* growth of a labour party.

In the first place the constitution, based as in England on party government, whereby any vote not given to a candidate put up by one of the two government parties is regarded as *lost.* And neither an American nor an Englishman, since he wishes to influence the body politic, will throw away his vote.

Then, and more especially, immigration, which splits the workers into two groups, native-born and foreign, and the latter again into 1. Irish, 2. Germans, 3. a number of smaller groups, each speaking only its own language—Czechs, Poles, Italians, Scandinavians, etc. And, in addition, the negroes. To form a party of one's own out of all these calls for exceptionally strong incentives. Every now and again a powerful élan may suddenly make itself felt, but all the bourgeoisie has to do is to stick it out passively, whereupon the dissimilar working-class elements will disintegrate again.

3. Finally, the protective tariff system and the steady growth of the domestic market must have exposed the workers to a prosperity unlike anything that has been experienced for many years in Europe, (with the exception of Russia where, however, it is not the workers who reap the benefit but the middle classes).

A country like America, when really ripe for a socialist labour party, is certainly not going to be deterred by a handful of German socialist doctrinaires.

Part I of Vol. II I (246 ms. pages out of approx. 1855) is ready for press.[a] *This is between ourselves.* Progress will, I hope, now be rapid.

[a] K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. II I, Book II I, Chapters I-VII .

Cordial regards to you and your wife, and best wishes for your recovery from L. Kautsky and

Yours,
F. Engels

L. Kautsky, who will reply shortly, thanks you for your kindness, and has already written re the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna); the *Pionierkalender* has *not* arrived.

First published, abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Job. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere,* Stuttgart 1906 and in full, in Russian, in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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131

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLII TER[302]

IN HOBOKEN

*No. 1*

[London], 2 December 1893

Dear Schlüter,

Many thanks for your good wishes and for *Census Compendium I* which was most welcome and of which No. II will be more welcome still.[a] So the Americans are no longer as liberal as they used to be, and even a big journal does not get such things merely for the asking! All is well over here; I am once more at work on Vol. II I[b] and it is with pleasure that I look back on the trip I made this summer. [189] You people are now at last about to rid yourselves of bimetallism [299] and the McKinley tariff and this should give a considerable boost to progress over there. Although a thorough-going collapse of silver [187] might have gone a long way towards

[a] Department of the Interior, Census Office. Compendium of the *Eleventh Census: 1890,* Parts I-II , Washington, 1892-1894. - [b] of *Capital*

enlightening your remarkably stupid American farmer in regard to his cheap money. Regards from Mrs Kautsky.

Yours,
F.E.

*Census* book—see second postcard.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Job. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere,* Stuttgart, 1906 and in full, in Russian, in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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## 132

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLII TER[302]

### IN HOBOKEN

*No. 2!!*

[London,] 2 December 1893

Dear Schlüter

As regards *Census* I,[a] I first got a letter from the General Post Office, Washington, saying that, because of the way it was packed, the book must be paid for *as a letter.* I must either send $10.36c. for this purpose or let them have the sender's address (I didn't know either what was in it or who had sent it), or else say whether I wanted it *sent per express.* I asked for further details, at the same time saying they were at liberty to send it *per express,* which they did, and I got it ON PAYMENT OF 6/-. When sending me things in future, would you be so good as to put *your address*

[a] *Department of the Interior, Census Office. Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890,* Parts I-II , Washington, 1892-1894

on the outside in order that delays of this kind may be avoided or dealt with direct over there. I could not quite gather from the Washington General Post Office's letter why they didn't send the thing—whether because of the way it was packed or perhaps because it was inadequately stamped for book-post. Thanks again.

Yours,
F. E.

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Published in English for the first time

## 133

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

London, 4 December 1893
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Baron,

First of all my warmest thanks for your good wishes on my 73rd birthday which has left me fit and well.

Either you misinterpreted my remarks about the 'publisher' or I expressed myself badly.a It never occurred to me to lay the blame on *Dietz* or, indeed, any one individual, in as much as I was not sufficiently au fait with what had happened *over there* in regard to the Stepniak business [288] before this had come to my notice. I merely adduced it as an awful example that ought not to be followed. And in view of the position occupied by publishers in this country, there could be no doubt that the German *publisher* had gratuitously presented Sonnenschein (or so it must seem to him) with £25, which could not but give him, Sonnenschein, a somewhat indifferent idea of the business efficiency of German publishers. Nor can

[a] See this volume, pp. 223-24

you Stuttgarters contest this. And as the surest way of obviating anything of that kind, I drew your attention to the fact that, in this country, the consent of the author is not *in itself,* a safeguard since, in nine cases out of ten, the English *publisher* has the final say, for as a rule he has been assigned the copyright, including right of translation (this is *actually* stated *in print* in, for instance, every one of Sonnenschein's contract forms, or else he stipulates that he should have some say in the matter. So please tell Dietz that it never even crossed my mind to cast any aspersion whatsoever on *his* efficiency as a business man.

As regards international contracts, Sam Moore [originally] looked this up in PARLIAMENTARY PUBLICATIONS from which he made extracts, and the information about one year and three years was certainly correct *at that time.* I know nothing about the Berne Convention [303] and its ten-year term of copyright *for translations* and I should be grateful if you would let me know the date of the said Convention, in which case I could procure the copy made for Parliament.

Victor writes to say that the general strike in Austria is dead as a door nail; so a discussion of it would not be likely to do any harm.[a] But at the same time we have had inquiries from the Austrian *provinces* as to what we in this country think of a general strike.

I still believe that electoral reform, *at least* in the form hatched up by Taaffe and Franz Joseph, is a foregone conclusion in Austria. [270] Even if the coalition ministry succeeds in tabling and gaining acceptance for a Bill for the extension of the parliamentary franchise without, as it must, foundering in consequence, or in consequence of something else in the meantime, the matter will by no means be settled. In a country as artificially equilibrated as Austria, a stable balance, once destroyed, can be restored only with difficulty, maybe by force alone, and the government is only too well aware that even this will be effective only for a while and will leave the state weaker than it was before. And the fact that Franz Joseph has given his blessing to *this* particular piece of electoral reform which he has, indeed, declared to be his very own work, rules out once and for all the possibility of Austria continuing *as before.* Now it's

*Humptius in muro sedebat, Dumptius alto,*
*Humptius de muro Dumptius, heul cecidit*

[a] See this volume, p. 257

*Nec equites regis, nee agmina cuncta tyranni*
*Humpti te Dumpti restituere queunt.*

Or:

HUMPTY DUMPTY SAT ON A WALL,
HUMPTY DUMPTY HAD A GREAT FALL,
ALL THE KING'S HORSES AND ALL THE KING'S MEN,
CANNOT PUT HUMPTY DUMPTY TOGETHER AGAIN. [304]

In all probability Taaffe will return to office after a certain interval; he would seem to have taken the Disraeli of 1867 for his model. [305] At the moment this caricature of an artful dodger, along with the irresolute Franz Joseph, is involuntarily engaged in making Austria the spearhead of the political movement in Europe, as Pius IX made Italy in 1846. [274]

You are right in leaving the *Neue Zeit* as it is for the time being. [85] In such a case one shouldn't mess about with something like this unless absolutely necessary. Since it is a weekly, then let it so remain unless really compelled to make a change.

Don't worry about Volume II I.[a] Come what may, we shall see that you are in a position to do a review of it to coincide with the book's appearance.

Love from one household to the other.

Yours,
F. E.

First published in the book:
*Aus der Frübzeit des Marxismus.*
*Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky,*
Prag, 1935

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[a] of *Capital*

## 134

## ENGELS TO PAUL ARNDT

IN LOUDON

*[Draft]*

[London,] 5 December 1893

Dear Mr Arndt,

I, too, can understand that you should have preferred not to call on me on a Sunday since, in view of various things that have happened in the meantime, I cannot possibly consort with you on the same easy footing as hitherto.

However, if you wish to speak to me, I shall be at home the day after tomorrow, Thursday, from 8 pm. onwards.

Yours faithfully,
F.E.

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## 135

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 19 December 1893
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Löhr,

If I have not before replied to your letter of just a month ago, there were 2 causes for it:

1) because I was bound to finish, before Christmas, the final *redaction*[a]

[a] editing

of Section I-IV of Vol. II I,[a] so as to be able to go to press at once after the new year. That is now done. By Easter I hope to have the whole of the Manuscript (2/3rds are still to be *finally* looked over) in the printer's hands, to be published in September.

2) because I had submitted to Bebel another plan [25] for the German translation, etc. of Paul's articles, [13] and was waiting for a reply. Nothing however has come of it and so, *vogue la galère*[c] on the present tack, which, as far as I can hear, has taken something like a final shape, and so it may be as well to leave things alone. Liebknecht is rather a queer customer to deal with in these matters of his *redaction.* We expect him here after the new year.

Now then, *ein anderes Bild.*[d] Yesterday we forwarded to you a box with the pudding, Paul's cake etc., *grande vitesse*[e] to be there about Wednesday or Thursday—Continental Daily Parcels Express, carriage paid, which, we hope, will arrive safely and suit your tastes. Bonnier ought to have a slice of the pudding for he came in for the stirring and he did stir it with might and main. He is improving vastly, shaking off his Germanisms and becoming actually French. Some time ago I went over to Oxford for a day, to look at the place and also at poor old Rote[f] *Wolff*[g]—your earliest admirer, for he admired you before you were 2 years old in Brussels. Poor devil, he is quite cracked again. He had written something about Bucher in the *Neue Zeit,*[h] and since then whenever a Wolf or Wolff (and you know they are as plentiful as the Smiths and Jones's) is alluded to, he imagines that this is meant for him, and so he makes it out that there is a complete conspiracy to pretend that he does not know Latin—and you know, not to know Latin is the awfullest crime a man can be guilty of in Oxford. But is it not a melancholy irony of fate, that one of the most *spirituel* [1] of men should end his career in the belief that he is the Massmann, not of a Heine, but of an imaginary conspiracy of second and third rate German literati! Then he is 81 years old—so, apart from other considerations, hardly any hope of recovery from this fixed idea which nobody can root out of his mind.

Your description of Guesde's elated status amused me very much. [307] I had seen something of it from the pompous proclamations he had issued from his new Jerusalem of the North, and was only glad they were not

[a] of *Capital*- [b] See this volume, pp. 231-32 -[c] *let's chance it*- [d] a different story -[e] express -[f] Red - [g] See this volume, pp. 222-23 - [h] F. Wolff, 'Bucher, Bismarck und v. Poschinger', *Die Neue Zeit,* Nos. 42 and 43, Vol. II - [i] witty

noticed by the bourgeois press abroad; contrasted with the part played by the French delegation at Zürich, [250] they might have served as groundwork for a lot of bad jokes. But *le bon sens français quel quefois n'a pas le sens commun,*[a] and that is just the beauty of it. Look at the *parti socialiste* in the Chamber. How long ago is it that Clara Zetkin in the *Neue Zeit*[h] made out 24 *élus*[c] ± socialistes, and that of the 12 elected on the Marxist program Paul did not know how many would turn up all right; and now, lo and behold, a parliamentary party of 54 socialist deputies which dashes into the majority like a brigade of cavalry, upsets one ministry and nearly dislocates another, [308] until this victorious career is all of a sudden, by Vaillant's bomb, [309] changed into a concentration to the rear, and the new members of the majority deprived of all the idealistic delusions they had brought with them from the provinces and turned into docile panamitard opportunists. [60]

Upon the whole I think it is rather useful to us. I cannot help imagining that amongst these 54 who have been many of them suddenly converted to what they call socialism, there cannot be that cohesion which is wanted for a serious fight. Let alone the old dissensions between the *real* old socialists *'de la veille'* [d] within the group, dissensions which it will take some time to overcome once for all. If this heterogeneous lot of 54 had been kept in the front rank of the chambre for any length of time, it must, either have split up, or else the old Radical wing—Millerand and Co.—must have become the determining element. As it is, time will be given to the various components of the group to make closer acquaintance with each other, to consolidate the group, and to eliminate, if necessary, one after another those elements which really have joined the group only by mistake. At all events, in the Dupuy—Casimir Périer campaign Millerand and Jaurès took the lead entirely, and that will never do in the long run, though I fully approve of Guesde and Vaillant having, *so far,* and under the present circumstances, kept in the background.

Paul's letters to the *Vorwärts* so far are very good, we look for them every week. And they are not *quite* so badly germanised as I have seen others done.

That *Feuerbach* must have given you a deal of trouble. [310] But from what I have seen of your work, I feel certain you have 'taken' all obstacles 'fly-

[a] sometimes French good sense has no common sense - [b] C. Zetkin , 'Die Wahlen in Frankreich', *Die Neue Zeit,* No. 52, 1892-93, Vol. II - [c] elected - [d] of yesterday

ing', to use a bit of hunting language. Have you got a publisher for it?

Will you accept the enclosed cheque £5.- for a Christmas box?

Louise is out shopping in a steady rain—that Christmas will cost her dear in colds and toothache.

Love from her and yours ever

F.E.

Kind regards to Paul who I suppose is happy to be *out* of parliament again.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance,* t. II I, 1891-1895, Paris, 1959

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## 136

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER

IN STUTTGART

London, 19 December 1893
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Schorlemmer,

If I have not written before now to thank you for your good wishes on my seventy-third birthday, you can blame it on Volume II I of *Capital.* This must now be finished once and for all and consequently I have had to put the whole of my correspondence on one side without compunction or remorse. I have now one section left to be done and shall be able to use the few days remaining before the festive season to catch up.

I only passed through Darmstadt [189]—Mrs Kautsky, Bebel and wife, a Viennese doctor [1] resident over here and I were unable to ascertain the train in advance, which in any case only stopped for ten minutes or so, otherwise I should have telegraphed you. Otherwise the trip was very pleasant—apart from the tub-thumping I had to do, having once let my-

[a] Ludwig Freyberger

self in for it in Zurich. I travelled with Bebel to Salzburg, Vienna, Prague and Berlin and was away from home for a full two months, which did me a power of good. To observe the progress made in Germany both by industry and by the labour movement was in itself worthwhile, and to see our Viennese at work was also a pleasure.

As regards Carl's estate, [199] I have heard very little from Siebold and absolutely nothing about what has happened to the manuscripts and what contracts have been concluded with the publishers. Three matters are involved here:

1. The big work by Roscoe and Schorlemmer in an English and a German edition. [311]

2. Carl's own Manual of the Chemistry of the Carbon Compounds[a] new edition of which was in course of preparation.

3. His manuscripts on the *early* history of chemistry [312] (according to what Spiegel says in the obituary, Siebold intends to publish this himself).

The English edition of Carl's *Ursprung und Entwicklung der organischen Chemie*[b] [313] will be handled in London by one of his pupils, now a professor there.[c]

But with regard to the above three points Siebold says little or nothing, Before I write to him again, I should like to ask you whether *he* has told *you* anything about the matter and if so *what,* and whether it is agreeable to you if I ask him for further information. For I have no right whatever, legally speaking, to intervene and would not like Siebold to refer to or even so much as hint at this. If, however, I go and ask him for information for which *you* have appealed to me, that is rather a different matter and puts me in an altogether different position.

Siebold is an absolutely sterling chap but by nature not over-energetic and in recent years he has been weakened by illness. In which case a little bit of extra help can do no harm.

I hope you are safely rid of your influenza and your wife of the after-effects of pneumonia and are in a condition to face up to the coming festive season with strength, fortitude and cheerfulness.

With kindest regards.

Yours,

F. Engels

[a] *Lehrbuch der Kohlenst of fverbindungen oder der organischen Chemie* — [b] *Rise and Development of Organic Chemistry* - [c] Arthur Smithells

First published, in Russian, in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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## 137

## ENGELS TO ADELHEID DWORAK

IN VIENNA

London, 21 December 1893
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W. *[Copy]*

Dear Adelheid,

I still owe you my thanks for your kind congratulations on my 73rd birthday [314] and am sending them today in order to use the occasion for wishing you a very nice holiday. I hope that the vacation from oratory arranged for you during our stay in Vienna [257] has done you good and you are again as fit and full of fighting spirit as we all wish you to be. Unless I misread all the signs, you are in for eventful times and lengthy battles in Austria. May the workers there prove that, along with the necessary audacity, they possess the patience, calm, judgement and discipline which alone can lead to victory.

Cordial greetings to you and all comrades, Your old

F. Engels

Take it from me, I will still claim that *'kiss* some day.

First published in: *Friedrich Engels 1820-1970. Referate. Diskussionen. Dokumente,* Hanover, 1971

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## 138

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BERLIN

London, 21 December 1893

Dear Liebknecht,

Yesterday evening I sent you an article on Italy. *I would ask you* NOT *to print it until further notice.* I fear I have misinterpreted the permission given me to publish it, which, apparently, does NOT extend to the stuff about the privy purse. Since the matters in question could land my source[a] in a most serious predicament and might deprive me of the source itself, I am also sending you a telegram. If you receive no further word from me, you can bring the ms. back with you in January and we shall then re-edit it.

Once again my kindest regards to you all.

Yours,
F.E.

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## 139

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London, 30 December 1893
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sorge,

Your postcards of 29 November and 17 December received with

[a] Antonio Labriola

thanks. First of all a Happy New Year to you and your wife from Louise Kautsky and myself.

You will have noticed, not without some surprise, that a Socialist group of between fifty-four and sixty men (they themselves don't seem to know exactly how many) has established itself in the French Chamber. Immediately after the elections [208] they numbered, at a *generous* count, twenty-four, twelve of whom had been elected on the strength of the Marxist platform. However, of these only six presented themselves at the Paris Party Congress and hitherto only four have *agreed,* in accordance with the congress resolution, to pay a part of their parliamentary salary into the party treasury. [283] (Which is not yet the same thing as actually paying it in—in France it was being said as early as 1870 that *les cotisations ne rentrent pas!*[a]) Well, thanks to the adhesion of the *radicaux socialistes*[b] of the Millerand-Jaurès group, there are now all of a sudden nearly sixty who have resolved to include the socialisation of the means of production as one of the aims—more immediate for some, for others, however, very remote—of their programme. Concentration is now the battle-cry in France. If in the past this meant a *concentration républicaine* (i.e. the subordination of *all* Republicans to the *right* wing, the Opportunists [87]), it now means a *concentration socialiste* and I only hope this does not mean the subordination of all Socialists to the Millerandists whose *practical* programme is assuredly more radical than socialist.

The first result of this alliance is that our people have as good as lost the chance of acquiring a daily of their own. Millerand's *Petite République Française* already occupies that position, so it will be difficult to produce an organ to compete with it—finance is more difficult to obtain and the others would complain that it would mean splitting the party! The more so as the *Petite République Française* is crafty enough to open its columns to *any* socialist group.

The second is that in the group's meetings the Millerandists command an absolute majority (ca. 30 against 24 at the most—Marxists (12), Allemanists [21] (3-5), Broussists [30] (2) and Blanquists [20] *(4-6)).*

Nevertheless *messieurs les Français,* intoxicated once again by victory, are crowing away for the benefit of all and sundry and would like to resume their place at the forefront of the movement. They have tabled a motion demanding that the standing army be changed into an army of

[a] contributions are not paid - [b] Radical Socialists

militia (Vaillant), while Guesde intends to table one on a European disarmament congress.[a] The plan is that the Germans and Italians shall table similar motions in their own parliaments, thereby naturally giving the impression that they are following in the footsteps of their French 'leaders'. What the handful of Italians—and an exceptionally muddle-headed handful at that—may do is of no consequence, but whether our Germans will consent without more ado to be taken in tow by the French seems doubtful to me. If, after twenty-five years of hard struggle, you have won for yourself a position of power and have two million voters behind you, you are entitled to take a closer look at the scratch lot who propose all of a sudden to assume command. The more so as *messieurs les Français* get exceedingly touchy the moment anyone commits the slightest breach of etiquette in respect of themselves.

Well, we shall have to wait and see. With these unpredictable Frenchmen it is always possible that lasting progress will result from this sudden and momentary success. But it would really be better for us to wait and see.

Next, I have to tell you—*but this is strictly between ourselves*—that yesterday the first third of the ms. of Volume II P was packed in strong oilcloth (as was in its day that notorious forgery, the Cologne minute-book [315]) and will shortly be sent to the printers. The last two-thirds are still in need of the final—mostly technical—editing. If all goes well the book will come out in September.

Now for something else. Prof. Labriola[c] of Rome, with whom I have corresponded for several years and whom I met in Zurich, [189] is giving a course of lectures at the university there on the genesis of Marxist theory. He is a strict Marxist. To this end he has procured all the necessary literature but has never managed to set eyes on the *Holy Family,* although he has advertised in the Leipzig *Buchändlerblat*[d] and elsewhere to the effect that he will pay 'any price' for it. There was some prospect of his getting a copy on loan from Switzerland, but its owner[e] has suddenly vanished and is said to be travelling in Hungary. He is now urging me to do whatever I can to procure him a copy for three or four weeks. But I myself have only one and if that is lost it will be absolutely impossible for me to arrange for the inclusion of the new, later edition in the projected *Collected Works.* [316]

[a] See next letter. [b] of *Capital*- [c] Antonio Labriola - [d] *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel und die mit ihm verwandten Geschäftszweige* —[e] Paul Ernst

Hence I cannot, on any account, let this one and only copy out of my hands. Now, a few years back, I sent you my spare copy. Would you be so good as to lend it to me for the above purpose for five or six weeks? You could send it to me as a BOOK-PACKET by *registered post* or, if you prefer, through an express agency *insured* for any sum you choose, and I should return it by whichever medium you may direct. I would, if that could somehow be arranged, send it to Rome through an agency, heavily insured (for 410 say) or, if that is not possible, by *registered post.* It should be stipulated that Labriola might have the use of it for *a maximum of four weeks.* I need hardly tell you that without a knowledge of this book he will be unable to hold the proposed course of lectures, still less realise his intention of publishing them at a later date. There are fewer than six copies in the whole of the German party and who has them I don't know. So please think the matter over.

My *Feuerbach* is being translated into French by Laura Lafargue and will shortly be coming out in Paris. [310]

Warm regards to your wife and you from Louise Kautsky and yours,

F.E.

I hope your health has improved. Louise Kautsky asks me to say that the paper[a] you send to Vienna arrives regularly. Thank you for the greetings card.

First published, abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Job. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietz Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere,* Stuttgart, 1906 and in full, in Russian, in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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[a] *Woman's Journal*

# 140

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 3 January 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Lafargue,

First, seasonal greetings to Laura and you from Louise and myself.

And now for your disarmament plan. I saw the Vaillant motion in *Le Parti Socialiste,* I did not have it from Laura. [317] Neither this paper nor your letter tells me whether it has already been tabled or if that is still to come.

The Germans have been demanding for years that the standing army should be turned into a militia, this is repeated in all their Reichstag speeches on militarism, the war budget, etc., repeated *ad nauseam.* I fail to see that the formal tabling of a Bill could add anything to it. Nevertheless, they will look into it.

As for the proposal to be made concerning a disarmament congress, that would be—like Vaillant's motion also—*a matter to be settled by a conference of delegates from the three parliaments:* French, German and Italian. One delegate from each nation would be enough. Any international action must have as a necessary premise a previous agreement both as to the basis and as to the form. It strikes me as inadmissible that one nationality should take the initiative publicly and then invite the others to fall in. The French, themselves pretty punctilious at times on matters of etiquette, should for their part observe democratic considerations. I shall not call the Germans' attention to this point, but I should not be surprised if this rather naïve invitation, to follow in the footsteps of the

French party, which has only just got into Parliament and is made up of such diverse and in some respects such little known elements, is not immediately accepted.

Now for the substance.

The Vaillant motion will be opposed by the military on the ground that militias on the Swiss model, possibly good enough for a mountainous country, lack the stability needed for a large army that has to operate on every kind of terrain. And there they will be right. To build a good militia army the foundation must be laid by the athletic and military training of the young; so it's a thing which would take from five to eight years; you would not have this militia until about the end of the century. Therefore if there is to be a Bill against which the bourgeois and the military cannot raise valid objections, this fact must be taken into account.

That is what I tried to do in the articles which appeared last year in *Vorwärts* and which I sent you.[a] I am sending you a further copy today. Here I am proposing an international agreement for the reduction—simultaneous and agreed jointly in advance—of the period of military service. To meet the usual prejudices as far as possible, I am proposing for a start a period of two years' enlistment, to be reduced as soon as possible to 18 months (two summers and the winter between), and then to one year and so on, until a class of young men have reached military age who shall have been through that athletic and military instruction which shall have fitted them to bear arms without further training. And then there would be a militia that would require no more than large-scale manoeuvres every 2 or 3 years to find its feet and to learn how to operate in large formations.

Now that the two-year period is already generally recognised one could demand 18 months at once, and reduction to 1 year in 2 or 3 years; during that time, the athletic and military training of young men between 15 and 18 could be set going, not forgetting that of boys between 10 and 15.

Vaillant's Bill has great need for revision by someone who knows what's what in military affairs, it contains things written in haste on which we could not stand up to serious argument. According to art. 9 *{all the children* of the country), the girls, too, are to be put through "all the evolu-

[a] F. Engels, "Can Europe Disarm?"

tions of the infantry, cavalry and artillery", etc., etc.

I am sending a copy of my articles to Vaillant, too.

Now then, if you could reach agreement with the Germans and the Italians for tabling a motion aimed at calling for a congress on disarmament and the transition—by simultaneous stages laid down in advance— to a militia system, that would be a splendid thing and have a big effect. But for mercy's sake don't spoil it by openly taking the initiative without preliminary consultation with the others. The conditions of internal policy as well as those governing each parliament are so different from each other that a certain manner of proceeding may be excellent for one country and utterly impossible or even disastrous in another.

The anarchist bomb [309] will become a thing of the past as have the glorious 2,500 francs of the Germans. [278] This will have an effect vis-à-vis the police; look at the Madrid verdict in the Munoz case where the police was found guilty, too; [318] and in France it risks being openly implicated in the affair of bombs; if it slips off this time, it might be glad. This pitcher has been going to the well long enough, and it is about to be broken at last.

I hope that Laura has received her manuscript. [310]

Kiss Laura on my behalf. Greetings from Louise.

Ever yours,
F. Engels

First published in:
F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue,
*Correspondance,* t. II I, Paris, 1959

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

## 141

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN PARIS

London, 4 January 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Lavrov,

Thank you for your card—please accept my best wishes for the New

Year.

It would seem that, despite the harmony between Carnot and the tsar,[a] it will be the French, and not the outlawed Russians who will suffer persecutions and tribulations, the inevitable effect of anarcho-police bombs.[319] So much the better. After all, there are signs that even the Parisian *philis-tine* would seem to be feeling just a little shame for his hysterical actions of last October.

Could you let me have the address of Mr. Rapoport, who has just returned to Switzerland?

Best regards from
F. Engels

There is finally some hope that you will receive the 3rd volume of *Capital* before the end of the year. The Russian translation will be done as for the 2nd volume. I will send the proofs to Danielson.

First published in Russian in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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Translated from the French

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## 142

## ENGELS TO GIUSEPPE CANEPA

### IN DIANO MARINA

[Draft]

[London, 9 January 1894]

Dear citizen,

Please excuse me for writing to you in French. Over the last twenty years I have lost whatever little ability I had in the use of Italian.

I have tried to find a short epigraph of the kind you wish[320] from the

[a] Alexander II I

works of Marx, whom alone of the modern socialists, it would seem, is able to stand on a par with the great Florentine.[a] However, I have found nothing except the following passage taken from the *Communist Manifesto* (Italian edition of *Critica Sociale,* p. 35): "Al posto della vecehia società borghese divisa in class; cozzanti fra loro, subenta un'associazione, nella quale il libero sviluppo di ciascumo è la condizione per il libero sviluppo di tutti".[b]

It is almost impossible to sum up the spirit of the new age of the future in just a few words without lapsing into either utopianism or empty words.

Please accept my apologies if the quotation I offer is not wholly satisfactory. However, as you must be ready for the 21 (a date that augurs well, the execution of citizen Louis Capet), there is no time to lose.

*E con distinti saluti*

*Suo*[c]

First published, abridged,
in Italian in a weekly *L'Era nuova*
No. 1, 4 March 1894 and in full
in Russian in:
Marx and Engels, *Works,*
First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX,
Moscow, 1946

Printed according to the
draft manuscript collated with the
text in the weekly reprinted in the
book: K. Marx, F. Engels,
*Scriti italiani,* Milano-Roma, 1955

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] Dante - [b] "In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all" (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* this edition, Vol. 6, p. 506). - [c] Respectfully yours

# 143

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

London, 9 January 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Baron,

Ede has doubtless already told you of the despatch of part of the ms. of Volume II I (approx. 1/3 of a cubic foot). Now that it has safely arrived in Hamburg, I am able to give you a short review of it for the *Neue Zeit* and this I enclose.[a] Please send a copy with *the article side-lined* to Otto Meissner's Verlag, Hamburg.

Work is continuing on the second third which I hope will soon be ready.

Your good wishes for Xmas as well as for the New Year were gratefully reciprocated in thought if not in words.

I shall now probably be able to get hold of the Berne Convention.[b] [303]

I am anxious to see Cunow's book.[c] The man has done a great deal of swotting in his field and keeps his eyes open.

Dietz will be interested to hear that Laura Lafargue is translating my *Feuerbach* into French for the *Ère nouvelle* [310] and subsequent publication as an off-print. I have already looked over the first part. She translates deftly and conscientiously.

Rave, who is less deserving of such praise, has again written to me; he has had a go at your *Thomas Morus,*[d] *mais c'est bien indigeste!*[e] For the man does not, in fact, possess an adequate knowledge of German, although he is an Alsatian and by rights should probably be called Rawe.

I'm glad that Victor should have promptly extracted the best bits from your latest article and made them available to the Viennese. [321] They were quite admirably suited to the situation there. According to Victor's last letter, all danger of anything silly being done is now past. In fact both the Czech and the trades union congresses have shelved the question of a GENERAL STRIKE [322] until the Party Conference [323] and Victor will

[a] *On the Contents of the Third Volume of Capital'.* - [b] See this volume, p. 240 - [c] H. Cunow, *Die Verwandtschafts-Organisationen der Australneger,* Stuttgart, 1894 - [d] K. Kautsky, *Thomas More und seine Utopie,* Stuttgart, 1888 - [e] but it's pretty heavy!

doubtless make sure that it is shelved yet again.

That's all for today—masses of letters still to attend to. Regards from one household to the other.

Yours,
F.E.

First published in the book:
*Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus,*
*Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky,*
Prag, 1935

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## 144

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

### IN PARIS

London, 10 January 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Lavrov,

Thank you for your card of the 6th. The enclosed letter [25] contains a personal communication which I believe to be important, and therefore would not like to go astray. Would you be so kind as to send it to Mr. Rapoport as soon as you know his address. There is no particular urgency, a week will make no difference.

The first third of the manuscript of the 3rd volume[a] is at the printer's (20 chapters). I am busy with the final editing of the rest. If all goes well, we will appear in September,

If, as I hope, your health is no worse than mine, we shall neither of us have anything to complain of.

Your devoted friend, F.
Engels

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Second Russian Edition,
Vol. 39, Moscow, 1966

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[a] K. Marx, *Capital*

145

## ENGELS TO GEORGE WILLIAM LAMPLUGH, G. W.[324]

IN LONDON

London, 10 January 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Lamplugh,

Your parcel was an agreeable surprise indeed. Many thanks! I am almost ashamed to confess that in my ignorance I had fancied the *Anatomy of Melancholy* to be one of the serious psychological disquisitions of the 18th century, which I hold in horror. Now I find that it, too, is a product of the grandest epoch of English literature, the beginning of the 17th century. I turn to it with pleasure, and have already seen enough to assure me that it will prove a constant source of enjoyment.

This reminds me that I have forgotten to let you have the only two works of mine that have been published in English[a]—I have made free to send them, to you by post and hope you will do me the favour of accepting them.

Dakyns told me on Sunday you were afraid of your little boy getting the influenza. Although there is more about of this beastly complaint than is desirable, I hope the danger has blown over.

Reciprocating your kind wishes for the New Year and with kind regards to Mrs Lamplugh.

I remain yours faithfully F.
Engels

First published in Russian, in, *Letopisi marksizma,* Book I, 1926

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

[a] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England; Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*

## 146

## ENGELS TO HENRI RAVÈ[326]

IN POITIERS

*[Draft]*

[London], 10 January 1894

Dear citizen,

A thousand thanks for your good wishes for the New Year, which, I hope, will bring you good fortune also!

The translation of my book,[195] as it is at present, seems to me to be very good. As for the rest, since I edited the proofs, I also bear my share of the responsibility.

The style of Thomas Morus[a] will really seem rather heavy to the French public, but there are some good points, and the historical estimates have a more than transitory value.

At the moment I have no book I can offer you for translation, but if I find something, I shall let you know.

Yours respectfully.

First published in Russian in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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## 147

## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

IN VIENNA

London, 11 January 1894

Dear Victor,

First, my thanks to you all, and especially to yourself, your wife and

See this volume, p. 257

family, for your good wishes which I heartily reciprocate, and thanks also for the League tie-pin which I shall sport as soon as I have a suitable necktie to wear it with—I intend to buy one specially for the purpose.

That there is a great deal to be done over there I can readily believe and none of us can imagine how you are able to manage it all, and under the most difficult circumstances at that. We admire and envy you your tenacity. What particularly pleased me, however, was your assurance that an end *has* been put to the foolishness you had been fearing over there. I have since received reports on the two Congresses [323] and have been able to discover at least some of the particulars therefrom. Things couldn't in fact have gone off better in regard to this crucial matter.

So far as the healthy development of the movement is concerned, it was a real blessing that the perspicacious Höger should have declared suffrage to be a bourgeois racket and not something to go on strike for, [327] and that the miners should, after their own fashion, have declared themselves opposed to any strike that did not also support the eight-hour day. And at Budweis the Czechs have also helped us by making admission conditional on recognition of the programme and tactics (à la Zurich [229]) and by shelving the general strike, which seemed more pervasive there than anywhere else, until the Party Conference, [323] when it will probably be shelved again.

K. Kautsky's article which you reprinted [321] will be of great help to your people. But it's indicative of the extent to which its author has lost touch with the living party movement. A few months ago he showed an inconceivable want of tact in proposing to sling a purely academic discussion of the general strike *in abstracto,* and of its pros and cons generally, into the midst of a movement engaged in a life and death struggle against slogans advocating such a strike. [290] And now comes this article which, at any rate in the passages you cite, hits the nail on the head quite admirably.

Anyhow, come next month and the Electoral Reform Bill, and you people will (be able to) start agitating again with a will. It was quite a good thing that the first high fever should have had a chance to run its course, for now the chaps will take a rather calmer view of things. Whichever way it goes, the government and the Diet are *bound* to place new weapons in your hands and next year there will be several score if

[a] See this volume, p. 257

not a whole crowd of you in parliament. Proletarians in that anachronistic assembly with its class hierarchies! Those chaps will show the French that the proletariat is not *le quatrième état* as, by false analogy, they are so fond of describing it, but an utterly modern, youthful class incompatible with all that old nonsense of estates which it must disrupt *before* getting to the stage at which it can embark on its own particular task, the disruption of the bourgeoisie. I am already looking forward to the day when the first of our chaps sets foot in the Diet.

All the same, I still take the view that the coalition government will collapse the moment it tries to act in real earnest. I should say that in Austria the time has not yet come for the one reactionary mass [214]—not, at any rate, for its formation on a *lasting* basis. And even if the leaders in the Cabinet were to unite, the small fry in parliament would not succeed in doing so; and if, behind all this, you have a Franz Joseph yearning to get his Taaffe back, it seems to me that the days of Windischgrätz are numbered. And *in practice*Taaffe now stands for universal suffrage.

I am curious to see how the sixty so-called Socialists in the French Assembly will make out.[b] They are a mixed bunch, even some of the *socialistes de la veille*[c] being of a very indeterminate nature and also, despite their desire for fusion, encumbered with all manner of old and ugly memories; on top of that, however, all of these put together are in a minority as compared with the Millerand-Jaurès majority consisting of *socialistes du lendemain*[d] Indeed, the French preserve an obstinate silence in the face of any inquiry as to the nature of their group. On Sunday Bonnier will be passing through London on his way back from Paris; I shall question him and, no doubt, succeed in finding something out.

Volume II I[e] is at last being printed. The first twenty chapters (664 pp. out of approx. 1870 ms. pp.) have already gone to press, I am working on the next third which only requires a final editing, and then it will soon be the turn of the last third which will probably call for rather more work. We shall be appearing in September, I think.

But now I must return to my beloved Chapter 23. Unfortunately a frightful lot of time was lost over the festive season.

Warm regards to your wife and children, Popp. Ulbing, Pernerstorfer,

[a] the fourth estate - [b] See this volume, p. 249 - [c] Socialists of yesterday - [d] Socialists of tomorrow - [e] of *Capital*

Reumann, Schrammel, Adelheid, little Ryba and tutti quanti,[a] but in particular to you yourself from

Yours,
F. Engels

First published in the book: *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe.* Erstes Heft: *Victor Adler und Friedrieb Engels,* Wien, 1922

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## 148

## ENGELS TO GEORGE WILLIAM LAMPLUGH

IN LONDON

[London] 12 January 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Lamplugh,

I had a dim recollection of having given you the *Socialism*[b] before, but was not sure. My memory for this sort of thing is getting awfully senile. Please dispose of the odd copy to your friend, as you propose, and I only hope he will find it digestible.

Compliments to Mrs Lamplugh.

Yours faithfully
F. Engels

The weather may now by and by permit of your visit to the Zoo, so when it comes off please drop us a postcard and say about what time after having seen the wild beasts you will be likely to look in here with your family.

[a] all the rest - [b] F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma,* Book I, 1926

Reproduced from the original Published in English for the first time

## 149

## ENGELS TO ALBERT DELON[328]

IN NIMES

*[Note]*

London, about 21 January 1894

Should first read the second volume and then refer back. To go by his letter to Diamandi, his German still isn't perfect but he's still working at it, in particular the terminology of political economy.

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## 150

## ENGELS TO W. BORGIUS[329]

IN BRESLAU[a]

London, 25 January 1894

Dear Sir,

Herewith the answers to your questions.

1. By economic relations, considered by us to be the determinant upon which the history of society is based, we understand the manner in which men of a certain society produce the necessities of life, and exchange

[a] Now Wroclaw

those products among themselves (in so far as division of labour exists). Thus they comprise the *entire technology* of production and transport. As we see it, that technology also determines the manner of exchange, likewise the distribution of products and hence, following the dissolution of gentile society, also the division into classes, hence the relations of rulers and subjects, and hence the state, politics, the law, etc. Economic relations further comprise the *geographical basis* on which these are enacted, and, indeed, the inherited remnants of earlier stages of economic development, remnants which often owe their survival only to tradition or *vis inertiae*[a] they also, of course, comprise the external environment by which this form of society is encompassed.

If, as you say, technology is indeed largely dependent on the state of science, then how much more is not the latter dependent on the *state* and the *requirements* of technology? If society has a technological requirement, the latter will do more to promote science than ten universities. Hydrostatics (Torricelli, etc.) owes its existence solely to the need to regulate mountain streams in Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Only since the discovery of its technological uses have we known anything rational about electricity. Unfortunately historiographers in Germany have got into the habit of writing about the sciences as though they had appeared out of the blue.

2. We see economic conditions as that which, in the final analysis, determines historical development. But the human race is itself an economic factor. Here, however, there are two points which should not be overlooked:

a) Political, juridical, philosophical, religious, literary, artistic, etc., development is based on economic development. But each of these also reacts upon the others and upon the economic basis. This is not to say that the economic situation is the *cause* and that it *alone* is *active* while everything else is mere passive effect, but rather that there is reciprocal action based, *in the final analysis,* on economic necessity which invariably prevails. The state, for instance, exerts its influence through protective tariffs, free trade, good or bad fiscal systems, and even your German philistine's mortal weariness and impotence, consequent upon Germany's impoverished economic condition between 1648 and 1830, and expressing itself first in Pietism and then in sentimentality and cringing servility

[a] the force of inertia

to princes and nobles, even this was not without economic effect. It was one of the greatest obstacles to recovery and was not removed until chronic poverty became acute as a result of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. Thus the effect of the economic situation is not, as is sometimes conveniently supposed, automatic; rather, men make their own history, but in a given environment by which they are conditioned, and on the basis of extant and actual relations of which economic relations, no matter how much they may be influenced by others of a political and ideological nature, are ultimately the determining factor and represent the unbroken clue which alone can lead to comprehension.

b) While men may make their own history, they have not hitherto done so with a concerted will in accordance with a concerted plan, not even in a given and clearly delimited society. Their aspirations are at variance, which is why all such societies are governed by *necessity* of which the counterpart and manifestation is *chance.* The necessity which here invariably prevails over chance is again ultimately economic. This brings us to the question of what are known as great men. The fact that such and such a man, and he alone, should arise at a particular time in any given country, is, of course, purely fortuitous. But if we eliminate him, a replacement will be called for and such a replacement will be found—*tant bien que mal,*[a] but found he will ultimately be. That Napoleon, this particular Corsican, was the military dictator rendered necessary by a French Republic bled white by her own wars, was fortuitous; but that, in the absence of a Napoleon, someone else would have taken his place is proved by the fact that the moment someone becomes necessary—Caesar, Augustus, Cromwell, etc.—he invariably turns up. If it was Marx who discovered the materialist view of history, the work of Thierry, Mignett Guizot and every English historiographer prior to 1850 goes to show that efforts were being made in that direction, while the discovery of the same view by Morgan shows that the time was ripe for it and that it was *bound* to be discovered.

The same thing applies to all fortuitous and seemingly fortuitous events in history. The further removed is the sphere we happen to be investigating from the economic sphere and the closer to the purely abstract, ideological sphere, the more likely shall we be to find evidence of the fortuitous in its development, and the more irregular will be the curve

[a] for better or for worse

it describes. But if you draw the mean axis of the curve, you will find that the longer the period under consideration and the larger the area thus surveyed, the more approximately parallel will this axis be to the axis of economic development.

In Germany the greatest obstacle to accurate interpretation is the irresponsible neglect of economic history in literature. It is so difficult, not only to rid oneself of the historical ideas drummed into one at school, but actually to get together the material necessary for the purpose. Who, for instance, has so much as read old G. von Gülich whose dry catalogue of material nevertheless contains so much that throws light on innumerable political facts!

Come to that, I believe that the fine example provided by Marx in the *18. Brumaire*[0] should, precisely because it is a practical example, go a long way towards answering your questions. I also think that I touched on most of these points in the *Anti-Dühring* Chapters 9-11 and II , 2-4, also II I, and in the introduction, and again in the final section of the *Feuerbach.*[d]

Please do not take every word I have said above for gospel, but rather consider them in their general context; I am sorry not to have had the time to write to you in such careful detail as I should have had to do for publication.

Would you kindly convey my compliments to Mr ...[e] and thank him for sending me the ...[e] which greatly amused me.

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

First published in the magazine *Der Sozialistische Akademiker,* No. 20, 1895

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[a] G. von Gülich, *Geschichtliche Darstellung des Handels, der Gewerbe und des Ackerbaus handeltreibenden Staaten unsrer Zeit,* Bd. 1-5, Jena, 1830-1845 - [b] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.* - [c] F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring. Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science.* — [d] F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*- [e] omitted in MS.

## 151

## ENGELS TO RICHARD FISCHER

### IN BERLIN

London, 1 February 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Fischer,

Discussed the matter with Aveling yesterday. [330] After the Erfurt Party Conference, [331] and armed with the documents provided by you, Aveling again went to the *Daily Chronicle* and notified them of the facts (he had already been there once before and denounced Reuss as a spy, whereupon they had said they would get rid of him). But now all of a sudden the story was that the proprietor of the paper *wished to* keep Reuss on and so there was nothing they could do about it. But if Reuss nevertheless asserts that he gave notice himself on 9. Nov. 1891, i.e. immediately afterwards, it shows that, as a result of what Aveling had told them, they treated him in such a manner as to *force* him to give notice—the fact remains that he was made to go.

However you cannot publicly ventilate any of these matters because you would risk a public denial by the *Chronicle* people, since etiquette in this country strictly precludes publication of a newspaper's internal affairs and the chaps can thus tell any lies they choose and do so with complete impunity. If I were you I should drop the matter altogether since it is no longer of any importance whatever. The very most you could say would be that the Erfurt Conference took place in October 1891, immediately after which the information about Reuss was sent to London and that, as early as *9 November* Reuss had, by his own admission, found it necessary to give notice—and let the reader draw his own conclusions. Should you venture one step further, the *Chronicle* will state that, so far as it is concerned, the thing simply is not true, and neither it nor any other London paper will print a line of rectification from you. Such is the etiquette of the press over here.

We know nothing about Reuss being pilloried for the second time in the *Vorwärts;* you will have to look for it yourselves.

Would you pay my fee [332] to the party treasurer who can receipt it in the monthly account with the initials F. E. in L.

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## 152

# ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

## IN STUTTGART

[Eastbourne], 13 February 1894

Dear Baron,

Am back in Eastbourne [333] again because of my usual lame leg, but it's already on the mend. Shall remain here until at least the 23rd of this month; if you should write, the address will be 28, Marine Parade, Eastbourne. Victor has snatched the *Critica Sociale* article away from under your nose and is translating it. [334] At the moment I've got no time at all since I am having to proof correct the whole of the rest of Volume II I,[a] and page proofs rain down on me as inexorably as blows in the Cameroons. [335]

Ask Dietz to send the 8 marks with the next larger consignment to Vienna. [282]

I do not consider the term 'communism' suitable for *general* use today; rather it should be reserved for cases in which a *more exact* description is required, and even then it would call for an explanatory note, having virtually fallen out of use for the past thirty years. [336]

At the moment I consider Burns to be better and Jaurès to be less important than commonly made out to be.

Warm regards from one household to the other.

Yours,
F.E.

First published in:
*Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky,* Prague, 1935

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[a] of *Capital*

153

# ENGELS TO GEORG VON GIZYCKI [337]

IN BERLIN

*[Draft]*

Eastbourne [333], 17 February 1894
28, Marine Parade

Dear Sir,

In thanking you for your esteemed note of the 14th of this month, I can only say that for a long time to come I shall be so overwhelmed with work as to be unable to undertake any work even for the periodical press of my own party. It would be all the less admissible if I were to contribute to journals which, however genuine and honourable the views they represent, are none the less further removed from my own immediate standpoint.

For this and other reasons I must regretfully refuse your kind invitation, while remaining

Yours very sincerely,
F.E.

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[a] Deleted in the draft: If I were to let you have an article on the subject you propose (which, I must confess, I do not know very much about) or on some other subject, this would in all likelihood involve me in a debate concerning my materialist point of departure.

## 154

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN[338]

IN LONDON

[Eastbourne,][333] 22 February 1894

Dear Ede,

Thank you for your letter and for the offer of G. Bruno.[339] But just now I am busy with Chapter 4l[a] (ground rent) and hope to polish off a few more chapters before my return on Thursday, a week today. So I should like to save up the book until I come back, when I should certainly be glad to read it. We have been sent the *Frankfurter Zeitung* feuilleton, 'Bebel und VoUmar'.[b] The weather here is unfortunately too cold for me to be able to *sit out* of doors very much and I am not yet really in a condition to do any walking. Until next week, then.

Kindest regards to Gine, Käte[c] and yourself.

Yours F.E.

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## 155

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[113]

IN HOBOKEN

Eastbourne, 23 February 1894

Dear Sorge,

Because of temporary lameness I am again spending a few weeks

[a] Of the third volume of *Capital (see* Vol. 25 of this edition, pp. 698-705). - [b] G. Brandes, 'Bebel und Vollmar', *Frankfurter Zeitung,* 4 February 1894 - [c] Regina Bernstein and Käte Schattner

here—shall be back in London in six days' time.[333]

You will have received the card announcing Louise's marriage. Her husband, Dr Freyberger, is a young Viennese doctor who gave up his career at Vienna University because they refused to let him tell the workers about the *social* causes of their illnesses; he has now established himself here and has already shown the English that more medicine is to be learned on the Continent than in this country. For the time being we shall all continue to live together at Regent's Park Road.

The *Holy Family* has arrived safely in Rome and will be returned to me in the middle of March, when it will at once be sent on to you.[a]

Our strange socialist group in the French Chamber is still something of a mystery. It is not yet very clear how many of them there are or what their standpoint is. Guesde tables vast numbers of Bills none of which, needless to say, goes through. Jaurès is unlikely to see a repetition of his first sensational victories, since the immediate effect of the anarchist gentry's bombing exploits [309] has been to provide the Ministry and the cause of law and order with a solid majority.

In this country the official politicians, both Liberal and Conservative, are in a state of complete disarray. The Liberals can maintain their position only by making fresh political and social concessions to the workers, for which, however, they lack the courage. Thus, they are trying to do so with an election cry against the house of lords instead of proposing payment of members, payment of election expenses by the government, and second ballot. I.e. instead of offering the workers more power vis-à-vis the Commons *and the* lords, all they want is to give the Commons more power vis-à-vis the lords, and that is something the workers are no longer prepared to swallow. But in any case there will be a general election here this summer and, unless the Liberals *really* take their courage in both hands and make *genuine* concessions to the workers, they will suffer defeat and go to pieces; at present they are held together only by Gladstone who might kick the bucket any day. Then there will be a middle-class democratic party with pro-Labour tendencies, and what is left of the Liberals will go over to Chamberlain. And all this has come about simply as a result of pressure from a working class that is still disunited and only partially conscious. If, in due course, it attains full consciousness, things will take an altogether different turn.

[a] See this volume, pp. 250, 282, 299

In Italy something violent might happen any day now. The middle classes have retained all the abominations of a feudalism in decay and used them as an excuse for their own infamies and tyrannies. The country is at the end of its tether, there has got to be a change there, but the Socialist Party [340] is still *very* weak and *very* muddle-headed, although among its number it can boast some really capable Marxists.

In Austria, too, something is to be anticipated. The funny part of it is that Socialists there are looking for support to the Emperor [1] who, by giving his blessing to Taaffe's proposal for electoral reform, [270] has declared himself in favour of something that comes close to universal suffrage, in the genuine belief that this is a necessary counterpart to general conscription. The coalition government won't succeed in doing anything or, if it does succeed in enacting an electoral Bill, this will be regarded simply as a bonus, while the movement, with the Emperor's tacit consent, will proceed on its way at any rate until such time as Taaffe's reform is put through. And then our chaps will see to the rest.

In short things are proceeding very merrily everywhere, and prospects for *the fin de siècle* look better every day.

To judge by appearances, the *Workman's Times* is at the point of death. Nor is the INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY [114] very much more lively; it's strange how slow and circuitously everything proceeds over here.

Many regards to you and your wife from the two Freybergers and

Yours,
F. Engels

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere,* Stuttgart, 1906 and in full, in Russian, in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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[a] Franz Joseph I — [b] end of the century

## 156

## ENGELS TO ADELHEID DWORAK AND JULIUS POPP

IN VIENNA

[London, February 1894]

Cordial congratulations [341] from me too, dear Adelheid and Popp. Good examples are, as it were, raining round us thick and fast, and were I not so old and lame a horse, who knows—I might still decide to go into harness again.

Your old
F. Engels

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## 157

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[35]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 6 March 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Lafargue,

I have just read Jaurès' and Guesde's speeches on the corn tariffs. I must say Jaurès' speech is astounding, and it seems to me regrettable that he was allowed to put forward his amendment in the name of the Party. [342] I don't wish to speak of his proposal that the State should hold the price of corn at a minimum of 25 francs, which is out and out protectionism, and purely to the advantage of the big landowners into the bargain, since the small ones *have no corn to sell,* their produce not even sufficing for their own consumption. Guesde certainly said that, but *after* Léon Say, whereas we should have been the first to proclaim it loudly, instead of fol-

lowing in the footsteps of Mr Say. And it was Jaurès' phrase-mongering which prevented us.

But just take the proposal to make the State responsible for corn imports. Jaurès wants to prevent speculation. So what does he do? He makes the government responsible for the purchase of foreign corn. The government is the executive committee of the *majority in the Chamber,* and the *majority in the Chamber* represents as fully as possible these very speculators in corn, in shares, in government stocks, etc. It's like the last Chamber, where they made the Panamists responsible for the Panama investigation! And these Panamists, re-elected last August, are the people you want to make responsible for the suppression of speculation! It's not enough for you that they rob France by means of the annual Budget and the Stock Exchange—where at least they use their own capital and their own credit—you want to present them with several thousand millions and the national credit, so that they can clean out other people's pockets more thoroughly by means of *state socialism* !

Further, Jaurès fancies he has made an altogether new and unheard-of proposal. But the *petty-bourgeois* Socialists in the canton of Zurich got in first; for years past they have been asking for state monopoly in the corn trade; *their state,* I may say, is a great deal more democratic than the French Republic, it can even treat itself to a chief of police who is a petty-bourgeois Socialist (Mr Vogelsanger) and knows nothing of omnipotent chief commissioners; and, besides, it is so small that it can afford many absurdities which mean nothing there, whereas a great nation cannot go in for such puerilities with impunity.

Guesde's speech naturally suffered by having to support, at least for the sake of appearances, some of Jaurès' proposals. Fortunately his audience drew him into the field of general principles; that saved us; he was able to limit himself to touching lightly on Jaurès' motion. Speaking for myself, I should have preferred to see Guesde make his formal contributions independently of Jaurès and as the mouthpiece of our group. However, he did what he could.

All this is the upshot of the alliance with the ex-Radicals whom we are forced to endure.[a] In the first place, why did Jaurès make promises to the radical voters which he knew he could not keep? A radical custom, [86] but in no wise socialist and one that we should do well not to adopt.

[a] See this volume, pp. 249, 262

Then your Mr Jaurès, this doctrinaire professor, who is nevertheless ignorant, above all, of political economy, and of essentially superficial talents, misuses his gift of the gab to push himself to the fore and pose as the mouthpiece of socialism, which he does not so much as understand. Otherwise he would never have dared to put forward *state socialism* which represents one of the *infantile diseases* of proletarian socialism, a disease which they went through in Germany, for example, more than a dozen years ago, under the regime of the Anti-Socialist Laws, [15] *when that was the only form tolerated by the government* (and even protected by it). And even then only a negligible minority of the Party was caught in that snare for a short while; after the Wyden Congress [343] the whole thing petered out completely.

Ah, yes, but we have a republic in France, the ex-Radicals will say to you; it's quite another matter in our case, we can use the government to introduce socialist measures! A republic, in relation to the proletariat, differs from a monarchy only in that it is the *ready-made* political form for the future rule of the proletariat. You have the advantage of us in that it is already in being; we, for our part, shall have to waste 24 hours creating it. But a republic, like any other form of government, is determined by what composes it; so long as it is the form of *bourgeois* rule, it is quite as hostile to us as any monarchy whatsoever (save in *the, forms* of that hostility). Hence it is a gratuitous illusion to treat it as an essentially socialist form; to entrust it, whilst it is dominated by the bourgeoisie, with socialist tasks. We can wring concessions from it, but never look to it to carry out our job. Even if we were able to control it by a minority so strong that it could become a majority from one day to the next.

However, what's done can't be undone. There will be other opportunities when our people will be able to come to the fore and proclaim their own tendencies, by means of Bills.

So you were surprised by Louise's marriage? It has been brewing for some months. Freyberger has left Vienna and given up a brilliant university career because they forbade him to enlighten the workers, in his lectures, on the social causes of their ills. So he came here, and he has found very good openings in the hospitals here. Once that was settled, there was no further reason for delaying the wedding. While waiting for his expectations to materialise he came to join his wife here, you can see that it is an entirely matriarchal marriage, the husband is his wife's boarder!

That reminds me of my own matriarchal studies and the translation of

them that Laura was good enough to do. [195] I hope she approved of the few small alterations I suggested, and that you have told her how charmed I was by the translation of that 3rd and 4th part. I kiss her by your proxy.

Yours very truly,
F.E.

First published in part in:
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24 November 1900 and in full in:
F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue,
*Correspondance,* t. II I, Paris, 1959

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Translated from the French

## 158

## ENGELS TO AUGUST MOMBERGER

### IN WIESBADEN

London, 9 March 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

My reply to your esteemed letter of 26.2 has been somewhat delayed [344] by my absence from London. [333]

Things do not look very bright so far as English socialist literature is concerned. The leading publisher of books of this nature is Sonnenschein (W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Paternoster Square). While there is a lot of inferior stuff amongst his SOCIAL SCIENCE SERIES, it also contains the following:

W. Morris and E. B. Bax, *Socialism, its Growth and Outcome;*

E. B. Bax, *The Religion of Socialism;* do.,
*The Ethics of Socialism;*

Aveling, E. AND E. M[arx-Aveling], *The Working Class Movement in America;*

Lafargue, *The Evolution of Property;*

E. B. Bax, *Outlooks from the New Standpoint;*

Hyndman, *Commercial Panics of the 19th Century;*

Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844;* do., *Socialism, Scientific and Utopian*

etc. Again, the value of these things varies greatly.

There is also a multitude of shorter propaganda pamphlets of *very* varied quality, some being really good, some deplorably bad; none are easily obtainable through book shops. Most were published by the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION [44] and the FABIAN SOCIETY. [43]

There is no journal similar to the *Neue Zeit in* this country. The socialist weeklies are:

*Justice* (organ of the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION), publisher H. Quelch, 37a, Clerkenwell Green, London, E. C.

*Workman's Times,* 59, Tile St., Manchester (MANCHESTER LABOUR PRESS SOCIETY).

That is about all the information I can give you. I fear, however, that the sort of Englishmen you meet in Wiesbaden will be unlikely to provide many suitable candidates for our party.

Yours very truly,
F. Engels

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## 159

## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

### IN VIENNA

London, 20 March 1894

Dear Victor,

A short while ago you asked me about translating the article in the *Critica Sociale* on the position, etc., of Italy. [334] Louise at once wrote a postcard on my behalf saying THAT YOU WERE WELCOME TO IT and I confirmed this a day or two later in a letter to you. [25] Soon afterwards an inquiry arrived from K. Kautsky who wanted to know if I

would let him have the thing for the *Neue Zeit.* In my reply I told him that you had already snaffled it.[a]

But the article has *not,* in the meantime, appeared in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* and that puts me in an awkward position vis-à-vis K. Kautsky. So could you please let me know what is happening about it? I must say this makes me feel like the English landlady who, having on the one hand a nubile daughter and, on the other, a susceptible German lodger, demanded of the latter at the first sign of a flirtation: "WHAT ARE YOUR INTENTIONS WITH REGARD TO MY DAUGHTER?" But the fact that K. Kautsky has entered into competition with you will doubtless exonerate me.

Over here things are tending towards a general election [345] and everything that happens is done by way of preparation for it. The Liberals are as craven as ever. They must know that they can only retain their position by increasing the political power of the workers and yet they hesitate and flounder about nervously. Neither a cut-and-dried extension of the suffrage, nor the elimination of a property qualification which consists in burdening the candidate with *all the* election expenses while failing to give him a salary, nor any provision in the shape of a second ballot for the putting up of a *third* candidate (alongside those of the two official parties). At the same time they want to abolish the house of lords but don't lift a finger to produce a Lower House with the courage and ability to do this. The Tories for their part are making mistake after mistake. For two years they have been turning Parliament into a complete farce on the pretext of smashing HOME RULE; [171] with the Liberals, who took this lying down, they have played, and continue to play, Old Harry, as Randy Churchill demonstrated last night, [346] although, with elections in the offing, this is a risky business and might seriously shake the peace-loving [?][b] British philistine's faith in the Conservatives. Furthermore, Salisbury attempted to make the PARISH COUNCILS BILL [163] an occasion for playing a dirty trick on his Liberal Unionist allies, [206] Devonshire and Chamberlain, and exploiting them for purely TORY ends, so that the said alliance is no longer as steadfast as heretofore. In short, things are getting into a frightful tangle, and at the moment it is difficult to guess what the outcome will be.

My congratulations on the way you lulled the general strike to sleep

[a] See this volume, p. 269 — [b] *sic* in printed text

and likewise on your articles on the coalition government's electoral reform [347] and on the situation generally in Austria. The one in the issue of the sixth of this month was particularly brilliant. Not for a moment do I doubt that your party conference [323] will go off splendidly. My regards to all our friends and also to August and Paul Singer and Gerisch, if they attend the same.

Louise sends much love, as does

Yours,
F.E.

First published in: *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe* Erstes Heft: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels,* Vienna, 1922

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## 160

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

### IN ST. PETERSBURG

London, 20 March 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Sir,

Today I forwarded to you, *registered,* sheets No. 1-6 (up to page 96) of Vol. II P containing the greater part of Section 1. The continuation will follow as it reaches me.

Your letters of 4th and 23rd XI and 24/II to hand, I shall reply as soon as possible.

Yours very faithfully
L. K.[b]

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[a] of *Capital*- [b] Engels' pen name derived from Louise Kautsky's initials

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# ENGELS TO PANAIT MUSOIU[348]

IN BUCHAREST

London, 20 March 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Comrade,

Owing to my absence from London [333] I have been prevented from answering your letter of 24 February any earlier. This I duly received as well as the *Manifestul comunist* and *Socialism utopic si socialism stüntific*[a] for which very many thanks. Unfortunately I am not yet sufficiently versed in Romanian to be able to give an opinion on the merits of your translation. But I would caution you against taking the French translation as a basis when working on a German book.

Unfortunately time does not permit me to comply with your request that I write a preface to the new edition. I am busy putting the finishing touches to Volume II I of Marx's *Capital* and, since printing is going rapidly ahead, I must devote all my time to the completion of the rest of the manuscript in order that no hold-ups should occur.

With kindest regards,

F. Engels

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in: Marx and Engels, *Works,*
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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party;* F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*

## 162

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[113]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 21 March 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sorge,

I have today sent back to you with many thanks *The Holy Family* by BOOK POST, REGISTERED, following its safe return from the trip to Rome.[a]

Immediately after Easter I shall send you a parcel containing the Bax-Morris book[b] and Bernstein's Berlin Complete Edition of Lassalle Works.[c]

Auntie Motteler has just been here in company with Gertrud Liebknecht. Apparently the latter wants to move in temporarily with the former. What Liebknecht intends to do about her (she says he wants her to go back) remains a secret—doubtless also to himself. His eldest daughter, Mrs Geiser, is living in the worst possible circumstances and his wife and Gertrud are at daggers drawn. I don't in fact believe *he* has actually insisted that she return.

Have you seen the novel *Helena* by old Mother Kautsky in the *Vorwärts?* She has peopled her stage with a crowd of living party members, including Motteler and his wife. It is a poor imitation of the popular novels of Gregor Samarow[d] (Spy Meding). I shall be interested to see whether it is passed over in silence and am somewhat surprised that the *Vorwärts* should have taken it. The paper's feuilleton is censored by Mother Natalie Liebknecht.

The *Pionierkalender* received with thanks.

Over here the dissolution of Parliament draws on apace. At the new elections[345] more Labour candidates will be put up than ever before, though not nearly enough, and I'm not sure whether a whole crowd of them won't

[a] See this volume, p. 272 - [b] W. Morris and E. B. Bax, *Socialism, its Growth and Outcome,* London, New York, 1893 -[C] F. Lassalle, *Reden und Schriften,* Berlin, 1892-1893-[d] Samarinin the MS

again be put up with the help of TORY money. The Liberals, like the TORIES, are both of them firm supporters of the indirect property qualification which consists in the candidate's being burdened with the entire costs of the election—ranging from 4100 minimum up to between £400 and £600 and even more for the *official* expenses alone, e.g. POLLING PLACES, etc. So if the working men fall into the clutches of Champion, who is offering 4100 per constituency (he got the money from Hudson, the soap manufacturer), the Liberals will have no cause for complaint. All in all their approach to the elections is characterised by a curiously obstinate refusal to face the facts. They act as though they wish to abolish the *Upper House* but refuse to remodel the *Lower House* (by increasing the power of the workers) in such a way that it would be capable of tackling something of the kind on its own. The TORIES, on the other hand, are more stupid than they ever were and that is saying a good deal. For the past couple of years they have been playing Old Harry with the Liberal government in the Upper and the Lower House. To this the Liberals have calmly submitted, while the philistines, who have been turning Conservative in droves, have rejoiced, since it was done on the pretext of removing the treasonable, anti-Empire HOME RULE BILL [171] HOME RULE Government. Now, however, that serious domestic legislation is on the agenda, they are continuing to play the same game, and that might be rather too much of a good thing for your peace-loving philistine. So things remain very uncertain and the new elections will at all events produce some surprising results. Whatever happens, Labour will be strengthened and the Liberals will be compelled to make further concessions to the working man.

In Austria, Belgium and Holland electoral reform has also been the order of the day. Before long there will be no European parliament without labour representatives. In Austria the cause is progressing very well. Adler is leading the movement with quite outstanding address and the Party Conference on Sunday [323] will also help.

Once the tariff business [301] has to some extent been sorted out on your side of the Atlantic and the duty on raw materials been abolished, the crisis will probably recede and the superiority of American industry over that of Europe will undoubtedly make itself felt. Only then will matters take a serious turn here in England, but then they will go with a bang.

I finished the first two thirds of Volume II P sooner than I had expected

[a] of *Capital*

and, since printing was rapidly forging ahead (twelve proof-sheets have already come back), I was compelled to make a brief announcement.[a] The final editing of the final third is not yet quite done, but next week I shall be getting down to it again.

Louise Kautsky has told you of her marriage to Dr L. Freyberger from Vienna. He is a young physician who in my opinion has a major scientific career ahead of him. He is practising in hospitals here and has since moved in with us. Apart from the name, therefore, Louise's address is unchanged.

Yours,

F. Engels

Warm regards to you and your wife from Louise and myself. I trust your health has improved.

First published abridged in: *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere,* Stuttgart, 1906 and in full, in Russian, in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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## 163

## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

IN VIENNA

London, 22 March 1894

Dear Victor,

I wrote to you the day before yesterday,[13] and yesterday Louise wrote to you at the Kopernikusgasse by 'registered' mail.

Your report on the state of affairs over there gave us great pleasure. Less so the prospect of your spending your summer holidays in 'durance vile',[349] concerning which we had already seen something in *the Arbeiter-*

[a] F. Engels, *The Third Volume of Karl Marx's 'Capital', On the Contents of the Third Volume of 'Capital'.* — [b] See Letter 159

*innen-Zeitung* (as distinct from the *Arbeiter-Zeitung).* I wrote to you day before yesterday about conditions over here. [350]

But the disappearance of our letters to you is really getting beyond a joke. After Louise had written to you yesterday we tried as best as we could to reconstruct from memory the letters she had written. These were as follows:

1. In the middle of December she sent Adelheid (Dworak) an article on Female Factory Inspectors,[a] along with various notes for the *Arbeiter Zeitung*—Adelheid has written to say that she never got the letter.

2. Shortly before Christmas Louise wrote to *you* asking for some information about the doctor you had recommended to Tussy.

3. In January again to you asking *you,* amongst other things, to convey my apologies to your wife and saying I was indisposed.

4. Towards the end of January, when Lafargue was here and Burns met him at our house, an account of the latter's visit and conditions in England generally—the letter was from Louise to *you.*

5. In February she wrote to *you* urging you to use my article in the *Critica Sociale.* [334]

6 and 7. Two letters from her to you from Eastbourne between 9 February and 1 March.

8. She wrote to *Schacherl at* the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* saying she was unable to send the article[b] straight away.

9. On 4 March she wrote asking you to send the *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung* to Dr Bonnier, 19 Regent St, Oxford and also gave some information about Jaurès and the Socialist group in the French Chamber.

Some of these letters were sent to you at the editorial office of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* some to your private address and both lots seem to have been disappearing with equal regularity. On the other hand the rest of Louise's letters to Vienna, including those to the gas-workers, have been arriving no less regularly, as have the replies.

Your eight-page letter to Louise has likewise *not* arrived.

So we shall now experiment for a time with *registered letters. A* cover address in Vienna might perhaps be a good idea.

Herewith what you wanted[c] for the Party Conference. [323]

[a] [L. Freyberger,] 'Weibliche Fabriks-Inspektoren,' *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung,* Nos. 1 and 2, 5 and 19 January 1894 [b] [L. Freyberger] 'Zum 13 März', *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* No. 21, 13 March 1894 -[c] F. Engels, *To the Fourth Austrian Party Congress.*

Please give my kindest regards to all comrades including the Berliners. Louise and Freyberger send you their cordial regards, as does

Yours,
F.E.

First published in:
*Victor Adlers Aufsäze, Reden und Briefe.*
Erstes Heft: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels,* Vienna, 1922

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## 164

## ENGELS TO PABLO IGLESIAS

### IN MADRID

[Draft]

[London, 26 March, 1894]

My dear friend Iglesias!

I duly received your letter dated 24 November, and I begin my reply by stating that this letter will be the last, if you persist in addressing me as 'usted'. Indeed, I have reason to feel offended by the fact that you refuse to address me in the manner customary among old members of the International and comrades-in-arms, the form of address which Anselmo Lorenzo, and many other comrades, old and young[a] accorded me as far back as 1872. So. let us please address each other as 'tu'!

I shall continue in French: I have not written in Spanish for more than twenty years now, and it would take me all day to write a letter in Spanish. Please forgive me![b]

Well now. I am very sorry that I missed the opportunity to see you in Zurich. [189] When I arrived at the Tonhalle[c] on the Saturday morning, many friends came to talk with me in the restaurant before going in to

[a] The following words are crossed out by Engels: 'French, German, Austrian, Swiss and others'. — [b] This part of the letter is written in Spanish, then follows the French text. -[c] The meeting-place of the Congress.

the meeting: I asked almost all of them to go and find the Spanish delegation, and to tell you that I was waiting for you; however, no one came. After the congress ended, I was told that I would certainly see you in the afternoon, on the steamboat. However, I looked for you in vain, and now I know what had happened. On the Sunday, no one was able to tell me where you were staying. I was told time and again that you had left, and I lost all hope of meeting you. I was extremely sorry, since one of the reasons, and not the least, why I came to Zurich was the hope of seeing my old friend Iglesias face to face and shaking his hand.

Thank you for sending me regularly *El Socialistae,* which I read with great pleasure every Saturday evening, and from which I have the satisfaction of seeing that you are gradually spreading across the whole of Spain, that socialism is being established on the ruins of Carlism [352] in the Basque countries, and that far away provinces of Galicia and Asturia are beginning to join the movement. Good luck!

As for the anarchists, they are perhaps on the verge of killing themselves. This fever of violence, this volley of assassinations, senseless and, in the final analysis, paid for and incited by the police, cannot but open the eyes of the bourgeoisie to the nature of this propaganda of madmen and agents provocateurs. [353] Even the bourgeoisie will realise in the end that it is absurd to pay the police, and through the police the anarchists, to blow up the very bourgeois who pay them. And if now we also risk suffering from the bourgeois reaction, we shall benefit in the long run because this time we shall succeed in proving to everyone that there is a world of difference between ourselves and the anarchists.

Over here the movement is progressing quite slowly. There is certainly a strong tendency towards socialism among the working masses. However, the historical conditions in England are such that this tendency in the masses produces, among the leaders, a host of different cross-currents which even fight against each other. Here, as in France, there will only be unity when there are some socialists in parliament. Today there are only two—which is one too many, or at least, too few.

In Italy the situation is becoming critical and revolutionary. I am sending you the *Critica Sociale* with an article which I have written on the request of my friends from Milan. [334]

In Germany we are continuing as usual. It is a well-organised and well-disciplined army which is growing every day, and which is advancing towards its goal with a sure and implacable step. In Germany we can

almost calculate the day when[a] state power will fall into our hands.

In the meantime, I draw your attention to Austria. There a great battle is in the making. The ruling classes, the feudal nobility and the bourgeoisie, have exhausted their resources. An electoral reform is now inevitable. They are trying to arrange things so that the working class will not have too many representatives in parliament. But the workers are determined, they are forcing the bourgeois to retreat step by step, until they concede universal suffrage. After Zurich I visited Vienna; judging by what I saw there, the Austrian socialists have a great future.[b]

When I had reached this point, I received your letter dated 22 March. Unfortunately I am unable to send you a few lines for 1st May, since I have to finish the final editing of the third volume of *Das Kapital,* and am obliged to refuse *any kind* of collaboration, be it in connection with 18th March, or with 1st May. And what I have refused to the French, the Germans, the Austrians and others, I also cannot do for you.

Affectionately yours.

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## 165

## ENGELS TO BENNO KARPELES

### IN VIENNA

London, 29 March 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your esteemed note of the 19th inst. (postmarked Rome) and have also just received the first half volume of your book [354]

[a] The following phrase "we are the only party capable..." is crossed out by Engels. -[b] The text that follows is in Spanish.

from Vienna. I am most grateful to you for having sent it to me.

The extent to which both science and events have progressed since the appearance in 1845 of that early work of mine[a]—a work to which you accord such honourable mention but which in my view is much overrated—cannot be better demonstrated than by the plan you were able to draw up for the elaboration of your book. The very fact that it was possible to tackle such an inquiry, embracing as it does every detail, even those which seem least significant, that might have a bearing on the point at issue within the field of investigation, and this by a simple layman, is an enormous advance in itself. May you succeed in completing your work exactly in accordance with your plan, thereby presenting us with a picture such as we have not possessed hitherto of the general situation of a large and highly interesting working-class community.

I am Sir,
Yours faithfully,
F. Engels

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## 166

## ENGELS TO HUNTER WATTS

### IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 3 April 1894

Dear Comrade,

I am very much obliged to you and the comrades of the S.D.F. [44] whose feelings you express for the honour you do me by asking me to lecture at your hall. But I am afraid I must decline. My work for our common cause lies in another branch of activity, where I believe I can be more useful,

[a] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*

and where I find full occupation for all the time at my command. Were I once to begin lecturing, at which trade moreover I am but a poor hand, I should no longer have a valid plea for resisting other invitations, and then I should have entirely to give up my present class of work. For this reason I have regularly declined all similar calls from the Fabian Society, [43] the I.L.P., [114] and other bodies, with the exception made this year of the old Communist Verein,[a] where they claimed a fifty years' hold upon me. [62]

But then, as far as the S.D.F. is concerned, there is another question to consider. You cannot but be aware that for years, up to a comparatively recent period, *Justice,* the official organ of the S.D.F., has been in the habit of charging me with all sorts of offences. These charges, mostly vague insinuations of mysterious crimes, *Justice* has never specified, never attempted to provide, and yet never withdrew.[b]

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## 167

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 11 April 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Löhr,

Your agreeable letter comes just in time. I was on the point of writing to Paul this morning, and so I have a good pretext of changing the address of my letter. I had just read your translation in the *Ere Nouvelle* and was quite charmed by it. [310] It reads better than the original, there are only

[a] Society - [b] Then there follows a number of unfinished and crossed out phrases which amount to the following: 'I am therefore compelled to consider whether under these circumstances I do not owe it to myself for the present to refrain from presenting myself as a speaker in the hall of the S.D.F., And further, whether my appearance in that capacity would not be unwelcome to a large portion, perhaps even a majority, of those to whom the hall belongs.'

two or three slight alterations I would suggest for a possible reprint.

This leads me at once to the *libertaire,* alas not *libertin!* Dühring. [355] dear girl, vous avez fait vos preuves[a]! You arrange yourself with Bonnet as most convenient. Provided *the Manuscript passes through your hands,* it's all right and I will gladly look it over—within the limits of my time, *cela s'entend,*[b] which limits I am sorry to say are very narrow and don't look as if they were going to expand, on the contrary!

But I do wish you could use your talents and energies for some other kind of work which, besides credit, would also bring cash into the pocket of the worker. Could no arrangement be made with Carré for something of that sort?

I send you a No. of the *Rheinische Zeitung,* edited, as maybe you are aware, by the grand Karl Hirsch (since the 1st April). It is not, however, in order to give you a specimen of his elucubrations that I send it to you, but because it gives a report of the motion brought out in the Reichstag by Count Kanitz, [356] one of the most shining lights amongst those Prussian Junkers who are, according to Hermann Wagener, their theoretical champion, either *Ochsen von Geburt oder Ochsen aus Prinzip.*[c] This motion, made in the interest of the landed aristocracy of Eastern Germany, is almost literally the proposition [made by] *Jaurès*[d] which was to show the way to the socialist world how to use their parliamentary position in the interest of the working class and the peasantry. The same Count Kanitz has, the other day, proclaimed a new way to pay old debts, for the benefit of the German Empire: sell all your gold coin and replace it by about 4 milliards silver coin, which will leave 2 milliards clear profit (silver being bought at 28 pence the ounce and being turned into money at 60 pence an ounce) wherewith to wipe out the Imperial debt. Now if I wanted to be malicious, I might ask M. Jaurès whether, in return for Kanitz's acceptance of his corn motion, he would not accept Kanitz's silver motion which looks equally socialistic, and which, from an economic standpoint, is not a bit more objectionable. But I will be generous, even with Jaurès, and leave him alone; our French comrades, however, I cannot refrain from observing, ought really to look a little closer into the proposals of their ex-radical allies,[e] before they accept them blindfolded. A few more such escapades, and their reputation as political economists will be in great danger.

[a] you have proved yourself! - [b] be it understood - [c] oxen by birth or oxen on principle - [d] See this volume, p. 275 - [e] Ibid., p. 276

Of the *Discours sur le libre échange*[a] there exists but *one* copy which I by some accident got hold of through a second-hand catalogue. If that were to get lost, the whole thing, in the French original at least, would be lost *for ever,* I cannot send it unless there are strong guarantees against loss. I expect to-night a new *Postal guide* containing the latest information as to the international postal insurance arrangements; if these are satisfactory I will forward the thing to you at once, otherwise try some other means. Anyhow a reprint would be in every respect highly desirable. [357] In the meantime I will send you another copy of the English translation published in Boston. [358]

Sorel's *Métaphysique*[b] I really have not had time to read. I am awfully busy; deep in the Rent of Land (Vol. II I[c]) which causes me a deal of trouble by Mohr's tables being almost without exception miscalculated—you know what a genius he was for figures!—and having to be recast. And 15 sheets are already printed so that there is no time to be lost with the remainder of the Manuscript. And then the hot weather—just as you have it at Le Perreux. In there anything *in* that Sorel's study?

Louise thanks you for your letter and will soon write to you; sends her kindest regards. Her husband is getting quite a reputation here as an anatomical preparator; he works a good deal for the anatomical Museum at Middlesex Hospital; the clumsy people here cannot come up to the Vienna standard in these delicate matters.

We have Gertrud Liebknecht here, back from America, but hardly much improved there.

Just read Paul's letter in the *Vorwärts*—capital.[d] So good that even Berlin translations cannot spoil it.

Ever your old
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance,* t. II I, 1891-1895, Paris, 1959

Reproduced from the original

[a] *Speech on Free Trade*—[b] G. Sorel, 'L'ancienne et la nouvelle métaphysique', *L'Ère nouvelle,* None 3, 4, 5 and 6, March, April, May and June 1894 - [c] of *Capital* -[d] [P. Lafargue] Gallus, 'Die Heldenthaten der französischen Polizei', *Vorwärts,* No. 82, 10 April 1894

168

# ENGELS TO FILIPPO TURATI[359]

IN MILAN

London, 12 April 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Turati,

I am sending you by post the Anglo-American edition *{Discourse on Free Trade.* [358] K. Marx) of your discourse, and the German translation of *The Poverty of Philosophy,* where you will find this speech in the appendix.[a] As for the French text, this is to be reprinted in the Paris *L'Ère Nouvelle.* [357] There is only one copy of the French text, namely mine, and if it is lost there will be no way to replace it. I therefore still do not know how to send it to Paris, for if I have a copy made here, this will mean loss of time, and I have too much experience of the post to entrust the original to it.

The 2nd volume of *Capital* came but in Hamburg, published by *Otto Meissner,* as the 1st was, in 1893 (2nd edition). If I am not mistaken, the price is 6 marks. The same publishers are to issue the 3rd volume in September, to the great pleasure of the illustrious Achille Loria, a charlatan who warned everyone that Marx had never written this 3rd volume, but was always referring the reader to it simply to make a fool of him. [360]

Kindest regards from myself and Mme Freyberger (ex Kautsky, she has just married a young Austrian doctor living here) to Mme Kulishov.

Yours,
F. Engels

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[a] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy.*

169

# ENGELS TO HENRY WILLIAM LEE

IN LONDON

[London], 16 April 1894
H. W. Lee. Secretary
Social Democratic Federation

Dear Comrade,

Both you and the party who suggested to you the idea of my lecturing for you, [361] must have been aware that I have so far made it a rule not to lecture anywhere. But apart from that, I find myself in a peculiar position with regard to you, that is, if I rightly understand your letter, the Social Democratic Federation. [44]

You cannot ignore that for a long series of years and up to a comparatively recent period, *Justice,* the organ of the S.D.F., has constantly attacked me and brought all sorts of charges against me. While no attempt has ever been made to prove these charges, they have never been withdrawn. Nor has the S.D.F. ever disclaimed any responsibility for what *Justice* wrote. In consequence I have been compelled to keep entirely aloof from the S.D.F. and do not see how I can change my attitude unless that difficulty is entirely removed.

Yours faithfully,
F. E.

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170

# ENGELS TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF A FRENCH SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER[362]

*[Draft]*

London, 24 April 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear citizen,

I have received your letter dated 20th of this month, but unfortunately I am quite unable to provide an article for the 1st May issue of your newspaper.

To begin with, I am unwell at the moment. However, even if I were in the best of health, the urgent work that I am presently engaged in (the publication of the 3rd volume of *Capital* by Marx) and that I cannot lay aside makes it impossible for me to undertake any other literary work. I have already warned those of our friends with whom I corresponded, and asked them to excuse me. You can well understand that I cannot now do for you that which I have officially refused to do for our friends in Spain, Austria and other countries.

I wish your newspaper every success, and send my fraternal greetings to the editorial committee.

Yours sincerely,
F.E.

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171

## ENGELS TO CARL EBERLE

IN BARREN

London, 24 April 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Comrade,

Your letter of 21 March arrived a day or two ago as did the album of Barmen you so very kindly sent me, and I should like to say how very grateful I am to the Social Democratic Club in Barmen and, in particular, to the compiler of the album, for this kind and for me both flattering and agreeable gift. Indeed it was an unexpected pleasure to be able to see the enormous changes that have taken place in Barmen during the twenty years that I have been away. I feel completely lost. Other than by the station and on one, the older, side of the Werther Bollwerk, I can no longer tell where I am from the pictures. Even the view taken on the Neuenweg, which surely cannot be more than a few minutes walk from the Bruch, is utterly strange to me. Only our old house remains unaltered.

Though it is cheering to see these signs of an upheaval that has changed the Barmen of my youth from a small philistine backwater into a large industrial town, what nevertheless pleases me most is the fact that people there have also experienced a significant change for the better. Had that not been the case, Barmen would even now be represented in the Reichstag by an out-and-out Conservative, some thoroughly sanctimonious 'swell', nor could there be any question of a Social Democratic Club in Barmen, while the last thing that would have occurred to Barmen's working men would have been to honour me with an album. Fortunately, however, the revolution in the appearance of the town is attended by a revolution in the minds of its working men and for us that is a guarantee of a far mightier and more comprehensive revolution in the world as presently constituted. With sincere regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 172

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 11 May 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Laura,

Just two lines.

Have the proofs of the *Discours sur le libre échange* [363] gone to Milan? If not, do please see that they are sent *at once.* Turati has published in the *Critica Sociale* a text which is a *traduction*[a] from the Russian of something made out of something in German, [364] and moreover so abbreviated that it is anything but Mohr. Now they threaten to publish this *en brochure.* And unless they get the French text soon, I shall not even be able to haul them over the coals for it, as they are doing 'their text' !

Surely it will be possible to make our French friends to treat business as business for once!

Just come back from town where we sent off the *last* of the Manuscript of Vol. II I,[b]

If you get the *Neue Welt* with the *Vorwärts* or some other German paper, look at Aus finsteren Zeiten'[c] in No. 18. You will find there your grand-parents and Mohr transmogrified into a romance and I wish you may relish it.

Kind regards from Louise. Monsieur Guesde neither turned up nor wrote a line of excuse, *Les français sont si polis!*[d]

Ever yours
F. E.

[a] translation -[b] of *Capital*-[c] 'Aus finsteren Zeiten', *Die Neue Welt,* Nos. 18 and 19, 1894 — [a] The French are so polite.

The *lazy woman*[a] says she is just writing 30 letters to Trades Unions and others anent an Austrian strike, and says she should be very glad of your assistance if she could have it.

Avvocato F. Turati
Portíci Galleria, V. E. 23
Milano, Italia

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## 173

## ENGELS TO FILIPPO TURATI

IN MILAN

London, 11 May 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Turati,

I am returning to you, *registered Post,* the proofs of *Libero Scambio, etc.,* together with the English edition, [358] which I would ask you to keep. The translation of my introduction is very good, except for a few points that are technically difficult—you will find the appropriate indications. However, Marx's speech, which is published in the *Critica Sociale,* is not a translation but a *summary* [364] that I despair of setting in order. I have written again to Paris [25] to ask them to send you the French original. In the meantime please compare with the English text. If you publish the text according to *Critica Sociale,* you will receive complaints that this is not the author's text, that this is to take liberties which are tantamount to *forgery,* etc., and unfortunately I will find it impossible to come to your aid, It would be better to rewrite it—it is not very long—than to expose oneself to such complaints.

[a] Louise Freyberger

Yours,
Engels

Greetings to Mme Anna Kulishov and you from Louise Kautsky-Freyberger and myself.

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Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

## 174

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[366]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 12 May 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sorge,

Yesterday we sent to you through G.W. Wheatley & Co (New York ADDRESS, U.S. Express Co., 49, Broadway) a parcel containing Morris-Bax and the Berlin Lassalle in fifty parts, which I trust will reach you before long. CARRIAGE *PAID.* On the same day the remainder of the ms. of Volume II I[b] went off to Hamburg, thereby removing a heavy load from my mind. The two final sections made me 'sweat good and proper'.[c] There will be sixty sheets of which twenty have already been set up in type.

I was greatly relieved to hear that the *Holy Family* had safely returned into your keeping after its strange Odyssey.[d] On the other hand the news about your eyes is most distressing. I hope you will consult a good specialist, for a lot can be done if steps are taken in good time. For the past fifteen years I too have had trouble with my eyes off and on. Having taken medical

[a] W. Morris and E. B. Bax, *Socialism, its Growth and Outcome,* London, New York, 1893; *F. Lassalle, Reden und Schriften,* Bd. 1-3, Berlin, 1892-1893 - [b] of *Capital*- [c] See K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. II I, Ch. 37-42 and 48-52 - [d] See this volume, pp. 250, 272, 282

advice I have again reached the stage at which the thing no longer bothers me at all, provided only that I don't write too much by lamplight.

Not long ago I caught a cold, which left me in no doubt that I am now an old man at last. On this occasion, what I had previously been able to treat as a minor annoyance, pretty well laid me low for a week and kept me under draconian medical supervision for a whole fortnight after that. Even now, I am expected to take care of myself for another fortnight, no less. It was a mild form of bronchitis which is not to be taken lightly in the case of the elderly, especially when, like myself, they have continued to tipple away merrily. Needless to say, I find this business of taking care of myself thoroughly distasteful, but Freyberger was, after all, quite right to prescribe it for me and, as to seeing that I carry it out, that is the province of Argus-eyed Louise who has doubled and tripled her vigilance. I think I have already written and told you [a] that we left our domestic arrangements as little changed as possible when we took in the young husband as a boards and lodger. All very nice and jolly, it is true, but only, alas, so long as one is in good health. Never in my born days have I been so plagued with medical attention as during this past month and I can only console myself with the thought that it was all done for my own good.

Dietzgen and wife were here for an hour or two on Sunday afternoon but unfortunately missed Tussy. I have given him recommendations to Bebel and Kautsky. They were very nice people.

I hope that your son[b] has since found a situation. With his knowledge of business, and having by now doubtless rid himself of a good many illusions as a result of practical experience, a bright young man like that should always fall on his feet in America.

Things are little changed over here. There is no chance of achieving any kind of unity amongst the labour leaders. But the *masses* are nevertheless moving ahead, Slowly it is true, and only now striving to acquire consciousness, yet the process is unmistakeable. It will be the same here as in France and, before that, in Germany: Unification will be forced upon them as soon as a number of independent working men (especially those who have been elected without the help of the Liberals) secure seats in Parliament. This the Liberals are doing their utmost to prevent. They are not 1. extending the franchise to the people who—*on paper*—already have it, but are, on the contrary, 2. ensuring that the registers of electors

[a] See this volume, p. 284 — [b] Adolph Sorge

will involve the *candidates* in greater expense than hitherto, since they are now to be compiled twice a year, the cost of compiling a *correct* register being borne by the candidates or the representatives of the political *parties* and not by the state. They have categorically rejected the principle of 3. electoral expenses being borne by the state or the municipality, also 4. of parliamentary salaries and 5. of second ballots. The retention of all these old abuses amounts to the outright disqualification of the labour candidates in at least three-quarters of the constituencies. Parliament is to remain a *rich man's club.* And this at a time when the rich, because content with the status quo, are all turning Conservative, while the Liberal Party is *slowly dying,* and becoming ever more dependent on the Labour vote. The Liberals, however, insist that the working man should only vote for a bourgeois and not for a working man, let alone an independent working man.

This will be the undoing of the Liberals. Their lack of courage is alienating the country's Labour voters, dissipating their small majority in Parliament, and, unless they make some *very bold* moves at the eleventh hour, they will probably be done for. Thereupon the Tories will take the helm and *carry out* what the Liberals intended—not merely to promise—actually to do. And in that case an independent Labour party is pretty well assured.

The Social Democratic Federation [44] over here and your German-American Socialists [367] share the distinction of being the only parties that have contrived to reduce Marx's theory of development to a rigid orthodoxy which the working man is not expected to arrive at by virtue of his own class consciousness; rather it is to be promptly and without preparation rammed down his throat as an article of faith. Hence they have both remained mere sects, having come, as Hegel puts it, from nothing by way of nothing to nothing.[a] I have not yet had time to read Schlüter's controversy with your Germans, but shall tackle it tomorrow. Judging by the *Volkszeitung's* earlier articles, it would seem that the right note has been struck.

Give my warm regards to your wife and let us have some better news from you soon. Warm regards.

Yours,

F. E.

[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaß der Logik*

Warm regards from Louise.

First published abridged in: *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von ]oh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere,* Stuttgart, 1906 and in full, in Russian, in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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## 175

## ENGELS TO BORIS KRICHEVSKY

### IN WEGGIS

*[Draft]*

[London,] 20 May 1894

Dear Sir,

I note from your letter of the 10th inst. that you have made and already sent to the printers a Russian translation of my works on Russia which recently appeared in Berlin, just as you did previously in the case of other writings by Marx and myself. [368]

I must needs draw your attention to the fact that, in accordance with the Berne Convention [303] *Introduction to Wage Labour and Capital* by Marx (1891) as well as the above-mentioned works are my literary property and that translations of them into foreign languages may not be published in the countries of the Union without my permission. Even though the matter of fees may play only a subordinate or no role at all in cases such as these, or where genuine party undertakings are concerned, I am nevertheless obliged to assert my rights in the interests of the cause, for otherwise it would mean my assuming joint responsibility for the publication of translations by unqualified or otherwise incompetent persons. And since I have already committed myself to a third party, I am under a twofold obligation.

So far as I am aware, it has hitherto been customary in the party, even in the case of translations of works unprotected by the Berne Convention, to show consideration for the writer by applying to him for authorisation.

When, however, a work falls within the terms of the Berne Convention, this is not simply a polite formality but the translator's bounden duty. You have chosen to ignore this. I hereby protest against your conduct and reserve all my rights.

My objection to the publication of an unauthorised Russian translation of my works on Russia from *Internationales aus dem 'Volksstaat'* is all the greater in that I have already made over the translation rights in the Russian language for these and other works, namely to Mrs Vera Zasulich.

This disposes once and for all with your inquiry regarding my preface.

Yours very truly

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## 176

## ENGELS TO GEORGI PLEKHANOV[369]

IN MORNEX (France)

London, 21 May, 1894

My dear Plekhanov,

First of all, please spare me 'mentor'—my name is simply Engels.

Next, thank you for your information. I have sent a registered letter to M. Krichevsky to say that the introduction to *Wage Labour and Capital,*[a] and also the articles on Russia in *Articles on International Themes from the Newspaper 'Volksstaat'* [370] are, according to the Berne Convention, [303] my literary property, and that any translation requires my consent; that I am obliged, in the interests of the cause, to stand upon my rights in order to prevent translations by incapable or otherwise incompetent[b] (or

[a] These words are written by Engels in Russian. See previous letter. - [b] A German word as given in parenthesis *'unbefungt'* (meaning unauthorised).

unauthorised) individuals; that therefore it was simply his duty to request my permission beforehand, which he did not do; that as a result I *would enter a formal protest against his actions, and reserve all my rights;* that, as regards the articles on Russia, I protested all the more since I had already committed myself, having granted authorisation for a Russian translation of these and other works to Madame Vera Zasulich.

If he now persists in publishing, we shall see; in any case, please let me know if it appears, and send me a copy.

As he also announces a translation of Kautsky's *Erfurt Programme,*[a] I felt obliged to warn the latter of the methods being used in my regard. [25] I told him nothing of what you wrote to me, but I told him that dishonesty was involved, and that he should get in touch with you to learn more.

I hoped to see Mendelson yesterday evening, but I hear that his wife is ill. If I can, I shall go to see him this week.

Thank you in advance for the copy of your Chernyshevsky.[b] I await it impatiently.

Here things are moving, albeit slowly and in zigzags. Take, for example, Mawdsley, the leader of the Lancashire textile workers. He is a *Tory,* a conservative in politics, and a pious believer in religion. Three years ago, these people were furious over the 8 hours day, and now they themselves insist on it. In a recent manifesto, Mawdsley, who a year ago was a vehement opponent of any separate politics by the working class, declares that the textile workers should think about direct representation in parliament, and a workers' newspaper in Manchester calculates that the textile workers in the county of Lancashire alone would control twelve seats in parliament. You will see: it is the trade-unions that will enter parliament; it is not the class but the branch of industry which is asking to be represented. But that is also a step forward. First let us break the subordination of the workers to the two large bourgeois parties by having textile workers in parliament, as we already have miners. When there are a dozen branches of industry represented, class consciousness will explode of its own accord.

To complete the comedy, in this same manifesto Mawdsley requests bi-metallism [299] in order to preserve the supremacy of English cotton fabrics on the Indian market!

[a] phrase in Russian - [b] G. W. Plekhanov, *N. G. Tschernyschewski. Eine literar-historische Studie,* Stuttgart, 1894.

One can only despair at these English workers with their sense of imaginary national superiority, their essentially bourgeois ideas and opinions, their narrow 'practical' viewpoint, and the rampant parliamentary corruption which has infected their leaders. Yet things are moving nonetheless. Only the 'practical' English will arrive the last, but when they arrive, they will put a very heavy weight on the scales.

My greetings to Axelrod and his family,

Yours,
F. Engels

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## 177

## ENGELS TO STANISLAV MENDELSON

### IN LONDON

[London,] 22 May 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Mendelson,

I have received a long letter from Georgi Plekhanov which contains many things with regard to you and the Polish movement. I intended to read it to you last Sunday, but I have learned that Mme Mendelson was taken ill and that therefore you had to stay at home. If this be convenient to you, I shall come to see you the day after tomorrow, Thursday, from 2 to 2.30 in the afternoon, together with Mme Freyberger, who would like to see how Mme Mendelson is feeling.

Yours truly,
F. Engels

Our compliments to Mme Mendelson, who, we hope, is doing better.

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## 178

## ENGELS TO GEORGI PLEKHANOV

IN MORNEX (France)

London, 22 May 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Plekhanov,

Yesterday, shortly after my letter to you had left, Bernstein and Kautsky arrived at my house. That has inevitably changed my plans. I thought that I ought—even without waiting for your express permission—to read them your letter, and put them both in a position to judge for themselves of the Krichevsky business. The impression this created on them will, I believe, be everything you could have desired. Indeed, however much one might wish to remain neutral in issues and disputes within the Russian emigre community, one cannot excuse the behaviour of Krichevsky as regards the translation of the *Soziales aus Russland* [368] after learning about the translation undertaken by Vera Zasulich.[a] As for the rest, these gentlemen knew Karl Kautsky had given his consent to the translation of his Erfurt Programme[b]; however, he thought that it was to be printed in Russia, or at least, he had not the slightest idea that it would be published in Switzerland.

Ignatiev[c] is, so Kautsky told me, the pseudonym of Helfond (or some name similar to that), who is in Stuttgart. You probably know him. However, as I do not have Kautsky's authorisation to use this information, I would ask you to treat it as strictly confidential. According to Kautsky and Bernstein, it would seem that Helfond is an honourable fellow who has fallen into Jogiches' trap by accident rather than malicious intent.

[a] See this volume, p. 303 - [b] in Russian -[c] in Russian in the original.

Yours,

F.E.

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## 179

## ENGELS TO BORIS KRICHEVSKY

### IN WEGGIS

*[Draft]*

London, 31 May 1894

Dr B. Krichevsky, Weggis[a]

You have my permission to sell off the copies already in print of your Russian edition of *Wage Labour and Capital* along with my introduction, and I note with satisfaction that you will refrain from publishing my other works. [368]

Apart from that, I thank you for your letter of the 25th which I look upon as a most valuable contribution to the characterisation of certain trends amongst the Russian émigrés. Any inclination I might have to discuss its contents is tempered by the consideration that you yourself probably do not expect to impress anybody with these time-worn catchphrases à la Nechayev, since you yourself are doubtless aware how ludicrous it is to seek to act the Social Democrat while behaving like an anarchist.

But when you say 'that we could have had *no inkling* that you had already made over the translation rights to someone else', you might really have spared yourself that downright falsehood. You knew long before you wrote your letter of the 10th of May that V. Zasulich and Plekhanov were preparing a Russian translation of 'On Social Relations in Russia'. In view of the character of these people and the friendly relationship I have enjoyed with them for many years, it goes without saying that they would

[a] See also this volume, p. 302

not have done so without my consent, and of this you quite definitely had more than an 'inkling'.

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## 180

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

### IN ST. PETERSBURG

London, 1 June 1894

My dear Sir,

Last week I forwarded to you sheets 7 to 16 incl. of Vol. II P and hope you have received them. They were *registered,* and my name as sender at the back (L. K.[b]). [371]

I am glad to learn of the success of the 'Essays'.[c] I hope a new edition is in the press. I should be very glad if I could find a German translator for the book, unfortunately most of the translation work from Russian into German is done by ladies, generally not well prepared for economic work.

With many thanks I received the Russian *'Origin' etc.,* [372] the translation, as far as I have read, seems to me very well done, and on the whole the censorship seems to have dealt leniently with the book.

The sheets were sent rather late, but it was the fault of the publisher who delayed them a long time. It is very hard work reading the proofsheets of a book like this. You will find in the sheets sent the solution of the question how the different rates of surplus value are equalised into one and the same average rate of profits, the law of the tendency of that rate of profits constantly to fall, and the mode in which commercial capital participates in the distribution of surplus value. This comes to a conclusion in Sheet

[a] of *Capital*- [b] Louise Kautsky - [c] Nikolai-on. [Danielson], *Outlines of our Post-Reform National Economy,* 1893 [title in Russian]

21, in which the 5th Section opens: the splitting up of profits into interest and 'profits of enterprise' *(Zins und Unternehmergewinn),* moneyed capital generally, banking and credit. This section fills up *a whole third* of the book; it has cost me more trouble than all the rest. — The last third consists of section VI: Rent of Land, and VII : the three kinds of revenue: Rent, profits (interest), wages.

The last of the Manuscript is in the printer's hands. But I only now find what an enormous amount of arrears of work I have on my hands, as everything not absolutely necessary had to be put back in order to finish Vol. 3rd. This must be my excuse if I do not now recur to some of the economic questions previously discussed between us. As it is, I think we both have plenty of work on our hands and better leave that discussion for another time.

Yours very sincerely
L. K.

The volumes on industrial and agricultural development of Russia (Chicago Exhibition) [373] have reached me. Please accept my hearty thanks. They are very useful indeed, especially when compared with the 'Essays'.

First published, in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody,* No. 2, 1908

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## 181

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[35]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 2 June 1894

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith the cheque for £20. Please acknowledge receipt.

The last bit of the manuscript of Vol. II P is at the printer's. What a

[a] K. Marx, *Capital*

relief! But the proof-sheets are giving me a rough time; they need close, unremitting attention, it's wearisome! And Meissner employs a rather careless printer, which makes my job twice as hard. Add to this that Dietz is printing the 3rd edition of my *Anti-Dühring and* you can take my word for it when I say that I am literally overwhelmed by proof-sheets.

Your description of fashionable socialism in France gave me a good laugh. But it could turn out to be a serious matter. If you had a strong, steady army like the two million German voters, well and good; that would control the heterogeneous mass of newcomers. But with a Party split into Marxists, Blanquists, [20] Allemanists, [21] Broussists [30], and several other ists, not to mention the ex-Radicals [86] of the Millerand stamp who boss all the others in the Chamber, it is very hard to say where this new fashion is going to lead you. You compare it to Boulangism [6]: Boulangism, after a few months' spree, ended in the mire and in ignominy. In a movement of this kind it is pretty well certain that phrase-mongers like Jaurès, who already arrogate to themselves the sole right to speak for you all in the Chamber, will boss things.

Today they have the ear of the House where they silence our people, tomorrow they will have the ear of the nation.

It is always on the cards that the whole thing will not turn out too badly, and even well; but, in the meantime, you will go through some curious experiences, and I am glad for us all that there is a solid combat corps in Germany whose actions will decide the battle. This socialist mania which is emerging in your country may lead to a decisive struggle in which you will win the first victories; the revolutionary traditions of the country and of the capital, the character of your army, reorganised since 1870 on a far more popular basis—all this makes such an eventuality possible. But to ensure victory, to destroy the foundations of capitalist society, you will need the active support of a much stronger, more numerous, more tried and more conscious socialist party than you have at your command. It would mean the achievement of what we have foreseen and predicted for many years. The French give the signal, open fire, and the Germans decide the battle.

In the meantime, we are nowhere near that and I am very curious to see how the confused enthusiasm surrounding you will resolve itself.

Even Carl Hirsch noted in the *Rheinische Zeitung* that behind all this noise over Turpin [374] there are but bourse speculators. It is only the English press that is forbidden to say this and consequently, it pretends to see in that an affair of high and low politics. Here one is sure that behind

any great political affair there must be the bourse and the smart operators, and this is why it is strictly forbidden to speak of that. Protestant bourgeois hypocrisy! Look at Jabez Balfour and at Mundella who has just resigned from his ministry and for good reason; look at Sir J. Ferguson and Sir J. Gorst, who are also implicated and who probably have made themselves ineligible for any future Tory ministry.[375]

The other day Kautsky came to us—he has been four times to us. Louise and her husband received him in the most amiable manner; if someone was embarrassed, it was not they.

As to your medallion (that is to say, mine), this will make difficulties. Once I was foolish enough to have myself photographed in profile, but this will never happen to me again. I have such a foolish look that I would rather not have my portrait in profile go down to posterity. However, I would be pleased to see the medallion of Marx (send it also for Tussy, please!), and I am quite curious if your artist has succeeded in reproducing the nose which, in profile, has really impossible lines.

Kiss Laura on my behalf!

Greetings from Louise and Ludwig. The latter continues trying to get English physicians to see how much their colleagues on the continent are superior in real science, anatomy, physiology, pathology, etc.

Cordially yours,

F. Engels

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Translated from the French

## 182

## ENGELS TO WITOLD JODKO-NARKEVICH

### IN LONDON

[London,] 5 June 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Jodko,

I cannot recall exactly whether you have translated and published

in Przedswit my article Eine polnische *Proklamation* (Internationales, aus dem 'Volksstaat' [370]). If you have, please send me another copy of *Przedswit* with this article; some Polish students from Vienna have asked me for permission to translate it.[a]

Yours

F. Engels

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## 183

## ENGELS TO STANISLAW ZABLOCKI

### IN VIENNA

*[Draft]*

[London,] 7 June 1894

Dear Sir,

As you will see from the enclosed, the article in question [376] has already been published in Polish here, first in the London journal *Przedswit,* nos. 1-3. March 1894; it is now about to appear in pamphlet form also, together with two other pieces of mine, 'The Bakuninists at Work' and 'On Social Relations in Russia'. Since this pamphlet will soon be coming out—in an easily smuggled pocket edition—it would hardly seem worthwhile your making a new translation.

The editors of the *Przedswit* (Al. Debski), 7 Beaumont Square, Mile End, London, E., will be very glad to furnish you with any further particulars.

Yours very truly

I am sending you *Przedswit* by book post.[b]

[a] See next letter. - [b] See previous letter

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## 184

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

London, 19 June 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Baron,

If you would like to have two chapters from Volume II P for the *Neue Zeit:*

1. Interest and Profit of Enterprise (Chap. XXII I)
2. Externalisation of the Relations of Capital in the Form of Interest-Bearing Capital (Chap. XXIV),

I shall gladly place them at your disposal. Their content lends itself very well to this type of publication, while at the same time they do not contain any of the major solutions which should only appear in context and, for that very reason, should be reserved for publication in toto. No. 2 contains amongst other things the story of Dr Price, Mr Pitt, and the compound interest hocus-pocus[b]. If you would like to have them, I shall delete such notes, etc., as are not required from the first proof-sheets and send them to you as soon as I have got the revises, in about eight or sixteen days' time.

I have also routed out the old article *von den letzten Dingen*[c] which I am at last licking into shape for you (I resume after having been interrupted for two and a half hours by Liebknecht and Julius,[d] who have just left), but am changing it and giving it a different title[e]; since the time I began it I have been able to study many new things, some of them in the field of early Christianity.

[a] of *Capital*-[b] A reference to Richard Price's pamphlet, *Appeal to the Public on the Subject of the National Debt* (1771) and its supposed influence on Pitt's policy. - [c] *of Last Things.* — [d] Motteler - [e] *On the History of Early Christianity.*

But if I am to complete the aforesaid work, I must conclude this letter from which you will, I hope, see that my thoughts revert to the *Neue Zeit* whenever Old Father Time allows.[a]

Many regards from one household to another,

Yours,
F. Engels

First published in:
*Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky,* Prag, 1935

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## 185

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

London, 26 June 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Baron,

Marx's two chapters' [5] despatched by registered mail at the same time as this. You might entitle them: 'From Book II I of *Capital* by K. Marx'—I and II , and indicate in a note that these are Chapters XXII I and XXIV, taken from Part V, 'Division of Profit into Interest and Profit of Enterprise. Interest-bearing Capital'. The titles of the chapters must be retained in each case. In order to simplify things I have deleted the Greek, also all the notes save one important one.

The article 'On the History of Early Christianity'—that is what I shall probably call the thing—is in hand and, WELL ADVANCED. But yesterday there was a Händel festival at the Crystal Palace and Louise, I and the Avelings went to hear *The Messiah.* Today I have got to deal with my let-

[a] A play of words in the original: *Neue Zeit* (New Times) and 'alte Zeit'—old time. - [b] See previous letter.

ters and tomorrow I shall probably buckle to again, but Liebknecht is here and we are having a heat-wave.

Thank you for the bit of the *Volksanwalt.* As regards the thing from the *Critica Sociale,* [334] Victor has really been leading me up the garden path. After I had agreed to let him have it, he simply dropped the thing altogether and now proposes to await the moment when it 'becomes topical' again. Next time I shall be more wary; he treats his contributors in a very odd way. Well, I look forward keenly to seeing what the fate of your daily will be. [377] Not, I hope, that of Guesde's and Lafargue's *Socialiste* quotidien *'pour paraître en octobre' ;* [280] only yesterday we were chaffing poor Bonnier about it when he passed this way.

So Carnot has been stabbed to death. A poor, stupid, boring fellow—the first Frenchman to rise to the top through being a bore—and *in France* too! But now Alexander II I will repudiate the French alliance. 'Merci,' he will say, 'there's plenty of that sort of thing to be had at home and at less expense!' Incidentally, there might be a certain element of vengeance for Aiguesmortes in this. [378] I shall be curious to see how the sixty self-styled 'Socialists' in the Chamber will now behave.[a] That the affair will be exploited *à la* Hödel there can be no doubt, but on the other hand the sixty will weigh heavily in the scales at the presidential elections next Wednesday.[b]

Kindest regards from one household to the other.

Yours,

F.E.

27 June. Left unfinished yesterday,

Benno Karpeles intervened. During the past three days there has been 1. One Hellmut von Gerlach of Berlin, 2. Liebknecht, 3. Karpeles and, today, 4. Prof. Tönnies of Kiel—not to mention the Händel Festival the day before yesterday—so how can a man be expected to work?

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*Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky,*
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[a] See this volume, p. 262 - [b] 27 June

186

## ENGELS TO OTTO WACHS [379]

IN BERLIN

*[Draft]*

[London, end of June-beginning of July 1894]

To Major Wachs

Unfortunately, as things are in the Party today, I was obliged to maintain a certain reserve in view of the fact that he[a] contributes to *Das Volk.* Not because of the paper's standpoint which would have counted for little in a purely personal relationship, but until very recently its editor-in-chief, Mr Oberwinder, played a role in, and on the periphery of, the Social Democratic Party such as to make it absolutely imperative that we also observe a certain reticence vis-à-vis his colleagues. [380] Needless to say, it would never occur to me to ask of these, Mr Oberwinder's colleagues—as to whose good faith I am not in doubt—that they should believe what we know about him. As you are aware, every social group has its own *point d'honneur*[b] and that is what is at stake in this instance amongst us Social Democrats.

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Published in English for the first time

187

## ENGELS TO BORIS KRICHEVSKY

IN WEGGIS

*[Draft]*

[London, July 1894]

Dr Krichevsky—Weggis

1. You say: 'V. Zasulich's and Plekhanov's intention was, it is true,

[a] Hellmut von Gerlach - [b] sense of honour

known to us long before the 10th of May, but only at third hand'. The said third hand was that of Mr J. Blumenfeld, whose address, 3 Ch. de la Roseraie, Genève, is the *only* one supplied on the jacket of your edition of [K. Marx, *Wage Labour and Capital]*[a]. According to the self-same advice, even subscriptions to Kautsky's work,[b] are to be sent to the same address *(no other being supplied).* If, therefore, V. Zasulich and Plekhanov sent the information in question to what was your Library's sole official address, this was perfectly adequate and it is puerile, anarchistic casuistry to describe it as information at third hand.

2. The moment you were in receipt of that information you were more than ever bounden to address yourself to *me as* the only person having the right to decide between the two claimants in this case. You did not do so because you already knew what my answer would be, because you wished to steal a march on V. Zasulich and Plekhanov in a dishonourable manner, and were counting on my bowing to a fait accompli. You were totally mistaken, because generally mistaken, in regard to the times, imagining that, at the present state of development both of the European and of the Russian socialist movement, it would be possible to revert to the old prevarications and impertinencies of a Bakunin or a Nechayev and this time, what's more, with success.

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First Russian Edition,
Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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## 188

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 4 July 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Löhr,

Tussy writes to say that the heat in Paris interferes with the free action of her intellect and in proof encloses 4 stamps 25 centimes each—I could

[a] Title in Russian - [b] Erfurt Programme [title in Russian]

have believed it without that! Anyhow I return the stamps to you as she may be leaving before they arrive.

I told Liebknecht Paul's letters were *das beste im ganzen 'Vorwärts'*[a] but he won't believe it—it's true all the same; his letter today about Carnot[b] is very good again, calm and clear judgment, none of the spasmodic paragraphs which the *Vorwärts* is so fond of launching on English and French politics.

Cannot you send me a few *Petite Républiques?* Just now the Jaures and Millerands are *on their trial,* and I am very much interested in seeing how they behave.[c] My confidence in their political and economical intellect does not exactly increase; but I shall only be too glad if they could prove me in the wrong.

Liebknecht left on Monday evening, had to speak at Aix la Chapelle on Tuesday.

Yesterday 10 sheets 3rd Vol. *Capital* which we had forwarded to Petersburg for translation were returned: *'Défendu'!*[d]

I must close—another proof-sheet to be got ready and then I have to go to town.

Love to you all
Ever yours F.
Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance,* t. II I, 1891-1895. Paris, 1959 Reproduced from the original

## 189

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER

### IN DARMSTADT

London, 5 July 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W. My

Dear Schorlemmer,

Now that the final manuscript of Volume II I of *Capital* is in the print-

[a] the best thing in the whole of *Vorwärts* - [b] [P. Lafargue,] Gallus, 'Präsident Carnot', *Vorwärts,* No. 151, 3 July 1894 - [c] See this volume, p. 262 - [d] Prohibited

ers' hands, I am once again able to turn my attention to your affairs, [199] and can let you have the much delayed reply to your note of 25.4.

There are certain snags about the continuation of Carl's major work, brought out by the Vieweg Verlag, and this also applies to all the rest of his other stuff held by that firm. When I went down to Manchester I took a look at the contracts which stipulate that if, for instance, Carl were to die before completion of the whole, Vieweg might have the work completed *by a person of his own choosing.* This is the reason for his silence and also for his failure to publish the work left behind by Carl; he obviously wishes to retain a completely free hand. Nor can he be expected to pay any further royalties. For 1. by the terms of the contract, he will pay only for mos. that are *ready for press,* i.e. no unfinished stuff, and 2. will pay no royalties in respect of new editions to which *no changes have been made.*

In short, Vieweg can do exactly as he likes and will, if he is to bring out Vol. V, in any case have to find another author for the German edition. [311]

As regards Carl's work on the history of chemistry, Siebold has written to tell me that, because of constant illness, he has not yet been able to prepare the ms. for press, nor has he yet completed his English translation. [313] The poor devil has had rotten luck with his health, his nerves being again in a very poor state, and will need a long rest and plenty of fresh air if he is to recover. As far as money matters are concerned there is no need for you to worry; they are in good hands and, as things are now, Roscoe is also in control of this aspect so that ultimately one must content oneself with the particulars he supplies in respect of payments made for work such as revision, etc. It is possible that Roscoe's task has been made somewhat easier by his having dealt with Siebold direct instead of with myself as promised, but it won't make much difference since I should in any case have had to refer him to Siebold and Klepsch in respect of all settlements and should, in the end, have had to make do with his assurances. A vital factor here is that, with the rapid advances made in chemistry, any textbook becomes out of date within a year unless constantly revised and thus, where this sort of literature is concerned, only a living author can keep his end up vis-à-vis either publishers or readers.

I had hoped I might again visit Germany this summer but shall not be able to, the reason being that precisely during the summer months and because of matters connected with my lease I must remain in the vicinity of London so as to be able to return there at any moment should need

arise; indeed, I don't even know when, if at all, I shall be able to repair to the seaside. I really ought to have got all this settled last year but I missed the opportunity while on the Continent [189] and, by the time I got back, it was too late.

You will shortly be able to read two chapters from Vol. II I of *Capital*[a] in the *Neue Zeit,* and possibly something of mine as well.[b]

Liebknecht left on Monday, having been here for over a week.

It is tremendously hot as it is no doubt where you are. In Paris the heat is said to be intolerable.

Many regards from

Yours,

F. Engels

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## 190

## ENGELS TO THE EDITOR OF THE *NEUE ZEIT*

### IN STUTTGART

[London,] 9 July 1894

At the request of Mr K. Kautsky and in reply to his inquiry from Hirsau on 7.7.94, I beg to inform you that Chapter of *Das Kapital,* p. 359, lines 9 and 10 from the top, should read: *'Welchen Rohprofit es ihm als fungierendes—Kapital... abwirft'* ['what gross profit it yields to him as functioning capital'.] Likewise, on p. 368, line 3 from the top, the expression *fungierendes Kapital'* ['functioning capital'] is correct.

Further, on p. 363, line 14 from the top, a comma may, in fact, be inserted after *desselben* ['of it'] in the sentence: *'in Form von denen das gesamte Kapital, abgesehen von dem in Geld existierenden relativ kleinen*

[a] See this volume, p. 314 - [b] F. Engels, *On the History of Early Christianity.*

*Teil desselben, vorhanden ist'* ['which make up the total capital outside of a relatively small portion of it, existing in money'], as this brings out the meaning better.[381]

I am *very pleased* about the discovery of the printing error on P. 359, namely *fungierendem* in place of *fungierendes,* for which kindly convey my best thanks to K. Kautsky,

Yours very faithfully,
F. Engels

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## 191

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

London, 16 July 1894
122 Regent' a Park Road, N. W.

Dear Baron,

My article on early Christianity [1] goes off by registered mail today to the Editor, *Neue Zeit,* Furthbachatr. 12, as does this letter, since I have not got your exact address in Hirsau and do not know how long you will be staying there.

Since the ms. is barely legible and contains many corrections, I should be glad if you could send me the galley proofs. No doubt minor amendments and additions would be admissible in the case of such comprehensive material.

There was indeed a slip of the pen in the passage from *Das Kapital,* Chapter 23, and you did me a real service in pointing it out.[b]

Because of sundry business matters I cannot go away at the moment. At the beginning of August I hope to be able to go to the seaside. Nothing

[a] F. Engels, *On the History of Early Christianity.* — [b] See previous letter.

will come of a trip to the Continent this year. At this precise moment it is raining cats and dog.

Kindest regards from one household to the other.

Yours,
F.E.

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## 192

## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

### IN VIENNA

London, 17 July 1894

Dear Victor,

I am glad that those few marks should have arrived so opportunely and trust you will use them to treat yourself to the rest and recuperation out in the country which are so absolutely essential to you. You simply *must* go away; what you need more than anything else is to recover from the wear and tear of your time in prison.[349] You yourself say you feel done in and that, if truth be told, is not surprising, so the moment you are released, out into the country with you! This would also be the best way of ensuring your wife's complete recovery.

The additional chapter (it is only the enlargement of an already extant one) in *Anti-Dühring* is by Marx, so the only work I had to do on it consisted in copying and editing.[382]

About 36 sheets of Volume II P have been set up and there will probably be more than 50 all told. Since it is wholly in Meissner's interest to get the thing out by September, it will doubtless be ready by then.

I wish your daily paper well and am already looking forward to seeing it.[377] It is really essential to set the insufferable *Vorwärts* an example of

of *Capital*

'how things are done'. The chaps can hardly fail to follow it. However, when you are in jug, one sometimes becomes aware that the *Arbeiter Zeitung,* too, has men who are unsuitable and who push themselves to the fore where they have no business to be. But once the daily is in existence, your activities as a speaker will automatically be confined to a few occasions of crucial importance, and this will mean your spending less time in jug, while a dummy editor is in any case indispensable to the paper as such, if only as the sacrificial lamb who takes upon himself the sins of the editorial department.

And again, in Vienna, you have just now a soil more favourable to a daily than that proffered by Berlin. The political movement to which you belong is in the ascendant; you are assured of getting electoral reform [270] and the very fact of fighting for a goal such as this, for an immediate political advance is of tremendous advantage to your paper. Electoral reform, however, is no more than the impulse that will set the ball rolling and will necessarily entail other concessions relating to the press, association, assembly, legal practices, etc. In short, you are engaged in an offensive and one, which, to begin with at any rate, is assured of victory. In France, Germany and Italy, on the other hand, our people are engaged in what is a by no means always promising defensive action and have to withstand the onslaught of a reaction constantly reinforced by the adherence of the most disparate parties. It is proof that—in Germany, at least,—our people have really become a power in the land, while in France, a country riddled with revolution, it is proof that our people are at least *looked upon* as a power. But none the less you are, at the moment, in a better position to fight—you are attacking, gaining ground step by step, and every fresh bit of ground you seize and occupy not only strengthens your position but brings you vast numbers of fresh reinforcements. Your primitive constitutionalism is such that there are still at least a few positions for the workers to capture, and by lawful means at that, i.e. means whereby they themselves will be politically educated—positions which *ought* to have been captured by the bourgeoisie. In our country, too, there are still positions of this kind to be taken, but these we shall only get if the impulse comes from without, from a country where the amalgamation of the old forms—feudalism, bureaucracy and police—with more or less modern, civil institutions, has given such preponderance to the first as to produce a situation of impossible complexity. And that is the happy state in which you find yourselves, not to mention the even hap-

pier one of having a workers' movement big enough and strong enough to bring things to a head and thus, I hope, provide the impulse required by Germany, France and Italy if they are temporarily to disrupt the far too premature formation of the 'one reactionary mass', [214] and replace chronic reactionary oppression with a number of civil reforms such as freedom of movement for the masses. Not until you have fought for and won electoral reform—of no matter what kind—not until then will the agitation against the three-class electoral system in Prussia [291] have any significance. And even now the fact that there is going to be some sort of electoral reform in Austria has already averted the threat that hung over universal suffrage in Germany. So at this moment you people have a very important historical mission. It is you who will constitute the vanguard of the European proletariat, and initiate the general offensive which we can only hope will not falter again before we achieve victory all along the line—and it is you yourself who will be leading that vanguard; so unless you go out into the country forthwith and thoroughly recoup your strength, you will be neglecting what is your foremost duty.

And how serious that duty is becomes all the more apparent when you reflect that the only rivals whom you might have as a vanguard are the French. You wrote and told Louise that you would like me to report on the latter. I have put it off until today because 1. last week Tussy returned from the Glassworkers' Congress in Paris and 2. Bonnier came to see us the day before yesterday and I wanted to hear *their* side of the story first. WELL, SO far as I can see, the position is this:

The last elections [208] brought some twenty-five 'Socialists'—Marxists, Broussists, [30] Allemanists, [21] Blanquists [20] and Independents—into the Chamber. At the same time they eliminated what had hitherto been the 'Radical group', also describing itself as *républicains socialistes,* [86] notably by excluding all its former leaders. Thereupon some thirty members of that group, who had been re-elected, combined under the leadership of Millerand and Jaures and suggested that they and the 'Socialists', should join forces. [169] It was a very safe move on their part for not only were they more numerous then the old Socialists, they were also united whereas the latter were fragmented into umpteen groups. In this way they once more formed in the Chamber a respectable group some fifty or sixty strong without having to offer the old Socialists anything more than a highly platonic socialist programme, the politically radical articles of which had already formed part of their earlier programme as had their general pro-

working class attitude, while the *socialisation des moyens de production*[a] still remained an innocent chimera which might perhaps acquire practical significance three or four generations hence, but certainly not any sooner.

Our twenty-five old Socialists seized on the opportunity with both hands. They were not in a position to lay down conditions, being far too disunited for that. The intention was, it is true, that they should act in concert in the Chamber, as during the elections, but that, for the rest, all the separate organisations should continue to exist alongside one another; indeed, an attempt on the part of any one group to lay down specific conditions for the new Socialists would have brought it into conflict with the others. For that matter, they would not have been Frenchmen, had not the immediate prospect of swelling their numbers in the Chamber from twenty-five to fifty-five or sixty filled them with enthusiasm, and had not present victory, or a semblance thereof, blinded them to the dangers that lay ahead. Damn it all, aren't the Germans for ever crowing about their forty-four deputies? And at one fell swoop we've got fifty-five if not sixty! *La France reprend sa place à la tête du mouvement!*[c]

The thirty or thirty-five new Socialists have entered into a marriage of convenience with Socialism. They would just as soon not have done so, but taking the plunge was the shrewdest thing for them to do. Having realised that they would not, after all, be able to carry on without the workers, they have had to ally themselves with the latter for better or for worse. But for *no-one* was that alliance an altogether voluntary affair at first, as it certainly still is not for *many* today.

Of its leading representatives, Millerand is the shrewdest and, I believe, the most sincere, but I fear that some of his bourgeois-legal prejudices are more deep-seated than he himself realises. Politically he is the most capable of the whole bunch. Jaurès is an academic and doctrinaire who enjoys the sound of his own voice and whose voice the Chamber enjoys listening to more than to that of Guesde or Vaillant because he is more closely akin to the gentlemen of the majority. I believe it is his sincere intention to turn himself into a decent Socialist but, as you know, the zeal of such neophytes is in direct relation to their lack of practical knowledge which, in the case of Jaurès, is very great. Which explains how it was that

[a] the socialisation of the means of production - [b] France will once more resume her place at the head of the movement.

in Paris Jaures tabled as socialist the self-same motion as that put forward in Berlin by Count Kanitz in the interest of the Junkers—the nationalisation of the import of grain with a view to raising the price of corn. [356] And since the old Socialists in the Chamber evince a lack of practical knowledge in *oeconomicis*[a] hardly less extreme—Lafargue's defeat at Lille means there is no one on the spot who knows anything about the subject—Guesde could not abstain from supporting at least part of the motion as 'socialist' and directed against 'speculation'. To propose to do away with 'speculation' by handing over the grain trade to a government and a government party consisting of Panamite confidence tricksters [60] is indeed a splendidly socialist idea. I have, through Bonnier and Lafargue, conveyed to the gentlemen concerned my unvarnished opinion of this colossal blunder.

I further told them that, though fusion rather than a mere alliance with the new Socialists might be their inevitable fate, they should bear in mind the possibility of there being bourgeois elements amongst the latter and that this might involve them in a conflict over principles, in which case a split might become inevitable. They must, I went on, prepare for this so that in the event the transition to a simple alliance could proceed smoothly and not surprise them into making blunders. Above all, should the chaps in the joint group put forward anything they felt unable to endorse and they be outvoted, they should repudiate any obligation to take the floor in the Chamber in support of such measures, but rather reserve the right to justify their adverse opinion in their press even if, for the sake of unity, they had had to vote in favour of the said measures.

Well, we shall have to see if it does any good.

Thus, on the one hand there are the new Socialists who are imposing a certain unity on the most disparate groups of old Socialists. On the other, our chaps abroad, who find it puzzling that a group of some sixty men should suddenly have appeared 'out of thin air' and that its chief spokesmen, Millerand and Jaurès, should not hitherto have been known to be Socialists; hence the very natural doubts as to the authenticity of the aforementioned sixty, particularly after the brilliant impression left behind in Zurich by the French delegates. [250]

Beneath the surface, the intrigues and mutual recriminations of the various sects continue unchecked. In particular the Marxists complain about Vaillant who is constantly touring the provinces for propaganda

[a] economic matters

purposes and is alleged to be spreading all manner of false calumnies about the Marxists there. At one time Vaillant used almost always to act in concert with the Marxists but 1. He is a strictly Blanquist party man who carries out the party's resolutions no matter what the circumstances, and for two years there has been trouble between the Blanquists and the Marxists; and 2. There are a great many Possibilists [30] in his constituency; he needs these people and this is partly why he has gone over to them.

It is very possible that the new reactionary measures in France [383] will act as a spur to the new Socialists and that the group of sixty will gradually become a truly socialist group. But that is not yet the case and things might well turn out differently.

In this country life is proceeding in the usual English leisurely fashion. Economic and political developments alike are increasingly impelling the majority of English working men in our direction, but it may be years before these 'pragmatists', wholly unaccustomed to taking a theoretical view of things and incapable of seeing beyond their own noses, become conscious of their own feelings and requirements unless virtually forced to do so. In the meantime political intrigue of the bourgeois-parliamentary variety continues to flourish mightily amongst the 'leaders', and never a day goes by without one's hearing of some startling instance of this.

Ludwig is today sitting his examination for admission as MEMBER, (not merely LICENCIATE) OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS. The thing goes on for a fortnight. Soon after it is over we shall, with any luck, be able to go to the seaside—this year I shall be prevented from leaving England by domestic business.

Louise sends her love and says that there is no question of umbrage having been taken; you will shortly learn the reason for your not yet having had a reply.

Warm regards to your wife, Adelheid, Popp and all our friends.

Yours,

F. E.

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## 193

## ENGELS TO JULIUS MOTTELER

### IN LONDON

[London,] 21 July 1894

Dear Julius,

Herewith a letter from Siegel which I have been asked to pass on to you.[384] I have written to the Executive Committee about the 300 marks.[25] Should you be able to do something in the Club[62] here, or anything else for the chaps, it would be a good deed; in the meantime I have sent them a pound.

Kindest regards to your wife. Our house is in mourning, the canary hen having died while sitting on her four eggs—from a stroke, it would seem.

Yours,

F.E.

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## 194

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[385]

### IN STUTTGART

London, 28 July 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Baron,

There is no hurry about printing the article.[a] Once I have seen to the proofs you can print it when you wish, in September, say, or even October. I have been mulling the thing ever ever since 1841 when I read a lecture

[a] F. Engels, *On the History of Early Christianity.*

by F. Benary on *Revelation.* Since then I have been in no doubt that here we have the earliest and most important book in the New Testament. After a gestation period of fifty-three years there is no great need to hasten its emergence into the world at large. As to your questions.

1. If I have expressed myself correctly in other respects, I certainly would not describe serfs and small peasants[a] as being amongst the earliest *adherents* of Christianity; rather I should number them amongst those classes where it might expect to find adherents. And to these they quite certainly belonged—especially in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. There is no doubt that, from the time Christianity first spread from Judaea to Northern Syria and Asia Minor and Greece, Egypt and Italy, it was in the *towns* that it developed and found its earliest adherents.

2. You ask whether the millennium is of this world or of the next. That depends on how one interprets it. I call the next world that which *comes after death.* And on this point *Revelation* leaves one in absolutely no doubt whatever. The millennium is reserved only for the martyrs and at best for such Christians as happen to be still living when it comes about, and to that extent, for *the latter, it is of this world,* whereas *for the martyrs,* who are only then resurrected from the dead, it is of *the next.* So it's the old story: You PAYS YOUR MONEY AND YOU TAKES YOUR CHOICE. TO my mind what decides the issue is the fact that it is impossible unless one has a concept of immortality and a belief in reward and punishment in the next world. Even less of this world is the New Jerusalem which is to come after the millennium and the Last Judgement.

But the so-called Pauline Epistles also have it that those believers still living at Christ's second coming are to be 'changed', i.e. transformed and magnified from mortals into immortals.

That the millennium was here depicted in *earthly colours* goes without saying. Even *Revelation* cannot rest content with such heavenly delights as sitting with a bare bottom on a damp cloud, twanging a harp with more or less gory hands and singing hymns to all eternity.

The preface to Volume II I[b] has 1. not yet been written and 2. I cannot give it to you. This solution of the rate of profit and price question and of

[a] As can be judged from Kautsky's letter of 23 July 1894, to which Engels is replying, there is apparently a slip of the pen here: *Kleinbauern. Kleinbürger* (petty bourgeois) in the ms. - [b] of *Capital*

the distribution of price can only be given its due in the book itself.

Save for Sorge and Schlüter there are no intelligent correspondents to be found anywhere in America, because the Germans there stick obstinately to the same sectarian attitude towards the workers as is stubbornly adhered to by the Social Democratic Federation [44] over here. Instead of seeing in the movements of the Americans the propulsive element which, even though it may take wrong or circuitous paths, is bound in the end to lead to the same goal as the one they themselves brought with them from Europe, they see only the wrong paths, treat the blind, foolish Americans with arrogant condescension, boast of their own orthodox superiority, repel the Americans instead of attracting them and, as a result, have themselves remained a small, impotent sect. Hence it has come about that their writers have also relapsed into pure ideology and place a false and narrow interpretation on conditions as a whole. Little Hepner, for one, could always be said to have lived in a world of fantasy and when he gets sentimental his stuff beggars description. I once read a comedy of his—though the funny bits were pretty good, the serious love scenes contained so much gush that one became convulsed with laughter.

Kindest regards from one household to another.

Yours,
F.E.

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## 195

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 28 July 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Löhr,

This morning I had a letter from Paul, but much obliged as I am to

him for it, yours is older and claims attention first; and indeed I have been trying to find time to write, all the week, and have been stopped day after day by interruptions endless in number and variety. The fact is I am not sure of remaining much longer in 122; I ought to have settled that business last year, but was enjoying myself on the continent, [189] and now have to face the dilemma: either to get the whole house thoroughly overhauled or to look out for another. I have attended to both eventualities, and maybe in a few weeks may know where I am, or at least where I am to be in future.

You ask about Pumps. I have hardly heard from them for months past. Percy had lost, or given up, the agency for his brothers in the Isle of Wight; he had spent a lot of money (not his own) but induced me to become surety for him for a loan to enable him to look out for other agencies in the same line of business, where he said he could make it pay. All at once, in June, I am informed by him that, in consequence of some arrangement with his family, he is going to sell up his furniture and come back to London; on my remonstrating, I am told it is now too late and the plan must be carried out. Then I heard that they were at a school in Kent where their little boy is, and at last, last Monday, they turned up here. As far as I can learn, the family arrangement is all moonshine, at least it leaves him in the same shiftless position as before, After all I have done for them, I am not going to quietly submit to such treatment, and did not receive them very heartily. What Percy is going to do and how this is to end, is more than I know. The children are at schools. Lily at Herne Bay and is said to be getting on well; the boy is near Sittingbourne, very delicate, and ailing again while Pumps was there last week. The youngest girl is with them.

Thanks to you for the article of Jaurès in the *Revue Socialiste;*[a] it seems awfully shallow as far as I can see, but the man looks after all as if he was learning a bit, so we will not give up all hopes. The *Petite République* is indeed awful reading—the discursive matter as well as the *soi-disant*[b] reports of facts, and you will not be astonished to learn that I do no longer long for it, unless it given *real* news, real reports, or articles from Jaurès (whose evolution I should like to follow) and Millerand. *Les élucubrations de MM. Rouanet, Fournière, Viviani etc. ne me laissent que tro froid.*[c]

[a] J. Jaurès, 'Introduction à la *Morale Sociale* de Benoît Malon,' *La Revue Socialiste,* t. XIX, June 1894. - [b] so-called — [c] Disquisitions of Messieurs Rouanet, Fournière, Viviani etc. leave me indifferent.

I am really obliged to the *Ere Nouvelle* for giving you a chance to restore in the French *Manifeste,*[a] as published by the *Socialiste,* those passages where the Parisian text revisers, *dans l'intérêt et de la langue française et des auteurs du 'Manifeste',*[b] had considerably narrowed the horizon of certain expressions. Of course I shall be very glad to see it reprinted as often as you can get it done.

My congratulations to Paul on the Delagrave acquisition.[386] May this lead to further business!

Where do I go this summer? alas all hope of going to Le Perreux is knocked on the head by that beautiful new law![383] And the worst of it is that this time the old English lawyer's saying becomes applicable to France: the law is there, and *what the courts will make of it, is more than we know.* My impression is that the government will not lose much time before it sees that a precedent is established of the application of that law to Socialism, and to the inclusion of Socialism under the heading of anarchism. The *Cour de cassation*[c] is quite capable of that. The German Socialist law[15] kept me from Germany thirteen years, let us hope this new law will not last long enough to prevent me from coming to France once more in my life.

Paul is not quite so enthusiastic about the situation in in France as *ce cher* Bonnier who considers the whole debate—result and all—an unmitigated triumph for French Socialism; but still his way of looking at the subject seems to me rather *couleur de rose.* The main advantage I consider indeed to be the irrefutable proof that our party is the only real and serious opposition party in France as well as in Germany; and that the French Radicals[86] are no more serious in their pretended opposition than the German Richters & Co. From that, as Paul says, a real union of all Socialist elements must grow; and the persecution now initiated will hasten it; and if this unification, under the auspices of Jaurès, Millerand & Co, and their lot,[d] means a lowering of the standard of the official expression of the party, *un abaissement de niveau intellectuel et politique,*[e] this comes from the previous indulging in revolutionary phraseology, as Paul also sees very clearly, and is but the necessary consequence of it.

Love from Louise. Freyberger who sends his kind regards has just been re-

[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* - [b] in the interests of the French language and the authors of the Manifesto - [c] Court of appeal - [d] See this volume, p. 318 - [e] a lowering of theoretical and political level

ceived a member of the Royal College of Physicians, after examination. Salut à Paul.

Ever yours
F.E.

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## 196

## ENGELS TO FILIPPO TURATI[387]

IN MILAN

London, 31 July 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Turati,

A certain Mr Pasquali has arrived here a couple of days ago saying that he has been banished for the Sicily business [388] and was obliged to leave Paris, where he was a correspondent for *Punto Nero* (and in possession of authorisation from the editorial board), but had been threatened by the police.

In Turin he was a preacher or missionary of the English sect of Baptists, and showed me the letter from his ecclesiastical superior in which he was removed from this post because of his socialism.

He will need assistance since, even if he seriously looked for work, he does not speak a word of English.

As in other countries we have had some curious experiences with ex-ecclesiastics of Christian, Jewish and other religions. I and my other friends here would be obliged to you if you could give us some information on this man, who claims to know you.

Has he indeed been banished from Italy?

Has he indeed been obliged to leave Paris to escape pursuit?

Has he indeed played a role, and if so, what, in the events in Sicily and in the socialist movement in Italy in general?

Greetings to you and Mme Anna from Louise Kautsky-Freyberger and myself,

Yours,

F. Engels

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## 197

## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

### IN VIENNA

London, 4 August 1894

Dear Victor,

The encl. letter and also a parcel were handed in here along with the anonymous note [389] overleaf, addressed to me. Probably from the anarchist philologist Nettlau (...)[a] No doubt you will give instructions in due course as to what is to be done with the parcel.

I have asked Cerny to pass on to you people a renewed request from the Spanish National Council that you send them a brief congratulatory message in Spanish or French on the occasion of the congress they are holding on 29 August. [390] I am repeating this in order to be on the safe side. Address:

Pablo Iglesias, Hernán Cortès 8, pral. *Madrid.*

Warm regards to your wife and yourself.

Yours,

F.E.

Louise and Ludwig also send you their warmest regards.

[a] At this point there is a break in the text.

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*Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe,*
Erstes Heft: *Victor Adlers und Friedrich Engels,* Wien, 1922

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## 198

## ENGELS TO PABLO IGLESIAS

### IN MADRID

*[Draft]*

[London, between 9 and 14 August 1894]

Dear Iglesias,

I have received your letters of 8 June and 27 July. With regard to your congress [390] I have written to Berlin (the answer is affirmative) and to Vienna (no answer so far); also to the Social Democratic Federation [44] here (H. W. Lee, Secretary), the Independent Labor Party [114] (Tom Mann, Secretary) and the gas workers [391] (W. Thorne, Secretary; Comrade Aveling[a] is a member of the Executive Council)—they will all drop you a line. Further, to the Standing Parliamentary Committee of the Trades-Unions Congress [28] (Fenwick, Secretary, M. P.), the League for Eight Hours [197] (Sheridan, Secretary; they are certain to write to you) and the Fabian Society [43] (E. R. Pease, Secretary), from which I have received no reply.

The above list will give you an idea of the personal divisions, jealousies and quarrels adorning the labour movement here. Look: on Monday, the 6th instant, the S. D. F. held a conference. There it was proposed that in the coming parliamentary elections the S. D. F. should support the candidates of the Independent Party provided that they declared themselves socialists. The proposal was rejected. But if the 'independents' refuse to vote for the Federation's candidates and to support them, they will be seen as traitors! Further, the S. D. F. Conference resolved that because the London international congress in 1896 [392] is not to be *exclusively socialist,* the Federation will convene an exclusively socialist international

[a] Eleanor Marx-Aveling

congress, to be opened three days before the general congress of workers!! What will the socialists of other nations say? While all that—and much else—has no practical importance, those are attempts by various groups to exploit in their particular interests the convocation and holding of an international congress. It is best not to discuss or attach too much importance to those things in the press until they have taken a more distinct form. For all that, the movement among the working masses is making headway, the idea of socialising the means of production is gaining ground, and the day will come when the class-conscious masses throw out all schemers and corrupt leaders.

Every week Comrade Eleanor Marx-Aveling publishes in *Workman's Times* a report on progress in the international movement. You would do well to send her *El Socialista* if possible, for she understands Spanish. Address: Eleanor Marx-Aveling, etc.

Take care of yourself. All the best from your old and faithful friend.

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## 199

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN BROADSTAIRS

Eastbourne, 14 August 1894 4 Royal Parade

Dear Ede,

We are safely installed here and up till now, i.e. since 2.30, have been very pleased also with the way they have looked after us. Let's hope it will so continue.[393]

I shall be interested to hear whether and how Liebknecht has reacted to your promptings on the subject of Arndt. The matter ought not to be passed over in silence like this. We had better wait and see what transpires. A man who behaved as he did at Zurich has no place on the *Vorwärts.*[394]

I have returned your textile worker.[a] Dogmatism. If one wants to base oneself on that sort of dogma, one ought to secure one's allies in advance, otherwise one is likely to make an ass of oneself. [395]

As to the Social Democratic Federation [44] and its special congress, I have already advised Spain[b] of the matter and shall do the same in the case of Italy and Paris, but am asking the chaps not to make too much fuss about it for the time being. For either the Social Democratic Federation issues a circular to justify the resolution and get its own brand of agitation going or we scotch the whole thing simply by means of statements in the Continental press to the effect that not a single delegate would be sent to such a congress. If, however, the circular does appear, there will be official discussions about it on all sides and that would be far preferable.

The Social Democratic Federation must have got wind of the Parliamentary Committee's [28] S061 proposal (long bruited about) to change the 1896 Congress [392] into a TRADES UNION congress and to take the requisite steps to that end in Norwich. [396] Hence they obviously wanted to be first in the field. These little schemes might well result in the Continentals saying: Neither of the two congresses is the one you *ought* to convoke and, since you don't *want to* convoke the latter, we'll simply go somewhere else and leave you to settle your squabbles between you.

It is inconceivably stupid of the Social Democratic Federation to have passed at the same time the resolution in regard to the Independent Labour Party [114] candidates, whether Socialists or not. It's the old story: either you are a Socialist, in which case you belong to the Social Democratic Federation or else you are unwilling to join the Social Democratic Federation, in which case you are no Socialist. But what seems to have entirely escaped their minds is the fact that these two resolutions, set side by side, would be bound to make the Continentals feel disinclined to have anything to do with the Social Democratic Federation's congress.

All this, incidentally, has left me comparatively unmoved. Between now and the congress all kinds of water will flow down the Thames and neither the quantity nor the quality of that water can possibly be predicated today.

I am writing to August too about *all* these things, incl. Arndt.

Warm regards to Gine, Ernst, Käte[c] and you yourself from Louise,

[a] *Der Textil-Arbeiter* - [b] See previous letter. - [c] Ernst and Käte Schattner, Bernstein's adopted children.

Ludwig and

Yours,

F.E.

Are the Mendelsons also in Broadstairs?

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## 200

## ENGELS TO THOMAS CLARKE[397]

IN LONDON

*[Draft]*

[London, not earlier than 15 August 1894]

That from long personal acquaintance I consider Mr. S. Mendelson a respectable and responsible person that in your place I should not hesitate in accepting him as a tenant for such a place as you mention.

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## 201

## ENGELS TO FILIPPO TURATI

IN MILAN

Eastbourne, 16 August 1894
4 Royal Parade

My dear citizen Turati,

I am infinitely grateful for the trouble you have taken concerning

Pasquali.[a] Fortunately, the '*seccatore diprima sfera*[398] *ha cessato di seccare la* nostra *sfera.*[b] In my day they said in Milan [398] of those banished financiers who took the road to Switzerland 'L'*è ànd à Varés*'[c]*:* Pasquali has gone to Edinburgh, where he is probably going to try his fortune. He announced his visit '*colla mia moglie e col mio piccolo Marx Guglielmo',*[d] but he never came, and when one of our friends went to his lodgings, he was told that Mr Pasquali had left, with his family, for Edinburgh. Probably some 'Christian socialists', of whom there are a large number here, and someone else from a religious sect, will become interested in this interesting character. Let us wish him *bon voyage*\

Your bust of Marx does not have many admirers here.[400] There is too little of Marx and too much of Garibaldi in the head. Moreover, even if the bust bore a resemblance, it would be difficult to sell it outside Italy. In Paris they have just struck a rather big medallion which they are trying to sell, and in Germany, Austria and Switzerland these Marxes in plaster have multiplied to the point of being unsaleable.

Your law on suspects [401] goes further than ours of 1878, [15] and the one passed in France in 1894. [383] It entails administrative exile as in Russia. I hope, however, that this is one of those instances which will illustrate the German proverb '*es wird nichts so heiss gegessen wie es gekocht wird.*'[e] What is certain is that, of all the countries of Europe, Italy is the one where all political ailments suffer acute inflammation: rebellion with the outright use of force on the one hand, and excessively violent reaction on the other. However, where Bismarck failed, Crispi will certainly not succeed: in the end persecution will strengthen socialism in Italy, and all that I desire is that this squall will pass without forcing you temporarily into either the hell of Eritrea or the purgatory of London.

Speaking of London, the Social Democratic Federation, [44] one of the five or six socialist sects here—it has a Marxist programme, but the tactics of an exclusive sect—has just held a congress at which two quite important resolutions were adopted. The first is characteristic of this Federation: it was proposed that the Federation should support the candidates of the Independent Labour Party [114] in the coming parliamentary elections if these candidates proclaim themselves openly to be socialist—rejected

[a] See this volume, p. 333 - [b] The bore of the first degree has ceased to pester *our* circle. - [c] He went to Varés. - [d] "together with my wife and my little Marx Guglielmo" - [e] the devil is not so black as he is painted - [f] See this volume, p. 337

by a large majority. The Independent Party of Workers is a rival group which has also included 'the socialisation of the means of production' in its programme, and which consequently *is* socialist, although it does not publicise this fact, and has as its aim to secure the election of worker candidates independent from the Conservative and Liberal parties. Everyone had hoped that these two groups would join together for the elections, but no, says the Federation: either you are socialists, in which case you should join our ranks, or else you refuse to join us, and constitute a separate group, and then you are not socialists. So create a movement with such elements!

However, now for that which concerns us more nearly. After a debate in which it emphasised the fact that the congresses held in Paris, [227] Brussels [228] and Zurich [229] were not truly socialist congresses, and that it is time for the socialists to free themselves from the trade-union (corporative) element which is not socialist, the Federation has officially resolved to convene in London, in 1896, *a purely socialist congress which will begin three days before the general congress in London.* [392]

Note that the group which is calling on the socialist world to attend a special congress which has no mandate whatever, declared at the congress I have just referred to that it had 4,500 members; but according to the secretary,[a] last year they had 7,000 names on the membership list, so that they have lost almost as many as they have retained, and another member boasted that during the fourteen years that this organisation has existed, no less than a *million members* have joined and left (except for the 4,500 mentioned above).

An organisation possessing such an ability to attract (and repel), which rejects all socialist candidates save its own (note that the Independent Labour Party, in the provinces, exists in perfect harmony with the SDF!), and which also wishes to exclude the trade unions at a time when they (our largest and most promising terrain for propaganda) are probably going to declare themselves at Norwich [396] for the second time in favour of the socialisation of the means of production (adopted at Belfast in 1893) [402] and adopted again by the council of workers of London [197] in 1894—such an organisation is indeed well positioned to take the initiative on such a question.

The continental socialists, now united in all the countries, will have

[a] Henry Mayers Hyndman

to judge whether or not they should agree to the convocation of a congress at which they will have to pass resolutions which will bind them *in advance* as regards their actions at the general congress. This could not but annoy—and quite rightly—the delegates to the main congress sent by groups which are not quite socialist. And as we know by experience that these groups, by the very fact of attending our congresses, are unconsciously drawn into the socialist lap—the English trade unions are the best proof of this—are we going to be sufficiently narrow to close this door?

You have no idea of the intrigues afoot here as regards this congress. The parliamentary committee of the Trade Union Congress [28] wishes, so *it is said,* to take control of our congress in order to transform it into a trade union congress pure and simple, like the one held here in 1888, [403] and about which C. Lazzari could tell you certain things. Naturally, on the continent the response to this attempt will be bursts of laughter. However, the Social Democratic Federation would seem to have taken these rumours seriously, and wishes to take advantage of them so that it can take control of the congress and turn it into a separate event. As the resolution adopted by the SDF is official and has been published, one can discuss it in the press. However, it would be better not to lend it too much importance, as it is clearly an attempt to see which way the wind is blowing, and will become important only if there then come steps to carry it through, a circular letter of invitation, etc., etc.

Greetings to you and Mme Anna from Mme Freyberger and myself,

Yours,

F.E.

Please consider this letter as private and confidential.

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## 202

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

Eastbourne, 22 August 1894
4 Royal Parade

My dear Lafargue,

Here we are at Eastbourne since the past week, [393] Louise, her husband and I. I needed it badly and the ozonised sea air is already taking effect. Unfortunately it has been raining more than necessary since yesterday.

Your cheque will arrive during the first days of next month as soon as I shall have had some payments.

I am very curious to see how they are going to administer the new law against suspects. [383] I am by no means sure that they will not use it against the Socialists as much as against the anarchists at a given moment. But though a few individuals may suffer by it, this law will certainly do for you what the '78 law did for the Germans; [15] you will defeat it and you will emerge from the struggle infinitely stronger than you went into it.

Here the Social Democratic Federation, [44] which for a time seemed to try to adopt a reasonable and tolerable line of conduct, has suddenly fallen back on the Hyndmanniads of yore. At the Congress which they held in London a fortnight or three weeks ago, [404] the Liverpool delegate moved that at the next general elections they should support the Independent Labour Party [114] candidates provided they publicly declared themselves Socialists. This, against all the rules of English procedure, was *turned down* in favour of a motion adopted by 42 to 12, that the duty of every Socialist was to belong to an openly revolutionary socialist organisation, such as the Social Democratic Federation (and as the S.D.F. claims that apart from itself there is no other, this meant: *belong to the S.D.F.).* As for electoral tactics, this was delegated to a committee which will report to the Executive Committee. You know of course that the nationalisation of the means of production is an integral part of the I.L.P. programme. Thus, the reciprocity which hitherto has existed in the North (particularly in Lancashire and Yorkshire) between the two groups, is to all intents and purposes rejected by the S.D.F. which proclaims the policy of

the Caliph Omar in burning the Alexandria library: either these books are contrary to the Koran, in which case they are bad; or they contain the same thing, in which case they are superfluous—into the flames with them! And these people claim the leadership of the socialist movement in Britain!

But there is worse to come. Hyndman has stated that it was time for socialism to detach itself outright from trade unionism, and that instead of joint congresses of the two, there should be an out and out socialist congress. And, as it was realised at the same time that it is still too early to strike a direct blow against the 1896 Congress, [392] they resolved that the *S.D.F. should convene an exclusively socialist Congress to be held in London three days before the general Congress of 1896.*

What will the continentals say to that? Will they go to such a congress in order later to attend the large, *our* congress, tied hand and foot by the resolutions passed two or three days earlier [1] in a small committee? Will they provoke a split between the delegates who are thoroughgoing Socialists and those who are not yet that but are on the point of becoming so? Will they administer this slap in the face to the British trade unionists, who have made such progress since the New Unionism [405] has set them on the road towards socialism, who at Belfast in 1893 [402] voted for the nationalisation of the means of production (adopted a few weeks ago in the political programme of even the recalcitrant London Trades Council [197]) and which, in a fortnight's time, at Norwich [396] will be stating its position in relation to us once again?

But do you know how the S.D.F. in its annual report and the speeches at a conference depicted the strength of that organisation which claims to change the Zurich resolutions [229] (for this is a palpable emendation which contradicts the Zurich resolution)? It has—4,500 members. Last year 7,000 names passed through its membership list, so it has lost 2,500! But what of it? asks Hyndman. In the 14 years of its existence the S.D.F. has seen a *million people* pass through its ranks. What organisation! Out of one million, 995,500 have hopped it, but—4,500 have stayed!

Now for the key to all these idiocies, inconceivable without that key. The 1896 Congress will not leave untouched any of the sects, fractions, groups, etc. which compose what one calls here Organised Labour. The Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Congress [28] would very much like

[a] A mistake in the manuscript: after [après].

TO BOSS THE Congress. There are already motions tabled on the agenda for the Trades Congress at Norwich (September) to confine admission of British delegates to the '96 Congress only to those qualified for the Trades Congress: bona fide workingmen, working or having worked at the trade they represent. And it is said that they are not a little desirous of extending this system to the continental delegates as well, which would cause explosions of laughter violent enough to shake all London to its foundations. Very well, the S.D.F., which, in its turn, thinks the opportunity has come for it to boss the Congress and, through Congress, the British movement, appears to have taken these rumours as an excuse to launch its little counter-plan.

So far it is only a feeler. But as soon as the S. D. F. issues an invitation circular or something of that kind, the matter will take on substance, and the continental parties will be called upon to come to a decision.

*One question: Le Socialiste lebt or noch, oder aber ist er tot?*[a] Since April we haven't seen a trace of it. If you have succeeded in killing it, do you count this as one of the Party's victories in France?

Whatever the case, the two months of September and October will be interesting. Towards the 5, the Trades Congress, at Norwich [396] (after the Spanish congress [390] next Sunday), then your congress at Nantes, [406] then the Germans at Frankfurt on 21 October. [418] The last two will be dealing with the question of peasants and farm workers. Overall, the views of the two national groups are the same, only that you intransigent revolutionaries of the bygone days are now inclining a little more towards opportunism than the Germans, who probably will not support any measure which might serve to maintain or conserve small property against the corrosive action of capitalism. On the other hand, they will agree with you that it is not *our* task to accelerate or intensify this corrosive action, and that a most important thing is to organise small property-holders into agricultural associations to cultivate land in common and on a large scale. I am curious to see which of the two congresses will show itself to be the more advanced in economic theory and propose the more effective practical measures.

Give my greetings to Laura and remind her that she owes me a letter. Greetings from the Freybergers.

Yours,

F.E.

[a] Is *Le Socialiste* still alive or is it dead?

In a couple of weeks the *Neue Zeit will* have an article from me on the origins of Christianity.[a] The 3rd volume[b] is underway, 43 sheets are written; I am writing the Preface.

Pirst published abridged in English, in the *Labour Monthly No.* 11, 1955 and, in French, in *Cahiers du Communisme,* No. 11, 1955 and in full in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance,* t. II I, Paris, 1959

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## 203

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN LONDON

Eastbourne, 6 September 1894
4 Royal Parade

Dear Ede,

I shall write and tell Schlüter [25] that you haven't the time and that he can reprint the piece from the *Neue Zeit.*

The errata can wait until I return on 18 September. [393] The preface[c] won't be finished until later, but you can come and see it at my house before it goes off. You will find the part on the rate of profit in the book proper. There is nothing new on the subject in the preface, merely a critique of the attempts at solving it. [4o 7]

As to Edwards, I would in your place first inquire from the Avelings as to *why* they refused and what they know about the man. In English the expression 'DON'T KNOW HIM' is not wholly unequivocal. If you are prepared to sacrifice the time, it would certainly be quite a good idea, if you prevent an Arndt, say, or a Hyndman, from writing the article. On the other hand contributing to an annual of this sort which has suddenly been brought into being by someone you don't know can involve you in some unpleasant experiences. The chap can't take it amiss if you ask him

[a] F. Engels, *On the History of Early Christianity.* - [b] K. Marx, *Capital.*-[c] Preface to Vol. II I of *Capital*

for the names of the contributors he has already secured. After all, that would enable you to form a more definite opinion. [408]

Pinkau is welcome to a photo as soon as I myself have got another one. As you know, Inka's attempts miscarried and since then I have not been anywhere near a lens.

Many regards to Gine and the children[a] from Louise and

Yours,

F.E.

Freyberger is in London today doing hospital duty.

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## 204

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN LONDON

[London,] Tuesday, 18 September 1894

We got back this evening. [393] The Baron wants me to let him have some 'unpublished stuff on the International. I have now searched through my old papers and found something that might possibly do. Could you pick it up here so that it can be translated? Time is pressing, to judge by the Baron's letter. I shall be in town tomorrow between 10 and about 11 and shall then come back here, but Louise knows where the things are.

Regards to Gine and the children[a] from us all.

Yours,

F.E.

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[a] Bernstein's wife and adopted children

## 205

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

*[Fragment]*

[London, second half of September 1894

Now to something else. The Trades Union Congress [396] marks a distinct progress against last year, and combined with the Leicester election and other symptoms, shows that things are on the move in England. Of course there is no progress here without a drawback: take the resolution against foreign working men immigration passed at Norwich; but such contradictions and inconsistencies one will have to put up with for some time yet 'in this free country'. The moment will come after all, when the masses, having attained a sufficient degree of consciousness, will break through the tangled web of the intrigues and sectarian squabbles of the 'leaders'.

The war between China and Japan [409] seems to me instigated by the Russian government, who use Japan as their tool. But whatever may be the proximate consequences of this war, it must lead to one thing: the total break-up of the whole traditional system in old China. There, an old-fashioned system of agriculture and domestic industry combined has been artificially kept going by rigid exclusion of all disturbing elements. That exclusion of everything foreign has been partially broken through by the wars with the English and French; this war with *Asiatics,* rivals living next door to the Chinese, must put a complete stop to it.

The Chinese, licked on land and on sea, will have to Europeanise themselves, open their ports generally to trade, establish railways and factories, and thus completely smash up that old system which made it possible to feed so many millions. There will be all of a sudden a constantly increasing surplus population, superseded peasants, who will flock to the coast to search for a living in foreign lands. Where up to now thousands emigrated, millions will want to go then. And then the Chinese Coolies will be everywhere, in Europe as well as America and Australia, and will try to reduce wages and the standard of living of our working men to the Chinese level. And then the time will come for our European workmen.

And the English will be the first to suffer from this invasion and *to fight.* I fully expect that this Japan-Chinese War will hasten our victory in Europe by five years at least, and facilitate it immensely, as it will drive all non-capitalist classes over to our side. Only the large landed proprietors and manufacturers will be *pro*-Chinese.

Paul's articles in the *Neue Zeit- are* on the whole very good.[a] There are some historical views in them that do him great credit. The exposition of the causation and course of French history since 1871 is the best I have yet seen. I have learned a good deal from them.

But the considérant of the Nantes agricultural programme, [406] which declares it the duty of the Socialists to maintain and defend the peasants' property, and even the *fermiers* and *métayers* who *employ labourers,* is more than most people outside France will be able to swallow.

Kind remembrances from the Freybergers. Ever yours

F. Engels

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## 206

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [410]

IN STUTTGART

London, 23 September 1894
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Baron,

Your appeal for documents on the International[b] reached me while I was still in Eastbourne. Unfortunately I couldn't ask Ede to look out something for you, as I had brought the keys to my cupboards with me and he would have had to search through *several* of them—I myself

[a] P. Lafargue, 'Der Klassenkampf in Frankreich', *Die Neue Zeit,* Nos. 46, 479 48, 49, 1893-94, Vol. II - [b] See this volume, p. 346

hardly know where I am amidst the disorder of my old papers. Then, on our return the following day (Tuesday), I looked out something for Ede and we asked him to call that evening but he had to finish the article for the *Neue Zeit.*[a] On Wednesday morning the things were collected by Ernst,[b] but were brought back that same evening by Ede who said that it was now too late and that in any case you already had something. What I had found was in any case nothing out of the ordinary. It is difficult to find an *unknown* document of the Internationals that will, of itself, still have a telling effect today.

Many thanks for the *Entwicklung* in Armenian. Luckily I can't read it.

As regards the fee for Marx's chapters, kindly deduct this from, or alternatively charge it against, the fee for my own article and remit it to me for the heirs. Should mine be insufficient, kindly set off the difference against future contributions. [411]

Needless to say copies of the *complete* issue will do just as well as off-prints of the article. I only need them for one or two quite specific incidental purposes.

The payment of fees to the Austrians remains in force until further notice.

The Italians are beginning to fill me with dread. Yesterday that blath-erer Enrico Ferri sent me all his recent writings along with an over-cordial letter which only served to make me feel less cordial towards him than ever. And yet one is expected to send the chap a courteous reply! His book on Darwin-Spencer-Marx[d] is an atrocious hotchpotch of insipid rubbish. The Italians will long continue to suffer from this their younger generation of heddicated bourgeois. I shall doubtless soon have to do something to put an end to the ominous increase in my popularity (which the chaps are not fostering WITHOUT A CONSIDERABLE EYE TO BUSINESS). Meanwhile I shall make a bit of an example of Achille Loria in the preface to the 3rd volume.[e]

The war between China and Japan [409] signifies the end of the old China and with it the total if gradual revolution of the entire economic base until the old ties between agriculture and rural industry have been dissolved

[a] E. Bernstein, 'Der dritte Band des *Kapital', Die Neue Zeit,* Nos, 11-14, 16, 17, 209 1894-95, Vol. I - [b] Schattner - [c] F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* -[d] E. Ferri, *Socialismo e scienza positiva (Darwin, Spencer, Marx),* Roma, 1894 - [e] P. Engels, *Preface* [to K. Marx's *Capital,* Vol. II I]

by big industry, railways, etc., the result being a mass exodus of Chinese Coolies, to Europe included and hence, for ourselves, an acceleration of the debacle[a] and an intensification of the conflict to the point of crisis. Here we have another splendid quirk of history—China is all that is left for capitalist production to conquer, yet the latter, by the very fact of having finally conquered her, will itself be hopelessly compromised in its place of origin.

Many regards from one household to the other.

Yours,

F.E.

We shall shortly be moving to 41 Regent's Park Road, nearer to St Mark's Church; more details anon.

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## 207

## ENGELS TO EMILE VANDERVELDE

### IN BRUSSELS

*[Draft]*

[London, after 21 October 1894]

Dear citizen Vandervelde,

Allow me to express my congratulations to you personally on your election, and also to our Belgian comrades in general on their splendid successes these last two Sundays. [412] This second victory of the Belgian proletariat is of great importance for us all.[b] Small countries such as Belgium and Switzerland are our modern political laboratories, the testing ground

[a] ruin - [b] The following phrase is crossed out by Engels: "If a small country like yours is not destined to resolve the great problems of our epoch on its own..."

where experiments are carried out which can be later applied to the large states. It is often from these small countries that there comes the first impulse of a movement destined to overturn Europe. Thus, before the February revolution,[a] there was the Swiss war of the Sonderbund. [273]

At the moment we are, it seems to me, in a period of high tide, a period which dates from the suffrage victory of the Belgian workers. [276] After Belgium, Austria joined the suffrage movement; following Austria, proletarian Germany has just requested that universal suffrage be extended from the Reichstag to the parliaments of the federal states. The repressive laws launched against the worker parties in France [383] and Italy, [401] similar laws being prepared in Germany, will have no more success than the violent measures of the Austrian government. Today the socialist movement everywhere is more powerful than the so-called public force.[b]

As for the Belgian workers, 14th October assures them an even stronger position. For the first time they have learned to know precisely their own forces and those of the enemy; thus henceforth they will be able to base their tactical decisions on knowledge of the situation; and you and the other socialist representatives will be able to raise your heads still higher, and will be listened to with considerably more attention following official recognition of the fact that you are the mouthpiece of 350,000 Belgian citizens. It is with you that the Belgian proletariat is making its 'joyous entry' into parliament, an entry that is joyous not only for you, but for the proletarians of the whole of Europe!

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Marx and Engels, *Works,*
First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX,
Moscow, 1946

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[a] of 1848 in France - [b] the following words are crossed out by Engels "This splendid victory of the Belgian socialists marks a new stage..."

## 208

## ENGELS TO MARIA MENDELSON

IN LONDON

London, 26 October 1894
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Madame Mendelson,
At last we are able to receive our friends—even though the house still bears as it were the marks of seige and bombardment—we will have the pleasure of seeing both of you on Sunday evening.[a] Louise and the doctor[b] send their greetings,

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

First published in Russian in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* Second Russian Edition, Vol. 39, Moscow, 1966

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## 209

## ENGELS TO GEORGI PLEKHANOV

IN LONDON

[London] 1 November 1894
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Plekhanov,
It goes without saying that I will do all I can to assist the examination of the *Neue Rheinisehe Zeitung,* etc., [413] and I do not exactly see why you should be embarrassed to speak to me frankly on the subject. At the moment my books are still not in order; this work was interrupted by a

[a] 28 October - [b] Freyberger

number of other matters to be dealt with, trips into town, legal consultations, and other nuisances caused by the legal formalities and material difficulties without which it is impossible to rent a house in England, and particularly in London. Nor is it yet finished.

As my books are not organised, I can hardly begin, and therefore I must ask you to continue to have patience. However, rest assured that you will have all the books, newspapers, etc., that I am able to find on the subject that interests you. We shall discuss it on the first occasion that I have the pleasure to see you.

Yours,
F. Engels

I have just learned that a new oven range is being fitted in our kitchen, and that this will prevent us from cooking until after Sunday. We will not therefore be able to entertain you on Sunday evening,[a] since we will not be able to give you anything to eat. However, if you would like to call on any evening after eight o'clock, we can talk about the question of the books.

First published in Russian in: *Gruppa "Osvobozhdeniye Truda",* No. 2, 1924

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## 210

## ENGELS TO CARL HIRSCH[414]

IN COLOGNE

[London,] 8 November 1894

Dear Hirsch,

While thanking you very much for your regular despatch of the *Rheinische Zeitung,* I would ask you to be so kind as to change the address from 122 to No. 41, Regent's Park Road, London, N. W. It is on the

[a] 4 November

other side of the road, but *at the bottom* of Primrose Hill and closer to the entrance to the Park. All well in other respects.

Yours,
F.E.

First published in: Marx/Engels, *Werke,* Bd. 39, Berlin, 1973

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## 211

## ENGELS TO ELEANOR MARX-AVELING[415]

IN LONDON

[London, 10 November 1894,] Saturday

My dear Tussy,

Of course we expect you to-morrow to dinner—the hour is unchanged, 2.30 or a little later, as the capabilities of the new kitchen-range are not yet quite known.

Here everything goes on well.

Shall be glad to see Edward, [11] especially if he is a good deal better as I hope.

Look at to-day's *Vorwärts re Hyndman.* [416]

Ever yours F.
E.

First published, in the language of the original, in: *Friedrich Engels 1820-1870. Referate. Diskussionen. Dokumente,* Hannover, 1971

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[a] Aveling

212

# ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[417]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 10 November 1894
*41 Regent's* Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sorge,

From the above address you will see that I have moved house. After Louise's marriage our old home had become rather too cramped and, since the consequences of that marriage soon manifested themselves, we could no longer make do. We therefore took a larger house which became available a little further down the road, close by the gates into Regent's Park and, after a great bother, moved in four weeks ago—bother with house agents, solicitors, contractors, furniture salesmen, etc., and it's not yet over, my books being still in great disarray. Downstairs we have our communal living-rooms, on the first floor my study and bedroom, on the second Louise, her husband, the baby daughter, born on Tuesday the 6th of this month, and nursery maid, on the third floor the two housemaids, lumber-room and visitor's room. My study is at the front, has three windows and is so big that I can accommodate nearly all my books (eight cases full) in it and yet, despite its size, very nice and easy to heat. In short, we are a lot better off. In the circumstances Louise and her baby are very well, and everything went off swimmingly.

Today, you will get two fat parcels, 3 copies of the (Berlin) *Sozialdemokrat,* 3 of the Pest *Volksstimme,* the rest of the proceedings of the Party Conference in the *Vorwärts*[418] and a *Critica Sociale* containing a letter by me. [1] Because of the removal, we have not been able to send things quite so regularly. The *Workman's Times* no longer exists, more's the pity. Tussy's articles in it were the only ones in which the truth about the Continental movement was neither withheld from the English workers nor falsified.

The movement in this country continues to resemble the American one except in being a *little* more advanced than yours, The instinct of the

[a] F. Engels, 'International Socialism and Italian Socialism'

masses which tells them that Labour must form a party of its own in opposition to the two official parties is growing ever stronger and was more than ever in evidence at the municipal elections on 1 November. But old traditional memories of various kinds, combined with a lack of people who might be capable of translating that instinct into conscious action and crystallising it throughout the land, are conducive to the prolongation of this preliminary stage—a stage at which thinking is ill-defined and action isolated and localised. Anglo-Saxon sectarianism is also rife in the Labour movement. The Social Democratic Federation. [44] just like your German Socialist Labor Party, [367] has succeeded in turning our theory into the rigid dogma of an orthodox sect and is not only narrowly exclusive but, thanks to Hyndman, has a thoroughly rotten tradition where international politics is concerned, a tradition which, although shaken from time to time, has nevertheless remained intact. The Independent Labor Party [114] is excessively vague in the matter of tactics, while its leader, Keir Hardie, is an over-canny Scot whose demagogic tricks one cannot trust for a moment. Although a poor devil of a Scottish miner, he has started a big weekly, *The Labour Leader,* something that could not have been effected without a great deal of money, and this money he obtains from a Tory or at any rate Liberal-Unionist, [206] i.e. anti-Gladstonian and anti-Home Rule quarter [171]—of that there can be no doubt, as is confirmed not only by first-hand information and his own political attitude, but also by the literary connections he is known to possess in London. Consequently he might—through the defection of the Irish and Radical voters—very easily lose his parliamentary seat in the General Election of 1895 [345] and this would be fortunate, for at the moment the man is the greatest stumbling-block of all. He appears in Parliament only on demagogic occasions, so as to draw attention to himself by spouting hot air about the UNEMPLOYED to no effect whatever, or else to address inanities to the Queen[a] on the birth of some prince[b] which, in this country, is cheap and trivial to the utmost, etc. Otherwise, and particularly in the provinces, there are some very good elements, both in the Social Democratic Federation and in the Independent Labor Party —elements which, though scattered, have at least succeeded in frustrating every attempt made by the leaders to set the two organisations at each other's throats. John Burns is something of a lone wolf politically; he is furiously attacked by both Hyndman and

[a] Queen Victoria - [b] Edward Albert, Prince of York

Keir Hardie and acts as though, having despaired of a political Labour organisation, he is now pinning his hopes solely on the Trades Unions. True, his experience with the former has not been altogether happy and he might starve if the Engineers Union did not pay his parliamentary salary. He is vain, having let himself be rather excessively soft-sawdered by the Liberals, i.e. by the 'social wing' of the Radicals, and definitely sets too much store by the many individual concessions he has obtained, but is for all that the only really honest man in the whole movement, i.e. among its leaders, and has a thoroughly proletarian instinct by which he will, or so I believe, be guided more surely at the crucial moment than will the others by their cunning and calculated self-interest.

On the Continent success has kindled an appetite for more success, and peasant-catching in the literal sense of the term[a] is coming to be all the rage. First the French declare at Nantes, through Lafargue, [419] not only that it is no business of ours (I had already written and told them as much[b]) to precipitate the ruin of the small peasant by direct intervention, a task that may safely be entrusted to capitalism, but also that it behoves us actually to *protect* the small peasant against taxation, usury and the big landowner. But we cannot go along with this, firstly because it is stupid and secondly because it is impossible. Next, Vollmar [418] goes to Frankfurt and actually proposes to bribe your *peasant as such;* nor is the peasant with whom he is concerned in Upper Bavaria, your small, debt-ridden Rhenish chap, but your middling if not big peasant who exploits his farmhands, male and female, and sells cattle and grain in quantity. And that would not be feasible unless one were to abandon the whole principle of the thing. We can only win over the Alpine peasants and the big peasants of Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein at the cost of betraying their ploughboys and day labourers, and in so doing we should lose politically more than we should gain. The Frankfurt Party Conference failed to come to any decision on this question and that is a good thing, in as much as the matter will now be properly gone into; the people who attended it knew far too little about peasants, or rural conditions, which vary so greatly from province to province, to do anything more than form resolutions out of thin air. But the matter will have to be settled sooner or later.

[a] In German peasant-catching *{Bauernfängerei)* also means confidence trick. - [b] See this volume, p. 348

Here a question occurs to me about the Paris *Socialiste;* is it still alive or is it dead? No one seems to know, When Tussy was in Paris this summer it was not yet defunct, but anyone who wanted a copy had to go to the office and get one!! I haven't set eyes on it since February or March. Dereure has gone off his head. He was manager and, having got things into a mess, did nothing whatever about it. Typically French.

Following the electoral victories in Belgium, [412] the Belgians and French are making arrangements for the socialist parliamentarians in the various countries to keep in regular touch with each other and hold periodic conferences. Whether anything will come of this is questionable. At the moment the fifty French parliamentarians (among them some twenty-six Radical [86] converts of a somewhat dubious kind) are very pleased with themselves, but there are snags. Amongst the twenty-four old Socialists a fierce but silent struggle is going on between the Marxists on the one hand and the Blanquists [20] and Allemanists [21] (Possibilists [30]) on the other; whether it will result in an open breach is hard to say.

Besides other socialist papers, I am now also sent the Romanian one *(Munca)* and the Bulgarian (formerly *Rabotnik (Working Man),* now (*Socialist),* and am gradually familiarising myself with those languages, The Romanians are going to bring out a daily in Bucharest.[a]

More than any other world event, the death of the Russian Tsar is likely to bring about a change, either as a result of an internal movement or as a result of a financial crisis and the impossibility of obtaining money abroad. I cannot suppose that the existing system will continue to subsist if it brings to the throne an idiot whose health, both physical and mental, has been shattered by onanism. (This fact is notorious in all the faculties of medicine. Krause, a professor at Dorpat,[b] who attended Nicholas, informed Tsar Alexander at the latter's request that this—onanism—was the immediate cause of the illness, was boxed over the ears for his pains, resigned, returned the Order of Vladimir sent him after his departure, and went back to Germany where he related the story.) If the fun begins in Russia, however, young William, too, will become aware that something novel is afoot. For then a liberal wind will blow through Europe—a wind which *now* can only be of benefit to us.

The war in China [409] has given the coup de grâce to the old China. Isolation has become impossible, for the introduction of railroads, steam

[a] *Lumea noua.* - [b] Modern name: Tartu

engines, electricity and large-scale industry is essential if only for reasons of military defence. But this means the collapse of the old economic system of small farms, a system in which the family also manufactured its industrial products, and with it that of the whole of the old social system which admitted of a relatively dense population. Millions will be evicted and compelled to emigrate and those millions will find their way as far, even, as Europe, whither they will come in droves. But in your country as in ours, Chinese competition will, as soon as it attains massive proportions, quickly bring things to a head and thus the conquest of China by capitalism will at the same time provide the impulse for the overthrow of capitalism in Europe and America.

I hope you and your wife are feeling better than when you wrote last. Though I am not feeling at all bad myself, one does notice after a while how wide is the gap between 73 and 37.

Cordial regards to yourself and your wife,

Yours,
F.E.

First published abridged in: *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u.A. an F.A. Sorge und Andere,* Stuttgart, 1906 and in full, in Russian, in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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## 213

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 12 November 1894
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Lö hr,

*Qui s'excuse s'accuse,*[a] you began your letter of 24th October, and your

[a] one who offers excuses accuses oneself

last note of Saturday, received this morning, shows how little time it has taken you to pass from 'excusing' to 'decusing'. However you will have to come it considerably stronger before you upset my good humour, and so I will only just state that since 9th October we are in No. 41, that I have had no end of trouble with lawyers, house-agents, contractors etc, before I got the house put into tenantable condition, so much so that I only got yesterday the last heap of books from my study-floor into the book-cases, where they await sorting; that no sooner was the place something like ship-shape when last Tuesday Louise became the mother of a little girl (both doing very well); that to crown all, London is becoming flooded with *proscrits:*[a] Russian, Italian, Armenian etc. etc. who duly honour me with their visits; that at the same time I had to hurry off the very badly printed proofs of the last 5 or 6 sheets *Capital* (proofs and revision); and that in consequence of all this not only my correspondence but also your French Manifesto[b] in the *Ere Nouvelle* got sadly neglected.

However this morning I hunted up the October and September Nos. of that revue from my higgledy-piggledy books and compared them with the original. *Je vous en fais mes compliments*[c]—this is better then even the *Feuerbach!*[310] It is the first French translation of the old *Manifest* I read with real and unbroken pleasure. Unfortunately the November No. which contains the Conclusion has not yet come to hand, so I cannot look them over. A few suggestions follow, they are very unimportant.

You may well say *trois déménagements valent un incendié*[d] more than once I felt inclined to throw all my books into the fire, and house and all, such a bother it was. But now I expect the worst is over—that is to say the *only* little evil to contend with now is a flooded coal cellar and a sweating wine cellar! But that, too, must at last be vanquished.

The Czar[e] is dead, *vive lé Czar,*[f] and indeed the poor beggar does require all the encouragement the French bourgeoisie and press can give him by their shouts. He is next door to an idiot, weakly in mind and body, and promises just that vacillating reign of a man a mere playball of other people's cross-purpose-intrigues which is wanted to break up finally the Russian despotic system. Financial difficulties will help. Mother Crawford let it out the other day that France now holds not less than eight milliards of Russian *Rentes*[g] which accounts for the failure of the

[a] exiles -[b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party.* -[c] My compliments to you - [d] three removals amount to one fire - [e] Alexander II I - [f] Nicholas II - [g] loans

last Russian loan [123] and makes very improbable the success, *in France,* of the impending one. Out of France Nicholas will get no cash. When 6 or 7 years ago an attempt was made to raise the wind in Berlin, the bankers replied unanimously: With the guarantee of a National Assembly, any amount; without it, not a farthing; could not that cry be raised now, when the opportunity offers, in the *Petite République?* To tell the French *gogos*[a] that a constitution *must* come in Russia and that therefore it will not be safe to entrust their money to a moribund absolutism? Or does *le patriotisme* render such a proceeding too dangerous?

Many thanks for your offer to translate my *Urchristentum;* [420] but do you really think that theological subject—especially II and II I—attractive enough for French readers? I have my very strong misgivings. The I article might perhaps pass: *les Internationaux sous l'empire des Césars*[b] or something like it—however that I leave entirely to you.

Bebel confirms in a letter today that Vollmar had said in Frankfurt, [418] had expressly approved the new programme *agricole* of Nantes; [406] now the only thing I wrote to anybody about it was to you[c]: that I was afraid the French would stand alone with their appeal to support, in this present condition, the *petits propriétaires* and even *les fermiers qui sont obligés d'exploiter des ouvriers.*[d] So Vollmar's assertion is an invention of his own. Unfortunately it will compel me to reply in public [421] and in order to avoid provoking fresh misunderstandings, I shall be obliged to speak of the peasant question more fully, and then I cannot pass by the Nantes debates. I shall send it to the *Neue Zeit,*[e] perhaps you will find that more interesting than Christianity.[f]

This is how one gets always interrupted! This confounded peasant question will take me another week. And yet I have my hands full with work urgently needed, even before I come to start what I ought to do: the history of Mohr's part in the *International.* And that leads me to something: in the Berlin (anarchist) *Sozialist* they publish from the *Société Nouvelle* a letter of Bakounine—very long—in which he gives his version of the Hague affair [115] etc.[g] Is that to be had in Paris? Or does it appear in Brussels? The German text I have only received in fragments, possibly in

[a] simpletons - [b] the Internationals during the Caesars' empire - [c] See this volume, p. 348 - [d] small proprietors and even farmers who are obliged to exploit labourers — [e] F. Engels, *The Peasant Question in France and Germany* —[f] F. Engels, *On the History of Early Christianity* -[g] M. Bakunin, 'Ein unbekanntes Schreiben', *Der Sozialist,* Nos. 40, 41, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, September 29, October 6, 27, November 3, 10, 24, December l, 1894—

consequence of seizures by the police.

Paul says he wants to dedicate to me his *Evolution de la propriété.* [568] Very much obliged to him. In general I would rather remain undedicated, but I leave it entirely to him.

Praise no one happy before his death, said Solon. He must have foreseen the case of my *présidence d'honneur*[a] over the *présidence effective*[a] of Regnard! Who ever would have thought that! of all men, Regnard!

Ever yours F.E.

September No.

Page 4 - alinéa 2, *Verkehrsmittel* is given *moyens de communication.*[c] *Verkehr we* used in the *Manifesto* generally in the sense *of Handelsverkehr,*[d] and later on it is always translated correctly *échange.* In this passage *échange* would be better, though it is of no importance.

Page 7 alinéa 1: La Bourgeoisie, the [e] left out in the text.

Page 10: alinéa 2: der *Hausbesitzer,*[e] der *Krämer,*[f] is rendered: *le petit propriétaire*[g]*;* would it not be more textual to say: *le propriétaire,*[g] *le boutiquier,*[f] *le prêteur sur gages*[h]*?*

Page 12, line 5: misprint: garantie *locale for: légale.*

Page 15, " 3: Courgeoisie instead of *Bourgeoisie:.*

You see I must take refuge in common misprints in order to find fault! with the text in the October No. I cannot even manage to do that.

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## 214

## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL AND PAUL SINGER

### IN BERLIN

London, 14 November 1894

*To August Bebel & Paul Singer*

The thousand pounds I have bequeathed to you for 'electoral pur-

[a] honorary presidency - [b] actual presidency - [c] means of communication - [d] trade relations - [e] landlord - [f] shopkeeper - [g] small proprietor - [h] usurer

poses'—from which death duty will be deducted—had to be bequeathed in this form because I could not bequeath the money to the party in any other form if it was to be regarded as a legally valid legacy in this country. That was the only reason for the above proviso. So first of all make sure that you get the money and, when you have got it, that it does not fall into the hands of the Prussians. And while passing a resolution on these points mind you drink a bottle of good wine; do this is memory of me.

Friedrich Engels

First published in the newspaper *Sächsisches. Volksblatt,* No. 125, 22 October, 1895

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## 215

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN[422]

IN LONDON

[London,] 14 November 1894

Dear Ede,

Herewith two sheets,[a] nos. 21/22.

Meissner wants to know whether there are any more errata. If you have any to hand, please let me have them;[407] otherwise don't bother; for in that case I shall write to Meissner tomorrow, telling him to close the list. Should you be writing to the Baron *today,* please let him know that I am sending him Ferri's *Socialismo e scienza positiva* with Labriola's notes and at Labriola's request. No hurry about this if your letter has already gone off. Many regards; all well here.

Yours

F. E.

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[a] K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. II I

## 216

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE AND ELEANOR MARX-AVELING

London, 14 November 1894

To Laura Lafargue and Eleanor Marx-Aveling

My dear girls,

I have to address to you a few words with regard to my will.

First you will find that I have taken the liberty of disposing of all my books, including those received from you after Mohr's death, in favour of the German party. The whole of these books constitute a library so unique, and so complete at the same time, for the history and the study of Modern Socialism and all the sciences on which it is dependent, that it would be a pity to disperse it again. To keep it together, and to place it at the same time at the disposal of those desirous to use it, has been a wish expressed to me long ago by Bebel and other leaders of the German Socialist Party, and as they do indeed seem to be the best people for that purpose, I have consented. I hope that under the circumstances you will pardon my action and give your consent too.

Second. I have had many a discussion with Sam Moore as to the possibility of providing, in my will, in some way for our dear Jenny's children. Unfortunately, English law stands in the way. It could only be done under almost impossible conditions, where the expense would more than eat up the funds to be taken care of. I therefore had to give it up. Instead, I have left each of you *three*-eighths of the residue of my estate after defraying legacies etc. Of these, *two* -eighths are intended for yourselves, and the third eighth is meant to be held by each of you in trust for Jenny's children, to be used as you and the children's guardian, Paul Lafargue, may think best. In this way you are freed from all responsibility with regard to English law and can act as your own moral sense and love for the children may dictate.

The money I owe to the children for shares of profits on Mohr's writings are put down in my ledger, and will be paid by my Executors to the party who, according to English law, will be the children's legal representative.

And now good bye,

My dear, dear girls. May you live long and healthily

in body and soul and enjoy it!

Frederick Engels

Tussy will have to inform Meissner, Dietz, and the *Vorwärts* Buchhandlung[a] of Berlin that they will henceforth have to pay to *her direct* any sums due to the heirs of Karl Marx for honorarium etc. As to Sonnenschein, that will have to be settled in some other manner, the agreement about *Capital*[b] being between him and me.

F. E.

First published in the language of the original (English) in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance,* t. II I, Parts, 1959

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## 217

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

[London,] 15 November 1894

Dear Baron,

I have just been going through Tussy's article[c] with her—at one point there is an amendment by which she rightly, or so it seems to me, sets store but which, because it was written on a sheet of paper, she failed to include. It belongs at the end of the preface, which should read: 'in general Mr Brentano's manner of writing history is distinguished by three characteristics: 1.' etc.

Will you still be able to add this?

By the time this arrives you may already have seen from the *Vorwärts* [421]

[a] book-shop - [b] about English translation of Vol. I - [c] E. Marx-Aveling, 'Wie Lujo Brentano zitirt,' *Die Neue Zeit,* No, 9, 1894-95, Vol. I

that I am being forced to write an agrarian article[a] upon which I am working at this moment and which I shall very shortly have the honour of placing at your disposal.

Yours,
F.E.

First published in:
*Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky,* Prag, 1935

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## 218

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN LONDON

[London,] 20 November 1894

Dear Ede,

The *Sozialdemokrat* (Berlin) contained a translation of Lafargue's report on the programme agraire.[419] Lafargue has drawn my attention to it since he has no copy of the original to hand. Now I cannot find my copy of the *Sozialdemokrat* (it was in the issue of 18 November and possibly an earlier one as well). Can you lend them to me for a day?

I have a bad cold but am getting better.

Yours,
F.E.

Many regards.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives,* Vol. I, 1924

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[a] F. Engels, 'The Peasant Question in France and Germany'

# 219

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

London, 22 November 1894
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Baron,

The agrarian article[a] goes off to you today by *registered* book post. Since the handwriting is rotten, may I have the proofs? They will be promptly attended to.

Am just reading Ledebour's reply to you. [424] The chap's trying to be too clever by half. As though, two years ago, you could have foreseen what Vollmar would be like today. And it really is a bit much to conclude, merely because the small peasant has been told there is no intention of forcibly evicting him, that the intention is to provide economic conditions such as will enable him to continue farming on his own account. Obviously, as things are today, you would have worded this or that passage differently. But nobody is proof against verbal hair-splitting and my article might suffer exactly the same fate.

I look forward to seeing how the polemic initiated by Bebel is going to develop. [425] It was long overdue.

I simply have not got the time just now to go into the matter of the International's attitude to the question of land ownership. Besides, it has been a ticklish point so far as the International is concerned. Firstly because of the Proudhonists in France, Belgium, etc., and their enthusiasm for parcels of land, and secondly because of Bakunin's hobby-horse, the abolition of inheritance, which tended to obscure the issue. [426]

Needless to say, the *Vorwärts* has come down in favour of unity, i.e. of hushing things up. Nothing can be done about this for the present. But anyone who hushes things up can now only be of assistance to Vollmar and will have to bear the consequences. The only correct thing for *me* to do is, I think, to intervene in an absolutely objective way and leave personalities completely out of it. Otherwise it will again be said that I am

[a] F. Engels, 'The Peasant Question in France and Germany'

trying to influence the party from without, etc.

Apropos, could you, when convenient, insert the enclosed review [427] in such a way that people don't realise it emanates from me? I don't want to put a correction in the *Vorwärts,* or Liebknecht would again append some rigmarole or other, and yet I cannot allow the thing to pass.

Congratulations on son no. II I—as you will have heard, we have also had a lying-in here; Louise having born a strong girl, everything went off all right and the baby girl ought to be called 'tippling Amalie'!

Yours,

F.E.

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*Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*
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## 220

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[35]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 22 November 1894

My dear Lafargue,

I have found your report in the *Sozialdemokrat.* [419] That was lucky, for it has allowed me to put the responsibility for quite a few things on a somewhat careless editorship and to conclude that, although I did not agree with what the Nantes resolution [406] said, I think I agree with what it tried to say. At the same time I have tried to be as friendly as possible; but in view of the way this resolution is being abused in Germany, it is no good remaining silent about it.

The fact is you allowed yourself to lean a bit too much towards the opportunist tendency. At Nantes you came near to sacrificing the future of the Party to a momentary triumph. There is still time to call a halt: if my article[a] can contribute towards this, I shall be happy. In Germany—

[a] F. Engels, 'The Peasant Question in France and Germany'

where Vollmar went so far as to suggest that the large peasants in Bavaria, each with the 10-30 hectares, should enjoy all the benefits that you had promised to the small French peasants [418]—in Germany Bebel took up the challenge, and the matter will be exhaustively discussed; it will not come off the agenda until it has been thrashed out. You will have seen in *Vorwärts* Bebel's speech in the 2nd electoral constituency of Berlin. [425] He complains with reason that the party is going bourgeois. That is the misfortune of all extreme parties when the time approaches for them to become 'possible'. But our Party cannot go beyond a certain limit in this respect without betraying itself, and it seems to me that in France as in Germany we have now reached that point. Fortunately there is still time to call a halt.

For some while I have not seen your letters in *Vorwärts,* and I thought there was some misunderstanding; last Wednesday I was happy to receive a number of 'Gallus'.[a] If there are difficulties with the editorial board, let me know, perhaps I could be of some use to you.

If the Russian Government is spending money to strengthen its currency, that is an infallible sign that a new loan is in the air; the French are the only ones who might be tempted; let's hope they aren't. But when Russia needs gold, she must naturally try to get it!

Loria will be even more pleased when he reads the preface,[b] he is treated there as he deserves and without the least regard for 'il primo economista dell' Italia'.[c]

Young William[d] is behaving admirably. He gets it into his head to combat 'subversive tendencies' [428] 'and starts by subverting his own government. [429] Ministers fall like lead soldiers. The poor young man had to keep quiet and lie low for over eight months; he can't stand it any longer, he blows up—and there you are! At a time when we are winning a quarter of Belgium, [412] when electoral reform in Austria is about to send our people into Parliament, when in Russia everything is in a state of uncertainty about the future—the young man gets it into his head to outdo Crispi and Casimir Périer! You can tell the effect this will have in Germany from the fact that at the Frankfurt Congress [418] the delegates, or at least many of them, called for a new repressive law as the best means for the Party to gain ground!

[a] [P. Lafargue] Gallus, 'Der landwirtschaftliche Kredit in Frankreich', *Vorwärts,* No. 259, 6 November 1894. -[b] F. Engels, - [c] Preface [to K. Marx's *Capital,* Vol. II I] -[d] 'the foremost Italian economist' — [e] William II

The situation in Austria is interesting. Since the death of his son,[a] the Emperor[b] has been afraid of the fall of his dynasty in the near future. His heir presumptive[c] is an arrogant imbecile of the utmost unpopularity. The Hungarians are not likely to tolerate him, they are demanding personal union pure and simple to start with, to be followed by total separation and complete independence. To tie his successor's hands in advance, Francis Joseph is trying to strengthen Parliament and make it more genuinely representative. That is why he has agreed with his friend Taaffe on a fairly extensive electoral reform.[270] But Parliament, an assembly of privileged persons, a real States General of 1789[d] (elected by categories: large landowners, commerce, towns, rural areas), turns it down, and Taaffe goes out. Thereupon the Emperor, like a true constitutional monarch, appoints a Minister from the majority,[e] a coalition of Liberals, Poles, etc., all arch-reactionaries. But he makes them promise that in return they will introduce an electoral reform of their own kind and that within a year. The year runs out with all kinds of abortive attempts. Thereupon the Emperor puts them in a position to keep their word—and that is why for the last 3 weeks Vienna has been talking of nothing but electoral reform. But the coalition is incapable of producing anything; at the first positive proposition they start fighting among themselves. So that probably Taaffe will shortly replace them and re-table his Bill, and if Parliament turns it down he will dissolve it and grant the reform, which the Constitution allows him to do. So here you have 'fellow traveller' Francis Joseph pushing from one side and Victor Adler from the other! But what an irony of history that this Emperor, created in December 1848 deliberately to crush the Revolution, should be called upon to inaugurate a fresh one *AG* years later!

Kiss Laura for me.

Ever yours,

F. E

Louise and the child are well, she and Freyberger send their greetings.

First published in part in: *Le Socialiste No.* 115, 24 November, 1900 and in full in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance,* t. II I, Paris, 1959

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Translated from the French

[a] Rudolf - [b] Francis Joseph - [c] Francis Ferdinand - [d] in France - [e] Alfred von Windischgrätz

## 221

## ENGELS TO JOSSIF ATABEKJANZ

IN STUTTGART

London, 23 November 1894
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Comrade,

Many thanks for having translated my *Entwicklung des Sozialismus* and, recently, the *Communist Manifesto*[a] into your Armenian mother tongue. Unfortunately I am not in a position to comply with your request that I send you a short introduction to the latter translation. I cannot very well write anything that is to be published in a language which I do not understand. Were I to do so as a favour to yourself, I could not refuse to oblige others, in which case it might happen that my words were ushered into the world in unintentionally, if not deliberately, garbled form, while I might not learn about it for years, if ever.

Then there is another reason—grateful though I am to you for your interesting exposé of the Armenian situation—namely, that I do not regard it as right or fair to try and express an opinion on matters of which I have not acquired a knowledge from *personal study.* Particularly in this instance when the people concerned belong to an oppressed nationality unfortunate enough to be trapped between the *Scylla* of Turkish and the *Charybdis* of Russian despotism, a situation in which Russian Tsarism speculates on playing the role of liberator and the servile Russian press never fails to make the most of every word uttered in favour of Armenian liberation by turning it to the advantage of a Tsarism bent on conquest.

If, however, I am to tell you honestly what I think, it is this—that Armenia's liberation from the Turks and Russians will become a possibility only on the day when Russian Tsarism is overthrown.

With best wishes for the welfare of your people,

Yours,
F. Engels

[a] F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific;* K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*

First published in: *Dokumente des Sozialismus,* Bd. II I, Heft 12, Stuttgart, 1903

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## 222

# ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

## IN ST. PETERSBURG

London, 24 November 1894
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Sir,

I am in possession of your kind letters 7 and 11 June, 15 October and 12 November.

Of Mr. Struve's works I have only seen the article in Braun's *Centralblatt,*[a] and cannot therefore speak as to what assertions he may have made. If in my letters you find any *facts* that may be useful to you in your reply, you are welcome to make use of them. [430] But as to any *opinions* of mine, I am afraid, your opponents—not perhaps Mr. Struve but the Russian press generally—would use them in a way they do not warrant. I am daily and weekly assailed by Russian friends to reply to Russian reviews and books in which the words of our author[b] are not only misinterpreted but misquoted and where they say my interference would suffice to set the matter right. I have constantly declined doing so, because I cannot, without giving up real and serious work, be dragged into controversies going on in a faraway country, in a language which I do not yet read with as much ease as the better known western languages, and in a literature whereof at best I but see occasional fragments and where it is utterly impossible for me to follow the debate closely and in all its phases and passages. There are people everywhere who, in order to defend a position once taken up by them, do not shrink from any distortion or unfair manoeuvre; and if this is the case with the writings of our author, I am afraid I should get no better treatment and be compelled, finally, to interfere in the debate, both for other people's sake and my own. In fact, if my

[a] P. Struve, 'Zur Beurtheilung der kapitalistischen Entwickelung Russlands', *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt,* No. 1, 2 October 1893 - [b] Karl Marx

opinions as stated in private letters, did appear in the Russian press with my sanction, I should then have no defence *via-à-vis* my Russian friends here and on the Continent, who urge me actively to interfere in Russian debates and to set this or that man right on this and that point; I should not have any valid reason to decline, as they would be able to tell me: you *have* already once interfered in Russian debates; you must own that our present case is quite as important as that of Mr. D., so if you please, treat us as you have treated him. And then, my time would be no longer my own, and my interference in Russian debates would after all be extremely inefficacious and incomplete.

These are the reasons which compel me, to my very great regret, to request you, not to insist on quoting opinions of mine, at least not *as mine.*

I will try to forward to you some continuation of what you have already received.[a]

Yours very truly
L. K.[b]

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## 223

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

### IN BERLIN

[London,] 24 November 1894
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Liebknecht,

I have written to Bebel, [25] suggesting that, in political debate, one should always consider things calmly and do nothing in haste or in the heat of the moment. I myself having often come a cropper in consequence. On the other hand, however, I also have a small bone to pick with yourself.

[a] proof-sheets of *Capital,* Vol. II I - [b] Louise Kautsky's initials are used as Engels' pen-name in correspondence with Danielson.

Whether Bebel's conduct in the assembly was inept *is* open to question. [425] But in point of fact he was absolutely right. As to editor of the central organ you are, of course, bound to cast oil on troubled waters, to argue away even what are very real differences, TO MAKE THINGS PLEASANT ALL ROUND, and to promote unity in the party until the day the breach comes. Thus as *editor* you may have deplored Bebel's conduct. But what was displeasing to the *editor* should have been welcome to the *party leader,* namely the fact that there should be men who do not always have to sport an obligatory pair of editor's spectacles upon their noses, and who also remind the editor that, in his capacity as party leader, he would do well now and again to view the world with the naked eye rather than through rose-tinted spectacles.

On the very eve of the Frankfurt Party Conference the Bavarians formed what was tantamount to a *Sonderbund* at Nuremberg. [431] They arrived in Frankfurt with what was manifestly an *ultimatum.* To add insult to injury, Vollmar spoke of *marching separately,* while Grillo[a] declared: 'Resolve any thing you like; we *shall not conform.'* They claimed special rights for the Bavarians and dubbed their opponents in the party 'Prussians' and 'Berliners'. They demanded that the grant of supplies be approved, as also an agrarian policy which is actually further to the *right* than that of the petty bourgeoisie. Instead of promptly putting a spoke in their wheels, as had always been done before, the Party Conference did not venture to pass a resolution. So if that wasn't the time for Bebel to speak of the penetration of the party by petty-bourgeois elements then I'm at a loss to know when he should have done.

And what did the *Vorwärts do?* Fasten upon the form of Bebel's attack, say things weren't so bad after all and place itself in such 'diametrical opposition' to him that only the—in the event inevitable—'misunder-standing' of Bebel's opponents forced you to declare that your diametrical opposition referred simply to the *form* taken by Bebel's attack, but that, so far as its substance was concerned—the matter of supplies and the agrarian question—he had been right and you were on his side. [432] I should have thought that the mere fact of your having been *forced* to make this statement *after the event* would have proved to you that you had strayed much further to the right than Bebel could have strayed to the left.

And after all, the whole debate hinged solely upon the two points in which the action of the Bavarians culminated, namely, the opportunism

[a] Karl Grillenberger

of granting supplies in order to catch the petty bourgeoisie, and the opportunism of Vollmar's agrarian propaganda intended to catch the middle and big peasants. These, and the sectarian attitude of the Bavarians were the only practical questions under consideration, and if Bebel took them up at the point at which the Party Conference had left the Party in the lurch, you ought to be grateful to him. If he described the impossible position created by the Party Conference as attributable to the growing influence of philistinism in the party, he was merely placing a particular question in the general context in which it belongs, and that is also worthy of recognition. And if he forced a debate on all this, he was only doing what absolutely had to be done and ensuring that, when confronted by urgent questions, the next Party Conference should act in full knowledge of the facts instead of being left gaping, as at Frankfurt.

The danger of a split cannot be laid at the door of Bebel who called a spade a spade. It must be laid at the door of the Bavarians who presumed to act in a way hitherto unprecedented in the party, much to the glee of the vulgar democrats on the *Frankfurter Zeitung* who recognise in Vollmar and the Bavarians men of their own stamp, while the latter rejoice and become ever more audacious,

You say Vollmar is not a traitor. Maybe. Nor do I think he regards himself as such. But what would you call a man who asks of a proletarian party that it should oblige the Upper Bavarian big and middle peasants, owners of anything between ten and thirty hectares, by perpetuating a state of affairs based on the exploitation of farm servants and day labourers? A proletarian party, expressly founded for the perpetuation of wage slavery! The man may be an anti-Semite, a bourgeois democrat, a Bavarian particularist and anything else you care to name, but a Social Democrat? Come to that, in a *growing* workers' party, the accretion of petty-bourgeois elements is inevitable, nor does it do any harm. Any more than the accretion of 'academics',[a] failed students, etc. A few years ago they still constituted a danger. Now we are able to digest them. But the process of digestion must be allowed to run its course. And for this, hydrochloric acid is needed; if there is not enough of it (as Frankfurt went to show), we ought to be thankful to Bebel for giving us an extra dose, thereby enabling us properly to digest the non-proletarian elements.

For it is in this that the restoration of true harmony in the party con-

[a] persons with higher education

sists, not in seeking to do away with every question involving genuine internal controversy by ignoring or denying its existence.

According to you, what is at stake is 'the bringing about of effective action'. Very nice, too, but when exactly is the action going to start?[a]

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## 224

## ENGELS TO MRS KARPELES

### IN VIENNA

[London,] 30 November 1894
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Madam,

May I tender my warmest thanks for the delightful present you were so kind as to send me for my birthday? I value it all the more highly, not only for being your own handiwork, but also and above all for your having found leisure to do it at a time when you already had enough and more than enough to do for the little one that is on its way. For during that self-same time I was again afforded an opportunity of seeing, here in my own house, what a multitude of cares and preoccupations the expectation of motherhood involves.[b] I have all the more reason to pride myself in a present made for me at such a time.

I put it to use at once, on my birthday, when I took a short siesta. One sleeps upon it as sweetly as the proverbial 'quiet conscience' upon a 'good pillow'. In fact I feel pretty sure that it would be able to cope without difficulty even with a pretty uneasy conscience.

[a] the end of this letter is not extant - [b] Engels is referring to Louise Freyberger's expectant child

I was glad to hear from Ludwig that you and your little one are still keeping well and trust that you will continue to do so.

Again, many thanks and kindest regards to you and to Dr Karpeles from

Yours very sincerely,

F. Engels

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225

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[113]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 4 December 1894

Dear Sorge,

Thank you and your wife for your good wishes. Between ourselves, my 75th year doesn't hold out quite so much promise as previous ones. True I am still nimble enough on my pins, besides having an appetite for work and a reasonable capacity for it, but nevertheless I find that stomach upsets and colds, which I could once afford to treat with supreme contempt, now demand the most respectful treatment. But that is nothing so long as it amounts to nothing more.

Yesterday I sent you three copies of the *Preface to* Volume II I.[a] One for the luckless Stiebeling who has sent me several specimens of his stuff.[b] One for P. Fireman, D. Phil., if you know or can discover his address. Please give the third, after you have done with it, to Schlüter who might be able to put it to good use. In about a week's time at the most I hope to be able to send you a copy of the actual book, having been notified that this is on its way. In addition today, rolled up and sent Book Post;

1. *Sozialdemokrat*
2. *Justice,* which I shall again be sending you regularly because of the

[a] of *Capital*- [b] G. C. Stiebeling, *Das Werthgesetz und die Profit-Rate,* New York, [1890]

wrangling with the Germans, from which they can't desist. [433] Nearly everything the paper says about the triumphs of the Social Democratic Federation [44] is a lie; compared with other organisations, especially the Independent Labour Party, [114] the Social Democratic Federation is dwindling and, if things go on like this, it will soon dwindle into nothingness. Unfortunately the Independent Labour Party no longer has a proper paper.

3. *Glühlichter* from Vienna and *Wahrer Jakob* from Stuttgart, so that you may acquaint yourself with the 'wit' the party has at its disposal.

4. Bebel's speech in Berlin and his four articles attacking Grillenberger and Vollmar. [434]

The latter is the most interesting of the lot. The Bavarians, who have become very, very opportunistic and are already *almost* an ordinary People's Party (i.e. most of the leaders and many of the party's more recent recruits), had voted in favour of the general estimates in the Bavarian Landtag, while Vollmar, in particular, had begun to agitate on behalf of the peasants so as to catch the big peasants of Upper Bavaria—men with 25-80 ACRES of land (10-30 hectares) and thus *quite unable to manage without wage labour*—but *not their labourers.* Having no high hopes of the Frankfurt Party Conference [418] they organised, *a week before the latter,* a Bavarian Party Conference of their own in the course of which they constituted what amounted to a Sonderbund, [431] in as much as they agreed that at Frankfurt the Bavarian delegation should, on all questions relating to Bavaria, vote *as a body* and in accordance with the Bavarian resolutions previously settled upon. So, having arrived there, they declared that they had *had* to grant the general estimates in Bavaria, there having been no other alternative and that it was, furthermore a purely Bavarian question in which no one else had any business to poke his nose. In other words, if you resolve anything we Bavarians do not like, if you reject our ultimatum, then it will be your fault if there's a split!

Such was the claim, unprecedented in the annals of the party, with which they confronted the other delegates who were utterly unprepared for it. And to such extremes has the clamour for unity been taken in recent years that, having regard to the influx of as yet insufficiently trained elements during the same period, it is small wonder that this attitude, incompatible as it is with the party's continued existence, should have got by without the peremptory rebuff it deserved, and that no resolution should have been taken on the question of supplies.

Now let us suppose the Prussians, who are in the majority at the Party Conference, were also to hold a preliminary congress and were to pass resolutions there on, say, the attitude of the Bavarians—resolutions binding upon all the Prussian delegates so that the whole lot, both the majority and the minority, voted as a body for those resolutions at the General Party Conference, what would be the good of holding General Party Conferences at all? And what would the Bavarians say if the Prussians were to do exactly what they themselves have just done?

In short, the matter could not be allowed to rest at that, and it was now that Bebel stepped into the breach. He simply put the question back on the agenda and it is now being debated. Bebel is by far the most lucid and far-sighted man of the lot.

I have been corresponding with him regularly for some fifteen years and we see eye to eye about almost everything. Liebknecht, on the other hand, is very hidebound in his outlook and the old democrat of South German-federalist, particularist complexion in him is forever coming to the surface. Worse still, he cannot tolerate the fact that Bebel, who has long since outgrown him, refuses to submit to his guidance although he puts up willingly with his presence at his side. Furthermore, so badly has he managed the central organ, the *Vorwärts*—mainly because of the jealousy with which he guards his LEADERSHIP, wanting to direct everything and in fact directing nothing, i.e. placing obstacles everywhere—that the paper, which could be the best in Berlin, serves only to provide the party with profits amounting to 50,000 marks but no political influence whatsoever. Needless to say, Liebknecht is now intent on acting as mediator and pours scorn on Bebel, but in my view, it's the latter who will turn out to be right. In Berlin the Executive and the best of our chaps are already taking his side and I am convinced that, if he appeals to the party at large, he will get a big majority. Meanwhile we must wait and see. I would also send you the Vollmariad, etc., but have only got one copy of the same for my own use.

Louise and the baby both well.

Warm regards to you and your wife. I trust your eyes will soon be better again, as also your other infirmities.

Your old friend,
F.E.

First published abridged in:
*Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen*

Printed according to the original

*von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels. Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere,* Stuttgart, 1906 and in full, in Russian, in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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## 226

## ENGELS TO FILIPPO TURATI

IN MILAN

[London,] 4 December 1894
41 Regent's Park Road

My dear Turati,

Where the deuce do you find the patience to keep writing to this dear *Monsieur E.?* But let's leave aside the bourgeois titles. As to your students, I regret infinitely that I am unable to come to their aid other than by giving them my best wishes. [435] My time is so occupied that I cannot get down even to the most urgent matters at hand. The same day as I receive your card, one addresses the same request to me on behalf of Berlin students; I am obliged to send them the same refusal as I do to your friends. These little things are but trifles if taken separately, yet when all this happens day after day with a desperate regularity, it all adds up to a considerable loss of time. Be so kind as to make my excuses to your young friends to whom, nevertheless, I wish complete success.

I enclose my preface to the 3d volume of *Capital* for the benefit of citizeness Anna—there are several lines in which one might become interested in Italy.

It was good of you to cite Bebel in the *Critica Sociale.* [425] Bebel has said bitter, but quite necessary truths. This was more opportune than the opportunism of his adversaries.

Yours truly,
F. E.

Please note the change of my address.

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language of the original (French)
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## 227

# ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

## IN HOBOKEN

London, 12 December 1894

Dear Sorge,

Today one copy of Marx's *Capital,* Vol. II I, has gone off to you by registered Book Post. I trust you will get it.

'What has earned us such an undeserved stroke of luck as the 'lese-majestie' suit brought at little Willie's[a] behest against our chaps for having remained seated *in the Reichstag,* is beyond my comprehension. [436] No one could have done us a greater service. Little Willie and 'Mr von Kö ller, Whatever they do there's worse to foller' are a fine pair and as if cut out to get everything into a mess and us—out of it.

Bebel has emerged victorious. In the first place, after Bebel's articles Vollmar broke off the controversy, [434] in the second, his appeal to the Executive was most resolutely rejected and, in the third, he appealed to the parliamentary group but the latter, having been declared incompetent by Bebel, admitted its incompetence, which means that the matter will come up before the next Party Conference, when Bebel can be *certain* of a majority of two-thirds or three-quarters.

It is the third campaign Vollmar has fought for a leading position in the party outside of Bavaria. On the first occasion he demanded that we should actively support Caprivi and become government socialists. [437] On the second, that we should go in for state socialism and assist the present German Empire in its socialist experiments. [438] On both he got a flea in his ear. And now he has got another.

[a] William II

The act of staying seated in the Reichstag has impressed the French more than all the work the party has done over the past thirty years. Between ourselves, the Parisians—and I mean the Parisians, not the French—have gone *very much* to seed. Their love of fine phrases and their respect for the melodramatic are gradually becoming intolerable. I hope you and your wife are well. Warm regards to you both.

Yours,

F. E.

Out of gratitude to Schlüter for sending me the CENSUS REPORTS,[A] etc., I have also sent him a copy of Volume II I[b] by *registered* BOOK POST. But since I do not know whether his address, 935 Washington, still holds good, I have sent it to him care of the *Volkszeitung,* P. 0. Box 1512, N. Y. City. Would you be so good as to let him know this?

First published abridged in: *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A, an F. A. Sorge und Andere,* Stuttgart, 1906 and In full, in Russian, in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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## 228

## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

### IN VIENNA

London, 14 December 1894
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Victor,

Your letters of 12 and 26 safely received. So the K. Kautsky business has been settled. Best thanks for your good wishes for my birthday. I can assure you that it has been brought home to me and impressed upon my

[a] Department of the Interior, Census Office. *Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890,* Parts I-II , Washington, 1892-1894 - [b] of *Capital*

mind that I can no longer, in my seventy-fifth year, permit myself those imprudences you reprehend. On the contrary, I am on the strictest of diets, treat my alimentary canal like a grumpy bureaucratic chief whose every whim must be obeyed and, to ward off coughs, bronchial catarrh and the like, submit to being wrapped up, kept warm and generally maltreated in every conceivable way, as is only meet and right for a decrepit old man. But enough of that.

I need hardly tell you how pleased I was about the resolute stand Bebel adopted after the feeble Party Conference. [425] I was also pleased to have been indirectly compelled by Vollmar to throw in a word or two on this account.a We have in fact been victorious all along the line. First, Vollmar's exit from the lists after Bebel's four articles [434] in itself an unequivocal retreat, then the rebuff administered by the Executive; then the repudiation by the parliamentary group of the claim that it, rather than the Party Conference, should act as arbiter. I.e. Vollmar has suffered defeat after defeat in this, his third unsuccessful campaign. That should suffice even an erstwhile papal Zouave. [439] I have written Liebknecht two letters about this,[b] from which he will have derived little pleasure. The man is becoming ever more obstructive. He still claims to have the best nerves in the party—no great shakes, to go by his rotten speech in the Reichstag the day before yesterday. [440] Nor, it seems, has this gone unnoticed in government circles where an attempt is clearly being made to help him onto his legs again by accusing him of lese -majestie, [436] allegedly committed *a posteriori.*

That affair proves, by the way, either that William[c] and von Köller are completely crazy or that they are deliberately trying to engineer a coup d'état. Hohenlohe's speech has demonstrated that he is an utterly gormless,[d] feeble-minded, weak-willed old gentleman, and nothing but Mr von Köllers man of straw. Köller himself is a typical Junker—vain, forceful and narrow-minded, and is capable of presenting himself to Little Willie as the man who will put paid to 'subversion' and carry out to the very letter His Majesty's intentions with regard to the restoration of the royal prerogative. And William is capable of saying in reply: 'You are a man after my own heart!' If that's how matters stand—and every day brings fresh indications that it is—then *vogue la galere!*[e] We'll be in for a merry time.

[a] F. Engels, *The Peasant Question in France and Germany* —[b] See this volume, pp. 373 -75 ; the editors do not possess the second letter. - [c] William II - [d] lacking awareness, dull, stupid, uncomprehending - [e] let the worst happen

But now for the most important thing. You express surprise at not having heard from Louise. In which case, might I suggest that you be so good as to answer the extremely urgent letters she has written to you, not only those about her acting as correspondent for you over here and whether you would also like articles from anyone else and, if so, who—but also and above all those about the offer of money.

Months ago, in September or early October, she wrote to you saying: 'There is now a group of people who, though not members of the party, nevertheless have confidence in you and in particular believe that you are the man to help the daily *Arbeiter-Zeitung*[377] along the road to financial success as well, always providing that you are gi*ven the leading position.'* They are therefore prepared to assign to you a considerable sum for the daily *Arbeiter-Zeitung*—amounting, I understand, to some 5,000 fl., on condition that:

1. You accept the senior position on the paper.

2. The thing is treated purely as a business investment and interest is regularly paid.

3. All negotiations, payments, etc., are dealt with by you in Vienna and by Louise over here.

These, to the best of my recollection, were the conditions upon which the offer was made. 'Well, there has been no response of any kind from you, either to the above or to any of Louise's subsequent letters. Last week *she wrote again,* asking for an immediate reply which had to be here by Tuesday, the 11th, at the latest. In vain. Now this can only mean one of two things: Either you in your correspondence are so enmeshed in a web of postal and other kinds of intrigue that it is virtually impossible to get a letter to you, or your disinclination to answer letters is such that you would rather forego the money that has been offered you than write to Louise.

Either way we have got to know where we stand. *The chaps are pressing for a decision* for, if you refuse the money, they will invest it elsewhere. We have therefore been compelled to send this letter to Mrs Anna Pernerstorfer, with the request that she deliver it to you in person and to *no one else.* We would now ask you—*for the very last time*—if you would kindly let us know whether or not you wish to negotiate with us and or Louise regarding the money. If you do, you must tell her how letters are to be addressed to you, whereupon we shall send a reply by 'registered' mail.

Louise and her baby are both very well. The baby grows, flourishes and screams; she is suckling it herself and has plenty and to spare. She and Ludwig send their love, likewise

Yours,
F.E.

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## 229

## ENGELS TO WITOLD JODKO-NARKIEWICZ

### IN LONDON

[London,] 14 December 1894
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Jodko,

I certainly would not have the least objection to your translating my article on the peasant question and should be glad if it could also prove helpful to your compatriots. [441]

Yours,
F. Engels

As you see, we have moved house.

First published, in the language of the original, in: *Z Pola walki,* No. 4 (12), 1960

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## 230

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

[London,] 17 December 1894

My dear Löhr,

You say, after finishing the 3rd volume[a] and before beginning with the 4th, I must long for a little rest. Now I will just tell you what my position is.

I have to follow the movement in five large and a lot of small European countries and the U. S. America. For that purpose I receive 3 German, 2 English, 1 Italian *dailies* and from January 1 the Vienna daily, 7 in all. Of *weeklies* I receive 2 from Germany, 7 Austria, 1 France, 3 America (2 English, 1 German), 2 Italian, and 1 each in Polish, Bulgarian, Spanish and Bohemian, three of which in languages I am still gradually acquiring. Besides that, calls of the most varied sorts of people (just now, a few min utes ago, Polak from Amsterdam sent me a German sculptor penniless and in want of employment) and an ever increasing crowd of correspon dents, more than at the time of the International! many of whom expect long explanations and all of them taking away time. With all this and the 3rd volume, I have not, even during the proof-sheet-time, that is the whole of 1894, been able to read *more than one book.*

Now the next thing is the publication of Lassalle's letters to Mohr. [284] Tussy has typed them, they are in my desk, but—thanks to the removal—I have not been able to touch them. That means notes, references to facts long gone by as well as to my own old correspondence with Mohr— and a preface to be written diplomatically.

Then the heaps of arrears of my own. First the complete rewriting of the *Bauernkrieg* [235] which has been out of sale for years, and has been promised as my first work after Vol. II I. That requires a considerable study; I hoped to do that along with the proof-sheets, But impossible. Anyhow I shall have to look myself up how to do it.

Then—not to speak of other little jobs hanging over me—I want to write at least the chief chapters out of Mohr's political life: 1842-1852,

[a] of *Capital*

and the International. The latter is the most important and urgent, I intend to do it first. But that requires freedom from interruption, and when shall I get that? [316]

All these things are wanted from me, and moreover a re-edition of Mohr's and my own earlier smaller writings. For that I have been collecting; but have not succeeded in much—. Some more bits are in the *Parteiarchiv* in Berlin. [442] But a good deal is short yet, for instance a copy of the first *Rheinische Zeitung.* If I could get, say 2/3 of the old 1842-50 articles collected, I should start, as I am sure then that for a 2nd edition a lot more would come to light. But we are not so far advanced as yet.

And then Vol. 4. [443] Now of that there is a *very* rough manuscript, of which up to now it in impossible to say how much can be used. I myself cannot again undertake to unravel it and dictate the whole as I did Vol. 2 and 3. My eyesight would break down completely before I was half through. I found that out years ago and tried another dodge. I considered it would be useful to have one or two intelligent men of the younger generation broken in to read Mohr's handwriting. I thought of Kautsky and Bernstein. Kautsky was then still in London (some 6 or 7 years ago). I asked him and he assented; I said I would pay one hundred pounds for the complete 'fair copy' of what there is, and assist him where he could not decipher. He began. Then he left London, took one Heft[a] with him, and for years I heard no more, He was too busy with the *Neue Zeit,* so I had Manuscript and copy returned, as far as the latter went—perhaps 1/8 to 1/6 of the whole.[b] Bernstein too is not only very busy, but suffers from overwork, has not yet completely overcome his neurasthenia, and I hardly dare ask him. I shall see whether Tussy will; if he volunteers, all well; if not I do not intend to run the risk of having it said that I brought on a relapse of his illness by overloading him with work.

That is my position: *74* years the which I am beginning to feel, and work enough for two men of 40. Yes, if I could divide myself into the F. E. of 40 and the F. E. of 34, which would just be 74, then we should soon be all right. But as it is, all I can do is to work on with what is before me and get through it as far and as well as I can.

Now you know my position, and if you have now and then to wait for a letter from me, you will know the reason why.

Last night Bonnier came from Edinbro' and left to-day for Oxford. He

[a] notebook - [b] See this volume, p. 71

has cooled down considerably from his first anger over my *Bauernfrage*[a]—*vous nous traitez d'imbéciles,*[b] he wrote to me. Anyhow he was very pleasant and I think he is convinced that they have made a blunder at Nantes. [406] He really believed that it was not only possible but necessary to gain over the mass of the French peasants to Socialism between now and next general elections.

Post time. Must close. I owe you for your share of the
Sonnenschein account for *Capital* (English)..... £1.31.-
1/3 Share of £5.—received from *Neue Zeit* for the 2 chapters
from Vol. II I[c] ..... £1.13.4
And allow me to add as a remembrance that
Christmas is coming ..... £ 5. -. -
Covered by cheque herewith ..... £7.16.5.

Puddings could not be made this year, the little girl of Louise's (which is prosperous and gaining nearly a pound a week in weight) has stopped that. But Paul will have his cake.

Ever yours
F. Engels

First published abridged, in German, in: *Die Neue Zeit,* No. 11, 1905-069 Bd. I and in full, in Russian, in: *Voprosi istorü KPSS,* No. 1,1957; first published in the language of the original (English) in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance,* t. II I, 1959

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## 231

## ENGELS TO FYOTR LAVROV [444]

IN PARIS

London, 18 December 1894
*41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.*

My dear Lavrov,

Mme Lafargue has sent me your letter, and I hasten to assure you that

[a] F. Engels, *The Peasant Question in France and Germany* - [b] you call us imbeciles - [c] of *Capital*

I have not at all forgotten about you, But

1) *Dühring,*[a] 3rd edition—I had only 6 copies, which I sent to no one except Mme Lafargue and Mme Aveling. The rest have been taken, as always happens. I have found one more copy which I will send to you immediately.

2) *Capital,* 3rd volume. If it is on sale in Paris and elsewhere, this is because the editor has displayed exemplary avarice towards me. There were copies in *Rome* before I had received a single one! However, I am expecting another delivery in a few days, and then I will be able to send you the copy long since intended for you.

I hope you are keeping well—as for me, I cannot complain, but I am beginning to realise that 74 is not 47. However, events should help us to maintain our vital forces, the whole of Europe is warming up, crises are brewing everywhere, particularly in Russia. The situation cannot last much longer over there. So much the better.

Yours

F. Engels

*Please note the change of address!*

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## 232

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[35]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 18 December 1894
41 Regent's Park Road

My dear Lafargue,

I am returning Lavrov's letter to Laura. I replied to him at once to say

[a] F. Engels, *Anti-Dübring*

that he shall have the two books[a] as soon as I myself shall have copies.[b] Meissner supplied me, and still supplies me, after he has supplied everyone else. I am also sending you a copy for *Deville.*

As I said: the (Nantes) *programme* [406] itself has only one pointless clause: the reduction of LEGAL rates of interest, i.e., the revival of the ancient laws against usury whose total uselessness was demonstrated 2,000 years ago. You cannot effectively reduce the rates of interest paid by mortgaged peasants without turning all mortgages on property into debts against the State, in which case you are free to reduce the interest—except that you lose money yourself, when it falls due. And also the clause on hunting, as it is drafted, is self-contradictory.

Not only is young William[c] cracked, but this time he is pushing things to a crisis. The new chancellor[d] is simply a man of straw, the moving spirit in the new government is Köller (*der macht as immer döller,*[e] as *Kladderadatsch* said of him years ago). They are provoking a conflict with the Reichstag. They are going to prosecute Liebknecht for lese-majesty after the closure. [436] They are pressing for a dissolution which will mean a recalcitrant Reichstag in Berlin and then—a little coup d'état. We may look forward to some nice happenings in Germany if everything turns out as these gentlemen visualise.

In Italy, too, the monarchy is hard pressed. The Crown Prince[f] is involved in the Banca Romana to the tune of 300,000 francs, the King[g] in the name of various nominees, for very much larger amounts. All that is well known. Crispi is mortally wounded by Giolitti's sensational move [445]—the whole of Parliament as well as all the higher officials are compromised by it, and in simple-minded Italy they are still so Catholic, that is to say, *pagan,* that all this is done in broad daylight and there is no means of concealing the corruption, of which, on the contrary, they boast—until there is a crisis.

And then, Russia—the unknown, where only one thing is certain: that the present regime will not be able to stand a change of tsar, and there will be a crisis there too.

What you say about the effect produced by the little scene in the Reichstag goes for England as well. All the years of work, all the electoral and real victories count for nothing; a little melodramatic scene—that is

[a] K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. II I. -[b] See previous letter. -[c] William II - [d] Prince zu Hohenlohe - [e] Who lets himself go more and more. - [f] Vittorio Emmanuele - [g] Umberto I

the striking, the dazzling thing. How petty people are!

I shall write to Adler about your letters. But there, with the small working strength they have, it seems to me very unlikely that a regular correspondence would suit them, unless it were written in German and ready for the printer. So, strictly speaking, one ought to ask Frankel first. But we shall see.

Ever yours,
F. E.

Laura should have received my letter of yesterday.

First published in:
F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue,
*Correspondance,* t. II I. Paris,1959

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Translated from the French

## 233

## ENGELS TO GEORGE WILLIAM LAMPLUGH[446]

IN LONDON

[London] 21 December 1894
41 Regent's Park Road I, N. W.

We have moved to 41 Regent's Park Road. You'll see Dr. Freyberger's name on the door—and shall be glad to see you there whenever you find time to look in—in the meantime a merry Xmas you and your family.

Yours truly
F. Engels

21/12/94, the shortest day, and with a vengeance!

First published, in Russian,
in *Letopisi marksizma,* Book I,
1926

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# 234

## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

### IN VIENNA

London, 22 December 1894
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Victor,

So the offer of money[a] has at last reached the stage at which we can get down to business. Louise will be letting you have further details.

As regards correspondents over here, please give M. Beer a pseudonym that will so distinguish him from all the other correspondents as to obviate any possibility of confusion. The man is *very* green so far as England is concerned and sees things through Galician-Talmudic spectacles.—I hardly imagine that E. Bernstein will be able to send you a great deal; as it is, he seldom has much time to spare for articles for the *Vorwärts* and prefers to work for the *Neue Zeit.*

Lafargue has asked whether you could make use of him as a contributor. I told him that in the first instance you would have to consider Frankel but that I was unaware of all the circumstances and would write.[b] He—Lafargue—is a lively and interesting writer but his stuff, like the Gallus reports he sends to the *Vorwärts,* is *all in French.* His wife *does not write* German either and speaks it only on fairly rare occasions. Nor is she as fluent as Tussy. I don't know whether it would be convenient for you to do the translating over there yourselves. Lafargue would naturally have a fee in mind, since he has lost his deputy's salary. I couldn't tell him anything about that either.

Things are getting complicated on the Continent. In your country electoral reform is assured—and nowadays, when something like that gets under way, it is not so easy to stop—while Russia is seeing the beginning of the end of Tsarist omnipotence, for it is improbable that autocracy will survive this latest change of monarch; in Italy they are heading straight for a revolution that may cost the monarchy its head, and in the German Empire Little Willie[c] seems intent on crossing the Halys and destroying a great empire. You could hardly wish for a better moment at which to found a daily newspaper—material in plenty and what's more, of a kind

[a] See this volume, p. 384 - [b] See this volume, p. 391 -[c] William II

that the other parties are bound to distort and misconstrue, whereas our party is the only one that will construe it aright from the very start.

And now a Merry Christmas to you, your wife (to whom please convey my warm regards) and your children.

Yours,

F.E.

First published in: *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe.* Erstes Heft: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels,* Vienna, 1922

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Published in English for the first time

## 235

## ENGELS TO PAUL SINGER [447]

IN BERLIN *[Excerpt]*

[London, between 26 and 29 December 1894]

...incidentally, your conditions are very favourable. The English workers would leap as high as St. Paul's Cathedral if they got a labour exchange that could force the bourgeois either to justify his refusal to employ a worker before a court of arbitration or take him, etc....

Published in *Vorwärts. Berliner Volksblatt,* No. 1, 1 January 1895 Published in English for the first time

Printed according to the newspaper

## 236

## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER [448]

IN VIENNA

*[Draft]*

[London, 27 December 1894]

Dear Victor,

I would ask you to convey my congratulations to the Austrian workers on their daily paper. [377] Its first daily paper invariably signifies a tremen-

dous step forward in the life of a party, especially of a workers' party. It is the first position from which it can tackle its opponents with the same weapons, at least in the field of the press. You have won this position; now the second is at stake: suffrage, parliament. And you are certain of this too, if you exploit the political situation—becoming ever more favourable to you as it is with the same skill as [you have done] in the past fifteen months; if you are determined to act at the right time, but also, as so often necessary, determined to wait at the right time; if you know how to let circumstances act on your behalf.

Good luck and success to the daily *Arbeiter-Zeitung!*

Yours

First published abridged in *the Arbeiter-Zeitung.* No. 1, 1 January 1895 and in full, in Russian, in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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## 237

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 29 December 1894
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Löhr,

Thanks for your news of the 23rd about the Allemanists [21] and their dissensions—this sets me up again as far as the *personalia* of the Parisian movement are concerned. I hope the whole set of Allemanists will soon be smashed up and whatever is decent among them joining our people who, if they wait patiently, seem to stand the best chance of absorbing gradually all the rest.

May the new dailies flourish [449] and soon bring forth a Parisian daily!

As to the preface to the French *Manifest,*[a] my proposal would be that

[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*

you work out some sort of preface out of the four German ones, giving such information about the fates of the work as may interest your readers, then send me the Manuscript for additions to be proposed by me (I have just received an Armenian translation[a]) to which I might add a few words in my own name. [450] Don't you think that would solve the difficulty?

Last Sunday Tussy being in Manchester sent me your letter to her about Vol. IV. [443] I am quite willing and shall be glad to assist her if she will undertake the work of writing out the original Manuscript.

As to what you say about Mohr's papers and their treatment in case of my death, the matter is simple enough. All these things I hold *in trust for you,* that you know; and consequently on my death they revert to you. In the last will I made (when Sam Moore was here last time but one) there is no special provision, but in the instructions to my executors accompanying it, there is a distinct direction to them, to hand over to Tussy, as the administrator of the will, the whole of Mohr's Manuscripts that are in his own handwriting, also all letters addressed to him with the sole exception of my own correspondence with him.[b] And as Tussy seems to have some doubt about the matter, I shall as soon as Sam Moore comes back in Summer ask him to draw up a new will in which this is distinctly and unmistakably declared. If you have any other wish please let me know.

Adler writes about Paul's correspondence for the daily *Arbeiter Zeitung:* 'was Lafargue anlangt so habe ich nichts gegen *französische* Korrespondenzen, ich werde viel übersetzen müssen. Natürlich wird Frankel regelmässig schreiben—Lafargue ist ein Korrespondent wie ich es für den *Vorwärts* bin, selten, aber dann lang. Nun wäre mir ja mit seinen geistsprühenden Artikeln sehr gedient, wenn ich nicht fürchtete dass er mir dieselben schickt wie an *Vorwärts* und *Echo.*[c] Kannst Du arrangieren dass er mir *etwa zweimal im Monat* oder bei besondern Anlässen schreibt, so wäre es mir ein grosser Gefallen, wir können nur nicht viel zahlen, 20 fr. für den Artikel müsste ihm genügen.'[d]

[a] See this volume, p. 371 - [b] See this volume, pp. 364 - [c] *Hamburger Echo* — [d] 'As regards Lafargue, I have nothing against *French* correspondence, I shall have a lot to translate. Naturally Frankel will write regularly—Lafargue is a correspondent of the kind that I am for *Vorwärts,* infrequent, but then long-writing. Of course his scintillating articles would be very welcome if I were not afraid that he would send me the same as those for *Vorwärts* and *Echo.* Can you arrange for him to write for me, *say twice a month* or on special occasions; that would be a great help to me, only we cannot pay much, he would have to make do with 20 francs an article.'

There. Paul might write to Vienna during the odd week when he does not write to Berlin, and on some other general subject.

We have not been able to see anything in the English papers about G. Richard's election. [451] Is he *en ballottage?* Your figures 1,802 votes do not look very encouraging.

In Germany we shall have a busy year. We drank the *Umsturz-Kaisers* [428]jolly good health on Christmas day so he will now perhaps be satisfied.

A very happy and pleasant New Year to you and Paul from all of us here!

Ever yours

F. Engels

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The seaside at Eastbourne

# 1895

## 238 ENGELS TO EMMA ADLER

IN VIENNA

London, 1 January 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mrs Adler,

I am most grateful for your kind good wishes as also for those of your husband and children which I wholeheartedly reciprocate. I trust that the New Year will be a thoroughly enjoyable one for you in every way. Today a new and promising field of activity has opened up for you and Victor and no doubt we shall frequently be able to detect your own hand in it. All of us over here wish this new enterprise, the daily *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* [337] the very best of success in the practical field.

Please tell Victor that I will answer his last letter within the next few days[a] and that I have sent him today, by *'registered'* post, a copy of the 3rd volume of Marx's *Das Kapital.* [452] No doubt it will have already arrived by the time this reaches you; like this letter it is addressed to Windmühlgasse 30A.

Once again my best wishes and cordial regards to you all from

Yours,

F. Engels

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[a] See this volume, pp. 408-11

## 239

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

### IN HANOVER

London, 1 January 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Kugelmann,

I am most grateful to you, your wife and your daughter for your kind good wishes which I sincerely reciprocate. But now we had better get down to business straight away, as I am overwhelmed with correspondence, etc. [453]

If I understood you aright, the collection in America was mainly to do with Marx's articles in the *Tribune.* I have two collections of these over here, of which one *at any rate is* incomplete and probably both, since the *Tribune also* published Marx's articles as unsigned leaders. A third collection could therefore only be of use to me for the purpose of completing the set and that was why I suggested at the time that it should be temporarily housed in the archives where I could always have access to it when necessary.

But you now speak of *earlier* things, i.e. stuff from the period up till 1851, and that, of course, is quite a different matter and not what I had understood you to say in Berlin. [454] These things are in fact of the utmost value and it is only the lack of them that has prevented me from bringing out a complete edition of these lesser works as well as of the articles by Marx and myself that appeared between 1842 and 1852. It has long been my wish to publish these things, once I am in some sort of a position to do so and if, therefore, you can place as many of them as possible at my disposal, you will be making your own contribution towards that end. In which case I shall resume my search for a copy of the *Rheinische Zeitung* of 1842, chiefly with regard to Marx's articles.

Please tell me again where the collection originated and, if you cannot at once get hold of the things themselves, kindly procure for me, if possible, a list of the books, periodicals, etc., contained therein, but excluding the *Tribune* articles. [455]

Since the beginning of last year Mrs Kautsky has not been Mrs Kautsky

but Mrs Freyberger. Her husband is an extremely able young Viennese doctor, formerly Nothnagel's assistant, who fell out with the faculty over there because he gave lectures on practical anatomy to working men and explained to them the social causes of their ailments. He is now addressing himself to the higher realms of applied medicine in this country and will, I do not doubt, soon make a success of it, for he is far more knowledgeable than most Englishmen. In order that my domestic arrangements should not be revolutionised more than necessary, we have taken a larger house in the same road where all three' or rather four, of us (there having been the addition of a little girl seven weeks ago) live together.

So once again a Happy New Year and kindest regards to you all from Louise and myself.

Yours,

F. Engels

As regards the misprint, which is itself a misprint, I shall look into the matter. [456]

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## 240

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLII TER [184]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 1 January 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Schlüter,

Your letter of 11 August still remains unanswered, nor have I yet thanked you for the Census Compendium[a] which arrived safely. I have, however, been overwhelmed with all manner of work, while urgent party

[a] Department of the Interior. Census Office. *Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890.*

and business correspondence has virtually precluded my attending to my private correspondence, something from which Sorge has also had to suffer. You will have heard from him that Louise Kautsky is now Mrs Freyberger and the mother of a strong and healthy little girl and that we have all moved to 41, Regent's Park Road.

As Sorge will have told you, I have sent you a copy of Volume II I of *Capital* addressed to the *Volkszeitung,* as I didn't know whether your Hoboken address still held good. At all events the *Volkszeitung* seemed safer to me. I could not, however, pass on your commission to Ede, he having long since been engaged for the same purpose by the *Neue Zeit.* [457] I ought really to have advised you of this—please accept my apologies.

Over here things are much the same as with you. Amongst the *masses* the socialist instinct is becoming ever stronger, but whenever it behoves them to translate their instinctive impulses into clear ideas and demands, the chaps at once go their several ways, some to the Social Democratic Federation, [44] others to the Independent Labor Party, [114] while the rest stay put in the Independent Labour Party, Trades Unions Organization etc., etc. In short, not a party but so many sects. The leaders are nearly all of them pretty unreliable fellows, while the candidates for the supreme leadership, though thick on the ground, are by no means eminently fitted for the post. At the same time we have the two big bourgeois parties who are standing by, purse in hand, to see whom they can buy. Moreover, what is known as 'democracy' over here is much restricted by *indirect* barriers. Periodicals are shockingly expensive, ditto candidatures for Parliament, ditto life as a Member of Parliament—if only on account of the vast correspondence this entails. To revise the deplorably kept registers of electors also costs a great deal of money and hitherto none but the two official parties have been able to defray that cost. Hence it is unlikely that anyone who does not support either of those parties will appear on the register. People over here are far behind the Continent in all these matters and, what's more, they are beginning to notice it; again, there is no second ballot, a relative majority or, as you Americans would say, PLURALITY, being enough. It is a situation in which everything is organised on the basis of *only two* parties and, until a third party is strong enough to be a match for them, the most it will be able to do is turn the scales. In the same way there is little likelihood of the Trades Unions over here bringing off something on the lines of the Berlin beer boycott [458]—a court of arbitration such as was secured over

there is something that is still unattainable in this country.

On the other hand—as in the case of America—once the workers over here know what they want, the state, the land, industry and everything else will be theirs.

This is intended for you alone, not for the *Volkszeitung.* Louise sends her kindest regards and both of us wish you a very Happy New Year.

Yours,

F. Engels

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## 241

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

## IN STUTTGART

London, 3 January 1895

Dear Baron,

Firstly, a very Happy New Year from one household to the other, and, secondly, my thanks for the amusing report of the MARE'S NEST discovered by Liebknecht. Hardly had I read the first couple of lines of your account than I realised that it could only refer to the old business with Schweitzer and for me that gave twice the savour to the humour of the situation. [459] Incidentally it will be sufficient if you make a note in your own copy of the variations of the original from the printed text and let me have them some time or other for insertion in mine. I would rather not enter into correspondence with Liebknecht about the copyright of the original ms., for it is improbable that it would get us anywhere.

Parts of Fireman's article[a] are, I agree, rendered so complex by his mis-

[a] P. Fireman, *Kritik der Marx'schen Werttheorie.* In *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik.* 3. Folge, Bd. 3, 1892

guided incursions into other aspects of Marx's theory and by all manner of metaphysical, i.e. anti-dialectical divagations, as virtually to conceal the fact that, by a happy chance, he has been able to get closer than anyone else to the crux of the problem. Hence the total ineffectuality of the article. Only someone who gives his undivided attention to the specific problem under discussion will make the discovery that here is something which, if pursued, will lead to the solution of the whole problem.

It would seem that you will be having a thoroughly lively year in Germany. If Mr von Köller carries on in this way, [460] no thing is impossible—conflict, dissolution, granting concessions, coup d'état. Obviously he would also be content with less. The Junkers would be happy enough with more generous douceurs, but to obtain these he will have to appeal to certain cravings for personal domination and pander to them to the point at which elements of resistance are also brought into play, and it is here that chance—i.e. what is involuntary, incalculable—comes into play. And to secure those douceurs he will have to raise the spectre of conflict—if he goes a step further, the original aim, the douceur, will become of secondary importance and then it will be a case of Crown versus Reichstag, of bend or break, and that's when the fun may begin. At the moment I am reading Gardiner's *Personal Government of Charles*[a] in which the parallels with present-day Germany are so close as to be almost absurd. As, for instance, the arguments over immunity from the consequences of actions performed in Parliament. Were Germany a Latin country, a revolutionary conflict would be inevitable, but as it is, you can't be certain about nowt, as Jollymeier[a] used to say.

Meanwhile the business of the peasants has quietly fizzled out, though August's attack was most meritorious nevertheless and made good much of which had been omitted at Frankfurt. [425]

The worthy Bavarian socialists who favour reserved rights will be in no hurry to burn their fingers again.

Amongst the various small factions over here things are, for the moment, jogging along in the usual dilatory way. Though their mutual squabbles are no longer so heated, the intrigues behind the scenes are being conducted with proportionately greater zeal. The masses, on the other hand, who are being instinctively drawn towards socialism, are experiencing a growing urge for conscious and unified action. Though less

[a]Carl Schorlemmer

clear-sighted than individual leaders, the masses are certainly far better than the leaders as a whole, yet the process of acquiring consciousness is slower than elsewhere, since pretty well *all* the old leaders also have an interest in diverting this burgeoning consciousness into one specific channel or another, or, to put it crudely, in vitiating it. Well, one must just be patient.

So once again a Happy New Year and many regards.

Yours,

F. Engels

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## 242

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER

### IN DARMSTADT

London, 3 January 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Schorlemmer,

I have not yet thanked you for your kind good wishes on my birthday and for your New Year's card, my response in each case being a resounding Happy New Year.

Here, too, all manner of changes have since taken place. At the beginning of last year Mrs Kautsky married Dr Freyberger, a young Viennese physician resident in this country, and we decided that, as we all wanted to remain together, we should take a larger house, one such being available close by. Hardly had we moved in and got things in order than Mrs Freyberger was delivered of a baby girl; mother and child are fit and well. Last summer Pumps and family also returned to London. Her husband's[a]

[a] Perry White Roscher

business in the Isle of Wight was not doing particularly well and he therefore wants to try his luck again here.

Carl's book *Rise and Progress* [313] was also sent to me not long ago. Volume I (re-edited by two young chemists[a]) of the big text-book published in collaboration with Roscoe has come out. [311] In view of the usual terms governing payment for such works, it is unlikely that Carl's heirs will receive much, if anything at all.

Even though the Party Conference in Frankfurt [418] proved a somewhat feeble affair by comparison with its predecessors, mainly because Vollmar and the Bavarians literally caught the other deputies napping with their Bavarian ultimatum,[b] while the latter, fearing the possibility of a split, failed to reach a decision on the most important issues, the stupidity of our opponents will nevertheless help us overcome all these little tribulations. Not content with the Subversion Bill, [428] those men of genius must needs institute proceedings against Liebknecht on account of a spot of bother in the Reichstag, [436] i.e. actually make us the champions of the constitutional rights of the Reichstag! And it was precisely this new conflict that provided us with the opportunity of bringing the Berlin beer boycott to a victorious conclusion, [458] a victory which has made a great impression abroad and especially here in England, For despite their seventy years of publicly organised trade clubs and considerable freedom of association, the workers over here are very far from securing the kind of court of arbitration that was successfully fought for in Berlin. In the words of one paper:

'Kaiser William would do well to reflect on the fact that the men who have got the better of a beer barrel will also get the better of a sceptre.'

And that was our doing. In Germany there are now only two people whose speeches command general attention—the Kaiser William and August Bebel. His last speech was brilliant, but it must be read in the original transcript. [461]

Though I am again in good health, I realise, of course, that 74 isn't 47 and that I can no longer make so free with food, drink, etc. Nor am I as hardy as in the past. But I am nevertheless still perfectly robust for my age and trust I shall live to see this and that, especially if, as seems distinctly probable, the gentlemen in Berlin decide to engage in a slight tussle with the Constitution. [462] The Prussian Junkers are quite capable of bringing

[a] Edvard Hjelt and Ossian Aschan - [b] See this volume, pp. 357, 374-75

about a situation in which the Social Democrats will be compelled to act as the defenders of the Imperial Constitution against a body of Junkers who not only infringe that Constitution but are intent on staging a coup d'état. That will suit us admirably. Let's have at 'em. Many regards from

Yours

F. Engels

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## 243

## ENGELS TO PAUL STUMPF

### IN MAINZ

London, 3 January 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Old Man,

As you see, I reciprocate your congratulations on the completion of my 74th year (you were kind enough to make me a year younger (than I am) with a resounding Happy New Year. Let us hope that, come the next one, we shall both of us still be hale and hearty; for I have a great desire just to take one peek into the new century, though by the first of January 1901 or thereabouts, I shall be a complete wreck, and then let happen what may.

I was not unduly disturbed about the row in the party.[463] It is much better that things of this kind should crop up from time to time and be properly thrashed out than that people should don their nightcaps. For the very fact that the party has steadily and inexorably grown and expanded has meant that the new elements are more difficult to absorb than their predecessors. The working men of the big cities, i.e. the most intelligent and wideawake, are already ours and what we are now getting are either the working men of the small towns and rural areas, or students, salesmen, etc., or again, those struggling to keep their heads above water,

the petty bourgeois and such independent craftsmen as still own or rent a parcel of land, and now, into the bargain, the small peasant proper. And since our party is in fact the only really progressive party and, what is more, the only one strong enough to ensure that advances are made, it is obviously tempting to bring a little socialism to bear on the debt-ridden and near-rebellious middle and big peasants as well, particularly in districts where such people predominate on the land. That might well involve going beyond the limits of what is allowed on principle by our party, in which case there will be a bit of a fracas, but so sound is our party's constitution that no harm will have been done. No one is so stupid as seriously to envisage a break with the great majority of the party, nor is anyone so conceited as to believe himself able to set up, *alongside* our big party, a small private one, like the Swabian People's Party [464] which has actually succeeded in swelling its numbers from seven to eleven Swabians. All this quarrelling has served only to disappoint the bourgeois who, for twenty years now, have been regularly counting on there being a split, while at the same time ensuring that there should not be the slightest risk of one. Take, for instance, the present Subversion Bill [428] and Liebknecht's elevation to the status of representative of the rights of the Reichstag and of the Imperial Constitution, [436] likewise the threatened coup d'état and infringement of the law by the powers that be. Of course stupidities are committed on our side also, but to render it possible for opponents such as these to get the better of us, we should have to be of a stupidity so abysmal as to be without rival anywhere else in the world today. Otherwise your idea of giving the younger generation a chance to take the helm in the party and thus get itself into a fix would not be at all bad; but I believe that they will acquire experience and common sense even without an experiment of that kind.

As you can see from my address, I have, as we used to say, moved a few doors along. This house is much better and more convenient and is very close to the park entrance.

I hope that the 'Heilig Geist' where we downed a good few glasses in our time, is still flourishing. [465] I should like to cool off on some hot summer's day in its Gothic vaults. But who knows what may not happen? One should never say die.

Well, once again a Happy New Year and warm regards from

Yours

F. Engels

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## 244

# ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 8 January 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Friend,

I have had your various letters of 6 Sep., 16 Dec. and the 1st of this month and have passed on your message to Aveling. [466]

Many thanks for the trouble you have been to over the preface to the third volume of *Capital.* It in quite a good thing that it should come out in the *Rassegna* [467] since it will enable people in Italy to see that abroad Loria's spurious greatness is viewed in a very different light from what it is at home. On the other hand I can understand that at present Turati should consider it better tactics not to attack the man as vehemently as I do.[a] When we had the exceptional laws [15] to contend with in Germany, our tactics were different in many respects, and individual opponents whom we have since mercilessly attacked were temporarily spared for one reason or another. In cases such as these I must rely to a very large extent on the judgement of men who, like Turati, are in the thick of the fray; those men may not always do what I, from my standpoint over here, would consider best or most important, but nevertheless they are doing something, are doing their duty to the best of their knowledge, and are prepared to take the consequences. If the government didn't find Turati and his Milan friends exceedingly objectionable, it would not have put them under *domicilio coatto*[b] for three months or five.

[a] See present edition, Vol. 37, pp. 876-82 - [b] house arrest

Admittedly neither of the two chapters of the third volume of *Capital* solves the kind of question relating to the theory of value that might be raised by any old bourgeois economist. There is nothing of the sort in one chapter or the other of the book. But those aspects of the subject that could not be developed in Volume I are elucidated in Parts 1-4 of Volume II I.

Two or three copies of your translation of the preface will amply suffice me.

I most sincerely reciprocate your good wishes for the New Year and remain

Yours,

F. Engels

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## 245

## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

IN VIENNA

London, 9 January 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Victor,

My only real reason for writing to you today is to advise you that on Sunday evening[a] Louise sent off in a wrapper a ms. containing three items addressed to the Editor, *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* 10 Schwarzspanierstrasse; these contain:

1. Something about the cotton industry.

[a] 6 January 1895

2. Something about the activities of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress [28] (already to some extent anticipated in the *A rbeiter-Zeitu ng)*

3. An extract from Mrs Crawford's Paris Correspondence. [469] As you have previously had trouble over manuscripts sent in a wrapper, I believe this notification to be pertinent.

Should another attempt be made to charge you excess postage after the event on the pretext that the package has been handled *as a letter,* it will be high time to lodge a complaint. According to the official excerpt (cited in inverted commas) in the English Post Office Guide, 'MANUSCRIPT OF BOOKS OR OTHER LITERARY PRODUCTIONS' may be sent in a wrapper at a cost of a ha'penny for two ounces anywhere within the area covered by the International Postal Union. It must surely be possible to get this enforced in Austria too, or is the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* prepared of its own free will to pay a surcharge at twenty times the proper rate 2 $^1/_2$ for a $^1/_2$ oz)?

Another thing. From Russia we hear that the December issue of the *European Messenger (Vestnik Yevropy)*[a] contained an article on Alexander II I of extreme and, indeed—censorship in that country being what it is—unprecedented acerbity. Since your wife[b] has a perfect command of Russian, might it not be worth your while to have a look at and, perhaps, make use of it? It really would be a capital joke if the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* were also to steal a march on the bourgeois press in this particular field.

Up till now, Nos 1 and 3-8 of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung have* arrived here, all of them addressed to Ludwig Freyberger, as well as a copy of No. 1 addressed in your hand to myself. So far as the arrangement of the material is concerned, the change-over from a twice-weekly to a daily paper [377] is not yet quite complete, but one can see that it is under way and that the Thursday evening and Sunday numbers are distinct from the others in that each has its own particular character to suit a particular reading public. That you should not at present have time to spare for leading articles is understandable; Marx fared likewise with the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*—in the entire first month only two were by him, and throughout the whole of the first quarter five, if that. At the outset the editor-in-chief is kept busy enough organising the thing, than which nothing is

[a] [name in Russian], Vol. VI, Book 12, December 1894, section [in Russian] (Internal Review). - [b] Emma Adler - [c] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie.*

more important, All in all, the paper has turned out very well considering this is its first week; such shortcomings as it has will all be overcome in the end.

We gave your message to Vandervelde on 1.1., when he called in here for a moment. [470]

I have passed on to Laura as much as was necessary of your letter[a] but have heard nothing about this since. Perhaps Lafargue has written to you direct.

I cannot supply you with very much material on 'Marx in Vienna in 1848'. Some time I shall search through the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* for facts and also see if I can find anything more about Becher. [471] Our Vienna correspondent was one Müller-Tellering from Koblenz, like all Koblenzers, fanatical and an inveterate trouble-maker. After returning to Germany at the end of 1849, he first came to Cologne and picked a quarrel with red Becker.[b] His next port of call was London where he promptly fell out with us over a trifling personal matter (which, with a little less contrariness on his part, could have been settled in a few minutes' conversation) and instantly produced a pamphlet, *Vergeschmack der Diktatur von Marx und Engels.*[c] Next he went to America and tried to stir up trouble against us, but very soon disappeared from the scene. His reports from Vienna before the advent of Windischgrätz showed an undue bias towards violent revolution which, at a time when reaction was everywhere gathering strength, was not unwelcome to us. In those days we could not, from a distance, assess the value of his pronouncements on personalities, but he was doubtless strongly influenced by personal inclination. In such turbulent times we had to allow our correspondents a great deal of responsibility and a corresponding amount of latitude.

And now for another piece of political news which might be of use to you should such matters crop up again: On the evening before last we heard political rumours of a ministerial crisis here, according to which Harcourt, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was proposing to resign. At the same time, however, he denied this, saying that the allegation, AS MADE, was completely unfounded. It was improbable that the Chancellor of the Exchequer *alone* should resign at a moment when he had a surplus of three million pounds and was thus in a position to present a first class

[a] See this volume, p. 395 - [b] Hermann Becker - [c] *A Foretaste of the Dictatorship of Marx and Engels.*

budget. But the real facts of the case are as follows: *Harcourt favours the* introduction of salaries for M.P.s *before* the dissolution and is encountering strong opposition in the Cabinet—and probably also from the Queen.[a] He had apparently threatened to resign, thus obtaining concessions in regard to the afore-said question. At all events everything has returned to normal for the time being. You can see how unstable things are in official circles over here.

All the necessary steps have been taken as regards the money. You will, I think, be hearing more about this in a few days' time when, I trust, you will also get the cash.[b]

Louise wishes to append a line or two. She and Ludwig send their regards, as do I, to you and your wife

Yours

F. Engels

On the 5th of this month we sent you three copies of the English Socialist papers, *Clarion, Justice* and *Labour Leader* (Keir Hardie) and shall be sending sundry other issues thereof from time to time to enable you to decide which you like best. Please take a look at them.

*(Postscript from Louise Frey berger)*

Dear Victor,

Now that the matter of finance is all but settled, the money should shortly arrive in Vienna. I have one further request to make, namely that you get a certificate of identification made out for Ludwig and myself. Ludwig is applying for temporary membership of the National Liberal Club, the leading club of its kind over here, close to the Houses of Parliament, and frequented by all the Liberal and Radical M.P.s and by journalists of all shades of political opinion. In this country, credentials have to be produced for everything, and it couldn't do you any harm. Much love from the three L.L.L.s.[c]

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Queen Victoria - [b] See this volume, p. 384 - [c] Louise, Ludwig and Lulu.

# 246

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[472]

IN ST. PETERSBURG

London, 9 January 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Sir,

I have duly received yours of the 1st December. What Mr. von Struve means by saying that Marx, *completes* but not *disproves* Malthus' theory of population I do not understand.[a] I think the note on Malthus in Vol. I, Note 75, to Chapter XXII I, I[b] ought to have been explicit enough for anybody. Moreover, I do not see, how anybody can speak of *completing* Malthus' theory today, when that theory rests upon the assumption, that *population presses on the means of subsistence,* while corn in London is at 20/- the quarter, or less than half the average price from 1848 to 1870, and when it is universally acknowledged that *the means of subsistence now press upon the population* which is not large enough to consume them! As to Russia, if the peasant is compelled to sell the corn which he ought to eat, surely it is not pressure of [excess] population which compels him to do so, but pressure from the tax-gatherer, the landlord, the kulak* etc. etc. As far as I know, the low price of Argentinian wheat has more to do with agrarian distress all ever Europe, Russia included, than anything else.

We have just learned that a savant of your city has been informed that he can have Vol. II P passed free to him on applying specially for it at the office of the Censorship. I think it as well to communicate this fact to you because it may lead you to give me instructions how to forward to you the remaining sheets which I hold at your disposal,

Yours very truly
L. K.[d]

Please note change of house number.

[a] P. von Struve, *Critical Notes on the Development of Capitalism in Russia,* St. Petersburg, [in Russian], 1894(footnote [1] to p. 183). - [b] See present edition, Vol. 35, Chapter XXV, Section 1, pp. 611-13 [c] of *Capital*-[d] Engels' pen-name consisting of Louise Kautsky's initials — * word in Russian

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## 247

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[473]

IN HANOVER

[London.] 9 January 1895

Dear Kugelmann,

Please write at once to Livingston in Pittsburg and ask him for Meyer's list of *earlier* stuff; [435] to judge by your last letter there's unlikely to be very much, but there are also sundry items, some of them anonymous, in old newspapers and compendiums of the 1843-47 period. Ask him, too, if the collection of *Tribune*[a] articles is still in existence. At the same time I shall get other friends in America to search for such ancient tomes as may still be in existence there, so that the matter can be put in hand.

Many regards to your wife and daughter,

Yours

F.E.

Could you possibly supply me with a few of your red brass locks?

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a *New-York Daily Tribune*

# 248

## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

### IN VIENNA

London, 12 January 1895

Dear Victor,

My last letter was sent to you at Schwarzspanier[a] on the 9th of this month. Today, simply as a precaution, I am again notifying you that yesterday Louise addressed a registered letter to you at Ferstelgasse 6,[b] containing a CHEQUE for 3,500 gulden drawn on the tenth of this month by the Anglo-Foreign Banking Company Ltd. on the Union Bank of Vienna to the order of Dr Victor Adler, *payable dans les huit jours.*[c]

If you have received this safely, would you please drop a line to Louise informing her of the fact so that she may pass on the information to the chaps over here and thus set their minds at rest. Then the formal document with its various signatures can follow.[d]

But if you have not received the CHEQUE, then hasten at once to the Union Bank and STOP PAYMENT. Unfortunately the international postal services do not admit of a declaration of value or insurance, hence a certain amount of anxiety prevails over here.

As regards Marx, I have searched through the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and all I have found is this: The issue of 25 Aug. 1848 states that 'yesterday K. M. left for Vienna where he will be spending a few days'. (Not from Cologne, mind you; he had already gone away and it was, I think, from Hamburg that he arranged for the insertion of this notice.) And then there is a later piece of news, 31 August from Vienna, to the effect that Marx gave a lecture yesterday at the Vienna Workers' Association in Josefstadt on social conditions in Western Europe *{Stifft* spoke after him, at the same Association) *{Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* 6 Sept.) and, according to the issue of 8 Sept., Marx spoke on 2 Sept. 'at a meeting of the first Vienna Workers' Association on the subject of socio-economic conditions'.—That is all. Meanwhile in Berlin, on 7 September, a crucial vote

[a] See this volume, pp. 408-11 - [b] residence of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* Editorial Office - [c] payable within eight days - [d] See this volume, p. 411 — [e] Ibid., p. 410

had been taken on Stein's motion,[474] Hansemann's Ministry had fallen and, conflict being inevitable, Marx returned hot-foot. On 12 Sept. he wrote another leading article[a] for the issue, which came out that same afternoon, of 12 Sept. 1848.

Yesterday evening Louise sent you two more items in a wrapper.

Yours,

F. E.

*Clarion* and *Labour Leader* have today gone off as before to the editorial office.

Very many thanks to you and your wife for the magnificent calendar.

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## 249

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

[London,] 12 January 1895
41 Regent's Park Road N. W.

Dear Baron,

Just now I received a registered letter from Mr Stiebeling containing a curious reply to my preface[b] and the even more curious request that I should arrange for it to be published in the *Neue Zeit.*[475] All I can tell the man is that the columns of the *Neue Zeit* are not at my disposal, but that I should be very glad if the editors were to disseminate *this,* his reply, as widely as possible. And with that I bid Mr Stiebeling a fond farewell and leave him to his fate.

[a] K. Marx, *The Crisis and the Counter-revolution.* — [b] to the third volume of *Capital*

As regards the subversion debate, Nazi[a] appears to have done a very good job. [476] Incidentally, we can thank our lucky stars that there should still be jackasses in Berlin!

Yours

F.E.

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## 250

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN BARMEN

London, 12 January 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Hermann,

At long last! But I haven't got the time to make excuses. First of all, my thanks for your news which has put me pretty well *au fait* again. I shall now repay the debt by telling you all manner of things in return. To begin with, you will see above a change of address. This came about as follows:

About a year ago Mrs Kautsky, my fellow-lodger, became engaged to a compatriot of hers, Dr Freyberger, a young and extremely able Viennese physician who settled in this country two years ago. Before long a desire manifested itself to clinch the engagement with a marriage but, since I had no desire to put myself at the mercy of strangers in my old age, it was arranged that we should all three set up house together, and thus the need arose for a larger place. In the meantime the young couple had got married early in February while we were still living at 122, but we soon found and took a very nice, large and exceptionally cheap house in a far better part of the same road. We moved in at the beginning of October and, at

[a] Ignaz Auer

the beginning of November, Louise, with—for her—unusual punctuality, presented her spouse with a baby girl.

The house is situated some five hundred paces closer to town, a hundred paces from Primrose Hill and rather less from the entrance to Regent's Park. Below stairs, in the BASEMENT, there is a cosy breakfast room in addition to the kitchen, etc., on the ground floor a drawing room and dining room which could seat twenty-four people in comfort, on the first floor at the front my study, with three windows facing the street and very easy to keep warm—at the back my bedroom, also large; 2nd floor: four rooms occupied by the Freyberger family; 3rd floor, likewise four rooms for maid servants, visitors, box rooms, etc. A small front garden and a larger and, for these parts, really quite pleasant one at the back. All this at a cost of £85 a year, as compared with the £60 I used to pay! The secret lies in the fact that the LANDLORD lives in Lancashire and doesn't want to spend money, but merely to take it. So I advanced round about £200 for repairs, in return for which I shall pay no rent for two and a half years and live on the advance. The last tenant, a doctor, used to pay £130, from which you will see how much the value of houses fluctuates here.

This rehousing business happened during the summer and, since I took the place on a seven year lease with the option to renew for another seven years, this and obtaining a guarantee for my advance have necessitated prolonged legal negotiations which have prevented me from going any distance away from London. Hence I only spent five weeks or so at Eastbourne on the south coast. [393] It is one of the nicest seaside places I know and is, in fact, already becoming a seaside suburb of London for people who don't have to come up to town more than a couple of times a week.

Please will you again convey my belated congratulations to Elsbeth[a] on her engagement, and to Walter[b] on having, or so I hope, successfully passed his examinations, Actually, I still owe Walter a letter but must, alas, continue in his debt, thus also owing him, no less than yourself, an apology. I trust he won't take it amiss.

Well, now for the sherry. *Less jours se suivent et ne se ressemblent pas,*[c] and the same thing applies to vintage years; getting hold of more of the *old*

[a] His niece, Elsbeth Engels - [b] His nephew, Walter Engels - [c] Though the days follow one another, they are not alike.

sherry is beyond our powers, What I had been waiting for was a visit from Brett, my supplier, but he came much later than usual. I have now asked him to let me have three sample bottles of sherry, as similar as possible to the first that was sent to you, and of three qualities. The little case has just arrived. On Monday I shall take it to the CONTINENTAL PARCELS EXPRESS and it will probably come to you by carrier; the weight exceeds the 7 lb. limit laid down by international postal regulations, Now, when you try them out, I would advise you to decant half a bottle of the variety you prefer and keep it there. The bottles are numbered 1, 2, 3 and, when you order, only the number need be given. The price of all three is 42/- a dozen, or 3/6d a bottle, carriage paid from London. Unless otherwise instructed, I shall arrange for them to be brought by steamer direct to Cologne or Düsseldorf.

One more thing. Since fewer payments now have to be debited to my account over there, the balance you hold for me is continually mounting. The removal has involved other expenses, aside from the advance to my LANDLORD, and I should be glad if, in the course of this month, you could let me have, say, £40.

Finally, I have a pleasant piece of news to impart, namely that I have at last become an old man. Last spring I had an attack of bronchitis which, though not at all severe, refused to budge for six weeks or more; and on top of that I suffered a great deal last year from stomach-ache, constipation, etc. So in the end I had perforce to believe Freyberger when he said I must no longer indulge in my former *Sparjitzen.*[a] And when the looking glass reflects an ever more abject image of encroaching baldness, I can no longer conceal from myself the realisation that there is very little in common between *74* and 4*7.* Eating and drinking have both been considerably curtailed and I also have to submit to all kinds of unwonted protective measures against catching cold. Well, I shall have to put up with it, and at least it hasn't cost me my sense of humour.

So that's that, and my debt, I trust, is now repaid. My best love to Emma[b] and your children and grandchildren, also to Rudolph[c] and Hedwig[d] and their families.

Now, as always, your old
Friedrich

[a] antics - [b] His sister-in-law, Emma Engels - [c] His younger brother Rudolph Engels -[d] His sister, Hedwig Boelling

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## 251

# ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[35]

## AT LE PERREUX

London, 13 [-14] January 1895

My dear Lafargue,

I am glad to see that you have already arranged matters with Adler and have at last found a translator who does you justice.[477]

Things are going well. If the year '95 finishes as it has begun we may see some strange happenings. In Germany, young William[a] has fallen into the hands of the 'agrarians' (the big aristocratic landowners of the Eastern provinces, the *Junkern)*[b] who want to make sure of their control over this young ninny and who can only do so by compromising William to the point of no return. Thus they are hinting at a dissolution of the Reichstag, which will emerge from fresh elections more refractory than ever and then, his throne and his honour being at stake, there will be nothing for it but a coup d' état to give William the means of obtaining new soldiers and ships, and the Junkers new import duties on agricultural produce and subsidies on the export of sugar, spirits, etc. That seems to be these gentlemen's idea; impossible to say how far it will materialise. In the meantime, they are playing with fire—the War Minister[c] openly inviting our people in the Reichstag to come out on to the streets by jeering at them—they are absolutely determined to create an opportunity for firing on the people.[478]

And in your country there are the scandals of bourgeois corruption which go beyond anything and are driving towards a crisis: certainly if the Ministry threatens to bring the majority to court unless it votes against Gérault-Richard, matters cannot go on much longer.[479] The

[a] William II — [b] Junkers - [c] Bronsart von Schellendorf

victory of the bourgeois, who have succeeded in electing a model bourgeois[a] President of the Republic, may well bring about the collapse of the whole bourgeois régime; the climax is approaching when they will be overthrown. As I see it, it is the bourgeoisie itself which, in your country, takes responsibility for doing socialist propaganda amongst the peasants. It is a long and wearisome task to enlighten peasants on political matters, but they will not be so stupid as not to realise at this juncture that they are being robbed. But once they have spotted that, there is nothing for them but to turn to the Socialists, the only party which is not involved in the thefts; for the Radicals [86] are well and truly done for.

So you see we can jolly well shout: *Prosit Neujahr*[b]*!*

Speaking of the new year: your credit account of sixty pounds has been opened, if you want a cheque for twenty pounds, you have only to let me know.

I have sent Laura some working-class papers from here, Blatchford's (alias Nunquam) *Clarion* and Keir Hardie's *Labour Leader.* Since the end of the *Workman's Times,* this is the only literature of the Independent Labour Party. [114] Sad but true.

A fortnight ago I received a letter from Vaillant enclosing some of his Bills. [480] I promised I would examine them critically as soon as I had the time.[c] Meanwhile I told him [25] that Wroblewski, in Nice, has written asking me for money, that he has had an accident, broken his arm, has been in hospital and is in great distress; that I have given him as much help as I could but that it is beyond my means and that in my view the Communards and the socialist deputies owe it to their honour not to let him die of starvation. He replied that they had tried to get up a *public subscription* for Wroblewski but that he, W., was against this and that there is nothing to be done.

Do you know anything about this? Wroblewski as a true Pole does not understand the handling of money, he spends it lavishly when he has it; perhaps he has done similar things in relation to Vaillant and others who would have been able to help him. What he needs is a little regular pension, paid out once a month in small amounts. But in my view it is a matter of the honour of French socialism which cannot claim credit for the Commune of 1871 if they allow the last general of the Commune to die of hunger. What do you and the others—Guesde, the National

[a] Gean Casimir-Périer - [b] Happy New Year! -[c] See this volume, pp. 453-5

Council—think? Is there no way of making these former Communeux feel some shame? [481]

Kiss Laura for me.

Ever yours,

F. E.

Monday [14 January 1895][a]: received *Le Temps* and copies of *Petite République.* Thanks. First Gérault-Richard and now Rouanet, that's nice! [482] What luck if this leads to a crisis, to a dissolution and a more and more revolutionary situation in your country and in Germany!

Monday: Aveling told us yesterday that the *Labour Leader* is on its last legs, the chief backer (said to be Passnevre Edwards, a rich Liberal Unionist) will not put up any more money.

Louise asks me to thank you for the charming card of congratulation which you and Laura sent her.

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## 252

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE [113]

### IN HOBOKEN

London, 16 January 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sorge,

Have received card of 6th and letters of 19th and 31st Dec. Many thanks. And may I again heartily reciprocate your and your wife's good wishes for the New Year.

By way of a New Year's greeting Stiebeling sent me his grotesque riposte [475] together with the suggestion that I should get the *Neue Zeit* to print it!! I replied [25] to the effect that its columns were not at my disposal

[a] These last three paragraphs are written in the margin of this letter.

but that I had told K. Kautsky (which is true) he would be doing me a special favour were he to ensure that the thing was disseminated as widely as possible.[a] The man is a blockhead.

I cannot understand how it was that you should have failed to receive Volume II I[b] until five days after Schlüter had got his. I posted both at the same time on 12 Dec. and the receipts for both *are still joined together.* I enclose them herewith in case you should wish to lodge a complaint,

I have for some time been aware of the temporary decline of the movement in America and it is not the German socialists who will stem it. Though America is the *youngest* it is also the *oldest* country in the world. In the same way as you have, over there, the most antiquated furniture designs alongside your own vernacular ones or, in Boston, cabs such as I last saw in London in 1838 and, in the mountains, seventeenth century STAGE COACHES, alongside PULLMAN CARS, so too you continue to sport all the old mental trappings which Europe has already discarded. Everything that is outmoded here may persist in America for another generation or two. Karl Heinzen, for instance, not to mention religious and spiritualist superstition. Thus you still have old Lassalleans amongst you, while a man like Sanial, who would now seem passé in France, is still able to play a role over there. This may be attributed on the one hand to the fact that, over and above its concern for material production and the accumulation of wealth, America is only now beginning to find time for untramelled intellectual work and the preliminary training this demands; on the other hand, it may also be attributed to the dual nature of America's development, still engaged as it is on the one hand in the *primary* task of reclaiming the vast area of untamed country, while being already compelled on the other to compete for first place in industrial production. Hence the UPS AND DOWNS of the movement, according to which point of view takes precedence in the average person's mind—that of the urban working man or that of the peasant engaged in reclamation. In a couple of years' time all this will change and then we shall witness a great step forward. The evolution of the Anglo-Saxon RACE with its ancient Teutonic freedom happens to be quite exceptionally slow, pursuing as it does a zig-zag course (small zig-zags here in England, colossal ones on your side of the Atlantic) and tacking against the wind, but making headway none the less.

[a] See this volume, p. 415 - [b] *Capital*

Here in Europe the New Year will bring with it a very complex state of affairs. In Germany the peasant question has been pushed into the background by the Subversion Bill [428] and the latter—by young William (his *Song to Aegir,* [483] the lord of the waves, owes its inspiration solely to the seasickness from which he invariably suffers, which is why he and his Fleet always make for the calm waters of the Norwegian fjords). The young man has thrown Germany into complete disorder, no one knows where he stands or what the morrow will bring, the confusion in governmental circles, as in the ruling classes generally, grows worse from day to day and, during the debate on the Subversion Bill, the only people with cheerful expressions were our chaps. But it really is too marvellous! At the head of the anti-subversionists stands a man who is unable to desist from subversion for five minutes on end. And the aforementioned young William has now fallen into the clutches of the Junkers who, in order to keep him in a frame of mind in which he is prepared to give them extra help with their bankrupt estates, are presently dangling before him the carrot of more taxation and more troops and warships by their ostentatious advocacy of *regis voluntas suprema lex,*[a] and are egging him on to dissolve the Reichstag and stage a coup d'état. At the same time, however, these gentlemen, Köller & Co., despite their ostentatious catchwords, are so poorly endowed with courage that they are already prey to all manner of forebodings, and it may well be asked whether they will not take fright when the moment for action comes.

And as for France! There, as in Italy, the bourgeoisie precipitated itself head first into corruption in a manner that would put America to shame. For the past three years all efforts in both countries have been directed towards finding a bourgeois government—admittedly not free from corruption—but whose *immediate* involvement in *public* scandal is nevertheless so slight that a parliament could support it without unduly violating the commonest decencies. In Italy Crispi will hang on for a little while longer only because the King[b] and the Crown Prince[c] are as deeply implicated in the banking scandals as he is himself.[d] In France, our forty-five or fifty socialist deputies have just toppled their third Ministry on the count of actual corruption, and Casimir-Périer has gone tumbling after. [484] Presumably his intention is to pose as the one and only saviour of

[a] the King's will is supreme law. - [b] Umberto I —[c] Victor Emmanuel — [d] See this volume, p. 390

society, get himself re-elected with an immense majority, and thus consolidate his position, But it's a risky game. At all events there is nothing stable about France either, and this year may see new elections, not only in England, but also in Germany and France, which will be of *crucial importance* this time. On top of that a crisis of the first water in Italy and, in Austria, the certainty of electoral reform [270]—in short, things are growing critical throughout the whole of Europe.

I was very pleased to hear that you and your wife are feeling better. Let us hope the improvement continues.

Many regards to you and your wife from the Freybergers and

Yours

F. Engels

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## 253

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 19 January 1895
41 Regent's Park Road N. W.

My dear Löhr,

Your last letter has indeed startled me. [485] I have tried, not very successfully, to recollect the terms used in my letter to you of December 29th[a]; still, in what I do remember there is not a word which ought to offend you. And indeed, if there is anything in the tone of that letter which you think strange, it is there entirely against my will and intention.

It never could occur, nor has it ever occurred to me for a moment to

[a] See this volume, pp. 394-96

doubt the right or the propriety, on your part, of inquiring at any time what steps I had taken or intended to take in order to secure the return, at the time of my death, to you, the rightful owners, of those papers of Mohr's which you have entrusted to me. Nor have I ever found anything to object to in the terms in which you spoke of that subject to Tussy. It seems, therefore, so exceedingly strange to me that I should have written to you in a tone that ought to give you reason to complain.

I did indeed feel nettled at the *way* Tussy caused the question to be submitted to me, and, under the circumstances, thought I was bound to speak to her about it. When I did, I told her, *not once, but three or four times over,* that I had not one word to say against your letter, neither as to the subject matter, nor as to the terms used. Anyhow, Tussy and I had an explanation, which as far as I know, settled everything connected with that subject, and left us as good friends as before; and I should regret very much if, through any unguarded words of mine, or through some other circumstance, that little incident had thrown its shadow as far as Le Perreux.

In the meantime things have come to a crisis in your neighbourhood. I intended to write at some length about that, but Bebel all at once asked me for historical materials as to the various and pretty frequent riots here in England which are settled without ever attempting to encumber the Statute Book with increased penal laws or exceptional legislation. He is in the Committee on the *Umsturzvorlage* [428] and wants it for them, so I had to leave everything else alone and get it off by this day's post before the usual Sunday delays in postal communication retard it.

Anyhow our 50 French Socialist members are in luck. In less than 18 months they have upset three ministries and one president. [484] That shows what a Socialist minority can do in a parliament which, like the French or English, is the really supreme power in the country. A similar power our men in Germany can get by a revolution only; still, the break-up of the Centre party [71] would make them the arbiters of the house and give them the balance of power.

What a miserable retreat is that of Casimir's[a]! After the brag with which he came in, to skedaddle at the first serious difficulty! [486] It looks as if our bourgeois heroes had individually degenerated quite as much as their class has done collectively.

[a] Casimir-Périer

In Germany it looks as if the same principle was prevailing; Bebel does not seem to think von Köller and Co. the men likely to carry through a coup d'état to the end; it seems everywhere the story of Béranger's old fool who courted Babette and found out too late that his courting days were past and gone.[a]

The greatest success, however, seems to me to be this, that the scandalous affairs of the opportunist majority have been again exposed, that Raynal has been nailed down, and that it seems impossible to have the subject burked again. [487] The evidence of the corruption of all other parties must work wonders in favour of ours, especially in France, and ought to secure us immense and unhoped for successes at the next general election which cannot be very distant now, for who can govern with the present Chamber?

*Ça chauffe!*[b] and neither Félix Faure nor young William[c] will be able to put out the fire.

I shall write to Paul as soon as ever I get a moment's time. Thanks for the papers which I have sent on to Tussy after using them.

Ever yours,

F. Engels

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## 254

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[35]

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 22 January 1895

My dear Lafargue,

How lucky you are, you French! You bring down a Minister[d]; then the whole Cabinet follows him and by way of aftereffect the President of

[a] Reference to Pierre-Jean de Béranger's *Le vieux Célibataire* - [b] It's getting hot! - [c] William II - [d] Charles Dupuy

the Republic is involved in the general collapse.[a] Three Cabinets and one President finished off [484]—that's not doing too badly. The socialist group seems to have succeeded to the role of the late Clemenceau [488]—and will play it better, I hope. It is now established that no ministry can exist without at least the help of the extreme Left. That will lead to the dissolution, to which the growing stench of the opportunists' corruption is also leading. [87] In which case you will be returned in greater strength, both numerically and morally; that can lead to the formation of Lassalle's 'great reactionary mass', [214] the coalition of all the bourgeois parties against socialism, a mass which is always formed at a time of danger, afterwards to be dissolved again into its various and mutually opposed groups of interests; large landowners, large manufacturers, high finance, small and middling bourgeoisie, peasants, etc. But, each time it is reformed, it gains solidity until the day of crisis, when we shall have a compact mass confronting us. We have had this process of continual concentration and dissolution in Germany ever since our Party numbered more than 20 members in the Reichstag; but in your case, it will go faster because decisive power is in the hands of your Chamber of Deputies.

Mr Faure may do what he likes, he cannot halt this process of forming into two opposing camps, nor the confusion which is necessarily born of this interplay of opposing forces, attraction and repulsion, within the milieu of the bourgeois parties. That is precisely the milieu we need, and which the existence of a socialist group creates everywhere, however little power it may have in Parliament. You will race ahead; it is the Party's progress itself that will first subdue and then eliminate the intestine and traditional quarrels.

The addition of 30 Radicals has brought you luck, without them the group would not have had cohesion. Without Millerand you would not have been able to take advantage of the political situations as you have done. And Jaurès, indeed, seems full of goodwill—if he develops rather slowly it is perhaps a good thing for him and for us. Though frankly, in economic matters he needs further schooling. His Bills for immediate reforms in the *Petite République* [489] article are not quite as wild as his Bill for a corn monopoly, [13] but they are calling on the bourgeois for sacrifices incompatible with the advance of capitalist industry, so that in their eyes they are tantamount to immediate expropriation; whereas, on the other

[a] Gean Casimir-Périer - [b] See this volume, p. 275

hand, he proposes improvement of the soil at the nation's expense, of the soil which would remain private property, and under conditions perpetuating the small peasant and which would create a new Panama [60] for the big landowners who would laugh at the 'obligation' etc. with which the Bill saddled them. This is to see as a complete abstraction the environment in which one lives and *in* which these reforms would be carried out. So long as the air is not cleansed by the removal of all the parliamentary and financial rogues, this improvement of individual landed property at everyone's expense would end as a colossal theft; and when we have got rid of these gentlemen, we shall be strong enough to do better than that.

The presidential crisis furthermore will have a capital effect on European politics. The Franco-Russian alliance is becoming more and more lenitive, insofar as the Russian hope of seeing the restoration of the monarchy emerge from the presidential crisis suffers repeated disillusionment. At the same time the Triple Alliance [126] has ceased to exist except on paper; bankrupt Italy slips through its fingers, Austria is only retained: by fear of war with Russia, for which she would foot the bill; this danger vanishes as Russia loses the chance of using the French army when she *sees* fit; young William[a] has made himself far more disagreeable to his friends than to his enemies. So that, with the complete revolution in weapons since 1870 and, in consequence, of tactics, there is a total uncertainty about the outcome of a war where so many imponderables are involved and regarding which all the calculations made in advance are based on fictitious quantities. In these circumstances we seem to be assured of peace and even the most frenzied bourgeois chauvinists of the Déroulède type can keep calm: the Prussians have taken over responsibility in Alsace for maintaining and nourishing French patriotism.

Herewith cheque for twenty pounds; if that can do you until the beginning of April, I should be glad; at that time I shall have certain payments coming in which will allow me to be more liberal. But, if needs be, I could perhaps, after all, send you ten pounds in March—we'll see.

Greetings from the Freybergers. Kiss Laura very warmly for me.

Ever yours,

F. E.

I am sending you a report of the Norwich Trades Union Congress. [396]

[a] William II

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## 255

# ENGELS TO FERDINAND TONNIES

IN KIEL

London, 24 January 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

I still have to thank you for your kindness in sending me your critique of Barth 's book and your interesting article on Pestalozzi. [490] I would beg you to excuse the delay which was occasioned by an excess of work, the latter being aggravated by my having moved house (please note the change of address).

I should say that you have let Mr Barth off rather lightly; he would, at any rate, have fared far worse at my hands. However, in literary debate one has to get used to the fact that, lawyer-fashion, one's opponent suppresses what doesn't suit his book and introduces extraneous matter if he thinks this will enable him to pull the wool over his reader's eyes. But in Mr Barth's case this is done in a manner and to an extent that cannot but lead one to ask whether what we have here is simple ignorance and boneheadedness or deliberate, wilful distortion. To take only his chapter on Marx—how does one explain the horrendous misinterpretations, nearly all of which are incomprehensible in a man who does, after all, claim to have read my *Anti-Dühring* and *Feuerbach*[a] which should have constituted a perfectly adequate antidote? And what can one say about the absurd causal nexus attributed to me on p. 135.

'In France Calvinism had been conquered, *which is why* in the eighteenth century, Christianity had become incapable of serving as an ideo-

[a] F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy.*

logical cloak for any sort of progressive class'? When I compare it with the original, *Feuerbach,* p. 65,[a] find it virtually impossible to believe that this is not deliberate distortion.

I am interested by what you have to say about August Comte. So far as this 'philosopher' is concerned, there still remains, in my opinion, a fair amount of work to be done. For five years Comte was secretary and confidant of Saint-Simon. The latter positively suffered from an over-fertile intellect; he was at once a genius and a mystic. Lucid analysis, classification, systematisation, none of this was his cup of tea. Thus in Comte he got hold of a man intended, perhaps, to present this proliferation of ideas to the world in orderly fashion after the Master's death; Comte's mathematical training and mode of thought may have made him seem peculiarly suited to the purpose as compared with the other, visionary disciples. But then Comte suddenly broke with the 'Master' and withdrew from the school. After quite a while he re-emerged with his 'positive philosophy'.[b] In this system there are three characteristic elements; 1. A series of brilliant ideas nearly all of which, however, suffer to a greater or lesser extent from inadequate development; 2. A correspondingly narrow, philistine outlook in stark contrast to that brilliance; 3. A religious system of undoubtedly Saint-Simonian origin but stripped of all mysticism, hierarchically organised and utterly flat—with, at its head, a pope, no less. Thus Huxley was able to say of Comtism [491] that it was Catholicism without Christianity.[c]

Now I am willing to bet that No. 3 supplies the key to the otherwise incomprehensible inconsistency of Nos 1 and 2; namely, that Comte derived all his brilliant ideas from Saint-Simon but he assembled them in a manner peculiar to himself and by so doing bowdlerised them. By stripping them of the mysticism with which they were imbued, he simultaneously degraded them to a lower level, giving them a philistine slant in accordance with his own lights. A great many of them can be easily traced back to their Saint-Simonian source and I feel sure that certain others would admit of the same treatment if only someone could be found who would seriously apply himself to the task. This fact would assuredly have been discovered long since had not Saint-Simon's own writings been

[a] F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*[a] See present edition, Vol. 26, p. 396 - [b] A. Comte, *Cours de philosophie Positive* — [c] See Th. Henry Huxley, *On the Physical Basis of Life.* In *The Fortnightly Review,* No. XXVI, Vol. V, 1 February 1869

completely overwhelmed after 1830 by the clamour of the *école et religion saint-simmoniennes*[a] which emphasised individual aspects of the Master's teaching and elaborated it at the cost of the grand design.

There is one further point I should like to put right, namely the note on p. 513. [492] Marx was never Secretary General to the International but merely Secretary for Germany and Russia. And none of the Comtists in London participated in the founding of the International. At the time of the Commune, Professor E. Beesly did yeoman service in defending the International in the press against the violent attacks then being made upon it, and Frederic Harrison also publicly defended the Commune. [493] But a few years later the Comtists' attitude towards the labour movement grew perceptibly cooler; Labour was becoming too powerful and, if a proper balance was to be maintained between capitalists and workers (both being, of course, *producteur*[0] in the sense understood by Saint-Simon [494]), the former should again, it was felt, be given support, since which time the Comtists have kept quite mum on the subject of the labour question.

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

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## 256

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN[473]

### IN HANOVER

[London,] 25 January 1895

Dear Kugelmann,

I cannot yet give you an indication of the compendiums, [495] etc., in which the articles in question may be found, for 1. I shall first have to

[a] Saint-Simonian school and religion. - [b] producers

know what we have already got (some being in Germany, about which I shall shortly be hearing, and some in America, which I am waiting for), aside from my own things; 2. Because I myself cannot say exactly, though all sorts of things recur to me whenever any new stuff arrives; 3. Because, as soon as No, 1 has been attended to, we must so arrange matters that neither of us competes with the other, and thus puts the price up. In the meantime it would be a good thing if you were to keep an eye open for specifically *Westphalian* literature of 1845-47: *Dampfboot*[a] and compen-diums as well as other stuff written by those people at that time.

I believe I *have* got Meyer's collection of *Tribune* articles here; it will be the more comprehensive of the two collections, Marx having obtained various things from over there shortly after Meyer's death. [455]

Kindest regards to all,

Yours

F. E.

*Frankfurter Zeitung* received with thanks.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, 1946

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## 257

## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

### IN VIENNA

London, 28 January 1895

Dear Victor,

Many congratulations from myself and everyone else here on the rapid success achieved by the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* [496] It was no more than I expected, but to see it confirmed in actual fact is, of course, also worth a great deal.

[a] *Das Westphälische Dampfboot*

There is no need at all for you to worry about the editorial side. During the early weeks you, as organiser, are infinitely more important than you would be as actual editor. Once everything is going smoothly, you should have no difficulty in striking the right note in the paper. You are quite right about it's being a mite too serious. A bit more humour, particularly on the front page, *which* used always to be very funny in the twiceweekly edition, would do no harm at all. However, that will come.

A direct telegraph service from foreign capitals would be of absolutely no use to you, That would mean your having a properly organised office in every city with a chief correspondent to run it professionally, and solely on your account; here in London this would cost between six hundred and a thousand pounds a year, and even so you wouldn't be getting the best news from ministerial or opposition circles, for the simple reason that you are only accorded priority and given news of this sort *ahead of* everyone else and before it has become common property if you are able to reciprocate by giving your informants your support and publishing the ready-made puffs they send you. But that is just what our press cannot do. So, where news from official circles is concerned, you will never be able to compete with the big bourgeois papers who not only monopolise the sources but can also organise news-gathering services on a footing similar to that of big industry.

It's hard luck, your having to content yourselves during the first few weeks with the little provincial assemblies, but the Diet will soon be meeting again and then you will have plenty of material, whereupon your personal intervention will again become necessary,

The differences in the Ministry here are of no great account so far as their practical consequences are concerned. The Liberal government contains as many shades of opinion as it has members. Now that the big bourgeoisie together with Whig aristocrats [497] and the university ideologues have gone over to the Conservative camp (a process which began after 1848, gained impetus after the Reform Bill of 1867 [498] and became very marked after the HOME RULE BILL [171]). Liberalism has been largely an omnium gatherum of all the sects and sectarian crotchets in this sect-ridden country. And since each individual sect considers its own particular crotchet to be the one and only panacea, the result is constant strife.

But of greater moment than that strife is the certain knowledge that only cohesion vis-à-vis the outside world can keep them in power for a

few months longer. Consequently it is a matter of pure chance which tendency may gain the upper hand.

I have been sending you in rotation copies of the three labour newspapers which still survive here. Since you get the *Clarion* by way of exchange I shall spare you this in future. There is nothing much in any of the three but nevertheless it's advisable that you should take a look at one or the other from time to time. The *Labour Leader* is an institution for the idolisation of Keir Hardie; he is a cunning, crafty Scot, a Pecksniff and arch-intriguer, but too cunning, perhaps, and too vain. The financial sources he draws upon to keep the paper going are of a dubious kind, which might cause unpleasantness when the new elections are held.

Apropos. *Not a single* copy of Thursday evening's issue[a] (confiscated) arrived here. But nevertheless I should like to read the article, *K. M. in Wien* [471] Could you get hold of another copy for me? That was an astounding piece of cheek, by the way your announcing the confiscation to have been so extraordinarily effective that it enabled you to save yourselves the expense of another, quite unnecessary, edition. [499] You people are lucky in Austria—if you were to say something like that in Prussia they would promptly chuck three Subversion Bills [428] at your head.

We shall be sending you extracts from *la* Crawford's Paris letters whenever they contain something of interest. I would specially call your attention to them. She has been in Paris for over forty years, knows every mouse in the place by name, possesses dossiers on the career of every politician and is a good judge of character. No one in Paris can equal her knowledge of personalities and you would therefore be well-advised to file away for future reference even those articles for which you have no present use. Over and over again she has seen all her Radical and Republican friends plunge into the mire of corruption and has thus, bourgeois though she is, acquired a remarkable sympathy for Socialists. She has one unshakeable conviction, however, and that is that J. Guesde is Marx's son-in-law.

Yesterday I sent you another excerpt from one of her articles. [500]

Louise has been especially gratified by the unequivocal rejection of the petitions of the Women's Union—see Clara Zetkin's article in the supplement to Thursday's *Vorwärts.* [501] Clara is right and did after all manage to get the article accepted in the teeth of long and determined opposition. Bravo Clara!

[a] of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*

Love from Louise and Ludwig and the baby who always yells with glee whenever the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* arrives, and from

Yours,

F.E.

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## 258

## ENGELS TO WILHELM ELLENBOGEN[502]

IN VIENNA

London, 28 January 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Esteemed Comrade,

Unfortunately for somewhat over a year I have been forced to make it my duty politely but firmly to decline all invitations to contribute to festive messages, etc., in particular periodically recurring ones, or to send messages of greetings on holidays (18 March, May Day, etc.), the only deviation from this rule being certain exceptional occasions, which promise an immediate specific effect. When you were bringing out the first issue of the daily in Vienna, I believed congratulations to be indicated.[a] If I sent you two lines for the May Day address, I would be compelled to do the same for the Czechs, Hungarians, Italians, Germans, Romanians and who knows what other nations and, moreover, probably send in addresses for the various May Day meetings, leave alone anniversaries like the 13th[b] and 18th of March.

[a] F. Engels, 'Message of Greetings to the Austrian Workers on the Daily Publication of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung'*. - [b] Probably a slip of the pen. Should be 14 March, the day of Karl Marx's death.

If I am to have time for work, I am obliged to leave the demonstrating to younger forces.

Much as I would like to do a favour precisely to the Austrian comrades, I trust the above will help them realise that this time I must refuse.

Yours faithfully,
F. Engels

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## 259

## ENGELS TO VERA ZASULICH[503]

IN LONDON

London, 30 January 1895

Dear citizeness Vera,

I shall certainly be at home either tomorrow between 3 and 5, or Friday[a] from 3 to 4 in the afternoon, when I shall be happy to see you.

The book by G. Plekhanov[b] is quite to the purpose; today the newspapers announce that Nicholas has just declared to the Zemstvos [504] he abides as firmly as his father[c] by tsarist autocracy.[d] There is no remedy against the folly of princes. [505] So much the better if Georgi has made a furore.[e]

Always yours,
F. E.

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[a] 1 February - [b] [name in Russian] *The Development of the Monist View of History,* put out in St. Petersburg under the pen-name of N. Beltov [name in Russian]. -[c] Alexander II I - [d] [word in Russian] -[e] [phrase in Russian]

## 260

## ENGELS TO WITOLD JODKO-NARKIEWICZ

### IN LONDON

[London,] 2 February 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Comrade,
Unfortunately I can give you absolutely no hint as to how the German comrades might view the proposal regarding the addition to the name of the next congress. [506] So far as I myself am concerned, I think that *on this occasion* one might oblige the Trades Unions, since the congress will be held on English soil where the Trades Unions have, after all, always got the bulk of organised labour behind them, so that a congress in which they played *no* part would create a bad impression. At the same time it cannot but be of importance to us to encourage the trend that is driving Trades Unions more and more into the socialist camp. Kindest regards.

Yours,
F. Engels

Dr and Mrs Freyberger also send you their kindest regards.

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## 261

## ENGELS TO RICHARD FISCHER

### IN BERLIN

London, 2 February 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Fischer,
You and the others have an odd way of holding a pistol to a fellow's

head. Having made your plans for Marx's articles, you really might have told me about them a bit sooner rather then at the very last moment. [507] In a case such as this, where I am the administrator of other people's property, I *cannot* rush things in the same way as I could if the matter simply concerned myself. Added to that, I am at this moment getting Lassalle's letters [284] ready for you and these are far more likely to fall foul of the Subversion Bill [428] than Marx's articles—the *latter,* then, is the work I ought to put on one side!

So tell me first of all what format and type you are using and how large the edition is to be, also the selling price, for on this occasion I shall, for various reasons, only sell you the right to *one* edition of a *specific size.* Meanwhile I shall have a word with Tussy; as soon as I get your reply, I shall let you know for certain.

If you cannot advise me of the exact selling price, it will be sufficient if you say how much you propose to charge per printed sheet.

I assume that you have a copy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung—Revue* from which to reprint. For I myself do not possess one of my own and if I did I couldn't let it out of my hands.

Now for another matter. When the *Vorwärts* set up its bookselling side, August[a] wrote to say that I would be sent *two copies* of all your publications. Of late, however, that has been very far from the case. For instance, I have *not* received your latest edition of the *Manifesto,* or indeed either of the Berlin editions. [508] I am still short of sundry lesser pieces and am listing those that immediately spring to mind. You would greatly oblige me by sending them to me, namely your *reprint of the Subversion Debate* in two parts'[b] and a *couple* of copies of the most recent edition of the *Communist Manifesto.*— As regards the other things I am short of, I have just seen from your list that you are not to blame, since you were not the publisher. Apart from the above I am still short of

Minutes of the *Wyden*[c] Congress, 1880 [343]
" " *Brussels*[d] " 1891 [228]
and one on *Zurich* [229] if it was you who published it. [509]

[a] Bebel - [b] *Umsturz und Sozialdemokratie. Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags am 17. Dezember 1894 und 8-12. Januar 1895 nach dem offiziellen stenographischen* Bericht. - [c] *Protokoll des Kongresses zu Wyden 1880.* Berlin, 1893. -d *Verhandlungen und Beschlüsse des Internationalen Arbeiter-Kongresses zu Brüssel* (16-22. August 1891). Berlin, 1893 — e *Protokoll des Internationalen Sozialistischen Arbeiterkongresses in der Tornhalle Zürich vom. 6. bis 12. August* 1893.

The list I used for comparison was issued in 1893 and it is therefore possible that one thing or another may still be missing.

So please let me have the information by return and I shall send you a definite answer as promptly as possible.

Give my kindest regards to your wife and children and all my friends.

Yours

F.E.

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## 262

## ENGELS TO GEORGI PLEKHANOV

### IN ZURICH

London, 8 February 1895

My dear Plekhanov,

Freyberger will happily undertake to give Vera[a] an examination, but how shall we make it seem plausible to her? Naturally, Freyberger cannot go to her and say: George Plekhanov has asked me to take a look at you. You will have to speak to her about it first, and obtain her consent, and then the best would be for her to talk to me, and I will take care of the rest. Or else she can talk to Louise Freyberger if she prefers, and Louise will see to everything. That is my suggestion, but if you think you have another idea on how to achieve your aim, tell me about it, and we can discuss it.

Vera has given me your book,[b] for which my thanks. I have begun to read it, but it will take time. However, it is a great success to have managed to have it published in *your country.* That is a step forward, and even if we cannot retain the new position we have just gained, a precedent has

[a] Vera Zasulich - [b] The reference is to G. V. Plekhanov [name in Russian], *The Development of the Monist View of History* [in Russian], published in St. Petersburg under the pen-name of N. Beltov [name in Russian]

been established, the ice is broken. The suppression of the *Russkaya Zhizn* (Russian Life)[a] would seem to mark the beginning of reaction. Nikolai would seem to want to prepare his moujiks[b] for liberty by compulsory education, so that only the next generation will be ripe for the constitution; it is still just another formula for the old: *après nous le déluge!* [510] However the deluge is like the devil in Faust! den Teufel spürt das Völkchen nie, und wenn er sie beim Kragen hätte—[c]

And when the Devil of the revolution has someone at his collar, then he has Nicholas II .

As for my health, it is better than it has been for a long time. My digestion is good, my respiratory system working perfectly, I sleep my seven hours per night, and work with pleasure—happy to be able, at last! to recommence my own work after an interruption of almost a year: proofs of the 3rd volume, correspondence, moving house, intestinal trouble, etc., etc.

Greetings to Mme Plekhanov and to Axelrod from myself, and also from Ludwig and Louise Freyberger.

Yours,

F. Engels

You did not give me any special address, and therefore I am using the old one.

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[a] [the name of the newspaper is written in Russian] - [b] This Russian word meaning "peasants" is written by Engels in Latin letters - [c] Goethe, *Faust,* Part I, Scene 5; this quotation and the following paragraph are written in German.

# 263

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN BARMEN

London, 8 February 1895

Dear Hermann,

The arrival of your letter of the 23rd coincided with a spell of fine, frosty weather which has been playing Old Harry with consignments of wine. I have nevertheless ordered your sherry from Dublin but with the proviso that I shall not give instructions for it to be despatched until such time as the Rhine is open again and there is no longer any danger of the wine freezing en route. Indeed, I myself had a mild fright when five cases!—fifteen dozen of port and claret en route to me from Dublin were exposed for about forty-eight hours to an unexpected frost. It would seem, however, that everything has turned out all right, for the stuff I have sampled so far has not suffered, while a period of repose in my splendid wine cellar—an even temperature and space for nearly one hundred dozen in eight brick-walled bins—will see to the rest.

For the first time in many years we are again having a real Continental winter over here. Warm, almost spring-like up till the New Year with the shrubs all coming into bud, then cold and, for the past three weeks, constant sharp frost (80-100 Centigrade—60-80 Réamur of frost at night) and snow. When the north-easter blows it is bitterly cold but when, like yesterday and today, there is little wind, it is glorious. Fortunately there is always enough wind to disperse the fog, the result being a marvellous blue sky.

I can well imagine your tribulations as a result of wining, dining and dancing to the accompaniment of serenades from a cavalry band. Over here we call it THE SOCIAL TREADMILL which, however diverting it may often have been in one's younger days, is a pretty ghastly business when one gets older. I fight tooth and nail to keep out of it, but in this country, too, the likes of us cannot escape it entirely at Christmastime.

The *£40* from Wilhelm Pf. duly and gratefully received.

Incidentally, on this occasion I survived the treadmill of the festive season in better shape than usual because I took proper care of myself and

just now, what with icy weather so similar to that at home, I feel better than I have done for a long time. I have also been able to put the heating properties of my new study to the supreme test, for not only is there the extraordinary cold to contend with, but, added to that, the two neighbouring houses are both empty, i.e. unheated, and my room abuts on the two party walls. And I have nevertheless managed to keep it warm. It was not until yesterday that I felt a bit chilly, but whenever one's need is greatest, help is always close at hand. On this occasion Rudolf's[a] nightshirt stepped into the breech, whereupon I smartly stepped into it.

You can learn about my fellow occupants[b] from Oscar Jaeger who met them both at my house when he last visited us here. Freyberger was courting at that particular time and spent the evening with us.

I have just received a deputation from the local rating authority. The gentlemen wished to satisfy themselves that I was not in fact paying more than, £85 for the house, the reason being that the last tenant had paid £130, while the rates for the house are based on an annual rental of £110. Needless to say I protested. I showed the gentlemen all the documents and shall now see what they do. Out of the eight houses close by, four are empty and so I hope they will deal mercifully with me.

Well then, I have ordered 11/2 dozen No. 1 and 11/2 dozen No. 2 sherry as per samples.

As you have said nothing further about it, I assume that Walter[c] has passed his exam and I send him my congratulations. Even heartier congratulations to Elsbeth[d] on her forthcoming marriage. But she must also tell me the day, so that we over here can also indulge ourselves in her and her bridegroom's[e] honour.

Much love, then, to Emma[f] and all your children, your sons and daughters-in-law and your children's children.

Your old

Friedrich

I shall pay for the sherry in May and debit it on delivery.

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[a] Rudolf Engels, Engels' brother - [b] Louise and Ludwig Freyberger - [c] Walter Engels— Engels' nephew - [d] Elsbeth Engels—Engels' niece - [e] Arthur Schuchard - [f] Emma Engels— Engels' sister-in-law

## 264

# ENGELS TO RICHARD FISCHER

IN BERLIN

London, 12 February 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Fischer,

If you yourself are of the opinion that the difference in price as between 60 Pfennigs and 1 Mark will make little difference so far as sales are concerned, I am, of course, in favour of selling the edition for 1 Mark. In return for a fee of 400 Marks I therefore assign you the right to bring out an edition of up to 3,000 copies and you may start printing straight away. [507] I shall get down to the *Introduction* forthwith and let you have it very shortly. The copy I have of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitungs-Revue* came into my possession on the strict understanding that it would not leave this house, besides which it is most necessary to me for the correction of proofs, since the relevant text was corrected in *Hamburg* and contains a mass of misprints—it was copied from Marx's manuscript. It is equally necessary to me for purposes of comparison in respect of the *Introduction.* So please send me the first proofs in *galley* form and I can then insert the necessary explanatory notes. [511]

N. B., thirty-six free copies should be reserved for myself; a considerable number of them have to be passed on to the heirs.

So for the time being I shall leave Lassalle's letters [284] on one side. The explanatory introduction and notes call for a good deal of rummaging about amongst my papers and I cannot therefore say in advance when it will be done.

When printing Marx's articles, please note that, in the original, *Konstitution, Klasse, Kollision,* etc. are generally spelt with a 'C but also probably with a 'K'. *Please put 'K' throughout;* that will save a great deal of Korrigiererei.[a]

Congratulations on your maiden speech; [512] it will have made the bourgeois pretty furious!

[a] correction

Many regards from everyone.

Yours,

F. Engels

The various pamphlets—two lots—arrived safely. Very many thanks.

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## 265

## ENGELS TO RICHARD FISCHER

### IN BERLIN

London, 13 February 1895

Dear Fischer,

I enclose the titles for the pamphlet[a] as well as for the chapters. In order to complete the three articles it will be necessary to add the passages on France from the 5th and 6th (double) issue as a 4th chapter.[513] Arranged, that is, as set out on the encl. sheet; first (in square brackets) my few introductory words, then the passage on pp. 150/153[b] as shown, then a line of dots indicating the omission and, by way of conclusion, the main passage on pp. 160-171.[c] That will provide a perfectly respectable chapter and, with the abolition of universal suffrage which served Bonaparte as a pretext in Dec. 1851, round off the whole with a pertinent conclusion without which it would remain a fragment.

Tomorrow I shall get on with the introduction to the whole.[d] In Germany matters are really coming to a head quite nicely. I can hardly imagine that the Centre[71] would deliberately saw off the branch it was sitting on. But the foolishness of our opponents increases from day

[a] K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850.* - [b] See present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 507-10, 132-35. - [c] See present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 516-25, 135-45. - [d] F. Engels, *Introduction to Karl Marx's 'The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850',* 1895 - See present edition, Vol.27, pp. 506-524.

to day and in this respect nothing is really impossible. If the gentlemen's defection is consummated, that will mean making over the whole of the Rheinland and Westphalia to us. Regards.

Yours,

RE.

(The title should include: Reprinted from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue, Hamburg, 1850)*

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## 266

## ENGELS TO JULIUS MOTTELER[515]

IN LONDON

[London,] 23 February 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Julius,

One Theodor Barlen,[a] the bearer of a card from the Dortmund club, has called on me seeking assistance. He is a deserter, having decamped from Spandau, and alleges that he was previously a very active party member in Hörde, Dortmund, etc. I referred him to the Society.[62] He came back today to say that the Society refused to recommend him to me, since they did not know whether the papers he produced were his own. As I should like to have some information on the man so as to know whether I ought not to send him packing once and for all, I would ask you to tell me whether this accords with the facts and, once his case has been investigated, what view they take of him at the Society.[516]

Many regards to your wife and yourself from

[a] Hermann Barlen in the ms.

Yours,
F. Engels

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Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

## 267

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

[London,] 26 February 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Lafargue,

I am sending the Manuscript to you by registered post with a few comments—as always the translation is excellent. [517] There has been a delay of a few days, and this is why; in Berlin they want to reprint the three articles by Marx on the events in France in 1848-49 (published in 1850 in the *Revue de la Nouvelle Gazette Rhénane*[a] and this cannot be done without an introduction; [507] this introduction has become quite long, since besides a general review of the events since that date, it would be necessary to explain why we were right to expect the imminent and definitive victory of the proletariat, why that has not come about, and to what point events have modified the way we saw things then. This is important because of the new laws which are threatening us in Germany. [428] A Reichstag Commission is attempting to transform all the articles of the penal code into rubber articles which are applicable or not, depending on the political party to which the defendant belongs. Arguments in favour of an act declared criminal, etc. will be punished if they are made in circumstances which could justify the opinion that the accused wished to provoke or incite imitation! etc., etc. that is, you who are socialist will be punished for having said something which any conservative, liberal or

[a] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.*

clerical may say with impunity. The clericals in the commission are worse than the government itself. Just imagine, they are requesting two years in prison for anyone who denies in public or in the press the existence of god or the immortality of the soul.

This is a fury of reaction wholly without purpose, and absolutely inexplicable except on the supposition that all these gentlemen are threatened by a *coup d'état.* This coup d'état is openly preached by *top-ranking officials.* Constantin Rössler, ministerial counsellor, has called for it in a brochure.[a] Boguslawski, a retired general, has just done the same thing.[b] The liberals and clericals know that, faced with such determination on the part of the government, there is nothing left for them but to submit. In the presence of 2 million socialist electors, these gentlemen do not have the courage to resist a coup d'état openly—the government uses this threat to disarm them, and they will vote just to 'save' the constitution and domestic peace! Wait and see, they will vote for all the taxes, all the battleships, all the new regiments requested by William[c]—if the electors do not become involved. For our bourgeois deputies are so cowardly that even the courage of cowardice may prove lacking.

In any case, we are striding towards a crisis, if there can be a crisis in this Germany of the Bourgeoisie, where everything is blunted. What is certain is that there will be a new age of persecution for our friends. As for us, our policy should be not to let ourselves be provoked at this point; we would be fighting without the least chance of success, and we would be bled like Paris in 1871, whereas in two or three years our forces may have doubled, as under the exceptional law. [15] Today our Party would be fighting alone against all the others, rallied around the government under the banner of social order; in two or three years we will have on our side the peasants and the petty-bourgeois crushed by taxation. The battle corps does not engage in frontline battles but reserves itself for the critical moment.

Anyway, we shall see how it ends.

How ironical that you, one of the most French writers of our age, should be doomed to be published almost always in German! And what German! The translators of Berlin and Stuttgart display a truly Germanic heaviness. There is only Adler who does you justice, and he will not al-

[a] C. Rößler, *Die Sozialdemokratie.* — [b] A. Boguslawski, *Vollkampf—nicht Scheinkampf. Ein Wort zur politischen Lage imlnnern.* - [c] William II

ways have the time to translate you himself. The only consolation I can offer is to tell you that I myself always breathe a little of the French spirit when I retranslate mentally your translator; sometimes I succeed.

We have been without water for 15 days, the pipe beneath our road is frozen; otherwise everything at home is going well. For one week we had almost no gas, as paraffins containing $C_4$, $C_5$ and $C_6$, and more of carbon are precipitated in the pipes by the cold. It was one of those periods when London relapses into barbarity. And the *Standard* tells you that, this is the proof that England has reached the summit of civilisation!

Thank Laura for her fine translation; I still have not received the letter you promised I would receive from her, but I hope that she has received the copy of the 3rd volume[a] for Deville that I sent to her on 1st January.

Greetings from the Freybergers.

Yours,

F.E.

The preface to the 3rd volume has been published in Italian in *La Rassegna* [467] translated by Martignetti, and reviewed by Labriola, who has rendered the passages on Loria with a voluptuousness which bursts through each line. On the other hand, Loria has written a critique of the 3rd volume in the *Nuova Antologia* which is of unequalled superficiality. [15] 1st volume: Napoleon I, 2nd: the king of Rome, tubercular, 3rd: Louis Bonaparte II I. In Germany, Werner Sombart, a Berlin professor and a rather eclectic Marxist, has written a good article on the 3rd volume.[c] How are things progressing for 1st May? People are talking only of the Allemanists. [21] And how is the unity, or disunity, of the groups progressing, particularly as regards your own? Vaillant has written to me again, he wants my opinion on his draft laws.[d] I have still not found the time to read Jaurès on materio-idealism. [518]

Engels' Comments on the French translation of his *On the History of Early Christianity:*

[a] of *Capital*- [b] A. Loria, 'L*'opera postuma di Carlo Marx'.* In: *Nuova Antologia,* Anno XXX, fascicolo II I - 1 febbraio 1895. - [c] W. Sombart, Zur Kritik des ökonomischen Systems von Karl Marx'. In: *Archiv für Soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik.* Bd. 7, H. 4, [1894] - [d] See this volume, pp. 420, 453

P.17* The Philonic school of Alexandria and Greco-Roman vulgar philosophy—Platonic and especially Stoic—played an important role in the development of Christianity as the state religion under Constantine. This role is far from being established in detail etc. etc.

p. 34" What holy indignation was provoked after 1830 in the pious nursery that was Germany at the time by, as Heine called it, Saint Simon's reinstatement of the flesh! The most shocked were the aristocratic estates who dominated at the time (I'm not speaking of the aristocratic class, given that in 1830 classes did not yet exist in our country) who, etc.

same page, last word conception—doesn't this word lend itself too well to a play on words here?

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## 268

## ENGELS TO GEORGI PLEKHANOV

### IN GENEVA

London, 26 February, 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Plekhanov,

Everything was arranged eight days ago, Vera[a] wrote to me and said that she would be delighted to be treated by Freyberger. He went to see her eight days ago yesterday, and has since been twice. He discovered that she had a severe case of bronchitis, and has prescribed the necessary medicines. However, he says that what she needs most is a different diet.

Zasulich - * See p. 453, Vol. 27 - ** See p. 459, Vol. 27

She should eat meat instead of fruit jellies and other vegetable foods. Freyberger is out at the moment, so I will return to the question of her health before finishing this letter.

Now, since you have made me more or less responsible for the state of her health, you must tell me if she has need of money. If she has, I would ask you to permit me to offer you some for her, however little, at least during her illness, I will send you, say, five pounds to begin with, that you can persuade her to accept as *coming from you,* so that I do not come into it at all. You could tell her that you have sent her this money to remove any excuse for refusing to change her diet, and that Freyberger has said that she must do so. Or perhaps you can find another excuse.

I will not have the time to read the critical review of my book[a] in *Russian Heritage.*[b] I have already seen enough on this subject in the issue for January 1894. [520] As for Danielson, I fear that there is nothing to be done with him. I sent him *by letter post* [25] the Russian material from *Internationales aus dem Volketaat,* and in particular the 1894 appendix, which was written, *in part,* directly with him in view. [522] He has received it but, as you see, it is useless. There is no way of discussing with this generation of Russians to which he belongs, and which still believes in the spontaneous-communist mission which distinguishes Russia, the true Holy Russ,[c] from other profane peoples.

As for the rest, in a country such as yours, where largescale modern industry is grafted onto the primitive peasant commune, and where all the intermediary stages of civilisation are represented simultaneously, in a country which, in addition, is surrounded more or less effectively by an intellectual wall of China erected by despotism, it is scarcely surprising if the most bizarre and impossible combinations of ideas are produced. Take the poor devil Flerovsky, who imagines that tables and beds think, but have no memory. It is a phase the country must pass through. Little by little, with the growth of the towns, the isolation of men of talent will disappear, and with it these mental aberrations caused by loneliness, the inconsistency of the patchy knowledge of these curious thinkers, and also a little, in the Narodniki,[d] by the despair of seeing their hopes evaporate. Indeed, one ex-terrorist Narodnik[d] would end quite appropriately by becoming a tsarist.

[a] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.* -[b] The magazine title is written by Engels in Russian. - [c] [in Russian] - [d] [in Russian]

To join in these polemics I would have to read a vast literature, keep up to date, and reply. This would then take up all my time for a whole year, and the only useful result would be that I would probably know Russian considerably better than I do now, but I am asked to do the same for Italy on the question of l'illustre[a] Loria. And I am already overwhelmed with work!

Jaurès is on the right road. He is *learning* Marxism, and he should not be hurried too much. However, he has already made good progress, much more than I had dared hope. [518] As for the rest, let us not require too much orthodoxy! The party is too large, and the theory of Marx has become too widespread for relatively isolated muddle headed persons to do too much harm in the West. In your part of the world it is different, as it was with us in 1845-59.

I share your opinion as regards Nicholas. [13] The 'Zemsky Sobor'[c] will come despite this little gentleman. [523]

Freyberger has just returned, and tells me that Vera is a great deal better, and that up to the present he has discovered nothing more than chronic and neglected bronchial catarrh.

Yours,

F.E.

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## 269

## ENGELS TO JULIUS MOTTELER[515]

IN LONDON

[London,] 2 March 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Julius, I am returning Meyer's[d] letter herewith, also one written to me by

[a] famous - [b] Nicholas II - [c] [in Russian] - [d] Johann Meyer

Lütgenau of Dortmund on the same subject,[a] which I should like to have back. The man is the right Barlen, Barlwin being, presumably, merely a misnomer by people who have never seen the name in writing. He *was able* to give the name of the confidential agent Bochum, and also confirmed what Meyer had written concerning Kritzler and the money—although that money, ten marks, he said, had fallen into the hands of the police. On the first occasion I gave him three shillings and, when he came back today, ten shillings, but he said he would have to give it all to his *landlord and* would then be penniless, so I gave him another five shillings, eighteen shillings in all, but even that will leave him in dire straits—he's living in a robber's den in the seamen's quarter, and is suffering from laryngitis and can't talk, so that I wasn't able to subject him to a long interrogation.

Even if the Society [62] is unable to do anything else, it could at least take care of the poor devil to the extent of getting him out of the seamen's district and helping him to find lodgings in which he wouldn't be so exploited and from which he could look around for work; and surely the chaps could give him a modicum of assistance. He should, at any rate, have an address to which letters could be sent. Anything that goes to his present diggings probably falls into the clutches of the landlord. In view of your illness and the Coheniad, [524] I would have come to see you myself about this business, but I am again suffering from one of those attacks I get in the spring and which temporarily prevent me from walking.

Apropos of which, I should like to say how very sorry I am that you and your wife should be ill. I wish you a speedy recovery and congratulate you on the merciless thrashing you inflicted on the great anarchist.[b] Let him take to his bed again alongside Kropotkin.

Many regards to you and your wife from

Yours,

F. Engels

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[a] See this volume, p. 445 - [b] Alexander Cohen

## 270

## ENGELS TO EDUARD VAILLANT

### IN PARIS

London, 5 March 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear citizen Vaillant,

I was unable to reply sooner to your letter of 8th January—at the moment our friends in Germany are having to hurry as much as possible with the publication of all works, brochures, articles, etc., now in preparation before the new reactionary legislation which is now threatening them is enforced.[428] That has kept me, and is still keeping me, busy from morning to night with both literary work and the accompanying correspondence.

To return to your draft laws,[480] the first, No. 384, agricultural delegates, deals with an institution of indisputable importance; as a means of propaganda among farm workers it will have a very favourable effect; but it has no chance of becoming law, particularly in France, where the inspection of factories is still so neglected.

No. 928, communal agricultural land. This draft goes into too much detail for me to pass knowledgeable judgement on it. First of all one would need to know whether, in the great majority of cases, this communal land does not consist of forests, moorland, heath or, at very most, land suitable only for grazing, and where agriculture proper cannot be practiced to advantage. Such is the case in Germany and, if I am not mistaken, in a large part of northern France. In these cases, farming such land, unless kept within very narrow territorial confines, would risk falling into the errors of the National Workshops of 1848.[525] However, as I have just said, one needs very specialised knowledge to form an opinion on this subject.

No. 933, an eight-hour working day and a minimum wage for workers, etc., employed by the state, corresponds more or less to what has been instituted here by the County Council, and in part also by the ministries of war and the navy. A measure very useful both as an example for the capitalists, and as a means of propaganda; however, the day before yesterday the workers abandoned the County Council *Progressives* who had

introduced these measures. Three of these progressives have been black-balled because tiny minorities (50 to 300 votes) were cast for 'socialist' candidates who are more or less 'revolutionary', but these minorities were sufficient to ensure the election of reactionary 'moderates'. [526]

No. 939, ministry of labour, etc. This subdivision of work, which would remove some of the functions of the ministry of the interior and unite them with new functions hitherto neglected seems to me to be very useful. As for the details of the attributes of the new ministry, we can discuss this at greater length when the idea becomes feasible in practice.

I see these proposals simply as a means of propaganda, since with the present house there is no chance of seeing them accepted. From this point of view, we would first have to assure ourselves of their efficacy, and then determine whether or not they might be of interest for future action by the party when we are in a position to proceed to positive legislative activity. It is from this angle that I have formulated my criticism, and here I find just one point that seems to me to be dubious; whether it is wise to promise 40 million annually to the peasants in a form and for a purpose so clearly defined. The peasants could one day present us with this promissory note, and at a time when we might have better uses for such a sum.

Thank you for your comments concerning Wroblewski[a]. I have calculated that the roughly 45 socialist deputies receive a total of 400,000 fr. annually from the state, and that it would not perhaps be wholly impossible to provide on the basis of this sum, an annual income of, say, 1,200 francs to the sole surviving general of the Commune. I am perfectly well aware that the requests made by electoral constituencies on the funds of their deputies are not very reasonable, but here it seems to me to be a question of the honour of the whole of revolutionary France. It will be difficult to make the world understand that the survivors of and successors to the Commune are represented in the house by 45 deputies, and that a party of this size is not, however, capable of guaranteeing its most senior general against the most extreme poverty. And indeed, I still dare to hope that it will be found possible to use this means of enabling him to live out his life, without exposing him to the humiliation of a public subscription.

Here socialist sentiment (it is far more a sentiment than a clear idea) is continuing to make progress among the masses, but the existing organisations and their leaders are also continuing with the disputes and

[a] See this volume, p. 420

rivalries that keep them powerless. It is a matter for despair for those who do not know the English character; in any case the European continent would seem about to give the English the impetus it so needs. That band of swindlers who govern and exploit France shamelessly will not retain support much longer. The same is true for Italy, where bribery and corruption is even more shameless. In Germany, everything is leading to a crisis, generals and high-ranking officials are openly calling for a coup d'état. The end of the century is taking a decidedly revolutionary turn. In France, the socialists are the only serious and honourable party, in Germany they are the only real opposition party; if a crisis comes, there will be no other party to turn to except this. In Austria, everyone agrees that the socialists will enter parliament, and it only remains to decide through which door. And in Russia, little Nicholas [11] has done us the service of making revolution absolutely inevitable.

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

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## 271

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

### IN ST. PETERSBURG

London, 5 March 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Sir,

I am very sorry, in reply to your kind letter of Jan. 29th, to inform you that our author[b] has not left any manuscripts relating to his views upon, and deductions from the state of landed property in Russia such as might be useful to the Russian translator. [527] All I have been able to find

[a] Nicholas II - [b] Karl Marx

are simple and very voluminous extracts from Russian sources statistical and generally economical, but, and this more or less *against his* habit, not interspersed with observations of his own.

I enclose you a letter received from Berlin for you, and am requested by the Mr. Engels mentioned in it to complete it by the following bits of information. Mr. Engels received some time ago an inquiry from a Dr. Lux who writes on economic subjects: whether the *Essays*[a] were worth translating, and if so, would he do something to assist the publication of a German translation? to which he replied, that he was very desirous of seeing a German translation brought out, and that not only would he recommend the same for publication to Dietz, but also very gladly write an article upon it, when brought out, in the *Neue Zeit,* pointing out the importance of the results of your inquiries, but at the same time also stating that he differed from some of the conclusions arrived at by you. At the same time he stated, that he, Engels, had no right whatever to authorise a translation, but that the translator, a friend of Dr. Lux, had better apply to you direct for your permission. To avoid indiscretion, he insisted that the letter to you should be sent through him.

The translator, a young Russian[b] in Berlin, was said to be capable of undertaking the work (Dr. Lux's wife is a Russian lady), and Dr. Lux has promised to revise the German text in order to insure correctness. The translator is also said to have occupied himself with economical subjects, so as to be no stranger to the contents of your book.

The letter enclosed seems to *assume* that your consent has already been given, at least I cannot find in it any trace of a formal request to you to that effect. I know that *some* young Russians abroad[c] are of opinion that such is an unnecessary formality, but such is not my opinion, and if you feel inclined to entertain at all Mr. Konov's proposal, I think a hint in that direction might do the young man good.

As to myself I know nothing at all of the intended translation.

If you will kindly send me your reply to Mr Konov, I will see that it is forwarded at once. [528]

Yours very sincerely
L. K.[d]

[a] Nikolai-on. [Danielson N. Fr.], *Essays* (see FN p. 308) - [b] Andrei Konov - [c] [word in Russian] - [d] Engels used Louise Kautsky's initials for his pen-name.

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## 272

# ENGELS TO RICHARD FISCHER

## IN BERLIN

[London,] 8 March 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Fischer,

I have taken as much account as possible of your grave objections although I cannot for the life of me see what is objectionable about, say, half of the instances you cite. [529] For I cannot after all assume that you intend to subscribe heart and soul to absolute legality, legality under any circumstances, legality even vis-à-vis laws infringed by their promulgators, in short, to the policy of turning the left cheek to him, who has struck you on the right. True, the *Vorwärts* sometimes expends almost as much energy on repudiating revolution as once it did—and may soon do again—on advocating the same. But I cannot regard that as a criterion.

My view is that you have nothing to gain by advocating complete abstention from force. Nobody would believe you, *nor* would *any* party in any country go so far as to forfeit the right to resist illegality by force of arms.

I also have to take account of the fact that my stuff is read by foreigners as well—Frenchmen, Englishmen, Swiss, Austrians, Italians, etc.—and I simply cannot compromise myself to that extent in their eyes.

I have therefore accepted your amendments with the following exceptions: 1. Slip 9, re the masses, now reads: 'they must have realised what they are coming out for'.[a]—2. next paragraph: the whole sentence about going into battle deleted; your suggestion contained an outright mistake. The *slogan* 'going into battle' is used daily by the French, Italians, etc., if

Cf. present edition, Vol. 27, p. 520

with less serious intent.—3. Slip 10: 'Social Democratic subversion which *presently* owes its existence to'; you wish to remove the *'presently,* thus changing present into permanent, and relatively into absolutely valid, tactics. This I will not and cannot do without making an eternal ass of myself. I shall therefore avoid the contradiction of terms and say: 'Social Democratic subversion to which *it is of very great benefit* just now to abide by the law.'[a]

Why you should see anything dangerous in the allusion to Bismarck's procedure in 1866, when the constitution was infringed, I find utterly incomprehensible. If ever there was an *argumentum ad hominem,*[b] I should say that this was it. However, I bow to your wishes.

Well, I can go so far and *no further.* I have done everything in my power to spare you embarrassment in debate. But you would be better advised to adhere to the standpoint that the obligation to abide by the law is a legal, not a moral one, as indeed, has been so nicely demonstrated to you by Boguslawski[c] (who has got the pip); and that it ceases absolutely when those in power break the law. But you people—one or two of you at any rate—have been weak enough not to oppose your adversaries' pretensions as you ought to have done, and to accept the obligation to abide by the law as being also a *moral* one and binding under all circumstances, instead of telling them: 'You are in power, it is you who make the laws; if we infringe them, you can deal with us in accordance with those laws and we must put up with it, that and nothing more—we have no further obligations, and you no further rights.' That's how the Catholics behaved in the face of the May Laws, [530] likewise the Old Lutherans in Meissen and likewise that Mennonite [531] soldier who figures in all the newspapers, and it's a standpoint you people must not betray. The Subversion Bill [428] is in any case doomed; a thing of that sort cannot even be formulated, let alone put into practice and, given the power to do so, the chaps will manage to muzzle you and harass you in any case.

If, however, your intention is to make the chaps in the government see that we only want to bide our time because we are not yet strong enough to help ourselves and because the army is not yet thoroughly disaffected—if such is your intention,

My dear fellows, then why the eternal bragging in your press about the party's victories and the enormous strides it is

[a] Cf. present edition, Vol. 27, p. 523 - [b] a biased argument - [c] A. Boguslawski, *Vollkampf—nicht Scheinkampf. Ein Wort zur politischen Lage in Innern.*

making? Those chaps know as well as we do that victory is almost within our grasp and that in a few years' time there will be no stopping us, and that is why they are already anxious to get us by the scruff, though unfortunately they don't know how. Nothing we say can alter that fact, and they know all this as well as we do; they likewise know that, once power is *ours,* we shall use it for our own purposes, not theirs.

So when next there's a general debate in plenary session, mind you uphold the right of resistance to as good effect as did Boguslawski on our behalf, and do not forget that your audience also comprises old revolutionaries—French, Italian, Spanish, Hungarian, and English—and that the time may again come—how soon, no one can tell—when the deletion of the word 'legal', effected donkey's years ago at Wyden, [343] will really be consummated. Take a look at the Austrians whose threat to use force, should suffrage not soon be forthcoming, could hardly be plainer! [523] Think of your own unlawful actions at the time of the Anti-Socialist Law, [15] a law they would like to foist upon you again. Legality for so long as and to the extent that it suits your book, but not legality at any price, not even as a manner of speech!

Yours,

F.E.

Too late now to put quotations into German (most already *have been* in the text[a]) already made up into pages.

*The proofs are being sent to Hamburg from here.*

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of K. Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*

# 273

## ENGELS TO WERNER SOMBART

IN BRESLAU

London, 11 March 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

In replying to your note of the 14th of last month, I should like to thank you for so kindly sending me your book on Marx[a]; I had already read it with great interest in the volume of the *Archiv*[b] which Dr H. Braun was good enough to send me and was glad at long last to find such appreciation of *Capital*[c] at a German university. Needless to say, I cannot identify myself with all the expressions into which you have transposed Marx's exposition. In particular, it seems to me that the definitions of the concept of value, given by you on pp. 576 and [5] 77, are rather too generalised; for one thing, I should delimit them historically by expressly confining them to the economic phase in which alone there has and could have been any question of value hitherto—to the social forms in which exchange of *commodities and* production of commodities exist; primitive communism was innocent of value. And in the second place the proposition would also seem to me to be susceptible of a conceptually narrower formulation. But this would take us too far afield and on the whole you are certainly right in what you say.

On p. 586, however, you appeal directly to me and I could not but laugh at the unconcerned way in which you hold a pistol to my head. But you need not worry—I am not going to 'contradict you flat'. The conceptual transitions whereby Marx arrives at the general and equal rate of profit from the various values produced in individual capitalist concerns, namely s/c = s/(c+v), are wholly foreign to the consciousness of the individual capitalist. In so far as they have any historical parallel or any reality outside our own heads, this consists in, say the fact that the individual constituents of the amount of surplus value produced by capitalist

[a] W. Sombart, *'Zur Kritik des ökonomischen Systems von Karl Marx'* — [b] *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik.* - [c] Volume II I

A., over and above the rate of profit or his share of the total surplus value, pass into the pocket of capitalist B. whose own output of surplus value is normally less than the dividend accruing to him. But this process takes place objectively and unconsciously, in the nature of things, and only now, when we have attained to a proper consciousness of that process, can we judge how much labour it has cost. Had the creation of the average rate of profit demanded the *conscious* collaboration of the individual capitalists, and had the individual capitalist *known* that he was producing surplus value and how much, and that in many cases he would have to surrender part of his surplus value, the connection between surplus value and profit would, of course, have been more or less clear from the start, and would certainly be found in Adam Smith if not already in Petty.

As Marx sees it, the whole of past history, so far as major events are concerned, is an unconscious process, i.e. those events and the consequences thereof are not deliberate; either the supernumeraries of history have wanted something that was the diametrical opposite of what was achieved, or else that achievement entailed consequences quite other than those that had been foreseen. If we apply this to political economy, we find that each individual capitalist is in pursuit of *bigger* profits for himself. Bourgeois economics reveals that this pursuit of *bigger* profits on the part of each individual capitalist results in a general and *equal* rate of profit, an approximately *equal* rate of profit for all. But neither capitalists nor bourgeois economists are aware that the real purpose of that pursuit is the equal percentual distribution of the total surplus value over capital as a whole.

But how did this process of equalisation really come about? That is a very interesting point about which Marx himself has little to say. But Marx's whole way of thinking [Auffassungsweise] is not so much a doctrine as a method. It provides, not so much ready-made dogmas, as aids to further investigation and the method *for* such investigation. Here, then, is a piece of work to be done which Marx himself did not attempt in his first draft. Here, for a start, we have the statements on pp. 153-156, II I, I[a] which also have some bearing on your rendering of the concept of value and prove that that concept has, or had, more reality than you ascribe to it. In the early days of exchange when products gradually changed into commodities, exchanges were made *in proportion to value.* For the labour

[a] See present edition, Vol. 37, pp.174-76; see also, pp. 882-84

expended on two articles was the sole criterion of quantitative comparison. At that time, then, value *existed in an immediate and real sense.* That this immediate realisation of value ceased in exchange, that it now no longer exists, we know. And I do not suppose you will have any particular difficulty in tracing the intermediate stages, at any rate in broad outline, that led from the above-mentioned real and immediate value to value as represented in the capitalist mode of production, value which is so thoroughly well-concealed that our economists can happily deny its existence. A genuinely historical exposition of this process—which, though admittedly requiring a great deal of research, holds out the prospect of correspondingly rewarding results—would be a most valuable pendant to *Capital.* [534]

Finally, I must again thank you for the high esteem in which you must hold me if you take the view that I could have turned Volume II I into something better than it is. But I am unable to share that opinion and believe I have done my duty by presenting Marx in Marx's own words, even at the risk of expecting the reader to do rather more thinking for himself.

Yours very truly,
F. Engels

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No. 3, 1961

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## 274

## ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT[417]

IN ZURICH

London, 12 March 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Schmidt,

I have before me your two letters of the 13th of November last and of the 1st of this month. Let me begin with the most recent, No. 2.

So far as Fireman is concerned, you had better leave well alone. [535] Lexis had simply posed the question [536] as you did in Σs/Σ(c+v). He is the only one to have gone *a step further* along the right road in as much as he *classified* the progression s/(c'+v') + s"/(c"+v") + s'"/(c"'+v'") ... etc., set out by you and divided it, according to the *varying composition* of capital, into groups of the branches of production between which equalisation only comes about as a result of competition. The fact that this was the next important step will be evident to you from Marx's own text in which, up to that point, the process is exactly the same. Fireman's mistake was to break off here and rest on his laurels, which is why he necessarily remained unnoticed until the book[a] itself came out.—But there's no need for you to worry. You have every reason to be content. After all, you discovered for yourself why it is that the rate of profit tends to fall and how commercial profit is created—and discovered, not just two thirds as did Fireman the rate of profit, but the whole bally thing.

Your letter, I think, sheds some light on why you allowed yourself to be side-tracked when it came to the rate of profit. In it I find you lapsing into detail in just the same way, and for this I blame the eclectic method of philosophising endemic at German universities since 1848, a method which loses sight of the whole, and all too often goes astray by indulging in almost endless and unprofitable speculation on minutiae. Now it so happens that your earlier studies of classical philosophy revolved primarily around Kant, and Kant was more or less compelled by the then state of philosophising in Germany and by his own antipathy to Wolf's pedantic Leibnizianism to make what appeared to be formal concessions to Wolfian speculation. It is thus I explain your tendency, also apparent from your epistolatory digression on the law of value, to become engrossed in minutiae; hence your occasional failure, or so it seems to me, to see the wood for the trees, which is why you reduce the law of value to a fiction, a necessary fiction, in much the same way as Kant reduced the existence of God to a postulate of practical reason.

Your objections to the law of value apply to *all* concepts regarded from the standpoint of reality. The identity of thinking and being, to use a Hegelian expression, corresponds in all respects to your example of the circle and the polygon. In other words, the concept of an object and its reality run side by side like two asymptotes which, though constantly

[a] Vol. II I of *Capital*

converging, will never meet. The difference between the two is the selfsame difference which is responsible for the fact that the concept is not immediately and ipso facto reality and reality is not immediately its own concept. Because a concept is by its nature essentially a concept, hence does not ipso facto and *prima facie*[a] correspond to the reality from which it has had first to be abstracted, that concept is always something more than a fiction, unless you declare all reasoned conclusions to be fictive on the grounds that they correspond to reality only in a very circuitous way and even then only approximately, like converging asymptotes.

Is it otherwise with the general rate of profit? At no time is it more than an approximation. Should it ever prove to be absolutely identical in two separate undertakings and should both achieve *exactly the same rate of profit* in a given year, it would be purely fortuitous; in reality rates of profit vary from business to business and year to year, according to circumstances, while the general rate exists only as the average achieved by a large number of businesses over a succession of years. If, however, we were to insist that the rate of profit—say, 14.876934... be exactly the same down to the last decimal point in every business every year, on pain of being reduced to a fiction, we should be grossly mistaking the nature of the rate of profit and of economic laws generally—they none of them have any reality save as an approximation, a tendency, an average, but not as *immediate* reality. This is due partly to the fact that their action is frustrated by the simultaneous action of other laws, but also to some extent by their nature as concepts.

Or take the law of wages, the realisation of the value of the power of labour, a value which is only, and even then not always, realised as an average and varies from locality to locality, indeed from branch to branch, according to the standard of living customary in each. Or ground rent, which represents the surplus profit, in excess of the general rate, arising from a monopolisation of a natural force. Here, too, real surplus profit and real rent do not by any means automatically correspond, but do so only approximately and on an average.

Exactly the same thing applies to the law of value and the distribution of surplus value through the rate of profit.

1. Both come closest to full realisation only in as much as capitalist production has everywhere been fully implemented, i.e. society has been

[a] self-evidently

reduced to modern classes of landowners, capitalists (industrialists and traders) and workers, all intermediate stages having been eliminated. That has not yet happened even in England nor will it ever happen—we shouldn't let things get to that pitch.

2. Profit, including rent, has a number of constituents:

a) profit from sharp practice which you discount in your algebraic sum;

b) profit from an increase in value of stocks (e.g. what is left of the previous harvest when the next one fails). In theory this *ought* also to equalise out, so long as it has not already been discounted by a fall in the value of other commodities, for either the capitalist buyer's contribution must be equal to the seller's gain, or else, where means of subsistence for workers are concerned, wages must eventually rise. The most significant of these rises in value are, however, not *lasting ones,* hence equalisation takes place only over an average of years and in very incomplete form and, as is well known, at the expense of the workers; they produce more surplus value because their labour power is not paid for in full;

c) the total amount of surplus value from which, however, we must again deduct that portion that is *presented to the buyer,* especially at times of crisis when overproduction is reduced to its true content of socially necessary labour.

From this it necessarily follows that the total profit and the total surplus value can correspond only approximately. If, however, you also consider that neither the total surplus value nor the total capital are constant quantities but variables which change from day to day, then any correspondence between the rate of profit and $\Sigma s/\Sigma(c+v)$, other than an approximate progression, and any coincidence of the total price and total value other than one which constantly tends towards, and yet as constantly tends away from, unity, will be seen to be a sheer impossibility. In other words, the unity of concept and phenomenon turns out to be an essentially endless process, and so indeed it is, in this case as in every other.

Has feudalism, then, ever corresponded to its concept? Having begun in the Kingdom of the Western Franks,[537] been further developed in Normandy by the Norwegian invaders, and taken a stage further in England and the south of Italy by the Norman French, it came closest to its concept—in the ephemeral Kingdom of Jerusalem, a relic of which, the *Assises de Jérusalem,*[538] the most classical expression of the feudal order. Was that order a fiction merely because it was in Palestine alone that it achieved a short-lived exis-

tence in fully classical form—and even then largely on paper?

Or are the concepts that prevail in the natural sciences fictive because they by no means always correspond to reality? From the moment we accept the theory of evolution, all our concepts of organic life correspond only approximately to reality. Otherwise there would be no change; if the day should ever come when concept and reality coincide completely in the organic world, evolution will cease. The concept 'fish' embraces life under water and breathing through gills; how is it possible to evolve from fish to amphibian without infringing that concept? And infringed it has been; we know of a whole number of fish whose air-bladders have evolved into lungs and which are thus able to breathe air. How is it possible to evolve from oviparous reptile to viviparous mammal without bringing one or both concepts into conflict with reality? And in fact we have, in the monotremata, an entire sub-class of oviparous mammals—in Manchester in 1843, I saw the eggs of a duck-billed platypus and, in my narrow-minded arrogance, cast scorn on the folly of supposing that a mammal could lay eggs, and now it has been proven! So do not treat the concept of value in the same manner as has obliged me to proffer my belated apologies to the duck-billed platypus!

In Sombart's otherwise excellent article on Volume II P I have also found a similar tendency to emasculate the theory of value; evidently he, too, had hoped to find a rather different solution. [15]

Your article in the *Centralblatt,* however, is first-rate,[c] and your demonstration—by quantitative determination—of the specific differences between Marx's theory of the rate of profit and that of the earliest political economists, is very well done. In his wisdom, the illustrious Loria *sees* Volume II I as nothing less than an abandonment of the theory of value,[d] and thus your article is a cut-and-dried reply. There are now two more interested parties, Labriola in Rome, and Lafargue, the latter having joined battle with Loria in the *Critica Sociale.* [539] If, therefore, you could send a copy to Prof. Antonio Labriola, Corso Vittorio Emmanuele 251, Rome, he would do his best to get an Italian translation of it published; and a second copy to Paul Lafargue, Le Perreux, Seine, France, would give the

[a] W. Sombart, 'Zur Kritik der ökonomischen Systems von Karl Marx'. In: *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik,* Bd. 7, H. 4. -[b] See this volume, p. 461 -[c] C. Schmidt, 'Der dritte Band des *Kapital'.* In: *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt,* 25. Februar 1895 - [d] A. Loria, 'L'opera postuma di Carlo Marx.' In: *Nuova Antologia,* Anno XXX, fascicolo II I, 1 febbraio 1895

latter the support he needs; he would also mention your name. I have written to both of them about this, [540] saying that your article supplies a ready-made answer on the main issue. Please let me know if you are unable to supply the copies.

With this, however, I must close, for otherwise I shall never be done. Kindest regards,

Yours,

F. Engels

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## 275

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

### IN STUTTGART

[London,] 13 March 1895

Dear Baron,

Just to inform you in all haste that Plekhanov has misread or misunderstood my letter. I *have no intention whatsoever* of concerning myself with Loria, and have written to tell Plekhanov [25] that he should not allow himself to be put off. Loria has written a reply to the preface[a] and only if *absolutely necessary* shall I write a few words in return, but that is all. Everything the chap has published has been sent me from Rome.

I should be grateful if you were to send me Platter's thing [541]—I have already got W. Sombart's—it is good.[b] I'm glad you should have used it as an excuse to stave off Enrico Ferri since the man's quite incapable of writing about Volume II I.

[a] Loria, 'L' opera postuma di Carlo Marx'. In: *Nuova Antologia,* Anno XXX, fascicolo II I —1 febbraio 1895 - [b] W. Sombart, 'Zur Kritik des ökonomischen Systems von Karl Marx'. In: *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik.* Bd. 7, H. 4

My preface has come out in Italian and is said to have made quite an impact.[467]

Yours,
F.E.

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## 276

## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER[417]

IN VIENNA

London, 16 March 1895

Dear Victor,

Herewith by return the information you request. Sombart's article is very good,[a] except that his view of the law of value is impaired by some disappointment over the solution to the rate of profit question. He clearly expected a miracle, instead of which he merely found what was rational and that is anything but miraculous. Hence his reduction of the significance of the law of value to the domination of the productive force of labour as the determining economic power. This is all much too generalised and imprecise.—Little Conrad Schmidt's article in the *Sozial politisches Centralblatt is* very good.[b] Eduard Bernstein's articles were very muddle-headed[c]; the man is still neurasthenic and, what is more, scandalously over-worked. Having too many other things on hand, he left the article on one side and then was suddenly dunned for it by K. Kautsky.

Since you want to swot away at *Capital* II and II I while you're in quod,[542] let me give you a few hints to lighten your task.

[a] W. Sombart, 'Zur Kritik des ökonomischen Systeme von Karl Marx,' In: *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik,* Bd. 7, Heft 4 - [b] C. Schmidt, 'Der dritte Band des *Kapital'.* In: *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt,* 25 Februar 1895 - [c] E. Bernstein, 'Der dritte Band des *Kapital'.* In: *Neue Zeit,* 1 Bd., Nr. 11-149 16, 17 und 20, 13 Jg. 1894/95

Book II . Part I. Read Chap. I carefully, after which you can more or less skim through Chaps 2 and 3; pay closer attention to Chap. 4, it being a resume; 5 and 6 are easy, 6 in particular being concerned with incidental matters.

Part II . Chaps 7-9 are important. 10 and 11 exceptionally so. Likewise 12, 13 and 14. On the other hand 15, 16 and 17 need only be read cursorily to begin with.

Part II I. Is an absolutely first-rate exposé of a subject which has not been dealt with since the days of the physiocrats, namely the entire circulation of commodities and money in capitalist society—brilliant as to content, but terribly ponderous as to form, firstly because put together from two versions using two different methods and, secondly, because version 2 was completed under duress, namely an illness involving chronic insomnia. If I were you, I should keep that *to the very last, after an initial* reading of Volume II I. Also, it is the one you can most easily dispense with so far as your work is concerned.

Now for Volume II I.

Important in Part I are Chaps 1-4; on the other hand, Chaps 5, 6 and 7 are less important so far as the *general* context is concerned, so not very much time should be spent on them to start off with.

Part II . *Most important* are Chaps 8, 9, 10. 11 and 12 to be treated cursorily.

Part II I. *Most important,* the whole of it, 13-15.

Part IV. Likewise most important, though 16-20 also easy to read.

Part V. Most important, Chaps 21-27. Less so, Chap 28. Chap. 29 important. Chaps 30-32 not, on the whole, important for your purposes, but Chaps 22 and 34 important as soon as they turn to paper money, etc., 35 important as regards international rates of exchanges; 36 of great *interest to you,* and also easy to read.

Part VI. Ground Rent. 37 and 38 important. 39 and 40 less so, but nevertheless not to be skipped. 41-43 demand rather less attention. (Differential rent II , individual cases.) 44-47 are again important and also, on the whole, easy to read.

Part VII very fine; unfortunately truncated and, moreover, strongly symptomatic of insomnia.

So if you make a thorough study of the essentials by following the above, and devote less attention initially to what is of lesser importance (preferably having first reread the essential bits of Vol. I), you will get a

general view of the whole and will afterwards find it easier to digest the passages to which you have devoted less attention.

Your news about the paper[a] pleased us very much. The main thing is *political* efficacity; financial efficacity is bound to follow, and will be achieved far more easily and quickly once the former is assured. It is with pleasure I detect your hand in the notes on electoral reform on the front page [532]—there you have the FULCRUM for the efficacity you need.

As a result of the old trouble which comes to plague me periodically, especially in springtime, I am again somewhat lame but less so than usual, the attack being milder and, in about a fortnight I should, I think, be rid of it without any need for sea air as in 1893 and 1894.

The movement over here may be summed up as follows: Amongst the masses, progress is steady if instinctive, and the *tendency* is adhered to; the moment it comes to giving conscious expression to that instinct and to that impulsive tendency, however, their sectarian leaders set about it in so stupid and narrow-minded a way as to make one feel like hitting out left, right and centre. But I suppose it's just the typical Anglo-Saxon way of going about things.

Many regards,

Yours,

F.E.

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## 277

## ENGELS TO CARL HACKENBERG [543]

IN BARMEN

London, 16 March 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

Following are my brief answers to your questions:

[a] *Arbeiter-Zeitung*

1) Becker[a] was in Cologne when we came there in May 1848; [544] I had heard nothing of him previously.

2) 1 know-nothing about this. [545]

3) ditto.[546]

4) We got to know Becker as belonging to the more moderate trend in the democratic party.

5) I believe Becker also gave talks in the Democratic Association [547] (the Eiser Hall) from time to time, but I hardly ever went there. W. Wolff, F. Wolff and Dronke attended more frequently on behalf of our editorial board[b] than did Marx or I.

6) I do not know what associations you mean. On the whole, the Workers' Union [548] and the Democratic Association worked hand in hand in Cologne, although the former was more radical than the latter. As for what had been going on *before* our arrival, at the time when the Workers' Union had been led by Dr. Gottschalk, I can say nothing definite about it.

7) If by the Central Association [549] you mean the central section of democratic associations, led by the Frankfurt Left, I must say the Rhenish democrats soon lost trust in it and made themselves independent.

8) We were on the same good terms with Becker as with the other bourgeois democratic leaders in Cologne, without making a secret of the fact that we were going considerably further than they and without expecting them to unconditionally support the stance taken by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* The majority of them, Becker included, were not contributors to the paper, except, at the most, for publishing short, usually signed, articles from time to time in the local news section (then printed 'under the line'). You will often come across the initials H. B. [550] there. After the onset of reaction, in the autumn of 1848, democracy became more radical and Becker also drew closer to us. But he did not work more for the paper then either.

9) I've no knowledge of this at all. [551] I was already gone by then, we left Cologne in May.

10) After we had gone, Becker and Heinrich Burgers founded the *Westdeutsche Zeitung,* one might say on the inheritance of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung?* [552]

11) I have no further material on the Communist trial [553] concerning

[a] Hermann Heinrich Becker - [b] of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

Becker specifically. Becker had joined the Communist League, which was set up anew on the Continent at the end of 1849 or the beginning of 1850, and sat on the *Cologne* district authority, which was entrusted with the functions of central authority after the split in London.

12) I know of no attempts to free Becker while he was on remand. If anything of the kind was contemplated, certainly good care was taken not to mention it in letters to London, for it would hardly have escaped the notice of the Prussian postal service.

For the rest, I regret to be unable to give you any further information. I hope you have the latest edition (Zurich 1885) of Marx's revelations concerning the Cologne trial,[a] with my introduction.[b] If not, you may obtain a copy from the bookshop of *Vorwärts,* 2 Beuthstrasse, Berlin; the earlier editions are incomplete.

Incidentally, Becker's involvement with the League was only an episode in his life, caused by the then rampant reaction. With the return of calmer times he again became what he had been previously, a bourgeois democrat, and, as you will know, went through all the changes undergone by German, and particularly Prussian, bourgeois democracy. This attitude stemmed from his whole nature, so I am far removed from seeing any sort of careerism in it; on the contrary, if he had tried to remain more radical and carry the communist episode on, he would have missed his calling. In this he differed, very favourably, from Miquel.

I hope these notes will be of use to you.

F. Engels

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[a] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* - [b] F. Engels, *On the History of the Communist League*

## 278

# ENGELS TO PABLO IGLESIAS

## IN MADRID

*[Draft]*

London, 16 March 1895

Dear friend Iglesias,

I could not answer your letter of 19 October 1894 earlier because I did not know whether or not you had come out of Malaga prison; [554] nor could I answer your letter of 1 February, being busy finishing some publications[a] for our people in Berlin which had to be circulated before the new repressive draft laws [428] became law.

Before I got your letter of 19 October, friends in Barcelona had asked Comrade Eleanor Marx-Aveling to inform the British Trades-Unions of the Malaga strikers' situation, and she had done all she could, so that nothing more is left for me to do. And as you know, some of the Trades-Unions helped.

As regards really socialist organisations in England, they are so disunited and so poor that no help can be expected from them.

I have been following the progress of this strike with great interest, admiring the workers' tenacity and courage. Marquis de Larios' name reminds me of an episode that occurred about 1850.

At that time there was a firm of Larios Bros. (Jews) in Gibraltar. A British merchant used to send his goods to the firm on commission to be *smuggled* to other merchants on Spanish territory. Those goods were constantly seized by Spanish Customs, and Larios Bros, would pay the Englishman the guaranteed sum in insurance, as is customary in this kind of business. But that did not suit the Englishman, for he lost his customers in Spain and a substantial amount of profit. He arrived in Gibraltar to see for himself why those accidents always befell his goods but never those of others. However, he could not find out the reason. One day as he was taking a walk in the city, he saw a cart lose a wheel and some boxes with goods fall to the ground and burst open. The boxes were

[a] See this volume, p. 444

his—they bore his trade-mark—but he saw that, instead of goods, they contained, yes, sand. The mystery was solved. It became clear that Larios Bros. had always notified Spanish Customs of the dispatch of the boxes of sand, which had been seized, the Englishman being paid insurance; thereupon Larios Bros. had dispatched the goods on their own behalf by a safe route to their Spanish correspondents, thus pocketing without risk the whole profit derived from the operation.

The enraged Englishman descended on Larios. 'I'll disclose all that, I'll make a scandal, I'll have you put on trial!' 'Why get excited, sir? We will pay you for your goods and make the amends you want.' After much argument, the Englishman was paid a definite sum, and Larios Bros. signed the following statement:

'We, Larios Bros., are the greatest swindlers there are here in the city of Gibraltar, and we advise everybody against doing business with us, for they can rest assured that we would cheat them.

'Gibraltar, (date).

'Larios Bros.'

The statement was posted for general information in the Bourse of Gibraltar, where old Larios continued for another twenty years to buy and sell goods.

Would the marquis be a relative of the Larios of Gibraltar?

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## 279

## ENGELS TO CARL HIRSCH

### IN COLOGNE

London, 19 March 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Hirsch,

I am willing to oblige you,[555] but only on two conditions: 1. that the

matter remains *strictly between ourselves,* for otherwise I shall get a hundred such requests for advance criticism; and what I do for one person I cannot refuse to do for others—in which case I might as well throw up the sponge. 2. That this is the last time you ask me to do anything of this kind. I get more things sent to me in a week than I can read in a month, but if I am to criticise them into the bargain, I shall be in even worse case.

P. 4. *Onesided}.* This is far less the case in big industry than in *manufacture.* On the contrary, big industry does to a large extent *eliminate* the disabling effect of manufacture, although it produces a similar effect *of its own,* which last may be exacerbated by the intensification of labour. From what I know of big industry, I should say that in your case this point is given *more* emphasis than is justified by the circumstances. The division of labour is, and will continue to be, the chief cause of the disablement of labour.

P. 6. - 'in every case overproduction, crises'. *May,* has a tendency to—realisation by no means inevitable. 'Spiral movement'—seems to me too general a term. What mode of production have you in mind here? 'The minimum of socially necessary labour time'—if this is supposed to be the time needed to produce the gross social product, it is meaningless so far as capitalist society is concerned, since in its apportionment among individual workers, the industrial reserve army is wholly left out of account.

P. 15. 'Everywhere' (etc., up till the end of the sentence)—this is expressed very obscurely, to say the least and, as it stands, is a contradiction. First, the increase in the products of labour is said to give rise to 'a gain as such' and then to a 'loss of value, which is at least a possibility'. This will not do unless explanatory and delimiting intermediate links are provided.

P. 18. 'The capital of the working man is his own person.' That sounds very nice, but in this context the word capital loses every vestige of meaning. Why the devil must you go and translate things that are sensible into nonsensical philistine cliches? What you say here is quite beyond my comprehension. Similarly on p. 18, no. 2. The concentration of labour resulting from improvements in machinery is all of a sudden supposed to be unhealthy. It may be so, and very often is, in the capitalist system but of itself it is no more unhealthy than is eating and digesting on the following page. Not only will it not cease, but we shall be able to augment it considerably because, with it, we shall get compensation for the workers. Other

incidental comments—should there ever be a second edition, I would advise you to substantiate what are, after all, very generalised arguments by providing specific examples, citing facts relating to various branches of industry and, in general, indicating which industries you are referring to. E.g., your propositions are true of the highly developed English textile industry only in a very limited sense. On the other hand, they may be far more true of Germany where big industry is still in its infancy and is only just coming into its own in a whole number of branches of production in which old methods are being superseded and the intensity of labour suddenly augmented. However, these are merely transitional stages. The main thing, when dealing with economic and, more especially industrial matters of this kind, is not to succumb to parochialism. Seen for what they are, these transitional phases are of undeniable importance, but one must also recognise and say that *that* is what they are and nothing else. And your immediate surroundings provide you with the most splendid opportunity for presenting all your propositions as having been deduced from real life, while you yourself will learn something in the process.

Now, do your best in the Cologne by-election [556] so that we may at least win here. And if by chance you should be writing to me again, let me know if the old house, behind Hutmacher, where the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung used* to be, is still no. 17 and whether the owner of the sweatshop who now lives there is called Salomon or Lewi—I have forgotten.

So far you have been conducting your battle with the Centre [71] quite nicely, but it seems to me that you might castigate the conduct of the Liebers et al in the Reichstag rather more often in your leading articles. [557]

Many regards,

Yours,

F.E.

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# 280

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

### IN HANOVER

London, 19 March 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Kugelmann,

The *eachets crampons*[a] have arrived here safely and have already been put to use. The machine presents no difficulty to the doer-up of letters—whether it does to the opener thereof is something that could be elucidated for us by the German and Austrian postal authorities to whom we have already most humbly submitted several samples. Many thanks. Köller will, I hope, be obliged to introduce a Subversion Bill [428] for the subversion of these staples in the face of which the best intentions of the *cabinets noirs*[b] fail so ignominiously.

Thanks for your endeavours in the Bielefeld district. If there is anything of mine or, indeed of Marx's in the *Dampfboot,* it is likely to be anonymous. [558]

No news from Livingston. [559]

The cold suited me very well; it acted on me like a powerful tonic while it lasted, and I felt twenty years younger. On the other hand, it precipitated London as always back into an age of barbarism. The water pipes froze; we went on having water until the Company shut off supplies, whereupon the water froze in the mains. Ours was about four and a half to five feet down and when uncovered a fortnight after the thaw, was still completely frozen up. Then we had to wait another two days until our connecting pipe thawed out. At eight o'clock in the evening, a week ago today, the water at last came on again. We then discovered that the drains were blocked because of the inadequate flow of water. By the end of last week everything was back to normal again, after four weeks during which we had to have forty buckets of water a day carried up to the attic on the

[a] A type of staple for closing letters — [b] The name given in France to the office where letters of suspect persons were opened and examined before being forwarded to the addressees. *(Trans.)*

fourth floor in order to keep the house supplied with water and prevent the boiler exploding every time the range was lit in the kitchen.
There was no need for you to worry and take so much trouble over the duty on the staples; in this country all industrial products are duty-free. Many regards to you and your family from Louise and

Yours,

F. Engels

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## 281

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

### IN BARMEN

London, 20 March 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Hermann,

Many thanks for the kind wedding invitation which I am unfortunately unable to accept. Apart from other obstacles, I have again fallen prey to the springtime complaint which, for the past four or five years, has regularly crippled me for some weeks at this season. A little rest will no doubt suffice to put paid to the thing, thus enabling me, a week tomorrow, to drink a glass of the best to ElsbethV and her bridegroom's[b] health, as will be conscientiously done.

Otherwise I am well and have grown more or less accustomed to the domestic and dietary regulations befitting an elderly gentleman—so much so, in fact, that any deviation therefrom becomes instantly apparent to me from all manner of little upsets and I get given the well-meant but earnest advice to desist from the same in future. I had never imagined

[a] Elsbeth Engels, F. Engels' niece - [b] Arthur Schuchard

that pedantry could again be imposed upon me as a rule of life and a moral duty.

Well, I hope that, even in my absence, you will all have a very happy day, and wish Elsbeth the best of luck in her new status as a married woman; also offspring more distinguished by their health than by their numbers.

Much love to Emma [1] and all the children,

Your old

Friedrich

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## 282

## ENGELS TO VERA ZASULICH

### IN LONDON

[London,] Friday 22 March 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear citizen Vera,

On Sunday evening we will be without a maid and without a cook. They are both leaving us tomorrow, and therefore the house will be upside down, and in a state which will scarcely permit us to receive our friends—you will therefore, I hope, excuse us for that evening.

Cordial greetings from the Freybergers—we hope that the fine weather will cure you completely.

Sincere good wishes,

F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* Second Russian Edition, Vol. 39, Moscow, 1966

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[a] Emma Engels, F. Engels' sister-in-law.

## 283

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 25 March 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Baron,

No difficulty about a reply to your telegramm—'with pleasure'. The text will follow by book-post. It is in proof form and is entitled *Introduction to Karl Marx's 'The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850'* by F. Engels. The text explains that the contents are a reprint of the old articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Revue.* My text has suffered to some extent from the apprehensive objections, inspired by the Subversion Bill, [428] of our friends in Berlin—objections of which, in the circumstances, I could not but take account. [529]

I at once wrote to Plekhanov to clear up the misunderstanding.[a] It was very right of you to stave off Ferri; the chap is a belletrist and sensation-monger in no matter what field and, like most Italians, holds Loria to be a giant in the field of economics, an opinion the illustrious one has implanted in them by dint of 'reiterated appearances' (to use Ruge's expression) and by a refined system of camaraderie.

I have not read the stenographic version of Liebknecht's militia speech [360] and one cannot go by the newspaper reports. A long dissertation might be written on the subject of militia and the standing army. If France and Germany were to agree gradually to turn their armies into militias, each with the same period of training, that would be that; Russia could be left to her own devices and Austria and Italy would be delighted to follow suit. But because of domestic circumstances France and Germany cannot afford to do this and, even if they could, it would not be feasible because of Alsace-Lorraine. And that will prove the undoing of the whole of the militia business.

Unfortunately your *Early History of Socialism* [561] hasn't reached me yet; I look forward keenly to seeing it, and specially, if not exclusively, to your

[a] See also this volume, pp. 439-40, 449-50, 467

account of the Anabaptists; [562] in the earlier movements, too, there is still a good deal to be elucidated. It is a great pity that you have not been able to have recourse to Czech sources on the Taborites, [563] but that would have been quite out of the question unless you had spent a long time in Bohemia and been given special access to mss. No doubt you could find someone on the spot, a young Czech, who would be able to help you.

What I have seen of Ede's[a] work has pleased me very much, particularly as regards the material and the perspectives it opens out. On the other hand, I should say that he planned it in rather too much of a hurry, but that is something one can only judge when one has the whole thing in front of one.

So far as you people are concerned, there would be considerable snags to a history of the International. First of all, you would have to collect the material from the individual countries. So far as Spain is concerned, Mora is now bringing it out—very much by dribs and drabs—in the feuilleton of the *Socialista.* I myself possess quite a lot on Italy up till the time of the Hague Congress, [115] where, however, a great deal went on behind the scenes. Frankel and Lafargue could probably lay hands on a fair amount of stuff on France up till 1870 and, so far as Switzerland is concerned, you would have the *Tagwacht,* the *Vorbote,* the *Egalité and* the *Bulletin jurassien.*[b] (Héritier's articles in the *Berliner Volks- Tribüne* should be treated with the greatest circumspection; they are all written in unconscious extenuation of the Bakuninists; [49] so unaware was the man of what he was doing that he didn't realise, until told by *me,* after the event, what a slap in the face they had been to his spiritual foster-father, Becker[c]). The other countries don't really matter.

For years past I have been intending to make use of the material in my possession for a biography of Marx and, in fact, it is this, as it happens to be *quite the most important part, that I shall do first.* A number of circumstances make this necessary. Firstly, I was personally involved during the crucial period, 1870-72, and can fill out the material from my own experience. Secondly, it is at one and the same time the most important episode in Marx's public life and that least amenable to accurate portrayal from printed sources. Thirdly, the calumnies to be disposed of belong for the most part to this period. Fourthly, I am seventy-four years old

[a] Eduard Bernstein - [b] *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l'Association internationale des travailleurs.* - [c] Johann Philipp Becker (See this volume, pp. 82, 85, 141)

and shall have to make haste. And, fifthly, the other period during which Marx was publicly active (1842-62) can perfectly well wait until later and even, if necessary, be depicted by someone other than myself, since public controversy up to the time of *Herr Vogt* throws light on most of it and Marx had so emphatically lived down the calumnies of the then vulgar democrats that these no longer call for individual refutation.

I shall apply myself to this task, to which I have long been looking forward, as soon as I possibly can,—indeed I only have one or two small jobs to do in the mean time, in effect merely the revision of the introduction to the new edition of the *Peasant War* [235] (for which I need your book too). Then I shall turn my back on all my correspondence (which is enormously time-consuming) and on all incidental work (no doubt with the help of the Subversion Bill [428] ?!), when I should be able to manage it all right.

Your news about the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* is indeed very gloomy; however, I believe it will come through all right. Maybe the chaps planned things on rather too lavish a scale at the start [377] and will now have to cut down a bit. But its *political* success seems assured and, that being so, it would be very strange if it didn't eventually prove a financial success also. Electoral reforms [270] that would enable us to get into parliament are, I consider, a virtual certainty in Austria, unless a period of general reaction were suddenly to set in. In Berlin they would seem to be making determined efforts in that direction, but unfortunately no one there knows his own mind from one day to the next. So they may find themselves in the same boat as the recruit from Lancashire who, while training, was ordered by his N.C.O. to 'slope arms—order arms—slope arms—order—slope—order'. 'I WINNOT,' cried the recruit. 'YOU WON'T?' 'NO, I WINNOT', 'YOU REFUSE TO OBEY YOUR SUPERIOR OFFICER?' 'I WINNOT!' AND WHY NOT?' 'BECAUSE YOU DUNNOT KNOW YOUR OWN MIND FOR TWO MINUTES TOGETHER!'

Many regards from one household to the other.

Yours,

F. E.

Please keep to yourself what I have said above about my plans; there are so many indiscreet men of letters in the party!

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## 284

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 28 March 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Löhr,

If you were in danger of being flooded, it was just the reverse with us—four weeks without water, and at the end of the frost the canalisation blocked up as the result. A fine mess it was. London was thrown back into barbarism by this month of hard frost, and the *Standard* with truly British Conservatism congratulated us on the fact that the non-supply of water was a proof of the high civilisation attained here, while it pitied the uncivilised cities of the Continent where the water-pipes had not frozen. Well, thank goodness, it's over.

You grumble at the mythical union and real squabbles of the French Socialists—they are babies at that game, compared to the English. They are especially interesting—the English Socialists I mean—since Social Democratic Federation [44] and Independent Labour Party [114] fight each other under the cloak of a pretended harmony. This harmony goes exactly as far as their common hatred of John Burns, and allows the Social Democratic Federation to invite Keir Hardie to speak at their Commune meeting; at which meeting Keir Hardie (read his speech in the *Labour Leader*[a]) directs hidden attacks against the Social Democratic Federation to which that body replies in *Justice.*[b] The Social Democratic Federation says the Independent Labour Party has no right to exist, the Social Democratic Federation being the

[a] No. 51, 23 March 1895 -[b] No. 584, 23 March 1895: *Topical Tattle*

only true orthodox church; and the Independent Labour Party says the Social Democratic Federation ought to allow itself to be absorbed in the Independent Labour Party. Their latest exploit was at the County Council Election where both of these organisations put up candidates, and only against 'Progressives'; [526] the result was: 1,300 votes *in all* out of 486,000, and the election of 4 Moderates (Conservatives) for seats held formerly by Progressives, and the cry of triumph in both *Justice*[a] and *Labour Leader*[b] that *they* had beaten the Progressives. Imagine the Paris Socialists voting *with* Clericals, Monarchists and Opportunists [87] *against* the parties claiming municipal autonomy for Paris, and you have the exact counterpart of the Socialist vote in London. But—to support the Progressives would have been to acknowledge that John Burns had behaved well in the County Council, and to endorse the policy of Sidney Webb and the Fabians [43] who, muffs though they be as *Socialists,* are really doing very good work municipally, and fighting energetically and cleverly for an autonomous London. And so the 'Socialists' prefer to support the party which refuses to allow London its self-government and fights hard to keep the County Council powerless. Now the County Council is the next and best and easiest-to-be-conquered piece of governmental machinery—the working class could have it tomorrow if they were united. And what would Parliament be with a Socialist autonomous Council for London!

The Berlin people are republishing Mohr's articles in the *Revue der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung on* France 1848-50 and I have written an introduction which will probably first appear in the *Neue Zeit.* It has suffered somewhat from the, as I think, exaggerated desires of our Berlin friends not to say anything which might be used as a means to assist in the passing of the Umsturzvorlage in the Reichstag. [428] Under the circumstances I had to give way. [529] But this Umsturzvorlage and the absolutely uncertain state of things in Germany—splendid though it be for the general progress of our party—upsets a good deal of my calculations. I was, I believe you know, getting ready the Lassalle correspondence; [284] for that I have to compare a lot of old papers, letters, etc. But if the new bill passes, neither the letters nor my notes and introduction will be printable in Germany. And a reprint of our old articles of 1843-52 will be equally impossible. So I am compelled to neglect all this until we can see somewhat clearer *wie*

[a] *Justice,* No 582, 9 March 1895: 'A Pill for Palmer' and H. W. Lee, 'A Much-Needed Lesson for Progressives and Social-Democrats' - [b] *The Labour Leader,* No. 49, 9 March 1895: 'The L.C.C. Elections' and 'The L.C.C. and the I.L.P.'

*der Hase läuft.*[a] In the meantime I am taking up Vol. IV of the *Capital,* [101] reading and correcting the parts already copied out by Karl Kautsky and shall then arrange with Tussy about her continuing the work.

Things in Germany are decidedly becoming critical. The latest escapade of young William[b]—his *tiefste Entrüstung* at the Reichstag's anti-Bismarck vote [564] is big with serious eventualities. First as a symptom; it shows that he has now not only 'a slate off but that the whole of his slate roof is getting out of order. Then as a *défi.*[d] I have no doubt our party will reply to that in the Reichstag, and although the thing may appear to be buried for the moment, the *conflict is there* and will crop up again. There is no doubt, we are *facing* in Germany a modern Charles I, a man possessed by *Cäsarenwahnsinn.*[e]

Then look at the confusion the fellow creates in the ranks of the bourgeois parties. The Conservative Junker he in turns cajoles and repels; their clamour for state-secured rents he cannot satisfy; the alliance between landed aristocracy and large manufacturers, founded by Bismarck [in] 1878 by means of his protective tariff, [565] has gone to pot over conflicting economic interests; the Catholic party, [566] who hold the balance of power in the Reichstag with their 100 members, was on the best way of being bribed into voting for the Umsturzvorlage, when the Bismarck vote and the *Entrüstunskaiser*[f] throw them at once back into opposition—and that means furthering the splitting up of the Catholic Centre into an aristocratic-bourgeois wing and a democratic, peasant and working men's wing. Everywhere confusion and disunion, pushing William to a coup d' état to assert his divine right to absolute power and to get rid of universal suffrage, and on the other side the silent and resistless advance of our party manifesting itself at every election for any post accessible to working men's votes. This does look critical—*qui vivra verra*[g]*!*

In a day or two I shall write to Paul about his half of his double-bedded book.[h] He has got a strange bed-fellow! [567]

Ever yours

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance,* t. II I, Paris, 1959

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[a] how the cat jumps - [b] William II - [c] profound indignation - [d] challenge - [e] Caesaristic mania - [f] the indignation of the Kaiser - [g] time will show - [h] See this volume, pp. 487-90

## 285

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[568]

IN STUTTGART

London, 1 April 1895

Dear Baron,

Postcard received. I was amazed to see today in the *Vorwärts* an excerpt from my 'Introduction' that had been *printed without my prior knowledge* and tricked out in such a way as to present me as a peace-loving proponent of legality *quand même*.[a] [569] Which is all the more reason why I should like it to appear in its entirety in the *Neue Zeit* in order that this disgraceful impression may be erased. I shall leave Liebknecht in no doubt as to what I think about it and the same applies to those who, irrespective of who they may be, gave him this opportunity of perverting my views and, what's more, without so much as a word to me about it.

Platter received with thanks. [541] Of very minor importance, though the man is coming increasingly into line. If things go on like this, we soon shan't be able to stir for all these professors. It is absolutely capital that J. Wolf should also have replied. [570] I shall lay him alongside the others, together with Stiebeling and Loria. Sic transit gloria mundi.[b]

Kindest regards from one household to the other.

Yours

F. E.

We get two copies of *Deutsche Worte,* one for Freyberger and one for myself.

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[a] come what may - [b] Thus passes away the glory of the world (words from the ritual of the Pope's inauguration.)

## 286

## ENGELS TO HARRY QUELCH[571]

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 2 April 1895

Dear Comrade,

I have been compelled to decline, at least for this year, all demands for contributions to extra numbers of periodicals both for 18 March and 1st May, and am therefore unable to make an exception in the shape of an 'winterview' for *Justice.* This, however, does not mean that I should not be quite willing, if you should wish it, to discuss with you *privately* and in a friendly way the progress and the present position of the movement, in England and out of England.

If this should meet your views and you will be good enough to propose a day and hour when you could call, I will try to arrange to be at home.

Yours faithfully

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## 287

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[572]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 3 April 1895
41, Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Lafargue,

ing Loria (from Labriola) and a heap of Russian journals (from Nikolai Danielson). I am overwhelmed with post. Well, I read yours to the end nevertheless. It has a brilliant style, some very striking flashes of historical insight, there is truth in it and originality and, what is more important, it is not like the German professor's book where what was true was not original and what was original was not true. Its principal fault is that apparently you were in too great a hurry to be done with it; the arrangement, in particular of the sections on feudal and capitalist property, could have been more careful, especially for a Paris public, accustomed to easy reading and, moreover, adapted for lazy readers; the Parisian, too, asserts his right to be lazy. [573] Many very good passages may possibly lose some of their effect because they are written as though in parentheses, or because you have left the trouble of drawing conclusions and results too much to the reader.

As for the material itself, the main point of criticism is in the chapter on tribal communism. [574] There you lay too much emphasis, I think, on the form in which that phase has been maintained up to our own times, *in France,* and on the form of its dissolution in that country. The form of coparcenary under which the consanguineous community has gone on so long in France is already in itself a *subdivision* of the *large* family community, continued to our day in the *zádruga* of the Serbians and Bulgarians. This form, it appears certain, preceded the *peasant commune* in Russia, in Germany, etc.; in breaking up, the Slav *zádruga,* the German *Hausgenossenschaft* (genealogy of *lex Alamannorum* [575] *)* passed over to the commune of separate families (or, quite often at first, and still today in Russia, to coparcenaries), with *separately cultivated* fields though *subject to periodic redistribution*—that is to say, what emerged from it was the Russian *mir*[a] and the German *Markgenossenschaft.* The more restricted community of several families which was kept up in France was no more, as I see it, than an integral part of the *Markgenossenschaft,* at any rate in the North (the *Frankish* region); in the South (former Aquitaine) it may perhaps have formed a unity holding its land under the superior ownership of the *lord of the manor* alone, without being subject to the control of the village *commune.* It is only this special French form which, on breaking up, could pass in one leap to the individual ownership of the land.[b]

This is a point on which there are still many things to study. It is from

[a] This Russian word meaning 'peace', 'world' and 'community' is written by Engels in Latin letters. - [b] Cf. F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State,* present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 250-55

you that I learn of this special character of tribal communism in France, and since you are already in it heart and soul, you could not do better than to pursue this study, which holds out great promise.*

Small errata:

p. 338, you make the water of the Peruvian aqueducts *flow upwards;* as there is scarcely any natural water in Peru save in 'the heart of the mountains', and as your aqueducts are expressly built to carry water to them, it must, I suppose, be sea-water?

p. 354. Terra salica.[a] Guérard is making a huge mistake with his derivation of *Sala* house.[b] So the Salian Franks were Franks living in houses? They were called Salians, Salio, after the small region of Holland, Salland, where the group which conquered Belgium and France between Ardennes and Loire was formed for the conquest; the name still exists today. At the time when the Salic Law was drafted (about 400), [576] the *Sala* was still, as you have observed yourself, a *personal estate* among the Germans.

p. 386 'another likes to set the snares or prepare *grass-hoppers* [sauterelles]. Did they eat grasshoppers in Berry in 1787? I look in my dictionary and I find saute*rolle*, bird-trap.

p. 393. Black redistribution—in Russia tchornoi,[c] black, is used for *dirty,* and in a secondary sense popular, common, vulgar. Tchornoi narod,[c] the black people—the common people, the people as a whole. Tchornoi perediel,[c] black redistribution, means rather therefore the general, universal distribution, where everyone has his share, including the poorest. And in this sense a Narodnik (friend of the peasants) journal in Switzerland was called *Tchornoi perediel,*[c] which was meant to signify the distribution of *aristocratic estates* amongst the peasants.

That is all that I have noted and you will have had enough. As for Yves Guyot, I wash my hands of it.

Liebknecht has just played me a fine trick. [569] He has taken from my introduction to Marx's articles on France 1848-50 everything that could serve his purpose in support of peaceful and anti-violent tactics at any

* You must note the tripartition of France: France proper, to the Loire, strong Germanic influence; Burgundian area, to the East of Saône and Rhône, less Germanic; Aquitaine, between sea, Loire and Rhône, minimal Germanic influence. (Note by F. Engels.) — [a] Salian land — [b] B. E. Guérard, *La terre salique.* Bibliotèque de l'Ecole des chartes, November-December 1841. - [c] These Russian words meaning black redistribution are written in Latin letters.

price, which he has chosen to preach for some time now, particularly at this juncture when coercive laws are being drawn up in Berlin. [428] But I preach those-tactics only for the *Germany of today* and even then with many *reservations.* For France, Belgium, Italy, Austria, such tactics could not be followed as a whole and, for Germany, they could become inapplicable tomorrow. So please wait for the complete article before judging it—it will probably appear in *Neue Zeit,* and I expect copies of the pamphlet any day now. It's a pity that Liebknecht can see only black and white. Shades don't exist for him.

However, things are warming up in Germany, it promises a splendid end to the century. Young William's[a] 'indignation' [564] is highly amusing. You may be sure our people will answer him in the Reichstag where there is no lese-majesty.

I intended to say a lot of other things to you as well, but I cannot bring them to mind at the moment when I need them. I am gradually aging. So, as I must write a few lines still to Laura before the post goes, goodbye! Greetings from the Freybergers (whose little girl gets on wonderfully well) and from your

F. Engels

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## 288

## ENGELS TO RICHARD FISCHER

### IN BERLIN

London 5 April 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Fischer,

You will have got my letter of the 3rd. [25] Your postcard arrived this morning. So another snag has cropped up. [577] I would ask you to seek legal

[a] William II

advice straight away *as to the extent to which the copyright owned by Marx's heirs still applies to his articles in the 'Rheinische Zeitung of 1842.* The articles appeared anonymously. As anonymous articles, however, they are of no value to Mr Baake. So far as he is concerned they only acquire value through Marx's name. And if he publishes them under Marx's name, is he not thereby acknowledging that we have the copyright in so far as this might perhaps have been compromised by the fact of their having first appeared anonymously?

If there is no recourse to law—which would first have to be established so that we can act accordingly—it would be best if you were to get copies made of all the articles—three—in the library and send me duplicates, so that I could look through them quickly and write an introduction. There are three articles.

1. On the proceedings of the Rhine Province Assembly,
2. On thefts of wood,
3. On the condition of the wine growers on the Mosel. [578]

You would then have to issue an announcement straight away to the effect that they would be brought out *by you* and edited *by me,* along with an introduction and notes (if any).

So far as the Russians are concerned, it is normal practice to encroach upon an author's rights without so much as your leave 'in the interests of propaganda', not to speak of the interests, as is frequently the case, of their own private printing-shop and publishing house, as opposed to those of others. [579] Up till now, however, I have not been accustomed to that kind of thing when dealing with Germans.

Had I only known what I had merely *suspected,* namely that the old *Rheinische Zeitung is* in the Berlin Library, I should have gone there back in 1893 [580] and looked it out, in which case we should have made a good deal more progress in regard to other matters too.

Is Baake a brother of Kurt Baake's?

Regards to everyone.

Yours,

F.E.

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# 289

## ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT[139]

IN ZURICH

London, 6 April 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Schmidt,

I am most indebted to you for your tenacity over the 'fiction'.[a] (There is in fact a difficulty here which I only mastered as a result of your insistence upon the 'fiction'. The solution may be found in II I, 1, pp. 154-157[b] though it has not been elaborated or emphasised with sufficient exactitude, a circumstance that has persuaded me to enlarge briefly on the above point in the *Neue Zeit* with reference to Sombart's[c] and your objections. In any case there is a further point regarding which I should like to make an addition to Volume II I and bring it into line with the situation today by taking account of certain changes in economic conditions since 1865.[534]

But if I am to develop that point concerning the effectiveness and validity of the law of value, it would make thing easier for me if you would permit me to make mention, not only of the 'hypothesis' of your *Centralblatt* article,[d] but also of the 'fiction' you discuss in your two letters and to quote one or two passages from them for the purpose of defining more precisely what you mean by the hypothesis of the article. So would you kindly reread the passage alluded to above and then tell me whether I may say that the aforesaid quotations were extracted from letters by Dr C. Schmidt to myself. Should you be convinced by Marx' passage that, where the production of commodities is concerned, the law of value is, after all, rather more than a necessary fiction, we should then see eye to eye, and in that case I should of course be glad to dispense with this.

Mrs Freyberger, formerly Louise Kautsky I, along with her little girl, sends you her best compliments in the same way as I would ask you to remember me very kindly to your wife.

[a] See this volume, pp. 462-66 - [b] See present edition, Vol. 37 — [c] Sombart, 'Zur Kritik des Ukonomischen Systems von Karl Marx'. In: *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik,* Bd.7, H. 4 - [d] C. Schmidt, 'Der dritte Band des *Kapital'*. In: *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt,* 25 Februar 1895

Yours,
F. Engels

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for the first time

## 290

## ENGELS TO STEPHAN BAUER [581]

IN BRNO

London, 10 April 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

May I say how very grateful I am to you for so kindly sending me the facsimile of Quesnay's *Tableau* as well as your monograph on it[a] which I am just reading with much interest. You are right to stress the point that, after Baudeau, no one understood this important piece of work on political economy [582] until Marx who was, in fact, the first to raise the physiocrats from the obscurity whither they had been consigned by the subsequent successes of the English school. Should it be granted me to edit Book IV of *Capital* as well, you will find there a further, more exhaustive tribute to the services rendered by Quesnay and his pupils.[b]

I am, Sir,

Yours very truly,
F. Engels

First published in:
Marx and Engels, *Works,* First
Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX,
1946

Printed according to the original

[a] S. Bauer, 'Zur Entstehung der Physiokratie. Auf Grund ungedruckter Schriften François Quesnays', In: *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik.* 21 Bd., 1890, S. 113-158 - [b] See present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 204-40 and Vol. 34, pp. 195-96, 289-90.

# 291

## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN BARMEN

London, 12 April 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Hermann,

I have heard nothing further about the sherry since it was despatched.[a] All I know is that immediately after the hard weather the two Cologne steamers *Energie* and *Industrie* were reported as having arrived here—departures are difficult to keep track of in the newspapers and I don't therefore know whether both have sailed—and if so when. If the wine doesn't turn up in the course of next week, please send me a postcard and I shall then make inquiries.

The news that the wedding had gone off so merrily and that the loving couple[b] had enjoyed their honeymoon pleased me enormously. It is all right about the 80 marks. I hope that by now you have quite shaken off your influenza. Luckily I have recovered from mine and am gradually beginning to get out and about again.

Very many thanks for the information re the Schaaffhausens. I shall be glad to take up the allotment of 1000 marks—*à* 120%. The initial payment of 700 marks will be amply covered by my balance as at 30.4.94, even after deduction of the £40 (...)[c] per P.P. & Co., while accrued interest and the last Schaaffhausen dividend ought to be just about enough for the remaining payment of 500 marks. Should a few more marks be needed, you might be so good as to advance them to me pending the next dividend—i.e. assuming that I have not overlooked anything in the above calculation, in which case kindly advise me.

The conversion into bonds *à* 1,000 marks would also be perfectly acceptable to me if it could be done without leaving a tiresome or unproductive balance, something that can't be managed just now when all bonds must be in denominations of 1,000 or 450. So if the thing is impossible it

[a] See this volume, pp. 416, 441, 478 - [b] Arthur Schuchard and Elsbeth Schuchard (née Engels) - [c] Ms. damaged

would best be forgotten. But there might after all be some solution.

Well, you now have the prompt answer you wanted. For the past four days we have been having wonderful spring weather; overnight everything began sprouting and burgeoning and the warm sun in the day time is quite untypical of a normal English April with its grey skies and biting north-easters.

For the first time in my life I paid a dentist 10/6d last Monday[a] for pulling out a couple of old stumps. Now I only have seventeen teeth left, all of them in front and all of them so far complete, but nothing at the back, so I may have to be fitted with a set of false teeth!

Love to you all.

Yours,

Friedrich

First published in:
*Deutsche Revue,* Jg. 46,
Bd. II I, 192

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## 292

## ENGELS TO KRYSTJU RAKOWSKI

IN NANCY

London, 13 April 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear citizen,

I am answering at once your request to drop a line to the Bulgarian comrades. Being overburdened with work, I answered in the negative the requests directed to me by the comrades both on the occasion of 18 March and on that of May Day. I also sent a negative reply last week[b] to the British Social-Democratic Federation. [44] You will see that if I were to comply with your request, I should have to comply with the requests of roughly forty groups from ten to twenty different countries, which is

8 April -[b] See this volume, p. 487

more than I can do. Please be so kind as to give the Bulgarian comrades my excuses and to tell them that I regret not being able to render them the service they are asking for and that in a different situation I should have been glad to write something specially for the Bulgarians as the youngest followers of socialism. Sincerely yours,

F. Engels

First published, in Bulgarian, in *Sotsialist,* Nos. 54 and 55, 19 April 1895

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Translated from the Bulgarian

Published in English for the first time

## 293

139

## ENGELS TO RICHARD FISCHER

IN BERLIN

London, 15 April 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Fischer,

The 400 marks received with thanks. I shall change them tomorrow and distribute them to the heirs.[583]

So the position as regards the essays in the old *Rheinische Zeitung* is as I feared.[a] The copyright has lapsed and only by acting swiftly can we restore our title to it. It will therefore be perfectly in order if you at once announce that the articles will be published by you and edited and annotated by me. Possibly under the title:

*Karl Marx's Early Writings. Three Essays from the (First) 'Rheinische Zeitung' of 1842. I. The Rhine Province Assembly on Freedom of the Press. II . The Same on the Law relating to Thefts of Wood. II I. The Condition of the Wine-Growers on the Mosel. Edited and with an Introduction by F. Engels.*[578]

[a] See this volume, pp. 490-91

I am not quite happy about the title and should like you if possible to refrain from giving it a definite title until we have found one that is more suitable. As to the Mosel article, [584] I am sure of the facts in as much as Marx always used to tell me that it was precisely his preoccupation with the law on thefts of wood and the condition of the Mosel wine-growers that led him from politics pure and simple to economic conditions and thus to socialism. And during our conversations we always treated the Mosel article as having emanated from him. I didn't read it, as I was already in England at the time. It is so long ago since we spoke of the matter that I cannot entirely rule out the eventuality of a misunderstanding. Once I have the article in front of me, I cannot possibly go wrong.

Now as to your great scheme, [585] I think you would do best to shelve it until the fate of the Subversion Bill [428] has been decided. A library which re-issues historical documents and writings from earlier periods cannot tolerate any kind of censorship—quite literally or not at all. Still less could I consent to Marx's and my own early works being subjected to a process of emasculation, however wild, in order to conform to the conditions temporarily obtaining in the press. But in view of the fact that we used to write in a very unrestrained way and were forever justifying things which, in the territories of the German Empire, are regarded either as a crime or an offence, a re-issue in Berlin after the passing of that exemplary Bill would be quite impossible without numerous deletions.

Secondly, however, I have a scheme for again presenting Marx's and my lesser writings to the public in a *complete edition*—not, that is to say, by instalments but all at one go, in whole volumes. I have already been in correspondence with August[a] on the subject and we are still discussing it. So you might have a word with him when he gets back. I am by no means certain that an enterprise like this is really your cup of tea, nor do I know whether you, i.e. the publishing side of the *Vorwärts,* are the best people for the job—quite aside from the harassment of the press which has already inclined me to believe that we may be forced to have recourse to a publisher outside the German Empire.

Marx would *never* have consented to the issue of a work by instalments. In the case of the 2nd Ed. of *Capital I he* once allowed Meissner to bring out seven *big* instalments, each of some seven sheets, but that was as much as he could stomach. [586] To chop up books such as *The Holy Family, Herr*

[a] Bebel

*Vogt,* etc., into instalments of two sheets or so would certainly not do. In such cases people derive absolutely nothing from their reading and to read a work in this way, piecemeal, is conducive only to incomprehension.

The *Tribune* articles exist only in *English.* [587]

We survived the holiday without too many mishaps and the weather was really beautiful. Otherwise no news. As soon as you have a copy of one of the three articles from the *Rheinische Zeitung,* please send it to me straight away so that I can set to work. By registered book post or, if not, in some other manner with adequate regard for safety precautions.

Many regards to everyone.

Yours

F.E.

First published abridged in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. I, Preface, 1928 and in full: ibid., Vol. XXIX, 1946

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## 294

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

### AT LE PERREUX

London, 17 April 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Löhr,

Yesterday I sent you cheque for £6.9.9., your share of honorarium for the *Klassenkämpfe.*[b] To-day I return *registered,* book post, your translation with thanks and suggestions. [517] In one passage I had to make an alteration, you yourself had marked it as unintelligible, which indeed it was owing to omission of a word in the German text. The alteration is at the back of the page and requires a little frenchifying at your hands. I hope all your trouble will be rewarded by the French reading public!

[a] See this volume, p. 491 - [b] See this volume, pp. n421, 517

I have at last succeeded in hunting up the old *Rheinische Zeitung* of 1842. It was all this time in the Berlin Bibliothek, and our friends in Berlin, who might have known that long ago, only found it out now. Someone in Berlin[a] had a sharper way of doing things than they, and intended publishing *Mohrs* articles therefrom; [578] we have no right to stop this, as according to German law all anonymous or pseudonymous works become public property after 30 years from date of publication, unless copyright has been previously registered by the author or other *qui de droit.*[b] However this threatened competition roused our friends all at once; Fischer who manages now the publishing department of the *Vorwärts* book-selling firm, has at once, at my suggestion,[c] set some one to copy Mohrs chief articles, and will announce that I am going to edit them with introduction, etc. This will probably stop competition. Financially we can hardly expect much, if anything, therefrom, but at all events the articles are safe.

For the Lassalle letters [284] and ulterior plans of republication of old affairs, we shall have to await the fate of the Coercion Bill [428] before the Reichstag; if that passes, I do not see how we can safely proceed to work, at least in Berlin. Maybe Stuttgart may remain more favourable—anyhow *qui vivra verra.*[d]

I hope you send the *Devenir social* also to Madrid—our friends there are almost entirely dependent, for foreign reading, on French literature, and it strikes me they get to see more from other sects' publications than from ours. For if the management of the *Socialiste is* to serve as a pattern, woe be unto us! The *Vorwärts* announces the complete reorganisation of that illustrious paper, published *'mit Ausschluss der Oeffentlichkeit',*[e] and that Chauvin has remodelled the publishing department [588]—if so, *il est tellement chauvin*[f] that nobody here has seen a trace of it. But then, the *Vorwärts* seems to know of France only the Boulevard *Bonne Nouvelle,* and if the *nouvelles ne sont pas assez bonnes, il les fabrique lui-même.*[g]

Many thanks for your news about Sganarelle, they are quite sufficient for the *éclairage de ma tête*[h] upon the subject. [589]

I had in my head only the Sganarelle of the *Médecin volant* and *Don Juan.*

[a] Hans Baake - [b] authorised person - [c] See this volume, p. 497 - [d] wait and see - [e] in camera - [f] he is so chauvinist - [g] news is not interesting enough, he invents it himself - [h] enlightenment of my mind

Please tell Paul that if he is in want of a draught composed of L, s, and d (in which case the British philistine spells it draft) he is quite welcome to one.

Kind regards from Louise

Ever yours
F.E.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance,* t. II I, Paris, 1959

Reproduced from the original

## 295

## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

London, 18 April 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Kugelmann,

I apologise for having overlooked your request that I should at once write to you about Livingston, though his letter as such hardly seemed to call for any special reply. [559] I don't imagine that Jacobi or M. Becker will have anything useful. If Livingston writes to them, we shall find that out. We have been regularly corresponding with Sorge for many many years.

Apart from that I am most grateful to you for your information. I, too, am at a loss to know how to trace anything that may have appeared anonymously in the *Westphälisches Dampfboot.* [558] It is possible that when I get down to work one thing or another will refresh my memory. Besides, *should* there be anything in it, it would be of little consequence and serve at most as proof of our lack of agreement with the Bielefeld sentimental socialism of the day. [590]

Lastly, I shall doubtless have to do as you say. [591]I, too, having long been of the opinion that this was how we should proceed if the worst came to

the worst. Meanwhile one thing and another continues to turn up as, recently, the old *Rheinische Zeitung in* the Berlin Library. What might badly upset our calculations, however, is the Subversion Bill.[428] Until that has been decided there can be no thought of devising a plan of action. Many regards from the Freybergers and myself to you and yours.

Yours

F.E.

You will be getting one by post.[592]

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## 296

## ENGELS TO RICHARD FISCHER

IN BERLIN

London, 18 April 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Fischer,

One further matter: Would you please take another look at the old *Rheinische Zeitung with* regard to the Mosel articles[584] to find out whether some sort of polemic may not have arisen over the things and if so whether there are also articles under Marx's usual pseudonym and written in his own style—short, antithetically expressed sentences—as well as any *other* shorter articles under the same pseudonym and stylistically the same. If there are, let me know.

I can no longer remember my own articles—the best of them fell foul of the censor—or even my pseudonym; most of the longer ones, i.e. those that are not merely day to day reports, are in the supplement or the feuilleton.

In addition to the articles in the *Rheinische Zeitung,*[578] I have discovered

another one by Marx dating from the same period and also dealing with the machinations of the censor.[a] This can be printed with the remainder but no one must get wind of it since it, too, appeared *anonymously.* It will run to between 11/2 and 2 sheets. I may possibly discover some other shorter pieces, in which case we shall have collected all the main items from Marx's *pre*-socialist period. Meanwhile see to it that a copy is sent off to me quickly and we can then agree upon our next move.

Yours

F.E.

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## 297

## ENGELS TO STANISLAW MENDELSON

IN LONDON

[London,] 23 April 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Mendelson,
If it is convenient, I will call to see you tomorrow, on Wednesday, between 3 and 4 in the afternoon—*weather permitting.* My best wishes to Mme M. and yourself,

From yours
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* Second Russian Edition, Vol. 39, Moscow, 1966

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Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] K. Marx *Comments on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction.*

## 298

## ENGELS TO FRANZ MEHRING

IN BERLIN

London, [End of April 1895]
41 Regent's Park Road, N.

Dear Mr Mehring,

May I say how very grateful I am for your offer, which is gladly accepted, to help me hunt out Marx's early writings for republication. The first difficulty to confront me was the *Rheinische Zeitung of* 1842, which I had imagined to be in the Berlin Library. Despite numerous inquiries, I was unable to ascertain whether it was actually there, but now that that point has been cleared up, we can make a start.

Marx was in Bonn up till October 1842. When I passed through at the end of September or the beginning of October on my return from Berlin, the editorial board consisted, so far as I recall, only of M. Hess and Dr Rave, a former editor of the *Elberfelder Zeitung* (which was, I believe, known by another name at the time). Rutenberg had, I believe, already been expelled, though I am not sure about that. When I dropped in again towards the end of November on my way to England, I ran into Marx there and that was the occasion of our first, distinctly chilly meeting. Marx had meanwhile taken a stand against the Bauers, i.e. he had said he was opposed not only to the *Rheinische Zeitung* becoming predominantly a vehicle for *theological* propaganda, atheism, etc., rather than for political discussion and action, but also to Edgar Bauer's hot air brand of communism, which was based on a sheer love of 'going to extremes' and was soon after replaced by Edgar with other kinds of extremist hot air. Since I corresponded with the Bauers, I was regarded as their ally, whereas they caused me to view Marx with suspicion.

To the best of my recollection Marx resigned—at any rate officially—from the post of editor *en chef on* I January 1843. That, however, did not prevent him from surreptitiously contributing to the paper up to and including February. I think I am equally right in saying that the ukase requiring the paper to close down on 31 March 1843 was served on it no later than 31 December. Negotiations then began, the result of

which proved negative, hence the delay in publishing the ukase until 28 January and likewise in appointing the chief censor who had, in fact, already been functioning for some time. At one period there were no less than three censors: 1. the usual censor, 2. assessor von Saint-Paul who had been sent from Berlin, 3. the District President. Saint-Paul was still there at the time of the paper's funeral feast. The vacillations between 12 and 18 February would pretty well coincide with Marx's departure from Cologne. [593]

If, by comparing these data with the paper itself, you could discover more details or rectify inaccuracies, it would be of great benefit both to your work and to mine.

As regards the Mosel articles, [584] it will doubtless turn out to be as you say. Marx was tied to Cologne at the time and could not possibly have collected material of that kind in person.

The article I mentioned to Fischer [1] is in fact the one about the censorship instruction which appeared in Ruge's *Anekdota.*[b]

One of the best pieces in the *Rheinische Zeitung,* again in the feuilleton, is a long critique of Leo's *History of the French Revolution.* It is my Marx's friend C. F. Köppen[c] (who also wrote about old Fritz[d] and Norse mythology[e]) and (for the first time in any language) gives a correct explanation for the reign of terror.

Certain quotations and retrospective insights in your articles in the *Neue Zeit* have already shown me that you have made a thorough study of the period previous to 1848. 1 am glad that it has fallen to you to deal with this, as well as with the later period in respect of Germany.

There might possibly be one or two more things of Marx's in the supplement for the period prior to October 1842; it would hardly be worth your while to search out smaller items from Bonn in the main part of the paper.

My heartfelt condolences on the destruction of the *Freie Volksbühne.* [594]Subversion from above could not possibly have passed that institution by.

Once again my best thanks.

Yours faithfully
F. Engels

[a] See this volume, p. 502 - [b] K. Marx, *Comments on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction.* - [c] C. F. Köppen, *Leo's Geschichte der Revolution.* In: *Rheinische Zeitung,* 1921, 22 May 1842 - [d] Frederick II — [e] C. F. Köppen, *Friedrich der Grosse und seine Widersacher* and *Literarische Einleitung in die Nordische Mythologie.*

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## 299

# ENGELS TO FRANZ MEHRING

## IN BERLIN

London, 9 May 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mr Mehring,

Very many thanks for your long and informative letter plus enclosures, which I shall reply to at length as soon as my cranium permits. Unfortunately for the past week a rheumatic condition of the scalp has been encircling and compressing it as though with a band of iron. I hope to have got over it by next week along with the attendant insomnia. Meanwhile I agree to your proposal that the only articles from the *Rheinische Zeitung* that should be published in their entirety are the two long ones and those on Communism[a] (as also the article from the *Anekdota*[b]*)*. It would only be necessary to copy from the remainder such passages as you might be so good as to indicate as being the most pregnant (along with particulars of the context). As regards the Mosel articles, [584] it would be desirable if my introduction included a brief outline both of the course of the debate and of the contents.

Would you be kind enough to acquaint Fischer with the foregoing? Once again my best thanks and until my next, which has to do with one minor detail,

I remain
Yours sincerely
F. Engels

[a] K. Marx, *Proceedings of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly. First Article. Debates on Freedom of the Press and Publication of the Proceedings of the Assembly of the Estates; Proceedings of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly. Third Article. Debates on the Law on Thefts of Wood* and *Communismus and the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung'*. — [b] K. Marx, *Comments on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction.*

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## 300

## ENGELS TO RICHARD FISCHER

### IN BERLIN

London, 9 May 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Fischer,

At the moment I feel so run down as a result of rheumatic pains in the scalp and the insomnia associated therewith that I am incapable of any kind of work. I hope to be all right again by next week. In the meantime, however, seeing that you and Mehring can both take a look at the copy of the *Rheinische Zeitung,* I think it would be best if you yourselves were to arrange what should be done with the shorter and Mosel [584] articles and to provide me with a copy just of the most important bits. I am also sending Mehring a line or two about it.[a]

Ms. just arrived. [595]

Yours,
F. E.

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[a] See previous letter

## 301

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN LE PERREUX

London, 14 May 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Löhr

I was extremely glad, and indeed so were Louise and Ludwig to learn that both you and Paul were ready and willing to come over here for a bit, and I should have written at once in reply, had it not been for those confounded pains which for a week nearly drove me mad and even now have not left me, anything but painless, but extremely stupid and unfit for anything. The fact is this. Some time ago I got a swelling on the right side of the neck, which after some time resolved itself into a bunch of deep-seated glands infiltrated by some cause or other. The pains arose from direct pressure of that lump on the nerve and will of course only give way when that pressure disappears. At present a process of resorption is going on very satisfactorily, but a couple of these glands are suppurating and will have to be cut; and as they are so deep-seated and slow in coming to the surface, and we old people being such slow coaches, the time for the operation cannot be exactly fixed, but it is hoped will come off this week. That once performed I am ordered to the sea-side; but the uncertainty is still about the time.

Now as things are situated, would it not be the best thing for you to come over say in the course of next week, and then as soon as possible you and I could bundle off to Eastbourne [596] and settle down in comfortable quarters and prepare for visitors from London. I say you and I, because I intend to keep you here a good bit longer than very likely Paul would care to separate himself from his studies and your animals and the garden work; so he perhaps would prefer to do as you say and come tumbling after.

When I shall have cleared out from here, Louise intends giving my two rooms a good cleaning down and after that she might come and join us with her baby for a week or so; after that Tussy and Edward might come, and then Paul who by that time is sure to be tired of his solitude, and then

we might bethink ourselves of returning all of us to London and show Paul our new establishment too.

This is such a sort of rough prospectus as a man with neuralgic pains in the head after a series of sleepless nights has been able to excogitate under the present indefinite conditions, and therefore subject to alterations as novel circumstances and novel ideas may command. It is humbly submitted to you for approval or improvement as may be.

The heat is insupportable, 22°C in the room all day long—no wind, clouds and impending thunder which unfortunately *keeps* impending. And that 2 months after that hard frost!

Kind regards from the Freybergers to both of you. Amitiés à Paul et au revoir.

I enclose cheque £10—for your journey hither and any little additions you may like to make to your outfit.

So please say when we may expect you.

Ever yours,

F. Engels

## 302

## ENGELS TO IGNAZ BRAND[597]

IN VIENNA

Londong 20 May [18]95
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Esteemed Comrade, many thanks for kindly sending the two copies of *Námezdni Prace a Kapital,*[a] a one of which I have given to Mrs Eleanor Marx Aveling. If she does not learn Czech now, I am not to blame. Please give my thanks to the translator[b] with the assurance that my progress in Czech, though slow, is, I hope, none the less steady for it.

Yours,

F. Engels

[a] K. Marx, *Wage Labour and Capital*- [b] J. K. Náchodsky

Friendly greetings to Mr Heller.

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## 303

## ENGELS TO CARL HIRSCH

IN COLOGNE

London, 20 May 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear (...)[a]

You have set us a difficult task. We are to seek out 'the journalist Tollitt[b] England' as also those 'English papers' containing the relevant details about Brauweiler. [598] In the first place, the English daily press does not even mention the name *Braunweiler* in its accounts of the case. The report of a Parliamentary Committee is not, however, published until its work has been completed. So the item must doubtless have emanated from some obscure trade paper and will therefore be impossible to trace in this country. In the second place, no one here knows the journalist Tollitt, who according to some is called Pollitt. Dr Freyberger tried in vain to track him down at the NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB which has a vast number of journalists amongst its members. We have now taken further steps in order to discover the man if possible—it seems quite clear that he does not live in London or work for the *political* press; more likely he is in some trade branch—though that will take time. But it is very naive of you to expect that he would appear over there as witness on your behalf. After all, he himself says that he got into the prisons by stealth, and consequently be would at once be thrown into jug in Cologne for bribery of officials or something of the kind, and put on trial. Hofrichter's

[a] Ms. damaged — [b] reference is to James Pollitt

suggestion that he should submit to a judicial examination here is also impracticable. If, however, *he is willing,* he can swear an affidavit (a statement made on oath which, if false, carries with it all the consequences arising from perjury) before a Justice of the Peace in which he attests the statements he made before the committee. Once the document had been ratified by the German Consul, it would also be legally valid over there.

Bernstein was away from London during that week and Beer has no connections whatever in the circles in which Tollitt must be sought.

As soon as we discover anything further we shall let you know.[a] But time is damned short. *Where* did you get the item *from* ? Keep on inquiring over there until you have found out *how and through whom* it got into the German press. That would provide a clue.

Many regards.

Yours,

F. Engels

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## 304

## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY [599]

IN STUTTGART

London, 21 May 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Baron,

I should have replied at once to your letter of the 6th had not a nasty inflammation of the glands in my neck, accompanied by much pain and inevitable loss of sleep, rendered me almost wholly incapable of work during the past two weeks. But now you are to be kept waiting no longer.

At the time in question you took it upon yourselves to produce a

[a] See this volume, p. 514

*History of Socialism.* [561] Of all the people then living there was only one, I think I may say, whose collaboration was absolutely necessary, and that person was myself. I might even say that, without my help, a work of this nature cannot today be anything but incomplete and inadequate. And this you knew as well as I did. But of all those who might have been of use to you, I and I alone was the only one who was *not* invited to collaborate. So you must have had very pertinent reasons for choosing to exclude me. I am not complaining—far from it. You had a perfect right to act as you did. I merely remark on the fact.

What did pique me, however, if only for a moment, was the strange secretiveness with which you withheld from me a matter about which all the rest of the world was talking. It was only from third persons that I learned of the whole enterprise, and it was only from the printed prospectus that I learned of the general outline of the scheme, Not a word either from you or from Ede; it was as though you had a guilty conscience. At the same time all manner of people kept surreptitiously inquiring what connection I had with the thing, whether I had refused to collaborate, etc. And then at length, when silence could no longer be maintained, the good Ede got round to mentioning the subject with a sheepishness and embarrassment that would have been worthy of a worse cause—though nothing wrong had been done save for this absurd play-acting which, in the meantime, as Louise can testify, has enlivened many a dull hour for me.

Well and good. You have presented me with a fait accompli; a *History of Socialism* on which I have not collaborated. I have accepted the fact without complaint from the very start. But that fact is of your own making, nor can you do away with or ignore it, should this ever happen to suit your purpose. And neither can I do away with it. If, on mature reflection, you chose to slam the front door in my face at a time when my advice and help might have been of material use to you, please do not expect of me that I should now slink in through some little back door in order to help you out of a quandary. I must admit that, had the roles been reversed, I should have reflected for a very, very long time before coming to you with a request such as this one. [600] Is it really so terribly difficult to see that everyone must bear the consequences of his own actions? *As YOU MADE YOUR BED SO YOU MUST LIE IN IT.* If there is no room for me here, it is only because you wanted it so.

Well, that settles that. And now you would oblige me by considering this reply as irrevocable. Let us both regard the whole incident as finished

and done with. [601] Nor shall I mention it to Ede again unless he is the first to broach it.

Meanwhile I am engaged in producing another piece for the *Neue Zeit* which should gladden your heart—*Ergänzungen und Nachtäge zum* 'Kapital', *Buch II I,* No. 1: *Law of Value and Rate of Profit. Reply to the Objections of Sombart and C. Schmidt.* No. 2—the role of the Stock Exchange which has changed very considerably since Marx wrote about it in 1865—will follow later. [534] A sequel will follow if required and should time permit. The first article would have been finished had I had nothing else on my mind.

Of your book,[a] I can say that it improves the further into it one gets. To judge by the original plan, your treatment of Plato and early Christianity still leaves something to be desired. You do very much better on the medieval sects, after which you go from strength to strength; and are at your beat on the Taborites, [563] Münzer and then the Anabaptists. [562] Alongside a great many more important economic analyses of political events there are also some commonplaces which would seem to indicate a gap in your studies. I have learnt a great deal from your book which is indispensible preliminary reading for my new edition of *The Peasant War.* [235] It would seem to me to have two main faults—1. Very inadequate research into the development and role of the déclassé, almost pariah-like elements who had no place whatever in the feudal system and who were the inevitable outcome of urban development,, It is they who in all cases formed the lowest stratum of urban population in the Middle Ages—devoid of rights and set apart from village communities, craft guilds and feudal dependence. Though difficult, this should serve as your *main basis,* for by degrees, with the dissolution of the feudal bonds, these elements became the *pre*-proletariat which, in 1789, was responsible for the revolution in the faubourgs' [3] of Paris and absorbed all the outcasts of feudal and guild society. You talk of proletarians—a term which is inapt—amongst whom you comprise weavers whose importance you quite rightly stress—but you can count them among your 'proletariat' only *after,* and *in so far as,* déclassé journeymen weavers came into existence outside of the guilds. There is still much room for improvement here.

2. You have not fully grasped the position of Germany—her international economic position in so far as it is possible to speak of any such

[a] Kautsky, *Von Plato bis zu den Wiedertäufern* —[b] suburbs

thing—in the world market at the end of the fifteenth century. That position *alone* explains why the bourgeois-plebeian movement, disguised as religion, which failed in England, the Netherlands and Bohemia should, in sixteenth century Germany, have enjoyed a *certain* success—the success of its *religious trappings*—whereas the success of its bourgeois substance was reserved for the next century and for the countries, Holland and England, which had meanwhile evinced a new tendency in international trade. It is a lengthy subject which I hope to deal with *in extenso* in *The Peasant War*—would I had got to that stage!

In an attempt to remain popular your style is now that of the leader writer, now that of the dominie. This you should be able to avoid. Again, is it for Janssen's sake that you still refuse to see the pun in which Ulrich von Hütten is indulging with his *obscuri viri?* The joke lies in the fact of its meaning both—obscure or obscurantist—and that is what Hutten was *trying to* say. [602]

But that is all by the way. You and Ede have both been working on a completely new subject, and you cannot expect to attain perfection straight away. You should be glad to have produced a book that is presentable, even at this stages when it is, as it were, in its initial draft form. Now, however, you are both honour-bound not to allow the ground you have broken to lie fallow but to continue with your researches so that, in a few years' time, you will be able to bring out a new edition capable of meeting every requirement.

Someone in St Petersburg has sent me a Russian translation of your old piece on marriage and the family[a] (*Kosmos)* .[b] I don't know who did it. I shall send it to you.

Many regards from one household to the other,

Yours,

F. Engels

One more thing. I have suggested to Sorge that, when he has finished his articles on the American movement, these should be published as an off-print. [603] He is agreeable but says there will have to be a great deal of revision and many corrections and additions, for which he is unlikely

[a] K. Kautsky, *Die Entstehung der Ehe und der Familie.* In *Kosmos,* 6. Jg. 12 Bd. - [b] [Kautsky—title of work in Russan]

to have time until his summer holidays. He accepted my proposal that the thing be suggested to Dietz. Perhaps you would be so good as to ask Dietz if he would care to take it on and, if so, on what terms. The articles are the best, and the *only authentic,* stuff we have got on the American movement, and I think it most desirable that they should be preserved for readers as a consecutive whole in an off-print.

First published abridged in:
*Neue Zeit,* Bd. II , Nr. 47, 1894-95
and in full, in Russian, in:
*Istorik-Marksist,* No. 2, 1936

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for the first time

## 305

## ENGELS TO THE EDITORS OF THE *RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*[598]

IN COLOGNE

London, 22 May 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Editors,

The man has been found, is called James Pollitt, and is ready to do anything within reason. Has already supplied us with all the material to be had. The articles are in *The Hardwareman,* 11 and 18 May—stenographic reports of the sessions of the BOARD OF TRADE COMMITTEE on convict labour abroad, at which his statements were made. These are being sent to you in the original with translations of the passages relating to Braunweiler. He will further supply us with samples of the commodities produced in Braunweiler and sold over here, and also an affidavit as to the accuracy both of his statements before the Committee and of the excerpts quoted by you.

But since the material is very ample and would not lend itself to being paraphrased in a letter in such a way as to put you in a position to make full use of it in court, a personal discussion is urgently called for. This morning I therefore telegraphed Hirsch, 37 Hämergasse, Cologne: 'Most important that Hirsch, Hofrichter or lawyer come over here forthwith Engels'. [133]

It is to be hoped that someone has set off at once and will, on arrival, present himself at 41 Regent's Park Road, where he will find accommodation and thus be able to get down to work forthwith. The whole thing should be settled in twelve hours, after which he could, if necessary, leave for home.

I enclose a note of the expenses that have arisen so far and shall later let you have a full account of them.

The man who gets his London agent, S. A. Rothschild, to sell the Braunweiler products for him in this country is called Christian Abner and lives in Cologne. He would be your most important witness. He would have to be asked to declare on oath what commodities he obtains from Braunweiler and exports to England. Pollitt followed the fully laden waggons from the institution in Braunweiler to his place of business in Cologne. Abner has, in fact, had statements printed in English to the effect that he does not sell the products of convict labour, for he maintains that Braunweiler is not a prison but merely a house of correction. But such distinctions cut no ice over here.

More tomorrow, if no one has turned up by then.

Kindest regards from

Yours,

F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, 1946

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## 306

## ENGELS TO RICHARD FISCHER

### IN BERLIN

[London,] 29 May 1895

Dear Fischer,

Thanks for the package. Am not yet in a fit state to deal with it. In the meantime I would ask you to send me in addition a copy of all the articles on the Mosel wine-growers. [584] For Hofrichter of Cologne has been here

and would like to have them so as to make use of them at home.[605] He and I have therefore agreed that I should send for them and that, if unable to use all or any of them, I should let him have them, in which case he will repay you, at the *Rheinische Zeitung,* the cost of having them copied. So you are covered either way. Kindest regards.

Yours,

F.E.

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## 307

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

IN ST. PETERSBURG

London, 4 June 1895
41 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Sir,

I am rather unwell at present (though not seriously) and must confine myself to what is absolutely necessary.

I have sent to Mr. Konow the additions and alterations[606] forwarded by you and requested him to correspond direct with you, giving him your address. His address is

Andrej Konow
Augsburgerstr. 37
Berlin

Hoping soon to be able to give you better news I remain

Yours faithfully
L. K.[a]

[a] Engels' pen-name made up of Louise Kautsky's initials

First published, in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody,* No. 2. 1908 Published in English for the first time

Reproduced from the original

## 308

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

### IN LONDON

Eastbourne,[596] 18 June 1895 4 Royal Parade

Dear Ede,

Thank you for your letter—there is some improvement but, in accordance with the principles of dialectics, the positive and the negative aspects are both showing a cumulative tendency. I am stronger, eat more and with a better appetite and look very well, or so I am told; thus my general condition has improved. On the other hand, the disease as such has also shown a cumulative tendency—more tumours and hence more pain and greater difficulty in getting to sleep, etc. The thing is taking a course that is normal, if more critical and not quite so sluggish as in London. Consequently my duly acquired pathological stupidity has tended to grow worse, as has my inability to work. Today I have had another particularly bad day but now, at 5 p.m., my mind is just beginning to grow a little more lucid.

Louise, Ludwig and their little girl came down on Saturday.[a] Ludwig has to be back on duty at his London hospital on Sunday but will probably return here on the Friday or Saturday.

The Avelings are coming down on Saturday or Sunday and, perhaps, Sam Moore also. Unfortunately they will have to provide their own entertainment since, subjectively and objectively, I am a bore.

Love to Gine and the children.[b] My visitors have all gone out and I have been trying to get a little sleep.

Yours,

F.E.

[a] 15 June - [b] Bernstein's wife and her children

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## 309

## ENGELS TO BOLESLAW ANTONIJEDRZEJOWSKI

IN LONDON

Eastbourne, 28 June 1895 4 Royal Parade

Dear Comrade,

In reply to your inquiry of the 25th of this month, which has been forwarded to me here, I beg to inform you that I should have no objection at all to your translating my article in the *Commonwealth* and publishing it in the way you suggest.[607]

Yours faithfully,

F. Engels B. A. Jedrzejowski, Editor, *Przedswit*

First published, in the language of the original (German), in: *Z pola walki,* No. 4 (12), 1960

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Published in English for the first time

## 310

## ENGELS TO FILIPPO TURATI

IN MILAN[608]

[Draft]

Eastbourne, 28 June 1895
4 Royal Parade

Dear citizen Turati,

To write a summary of the three volumes of *Capital is* one of the most

difficult tasks a writer could set himself. [609] In the whole of Europe there are, in my opinion, no more than half a dozen men capable of undertaking it. Among other prerequisites one must have a profound knowledge of bourgeois political economy, and also complete mastery of the German language. Now you say that your Labriolino[a] is not very strong in the second, while his articles in *Critica Sociale*[b] prove to me that he would do better to begin by understanding the 1st volume before wishing to produce his own work on all three volumes. I do not have the legal right to prevent him from doing this, but I must wash my hands of the affair completely.

As for the other Labriola,[c] the malicious tongue which you attribute to him may have a certain justification in a country such as Italy, where the socialist party, [340] like all the other parties, has been invaded, like a plague of locusts, by that 'declassed bourgeois youth', of which Bakunin was so proud.

Result: rampant literary dilettantism which only too often lapses into sensationalism and is inevitably followed by a spirit of camaraderie dominating the press. It is not our fault that this is the state of affairs, but you are subjected to this environment, as is everyone else. I would speak at greater length about Labriola but when I find that bits and pieces from my private letters have been reproduced in the *Critica Sociale* without my knowledge, [610] you must agree that it is better if I remain silent. For the rest, after all the quarrels and controversies, the party would seem to have behaved in general at the last elections as the situation required: independent confirmation at the 1st round when that did not help the Crispinis, support for the radicals and republicans at elections where our candidates had no chance of winning. [611] Warmest greetings from Dr and Mme Aveling, who are here with me, and also from myself, to you and citizen Anna Kulishov.

Yours,

F.

Please continue to address my letters to London.

[a] Arturo Labriola - [b] Arturo Labriola, *La teoria marxista del valore e il saggio medio del profitto* and *La conclusioni postume di Marx sulla teoria del valore,* in: *Critica Sociale,* Nos. 3 and 5, February I and March 1, 1895 - [c] Antonio Labriola

First published in the language of the original, French, in: *Lo stato operaio,* No. 3, 1933

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## 311

# ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[612]

AT LE PERREUX

[Eastbourne, 29 June 1895]

If the mountain will not come to Mohammed, Mohammed must go to the mountain. If Paul will not come to Eastbourne, Eastbourne must go to him. Thus what Mohammed could not accomplish, Paul accomplishes in the twinking of an eye. Witnessed the 29th June, 1895, by the undersigned

F. Engels
Tussy
Edward
Laura

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* Second Russian Edition, Vol. 39, Moscow, 1966
Published in English for the first time

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

## 312

## ENGELS TO RICHARD FISCHER[613]

IN BERLIN

Eastbourne, 29 June 1895 4 Royal Parade

Dear Fischer,
The Mosel articles [584] have arrived safely in London.[a] Thank you. Unfortunately I can say nothing definite about completing the ms. or about the introduction which can only be done in London, since I am in no condition to do any work, nor do I know how long I shall continue to be held up by these processes which, while they may be normal at my age, are hideously slow.
The weather has been finer here than the farmers would like; at this place, in particular, there's a positive drought. Regards to your wife and children.

Yours,
F. E.

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Vol. XXIX, 1946

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Published in English for the first time

## 313

## ENGELS TO LOUISE FREYBERGER

IN LONDON

[Eastbourne,] 1 July 1895

Dear Louise,
Will you also please bring me a small bottleful of the carbolic acid solution in my bedroom? My nose is again suffering from hallucinations.

[a] See this volume, p. 515

You would also be well-advised to rig yourself and the baby out for rather chilly weather. Yesterday it was certainly not above 12 or 13 degrees Centigrade here.

With regard to E. Aveling's article [614] on the Independet Labour Party, [114] which I left in your keeping on my departure, would you please forward it to him at Green Street, Green NEAR Chislehurst, Kent. Edward and Tussy left this morning. Laura, too, intends to take the day boat from Newhaven on Wednesday morning so as to be home that same evening. So you won't be seeing her again. She sends her love. This morning it was fine, then wet, and now it's sunny again. I slept very well last night, but on Saturday evening the powders didn't have much effect, whereas yesterday they acted all the more effectively—in consequence am somewhat muzzy today, Regards to Ludwig. Love and a kiss to the little one and to yourself from

Yours

F.E.

First published in *Die Volksstimme,* No. 35, 1 September 1935

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

## 314

## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN[615]

IN LONDON

Eastbourne, 4 July 1895
4 Royal Parade

Dear Ede,

Letter received. Thanks. So far the same as always, i.e. my mood changes constantly, according to my physical condition. No question of being able to work or even deal with the most urgent correspondence. Laura left yesterday and Louise is back. Like me, she sends her love to you, the children and Gine.[a]

[a] Bernstein's wife and her children

Yours,

F.E.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives,* Book I, 1924

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Published in English for the first time

## 315

## ENGELS TO ELEANOR MARX-AVELING[616]

IN LONDON

Eastbourne, 4 July 1895
4 Royal Parade

My dear Tussy,

The Glasgow affair [617] might be a trap—maybe something else, as the people hardly will be in a position to follow the offerings seriously.

As for your translation, [618] there indeed I do pity you. Where is the poor girl to have picked up the necessary knowledge for such work!

Here everything 'as you were', as the military command says. Louise and baby and nurse came yesterday. I am much as usual, that is to say subject to all sorts of variations of temper and spirits. That will last for some time yet to come. Either Louise or myself will keep you informed of how I go on. Love to you both.

F. E.

Laura left yesterday morning as arranged.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: *Friedrich Engels 1820-1970. Referate Diskussionen, Dokumenten,* Hanover, 1971

Reproduced from the original

## 316

## ENGELS TO FILIPPO TURATI[619]

IN MILAN

Eastbourne, 4 July 1895
4 Royal Parade

Letter received.
All the best.
Goodbye.

*F. Engels*

First published, in the language of the original (Italian), in: *Filippo Turati attraverso le lettere di corrispondenti* (1880-1925), Bari, 1947

Printed according to the original

Translated from the Italian

Published in English for the first time

## 317

## ENGELS TO ANTONIO LABRIOLA

IN ROME

[Eastbourne,] before 8 July 1895

It's all of it very good, just a few small factual errors and, at the beginning, a somewhat too erudite style. I look forward keenly to seeing the rest of it. [620]

First published, in the language of the original (German), in: *La Critica. Rivista di Letteratura, Storia e Filosofia,* an XXVI, Napoli, 20 January 1938

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Published in English for the first time

318

# ENGELS TO ELEANOR MARX-AVELING

IN LONDON

Eastbourne, 9 July 1895
4 Royal Parade

My dear Tussy,

Thanks for Johnnie's[a] letter returned herewith. Of course the boy is right in sticking to the house. Edgar[b] seems a downright Normand, looking after momentary advantage. More's the pity.

Edward's reply to Glasgow is all right. [617] The solution is to be found *Labor Leader,* 6 July page 2, Keir Hardie against Edward Aveling in the *Jeunesse Socialiste.* [614] Now the noble nature of Keir Hardie shines out brilliant. While E. Aveling attacks him, Keir Hardie generously finds him a candidature, which if E. Aveling accepted, Keir Hardie could on general grounds get cancelled by the Executive Council.

I was pretty fairly going on till Sunday night, since then had two bad nights and days, maybe partly from the acceleration, by the sea air, of the processus of elimination going on in my neck, but chiefly from the decreasing effects of the anaesthetics which I now have been using daily and in increasing quantities for about eight weeks. On the other hand I have found out several weak sides of my capricious appetite and take *lait de poule*[c] with brandy, custards with stewed fruits, oysters up to nine a day etc.

Love to you both F.E.

First published in:
Marx and Engels, *Works,*
Second Russian Edition,
Vol. 39, Moscow, 1966

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[a] Jean Longuet - [b] Longuet - [c] milk egg-flip

319

# ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

Eastbourne, 23 July 1895

My dear Löhr,

To-morrow we return to London. There seems to be at last a crisis approaching in my potato field on my neck, so that the swellings may be opened and relief secured. At last! so there is hope of this long lane coming to a turning. And high time it is for with my deficient appetite, etc. I have been pulled down considerably.

The elections here have come off as I said: a large Tory majority, the Liberals hopelessly beaten and I hope in full dissolution. [345] The brag of Independent Labour Party [114] and Social Democratic Federation [44] face to face with a reality of some 82,000 votes for Labour Candidates up to now (hardly any yet to come) and the loss of K. Hardie's seat. Still that was more than they had a right to expect.

Victor Adler is here. Have you or Paul any questions to ask him about Paul's arrangement with the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* or can I be of any use in any way to you with him?

I am not in strength to write long letters, so good bye. Here's your good health in a bumper of *lait de poule*[b] fortified by a dose of cognac vieux.[c]

*Amitiés à Paul*[d]

Ever yours

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance,* t. II I, Paris, 1959

Reproduced from the original

[a] See this volume, pp. 419 - [b] milk egg-flip - [c] old brandy - [d] Regards to Paul

# SUPPLEMENT

## LETTERS

## WILL AND CODICIL OF ENGELS

Supplementary Letters

1

## ENGELS TO ARNOLD RUGE[621]

IN DRESDEN

Berlin, 19 April 1842

Dear Sir,

When, during your stay in Berlin, I had the honour of making your personal acquaintance at the Wallmüller Inn, I believe to have mentioned, in the course of our conversation about Schelling, a pamphlet on him written by me,[a] which was then being printed. I am taking leave to enclose a copy of this little work, just off the press, with the request of kindly contributing to its circulation by mentioning it in the *Jahrbücher* [622] When an occasion offers itself. I need hardly say that it is calculated for a public with roughly the educational level of a student.

Perhaps I will take the liberty of soon sending you an article for the *Jahrbücher* which, without reference to any particular recently published work, deals with the Christian poetry of the Middle Ages, notably with its central figure, Dante. This is done in the context of the perspectives opened up by Feuerbach. [623] Meanwhile I am sending you my regards and best wishes for the success of the *Jahrbücher*.

Yours faithfully,
F. Oswald[b]

First published in *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch* 3, Berlin, 1980
Published in English for the first time

Printed according to the original

[a] F. Engels, *Schelling and Revelation* -[b] Engels' pen-name

## 2

## MARX TO WILHELM SAINT-PAUL

### IN COLOGNE

[Cologne, February 1843]

Your Honour,

I am sending you this pamphlet[624] with the request to grant permission for its publication as a supplement to our newspaper.[a]

Yours faithfully,

Dr. Marx

First published in *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch* 1, Berlin, 1978
Published in English for the first time

Printed according to the original

## 3

## MARX TO FRIEDRICH KAPP[625]

### IN PARIS[626]

Cologne, 9 December [1848]

My dear Kapp,

I have exhausted all means of making the wretched dispatch office pay up. Now I would advise you to draw, in common with Dronke, and perhaps in his name, a bill for 35 thaler on the dispatch office of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* here. It will be forced to pay then. I would have sent you money long ago had I not been bled white by the shareholders lately—they knew I would pay, up to the last penny, under the present circumstances. You have no idea of the meanness of these bourgeois. Tell Dronke I appeared at the editorial office for the first time, and only for a

[a] *Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*

few minutes, in three or four days today, for a serious indisposition had kept me at home. But for this, I would already have written to him. Give him and Rosanis my warm regards.

Yours,

K. Marx

Published for the first time

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

4

## MARX TO GEORG FRIEDRICH RHEINLÄNDER[627]

IN LONDON

London, 4 March 1859
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Sir,

I am sorry you did not find me at home. I would have sought you out one of these days, had my brother-in-law from the Cape of Good Hope not been visiting with me.[a]

You will oblige me greatly by coming to have lunch with us the day after tomorrow (Sunday, 6 March) at 1 p. m. This will give us the best opportunity to talk without disturbance.

With friendly greetings,

Karl Marx

First published in facsimile in *Catalogue de la vente à l'Hôtel Drouot le 16 novembre 1983 and in Schriften aus dem Karl-Marx-Haus. Unbekanntes von Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx,* No. 33, Treves, 1986

Published from a xerox of a facsimile off-print

Published in English for the first time

[a] Johann Carl Juta

5

## MARX TO PHILIP STEPHEN KING[628]

IN LONDON

London, 7 July 1869

Dear Sir,

Please send me 1) The *Report on Emigration,* just issued, 2) ditto: *On Water Supply*

Yours truly
K. Marx

First published, in Russian, in: *Marksism i rabocheye dvizheniye XIX veka. Nekotoriye aktualniye problemy teorü i istorü,* Moscow, 1988

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

## TO AN UNKNOWN CORRESPONDENT[632]

[London, end of December 1892]

Hail to eighteen
ninety three!
Hope and joy dawn
with it newly.
Bright and happy
may it be To the
end, prays
yours most truly

F.E.

First published in:
Marx and Engels, *Works,* Second Russian Edition, Vol. 38, Moscow, 1965

Reproduced from the original

2

## TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT[633]

IN BERLIN

London, 1 July 1894]

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

We are all at 122, Regent's Park Road, drinking German beer and waiting for a telegram about the elections.

F. Lessner Ed. Bernstein F. Demuth
W Thorne Wilhelm[a] F. Engels
Marie Mendelson L. Freyberger

[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht

Otto Wittelshöfer Gine Bernstein
Stanislaw Mendelson Julius[a] Louise Freyberger

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* Second Russian Edition, Vol. 39, Moscow, 1966

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

3

## LAURA LAFARGUE TO ISAAK HOURWICH

### IN CHICAGO

[Draft]

Eastbourne, 2 July 1895
Mr. I. A. Hourwich. Chicago

Sir,

In reply to your letter dated May 18, [634] addressed to Mr. Frederick Engels, I beg to inform you that Mr. Engels has been out of health and is still at the present moment abstaining from literary work.

I am commissioned by Frederick Engels to say that he does not consider himself authorised to hand over for publication to third partner any MSS. or fragments of MSS. left by my father, Karl Marx. I am, Sir,

Yours truly
Laura Lafargue

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* Second Russian Edition, Vol. 39, Moscow, 1966

Reproduced from the original Published in English for the first time

[a] Julius Motteler

# 4

## SAMUEL MOORE TO ELEANOR MARX-AVELING

### IN LONDON

[London,] 21 July 1895[a]
2 Stone Buildings Lincoln's Inn, W. C.

My dear Tussy,

I felt very anxious to know how the General was getting on, so went down to Victoria to meet the 7:15 p.m. from Eastbourne this evening by what train Dr. Freyberger generally returns.

I met him and I am sorry to say that his report is anything but cheering; he says that the disease has attained such a hold that, considering the General's age, his state is precarious. Apart from the diseased glands of the neck there is danger either from weakness of the heart or from pneumonia—and in either of these two cases the end would be sudden. He may go on for some weeks if pneumonia does not intervene, but if it does then it will be a question of a few hours. In spite of all, however, the General is quite hopeful and is certain that he will recover—he intends, and has arranged with the 2 doctors, to return to London on Wednesday evening[b] so that if you want to see him you had better go to 41 R.P.R. on Thursday.

This is sad news and I trust the doctors may be mistaken. There is so much work to be done which the General alone is capable of doing, that his loss will be irreparable from a public point of view—to his friends it will be a calamity.

I have just time to write this in haste.

Yours very sincerely
S. Moore

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works,* Second Russian Edition, Vol. 39, Moscow, 1966

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[a] the original erroneously has: '1891' -[b] 24 July

5

# HERMANN ENGELS TO LUDWIG SIEBOLD[635]

IN SALE (CHESHIRE)

[Draft]

[London, 28 July 1895]

To L. Siebold, Esq.,
Sale, Cheshire

Dear Sir,

At the request of Mr F. Engels who is at present prevented by illness from writing in person, I am returning the enclosed letter to you.[636]

These fragments will certainly not pass muster as a *History of Chemistry,*[312] according to Mr Engels. But were you to entitle them *Researches in Magnetism* (or *Contributions to the History of Early Chemistry, Fragments by the late C. Schorlemmer,* or something of that kind) you would not have to get anyone to edit or finish off the work. If the worst comes to the worst, you will have to have recourse to a journal which specialises in the history of chemistry.

In sending you these views of Mr Engels at the latter's behest, I remain, etc.

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Will and Codicil of
FREDERICK ENGELS

1

# ENGELS' WILL

29 JULY 1893

I *Frederick Engels* of 122 Regent's Park Road, London, hereby revoke all former Wills [629] made by me and declare this to be my last Will. I appoint my friends Samuel Moore of Lincolns Inn, [630] Barrister at Law, Edward Bernstein of 50 Highgate Road, London, journalist, and Louise Kautsky who now resides with me at 122 Regent's Park Road Executors of this my Will and I bequeath to each of them the sum of £250=(two hundred and fifty pounds) for his or her trouble. *I bequeath* to my brother Hermann the oil portrait of my Father[a] now in my possession and in case my said brother should predecease me I bequeath the same to his son Hermann. *I bequeath* all the furniture and other effects in or about or appropriated for my dwelling-house at the time of my death other than money or securities for money and except what I otherwise dispose of by this my Will or by any Codicil thereto to the said Louise Kautsky. *I bequeath* to August Bebel of Berlin in the German Empire, Member of the German Reichstag, and Paul Singer of Berlin, aforesaid Member of the German Reichstag, jointly the sum of £1000 upon trust to be applied by them and the survivor of them in furthering the election to the German Reichstag of such persons at such time or times and in such place or places as the said August Bebel and Paul Singer or the survivor of them shall in their or his absolute discretion think fit. *I bequeath* to my Niece Mary Ellen Rosher, Wife of Percy White Rosher of The Firs Brading Road, Ryde, Agent and Accountant, the sum of £3000. *I direct* that all manuscripts of a literary nature in the handwriting of my deceased friend Karl Marx and all family letters written by or addressed to him which shall be in my possession or control at the time of my death shall be given

[a] Friedrich Engels

by my Executors to Eleanor Marx-Aveling of 7 Gray's Inn Square W. C, the younger daughter of the said Karl Marx. *I bequeath* all books in my possession or control at the time of my death and all my copyrights to the said August Bebel and Paul Singer. *I bequeath* all manuscripts in my possession or control at the time of my death (except the said literary manuscripts of Karl Marx) and all letters (except the said family letters of Karl Marx) to the said August Bebel and Edward Bernstein. As to the residue of my estate *I direct* it to be divided into eight equal parts. *I bequeath* three of such parts to Laura Lafargue of Le Perreux near Paris France, the elder daughter of the said Karl Marx and the Wife of Paul Lafargue, Member of the Chamber of Deputies of France. *I bequeath* other three of such parts to the said Eleanor Marx-Aveling and the remaining two parts of the said residue I bequeath to the said Louise Kautsky. I authorise my Executors at any time or times at their discretion to allot and transfer any part of my Estate in its then actual state of investment or condition in or towards satisfaction of any legacy or any share in the said residue of my Estate with power for that purpose conclusively to determine the value of my said Estate or any part or parts thereof in such manner as they shall think fit. In *WITNESS* whereof I the said Frederick Engels, have to this my Will set my hand this 29th day of July 1893.

Frederick Engels

Signed by the said Testator as his last Will in the presence of us present at the same time who in his presence and in the presence of each other have hereunto subscribed our names as witnesses.

Frederick Lessner, 12, Fitzroy Street,
Fitzroy Sq. W C.

Ludwig Freyberger M.D.L.R.C.P. 11,
Gower Street, Bedford Sq. W.C.

# 2

## ENGELS' LETTER TO THE EXECUTORS OF HIS WILL

14 November 1894[631]

To the Executors named in my Will

1) The following lines are supplementary and explanatory to my will. They express merely what are my wishes and are in no way *legally* binding upon my Executors. On the contrary, wherever they should be found to clash with the legal meaning of my will, they are to be disregarded.

2) My distinct wish is that my body be cremated and my ashes thrown into the sea at the first opportunity.

3) Immediately after my death I desire a copy of my will to be forwarded to my brother Hermann Engels, Barmen, or in case of his death to Hermann Engels junior, Engelskirchen, near Cologne.

4) Unless Sam Moore is in England at the time of my death, and can attend at once to his executorship, Bernstein and Louise will have to act without his assistance. In that case and even if Sam Moore should not be in London but somewhere in England, I recommend them to make a copy of my will *for their own use* and hand the original to Crosse and Sons solicitors, 7 Lancaster Place, Strand, to get it proved and to legally assist my executors. These latters will have to attend at once to the following points:

a) To ascertain from Mess. Cross what steps they must take to obtain as soon as possible the full control of my balance at the Union Bank of London Limited Regent Street Branch and the right to dispose of such parts of my investments as may have to be sold to defray current expenses.

b) To ascertain the value of my estate. My furniture, books etc. will have to be valued. Mess. Cross will attend to that. The value of my investments in stocks, shares etc. at the time of my death can be calculated from the official stock and Share List with which my Stockbrokers Mess. Clayton and Aston, 4 Tarnhouse buildings, Tolmhouse Yard, E. C, will supply my executors.

a) As Messrs Cross will tell my executors, the various legacies in money made in my will are not to be paid in the full nominal amount but are subject to deduction of the share of death duties appertaining to each of them.

5) There will be found in my books various sums of money paid for a good many years back by me to Laura and Paul Lafargue, Percy and Ellen Rosher, Edward and Eleanor Marx-Aveling. These sums, as I wish to state expressly, do not represent loans owing to me, but are *and always were free gift, on my part.* They are therefore not to be claimed in any shape or form.

6) In part-payment of the legacy left by me to Ellen Rosher, there is to be used by my executors the Reversion of certain funds payable to Percy Rosher after the death of his father and mother and which I bought from the said Percy Rosher. I desire it to be charged to Ellen Rosher at what it cost me, namely £250 paid to Percy Rosher and £30—solicitors' expenses incurred on account of this transaction, in all £280-.

7) I desire to supplement my will by the following details as to the disposal of papers left by me, viz;

a) All papers in Karl Marx's handwriting (except his letters to me) and all letters addressed to him (except those written by me to him) are to be restored to Eleanor Marx-Aveling as the legal representative of Karl Marx's heirs.

b) All letters written to me by Percy and Ellen Rosher, Laura and Paul Lafargue, Edward and Eleanor Marx-Aveling, or by my relations in Barmen and Engelskirchen, or by the Beust family in Zürich are to be restored to the writers thereof.

That is all, I believe, I have to say.

London 14 November 1894

Frederick Engels

P. S. It is understood that the honorarium or royalties paid by Sonnenshein for *Capital* and for my *Condition of the Working Class are* to be paid as heretofore the first to the heirs of Marx and the translators (1/5 to Laura, 1/5 to Tussy, 1/5 to Jenny's children, 6/25 to Sam Moore, 4/25 to Ed. Aveling) and the second in full to Florence Kelley.

# CODICIL OF 26 JULY 1895

I Frederick Engels of 41 Regent's Park Road London formerly of 122 Regent's Park Road aforesaid declare this to be a first Codicil which I make this 26th day of July 1895 to my Will which is dated the 29th day of July 1893. 1 revoke the bequest made in my said Will of the sum of £3,000 to my Niece Mary Ellen Rosher the Wife of Percy White Rosher and in lieu thereof I bequeath to her the sum of £2,230. And I also bequeath to her the Reversionary Interest of the said Percy White Rosher in certain monies to which he is or was entitled expectant on the death of his parents under their Marriage Settlement which said Reversionary Interest I have bought from him for the sum of £240 and which also cost me £30 for legal expenses making £270 in all. I direct that all money payments made by me without receiving a consideration for the same to Percy White Rosher, Mary Ellen Rosher his Wife, Paul Lafargue, Laura Lafargue his Wife, Doctor Edward Aveling, Eleanor Marx his Wife, Eugene Oswald and Frederick Lessner or to any of them shall be considered as free gifts to them respectively. And I bequeath the same accordingly. I bequeath to Doctor Ludwig Freyberger of 41 Regent's Park Road London as an acknowledgment and in consideration of the unremitting care with which he has for years professionally attended me without ever accepting any remuneration the sum of £80 for every complete year elapsed from the 1st day of July 1893 down to the date of my death and also the sum of £50 for the fraction of a year however small which may have elapsed from the 1st day of July preceding my death down to the day of my death and I make this bequest conditional on his making no claim against me or my Estate for his professional Services.

I empower and direct my Executors before they dispose in open market of the Lease of my house No. 41 Regent's Park Road aforesaid to give to Louise Freyberger referred to in my said Will as Louise Kautsky and who is now the Wife of the said Doctor Freyberger the option of taking an assignment of the said Lease subject to the payment of the rent and the performance of the Covenants therein, she indemnifying my Estate and Executors against all claims by the Lessor under the said Lease the said option to be exercised by Notice in writing to any of my Executors other than the said Louise Freyberger within one month of my death. Whereas by my said Will I have directed that all family letters written by or addressed to Karl Marx which shall be in my possession or control

at the time of my death shall be given by my Executors to Eleanor Marx Aveling, now I hereby revoke the said direction as to family letters, and in lieu, thereof I direct that all letters written by or addressed to the said Karl Marx (except my letters to him and his letters to me) which shall be, in my possession or control at the time of my death shall be given by my Executors to the said Eleanor Marx Aveling who is the legal personal Representative of the said Karl Marx and I further direct by this Codicil that all letters in my possession at the time of my death written by my relatives in Barmen and Engelskirchen by Percy W. Rosher or Ellen his Wife, by Paul Lafargue or Laura his Wife, by Doctor Edward Aveling or Eleanor Marx his Wife, by Doctor Ludwig Freyberger or Louise his Wife and by the Beust family in Zurich be returned by my Executors to the respective writers thereof and accordingly I hereby revoke the bequest in my said Will to August Bebel and Edward Bernstein of all letters (except the said family letters of Karl Marx) and in lieu thereof I bequeath to the said August Bebel and Edward Bernstein all letters (except those directed to be given by this Codicil to the said Eleanor Marx Aveling and except those otherwise disposed of by this Codicil). And subject as aforesaid I confirm my said Will. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand the day and year first above written.

Signed and Declared by the above
named Frederick Engels as a Codicil to his last
Will in the presence of us both present at the same Frederick Engels
time who in his presence and in the
presence of each other have hereunto
set our hands as witnesses

Ada Pearce Nurse 41 Regents Park Road
S. Nichols Nichols 41 Regents Park Road Cook

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# NOTES

1. Probably another part of a Gobelin tapestry from the study of Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz. Ludwig Kugelmann had sent two parts of this tapestry to Karl Marx on his birthday, 8 May 1870.
2. In his letter of 28 September 1892 Ludwig Kugelmann informed Engels he had three copies of *Herr Vogt* which had been sent to him for custody on a commission from Karl Marx. Kugelmann expressed the desire to have them sent to Engels so that the latter could dispose of them at his discretion.
3. The rough copy of this letter written in Engels' own hand is still available. Louise Kautsky copied the rough notes of the letter. Engels wrote in the word *'hochachtungsvoll'* (with kind respects) and added his signature. The texts of the original letter and of the rough notes are identical.
4. Working on the book *Handbuch des socialismus,* Hugo Lindemann and Carl Stegmann requested Engels in their letter to clarify 'certain moot points' and, if possible, grant them some journals not available in the British Museum.
5. Addressing the 10th Congress of the French Workers' Party on 25 September 1892 in Marseille (see Note 11) as a representative of German Social-Democracy, Wilhelm Liebknecht said the following, partly on the outcome of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 and partly on the seizure of Alsace-Lorraine by Germany: '... the matter would be settled without any trouble once the social and democratic Republic was established on both sides of the Rhine.' This statement triggered rabid attacks in the French bourgeois press against the Socialists. Thus, in its editorial note of September 28 titled 'Herr Liebknecht', the newspaper *La France* urged his immediate expulsion from France. Meanwhile, Lucien Millevoye, deputy for the Nord in the Chamber of Deputies, asked the Minister of the Interior: 'Following the example of Mr. Liebknecht, does the government of the Republic intend to tolerate that foreigners should come to France in order to arouse hatred and contempt for the French nation?'
6. *Boulangism*—a movement that emerged in France in the mid-1880s; named so after its leader, General Georges Boulanger, the War Minister in 1886-87. This movement

expressed the views of reactionary chauvinism. Appealing to the injured national pride of the French in connection with the loss of Alsace-Lorraine in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, the Boulangists succeeded for some time in enlisting significant popular support in their cause and in influencing the army rank and file. Capitalising on popular discontent with the domestic policies of the bourgeois Republicans, the Boulangists were preparing a coup d'etat to restore the monarchy in France. Yet the Boulangist movement suffered a fiasco due to steps taken by the Republican government with the backing of progressive forces, and its leaders fled from France.

7. On 9 September 1870 the Prussian authorities arrested members of the Brunswick-based Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany which was its steering body (Wilhelm Bracke, Leonhard von Bonhorst, Samuel Spier, Hermann August Kühn and Heinrich Gralle). These men were deported to the fortress of Boyen (Lötzen) in East Prussia. The arrest came as a result of the promulgation of the Party's Manifesto on 5 September 1870 *{Manifest des Ausschusses der Sozial-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei. An alle deutschen Arbeiter !*—Brunswick, den 5. September 1870) calling for protest meetings against the plans of the Prussian ruling circles to annex Alsace-Lorraine. Included in the text of the Manifesto were excerpts from the letter by Marx and Engels to the Committee in reply to its request to clarify their opinion on the attitude of the German proletariat to the Franco-Prussian War that had just begun (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 260-262). However, the names of the authors were not indicated therein—it was said in the Manifesto that the text was written by 'one of our oldest and most respected comrades in London'. On 23 November 1871 the Committee members appeared before the district court on charges of breaking the public order laws and affiliation with the International Working Men's Association. The court sentenced the accused to prison terms ranging from 5 to 16 months. The sentence was commuted on appeal to 3 months, including the period of preliminary detention; it meant that they were virtually acquitted.

8. Addressing a Reichstag session on 27 July 1870, August Bebel supported the Reichstag's refusal to vote for credits to finance the war against France. On 26 November 1870, when the German Reichstag took up this issue again, Bebel and Liebknecht demanded that credits be refused and peace with the French Republic promptly concluded without annexations. On 28 November the entire Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag, together with Bebel and Liebknecht, voted against the granting of war credits. After the Reichstag session closed on 17 December Bebel, Liebknecht and Hepner were arrested and charged with high treason.

9. All the required materials mentioned in the letter were handed over to Paul Lafargue through Engels. But since Lafargue's planned statement in the Chamber of Deputies never took place, Lafargue used them subsequently in his pamphlet *La Démocratie Socialiste Allemande devant l'histoire* which came from the press in Lille in 1893. It bore the following imprint (after the Preface and the Afterword): *Conseil national du Parti ouvrier.* J. Guesde, P. Lafargue.

10. The miners' strike at Carmaux (Southern France) which continued from mid-August to early November 1892. The strike action was caused by the dismissal of one of the miners, Calvignac, the head of the local union, who had been elected to the post of town mayor. The workers demanded that the managers of the mine revoke their decision and, this demand having been refused, went on strike. This stoppage became political in character. The governments arbitration actually sanctioned the decision of the mine management. The French Workers' Party came out in support of the strike action; a country-wide fund-

raising campaign was launched. Eventually the strikers succeeded in getting Calvignac and other participants in the action reinstated.

11. Marseille was the venue of the 10th Congress of the French Workers' Party which contin ued in session from 24 to 28 September 1892. The Congress considered the party's situa tion and its activities, its work in country districts, the celebration of May Day, its partici pation in the International Socialist Congress of 1893 at Zurich, its participation in the forthcoming parliamentary election, among other issues. The Congress worked out an agrarian programme—its critical analysis is contained in Engels' work *The Peasant Question in France and Germany* (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 481-502). The Congress also passed a decision not to participate in the International Congress on an Eight-Hour Working Day convened by the British Trades-Unions but to invite their representatives to the International Socialist Working Men's Congress at Zurich.

    The French Workers' Party *{Le Parti ouvrier français)* was set up by Marx's followers— Jules Guesde and his supporters—by the decision of the Workers' Congress held in Marseille in 1879; this Congress endorsed the Party Rules. In 1880 Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue drew up the Workers' Party Programme, with Karl Marx taking part in framing its theoretical chapter. In November 1880 a Workers' Congress in Le Havre adopted the Party Programme by a majority vote whereby the French Workers' Party took shape.

12. A reference to August Bebel's article 'Ein internationaler Kongress für den Achtstundentag' carried by *Die Neue Zeit,* Bd. 1, Nr. 2, Stuttgart, 1892-93. In his letter to A. Bebel of 26 September 1892, Engels requested 12 copies of the article for circulation in British newspapers (see present edition, Vol. 49, pp. 485-89).

13. Late in 1884 Bismarck, in a bid to intensify Germany's colonial policies, urged the Reichstag to approve annual subsidies for steamship companies with the aim of organising regular voyages to East Asia, Australia and Africa. This demand caused a split within the Social-Democratic faction in the Reichstag. The Left wing with August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht at the head spoke out against support for the government's demand. The Right-wing majority in the faction (J.H.W Dietz, P. Frohme, G. Grillenberger) intended to vote for the subsidies on the pretext of furthering international ties.

    The Right-wing stand was condemned by the party's rank and file and its central organ, the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat.* As a result, the majority of the faction was compelled to modify their attitude to the government motion during Reichstag debates in March 1885 by making its 'yes' votes conditional on passage by the Reichstag of some of the proposals of the faction (in particular, the demand that ships for these lines be built only at German yards). Only after these demands had been turned down by the Reichstag did all the members of the Social-Democratic faction vote against.

14. In his book *Der Klassenkampf in der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (Zurich, 1892, p. 48), Hans Müller, representing *Die Jungen* (see Note 129) cited W. Liebknecht's speech in the Reichstag on 31 May 1881.

15- The *Anti-Socialist Law (The Exceptional Law Against the Socialists)* was introduced by the Bismarck government on a majority vote cast in the Reichstag, on 21 October 1878 to combat the socialist and workers' movement. It banned all party and mass workers' organisations, and the socialist and workers' press, and sanctioned confiscation of socialist literature and persecution of Social-Democrats. Nevertheless, the Social-Democratic Party, in accordance with Constitution preserved its group in the Reichstag. Assisted by Marx and Engels, the Party was able to overcome both the reformist and anarchist tendencies within its ranks and expand its base among the popular masses by a skilful combination of legal and illegal methods of work. Under pressure from the mass workers' movement, the Anti-

Socialist Law was abrogated on 1 October 1890. For Engels' assessment of the Law, see his article 'Bismarck and the German Working Men's Party' (Vol. 24, pp. 407-09).

16. The Independent Socialists Union was founded in Berlin on 8 November 1891 by representatives of a semi-anarchist opposition group better known as The Young *{Die Jungen)* that was formed within the Social-Democratic Party of Germany in 1890 (see Note 129). Separate groups of 'Independent Socialists' sprung up also in other towns—in Magdeburg, Wiesbaden, Fürth, and Freiburg (Baden-Würtemberg). The newspaper *Der Sozialist,* published from 1891 to 1899, was the Union's mouthpiece. The 'Independents' opposed any participation of Socialists in the parliament (Reichstag) and other institutions of the bourgeois state; they scoffed at the political struggle of the working class and overrated the significance of direct action so-called, or 'revolutionary mass action'. By the latter they meant work stoppages, boycotts and sabotage, as well as work at the grass-roots level in trade union locals. There was a good deal of infighting between the 'Independent Socialists' and the Anarchists—mainly for the newspaper *Der Sozialist.* The controversy between the two factions concerned above all the model of a society of the future and ways of achieving it. Eventually the anarchists got the upper hand in the summer of 1893, a victory that caused the Union's disintegration and demise in the spring of 1894.

17. Engels wrote this letter on a postcard. It also has the address in Engels' handwriting: Herrn Dr. L. Kugelmann, Warmbüchenstr. 20.I. Hannover, Germany.

18. The letter of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels to the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party. Only a fragment of it is preserved, one included in the text of the Brunswick Committee Manifesto (see Note 7).

19. In his first speech in the Chamber of Deputies on 8 December 1891 P. Lafargue validated the substance of his motion to grant a general pardon for political prisoners. His speech was repeatedly interrupted by hecklers from among the bourgeois deputies. The Chamber defeated Lafargue's motion.

20. Blanquists (*les blanquistes)*—supporters of Louis A. Blanqui who, after leaving the Workers' Party *{Le Parti français ouvrier,* see Note 11), set up an organisation of their own, the Central Revolutionary Committee (*Comité Révolutionnaire Central)* in 1880. After Blanqui's death in 1881, E. Vaillant, E. Eudes and E. Granger came into the Committee's leadership. The Blanquists upheld the slogan of a general strike and advocated the independence of labour unions from the party. They opted for political struggle at the expense of economic struggle. During Boulangism (see Note 6) the Blanquists broke into two factions; one with Edouard Vaillant at the head came out against General Boulanger and thus made common cause with the Workers' Party, while the other (E. Granger, E. Roche), having cooperated with the Boulangists, walked out of the Central Revolutionary Committee and fell apart soon after.

21. *Allemanists {les allemanistes)*—supporters of the French socialist Jean Allemane. After a split in the Possibilist Party (see Note 30), the Allemanists formed a Revolutionary-Socialist Workers' Party *{Le Parti ouvrier socialiste-révolutionnaire)* in October 1890; this party existed up to 1905. Considering economic struggle above the political one and opposing excessive parliamentarism, the Allemanists concentrated their efforts on propaganda work in labour unions *{les syndicats)* and assigned the political party of the proletariat but a secondary role. A significant part of their activity was devoted to campaigns to win seats at municipal councils.

22. Engels alludes to W Liebknechts speeches at rallies in Mannheim, Karlsruhe, Frankfurt a.M. and Offenbach on 2-4 October 1892 in which he reported on his trip as a represen-

tative of the German Social-Democracy to the Congress of the French Workers' Party in Marseille (see Note 11).

23. The Congress of the National Federation of Labour Unions (*Congrès national des syndicats)* was held in Marseille on 19-23 September 1892. Besides other issues (the organisational set-up of the labour-union movement, a general strike, May Day celebrations, female and child labour in industry), it discussed the decision of the Glasgow-held congress of the British trades-unions to convene an international congress on 1 May 1893 on the issue of an eight-hour working day (see Note 24).

    The French syndicats, meeting in Marseille, decided not to take part in the congress convened by the British trades-unions; instead, it was decided to invite their representatives to the International Socialist Congress in Zurich.

24. Engels means British Trades-Union Congress which was in session in Glasgow on 5-10 September 1892. The Congress considered worker representation in Parliament, cooperation, factory inspection, among other issues, and came out for an eight-hour working day. The British trades-unions refused to accept the invitation to the International Socialist Congress which was to be convened in Zurich in the summer of 1893 but decided to hold a parallel international congress in London on the struggle for an eight-hour working day. Qualifying this decision as an attempt to split the international working-class movement, Engels sent letters to German and French socialists and asked them to speak out against the plan of the British trades-unions. Engels also addressed the socialist parties of Spain and Austria.

25. This letter has never been found.

26. Engels refers to Ludwig Schorlemmer's letter of 9 October 1892 in which he told Engels about the intention of Richard Anschütz to write Carl Schorlemmer's biography and asked what Engels thought of that.

27. In keeping with the decision of the Second International Socialist Working Men's Congress held in Brussels on 16-22 August 1891 (see Note 228), the worker and socialist organisations of Switzerland, beginning January 1892, launched preparations for the next congress due in Zurich in the summer of 1893. They set up an Organising Committee which included representatives of the Social-Democratic Party, of the Grütli Union (founded in 1838 as an enlightenment alliance of artisans and workmen, it adhered to reformist positions) and of the trade-union amalgamation. In February 1892, the Organising Committee issued an appeal to the working men of all lands saying that it began its activities and urging them to send in suggestions concerning the congress agenda.

28. The Parliamentary Committee—the executive body of the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain that met in Manchester in 1868 and united the country's unions. As of 1871 the Parliamentary Committee was elected at annual congresses of the British trades-unions and, in fact, was their steering body in between the congresses. It nominated candidates to Parliament, supported draft bills tabled in the interests of the trades unions and worked to prepare regular trades-union congresses.

29. Labour bourses *{bourses du travail)* was the name given in France to worker associations set up beginning with the latter half of the 1880s largely at the municipal councils of major towns and comprising representatives of various syndicats (labour unions). Such *bourses du travail* were initially supported by government bodies and subsidised by them; thereby the government hoped to use these bourses as a 'tool of social appeasement'. Yet the activity of the labour bourses (labour exchanges) engaged in job placement of the unemployed (each bourse had a special department in charge of that), in the organising of new *syndicats* in the

professional training of workers, and in strike action soon caused apprehension among the government, and it started combatting their further proliferation. The Saint-Etienne Congress of 1892 formed a federation of *bourses du travail* in which the Possibilists soon came to play a leading part (see Note 30). The Paris *Bourse du travail* was opened on 3 February 1887. Using armed force, the French government seized the Paris Bourse on 7 July 1892 and expelled labour union representatives. It closed the Bourse on the pretext that this body had ostensibly been prohibited by the law. The Bourse remained closed until 1896.

30. Possibilists, or Broussists—a reformist trend in the French Socialist movement which, in the 1880s through the early 20th century, was headed by P. Brousse and B. Malon who caused a split in the French Workers' Party (1882) and formed an independent party, The Workers' Party of Socialist-Revolutionaries (*Le Parti ouvrier socialiste-révolutionnaire).* It abided by the theory of municipal socialism as the mainstream idea. The Possibilists proclaimed a 'policy of possibilities' (*la politique des possibilitées)* as their principle. At the turn of the 20th century they joined the French Socialist Party.

31. In his letter of 10 October 1892 Victor Adler told Engels that the Austrian trades unions would 'undoubtedly' adopt a decision to stay away from the International Congress convened by the British trades unions. The text of the resolution, he said, 'had already been prepared'. In this connection he asked Engels to give him the address of the Parliamentary Committee to which he intended to send the text of the resolution.

32. Engels refers to V. Adler's German translation of the first volume of the book by Sergei Kravchinsky (alias Stepniak) *The Russian Peasantry. Their Agrarian Condition, Social Life and Religion* that was published in English in 1888 by Swan Sonnenschein & Co. In his letter of 22 September 1892 Adler asked Engels to approach Stepniak so as to obtain formal permission from S. Sonnenschein to publish the German translation of the book, and pay the royalties due to the author and the publisher. Stepniak read the German edition and wrote a brief preface. The book appeared in Stuttgart in 1893 under the title *Der Russische Bauer* (Dietz Publishers).

33. In his preface to Volume II I of *Das Kapital* (written in October 1894), Engels noted that Part V presented 'the chief obstacle in preparing it for the press' (Division of profit into interest and entrepreneural income. Capital yielding interest). Engels completed the bulk of this work in the spring of 1893 (see present edition, Vol. 37. pp. 8-9).

34. Engels alludes to the issue of militarism discussed at the Second International Socialist Working Men's Congress in Brussels in 1891 (see Note 228).

35. The full text of this letter was first published in English in: F. Engels and Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence,* Vol. 3, 1891-1895. Moscow, 1963.

36. Engels refers to L. Millevoye's statement in the Chamber of Deputies on 29 October 1892 with a question concerning W. Liebknechts speech of 25 September 1892 in Marseille (see Note 5). P. Lafargue did not attend that session. Millevoye thus broke his promise to Lafargue not to speak up before his (Lafargue's) return from Carmaux.

37. The French Workers' Party (see Note 11) was not in a position to send its delegate to the Berlin congress of the German Social-Democratic Party (see Note 51). Instead, it sent a message of greetings signed by Guesde and Lafargue.

38. Engels means the colonial war unleashed by France against the West African state of Dahomey in 1890. In the latter half of November 1892 French troops captured the country's capital. In 1893 Dahomey became a French colony ruled by a governor-general. In the

course of this colonial expedition the French forces were the first to use artillery shells containing the powerful explosive, melinite.

39. On 2 November 1892 the newspaper *Le Figaro* (No. 307) carried an interview with John Burns, an activist in the British working-class movement and an MP. His interviewer was Jules Huret, a French journalist who, from 1 August 1892, had published a series of articles under the general heading 'La question sociale—théoriciens et chefs de sectes'. J. Burns was reported as saying that as an adherent of gradual reforms, he could not agree with the continental Socialists in their idea of a violent revolution; in his opinion, Britain had less of the antagonism between working men and capitalists than France.

40. Engels wrote this letter on a postcard which likewise bears the address inscribed with his own hand: F.A. Sorge, Esq., *Hoboken, N.J., U.S. America.*

41. In that letter Sergei Kravchinsky (alias, Stepniak) said he had sent to V. Adler the materials for the German edition of his book *The Russian Peasantry. Their Agrarian Condition, Social Life and Religion* (see Note 32).

42. Engels probably means the proposal of the Solingen party organisation to the Berlin congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (see Note 51) to limit the mandates of Social-Democratic deputies to the Reichstag to 2 or 3 years in order to secure a rotation of elected deputies. Besides, the party local proposed to expel Georg Schumacher from the Reichstag's Social-Democratic parliamentary group. These proposals, together with amendments to the agenda tabled by other party locals, were published by the *Berliner Volksblatt Vorwärts* (No. 259) on 4 November 1892.

43. *Fabians*—members of the Fabian Society founded in 1884 by democratic-minded intellectuals. It was named after the Roman general of 3d century B.C., Quintus Fabias Maximus, surnamed Cunctator ('the delayer') because of his cautious tactics in the war against Hannibal. The Fabian Society included such prominent members as Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Bernard Shaw, H. Bland, among others. Its local organisations drew support from industrial workers who were attracted by a sharp critique of the capitalist order contained in Fabian publications. However, except in 1892, when it attracted a number of otherwise 'homeless' working-class socialists, the number of actual 'practising' workers (i.e., non-official trade-union members) never exceeded 10 per cent of the identifiable membership, and perhaps even less if the total numbers were counted. Rejecting the possibility of a revolutionary transformation of bourgeois society, the Fabians thought it was possible to shift from capitalism to socialism by implementing reforms within the framework of so-called municipal socialism. In 1900 the Fabian Society joined the Labour Party.

44. *Social Democratic Federation*—a British socialist organisation set up in August 1884 on the basis of the bourgeois-radical Democratic Federation; it united heterogeneous socialist elements, predominantly intellectuals and a section of politically active workers. The Federation stated in its programme that the entire wealth of the nation should belong to Labour, its only source. It also set as its aim a socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and came out for a society of 'emancipated labour'. That was Britain's first socialist programme based mainly on Marxist ideas. The leadership of the Federation was in the hands of Henry Hyndman, prone to authoritarian methods of guidance, and his supporters who did not deem it necessary to conduct work in the trades unions, a stance that inevitably led to isolation of the organisation from the working-class masses. A group of Socialists within the Federation (Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling, William Morris, Tom Mann and others) opposed Hyndman and championed closer ties with the working-class movement. The differences on tactical issues and interna-

tional cooperation resulted in a split and the formation of an independent organisation— The Socialist League (see Note 136).

45. Apparently a reference to K. Kautsky's article 'Der Parteitag und der Staatssozialismus' published by the journal *Die Neue Zeit,* Bd. I, No. 7, 1892-93, S. 210-221, immediately after G. Vollmar's article 'Zur Streitfrage über den Staatssozialismus'.

46. In his letter dated 18 October 1892, A. Bebel told Engels about his suggestion of having a new central Party weekly, *Der Sozialdemokrat,* instead of the unprofitable *Die Berliner Volks-Tribüne.* This issue was resolved in 1893 at a party congress in Cologne. The weekly was being published from 3 February 1894 to December 1895 under the name *Der Sozialdemokrat. Wochenblatt der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands;* its editor was M. Schippel.

47. Engels paraphrases the epigram *C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre* ('It's magnificent, but it's not warfare') ascribed to the French general (subsequently, marshal) Pierre Bosquet. He was said to have uttered this phrase during the Crimean War of 1853-56. The words applied to the reckless bravery of the English 'Charge of Light Brigade' at the Battle of Balaklava.

48. *Le Socialiste. Organe Central du Parti Ouvrier*—it was planned to make this French Workers' weekly a daily publication. Engels was watching closely the course of negotiations of which he had learned from Laura and Paul Lafargue. Yet this plan did not come off.

49. From 6 August to 24 December 1892 the German Social-Democratic newspaper *Die Berliner Volks- Tribüne* was publishing (in its supplement) a series of articles by the Swiss Socialist Louis Héritier under the general title 'Die Juraföderation und Michael Bakunin; the author's name was indicated only in the final article. Proceeding from Bakuninist principles, the author gave a slanted picture of the history of the First International in Switzerland and vindicated the divisive activities of the Bakuninists in particular, of the anarchist Jura Federation which, at its congress in La Chaux-de-Fonds held between 4 and 6 April 1870, had broken away from the International sections in Roman Switzerland. In addition, the articles contained numerous innuendoes about the activity of the General Council, Marx and his associates, specifically, about Johann Philipp Becker. Thus, it was claimed without any ground whatever that the London Conference of the First International (1871) had been held in Marx's house. The tenth article, published on 12 November 1892, contained particularly numerous distortions. Engels therefore decided to speak out and refute the insinuations without waiting for the end of the series. He sent his statement, together with the present letter, to August Bebel for delivery to the editorial board of *Die Berliner Volks-Tribüne.* The newspaper published Engels' statement on 19 November 1892 (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 344-46). On 24 December 1892 L. Héritier offered his reply, which was published together with his final article. As in his letter to Engels of 15 December 1892, Héritier tried to rebut the accusations. See also Engels' letters: to Héritier of 20 January 1893 and to Kautsky of 25 March 1895 (see this volume, pp. 85-6, 481).

50. On 14 November 1892 British Socialists held a rally in London's Trafalgar Square to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the 'Bloody Sunday' of 13 November 1887, when a socialist meeting culminated in clashes with the police. Several hundred demonstrators received injuries (three, fatal injuries), and some organisers were arrested.

    Louise Kautsky's account, which Engels mentions in his letter, was published without any title by *Die Arbeiter Zeitung {no.* 49) on 2 December 1892.

51. The Berlin Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany took place on 14-21 November 1892. It heard the reports of the Party's Executive and of its Reichstag group, and discussed issues related to May Day celebrations in 1893, as well as the economic crisis and its consequences, the boycott tactics, the attitude to anti-Semitism, etc. After lengthy debates the Congress adopted a resolution that contained a negative attitude to state socialism (see Note 84). The delegates also rejected the invitation to an International Congress that was to be convened in Glasgow by decision of the British Trades-Union congress (see Note 24) and came out for participation in the International Socialist Working-Men's Congress in Zurich in 1893.

52. The Berlin Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party (see Note 51) also discussed the issue of the newspaper *Vorwärts,* the Party's central organ, whose editor was Wilhelm Liebknecht. He became the target of sharp criticism by Party members who objected to the allegedly high salary he was receiving for editing the *Vorwärts* and for his nonchalance, as it was claimed, in discharging that responsibility.

53. Engels refers to the proposal of the Executive of the German Social-Democratic Party and of the Party's parliamentary group in the Reichstag to the Berlin Party Congress (see Note 51) to purchase all the newly established Social-Democratic newspapers and turn them into official organs of the Party. The Congress turned down this proposal.

54. The International Socialist Working-Men's Congress held in Brussels in 1891 (see Note 228) adopted a resolution which recommended, wherever it was possible, to combine May Day celebrations with work stoppages. All the delegates, including those from Germany, voted for this resolution, even though during the discussion on this issue the British and the German delegations had insisted on this action being held on the first Sunday of May. The Berlin Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party (see Note 51) passed a decision to celebrate May Day 1893 on the evening of May 1 and refrain from general work stoppages owing to the bad economic situation in the country.

55. In his address to the Berlin congress of the German Social-Democratic Party on 17 November 1892, A. Bebel vindicated the proposal to hold 1893 May Day celebrations in Germany without staging work stoppages on May 1. V. Adler, who was attending the Congress as a representative of the Austrian socialists, opposed this proposal in a speech he made the same day.

56. Engels means the Third International Socialist Working-Men's Congress due at Zurich in 1893 (see Note 229).

57. At the bottom of this letter was a hand-drawn picture of a theatre stage. Engels signed his name just where the proscenium was depicted.

58. Engels refers to the characters of the Grimm brothers' fairy-tale *Sieben Schwaben.*

59. An allusion to George Bernard Shaw's letter to A. Bebel of 29 May 1892 which Engels had copied. This letter was published in a supplement to Volume 49 of the present edition, p. 563; in it Shaw pointed to the need of an alliance between the Socialists and the Liberals in the election campaign. The only chance for the Socialists to win the election, he wrote to Bebel, was 'to force the Liberals to accept our men as their party candidates'. According to Shaw, the Fabians were 'compelled' to force their candidates on the Liberals, or otherwise 'at every election' they would 'suffer defeat and disgrace'.

    In his letter to Kautsky on 4 September 1892, Engels analysed the Fabian electoral tactics and the causes of the defeat of the Fabian candidates on the Liberal list during the 1892 elections, (see present edition, Vol. 49, p. 514).

60. The Panama affair—a shady transaction connected with the bribery of French statesmen, government officials and the press by the Panama Canal joint-stock company set up in France in 1880 at the at the initiative of Ferdinand de Lesseps for building a canal across of the isthmus of Panama. In December 1888 the company declared its insolvency which caused the ruin of small-time shareholders and numerous bankruptcies. This scandal compelled the French authorities to start an investigation. On 19 November 1892 the Monarchists tabled three questions on the Panama crash in the Chamber of Deputies which on 21 November elected a Commission of Inquiry of 33 with M. Henri Brisson, a Radical, as chairman. The Commission obtained irrefutable evidence implicating a number of high-ranking officials, e.g., the former French premier CL. de Freycinet and others who had been bribed by the Lesseps company which wanted to conceal its true financial situation and embezzlements. French justice hushed up the affair by going no further than condemning F. Lesseps and a number of his cat's-paws (see Note 157). 'Panama' became a byword for major dealings in which government officials were implicated.

61. Engels means the pronouncements of Emile de Girardin, a French bourgeois journalist and editor of the newspaper *La Presse,* in 1846-47 with sensational charges levelled at some figures of the July monarchy and the Guizot ministry whom he accused of corruption (the selling of peerage, bribery of the press, etc.); these statements fomented a crisis which culminated in the Revolution of 1848. For details, see Engels' article *The Decline and Approaching Fall of Guizot.—Position of the French Bourgeoisie* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 213-19).

62. This refers to the London German Workers' Educational Society. Founded in 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll, Heinrich Bauer and other activists of the League of the Just. In 1847 and 1849-50 Marx and Engels took part in the work of the Society. With the foundation of the First International it joined the International Working-Men's Association. The London Educational Society continued in existence under different names until 1918 when it was closed by the British government.

63. A reference to the soirée arranged on 17 November 1892 by the Social-Democrats of Berlin for delegates of the Party Congress (see Note 51).

64. Engels wrote this letter in two languages, English and Spanish.

65. The envelope of this letter exists on which Engels wrote the address: An das sozialdemokratische Parteisekretariat, Katzbachstr. 9, *Berlin S. W,* Germany.

66. Engels wrote this facetious letter in reply to the birthday greetings sent to him on behalf of the Secretariat of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany by Ignaz Auer and Richard Fischer on 27 November 1892. Jakob Bamberger made a postscript to the message and joined in the greetings on Engels' 72nd birthday.

*67.* Apparently an allusion to Louise Kautsky's cooperation with the Vienna-published newspaper *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung.*

In his letter to Laura Lafargue of 2 October 1891 (see present edition, Vol. 49, p. 251) on the forthcoming release of the newspaper's first number, Engels described it 'a hyaena paper'. The epithet 'hyaena is from Schiller's poem *The Song of the Bell m* which the poet compares revolutionary women to hyenas.

68. *Ultramontanes*—the Italian party of the Roman Catholic Church favouring the doctrine of papal supremacy and the Pope's right to interfere in the secular affairs of any state.

69. On 21 November 1892 Paul Stumpf greeted Engels on his 72nd birthday and three days later, on 24 November, sent him as a birthday gift a special issue of the newspaper *Mainzer*

*Journal which* came from the press on 23 November 1892; it had the following dedication: 'Unserem Papa zum 72sten Geburtstage' ('To our Papa on his 72nd birthday'). The number dealt with the returns of an election to the municipal council of Mainz which brought a significant victory for the Social-Democrats.

70. Engels refers to events in Mainz during its occupation by the French revolutionary army in October 1792 - July 1793 when the French military authorities set up a provisional administration there. The Mainz democrats formed a *Society of Equality and Freedom Friends* ( *The Mainz Club).* The Rhineland-German National Convent elected in February 1793 deposed the Kurfürst (Elector) and proclaimed Mainz and adjacent districts a republic which joined France in March 1793. The decree of the French National Convent of 15 December 1792 abolished feudal dependence privileges of the nobility and clergy; also, the Mainz Republic was to pay an indemnity to France. In July 1793, after a siege of many months, Mainz was overrun by Prussian troops which restored the Kurfürst back in power and the old body politic.

71. *Centre*—a political party of German Roman Catholics formed in 1870-71 as a result of unification between the Catholic factions in the Prussian Landtag and the German Reichstag (the seats of their deputies used to be in the centre of the assembly hall). The Centre Party would take an intermediate stand, as a rule, by manoeuvering between the parties that backed the government and the Left-wing opposition groups of the Reichstag. It rallied under the banner of Catholicism the socially heterogenous strata of the clergy, the landed aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, that part of the peasantry predominantly in small and medium-sized states, as well as Roman Catholic working men in Western and South-Western Germany. The Centrists, while being in opposition to the Bismarck government, voted nonetheless for its anti-labour and anti-Socialist enactments. Engels gave a detailed analysis of the Centre in his work *The Role of Force in History* (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 453-511) and in the article *What's Next? (see* present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 7-11). Since in 1893 the Centre Party had 196 seats in the Reichstag out of 397, it could play a decisive role in the event of differences among other parties.

72. *The Brimstone Gang (Die Schwefelbande)*—the name of a student's association at Jena University in the 1770s; its members were notorious for their brawls. In his work *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung. Stenographischer Bericht, Dokumente und Erläunterungen,* Geneva, 1859, K. Vogt, a German petty-bourgeois democrat, called Marx and his supporters "The Brimstone Gang". Marx responded with the lampoon *Herr Vogt* which came out in London in December 1860 (see present edition, Vol. 17).

73. In October 1890 Karl Liebknecht began a course in law at Berlin University. He completed this course in March 1893 and, after passing an examination in October 1893, obtained the rank of a *Referender* (a low-rank official in Germany, usually a lawyer, on probation at court of law or government office).

74. 'In Geldfragen hört die Gemütlichkeit auf (literally, 'In money matters there is no room for sentiments'—'Where money begins, benevolence ends'). Engels cites the phrase from a statement from one of the leaders of the Rhineland liberal bourgeoisie and Prussian Finance Minister David Hansemann at a session of the first United Landtag of Prussia on 8 June 1847.

75. The Ems dispatch—a report on the results of negotiations held between the Prussian King William I and the French Ambassador M. Benedetti in the town of Ems concerning the candidacy of Prince Leopold Hohenzollern to the Spanish throne; this dispatch was sent to Bismarck on 13 July 1870. William I declined the demand of the French side that Prussia

desist from Hohenzollern's claim to the Spanish throne. Being in receipt of this epistle, Bismarck abridged the text in such a way that it acquired a stridently insulting connotation for France and, then and there, passed it on for publication in all German news agencies. The promulgation of the Ems dispatch in that form was a public insult to France and served as an immediate pretext for the Franco-Prussian War. The fraud came to light only many years after the event.

In the summer of 1891 W. Liebknecht published the pamphlet *Die Emser Depesche oder wie Kriege gemacht werden* in Nuremberg, in which he collected sundry documents on this episode and exposed Bismarck's bellicose policies. In October 1892 Bismarck actually admitted the deception. 'It is so easy... completely to alter the meaning of a speech, without forgery, but by simple omission', he said in an interview. 'I once tried this myself, as editor of the Ems telegram... The King sent it to me with the order to publish it either in whole or in part, and after I had edited it to my taste, by cancelling and condensation, Moltke, who was with me, exclaimed, "A few minutes ago it was a *charade;* now it is a fanfare."'

76. An allusion to the draft law tabled in the Reichstag on 23 November 1892 by the War Minister Werd and the General Staff Chief Waldersee providing for an increase in the numerical strength of the German armed forces within the next seven years. The mean annual strength of this army was fixed at 492,068; it was proposed to introduce a two-year term of service in the Infantry, which could increase the war machine's throughput by 30 per cent. The planned increase in the strength of the land forces exceeded all the previous increments, as of 1874, combined. It was planned to compensate the significant growth in the war expenditures by raising taxes on consumer goods. This elicited widespread discontent among the popular masses and with some bourgeois political parties as well. On 6 May 1893 the Reichstag majority rejected the draft bill of the government. The same day the Kaiser dissolved the Reichstag two years ahead of time. After a new election, in June 1893, a similar draft law was endorsed by the Reichstag.

77. Engels probably means the intention of W. Gladstone's Liberal Government in Britain to grant Home Rule for Ireland (see Note 171). The decision to table a draft bill to this effect was largely due to conditions attending the formation of the Gladstone cabinet after parliamentary elections in the summer of 1892 when the Liberals could form the government only with the the backing of the Irish deputies. The Home Rule Bill was introduced in February 1893 and, after heated debates and agitation throughout the spring and summer, was adopted by the Commons but turned down by the House of Lords, as had been the case in 1886.

78. This is in reply to Charles Bonnier's letter to Engels of 2 December 1892 in which he protested against the decision of the Berlin Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party (see Note 51) to refrain from work stoppages on 1 May 1893 and have May Day celebrations on the evening of the same day.

79. In a letter addressed to Engels on 2 December 1892 Charles Bonnier agreed that in Britain May Day celebrations were to be held on the first Sunday of May, as it had been in 1890 and 1891 (see also Engels' article *May 4 in London;* present edition. Vol. 27, pp. 61-67).

80. A. Bebel's article 'Die Maifeier und ihre Bedeutung' published by the journal *Die Neue Zeit,* Bd. 1, No. 14, Stuttgart, 1892-93.

81. The attitude to the Austrian Social-Democrats which Engels expressed in this letter was further elaborated in his message of greetings to Austrian working men on May Day 1893 (see present edition, Vol. 27).

82. In his letter of 22 November 1892 A. Bebel wrote the following about what Engels had thought of the Social-Democratic party press: 'If you mean the nationalisation *(Verstaatlichung)* of our press, you must be utterly misinformed. All the newspapers without exception are independent, including those that are getting money from us. We never sought to exert pressure even in cases when it was absolutely necessary in the Party's interests.'

83. A. Bebel's article 'Der Parteitag der deutschen Sozialdemokratie' published by the journal *Die Neue Zeit,* Bd. 1, No. 10, Stuttgart, 1892-93. It dealt with the work of the Berlin Congress (see Note 51) and stressed, in particular, the significance of the decision to hold 1893 May Day celebrations in Germany on the evening of May 1.

84. The reference is to the resolution of the Berlin Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party (see Note 51) condemning state socialism. Proposed by W. Liebknect and G. Vollmar, the resolution was adopted by the Congress on 18 November 1892.

85. Because of the drop in circulation of the journal *Die Neue Zeit,* J.H.W. Dietz suggested certain changes in its content and periodicity. Thus, the arts and current politics sections were to be expanded at the expense of the theoretical part.

86. *Radicals*—in the 1880s-1890s, a parliamentary group in France that used to belong to the party of moderate Republicans (the 'Opportunists'). The Radicals relied chiefly on the petty bourgeoisie and, to some extent, on the middle bourgeoisie; they supported certain bourgeois-democratic demands like a unicameral parliament, separation of the Church from the state, a progressive income tax, limitation of the working day and other social issues. The Radicals were led by G. Clemenceau. Officially the group became known as the Republican Radical and Radical-Socialist Party (Parti républicain radical et radical-socialiste), formed in 1901.

87. *Opportunists*—a party of moderate bourgeois Republicans which emerged after the 1881 split in the Republican Party and the formation of the left-wing Radical Party with Georges Clemenceau as its head (see Note 86). This name was introduced in 1877 by the journalist Henri Rochefort who coined it from the words of L. Gambetta, the leader of the 'Moderates', that reforms should be implemented 'at an opportune time' *('en temps opportun).*

88. An extract from P. Lafargue's letter to Engels was published by the newspaper *Vorwärts* (No. 286) on 6 December 1892 without the author's name being indicated. Appended to the text was an editor's note: 'Man schreibt uns aus Paris über den Panama-Skandal'.

89. The Fourth International Glass Workers' Congress took place in London on 5-9 July 1892. An account of its proceedings was released in a separate edition the same year: *The Fourth Report of the International Union of Glass Workers and Report of the Third International Congress,* London, 1892.

90. On 27 November 1892 the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag cabled a message of greetings to Engels on the occasion of his birthday. On behalf of the group the telegram was signed by August Bebel, Heinrich Meister and Paul Singer.

91. A reference to a journal on the issues of social and economic history—*Die Zeitschrift fur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* published by S. Bauer, C. Grünberg, L.M. Hartmann and E. Szanto. The journal appeared from 1893 to 1900 in Leipzig, Freiburg and Weimar.

92. Engels sent Kautsky his article A Newly-Discovered Case of Group Marriage' (see present edition, Vol. 27) for publication in the journal *Die Neue Zeit.* Its subject-matter drew on a

publication in the Russian-language newspaper *Pycckue Begomocmu* (No. 284, 14 October 1892) dealing with findings of the Russian ethnographer L. Sternberg who had been studying the life and society of the Sakhalin *Gilyaki,* a small ethnic group otherwise known as the *Nivkhi* (Nivkhs). In his article Engels cited the text of the original almost verbatim, with only a few deviations.

93. On 24 November 1892 P. Lafargue wrote to Engels: 'From the international standpoint Bebel behaves himself but very poorly by permitting Liebknecht, to put himself right. Their alliance is impossible for the German party'.

94. An allusion to the 'Free Theatres' trend in the *fin-de-siècle* West European art. The 'Free Theatres' expressed the protest of progressive actors and playwrights against the conservatism of the state-run stage, its isolation from life and the contemporary art, against censorship, etc. Such theatres appeared in major European cities in the late 1880s and early 1890s.

95. This letter, written by Louise Kautsky at the request of Engels, was in reply to Ellenbogens letter of 2 December 1892 in which he said he had sent Engels his pamphlet on the history of the Workers' Educational Society in one of Vienna's districts. Ellenbogen added he was sending a copy from the first edition that had been confiscated by the Austrian police.

    The envelope of the former letter has the address inscribed on it: *'Dr. W. Ellenbogen.* IX Bergstrasse 18. *Vienna.* Austria' ....

96. The envelope of this letter has likewise been preserved, with the inscription written by Engels: 'Monsieur Pierre Lavroff, 328, rue St. Jacques, *Paris,* France'.

97. In his letter of 12 December 1892 P. Lavrov asked for permission to publish H. Lopatin's letter of 20 September 1883 to M. Oshanina, member of the Executive of the illegal Russian Revolutionary organisation ('People's Freedom'). In it Lopatin gave the gist of his talk with Engels in London on 19 September 1883 concerning the prospects of a revolution in Russia.

    An excerpt from this letter was published in Geneva in March 1893 in the book *Foundations of Theoretical Socialism as Applied to Russia;* see also present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 591-93.

98. Engels described these events in his letters to P. Lafargue of 31 January and 6 February 1891, and to F. Sorge of 11 February 1891 and 4 March 1891; see present edition, Vol. 49, pp. 115, 121, 125, 137.

99. On 13 December 1892 A. Bebel made a long speech in the Reichstag criticising the draft military law tabled by the government (see Note 76).

    *The Heinze Law*—a package of laws against prostitution, drafted in the wake of the 1891-92 trial of a Heinze, a pimp, accused of murder and burglary. The Heinze Law, tabled in the Reichstag in 1891 and envisaging heavier penalties for pandering, pimping and propagation of pornographic literature, was adopted after long debates only in 1900.

    Speaking during the Heinze Law debates in the Reichstag on 15 December 1892, A. Bebel attacked the bigotry and hypocrisy of the then acting German laws on prostitution. The Bebel speech was published in a supplement to *Vorwärts* (No. 295) on 16 December 1892.

100. In 1888 the Panama Canal Company (see Note 60), assisted by the bribed Chamber deputies and acting in circumvention of the French laws forbidding lotteries, gained permission to issue lottery-loan bonds.

101. Engels sent this letter to A. Bebel (together with a letter addressed to Bebel personally, not available today) who, at Engels' request, sent it to K. Kautsky.

102. Engels refers to *The Theories of Surplus Value* which were a component part of the 1861-63 manuscript of the second preliminary variant of *Das Kapital* (see present edition, Vols. 30-34). In 1889-90 Engels gave a part of *The Theories of Surplus Value* to Kautsky for deciphering. He thus hoped to get assistance in preparing the MS for the press and in coaching expert editors and publishers of the Marxian manuscripts. Engels did not live to see the publication of *The Theories of Surplus Value* as Volume IV of *Das Kapital.* It was K. Kautsky who published them in 1905-10. *The Theories of Surplus Value were* also published in *The Complete Works of Marx and Engels* in the languages of the original (MEGA, Abteilung II , Bd. 3, Teile 2-4, Berlin).

103. A fragment of this letter was first published in English in: *The Labour Monthly,* L., 1934, No. 10.

104. Engels refers to a scandal that broke out in 1892 over the bankruptcy of the building society 'Liberator' and its affiliated banks and building societies. It was stated that upwards of seven million sterling had been invested in these undertakings, chiefly by the working and poorer trades classes.

105. L. Baare, a German industrialist and director of the Bochum Steel Company, was taken to court for tax evasion and other machinations. The issue of rifles (nearly half a million) supplied to the German army by the Jewish firm Löwe & Co. was on the Reichstag agenda in 1892. That same year Hermann Ahlwardt's anti-Semitic pamphlet *Neue Enthüllungen. Judenflingen* came off the press in Dresden. It accused Isidor Löwe, an arms manufacturer, of supplying faulty rifles to the German army. The owners of the firm sued the author for libel. In December 1892 Ahlwardt was found guilty on libel charges and sentenced to five months in prison.

106. Engels means flagrant abuses in the activity of the Banca Romana which came to light during debates held in the Italian Parliament in December 1892-January 1893. Implicated in these shady dealings were statesmen, MPs, lawyers, journalists and private individuals. The scandalous affair came to be known as *Panamino,* a hint at the Panama Company fraud. The debates were sparked off by a statement of one of the deputies, Napoleone Colajanni. Engels responded by the article 'The Italian Panama' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 356-60) published in the newspaper *Vorwärts* in February 1893. For more detail about the Panama sobriquet, see Note 60.

107. The editors of the present edition do not have at their disposal the original of Engels' letter to Karl Henckell. The phrase quoted here came from the notes on the poem 'The Steam-King' by E.P Mead, an English workman and poet; these verses were published in a collection of revolutionary poetry, *Das Buch der Freiheit,* published in Berlin in December 1893. This edition was sponsored by the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag. In the course of his work K. Henckell asked Engels on 2 November 1892 for verses and songs that could be included into the collection and also for the texts of his letters to be sent to the English poets Swinburne and W. Morris. Engels must have responded favourably to Henckell's request. Besides the verses of Swinburne, Morris, Goethe, Heine, Schiller, Byron, Mickiewicz and the Russian poets Pushkin, Ryleyev and Nekrasov, the anthology included the poem 'The Steam-King' which Engels had translated into German (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 474-77) and the old Danish folk song 'Herr Tidman', also translated by Engels (see present edition, Vol. 20 pp. 34-35).

108. A. Labriola's translation of *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* into Italian was not published at that time; the Italian edition of this work in Pompeo Bettini's translation was released in Milan in 1893 by the journal *Critica Sociale* Publishers. Engels wrote a special preface to that edition—'To the Italian Reader', translated by Turati (see present edition, Vol. 27). The booklet also included the prefaces published in the fourth German edition of *The Manifesto* that came out in London in 1890—the publication that Engels mentions in his letter. AtTurati's request, Engels sent it to him in January 1893.

109. August Bebel was visiting Engels in London as guest on 3-10 January 1893.

110. Engels wrote the following lines on a postcard. He also wrote the address: Mrs. Mendelson 27, Stonor Road, West Kensington, W.

111. Maria Mendelson, a Polish socialist, told Engels about the arrest in France on 7 January 1893 of Polish emigres accused of plotting to assassinate the Russian Czar Alexander II I. Engels' article exposing the collaboration of the French and Russian police 'On the Latest Caper of the Paris Police' (see present edition, Vol. 27), was published anonymously by the newspaper Vorwärts (No. 11) on 13 January 1893 in the section *Politische II bersicht.* The following editorial note was attached to the article: 'We are getting word from most competent quarters about the escapade of the Paris police that we reported yesterday'.

112. After Carl Schorlemmer's death on 27 June 1892 his friends and associates intended to set up a Schorlemmer laboratory at Victoria University in Manchester. Their plans were realised.

113. An abridged version of this letter in English was first published in: *The Labour Monthly,* L., 1934, No. 12.

114. *The Independent Labour Party* was founded by leaders of the new trades unions at the Bradford Conference on 13-14 January 1893 in a situation characterised by the mounting strike action and the movement for a greater say of the British working class in politics. This party was headed by Keir Hardie. In its programme the Independent Labour Party championed collective ownership of the means of production, an eight-hour day, prohibition of child labour, social insurance, unemployment allowances, among other demands. The party leadership focused on parliamentary forms of struggle in its practical activities. In 1900 the Independent Labour Party joined the Labour Party.

115. The Hague (Fifth) Congress of the First International held on 2-7 September 1872. It was in fact the last congress of the First International. Its work was directed by Marx and Engels.

116. Engels means the Left Wing of the British Conservative Party in which the industrial bourgeoisie and intellectuals (men-of-letters, lawyers, etc.) were represented. The Conservative Left-Wingers came forward with a demagogic programme of social reforms in a bid to win working men's votes during election campaigns.

117. In this letter Sorge wrote to Engels that a few days before, the editor of *Die New Yorker Volkszeitung,* Friedrich Schlüter, had been visited by a group of Polish emigres who wished to learn about the newspaper's stand on an uprising which allegedly was to take place in Poland.

There was a welcome ceremony at Kronstadt in July 1891 for a French naval squadron to demonstrate a rapprochement between tsarist Russia and France. The two countries, meanwhile, were holding diplomatic negotiations which, in August 1891, terminated in the signing of an agreement whereby France and Russia undertook the commitment to consult each other on foreign policy issues and to come to terms on steps which both governments were to take in case of the threat of an attack on either. Further talks led to the signing of

a Franco-Russian military convention in August 1892 which envisaged joint military operations if either side was attacked. This convention was an important landmark toward a Franco-Riussian alliance which was sealed with the ratification of the convention by both governments on 27 December 1893—4 January 1894. Seeking to enlist Poland's support in the event of a war with Russia, the German ruling quarters took steps in the early 1890s to soften the German policies in the western Polish lands under German jurisdiction, specifically by relaxing the police surveillance over Polish national societies, by making concessions in teaching the Polish language at school, and so on.

118. A reference to the London Conference of the First International on 17-23 September 1871. Convened under the conditions of vicious reprisals on the International and its members after the defeat of the Paris Commune of 1871, this forum had a relatively narrow representation; taking part were 22 delegates with casting votes and 10 with consultative voices. Countries that were unable to send their delegates were represented by correspondent secretaries. Marx represented Germany, and Engels Italy. Nine closed sessions were held all in all. No communiqués were released on the proceedings. The resolutions of the Conference were published only in November and December 1871. One of the resolutions, 'On the Political Action of the Working Class', outlined the fundamental principle of the international working-class movement—the need for setting up an independent proletarian party. The keynote of the Conference was the struggle of Marx, Engels and their followers against the Bakunin trend as epitomised by the Jura Federation (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 423-31).

119. An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: Marx, K., Engels, F. *Selected Correspondence.* M., F.L.P.H., 1955.

120. In the 1885 parliamentary debates on the budget, the Irish MPs headed by Ch. S. Parnell, who were dissatisfied with the policy of the Gladstone cabinet toward Ireland, joined hands with the Conservatives and forced the Gladstone government to resign. The Salisbury Conservative Cabinet that came to power lasted only six months. The parliamentary election of December 1885 gave no decisive margin to any of the contesting parties. With the Liberals gaining a few more seats in Parliament, Gladstone was able to form a new cabinet, this time with the backing of the Irish deputies. As the new cabinet head, Gladstone tabled two bills in 1886—on the Irish agrarian legislation and on Home Rule (see Note 171), both favourable to Ireland. In the 1892 election Gladstone formed an alliance with the Irish MPs again and, in 1893, tabled a second draft of the Home Rule; but neither the first nor the second bill succeeded.

121. This addendum to Article 69 of the Criminal Code was suggested by Victor Rintelen, a centrist deputy, in Reichstag debates (15 December 1892) on its amendment.

122. Reptiles, the reptilian press—an expression that gained wide currency after Bismarck's speech in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies on 30 January 1869, when he used the word 'reptiles' to denigrate opponents of the government. The Left-Wing press, taking up this epithet, applied it to the semi-official press bribed by the Bismarck government and to journalists working for it.

123. Engels alludes to a three percent interest loan which France agreed to grant Russia in September 1891 to a sum of 125 million gold roubles (or 500 million francs). The loan was a great success initially, with the sum of 125 million being surpassed seven-and-a-half-fold during the subscription. But then, because of the dramatic fall in the rate of Russian securities at European exchanges as a result of the 1891 famine in Russia and the country's worsening economic situation, subscribers refused to accept the bonds. In a bid to prevent a

total crash, the Russian government was compelled to buy up a portion of the bonds. As a consequence, bonds worth only 96 million roubles were sold.

124. Engels uttered this idea in his article 'The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 11-49).

125. After the death in January 1892 of the Turkish Viceroy (Khedive) of Egypt, Tewfik, his successor Khedive Abbas Hilmi II made an attempt to steer a policy independent of Great Britain. However, in January 1893 the British Consul General in Egypt, Lord Cromer, intervened after Abbas Hilmi II had replaced his prime-minister and, though the French government demanded the Khedive's independence, forced the viceroy to discard the first candidate and appoint another person in his stead. This move strengthened British dominion over Egypt.

126. *The Triple Alliance*—a military and political bloc of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy against France and Russia. This alliance took its final shape in 1882 after Italy had acceded to the Austro-German military alliance concluded in 1879. The Triple Alliance Treaty was signed for a term of five years; it was prolonged in 1887 and 1891 and then automatically extended (in 1902 and in 1912). The Triple Alliance set the stage for division of Europe into two major groups of states hostile to one another and ultimately led to the World War of 1914-18.

127. Engels refers to the outcome of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 sealed by the decisions of the Berlin International Congress (13 June - 13 July 1878) which involved representatives of Russia, Britain, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, Germany as well as France and Italy. The Congress made significant changes in the terms of the preliminary San Stefano Peace Treaty (of 3 March 1878) between Russia and Turkey which fortified Russia's positions in the Balkans.

128. Engels means the speech of Franz Tutzauer, a Social-Democrat, in the Reichstag on 21 January 1893 during the first reading of the draft law on enterprises selling their merchandise on an instalment plan (the text of the speech was published by the newspaper *Vorwärts* on 22 January 1893). The speaker, who owned a small furniture-dealing shop, defended the rights of shop owners; in particular, their right to recover debts from defaulters, the working people as a rule.

129. *Die Jungen* (The Young Ones)—a semi-anarchist opposition group in German Social-Democracy formed in the spring and summer of 1890. It was led by former university students: young literati and editors of party newspapers (hence the name), as well as trade-union and party leaders from local organisations. The opposition drew support from Social-Democratic Party members among industrial workers and craftsmen. The leaders of the Young Ones were Paul Ernst, Paul Kampffmeyer, Hans Müller, Bruno Wille, Wilhelm Werner, Carl Wildberger and others. Ignoring the new realities obtained for the Party's activity with the abrogation of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 15), the Young Ones opposed the Party's parliamentary activities as not radical enough and were making demagogic attacks on the Party and its Executive Board *{der Vorstand);* thus, they accused it of political corruption, opportunism and violation of the Party democracy. In October 1891 the leaders of the Young Ones were expelled from the Party.

130. In his letter to Engels on 5 January 1893 K. Kautsky said he was going to write a detailed biography of Karl Marx for the forthcoming tenth anniversary of Marx's death. He was to proceed from the materials at his disposal—the article of Engels 'Karl Marx' (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 183-95; pp. 463-81), W Liebknechts article about Karl Marx and G.

Gross' book *Karl Marx* (Liepzig, 1885); Kautsky asked Engels for advice about additonal materials for the biography. Evidently Kautsky was unable to carry out the work.

131. In this letter, dated 5 January 1893, Kautsky approached Eleanor Marx-Aveling through Engels with a request to write reminiscences about Marx for the journal *Die Neue Zeit.* This request was apparently not granted.

132. In his letter to Engels on 5 January 1893 K. Kautsky enclosed a Rio de Janeiro-published newspaper with an article on the Brazilian Workers' Party and its programme; the name of this newspaper has not been determined.

133. The whereabouts of the cable is unkown.

134. Applying the German word *'Gründungen* to Menotti Garibaldi, Engels hints at his entrepreneurial activities in the early 1870s. *Grundertum,* a period of 'prosperity' in Germany in 1871-73. It was made possible to a large extent by the war reparations of five thousand million francs and the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine under the terms of the Frankfurt Peace Treaty (1871) which concluded the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71.

135. Engels wrote this letter on a postcard to the following address penned with his own hand: Sig. Filippo Turati, Portici Galleria V.E. 23, *Milano,* Italy.

136. Engels means The Socialist League's programme document—*The Manifesto of the Socialist League* (see *The Commonweal* No. 1, February 1885). This organisation was founded in Britain in December 1885 by a group of Socialists who had left the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 44). *The Manifesto* proclaimed in part that its members '... seek a change in the basis of Society... which would destroy the distinction of classes and nationalities'. The Socialist League pursued the following objectives: setting up a national and international socialist party; gaining political power by electing Socialists to local government bodies; assisting the trade-union and cooperative movements. In the inital years of its existence the League was actively involved in the working-class movement, However, after 1887 its leadership split into several factions, and there surfaced strong sectarian tendencies, with many members leaving the ranks. In 1895 the Socialist League actually ceased to exist.

137. The *Gazeta Robotnicza,* which Maria Mendelson sent to Engels, carried a statement of Polish Social-Democrats about Marcin Kasprzak's expulsion from the Party for the embezzlement of Party funds, abuse of trust and suspicious links with the police. Besides, the newspaper published a statement of Berlin Socialists who urged breaking off ties with Kasprzak. Subsequently Marcin Kasprzak proved the slanderous nature of such accusations and took an active part in the revolutionary movement. In 1905 the Central Committee of the Polish Social-Democratic Party adopted an official decision clearing him from imputation.

138. In her letter to Engels on 5 February 1893 Maria Mendelson spoke about the anti-Semitic and anti-Polish sentiments among Russian university students and army officers in Moscow and St. Petersburg.

139. An abridged version of this letter was first published in English in the book: Marx, K., Engels, F., *Letters on 'Capital'.* London: New Park Publications, 1983.

140. Vladimir Shmuilov, a Russian émigré and Socialist, told Engels in his letter of 4 February 1893 that acting on the request of Pavlenkov, the St. Petersburg publisher of the series *Biographies of Illustrious Men,* he intended to write a detailed biography of K. Marx, from 6 to 8 signatures large. Shmuilov asked Engels for assitance in collecting materials on three

subjects: 1) biography proper, 2) the practical activities of Marx, specifically, in 1847-49 and in the period of the First International, and 3) the genesis of Marxism. Shmuilov asked Engels to send him a copy of *The Holy Family,* written jointly by Marx and Engels, or recapitulate its substance and send excerpts from its most essential parts. Shmuilov said that if he did not succeed in having this book published in Russia, he would have it printed abroad. However, Shmuilov apparently did not succeed in his undertaking.

141. Beginning with 1845 Marx and Engels propagated their views among German workmen resident in Brussels. For this purpose they set up a German Workers' Society in August 1847, where Marx read his lecture on political economy (*Wage Labour and Capital,* see present edition, Vol. 9, pp. 197-228). The Society remained active until the Revolution of 1848.

    *The Communist League*—the first German and international communist organisation of the proletariat formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847. Concerning the history of this organisation, see Engels' article 'On the History of the Communist League' (present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 312-330).

142. Marx undertook his first systematic study into the surplus value problem in his MS of 1857-58: *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* (Rohentwurf) which consituted the basis of the 1859-published *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (first instalment). His further studies in this field are contained in the 1861-63 MS conceived as a second instalment of the *Outlines* (see present edition, vols. 28-29 and 30-34).

143. In the course of the Reichstag deliberations in late January 1893 on the state budget for 1893-94, the bourgeois deputies hurled accusation at the Social-Democrats to the effect that they allegedly wanted no more than foment popular discontent but were unable to say how they envisioned a socialist state of the future. Responding in his two parliamentary speeches on 3 and 6 February 1893, August Bebel laid down the fundamental socialist principles. He sought to capitalise on the widespread discontent and the inability of the imperial government to combat the gathering economic depression. For several days this issue was the subject of debates in the Reichstag, an occasion which the Social-Democratic deputies used to articulate their ideas. Speaking on 7 February, A. Stoecker, representing the Right Wing, said that after W. Liebknechts speech he would make no statement as he had originally intended and suggested that the debates be terminated. The discussion ended therewith.

144. Speaking in the Reichstag on 4 February 1893, with a critique of the Centrist Catholic Party, K. Frohme, a Social-Democratic deputy, cited the medieval scholastic philosopher Thomas Aquinas so as to prove that the Church had always encouraged serfdom. In his reply speech F. Hitze, a deputy representing the Centre Party, said the quoted passage did not belong to Thomas Aquinas but was taken from Aristotle's treatise *Politics* to which Thomas Aquinas had written a commentary.

145. The personages from the pamphlet of E. Richter, the leader of the German Party of'Free-Thinkers': *Sozialdemokratische Zukunftsbilder. Frei nach Bebel,* Berlin 1891. This lampoon was directed against German Social-Democracy.

146. Writing to Engels on 31 January 1893, A. Bebel suggested that tsarist Russia, by entering into an alliance with France, pursued the aim of a joint war against Germany without, however, involving other European states and Turkey into it. In the case of Germany's defeat, he said, France would obtain the left bank of the Rhine, while Russia would be able to consolidate its influence in the Balkans.

147. The reference is to the annexation by Prussia after its victory in the war against Austria (1866), of the Hesse-Cassel (Kurhesse) Kurfürstentum which had sided with Austria. In that war, Prussia annexed other lands as well.

148. In the Battle of *Spichern* (Lorraine), one of the first major engagements in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, Prussian troops defeated French forces. This battle was fought on 6 August 1870.

149. *The German Party of Free Thinkers (Die Deutsche Freisinnige Partei)* was formed in 1884 with the merger of the progressist *Fortschrittspartei* and the National-Liberal Left Wing. One of the Freisinniges leaders was Eugen Richter, a Reichstag deputy. Expressing the interests of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, the Party was in opposition to the Bismarck government. In 1893 the Party split into two factions (see Note 223).

150. Below Engels cites the (German) translation of the article 'Lomza janvier 1893' (from the French) which appeared in the February issue of the newspaper *Przedswit* of the Polish Socialist Party, in its feature *Z Kraju i o Kraju;* the original heading of the article was 'Z Lomzynskiego w Styczniu 1893, Russo-Boruska przujazn'.

151. The amendment that censured the government for taking no steps to alleviate the plight of the jobless was rejected by 276 votes against 109. A detailed analysis of the programme of the Gladstone cabinet in the context of this amendment was published by Eduard Bernstein in the newspaper *Vorwärts,* No. 35, on 10 February 1893.

152. In a reference to Liberal Radicals, Engels meant the Radicals within the Left Wing of the Liberal Party who represented broad strata of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, bourgeois intellectuals and the trades-union leadership. In Britain the Radicals did not make up an organisation in its own right.

153. The constituent conference of the Independent Labour Party held in Bradford on 13-14 January 1893. Keir Hardie, who chaired at this conference, played the chief role in founding the Party and in its leadership (see note 114).

154. About the origin of the sobriquet *Panamites,* see Note 60.

155. Engels intimates that since the beginning of the debates in the French Chamber of Deputies on the Panama scandal (see Note 60) the Socialists have not spoken on the issue.

156. The forthcoming elections in August and September 1893 to the French Chamber of Deputies (see Note 208) housed in the Bourbon Palace in Quai d'Orsay in Paris.

157. On 11 February 1893 the British newspaper *The Daily News* published the article of its Paris correspondent Emily Crawford: 'The Sentence on the Panama Directors. Sympathy for Mr. de Lesseps'.

    The French government had to bring to trial some of the men implicated in the Panama scandal (see Note 60). On 9 February 1893, the court found Ferdinand-Marie Lesseps, the 88-year-old head of the company, guilty, and his son Charles Lesseps, together with the other defendants, Fontacem Cottu and Fiffel. F. Lesseps and Ch. Lesseps were sentenced to 5 years in prison and a fine of 3,000 francs each, while the other defendants received 2 years in jail and fines. However, on 15 June 1893 the Court of Cassation reversed the sentence and acquitted the defendants of all the charges. Yet Ch. Lesseps had to remain in custody pending the payment of the fine imposed on him.

158. A. Bebel's speech in the Reichstag on 3 February 1893 (abridged) as well as excerpts from W. Liebknechts speech on 7 February 1893 (see Note 143) were published by the newspa per *Le Socialiste* (No. 126) on 19 February 1893.

159. A reference to deliberations in the German Reichstag in mid-January 1893 in connection with inquiry of the Social-Democratic parliamentary group on 31 December 1892 concerning the dire economic situation in the country, a sequel to the world economic crisis of the early 1890s. This crisis caused a fresh upsurge in strike action in 1892 and 1893.

160. The work *Can Europe Disarm? was* inspired by A. Bebel's letter to Engels of 11 February 1893 with a request to air his views as to what stand the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag was to take on the draft military law tabled by the government (see Note 76). Having done so, Engels sent the MS to Berlin on 23 February 1893; in keeping with his wishes, the work was published in the newspaper *Vorwärts* in eight instalments (on 1-5, 7,9 and 10 March 1893). Late in March 1893 it came out in a separate edition to which Engels wrote a preface.

161. On 18 February 1893 the newspaper *Workman's Times* (No. 144), in its section *International Working-Class Movement,* published a review of the debates in the German Reichstag on a state of the future (see this volume, pp. 99-100).

162. In the parliamentary elections in the summer of 1892 the Socialist organisations nominated a considerable number of independent candidates; of these, three—Keir Hardie, John Burns and John Havelock Wilson—were elected as MPs.

At the House of Commons on 20 February 1893, a First Reading was given to two Bills dealing with modifications of the electoral law. Amongst other things they contemplated the abolition of all property qualifications; the introduction of returning officers, nominated and paid by municipal councils, to be responsible for drawing up the electoral register; and the establishment of a single register of voters for all elections (parliamentary, municipal, etc.). This draft legislation was turned down by the House of Lords.

163. *The Parish Councils Bill was* tabled in Parliament by the Gladstone cabinet in 1893 and approved on 1 March 1894. The entire system of local self-government was reorganised with this Bill. The Parish councils, which had been performing the functions of church and secular government in rural districts, now retained their prerogatives only in ecclesiastical affairs, while secular government was turned over to Parish Assemblies elected by local taxpayers. In larger rural communities such assemblies elected Parish Councils from their midst.

164. An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in the book: Marx, K., and Engels, F. *Correspondence 1846-1895. A Selection with Commentary and Notes.* Translated and edited by Dona Torr. Martin Lawrence (1934).

The envelope of this letter has the following address which Engels wrote with his own hand: Monsieur N.F Danielson, 8 grande rue de Ecuries, logis No. 7, *Saint-Petersbourg,* Russia.

165. See the letters which Engels wrote to Danielson on 29-31 October 1891, and on 15 March, 18 June and 22 September 1892 (present edition, Vol. 49, pp. 278, 382, 440, 535).

166. Engels alludes to Russia's defeat in the Crimean War of 1853-56.

167. Engels alludes to a pseudonym used during his correspondence with N. Danielson in the 1880s and in 1891-92; Engels used the surname of the husband of his wife's niece—Percy White Rocher.

168. On 16 February 1893, in the Panama case debates (see Note 60), P. Lafargue spoke in the Chamber of Deputies; his speech was published by the newspaper *Le Socialiste* (No. 126) on 19 February 1893. In his letter to Engels on 23 February, Lafargue said that all the bourgeois newspapers had ignored that speech.

169. In his letter to Engels on 23 February 1893 Lafargue wrote in part that the French Workers' Party (see Note 11) and the Radical Socialists (the Radical Left Wing, see Note 86), who were led by Etienne Millerand and Jean Jaurés, had agreed on cooperation in the August-September 1893 elections to the Chamber of Deputies and that they planned to launch an agitation campaign in Northern France on 5 March.

170. At the municipal elections of 1 and 8 May 1892 the French Workers' Party polled over 100,000 votes, with 635 Socialists being elected to municipal bodies. They gained a majority in the local councils of 26 cities.

171. *Home Rule*—the demand for Irish self-government within the British Empire, as put forward by the Irish liberal bourgeoisie in the 1870s. Home Rule provided for an independent Irish parliament and national bodies of government. However, the British government was to retain the key positions in Ireland.

172. The conference held by representatives of European socialist parties in preparation for the forthcoming Third International Socialist Working-Men's Congress in Zurich (see Note 229). At the initiative of the Organizing Committee (see Note 27) this conference met in Brussels on 26 March 1893; it involved representatives of 6 European countries. Its decisions urged the delegates of the forthcoming Congress to recognise the need of the political struggle of the working class. One of the aims of this demand was to keep the Anarchists from taking part in the Congress.

173- This letter was first published in English in F. Engels—P. et L. Lafargue. *Correspondence.* T.3. (1891-1895), Paris, Ed. Sociales, 1959.

174. The full text of this letter is in reply to the inquiry of the London firm Thomas Cook & Son which asked Engels for a letter of recommendation for L. Freyberger who wanted to open an account with this firm.

175. Engels was taking a rest at Eastbourne from March 1 to March 17 1893 or thereabouts.

176. This letter was written on a postcard with the following address penned by Engels: W. Liebknecht Esq., 160, Kantstrasse, *Charlottenburg-Berlin,* Germany.

177. This letter was written on a postcard, with the address inscribed by Engels: Sigr. avv. Filippo Turati, Portici Galleria V.E. 23, *Milano,* Italy.

178. On 7 March 1893 F. Turati sent the proofs of the Italian translation of *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* (see Note 108) and asked Engels to return them as soon as possible, for it was to be published the following week. Turati did not succeed in his plans to include the programme documents of the International in the supplement, as had been done in the 1882 Russian edition of the *Manifesto.*

Of the two brochures mentioned in the text, the name of only one has been determined: Pasquale di Fratta, *La socializzazione della terra,* Milano, 1893.

179. This letter was first published in English in full in: *Science and Society,* N.Y., 1938. Vol. 11, No. 3.

180. The rough notes of this letter jotted down by Engels are extant, together with the copy he made for F. Sorge; Engels sent it to Sorge with his letter of 18 March 1893 (see this volume, pp. 124-126). The different reading of the copy compared with the original is marked in the footnotes. As is clear from these three documents, the letter is indicated to have been written in London, though at that time Engels was recuperating in Eastbourne (see Note 175).

Engels wrote the following address on the envelope: Mr. F. Wiesen, Baird, Texas, U.S. America.

181. *The Bloomsbury Socialist Society,* which sprung from the Bloomsbury Branch of the Socialist League (see Notes 44, 136), became an independent organisation in August 1888, soon after the Bloomsbury branch had left the League. In its activities the Society was guided by E. Marx-Aveling, E. Aveling, John L. Mahon, James Macdonald, among others.Taking an active part in its work were such veterans of the working-class movement as F. Lessner and A. Weiler. The Society received significant support from F. Engels.

    The Bloomsbury Socialist society proclaimed as its aim the propaganda of socialist ideas amongst the working class and the struggle for a worker political organisation. In subsequent years it often organised meetings to commemorate the epic days of the Paris Commune of 1871; it also arranged lectures on various topics related to acute social and political issues. Its members were doing active propaganda work in other Socialist and Radical clubs and societies, as well as in 'new trades unions'.

182. The International Socialist Working-Men's Congress, in session in Brussels in August 1891 (see Note 228), entrusted the convocation of the next congress to Swiss Social-Democrats who set up an Organising Committee in Zurich (see Note 27), with Robert Seidel as secretary.

183. Bebel was visiting Engels in London from 28 March to 4 April 1893 or thereabouts.

184. The full text of this letter in English was first published in Marx K., Engels F., *Letters to Americans.* 1848-1895- A Selection. New York, International Publishers, 1953.

185. In his letters to Engels on 3 February and 9 March 1893 H.D. Lloyd, an American journalist and the author of books on social issues, asked him to take part in worker congresses scheduled for late August-early September 1893 in Chicago during an international exhibition that was to be held to commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of America's discovery. Lloyd requested that Engels read lectures on the following two subjects: 'The Working-Class Movement in Britain from a Socialist Standpoint' and 'International Labour Congresses', and also speak on other related topics at his discretion.

186. An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: *The Labour Monthly,* L., 1934, No. 12; the full text in English appeared in: *Science and Society,* N.Y., 1938, Vol. 11, No. 3.

187. A reference to the tug of war in the United States between the advocates of bimetallism and those of a single gold standard. In 1890, under the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, the West's demands for more and more coinage of the metal were heeded. But as predicted, gold was hoarded and driven out of circulation, and the silver-to-gold ration became 26.5 : 1 in 1893. In the summer of that year, under President Cleveland's Administration, Congress had to repeal the Sherman Act to keep gold from vanishing altogether. By the end of the 19th century gold was fully restored as a single currency standard in the United States. Engels gave his assessment of these developments in his letter to Sorge of 2 December 1893 (see this volume, pp. 235-36).

188. In a letter sent to Engels on 18 March 1893 August Radimsky said that the editor of the *Delnické Listy,* the organ of the Czech Workers' Party, which appeared in Austria, intended to publish *The Manifesto of the Communist Party,* translated into Czech, in a separate edition. Yet fearing a possible confiscation of the booklet by the authorities, the editor published the *Manifesto* (in instalments), as a series of articles in the above newspaper. Radimsky had sent the initial numbers of the newspaper and asked if Engels wanted the rest.

189. From 1 August to 29 September 1893 Engels made a tour of Germany, Switzerland and Austria-Hungary; he visited Cologne and then, together with A. Bebel, went to Zurich via Mainz and Strassburg; thence he went to the Canton of Graubünden for several days to meet his brother Hermann. Upon his return to Zurich on 12 August, Engels attended the final session of the International Socialist Working-Men's Congress in Zurich (see Note 229), where he made a short speech in English, French and German (see present edi-tion,Vol. 27, pp. 404-05) and, on behalf of the Bureau, closed the session. After a fortnight's sojourn in Switzerland, Engels left for Vienna through Munich and Salzburg; in Vienna, on 14 September, he addressed a meeting of Social-Democrats (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp.406-07). Then, via Prague and Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary), he went to Berlin and stayed there from 16 September to 28 September; on 22 September he spoke at a Social-Democratic meeting (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 409-10). Thereupon Engels returned to London by way of Rotterdam.

190. *Bank holiday*—in Great Britain, any of six legal holidays on which banks are closed. Introduced in 1871, bank holiday is celebrated on Monday as a rule: after Easter Sunday, after Whitsunday, and on the first Monday in August; also all banks are closed on 26 December.

191. Engels wrote the draft of his reply on an empty page of M.R. Cotar's letter of 21 March 1893. Cotar asked for permission to translate Volume II of *Das Kapital* into French and requested assistance in this undertaking.

192. On the envelope of this letter Engels wrote the following address: G.W. Lamplugh Esq., Ballafurt, Port Erin, Isle of Man.

The full text of this letter was first published in English in *Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin. Facsimiles*. M., 1939.

193. An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: Marx K., Engels F., *On Literature and Art,* Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1976.

194. This part of Engels' letter of 28 September 1892 to Franz Mehring (see present edition, Vol. 49) was published in Mehring's article 'II ber den historischen Materialismus' appended to the first separate edition of his work: *Die Lessing-Legende. Eine Rettung von Franz Mehring,* Stuttgart, 1893. Engels also mentions the book by Lavergne-Peguilhen: *Grundzüge der Gesellschaftswissenschaft.* Erster Theil. *Die Bewegungs-und Productionsgesetze,* First Part. Königsberg, 1838.

195. A reference to the publication of Engels' work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* translated into French by Henri Ravé; this translation was edited by Laura Lafargue who did a stupendous amount of work to correct the numerous deficiencies contained in it. Having read the thus revised translation, Engels had a high opinion of the work done. The book was published in October 1893 under the title *L'Origine de la famille, de la propriété privée et de l'état.*

196. On 30 April 1892, *L'Illustration* published two pages of the portraits of personalities prominent in the international socialist movement.

197. Engels means *The Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League* founded in 1890 by a group of English Socialists with Engels' participation on the basis of a Committee which had organised Britain's first ever May Day demonstration in London in 1890. The League set as its aim the struggle for the liberation of the working class and action on the decisions of the Paris Congress of the Second International (see Note 227). In 1893 League representatives took part in setting up The Independent Labour Party (see Note 114).

*London Trades Council was* established at a conference of delegates representing London's trades-unions (May 1860). Among its members were the leaders of major trades-unions and men from the so-called worker aristocracy. In the early 1860s the Council led the action of the British workers against intervention in the American Civil War, in defence of Poland and Italy, and later, for legalisation of trades-unions. Early in the 1890s the Council, which embraced predominantly the old trades-unions, took a negative stand on the movement for new trades-unions and for the legal eight hours. Yet the mass character of this movement compelled the Council to join in the May demonstrations of the 1890s.

198. The Hull dockers went on strike on 8 April 1893. This strike, which continued until 19 May, was caused by the decision of the Shipowners' Federation to give employment preferences to non-unionised job-seekers. Thousands of strikebreakers were brought to Hull under armed force protection. Two gunboats entered the port. Hull became an arena of fierce confrontation and looked like a military camp all through the strike action. Even though the strike drew support from miners, railwaymen and other trades-unions, the dockers did not succeed in winning a victory. The conflict ended in an *agreement* which both sides reached in keeping with the *reciprocal freedom* principle.

199. Concerning the publication of Carl Schorlemmer's literary heritage; he died on 27 June 1892. Ludwig Siebold and Philipp Klepsch took charge of this job as the executors of Carl Schorlemmer's will.

200. Adolf Spiegel, manager of a paraffin-making factory, wrote a brief biography of Carl Schorlemmer and had it published in the journal *Berichten der Deutschen Chemischen Gesellschaft,* Jg. 25, Bd. II I, 1892.

201. In his letter of 28 April 1893 E Sorge asked Engels if Abraham Lincoln had replied to a message of greetings sent to him in 1864 by the General Council of the International Working-Men's Association on the occasion of his election for a second term as President of the United States (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 19-21). This message, which Marx had written late in November 1864, was sent to Lincoln through the American Ambassador in London, Charles Francis Adams. On 28 January 1865 the General Council received a reply sent on Lincoln's behalf which was read out at the Council's meeting of January 31 and then published by *The Times* (No. 25101) on 6 February 1865, under the heading: 'Mr. Lincoln and the International Working-Men's Association'.

202. *Conservatives*—a political party expressing the interests of the Prussian Junkers, army circles, top bureaucracy and Lutheran clergy. With the formation of the North German Union and in the initial years of the German Empire, the Conservatives made a strong right-wing opposition to the Bismarck government; they came out against bourgeois reforms and broader powers conceded to the Reich authorities. In 1866 there was a split in their ranks which gave rise to the Free Conservative Party *{Die Freikonservative Partei,* or *Reichspartei)* representing the interests of big landed proprietors and of a segment of the industrial magnates. The Free Conservatives took a stand of unequivocal support for the Bismarck government.

In 1876 the Conservatives made common cause with other right-wing groups and formed a German Conservative Party *{Die Deutschkonservative Partei)* which continued up to the year 1918.

203. *National Liberals*—a Prussian (and from 1871, an all-German) bourgeois political party active between 1867 and 1918 as a bulwark of the Junkers and industrial magnates. This party expressed the interests of a larger part of the big industrial and commercial bour geoisie, and also of the financiers—the strata that supported the domestic and foreign pol-

icy steered by Bismarck and by subsequent reactionary governments of the German Empire. In the early 1890s the National Liberals came forward with the idea of 'suspending' any kind of social legislation and mounted a crusade for unrestricted entrepreneurial powers.

204. At the Reichstag election of 15 June 1893 the German Social-Democrats gained a major victory: they polled 1,787,000 votes. All in all, 44 Social-Democratic deputies were elected to the Reichstag, among them, W. Liebknecht, A. Bebel and P. Singer. Of the six deputies elected in Berlin, five were Social-Democrats. Engels commented on these election returns in his interview for a correspondent of *Daily Chronicle* (see present edition, Vol. 27, p. 549).

205. During the May Day demonstration held in London's Hyde Park on 7 May 1893, the Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League (see Note 197) organised an international rostrum from which socialists of many countries spoke, among them, Alfred Delcluze, Louise Kautsky, Friedrich Lessner, Eleanor Marx-Aveling, S.M. Kravchinsky (Stepniak).

206. *Liberal Unionists*—a group led by Joseph Chamberlain which, in 1886, broke away from the Liberal Party because of the differences over Home Rule for Ireland (see Note 171). The Liberal Unionists were advocating continued Union with Ireland (1801). They leagued themselves with the Conservative Party and, a few years later, joined its ranks.

207. Hastings—a resort on the English Channel.

208. At the elections to the French Chamber of Deputies on 20 August and 3 September 1893 the Socialists of various trends gained 700,000 votes and 30 seats (among the elected deputies 12 were from the Workers' Party—J. Guesde, J. Juarés, E. Vaillant and others).

The deputies representing the Workers' Party agreed to form a united socialist group in the new Chamber; this group comprised 20 deputies who belonged to the bourgeois Left Wing, Radicals for the most part (also known as 'independent socialists') and other socialists. All in all the Socialist group in the Chamber of Deputies numbered 50 deputies.

Engels more than once criticised the leadership of the Workers' Party for concessions it had made to the Radicals in the matter of Programme and organisational principles for the sake of forming a joint Socialist parliamentary group. See, e.g., Engels' letters to V. Adler of 17 July 1894 and to F. Sorge of 30 December 1893 (see this volume, pp. 249, 324-25).

209. Hermann Lopatin was imprisoned in the Schlüsselburg fortress at the time.

210. Together with this book Isaak Hourwich had sent a number of articles on the revolutionary movement in Russia and asked Engels what he thought of them. Hourwich intended to have these articles published in *The Progress* along with Engels' commentary.

211. The second edition of Henry Lloyd's book *A Strike of Millionaires against Miners* saw print in Chicago in 1891 (the first edition being published there in 1890).

This book looks into the history of a major lockout staged by the owners of Illinois coal mines. At the end of 1888 and in early 1889 the company fired a third of its coal miners and declared a general lockout; it closed stores selling foodstuffs on credit. For nearly six months about five thousand miners were involved in a struggle to defend their rights. Yet this standoff ended in a victory of the entrepreneurs who succeeded in imposing the lowest pay rates for miners in the United States by slashing the old ones 1/3. The author had twice visited the scene and published a number of articles in the press, urging assistance to the jobless coal miners and their families. H. Lloyd's book became very popular in the United States.

212. K. Kautsky wrote to Engels in his letter of 19 May 1893 that the journal *Die Zeitschrift fur Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte,* Bd.L, Ausgabe I, Freiburg in Breisgau Leipzig, 1893) had published the article by Lujo Brentano, a Katheder Socialist: 'Die Volksvirtschaft und ihre

konkreten Grundbedingungen' which permitted attacks on Engels' work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see present edition, Vol. 26).

213. By the old *Concordia* business Engels means L. Brentanos articles published anonymously by the journal *Concordia* in 1872 in which he attempted to discredit Marx as a scientist. Thus, Brentano accused Marx of incompetence and falsifications; Marx responded by two articles in the newspaper *Volksstaat.* 'A Reply to the Brentano Article' and A Reply to the Second Brentano Article' (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 164-67, 190-97). In 1890, continuing his campaign of slander against Marx, L. Brentano published the pamphlet *Meine Polemik mit Karl Marx* which elicited a response from Engels, the pamphlet *Marx contra Brentano* (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 97-154).

    Engels criticised the views of A. Mülberger, a German Proudhonist, in his work *The Housing Question* which he wrote in 1872-73, in Parts I and II I (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 317-391).

214. Engels hints at the thesis of 'one reactionary mass' which entered into the Programme of the German Social-Democratic Party adopted at its Gotha Congress in 1875. Thus, the Programme said this in part: 'Emancipation of labour ought to be the cause of the working class in relation to which all the other classes consititute but one reactionary mass'. Marx censured this tenet in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp.75-99).

215. An allusion to E.B. Bax's articles 'Der Fluch der Zivilisation' and 'Menschenthum und Klasseninstinkt' published by the journal *Die Neue Zeit,* 11 Jg. 1892/93, Bd. 2, Nos. 45 & 47; this worked was translated from English by V Adler.

216. In his letter of 31 May 1899 Hermann Bahr, an Austrian journalist, asked Engels to explain his stand on anti-Semitism and the Jewish problem; he intended to have this material, along with the pronouncements of other persons on this subject, published in the Vienna newspaper *Die Deutsche Zeitung.*

217. By anti-Semitic candidates, Engels means representatives of *Die Christlich-soziale Arbeiterpartei* (The Christian Social Worker Party) founded in 1878 by Adolf Stoecker, a reactionary German political figure and advocate of anti-Semitism. This party saw its aim in combatting the socialist movement; subsequently it used the slogan of anti-Semitism to mount a demagogic campaign against financial capital. Its members succeeded in winning support among the backward strata of the peasantry and artisans in some districts of Germany; this success had a part to play in the setup of the poll. In 1895 A. Stoecker transformed his organisation into *Die Christlich-soziale Partei.*

    About the election to the German Reichstag, see Note 204.

218. In his letter of June 1893 F. Turati told Engels about the plans of G. Domanico, an Italian anarchist, to publish the Italian translation of *Das Kapital,* beginning with Vol. 1, in 50 installments at low price; writing to Engels on 2 June 1893, G. Domanico expressed his confidence that Engels would approve of this initiative and asked for a letter that might be used as a preface. G. Domanico also asked Engels to him know about corrections in the text, remarks and amendments. This undertaking never came off.

219. About the middle of May 1841 Engels, in his father's company, made a tour of southern Germany, Switzerland and Northern Italy (Lombardy). See also his travel notes in Wanderings in Lombardy (present edition, Vol. 2, p. 170).

220. As F. Turati wrote to Engels, the Italian Socialist E. Guindani was undertaking the Italian edition of G. Déville's book *Le Capital de Karl Marx. Résumé et accompagné d'un aperçu sur*
*le socialisme scientifique.* The book was published in Cremona in 1893.
Engels commented on G. Déville's work in his letters to K. Kautsky of 9 January and to P. Lavrov of 5 February 1884 (see present edition, Vol. 47).

221. On the envelope of this letter Engels inscribed the following address: Monsieur Stojan Nokoff, Chemin de la Roseraie 8, Genève, Switzerland.

222. Engels made a mistake by identifying two different towns. Philippopolis was the Greek name of the present Bulgarian city Plovdiv.

223. On 6 May 1893 there was a split within *Die Deutsche Freisinnige Partei* (see Note 149) due to the differences over the draft military legislation tabled by the Bismarck government (see Note 76). The pro-government faction of this party in the Reichstag formed an Alliance of Free-Thinkers (*Die Freisinnige Vereinigung)* led by Ludwig Bamberger; the other faction, opposing the higher war budget, starting calling itself a Free-Thinking People's Party *{Die Freisinnige Volkspartei),* with Eugen Richter as its leader.

224. In his *Interview].* Guesde elucidated the principle of internationalism in the working-class and socialist movement. It was published by the newspaper *Le Figaro* on 17 June 1893 under the heading 'Les Socialistes et la Patrie', and also by *Le Socialiste* (No. 144) on 17 June 1894.

225. The reactionary French politicians P. Déroulède and L. Millevoye mounted a campaign against G. Clemenceau, the leader of the Radical Party (see Note 86) in June 1893; they accused him of links with one of those implicated in the Panama affair (see Note 60) and of his being in the pay of the British government. The monarchist press started printing documents stolen from the British embassy which indicated breach of allegiance on Clemenceau's part. Yet these documents proved false upon their promulgation in the Chamber of Deputies.

226. In the spring of 1893 the monarchist quarters of France, backed by the anarchists, launched a slanderous campaign against the Socialists; they branded as anti-patriotic the Socialist principle of internationalism. In this connection J. Geusde and P. Lafargue organised meetings in towns of northern France on June 17 and 18 at which they read out an appeal to the working people of France ('Le Conseil national du Parti ouvrier aux travailleurs de France'). The appeal was published inthe newspaper *Le Socialiste* (No. 144) on 17 June 1893 on behalf of the National Council of the French Workers' Party. Its full text reads as follows:

TO THE WORKING PEOPLE OF FRANCE
Comrades!
In their impotent fury over the onward march of the Workers' Party our class enemies have resorted to the only weapon left in their arsenal, slander. They are distorting our internationalism the way they have tried to distort our socialism. And albeit those who seek to present us as having no Motherland are the selfsame people who, all through this century, have been but abetting incursions into Motherland's territory and dismemberment, a Motherland whom their class gave up to sack and plunder by the banditry of cosmopolitan financiers and whom it had been exploiting without stopping at bloodshed at Ricamari and Fourmi, we, far from permitting them to confuse a collectivist solution to the question with anarchy, this mockery of bourgeois individualism, shall never allow them to translate our glorious motto 'Long Live the International!' as the preposterous ventriloquy 'Down with France!'

No, internationalism means no humiliation of our Motherland, nor does it mean its immolation. When *patries* came into being, they were the first and essential stage toward the unity of humankind, a goal that we are pursuing; and internationalism, begotten by the entire course of the new civilisation, is likewise an essential stage along this path. Just as the French *Patrie* was taking form not in opposition to various provinces which she wrested from the state of defunct antagonism with the aim of bringing them together, but in the interests of their freedom and prosperity, so the *Patrie* of humankind—which requires social organisation of production, exchanges and science—is not and cannot be formed to the detriment of the now extant nations, it is formed for their good and consummate progress.

He who embarks upon the path of internationalism leading to an absolute flourishing of humanity does not cease to be a patriot just as we, becoming French at the end of the last century, continued to remain Provençals, Flemish or Bretons.

Contrariwise, internationalists may well call themselves the only patriots because they are only ones to be aware to what extent conditions must improve under which the future and the grandeur of their *Patrie* can and should be secure—in fact, of all the *patries* who will have turned from antagonistic to solid ones.

By proclaiming 'Long Live the International!' they proclaim: 'Long live the France of labour! Long live the historic mission of the French proletariat that will be able to liberate itself only by assisting in the liberation of the proletariat of all countries!'

French Socialists are patriots also from another standpoint and from other considerations: because France was in the past, and she is destined already now to evolve into one of the most significant factors of social advancement, as we understand it.

So, we want—and we cannot but want—to have a great and strong France capable of defending the republic against united monarchies, and also of protecting her new year of 1789 which is to come against the coalition, at least against a possible coalition, of the capitalist states of Europe.

It is France who by the works of Babeuf, Fourier and Saint-Simon has made a beginning in the development of the socialist ideas to which Marx and Engels have imparted scientific consummation.

It is France, the country of the first bourgeois revolution, which is the inevitable precursor of a proletarian revolution, who became an epic battlefield of the classes and who sacrificed to the cause of emancipated labour a countless number of her heroic rebels in Lyon in 1832 and Paris in 1848 and 1871.

It is France who, in spite of her sons having been butchered in the Versailles massacre, raised in 1889, at her immortal Congress in Paris, the banner of the International—a banner crimson with her own blood—and made a beginning in the celebration of May Day; she is the first to have hoisted the red banner of the proletariat, marching on toward winning political power, on the town halls seized by means of ballots.

And since her revolutionary past is the earnest of her socialist future, 23 years ago, as she faced danger, the internationalists of Italy, Spain and other countries rushed under the tricolor to her rescue, while the nascent German Social-Democracy, risking its freedom, did everything to prevent her dismemberment, just as absurd as criminal.

But this is why we, patriots, do not want a war which, be it victorious or not, would equally result in unspeakable calamities, leaving in the battlefield millions of people and the engines of death they will have been armed with.

We do not want a war which, whatever its outcome, would be but a game of Asiatic cruelty in the person of the Russian czar for the exhausted West.

We want peace, a lasting peace, because it is to our benefit but, is against the domination of the capitalists and governments, a domination we are out to destroy—for they can

prolong their despicable and pernicious existence only by dividing and exterminating the nations.

We want peace because the bourgeois order is foredoomed.

And now that we know that patriotism and internationalism, far from excluding one another, are the two mutually complimentary forms of human amity, we repeat it loud and clear to the face of our calumniators:

Yes, the French Workers' Party constitutes one whole with the German Social-Democracy against the German Empire.

Yes, the French Workers' Party constitutes one whole with the Belgian Workers' Party against the bourgeois Koburg monarchy.

Yes, the French Workers' Party constitutes one whole with the toilers and Socialists of Italy against the Savoy monarchy.

Yes, the French Workers' Party constitutes one whole with the young but already so strong Labour Party on the other side of the Channel against the oligarchic and capitalist constitutionalism of Britain.

Yes, we do and shall constitute one whole with the proletariat of both hemispheres against the ruling and propertied classes everywhere.

And we hope that our French comrades, the people of the workshops and fields, will join their voices to the Party National Council in a double call which, in substance, constitutes but one whole:

Long Live the International!

Long Live France!

National Council:

Joseph Crepin, Simon Dereure, Ferroul, deputy;

Jules Geusde, Paul Lafargue, deputy;

Prévost, Kennel.

227. *The International Socialist Working-Men's Congress in Paris,* which was actually the constituent congress of the Second International, opened on 14 July 1889, the centennial of the storming of the Bastille. About 400 delegates from 20 countries of Europe and America attended. The Congress heard the reports of Socialist representatives on the condition of the working-class movement in their respective countries, outlined fundamental principles of the international labour legislation by approving demands for the legal eight hours, prohibition of child labour and for labour protection of working women and adolescents. The Congress stressed the need of a political organisation of the proletariat and of a struggle for the implementation of workers' democratic demands; it spoke out for a dissolution of regular armies which were to be replaced by a people's militia. The most significant decision of the Congress was its resolution on holding demonstrations and meetings in all countries on 1 May 1890 in support of an eight-hour working day and of a fair-labour code. The anarchists, who opposed the congress resolutions, failed to enlist support from the absolute majority of the delegates.

228. The International Socialist Working-Men's Congress in Brussels was held on 16-22 August 1891. It was attended by 370 delegates from 16 European countries and the United States who represented, by and large, the Marxist trend in the working-class movement. Most of the delegates voted against anarchists participating in the Congress (who had sent their delegates). Attending the Congress were also representatives of the British trades unions, a rather positive factor according to Engels. Such issues were on its agenda as the labour code, work stoppage and boycott, and militarism. In its resolution on labour legislation the Congress called on workers of the world to join forces in the struggle against the capitalist rule; it urged workers, wherever they had political rights, to use these rights for their eman-

cipation from wage servitude. The resolution on work stoppage and boycott recommended that workmen use both forms of the struggle. It emphasised the absolute need of trade unions for the workers.

The attitude of the working class to militarism was the central issue on the agenda. The reports delivered by W. Liebknecht and E. Vaillant, as well as the resolution proposed by Liebknecht characterized militarism as an inevitable follow-up of the capitalist system; they stressed that a socialist system alone would be able to put an end to militarism and establish peace among the nations; that Socialists were a genuine party of peace. Yet these documents did not define specific tasks and ways of the struggle against the war threat.

The resolution proposed by Liebknecht was attacked by the leader of the Dutch Socialists D. Nieuwenhuis, a man of anarchist leanings. He tabled a resolution urging the Socialists of all countries to appeal in the event of a war to their peoples to stage a general strike, but it failed to win support among the delegates. The overwhelming majority of votes was cast for the W. Liebknecht resolution (see also F. Engels 'The Brussels Congress. The Situation in Europe'; present edition, vol. 27).

229. *The Third International Socialist Working-Men's Congress* was held in Zurich on 6-12 August 1893. Attending were over 400 delegates from 18 countries. The British delegation had a much broader representation than at the previous two congresses. The following issues were on the agenda: the legal eight hours, May Day celebration, the political tactics of Social-Democrats and the position of Social-Democracy in the event of a war. Since participation in the Congress was conditional on one's recognition of political activity (something that the anarchists denied), the Congress began its work by considering the legitimacy of the mandates of the anarchist delegates. Following a heated debate a resolution was carried by a majority of votes. It interpreted the notion of political activity as the use of political rights and law-making institutions by working-class parties in the interests of the proletariat and for gaining political power. Upon the adoption of this amendment the anarchists, includ ing the representatives of The Young (see Note 129), had to leave the Congress.

On the issue of May Day festivities the Congress rejected by a majority of votes the proposal of the German Social-Democrats to have the celebrations as late as the first Sunday of the month; it stressed the major political significance of a demonstration on May 1 as the day of proletarian solidarity. On the third issue of the agenda (the political tactics of Social-Democrats) the Congress adopted a resolution which recognised the need of combining the parliamentary and non-parliamentary forms of struggle depending on specific conditions in this or that country.

Concerning the attitude of Social-Democrats to war, the Congress turned down the Nieuwenhuis proposal for a general strike to be declared in case of a war and reaffirmed the basic provisions of the Brussels Congress resolution on this issue (see Note 228); it added a clause urging workers to wage a disarmament struggle and obliging the Socialist MPs to vote against war credits.

230. *The Belgian Workers' Party was* founded in Brussels on 5 April 1885 on the basis of the Belgian Socialist Party formed in 1879. The Workers' Party likewise comprised other workers' organisations—trade unions, cooperatives, etc. The Party crusaded for economic demands of the working class and for universal suffrage; it led the strike action of the proletariat.

231. Charles Verecque, a French Socialist, was sentenced to a term in prison and public penance according to Article 226 of the French Criminal Code which had been in abeyance for about 100 years. With the consent of a group of Socialists of the town of Amiens, Verecque (accused of saying to the prosecuting attorney, 'One ought to stick Mr. Viviani s plea onto the prosecutor's back') wrote a letter to the prosecuting attorney which concluded by

saying: 'I plead guilty and declare it in a written deposition, as it ensues from Article 226, that I am guilty of momentarily mistaking the back of a magistrate for one of the machines on which, in a few weeks' time, we shall have the honour of sticking the programme—a victorious programme—of Socialism'; Verecque's statement contained a pun: magistrate ('magistrat') as a justice and as a municipal officer.

232. in his letter of 28 June 1893 P. Lafargue told Engels that the National Council of the French Workers' Party had appealed to the Organising Committee of the Zurich International Congress (see Note 182) with a request to adjourn the convocation of the Congress from August to November in view of the election to the Chamber of Deputies due on 20 August 1893. Lafargue asked Engels to write to Bebel to get the Germans to second this request.

233. Engels visited Como during his tour of Germany, Switzerland and Italy in August-September 1865.

234. This letter was first published in English with deletions in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Correspondence 1846-1895. A Selection with Commentary and Notes.* London, Martin Lawrence, 1934; and in full in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence,* F.L.P.H. Moscow, 1955.

235. Engels never realised this intention. For the available fragments and outlines, see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 554-56.

236. The Duchy of *Burgundy,* formed in eastern France in the 9th century, became an independent feudal state in the 14th and 15th centuries; it attained maximum might under Duke Charles the Bold in the latter half of the 15th century. In a bid to expand its dominions the Duchy of Burgundy worked against the centralist policy of the French King Louis XI and waged a war of conquest against the Swiss and Lorraine. Finally Louis XI succeeded in having the Swiss and Lorrainians form a coalition against Burgundy. In a war against this coalition (1474-77) the troops of Charles the Bold were defeated, and the Duke was killed in the Battle of Nancy (1477). His dominion was divided between Louis XI and Maximilian Habsburg, the German Emperor's son.

237. R. Meyer gave a 'truncated version' of this letter for publication; the end of the letter is missing.

238. In his letter of F. Engels of 22 June 1893 R. Meyer recapitulated a conversation he had with a lawyer who, in his political views, was close to the Conservatives (see Note 202). The lawyer had told Meyer about the opinion current among the Conservatives to the effect that Reichskanzler Caprivi 'would use all his powers as Chancellor for suppressing Social-Democracy which had won "too great a victory" in the last election'.

239. The reference is to Engels' interview to a correspondent of the British newspaper *Daily Chronicle,* published on 1 July 1893. The interview was granted on the occasion of the June-held elections to the German Reichstag and the good returns for German Social-Democrats (see Note 204). The text of this interview was carried in an abridged form by *Le Socialiste* (No. 148), 15 July 1893, in P. Lafargue's translation and under the heading 'F. Engels et las élections allemandes' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 549-53).

240. The first issue of *L'Ere nouvelle* on 1 July 1893 carried the final chapter of Engels' book *The Origin of Family, Private Property and the State.* In light of the Researches by Lewis H. Morgan (see present edition, Vol. 26), 'Barbarism and Civilisation'. The second issue of the journal, which came out on 2 August, had chapter V of the above work—'The Emergence of the Athenian State'.

241. In 1882-83 France, pushing ahead with the colonialist thrust in Southeast Asia, ran into stiff resistance in the Kingdom of Siam. Several military clashes occurred as a result. In July 1883 French naval ships invested Siam's capital city, Bangkok. The Siamese government had to yield and it signed a treaty with France, ceding the vassal Siamese territories on the left bank of the Mekong to France.

    In 1882 the French government began a colonial war in North Vietnam (Tongking) which developed into a war with China. Although France established its protectorate over Vietnam, the hostilities continued with French troops suffering setbacks in 1885; this caused the fall of the Ferry government.

242. On the envelope of this letter Engels wrote the following address: 'Sigr. Filippo Turati, Portici Galleria VE. 23, *Milano,* Italy'. Turati made this note on the envelope; 'Engels, Proprietà. opere Marx': the few words that followed are illegible.

243. The Printing-and-Publishing Union (la Unione tipografica-editrice) of Turin filed a declaration of protest against the intention of E. Guindani, an Italian Socialist from Cremona, to publish the Italian edition of G. DéVille's work *Le Capital de Karl Marx, Résumé et accompagné d'un aperçu sur le socialisme scientifique* (see note 220); the Union claimed it allegedly purchased the copyright on all the works of Marx from his heirs.

244. On 24 July 1893 Natalie Liebknecht sent Engels a photograph of the house where he was born, in Bruch, a suburb of Barmen. The photograph had been ordered by W. Liebknecht during one of his propaganda tours of Germany.

245. On 21-28 July 1893 Engels was on holiday in Eastbourne.

246. In her letter of 24 July 1893 Natalie Liebknecht told Engels that her son Karl had not been accepted into military service in Berlin because of his being a Saxon subject.

247. A reference to the annexation of the larger part of Alsace and East Lorraine by Germany in 1871 as a result of the French defeat in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. France regained this territory in 1919.

248. Engels means the rule of the French Emperor Napoleon II I (2 December 1852— 4 September 1870). The Second Empire collapsed in the wake of the September Revolution of 1870.

249. In the first round J. Guesde won a victory by polling 6,887 votes: Deschamps, a moderate Republican, got 2,138 votes and Vienne, a Roman Catholic Worker—4,403. Paul Lafargue, who had been running in Lisle's second electoral district, polled 4,745 votes.

250. Since the International Socialist Working-Men's Congress in Zurich was being held on the eve of the election to the French Chamber of Deputies, the leaders of the French Workers' Party were unable to attend. The French delegation comprised 41 men of whom only two (Bonnet and Bonnier) represented the Party. The other delegates were from non-Marxist parties and political groups: the Possibilists (see Note 30), the Independent Socialists (Jaclard), the Blanquists (see Note 20) [Degay and Rémy], etc. The French delegation distinguished itself by its inconsistent voting and its opposition to Bebel's theses and to the majority at the Congress.

251. The text of this letter was written on a post card. Engels indicated his whereabouts: Frau Hermann Engels aus Barmen (Engelskirchen), Hotel Bellevue, *St. Moritz Bad Engadin.*

252. The hope that Paul Lafargue would be elected to the French Chamber of Deputies did not materialise. In order to defeat his opponent, Lafargue (as well as Gustave Dron, an opportunist candidate) had to receive 3,000 votes in his constituency. During the election cam-

paign Lafargue and Dron reached an agreement whereby Socialists in Dron's constituency were to cast their votes for him, Gustave Dron, while pro-opportunist candidates in Lafargue's constituency were to vote for his candidacy. While the Socialists secured a victory for Dron, the opportunist electorate cast their votes for Lafargue's opponent.

253. Engels wrote this letter on a form that had A. Bebel's address printed on it.

254. Prior to his trip to Europe in 1893 (see Note 189) Engels had last visited Germany in the latter half of June 1876 as he went to Heidelberg for domestic reasons.

255. Engels was in Berlin from September 1841 to October 1842 after he had joined as a volunteer to do his tour of military duty.

256. *Die Freie Volksbühne* ('Free Popular Stage')—a theatrical society founded in Berlin in 1890. It staged theater shows for the populace and championed classical authors like Goethe, Schiller, Hauptmann, Ibsen as well as Gogol and Tolstoy. It was not a commercial enterprise; it put on performances in circumvention of official censorship.

257. Returning together with A. Bebel from the Zurich Working-Men's Congress (see Note 229), Engels stayed for a few days in Vienna. On 11 September 1893 Austrian Social-Democrats organised a reception which, according to the Vienna newspaper *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung* of 15 September 1893, was attended by about 600 people. There was another rally on 14 September, at which about 2,000 took part, on the results of the Zurich Congress. The speakers included V Adler, A. Bebel and other delegates to the Congress. Engels spoke at the end of the meeting (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 406-07).

258. After the stormy anti-Austrian demonstrations of the summer of 1893 at which the protesters demanded universal suffrage, the Taafe government imposed a state of emergency in the Prague district on 12 September 1893. It banned all Radical-Progressist and Social-Democratic publications.

259. P. Lafargue's article 'Die politischen Parteien in Frankreich und die letzten Wahlen' published by *Die Neue Zeit* (12. Jg., 1893/1894, Nos. 3, 4 and 5), and also his letter to Engels on 5 September 1893 about the results of the election to the French Chamber of Deputies. V Adler's article 'Die Wahlen in Frankreich', published in *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung* (No. 37) on 15 September 1893, was based on this information.

260. Engels is answering Karl Kautsky's letter of 20 September 1893 asking permission to publish Heinrich Heine's letter to Marx of 21 September 1844 in *Die Neue Zeit.* This letter was in the possession of Eleanor Marx-Aveling. Kautsky asked Engels to write an introduction to the intended publication, but Engels did not do so. The Heine letter was published in *Die Neue Zeit* (No. 1, 1895-96, Vol. 1) only after Engels' death; Kautsky supplied a commentary and a facsimile of Engels' letter.

261. A reference to the royalties paid by the publishers of *Das Kapital* to Marx's heirs.

262. On his way back from the International Socialist Working-Men's Congress in Zurich (he was accompanied by A. Bebel, see Note 229), Engels stopped in Berlin, staying from 16 to 28 September 1893, where he received a warm reception. A rally was held in the *Concordia Hall* on 22 September in which about 4,000 took part. Wilhelm Liebknecht made a speech on the role of Engels in the German working-class movement. Engels spoke in reply (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 409-10).

263. *Norici*—a group of Illyrian-Celtic tribes that used to live in the ancient Roman Province of Noricum situated south of the Danube in what is now Austria.

264. The whereabouts of this postcard is unknown.

265. In 1893 William Reeves, a London publisher, printed the English translation of A. Bebel's book *Die Frau und der Sozialismus ('Woman and Socialism),* without any prior consultations either with the author or with the translator, Mrs. Adams Walter, who had prepared the first English edition, published in London in 1885 by The Modern Press. The book's title *(Die Frau in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft)* was Bebel's own and was retained in the German editions, from the Second to the Eighth (1883-90). The same name—*Women in the Past, Present and Future*—was used in all the English translations.

266. Hermann Blocher, a Swiss Social-Democrat, approached Engels with a request to help him in selecting the literature in connection with a work on Bruno Bauer he was going to write.

267. An allusion to the warm reception given to Engels at the concluding session of the International Socialist Working-Men's Congress in Zurich (see Note 229).

268. The French Chamber of Deputies, elected in August-September 1893 (see Note 208) was to open its sessions in November 1893.

269. Victor Adler made his speech at a rally in one of Vienna's largest halls, the Schwender Colisuem, on 2 October 1893; more than 4,000 were in attendance. He spoke against the state of emergency declared in the Prague district on 12 September (see Note 258). Adler's speech was published by *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung (No.* 40) on 6 October 1893.

270. A reference to the draft electoral reform tabled in the Austrian Reichskrat on 10 October 1893 by Ministerpräsident (Premier) Eduard Taaffe whose government represented the conservative bloc of the big landed proprietors and top bureaucracy. He was supported by the Polish, Czech and Slovenian feudal-clerical interests, A broad campaign for a reform of the country's electoral system began in the early 1890s. On 9 July 1893 Social-Democrats organised a mammoth demonstration of Vienna's workers for universal suffrage. Similar demonstrations and rallies were held countrywide. Under the circumstances the Taaffe government proposed a draft electoral reform which provided for a considerably wider range of prospective voters, but preserved the old curial system and the privileges for the landlords and the bourgeoisie. The reactionary political parties, however, opposed the draft law, and the Taaffe cabinet had to resign in October 1893. The country's electoral system was reformed as late as 1896.

271. *Phoenicians*—a tribe of seafarers described by Homer in *The Odyssey.* According to Homer, they inhabited the island of Scheria north of Ithaca, the island of Odysseus.

272. The Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Austria was founded at a unification congress that was in session at Heinfeld (Low Austria) on 30 December 1888—1 January 1889. This congress adopted a programme ('Declaration of Principles') which was based on the fundamental tenets of Marxism. In its Declaration the Party defined as its objective a political organisation of the proletariat; it pledged to promote the class-consciousness of the proletariat. Its other targets included socialisation of the means of production, emancipation of Labour, political rights for working people and their education.

273. *Der Sonderbund*—a separatist union of the seven economicallly backward Catholic cantons formed in 1843 to resist progressive bourgeois reforms and to defend the privileges of the Church and the Jesuits. The decree of the Swiss Diet of 1847 dissolving the Sonderbund served as a pretext for the latter to start hostilities against other cantons early in November. On 23 November 1847, the Sonderbund forces, consisting largely of milita detachments, were defeated by the federalist army.

274. Pius IX, who succeeded to the Holy See in 1846 under the conditions of an imminent revolution in Italy, announced a restricted political amnesty and embarked on moderate reforms, thus gaining popularity as a 'liberal Pope'. The demonstrations of 1846, 1847 and early 1848 held under the motto 'Long Live Pius IX', turned into a powerful revolutionary catalyst. But with the outbreak of the 1848 Revolution, the Pope appealed to the Catholic powers to intervene against the Italian Republic and, after the defeat of the Revolution, followed overtly reactionary policies.

275. In January 1848, the Neapolitan troops of King Ferdinand II , subsequently named King Bomba for his savage bombardment of Messina in the autumn of that year, ordered a shelling of Palermo in an effort to suppress a popular uprising, a move that sparked off the bourgeois revolution of 1848-49 in the Italian states.

276. The years 1890-93 saw a mass campaign for universal suffrage in Belgium. In April 1893 the General Council of the Belgian Workers' Party (see Note 230) declared a general political strike for a revision of the acting electoral law. Under the pressure of mass actions and work stoppages the Chamber of Deputies was compelled, on 18 April 1893, to adopt a law on universal suffrage (with certain reservations, however); the franchise was granted to men over 25 on the condition they had been resident in the country for no less than a year (residential qualification). On the other hand, this law introduced a system of multiple voting whereby some categories of voters were eligible for an additional 1-2 ballots depending on their property status, education and government service record.

277. The *Young Czechs*—a bourgeois-liberal party which championed the interests of the Czech bourgeoisie.

The *Old Czechs*—the Right Wing of the national movement in Bohemia, Moravia And Silesia; they expressed the interests of the nobility.

278. In view of the Socialists' success at the elections to the French Chamber of Deputies in August-September 1893 (see Note 208), the reactionary press mounted a campaign of slander accusing them of being German agents on the pretext that German Social-Democrats had donated 2,500 francs to the election fund. In this connection P. Lafargue wrote to Engels on 5 September 1893 that French Socialists had better not receive money from Germany in the future.

279. Engels means a congress held by the Social-Democratic Party of Germany in Cologne on 22-28 October 1893. The congress heard the reports of the Party Executive of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag, and discussed the Party press, the labour union movement and its support by the Social-Democrats, May Day celebrations in 1894, as well as August Bebel's report Antisemitismus und Sozialdemokratie'. The delegates came out against Social-Democrats taking part in the election to the Prussian Landtag and against any compromises with the bourgeois parties.

280. On 10 October 1893 P. Lafargue wrote to Engels about the plan to start a newspaper that could enable the Workers' Party to rise to a leading position in the French Socialist press. Here Engels recalls that in 1892 *Le Socialiste* had announced that it would be a daily newspaper as of October 1892; the announcement began with the words *'pour paraître en Octobre'* ('to appear in October'). In actual fact, *Le Socialiste* continued as a weekly.

281. The present letter was first published in English in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Correspondence 1846-1895. A Selection with Commentary and Notes.* London, Martin Lawrence, 1934.

282. Engels had the fee for his works printed by the Dietz Publishers in Stuttgart sent to V. Adler for the needs of Austrian Social-Democracy.

283. The Second Congress of the French Workers' Party that took place in Paris on 7-9 October 1893. The Congress was attended by 92 delegates representing 499 trade-union and Party organisations. Already at its first meeting the Congress adopted a Declaration urging inter nationalist actions of the proletariat; the Party voiced solidarity with the striking miners of France, Britain and Belgium and with militant Socialists in other countries. On the domes tic scene, the Declaration warned against the mounting wave of chauvinism.

The Congress also considered the returns of the elections to the French Chamber of Deputies (see Note 208), the tasks of Socialist deputies, Socialist propaganda, etc. The Party Congress stressed the need of unity among all Socialists and spoke out for the Socialist deputies forming a parliamentary group in the Chamber of Deputies; it also recommended that, whenever it was possible, they donate their deputy's fees for propaganda.

A report on the Congress was published by the newspaper *Vorwärts* (no. 240) on 12 October 1893 under the headline 'Der Kongress der Französischen Arbeiterpartei'.

284. The letter of Ferdinand Lassalle to Marx and Engels which Engels wanted published with his notes and a preface; this was done by Franz Mehring in 1902.

285. In the latter half of September 1893 French miners in the departments of Nord and Pas de Calais went on strike; the strikers demanded higher wages and a ban on dismissing workers older than forty. The stoppage lasted some two months and ended in a defeat.

At about the same time there was a strike of Belgian miners who demanded a 10 per cent wage rise. This strike, which ended in mid-October, also fell short of its objectives.

286. In the summer of 1893, after the announcement of a lockout in the British mining industry (see this volume, pp. 204-05), the employers tried to use strikebreakers. On 7 September 1893, as there was unrest among the miners of Featherstone (Yorkshire), the mine owners called in troops who opened fire, wounding several people. Thereupon nearly all the coal districts were overrun by government troops, a move that caused outrage countrywide. As a result, the employers had to refrain from introducing lower pay rates for the time being.

287. Engels sketched the draft of his reply to Ferdinand Wolff on the reverse side of Wolff's letter received late in October 1893 and containing innuendoes and threats against Engels. Ignorant as he was of Wolff's mental illness, Engels wrote a letter of reply, but it is not known whether it was ever sent. Visiting Wolff shortly afterwards, Engels could see at first hand his grave condition. See this volume, pp.222-23, 243.

288. Victor Adler made a German translation of the first volume of Stepniak-Kravchinsky's book *The Russian Peasantry. Their Agrarian Condition, Social Life, and Religion;* it was published in English by Sonnenschein in 1888. In his letter of 22 September 1892 Adler asked Engels to secure, through Stepniak's mediation, W Sonnenscheins formal permission for the publication of the German translation and for paying the royalties due to the author and the publisher. Stepniak read Adler's translation and wrote a brief preface to it. The book was published by J.H.W Dietz in Stuttgart in 1893 under the title *Der russische Bauer.*

289. Karl Kautsky, then in Stuttgart, told Engels in his letter of 1 November 1893 about his plans to move to Austria. In his letter of 25 November 1893, Kautsky explained that, while living in Stuttgart, he felt isolated from the Austrian working-class movement.

290. Karl Kautsky asked Eduard Bernstein to write an article on the general strike for publication in *Die Neue Zeit,* he hoped this would start a discussion on the subject. Engels' advice to Bernstein was apparently not taken into account, for in February 1894 *Die Neue Zeit* published Bernstein's article 'Der Streik als politische Kampfmittel'.

291. *The three-class electoral system {Dreiklassenwahl)* was introduced in Prussia in keeping with the electoral law of 30 May 1849, after the defeat of the 1848-49 Revolution. This system provided for high property qualifications and, consequently, contributed to unequal representation.

292. The reference is to the Croatian border regiments stationed in the Military Border Area, a special military region of the Austrian Empire along the frontier with Turkey.

*Ruthenes (Ruthenians)*—the name given in the nineteenth-century West-European ethnographical and historical works to the Ukrainian population of Galicia, Bukovina and the Eastern Carpathians, who were separated at the time from the rest of the Ukrainian people.

293. A reference to *Karl Marx. 'Le Capital'. Extraits faits par M. Paul Laforgue,* Vilfredo Pareto wrote the introduction. This book was published by Guillaumin in Paris in 1893.

294. Joseph Baernreither, a Liberal deputy, tabled a draft electoral reform on 13 October 1893; it granred voting rights in parliamenrary elections only to workers eligible for health insurance. They were to form a special curia. The draft law restricted to twenty the number of worker deputies elected in this way.

295. On 3 November 1893 opponents of the electoral reform assembled in Vienna's Ronacher Hall. This meering sparked a protest among Social-Democrat workers who responded by a demonstration which resulted in clashes with the police.

296. Engels sent this letter with the cheque to E Sorge's address in Hoboken; see this volume, pp. 229.

297- Engels indicated the following address on the envelope: Frau Liebknecht, Kantstr. 160, Charlotenburg/Berlin (Germany).

298. Karl Liebknecht, who together with his brother Theodor was doing his tour of duty in the Guards Corps of Engineers (Gardenpionieren) sought a court referendar's job (Gerichtsreferendar) at Hamm. Eventually he was offered to choose between Arnsberg and Paderborn (Westphalia).

299. *Bimetallism* (double currency)—a monetary system based on two metals (chiefly, gold and silver) with a fixed ratio to each other as legal tender.

300. In 594-593 B.C., Solon, an Athenian statesman and lawgiver, brought in a number of reforms so as to remodel the state and economic system of Athens. The situation was characterised by an acute struggle between the aristocracy and the people. The most important of Solon's reforms was one that abolished the land tenure debts of the Athenian peasants and prohibited bondage for defaulters, etc. Solon and his laws solidified Athens as a slave-owning city-state and laid the keystones of Athenian democracy.

301. A reference to the controversy over the McKinley protectionist tariff adopted in November 1890 (William McKinley was one of the leaders of the Republican Party [and President of the United States in 1897-1901]). The new tariff provided for a dramatic rise in duties on merchandise imported to the United States and, as a consequence, sent consumer prices up. The situation of the worrking class deteriorated as a result. The tariff bill invested the President with the right to increase import duties in the future as well. Engels commented on this legislation in his arricle 'The American Presidential Election' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 329-31).

302. This letter was written on a postcard. Engels indicated the following address: H. Schlüter Esq., 936 Washington St., Hoboken, N.J., US America.

303. *The Berne Copyright Convention* was signed on 9 September 1886 by Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy and other countries.

304. *Humpty Dumpty*—egg-shaped figure of a well-known nursery rhyme:
Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall,
Humpty Dumpty had a great fall.
All the king's horses
And all the king's men
Couldn't put Humpty together again.

305. In 1867 Benjamin Disraeli, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, played a crucial role in carrying out the Second Reform Act of 1867.

306. Engels wrote the draft of the reply on the reverse side of the letter which Paul Arndt had sent on 4 December 1893.

307. On 20 August 1893 Jules Guesde was elected to the French Chamber of Deputies from the town of Roubaix (see this volume, p. 182).

308. The Dupuy cabinet fell on 25 November 1893 after three-day debates on the government declaration in which Charles Dupuy leveled sharp attacks at socialism. The united socialist group in the Chamber took a firm stand against the course of the government majority and championed social reforms. The new cabinet, headed by Jean Casimir-Périer, ran into major difficulties at the very outset as Jean Juarès, speaking in a debate on the tax reform, tabled a motion whereby small farms were to be tax exempt. This proposal, made on behalf of the socialist parliamentary group, was carried by a majority of votes; however, Casimir-Périer annulled the results of voting to prevent a fall of the new cabinet.

309. In 1893 the anarchists committed a number of terrorist acts in Paris. Thus, on 9 December 1893 Auguste Vaillant threw a bomb into the hall where the French Chamber of Deputies was in session. The government retaliated by the laws against the anarchists (see Note 383) and by increasing the police budget.

310. Laura Lafargue was at the time translating into French Engels' *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* (see present edition, Vol. 26); the translation was published in the journal *L'Ere nouvelle* (No.4 and No. 5, 1894); Engels had read the MS of the translation.

311. Sir Henry Roscoe's and Carl Schorlemmer's work appeared in English under the title *A Treatise on Chemistry.* Volumes I-II I. London-New York, 1877-92; the whole edition comprised 9 books.
The German name of the work was *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Chemie.* Bände I-IV. Braunschweig, 1877-89. Julius Wilhelm Brühl continued the series beginning with Volume V; after C. Schorlemmer's death the nine-volume edition was completed in 1901.

312. Carl Schorlemmer's manuscript on the early history of chemistry, as mentioned by Adolf Spiegel in the obituary *Carl Schorlemmer,* was never published. This MS, written in German and 650 pages long, is in Manchester University library.

313. A reference to the English edition of Carl Schorlemmer's *The Rise and Development of Organic Chemistry* which came out in Manchester and London in 1879. The German text was published in 1889 as *Der Ursprung und die Entwicklung der organischen Chemie* in Brunswick. Arthur Smithells prepared a new English edition which was published in London and New York in 1894 under the same title as the 1879 edition.

314. A. Dworzak wrote a letter to Engels on 24-28 November 1893 in which she congratulated him on his 73d birthday.

315. A reference to the so-called 'original minute-book' fabricated by Prussian police spies and presented at the Cologne trial of Communists in 1852 as the chief evidence for the prosecution against members of the Communist League. See present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 420-43.

316. Engels never realised this intention.

317. Edouard Vaillant framed a draft law on abolishing the regular army and replacing it with a national milita; all the Socialist deputies put their signatures to it.

318. At the trial of Spanish anarchists in Madrid in 1890 it came out that one of them, Munoz, was a police agent. All the defendants were sentenced to 7 years of forced labour.

319. Speaking of the harmony between Carnot and the Russian tsar, Engels implied the Franco-Russian alliance sealed in those days (see Note 177). About the anarchist police bombs, see Note 309.

320. Engels sketched out a version of his reply on the reverse side of Giuseppe Cànepa's letter of 3 January 1894. Cànepa asked Engels to find an epigraph to the weekly *L'Era nuova* due to appear in Geneva as of March 1894 'which in a few words could synthesise the Socialist ideal and set off the new era against the old era that is epitomised in the Dantesque words: one people rules, and the other languishes'. For the quote given by Engels, see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 506.

321. On 5 January 1894 *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung* (No. 9) carried the article 'Das allgemeine Wahlrecht eine "konservative Maßregel'"; cited in this article was a passage from K. Kautsky's article 'Ein sozialdemokratischer Katechismus' published in December 1893 by *Die Neue Zeit* (Bd. I, NN 12 and 13, 1893-1894). The publication in *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung* proved the inadequacy and harm of a general political strike in the struggle for electoral reform.

322. The first congress of the Austrian trade unions, held in Vienna from 24 to 27 December 1893, set up a single centralised organisation and endorsed a single strike statute for all the unions. The congress spoke out against a general strike as a tool in the struggle for universal suffrage.

The Czech Social-Democrats held their congress on 24-26 December 1893 in Budweis (the present name, Ceské Budejovice). It passed a decision on forming a Czechoslavonian Social-Democratic Party [Ceskoslovanská Sociálne domekraticka strana] on the basis of the principles proclaimed by the Unification Congress of the Austrian Social-Democrats at Heinfeld in 1888 (see Note 272).

The proceedings of the congresses held by the Austrian trade unions and the Czech Social-Democrats were covered by *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung* (NN 1 and 2) on 2 and 5 January 1894.

323. The fourth Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Austria was held in Vienna on 25-31 March 1894. The Congress passed a resolution stating that the Austrian workers intended to campaign for universal suffrage using all available means, including a general strike. The congress also adopted new Party Rules and resolved to continue with the annual May Day celebrations by holding demonstrations for an 8-hour day, universal suffrage and in support of international brotherhood among all working people.

324. Engels wrote the following address on the envelope: G.W. Lamplugh Esq., Geological Survey, 28 Jermyn St., S.W.

325- Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* was first published under the pen name Democritus Junior in 1621. George William Lamplugh sent a copy of the ninth edition published in London in 1800.

326. Engels wrote the draft of his reply on the reverse side of Henri Ravé's letter of 1 January 1894.

327. Engels alludes to Karl Höger's speech at the congress of the Austrian trade unions (see Note 322).

328. Engels wrote these lines in the left margin of Albert Delon's letter of 19 January 1894 in which the sender asked for permission to translate Volume II of *Das Kapital* into French. The whereabouts of Engels' letter to A. Delon is not known.

329. Engels replies to W Borgius' letter of 19 January 1894. The journal *Der sozialistische Akedemiker* (No. 20, 1895) published this reply for the first time together with the addressee's name; the subsequent publications gave the wrong name, Heinz Starkenburg.

The condensed English version of the letter was first published in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V.I. Lenin, *On the Theory of Marxism,* International Publishers, New York, [1948].

330. On 26 January 1894 the newspaper *Vorwärts* published a lengthy article entitled 'Ein edles Brüderpaar' which claimed that Theodor Reuß and Heinrich Oberwinder had, beginning in 1886, been publicly exposed by the press as police spies.

As R. Fischer wrote in his letter of 27 January 1894, Reuß had voiced protest over this article and denied any connection between his departure from *The Daily Chronicle* and the exposures in *Vorwärts.* On 14 January 1894, Fischer also asked Engels if he remembered a second publication on Reuß in *Vorwärts* .

331. The Erfurt Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party took place on 14 to 20 October 1891. Among the other issues, the Congress discussed and adopted a new Party Programme which, despite some shortcomings, was essentially based on Marxist principles. The criticism of the original draft of the Programme, which Engels made in his work A Critique of the Draft of the Social-Democratic Programme of 1891' (see present edition, Vol. 27), applies in part to the adopted Programme. The decisions of the Erfurt Congress sealed the Marxist trend in Germany's working-class movement.

332. Apparently a reference to the fee for the Engels pamphlet *Internationales aus dem 'Volksstaat' (1871-75)* published in Berlin by the *Vorwärts* Editorial Board.

333. Engels left for Eastbourne on 9 February or thereabouts because of poor health; he stayed there until 1 March 1894.

334. The reference is to the Engels article 'The Future Italian Revolution and the Socialist Party' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 437-40) published by *Critica Sociale* (No. 3) on 1 February 1894; Victor Adler probably did not finish the translation of this article for *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung,* however, it appeared in *Der Sozialdemokrat* on 12 July 1894 under the heading 'Friedrich Engels über die Lage in Italien'.

335. Engels probably means the violent repression by the crew of the German cruiser *Die Hyäne* of a mutiny of native soldiers in the Cameroons on 21 December 1893.

336. Eduard Bernstein, Karl Kautsky and other authors were preparing a series of works on the history of socialism. In this connection Kautsky asked Engels in his letter of 7 February

1894 whether it would not be better to call it *History of Communism.* The book appeared in Stuttgart in 1895 under the title *Die Geschichte des Sozialismus in Einzeldarstellungen.*

337. Engels jotted down the draft of his reply on the reverse side of the letter from Professor Gizycki of Berlin, dated 14 February 1894; Georg von Gizycki asked Engels to contribute an article to the weekly *Ethische Kultur* on the ethical designation of the woman.

338. This letter was written on a postcard. Engels indicated the following address: Ed. Bernstein Esq., 50 Highgate Road, London, N.W.

339. Eduard Bernstein advised Engels to read Giordano Bruno's book *Del'Infinito, Universo e Mondi* which appeared in 1893 in Berlin; the title of the German translation was *Von Unendlichen, dem All und den Welten.*

340. Pertaining to the Socialist Party of the Italian Working People [Il Partito socialista dei lavo-ratori italiani] founded in 1892 at a congress in Genoa. The Party took a resolute stand in distancing itself from the anarchists; in 1895 it changed its name and came to be known as The Italian Socialist Party [Il Partito socialista italiano].

341. Engels congratulated Adelheid Dworzak and Julius Popp on their marriage which took place early in February 1894.

342. In February 1894 the French Chamber of Deputies debated the issue of corn tariffs. Jean Juarès proposed a law which provided for a state monopoly on grain imports. Jules Guesde supported this motion.

343. The Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany in Wyden (Switzerland) was held in August 1890. That was the first illegal congress of the German Social-Democrats following the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law of 1878 (see Note 15). The Congress criticised the anarchist stand of Johann Most and Wilhelm Hasselmann, who rejected all legal means of struggle, advocated individual terror and launched an open campaign against the Party leadership; it expelled them from the Party.

The Congress unanimously decided to strike out the word 'legal' from the statement contained in Part II of the Gotha Programme of 1875 to the effect that the Party was working to attain its goals 'with all legal means'. The Congress confirmed the status of *Der Sozialdemokrat* as the Party's official organ.

344. As August Momberger wrote to Engels on 26 February 1894, he wanted to take part in disseminating socialist ideas among foreigners resident in Wiesbaden, the English in the first place. He asked Engels to recommend the significant socialist, socio-political and natural science works, as well as some English journal similar to the German *Die Neue Zeit.*

345. On 12-29 July 1894 Britain had a parliamentary election which gave the Conservatives a majority of over 150 votes in the Commons. Many candidates from the Independent Labour Party, among them Keir Hardie, were blackballed.

346. Speaking in the Commons on 19 March 1894, Randolph Churchill proposed a bill banning members of the Liberal cabinet from interfering in the course of future parliamentary elections and from speaking in the constituencies.

347. Engels means the articles published anonymously by *Der Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Nos. 19-22) on 6, 13 and 16 March 1894; apparently they were written by Victor Adler. The article that Engels refers to appeared on 6 March 1894, likewise without a signature; it was entitled 'Die Wahlreform Stadnicki'. It criticised the draft of an electoral reform suggested by the coalition government of Alfred von Windischgrätz. The bill envisaged only an insignificant increase in the Reichstag representation by setting up a fifth curia.

348. The draft of this letter, which Engels wrote on the back side of Panait Musoiu's letter of 24 February 1894, is extant. The texts of the draft and the letter are identical.

Musoiu told Engels he had translated into Roumanian *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* and *The Manifesto of the Communist Party.* He asked Engels to write a preface to a second edition of these works.

349. In the summer of 1894 Victor Adler had to serve a prison term of 2.5 months on several counts: 14 days for a public insult to the district commissioner of the town of Ceska-Lipa, one month for his speech at a public rally in Vienna's Schwender Coliseum on 30 October 1893 and yet another month for his speech in the same 'coliseum' on 28 January 1894.

350. By using the conventional symbols adopted in biology (for the male sex and for the female sex), Engels meant *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung,* and *Die Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung,* a newspaper for the working women. Both were published in Vienna.

351. An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in K. Marx, E Engels, V.I. Lenin, *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism.* International Publishers, New York, 1972.

352. *Carlism*—onslaughts of the feudal reactionaries who unleashed two civil wars in Spain, in 1833-40 and in 1872-76, in the form of dynastic feuds between two lines of the Spanish Bourbons. Defeated in these wars were the Carlists, supporters of Don Carlos the Elder, whom they had proclaimed king in 1833. The Carlists relied on the backward strata of the peasantry and opposed forces interested in Spain's capitalist development. The two Carlist wars resulted in a weakening of the feudal-clerical strata and a strengthening of the positions of the bourgeoisie.

353. The Spanish anarchists had been perpetrating acts of terrorism since the late 1880s (in 1889 they bombed the royal palace).

354. Benno Karpeles sent Engels his book *Der Arbeiter des mährisch-schlesischen Steinkohlen-Reviers.* In his letter of 19 March 1894 he praised Engels as a scientist and author of the work *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* and as an outstanding socialist.

355. In her letter of 11 April 1894 Laura Lafargue told Engels that the French anarchists (libertaires) were out to publish one of the works of Eugen Dühring. In this connection Bonnet, the secretary of the Editorial Board of the journal *L'Ere nouvelle,* suggested that a translation into French of Engels' work *Anti-Dühring* should be begun without delay so as to have it ready before the appearance of Dühring's book. Such a translation did not materialise at the time.

356. Speaking in the Reichstag on 7 April 1894, Earl von Kanitz proposed a state monopoly of grain imports and exports; the state was likewise to fix grain prices. The Social-Democrats voted against; on 14 July 1894 the motion was rejected by 159 votes against 49.

357. Marx's *Speech on the Question of Free Trade was* published by *L'Ère nouvelle* (no. 6, 1894) and by *Le Socialiste* (No. 194-196, on 23, 30 June and 7 July 1894).

358. The English translation of Marx's *Speech on the Question of Free Trade* was published in Boston in 1888; it was prefaced by an introduction *(Free Trade)* written by Engels; it was published in Boston and London in 1889. The Italian translation of Marx's speech was published in *La Critica Sociale* (Nos. 7 and 8) on 1 and 16 April 1894; the same periodical carried Engels' introduction on 1 and 16 May and 1 June 1894 (Nos. 9, 10 and 11) [see also this volume, p. 297] ; both works then appeared in a booklet published in Milan in 1894.

359. Engels wrote the following address on the envelope that still remains: Sig. aw° Filippo Turati, Portici Galleria VE. 23, Milano, Italy.

360. Engels means A. Loria's article 'Karl Marx' published in *La Nuova antologia di scienze, lettere ed arti* on 1 April 1883 (see present edition, Vol. 47) as well as the preface to Volume II I of *Capital (see* present edition, Vol. 37).

361. Henry William Lee, writing to Engels on 13 April 1894, asked him to give a lecture to members of the Social-Democratic Federation.

362. Probably a reference to the newspaper *La Réveil Ouvrier,* the organ of the local organisation of the French Workers' Party in Calais.

363. The reference is to the proof sheets of the French edition of Marx's *Speech on the Question of Free Trade* (see note 357).

364. The Italian translation of Marx's *Speech on the Question of Free Trade,* put out in *La Critica Sociale,* was made from the Russian text published as a supplement to Marx's work *Misère de la philosophie (Poverty of Philosophy)* and translated from the German edition of 1885 by Georgi Plekhanov.

365. Engels wrote the following address on the envelope: Sig. aw° Filippo Turati, Portici Galeria VE. 23, Milano, Italy. The MS has the mark made by Turati: R 17/5.

366. First published in English in: *The Socialist Review* (London), 1908, II I-VII I, p. 32 (abridged).

367. This is how Engels referred to members of the Socialist Labour Party of North America founded in 1876, in which German emigrés continued to figure prominently.

368. Boris Krichevsky, a Russian emigré Socialist, had sent Engels the Russian translations of Marx's works *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and *Wage Labour and Capital* with Engels' introduction to the 1891 edition (see present edition, Vols. 11,9,26); both works, published in Geneva in 1894 in the series *Social-Democratic Library,* were translated into Russian by Krichevsky. He told Engels in his letter that the same publishers undertook the printing of Engels' article 'On Social Relations in Russia' (in the series of his articles *Refugee Literature)* [see present edition, Vol. 24]. Krichevsky asked Engels to write a preface to the Russian edition of the above article. However, the printing was stopped because of protest from Engels who had earlier given Vera Zasulich the copyright. This article appeared in V Zasulich's translation in *The Library of Contemporary Socialism* (Geneva, 1894) under the title 'Friedrich Engels on Russia. 1) A Reply to P.N. Tkachev (1875), 2) The Afterword (1894)'.

369. First published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain.* Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1953 (abridged).

370. Some of the works written by Engels in 1871-75 were republished in Berlin in 1894 in a separate edition entitled *Internationales aus dem 'Volksstaat' (1871-75).*

371. On 7 June 1894 Nikolai Danielson told Engels he had not recieved the next sheets of Volume II I of *Das Kapital.* He recommended a translator for the German edition of his *Essays on Our Post-Reform Social Economy.*

372. The Russian edition of Engels' work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* appeared in St. Petersburg in 1894. It was published with deletions made by the censor, in particular relating to Marx and his works.

373. N. Danielson had sent Engels the first two volumes of statistical data filed by the Department of Trade and Manufactories of the Russian Finance Ministry for the 1893 World Columbian Exhibition in Chicago: *The Industries of Russia. Manufactures and Trade:*

*with a General Industrial Map,* St. Petersburg, 1893. Russia was among the countries participating in the exhibition sponsored by the U.S. Congress to commemorate the quadricennial of America's discovery and its discoverer, Columbus.

374. Eugéne Turpin, a French chemist who in 1885 invented melinite, a powerful explosive, was accused of trying to sell his invention to a foreign power; he was cleared of this charge. However, he was nevertheless sentenced to five years in prison for publishing in 1889 a pamphlet on this episode. Turpin was pardoned on 10 April 1893. The newspaper *Le Temps* said on 2 June 1894 that the aim of the whole affair was publicity for the firm exploiting the Turpin invention.

375. An allusion to the case of the Building Society whose director, Spender Jabez Balfour, had fled overseas. Anthony John Mundells, an MP from Sheffield, President of the Board of Trade and, until 1892, Director of the New Zealand Loan Company, had to resign on 12 May 1894. Acting together with James Fergusson and John Gorst, he in 1893 closed down the company that had become the target of a public investigation.

376. Stanislaw Zablocki in his letter of 3 June 1894 asked for permission to publish the Polish translation of Engels' article 'The Polish Proklamation'.

377. The central organ of the Austrian Social-Democratic Workers' Party *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung* was a weekly newspaper in 1893; it became a semiweekly in 1894 and a daily as of January 1895.

378. The French President S. Carnot was assassinated by Santo Caserio, an Italian anarchist, on 24 June 1894. On 17 August 1893, the Aiguesmortes salt mines in Southern France were the scene of bloody clashes between French and Italian workers; the cause of the conflict was that the employers were paying higher wages to the French workers than to their Italian mates.

379. Apparently Engels wrote this letter after Hellmut von Gerlach had visited him late in June 1893 on Major Otto Wachs' recommendation.

380. *Der Sozialdemokrat* (Zurich) on 24 December 1887 promulgated a list of Berlin police agents. Among the agents exposed by Swiss Socialists was Heinrich Oberwinder, formerly a member of the First International (see also Engels' letter to Paul Lafargue of 29 December 1887, present edition, Vol. 48).

381. For cited passages see present edition, Vol. 37, Part I, K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. II I, present edition, pp. 374, 378, 382.

382. In connection with a third German edition of *Anti-Dühring* due for publication, Engels revised somewhat the Marx-written Chapter X of the second part of this work; the title of the chapter was *From 'CriticalHistory'*(see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 211-43, and also p. 15); the third edition of *Anti-Dühring* was off in Stuttgart in 1894.

383. Using the anarchist acts of terror as a pretext, the French government enacted laws against anarchists, the vague wording of which made it possible to apply them against Socialists as well. The first enactment was endorsed in December 1893 after August Vaillant had thrown a bomb in the French Chamber of Deputies (see Note 309); the second enactment was approved at the end of July 1894 after the assassination of President Carnot by the Italian anarchist Caserio (see Note 378), against heavy resistance from the Socialists and some of the Radicals. These two bills imposed restrictions on freedom of the press and provided for special courts to handle cases of violation of the laws on the press.

384. Twenty-two German emigrés took part in the Scotch miners' strike being held at the time. In their latter of 19 July 1894 signed by August Siegel and other German miners, they asked Engels to send their message to the Executive of the German Social-Democratic Party in which they requested a loan of 300 marks; they also asked Engels to approach Julius Motteler and other comrades in London with a request for material assistance.

385. First published in English in K. Marx and F. Engels, *On the United States,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979 (abridged).

386. Concerning Paul Lafargue's negotiations with the Paris publisher Charles Marie Delagrave about the publication of his work *Origine et évolution de la propriété (see* Note 567).

387. F. Turati wrote, on this letter with his own hand: 'Scritto a Treves. R[isposto] 2./8./94. Tornato a rispondere 678794/ ('Written in Treves. Replied 2787947. In receipt of reply a new letter was written 6./8./94.')

388. In 1893-94 Sicily was the stage of sporadic peasant revolts caused by the aftermath of an economic crisis and abuses of the local administration. The revolts were crushed by brute force.

389. It was stated on the reverse side of the letter that the parcel and the letter with it were for Victor Adler; the parcel contained newspapers that could not be sent to Austria, while enclosed in the letter was about two pounds sterling. Engels was asked to get this letter to the addressee; the signature was illegible.

390. At the request of Pablo Iglesias, Engels wrote the appeal 'To the English Socialist and Working Men's Organisations' (see present edition, Vol. 27) in which he gave notice of the forthcoming 4th annual Congress of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party. He sent similar appeals also to the Social-Democrats of Austria and Germany.

The Fourth Congress of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party took place in Madrid from 29 August to 1 September 1894. The Congress heard reports of the Party's National Council and of a delegate who had attended the International Socialist Working-Men's Congress in Zurich (held in 1893, see Note 229); it discussed the issue of the Party press and adopted the new Party Rules. The Congress received numerous messages of greeting from the British organisations to which Engels had appealed, as well as from the Socialists of Britain, Austria, Germany and other countries.

391. A reference to the Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union, the first union of unskilled workers in the history of the British labour movement. It was formed in late March-early April 1889 under the conditions of a mounting strike movement. A major contribution to the foundation and work of the union was made by Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling. The Union campaigned for the legal eight hours. It gained considerable influence within a short span of time; as many as 100,000 gas works employees joined it within a year.

392. A reference to the Fourth International Socialist Working-Men's Congress (Second International) which met in London in July 1896.

393. Engels was taking a rest in Eastbourne from 14 August to 18 September 1894.

394. Engels probably refers to the speeches made at the Zurich International Socialist Working-Men's Congress (see Note 229) by some members of the French delegation who leveled sharp criticism at the parliamentary activity of Socialists and put forward the idea of social revolution by means of a general strike. Among the members of the French delegation was Paul Arndt, a Paris correspondent of the newspaper *Vorwärts.*

395. In his letter to Engels on 12 August 1894 Eduard Bernstein wrote about the International Congress of Textile Workers held in Manchester in July 1894; in his opinion, it was an attempt to divorce trades-union congresses from socialist congresses. In this context Bernstein also mentioned Paul Arndts article about the Manchester Congress, which appeared in *Vorwärts* on 2 August 1894. (Subsequently Engels received the issue of the newspaper *Der Textil-Arbeiter* with commentaries on the Congress.) Bernstein asked Engels what he thought of the Manchester Congress and of the decision of the conference of the Social-Democratic Federation (see Note 44) to convene an exclusively socialist congress prior to the congress of 1896 (see this volume, pp. 340-41, 343). The present letter contains Engels' reply to Bernstein's questions.

396. The 27th Annual Congress of the British Trades-Unions was held in Norwich on 3-8 September 1894. The Trades-Union Congress spoke out for the legal eight hours and for the nationalisation of all means of production, distribution and exchange; for Engels' assessment of this congress, see this volume, pp. 341, 343-44, 347.

397. In his letter of 15 August 1894, Thomas Clark asked Engels if he could vouch for Stanislaw Mendelson 'as a yearly tenant'.

398. Filippo Turati wrote to Engels in his letters of 2 and 6 August 1894 he had made inquiries about Felice Pasquali, an Italian emigré in London (see this volume, pp. 333, 338-39) and received contradictory references; thus, some called him 'seccatore di prima sfera' ('a burr of the first water').

399. Engels had stayed in Milan for three months in 1841.

400. Together with his letter of 2 August 1894 Filippo Turati sent Engels a photograph of a mold cast in Florence from the bust of K. Marx and asked him as well as Eleanor Marx-Aveling to confirm the likeness of the replica before it was cast.

401. Engels means the Exceptional Law on Public Security passed by the Italian Parliament on 14 July 1894. This law, enacted with the aim of combatting the anarchists, was used by the Crispi government against the working-class movement and Socialists as well. It banned the Socialist Party of the Italian Working People *(Il Partito Socialista dei lavoratori italiani),* closed worker organisations and worker periodicals; arbitrary arrests, searches and trials assumed mass proportions. All this notwithstanding, the Italian Socialists kept up their struggle and, in January 1895, they convened in Parma illegally for a third congress of their party.

402. Belfast was the venue of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Trades-Union Congress. It recognised the principle of collective ownership of the means of production and distribution and supported the demand for the legal eight hours.

403. The International Congress of Trade Unions, convened in London in November 1888 at the initiative of the British trades unions, involved delegates from Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Italy as well as representatives of the the trade-union organisations in France. However, Germany and Austria were not represented—trade unions were illegal there and could not send their delegates. The Congress called on the working people to wage a struggle for labour protection laws and for the legal eight hours; it adopted a decision on convening an International Working-Men's Congress in Paris in 1889 (see Note 227).

404. A reference to the 14th Annual Conference of the Social Democratic Federation, held in London on 5 and 6 August 1894.

405. *New Unionism*—a development in the British trade-union movement at the end of the 1880s in the shape of the 'new' trades unions. Unlike the old craft unions—admitting craft workers exclusively—the new unions were open to labourers as well. The new labour organisations were formed by the various trades employed in a given industry (general unions). British Socialists, in particular Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Tom Mann, played a major part in setting up the new trades unions. Engels made an appraisal of New Unionism in his article 'May 4 in London' and in the Preface to the 1892 English Edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England (see,* present edition, Vol. 27).

406. The 12th Congress of the French Workers' Party *{Le Parti ouvrier français)* took place in Nantes on 14-16 September 1894 in a situation characterised by a mounting peasant movement, reactionary onslaughts and growing differences in the French Socialist movement. The Congress pointed to the heavier commitment of the French working people against the anti-Socialist laws of 1893-94 (see Note 383) and distanced itself from the anarchists who, by their terrorist acts, provided a pretext for adoption of these laws. In one of its major decisions the Congress adopted the motivational part of the Party's agrarian programme and incorporated a number of specific demands into it. For Engels' critique of the Nantes agrarian programme see *The Peasant Question in France and Germany* (see present edition, Vol. 27).

407. This and the preceding paragraph deal with an article on Volume II I of *Das Kapital* which E. Bernstein intended to write for *Die Neue Zeit* (see Note 542); having read the proof sheets of Volume II I, he told Engels in his letter of 5 September 1894 about the errata he had found. Bernstein refused to fulfill H. Schlüters request to contribute an article on the same subject for *New Yorker Volkszeitung.*

408. As Eduard Bernstein wrote to Engels on 5 September 1894, Joseph Edwards invited him to write a series of articles on the situation of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party and its plans for the future; the proposed materials were intended for *The Labour Annual,* a publication that J. Edwards was editing. Bernstein also told Engels that Edward Aveling had advised him not to take part in that publication.

409. An allusion to the Chino-Japanese War of 1894-95 which ended in China's defeat. By the Peace Treaty of Shimonoseki, Korea, overrrun by Japan, received nominal independence. China ceded a number of its islands (including Taiwan) to Japan. China was also to pay a war indemnity of 200,000,000 taels.

410. First published in English in K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Colonialism.* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1959 (abridged).

411. The fees for the articles which Engels wrote for *Die Neue Zeit* were being sent, according to his instructions, to V. Adler for the Austrian Social-Democrats. However, since the royalties due for the chapters for *Das Kapital,* published in the same periodical, had been remitted by mistake to V Adler's account, Engels asked for the reimbursement of the sum to Marx's heirs at the expense of his article 'On the History of Early Christianity' (see present edition, Vol. 27).

412. On 14 and 21 October 1894 Belgium had its first elections in accordance with the new electoral law adopted on 18 April 1893 (see Note 276). The Belgian Workers' Party succeeded in having 30 of its representatives elected to the Chamber of Deputies.

    By calling the Belgian elections a second victory, Engels meant to say that the first victory was won in April 1893 when the Belgians gained universal suffrage.

413. Georgi Plekhanov in his letter of 30 October 1894 asked Engels for permission to look through the files of the newspaper *Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and the journal *Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* which Engels had in his custody.

414. This letter was written on a postcard on which Engels indicated the following address: 'Herrn Carl Hirsch, Red. der *Rheinischen Zeitung,* Hämmergasse 37, Köln, Germany.'

415. This letter was written on a postcard on which Engels indicated the address: 'Mrs. Aveling, 7 Gray's Inn Square, W.C.'

416. The reference is to the anonymous note 'Die Verleumderischen Hetzereien Hyndman's carried by the newspaper *Vorwärts* (No. 262) on 9 November 1894. It said Hyndman's attacks on the German Social-Democrats elicited disapproval among the British Socialists and workmen.

417. First published in English in an abridged form in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895.* A Selection with Commentary and Notes. London, Lawrence, 1934.

418. Engels refers to a congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany held in Frankfurt am Main on 21-27 October 1894. The co-report on the main issue on the agenda—the agrarian question—was made by Georg von Vollmar, the leader of the Bavarian Social-Democrats; he insisted on augmenting the agrarian programme by clauses expressing the interests of all the peasantry, including the affluent strata. Some of the delegates, August Bebel among them, voiced objections. The congress elected a commission that was to draft the final text of the Party's agrarian programme as a supplement to the general programme. In addition, delegates heard the reports of the Party Executive Board and the Party group in the Reichstag; it considered such issues as the role of trusts and other major capitalist amalgamations, May Day celebrations, etc.

The final account of the proceedings of the Frankfurt Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party was published by the newspaper *Vorwärts* (No. 254) on 31 October 1894.

419. A reference to P. Lafargue's report 'La propriété paysanne et l'évolution économique', presented on behalf of the National Council of the French Workers' Party to its Nantes congress (see Note 406). Lafargue's report was also published by *Der Sozialdemokrat* (No. 38, supplement) on 18 October 1894.

420. Engels' work *On the History of Early Christianity* (see present edition, Vol. 27), translated into French by Laura Lafargue, appeared in the journal *Le Devenir social* (nos. 1 and 2, 1895) under the title *Contribution a l'Histoire du Christianisme primitif.*

*All.* In his *Letter to the Editors of 'Vorwärts' {see* present edition, Vol. 27) Engels refuted the statement made by Georg von Vollmar at the Frankfurt Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party.

422. This letter was written on a postcard on which Engels indicated the following address: Ed. Bernstein Esq., 50, Highgate Road, N.W.

423. Engels wrote this letter on a postcard on which he indicated the following address: Ed. Bernstein Esq., 29, Red Lion Square, W.C.

424. A reference to the polemics between Karl Kautsky and Georg Ledebour in the newspaper *Vorwärts* in a discussion after the Frankfurt Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party (see Note 418). On 20 November 1894 *Vorwärts* carried Kautsky's protest against Ledebour's contention to the effect that Kautsky—in his article on the Erfurt Programme—and Georg von Vollmar and others—in the debates on the agrarian question

at the Party Congress—had said there would be only petty peasant property in a socialist society. *Vorwärts* published Ledebour's objections on 21 November 1894.

425. On 14 November 1894 August Bebel spoke at a party meeting in Berlin's second constituency with a critique of the stand taken by Georg von Vollmar and other Bavarian Social-Democrats at the Frankfurt Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party (see Note 418) and of the resolution adopted by the Congress on the agrarian question. Bebel's speech was published by the newspaper *Vorwärts* (No. 268) on 16 November and reprinted in *La Critica Sociale* (No. 23) on 1 December 1894.

426. The agrarian programme sparked great controversy within the International Working-Men's Association (First International). It was hammered out in an acute struggle against the Proudhonists, who were insisting on the immutability of petty private ownership of land, and the Bakuninists, out to prove that with the abolition of inheritance, private property—including private ownership of land—would wither away. After prolonged debates the Brussels Congress of the First International (1868) and then its Basel Congress (1869) recognised the abolition of private ownership of land and its transformation into public ownership as a necessary condition.

427. The anonymous note 'On the Fourth Volume of Karl Marx's Capital' (see present edition, Vol. 27) was written by Engels in reply to an editorial carried by the newspaper *Vorwärts* (No. 266) on 14 November 1894 about the publication of Volume II I of *Capital.* The editorial contained false data on the nature of the manuscript of Volume IV; in addition, the editors wrongly assumed Engels had given up his intention to have it published. Engels' refutation was published by Karl Kautsky in *Die Neue Zeit* (No. 9), 1894-95, Vol. 1.

428. Engels refers to the Draft of a Law on amendments and addenda to the Criminal Code, the Military Criminal Code and the legislation on the press ('Der Entwurf eines Gesetzes, betreffend Änderungen und Ergänzungen des Strafgesetzbuchs, des Militärstrafgesetzbuchs und des Gesetzes über die Presse), known for short as the *Subversion Bill* ('Umsturzvollage'). It envisaged harsh punishment for 'the intention to effect an overthrow of the existing state system' even in the absence of a criminal act, and also for an encroachment on religion, monarchy, matrimony and property. The government tabled the draft law in the Reichstag in December 1894, but the top German legislature rejected it in May 1895.

429. On 26 October 1894 Reichskanzler Leo von Caprivi was forced to resign; he was succeeded by Fürst (Prince) zu Hohenlohe-Schillings.

430. In his letter of 12 November 1894 Nikolai Danielson told Engels about the publication of Pyotr Struve's book *Critical Notes on the Question of the Economic Development of Russia* and asked permission to quote passages from Engels' letters to him in his comments on the above book.

431. A reference to the second congress held by the Bavarian Social-Democratic organisation on 30 September 1894 in Munich. It was attended by 160 delegates. Two questions were on the agenda: 1) the activity of Social-Democratic Deputies in the Bavarian Landtag and 2) agitation among the peasants. Georg von Vollmar and Karl Grillenberger drew support from the majority of the congress which approved the activity of the Social-Democratic parliamentary group and adopted a decision on setting up a special organisation of the Bavarian Social-Democratics under the central guidance of the Landtag deputies—von Vollmar, Karl Grillenberger and others.

*Sonderbund*—an ironic analogy with the separatist union of reactionary Catholic cantons in Switzerland in the 1840s (see Note 273); here Engels means the separatist leanings of the Bavarian Social-Democrats.

432. Engels means the two editorial materials probably written by Wilhelm Liebknecht: the leading article in the newspaper *Vorwärts* (No. 273, 23 November 1894) under the title 'In eigener Sache' and a note under the same name carried by *Vorwärts* (No. 274, 24 November 1894) in the section *Zur Diskussion über den Frankfurter Parteitag.* The editors said in the former article they were 'diametrically opposed' to what Bebel had said at the meeting in the second constituency of Berlin (see Note 425). In the latter publication the editors said that in the leading article in *Vorwärts* on 23 November 1894 they had meant only 'Bebel's pessimistic appraisal of the entire course of the proceedings at the Party Congress and its spiritual level' (about the Frankfurt Congress see Note 418).

433. Engels means the anonymous article 'The Movement in Germany' published in *Justice* (No. 568) on 1 December 1894. The author of that article reproached the editors of *Vorwärts* for their silence about the differences among the German Social-Democrats over the agrarian issue and the attacks on *Justice* and Hyndman. A reply to that article appeared in the next issue of *Justice* (No. 569) on 8 December 1894; it was E. Bernstein's statement 'The *Vorwärts* and *Justice* . To the Editor of *Justice* in which he rebutted the accusations.

434. A reference to A. Bebel's speech in the second constituency of Berlin on 14 November 1894 (see Note 425).

Georg von Vollmar and Karl Grillenberger replied with a press polemic. Thus, on 17 and 21 November 1894 Grillenberger published notes in his newspaper *Frankische Tagespost* in which he commented on the above speech and which were reprinted by the newspaper *Vorwärts* (Nos. 271 and 274); on 20 and 24 November 1894 von Vollmar burst into print in the newspaper *Münchener Post* with a series of articles entitled *Bebel's Fahnenerhebung* which soon after were reprinted by the newspaper *Vorwärts* (Nos. 273, 274 and 276) on 23, 24 and 27 November 1894. A.Bebel responded by two statements and four articles under the general title *Zur Diskussion über den Frankfurter Parteitag. Zur Entgegnung* which were published by *Vorwärts* in November-December 1894.

435. Filippo Turati wrote to tell Engels on 28 November 1894 that a Socialist group of Italian university students was planning to release an *Almanocco socialista per l'anno 1895* and would like to have a short note from him.

436. On 6 December 1894 the members of the Social-Democratic faction in the Reichstag did not rise but remained seated as the Reichstag President von Levetzow had proposed the health of Emperor William II , and the other deputies had stood up to shout three 'hurrahs!' Such behaviour of the Social-Democratic group was qualified as *lèse-majesté*, thereupon the district court of Berlin decided to start criminal proceedings against Liebknecht. On 11 December the Reichskanzler, Prince zu Hohenlohe, demanded that the Reichstag approve the court decision. But on 15 December the Reichstag rejected this demand by 168 votes against 58.

437. A reference to the speech made by Georg von Vollmar at an open Social-Democratic meeting in Munich on 1 June 1891 on the targets and tactics of the Party under the conditions of the 'new course' so-called proclaimed by the Caprivi government. He attempted to get the Social-Democratic Party to cooperate with the ruling classes in matters of both domestic and foreign policy, especially in the event of a war within Russia. Von Vollmar's speech, which received approval from the bourgeois press, was condemned at Party meetings, by most of the Party's newspapers and then at the Erfurt Congress which took place on 14-20 October 1891.

438. Engels refers to the polemics of the newspaper *Vorwärts* with Georg von Vollmar, which was touched off by his article 'Le socialisme de M. Bismarck et le socialisme de l'empereur

Guillaume' published by the French journal *Revue bleue. Revue politique et littéraire* in June 1892. Von Vollmar claimed that some of the planks of the Erfurt Programme of the German Social-Democratic Party were akin to the state socialism of Bismarck and Emperor William II . This article sparked off a wide discussion in the Social-Democratic press. The newspaper *Vorwärts,* in its editorials on 6,12,21 and 22 July 1892 (Nos. 155,160,168,169) censured von Vollmar's views.

439. In 1867 Georg von Vollmar served as a volunteer in a detachment in the employ of the Papal States.

440. On 12 December 1894 Wilhelm Liebknecht spoke in the Reichstag in debates on the state budget for 1895-96 and other bills. Liebknecht devoted most of his speech to the Subversion Bill (see Note 428) and to the issue of *lèse-majesté* (see Note 436).

441. On 13 December 1894 Witold Jodko-Narkiewicz asked Engels for permission to translate his work *The Peasant Question in France and Germany* (present edition, Vol. 27) for the Polish journal *Przedsmit.* The translation was published in No. 12 of this journal for 1894.

442. The archives of German Social-Democracy were set up in 1882 to preserve for posterity the manuscripts of figures prominent in the German working-class movement (including those of Marx and Engels), the literature on German history and the international working-class movement as well as related press publications. With the abrogation of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 15) these archives were moved from Zurich to Berlin.

443. Marx died before completing the MS of his *Theories of Surplus Value* for publication; this work constituted a relatively independent part of a larger manuscipt dated 1861-63 (see present edition, Vols. 30-34). Nor could Engels realize in his lifetime the intention of publishing the Marxian manuscript as Volume IV of *Capital.* It was K. Kautsky who had *The Theories of Surplus Value* published in 1905-10.

444. This letter was written on a postcard, with the following address: Monsieur Pierre Lavroff, 328, rue Saint Jacques, Paris - France.

445. On 11 December 1894 the Italian Prime-Minister Giovanni Giolitti had to hand to the Parliament the documents on abuses in *La Banca Romana* (Roman Bank); (see Engels' article 'The Italian Panama, present edition, Vol. 27) whereupon a commission of inquiry was set up.

446. Engels indicated the following address on the postcard on which the letter was written: G.W Lamplugh Esq., 28 Jermin St., S.W.

447. Only an excerpt from this letter to Paul Singer has come down; it was quoted in the article 'Berlin Bierboykott' published in the newspaper *Vorwärts* (No. 1) on 1 January 1895.

448. The text of this letter without the opening greeting. The initial phrase is published in the present edition, Vol. 27, under the title 'Message of Greetings to the Austrian Workers on the Daily Publication of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung.*

*AA9.* On 23 December 1894 Laura Lafargue told Engels that the newspapers *Le Peuple* (Lyon) and *Réveil du Nord* (Lille) of the French Workers' Party would thereforth be daily publications.

450. *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* was published in the monthly *L'Ére nouvelle* (Nos. 9-11) in September-December 1894. Laura Lafargue, who wanted to have it published as a separate pamphlet, asked Engels on 23 December 1894 for advice about the preface. The

pamphlet that appeared in 1895 with the *L'Ère nouvelle* Publishers had the short prefatory note which had preceded the text of the first publication.

By referring to the 'four prefaces' to the *Manifesto* Engels meant one, to the London German-language edition of 1890; those to the German editions of 1872, 1883 and 1890, and probably the preface to the Russian edition of 1882 included into the preface of 1890.

451. Alfred-Léon Gérault-Richard, a Blanquist, was the first to be convicted in keeping with the French law of July 1894 against the anarchists (see Note 383); he received the maximum punishment—one year in prison and a fine of 3,000 francs for his article in the newspaper *Le Chambard* in which he attacked President Jean Casimir-Périer. Thereupon, on 6 January 1895, Blanquists nominated his candidacy in the 13th constituency of Paris. Gérault-Richard was elected to the Chamber of Deputies and set free.

452. Engels wrote the following dedication to Victor Adler on the title page of Volume II I *of Das Kapital:* 'Seinem Victor Adler, London. 1/1.95 ('To my Victor Adler, London. 1.1.95').

453. After the publication of Volume II I *of Das Kapital in* December 1894 Engels began preparations for republishing the earlier works written by Marx and himself, including those published by the *New-York Daily Tribune* in the 1850s. Therefore in January 1895 he resumed his correspondence with Ludwig Kugelmann who for many years had been collecting the works of Marx and Engels for his library.

454. In September 1893, during his trip to the European continent, Engels had two meetings with L. Kugelmann in Berlin to discuss the planned publication of the works of Marx and Engels.

455. As L. Kugelmann wrote to Engels on 7 January 1895, Hermann Meyer, who emigrated to America after the 1848 Revolution, had been collecting Marx's works. After Meyer's death in a shipwreck in 1875, the books and other documents that still remained in his collection fell into the hands of his nephew, Max Livingston of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Having learned of this, Kugelmann asked Lvingston to send on Marx's works in his possession. Livingston replied in his letter on 21 March 1876 that he had only the articles and reports written by Marx for the *New-York Daily Tribune* in 1851-58 (see also Note 559).

456. On 28 December 1894 L. Kugelmann wrote this to Engels: 'Indicated in the list of 'errata' for Volume II I is also "page 352, line 13 from top", but I have found none.—Will you not give the correct place in the *Neue Zeit* and *Vorwärts?'*

457. In his letter to 11 August 1894 Hermann Schlüter asked Engels to approach Eduard Bernstein with an invitation to contribute a series of articles on Volume II I of *Das Kapital* for the newspaper *New-Yorker Volkszeitung (see* also this volume, p. 345).

E. Bernstein's articles under the general title *Der dritte Band des 'Kapital'*appeared in *Die Neue Zeit* (13.Jahrgang, 1. Band, Nr. 11-14, 16, 17) in 1894-95.

458. On 3 May 1894 the workers of Berlin breweries declared a 'beer boycott' to protest against the firing of about 300 coopers of the Ricksford Union of Brewers who had taken part in the May Day demonstrations of 1894. The brewery workers pressed their demands for hav ing May 1 as a day off, for reducing the working day to 9 hours, a legal status for the trade-union organisations of brewers, an independent court of arbitration, and for the reinstate ment of the sacked workers with compensation for damages. The owners of large breweries responded by a mass lockout. However, since the beer boycott attained a wide scope, in September 1894 the employers had to enter into negotiations with the workers and meet their demands by and large. An arbitration court, comprising representatives of employers and workers, was likewise set up. The beer boycott was stopped on 26 December 1894.

459. As Karl Kautsky wrote to Engels on 29 December 1894, Wilhelm Liebknecht had found the original of the letter Marx had written to Johann Baptist Schweitzer; he also said that Liebknecht was going to offer it to Dietz Publishers for publication. However, Liebknecht did not know that this letter had been published as an article—under the name 'On Proudhon'—by the newspaper *Der Sozial-demokrat* in February 1865 (see present edition, Vol. 20). Kautsky also told Engels he had found certain differences between the manuscript and the printed text of the article.

460. Probably a reference to Ernst von Köllers speech in the Reichstag on 15 December 1894. Speaking in the debates on court proceedings against W. Liebknecht (see Note 436), von Köller advocated suffer disciplinary liability for Reichstag deputies.

461. Engels mentioned A. Bebel's speech in the Reichstag on 15 December 1894 in the debates on bringing W. Liebknecht to court trial (see Note 436). Bebel drew attention to the violation of Article 30 of the Constitution which prohibited court prosecution of deputies for statements made in the Reichstag.

462. A reference to the constitutional conflict of February 1860 in Prussia between the Prussian government supported by the Junkertum, on the one hand, and the bourgeois majority of the lower house of the Prussian Landtag, on the other, over appropriations for army reorganisation.

463. Writing to Engels on 26 November 1894, Paul Stumpf voiced his apprehensions about the differences at the Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party in Frankfurt am Main in October 1894 (see Note 418) which, in his view, showed the inadequate theoretical grounding of the young party members.

464. A reference to the *German People's Party (Deutsche Volkspartei)* founded in 1865; it comprised democratic elements of the petty bourgeoisie and to some extent those of some other strata of the bourgeoisie—for the most part from the southern German states. The German People's Party opposed the Prussian hegemony in Germany and championed a Great German Reich, so-called, which was to include Prussia and Austria. Although it steered anti-Prussian policies and put forward democratic slogans, the People's Party expressed at the same time the particularist aspirations of the individual German states. It was against Germany's unification into unified democratic republic.

465. An allusion to the stay of Marx and Engels in Mainz on 7-9 April 1848 en route from Paris to Cologne. While in Mainz, they met local members of the Communist League, including Paul Stumpf, to discuss the unification of workers' associations for participation in the German revolution of 1848.

466. In his letter of 6 September 1894 Pasquale Martignetti asked Engels to tell Edward Aveling that the attempt to publish in Italian his work *The Student's Marx* had not come off.

467. Martignetti's Italian translation of the preface which Engels had writen to Volume II I of *Capital was* published in the journal *Le Rassegna agraria, industrials, commerciale, letteraria, politica, artisticaNo.l/2* for January 1895.

468. A reference to the note written by Louise Freyberger (Kautsky)—'Aus den Trades-Unions'—and published by *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung (No.* 15, 15 January 1895; signed: K.L.); also, to the anonymous report *England,* published by the same newspaper on 5 January 1895 (No. 5) in the feature *Aus den Organisationen.*

469. This dispatch by Louise Freyberger (Kautsky) about the report of Mrs. Crawford to the newspaper *Weekly Dispatch* on 6 January 1895 was published by *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung* (No. 10) on 10 January 1895 (signed: K.L.).

470. In his letter to Engels on 27 December 1894 Victor Adler asked him to invite Emile Vandervelde as a correspondent for the Vienna newspaper *Arbeiter-Zeitung.* A similar request was uttered with respect to Paul Lafargue as well (see Note 477).

471. On 27 December 1894 Victor Adler wrote in his letter to Engels about his plans to have the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* publish the article 'Karl Marx in Wien' and asked if Engels could help him with the material for it. He also said he had found some of the data in the newspaper *Der Radikale* published in 1848 by Alfred Julius Becher.

    On 24 January 1895, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* published Max Bach's article 'Karl Marx in Wien" which drew upon the facts supplied by Engels (see also this volume, p. 434).

472. An English excerpt from this letter was first published in *Marx and Engels on Malthus.* Edited by Ronald L. Meek, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1953.

473. Engels wrote this letter on a postcard with the following address: Herrn Dr. L. Kugelmann, 20 BI Warmbüchenstr., Hannover, Germany.

474. On 9 August 1848 the Prussian National Assembly approved the motion of one of the deputies, Julius Stein, whereby the War Minister Schreckenstein was to issue an order providing for a voluntary discharge of army officers opposing the constitutional aspirations of the people. Yet no such order was issued. On 7 September 1848 Stein tabled his motion again and demanded an immediate vote on it. The proposal was adopted by 219 votes against 143; as a result, the Auerswald-Hansemann government had to tender its resignation. The Pfuel cabinet that succeeded did finally issue the order on 26 September 1848, but it remained on paper only.

475. In the preface to Volume II I of *Capital* Engels took a critical view of certain tenets of George Stiebeling's work *Das Werthgesetz und die Profit-Rate. Leichtfaßliche Auseinandersetzung einiger wissenschaftlicher Fragen.* Stiebeling's letter was published in *Die Neue Zeit,* 13. Jg.1894-95, 1 Bd., No. 18.

476. Speaking on 7 January 1895 in the Reichstag debates on the proposed Subversion Bill (see Note 428), Ignaz Auer argued there were no valid motives for its introduction.

477. P. Lafargue began to cooperate with the *Arbeiter-Zeitung.* His first article "Der 'Panama Bazillus'" was published by this newspaper on 8 January 1895-

478. A hint at the Reichstag speech on 10 January 1895 by the German War Minister General Bronsart von Schellendorff in the debates on the Subversion Bill *(Die Umsturzvorlage,* see Note 428). He tried to validate the necessity of this legislation by pointing to the activity of 'instigators' who had to be combatted with the aid of law and right.

479. Speaking in the Chamber of Deputies on 10 January 1895, Etienne Millerand proposed that Gérault-Richard be released from prison (see Note 451) and demanded a broad discussion on the issue. But the Chairman of the Council of Ministers Charles Dupuy opposed the Millerand proposal and put a vote of confidence on the agenda. The Millerand proposal was turned down by 294 votes against 205. Gérault-Richard was pardoned only after the resignation of President Casimir-Périer.

480. On 24 December 1894 Edouard Vaillant sent Engels a number of draft laws on labour legislation and agrarian issues which Socialist deputies had tabled in the Chamber of

Deputies. He asked Engels to pay particular attention to the draft law on agricultural communal holdings.

481. Engels hints at a group of French Blanquist emigrés (E. Vaillant, Fr.-É. Cournet et al.) who, in June 1874, published in London the pamphlet *Aux Communeux {On Communal Property).*

482. The daily *La Petite République* (before 1893, *La Petite Republique Française)* on 12 January 1895 published an article by A.G. Rouanet; like the article of A.L. Gérault-Richard in *Le Chambart* (see Note 451) it was directed against the President of the French Republic, Casimir-Périer.

On 12 January 1895 Amand Rouanet, a Socialist deputy, made a proposal in the Chamber of Deputies providing for a cut in the pensions paid to the holder of the *Legion d'honneur order;* such pensions were not to exceed 1000 francs. The aim of this motion was to prevent arbitrary decorations being conferred on all kinds of parvenus. Rouanet intimated, however, he had no hope for an unbiased voting on his proposal (Rouanet recalled the deputies had rejected the proposal on Gérault-Richard's liberation). At this point the President of the Chamber of Deputies demanded that Rouanet leave the assembly hall, which he had to do in spite of protests from some of the deputies.

483. *Sang an Ägir*—a musical composition by Emperor William II .

484. Three successive French governments had to resign since November 1893: the Dupuy cabinet (November 1893), the Casimir-Périer cabinet (May 1894) and then the Dupuy cabinet again (January 1895). Thereupon, on 15 January 1895, President Casimir-Périer tendered his resignation; he was resolutely opposed by the Socialist faction in Parliament enjoining the French to defend the Republic 'in jeopardy'. On 17 January 1895 François Félix Faure was elected President of the French Republic.

485. The reference is to Laura Lafargue's letter of 12-13 January 1895 about the testamentary dispositions which Engels had made concerning Marx's literary heritage.

486. The French President Jean Casimir-Périer resigned on 15 January 1895. The day before, the Chamber of Deputies had declined his proposal on the order of proceedings in the inquiry into the government's involvement in major financial speculations (see Note 487).

487. Late in 1894 the French Chamber of Deputies raised the issue of the agreements concluded in 1883 by the government and the railroad company. These agreements gave the company virtually a free hand in speculation for as long as ten years; but the government refused to revise them. Then, on 14 January 1895, Etienne Millerand proposed to look into the matter and exposed the role *David Raynal,* the then Minister of Public Works, had played in that deal. The Chamber approved this motion by 263 votes against 241. A parliamentary commission of inquiry in 1896 found Raynal not guilty.

488. The leader of the Radical Party (see Note 86) Georges Benjamin Clemenceau had gained the reputation of a 'government toppler' for, as a result of his incessant interpellations in the Chamber of Deputies, the following cabinets had to resign: of Gambetta (1882), Freycinet (1882), Ferry (1885) and Brisson (1885). By calling Clemenceau 'the late', Engels intimated that the Radical Party had lost some of its former influence.

489. A reference to the article *La Situation* by Jean Juarès which was published by the newspaper *La Petite République* (No. 6855) on 20 January 1895. Juarès proposed a package of the following reforms: pensions for industrial and agricultural workers at the expense of factory and land owners; new shop regulations providing for worker participation in decision-making; an institution of labour protection inspectors; worker profit-sharing at the enterprise

level; steps to improve soil fertility. In February 1894 he tabled a motion in the Chamber of Deputies for a state monopoly of grain imports with the aim of raising the grain prices.

490. A reference to the following works of Ferdinand Tönnies: 'Neuere Philosophie der Geschichte: Hegel, Marx, Comte' (*Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie,* Bd. 7 for 1894) which disputed the tenets of P. Barths book *Die Geschichtsphilosophie Hegels und der Hegelianer bis auf Marx und Hartmann;* and *Pestalozzi als Sozialpädagog {Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt,* 3 December 1894).

491. *Comtism* or *positivism*—a trend in philosophy, sociology and historiography that surfaced in the 1830s; its leading exponent was Auguste Comte, a French philosopher and sociologist. The positivists extended the methods of natural science to social studies. They viewed the historical process as slow evolutionary changes and denied the role of revolutions.

492. This note to F. Tönnies' article 'Neuere Philosophie der Geschichte: Hegel, Marx, Comte' (see Note 490) says this in part: 'Hervorragende englische Comtisten gehörten zu den Mitbegründern der "Internationale", deren General-Sekretär K. Marx war...' ('Illustrious English Comtists were among the founders of the "International" the Secretary-General of which was K. Marx').

493. The reference is to the statements in defense of the Paris Commune made in the press by positivists Edward Beesly and Frederick Harrison between March and September 1871. Thus, from March to June 1871 *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* carried a series of articles by Professor Beesly; the opening article was entitled 'On the Paris Revolution'. In May and August 1871 *The Fortnightly Review* published two big articles by Harrison in support of the Commune.

494. The idea that besides working men, factory-owners and merchants were also among the industrialists so-called *producteurs* was formulated by Saint-Simon in his *Catéchisme des industriels,* published in Paris in 1823-24.

495. In his letter of 12 January 1895 Ludwig Kugelmann asked Engels for the names of German publications in which works by Marx and Engels had been published, signed or unsigned (see also this volume, p. 500).

496. On 23 January 1895 Victor Adler wrote to Engels that the publication of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung 'was* making very good progress': as many as 14,000 copies were being printed daily instead of the planned 10,000, while on Sundays the circulation reached 22,000 copies.

497. Engels means the Liberal Party's Right Wing akin to the Conservatives and expressing the interests of big industrial, commercial and financial bourgeoisie.

In 1893 the Gladstone cabinet tabled a second edition of the draft Home Rule Bill (see Note 77) which riled the Liberal Party's Right Wing. Having declared themselves 'independent', the Right-Wingers actually sided with the Conservatives.

498. A reference to the second electoral reform of 1867 in Britain. Town residents—house-owners and tenants who had been resident for not less than a year and whose annual rent was not under £10—received voting rights. In counties the property qualification was reduced to £12 of rent per annum. As a result, the number of eligible voters increased more than twofold (with voting rights being granted to part of industrial workers).

499. Engels refers to an article in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (No. 26) on 26 January 1895 in which the editors reported the confiscation of the paper's evening issue of 24 January and stated that since a larger part of the confiscated circulation had nevertheless reached the subscribers, a repeated publication of the issue was not necessary.

500. This excerpt from Emily Crawford's report in *The Weekly Dispatch* of 27 January 1895 was published by the *Arbeiter-Zeitung (No.* 32) on 1 February 1895 in Louise Freyberger's article 'Zur Charakteristik des neuen Präsidenten'.

501. On 9 January 1895 the newspaper *Vorwärts* published an appeal of the Union of Women's Societies to the German women 'of all classes and all parties' urging them to sign a petition to the Reichstag and Landtags to concede women the right of association and assembly in those German lands where they had not yet this right. Writing in *Vorwärts* on 24 January 1895, Clara Zetkin ran a sharp critique of this appeal on the grounds that it lacked a class approach. She stressed that 'the women's question ought to be considered only in the context of the total social question' and called on the proletarian women not to put their signatures on the petition.

502. Engels indicated the following address on the envelope of this letter: Herren Dr. W. Ellenbogen. IX Wasagasse 22. Wien.

503. Engels wrote these lines on a paper chit, and he gave the following address: Madame Beldinsky, 2, Regent's Square, W.C.

504. *Zemstvo*—elective district councils instituted in some provinces of European Russia in keeping with the local government reform of 1864.

505. Engels means the statement made by the Russian Tsar Nicholas II on 29 (17) January 1895 at a reception for deputations of the Russian nobility, *zemstvos* (see Note 504) and town communities on the occasion of the royal marriage. The tsar dismissed as 'idle dreams' the desire of some *zemstvo* representatives to participate 'in the affairs of domestic government' and gave it to understand he would 'safeguard the autocracy principle as firmly and steadfastly as had his lamented parent'.

506. The Committee, set up to prepare the International Socialist Working-Men's Congress due in London in 1896, suggested that henceforth it be named as an International Congress of Socialist Working Men and Trade Unions. In this connection Tomasz Jodko-Narkiewicz, a Polish Socialist emigré, asked Engels in his letter of 31 January 1895 what he and German Social-Democrats thought of the suggestion.

507. In his letter of 30 January 1895 Richard Fischer told Engels about the plans of *Vorwärts* to release in a separate edition a series of articles which Marx had written for *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politische-ökonomische Revue* in 1850 on the 1848-49 Revolution in France (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 47-131) and asked for his agreement to the proposed publication. He also asked him to write an introduction (see also Note 529).

508. A reference to the fifth and sixth authorized editions of *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* published in Berlin in 1891 and 1894, respectively.

509. The protocols of the Zurich Congress were never issued by *Vorwärts*. They appeared in Zurich in 1894 under the title: *Protokoll des Internationalen Sozialistischen Arbeiterkongresses in der Tonhalle Zürich vom 6. bis 12. August 1893.*

510. *Après nous le déluge* ['After us, the deluge']—a saying attributed to Madame de Pompadour and addressed to King Louis XV of France.

511. The final version of the text of the *Introduction to Karl Marx's The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (1895) contained no explanatory notes from Engels in it.

512. The reference is to Richard Fischer's speech in the Reichstag on 6 February 1895 during the debates on worker representation in settling moot issues among workmen and employers.

Fischer criticised the social policies of the Centre Party (see Note 71) which did not go beyond demands for minor social concessions (like, for instance, granting recognition to working-men's alliances), while leaving aside the workers' vital interests: shorter working hours, social insurance and guarantees for freedom of association.

513. Appended to this letter were the titles of the first three chapters of Marx's work *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (see Note 507). Engels suggested changing the original titles 'The Defeat of June 1848', 'June 13, 1849' and 'Consequences of June 13, 1849' (as given by Marx in *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politische-ökonomische Revue)* for: I. 'From February to June 1848', II . 'From June 1848 to June 13, 1849', and II I. 'From June 14, 1849 to March 10, 1850', respectively. As Chapter IV Engels suggested materials on the revolutionary events in France from 'The Third International Review' published by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politische-ökonomische Revue(No.* 5-6) for 1850; he entitled this chapter 'The Abolition of Universal Suffrage in 1850' (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 47-145). The above work—*The Class Struggles in France*—was to be published as a separate booklet.

514. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte used the decision by the French National Assembly in May 1850 to abrogate universal suffrage, to seize power and impose dictatorial rule. Following the coup d'état of December 1851 he re-instituted universal suffrage in an election to the Legislative Corps.

515. Engels indicated the following address on the envelope: Julius Motteler Esq., 30, Hugo Road, Tufnell Park, N.

516. Acting on Engels' request, J. Motteler had made inquiries in Germany and, having received a letter from a Johann Meyer in which Theodor Barlen's person was confirmed, sent it to Engels (see this volume, p. 452).

517. Concerning the French translation of Engels' work *On the History of Early Christianity* (see present edition, Vol. 27) made by Laura Lafargue (see also Note 420).

518. A reference to the lecture *L'Idéalisme de l'histoire* which Jean Juarès delivered in Paris early in 1895.

519. *Stoicism*—a philosophical system founded by Zeno and current in Ancient Greece between the late fourth century B.C. and the sixth century B.C. The Stoics believed that all events were the result of divine will and that therefore man should be calmly accepting and free from passion, grief or joy.

520. Engels refers to Y. Zack's article 'Historical Materialism', published in the first issue of the journal *Russian Heritageïot* 1895, and also to N.Mikhailovsky's review 'Literature and Life', published by the above journal in 1894 (No. 1).

521. In his letter to Engels on 20 February 1895, G. Plekhanov called N. Danielson a 'reactionary and Utopian, all in one'.

522. Refers to Engels' fifth article 'On Social Relations in Russia' (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 39-50) in the series *Refugee Literature* which, alongside the first and second articles, he included in the collection *Internationales aus dem Volksstaat (1871-75),* as well as to the *Afterword (1894)* which Engels had written for this collection (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 421-33).

523. Writing to Engels on 20 February 1895, G. Plekhanov described Tsar Nicholas II as 'the young idiot of the Winter Palace' whose speech of 29 January 1895 'has done a great service to the revolutionary party'.

524. J. Motteier told Engels in his letter of 28 February 1895 that on 18 February he had been attacked in his house by two anarchists who had identified themselves by false names— Alexander Cohen and Zimmer.

525. *National workshops-were* set up by the Provisional Government of France immediately after the February Revolution of 1848 for jobless workers, artisans, office employees, school teachers as well as petty entrepreneurs who were given menial jobs at miserable wages.

526. According to the local government reform on 1888, the *London County Council* could be elected by all male citizens who were eligible to vote in parliamentary elections, as well as by women 30 years and older. *The London County Council,* which controlled taxation, local budgets, etc., was elected every three years. The 1889 and 1892 elections brought victory to the *Progressists,* a group comprising bourgeois Liberals, members of the Fabian Society (see Note 43) and Socialists; it defeated the group of *Moderates* that united the Liberal Unionists (see Note 206) and the Conservatives. At the elections of 2 March 1895, the *Moderates* gained a few new seats in the *London County Council* because of the refusal of the Socialists to vote in a bloc with the *Progressists.*

527. Nikolai Danielson wrote in this letter that the passage in Engels' preface to Volume II I of *Capital* about Marx's research on Russian land ownership made him want to find out if there were any notes written by Marx on this topic.

528. In his letter to Engels of 10 March 1895 N. Danielson enclosed a message to Andrei Konov, a Russian emigré in Berlin who undertook the translation. N. Danielson's book *Essays on Our Post-Reform Social Economy* was translated by G. Polonsky and came out in Munich in 1899.

529. On 6 March 1895 Engels received a letter from Richard Fischer, the Executive Secretary of the German Social-Democratic Party, who requested him to soften what appeared to be the stridently revolutionary tenor of the manuscript of the *Introduction to Karl Marx's The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850 (1895);* R. Fischer feared the moot points would be taken advantage of by the enemies of Social-Democracy, a making it easier for the government to push through the Subversion Bill (see Note 428). Being obliged to fulfill the request of the Party's Executive Board, Engels agreed to make some amendments in the text and omit some of the passages, e.g., ones dealing with the armed struggle which the proletariat was to wage against the bourgeoisie. Engels admitted that the original text of the *Introduction* 'suffered somewhat' as a result of such deletions (see this volume, p. 480).

530. *May laws*—the four laws adopted at Bismarck's initiative in May 1873; they provided for strict state control over the activity of the Catholic Church. These laws marked the culmination of the *Kulturkampf (*'Struggle for Culture') policy.

531. *Mennonites*—an evangelical Protestant Christian sect founded in the 1530s-1540s in Friesland by Anabaptists who, after the defeat of the Peasant War of 1524-26 and the Münster Commune of 1534-35, abandoned their revolutionary aspirations. Named after Menno Simons, the founder of this sect, Mennonites oppose the taking of oaths, infant baptism, military service, and the acceptance of public office; they favour plain dress and plain living.

532. The movement for universal suffrage organised by the Social-Democrats gained new momentum in Austria in 1895 (see Note 270). There were 12 mass rallies in Vienna on 19 February 1895, in support of this demand. The newspaper *Arbeiter-Zeitung* carried regular reports by V. Adler on this matter.

533. The English text of this letter was first published in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965.

534. In May 1895 Engels wrote the article 'Law of Value and Rate of Profit' conceived as an addendum to Volume II I of *Capital.* It was published shortly after his death by *Die Neue Zeit* (14.jg., 1. Bd., Nos. 1,2 for 1895/96) under the heading: 'Fr. Engels' letzte Arbeit: Ergänzung und Nachtrag zum dritten Buch des 'Kapitals" (see present edition, Vol. 37).
Engels intended to write yet another article, 'The Stock Exchange', but could not go further than the general outline (see present edition, Vol. 37).

535. The reference is to Peter Fireman's article 'Kritik der Marx'schen Werttheorie' published in the economic and statistical yearbook *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik* for 1892 (3. Folge, Bd. 3). Engels gave a positive appraisal of this article in his preface to Volume II I of *Capital.* However, Conrad Schmidt took exception to this assessment: writing to Engels on 1 March 1895, he said Fireman had only repeated what Professor Wilhelm Lexis had found before him.

536. A reference to W Lexis' article 'Die Marx'sche Kapitaltheorie' published in the yearbook *Jahrbücher fur Nationalökonomie und Statistik* (11 Bd. ) for 1885, and C. Schmidt's book *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marx'schen Wertgesetzes* published in Stuttgart in 1889.

537. *The West Frankish Kingdom* came into being after the disintegration of the Frankish Empire of Charlemagne (Charles the Great). According to the Verdun Treaty of 843, it was divided among Charlemagne's three grandsons. The West Frankish Kingdom occupied a territory of roughly what is now France.

538. *Assises of Jerusalem* (Assises de lérusalem)—a code of laws for courts in the Kingdom of Jerusalem established by the medieval crusaders after the First Crusade; this kingdom was in existence from the end of the eleventh to the late thirteenth century.

539. A reference ot the two articles by Paul Lafargue: 'Breve risposta - domanda ai critici di Marx circa la teoria de valore' and *Replica di Lafargue* published by *Critica Sociale,* Nos. 20 and 22 on 16 October and 16 November 1894.

540. The letters to P. Lafargue and A. Labriola have not been found.

541. In his letter of 5 March 1895 K. Kautsky told Engels about J. Platter's critique of Volume II I of *Capital* in the Swiss journal on economic and social policy—*Schweizerische Blätter für Wirtschafis- und Sozialpolitik* (1. Märzheft, 1895)—under the title 'Die Lösung'. Kautsky added he had declined E. Ferris offer for publication of his article in defence of the Marxian theory of value.

542. In March 1895 Victor Adler, the editor of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* was sentenced to a seven-week term in prison for the paper's criticisms of the Austrian government. He was incarcerated in the Vienna prison Rudolfsheim from 18 May to 18 June 1895.

543. This is in reply to Carl Hackenberg's letter to Engels of 8 March 1895 in which he asked for more information about the activities of Hermann Becker, a German lawyer and journalist, in 1848-50; C. Hackenberg planned to write a biography of H. Becker. Probably unable to verify data on the events 45 years ago, Engels allowed himself some inaccuracies in his reply.

544. With the outbreak of the 1848 Revolution in Germany Marx and Engels moved from Paris to Cologne where they arrived on 11 April 1848. On 15 April or thereabouts Engels set off on a tour of German towns and returned to Cologne on 20 May 1848. In 1848-49 H. Becker was one of the leaders of *The Cologne Democratic Association* (see Note 547).

545. C. Hackenberg had asked Engels if H. Becker had stayed put in Cologne in the spring of 1848 or he had undertaken trips to other towns to propagandise his ideas.

546. C. Hackenberg had inquired about H. Becker's attitude to the Schleswig-Holstein issue.

This issue, concerning the Danish duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, became particularly acute during the Revolution of 1848-49. Backed by Prussia, the German population of these regions in March 1848 had begun a war of national liberation against the Danish monarchy.

547. *The Cologne Democratic Association*—formed in Cologne in April 1848; until April 1849 Marx and Engels had been among its leadership.

548. *Der Kölner Arbeiterverein {The Cologne Workers' Union)*—a working-men's assocation founded on 13 April 1848. Owing to the influence of Marx and Engels, it became a major centre of revolutionary activity involving working men and peasants.

549. Engels means *The Central March Association,* named after the March 1848 Revolution in Germany. Founded in Frankfurt am Main at the end of November 1848 by Left-Wing deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly, it had branches in various German towns.

550. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung never* published any articles signed by H.B.

551. Engels answers C. Hackenberg's question whether he knew of the book *Ungarns Fall,* allegedly by H. Becker.

552. The *Westdeutsche Zeitung,* published by H. Becker in Cologne, was launched on 25 May 1849 immediately after the termination of the publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* Heinrich Bürgers did not take part in setting up the *Westdeutsche Zeitung.*

553. The reference is to the *Cologne Communist Trial* when members of the Communist League were framed on the basis of forged evidence and perjury; they were accused of 'conspiring' against the Prussian state. The trial took place in Cologne from 4 October to 12 November 1852. Hermann Becker was among the defendants; he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment in a fortress (see this edition, Vol. 11: Marx, 'Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne').

554. In October 1894 Pablo Iglesias was sentenced to a forty-day term in prison for leading a strike action of Malaga textile workers.

This strike broke out in the first half of October 1894 at the textile mills of Marquis Larios in protest over the decision of the entrepreneurs to disband the Textile Workers' Union and punish 19 workers active in it. The four thousand strikers were joined by workers in other cities, Madrid included. The Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, led by P. Iglesias, captained the movement of Spanish workers in support of the Malaga strike. Despite the intervention of the government which sided with the factory-owners, the 80-day strike action ended in a workers' victory. P. Iglesias appealed to Engels with a request to help in rallying British working men and Socialist organisations to support of the striking Spanish workers.

555. Writing to Engels on 16 March 1895, Carl Hirsch asked to review the four articles he had written for *Das sozialpolitisches Centralblatt:* i) 'Intensifikation der Arbeit und Verkürzung der Arbeitszeit', published on 8 January 1894—No. 15; ü) 'Intensifikation der Arbeit und ihr Widerstand', published on 19 February 1894—No. 21; üi) 'Die ökonomische und die sozialpolitische Schätzung der Arbeitskraft', published on 14 January 1895—No. 16; and iv) 'Die Verdichtung der Arbeit unter sozial-politischem Gesichtspunkt,' published on 18 February 1895—No. 21. C. Hirsch wanted to have these articles published as a separate booklet.

556. Refers to the by-election to the Reichstag in Cologne, due on 13 May 1895. It was between Franz Lütgenau, a Social-Democrat, and Adolf Greiß, representing the Centre Party. A. Greiß won.

557. The Cologne-published newspaper *Rheinische Zeitung which,* in 1894-95, was edited by Carl Hirsch.

558. Ludwig Kugelmann had been looking for the earlier writings by Marx and Engels for the publication of a complete collection of their works (see Note 453). In July 1846 the journal *Das Westphälische Dampfboot* had published, anonymously, Marx's and Engels' *Circular Against Kriege* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 35-51); and in August and September 1847 it had published Chapter 4 of the second volume of *The German Ideology.* 'Karl Grün: *Die Soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien* (Darmstadt, 1845) or 'The Historiography of True Socialism' (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 484-531).

559. L. Kugelmann, acting on Engels' request in connection with the preparation of a complete collection of Marx's works for the press (see this volume, p. 504), got in touch with Max Livingston. On 21 March 1895 Kugelmann informed Engels of Livingstons reply: 18 years before he had commissioned Friedrich Sorge to send Hermann Meyer's heritage (see Note 455) to London.

560. Wilhelm Liebknechts speech in the Reichstag on 2 March 1895 during the debates on the budget committee s report on appropriations for the maintenance of the army. Liebknecht spoke out for a dissolution of the regular army and setting up instead militia-type forces after the Swiss model.

561. A reference to the book *Die Vorläufer des Neuren Sozialismus* which appeared in 1895 as the first volume of *Die Geschichte des Sozialismus in Einzeldarstellungen* published in Stuttgart by K. Kautsky, E. Bernstein, P. Lafargue, F. Mehring and others. The first part of Volume I—*Von Plato bis zu den Wiedertäufern*—was written by K. Kautsky; the second part includes contributions by K. Kautsky, P. Lafargue, C. Hugo as well as E. Bernstein's *Kommunistische und demokratisch-sozialistische Strömungen während der englischen Revolution des 17.Jahrhunderts.*

562. The *Anabaptists* (lit., those baptised again) belonged to one of the most radical and democratic religious-philosophical trends in Switzerland, Germany and the Netherlands during the Reformation. This sect denied the vailidity of infant baptism and practised baptism of adults.

563. *Die Taboriten*—the title of the sixth chapter of Part II I of the Kautsky work *Von Plato bis zu den Wiedertäufern.* The *Taborites* (so called after their camp in the town of Tabor in Bohemia)—a radical trend in the Hussite movement. In contrast to the Calixtines, they formed a revolutionary, democratic wing of the Hussites; their demands reflected the striving of the peasantry and the urban lower classes to put an end to feudal oppression and all manifestations of social and political injustice.

564. The Reichstag at its session on 23 March 1895 rejected, by 163 votes against 146, the proposal to send a message of greetings to Bismarck on the occasion of his 80th birthday. Voting against were Social-Democrats, deputies of the Free-Thinking Party, the Centre Party, those representing the Polish lands, and others. This decision aroused the anger of Emperor William II who sent a cable to Bismarck expressing his profound indignation over the incident; he said the Reichstag decision was 'in gross contradiction to the feelings of all German princes and their peoples'.

565. In December 1878 Bismarck proposed a draft reform of customs tariffs to a Reichstag commission set up for the purpose. Following debates in the Reichstag, this bill was adopted on 12 July 1879. It provided for a substantial increase in the customs duties on imports of iron, machinery, textiles, grain, cattle, fats, flax, timber, etc.

566. The Centre Party (see Note 71).

567. A reference to P. Lafargue's work *Origine et évolution de la propriété which* came off the press in Paris in 1895. At the publisher's suggestion, it appeared under the same cover as Ives Gugot's work *Réfutation de l'essai sur l'origine de la propriété* which refuted P. Lafargue's conclusions.

568. An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in K. Marx, *Selected Works.* In two volumes. Vol. 2, International Publishers, New York, 1936.

569. On 30 March 1895 the newspaper *Vorwärts* carried the leading article 'Wie man heute Revolutionen macht' which cited, without prior consent from Engels, selected excerpts from his 'Introduction' to Marx's work *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850.* The aim was to represent Engels as a protagonist of an exclusively peaceful takeover of political power by the working class.

Shortly before the appearance of this work in a separate edition, the 'Introduction' had been published in the journal *Die Neue Zeit* (13. Jg., 1894/95, 2. Bd., Nr. 27, 28) in the same form as in the separate edition (see Note 529). The original version did not see print even after the threat of a new Anti-Socialist Law in Germany had been over.

570. Engels means *Ein Wort des 'Adressaten'*—the introduction which Julius Wolf wrote to F. Bertheau's book *Fünf Brief über Marx an Herrn Dr. Julius Wolf* published in Jena in 1895. In his Introduction J. Wolf replied to Engels' critical remarks on his address in the preface to Volume II I of *Capital (see* present edition, Vol. 37).

571. The draft of this letter was written on the blank part of a page of Harry Quelch's letter to Engels of 1 April 1895- H. Quelch asked Engels for an interview about the contemporary condition of the working class in the May issue of the newspaper *Justice.*

572. An English excerpt from this letter was first published in: K. Marx, *Selected Works.* In two volumes. Vol. 2, New York, 1936. The full English text of the letter appeared in Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue. *Correspondence,* Vol. 3, 1891-95, Moscow, [1963].

573. An allusion to P. Lafargue's book *Le droit à la paresse. Réfutation du 'Droit au travail' de 1848,* published in Paris in 1883.

574. This chapter of P. Lafargue's work *Origine et évolution de la propriété* bore the title 'Collectivisme consanguin'.

575. *Lex Alamannorum* (The Law of the Alamanni)—part of the *Leges Alamannorum,* or the records of the common law code of the Alamanni (Alemanni), the Germanic tribes which invaded and settled in Alsace and part of Switzerland in the early 5th century A.D. The Alamannic laws, dating from the 6th to 8th centuries A.D., reflected the transition from the primitive tribal system to early feudal society.

576. *Lex Salica* (Salic Law)—a code of laws of Germanic tribes, including the Salian Franks. Recorded in the early 6th century A.D., this code reproduces various stages of archaic court proceedings and is regarded as an important historical document illustrative of the evolution of Frankish society from the primitive communal system to nascent feudal society. The Salians were a tribe of Franks who settled along the Ijssel River, in the Netherlands, in the 4th century A.D.

577. On 3 April 1895 Richard Fischer told Engels—who had begun preparing for publication of the early works of Marx from the newspaper *Rheinische Zeitung*—that Hans Baake, a German Socialist, was planning a similar edition. Baake's plans never materialised.

578. A reference to the following articles written by Marx and published by the *Rheinische Zeitung in* 1842-early 1843: *Proceedings of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly. First Article. Debates on Freedom of the Press and Publication of the Proceedings of the Assembly of the Estates; Proceedings of the Sixth Rhine Assembly. Third Article. Debates on the Law on Thefts of Wood; Justification of the Correspondent from the Mosel* (present edition, Vol. I, pp. 132-81, 224-63, 332-58). Engels never realised his intention to have these articles published in a separate edition.

579. Engels alludes to Boris Krichevsky, a Russian Socialist, who, without his consent, had published in 1894 the Russian translation of Marx's works *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and *Wage Labour and Capital (see* note 368). This publication was undertaken in the series 'Social-Democratic Library' (original in Russian).

580. Engels had stayed in Berlin on 16-28 September 1893 (see Note 262).

581. This letter was first published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Letters on 'Capital',* London, 1983.

582. N. Baudeau's work *Explication du tableau économique* published in 1846 in the book *Physiocrates. Avec une introduction sur la doctrine des physiocrates, des commentaires et des notices historiques,* par E. Daire.

583. Refers to the royalties for Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850,* published in Berlin in 1895. Engels had written an introduction to this edition (see Note 507).

584. By the Mosel article (subsequently, the Mosel articles) Engels means the Marx article 'Justification of the Correspondent from the Mosel' published in January 1843 in five numbers of *Rheinische Zeitung.* Marx had planned five parts of this article (see present edition, vol. I, p. 334); however, only two parts had been written and published (ibid., pp. 334-58).

585. In his letter to Engels on 27 January 1894 R. Fischer proposed that works by Marx and Engels should be published in installments. In his opinion, this did not exclude the possibility of a complete collection of works, as Engels had contemplated.

586. The second German edition of volume I of *Das Kapital was* published in 1872-73 in nine installments. Marx wrote an afterword to the entire edition.

587. Marx had been writing articles for *New-York Daily Tribune* from August 1851 to 1862 at the suggestion of the paper's editor Charles Dana. A significant number of contributions, especially on military matters, were written by Engels at Marx's request. Some of the dispatches were co-authored by Marx and Engels. The articles which Marx and Engels wrote for *New-York Daily Tribune have* been published in volumes 11-17 of the present edition.

588. On 14 April 1895 *Vorwärts* published a note entitled 'Parteipresse' informing readers about the changes in *Le Socialiste:* the larger format of this periodical, the appointment of A. Zévaés as editor-in-chief and of René-Auguste Chauvin as managing editor.

589. At Engels' request Laura Lafargue told him in detail about the characters in Molière's plays in her letter of 6 April 1895. Engels showed an interest in Sganarelle in view of Achille Loria's theory that he personified vulgar common sense.

590. The reference is to 'true socialism', a trend that gained wide currency in Germany in the 1840s, chiefly amongst the petty bourgeois intellectuals. Critical of capitalism, True

Socialists idealised the pre-capitalist way of life (medieval guilds, etc.) and believed Germany could reach socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist industry. True Socialists would hold forth on friendship and solidarity, and preach against participation in political activity and the struggle for democracy; they denied the necessity of a bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany. The views of 'True Socialists' were sharply criticised by Marx and Engels.

591. Writing to Engels on 21 March 1895, Ludwig Kugelmann suggested publishing a complete collection of works by Marx and Engels, beginning with articles published in *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher and The Manifesto of the Communist Party* .

592. Probably a reference to the copy of Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* the receipt of which L. Kugelmann acknowledged in his reply letter to Engels on 14 July 1895.

593. Some of the data given by Engels in this and in the preceding paragraph and referring to his *curriculum vitae* are erroneous: he was in Bonn after 8 October 1842, the day when he had completed his military service in Berlin; Marx left the editorial board of the *Rheinische Zeitung on* 17 March 1843, and his statement to this effect was published in the newspaper on 18 March 1843. The ban on *Rheinische Zeitung* of 1 April 1843 was issued on 21 January 1843 with the adoption, on 19 January of the same year, of the decision by the Prussian government to close down the newspaper; this decision was published in the *Kölnische Zeitung on* 26 January and in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung on* 27 January 1843. Marx left Cologne for Bad-Kreuznach in May 1843.

594. On 18 April 1895 the Berlin Polizei-Präsidium imposed censorship over theatrical performances of *Die Freie Volksbühne Gesellschaft (see* Note 256). Its steering committee replied by stopping performances altogether, while its president, Franz Mehring, appealed to the court and demanded the defence of the right of free expression. Since the court had rejected this plea, the Free Popular Stage Society disbanded in March 1896, but it was reinstituted in the spring of 1897 with a new charter.

595. Engels refers to the copies of the two articles written by Marx for the *Rheinische Zeitung* in 1842: 'Debates on Freedom of the Press and Publication of the Proceedings of the Assembly of the Estates', and 'Debates on the Law on Thefts of Wood'—the copies which R. Fischer sent him on 6 May 1895.

596. Engels stayed at Eastbourne from early June to 24 July 1895.

597. This is in reply to the message from Hugo Heller, a bookseller in Vienna, in which he informed Engels that a Vienna publisher, Ignaz Brand, had sent him the Czech translation of Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital.*

Engels wrote this letter on a postcard, indicating the following address: Herrn Ignaz Brand Exped. Wiener Volksbuchhandlung VI, Gumpendorferstraße 8. *Wien, Austria.*

598. On 15 May 1895 Carl Hirsch, then cooperating with the *Rheinische Zeitung,* told Engels about criminal charges being brought against A. Hofrichter, the managing editor of that newspaper. The criminal proceedings had been instituted by Schellmann, the superintendent of a reformatory at Braunweiler, since the newspaper had accused him of intensifying the inmates' work. The editors asked Engels to find James Politt, a British journalist who had, at the request of British factory-owners, visited a number of German prisons, including one at Braunweiler, and had described his impressions in the newspaper *The Hardwareman.* The *Rheinische Zeitung* editors wanted Politt as a witness at the trial.

599. Engels had written the rough copy of this letter somewhat earlier, on 12 May 1895.

600. In his letter of 6 May 1895 to Engels, K. Kautsky asked him to write a section on the First International for Volume IV of *Die Geschichte des Sozialismus in Einzeldarstellungen;* this volume was to come out in 1897.

601. In his reply to Engels on 25 May 1895 K. Kautsky wrote that he and E. Bernstein had not asked Engels for contributions to *Die Geschichte des Sozialismus* only because in the winter of 1893-94 he, Engels, had been busy preparing the manuscript of Volume II I of *Capital* for the press.

602. In his work *Von Plato bis zu den Wiederstäufern* K. Kautsky had translated Ulrich von Hutten's *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* as *Briefe unberühmter Manner,* like Johannes Janssen, the author of *Die Geschichte des deutchen Volkes set dem Ausgang des Mittelalters,* Kautsky believed the accepted translation of the *Epistolae's* name was not clear enough.

603. In 1890-95 Friedrich Adolf Sorge had written a series of articles for the journal *Die Neue Zeit* on the labour movement in the United States in a period from the 1830s to 1892: 'Die Arbeiterbewegung in den Vereinigten Staaten'. As far back as 21 November 1891 Engels had suggested that these articles should be published in a separate edition and had promised to find a publisher (see present edition, vol. 46). However, this publication did not materialise at the time. A book of his articles in Russian translation appeared in St. Petersburg only in 1907, i.e., after Sorge's death (1906).

604. Engels wrote this letter on a postcard and gave the following address: Herrn Richard Fischer, Buchhandlung des *Vorwärts,* Beuthstr. 2, Berlin, Germany.

605. A. Hofrichter probably intended to have these articles reprinted in the *Rheinische Zeitung.*

606. Concerning the additions and alterations for the revised German translation of Nikolai Danielson's book *Essays on Our Post-Reform Social Economy* (original in Russian). The author had sent these corrections enclosed in his letter to Engels of 1 June 1895 for A. Konov, the translator.

The German edition of this book appeared only in 1899 in G. Polonsky's translation.

607. The reference is to Engels' work *What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland* (present edition, Vol. 20) which, translated into Polish, was published by the journal *Przedswit* (No. 7) in July 1895 under the title: *Klasa robotnicza a rwestya polska.*

608. Engels wrote the following address on the envelope of the letter: Sig. avv° Filippo Turati, 23, Portici Galleria V.E. Milano, Italy. The first page of the letter has the note written by F.Turati: 'Riferito al Arturo Labriola. 1.7.95' ('Told Arturo Labriola, 1.07.95').

609. On 19 June 1895 E Turati asked Engels for permission to allow Arturo Labriola to make a précis of *Capital* for publication in Italian.

610. In the article 'Un fatto personale che infolge una questione generale', published under the pseudonym Noi ('We') in the *Critica Sociale* (No. 10) on 16 May 1895. E Turati reproduced a passage from the letter which Engels had written on 8 January 1895 to Pasquale Martignetti (see this volume, pp. 407). Writing to Engels on 1 July 1895, E Turati apologised for not having indicated the author of the passage quoted.

F. Turati wrote the above article in reply to A. Labriola's articles on the situation in Italy, which were published anonymously on 3 and 7 May 1895 by the *Liepziger Volkszeitung.* In them Labriola had criticised the stand of the Italian Socialist Party at a parliamentary election (see Note 611).

611. At the election to the Italian Parliament on 26 May and 2 June 1895, the Italian Socialist Party, which had joined in a coalition with the Radicals and Republicans against the Crispi government and its supporters, gained 17 seats in the Parliament.

612. Engels wrote these lines on a postcard showing a view of the Eastbourne beach. Laura Lafargue wrote the following address on this card: Monsieur Paul Lafargue, Le Perreux, Siene, *France.*

613. Engels wrote this letter on a postcard to the following address which he indicated on it: Herrn Richard Fischer, Buchhdlg. des *Vorwärts,* Beuthstr. 2, Berlin S.W. 19; Germany.

614. In April 1895 the Paris monthly journal *Le devenir social* carried Edward Aveling's article 'Les sans-travail en Engleterre' in which he claimed that Keir Hardie, the leader of the Independent Labour Party, denied the fact of unemployment in Britain. In June 1895 the French youth monthly *La jeunesse socialiste* reprinted excerpts from this article. On 6 July 1895 the journal *Labour Leader* carried a refutation from K. Hardie.

615. Engels wrote these lines on a postcard and indicated the following address: Ed. Bernstein, Esq., 29, Red Lion Square, W.C. London.

616. Engels wrote this letter on a postcard to the following address: Mrs. Aveling, Greenstreet Green, near *Chislehurst, Kent.*

617. Apparently a reference to the proposal made to E. Aveling in June 1895 by the Glasgow organisation of the Independent Labour Party (see Note 114) to nominate his candidacy at the forthcoming parliamentary election. Aveling declined for reason of poor health. This was reported in *The Labour Leader* (No. 67) on 13 July 1895 (see Note 614).

618. A reference to the work of Eleanor Marx-Aveling translating into English the French edition of G. Plekhanov's pamphlet Anarchism and Socialism' (original in Russian). The English edition, to which Eleanor wrote a preface, was published in London in 1895.

619. This letter was written on a postcard with a view of Eastbourne. Engels gave the following address: Sig. Filippo Turati, Portici Galleria V.E. 23, Milano, Italy.

620. A reference to the first part of A. Labriolas article 'En memoire du Manifeste du parti communiste' published by *Le Devenir social (No.* 3) in June 1895; the second part of this article appeared in the next, July issue of the journal.

621. This letter, discovered in the late 1970s in the National Archives of Classic German Literature at Weimar, opens the correspondence of Engels with Arnold Ruge, a German journalist. Their first meeting took place in late March 1842 in Berlin where Engels was doing his military service. The present letter sheds additional light on Engels' little-known article on Dante which Engels mentioned in his second letter to Ruge on 15 June 1842 (see present edition, Vol. 2, p. 543), an article which has not survived.

622. A. Ruge complied with this request. In a review published by the *Deutsche Jahrbücher fur Wissenschaft und Kunst* (Nos. 126-128) on 28, 30 and 31 May 1842 he praised Engels' work *Schelling and Revelation.* Ruge stressed in particular the author's clarity in his exposition and critique of the Schelling philosophy.

623. Engels means Ludwig Feuerbach's *Das Wesen ses Christenthums.*

624. Marx refers to the brochure written by A. Ruge and O. Wigand: *An die Hohe Zweite Kammer der Sächsischen Ständeversammlung.* 'Complaint against the suppression of the journal *Deutsche Jahrbücher fur Wissenschaft und Kunst,* as ordered by the High Ministry for the Interior and carried out on 3 January 1843'). The *Rheinische Zeitung* did not publish

this pamphlet; however, the supplements to No. 71 and 73 and 12 and 14 March, 1843, respectively, carried Pfützer's review (Pfützer was the paper's Dresden correspondent): *II ber die Broschüre an die Hohe Zweite Kammer der Sächsischen Ständeversammlung.*

625. Marx—at the time editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*—wrote this letter in reply to Friedrich Kapp, a German National-Liberal, who was copperating with the newspaper, about the delay in the payment of royalties that were due to him. Acting on Marx's advice, on 11 December 1848 Kapp presented a promissory note to the newspaper, but it was not paid. Later Marx reimbursed the required sum to him.

626. Marx wrote the address on the envelope: M. Fr. *Kapp. Paris.* Avenue Breutell 28.

627. This letter was first published in the *Catalogue de la vente a l'Hôtel Drouot le 16 novembre 1893* with a note attached to it that Marx had addressed the letter to *'son collaborateur et secrétaire Reinländer'.* It must have been George Friedrich Rheinländer, a German salesman in 1850s-1860s, who then emigrated to London.

628. The present letter was addressed to Philip Stephen King, the owner of a London bookselling firm that dealt in official government publications, draft bills, statistical reports and communications from academic and state institutions overseas. In the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s Marx approached King on several occasions with a request to send reference literature to him (see also present edition, Vols. 42, 43).

629. Engels made his will already in Marx's lifetime, bequeathing all his property to Marx. After Marx's death Engels drew up another will according to which all his property was divided in equal shares among Marx's daughters Laura and Eleanor, the children of Jenny (the deceased daughter of Marx) and Helene Demuth, Marx's housemaid.

630. *Lincoln's Inn {Inn of Court)*—one of the four London legal societies with the exclusive right to admit persons to practice at the bar.

631. This document is reproduced from the copy made by E. Bernstein and Louise Freyberger (Mrs. Kautsky), with the following postscript which A. Bebel wrote on the envelope: 'The letter with codicils, dated 14 November 1894, to Engels' Testament. Lay in the drawer of Engels' desk'.

632. This letter is a limerick jotted down by an unknown person. Engels signed his name with a pencil. First published in English in the German edition of the works of Marx and Engels: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Werke,* Bd. 38. Berlin, 1968.

633. These lines were written by Louise Kautsky (Freyberger) on a postcard. Engels wrote the following address: Mrs. Natalie Liebknecht, 160, Kantstraße, Charlottenburg Berlin.

634. In that letter Isaak Hourwich, a Russian economist living in the United States, told Engels about the forthcoming Russian-language publication of his work *The Economics of the Russian Village* and asked him to supplement it with an appendix of the notes which Marx had made from Russian statisical books.

635. Hermann Engels wrote this draft with a pencil on the back of L. Siebold's letter to F. Engels of 22 July 1895.

This letter must have been rewritten in a fair copy by Louise Freyberger (Mrs. Kautsky) and sent to L. Siebold.

636. The reference is to L. Siebold's letter of 22 April 1895 in which he asked for Engels' opinion concerning the publication of sketches on the history of chemistry from C. Schorlemmer's literary remains (see Note 312).

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*Adams Walther, H. Bridges*—translator of August Bebel's *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* into English.—203-04, 218

*Adelheid*-—see *Dworzak, Adelheid.*

*Adler, Emma* (née *Braun)* (1858-1935)— Victor Adlers wife.—19, 322, 327, 397, 409,415

*Adler, Victor* (1852-1918)—Austrian journalist; a leader of Austrian Social-Democrats, physician; was on friendly terms with Engels in 1889-95; editor of *Arbeiter-Zeitung.*—-24, 31, 33, 52, 87, 130, 187, 199-202, 205, 207, 217, 227, 240, 257, 260-62, 269, 278, 284, 315, 322, 370, 382, 391, 392-3, 397, 408-11, 414, 419, 432, 447, 468, 526

*Alexander II I* (1845-1894)—Emperor of Russia (1891-94).—17, 255, 315, 358, 360, 409

*Alexandrov, A.N.*—Russian army officer and author.—102

*Allemane, Jean* (1843-1935)—French socialist, printer; member of the Paris Commune; did hard labour after its defeat, pardoned in 1880; Possibilist in the 1880s; headed the semi-anarchist syndicalist Parti ouvrier socialiste révolutionnaire which separated from the Possibilists.—70, 114, 120, 143, 182, 197

*Anna*—see *Kulishova, Anna Moiseyevna.*

*Anschütz, Richard*(b. 1852)—organic chemist, professor at Bonn University (from 1884).—13, 14,45

*Aquinas, Thomas {Thomas of Aquino)* (known as *Doctor Angelicus)* (c. 1225-1274)— medieval Italian scholastic philosopher.— 100

*Arbib, Edoardo* (1840-1906)—Italian politician and journalist, man of the Right, deputy to the Parliament.—94

*Argyriades, Panayottis (Paul)* (1849-1901)— French socialist, Blanquist, lawyer and journalist; born in Macedonia; publisher of the yearly *Almanach de la Question Sociale.*— 129, 209

*Aristotle* (384-322 B. C.)—Greek philosopher. —100

*Arndt, Paul*—German journalist, Paris correspondent of *Vorwärts* in the 1890s, member

of Comité Révolutionnaire Central.—11, 209, 242, 336-7, 345, 354

*Arnold, Sir Alfred* (1835-1908)—Tory candidate during by-elections in Halifax in 1893, M. P. (from 1896).—103

*Aschan, Ossian*—chemist, professor Edvard Hjelt's assistant at Helsinki University.— 404

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*Atabekjanz, Jossif Nersessovich* (1870-1916)—Armenian Social-Democrat; agronomist by profession; translated several works by Marx and Engels into Armenian.—371

*Auer, Ignaz* (1846-1907)—German Social-Democrat; saddler by trade; a leader of the Social-Democratic Party; was elected deputy to the Reichstag several times.—41, 416

*August*—see *Bebel, August.*

*Augustus {Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus)* (63 B. C.-A. D. 14)—Roman Emperor (27 B. C.-A. D. 14).—266

*Aveling, Edward Bibbins* (1851-1898)— English journalist, one of the translators into English of Marx's *Capital,* Volume One; member of the Social-Democratic Federation from 1884; subsequently one of the founders of the Socialist League; an organiser of a mass movement of unskilled workers and unemployed in the late 1880s and early 1890s; husband of Marx's daughter Eleanor.—12, 18, 26, 34, 37, 74, 82, 95, 108, 123, 124, 137, 153, 176, 192, 220, 224, 268, 277, 314, 335, 345, 354, 407, 421, 517, 519, 520, 522, 525, 540-41-42

*Aveling, Mrs*—see *Marx-Aveling, Eleanor.*

*Axelrod, Pavel Borisovich* (1850-1928)— Russian Social-Democrat, member of the Emancipation of Labour group from 1883, author of a few works on the history and theory of Marxism.—305, 440

B

*Baake, Hans*—German publisher, Social-Democrat, Kurt Baake's brother.—491, 499

*Baake, Kurt* (1864-1938)—German Social-Democrat, journalist, one of the founders and masters of the Social-Democratic theatrical society Freien Volksbühne (1890). —491

*Baare, Louis* (1821-1897)—German industrialist, manager, of a steelworks company in Bochum; was sued for shirking taxes and for other machinations.—75

*Bachern, Karl Joseph Emil* (1858-1945)— German politician, historian and lawyer, a Centrist, member of the Reichstag from 1889.—100

*Baernreither, Joseph Maria* (1845-1925)— Austrian politician, lawyer and journalist, member of the Bohemian Landtag and Austrian Reichsrat (from 1885).—149

*Bahr, Hermann* (1863-1934)—Austrian journalist, critic, novelist and playwright.—149

*Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich* (1814-1876) — Russian revolutionary and journalist, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; an ideologist of Narodism and anarchism; opposed Marxism in the First International; was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress in 1872 for his splitting activity.—31, 82, 98, 317, 361, 367,519

*Balfour, Jabez Spencer* (1843-1916)—English politician and financist; Liberal M. P. (1880-92), manager of the Building Society; after its bankruptcy in 1892, fled to Argentina; was extradited in 1895 and sentenced to 14 years of hard labour.—*64,* 311

*Barlen, Theodor*—German Social-Democrat, emigrant in London.—445, 452

*Baron*—see *Kautsky, Karl*

*Barry, Maltman* (1842-1909)—English journalist, member of the First International, of the General Council (1872) and of the

British Federal Council (1872-73); supported the so-called socialist wing among the Conservatives in the 1890s.—84, 142

*Barth, Ernst Emil Paul* (1858-1922)—German philosopher, sociologist and teacher, taught at Leipzig University from 1890.—164, 165,429

*Baudeau, Nicolas* (1730-1792)—French abbot, economist, Physiocrat.—493

*Bauer, Bruno* (1809-1882)—German idealist philosopher, Young Hegelian; author of the works on the history of Christianity; radical, National Liberal after 1866.—194, 503

*Bauer, Edgar* (1820-1886)—German philosopher and writer, Young Hegelian, Bruno Bauer's brother and associate.—194, 503

*Bauer, Stephan* (1865-1934)—German economist and statistician; an editor of the *Zeitschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte,* professor of the High Technical School in Brunn (Brno); later emigrated to Switzerland.—493

*Bax, Ernest Belfort* (1854-1926)—English socialist, historian, philosopher and journalist; one of the first exponents of Marxism in England; an active member of the Left wing in the Social-Democratic Federation; a founder of the Socialist League (1884); one of the publishers of *The Commonweal* (from 1884).—36, 95, 148, 277, 299

*Bebel, Ferdinand August* (1840-1913)— prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; turner; member of the First International; deputy to the Reichstag from 1867; a founder and leader of the German Social-Democrats and the Second International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—3, 5, 10, 15, 16, 20, 25, 29, 30, 31, 32-5, 39,47, 48, 52, 66, 71, 87, 90, 91, 99, 106, 113, 120, 122, 124, 131, 139, 140, 141, 142, 160, 168, 172, 175, 178, 179, 180, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186, 188, 191, 193, 196, 199, 203, 215, 217, 228, 232, 245-46, 271, 280, 300, 337, 362-3, 364, 367, 373-5, 378-9, 380, 383, 404, 425, 438, 497, 537, 538, 542

*Bebel, Johanna Carolina Julie* (1843-1910)—August Bebel's wife.—9, 10, 31, 37-8, 52, 131, 172, 180, 188, 191, 193, 207, 227, 246

*Becher, Alfred Julius* (1803-1848)—Austrian musicologist and lawyer, an active participant in the 1848 revolution in Austria, editor of *Der Radikale,* shot after the capture of Vienna by counter-revolutionary troops.—410

*Becker, Hermann Heinrich ("Red Becker')* (1820-1885)—German lawyer and journalist; member of the Communist League from 1850; sentenced to five-year imprisonment at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); member of the Party of Progress in the 1860s, later a National Liberal, member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (1862-66) and Reichstag (1867-74); chief burgomaster of Cologne (from 1875).— 410,471-72

*Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886)—German revolutionary, took part in the democratic movement of the 1830s-50s, the international working-class movement and the 1848-49 revolution; prominent figure in the First International and delegate to all its congresses, editor of the *Vorbote,* an active member of the Swiss working-class movement; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—82, 85, 141,481

*Becker, Max Joseph* (d. 1896)—German engineer, democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, after its defeat emigrated to Switzerland and subsequently to the USA.—500

*Beer, Max* (b. 1864)—German Social-Democrat, emigrant in London from 1894; correspondent of the *Vorwärts,* author of several works on the history of socialism.—392, 510

*Beesly, Edward Spencer* (1831-1915)—British historian and politician, Radical, positivist philosopher, professor at London Univer-

sity; supported the International and the Paris Commune in 1870-71.—431

*Benary, Franz Simon Ferdinand* (1805-1880)—German orientalist and an expert on the Bible.—329

*Bennigsen, Rudolf von* (1824-1902)—German politician, advocate of Germany's unification under Prussia's supremacy; President of the National Union (1859-67); leader of the Right wing in the National Liberal Party from 1867; deputy to the Reichstag (1871-83 and 1887-98).—101

*Béranger, Pierre Jean de* (1780-1857)—French poet and song writer, author of political satires; democrat.—426

*Bernstein, Aaron* (pseudonym *A. Rebenstein)* (1812-1884)—German journalist and short-story writer, petty-bourgeois democrat, founder (1853) and editor of the Berlin *Volks-Zeitung,* Eduard Bernstein's uncle. —207

*Bernstein, Eduard* (1850-1932)—German Social-Democrat, journalist, editor of *Der Sozialdemokrat* (1881-90); a leader of the German Social-Democrats; came out with a revision of Marxism from a reformist standpoint in the mid-1890s.—35, 37, 49, 53, 92, 127, 183, 192, 207, 224, 226, 237, 306, 336, 345-6, 348-9, 387, 392, 400, 468, 481, 510, 511, 512, 513, 517, 522, 533, 537, 538, 539, 542

*Bernstein, Regina { Gine)* (née *Zadek; Schaffner* by first marriage)—Eduard Bernstein's wife.—91, 207, 271, 337, 346, 393, 517, 522, 534

*Bervi, Vasily Vasilyevich* (pseudonym TV. *Flerovsky)* (1829-1918)—Russian economist and sociologist; enlightener and democrat, Narodnik Utopian socialist; author of *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia.*—450

*Beust, Adolf von*—physician, Anna von Beust's son.—179, 183, 540

*Beust, Anna von* (née *Lipka)* (1827-1900)—Engels' cousin.—178, 179, 180, 540

*Beust, Friedrich {Fritz) von*—school principal, Anna von Beust's son.—179, 183, 540

*Bismarck-Schönhausen, Otto Eduard Leopold, Prince von* (1815-1898)—statesman of Prussia and Germany, diplomat; Ambassador to St Petersburg (1859-62) and Paris (1862); Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-72 and 1873-90); Chancellor of the North German Confederation (1867-71) and of the German Empire (1871-90); carried out the unification of Germany; introduced Anti-Socialist Law in 1878.—51, 52, 89, 158, 164, 167, 179, 202, 243, 458, 485

*Blaschko, Alfred* (1858-1922)—German dermatologist, professor; published several articles on problems of social hygiene in *Die Neue Zeit* in the 1890s.—67

*Blatchford, Robert Peel Granville* (pseudonym *Nunquam)* (1851-1943)—British socialist, journalist, an editor of *The Workman's Times, The Clarion* and other workers' newspapers in the early 1890s; one of the founders and leaders of the Independent Labour Party (1893).—420

*Blocher, Hermann* (1867-1942)—Swiss journalist, Social-Democrat; later abandoned the working-class movement.—194

*Bios, Wilhelm* (1849-1927)—German Social-Democrat; journalist and historian; an editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1872-74); deputy to the Reichstag (from 1877), belonged to the right wing of the Social-Democratic group.—26

*Blumenfeld, Josef Solomonovich* (b. 1865)—Russian Social-Democrat; emigrated to Switzerland in 1891; member of the Emancipation of Labour group; helped to bring out Social-Democratic literature in 1893 and 1894.—317

*Boelling, Hedwig (née Engels)* (1830-1904)—Engels' sister; Frederick Boelling's wife. —418

*Boguslawski, Albert von* (1834-1905)—German general, author of numerous works on war history and military art.—447, 458, 459

*Bonaparte*—see *Napoléon II I.*

*Bonghi, Ruggero* (1828-1895)—Italian politician, writer and journalist, professor of philosophy, man of the Right, deputy to the Parliament, Minister of Education (1874-76.).—94

*Bonnet*—French socialist; secretary in the editorial board of *L'Ere nouvelle.*—291

*Bonnier, Charles* (b. 1863)—French socialist, journalist and prominent figure in the Workers Party; lived in England for a long time; contributed to the socialist press.— 15, 20, 46, 48, 56, 64, 66, 72, 156, 171, 182, 216, 243, 262, 285, 315, 324, 326, 332

*Borgius, W.—214*

*Boulanger, Georges Ernest Jean Marie* (1837-1891)—French general, War Minister (1886-87), sought to establish military dictatorship.—16, 51, 59, 68, 69, 75, 76, 156,190

*Brand, Ignaz* (1844-1916)—Austrian Social-Democrat; founder of a Vienna people's book publishing house.—508

*Braun, Adolf* (1862-1929)—German Social-Democrat; journalist, an editor of the *Vorwärts* and other German and Austrian Social-Democratic newspapers in the 1890s; author of a few works on the trade-union movement.—372

*Braun, Heinrich* (1854-1927)—German Social-Democrat, journalist; one of the founders of *Die Neue Zeit,* an editor of the *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik* and other newspapers and magazines.— 372, 460

*Brentano, Lujo {Ludwig Joseph)* (1844-1931) — German economist; one of the major representatives of armchair socialism.— 146, 223, 365

*Brett*—English wine merchant.—418

*Bronsart von Schellendorjf, Walter* (1833-1914) — Prussian general, War Minister of the German Empire (1893-96).—419

*Brousse, Paul Louis Marie* (1844-1912)— French socialist; physician; participant in the Paris Commune; sided with the anarchists; a member of the French Workers' Party from 1879; a leader of the Possi-bilists.—70, 106, 114, 120

*Bruno, Giordano* (1540-1600)—Italian philosopher and poet.—271

*Bucher, Lother* (1817-1892)—Prussian official and journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; emigrated to London after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution; later a National Liberal, supporter of Bismarck.—243

*Bueb, Fernand* (b. 1865)—German Social-Democrat; journalist; member of the Reichstag (1893-1900).—154

*Bürgers, Heinrich* (1820-1878)—German radical journalist, contributor to the *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842-43); member of the Communist League (1848), an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* one of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); subsequently a liberal.—471

*Burgess, Joseph* (pseudonym *Autolycus)* (b. 1853)—prominent figure in the English working-class movement; knitter; an editor of *The Workman's Times* (1891-94); a founding member of the Independent Labour Party (1893).—228, 229

*Burns, John Elliott* (1858-1943)—prominent figure in the English working-class movement; a leader of the New Trade Unions in the 1880s; head of the London dockers' strike (1889); went over to the liberal trade unionism in the 1890s, M. P. (from 1892); held ministerial posts in liberal governments.—8, 23, 103, 131, 139, 269, 285, 356, 483, 484

*Burton, Robert* (pseudonym *Democritus Junior)* (1577-1640)—English divine and author of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621). —259

C

*Caesar, Gaius Julius* (c. 100-44 B. C.)—Roman general and statesman.—266, 485

*Calvin, John (Jean Chauvin)* (1509-1564)—Reformer; founder of Calvinism, a Protestant teaching distinguished by its particular intolerance of Catholicism, as well as of other Protestant doctrines.—165

*Canepa, Giuseppe* (1869-1948)—Italian lawyer, socialist.—255

*Caprivi, Leo von, Count* (1831-1899)—German statesman and military expert, general, Chancellor of the German Empire (1890-94).—28, 84, 89, 138, 147, 148, 168, 381

*Carnot, Marie François Sadi* (1837-1894)—French statesman, Republican, held ministerial posts several times; President of the Republic (1887-94).—20, 69, 255, 315, 318

*Carré*—owner of a publishing house in Paris. —291

*Casimir-Périer, Jean Paul Pierre* (1847-1907)—French statesman; Prime Minister (1893-94), President of the Republic (1894-95).—245, 369, 420, 425

*Cato, Marcus Porcius (Cato the Elder* or *Cato the Censor)* (234-149 B. C.)—Roman statesman, general and writer, was elected censor in 184 B. C; his rigorous censorship became a byword.—*66*

*Cavendish, Spencer Comp ton, Duke of Devonshire* (1833-1908)—English statesman, initially a liberal, MP, the recognised leader of the Liberal Unionist Party from 1886.—279

*Cerny Wilhelm* (b. 1864)—Czech Social-Democrat, joiner, member of the Chamber of Deputies of Austria-Hungary.—334

*Chamberlain, Joseph* (1836-1914)—British statesman, liberal, Liberal Unionist after 1886; M. P. from 1876; member of the Cabinet for many years.—272, 279

*Champion, Henry Hyde* (1859-1928)—English socialist, publisher and journalist; member of the Social-Democratic Federation till 1887, later a leader of the trade-unionist Labour Electoral Association in London; editor and publisher of *The Labour Elector,* emigrated to Australia in the 1890s.—84, 103, 142

*Charles* 7(1600-1649)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1625-49), beheaded during the English Revolution.—485

*Charles ("the Bold")* (1433-1477)—Duke of Burgundy (1467-77).—167

*Chauviere, Emmanuel Jean Jules* (1850-1910)—French socialist, Blanquist, journalist, a Communard; member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1893.—209

*Chauvin, René Auguste* (1860-1936)—French socialist, journalist; hairdresser; member of the National Council of the French Workers' Party; later withdrew from the working-class movement, a senator (from 1893).—499

*Churchill, Randolph Henry Spencer, Lord* (1849-1895)—British Statesman, a leader of the Conservative Party, Secretary for India (1885-86), Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons from July to December 1886.—279

*Clark, Thomas*—house owner in London. —338

*Clayton*—stock-exchange broker in London. —539

*Clemenceau, Georges (Eugene Benjamin)* (1841-1929)—French politician, statesman and journalist; leader of the Radicals from the 1880s; founded *La Justice.*—155, 332, 427

*Cleveland, Stephen Grover* (1837-1908)—American statesman, twice (1885-89 and 1893-97) President of the United States. —124

*Cluseret, Gustave Paul* (1823-1900)—French politician; member of the First International, sided with the Bakuninists; a Communard, after the defeat of the Commune emigrated to Belgium and then to the USA;

returned to France after the amnesty; member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1888, sided with the socialists.—72

*Cohen, Alexander.*—452

*Colajanni, Napoleone* (1847-1921)—Italian politician, sociologist and journalist, Republican; took part in the national-liberation movement in Italy; close to the socialists in the 1880s and 1890s; deputy to the Parliament from 1890.—96

*Columbus, Christopher* (1451-1506)—Genoese-born navigator, discoverer of America.—198

*Comte, Auguste* (1798-1857)—French philosopher, founder of positivism.—430

*Constans, Jean Antoine Ernest* (1833-1913)—French statesman, moderate republican; Minister of the Interior (1880-81 and 1889-92).—68, 75

*Constantine I, the Great* (c. 285-337)—Roman Emperor (306-37).—449

*Cotar, M. P.*—French socialist.—132

*Crawford, Emily* (née *Johnson)* (1831-1915)—British journalist, Paris correspondent of several English papers.—64, 106, 380, 409, 434

*Crispi, Francesco* (1819-1901)—Italian statesman, initially a bourgeois republican, participant in the national-liberation movement in Italy; champion of constitutional monarchy from the late 1860s; a leader of the so-called bourgeois Left, Prime Minister (1887-91 and 1893-96).—369, 390, 423, 519

*Croesus*—last King of Lydia (560-546 B. C.).—168

*Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—leader of the English Revolution, Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653.—266

*Croon, Berta*—sister-in-law of Hermann Engels, Frederick Engels' brother.—179

*Crosland, Sir Joseph* (1826-1904)—English manufacturer, conservative, M. P. (1893-95).—103

*Cross*—chief of the solicitors' office Cross & Sons in London.—539

*Cunow, Heinrich Wilhelm Karl* (1862-1936)—German Social-Democrat, historian, sociologist and ethnographer.—257

D

*Dakyns*—English geologist, member of the First International since 1869, an acquaintance of Marx and Engels.—259

*Dalziel, Davison Alexander* (1854-1928)—one of the founders of a British information agency, Conservative, M. P.—89

*Danielson, Nikolai Frantsevich* (pseudonym; *Nikolai-on* (1844-1918)—Russian economist and writer; an ideologist of Narodism in the 1880s-90s; translated into Russian volumes I (together with Hermann Lopatin and N. N. Lybavin), II and II I of Marx's *Capital,* corresponded with Marx and Engels for several years.—109, 143, 212, 255, 280, 372-3, 412, 450, 455, 488, 516

*Dante Alighieri* (1265-1321)—Italian poet.—256, 529

*Darwin, Charles Robert* (1809-1882)—English naturalist, founder of the theory of evolution by natural selection.—349

*Debski, Aleksander* (1857-1935)—Polish socialist, a founder of the Prolétariat Party and the Polish Socialist Party (1892); an editor of the *Przedswit* in 1893; later withdrew from the working-class movement. —312

*Delagrave, Charles Marie Eugène* (1842-1934)—French publisher.—332

*Delecluze, Mark Louis Alfred* (1857-1923)—French socialist, formed a section of the Workers' Party in Calais (1882).—184

*De Leon, Daniel* (1852-1914)—prominent figure in the labour and socialist movement

in the USA, leader of the Socialist Labor Party of North America (from 1891); lawyer; founder of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance (1895).—198

*Delon, Albert* (b. 1857)—French socialist, physician; initially a possibilist, a Guesdist from 1893, contributed to a number of socialist magazines.—264

*Demuth, Frederick Henry Lewis* (1851-1929) — English worker, mechanic, Helene Demuth's son, a close friend of Eleanor Marx-Aveling, took an active part in the English working-class movement.—533

*Demuth, Helene (Lenchen, Nim)* (1820-1890) — house-maid and friend of the Marx family; after Marx's death lived at Engels'. —38

*Dereure, Louise Simon* (1838-1900)—French socialist, Blanquist; shoemaker; member of the First International, a Communard member of the French Workers' Party from 1882.—358

*Deroulede, Paul* (1846-1914)—French politician and writer; took part in the suppression of the Paris Commune; an active Boulangist; member of the Chamber of Deputies (1889-92, 1898).—16, 155, 428

*Deville, Gabriel Pierre* (1854-1940)—French socialist, propagated Marxism, member of the French Workers' Party, journalist, author of a popular exposition of the first volume of Marx's *Capital;* delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congresses in 1889 and 1891.—150, 173, 390, 448

*Devonshire, Duke of*—see *Cavendish, Spencer Compton*

*Diamandy, George* (1867-1917)—Romanian socialist, journalist; while studying in Paris, headed an international socialist group of students; founder and editor of *L'Ere nouvelle* (1893-94).—171, 221-22, 264

*Dietz, Johann Heinrich Wilhelm* (1843-1922) — German Social-Democrat, founder of a Social-Democratic publishing house; deputy to the Reichstag from 1881.—49, 50, 53, 68, 91, 127, 217, 220, 223-24, 310,365,514

*Dietzgen, Eugen* (1862-1930)—American journalist; emigrated from Germany to the USA in late 1880-early 1881; took part in the American socialist movement; Joseph Dietzgen's son, publisher of his father's works.—300

*Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and author; a Tory leader; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68); Prime Minister (1868 and 1874-80).—241

*Domanico, Giovanni* (1855-1919)—Italian socialist, member of the anarchist Italian Federation of the International and later of the Italian Socialist Party, withdrew from the Party in 1899.—149, 151, 162

*Dragomanov, Mikhail Petrovich* (1841-1895) — Ukrainian historian, ethnographer, journalist and public figure.—90

*Dronke, Ernst* (1822-1891)—German writer, "true socialist"; later member of the Communist League and an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); after the 1848-49 revolution emigrated to Switzerland, then to England; associate of Marx and Engels.—471, 530

*Dühring, Eugen Karl* (1833-1921)—German eclectic philosopher and vulgar economist, petty-bourgeois socialist; his philosophical views were a mixture of idealism, vulgar materialism, positivism and metaphysics; he also concerned himself with the problems of natural science and literature; a lecturer at Berlin University from 1863 to 1877.—291

*Dupuy, Charles Alexandre* (1851-1923)— French statesman, a moderate republican; Minister of Education (1892), Prime Minister (1893, 1894-95, 1898-99).—245,426

*Dworzak, Adelheid (Popp* by marriage) (1869-1939)—Austrian socialist; factory worker, later journalist, an active participant in the Austrian and international women's movement; an editor of the *Arbeiterinner-*

*Zeitung* (1894-99).—179, 182, 203, 247, 263, 274, 285, 327

E

*Eberle, Carl*—German Social-Democrat, chairman of the Social-Democratic union in Barmen.—296

*Ede*—see *Bernstein, Eduard.*

*Edward*—see *Aveling, Edward.*

*Edward Albert, Prince of York* (1894-1972)—heir apparent, King Edward VII I of England (20 January-11 December 1936), abdicated.—3 5 6

*Edwards, Joseph*—English socialist; publisher of the *Labour Annual horn.* 1895.—345

*Edwards, Passmore*—English Liberal Unionist.—421

*Eichhoff, Karl Wilhelm* (1833-1895)—German socialist and journalist, refugee in London (1861-66); member of the First International (from 1868) and one of its first historians; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (from 1869); edited a number of legal workers' papers in the 1880s.—98, 140

*Ellenbogen, Wilhelm* (1863-1951)—Austrian Social-Democrat, journalist; contributor to the Viennese *Volkstribüne* and *Arbeiter-Zeitung in* the 1880s and 1890s.-—61, 435

*Elster, Ludwig* (1856-1935)—German economist; professor at several German universities; one of the publishers of the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschafien.*—91

*Engels, Elisabeth Franziska Mauritia* (née van Haar) (1797-1873)—Frederick Engels' mother.—234

*Engels, Elsbeth* (b. 1874)—Frederick Engels' niece, Hermann Engels' daughter, Arthur Schuchard's wife from 1895.—178, 417, 442, 478, 479, 494

*Engels, Emma* (née *Croon)* (1834-1916)—Hermann Engels' wife.—93, 179, 183, 418,442,479

*Engels, Friedrich* (1796-1860)—Frederick Engels' father.—537

*Engels, Hermann* (1822-1905)—Frederick Engels' brother, manufacturer in Barmen, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen.—92, 172, 178, 180, 196, 416, 441, 478, 494, 534, 536, 537, 539

*Engels, Rudolf* (1831-1903)—Frederick Engels' brother, manufacturer in Barmen, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen (from 1861).—418, 442

*Engels, Walter* (b. 1869)—Frederick Engels' nephew, Hermann Engels' son; physician.—179, 417, 442

*Ernst*—see *Schattner, Ernst.*

*Ernst, Paul (1866-1933)*—German journalist, critic and playwright; joined Social-Democrats in the late 1880s; a leader of "The Young"; expelled from the Social-Democratic Party in 1891.—250

F

*Faure, François Félix* (1844-1899)—French statesman and politician, a moderate republican; President of the Republic (1895-99).—426, 427

*Fenwick, Charles* (1850-1918)—prominent figure in the English working-class movement; miner; a leader of the Miners' National Union; M. P. (from 1885); secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress (1890-94). —335

*Fergusson, Sir James* (1832-1907)—English statesman, Conservative, M. P.; Postmaster General (1891-92).—311

*Ferroul, Joseph Antoine Jean Frédéric Ernest* (pseudonym: *Léon Stern)* (1853-1921)—French socialist, physician; member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1888.—183

*Ferri, Enrico* (1856-1929)—Italian lawyer and sociologist, radical; M. P.; sided with the Italian Socialist Party in 1893.—349, 363, 467, 480

*Ferry, Jules François Camille* (1832-1893)—French lawyer, journalist and politician; a leader of the moderate republicans; member of the Government of National Defence, Mayor of Paris (1870-71), Prime Minister (1880-81 and 1883-85); pursued an active colonial policy.—172

*Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas* (1804-1872)—German philosopher.—529

*Fichte, Johann Gottlieb* (1762-1814)—German philosopher.—163

*Fireman, Peter* (b. 1863)—Russian-born American chemist, lived in Germany and the USA.—377, 401,463

*Fischer, Inka*—Richard Fischer's daughter.—37, 38, 346

*Fischer, Richard* (1855-1926)—German Social-Democrat, journalist, compositor; secretary in the Executive Committee of the Social-Democratic Party (1890-93); member of the Reichstag (from 1893).—40, 52, 268, 437-8, 443-4, 457-59, 490-91, 496-98, 499, 501-02, 504, 515-16, 521

*Fischer*—Richard Fischers wife.—521

*Flerovsky, N.*—see *Bervi, Vasily Vasilyevich.*

*Fortin, Edouard*—French socialist, journalist, member of the French Workers' Party, translated into French several of Marx's works.—211, 216, 221-22

*Foulger*—English publisher.—204, 218

*Fournière, Joseph Eugène* (1857-1914)—French socialist, a founder of the French Workers' Party, sided with the possibilists in 1881, later supported Millerand; member of the Chamber of Deputies.—331

*Francis Ferdinand Karl* (1863-1914)—Archduke of Austria, heir to the throne of Austria-Hugary from 1896; assassinated at Sarajevo, Serbia, on 28 June 1914.—370

*Francis Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria.—17, 219, 228, 240-41, 273, 370

*Frankel, Leo* (1844-1896)—jeweller, prominent figure in the Hungarian and international working-class movement; member of the Paris Commune and the General Council of the First International (1871-72); a founder of the General Workers' Party of Hungary (1880); associate of Marx and Engels.—172, 232, 391-92, 481

*Frederick II (the Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—504

*Frederick William* (1620-1688)—Elector of Brandenburg (1640-88).—166

*Freyberger, Louise*—see *Kautsky, Louise* (née *Strasser).*

*Freyberger, Ludwig* (1863-1934)—Austrian physician, refugee in London, Louise Kautsky's husband (from 1894).—22, 116, 180, 272-73, 276, 284, 292, 300, 311, 327, 332, 334, 337, 344, 348, 370, 376, 391, 411, 416, 424, 428, 435, 437, 439, 440, 442, 448, 449-50, 457, 486, 490, 507-08, 509, 517, 522, 532, 534, 535, 538, 540-42

*Fribourg, Ernest Eduard*—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; engraver, subsequently businessman; Right-wing Proudhonist; a leader of the Paris section of the International; author of *L'Association internationale des travailleurs* which was hostile to the International and the Paris Commune.—98

*Frohme, Karl Franz Egon* (1850-1933)—German journalist, Social-Democrat, a Lassallean in the 1870s, belonged to the reformist wing of German Social-Democracy; deputy to the German Reichstag (from 1881).— 26, 100, 106

## G

*Gardiner, Samuel Rawson* (1829-1902)—English historian.—402

*Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; led the struggle of the Italian people for national liberation and the unification of the country in the 1850s and 1860s.—94

*Garibaldi, Menotti* (1840-1903)—Italian soldier and statesman; Giuseppe Garibaldi's

son; businessman from the early 1870s, deputy to the Italian Parliament (from 1876).—94

*Geiser, Alice* (b. 1857)—Weilhelm Liebknecht's eldest daughter, wife of a German Social-Democrat, Bruno Geiser.—282

*Gerault-Richard, Alfred Léon* (1860-1911)— French journalist, socialist, member of the Chamber of Deputies (1895-98).—396, 419,421

*Gerisch, Karl Alwin* (1857-1922)—German Social-Democrat; machinist; member of the Executive Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany; deputy to the Reichstag (1894-98).—280

*Gerlach, Hellmut von* (1866-1935)—German journalist; contributor to *Das Volk* in the 1890s.—315, 316

*Gilles, Ferdinand* (born c. 1856)—German journalist, Social-Democrat; moved to London in 1886; contributed to the *Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung,* member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, was exposed as a police spy and expelled from the Society in 1892.—18

*Gina, Gine*—see *Bernstein, Regina.*

*Giolitti, Giovanni Federico* (1842-1928)— Italian financier and statesman; a leader of the so-called bourgeois Left; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1889-90); Prime Minister (1892-93); when embezzlements in the Roman bank came to light, had to retire and withdrew from political activity for a time.—390

*Girardin, Emile de* (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician; a republican during the 1848-49 revolution, later a Bona-partist.—36, 58

*Gizycki, Georg von* (1851-1895)—German philosopher, professor at Berlin University.—233, 270

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)— British statesman, Tory, later a leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the nineteenth century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55, 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—87, 104, 108, 272, 356

*Goblet, René* (1828-1905)—French statesman and politician, lawyer; Radical, repeatedly held ministerial posts in the 1880s; senator (1891-93); one of the managers of La *Petite République* (1891-93).—210

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—440

*Goldenberg, Jossif (lossif) Petrovich* (pseudonym *Meshkovsky)* (1873-1922)—Russian Social-Democrat, studied abroad since 1890.— 213

*Gorst, Sir John Eldon* (1835-1916)—English statesman, Conservative, M. P., Chancellor of the Exchequer (1891-92).—311

*Gottschalk, Andreas* (1815-1849)—German physician; member of the Cologne community of the Communist League; President of the Cologne Workers' Association (April— June 1848); exponent of "Left" sectarian tendencies in the German working-class movement.—471

*Gnardnauer, Georg* (1866-1946)—German Social-Democrat; editor of several workers' and Social-Democratic newspapers in the 1890s.—99

*Greulich, Hermann* (1842-1925)—German bookbinder; emigrated to Zurich in 1865; member of the Zurich section of the First International (from 1867); founder and editor of the *Tagwacht* (1869-80); a founder of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party (1888) and leader of its reformist wing. —182

*Grillenberger, Karl* (1848-1897)—German worker, then journalist; publisher of several Social-Democratic newspapers; member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from 1869), sided with its reformist wing; deputy to the German Reichstag (from 1881).—374, 378

*Gröben, von der*—Landrat of Lyck, East Prussia.—102

*Guérard, Benjamin Edme Charles* (1797-1854)—French historian, author of a few works on the history of medieval France.—489

*Guesde, Jules* (real name *Mathieu Jules Bazile)* (1845-1922) prominent figure in the French and international socialist movement; a founder of the French Workers' Party (1879); leader of the revolutionary wing of the French socialist movement for many years.—6, 15, 20, *66,* 135, 155, 172, 182, 185, 197, 209, 243, 245, 250, 272, 274,315,325,420,434

*Guillaumin*—French publisher.—226

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman, Orleanist; Foreign Minister (1840-48) and Prime Minister (1847-48); virtually directed the home and foreign policy of France from 1840 to the February 1848 revolution; expressed the interests of the big financial bourgeoisie.—266

*Gülich, Gustav von* (1791-1847)—German historian and economist; protectionist.—267

*Gumpert, Eduard (d.* 1893)—German physician in Manchester, friend of Marx and Engels.—18, 101, 137, 138, 155

*Gumpert,* Mrs—Eduard Gumpert's wife.—155

*Guyot, Ives* (1843-1928)—French politician, economist and journalist, member of the Chamber of Deputies, Minister of Public Works (1889-92).—489

H

*Hackenberg, Karl*—German historian, Hermann Heinrich Becker's son-in-law and biographer.—470-72

*Händel, Georg Friedrich* (1685-1759)—German composer.—56, 314, 315

*Hansemann, David Justus* (1790-1864)—German capitalist and politician; a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Finance Minister of Prussia (from March to September 1848).—415

*Harcourt, Sir William George Granville Venables Vernon* (1827-1904)—English statesman, liberal, Home Secretary (1880-85), Chancellor of the Exchequer (1886, 1892-94, 1894-95).—410-11

*Hardie, James Keir* (1856-1915)—prominent figure in the English working-class movement, miner, later journalist; founder and leader of the Scottish Labour Party (from 1888) and of the Independent Labour Party (from 1893); an active member of the Labour Party; was first elected to parliament as independent workers' candidate in 1892.—8, 84, 87, 88, 102, 103, 356-7, 411,483,525,526

*Harney, George Julian* (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the English working-class movement, a leader of the Chartist Left wing, editor of *The Northern Star, Democratic Review, Red Republican* and *Friend of the People,* lived in the USA from 1862 to 1888 (with intervals); member of the First International; associate of Marx and Engels.—112

*Harrison, Frederick* (1831-1923)—English lawyer and historian, radical, positivist, active member of the English democratic movement in the 1860s, member of the First International.—431

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—121, 165, 301, 463

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German poet.—189,225,234,243,449

*Heinzen, Karl Peter* (1809-1880)—German journalist, radical; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland, later to England and in the autumn of 1850 to the USA.—422

*Helfand, Alexander Lazarevich* (pseudonym *Parvus)* (1869-1924)—Russian Social-Democrat, refugee in Switzerland from 1886, later in Germany; contributed to the

German and Russian Social-Democratic press.—306

*Heller, Hugo*—bookseller in Vienna.—509

*Henckell, Karl* (1864-1929)—German poet, compiled a collection of progressive and revolutionary poems—*Buch der Freiheit* (1893).—77

*Hepner, Adolf* (1846-1923)—German Social-Democrat; an editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1869-73); delegate to the Hague Congress of the First International (1872); emigrated to the USA (1882).—330

*Héritier, Louis* (1863-1898)—Swiss socialist, author of a number of works on the history of the revolutionary and socialist movement.—82, 85, 98, 481

*Herz, Cornelius* (b. 1845)—French businessman and stock-exchange dealer; one of the main partners in the Panama Canal Company.—75

*Hess (Heß), Moses* (1812-1875)—German radical writer, "true socialist" in the mid-1840s; member of the Communist League; after its split sided with the Willich-Shap-per separatist group; member of the General Association of German Workers; member of the First International.—503

*Hirsch, Carl* (1841-1900)—German Social-Democrat, journalist, member of the General Association of German Workers; editor of several Social-Democratic newspapers.— 291, 310, 353, 474-76, 509-10, 514

*Hitze, Franz* (1851-1921)—German theologian, member of the Party of the Centre, deputy to the Reichstag (from 1884).—100

*Hjelt, Edvard*—chemist, professor at Helsinki University.—404

*Hödel (Hoedel), Emil Heinrich Max* (1857-1878)—tinner from Leipzig; made an attempt on the life of William I on 11 May, 1878.—315

*Hofrichter, A.*—German Social-Democrat, an editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in the 1890s.—509, 514, 515

*Hager, Karl* (1847-1913)—Austrian Social-Democrat and trade union leader, compositor, one of the organisers of the compositors' trade union in Austria, editor of the Vienna *Vorwärts* (1877-83).—199, 261

*Hohenlohe-Schillingsfurst, Chlodwig Karl Victor, Prince* (1819-1901)—German statesman; Chancellor of the German Empire (1894-1900).—383, 390

*Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian Kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—168

*Hourwich, Isaak Adolphovich* (1860-1924)—Russian economist, adherent of Marxism; emigrated to the USA in 1891, lectured at Chicago University in 1893-94; participant in the American socialist movement.—144, 534

*Howell, George* (1833-1910)—British mason, a reformist leader of the British trade unions; former chartist; Secretary of the London Trades Council (1861-62); member of the General Council of the International (October 1864 to 1869); secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress (1871-75) M. P. (1885-95).—223-24

*Hudson*—an English soap manufacturer.—283

*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885)—French writer.—57

*Humbert I* (Umberto Ranieri Carlo-Emanuel Giobanni-Maria *Ferdinando Eugenio)* (1844-1900)—King of Italy (1878-1900). —390

*Huret, Jules* (1864-1915)—French journalist; contributor to *Le Figaro* in the 1890s.— 20,23

*Hütten, Ulrich von* (1488-1523)—German poet, supporter of the Reformation, participant in and ideological leader of the Knights' uprising of 1522-23.—513

*Huxley, Thomas Henry* (1825-1895)—English naturalist, follower of Charles Darwin and populariser of his theory.—430

*Hyndman, Henry Mayers* (1842-1921)—English socialist, founder (1881) and leader of the London Democratic Federation, which became Social-Democratic Federation in 1884; later a leader of the British Socialist Party.—120, 125, 277, 340, 342-3, 345, 354, 356

I

*Iglesias, Posse Pablo* (1850-1925)—prominent figure in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement; printer, journalist, member of the Spanish Federal Council of the First International (1871-72), opponent of anarchists; one of the founders of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain (1879), later a leader of its reformist wing.—286-87, 334-5, 473-4

*Ignatiyev*—see *Helfand, Alexander Lazarevicb*

J

*Jaclard, Charles Victor* (1843-1903)—French socialist, Blanquist, journalist, member of the First International, a Communard; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to Switzerland and later to Russia; returned to France after amnesty in 1880 and continued his activity in the socialist movement.—182

*Jacobi, Abraham* (1830-1919)—German physician, member of the Communist League, defendant at the Cologne Communist trial (1852), acquitted by the jury; later emigrated to the USA, professor at and president of a few U.S. medical institutions.—500

*Jaeger, Oscar {b.* 1856)—husband of Hermann Engels' daughter Anna.—442

*Janssen, Johannes* (1829-1891)—German historian and theologian, author of numerous works on the history of Germany.—513

*Jaurès, Jean Léon* (1859-1914)—prominent figure in the international and French socialist movement, historian; leader of the reformist wing of the French Socialist Party; member of the Chamber of Deputies (1885-89, 1893-98); took part in all congresses of the Second International.—121, 155, 156, 185, 245, 249, 262, 269, 272, 274-75, 276, 291, 318, 325-26, 331-32, 448,451

*Jaworski, Apollinar, knight von* (1825-1904)—Austrian statesman, Polish noble, member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1887); minister without portfolio in the Windischgrätz Coalition Cabinet.—228

*Jedrzejowski, Boleslaw Antoni* (1867-1914)—Polish socialist, journalist; a founder and leader of the Proletariat Party and the Polish Socialist Party; refugee in Berlin in 1891, later in Paris, and in London from 1893; an editor of the *Przedswit.*—518

*Jodko-Narkiewicz, Tomasz Witold (Rabin)* (1864-1924)—Polish journalist, a founder of the Polish Socialist Party and a leader of its revolutionary wing, member of the Prolétariat Party in the 1880s; contributed to the *Przedswit* in the 1890s, its editor (1893-1906).—311,385, 437

*Jogiches*—see *Tyszka, Jan.*

*Jollymeier*—see *Schorlemmer, Carl.*

*Jourde, Antoine* (1848-1923)—French trade employee, socialist; delegate to several congresses of the French Workers' Party; later sided with the Boulangists; member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1889).—183

*Julius*—see *Motteler, Julius.*

*Juta, Johann Carel* (1824-1886)—Dutch bookseller in Cape Town; husband of Marx's sister Louise.—531

K

*Kanitz, Hans Wilhelm Alexander, Earl von* (1841-1913)—German politician, a leader of the Conservative Party, deputy to the Prussian Landtag and to the German Reichstag.—326

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—165, 291, 463

*Kapp, Friedrich* (1824-1884)—German historian, lawyer and politician, member of the Reichstag (1872-78), National Liberal, later member of the Party of Progress.—530

*Karpeles, Benno*—Austrian Social-Democrat.—288, 315, 377

*Karpeles,* Mrs—Benno Karpeles' wife.—376

*Kate*—see *Schattner, Kate.*

*Kautsky, Karl Johann* (1854-1938)—German Social-Democrat, journalist, economist and historian, editor of *Die Neue Zeit* (1883-1917); author of theoretical works on Marxism.—28, 49, 53, 71, 91, 127, 146, 172, 188, 220, 223, 239, 257, 261, 269, 278, 300, 304, 306, 311, 313, 314, 321, 329, 346, 348, 365, 387, 399, 401, 415, 422, 467, 468, 480-82, 486, 487, 510-11

*Kautsky, Louise* (née *Strassen Freyberger* by the second marriage) (1860-1950)—Austrian socialist; Engels' secretary from 1890; an editor of the *Arbeiterinnen-Zehung;* Karl Kautsky's first wife.—9, 10, 19, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 41, 46, 52, 59, 61, 65, 73, 79, 81, 82, 85, 90, 91, 95, 100, 101, 104, 105, 109, 112, 116, 118, 120, 122, 126, 136, 138, 139, 143, 150, 153, 160, 163, 172, 174, 175, 176, 185, 187, 188, 190, 191-93, 196, 198, 207, 210, 216, 217, 220, 223, 231, 234, 243, 245, 249, 251, 254, 272, 276, 278, 280, 284, 285, 292, 293, 298-99, 300, 305, 311, 314, 327, 332, 334, 337, 344, 348, 355, 363, 370, 388, 399, 400, 401, 411, 415, 416, 421, 424, 434-5, 437, 439, 440, 442, 448, 478, 490, 492, 500, 507-08, 511, 517, 521-22, 523, 534, 537-39, 542

*Kautsky, Luise* (née *Ronsperger)* (1864-1944)—Austrian socialist, Karl Kautsky's second wife (from 1890).—220

*Kautsky, Minna* (née *Jaich)* (1837-1912)—German writer, Karl Kautsky's mother.—282

*Kelly-Wischnewetzky, Florence* (1859-1932)—American socialist; translated into English Engels' book *The Condition of the Working Class in England;* wife of the Polish émigré Lazar Wischnewetzky till 1892.—229, 230, 540

*Kellog, Edward* (1790-1858)—American economist; author of a few works on financial problems.—124

*King, Philip Stephen*—bookseller in London.—532

*Klepsch, Philipp*—one of Carl Schorlemmer's executors.—14, 138, 319

*Kneipp, Sebastian* (1821-1897)—German priest, worked out a system of hydropathy.—68

*Köller, Ernst Matthias von* (1841-1928)—German statesman, a Conservative, deputy to the Reichstag (1881-88); Minister of the Interior of Prussia (1894-95).—381, 383, 390, 402, 426, 477

*Konow, Andrej*—Russian émigré in Berlin.—456, 516

*Köppen, Karl Friedrich* (1808-1863)—German radical journalist and historian; a Young Hegelian; specialised in the history of Buddhism, Marx's friend.—504

*Krause*—German physician.—358

*Kravchinskaya, Fanni Markovna* (née *Lichkus)* (c. 1853-1945)—participant in the Narodnik movement in the 1870s; Sergei Kravchinsky's wife.—24, 32, 60

*Kravchinsky, Sergei Mikhailovich* (pseudonym *Stepnyak)* (1851-1895)—Russian writer and journalist, prominent among the revolutionary Narodniks of the 1870s; committed an act of terrorism against the chief of gendarmes in Petersburg in 1878; emigrated, lived in England from 1884.—18, 22, 24, 32, 224, 239

*Krichevsky, Boris Naumovich* (1866-1919)—Russian Social-Democrat, journalist, emigrated to Switzerland in the early 1890s; joined the Emancipation of Labour group

in Geneva; a leader of Economists.—302, 303, 306, 307

*Kropotkin, Pyotr Alexeyevich* (1842-1921)—Russian revolutionary, sociologist, geographer and geologist; theorist of anarchism; lived in emigration from 1876 to 1917.—452

*Kugelmann, Franziska* (1858-c. 1930)—Ludwig Kugelmann's daughter.—4, 9, 413

*Kugelmann, Gertrud* (née *Oppenheim)* (b. 1839)—Ludwig Kugelmann's wife.—4, 9, 191-92,413

*Kugelmann, Ludwig* (1828-1903)—German physician, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; member of the First International; Marx's regular correspondent (1862-74).—4, 9, 191, 398, 431, 477, 500

*Kulishova (Kulischow), Anna Moiseyevna* (real name *Rosenstein)* (1854-1925)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik; joined the Bakuninists (1872); refugee in Italy (from 1878); broke off with anarchism; participant in the Italian socialist movement, prominent figure in the Italian Socialist Party (from 1892); Andrea Costa's wife (from 1877); later Filippo Turati's wife (from 1885).—95, 118, 150, 174, 182, 293,298,334,341,380,519

L

*Labriola, Antonio* (1843-1904)—Italian socialist, philosopher and journalist; author of a few works on the theory of Marxism.—78, 93, 182, 250-51, 363, 448, 466, 488, 519, 524

*Labriola, Arturo* (1873-1959)—Italian socialist, politician, and economist.—519

*Lachätre (Lachstre), Claude Maurice, Baron de* (1814-1900)—French journalist; took part in the Paris Commune; publisher of the first volume of Marx's *Capital* in French.— 173

*Lachize, Jean Benoît (Félix)* (b. 1859)—French socialist; weaver, member of the Chamber of Deputies (1889-93).—72, 188

*Lafargue, Laura* (1845-1911)—Marx's second daughter, participant in the French working-class movement, Paul Lafargue's wife.— 10, 21, 26, 29, 35, 48, 56, 58, 63, 65, 105, 115-16, 120, 122, 133, 136, 153, 154, 160, 171, 172, 180, 184, 186-90, 211, 215, 221, 226, 232, 242-43, 251, 254, 277, 290-91, 311, 330, 344, 359, 370, 386, 392, 394-5, 421, 424, 428, 448, *466,* 483-85, 490, 498-500, 507-08, 520, 522, 526, 532, 534, 535, 536, 538, 540, 542

*Lafargue, Paul* (1842-1911)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; journalist, author of several works on the theory of Marxism; member of the General Council of the First International (from 1866); a founder of the French Workers' Party (1880); editor of *Le Socialiste,* member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1891.—6, 10, 21-22, 29, 35, 51, 54, 55, 105, 107, 112, 120, 122, 131, 132, 135, 155, 156, 160, 172, 180, 183, 184, 188, 197, 208, 215, 217, 231, 245, 252, 274, 277, 285, 309-11, 315, 326, 330, 332, 342, 357, 364, 366, 368-70, 388-9, 390-92, 395-6, 419, 426-28, 446-47, 481, 487-90, 507-08, 520, 526, 536, 538, 542

*Lamplugh, George William* (1859-1926)—English geologist.—133, 259, 263, 391

*Landé, Hugo*—German lawyer, Social-Democrat, wrote and published articles on economic problems.—127

*Larios, Marquis de.*—473

*Larios family.*—474

*Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German writer and lawyer; took part in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder and the first President of the General Association of German Workers (1863-64); an initiator of the reformist trend in the German working-class movement.—33, 218, 386, 427, 438, 443, 499

*Laura*—see *Lafargue, Laura.*

*Laveley, Emil Louis Victor, Baron de* (1822-1892)—Belgian historian and economist.—98

*Lavergne-Peguilhen, Moritz von* (1801-1870) — German historian and economist.—135

*Lavrov, Pyotr Lavrovich* (1823-1900)—Russian sociologist, philosopher, revolutionary journalist; an ideologist of Narodism; member of the First International, took part in the Paris Commune; editor of the magazine *Vperyod.* (1873-76) and the newspaper *Vperyod.* (1875-76); friend of Marx and Engels.—62, 96, 143, 153, 254, 258, 388-89

*Lazzari, Constantino* (1857-1927)—prominent figure in the Italian working-class movement, a founder and leader of the Italian Workers' Party (1889) and the Italian Socialist Party (1892); sided with the anar-chosyndicalists.—341

*Ledebour, Georg* (1850-1947)—German Social-Democrat, lawyer; later a Centrist.—367

*Lee, Henry William* (1865-1932)—English socialist, secretary of the Social-Democratic Federation (1885-1913).—294, 335

*Leffler-Edgrén, Anne Charlotte, Duchess von Caianiello* (1849-1892)—Swedish authoress.—12

*Lehmann*—German physician.—218

*Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, Baron von* (1646-1716)—German philosopher and mathematician.—3, 463

*Leo, Heinrich* (1799-1878)—German historian and reactionary journalist.—504

*Lesseps, Charles Aimee Marie* (1849-1923)— French businessman, an administrator of the Panama Canal Co.; following the Panama canal scandal was sentenced in 1893 to five-year imprisonment; Ferdinand Lessep's son.—68

*Lesseps, Ferdinand Marie, vicomte de* (1805-1894)—French engineer; organised an international company which built the Suez Canal (1859-69); chief of the Panama Canal Co.; following the Panama Canal scandle was sentenced in 1893 to five-year imprisonment.—69, 106

*Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim* (1729-1781)— German writer, critic, philosopher of the Enlightenment.—135

*Lessner, Friedrich* (1825-1910)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; tailor; member of the Communist League from 1847; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; defendant at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); emigrated to London in 1856; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London and of the General Council of the First International (November 1864 to 1872); took part in the British socialist movement (the 1880s-90s); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—127, 141, 533, 538-541

*Lexis, Wilhelm* (1837-1914)—German economist and statistician, professor at Göttingen university (from 1887).—463

*Lieber, Philippe Ernst* (1838-1902)—German politician; a leader of the Party of the Centre; member of the Reichstag (from 1871).—147, 476

*Liebig, Justus, Baron von* (1803-1873)— German chemist.—463

*Liebknecht, Gertrud* (b. 1864)—Wilhelm Liebknechts daughter by his first wife.— 282

*Liebknecht, Karl* (1871-1919)—Wilhelm Liebknecht's son, later a prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; a founder of the Communist Party of Germany.—43, 176, 233-34

*Liebknecht, Natalie* (née *Reh)* (1835-1909)—Wilhelm Liebknecht's second wife (from 1868).—15, 43, 72, 73, 174, 175, 187, 231,232,248,282, 531, 533

*Liebknecht, Theodor Karl* (1870-1948)— Wilhelm Liebknecht's son; lawyer; member

of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.—43, 176, 233-34

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League and the First International; disseminator of the International's ideas in the German working-class movement; deputy to the North German (1867-70) and the German (from 1874) Reichstag; a founder and leader of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party; editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1866-76) and the *Vorwärts* (1876-78, 1880-1900); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—6, 10, 11, 14, 20, 33, 43, 44, 51, 55, 72, 99, 100, 106, 108, 120, 154, 159, 174, 175, 186, 187, 207, 209, 215, 217, 218, 231, 234, 248, 313, 315, 318, 320, 336, 373, 379, 401, 404, 480, 486, 489-90, 522, 533

*Lili (Lily)*—see *Rosher, Mary Lilian Georgina.*

*Lincoln, Abraham* (1809-1865)—American statesman, a leader of the Republican Party; President of the United States (1861-65); under the influence of the masses carried out important bourgeois-democratic reforms during the Civil War, thus making possible the adoption of revolutionary methods of warfare; was shot by a slaveowners' agent in April 1865.—140

*Lindeman, Carl Hugo* (1867-1950)—German Social-Democrat, economist, lived in London in the 1890s, a compiler of the *Handbuch des Socialismus.*—4

*Lister, John*—English socialist, member of the Independent Labour Party, member of the Halifax municipal council, candidate at the parliamentary elections in 1893.—103

*Livingston, Max*—an employee at the Pittsburg affiliation of the Standard Oil Co.— 413, 477, 500

*Lloyd, Henry Demarest* ( 1847-1903)—American writer on social problems, one of the first muckrakers.—123, 145

*Longuet, Edgar* (1879-1950)—French physician, socialist, Marx's grandson, son of Jenny and Charles Longuet.—525, 540

*Longuet, Jean Laurent Frédéric (Johnny)* (1876-1936)—active in the French and international working-class movement, Marx's grandson, son of Jenny and Charles Longuet; lawyer; a leader of the French Socialist Party.—525, 540

*Longuet, Jenny* (née *Marx)* (1844-1883)—prominent figure in the international working-class movement; Marx's eldest daughter; Charles Longuet's wife from 1872.—364, 540

*Longuet, Jenny* (1882-1952)—Marx's granddaughter, daughter of Jenny and Charles Longuet.—540

*Longuet, Marcel*(1881-1949)—Marx's grandson, son of Jenny and Charles Longuet.—540

*Lopatin, Hermann Alexandrovich* (1845-1918)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik, member of the General Council of the International (1870); a translator of the first volume of Marx's *Capital* into Russian; friend of Marx and Engels.—62

*Lorenzo, Anselmo* (1841-1915)—active in the Spanish working-class movement; printer; an organiser of the International's sections in Spain, member of the Spanish Federal Council (1870-72).—286

*Loria, Achille* (1857-1943)—Italian sociologist and economist.—293, 349, 407, 448, 451,466,480,488

*Loubet, Emile François* (1838-1929)—French statesman, republican; Prime Minister (January-November 1892).—7

*Louis Capet*—see Louis XVI

*Louis XV* (1710-1774)—King of France (1765-74).—440

*Louis XVI* (1754-1793)—King of France (1774-92) guillotined during the French Revolution.—256

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—51,58

*Louise*—see *Kautsky, Louise.*

*Löwe, Isidor* (1848-1910)—German manufacturer; chief of a big firm in production of armaments.—75

*Ludwig*—see *Freyberger, Ludwig*

*Lütgenau, Franz* (b. 1867)—German Social-Democrat, journalist.—452

*Luther, Martin* (1483-1546)—leader of the Reformation, founder of Protestatism (Lutheranism) in Germany.—165

*Lux, Elisabetha* (née *Holzmann)* (b. 1869)—Heinrich Lux's wife.—456

*Lux, Heinrich* (b. 1863)—German Social-Democrat, author of several works on social and political problems.—456

M

*MacEwen, Sir William* (1848-1924)—Scottish surgeon, professor at Glasgow university (from 1892).—18

*Macmillan, Sir Frederick Orridge* (1851-1936)—English publisher, one of the owners of Macmillan & Co.—224

*Malon, Benoît (1841-1893)*—French socialist, journalist, member of the International and of the Paris Commune; emigrated to Italy, then to Switzerland where he sided with anarchists; a leader of the reformist trend in the French Workers' Party and of the Possibilists(from 1882).—121, 331

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, author of a theory of population.—412

*Mann, Thomas (Tom)* (1856-1914)—prominent figure in the English labour movement; mechanic; sided with the Left wing of the Social-Democratic Federation (from 1885) and the Independent Labour Party (from 1893); took an active part in a mass movement of unskilled workers and their organisation into trade unions.—335

*Martignetti, Pasquale* (1844-1920)—Italian socialist, translator of Marx's and Engels' works into Italian.—12, 162

*Martini, Ferdinando* (1841-1928)—Italian playwright, journalist and politician, belonged to the so-called bourgeois Left, Minister of Education (1892-93).—94

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883).—10, 34, 71, 74, 85, 91, 92, 97, 98, 111, 118, 121, 123, 131, 137, 140, 141, 163, 164, 172, 181, 189, 194, 267, 293, 298, 311, 313, 364, 365, 372, 386-87, 395, 398, 409, 414, 425, 429, 431, 435, 438, 455, 481, 482, 496-97, 499, 501, 503-04, 530-32, 534, 538, 540, 541, 542

*Marx, Heinrich* (1777-1838)—Karl Marx's father, lawyer, Counsellor of Justice in Trier.—297

*Marx, Henrietta* (née Pressburg) (1787-1863)—Karl Marx's mother.—297

*Marx-Aveling, Eleanor (Tussy)* (1855-1898)—Karl Marx's youngest daughter, took part in the British and international working-class movement; married Edward Aveling in 1884; active propagator of Marxism.—12, 92, 125, 133, 140, 153, 172, 218, 225-26, 277, 285, 311, 314, 324, 345, 354, 365, 386, 392, 395, 425, 426, 438, 473, 484, 485, 508, 517, 519, 520, 522, 523, 525, 533, 535, 538, 540, 542

*Massmann, Hans Ferdinand* (1797-1874)—German philologist and teacher of gymnastics, a leader of the nationalistic movement in Germany.—243

*Mawdsley, James* (1848-1902)—English trade union activist, a leader of the textile workers' trade union, conservative; member of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress (1882-97).—304

*Maxwell, Shaw Gasper* (b. 1855)—English socialist, journalist, a founder of the Scottish Labour Party (1888) and the Independent Labour Party (1893).—84

*McKinley, William* (1843-1901)—American statesman, a leader of the Republican Party; since 1877 was repeatedly elected to Congress; carried through a tariff fill in the interests of monopolists in 1890; President of the USA (1897-1901).—237

*Meding, Oskar* (pseudonym *Gregor Samarow)* (1829-1903)—German writer, author of cheap historical novels.—282

*Mehring, Franz* (1846-1919)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement, philosopher, historian and journalist; author of several works on the history of Germany and German Social-Democracy and of a biography of Marx; member of the German Social-Democratic Party (from 1891); a regular contributor to *Die Neue Zeit,* one of the leaders and theoreticians of the Left-wing of the German Social-Democratic Party.—135, 148-49, 503-04, 505

*Meissner, Otto Karl* (1819-1902)—Hamburg publisher, printed Marx's *Capital* and other works by Marx and Engels.—22, 189, 226, 293, 310, 363, 365, 390, 497

*Mendelson, Marya* [Maria] (née *Zaleska; Jankowska* by the first marriage) (1850-1909)—Polish socialist, active member among the Polish revolutionary emigrants; Stanislaw Mendelson's wife.—79, 90, 96, 122, 131, 304, 305, 338, 352, 502, 533

*Mendelson, Stanislaw* (1858-1913)—Polish socialist, journalist; a founder of the Polish Socialist Party (1892); publisher and editor of the *Przedświt,* withdrew from the working-class movement from the mid-1890s.—60, 62, 122, 184, 304, 305, 338, 502, 534

*Meshchersky, Vladimir Petrovich, Prince* (1839-1914)—Russian writer and journalist, an ideologist of the reactionary nobility, monarchist.—75

*Meyer, Hermann* (1821-1875)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement, socialist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated to the USA in 1852, an organiser of the International's sections in St Louis.—418, 432, 451

*Meyer, Johann.*—168, 186, 418, 432, 451

*Meyer, Rudolph Hermann* (1839-1899)—German economist and journalist, conservative; author of several works on economic, social and political problems.—168, 186

*Mignet, François Auguste Marie* (1796-1884)—French historian.—266

*Millerand, Etienne Alexandre* (1859-1943)—French politician and statesman, lawyer and journalist; radical in the 1880s; member of the Chambers of Deputies from 1885; headed the so-called group of independent socialists in the 1890s, later withdrew from the socialist movement; held several high official posts.—113, 155, 156, 185, 197-98, 210, 244, 249, 262, 318, 325, 332

*Millevoye, Lucien* (1850-1918)—French journalist and politician, Boulangist, member of the Chamber of Deputies (1889-93 and 1898-1902).—5, 21, 29

*Miquel, Johannes von* (1828-1901)—German lawyer, politician and financier, member of the Communist League up to 1852, a leader of the Right-wing National Liberals (from 1867); deputy to the North German and the German Reichstag (1867-77 and 1887-90); Finance Minister of Prussia in the 1890s.—3, 219, 472

*Mohammed (Muhammad, Mahomet)* (c. 570-632)—founder of Islam.—520

*Mohr*—see *Marx, Karl.*

*Momberger, August.*—277

*Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Secondat, baron de La Brède et de* (1689-1755)—French sociologist, economist and writer.—165

*Moor*—see *Marx, Karl*

*Moore, Samuel* (1838-1911)—English lawyer, member of the International, translated into English the first volume of Marx's *Capital* (in collaboration with Edward Aveling) and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* friend of Marx and Engels.—36, 37, 107, 240, 364, 395, 517, 535, 537, 539

*Mora, Francisco* (1842-1924)—a leader of the Spanish working-class and socialist movement, shoemaker, an organiser of the International's sections in Spain and Portugal, member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1870-72); fought anarchistic influence; an organiser of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (1879).—481

*Morgan, Lewis Henry* (1818-1881)—American ethnographer, archaeologist and historian of primitive society.—266

*Morris, William* (1834-1896)—English poet, writer and artist; took an active part in the labour and socialist movement in the 1880s and 1890s, a leader of the Socialist League (1884-89).—277, 299

*Motteler, Emilie*—Julius Motteler's wife.—37, 282,452

*Motteler, Julius* (1838-1907)—German Social-Democrat; deputy to the Reichstag in 1874-78; an émigré in Zurich and later in London at the time of the Anti-Socialist Law; was responsible for the transportation of *Der Sozialdemokrat* and illegal Social-Democratic literature to Germany.—37, 38, 207, 282, 313, 328, 445, 451-2, 534

*Mülberger, Arthur* (1847-1907)—German physician, journalist, Social-Democrat.—146

*Müller, Hans* (1867-1950)—German journalist and writer; studied in Zurich; sided with the German Social-Democrats in the late 1880s, a leader of "The Young" in the early 1890s, contributed to a number of Social-Democratic newspapers.—8, 15, 17, 26

*Müller-Tellering, Eduard von* (born c. 1808)—German lawyer and writer, petty-bourgeois democrat; contributed to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); emigrated to England after the defeat of the revolution; libeled Marx and Engels in the press; emigrated to the USA in 1852.—410

*Mundella, Anthony John* (1825-1897)—British statesman and manufacturer, MP (from 1868), held several ministerial posts.—311

*Muñoz*—Spanish anarchist, agent provocateur.—254

*Münzer, Thomas* (c. 1490-1525)—leader of the urban plebeians and poor peasants during the Reformation and Peasant War of 1525 in Germany; advocated ideas of egalitarian Utopian communism.—512

*Musoiu, Panait* (1864-1944)—Romanian socialist, an editor of *Munca* and contributor to several other Romanian socialist newspapers; translated into Romanian the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and other works by Marx and Engels.—281

N

*Nachodsky, Joseph Klapka*—translator of Marx's *Wage-Labour and Capital into* Czech.—508

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—157, 266

*Napoleon II I (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—Napoleon I's nephew, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).— 51,58

*Nechayev (Netschajeff), Sergei Gennadyevich* (1847-1882)—Russian revolutionary, conspirator, representative of the extremely adventurist trend in anarchism; was connected with Bakunin in 1869-71; was extradited by the Swiss authorities to the Russian government in 1872; sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment, died in the Peter and Paul Fortress in St Petersburg.—307, 317

*Nettlau, Max* (1865-1944)—Austrian historian, phylologist; anarchist; author of a few works on the history of anarchism.—334

*Nicholas II* (1868-1918)—Emperor of Russia (1894-1917).—360, 436, 440, 451, 455

*Nichols, Sarah Nichols*—Frederick Engels' cook.—542

*Nieuwenhuis, Ferdinand Domela* (1846-1919)—prominent figure in the Dutch working-

class movement; a founder of the Dutch Social-Democracy (1881); went over to anarchists in the 1890s.—20

*Nokov (Nokoff), Stojan* (1872-1959)—Bulgarian Social-Democrat, lived in Geneva in 1889-94; a founder and leader of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic students' organisation in Switzerland; returned to Bulgaria in 1894; village teacher.—152

*Nothnagel, Hermann* (1841-1905)—German and Austrian clinicain, director of a clinic in Vienna (from 1882).—21, 399

**O**

*Oberwinder, Heinrich* (1846-1914)—prominent figure in the Austrian and German working-class movement, journalist; a Las-sallean in the early 1860s, later joined Eise-nachers, delegate to the Basle Congress of the First International (1869), editor of the *Volksstimme* and *Volkswille;* withdrew from the working-class movement in the late 1870s; exposed as a Prussian police spy in the late 1880s; editor of *Das Volk* from 1890.—316

*Omar I, Omar ibn-al-Chattab* (born c. 580-644)—Arab Caliph (634-644).—343

*Orléans*—royal dynasty in France (1830-48). —68, 75

*Oswald, Eugen* (1826-1912)—German journalist, democrat; took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden in 1848-49; emigrated to England after the defeat of the revolution.—541

P

*Pareto, Vilfredo* (1848-1923)—Swiss-born Italian economist and sociologist, member of the so-called mathematical school of economics, professor at Lausanne University (from 1894).—226

*Parnell, Charles Stewart* ( 1846-1891 )—Irish politician and statesman, Liberal, MP (from 1875), leader of the Home Rule League (1877-90); President of the Irish Land League (from 1880).—87

*Pasquali, Felice* (real name *Nicolo Giolotti)*— Italian refugee in England.—333, 339

*Paul*—see *Lafargue, Paul.*

*Pauli, Ida*—Philipp Viktor Paulis wife.—80

*Pauli, Philipp Viktor* (1836-d. after 1916)— German chemist, friend of Marx and Engels.—79

*Pearce, Ada*—medical nurse.—542

*Pease, Edward Reynolds* (1857-1955)—English socialist, a founder and leader of the Fabian Society, its secretary.—335

*Percy*—see *Rosher, Percy White*

*Perkin, Sir William Henry* (1838-1907)— English chemist, discoverer of aniline dyes, professor of organic chemistry in Manchester.—79

*Pernerstorfer, Anna*—Engelbert Pernerstorfer's wife.—384

*Pernerstorfer, Engelbert* (1850-1918)—Austrian politician, democrat, an editor of *Deutsche Worte* and *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1885, joined the Social-Democratic Party of Austria in 1896.-117,262

*Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich* (1746-1827)— Swiss educator and writer, notable for his reforms in the methods of education.—429

*Petersen, Nicolas Lorenzo* (1854-c. 1916)—prominent figure in the Danish working-class movement, a leader of the left-wing of the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark.—177

*Petty, Sir William* (1623-1687)—English economist and statistician, founder of the classical school of bourgeois political economy in Britain.—461

*Pflüger, Eduard Friedrich Wilhelm* (1828-1940)—German physiologist, professor at Bonn University (from 1859).—45, *46*

*Philip* //(called *Philip Augustus)* (1165-1223) —King of the French (1180-1223); one of the organisers of the Third Expedition of the Crusaders.—165

*Philo (Philo Judaeus)* (c. 20-c. 54 B. C.)—Jewish philosopher of the Alexandrian school.—449

*Pinkau, Johann Karl (born* in 1859)—German Social-Democrat engraver; photographer in Leipzig from 1892.—346

*Pitt, William* ("the Young") (1759-1806)—British statesman, Tory, Prime Minister (1783-1801, 1804-06).—313

*Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti)* (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—201, 241

*Plato* (c. 427-c. 347 B. C.)—Greek philosopher.—512

*Platter, Julius* (1844-1923)—Swiss economist, journalist.—467, 486

*Plekhanov, Georgi Valentinovich* (1856-1918) —prominent figure in the Russian and international working-class movement, philosopher and journalist, founder of the first Russian Marxist organisation—the Emancipation of Labour group (1883); fought Narodism in the 1880s-90s; was against opportunism and revisionism in the international working-class movement.—81, 303, 305, 306, 307, 317, 352-3, 436, 439-40, 449-50, 467, 480

*Plekhanova, Rosalia Markovna* (1858-1949)—Georgi Plekhanov's wife, friend and associate; took part in the revolutionary movement in Russia in the latter half of the 1870s; emigrated with Plekhanov in 1880.—440

*Plener, Ernst, Baron von* (1841-1923)—Austrian statesman, Liberal, deputy to the Reichstag (1873-93), Finance Minister (1893-95).—228

*Polak, Henri* (1868-1943)—Dutch trade unionist and Social-Democrat; sided with the Right wing.—386

*Pollitt, James*—English journalist.—509, 514-15

*Popp, Julius* (1849-1902)—Austrian Social-Democrat, shoemaker, a leader of the Socialist Workers' Party of Austria.—31, 203, 262, 274, 327

*Price, Richard* (1723-1791)—English radical journalist, economist and philosopher.—313

*Prinet*—chairman of the commission investigating the Panama Canal affair.—106

*Protot, Louis Charles Eugène* (1839-1921)—French lawyer, physician and journalist; Blanquist; member of the First International; a Communard, after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to Italy, Switzerland, England and the USA; returned to France after the amnesty.— 15, 16, 17,47

*Pumps*—see *Rosher, Mary Ellen Catherine.*

## Q

*Quelch, Harry* (1858-1913)—prominent figure in the English labour and socialist movement, a representative of the Left wing in the Social-Democratic Federation.—278, 487

*Quesnay, François (* 1694-1774)—French economist, founder of the school of Physiocrats; physician.—493

## R

*Radimskỳ, August* ( 1862-1929)—Czech Social-Democrat, journalist; an editor of the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (1891-97); translated the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* into Czech.—130

*Rakowski, Kristju (Christian) Georgiev* (1873-1941)—Bulgarian socialist, member of Bulgarian students' Social-Democratic group in Geneva.—495-96

*Rappoport, Charles* (1865-1941)—Russian-born French socialist; author of a few works on philosophy and sociology.—255, 258

*Rave, Bernhard* (1801-1869)—German journalist; physician, a founder and editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe,* editor of the *Elberfelder-Zeitung* ( 1844-62) .—503

*Ravé, Henri*—French journalist, translator of Engels' works into French.—136, 153, 154,211,216,257,260

*Raynal, David* (1840-1903)—French statesman, republican, Minister of Public Works (1881-85), Minister of the Interior (1893-94).—426

*Reclus, Jean Pierre Michel Elie* (1827-1904)—French ethnographer, journalist, Utopian socialist; took part in the 1848 revolution; director of the National Library during the Paris Commune.—147

*Reeves, William Dobson* (c. 1827-1907)—English publisher and bookseller.—203-04, 218

*Reinach, Jacques, Baron de* (d. 1892)—French banker, was in charge of the Panama Canal Co's finances; committed suicide after the exposure of the Panama Canal affair.—37

*Reumann, Jakob* (b. 1853)—Austrian Social-Democrat, an editor of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung.*—52, 203, 263

*Reuß, Carl Theodor*—German Journalist, London agent of the German political police in the 1880s; was exposed in December 1887.—268

*Reynard.*—362

*Rheinländer, Georg Friedrich*—member of the Outlaws' League in Paris, later refugee in London, member of the London branch of the German National Association.—531

*Richard I* (called *Coeur de Lion* or the *Lion-Hearted,* also known as *Richard Yea and Nay)* (1157-1199)—King of England (1189-99).—165

*Richter, Eugen* (1838-1906)—German politician, leader of the Party of Free Thinkers, deputy to the Reichstag (1867, 1871-74, 1874-1906).—100, 126, 147, 332

*Rochefort, Victor Henri, marquis de Rochefort-Lucay* (1830-1913)—French journalist, writer and politician; Left republican, member of the Government of National Defence, was exiled to New Caledonia after the suppression of the Paris Commune; fled to England; returned to France after amnesty in 1880; published *L'Intransigeant,* monarchist from the late 1880s.—68, 75

*Roscoe, Sir Henry Enfield* (1833-1915)—English chemist.—80, 246, 319, 404

*Rosher, Mary Ellen Catherine (Pumps)* (née *Burns)* (born c. 1860)—niece of Engels' wife, Lydia Burns.—13, 23, 36, 44, *64,* 80, 331, 403, 537, 540-41-42

*Rosher, Mary Lilian Georgina (Lili, Lily)* (b. 1882)—Mary Ellen Rosher's daughter.—331

*Rosher, Percy White*—English merchant, married Mary Ellen Burns in 1881.—13, 331, 537, 540-41-42

*Rössler, Konstantin* (1820-1896)—German journalist, official; chief of the semi-official literary bureau in Berlin (1877-92); counsellor of the Foreign Ministry (1892-93). —447

*Rothschild, S. A.*—London agent of the Cologne businessman Christian Abner.—69

*Rothschilds*—dynasty of bankers with branches in many European countries.—69, 515

*Rouanet, Armand Gustave* (1855-1927)—French socialist, Possibilist, journalist; publisher and editor of *La Revue socialiste;* member of the Paris Municipal Council (1890-93) member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1893).—331, 421

*Rousseau, Jean Jacques* (1712-1778)—French philosopher and writer of the Enlightenment.—165

*Rouvier, Pierre Maurice* (1842-1911)—French statesman, moderate republican; repeatedly held ministerial posts and was Prime Minister; had to retire when his involvement in

the Panama Canal affair was exposed in 1892.—69

*Roy, Joseph*—translator of the first volume of Marx's *Capital* and Feuerbach's works into French.—172

*Rudolph Franz Karl Joseph* (1858-1889)—Austro-Hungarian archduke and crown prince, committed suicide.—370

*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Wing) in 1848; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in England in the 1850s; became a National Liberal after 1866.—194, 480, 504, 529

*Rutenberg,* Adolf(1808-1869)—German journalist, Young Hegelian; an editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* from 1842; a National Liberal after 1866.—503

*Ryba, Amelia (Seidl by* marriage) (1876-1952) —Austrian Social-Democrat; a leader of the women's Social-Democratic movement. —263

S

*Saint-Paul, Wilhelm{c.* 1815-1852)—Prussian army officer, then an official in the Ministry of the Interior; censor of the *Rheinische Zeitung in* 1843.—504, 530

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French Utopian socialist.—430

*Salisbury, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, 3rd Marquis of* (1830-1903)—British statesman, Conservative leader (from 1881), Secretary of State for India (1866-67, 1874-78), Foreign Secretary (1878-80), Prime Minister (1885-86, 1886-92, 1895-1902).—279

*Sanial, Lucien Delabarre* (1835-d. after 1925)—American socialist, member of the Socialist Labor Party, editor and publisher of several socialist newspapers.—198, 422

*Samarow, Gregor*—see *Meding, Oskar.*

*Say, Jean Baptiste Léon* (1826-1896)—French statesman and politician, economist, moderate republican; an editor *of the Journal des Débats;* deputy to the National Assembly from 1871; Finance Minister (1872-82, with intervals).—274-75

*Schachert, Michael* (b. 1869)—Austrian Social-Democrat, an editor of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* member of the chamber of Deputies.—285

*Schattner, Ernst* (born c. 1879)—Regina Bernstein's son by the first husband.—337, 349, 391,517,522

*Schattner, Käte* (born c. 1881)—Regina Bernstein's daughter by the first husband.—271, 337, 391, 517, 522

*Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1775-1854)—German idealist philosopher.—529

*Schlüter, Anna*—Friedrich Hermann Schlüters wife.—207

*Schlüter, Friedrich Hermann* (1851-1919)—German Social-Democrat, manager of a Social-Democratic publishing house in Zurich in the 1880s; a founder of the archives of the German Social-Democrats; emigrated to the USA in 1889 where he took part in the socialist movement; author of several works on the history of English and American labour movement.—75, 207, 237-38, 301, 330, 345, 382, 399, 422

*Schmidt, Conrad* (1863-1932)—German economist and philosopher; was close to Marxism in the 1880s and 1890s, later went over to neo-Kantianism.—53, 91, 127, 194, 462-3, 468, 492

*Schorlemmer, Carl* (1834-1892)—German organic chemist, professor in Manchester; member of the First International and of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party friend of Marx and Engels.—14, 45, 79, 80, 138, 246, 319, 402, 404, 536

*Schorlemmer, Ludwig*—Carl Schorlemmer's brother.—13, 45, 138, 177, 245, 318-19, 403

*Schrammel, Anton* (b. 1854)—Austrian Social-Democrat, turner, a leader of the Social-Democratic Party of Austria, member of the Chamber of Deputies.—263

*Schuchard, Arthur* (b. 1862)—German merchant, married to Elsbeth Engels, Hermann Engels' daughter.—442, 478, 494

*Schumacher, Georg* (1844-1917)—German Social-Democrat, tanner, later businessman; expelled from the Social-Democratic Party in 1898.—26

*Schweitzer, Johann Baptist* (1833-1875)—prominent figure In the German working-class movement, Lassallean; an editor of the *Social-Democrat* (1864-67); President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71); later abandoned political activity.—401

*Seidel, Robert* (1850-1933)—Swiss Social-Democrat; teacher; an editor of the *Arbeiterstimme* in the 1890s.—120, 161, 177

*Shaw, George Bernard* (1856-1950)—Irish-English play-wright and journalist, a founder and a leader of the Fabian Society (1884).—35, 125

*Shaw, William Rawson* (1860-1932)—English manufacturer, liberal; MP (1893-97).— 103

*Sheridan, E.F.*—English socialist, secretary of the Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League.—335

*Shipley, John B.*—195

*Shmuilov, Vladimir Yakovlevich* (b. 1864)—Russian Social-Democrat; emigrated to Germany after 1887 where he took part in the revolutionary movement; an editor of the local Social-Democratic newspaper in Dresden (1892-93); organised transportation of literature put out by the Emancipation of Labour group to Russia.—97, 218

*Siebold, Ludwig (Louis)*—German chemist, lived and worked in Manchester in the 1890s, Carl Schorlemmer's executor.—14, 138,246,319,536

*Siegel, August* (1856-1936)—German Social-Democrat; miner; active trade union member in the 1880s; an organiser of the German Miners' Union, emigrated to England where he took part in the strike movement of the Scottish miners.—328

*Singer, Paul* (1844-1911)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement, a leader of the German Social-Democrats; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from 1878); deputy to the German Reichstag (1884-1911); member (from 1887) and Chairman (from 1890) of the Executive Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.—88, 192, 207, 280, 362, 393, 537, 538

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—Scottish classical economist.—165, 461

*Smithells, Arthur* (1860-1939)—English chemist, professor at Leeds university.—246

*Solon* (c. 638-559 B. C.)—Athenian statesman and lawgiver.—215, 362

*Sombart, Werner* (1863-1941)—German political economist.—448, 460, *466,* 467, 468, 492

*Sonnenschein, William Swan* (1855-1931)—English publisher, printed the first English edition of the first volume of Marx's *Capital in* 1887.—154, 189, 224, 230, 239-40, 277, 365, 388, 540

*Sorel, Georges* ( 1847-1922)—French journalist and social philosopher, theoretician of anarcho-syndicalism.—292

*Sorge, Adolf (Adolph)* (1855-1907)—Friedrich Adolph Sorge's son, mechanical engineer.—300

*Sorge, Friedrich Adolph* (1828-1906)—German teacher, prominent figure in the international and American working-class and socialist movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA in 1852; member of the First International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); member of the General Council in New York, and its General Secretary

(1872-74); one of the founders of the Socialist Labour Party (1876); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—23, 31, 73, 119, 140, 196, 198, 235, 248-51, 271, 282, 299, 330, 355-59, 377-79, 381, 421-24, 500, 513

*Sorge, Katharina*—Friedrich Adolph Sorge's wife.—76, 143, 301, 379, 424

*Spatzek*—Russian official, a Bohemian by birth.—102, 108

*Spencer, Herbert* (1820-1903)—English positivist philosopher and sociologist.—349

*Spiegel, Adolf*—German chemist.—138, 246

*Stadthagen, Arthur* (1857-1917)—German Social-Democrat, lawyer, deputy to the Reichstag (from 1890), an editor of the *Vorwärts*.—43

*Stegmann, Carl*—German journalist, Social-Democrat, a compiler of *Handbuch des Socialismus*.—4

*Stein, Julius* (1813-1889)—Silesian teacher and journalist; democrat; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—415

*Stepnyak*—see *Kravchinsky, Sergei Mikhalovich.*

*Sternberg, Lev Yakovlevich* (1861-1927)—Russian ethnographer, for his work in the People's Will organizations was exiled to Sakhalin (1889-97) where he continued ethnographic study of the local population.—54

*Stiebeling, George*—German-born American socialist, statistician and journalist, member of the Central Committee of the First International's sections in the USA; member of the Socialist Labor Party of the North America; author of several economic articles.—127, 377, 415, 421

*Stifft, Andreas* (1819-1877)—Austrian democratic journalist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Austria; later abandoned public activity.—414

*Stoecker, Adolf (*1835-1909)—German Protestant clergyman and politician, founder (1878) and leader of the Christian Social Party close to the extreme Right wing of the Conservative party, deputy to the Reichstag from 1881.—99

*Struve, Pyotr Berngardovich* (1870-1944)—Russian economist and journalist, "legal Marxist".—213, 372, 412

*Stumpf, Paul* (1826-1912)—German mechanic, member of the German Workers' Society in Brussels (1847), member of the Communist League, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, member of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.—41, 405

**T**

*Taaffe, Eduard, Earl von* (1833-1895)—Austrian conservative statesman, Prime Minister (1868-70 and 1879-93).—199, 202, 205, 206, 211, 219, 224-25, 240-41, 262, 273, 370

*Tauscher, Leonard* (1840-1914)—German Social-Democrat, compositor member of the General Association of German Workers from 1865, manager of the German Social-Democratic printshop in Zürich in 1880-1888, then of the London printshop of the *Sozialdemokrat* (1888-90), editor of *Schwäbische Tagwacht* in 1893-1903.—68

*Thierry, Jacques Nicolas Augustin* (1795-1856)—French historian.—266

*Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836, 1840); deputy to the Constituent (1848) and Legislative (1849-51) assemblies; head of the Orleanists after 1848; chief of the executive power (1871); dealt brutally with the Paris Communards (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73).—184

*Thivrier, Christophe* (1841-1895)—French socialist, miner, later wine merchant, member of the French Workers' Party, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1889.—72,188

*Thorne, William James* (1857-1895)—French socialist, miner, later wine merchant, member of the French Workers' Party, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1889.—532

*Thorne, William James* (1857-1946)—prominent figure in the English labour movement, member of the Social-Democratic Federation, an organiser of the mass movement of unskilled workers in the late 1880s and early 1890s, General Secretary of the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland.—335, 533

*Tollit*—see *Pollitt, James.*

*Tönnies, Ferdinand* (1855-1936)—German sociologist and philosopher, professor at Kiel university.—315, 429

*Torricelli, Evangelista* (1608-1647)—Italian physicist and mathematician.—265

*Turati, Filippo* (1857-1932)—prominent figure in the Italian working-class and socialist movement, journalist, a founder (1892) and leader of the Italian Socialist Party.— 78, 94, 95, 118, 149, 161, 293, 298, 333, 338,380,407,518-19,524

*Turpin, Eugéne* (1849-1927)—French chemist. —310

*Tussy*—see *Marx-Aveling, Eleanor.*

*Tutzauer, Franz August Adolph* (1852-1908) —German Social-Democrat; joiner; an organiser of the joiners' Trade Union; owner of a furniture shop from 1888; member of the Reichstag from 1890.—89

*Tyszka, Jan* (real name *Leo Jogiches)* (1867-1919)—Prominent figure in the Polish and German working-class and socialist movement; refugee in Switzerland from 1890; sided with the Emancipation of Labour group; founder of the Social-Democratic Library Publishing House (1894); a leader of the Polish Socialist Party (1893).—306

U

*Ulbing, Richard*—Austrian Social-Democrat, lawyer, author of a few articles on juridical problems in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung.*—203, 262

V

*Vaillant, Auguste* (1862-1894)—French anarchist; sentenced to capital punishment for the explosion of a bomb in the Chamber of Deputies on 9 December 1893.—198, 209-10, 218, 245, 250, 252-54

*Vaillant, Marie Edouard* (1840-1915)—French engineer, naturalist and physician; Blanquist; member of the Paris Commune, of the National Guard's Central Committee and of the General Council of the International (1871-72); head of the Blanquist Comité Révolutionnaire Central; member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1893.— 188, 325, 420, 448, 453-55

*Vandervelde, Emile* (1866-1938)—Belgian Right-wing socialist, a founder and leader of the Workers' Party of Belgium and of the Second International.—350-51, 410

*Victor*—see *Adler, Victor*

*Victor Emmanuel Ferdinand* (1869-1947)—Italian crown prince, later King Victor Emmanuel II I (1900-46).—390, 392, 423

*Victoria* (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1831-1901).—356, 411

*Viette, Jules François Stanislas* (1843-1894)—French statesman and politician; moderate republican; repeatedly member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1876) Minister of Agriculture (1887-89) and of Public Works (1892-93).—7

*Vieweg, Heinrich* (1826-1890)—owner of a big Friedrich Vieweg & Sohn Publishing House in Brunswick.—319

*Vincent, Charles Edward Howard* (1849-1908)—English politician, Conservative MP (from 1885).—102

*Viviani, René Raphael* (1863-1925)—French politician and statesman, lawyer; "independent socialist" in the 1890s, later repeatedly held ministerial posts.—331

*Vogelsanger, Johann Jacob* (1849-1923)—Swiss Social-Democrat, journalist, magistrate in Zurich (from 1892).—275

*Volkhovsky, Felix Vadimovich* (1846-1914)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik; refugee in London from 1890; editor of the *Free Russia* (from 1895).—32, 37

*Vollmar, Georg Heinrich von* (1850-1922)—German Social-Democrat, journalist; a leader of the reformist wing of the German Social-Democrats; repeatedly elected deputy to the German Reichstag and the Bavarian Landtag.—27, 28, 49, 271, 357, 367, 374-5, 378-9, 381, 383, 404

## W

*Wachs, Otto* (1836-1913)—Prussian army officer, fought in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71! later major of the German Army General staff, author of a number of works on military and political problems.—101, 109,316

*Wachsmuth, Ernst Wilhelm Gottlieb* (1784-1866)—German historian, professor in Leipzig.—165

*Wagener, Hermann* (1815-1889)—German journalist and politician, ideologist of bour-geoisified Prussian Junkers; a founder of the Prussian Conservative Party; privy councillor in the Bismarck government (1866-73).—291

*Watts, John Hunter* (d. 1924)—English socialist, a leader of the Social-Democratic Federation.—289

*Webb, Sidney James* (1859-1947)—English socialist and public figure, a founder of the Fabian Society; together with his wife Beatrice Webb wrote several works on the history and theory of the English labour movement.—125, 484

*Westermarck, Edward Alexander* (1862-1939) —Finnish ethnographer and sociologist.—147

*Wiesen, F.*—German socialist in America, contributed to the *Volks-Anwalt.*—119, 126

*William I* (1797-1888)—King of Prussia (1861-88) and Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—158, 166

*William II* (1859-1941)—King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany (1888-1918).—15, 17, 20, 28, 125, 159, 160, 166, 358, 369, 381, 383, 390, 404, 419, 423, 426, 428, 447, 485, 490

*Wilson, Daniel* (1840-1919)—French politician, deputy to the National Assembly from 1871, moderate republican; son-in-law of the President of the Republic Jules Grévy; was involved in a few financial swindles; prosecuted on the charge of selling orders (1887-88).—37

*Windischgrätz, Alfred, Prince zu* (1787-1862) —Austrian field marshal; commanded the army that crushed the uprising in Prague and Vienna (1848), led the Austrian army against the Hungarian revolution (1848-49).—370

*Windischgrätz, Alfred d. J., Prince von* (1851-1927)—Austrian statesman, Conservative, Prime Minister of the Coalition Ministry (November 1893-June 1895).—228, 262, 370, 410

*Wittelshöfer, Otto*—Austrian economist, close to Social-Democrats, regularly contributed to the Austrian and German socialist press.—534

*Wolf, Julius* (1862-1937)—German economist.—92, 463, 486

*Wolff, Ferdinand (Red Wolff)* (1812-1895)—German journalist; member of the Communist League; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); emigrated from Germany; associate of Marx and Engels; subsequently gave up politics.—49, 222-23, 243, 471

*Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus)* (1809-1864)—German teacher, proletarian, revolutionary; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49; took an active part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to Switzerland and later to England; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—471

*Woodhead, Joseph* (b. 1824)—English politician, journalist, liberal, MP.—103

*Wróblewski, Walery* (1836-1908)—prominent figure in the Polish and international working-class movement, revolutionary democrat, a leader of the Polish uprising (1863-64); general of the Paris Commune, member of the General Council of the First International and Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1871-72); returned to France after amnesty in 1880.—420, 454

**Z**

*Zablocki, Stanislaw*—Polish-born student of the Vienna university.—312

*Zacher, Georg* (1854-1923)—German lawyer, chief of the Berlin political police, author of *Die Rothe Internationale* (1884).—98

*Zasulich, Vera Ivanovna* (1849-1919)—participant in the Narodnik (from 1868) and later in the Social-Democratic movement in Russia; a founder (1883) and active member of the Emancipation of Labour group.—182, 303, 304, 306, 307, 317, 436, 439, 449, 451, 479

*Zetkin, Clara* (née *Eissner)* (1857-1933)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class and socialist movement; member of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (from 1881); contributed to the socialist press in various countries.—182, 244, 434

*Zhukovsky, Juli Galaktionovich* (1833-1907)—Russian economist, journalist, sociologist, manager of the State Bank, senator.—111

## INDEX OF LITERARY AND MYTHOLOGICAL NAMES

*Aegir* (Ger. myth.)—the lord of the waves.—423

*Agnes*—a character in Eugen Richters pamphlet *Sozialdemokratische Zukunftsbilder.*—100

*Annie*—a character in Eugen Richters pamphlet *Sozialdemokratische Zukunftsbilder.*—100

*Argus* (Gr. myth.)—a giant with a hundred eyes whom Goddess Hera made guardian of Io, Zeus' lover, turned into a cow.—300

*Babette*—a character in Béranger's song *Le vieux Célibataire.*—426

*Cadet Rouselle*—a character in French songs and fairy tales; a simpleton who had three houses, three suits, three nats, three hair on his head, etc.—129

*Christ, Jesus* (Bib.).—329

*Don Quixote*—title character in Cervantes' novel.—64

*God*—463

*Mephistopheles*—the devil in Goethe's tragedy *Faust.*—440

*Moloch*—a Sun-God in Carthage and Phoenicia; his worship was accompanied by human sacrifice.—234

*Neptune* (Rom. myth.)—lord of the sea.—192

*Paul* (Bib.)—one of Christ's twelve apostles.—329

*Scylla* and *Charybdis*—two female monsters living on either side of narrow straits (Gibraltar) and bringing death to all mariners.—371

*Sganarelle*—a character in Molière's comedies; a conservative bourgeois, a crafty, rude and envious person.—499

# INDEX OF PERIODICALS

*Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*—a German monthly published in Charlottenburg from December 1843 to October 1844; organ of the Young Hegelians, edited by Bruno Bauer.—194, 505

*Almanach*—see *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier*

*Almanach de la Question Sociale et de la Libre Pensée*—a socialist yearly published in Paris from 1891 to 1903 under the editorship of Panayottis Argyriadés.—129, 209

*Almanach du Parti Ouvrier*—a French socialist yearly published in Lille in 1892-94 and 1896 under the editorship of Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue.—182

*Anekdota zur neuesten deutschen Philosphie und Publicistik*—a two-volume miscellany published by Arnold Ruge in Switzerland in 1843; the miscellany carried two of Marx's articles.—504, 505

*Arbeiter-Zeitung*—an Austrian Social-Democratic newspaper, published in Vienna, weekly in 1889-93, twice a week in 1894, and daily from 1 January 1895. Its editor was Victor Adler.—185, 188, 207, 237, 279, 285, 323, 393-94, 397, 408-9, 470, 482, 526

*Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung*—an Austrian Social-Democratic fortnightly published in Vienna in 1892-99. Its editors were R. B. Brand, Louise Kautsky, Laura Lafargue, Eleanor Marx-Aveling and others. Victor Adler was one of its publishers.—58, 105, 285, 432, 434, 435

*Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik*—a German progressive political and economic quarterly, published under this title in Tübingen and Berlin in 1888-1903.—460

*Berliner Volksblatt*—see *Vorwärts*

*Berliner Volks-Tribüne. Social-Politisches Wochenblatt*—a German Social-Democratic newspaper, published from 1887 to 1892; was close to the 'Jungen' oppositional group in 1890-91.—30, 31, 81,85,98,481

*Börsenblatt fur den Deutschen Buchhandel und die mit ihm verwandten Geschaftsweige*—a daily of the League of German booksellers published in Leipzig from 1834 to 1926.—250

*Bulletin de la Federation jurassienne de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*—a Swiss anarchists' paper published in French under the editorship of James Guillaume in 1872-78, initially fortnightly and from July 1873 weekly.—481

*Centralblatt*—see *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt.*

*Chronicle*—see *The Daily Chronicle and Clerkenwell News*

*The Clarion*—an English socialist weekly published under this title in London from 1891 to 1932.-411,415,420,434

*The Commonwealth*—a weekly of the Central, and from late 1866 General, Council of the First International, published in London from February 1866 to July 1867 as the successor of *The Workman's Advocate.* Marx was on the board of directors until June 1866; because of the growing influence of the trade-unionist leaders on the board, the paper virtually became an organ of bourgeois radicals.—518

*Concordia Feitschrififur die Arbeiterfrage*—an organ of the German industrialists and armchair socialists, founded in 1871; published in Berlin until 1876.—146

*Critica Sociale*—an Italian fortnightly, a theoretical organ of the Socialist Party. It was published under this title in Milan in 1891-1924 under the editorship of F. Turati.—256, 269, 278, 285, 287, 298, 315, 355, 380, 408, 466, 519

*The Daily Chronicle*—see *The Daily Chronicle and Clerkenwell News*

*The Daily Chronicle and Clerkenwell News*—a liberal newspaper published in London from 1855 (under this title from 1877) to 1930; in the late 1880s and early 1890s carried articles on the labour movement in England.—27, 35, 89, 171, 202, 205, 268

*The Daily News*—a liberal newspaper of the British industrial bourgeoisie, published under this title in London from 1846 to 1930.—51, *64,* 205

*Dampfoot*—see *Das Westphalische Dampfoot.*

*Délnické Listy*—a Czech social-Democratic daily founded in Vienna in 1881; appeared weekly in 1895-99, twice a week in 1899-1901 and again daily from 1901.—130

*Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst*—a Young Hegelian literary and philosophical journal published in Leipzig from July 1841 under the editorship of Arnold Ruge. It was closed down by the government in January 1843.—194, 529

*Deutsch-Französische Fahrbücher*—a German-language yearly published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge; only the first issue, a double one, appeared in February 1844. It carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—211

*Deutsche Worte*—an Austrian economic and political magazine published in Vienna from 1881 to 1904, weekly from 1881 to June 1883 and monthly from July 1883.—486

*Deutsch Zeitung*—an Austrian anti-Semitic, reactionary daily founded in Vienna in 1871.—149

*Le Devenir Social*—a French socialist monthly published in Paris from 1895 to 1898.—499

*Echo*—see *Hamburger Echo.*

*L'Egalité, Journal de l'Association internationale des Travailleurs de la Suisse romande*—a Swiss weekly of the Romantic Federation of the International, published in Geneva in French from December 1868 to December 1872.—86, 481

*Elberfelder Zeitung*—a daily published under various names from 1789 to 1904; it merged with the Elberfeld *Allgemeine Zeitung* in 1834 and assumed the name *Elberfelder Zeitung.*—503

*L'Ere nouvelle*—a French socialist monthly published in Paris in 1893-94; contributors to the journal were Jules Guesde, Jean Jaurès, Paul Lafargue and Georgi Plekhanov.—171, 211, 221-22, 290, 292, 293,332,360

*L'Era nuova.*—256

*The Evening Standard*—an English conservative evening daily founded in London in 1827; appeared as a morning newspaper *The Standard* from 1854, and as *The Evening Standard* along with *The Standard* from I860 to 1905.—202, 448

*Le Figaro*—A French conservative daily published in Paris from 1854.—4, 20, 23, 105, 141, 155

*The Fortnightly Review*—an English journal dealing with problems of history, philosophy and literature. Founded by the radicals in 1865, later turned liberal; published under this title in London until 1934.—228, 229

*La France*—a republican daily published in Paris from 1861 to 1939.—5, 6

*Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*—a democratic daily published in Frankfurt-am-Main from 1856 (under this title from 1866) to 1943.—271, 375

*Free Russia*—an English radical monthly of the Friends of Russian Freedom society published in London from June 1890 to January 1915; its editor in 1891-95 was Sergei Stepnyak-Kravchinsky.—90

*Le Gaulois, Journal de Defence Sociale*—a French conservative daily published in Paris from 1868 to 1929.—6

*Gazeta Robotnicza*—a Polish-language weekly of the German Social-Democrats and Polish socialists published in Berlin and Katowice in 1891-1919 in collaboration with the editors of the Przedświt.—96

*Gluhlichter-Humoristisch-satirisches Arbeiterblatt*—a Social-Democratic fortnightly published in Vienna in 1889.—378

*Hallische Jahrbucher.*—see *Deutsche Jahrbücher fur Wissenschafi und Kunst.*

*Hamburger Echo*—a German Social-Democratic daily published from October 1887 to 1933. In 1891 its editors were Ignaz Auer, August Bebel, Paul Singer and others.—231-32, 395

*The Hardwareman*—a newspaper published in London in 1894-98.—509, 514

*L'Illustration Journal universel*—an illustrated literary journal published in Paris since 1843.—136

*L'Intransigeant*—a newspaper published in Paris from 1880 to 1948; its founder and editor-in-chief was Henri Rochefort (1880-1910); expressed radical republican views in the 1880s-90s.—105

*La Jeunesse Socialiste*—a French monthly published in Toulouse in 1895.—525

*Justice*—a weekly published in London from January 1884, a newspaper of the Social Democratic Federation; appeared under this title from 1884 to 1925.—27, 125, 182, 278, 290, 294, 377, 411, 483, 484, 487

*La Justice*—a daily newspaper of the Radical Party; published in Paris from 1880 to 1930; the organ of the Radical Party's left wing in 1880-96.—182

*Kladderadatsch*—an illustrated satirical weekly of a liberal trend published in Berlin from 1848.—390

*Kosmos Zeitschrift für Entwickelungslehre und einheitliche Weltschauung*—a natural scientific monthly expounding Darwinism, published in Leipzig from 1877 to 1880 and in Stuttgart from 1881 to 1886.—513

*The Labour Elector*—a socialist weekly published in London from June 1888 to July 1894 under the editorship of Henry Hyde Champion.—84, 142

*The Labour Leader*—a monthly published from 1882, initially under the title *The Miner*, and under this title from 1889 as the journal of the Scottish Labor Party, and of the Independent Labour Party from 1893; became a weekly in 1894. Its editor until 1904 was James Keir Hardie.—356, 411, 415, 420, 421, 434, 483, 484, 525

*Lotta di Classe*—an Italian socialist weekly, the central organ of the Italian Workers' Party; published in Milan from 1892 to 1898.—78

*Lumea noua*—a newspaper of the Social-Democratic Party of Romania, appeared in Bucharest as a sequence of the Munca. It was published daily in 1894-98 and weekly 1898-1900.—358

*Munca*—a Romanian Social-Democratic weekly published in Bucharest in 1890-94.—17, 358

*La Nation*—a radical daily published in Paris from 1884.—49

*Nature. A Weekly Illustrated Journal of Science*—a British journal published in London since 1869.—80

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a daily newspaper of the German revolutionary proletarian democrats during the German revolution of 1848-49; it was published in Cologne under Marx's editorship from 1 June 1848 to 19 May 1849, with an interval between 27 September and 12 October 1848; Engels was also one of the editors.—3, 352, 398, 409, 410, 414,471, 530

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*—a theoretical journal of the Communist League; founded by Marx and Engels in December 1849 and published until November 1859.—3, 9, 127, 352, 438, 443, 445, 446, 480, 484, 496, 498, 499, 501, 502

*Neue Rheinische Zeitungs-Revue*—see *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politische-okonomische Revue.*

*Die Neue Welt. Illustriertes Unterhaltungsblatt fur das Volk*—a German socialist fortnightly published in Leipzig from 1876-1883, then in Stuttgart and Hamburg until 1919; Wilhelm Liebknecht was its editor in 1876-80.—297

*Die Neue Zeit*—a theoretical journal of the German Social-Democrats; published in Stuttgart monthly from 1883 to October 1890 and then weekly till autumn 1923. It was edited by Karl Kautsky from 1883 to October 1917 and by Heinrich Cunow from October 1917 to autumn 1923.—Engels contributed a few articles to it in 1885-94.—7, 26, 28, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 67, 91, 166, 193, 225, 227, 241, 243-44, 257, 279, 314, 320, 321, 345, 348, 365, 387, 388, 392, 400, 415, 421, 456, 484, 486, 490, 504

*New York Daily Tribune*—a newspaper founded by Horace Greely and published from 1841 to 1924, a press organ of the American Left-wing Whigs till the mid-1850s and later of the Republican Party; it fought against slavery in the 1840s-50s; Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862.—413, 432, 498

*New Yorker Volkszeitung*—an American German-language socialist daily published from 1878 to 1932.—Its editor was Friedrich Hermann Schlüter.—382, 400, 401

*Nuova Antologia di Scienze, lettere ed arti*—an Italian newspaper published monthly in Florence from 1866-1878 and then fortnightly in Rome from 1878 to 1943.—448, 466

*The Pall Mall Gazette. An Evening Newspaper and Review*—a conservative daily published in London from 1865 to 1920.—7, 12

*Le Parti socialiste. Organe du comité révolutionnaire central*—a Blanquist weekly published in Paris in 1890-98.—252

*La Petite Republique Française*—a radical republican daily which appeared under this title in Paris in 1875-93; in 1893 it took the name *La Petite Republique.*—138, 198, 210, 249, 318, 331, 361,421,427

*Pionierkalender*—see *Pionier. Illustreirter Volks-Kalender.*

*Pioneer. Illustrierter Volks-Kalender*—an American German-language socialist yearly published by the editors of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* in New York from 1883 to 1904.—237, 282

*La Presse*—a daily published in Paris from 1836; a newspaper of the Republicans in 1848-49, and of the anti-Bonapartists after the coup d'etat of 2 December 1851.—58

*Przedświt*—a Polish socialist magazine, published in 1880-1914 (from 1891 in London, as a weekly).—312, 518

*Punto Nero*—an Italian socialist daily published in Reggio-Emiglia in 1894.—333

*Question Sociale*—see *Almanack de la Question Sociale...*

*La Rassegna Agraria, Industriale, Commerciale, Letteraria, Politica, Artistica*—an Italian fortnightly published in Naples from 1892.—407, 448

*Le Réveil Ouvrier*—a French daily of the local organisation of the Workers' Party in Calais; published from 1886 to 1896 (with intervals).—295

*Revue der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung*—see *Neue Rheinische Zeiting, Politisch-ökonomische Revue*

*La Revue Socialiste*—a French monthly founded by Benoît Malon, a socialist, who later became a Possibilist; initially a republican socialist and then syndicalist and cooperative organ; published in Lyons and Paris in 1880, and in Paris from 1885 to 1914.—Marx and Engels contributed to it in the 1880s.—331, 332

*Rheinische Zeitung*—a Social-Democratic daily founded in 1888; appeared under this title in Cologne from 1832 to 1933; its editor in 1894-95 was Carl Hirsch.—216, 310, 353, 491, 516

*Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*—a daily published in Cologne from 1 January 1842 to 31 March 1843. Marx contributed to it from April 1842, and became one of its editors in October ofthat year.—387, 503, 530

*El Socialista*—a weekly of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain published in Madrid from 1885.-139,287,336

*Le Socialiste, Organe Central du Parti Ouvrier*—a weekly founded by Jules Guesde in Paris in 1885; appeared with intervals until September 1890; press organ of the Socialist Party of France from 1902-1905 and of the French Socialist Party from 1905.—6, 7, 12, 30, 124, 135, 185, 209, 210, 277, 315, 332, 344, 358, 370, 499

*La Société Nouvelle*—a French monthly dealing with problems of sociology, art, science and literature; appeared in Brussels and Paris from 1884-1914 with intervals.—361

*Der Sozialdemokrat*—a Social-Democratic daily published in Berlin in 1894-95.—355, 366, 368, 377

*Der Sozialdemokrat. Organ de Sozialdemokratie deutscher Zunge*—a daily press organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, published in Zurich from September 1879 to September 1888, and in London from October 1888 to 27 September 1890. Its editor in 1878-80 was Georg Heinrich von Vollmar and in 1881-90 Eduard Bernstein. Marx and Engels were among its contributors.—28, 226

*Der Sozialist*—a weekly published in Berlin from 1891 to 1899; it was a newspaper of "independent" socialists from 1891 to 1893.—361

*Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt*—a Social-Democratic weekly, published under this title in Berlin in 1892-95; its editor was Heinrich Braun.—After a merger with the *Blatter fur sociale Praxis* in 1895, it appeared as *Soziale Praxis.*—213, 372, 466, 468, 492

*The Standard*—a conservative daily, founded in London in 1827.—and published to 1916; it emerged from *The Evening Standard.*—448, 483

*Die Tagwacht*—a German-language Swiss Social-Democratic newspaper published in Zurich from 1869-1880; press organ of the International's German sections in Switzerland in 1869-73 and then of the Swiss Workers' Union of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland.—481

*Le Temps*—a conservative daily published in Paris from 1861 to 1943.—421

*Der Textil-Arbeiter*—a weekly of the Textile Workers' Trade Union, published in Berlin from 1889.—337

*Tribune*—see *New York Daily Tribune*

*Das Volk*—a weekly of the Christian Social Party, published in Berlin from 1889.—316

*Volks-Anwalt*—a German-language weekly of the Socialist Labor Party of North America published in 1889-98 in Cincinnati, then Baltimore, Buffalo and Cleveland.—315

*Der Volksstaat*—central organ of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party published in Leipzig from 2 October 1869 to 29 September 1876 (twice a week until July 1873, then three times a week). General direction was in the hands of Wilhelm Liebknecht. An important part was played by August Bebel, who was in charge of the *Volksstaat* Publishing House.—The paper regularly carried articles by Marx and Engels.—6, 68

*Volkstimme. Organ der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Ungarns*—a German language weekly published in Budapest from 1872.—355

*Volks- Tribüne*—see *Berliner Volks- Tribüne*

*Volkstribüne, Organ fur die interessen des arbeitenden Volkes*—an Austrian Social-Democratic fortnightly founded in Vienna in 1821.—225

*Volkszeitung*—see *New Yorker Volkszeitung*

*Volks-Zeitung. Organ fur jedermann aus dem Volke*—a liberal daily published in Berlin from 1853 to 1897.—124, 126, 207

*Der Vorbote*—a monthly of the German-language sections of the International in Switzerland, published in Geneva from 1866-71 under the editorship of Johann Philipp Becker. On the whole, it upheld Marx and the General Council by regularly publishing documents of the International and information about its activity in various countries.—481

*Vorwärts. Berliner Volksblatt*—a German Social-Democratic daily, founded in 1884. It appeared under this title from 1891, when by decision of the Party Congress in Halle (1890) it was made the central organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. Its editor-in-chief in the 1890s was Wilhelm Liebknecht.—6, 17, 26, 30, 51, 52, 54, 79, 81, 88, 90, 94, 99, 107, 108, 207, 209, 210, 215, 217, 226-27, 231-32, 253, 268, 282, 318, 322, 336, 354, 355, 365, 367, 369, 374, 379, 392, 393, 395, 434, 438, 457, 486, 497, 499

*Der Wahre Jacob. Illustrirtes humoristisch-satirisches Monatsblatt*—a Social-Democratic journal published in Stuttgart and Berlin in 1884-1932, initially once and later twice a month.—378

*Westdeutsche Zeitung*—a democratic newspaper published by Hermann Heinrich Becker in Cologne from 28 May 1849 to 21 July 1850.—471

*Dos Westphalische Dampfboot*—a German monthly of the "true socialists" published under the editorship of Otto Luning in Bielefeld from January 1845 to December 1846 and in Paderborn from January 1847 to March 1848.—432, 477, 500

*The Woman's Journal*—an American feminist weekly published in Boston and Chicago from 1870 to 1917.-198,251

*The Workman's Times*—a British workers' weekly, published in Huddersfield from August 1890 to September 1894, then in London and Manchester. Its editor was Joseph Burgess. In 1892 it merged with *The Trade Unionist*.—6, 12, 27, 82, 108, 228, 229, 273, 278, 336, 355, 420

*Zeitschrift fur social-und Wiztschafisgeschichte*—a journal on historic economic and social problems published in Freiburg and Leipzig in 1893-1900.—53

PERIODICAL NAMES IN RUSSIAN IN TEXT

*A European Herald*—a Russian historical, political and literary journal of liberal trend, published in St. Petersburg from 1866-1918; from 1868, monthly.—409

*General Redistribution*—a Russian journal of the revolutionary Narodnik organization of the same name, published from early 1880 to late in 1881; of the five issues in all, the first two appeared in Geneva and the rest, three, in Minsk.—489

*Russian Life*—a liberal daily published in St. Petersburg in 1890-95.—440

*Russian Heritage*—a literary, scientific and political monthly published in St. Petersburg from 1876 to mid-1918; a journal of the Liberal Narodniks from the early 1890s.—450

*Social Democrat*—a Bulgarian socio-literary quarterly published in Sevlievo in 1892-93.—152

*Socialist.* Organ of the Workers' Social-Democratic Party—a Bulgarian newspaper published under this title twice a week in Sofia from October 1894 to 3 November 1897.—358

*A Workingman.* Organ of the Workers' Social-Democratic Party.—a Bulgarian newspaper published inTyznovo from November 1892 to 21 August 1894.—358

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